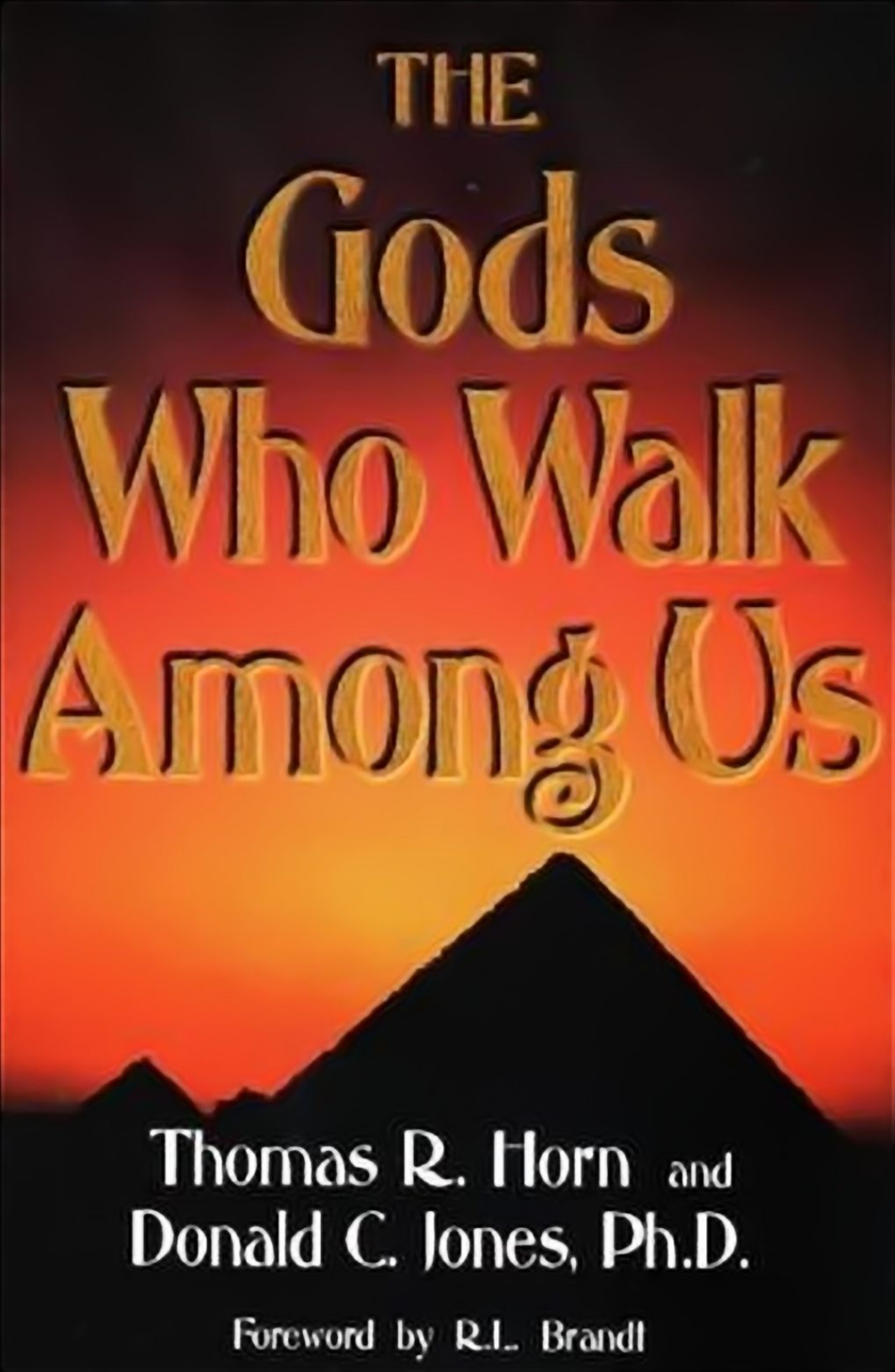
THE Gods Who Walk Among Us



Thomas R. Horn and
Donald C. Jones, Ph.D.

Foreword by R.L. Brandt

THE GODS WHO WALK AMONG US

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by

Thomas R. Horn

Donald C. Jones, Ph. D.

Huntington House Publishers

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Dedication

To the memory of William Cornish (W.C.) Jones, Charles K. (C.K.) Barnes, and Orville R. (O.R.) Cross, faithful ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

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Foreword

The Gods Who Walk among Us is a most enlightening and insightful book on a subject about which we need to know more. It graphically describes the gods of this world and their wide-ranging influence upon individuals and upon peoples. This book is most unusual and timely. For the most part, today's generation is unaware of, even blind to, the dangers of ideas and teachings regarding the spirit-world that have become so commonplace. Demons, worship of demons, occult activities, and the like, have been topics somewhat apart from evangelical believer's concerns. Most of us have given little thought or study to such things. We have felt almost untouched or untainted by them. How dangerously mistaken we have been.

Authors Thomas Horn and Donald Jones have researched the subject remarkably well. Not only have they done a superb job of identifying the gods of antiquity and their functions, but they have, in scholarly fashion, shown that these same gods command the attention and allegiance of multitudes of modern men and women. While Horn and Jones suggest that the names of some of the gods may have been altered to a degree, they demonstrate quite conclusively that their

nefarious activities have remained constant. After reading this book, we are suddenly aware of the "ever-present darkness" and find that we can no longer afford to be blind to what we have previously ignored. It is evident that pagan worship and rituals are going on today. Of particular interest is the revelation that all of Egypt's plagues were direct affronts to her recognized and revered deities. In every instance, we see how Jehovah effectively demonstrated his vast and unequalled superiority.

Horn and Jones recognize that the gods of this world are, in every instance, and in every manifestation, representations of the evil supernatural; in fact, they are representations of Satan himself. They believe, and with good reason, that the New Age Movement is, at its core, a cleverly devised scheme whereby Satan is seeking to acquire the allegiance of all of mankind; they provide adequate illustration to support this thesis. The suggestion that possibly some things that occur during worship times in our churches today are similar to things which happened in pagan worship is, to say the least, frightening. Horn and Jones ascribe a measure of credibility to UFO sightings, and are persuaded that the evil supernatural is making alarming and ever- increasing inroads into modern culture. They believe this sets the stage for the Antichrist. This book is an eye-opener for some of us who grew up in a day when most people believed in the God of the Bible, even if they did not strive to obey Him. No doubt we were simplistic, even naive about the spirit world, especially the evil spirit world. No longer! It is time to pay attention to what Horn and Jones say, for to be well- informed is to have the possibility

of being well- prepared. We are at the end of the age. The coming of our Lord is near. Let us sound the trumpet in Zion!

R. L. Brandt

Acknowledgment

I wish to acknowledge the following people without whose help and inspiration this book would not have been possible: Dr. Donald C. and Joyce Jones for their willingness to work with me on this project. Pastor Rance and Jaynie Kinser for their unconditional love and support. Judy Vorfeld for her tireless technical and research assistance. R.L. Brandt for providing a thoughtful forward. Superintendents William O. Vickery and William I. Gallaher for their steadfast leadership example over the years. My mother Virginia (Sally) for a lifetime of love and support. My sister Vida for sharing deeply personal information on the possible spiritual aspects of the UFO abduction phenomenon. My big brother Clarence (Amil) for illustrating what it means to be a pastor. And to my wife Juanita, and our children Althia, Joe, and Donna, for being the greatest family on earth.

ONE

The Origin of the Gods

Birds skipped among groves of date palms along the marshy banks of the Euphrates in the year B.C. 3500. As the sun arose above Sumer, the alluvial desert of the Middle East came alive with agricultural activity. In a valley forged between the twin rivers of the Tigris and the Euphrates, magnificent walled cities awoke to the chatter of busy streets and marketplaces. In what the Greeks would later call "Mesopotamia" (between the rivers), the world's first great trade center and civilization developed. The opulent Sumerian cities of Ur—the home of Abram—Uruk, and Lagash, had become the economic machines of the ancient Middle East, and industries from as far away as Jericho, near the Mediterranean Sea, and Catal Huyuk, in Asia Minor, competed for the trade opportunities they provided. Laborers from the biblical city of Jericho exported salt to Sumer, and miners from Catal Huyuk prepared obsidian, used in making mirrors, for shipment to the ancient metropolis. But while the prehistoric people of the East looked to the Sumerians for their supply of daily bread, the Sumerians themselves gazed heavenward to the early rising of Utu (Shamash), the all-providing sun god, as he prepared once

Ancient Sumeria/Mesopotamia

again to ride across the sky in his mule-drawn chariot. In B.C. 3500, Utu was not alone among the gods.

By now, the Sumerian pantheon provided the earliest known description of organized mythology, consisting of a complex system of more than 3,000 deities and covering nearly every detail of nature and human enterprise. There were gods of sunshine and rain. There were vegetation gods, fertility gods, river gods, animal gods, and gods of the afterlife. There were the great gods, Enlil (prince of the air), Anu (ruler of the heavens), Enki, (the god of water), and so on. Under these, existed a second level of deities, including Nannar, the moon god, Utu, the sun god, and Inanna, the "Queen of Heaven." But, where did the gods of Sumeria come from?

Since the religion of Sumeria was the first known organized mythology, and would greatly influence the foundational beliefs of the forthcoming nations of Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and others, this question has interested scholars and historians for more than a millennium. Specifically, where does one find the historical beginning of the ancient gods of Sumeria? Were the Sumerian deities the product of human imagination, or the distortion of some earlier prehistoric revelation? Were they the "mythologizing" of certain ancient heroes, or, as some New Age followers suggest, the result of an extra-terrestrial "alien" visitation, which gave birth to the legends and mythological gods? More importantly, did the gods of Sumeria reflect the emergence of a real and spiritual power operating

through pagan dynamics, or were the gods purely the creation of primitive imagination?

These questions are both fascinating and difficult since the gods and goddesses of ancient Sumeria/Mesopotamia continue to be shrouded in a history of unknown origins. As though, out of "nowhere," the Sumerians sprang onto the scene over 5,500 years ago, bringing with them the first written language, a corpus of progressive knowledge from complicated religious concepts, and an advanced understanding of astrology, chemistry, and mathematics. The questionable origin of the Sumerian culture has caused some theorists to conclude that the gods of Sumeria, and the subsequent mythologies that grew out of them (Assyrian, Egyptian, etc.), were the diabolical scheme of a regressive and evil "supernatural presence." If this is true, does the ancient power continue to work within our world? Do primordial and living entities, once worshipped as "gods," coexist with modern man? There are three competing theories regarding the origin of the early mythological gods: 1) the Euhemerus view; 2) the New Age view; and 3) the Biblical view.

The Euhemerus view was based on the historical theories of the Greek scholar Euhemerus, who claimed that the pagan gods originated with certain ancient and famous kings who were later deified. The more widely accepted theories, the New Age view and the Biblical view, have succeeded in becoming the popular authorities regarding original paganism, and are, therefore, the focus of our attention. What can we learn from these two views?

The New Age View Concerning the Origin of the Gods

A growing doctrine within the New Age Movement claims that the origin of the gods, and the human race, as we know it today, is the direct result of extra-terrestrial (UFO) activity. In the introduction to his bestselling book, *Chariots of the Gods?*, Erich von Daniken, who, it might be argued, is one of the fathers of the New Age Movement related to UFOs, said, "I claim that our forefathers received visits from the universe in the remote past, even though I do not yet know who these extra-terrestrial intelligences were or from which planet they came. I nevertheless proclaim that these 'strangers' annihilated part of mankind existing at the time and produced a new, perhaps the first, *homo sapiens.*"[1]

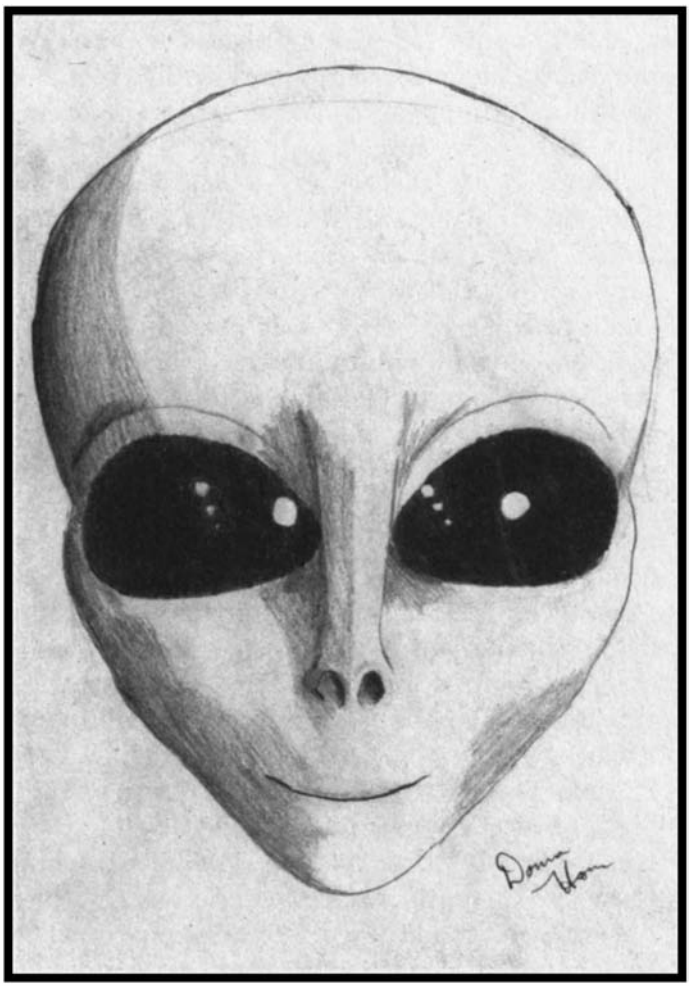
As depicted in the Hollywood films *Contact* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind,* Erich von Daniken's hypothesis took America by storm in the 1960s with the proposition that mankind was possibly the offspring of an ancient, perhaps ongoing, extra-terrestrial experiment. New Age UFO experts like Daniken assert that the gods of mythology may have been themselves evidence of, and a reaction to, an encounter with other-worldly beings. They claim that ancient men would have considered space travelers as gods and would have recorded their arrival, their experiments, and their departure, in hieroglyphs, megaliths, and stone tablets, as supernatural encounter between gods and men. Von Daniken wrote,

> While [the] spaceship disappears again into the mists of the universe our friends will

> talk about the miracle, 'The gods were here!'... they will make a record of what happened: uncanny, weird, miraculous. Then their texts will relate, and drawings will show, that gods in golden clothes were there in a flying boat that landed with a tremendous din. They will write about chariots which the gods drove over land and sea, and of terrifying weapons that were like lightning, and they will recount that the gods promised to return. They will hammer and chisel in the rock pictures of what they had seen, shapeless giants with helmets and rods on their heads, carrying boxes in front of their chests; balls on which indefinable beings sit and ride through the air; staves from which rays are shot out as if from a sun.[2]

Von Daniken also claimed that the odd appearance of some of the gods, as depicted in various hieroglyphs, (human-like creatures with falcon heads; lions with heads of bulls, etc.) could be viewed as evidence that "aliens" conducted experiments of cloning and cross-mutated ancient people and animals.

Some people accept this part of Von Daniken's hypothesis as a humanistic alternative to the Biblical account of creation. It's uncertain how many people believe such a theory, but a full eighty percent of Americans claim they believe in the possibility of extra-terrestrial life. Some, like the 39 members of the Heaven's Gate cult who committed suicide in Rancho Santa Fe, California because they believed they were being summoned by a UFO trailing the Hale-Bopp Comet, subscribe



Intergalactic New Age Scientist?

to an eerie amalgam of mysticism and conventional religion. Not surprisingly, the growing interest in UFOs and the paranormal has given birth to a host of popular television specials and weekly programs depicting such other-worldly creatures and those who claim to have encountered them. One of the more disturbing aspects of such UFO phenomena are the reports, which continue to come in from around the world, of nighttime abductions by small, wide-eyed creatures who supposedly pilot UFOs, and conduct various medical experiments on their victims. The New Age Movement argues that such activity would be proof of an ongoing experiment between humans and aliens, and they note that the radical aspects of such experiments have included impregnating victims and later removing the hybrid embryos.

Ancient Chinese folklore includes stories of a distant land of "flying carts." A Sanskrit text, *The Drona Parva,* documented "dogfights" by gods in flying machines.[3] But men like Von Daniken claim that the Bible is their best advocate and is the "greatest UFO book of all time!" The "wheel" in Ezekiel 1:15; the "pillar of cloud" in Exodus 13:21-22; and Elijah's "chariot of fire" (2 Kings 2:11), are all viewed as examples of UFO sightings by New Agers. It's true that we do find a biblical record of mysterious celestial creatures invading the earth and conducting procreative experiments. In Genesis 6:4 we read, "When mankind had spread all over the world, and girls were being born, some of the supernatural beings saw that these girls were beautiful, so they took the ones they liked. In those days, and even later, there were giants [*nepheli*] on the earth who were

descendants of human women and the supernatural beings" (*TEV*). But is Genesis 6 a description of reproductive experiments conducted by advanced extra-terrestrial creatures? Or is it a record of something even more sinister?

A Christian Analysis vs. the New Age View

Regardless of one's interpretation of these and other ancient records, one fact remains. Thousands of years ago, heavenly beings visited the earth. They engaged in sexual experiments resulting in a race of mutant beings called *nepheli.* The final result appears to have been an immediate judgment from God, who ordered Israel to destroy the *nepheli* and its descendants. Thousands of years later, Jesus spoke of the events that occurred during the days of Noah as being comparable to the days leading up to the rapture of the Church (Matthew 24). This prophecy is remarkable when one realizes that after God judged the celestial beings who cohabited with the Noahtic women, all such comparable activity apparently ceased until about 1940. Then, following the infamous Roswell incident which occurred in New Mexico in 1947, people from around the world began encountering strange creatures conducting procreative experiments with increasing regularity. One is forced to wonder, what's going on? Who are these creatures? Are the current UFO visitors the same as those of Noah's day? If so, what is this reproductive experimentation about? Perhaps the answer to this question (the Christian's analysis vs the New Age view on "aliens") is hidden in the first six chapters of Genesis.

Very soon after the fall of man, we find in Genesis 3:15 the protoevangelium (the promise that the seed of the woman would someday bring forth a child [Jesus] capable of destroying the serpent's [Satan's] power). In response to the promise, supernatural beings (fallen angels?) appeared from the heavens and performed reproductive experiments on human women (Genesis 6). Was Satan attempting to intercept, pollute, and thereby destroy the righteous seed? Was he trying to cut off the birth line of the Messiah? Perhaps. Satan's ancient goal included cutting off the line leading to the Messiah. Satan led Pharaoh to destroy the Hebrew children so the deliverer might not be born. Herod sought the baby Jesus in the *New Testament* in order to have Him killed. In Revelation 12, we see the devil (dragon) waiting to destroy the messianic seed as soon as it is born of the woman. But Dr. I.D.E. Thomas, in his book, *The Omega Conspiracy,* suggests that Satan had even bigger plans at work in Genesis 6. He claims that Satan (as opposed to aliens) was trying to produce a race of mutant warriors by breeding fallen angels with women in an effort to exterminate the children of God.

From a Christian's point of view, this could explain how people like the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, who were enemies of Yahweh, appeared out of nowhere around B.C. 3500, bringing with them a pantheon of deities, the first written language, and a superior knowledge of earthly sciences. This may also explain why many of the religions that followed Sumerian mythology, including Greek mythology, emerged from the origi-

nal idea that powerful beings, with names like "Zeus" and "Apollo," visited the earth, intermarried with women, and fathered half-human children. Dr. Thomas believes recent UFO abduction activity may point to the birth of a new race of anti-God warriors, as we approach the end of the age and the coming of Armageddon.

Does Genesis 6 support the New Age theory that alien creatures traveled from distant planets in UFOs, performed reproductive experiments on women, and were afterward honored in the images and folklore of the gods of mythology? Or, is Dr. I.D.E. Thomas correct in stating that the story in Genesis is a record of fallen angels acting in accord with Satan? What, if anything, could this tell us about the origin of the gods and the current interstellar phenomena? Are we experiencing an ongoing invasion of earth by intergalactic scientists, or is Satan busy advancing the most sophisticated con game in history? We know that the rapture of the Church will be accompanied by "fearful sights and great signs from heaven" (Luke 21:11). Perhaps Satan is contriving an "alien invasion" to explain the disappearance of so many people at once! If 80 percent of the population believes in the possibility of extra-terrestrial intelligence, wouldn't this be a powerful form of deception? Since New Age theology produces a growing belief among some contemporary church groups that flying saucers will be the method God uses to retrieve the Christian community during the Rapture, couldn't the UFO sightings phenomenon play a part in the great deception that will pervade the earth following the Rapture?

We read in 2 Thessalonians 2:8-12,

> And then shall that Wicked [one] be revealed . . . whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders. . . . And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

The world authorities remaining to make up the governments of the Antichrist will need an explanation for those taken in the Rapture. People from around the world will be missing! Now imagine if the Rapture was followed by hundreds of "space craft" landing on earth piloted by creatures who appeared to be advanced humanoids, couldn't these beings claim to have removed the Christians into some kind of a high-tech "rapture," and simultaneously present their leader (antichrist?) as the messiah? Couldn't they point to ancient mysteries, megaliths, pyramids, and the gods of mythology, as proof of an ancient visitation of planet earth?

The late Pulitzer Prize-winning author and agnostic Carl Sagan was, until his death, working on a screenplay about the ramifications of just such a savior who appears in the coming millennium![4] Humanists like Sagan argue that evidence such as the meteorite,[5] which has been hypothesized as indicating that microscopic life existed on Mars millions of years ago, is proof that prehistoric life forms could have moved throughout the universe for untold millennia. Not long ago, people who supported UFO activity were the object of scorn. Because of accumulating

evidence and reputable eye-witness accounts, this is no longer the case. That some kind of unexplained phenomenon, called the UFO experience by some, occurs, is beyond question. UFO reports are coming in at the alarming world-wide rate of about six sightings per hour! Whatever or whomever they are, the reality of this activity can no longer be doubted. One concludes that these beings are either advanced humanoids from outer space, or that this activity signals an ongoing deception of demonic design. If the current UFO activity is demonic and indicates that Satan has for centuries planned an "alien" visitation in order to, among other things, explain the Rapture of the church, wouldn't it be reasonable to believe that his plans have heretofore included indoctrination and advanced intelligence? Military invasions always involve preliminary and clandestine maneuvers, and one should believe Satan's plans to deceive in the past, the present, and the future World Order, would first involve covert strategies of brainwashing, political manipulation, and the positioning of his agents in places of power.

While I believe that the New Age Movement's interpretation of UFO phenomenon and the origin of the gods is erroneous, I do credit New Agers for recognizing the high possibility that the gods of mythology were a result of, and perhaps a first step toward, the developing of the schemes of a super-intelligent force, a power which may energize the UFO phenomenon today. But what New Agers describe as the goals of a "highly advanced alien civilization," I call the plotting of an evil supernatural creature.

The Biblical View of the Origin of the Gods

The biblical (and I believe correct) view of the origin of the pagan gods begins with Original Revelation. This means there was a perfect revelation from God to man at the time of creation. The first man, Adam, was one with God and perceived divine knowledge from the mind of God. Adam was "in tune" with the mental processes of God, and understood, therefore, what God knew about science, astronomy, cosmogony, geology, eschatology, and so on. After the fall, Adam was "detached" from the mind of God, but retained an imperfect memory of divine revelation, including a knowledge of God's plan of redemption. Two things began to occur in the decades after the Fall: 1) information from the original revelation became distant and distorted, as it was dispersed among the nations, and passed from generation to generation; and 2) the realm of Satan seized upon this opportunity to receive worship, and to turn people away from Yahweh, by distorting and counterfeiting the original revelation with pagan ideas and gods. This point of view seems reasonable when one considers that the earliest historical and archeological records, from civilizations around the world, have consistently pointed back to and repeated portions of the original story.

In their startling book, *The Discovery of Genesis,* the Rev. C.H. Kang and Dr. Ethel R. Nelson confirm that prehistoric Chinese ideographic pictures (used in very ancient Chinese writing) depict the story of Genesis, including the creation of the Man and Woman, the Garden, the Temptation and Fall, Noah's flood, and the Tower of Babel. In

his book, *The Real Meaning of the Zodiac,* Dr. James Kennedy claims that the ancient signs of the Zodiac also indicate a singular and original revelation, a kind of gospel in the stars. And that the message of the stars, although demonized and converted into astrology after the Fall, originally recorded the Gospel of God. Kennedy writes:

> There exists in the writings of virtually all civilized nations a description of the major stars in the heavens, something which might be called the "Constellations of the Zodiac" or the "Signs of the Zodiac," of which there are twelve. If you go back in time to Rome, or beyond that to Greece, or before that to Egypt, Persia, Assyria, or Babylonia, regardless of how far back you go, there is a remarkable phenomenon; nearly all nations had the same twelve signs, representing the same twelve things, placed in the same order.
>
> The book of Job, thought by many to be the oldest book of the Bible, goes back to approximately 2150 B.C., 650 years before Moses came on the scene to write the Pentateuch; over 1,100 years before Homer wrote the *Odyssey* and the *Illiad;* and 1,500 years before Thales, the first philosopher, was born. In Job 38, God finally speaks to Job and his false comforters. As He is questioning Job, showing him and his companions their ignorance, God says to them, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season? Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?"

> (Job 38:31,32). We see here reference to the constellations of Orion and Pleiades, and the star Arcturus. Also in the book of Job, there is reference to Cetus, the Sea Monster, and to Draco, the Great Dragon. I would call your attention to Job 38:32a: "Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?" Mazzaroth is a Hebrew word which means, "The Constellations of the Zodiac." In what may be the oldest book in all of human history, we find that the constellations of the zodiac were already clearly known and understood.
>
> Having made it clear that the Bible expressly, explicitly, and repeatedly condemns what is now known as astrology, the fact remains that there was a God-given Gospel [universally acknowledged original revelation] in the stars which lies beyond and behind that which has now been corrupted.[6]

In his book, Kennedy strongly condemns the practice of astrology, while asserting his view that the constellations of the zodiac were likely given by God to the first man as "record-keepers" of the original revelation of God. If the primary assumption of the Biblical view is correct, that an original revelation was corrupted after the fall of man and subsequently degenerated into the mythologies of the pagan gods, one should be able to find numerous examples of such corruption from the beginning of history, in various civilizations around the world.

Since the myths behind the gods would thus be "borrowed" ideas, the corrupted texts would be similar to the original truth, and, in that sense,

evidence of a singular and original revelation. Furthermore, if the distortions of the original revelation were in fact energized by an evil supernaturalism, the goal of the alterations would be to draw people away from the worship of Yahweh. In certain ancient legends, such as the *Enuma Elish,* the *Adapa Epic,* and the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* we discover early traces of the kaleidoscope of the original revelation, plagiarized for the purpose of constructing the mythologies of the pagan gods.

Early Traces of Corruption

Evidence suggests that the earliest legends of mythology were preceded by a belief in "the God" (*Yahweh* to the Hebrews) as the creator of all things and the "ruler of heaven." Later, Satan was described as "the god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4), and the "prince of the air" (Eph. 2:2). A fascinating struggle between the "ruler of the heavens" versus the "power of the air" occurred in early Sumerian mythology after Enki, the god of wisdom and water, created the human race out of clay. It appears that Anu, who was at first the most powerful of the Sumerian gods and the "ruler of the heavens," was superseded in power and popularity by Enlil, the "god of the air." To the Christian mind this is perceived as nothing less than Satan, the god of the air, continuing his pretence to the throne of God, and his usurpation of Yahweh, "the Lord of the heavens." It also indicates a corruption of the original revelation and perhaps an effort on the part of Satan to trick the pagan Sumerians into perceiving him as the "supreme" god (above the God of Heaven) and, therefore, worthy of adoration.

Correspondingly, in the *Enuma Elish* (a Babylonian epic), Marduk, the great god of the city of Babylon, was exalted above the benevolent gods and extolled as the creator of the world. Marduk was symbolized as a dragon (as is Satan in Revelation 12:9) called the *Muscrussu,* and his legend appears to contain several distortions of the important elements of the biblical account of creation. The *Adapa Epic* tells of another Babylonian legend that is also roughly equivalent to the Genesis account of creation. In it, Adapa, like Adam, underwent a test on food consumption, failed the test, and forfeited his opportunity for immortality. As a result of the failure, suffering and death were passed along to humanity.

Finally, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is a Sumerian poem, which, like the *Adapa Epic,* is deeply rooted in ancient Assyrian and Babylonian mythology. In 1872, George Smith discovered the Gilgamesh tablets while doing research on the Assyrian library of Ashurbanipal at the British Museum. Because of the strong similarity to the biblical account of Noah and the great flood, Bible scholars have viewed the Gilgamesh epic with interest (and suspicion) since its discovery. As the legend goes, Gilgamesh, the king of the city of Uruk, was told about the flood from his immortal friend, Utnapishtim (the Sumerian equivalent of Noah). Utnapishtim described for Gilgamesh how the great god Enlil decided to destroy all of mankind because of its "noisy" sins. A plague was sent but failed to persuade mankind of better behavior, and, consequently, the gods decided on a complete extermination of the human race. Enki, the lord of the waters, was not happy with the other

gods for this decision and warned Utnapishtim of the coming deluge, instructing him to tear down his house and build a great boat. Utnapishtim obeyed Enki, built a great vessel, and sealed it with pitch and bitumen. The family of Utnapishtim loaded onto the boat together with various beasts and fowl. When the rains came, the doors were closed and the vessel rose up above the waters. Like Noah, Utnapishtim sent out a dove, and later a swallow, to search for dry land. They both returned. Later, a raven was released and it never came back. After several more days the boat came to rest on the top of a mountain where Utnapishtim built an altar and offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods. As the gods smelt the sweet offering, all but Enlil repented for sending the flood.

In my first book, *Spiritual Warfare, The Invisible Invasion,* I described an interesting example of the original revelation of God as distorted and plagiarized by Satan in order to draw men away from the worship of Jehovah. Concerning Asclepius, the Greek god of healing, I wrote:[7]

> At the base of Pergamums hill stood the shrine of Asclepius, equipped with its own library, theater, sleeping chambers used in healing rituals, and long underground tunnels joining various other shrines to which pagans journeyed to receive the healing powers of Apollo's favorite son. The Christian Church considered these mystical powers as demonic, for the worship of Asclepius focused on the image of a serpent, sometimes called Glycon, an enormous serpent-figure some historians see as the origin for the modern symbol of healing, a serpent

> winding about a pole. Asclepius carried the lofty title, the hero god of healing. In Numbers 21, Moses designed the brazen serpent on a pole that was used of God as an oracle of healing. Seven hundred and forty-three years later, in 2 Kings 18:4, we find that Israel had began to worship the brazen serpent with offerings and incense.
>
> From here the image was adopted into Greek mythology where it became the symbol of Asclepius, the Greek god of healing. Asclepius was reported to have cured untold numbers from every conceivable disease, even raising a man from the dead. This caused Apollo, through his Oracle at Delphi, to declare, "Oh Asclepius! Thou who art born a great joy to all mortals, whom lovely Coronis bare to me, the child of love, at rocky Epidaurus." Such a healer was he reported to be, that Pluto, god of Hades, complained to Zeus that hardly anyone was dying anymore, and so Zeus destroyed Asclepius with a thunderbolt. Afterward, Apollo pleaded with Zeus to restore his son and this intercession so moved Zeus that he not only brought Asclepius back to life, but immortalized him as the god of medicine.
>
> First at Thessaly, and finally throughout the Greek and Roman world, Asclepius was worshiped as the god of healing.

Thus, we find a glaring example of God's "revelation" plagiarized for demonic purposes. Greek mythology represented Asclepius had the power to heal the sick and bring the dead back to life by

drawing blood from the side of the goddess of justice. Asclepius was symbolized by a serpent winding about a pole, and he was called the great "Physician." The obvious intention of the serpent on a pole in Numbers 21 was to focus mankind on the coming Messiah, the true Great Physician, who would hang upon a pole and would deliver His followers from sickness and death by the blood that ran from His side.

The Energy of the Gods

Time does not allow for a full disclosure of the many other examples of corruption that occurred with regard to the Original Revelation. They include distortions or "knock-offs" of the virgin birth, Heaven and Hell, the Resurrection and Final Judgment, water baptism, communion, etc. In addition to the corruptions of the original revelation which pre-dated the gods of mythology, the Biblical view of the origin of the gods makes the following important assumptions: 1) that there exists within our universe real and supernatural powers; 2) that these powers are divided by their nature into two separate camps or "kingdoms," one evil, the other good; 3) that these kingdoms are presided over by rulers, the biblical Satan over the evil and Yahweh over the good; and 4) that the kingdom of Satan provided the historical energy or "life" within and behind the gods of mythology as Satan's kingdom solicited human worship through the elements of idolatry.

Quoting again from *Spiritual Warfare, The Invisible Invasion,* I conclude:

> The worship of Asclepius and other such idolatries were, as Paul would later articu-

> late in 1 Corinthians 10:20, *the worship of demons.* [emphasis added] In Acts 7:41-42, we find that when men serve idols they are worshiping "the army of heaven" (Jerusalem Bible). Psalms 96:5 says, "For all the gods of the nations are idols" (*'elilim, LXX daimonia*). Demons. Many other biblical references indicate evil supernaturalism as the true dynamic of idolatry and reveal that idols of stone, flesh, or other imagery are simply "elilim (empty, nothing, vanity), but that *behind these images exist the true objects of heathen adoration: demons.*"

John Milton wrote in *Paradise Lost* that millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen. The Biblical view of the origin of the gods affirms the idea that "in the beginning" Yahweh created the heavens (celestial beings, planets, etc.) and the earth. Lucifer, "the light bearer," was a crowning achievement of God's heavenly creation and a chief servant of the creative Yahweh. But Lucifer became jealous of the worship Yahweh was receiving from his many creations, and proudly proclaimed, "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. . . . I will be like the most high" (Isa.14:13-14). Somehow Lucifer convinced one-third of the celestial creatures to join him in a great rebellion, with the uprising ultimately resulting in Lucifer and his followers being cast out of Heaven. Lucifer (now Satan), driven by a quest for worship and thirsty for revenge against Yahweh, tempted Eve, and, after the fall with its resulting separation between man and God, moved to corrupt the divine truths contained within the Original Revelation by proclaiming himself (the god of the air) more worthy

of worship than the God of Heaven.

If such a summary of the Biblical view is correct, that a real and evil supernatural presence exists and has for centuries drawn men away from worshipping Yahweh through the dynamics of various mythologies, the following questions arise: Were the angels that joined Lucifer in the fall also driven by a lust for worship? Did the images and attributes ascribed to the gods of mythology reflect the real and spiritual characteristics of certain unseen personalities operating behind them? More important, is the kingdom of Satan still at work in this manner? Do the living entities of the ancient gods continue to walk among us? If so, do such spirits embody themselves in trees, earth, and idols of stone, or should we assume that modern idolatry has acquired a more selective sophistication and social manifestation? In the following chapters, we'll search for the answers to these questions through a comparison of the various aspects of the gods of mythology. But, be warned, the forthcoming conclusions may startle you.

Notes

1. Erich von Daniken, *Chariots of the Gods* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1970), 10.

2. Ibid., 26

3. Jason McManus, *The UFO Phenomenon: Mysteries of the Unknown* (Time Life Books, Alexandria, VA, 1987), 12.

4. The Hollywood Reporter, *The Oregonian* (9 August 1996), Arts & Entertainment Guide, 26.

5. John Noble Wilford, *The Oregonian* (7 August

1996), Front Page.

6. Dr. James Kennedy, Ph. D., *The Real Meaning of the Zodiac* (TCRM Publishing, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, 1993), 6-8.

7. Thomas R. Horn, *Spiritual Warfare—The Invisible Invasion* (Lafayette, LA: Huntington House Publishers, 1998), 21-22.

8. Ibid., 24.

TWO

The Gods Who Walked among the Egyptians

"Oh Egypt! Egypt! Your knowledge will survive but in legends, which later generations will be unable to believe."

—Lucius Apuleius,
Roman Philosopher,
Second Century A.D.

As the centuries passed by, the god and goddess worshipping cities of the Sumerians began to fade away. The flourishing fields of agriculture that provided the underpinnings of the great Sumerian economy were depleted of fertility through over-irrigation, and residues of salt build-up appeared to chafe the surface of the land. The city-states of Sumeria, Kish, Ur, Lagash, and Umma, weakened by a millennium of ruthless infighting among the Sumerians, finally succumbed to militant external forces. The barbarian armies of the Elamites (Persians) invaded and destroyed the city of Ur, and Amorites from the west overran the northern province of Sumer and subsequently established the hitherto little-known town of Babylon as their capital.

By B.C.1840, Hammurabi, the sixth king of Babylon, conquered the remaining cities of Sumeria and forged northern Mesopotamia and Sumeria into a single nation. But the ultimate demise of the Sumerian people did not vanquish their ideas. Sumerian art, language, literature, and, especially, religion, had been forever absorbed into the cultures and social academics of the nations surrounding Mesopotamia, including the Hittite nation, the Babylonians, and the ancient Assyrians. A principal benefactor of Sumeria's ideas, and a people who would ultimately make their own contributions to the ancient mythologies, was an old and flourishing population of agrarians known as the Egyptians.

By the year B.C. 1350, Egyptian dominance had spread from Syria and Palestine into the farthest corners of the Fertile Crescent. From northern Mesopotamia to the Baltic Sea, the pharaohs of Egypt had established themselves as the social and economic leaders of the civilized world, ruling an area more than 2,000 miles in length. The military superiority of the Egyptian army demonstrated its ability to subdue the threat of resistance, maintaining a hegemony that extended from the Nubians to the Hyksos. But, in the final analysis, it was the influence of the gods of Egypt, with their magic, myths, and rituals, that provided the Egyptians with a lasting place in history and led the following generations into an immense, enlightening description of the ancient mythologies, including a wealth of information regarding the dynamics and supernatural possibilities of paganism.

Thoth, by Brooke Townsend

Facts about Atum (RA), Osiris, and Isis

Prehistoric Egyptians believed in the same fundamental idea that most evolutionists subscribe to today, the premise that the oceans both preceded, and, in some way, contributed to the creation of the living cosmos. From the Fifth Dynasty Pyramid Texts, the Heliopolitan theory of creation stated that Atum (the sun god, Ra) independently created himself from a singular expression of self will, an act visualized by the Egyptians as a divine egg that appeared upon the primordial waters of the all-filling ocean called Nun, out of which Atum (meaning "He who created himself"), emerged. According to myth, a second act of creation developed around a divine masturbation when Atum, the great "He-She," orally copulated himself and afterward regurgitated his children, Shu and Tefnut, who assumed the positions of god and goddess of air and moisture.

Later, when Shu and Tefnut became lost in the universal ocean of Nun, Atum exhibited his paternal care by sending out his Eye, which had the curious habit of detaching itself from Atum and thinking independent thoughts, to look for them. The Eye of Atum succeeded in finding the child gods and eventually returned to discover that Atum had grown impatient during the wait and had created a second eye. In order to placate the hostility that soon developed between the two divine eyes, Atum affixed the first eye upon his forehead where it was to oversee and rule the forthcoming world of creation. Thus, the Eye of Atum became the jealous, destructive aspect of the sun god Ra.

To avoid getting lost again in the all-filling waters of Nun, Shu and Tefnut procreated Geb (the earth), and Nut (the sky), and thus provided the more stable elements of earth, nature, and the seasons. Later, Geb was conceptualized as cohabiting with Nut and producing four children of his own: Seth, Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. Of these, Osiris and Isis grew into such important cult deities that the mythology of the Egyptian religion was modified to support the claim that Osiris, with the help of his sister-wife Isis, had nearly overthrown and replaced Ra as the most powerful of the gods, an action that so enraged his brother Seth that the hateful and jealous sibling killed him.

Seth's murderous act was followed by the jackal-headed god, Anubis, assisting Isis with the embalming of her slain husband-brother Osiris, an act which secured the jackal god's position as "the god of embalming." Then, while still in mourning, Isis summoned the wisdom of Thoth, which she combined with her own proficient magical skills and produced a resurrected Osiris, who, in turn, impregnated her with Horus, the god of daylight. Horus promptly avenged his father's death by killing the evil brother Seth. Another version of the myth claims that Horus was born to Isis only after she impregnated herself with semen, which she took from the corpse of Osiris. Yet another story claims that Seth persuaded his brother Osiris to climb into a box, which he quickly shut and threw into the Nile. Osiris drowned and his body floated down the Nile river where it snagged on the limbs of a tamarisk tree. In Byblos, Isis recovered the body from the river bank and

took it into her care. In her absence, Seth stole the body again and chopped it into fourteen pieces, which he threw into the Nile. Isis searched the river bank until she recovered every piece, except for the genitals, which had been swallowed by a fish (Plutarch says a crocodile). But Isis simply replaced the missing organ with a facsimile and was somehow able to reconstruct Osiris and impregnate herself with the ithyphallic corpse.

This portion of the Isis/Osiris myth probably developed over time in order to provide the legendary background necessary to sanction the kind of temple prostitution practiced during the rituals of Isis. Temple prostitutes represented the human manifestation of the goddess and were available for ritual sex as a form of imitative magic. Much of the details are no longer available, but it appears these prostitutes usually began their services to the goddess as a child and were deflowered at a very young age by a priest, or, as Isis was, by a carved phallus of the god Osiris. Sometimes prostitutes were chosen, on the basis of their beauty, as the sexual mates of the sacred temple bulls. Such bulls were considered the incarnation of Osiris. In other places, such as at Mendes, temple prostitutes were offered in coitus to divine goats.[1]

Regardless, from this time forward Osiris was considered the chief god of the deceased and the judge of the netherworld, the dark and dreary underworld region of the dead. In human form Osiris was perceived as a mummy and, paradoxically, while he was loved as the guarantor of life after death, he was feared as the demonic presence that decayed the bodies of the dead. Such necromantic worship of Osiris and Isis grew to

become an important part of several Mediterranean religions, with the most famous cult center of Osiris at Abydos in Upper Egypt, where an annual festival reenacted his death and resurrection. In Abydos, Osiris was called the god of the setting sun, the mysterious "force" that ruled the region of the dead just beneath the western horizon. He was venerated in this way primarily because death, and specifically the fear of one's estate after death, grew to consume so much of Egyptian consciousness.

In the funerary texts, known as the *Book of the Dead,* the most elaborate magical steps were developed around the Osiris myth to assist the Egyptians with their journey into the afterlife. It was believed that every person had a *Ka,* a spiritual and invisible duplicate, and that such *Ka* accompanied them throughout eternity. Since the *Ka* provided each person with a resurrected body in the kingdom of the dead, but could not exist without the maintenance of the earthly body, every effort was made to preserve the human corpse. The body was, therefore, mummified according to the elaborate magic rituals passed down from Isis, who, according to legend, singularly perfected the rituals of mummification through her work on Osiris. Wooden replicas of the body were also placed in the tomb, as a kind of substitute in case the mummy was accidently destroyed, and additional protection for the corpse was provided through the construction of ingenious burial tombs specifically designed to hide and preserve the human body for eternity. Finally, curses were placed throughout the tomb, as a warning against intruders.

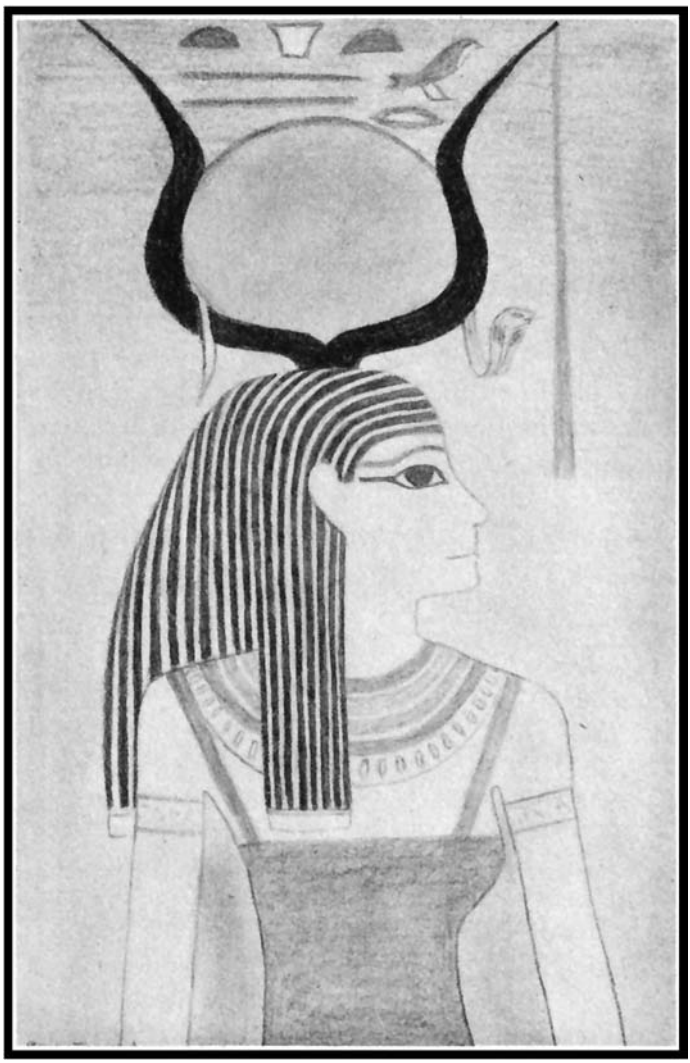
At death of the Egyptian, *Ka* departed from the human body and, accompanied by the hymns and prayers of the living, used the formulas memorized from the funerary texts to outsmart the horrible demons seeking to impede the *Ka's* progress into the kingdom (or hall) of Osiris. Arriving at the judgment hall, the heart of the *Ka* was "weighed in the balance" by Osiris and his forty-two demons. If they found the deceased lacking in virtue, he was condemned to an eternity of hunger and thirst. If the *Ka* was determined to have belonged to an outright "sinner," it was cut to pieces and fed to Ammit, the miserable little goddess and "eater of souls." But if the deceased was judged to have lived a virtuous life, the *Ka* was granted admission into the heavenly fields of Yaru, where foods were abundant and pleasures unending. The only toil in this heaven was to serve in the grain fields of Osiris, and even this could be obviated by placing substitutionary statues, called *shawabty,* into the tomb.

There is some evidence that the forty-two demons or "judges" of Osiris were in some way related to the prehistoric legend of the Watchers, the mysterious angelic beings who first appeared in the early cultures of the Middle East. The Egyptian people originally migrated from the biblical land of Shin'ar, which means the "Land of the Watchers." The Egyptians called it *Ta Neter,* the Land of the Watchers "from which the gods came into Egypt." As mentioned in Chapter One, it's possible that a historical event occurred giving birth to the legend of the Watchers, and references to a race of "watcher/gods" who cohabited with women and sought to control the human

race is attested to by numerous ancient texts. The Sumerian scribes referred to the watchers as *Anunnaki,* who, they said, "came from Nibiru" to judge/rule the inhabitants of the earth. Some have interpreted Nibiru as "a distant planet," but the actual translation is, "Those Who from Heaven to Earth Came." In the Bible, references are made to the Anakim and to the Nephilm, which also means "those who came from Heaven to Earth." In the *Book of the Dead,* there are prayers for deliverance from the Watchers (Tchatcha, the princes of Osiris), who came from Ta-Ur, the "Far Away Land," and in the Book of Jubilees, also known as the Apocalypse of Moses, the Watchers are compared to the "supernatural beings" mentioned in Genesis 6 as having come down from heaven to cohabit with women, a union ultimately leading to the birth of the giants. The Apocryphal Book of Enoch also associates the creatures of Genesis 6 with the Watchers.

We read:

> And I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me: Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, declare to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives: Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin: and inasmuch as they delight themselves in their children, The murder of their beloved ones



Isis, by Brooke Townsend

> shall they see, and over the destruction of their children shall they lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain. (1 Enoch 10:3-8)

From the *Dead Sea Scrolls,* we learn that only 200 of the larger group of powerful angels called "Watchers" ever departed from the higher Heavens and sinned. Thus, Enoch referred to the Watchers in the High Heavens as separate from the ones on earth. The fallen class of Watchers are considered by some to be the creatures referred to in the Book of Jude as the "angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation . . . [and are] reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" (Jude 6). In either case, it appears the early Egyptian scribes believed that leaders from among the fallen Watchers had become the underworld demons of Osiris whose "terrible knives" exacted judgment upon the *Ka* of the wicked. The Egyptians were desperately afraid of these netherworld "watchers," and a significant amount of time was spent determining how to placate the judgment of Osiris and his forty-two demons. The worship of Isis, the sister-wife of Osiris, thus became integral.

As one of the most important goddesses of ancient mythology, Isis was venerated by the Egyptians, Greeks, and the Romans, as the "goddess of a thousand names," and as the undisputed queen of magical skills. Her enchantments were so powerful that she even forced the reluctant sun god Ra to reveal his most secret name. She accomplished this by conjuring a magic serpent that bit the sun god, a reptile whose venom was so potent

that it brought Ra to the point of death, thus he surrendered his hidden and powerful name to the goddess. In response, Isis uttered secret words which drove the serpent's poison from Ra's body. Afterward, the victorious goddess celebrated by adding Ra's powerful and hidden name to her archive of divine words.

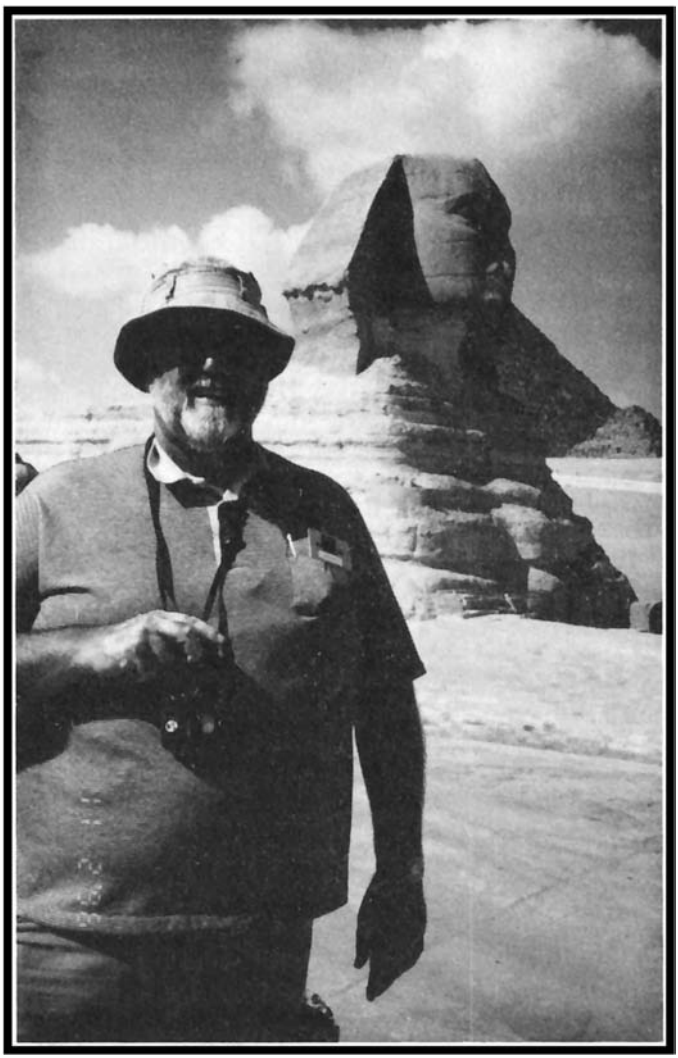
Such magic words (of Isis) were considered by the Egyptians to be of the highest importance for the preparation and navigation of this world and the afterlife. This was because Isis not only possessed secret words, but she instructed her followers how, when, and with what vocal tones they were to be uttered. If the proper words were pronounced perfectly—at the right time of day and with the proper ceremony, they would have the effect of altering reality, manipulating the laws of physics, and forcing the being or object to which they were directed into compliance, including evil spirits.

An example of this form of magic is found in the *Theban Recension* of the *Book of the Dead* and depicts Isis providing a spell for controlling the forty-two demons of Osiris. The formula consisted of an amulet made of carnelian that had been soaked in the water of ankhami flowers. It was supposed to be placed around the neck of the dead person, in combination with the spoken words of magic. If performed properly, it would empower the *Ka* of the individual to enter into the region of the dead under the protection of Isis, where the *Ka* would thereafter move about whenever it wanted without fear of the forty-two demons of Osiris. The only Egyptian who did not benefit from this spell was the Pharaoh, and for a

very good reason. Although Pharaoh was considered to be the "son of the sun god" (Ra) and the incarnation of the falcon god Horus during his lifetime, he was considered, at death, to have become the Osiris, the divine judge of the netherworld. On earth, Pharaoh's son and predecessor would take his place as the newly anointed manifestation of Horus, and, thus, each new generation of the pharaohs provided the gods with a divine spokesman for the present world and the afterlife.

Judgment of the Egyptian God King

While conducting a recent tour of Egypt and the Holy Land, Donald C. Jones (Ph.D. in Biblical History and contributing author of this book), stood outside the Great Pyramid in Giza and pondered what it must have been like to be an Egyptian Pharaoh. As the divine son of Ra, Pharaoh was the earthly representative of the supreme god of cosmic deities; in short, Pharaoh was god on earth. Dr. Jones wondered what the children of Israel must have thought when Moses challenged the mighty arm of a ruler whose kingdom was so vast and powerful. Who would "take on" the leader of a people capable of building a single structure over thirty times larger than the Empire State Building? The Great Pyramid was built over 4,500 years ago of more than 2,000,000 blocks of stone weighing between 2 and 60 tons each, by builders whose knowledge of the earth and the planetary systems was so advanced that the Great Pyramid faces true North, South, East, and West, while also standing at the exact center of the Earth's land mass and at a height exactly that of the earth's



Dr. Jones in Egypt

mean sea level. One would understand how the leader of such a people would have easily been considered by the ancients as a god on earth.

Whereas most scholars believe that the Great Pyramid, the last standing monument of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, was built around the year B.C. 2560, by Khufu (Cheops), the Pharaoh of the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty, and that Moses probably challenged the pharaoh, known as Ramses II, many other testaments, temples, and pyramids, have survived to reveal that each of the Pharaohs were, in their respective times (at least in the mind of the average Egyptian), the undisputed god-kings of planet earth. Nevertheless, God instructed Moses to go "unto Pharaoh . . . [and] bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt" (Exod. 3:10). One of the main reasons for the Exodus narrative was, I believe, the historical opportunity for the Hebrew God to reveal Himself as more powerful than the Egyptian gods. In other words, the great "I AM" not only wanted to deliver His people from the Egyptian bondage, but He wanted to "execute judgment" against "all the gods of Egypt" (Exod. 12:12). Numbers 33:4 says, "For the Egyptians buried all their firstborn, which the Lord had smitten among them: upon their gods also the Lord executed judgments."

Thus Yahweh manifested his superiority over Osiris, Isis, Pharaoh, and the various other gods assigned to protect the famous Egyptians. Dr. Jones says, "It would be a mistake to overlook the fact that, taken individually, each plague of the Exodus stands alone as a specific judgment of a particular Egyptian god; while, viewed collectively,

the plagues of the Exodus illustrate God's supremacy over, and his attitude toward, the corporate sphere of the gods of mythology."

The Plagues of Exodus

Let's consider a brief overview of the plagues of the Exodus, and their respective condemnations of the Egyptian gods.

1. The Nile Plague

> And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt. . . . that they may become blood . . . and Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded; and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood. (Exod. 7:19-20)

Why would Yahweh turn the Nile into blood? Because the Nile was worshiped as the single most important element needed for the ongoing success of the culture, economy, and paganism of the Egyptian people. The annual flooding of the Nile brought new life and sustenance to over 1,000 miles of Egyptian-dominated settlements, and the watery event was perceived by the Egyptians as the best evidence that the gods of the Nile were pleased. When the Hebrew God challenged the welfare and divinity of the Nile River, He was striking a blow at the core of the Egyptian's faith and pantheon.

First, the waters of the Nile were considered sacred. Blood, on the other hand, was considered an abhorrence to the Egyptian people. The Nile

River was supposedly protected from the contamination of human blood and other such impurities by the fearsome ram-headed god, Khnum, who consorted with Sati, the goddess of Elephantine, as the dispenser and protector of the cool waters. Secondly, the Nile was "possessed" by the spirit of Hapi, the son of Horus, who was often depicted as a corpulent man with the breasts of a female (representing the abundance and succoring of the Nile) and was honored as the god who, through using the silt and waters of the Nile, provided the abundant fertility of the land of Egypt. At other times, Hapi was depicted as a mummified man with the head of a baboon, a portrayal in which he was considered the guardian of the lungs of the deceased and the Nile-servant of Osiris. Keeping Osiris happy was important to the welfare of the Nile, because the origin of the Nile was not known in ancient times (the central African location was not discovered until 1862) and the Nile's origin was considered by the Egyptians to be the spiritual bloodstream, or divine "life flow," of the netherworld, Osiris. Turning the Nile into blood was thus, in part, a mockery of the Osiris blood-myth by the Hebrew God, Yahweh. Thirdly, the fish of the Nile were considered sacred and were supposedly protected by two powerful goddesses—Hathor, the goddess of the sky and the queen of heaven (who protected the *chromis* or "small fish"), and Neith, the very ancient goddess of war who protected the *lates* (large fish), which were also considered to be her children. Neith was a powerful Egyptian deity, the sister of Isis, and the protectress of Duamutef, the god who watched over the inner stomach of the dead. More impor-

tantly, she was the mother of the Nile-god Sobek, an evil god with the head of a crocodile, to whom pharaoh may have "offered" the Hebrew male children when he commanded the midwives to throw them into the Nile. (Exod. 1:22)

Another Nile crocodile god, Apepi, was the arch rival of the sun god Ra, and may have been one of the "serpents" who appeared before Pharaoh and Moses in Exodus 7:10-12. We read, "And . . . Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh . . . and it became a serpent (tanniym, dragon or crocodile) . . . the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments . . . and they became serpents [*crocodiles,* Sobek and Apepi?]: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." Since the word *tanniym* is not translated "serpent" anywhere else in Scripture, Dr. Jones believes, as do many other Bible scholars, that *tanniym* should be interpreted as dragons or "crocodiles" in the Book of Exodus, as it was thus translated throughout the Books of Isaiah and Ezekiel. Either way, by turning the Nile River into blood, no less than nine separate deities were judged by the Hebrew God and found to be inferior and under His authority; the Nile River, Khnum, Sati, Hapi, Osiris, Hathor, Neith, Sobek, and Apepi. Through the first plague Yahweh confirmed that He alone is the supplier of every human need, and the true Judge of the after life and only Sovereign of destiny.

2. The Frog Plague

> And the Lord spake unto Moses, Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go. . . . And if thou

> refuse to let them go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs: And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly. . . . And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt. (Exod. 8:1-3; 6)

When I was a young Christian I had an interesting experience during a time of intercessory prayer. I was fasting and praying for the salvation of a member of my wife's family when suddenly the image of a frog appeared in my mind's eye. The vision startled me, because it was unexpected and powerful. No matter how I tried, I could not shake the uncanny feeling that a "frog" was resisting my prayer. It had the appearance of a typical river frog, but it stared at me as if to warn me that I had wandered into its territory and that it was fully intending to defend its position within the life of the person for whom I was praying. After a while, it became obvious that whatever or whomever the frog creature was, it was not going away, so I rebuked it "in the name of Jesus," and it immediately vanished! Some time later, I was amazed to discover that certain demons can appear as images of frogs. In the Book of Revelation, we read: "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet" (Rev. 16:13). My experience had been genuine, and, over time, helped me to understand that the Hebrew depiction of frogs as unclean animals was perhaps based on an ancient and spiritual revelation from Yahweh.

To the ancient Egyptians, however, frogs were sacred animals, and, ultimately, the infants of the frog-goddess Heka. Heka played an important role in the development of infants, including humans, beginning at the embryonic stage and continuing up until childbirth. She was, thus, an important patroness of midwives and a powerful goddess of fertility. As the wife of Khnum, she assisted in the original creation of mankind and was closely associated with Hapi, who held the divine frog in his hands as the waters of nourishment flowed from her mouth.

When the *krur* (frogs) increased along the banks of the river during the annual receding of the Nile, it was perceived by the Egyptians as a good Heka omen. It's easy to see how the Plague of the Frogs was a substantial embarrassment to the Egyptians, to have the frog-goddess babies so multiplied that one could not walk upon the ground or move within the house without squashing the divine creatures beneath their feet. Pharaoh could not order the Hebrew slaves to destroy and haul the frogs away, as it was a capital offence to kill a frog in Egypt! How powerful the Hebrew Creator-God must have appeared, compared to the stupidity and stench of the creator-frog goddess, as her infants lay rotting in massive filthy heaps, covering nearly every square inch of Pharaoh's Egyptian empire. Through the plague of the frogs, the mystical power (in the chapter on Greece we shall discuss how Heka was associated with Hekate, the Greek goddess of mysticism and witchcraft) of Heka was reduced to nothing more than a greasy pavement crushed to death beneath the feet of the sorrowful Egyptians.

3. Plague of Lice

> And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt. And they did so; for Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt. (Exod. 8:16-17)

Four distinct facts stand out in the plague of the lice: First, the priests of Egypt were immaculate regarding their purifications. Discovering a single louse would have rendered an Egyptian priest unclean, and, as such, incapable of ministering in the temple. The shutdown of the priestly ministry would have been no small matter, as the priesthood numbered in the thousands of men who maintained a strict regimen of daily ministering, bathing, shaving, and sacred purification. Such priests exercised great influence over the common Egyptians, and were considered the uppermost servants of the gods, the "consecrated ones" who carried out the required daily ceremonies of the hundreds of Egyptian temples deemed necessary for the ongoing functionality of the local community. The religious duties of the priests included two main categories: 1) carrying about the little shrines or oracles (small replica temples containing statues of the gods) which were made available to the common people (those who could not enter beyond the veil); and, 2) performing the mystery rituals in the inner sanctums or "holy of holies" of the temples. The difference between

the two priestly categories was that the portable gods were publicly available to nod their heads and speak (it's been suggested that the priests spoke for the idols while moving their mouths with a string) while the mystery functions of the priesthood were highly secretive and included the important creation rituals conducted in the inner sanctums of the main temples, like those of Amun-Ra at Karnak, where a priestess known as the "hand of god" performed ritual masturbations on the priests as a form of imitative magic (referring to the Atum masturbation/creation myth). This practice was considered necessary for the ongoing balance of nature, the annual flooding of the Nile, and regulating the seasons.

Moses was a man "learned in [such] wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts 7:22). As such, he was aware of, and may have been trained in, the mysteries of the Egyptian priesthood. It's even possible that Moses served as an Egyptian priest. The name Moses means to be "drawn out of" or "born of" and was usually associated with a priestly Egyptian deity, i.e., Thothmoses (born of Thoth), Amenmosis (born of Amen), or Rameses (born of Ra). The slight variations of the spelling of Moses (mosis, meses, etc.) did not change the priestly Egyptian meaning. This has caused some scholars to conclude that the Hebrew Moses may have been named after a Nile deity by the Pharaoh's daughter (Exodus 2:10), and that he served as an Egyptian priest who later dropped his Nile deity-name reference upon encountering the omnipotent Yahweh, the God of his fathers. Whether or not that's true, Moses was raised in the Pharaoh's court, thus he had a special understanding of the far-

reaching ramifications of the plague of the lice. Moses understood that when every micro-particle of dust began to crawl upon the Egyptians, the priesthood was ceremonially unclean, and thus immobilized. The masturbation mysteries of Karnak could not be performed. The portable gods could not walk and talk. The seasons could not bring forth their blessings. While this kind of reasoning may seem simplistic, such imitative magic, as performed by the Egyptian priesthood, was central to the Egyptian way of life and was considered of the highest importance.

The second point of interest concerning the plague of the lice involves the fact that Pharaoh was supposedly the incarnation of Horus and the son of the Sun god Ra. He was, thus, god incarnate. The dust of Egypt was, therefore, holy ground. To say the least, it was a serious slap in Pharaoh's face for the Hebrew God to transform the sacred dust of Ra into lice.

The third notable point concerning the plague of the lice is that the magicians (priests) of Egypt could not duplicate the miracle, as they had duplicated the first two plagues. The Hebrew God was perhaps illustrating that He alone has the ability to create life out of the dust of the earth. Even the magicians testified, "This is the finger of God" (Exodus 8:19).

Fourth, Geb (earth) was the god who protected the soil, while Seth was, among other things, the angry god of the desert sand. In the Osiris myth, it was Seth who raged against the other gods in his bid to become the greatest among the Egyptian pantheon. In the plague of the lice, Yahweh was perhaps mocking the Egyptian religion by causing

the dust god, Seth, to literally struggle against Geb, Ra, and Osiris, while leaving the Egyptians to suffer as collateral casualties.

4. Plague of Flies

> And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh . . . and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord. . . . if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses. . . . and the Lord did so; and there came a grievous swarm of flies . . . and. . . . the land was corrupted [destroyed] by reason of the swarm of flies. (Exodus 8:20-24).

The beetle was known in Egypt as a fly. The scarab beetle was the sacred emblem of the sun god Ra and was the symbol of eternal life. But the flies of the forth plague were most likely a blood-sucking breed that spread blindness and disease among the populace that lived along the Nile. Whereas such flies were generally disliked by the Egyptians, they were, nevertheless, revered as the servants (demons?) of Vatchit, the Egyptian "lord of the flies." In this context, it's possible that the Hebrew God was administering a threefold judgement: first, of the Egyptians for their veneration of the fly-deities; second, of the sun god Ra, the Egyptian almighty creator; and third, of Vatchit himself, the Egyptian equivalent of Baalzebub (Beelzebub), the ancient god who, according to various eastern religions, was the evil god and "lord of the flies."

The name Baalzebub originally derived from two different words: *Baal* (lord, master), and *zebub*

(of flies). While the original meaning is unclear, and may have referred to a certain priestly interpretation of the flight path of flies as an oracular communication between a Baal and his followers, some have pointed out that flies are present at decaying bodies, and thus Baal-zebub may have been a kind of Baal-Osiris; a lord-demon of the human corpse.

According to the *Grimorium Verum* and the *Grand Grimoire* (18th century textbooks on magic), Baalzebub manifested himself in the image of a huge fly whenever he was summoned by the sorcerer.[2] Whether Baalzebub, like Vatchit, commanded the flies to do his bidding, or delivered from their nuisance, is unclear. Additionally, since the title "Baal" referred to any lord, deity, or human master, there were many gods of antiquity known as a Baal; i.e. Baal-berith (lord of the covenant), Baal-Gad (lord of the fortune), Baal-hazor (lord of the village), and so on. That some Baals were worshiped by the Egyptians is known from the titles of certain Egyptian provinces; i.e. Baal-ze-phon ("Baal-of-the-North" or "Hidden Place") of Exodus 14:2. In times of great distress, it was usually a Baal that was called upon for help, and people who sought material prosperity believed their lives could be improved by offering their firstborn child as a sacrifice to the deity. The Greek author Kleitarchos recorded the dastardly process of sacrificing infants to Baal three hundred years before Christ:

> Out of reverence for Kronos [Baal], the Phoeniciens, and especially the Carthaginians, whenever they sought to obtain some great favor, vowed one of their

> children, burning it as a sacrifice to the deity, if they were especially eager to gain success. There stands in their midst a bronze statue of Kronos, its hands extended over a bronze brazier, the flames of which engulf the child. When the flames fall on the body, the limbs contract and the open mouth seems almost to be laughing [such areas of child sacrifice were often called "the place of laughing"], until the contracted body slips quietly into the brazier.

The sacrifice of babies to Baal was widespread in antiquity and was practiced by the children of Israel under the reign of King Ahab and Queen Jezebel. A recent archeological find illustrated how far-reaching such offerings were. It unearthed the remains of over 20,000 infants who had been sacrificed to a single Baal. Ahaziah, King of Israel, may have authorized such a child sacrifice when he sent messengers to the Philistine city of Ekron to inquire of the fly-god whether he (the king) would recover from his illness. Yahweh intervened and instructed Elijah to prophesy to the King:

> Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch as thou hast sent messengers to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron, is it not because there is no God in Israel to inquire of his word? Therefore thou shalt not come down off that bed on which thou art gone up, but shall surely die. (2 Kings 1:16)

The Hebrews acknowledged Baalzebub as Satan's highest power and often referred to him as Beelzeboul, "lord of the height," a classification in which he was depicted as the dark atmospheric god who controlled the cosmos, or circumambient

"air." Baalzebub eventually developed into a demon-god of such evil reputation that he became known as "the prince of devils" (Matt. 12:24). Milton referred to Baalzebub in *Paradise Lost* as Satan's chief lieutenant, and, in the litanies of the witches' Sabbath, Baalzebub is ranked, together with Lucifer and Leviathan, as an equal member of the supreme trinity of evil. The mocking of Vatchit, as the Egyptian equivalent of Baalzebub, and, thus, as the ultimate manifestation of evil, may have been what the Hebrew God had in mind during the plague of the flies.

5. The Deadly Murrain

> Then the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. For if thou refuse to let them go. . . . Behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field. . . . there shall be a very grievous murrain. (Exodus 9:1-3)

The first chapter showed how, down through the ages, Satan distorted the various aspects of the Original Revelation of God. The sacred Apis bull of Egypt was a perfect example of such plagiarism in that the Apis bull was a demonization of the life of Jesus, especially of the protoevangelium, the biblical promise of an immaculately born Son of God, who would also be God in flesh. (See Gen. 3:15; Isa. 7:14) Cattle, and especially the Apis bull, were sacred to the Egyptians. But the Apis bull (also known as Serapis or Osorapis) was special in that it was supposedly born of a miraculous conception when, every twenty-five years, divine moonlight (or lightning) struck a cow and it con-

ceived. The Apis bull was thus considered to be the incarnation of god on earth. During its life span, the Apis was worshipped as both the son, and incarnation, of Ptah, the Universal Architect god. As Ptah incarnate, the Apis embodied the Egyptian logos god who created, according to a later version of the Egyptian creation myth (the Memphite cosmology), all of creation by the authority of his spoken word. In death the Apis supposedly experienced a "resurrection" with Osiris, and thus the Apis bull, identified with Osiris, was a remarkable parallel of the Christian Messiah.

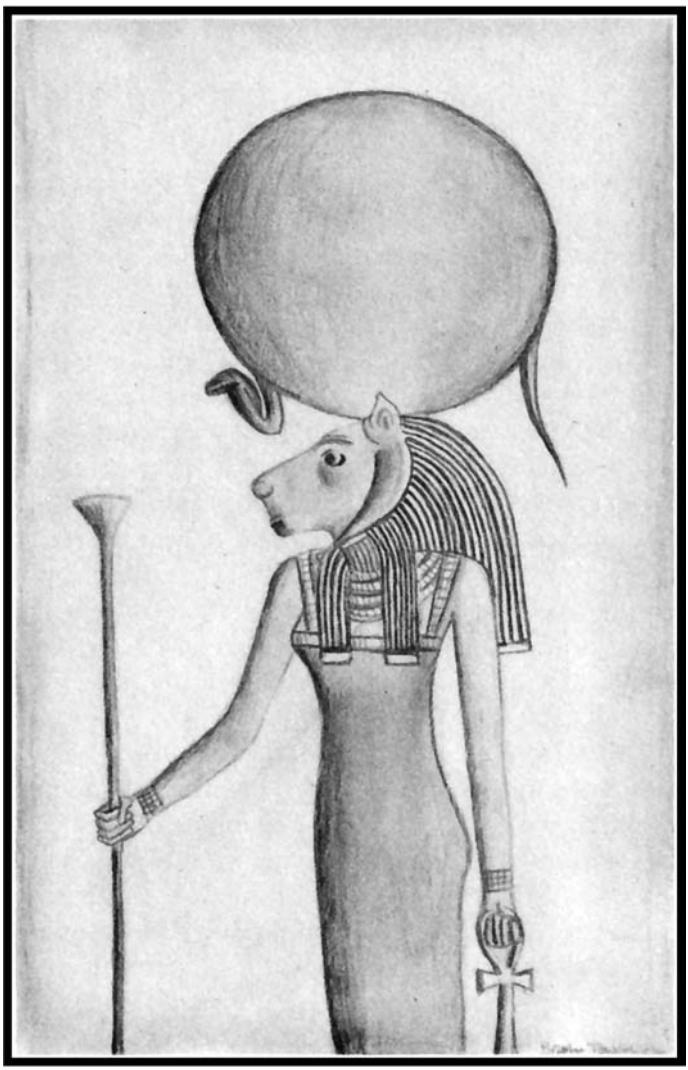
For practical reasons, the Apis bull was, for the most part, kept in seclusion. The Egyptian priests cared for the sacred animal and worked with a team of doctors and nutritionists in maintaining the bull's health. At the end of the twenty-five year cycle, a new bull was chosen with the pomp and ceremony of royalty. A celebration followed the selection and, for a period of forty days thereafter, the Egyptian women raised their dresses and exposed themselves to the bull. Such exposure was thought to capture the fertility energies of the Apis, and to excite the life-giving waters of Osiris. It was also believed that a special generational blessing came upon the exposed women's offspring. At the end of the forty days of "exposure," the new bull was removed to the Apis temple in Memphis where it was kept in a special sanctuary. It was thereafter publicly displayed during special occasions only. We find the Apis sanctuary mentioned in, *The Geography of Strabo* (63 B.C., A.D. 26):

> Memphis itself, the royal residence of the Aegyptians [Egyptians], is also near

> Babylon; for the distance to it from the Delta is only three schoeni. It contains temples, one of which is that of Apis, who is the same as Osiris; it is here that the bull Apis is kept in a kind of sanctuary, being regarded, as I have said, as god.[3]

Once the new Apis was inaugurated, the old bull was drowned, mummified, mourned, and placed into a huge sarcophagus. The burial rites of the passing bull were so revered and costly that they were paralleled in Egypt only by those of the Pharaoh. The comprehensive nature of such Apis burial rituals was illustrated in 1851, when 60 Apis sarcophagi of red and black granite weighing more than 60 tons each were discovered in Saqquara, just west of Memphis, where the Apis temple stood. I once took notes on, and photographed, the mummified head of one such bull. It was obvious from the detail and craftmanship, that great reverence was given to the animal during the mummification process. Especially impressive were the elaborate glass eyes that had been placed into the eye sockets, and the golden sun-disk of Ra that rested between the horns. Such golden discs were similar to the moon-discs worn by other members of the divine bovine family, including those donned by Hathor, the cow-goddess-mother of the sun god, Ra. While other religions have practiced similar veneration of cattle, most notably Hinduism in India where the humped Zebu cow continues to be worshipped as the respresentative of Aditi, the "sinless cow," nowhere was the deification of such animals more noteworthy than in Egypt.

The ancient Egyptians considered all cattle to be sacred sources of generative power, and the



Sekhmet, by Brooke Townsend

cults of Apis and of Hathor thus set the standards of eastern myth and ritual. This fact has caused the plague of the deadly murrain to be considered an especially effective grievance, as, in a single move, it repudiated the six most important aspects of the Apis cult: 1) it devastated the protected livestock of the Egyptians including the vast herds of Pharaoh; 2) it illustrated God's unlimited power when, miraculously, none of the Hebrew cattle died; 3) it humiliated the Universal Architect god, Ptah, and exposed him as a helpless demon; 4) it destroyed the dominion of the sacred Apis and Mnevis bulls of Heliopolis; 5) it judged the goddess Hathor, and the god Osiris, and found them to be inferior; and 6) it nullified the generational blessings of Apis-Osiris (Serapis). Amazingly, after all of this evidence, the foolish heart of Pharaoh was hardened against the Hebrew God.

6) The Plague of Boils

> And the Lord said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. (Exod. 9:8-9)

During the third Egyptian Dynasty, at least 1,000 years before the Exodus, a man named Imhotep served as the vizier of the Pharaoh Zoser. Imhotep was an engineering genius and built the first-known massive stone structures, including the great Step-Pyramid (still standing) at Saqquara.

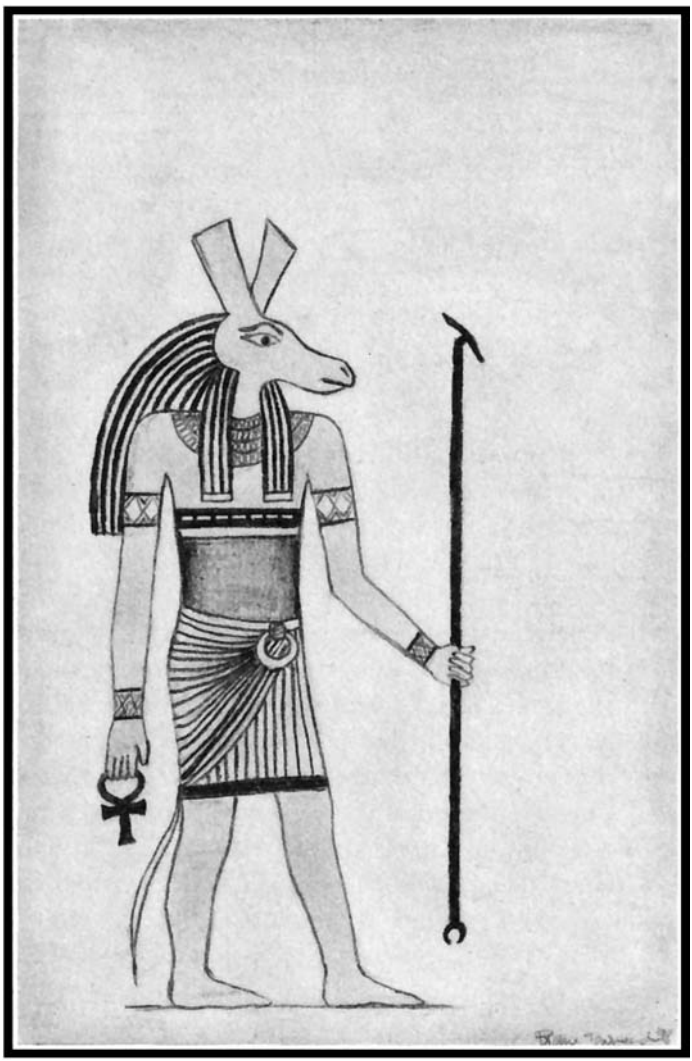
From history, we learn that Imhotep's well-founded distinction as a builder was surpassed only by his talent as a skilled magician and healer. When the Egyptians suffered under a seven-year famine that occurred during the reign of Zoser, the king appealed to Imhotep, who in turn consulted the sacred books.

After several days, Imhotep emerged from isolation and announced to the king "the hidden wonders, the way to which had been shown to no king for unimaginable ages." Zoser, impressed with Imhotep's discernment, obeyed the divinations. Simultaneously, Egypt withdrew from the famine and Imhotep was decreed the chief Kheri-heb priest ("son of Ptah") of Egypt. But the popularity of Imhotep's life eventually gave way to the fame that followed his death, as, later he was elevated, deified, and transformed into a healing god. By the time of the reign of the Pharaoh Menkaure (B.C. 2600), temples throughout Egypt were dedicated to the god Imhotep. Such temples contained incubation or "sleeping" chambers used in the convalescence of the sick and the mentally diseased, and the same became acknowledged as the most potent healing alchemies of Egypt. The incubation-temple of Imhotep at Memphis, for instance, proved to be so popular that the Greeks identified Imhotep with Asclepius, the Greek god of healing, and affirmed his divine membership within the powerful Egyptian "trinity" composed of Imhotep, Ptah, and Sekhmet the lion-headed goddess.

It's said that Imhotep convinced the Egyptians that premature forms of sickness and disease could be ultimately avoided if the proper aspects of

healing-magic were carefully employed. The magicians of Imhotep used the magic crystals and incantations of Isis to call upon Sekhmet, the goddess-sovereign of epidemics and diseases, to work with the positive energies of Serapis in the administration of the healing needs of the Egyptians. Such rituals were often accompanied by burnt offerings (sometimes human), and the ashes of the same were sprinkled into the air as a health-blessing for the Egyptians. At other times, the diagnosis called for an extended stay in the temple of Serapis where the sick or injured person was placed under the mystical spell of the katoche. Such katoche supposedly provided the internal coercion of the god and ultimately led to the proper diagnosis, and divine assimilation, of the transmissible and healing energies of the god. The katoche, affiliated with Imhotep's sleep-wizardry, was linked to the mystical crystals of Isis. These, in turn, were joined with Sekhmet's administration of the overall life-giving energies of Ptah and Osiris. Combined, they provided the Egyptian magicians with the powerful and esoteric tools necessary for the overall health (?) of the people. Such magic was, indeed, powerful, and the fame of such men and magic (Jannes and Jambres) continued up until the time of the New Testament (2 Tim. 3:8).

When the Hebrew God attacked the divine health of the Egyptians by placing a filthy, eruptive disease of boils upon the population, He accomplished what no other surrounding power had attempted to do: 1) He sent the respected Egyptian magicians fleeing, powerless, before Moses—unclean and unable to perform their priestly duties; 2) He illustrated the inferiority of



Seth, by Brooke Townsend

the Egyptian high gods, Ptah and Osiris, and denounced them as helpless demons; 3) He judged the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet and demonstrated her impotence at regulating diseases; 4) He altered the ritual of "casting ashes" and made the ashes a curse instead of a blessing; and 5) He mocked the temples of Imhotep and Serapis, and, thereby, notified the surrounding nations that neither crystals, nor psychic dreams, nor positive energies, nor coercions of men and their gods, can defy the incontestable will of Yahweh.

7) The Plague of Hail

> And the Lord said unto Moses. . . . Behold, tomorrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now. . . . So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous. . . . And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. (Exodus 9:13; 18; 23-25)

The goddess Nut was the Egyptian protectress of the sky and weather, and was depicted in Egyptian art as a woman arched over the earth, with the stars above her back and the earth (her brother Geb) beneath her belly. She was the consort of Osiris, the "blesser" of crops and fertility, and was cherished as the caring mother "sky-goddess" by the agricultural people of the Fertile Crescent. According to myth, Nut elevated herself each morning upon her fingers and toes and thereby

provided an expanse between herself and Geb/earth. The spherical covering generated by Nut's towering action allowed the sun god Amun-Ra to coat the earth with light, and the warmth of the new day was received as a blessing of the goddess. At night, when Nut lay down, the expanse closed anew, and darkness covered the earth. To the Egyptians, this was the natural order of things. But when violent storms erupted and the daytime skies were darkened, the same was perceived as a disturbance in the original cosmic scheme.

Nut was displeased with such nonconforming weather, and, at times, the skies grew red with the blood of her wounds (other myths define the red skies as Nut's menstrual period) as she struggled against the storm to restore the cosmic rhythm. For the sake of her people, the Egyptians, Nut bravely fought to maintain the essential universal cycle. Both men and gods depended on the cycle of Nut. Amun-Ra needed her expanse to visit the earth each day. Seth needed the same to dry the desert sand. Osiris needed Nut's meteorological blessings to sustain the agriculture; and Pharaoh desired the sanctions of Nut for two essential reasons: first, she controlled the atmospheric conditions surrounding the Pharaoh's Egyptian empire, and second, she conquered the fierce storms that could herald the death of a king. For these and other reasons, Nut was particularly important to Egyptian devotions.

When the Hebrew God sent a storm of hail and fire "such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation" (Exodus 9:24), He was repudiating the combined efforts of Nut, Geb, Amun-Ra, Osiris, and Pharaoh, to con-

trol the atmospheric conditions that befell the land of Egypt. A similar storm of fire mingled with hail is predicted to hit the earth again during the Great Tribulation. We read, "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth" (Rev. 8:7). Just as Pharaoh rejected Yahweh, embraced pagan idols, and hardened his foolish heart, modern men seem destined to repeat the same mistakes. We find "the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood" (Rev. 9:20). Such verses indicate a latter-day revival of idolatry, and provide the impetus for the last two chapters of this book, in which we discuss the prophetic and extensive aspects of modern paganism.

8) The Plague of Locusts

> Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews. . . . if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, tomorrow will I bring the locusts into thy coast: And they shall cover the face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field. (Exodus 10:3-5)

The locust plague was an awesome spectacle and was one of the most feared pestilences of the ancient world. Such invasions darken the sky and destroy every green thing. An average locust can consume its weight in food daily, and can quickly

amass an army of insects numbering in the hundreds of millions per square mile. In 1927, a few African locusts were spotted near a river in Timbuktu. Within three years, the whole of west Africa was besieged by the creatures. Eventually, locusts covered an area more than 2,000 miles wide—extending from Ethiopia and the Belgian Congo to the luxuriant farm lands of Angola. Finally, 14 years after the plague began, 5,000,000 square miles of Africa (an area twice the size of the United States!) had been destroyed by the locusts.

In ancient times, the idea of such a calamity brought instant terror to the hearts of the vegetation-dependent Egyptians. To avoid defoliation created by Edipoda locusts and other living things, the Egyptians prayed to Sobek—the crocodile-headed god of animals and insects. As the son of Neith, Sobek was the underworld demon of the four elements (fire, earth, water, and air). At his cult center in Arsinoe (Crocodilopolis), where devotees cared for his sacred crocodiles, Sobek was ritually associated with Ra (fire), Geb (earth), Osiris (water), and Shu (air). It was believed that Sobek controlled such elements to the extent that he restrained the activity of certain creatures within specific habitats. Thus, Sobek limited the activity of a crocodile within water, a locust within air, etc. His mastery of such elements was demonstrated in the Isis/Osiris myth, when Isis searched the Nile for the severed body-parts of her husband/brother Osiris. Sobek, out of respect for the goddess, limited the appetite of the river animals, and thus spared the floating pieces of Osiris.

As an Egyptian demon, Sobek was associated with the goddess Ammit—the crocodile-headed

Sobek, by Brooke Townsend

"eater of souls" that dwelt beneath the Scales of Justice in the judgment hall of Osiris. At other times, Sobek and Ammit were depicted as one and the same. In his book, *Egypt, Gift of the Nile,* Walter A. Fairservis, Jr. paraphrased a section of the *Book of the Dead.* In the following paragraph he describes Sobek in the role of Ammit:

> According to the book Meri would at last reach the place of the greatest test of all—the Great Judgment Hall. Here in the presence of Osiris, King of the Dead, Anubis the embalmer, Thoth the ibis-headed scribe, and the forty-two gods of judgment, the heart of Meri would be placed on the scales to be weighed with the "Feather of Truth." If Meri had been a bad man in life, no words or deeds could save him now. His heart would not balance the Feather of Truth, and Meri would be thrown to Sebek (Sobek), the crocodile-headed eater of souls.[4]

In another Sobek-related chapter of the *Book of the Dead,* "Making The Transformation Into The Crocodile-God," we read:

> The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the crocodile god [Sobek] who dwelleth amid his terrors. I am the Crocodile-god and I seize [my prey] like a ravening beast. I am the great Fish which is in Kamui. I am the lord to whom bowings and prostrations are made in Sekhem.

Such prostrations were made to Sobek along the Nile river and at his centers at Kom Ombo and Thebes. Sobek's oblations often included human sacrifices, and this may have been the

Pharaoh's intention when he commanded the midwives to throw the Hebrew children into the Nile. The offerings anticipated Sobek's favor in delivering from bothersome insects, and, if a person wanted to eradicate an annoyance, such as locusts, he or she simply made supplications to Sobek while chanting, "To Sobek with it (the locust)!" The modern-day slang, "to Hell with it!" is a derivative of such a ritual.

It was undoubtedly against the demon-god Sobek, and his pestilence-protection rituals, that the Hebrew God initiated the relentless plague of the locusts. In so doing, Yahweh revealed that Sobek was unable to control the elements, or limit the activity of God's insect army. Sobek's companion, the high god Ra (of fire), could not scorch the creatures. Ra's son Shu, the Egyptian god of sun and wind (air), could not blow the consuming insects away.

It was not until the Hebrew God commanded "a mighty strong west wind, which took the locusts, and cast them into the Red sea" (Exod. 10:19), that the grievous plague was ended. Even so, the heart of Pharaoh was hardened against the God of Israel.

9) The Plague of Darkness

> And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt. And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven; and there was thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days: They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings. (Exodus 10:21-23)

My research companion, Dr. Jones (I call him "Indy" after Indiana Jones), spoke recently of his trek through Hezekiah's Tunnel in Jerusalem. He described the interior of the cave as dominated by a darkness "that could be felt, compounded by feelings of claustrophobia, obscurity, and utter dejection." One can imagine the terrors that the Egyptians must have experienced when the Hebrew God devised a darkness that spread throughout "all the land of Egypt" and lasted for three days! Such an occurrence must have caused an unparalleled despondency, and most certainly would have devastated the Egyptian's religious idea that Amun-Ra ("The Hidden One") was the incarnation of the midday sun, and the most powerful god in the Cosmos.

The Egyptians referred to Amun-Ra as "the king of the gods." They believed that no deity was superior to him, and that the whole of the pantheon would perish without his symmetry. The sun itself was considered "the Eye of Amun-Ra," and the light and warmth of the midday sun was perceived as the bath of his blessing. Amun-Ra was also called Khepri (the rising sun), and Atum (the setting sun), so that each position of the sun, rising, midday, and setting, was perceived as a posture of Amun-Ra. According to myth, Amun-Ra, like the Sumerian god "Utu" (Shamash), traversed the sky each day. At night, he journeyed through the underworld where the evil god Apepi attempted to prevent him from rising again. With the assistance of the magical masturbation rituals conducted by the Egyptian priests, Amun-Ra was empowered each night to conquer Apepi and become the Ra-Harachte, the bright and morning

sun. His cult center at Thebes was the primary location of such rituals, and the same site boasted the largest religious structure ever built, the temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak. Interestingly, the great Temple of Amun-Ra (with its 100 miles of walls and gardens) was the primary object of fascination and worship by the nemesis of Moses, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Ramses II. It was believed that each pharaoh, including Ramses II (who completed Amun-Ra's temple), reconciled his divinity in the company of Amun-Ra during the festival of Opet. The festival was held at the Temple of Luxor and included a procession of gods carried on barges up the Nile river from Karnak to the Temple. The royal family accompanied the gods on boats while the Egyptian laity walked along the shore, calling aloud and making requests of the gods. Once at Luxor, the Pharaoh and his entourage entered the holy of holies where the king joined his *Ka* (the mysterious ritual is unknown) and transmogrified into a living deity. Outside, large groups of dancers and musicians waited anxiously. When the king emerged "transformed" (supposedly), the crowd erupted in gaiety. From that day forward Egypt was "guarded" by their king and the Pharaoh was considered the son of the sun god—the earthly representative of the creator deity, Amun-Ra.

Subsequently, it was believed that the midday sun arose above Egypt because the Pharaoh had been honored and inaugurated in the Temple of Amun-Ra. If the sun was ever darkened or eclipsed, it was an evil omen for the king. Egypt's priests carefully interpreted such "signs," and even offered life-saving maneuvers to the Pharaoh. But, when

three days of utter darkness paralyzed the Egyptians (Exodus 10:21-23), the number three being understood by the Hebrews and the Egyptians as representing divine providence, the king's magicians were uncharacteristically silent. Like the three hours of darkness that accompanied the death of Christ (Luke 23:44), the sovereignty of the Highest was believed to be at work. It would do no good to call upon the goddess Nut. She had been proven to be powerless before Yahweh. If the God of the Hebrews was at work, Nut could do nothing to elevate herself nor could she force the light of Amun-Ra to come forth. The sky-cow-goddess Hathor had been equally humiliated by Israel's Lord during the deadly murrain, and the evil god Sobek had been found impotent at controlling the element of sky. The mystical spells of Isis were useless against Yahweh. The priestly magic, paralyzed, and now, Amun-Ra, the Creator "king of the gods" and champion of the Egyptian pantheon, was confirmed helpless before the God of Hebrew slaves. "And Pharaoh called unto Moses, and said. . . . Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt die. And Moses said, Thou has spoken well, I will see thy face again no more" (Exodus 10:24; 28-29). With this final act, Pharaoh sealed the destiny of his kingdom, and, sadly, his firstborn son.

10) Death of the Firstborn

> And Moses said, Thus saith the Lord, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: And all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto

> the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts. (Exodus 11:4-5)

At least six deities were committed to the protection of Egypt's children. They included Heka, the mystical frog-goddess, who oversaw the development of animals and children beginning at the embryonic stage; Isis, the advocate-mother of the children who kept her word; Min, the god of virility who conferred reproductive vigor upon men and who was ritually called upon to produce an heir to the pharaoh; Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, who protected the Pharaoh's son; Bes, the patron protector of mothers and their children; and the Pharaoh himself—Egypt's protector-incarnation of Amun-Ra and Horus. The female deities, Heka and Isis, oversaw different aspects of the children's physical development, while Min and Horus were the powerful male deities responsible for the spiritual progress and overall health of the child.

Min's full name was Menu-ka-mut-f ("Min, Bull of his Mother"), and he was often worshiped in the image of a white bull. At other times, Min was depicted as a bearded man with an oversized phallus. Such iconography of Min served to verify his position as the eminent Egyptian god of male sexuality, while also accounting for his mythological marriage to Qetesh' the equivalent Egyptian deity of female sexuality. Egyptian boys supposedly acquired their sexual strength from Min, and subsequently made offerings of lettuce (considered an aphrodisiac by the Egyptians) to this god. The Greeks confused Min with Pan, the Dionystic god of unbridled sexual desire, and thus participated

in the orgiastic festivals held in his honor. But the most important area of Min's dominion, insofar as the Pharaoh was concerned, was the mystical relationship between the god and the royal family, including Min's association with the princely heir of Egypt, the pharaoh's son. The pharaoh was so concerned with the blessings of Min that he ceremoniously hoed the lettuce fields during the festival of this god. The idea was to humble himself in the presence of Min and thereby procure divine favor and reproductive synergy. Sexual energy, such as was abundantly produced by Min, was believed to be synonymous with health and longevity. Thus, if the pharaoh and his son were to live long and prosperous lives, they required the favor of Min, the preeminent god of sexual power. Such power of Min would have likely been sought during the death of Egypt's firstborn.

Legend has it that the god Horus was also involved in guarding the pharaoh's son, due, in part, to the mythology that the child Horus had been subjected to homosexual rape by the evil god Seth. The adult Horus was, thus, protective of children in general. Equally important, Horus was believed to incarnate himself within the living pharaoh, and to fill the heart of the pharaoh with respect for the father. The virtue of such parental respect was an important part of ancestor ritual, and referred to the story of Horus and his war with evil Seth over the murder of his father. Such myths supposedly contributed to the survival of the pharaoh and his son in two important ways: 1) Horus was the protector of the father and child, and perched above and behind the pharaoh, spreading his wings around and guarding the

pharaoh's head (another plagiarism reminiscent of the Old Testament passage "in the shadow of Thy wings"); and 2) Horus reminded the royal son of his responsibilities toward the father, especially of the offerings to be made daily at the deceased father's tomb. Such offerings were deemed necessary for maintenance in the afterlife, and amulets (the eye of Horus) placed beside the offerings protected the stomach of the dead. In this way, the living pharaoh (Horus) served the needs of the deceased father, while the predecessor pharaoh conducted himself as the Osiris in the underworld.

In the classic film by Cecil B. DeMille, *The Ten Commandments,* Yul Brynner, in the role of the pharaoh, placed his firstborn son in the arms of the falcon-headed god, Seker (who protected the dead as they passed through the underworld), and said, "Seker, great lord of the lower world, I . . . bow before you now. Show that you have power above the God of Moses. Restore the life he has taken from my son. Guide back his soul across the lake of death to the place of living men." Ramses II undoubtedly prayed in such fashion for the life of his son. Nevertheless, "at midnight the Lord smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh who sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive who was in the dungeon" (Exodus 12:29).

By initiating the death of the firstborn, Yahweh executed His final judgment "against all the gods of Egypt" (Exodus 12:12). Heka was proven powerless. Isis was defunct. Min was unable to energize the pharaoh's son. Horus was equally inept. The pharaoh was without a successor to watch

over his tomb. Amun-Ra was without earthly representation. Egypt was without an heir. and the whole of the Egyptian pantheon, with its magic, myths, and rituals, crumbled at once beneath the feet of the Hebrew God. "And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants . . . for there was not a house where there was not one dead. And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said" (Exod. 12:30-31).

Important Notes Regarding the Gods of Egypt

The following notes on the Egyptian deities are important and relate to the last two chapters of the book.

From the example of Amun-Ra we learn: 1) prehistoric Egyptians believed in the same idea that evolutionists subscribe to today—the premise that the oceans preceded and in some way contributed to life on earth; 2) Amun-Ra was a self-existing primordial earth spirit; 3) Amun-Ra was associated with moisture spirits (Shu and Tefnut); 4) sacred prostitution was practiced at the Temple of Amun-Ra as a form of imitative magic; 5) the Eye of Amun-Ra (the sun) was considered a living part of "god"; and 6) the Egyptians treated nature "properly" in order to maintain the blessings of the nature spirits.

From the example of Geb we learn: 1) Geb was the original Egyptian "Father Earth"; 2) his sister/wife Nut was the original Egyptian "Mother Sky"; 3) the earth and sky spirits are the "parents" of humanity; and 4) it is important to care for the earth and sky if we want their ongoing blessings.

From the examples of Osiris and Isis we learn: 1) Osiris was the original Egyptian lord of the dead; 2) the Egyptians believed in a netherworld judgement; 3) the Egyptians believed in the *Ka,* an invisible duplicate body throughout life and provided the person with a new body in the underworld; 4) the goddess Isis was the undisputed Queen of magic; 5) her spells were necessary for the navigation of this world and the afterlife; 6) the magic of Isis, if performed properly (at the right time of the day, with the proper crystals and words) would have the effect of altering reality, manipulating the laws of physics, and forcing the being or object to which they were directed into compliance; 7) sacred prostitution (magic sex) was practiced at the temples of Isis and Osiris as a form of imitative magic; 8) imitative magic extended into the spirit world (i.e., placing a wooden crocodile at the grave of an enemy would produce a real crocodile in the underworld); 9) the Egyptians had numerous oracles, and practiced divining through amulets and crystals; 10) the Egyptians practiced self-healing through psychic dreaming, crystals, and positive energies which were assimilated at the temples of Imhotep; and 11) the Egyptian religion may have started following an encounter with the "Watchers," a powerful group of fallen angels who visited the earth during antiquity.

From the example of the Plagues of the Exodus we learn: 1) the plagues of the Exodus illustrate God's supremacy over, and His attitude toward, idolatry and paganism; 2) similar plagues are forecast for the Great Tribulation (boils, hail, darkness, locusts, etc.), and, like the plagues of

the Exodus, they will be directed at paganism (see Rev. 9:20); 3) Egyptians, like modern pagans, worshiped natural phenomena such as rivers, trees, etc., and attributed divine characteristics to such; 4) the Egyptians treated the earth with respect and believed that, if they did so, she (the earth) would continue the cycle of seasons; 5) the magicians of Egypt were powerful and could mimic many of the miracles of God; 6) the creatures of the Nile (fish, hippos, etc.) were sacred, and, like the environmental movement today, were often placed above the needs of the community; 7) Egyptians, like modern abortionists, often protected sacred animals while sacrificing children; 8) gods (demons) could manifest themselves through animal forms; and 9) the following deities were among those directly impacted by the Plagues of the Exodus: Ammit, Amun-Ra, Apepi, Apis, Geb, Hapi, Hathor, Heka, Horus, Imhotep, Isis, Khnum, Min, Neith, Nile River, Nut, Osiris, Pharaoh, Ptah, Sati, Seker, Sekhmet, Seth, Serapis, Shu, Sobek, Tefnut, and Vatchit.

Notes

1. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996), vol. 1, 199.

2. Richard Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic* (Italy: B.P.C. Publishing Ltd., 1970), vol. 2, 237.

3. Horace Leonard Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) vol. 8, 2453.

4. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., *Egypt, Gift of the Nile* (New York: The Macmillan Company), 115.

THREE

The Gods Who Walked among the Greeks

"Mother, what the gods send us, we mortals bear perforce, although we suffer; for they are much stronger than we."

—The Homeric Hymns

The Dorians came from out of the north by the tens of thousands. They were nearly invincible Indo-European invaders riding in horse-drawn chariots of war. Between B.C. 2800 and 2000, they conquered most of the indigenous inhabitants of the Middle East, from the inland people of Asia Minor to the Macedonians and beyond, and they did it in the name of their sky god, the thunderous and fearsome Zeus. They came, they conquered, and finally they forged a new and curious fusion of pagan theologies, of the Dorians, Myceneans, and Minoans, into a new and influential society of gods known as the Olympians. Later, known as the famous (and sometimes infamous) gods of Greece, these powerful deities dwelt together above the towering Mount of Olympus in the north, where they "spent their delightful days." Under Zeus, the greatest of the Olympian gods, was Hera, Poseidon, Hades, Demeter, Apollo,

Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Athene, Hephaestus, and Hestia (later replaced by Dionysus). Simultaneously, a complex system of lesser Greek deities developed beneath the principle Olympian gods including Adonis, Selene, Hypnos, Asclepius, Eros, and, of course, Hercules.

The Major Oracle Gods— Zeus and Apollo

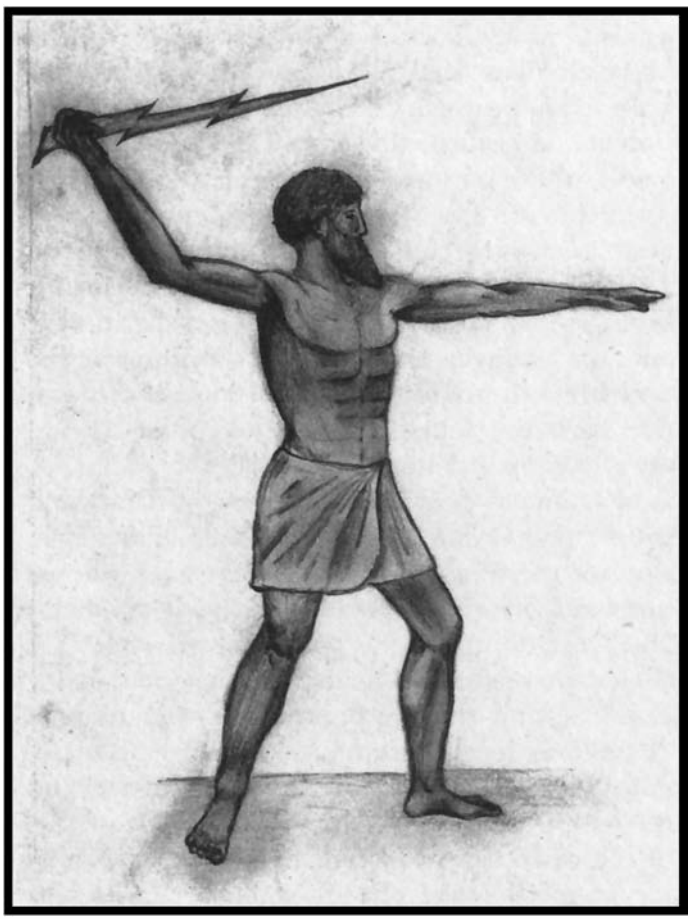
In Hesiod's *Theogony* we are told of a time when twelve pre-Olympian gods, known as the Titans, ruled the Universe. These were the children of Mother Earth (Gaia), who gave birth to the "elder" gods by cohabiting with Uranus (Heaven), who also sired the mountains, the sea, the hundred-handed monsters, and the Cyclops. The important Titans included Oceanus, Tethys, Mnemosyne, Themis, Hyperion, Lapetus, and Atlas. But when Uranus attempted to imprison the Titans within the body of his wife (the earth), Cronus, "the youngest and most terrible of her children," conspired with his mother and castrated Uranus with a sickle. The mutilation of Uranus separated Heaven from Earth and succeeded in freeing the Titans. When the powerful Cronus later cast the severed genitals of his father into the sea, a white foam enveloped them, from which Aphrodite was born; thus, the name Aphros, or "foam-born."

As the newly-crowned king of the gods, Cronus took note of the beauty of his sister Rhea, and married her. Six famous god-children were born of their union: Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus. Since Mother Earth and Father Uranus warned Cronus that his offspring

would someday try to overthrow and replace him as the king of the gods, Cronus attempted to circumvent the possibility by swallowing each child whole as it was born. But Rhea, "cunning as the night air," replaced the baby Zeus with a cloth-wrapped stone which Cronus unwittingly swallowed instead. Afterward, Rhea hid the young Zeus at Crete, where he was fed on the milk of the goat Amalthaea and where he remained until adulthood, protected by the nymphs. Years later, Zeus somehow forced Cronus to regurgitate his brothers and sisters. A fierce ten-year war ensued, and the younger and powerful Olympian gods overthrew the older Titans, casting them down into Tartarus (Hell) where they (except for Hecate) were to remain fettered forever.

Eventually, Zeus reconciled with the Titans and proclaimed Cronus the ruler of the Golden Age. But, for the time being, Zeus, fresh from the triumphant victory, summoned his brothers, Hades and Poseidon, and decreed that the universe should thereafter be divided among them. They cast lots, and the sky became the dominion of Zeus; Poseidon was chosen to rule over the sea, and the inner-earth or underworld was declared the haunt of Hades. Notwithstanding, the surface of the earth was determined to be neutral territory, a place where sky, sea, and the underworld joined together, and thus a place where any of the gods could rest, chiefly upon Mount Olympus. Hephaestus was commissioned, and immediately adorned the heavenly stronghold of Olympus with intimate dwelling-places for the victorious gods, each surrounding the beautiful palace of Zeus.

Then, according to a former vow, Zeus be-



Zeus, by Brooke Townsend

stowed additional privileges upon the Olympians. It seems that Zeus had vowed to his supporters that victory over Cronus and the Titans would result in "spheres of influence" for each of the faithful gods. Consequently, Hephaestus was made the "lord of the fire." Demeter was given the dominion of agriculture. Artemis was placed over the wild animals. Hera, the wife of Zeus, was made the overseer of the various phases of female life. Hermes became the messenger of Zeus and the protector of travellers. Apollo was placed over music, prophecy, healing, and so on. Even so, Zeus remained the preferred god of the early Greeks.

There was scarcely any part of the Greek's daily life in which Zeus was not involved. He was Zeus Herkeios (protector of the house) and Zeus Ktesios ("the Acquirer"). He was Zeus Hikesios (friend of the fugitive) and Zeus Polieus (guardian of the city). His firmly-held position as the supreme and high god within the Greek religion has been easily verified by archaeology, including the discovery of the great temple of Zeus. This masterwork stood in the southern part of the precinct of Zeus at Olympia (the Atlis), and exhibited the famous gold and ivory colossus of Zeus by Pheidias (destroyed in A.D. 462), a single masterpiece estimated to be the greatest work of art in all of antiquity, and one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world.[1]

More important in ritual than in mythology, was the oracle and altar worship that developed throughout Asia Minor in response to the popularity of Zeus. In Pergamum, perpetual sacrifices were offered to the deity upon the

towering and famous 40 foot high altar of Zeus, the same artifact which now stands inside the Berlin Museum. Some scholars believe that Antipas, the first leader and martyr of the early Christian church in Pergamum, was slain for resisting the altar worship of Zeus in Pergamum. Tradition holds that Antipas was slowly roasted to death inside the statue of a bull, the symbol and companion of Zeus, and some claim that the passage in Revelation 2:13 is a reference to the cult worship of Zeus at Pergamum. We read: "I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is. . . . wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth." Others believe this passage refers to Caesar worship, while still others (myself included) contend that the phrase in Revelation 2:13 is a reference to the cult worship of Asclepius, the Greek god of healing. But the argument could be made for a Pergamum connection between Zeus and the biblical Satan, as both were considered gods of thunder, Zeus in antiquity and Satan in modern times. Zeus was also known as the king or "prince" of the air, as was Satan. (See Eph. 2:2)

Lastly, altars have been discovered near Pergamum which were dedicated to Zeus Kataibates, which most accurately means "Zeus who descends" (in thunder and lightning), and, of course, Jesus said of Satan, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall [descend] from heaven" (Luke 10:18). In any case, the fact that Zeus was a powerful presence in ancient cult and ritual is undisputed. His principle oracle was at Dodona, the chief city of Epirus and the "land of the oak trees," where a shrine to Zeus had existed since the second

Aphrodite, by Brooke Townsend

millennium B.C. For a while, the oracle at Dodona rivaled Apollo's famous oracle at Delphi, as consultations with Zeus grew in popularity. At Dodona, Zeus provided the inquiring mortals with divine guidance by whispering through the leaves of a sacred oak tree attended to by bare-footed priests called Selloi.[2] At other times, Zeus communicated through the splashing of water in a nearby sacred spring, or through the cooing of sacred pigeons. Eventually, his answers were simplified and divination came through the casting of lots or by interpreting the echo of a gong. But it was the oak-tree oracle at Dodona that claimed to be the oldest in Greece and the "father of gods and men."

The connection between Zeus and the tree oracles probably began with certain prehistoric religious ideas from Crete and undoubtedly refers to the earliest marriage of the Dorian Zeus and the Minoan/Cretàn willow goddesses. In Hagia Triada, Zeus was called Zeus Welkhanos, which means the "god of the willow-tree."[3] He was also known by the name Welkhanos at Gortyna and at Phaistus where he was somehow ritually associated with his lover Leto. The cult worship of Zeus and Leto in Phaistus was curious in its own right, because it connected the ancient elements of earth worship (the children of Gaia conversing through various nature manifestations, i.e., the willow-tree) and transsexualism. In fact, the worship of Zeus was sometimes overshadowed in Phaistus by the cult of Leto, as the Cretan youths cast off their boyish garments during their initiation into manhood. The festival was called the *Ekdysai* ("Casting off") and was associated with the myth of Leucippus, a peculiar legend in which a baby girl

(Leucippus) was born to a woman named Galatea who preferred instead to have a son, so she persuaded Leto to let the girl change her sex into a boy when she grew up. During the Cretan initiation, the young men apparently lay down beside a statue of Leucippus in the temple of Leto where the blessings of growth and of fertility could be invoked. Comparable traces of transsexuality, lesbianism, witchcraft, and feminism, were incorporated into various other goddess myths and will be considered later in this book.

Apollo and the Pythians

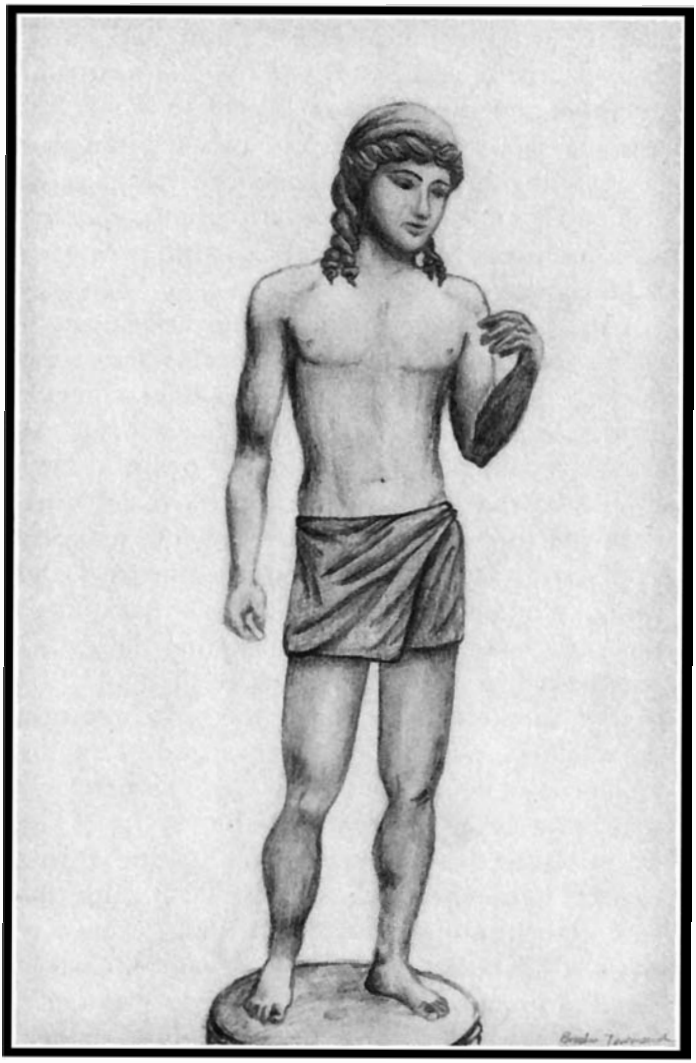
According to the Greeks, the greatest outcome of the love affair between Zeus and Leto was the birth of the most beloved of the oracle gods, Apollo. More than any other god in classical Greece, Apollo inspired the nobler passions of poetry, painting, and music. He was the god of prophecy, music, archery, and healing. But the primitive deity whose myth grew into the Olympian Apollo was probably of a much lower original stature as some histories suggest that Apollo started out as a Hittite wolf god who was venerated by shepherds and who protected the flocks against the ravages of wild animals. The Hittite people called him Apulunas or Appaliunaas. The more liberal Greek scholars agreed with the pre-Olympian origin of Apollo, and some even claimed that he had been the god of the Hyperboreans, an ancient and legendary people to the north. Herodotus claimed that the Hyperboreans continued in their worship of Apollo even after his induction into the Greek pantheon, and that they made an annual pilgrimage to the land of Delos

where they participated in the famous Greek festivals of Apollo.

Lycia, a small country in southwest Turkey, also had an early connection with Apollo, and he was known there as Lykeios, which some have adjoined to the Greek Lykos or "wolf," thus, the ancient title: "the wolf slayer." But, in the end, it was the mythology of the Greeks that secured Apollo's place in history. Apollo, with his twin sister Artemis, was said by the Greeks to have been born in the land of Delos, the children of Zeus and of the Titaness Leto. Appropriately, an important oracle existed at Delos and played a significant role in the festivals of the god.

While the Delos oracle was important, it was nevertheless the famous oracle at Delphi that became the popular mouthpiece of the Olympian. Located on the mainland of Greece, the omphalos of Delphi (the stone which the Greeks believed marked the center of the earth) can still be found among the ruins of Apollo's Delphic temple. On a singular column was carved the three maxims: "Know thyself," "Nothing in excess," and "Go surety, and ruin is at hand." So important was Apollo's oracle at Delphi that wherever Hellenism existed, its citizens and kings, including some from as far away as Spain, ordered their lives, colonies, and wars, by its sacred communications.

At Delphi, the Olympian gods spoke to mortal men through a priesthood, which interpreted the trance-induced utterances of the Pythoness or Pythia. She was a middle-aged woman who sat on a copper-and-gold tripod, or, much earlier, on the "rock of the sibyl" (medium), and crouched over a fire while inhaling the smoke of burning



Apollo, by Brooke Townsend

laurel leaves, barley, marijuana, and oil, until a sufficient intoxication for her prophecies had been produced. While the use of the laurel leaves may have referred to the nymph Daphne (Greek for Laurel), who escaped from Apollo's sexual intentions by transforming herself into a laurel tree, the leaves also served the practical purpose of supplying the necessary amounts of hydrocyanic acid and complex alkaloids which, when combined with hemp, created cerebral and powerful hallucinogenic visions.

An alternative version of the Oracle myth claims that the pythia sat over a fissure breathing in magic vapors that rose up from a deep crevice within the earth. The vapors "became magic" as they were mingled with the smells of the rotting carcass of the dragon Python, which had been slain and thrown down into the crevice by Apollo as a youth. The former version is obviously the truth, and, in either case, it was under the spell of such drugs (and spiritual forces?) that the Pythia prophesied in an unfamiliar voice thought to be that of Apollo himself. During the pythian trance, the medium's personality often changed, becoming melancholic, defiant, or animal-like. This psychosis may have been a source for the origin of the werewolf myth, or lycanthropy, as the Pythia reacted to an encounter with Apollo/Lykeios, the wolf god. In either case, the Delphic "women of python" prophesied in this way for nearly a thousand years and were considered to be a vital part of the religious order, and of the local economy, of every Hellenistic community. An interesting example of this is found in the New Testament Book of Acts:

> And it came to pass, as we went to prayer, a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination [of python, a seeress of Delphi] met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying: The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation. And this did she many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas. . . . And brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city. (Acts 16:16-20)

The story in Acts is interesting because it illustrates the level of culture and economy that had been built around the oracle worship of Apollo. It cost the average Athenian more than two days' wages for an oracular inquiry, and a lawmaker or military official seeking important State information was charged ten times that rate. That's one reason the actions of the woman in Acts are difficult to understand. She undoubtedly understood the damage that Paul's preaching could do to her industry.

Furthermore, the Pythia of Delphi had a historically unfriendly relationship with the Jews and was considered an enemy of the truth and a pawn of demonic power by both the Jews and the Christians. Quoting again from *Spiritual Warfare—The Invisible Invasion,*

> Delphi with its surrounding area, in which the famous oracle ordained and approved the worship of Asclepius, was earlier known by the name Pytho, a chief city of Phocis. In Greek mythology, Python, the namesake of the city of Pytho, was the great serpent or demon who dwelt in the mountains of Parnassus, menacing the area as the chief guardian of the famous oracle at Delphi. . . . In Acts 16:16, the demonic woman who troubled Paul was possessed with a spirit of divination. In Greek this means a spirit of python (a seeress of Delphi, a pythoness) . . . [and] reflects . . . the accepted Jewish belief . . . that the worship of Asclepius [Apollo's son] and other such idolatries were, as Paul would later articulate in 1 Corinthians 10:20, the worship of demons.[4]

It could be said that the Pythia of Acts 16 simply prophesied the inevitable. That is, the spirit that possessed her may have known that the time of Apollo's darkness was coming to an end, and the spread of Christianity would ultimately lead to the demise of the Delphic oracle. This is possible. Demons are sometimes aware of changing dispensations (compare the please of the demons in Matthew 8:29, "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?").

Perhaps the ancient spirit of Delphi understood the dispensation timing and power of the gospel Paul was preaching? The last recorded utterance of the oracle at Delphi seems to indicate the spirit of the Olympians understood time for

domination was over. From *Man, Myth & Magic,* we read:

> Apollo. . . . delivered his last oracle in the year 362 A.D., to the physician of the Emperor Julian, the Byzantine ruler who tried to restore paganism after Christianity had become the official religion of the Byzantine Empire. "Tell the King," said the oracle, "that the curiously built temple has fallen to the ground, that bright Apollo no longer has a roof over his head, or prophetic laurel, or babbling spring. Yes, even the murmuring water has dried up."[5]

As the oracle at Delphi slowly diminished, Apollo secured his final and most durable characterization through the influence of his favorite son, Asclepius. Beginning at Thessaly and spreading throughout the whole of Asia Minor, the cult of Asclepius, the Greek god of healing, became the chief competitor of early Christianity. Asclepius was even believed by many pagan converts of Christianity to be a living (evil?) presence who possessed the power of healing. Major shrines were erected to Asclepius at Epidaurus and at Pergamum, and for a long time he enjoyed a strong cult following in Rome where he was known as Aesculapius. Usually depicted in Greek and Roman art as carrying a sacred snake wound around a pole, Asclepius was often accompanied by Telesphoros, the Greek god of convalescence. He was credited with healing a variety of incurable diseases, including raising a man from the dead, a miracle that later caused Hades to complain to Zeus, who responded by killing Asclepius with a thunderbolt. When Apollo argued that his son

had done nothing worthy of death, Zeus repented and restored Asclepius to life, immortalizing him as the god of medicine.

Because the snake was sacred to Asclepius and played a vital role in the healing rituals at his shrines (hospitals), some claim the healing cult of Asclepius began with the biblical story of Moses and the brazen serpent. We read: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live [be healed]" (Num. 21:8). In 2 Kings 18:4, the children of Israel developed a cult following of the brazen serpent and worshipped the image as a healing oracle. Some scholars believe the Greeks borrowed from this history in formulating the myth of Asclepius. Either way, Asclepius represented the last popular cult of the Olympian Apollo myths and was one of the most durable challenges to Christianity by the ancient pagan's who dominated Asia Minor for more than 4,000 years. So popular had the iconography of Asclepius become that, to this day, the sacred snakes of the healing god can be found adorning the entry doors and halls of hospitals in cities around the world.

Facts about Dionysus (Bacchus)— The Mystery God

Dionysus, the Thirteenth God of the Greeks, was the divine son of Zeus and of the mortal Semele. He was often depicted as the inventor of wine, abandon, and revelry, but this description seems inadequate in that it refers only to the basic elements of intoxication and enthusiasm, which were used by the Bacchae (the female participants

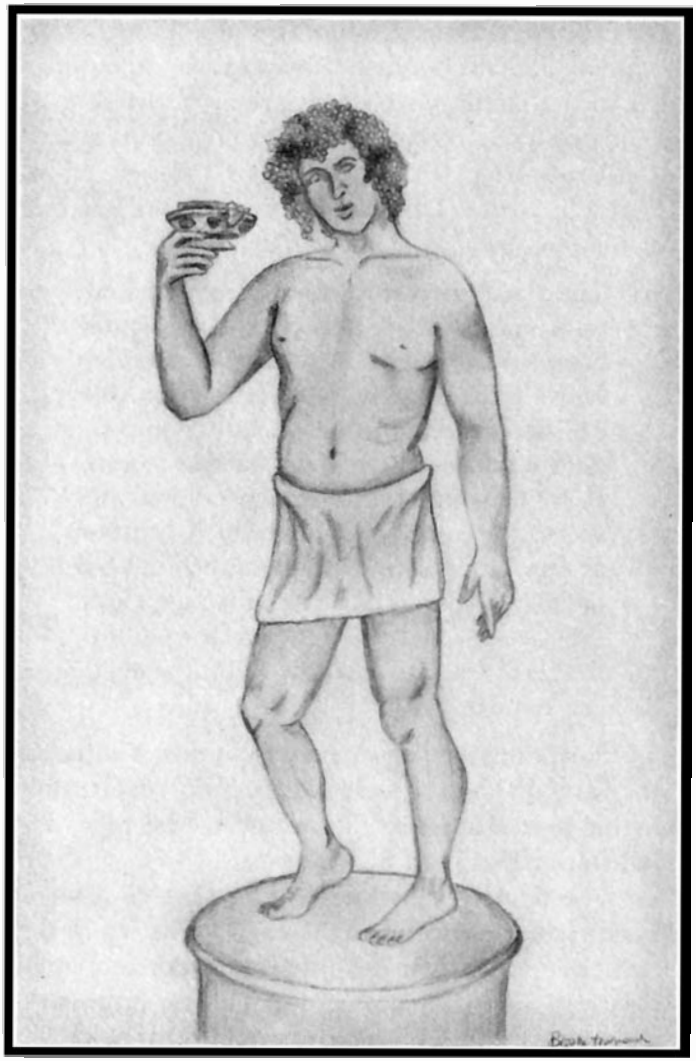
of the Dionystic mysteries; also known as Maenads and Bacchantes) in their rituals to experience Dionysus, the intoxicating god of unbridled human desire. Followers of Dionysus considered him to be much more than the inventor of wine. He was the presence that is otherwise defined as the craving within man that longs to "let itself go" and to give itself over to the baser earthly desires. What a Christian might resist as the lustful desires of the carnal man, the followers of Dionysus embraced as the incarnate power that would, in the next life, liberate the souls of mankind from the constraints of this present world, and from the customs which sought to define respectability through a person's obedience to moral law.

Until that liberating (?) day arrived, the worshippers of Dionysus attempted to bring themselves into union with the god through a ritual casting off of the bonds of sexual denial and primal constraint by seeking to attain to a higher state of ecstasy. The uninhibited rituals of ecstasy (Greek for "outside the body") supposedly brought the followers of Dionysus into a supernatural condition that enabled them to escape the temporary limitations of the body and mind, and to achieve a state of enthousiasmos, or, "outside the body and inside the god." In this sense, Dionysus represented a dichotomy within the Greek religion, as the primary maxim of the Greek culture was one of moderation, or, "nothing too extreme." But Dionysus embodied the absolute extreme in that he sought to inflame the forbidden passions of human desire. Interestingly, as most students of psychology will understand, this gave Dionysus a stronger allure among the Greeks who other-

wise tried in so many ways to suppress and control the wild and secret lusts of the human heart. But Dionysus resisted every such effort, and, according to myth, visited a terrible madness upon those who tried to deny him his free expression. The Dionystic idea of mental disease resulting from the suppression of secret inner desires, especially aberrant sexual desires, was later reflected in the atheistic teachings of Sigmund Freud. Thus, Freudianism might be called the grandchild of the cult of Dionysus.

Conversely, the person who gave himself over to the will of Dionysus was rewarded with unlimited psychological and physical delights. Such mythical systems of mental punishments and physical rewards based on resistance and/or submission to Dionysus, were both symbolically and literally illustrated in the cult rituals of the Bacchae, as the Bacchae women (married and unmarried Greek women had the "right" to participate in the mysteries of Dionysus) migrated in frenzied hillside groups, dressed transvestite in fawn skins and accompanied by screaming, music, dancing, and licentious behavior. When, for instance, a baby animal was too young and lacking in instinct to sense the danger and run away from the revelers, it was picked up and suckled by nursing mothers who participated in the hillside rituals. But when older animals sought to escape the marauding Bacchae, they were considered "resistant" to the will of Dionysus and were torn apart and eaten alive as a part of the fevered ritual.

Human participants were sometimes subjected to the same orgiastic cruelty, as the rule of the cult was "anything goes," including lesbianism,



Dionysus, by Brooke Townsend

bestiality, etc. Later versions of the ritual (Bacchanalia) expanded to include pedophilia and male revelers, and perversions of sexual behavior were often worse between men than they were between men and women. Any creature (sometimes a child) that dared to resist such perversion of Dionysus was subjected to sparagmos ("torn apart') and omophagia ("consumed raw"). In B.C. 410, Euripides wrote of the bloody rituals of the Bacchae in his famous play, *The Bacchantes:*[6]

> The Bacchantes. . . . with hands that bore no weapon of steel, attack our cattle as they browsed. Then wouldst thou have seen Agave mastering some sleek lowing calf, while others rent the heifers limb from limb. Before thy eyes there would have been hurling of ribs and hoofs this way and that, and strips of flesh, all blood be-dabbled, dripped as they hung from the pine branches. Wild bulls, that glared but now with rage along their horns, found themselves tripped up, dragged down to earth by countless maidens hands.

Euripedes went on to describe how Pentheus, the King of Thebes, was torn apart and eaten alive by his own mother as, according to the play, she fell under the spell of Dionysus.

The tearing apart and eating alive of a sacrificial victim may refer to the earliest history of the cult of Dionysus. An ancient and violent cult ritual existing since the dawn of paganism stipulated that, by eating alive, or by drinking the blood, of an enemy or an animal, a person might somehow capture the essence or "soul-strength" of the victim. The earliest Norwegian huntsmen believed

this, and they drank the blood of bears in an effort to capture their physical strength. East African Masai warriors also practiced omophagia, and sought to gain the strength of the wild by drinking the blood of lions. Human victims were treated this way by Arabs before Mohammed, and head-hunters of the East Indies practiced omophagia in an effort to capture the essence of their enemies.

Today, omophagia is practiced by certain Voodoo sects as well as by cult Satanists. It should be pointed out that such modern omophagia illustrates a continuing effort on the part of Satan to distort the original revelations of God. Eating human flesh and drinking human blood as an attempt to "become one" with the devoured is, in many cases, a demonization of the Eucharist, or Holy Communion. But sparagmos and omophagia, as practiced by the followers of Dionysus, was not an attempt of transubstantiation (as in the Catholic Eucharist), nor of consubstantiation (as in the Lutheran communion), nor yet of a symbolic ordinance (as in the fundamentalist denomination), all of which have as a common goal—the elevating of the worshipper into a sacramental communion with God. The goal of the Bacchae was the opposite: the frenzied dance, the thunderous song, the licentious behavior, the tearing apart and eating alive, all were efforts on the part of the Bacchae to capture the essence of the god (Dionyus) and bring him down into an incarnated rage within man. The idea was not one of holy communion, but of possession by the spirit of Dionysus. When one recalls the horrific rituals of the followers of Dionysus, it's easy to believe that a demonic pos-

session actually occurred. A Christian should find this idea as plausible, and, it would seem, so did the Hebrews.

The Hebrew people considered Hades (the Greek god of the underworld) to be equal with Hell and/or the Devil, and many ancient writers likewise saw no difference between Hades (in this sense the Devil) and Dionysus. Euripedes echoed this sentiment in the Hecuba, and referred to the followers of Dionysus as the "Bacchants of Hades."[7] In Syracuse, Dionysus was known as Dionysus Morychos ("the dark one") a fiendish creature; roughly equivalent to the biblical Satan, who wore goatskins and dwelt in the regions of the underworld.[8] In the scholarly book, *Dionysus Myth and Cult,* Walter F. Otto connected Dionysus with the prince of the underworld. He wrote:

> The similarity and relationship which Dionysus has with the prince of the underworld (and this is revealed by a large number of comparisons) is not only confirmed by an authority of the first rank, but he says the two deities are actually the same. Heraclitus says, "Hades and Dionysus, for whom they go mad and rage, are one and the same."[9]

But the Hebrews considered the magic (witchcraft) of the Bacchae to be the best evidence of Dionysus' Satanic connection, and, while most of the details are no longer available because Dionysus was a mystery god and his rituals were revealed to the initiated only, the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel described the "magic bands" (kesatot) of the Bacchae, which, as in the omophagia, were used

to capture (magically imprison) the souls of men. We read,

> Therefore, thus says the Lord GOD, "Behold I am against your magic bands [kesatot] by which you hunt lives [souls] there as birds, and I will tear them off your arms; and I will let them go, even those lives [souls] whom you hunt as birds." (Ezek. 13:20 NAS)

In Acts 17:34, we read of a soul liberated from the control of Dionysus: "Howbeit certain men clave unto [Paul], and believed: among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite." To carry the name of Dionysus usually meant one of two things: 1) the parents were devotees of Dionysus and thus the child was "predestined" to be a follower of the god; or 2) the individual was under the spell of the kesatot. The kesatot was a magic arm band used in connection with a container called the kiste.

Wherever the kiste is inscribed on sarcophagi and on Bacchic scenes, it is depicted as a sacred vessel (a soul prison?) with a snake peering through an open lid. How the magic worked and in what way a soul was imprisoned is still a mystery. Pan, the half-man/half-goat god (later relegated to devildom) is sometimes pictured as kicking the lid open and letting the snake (soul?) out. Such loose snakes were then depicted as being enslaved around the limbs, and bound in the hair, of the Bacchae women. Such imagery of Pan, the serpents, the imprisoned souls, and the magic Kesatot and Kiste, have not been adequately explained by any available authority, and the interpretation of

them as a method for producing zombies is thus subject to ongoing scrutiny. Since the prophet Ezekiel spoke of the efforts of the Bacchae to mystically imprison the souls of men through the magic bands of Dionysus, and since Pan was most beloved of Dionysus, because of his pandemonium ("all the devils") which struck sudden panic in the hearts of men and beasts, and as the serpent was universally accepted by the Hebrews as a symbol of occult devotion, it can be easily surmised that the iconography of Dionysus represented the most tenacious effort on the part of the Bacchae to embrace the will of evil supernaturalism.

Facts about Demeter— The Mystery Goddess

While the mysteries of Dionysus were closely associated with those of Demeter (some very ancient histories suggest that Dionysus, Demeter, and Persephone were a type of unholy trinity), the rituals of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and fertility, were different in that they were observed by married women only (participation was mandatory for all wives of Greek citizens), and, unlike the rituals of the Bacchae, chastity was strictly enforced. The Thesmophoria was the most popular of the fertility festivals held in honor of Demeter, and it drew the largest crowds at Athens and at Eleusis for nearly 2,000 years. Demeter's celebrations also boasted the most protected cult secrets of the mystery religions because her rituals were performed inside the inner sanctum of the Temple of Demeter (the Telesterion) and were so well-guarded by the Temple devotees that little has survived to enlighten us as to what actually

occurred there. Only those portions of the Thesmophoria held outside of the Temple were publicly recorded (sparsely) and provide us with a partial historical record.

What is known is that the rituals of the Thesmophoria were based on the mythology of the abduction and rape of Persephone (Proserpina), and of Demeter's (Persephone's mother) subsequent actions in searching for her daughter. The cult's rituals are, therefore, interpreted according to the Demeter myth. The myth claimed that Hades, the dark god of the underworld, fell in love with beautiful Persephone. One day, as she plucked flowers in a grassy meadow, Hades swooped down in his chariot and dragged Persephone down into the underworld, where he forced her to become his bride. Above ground, Demeter was distraught by her daughter's disappearance, and she searched the earth in vain to find her. With the help of Helios and Hecate, Demeter finally discovered the truth of what happened, and, in her fury, she demanded that Hades release her daughter. When Hades refused, Demeter sent a horrific famine upon the earth. Plants dried up; Seeds refused to sprout, and the gods began to suffer from a lack of sacrifices. Finally, Zeus dispatched Hermes to intercede with the lord of the underworld, and, after a great debate, Hades agreed to release Persephone if she would eat a pomegranate seed.

What Persephone did not understand was that by eating the pomegranate seed in the mystical location of the underworld, a sort of divine symmetry was created that bonded Persephone with Hades. This ensured that the goddess would

automatically return to the underworld for a third part of each year (in the winter), during which time the seeds of the ground would not grow. Persephone thus became the upperworld goddess of youth and happiness, and the underworld queen of the dead; a dual role depicting her as both good and evil. On earth, she was the goddess of the young and the friend of the nymphs who appeared in the blooming of the spring flowers (symbolizing her annual return from Hades), and in the underworld she was the dreaded wife of Hades and the Queen of the Darkness who controlled the fates of deceased men. The reenactment of such myth, the abduction and rape of Persephone, was central to the rituals of the Thesmophoria, and, as such, were key to interpreting the bits of information that are known.

The festival of the Thesmophoria, sometimes called the Eleusinian Mysteries, lasted from three to ten days. Each day of the festival had a different name and included specific rituals. A highlight of the festival was a procession from Athens to Eleusis which was led by a crowd of children known as Ephebi. The Ephebi assisted in carrying the hiera (sacred objects), and in pulling a statue of Dionysus as a boy (Iacchos), and finally in the ceremonial cleansing of the initiates (candidates of the mystery religion) in the sea. Upon arriving at Eleusis, the women organized the first day of the celebration (Anodos) by building temporary shelters and electing the leaders of the camp. On the second day (Nesteia), they initiated the Greater Mysteries which, according to myth, produced the cult's magical requests (a fertile harvest). Such mysteries included a parody of the abduction and rape of

Persephone, and the positioning of the female devotees upon the ground weeping (in the role of Demeter for her daughter) and fasting for the return of Persephone (the return of spring). The setting upon the ground and fasting was also intended to mystically transfer the "energies" of the women into the ground, and thus into the fall seeds.

Not surprisingly, the festival was held during the time of the fall planting, so as to nearly guarantee a positive response to the cult's magic. On the fifth day of the festival, the participants drank a special grain mixture called *kykeon* (a symbol of Persephone) in an attempt to assimilate the spirit of the goddess. The idea was to produce a blessing of fertility, both of the crops and of children. About this same time, certain women, called *Antleriai,* were cleansed in the sea and then sent down into the mountainside trenches to recover the sacrificial piglets and various other sacred objects that had been thrown down into the hillside canyons several days earlier. The sacred objects included dough replicas of snakes and of genitalia, which were burned, with the piglets and a grain-seed-mixture, as an offering to Demeter.

The reason for the casting of the piglets into the mountainside cliffs has been thoroughly debated and no single interpretation has emerged as the absolute authority. While several mystical representations can be made of the symbology, and the dough replicas are obviously fertility symbols, pigs' blood was sacred to the gods and, thus, the piglets are key to understanding the ritual. Greeks venerated pigs because of their uncanny ability to find, and unearth, underground items

(roots, etc.). Some scholars conclude from this that the ritual casting of the pigs "into the deep" was a form of imitative magic based on the underworld myth of Persephone and Hades. That is to say, casting the piglets into the deep canyon trenches, and fetching them out again, represented the descent of Persephone into the underworld and her subsequent ascension back up to the surface of the earth. The piglets in the trenches may have also served the practical purpose of supplying a host (body) for Persephone to hide in until the *antleriai* could assist her (by retrieving the piglets) in her annual escape from the underworld. Burning the piglets later that night would, according to an ancient religious idea that fire passes the soul from one location to another, free the spirit of Persephone into the upperworld (compare the children sacrificed to Baal who "passed through the fire" from the physical world into the spiritual). This interpretation sounds reasonable and is considered by some to be true.

Since the New Testament informs us that pagan rituals, such as those performed in the Thesmophoria, were the worship of demons, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils . . ." (1 Cor. 10:20), one wonders if a connection between the ritual casting of the piglets down into the deep canyon trenches (representing a descent into hell), and the biblical story of the Gadarene demoniac, existed.

In Luke, chapter Eight, we read:

> And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes. . . . And when he [Jesus] went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils. . . . When

> he [the demoniac] saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high? I beseech thee, torment me not". . . . And Jesus asked him, saying, "What is thy name?" And he said, "Legion:" because many devils were entered into him. And they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep. And there was there an herd of swine feeding on the mountain: and they besought him that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them. Then went the devils out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and were choked. (Luke 8:26-33)

The word *deep* in this text is *Abussos* (the Abyss), and refers to the underworld, Bottomless Pit. Since the principle elements of the sea, the swine, and the deep were employed; and since the Abyss (part of the underworld) was central to the narrative; and since the cult rituals of the Thesmophoria were well known throughout Asia Minor and were considered by the Hebrews to be an activity of the devil (the inhabitants of Hades were known as "Demeter's people," and Hecate, the goddess of witchcraft, was Perserphone's underworld guide during the rituals); one could easily surmise that Jesus was mocking the Thesmophoria. It is possible that Jesus was revealing, to His followers and to the neighboring communities, that Dionysus and Demeter were, in fact, devils. It may be a stretch to suggest an interpretation of the biblical

story in this way, but clearly the similarities and historical proximities are startling, especially since the demons requested an entry into the swine.

Why would demons make such a plea? There are two possible connections with the Thesmophoria: 1) the demons believed that by entering the swine they could escape the underworld deep (as in the magical Persephone escape ritual described above); and 2) Jesus, by granting the request of the devils, was illustrating that the Thesmophoria ritual of casting the piglets into the deep was inherently demonic. Obviously, there are other possible interpretations of the narrative in Luke 8. But since this is the only record of Jesus granting the petition of demons, it seems possible that a powerful social commentary on a popular pagan idea, like that of the Thesmophoria of Demeter, was being made by the Master.

Demeter and the Mother Earth Spirit

While much is still unknown about the mysteries of Demeter, the basis of her popularity was almost certainly rooted in her divinity as a mother-earth goddess. Demeter (De or Da "earth", and meter "mother") actually means "earth mother." As earth mother, Demeter was the giver of generosity and grace and the controller of the awesome forces of nature. She was loved as the giver of food and fertility and was feared as the taker of life. She could open her womb with blessings and abundance and could enclose the dead in her soil. Either way, at all times, she commanded absolute reverence.

Without a doubt, the worship of the earth's "spirit" as a mother, and the incarnation of the

earth's fertility forces within specific goddesses, was one of the oldest and most widespread forms of paganism recorded in antiquity. Whether it was Inanna of the Sumerians, Ishtar of the Babylonians, or Fortuna of the Romans, every civilization had a sect of religion based on the embodiment of the earth's spirit as a mother-goddess. The Egyptians worshipped Hathor in this way, as did the Chinese, Shingmoo. The Germans worshipped Hertha as the great Earth Mother, and the apostate Jews idolized "the queen of heaven." In Greece, the queen of the Olympian goddesses and wife of Zeus was Hera, the benevolent earth mother. Before her was Gaia (Gaea, the Greek creator-mother earth) and beneath her were many other Greek earth goddesses, including Demeter, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hecate.

The principal idea was, and evidently still is among New Age devotees, that the earth is a living entity. The ancient and universally accepted idea that the "living earth" was also a fertile mother was conceptualized in different ways and in various goddess myths and images throughout the ancient world. In *The Golden Asse,* by second century Roman philosopher Lucius Apuleius, evidence reveals that the spirit of the earth was perceived as a feminine force, and that such force incarnated itself at various times, and to different people, within the goddess mothers. Note how Lucius prays to the earth spirit:

> O blessed Queene of Heaven, whether thou be the Dame Ceres [Demeter] which art the original and motherly source of all fruitful things in earth, who after the finding of thy daughter Proserpina [Persephone],

through thy great joy which thou diddest presently conceive, madest barrain and unfruitful ground to be plowed and sowne, and now thou inhabitest in the land of Eleusie [Eleusis]; or whether thou be the celestiall Venus . . . [or] horrible Proserpina . . . thou hast the power to stoppe and put away the invasion of the hags and ghoasts which appeare unto men, and to keep them downe in the closures [womb] of the earth; thou which nourishest all the fruits of the world by thy vigor and force; with whatsoever name is or fashion it is lawful to call upon thee, I pray thee, to end my great travaile.

The earth spirit responds to Lucius:

Behold Lucius I am come, thy weeping and prayers hath mooved me to succour thee. I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistresse and governesse of all the elements, the initial progeny of worlds, chiefe of powers divine, Queene of heaven, the principall of the Gods celestiall, the light of the goddesses: at my will the planets of the ayre [air], the wholesome winds of the Seas, and the silence of hell be disposed; my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world in divers manners, in variable customes and in many names, for the Phrygians call me the mother of the Gods: the Athenians, Minerva: the Cyprians, Venus: the Candians, Diana: the Sicilians, Proserpina: the Eleusians, Ceres: some Juno, other Bellona, other Hecate: and principally the aethiopians . . . Queene Isis.[10]

One could assume, based on such texts, that a single spiritual source (or realm) energized the many goddess myths. Likewise, in the ancient hymn, "To Earth, the Mother of All," Homer illustrates how the earth-spirit was universally involved in the affairs and lives of nations. Through Homer's dedication to the earth we discover how far-reaching and omnipresent the mother-earth spirit was thought to be:

> I will sing of well founded Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings. She feeds all creatures that are in the world, all that go upon the goodly land, and all that are in the paths of the seas, and all that fly: all these are fed by her store. Through you, O queen, men are blessed in their children and blessed in their harvests, and to you it belongs to give means of life to mortal men and to take it away. Happy is the man whom you delight to honour! He hath all things abundantly: his fruitful land is laden with corn, his pastures are covered with cattle, and his house is filled with good things. Such men rule orderly in their cities of fair women: great riches and wealth follow them: their sons exult with ever-fresh delight, and their daughters in flower-laden bands play and skip merrily over the soft flowers of the field. Thus it is with those whom you honour O holy goddess, bountiful spirit. Hail, mother of the gods, wife of starry Heaven; freely bestow upon me for this my song substance that cheers the heart! And now I will remember you and another song also.[11]

From these and other ancient records, it is obvious that the earth was more than an agricultural or herbaceous facility to the pagans, she was the personable and "eldest of all beings," the "holy goddess," the "bountiful spirit," the all nourishing mother of men who manifested herself within the popular idols of the mother goddesses.

Christian theologians also believe the physical earth contains spiritual forces. In Revelation 9:14, we read of "the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates." Likewise, in Job 26:5, we find "Dead things are formed from under the waters." The literal Hebrew translation says, "The Rafa (fallen angels) are made to writhe from beneath the waters." Additional biblical references indicate the earth is a kind of holding tank, or prison, where God has bound certain fallen entities (2 Pet. 2:4; Jude 6). That such fallen spirits seek to communicate with, or participate in, the affairs of humanity, is described in Scripture. The Hebrew people were warned of spirits who seek regular communion with men (Deut. 18:11), and, when the witch of Endor communicated with the same spirits, they ascended up from "out of the earth" (1 Sam. 28:13). It would seem, based on such scriptures, that the dynamic or energy behind the earth-goddess-spirits is indeed real, and, according to the Christian doctrine, is identical with the legions of fallen spiritual forces that are bound within the earth and that seek association with men. Such conclusions can be made because of the obvious and physical location of the biblical demons within the body of the earth, and also because of the nature of the manifestations, or attributes, of the goddesses. As previously noted, the myths and rituals behind the earth-goddess-

mothers, Isis, Demeter, and Persephone, were openly connected with the evil spirits of the underworld.

The Earth-Mother Hecate

Hecate, the Titan earth-mother of the wizards and witches, illustrates, perhaps better than any other goddess, the connection between the earth goddesses and the realm of evil supernaturalism. As the daughter of Perses and Asteria, Hecate (Hekate) was the only one of the Titans to remain free under Zeus. She was the mother of the wizard, Circe, and of the witch, Medea, and was considered to be the underworld sorceress of all that is demonic. This was because Hecate characterized the unknown night-terrors that roamed the abandoned and desolate highways. She was often depicted as a young maiden with three faces, each pointing in a different direction, a role in which she was the earth-spirit that haunted wherever three paths joined together. As the "goddess of three forms" she was Luna (the moon) in heaven, Diana (Artemis) on earth, and Hecate in the underworld. At times of evil magic, she appeared with hideous serpents, spreading demons, encouraging criminal activity, and revealing enigmatic secrets to the crones. At other times, she roamed the night with the souls of the dead, visible only to dogs, who howled as she approached. When the moon was covered in darkness, and the hell-hounds accompanied her to the path-beaten crossways, Hecate came suddenly upon the food offerings and dead bodies of murders and suicides that had been left for her by the fear-stricken common-folk. Her hounds bayed, the ghost-torches lit up the night, and the river nymphs

shrieked as Hecate carried away the mangled souls of the suicides into the underworld caverns of Thanatos (Death), where the shrill cries of such damned-ones were known to occupy her presence.

As the dark goddess of witchcraft, Hecate, like Isis, was worshiped with impure rites and magical incantations. Her name was probably derived from the ancient Egyptian word *Heka* ("sorcery" or "magical"), which may explain her association with the Egyptian frog goddess of the same name. This may also explain the affiliation of frogs with witchcraft, and the various potions of frog-wart and "hecateis" (Hecate's hallucinogenic plant, also called Aconite), which supposedly sprouted from the spittle of Cerberus (Hade's three-headed guard dog), which fell to the ground when Hercules forced him up to the surface of the earth.

Because her devotees practiced such magic wherever three paths joined, Hecate became known to the Romans as *Trivia* (tri "three," and via "roads"). Later, when the Latin church fathers compared the magic of the goddess Trivia with the power of the Gospel, they found it to be inferior, and the pursuit of Hecate's knowledge became known as Trivial Pursuit, or inconsequential. But the fact that Hecate's followers sincerely believed in, and feared, her magic and presence, was legendary. We find an example of such belief in the *Argonautica,* (Jason and the Argonauts) by Apollonius Rhodius, when the sorceress Medea provided a spell for Jason to use in winning Hecate's assistance:

> Take heed now, that I may devise help for thee. When at thy coming my father has given thee the deadly teeth from the

dragon's jaws for sowing, then watch for the time when the night is parted in twain, then bathe in the stream of the tireless river, and alone, apart from others, clad in dusky raiment, dig a rounded pit; and therein slay a ewe, and sacrifice it whole, heaping high the pyre on the very edge of the pit. And propitiate only-begotten Hecate, daughter of Perses, pouring from a goblet the hive-stored labour of bees.

And then, when thou hast heedfully sought the grace of the goddess, retreat from the pyre; and let neither the sound of feet drive thee to turn back, nor the baying of hounds, lest haply thou shouldst maim all the rites and thyself fail to return duly to thy comrads." . . . [and] Jason . . . bathed his tender body reverently in the sacred river; and round him he placed a dark robe. . . . and . . . he cut the throat of the sheep, and duly placed the carcase above; and he kindled the logs placing fire beneath, and poured over them mingled libations, calling on Hecate Brimo [the Mighty One] to aid him in the contests.

And when he had called on her he drew back; and she heard him, the dread goddess, from the uttermost depths and came to the sacrifice of Aeson's son [Jason]; and round her horrible serpents twined themselves among the oak boughs; and there was a gleam of countless torches; and sharply howled around her the hounds of hell. All the meadows trembled at her step; and the nymphs that haunt the marsh and the river shrieked, all who dance around

> that mead of Amarantian Phasis. And fear seized Aeson's son, but not even so did he turn round as his feet bore him forth, till he came back to his comrades.[12]

Such magic, as illustrated in the fiction above, was employed by fearful men to appease Hecate. The appeasement of the dark goddess in this way was primarily because of her role as the sorceress of the afterlife, but true believers also feared Hecate's ability to afflict the mind with madness (as in the Dionystic curses), as well as her influence over the night creatures. That is to say, offerings were made to Hecate because she was thought to govern haunted places where evil or murderous activity occurred. Such areas where violence or lechery had a history were believed to be magnets of malevolent spirits, something like "haunted houses," and if one wanted to get along with the resident apparitions they needed to make oblations to the ruler of the darkness, Hecate. The acceptance of the oblations was announced by Hecate's familiar (the night owl), and the spooky sound of the creature was perceived as a good omen by those who gathered on the eve of the full moon. Statues of the goddess bearing the triple-face of a dog, a snake, and a horse, overshadowed the dark rituals when they were performed at the crossing of three roads. At midnight, Hecate's devotees left food offerings at the intersection for the goddess ("Hecate's Supper"), and, once deposited, quickly exited without turning around or looking back.

Sometimes the offerings consisted of honey cakes and chicken hearts, at other times puppies, honey, and female black lambs were slaughtered

for the goddess and her strigae. The strigae were deformed and vicious owl-like affiliates of Hecate who flew through the night feeding on the bodies of unattended babies. During the day the strigae appeared as simple old women, and such folklore may account for the history of flying witches. The same strigae hid amidst the leaves of the trees during the annual festival of Hecate (held on August 13), when Hecate's followers offered up the highest praise of the goddess. Hecate's devotees celebrated such festivals near Lake Averna in Campania where the sacred willow groves of the goddess stood, and they communed with the tree spirits (earth spirits, including Hecate, were thought to inhabit trees) and summoned the souls of the dead from the mouths of nearby caves. It was here that Hecate was known as Hecate-Chthonia ("Hecate of the earth"), a depiction in which she most clearly embodied the popular earth-mother-spirit, which conversed through the cave-stones and sacred willow trees.

Whereas Hecate was known elsewhere as Hecate-Propylaia, "the one before the gate," a role in which she guarded the entrances of homes and temples from nefarious outside evils (talk about Satan casting out Satan!); and whereas she was also known as Hecate-Propolos, "the one who leads," as in the underworld guide of Persephone and of those who inhabit graveyards; and finally she was known as Hecate-Phosphoros, "the light bearer," her most sacred title and one which recalls another powerful underworld spirit, Satan, whose original name was Lucifer ("the light bearer"); it was nevertheless her role as the feminist earth-goddess-spirit Hecate-Chthonia that popularized

her divinity and commanded such reverence from common people.

Such popular religious concepts of earth-spirits inhabiting trees, soliciting incantation and ritual, and revealing abstruse secrets, is an idea familiar to students of eastern mythology. The following chapter will discuss the revival of such paganistic notions, and, more importantly, will attempt to answer the disturbing question: Do the ancient spirits of the gods and goddesses converse with modern man?

Important Notes Regarding the Gods of Greece

The following notes on the Greek deities are important and relate to the remaining chapters of the book.

From the example of Gaia we learn: 1) Gaia was the original Greek "mother earth"; 2) she was worshipped as a literal spirit; 3) her body (the planet earth) was made to contain the elder spirits of the Titans; and 4) such spirits were known to communicate through trees, streams (etc.), and various idols.

From the example of Zeus we learn: 1) Zeus, among other things, was the king or "prince of the air" and the "god of thunder," titles biblically and historically associated with Satan; 2) his altar at Pergamum may have been the "throne of Satan" mentioned in Revelation 2:13; 3) he was an oracle spirit and communicated through trees, streams, and other nature devices; and 4) he was ritually associated with transsexualism through his lover Leto.

From the example of Apollo we learn: 1) Apollo

was the most important oracle god in Greece; 2) his oracle at Delphi was the most famous in antiquity; 3) his pythian prophetesses popularized the social status of mediums (psychics); 4) natural hallucinogens used as instruments of paranormal communication was a part of his spirituality; 5) his gospel was humanistic: "know yourself," "do nothing in excess," and "don't get in a hurry," were the basic rules; 6) unlike the Hebrew prophets, the Delphic "psychics" commercialized the prophetic gifts and charged for their services; and 7) Apollo's son, Asclepius, combined earth elements, spirit-guide animals (especially serpents), energy channeling, incantation, and psychic dreams, with healing.

From the example of Dionysus we learn: 1) the uses of wine, sensuality, song, and revelry, were combined with having a "religious experience"; 2) Dionysus' feminist devotees, the Bacchae, challenged the traditional roles of women by dressing transvestite, behaving violently masculine, and disregarding virtuous sexuality; 3) the Bacchae embraced physical pleasures including the drink, the dance, the song, and lesbianism, at the expense of their children; 4) the Bacchae practiced magic, embraced evil, destroyed children, and profaned the sacred, in the name of women's rights; and 5) they manipulated others (magically imprisoned their souls) for personal gain.

From the example of Demeter we learn: 1) Demeter was the popular goddess of the environment; 2) her rituals and rewards taught people to tune in with, and care for, the planet; 3) her doctrines involved an amalgam of human energy, superstition, and mystical earth forces; 4) she, along

with Gaia, Hera, Artemis, Hecate, and others, incarnated the earth's fertility forces within the goddess images; 5) the Bible reveals that such forces are demonic and seek communion with mankind; and 6) this was illustrated in the myths, behaviors, and rituals of the goddesses, especially of Hecate.

Notes

1. Richard Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic,* s.v. "Zeus."

2. Ibid., [The same page as preceding note.]

3. Ibid., s.v. "Zeus."

4. Thomas R. Horn, *Spiritual Warfare—The Invisible Invasion* (Lafayette, LA: Huntington House Publishers, 1998), 23-24.

5. Richard Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic,* s.v. "Apollo."

6. Euripides, *The Bacchantes,* Dramatis Personare (Messenger to Pentheus concerning the Bacchantes), B.C. 410.

7. Walter F. Otto, *Dionysus Myth and Cult* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1965), 114.

8. Ibid., 169.

9. Ibid., 116.

10. Lucius Apuleius, *The Golden Asse,* Book Eleven, 1566.

11. *The Hymns of Homer, XXX,* Chapter 11: 1-19.

12. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica,* translated by R.C. Seaton (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1912), 1026-1062; 1191-1224.

FOUR

The Old Gods of the New Age

"The kind of events that once took place will by reason of human nature take place again."
—Thucydides

A few years ago during the Christmas season, my wife, Nita, and I, walked through a local mall. As we perused the different shops, we came across a New Age bookstore conducting a "Grand Opening." In a derisive tone, I said to my wife, "Can you believe the lack of intelligence of some people?" I strolled casually into the store, and without hesitation, snatched a book from the shelf and began offering a sarcastic commentary as I read from the pages. When I noticed that Nita was growing uncomfortable, I placed the book back on the shelf and proceeded out of the store. Suddenly, a dull sensation hit me. It began in my stomach and shot upward through my cranium, impacting my equilibrium. As I stepped outside onto the main mall walkway, my head started to spin, my hands began to shake, and I felt as if I were going to faint. It was literally as if an invisible terror had "jumped" on me, and was somehow injecting powerful feelings of nausea and anxiety

throughout my entire body. I tried to shake it off, but couldn't. I attempted to walk it off, and failed. At last, feigning interest in something, I moved away from my wife and began to pray. I asked the Lord to forgive me for my sarcastic attitude, for my lack of caution, and for my want of concern for the lost. I prayed for deliverance from evil and for a healing of the body and mind. After several hours of such walking and praying, I was finally restored. I discovered a valuable lesson that day: while it's true that a Christian cannot be demon-possessed, it's equally true that the "princes" of this world are powerful, and we should enter their arena only after prayer, and at the prompting of the Lord. I also learned the mystical forces of the New Age movement are genuine (and willing to protect their territory!), and that much of what is currently published under the guise of New Age "enlightenment," is nothing less than Old Age doctrines of nefarious, invisible hosts.

As in antiquity, so in modern times, those who practice paganism are guilty of worshipping "devils" (Rev. 9:20). The dogma, which were once embraced (and still are, through the New Age Movement) as the wisdom of the gods, are defined in the scriptures as the "doctrines of devils." The Apostle Paul declared: "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils" (1 Cor. 10:20). In Acts 7:41-42 (Jerusalem Bible), we find that those who worship idols are joined to the "army of heaven" [stratos, the "fallen angel army"], and Psalm 96:5 concludes that "all the gods of the nations are idols" (elilim, LXX daimonia [demons]). Thus, pagan images, such as represented the ancient gods and goddesses, were

elilim (empty, nothing, vanity), but behind the empty idols were the living dynamics of idolatry, and spiritual objects of heathen adoration, the daimonia (demons) of the Bible.

Since the Bible clearly defines idolatry as the worship of demons, and since demons are eternal personalities that desire the worship of men, it is fair to conclude the characterization of such deities as "Zeus," "Amun-Ra," "Demeter," and "Isis," were simply the classical names attributed to specific fallen spirits. In other words, Apollo was a real personality; Osiris was a genuine underworld fiend; Hecate actually lived, and still does! One also concludes that the images of the gods (falcon-headed statues, animal forms, etc.) served the purposes of such spirits by providing a point of focus, and by revealing the "nature" of the particular spirit existing within the god. The iconographies, myths, and rituals of each deity exhibited the specific characteristics (nature, gender, underworld authority, etc.) of that particular entity. Thus, the myths and images of Zeus, according to such theory, were the physical manifestations of a literal demon of air, while statues of the goddess Demeter represented an earth spirit. It is my assertion, and the claim of this book, that the same spirits of antiquity, including Zeus, Athene, Dionysus, and others, continue to express themselves within modern paganism. Dr. Jones agrees, asserting that the connection between the New Age Movement and the gods of mythology is strong. "Nothing has changed in Satan's game plan," says Jones, "just the names of the players, and, in some instances, even the names are the same."

Paganism in America is exploding as we approach the new millennium. Throughout Hollywood, government, cyberspace, and even the church, people rush to embrace the religious philosophies of the New Age of Aquarius. As a modernistic process by which the old gods are worshipped, the New Age Movement emerged in the United States during the 1960s, and has experienced a steady growth ever since. The broad appeal of the New Age Movement as a Western phenomenon can be explained to some degree as the result of a changing culture. Americans have gradually abandoned the fundamental precepts of Christianity (prayer in school, Bible in courts, etc.), which provided the cornerstone of civil life and jurisprudence in American society for more than 200 years. As a generation of baby-boomers has focused on human potential and the "god within us all," Eastern philosophies of Monism, Pantheism, Hinduism, and self-realization, continue to provide Americans, and even some Christians, with an alluring opportunity to throw off the "outdated ideas" of fundamental Christianity and to espouse a more "enlightened" world view of God and reality.

Some of the most notable celebrities have joined the political ambitions of the New Age Movement (goals include a United Nation's sponsored Environmental Sabbath for the Goddess Earth), including Shirly MacLaine, Dick Gregory, Lindsay Wagner, Dennis Weaver, Dirk Benedict, Cloris Leachman, Richard Gere, Ally Sheedy, and the late John Denver. Many mainstream "Christian" denominations have also annexed the New Age ideas, and believers who once held strong

doctrinal positions of the supremacy of Christ, have abandoned those views in exchange for a New Age universal philosophy.

Examples include a witch who teaches principles of goddess worship at a Roman Catholic college in California, and United Methodist pastors who propose replacing the name of Jesus with Sophia (Goddess of Wisdom) when reading about the crucifixion. Such persons claim we should join the efforts of New Agers and be sympathetic to "Goddess-minded Christians." Former New Age devotee, Judy Vorfeld re-discovered the real Jesus after embracing such ideas. She became involved in freelance writing as a result of experiencing the dangers involved in participating in the New Age Movement. For many years she actively avoided anything to do with the Christianity of her childhood. When she was in her early forties, a neighborhood minister said he was starting a new church, and she thought the time might be right to look at Christianity again. Judy writes:

> For a time I was involved in a fellowship that worshipped a different deity than the God of the Bible. . . . I joined a church that evolved from ecumenism to religious syncretism. . . . Six months after I became part of the fellowship, fundamental Christianity was retired in favor of a universal religious system, one designed to be inoffensive to people of any theological persuasion. The fellowship then put together a creed that would be acceptable for any visitors coming to worship with us. Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists were welcome, as were Theosophists, Rosicrucians,

> and Hare Krishnas. . . . Our minister brought a popular seminar, advertised a self-improvement course into our church. Most of us were impressed with the professional manner of the leaders and their sophisticated system of teaching self-realization. . . . The organization's format, we were told, held the answers to all our problems. . . . Church leadership eagerly blended the organization's ideas into an agenda that became a part of our church curriculum. Eastern meditation, Psychic healing, and guided imagery were all practiced.[1]

Judy Vorfeld is a friend of mine and has provided me with guidance on the New Age Movement. In recent correspondence, she described modern Druids, and spoke of their methods of magic healing through "visualization." She confessed:

> Tom. . . . When we were involved in Silva Mind Control [through her local church], we did the same thing [visualized healing]. At that time, I thought God was behind all this stuff. I 'saw' people in my mind's eye who had various diseases, and I sent energy to heal them. In groups like this, the leader often has a list of people who are sick. This gives them a way to follow through and see who was healed. I have no doubt some people were healed, but since we were invoking a power other than that of the real God, what were we doing?"

What indeed?

An amazing component of the New Age Movement (as verified by such examples as my friend, Judy's) is its capacity to adapt to a variety of religious, even Christian, ideas. Consequently, many of the popular "Christian" doctrines advocated today are nothing more than the cultic propositions of Eastern mysticism and ancient paganism. These include concepts of psychic healing, self-realization, emotional experiences, rules of success, breathing techniques, positive confession, name it and claim it, environmental theology, the ecumenical movement, visualization, hypnosis by clergy, mind manipulation, and so on. At times, and I say this with caution, even the activity within the "fundamental" church, including certain physical phenomena we sometimes embrace as the miraculous evidence of "revival," is a modern form of magic and opens the door for "old gods" and their mysticism to invade the church. The line between a true manifestation of God, and human orchestration, is often blurred. Sincere people, in a quest to experience God, frequently mimic the doctrinal and physical activity of others. Some physical phenomena (crawling on the church floor and making animal sounds, etc.) is extra-biblical in nature (not everything that is extra-biblical is un-biblical, however) and therefore undefined by New Testament teachings.

As a result, some Christians have been drawn to mystical experiences rather than concentrating on God and His Word. Even sermons preached by well-meaning ministers have tempted Christians to pursue "supernatural" encounters with God, rather than instructing them to live by faith. The danger of such undisciplined sincerity is that hu-

man nature rarely limits its opportunity for experience. If the Bible has no clear guidelines of conduct and order, and the activity is being promoted by church authorities as a way of experiencing God, then the person seeking the experience may have trouble defining what is, and what isn't acceptable, and thus go too far. For emotional people, the experience may be expressed by a physical reaction, while academics tend to interpret mystical experiences with God as divine revelations or imparted knowledge. The dangerous consequences of such conduct often leads to religious behavior more reminiscent of Dionysus or Apollo worship than of New Testament Christianity. As a result, people like Judy Vorfeld start out in a Christian church and wind up in the New Age movement.

The dangers of mysticism, such as those inherent with emphasizing experiences over doctrine, were soundly illustrated in a recent report by Samantha Smith. She writes:

> I became strongly concerned about this movement after observing a "service" at a south Denver Vineyard church. . . . [a woman] stood in the middle of a group of people who ran their hands over her body (within an inch or so of the clothing), then kept swooshing some invisible thing toward her heart area. Saddened, I walked toward the door, where a church member said, "You should come back on Sunday night. That's when they levitate." . . . [another group] in Seattle . . . sit in circles, clucking, flapping their tucked arms and visualizing themselves hatching the "Man Child Com-

> pany," a heretical Manifested Sons of God concept. In Kansas City, a pastor watched in horror as men and women lay on the floor with their knees up and legs spread apart, trying to birth the same thing. . . . I tape-recorded a group of Episcopalians howling at the moon, like wolves, giving a "Howl-le-lu-ia Chorus" for Earth Day. It gets worse. There are reports of "holy vomiting" (seance ectoplasm?) and of Christians becoming demonized by being "slain in the spirit." How can this be?[2]

I share Samantha Smith's concerns. Recently I was approached by a young man during a Sunday morning service (at a church which stresses supernatural "experiences" as a test of one's spirituality) and was told how, he, and other members of the "intercessory prayer group," were experiencing temporary possessions (?) of evil spirits. When I asked him what he meant, he stated that evil spirits were "coming out of people, and, as they do, they are going into us [the people in the prayer room] and then speaking out loud." When I asked for clarification, he repeated that evil "spirits" were audibly conversing through him and other members of the prayer group during the Sunday morning church services! I warned him of the dangers of mysticism and reminded him that the Jews were forbidden to communicate with spirits. I strongly advised him not to allow any spirit (other than the Holy Spirit) to speak through him, and showed him how Michael the archangel did not discourse with the devil, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee" (Jude 9). I'm unsure if the young man followed my instruction, but the episode illustrates how a

church environment emphasizing supernatural experiences over sound biblical doctrine can create an atmosphere conducive to New Age mysticism, mediumism, spiritism, and paganism. I believe the young man was earnest, and it's my understanding that the "medium" practices at the church have ended.

Gaia, Hathor, and Demeter Live! New Age Earth Worship

The majority of New Age mysticism and other forms of modern paganism (the ongoing worship of the gods and goddesses) is unquestionably occurring outside of the fundamentalist church. Expressions of neo-paganism ranging from self-help organizations working with large corporations to offer stress management symposiums to their employees using the principles of the New Age Movement to produce positive harmony, prosperity, and overall business success, to other not-so-subtle forms of paganism, such as those practiced by WICCA and the Women's Spirituality Movement, account for more than 600,000 women nationwide participating in the invocation of ancient earth-goddesses, including Demeter, Aphrodite, and Isis.

Retail stores springing up in faddish malls across the United States supply replica idols of the popular female deities, and marketing of the occultic paraphernalia used in venerating the goddesses (crystals, candles, books of spells, etc.) has become a multimillion dollar industry. Dimly lit "occult" bookstores that once inhabited shabby old buildings have been replaced with trendy New Age shops located amidst the most fashionable

strip malls in the nicest areas of town. One such store, Necromance, is located at stylish Melrose Avenue in Los Angeles, and business is booming with sales of "human fingers on a leather cord, necklaces of human teeth, bone beads, human skulls and even a tiny fetal one."[3] The Necromance, and similar New Age businesses, are attentively supported by a growing population of neo-pagans and teachers of the arcane rites. Store owners are generally New Agers or practicing witches, and many have been publicly embraced by politicians, religious leaders, and Hollywood entertainers. Not long ago, one such witch claimed to be a temple prostitute of the goddess Astarte and performed sequential ritual earth-magic sex with 251 men at the University of Southern California.

In her book, *Goddess Earth,* Samantha Smith connected the pagan agenda of the Earth Summit, the Environmental Movement, and the current mix of politics and public education, with the New Age Movement's goals of a revival of Mother Earth worship under a united World Order. After attending a lecture by Miriam Starhawk (a teacher of the "ancient craft") at the University of Denver, she wrote:

> Miriam Starhawk, who calls herself "a goddess-worshipping pagan witch," appeared at the University of Denver to lecture. . . . about her concerns on "Magic, Sex and Politics." . . . There was a time, she said, thousands of years ago, when people lived in harmony with the earth and each other. They practiced magic and used the art of evoking power from within, trancing, and became one with the balance of things.

> When they turned from the goddess, all havoc broke loose. Men ruled over women and other men. They waged endless wars. People splintered into rich and poor, free and slave, powerful and powerless. The witchess (goddesses) were battered, raped, tortured, burned, poisoned, and dismembered. And so, the Earth herself nearly died. But, she was not destroyed! Some continued to practice [earth-centered magic] in secret. . . . [and now] Just at a time when the final destruction of the earth is probable and nearly inevitable, women are remembering the goddess [Mother Earth]. They are crying out against the war and the destruction of the human race. "The reborn are walking the Earth in new forms and the witches arise and dance (skyclad) in the open. The Goddess has not come to save us. It is up to us to save Her [the earth]."[4]

Today, New Agers ask, "If God is our Father, then who is our Mother?", and they happily answer, "Earth!" Not surprisingly, the worship of the earth's "spirit" as a nurturing goddess mother has been revived as a central feature of paganism. Earth Day 1990, celebrated the start of the decade by coordinating nearly 200 million people worldwide into a universal effort aimed at saving "our endangered Mother Earth." Christian leaders signed "Green Pledges," and Wiccan witches performed arcane rituals in honor of the Earth Goddess, Gaia. Interest in such contraptions as the sweat lodge, a device used by several ancient religions, including many American Indian tribes, as an apparatus whereby one re-enters the womb

Athene, by Brooke Townsend

of the Earth Mother, was celebrated. Such famous personalities as Ted Turner and Jane Fonda built their own private sweat lodges, and were praised for following the primitive and simple pattern of furrowing a womblike "nest" into the surface of the earth and covering it with a dome of natural materials. The entry into Ms. Fonda's lodge was intentionally kept so low as to simulate the birthing experience during exit, and the ground inside was left uncovered so as to allow the inhabitants the opportunity of getting in touch with the all-knowing Earth Spirit.

The sweat lodge method of communing with the sacred Earth Mother, Gaia, as practiced by various ancient religions and New Age devotees, includes sitting in a semi-circle around heated stones inside the lodge, and entering into a mystical state of consciousness. As with ancient pythians, the prophetesses of Apollo, the altered mental condition is accomplished through repetitive chanting, drumming, and breathing the fumes of natural stimulants, such as peyote. Spirit animals, called "power animals" by New Agers and American Indians, are called upon to guide the soul through the underworld journey, or "vision quest," and participants are encouraged to "dance their animal" for revelations and healing of the body and mind. Such animal dancing is accomplished by allowing the spirit of the creature to enter into, and take control of, the participant.

Dr. Leslie Gray, a noted University instructor and female shaman (something like a witch doctor), employs such uses of "animal dancing" in the psychiatric (shamanic) treatment of her patients. She described the positive results of animal danc-

ing in the case of one insecure young woman, saying, "I lay down on the ground next to her and put us both into an altered state of consciousness via a tape of drumming. I came back from my 'journey' and blew the spirit of a mountain lion into [her]. I then instructed her to go out into nature and dance her animal. . . . [and when she did] She no longer felt afraid of people."[5]

Such uses of animal images and other natural products in the worship of the Great Earth Mother is by design. New Age pagans, drawing on Eastern philosophies and the occult, believe that, unlike the evil human race, such elements are at one with Gaia. According to them, if it were not for the male-dominated, styrofoam- producing, beef-eating, gas-guzzling, bulldozer-driving destroyers of the rainforests (human beings), the earth would be a better place. Natural earth-centered resources, such as animals, crystals, and even colors, are thus the products of choice for the students of New Age earth-magic. For instance, light blue is the color of Mother Earth's sky, thus Wiccans burn candles of light blue to acquire her magic tranquility or understanding. Red candles are burned for strength or sexual love, and green candles for financial assistance, etc. Instruments of magic, such as magic wands, are also made of Mother Earth's natural supply, usually of Willow, Oak, or fruit tree branches. Magic potions employed during the witches' Esbats (earth-celebrations held during the new and full moons) also contain the Earth's natural byproducts, including clover, olive oil, grape juice, garlic cloves, and rosebuds. Finally, special ceremonies conducted at the crossing of three earth-paths (remember the triple-path earth-

Diana, by Brooke Townsend

mother, Hecate?) are dedicated to the Mother Earth goddesses, Gaia, Demeter, Persephone, Isis, Aphrodite, Hathor, Hera, Diana, Athene, and Hecate. While such rituals are gender-inclusive, they are specifically designed to elevate the goddess, or female spirit. In fact, an enlightening component of nearly every form of goddess-earth worship is the absence of male leadership. Goddess deities, especially the ones that exhibit independence of the male presence, are cheerfully exalted during the worship of Gaia. Athene, the manly goddess of Olympus, and Diana (Artemis), the lesbian[6] earth-goddess and patroness of witches, are considered especially important during the contemporary worship of the Earth Goddess. Venerating such "she-devils" is more widespread than ever, and anyone visiting the local university library, the area bookstore, the internet, or Saturday morning cartoons, will undoubtedly discover the presence and deification of Mother Earth. The effect of New Age cartoons on young people is particularly disturbing, as it teaches innocent kids the principles of paganism. Characters such as Captain Planet and the Planeteers tell children to use their "mystical powers" to protect the environment, and to assist Gaia, the motherly earth-spirit, in her quest to join forces with Captain Planet and his "special children" to save the earth from middle-aged capitalist swine (there go those rotten adults again!) who want to destroy the loving Mother Earth. Each episode of Captain Planet ends by encouraging kids to help Gaia and the Planeteers save the earth from evildoers. The new animated Superman, that once proud defender of "truth, justice, and the American way," has also

seen the light, and, evidently, converted to New Age mysticism. His girlfriend, Lois Lane, consults the "white Wiccan coven" for information or magic to assist in Superman's task.

The Burning Man

For the past ten years such earth-worshipping pagans, and their little cartoon-watching pagans, have migrated from Canada, Brazil, Germany, Russia, and 25 other countries, to an isolated corner of Black Rock Desert in Nevada, where a four-day-long New Age techno-fest known as "The Burning Man" has been conducted. Attendance at the 1997 pagan carnival included an estimated 15,000 Wiccans, Satanists, Goddesses (white witches), nudists, and a consortium of other lost party-goers, who converge on the hot Nevada desert for a Labor Day weekend of "glorious Hell on earth." The number of participants at the Burning Man gala has nearly doubled each year since 1986, and, by the year 2000, organizers hope to break 30,000. The Burning Man is a no-holds-barred New Age "Woodstock" style festival, where neo-pagans, Wiccans, transvestite entertainers, back-slidden Christians, and a host of homosexuals, go to trance, perform rituals, burn sacrifices to idols, dance in the nude, engage in sex, and otherwise "express" themselves and become one with Gaia.

Attendees set up theme camps such as "Lost Vegas," "Motel 666," and "Crucifixion with a Celebrity" (where one can purchase a picture of a crucified obese Elvis). Hamburgers are sold by devil-worshipping pagans at the McSatan cafe, and T-shirts are available that proudly proclaim, "Praise

the Whore." The Burning Man itself is a forty-foot-high effigy of the "Spirit Cave Man" (sacred to local Indians and New Agers) which is torched, together with just about everything else, at the close of the festivities.

George Otis Jr., president of The Sentinel Group (a Christian research agency), attended the 1996 Burning Man festival with a colleague. He wrote of the experience:

> On Saturday night, the hell-themed 1996 festival reached its crescendo in the form of a drama. . . . These people were literally celebrating the fact that one day they would enter hell. To simulate their journey, the camp's center stage was transformed into the "Vestibule of Hell." The guest of honor was none other than "Papa Satan." . . . As the lecherous Papa Satan bowed in mock chains before a placard reading "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," a group called "Idiot Flesh," [supposedly Christians] dressed as hooded executioners, began to play a discordant dirge accompanied by flashing strobes. When the crowd started its torchlight procession toward the Gates of Hell and an eerie, sculpted castle called The City of Dis, I sensed an unmistakable chill in the air. Our march had been joined by unseen, malevolent guests. . . . nudist and a moving sea of devil banners [also] moved around us. . . . At the tri-tower City of Dis, our descent into the Inferno reached a demonic sanctuary. . . . While massive loudspeakers pumped out a hellish bass tone accompanied by tormented screams . . . people dressed as de-

> monic insects celebrated by copulating with other captured souls. It was a scene that looked as if it had been plucked from a horrific nightmare. Mesmerized by the evocative music, the performers began to chant, "Devil's delight, fire tonight!" Wood piles inside the towers of Dis were ignited, causing orange flames to belch forth from the eyes and mouths of demonic gargoyles built onto the turrets. As the heat became more intense, the entourage danced around the towers. Satan had defeated the church.[7]

Otis continued the report by confessing, "I had to remind myself that what I had witnessed at the Burning Man Festival was happening right here in the United States, not in the temples of India or the deserts of Sinai." He also admits that he met many friendly, creative, and intelligent people at the Burning Man festival, and he encourages believers to contend for such lost souls in prayer.

Zeus, Osiris, and Apollo Live! New Age Oracles

"What advantage then hath the Jew? . . . Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God" (Rom. 3:1-2). When the apostle Paul wrote to the church at Rome concerning the oracles (*logion*, "divine utterances") that God gave to the Jews, he was referring to the revelations of the Old Testament Law and Prophets. In the Bible, the word "oracle" means supernatural utterance. It can also refer to a device used in the production of divine utterances. The Bible is an oracle, as was the Urim and Thummim

(sacred devices) of the Old Testament. When a man or a woman speaks as true prophets of God, he or she is likewise considered "an oracle of God" (1 Peter 4:11).

New Age pagans, such as those who attend the Burning Man Festival, are extremely interested in such oracular phenomena, and readily accept certain portions of the Bible as divinely oracular (the verses they believe support their ideas of God, reincarnation, spirit communing, and the afterlife). But, in the quest for spiritual knowledge, modern pagans also reach out beyond the "confines" of the Bible into a veiled world of mystical utterances, table-tapping, ouija boards, psychic phone lines, visualization, channeling, and other esoteric forms of prognostication.

I once preached a sermon on oracles and the "death of the Olympian gods." I boldly proclaimed that Christianity had swept the globe, and that, as far as I knew, not a living person remained on earth that bowed in reverence to Apollo, or consulted at his sacred shrines. The sermon was received with rousing applause by the audience, and I sold some tapes. The only problem was, I was wrong. Apollo's Oracle at Delphi, the most famous oracle of antiquity, is in ruins. But the worship of the Olympian god, and the order of his pythian priestesses, are actively involved in Wiccan and New Age paganism in the 1990s. The fact is, it's unclear if the worship of Apollo or the consulting of his oracles ever ceased.

There is some evidence that generational witches may have continued the worship of Apollo and the secrets of his pythian divination for centuries. Whether or not that's true, the admirers of

Apollo number in the tens of thousands today. This is primarily because Apollo is an oracle god, and his disciples are granted a "divine audience." Unlike other underworld spirits, Apollo audibly communicates (at times with amazing accuracy in antiquity) through the vocal chords of the pythoness to his followers. This characteristic originally caused, and apparently continues to cause, a tremendous cult popularity for Apollo. The Greek historian, Herodotus (considered the father of history), wrote of an interesting event. Croesus, the king of Lydia, expressed doubt regarding the accuracy of Apollo's Oracle at Delphi. To test the oracle, Croesus sent messengers to inquire of the pythian prophetess as to what he, the king, was doing on a certain day. The priestess surprised the king's messengers by visualizing the question, and by formulating the answer, before they arrived. A portion of the historian's account reads:

> The moment that the Lydians (the messengers of Croesus) entered the sanctuary, and before they put their questions, the Pythoness thus answered them in hexameter verse: ". . . Lo! on my sense there striketh the smell of a shell- covered tortoise, Boiling now on a fire, with the flesh of a lamb, in a cauldron. Brass is the vessel below, and brass the cover above it." These words the Lydians wrote down at the mouth of the Pythoness as she prophesied, and then set off on their return to Sardis. . . . [when] Croesus undid the rolls. . . . [he] instantly made an act of adoration . . . declaring that the Delphic was the only really oracular shrine. . . . For on the departure of his messengers he had set himself to think what

> was most impossible for any one to conceive of his doing, and then, waiting till the day agreed on came, he acted as he had determined. He took a tortoise and a lamb, and cutting them in pieces with his own hands, boiled them together in a brazen cauldron, covered over with a lid which was also of brass. (Herodotus, book 1: 47)

The demon Apollo established an enormous following through such prophetic trickery, and, evidently, continues to do so. On the Internet, there are numerous Web sites dedicated to the modern worship of Apollo, and some such sites teach the methods and sacred locations of current pythian oracular activity.

Modern pagans are drawn to oracles because oracles ostensibly prove the existence of a spirit world, and because they seemingly provide a method of communicating with such spirits. Besides the pythian, ancient oracles being revived by the participants of New Age paganism include interpreting the flame of candles, the organs of animals, the behavior of water, and the wisping of wind through the leaves of trees. Tree oracles, such as the necromantic oak tree of Zeus at Dodona, were among the most popular oracles of the ancient world. This was due in part to the belief that the root of the tree extended into the lower world, and the tree was thus connected to the underworld dead. Judy Vorfeld admitted communing with tree spirits when she was involved in New Age mysticism. As a biblical endorsement of the activity, New Agers erroneously claim that 2 Samuel 5:24 is a scriptural account of King David consulting with tree oracles, and they point out

that Jehovah instructed David to "smite the host of the Philistines" after he heard "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees."

Angels are another popular oracular entity of New Agers. Literally dozens of New Age books describe methods of communicating with the spirit world through the "assistance" of angels. Such book titles are self explanatory: *Ask Your Angels: A Practical Guide to Working with the Messengers of Heaven to Empower and Enrich Your Life,* and, *The Angels Within Us: A Spiritual Guide to the Twenty-two Angels that Govern Our Lives.* In one publication, we discover the interesting "identity" of such governing spirits as the author describes an encounter with his angel-oracle:

> The swirling fog began to dissipate, and I could see the flicker of a light ahead—a darting, pulsating glow resembling a firefly. I paused for a moment to observe, and the tiny flare expanded in size and appeared as a small full moon touching the earth. As I moved closer to the radiance, it suddenly changed into a vertical beam, a pillar of transparent light.
>
> "Are you the angel I am seeking?" I asked. The soft yet powerful feminine voice replied,
>
> "I am the Angel of Creative Wisdom."
>
> "Do you have a name?
>
> "Some have called me Isis," she said, and with those words the pillar of light slowly materialized to reveal the face and form of a beautiful woman wearing a flowing white robe trimmed in gold.[8]

Can you believe it? "Isis" is identified as a New Age angel! Satan is clever. While such angel-oracles are undoubtedly popular among New Age devotees, the most curious form of oracular activity reinvigorated by pagans today is the "psychomanteum;" a simple, yet eerie, idea. A chair, placed in front of a large mirror in a dark room, serves as the oracle. Once positioned on the chair, the occupant stares into the mirror and waits for contact with the ghosts of the departed. In ancient times, the psychomanteum's mirror-system of communicating with "spirits" was employed by primitive Greeks in gloomy underground caverns called "halls of visions." Standing in front of a shining metal surface or caldron, grieving ancients saw and spoke with familiar apparitions.

The Sumerians, Egyptians, and Romans employed similar oracles of polished crystal, brass mirrors, and pools of water. Some argue that the Apostle Paul was referring to such mirror-oracles when he said, "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known" (1 Cor. 13:12). The New Age psychomanteum is likewise used to facilitate contact with deceased relatives or family members and is increasingly being encouraged by New Age psychiatrists as a method for dealing with grief. Sometimes, under nefarious conditions, the mirror-contact phenomenon spontaneously occurs. As a teenager, my wife was involved in a horrific accident that killed her dad and sister. Following the accident, her eleven-year-old sister "materialized" in the bedroom mirror on two occasions. Since the house she lived in was

formerly occupied by gypsies, my wife believes this fact contributed to the spontaneous psychomanteum activity.

In his book, *Reunions,* Raymond Moody promotes the use of the New Age psychomanteum as an oracle. He has documented the experiences of more than three hundred users of the device, and points out that 50 percent claim to have been contacted by a deceased relative or friend during the first try. People interviewed by Moody include physicians, teachers, housewives, business owners, and law enforcement officials. One such witness, an accountant who grieved over his departed mother a year after her death, testified of his experience with the psychomanteum:

> There is no doubt that the person I saw in the mirror was my mother! I don't know where she came from, but I am convinced that what I saw was the real person. She was looking out at me from the mirror. . . . I could tell she was in her late 70s, about the same age as. . . . when she died. However, she looked happier and healthier than she had at the end of her life. Her lips didn't move, but she spoke to me and I clearly heard what she had to say. She said, "I am fine," and smiled. . . . I stayed as relaxed as I could and just looked at her. . . . Then I decided to talk to her. I said, "It's good to see you again."
>
> "It s good to see you, too," she replied. That was it. She simply disappeared.[9]

A physician was unexpectedly contacted by a nephew while seated in a psychomanteum:

> I suddenly had a very strong sense of the presence of my nephew, who had committed suicide. . . . I heard his voice very clearly. He greeted me and brought me a very simple message. He said, "Let my mother know that I am fine and that I love her very much." This experience was profound. I know he was there with me.[10]

Although the Bible warns of communicating with "familiar spirits" and of consulting mediums, the revival of ancient oracles, and the experiences being drawn from them, are especially seductive curiosities to the followers of New Age paganism. Communications with the dead, channeling, trancing, near-death experiences, and other forms of mediumship, harmonize a coveted and reassuring New Age theme, "I'm fine now," "All is well," "I'm waiting for you." New Agers and neo-pagans cherish such next-life universalism, and, while they typically reject the Judeo-Christian Hell, they willingly embrace the message of the oracle gods, Osiris, Zeus, and Apollo, which tell them that everyone eventually goes to "heaven."

Dionysus, Asclepius, and Hecate Live! New Age Mysticism

A spirit of mysticism has been present in the United States for generations. Like an insidious cancer, unseen, patient, deadly, it has grown. Indications of its presence have been felt occasionally, and confirmations of its actuality have been documented from Washington D.C. to Portland, Oregon. By tracing city-name origins, such as Ceres, Alexandria, Mars, Fortuna, and Media, one discovers the early influence of such

mysticism within the United States. By looking at sites such as the House of the Temple, the home office of Scottish Rite Freemasonry, one discovers a continuation of the ancient occultism. Located several blocks from the White House on 16th Street in Washington D.C., the House of the Temple contains eight candelabrum fashioned after Hermes, the "god of light," as well as various other artworks reminiscent of the Temple of Dionysus. Statues of the goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, stand hallowed inside.

One can exit the House of the Temple, walk down the street and around the corner, and take pictures of an enormous obelisk (phallic Egyptian symbol of fertility) known as the Washington Monument. From there one can travel across country to Portland, Oregon, where a huge statue ("Portlandia") representing of the goddess Hecate, stands overshadowing the entrance to the City of Portland Office buildings. On the Portland City Seal, "Lady Commerce" holds a trident under a six-pointed star. Both are important instruments of Hecatian witchcraft.

To the South, in California, Athene (Minerva), the manly goddess of war, greets humans from a prominent position on the Great Seal of the State of California. Other states boasting similar Great Seals and goddesses include New York (Liberty and Justice); Oklahoma (Themis); New Jersey (Ceres and Liberty); and Florida. Even the Great Seal of the United States depicts an array of equally abstruse symbols, including an unfinished Egyptian pyramid overshadowed by the "All-Seeing Eye" and bearing the cryptic phrase, *NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM,* "A new order of the ages."

As we approach the culmination of the "new order of the ages," cult experts forecast a staggering revival of idolatry and Eastern mysticism. As church attendance declines across the United States, Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, Theosophists, Christian Scientists, and New Agers, expand to meet the desires and mystical interests of Americans. Tarot card reading is at an all-time high. Psychic phone lines are jammed with over $300 million in calls per year, and celebrities such as LaToya Jackson and Dionne Warwick lend credibility to psychic consultations. Even the US Government has shown interest in such phenomena. During the 1995 budget cuts, the CIA was forced to release a $20 million project ("Operation Stargate") aimed at studying the usefulness of psychics in gathering military secrets from foreign powers.

The wives of two U.S. Presidents, Nancy Reagan and Hillary Clinton, have also been the subject of public examination since it was discovered that they consulted with astrologers and psychics. Hillary Clinton went so far as to channel "conversations" with the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt. Whether such conversations included a White House psychomanteum, or other oracular device, is unknown, but the obvious widespread interest in such paranormal activity substantiates what Judy Vorfeld has said: "Dabbling in the realm of the occult is currently stylish. Even some Christians seem unable to avoid the attraction of this colorful, seductive world."[11]

The colorful seduction of mysticism is reaching into every fiber of our culture. From public school Environmental Education to faddish televi-

sion good-guys, today's generation is bombarded with a New Age Occultianity (Western Christian beliefs mixed with occultism) that popularize the supernatural. Beloved comic book heroes such as "Spawn" teach our youth the dangerous Persephonian idea that a person can be in league with the devil, and still be a good person. Such doctrines of "harmonizing duality" are extremely popular (comics of "Spawn" have sold over 100 million copies) and blend nicely with the syncretistic goals of the New Age Movement. Judy Vorfeld continues:

> The mystical, make-believe world of yesteryear, whose delightful stories tickled the imaginations of generations of young people, has evolved into a magical world of pseudo-reality for people of all ages. It's seen as a world of "good" creatures having supernatural powers and using them to stamp out "evil" beings. These popular characters are displayed on such items as cereal boxes, T-shirts, glassware, jewelry, bumper stickers, bedding, school folders, and toothbrushes. . . . Television paved the way by giving us sympathetic, clever characters like Samantha, Tabitha, Endora, and Jeannie. . . . Now our culture is surrounded with supernatural cuddly toys, adorable magic elves, pastel-colored unicorns, and extraterrestrial entities who roam earth's atmosphere offering love, justice, comfort, reincarnation, and other types of eternal life.[12]

Christians must realize that powerful and ancient entities are behind such mystical playthings.

In the air above and the earth beneath are nefarious progenitors of Old/New Age mysticism. "Gods" to some and "demons" to others, such forces have numerous titles. They can appear in hideous forms or as beautiful angels of light. They are the "wicked spirits" (*poneria:* the collective body of demon soldiers comprising Satan's hordes), "rulers of darkness" (*kosmokrators:* governing spirits of darkness), "powers" (*exousia:* high ranking powers of evil), and "principalities" (*arche:* commanding generals over Satan's fallen army) of Ephesians 6:12. As the gods who walk among us, they live today and encourage mysticism among pagans, witches, New Agers, church-goers, and the general public, in at least the following ways:

Aphrodite—sensuality, fertility rites, wiccan rituals, sacred prostitution;

Amun-Ra—masturbation, self realization, environmentalism, Darwinism;

Apis—animal worship, animal rights, animal channeling, occultianity;

Apollo—humanism, oracles, channeling, psychics, drugs, visualization;

Artemis—goddess worship, animal worship, animal rights, lesbianism;

Asclepius—holistic medicine, psychic dreaming, spirit-guide animals;

Athene—goddess worship, feminism, the spirituality movement, lesbianism;

Baal—oracles, polytheism, abortion, fertility issues;

Demeter—environmental education, earth worship, goddess worship;

Dionysus—excessive wine, Freudianism, ecstasy, pornography, lesbianism, abortion;

Eros—eroticism, mystical sex, body worship, body piercing, sacred prostitution;
Gaia—earth worship, environmentalism, paganism, pantheism, sweat lodges;
Geb—environmental movement, animal rights, eco-paganism;
Hades—devil worship, occultism, spiritism, necromancy;
Hathor—goddess worship, earth worship, animal rights, animal worship;
Hecate—witchcraft, necromancy, crystals, spells, druidism, feminism;
Heka—mysticism, demonism, animal rights, environmentalism;
Hypnos—hypnotism, psychic dreaming, prognostication, e.s.p., clairvoyance;
Imhoteb—mystic healing, animal dancing, holistic medicine, vision quests;
Isis—wicca, witchcraft, goddess worship, magic, channeling, visualization;
Min and Qetesh—fertility rites, body worship, sensuality, pornography;
Osiris—occultianity, necromancy, anthropomorphism, occultism, spiritism;
Persephone—animism, Zoroastrianism, dualism, magic, necromancy;
Ptah—universalism, pantheism, mysticism, holistic medicine;
Sekhmet—environmentalism, mystic medicine, animal worship;
Seth—homosexuality, rebellion, earth worship, environmental movement;
Vatchit—devil worship, channeling, trancing, visualization, necromancy;
Zeus—satanism, transsexualism, pantheism, oracles, animal worship.

By whatever names they may be called, the underworld spirits, historically referred to as gods and goddesses, are gathering the combined efforts of the kingdom of Satan into a conspiracy of apocalyptic proportions. As a consequence, we are experiencing an unprecedented revival of paganism at a time when the United States is considered the most advanced economic and technological power in the world. Why paganism? There's an ominous answer. Billy Graham declares, "Lucifer, our archenemy, controls one of the most powerful and well-oiled war machines in the universe. He controls principalities, powers, and dominions. Every nation, city, village, and individual has felt the hot breath of his evil power. He is already gathering the nations of the world for the last great battle in the war against Christ—Armageddon."[13]

The following chapter will discuss paganism's ultimate contribution to the battle of Armageddon—the resurrection of the Pharaoh spirit, the human god-king.

Notes

1. Judy Vorfeld, *Joyful Woman* (July/August 1988), 15.

2. Samantha Smith, *The Eagle Forum* (Fall/Winter 1997), 20.

3. Hal Lindsey, *Planet Earth—2000 A.D.* (Palos Verdes, CA: Western Front, Ltd., 1994), 24.

4. Samantha Smith, *Goddess Earth* (Lafayette, LA: Huntington House Publishers, 1994), 80-81.

5. Carolyn R. Staffer, *Shaman's Drum* (Fall 1987), 25.

6. Richard Cavendish, *Man, Myth & Magic,* s.v. "Diana."

7. George Otis Jr., *Charisma & Christian Life* (March 1997), 54-56.

8. Randolf Price, *The Angels Within Us: A Spiritual Guide to the Twenty-Two Angels that Govern Our Lives* (New York, NY: Fawcett/Columbine/Ballantine, 1993), 2-3.

9. Raymond Moody with Paul Perry, *Reunions* (New York, NY: Villard Books, 1993), 54-62.

10. Ibid.

11. Judy Vorfeld, *Light and Life* (June 1989), 17.

12. Ibid., 17-18.

13. Billy Graham, *Angels: God's Secret Agents* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1995), 250-251.

FIVE

The New Age of the God King

"Kingship, like the gods, has for most people at most times had an appeal far profounder than its purely practical and political significance would explain: in many parts of the world kings have been reverenced as being sacred, or even divine."

—*Man, Myth & Magic*

In the near future, a man of superior intelligence, wit, charm, and diplomacy, will emerge on the world scene as a savior. He will seemingly possess a transcendent wisdom that enables him to solve problems and offer solutions to many of today's most perplexing issues. His popularity will be widespread, and his fans will include young and old, religious and non-religious, male and female. Talk show hosts will interview his colleagues, news anchors will cover his movements, scholars will applaud his uncanny ability at resolving what has escaped the rest of us, and the poor will bow down at his table. He will, in every human way, appeal to the best idea of society. But his profound comprehension and irresistible presence will be the result of an invisible network of thousands of years of collective knowledge. He will,

like the pharaohs of Egypt, represent the embodiment of a very old and super-intelligent spirit. Just as Jesus Christ was the "seed of the woman" (Gen. 3:15), he will be the "seed of the serpent." Although his arrival in the form of a man was foretold by numerous Scriptures, the broad masses of the world will not recognize him as paganism's ultimate incarnation, the "beast" of Revelation 13:1.

It's been assumed for centuries that a prerequisite for the end-time Pharaoh (the Antichrist) will be a "revived" world order, an umbrella under which national boundaries dissolve, and ethnic groups, ideologies, religions, and economics from around the world, orchestrate a single and dominant sovereignty. Such a system will supposedly be free of religious and political extremes, and membership will tolerate the philosophical and cultural differences of its constituents. Except for minor nonconformities, war, intolerance, and hunger will be a thing of the past. At the head of the utopian administration, a single personality will surface. He will appear to be a man of distinguished character, but will ultimately become "a king of fierce countenance" (Dan. 8:23). With imperious decree, he will facilitate a one-world government, a universal religion, and global socialism. Those who refuse his New World Order will inevitably be imprisoned or destroyed, until at last he exalts himself "above all that is called God, or that is worshiped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God" (2 Thess. 2:4).

For many years, the idea of an Orwellian society, where a one-world government oversees the

smallest details of our lives and where human liberties are abandoned, was considered anathema. The concept that rugged individualism could be sacrificed for an anesthetized universal harmony was repudiated by America's greatest minds. Then, in the 1970s, things began to change. Following a call by Nelson Rockefeller for the creation of a "new world order,"[1] presidential candidate Jimmy Carter campaigned, saying, "We must replace balance of power politics with world order politics."[2] Evidently he struck a chord with world leaders. During the 1980s, President George Bush continued the one-world dirge by announcing over national television that "a new world order" had arrived. Following the initial broadcast, President Bush addressed Congress and made the additional comment:

> What is at stake is more than one small country [Kuwait], it is a big idea—a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle, and worthy of our childrens' future![3]

Ever since the President's astonishing newscast, a parade of political and religious leaders has discharged a profusion of New Age rhetoric aimed at implementing the goals of the New World Order. Al Gore, in his book *Earth In the Balance,* wrote that "we must all become partners in a bold effort to change the very foundation of our civilization." The director of the United Nations World Health Organization, Brock Chisolm, announced: "To achieve world government, it [will

be] necessary to remove from the minds of men their individualism, loyalty to family traditions, national patriotism."[4]

And New Age guru Benjamin Creme hit the nail on the head by admitting: "What is the plan? It includes the installation of a new world government and a new world religion under Maitreia."[5] (Maitreia is a New Age "messiah.")

Concurrent with the political aspects of the New World Order is the syncretistic and spiritual goals of the New Age Movement. The blending of politics and spirituality, such as occurs in New Age mysticism, harmonizes perfectly with the ideas of an end-time marriage of governmental policy and religious creed as was prophesied in the Bible. To that end, the tools necessary for paganism's ultimate incarnation, the god-king of the Great Tribulation (Satan in flesh), are in place. The "gods" have been revived through modern mysticism. The pagan agenda of governing by "divine representation" is being constructed. The governments of the world are uniting beneath a one-world banner, and the earths masses stand at the brink of a decisive moment in time.

In his book, *The New World Order,* Pat Robertson sees the strategy of the coming world leader played out in the following way:

> It is as if a giant plan is unfolding, everything perfectly on cue. Europe sets the date for its union. Communism collapses. A hugely popular war is fought in the Middle East. The United Nations is rescued from scorn by an easily swayed public. A new world order is announced. Christianity has been battered in the public arena, and New

> Age religions are in place in the schools and corporations, and among the elite. Then a financial collapse accelerates the move toward a world money system.
>
> The United States . . . turns its defense requirements over to the United Nations, along with its sovereignty. The United Nations severely limits property rights and clamps down on all Christian evangelism and Christian distinctives under the Declaration of the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religious Belief already adopted by the General Assembly. . . . Then the New Age religion of humanity becomes official, and the new world order leaders embrace it. Then they elect a world president with plenary powers who is totally given to the religion of humanity.[6]

Who will be enthroned as the President of the New World Order? Lord Maitreia? United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali? A resurrected John F. Kennedy? The Pope? A complete unknown? I do not know. But an ancient scheme is unfolding. At the core of the conspiracy, a leader of indescribable brutality is scheduled to appear. He will make the combined depravities of Antiochus Epiphenes, Hitler, Stalin, and Genghis Khan, all of whom were types of the antichrist, look like child's play. He will raise his fist, "speaking great things . . . in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven" (Rev. 13:5-6). He will champion worship of the "old gods" and "cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast

should be killed" (Rev. 13:15), and he will revive an ancient mystery religion that is "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird" (Rev. 18:2). Such verses are reminiscent of the Mystery religions of Dionysus and Demeter, in which the Greek god Pan, a consort of Dionysus, was famous for his pandemonium ("all the devils"). The coming world religion will be similar to the Dionysian cult in that those who reject the will of the New Age god-king will be destroyed.

Pandemonium! The Pagan Gospel of the New Age God King

The gospel, according to the New Age Movement, is an expansive idea centered around the birth of a new world "consciousness." As a religion of monism (all is one), New Agers hope to accomplish what the builders of the Tower of Babel failed to do: unify the masses of the world under a single religious umbrella, and, at the macro level, harmonically converge the world's energies with the power of Gaia. To promote such goals, New Agers claim that God is pantheistic *(God is all and all is God)* and that humans are divine members of the whole "that God is." According to New Ageism, Jesus came to reveal this pantheistic nature of God and to teach humanity the gospel of Self-Realization. After illustrating the divine principle of "God within us all," Jesus ascended to a place of distinction to live among the Masters of the Spiritual Hierarchy, including Buddha and Krishna. Jesus promised that the essence of God would be revealed from time to time, and, thus, New Agers look for the imminent appearing of a

World Teacher who will, as Jesus did, illustrate the divine human potential. In this way, New Age theology prepares the world for the coming of the False Prophet and the Antichrist.

Pagans claim such a religion of Self-realization, a belief that will be championed by the Antichrist, is older than Christianity. That's true. The gospel according to the New Age Movement, a gospel of "becoming god," is as old as the fall of man. It began when the serpent said to the woman "ye shall be as gods" (Gen. 3:5), and it will culminate during the reign of the Tribulation god-king. The New Age movement provides the perfect creed for implementing such an end-time religion. It unifies the religions of the world. It consecrates the forces of nature. It provides for human divinity, and it is vogue, post modern, and politically correct. Tal Brooke, former New Age disciple of Hindu holy man, Sai Baba, confirms that "the New Age movement, and its progeny, Gaia, are spiritually correct for a new world order. Christianity is not."[7] Thus, history repeats itself, and the ancient Egyptian gospel of men becoming "gods" is fashionable again! Consequently, New Age celebrities such as Shirley MacLaine represent themselves as "I AM that I AM" at human potential symposiums around the world, and the Vice President of the United States, Al Gore, describes God in terms of "a constant and holy spiritual presence in all people, all life, and all things."[8] Hillary Clinton channels the spirits of the dead and members of the House of Representatives warn Congress of "increasing evidence of a government-sponsored religion in America . . . [a] cloudy mixture of New Age mysticism, Native American folklore and primitive earth worship."[9]

For many years, Christians wondered how the Antichrist would deceive the earth's masses. How does one convince millions of people, especially in countries where Christianity exists, to exchange their souls for temporary earthly benefits? Then, the New Age Movement came along with its focus on human-potential and self-empowerment and successfully drew many Christians away from Christ-exalting doctrines. Old-fashioned gospel preaching was replaced with positive thinking, self-realization, and pop psychology, and mystical experiences which tantalize the flesh, were sanctioned as "the last great revival." As a result, celebrity preachers advance sermons focusing on "the inner self," and Sunday morning services begin with shouts of "Are you ready for God to do great things!?" The implication that God will meet with believers and grant their many requests is touted as dynamic Christianity. The days of unconditional Christian devotion are threatened as contemporary congregations expect God to "manifest" Himself and please the whims of the audience. Although Jesus warned of an "evil and adulterous generation [that] seeketh after a sign," physical and mystical "thrills" have become the benchmark of many popular Christian gathering places. The result is a growing superficiality among some Christians who are preoccupied with mysticism and "me-ism."

As a businessman and ministry leader, I've tasted the bitter results of the "new age" segment of Christianity. Too often, these believers fall, flop, quiver, shake, and gyrate on Sunday, but can't get out of bed and go to work Monday morning. Among such employees, I've found insignificant

character differences between religious groups, and "Christians" have been just as likely as non-believers to lie, cheat, and steal at my place of business. Perhaps I've been unlucky, or maybe, as I believe, twenty years of popular New Age metaphysical focusing on "self" has so impacted this generation that many "Christians" are willing to dilute their character to acquire what pleases them. Either way, an inward-focusing generation of "religious people" willing to trade their soul for whatever makes them happy is exactly what is necessary for the appearance of Antichrist. "You can stamp my hand if you'll give me what I want" is the required attitude. While many Christians and New Age devotees are sincere, giving people, the lasting result of the New Age Movement is nevertheless demonic, self-absorbed, and paves the way for the coming of paganism's preeminent materialization, the god-king of the Great Tribulation.

New Age Angels and the Chariot of the God King

When I was a child, my father made an amazing discovery while deer hunting in the mountains of Arizona. Several large and perfectly spherical craters, perhaps twenty feet across and eight feet deep, were located in an unexplored section of the range where he was hunting. The mysterious cavities were so precise that it looked as if an enormous white-hot ball had pushed into the rock, and the finish on the walls was such that rainwater filled the orbs. The sides of the holes were slick and each "pool" contained deer that had fallen in and drowned while attempting to drink the water.

Dad took pictures of the obscure semispherical holes (he showed them to the family and I remember being especially impressed), and led a representative of the Army Corps of Engineers to the location. The origin of the puzzling craters was never determined, and the Corps of Engineers filled the pools with rock to protect the wildlife. A local newspaper ran an article on the baffling holes, reprinted photographs of my father kneeling beside the orbs, and that seemed to be the end of the story.

Then, on 5 November 1975, along the northeastern ridge of an Arizona mountain range, Travis Walton stepped out of his pick-up to look at a mysterious glowing object. While a crew of loggers waited nearby, Travis approached the UFO and was jolted by a blast of inexplicable energy. As his companions fled in terror, Travis was taken onboard the alien spacecraft and subjected to a variety of physical examinations. His story, *Fire in the Sky,* is now a motion picture. It reports what's considered to be the best documented account of a UFO abduction ever recorded. Is Travis Walton's story true? Was there a connection between the Walton-UFO and the mysterious mountain holes? Did the experiences of my sister who saw small alien-like creatures around her bed at night for years following the discovery mean anything? I don't know. But the strange phenomenon known as UFO activity is sure to play a part in the coming World Order and in the introduction of the New Age god-king.

As mentioned in chapter one, I believe a portion of UFO activity is demonic. Increasingly, others agree with that opinion. Hal Lindsey states,

"I have become thoroughly convinced that UFOs are real. . . . I believe these beings are not only extraterrestrial but supernatural in origin. To be blunt, I think they are demons."[10] In *Angels Dark and Light,* Gary Kinnaman claims, "I am fairly convinced that . . . UFO sightings are the manifestations of angels of darkness. My main reason for thinking this is that UFO sightings have never, at least to my knowledge, led a person closer to God. In fact, most UFO experiences have just the opposite effect."[11] UFO celebrity and author of *Communion* (bestselling book about his alleged alien abduction), Whitley Streiber, describes UFOnauts in terms of demonology.

He writes:

> There are worse things than death, I suspected. And I was beginning to get the distinct impression that one of them had taken an interest in me. So far the word demon had never been spoken among the scientists and doctors who were working with me. And why should it have been? We were beyond such things. We were a group of atheists and agnostics, far too sophisticated to be concerned with such archaic ideas as demons and angels."[12]

Associate professor of psychology Elizabeth L. Hillstrom points out that a growing number of academics support the conclusion that UFOnauts are synonymous with historical demons. In her informative book, *Testing the Spirits,* she writes:

> From a Christian perspective, Vallee's explanation of UFOs is the most striking because of its parallels with demonic activity. UFO investigators have noticed these

> similarities. Vallee himself, drawing from extrabiblical literature on demonic activities, establishes a number of parallels between UFOnauts and demons. . . . Pierre Guerin, a UFO researcher and a scientist associated with the French National Council for Scientific Research, is not so cautious: "The modern UFOnauts and the demons of past days are probably identical." Veteran researcher John Keel, who wrote *UFOs: Operation Trojan Horse* and other books on the subject, comes to the same conclusion: "The UFO manifestations seem to be, by and large, mere minor variations of the age-old demonological phenomenon."[13]

It's easy to believe that demons are involved with "flying saucers." Evil spirits can manipulate energy and matter, and the theological terms, "Transmogrification" and "Poltergeist" ("noisy ghost"), imply that spirits can make lights go off and on, doors bang, icons bleed, and saucers fly.

But if a portion of "flying saucer" activity is demonic, what nefarious purpose is served by the stealthy nature of UFO phenomena? The answer is diabolical. UFO-ism seems to be aimed at preparing the earth for the coming of Antichrist, i.e., an extraterrestrial "visitation of the gods," and, more importantly, at changing our religious beliefs. This occurs in two ways: First, from a technological standpoint, UFO sightings challenge the claim of human superiority and dispute our unique role in the universe. We are made to feel shallow, undeveloped, unenlightened. Second, from a religious point of view, extraterrestrials bring a

message (as reported in hundreds of abduction cases) of easy universalism and New Age mysticism including dialogue of humans "on the verge of extraordinary telepathic and technological growth." Benevolent ETs profess to watch over us and promise to appear at the appropriate time to assist in our next big evolutionary, spiritual, and technological step forward. To prepare us for their coming, popular movies, bestselling books, cultural trends, and religious ideas, focus the earths masses on "help from above," and New Agers smile and explain "It's okay, they've been here before" and "Don't worry, ancient men simply described flying saucers in terms of demons, angels, and gods, because they didn't understand what they were seeing."

In other words, New Agers believe that space vehicles manipulating laws of physics (suddenly appearing and disappearing, operating anti-gravitationally, etc.) were assigned "god" or "angel" status by sincere but ignorant prophets, and that Ezekiel's living creatures will return someday in wheels "in the middle of a wheel" providing explanations of our origin and solutions to our problems. Such New Age claims of extraterrestrials visiting the earth in ancient times and interacting with men is biblically and historically true. Where Christians differ from New Agers is in the definition of who these creatures were and what they were doing. In the *Interlinear Hebrew Bible* we read:

> The benei Elohim saw the daughters of Adam, that they were fit extensions. And they took wives for themselves from all those that they chose . . . The Nephelim were in the earth in those days, and even

> afterwards when the benei Elohim came in to the daughters of Adam, and they bore to them—they were Powerful Ones which existed from ancient times, the men of name. (Gen. 6:2,4)

As noted in the first two chapters of this book, the benei Elohim were "extraterrestrial" angelic creatures also known as "watchers," "sons of God," and "rephiam." They visited the earth during antiquity and used the daughters of Adam as "fit extensions" or instruments through which they extended themselves into the physical world. They sought to corrupt the bloodline of Adam, to deceive the human race, and to prevent the birth of the Messiah. They represented themselves as "gods," and their offspring, the Nephilim ("fallen ones"), attempted to exterminate the people of Yahweh. In what may be a prophecy of end-time UFOs, Isaiah connected the benei Elohim to "fiery flying seraph." We read, "Do not rejoice O Philistia, all of you, for the rod of your striking is broken, because a viper (Antichrist) comes forth from the root of the snake (Satan) and his fruit is the fiery flying seraph" (Isa. 14:29). The seraph (seraphim) were powerful angels known for their brilliance. If, as we suspect, some of the seraphim followed Lucifer in the fall, it could be that such "fiery flying seraph" are the source of UFOs today. As previously noted; the "air" above the earth was considered by ancient Hebrew scholars to be the dwelling place of fallen angels. An interesting point of this is made by J. N. Schofield in *Man, Myth & Magic:*

> The warm interest of angels in mans' welfare is vividly expressed in the saying of

Jesus that there is joy before the angels of God over one sinner who repents' (Luke 15), and that children have their guardian angels standing as favoured envoys near God Himself (Matthew 18). It was through Jewish Christians that angeology, based on the Old Testament and other Jewish writings, entered the teaching of the Church. Angels were set over the life of Nature, and over human communities. God was Israel's portion but Michael was her protector, taught her Hebrew and gave the law on Sinai. Every individual had his guardian angel and babies exposed or aborted were cared for by guardian angels. There continued to be angelic intercessors and messengers of revelation or warning, but further functions were more specialized. There was an Angel of Repentance who brought to man consciousness of sin and the promise of forgiveness, and an Angel of Peace received the soul as it left the body and bore it to paradise. The Angel of Death in Sheol was a good angel and guardian of souls.

Angelic rank was associated with speculation about the universe, which increased to the three heavens known to St. Paul. All these were thought to be above the firmament [the kosmos] where fallen angels were imprisoned, and all were inhabited exclusively by angels, the lower heavens by those in charge of human affairs, the upper by Angels of the Presence. According to some speculation, these heavens (the *Hajoth-Hakados*) were successive stages through

> which souls must pass, encountering their guardian angels to whom account must be given.

If it's true that fallen angels inhabit the earths atmosphere and that, historically, they conducted genetic experiments on the daughters of Adam and thereby produced the mutant nephilim, does the prophecy of Jesus in Luke 17:26 indicate such activity would reoccur before the Rapture? Does recent UFO abduction activity point to genetic engineering of a new race of anti-God warriors (nephilim) as we approach the Great Tribulation? Will UFOs provide the grand entry of the ultimate cross-mutation of angelic and human species, the god-king of the New World Order? Time will tell. Until then:

> The mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders. (2 Thess. 2:7-9)

The Real War of the Worlds

In a popular New Age book on angels we read:

> Even in this day and age, films like *The Omen, Rosemary's Baby,* and *The Seventh Sign* evoke horror, because they tap into the possibility that we may be influenced in some way by universal messengers of evil. However, according to our angelic informants [?], the situation, thank God, is not

> like that at all. . . . Slowly, surely, we are collectively emerging from this *illusion of evil*. . . . Many contemporary Christians have begun to abandon the concept that there is a real devil, recognizing once again that there is only one omnipotent force in the universe [emphasis added].[14]

Whereas some pagans profess a belief in Karma or Zoroastrianism (opposing forces of good and evil), the idea of personal evil spirits such as Satan and his angels is rejected by New Agers. The concepts of Hell and a future Great Judgment are also disregarded. But the reality of Hell and the doom of Satan's followers is nevertheless described in the Bible. The "old gods" of the underworld, including Zeus, Apollo, Demeter, Isis, and others, will be judged by Yahweh. "The Lord will be terrible unto them: for he will famish all the gods of the earth" (Zeph. 2:11). "The Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saith; Behold, I will punish the . . . gods" (Jer. 46:25). Yahweh will also punish the leader of the gods, that old serpent, called the Devil, and his human followers. In Isaiah we read:

> Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain. In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea. (Isa. 26:20-27:1)

However futile, the gods will retaliate, and a war of indescribable intensity will occur in the future. It will be fought on land and sea, in the heavens above, and in the earth below, in the physical and spiritual worlds. It will include "Michael and his angels [fighting] against the dragon; and the dragon [fighting] and his angels" (Rev. 12:7). Heretics will join the battle and call upon "idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood" (Rev. 9:20) to convene their evil powers against the Christian God, and New Agers will unite with "unclean spirits like frogs. . . . the spirits of devils [the frog goddesses Heka or Hekate?] working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth . . . to gather them to the battle of that great day. . . . [to] a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon ["Mount Megiddo"]" (Rev. 16:13-14;16). There, in the valley of Megiddo, the omnipotent Christ will utterly repel the forces of darkness and destroy the New World army. Blood will flow like rivers, and the fowl of the air will "eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth."

Tim LaHaye says, "As far back as the time of Napoleon, that great valley was claimed to be the most natural battleground of the whole earth."[15] Besides Armageddon, battles will be fought in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and in the city of Jerusalem. But the battle of Armageddon will climax the hostility between God Almighty and the lower gods of the underworld. Once before, Satan and his "god" spirits challenged Yahweh at Megiddo. They lost. On Mount Carmel, overlooking the Valley of Armegeddon, the prophets of the demon-god Baal dared the Hebrew God to answer by fire. He did

and He will again. When He does, where will you be? Will you join forces with the gods of the underworld and trust in the armies of the New Age/ New World Order? If so, here is your future:

> And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse [Jesus], and against his army [Christians and angels of God]. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh. . . . And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away: and there was found no place [to hide]. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. . . . And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire. (Rev.19:19-21; 20:11-12,15)

If you repent of your sins and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ you will experience a different destiny at the battle of Armageddon:

> And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True [Jesus], and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself. And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven [Christians and angels of God] followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS. . . . And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and. . . . I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men. . . . And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away. And he that sat upon the throne said. . . . I will give unto him that is a thirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son [or daughter] (Rev. 19:11-16; 20:1-7).

Preceding such apocalypse, the year 2000 will undoubtedly herald the unprecedented changes of a final millennium. As the gods of the underworld work to establish dominion over mankind and within a new world order, the god-king (Antichrist) of the Great Tribulation will prepare for his appearance. Such is a time for Christians worldwide to unite in common cause. What can believers do about the spread of paganism and the goals of a New World Order?

First, Christians must resist the temptation to squander their time and energy pursuing silly mystical experiences and religious entertainment and wholly commit to the vocal community declaration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is the preaching of the Gospel that embodies the power of God unto salvation; both of nations and of individuals.

Second, we must be willing to intercede in prayer and fasting for our nation and for its leaders. The lower gods of the underworld and their impact on society have historically been overcome by heavenly activity generated by righteous men and women on bended knees.

Third, political representatives need to hear about Christian concerns. A single call or letter is considered by most congressmen to represent the will of many thousands of other Americans.

Fourth, let's prepare for the coming of Christ! Believers in this age need to draw close to God and to His Word and live righteously. As R.L. Brandt said in the foreword, "We are at the end of the age. The coming of our Lord is near. Let us sound the trumpet in Zion!"

A Word from Ex New-Ager Judy Vorfeld

"Everything is about power," says a character in a best-selling novel. This certainly appears to be the key theme of the Bible. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, from the beginning, have all power, and, in their holiness, are worthy of the highest form of worship.

Early in the Bible we see Satan working relentlessly to become the only object of worship on Planet Earth. Fully aware of the nature and purposes of Jesus, Satan still tried to manipulate Him into worshipping him. Matthew 4:8 reveals that Satan "took Him to a very high mountain, and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, and their glory; and he said to Him, 'All these things will I give You, if You fall down and worship me.' "

Through the centuries, the enemy downplays God's power and the work of the Cross. He continues to work vigorously to make Jesus an equal of Buddha, Mohammed, the Dalai Lama, and other wise ones. He often succeeds. But Christians know that Jesus came to Earth to die, not to teach platitudes or become politically correct. God didn't plan that Jesus would be on the *All-time List of the World's Greatest Teachers* or become *Time* magazine's Person of the Year.

Many people we love have fallen under the influence of deceived teachers and deceptive philosophies. Their doctrines, often graced with biblical words and phrases, undermine God's authority, ability, promises and power. These people cling to religion, hoping for peace, happiness, and meaning for their lives. They honestly believe that religious practices will accomplish this. At one time,

so did I, ignorant of the fact that Satan offers a highway to happiness paved with empty promises and cheap glitter. Some of the road signs say, *This Way To A God Who Won't Embarrass You* (subtitle: Forget This "Born Again" Nonsense), *Turn Left For The God Of Your Design,* and *Two Miles To An Intellectually Stimulating God.* Countless souls struggle on this wide, but crowded, road.

God offers a slim, straight highway of simple faith, paved with the blood of Jesus, and ending at Calvary. Christianity offers a spiritual life based on what Christ did 2,000 years ago. Beyond the requirement of belief, God offers something quite different than all other religions: relationship.

I grew up thinking that Christianity required good works and constant church attendance. I also thought God was watching me with a lightning bolt in one hand and a sledge hammer in the other, waiting to get me if I misbehaved. After moving from Humanism to the New Age Movement to Christianity, I discovered that going to church was a choice and a privilege, but my eternal destiny wasn't based on how many times a week I attended church. Relationship with God, not religion, is everything.

Part of a healthy relationship comes from listening well, and I'm not always the best listener. God's voice is soft and gentle. I've learned that He loves me deeply and passionately. He shows it many times each day in tiny, precious ways. His delight in me helps me see myself through His eyes as one who is lovable. I've always been able to see the value and beauty in others, but not in myself.

How has He revealed Himself to me? Perhaps

the best example is in filling a basic need, of having a loving relationship with my father. For most of my life, my father and I were strangers, and I had a hole in my soul. My parents divorced when I was a teen. I've been close to my mother most of my life; she's a friend and a delight. But by the time Dad reached 90, I figured things would always be the same. I loved him, but didn't know him. Several years ago, his family, converging from many parts of the country, and including many great grandchildren, threw a surprise 90th birthday party for him. I believe this activated something deep inside him. The following year, I flew up from Arizona to visit him in Washington. For a solid week, we lugged cameras, maps, and sack lunches, hiking to many breathtaking locations. Actually, I hiked. Sometimes Dad (who has Congestive Heart Failure) crawled. We laughed a lot.

This visit triggered something in both of us, and our relationship began to change. Most of our contact since then has been via telephone. How can I express my feelings when my 94-year-old father says, "I love you, darling," as our conversations come to a close? His voice seems coated with honey. My heart bubbles with joy. I always hang up the phone in awe of a Heavenly Father that allowed this to happen. Would I have loved God as much if Dad had died before our special reconciliation? Absolutely. But God gave me a special gift, a just-for-Judy gift, another taste of his grace.

Christians, are any of your loved ones traveling the highway of futility? Are they trapped in paganism? Do you feel frustrated in your inability to share Jesus with them? Here are a few things

you can do that may help them see the truth:

Intercede. Ask God to help you see them from His perspective, to feel what He feels toward them. Be willing to have your heart broken with love as you experience God's deep, powerful love for them.

Never stop praying for them. My family and Christian friends lifted me up before the Lord (some, for years) before I accepted Him.

Separate the believer from the belief, but be willing to be totally honest in discussing those beliefs, if God makes an opening.

Resist shooting them with "Bible Bullets," but know your Bible well, and be prepared to share the truth when the opening comes. If you are not a Christian, I ask one thing: on your own, begin reading the Bible, with the understanding that it may be more than an ordinary book and more than mere words. Consider reading, each day, about six chapters in the Old Testament to two in the New Testament, starting with Genesis and Matthew. Read it with this in mind: *does it reveal Jesus Christ as God's Son, and does it show how He made a way for you to have a deeply intimate relationship with Him?* Surely you can take time to read this book and see if it has truth and consistency running through it.

There is much truth in the statement that everything is about power. We humans constantly look for it in our lives. Anything we can understand, we can control (to one extent or another). This is why it is important for so many to have a god they can figure out. Many sincere people search in vain for a magic blueprint for happiness and meaning to life. One road offers any kind of a god you want. Pick from the gods of the past,

the gods of the New Age, or go the create-a-god route: choose size, shape, age, race, gender, and composition.

The other road is just wide enough for one person at a time. At the end is Jesus. His open arms reach toward the traveler. All He offers is two nail-scarred hands.

Notes

1. Pat Robertson, *The New World Order* (Dallas, TX: Word Publishing, 1991), 5.

2. Ibid., 6.

3. Ibid., 14.

4. Ibid., 7.

5. Ibid., 6.

6. Ibid., 176-177.

7. Ibid., 167-168.

8. Al Gore, *Earth In the Balance* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), 368.

9. Jayne Schindler, *The Eagle Forum* (Fall/Winter 1997), 16.

10. Lindsey, *Planet Earth 2000 A.D.*, 68.

11. Gary Kinnaman, *Angels Dark and Light* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Publications, 1994), 132-133.

12. Whitley Streiber, *Communion* (William Morrow, NY: Beech Tree Books, 1987).

13. Elizabeth L. Hillstrom, *Testing the Spirits* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995) 207-208.

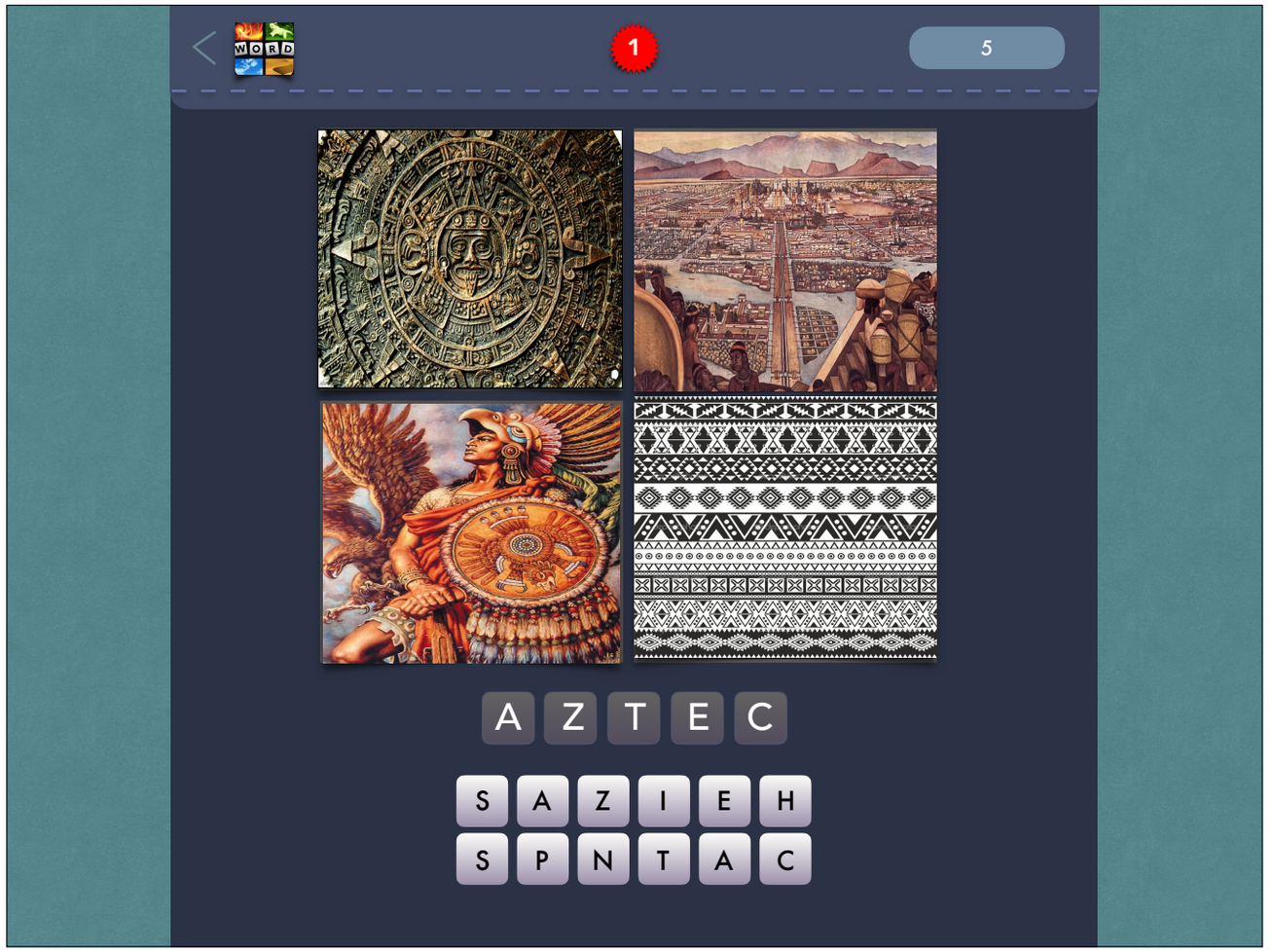
14. Alma Daniel, Timothy Wyllie, and Andrew

Ramer, *Ask Your Angels: A Practical Guide to Working with the Messengers of Heaven to Empower and Enrich Your Life* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992), 39-40.

15. Tim LaHaye, *Revelation Illustrated and Made Plain* (Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, MI, 1975), 267.

FLORENTINE CODEX

WORD



Answer: Aztecs

-Aztec civilization: began the conquest of the latin america
-The Aztec Empire flourished between c. 1345 and 1521 CE and, at its greatest extent, covered most of northern Mesoamerica. Aztec warriors were able to dominate their neighbouring states and permit rulers such as Motecuhzoma II to impose Aztec ideals and religion across Mexico. Highly accomplished in agriculture and trade, the last of the great Mesoamerican civilizations was also noted for its art and architecture which ranks amongst the finest ever produced on the continent.

AZTEC CIVILIZATION

- *The Aztec Civilisation (1345 - 1521 CE)*
- *Indigenous central Mexican people*
- *covered most of northern Mesoamerica*
- *Aztec warriors were powerful*
- *highly accomplished in agriculture and trade*

The Aztec Empire flourished between c. 1345 and 1521 CE and, at its greatest extent, covered most of northern Mesoamerica. Aztec warriors were able to dominate their neighbouring states and permit rulers such as Motecuhzoma II to impose Aztec ideals and religion across Mexico. Highly accomplished in agriculture and trade, the last of the great Mesoamerican civilizations was also noted for its art and architecture which ranks amongst the finest ever produced on the continent.

The fall of the Aztec civilization: began the conquest of the latin america

- *Composed of 12 books*
- *The Aztec Civilisation (1345 - 1521 CE)*
- *Culture, Religious, Ritual Practices, Economics, and Natural History*
- *Before the Conquest and the Conquest itself*
- *motive: primarily religious*

THE FLORENTINE CODEX

by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun

An encyclopedic work about the people and culture of central Mexico compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), a Franciscan missionary who arrived in Mexico in 1529, eight years after completion of the Spanish conquest

Sahagún's primary motivation was to evangelize indigenous Mesoamerican peoples, and his writings were devoted to this end. He described this work as an explanation of the “divine, or rather idolatrous, human, and natural things of New Spain.” Before he can begin to convert the natives to Christians, it was necessary to understand those gods and the hold they had on the Aztec people. Sahagún was repelled by much of native culture, but he also came to admire many qualities of the Aztecs. As he wrote in the prologue to Book I of his work, the Mexicans “are held to be barbarians and of very little worth; in truth, however, in matters of culture and refinement, they are a step ahead of other nations that presume to be quite politic.”

-The 12 volumes document the culture, religious and ritual practices, economics, and natural history of the indigenous central Mexican peoples in the years immediately preceding the Spanish Conquest, as well as the events of the Conquest itself.

BOOK SUMMARIES

Composed of 12 Books

BOOK 1: THE GODS

BOOK 2: THE CEREMONIES

BOOK 3: THE ORIGIN OF THE GODS

BOOK 4: THE SOOTHSAYERS

BOOK 5: THE OMENS

BOOK 6: PRAYERS AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

The Gods. Deals with gods worshiped by the natives of this land, which is New Spain.
The Ceremonies. Deals with holidays and sacrifices with which these natives honored their gods in times of infidelity.
The Origin of the Gods. About the creation of the gods.
The Soothsayers. About Indian judiciary astrology or omens and fortune-telling arts.
The Omens. Deals with foretelling these natives made from birds, animals, and insects in order to foretell the future.
Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy. About prayers to their gods, rhetoric, moral philosophy, and theology in the same context.
The Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Binding of the Years. Deals with the sun, the moon, the stars, and the jubilee year.
Kings and Lords. About kings and lords, and the way they held their elections and governed their reigns.
The Merchants. About long-distance elite merchants, pochteca, who expanded trade, reconnoitered new areas to conquer, and agents-provocateurs.
The People. About general history: it explains vices and virtues, spiritual as well as bodily, of all manner of persons.
Earthly Things. About properties of animals, birds, fish, trees, herbs, flowers, metals, and stones, and about colors.
The Conquest. About the conquest of New Spain from the Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco point of view.

BOOK SUMMARIES

Composed of 12 Books

BOOK 7: THE SUN, THE MOON AND THE STARS

BOOK 8: SOVEREIGN

BOOK 9: THE MERCHANTS

BOOK 10: THE PEOPLE

BOOK 11: EARTHLY THINGS

BOOK 12: THE CONQUEST

1. The Gods. Deals with gods worshiped by the natives of this land, which is New Spain.
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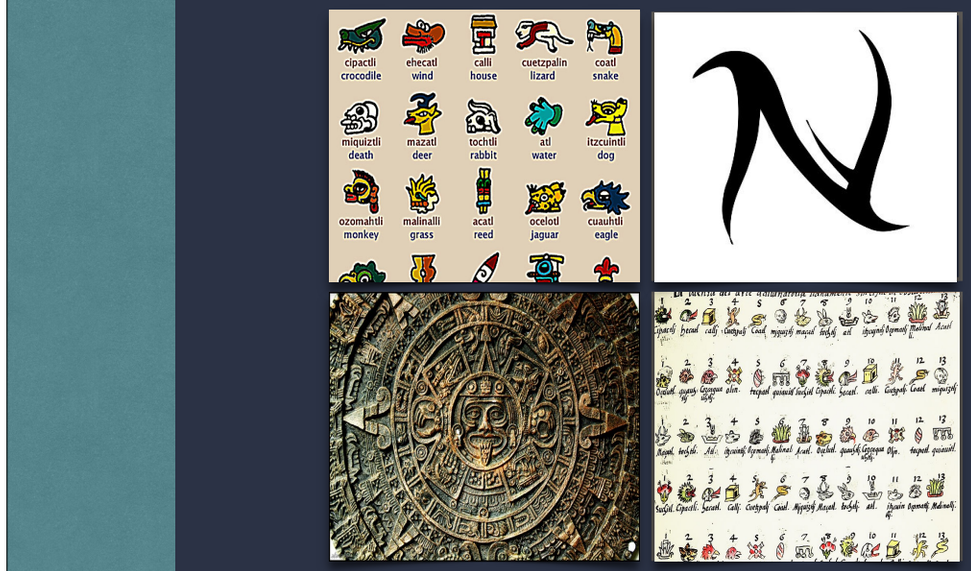
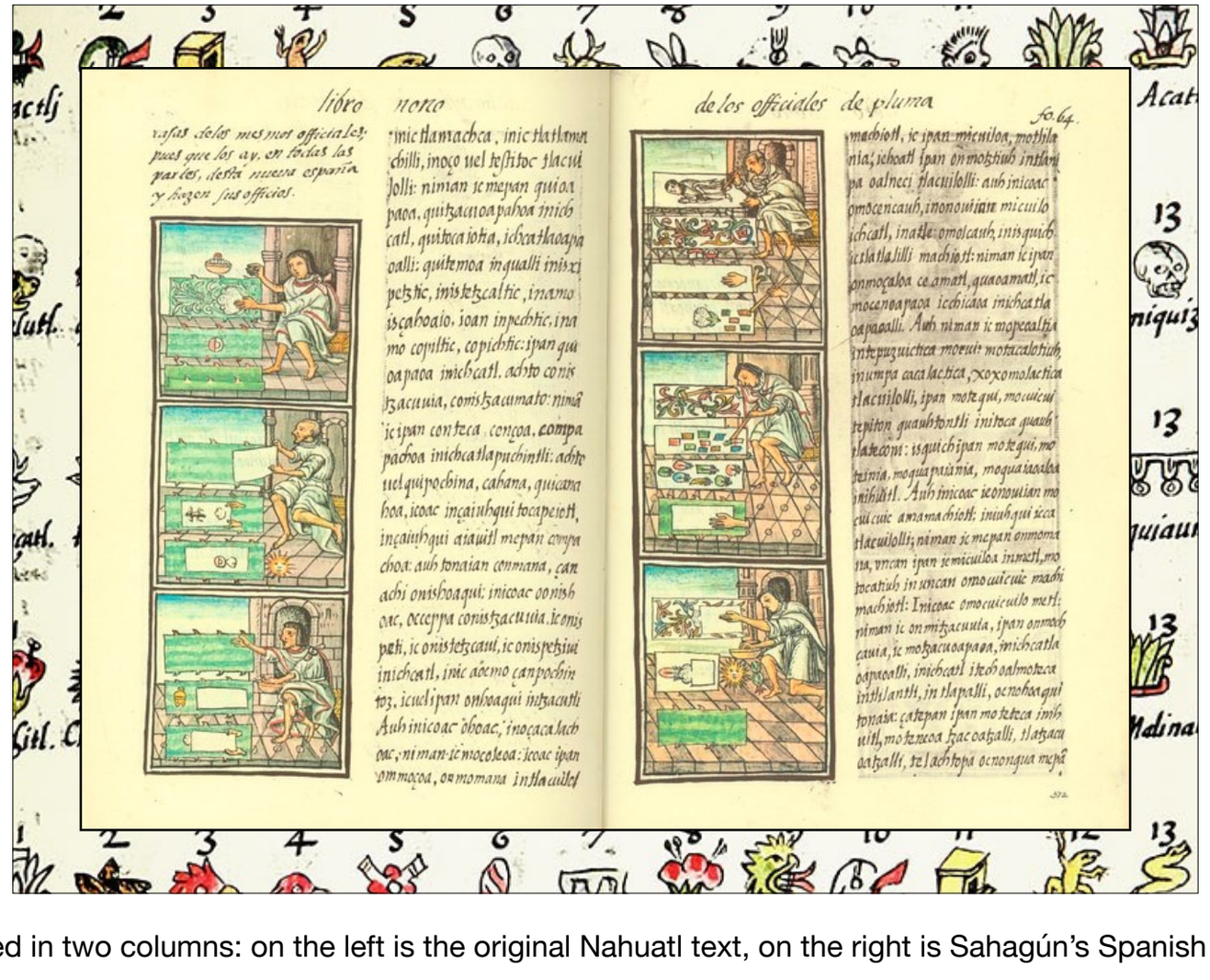
12. The Conquest. About the conquest of New Spain from the Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco point of view.

BOOK 10: THE PEOPLE

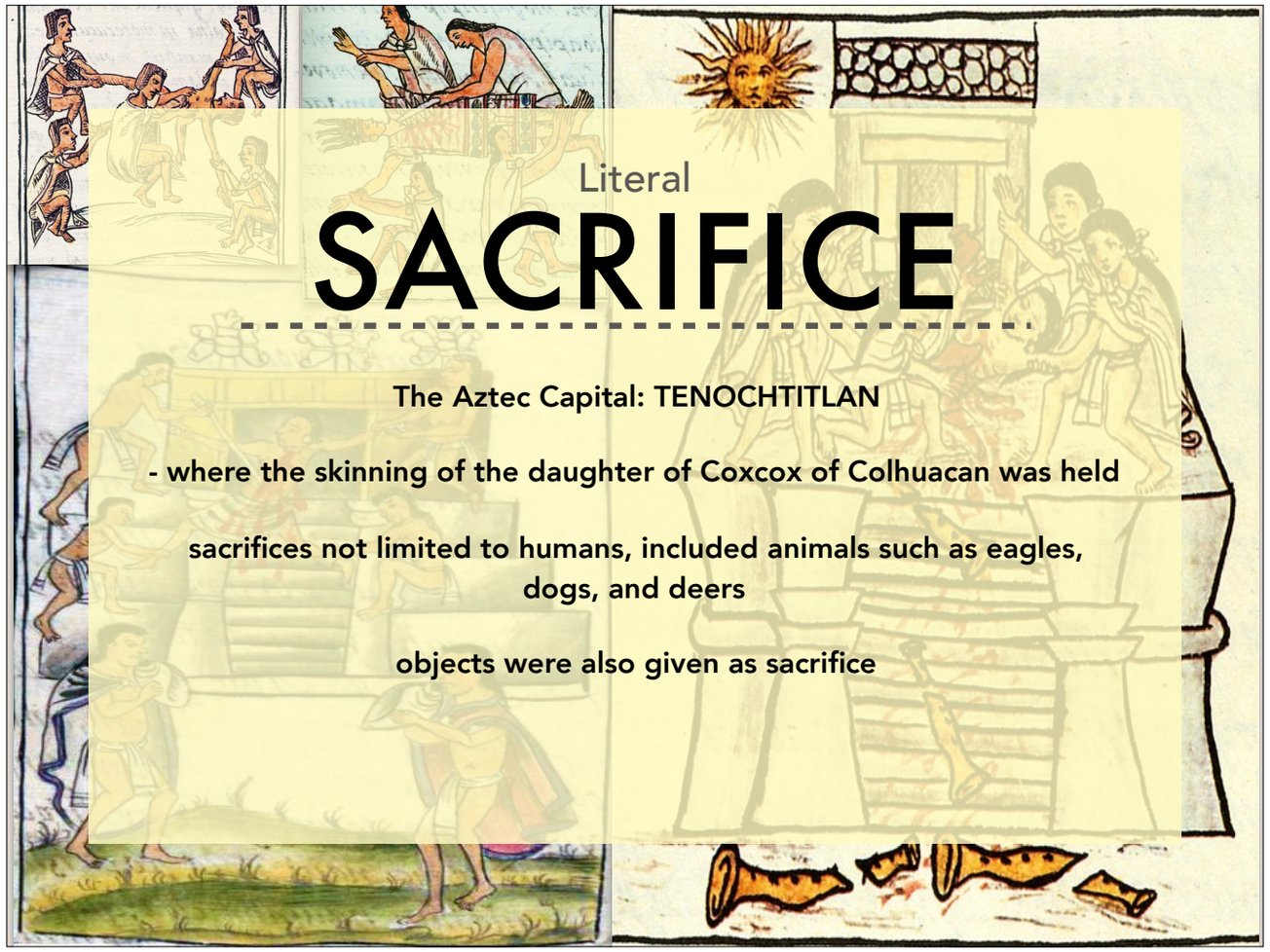


Answer: Nahuatl



In Florentine Codex, the work is arranged in two columns: on the left is the original Nahuatl text, on the right is Sahagún’s Spanish translation.

Answer: Sacrifice



Literal

SACRIFICE

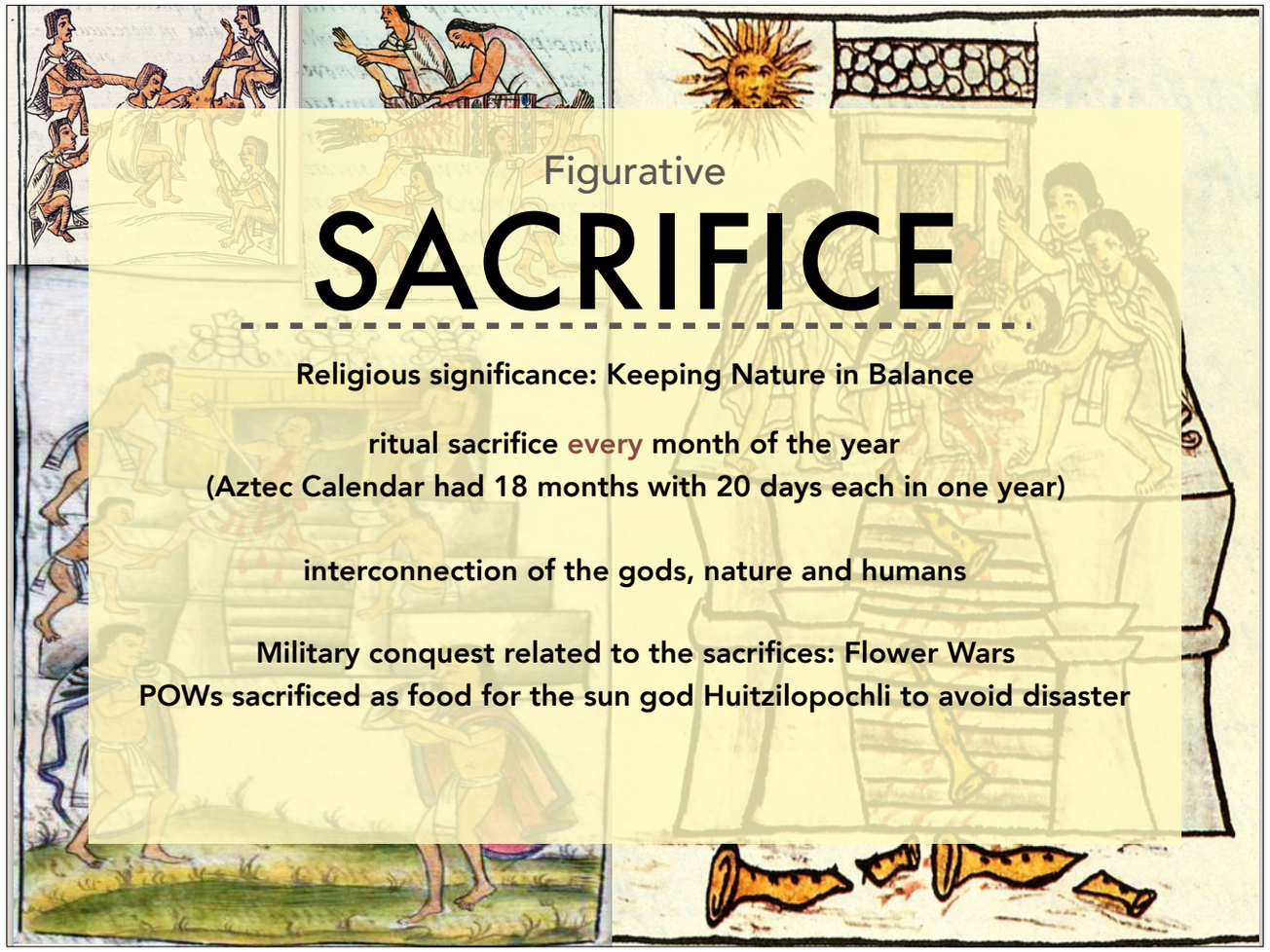
The Aztec Capital: TENOCHTITLAN

- where the skinning of the daughter of Coxcox of Colhuacan was held

sacrifices not limited to humans, included animals such as eagles, dogs, and deers

objects were also given as sacrifice

The Aztecs were very big on sacrifice. The first human sacrifice was held in Tenochtitlan, the Aztec Capital. The victim was the daughter of Coxcox of Colhuacan. Sacrifices included humans, animals and even objects, and whatever they deemed pleasing to the gods, to whom they were sacrificing whatever to.



Figurative

SACRIFICE

Religious significance: Keeping Nature in Balance

ritual sacrifice every month of the year
(Aztec Calendar had 18 months with 20 days each in one year)

interconnection of the gods, nature and humans

Military conquest related to the sacrifices: Flower Wars
POWs sacrificed as food for the sun god Huitzilopochli to avoid disaster

But why do they perform sacrifices a lot? Sacrifice holds such great religious significance for the Aztecs because it was a way to maintain the balance in between them, the gods and nature. They had a festival for a certain god every month, which means they had a total of 18 festivals a year for the Aztec calendar had 18 20-day months, which means they held or performed the ritual of sacrifice at least 18 times a year. Even their battles against other clans or tribes were religious. Well, scholars would argue that they were political in nature which involved a power play between the respective tribes, but if adopting a religious perspective on these battles, it would seem that the battles, called the Flower Wars, were fought mainly to gain sacrifices in the form of prisoners of war, who they offered or sacrificed to the sun god Huitzilopochli to give him strength and keep the sun shining and avert disaster or the end of the world every 52 years.

Figurative

SACRIFICE

LEGEND OF THE FIVE SUNS

gods sacrificed themselves for mankind

humans owe the gods a blood debt, repaid through sacrifices

atonement: human sacrifice as the highest form

death through sacrifice deemed as good death

heart as the seat of an individual

BOOK 12: THE CONQUEST

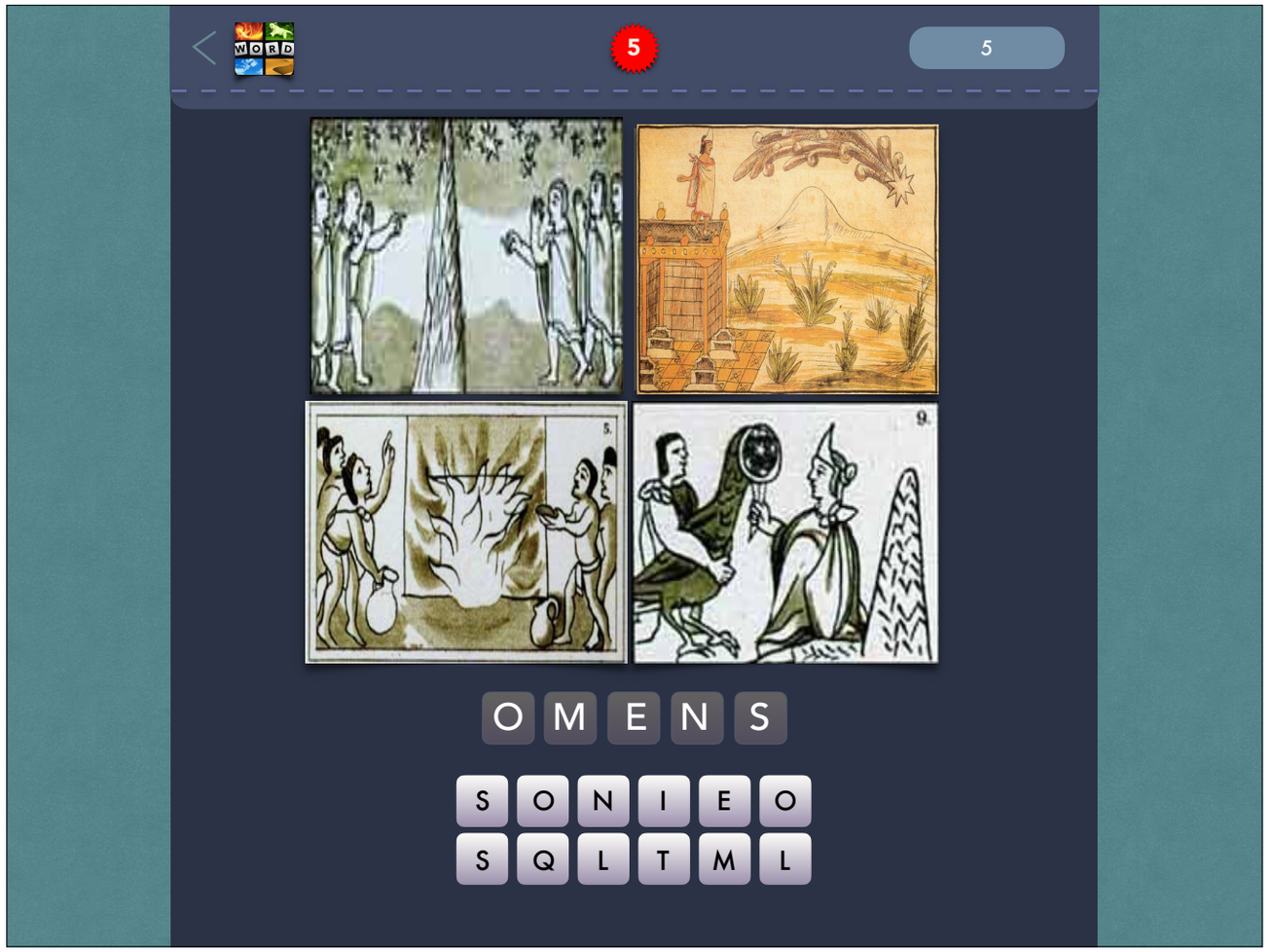
Answer: New Spain

SUMMARY: BOOK 12

PRE-CONQUEST AND THE CONQUEST

- contains primary accounts from the natives of the arrival of the foreigners
- Spanish conquest of Mexico
- New Spain: modern-day Mexico, Central America, Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Philippines, Florida, most of the southwestern U.S.

Book XII recounts the Spanish conquest of Mexico, which took place between 1519, when Cortés landed on the coast with just over 100 men and a few horses, and 1521, when Tenochtitlan was taken and the Aztecs subjugated.



Answer: OMENS

OMENS

As mentioned before, Book 12 shows the arrival of the conquerors as how locals or the natives saw it, through omens that began 10 years prior to their arrival.

First Omen: flame or tongue of fire
Second Omen: house of the devil, Huitzilpochtli, in his mountain called, Tlacateccan, burned and flared up on its own accord
Third Omen: building of straw at the temple complex of Xiuhteutli, called Tzonmolco was struck by lightnmree parts while the sun was still out
Fifth Omen: water of the lake boiled up
Sixth Omen: a woman would be heard going along weeping and shouting
Seventh Omen: once water-folk were hunting or snaring and caught an ash-like bird, like a crane
Eighth Omen: many times, people appeared, thistle-people with 2 heads but 1 body

FIRST OMEN

SECOND OMEN

First Omen: flame or tongue of fire
Second Omen: house of the devil, Huitzilpochtli, in his mountain called, Tlacateccan, burned and flared up on its own accord
Third Omen: building of straw at the temple complex of Xiuhteutli, called Tzonmolco was struck by lightnmree parts while the sun was still out
Fourth Omen: Shooting stars
Fifth Omen: water of the lake boiled up
Sixth Omen: a woman would be heard going along weeping and shouting
Seventh Omen: once water-folk were hunting or snaring and caught an ash-like bird, like a crane
Eighth Omen: many times, people appeared, thistle-people with 2 heads but 1 body

THIRD OMEN

FOURTH OMEN

As mentioned before, Book 12 shows the arrival of the conquerors as how locals or the natives saw it, through omens that began 10 years prior to their arrival.

First Omen: flame or tongue of fire
Second Omen: house of the devil, Huitzilpochtli, in his mountain called, Tlacateccan, burned and flared up on its own accord
Third Omen: building of straw at the temple complex of Xiuhteutli, called Tzonmolco was struck by lightnmree parts while the sun was still out
Fourth Omen: Shooting stars
Fifth Omen: water of the lake boiled up
Sixth Omen: a woman would be heard going along weeping and shouting
Seventh Omen: once water-folk were hunting or snaring and caught an ash-like bird, like a crane
Eighth Omen: many times, people appeared, thistle-people with 2 heads but 1 body

FIFTH OMEN

SIXTH OMEN

As mentioned before, Book 12 shows the arrival of the conquerors as how locals or the natives saw it, through omens that began 10 years prior to their arrival.

First Omen: flame or tongue of fire
Second Omen: house of the devil, Huitzilpochtli, in his mountain called, Tlacateccan, burned and flared up on its own accord
Third Omen: building of straw at the temple complex of Xiuhteutli, called Tzonmolco was struck by lightnmree parts while the sun was still out
Fourth Omen: Shooting stars
Fifth Omen: water of the lake boiled up
Sixth Omen: a woman would be heard going along weeping and shouting
Seventh Omen: once water-folk were hunting or snaring and caught an ash-like bird, like a crane
Eighth Omen: many times, people appeared, thistle-people with 2 heads but 1 body

SEVENTH OMEN

EIGHTH OMEN

As mentioned before, Book 12 shows the arrival of the conquerors as how locals or the natives saw it, through omens that began 10 years prior to their arrival.

First Omen: flame or tongue of fire
Second Omen: house of the devil, Huitzilpochtli, in his mountain called, Tlacateccan, burned and flared up on its own accord
Third Omen: building of straw at the temple complex of Xiuhteutli, called Tzonmolco was struck by lightnmree parts while the sun was still out
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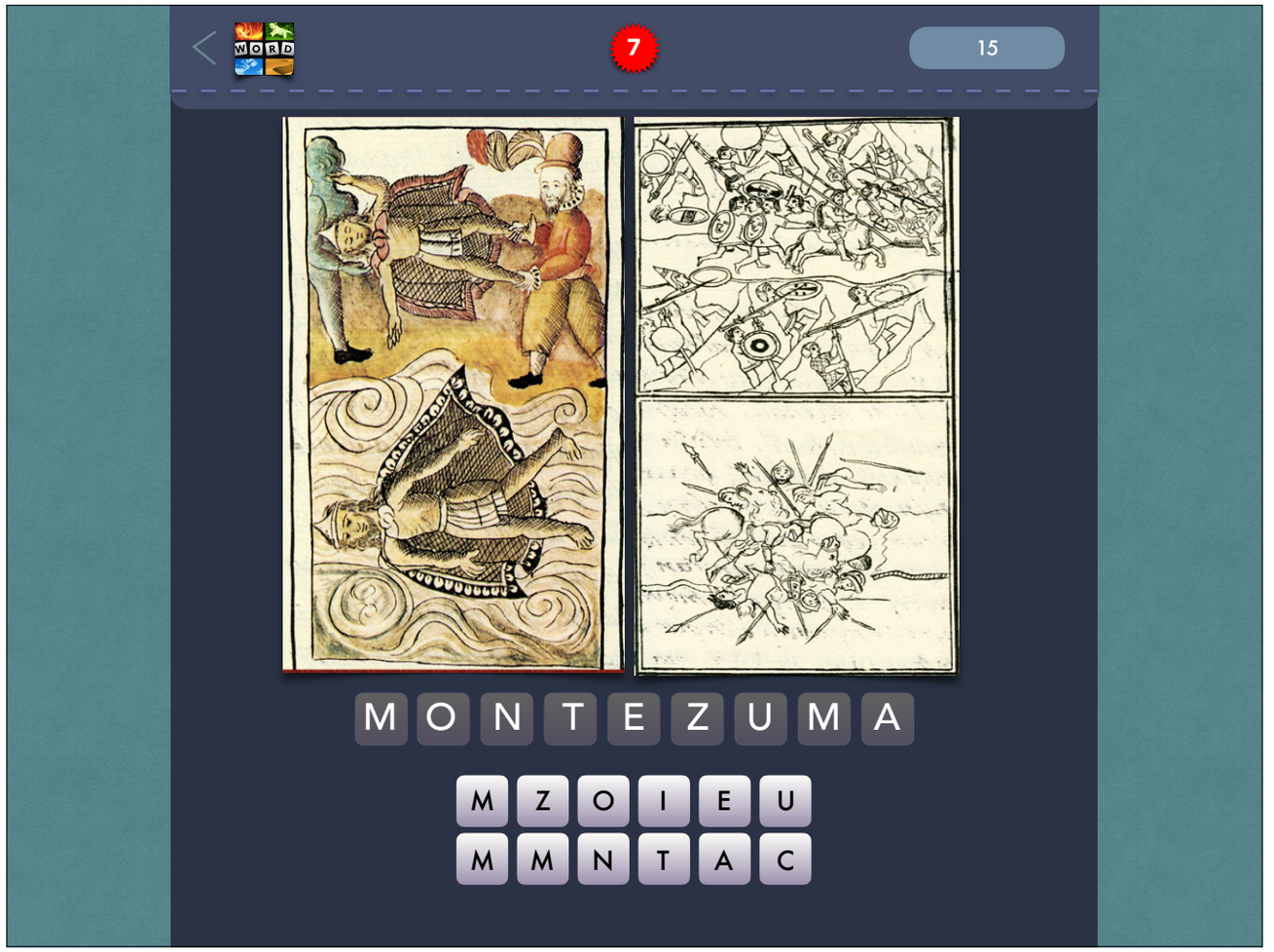
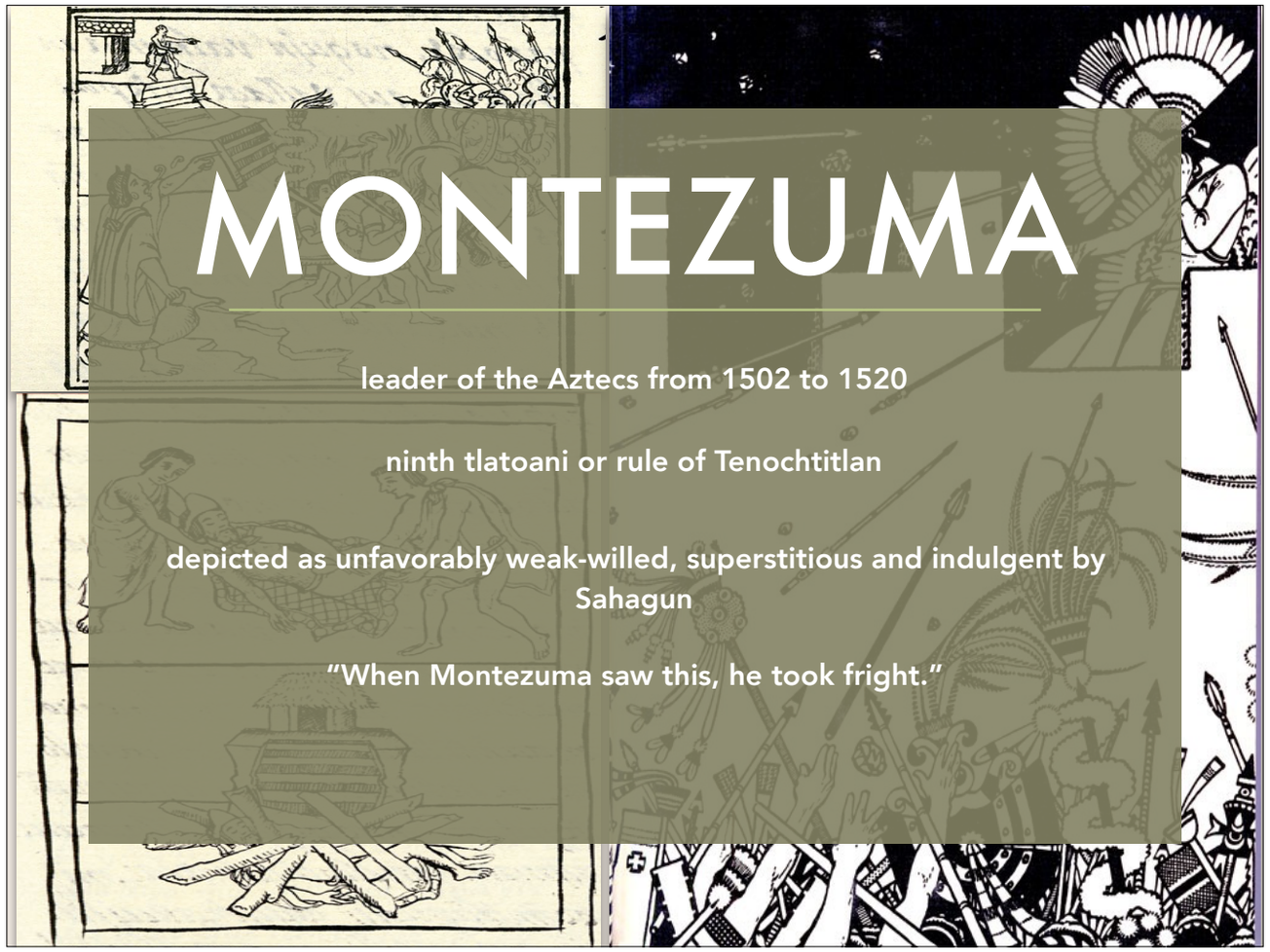
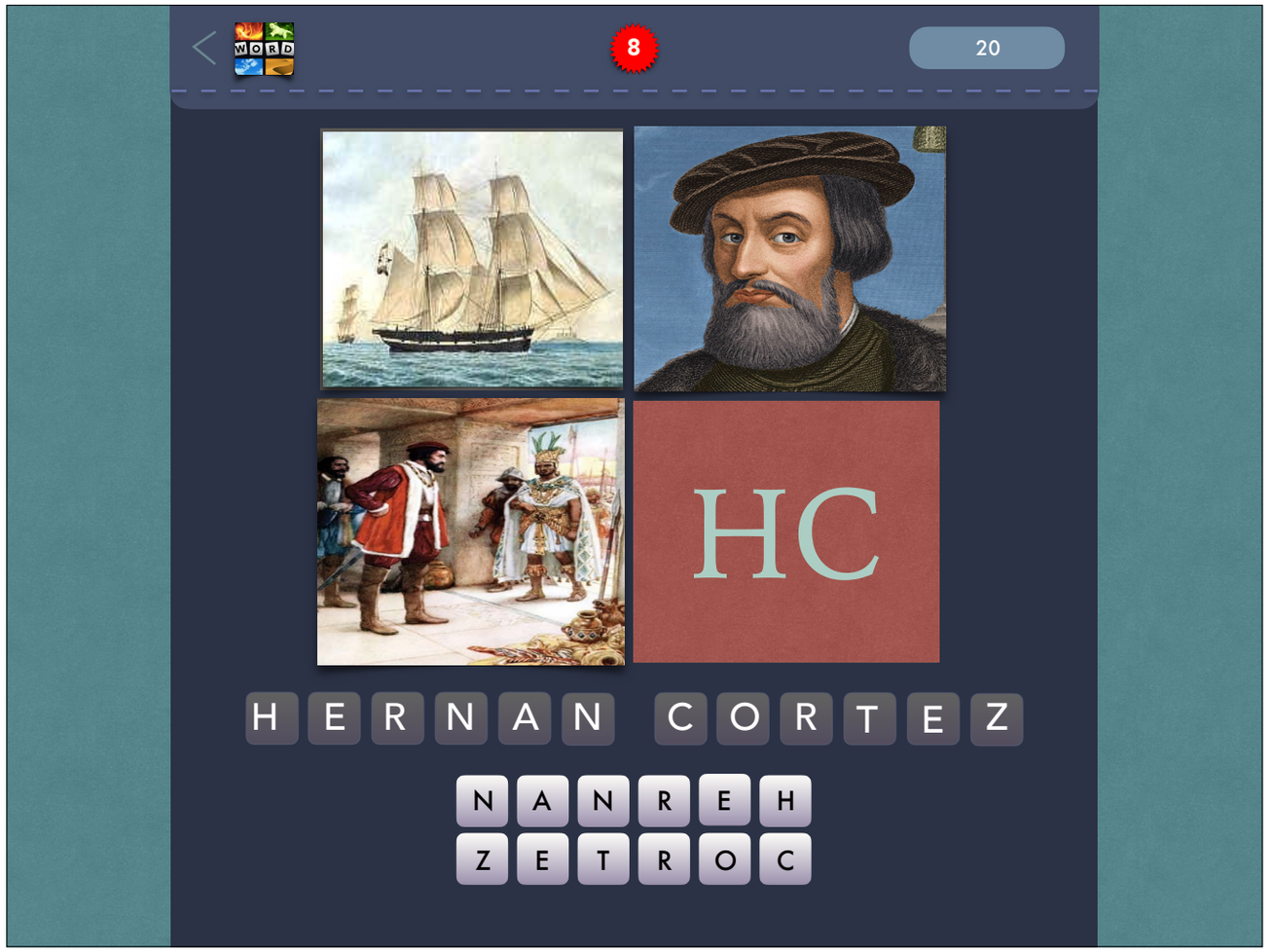


Answer: Montezuma



Moctezuma or Montezuma.
-leader of the Aztecs; ninth tlatoani or ruler of Tenochtitlan, reigning from 1502 to 1520.
-in Book 12, the astonishment and fright of the people are clearly described with the omens and signs of incoming trouble
-”When Montezuma saw this, he took fright.”
- [line above as proof] Sahagun depicted Montezuma unfavorably as a weak-willed, superstitious, and indulgent ruler
-These legends are likely a part of the post-conquest rationalisation by the Aztecs of their defeat, and serve to show Moctezuma as indecisive, vain, and superstitious, and ultimately the cause of the fall of the Aztec Empire



Answer: Hernan Cortez

HERNAN CORTEZ

LEADER OF THE CONQUISTADORS

- easily conquered and defeated the Aztecs
- use of firearms and horses
- ruthlessness in battle which determined the Spanish victory
- landed on the coast with over a hundred men

-leader of the conquistadors: Hernan Cortez
-despite being heavily outnumbered by the natives, still managed to easily conquer Mexico with the use of firearms and horses, both of which the Aztecs have never encountered before, rendering their spears and generally melee weapons useless
-Among the key factors that determined the Spanish victory were the ruthlessness of the Spanish soldiers and of Cortés in particular, the use of horses and firearms, which the Mesoamericans had never seen, and Cortés's intuition that the peoples of the Aztec Empire were prepared to join forces with him to shake off Aztec rule.

Answer: Philippines

RELIGION

AS COLONIZING TOOL

- Use of the Catholic religion
- Parallelism of the Spanish colonisation of
- Sahagún's preparation for the creation of the Florentine Codex began shortly after his arrival in 1529 to New Spain
- Sagahun's motive was primarily religious

END.

EL LIBRO DE LOS LIBROS DE CHILAM BALAM

COLECCION POPULAR

COLECCIÓN POPULAR

42

EL LIBRO DE LOS LIBROS DE CHILAM BALAM

El Libro de los Libros de Chilam Balam

Traducción de sus textos paralelos por

Alfredo Barrera Vásquez y Silvia Rendón

basada en el estudio, cotejo y reconstrucción hechos por el primero, con introducciones y notas.

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A la memoria de los ilustres precursores de la filología maya

JUAN PÍO PÉREZ
y CRESCENCIO CARRILLO Y ANCONA,

a cuyos afanes se debe la conservación de la mayor parte de las fuentes originales

ADVERTENCIAS PERTINENTES

La ortografía del maya es tradicional. Para su pronunciación hay que tomar en cuenta lo siguiente:

c ante toda vocal tiene valor de *k* o *qu*, es decir, que ante *e* o *i* debe leerse *que* o *qui*.

h es siempre aspirada como en inglés, excepto en *ch* que suena como el diagrama del español y del inglés y en *th* cuyo sonido se explica más abajo.

s y *z* suenan como la *s* del inglés o del español de América.

th representa un sonido de *t* glotalizado.

' (un apóstrofo) arriba y después de una consonante hace que suene glotalizada; y arriba y después de una vocal tiene valor de consonante glotal (*glottal stop*).

dz representa un sonido africado glotalizado sordo que debiera representarse así: *ts'*, usándose tres signos. Es el sonido glotalizado del diagrama tradicional *tz* (*ts*). Antiguamente se representó con *c* invertida (ɔ).

Los paréntesis cuadrados [ ] encierran inclusión del autor y los paréntesis angulares < > restituyen o corrigen.

INTRODUCCIÓN GENERAL

LOS LIBROS DE CHILAM BALAM

Los llamados Libros de Chilam Balam forman una de las secciones más importantes de la literatura indígena americana. Fueron redactados después de la conquista española, por lo que su escritura y su forma material son europeos. Es decir, su escritura es la que los frailes españoles adaptaron a la fonología de la lengua maya en Yucatán y el papel usado —por lo menos en las copias ahora existentes— es también europeo, formando cuadernos. Algunos, si no todos, tuvieron tapas de vaqueta. El material que contienen es heterogéneo. De modo general puede clasificarse así: *1)* Textos de carácter religioso: *a)* puramente indígena; *b)* cristiano traducido al maya. *2)* Textos de carácter histórico, desde crónicas con registro cronológico maya a base de la "cuenta corta" (katunes en series de 13) hasta simples asientos de acontecimientos muy particulares sin importancia general. *3)* Textos médicos, con o sin influencia europea. *4)* Textos cronológicos y astrológicos: *a)* tablas de series de katunes con su equivalente cristiano; *b)* explicaciones acerca del calendario indígena; *c)* almanaques con o sin cotejo con el Tzolkin maya, incluyendo predicciones, astrología, etc. *5)* Astronomía según las ideas imperantes en Europa en el siglo XV. *6)* Rituales. *7)* Textos literarios; novelas españolas, etc. *8)* Miscelánea de textos no clasificados.

Como se ve, la diversidad de su contenido abarca todas las fases culturales por que fue pasando el pueblo maya de Yucatán hasta que cesaron de compilarse. Es indudable que gran parte de sus textos religiosos e históricos puramente nativos provienen de los antiguos libros jeroglíficos, de los cuales solamente existen disponibles en el mundo tres, todos en Europa (véase Villacorta y Villacorta, 1933). Otra porción de sus tex-

tos ha sido registrada de fuente oral y el resto de impresos europeos.

Vinieron a llamarse Libros de Chilam Balam, no sabemos desde cuándo. No consta este nombre como título original de ninguno actualmente, aunque Pío Pérez asienta en una de sus transcripciones: "Hasta aquí termina el libro titulado Chilambalam que se conservó en el pueblo de Maní..." (Códice Pérez, Ms., p. 137.) De todos modos, el nombre es ya una denominación técnica aceptada para designar este tipo de libros yucatecos.

Balam es el nombre del más famoso de los Chilames que existieron poco antes de la venida de los blancos al continente. Balam es un nombre de familia, pero significa jaguar o brujo, en un sentido figurado. Chilam (o chilan) es el título que se daba a la clase sacerdotal que interpretaba los libros y la voluntad de los dioses. La palabra significa "el que es boca" (véase Landa, 1938, ed. yuc., p. 50 y Diccionario de Motul, Ms., *sub voce*). Chilam Balam predijo el advenimiento de una nueva religión y de allí su fama. Vivió en Maní en la época de Mochan Xiu poco antes de la conquista española.

Cómo llegaron a organizarse y multiplicarse los Libros de Chilam Balam, lo suponemos así: Algún sacerdote (o varios sacerdotes simultáneamente) recibiría instrucción de los frailes, aprendiendo a leer y escribir en su propia lengua. Aprovechando esta nueva adquisición de su cultura, transcribiría textos religiosos e históricos contenidos en sus libros jeroglíficos, incluyendo los de las predicciones de Chilam Balam. De una o varias fuentes saldrían copias que pasarían a manos de los sacerdotes nativos de otros pueblos, viniendo así a incluir en su denominación el nombre del lugar de procedencia: Chumayel, Maní, Tizimín, etc. En cada poblado al núcleo original se le fue adicionando otro material de acuerdo con el criterio del curador y según los acontecimientos locales. Como se les tenía por libros sagrados, que eran leídos en ciertas ocasiones, había el interés de conservarlos para la posteridad y fuéronse copiando y recopiando cuando se deterioraban. Los copistas cometieron errores de lectura, por lo que en veces, sea por

desgaste, mala escritura anterior, manchas, etc., no entendieron alguna palabra correctamente, la transcribieron mal, o la sustituyeron por otra, en ocasiones correcta según el contexto, pero no exactamente igual a la que se sustituía, sino sinónima; cometieron algunos errores de escritura; dejaron de poner palabras faltantes completamente o agregaron de su cosecha otras, etc. El tiempo destruía los libros materialmente y destruía a su vez el entendimiento que sus curadores deberían tener de su contenido al modificar su propia cultura. Así pues, las copias hoy existentes no son las originales del siglo XVI en sus textos de fondo, sino copias de copias muy posteriores, algunas del siglo XVII y otras aun del presente siglo. Gran parte de estos textos que llamamos de fondo aparecen repetidos una o más veces en los Libros, pero en cada ocasión las versiones no son idénticas, por las razones apuntadas.

Puede entonces decirse que los Libros contienen dos tipos de texto, en lo que respecta a la posibilidad de su exégesis: *1)* los susceptibles de ser reconstruidos por cotejo de sus varias versiones y *2)* los que no son susceptibles de reconstrucción porque son singulares. Algunos de estos últimos, debido a su asunto, simplicidad y época no lejana, obviamente no necesitarían reconstrucción. De ahí que hayamos preferido hacer un Libro de Libros de Chilam Balam, en lugar de hacer traducciones aisladas de cada uno, y que hayamos preferido los textos del tipo 1 para hacerlo, dejando para más adelante los del tipo 2, pues es posible que sean hallados nuevos Libros donde aparezcan textos paralelos de algunos que actualmente son singulares. Por de pronto, hasta 1936, el texto de "El Lenguaje de Zuyua", incluido en esta obra, no tenía paralelo, pero en ese año fue descubierto el Libro de Chilam Balam de Tusik en donde vino una versión que ha servido mucho para aclarar algunos pasajes.

Así pues, la presente obra contiene la traducción de los textos de los cuales existe más de una versión. Las traducciones se han hecho sobre la reconstrucción realizada mediante una cuidadosa colación de las varias versiones, siguiendo un método riguroso, como puede verse

en nuestra edición crítica de la Crónica publicada por la Carnegie Institution of Washington en 1949, con un comentario por el Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley.

Al presente hay listados más de una docena de Libros de Chilam Balam, pero los disponibles para estudio son los siguientes: *1)* Chumayel, *2)* Tizimín, *3)* Káua, *4)* Ixil, *5)* Tekax, *6)* Nah, *7)* Tusik y *8)* Códice Pérez (Maní).

Hay noticias de otros: el de Teabo, que parece ser el mismo de Tekax y los de Peto, Nabulá, Tihosuco, Tixkokob, Hocabá y Oxkutzcab, pero nadie los ha descrito, ni se sabe dónde se encuentran.

Se dio en llamar Chilam Balam a la Crónica de Calkiní de carácter puramente histórico, traducida por nosotros y publicada, con el nombre de Códice de Calkiní, en 1957.

La referencia clara de la existencia de los Libros de Chilam Balam en los principios del siglo XVII la tenemos en Sánchez de Aguilar, que dice en su informe (ed. 1937, p. 181): "Ultra que sería muy útil que hubiese impresos en la lengua de estos Indios, que tratasen del Génesis y creación del mundo; porque tienen fábulas, o historias muy perjudiciales, y algunos las han hecho escribir, y las guardan, y leen en sus juntas. E yo huue un cartapacio destos que quité a un Maestro de Capilla, llamado Cuytun del pueblo de Çucop, el cual se me huyó, y nunca le pude auer para saber el origen deste su Génesis..." Cogolludo (1867-1868, vol. I, p. 310), después de citar las palabras de Sánchez de Aguilar, agrega: "Recién venido yo de España oí decir a un religioso llamado Fr. Juan Gutiérrez, y era gran lengua de estos indios, que había visto otro escrito semejante al dicho..." También menciona Cogolludo (*ibid.*, p. 183) "un librillo..." que fue seguramente —o es— una crónica histórica del tipo de las de los Pech o de la de Calkiní.

El Dr. D. Agustín de Echano, canónigo que fue de la Catedral de Mérida (Yucatán), en la aprobación de una obrita en maya, impresa en 1758, asienta: "La experiencia de manejar tan incesantemente a los indios en cerca de doce años que les serví, me enseñó que el motivo de estar todavía muchos tan apegados a sus antigüedades era porque siendo los naturales muy curiosos, y aplicán-

dose a saber leer, los que esto logran, cuanto papel tienen a mano tanto leen; y no habiendo entre ellos más tratados en su idioma que los que sus antepasados escribieron, cuya materia es sólo de sus hechicerías, encantos y curaciones con muchos abusos y ensalmos" (en Domínguez, 1758). Damos inmediatamente una breve reseña de cada uno de los ocho más conocidos:

1. *El Chilam Balam de Chumayel*

Procede del pueblo de Chumayel, Yucatán. Fue propiedad del Sr. Obispo Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona. En 1868, siendo ya propiedad de éste, fue copiado a mano por el Dr. Berendt y en 1887 fotografiado por Teoberto Maler. George B. Gordon, director del Museo de la Universidad de Pennsylvania, lo fotografió y editó en forma facsimilar en 1913. Pasó a la Biblioteca Cepeda de Mérida en 1915 de donde fue sustraído juntamente con otros manuscritos, antes de 1918. En 1938 apareció en venta en los Estados Unidos en la suma de siete mil dólares. Más tarde, fue de nuevo ofrecido en venta al Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley por la suma de cinco mil dólares.

Partes de él han sido traducidas y publicadas desde 1882, pero la primera traducción completa la publicó Antonio Médiz Bolio en Costa Rica en 1930, en español. La segunda, en inglés, la hizo Ralph L. Roys quien la publicó en 1933.

2. *El Chilam Balam de Tizimín*

Procede de la villa de Tizimín, Yucatán, y fue hallado allí a mediados del siglo XIX. El párroco de este lugar lo donó al Obispo Carrillo y Ancona en 1870, quien originalmente lo llamó Códice Anónimo. Fue copiado por Berendt posiblemente poco después de 1870. De la copia de Berendt se valió Brinton para hacer la primera traducción de una parte del códice. Compañero del Chumayel, siguió la misma suerte que éste, hasta que procedente de los Estados Unidos fue donado por la señorita Laura Temple al Museo Nacional de Arqueología (hoy

ARMANDO XAVIER BRAVO

Museo Nacional de Antropología), en donde se conserva juntamente con el de Ixil.

La única traducción completa del Chilam Balam de Tizimín es obra de Maud Worcester Makemson, quien con el título de *The Book of the Jaguar Priest* la publicó en 1951.

3. *El Chilam Balam de Káua*

Éste también fue de la colección del Obispo Carrillo y Ancona y formó parte del grupo de manuscritos que fue extraído de la Biblioteca Cepeda de Mérida, poco después de haber sido depositado en ella en 1915. No se conoce su actual paradero. Es tercero en importancia, el más voluminoso sin embargo, con 282 páginas; nunca ha sido totalmente traducido ni publicado. Sólo se le han sacado copias manuscritas o fotográficas y traducido algunas de sus recetas médicas por Roys en 1931.

4. *El Chilam Balam de Ixil*

Pío Pérez, en su miscelánea de extractos de Libros de Chilam Balam conocida ahora como "Códice Pérez", describe este documento y menciona que el lugar de su procedencia es el pueblo de Ixil. No se sabe cómo pasó a manos del Obispo Carrillo y Ancona. Estuvo incluido en el mismo legajo del Libro de Tizimín e identificado por nosotros, se halla ahora separado de éste en la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología en la ciudad de México. No ha sido traducido, ni publicado, salvo en pocas copias fotostáticas y manuscritas. Contiene un recetario médico.

5. *El Chilam Balam de Tekax*

Es semejante al de Káua, pero mucho más corto, pues solamente contiene 36 páginas. Es calendárico y médico. Nunca ha sido traducido ni parcialmente. Formó parte de la Colección de William Gates. Ignoramos cuál sea ahora su paradero. Existen de él copias fotográficas en algunas bibliotecas.

6. *El Chilam Balam de Nah*

Procede de Teabo, Yucatán. Es también del mismo tipo del Káua, con 64 páginas e igualmente formó parte de la Colección de Gates. El material médico que contiene fue traducido por Ralph L. Roys al inglés y publicado en 1931. Se ignora dónde pára actualmente.

7. *El Chilam Balam de Tusik*

Fue descubierto en la aldea de Tusik, Quintana Roo, México, en 1936. Consiste en un cuaderno de sólo 29 hojas. Contiene algunos textos semejantes a los del Chilam Balam de Chumayel. Uno de éstos ha servido para cotejar la única copia que existía en el Chumayel del Lenguaje de Zuyua que se incluye en este libro. Posiblemente se encuentre aún en Tusik. Ha sido fotografiado, transcrito y traducido parcialmente, pero no publicado.

8. *Códice Pérez*

Por su importancia este Manuscrito debería ocupar uno de los primeros lugares; si se coloca aquí, es porque en sí mismo ni es copia hecha por indígenas mayas, ni lo es de un solo libro, sino un conjunto de fragmentos de varios, principalmente de los Libros de Maní (ahora desaparecidos), Ixil y Káua, recopilado por D. Juan Pío Pérez alrededor del año de 1840. El manuscrito original está en manos de una familia Escalante de Mérida. Ha sido copiado varias veces y una de sus copias se halla en la Biblioteca Nacional de México; otra existe en la Colección Berendt en la Universidad de Pennsylvania, una más en el Middle American Research Institute y otra en la Biblioteca del Instituto Yucateco de Antropología e Historia. El Dr. Ermilo Solís Alcalá la tradujo al español, habiéndose publicado su traducción en 1949. Contiene cerca de 200 páginas. El nombre de Códice Pérez se lo asignó el Obispo Carrillo y Ancona en 1870. Fue compilado entre 1837 y el siguiente año. Juan Pío Pérez lo dividió en dos partes que aquí se citan como Pérez I y Pérez II.

TEXTOS	LUGARES	
	Pérez I	*Pérez II*
Crónica I	134-137	
Primera Rueda Profética de un Doblez de Katunes		
11 Ahau	pp. 75	pp. 157
9 Ahau	76	158
7 Ahau	76- 77	159
5 Ahau	77- 78	160-161
3 Ahau	78- 79	161-162
1 Ahau	79- 80	162-163
12 Ahau	80- 81	163
10 Ahau	81	164
8 Ahau	81- 82	152
6 Ahau	82- 83	153-154
4 Ahau	83- 84	154
2 Ahau	84- 85	155
13 Ahau	85-‹90› [86]	156
Segunda Rueda Profética de un Doblez de Katunes		
11 Ahau		
9 Ahau		
7 Ahau		
5 Ahau		
3 Ahau		
1 Ahau		
12 Ahau		
10 Ahau		
8 Ahau		
6 Ahau		
4 Ahau		
2 Ahau		
13 Ahau		

DONDE SE ENCUENTRAN

Chumayel	*Tizimin*	*Káua*	*Tusik*	*Lizana (1893)*
74- 77 (G)	18v-19r			
13 (G) y 73 (G)	13r	143r (SA)		
	13v	143r/v (SA)		
	13v-14r	143v (SA)		
	14r	143v (SA)		
	14r	141v (SA)		
	14r/v	141v (SA)		
	14v	142r (SA)		
	14v-15r	142r (SA)		
	15r	142r (SA)		
	15v	142v (SA)		
73 (G)	15v	142v (SA)		
73 (G)	19v	142v (SA)		
73- 74 (G)		143r (SA)		
87- 88 (G)	16r			
89 (G)	16r			
90 (G)	16r/v			
91- 92 (G)	16v			
92 (G)	16v			
93- 95 (G)	16v-17r			
96 (G)	17r/v			
97 (G)	17v			
98 (G)	17v			
98 (G)	17v			
99 (G)	17v-18r			
99 (G)	18r			
100 (G)	18r			

CUADRO SINÓPTICO DE LOS TEXTOS-FUENTES
(*Conclusión*)

TEXTOS	LUGARES	
	Pérez I	*Pérez II*
Textos Proféticos de Katunes Aislados		
Profecía de un Katun 13 Ahau	116-117	
Profecía llamada de las Flores en un Katun 11 Ahau	118-120	
Profecía llamada Episodio de Ah Mucen Cab en un Katun 11 Ahau	117-118	
Profecía llamada La Palabra de Oxlahun Ti Ku en un Katun 13 Ahau	115-116	
Profecía llamada Memoria de cómo vino Hunab Ku	65- 69	
Profecía llamada Interpretación de la llegada de los extranjeros	74- 75	
Cuceb o Rueda Profética de los Años	101-115	
U Mutil Chuenil Kin Sansamal	94- 95	
Jaculatorias de los Ah Kines		
Palabras de Ah Kin Napuctun	72	166
Palabras de Ah Kahuil Chel ..	72	167
Palabras de Nahau Pech	73	167-168
Palabras de Natzin Yabun Chan	72	168
Palabras del Chilam Balam ...	73	169-170
El Lenguaje de Zuyua 1ª Parte		
El Lenguaje de Zuyua 2ª Parte	74- 75	
Alzamiento de Dn. A. Martinez		
Relato llamado Acontecimiento Histórico de un 8 Ahau	120-121	
Explicación del Calendario Maya	90- 93	165-166

DONDE SE ENCUENTRAN				
Chumayel	*Tizimin*	*Káua*	*Tusik*	*Lizana (1893)*
	11v			
45- 47 (G)	12r/v			
42- 43 (G)	11v-12r			
	11r			
64- 67 (G)	7r- 8v			
	10v-11r			
	1r- 7r			
		75v-76v (CMD)		
		77v-78r (CMD)		
		81r/v (CMD)		
104 (G)				37r
104-105 (G)				37r
105 (G)	10r			37v
105 (G)	10r			37v-38r
105-107 (G)	10r/v			38r/v
28- 33 (G)			16r-19v (BV)	
34- 42 (G)			19v-27r (BV)	
	10v-11r			
	12v-13r			

La lista de los textos incluidos en la presente obra y su procedencia pueden verse en el Cuadro Sinóptico respectivo.

Algunos de los textos que aquí se incluyen han sido publicados antes por otros autores, pero solamente en una de sus versiones, de modo que, si se les coteja, nuestra traducción nunca será idéntica a la de aquéllos, ya que se ha hecho sobre la reconstrucción de los textos, colacionando cada versión conocida.

LA CRONICA MATICHU

En los Libros de Chilam Balam *1)* de Maní (Pérez I) a páginas 134-137; *2)* de Tizimín a folios 18v-19r, y *3)* de Chumayel a páginas 74-77 de la edición Gordon, aparecen tres versiones de un mismo texto que se habían venido tomando como tres crónicas distintas, aunque de contenido semejante. Un cuidadoso cotejo de las tres versiones vino a demostrar que realmente se trata de una sola crónica que puede dividirse en cuatro partes, que por primera vez se editan por separado.

La que aquí llamamos Parte I es una historia de las emigraciones de los Xiues, desde su salida de Nonoual en un Katun 3 Ahau (10.2.0.0.0: 849-869) hasta su establecimiento en Chacnabitón, que duró hasta el fin de un Katun 5 Ahau (10.14.0.0.0: 1086-1106). La Parte II es una historia itzá que abarca desde el "descubrimiento" de la provincia de Siyan Can Bakhalal en un Katun 8 Ahau (9.0.0.0.0: 415-435) hasta el retorno de este grupo a Chichen Itzá en un 4 Ahau (10.8.0.0.0: 968-987). Dentro de este lapso se incluyen los acontecimientos del "descubrimiento" de Chichen Itzá en un Katun 6 Ahau, el siguiente al del "descubrimiento" de Bakhalal; la ocupación de Chichen Itzá en el Katun 13 Ahau (9.4.0.0.0.: 495-514), el mismo en que se "ordenaron las esteras"; el primer abandono de Chichen, acaecido en el Katun 8 Ahau, el decimotercero después del Katun 8 Ahau, inicial de esta Parte (9.13.0.0.0: 672-692); el arribo a Chakanputún, sea en el Katun 6 Ahau siguiente o en el Katun 4 Ahau que sigue inmediatamente (9.15.0.0.0: 711-731). El abandono de Chakanputún ocurre en el Katun 8 Ahau, el decimotercero después del primer abandono de Chichen Itzá (10.6.0.0.0.: 928-948), y duran los emigrantes en su penosa peregrinación para "establecer sus hogares de nuevo" en Chichen Itzá, 2 katunes: el 6 Ahau y el 4 Ahau (10.7.0.0.0 y 10.8.0.0.0.: 948-987). La Parte III es la historia de la época llamada

del "Nuevo Imperio" y abarca un periodo a partir del Katun 2 Ahau (10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007), en que Ah Mekat Tutul Xiu se establece en Uxmal, hasta llegar al Katun 2 Ahau (11.15.0.0.0: 1500-1520), en que se realiza el descubrimiento de Yucatán por los europeos. Dentro de este periodo queda la alianza llamada "Liga de Mayapán", que duró diez katunes: del mencionado 2 Ahau (10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007) hasta el 10 Ahau inclusive (10.18-0.0.0: 1165-1185); el segundo abandono de Chichen Itzá por los itzaes a causa del complot de Hunac Ceel de Mayapán contra Chac Xib Chac, jefe de Chichen, lo cual aconteció en el Katun 8 Ahau (10.19.0.0.0: 1185-1204), precisamente en el décimo año Tun (10.18.10.0.0: 1194), con la ayuda de mercenarios chichimecas, capitaneados por siete jefes cuyos nombres se dan; el ataque al Señor Ulmil de un lugar no mencionado a causa de sus "banquetes" con el Señor Ulil de Izamal, acontecimiento que ocurrió durante el mismo Katun 8 Ahau en que fue atacado Chichen Itzá; la represalia de los itzaes, de Ulmil y de los izamalenses contra Mayapán, lo cual ocurrió en el Katun 4 Ahau (11.1.0.0.0: 1224-1244), treinta años después de su derrota (aunque el texto dice que treinta y cuatro) "por causa del gobierno múltiple en el interior" (lo cual parece indicar que la llamada "hegemonía de Mayapán" comenzó a raíz del triunfo de Hunac Ceel), y la destrucción total de Mayapán en el Katun 8 Ahau (11.12.0.0.0.: 1441-1461) por la misma causa anterior. Se callan aquí los acontecimientos ocurridos durante el transcurso de los Katunes 6 Ahau (11.13.0.0.0: 1461-1480) y 4 Ahau (11.14.0.0.0: 1480-1500), que corresponden a la época en que se establecieron los pequeños reinos o cacicazgos que hallaron los españoles al ocupar la península. La Parte IV y última está dividida en dos series: una que es una enumeración corrida de los Katunes 13 Ahau a 8 Ahau (11.16.0.0.0: 1520-1539 a 12.5.0.0.0: 1697-1717), es decir, que cierran el ciclo de Trece Katunes, pero sin mencionar otros acontecimientos, y otra serie repetida, aunque incompleta, que comienza con el Katun 6 Ahau, el siguiente después de la destrucción de Mayapán, ya mencionado (11.13.0.0.0: 1461-1480) y termina con el 3 Ahau

(12.1.0.0.0: 1618-1638), registrando la peste sufrida durante el Katun 4 Ahau (11.14.0.0.0.: 1480-1500), en que "los zopilotes entraron a las casas", y la viruela grande que apareció en el Katun 2 Ahau (11.15.0.0.0: 1500-1520), el mismo de la aparición de los europeos, lo que significa que fueron los introductores. En el Katun 13 Ahau (11.16.0.0.0: 1520-1539) se fija la fecha de la muerte del ofrendador del agua, Ah Pulá. El Katun 11 Ahau (11.17.0.0.0: 1539-1559) se señala como el de la llegada de los españoles, pero que naturalmente se refiere a su definitivo establecimiento, pues su primera aparición fue en el Katun 2 Ahau (11.15.0.0.0: 1500-1520). En los siguientes se enumeran diversos hechos históricos de la colonia, siendo el último el del censo levantado por Diego Pareja en el año 1610, durante el Katun 5 Ahau (12.0.0.0.0: 1599-1618). El último katun registrado, el 3 Ahau (12.1.0.0.0: 1618-1638), no tiene asignado acontecimiento alguno.

La Parte I aparece completa en la versión del Maní, incompleta en la del Tizimín y falta enteramente en la del Chumayel. El hecho de que tanto en la versión del Maní como en la del Tizimín aparezca en posición inicial de la Crónica ha dado lugar a confusiones en las exégesis que anteriormente se habían hecho de ella. Algunos autores (cf. Tozzer, 1941) habían interpretado correctamente la cronología, por deducciones, pero no se habían dado cuenta de que se trata de un relato fuera de lugar.

La Crónica Matichu ofrece en términos generales una cronología aceptable que se compadece con los datos aportados por otras fuentes, tales como la Relación de Landa. Landa, por su parte, habla de algunos hechos que no se consignan de modo directo en estas crónicas, sino indirecto o con una concisión extrema. Algunos hechos se callan completamente en ellas. De todos modos, el valor aceptable de la Crónica Matichu en su aspecto cronológico radica en que reside el cotejo de otras fuentes tenidas por veraces. Algunos de sus datos, naturalmente, sólo pueden cotejarse con los datos de la arqueología. Y aun en este terreno resiste muy bien

la prueba, con poquísimas excepciones en las que puede haber duda.

Landa se refiere claramente a la ocupación de Chichen Itzá por un Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán, asentando que "entró por la parte Poniente, y que difieren en si entró antes o después de los itzaes o con ellos". Menciona también que "partido Cuculcán, acordaron los señores, para que la república durase, que tuviese el principal mando la casa de los Cocomes, por ser más antigua o más rica, o por ser el que la regía entonces hombre de más valor" y especifica que la capital sería Mayapán. Por otra parte, más adelante se refiere al despotismo ejercido por los Cocomes y a su constante importación de mercenarios mexicanos e Xicalanco, lo cual dio origen a una revolución que terminó con la destrucción de Mayapán, revolución que capitanearon los Xiues. La Crónica Matichu no habla de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán ni de los Cocomes. Da el nombre de los siete capitanes que atacaron a Chac Xib Chac de Chichen Itzá en 1194 y estos nombres son nahuas; al señor de Mayapán que hizo la guerra a Chichen Itzá con estos capitanes no se le llama Cocom sino Hunac Ceel, que en otras fuentes aparece como Hunac Ceel Cauich. Ahora bien, es evidente que Chichen Itzá, Mayapán, Tulum, Ichpatún y otras ciudades menos importantes muestran una clara influencia de la cultura tulense llamada tolteca, o dentro de la arqueología maya, "mexicana". Esta influencia no pudo tener otro origen que la invasión de elementos humanos provenientes de la meseta central, es decir, que lo sustentado por Landa de la venida de un Quetzalcóatl a Yucatán y de la contratación de mercenarios mexicanos por los Cocomes de Mayapán son hechos que tienen prueba de veracidad en la arqueología directamente y en la Crónica, por cuanto a los mercenarios, también directamente.

Así pues, en la Crónica se mencionan dos grupos emigrantes de un modo directo; los Itzaes y los Xiues. No se habla de la emigración de los Cocomes, ni de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán. Es de suponerse que los Cocomes eran gente de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán.

El grupo más importante, según las crónicas, era el Itzá, el cual ya no estaba presente en el norte de Yucatán cuando se realizó la conquista de los europeos, sino que habitaba en la Laguna de Petén en Guatemala desde hacía varios siglos. Allí fue conquistado en 1697. La región norte estaba señoreada por varios jefes, divididos en parcialidades, y entre éstos se hallaban como enemigos incorregibles los Xiues y los Cocomes, fuera de sus antiguos asientos.

Según se desprende de lo que la Crónica Matichu registra, la historia del norte de Yucatán se puede sintetizar así: En el ciclo 9.0.0.0.0. de la cronología maya, Katun 8 Ahau de la Cuenta Corta, corrido del año 415 al 435 de la era cristiana, un grupo de hombres llamados Itzaes, portadores de la cultura maya —definida ésta, según Morley, como aquella que incluye la escritura jeroglífica llamada maya, el sistema cronológico igualmente llamado maya, la arquitectura pétrea con la bóveda de arco mensulado y la cerámica llamada tzakol—, llegó, procedente del Sur —seguramente de la región conocida hoy como El Petén, Guatemala— a la laguna de Bakhalal —hoy Bacalar—, en el actual territorio de Quintana Roo, "descubriéndola". Desde allí, el mencionado grupo "descubrió" también el lugar que vino a llamarse Chichen Itzá, donde se estableció durante diez katunes, durando su paso de Bakhalal a Chichen Itzá otros tres katunes. En el siguiente Katun 8 Ahau (9.15.0.0.0: 672-692), sin que se asiente la causa, Chichen Itzá es abandonado, yendo las Itzaes a Chakanputún, lugar que alcanzan, según una versión de la Crónica Matichu, en el Katun 6 Ahau (9.14.0.0.0: 692-711) y según otra en el siguiente, 4 Ahau (9.15.0.0.0: 711-731). Allí permanecen, sin mención en la Crónica de algún acontecimiento ocurrido en el lapso, hasta el siguiente Katun 8 Ahau (10.6.0.0.0: 928-948), que es cuando a su vez Chakanputún es abandonado, regresando los Itzaes a Chichen Itzá; duró su peregrinación cuarenta tunes, por lo que Chichen Itzá es reocupado el Katun 4 Ahau (10.8.0.0.0: 968-987).

Hasta el momento de la reocupación de Chichen Itzá

por los Itzaes, parece que en el norte de Yucatán no había otra cultura superpuesta a la milpera (que aún subsiste hasta ahora) que la llamada técnicamente "maya". Pero a partir de entonces la influencia tolteca-chichimeca se hace presente. Entra en Yucatán Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán. Landa dice que no se sabía si entró a Chichen Itzá antes que los Itzaes, con ellos o después de ellos. La Crónica que aquí se publica no menciona ni una sola vez esta migración, según ya dijimos antes.

Algunos estudiosos han creído que los Itzaes mismos eran "mexicanos". Véase a este respecto Tozzer (1941, p. 20, *n.* 123; p. 32, *n.* 172). Este autor hace notar que las versiones de la Crónica Matichu claramente asientan que cuando los Itzaes abandonan Chakanputún van en busca de sus hogares *de nuevo*, lo cual significa que antes habían estado en Chichen Itzá. Menciona otras fuentes tales como Sánchez de Aguilar, Francisco Hernández, las *Relaciones de Yucatán*, etc., en las que se menciona la penetración de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán entre seiscientos y ochocientos años atrás del siglo XVI. Seiscientos años se acercan más a la fecha, señalada en la Crónica, del retorno de los Itzaes a Chichen Itzá; ochocientos le parecen fecha muy temprana para la penetración "mexicana". Acaba Tozzer por ofrecer dos soluciones: o los Itzaes eran mayas de habla chontal procedentes de Chakanputún, o "mexicanos" que se mayanizaron. Estas soluciones dejan a un lado el hecho de que los Itzaes estuvieron en Chichen Itzá en fecha anterior al siglo X y, según nosotros creemos, por la evidencia de la Crónica Matichu, desde el siglo V. Naturalmente que el origen étnico puede ser cualquiera, pero lo importante es la cultura que el grupo trajo con su advenimiento en el norte de la península. Es evidente que culturalmente, antes del siglo X, no existía allí influencia tolteca-chichimeca, en la forma en que es palpable en la arqueología de la región. Ahora bien, es indudable que la influencia cultural de los altos de México se efectuó al mismo tiempo que los Itzaes regresaron a Chichen Itzá y que si la Crónica calla la entrada de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán, otras fuentes la mencionan

y fijan más o menos la misma época para esa entrada. Durante la estancia de los Itzaes en Chakanputún, es posible: *1)* que hubiesen cambiado su dialecto del norte de Yucatán por otro del Sur (Chontal); *2)* que hubiesen recibido influencias culturales de los altos de México por contacto con los nonoualcas colindantes; *3)* que se hubiesen aliado a Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán, para convivir en Chichen Itzá.

En la misma época en que los Itzaes regresan por segunda vez a Chichen Itzá según nuestra Crónica, aparece en la península el grupo Xiu. Procedió de Nonoual, el clásico Nonoualco, que vagamente se sitúa al sur de México, desde Oaxaca hasta Tabasco, en los linderos mayas. Agrega la Crónica que "la tierra de donde vinieron es Tulapan Chiconautlan", claramente la región de Tula de Hidalgo, de donde partieron en el mismo Katun 8 Ahau en que los Itzaes abandonaron Chakanputún. Los Xiues llegan a Chacnabitón, una región no claramente identificada de la península —Morley cree que estaba situada al sur de Chakanputún—, en el primer tun del Katun 13 Ahau (10.10.0.0.0: 1007-1027), es decir, en 1008, después de una peregrinación que duró 81 años tunes. Esto reza la Parte I de la Crónica, dando el nombre del caudillo Chan Tepeu. La Parte II, sin embargo, pone a otro caudillo: Ah Suytok Tutul Xiu, estableciéndose en Uxmal en el Katun 2 Ahau (987-1007), inmediatamente anterior al 13 Ahau. El grupo de Chan Tepeu duró en Chacnabitón hasta el Katun 5 Ahau (10.14.0.0.0: 1086-1106), pero no dice el documento adónde se dirigió después.

A partir del establecimiento de Tutul Xiu en Uxmal, la Crónica dice que éste reinó en compañía de los gobernadores de Chichen Itzá y Mayapán, por espacio de diez katunes, es decir, desde el Katun 2 Ahau mencionado hasta el Katun 10 Ahau (10.18.0.0.0: 1165-1185). Éste es el periodo de lo que se ha llamado "Confederación o Liga de Mayapán". Ahora bien, ya hemos mencionado antes cómo se estableció la dinastía Cocom en Mayapán. La influencia tolteca-chichimeca no se encuentra únicamente en Chichen Itzá y en Mayapán,

como también hemos indicado antes, sino en varios otros lugares, especialmente en la costa caribe, hasta el Sur. A este respecto, algunas fuentes coloniales dan alguna referencia, como por ejemplo un documento de Valladolid, citado por Brinton (1882, p. 118), que dice que vinieron de México a Yucatán a fundar pueblos; que algunos se establecieron en Chichen Itzá, un grupo fue a establecerse a Bacalar (Bakhalal) y otro a Cozumel. Agrega el documento que uno de los jefes de nombre Tanupolchicbul fue pariente de Moctezuma (citado por Tozzer, 1941, p. 21, *n.* 123). Landa, como hemos dicho, da el dato concreto de que Mayapán fue cultural y políticamente obra de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán, habiendo éste vivido en la ciudad, de donde partió a Champotón cuando regresó a los altos de México. La alianza o liga, como se la ha llamado, pues no sólo sería entre Mayapán, Uxmal y Chichen Itzá, sino entre otras varias ciudades-estados. Unas Itzaes, como Itzmal, y otras de Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán, como Tulum, Ichpatún, etc. Tres grupos culturales aparecen en juego: *1)* el Itzá, que aunque aliado con Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán y con alguna influencia de los altos, seguramente conservó las líneas fundamentales de su cultura especialmente en el aspecto religioso, a pesar de su convivencia con Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán en Chichen Itzá; *2)* el Xiu, que siendo nonoualca proveniente de Tulapan Chiconautlan, parece que participó poco de la cultura tolteca-chichimeca, por lo menos en cuanto a las artes materiales se refiere, pues no aportó en Uxmal, ni en todo el Puuc, sino algunos elementos que aparecen aplicados —no estructuralmente combinados— en la arquitectura, que es a todas luces típicamente maya, aunque con fisonomía particular en algunos rasgos: *3)* en cambio, Chichen Itzá, Mayapán, Tulum, Ichpatún, etc., muestran hibridez clara de elementos de los altos.

La llamada Liga de Mayapán duró hasta el Katun 8 Ahau (10.1.0.0.0: 1118-1204) en que aconteció el episodio de Hunac Ceel, el jefe Cocom de Mayapán a la sazón. Según Landa, los Xiues no participaron en esta lucha, pero simpatizaron con los Itzaes. Vino la venganza de los

Itzaes, de la cual hemos hablado ya. Nuevamente los Co. comes, con el auxilio de gente de Xicalanco, establecieron una hegemonía, haciendo que los gobernantes de las otras parcialidades viviesen dentro de las murallas de Mayapán, desde donde ejercían su gobierno por medio de diputados. Por último, los de fuera de la muralla arrasaron a Mayapán en el Katun 8 Ahau (11.12.0.0.0: 1441-1461), auxiliados por los Xiues, quedando después dividida la península en las parcialidades que hallaron los españoles. Los Itzaes refugiados en El Petén fueron conquistados por éstos 137 días antes del retorno del Katun 8 Ahau (12.5.1.0.0: 1697-1717), es decir, el día 13 de marzo de 1697.

Choca esta rítmica sucesión de hechos históricos calamitosos para los Itzaes y aun para los otros grupos. Morley (1947, pp. 486-90) trata este fenómeno llamándolo "los *idus* de marzo de los mayas".

La respuesta a la pregunta de quiénes fueron los Itzaes parece que la da la Crónica Matichu. Vinieron del Sur, del Viejo Imperio, en el ciclo 9.0.0.0.0: ¿Eran, pues, "mayas" del Viejo Imperio? Por lo menos, su nombre revela un origen maya. Su análisis filológico es el siguiente:

Itzá es un compuesto de dos elementos: *its* + *a'*. El primero, *its*, lo tomamos por *brujo* o *mago* y *a'* por agua. El nombre Itzá, pues, se traduce por Brujo-del-agua.

El nombre completo no parece corresponder al dialecto del norte de Yucatán, donde *its* tiene un significado de: "leche, lágrima, sudor, resina o goma por cuaxar de árboles y de matas y de algunas yervas... lo que corre de la candela... herrumbre que tiene el cuchillo y el hierro", según el Diccionario de Motul, de donde se ha sacado la interpretación clásica de las palabras de Itzamná: *Itzen caan, Itzen muyal*, "que era dezir: Yo soy el rozio, o sustancia del Cielo y nubes" (según Lizana, 1893, p. 4). En la misma página, Lizana da una de las variantes del nombre de Itzamná y su supuesto significado: "*Itzamatul*, que quiere dezir el que recibe y posee la gracia, o rocío, o sustancia del Cielo". Según la definición del Motul, *its* en yucateco no es gracia, ni sustancia, ni rocío, aunque de modo marginal

puede extenderse el significado, ya que se refiere a algo que brota o surge por gotas o pequeñas partículas, líquido o no. De todos modos la definición que da Lizana está relacionada con agua, con el agua de las nubes. El *its* yucateco es homónimo del *its* de *itsá* y de sus derivados.

El morfema *its* de Itzá, forma parte de una familia de variantes existentes en las lenguas mayances, inclusive el maya yucateco como veremos. Aparece sin o con modificación en cakchiquel: "*its*... hechicería, brujería, encantamiento. *Ajits*, hechicero". En el maya yucateco aparece en la variante *its'* y únicamente en el compuesto *its'at* (ɨɔat o idzat), que significa: "astuto, cauteloso, mañoso, ábil, artista, industrioso, ingenioso, para bien y para mal, y sabio assi", según el Diccionario de Motul. En ese dialecto la variante *its'* tiene varios homónimos.

Otra de las variantes de *its* es *is* (*ix* o *ish*), que en la cronología antigua de Yucatán es el nombre de uno de los días de la veintena, el que corresponde exactamente a *océlotl* de la veintena nahua. Tampoco esta forma *is* aparece en el dialecto yucateco con el significado de jaguar, que es el de *océlotl* en nahua. Pero la tenemos en quekchí precisamente con el doble significado de pluma y de jaguar (según Stoll, 1938). Otras variantes son: *ih* en pokomchi, que según Zúñiga vale por: "...espaldas... Dízese también en orden, a toda la circunferencia del cuerpo... Dízese también por la piel, el pellejo, el despojo assi del hombre como del animal... Dízese también por las plumas del ave. Dízese por el enbez de algo lo contrario de la haz... dízese por la lana de la oveja y de aquí llaman *rih chicop* al escapopul de lana que usan por capa y a las frezadas... Dízese por el pelo del animal... Dízese también por la corteza del árbol... y por la corteza y cáscara de huevo y de cualquier cosa... Dízese también por los pálpados de los ojos... Dízese también por los lavios de la boca..."; *ism* (*izm*) en el cakchiquel, que tiene significación semejante según Varela: "...cabello o pelo de cualquier cosa, o de lana, o de algodón... o las plumas de las aves..."

Ahora bien, ¿qué tiene que ver piel, pelo, pluma, corteza, etc., con jaguar y brujo, mago o sabio? Varela trae un ejemplo en el cual equipara *balam* e *itz* para significar hechicero: "Balam Ah *ytz* lae atit", esto es: "aquella vieja es hechicera". Balam es otro nombre del jaguar y también denota brujería, y es porque se refiere a lo oculto, a lo envuelto. *Bal* en el maya yucateco, según el Motul, significa "esconder y abrigar y encubrir debajo de algo o detrás de algo". Los dos morfemas *its* y *bal* se relacionan: mientras que *its* es la cosa que cubre y envuelve, *bal* se refiere a la acción de envolver y ocultar. *Balam* es un nombre compuesto de *bal* + *am*. Este último elemento denota *actor*, de modo que *balam* quiere decir "el que se esconde, se oculta", en otros términos "el misterioso". Balam en cackchiquel es sinónimo de *its*, significado de hechicero, además de ser el nombre del jaguar. La expresión *balam ah itz* es pleonástica. Esta relación entre jaguar y pluma o "cosa que envuelve" está aprovechada precisamente en el jeroglífico de *ix* (*hix*) (véase Barrera Vásquez, 1941, pp. 81-85).

Lo que Itzamná o Itzamatul, como Lizana lo llama, quiso decir fue seguramente: "soy el mago, brujo o hechicero de los cielos, el mago, brujo o hechicero de las nubes", es decir, el que hace llover, deidad del agua.

El elemento *-a'* en *itsa'* significa agua y esta forma sí es común en Yucatán. Aparece en los toponímicos con harta frecuencia: Ch'och'ola'; "agua salada"; Panaba'; "agua que cava"; Sotuta': "agua que gira", etc.

El hecho de que Chichen Itzá haya sido capital Itzá por excelencia y que ésta se distinga precisamente por su culto al agua y en ella exista el más famoso cenote, donde se ejercía el rito del sacrificio a las deidades acuáticas; y de que, además, Itzamná o Itzamatul se dijera asimismo mago o brujo del cielo, mago o brujo de las nubes, viene a corroborar la interpretación del nombre *itsa'* o Itzá como Brujo del Agua.

Al pasar los Itzaes por Bakhalal o Bacalar, tuvieron la laguna para sus ritos y si estuvieron en Tulum, tuvieron allá cenotes. En las cercanías de Champotón no

existen cenotes, pero hay un río, y tierra adentro existe aún el culto al agua. En el Petén, su último refugio fue la laguna.

Las fechas registradas en la Crónica Matichu

Las fechas registradas en la traducción de la Crónica Matichu, corresponden a tres sistemas:

1) El llamado de la "cuenta corta" que se usó en el norte de la Península de Yucatán posiblemente desde principios del siglo x de nuestra Era. Se llama cuenta corta, porque sus fechas se repiten cada 260 años tunes (de 360 días) y se caracteriza porque numera y nombra los katunes (periodos de 20 años tunes) mediante una fórmula de un número seguido del nombre del día en que termina el periodo que es siempre el día Ahau. Los números siguen invariablemente el siguiente orden: 8, 6, 4, 2, 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, un ciclo de trece, que hace el total de 260, para volver a empezar repitiéndose las mismas fechas. Como no se lleva la cuenta de cada ciclo a partir de una era, las fechas resultan equívocas a medida que pasan los ciclos. Equivale a nuestra data abreviada, digamos: 2-X-62, en donde 2 corresponde al número de orden del día en el mes; X al número de orden del mes (octubre) y 62 al número de orden del año, pero únicamente dentro de las decenas. Después de varios siglos no se sabrá a qué centena corresponde y mucho menos a qué millar. El sistema de la "cuenta corta" es el único que aparece en los documentos mayas poscortesianos.

2) El llamado sistema de la "cuenta larga" que se pone entre paréntesis equiparada a fechas cristianas. Está indicada con una fórmula de números separados por puntos, que corresponden a periodos diversos. El primero señala el número de baktunes (periodos de 20 katunes) transcurridos desde la fecha era; el segundo representa el número de katunes; el tercero dice el número de años tunes; el cuarto el número de uinales (periodos de 20 días) y el último el número de días que no alcanzan a ser un uinal. Como las fechas no

se repiten en este sistema sino después de un lapso de 374 440 nunca pueden ser equívocas dentro de lo que duró la historia del pueblo maya.

3) El sistema cristiano, incluido entre los paréntesis, señala el año cristiano en que comienza y en el que termina el katun a que se refiere. Tanto la fecha de la "cuenta larga" como la cristiana vienen a ser el cotejo correlacionado de la "cuenta corta" y se basa en la correlación Goodman-Martínez Hernández-Thompson que pone la conquista española (1539) en la fecha 11.16.0.0.0 de la "cuenta larga".

CRÓNICA MATICHU*
PARTE I

Éste es el orden de los katunes desde cuando salieron de su tierra, de su hogar de Nonoual:

Cuatro katunes estuvieron los Tutul Xiu [10.2.0.0.0-10.5.0.0.0: 3 Ahau-10 Ahau: 849-928] al poniente de Zuyua.

* La que aquí se llama Crónica Matichu es la traducción de la reconstrucción de tres versiones de un mismo documento que se encuentran en los Libros de Chilam Balam de Maní, Tizimín y Chumayel, como ya se dijo. Don Juan Pío Pérez fue el descubridor, el primer traductor y también el primer divulgador en el mundo, de la versión del Maní, al entregársela a John L. Stephens en 1842, traducida y comentada. Éste, Stephens (1843), publicó en inglés dicha versión por primera vez. Su publicación no fue completa. Por su parte Stephens tampoco incluyó todo el estudio de Pérez, publicándolo por primera vez completo Carrillo y Ancona (1878-82 y 1883). Este autor incluyó la traducción española de la versión del Maní hecha por Pérez, sin el texto maya. En 1868, Berendt copió en Mérida el trabajo de Pérez, y esta copia fue publicada por Valentini (1880), incluyendo el texto maya, pero no todo el estudio de Pérez, y agregando comentarios suyos. Una nueva edición fue la de Thomas (1882). Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864) reproduce el texto maya con traducción suya al francés. La edición de Brasseur es reproducida por Charencey (1874). La mejor edición inglesa, incluyendo comentarios muy atinados, es la de Brinton (1882), que ha sido la más citada desde entonces. Palma y Palma (1901) incluye el texto español de Pérez. La traducción y estudio de Pérez en español fueron superados por Martínez Hernández (1909, 1926, 1927 y 1940). Médiz Bolio (1930), usando el texto maya de la edición de Stephens, tradujo e interpretó de nuevo algunos pasajes. Escalona Ramos (1935) publica una "interpretación a las traducciones del Obispo Carrillo y Ancona [*sic*], Martínez Hernández y Médiz Bolio" y Jakeman (1945, pp. 62-68) reproduce el texto maya de la edición de Brinton y la traducción de éste mismo, con algunas modificaciones. Innumerables autores han citado y

La tierra de donde vinieron [es] Tulapan Chiconautlan.

Cuatro katunes caminaron hasta que llegaron aquí, en compañía del caudillo (Holón) Chan Tepeu[1] y sus acompañantes.

Cuando salieron de la región (Petén) era el 8 Ahau [10.6.0.0.0: 928-948], 6 Ahau [10.7.0.0.0: 948-968], 4 Ahau [10.8.0.0.0: 968-987], 2 Ahau [10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007].

Cuatro veintenas más un año [81], porque era el primer tun[2] del 13 Ahau cuando llegaron [10.10.0.0.0: 1007-1027; primer tun, 1008] aquí a esta región (Petén); cuatro veintenas de años y un año en total caminaron desde que salieron de sus tierras y vinieron aquí a la región (Petén) de Chacnabitón, los

utilizado esta famosa versión. Tozzer (1921, pp. 184-186) hace una excelente revista de sus traductores, editores y comentadores hasta 1909. De entonces acá el número ha crecido. La última traducción española es la de Solís Alcalá (1949). Pío Pérez tituló su trabajo "Traducción y juicio crítico de un manuscrito en lengua maya que trata de las principales épocas de la historia de esta península antes de su conquista". Y a la versión misma la tituló: "Principales épocas de la historia antigua de Yucatán". Stephens tradujo: "Principal Epochs of the Ancient History of Yucatan". Brinton la llamó: "The Series of the Katuns". Martínez Hernández: "Crónica del Maní". Médiz Bolio: "Serie de los Katunes del Ms. de Maní, llamada Épocas Mayas". Tozzer (1921) le aplica el confundible nombre de "Pérez Codex" agregándole entre paréntesis la primera frase maya con que comienza: "Lai u tzolan katun". "Pérez Codex" es la traducción al inglés de "Códice Pérez", nombre que Carrillo y Ancona dio a la colección completa de copias que Pío Pérez sacó de varios Libros de Chilam Balam, siendo el principal el de Maní. Por esta causa justamente se le suele llamar "Crónica de Maní". El mismo nombre de Códice Pérez para todo el conjunto de copias de D. Juan Pío, es confundible con el que da a un códice jeroglífico maya que se encuentra en París: el "Codex Peresianus" (ver Introducción).

La versión que procede del Chilam Balam de Tizimín la

años años son éstos: 81 años [928-1008]. 13 Ahau [10.10.0.0.0: 1007-1027], 8 Ahau [10.6.0.0.0: 928-948], 6 Ahau [10.7.0.0.0: 948-968], 4 Ahau [10.8.0.0.0: 968-987], 2 Ahau [10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007], fue cuando llegó a Chacnabitón Ah Mekat Tutul Xiu [y los suyos].

Un año faltando para las cinco veintenas estuvieron a Chacnabitón; éstos son los años: 99 [hasta el último día del 5 Ahau, 10.14.0.0.0: 1086-1106].

PARTE II

8 Ahau [9.0.0.0.0: 415-435], fue cuando se descubrió la provincia de Siyan Can Bakhalal.[3]

6 Ahau [9.1.0.0.0: 435-455], fue que se descubrió Chichen Itzá.

4 Ahau [9.2.0.0.0: 455-475], 2 Ahau [9.3.0.0.0: 475-495].

editan, traducen y comentan por primera vez Brinton (1882) en inglés y Martínez Hernández (1927 y 1940) en español. El primero le dio el título de "The Series of the Katuns" y el segundo "La Crónica del Tizimín". La última traducción es la de Makemson (1951, pp. 68-70).

Menos conocida que la versión del Maní pero más que la del Tizimín, es la del Chumayel. Brinton (1882) fue el primero en editarla, traducirla y comentarla, con el nombre de "The Record of the Count of the Katuns". Martínez Hernández (1927 y 1940) y Médiz Bolio (1930, pp. 88-91) son sus traductores en español; Roys (1933, pp. 135-138) es el más reciente traductor y comentador en inglés. Martínez Hernández la llama: "La Primera Crónica del Chumayel"; Médiz Bolio: "Libro de la Serie de los Katunes", y Roys: "The First Chronicle". Es, en efecto, la primera de las tres que trae el Chilam Balam de Chumayel.

La versión del Maní que sirvió para este trabajo fue tomada de fotografías directas del original del Códice Pérez que se guarda en Mérida, Yuc.; la versión del Tizimín proviene de una reproducción fotostática del original que se encuentra en el Museo Nacional de Antropología de la ciudad de México, y la versión del Chumayel se tomó de la edición facsimilar de Gordon (1913).

13 Ahau [9.4.0.0.0: 495-514], se ordenaron las esteras [4] y se ocupó Chichen.

Tres veintenas de años reinaron en Siyan Can y bajaron aquí [¿en Chichen Itzá?].

En los mismos años que reinaron en Bakhalal, la laguna, fue que se descubrió Chichen Itzá; [5] 60 años [6 Ahau, 2 Ahau: 435-495].

11 Ahau [9.5.0.0.0: 514-534], 9 Ahau [9.6.0.0.0: 534-554], 7 Ahau [9.7.0.0.0: 554-573], 5 Ahau [9.8.0.0.0: 573-593], 3 Ahau [9.9.0.0.0: 593-613], 1 Ahau [9.10.0.0.0: 613-633], 12 Ahau [9.11.0.0.0: 633-652], 10 Ahau [9.12.0.0.0: 652-672], 8 Ahau [9.13.0.0.0: 672-692].

Diez veintenas de años reinaron en Chichen Itzá y fue abandonada.

Transcurrieron trece dobleces de katun [desde el descubrimiento de Bakhalal].

Y fueron a establecerse a Chakanputún.[6]

Allí tuvieron su hogar los Itzaes, hombres religiosos.

Éstos son los años: 200.

En el Katun 6 Ahau [9.14.0.0.0: 692-711] fue alcanzada la tierra de Chakanputún.

4 Ahau [9.15.0.0.0: 711-731], fue alcanzada la tierra, por ellos, de Chakanputún.

2 Ahau [9.16.0.0.0: 731-751], 13 Ahau [9.17.0.0.0: 751-771], 11 Ahau [9.18.0.0.0: 771-790], 9 Ahau [9.19.0.0.0: 790-810], 7 Ahau [10.0.0.0.0: 810-830], 5 Ahau [10.1.0.0.0: 830-849], 3 Ahau [10.2.0.0.0: 849-869], 1 Ahau [10.3.0.0.0: 869-889], 12 Ahau [10.4.0.0.0: 889-909], 10 Ahau [10.5.0.0.0: 909-928], 8 Ahau [10.6.0.0.0: 928-948], fue abandonada Chakanputún.

Trece veintenas de años reinaron en Chakanputún los hombres Itzá y vinieron en busca de sus hogares, de nuevo.[7]

Trece dobleces de katun residieron en Chakanpu-

tún, sus hogares, y perdieron el camino de Chakanputún.

Éste es el katun cuando fueron los Itzaes bajo los árboles, bajo la maleza, bajo los bejucos sufriendo.

Éstos son los años corridos: 260 [692-948].

6 Ahau [10.7.0.0.0: 948-968], 4 Ahau [10.8.0.0.0: 968-987]; dos veintenas de años [anduvieron errantes] y vinieron a establecer sus hogares, de nuevo,[8] después de que perdieron Chakanputún.

Éstos son los años: 40 [948-987].

PARTE III

En el Katun 2 Ahau [10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007] se estableció Ah Suytok Tutul Xiu en Uxmal.

2 Ahau [10.9.0.0.0: 987-1007], 13 Ahau [10.10.0.0.0: 1007-1027], 11 Ahau [10.11.0.0.0: 1027-1047], 9 Ahau [10.12.0.0.0: 1047-1066], 7 Ahau [10.13.0.0.0: 1066-1086], 5 Ahau [10.14.0.0.0: 1086-1106], 3 Ahau [10.15.0.0.0: 1106-1125], 1 Ahau [10.16.0.0.0: 1125-1145], 12 Ahau [10.17.0.0.0: 1145-1165], 10 Ahau [10.18.0.0.0: 1165-1185].

Desde que se estableció Ah Suytok Tutul Xiu [y los suyos] en Uxmal, diez veintenas de años reinaron (diez veintenas hacía que se habían establecido en Uxmal) en compañía de los gobernadores de Chichen Itzá y de Mayapán.

Éstos son los años que corrieron cuando esto aconteció: 200 años [987-1185]...

8 Ahau [10.19.0.0.0: 1185-1204], abandonó el gobernante de Chichen Itzá, de los hombres Itzá, Hunac Ceel Cauich, a Chac Xib Chac[9] de Chichen Itzá; por la traición de Hunac Ceel, gobernante de sus hogares de nuevo, por causa de la traición de Mayapán-Ichpá.[10]

Cuatro veintenas de años y diez más hace: El

décimo tun del 8 Ahau [10.18.10.0.0: 1194], fue el año en que se dispersaron por causa de Ah Sinteut Chan, Tzontecum, Taxcal, Pantemit, Xuchueuet, Itzcuat, Cacaltecat.[11] Éstos eran los nombres de los individuos, siete mayapanenses, 7.

En el mismo 8 Ahau [10.19.0.0.0: 1185-1204] fueron a destruir [los de Mayapán] al Rey Ulmil[12] por sus banquetes con el Rey Ulil de Itzmal.

Trece dobleces de katun hacía que estaban establecidos [los Itzaes] cuando se dispersaron por causa de Hunac Ceel, para darles lección a los Itzaes.

6 Ahau [11.0.0.0.0: 1204-1224], cuando se terminó. Una veintena de años más catorce.

Éstos son los años que corrieron: 34.

6 Ahau [11.0.0.0.0: 1204-1224], 4 Ahau [11.1.0.0.0: 1224-1244].

Dos veintenas de años; cuando fue apresada la tierra de Ichpá-Mayapán por los hombres Itzá que salieron de sus hogares con el Rey Ulmil, y por los de Itzmal, por causa de la traición de Hunac Ceel.

2 Ahau [11.2.0.0.0: 1244-1263], 13 Ahau [11.3.0.0.0: 1263-1283], 11 Ahau [11.4.0.0.0: 1283-1303], [han transcurrido desde que] fue apresada la tierra de Ichpá-Mayapán por los de fuera de la muralla —por causa del gobierno múltiple en el interior de Mayapán—, por los hombres Itzá y el Rey Ulmil.

Dos veintenas de años más tres años cuando entró el 11 Ahau [tres tunes del 11 Ahau anterior: 1286], desde que fue abandonada Mayapán por los extranjeros montañeses[13] [que ocupaban] el interior de Mayapán: 43 años.

9 Ahau [11.5.0.0.0: 1303-1323], 7 Ahau [11.6.0.0.0: 1323-1342], 5 Ahau [11.7.0.0.0: 1342-1362], 3 Ahau [11.8.0.0.0: 1362-1382], 1 Ahau [11.9.0.0.0: 1382-1401], 12 Ahau [11.10.0.0.0: 1401-1421], 10 Ahau [11.11.0.0.0:

1421-1441], 8 Ahau [11.12.0.0.0: 1441-1461]; fue cuando se abandonó y destruyó Ichpá-Mayapán por los de extramuros, los de atrás de la muralla, por causa del gobierno múltiple en el interior de Mayapán.

6 Ahau [11.13.0.0.0: 1461-1480], 4 Ahau [11.14.0.0.0: 1480], 4 Ahau [11.14.0.0.0: 1500-1520].

En el decimotercero tun, el año que corría [1513],[14] fue cuando primeramente pasaron los extranjeros españoles a ver por primera vez nuestra tierra, esta provincia de Yucatán.

Tres veintenas de años más trece años después que había sido despoblada Ichpá: 73 años.

PARTE IV

13 Ahau [11.16.0.0.0: 1520-1539], 11 Ahau [11.17.0.0.0: 1539-1559], 9 Ahau [11.18.0.0.0: 1559-1579], 7 Ahau [11.19.0.0.0: 1579-1599], 5 Ahau [12.0.0.0.0.: 1599-1618], 3 Ahau [12.1.0.0.0: 1618-1638], 1 Ahau [12.2.0.0.0: 1638-1658], 12 Ahau [12.3.0.0.0: 1658-1677], 10 Ahau [12.4.0.0.0: 1677-1697], 8 Ahau [12.5.0.0.0: 1697-1717]...

[Hace que] fue abandonada la ciudad de Mayapán, por los extranjeros montañeses, diez veintenas más cuatro veintenas de años.

6 Ahau [11.13.0.0.0: 1461-1480], 4 Ahau [11.14.0.0.0: 1480-1500]: hubo mortandad súbita [peste], los zopilotes entraron en las casas de Ichpá [Mayapán].

2 Ahau [11.15.0.0.0: 1500-1520]: hubo epidemia de viruela grande.

13 Ahau [11.16.0.0.0: 1520-1539]: fue cuando murió el Ofrendador del Agua (Ah Pulá); faltaban seis años para terminarse la cuenta del 13 Ahau [1533].

El año que contaban por el oriente; en 4 Kan cayó Poop al oriente.

He aquí que yo hago la correlación precisa de los años del katun: 15 de Sip y 3 más [18 Sip], 9 Imix.

Es el día en que murió el Ofrendador del Agua Napoot Xiu.

El año que corría era —cuando se supo esta cuenta de los números de los años— 1536.

Tres veintenas hacía que se había despoblado Ichpá [por la peste].

Asimismo, aún no terminaba de contarse 11 Ahau [11.17.0.0.0: 1539-1559], cuando llegaron los españoles, hombres arrojados.[15]

Del oriente vinieron cuando llegaron por primera vez aquí hasta esta tierra de nosotros los hombres mayas, en el año *domini* 1513.

9 Ahau [11.18.0.0.0: 1559-1579], comenzó el cristianismo; se verificó el Bautismo.

Dentro de este mismo katun llegó el primer Obispo de nombre Toral.[16]

También cesó el Colgamiento.[17]

Éste es el año *domini* que transcurría: 1546.

Era el 7 Ahau [11.19.0.0.0: 1579-1599], cuando murió el gran Obispo De Landa.[18]

Dentro del Katun 5 Ahau [12.0.0.0.0: 1599-1618], fue que hubo Padres en Maní: fue el año de 1550.

Éste es el año que corría cuando los Padres se establecieron en Yokhá: 1552.[19]

Éste es el año que corría cuando llegó el Oidor y se fundó el Hospital: 1599.[20]

Éste es el año que corría cuando llegó el Doctor Quijada, gran Gobernador aquí en esta tierra: 1560.[21]

Éste es el año que corría cuando aconteció el Colgamiento: 1562.[22]

Éste es el año que corría cuando llegó el Mariscal Gobernador [Luna y Arellano], y se hicieron las cisternas: 1563.[23]

Éste es el año que corría cuando hubo viruela grande: 1609.

Éste es el año que corría cuando fueron ahorcados los de Tekax: 1610.[24]

Éste es el año que corría cuando [fue registrada por] escrito la población [se censó] por el Juez Diego Pareja: 1611.

3 Ahau [12.1.0.0.0: 1618-1638].

LOS TEXTOS PROFÉTICOS

En relación con el tiempo, los mayas de Yucatán tenían a raíz de la conquista, según los datos existentes, tres clases de predicciones de carácter fatal, a saber: *1)* las katúnicas; *2)* las túnicas; *3)* las diurnas.

Las predicciones katúnicas y las túnicas se presentaban en ruedas cíclicas manteniendo el concepto de que los acontecimientos de un periodo dado se repetirían al repetirse la misma fecha en que se registraban. En las predicciones de los katunes en los Libros de Chilam Balam la cuenta se inicia con el once, de modo que el orden es once, nueve, siete, cinco, tres, uno, doce, diez, ocho, seis, cuatro, dos, trece. La razón de que la cuenta se inicie con el once es que tal era el katun que corría cuando la conquista española se realizó. El acontecimiento inició una nueva era en la historia. En las crónicas el ciclo terminaba o comenzaba en un 8 Ahau. El ciclo completo se denominaba *Uudz Katunob*, es decir, Doblez de los Katunes. Véase en Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 107) una rueda de katunes, que Morley reproduce (1947, p. 325). Se conocen dos series completas de profecías katúnicas y una incompleta, todas las cuales están contenidas en esta obra.

Las predicciones túnicas son las que corresponden a cada una de las divisiones de un katun, que son veinte periodos de trescientos sesenta días cada uno llamados tun (Katun es una palabra compuesta de *kal*, que significa veinte, y *tun*). Se conoce únicamente una rueda que incluye los veinte tunes y que corresponde a un Katun 5 Ahau. El nombre que se le da en los Libros de Chilam Balam es Cuceb, que significa ardilla, pero que quiere decir "lo que gira". La serie se incluye también en este trabajo.

El Cuceb enumera años de trescientos sesenta y cinco días, a partir del Trece Kan. En la época de la conquista, el "Cargador", es decir, el nombre del primer día del año civil, era uno cualquiera de los siguientes cua-

tro: Kan, Muluc, Ix, Cauac. El año se iniciaba en el mes Pop y precisamente eran estos días los que caían en el primero de Pop, en el orden indicado; el número del día dentro de la serie de Trece, del Tzolkin, completaba el nombre que recibía cada año. Según el Cuceb, en el año 13 Kan se "tomó" el ídolo del Katun 5 Ahau y la fecha de su designación (5 Ahau) cayó en posición 15 del mes Tzeec, es decir, el día 5 Ahau fue el decimoquinto de dicho mes Tzeec, contando desde uno. Pero la realidad es que la posición del 5 Ahau no fue 15 sino 17, primer error que se nota. Martínez Hernández ([1940], pp. 3 y 11) dice que la posición debe ser 18. Este mismo autor también asienta que el año 13 Kan corrió de julio de 1541 a julio de 1542, mientras que el Cuceb fija su transcurso del año 1593 al de 1594, segundo error notable. La serie termina con el año 7 Kan, lo cual es un error más, debido a que se había omitido completamente el segundo, el que sigue a 13 Kan, que es el 1 Muluc, cuya profecía había quedado incluida por descuido en el tercero, 2 Ix, que se tomó por segundo. Este error queda corregido en la traducción presente. La sección del 7 Kan sale sobrando. El último año en el cual terminó la cuenta de 7 200 días que contiene un katun es realmente el anterior a 7 Kan, o sea el 6 Cauac, cuyo segundo día del mes Uayeb fue 3 Ahau, nombre del siguiente katun. El día anterior, el primero de Uayeb, fue 2 Cauac, y es al que se refiere la última sección del Cuceb, que se titula *Check Oc Katun*, o sea la Pisada del Katun. Parece que en esta serie no se sigue la regla de nombrar al katun con el día en que termina, sino que se toma al día Ahau como el del comienzo. Esto se deduce del texto del Chek Oc Katun, ya que explica que el katun pisará el 2 Cauac desde 13 Oc o sea diez días antes y que entonces dejará su trono y su estera, caerá su carga y dará vuelta el doblez del katun. El 2 Cauac es el último día, el número 7 200, contando a partir del día siguiente a 5 Ahau, 17 Tzeec, del Año 13 Kan, y el 3 Ahau, el primero de un nuevo katun, según este sistema. Del otro modo las predicciones corresponderían no al Katun 5 Ahau sino al Katun 3 Ahau, iniciado al

día siguiente a la fecha 5 Ahau 17 Tzeec ya mencionada.

Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 108), refiriéndose al mecanismo de la función de los ídolos de los katunes, explica que cada ídolo correspondiente a un katun comenzaba a regir diez años antes de que comenzara su propio katun y terminaba su regencia al fin del décimo de éste, viniendo a ocupar su lugar el del siguiente, de modo que durante su propio katun solamente ejercía función diez años, o sea la mitad de la duración del periodo; sin embargo, agrega que, no obstante, los diez últimos años, aunque el ídolo fuera otro, seguían rigiendo los pronósticos del que ya había salido. Pone un ejemplo así: "Verbi gratia. Dicen los indios que acabaron de llegar españoles a la cibdad de Mérida el año de la Natividad del Señor de MDXLI, que era un punto en el primero año de la era de Buluc-Ahau [Katun 11 Ahau]... Si no hubiera españoles, adoraran ellos el ídolo de Buluc Ahau hasta el año LI que son diez años; y al año décimo pusieran otro ídolo, a Bolon-Ahau [Katun 9 Ahau], y honráranle, siguiéndose por los pronósticos de Buluc-Ahau hasta el año de LXI [*sic*], y entonces, quitáranla del templo y pusieran a Uuc-Ahau [al ídolo del Katun 7 Ahau] y siguiéranse por los pronósticos de Bolon-Ahau otros X años, y así daban a todos vuelta..." La explicación no es clara porque hay error en donde hemos marcado *sic*, pues en lugar de LXI debió escribirse LXXI. Lo que es claro es que el ídolo estaba en el templo veinte años: diez del katun anterior y diez de su propio katun; también es claro que aunque lo quitasen del templo al final del décimo año de su propio katun, los diez siguientes seguía rigiendo el pronóstico del mismo katun, aunque ya el ídolo presente fuese el del siguiente. El pronóstico, pues, correspondía a la duración del katun. Sin embargo, en el Cuceb el mecanismo no es como lo explica Landa, sino que el ídolo de un katun dado ocupa su lugar en el templo para ser reverenciado, no a la mitad del katun anterior, sino a los tres cuartos, es decir, no comienza su función al iniciarse el undécimo año, sino al iniciarse el decimosexto y dura hasta el último día del decimoquinto de su propio katun para dejar-

le su lugar al del katun siguiente. Hay duda sobre si efectivamente dejaba su lugar o permanecía juntamente con el siguiente, al cual tendría como huésped, habiendo sido a su vez huésped del anterior. (Véase, sin embargo, la p. 204, donde se asienta que un katun es huésped del anterior.)

Las predicciones diurnas son de dos clases: *a)* las del *Sansamal Kin Xoc*, o sea de La Cuenta Diaria de los Días de un año, que únicamente enuncia si el día es bueno o malo y tiene una función general para normar las actividades humanas, y *b)* las del *Chuenil Kin Sansamal*, o sea del Artificio Diario de los Días, es decir, de la veintena, dentro del libro horóscopo llamado en náhuatl Tonalámatl, abstractamente, según el propio significado y atributos del nombre del día. La clase *a)* no se incluye en el presente trabajo; la clase *b)* sí. (Véase la nota introductoria particular del *Chuenil kin*.)

Existe aún un tipo de textos que es precisamente el que ha dado nombre a los Libros de Chilam Balam, llamados desde antaño *las profecías* y así tituladas en los manuscritos. Es el que aquí se publica con el título general de Jaculatorias de los Ah Kines y que Roys (1933, p. 164) llama Profecías de una Nueva Religión. El carácter de estos textos es un poco distinto del de las otras profecías: tienen un tono de resignada admisión de hechos inevitables. Véase Roys (1933, apéndice D).

PRIMERA RUEDA PROFÉTICA DE UN DOBLEZ DE KATUNES *

Se asienta el 11 Ahau con el 13 Ahau. Ésta es su palabra y lo que manifiesta el contenido de su carga: Ichcaansiho, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo,[1] es el asiento del Katun 11 Ahau, presente estará allí su Estera, presente estará allí su Trono.[2] Allí mostrará su palabra, allí mostrará su dominio.

Yaxal Chac, Lluvia-verde, es la cara del katun que dominará en el cielo.[3] Bajarán abanicos del cielo, bajarán enramadas de hojas del cielo, bajarán ramilletes perfumados del cielo. Sonará el atabal, sonará la sonaja.[4] Ah Bolon Yocteil, El-nueve-de-la-pata-de-palo, Ah Buluc Ahau ti Yocte Tok, El-once-señor-pata-de-palo-pedernal, Yubté Takin, Palio-de-oro. Entonces será el tiempo en que Yax Cutz Guajolote-verde-silvestre, esté en Sulim Chan, Serpiente-mojada, en Chakanputun, Sabana-de-chiles. Árboles serán la comida, piedras serán la comida; estéril alimento, esto será lo que venga en el 11 Ahau.

El 11 Ahau es el que comienza la cuenta porque es el katun que transcurría cuando llegaron los extranjeros que vinieron del oriente cuando llegaron; los que trajeron el cristianismo que hizo terminar el poder en el oriente y llorar al cielo y llenar de pesadumbre el pan de maíz del katun. Degollado será en su época Yaxal Chuen, Gran-mono-artífice, Ixkanyultá, Preciosa-garganta.[5] Dispersados serán por el mundo las mujeres que cantan y los hombres que

* De estos textos han sido publicados únicamente las versiones del Chilam Balam de Chumayel en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933). Por primera vez se edita la serie completa en la forma que se hace ahora.

cantan y todos los que cantan. Canta el niño, canta el viejo, canta la vieja, canta el hombre joven, canta la mujer joven.[6]

Cuando lleguen vuestros Hermanos Menores, cuando lleguen vuestros Hermanos Mayores,[7] cambiarán entonces vuestros bragueros-ceñidores, cambiará vuestra ropa, cambiará el blanco del braguero-ceñidor, cambiarán los colores blancos de vuestras ropas los malditos extranjeros barbudos. En Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, se establecerán. Sus sacerdotes adoran a un Dios encarnado que será adorado por todos los confines del mundo cuando venga y extienda su poder sobre los huérfanos de madre, sobre los huérfanos de padre. De jaguar será su cabeza, de venado su cuerpo. Extendido por todos los pueblos principiará el gobierno dañoso en Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Ésta es la carga del 11 Ahau. En el año de 1848 saldrá el 11 Ahau.

9 Ahau

Termina el 11 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 9 Ahau Katun entrelazándose con el 13 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, hasta que quede el 13 Ahau solo.

Uucil Yabnal, Siete-aguas-suyas,[8] es el asiento del 9 Ahau. Durante su transcurso vendrá tristeza, pero dirá el Halach Uinic, Jefe, que no estérilmente se harán Batabes, Los-del-hacha, y se harán Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, y Nacomes, Sacrificadores, porque otra presencia vendrá a la Estera y al Trono, y otra voluntad hará que se pongan cuerdas en el 9 Ahau. De culpa es su palabra, de culpa es su boca, de culpa es su mirada, katun es de culpa por el reinado de Ah Bolon Kin, El-nueve-sol, Ah Bolon Am, El-nueve-piedra-labrada.[9]

Bajo el poder de Ah Uuc Kin, El-siete-sol, cometa

en el katun, será que vengan las cuerdas y el pan de ceiba negra y el pan de maíz negro como pan del Katun 9 Ahau cuando Ca Kinchicul, Dos-sol-signo, Sac Uacnal, Blanco-prominente, sea el rostro que gobierne. Entonces será que se lleve el agua y se lleve el pan de maíz del katun. De espanto y de guerra será su sustento, de guerra su bebida, de guerra su andar, de guerra su corazón y voluntad. Pero poco será el poder que tenga de su criado el 9 Ahau, el Halach Uinic, Jefe, por el poder de Ah Bolon Kin, El-nueve-sol, el deshonesto de la noche, el deshonesto del katun que se entregará a osadas palabras de discordia. Será al final de su tiempo cuando haya muchísimos procuradores de oficio, enredadores; al final será cuando tenga su pan y su agua, cuando tendida esté la Estera para que sea honrada por el adulterio y la falsedad.

Ésta es la palabra de lo que acontecerá en la carga del 9 Ahau como lo dijo el gran Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete. En el año de 1822 terminará el 9 Ahau Katun.

7 Ahau

Termina el 9 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 7 Ahau Katun. Ésta es la palabra y la carga de este Ahau Katun, la palabra de su carga. Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, es el asiento del Katun 7 Ahau. Ek Chuuah, Negro-escorpión,[10] es el rostro que reinará en la Estera y en el Trono. Amayte Kauil, Cuadrado-deidad,[11] será el rostro en el cielo. En su reinado será cuando termine de brotar Ix Bolon Yol Nicté, La-nueve-corazón-flor-de-mayo, Ix Dziban Yol Nicté, La-flor-de-mayo-de-corazón-pintado. De Flor de Mayo[12] será el pan del 7 Ahau, de Flor de Mayo será su agua. En ella se hundirán los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de la tierra; en ella se hundirá el Ah

Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar; en ella se hundirá el Ah Bobat, Profeta, trastornados por la Flor de Mayo. Nadie se librará, nadie se salvará. El aguijón de su palabra les caerá encima de los ojos y del corazón por todos los ámbitos del mundo. Mucho y completo adulterio será la ocupación de todos; el pensamiento durante la noche será pecado de noche, el pensamiento durante el día será pecado de día. Será la debilidad de voluntad de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, y de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, y de los Ah Bobates, Profetas; será la amenaza de palo y piedra para los huérfanos de madre y padre; será el perseguirse como bestias de cuatro patas los hombres del 7 Ahau Katun. De lascivia y locura será su palabra, de lascivia y locura su andar. En Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, principiará la destrucción de los ámbitos del mundo. De nueve grados será su pan, de nueve grados será su agua cuando venga el agua al Quetzal, el agua al pájaro verde Yaxum,[13] varada en el pantano, varada en el agua anegada, hermosa aun sin belleza. Despertarán los no despiertos, los que están sin despertar todavía en este tiempo de siete días de reinado efímero, de reinado pasajero, de siete soles de reinado. El aspecto de sus hombres será de Holil Och, Zarigüeyas-ratones, pero inútilmente gobernarán disfrazados con piel de jaguar y Máscara de Venado y Conejo el cuerpo, pues se manifestarán sus rostros en los pueblos y provincias en que reinan éstos de Estera prestada, de Trono prestado, de Señoría prestada. Así será durante su gobierno que menosprecien a los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de los pueblos, los codiciosos señores.

Esto es lo que regirá en el 7 Ahau Katun. En el año de 1896 saldrá el 7 Ahau. Aquí está su cara, al sur queda en la rueda.

5 Ahau

Termina el 7 Ahau para que se asiente el 5 Ahau. Ésta es su palabra y lo que manifiesta, lo que trae en su carga para que se cumpla.

Sodzil, Murciélago-su-lugar, es el asiento del Katun 5 Ahau. Bizca será la mirada de los señores terrenos; lisiados estarán los señores terrenos de todas categorías, mas no por deformidad sino porque se harán Ch'maques, Zorras, los que son columnas del pueblo, los que son puntales del pueblo. Escondido tendrán el pensamiento los Halach Uiniques, Jefes. Nadie tendrá confianza en los señores terrenos y yendo y viniendo se verán solitarios. Ahogados serán los que escupen el pan, los que escupen el agua. Devoradas entre sí serán las Zarigüeyas-ratones, los codiciosos de gobernar. Llena de culpa viene la sustancia del katun porque de Flor de Mayo es el pan, de Flor de Mayo es el agua. Por parejas de dos en dos grandes adulterios vendrán a causa de la perversidad de los hombres por todos los ámbitos de la tierra, porque este katun no tendrá sustancia sino destinos de lascivia en las palabras que relajarán la gravedad de los viejos, que relajarán la gravedad de las viejas del 5 Ahau. Más allá del monte, más allá de las lomas rocosas, Thuul Can Chac, El-chac-que-chorrea-serpientes, se alzará con sequía por todas partes, pero su carga de hambre no será muy hambrienta porque el agua en canales dará pan más allá del monte, más allá de las lomas rocosas. Este tiempo trae hambre espantosa, pero no en todas partes.

En este 5 Ahau llegará nuevo poder, nueva palabra a Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, con otros hombres. Mutuamente se devorarán Víboras y Jaguares, mutuamente se devorarán las Zarigüe-

yas-ratones. Acabado será el poder de los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, plebeyos en el 5 Ahau, los hijos de mendigo, los mendigos de ralea, de gente sin nobleza, los cuerpos muertos que están frente al 5 Ahau, los de Estera prestada, los de Trono prestado, los hijos de padres abominables, los de ojos vendados que no verán cuando estén en la Estera, cuando estén asentados en el Trono. Cesará su poder cuando alce el cuello el Jaguar, cuando alce el cuello la Víbora ponzoñosa al fin del 5 Ahau, cuando sea expulsada la semilla del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, el ávido de gobernar. Entonces morderán a sus amos los Pek, Perros, pues no está lejano el día en que sobre ellos se vuelvan, sobre el que desprecia a su madre, sobre el que desprecia a su padre. Discordia en el Trono nuevamente destruida con piedras cuando acabe la codicia y sean sofocadas las gargantas y se hagan saltar los ojos al que gobierna, cuando impere Hahal Ku, Verdadera-deidad. Ésta es la carga: por muerte súbita, violenta, acabarán. Podrá ser o no podrá ser, sólo Dios [*sic*] sabe la verdad de las cosas, si ocurrirá por la furia de las Holil Och, Zarigüeyas-ratones, así dice el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete.

Ordenanzas se llaman las que dio el llamado *Xuch Ueuet*,[14] Primero-Flor, desde el mero principio que vino cuando llegó. En el año de 1921 saldrá el 5 Ahau.

3 Ahau

Termina el 5 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 3 Ahau Katun. Durante su reinado se cumplirá su palabra. Aquí está lo que manifiesta: Zuyua es el asiento del Katun 3 Ahau, allí hablará y obrará cuando sea tiempo el reinado del 3 Ahau, lo que

ocurrirá lo dice. Zuyua es el asiento del reinado. Extendida estará la piel de la Serpiente venenosa, extendida estará la piel del Jaguar en Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Por tres días volverá al cielo Ekel Nok Caanal, Paño-de-estrellas-celestiales, en Zuyua, asiento del reinado de este 3 Ahau. Yax Coc Ah Mut,[15] El-del-anuncio-tortuga-verde, es el rostro que tiene el reinado del 3 Ahau Katun. De frutos del árbol ramón [16] será su pan porque estériles serán sus años en que sólo el viento pasará y sólo se verá en el cielo la majestad venerada de Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador. Entonces serán asentados los Señores de los pueblos en sus Esteras y Tronos y le será cortada la garganta al que detenta la Estera y el Trono, al Jaguar del pueblo, al Tigre rojo, al Gato Montés rojo, al Gato Montés blanco. Sufrimientos y gemidos quedarán tras de ellos, y tristeza de las Moscas por los caminos vecinales. Visto será en todo lugar poblado Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador. Vendrá la miseria para los perversos rojos, para los perversos blancos que no respetan a los Señores, que desprecian a su madre y a su padre; será el fin de su codicia cuando ocurran fenómenos celestiales que, sin embargo, no ocurrirán en todas partes, porque Hunab Ku, Unica-deidad, conoce cómo llegará el llanto a Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Por toda la tierra habrá relajamiento y se dispersarán los pueblos, se dispersarán las ciudades; se desatará la cara, se desatarán las manos, se desatarán los pies del mundo [17] al terminar la codicia, cuando ocurra el despoblamiento, cuando sea la ruina, la destrucción de los pueblos por el colmo de la codicia.

El milagro celestial que dijimos ocurrirá en la época del 3 Ahau Katun, así lo dice el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete, que los

que tienen la Estera, los que tienen el Trono, los de Estera prestada, los de Trono prestado, han de echar lo que tragaron; vomitarán las gargantas de los que fueron Señores de tres días, los del Trono de tres soles; los del pan de tres días andarán a pie por los caminos a diario. Muy dulce, muy sabroso fue aquello que tragaron pero lo vomitarán los codiciosos usurpadores, los extorsionadores que cobran los tributos, los intrusos. Llanto de las Moscas, llanto de los pobladores por los caminos vecinales. Llanto por el Trono; llanto por la Estera a causa de los que desprecian a los Señores, a causa de los que menosprecian a sus creadores, por los que reniegan de su madre, por los que se rebelan contra su madre. Este 3 Ahau tendrá el rostro, la palabra y la obra de Pauahtun, La-erguida-columna-de-piedra.[18] Esto lo manifestó el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chel, Chilam, Intérprete, que vendrán generaciones perversas, que entonces vendrán; así está en la piedra, así lo dice Chilam, Intérprete, lo dijo el Chilam, Intérprete, para que se realice y se cumpla a su término la desaparición de las generaciones perversas.

Mucha miseria en los años del imperio de la codicia, gran sufrimiento que terminará con la dispersión y la ruina de los pueblos. Aquí termina la palabra del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete, así lo explicó la carga de este 3 Ahau Katun.

1 Ahau

Termina el 3 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 1 Ahau en la Estera, en el Trono. Ésta es su palabra y lo que manifiesta: Emal, La-Bajada es el asiento del Katun 1 Ahau en que bajarán cuerdas

y presidirá Ix Pucyolá, La-señora-destructora-del-corazón-del-agua,[19] Ix Ual Icim, La-señora-tecolote-de-alas-extendidas.[20] Muy mal aspecto tiene, mal se ve; mala voluntad durante su reinado y malo el pensamiento de su reinado. Los que entonces vivieren verán la maldad de los Señores en el 1 Ahau Katun. Amayté Kauil, Cuadrado-deidad, será su rostro. Perturbación en el cielo, perturbación en las provincias, perturbación en el mundo, perturbación en el centro de los poblados y cabeza del país, Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Llanto a causa de los usurpadores, de los mendigos pedigüeños, de los que andan pidiendo ser substitutos, los de Trono prestado, los de Estera prestada. Durante este tiempo ocurrirá que el terrenazgo común de todos acabe junto con la codicia de gobierno de los hijos de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, y de las Ixtitibe, Maestras. Llanto de las Moscas, llanto de las gentes del pueblo. Entonces se despoblará el mundo encogiéndose, haciéndose escaso y pobre, empequeñecido y humillado a causa del rigor de la palabra de este katun. De una noche y un día será el gobierno en la provincia de Maycu, Venado-tecolote, de los usurpadores de Estera, de los usurpadores de Trono, de los que arrojan calumnias, perversos rojos, perversos blanqueados de apariencia de sapos,[21] los de grandes testículos, los del pedernal, colmo de la codicia. En el 1 Ahau regresará el terrenazgo de los terratenientes a los Hermanos Menores y en toda la tierra quedarán colmados los años de los perversos engendrados, de los hijos de mujeres Tórtolas, de los hijos de hombres Tórtolas. Entristecerán entonces estos Señores cuando venga nuevo poder. Así es la carga del 1 Ahau, como lo dijo el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, cuando explicó la

carga del Katun, éstas son sus palabras para este tiempo.

12 Ahau

Termina el 1 Ahau para que se asiente el 12 Ahau; aquí está lo que manifiesta su carga: Saclactun Mayapan, Piedras-blancas Estandarte-venado, es el asiento del Katun 12 Ahau. Yaxal Chuen, Gran-mono-artífice, es el rostro que tendrá durante su reinado en el cielo. Habrá grandes maestros, grandes sabios, grandes magos. Sale lo que está en el cielo en el 12 Ahau: será el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, quien se asiente en la Estera y en el Trono con la máscara de Jaguar. De seis generaciones será su gobierno; habrá buenos Batabes, Los-del-hacha, para alegría de los pueblos, buenos gobernantes, buenos hombres, buenos nobles en todo el mundo. Se irán los Holil Och, Zarigüeyas-ratones, abandonando la Estera prestada, el Trono prestado; se irán a las lejanías extremas, a los confines del agua. Felices serán los hombres del mundo prosperando los pueblos de toda la tierra; se acabarán los Osos Meleros, Cabcoh,[22] las Zorras Ch'amacob, las Comadrejas que chupan la sangre del vasallo. No habrá gobernantes mezquinos, no habrá gobierno mezquino; no habrá ya lambiscones de príncipes ni habrá quien pida sustitutos. Ésta es la carga, lo que manifiesta este 12 Ahau Katun. Tendrá gobierno que será respetado, pero no tendrá pan. Despoblamiento hacia el fin por muerte súbita, por perversidades de bellacos. Pero acabarán los ambiciosos destructores.

Seis años serán buenos, seis años serán malos que nuevamente se mezclarán con los años buenos para ajustar el katun. Justas y obedecidas serán

las órdenes de los Señores legítimos para alegría del mundo. No habrá Zorras, no habrá Osos Meleros, no habrá Comadrejas, no habrá devoradores de hombres; serán arrancadas las garras del Puma y del Jaguar; tendrán vida pueblos y provincias en el 13 doblez del katun del 12 Ahau Katun. Éste es el destino y la palabra que explicó el gran Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete; ocurrirá en el tiempo de los balbuceadores descendientes del futuro. Así dijo, explicó el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete, en épocas pasadas.

10 Ahau

Termina el 12 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 10 Ahau. Ésta es la palabra, lo que manifiesta la carga de sus años: Lahun Chablé, Diez-hoja-escamosa,[23] es el asiento del Katun 10 Ahau.

Lahun Chaan, Diez-poderoso,[24] es su rostro. Cit Bolon Ua, Decidor-grandes-mentiras, su rostro en el cielo. Cit Bolon Ua, Decidor-grandes-mentiras,[25] el Ah Kin, sacerdote-del-culto-solar, que ata los palos al juntar las cuatro partes del cielo. Años estériles en que no habrá pan; de frutos del árbol ramón y jícama silvestre serán su pan y su agua. Malo su aspecto, malo su imperio en el cielo; malos los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, y sus súbditos. Hambre es su carga: Entrará el pecado en el mundo al sonar los atabales, al sonar las sonajas agitadas por los cuatro Bacabes, Vertedores,[26] cuando rasguñen las espaldas las ceibas de la tierra, cuando hagan salir por completo la lengua al que le corten el resuello. Verdad será que la Estera estará arrollada y que entonces vendrá la mácula sobre lo que reste de bueno en el mundo. Hunab Ku, Única-deidad, sabe las cosas.

Ésta es la carga, el rostro del Katun 10 Ahau, así dice el Chilam Balam, Brujo-Intérprete; tristeza habrá en el reinado de la carga de sus años por obra y deseo de Hunab Ku, Única-deidad.

8 Ahau

Este Katun 8 Ahau se asentó en el cargador de año cuando fue despoblada Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, que da al sur. Lahun Chablé, Diez-hoja-escamosa, es el asiento del Katun 8 Ahau. Amayté Kauil, Cuadrado-deidad, es el rostro que reina en su pan y en su agua. Tristeza habrá entonces. Cit Bolon Ua, Decidor-grandes-mentiras, es su rostro en el cielo. Pan de Pedernal, agua de pedernal; ruda palabra guerrera que no temerá de nadie el pan ni el agua; que empobrecerá la llanura, que empobrecerá la sierra hollada en busca de alimento. No tendrá agua la llanura, ni tendrá agua la montaña porque en todos los pueblos y provincias no estarán los Bacabes, Vertedores, y entonces vendrá Kinich Kakmó, Guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar,[27] a reinar.

Entonces vendrán los extranjeros y habrá venganzas a causa de los irreverentes, de los destructores, de los que se levantan en contra de su madre, en contra de su padre, suplantadores del Señorío en Chichen, Orilla-de-los-pozos, y del Señorío a la orilla del mar. Al norte del mundo estará el Bacab, Vertedor, cuando llegue la hora de la culpa a todos los que estuvieron reinando. Entonces vendrán dardos, vendrán escudos para los advenedizos, los echados de sus hogares, los Señores plebeyos que usurpan la Estera, que usurpan el Trono, los hijos bastardos, los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, hijos sin linaje materno,[28] engendrados en mujeres de placer.

De pecado, de culpa habla este katun y de des-

trucción por piedras y despoblamiento al final por causa de los ambiciosos de gobernar. Así se manifiesta. Llegará Ah Kinich Kakmó, El-guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar, en el Katun 8 Ahau. Despoblamiento será lo que haga venir Ah Kinich Kakmó, El-guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar. Se volteará el cielo y dará vuelta la tierra. Cuando ocurra este cambio se hará manifiesto el pecado de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de los pueblos, y entonces alzarán el cuello los Príncipes cuando se les sumerja en el agua por usurpadores del Trono, por usurpadores de la Estera, cuando se volteen hacia la tierra los soberbios, los renegados, los faltos de nobleza, los plebeyos. Llanto de las Moscas, llanto de los pobladores que llorarán en los caminos vecinales.

Ésta es la palabra del 8 Ahau Katun, el mismo en que fue despoblado Mayapan, Estandarte-venado. Mala es la palabra del katun pero así acontecerá, es su palabra cuando de nuevo regrese, según dijo el gran Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete, cuando escribió los signos en la faz del Katun del 8 Ahau.

6 Ahau

Termina el 8 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 6 Ahau. De este 6 Ahau Katun son estas palabras que se cumplirán en su tiempo, ello sucederá o no. Dijimos arriba que no era bueno creerlo sino para que se entienda cómo contaban los días dentro de sus años, no porque vivan sus animales, pero es bueno su consejo. Ésta es la palabra y el orden que manifiestan los jeroglíficos de la casa del 6 Ahau Katun. Ésta es la palabra y el orden en que viene el tiempo y años del katun.

Uucil Yabnal, Siete-aguas-suyas, es el asiento del

Katun 6 Ahau. Kinich Kakmó, Guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar, de Uxmal,[29] será su rostro en el cielo durante este reinado que será de miradas desvergonzadas y de hablar desatinado. Vendrá la tristeza cuando se establezcan los usurpadores de la Estera, los usurpadores del Trono. Tristeza en el cielo; estrellas habrá que traigan peleas violentas y pleitos ocultos entre los hombres sus súbditos, manifiesta el 6 Ahau. Se comerán árboles, se comerán piedras; grandísima hambre será su carga, la muerte estará sentada en su Estera y en su Trono; serán degollados los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de los pueblos, que andan sentados junto a las cercas de piedra exhibiéndose, fuera de las casas, los que desconocen su oficio y función porque no son nobles, sino plebeyos. Esto manifiesta su palabra, que no tienen límites sus ambiciones; irán por el monte, por los pedregales.

Acontecerá por tres veces que no habrá sino pan de jícama silvestre y frutos del árbol ramón; tremenda hambre y despoblamiento y destrucción de pueblos. Ésta es la carga del Ahau Katun el 6 de que se habla, muy malo es su tiempo: tres usurpadores de Trono, usurpadores de Estera, y en el cuarto año Tun reincidirán nuevamente.

Habrá poderosos y habrá Príncipes hasta el fin solamente, pues no está ya lejano el día en que la tierra se voltee para ver el cielo y luego se voltee de nuevo. Entonces no pasará día en que no alcen el cuello los usurpadores de la Estera, los usurpadores del Trono, nada será provechoso para los Señores de la tierra aunque lo deseen.

Eso significa la palabra del 6 Ahau Katun que viene y éstas son las letras de sus signos del 6 Ahau Katun.

Termina el 6 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 4 Ahau Katun. Ésta es la palabra que está en la carga de sus años según los antiguos nombres. Uucil Yabnal, Siete-aguas-suyas, es el asiento del 4 Ahau Katun en Siete Aguas de Chichen. Uac Chuuahnal, Seis-vertedor-de-calabazas, en su rostro; está al sur.

El alba, el amanecer será por la cola de Ah Bococol, El-vertedor-de-vasijas-de-cuello-angosto, pero su rostro estará cubierto; muerta estará su mirada; llanto por su pan, llanto por su agua porque se le negarán devociones y reverencias. Tembloroso, tembloroso y moribundo estará su poder por falta de reverencia de los Señores Príncipes, de los que rigen y gobiernan. Esto es lo que manifiesta el 4 Ahau Katun: mezquindad de pan, mezquindad de agua también, terminará la obediencia y el respeto porque habrá otra voluntad distinta y no será más respetada, porque dulce fue a su garganta que se le obedeciera pero no querrá respetar. Hacia el poniente tiene su Estera y su Trono; muerte repentina será su carga. Entonces habrá Batabes, Los-del-hacha, extranjeros y advenedizos y será el asfixiar por el cuello a los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de los pueblos, haciéndoles vomitar sangre. Ésta es la carga del katun.

Durante su época serán blancos sus bragueros-ceñidores, blancas sus ropas; pan es la divisa del katun. Entonces estará el Kub, Quetzal, estará el Yaxum, pájaro verde, en las ramas del árbol Kaxté o del árbol Hoben.[30] Estará el ave anunciadora; llegarán entonces los espantajos de a caballo, cuando llegue Cristo; llegarán los jinetes. Los tributos se ocultarán entonces guardados en sacos en Chichen, Orilla-de-los-pozos.

La mitad del katun buena y la mitad no buena. Esplenderá Ah Chicum Ek, El-estrella-guiadora, en el cielo, Yax Aclam, Verde-tortuga, Yax Ah Coc Mut, El-del-anuncio-tortuga-verde, Ah Ahsah, El-despertador-estrella-de-la-mañana.[31] Pero nadie se dará cuenta de las señales porque sordos estarán a todas las cosas.

Manifiesta el 4 Ahau Katun muerte súbita y entradas de zopilotes a las casas, y sucederá de nuevo cuando vuelva otra vez el doblez del katun a regir.

Así dijo el gran Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-Intérprete, para la carga del Katun 4 Ahau.

2 Ahau

Este 2 Ahau que se asienta en el 1 Cauac, Trueno, se inicia en el segundo día después de 1 Poop, Estera. Ésta es la palabra contenida en su carga y lo que manifiesta en sus años: Morirá el 4 Ahau Katun y entonces se asentará el 2 Ahau Katun. Aquí está la palabra contenida en la carga, todo, totalmente, y el orden en que dirá su palabra.

En Maycú, Venado-tecolote, Saciyapan, se asentará el Katun 2 Ahau; en Saclactun, Piedras-Blancas, Maycú, Venado-tecolote, Mayapan, Estandarte-venado.[32] Katun triste; katun de llanto porque entonces bajarán cuerdas, bajará agonía, bajará angustia y tristeza de ánimo. Entonces habrá muerte súbita y grandes montones de calaveras. Estériles serán sus años. Ésta es la carga; esto es lo que deja ver. En este 2 Ahau atará su carga Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, y nacerá Hun Yoppol Ik, Viento-reseco. De frutos del árbol ramón será el pan, de jícama silvestre será. La mitad de la carga viene buena, tendrá un pan, tendrá su agua, su poder, su reinado.

La mitad tendrá grandes miserias; empero habrá Trono, habrá Estera y respeto al pan y al agua para los Señores de la tierra y sentirán la marca del pie, la huella del pie, los extranjeros.

Éste es el katun en que vendrán los de color claro, los hombres barbudos, así lo dijo, así lo supo el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam, Intérprete: "Es el tiempo en que llegarán vuestros padres; vuestros hermanos." Así le fue dicho a los Grandes Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua: "Iréis a alimentarlos; vestiréis sus ropas, usaréis sus sombreros; hablaréis su lenguaje. Pero sus tratos serán tratos de discordia." Surgirá también la Flor de Mayo, el botón de la flor de Mayo, y nadie habrá que no caiga cuando esté la presencia de Ix Dziban Yol Nicté, La-flor-de-mayo-de-corazón-pintado. Cuando llegue, de Flor de Mayo será la palabra del 2 Ahau Katun.

Ésta es la carga del 2 Ahau. En el año de 1800 será el fin del 2 Ahau Katun y entonces se unirá al Katun 11 Ahau. Este 2 Ahau está asentado en el 1 Cauac, Trueno, como está puesto.

13 Ahau

Termina el 2 Ahau Katun para que se asiente el 13 Ahau Katun. En el sexto año tun del 9 Ahau termina el 13 Ahau, que acompañará al 11 Ahau en el conjunto de las Ahaues hasta la sexta unidad de tiempo, el sexto año del 9. Ésta es su palabra. Kinchil Cobá, Chachalaca-de-rostro-solar,[84] es el asiento del 13 Ahau Katun, Maycú, Venado-tecolote, Mayapan, Estandarte-venado.

Dice su palabra, muestra su rostro para decir su palabra este katun que tiene por cara a Itzamná, Brujo-del-agua, a Itzamtzab, Las-cabrillas-del-brujo-del-agua. Hambre tremenda trae su carga; de jícamas

silvestres será el pan; durante cinco años bajarán jícamas silvestres y frutos del árbol ramón, bajarán años de langosta, pan de langosta y agua de langosta; diez generaciones, trece generaciones de langosta tendrá su carga. Pero habrá respeto para su pan y su agua; sostendrán en sus manos el abanico, el ramillete, el ramillete de los celestiales, los Señores de la tierra.

Yaxal Chac, Lluvia-verde, es el cargador de este katun en el cielo, en las estrellas; y llegará entonces Ixma Chucbeni, La-incompleta, la que comerá el Sol y comerá la Luna. Muy pesada es la carga del katun. Batabes, Los-del-hacha, impotentes y perdidos, Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, impotentes y perdidos por causa de Ixma Chucbeni, La-incompleta. Perdición de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes; perdición del Ah Bobat, Profeta, y del Ah Naat, docto: embriaguez del Ah Bobat, Profeta, y del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, por causa de la Ix Dziban Yol Nicté, La-flor-de-corazón-pintado. Mucho desvarío de lascivia y adulterio comienza en los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, corrompidos cuando entre el reinado de Ah Bacocol, El-vertedor-de-vasijas-de-cuello-angosto, que quiere devoción y reverencia solamente para él, cuando desprecian a los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, en los pueblos, en el monte y el pedregal, los engendrados de lascivos y perversos, despreciadores de sus mayores, los que se olvidan de su creador, los hijos de Ah Bacocol, El-vertedor-de-vasijas-de-cuello-angosto. Mas no será completo el pan de este katun porque sus hombres estarán también bajo Ah Bolon Yocte, El-nueve-pata-de-palo, los de la Estera de dos días, los del Trono de dos días, los sin madre, los sin padre, los engendrados de locos lascivos enredadores y embaucadores. Devorado será el rostro de su Sol y devorado será el rostro de su Luna;

y hablará el Balam, Jaguar, hablará el Ceh, Venado, que recibirá el palo gimiendo y dará su paga al mundo con muertes repentinas arrebatadas y sin motivos. No será una solamente la carga de muertes repetinas y violentas cuando se cumpla la tremenda hambre. Esto es lo que guarda la carga del 13 Ahau Katun en la séptima unidad de tiempo del 9 Ahau cuando acaba el 13 que acompaña al 11 Ahau Katun en el grupo de los Ahaues hasta el sexto año del 9 Ahau. Deja a estos dos: el 13 Ahau y el 9 Ahau.

Así lo dijo el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-Intérprete. Al oriente está en la rueda y en el año de 1824 termina el 13 Ahau.

UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA DE MEXICO
BIBLIOTECA

SEGUNDA RUEDA PROFÉTICA DE UN DOBLEZ DE KATUNES*

11 Ahau

El 11 Ahau Katun, primero que se cuenta, es el katun inicial. Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, fue el asiento del katun en que llegaron los extranjeros de barbas rubicundas, los hijos del sol, los hombres de color claro.

¡Ay! ¡Entristezcámonos porque llegaron!

Del oriente vinieron cuando llegaron a esta tierra los barbudos, los mensajeros de la señal de la divinidad, los extranjeros de la tierra, los hombres rubicundos..., [*texto destruido*] ...comienzo de la Flor de Mayo. ¡Ay del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, que vienen los cobardes blancos del cielo, los blancos hijos del cielo! El palo del blanco bajará, vendrá del cielo, por todas partes vendrá, al amanecer veréis la señal que le anuncia.

¡Ay! ¡Entristezcámonos porque vinieron, porque llegaron los grandes amontonadores de piedras, los grandes amontonadores de vigas para construir,[1] los falsos *ibteeles*[2] de la tierra que estallan fuego al extremo de sus brazos, los embozados en sus sabanos, los de reatas para ahorcar a los Señores! Triste estará la palabra de Hunab Ku, Unica-deidad, para nosotros, cuando se extienda por toda la tierra la palabra del Dios de los cielos.

¡Ay! ¡Entristezcámonos porque llegaron! ¡Ay del

* La serie completa aparece en los Libros de Chilam Balam de Chumayel de Tizimín. Sólo han sido publicadas las versiones del primero en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933).

Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, que vuestros dioses no valdrán ya más!

Este Dios Verdadero que viene del cielo sólo de pecado hablará, sólo de pecado será su enseñanza. Inhumanos serán sus soldados, crueles sus mastines bravos. ¿Cuál será el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, y el Bobat, Profeta, que entienda lo que ha de ocurrir a los pueblos de Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, y Chichen Itzá, Orillas-de-los-pozos-del-brujo-del-agua? ¡Ay de vosotros, mis Hermanos Menores, que en el 7 Ahau Katun tendréis exceso de dolor y exceso de miseria por el tributo reunido con violencia y antes que nada entregado con rapidez! Diferente tributo mañana y pasado mañana daréis; esto es lo que viene, hijos míos. Preparaos a soportar la carga de la miseria que viene a vuestros pueblos porque este katun que se asienta es katun de miseria, katun de pleitos con el diablo, pleitos en el 11 Ahau. ¡Oh vosotros, Hermanos Menores, oh vosotros, Hermanos Mayores, la palabra de Dios [*sic*] del cielo y de la tierra, recibid a vuestros visitantes, a los llegados barbudos, a los mensajeros de la señal de Dios [*sic*] que vienen a establecerse como vuestros Hermanos Mayores, a los Señores que marcarán la piedra ahora, los Ah Tantunes,[3] los que os pedirán generaciones de Dios a vosotros!

Éstos son los nombres de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar: Ah Misnilacpec, El-que-mueve-barriendo-con-las-narices, el Anticristo, ése es el rostro del tiempo que viene a nosotros ahora. ¡Ay, se acrecentará la miseria, hijos míos! Ésta es la palabra de Nuestro Señor: "Arderá la tierra, se harán círculos blancos en el cielo durante este katun, así acontecerá." Viene de boca del Dios Padre [*sic*], no es palabra de engaño. ¡Ay! ¡Muy pesada es la

carga del katun en que acontecerá el cristianismo! Esto es lo que vendrá: poder de esclavizar, hombres esclavos han de hacerse, esclavitud que llegará aun a los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de Trono de dos días, de Estera de dos días, hijos de los días de locura lasciva. Será su final por obra de la palabra de Dios [*sic*]; de once medidas será su jícara y por todas partes se verá la señal de Su rostro durante Su reinado. Reunión de piedras será Su enseñanza, reunión de piedras será Su hablar. Si habréis de morir, si habréis de vivir, ¿quién habrá de saber la verdad de estos signos reales? ¡Ah de Mayapan, Estandarte-Venado! Se hace pequeña por sí sola la justicia que pone en los calabozos, que saca las amarras, los azotes y látigos. Cuando se asiente, dobles serán las orejas de Su Hijo, tendrá Su sombrero en la cabeza y Su calzado en los pies, anudado tendrá el cinturón a la cintura cuando ellos vengan.

9 Ahau

El 9 Ahau Katun es el segundo que se cuenta. Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, será su asiento.

En su época recibirán el tributo los extranjeros que vengan a la tierra, en la época en que lleguen los amos de nuestras almas y congreguen a los pueblos en grupos según la cabeza de sus Esteras, cuando comience a enseñarse la Santa Fe del cristianismo, cuando comience el echar agua en las cabezas en bautismo por todas las partes de esta tierra, cuando se asienten los cimientos y comience a construirse la Santa Iglesia Mayor, la prominente casa de Dios [*sic*] que está en el centro del pueblo de

Tihoó, Mérida, el recinto de la casa de Dios Padre [*sic*].

Enorme trabajo será la carga del katun porque será el comenzar de los ahorcamientos, el estallar del fuego en el extremo del brazo de los blancos, los ibteeles de la tierra que llegarán con sus sabanos y sus reatas aquí sobre el mundo, cuando caiga sobre la generación de los Hermanos Menores el rigor de la pelea, el rigor del tributo, cuando les venga la gran entrada del tributo en la gran entrada del cristianismo, cuando se funde el principio de los Siete Sacramentos, cuando comience el mucho trabajar en los pueblos y la miseria se establezca en la tierra.

Dicen que Ixanom, Eva [*sic*], provino de la palabra de Dios Padre. Vino la joven blanca del cielo, mujer Virgen se llama, madre de las siete estrellas rojas, estrellas que sostendrá en el noveno año el 9 Ahau que traerá el cristianismo. Así fue interpretada por Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, la piedra de los nueve sellos que está arriba; el trece Etznab es el día allá arriba como acá en la tierra. De las sonajas del cielo, de los abanicos del cielo será bajado el cordel. Es la palabra de Dios [*sic*] que vino de arriba a toda la extensión de la tierra. De nueve grados es su plato, de nueve grados es su jícara.

¡Ay, preparaos, Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, a recibir a vuestros huéspedes! Los habréis de alimentar pero también os alimentarán. Vienen nuestros Hermanos Mayores.

7 Ahau

El 7 Ahau Katun es el tercero que se cuenta. Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, será su asiento. Yaxal Chac, Lluvia-verde, será su rostro

durante su reinado de sabiduría. Sonarán atabales abajo, sonarán sonajas arriba. De Flor de Mayo será el pan, de Flor de Mayo será el agua que trae en su katun. Será entonces cuando comiencen a mancillarse los labios con las mujeres y llamen con las manos a la Flor de Mayo, llamen durante el katun con la mirada de lado porque habrá resonar de música por todas las partes de la tierra. De Flor de Mayo será el vestido, de Flor de Mayo el rostro, de Flor de Mayo el calzado, de Flor de Mayo el andar: parpadeando los ojos; escupiendo saliva, ofreciendo mujeres a los Batabes, a los Justicias, a los Jefes, a los Escribanos, a los maestros, a los grandes, a los humildes. No habrá grandes enseñanzas ni ejemplos sino mucha perdición sobre la tierra y mucha desvergüenza. Será entonces cuando sean ahorcados los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, los Ahaues, Señores-príncipes, los Bobates Profetas y los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, de los hombres y de los pueblos mayas. Perdida será la ciencia, perdida será la sabiduría verdadera.

Preparaos, ¡oh Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua! Porque vuestros hijos verán, al término del juego del katun, cesar la ruina del Quetzal y de los Amaite Uitz, Montañas-angulosas,[5] sus asientos, en ese tiempo. De lascivia y mentira serán sus palabras, de lascivia su mirada cuando reine entre los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, el Chac del rojo bellaco. Pero siete serán sus platos, siete sus jícaras; vendrá mucho ahorcamiento de Zarigüeyas bravas, de Zorras bravas. No habrá ningún lugar donde no pese la palabra y la carga de este katun en que comenzará el resonar de la música y venga el llamar con la mano de la Flor de Mayo.

Recibid generosamente a vuestros huéspedes. Yo

he venido a vuestros pueblos, vengo a pedir que os cristianicéis a tiempo.

5 Ahau

El 5 Ahau Katun es el cuatro que se cuenta. Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, es su asiento. Reino será de monos, U maaxil katunoob, Monos-en-el-katun. Será el ahorcar a los hombres de edad avanzada [6] y será la muerte a los grandes linajes. Dura será su mirada, duro el signo de su reinado cuando comiencen los devoradores de infantes de mujer, los devoradores de infantes de hombre, de los infantes de la lascivia de mujer, de los infantes de la lascivia de los hombres, cuando venga al mundo el comienzo de las discordias del diablo y se vaya la presencia de Ku, Deidad, al cuarto descansadero del cielo, cuarto descansadero del camino, por el comienzo del pleito con el diablo. Entonces será el ahorcamiento en el tiempo de los jueces rojos, y el comienzo de la miseria por todos los ámbitos del mundo. Cuando alcen el cuello las Zarigüeyas-ratones para morder, cuando alcen el cuello las Víboras rojas, venenosas y bravas para morder, en el comienzo del Trono de dos días, de la Estera de dos días.

Pero generaciones escasas vendrán de mujer, generaciones escasas vendrán de hombre cuando aparezca la cabeza del cometa que destruya a los Señores de la tierra. En su época será cuando se escuche el ruego del Ah Bobat, El-profeta, y se agiten y rebullan las carniceras hormigas rojas Xulab,[7] las carniceras hormigas rojas Chac Uayah Cab, las grandes destructoras de la miel, y se escondan las sonajas, por causa de aquél a quien se

entregan nuestros corazones, dentro del tributo. Rigor vendrá para la miseria y la discordia.

Batabes, Los-del-hacha, serán las Zarigüeyas; Batabes, Los-del-hacha, serán las Zorras; Batabes, Los-del-hacha, serán las Piques insectos dañinos (chinches voladoras), los chupadores, los extorsionadores de los pueblos, ésos serán los que sean establecidos. De Pek, Perro, será su aspecto, de corazón cerrado, dientes mellados, cuerpo fiero. Triste estará el rostro del Sol en la época de la carga del katun. Ku, Deidad, hablará en el cielo diciendo: "Será preciso que golpee vuestras espaldas, ¡oh vosotros, hermanos, los que estáis a cuatro patas, los que sois el fruto del katun de las Zarigüeyas-ratones!" De Flor de Mayo será el Trono en que se siente y se exhiba en medio de la plaza en su Estera de dos días, en su Trono de dos días. Se establecerán en el pueblo los funcionarios que vienen de dos en dos: Batabes, Los-del-hacha, Zarigüeyas. A cuatro patas darán la muerte, pero el tiempo en que puedan llamar con silbidos será poco.

Sonará la sonaja del katun su fuerza y su pecado en el centro del pueblo de Mayapan, Estandarte-venado. Por el gran tributo de Zuyua los Jaguares y los Osos Meleros, Cabcoh, se desgarrarán las espaldas mutuamente devorando el tiempo del katun deseosos de poder. Grandes ahorcamientos es la carga del katun. Pero será el fin del padecimiento de los hombres mayas cuando vengan violentamente los de Uyamil, Lugar-de-los-nahuales, a hacer justicia al pueblo.

3 Ahau

El 3 Ahau Katun es el quinto que se cuenta. Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, es su asiento; Ek

Coc Ah Mut, El-estrella-tortuga-anuncio, será su rostro en el reinado de gran sabiduría; el Anticristo es su rostro. Bravura tendrá su cara, fuerte será su vista, poder tendrá su vista. Regateadora será la pelea con el Cisin, Diablo, cuando bajen del cielo las grandes hojas del silil [8] con la fuerza de Hunab Ku, Deidad-única.

Años vendrán de langostas, años fieros de lluvias fingidas, de lluvias de hilos delgados, escasa. Guerras y apedreamientos. Suspendidas estarán las vasijas [9] de barro durante la carga que soporte la generación de Maax, Mono, cuando haya llegado el juez del cielo a cargar el katun y haga doler durante siete años las grandes hojas del silil y haga arder con fuego de llamaradas los cuernos del Yuc, Venadito,[10] en Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Extendida estará entonces la piel del Chacbolay,[11] pero volteada, en el medio de la plaza. Pek, Perro, será su aspecto. Lluvia colgada del cielo, lluvia de lo muy alto, lluvia del zopilote celestial, lluvia angulosa, lluvia de venado [víctimas], cuando bajen las grandes hojas del silil; bullir de guerra y años de langosta. Suspendidas tendrá sus vasijas de barro durante la gran carga, el linaje de Maax, Mono.

Grandes serán los montones de calaveras y habrá *Ixpom kakil*, Viruelas-gruesas.[12] Mucho ahorcar habrá en este katun y mucha será la carga de miseria; torcida tendrá la mirada el Señor de la Estera de dos días, el Señor del Trono de dos días cuando acabe el poder del katun. No es mentira sino la palabra de Ku Likul Caanal, Deidad-del-cielo. ¡Oh, vosotros, Hermanos Menores! Llanto de los pobladores, llanto de las Moscas en los cuatro caminos que se cruzan cuando golpee el katun destructor y griten las almas en las afueras de los poblados de los grandes Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua.

Héme aquí yo el 3 Ahau Katun que me asentaré en el pueblo de Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Heme aquí yo, César Augusto [Carlos V], vengo a recibir mi limosna. Del Corazón del Monte recibe su limosna Ah Uc Yolsip,[13] El-siete-corazón-ofrenda.

1 Ahau

El 1 Ahau Katun es el sexto. Emal, La-Bajada, será el asiento donde venga Ix Puc Yolá, La-destructora-del-corazón-del-agua, contra Ix Ual Cuy, La-tecolote-de-alas-extendidas. Entonces bajarán sogas y cuerdas; del cielo bajará la fuerza. No son cosas inventadas o fingidas sino que vienen en su orden y con el poder de U Yumil Caan, Señor-del-cielo, sin fingimientos ni mentiras. Pek, Perro, su señal; Ak Kuch, Zopilote, su señal. Rotos tendrá los dientes, fiero será su cuerpo. De Zarigüeyas serán las caras durante su reinado, de pésima palabra, de pésima piedra, pésimo pedernal, pésimo corazón su voluntad para los sabios.

Amayte Kauil, Cuadrado-deidad, será el rostro presente, cuando venga otra palabra y otra enseñanza que pondrá tristeza en el corazón de la tierra y alborotará los brazos de la tierra, alborotará el centro de la tierra al bajar la justicia del cielo con el poder de Hahal Ku, Deidad-verdadera, verdadera verdad del mundo. Llegarán entonces innumerables (ocho mil) *Axes*[14] a morder a Jaguares y Serpientes, llegarán los devoradores, los aniquiladores del alimento, los que agotan el alimento. Durante siete años morderán los innumerables (ocho mil) *Axes*, siete años morderán a la Serpiente al bajar la carga a la llanura levantando la guerra que muestra el katun.

Entonces será cuando venga la justicia de Dios Nuestro Señor [*sic*] sobre la Flor de Mayo; vendrán los blancos ibteeles a los pueblos sobre los rojos bellacos, sobre Maax, Mono. Ese será el tiempo en que venga distinto poder y enseñanza; pero no será creída por los hombres mayas cuando se pregone entre ellos la palabra de Dios [*sic*] el Señor de las Alturas, para que corrijan y arrojen la maldad de sus vidas, porque los hombres mayas de edad no querrán oír la palabra de Dios porque, sin embargo, parecerán ser padres de los mismos que juzgan. Tristeza habrá en las almas de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de la tierra. Pocos creerán, o no creerán. Así desaparecerá por completo la alegría de los oficiales de gobierno. Encendido será el fuego en honor de la Virgen maya, y de Hunab Ku, Deidad-única, en la Santidad de la Iglesia [*sic*] única. Allí gritarán para que sean oídas sus voces por el Señor de las Alturas, el Señor del Mundo. Tristeza habrá en las almas por todos los ámbitos cuando se agiten los brazos de la tierra, cuando se agite el centro de la tierra en el tiempo en que sea la sujeción a los extranjeros devastadores. Es la palabra de Dios [*sic*].

En grandes montones estarán los restos de los guardianes de las playas, de los guardianes de las orillas del mar cuando baje el Señor Eterno, el Señor Justiciero, cuando baje la justicia de Nuestro Señor sobre el pueblo, cuando venga la gran pelea de los blancos ibteeles a los pueblos y se conozca si realmente son esforzados.

Entonces vendrá el saltar los ojos al gobernante, al Tecolote de los pueblos y a los Maax, Monos, del katun, y el cortar las garras al ave de rapiña y a la Zorra del pueblo, y al Cabcoh, Oso Melero. Bajará entonces la carga del tributo cuando venga el cris-

tianismo; bajará la cuerda y la fuerte codicia vendrá con el Señor Eterno; cortará las ataduras de la carga de miseria el Señor Justiciero cuando baje la culpa para lo que es del cielo, para lo que es de la tierra entera. Días de sequía han de seguir en su tiempo a las provincias de la tierra cuando se oculten los restos de los guardianes de las playas, de los guardianes del mar en Uaymil, Lugar-de-los-na-huales, y en Emal, La-Bajada, cuando en enormes montones estén sus restos frente al mar. Cuando acabe el katun así acontecerá en el doblez de los katunes, que sea engañada Mayapan, Estandarte-Venado, y terminen las exigencias del Cisin, Diablo, del Anticristo: exigencias de lancear con pedernales; exigencias de arrebatar talegas o alforjas; peleas con estallidos de odio; peleas en los pueblos con ollas y piedras. Al término del katun, del Corazón del Monte recibirá su limosna, su parte, César Augusto [Carlos V], en muertes por hambre, en zopilotes en las casas, en muertes súbitas y vómitos de sangre. Tremenda hambre será la carga del 1 Ahau cuando éntre el zopilote a las casas. Llanto de las Moscas, llanto de los pobladores en los caminos vecinales, en los descansaderos de los caminos vecinales cuando se sepulte la Flor de Mayo con la carga del katun.

Hermanos Menores nacidos de mujer, hijos vencidos nacidos de hombre, ésta es la carga que viene al mundo: Vendrá entonces el amo que nos someterá a prueba, el de rostro de Nacom, Sacrificador, el hijo de Ku, Deidad, Su Obispo [*sic*], lo que llaman la Santa Inquisición, en compañía de Saúl a pedir fe y cristianismo. Colmo será de la codicia, colmo de los despojos de los mercaderes, colmo de la miseria en todo el mundo. Así acabará el poder del gran katun. Se alzarán espectacularmente los

cinco estados del país llano[15] para pelear. Éste es el espectáculo del 1 Ahau Katun. Lluvia de furiosos torbellinos será su carga, lluvia angulosa, lluvia de hilos delgados en el más malo de los katunes; de un golpe del palo de sembrar será la siembra.

Vendrá el pleito y la exigencia del tributo y se pedirán pruebas [*sic*] de las siete medidas de a braza del cordón umbilical de la tierra; entonces se hará muy dura la adoración de Dios. Entonces dejará de recibir oro el Anticristo y no vendrá más el Anticristo porque no lo quiere Dios [*sic*] Nuestro Señor para la salvación de este katun y de estas provincias, porque Él fue el creador de estas provincias y el origen del Anticristo fue la avaricia.

Cuando todavía no habían venido los hombres religiosos, entonces no había despojos, no había codicia ni ofensas a la sangre de los otros hombres. Con su propio esfuerzo comía el pobre, pero cuando llegaron los arrasadores, de cinco frutos de árboles comieron los Cabcoh, Osos Meleros.

¡Ay! Dolor existe en Yumil Caan, Señor-del-Cielo, y viruelas gruesas es lo que manda el katun. Se alzará guerra en la Habana con 13 veces 400 barcos.

12 Ahau

El 12 Ahau Katun es el séptimo de la cuenta; Saclactun, Piedras-blancas, es su asiento. Yaxal Chuen, Gran-mono-artífice, es su signo presente en el cielo. Rojo será su rostro en su reinado; manifiesto estará en el cielo durante el día, manifiesto estará en el cielo durante la noche. Grandes maestros, grandes artífices, magníficos Halach Uiniques, Jefes, magníficos Batabes, Los-del-hacha; de regocijo será el poder en todos los ámbitos del mundo; enriquecerá el pobre si se cumple la promesa del katun.

Años serán de riqueza; en abundancia de riquezas y propiedades será también bueno. Los Chaques, Dioses-de-la-lluvia buenos, harán producirse los frutos aun en los pedregales.

Con el cristianismo que traerá Dios se acabarán las Ch'amac, Zorras, y los Cabcoh, Osos Meleros mordedores; acabarán las Zarigüeyas-ratones y acabarán también los Buitres que sacan los ojos a Maax, Mono, en el katun.

Temblorosos, trémulos estarán los corazones de los Señores de los pueblos por las señales difíciles que trae este katun: Imperio de guerra, época de guerra, palabras de guerra, comida de guerra, bebida de guerra, caminar de guerra, gobierno de guerra. Será el tiempo en que guerreen los viejos y las viejas; en que guerreen los niños y los valientes hombres; en que guerreen los jóvenes por los ambiciosos Batabes, Los-del-hacha. De un día y una noche serán el Trono y la Estera; correrá guerra e imperará discordia. Entonces se levantará el palo y la piedra para la pelea.

La mitad viene buena, la otra mitad mala; seis años serán malos, seis serán buenos hasta que se alcancen doce grados de la cuenta del katun. Entonces vendrá el exigir la Fe a los gobernantes de los pueblos y se abrirán las puertas doradas [iglesias del culto católico] y vendrá el casar al pueblo en la Casa de las Cuatro Divisiones en donde se pedirá que no nos descalcemos. Ésa es la cristianidad, ése es el amanecer del cristianismo.

Aquí decimos ahora cómo acabará el katun de la Flor de Mayo: acabará traicionado por la voz, por el poder que viene. Cuando llegue Uuc Uitzil Chac Ek, Estrella-Chac-de-las-siete-montañas, Tupem Caan, Atronador-de-los-Cielos, Pahool Chac, Chac-destructor, en el decimoséptimo año tun. Entonces nos

será pedido el cordón umbilical de la tierra de siete medidas y será pedido el libro de los pueblos a los gobernantes por la palabra del Dios que viene. Recibid a vuestros huéspedes; a la distancia de una jornada, a la distancia de un grito vienen ya. Enorme es la carga del katun porque muy mala será la voluntad y muy mala será la enseñanza, porque dará pelea a su padre y a su madre según señala el enmarañamiento del katun. Cambios y recambios de padres, cambios y recambios de madres por exigencias de Hunab Ku, Deidad-única.

Llorará su asiento en la Estera el 12 Ahau, el katun rico. Yacerán en descanso los arcos sobre la tierra, los arcos del país llano; volteadas estarán las flechas en el centro del país llano. Entonces para los Señores del mundo mucho será el trabajar, mucha la burla a los gobernantes de los pueblos con la guerra rápida, violenta, la guerra de cerbatanas de fuego y tendrán también cerbatanas de fuego los hijos de mujer deshonesta y los hijos de hombre deshonesto. Perdidos serán en la guerra los hijos de las Ixtitibe, Maestras. Entonces vendrá el tributar y el Señor de las dos cabezas vendrá a burlarse de los gobernantes de los pueblos enceguecidos con las difíciles señales del katun. Entonces será dividida la carga del mundo y se pedirá el oro a los Señores y a los grandes maestros, a los grandes sabios, cuando venga por los bosques y por los pedregales el Señor Justiciero a cortarle las garras al ave de presa y a desgarrar las espaldas de los Cabcoh, Osos Meleros, y los Ch'amac, Zorras, sean quemadas en sus propias guaridas de piedra. Así dejará de haber Zorras y no existirá más el Cabcoh, Oso Melero.

Gran pan es la sustancia del katun con riqueza y magníficos Batabes, Los-del-hacha, y regocijos

para el mundo. De las orillas del mar tomará su sustento el Corazón del Monte que vencerá al katun de sequías y vómitos de sangre, el katun que da fin al regocijo y trae el pedir la comida por medio de enigmas y acertijos.

No habrá miseria sino regocijo en el tiempo de este katun.

10 Ahau

El 10 Ahau es el octavo katun que se cuenta; Saclactun, Piedras-blancas, Lahun Chablé, Diez-hoja-escamosa, es su asiento. Llegará a sus pobladores, hará que griten cuatro veces los que atan los palos de las palizadas y cercas y que lloren los Señores de los pueblos. De frutos del árbol ramón será su pan. Arderán las pezuñas de los animales, arderá la arena en las orillas del mar, arderán los nidos de las aves, estallarán las lajas. Sequía es la carga del katun. Es la palabra de Ku, Deidad, de Nuestro Señor Dios Padre [*sic*] y la de U Colel Caan, Señora-de-los-cielos, se cumplirá por detrás y por delante del filo del katun. Nadie hará calmar la palabra de Dios Nuestro Señor, del Dios Hijo del Señor de los Cielos y de la Tierra. Nadie escapará de su rigor en toda la extensión del mundo. Llegará el Santo Cristiano trayendo a su sacerdote para convertirnos a los bárbaros de nuestro error. Nadie podrá calmar tampoco la sequía, poderoso será el poder de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, de los mayas.

8 Ahau

El 8 Ahau Katun es el noveno que se cuenta; Itzmal, Lugar-de-Itzman-mago-del-agua, es el asiento

del katun. Regresarán los de Kinich Kakmo, Guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar; bajarán escudos, bajarán flechas tras los Señores de la tierra y en Chakanputún, Sabanas-de-chiles-putun, serán fijadas las cabezas en los muros, de los advenedizos de la tierra; será el término de su codicia, el término del sufrimiento que causan al mundo.

Con la palabra de Dios Padre mucha guerra hará entre los pobladores Kinich Kakmó, Guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar, en el asiento de este katun.

6 Ahau

El 6 Ahau Katun es el décimo que se cuenta; Uxmal es su asiento en el cual se fija por sí mismo. Ardoroso es el poder del rostro de su reinado que mentirá con desatinadas palabras de lascivia, ocasión de que baje Dios Padre a culpar y a cortar el cuello por las falsedades de palabra, para después hacer resucitar y esperar la justicia de Nuestro Padre Dios, para hacer que entren al cristianismo todos los súbditos, porque todos los nacidos en esta tierra han de entrar al cristianismo. Ésta es la carga del 6 Ahau que se asienta en este katun.

4 Ahau

El 4 Ahau Katun es el undécimo que se cuenta: Chichen Itzá, Orillas-de-los-pozos-del-brujo-del-agua, es su asiento. Llegará el Quetzal, llegará el pájaro verde Yaxum, llegará Ah Kantenal, El-del-árbol-amarillo; llegará el vómito de sangre por cuarta vez. Llegará Kukulcan, Serpiente-quetzal, en perseguimiento de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua. La cuarta vez que habla el katun, la cuarta vez que le llega al Itzá, Brujo-del-agua.

2 Ahau

El 2 Ahau es el decimosegundo katun que se cuenta; Maya Uas Cuzamil, Golondrina-maya-su-lugar, Maya Tsucpom, Arboles-de-goma-copal-maya-agrupados, es el asiento del katun. A la mitad se reducirá su pan, a la mitad se reducirá su agua en este tiempo del Katun 2 Ahau. Es la voluntad de Dios [*sic*] que a la mitad se reduzca su templo durante su imperio; será el colmo de la palabra de Dios [*sic*].

13 Ahau

El 13 Ahau Katun es el decimotercero que se cuenta; Cabal Ixbach, Chachalaca-poblado; Kinchil Cobá, Chachalaca-de-rostro-solar, es el asiento del decimotercer katun. Se ennegrecerá el ramillete de los señores de la tierra por la universal justicia de Dios [*sic*] Nuestro Señor. Se volteará el Sol, se volteará el rostro de la Luna; bajará la sangre por los árboles y las piedras; arderán los cielos y la tierra por la palabra de Dios Padre, del Dios Hijo y del Dios Espíritu Santo. Santa justicia, santo juicio de Dios Nuestro Señor.

Nula será la fuerza del cielo y de la tierra cuando entren al cristianismo las ciudades grandes y los pueblos ocultos, la gran ciudad llamada Maax, Mono, y también la totalidad de los pequeños pueblos en toda la extensión del país llano de Maya Cusamil Mayapan, Golondrina-maya-su-lugar Estandarte-venado. Será el tiempo en que se alcen los hombres de dos días en el rigor de la lascivia; hijos de ruines y perversos, colmo de nuestra perdición y vergüenza. Dedicados serán nuestros infantes a la Flor de Mayo y no habrá bien para nosotros.[16] Será el origen de la muerte por la mala sangre al salir la Luna,

y al entrar la Luna llena acontecerá la sangre entera. También los astros buenos lucirán su bondad sobre los vivos y sobre los muertos.

Resucitarán los muertos, acontecerá el hundimiento de los cielos. Irán los virtuosos al cielo y bajarán los malos al centro de la tierra; será el fin al término del katun por la palabra de Yumil Caan Yetel Luum, Señor-del-cielo-y-de-la-tierra. Esto es lo que hay en la carga del 13 Ahau. Para el tiempo que termine este katun vendrán a implorar las aguas del renacer, para renacer; serán almas santas las que reciban el santo óleo sin violencia sino por voluntad de Dios [*sic*].

TEXTOS PROFÉTICOS DE KATUNES AISLADOS

PROFECIA EN UN 13 AHAU *

El 13 Ahau cae con su carga en Emal, La-Bajada, Holtun Zuyua, Cavernas-de-Zuyua, Hotzuc Chakan, Llanura-de-las-Cinco-Parcialidades.

Disputada será la Máscara de Madera,[1] tal es la carga para Hotzuc Chakan, Llanura-de-las-Cinco-Parcialidades. Sufrirá padecimientos Ah Canul, El-guardián,[2] entonces será cuando se tiñan de añil[3] unos y otros por el padecimiento de Ah Canul, El-guardián; estucarán con pintura[4] los Canules, Guardianes; con ellos soltará su carga.

En Saclactun, Piedras-blancas, se establecerá Ah Ek Uilo, El-Negro-Uilo. Aumentada será, acrecentada será la carga al extremo de la sierra; de siete medidas será la sobrecarga de la carga que allá exista. Terminará el poder del katun con siete años de poder de Kin, Sol. Siete años serán de guerra, siete años de muertes violentas. Pero todo se aquietará cuando termine la palabra del katun. Cuidará entonces de los siete apastes recipientes de tortillas de maíz Ix Saclactun, La-que-está-en-Piedras-Blancas, Bolon Ch'ooch', Nueve-Amargo, la que está asentada en medio de la isla de Cuzamil, Golondrinas-su-lugar; entonces será el fin y término del poder de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, los intérpretes de los signos, de los unos y los otros, de los que sean. Entonces será cuando humille, cuando marque con el pie, Ah Mucen Cab, El-que-guarda-la-miel, cuando transcurra el 13 Ahau, por-

* Se publica por primera vez.

que el 13 Ahau es el tiempo en que se juntarán y coincidirán el Sol y la Luna; será la noche y al mismo tiempo el amanecer de Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad, y de Bolon Tiku, Nueve-deidad. Será cuando cree, haga nacer Itzam Cab Ain, Brujo-del-agua-tierra-cocodrilo, vida perdurable en la tierra. Se derrumbará el cielo y se volteará la tierra, retumbará Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad. Se inundará el mundo cuando se levante el gran Itzam Cab Ain, Brujo-del-agua-tierra-cocodrilo. Grandes inundaciones trae el mensaje del katun a su término, grandes inundaciones vendrán hacia el fin del poder del katun; en los 16 para los 4 cuatrocientos más 17 años entonces es cuando muere el poder de este katun.

Bolon Tiku, Nueve-deidad, no querrá el degüello de Itzam Cab Ain, Brujo-del-agua-tierra-cocodrilo, cuando se apodere del país llano aquel llamado Ah Uooh Puc, El-signo-destructor, que arrojará con ímpetu su nombre teniendo el rostro vendado, durante su reinado.

PROFECIA LLAMADA DE LAS FLORES EN UN KATUN 11 AHAU*

El 11 Ahau será el tiempo del poder de Ah Bolon Dzacab, El-Nueve-fecundador, el sabio. El doblez de la vuelta del katun será cuando se manifieste el lugar de su carga, que será de nueve medidas. El día cuatro Kan, Piedra-preciosa, ligará su carga terminándola. Cuando baje, del Corazón del Cielo sacará su consagración, su nueva vida, su renacer;

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bajará a su acicalada casa con Bolon Mayel, Nueve-perfumado.[5] Dulces son sus bocas, dulces las puntas de sus lenguas y dulces tienen los sesos estos dos grandes y nefastos murciélagos que vienen a chupar la miel de las Flores: la roja de hondo cáliz, la blanca de hondo cáliz, la oscura de hondo cáliz, la amarilla de hondo cáliz, la inclinada, la vuelta hacia arriba, el capullo, la marchita, la campánula recostada de lado, la mordisqueada del cacao, la pegajosa flor de pedernal, la flor de hueso, la *Macuilxúchit*, cinco-flores, la de corazón colorido, la Ixlaul, flor de laurel, la flor de pie torcido; a todas éstas vinieron los Ah Con Mayeles, Los-ofrecedores-de-perfume.

Las madres de las flores serán olidas por el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, por el Ahau, Señor-príncipe, por el Holcan, Soldado, por el Halach Uinic, Jefe. Tal será la carga del katun florido cuando venga. "Pero no habrá otro, ya no se verá otro", dijo. No traerá pan en su carga el katun florido sino flores de cizaña por el pecado cometido por Bolon Tiku, Nueve-deidad. A tres años aún no llegará la presencia del dios infernal Bolon Dzacab, Nueve-fecundador, cuando se manifestará en las flores *Pizlimtec* [Pilzintecuhtli][6] el infante inmaturo, cuando se disfrace de colibrí y venga a chupar la miel de la flor de nueve pétalos, de la flor de nueve corazones. Entonces querrá marido la flor marchita cuando le arranquen el corazón.

De cuatro pétalos será el cáliz de las flores cuando tengan asentada en su centro la presencia del Ah Kin Xocbil Tun, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Xocbil Tun, Piedra-preciosa-que-se-cuenta, cuando tenga la presencia de Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad, cuando vean cómo baja el pecado hacia la Estera, cuando hasta allí llegue el poder de la Flor de Mayo. De

Flor de Mayo será la Estera, de Flor de Mayo el Trono, de Flor de Mayo la sustancia. De envidia será su asiento, de envidia será su caminar, de envidia será su plato, de envidia su jícara, de envidia su corazón, de envidia será su entendimiento, de envidia su pensamiento, de envidia su boca. Desvariado de lascivia será el poder en su época cuando pida a gritos su comida y su bebida, cuando por la comisura de la boca coma su sustento que estará sobre los dedos de sus pies mientras mordido tenga el palo y sostenga la piedra. Grande será la lascivia durante la presencia de Lahun Chaan, Diez-Poderoso. De pecado será su rostro, de pecado su entendimiento, de pecado su palabra, de pecado su enseñanza durante su presencia, de pecado su caminar; porque tuvo vendados los ojos su presencia; peligrosa será su situación en la Estera durante su imperio porque se olvidará de su madre, se olvidará de su padre, y querrá ignorar al padre que lo ha engendrado y querrá ignorar a la madre que lo ha parido; olvidadiza será su voluntad y tendrá orfandad que ofenderá a su padre y querrá ir en orfandad de madre. Como de borracho serán sus señales porque perderá el entendimiento ante su madre y ante su padre y será falto de virtud, y de bondad despojado estará su corazón y sólo un poco de bondad tendrá en la punta de la lengua. Ignorará cómo va a acabar e ignorará lo que habrá al final de su época cuando sea el término del tiempo de su poder, cuando pesadamente cargue su limosna Bolon Tiku, Nueve-deidad, Uuc Satay, Siete-Muerte, cuando pierda su ánimo y espíritu y sea degollado después que él mismo se haya ahorcado. Pecadora será la palabra del Ah Bobat, Profeta, pecador será el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, pecador el Ahau, Señor-príncipe, pecador el Holcan, Guerrero.

Terminará su poder embrocando los escudos y colocando las lanzas con la punta para abajo. De diez pétalos será la enemistad que se levante. Pero no sabrán lo que viene al final del poder del katun: Holcanes, Guerreros, que cuando lleguen, colgada traerán del brazo a Ix Tab, La-de-la-cuerda.[7] Entonces no estará vendado el rostro del katun sino que pondrán sus pechos para ser alanceados por los de la Flor de Mayo y morirán por los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, los sabios, en compañía de los Ahaues, Señores Príncipes, y de los Holcanes, Guerreros. Este mensaje sale en otro katun en el noveno año tun en cuyo tiempo se establecerán Batabes, Los-del-hacha, y Ahaues, Señores-príncipes, hijos de Ah Kinchil Cobá, El-Chachalaca-de-rostro-solar y de Ah Miscit, El-barredor, por el poder de Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad, antes de que transcurran, según mi entender, tres dobleces, vueltas, duraciones de hombre sobre la tierra.

En la tercera vuelta del katun será el tiempo de escalar las montañas[8] por la sequía y los grandes padecimientos del hijo del gran Itzá, Brujo-del-agua. Pero no acabarán por completo el tiempo de la Flor de Mayo y los hombres de la Flor de Mayo dentro del cristianismo.

PROFECIA LLAMADA "EPISODIO DE AH MUCEN CAB EN UN KATUN 11 AHAU" *

En el 11 Ahau es cuando salió Ah Mucen Cab, El-que-guarda-la-miel,[9] a poner vendas en los ojos de Oxlahun ti Ku, Trece-deidad. Solamente sus herma-

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nas y sus hijos lo sabían; el Santo Señor, Su Hijo y el Espíritu Santo también lo sabían. Con las vendas de su rostro terminó el amanecer para ellos y no supieron ya lo que vendría cuando fue apresado Oxlahun ti Ku, Trece-deidad, por obra de Bolon ti Ku, Nueve-deidad.

Entonces será cuando bajen cuerdas, y fuego y piedra y palo y sea el golpear con palo y piedra, cuando sea apresado Oxlahun ti Ku, Trece-deidad; entonces será cuando se le rompa la cabeza y se le abofetee el rostro, y sea escupido y cargado a cuestas y despojado de sus insignias y cubierto de tizne;[10] y el Quetzal, el pájaro verde Yaxum, sea molido y tomado como alimento juntamente con su corazón, con Sicil, pepitas molidas de calabacitas, y con Top', pepitas molidas de calabazas grandes, y con frijoles molidos y tamales, por Yax Bolon Dzacab, Gran-nueve-fecundador, quien se posesionará del trece piso del cielo, y quien hará que sea permanente el tamo de las semillas y la punta del olote, hueso del maíz, aquí sobre la tierra, lugar de su corazón, porque Oxlahun ti Ku, Trece-deidad, no respeta el corazón del sustento. Será el flechar entonces a los huérfanos de padre, al miserable, a la viuda,[11] para sustentar su corazón; y será el sepultar en las arenas de las orillas del mar azotadas por las olas, de las insignias despojadas. Se hundirá el cielo y se hundirá la tierra también cuando los extremos del doblez del katun se unan y muera el hijo menor.

El doblez del katun llegará aquí en el día 3 Oc; 1 Cimi es el día en que morirá el poder del katun y se alzará Cantul ti Ku, Cuatro-deidad; los cuatro Bacabes, Vertedores, que arrasarán la tierra.

Al terminar el arrasamiento se alzará Chac Imix Che, la ceiba roja, columna del cielo, señal del ama-

necer del mundo, árbol del Bacab, Vertedor, en donde se posará Kan Xib Yuyum, Oropéndola-amarilla-macho. Se alzará también Sac Imix Che, Ceiba-blanca, al norte; allí se posará Zac Chic, Blanco-remedador, Zenzontle; soporte del cielo y señal del aniquilamiento será la ceiba blanca. Se alzará también Ek Imix Chec, Ceiba-negra, al poniente del país llano; señal del aniquilamiento será la ceiba negra; allí se posará Ek Tan Picdzoy, Pájaro-de-pecho-negro. Se alzará también Kan Imix Che, Ceiba-amarilla, al sur del país llano, como señal del aniquilamiento; allí se posará Kan Tan Picdzoy, Pájaro-de-pecho-amarillo, Kan Xib Yuyum, Oropéndola-amarilla-macho, Ah Kan Oyal Mut, Ave-vencida-amarilla. Se alzará también Yaax Imixche, Ceiba-verde, en el centro de la provincia como señal y memoria del aniquilamiento. Ella es la que sostiene el plato y el vaso; la Estera y el Trono de los katunes por ella viven.

PROFECIA LLAMADA "LA PALABRA DE OXLAHUN TIKU" EN UN KATUN 13 AHAU*

Ésta es su palabra de Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad, como fue explicada por el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete: A su tiempo será —dijo— que coman, que coman su maíz comprado; que beban, que beban su agua comprada, cuando sea el tiempo en que se encorven sobre la tierra, cuando sea el tiempo en que la tierra se les acerque a la faz. Entonces escalarán las nubes y escalarán las montañas; será el tiempo en que su-

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fran la derrota, el tiempo de las revueltas y motines; será cuando se enrosque el cogollo del henequén ch'elem,[12] cuando venga el remedarlos y el burlarlos; cuando el tronco de la ceiba sea resellado, cuando venga la pesada carga al hijo de Maax, Mono.

Será entonces el ahorcarlos y el enjuiciarlos y el colocarles trampas de cuerdas tensas bajo las malezas. Entonces bajará su hambre y cuatro serán los caminos del katun. Limpio estará el norte y el poniente[13] para el paso de los hijos de Ku, Deidad. Perdidos quedarán en sus matorrales llenos de miserias y padecimientos los hijos del gran Itzá, Brujo-del-agua. Arderán sus playas, arderán sus orillas arenosas: Subirá a los árboles Ah Masuy, El-agostador, arderán las pezuñas cuando dé comienzo el poder [de Ku]. Para los de Dzidzontun, Piedras-puntudas-como-pezuñas, de trece grados será su carga.

Entonces vendrá la castidad y la abstinencia para los grandes meleros lascivos y libidinosos de Lahun Chaan, Diez-Poderoso. Soplará en su flauta Chactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-roja, encenderá fuego con las raíces de sus pies, hará enrojecer la savia de la Flor de Mayo, hará enrojecer las alas de la tórtola Mucuy. Resplandecerá el cielo enrojecido cuando haga su algazara Chactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-roja, y haga música Sactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-blanca, en el 13 Ahau.

Aquella Chichen Itzá, Orillas-de-los-pozos-del-brujo-del-agua, tendrá su fardo de trece grados. Barrida será la provincia de Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos, y arderá el fuego en el centro del pueblo y podrán hablarse unos a otros los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar. Podrá escucharse al Ah Bobat, Profeta, se escucharán sus ocarinas. "Le llegó su día al agua", dirán los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-so-

lar. Caerá el agua como dicen, y escucharán el aletear de las alas de la tórtola Mucuy[14] en el oriente y el ruido de la savia de la Flor de Mayo cuando haga su música Sactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-blanca, cuando mida el camino del katun y vaya por el atajo rodeando la llanura Ix Kan Citam Thul, La-piedra-preciosa-jabalí-conejo, de Sulim Chan, Serpiente-mojada, huyendo de la carga del katun. De trece grados será la carga de la llanura que atará el corazón del país llano. Atravesada quedará la carga en Emal, La-Bajada, arrollada estará su Estera durante el tiempo del katun por sus excesivos padecimientos y sufrimientos. Se regocijará Ah Ektenel, El-de-la-flauta-negra, frente a los grandes montones de calaveras y vendrá el zopilote ávido y voraz a sacar los ojos a sus Señores en medio de violentas muertes. Será cuando venga para Ahau Can, Señor-serpiente, y Sinic Balam, Hormiga-brava, la guerra. Años desiguales son los que trae para ellos el katun. Será entonces cuando griten las ranas Uoes a medio día y caiga la servidumbre en Emal, La-Bajada, Holtun Zuyua, Cavernas-de-Zuyua; cuando se regocije Chactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-roja, y haga música Sactenel Ahau, Señor-de-la-flauta-blanca.[15] Ésta es la predicción para el 13 Ahau.

PROFECÍA LLAMADA "MEMORIA DE CÓMO VINO HUNAB KU A DECIR SU PALABRA A LOS AH KINES" *

Ésta es la memoria de cómo vino Hunab Ku, Deidad-única, Oxlahun Tiku, Trece-deidad, deidad inmensa (deidad de 8 000 veces) a decir su palabra

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a los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, profetas [*sic*], Chilames Balames, Brujos-intérpretes; al Ah Xupan Nauat, El-nahua-del-estandarte-de-turquesa; al Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Ah Napuctun, Señor-Piedra-fina-de-línea-materna-llamada-Puc; al Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Nahau Pech, Garrapata-de-línea-materna-llamada-Hau, y al Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Ah Kauil Ch'el, El-santo-pájaro-ch'el. Se reunieron en la casa del Ah Nacom Balam, El-sacrificador-que-saca-corazones-brujo, que era Chilam, Intérprete; entonces aconteció el hablar en la casa del Chilam, Intérprete; les fueron dichas palabras de aviso y consejo, les fue revelada la medida de las palabras. Pero no entendieron estas palabras que les fueron dichas.

La razón de por qué se le llama Chilam, Intérprete, es porque el Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, se acostaba tendido,[16] sin moverse ni levantarse de donde se echaba, en su propia casa. Pero no se veía el rostro ni la forma y tamaño de quien hablaba encima del edificio de la casa, a horcajadas sobre ella.

Comenzó a ser pronunciada la palabra cuando estaban reunidos los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, en la casa del Chilam, Intérprete. Les fue dicha la palabra a ellos, pero no sabían quién la decía; decían que Hunab Ku, Deidad-única, Ahau Caan, Señor-del-cielo, eso decían. Se postraron sobre la tierra cuando comenzaron a oír la palabra; se echaron de bruces: "Oh Chilam, Intérprete, gran Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, haz de saber que llegó el día en que llega su katun. Despertaos, amaneceos, que se asienta ya el katun de la Flor de Mayo. Tres lunas hace que está ya presente el Yuma Netziuit Kuk Yaxum, Señor-del-agua-arruinador-de-la-cola-del-Quetzal, del-pájaro-verde-Yaxum;

presente está ya su rostro en el ave, presente está ya el Bolon Uitz, Nueve-cerros, el Yuma Netziuit Kuk Yaxum, Señor-del-agua, Arruinador-de-la-cola-del-Quetzal, del-pájaro-verde-Yaxum. Nadie entenderá los días de penitencia que se manifestarán en el poder que viene. Nadie entenderá cómo vienen ahora las penitencias que privarán en el poder del decimosegundo katun que dice ya su nombre. Será cuando venga el juez [*sic*] de Ebula, Agua-que-inunda-la-escalera; será el tiempo del bastón de oro[17] y será el tiempo de la cera blanca. Su sustancia será cera y por la cera bajará la justicia [*sic*] del cielo, ocasión de que suban los cristianos. Cuando os hundáis y os amanezca, entonces lo vendréis a entender, cuando sea el moverse del cielo y la tierra al término del katun de la Flor de Mayo que llega ahora a regaros con sus Flores y a hacer nacer una sola voluntad de que pidáis mujeres para cohabitar."

Entonces habló el Chilam Balam, Brujo-Intérprete: "Desde ahora, Oh Halach Uiniques, Jefes, llega el día en que dice su nombre el decimosegundo katun. Vedlo, de Jaguar es su cabeza, rotos tiene los dientes; de Conejo su cuerpo, de Perro su cuerpo. Atravesada tiene la lanza en su cuerpo y en su corazón. Sin embargo, dulce es su bebida, sabrosa su comida; de nada hablará, de nada escuchará sino de desvaríos de lascivia, tal es su palabra. En ninguna parte han de entregarse las hijas de Cuchlum Idzinil, Hermandad-de-hermanas-menores; saldrán de esta provincia, habrán de irse las hijas de Cuchlum Idzinil, Hermandad-de-hermanas-menores,[18] porque va a ser el tiempo en que paran las mozas doncellas, las no casadas, un día tras otro.

"Preparaos, apercibíos, vosotros, Hermanos Mayores, y vosotros, Hermanos Menores, a padecer y

a sufrir la carga del katun, porque si no la padeciéseis caería sobre vuestros pies, se enredaría en vuestros pies y vosotros haríais el papel de venado[19] [*víctima*]. Si no la padecieseis roeríais las raíces y el tronco de los árboles y las hojas de los yerbazales. Si no la padeciéseis, serían las mortandades de venados [*víctimas*] para que pudiera brotar el pan de maíz del pueblo.

"Cuando venga ese tiempo, aquí, al centro del país llano Maycu, Venado-tecolote, Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, la dicha Siyancaan, La-famosa, a esta provincia que tendrá el nombre de Yucatán como se le dirá cuando venga distinta enseñanza en otro katun que ha de pasar de regreso por vuestros pueblos. Pero no sólo ha de ser su lugar aquí, sino también entrará el zopilote a las casas y será también el tiempo de la muerte violenta a las gentes animales.

"Cuando se asiente en su Estera este poder, de sólo pecado será su palabra, de sólo pecado será su enseñanza; katun será de pecado, de tres porciones será la sustancia de los frutos del árbol ramón que será el pan del katun de la Flor de Mayo. Ésta es la carga para el día que se asiente: de trece capas será la Estera del gran mamador adúltero. Será el tiempo en que venga la burla de seis partes y de tres veces vendrá la burla de la llegada del juez [*sic*] en el tiempo en que el bastón de oro sea el símbolo de la justicia, y sea la cera blanca lo que trueque, y sea la cera blanca por donde baje la justicia del cielo, ocasión de que suban los cristianos ante su justicia. Esto será entendido cuando en seco se muevan el cielo y la tierra.

"Muy doloroso viene el término del katun de la Flor de Mayo, porque aún no habrá acabado cuando se volteen hacia arriba las raíces de los árboles

y tiemble toda la provincia. Traicionada terminará la palabra del katun de la Flor de Mayo, así que no hay razón para que deis vuestros infantes a su arzobispo [*sic*]; cuando venga, iréis a esconderos al monte. Pero si los entregáis, que sea siguiendo al verdadero Dios del Cielo [*sic*], Cristo llamado, que estará presente cuando sea el término de la visita del katun a vosotros, y el término de esparciros flores y tomar esposas [*sic*].[20] Ese día lo conoceréis porque se muevan los cielos, y la tierra camine.

"Muy dolorosamente terminará la humanidad de la Flor de Mayo según dicen las pinturas de las superficies de los muros;[21] entonces diréis que también son santas y creeréis en su santidad. Aquel que sea sabio entre nosotros será el que comprenda esto; aquel que finalice su existencia gozando del cristianismo cuando éste sea comprendido por la gente. Quizás sólo 14 años (o katunes) sean Batabes, Los-del-hacha, las Zarigüeyas-ratones, Zarigüeyas-ratones Batabes, Los-del-hacha, porque entonces llegará para siempre el hijo." Dijo y sacó el libro de sus Siete-generaciones, para que lo leyesen los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, durante tres días, pasándoselo mutuamente los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar. Primeramente el Yaaxche libro, Libro-de-la-ceiba, le fue dado a Ah Xupan Nauat, El-nahua-del-estandarte-de-turquesa; a Ah Kin Ch'el, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar-pájaro-Ch'el; a Ah Napuctun, El-Piedra-fina-de-línea-materna-llamada-Puc, y a Nahau Pech, Garrapata-de-línea-materna-llamada-Hau. Estaba puesto el libro de las siete generaciones en el gran altar, el altar donde oraban Ah Kin Pech, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar-Garrapata, y Ah Kauil Ch'el, El-santo-pájaro-Ch'el, cuando oraban en el gran altar, en la gran mesa. Al término del katun

se juntará otra vez el doblez de los katunes que vienen. "Eternamente se oirá mi voz, la del Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, explicando la palabra de Hahal Ku, Verdadera-deidad."

Así será el fin de los hombres de la Flor de Mayo: se les pedirán las pruebas a sus Señores que gobiernen la tierra; si no las supieren, saldrán al monte y al pedregal a buscar su fuerza. Entrarán en calma los pueblos cuando ya no haya Ch'amaques, Zorras mordedoras, sino hasta que llegue el 9 Ahau Katun. Cinco años faltan para que termine mi mensaje y llegue el día en que baje el tributo y la agonía de la miseria a los restos de los hijos del gran Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, para que sea el mero final de los mamadores.

"No habrá Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, que declare la carga del katun; ciega tendrán su vista por obra del katun de la Flor de Mayo; el pensamiento y el entendimiento, la sabiduría, el día y la noche serán del katun de la Flor de Mayo. Ésto es lo que os interpreto. De llanto fueron mis palabras, yo, el Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete de Hahal Ku, Deidad-verdadera del cielo. Recordadas serán cuando llegue el tiempo del katun en que se alivie la miseria que quede de los hijos del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua."

PROFECÍA LLAMADA "INTERPRETACIÓN DE LA LLEGADA DE LOS EXTRANJEROS ESPAÑOLES POR LOS AH KINES EN UN KATUN 13 AHAU"*

La interpretación de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, las profecías de los grandes sabios, los

* Sólo ha sido publicada la versión del Libro de Chilam Balam de Chumayel en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933).

grandes Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, el augurio y pronóstico de los Ah Bobates, Profetas, y del Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, Ah Xupan Nauat, El-nahua-del-estandarte-de-turquesa, para el 13 Ahau.

Ah Xupan, El-del-estandarte-de-turquesa, es el nombre del que tenía a su cuidado el gran libro de los siete linajes por cuya causa vino, le echó culpa el Señor del Universo. El libro de los siete linajes le fue despojado por el Precioso Señor Celestial en el imperio de la esclavitud, mundo de abajo de Luzbe, cuando fue el comienzo del Señor del Universo. ¡Ay! En el octavo año del 13 Ahau los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, profetizaron porque comprendieron cómo habrían de venir los extranjeros españoles; lo leyeron en los signos de sus papeles y por eso comenzaron a decir: "Verdaderamente los haremos amigos nuestros y no les haremos guerra", diciendo además: "A ellos se les pagará el tributo". Así declararon los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, y los Ah Bobates, Profetas, por la lectura en sus papeles de las ruedas y monumentos del katun, diciéndolo a los pobladores y a los guerreros. Tres años faltaban para que llegaran cuando habló Ku, Deidad, a los Ah Bobates, Profetas. Ese demonio les dijo: "Holcanes, Guerreros, cuando sea el amanecer del 13 y del 7, alzad vuestra guerra." Así les dijo el demonio llamado Ah Uuc Satay, El-siete-muerte, obispo [*sic*] del demonio, el que reside en Chuncaan, Base-del-cielo, Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, lugar en que residía el consejo, en Chuncaan, Base-del-cielo,[22] lugar de Ah Uuc Satay, El-siete-muerte. Les dolía el corazón porque vendrían los extranjeros y terminaría el imperio del demonio, por eso leían sus papeles los nefastos Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-

solar, falsos curas, buscando cómo vendría la culpa por la voluntad del Señor Universal, el que está Arriba, el universal Dios de la tierra según dicen, porque comprendían el mensaje del katun y la totalidad de la sobrecarga que vendría sobre las vidas del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, porque miseria y dolor es lo que conquista Su alma y vive para el bien recreándose en la miseria y en el sufrimiento de todas las cosas.

Xupan Nauat, Nahua-de-estandarte-de-turquesa, es el nombre de quien explicó el orden del mundo, juntamente con Ah Kin Ch'el, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar Ch'el, y de Nahau Pech, Garrapata-de-línea-materna-nombrada-Hau, y de Ah Napuctun, El-piedra-fina-de-línea-materna-nombrada-Puc, y de Nacom Balam, Sacrificador-que-extrae-corazones-brujo, y de Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete. Ésta es la memoria de los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar. Cómo supieron el orden de las cosas del katun y del primer año tun del katun. Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, será el asiento del Trece Ahau.

CUCEB O RUEDA PROFÉTICA DE LOS AÑOS TUNES DE UN KATUN 5 AHAU*

Año [1º] 13 Kan

13 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, 1 Poop, Estera. Entonces fue tomado el ídolo de barro del Katun 5 Ahau en el año cristiano de 1593. El día 15 Tzeec dice su nombre y aquí declaramos la carga que viene. El día que se tome este katun, Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, será el lugar donde se cambie el katun, donde

* Véase la nota introductoria a los textos proféticos.

baje el agua del Quetzal, del pájaro verde Yaxum, cuando serán devorados hijos de mujer, hijos de hombre; será el tiempo de los grandes amontonamientos de calaveras, y del amanecer y del permanecer alertas cuando vengan las grandes destrucciones de las albarradas y será resellada la superficie del tronco de la ceiba.[1] Será entonces cuando se sequen las fuentes de agua y será entonces cuando Thuul Caan Chac, El-Chac-que-chorrea-serpientes, se yerga hasta el fin de las aguas profundas y en los pantanos. Triste estará Ix Dziban Yol Nicté, La-flor-de-corazón-pintado, durante el transcurso del katun, porque otro poder vendrá a manifestarse, poder nacido en el cielo. Esto acontecerá durante el transcurso del año tun 13 Kan entre los años de 1593 y 1594.

Año [2º] 1 Muluc

Cuando se asiente 1 Muluc, Inundación, se hablarán entre sí las montañas sobre la redondez de la tierra, por sobre Uuc Chapat, Siete-ciempiés-escolopendra.[2] Siete será su carga, de siete grados su sobrecarga. En este segundo año tun se perderán las bragas-ceñidores, se perderán las ropas, ropa será de generaciones estériles. Arrebatado será su pan, arrebatada el agua de su boca.

Año [3º] 2 Ix

2 Ix, Jaguar, será el tiempo de la pelea violenta, el tiempo en que arda el fuego en medio del corazón del país llano, en que ardan la tierra y el cielo; en que haya de tomarse el espanto como alimento; el tiempo en que se implore a los cielos. Perdido será el pan, perdida la limosna; llorará Cuy, Lechuza,

llorará Icim, Buho, en los caminos vecinales por toda la extensión de la tierra, por toda la extensión de los cielos. Se alborotarán las avispas, se alborotarán los míseros en el imperio de Ah Bolon Yocté, El-nueve-pata-de-palo, Ah Bolon Kanaan, El-nueve-precioso. Decaída estará la faz de la sabana, destruidas las murallas. Será el tiempo en que se corte el linaje de los descendientes falsos cuando se yerga sobre la tierra, se yerga sobre el país llano, Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, el hijo de Ah Uuceb, El-siete-montañas. A las orillas del mar tendrá abiertas sus fauces el terrible Ayin, Cocodrilo; tendrá abiertas sus fauces el maligno Xooc, Tiburón. Será el tiempo en que se amontonen las Xuxob, Avispas, sobre los restos del agua, sobre las sobras de alimento. Hasta el tercer doblez del katun reinará el 5 Ahau del tercer año tun.

Año [4º] 3 Cauac

3 Cauac, Trueno, será el tiempo en que salgan de su pozo, de su gruta. Irán a solicitar su limosna, irán sus voces recorriendo la noche para mendigar su agua. ¿Dónde beberán su agua? ¿Dónde comerán siquiera sobras de pan? Sobrecogidos estarán sus corazones por Ah Uucte Cuy, El-siete-lechuza, Ah Uucte Chapat, El-siete-ciempiés-escolopendra. Será el tiempo en que se coman árboles y se coman piedras. Llorarán los del pozo, llorarán los de la gruta. Pero la Flor de Mayo se señalará y de Flor de Mayo será el pan cuando tome su carga el tercer año tun, del trece Ahau. Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, será el que quite la carga del 9 Ahau cuando termine de ir golpeando con su carga cabeza abajo al terminar de reinar. Así acontecerá en el 3 Cauac, Trueno.

Año [5º] 4 Kan

4 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, será el día en que decline el Katun 5 Ahau. Será el tiempo en que se amontonen las calaveras y lloren las Moscas en los caminos vecinales y en los descansaderos de los caminos vecinales. Cuando se alce su poder, llorará Cuy, Lechuza, llorará Icim, Buho, llorará Ah I, Cuclillo. Vendrá la mofa al maligno Xooc, Tiburón; hundidos estarán los árboles, hundidas estarán las piedras. Cuando esté presente Ah Uuc Chuah, El-siete-alacrán,[3] arderá la cara de la tierra, y croarán las ranas Uo al mediodía en sus pozos. El 4 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, tomará su palabra cuando venga el otro poder sobre el Jaguar blanco, sobre el Jaguar rojo, sobre Maycuy, Tecolote-venado, cuando en el quinto año tun del 5 Ahau venga Al Buluc Ch'abtan, El-once-ayunador, a decir la palabra del Sol, la palabra que surgirá del signo jeroglífico para que acontezca el llanto de los grandes Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua. Entonces dirá su carga, cuando rija el hilo del día y de la noche. Entonces será cuando se devoren entre sí las Zarigüeyas-ratones, y los Jaguares, cuando llegue este nuevo poder en el 4 Kan, cuando se mueva el cielo y se mueva la Tierra, cuando se arrimen entre sí el Sol y la Tierra sobre el Petén, país llano, ombligo del katun. Cuando llegue, esto será lo que merezca el tiempo del katun.

Año [6º] 5 Muluc

5 Muluc, Inundación, será el tiempo en que tome camino, en que desate su rostro y hable y vomite lo que tragó y suelte su sobrecarga el 5 Ahau en 5 Muluc. Entonces será el tiempo en que haya pan de maíz aun más allá de la provincia; sólo reinará

el poder del agua según declara su palabra. Licenciosa será su carga y despótico su imperio; presente estará en el pantano, presente en los charcos. Flor de Mayo será la bebida en el día, en la noche, en el agua profunda, sobre la faz del mundo, cuando reine totalmente. Entonces saldrán de su pozo y de su gruta. Así acontecerá a los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, cuando se alcen del rigor de su miseria y salgan por las tierras boscosas y los pedregales a decir su palabra a la justicia del Sol, a la justicia del katun.

AÑO [7º] 6 Ix

6 Ix, Jaguar, será el tiempo en que caiga el orden de las unidades del katun, cuando sea el despojarse de bragueros-ceñidores, el despojarse de ropas, días de ayuno y penitencias.[4] Será entonces el tiempo en que contemple el cielo desde la faz de la tierra el Jaguar; habrá llegado el tiempo en que las pléyades sean vistas por el que tiene la Estera y por el que tiene el Trono; el tiempo en que vomite lo que tragó, lo que pasó por su garganta cuando todavía no se le obstruya con las limosnas que reciba, cuando traicionen los hijos de Ah Maax Cal, El-Mono-vocinglero. Cuando voltee sus bragas Maax Kin, Mono-del-sol, Maax Katun, Mono-del katun, estantigua, monigote del mundo. Cuando digan su palabra los de las bragas rojas por el norte y por el poniente, y cuando se venda a los hijos de Uuc Suhuy Sip, Siete-virgen-ofrenda.

Licenciosa será la palabra, licenciosa la boca. Será el tiempo en que se haga música en la tierra y suenen las sonajas en el cielo al irse ordenando las unidades de que consta el tiempo del katun. Pero a la vuelta completa del katun se desgarrarán, se

romperán violentamente los cielos, y las nubes quedarán frente al Sol juntamente con la Luna, totalmente.

A nadie haz de entregarte tú, huérfano de madre, tú, huérfano de padre,[5] en el doblez del término del katun. Perdido será el signo jeroglífico y perdida será la enseñanza que está detrás de él; entonces será cuando se recoja la hojarasca de encima de nosotros y se quiten los bragueros-ceñidores y la ropa, y no se presten máscaras ni casas.

Año [8º] 7 Cauac

El 7 Cauac, Trueno, será el octavo año tun en Uno Poop, Estera, cuando sea el doblez. Entonces será cuando tome tizne Maax Kin, Mono-del-sol, Maax Katun, Mono-del-katun, y sea el amontonar calaveras, y sea cuando se desgarren las espaldas mutuamente los Jaguares rojos; el tiempo en que se les destrocen los dientes y el tiempo en que se le zafen las garras al Oso Melero Cabcoh. Hincado estará de rodillas y pondrá a la vista las plantas de sus pies y de sus manos, deseando pan, ansiando agua. Rabioso estará el rostro de Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, cuando se levante y apague con fuego lo que reste de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, en el tercer doblez del katun.

Año [9º] 8 Kan

8 Ahau en Uno Poop, Estera, noveno año tun del Cinco Ahau. Será el tiempo en que se esté encuclillado en su gruta porque arda lo alto de los cerros, y arda la superficie de la tierra, y ardan los barrancos, y se encienda el fuego en los grandes zacatales, y ardan las orillas arenosas del mar, y ardan las

semillas de la calabaza Sicil y ardan las semillas de la calabaza K'um; y arderá también el Macal, Ñame, en este término del katun. Será en Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, donde se encoja para soportar su carga Ah Itzam, El-brujo-del-agua, en donde reciba carga dura y dolorosa. Estallarán las lajas, silbará la perdiz, silbará el venado en la faz de la sabana. Esparcida será Ix Kan Itzam Thul, La-preciosa-bruja-del-agua-a-chorros, en las sabanas, en las montañas, a la vista de los sabios; presente estará Ah May Cuuc, El-venado-ardilla, presente estará en las montañas en este tiempo del katun. Blanqueada será la carga del año, blanqueada la ropa, blanqueados los bragueros-ceñidores.

Tendrá agua para que beba y pedirá a gritos su lugar en los restos del Sol, el Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, en el onceno tun. En el onceno año tun acontecerá.

Año [10º] 9 Muluc

9 Muluc, Inundación, en Uno Poop, Estera. Entonces tomará nombre el 5 Ahau y dirá su palabra Ah Uuc Yol Sip, El-siete-corazón-ofrenda.[6] Entonces será la época en que se multipliquen los recién nacidos y se multipliquen los mozos; será el tiempo en que engendren los ancianos y conciban las ancianas. Tiempo será de muertes, destructor será el poder en toda la redondez de la tierra de Maax Kin, Mono-del-Sol, Maax Itzaob, Mono-de-los-Itzaes-brujos-del-agua. Entonces será el imperio de Tzintzin Coc Xul, Concha-de-tortuga-musical-de-vara, y de Tzintzin Bac Toc, Hueso-musical-tostado, los de lloroso rostro, los de rostro descarnado. Ensangrentados quedarán los caminos al norte y al poniente Con la mirada en alto, erguido el cuello, estará Ahau

Can, Serpiente-Señor. Alzado tendrá el palo, alzada la piedra sobre su madre y su padre Ah Uuc Yol Sip, El-siete-corazón-ofrenda, el siete grados envidioso, el siete grados pedigüeño y mendigo. De doble culpa será el rostro del katun. El regocijo y el desorden serán manifiestos, pero cuando termine, diferente será lo que se manifieste a la juventud recorriendo la noche, recorriendo el día por la superficie de los cielos cuando venga el noveno año tun.

Año [11º] 10 Ix

10 Ix, Jaguar, en Uno Poop, Estera, del 5 Ahau. Bajarán del cielo los abanicos y los ramilletes celestiales para que huelan los Señores. Apuntará con el dedo, se erguirá el día que tome posesión de su imperio, del vaso, del Trono, de la Estera, del Banco, Amayte Ku, Cuadrado-deidad. Cuando se siente a comer arrebatará el poder, arrebatará el vaso, arrebatará el plato; así se declara en la superposición de los años tunes, cuando sea el tiempo en que su Estera y su Trono cambien y salgan por las tierras boscosas y por los pedregales a decir su palabra y su enseñanza.

Nacerá entonces otra jícara en la cual beba, y el día en que desate su rostro, amarga será su jícara, amarga será su bebida cuando venga el orden a las Esteras y beba el Jaguar de otra agua y sea Piltec [*Piltzintecuhtli*] quien reciba la limosna cuando las serpientes se anuden unas a otras de las colas. Entonces Ah Uuc Yol Sip, El-siete-corazón-ofrenda, Ah Toc Dzudzil, El-bastardo-marchito, conocerán el fuego. Perdida será su agua y perderá por arrebatamiento el resto de su Estera, de su vaso y de su plato, cuando impere la durísima rodilla[7] del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, de Ah Coctun Numya,

El-pedernal-que-da-desgracia-y-dolor. Cuadrado será entonces el rostro del padre de los Señores de la Estera y del Trono, los que darán su lugar al cielo. Esto será lo que contemple Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador: cómo el alma de Ah Siyah Tun Chac, El-Chac-de-los-manantiales-labrado-en-jade, llora totalmente al tiempo del regreso del katun; cómo llora Ahau Tun, Señor-de-jade, Ah Nitoc, El-bastardo-narigudo, Ah Ni Poop, El-de-la-nariz-como-estera, Ah Maycuy, El-tecolote-venado. Será entonces el amanecer y la bajada de Ah Kinchil, El-de-rostro-solar, Ah Chac Chibal, El-gran-devorador-de-carne.

Será en el 10 Ix cuando lleguen los grandísimos padecimientos y miserias para los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, y de todos sus hijos, aquí en la provincia de Siyancan Mayapan, La-famosa-del-estandarte-venado; allí será cuando se acaben y consuman. Al fin del año tun 10 Ix, vestirá cortezas y sentirá la sobrecarga Yal Maax, Generación-de-Monos; resellado será el tronco de la ceiba y suspendidas estarán las cazuelitas de barro cuando le toque pedir su limosna a Ah Piltec [*Piltzintecuhtli*]; cuando venga a tomar su limosna de los mendigos, del miserable, cuando tome su limosna en los caminos vecinales, en los descansaderos de los caminos vecinales. Entonces será cuando baje la carga a las montañas y a Maycuy, Tecolote-venado. Acontecerá aquí en Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, aquí en May Ceh, Pezuña-del-venado, en Xau Cutz, Garra-del-guajolote-silvestre; aquí pasará todo hasta el fin. Éste es el katun en que danzará Chac Dzidzib, Pájaro-cardenal, Chactun Pilix, Cola-roja, en la mesa pétrea, la que está en medio de la llanura; así ocurrirá en el katun porque son éstas las aves que anuncian al Halach Uinic, Jefe. Será cuando brinque y dé volteretas el Quetzal, el pájaro verde Yaxum, el ave

de los Señores. Terminará entonces el poder de Buluc Am, Once-piedra-labrada. Aquí será cuando acabe May Ceh, Pezuña-del-venado; acabará todo y dirán: "Pasó aquí el pueblo de los Itzaes, Brujos-del agua."

Les había sido dicho por *Moctezuma* Utunil Itzaob, Moctezuma-la-piedra-labrada-de-los-brujos-del-a g u a, porque Ah Buluc Am, El-once-piedra-labrada,[8] era el nombre que le daban, que en aquel katun se irían, porque en ese katun pasó lo de Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora.[9] Fue entonces cuando se amontonaron unas con otras y gritaron las Bech'ob, Codornices, en la rama de la ceiba.[10] Será entonces el fin de la mendicidad y de la codicia en la época del 5 Ahau, será entonces cuando se asiente boca arriba el vaso y se extienda la Estera y será cuando el gobierno se cambie a los Ah Kines. Secerdotes-del-culto-solar. Entonces cambiarás tus bragas-ceñidores, cambiarás tu ropa, cambiarás tu vestido. Ésta será la carga del onceno año tun cuando salgan de su pozo, de su gruta.

Año Tun [12º] 11 Cauac

11 Cauac, Trueno, en Uno Poop, Estera, el decimoséptimo año tun. Éste será el tiempo en que impere Ah Cakin Poop, El-de-la-Estera-de-dos-días, y Ah Cakin Dzam, El-del-Trono-de-dos-días. Asentado estará el vaso de Ah Okol Koh, El-de-la-máscara-que-llora, porque se erguirá Ah Koh Bacab, El-vertedor-de-la-máscara, Ah Cantzicnal, El-de-los-cuatro-rincones, cuando venga. En el decimoséptimo año tun del katun, visible estará Ah Cantzicnal, El-de-los-cuatro-rincones, Ah Can Ek, El-cuatro-oscuridad,[11] Ah Sac Dziu, El-tordo-blanco. Será el tiempo en que se manifieste Ah Cantzicnal, El-de-los-cuatro-rinco-

nes, y tome su oficio Ix Tol Och, La-ventruda-zarigüeya; será el tiempo en que el katun remoje la corteza para el vino; pero en el once Xul, entonces saldrá otra palabra, otra enseñanza, y se implorará entonces a Ku Caan, La-deidad-del-cielo, y será entonces el tiempo en que las serpientes se unan unas a otras por la cola y se tomen nuevas bragas-ceñidores y nuevas ropas y nuevos Señores de la Estera y nuevos Señores del Trono a la faz del cielo.

El reinado que viene ahora en camino tomará el oficio de Chac Bolay Can, Gran-carnicera-serpiente, Chac Bolay Ul, Gran-carnicero-caracol-terrestre; será cuando se manifieste el Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, en el Corazón del Monte, en el corazón de la maleza, y cuando grite el alma de Siyah Tun Chac, Chac-labrado-en-jade-de-los-manantiales: serán los días de miseria en el katun por el exceso de dolor que hagan sufrir los hijos de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, a los hijos del día, los hijos de la noche. Entonces será el tiempo en que se amontonen las Xux, Avispas, arriba de los árboles y de la maleza, y se amontonen las Chac Uayab Cab, Rojas-dañinas-hormigas-meleras, sobre vosotros los abejas Ah Num y los abejas Sactanil.

Año [13º] 12 Kan

12 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, en Uno Poop, Estera. En el decimotercero año tun será el día que diga su palabra el Sol, cuando se hablen mutuamente los zopilotes: los hijos del día a los hijos de la noche, en el cielo y en la tierra; será en este decimotercero año tun cuando ardan los cielos, y la tierra tenga fin de la codicia. Así ha de suceder por el exceso de soles: y vendrán los ruegos a Hunab Ku, Deidad-única, para que su majestad tenga compa

sión. Siete serán los años de sequía: estallarán entonces las lajas, arderán los nidos de las aves arriba, arderá la savia del zacatal en la llanura y en los barrancos de la sierra. Entonces volverán a la gruta y al pozo a tomar su comida de espanto, y entonces rogarán a los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, que se ajusten la preciosa manta a la espalda, con el cinturón de trece nudos. Cuadrado será entonces el rostro del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, cuando en este katun entren de nuevo a su pozo, a su gruta, y hagan más intensas sus imploraciones en la gruta, y den muerte martirizándolo al Señor que tiene la Estera, que tiene el Trono, como fin de la codicia y el robo; será cuando regresen a su gruta, a su pozo de nuevo y venga nueva sabiduría, nueva palabra. Así lo dijo el gran Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete. Así como puede suceder puede no suceder, pero lo verán por detrás y por delante los del linaje de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, en la gravísima miseria que se asentará y acontecerá en la tierra Sacnicteil Mayapan Cuzamil, Lugar-de-las-golondrinas, Estandarte-venado, Lugar-de-la-flor-de-mayo-blanca; cuando les acontezca en la boca del pozo, en la boca de la gruta y en la extensión de las sabanas. Será el tiempo en que se desbaraten las albarradas y venga la destrucción sobre la grandeza del mundo, sobre la superficie de las montañas por la avidez del Maax Kin, Mono-del-sol, del Maax Ah Itzá, Mono-de-los-Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua. Entonces será cuando diga su palabra el sin padre y el sin madre en el tiempo del katun, en que diga su palabra el linaje Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, durante el cinco Ahau en el decimotercero año tun, cuando acontecerá la adoración de Sum Ci, Cuerda-de-henequén,[12] como divisa que ha de admirarse en el katun. Reirá la Máscara de Madera. Cuatro

serán sus vasos asentados, cuatro serán sus platos asentados, cuatro serán sus bancos asentados en el 5 Ahau Katun, en el decimotercero año tun.

Año [14º] 13 Muluc

El decimocuarto año tun 13 Muluc, Inundación, en Uno Poop, Estera. Uno Oc será el día en que el poder baje de la Estera y baje del Trono. En el decimocuarto año tun será cuando venga el gobierno de muchos en los restos de la sabiduría. Grandes serán sus jícaras, grandes sus vasos, grandes sus platos en los que tomen en común las sobras de agua que andan pidiendo de limosna, las migajas de las sobras del pan de maíz, las sobras de la limosna, eso será lo que coman en común. En este 5 Ahau Katun estará presente el enorme Ayín, Cocodrilo; entonces será cuando se asiente la presencia de Ho Habnal Tok, Cinco-pedernales-afilados, en el katun. Sucederá en Chacnacultun Ichcaansihó, Lugar-de-los-grandes-montones-de-piedras-labradas-recostadas, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, Saclactun, Piedras-blancas, en medio de la llanura, en el corazón de Chakan, país llano. Será el tiempo en que el katun señale con el dedo la provincia Itzá, Brujo-del-agua; caerá en el centro de la llanura, buscarase entonces a los hijos del día y a los hijos de la noche. Como puede no suceder, puede suceder. Ésta es la palabra para ti, el sin madre; para ti, el sin padre.

Año [15º] 1 Ix

El decimoquinto año tun en Uno Poop, Estera, en el katun. Entonces será cuando se encrespe Ah Xixteel Ul, El-rugoso-caracol-de-tierra, juntamente

con el maligno Xooc, Tiburón, porque el fuego les pegará y será entonces cuando se anuden unos a otros los tiburones de la cola, y pegue el fuego en el cielo y en las nubes. Será entonces cuando se mueva el cielo y se cubra la faz del Sol y se cubra la faz de la Luna. En este decimoquinto año tun morirá Xiuit, Yerba,[13] para la Máscara de Madera, porque insolente fue con su madre, insolente fue con su padre e insolente fue su numeroso linaje de infantes y mozos. Morirán sus restos de Halach Uiniques, Jefes; no tendrá ya sustitutos la nobleza ni tendrá sustitutos el jade, piedra preciosa. Morirá el maligno Xooc, Tiburón. Será entonces cuando se padezca y cuando se amontonen las calaveras. Nadie volverá a pensar en días festivos y de regocijo durante el katun, cuando desaparezcan los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, por el norte y por el poniente; porque discordia y oposición devoran los jaguares de los cerros. En el decimoquinto año tun será el padecimiento del katun cuando vengan las Xulab, Hormigas-carniceras, y las Chacuayabcab, Hormigas-carniceras-meleras, a causar la ruina de los del pozo, la ruina de los de la gruta, para que caiga la carga de su Halach Uinic, Jefe. Así lo dicen las sagradas pinturas y signos que los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, vieron en las piedras enhiestas, estelas de los katunes, cuando examinaron cómo venía la carga del katun que libraría a Hun Ahau, Uno-señor, cuando les dio a leer el libro de los siete linajes a los idólatras de Ah Buluc Am, El-once-piedra-labrada. En el decimoquinto año tun acontecerá. Perdidos serán entonces los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, advenedizos, y caerán de su cargo los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, advenedizos, en el decimoquinto año tun.

Año [16º] 2 Cauac

El decimosexto año tun día 2 Cauac, Trueno, en Uno Poop, Estera, serán medidos los katunes porque es el fin del 5 Ahau. Bajarán entonces navajas, bajarán piedras y estará patente la cuerda y la flecha en este decimosexto año tun. Entonces andarán a cuatro patas en sus milpas, a causa de la mirada de águila de Ah Tzay Kanche, El-certero-escabel, Ah Kay Kin Bak, El-que-vende-carne-de-día, Ah Tooc, El-quemador, Ah Dzuudz, El-enjuto. Entonces será cuando termine de molerse el jade, termine de molerse la piedra preciosa. Y se pudrirán las flechas cuando esté presente Kinich, Rostro-del-Sol, con Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador, para contemplarlos. Asentado estará su linaje sobre los dominadores extranjeros, sobre los del vestido de fiesta de los cerros. No tomarán ya su limosna las Ix Titibe, Maestras. Entonces será el tiempo de la muerte súbita, la que pega y derriba, la que derriba y golpea sacando vómitos de sangre, la que ablandará las amarras del katun. En 5 Ahau caerá este katun y en este mismo año será la destrucción de las milpas del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua. Atado quedará a un árbol Co Kin, Burla-del-Sol,[14] del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua; no caminará de día ni caminará de noche, sino que vuelcos dará el corazón del burlador del katun. Será entonces cuando le sean quitadas sus insignias a Ah Cantzicnal Bacab, El-vertedor-de-los-cuatro-rincones, entonces acabará su poder en el 2 Cauac, Trueno, cuando tiemble la tierra y salga de cabeza el katun, el katun de Ix Tol Och, La-ventruda-Zarigüeya, de la cuenta del juego del katun. Esto se entenderá si hubiere un Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, con alma íntegra y santa.

Año [17º] 3 Kan

El decimoséptimo año tun 3 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, en Uno Poop, Estera, ata la carga del katun. Vendados también tendrán sus rostros los Señores de la tierra durante su reinado porque no conocerán el juego del Katun 3 Kan. Despojados serán de sus manchas los jaguares rojos y los jaguares blancos, arrancadas les serán las uñas y los dientes a los jaguares de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua. Esto será cuando vengan grandes inundaciones y poderosos vientos y patente esté el rostro de Ku, Deidad, en la Estera y en el Trono y vaya y contemple su imagen en el árbol y en la piedra, y se marchen su Jícara y su Banco y su Estera, cuando tome su camino el 3 Ahau y venga el cambio de poder en su reinado y se cambien los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, en el cambio del katun, y venga el cambio del vaso y el cambio del plato y el cambio del gobierno, cuando se unan los Ah Mol Box, Los-juntadores-de-cortezas-para-preparar-el-vino-ceremonial,[15] al venir otra palabra, otro poder por el norte y por el poniente. En el decimoséptimo año tun regresará nuevamente al país el reinado del Katun 5 Ahau por detrás y por delante.

Año [18º] 4 Muluc

El decimoctavo año tun 4 Muluc, Inundación, es el tiempo en que el katun se agrega a otro, el tiempo en que se hace un conjunto de katunes para enterrarlos. Blanquearán entonces los huesos porque éstos serán años fieros y amontonará calaveras Ah Ox Kokol Tzek, El-tres-amontonador-de-cráneos, el barredor del país llano. Asolarán el país soles excesivos y muertes súbitas, días de sed, días de hambre. Faltará el agua, se secarán los manantiales y

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las venas de la tierra. Ensangrentados quedarán los caminos, ensangrentados quedarán los descansaderos, gritará la gente a la puerta de sus poblados por causa de Buluc Ch'abtan, Once-ayunador. Buluc Chuen, Once-mono-artífice, será el patrono en el poder. Llorará Ku, Deidad, llorará el mundo; será cuando recuerden sus linajes maternos y sus linajes paternos y los tres dobleces de katun pasados desde que murieron perdidos en los bosques y bajo las malezas por causa del poder del Sol según sus historias y tradiciones. Así ocurrirá en el decimo-octavo año tun, así aparecen los signos en el libro de los siete linajes que vio el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, cuando leyó la rueda de los katunes en compañía del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Napuctun, Piedra-labrada-de-línea-materna-llamada-Puc, Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, de Hun Uitzil Chac, Uno-chac-de-las-montañas, de Uxmal. Eso fue lo que dedujo de los signos pintados en el libro, según su entender, el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Ch'el, gran autoridad. Allí vieron cómo caería la carga según dijo el Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, que estaba ordenado por Hunab Ku, Única-deidad, Oxlahun ti Ku, Trece-deidades, que caería un año de reyertas y un solo pleito se oiría, según la explicación que dan los signos pintados. Podrá ser o podrá no ser lo que ocurrirá sobre los árboles de Chapat, Ciempiés-escolopendra. Si nos aconteciese a nosotros, ocurriría sobre el pan de maíz y sobre el agua, porque inmensa es la carga de este katun según aparece en los signos del libro y del katun, por el norte y por el sur del mundo. Aquí en Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, se hará espantable Ah Uuc Chapat, El-siete-ciempiés-escolopendra, y se hará espantable Ah Uuc Yol Sip, El-siete-corazón-ofrenda.

Año [19º] 5 Ix

Llega la carga del 5 Ix en el decimonoveno año tun en la agonía del katun cuando se ata la carga del 5 Ahau, cuando pasa Ah Cap Uah Tun, El-que-ordena-los-tunes, con su exceso de miseria. Entonces será cuando resuenen los instrumentos musicales de madera que se golpean y hable Ix Tan Yol Ha, La-que-está-en-el-corazón-del-agua. Será el tiempo en que se burle a sí misma Ix Tol Och, La-ventruda-zarigüeya, por el cambio de palabra y de asiento. En el decimonoveno año tun hablará Ah Uuc Tut, El-siete-de-la-ocarina, cuando retornen al país los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, y camine la estatua con máscara de cera y sea el colmo sangriento de Ix Tan Yol Chulul, La-que-está-en-el-corazón-del-agua-llovediza. Atrás quedarán los Señores estériles al término del poder porque otros Señores erigirán otro vaso y otra ropa con que azoten y descompongan la Máscara de Madera. En el 11 Ahau será el disputar la Estera; cuando las Máscaras de Madera se miren cara a cara, al término de la burla y de su apresamiento en los dos días, en los tres días del regreso al pozo y a la gruta, a la vuelta al ayuntamiento carnal en los linajes. El golpe seco de las tibias señalará el retorno de su poder, la vuelta del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, a causa del dolor excesivo y de la sed excesiva; regresarán pidiendo sus lugares y sus nuevas grutas. Será cuando tiemblen los cielos y la tierra y retumben Chaac, Lluvia Ix Chuah, La-llenadora, en el pozo y en la gruta. Retrocederá la Máscara de Madera para ser la burla del bellaco rojo, para ser la burla del bellaco blanco. Ah Maben Tok, El-de-la-caja-de-pedernal, será el poderoso del katun.

6 Cauac, Trueno, es el día del vigésimo año tun; llega el tiempo en que se toma de la mano. Durante su transcurso habrá muerte súbita y disputas de Ah Uucte Cuy, El-siete-tecolote, Chacmitan Choc, Gran-podredumbre, cuando se golpeen los katunes. A la orilla del mar estará Ah Maycuy, El-tecolote-venado; en Dzidzontun, Lugar-de-las-piedras-puntudas-como-pezuñas; y Chac Hubil Ahau, Señor-muy-revoltoso, en Sihomal, Lugar-de-amoles. Será el tiempo en que se extiendan las tripas de Kukulcan, Serpiente-quetzal, será el katun en que recule Ah Chichic Soot, El-que-agita-la-sonaja; agitará la sonaja pidiendo su limosna y llamando con la mano al vigésimo año tun. Sonará la sonaja por segunda vez en compañía de Ix Tan Yol Ha, La-que-está-en-el-corazón-del-agua, para que tome su limosna de lascivo semen recogido en las hijas y en los hijos de Tzintzin Coc Xul, Concha-de-tortuga-musical-de-vara, pero sólo dirán su palabra hasta el 6 Cauac, Trueno, porque entonces se levantará Amayte Ku, Cuadrado-deidad, y se extenderá sobre la ceiba el Quetzal, y se arrojarán los restos del katun echando por delante a los lisiados y corcovados y por atrás al maligno Xooc, Tiburón. Entonces se hará presente Ah Piltec [*Piltzintecuhtli*] a tomar su limosna. Por el poniente será que se encuentren y se devoren entre sí y al terminar el poder del 5 Ahau se yerga para ser reverenciado. En el vigésimo año tun acontecerá el apresarse los unos a los otros. Profunda cosa es decir lo que está en la sobrecarga del katun.

Año 7 Kan

7 Kan, Piedra-preciosa, es el día del término y camino del katun que tiene la Estera y el Trono. Dejará el vaso colmado de miseria el katun. Grande será el hambre que erija Ah Uaxac Yol Kauil, El-ocho-corazón-sagrado, cuando llegue su tiempo al katun y cuatro caminos se formen en el cielo, y se abra la tierra, y el cielo se voltee al poniente y al oriente entristecido. Tal será la carga de su reinado. Vendado tendrá su rostro, perdido será el Trono y perdida la Estera cuando finalice el siete Kan al final del katun en el día de su muerte. Pero tendrá su pan y pedirá su pedernal de sacrificio, pedirá su limosna cuando se mueva el día 7 Kan, Piedra-preciosa.

Chek Oc Katun. Pisada del Katun

13 Oc, Coyote, será el día en que pise el katun al 2 Cauac, Trueno, cuando dé vuelta en el doblez del katun, cuando deje la Estera y el Trono y venga el cambio del vaso y del reinado, el cambio de la Estera y el cambio del Trono, cuando caiga la carga del 5 Ahau y mire hacia atrás para recoger su limosna. Sin vaso y sin Estera arrojará su poder y se levantará hacia otro mundo, pero esto sólo ocurrirá al final de la carga del katun sobre las divisiones de las ceibas en la tierra. Entonces llorará Mayapan, Estandarte-venado, Maycú, Tecolote-venado; asentará sus linajes en el pozo y en la gruta. Entonces será cuando haya muerte de venados [víctimas] por muerte súbita y gusaneras de Moscas, al fin de los katunes, en el doblez del katun.

U MUTIL CHUENIL KIN SANSAMAL O PRONOSTICOS DE LOS SIGNOS DIARIOS[1]

Kan

Ix Kan, Señora-del-maíz. Rico también. Maestros de todas artes. Ix Kokobta, El-pájaro-Merula, es su anuncio. Los preciosos cantores, su ave. Chac Imix Che, El-árbol-de-la-ceiba-roja, es su árbol. Sabio.

Chicchan

Ah Tzab Ti Can, La-serpiente-del-crótalo, es su anuncio que viene juntamente con su árbol. Habin, El-ichtyomethia, es su árbol. De fuego es su ánimo. Malo es su destino. Asesino.

Cimi

Ah Cuy Manab, El-tecolote-agorero. Torpe su anuncio que viene con su árbol. Asesino. Muy malo su destino igualmente.

Manik

Ah Xop, El-loro, Ah Yaxum, El-pájaro-verde (Quetzal), Ah Uitz, El-de-la-montaraz, es su anuncio. El Cacao, el verdadero Cacao, es su árbol. Sangrientas sus garras. Malo también.

Lamat

Borracho. Disforme perro es su anuncio. De jaguar es su cabeza, de perro su trasero. Entrometido. Hablador. Deshonesto en el hablar. Experimentador de aborrecimiento mutuo. Sembrador de cizaña. Grande.

Muluc

Ah Xoc, El-tiburón, y Ah Balam, El-jaguar, son su anuncio. Devorador de sus hijos. Devorador de sus esposas. Mortecinos niños. Mortecinas esposas. Rico. Matador de zarigüeyas también.

Oc

Ah Cen, el-adornado; Ah Zuli, El-de-vida-regalada, son sus anuncios. Ix Kili, El-lorito-Conorus, es su ave, su anuncio. Adúltero. Desfalleciente. Sin juicio. Cizañero también. Sin entendimiento.

Chuen

Artífice de la madera. Artífice del tejer es su anuncio. Maestro de todas artes. Muy rico toda su vida. Muy buenas todas las cosas que hiciere. Juicioso.

Eb

Ah Uitz Dziu, El-serrano-tordito-de-ojos-colorados, es su anuncio. Rico cuya riqueza es de la comunidad. Buen rico. Lo de la comunidad es su hacienda. Dadivoso. Buen hombre. No será cicatero. Muy bueno.

Been

Ah Kauil, El-mendigo, es su anuncio. Ah Kuklis, El-pobre, es su anuncio. Mísero. Plebeyo. Pobre.

Ix

Bravo jaguar. Sangrienta su boca. Sangrientas sus garras. Carnicero. Devorador de carne. Asesino.

Men

Ah Dzunacat, El-alegre-y-regocijado, es su anuncio.

Maestro de todas las artes. Muy bueno. Hablará pronto. De palabra santa también.

Cib

Ah Sip, El-ofrenda (venado), es su anuncio. Ladrón. Temperamento de cazador. Valiente. Asesino también. Sin buen destino. Malo.

Caban

Ah Colomte, El-pájaro-carpintero, es su anuncio. Sabio y prudente comerciante. Sangrador y curandero. Bueno. Juicioso.

Edznab

Sangrador de fiebres. Pedernal tallado. Toh, El-pájaro-momoto es su anuncio. Sano. Sangrador y curandero. Valiente.

Cauac

Ah Kukum El-quetzal, es su anuncio. Cuando es cargador de año anuncia enfermedad y miseria. El cacao es su árbol, el verdadero cacao. Muy imaginativo. Noble.

Ahau

Rapaz águila es su anuncio. Devoramiento y muerte de niños. Rico. Juicioso. Valiente. Bueno.

Imix

El pan de maíz. Nicte, La-flor-de-mayo, es su anuncio. Nicte, La-flor-de-mayo, es su árbol. El cometa es su anuncio. Pecador libidinoso. Deshonesto. El más bellaco hombre. Indeciso, dudoso.

Ik

Los vientos son su anuncio. Aire de muy bellaco.

Aire de cometa. Nicte, La-flor-de-mayo, es su árbol. Deshonesto. Hombre muy lascivo. Malo es su destino.

Akbal

Ah akbal Yalam, El-noche (estrellado)-cervatillo, es su anuncio. Mísero. Plebeyo. Sin porvenir. Pobre. Cazador.

JACULATORIAS DE LOS AH KINES*

Palabras del Ah Kin Napuctun

Palabras del Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, Napuctun, Piedra-preciosa-de-línea-materna-llamada-Puc: "Arderá la tierra, se harán círculos en el cielo durante la potencia de Kauil, Deidad, que erguida estará en el tiempo que está por venir. Arderá la tierra, arderán las pezuñas en el katun que viene. Cuando diga su palabra sus almas lo verán y llorarán su miseria en el tiempo que viene, cuando sobrepujadas sean sus almas por el sufrimiento y reciba su galardón aquel que la sobrepasará con padecimientos".

* Estos textos, llamados "Las Profecías", han sido publicados por Lizana (1633 y 1893), Cogolludo (1688 y ediciones siguientes), Brasseur de Bourbourg (1857-59 y 1869-70: la primera vez da el texto de Lizana y la segunda el mismo de Lizana con traducción francesa), Castillo (1866: la versión de Cogolludo), Carrillo y Ancona (1870 y 1872: la versión del Pérez), Brinton (1868: da en inglés una versión basándose en las de Lizana y Brasseur), Charencey (1873: la versión de Lizana, la de Brasseur y la suya propia en francés), De Rosny (1875 y 1904: su propia traducción francesa, comparada con las de Lizana y Brasseur), Orozco y Berra (1880: la de Napuc Tun y parcialmente las otras), Carrillo y Ancona (1883: da una nueva traducción), Brinton (1882: la de Nahau Pech, que reproduce Troncoso, 1883, agregando la versión de Lizana), Brinton (1882c: la versión de Kauil Chel del Chumayel), Brinton (1890a: nuevamente la de Nahau Pech). Tozzer (1921, pp. 120-30) publicó un cotejo de las versiones de la de Chilam Balam que aparecen en los Libros de Chilam Balam de Tizimín, Chumayel y en Lizana, con traducciones de él mismo y de Martínez Hernández. Otros autores las han comentado o publicado par-

Palabras de Ah Kauil Chel, sacerdote idólatra [*sic*]

Palabras de Ah Kauil Ch'el, El-santo-Ch'el: "Salen las pinturas del katun, ¡oh padre! No habrá quien entienda cómo vienen; ni aun quien las puso en la rueda de los katunes, ¡oh padre! El rigor de la miseria vendrá para el norte y para el poniente cuando esto sea, ¡oh padre!; ¿quién será el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, el Bobat, Profeta, que pueda explicar el sentido de los signos, oh padre, aquellos que caen dentro del 9 Ahau? No se entenderá en toda la extensión del mundo. ¡Con qué regocijo reinabais antes y cómo lloraréis vosotros los que señoreáis la tierra! Tenedlo presente, ¡oh Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua!"

Palabras de Nahau Pech, Gran Sacerdote [*sic*]

"Cuando se entienda ese tiempo, ¡oh padre!, llorarán los poderosos, será en el tiempo del cuarto katun cuando venga la verdadera ofrenda, cuando sea el día de Ku, Deidad. Entonces será cuando recordemos llorando lo que te entregamos a ti, ¡oh padre!

"Mirad ya en el camino a vuestros huéspedes, los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua; ellos serán los amos y señores de la tierra cuando lleguen; considerad esto, ponedlo en vuestro entendimiento, os lo dice Nahau Pech, Garrapata-de-línea-materna-llamada-Hau, Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar. Hacia el fin del

cialmente. Recientemente han sido publicadas las versiones del Libro de Chilam Balam de Chumayel en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933), quien llama a estos textos Profecías de una Nueva Religión (cf. Tozzer, 1921, pp. 192-94).

katun, ¡oh padre!, perdidos serán los Sinic Uinic, Hormigas-hombres, perdidos serán los que vigilan el sustento, los que husmean el sustento, las aves de rapiña del sustento, las Siniques, Hormigas, los Dz'iues, Torditos-de-ojos-rojos, los Kaues, Tordos-grandes, los Piches, Tordos-negros, los Xpuciles, Ratones-domésticos!"

PALABRAS DE NATZIN YABUN CHAN, AH KIN

"Acontecerá la palabra de Hahal Ku, Verdadera-Deidad, en el Petén, País-llano. Ésta es la enseñanza que muestra, el provecho que dará, ¡oh padre!: Los Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar, serán los destructores en el tiempo que viene; consideradlo, ponedlo en vuestro entendimiento. El rigor del fuego vuestras almas lo recibirán verdaderamente. Apartaos ya, dejad ya a vuestras deidades, Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, olvidaos ya de vuestras perecederas y míseras deidades; postraos en adoración de Hahal Ku, Verdadera-deidad, la poderosa sobre todas las cosas, ¡oh padre!, la creadora del cielo y de la tierra en toda su extensión. Dolorosas han de serte mis palabras, ¡oh Maya Itzá, Brujo-del-agua-maya!, a ti que no quieres oír de otro Dios [*sic*], a ti que crees que tus deidades valen, pero habrás de creer las palabras de mi prédica!"

PALABRAS DE CHILAM BALAM, AH KIN,
QUE ES CANTOR EN CABALCHÉN MANÍ

"El 13 Ahau es cuando se asentará el katun que será el tiempo de los Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua, que será el tiempo en que esté erguido el Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, en el medio de los pueblos, ¡oh padre! La señal de Hunab Ku, Única-deidad del cielo, se hará

manifiesta con el Uaom Ché, Madero-enhiesto,[1] que se mostrará al mundo cuando sea el amanecer, ¡oh padre! Acabadas serán las contiendas, acabadas serán las perfidias cuando llegue el mensajero de la señal de Ku, Deidad, en el tiempo que venga.

"A la distancia de un grito, a la distancia de una jornada están ya, ¡oh padre!, los hombres Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar. ¡Veréis entonces al ave sobresalir por encima del Uaom Che, Madero-erguido, en el despertar del mundo en el norte y en el poniente! ¡Despertad ya a Itzamná Kauil, Sagrado-brujo-del-agua! Adorad ya la señal de Ku, Deidad, en el tiempo que venga.

"A la distancia de un grito, a la distancia de una jornada están ya, ¡oh padre!, los hombres Ah Kines, Sacerdotes-del-culto-solar. ¡Veréis entonces al ave sobresalir por encima del Uaom Che, Madero-erguido, en el despertar del mundo en el norte y en el poniente! Despertad ya a Itzamná Kauil, Sagrado-brujo-del-agua, que ya viene vuestro padre, ¡oh Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua! Vienen ya vuestros Hermanos Mayores, los de las piedras jades; recibid a vuestros huéspedes los de las barbas, los del oriente, los que traen la señal de Ku, Deidad, ¡oh padre!

"Bueno es el poder de Ku, Deidad, que viene a nosotros a vivificarnos, no atemorices al mundo, ¡oh padre!, tú que eres Hunab Ku, Única-deidad, el creador, nuestro creador; bueno será tu poder, Ku, Deidad, ¡oh padre!, cuidador de nuestra alma, el que al recibirnos no recibe sino lo que él mismo crea, el que tiene al cielo tras de él! ¡Entonces será el tiempo y el comienzo de la humanidad del signo Dos Sol, erguid su señal ahora, contemplad su señal ahora, levantad el Uaom Che, Madero-enhiesto!

"El cambio que hoy se anuncia, el sustituto que se muestra tras la ceiba al mundo, es la señal de

Hunab Ku, Única-deidad, la que viene de los cielos, la que habréis de adorar, ¡oh Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua! Adorad ya la señal de Ku, Deidad, la del cielo, poned vuestra voluntad para adorarla, adorad a Hahal Ku, Verdadera-deidad, creed en el poder de Hunab Ku, Única-deidad del cielo, que viene a hablarnos, avivad vuestros corazones, ¡oh Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua! Amanecerá el mundo para los que crean en él dentro del otro katun, ¡oh padre!; llanto es mi palabra, yo, Chilam Balam, Brujo-intérprete, al explicar la palabra de Hahal Ku, Deidad-verdadera, a todo el mundo cuando voy por todas las provincias de la tierra explicando la palabra de Hahal Ku, Deidad-verdadera.

"En el año noveno del 1 Ahau, el señor de los cielos y la tierra hará buena su palabra celestial, ¡oh padre!, vendrá sobre nosotros, sobre nuestras almas Hahal Ku, Deidad-verdadera; ellos son los que lo habrán querido, ¡oh padre! Muy pesada es la carga que soportarán los Ixcuch luum idzinil, Los-hermanos-menores-que-soportan-la-carga-de-la-tierra; aplacadas, dominadas, sometidas estarán sus voluntades; muerto el corazón de la Flor de Mayo, de los disputadores, de los deslenguados, de los ofrecedores de mujeres, flor de perversidades, de deshonestos desvaríos, los de poder de dos días los que ponen deshonestidad en los Tronos, los desvergonzados de la Flor de Mayo, los de abominables amores, los de poder de dos días, los de bancos de dos días, los de jícaras de dos días, los de tocados sombreros de dos días, los lascivos del día, los lascivos de la noche, los Maax, Monos del mundo, los que tuercen la garganta, los que parpadean los ojos, los que tuercen la boca a los Señores de la tierra, ¡oh padre!, los que carecen de verdad en sus palabras, los extranjeros del pueblo,

los que dicen que son verdaderamente respetables, los hijos del hombre de las Uuc Tocoynaob, Siete-casas-desiertas, los hijos de las mujeres de las Uuc Tocoynaob, Siete-casas-desiertas, ¡oh padre!

"¿Quién será el Ah Bobat, Profeta, quién será el Ah Kin, Sacerdote-del-culto-solar, que pueda explicar rectamente las palabras de estos signos jeroglíficos?"

EL LENGUAJE DE ZUYUA Y SU SIGNIFICADO*

PARTE I

El lenguaje de Zuyua y su significado. Para nuestro señor capitán Mariscal establecido en Tzucuaxim al oriente de Ichcaansihó, Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo. Allí tiene su tierra, allí tiene sus huertos y su solar en donde él reside hasta que llegue el día en que finalice su empleo. También se pone cómo dan el poder los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de gran poder, de gran vestido también.

Hoy día cuatro del mes de septiembre del año de 1628 hemos compuesto lo que aquí está escrito en lengua maya para que cualquiera que viese este papel escrito sepa entender lo que es la palabra de Zuyua, la que usan los Batabes, Los-del-hacha de los pueblos, con los hombres que son alcaldes [*sic*] y regidores [*sic*].

Éste era el lenguaje que solicitaban los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de los pueblos, al llegar al término del poder del 3 Ahau Katun cuando se asienta el otro, el 1 Ahau Katun. Era lo que había dentro del otro katun, así se decía.

Cuando el katun presente es el 3 Ahau, éstos son los años que le faltan: 3 años para que deje de reinar,[1] mientras tanto, el 1 Ahau Katun reside en el interior de la casa del 3 Ahau, lo está visitando y está recibiendo los agasajos del 3 Ahau Katun.

Éstos son los acertijos y adivinanzas que tenía el

* Se ha publicado la versión del Libro de Chilam Balam de Chumayel en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933).

katun que hoy termina y llega hoy el tiempo en que que sean interrogados con acertijos los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los poblados, para ver si saben cómo es que merecen el Señorío, si es que lo saben por generación, si es cierto que lo saben y comprenden los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, y Halach Uiniques, Jefes, como jefes que son. Si es cierto que descienden los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de Ahaues, Señores Príncipes, de Halach Uiniques, Jefes, realmente, han de demostrarlo. Éste es el primer acertijo que se les hace: Se les pedirá la comida. "Traedme el Sol", dirá el Halach Uinic, Jefe, a los Batabes, Los-del-hacha. "Traedme el Sol, hijos míos, para tenerlo en mi plato. Hincada ha de tener la lanza de la alta cruz en el centro de su corazón en donde tiene asentado a Yax Bolon, Jaguar-verde, bebiendo sangre. Esto es habla de Zuyua." Esto es lo que se les pide: el Sol es un gran huevo frito y la lanza con la alta cruz hincada en su corazón a que se refiere, es la bendición, y el jaguar verde sentado encima bebiendo sangre, es el chile verde cuando comienza a ponerse colorado.[2] Así es el habla de Zuyua.

El segundo acertijo que se les hace es que vayan en busca de los sesos del cielo para que el Halach Uinic, Jefe, los vea y sepa de qué tamaño son. "Tengo deseos de verlos, debo mirarlos", les dice. Los sesos del cielo son el copal, así es el habla de Zuyua.

El tercer acertijo que se les hace es pedirles que construyan una gran casa de siete horcones de alto y de una sola columna. Esta gran casa es el Yahau P'ooc, gran tocado señorial. Se les dirá también que suban sobre Yahau Sasac Tzimin, el caballo[3] [tapir] de vestiduras blancas señoriales, con una manta blanca, y que en la mano lleven la sonaja blanca haciéndola sonar al Tzimin, caballo, y que la

flor de la sonaja tenga sangre cuajada. Habla es que viene y sale de Zuyua. El caballo blanco que se les pide es la sandalia de fibra de henequén y la sonaja blanca dicha y la manta blanca, son las Flores de Mayo de centro blanco, y la sangre cuajada en la flor de la sonaja que se les pide, es el amarillo de oro que tiene en medio la flor y simboliza que de la Flor de Mayo proviene la sangre de ofrendas, la sangre de los huérfanos de madre, de los huérfanos de padre, de los miserables. Así es el habla de Zuyua.

El cuarto acertijo que se les hace es que vayan a sus hogares diciéndoles: "Hijos míos, cuando vengáis a verme, ha de ser precisamente cuando el Sol está en el medio del cielo, seréis dos y vendréis muy juntos vosotros, muchachos, y cuando lleguéis aquí, vuestro perro doméstico ha de venir tras de vosotros y que traiga cogida con sus dientes el alma de Cilich Colel, Sagrada-Señora, cuando vengáis. Habla es de Zuyua." Los dos muchachos de que se les habla que han de venir juntos justamente en el mediodía, es él mismo cuando venga pisando su sombra, y el perro que se pide que venga con ellos es su propia esposa, y el alma de Cilich Colel, Sagrada-señora, son las grandes candelas [*sic*], hachas [*sic*] de cera. Tal es el habla de Zuyua.

El quinto acertijo que se les hace es pedirles que busquen el corazón de Ku Citbil ti Caan, Señor-deidad-del-cielo, y cuando lo traigan, que de trece capas extendidas sea su lecho y que venga envuelto en vestiduras toscas de color blanco. El corazón de Ku Citbil, Señor-deidad, que se les pide es la piedra Kan,[4] el Maíz, la piedra preciosa, y su estrado de trece capas extendidas son los Yahau Uah, Pastel-de-tortilla-de-maíz-de-trece-capas-rellenas-de-frijoles,[5] y la tosca manta blanca en que viene envuelto es la servilleta blanca.

El sexto acertijo que se les hace es pedirles que busquen las ramas del Cho, Pochote-espinoso, y la cuerda de tres hilos y el bejuco vivo. "Quiero que le dé sabor a mi comida mañana, tengo deseos de comerlo, hace tiempo que no veo que se mastique el tronco del pochote espinoso", esto es lo que se les dirá. El tronco del pochote espinoso es Chop, Lagartija; la cuerda de tres hilos es la cola de Huh, Iguana, y el bejuco viviente son las tripas del Keken, Cerdo (Pecari), el tronco del pochote espinoso es el tronco del rabo del Chop, Lagartija; así es el habla de Zuyua.

El séptimo acertijo que se les hace es decirles: "Id a reunir para mí las tapas del fondo de los cenotes, que dos sean blancas y dos amarillas, tengo deseos de comerlas." Las tapas del cenote que se les pide son jícamas, dos jícamas blancas y dos jícamas amarillas; esto, en Zuyua se entiende.

Los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, que no cumplan el contenido de estas palabras, que no sean por ellos comprendidas ante los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, que son los que tienen la mayor importancia entre los naturales, serán aprehendidos, y tristeza y espanto caerá sobre sus casas, y tristeza y dolor llorará el pueblo en el centro de los poblados, y en las casas de los nobles entrará la muerte, no quedando ninguno vivo. Esto es lo que habrá sobre los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los pueblos, según el ejemplo que está en la pintura para que sepan cuán dolorosamente terminará para ellos el señorío de este Ahau. Con las manos atadas serán conducidos delante de su padre el Ahau Halach Uinic, Señor-Príncipe-Jefe; ése es el término de los falsos Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los desvariados de Kin, Sol, de los impuros de la época. Al término de su batabilado es cuando

sentirán el dolor, ésta es la orden para cuando termine el poder del katun.

Cuando termine el poder del 3 Ahau Katun se aprehenderán los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los pueblos, que carezcan de entendimiento, por eso se les aprehende, ésta es la memoria de por qué se les aprehende; porque no dieron de comer a los Halach Uiniques cuando éstos les pidieron su comida con acertijos; por eso son ahorcados y por eso les son cortadas las puntas de las lenguas y por eso les son arrancados los ojos en el tiempo en que termina el poder del katun. Sus descendientes se presentan ante los Ahaues Halach Uiniques, Señores-príncipes-Jefes, de rodillas, a pedir clemencia y prudencia, y si tienen entendimiento, les entregan la Estera y el Trono. Esto es lo que muestra la pintura. Felices se ven los descendientes de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes de la tierra, los que tienen ánimo, que son los que reciben la Gran Vara [*sic*]. Así es como establecían en sus puestos a los descendientes de los linajes reales los hombres mayas, aquí en esta tierra de Yucatán, en toda su redondez, y que Dios [*sic*] mediante ha de seguirse cumpliendo en la tierra. El Señor que viene a nuestro gobierno, a nuestro poder y que es auténtico Señor, inquirirá por Ku, Deidad nuestra, y por nuestras piedras labradas Tunes y por nuestras piedras preciosas Kanes y por el árbol que da el vino Balché, y aquel que no lo hiciere será muerto y aquel que lo hiciere y nos respete tendrá a Dios [*sic*] con él. No quiera Dios [*sic*] que todo lo que aquí está pintado acontezca.

Parte II

Ésta es la cosa más importante que asiento: Cómo los nobles que descienden de Batabes, Los-del-ha-

cha, saben cómo llega su linaje a la realeza y al gobierno y se regocijan de su juicio y prudencia y se sujetan respetuosamente a los grandes Halach Uiniques, Jefes, quienes les entregarán la Estera y el Trono; la Estera y el Trono que les había sido traicionada; la Estera y el Trono que había sido enterrada en la casa que está bajo el suelo,[6] que había sido pisoteada y arrastrada por la tierra por los desvariados de Kin, Sol, los impuros del katun, los hijos de las mujeres de la Luna, los hijos de mujeres deshonestas, los hijos de los hombres bellacos, los de Estera de dos días, los Maax Ahaues, Monos-Señores-príncipes, los Maax Katun, los Monos-del-katun, los que estuvieron caminando dentro del 3 Ahau Katun; cesará ya el poder de Bolon Buth, Nueve-ahíto, en el corazón del linaje de la nobleza, de sus hombres y señores que no pasarán ya si no saben decir todo, si no lo saben todo, cuando se les diga que vayan a tomar su cargo de Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los pueblos, que vayan a buscarlo y a tomarlo. Que se les diga: "Hijo mío, búscame la flor de la noche, tráela aquí", así dirán, y entonces irán de rodillas ante el Halach Uinic que lo pida. "Padre, amo, he aquí la flor de la noche que me pides; trae la luz de la noche, aquí está conmigo", así dirá. "Así pues, hijo mío, si está contigo, ¿acaso está detrás de ti Ix Dzoy, La-flaca, en el gran amate?"[7] "Padre, amo, está conmigo, vino conmigo." "Así pues, hijo mío, si está contigo, si vino contigo, llama pues a tus parientes, al viejo de nueve hijos y a la vieja de nueve hijos." "Padre —dirá cuando responda—, vinieron conmigo, aquí están detrás de mí, delante de mí estaban cuando venía a verte." "Así pues, hijo, si están detrás de ti, reune las piedras de la sabana y tráelas en una brazada contra tu pecho si realmente eres de la

raza de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, y de la raza de los Ahaues, Señores-príncipes de esta tierra, si puedes comprender el habla de Zuyua." La flor de la noche que se le pide es la estrella del cielo y la luz de la noche que la acompaña es la Luna. La Ix Dzoy es el amate llamado Copó. El gran amate es el Ah Cuch Cab, El-de-los-bienes-de-la-comunidad, el tesorero, al cual llaman Otlomcabal, Consejero; el viejo que se pide, el de nueve hijos, el dedo gordo del pie; la vieja que se pide, la de nueve hijos, es el dedo gordo de la mano. Las piedras de la sabana que se le piden diciéndole que debe de traer a sus hijos abrazados contra su pecho, son las codornices; esto se entiende en Zuyua. Así también: "Hijo mío, ¿dónde está tu primer tío hermano de madre, aquel de quien te dije que no deberías de mirarle a la cara?" "Aquí está detrás de mí, oh padre." Otra vez le dice: "Así pues, hijo mío, ve a buscarme el cordón umbilical del cielo y tráemelo aquí; has de venir por el oriente y debes de traerlo a tus espaldas." La respuesta es: "Así ha de ser, oh padre", y se irá. Habla es ésta de Zuyua. El primer tío hermano de madre que viene con él es su propio colodrillo y el cordón umbilical del cielo que se le pide es el copal elaborado en figuras de trece modos distintos, y cuando se le dice que lo traiga a sus espaldas se refiere a su sombra cuando el Sol declina. Esto, se entiende en Zuyua.

Hijo mío, si eres Halach Uinic, Jefe, si eres poderoso príncipe, búscame las cuentas [*sic*] verdes con que tú oras." Estas cuentas verdes que se le piden son sus cuentas verdes, y luego le pregunta: "¿Cuánto tiempo oras?" "Oh padre —dirá—, en el día 1 yo oro y en el día 10 también oro." "¿Y en qué días es cuando alzas tu oración?" "Oh padre, los días 9 y los días 13; oro a Bolon ti Ku, Nueve-

deidad, y a Oxlahun Citbil, Trece-ordenador;[8] entonces es cuando cuento y repaso mis cuentas" [*sic*]. Habla es ésta de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme tu braguero-ceñidor para que yo lo huela; más que el centro del cielo quiero sentir su olor, el olor de tu ropa, el olor de tu carne, más que el olor del centro del cielo y más que el olor del centro de las nubes, y tráeme mi primer desayuno, el que está en la jicarita blanca labrada, si eres realmente Halach Uinic, Jefe." "Oh, padre, lo traeré", dirá. El olor del braguero-ceñidor que se le pide, aquel que es más oloroso que el centro del cielo, es el copal encendido cuando arde, y su primer alimento es el cacao molido, su chocolate. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme la preciosa sangre de tu hija, su cabeza y sus entrañas, sus fémures y sus brazos que te dije encerraras en la olla nueva y la taparas, y tráeme también el precioso banco de tu hija, enséñamelo, tengo deseos de mirar todo eso; hace tiempo te lo di, cuando ante mí gemiste, cuando ante mí estalló tu llanto." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!, vendré a traerte las antenas de Ah Bol, Abeja-montesa-melera-sin-aguijón, para que se ahuyente." La preciosa sangre de su hija que se le pide es el Balché, Vino-ceremonial-de-miel;[9] las entrañas de su hija son las bolsitas de miel de la colmena, y la cabeza de su hija es la olla nueva en que se fermenta el Balché, Vino-ceremonial-de-miel. El precioso banco de su hija que se le pide es la piedra fina llamada Couoh, de la miel [¿ámbar?]. Y cuando de las orejas o antenas de Ah Bol, Abeja-montesa-melera-sin-aguijón, se habla, es dar el fermento del Balché, Vino-ceremonial-de-miel, y el fémur de la hija son las cortezas del árbol Balché que sirven para fermentar el vino Balché, y los brazos de la

hija, las ramas del árbol Balché y cuando se le dijo que había llorado, menciona la embriaguez que le viene, cuando se contorsiona y murmura reverencias como corresponde a los grandes Señores. "He aquí a mi hija, la que me diste para que yo cuidase, de la que me hablas, padre; tú, Ah Tepal, El-poderoso." Así dirá a su hijo, el siervo: "Oh tú, hijo, Halach Uinic, Jefe, como yo; Ah Tepal, El-poderoso, como yo; conque tú sabes esto, conque tú lo recuerdas", dirá. La preciosa sangre de la hija que pide es que trece veces lo pase [el vino ceremonial], y trece veces llore acostado afuera; mientras está tendido llorando dice: "¡Oh, hijo mío, verdaderamente eres Halach Uinic, Jefe; hijo mío, verdaderamente eres Ah Tepal, El-poderoso, al igual enteramente que yo; te entrego tu Estera, te entrego tu Trono, te entrego tu Señorío a ti, que eres mi hijo; para ti será el poder, para ti será el Señorío, oh tú, mi hijo!" Habla es de Zuyua.

Así es como se hace entrega del poder a los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, de los poblados. Hasta entonces es cuando salen de la presencia de los grandes Halach Uiniques, Jefes, que están en la cabecera del país llano; hasta entonces pueden marchar a sus lugares e irse a sus casas. Allí les solicitan su comida los Halach Uiniques de esta manera:

"Hijo mío, tráeme cuatro Chac Dzidzib, Pájaros-cardenales, aquellos que están a la entrada de la cueva, y tráelos parados sobre mi precioso alimento. Que les vea enrojecidos sus copetes y que vengan erguidos sobre mi precioso alimento cuando llegues ante mí." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Esto que pide es el Ciui, Achiote-en-pasta; los copetes de que habla es la espuma del chocolate, y su precioso desayuno es el cacao acabado de moler. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, has de traerme los Ch'ich'il Akab, Pájaros-nocturnos, y el brillo de la noche, juntamente con los sesos del cielo; tengo muchos deseos de mirarlos aquí." "Así ha de ser, señor." Lo que se le pide es el recipiente en el cual se quema el copal, y el brillo de la noche que se le pide es la piedra preciosa, y los sesos del cielo, el copal.[10] Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme los huesos de tu padre, aquellos que enterraste hace tres años; tengo muchos deseos de mirarlos." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide es la yuca cocida bajo tierra para comida del Halach Uinic, Jefe. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme un viejo que no tenga abrochados los botones [*sic*], en su jubón [*sic*], el llamado Hom To Chac, Hundido-en-la-lluvia." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide es el Ibach Huech, Armadillo.[11] Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, trae para mí tres rayas del cielo; tengo deseos de comerlas." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide es el Sacab, Bebida-de-maíz-sin-cal.[12] En el lenguaje de Zuyua se pedirá todo.

"Hijo mío, tráeme un tronco de henequén, un tronco sin brazos pero con corazón, que venga muy adornado con tallos y flores de dzidzil." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide es la cabeza del Keken, cerdo silvestre, cocida bajo tierra, hecha para el servicio del Halach Uinic, Jefe. El corazón a que se refiere es la lengua, porque su lengua es como su corazón. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme el Cos, Gavilán, que anda en la noche, para que yo lo coma." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide son pollos [*sic*] de cresta. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, di a Ix Dzoy, La-flaca, la que nombran Otlom Cabal, Consejera,[13] que me traiga una canasta

de Pich'umes, Tordos-negros, que los recoja de debajo de la gran higuera en donde están tendidos, debajo del gran Copó, Higuera." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide son frijoles negros, los que están en la casa del Ah Cuch Cab, El-que-guarda-los-bienes-de-la-comunidad, tesorero. Yax Dzoy, Gran-flaca, Otlomcabal, Consejero, es lo que dicen. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, agarra el jaguar de la gruta; lo quiero para dar sabor a mi comida, tengo deseos de comerlo." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" El jaguar que se le pide es el Haleu,[14] Tepezcuintle. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme a los huérfanos de padre envueltos en siete capas; tengo deseos de comerlos porque éste es el día en que deben comerse." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que se le pide es el Dzotob Chay, Tamalitos-rellenos-de-huevo-en-salsa-de-semilla-de-calabaza-envueltos-en-hojas-de-chaya.[15] Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme la claridad que alumbra el Petén, País llano, tengo deseos de comerla." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide es la miel líquida. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme la piedra ardiendo del horno de la cal, trae también el agua para que la apague; aquí ante mí ha de reventar." Habla es de Zuyua. Lo que se le pide es el Macal, Name, cocido bajo tierra, y el agua que pide para apagarlo es la miel líquida. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, trae para mí la luciérnaga de la noche, aquella que al norte y al poniente deja pasar su olor; que venga lamida por la lengua del Balam, Brujo." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide son cigarros y la lamida de la lengua del Balam, Brujo, es el fuego que necesitan. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme a tu niña, la del albo rostro, para que yo la vea, la de bella toca blanca, la de moño anudado, tengo deseos de ella." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide es la jícara blanca llena de Sacab, Agua-de-maíz-sin-cal. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme lo que se llama Sabel, Melones [*sic*], para que yo los coma, los de delicado perfume que trasciende." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide son melones [*sic*]. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme las lombrices retorcidas y azulosas, tengo deseos de comerlas." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide son pescuezos de guajolote. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme una doncella de blancas y relucientes pantorrillas aquí, quiero alzarle su enagua hasta los muslos." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide es la jícama; alzarle la enagua hasta los muslos es quitarle la cáscara. Habla es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme una bella muchacha de cara blanca, que tengo deseos de ella. Aquí le quitaré su enagua y camisa huipil; aquí ante mí ha de ser." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide es una guajolota para comer. Quitarle su enagua y su camisa huipil es desplumarla para asarla y comerla.

"Hijo mío, tráeme aquí un guardián de milpa anciano; tengo deseos de mirar su rostro." "Así ha de ser, ¡oh padre!" Lo que pide es un Macal, Name, para comer. Adivinanza es de Zuyua.

"Hijo mío, tráeme aquí una vieja que cuide milpas, que tenga el cuerpo negro y las nalgas de siete palmos; tengo deseos de mirarla." Lo que pide es el fruto de la calabaza. Es habla de Zuyua.

Que no llegue el día en que sea ofendido nuestro amo el Halach Uinic, Jefe, al llegar a esta tierra, la

tierra de Yucaltepen, cuando venga a llamar a los Batabes, Los-del-hacha, para que acudan a él. "¿Vosotros sois Batabes, Los-del-hacha?" "Lo somos, ¡oh padre!", dirán. "Oh hijos míos, si es que sois Halach Uiniques, Jefes, aquí os será dicho: Buscad al Balam, Brujo, que tiene alas, traédmelo aquí para comer, vestido con sus collares, adornado con sus tocados cuando lo traigáis; id pronto y regresad luego, hijos míos; tengo muchos deseos de comerlo. Oh vosotros, mis hijos, vosotros los hijos del Halach Uinic, los que no supiéreis lo que os pido, tendréis pobre el pensamiento y pobre la mirada, y ¡ay, nada más podréis decir!" Aquellos que saben, felices van a buscar al Balam, Brujo, que tiene alas, para traerlo. "¿Eres tú mi hijo, eres tú de linaje noble?" "¡Oh padre!" "¿Eres acaso tú de linaje, de raza, hijo mío?" "Lo soy, ¡oh padre!" "¿Dónde están tus familiares, hijo mío?" "Oh padre, por los bosques andan buscando al Balam, Brujo; no hay Balam, según dicen, para ellos." Este Balam que pide es el Tzimin, Caballo [Tapir], de los Batabes; lo que quiere comer y quiere admirar es el robusto caballo [*sic*]. Su collar son los cascabeles [*sic*], y su tocado, su penacho, es el hilo rojo de algodón que tiene bien colocado en la silla [*sic*] y en el freno [*sic*]. Habla es de Zuyua para que sean entendidas sus palabras.

Gran pueblo de Santa Cruz, julio 10 de 1875, el año en que terminé de hacer la copia [*sic*] de este lenguaje maya para que pudiera ser comprendido. Marcos Balam, rúbrica.

ALZAMIENTO DE DON ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ Y SAÚL*

Don Antonio Martínez y Saúl, éstos fueron sus nombres cuando nació en Tzimintán, Frente-a-los-tapires.[1]

Estaba en Tzimintán, Frente-a-los-tapires, cuando lo vio una señora cacica y murió un Nacom, Sacrificador. Le dijo la señora cacica que la desposase y siete años después de que la recibiera en matrimonio, le fueron abiertas las Puertas de Oro [iglesia del culto católico] y la Casa de Cuatro Divisiones [*idem*] le fue mostrada.

Construyó barcos innumerables [13 × 400] para alzar guerra en la tierra de la Habana en donde estaba el representante del rey, allí en la Habana. Lo comunicó al rey su representante, que andaba detrás de su acusador y fue como oyó que sería aprehendido y por eso se salió y se huyó a Tzimintán, Frente-a-los-tapires, en donde lo aprehendieron. Tres lunas habían transcurrido cuando alcanzó Tzimintán, Frente-a-los-tapires, y fue aprehendido y fue entonces cuando dijo la verdad a su aprehensor, cuando llegó a Tzimintán, Frente-a-los-tapires. Le dijo: "Vete, hombre, le dijo; tres lunas hace que llegué, le dijo; tres días tardó mi venida, le dijo,

* Este texto aparece interpolado en la "Profecía llamada Memoria de cómo vino Hunab Ku a decir su palabra a los Ah Kines", de donde se ha desglosado. Se ha publicado la versión del Libro de Chilam Balam de Chumayel en Médiz Bolio (1930) y en Roys (1933). El héroe de la narración es un personaje misterioso, desconocido en las otras fuentes clásicas de la historia de Yucatán.

y tres días hace que tú llegaste." A su llegada fue encerrado en un calabozo. "Vengo a sacarte del calabozo; vosotros, Nacomes, Sacrificadores, venid dos conmigo", dijo. "Suban nueve sillas para sentarnos." "Arderá el mar cuando yo me alce; incendio y fuego ha de verse al final. Se levantarán las arenas y las espumas del mar taparán la cara del Sol durante la tempestad."

Entonces se ataviaron los Nacomes, Sacrificadores, y se desmoronaron las piedras y la tierra cuando el viento se sentó en su banco de piedra fina. Vinieron tres veces cuatrocientos barcos y se atavió como el rey el Nacom, Sacrificador. "Así pues, preparaos señores, para cuando vengan los franceses", dijo.

"Moriremos a causa de ellos", así dijo. —"No desmayéis, hombres, y que a hombres como tú se os diga: «Estaos allá»; iré yo mismo a poner las proas de los barcos al centro para que se alcen conmigo los vientos", dijo. —"Se anublará la faz del cielo y arderá el mar al irme; y cuando lo haga será en presencia de todos, en presencia de todos perderé los barcos." —"Pero, ¿quién es este hombre?", dirán. —"Yo soy el que no es creyente, el que duda de ti, soy el que tienes que hacer renacer [bautizar]"; y dijo también: —"Probaré cuál es mi nombre de Martínez, Dios Padre, Dios Hijo y Dios Espíritu Santo es mi nombre." Así fue como murieron los oficiales de gobierno.

Dijo entonces que daría su pueblo con la mitad de sus hombres: —"¿Dónde está tu pueblo?" —"Mi pueblo es todo", dijo. —"¿Entonces me pagarás con mi pueblo a mí que soy Saúl?" —"Te digo que ha bajado la justicia del cristiano y de los bienaventurados del cielo."

En el katun decimotercero 4 Ahau, quizás enton-

ces se haya acabado de pagar el alzamiento de guerra de nuestros padres. No digáis que son vuestros enemigos los soldados que vienen contra nosotros. Son los cargadores de vuestras culpas cuando vengan, el día que vengan los franceses al país llano, los soldados.

Siete días reinará Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, guarda de nuestra alma tanto en este mundo como cuando acoja nuestra alma en su santo cielo también, hijos del Verdadero Dios, Amén.

RELATO LLAMADO "ACONTECIMIENTO HISTÓRICO EN UN KATUN 8 AHAU"*

El 8 Ahau fue cuando Ix Chancab, La-poderosa-mielera, limpió la plaza ciudad para que bajase el poder de Oxlahun Ti Ku, Trece-deidad, en un 8 Ahau, a Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos, en donde estaba Oxlahun Ti Ku, Trece-deidad, en donde fue el rostro más grandemente reverenciado durante el imperio y poder de Oxlahun Ti Ku, Trece-deidad. El 8 Ahau aconteció en Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos.

Entonces ocurrió que se puso pintura al Señor de Uxmal y vino a imponer la huella de sus pies en las espaldas del Chac Xib Chac, Rojo-temible-Chac, en Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos, en donde imperaba Ah Nacxit[1] Kukulcan, El-Nacxit-Serpiente-quetzal; entonces fue cuando bajó el éxodo del Itzá, Brujo-del-agua, y vino el pleitear ocultamente, el pleitear con furia, el pleitear con violencia, el pleitear sin misericordia.

Entró el pecado, llegó con el 8 Ahau, vino el debilitamiento de la ceiba nuevamente a causa de Ah Xib Chac, El-temible-Chac, de Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos. Pero ¿quién sabrá la carga que traerá cuando totalmente dé la vuelta?

Fue en el 8 Ahau que sucedió lo de Ah Ulil, El-del-caracol-de-tierra, de Itzmal, Lugar-del-brujo-del-agua, cuando fue doblegado y atado el Señor Ah

* Se refiere, sin duda, a los acontecimientos que tuvieron lugar en el Katun 8 Ahau, transcurrido precisamente entre 1185 y 1204, según puede verse en la Crónica Matichu, parte III.

Ulil, El-del-caracol-de-tierra, por su pecado cometido con la mujer desposada de su amigo, otro Señor, lo que estableció la guerra en el transcurso del decimosexto o decimoséptimo año tun de ese katun, durante el poder de Ah Kul Itzman Caan, El-santo-brujo-del-agua-celestial, durante la presencia de Ahau Can, Señor-serpiente, Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora, cuando fue que ataron al Señor Ul, Caracol-de-tierra, de Itzmal, Lugar-del-brujo-del-agua, en donde pagaban como tributo a los infantes de Itzmal Kauil, Santo-lugar-del-brujo-del-agua, para alimentar a la Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora, que hacía violenta guerra. Entonces fue cuando en Itzmal, Lugar-del-brujo-del-agua, aconteció durante el gobierno del Señor Ulil, El-del-caracol-de-tierra, que terminó el poder de la Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora, que tenían los de Itzmal Thul, Brujo-del-agua-a-chorros, porque llegaron los grandes carniceros bestiales, los zopilotes celestiales del centro del Corazón del Cielo, Chac Bolay, Gran-fiera, con Chac Xib Chac, Rojo-temible-Chac.

Grande fue el sufrimiento de los de Ah Itzmal Thul, El-brujo-del-agua-a-chorros, grande fue el dolor de su alma. Atado fue por sus pecados Ahau Canul, Señor-príncipe-guardián, porque presentaban como tributo a los infantes a la Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora. Por eso fue superado por Ah Kukulcan, El-serpiente-quetzal, para que lo viesen y oyesen todos los habitantes de Itzmal Thul, Lugar-del-brujo-del-agua-que-chorrea, quienes daban en ofrenda a los infantes para alimentar a la Hapai Can, Serpiente-tragadora, porque los súbditos cargan las culpas de los Señores.

Entonces fue cuando comenzó la prueba para Ah Itzam Caan, El-brujo-del-agua-celestial, cuando entró el pecado por la causa de Ahau Canul, Príncipe-

guardián, cuando salió Ahau Can, Señor-Serpiente, de Chichen, Orillas-de-los-pozos. De aquí de Maxcanú, Mono-guardián, en el comienzo de las sierras, de aquí salió el Señor. De trece medidas fue su carga cuando fue engendrado por su padre, pero fue valeroso para la guerra y tuvo la Máscara de Madera de Ah Cup Cacap, El-que-quita-el-resuello-apretando, y fue Chan Tokil, Poderoso-del-pedernal. Hubo entonces entrada del zopilote celestial a las casas y muertes repentinas en el imperio de la sequía.

Vendrá el apresurado arrebatar de bolsas y la guerra rápida y violenta de los codiciosos ladrones: ésta es la carga del katun para el tiempo del cristianismo; la gente de la Flor de Mayo tendrá grandes miserias, grandes padecimientos tendrá el gran Itzá, Brujo-del-agua. En el doblez del katun de este decimotercero 8 Ahau caerá el poder de los Halach Uiniques, Jefes, de los grandes Itzaes, Brujos-del-agua. Pero no por completo acabará la gente de la Flor de Mayo, porque en el 9 Ahau se aparejarán escudos en el cierre, se aparejarán flechas en el cierre, cuando el katun cierre totalmente.

Al terminarse el 10 Ahau termina un doblez de katunes y se repiten de nuevo 13 katunes;[1] están pintadas sus figuras en la rueda del katun.[2]

Décimo doblez del katun se llama cuando termina su duración y se asienta otro. Al terminar el 8 Ahau comienza de nuevo, y entonces comenzamos a escribir para que se asiente otro katun, y al terminarse el 8 Ahau, comienza de nuevo.

Pero lo que escribo no es nada meritorio, sólo para que sepan las cosas en que pasaban su vida nuestros antepasados en la época de su ceguera. Lo que habían de soportar según los pronósticos, que tampoco eran ciertos, sino falsedades, porque en lo único en que debe creerse es en Dios Nuestro Señor Único Todopoderoso y Sus Mandamientos [*sic*].

Éste es el calendario de nuestros antepasados: cada 20 días hacen un mes, según decían. 18 meses era lo que contaban un año; cada mes lo llamaban "un uinal" que quiere decir mes; de 20 días era la carga de un mes; "mes uinal" decían. Cuando se cumplían los 18 por cada vez que pasaba su carga era un año; luego se asentaban los cinco días sin nombre, los días dañosos del año, los más temibles,[3] los de mayor pena por el temor de muertes inesperadas y peligros de ser devorados por el jaguar. En ellos todo era malo: mordeduras de serpientes venenosas en el monte y golpes de ramas ponzoñosas a los hombres, según decían. Ésta es la razón de por qué se decía que eran los dañosos del año, los días más malos estos días sin nombre.

Pero tenían un dios que adoraban, que reverenciaban, que acataban durante cuatro de estos días. Grande era el regocijo que se le ofrecía al recibirlo el primer día; se le daba gran importancia y era un día festivo. Pero al cuarto día ya no era cara su presencia, ni se le daba la importancia del primer día a su imagen, era ya otro al tercer día y no el centro de la casa; al cuarto día se le colocaba en las afueras de la casa para que allí le amaneciera; al quinto día se le echaba para que se fuese. El sexto día entonces que era el primero, el día cargador del año, en el que se asentaba el comienzo del año, del nuevo año y del primer mes llamado otra vez Poop, Estera.[4]

He aquí las letras mayas escritas para contarse o leerse los meses como en el calendario de los romanos cuya cuenta lleva la Santa Madre Iglesia para que se sepa la cuenta completa de sus días y de sus meses y la cuenta de los años del calendario de los cristianos. Tres son las columnas de mi escritura que se encontrarán aquí abajo con los doce meses del calendario; la primera parte es en castellano, allí se ven los días que hay en cada mes; la segunda parte son las figuras de las letras; los jeroglíficos de cada día que se van contando son las que tienen punto y rayas detrás. Un punto vale un año; si son dos, dos años o días; si son tres puntos así también se cuenta; si son cuatro puntos se cuentan cuatro como si son tres puntos así también. Las rayas que están encima también, si es una raya vale cinco años; si son dos rayas diez; si la raya que está encima tiene un punto se cuentan seis; si son dos los que hay sobre la raya, son siete; si tres puntos hay encima son ocho; si cuatro puntos hay sobre la línea se cuentan nueve; si son dos rayas con un punto encima son once si es

uno; si son dos puntos, doce; si son tres puntos, trece. La cuarta sección son las letras que he pintado y que representan los nombres de los signos de los días de las veintenas mayas que he copiado. Entendía muy bien estas cosas el señor Don Juan Xiu de Oxkutzcab.[5] Lo copié yo, Diego Chi, escribano de la cofradía de aquí de Maní el 16 de julio de 1689, el día que fueron de Oxkutzcab a Mérida, porque iban a entrar Lorencillo y los ingleses allí, el capitán Diego Balan Gobernador, Pedro Puc y Diego Tuin alcaldes y Pascual Noh el regidor principal.

312 años hay sobre un doblez de katun[6] para que se asiente en su comienzo de nuevo tal como comenzó. Estas pinturas que copié no son todas sino solamente la explicación del transcurso del 8 Ahau que corre parejo con la carga del cargador del año del Katun 2 Ahau; transcurrido el octavo año falta aún la carga de trece para que termine el 4 Ahau en que estamos, pero yo copié los trece. No es todo, sino solamente el calendario de ellos que cotejo con el calendario romano que llevan los cristianos según el nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo, dentro del cual caen cuantas festividades se celebran dentro de los días de la cuenta de los cristianos y de la Santa Madre Iglesia. Hice la separación de la cuenta de los años y de la de los meses. Lo ajustarán mis Señores, mis padres y maestros. Que me perdonen a mí de sus hijos el peor, si no está correcto como queda explicado; si hay error lo corregirán porque no es mucha mi inteligencia, por esto es que les pido que perdonen mis yerros en el nombre de Nuestro Señor Dios dentro de mi falta de entendimiento.

Hoy al finalizar el mes, 20 Seec en el signo 6 Chicchan del año de cargador 9 Muluc, es 14 de febrero

de 1793; fue cuando terminé de aprender a escribir los meses uinales mayas, del calendario que los antiguos hombres mayas tenían cuando aún no comenzaba el cristianismo. Que me perdonen mis yerros mis señores padres y los altos entendidos maestros, los astrólogos acéntricos [*sic*] y los concéntricos [*sic*], los grandes sabios que saben cómo caminan el Sol, la Luna y las estrellas y todas las cosas creadas por nuestro Padre Dios.

NOTAS

CRÓNICA MATICHU

1 El texto dice *Holon Chan Tepeu*, pero *Holon* significa "el que es cabeza". Véase cakchiquel (Sáenz de Santa María, 1941): "*jolom*... cabeza; jefe, capitán". En maya yucateco *ho'ol* significa cabeza; *om* es sufijo que denota al actor. *Chan* es voz que en varios dialectos mayas vale por serpiente (tzeltal, chol, etc.). Es aún nombre personal en Yucatán, donde la variante *can* significa serpiente. *Tepeu* es voz que en Pokomchí, según Zúñiga, significa "grande, admirable, magestuoso, poderoso..." y cosa semejante en cakchiquel, según Sáenz de Santa María, ya citado. En maya yucateco registra el Diccionario de Motul como "vocablo antiguo" *tepeual* con significado de "reinar" y *tepal* con el de "reinar, mandar, señorear, prosperidad", etc. En náhua *tepeua* vale por "conquistar". ¿Es un mayismo en el nahua, un nahuatlismo en maya, o en ambas lenguas es préstamo de una tercera lengua?

2 De aquí en adelante, hasta la mención de la muerte del Ofrendador del Agua Napot Xiu, al final de la Parte III, los años que se cuentan son *tunes*, periodos de 360 días, y las veintenas son de estos periodos, o sea *katunes* de 7 200 días.

3 *Siyan Can Bakhalal* es la moderna Bacalar del actual Territorio de Quintana Roo. *Siyan Can* es un adjetivo que aparece unido a otros nombres de lugar y significa "famoso, de abolengo". Véase Diccionario de Motul; *çiian can:* "cuentos y palabras de historias de sabios graves" (f. 101v).

4 "Se ordenaron las esteras" es una manera de decir "se ordenaron las comunidades", porque en maya *poop* no solamente significa estera, sino la comunidad, el conjunto total de personas de una jurisdicción, y el objeto mismo, la estera, era símbolo de la jurisdicción del señor que la hollaba. Ver Diccionario de Motul (Ms. Ff. 381r) *sub voce poptan* y Sáenz de Santa María (1940, pp. 314-315). Además, en las "Ruedas Proféticas de un Doblez de Katunes" en esta obra, *passim*, la mención constante de la estera y el trono durante el reinado de alguna deidad. Sobre otras interpretaciones ver Brinton (1882, pp. 146 y 150) y Roys (1933, pp. 72 y 135).

5 Chichen Itzá se traduce "orilla-de-los-pozos-del-brujo-del-agua" (o del Itzá). Véase la nota introductoria a las Cróni-

cas, donde se discute el nombre Itzá, *Chi'* es boca u orilla y *ch'en* es pozo.

6 *Chakanputún*, que puede no ser el antiguo nombre de la moderna Champotón, de la costa sur de Campeche, se traduce en esta obra "sabana-de-chiles" porque hay una clase de chiles que se da en las sabanas cuyo nombre es *puntun* o *p'utun*. Pero *p'utun* pueden significar también pequeño, enano. Sin embargo, no es adjetivo en Chakanputún, porque no antecede a Chakan, que significa sabana.

7 Nótese cómo se dice que regresaron en busca de sus hogares de nuevo y es claro que estos hogares estuvieron antes en Chichen Itzá.

8 Ver nota anterior.

9 *Chac Xib Chac*, que aquí aparece como gobernante de Chichen Itzá, se presenta también como una deidad, un *Chac rojo* correspondiente al oriente en Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 14) y en otros textos ("Acontecimiento histórico en un 8 Ahau"). Véase Roys (1933, p. 67).

10 *Ichpá* es uno de los sobrenombres de Mayapán. Significa "entre-las-murallas". Mayapán era una ciudad amurallada, característica de ciudad no maya. Otro de sus sobrenombres es *Saclactun*, que significa "piedras-blancas".

11 Los siete jefes de Mayapán que atacaron a Chichen Itzá en el Katun 8 Ahau (10.9.0.0.0: 1185-1204), ostentan nombres mexicanos de toda evidencia: *Ah Sintéut Chan, Tzontécum, Táxcal, Pantémit, Xuchúeuet, Itzcuat, Cacaltécat.*

Ah Sintéut Chan es una forma híbrida maya-mexicana compuesta por el elemento pronominal masculino maya *ah*; el vocablo mexicano *sintéut*, compuesto de *cin(tli)*, maíz seco en mazorca, y *teu(hc)tl(li)*, señor o jefe, más la voz maya *chan*, que significa serpiente. La traducción podría intentarse por la serpiente-del-señor-del-maíz.

Tzontécum es vocablo mexicano que significa cabeza humana cortada y separada del tronco.

Táxcal es vocablo mexicano que significa "torta", según Molina, pero también podría venir de *texcal(li)*, peñascos o roquedal.

Pantémit es vocablo mexicano, formado por *pan(itl)*, estandarte, más *te(tl)*, piedra, más *mit(l)*, flecha; la traducción podría intentarse por la-enseña-de-flecha-de-pedernal.

Xuchúeuet es vocablo mexicano formado de *xúch(itl)*, flor, y *uéuet(l)*, viejo (véase n. 45).

Itzcuat es vocablo mexicano formado por *Itz(tli)*, obsidiana y *cuat(l)*, culebra, serpiente-de-obsidiana.

Cacaltecat es vocablo mexicano formado por *cacal(otl)*, cuervo, más *tecatl*, forma desinencial para los gentilicios;

significa el-de-los-cuervos, el individuo cuervo, el individuo del apellido cuervo. *Cacáloti* significa también, según Molina, "tenazuela de palo para dispauilar candelas, o para comer granos de mayz tostado en el rescoldo".

12 *Ulmil* es un personaje cuyo territorio no está señalado en ningún texto.

13 *Ah uitzil dzul*, dice el texto maya; "los extranjeros montañeses", alusión a su procedencia de los altos de México.

14 No fue el año 1513 el de la primera aparición de los españoles en la península. Los primeros en llegar forzosamente fueron los náufragos de Valdivia en 1511, los segundos fueron la gente de Hernández de Córdova. Desde luego, los nativos continentales tuvieron noticias de los españoles desde 1502, cuando Cristóbal y Bartolomé Colón se encontraron con una canoa maya frente a la costa norte de Honduras, no lejos de la Isla de Guanaja, que Colón bautizó con el nombre de Isla de Pinos.

15 La referencia es al establecimiento definitivo de los españoles en la península.

16 El primer obispo de Yucatán, Fray Francisco Toral, llegó a la península en 1562, en el Katun 9 Ahau.

17 El "colgamiento" (no ahorcamiento) a que se refiere el cronista es sin duda la tortura impuesta por Landa en 1562. Ver Scholes y Adams (1938, *passim*).

18 Landa, siendo obispo de Yucatán, murió en Mérida el 19 de abril de 1579.

19 Los Pech se refieren también al establecimiento de los Padres en Yokhá en 1552. Ver Martínez Hernández (1926, p. 21).

20 Hay aquí un error, pues sin duda se refiere al oidor Tomás López, que llegó a Yucatán en 1562, y a la fundación del Hospital de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, que se verificó el mismo año de 1562.

21 Nuevo error: el Dr. Diego Quijada, alcalde mayor de Yucatán y auxiliador de Landa en sus aventuras inquisitoriales, llegó en 1562 y fue depuesto en 1565. Véase Scholes y Adams (1938).

22 Otra alusión al "colgamiento". Véase n. 17. Además Lizana (1893, f. 9r).

23 Otra vez se nota error. El mariscal D. Carlos de Luna y Arellano llegó a Mérida, como gobernador de Yucatán, en agosto de 1604 y gobernó hasta marzo de 1612. A las cisternas que mandó construir se refieren Cogolludo (1868, vol. II, pp. 141-142) y Sánchez de Aguilar (1937, p. 186).

[24] Véase Sánchez de Aguilar (1937, pp. 138-139), que se refiere a la conspiración de los indios en Tekax en 1610.

LOS TEXTOS PROFETICOS

Primera Rueda

1 *Ichcaansiho* es el antiguo nombre de la actual ciudad de Mérida. Si históricamente no tiene este lugar la importancia que tienen otros sitios, religiosamente es uno de los más importantes, especialmente como "asiento" del Katun 11 Ahau, por ser el lugar que escogieron los españoles para capital de su dominio precisamente en un Katun 11 Ahau. El nombre ha sufrido cambios. Una vez aparece como *Siho'* en el texto del Cuceb (Año 8 Kan). Los cronistas españoles y aun algunos indígenas, registran *Ti Ho'* o *T-ho'*. Esta última forma es la que actualmente usan los nativos. La traducción de *Ichcaansiho* ha sido siempre un problema. Además de significar Faz-del-nacimiento-del-cielo, puede significar Entre-los-altos-sihoes, tomando *siho* como el nombre de un árbol aún no identificado; sin embargo, el *Amole Sapindus saponaria*, árbol muy común en la península, tiene un nombre que varía mucho ahora, pero siempre conserva el elemento *sih* en las menciones más antiguas. El Diccionario de Motul registra *çihom* (*Zihom* en la edición de 1929); actualmente se escucha *sihum, sibul, subul* y otras. Landa también escribe *cihom* al referirse a la función que tenía la planta en la ceremonia de la pubertad que él llama bautizo (véase Landa, ed. yuc., 1938, p. 46, escrito *cihom*). Esta ceremonia se llamó, según el mismo Landa, *caputsihil*, es decir, segundo nacimiento o renacimiento. *Sih(il)* es la parte que significa nacer o nacimiento y de ahí la relación de *Sihom* con la ceremonia. *Siho* en Ichcaansiho, puede ser otra variante de *Sihom*. La *m* que falta estaría suplida por la clausura glotal con que se pronuncia *siho: (siho')*. Existen actualmente varios lugares en la península con el nombre *siho* y *sihomal*. *Ich* puede significar rostro o el lugar donde hay abundancia de algo, y *caan*, alto o cielo.

Ichcaansiho viene a veces acompañado de uno cualquiera de estos otros nombres antecediéndolo: *Chacnacultun* o *Saclactun* (Cuceb, Año 13 Muluc). *Chacnacultun* se traduce Lugar-de-las-grandes-piedras-labradas-recostadas, y *Saclactun*, Piedras-labradas-blancas.

2 Cada katun tenía un "asiento", el lugar donde reinaría, el lugar de su trono, de su estera, signos de dominio. El lugar parece que tenía relación con algún acontecimiento histórico, acaecido en él durante el transcurso de un katun previo de igual denominación, como en el caso del 11 Ahau, que

tuvo por asiento a Ichcaansiho porque allí se consumó la conquista española. Por esta misma razón se comenzó a contar el primero en la serie de trece.

[3] Así como tuvo cada katun un lugar de asiento en la tierra, tuvo también un rostro en el cielo, que generalmente sería una deidad celestial, posiblemente una estrella o constelación. En este caso *Yaxal chac*, el rostro del Katun 11 Ahau, pudo no ser estelar sino la deidad de la lluvia, *Chac*, de color verde. Hay que recordar que los chaques eran cinco: uno rojo del oriente, uno amarillo del sur, uno negro del poniente, uno blanco del norte y uno verde del centro. *Yax*, verde, no solamente significaba el color, sino preciosidad, calidad primordial y perfección.

[4] "Sonará el atabal, sonará la sonaja..." En relación con esta doble expresión, Roys (1933, p. 78) reproduce, tomado de Gann (1900) parte de los frescos de Santa Rita, Honduras Británica, en la que un personaje, ricamente ataviado, agita una sonaja con una mano en alto y con la otra hace resonar un *huéhuetl* que lleva en su cuerpo una calavera de cuya boca surge una doble corriente de volutas que representan el sonido, una baja y otra sube; además, del parche del atabal sube una tercera corriente que alcanza el sol. Detrás del personaje aparece la fecha 7 Ahau.

[5] *Yaxal Chuen*, Gran-mono-artífice, *Ixkanyulta*, Preciosa-garganta, una deidad que nos recuerda a uno de los dos héroes quichés Hun Batz y Hun Chouén, que "eran flautistas, cantores, tiradores con cervatana, pintores, escultores, joyeros, plateros...", según el *Popol Vuh* (Recinos, 1947, p. 122). Estos hermanos gemelos tuvieron a su vez dos hermanos también gemelos quienes los convirtieron en monos. Se menciona muchas veces en el libro citado la habilidad que para las artes tuvieron aquéllos. Al final de la narración respectiva se dice: "...eran invocados por los músicos y los cantores..." "Invocábanlos también los pintores y talladores en tiempos pasados. Pero fueron convertidos en animales y se volvieron monos porque se ensoberbecieron y maltrataron a sus hermanos... Habían vivido siempre en su casa; fueron músicos y cantores e hicieron también grandes cosas cuando vivían con la abuela y con su madre" (pp. 146-147). Según hace notar Recinos (p. 146), el P. Las Casas (1909, p. CCXXV) refiere que los pintores y talladores de Yucatán invocaban a *Hunchouen* y a *Hunahau* y que eran hijos de *Ixchel* e *Itzamna*.

Yaxal es un adjetivo que denota "bienaventuranza, beatitud, dicha, ventura... premio, galardón de las buenas obras, mérito, gracia", según Zúñiga (véase *Raxal*, el equivalente

pokomchí). *Chuen* es el nombre del día del calendario maya que corresponde al día *Ozomatli* del nahua, que significa mono, y al día *Batz* del calendario quiché, que también significa mono. *Chuen* en maya yucateco, según el Diccionario de Motul, significa artífice: "*ah chuen:* artífice oficial de algún arte".

En la arqueología de Yucatán se encuentran vasos-sonajas y flautas decoradas con monos.

[6] En otra nota se explica el significado de *Nicté*, que es el nombre de la Flor de Mayo —*Plumeria*—. *Kay Nicté* significa Cantar-a-la-flor o Canto-de-la-flor, es decir, Cantar-al-amor. Es un rito que practican las mujeres, en noche de luna, en un *chaltun* —depósito de agua en la roca— o en un cenote. Es para atraer al hombre esquivo o al que abandonó a su amada. Ésta es la paciente en la ceremonia, que consiste en una danza en la que se recitan unas fórmulas mágicas ordenando al hombre venir o regresar a ella "como manso animal doméstico". La danza se hace alrededor de la paciente que se sumerge en el agua, desnuda, recibiendo puñados de flores *Plumeria*, especialmente de una especie silvestre llamada en maya *Thulunhuy*. Oficia como sacerdotisa una mujer, generalmente anciana, iniciada en el rito. Las danzantes no deben ser menos de cinco y dan nueve vueltas en un sentido y nueve en el otro. Al salir la paciente, terminado el acto, debe recoger alguna de las flores y un poco del agua para preparar alimentos y amuletos para el amante.

[7] Esta expresión es muy frecuente en los textos indígenas. No se refiere a hermanos en sentido biológico, sino que es una forma política y elegante para designar, tal vez, clases sociales, al parecer, cuando el que habla se dirige a grupos no homogéneos de población.

[8] *Uucil Yabnal*, Siete-aguas-suyas, es sin duda uno de los nombres de Chichen Itzá. Es también asiento del Katun 6 Ahau y del Katun 4 Ahau, en donde se muestra la relación con Chichen Itzá. Cf. Roys (1933, p. 133).

[9] En el Cuceb se da el nombre de *Ah Buluc Am*, El-once-piedra-labrada, a Moctezuma. Véase *n.* 8, en p. 183. *Am* significa también araña.

[10] *Ek Chuuah*, Negro-escorpión. *Ek Chuah* es variante de *Ek Chuen*, "alacrán negro que cría en las paredes" (Diccionario de Viena, f. 9r). Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 99) cita a esta deidad como uno de los patrones de los cacaoteros: "En el mes de Muan hacían los que tenían cacahuatales una fiesta a los dioses *Ekchuah, Chac* y *Hobnil* que eran sus abogados; íbanla a hacer a alguna heredad de uno dellos,

donde sacrificaban un perro, manchado por la color del cacao, y quemaban a los ídolos su encienso, y ofrecíanles iguanas de las azules y ciertas plumas de un pájaro y otras cazas; y daban a cada uno de los oficiales una mazorca de la fruta del cacao." Cogolludo (1867, vol. I, pp. 305-306) menciona a Ek Chuah, como patrón de los mercaderes, citando a Remesal: "Dice [Remesal], pues, que cuando el obispo D. Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas pasó a su obispado... encomendó a un clérigo que halló en Campeche llamado Francisco Hernández... que sabía la lengua de los indios, que los visitase con cierta instrucción de lo que les había de predicar, y a poco menos de un año le escribió el clérigo. Que había hallado un señor principal, que preguntándole de su religión antigua que observaban, le dijo: Que ellos conocían y creían en Dios, que estaba en el cielo, y que aqueste Dios era Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, y que el Padre se llamaba Izona [Itzamna] que había criado los hombres, y el Hijo tenía por nombre Bacab, el cual nació de una doncella Virgen llamada Chiribias [Ixchebelyax], que está en el cielo con Dios, y que la madre de Chiribias se llamaba Ixchel, y al Espíritu Santo llamaban Echvah [Ek Chuah]. De Bacab, que es el Hijo, dicen que le mató e hizo azotar, y puso una corona de espinas, y que lo puso tendido los brazos en un palo, y no entendían, que estaba clavado sino atado, y allí murió, y estuvo tres días muerto, y al tercero día tornó a vivir, y se subió al cielo, y que está allá con su Padre. Y después de esto luego vino Echvah, que es el Espíritu Santo, y hartó la tierra de todo lo que había menester. Preguntado, qué quería significar aquellos tres nombres de las Tres Personas, dijo que Yzona quería decir el gran Padre, y Bacab, hijo del gran Padre, y Echvah Mercader, Chiribias suena Madre del Hijo del gran Padre."

En el Cuceb, Año Tun 4 Kan, se menciona una deidad con el nombre de Ah Uuc Chuuah, que puede ser otra manera de nombrar a Ek Chuuah.

[11] Se ha traducido *Amayte Kauil* como Cuadrado-deidad en el sentido de Deidad de los cuatro ángulos del cielo, aunque en realidad no aparece en el nombre elemento alguno que se refiera al numeral cuatro. Para los mayas, igual que para otros pueblos de América, el cielo es cuadrado y esta deidad es del plano celestial. *Amay* en el maya yucateco significa esquina o cantero. *Amay* significa en pokomchí, según Zúñiga, "una especie de cañas montesas huecas y los canutos largos con que hacen flautas"; lo mismo en pokoman, según Morán. *Kauil* no aparece en los diccionarios yucatecos signi-

ficando deidad, pero en pokoman sí, según Morán. Sin embargo, lo tenemos en el nombre de *Itzamna Kauil* y en dos frases sinónimas en el Tizimín (f. 16v): *u binel u uich ku, u uich kauil*, donde *ku* y *kauil* valen ambas por deidad.

Por otra parte, la voz *Amayte* parece tener su traducción en nahua con la forma *Náuhyotl*, que expresa el mismo concepto, ya que la etimología de *Náuhyotl* viene de *nahui*, cuatro, más el elemento desinencial *-yotl*, que sirve para la formación de nombres abstractos. La traducción de *Náuhyotl* es aproximadamente El-que-es-cuatro, o El-cuadrado, el de lo cuadrado, que, como se ve, corresponde al concepto encerrado en *Amayte*.

12 *Nicté* es la *Xóchitl* de México. *Plumeria* sp. Las flores prehispánicas en relación con el ritual para la fecundidad. Sahagún da noticias sobre este tema en los altos de México, en su capítulo VII, que intitula "Del cuarto signo llamado *Ce Xochitl*": "Los hombres que nacían en él decían que eran alegres, ingeniosos y inclinados a la música y a placeres, y decidores, y las mujeres grandes labranderas y liberales de su cuerpo."

13 "...cuando venga el agua al Quetzal, el agua al pájaro verde Yaxum..." El texto maya reza: *ca tali vemel u vaal Ix Kuk, vaal Ix Yaxum*... El nombre del Quetzal en maya de Yucatán es *Kuk* (compárese Sáenz de Santa María 1940, p. 231: "*k'uk'*... quetzal, perica, guacamaya; plumas verdes con que bailan"), aunque no aparezca en los diccionarios de esta lengua; pero *kuk* es raíz de "*kukum*: pluma de ave en general", según el Diccionario de Motul. Además se encuentra en el compuesto *Kukulcan*. En los textos no aparece nunca el nombre *Ix Kuk* sin estar acompañado de *Ix Yaxum*, que está como sinónimo, aunque en algunos vocabularios de otros dialectos mayances aparezca la variante *raxom* como nombre de pájaro azul no identificado (Sáenz de Santa María, 1940, p. 328). Sin embargo, Recinos (1947) identifica, al anotar (p. 89) una frase paralela del *Popol Vuh*, el raxon de este texto como el ave *Cotinga amabilis*, de color azul celeste y pecho y garganta morados, sustentándose en Basseta, que registra *raxom*, un pájaro de pecho musgo y alas azules y en que el nombre de la *Cotinga* mencionada en la lengua vulgar de Guatemala se llama *ranchon*. De todos modos, nos parece que en la fórmula *Ix Kuk Ix Yaxum* del maya y su paralela quiché *pa guc pa raxón*, se hace referencia a una sola ave, al quetzal. *Yax* y su equivalente *rax* del quiché y del cakchiquel significan primariamente verde y el sufijo

de vocal más *m* (*-um* u *-om*) es signo de nombres de acción o sustantivos. *Yaxum* o *raxom* significan el que es verde.

14 *Xuch Ueuet* es nombre de la lengua nahua, aparentemente del dialecto olmeca mexicano (*-t* en lugar de *-tl*). Está compuesto de *Xuch(itl), flor,* y de *Uéuetl,* viejo o antiguo en su sentido lato, pero que cuando aparece combinado con nombres de personajes indica que al tomar el nombre de referencia otro individuo de la misma familia, al primero se le ha designado automáticamente con la voz *Ueuete* en composición con su nombre para indicar que él fue el primero que llevó tal nombre. A los demás individuos del mismo nombre se les llama, al segundo, cuando hay un tercero, fulano *teomeca,* que quiere decir segundo de nombre tal. Al tercero, fulano tercero, etc. Estas formas de diferenciación se conocen en los documentos únicamente en relación con individuos de familias nobles y sólo funcionan cuando éstos toman cargos públicos de gran importancia (véase *n.* 11, en p. 155).

15 *Yax Coc Ah Mut* es sin duda el nombre de una estrella o grupo de estrellas. Aparece juntamente con *Yax Aclam,* Verde-tortuga; *Ah Chicum Ek,* Estrella-guiadora, y *Ah Ahsah,* Estrella-de-la-mañana, en el Katun 4 Ahau. No hay duda respecto de Yax Aclam; *ac* es tortuga en maya de Yucatán y el Diccionario de Motul registra *"ac ek:* las tres estrellas que están en el signo de Géminis, las cuales, con otras, hacen forma de tortuga". Tampoco hay duda en el nombre Chicum Ek, donde *ek* es estrella, y tampoco en Ah Ahsah, que también lo registra el Motul: *"Ah ahçahcab:* lucero de la mañana." Yax Coc Ah Mut se toma por El-del-anuncio-tortuga-signo, porque *yax* significa verde; *coc* es nombre de una tortuga terrestre, generalmente llamada *coc ac*; *ah* es signo del actor masculino, y *mut* vale por anuncio, fama, señal.

Esta deidad es mencionada por Avendaño y Loyola (Ms., f. 29r/v): "...está un pedaso de pilar, de piedra[s] redonda[s], cuio sirculo, como tres quartas de ancho y una quarta de alto: es de piedras collocadas, con mescla de cal y çahcab que por acá se acostumbra y el medio rehinchido y envetunado, de suerte que es como una mesa redonda su peaña, sobre la cual y del simiento de d[ic]ha columna de piedra, hacia la parte del poniente, sale ynserta una carátula de piedra muy mal formada, a la qual adoran junto con la columna de piedra... llámase la tal columna con el título que le dan culto, yax cheel cab que quiere desir en su Ydioma, el primer arbol del mundo, y como en sus cantares antiguos e entendido (que ai pocos que los entiendan) quieren dar a entender que le dan culto por aver sido aquel

el arbol de cuio fructo comió nuestro primer Padre Adan, que en su ydioma se llama X Anom, por lo poco que se conservó en gracia, y la carátula que está en dficlho simiento de la dficlha columna, le dan culto, con el título del hijo de Dios muy savio. En su lengua le llaman Ah cocahmut."

Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 68-69) menciona tres veces a nuestra deidad: "Este año en el que la letra Muluc era dominical y el Bacab Canzienal reinaba, tenían por buen año, ca decían que era éste el mejor y mayor destos dioses Bacabes, y ansi le ponían en su oraciones el primero. Pero, con todo eso, les hacía el demonio hiciesen un ídolo llamado Yaxcocahmut y que le pusiesen en el templo y quitasen las imágenes antiguas, y hiciesen en el patio de delante del templo, un bulto de piedra en el cual quemasen de su encienso, y una pelota de la resina o leche Kik, haciendo allí oración al ídolo y pidiéndole remedio para las miserias que aquel año tenían, las cuales eran: poca agua y echar los maíces muchos hijos, y cosas desta manera; para cuyo remedio, les mandaba el demonio ofrecerle ardillas y un paramento sin labores, el cual tejiesen las viejas que tienen por oficio el bailar en el templo, para aplacar a Yaxcocahmut.—Tenían otras muchas miserias y malas señales, aunque era bueno el año, si no hacían los servicios que el demonio les mandaba; lo cual era hacer una fiesta y en ella bailar en muy altos zancos, y ofrecerle cabezas de pavos, y pan y bebidas de maíz; habían de ofrecerle perros hechos de barro con pan en las espaldas; y habían de bailar con ellos en las manos las viejas, y sacrificarle un perrito que tuviese las espaldas negras y fuese virgen; y los devotos dellos habían de derramar su sangre y untar la piedra de Chacacantún demonio con ella. Este servicio y sacrificio tenían por agradable a su dios Yaxcocahmut." —En algunos textos aparece *Yax Cocay Mut*. *Cocay* es el nombre de la luciérnaga en el maya yucateco, pero, aunque conviene el nombre a una estrella, nos parece más probable que la forma Yax Coc Ah Mut —que es la que más se repite— sea la correcta.

Brinton (1894, pp. 37-38) identifica a esta deidad con Itzamna y Thompson (1939, p. 161) traduce el nombre como "el pájaro Coc verde". En otro texto aparece una variante Ek Coc Ah Mut, cuyo elemento *Ek* lo toman Thompson y Roys como negro, pero ya vimos que también significa estrella. Cf. Tozzer (1941, p. 145).

16 El ramón, una morácea, *Brosimum alicastrum* Swartz, es un árbol de gran importancia económica actualmente en la península de Yucatán, especialmente porque sus hojas son utilizadas como forraje de bestias, especialmente caballos,

mulos, cabras y, en ocasiones, ganado bovino. El hombre maya es *ox*; aparece en los textos como planta que es utilizada en las épocas de hambre —es decir, cuando falta el maíz— para suplir la falta del cereal base de la alimentación indígena, aprovechando sus frutos. Ciertamente, sus frutos son comestibles y alimenticios y se tienen como lactógenos en algunas regiones del occidente del país donde la planta se llama capomo (Jalisco, Nayarit, etc.). En la actualidad se suele comer la semilla, que es una nuez redonda dicotiledónea de calidad harinosa, cubierta de una cáscara pulposa y dulce cuando madura. Esta cáscara se come cruda, no así los cotiledones, que se cuecen en agua agregándoseles azúcar o miel o friéndoseles después de molidos. En Honduras Británica se mezcla el fruto de ramón cocido y molido a la masa de maíz para preparar tortillas, según Thompson (1930). En la Antigüedad tuvo el ramón tanta o más importancia que ahora, pues es árbol que generalmente existe en los lugares que fueron poblados, inclusive los que hoy son lugares arqueológicos.

Juntamente con el ramón se menciona en el textos el *cup* o jícama cimarrona —*Calopogonium coeruleum* (Benth.) Hemsl.— como una de las plantas que se comían en épocas de hambre.

17 Es de notarse que en los *Anales de Quauhtinchan* o *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca* (1947, p. 68) aparece una expresión similar a ésta, cuando el texto refiere que "las manos y los pies" de la Gran Tollan estaban formados por las veinte ciudades que le eran sujetas.

En relación también con estas referencias a los brazos y al centro de la tierra, debemos agregar aquí que en varios documentos mayas aparecen dibujos de tipo geográfico en los que se señalan lugares que son cabeza, corazón, brazos, etc. de una región. Véase por ejemplo en Chumayel (Roys, 1933, p. 86). Avendaño y Loyola (Ms., f. 59r) relata que halló unos edificios que estaban en la mitad de una provincia "que llaman el ombrigo de la tierra".

18 *Pahuahtun*, Las-erguidas-columnas-de-piedra. Como se ha dicho ya, los Pahuahtunes eran deidades relacionadas con los puntos cardinales, las lluvias y los vientos. El nombre puede descomponerse así: *"paa* [*pa'*]: muralla o baluarte, castillo, torre o fortaleza"; *uah*, erguido: compárese *"uahom:* ha de pararse"; *tun*, piedra. Los ejemplos entre comillas son del Diccionario de Motul (véase Roys, 1930, apéndice A).

19 *Ix Puc yolá*, La-señora-destructora-del-corazón-del-agua. *Puc* lo define el Diccionario de San Francisco (Ms.) así:

"deshacer como cosas de barro con la mano"; *y-* es pronombre posesivo de tercera persona; *-ol*, corazón y *-a*, agua.

20 *Ix Ual Icim*, La-señora-tecolote-de-alas-extendidas. *Ual* es término que significa extendido como hoja y con él se designa a las hojas de papel, a los abanicos y a las hojas grandes como las del plátano; *icim* es el tecolote de orejas *Bubo*, sp.

21 La referencia a individuos con apariencia de sapos o a que "gritarán las ranas uoes a mediodía", son claras alusiones a cierta ceremonia del culto agrícola practicada hasta nuestros días que recibe el nombre de *Ch'achac*, que significa crear o tomar lluvia. De Basauri (1931) son estas líneas ilustrativas de la ceremonia, efectuada por indígenas mayas de Quintana Roo: "A espaldas de la milpa escogen y aplanan una extensión de terreno como de veinte metros cuadrados y en cada una de las esquinas levantan tablado sobre el cual se para un indio que representa una divinidad. En el centro de dicho espacio se congregan los demás asistentes, quienes tienen la misión de imitar el grito de los sapos y de las ranas, para atraer la lluvia..." Por su parte, Pacheco Cruz, un maestro de escuela yucateco, autor de un *Estudio etnográfico de los mayas del ex Territorio de Quintana Roo*, da una descripción del rito *ch'achac* ocurrido en Valladolid, Yuc., en que expone cómo ciertos individuos que intervienen en ella representan ranas y sapos: "Pero la escena más culminante e imponente fue a las tres en punto de la tarde; la hora suprema para ellos; observé que en cada uno de los cuatro palos que servían de columna al altar fueron atados por los pies a niños que deberían imitar a perfección el croar de la rana; fueron bautizados con los nombres de bez-much, uómuch, lec-much, i cárrillo-much..." (Mérida, 1937, p. 71).

22 Entre los animales que simbolizan a los opresores, todos depredadores, se cuenta el oso melero, *cabcoh*, también llamado kinkaju o martica, un prociónido del género *Potos;* es nocturno, de cola prensil. Come aves, huevos, miel, insectos y frutas. Gaumer (1917, p. 220) dice de él: "Cuando se halla libre este animal, es algo cruel y sanguinario, aunque parece preferir el alimento vegetal."

23 *Lahun Chable*, Diez-hoja-escamosa. *Lahun* es el numeral diez; *chab*, según el Diccionario de Motul, es "caspa muy espesa o sudor de la cabeza y mal olor de hedor de la muger"; *le'* es hoja. Existió un lugar llamado Chablé en la región de Bacalar (véase Cogolludo, 1867, vol. I, p. 132) y existe ahora en Tabasco. En Yucatán igualmente existen otros pequeños lugares con este nombre. Es también nom-

bre de familia en la península y aun en Tabasco. Cf. Roys (1930, p. 159).

24 *Lahun Chan*, Diez-poderoso. El nombre de esta deidad ha sido traducido "el dios del décimo cielo" por Roys (1930, pp. 100-101), quien lo identifica con una deidad que aparece en el Códice de Dresden, la cual está relacionada con el planeta Venus. Aun cuando es verdad que *Chan* significa cielo y serpiente en chol (*can* en maya yucateco por serpiente, *caan* para cielo), *chaan* (así con doble a) en Yucatán, según el Diccionario de Motul, es: "cosa bastante, suficiente y poderosa". Enumerando las deidades mayas, Cogolludo (1867, p. 317) dice: "Otro ídolo tenía los dientes muy disformes, llamado *Lakunchan.*" Sin duda, como cree Roys, esta deidad es la misma que el *Lahun Chaan* aquí mencionado. Lo de los dientes disformes es porque en maya yucateco *chaam* es muela, pero nunca aparece en los textos que estudiamos escrito el nombre de la deidad con *m* final, sino siempre con *n*, por lo que Cogolludo sufrió un error.

25 *Cit Bolon Ua*, Decidor-grandes-mentiras. Aun cuando *cit* se ha traducido por padre en otros nombres y *bolon* por nueve, este término no solamente es numeral sino también intensivo y el primero puede ser una forma de decir. *Ua* lo define el Diccionario de Motul como "mentir y trampear". De otro modo podría traducirse El-padre-nueve-mentiras.

26 De los cuatro Bacabes dice Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 64-65) que eran "cuatro hermanos a los cuales puso Dios, cuando crió el mundo, de las cuatro partes del, sustentando el cielo no se cayese. Decían también destos Bacabes, que escaparon cuando el mundo fue del diluvio destruido. Ponen a cada uno destos otros nombres y señalanle con ellos a la parte del mundo que Dios le tenía puesto, teniendo el cielo; y aprópianle una de las cuatro letras dominicales a él y a la parte que está; y tienen señaladas las miserias o felices sucesos que decían habían de suceder en el año de cada uno destos, y de las letras con ellos... La primera, pues, de las letras dominicales, es *kan;* el año que esta letra servía, era el agüero del Bacab que, por otros nombres llaman *Hobnil, Kanalbacab, Kanpauahtún, Kanxibchac;* a éste señalaban a la parte del medio día. La segunda letra es Muluc: señalábanle al oriente; su año era agüero el Bacab que llaman *Canzienal, Chacalbacab, Chacpauahtun, Chacxibchac.* La tercera letra es Ix: su año era agüero el Bacab que llaman *Zaczini, Zacalbacab, Zacpauahtún, Zacxibchac;* señalábanle a la parte del norte. La cuarta letra es Cauac: su año era agüero el Bacab que llaman *Hozanek, Ekelbacab, Ekpauahtún, Ehxibchac;* a éste señalaban a la parte

del poniente". El nombre Bacab significa vertedor. Véase Diccionario de Motul: *"baac:* derramar agua o otro licor de vasija angosta". El sufijo *-ab* es instrumental.

[27] *Kinich Kakmó*, Guacamaya-de-fuego-de-rostro-solar, es una deidad que fue adorada en Izamal, como contraparte de Itzamna, aunque los datos sean por hoy confusos. Véase lo que Lizana (1893, f. 11r) dice de la deidad: "...Ytzamal, donde en la Gentilidad avia un templo donde adoravan un ídolo con figura del Sol, llamado en esta lengua de Maya Kinich Kakmó, que en la nuestra quiere decir, Sol con rostro, que sus rayos de varios colores, como las plumas de Guacamaya, qual fuego abrasavan los sacrificios. Y a este dios consultaban, como dicho es, para los temporales, enfermedades, pestes, y todas las cosas menesterosas para la vida humana; y del dizen recebian consuelo para lo que avian menester."

El nombre se descompone así: *kin* significa sol; *ich*, rostro; *kak*, fuego y *mo'* es el nombre de la guacamaya roja.

En el *Popol Vuh* (Recinos, 1947, pp. 103 *ss.*) aparece una deidad Vucub-Caquix, Siete-guacamaya, que se creía el sol, antes de que este astro brillase, y así decía: "Yo soy el sol, soy la claridad de la luna... grande es mi esplendor. Por mi caminarán y vencerán los hombres... y la faz de la tierra se ilumina cuando salgo frente a mi trono. Así, pues, yo soy el sol, yo soy la luna, para el linaje humano."

[28] "Hijos sin linaje materno" es una expresión ofensiva. Actualmente, en Yucatán se conserva el significado de la falta de madre. Una persona sin sentimientos humanitarios, que no respeta las instituciones sociales, que le falta buena educación, es una persona "que no tiene madre". Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 58), hablando de la educación de las mujeres, dice a este respecto: "Dicen, por mucho baldón y grave reprensión a las mozas mal disciplinadas, *que parecen mujeres criadas sin madre.*"

[29] El nombre de Uxmal puede ser aquí un error por Itzamal, que era lugar de Kinich Kakmó.

[30] Las dos plantas aquí mencionadas son de difícil identificación. Existen registrados los nombres *Kax*, una *Randia* e *Ixhouen*, una *Spondias*.

[31] Sobre los nombres de estas estrellas véase *n.* 15, en la p. 162.

[32] *Maycu*, Venado-tecolote, *Mayapan*, Estandarte-venado. Siempre ha sido un problema la interpretación del elemento *may* formativo de Maya y sus derivados. Pero *may* es forma derivada de una vieja raíz relacionada con la idea de apresar, coger, y de ahí que entre en la formación de va-

rias palabras que significan la acción de coger con las manos o la extremidad misma, mano o pie, del hombre y de los animales. Así tenemos que *mach* es coger con la mano y *may* es pezuña hendida, como *moch'* es pata de ave y *mool* garra de mamífero, etc. Con *may*, pezuña, se nombra al venado, aunque el Diccionario de Motul dice que se aplica al "venadillo pequeño criado en casa" (véase *ah may*), como con *mool* se designa al jaguar (*chacmool* o simplemente *mool*). Recuérdese que en los tonalámatl de la altiplanicie el día *mazatl*, venado, se representa a veces con sólo la pezuña del ciervo y que su correspondiente día maya *manik*, se representa con una mano en actitud de agarrar. El elemento *-cu* en *Maycu* lo tomamos como tecolote, pero puede ser un locativo, en cuyo caso significaría Venado-lugar. El nombre *maya* podría significar, por otra parte, Venado-agua, es decir, Venado del agua, ya que *-a* en los nombres mayas siempre se refiere al líquido. *Maycu* es uno de los nombres que acompañan a Mayapan que se discute en otro lugar.

[33] "Marca del pie" y "huella del pie" parecen ser frases hechas en los documentos escritos por indígenas. Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin usa decir "con los cabellos amarrados (es decir, en plan de guerra) a imponer la huella del pie", para explicar la conquista de alguna población por los conquistadores y la humillación sufrida por los vencidos.

[34] *Kinchil Coba*, Chachalaca-de-rostro-solar, es aquí claramente un lugar. Sin embargo, Avendaño y Loyola (Ms., f. 29v) menciona este nombre como el de una deidad que es para los Itzaes, en 1696, "su vijía y centinela que los defiende de todos sus contratiempos". Es posible, como creen Thompson (Thompson, Pollock, Charlot, 1932, p. 6) y Roys (1930, p. 82), que el nombre corresponda a la actual Cobá arqueológica. Es también posible que la principal deidad allí adorada en tiempos antiguos haya sido Kinchil Cobá. El nombre ha sido traducido Chachalaca-de-rostro-solar, en virtud de que *Kinchil* es forma reducida de *kinich-il*, siendo *kin*, sol; *ich*, rostro; *-il*, sufijo de genitivo. Cobá es uno de los nombres de la chachalaca, *Ortalis*, sp. Puede verse el Diccionario de Motul: "*ahcoba:* especie de faisanes llamados bach". En efecto, *bach* es el nombre más conocido del ave. Por otra parte, en la versión del texto de la profecía del mismo 13 Ahau que aparece en la Segunda Rueda, correspondiente al Libro de Tizimín, el lugar del asiento se llama *cabal ix bach*, el-pueblo-de-la-chachalaca, mientras que la versión de Chumayel tiene Kinchil Cobá allí como aquí. Esta ave es diurna, anuncia con sus gritos

tanto la salida como la puesta del sol y tiene en el rostro unas membranas rojas como las gallinas.

SEGUNDA RUEDA

[1] Se hace referencia aquí al excesivo trabajo a que fueron sometidos los nativos cuando se construyeron los templos, especialmente la Catedral de Mérida.

[2] El texto maya dice *sac ibteeloob cab*. *Sac* denota blanco, pero también falso; *ibteel* se ha dejado sin traducir, porque es de muy difícil interpretación. El morfema *ib*, aislado, nombra a cierta clase de frijol, posiblemente *Phaseolus lunatus* L., frijol lima pequeño, pero aparece en algunos otros nombres como componente: *ibach*, el mamífero desdentado, *Dasypus* sp., llamado popularmente armadillo o armado en español; *ibin*, *ibnel* o *ibnil*, la placenta y el cordón umbilical de los mamíferos. También entra a formar parte del nombre de la víbora coralillo: *chac ib can*, que puede traducirse por serpiente-frijol-rojo. El segundo componente de *ibteel*, *teel*, puede *significar* "pierna o espinilla de la pierna"; "ser necesario", "la mucha o vieja costumbre, o maña que uno tiene de hazer algo", según el Diccionario de Motul, pero en estos casos no está unido sufijamente a otro nombre. Aparece antes de otro en el compuesto *teelchac*, que significa "raizes largas y gruesas de árboles que suelen estenderse mucho y descubrirse por el campo y caminar", según el Diccionario citado, pero que etimológicamente dice: las piernas o espinillas de Chac. Parece que hay un significado no accesible por hoy de *ib*, que se refiere a opresión o maldad.

[3] En un texto sin paralelo del Chumayel, Tantun está relacionado con Cozumel. Véase Roys (1933, p. 66). Tantun puede significar ante-la-piedra-preciosa.

[4] *Ixanom*, que aquí aparece como Eva, se tiene como Adán en varios otros documentos: en el Diccionario de Motul se lee una vez: "*anom:* el primer hombre, Adán", y otra: "*ix anom:* nuestro primer padre. *Vide yax cheel cab*". Es importante notar que envía al lector a ver *yax cheel cab*, pero no registra el artículo. Sin embargo, Avendaño y Loyola, precisamente al tratar del *yax cheel cab* es cuando se refiere a Ixanom (x Anom), "nuestro primer padre", con las mismas palabras del Diccionario. Ver *supra*, *n.* 15. Según Sáenz de Santa María (1940), *anom*, en cakchiquel, significa "el que se escapó" y *poi anom*, "el mortal".

[5] Montañas angulosas, es decir, las pirámides.

[6] Esta referencia a "ahorcar a los hombres de edad avan-

zada" durante el predominio de signos que propicia el Sol Nueve, es decir, el ritual agrícola, se encuentra también en Avendaño y Loyola (1696), en que refiere que entre los Itzaes era costumbre matar a los viejos cuando llegaban a la edad de 50 años, para que no aprendiesen a ser brujos y a matar, costumbre que resulta lógica si se tiene en cuenta que la deidad rival del agua, el fuego, se representaba mediante un hombre viejo y con barbas, llamándose éste, por antonomasia, "el dios viejo", lugar que en nuestros días parece haber ocupado, entre otros varios, el Señor San José del culto católico, por representársele con la imagen de un hombre viejo y barbado.

[7] De las hormigas que arruinan el maíz o destruyen "a las abejas meleras", trae Landa (1938, p. 71) una referencia al parecer inocente, pero de hecho llena del carácter hierático de todas las noticias que provenían de labios indígenas, particularmente cuando se referían a sus ideas religiosas: "Este año en que la letra era *Cauac* y reinaba el *Bacab Hozanek*, temían allende de la pronosticada mortandad por ruin, porque decían les habían los muchos soles de matar los maizales, y comer las muchas hormigas lo que sembrasen y los pájaros..."

[8] *Silil* (o *Zilil*) lo toma Roys (1933, p. 54) por una forma de *zil*, nombre que, según Martínez Hernández le informó, se aplica a una palmera no identificada.

[9] Sobre este particular es de interés conocer lo que dice Del Granado Baeza, cura de Yaxcabá, en su *Informe...* de 1813 (Mérida, 1937, pp. 7-8): "La segunda [superstición] es la que llaman Kex, que quiere decir cambio, y se reduce a colgar ciertas comidas y bebidas alrededor de la casa de algún enfermo, para el yuncimil, que quiere decir, para la muerte, o señor de la muerte, con lo que piensan rescatar la vida del enfermo. La tercera es colgar ciertas jícaras de bebidas, que llaman sacá, bajo las casas de colmenas para que no desamparen los corchos, o para que traigan mucha miel, o porque no enfermen sus dueños."

[10] *Yuc* es el corzo americano, *Mazama pandora*, Merriam, cérvido de pequeño tamaño de color rojizo y cuernos sin ramificaciones.

[11] *Bolay*, según el Diccionario de Motul, es el "nombre genérico a todo animal bravo y que mata"; *chac* vale por rojo o fuerte. Pero *Chacbolay*, conforme al mismo Diccionario, se aplica específicamente al "tigre bermejo y bravo".

[12] *Ix pom kakil* dice el texto maya y esta fórmula, que literalmente significa La-del-fuego-de-copal, personificando,

quiere decir, según el Diccionario de Motul, "enfermedad de viruelas grandes" (el diccionario no antepone a *pom* el signo personal femenino). Las viruelas se llaman *kak*, fuego; actualmente son enfermedad santa; se las llama *santo kak*, fuego-santo, y están relacionadas con Cristo, por lo que también se las llama *u kakil cichcelem yum*, El-fuego-del-bello-Señor, y en español viruelas del Señor. La forma benigna está relacionada con la Virgen María y se la llama *u kakil ciichpam colel*, El-fuego-de-la-bella-Señora, y en español viruelas de la Virgen.

Acerca de la santidad de la viruela, Baqueiro Anduze (1937, p. 61) dice: "...ésta no se llama, por ejemplo, viruela sino precisamente la *Santa* Viruela. Si alguien cometiese la imprudencia de llamarla de otro modo, pondría en *grave* peligro la vida del enfermo, o se expondría él mismo a contraerlas, porque los *Yumil-Kak*, los tres duendecillos *dueños* o señores de esta enfermedad y a los que se les da la figura de tres niños, se sentirán profundamente disgustados..."

En Comitán, Chiapas, los tojolabales, según Basauri (1931, pp. 42 *ss.*), adoran a un santo, San Caralampio, como "abogado contra la peste y aire contagioso", especialmente contra la viruela, ya que surgió al culto popular a consecuencia de una epidemia de dicha enfermedad que hubo en la región comiteca el año de 1862 y desde entonces se convirtió su santuario en uno de los más famosos del país, a pesar de la oposición del clero por no figurar San Caralampio en el martirologio.

Es importante considerar la relación que existe entre la viruela y el fuego, palpable, no solamente en su nombre —fuego, copal— sino en su dedicación a Cristo y en algunos hechos colaterales como el que refiere Basauri que aconteció cuando un sacerdote, en 1910, se atrevió a aseverar desde el púlpito que el santo abogado de la enfermedad, San Caralampio, no figuraba en el martirologio cristiano: "pues esa misma noche, al tratar de encender una lámpara de alcohol, se inflamó todo el contenido del depósito, y el sacerdote recibió quemaduras en el rostro".

[13] Véase *n.* 9, en p. 182.

[14] *Ax*, otro término cuyo significado es de difícil interpretación. Significaba y significa aún ahora verruga y no se le conoce otra acepción.

[15] "...los cinco estados del país llano." El texto maya dice *hotzuc chakan*, literalmente las-cinco-divisiones-de-la-sabana. El Katun 1 Ahau de que aquí se trata tuvo como asiento a Emal, un lugar que posiblemente sea el mismo

que se encuentra en la costa norte de Yucatán un poco al oriente del meridiano de Tizimín. En aquellas regiones hay abundantes sabanas o "países llanos", en el sentido de llanura sin árboles. Sin embargo, Mérida, la antigua Ichcaansihó, está en un territorio que perteneció a la provincia o pequeño Estado de Chakan, que significa sabana, porque está rodeada de tal clase de terreno.

[16] Respecto al sacrificio de infantes en relación con el culto agrícola, obsérvese lo que dice Sahagún (1938, pp. 119-121) de los altos de México: "Al tercero mes llamaban *tozoztontli:* en el primero día de este mes hacían fiesta al dios llamado *Tláloc,* que es dios de las pluvias. En esta fiesta mataban muchos niños sobre los montes; ofrecíanlos en sacrificio a este dios y a sus compañeros para que los diesen agua...

"En este mes Atlcahualo mataban muchos niños: sacrificábanlos en muchos lugares y en las cumbres de los montes, sacándoles los corazones a honra de los dioses del agua, para que les diesen agua o lluvias.

"A los niños que mataban componíanlos con ricos atavíos para llevarlos a matar, y llevábanlos en unas literas sobre los hombros, y las literas iban adornadas con plumajes y con flores: iban tañendo, cantando y bailando delante de ellos.

"Cuando llevaban a los niños a matar si lloraban y echaban muchas lágrimas, alegrábanse los que los llevaban, porque tomaban pronóstico de que había de tener muchas aguas ese año...

"En las calendas del primer mes del año, que se llamaba *quauitleóa,* y los mexicanos le llamaban *atlcahualo,* el cual comenzaba segundo día de febrero, hacían gran fiesta a honra de los dioses del agua o de la lluvia llamados *Tlaloque;* para esta fiesta buscaban muchos niños de teta, comprándolos a sus madres; escogían aquellos que tenían dos remolinos en la cabeza y que hubiesen nacido en buen signo: decían que éstos eran más agradable sacrificio a estos dioses, para que diesen agua en su tiempo. A estos niños llevaban a matar a los montes altos, donde ellos tenían hecho voto de ofrecer; a unos de ellos sacaban los corazones en aquellos montes, y a otros en ciertos lugares de la laguna de México. El un lugar llamaban *Tepetzinco,* monte conocido que está en la laguna; y a otros en otro monte que se llama *Tepepulco,* en la misma laguna; y a otros en el remolino de la laguna que llaman *Pantitlan.* Gran

cantidad de niños mataban cada año en estos lugares; [y] después de muertos los cocían y comían.

"En esta misma fiesta, en todas las casas y palacios levantaban unos palos como varales, en las puntas de los cuales ponían unos papeles llenos de gotas de *ulli*, a los cuales papeles llamaban *amatetéuitl;* esto hacían a honra de los dioses del agua. Los lugares donde mataban los niños son los siguientes: el primero se llama *Quauhtépetl:* es una sierra eminente que está cerca de Tlatelolco. A los niños, o niñas que allí mataban ponían los el nombre del mismo monte, que es *Quauhtépetl;* a los que allí mataban componíanlos con los papeles teñidos de color encarnado. Al segundo monte sobre el que mataban niños llamaban *Ioaltécatl;* es una sierra eminente que está cabe Guadalupe; ponían el mismo nombre del monte a los niños que allí morían, que es *Ioaltécatl*, [y] componíanlos con unos papeles teñidos de negro con unas rayas de tinta colorada. El tercer monte sobre que mataban niños se llama *Tepetzinco;* es aquel montecillo que está dentro de la laguna frontero del *Tlatelolco;* allí mataban una niña y llamábanla *Quetzálxoch* porque así se llamaba también el monte por otro nombre; componíanla con unos papeles teñidos de tinta azul. El cuarto monte sobre que mataban niños se llama *Poyauhtla* [y] es un monte que está en los términos de Tlaxcala, y allí, cabe Tepetzinco, a la parte de oriente tenían edificada una casa que llamaban *ayauhcalli*, en esta casa mataban niños a honra de aquel monte y llamábanlos *Poyauhtla*, como al mismo monte, que está acullá en los términos de Tlaxcala; componíanlos con unos papeles ravados con aceite de *ulli*. El quinto lugar en que mataban niños era el remolino o sumidero de la laguna en México, al cual llamaban *Pantitlan;* a los que allí morían llamaban *epcóatl;* el atavío con que los aderezaban eran unos atavíos que llamaban *epnepaniuhqui*. El sexto lugar o monte donde mataban estos niños se llama *Cócotl;* es un monte que está cabe Chalco Atenco; a los niños que allí mataban llamábanlos *Cócotl*, como al mismo monte, y aderezábanlos con unos papeles la mitad colorados y la mitad leonados. El séptimo lugar donde mataban los niños era un monte que llaman *Yiauhqueme*, que está cabe *Atlacuihuaya;* ponían los el nombre del mismo monte; ataviábanlos con unos papeles de color leonado.

Estos tristes niños antes que los llevasen a matar aderezábanlos con piedras preciosas, con plumas ricas y con mantas y *maxtles* muy curiosas y labradas, y con cotaras muy labradas y muy curiosas, y ponían los unas alas de

papel como ángeles y teñíanles las caras ocn aceite de *ulli*, y en medio de las mejillas les ponían unas rodajitas de blanco; y ponían los en unas andas muy aderezadas con plumas ricas y con otras joyas ricas, y llevándolos en las andas, íbanles tañendo con flautas y trompetas que ellos usaban. Y por donde los llevaban toda la gente lloraba, cuando llegaban con ellos a un oratorio que estaba junto a *Tepetzinco*, de la parte del occidente, al cual llamaban *Tozocan;* allí los tenían toda una noche velando y cantábanles cantares los sacerdotes de los ídolos, porque no durmiesen. Y cuando ya llevaban los niños a los lugares a donde los habían de matar, si iban llorando y echaban muchas lágrimas, alegrábanse los que los veían llorar porque decían que era señal que llovería muy presto. Y si topaban en el camino algún hidrópico, teníanlo por mal agüero y decían que ellos impedían la lluvia."

KATUNES AISLADOS

1 Landa refiere que los ídolos de madera eran apreciados sobre los de cualquier otro material, y asimismo considerados como lo más valioso en las herencias. Entre estos "ídolos" hay que considerar las máscaras de madera, que parecen haber sido insignias que usaban los príncipes, con los atributos de determinada deidad. En el testimonio de Juan Dzul de Hocabá, obtenido en la información contra la idolatría por Fray Francisco Toral, primer Obispo de Yucatán, en 1562, que reproducen Scholes y Adams (1938, vol. I, p. 137), se lee: "Preguntado si este declarante ha tenido ídolos y libros, dijo que es verdad que ha tenido ídolos y libros y máscaras, y cuatro máscaras trajo... El testigo Francisco Cen, en la misma ocasión, declaró "que cuando sacrificaron y mataron a la dicha muchacha tenían presentes treinta o cuarenta ídolos de barro pequeños y más de veinte máscaras de palo, los cuales tenían con rama aderezados".

2 *Ah Canul*, El-guardián. A la gente "mexicana" que los Cocom tuvieron en Mayapan para su protección se les llamó Ah Canul. Según Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 18), "porque eran extranjeros, y que así los dejaron dándoles facultad para que poblasen pueblo apartado para si solos o se fuesen de la tierra, y que no pudiesen casar con los naturales de ella sino entre ellos, y que éstos escogieron quedarse en Yucatán y no volver a las lagunas y mosquitos de Tabasco, y poblaron en la provincia de Canul que les fue señalada, y que allí duraron hasta las guerras segundas de los españo-

les". Esta provincia estaba situada en la parte occidental de la península comprendiendo la región de Calkini y la costa adyacente.

[3] La referencia a "entonces será el teñirse de añil" halla confirmación, como costumbre, en Landa, pareciendo que el embadurnamiento con la pasta azul hecha de añil llamada en maya *ch'oh*, se relacionaba con ritos de la fecundidad, es decir, con el ritual agrícola. Refiere Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 51-52, 85 y 97), en su capítulo "Sacrificios y Mortificaciones Crueles y Sucios de los yucatanenses. Víctimas Humanas Matadas a Flechazos y Otros", una especial manera de matar en la cual entraba el embadurnarse con pasta azul de añil:

"Y llegado el día, juntábanse en el patio del templo; y si había de ser sacrificado a saetadas, desnudábanle en cueros y untábanle el cuerpo de azul, con una coroza en la cabeza; y después de alanzado el demonio, hacía la gente un solemne baile con él, todos con arcos y flechas alrededor del palo; y bailando, subíanle en él y atábanle, y siempre bailando y mirándole todos. Subía el sucio del sacerdote vestido y, con una flecha en la parte verenda, fuese mujer o hombre, le hería y sacaba sangre; y bajábase y untaba con ella los rostros al demonio; y haciendo cierta señal a los bailantes, le comenzaban a flechar por orden, como bailando pasaban a priesa, al corazón, el cual tenía señalado con una señal blanca; y de esta manera poníanle todos, los pechos en un punto, como erizo de flechas.

"Si le habían de sacar el corazón, le traían al patio con gran aparato y compañía de gente y, embadurnado de azul y su coroza puesta, le llevaban a la grada redonda, que era el sacrificadero; y, después que el sacerdote y sus oficiales untaban aquella piedra con color azul y echaban, purificando el templo, al demonio, tomaban los *chaces* al pobre que sacrificaban, y con gran presteza le ponían de espaldas en aquella piedra y asíanle de las piernas y brazos todos cuatro, que le partían por medio."

También da el mismo cronista noticias de la pasta azul de añil en las ceremonias del mes *Yaxkín:* "En este mes de Yaxkín, se comenzaban a aparejar como solían, para una fiesta que hacían general en *Mol*, en el día que señalaba el sacerdote, a todos los dioses; llamábanla *Olob-Zab-Kamyax*. Lo que después, juntos en el templo y hechas las cerimonias y sahumerios que en las pasadas hacían, pretendían era untar, con el betún azul que hacían, todos los instrumentos de todos los oficios, desde el sacerdote hasta los husos de las

mujeres y los postes de sus casas"; y finalmente, en ceremonias del ritual agrícola efectuadas en el mes *Mac*: "Esto hecho con su devoción acostumbrada, untaban el primero escalón del montón de las piedras con lodo del pozo, y los demás escalones con betún azul, y echaban muchos sahumerios y invocaban a los Chaces y a Izamná con sus oraciones y devociones, y ofrecían sus presentes."

[4] La referencia "estucarán con pintura", atañe a la costumbre que parece haber existido de pintar y remozar las casas habitaciones en los pueblos sometidos, por sus moradores, como indicación de rebeldía y preludio de dificultades para los caciques que tenían sumisa la población. En Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin se encuentra que estando los mexicas en Culhuacán, Cerro de la Estrella, sometidos a los señores culhuas, estucaron con pintura sus casas "durante cuatro años", como manifestación de su rebeldía contra el gobierno culhua, tutela de la que al fin se independizan y aun sojuzgan (Silvia Rendón, 1947, Ms.).

[5] *Bolon Mayel*, según el Diccionario de Motul, es "qualquier olor suavíssimo y trascendente".

Bolon Dzacab, según el Diccionario de Motul, es "cosa perpetua". *Dzacab* significa generalmente generación, grado de parentesco.

[6] *Piltzintecuhtli* es vocablo mexicano. Se le identifica como "el sol joven". Está compuesto de *pil(li)* infante, más la forma reverencial *tzin*, y la palabra *tecuhtli*, príncipe, señor. Su papel en la mitología es oscuro y bastante confuso.

[7] *Ixtab* fue la deidad patrona de los que se ahorcaban. Véase lo que asienta Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 62): "Decían también, y tenían por muy cierto, iban a esta su gloria los que se ahorcaban; y así había muchos que con pequeñas ocasiones de tristezas, trabajos o enfermedades, se ahorcaban para salir dellas, y ir a descansar a su gloria, donde decían los venía a llevar la diosa de la horca que llamaban *Ixtab*." En efecto, en el Códice de Dresden 53a, aparece una deidad femenina con una cuerda en la garganta, de la que pende. La palabra *tab*, en maya de Yucatán, significa, según el Diccionario de Motul: "cordel o cuerda con que los indios atan y llevan las cargas a cuestas", "atadero, cuerda, ramal con que se ata algo", y también: "horca donde ahorcan a los malhechores; *unde tab cal:* ahorcarse uno mismo". Cita Landa también (*op. cit.*, p. 79), como diosa de la caza, a *tabai* (en la edición mencionada mal transcrito, acoplándose dos nombres: *Zipitibai* que debe leerse *Zip* y *Tabai*). Sin duda se refiere a la misma deidad, quizás como pa-

trona de la caza con lazos. La forma *tabai* está compuesta de *tab* más el sufijo *-ai* o *-ay*, que denota acción, ejercicio. Es importante hacer notar que actualmente la deidad *tabai*, llamada más comúnmente *Ixtabai* o *Xtabai*, se ha transformado en un demonio con función de profilaxis social, pues aparece como una bella mujer con el cabello suelto, en los caminos, para atraer a los hombres, que la siguen engañados para recibir sólo la muerte. Vive en las ceibas o en las grutas; en ocasiones se convierte en un nopal o en una serpiente de doble cola, al ser abrazada por el hombre que la sigue. En algunas versiones de sus hazañas las víctimas son ahorcadas, ahogadas por la doble punta de la cola de la serpiente, apuñaladas o simplemente se vuelven locas.

[8] La mención constante de que "se escalará lo alto de los montes" o "arderá lo alto de los montes" durante el predominio de los símbolos celestiales hace pensar desde luego en el culto agrícola de los altos de México, que se celebraba en la cima de los cerros donde se juntaban nubes, a honra de Tlaloc, de quien dice Sahagún (1938, pp. 17, 48-51 y 102):

"Este dios llamado Tlaloc Tlamacazqui era el dios de las lluvias. Tenían que él daba las lluvias para que regasen la tierra, mediante la cual lluvia se criaban todas las yerbas, árboles y frutas y mantenimientos; también tenían que él enviaba el granizo y los relámpagos y rayos, y las tempestades del agua, y los peligros de los ríos y de la mar. En llamarse Tlaloc Tlamacazque quiere decir que es dios que habita en el paraíso terrenal, y que da a los hombres los mantenimientos necesarios para la vida corporal: los servicios que se le hacían están en el segundo libro, entre las fiestas de los dioses."

[9] *Ah Mucen Cab*, El-que-guarda-la-miel. Aparece a veces como *Ah Muzen Cab*. Actualmente existen entre los mayas de Quintana Roo, según Redfield, los Mulzen Cab, deidades apícolas residentes en Cobá. Véase Roys (1933, p. 64).

[10] Según las noticias que se tienen en las fuentes sobre el tizne y el entiznamiento, tal rito se efectuaba en ocasión de penitencias. Aquí, sin embargo, su sentido es el de haberse usado como afrenta y vergüenza.

[11] Respecto al sacrificio de "huérfanos de madre, huérfanos de padre", es decir, de gentes que carecían de protección, véase lo que dice Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 51): "Que sin las fiestas en las cuales, para la solemnidad de ellas, se sacrifican personas, también, por alguna tribulación o necesidad, les mandaba el sacerdote o chilanes sacrificar personas; y para esto, contribuían todos para que se comprasen escla-

vos, o algunos de devoción daban sus hijitos, los cuales eran muy regalados hasta el día y fiesta de sus personas, y muy guardados que no se huyesen o ensuciasen de algún carnal pecado..."

12 "...se enrosque el cogollo del henequén *ch'elem*." El ch'elem es uno de los agaves nativos de Yucatán —*¿Agave ixtli?*—. Crece silvestre, sobre todo en los terrenos pedregosos y, naturalmente, es de gran resistencia a las sequías. La expresión, pues, se refiere a un exceso tal de calor solar que ni siquiera las plantas como el *ch'elem* podrían soportar.

13 El norte y el poniente son regiones de donde vienen males. De ambas soplan vientos que enferman, el *xaman caan*, viento del norte, y el *chikin ik*, viento del poniente, son temidos, porque producen enfermedades. El primero porque es frío y el segundo porque de esa región viene todo lo malo. Cuando sopla el *chikin ik*, las madres ocultan a sus niños para que ese viento no los dañe.

14 *Mucuy* es el nombre maya de Yucatán de la tortolilla *Columbigallina* de cualquier especie. Es término aplicado a veces a las mujeres, especialmente a las púberes, actualmente.

15 *Ah Ektenel Ahau*, El-Señor-de-la-flauta-negra; *Chactenel Ahau*, El-Señor-de-la-flauta-roja; *Sactenel Ahau*, El-Señor-de-la-flauta-blanca. Los elementos que en estos nombres se refieren al color son *Ek*, *Chac* y *Sac*. *Ahau* vale por Señor. *Tenel* está traducido por flauta, aunque pudiera ser músico. En los diccionarios yucatecos no existe el término *tenel*, pero en el huasteco de Tapia Zenteno (p. 85) se halla: "Tocar instrumento, *Teney*." El que los toca: *Tenel*. Cf. cakchiquel *tunan*, tocar la trompeta (Sáenz de Santa María, 1940, p. 374). En el maya yucateco, *chul* es el nombre de la flauta. En la región huasteca de San Luis Potosí se le suele llamar *ten* a la flauta.

16 Aquí hay una interpretación, al parecer popular, del nombre *chilan* que es como a veces viene escrito. Según el maya moderno, *chil* es el morfema que denota la idea de echarse, acostarse, y *chila'an* significa acostado, tendido. Pero en el siglo XVI, según los diccionarios conocidos, este morfema tenía la forma *chel* y el participio correspondiente era *chela'an* y no *chila'an*. El nombre *chilam* viene de boca, en el sentido de habla, según se ha explicado en la introducción general.

17 Obsérvese el paralelismo que presenta esta oscura expresión: "será el tiempo del bastón de oro y será el tiempo

de la cera blanca", con una escena descrita en los *Anales de Quauhtinchan* en que uno de los personajes, el sacerdote *Quetzaltehuéyac*, "hundió su bastón en el interior de la cueva del cerro de Colhuaca y de adentro vino pegada a su bastón una abeja de miel, al sacar él su bastón. Por este motivo se llamó Xicotopilli (bastón de abeja)" (1947, p. 90). Siguiendo la relación del texto, se ve que la "abeja de miel" que salió pegada al bastón del personaje es uno de los propios individuos que dentro del "Cerro de Colhuaca" estaban reunidos, y que éstos, por otra parte, se llaman a sí mismos "abejitas montesas de miel", todo lo cual parece colocar nuevamente al estudioso frente a otro de los frecuentes problemas derivados del uso de nombres y símbolos totémicos del México antiguo, en este caso abejas y bastones que llevarían insignias apícolas, que según parece serían abejas auténticas, tales como la cera.

18 Compárese lo que dice Cogolludo (1867, p. 284): "... junto al edificio del templo en algunas partes hay otro, donde vivían unas doncellas, que eran como monjas, al modo de las vírgenes vestales de los romanos. Tenían su superior, como Abadesa... por la guarda de su virginidad, y de los que estaban a su cargo. Tenían portera para guarda de su recogimiento, y cuidaban del fuego que había continuo en los templos, y si se apagaba, tenían pena de la vida, a quien le cabía tener cuidado de ello."

19 "Haríais el papel de venado", es decir, seríais sacrificados como venados. Véase lo que Juan Magaña dice en su "Relación de Zotuta y Tibolon", en Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 269 *ss.*) a respuesta 14: "Adoraban a ídolos hechos de piedra y palo y de barro, que ellos propios hacían: y tenían sus sacerdotes que ellos llaman *alquines* [*ah kines*], que hacían el sacrificio por el pueblo, quera dalles sangre de venados y otros animales; quieren decir que sacrificaban sangre y corazones de hombres, quemándoles incienso de la tierra, que acá llaman *copal*."

Cuando la conquista española se verificó, existía la tradición de que antes de la penetración del culto a Quetzalcóatl, los mayas no eran idólatras. Juan de la Cueva Santillán, en su "Relación de Isamal y Santa María", incluida en la obra ya citada (pp. 187 *ss.*), en la misma respuesta 14 dice: "Dícese que los primeros pobladores de Chichenizá no fueron idólatras hasta que *Kukulcan*, capitán mexicano, entró en estas provincias, el cual enseñó la idolatría como ellos dicen que éste les enseñó". Por su parte, Pedro de Santillana, en la "Relación de Quinacama o Moxopipe (ac-

tual Muxupip)" (*op. cit.*, pp. 195 *ss.*), a la misma respuesta 14 asienta: "Dicen los antiguos desta provincia, que antiguamente, cerca de ochocientos años ha en esta tierra no idolatraban, y después que los mexicanos entraron en ella y la poseyeron, un capitán que se decía Quetzalcuat en la lengua mexicana... y este capitán susodicho introdujo en esta tierra la idolatría y usó de ídolos por dioses, los cuales hacían hacer de palo y de barro y de piedra, y los hacía adorar y les ofrecían muchas cosas de caza y de mercaderías y, sobre todo, la sangre de sus narices y orejas y corazones de algunos que sacrificaban con sahumerios de copal, que es el encienso desta tierra..."

20 Esta expresión, "flores y tomar esposas", corresponde en sentido a la de *kam nicté* que el Diccionario de Motul trae por "casarse y el matrimonio", cuando de hombres se trata, porque casarse para mujeres se dice *kam uinic*, que el citado léxico explica que significa "desposado, o esposo que otorga para casarse y condescender de la parte del varón para este efecto". *Kam* significa recibir, y *uinic* varón. *Nicté* es nombre genérico para flor o rosa y en particular de la variedad llamada actualmente en Yucatán Flor de Mayo (Plumeria); además, según el Motul, *Nicté* significa "deshonestidad, vicio de carne y travezuras de mujeres", y *nicteil than*, "palabras deshonestas y lascivas", y *nicteil uinic*, "mala mujer de su cuerpo", etc., de donde se ve que la voz *nicté*, además de indicar flor, es una forma sinónima para indicar sexo femenino.

21 La mención de las pinturas de las superficies de los muros, la trae Landa (1938, ed yuc., p. 35) al referirse a las casas: "...y que la otra mitad blanquean de muy gentil encalado, y que los señores las tienen pintadas de muchas galanterías, y que esta mitad es el recibimiento y aposento de los guéspedes..." Por su parte, Sánchez de Aguilar (1937, p. 1940), al referirse a los "famosos, grandes, y espantosos edificios de cal y canto, y sillería, y figuras y estatuas de piedra labrada, que dexaron en *Oxumal* [Uxmal] y en *Chichinizá*, que oy se veen, y se pudieran habitar", dice que "...en las paredes destos dexaron los Mexicanos muchas figuras pintadas de colores vivos, que oy se veen de sus sacrificios, y bailes..."

22 Acerca de *Chuncaan*, el Diccionario de Motul dice: "*ah chun can:* ydolo de los indios antiguos de Mérida. Item el cerro grande que está tras Sant Francisco de Mérida". Por su parte, Cogolludo (1867, vol. I, p. 319) relata: "Los de Tihoó, donde está la ciudad de Mérida [tenian] otro [ídolo]

llamado *Ahchun caan*. Y así se llama el cerro, que está al oriente de nuestro convento, que debía de estar en él."

CUCEB

1 La constante alusión, en el culto acuático, al árbol *yaxché*, ceiba, recuerda los "Árboles de la Abundancia", establecidos por las deidades de la lluvia en alguna de las ocasiones de su predominio, como símbolos de su poderío. Del *Yaxché* dice Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 61-62): "Esta vida futura decían que se dividía en buena y mala vida, en penosa y llena de descansos. La mala y penosa, decían era para los viciosos; y la buena y deleitable, para los que hubiesen vivido bien en su manera de vivir; los descansos que decían habían de alcanzar, si eran buenos, eran ir a un lugar muy delectable donde ninguna cosa les diese pena, y donde hubiese abundancia de comidas y bebidas de mucha dulzura, y un árbol que allá llaman Yaxché, muy fresco y de gran sombra, que es ceiba, debajo de cuyas ramas y sombra descansasen y holgasen todos siempre." Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9, nº 32, § XXIX, preámbulo) dice de la ceiba: "...oy en día en los Calendarios más modernos está corrupto el nombre latino de Nino en Ymox, pero colocado siempre en primer lugar, y su adoración alude a la Seiba, que es un árbol, que tienen en todas las plazas de sus pueblos a vista de la casa del Cauildo, y debajo de ella hacen sus elecciones de Alcaldes, y la sahuman con braseros, y tienen por muy assentado, que en las raíces de aquella Seiba son por donde viene su linage, y en vna manta muy antigua la tienen pintada, y algunos Maestros Nagualistas grandes, que se han conuertido han explicado lo referido, y otras muchas cosas". Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin usa la expresión *in pochotl in ahuéhuetl*, "la ceiba (pochote en mexicano), el ahuehuete", como insignia tribal de un grupo que llama *teotlixcas nonohualcas*, que, provenientes de una región marina no especificada, aparecen en los altos de México, según sus noticias, hacia mediados del siglo XIII. Teotlixca quiere decir El-del-rostro-del-sol, nombre que, según Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, lo tomaron porque adoraban al Sol y hacia él se volvían cuando le reverenciaban. *Nonohualca* es gentilicio de *Nonohualco*, cuya etimología parece venir de *nonohu(ian)*, "por todas partes, por todos lados", más *al*, agua, en el dialecto *olmeco mexicano*, con una forma desinencial *-co* que existe en ciertos toponímicos. El significado de la expresión es algo así como

En-donde-hay-agua-por-todas-partes. La etimología popular de *nonohualco* está derivada de *nontli*, mudo.

[2] *Ah Uuc Chapat* o *Ah Uucte Chapat;* este nombre, que aparece algunas veces sin el signo de masculino *Ah*, es el de una deidad nocturna, íntimamente relacionada con la tierra. Beltrán (1859, p. 228) describe el *chapat* como "Sabandija que entra en el oído y mata"; la sabandija no es otra que el ciempiés (*Scolopendra* Sp.).

Este miriápodo aparece en los códices en relación con el tocado de la deidad "D" de Schellhas, que se toma como lunar. Tozzer y Allen hacen notar que la cabeza del *chapat*, en sus representaciones del Códice de Dresden, se asemeja al signo *Akbal*, que significa noche.

[3] Véase *n.* 10, en p. 159.

[4] Esta referencia a "despojarse de ropas en los días de ayuno y penitencia", halla confirmación como costumbre en la noticia que da Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin sobre los mexicanos, que, derrotados y fugitivos, se refugiaron en Aztacalco Tulla, en donde desnudos, por penitencia, se pusieron solamente un faldellín de ortigas.

[5] Esta expresión o sus equivalentes se encuentran con gran frecuencia en los documentos indígenas. No parece referirse a la madre y el padre en sentido biológico, sino a los príncipes y gobernantes, que son como la madre y el padre del *macehual*.

[6] Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 77), al referirse al rito de los cazadores, que tenía efecto precisamente el día Siete del mes *Sip*, dice que invocaban "...a los dioses de la caza *Acanum, Zuhuy Sip i Tabai* y otros". Nótese que el numeral del nombre *Ah Uuc Suhuy Sip* es siete. *Sip* es todavía una deidad protectora de los venados en Yucatán y es descrita como un ciervo de gran tamaño que nunca puede ser cogido y que aparece ante el cazador para hacerle errar sus tiros. El morfema *sip* en el maya yucateco está en relación con ideas de errar, librar, morir y ofrendar (para este último significado véase *kuil* en el Diccionario de Motul; véase también *sip* en Sáenz de Santa María, p. 345). El venado era la víctima máxima que se cazaba para ofrendar. Una variante de *Ah Uuc Suhuy Sip* es *Ah Uuc Yol Sip*.

Otro mes maya tenía el propio nombre vulgar del venado, *Ceh*, y los cazadores no hacían en él ninguna ceremonia, sino en el inmediato anterior, llamado *Sac*, que propiciaban nuevamente a las deidades de la caza.

[7] Esta es una alusión al sacrificio de sacar corazones

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abriendo el pecho de las víctimas con navajones de piedra. Ya hemos transcrito (*supra*, p. 175) una descripción de Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 52) de tal sacrificio, y aun cuando no menciona que el sacrificador apoyara su rodilla en el cuerpo de la víctima, parece necesario que así fuera, para, con tal apoyo, abrirle mejor de un solo golpe el pecho: "Si le habían de sacar el corazón, le traían al patio con gran aparato y compañía de gente y... En esto llegaba el sayón *nacón* con un navajón de piedra, y dábale con mucha destreza y crueldad una cuchillada entre las costillas del lado izquierdo, debajo de la tetilla, y acudíale allí luego con la mano y echaba la mano del corazón, como rabioso tigre; y arrancábaselo vivo y, puesto en un plato, lo daba al sacerdote, el cual iba muy aprisa y untaba a los ídolos los rostros con aquella sangre fresca."

[8] *Ah Buluc Am* se ha traducido El-once-piedra-labrada, aunque también pudiera traducirse El-once-araña. Se ha escogido la primera forma porque el texto del Cuceb dice que se le llamó así en virtud de que era "la piedra preciosa de los Itzaes". *Am*, según el Diccionario de Motul, significa *araña* y también "dados para jugar". Landa describe *am* como "pedrezuelas de las suertes que echan" y estas pedrezuelas o dados sin duda debían ser cúbicas, ya que *am* es *raiz* de *amay*, "esquina o cantero". Por qué Moctezuma fue, según el texto mencionado, la piedra preciosa (*tunil*) de los Itzaes, es cosa que no podemos explicar.

[9] *Hapai Can*, Serpiente-tragadora, es deidad aún conocida entre los lacandones, como un espíritu malvado que absorbe gente con su propio aliento, según Tozzer (1907, p. 94).

[10] A *Itzamná*, deidad agrícola, dice Landa que hacían ofrendas de "empanadas de codornices". A *Tlazoltéotl*, divinidad de las "suciedades sexuales", se la representa en las pinturas indígenas de la altiplanicie con una codorniz en la boca. Tozzer (1941, *n.* 1111) da *Bolon Chac* como uno de los nombres mayas de la codorniz.

[11] *Ah Can Ek* es un nombre que puede interpretarse de varios modos ya que *can*, además de numeral, vale por serpiente y *ek* tiene el significado de estrella, aparte del de negro u oscuro.

[12] Compárese lo que dice Tozzer (1907, p. 153) sobre la "soga viva" (*cuxaan zuun*), nombre con que se designa a una imaginaria senda celestial que une a Chichen Itzá con Cobá y Tulum, al oriente, y con Uxmal, al sur.

[13] *Xiuit* es vocablo mexicano; *xihuitl* según la escritura

tradicional. Significa yerba verde, turquesa y año. En este caso parece estar usado en el primer sentido, como amenaza de los Ah Kines hacia los del culto agrícola: "se marchitará la yerba".

14 Esta expresión, "atado quedará a un árbol la burla del sol", recuerda el sacrificio a saetazos que se verificaba teniendo a la víctima atado a un tronco, columna o árbol, sacrificio que describe Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 51-52) diciendo que había "en los patios de los templos unos altos maderos y labrados y enhiestos, y cerca de las escaleras del templo tenían una peana redonda, ancha, y en medio una piedra de cuatro palmos o cinco de alto, enhiesta, algo delgada; arriba de las escaleras del templo había otra tal peana..." "Y llegado el día, juntábanse en el patio del templo..."

Esta misma ceremonia aparece en "Canción de la Danza del Arquero Flechador", una canción indígena en lengua maya dada a conocer por Barrera Vásquez (1944), en la cual se ve la siguiente descripción de la ceremonia:

Da tres ligeras vueltas
alrededor de la columna pétrea pintada,
aquella donde atado está aquel viril
muchacho, impoluto, virgen, hombre.
Da la primera; a la segunda
coge tu arco, ponle su dardo,
apúntale al pecho; no es necesario
que pongas toda tu fuerza para
asaetearlo; para no
herirlo hasta lo hondo de sus carnes
y así pueda sufrir
poco a poco, que así lo quiso
El Bello Señor Dios.
A la segunda vuelta que des a esa
columna pétrea azul, segunda vuelta
que dieres, fléchalo otra vez.

15 Según noticia de Barrera Vásquez, los *hmenes* mayas, brujos del culto agrícola, aun en nuestros días, llaman *molboxob*, "juntadores de cortezas", a los individuos que efectúan la tarea de reunir las cortezas del *balché* para la preparación del vino ceremonial. Es curioso saber que tal expresión se considera sagrada, que el vulgo la desconoce y que solamente los *hmenes* son quienes la utilizan y la entienden.

[1] El Tonalámatl o Libro de los Días sirvió a los principales pueblos que habitaron México y Centroamérica como un horóscopo para la predicción del carácter, oficio y otros futuros aspectos de la vida de los recién nacidos, sólo que no eran los astros los que ejercían su buena o mala influencia en el individuo, sino el carácter mismo del signo del día en que nacía, el cual estaba en relación con ciertos atributos asignados al ser o cosa que representaba el signo. Entre los aztecas (véase Sahagún, 1829, libro cuarto: *Arte Adivinatoria*, pp. 279 *ss.*), y posiblemente entre otros pueblos, influía la posición del signo dentro de la trecena; así sabemos que cada signo "gobernaba" trece días inclusive el suyo propio. Si su pronóstico, debido a su carácter esencial, no era favorable, entonces podía contrarrestársele "bautizando" al niño, según Sahagún, en un día de buen pronóstico que se siguiera, que generalmente era el tercero, el séptimo o cualquiera de los cuatro últimos, es decir, del décimo al decimotercero inclusive. Todos éstos de fijo eran buenos por su posición, aparte de sus caracteres esenciales. Las otras posiciones podían ser buenas, malas o indiferentes.

También sirvió el Tonalámatl para la asignación del nombre a los recién nacidos. Desde luego sabemos que los aztecas (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 284), los zapotecas y los mixtecas acostumbraban dar a las personas nombres calendáricos. Torquemada e Ixtlilxóchitl hacen referencia a algunos personajes totonacas llevando nombres calendáricos, aunque traducidos al náhuatl. Deidades del panteón azteca y algunas del quiché (recuérdese que en el *Popol-Vuh* aparecen Hun Camé y Ucub Camé, "Uno Muerte" y "Siete Muerte", etc.) llevaban también esta clase de nombres. De que hubieran practicado los mayas de Yucatán la costumbre de dar nombres calendáricos a los niños hay algunas noticias (véase Roys, 1940, donde aparecen los nombres calendáricos siguientes: Ah Chuen May y Ah Chuen Kauil). Por otra parte, puede deducirse de un párrafo de Landa que, cuando menos hasta cierta edad, los niños llevaban nombres calendáricos: "Nacidos los niños los bañan luego, y quando ya los avían quitado del tormento de allanarles las frentes, y cabezas ivan con ellos a los sacerdotes para q. les viesse el hado, y dixesse el officio q. avía de tener, y pusiese el nombre q. avía de tener el tiempo de su niñez, porq. acostumbravan llamar a los niños nombres diferentes hasta q. se

baptizavan, o eran grandecillos, y después dexaban aquellos y comenzaban a llamarlos el de los padres hasta q. los casavan q. se llamavan el del padre y de la madre" (Landa, Ms., ff. 26v. y 27f.; copia fotostática, pp. 53 y 54). Otros grupos mayas, como los cakchiqueles (cf. Sáenz de Santa María, 1940, *passim*), sí usaban nombres calendáricos.

Sahagún nos ha legado en el libro cuarto de su *Historia* todo el mecanismo de las veinte trecenas y sus pronósticos, según el sistema que siguieron los aztecas. Los sacerdotes que tenían a su cargo el Tonalámatl se llamaron tonalpouhque, es decir, los que llevan la cuenta de los días, "a los cuales acudía como a profetas, cualquiera a quien les nacía hijo o hija, para informarse de sus condiciones, vida y muerte", según palabras del fraile.

Los mayas de Yucatán llamaron a los mismos sacerdotes, *Ah Kin*, término de significación semejante al del nahua y que dice: el del día, y al acto mismo de la adivinación llamaron *kinyah*. El mismo nombre Ah Kin dieron los indios de Yucatán a los sacerdotes católicos, perdurando hasta ahora esta denominación.

Sobre el método de hacer la predicción por medio del Tonalámatl entre los mayas, no tenemos datos tan precisos como los de Sahagún. Ximénez (1929, vol. I, p. 102) nos transcribe sucintamente: "y cumplido aqueste número los 20 días, vuelven a empezar hasta dar vueltas a ajustar 360 [*sic*] días, dando a cada uno el bien o el mal que a ellos se les antoja, señalando si es buen día o malo para el que nacía en él; y si por aquí veían sus adivinos el día en que el niño nacía y según eso le pronosticaban lo que había de suceder". Como se ve, no nos habla de la intervención del cabalístico trece ni de otros números dentro de la serie. Las crónicas de Yucatán dicen menos que Ximénez. La lista de la veintena con sus respectivos pronósticos no la tenemos de pluma española, pero sí de pluma indígena, aunque anónima y muy elíptica, tal como si sus frases escuetas fueran justamente el equivalente pronunciable de algunos jeroglíficos.

Cuatro versiones diferentes conocemos hasta hoy de la lista de los veinte días y sus pronósticos. Tres en un solo documento: el Chilam Balam de Kaua. Las numeramos por su orden:

Núm. 1. Se encuentra en las páginas 11 y 12 del original (Kaua I).

Núm. 2. En las páginas 15 y 14 (Kaua II).

Núm. 3. No conservamos la numeración de las páginas (Kaua III).

Para su estudio, desgraciadamente, no tuvimos las listas directamente del original, sino de un volumen manuscrito que se conserva en la Universidad de Tulane, intitulado originalmente "Crónicas mayas" y posteriormente, en inglés, "Copies of Maya Documents", y que es una compilación de varios de los más importantes documentos originales mayas (véase su descripción en Gropp, 1933, pp. 265 *ss.*). Nuestras listas están en los folios 75v. a 76v., 77v. a 78r. y 81r/v., respectivamente, de dicho volumen.

La cuarta lista es casi idéntica a la tercera del Kaua. Se halla en el Chilam Balam de Maní (Códice Pérez), en las pp. 94 y 95. De las cuatro versiones, la primera está menos condensada que las tres últimas.

La primera tiene por encabezamiento: "U mutil chuen(n)il kin sansamal u kabaob yahalcab hun kalob u xocolob yahalcab hulunpel kin": Los pronósticos diarios del Artificio de los Días. Los nombres de los "amaneceres" (signos horoscópicos diarios) son veinte. Se lee (o cuenta) cada "amanecer" (o signo), uno para cada día.

Esta primera lista es meramente la de los nombres sin relación con diferentes periodos, como sucede con las otras tres. Comienza con Kan y termina con Akbal. Cada nombre, con el correspondiente numeral que le toca en las trecenas, siendo Kan el primero (hunil) de la primera trecena, y por consiguiente Caban el primero de la segunda. Después del vigésimo nombre, que es el Uucil Akbal, simplemente para indicar que el movimiento iniciado continúa, está repetido Kan con el numeral uaxac que le tocaría en la segunda repetición de los nombres. Sin embargo, aparte del numeral de la trecena, los días están numerados al margen conforme a la veintena. Así pues, el segundo Kan de la lista vuelve a tener también el número uno. Una nota explica el proceso de continuidad: "Cuando se alcance otra vez 21 signos regrésese atrás (repítase), así como lo hacen los entendidos."

La segunda lista está en relación con los "cargadores de años" de una serie que comienza con el de 1796 y termina con 1821. Los cargadores son Kan, Muluc, Ix y Cauac, que se van sucediendo en su orden hasta cubrir los veintiséis años, que también tienen señalada su correspondiente Letra Dominical cristiana. Paralela a las columnas de años y cargadores está la coincidente de los días y sus pronósticos,

DÍA	ANIMALES	PLANTA
Kan.	Pájaro Merula.	Ceiba roja.
Chicchan.	Serpiente Crótalo.	Ichtyomethia.
Cimi.	Tecolote.	
Manik.	Loro. Quetzal.	Cacao.
Lamat.	Disforme, perro.	
Muluc.	Tiburón. Jaguar.	
Oc.	Lorito Conorus.	
Chuen.		
Eb.	Tordito.	
Been.		
Ix.	Jaguar.	
Men.		
Cib.	Venado-Deidad.	
Caban.	Pájaro carpintero.	
Edznab.	Pájaro Momoto.	
Cauac.	Quetzal.	
Ahau.	Aguila rapaz.	
Imix.		Maíz. Flor Plumeria.
Ik.		Flor Plumeria.
Akbal.	Cervatillo.	

OTROS ATRIBUTOS	PRONÓSTICOS
Preciosas aves canoras.	Sabio.
	Iracundo. Criminal.
	Criminal.
Sangre.	Malo.
	Borracho. Hablador. Cizañero.
Devoramiento de hijos y de esposas.	Rico hipócrita.
	Adúltero. Sin juicio. Cizañero.
	Inteligente. Tejedor. Carpintero. Rico.
	Rico, dadivoso. Bueno.
	Proletario. Plebeyo.
Sangre.	Sanguinario. Asesino.
Alegría.	Maestro de hacer y de decir.
	Ladrón. Asesino. Cazador.
	Traficante. Curandero. Juicioso. Bueno.
Salud. Pedernal afilado.	Curandero. Sangrador. Valiente. Bueno.
Enfermedad si Cargador de Año.	Imaginativo. Noble.
Devoramiento de niños.	Rico. Juicioso. Valiente. Bueno.
Cometa.	Libidinoso. Indeciso.
Vientos.	Lascivo. Malo.
	Mísero. Plebeyo. Cazador.

comenzando con 2 Kan. Esta vez los nombres están acompañados únicamente de su numeral de trecena.

La tercera lista parece el desarrollo de una rueda, ya que los días están agrupados de cinco en cinco, cada grupo para un punto cardinal. Encabeza la lista esta nota: "Cuenta de los días. Veinte son los pronósticos del uinal: *xoc kin hunkaltuba mutil uinal*". Al final está esta otra: "Para que sea visto diariamente el pronóstico de cualquier persona que nace dentro del Artificio de los Días. Se le cuenta un día de los veinte, sea hombre o mujer. *Licil yilabal u mutil uinic hemax cu sihilob ychil u chuenil kin sansamal. U xocol ti kin hunkaltuba lae ua xiblal uaix chuplal xan*".

La cuarta lista es una versión casi idéntica a la anterior encabezada así: "El atributo pronóstico diario del nombre: *U mutil uinic zanzamal*".

No nos interesa por el momento la clasificación de las listas ni sus relaciones con la cronología, sino desde luego su contenido horoscópico. Todas, esencialmente, contienen lo mismo. Como hemos dicho antes, la primera es la que contiene más texto, es menos elíptica y nos sirvió para la interpretación de las otras. Relacionados con los pronósticos aparecen ciertos animales y plantas que indudablemente constituyen el nahualli y forman la tona de la persona nacida bajo un signo del Chuenil Kin. (Para una discusión completa sobre los términos nahualli, nagual o naual y tona, y el nagualismo en general, véase Brinton, 1894; y entre otros no citados por este autor, Ruiz de Alarcón, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 1900, pp. 131-134; además, Seler, 1900, p. 5.) La muy completa lista de Sahagún no incluye animales ni plantas en relación con los días. Pero en los Tonalámatl pintados, como el de Aubin y el Borbónico, sí aparecen animales (aves) y dioses, aunque no plantas.

Algunas otras listas han sido publicadas como provenientes del Area Maya. Fuentes y Guzmán (1933) da una (reproducida por Brinton, 1894), que corresponde a enero, en la cual aparecen 31 elementos diferentes (animales, plantas y otras cosas), uno para cada día. No hay en ella nombres de los días, y los elementos que pudieran estar relacionados con ellos, como serpiente, cocodrilo, conejo, etc., no tienen un orden que pudiera establecer la identidad. La Farge II y Byers (1931) incluyeron en su libro sobre los jacaltecas varias listas en que se conservan los nombres de los días, pero sus pronósticos no son nagualísticos o personales, sino que se refieren a la influencia del día en las actividades y bienes de la comunidad.

Lo notable de las listas que estudiamos es precisamente su carácter puramente horoscópico. En ciertos casos aparece una relación íntima entre los atributos y el supuesto significado de los nombres de los días.

La presente traducción ha sido publicada antes por Barrera Vásquez (1939 y 1943), con mayor amplitud.

Jaculatorias de los Ah Kines

1 "La señal de *Hunab Ku* se hará manifiesta con el *Uaom Che*, Madero enhiesto", o bien, "Veréis entonces al ave sobresalir por encima del *Uaom Ché*"; son expresiones que parecen referirse a la ceremonia en honra del fuego conocida en las fuentes nahuas por "*Quauitlicac*, Arbol o palo, o madero enhiesto." Del *Uaom Ché* habla Landa (1938, ed. yuc., p. 21), relatando "la virtud de un palo que en su lengua llamó *Uahomché*, que quiere decir palo enhiesto de gran virtud contra los demonios".

El Lenguaje de Zuyua

1 Según la correlación más admitida, un Katun 3 Ahau terminó precisamente el día 7 de junio de 1638, de modo que en 4 de septiembre de 1628 faltarían 9 años y poco más de 9 meses para que terminase.

2 *Balam* es el nombre del jaguar: "*balam ien ic*, cuando el axi o chile comienza a colorear", dice el Diccionario de Motul.

3 Antes de la conquista española, *tzimin* era el nombre aplicado al tapir; después se aplicó también al caballo.

4 *Kan* es el nombre de las cuentas de concha roja, que tuvieron gran valor entre los mayas.

5 En los ritos agrícolas, los mayas ofrendan diversos tipos de pan. La mayor parte de estos panes son a manera de pasteles formados por tortillas de maíz superpuestas en un número dado, que entre una y otra llevan pasta de pepitas de calabaza (*sicil*) o de frijoles (*bu'ul*). El número de tortillas es simbólico y depende de la función que en el rito tiene el pastel. El nombre del pan lo determina en unos casos el número; en otros la función o alguna otra característica. Baeza (1937, p. 9) lo cita con estas palabras: ".. entretanto que se están cociendo bajo tierra, unos panes grandes de maíz, que llaman *canlahuntaz*, esto es, de catorce tortillas o cosas, entreveradas con frijol, cuyo misterio no me han declarado". Los pasteles no se cuecen nunca en comal sino a la barbacoa, es decir, zanjas-hornos.

Para mayores datos véase Redfield y Villa Rojas (1934) y Villa Rojas (1941).

[6] La referencia a la Estera y el Trono enterrados en la casa que está bajo el suelo, durante el predominio de los signos acuáticos, parece referirse al hecho de que el ritual a las divinidades terrenas o "infernales" había de ser efectuado en lugares absolutamente oscuros, en excavaciones bajo tierra, en cavernas oscuras, en la parte inferior y más oculta de los adoratorios, para que ni el menor rayo de luz anulase la magia del ritual ofrecido a las divinidades no luminosas. Las ceremonias del *Ch'a-chac*, efectuadas a plena luz del Sol, y otras similares, recuérdese que son hechas para impetrar piedad del Sol por las sequías.

[7] *Amate* es el nahuatlismo con que se nombra en México al árbol de cuya corteza fabricaban papel los mesoamericanos. Es una morácea, género *Ficus*, llamada en maya *copo'*.

[8] Este nombre es sin duda una variante de *Oxlahun ti Ku*. *Citbil* se ha tomado por Padre Eterno. En el lenguaje cristiano las personas de la Trinidad, hasta el siglo XVIII, se llamaban Dios Citbil, Dios Mehenbil y Dios Espíritu Santo. Beltrán de Santa Rosa (1912, pp. 9, 15 y 16) propuso el cambio de Citbil por *Yumbil*, porque con Citbil "significan los Indios a un ídolo, el principal de los que aún idolatran". La etimología de *Citbil* es un poco oscura, pero parece referirse a quien crea con la palabra.

[9] *Balché* es el nombre maya peninsular del árbol de cuya corteza se hacía —y continúa haciéndose— el vino que lleva el mismo nombre, el cual, a diferencia del pulque de la altiplanicie mexicana, no tiene ahora usos profanos. La planta es una leguminosa, árbol de poca altura, que rinde unas flores de color lila de suave olor. Pertenece al género *Lonchocarpus* y la especie yucateca es *longistylus Pittier*. El vino se prepara haciendo fermentar la corteza, previamente secada al sol, en miel de abejas nativas —*Melipona*— y agua. La preparación es siempre hecha por el *Ah men* y nunca por profanos; sólo usa de la miel de la melipoma y de agua "virgen" (*suhuy*), recogida de cenotes secretos. Para el maya, agua virgen es aquella que no ha sido vista por mujer. Cuando falta algún cenote secreto, el *Ah men* recurre a los pozos comunes, pero el líquido ha de ser extraído en la madrugada, antes de que las mujeres inicien su cotidiana ocupación de extraerlo.

Actualmente el *balché* se usa en los ritos agrícolas para asperjarlo en la tierra hacia los cuatro puntos cardinales;

para purificar, dándoselo a beber por el pico, a las aves que se sacrifican y para libarlo como parte final de las ceremonias. En algunos festivales públicos muy importantes se suele distribuir a los asistentes, pero estos festivales, tienen siempre un motivo religioso. Véase Redfield (1941, pp. 96, 106, 107, 121, 275 y 296).

Existen muchas menciones del *balché* en las fuentes antiguas y modernas. Landa (1938, ed. yuc. p. 38) informa mal al decir que se hacía de "cierta raíz de un árbol", Sánchez de Aguilar (1937, p. 38), también erróneamente, dice: "Para sus ritos y ceremonias, beben por voto vino, (Balché) que elaboran de la raíz de un árbol especial y de un trigo a propósito..." Sucedía entonces (Landa escribió en 1566 y Sánchez de Aguilar en 1613) que los indios tenían bien guardado el secreto de la fabricación de su vino. Sin embargo, algunas fuentes antiguas dan el dato correcto, como las *Relaciones de Yucatán*, por ejemplo la de Valladolid, escrita en 1579 y reproducida en Landa (*op. cit.*), que asienta (p. 230): "Para estos sacrificios y sus areitos, usaban beber y emborracharse con un vino que ellos hacían de una corteza de un árbol que llaman *balché* y miel de agua"; y agrega: "este vino dicen les causa sanidad, porque con él se purgaban los cuerpos y lanzaban por la boca muchas lombrices; criábanse robustos y los viejos vivían mucho tiempo y frescos... y del vino dicho no se sabe si usan los naturales de él al presente". Menciones modernas se hallan en Tozzer (1907), Thompson (1930), Gann (1918), el mencionado Redfield, etc. Véase también Barrera Vásquez (1941). Hay que hacer notar que este vino sólo se encuentra en uso actualmente entre los mayas de Yucatán y Belice y los lacandones de Chiapas.

[10] El uso del copal en Landa es confuso, pues suele referirse en términos generales "a sus enciensos y zahumerios", sin especificar en cada caso cuál era la materia que ardía. Menciona, sin embargo, dos clases de copal, *zacáh* y *chalhalté*, y dice que el copal se disponía en tablillas, y también que en la ceremonia *Tup Kak* (apagamiento del fuego) hacían corazones de animales con incienso (copal) que eran arrojados al fuego. Expresa asimismo, con frecuencia, que el copal era quemado en las ceremonias de sacar lumbre nueva. Del árbol dice que su flor hacía negra la cera. En nuestros textos, también, el uso del copal se presenta en conexión con el culto al Sol. Por otra parte, en las fuentes nahuas se encuentra una interesante dualidad entre el uso del *Copalli* y el *Ulli*. El primero, como en nuestros textos,

se dedica preferentemente al ritual del fuego o del Sol; el segundo, a los dioses de las aguas y de la fecundidad.

11 Armadillo, *Dasipus* sp.

12 *Sacab, Saca' o Zaca'* es el nombre de una bebida refrescante hecha de maíz cocido sin cal, molido y luego disuelto en agua fría; se bebe endulzada con miel o azúcar o sin endulzar, mordiendo al tomarla un trozo de sal. No es bebida de uso común, sino religioso. Es para ofrendar a los malos vientos a fin de evitar enfermedades. Véase Redfield y Villa Rojas (1934) y Redfield (1941, *passim*). *Saca* significa agua blanca, de *sac*, blanco, y *(h)t'*, agua.

13 *Pich'um*, los tordos negros, *Dives, dives*.

14 *Haleu* o *haleb* es el *Dasyprocta punctada* Goldman, un desipractido.

15 *Chaya* es el nombre castellanizado de la *chay* maya, euforbiácea cuyas hojas tienen los mismos usos que la espinaca en la cocina yucateca.

Alzamiento de don Antonio Martínez y Saúl

1 Lugar no identificado.

Acontecimiento histórico en un Katun 8 Ahau

1 *Nacxit* es vocablo mexicano. Significa "cuatro patas", de *nahui*, que quiere decir cuatro, e *ixitl*, que quiere decir pie o pata. Es variante de *Náuhyotl*, "el cuatro". En las fuentes históricas del centro de México, el nombre aparece asociado con príncipes del linaje culhua durante la privanza de un numen Quetzalcoatl, "Serpiente quetzal".

Explicación del calendario maya

1 Se refiere claramente al periodo de 13 Katunes que en esta obra se llama Rueda de Katunes. Según el autor de esta explicación, la cuenta comienza con el 8 Ahau, que es como se contaba antes de la conquista española.

2 Se menciona la Rueda, que debió estar pintada en el documento original; las copias existentes actualmente no ostentan ilustración alguna.

3 "*...catun culac ixmakaba kin hop'el kin u uayeb haab; u yail kin.*" Los cinco días aciagos recibían varios nombres y se suelen citar con ellos; *ixmakaba kin* significa días sin nombre, aunque el significado es metafórico, porque sí tenían nombre. *U uayeb haab*, también escrito *uayeyab*, significa la ponzoña del año; véase Diccionario de Motul: "*uaay...*, emponzoñar y hacer llagas y desollar la leche de algunos

árboles cuando los tocan"; *"uayaan*, cosa emponzoñada, inficionada o dañada..." *U yail kin* es como decir los más dañosos y dolorosos días. Véase *ya* en el Diccionario de Motul.

[4] Véase en Landa (1938, ed. yuc., pp. 62-72) la explicación del rito de los días aciagos y del año nuevo.

[5] Don Juan Xiu de Oxkutzcab es el mismo que firma en 1685 la página 66 de los documentos de la familia Xiu, reproducida en Morley (1920, p. 417).

[6] No pueden ser 312 años los que formaban una Rueda de Katunes, porque cada katun era un periodo fijo de 20 tunes de 360 días, pero está claro que aquí se cuentan katunes de 24 años, cuya autenticidad se ha puesto en duda. Véase Tozzer (1941, pp. 166-167).

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EL LIBRO DE LOS LIBROS DE CHILAM BALAM

Los textos que comprende esta obra constituyen una de las secciones más importantes de la literatura indígena americana. Redactados después de la Conquista, recogen todas las fases culturales por las que pasó el pueblo maya de Yucatán. Su material lo componen múltiples escritos religiosos, históricos, médicos, cronológicos y astrológicos, astronómicos, literarios, etc. Los religiosos e históricos provienen de los antiguos libros jeroglíficos, y los demás han sido registrados de fuente oral o proceden de impresos europeos. Mediante el cotejo de las varias ediciones, los mayistas Alfredo Barrera Vásquez y Silvia Rendón han organizado el presente libro que, con vivacidad y sin repeticiones inútiles, confirma la continuidad de esa gran cultura del nuevo continente.

[*Portada de Graciela Salicrup*]

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THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

[illegible]

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

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Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huacas*. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods* . . . (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huacas*.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huaca*s had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yancas*) to locate the historically diverse *huacas* and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huacas* (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huacas*, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huacas*.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huacas* is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huacas*—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huacas* amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huacas* succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huacas*, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean. Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
>
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huacas* to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huacas*

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huacas* as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two perváding generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huaca*s who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which Gonçález Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object';* huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huacas*. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huacas* by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huacas* never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huacas* reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huacas*' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huacas*. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huacas* considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllus*, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huacas*. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huacas* beforehand:

> . . . these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huacas* had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

Huacas also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yancas* seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huacas* in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curacas* or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curacas* by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huacas* or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huacas* (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

Huacas had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one [*huaca*] called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huaca*s were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllu*s. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllus*: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllus*.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllus*: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllus*, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllus* practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllus* that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huacas* among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huacas* might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huacas*. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huacas*, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huacas* on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huacas*.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huacas* Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huacas* and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huacas* whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huacas* and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila [¿1598?]*.

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis* . . . Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí*. Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle*. Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII*. Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huaca*s and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila*. Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres)*. 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . .' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huacas* in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna, ynaspa,* and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capi°* is rendered *capi(tul)o.*

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

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UNIVERSIDAD CATOLICA DEL PERU
BIBLIOTECA
COMPRA

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

[illegible]

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

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Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript
Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huacas*. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods* . . . (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huacas*.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huaca*s had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yancas*) to locate the historically diverse *huacas* and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huacas* (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huacas*, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huacas*.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huacas* is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huacas*—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huacas* amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huacas* succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huacas*, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean. Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
>
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huacas* to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huacas*

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huacas* as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two perváding generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huaca*s who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which Gonçález Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object';* huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huacas*. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huacas* by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huacas* never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huacas* reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huacas*' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huacas*. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huacas* considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllus*, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huacas*. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huacas* beforehand:

> . . . these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huacas* had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

Huacas also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yancas* seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huacas* in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curacas* or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curacas* by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huacas* or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huacas* (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

Huacas had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one [*huaca*] called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huaca*s were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllu*s. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllus*: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllus*.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllus*: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllus*, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllus* practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllus* that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huacas* among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huacas* might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huacas*. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huacas*, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huacas* on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huacas*.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huacas* Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huacas* and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huacas* whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huacas* and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila [¿1598?]*.

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis* . . . Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí*. Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle*. Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII*. Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huaca*s and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila*. Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres)*. 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . .' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huacas* in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna, ynaspa,* and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capi°* is rendered *capi(tul)o.*

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

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Florentine Codex

Historia general de las cosas de nueva España (General history of the things of New Spain) is an encyclopedic work about the people and culture of central Mexico compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), a Franciscan missionary who arrived in Mexico in 1529, eight years after completion of the Spanish conquest by Hernan Cortés. Commonly called the *Florentine Codex*, the manuscript came into the possession of the Medici no later than 1588 and is now in the Medicea Laurenziana Library in Florence. Sahagún began conducting research into indigenous cultures in the 1540s, using a methodology that scholars consider to be a precursor to modern anthropological field technique. His motives were primarily religious: he believed that to convert the natives to Christianity and eradicate their devotion to false gods, it was necessary to understand those gods and the hold they had on the Aztec people. Sahagún was repelled by much of native culture, but he also came to admire many qualities of the Aztecs. As he wrote in the prologue to Book I of his work, the Mexicans “are held to be barbarians and of very little worth; in truth, however, in matters of culture and refinement, they are a step ahead of other nations that presume to be quite politic.” Sahagún gained the assistance of two important indigenous groups: the elders of a number of towns in central Mexico (*principales*) and Nahua students and former students at the College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, where Sahagún worked for much of his time in Mexico.
The *principales* answered questionnaires prepared by Sahagún about their culture and religion, and their responses were recorded in their own pictorial form of writing. The Nahua students interpreted the images and expanded the answers, phonetically transcribing Nahuatl using Latin letters. Sahagún then reviewed the Nahuatl text and added his own Spanish translation. The whole process took almost 30 years and finally was completed in 1575–77, when Sahagún had a new and complete copy of the manuscript prepared. It then was taken to Spain by Fray Rodrigo de Sequera, commissary general of the Franciscans and a supporter of Sahagún’s work. The 12 books of the codex originally were bound in four volumes but later rebound into three. The work is arranged in two columns: on the right is the original Nahuatl text, on the left is Sahagún’s Spanish translation. The 2,468 magnificent illustrations, made by the students, are mostly in the left-hand column, where the text is shorter. The illustrations combine the syntactic and symbolic traits of the ancient Nahua tradition of painting-writing with the formal qualities of European Renaissance painting.

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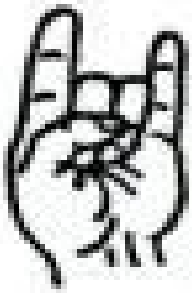

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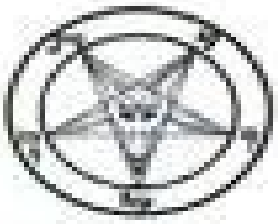

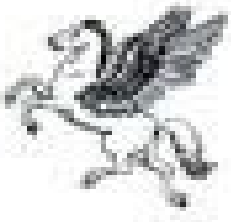

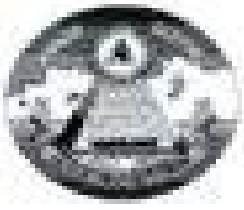

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1.

WHAT IS A SYMBOL?

What is a symbol? Webster tells us that a symbol is “something that stands for or suggests something else by reason of relationship, association, convention, or accidental resemblance; *esp:* a visible sign of something invisible.” [Emphasis mine throughout] This is important to know because when we see a symbol we now know that there is a meaning BEHIND what is actually being shown since a symbol is “a visible sign of something invisible.” A related word, symbolism, is “the use of conventional or traditional signs in the representation of DIVINE BEINGS AND SPIRITS.” This, too, is important because many of these symbols also represent gods and goddesses.

Since this book will be covering many occultic and Masonic symbols, a few quotes from Masons about symbols would be in order. Masonic author, George H. Steinmetz, shares the following: “The symbols are *not* used in the commonly accepted meaning. It is ‘NOT BY EXACT RESEMBLANCE’; there *IS* a more recondite [meaning occult or esoteric] interpretation, as we suspected; it is one of ‘SUGGESTIONS OR ASSOCIATION *IN THOUGHT.'*

“There is a SECRET DOCTRINE in Freemasonry. That secret doctrine is concealed, rather than revealed, by the very lectures which, we are told, offer a ‘rational explanation’ of the ceremonies of initiation. If we were to accept these ‘rational explanations’ as final, and seek no further, Freemasonry would be a farce.” [Italics and caps in the original; Boldface added]

Carl Claudy, a Masonic writer, mentions that there are secrets inside secrets in symbolism.

He wrote: **“CUT THROUGH THE OUTER SHELL AND FIND A MEANING; CUT THROUGH THAT MEANING AND FIND ANOTHER; UNDER IT IF YOU DIG DEEP ENOUGH YOU MAY FIND A THIRD, A FOURTH—WHO SHALL SAY HOW MANY TEACHINGS?”**

In an Eastern Star book we are told: “A symbol is a figure of something intellectual, moral or spiritual, a visible object, **REPRESENTING** to the mind the semblance of **SOMETHING WHICH IS NOT SHOWN** but realized by association with it.”

Albert Mackey, a well-known Mason, writes that a symbol is a “sensible image

used to express an **OCCULT** but analogical signification."

Another book reminds us that "An emblem is a figure or symbol which stands for **SOMETHING ELSE."** We are also told that there is a **HIDDEN MEANING** to these symbols, so what is presented to the candidate is not what is really meant. Eastern Star writer, Mary Ann Slipper, states "that everyone who becomes a member of the Order of the Eastern Star should be familiar with the **ESOTERIC meaning of every symbol used in the work...."**

One *Short Talk Bulletin*, which was supposed to be read in the Lodge, says: "It may be asserted in the broadest terms that the **FREEMASON WHO KNOWS NOTHING OF OUR SYMBOLISM KNOWS LITTLE OF FREEMASONRY.** He may be able to repeat every line of the ritual without an error, yet, if he does not understand the meaning of the ceremonies, the signs, the words, the emblems and figures, he is a **MASONIC IGNORAMUS."**

Throughout this book we will be looking at numerous symbols and we'll discover some of the **HIDDEN MEANINGS** behind these symbols. We will also see how various **symbols represent pagan gods and goddesses.** Additionally, we'll learn how **many emblems conceal and shroud sexual connotations under the guise of symbolism.** Charles G. Berger explains: "At first, in art, the sex organs were represented by pictures of them, but as man developed and ideas of morals changed, such representations seemed offensive or crude, and they were therefore **GRADUALLY MODIFIED UNTIL THE SYMBOLS COULD SCARCELY BE RECOGNIZED AS SEXUAL in origin. OTHER EXPLANATIONS AND MEANINGS WERE INVENTED FOR THE MASSES,** who were not supposed to understand the **TRUE MEANINGS.** Thus, **SYMBOLS CAME TO HAVE TWO MEANINGS,** the esoteric and the exoteric. The **ESOTERIC** meaning was the true or original meaning. **UNDERSTOOD BY ONLY A FEW** and closely guarded by them. The exoteric meaning was the invented, or modified, explanation intended for the many. The sacred mysteries, which are often mentioned in connection with many ancient religions and which were closely guarded by the initiate, concerned esoteric meanings in the religions of previous times. These sacred mysteries very often were merely continuations of the simpler forms of early sex worship carried on by a select few."

The Migration of Symbols also states: "Without doubt the symbols that have

attracted in the highest degree the **veneration of** the multitude have been the **representative signs of gods, often uncouth and indecent....”**

Is this really the way we want Him—no longer King of Kings and Lord of Lords, but just another "guest” at the table?

Since the sexual nature of many symbols is now concealed under other guises, the average person no longer realizes the vulgarity behind many of them. Many organizations, however, use particular symbols and logos **INTENTIONALLY** —knowing **PRECISELY** what is being represented thereby. Multitudes of occultists, New Agers, witches, and Satanists understand the meanings of the symbols they use. On the other hand, many people are using these same symbols (or variations of them) today without knowing what they really represent. Hopefully, this book will show numerous symbols and explain the esoteric meaning of many of them so that the average person can be more aware of what is being portrayed behind some of the emblems being used.

We must remember that even though many leaders are aware of symbology, not every one who uses these symbols in their logos, etc., are familiar with the pagan connotations behind them. For example, we cannot just assume that everyone who wears a pentagram is evil and knows that this emblem is used extensively in Satanism and witchcraft. Many people do not know this and they “innocently” wear Satanic and pagan symbols. We must be careful not to accuse everyone who uses these symbols as being an occultist or New Ager. Of course, if we

know that a particular group is an occultic association then the symbol that they use should not be taken lightly. Many of the people who design the logos know **exactly** what they are doing. We will cover many of these logos in this book and give their own explanations about the particular meaning behind the design selected.

Some people try to make some of the occultic symbols into "Christian" symbols such as saying that the pentagram represents the five wounds of Christ or that the triangle is a symbol of the Trinity. We cannot do this for the Bible says in Deuteronomy 4:15-19, 23: "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, The likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, The likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth: And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.... Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the covenant of the Lord your God, which He made with you. and make you a graven image, or the likeness of any thing, which the Lord thy God hath forbidden thee."

God does not want us to make **ANY** image of Him in any way. "Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device" (Acts 17:29).

When the Israelites went into pagan nations, the Lord instructed them to "overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and bum their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God" (Deuteronomy 12:3-4; See also Deuteronomy 7:5).

Deuteronomy 7:25-26 says: "The graven images of their gods shall ye bum with fire: thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein: for it is an abomination to the Lord thy God. Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it: but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed

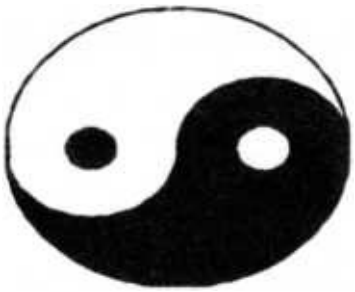
thing.”

Although there are numerous symbols given throughout this book, this is definitely not an exhaustive itemization. Many, many other symbols could have been included but because of time and space considerations, they were left out. The symbols included here, however, should give you a good start in being able to identify many occultic logos that are appearing today.

2.

YIN/YANG SYMBOL

The yin/yang symbol can be seen almost any place one looks. It is used in logos, on book covers, in the New Age movement, in the martial arts, and so forth. "Yin and yang are considered to be opposites. Yin represents eternity, dark, feminine, left side of the body, *etc.* Yang is its opposite and represents history, light, masculine, right side of the body, etc." "Yang is male, positive, and represented by the Sun. Yin is female, negative, and represented by the Moon," says Paul E. Desautels in *The Gem Kingdom.*



"The symbol itself dates back at least to the fourth century B.C., and has been identified with the Eastern philosophical religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In the Western world it has long been adopted into the symbolism of myth, magic, astrology, and witchcraft."

A book, *Black Magic, White Magic,* explains the Yin-Yang like this:

"Another ancient magical sign called the yin-and-yang first appeared sometime before the 3rd century B.C. in China. This emblem became a favorite of **SORCERERS** and mystics throughout the Orient because it, too, embodies so many possible meanings."

One well-known witch, Sybil Leek, who is called the "mistress of the occult," proclaims that the Yin-Yang theory is:

"...an idea that inspired such things as Chinese boxing, breath control [used in yoga, meditation, etc.], the use of special herbs, and some rather erotic sexual exercises designed to nourish the Yang with the Yin."

She adds: "Crucial to Taoism is the idea of Yin and Yang."

"According to the ancient Chinese philosophers, in the beginning was Tao. But

then Tao separated into the two prime principles, yang and yin. And from the many combinations of yang and yin everything else that is in the world has emerged.

“Yang and yin produced the ‘five elements’, which are metal, wood, fire, water and earth. Everything in life is in a constant state of flux; in fact, the only thing that you can be sure of is that it will change.”

Another book states:

“The Yang-Yin symbol is one of the easiest to recognize and understand. It represents the two opposite, conflicting forces found in every action, and which are responsible for the dynamic universe.... The Yang and Yin operate in the universe primarily through the agency of the five elements: Earth (Saturn), Water (Mercury), Metal (Venus), Wood (Jupiter), and Fire (Mars). These elements under the guidance of the five planets form, with the Sun and Moon, the seven rulers. Each of the elements may also be Yang or Yin, so that combinations of all these could produce broad number possibilities (sic) and astrological alternatives. Each, of course, has its symbol which can be, and often was, incised into jade.”

The concept of yin and yang (also called Tai-gi-tu), likewise P ays an important role in many other occult practices. For instance, *Dictionary of Mysticism* states the following about the practice of shu shu:

“Shu shu: The ancient Chinese system of magic, divination and occult practices, including astrology, dream interpretation, the art of coordinating human affairs by the active and passive principles of the universe *(yin yang)* and the Five Elements *(wu hsing),* fortune telling by the use of the stalks of the divination plant and the tortoise shell, and miscellaneous methods such as dream interpretation, the regulation of forms and shapes of buildings, etc.” [Emphasis in the original]

Of course, many of the Chinese exercises, medical practices, etc., are also based on the theory of yin and yang. In *Health: A Holistic Approach* we find:

“The techniques of *acupuncture, acupressure,* and *moxibustion* apply needle, pressure, or thermal (heat) stimulation respectively to meridian points to effect a

change in the orderly flow of Chi through the meridians. This treatment helps to re-establish the yin-yang balance by initiating normal energy flow in stagnant meridians. The choice of meridian points to be stimulated is arrived at by using specific laws derived directly from the five-element theory and knowing the order of Chi distribution in the meridians. The five-element theory is the practical, tangible application of the complementary opposites—yin and yang.

“The Chinese system of *physiotherapy*, or therapeutic exercises, is represented primarily in the practice of *T’ai Chi Ch'uan*, which is a system of exercises performed in close coordination with regulated breathing. The exercises are comprised of thirty-seven movement patterns, the composition of which is regulated by the principles of yin and yang.” [Emphasis in the original]

“The philosophy of T’ai Chi Ch’uan is rooted in Taoism, which advocates natural effort, and in the I Ching, or Book of Changes. The movements and inner teachings are derived from the complementary relationship between Yin and Yang, two fundamental forces that create and harmonize the Universe by their interaction.

“The interaction of Yin and Yang is vital to the practice of T’ai Chi Ch’uan

since physically and mentally the practitioner is continually shifting between empty and full and soft and hard to achieve a proper and evolving equilibrium."

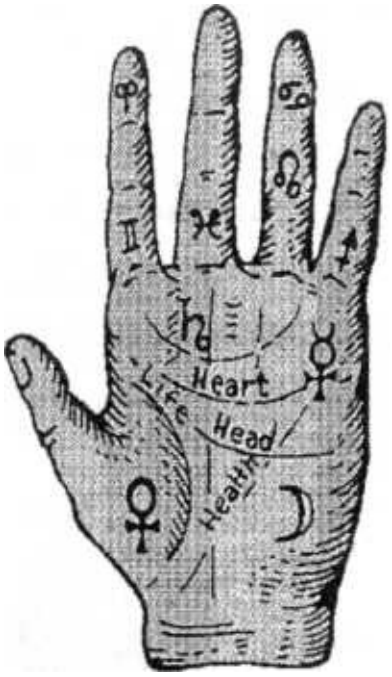
In fact, t'ai chi came to be "represented by the circle divided into the light and the dark, yang and yin."

Other interrelated techniques dependent upon yin/yang are zone therapy, polarity therapy, macrobiotics, Shiatsu, Jin-Shin, Do-In, the martial arts (such as Kung Fu, Chi Kung, Karate, T'ai Chi), *etc.*

Palmistry, the **occult** practice of foretelling the future by reading the hand, is also based on the theories of **yin** and **yang** and the **Five Elements.** In another **OCCULT** book, *The Chinese Art of Healing,* written by a **BUDDHIST monk,** the author explains how the ancients relate **massage,** which **includes REFLEXOLOGY,** to the **Five Elements** and to **palmistry.** He states:

"The thumb, for example, was associated with the spleen, which belonged to the **earth element,** the index finger with the large intestine **(metal element)**...and so on....The form of **massage** known as 'from the water element to the earth element,' reminds us of **OCCULT** concepts of this kind.

"According to Oriental **MAGICIANS,** the palm of the hand contains the secrets of life. There was also an ancient Chinese school of thought which maintained that the palm of the hand was a replica of **Yin** and **Yang** and could provide information about illness and good health and one's entire fate."



(For more information on Reflexology, see my booklet entitled “Hidden Dangers of Reflexology.” It can be obtained through Sharing by writing to the address in the back of this book.)

Masonry also uses the concept of yin and yang in their symbolism but it is in a disguised form. Albert Pike states that the black and white pavement symbolizes “the Good and Evil Principles of the Egyptian and Persian creed. It is the warfare of Michael and Satan, of the Gods and Titans, of Balder and Lok; between light and shadow, which is darkness; Day and Night; Freedom and Despotism....”

Masons also use the two triangles to represent this idea of opposites. In the *Short Talk Bulletin,* a pamphlet which is to be read in the Lodges, we are told that the triangles “are symbolic of good and evil, day and night, the Chinese **YANG AND YIN,** etc.”

The two triangles joined together to form a hexagram indicate sexual union. This same viewpoint is also associated with the yin/ yang. In *Our Phallic Heritage* we are told:

“But since union of the sexes is necessary to produce offspring, both sexes were represented in most religions. In the crudest forms of worship, representations of the genitalia of both sexes, or of the sex organs in union, were worshiped.

Such was the worship of the phallus-kteis in Greece and Egypt, the lingam-yoni in India, the massebasher of Syria, the yoseki-inseki in Japan, the **YANG-YIN** in China, and the baal-peor of the Canaanites in the Bible.”

Masonic author, George Oliver, states:

“Thus the monad and duad were the phallus and kteis of the Greeks, the lingam and yoni of the Hindoos (sic), the woden and friga of the Goths, and **YANG AND YIN** of the Chinese, and indeed, of the creative and destructive powers of every country under Heaven.”

This thought is reiterated in *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization:*

“Lingam and yoni, Shiva and his goddess, symbolize the antagonistic yet co-operating forces of the sexes. Their Sacred Marriage (Greek: *hieros-gamos*) is multifariously figured in the various traditions of world mythology. They are the archetypal parents, Father and Mother of the World, themselves the first-born of the pairs of opposites, first bifurcation of the primal, cosmogonic reality, now reunited in productive harmony. Under the form of Father Heaven and Mother Earth they were known to the Greeks as Zeus and Hera, Uranos and Gaia, to the Chinese as T’ien and Ti, **YANG AND YIN.”** [Italics in the original; Boldface and caps added]

One catalog that sells statues of gods and goddesses as well as many other occultic items states:

“At once the most sacred and the most mysterious path to higher consciousness, Tantra refers to the Divine Union of Opposites. Taoists refer to these energies as *yin* (from *yoni,* the active principle) and *yang* (the recumbent principle).”

Since there is some yin (female) in the yang (male), which is represented by the little dot, and some yang in the yin, the concept of bisexuality is also symbolized. Charles Berger remarks:

“Sometimes efforts were made to make gods bisexual. Hermaphrodite is the best example of this. He was the son of Hermes and Aphrodite and embraced Salmaco, a nymph, who called upon the gods to make them inseparable. The gods heard the plea, and formed of the two a perfect being who possessed the characteristics of both sexes. From this mythical being comes the term *hermaphrodite.* Omphale was a queen of Lydia and the task-mistress of Hercules. She is represented with a lion’s skin and a club, male symbols, while Hercules wears her gown and spins for her. Omphale is thus represented as double-sexed, as is Hercules by his dress and his work. The name Omphale is a bisexual name, coming from ‘Om,’ the Universal Mother, and from *phallus,* the male organ. Likewise, Janus of the Greeks not only had opposite faces but was double-sexed, or hermaphroditic.” [Emphasis in the original]

The New Age movement looks favorably on homosexuality. In fact, in alchemy, the androgyne (meaning male and female in one body) was considered to be “the image of human perfection and wholeness. By some ancient traditions, the original and perfect form of the human being....A fashionable look among some celebrities.” “Bly, Nin, and Jung tell us that each individual must achieve inner marriage of their masculine and feminine natures to encounter true equipoise.”

The assumption of yin/yang also leads to homosexuality. In one issue of the *Whole Life Times* was a letter from David Lang. He wrote:

"For example, macrobiotic theory explains homosexuality as a yin-yang imbalance caused (or at least aggravated) by excess consumption of yin foods (such as raw fruit) on the part of males and excessive ingestion of yang foods (such as animal flesh) on the part of females."

Texe Marrs explains:

"Homosexuality and bisexuality are accepted, even encouraged by the New Age teacher. The unholy doctrine of reincarnation and the principle of *yin/yang* are perfect excuses and rationale for homosexuality and other forms of sexual immorality. If you are a homosexual or a lesbian in this lifetime, New Age teachers believe that it is probably because you were a person of the opposite sex in a previous incarnation or past life. The residue and influence of that past life is simply retained within your brain and consciousness.

"The *yin/yang* principle, also called *unity*, *integration* or *polarity*, holds that a person is born with both masculine and feminine traits. A man supposedly could have been a man 250 times and a woman 250 times in previous incarnations, and the memory of those past life experiences are said to remain as indelible traces

of consciousness. Thus, we are each a combination of male and female, masculine and feminine. The New Age encourages children and adults to appreciate and practice the harmony of opposites, teaching the individual to merge the two selves, man and woman."

Many of the gods and goddesses of paganism are shown to have dual sexual natures. Mercury, called the "male-female," was an androgyne. Even much symbolism contains this dual nature. For instance:

"The serpent's head and neck is distinctly a masculine symbol, but the serpent is sometime symbolized with its tail in it mouth [oroboros], the body forming a circle which is feminine. Also, the mouth is feminine, while the tail, which is in the mouth, is masculine. Thus for two good reasons the serpent with its tail in its mouth represents both sexes. Sacred fire was often prepared on religious occasions by rotating a realistic wooden representation of the phallus in a wooden representation of the kteis, rotating being done by an apparatus resembling a bow. The cornucopia, or horn of plenty, was double sexed in symbolism. The horn was masculine and the inside was feminine. The fruit inside symbolized productiveness of the female."

"The four-limbed cross generally had a different meaning, and represented the male and the female in unison, in the act of creation. From time immemorial a perpendicular line or object has been used to symbolize the phallus, and a horizontal line the kteis or vulva. The surface of water, a female element in creation, was horizontal, and women were practically in the horizontal position in the act of creation. Prostitutes were spoken of as 'women who made their living horizontally,' and the term was applied to women who were kept in their own room by some wealthy man.

Coitus has been called 'horizontal exercise.' *Horizontales* (horizontals) is one of the names which the French apply to women who sell love favors, women of easy virtue. The four-armed cross was an easy figure to make, being an intersection of two straight lines at right angels, and it became a symbol of man's most lofty and most holy activity, expressing the reverence for the act.

Some of the Asherahs of the Bible represented Baal in union with Astoreth. The results of the union between the sexes resulted in a new life. Separately, man and woman were incomplete, important, and barren, but in their union they became a

perfect soul, realizing the immortality of life."

We'll cover the symbols mentioned above (the oroboros, cornucopia, and swastika) in more detail later.

One particular group that knows the sexual implications of the yin/yang and intentionally uses it as their official symbol is The Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS). This group promotes extensive sex education in schools. SIECUS Position Statements reveal the following:

"It is the position of SIECUS that contraceptive services should be available to all—including minors who should enjoy the same rights of free and independent access to...contraceptive care as do others....It is the position of SIECUS that the use of explicit sexual materials (sometimes referred to as pornography) can serve a variety of important needs in the lives of countless individuals...."

Another group using the yin/yang (knowingly or unknowing) is the Girl Scouts. "On page 66 of the *Girl Scout Badges and Signs* book, the yin/yang symbol is used to represent the World in My Community proficiency badge. In the *Junior Girl Scout Handbook*, yoga exercises are explained. The theme for their 1987 program was 'The Year of Magic.'"

The I Clung (Book of Changes) is another occult practice that incorporates the use of the yin/yang. Geoffrey Parrinder writes: "The *yin-yang* dualism entered into Confucian orthodoxy by its incorporation into the *I Ching*—a late compilation from, and rational arrangement of, earlier works on **DIVINATION."**

William Spear teaches astrology and macrobiotics and has been using the I Ching for 20 years. He states:

"Taoism, inseparable from the philosophy of the I Ching, is based on the complimentary yet antagonistic principles of Yin and Yang which mutually create and destroy each other by the ceaseless rearrangements of their relationship. The basic rule they obey is life's only certainty: change."

One ad for a book by Diane Stein on the I Ching (also called Kwan Yin) tells us: "*The Kwan Yin Book of Changes* is a wonderful book, finding admirerers (sic) with not only **NEW AGERS, AND FEMINISTS, BUT OTHERS SUCH AS PAGANS, DIVINATION FANS, GODDESS WORSHIPPERS**, and those involved with Eastern philosophy."

Of course Diane Stein isn't the only pagan who uses the I Ching. A witchcraft magazine, *Circle Network News*, gives an extensive ritual to be used in connection with the I Ching. Part of the instructions are:

"An altar should be set up in the middle of a room facing north....Lay the stalks in the middle of the altar along with the I Ching book that you are going to use and your I Ching journal. Include on the altar other ritual tools and symbols that you feel you need. Be sure to include burning incense.

"Ritually purify yourself and the space with techniques of your choosing. Ground and center. Call the quarters and Spirit in a fashion that feels appropriate....

"Once you have determined the hexagram, draw it in your journal. Look it up within the text of your I Ching book....

"When you feel complete with your answer and have recorded all relevant information in your journal, pay respects to the I Ching in whatever way you feel comfortable....**Thank the spirit helpers [demons!] and the quarters for helping with your work."**

New Ager, Jeffrey S. Stamps, likes to use the yin/yang in a slightly different form. He calls his symbol the "Emergent Tao." He explains:

"The ridgepole symbolizes the line of the roof, thus separating heaven from earth. As a line, the ridgepole is unity, yet it generates duality—'above and below, a right and left, front and back—in a word, the world of opposites.'...

"As a symbol of change, tao, too, may change. To compress my thought of many pages to a single symbol, I offer *Emergent Tao*....This symbol extends the traditional t'ai chi symbol of the circle with a ridgepole dividing the complements of yin and yang. I have added the spiral curves between the outer circle and the two inner circles. With these lines, the symbol clearly expresses emergence and levels: the circle of the whole (n) and the 'higher' (n+1) and 'lower' (n-1) smaller circles/levels. Emergent tao expresses the essence of Holonomy: complements, levels, and unitary process."

Emergent Tao

The yin/yang symbol is quite appropriate today for humanists, New Agers, witches, Satanists, *etc.* As Michael Tierra, a proponent of the yin/yang theory, states: "The Yin/Yang theory is a teaching method and does not define anything absolute." There are seven laws concerning the yin/yang, one of which is: "2. Everything changes."

This is an important item to notice. The idea that "everything changes" does not agree with the Bible. There we find that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever (Hebrews 13:8). He doesn't change. James 1:17 also states: "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is **NO VARIABLENESS**, neither shadow

of turning." Malachi 3:6 tells us: "I am the Lord, I **CHANGE NOT."**

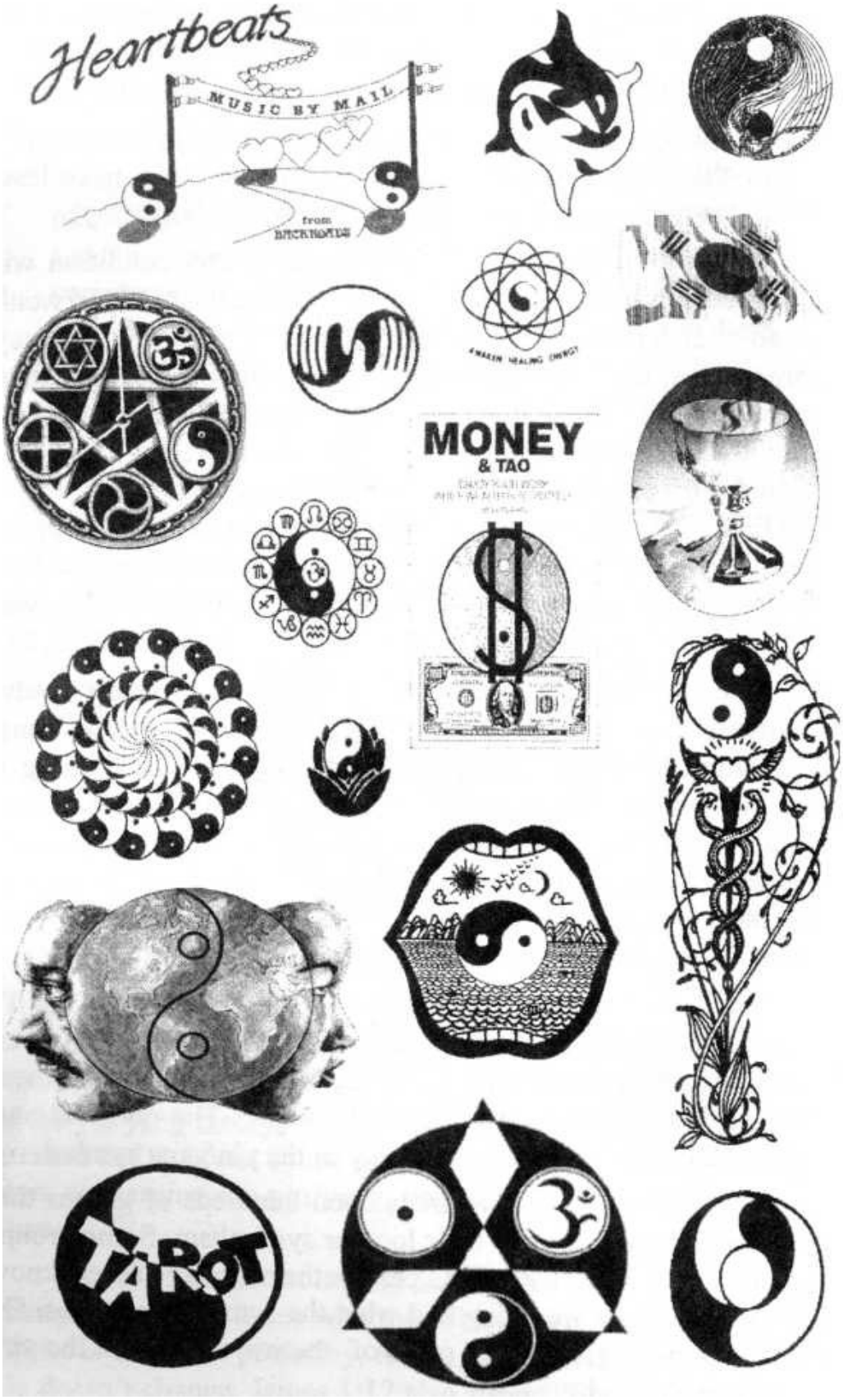
Another law is: "3. All antagonisms are complementary." Again, this is contradictory to Scriptures. This would make Jesus and Satan complementary to each other! What blasphemy!

Yet another law is: "6. The extreme of any condition will produce signs of the opposite." Again applying this to Christ would mean that because He is the extreme in goodness, mercy, compassion, etc., that He will produce signs of hate, injustice, unconcern, *etc.* This also would make Satan eventually become kind, loving, obedient, and so forth. The Bible warns: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil: that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!...Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!" (Isaiah 5:20-21, 23).

In addition to the seven laws of yin/yang, there are twelve theorems. One of these is: "8. Nothing is solely Yin or Yang; everything involves polarity." This is stating that nothing is entirely good or entirely evil. This again contradicts the Scripture for in Habbakkuk 1:13 we find that God is "of purer eyes than to behold evil and canst not look on iniquity." The Bible also tells us that there is no truth in Satan (John 8:44). Obviously, the yin/yang theory is not consistent with God's Word.

We'll cover the sinister aspects of the hexagram later, but it's interesting to note that *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols* tells us that the hexagram is affiliated with the "Chinese **OCCULT** symbol of ying (sic) and yang." The connotations, therefore, of the hexagram also apply to the yin/yang symbol.

There are probably hundreds upon hundreds of groups that have used the yin/yang in their logo or symbolism. Some groups probably do so innocently, but I believe the majority of them know exactly what they are doing and what the symbolism means. On the following pages are just some of the ways in which the yin/ yang is being used.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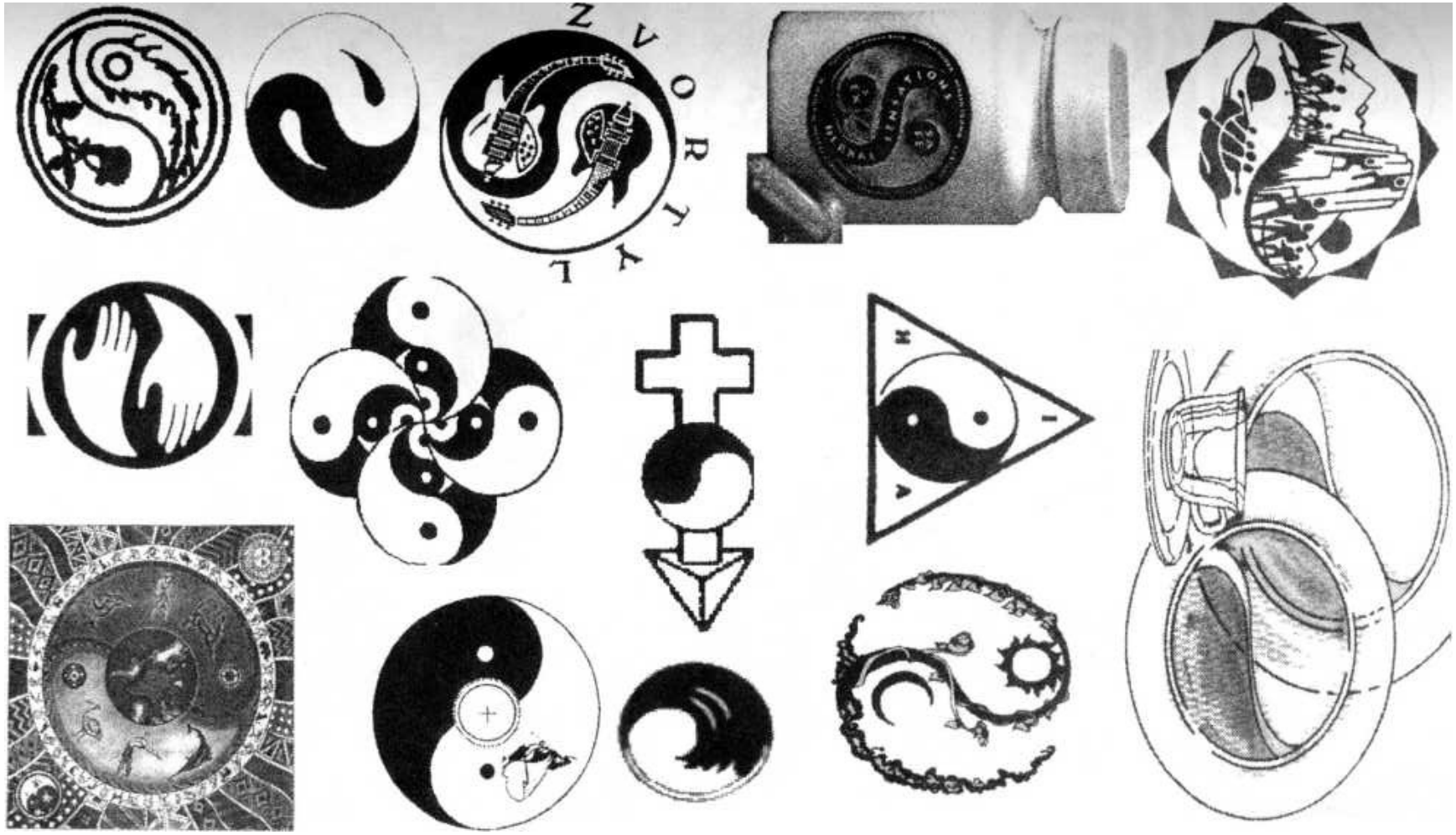
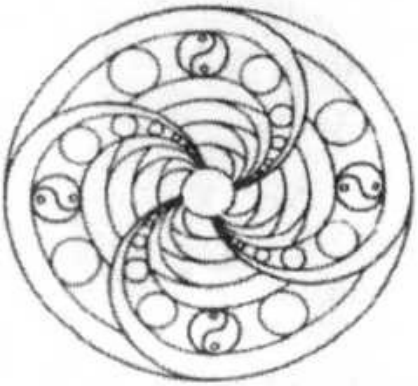
MUSIC BY MAIL
from
MONEY
& TAO
TAROT


ZVORTYL

Magic Tortoise
Taijiquan

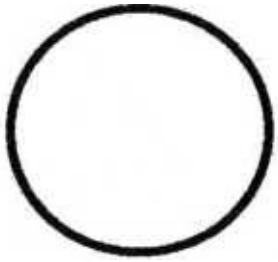


For more information on Exploris (pictured above), see the excellent article by Mrs. Peggy Cuddy in the June 1998 issue of Christian Conscience.

3.

THE CIRCLE

The circle is the symbol of the universe. Eastern Star writer, Sarah Terry, mentions that the circle "is derived from the **SUN."** Masonic author, J. S. M. Ward, explains that the circle also symbolizes God. A *Treasury of Witchcraft* states that "the circle that the magician draws on the ground...[is] to enforce demons to appear." Shortly we'll discover who the god of Masonry is, so it will be evident which god the circle represents.



One particular symbol that is prevalent in Masonry utilizes the circle but a point is added inside the circle. It is called the "point within the circle." Harold Percival in his Masonic book tells us: "The point and the circle are the same, the point is the infinitesimally small circle and the circle is the point fully expressed." Since the point and the circle are the same, let's look at what Masons tell us about this specific symbol.

In the *Masonic Quiz Book* we find that this symbol "is from the Egyptian and is a symbolic sign for the **SUN** and the god **OSIRIS."** Albert Mackey, a 33° Mason, reveals that: **"The point within the circle is an interesting and important symbol in Freemasonry....The SYMBOL IS REALLY A BEAUTIFUL BUT SOMEWHAT ABSTRUSE ALLUSION TO THE OLD SUN-WORSHIP,** and introduces us for the first time to that modification of it, known among the ancients as the **WORSHIP OF THE PHALLUS."**

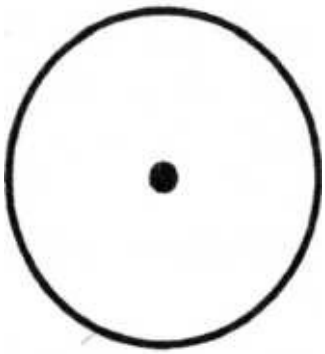
While some Masons are now trying to distance themselves from Mackey, he is nevertheless a **HIGHLY RESPECTED MASON** and is still looked up to today by many "higher" level Masons. In one *Short Talk Bulletin* about Mackey, lodge

members were told: “Never did he read into a Masonic symbol a meaning which is not actually there,” so we have every reason, then, to accept his interpretation that the point within a circle actually represents the phallus.

Albert Churchward, a Mason, says that: “The **POINT WITHIN A CIRCLE IS ONE OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC SIGNS OF THE SUN-GOD, RA....”**

The point within the circle represents other gods in other mythologies. In India the dot or the point within the circle represents **SHIVA** and in Egyptian mythology it represents **HORUS** or **OSIRIS.**

The Druids used the point within a circle as the emblem of their Supreme God who was **ODIN.** Masons, by the way, admire the Druids and some of them even claim that Masonry came from Druidism. Of course, the Druids were occultic priests, practiced astrology, and offered human sacrifices.



So, like all the other symbols which we have looked at, we find that the circle and the point within the circle refer to a pagan god. Also, like the previous symbols, the point within the circle has a sexual connotation.

In one *Short Talk Bulletin* entitled “Point Within a Circle,” which was to be read in Lodge meetings, we are told that this symbol is connected with **SUN WORSHIP.** This pamphlet states: “‘It was believed in India that at the general deluge everything was involved in the common destruction except female Principles or **ORGANS OF GENERATION,** which were destined to produce a new race and to repeople the earth when the waters had subsided from its surface.

The female principle, symbolized by the moon, assumed the form of a lunette, or

crescent, while the male principle, symbolized by the sun, assumed the form of the lingam (or Phallus) and placed himself erect in the center of the lunette, like the mast of a ship. The two principles in this united form floated on the surface of the waters during the period of their prevalence on the earth, and thus became the progenitors of a new race of men.'...

"The Indian interpretation makes the **POINT THE MALE PRINCIPLE, THE CIRCLE THE FEMALE;** the point became the sun and the circle the solar system which ancient peoples thought was the universe because the sun is the vivifying, the life-giving principle, for all that lives."

Albert Pike writes that Isis and Osiris: "the Active and Passive Principles of the Universe, were commonly symbolized by the generative parts of man and woman....The Indian lingam was the union of both, as were the boat and mast and the point within a circle: all of which expressed the same philosophical idea as to the Union of the two great Causes of Nature, which concur, one actively and the other passively, in the generation of all beings...."

The point within a circle has been employed in some rather unique ways. For instance, one Masonic book states: "The sign of the infamous Mafia or Cosa Nostra is not the 'black hand,' as many believe, but the familiar dot within a circle." We are further informed that: "Because the true purposes of Illuminism were so shocking, Weishaupt constantly encouraged the **SECRETIVE** nature of the order. No member was ever allowed himself to be identified as an Illuminati. The words Illuminism or Illuminati were never to be used in correspondence, but were to be replaced by the astrological symbol for the sun, a circle with a dot in the middle."

Weishaupt, you'll probably recall, was a Mason and the founder of the Illuminati.

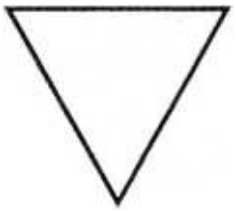
Another thing we need to look at is a circle surrounding the inverted five-pointed star. In *The Question of Freemasonry* we learn: "The inverted five-pointed star **within a circle** is the **highest form of satanic expression, representing Baphomet,** the God of Mendes, or the embodiment of Lucifer as god." In fact, the **PENTAGRAM ENCLOSED WITHIN THE CIRCLE IS** A **SIGN FOR THE GOD AND GODDESS.**

Actually, any occult symbol is considered to be even more powerful whenever a circle is used around another occultic symbol.

4.

THE TRIANGLE

The triangle is a very important symbol to the Masons and Eastern Star members. When a new Eastern Star Chapter is established, the Officers-elect are to form an equilateral triangle around the Altar. The Altar itself "is shaped in the form of a triangle. Traditionally, one angle is directed so that it points toward the East." The pentagram itself is made up of triangles. Of course, like the pentagram, the triangle can be used in two different positions and each position has a special significance. A triangle, with one point down, represents the deity and is called the "Deity's Triangle" or the "Water Triangle." With one point up it is called the "Earthly Triangle," "Pyramid Triangle," or the "Fire Triangle," and this emblem symbolizes "the PERFECT or DIVINE MAN." [Emphasis in the original]



Manly P. Hall, a 33° Mason, boasts: **"MAN IS A GOD IN THE MAKING...."** George H. Steinmetz, another Masonic writer, brags:

'"Be still—and know—that I am God.'''...'THAT *I* AM GOD'—the final recognition of the All in All, the unity of the Self with the Cosmos—the cognition of the DIVINITY OF THE SELF!" [Emphasis in the original]

Joseph Fort Newton, a well-known Mason, claims that the Third Degree of Masonry testifies "to the profoundest insight of the human soul—that God becomes man that man may become God."

This theme of godhood or the divinity of man can be found in book after book written by Masons, New Agers, witches, and Satanists. Masonic author, J. D. Buck, states: "It is far more important that **MEN SHOULD STRIVE TO BECOME CHRISTS** than that they should believe that Jesus was Christ".

Arthur Edward Waite writes that "the Master-Builder of the THIRD DEGREE does actually rise as Christ...." [Emphasis in the original]

In a book written by a 32° Mason, Charles H. Vail, entitled *The Ancient*

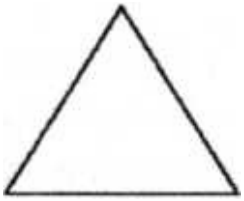
Mysteries and Modern Masonry, we find:

"The consummation of all this was to **MAKE THE INITIATE A GOD,** either by union with a Divine Being without or by the realization of the Divine Self within....

"MAN IS LIKE GOD IN THAT HE BECOMES A GOD."

This theme of godhood or the divinity of man has to also be the object of the Eastern Star since no one can become an Eastern Star member without having a close relative who has received the third degree of Masonry. It is that degree which is claimed to make a Mason a **"DIVINIZED MAN."**

There is more symbolism involved in the triangle, though. The triangle with one point up just happens to be the symbol for Set and Shiva. In *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*, written by Albert Churchward, a Mason, we find that this **TRIANGLE** with the one point facing upward, was the **SYMBOL FOR SET** (or Sut)! In India, the triangle is "the caste mark of the followers of **SHIVA**...who wear it on their forehead." Another Masonic writer, J. S. M. Ward, adds:



"With the point upwards the **EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE STANDS FOR SHIVA THE DESTROYER,** and signifies the flame which rises upwards from the funeral pyre toward Heaven. This symbol is familiar to us [the Masons] in several degrees, notably the Thirtieth degree."

There's no contradiction here, for Set is the Egyptian devil and Shiva is the Indian god of destruction. Both names, **SET AND SHIVA,** are also listed in *The Satanic Bible* as another name for **SATAN!** Furthermore, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky affirms: "Now, we have but to remember that Siva [Shiva] and the Palestinian Baal, or Moloch, and Saturn are identical...." So, then, when the Masons and Eastern Stars tell us that the triangle represents the deity, we now know **WHICH** deity is being worshiped by the symbolism of the triangle.

Another clue as to which deity is being worshiped may be found in Alice Bailey's book, *Discipleship in the New Age.* She claims: "It might be said symbolically that 'the point of the triangle is based in the courts of Heaven (Shamballa) and from that point two streams of power pour forth...." Shamballa is the mythological place where the "Lord of the World," Sanat Kumara or Shiva (who is actually Satan), is supposed to live! Bailey is looking forward to the time

when “there can be the inauguration of a new phase of activity in Shamballa. This will enable the Lord of the Word to become the ruler of a Sacred Planet, which, up to date, has not been the case.”

Interestingly, Bailey reminds us that Masonry emanates from Shamballa. Lynn Perkins, a Masonic author, also agrees. He mentions that Shamballa “has a bearing on the ancient origins of Freemasonry and upon its future in the coming Aquarian Age....” He adds:

“Shambhala,—the legendary and mystical home of the Great Masters of the Wisdom...out of which Ancient and modern **FREEMASONRY** sprang...is the site of 'the Great White Lodge’ of Initiate Masters, which, as a Brotherhood of Mystics and **OCCULTISTS,** is a prototype, an original model, of which every Masonic Lodge is a more or less perfect physical and spiritual replica....That **MASONS OF TODAY ARE OF AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ESOTERIC TRADITION,** that encompasses the whole purpose and Destiny of every living Soul, is no proof that it does not exist.”

Yet another meaning for the triangle has to do with a sexual reference. Without going into detail, I’ll just mention that it represents the male and female generative organs. When the two triangles are joined together to form a hexagram (discussed elsewhere in this book), it depicts sexual union between the male and female.

Masonic author, R. H. MacKenzie, states:

“TRIANGLE.—An important symbol in Masonry.

1. The equilateral triangle was adopted by all ancient nations as a symbol of Deity, and was regarded as the most perfect of figures. It constantly recurred in Craft Masonry as well as in the Royal Arch.

2. The right-angled triangle was also regarded as an important figure. Among the Egyptians the base represented **OSIRIS, OR THE MALE PRINCIPLE;** the perpendicular, **ISIS, OR THE FEMALE PRINCIPLE;** and the hypotenuse, **HORUS,** their son, **THE PRODUCT.”**

John Yarker, a Mason, writes:

John Yarker, a Mason, writes:

“The basis of the Masonic Jewel of a Master in the Chair is an old Egyptian symbol, for Plutarch informs us that a triangle whose base is 4, perpendicular 3, and hypotenuse of 5 parts, the square of which is equal to the square of those sides, containing the right angle, was an important emblem in Egypt, as a symbol of nature. The base figured **Osiris,** the perpendicular **Isis,** and the hypotenuse **Horus;** the originating and receptive principles, and the offspring of the two.”

Another Masonic writer, reveals:

"The triangle is found variously arranged throughout the Masonic system. In one instance we have the interlaced triangles, one black, the other white, the white triangle has its point up; the black triangle points down. Thus arranged it represents the union of the active and passive forces in nature; it represents the male and female elements. The interlaced black and white triangles represent the forces of darkness and light [yin/yang], error and truth, ignorance and wisdom and good and evil; when properly placed they represent balance and harmony.”

In *The Gods of India,* we find:

“The triangle with its apex upward is also taken to represent fire, identified with the male principle, the *linga* or phallus, symbol of Siva the Progenitor or of the Cosmic-Person *(purusa)....Its* numerical symbol is the number 3.

“The triangle pointing downward represents the force of inertia which pulls downward, and tends to suppress activity. It is associated with the element water, which always tends to come down, to equalize its level. It is the passive aspect of creation and thus is represented by the *yoni* or female organ, the emblem of Energy (Sakti) or Cosmic-Nature (*prakrti*). Other symbols

associated with the element water are the arc of a circle, the crescent, and the wave. The corresponding number symbol is the number 2."

R. Swinburne Clymer, in *The Mysteries of Osiris or Ancient Egyptian Initiation*, writes: "The Phallus or Lingam, and the Yoni, the male and female emblems of generation are found in the triangle and the tau...."

The lesbians and gays like to make use of the triangle symbolism. One catalog catering to lesbians states:

"The Triangle is a symbol of Gay and Lesbian identity, community and pride. It says that we are Out, standing up, unifying across the breathtaking diversity of our kind, and that we are committed to our freedom and our lives. The triangle is also an ancient glyph for vulva, for the Feminine....The triangle was reclaimed by the Gay Liberation movement in the '70s as a symbol both of resistance to oppression ('Silence=Death') and of Lesbian and Gay pride."

Below is a picture of a triangular card that "was designed especially for lesbians!"

The Bible tells us in I Corinthians 6:9-10 that homosexuals shall not inherit heaven:

"Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

Closely related to the triangle is the pyramid. One author writes:

“The *pyramid* has a close relationship in symbolic significance to the triangle. Indeed, the pyramid is shaped in triangular form. A number of New Age communities and groups, such as the Institute of Healing Sciences in New York, have erected pyramid-shaped structures. Some New Age churches display small pyramid replicas on their altars.

“New Agers believe in pyramid-power. Some wear miniature pyramids on chains to bring positive energy forces into their bodies; others make cardboard pyramids and place them into close proximity with foodstuffs, believing in the curative and preservative powers of pyramids.” [Emphasis in the original]

We can see that the triangle represents pagan gods and has a sexual connotation. When the upward triangle and the downward triangle are joined, it forms the hexagram or the six-pointed star. We will cover this symbol in the next chapter.

5.

THE HEXAGRAM

The Hexagram is formed by uniting the Water Triangle with the Fire Triangle, which is called the Six-pointed Star, Star of David, Solomon's Seal, *etc.*

When the two triangles (the "Water Triangle" and the "Fire Triangle") are joined together into one symbol, it forms a six pointed star known as a double triangle, hexagram, Crest of Solomon, star of the microcosm and the Shield of David, among other names. It is even called the "talisman of Saturn." Mary Ann Slipper remarks: "This six pointed star is used in masonic work and is also found in other well known secret orders."

The Second Mile, an Eastern Star book, reveals that the "six pointed star is a very ancient symbol, and one of the most powerful." It sure is a powerful symbol —to witches, sorcerers, and magicians! "The hexagram is used in magic, witchcraft, occultism and the casting of zodiacal horoscopes internationally and by all races." "It was considered to possess mysterious powers," says *A Concise Cyclopaedia of Freemasonry.*

It is used as a "stand-by for **MAGICIANS AND ALCHEMISTS.** The **SORCERERS** believed it represented the footprint of a special kind of **DEMON** called a trud and used it in ceremonies both to **CALL UP DEMONS** and to keep them away."

Former Satanist, Bill Schnoebelen, reminds us: "To the sorcerer, the hexagram is a powerful tool to invoke Satan...." A **HEXAGRAM MUST BE PRESENT TO CALL A DEMON FORTH.** In fact, the word "HEX" comes from this emblem.

Another meaning associated with the hexagram has to do with sexual union and

reproduction. The triangle pointing downward “is a female symbol corresponding to the yoni” and the “upward-pointing triangle is the male, the lingam...." When the two triangles are interlaced, “it represents the union of the active and passive forces in nature; it represents the male and female elements.”

In *The Gods of India,* we find:

“The two complementary principles, the *linga* and the *yoni,* are graphically represented by the fiery triangle with upward apex and the watery triangle with downward apex. When the triangles penetrate one another to form the hexagon, this is taken to show the state of manifestation. When they part, the universe dissolves.”

The linga (or lingam) and the yoni are the male and female sexual parts.

A former witch reveals: “When the male triangle penetrates the female triangle it produces the six pointed crest of Solomon or hexagram, the most wicked symbol in witchcraft.”

The hexagram was also used for communication with the dead as E. A. Wallis Budge states: “Those who believed in the physical significance of the Hexagram taught that communication between the living and the dead was possible, and adopted the dogma of **REINCARNATION.”**

A book entitled *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy,* links the hexagram to spiritualism.

The Hexagram was also the sign used in the Royal Arch (in Masonry) and “with the Hindoos (sic) of Trimurti the Trinity in Unity, or Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva in one.” J. S. M. Ward adds:

Trimurti

“The [hexagram] with or without the circle, is strictly the sign of Trimurti, the Three in One, typifying the creative, preservative and destructive natures of the Deity. When Trimurti is depicted, which is seldom, it is as a three-headed man; one head is bearded, as with European mediaeval pictures of God the Father, while the heads which represent Vishnu and Shiva are devoid of a beard.”

Interestingly, this hexagram:

“...certainly has three sixes. It contains a six, within a six, within a six: 666. (Count the sides of each triangle facing the clockwise direction, the sides facing the counterclockwise direction, and the third six—the sides of the inner hexagon.)”

There is still another meaning of the hexagram. One Masonic author states:

“In one instance we have the interlaced triangles, one black, the other white, the white triangle has its point up; the black triangle points down....The interlaced black and white triangles represent the forces of darkness and light, error and truth, ignorance and wisdom and good and evil; when properly placed they represent balance and harmony.”

Another Masonic pamphlet affirms that these triangles that make up the hexagram “are symbolic of good and evil, day and night, the Chinese **YANG AND YIN,** etc.” We’ve already covered the yin/yang symbol, so we can see that the hexagram is not a good symbol and does not have a favorable connotation. It is used to call up demons, communicate with the dead, describe sexual acts, and represent false and pagan gods (such as Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva).

The Bible tells us in Philippians 4:8:

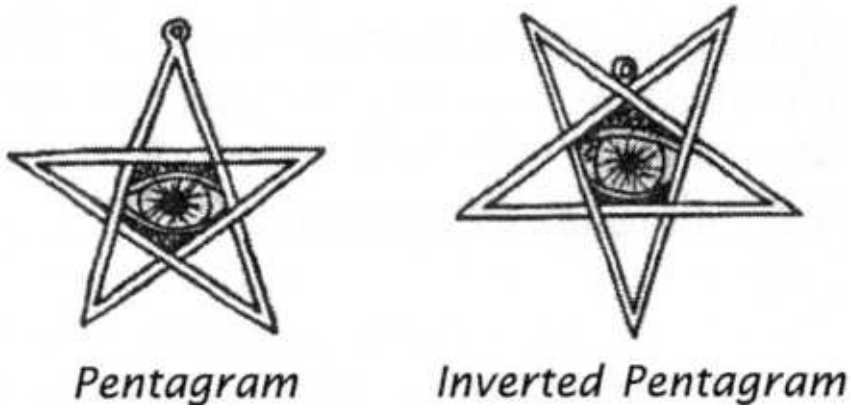
“Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, **THINK** on these things.”

Isn’t there a big difference between what the Scriptures tell us to dwell on and what the occult promotes?

6.

THE PENTAGRAM

Satanists and witches love the pentagram, and we are told that the pentagram is one of the main symbols of witchcraft and occultism. It has always been used in ritual magic and is used for divination, the conjuration of spirits and to summon demoniac help. In the *Dictionary of Mysticism*, we learn that the pentagram: "is considered by occultists to be the most potent means of conjuring spirits. When a single point of the star points upward, it is regarded as the sign of the good and a means to conjure benevolent spirits; when the **SINGLE POINT POINTS DOWN** and a pair of points are on top, it is a *SIGN OF THE EVIL (SATAN)* and is **USED TO CONJURE POWERS OF EVIL."**



Pentagram Inverted Pentagram

"The PENTAGRAM is a very important symbol USED IN CALLING DEMONS and as an aid in the casting of spells. When *Book entitled* *A Witch's Bible Compleat* pointed skyward, the star symbolizes the power of witchcraft. Most Wiccans—(witches/warlocks) believe that their power comes from such elements as the earth, sky and wind."

In fact, the Pentagram is called “The Great Rite” in witchcraft. Witches Janet and Stewart Farrar report: “The couple enacting the Great Rite are offering themselves, with reverence and joy, as expressions of the God and Goddess aspects of the Ultimate Source....They are making themselves to the best of their ability, channels for that divine polarity on all levels, from physical to spiritual. That is why it is called the Great Rite.... ‘Ritual sexual intercourse,’ says Doreen Valiente, ‘is a very old idea indeed—probably as old as humanity itself.’...The Great Rite invocation specially declares that the body of the woman taking part is an altar, with her womb and generative organs as its sacred focus, and reveres it as such....The High Priestess then lays herself down towards the altar, and her arms and legs outstretched to form the **PENTAGRAM.”**

Laurie Cabot, a **WITCH,** explains: “It really isn’t that difficult to distinguish the Craft from Satanism. Witches wear the pentacle with the point up. **SATANISTS REVERSE IT WITH THE POINT DOWN....”**

Witches’ pentagram It should be obvious by now that the occultists, New Agers, magicians, Satanists, and witches all claim the pentagram as one of **THEIR** symbols and hold it in high regard. “Symbols,” we are told, “are representative of ownership.” In fact, Fred and Jill Buck from the Magi Craftsmen, announce: “The Pentagram is one of the most powerful symbols for the **NEW AGE.”** A witchcraft magazine was even entitled *Pentagram.*

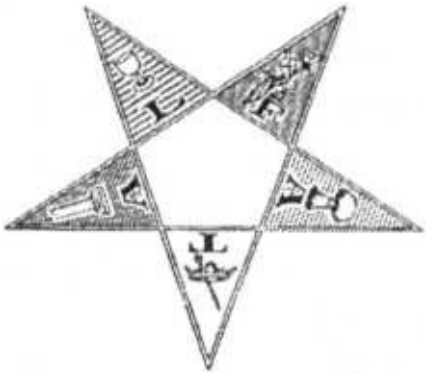
As is well-known, the pentagram (or five-pointed star) can be drawn in two ways —with one point facing up or with two points facing up (known as the inverted or Satanic pentagram). “When pointing down, as on the front of the Satanic

Bible, the star signifies the Church of Satan, symbolic of power from Hell." Occultist and 33° Mason, Manly Hall, admits: "In symbolism, an **inverted figure always signifies a perverted power.** The average person does not even suspect the **occult** properties of emblematic **pentacles."** As can be seen, this star is a crucial ingredient in the occult, Wicca (witchcraft), and Satanism and the fashion in which this star is placed is highly illuminating. Former witch, Mason, Mormon, and Satanist, Bill Schnoebelen, "emphasized that **TO THE MAGICIAN, THE INVERTED PENTAGRAM HAS ONE USE ONLY,** and that is to **CALL UP THE POWER OF SATAN** and bring the Kingdom of the Devil into manifestation on earth."

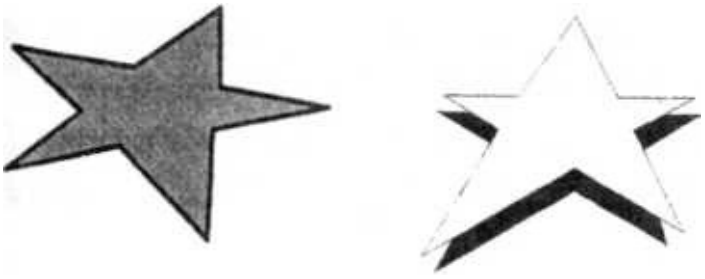
An organization called the Continental Association of Satan's Hope (CASH) advertises that a **"POWERFUL SATANIC PENTAGRAM CAN NOW BE YOURS ABSOLUTELY FREE!"** [Emphasis in the original] It goes on to explain: *"You will find the Satanic Pentagram invaluable and indispensable as you attempt to draw from the infernal power of our lord Satan! This extremely powerful amulet is the sign of the microcosm and is the summation of all the occult forces! In other words, there is no amulet or talisman more powerful or even close to as powerful as the Satanic Pentagram!"* [Emphasis in the original]

Across the bottom of this ad are the words in large letters: "HAIL SATAN!"

The pentagram also plays an important role in **MASONRY AND THE EASTERN STAR.** Granted, many Masons and Eastern Star women are unaware of the connotation of this star (especially in the manner in which it is drawn), but many in the higher echelons of Masonry **KNOW** all about the particular symbol.



Let's turn to a few Masonic writers to see what they tell us about the meaning of the pentagram and the position in which it is drawn. We'll start with a quotation from Manly Hall. He points out that: "The **PENTAGRAM IS USED EXTENSIVELY IN BLACK MAGIC,** but when so used its form always differs in one of three ways: The star may be broken at one point by not permitting the converging lines to touch; it may be inverted by having one point down and two up; or it may be distorted by having the points of varying lengths. When used in **BLACK MAGIC,** the pentagram is called the 'sign of the cloven hoof,' or the **FOOTPRINT OF THE DEVIL.** The star with two points upward is also called the 'Goat of Mendes,' because the inverted star is the same shape as a goat's head. When the upright star turns and the upper point falls to the bottom, it signifies the fall of the Morning Star."

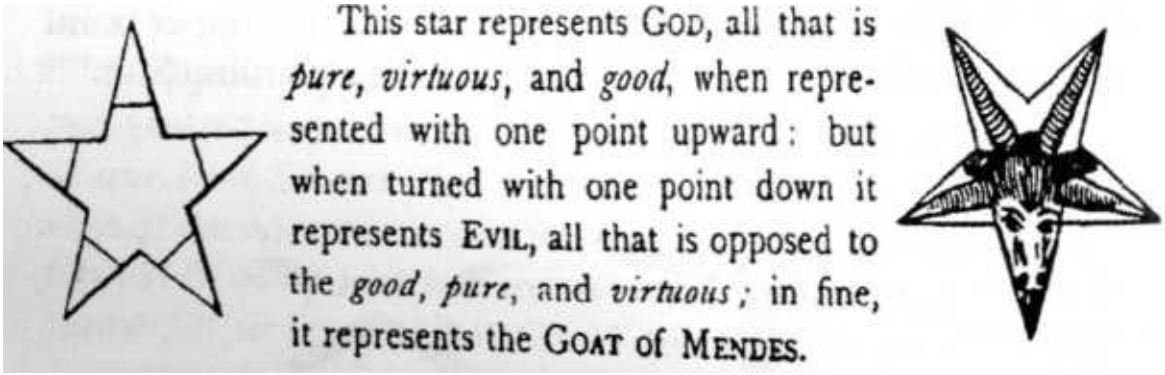


S. R. Parchment, in his *book Ancient Operative Masonry*, states that: "...the **PENTAGRAM** represents the liberated spirit. When the star is shown point upward, it is considered the symbol of the white magician who is able at will to leave the body [an out of the body experience] by way of the head; **WHEN DOWNWARD, BLACK MAGIC."**

One Masonic pamphlet to be read in the Lodges is the *Short Talk Bulletin*, (reprinted in 1982) entitled "Symbolism." It states: "The five-pointed star—point up—is a very ancient symbol of man, and was used by the old sages to designate

the absolute sign of human intelligence. It refers to the spiritual element predominant in man, while the same figure with **TWO POINTS UP REFERS TO THE GOAT OF MENDES**—or that the beast is in the ascendant."

Henry L. Stillson and William J. Hughan, in *History of Freemasonry and Concordant Orders,* describe the pentagram like this: "...when turned with one point down it represents EVIL, all that is opposed to the *good, pure,* and *virtuous;* in fine, it represents the GOAT OF MENDES." [Emphasis in the original]



The Seeker's Handbook states the following about the inverted pentagram: "Inverted, it presents the abstract figure of a goat's head and is generally taken to represent the exploitation and glorification of the animal drives and erotic forces, as encouraged in SATANISM." [Emphasis in the original]

Obviously, the inverted pentagram is a sign for evil. It represented Satan and is used for invoking evil spirits.

The pentagram is known by several other names: "Celtic priests called it the **WITCH'S FOOT.** In the Middle Ages it became known in Britain and

elsewhere in Europe as the goblin's cross, **DEVIL'S SIGN,** and the **WIZARD'S STAR.** Among the druids of Great Britain, it was the blasphemous sign of the Godhead."

"It is also Solomon's seal....In ancient times it was a magic charm amongst the people of Babylon."

"It was one of the most important symbols of the Pythagoreans, for whom its mathematical properties were most significant as the pentalpha, but who also fashioned it into trinkets to be used as talismen to ward off evil spirits, ill health, or misfortune. This symbolism persisted throughout the centuries of European history; in Germany, for example, it became the *Druttenfuss*, a **HEX SIGN** to prevent witches and goblins from entering barns and cottages."

The pentagram is also sometimes called a pentacle or pantacle. Webster's Dictionary says that the pentacle (or pentagram) is a "5-pointed or sometimes 6-pointed star used as a **MAGICAL** symbol." Witches Janet and Stewart Farrar describe the pentagram like this: "a five-pointed star, one of the **MAIN SYMBOLS OF WITCHCRAFT AND OCCULTISM** in general." A book on numerology agrees that the pentagram "is used in many ritualistic ceremonies including **witchcraft."**

Witchcraft books entitled <u>Witchcraft: Yesterday and Today</u> and <u>Secrets of a Witch's Coven</u> One witchcraft magazine explains: "The five-pointed star is one

of the world's oldest symbols and it has been used in many cultures since ancient times as an amulet to bring good fortune and ward off harm. Most **WICCAN** [witchcraft] **PRACTITIONERS ALSO WEAR IT** today as a symbol of their religion....In the Wiccan religion, the five points of the **PENTAGRAM REPRESENT THE FIVE ELEMENTS** of Nature—Earth, Air, Fire, Water, and Spirit—with the top point corresponding to Spirit, the unifying element....A Pentagram inscribed on a platter is called a Pentacle. Pentacles are used as ceremonial tools for the Element Earth and placed above windows and doorways to bless and protect a dwelling."

Sybil Leek, a well-known **WITCH,** declares that the "pentagram has always been used in ritual **MAGIC** and in the **WITCHCRAFT** rites of healing." New Ager Dick Sutphen agrees that the "pentacle holds an important place in ritual **MAGIC."** Another book on witchcraft mentions: "The pentacle, the five-pointed figure, contained mystic symbols, used especially in **DIVINATION** and the **CONJURATION OF SPIRITS.** The pentalpha, a design formed by interlacing five A's, was also in similar use. To **SUMMON DEMONIAC HELP,** the pentagram was fashioned: a five-pointed geometric figure."

International Imports produces an occult catalog. This company sells altar covers with pentagrams on them—a "circled pentagram for white magic occult work; **INVERTED PENTAGRAM FOR BLACK MAGIC RITUALS."**
Elsewhere this catalog advertises occult jewelry with a pentagram. It adds that the pentagram is the "most powerful of all occult talismans....It is alleged that it is more powerful than the cross...." We are also told that the **INVERTED PENTAGRAM IS "A SIGN FOR EVIL."** Gary Jennings, in his book, *Black*

Magic, White Magic, reveals that: "...the most powerful and respected of all magical symbols was the pentagram—the figure of five sides and five angles....The belief was that if this figure were drawn with a single angle...**POINTING DOWN, THE SIGN REPRESENTED SATAN** and thus was **USED FOR INVOKING EVIL SPIRITS."**

Since we have been informed several times by Masonic authors that the inverted (or Satanic) pentagram refers to the Goat of Mendes, let's take a look at what this goat represents. In *A Dictionary of Symbols* we notice that the he-goat is associated with the devil. Mendes was an "Egyptian god resembling Pan; he was worshipped in the form of a goat."

Pan

One witchcraft organization, Nuit Unlimited Imports, sells a Goat of Mendes T-shirt. They mention that this goat is also known as Baphomet. An occult catalog mentions that Baphomet is the "traditional symbol of Pagans, witches, Satanists and mystics." The *Dictionary of Mysticism* admits: **"Baphomet:** In occultism, the Sabbatic goat, in whose form Satan was said to be worshipped at

the Witches' Sabbath."

The Occult Emporium's catalog sells Baphomet wall plaques. They brag that the plaques are "in appropriate colors of each quarter, and the appropriate qabbalistic **Demonic** name in the circumference. **Officially approved by** Rev. **Yaj Nomolos, Church of SATAN."** An earlier catalog stated that one particular **Baphomet was "worn by the Priest of Satan...."**

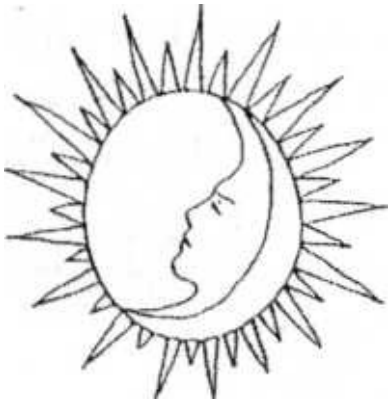
Describing Baphomet, Nuit Unlimited Imports says this: "...art work was drawn by Eliphas Levi, the foremost **OCCULT** authority of the 19th century. Symbols were included relating directly to ceremonial **MAGIC** and identified with Baphomet. Much of the same symbols carry forward as on the **DEVIL CARD** in the Thoth deck of Crowley.

"The **GOAT OF MENDES** itself is known as the **'GOD OF THE WITCHES'...."**

Levi's drawing of Baphomet shows his emphasis on sex, for he made Baphomet as an androgynous (meaning both male and female) figure. Satan, like Baphomet, "is often pictured as a hermaphroditic deity, having a male phallus and the breasts of a woman." "The winged staff between Baphomet represents the phallus."

The goat is one of the symbolical animals of Hermetic magic, says Levi, and it is the "symbol of generation." In a book on witchcraft, *The Complete Book of Witchcraft and Demonology*, we find a picture of Baphomet. The caption states that he is the "homed god of the witches, symbol of sex incarnate." This picture, by the way, shows Baphomet making the Devil's triad with his right hand.

Starhawk, a witch, boasts: "The God of the Witches is sexual—but sexuality is seen as sacred, not as obscene or blasphemous. Our God wears horns—but they are the waxing and waning crescents of the Goddess Moon, and the symbol of animal vitality. In some aspects, He is black, not because He is dreadful or fearful, but because darkness and the night are times of power, and part of the cycles of time....

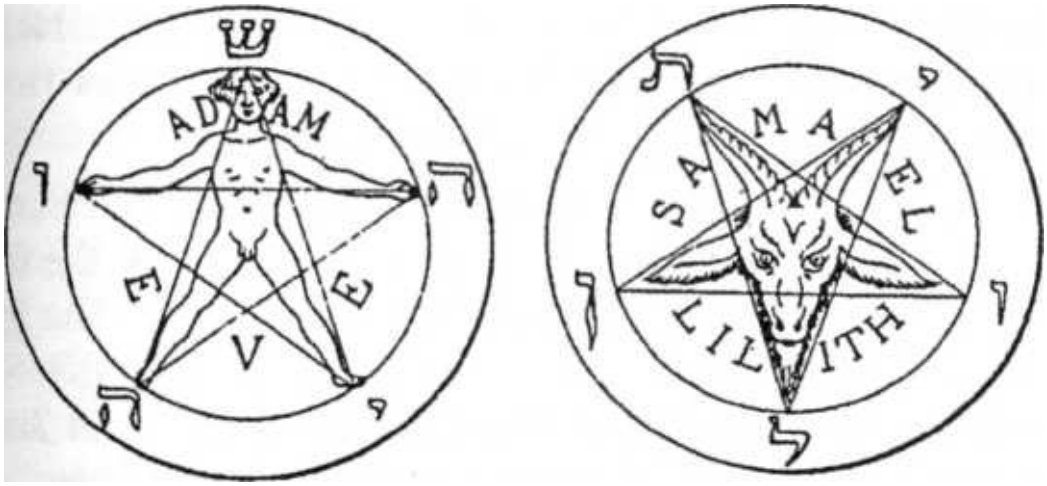


“The God of the Witches is the God of love. This love includes sexuality, which is also wild and untamed as well as gentle and tender. His sexuality is fully *felt*, in a context in which sexual desire is sacred, not only because it is the means by which life is procreated but also because it is the means by which our own lives are most deeply and ecstatically realized. In Witchcraft, sex is a sacrament, an outward sign of an inward grace.” [Emphasis in the original]

Eliphas Levi wrote: “The star of the microcosm, or the **MAGIC PENTAGRAM,** that star wherein the human figure was represented by Agrippa, with the head in the ascending point and the four members in the four other points—the Burning **STAR, WHICH, WHEN INVERTED, IS THE HIEROGLYPHIC SIGN OF THE GOAT OF BLACK MAGIC,** whose head can then be sketched in the star with the two horns above, the ears on the right and left, and the beard below, sign of antagonism and blind fatality, the goat of lewdness assaulting heaven with its horns, a sign execrated even in the Sabbath by initiates of a superior order.”

He also said:

“The **PENTAGRAM WITH TWO HORNS IN THE ASCENDANT REPRESENTS SATAN,** or the goat of the Sabbath....**IT IS THE FIGURE OF A HUMAN BODY** with the four members and a point representing the head; a human figure **HEAD DOWNWARD NATURALLY REPRESENTS THE DEMON,** that is, intellectual subversion, disorder and folly.”



Of course, one of the most sinister aspects of this star is its correlation with the god Set. “Set was the ancient Egyptian god of evil. He was also known by the names Seth and Sutekh. He was a wicked and powerful god who often used witchcraft to achieve his aims.”

Furthermore, the name **SET** (or Sut) is another name for **SATAN!** Proof of this can be found by turning to Masonic writer, Albert Churchward, in which he states: “Set or Sut, according to Plutarch, is the Egyptian name of Typhon—*i.e.* Satan of the Christian Cult.” John Yarker, another Masonic author agrees when he stated that **SET WAS “A DEVIL** identical with Typhon.” Yet another book, *Freemasonry and the Ancient Gods*, authored by Mason J. S. M. Ward, reveals that Set was “regarded as evil, because he represented darkness.” In *The Adelphi Quarterly*, a New Age magazine, we are notified: “The word ‘Satan’ comes from the Egyptian god of the underworld, Set or Seth.”

Further proof of the relationship between Set and Satan can be found in *The Satanic Bible*, written by Anton LaVey, the founder of the first Church of Satan. Under the enumeration of "The Infernal Names" for Satan is listed "Set." On another page in this Satanic "bible," "Set" is described as the "Egyptian devil." In *Treasury of Witchcraft* is included a listing of other names for Satan, one of which is Set.

Another New Age book (which praises Lucifer) describes Set as "the early Egyptian god of death, evil, and hell." Additionally, occultist, New Ager, and Theosophist, Helen Petrovna Blavatsky, links Set and Satan together when she writes: "...Hermes, the god of wisdom, called also Thoth, Tat, Seth, Set and *Satan;* and that he was, furthermore, when viewed under his bad aspect, Typhon, the Egyptian Satan, who was also *Set.*" [Emphasis in the original]

Thoth

In fact, knowing the abominable background of Set, it is no shock to discover that in "ancient Egypt, Set was worshiped with obscene, homosexual rituals." We are told that the rituals performed for Set and Sirius were so horrible and debased "that later rulers of Egypt defaced their temples and obelisks and tried to drive them from the land." In mythology we find that Set himself was involved in incest for he married his sister, Nephthys. Set was also involved in adulterous affairs for he had at least two other consorts: Septet and Khekhsit.

Set is likewise portrayed as the “Devil of Darkness,” “Prince of Darkness,” and “the Lord of the Underworld.” It is stressed that the “Underworld” of which Set is in charge, is not Hades, but Tartarus, for “Tartarus is the hell of the damned and it was of this world that Set was the Lord.” Set’s symbol is the **INVERTED PENTAGRAM!**

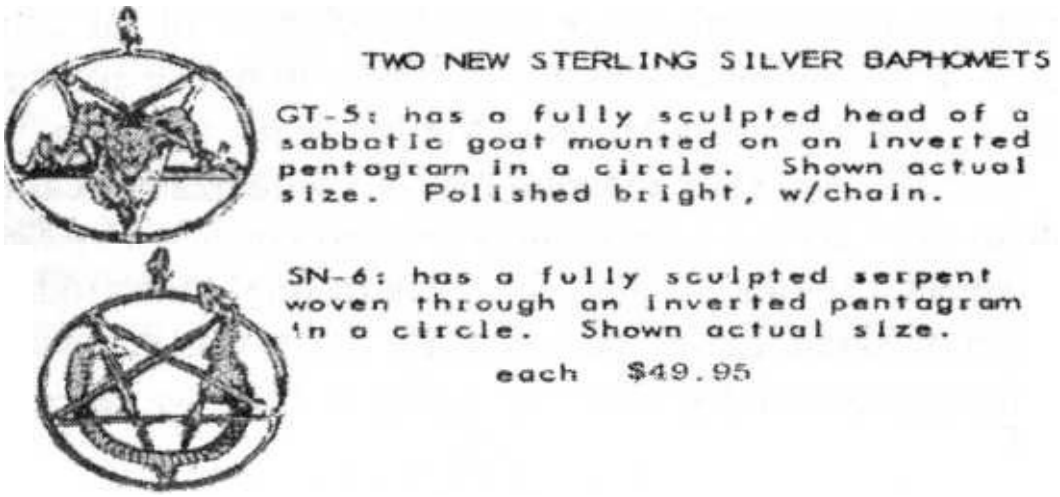
Michael Aquino “has written that Set is the oldest formulation of the being now called Satan, the embodiment of the sense of alienation and loneliness which man feels from the universe.” Aquino was a member of Anton LaVey’s Church of Satan. After leaving LaVey’s church, he started his own organization called the **Temple of Set** and his newsletter is entitled *The Scroll of Set.* The split between LaVey and Aquino was partially due to their individual conception of Satan. LaVey believed that Satan was just a symbol but Aquino contended that Satan, in the form of Set, was an absolute reality.

Michael and Lilith Aquino

In spite of Aquino’s beliefs and his status as a Satan worshipper, he was also a United States Army Lieutenant Colonel who served in Psy-Op operations. When Aquino appeared on the Oprah Winfrey Show, he described Satanists as “very decent, very law-abiding people [with]...a very high set of personal ethics...

[who have] nothing to do with evil." Yet Aquino seems to contradict himself when he points out "that the essence of Satanism is an arrogant and hostile rebellion against universal law."

Notice that Aquino uses a plain inverted pentagram (see picture on previous page). This symbol is **called Baphomet with or without the goat's head** drawn in it. For example see the advertisement for the two Baphomet pieces of jewelry. One has the goat's head and the other one has a snake wrapped about the pentagram but **BOTH** of them are referred to as Baphomet.



So, the pentagram really has a very evil connotation no matter how it is drawn. With one point up it represents Lucifer and with two points up it depicts Satan.

The Bible tells us that the whole world lies in wickedness at the present time (I John 5:19), but there is coming a day when Satan will be bound. Revelation 20:1-3 states: "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more...."

The final victor will be Jesus Christ.

7.

THE DREAM NET

The dream net (or dream catcher) is quite popular these days— especially for use in babies' cribs. However, this is NOT an innocent ornament. It is actually a **charm.** A *Dictionary of Mysticism* reports that a **charm is "any magic word, formula, incantation, object, sign or amulet supposed to possess occult power**." Webster tells us that a charm is an "incantation," "the chanting or reciting of a MAGIC SPELL," "an act or expression believed to have MAGIC power," "AMULET." An amulet is: "a charm (as an ornament) often inscribed with a magic incantation or symbol to protect the wearer against evil or to aid him." A **charmer is called an enchanter or a magician!** (As an aside, many people wear "charm bracelets" and think nothing of it, but they are actually wearing magical symbols which have a tendency to attract evil spirits!) In *Roget's Thesaurus* we find some interesting synonyms for charm. They are: enchantment, magic spell, spell, hex, amulet, and talisman. The verb form of "charm" means to bewitch or put under a magic spell. Do you want to wear any of these items or put a charm on your baby's crib?!

One witchcraft magazine, *Circle Network News*, in an article entitled "Amulets, Talismans & Charms," written by Selena Fox, a witch, explains the dream net like this:

"This **CHARM,** from the Ojibway tribe in Minnesota, is made of sinew stretched over a small hoop of ash. It is designed to bring a good night's sleep, especially for children, and is hung horizontally over a child's cradleboard or crib. Tradition says that the air is filled with both good and bad dreams waiting to come to a sleeping child. This net allows good dreams to find their way to the child through the hole in the center, while bad dreams are caught up in the web where they dissolve in the dawn's light. Dream nets continue to be used by some Ojibway people today as in ancient times."

One paper explaining the “Legend of the Dream Catcher” states:

“Long ago when the world was young, an old Lakota spiritual leader was on a high mountain and had a vision.

“In his vision, Iktomi, the great trickster and teacher of wisdom, appeared in the form of a spider.

“Iktomi spoke to him in a sacred language that only the spiritual leaders of the Lakota could understand....

“All the while the spider spoke, he continued to weave his web starting from the outside and working towards the center....

“‘If you believe in the great spirit, the web will catch your good ideas—and the bad ones will go through the hole.’

“The Lakota elder passed on his vision to his people and now the Sioux Indians use the dream catcher as the web of their life.

“It is hung above their beds or in their home to sift their dreams and visions.

“The good in their dreams are captured in the web of life and carried with them...but the evil in their dreams escapes through the hole in the center of the

web and are no longer a part of them.

“They believe that the dream catcher holds the destiny of their future.”

Without going into much comment on the above tale, most Christian researchers will recognize the occultic connotations throughout this little story. Notice the fantasy of a spider speaking, the use of visions, the “sacred language,” and the idea that it is the dream catcher that holds each person’s destiny rather than God.

Notice also the phrase “web of life.” The idea of an etheric or planetary web was developed by Alice A. Bailey, an occultist, but initially expressed by Chief Seattle around 1854 in his supposed quote:

“This we know...the earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth. All things are connected, like blood which connects one family. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the children of the earth. Man did not weave the **web of life**—he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.”

John Lash reveals that it is a “[k]ey idea in New Age philosophy of holistics, central to the new paradigm of GAIA, and major subject of study and exploration in geomancy.” [Emphasis in the original] Geomancy, by the way, is a form of **divination,** which is explicitly forbidden in the Bible. (See Deuteronomy 18:10-12; II Kings 17:17; Jeremiah 14:14; Ezekiel 12:24; 13:6-7; Acts 16:16.)

Returning to the story of the dream net, we find that the spider (Iktomi) was known as a **trickster.** How can you be sure that he didn’t trick the people with his tale of the dream catcher? How can you be sure that the good dreams are

caught and the evil ones are filtered out? A trickster is known for lying, deception, and mischief. Even if the story were true, the spider himself could not be trusted to be telling the truth!

Another catalog that sells lots of occultic materials states:

"THE DREAMCATCHER WEB *Believe in its mystical powers, and you may sleep more peacefully! Through the center spirit hole flow your good dreams; trapped in the web are the 'bad,' which disappear with the morning sun."* [Bold and caps in the original; underlining added]

If you noticed carefully, even the descriptions of this dream net differ from place to place. Some people believe that the bad dreams are caught in the web and others believe that the good dreams are caught. Regardless of the discrepancies, this is not an item that any Christian would want in their home.

We do not need any "protection" from occult sources. Jeremiah 7:8 says: "Behold, ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit." All we need to do is to pray and ask the Lord to watch over our children and protect them and He will do it. Here are a few verses to ponder and remember:

"It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man" (Psalm 118:8).

“Blessed is that man that maketh the Lord his trust, and respecteth not the proud, nor such as turn aside to lies” (Psalm 40:4).

“What time I am afraid, I will trust in Thee” (Psalm 56:3).

“I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in Him will I trust” (Psalm 91:2).

“But let all those that put their trust in Thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because Thou defendest them: let them also that love Thy name be joyful in Thee” (Psalm 5:11).

“Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths” (Proverbs 3:5-6).

8.

ELEMENTALS

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, Theosophist, occultist, and New Ager, explains about the elementals. She writes:

"ELEMENTAL SPIRITS.—The creatures **evolved** in the four kingdoms of earth, air, fire, and water, and called by the kabalists gnomes, sylphs, salamanders, and undines. They may be termed the forces of nature, and will either operate effects as the servile agents of general law, or may be employed by the **disembodied spirits**—whether pure or impure—and by living adepts of **magic and sorcery,** to produce desired phenomenal results. Such beings never become men.

"Under the general designation of fairies, and fays, these spirits of the elements appear in the myth, fable, tradition, or poetry of all nations, ancient and modern. Their names are legion—peris, devs, jinn, sylvans, satyrs, fauns, elves, dwarfs, trolls, norns, nisses, kobolds, brownies, necks, stromkarls, undines, nixies, salamanders, goblins, ponkes, banshees, kelpies, pixies, moss people, good people, good neighbors, wild women, men of peace, white ladies—and many more. They have been seen, feared, blessed, banned, and invoked in every quarter of the globe and in every age. Shall we then concede that all who have met them were hallucinated?

"These elementals are the principal agents of disembodied but *never visible* spirits at ***seances,*** and the producers of all the phenomena except the subjective." [Caps and italics in the original Boldface added]

One New Age catalog sells a tape on nature spirits. It asks:

What is a nature spirit? Oral tradition and literature depict nature spirits as fairies, trolls, leprechauns and angels.

Become acquainted with the qualities and sensitives of these unusual, mysterious creatures, from primitive to complex. This myth-dispelling tape reveals interaction patterns between nature spirits and humans, touching on common conceptions of satanic and demonic-type beings as well. Safely guided through **meditations to contact nature spirits,** you will be captivated as you feel the joyful love abundant in their enchanting realm."

In the November/December 1989 issue of *Connecting Link* was an article on elementals entitled "Helpers." This is an article dictated by a **SPIRIT GUIDE (demon).** Samuel (the spirit guide/ demon) says:

"There's a group that specializes in the earth. Another in air. Another in water. Another in fire. Another in spirit. The four basic elements, earth, air, water and fire work with specific things of earth. The elementals of spirit work specifically with that creation which has grown beyond simple form and are beings of spirits or humans. All of this group is called the angelic kingdom. It is also called the devic kingdom.

"Deva is a Sanskrit word which means 'the shining ones.'...Deva is shining one (sic) because it is describing light energy.

"There are very many names within each of these groups and the names that I am using here are your words. Every language has its own words. Legends, childhood stories, will have many differentiations or labels for specific aspects of energy. For instance, earth energy is under a great broad category I am calling gnomes. Under gnomes there are very many species. Each of those species has a particular work to do. And it is the work that is to be done that determines the particular species....

"Perhaps you would prefer to think of earth energy as fairies rather than gnomes. One is perhaps a prettier thought but the idea of a gnome I believe gives a picture that is more earthy....

"Earth elementals, for this, will be called gnomes. Now, of course, you've got pixies and brownies. You've got dryads. You've got all kinds of things in here—elves, leprechauns....

"The devic kingdom is here to help you....

"There is a water energy, that which works with the element of water. They are called undines. Again, these are light beings. The only body that these beings have are the bodies which your thoughts create and they create an actual thought form which these light beings are more than delighted to slip into to try to **communicate with you [spirit communication].**

“If you are convinced that sea spirits look like women with very pretty long hair and fishy tails, that’s what you’ll see. If you believe that leprechauns wear small green hats and small green suits and have pointed ears, they’ll put that on. If you believe a fairy has lovely translucent wings and long flowing gowns, that is what you will see. Your expectations are creating the body through which that light can manifest in a more easy manner....

“Sylphs are the elementals of air. You go into a city in which the air is quite filled with debris. Perhaps you need to be the only one in the city wise enough to call upon the sylphs to give you an extra dose of pure air.

“The element of fire is perhaps the most powerful of the earth elements. It is often considered the purification element. It is changeable. It is beautiful. Those elementals which work with fire are called salamanders. When you need fire, you call upon the salamanders. When you need fire to stop, call upon the salamanders....

“They’ve got their own work to do, but they are affected by you. When you call them, consciously or not, they are going to do your bidding....[When you meditate and say, ‘heal the planet,’—ed.] you are commanding legions.”

Some of these elementals are once again becoming popular. Take the troll, for instance. A few years ago the troll was a big fad for children. There were the “Treasure Trolls.” One author wrote: "They’re so ugly that they’re cute, but are they as harmless as the (sic) look?”

“Treasure Trolls come with a ‘wishstone,’ a crystal inserted in the belly button. Crystals are important to the New Age theology, as it is believed they possess a life force influence that can be tapped for healing purposes. The belly button is significant because it represents the umbilical connection, or the centre of the lifeforce.

“The gems on the Treasure Troll doll have an additional significance, one not lost on the imagination of children. They are wishstones, **talismans** that can make their every dream come true.”

Another author states:

“The cute-ugly trolls that have captivated American children epitomize today’s

delight in neo-paganism when joined to popular ideals. While the trolls of Scandinavian fairy tales would uproot trees, enslave beautiful women and turn people into stone with cruel spells, today's monsters are environmentally correct. Note how one troll-maker disguises the evil and makes myth sound like truth:

"'*There was a time when waters were clean and forests were untouched, when ancient legends spoke of Guardians of the Earth...In Scandinavian lands, these mysterious creatures were TROLLS, and were known to guard what was left of the earth's natural treasures... Because they were rarely seen, people believed TROLLS no longer existed. Today, these nearly forgotten creatures are once again in our midst...working their earth magic to help humans.'* ('Troll Kidz' by Russ Berrie and Co.)" [Emphasis in the original]

Of course, children aren't the only ones being attracted to these spirit beings. When an earthquake in October 1989 shook a span of the San Francisco's Bay Bridge, "help" was soon offered in the form of a **talisman**. Webster tells us a talisman is "an object bearing a sign or character engraved under **astrological** influences and thought to act as a **charm** to avert evil and bring good fortune. The talisman put beneath the roadway was a troll with homed head and webbed feet. It is supposed to ward off evil spirits. "The craftsmen plan to offer trolls to other structures damaged by the earthquake, and even to new high-rise office blocks. Meanwhile, troll T-shirts are selling well in San Francisco."

What most people don't realize is that the "word **troll comes from the Old Norse word for demon** and is defined by some sources as a 'devil: a person of great wickedness or maliciousness.

So, when your child brings home a troll, he or she has in actuality brought home a representation of a demon!! These demons are also disguised as gnomes, pixies, dwarves, leprechauns, and elves (as well as many other creatures). I'm sure you recall the Keebler elves. Of course, Santa has his elves, too. There's also Snow White with her seven dwarves and Cinderella with her fairy godmother. All these are **demonic representations** but they are presented in such a "cute" way that most people have no idea of the evil character behind these objects.

Another elemental spirit is known as a vetta. There are supposedly evil and good vettas. The vetta was introduced to a host of people during the 1994 Winter

Olympics. “A CBS reporter described the event: ‘We introduce you to the mythical beliefs of the Norwegian people. Popping out of the ground are the Vettas, mythical characters rooted in ancient Nordic folktales and sagas.’” The reporter continued:

“‘We know them as gnomes, pixies, trolls....The vettas are an integral part of Norwegian beliefs...They are said to be knowledgeable and wise...and watch constantly over the activities of mankind. That’s because these are good vettas as opposed to the evil vettas. They say that if you are good to the vettas and consult [them—Ed.] before you build your barn, [they—Ed.] will be good to you.’”

In *The Seeker's Handbook* we are told that elementals are:

“Nature-spirits who inhabit the four elements, widely described in folklore as visible to people of former times who lived in close communion with nature; for instance, leprechauns, fairies, and ‘little people.’ Specifically, gnomes (Earth), undines (Water), sylphs (Air), salamanders (Fire)— all **CREATURES WHO FIGURE STRONGLY IN CEREMONIAL MAGIC AND PRACTICES OF NATURE-WORSHIP, OR WICCA.”**

One occult/New Age organization states:

“ELEMENTALS ARE USED IN HIGH MAGICK, AND OCCASIONALLY IN WITCHCRAFT AND OTHER MAGICAL TRADITIONS, TO GUARD MAGICK CIRCLES AND ASSIST IN MAGICKAL (sic) **ACTS.**

“In *The Golden Dawn*, Israel Regardie explains how to use elementals within rituals.”

“Occultists regard elementals as beings having substance, but visible only to those who have inner sight; some elementals are regarded benign, others as malignant.”

One organization that gained fame in the past 30 years is Findhorn Community. It was founded in 1965 by Peter and Eileen Caddy and Dorothy Maclean.

“[Maclean] made contact with the devas—nature spirits said to be associated with various plant, species, or landscape features....The first contact was made with a pea deva. Maclean was told that the garden would succeed as they cooperated with the devas by seeking their advice and gaining their permission to rearrange the landscape. Some like the pea deva were specific to a species, while others like the landscape deva relate to more general aspects of the garden itself. The garden’s abundance became known throughout the neighborhood and its noteworthy success brought several other followers to the community.

“During the next several years the group continued to follow Eileen’s guidance and the advice of the devas **channeled** through Maclean. Members also established contact with other **theosophical and spiritualist groups.**

In 1965 Peter traveled to a gathering of spiritual groups organized by Sir George Trevelyan, author and head of the Wrekin Trust. They were visited in 1966 by Robert Ogilvie Crombie, an Edinburgh **spiritualist** who, as a result of his visit, contacted the elemental nature spirits who work with the devas. Crombie soon made contact with **PAN, THE GOD OF THE NATURE ELEMENTALS,** and brought what was seen as completeness to the efforts of the Caddys and

Maclean. Findhorn residents began to think of themselves as an experiment in cooperation between devas, nature elementals, and humans."

Pan

One person who worked with Findhorn was David Spangler. He wrote:

"LUCIFER works within each of us to bring us to wholeness, and as we move into a **NEW AGE,** which is the age of man's wholeness, each of us in some way is brought to that point which I term the **LUCIFERIC INITIATION,** the particular doorway through which the individual **MUST PASS IF** he is to come "fully" into the presence of his light and his wholeness."

Later in his book, *Reflections on the Christ,* Spangler states: **"LUCIFER** came to give us the final gift of wholeness. If we accept it then he is free and we are free. That is the **LUCIFERIC INITIATION.** It is one that many people now, and in the days ahead will be facing, for **it is an initiation into the NEW AGE."** People who worship and adore Lucifer are also the ones who believe in elementals!

One elemental or nature spirit that most people would recognize is the

leprechaun. You can see this elemental every St. Patrick's Day. You also see the leprechaun on boxes of **Lucky Charms** cereal. Also, take a good look at the name of the cereal— Lucky Charms. Notice the occult overtone. By the way, the word cereal comes from Ceres—the **GODDESS** of grain.

Another popular creature is called a gargoyle. Although the gargoyle is not considered to be an elemental or a nature spirit, it is supposed to ward off evil. They "were thought to have protective, **SPIRITUAL** and **MAGICAL** qualities." These creatures are appearing even in very prominent places. Dr. Dennis Cuddy states:

"That the New Age New World Order will include all aspects of life, even athletics, is demonstrated in the closing ceremony of the Olympics, in which 'happy devils' dance and figures representing demons writhe on the stadium floor accompanied by eerie music. It is a message to the people of the world. It also reminds us of the rows of grotesque gargoyles or demons' heads that have recently been painted on the southeast and northeast corridor walls of the Library of Congress' Thomas Jefferson Building Main Vestibule, **replacing** a group of our nation's founders kneeling in prayer which has been on the walls since 1897, when the building was constructed. A poster describing the future agenda of the Library of Congress said the Thomas Jefferson Building '*now undergoing renovation, will reopen in 1993....Following its renovation, the Thomas*

*Jefferson Building will celebrate the **HUMANISTIC** legacy of the world.'"*
[Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]

A Dictionary of Symbols says that the gargoyles are "Fabulous animals and monsters make their appearance in mediaeval religious art as symbols of the forces of the cosmos, or as **IMAGES OF THE DEMONIACAL AND DRAGON-INFESTED UNDERWORLD...."**

Annabel Wharton, a Duke art professor, reveals that:

"A general rise in interest in mysticism, the supernatural and primitive forms of Christianity...help account for the gargoyle fascination....

'"We're now in a period of eclecticism in which we're mixing various doctrines...."'

Marisa Lobe, a woman who makes gargoyles, said "she was intrigued by the idea that **PAGAN RELIGIONS COULD BE BLENDED WITH CHRISTIANITY."** She "also makes leaf men, the tree spirits worshiped by the **Druids...."**

Another artist, Hope Stewart, is "attracted to the **MYSTICAL AURA** that surrounds" the gargoyles and said that they "give the feeling of a house that **SPIRITS WOULD VISIT."**

Several years ago, a comic book was named *The Gargoyle*. Here's one quote

from that book: *"I am the master of the shadows...and I claim that church as my own. I smell blood, the blood of the Lamb. He's here. DRIVE HIM OUT! (The Gargoyle* comic book, *Marvel Comics).*" [Emphasis in the original]

In spite of the demonic implications of the gargoyle, one supposedly "Christian" magazine basically told parents not to worry if their child's Christmas list contained a gargoyle on it. Jolene L. Roehlkepartain said:

"If a satanic-looking gargoyle appears on your teenager's Christmas list this year, don't scream. Many of the gargoyle reproductions are made into bookends, candlesticks, statues and even are on T-shirts. These gruesome, grotesque gargoyles are going to the top of most 15-to 30-year olds' Christmas lists as the latest in new fads.

"Why the infatuation with these snarling figures? 'They are shocking, forbidden and mysterious,' said Mark Thomas, of The Alley, a Chicago gargoyle store. 'These gargoyles,' he says, 'are perceived to be good guys who defend your home from evil.'"

Below is a list of some different kinds of nature spirits.

"Brownie: In the **OCCULT** lore of Scotland, the name given to dark-featured nocturnal nature-spirits which haunt country and farm houses; believed to be good-natured and bearers of good omen."

"Harpy: In classical mythology, a monstrous, evil, rapacious and vengeful creature with the head and breasts of a woman, the body of a bird and the claws of a lion."

"Fay: Fairy." Also considered to be an elf..

Fairy: "A tiny imaginary being in human form, depicted as clever, mischievous, and possessing **MAGICAL** powers."

“Sylph: An *elemental*...of the element Air.” [Emphasis in the original]

“Undine: An *elemental*...of the element Water; undines are believed to appear usually in the shapes of women, but able also to assume the forms of fishes or snakes.” [Emphasis in the original]

“Genie: See: *Jinn.”*

“Jinn, jinnee: In Arab **OCCULTIC** terminology, one of a race of beings created out of fire, which inhabited the Earth before the advent of man. They can become visible or invisible at will, have many other superhuman and magic powers. Some *jinns* are good and friendly to humans, others are malignant.” [Italics in the original; Caps added]

“Salamander: An *elemental*...of the element Fire.” [Emphasis in the original]

“Goblin: A mischievous nature-spirit.”

“Banshee: A nature-spirit believed in Ireland and Scotland to take the form of an old woman, to chant a mournful dirge under the windows of a house in which a person is to die soon.”

“Hatif: In pre-Islamic Arabic folklore, an invisible nature-spirit who can be heard by men as he gives advice and warnings.”

“Hobgoblin: A cheerful but very mischievous fairy or nature-spirit who delights in playing pranks on mortal beings.”

“Gnome: An *elemental*...of the element Earth.” [Emphasis in the original] The gnome is one “of a fabled race of dwarflike creatures who live underground and guard treasure hoards.”

“Ifrit: A viciously malignant spirit, of hideous appearance, in Arabic folklore.”

“Satyr: One of a class of woodland deities of Greek-Roman mythology, represented by the Greeks as a human figure with a horse’s ears and tail, and by the Romans as a human figure with a goat’s ears, tail, legs and budding horns.”

“Seiktha: In Burmese folklore, a tree spirit, usually malignant.”

“Pisky: See: *Pixie.”*

“Pixie, pixy: A fairy-like nature-spirit.”

“Yazatas: Nature-spirits or minor deities of Zoroastrianism.”

“Wild-women: Nature-spirits of German folklore.”

“Triton: In Greek mythology, a merman, son of Poseidon and Amphitrite.”

“Nat: In Burmese folklore, a nature-spirit of the forest.”

“Troll: A hideous, evil earth-**demon** of Teutonic mythology, living in caves.” The troll can be a dwarf or a giant who also lives in the hills and under bridges.

“Water-sprite: A nature-spirit of the water.”

“Peri: In Persian mythology, a fairy-like creature descended from a race of fallen angels.”

“Tengus: Evil tree spirits (Japan), human in form but hatched from eggs.”

“Nenufaremi: In **OCCULT** lore, a name for elementals...of the air.”

“Sprite: A nature-spirit; a ghost or spook.” Also: “A small or elusive supernatural being; an elf or a pixy.”

"**Spunkie:** A malignant goblin which delights in attracting travellers who have lost their way, by letting them see a light, and lures them into a morass or over a precipice.”

“Spectre: A ghost or ghostly apparition.”

“Spook: A ghostly apparition.”

“Naiad: In **OCCULTISM,** a nature-spirit or elemental of rivers, lakes and springs.” A nymph.

“Oread: A nature-spirit of the mountains.” A nymph.

“Nereid: A sea nymph...as opposed to the *naiads,* the nymphs of sweet waters.” [Emphasis in the original]

Dryad: “A divinity presiding over forests and trees; a wood nymph.”

“Oceanids: A nature-spirit or elemental...of the class of nymphs, dwelling in the ocean. In Greek mythology, the oceanids were the 4,000 daughters of Okeanos and Tethys.”

“Nymph; nympha: In occultism, little, graceful, gay female nature-spirits, usually friendly; they are generally regarded as water-spirits...but some authors place the *dryads* and *hamadryads*...in this class, too. Nymphs are regarded as long-lived, but not immortal, and possessing certain magical abilities.” [Emphasis in the original]

“Leprechaun: Nature-spirits of Irish **OCCULT** lore.” A leprechaun is from the race of elves and is supposed to be able to reveal hidden treasure to someone who is able to catch him.

“Nivashi: In the magic lore of the Gypsies of Southeastern Europe, a malignant water-spirit.”

“Nix, nixie: A nature-spirit of the water; a nymph.”

“Kobold: A mischievous nature spirit, living in caves and subterranean places.” A goblin.

“Ogre: In **OCCULT** lore, and in the folklore of certain races, an evil nature-spirit of hideous appearance, at times a man-eating giant.”

“Faun: A nature spirit, half man, half goat, venerated as a **rural** deity by the ancient Romans. The Fauns were attendants of Pan.”

Elf: “A small, often mischievous creature considered to have **MAGICAL** powers.”

Although some of these creatures may appear cute on the surface, all of them are

nonetheless **demonic entities** that have their origin in the **occult** world. Many Christians bring these items into their home innocently, but they really have no place in a Christian's home since they are representations of demons.

These elementals are also considered to be **spirit guides,** spirit helpers, and familiar spirits. The Bible clearly warns us about these things in numerous passages.

Leviticus 19:31: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God."

Leviticus 20:6: "And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set My face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people."

Deuteronomy 18:9-12: "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.

For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."

See also: II Kings 21:6; 23:24; II Chronicles 33:6; Isaiah 8:19; Leviticus 20:27; I Samuel 28:3, 7-9; and I Chronicles 10:13.

9.

TAROT AND PLAYING CARDS

With the resurgence of the occult and the New Age movement has come a new interest in the Tarot card deck. The *New Age Almanac* explains:

"The tarot, however, began to take on **OCCULT** associations and to be **USED PREDOMINANTLY FOR CARTOMANCY, DIVINATION, OR FORTUNETELLING** with cards. The person primarily responsible for the new developments in the tarot was a French Huguenot pastor, Antoine Court de Gebelin (1719-1784).

In the 1770s, de Gebelin became active in Parisian **FREEMASONRY** circles and joined the Philalethes, a French **MASONIC OCCULT ORDER** derived from the teachings of Martines de Pasqually (d. 1774). He became an accomplished **OCCULT** scholar. This French **occult** perspective came to be an essential building block in the revolutionary thought that would bring down the French government in a few years.

"Through his social connections, de Gebelin discovered the tarot. He immediately saw in them **OCCULT SYMBOLOGY,** and tied them to ancient Egypt. As ancient Egypt disintegrated, the priests developed playing cards to hide their wisdom from the profane and at the same time ensure their survival. He concluded that they had traveled to Rome, kept in the possession of the popes who took them to Avignon. From Avignon they were disseminated throughout Europe.

De Gebelin published his speculations in 1781 in the eighth volume of his multi-volume study of the ancient world, *Le Monde primitif*, in which he begins to designate the occult symbology of the deck. De Gebelin is, for example, the one who originated the idea that the 22 Major cards were to be equated with the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In an essay by an unknown associate appended to his own account of the tarot, de Gebelin suggested that the **TAROT BE USED AS A METHOD OF DIVINATION.** The idea was adopted by a **fortune-teller** known only as Etteilla, who in 1783 published a book detailing a methodology for tarot cartomancy, and over the next decade authored a host of books and pamphlets on fortune-telling using the tarot and other means. Cartomancy with the tarot grew increasingly prevalent during the decades of post-revolutionary France.

“Etteilla’s students passed the practice of fortune-telling with cards to Alphonse-Louis Constant (better known under his penname, Eliphas Levi). **LEVI, THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF MODERN RITUAL MAGIC, INTEGRATED THE TAROT INTO HIS MAGICAL TEACHINGS AND ALIGNED IT WITH THE MASSIVE BODY OF OCCULT SYMBOLISM.** Through Levi’s very popular writings, the use of the tarot flowed into the **occult** groups which flourished in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, and the **MASTERY OF THE SYMBOLISM OF THE TAROT BECAME A STANDARD PART OF THE TRAINING OF A MAGICIAN.**

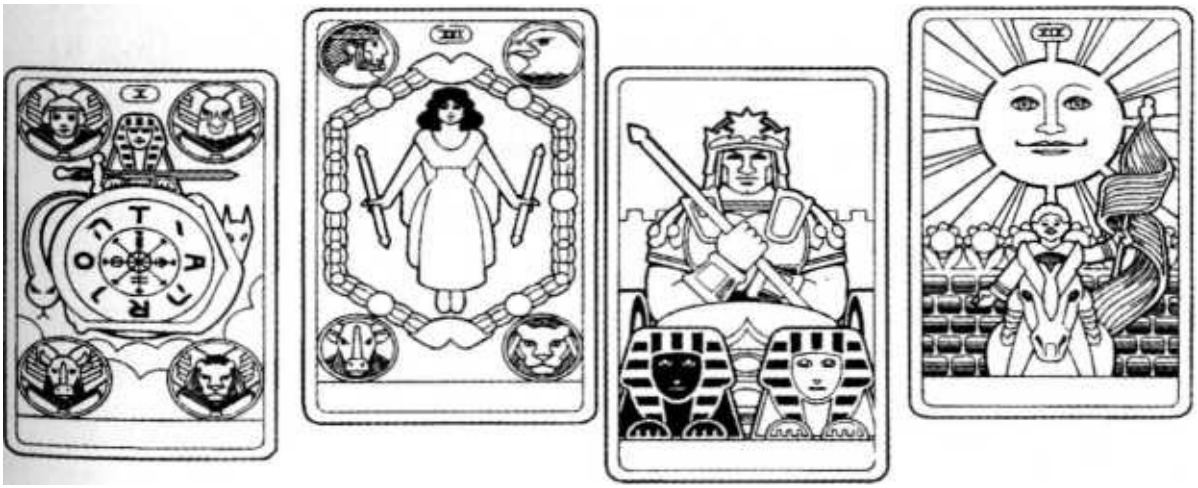
The most famous of the accomplished masters of the tarot in France was Dr. Gerard Encausse (1865-1916), who wrote several influential books on the tarot and who was most responsible for lifting up an idea first proposed by de Gebelin, but given some expanded treatment by J. F. Vaillant, of tying *The Tarot to the Bohemians* (1889), written under the pseudonym Papus.

“In England, the tarot was integrated into the symbolism of that most famous of **magical** orders, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. One degree of the order’s program of advancement included the member’s construction of a complete tarot deck. Two of the order’s members would create the two most popular decks used in the twentieth century. Arthur Edward Waite (1857-1942) was the most scholarly member of the Golden Dawn.

He was responsible for the English translations of several of Levi’s works and he revised the first English translation of Papus’ text. More importantly, with the help of an artist, Pamela Coleman Smith, he devised a new tarot deck complete with all 78 cards (i.e., both the major and minor cards), the first such comprehensive revision in more than one hundred years. He also authored an instruction book, *The Pictorial Guide to the Tarot* (1910), with which anyone could take a deck of cards and master their use as a basic fortune-telling instrument. It was the combination of the deck and the instruction book which gave the Waite deck its dominance in the field through most of the twentieth century.

“The second accomplished student of the tarot was **Aleister Crowley** (1875-1947), the order’s nemesis. In 1909 Crowley began publishing the order’s secrets, including their teaching on the tarot, through an independent journal,

The Equinox. Crowley worked with Freida Harris in the design of a new tarot deck to which he composed a commentary much like Waite's *The Book of Thoth.* It was published in a limited edition in 1944, but the cards were not published until about 1960. Only after a new edition of *The Book of Thoth* appeared in 1969 did the Crowley deck begin to grow in popularity to rival Waite's deck. In choosing to name his deck after the Egyptian deity Thoth, Crowley asserted both his own preference for Egyptian **magical** symbolism and his belief in de Gebelin's claims as to the deck's Egyptian origin."



A *Dictionary of Mysticism* states:

"Tarot: A deck of playing cards, based on a system of **occult** symbols arranged in a pattern of 78 cards; 22 of these are tarot cards ('major arcana'), the other 56 are suit cards ('minor arcana'). These cards can be used for **divination.** The term *tarot* is applied also to designate such divination." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

We are further informed by an **occult** organization that the "Tarot has often been interpreted as a **fortune telling** device, but, as Gareth Knight reveals, it is also a profound and powerful system of High Renaissance **MAGIC!"**

Since we've already covered the yin/yang symbol and the I Ching, I think it is interesting to note that *The Occult Explosion* states: "The occidental **COUNTERPART TO THE I CHING** IS **THE TAROT CARD DECK.** The most widely-spread **OCCULT** tradition about the origin of the Tarot is that it

was invented by a great international assemblage of esoteric scholars in Egypt....” It adds: “Tarot and I Ching really have a lot in common....”

What is even more intriguing is that the Tarot is really the ancestor of the standard playing card deck that is used today. For instance one book on the Tarot reveals: “Even the common playing cards we know today are derived from the ancient tarot and vary widely due to their centuries of use as instruments of gambling.”

Stewart Farrar, a witch, indicates:

“The Tarot consists of seventy-eight cards, and is clearly the ancestor of the bridge-player’s pack. Fifty-six of them are divided into four suits—Cups (corresponding to Heart), Swords (Spades), Wands (Clubs), and Pentacles (Diamonds). Each suit has the Ace to Ten and the Knave— in between the Page and the Queen. (The Knight is sometimes called the Prince, and the Page the Princess.) The four suits represent the four **occult** elements—their usual allocation being Cups for Water, Swords for Air, Wands for Fire, and Pentacles for Earth....”

In *The Occult: A History* we are told:

“Apart from the Greater Arcana [in the Tarot deck], there are also the fifty-six cards of the Lesser Arcana, the four suits that have become the ordinary playing cards of today, with its rods, (or wands), cups, swords and shekels (or pentacles) changing into clubs, hearts, spades and diamonds. It is worth observing in passing, that we have here two rod-shaped objects—wands and swords—and two circular objects—cups and money—and since one of the commentators mentions that wands and money were used in mediaeval methods of divination, it would not be inaccurate to see them as related to the yarrow stalks and coins of the I Ching. Each suit has a king, queen, knight and knave, as well as cards

numbered from one to ten."

In *Our Phallic Heritage* we find that the symbols used on the playing cards are actually sexual connotations. This book explains:

"The symbols used on playing cards are the diamond, heart, club, and the spade, which was often the acorn. In sex symbolism the diamond and heart were female symbols, and the spade and club were male symbols. The two colors represented the sexes; red symbolized the male, and black the female. In the Orient are found the yang-yin (male and female symbols), similar to the Northern Pacific Railroad trademark with these colors. Possibly coincidentally, remember that in certain sections of the cities there were the red-light districts, and they operated in the darkness.

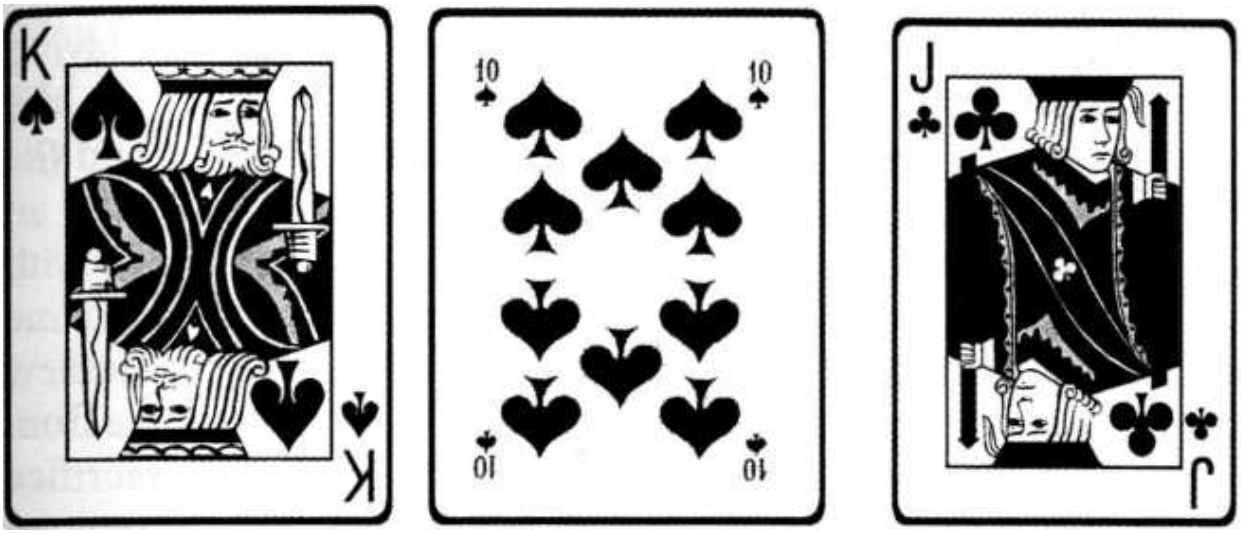
"Both sexes are symbolized on each card by having a symbol of one sex and a color of the opposite sex. The trinity or complete family is seen in the three highest cards, which are the king, queen, and jack or knave. 'Knave,' like knabe in German, means 'boy.' Therefore, in cards, we have the father, mother and child, the natural trinity or perfect family. There are four suits to symbolize the male triad and female unit, forming the Arba-el, or the four gods. The thirteen cards in each suit represent the lunar months or menstruations in a year.

They also represent the weeks in a season, and have been compared to the calendar, the colors red and black representing day and night; the four suits, the four weeks in a month, and four seasons in a year, or the four cardinal points of the compass; the twelve picture cards, the twelve months in a year; the fifty-two cards, the weeks in a year; and counting the jack as eleven, the queen as twelve, and the king as thirteen, the number of spots in the deck equals 364 and, with the joker, 365, the number of days in a year."

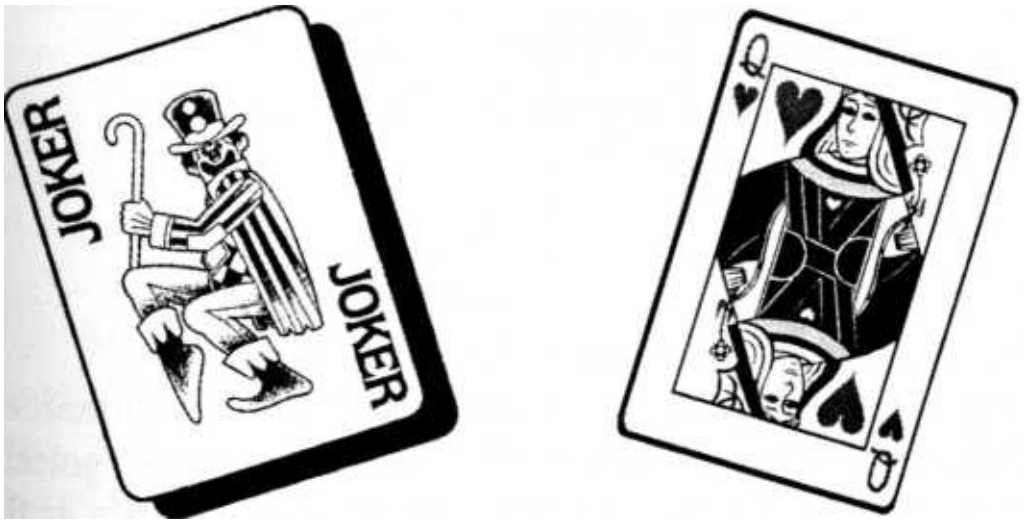
I think it would be informative to give the history and the real meaning of ordinary playing cards. The following is taken from *The Gospel Standard.*

“The first deck of cards was made for Charles of France in the year 1392. King Charles was an insane man. It is not generally known by card players that cards have a secret meaning, but after the following statements were made public, the members of the gambling fraternity of professional gamblers declared that they are absolutely true.

“The *King* card represents the enemy of God, the devil. The *Ten* spot represents the spirit of lawlessness and is in direct opposition to the Ten Commandments of the Bible. Closely associated with the ten spot is the *Club* card. When cards were invented the club was the weapon of the murderer. In those days there were no revolvers or machine guns. The Club card stands for murder. The *Jack* represents the lustful libertine who lives on the gains of the prostitutes. It represents the moral leper. There is a game of cards called ‘the brothel game’ in which the players use the secret obscene language of the cards and converse with each other merely by dropping a card.



“Now we come to the part that is even more shockingly wicked. The *Queen* card represents the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord. In the secrets of cards she is called the mother of harlots. The *Joker* in card language represents our Lord Jesus Christ. Joker means fool! Jesus Christ is held up by the card players as a fool. And if this is not bad enough yet, the secret language of a deck of cards goes further and declares that Jesus (the Joker card) is the offspring of a lustful Jack, and the Queen mother, Mary.



“And there you have the true meaning of a deck of so-called innocent playing cards!” [Emphasis in the original]

As a little extra note, I thought it was interesting to find out that the President of the U.S. Playing Card Company (from 1929-1930) and the President of Standard

Playing Card Company (in 1898) was Benjamin C. Hawkes—a Mason.

Many people play or gamble with the regular card deck but is any of this pleasing to Christ—especially in light of the blasphemy that is represented by these cards? Not only do the regular playing cards come from the occultic Tarot card background, but the meaning of the cards are an insult and offense to Christ and the Christian teaching of the Virgin Birth. Jesus did not have an illegitimate birth. Matthew states: “Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us” (Matthew 1:23).

He was also named Jesus “for He shall save His people from their sins” (Matthew 1:21). He came to give His life as a sacrifice on our behalf so that we may have the privilege of receiving eternal life and having our sins forgiven.

I realize that many people had no idea what the cards which they were using meant, but now that you know, can you still use them?

10.

HUMANIST SYMBOLS

The humanist movement has adopted a number of symbols for their association. One of these symbols is called the “Happy Man.” This one, which was taken from an International Humanist and Ethical Union (IHEU) pamphlet, “is fast becoming the most universal humanist symbol.”

A slight variation of the IHEU’s symbol is also used on the American Humanist Association’s (AHA) literature. In a pamphlet by the AHA entitled “Statement Affirming Evolution As a Principle of Science,” we find:

“For many years it has been well established scientifically that all known forms of life, including human beings, have developed by a lengthy process of **evolution.** It is also verifiable today that very primitive forms of life, ancestral to all living forms, came into being thousands of millions of years ago....

“Creationism is not scientific, but it is a purely religious view held by some religious sects and persons and strongly opposed by other religious sects and persons. Evolution is the only presently known, strictly scientific, and not

religious explanation for the existence and diversity of living organisms. It is therefore the only view which should be expounded in public school courses on science, which are distinct from those on religion."

Of course, the above statement is not true at all. Evolution **IS** associated with religion. In *Ancient Operative Masonry* we find: "It is the firm belief of students of **OCCULT SCIENCE** that through the slow process of **EVOLUTION,** the whole human family, save those who have elected to follow the left-hand path, shall attain self-mastery and finally **reach perfection."**

Besides, evolution **IS NOT** scientific. The reason evolution has to be propagated is because the humanist denies God. Without God no creation can take place. Therefore, since they do not believe in God, they are left to create or design their own **THEORY** of how the world began without God. They have failed miserably in their speculations but they continue to maintain that evolution is scientific in spite of having **NO PROOF** whatsoever. Remember the Bible says: "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God" (Psalm 53:1; 14:1).

Humanist Manifesto signer, Corliss Lamont, said that all "entities are related to one another in respect to gravity, most of them are totally at any one time to most others in most ways. **Every thing has some relations with other things...."** If this is the case, then how did a one-cell amoeba exist or survive when it was **ALONE** and could not be dependent on anything else? He also states:

"No matter how far back, in our analysis, we push the cause-effect sequences of the universe, we are certain to discover a **plurality of event-streams** that can be accurately described only in terms of a plurality of principles. There was no *one* event that started the universe going, and in fact no beginning at all."

If there is a **PLURALITY** of events, then a **SINGLE** one-celled amoeba could never have existed alone and Lamont's theory of evolution is INVALID on HIS OWN statement!

Additionally, **HUMANISM ITSELF IS A RELIGION.** Although humanism is often denied to be a religion, the early documents from humanists clearly show that humanism is a religion. I believe the humanists today are trying to steer clear of the "religious" label because they are heavily involved in the education

of children and religion is supposedly not allowed in the classroom. By hiding behind an erroneous (and deceitful) label, religious humanism has infiltrated the classroom as a religion while at the same time it repudiates it is a religion.

"In fact, the [former] president of the American Humanist Association, Lloyd Morain, has stated that **Humanism is '...a religion without God, divine revelation or sacred scriptures.'**

"The position that Humanism is a religion was confirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1965, when it ruled in the case of U.S. vs. Seeger: 'A humanistic...belief that is sincerely professed as a religion shall be entitled to recognition as religious under the Selective Service Law.'

"And again, in the case of Torcase (sic) vs. Watkins, the Court ruled that: 'Among **religions** in this country which do not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God are Buddhism, Taoism, Ethical Culture, **Secular Humanism** and others.'

"So when Madlyn (sic) Murray O'Hair got the Supreme Court to remove the right of the children to open their school day with a simple prayer because she wished to separate 'Church and State,' what she was doing was substituting one religion for another: a belief in God with a belief in Humanism. Mrs. O'Hair knew this because she had been the editor of the magazine, *The Free Humanist,* and was elected to the Board of the American Humanist Association in 1965, and was elected in 1973 for a second four-year term."

Humanist Manifesto I, written in 1933, plainly states that humanism is a religion. In 1973 *Humanist Manifesto II* was written. In the "Preface" to these Manifestos we find: "Humanism is a philosophical, **RELIGIOUS,** and moral point of view as old as human civilization itself."

Also:

"In 1933 a group of thirty-four liberal humanists in the United States defined and enunciated the philosophical and **RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES** that seemed to them fundamental. They drafted *Humanist Manifesto I,* which for its time was a radical document. **It was concerned with expressing a general RELIGIOUS and philosophical outlook** that rejected orthodox and dogmatic positions

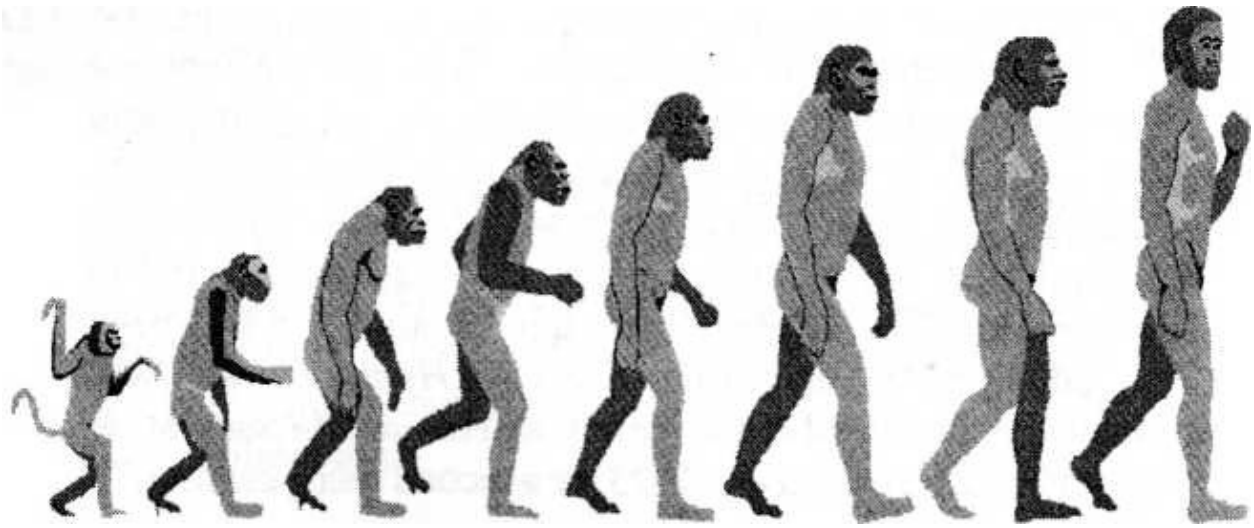
and provided meaning and direction, unity and purpose to human life. It was committed to reason, science, and democracy."

Humanist Manifesto I states: "In order that **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM** may be better understood we, the undersigned, desire to make certain affirmations which we believe the facts of our contemporary life demonstrate." The Manifesto adds:

"We therefore affirm the following:

"*First:* **RELIGIOUS HUMANISTS** regard the universe as self-existing and not created.

"*Second:* Humanism believes that man is a part of nature and that he has emerged as the result of a continuous process [evolution]....



"*Sixth:* We are convinced that the time has passed for theism, deism, modernism, and the several varieties of 'new thought.'...

"*Eighth:* **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM** considers the complete realization of human personality to be the end of man's life and seeks its development and fulfillment in the here and now. This is the explanation of the humanist's social passion.

"*Ninth:* In place of the old attitudes involved in worship and prayer the **HUMANIST FINDS HIS RELIGIOUS EMOTIONS** expressed in a heightened sense of personal life and in a cooperative effort to promote social

wellbeing....

"*Twelfth:* Believing that religion must work increasingly to joy in living, **RELIGIOUS HUMANISTS** aim to foster the creative in man and to encourage achievements that add to the satisfactions of life.

"*Thirteenth:* **Religious humanism** maintains that all associations and institutions exist for the fulfillment of human life. The intelligent evaluation, transformation, control, and direction of such associations, and institutions with a view to the enhancement of human life is the purpose and program of humanism. Certainly religious institutions, their ritualistic forms, ecclesiastical methods, and communal activities must be reconstituted as rapidly as experience allows, in order to function effectively in the modern world....

"So stand the theses of **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM.** Though we consider the religious forms and ideas of our father no longer adequate, the quest for the good life is still the central task for mankind. Man is at last becoming aware that he alone is responsible for the realization of the world of his dreams, that he has within himself the power for its achievement. He must set intelligence and will to the task."

The "Preface" to *Humanist Manifesto II* once again reiterates that **HUMANISM IS RELIGIOUS.**

"Many kinds of humanism exist in the contemporary world. The varieties and emphases of naturalistic humanism include 'scientific,' 'ethical,' 'democratic,' **'RELIGIOUS,'** and 'Marxist' humanism. Free thought, atheism, agnosticism, skepticism, deism, rationalism, ethical culture, and liberal religion all claim to be heir to the humanist tradition**."**

Isn't it interesting to note that the **same** person, Paul Kurtz, who edited the *Humanist Manifesto l and II* testified in an Alabama textbook hearing and said that humanism is "non-religious....It uses science, reason, and evidence to test theory"? Of course, humanists believe that there are no absolutes and lying is okay. In fact, on "NBC's 'Today Show,' January 22, 1990, Dr. Michael Lewis of the New Jersey Robert Wood Johnson Medical School said, '*Lying is an important part of social life, and children who are unable to do it are children who may have developmental problems.*"' [Emphasis in the original] You can

tell Lewis doesn't believe the Bible for Revelation 21:8 tells us that **ALL** liars have their part in the lake of fire. Proverbs 12:22 states: "Lying lips are **abomination** to the Lord." (See also Proverbs 13:5 and Ephesians 4:25.)

Corliss Lamont, a humanist and signer of the *Humanist Manifesto II,* also reveals a little of the **RELIGIOUS** background behind the writing of this document. He remarks:

"Approximately a hundred years after the founding of Unitarianism the more advanced members of this sect, most of them from the Middle West, started the movement known as **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM.** Dr. Curtis W. Reese, a Unitarian pastor, precipitated the discussions that led to **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM** by a challenging sermon at Des Moines in 1917 and an address at the Harvard Divinity School in 1920. Philosophers, teachers, writers, and clergymen quickly entered into the debate; and the result was the definite emergence of **HUMANISM IN RELIGION,** eventually culminating in the *Humanist Manifesto* of 1933. This key document was initiated by three Unitarian **ministers:** L.M. Birkhead, Raymond B. Bragg, and Edwin H. Wilson: and by two university teachers, Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, a professor of religion, and Dr. Roy Wood Sellars, a professor of philosophy. Dr. Sellars drew up the *Manifesto's* first draft, which served as the essential frame and basis for the final formulations....

"A large proportion of the Unitarian churches in the United States are acknowledgedly Humanist."

Just in 1990, the American Humanist Association (AHA) held their annual meeting which was covered in the **"RELIGION"** section of the *St. Petersburg Times.* As Dr. Dennis Cuddy writes:

"...the evidence that humanism constitutes a religion is, in fact, overwhelming. *Webster's New International Dictionary* has defined it as a 'contemporary cult or belief calling itself religious but substitutes faith in man for faith in God.'

"The AHA is described in the *Encyclopedia of American Religions* and former AHA president Lloyd Morain and his wife Mary (who was the director of the International Humanist and Ethical Union which has 4 million members) wrote a book titled *Humanism as the Next Step,* which declared that

‘HUMANISM IS THE MOST RAPIDLY GROWING RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA TODAY.’

“The AHA also certifies counselors who have the legal status of ordained pastors, priests, and rabbis, and in at least the Supreme Court decision, secular humanism was listed as a non-theistic religion.

“Because humanism clearly constitutes a religion, the promotion of its values in our public schools is unconstitutional, and should therefore be prohibited.”

With churches like the Unitarian churches (and many, many others), we can see the prophecy of Amos 8:11 coming true: ‘Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.” “For the pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord: therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered” (Jeremiah 10:21). “Many pastors have destroyed My vineyard, they have trodden My portion under foot, they have made My pleasant portion a desolate wilderness” (Jeremiah 12:10). “Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of My pasture! saith the Lord” (Jeremiah 23:1).

Earlier we mentioned evolution as one of the items promoted by humanists. “Former Humanist of the Year Sir Julian Huxley said humanism’s ‘keynote, the central concept to which all its details are related, is evolution....”’ Of course, evolution is not the only thing that Humanists propagate. *Humanist Manifesto II* states:

“Sixth: In the area of sexuality, we believe that intolerant attitudes, often cultivated by orthodox religions and puritanical cultures, unduly repress sexual conduct. The **RIGHT TO BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION, AND DIVORCE SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED.** While we do not approve of exploitive, denigrating forms of sexual expression, neither do we wish to prohibit it, by law or social sanction, sexual behavior between consenting adults. The many varieties of sexual exploration should not in themselves be considered ‘evil.’ [This would include bisexuality, homosexual, bestiality, etc.]

Without countenancing mindless permissiveness or unbridled promiscuity, a civilized society should be a *tolerant* one. Short of harming others or compelling

them to do likewise, individuals should be permitted to express their sexual proclivities and pursue their life-styles as they desire." [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added.]

"*Twelfth:* We deplore the division of humankind on nationalistic grounds. We have reached a turning point in human history where the best option is to *transcend the limits of national sovereignty* and to move toward the building of a world community in which all sectors of the human family can participate. Thus we look to the development of a system of world law and a world order based upon transnational federal government. This would appreciate cultural pluralism and diversity." [Emphasis in the original]

"Hence extreme disproportions in wealth, income, and economic growth should be reduced [redistribution is being advocated] on a worldwide basis."

"At the present juncture of history, commitment to all humankind is the highest commitment of which we are capable; it transcends the narrow allegiances of church, state, party, class, or race in moving toward a wider vision of human potentiality. What more daring a goal for humankind than for each person to become, in ideal as well as practice, a citizen of a **WORLD COMMUNITY.** It is a classical vision; we can now give it new vitality.

Humanism thus interpreted is a moral force that has time on its side. We believe that humankind has the potential intelligence, good will, and cooperative skill to implement this commitment in the decades ahead."

"We believe in equal rights for both women and men to fulfill their unique careers and potentialities as they see fit, free of invidious discrimination."

"In *Humanist Magazine* (November/December 1980) author Riane Eisler, author of *The Equal Rights Handbook*, says: 'It is absurd to say...that one is a humanist but not a feminist...feminism is the last evolutionary development of humanism, Feminism is humanism on its most advanced level."'

Not only is feminism humanism, so is Marxism. *"Karl Marx's own definition of Humanism reads: 'Humanism is the denial of God, and the total affirmation of man.... Humanism is really nothing else but Marxism."'* [Emphasis in the original] He also said: 'Communism begins from the outset with

atheism...Communism, as fully developed naturalism, equals humanism." Another Communist, Leonid Brezhnev, stated: "Soviet society today is the real embodiment of the ideas of proletarian, socialist humanism."

Brezhnev

Humanism, then, is really based on Feminism, Evolution, Atheism, and Communism.

It is also quite obvious that Humanism certainly has infiltrated the classroom with its philosophy.

"John Dewey, the father of modern American education, signed the first *Humanist Manifesto,* as did C.F. Potter, who wrote in *Humanism, A New Religion* that 'education is thus a most powerful ally of humanism and every American public school is a school of humanism.

What can the theistic Sunday schools...do to stem the tide of a five-day program of humanistic teaching?'"

Dewey commented: "There is no God and no soul. Hence, there are no needs for the props of traditional religion. With dogma and creed excluded then immutable truth is also dead and buried. There is no room for fixed, natural law or permanent absolutes."

Dewey, sad to say, was the leading educator named during 1924-1974 in the 1974 issue of *Saturday Review.* One individual who was polled remarked: "No

individual has influenced the thinking of American educators more."

Once again showing a connection to **RELIGIOUS HUMANISM** and education, was an essay written by John Dunphy which won third place and was printed in the January/February 1983 issue *of The Humanist* (which is the mouthpiece for the American Humanist Association). The essay was entitled "A Religion for the New Age" and said:

"I am convinced that the battle for humankind's future must be waged and won in the public school classroom by teachers who correctly perceive their role as the proselytizers of a new faith: a religion of humanity that recognizes and respects the spark of what theologians call divinity in every human being. These teachers must embody the same selfless dedication as the most rabid fundamentalist preachers, for they will be ministers of another sort, utilizing a classroom instead of a pulpit to convey humanist values in whatever subject they teach, regardless of the educational level-preschool, day care or large state university. The classroom must and will become an arena of conflict between the old and the new—the rotting corpse of Christianity, together with all its adjacent evils and misery, and the new faith of humanism, resplendent in its promise of a world in which the never-realized Christian ideal of "love thy neighbor" will finally be achieved.

"...It will undoubtedly be a long, arduous, painful struggle replete with much sorrow and many tears, but humanism will emerge triumphant. It must if the family of humankind is to survive." [Emphasis in the original]

Another humanist, Paul Blanshard, commented in *The Humanist:*

"I think the most important factor leading us to a secular society has been the educational factor. Our schools may not teach Johnny to read properly, but the fact that Johnny is in school until he is 16 tends to lead toward the elimination of religious superstition. The average child now acquires a high school education, and this militates against Adam and Eve and all other myths of alleged history."

J. J. Blackham, the founder of the International Humanist and Ethical Union (IHEU) wrote in *The Humanist* that if schools would teach dependence on one's self, "they are more revolutionary than any conspiracy to overthrow the government."

This is why the symbol of the humanist is the "Happy Man." Man is supposedly sufficient in and of himself. There is no God in humanist theology. As humanist Corliss Lamont states:

"In the Humanist ethics the chief end of thought and action is to further this-earthly human interests in behalf of the greater glory of man. The watchword of Humanism is happiness for all humanity in this existence as contrasted with salvation for the individual soul in a future existence and the glorification of a supernatural Supreme Being."

"For his great achievements man, utilizing the resources and the laws of Nature, yet without Divine aid, can take full credit. Similarly, for his shortcomings he must take full responsibility. **HUMANISM ASSIGNS TO MAN NOTHING LESS THAN THE TASK OF BEING HIS OWN SAVIOUR AND REDEEMER."**

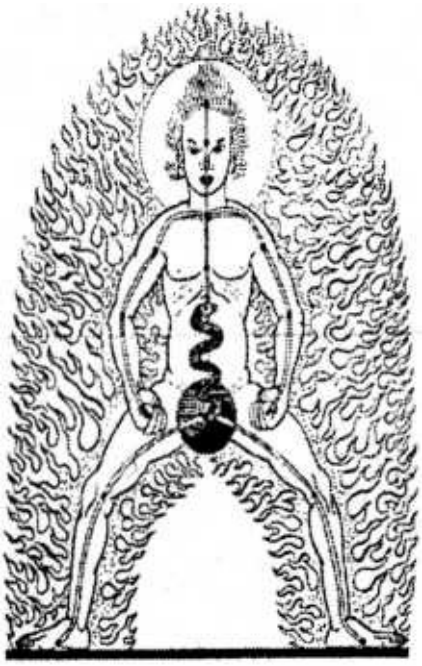
"By laying stress on the beauty of Nature, Humanism becomes able to make one of the most powerful and persuasive of all affirmations....There is no heavenly Father in or behind Nature...."

Humanism, then, simply is a religion of **SELF.** Man is the redeemer, man is the creator, man is all there is and all that really counts. The Bible tells us that the emphasis on self would take place in the last days. Paul wrote: "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come, FOR MEN SHALL BE LOVERS OF THEIR **OWN SELVES"** (II Tim. 3:l-2a). Christ came to redeem mankind from their selfish ways and desires. Isaiah 53:6 clearly says: "All we like sheep have gone astray. **WE HAVE TURNED EVERYONE TO HIS OWN WAY** and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all."

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the "Happy Man" is the most universal humanist symbol. I found it quite fascinating that the June 1998 issue of *The Emergence* (which is the newsletter put out by Benjamin Creme who is supposed to be the forerunner of the Maitreya) claimed: "Maitreya actually means **'The Happy One'**—the one who brings happiness to the world." Seeing that humanism is a religion for the New Age and that Maitreya is the New Age "Christ," I think the correlation is noteworthy. Another New Age organization is the 3HO which stands for "Healthy, **Happy,** Holy."

In *The Mystical Maze* we find this about the 3HO:

"A *kundalini* yoga sect founded by yogi Bhajan. This sect is based on *sikhism*, a mixture of Hinduism and Islam, and teaches both monotheism and reincarnation. Enlightenment is achieved within this cult through the awakening of the *kundalini* or 'serpent power' located at the base of the spine. Through various yoga techniques this mystic power coils its way up the spine eventually uniting with the mind to produce a state of altered consciousness or enlightenment." [Emphasis in the original]



A brochure received directly from the 3HO mentions about the Summer Solstice they held in June 1987. It was on "White Tantric [sex] Meditation with Yogi

Bhajan." They brag:

"It is said that only a few in any generation are fortunate enough to instruct their souls under the guidance of a master. Yogi Bhajan, master of Kundalini Yoga and White Tantric Yoga, has dedicated his life to helping people to see beyond their limitations and find their own creative potential. Daily meditations directed by Yogi Bhajan are the heart of the Summer Solstice experience. **White Tantric Meditation is a powerful means of establishing faith in the SELF,** trust in others and balance in personal relationships."

Also during this "Summer Solstice" there were "classes in **KUNDALINI YOGA,** marriage and relationships, business and personal success, **NUMEROLOGY,** herbology, and the healing arts." The 3HO "operates the Kundalini Research Institute, publishes the *Journal of Science and Consciousness for Living in the Aquarian Age,* and is listed in *The First Report and Directory NETWORKING.*" According to the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (1998), there are 265,000 members in this organization and 108 centers in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere.

"Yogi Bhajan is the founder of the Sikh Dharma and its better known educational arm, the 3HO organization (Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization). Bhajan's full formal name is Siri Singh Sahib Harbhajan Singh Khalsa Yogi. Siri Singh Sahib is a title conferred on him by the center of Sikh religious authority in Amritsar. He was born Harbhajan Singh in Kot Harkan, Tehsil Wazirabad, India (now Pakistan) on August 29, 1929. Khalsa is an adopted last name that replaces the family name with which he was born. His family name indicates the subcaste of his family in the Hindu caste system, and Sikhism generally opposes that system....

"Bhajan worked as a customs official and Interpol officer from 1954 to 1969, when he came to the United States and founded the 3HO Foundation (1620 Preuss Rd., Los Angeles, CA 90035), which he has continued to direct. Under his leadership, the 3HO Foundation acts as a teaching and outreach organization which combines traditional Sikhism and yoga....

"Bhajan has been co-president of the World Parliament of Religions; cochairperson (sic) of the World Fellowship of Religions; director of the Unity of Man Conference; a member of the Interreligious Council of Southern

California; and a member of the board of directors of the American Council of Executives in Religion....

“The core of Bhajan’s teaching is a synthesis of Sikhism and a type of Kundalini yoga that he assembled from information gathered from many different teachers and practitioners in India and Pakistan.”

Yogi Bhajan even has live classes of Kundalini Yoga and Meditation on the Internet. He states:

*“By better understanding the **SELF** and its mysteries, we gain tolerance and compassion for others. It is in this relaxed state that we can express our infinite potential for love, creativity, and freedom. It is here that we can begin to experience the oneness of all things and the love inherent in all creation.*” [Emphasis in the original; Caps and boldface added.]

Once again we can see the focus on **SELF.** Also, in the June 1998 issue of *Imprimis* we find that even art puts an emphasis on the human being. The article explains:

“From earliest times, the human figure has symbolized the unknown forces that govern the universe. It has also served as the vehicle for those powers mankind ardently reveres. In one form or another, it has been at the center of ritual throughout the world since prehistoric times, and it has been the medium through which the human and the divine communicated.

“The human figure embodies the universe of human existence and experience. It personifies all that is human and is, therefore, the one form in art with which we totally, uniquely, and immediately identify. That empathy derives from the fact that the figure is the complete expression of the beauty, mystery, and dignity of the human person, the quintessential form of life....

“The ancient Greeks were the first to establish standards of beauty for the human figure based on the perfection of physical development. They recognized that the body’s design is a perpetual marvel of proportion, flesh, and organization....

“...the human figure has been the central theme in art and people’s yearning for immortality its underlying principle.”

Yes, the Greeks did prize the human body—but they drew and sculpted their human figures in the nude. In fact, says Terence D. McLean (in reference to the Greek Olympics), "...once in the stadium, everyone was required to be naked."

"Olympic athletes served as models for those workmen who were fashioning idol Greek gods and goddesses for the people to worship! Thus, the gods and goddesses were endowed with spectacular physical gifts that resembled those of the Olympic athletes. And the legends built to support these idols were that the Greek gods were almost always immoral and promiscuous."

Of course, this immoral behavior is fully condoned (and even sometimes supported and promoted) by the humanists. Remember (as mentioned earlier) that the *Humanist Manifesto II* says:

"While we do not approve of exploitive, denigrating forms of sexual expression, neither do we wish to prohibit it, by law or social sanction, sexual behavior between consenting adults. The many varieties of sexual exploration should not in themselves be considered 'evil.'...a civilized society should be a *tolerant* one. Short of harming others or compelling them to do likewise, individuals should be permitted to express their sexual proclivities and pursue their life-styles as they desire." [Italics in the original]

A lot of this sexual tolerance (or a better word would be promiscuity) is also being taught in our schools. Remember, as was mentioned in the chapter on the yin/yang, that the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) stated that contraceptive services should be available to minors. They added: "It is the position of SIECUS that the use of explicit sexual materials (sometimes referred to as **pornography)** can serve a variety of important needs in the lives of countless individuals...." Again, the Bible warns about this in Jude 1:17b-19: "[T]he apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ...told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own lusts. These be they who separate themselves, **SENSUAL,** having not the Spirit."

"In 1933, the Humanist Manifesto declared that 'social hygiene' (sex education) would be one of the paths of Humanism for the future. In 1961, Elysium, Inc. was incorporated to purvey **pornography** which would lead to the formation of SIECUS 'to solve the problem of pornography' by sex education in schools."

A 1969 *Ankh* magazine says this about the Elysium Institute:

“The **ELYSIUM INSTITUTE** is a non-profit organization whose purpose is research and dissemination of information in the behavioral sciences relating to nudity and the ‘body taboo’ neuroses so prevalent in our culture. The Elysium Institute promotes self-acceptance and acceptance of others through a wholesome attitude towards the human body and its functions, both physical and emotional, and including man’s sexuality.” [Emphasis in the original]

The “Elysium Credo” states (in part):

“We will implement this credo by aiding as many people as possible through sensitivity-awareness and psychotherapy programs, and through the experience of recreational activities in which nudity is enjoyed on a clothing-optional basis....

“Here, people experience benefits of unencumbrance from clothing in an appropriate setting....The casual acceptance of the naked self brings with it emotional freedom unknown to those uninitiated to social nudism. Benefits of freedom from clothing are enormous for children....A minister who recently visited Elysium Field remarked that, without effort on anyone’s part, these children were getting the most wholesome sex education he could imagine.”

The SIECUS Circle informs us:

“SEECUS itself, in fact, maintains close liaison with the pornography cartel through its connection with Elysium Institute, located in Los Angeles. This hedonistic haven prides itself on the programs of nudism, sensitivity awareness, and group sex activities which it offers to its patrons. SIECUS is listed in the Elysium Institute Directory as pursuing the same objective as, and maintaining an exchange of information with, Elysium, as are also the Sexual Freedom League (of Berkeley); Castalia (Timothy Leary’s “League for Spiritual Discovery”); the Institute for the Study of Non-Violence (whose co-director is Humanist Joan Baez); the Institute for Rational Living (headed by Humanist Albert Ellis); the University of Humanism; and the Underground Press (dedicated to the promotion of drug usage, sex, sensitivity training, and obscenity).

“The published aims of SIECUS and Elysium, which are amazingly similar in phraseology, have been compared on a point-by-point basis in a special newsletter published by a group of physicians opposed to SIECUS-style sex education. Particularly striking is the fact that Elysium Institute’s publishing arm, Elysium, Inc., also prints *Nude Living, ANKH, Jay Bird,* and *Sun West*—magazines that feature totally unretouched male and female nudes in a variety of lewd and suggestive poses. The physicians’ newsletter further discloses that, while Elysium, Inc., is entrenched in the field of pornography, it nevertheless wishes to retain some semblance of respectability, and thus assumes the fictitious name of “PANU-CO” when advertising certain obscene publications in its magazines.”

A few other names listed in the Elysium Institute Directory include: “the American Humanist Association; Esalen Institute; Kairos; the Sexual Freedom League;...Glide Urban Center; the Neo-American Church; and the Society For Human Abortion—to name just a few!”

It is interesting to notice that both SIECUS and Elysium use the yin/yang as their logo. In fact, a magazine published by Elysium entitled *Nude Living* showed a yin/yang logo on the back cover of their magazine in order to advertise *Nude Living* and *Sundial.*

Another logo that Elysium uses is the ankh. The ankh is described elsewhere in my book.

I find it fascinating that “Elysium” was a term in mythology. It was supposed to be the sacred abode of the deities. Elysium was also an “abode of **happiness.”** (Remember the “Happy Man” symbol of the humanists?) Elysium was “opened to the favourites of the Olympians and the souls of the just.” (Remember the nudity of the Olympians?) Are all these items just “coincidental”?

There’s one other fascinating bit of information about Elysium. The *Treasury of Witchcraft* says that “Elysium” was a name “Invoked in Roman Necromancy”! Necromancy, by the way, is communication with the dead.

Returning to the “Happy Man” symbol, observe the logo of the Communities in Schools of North Carolina. Doesn’t it look like a variation of the “Happy Man”? Remember that our schools are filled with humanistic teachings, so this could be a very applicable logo.

Notice also the logo for *Holistic Education Review.* Their magazine states:

“Holistic Education Review aims to stimulate discussion and application of all **PERSON-CENTERED** educational ideas and methods. Articles explore how education can encourage the fullest possible development of **HUMAN POTENTIALS and PLANETARY CONSCIOUSNESS.** We believe that **HUMAN FULFILLMENT,** global cooperation and ecological responsibility should be the primary goals of education, and we will inquire into the historical, social, and philosophical issues that have prevented them from so becoming.”

The Holistic Health Association of the Princeton Area appears to use a “Happy Man” variation. This isn’t surprising since they state that they integrate the best approaches from **HUMAN POTENTIAL therapies, HUMANISTIC psychology, parapsychology, meditation, visualization, biofeedback psychotherapy, HUMANISTIC gerontology,** *etc.*

The Society for Individual Liberty, a Libertarian group, also seems to utilize the “Happy Man.”

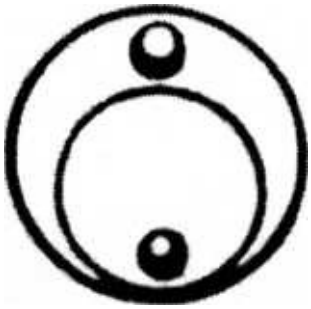
Even the Youth for Christ group incorporates a design similar to the “Happy Man” in their logo. Is this just coincidental? After all, Dr. Siang-Yang Tan of Youth for Christ International was installed as a Professor of **PSYCHOLOGY** on April 28, 1998. He “will this year be the President of Division 36 (Psychology of Religion) in the world famous American Psychological Association.”

Minirth/Meier New Life Clinics are steeped in psychology, so I guess it’s not surprising to see that they also use a “Happy Man” variation.

Additionally, the Payap University has an interesting logo. There is a 666 variation but if you carefully notice the center of this design, there appears to be a “Happy Man.”

Below are a few more symbols used by humanists.

“Used by The American Humanist Association and The Fellowship of Religious Humanists, these circles were inspired by Edwin Markham’s praise of tolerance: *He drew a circle that shut me out/Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout/But love and I had the wit to win/We drew a circle that took him in.*” [Emphasis in the original]



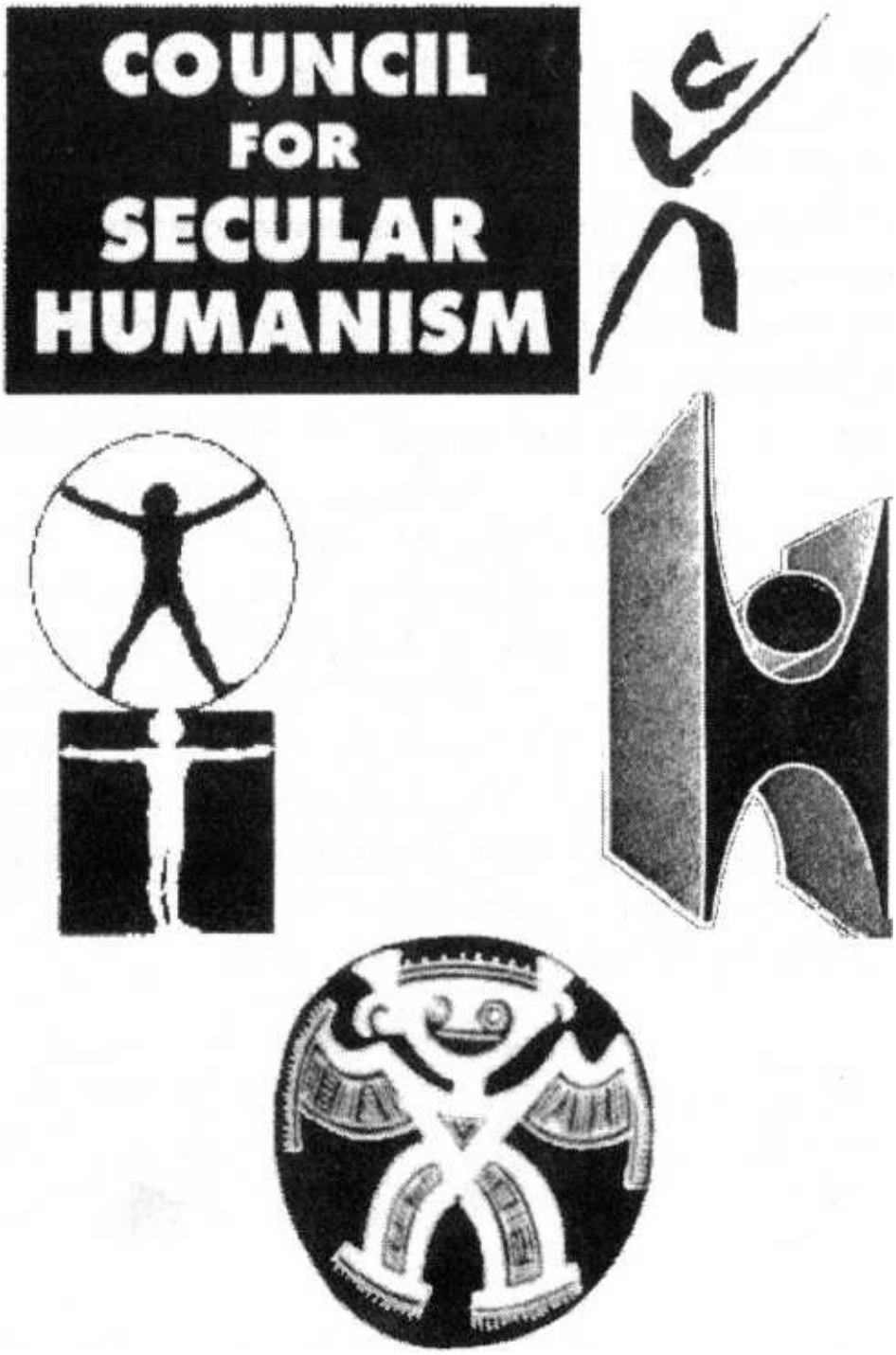
“The overlapping circles symbolize the merger of Unitarians and Universalists; the lamp, knowledge and the appeal to reason. Used originally by the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, it has been adopted widely by liberal churches.”

“A conventionalization of the universal man of Leonardo da Vinci; until recently used on the cover of *International Humanism*, this symbol has more recently been used by The American Ethical Union.”

“I.H.E.U. is the International Humanist and Ethical Union organized in Amsterdam in 1952 with 38 Humanist organizations from 23 countries related to it in 1970.”

“Among humanists the peace symbol symbolizes the global hope for a shared world at peace where all men may realize security, brotherhood and creativity.” This symbol is covered more thoroughly in the chapter on “Hand Signals.”

Below are a few other possible representations of the “Happy Man” symbol.



Cocle

Good Luck Lady

A truly happy person is one who delights himself or herself in the Lord. Psalm 37:4-5 says: “Delight thyself also in the Lord; and He shall give thee the desires

of thine heart. Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him; and He shall bring it to pass.”

11.

ANIMALS, BIRDS, AND INSECTS

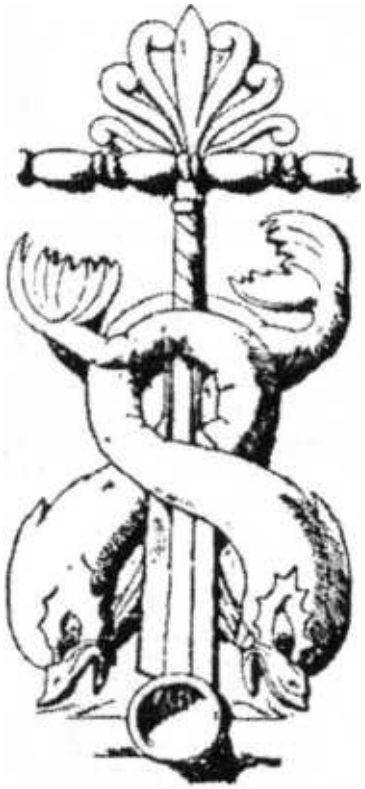
Many animals are used to portray certain meanings. Obviously, not every animal you see has an occultic meaning connected to it. However, the occult world does make use of particular creatures and when they do so, there is a meaning behind it. For instance, let's look at the dolphins. *The Seeker's Handbook* states: "Dolphin stories are a part of planetary folklore."

The dolphin was one of the emblems of the goddesses Ceres and Demeter and one of the favorite animals of the god Dionysus. Melcarth, the god of the sea, is represented as riding on a dolphin. Occasionally the god Apollo would assume the form of a dolphin. Neptune is often portrayed seated in a chariot drawn by dolphins. Eros (or Cupid) was "the boy on the dolphin." The Nereids were fifty nymphs who rode on dolphins and bore tridents. The *Handbook of Ornament* adds: "In symbolic representations he [the dolphin] is the companion of Nymphs, Nereids, and Tritons, and of Arion, Aphrodite, and Neptune, with whose trident he is often combined in ornament." Below are some dolphins. Notice the trident variations on the crown and the tails.

Earlier we covered the Goat of Mendes (a portrayal of Satan). His consort was a dolphin goddess.

A Dictionary of Symbols explains:

“Dolphin The figure of the dolphin can be seen in many allegories and emblems, sometimes duplicated....But the inverted arrangement, that is, with one dolphin pointing upwards and the other downwards, always symbolizes the dual cosmic streams of involution and evolution; this is what the 17th-century Spanish writer Saavedra Fajardo meant by ‘Either up or down.' **The dolphin by itself is an allegory of salvation,** inspired in the ancient legends which show it as the friend of man. **Its figure is associated with** that of the anchor (another symbol of salvation), with **pagan, erotic deities** and with other symbols. The ancients also held that the dolphin was the swiftest of marine animals, and hence, when, among the emblems of Francesco Colonna, it is shown twined round an anchor, it comes to signify arrested speed, that is, prudence.”



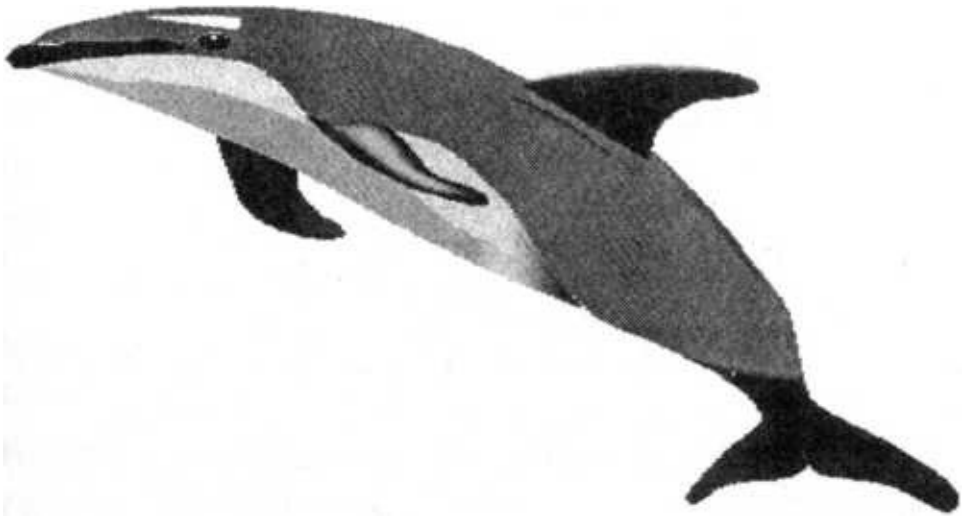
The renewed interest in dolphins took place in 1959 when psychologist John Lilly started doing dolphin research. He was convinced that dolphins were advanced spiritual beings. Many New Agers also feel that dolphins can be communicated with telepathically. “In a 1987 interview Lilly said telepathy is, at least theoretically, the most effective way for human beings and dolphins to communicate....”

Richard O'Barry trained dolphins for the television show *Flipper*. He said:

"I worked with dolphins for seven or eight years. We had five of them on the *Flipper* show, and we did 120 half-hour TV shows and two features in three years. The few dolphins we had were asked to do so much, so many different tricks, that we were teaching them on the spot. At the end, I realized it was *all* psychic! No words were used; they just seemed to sort of understand, anticipate what you wanted them to do, and do it.... If you want to call it telepathy or whatever, it was very much a part of what was going on." [Emphasis in the original]

Many groups have sprung up that offer workshops where one can swim with the dolphins, *etc.* The Dolphin Data Base has a list of 3,000 organizations and people who are involved in dolphin projects with at least 300 of them attempting to make inter-species communication. One group, the Dolphin Society Church:

"trains persons in out-of-body traveling with dolphin and whale spiritual liberators. Through the practice, the Society's advertising claims, 'one can make friends, **spirit helpers** and lovers in the sea, visit alien star systems, learn healing, **levitation, teleportation** and shapeshifting.'"



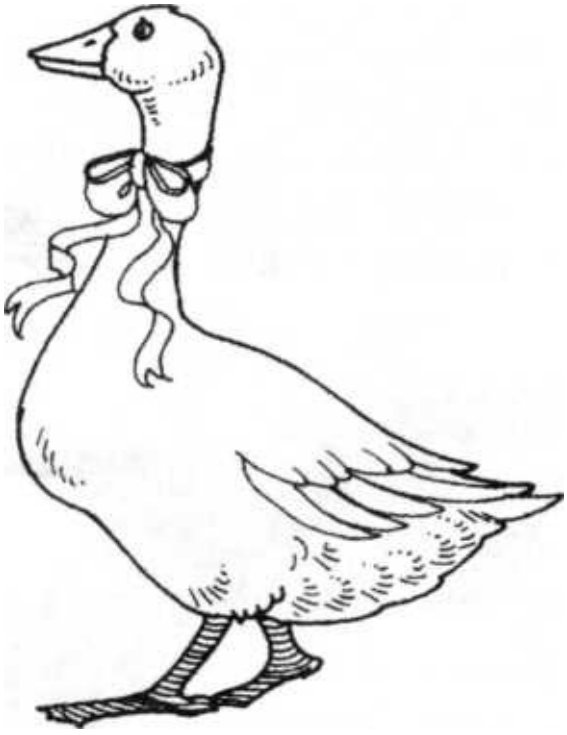
The *New Age Almanac* says:

"New Age fascination with dolphins stems from a romantic nature mysticism

which is expressed in New Agers' concern with ecology and animal rights. Unlike benevolent alien visitors or wise Ascended Masters, whose existence is not supported by an abundance of evidence, there is no doubt dolphins do exist. Nor is their intelligence in doubt, although scientists concede the reach or limitations of their intelligence are unknown. For all of these reasons, dolphins continue to be a source of speculation and fascination for the New Age community."

The dolphin was even incorporated into children's education in the classroom. A self-esteem program, Developing Understanding of Self and Others (DUSO), has a series of 42 guided imagery lessons. When the children relax and close their eyes, they are to imagine that they are journeying to faraway places. There they meet animals such as DUSO the dolphin.

Another animal that became popular in the past decade was the goose. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols* claims:



"In Egyptian mythology, the goose plays an important role as the primeval goose that either laid the world egg or—according to different versions—was born from it. In Egypt, as in China, wild geese were also regarded as mediaries between heaven...and EARTH.—In Greece, the goose was sacred to Aphrodite

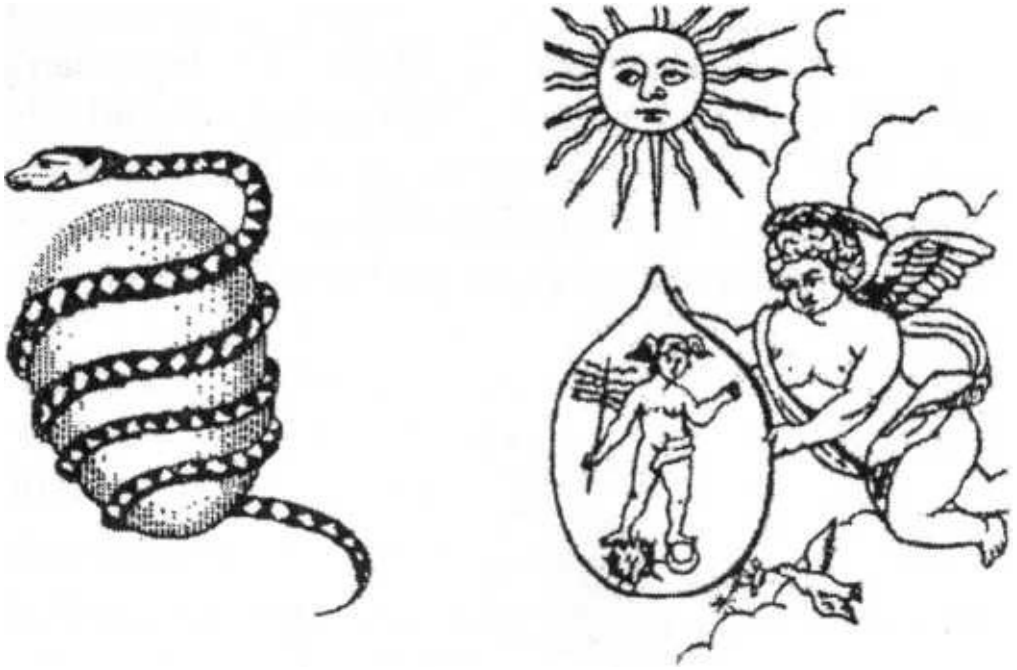
and, in Rome, was sacred to Juno; it was regarded as a symbol of love, fertility, and maritial (sic) fidelity, yet also of vigilance....For the Celts, the goose was symbolically closely related to the SWAN and, like the swan, was thought to be a messenger from the spiritual world." [Emphasis in the original]

The goose was sacred to the Goddess. The Egyptian god Seb (also Geb or Keb) was called the "great cackler" and "the goose that laid the cosmic egg." He is sometimes depicted with a goose on his head and he sometimes takes on the form of a goose. He is the God of the Earth but he also has authority in the Underworld.

The cosmic egg (or world egg) is encountered in many cultures. It is "a symbol of the totality of creative forces—is thought to have been present at the primeval beginning, when it floated on the Primeval waters and issued from itself the entire world and the elements, or initially at least heaven and earth." It is also a symbol of perfection. "In alchemy, the philosophical egg played an important role as a symbol of PRIMA MATERIA, from which the Philosophical fire hatched the PHILOSOPHERS' Stone."

[Emphasis in the original] Below is a picture of the world egg (portraying Providence) with a snake (representing time) entwined about it. Pike says: "The

Serpent entwined round an Egg, was a symbol common to the Indians, the Egyptians, and the Druids. It referred to the creation of the Universe." Also, below, is a drawing of Mercury in a philosophical egg.



Returning to the symbolism of the goose, we find in *Treasury of Witchcraft* that the goose was linked to the Indian god Brahma. It is also an emblem of Horus, Osiris, and Isis, and associated with Mars, Priapus (a fertility god), and the goddess Bau.

In *The Pagan Festivals of Christmas and Easter* we learn about the "Christmas goose":

"Other Christmas customs are the 'Christmas goose' (or its equivalent in various parts of the world), and 'Christmas cakes.' Both were used in the worship of the Babylonian 'messiah.' The goose was sacred in many ancient lands: Rome, Asia Minor, India, Chaldea. In Egypt, the goose was a symbol for a *child*, ready to *die!* In other words, a symbol of the pagan 'messiah,' ready to give his life (supposedly) for the world. Blasphemy! A satanic mockery of the truth." [Emphasis in the original]

The quail is important in China. There it:

"is a symbol of spring because it is a migratory bird that returns in the spring. It

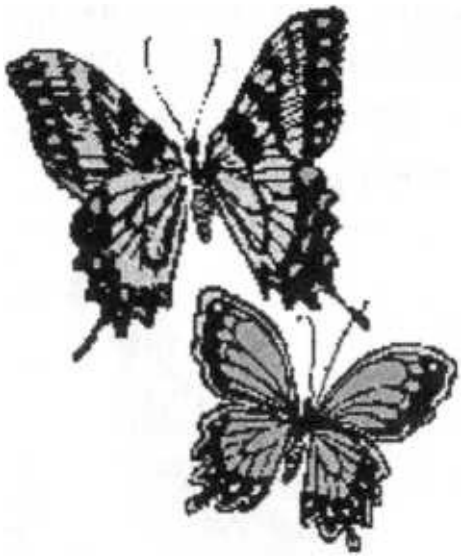
is **closely associated with fire, light and thus with the Yang principle.** Its annual coming and going also made the quail a **symbol of the alternating influence of the opposing forces**."

The butterfly is also quite popular today. It is used in the 24° of Masonry on the cordon. *A Bridge to Light* states that the cordon "is a broad, watered scarlet ribbon worn from right to left. On the front is embroidered in gold, a **winged-globe** and under it a **scarab,** under which is a brilliant **butterfly; all are symbols of immortality**."

Along with the symbolism of immortality, the butterfly represents reincarnation, rebirth, and resurrection.

The Japanese use the butterfly as a symbol of womanhood but two butterflies

depict marital happiness.



“To the Aztecs the butterfly symbolized the soul or the breath of life exhaled by the dying. A butterfly fluttering among the flowers represented the soul of the warrior who had fallen on the battlefield....Dead warriors accompanied the Sun on the first half of his visible journey, until midday. They then descended to earth in the shapes of hummingbirds or butterflies....

“Thus the Aztec fire-god wore a pectoral ornament called ‘the OBSIDIAN butterfly.’ Like flint, obsidian is a fire-stone and its use for the blades of

sacrificial knives is well known. In ‘the House of Eagles’ or Warriors’ Temple, the Sun was depicted as a butterfly.

“Symbol of daylight and the solar fire—and hence of the warrior’s SOUL—the butterfly for the Mexicans was also a symbol of the ‘Black Sun’ which passed through the Underworlds during its nightly journey. It was thus a symbol of hidden chthonian fire and associated with ideas of sacrifice, death and resurrection. In Aztec carving, the butterfly became an alternative for the hand as the emblem of the figure FIVE, the number of the centre of the Earth....

“Similarly contemporary psychoanalysis sees the butterfly as a symbol of rebirth.

“In Classical antiquity it was a common belief that the soul left the body in the shape of a butterfly. Psyche is depicted as a little girl with butterfly-wings....” [Emphasis in the original]

Sherry Hansen Steiger, a New Ager who has an interest in UFOs, evidently knew the meaning associated with the butterfly. She named her organization the Butterfly Center for Transformation.

The phoenix is also making a comeback in today’s society. The printer who produced *What Witches Do* was called **Phoenix** Publishing Company. A television serial was called “Phoenix” which gave “us an extraterrestrial **shaman**

and ‘messiah’ upon whom the salvation of the world may depend. He is endowed with awesome **psychic** powers, not the least of which are **levitation, psychokinesis and acute ESP**.”

“Both King Henry VII and his granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth I (Queen of England, 1558-1603), used the ‘phoenix’ as one of their badges.”

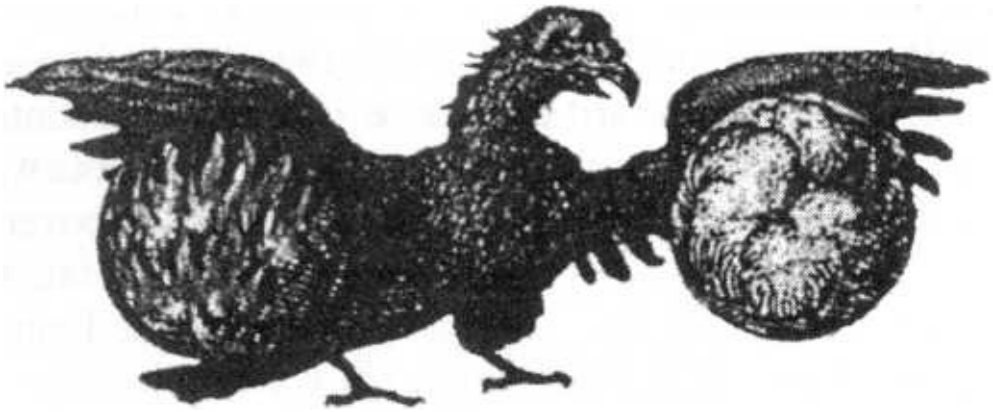
The January 9, 1988 issue of *The Economist* said that a new currency was coming. Its name will be the **phoenix**.

Mason and occultist, Manly Palmer Hall, wrote a book entitled *The Phoenix: An Illustrated Review of* ***Occultism*** *and Philosophy.*

Elsewhere he relates:

"Among the ancients a fabulous bird called the Phoenix is described by early writers such as Clement, Herodotus, and Pliny; in size and shape it resembled the eagle, but with certain differences. The body of the Phoenix is one covered with glossy purple feathers, and the plumes in its tail are alternately blue and red. The head of the bird is light in color, and about its neck is a circlet of golden plumage. At the back of its back the Phoenix has a crest of feathers of brilliant color. Only one of these birds was supposed to live at a time, with its home in the distant parts of Arabia, in a nest of frankincense and myrrh. The Phoenix, it is said, lives for 500 years, and at its death its body opens and the new born Phoenix emerges. Because of this symbolism, the **Phoenix is generally regarded as representing immortality and resurrection.**

“All symbols have their origin in something tangible, and the **Phoenix is one sign of the secret orders** of the ancient world and of the initiate of those orders, for it was common to refer to one who had been accepted into the temples as a man twice-born, or re-born. Wisdom confers a new life, and those who become wise are born again.



“The Phoenix symbol is important in another way, as an emblem among nearly all civilized nations of royalty, power, superiority, and immortality. The Phoenix of China is identical in meaning with the Phoenix of Egypt; and the **Phoenix of the Greeks is the same as the Thunder Bird of the American Indians**.”

In yet another book by Hall we find:

“Farther south the thunderbird symbol merged with the quetzal and the serpent feathered with quetzal plumes. The quetzal was identical in meaning with the phoenix of Asia, North Africa, and the Near East. The feathered-serpent symbolism can be traced back to the hooded Nagas, or serpent gods of India, and to the winged serpents which occur in the writings and sculpturings of the Egyptians.”

The phoenix is also “the ancient symbol of human aspiration toward Universal good.” Barbara Walker, a radical feminist, reveals that the Egyptians and Phoenicians believed that the phoenix was the representation of a god who “*rose to heaven in the form of a morning star, like Lucifer, after his fire-immolation of death and rebirth....*”

One former witch explains:

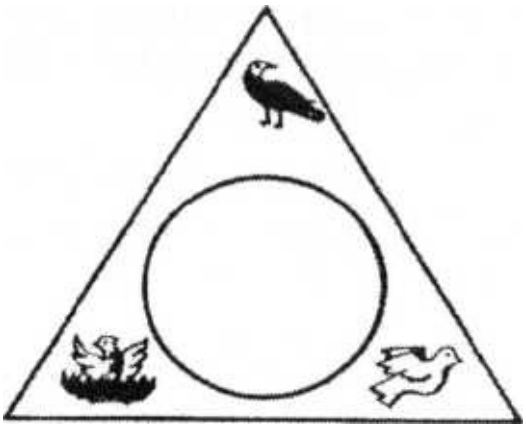
“The Phoenix, or *Bennu* is believed to be a divine bird going back to Egypt....This Phoenix destroys itself in flames and then rises from the ashes. Most occultists believe that the Phoenix is a symbol of Lucifer who was cast down in flames and who (they *think)* will one day rise triumphant. This, of course, also relates to the raising of Hiram Abiff, the Masonic ‘christ.’” [Emphasis in the original]

With the continual rebirth of the phoenix, it became a symbol of reincarnation and eternity.

E. A Wallis Budge writes: “The **Morning Star was** the ferryman of OSIRIS, or

the Soul of OSIRIS, *i.e.* the Benu (sic) bird, which the GREEKS identified with **the Phoenix**." [Caps in the original; Boldface added] The sun god, who supposedly created all the other gods, was also pictured in the form of a Phoenix.

One of the symbols in the 32° degree of Masonry is a triangle on which a raven, a dove, and a phoenix are displayed.



The eagle (also called the Bird of Jove) is frequently identified with the phoenix. As is well known, the eagle is used extensively in Masonry. In a Masonic Bible was the question: "What is the symbolism of the Eagle in Freemasonry?" The answer given was: "The eagle has been a symbol among the different peoples of the world from time immemorial. In Egypt, Greece, and Persia **it was sacred to the sun;** among **pagans** it was the **emblem of Jupiter;** among the **Druids** it was the **symbol of their supreme god**."

This Masonic Bible also asked what an emblem was. The answer was: “An emblem is an **OCCULT** representation of an idea, principle, or truth which cannot be seen with the natural eye, but may be perceived by the mind and heart.”

The 15° in Masonry is called Knight of the Eagle and the 30° is called the Knight of the White and Black Eagle. The white and black on the eagle symbolize the yin/yang.

An ad for a belt buckle said this: “The eagle is also one of the most ancient symbols of the **supernatural and the occult.** In Egypt and Greece it was sacred to the Sun; it was also the venerated bird of Zeus. For the learned Druids it was transcendent, their foremost divinity. The Roman Legions adopted it as a consecrated mascot.”

By the way, the word mascot comes from a French word meaning witch!

The eagle was worshipped by the Greeks as the god of lightning. “They nailed eagles to the peaks of temples to serve as magic lightning rods; these were the precursors of today’s weathercocks seen atop many buildings.” In mysticism, the eagle represents initiation. Masonic author, Rex Hutchens, relates: “Since the eagle also represented the great Egyptian Sun god Amun Ra, it is a symbol of the infinite Supreme Reason of Intelligence.”

Albert Pike reveals that the “*Eagle* was the living Symbol of Egyptian God *Mendes*... and the representative of the Sun....” Remember the Satanic God of Mendes? Well, the eagle is his emblem.

Hall remarks:

“The eagle was also the Hermetic symbol of sulphur, and signified the mysterious fire of Scorpio—the most profoundly significant sign of the zodiac and the *Gate of the Great Mystery.* Being one of the three symbols of Scorpio, the **eagle, like the Goat of Mendes, was an emblem of the theurgic art [magic]** and the secret processes by which the infernal fire of the scorpion was transmuted into the spiritual *light-fire* of the gods.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

The eagle was Jupiter's bird. Horus was an eagle. "In Sarmatian art, the eagle is the emblem of the thunderbolt and of warlike endeavour."

In the chapter on "Winged Symbols" we look at the symbolism of Saturn, an old man dying (the old year ending) and a baby bringing in the new year. This is related to the oroboros (which will be covered soon) and in *The Mysteries of Osiris* we find that this symbolism is also connected to the eagle:

"When they [the heathen] desired to express the renewal, or *beginning*, of the year, they represented it in the form of a door-keeper.

"It could easily be distinguished by the attributes of a *key;* a procedure that was copied, without credit, in another *new age* or a new *year of an age*, in the symbolism of Peter and his 'key.' At times they gave it two heads back to back, the one an old man, which marked the expiring year, and the other a young man, which denoted the new. In time, this became the double-headed Eagle of Symbolic Masonry...." [Emphasis in the original]

"Thus arises the two-headed eagle (related to the Janus symbol) which is usually depicted in two colours of great mystical significance: red and white." *A Bridge to Light* adds: "The double headed Eagle is symbolic of the past and future for in this Apartment the candidate sacrifices his own personal ambitions and desires on the altar of Truth."

In *Freemasonry: Ancient Egypt and the Islamic Destiny* we are told:

"It is also believed that the **double-headed eagle alludes to the nature of man.** The head that looks to the East is symbolic of man's spiritual vision, and the looking towards the West refers to his material vision.

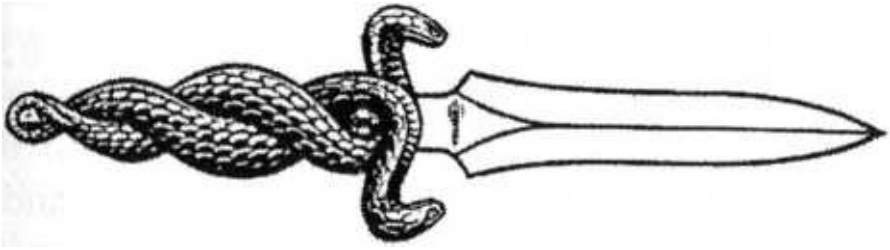
"The **Masonic order attempts to initiate** or teach man the material or human science and the spiritual sciences **in imitation of the Ancient Egyptian Mystery Systems** that taught man the 'lesser' and 'greater' mysteries."

James 1:8 says: “A **double minded man** is unstable in all his ways.”

The July 1998 issue of *The Scottish Rite Journal* states that the eagle was also a symbol of regeneration and rebirth. Another Masonic and occultic symbol of regeneration is the serpent. *A Dictionary of Symbols* explains more about the snake:

“Snakes are guardians of the springs of life and of immortality, and also of those superior riches of the spirit that are symbolized by hidden treasure....

“...the serpent is the life-force which determines birth and rebirth and hence it is connected with the Wheel of Life....

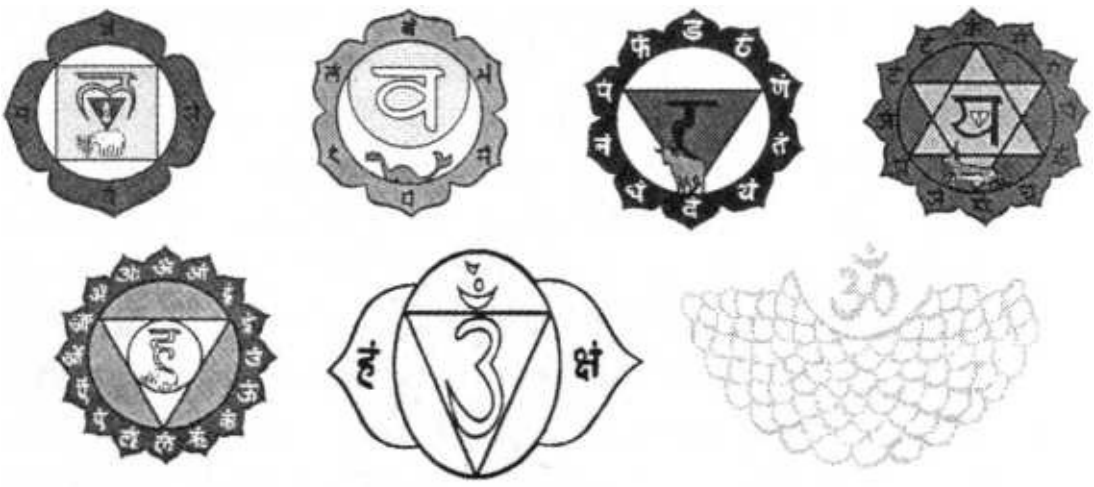


“The snake was an important symbol for the Gnostics....Hippolytus...asserted that the snake was said to live in all objects and in all beings. This brings us to the Yoga concept of the Kundalini or the snake as an image of inner strength. Kundalini is represented symbolically as a snake coiled up upon itself in the form of a ring *(kundala),* in that subtle part of the organism corresponding to the lower extremity of the spinal column; this, at any rate, is the case with the ordinary man. But, as a result of exercises directed towards his spiritualization—Hatha Yoga, for instance—the snake uncoils and stretches up through wheels

(chakras) corresponding to the various plexuses of the body until it reaches the area of the forehead corresponding to the third eye of Shiva. It is then, according to Hindu belief, that man recovers his sense of the eternal." [Emphasis in the original]

The word "chakras" was just mentioned.

"In the Hindu/yoga world of 'reality,' they believe, as do much of the occult and New Age meditators, that the body contains seven basic energy centers, known as chakras. When these centers are properly aligned by practicing **yoga and meditation,** there will then occur a 'merging' of the spinal chakra (the serpent of Kundalini) together with Shiva, located in the frontal chakra **(psychic third eye)** and this 'spiritual union' is believed to **increase extrasensory and psychic powers."**



Representation of the seven chakras

In *The Gods of India* we are told:

"Siva carries a snake around his neck. Snakes always surround his image, and a snake is coiled around his phallus (*linga).*...

"But the main meaning attached to the serpent is to represent the basic dormant energy, akin to the sexual power, which is coiled at the base of the spinal cord and which is the support of the yogi in his attempt to conquer the higher worlds during his inward journey. The energy, source of all spiritual conquests, is called Kundalini (the coiled), the serpent power."

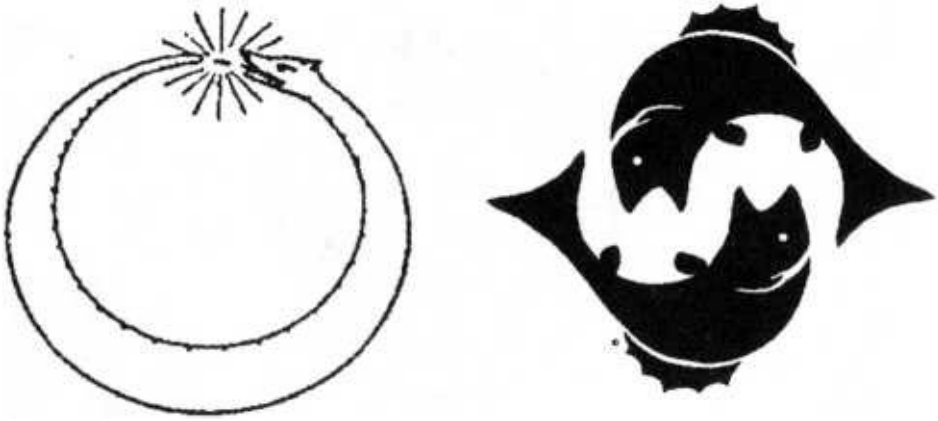
The Seeker's Handbook mentions that the serpent is also a symbol of infinity. The symbol for infinity is the lazy eight which is covered elsewhere in this book.

"The Druids had a high veneration for the Serpent. Their great god Hu was typified by that reptile; and he is represented by the Bards as 'the wonderful chief *Dragon*, the sovereign of heaven."

Like the eagle, the snake is also a symbol of the sun. Additionally, it denoted fertility. "The tree of life with the serpent entwined around it is also seen, and this symbol also represents the solar and generative processes."

"In representing the ancient Babylonian Nergal, Lord of the Underworld, the phallus and the serpent were identical. In New Guinea, where tradition connects woman and the serpent sexually, the female idols are invaginated by serpent-like creatures."

“The union of the female with the male triad, was designated by the sacred mystic number 4, often symbolized by a serpent with its tail in its mouth; two fishes bent to form a circle [yin/yang], and many other figures.”



A snake with its tail in its mouth is called an oroboros (also spelled uroboros). Another form of the oroboros is a dragon with its tail in its mouth.

“In alchemy a dragon, or more often a serpent, eating its own tail is known as the uroboros. The dragon was a symbol of the god Mercury and the circle a powerful symbol of the eternal cycle of nature. Because the uroboros recreates itself by feeding on its own body, it is a symbol of transforming matter, *i.e.* alchemy itself.”

In this form the snake represents “the endless succession of incarnations which form the wheel of life.” In other words, the oroboros is an emblem of reincarnation. It is also a symbol of eternity. In fact, we are told that the oroboros *“actually signifies the beginning and the end of life; the Alpha and Omega.”*

[Emphasis in the original] Of course, this is blasphemous. The Bible clearly tells us that Jesus Christ is the Alpha and Omega. Revelation 22:13 states: “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.” (See also Revelation 1:8, 11; and 21:6.)

The Alpha and Omega is used in Masonry, but now we can see that it is in reference to the snake, and not Jesus Christ, when these symbols are used.

As Masonic author, George Oliver, states: “The Serpent is universally esteemed a legitimate symbol of Freemasonry.” Occultist and Mason, Manly Palmer Hall, brags that “the **serpent is the symbol and prototype of the Universal Savior, *who redeems the worlds by giving creation the knowledge of itself and the realization of good and evil."***

Masonic apron

Do you realize what Hall just admitted? When God placed Adam and Eve in the

garden, He said: “Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: **But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it:** for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die” (Genesis 2:16-17). Of course, **SATAN** came along and asked: “Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?” (Genesis 3:1) Eve responded that they could eat of every tree **except** the tree of the knowledge of good and evil because they would die if they did so. Satan (the **serpent)** brazenly remarked: “Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, **knowing good and evil”** (Genesis 3:4-5).

Satan, THROUGH ENTICEMENT AND LIES, had just deceived the first man and woman by promising them godhood! He told Eve that she would know both good and evil. Satan’s offer to know BOTH good and evil presented an option that was previously unknown to her. She had never known evil and, therefore, the lure of learning about something new and different must have intrigued her. Up to this point she had only known good, truth, perfection, health, and beauty. Now, because of the attraction of the unknown offered through Satan’s deception, she would learn of evil, death, sorrow, defilement, pain, and separation from God. The very moment Adam and Eve partook of the forbidden fruit they died spiritually and were driven from the beautiful garden of Eden. That very day they experienced death to innocence, death to perfection, death to the joys they had known, and eventually they experienced a physical death even passing this physical death on to **ALL** humankind for “in Adam all die” (I Corinthians 15:22).

Yet, Hall tells us that the one who gave the realization of good and evil (who was Satan) is the **“Universal Savior!”** According to Masonic writer, Lynn Perkins, the fall of mankind was something **GOOD.** It was not a “fall” but a betterment of our situation**.** He boldly declares that man **“rose** to Divine Status by partaking of the **‘fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil.’”** [Emphasis in the original] He adds that the advice the serpent gave to Eve was “wiser than the recorded command of God that would have, if obeyed, confined Adam and Eve and their descendants to the status of animals forever....”

Albert Pike, another occultist and Mason, brags that the oroboros *“is the body of the **Holy Spirit,** the universal Agent, the Serpent devouring his own tail...."* [Italics in the original; Boldface added] What blasphemy!

The oroboros is also representative of the androgyne.

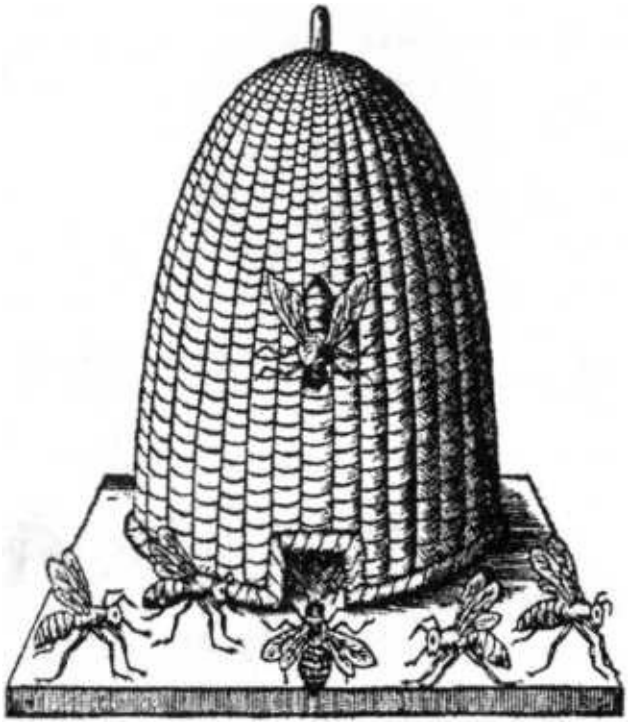
“The serpent’s head and neck is distinctly a masculine symbol, but the serpent is sometimes symbolized with its tail in it mouth, the body forming a circle which is feminine. Also, the mouth is feminine, while the tail, which is in the mouth, is masculine. Thus for two good reasons the serpent with its tail in its mouth represents both sexes.”

As stated earlier, the androgyne (meaning male and female in one body) was considered to be “the image of **human perfection and wholeness.”**

Another creature with some snake-like features is a basilisk. It is a:

“fabulous animal with a snake’s body, pointed head and a three-pointed crest. In mediaeval descriptions it was said to be born of a yolkless egg laid by a cock and hatched by a toad on a bed of dung, and to have a three-pointed tail, glittering eyes and a crown on its head. Its glance was believed to be lethal, so that it could only be destroyed while its assailant was watching it in a mirror. This belief is related to the myth of the Gorgon’s head. In the East, its body was supposed to be a mixture of cock, snake and toad. According to Diel, this projected image of the human psyche is clearly **infernal in character,** as is shown by its threefold attributes (its three-pointed crest and trifurcated tail) since they are an **inversion of the qualities of the Trinity;** and also by the predominance of **evil components,** such as the toad and the snake. It is one of the many ‘keepers of treasure’ mentioned in legend.”

Another Masonic symbol is the bee and beehive. One source reveals:



"The **bee is sacred to the goddess Venus** and is considered a sacred feminine symbol. According to mystics wheat, bananas, and bees are forms of life which came to the earth from the planet Venus millions of years ago....

"In Greece the bee was considered a priestly creature. The priestesses of Eleusis and Ephesus were called Melissae or 'bees,' probably with reference to the virginity of worker bees. They served at the greatest Greek festival in honor of **Demeter, the Queen Bee,** celebrating the return of Persephone from Hades

for two-thirds of each year at which time the earth would bloom profusely with flowers— associating **bees with rebirth.** And because of their importance in pollenizing flowers, **bees are an accepted symbol of generative power.**

“The bee is also considered a symbol of the soul influenced by the Sun and possessing immortality and spiritual **telepathy.”**

One Masonic bulletin admits:

“The Egyptians always excellent and Ancient FreeMasons **paid Divine Worship to a Bee under the outward Shape of a Bull, the better to *conceal the mystery;*** which Bull, by them called Apis, is the Latin word for a Bee; the Enigma of presenting the Bee by a Bull consisteth in this, that according to the doctrine of the Pythagorean Lodge of Freemasons, the souls of all the Cow-King transmigrate into Bees...."

The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia adds that the beehive is an:

“emblem of industry; appropriate to the third degree. This virtue is ever **held in high esteem in the Craft,** for the Old Charges tell us that ‘all Masons shall work honestly on working days, that they may live creditably on holidays.’ The **esoteric** meaning of the beehive was that of **regeneration;** and a hive was a type of the ark. ‘Hence,’ says Faber *(Orig. of Pag. Idol.,* vol. ii, p. 133), ‘both the diluvian priestesses and the regenerated souls were called bees; hence bees were feigned to be produced from the carcase (sic) of a cow, which also symbolized the ark and, hence, as the **great father was esteemed an INFERNAL god,** honey was much used both in funeral rites and in the mysteries.’...Bees and lilies have many **esoteric** significations.”

In *The Masonic Report* the question is asked: “In what way does the bee figure into the **phallic** philosophy of Freemasonry?” The answer given is:

“In the fertilization of the queen bee, the drone is deprived of his organs of generation, and thus mutilated, is left to perish on the ground. The description applies with striking exactness to the death of Osiris who lost his generative power and to Hiram Abiff who supposedly lost the Master’s word, which is actually a veiled symbol of his generative power. Thus we conclude that the emphasis laid upon the bee hive in the lecture is to be understood in the phallic sense.”

‘“In India,’ writes Manly P. Hall, ‘the God Prana—the personification of the universal life force—is sometimes shown surrounded by a *circle* of bees. Because of its importance in pollinating flowers, the bee is the accepted symbol of the generating power.’”

Masonic author, H. L. Haywood, informs us that “the Bee was made the emblem of heaven, as may be seen in certain old Hindoo (sic) pictures of the god Krishna wherein Bees hover over the deity’s head....” He adds: “Both the Persians and the Egyptians sometimes embalmed their dead in honey because they believed it to possess antiseptic properties; out of this custom, we may believe, arose the latter habit of using the Bee as a symbol of immortality.”

Rosicrucianism (which is closely related to Masonry) also used the symbol of the bee and the rose. In the picture on page 137, the “bees around the rose represent believers receiving divine nourishment.” (For more information on Rosicrucian symbolism, including the rose, see the chapter entitled “Organizational Logos.”)

Psalms 119:103-104 tells us that the word of God surpasses honey: "How sweet are Thy words unto my taste! yea, **sweeter than honey** to my mouth! Through Thy precepts I get understanding: therefore **I hate every false way."** Also, Psalms 19:9-10 says: "The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: **sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb."**

Nimrod was represented as a lion with a bee in its mouth. Nimrod, I'm sure you will recall, was Noah's great-grandson (Genesis 10:8-9) and was called "a mighty hunter before the Lord." The word "before" in the Hebrew has several meanings, but one meaning is "against." By reading the entire context, you will notice that this is the correct explanation for this word. You see, it was **NIMROD** who **BUILT THE TOWER OF BABEL IN DEFIANCE AND REBELLION AGAINST GOD** (Genesis 10:10; 11:2). Masons, however, are proud of this building for Arthur Edward Waite brags: "As regards Masonry, **BABEL** of course **REPRESENTED A MASONIC ENTERPRISE...."** John Yarker, another Masonic author, boasts: "It is well known that the **TOWER OF BABEL WAS ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT TRADITIONS OF MASONRY...."**

In the *Masonic Quiz Book*, the question is asked "Who was **NIMROD?"** The answer is: "He was the son of Cush. In the Old Constitutions referred to as **ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF MASONRY,** and in the Scriptures as the architect

of many cities." In the York manuscript we find: "At the making of the Tower of Babel there was Masonry first much esteemed of, and...**NIMROD WAS A MASON** himself and loved well Masons."

Interestingly, Masonic author, Kenneth R. H. MacKenzie, tells us that Hermes was also one of the founders of Masonry. Remember occultist, New Ager, and Theosophist, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, links Hermes and Satan together when she writes:

"...Hermes, the god of wisdom, called also Thoth, Tat, Seth, Set and *Sat-an;* and that he was, furthermore, when viewed under his bad aspect, Typhon, **the Egyptian Satan,** who was also *Set.* [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

Another representation of Thoth

The bee is also a regal symbol. The Merovingians' main symbol was that of the bee. The Mormon church also uses the bee as a symbol. (For a thorough study of Mormonism, see my book *Mormonism, Masonry, and Godhood* [ISBN: 1-891117-01-7], which can be ordered through Sharing or any bookstore.)

A Masonic bulletin, *The Bee Hive* states that the Kings of France (who were Masons):

"carried three Bees for their Arms, but to avoid the Imputation of the Egyptian Idolatry of **worshipping a Bee,** Clodovaeus, their first Christian King, **called them Lilies,** or Flower-de-Luces, in which, notwithstanding the small **Change**

made for Disguise Sake, there is still the exact Figure of a Bee....You have perhaps read of a great Number of Golden Bees found in the Coffin of a Pagan King of France...which he had ordered should be buryed (sic) with him, in Token of his having been a Mason."

Pope Urban VIII also had a seal that included bees. We are told:

"This seal was used for **magical purposes** by Pope Urban VIII, a seventeenth century leader of the Catholic Church who wickedly became involved in **astrology and occult rituals.** The bee has long been the symbol of the harlot of Mystery Babylon, the religious system of the Antichrist to come (Rev. 17). A triangle of three bees represents the pagan unholy trinity (Lucifer, his queen and their son, the Antichrist)."

Pope Urban's magical seal

The scarab is yet another sacred insect. Since the "scarab was thought to be able to renew itself...it became a symbol of **past and future lives."** This means that the scarab symbolizes **reincarnation.** The Bible clearly teaches that there is no such thing as reincarnation. Hebrews 9:27 states: "It is appointed unto men **once to die,** but after this the judgment."

“The scarab was, from very ancient times, and still is, sacred in Egypt; it was thought to be neither male nor female, but, instead, to contain within itself the power to create. It symbolized Khebera, the god of creation and resurrection, who was self-begotten."

Another name for Khepri (also Khebera or Khepera) was Atum. *Egyptian Mythology* explains more about this aspect:

“Atum was ‘He who created himself.’ His next act was to create further gods. As he was alone in the world, he had to produce offspring without a mate. His means was union with his shadow, or masturbation....**Atum** seems often in the texts to be regarded as a **bisexual god** and was sometimes called the ‘Great He-She."

“Thus, Khepri symbolized the resurrection of the body and rebirth [reincarnation] of the soul through transformation and renewal. It is for this reason that the Egyptian custom of wearing scarabs, as well as that of placing scarabs within the tombs and on the bodies of the dead, became so popular."

“Khepri (or **Khepera)** signifies at the same time ‘scarab’ and ‘he who becomes.’ For the Heliopolitans he represented the rising sun which, like the scarab, emerges from its own substance and is reborn of itself. Khepri was the god of the transformations which life, for ever renewing itself, manifests. He is represented as a scarab-faced man or as a man whose head is surmounted by this insect. Sometimes he appears simply as a scarab.” [Emphasis in the original]

Anton LaVey, the founder of the Church of Satan, states:

“The Phoenicians worshipped a fly god, Baal, from which comes the devil,

Beelzebub. **Both Baal and Beelzebub are identical to the dung beetle or scarabaeus** of the Egyptians which appeared to resurrect itself, much as the mythical bird, the phoenix, rose from its own ashes."

Matthew 12:24 says that Beelzebub is the prince of the devils, so this is what the scarab is actually representing! (See also Luke 11:15 and Mark 3:22.)

The scarab is also a symbol of fertility and "one of the most ancient symbols of deity...." Additionally, scarabs were used as powerful amulets for healing and magic. In fact, one of the tools of the magician is listed as the scarab.

Since Masonry is based mainly on Egyptian mythology, it is no surprise to find that the scarab is featured on the 25° Masonic apron along with the serpent with his tail in his mouth (the oroboros).

We've already covered the goat somewhat in the chapter "The Pentagram." As mentioned, the goat is a representation of the devil. Occultist Manly P. Hall declares: "The goat is both a **phallic symbol** and also an **emblem of courage or aspiration** because of it's surefootedness and ability to scale the loftiest peaks. To the alchemists the goat's head was the symbol of sulphur."

In Matthew 25 we find that Christ will separate the sheep from the goats:

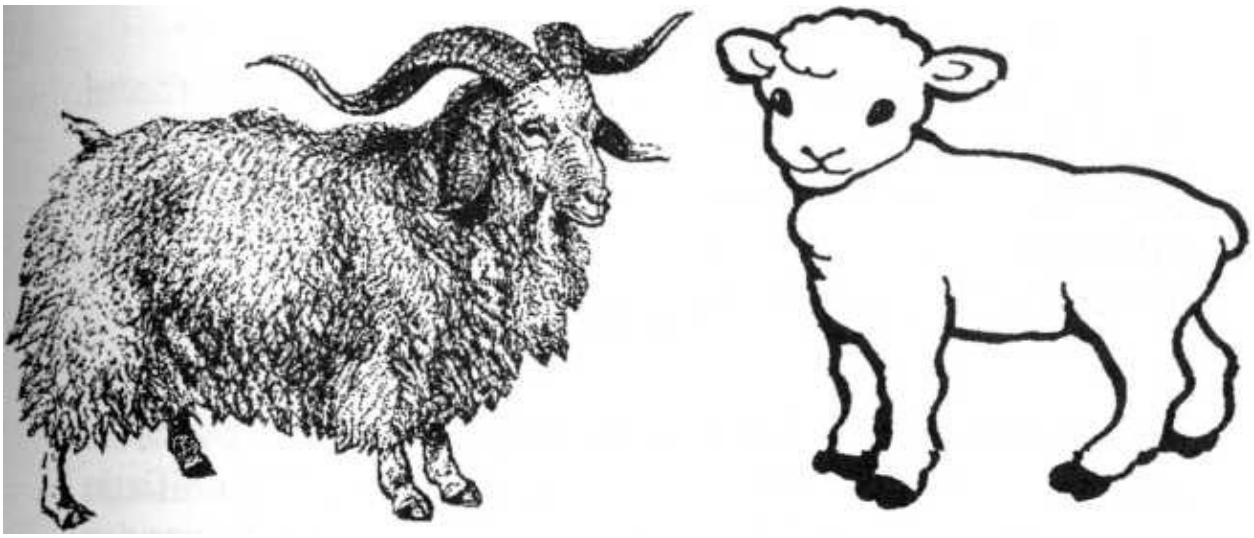
"When the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: And before Him shall be gathered all nations: and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And He shall set the **sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left.** Then shall the King say unto them on **His right hand, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you** from the foundation of the world....Then shall He say also unto them on the **left hand, Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:...**And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal" (Matthew 25:31-34, 41, 46).

Seeing that the occult world believes that the goat represents Satan, it is fascinating to see what the occultist, Alice Bailey, teaches about this passage of Scripture. She discloses:

“I would like to point out that the distinction between the ‘sheep and the goats’ is mainly hierarchical. The term **‘goats’ is esoterically applied to initiated disciples** and to those who have climbed the mountain of initiation. The term **‘sheep’ is applied to those who are following blindly** the inner urge of their souls and who are groping their way (in relatively large numbers) toward the Hierarchy. For them still has to come the great revelation that the ‘kingdom of God is within you’. Such is the word for them at this stage in humanity’s history.”

She also states (through her demonic spirit guide, Djwhal Khul):

“It has been thought that the sheep went to heaven and the goats went to hell. **It is the other way around.** The goat in Capricorn is the initiate and from a certain **esoteric** angle the **goats do go to heaven because they function in the spiritual kingdom....The sheep remain on earth...until they become goats....”**



It’s easy to see how the occult has turned everything around and distorted the truth of God’s Word.

Below is a symbol for four stylized goats. The goats are symbols of Ea-Oannes who is Lord of the Waters.

The unicorn is a mythological creature. In astrology, the unicorn represents the Moon and is also a symbol of rebirth (or reincarnation).

The unicorn is yet another androgyne symbol. In China the unicorn is known as the k'i lin which means male-female.

Al Dager explains:

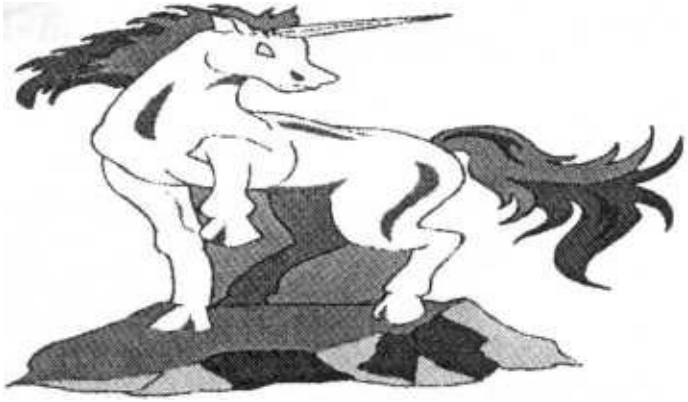
"The androgynous unicorn has been merely a foreshadowing of the uni-sex mentality exhibited in modern art and music, as well as in the general acceptance of the homosexual and lesbian lifestyles.

"But more than this, the unicorn is considered by New Agers as the symbol of innocence and gentleness personified in the conquering child Horus. This Egyptian solar hero is said to conquer through gentility.

"According to New Age teaching, the world is about to enter into the second

Golden Age, which should begin about the year 2000. The Golden Age—or New Age—is also known as the Age of Aquarius and the Eon of Horus, an era of peace and brotherly love.

“Thus we see that the unicorn is, in reality, the symbol of a future conqueror who will bring peace to the earth. Who is this but the anti-Christ (the little horn that rises in the midst of the ten horns in Daniels (sic) vision [Daniel 7:8-A.J.D.]) for whom the world waits, unaware of his true nature?...



“How many Christians will yield to the unicorn’s beauty when it rears its head to pierce the last vestiges of God’s order?"

This is a good question, especially since we are told:

“In China, the Unicom or Ki-Lin is said to appear intermittently on Earth and **his appearance signifies the dawning of a new age** of harmony and enlightenment. One appeared, it is said, at the birth of Confucius in 551 BC.”

“In both European and Oriental traditions, the **Unicorn is identified with a Messiah** who comes when the world is in danger, and **who heralds the coming of a new and better age.** As the alchemical symbol for the element Earth, he represents Earth consciousness and a reawakening of natural values.”

Symbol for Earth

Anyone who knows Bible prophecy can readily recognize that this "Messiah" is none other than the Antichrist.

The horn growing out of the unicorn's head represents the third eye or the all-seeing eye, which is covered elsewhere in this book.

In *The Seeker's Handbook*, under "Unicom," we find:

"In Celtic mythology and European folklore, a fabulous beast in the form of a horse, with a single spiraling horn growing from the center of its brow. In alchemy, a symbol of the complete mastery of **phallic sexuality** by ritual (nonorgasmic) intercourse, and its conversion into the forces of pure VISUALIZATION."

In *The Lore of the Unicorn* we are told that the **unicorn was used as a talisman or a charm.**

Several pagan and witchcraft groups have taken the name "Unicom" for their organization or newsletter. Some of these names are: Unicom Astrological Services, The Unicom Coven, *The Unicorn Speaks*, *The Unicom Newsletter*, *The Quill and Unicorn*, *Magical Unicorn Messenger*, and *The Littlest Unicorn*.

It is also interesting to note that the Rothschilds have a unicorn on their coat-of-arms.

12.

WINGED SYMBOLS

The idea of wings is very important in mythology. In *A Dictionary of Symbols* we find:

"Wings In the more general sense, wings symbolize spirituality, imagination, thought. The Greeks portrayed love and victory as winged figures, and some deities, such as Athena, Artemis and Aphrodite were at first—though not later—also depicted with wings....In alchemy, wings are always associated with the higher, active, male principle; animals without wings are related to the passive female principle."

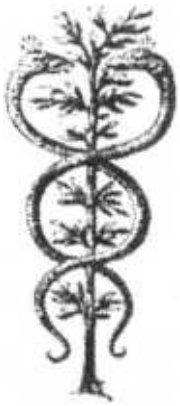
Mercury is one god who has a number of wings on his being. He has the caduceus (with winged snakes) and his hat and sandals also have wings. The winged hat (called a petasus) and winged sandals symbolize Hermes' swiftness. In fact, he is called the "flying man."

In Roman mythology Mercury:

"was the god of commerce and travel, and the patron of thieves, gamblers, and ambassadors. The Greeks called him Hermes or Cyllenius, because he was born on Mount Cyllene, in Arcadia. He was the son of Jupiter (Zeus) and Maia, a daughter of Atlas. Pan, the god of shepherds, was the son of Mercury."

Apollo gave him:

"a magic wand called the *caduceus.* Mercury used this to guide the souls of the dead to the Lower World. He also could control the living and the dead with it, or turn anything to gold." [Emphasis in the original]



In one book on mythology, you will find Mercury "seated naked on a rock...." A book on witchcraft informs us that **Mercury was the "inventor of incantations** [and] was wont to be **invoked in the rites of magicians...."** Mercury was also one of the names of gods invoked in Roman **Necromancy.** Necromancy is sorcery or communication with the dead. Other books mention that Mercury **was** "the conductor of the dead to Hades [hell]." Masonic author, Albert Pike, of course, claims that Mercury is the "Guardian and Guide of Souls." Do you want a god that is conjured up by magicians and is the conductor of the dead to hell to be the "Guardian and Guide" of **YOUR** soul?

This god is portrayed in Masonry and the Eastern Star—but in a different guise. In the Eastern Star, the "Star in the East," the inverted/Satanic pentagram, is a depiction of Mercury. In Masonry, the Orator is a representation of Mercury. Albert Pike states:

"Of HERMES, the Mercury of the Greeks, the Thoth of the Egyptians, and the Taaut of the Phoenicians, we have therefore spoken sufficiently at length. He was the inventor of letters and of Oratory, the winged messenger of the Gods, bearing the Caduceus wreathed with serpents; and **IN OUR COUNCIL HE IS REPRESENTED BY THE ORATOR."**

Are you beginning to get a picture of the god that is being portrayed in Masonry

and the Eastern Star? Their god has magical powers. He is the god of the underworld (hell) and the patron of thieves and gamblers. Note also that Mercury's son is Pan.

The caduceus (or magic wand) that Mercury carries "consists of three elements: a rod, a pair of wings and two intertwined serpents. The rod is emblematic of power and authority. In the hands of primitive man, the largest club and the power to wield it were mighty persuaders as to just who was the leader of the tribe." The caduceus "was reported to have the power of producing sleep. Milton refers to it as the opiate rod."

In *A Dictionary of Symbols* we find:

"For the Romans, the caduceus served as a symbol of moral equilibrium and of good conduct. The wand represents power; the two snakes wisdom; the wings diligence; and the helmet is the emblem of lofty thoughts....According to esoteric Buddhism, the wand of the caduceus corresponds to the axis of the world and the serpents refer to the force called **Kundalini,** which, in Tantrist teaching, sleeps coiled up at the base of the backbone—a symbol of the evolutive power of pure energy. Schneider maintains that the two S-shapes of the serpents correspond to illness and convalescence.

In reality, what defines the essence of the caduceus is the nature and meaning not so much of its individual elements as of the composite whole. The precisely symmetrical and bilateral arrangement, as in the balance of Libra, or in the triunity of heraldry (a shield between two supporters), is always expressive

of the same idea of active equilibrium, of opposing forces balancing one another in such a way as to create a higher, static form. In the caduceus, this balanced duality is twice stated: in the serpents and in the wings, thereby emphasizing that supreme state of strength and self-control (and consequently of health) which can be achieved both on the lower plane of the instincts (symbolized by the serpents) and on the higher level of the spirit (represented by the wings)."

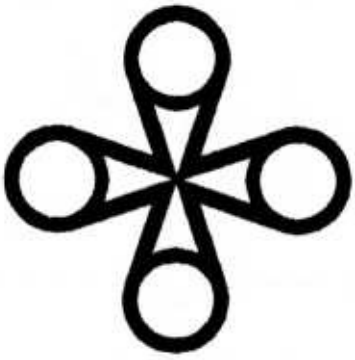
Pike explains the caduceus like this:

"It was originally a simple Cross, symbolizing the equator and equincoctial Colure, and the **FOUR ELEMENTS** proceeding from a common centre. This Cross, surmounted by a circle, and that by a crescent, became an emblem of the Supreme Deity—or of the active power of **GENERATION** and the passive power of **PRODUCTION** conjoined,—and was appropriated to Thoth or Mercury. It then assumed an improved form, the arms of the Cross being changed into wings, and the circle and crescent being formed by two snakes, springing from the wand, forming a circle by crossing each other, and their heads making the horns of the crescent; in which form it is seen in the hands of Anubis."

The caduceus, says Pike, additionally symbolizes the four elements. Of course, the four elements figure prominently in witchcraft. One witch writes:

"In casting a magic circle we first purify the space we will use with the four

elements of earth, air, fire, and water. We walk around the area that will become the magic circle carrying a bowl of salt and water (for earth and water) and an incense burner (for fire and air). As we walk the path of the circle we say, 'By water and earth, by fire and air, by Spirit, be this circle bound and purified as we desire. So mote it be.'"



Four Elements Symbol

Did you notice that the caduceus "became an emblem of the Supreme Deity" and that it represented "the active power of generation and the passive power of production conjoined"? In other words, this emblem is a veiled symbol for the sex act and it is this symbol that represents the Supreme Deity of the Masons (and, by extension, the Eastern Stars as well)! Eliphas Levi, the **OCCULTIST** whom Albert Pike plagiarized in *Morals and Dogma* (which we are told by Masonic author Lucien V. Rule "is the greatest single work on Masonic philosophy ever given to the world"), also mentions that the god Mercury was assigned "to the parts of **GENERATION."**

Blavatsky remarks:

"That the Serpents were ever the emblems of wisdom and prudence is again shown by the caduceus of Mercury....The two serpents, entwined around the rod, are **phallic** symbols of Jupiter and other gods who transformed themselves into snakes for purposes of **seducing** goddesses....The **serpent has ever been the symbol of the adept,** and of his powers of immortality and divine knowledge....It shows the dual power of the Secret Wisdom: the **BLACK AND THE WHITE MAGIC."**

Of course, one Masonic symbol after another has this sexual connotation, but in spite of the sexual innuendoes, Past Master Albert L. Woody, Grand Lecturer in Illinois, tells us:

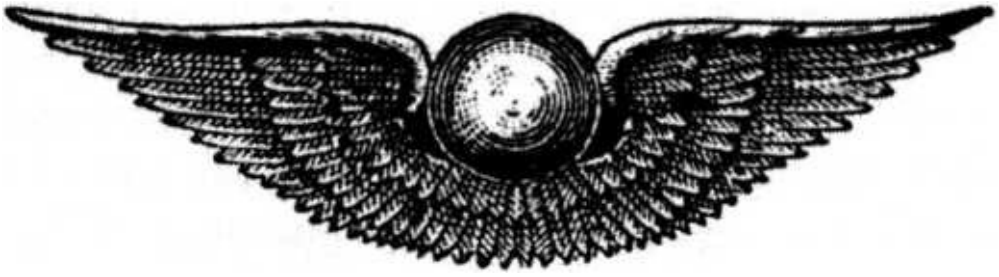
"As late as 1812, in Pennsylvania, the Deacons in procession carried columns—the **SAME** columns which now rest on the Wardens' pedestals. Deacons first carried blue rods tipped with gold, symbolizing friendship and benevolence; later these were tipped with a **PINE CONE in IMITATION OF THE CADUCEUS** of Mercury, the messenger of the gods."

One Masonic book, after explaining about the caduceus, brags: The rod of the Master of Ceremonies is an analogue [equivalent or parallel]." Another Masonic book claims that "Mercurius Caducifer [Mercury], the bearer of the herald's staff, finds his analogue in a Mason's Lodge, in the Senior Deacon, who accompanies the initiate throughout the ceremonies, and assists at his restoration, although himself unable to restore life."

The caduceus is also a symbol for immortality. Of course, Mercury is not the only god who carries a caduceus. Pike indicates that it was also borne "by Cybele, Minerva, Anubis, Hercules Ogmius the God of the Celts, and the personified Constellation Virgo, was a winged wand, entwined by two serpents."

The Migration of Symbols reveals that the caduceus "has alternately been considered to be **an equivalent** of the Thunderbolt, a form of the Sacred Tree, a contraction of the Scarab, a combination of the solar Globe and the Crescent of the moon, and so forth."

Another symbol using wings is the called the winged globe (or solar globe). Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, an occultist and New Ager, says the **"'winged globe' is but another form of the** egg, and has the **same significance as the scarabaeus [scarab]**...which relates to the rebirth of man, as well as to his spiritual generation." The Egyptians used this symbol to represent their creator and this symbol was so prevalent in Egypt that it was known as "the land of the winged globe." Pike relates: "In Egypt, a Sun supported by two asps was the emblem of *Horhat* the good genius; and the serpent with the winged globe was placed over the doors and windows of the Temples as a tutelary God." [Emphasis in the original] *The New Age Magazine*, a Masonic journal, notes: "The winged globe and serpent symbolized their [the Egyptians'] triune deity."



George Oliver, in his Masonic book, *Signs and Symbols*, says:

"Egypt was the great conservator of ancient idolatry.... Cneph was the Serpent-

god of this people; he was the second person of the sacred Triad, and said to be the Creator of the world. He was usually represented by a hooded snake, sometimes called Basiliscus, or the Royal Serpent....Did he [the worshipper] meditate on the mysterious Tri-Une deity, Eicton-Cneph-Phtha, he was presented to the worshipper's recollection by the figure of a Globe and a Winged Serpent; the Globe symbolized the Supreme and eternal God; the Serpent, the animating principle; and the Wings, the hovering Spirit of God, which moved on the face of the waters at the creation of the world."

Pike remarks:

"Serpents encircling rings and globes, and issuing from globes, are common in the Persian, Egyptian, Chinese, and Indian monuments. Vishnu is represented reposing on a coiled serpent, whose folds form a canopy over him. Mahadeva is represented with a snake around his neck, one around his hair, and armlets of serpents on both arms. Bhairava sits on the coils of a serpent, whose head rises above his own. Parvati has snakes around her neck and waist. Vishnu is the Preserving Spirit, Mahadeva is Siva, the Evil Principle, Bhairava is his son, and Parvati his consort.

Masonic columns

The King of Evil Demons was called in Hindu Mythology, *Naga*, the King of Serpents, in which name we trace the Hebrew *Nachash*, serpent." [Emphasis in the original]

The winged globe, says H. G. Wells, is "to become the symbol of the New World Order when it overtly rules the world."

The Rosicrucians also lay claim to this symbol. R. Swinburne Clymer said that "the Winged Globe is primarily a Rosicrucian symbol." He adds: "The Winged Globe is the symbol of the perfected soul making its flight back to the source of its creation in the Elysian fields beyond."

Another name for the winged globe is Lynx. This is the "living winged globe of Chaldean magic tradition, symbolizing the universal spirit."

The rock music group, Journey, also used the winged globe in at least three of their album designs. Eric Barger notes that the winged globe "signifies a **DEMON DEITY** and the omnipresence of the sun god Ra."

Winged Ra

One symbol that incorporates the winged globe into its symbolism is the figure of Azoth. In *Ancient Operative Masonry* we are told that "Azoth" is **OCCULT** language for the fifth element. Pike explains this symbol:

"Upon it you see a Triangle upon a Square, both of these contained in a circle;

and above this, standing upon a dragon, a human body, with two arms only, but two heads, one male and the other female. By the side of the male head is the Sun, and by that of the female head, the Moon, the crescent within the circle of the full moon. And the hand on the *male* side holds a *Compass*, and that on the *female* side, a *Square*...

"The Hermaphroditic figure is the Symbol of the double nature anciently assigned to the Deity, as Generator and Producer, as BRAHM and MAYA among the Aryans, Osiris and Isis among the Egyptians. As the Sun was male, so the Moon was female; and Isis was both sister and the wife of Osiris. The Compass, therefore, is the Hermetic Symbol of the Creative Deity, and the Square of the productive Earth or Universe....

"The COMPASS, therefore, as the Symbol of the *Heavens*, represents the spiritual, intellectual, and moral Portion of this double nature of Humanity; and the SQUARE, as the Symbol of the *Earth*, its material, sensual, and

baser Portion." [Emphasis in the original]

Masonic writer, John Yarker, adds: “The symbolism here clearly alludes to the dual sexual nature of all metals.” Yet another Mason, John Sebastian Marlow Ward, relates:

“The figure with the two heads probably represents Man natural and Man regenerate, surrounded by the seven planets and trampling with his left foot on the dragon which crouches over the winged globe. The fact that the figure bears in its hands the square and compasses, suggests some inter-relationship between these philosophers and the Masonic Guilds, while the emphatic way in which the left foot is planted first proves that to them this mantric sign had a very definite inner meaning. Possibly the dragon who is thus being attacked symbolises exoteric religion and the popular **ideas of right and wrong,** which the alchemists thought **should be overthrown** so that the light of the sun and of the planets could once more shine on the world shrouded in darkness.”

It’s no surprise, then, to discover that the winged globe, a symbol of immortality, is also used in one of the Masonic degrees. Here’s what takes place in the 31 st Degree pageantry according to Masonic author, Rex R. Hutchens:

“The Hall of Justice. The Egyptians believed that aspects of a man’s *ka,* or double, could be seen in the material world. Such was the explanation given for a man’s shadow or his reflection in a mirror. These physical manifestations of the *ka* were, to them, evidence of its existence. They believed that the *ka* accompanied the body to the Abode of the Dead to be there judged and to answer for both virtues and vices of life.

“In the land of Chemi, there lived an architect whose name was Cheres, the character assumed by the candidate. When he passed away, his *ka* descended with his body to the Abode of the Dead for judgment. We now follow him on his journey and enter the Court of the Dead to see what this man’s end will be.

“In the East is a transparency of a winged globe with two serpents. In the center of the Hall is a large balance. In one pan is a vase, heart shaped, and in the other is a figure of *Ma,* goddess of truth and justice. The heart shaped vase represents the deeds of the soul when it dwelt within the body. West of the balance is a funeral bier with a representation of a corpse upon it, swathed like a

mummy with a skull cap and the seed vessel of a lotus plant near the head. Near each comer of the Hall is a small table upon which is a censer for burning perfume. For the Egyptians this was the Hall of Two Truths, the meaning of which will soon be explained.

“The Egyptian deities present in the hall are:

1. Osiris: the Lord and Judge of the dead

2. Atum: called the ‘Father of Souls’

3. Ma: goddess of Truth and Justice whose image weighs upon one side of the balance

4. Thoth: Scribe of the gods

5. Anubis: Conductor of Souls; son of Osiris by his sister Nephthys

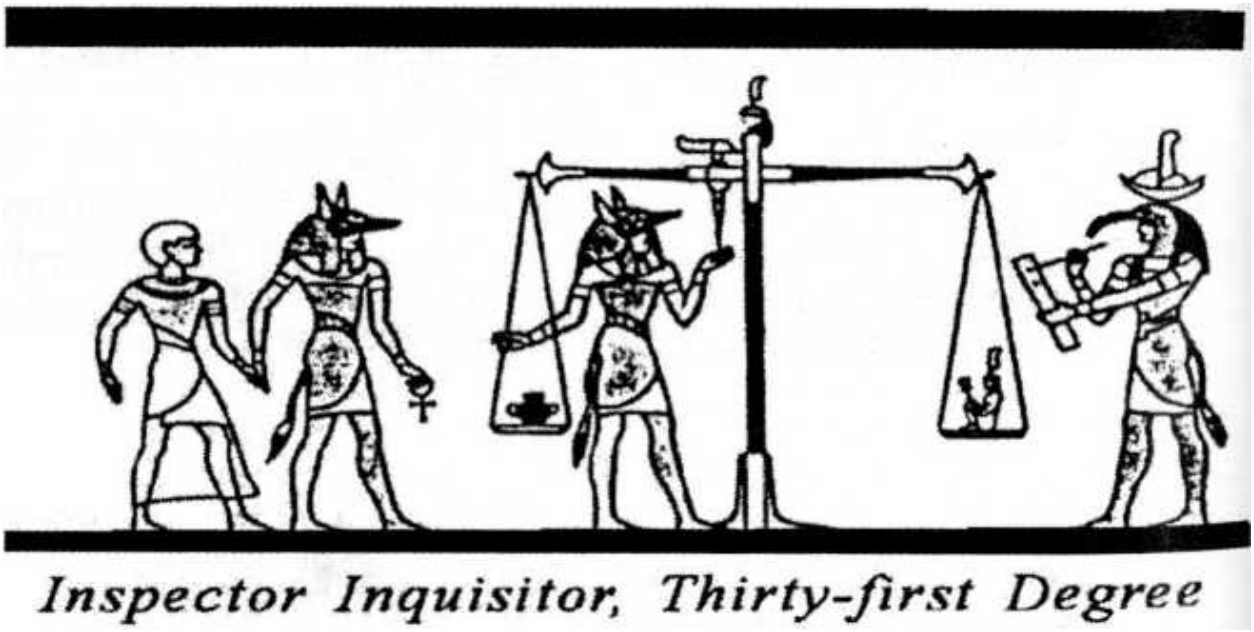
6. Horus: son of Osiris, who presents the deceased to his father

7. Isis: wife and sister of Osiris, mother of Horus

8. Nephthys: sister of Isis and Osiris, mother of Anubis by Osiris

9. Four sons of Horus—Kebhsenuf, Tau-mutef, Hapi and Amset

"The candidate is brought into the Court of the Dead to be judged for actions while living and to determine if he deserves to dwell among the gods. His escort is Horus. Isis, Horus' mother, speaks first, inquiring whose *ka* has come to be judged." [Emphasis in the original]



Inspector Inquisitor, Thirty-first Degree

Once again you can observe the paganism that is so prevalent in Masonry. You can also see that the Mason is being taught that if his good deeds outweigh his bad deeds, he will "dwell among the gods." This is a teaching that is contrary to God's Word, for we can never be saved by works. II Timothy 1:9 mentions that God "hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, **NOT ACCORDING TO OUR WORKS,** but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." In Titus we are told: **"NOT BY WORKS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS** which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus 3:5).

Of course, just a few verses later we find “that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works” (Titus 3:8). We also know that many profess “that they know God; but in works they deny Him, being abominable, and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate” (Titus 1:16), but good works alone will not get us to heaven. As Paul wrote: “For **BY GRACE ARE YE SAVED THROUGH FAITH;** and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast” (Ephesians 2:8-9). However, once we are saved, we will want to obey God’s commands and work for Him out of love for God, but our works cannot save us. “Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone” (James 2:17).

Another winged symbol is the winged disk or winged solar disk. It is a symbol of the sky god and was “originally used for magic.”

“This symbol originated in ancient Egypt, where it was the quintessential symbol representing Horus, the sun god. The winged disk was used throughout the centuries to represent the supreme god of other pagan cults and societies. It was the symbol for the baal god during Jezebel’s reign, as well as the god of the Zoroastrian cult, founded by Zoroaster, the Persian religious prophet....”

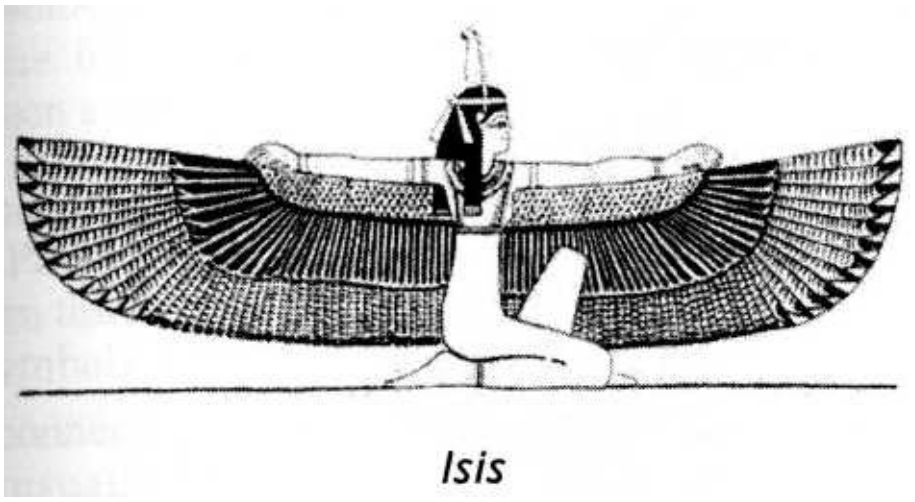
A Dictionary of Symbols further informs us:

“Disk An emblem of the sun and also of the heavens. In China, the ‘sacred disk’ is a symbol of celestial perfection, and the disk that actually represents the sky (the jade disk called *Pi)* has a hole in the centre. The ‘winged disk’ is one of the most widespread of ancient symbols, which is still in use today in signs and emblems; in the profoundest sense, it represents matter in a state of sublimination and transfiguration. The two small serpents which are often to be seen next to the disk are those of the caduceus, alluding to the equipoise of opposing forces. But in a more esoteric sense, the winged disk signifies the disk in movement—in flight; it is therefore correctly used today in emblems created by an age which has learnt how to dominate the air and space.” [Emphasis in the original]

Different gods are represented by a winged solar disk. For example, the Egyptian god Behdety usually appears in the form of a winged solar disk. “He often appears in battle scenes hovering above the Pharaoh like a great falcon with outspread wings....” Horus also is represented by a winged solar disk. In *Egyptian Mythology*, we are told:

“The sun, most important of the Egyptian deities, had many names, and the interpretations given to his functions were extremely varied. As a sun-disk he was called Aten; as the rising sun his name was Khepri, a great scarab beetle rolling before him the globe of the sun, just as on earth the scarab rolls before it a ball of dung in which it has laid its eggs and from which will burst forth life; as the sun climbed to its zenith he was called Ra, supreme god of Heliopolis; and as he set as an old man he was called Atum. He was also called Horus, and when this aspect was combined with that of Ra as Ra-Harakhte he was seen as the youthful sun of the horizon, a winged sun-disk.”

The Assyrian sun god, Shamash, was also represented by the winged sun-disk, as was Asshur, an Assyrian war god.



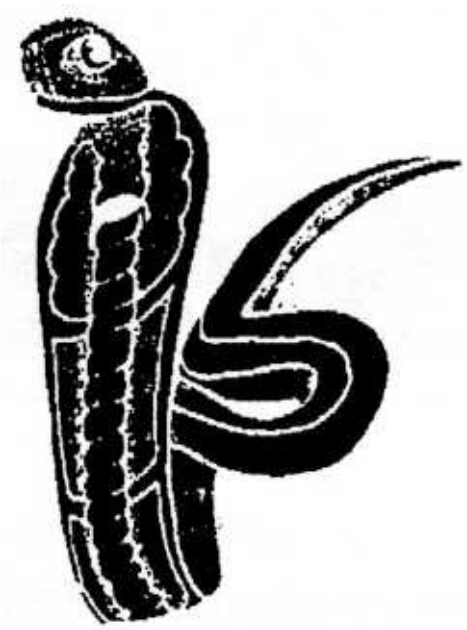
Isis

The winged solar disk also was used by Charles Taze Russell, the founder of the Jehovah Witnesses. He wanted the winged disk put on all his covers (which were later removed from the books by Joseph Rutherford). Of course, this is not surprising that Russell used a 33° Masonic symbol since he himself was a Mason.

There are also numerous creatures that are winged. Isis, an Egyptian goddess, is often portrayed with wings.

Then there's the winged serpent (or uraeus), a symbol of royalty. Quetzalcoatl, an Indian god, was portrayed as a plumed, feathered, or winged serpent. "The

serpent was a wisdom symbol, when plumed it meant that wisdom had been given wings and had become spirit-wisdom, or illumination."

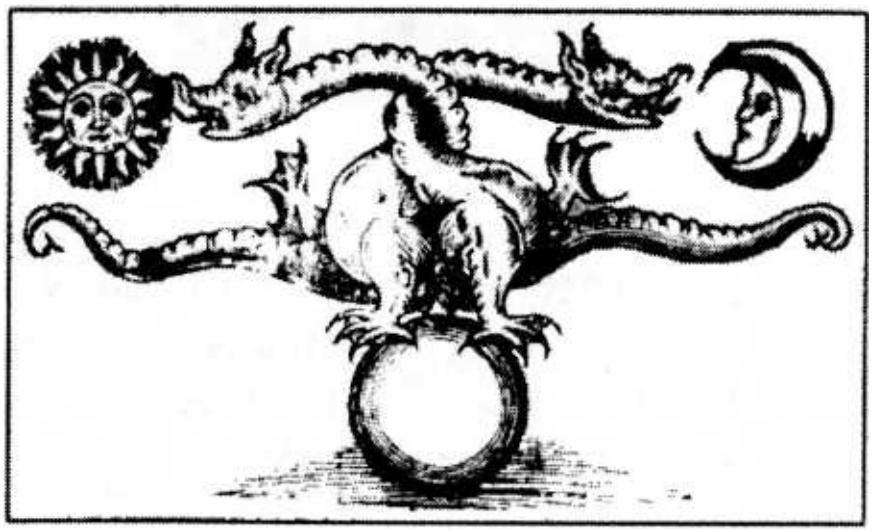


Uazit, an Egyptian goddess, is also represented by the winged serpent. Another Egyptian goddess, Buto, was symbolized by a winged cobra. She was the protector of Pharaoh. The *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology* explains:

"Buto was a snake-goddess, frequently represented in the form of a cobra, sometimes winged and sometimes crowned. She also often has the features of a woman wearing, either directly on her head or on a head-dress in the form of a vulture, the red crown of the North, of which she was the official protectress as Nekhebet was of the white crown of the South."

Closely related to the winged serpent is the winged dragon.

"The dragon has symbolic importance to many people, however each person gives a different meaning to the dragon.



To some it stands for great wisdom and immortality. To others, it is a symbol of good fortune. Still others know the dragon as a powerful, benevolent friend."

A catalog from Dancing Dragon Designs offered a "Golden Dragon Poster." The advertisement said: "A golden winged dragon rises from the roiling sea." Actually, the serpent and the dragon are really symbols for Satan.

In connection with the dragon is the wyvern. It is a creature that is usually "represented as a 2-legged winged creature resembling a dragon."

The pegasus is another winged animal that is quite popular today. It is depicted as a flying horse or a horse with wings. Phil Phillips states: "The unicorn and the winged horse (Pegasus) are common neopagan symbols. They are derived from Greek and Roman mythology, where they were generally ridden by gods and goddesses."

"In fact, *Pegasus,* owned by *Bellerophon,* was a winged steed, unwearying of flight, which swept through the air as swift as a gale of wind. It was believed by the Greeks that *Pegasus sprang from Gorgon's blood after Perseus, another mythological character, killed her. Pegasus* received its powers to fly when fitted with a golden bridle. After the death of his master, which *Pegasus* deliberately caused, *Pegasus* went to live in *Zeus's,* god of thunder and lightning, stables. It was *Pegasus's* job to bring the lightning bolts and thunder to *Zeus* whenever he needed them." [Emphasis in the original]

One researcher explains:

“The *pegasus*, or winged horse, originated in Greek mythology as the symbol of the Pegae, a water-priestess.

The pegasus was said to be the son of the Moon Goddess Medusa. His hoof was shaped like a *crescent moon*, which today is yet another New Age and occult symbol. The pegasus is depicted today in the kids’ cartoon series ‘SheRa,’ and crystal pegasus horses are common as amulets and decorative pieces in the homes of New Agers.”

For clarification, one account mentions Gorgon and the other report refers to Medusa. There is no contradiction here. There were three Gorgons who were sisters, one of whom was Medusa. Poseidon seduced Medusa in the temple of Athene. She became angry over this and “turned Medusa’s hair into snakes. When Perseus decapitated Medusa, the blood which escaped from the wound gave birth to Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus.”

Cronus is another god that is sometimes represented as winged. Cronus, Horus, and Saturn are all considered to be a "god of time." Cronus (also spelled Kronus, Chronus, Chronos, Cronos, and Kronos), from which we get our word "chronology," was the Greek name and Saturn was the Roman name of the same god. Masonic writer, J. S. M. Ward, in his book *Freemasonry and the Ancient Gods*, tells us that Saturn "is the Satan, the *Tempter*, or rather Tester." [Emphasis in the original] Eliphas Levi claims:

"Works of malediction and death" were "under the care of Saturn." It's no wonder, then, that Saturn is called the "Lord of Death." In fact, human sacrifices were even offered to him.

Masonic writer, Robert Macoy, reveals that some men believed:

“that Baal was the Saturn of Greece and Rome; and there was a great conformity between the rites and sacrifices offered to Saturn and what the Scriptures relate of the sacrifices offered to Baal.”

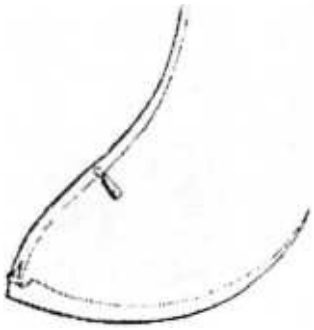
Blavatsky also confirms that **SATURN IS BEL OR BAAL.** The Bible condemned Baal worship on numerous occasions. Whenever the Israelites forsook the true God, they turned their worship to false gods, usually Baal. They went so far as to even burn their children as sacrifices to Baal: “They have built also the high places of Baal, to bum their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into My mind” (Jeremiah 19:5). Some other verses that deal with the abomination of Baal worship are: Judges 2:11, 13; 3:7; 8:33; 10:6,10; I Samuel 7:4; 12:10; I Kings 18:18; 22:53; II Kings 17:16; 21:2-3; II Chronicles 17:3; 24:7; 28:2; 33:3; Jeremiah 11:13, 17; 23:13; 32:29, and 35.

Additionally, **SATURN WAS** known as the god **SET.** Remember Set, the “Egyptian god of evil,” which we covered earlier?

In ancient mythology a festival was held in honor of Saturn which was called the Saturnalia. “[T]emple **PROSTITUTION AND SEXUAL LICENSE**...was most

prolific during the Roman Saturnalia." This festival was also to celebrate the winter solstice, which is still commemorated in witchcraft and Masonry today.

Saturn “is represented as an old man bent with age, carrying a scythe in his right hand.” We find that “the scythe is also symbolic of the harvest—of renewed hopes for rebirth” or **REINCARNATION.** The scythe is also a symbol of time.



“Time is [r]epresented by winged old man, with scythe and hourglass, disentangling ringlets of weeping virgin.” Sometimes the hourglass is even drawn with wings.

You have probably encountered Cronus on the TV and elsewhere without even realizing what was being depicted. Cronus (or Saturn) is most likely to be encountered at the end of a year or at the beginning of the new year. Cronus is the old man that is leaving the old year behind and the baby crawling (or bringing in the new year) is the rebirth of the god.

Incidentally, Saturn is also represented by a goat's head! Does that remind you of the Goat of Mendes in the inverted pentagram which we covered earlier? It should!

Another holiday that uses a winged god as a symbol is Valentine's Day. In a *Short Dictionary of Mythology* we find:

"Cupido [Cupid], god of love, son of Jupiter and Venus, is depicted as a **NAKED,** winged infant, armed with bow and arrows. On ornaments he is generally represented amusing himself in some childish diversion. He could, in common with the rest of the gods, assume different forms. In the Aeneid he is represented as putting on the form of Ascanius, at the request of his mother, and going to Dido's court where he inspired the queen with love."

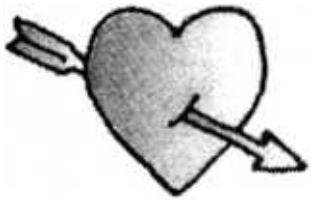
Another name for Cupid is Eros.

“Eros was the youngest of the gods; he was a winged child, gracious though rebellious, whose pranks and caprices caused much suffering among men and gods. He was armed with a bow and arrows whose prick stirred the fires of passion in all hearts. In his malice he respected not even his own mother, and Aphrodite sometimes had to punish him by taking away his wings and quiver. Normally, however, he was her zealous servant. He helped with her toilet and accompanied her abroad.”

“Cupid is often portrayed shooting arrows into the hearts of hapless victims. Usually naked, winged and armed with a bow and arrow, cupids are still portrayed in modern times on Valentine cards, in theater decor and the like.”

As just mentioned, Cupid (Eros) was the son of Venus (Aphrodite). From Eros

we get the word “erotic” and Venus was also considered to be the Roman goddess of erotic love. In fact, the word “venereal disease” was derived from the name “Venus.” Also, the bow and arrow that Cupid carries has a sexual connotation. In *A Dictionary of Symbols* we are told that the bow and arrow “stand for the sun’s energy, its rays and its **fertilizing** and purifying powers. The symbolism of the crossbow is similar, but more complex, including, as it does, the **‘conjunction’** of the bow and its stock.”



Cupid is not some adorable, little, mischievous god who makes couples fall in love. He is a god (really a demon) of vulgarity and indecency—but he is presented in a cute way with such an innocent-looking disguise. Our society is so inundated and saturated with paganism. It has become so common place that we don’t even notice it any more. We just accept it as part of life not realizing how we must be offending God by using and propagating pagan symbolism and idolizing debauched, perverted, and evil pagan gods and goddesses.

“But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy” (James 3:17).

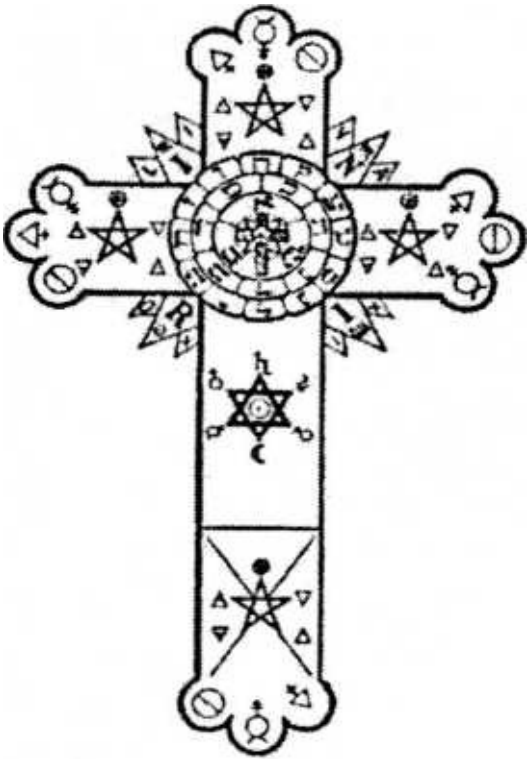
Two mythological creatures that are winged are the sphinx and the griffin.

Below are some more winged items that appear in Masonry the occult, *etc.* Notice the snake biting its tail on two of these pictures.

13.

ORGANIZATIONAL LOGOS

Many organizations use occultic symbols in their logos. Some of these symbols may be used innocently by some groups but many other groups know the exact meaning behind the symbols they have chosen. In fact, certain organizations even proudly tell you about the logo they've chosen. For instance, the Rosicrucian group called the Ancient and Mystical Order of the Rosae Crucis (AMORC) gives a very detailed explanation about the Hermetic Rose Cross. They state (in part):



"The intricate symbol above is called the alchemical and hermetic Rose Cross, and is a very old **MYSTICAL** symbol. It is composed of two Rosy crosses united into one: the small Rosy cross at the center—representative of man, the microcosm—is in turn, the center point of a larger rose residing at the heart of the large cross—symbolic of the macrocosm. Upon the four ends of the large cross are inscribed the three **ALCHEMICAL** symbols: mercury,

sulphur, and salt. At the top of the cross, mercury is placed in the center, sulphur on the left, and salt on the right. Upon the other ends of the cross the symbols have been inscribed in such an order as to conform to the **ESOTERIC** tradition.

“Also upon each arm, adjacent to the alchemical symbols, is the symbol of the PENTAGRAM. This five-pointed figure is a symbolic representation of the Rosy Cross itself: the victory of the quintessence over the four alchemical elements. The wheel at the top of each pentagram represents the quintessence....

“On the lower arm of the figure, below the large rose is a **HEXAGRAM**—symbol of the macrocosm—composed of two interlaced triangles. At its points are inscribed the six planets, according to the ancient **ASTROLOGICAL** tradition: at the bottom is the moon, at its right is Venus, followed in turn by Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, and Mercury. At the center of the hexagram is the **SUN.**

The order of arrangement of these symbols conforms to certain **CABALISTIC RITUALS.**

“The lower end of the longest arm is divided into four sections by two diagonal lines. These sections are colored according to the four colors of Malkuth of the Cabalistic ‘Tree of Life.’ The four sets of three rays which extend outward from the center of the large cross symbolize the Divine light. The letters inscribed upon each large center-ray combine into INRI, which combination, according to the Rosicrucian historian Fr. Wittemans, represents a Latin motto meaning ‘Nature is renewed by fire.’ The letters upon the smaller rays represent **INVOCATIVE** names of Latin, Egyptian, and Greek origin.

“The petals of the large rose on the cross are twenty-two in number, and stand for the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Cabalistic alphabet. The outer circle of twelve petals represents the twelve single letters of this alphabet, and in particular the twelve signs of the **Zodiac.** The next circle of seven petals symbolizes the seven double letters—in particular the seven **ASTROLOGICAL** planets. The innermost circle of three petals represents the three Mother-letters —air, fire, and water.

“At the center of the large rose is the microcosmic rose cross, an unfolded **CUBE** with a five-petaled rose at its center. Four barbs emerge from behind this cross, pointing into the four directions in space.

“The complete symbol or ‘Encyclopedic’ Rose Cross symbolizes all the majesty,

power, beauty, and protection of the Rosicrucian Order."

The above description is just filled with **OCCULTIC** connotations. It is far too extensive to mention here but I want to point out three things. First of all, the word "alchemy" was mentioned. According to the book, *Power of the Witch,* written by a witch, Laurie Cabot, we discover:

"Witches are called many things—shamans, sages, medicine people, **ALCHEMISTS,** mystics, psychics. But no matter what the appellation, these **magical** people share a common bond: a unique relationship with nature, with divinity, and with human society."

Cabot states elsewhere:

"The Science Tradition [Witchcraft] is based on the Hermetic principles that parallel the principles of the new physics. They have their origins in the teachings of Hermes, known to the Egyptians as Thoth, and to the Romans as Mercury....Actually **HERMES** seems to have been a universal Indo-European god who **TAUGHT ASTROLOGY, ALCHEMY, AND THE MANY MAGICAL PRACTICES THAT ARE AT THE HEART OF WITCHCRAFT.** He seems to have taught the universal truths everywhere, for he even pops up among Native Americans as the trickster gods Raven, Coyote, and Hare."

We can easily see that **witchcraft uses alchemy.** Of course, alchemy is also important in Masonry. For example, in the 21st degree of Masonry, the initiates are told the following:

"The Hermetic philosophers may also be called speculative alchemists. The name 'Hermetic' comes from a tradition that the founder of alchemy was an Egyptian (Thoth) whom the Greeks called Hermes Trismegistus or Hermes the Thrice Great, identifying him with their Hermes, the Roman Mercury.

"The tradition of alchemy is best understood by separating its practitioners into two groups: the first group, who we may term 'operative alchemists,' truly believed the transmutation of metals was possible. Their goal was to transform base metals, such as lead or copper, into silver or gold thereby creating wealth. The second group, the 'speculative alchemists,' were mystics who declared

that alchemy was not the science of making gold but a **SPIRITUAL SCIENCE OF REGENERATION AND A SACRED ART DEVOTED TO INTERPRETING THE MYSTERIES OF GOD** and life. When we speak of **alchemy in Masonry** our reference is to the second group."

Remember Hermes, Mercury, and Thoth which we covered earlier? These are synonyms for Satan says occultist Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

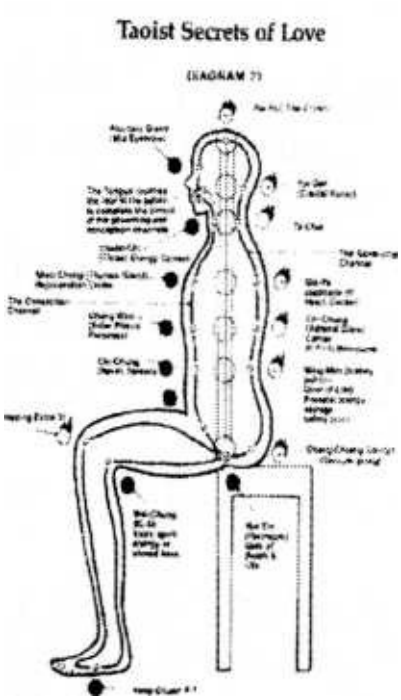
The Masonic book, *A Bridge to Light*, declares: "The 28th Degree is purely philosophical and the most mystical of all. The tenets of **NUMEROLOGY, ASTROLOGY AND ALCHEMY ARE EXPLAINED."**

Mysteries of Mind, Space and Time states:

"It was natural to suppose that, if a **MAN COULD MAKE HIMSELF TRULY GOD-LIKE,** he would gain the power to transform baser metals into gold, by exactly the same processes that they underwent in the Earth. This belief was expressed on the Emerald Tablet, a record said to have been inscribed by the god Thoth, who was supposed to have taught the ancient Egyptians the sciences and the art of writing. (The Greeks identified Thoth with one form of their god Hermes—Hermes Trismegistos, the 'thrice-great.' Hence the term 'hermetic art' for alchemy.)

"All these various strands came together: the primitive belief that the search for a way to transmute base metals into gold involved a succession of god-like actions developed into the belief that an **IMPORTANT PART OF ALCHEMY WAS THE ATTEMPT TO BECOME LIKE GOD—**'as above, so below.' From this, no doubt, stems the conviction that the **FINAL RESULT OF THE ALCHEMICAL QUEST WAS TO ACHIEVE ETERNAL LIFE....**

"At the lower levels of Taoist practice, the mixing of *yin* and *yang* could be achieved by controlled sexual intercourse; the more advanced mystics practised various meditative procedures, designed to bring about a kind of 'distillation' of *yang* within the body. These practices were commonly known as 'sexual alchemy.'" [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]



In *Dictionary of Mysticism* it is explained that "Hermetic" is now "used to mean **OCCULT** or **esoteric** in general....Used also as a noun meaning a student or practitioner of **alchemy** or **OCCULTISM** or **esoteric** science."

Yet another book, *A Pictorial History of Magic and the Supernatural* remarks: "The Greeks believed Hermes Trismegistus to be the initiator of **OCCULT PHILOSOPHY, OF MAGIC.** In fact, this was really a composite personage, half Hermes, half the Egyptian god Thoth."

Occultist and psychologist, Call Jung, adds: "Alchemy, on the other hand, exalted the most heinous transgression of the law, namely incest, into a symbol of the union of opposites, hoping in this way to bring back the golden age."

I think it is quite interesting that in *The Occult* we find: "It is worth bearing in mind that the psychologist Jung, who considered "the discovery of alchemy as one of the greatest intellectual adventures of his life," regarded **ALCHEMY AS THE PREDECESSOR OF MODERN *PSYCHOLOGY..."*** [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]

Other names for alchemy (besides hermetic art) are spagyric art and wai tan.

Let's return to the explanation of the AMORC's logo for the second point.

Notice that “quintessence” was mentioned twice. Mason, occultist, and the artist of the Baphomet drawing, Eliphas Levi, comments: “The guiding star is that same blazing star which is a symbol in all initiations. For alchemists it is the sign of the **QUINTESSENCE,** for magicians the great arcanum, for Kabbalists the sacred **PENTAGRAM.”**

Third, the Cabala was mentioned. Briefly, the Cabala:

“assumes the magical power of words, signs, and numbers, and the possibility through the knowledge of this power to foresee and influence future events. It recognized the power of **amulets, magic formulae, conjurations of spirits** and other supernatural agencies.”

In an article entitled “Jung and the Qabalah,” we are told:

“The Qabalah is one of the most ancient Western philosophical systems. **IT FORMS MUCH OF THE** *INNER* **FOUNDATIONS UPON WHICH ASTROLOGY, TAROT, ALCHEMY, NUMEROLOGY, MYTHOLOGY AND CEREMONIAL MAGIC ARE BASED.”**

The book, *Magical Arts,* claims: “Like most of the occult systems within the European tradition of high magic, the **CABALA INCLUDED SPELLS** designed to induce an unseen population of spirits to carry out the magician’s wishes.”

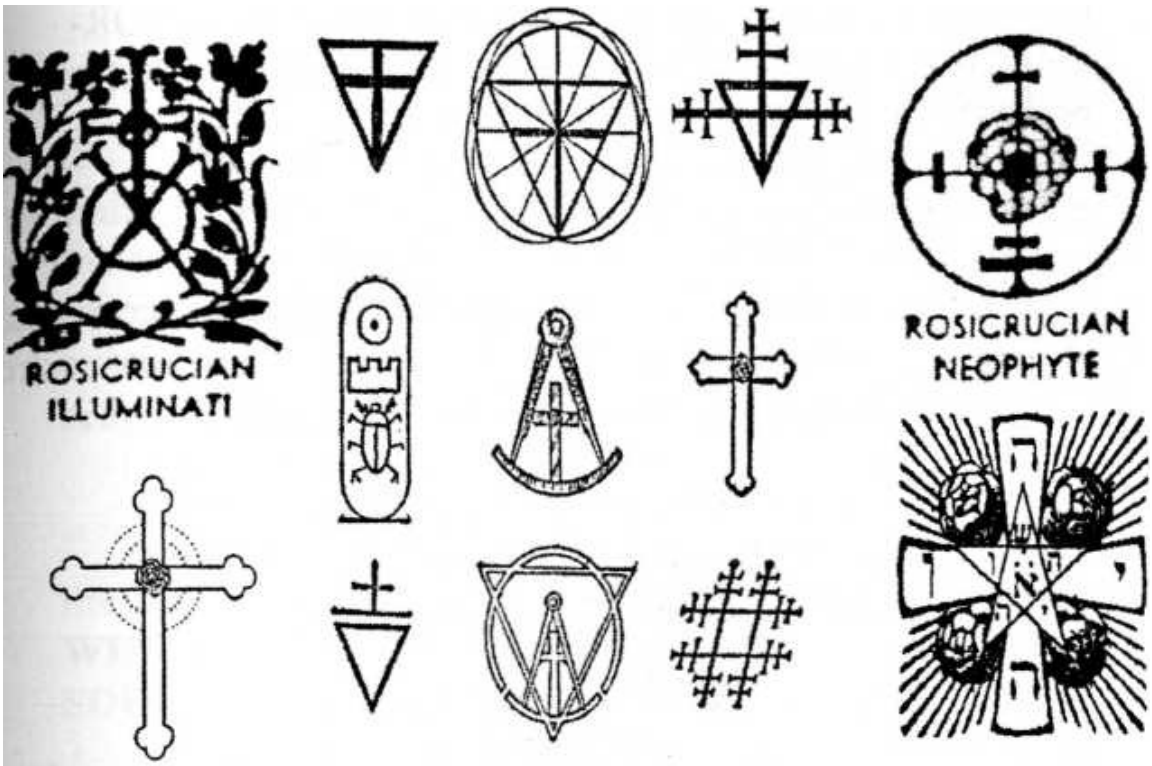
In fact, in the *Dictionary of Mysticism,* we are told that the **CABALA “IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN MOST SCHOOLS OF OCCULTISM.”**

So, now you should have a little better idea about the extensive occultism

represented in the Rosicrucian logo. We can see that the person who designed that logo knew exactly what he was doing. We can also see that the Rosicrucians were anticipating a one world order and a one world religion. Listen to what appeared in *The Rosicrucian Digest* in June 1941:

"We predict a mystical-pantheism as the religion of tomorrow.... There will not be churches, but a church.... Since the earth is a habitat of humanity, it is also the common property of all men.... The World State will provide and maintain community hospitals, sanitariums, and clinics....Physicians will be paid by the state and their entire professional services will be absorbed by the state....Every citizen will enjoy these health benefits and guarantees.... Quotas will be placed upon all professions, in each of the zones of the World-State." [Emphasis in the original]

A few other Rosicrucian symbols appear below.


ROSICRUCIAN
ILLUMINATI
ROSICRUCIAN
NEOPHYTE

VAYEHEE AUR VAYEHEE AUR
THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE ROSY CROSS.

AMORC

The Occult Emporium, which sells human bones, has an oil lamp as their logo. They explain:

"Our logo is a drawing of a fine bronze oil lamp. Nine were made for Aleister Crowley's Order of the Golden Dawn (OTO). It is pictured in the book **'WITCHES AND SORCERERS'** by Arkon Daraul, page 226. One resides in our personal collection of magical art objects."

They add that this "magic lamp" "represents earth, fire, air, water. Sign of the Heathen occultist, the solitary wanderer wise in the ways of the cosmos.... See, 'The Magic Circle; Its Successful Organization & Leadership,' by Rev. Yaj Nomolos, for more information." Nomolos is with the Church of Satan.

The Council for a Parliament of World Religions (CPWR) also describes the logo they use. The November 1993 issue of *CPWR Journal* proclaims:

"Five years ago, when Hyde Parker Larry Janiak designed the symbol of unity for the Parliament of the World's Religions, he believed that someday the people of Chicago might get to see his creation. He had no idea that his symbol would become known to people all around the world. 'I'm very happy and I hope it helps to unify the world's religions,' said the 55-year-old Janiak....

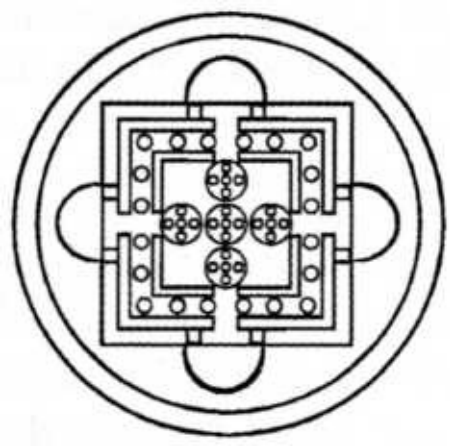
“After researching traditional religious symbols, within two weeks Janiak developed his symbol of unity. The symbol is a circular shape called the **mandala.** The mandala symbolizes completeness and unity, Janiak said.

“The design is ‘the sun in the form of the radiating shape of the iris of the eye of God,’ according to Janiak. The symbol is based on ancient poetic spiritual concepts: the all seeing eye of God; fire, flame and the sun as the source of all life on earth; the sun as the sustenance and source of life on earth; and a single candle flame, as the proverb, ‘Light one candle instead of cursing the darkness.’

“Nine individual flames surround the core, representing the different paths of the **WORLD’S RELIGIONS, WHICH ALL COME FROM THE SAME SPIRITUAL SOURCE,** according to Janiak.”

Once again we can see that the designer of this logo knew exactly what he was doing. He even said that the symbol is a **MANDALA.** However, to fully understand what Janiak had in mind, we need to find out what a mandala is. In the book, *The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet,* we are told that the **yin/yang concept forms the mandala’s basis.** This is interesting since we’ve already seen the occultic yin/yang symbolism.

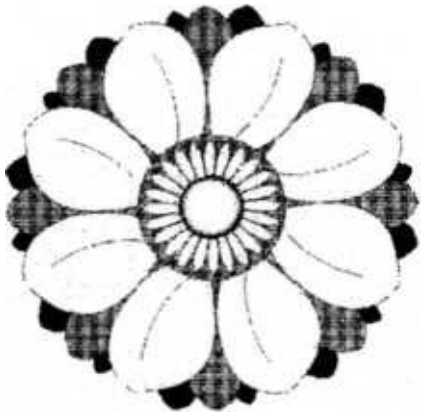
One magazine tells us: “The word *mandala* can be translated from Sanskrit as **MAGIC CIRCLE.** When we fill the circle with color, forms and symbols, it can be a **MAGICAL** experience.” [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]



A New Age organization, describing one of their workshops, states:

“Techniques of visualization, meditation and color breathing will be practiced....All these factors will be put to use as each person makes their *own* mandala....

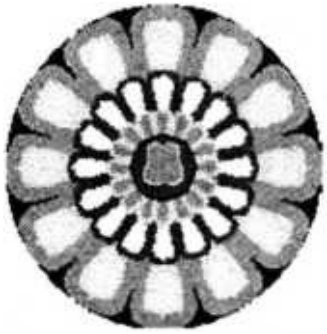
“The Sanskrit word mandala, usually a circle, is a **MYSTICAL** diagram. In Eastern Philosophy it is used as a point of focus. It is considered to be an ‘engine of power,’ believed by many to have talesmanic (sic) properties, radiating a power that projects qualities associated with it for which it was constructed, *i.e.* tranquility, healing, protection, etc.” [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]



A catalog from the Theosophical Society says:

“The word mandala originates from Sanskrit, meaning holy or magical circle. Three principles of order determine structure of a mandala: the center, the radiation that emanates from the center, and a periphery of the circle. The

center represents the **MYSTERIOUS SPIRITUAL FORCE,** birthplace of all existence within space and time. The emanation streams from the center toward the circle's periphery, uniting the inner and outer. Our road to self-realization may lead to the center of being. There, too, we may discover a peaceful centeredness and healing energy of color therapy." [Emphasis in the original]



In *A Color Guide to Yoga* we are told that the every detail in a mandala has a **SPIRITUAL** significance. This book adds: "A *mandala* is a design in which the whole pattern leads you to the center. Gazing steadily at a mandala helps to center your thoughts and to bring you to the required state of single-minded concentration." [Emphasis in the original]

Laurie Cabot proudly declares:

"On many pages [of my Book of Shadows] I have drawn small pentacles, as I do when I sign my name on letters and documents. I believe the pentacle to be one of the oldest geometric symbols known to humans. It consists of a **FIVE-POINTED STAR INSIDE A CIRCLE. IT IS THE KEY SYMBOL OF THE CRAFT. IT IS THE WITCH'S *MANDALA*,** a geometric diagram of all existence, that encompasses both creatrix and creation."

Another book explains:

"The *Mandala* is known as a 'power diagram,' having its origins in Tantric Buddhism, which is designed to alter consciousness and awaken the Kundalini energy in an individual, thereby leading to 'enlightenment' or the realisation of personal divinity." [Emphasis in the original]

So we can see that Janiak knew exactly what he was doing when he designed the logo for the Council for the Parliament of the World's Religions.

The next logo we'll look at is from *The Beacon* magazine. There is an accompanying article explaining this symbol entitled "A New Age Symbol" followed by an asterisk. The note reads: "This deeply **ESOTERIC** symbol now appears on the cover of *The Beacon."* The article was written by Foster Bailey, a 32° Mason and husband of Alice Bailey (founder of the Lucifer Publishing Company now called Lucis Trust, which was an offshoot of the Theosophical Society). Bailey elaborates:

"The symbol is set in a limitless field of blue, which signifies the sphere of life expression of our solar Logos, who is said to be a deep blue, second-ray Logos. The potency and quality of his pervading life maintains and conditions all within the solar system including the life and destiny of our planetary Logos, Sanat Kumara. It is the most powerful factor which we are able to touch mentally.

"The golden disc, against which the triangle and the star appear, symbolises the all inclusive background of our life on this planet. Sanat Kumara may look through it....It is spoken of in that most ancient of all mantrams, the Gayatri: 'Unveil to us the face of the true spiritual Sun, hidden by a disc of golden light, that we may know the truth.'

"Behind the entire symbol, extending beyond the disc of golden light, emerges

the cosmic cross, which is found in the consciousness of the great ones on that distant Sun, Sirius....

“Some of these forces are partially available in the council chamber of Shamballa....Our symbol touches only a few of these new potencies and includes a blend of both the old age and the new....

“The triangle superimposed upon the disc is yellow, because that is the colour of buddhi. The Hierarchy functions on the buddhic plane, so-called, and the potencies of this triangle make their entry into our planetary life there.
This triangle is formed by the three great extraplanetary entities [demons!] now aiding the Plan for the planet....

“One of these three great beings is known to us as the Lord Buddha....He is the closest of the three to the Christ.

He stands at the right hand of the Christ, depicted, therefore, at the lower right hand point of the triangle.

“At the lower left hand point stands the great Entity who carries the potency of solar equilibrium, now newly available to Sanat Kumara. He is referred to by the Master Djwhal Khul as the ‘spirit of equilibrium’ and also as the ‘spirit of

peace,' the peace that passeth all understanding.'...

"At the top point of this new and unique triangle stands that Avatar of Synthesis....His permeating influence hastens the realisation by humanity that, in fact, we live in one world as one humanity with a common destiny....

"Superimposed upon the triangle of new age forces is the five pointed star of the Christ....The **old and the new MUST merge.** The problem is not to fight to kill out the old, but a wise and rightly timed **INFILTRATION** of the new into the boiling cauldron of our times.

"Our symbol, therefore, blends the two eras and rightly pictures the work of the Christ today and the forces He must wield. The point in the centre is the place where the Christ stands. It is the centre of the star, the centre of the triangle, and the centre of the disc of golden light.

"From that centre He works, and as He works the cross of the new era emerges. This is the equal-armed cross, reflecting its cosmic archetype, which will in its own right become the cross of humanity in the days to come. It symbolises the balanced life of right relation to God through aspiration, and right relation to man through service and sharing. Eventually we shall know and live by the fact that nothing actually belongs to any individual man."

The above description is filled with occultic terminology which could take a book in itself to explain. However, a few items need to be addressed briefly. One thing that must be pointed out is that when Bailey refers to "the Christ" he is not referring to Jesus Christ of the Bible. The New Agers teach that everyone is a Christ. They also believe that Lucifer was Christ. For instance, on the magazine from the Theosophical Society called *Lucifer* (edited by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Annie Besant) is the following: *"'I Jesus....am the bright, the Morning Star,' (...Lucifer).*" They add: "The **Light-bearer is the Morning Star or Lucifer;** and 'Lucifer is no profane or Satanic title. It is the Latin *Luciferus,* the Light-bringer, the Morning Star....'"

Besides this, Sirius was mentioned in the explanation of the logo just given. "Throughout the centuries Sirius has been recognized by most occultists and esoteric teachers as the location where **LUCIFER** and his hierarchy dwell. In Christian terminology, Sirius is simply a secretive codeword for 'hell.'" In the

book, *Sirius*, we find:

"The Euphrateans, Persians, Phoenicians, and the peoples of Vedic India called Sirius The Leader, while the **Romans knew Sirius as** Janitor Lethaeus, or **Keeper of Hell,** both of which titles are perhaps reminiscent of Anubis, the Egyptian god who led the deceased through the underworld. The Egyptian (sic) themselves reverenced Sirius under several other names as well, including Sothis, Sothi, Sept, Sepet, Sopdet, Sot, and Sed."

One form of Anubis

It is interesting to note that Venus also "became the goddess of the Dog Star, Sirius...." Venus, by the way, is another name for Lucifer! Sirius is so important to the occultists that a New Age organization even named their society the Sirius Community and their newsletter is called the *Sirius Journal.* This group was started by former members of the Findhorn Community located in Scotland. Their logo appears below.

One former member and co-director of the Findhorn Community was David Spangler. Spangler seems to be quite enthralled with Lucifer. Some of his quotes about Lucifer were given earlier in this book. Here are two more of his quotes:

“Lucifer prepares man in all ways for the experience of Christhood and the Christ prepares man for the experience of God....But the light that reveals to us the presence of the Christ, the light that reveals to us the path to the Christ comes from Lucifer. He is the light giver. He is aptly named the Morning Star because it is his light that heralds for man the dawn of a greater consciousness. He is present when that dawn is realized. He stands no longer as the tester or the tempter but as the great initiator, the one who hands the soul over to the Christ and from the Christ on into ever greater realms.”

“Christ is the same force as Lucifer but moving in seemingly the opposite direction.”

Of course, quotes like this aren’t really surprising since Masons themselves (and others) tell us that Lucifer (or Venus) is the Light-bearer and the Morning Star. Blavatsky writes about the Druids, Magi, Zoroastrians, etc., greeting “the Morning Star—the beautiful Venus-Lucifer.”

Symbol representing Venus

As already mentioned, Lucis Trust was an offshoot of the Theosophical Society, founded by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, an occultist, Luciferian, magician, and

Mason. She remarked: "...Lucifer or Luciferius is the name. Lucifer is divine and terrestrial Light, 'the Holy Ghost' and 'Satan' at one and the same time."
In other words, Blavatsky claims that Lucifer is the Holy Ghost **AND** Satan, but she is not the only one who has called Lucifer the Holy Ghost.

Masonic author, Albert Pike, insulted and blasphemed the Holy Ghost when he recorded that "the body of the Holy Spirit, the universal Agent, [is] the Serpent devouring its own tail." In fact, in the 28th degree of the Masonic lecture, the Masons being initiated are told the **IDENTICAL** thing!

Notice the hexagram and the snake biting his tail

As also mentioned, the Theosophical Society's newsletter was called *Lucifer*. One person who had material printed in this magazine was Eliphas Levi, the individual who drew Baphomet. He stated: "The intellectual **LUCIFER IS THE SPIRIT OF INTELLIGENCE AND LOVE;** it is the paraclete, it is the Holy Spirit...." The word "paraclete" means "advocate" or an "intercessor." St. John penned: "If any man sin, we have an advocate [paraclete] with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" (I John 2:1). Christ is our mediator: "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (I Timothy 2:5). The occult tries to steal the title of Jesus Christ and apply it to Lucifer (Satan), but this is no surprise for Lucifer has boasted:

"I WILL ascend into heaven, **I WILL** exalt my throne above the stars of God: **I WILL** sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: **I WILL** ascend above the heights of the clouds; **I WILL BE LIKE THE MOST**

HIGH” (Isaiah 14:13-14).

Satan’s boast, however, rings hollow since God reveals: “[T]hou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit” (Isaiah 14:15).

The “light” (or “the Christ”) that the occultists refer to is actually the **LIGHT OF LUCIFER.** As Eliphas Levi and Albert Pike have written: “LUCIFER, the *Light-Bearer!*... Lucifer, the Son of the Morning!” [Emphasis in the original] Blavatsky boasts “that Satan, or the Red *Fiery* Dragon...and *Lucifer*, or ‘Light-bearer’ is in us: it is our *Mind*—our tempter and Redeemer, our intelligent liberator and Saviour from pure animalism.” [Emphasis in the original]

In Blavatsky’s book we also find:

“Holy is the Sabbath of god: *blessed and sanctified is the name of the Angel of Hades*—SATAN.

“For, ‘The glory of Satan is the shadow of the Lord’: God in the manifested world; ‘the throne of Satan is the footstool of Adonai’—that footstool being the whole KOSMOS.” [Emphasis in the original]

A little later in her book she adds that the name “adversary” does not belong to Satan but to Jehovah (the Christian’s God), whom she refers to as “the first and cruelest *‘adversary of all the other gods’.....”* [Emphasis in the original] She said that the serpent (Satan) “spoke only words of sympathy and wisdom....”

Manly Palmer Hall, also a **MASON AND OCCULTIST, BELIEVES THAT THE MESSIAH IS “THE PLANET VENUS, OTHERWISE CALLED *LUCIFER*...”** In Hall’s book, *Initiates of the Flame,* we find an astounding statement. He says:

“There are two parts, or divisions, of humanity whose history is closely related to that of the Wisdom Teachings. They embody the doctrines of fire and water, the two opposites of nature. Those who follow the path of faith (or the heart) use water and are known as the Sons of Seth, while those who follow the path of the mind and action are the Sons of Cain, who was the son of **SAMAEL, the Spirit of Fire.** Today **we find the latter among the alchemists, the Hermetic**

philosophers, the Rosicrucians, and the Freemasons."

What is so amazing to me is that Blavatsky explains just who Samael is. She notes that "in the Kabala **SAMAEL...IS SATAN...."** (See picture on page 53.) So, according to Hall, the Masons, alchemists, and Rosicrucians are sons of Satan!!

Also notice that in the writings of Lynn Perkins, a Mason, he claims: "The **PATH TO HEAVEN SEEMS TO BE BY THE WAY OF HELL** and intended that way by the Creation." There's one problem with this view, however, and that is **THERE IS NO ESCAPE FROM HELL** (see Luke 16:26).

Let's observe another logo. Target stores use the point within a circle for their symbol. As mentioned earlier, this sign is a representation of the phallus. The obelisk (e.g. the Washington Monument) is another phallic symbol. With this in mind, it is quite interesting that the Target stores are helping to restore the Washington Monument. They also have a punch out paper where you can build your own obelisk. Just "coincidental"?

Another logo comes from the Satchidananda Ashram— Yogaville. Notice the

mandala-like center with the point within a circle, a hexagram, triangle, yin/yang, crescent and moon, *etc.* This logo is obviously a representation of the uniting of all religions into one. Of course, this is exactly what the New Age has been desiring to do. They want to bring all religions together. "Fabian Socialist H. G. Wells wrote that *'the coming World-State...will be based upon a common World Religion, very much simplified and universalized and better understood.'"* [Emphasis in the original] Robert Muller, former Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, said: "We must move as quickly as possible to a one-world government; **A ONE-WORLD RELIGION;** under a one-world leader."

Muller has also stated: "My great personal dream is to get a tremendous **ALLIANCE BETWEEN ALL MAJOR RELIGIONS AND THE UN."**

Muller refers to himself as a humanist and is one of the editorial advisors for the New Ager's Marilyn Ferguson's *Brain/ Mind Bulletin.* He is also on the advisory boards of The Center for Attitudinal Healing, another New Age organization, the Institute for Educational Studies, and The Temple of Understanding, where he is listed as one of the "Founding Friends." He is on the Board of Trustees of the Global Education Associates. Muller also is on the Board of Directors of Planetary Citizens and was one of the co-founders of this group, as well as a board member of the Planetary Initiative for the World We Choose, another New Age group. Furthermore, "Muller has encouraged the work of Benjamin Creme, of the Tara Center, which has placed ads in leading newspapers of the world proclaiming: 'THE CHRIST IS NOW HERE.'"

Since he founded the School of Ancient Wisdom in Fort Worth, Texas, he is considered the Father of global education and his World Core Curriculum is used in schools around the world. In fact, Muller, who is an ardent follower of the occultist/New Ager, Alice Bailey, claims that this World Core Curriculum was given to him by his spirit guide (which is actually a demon) by the name of Djwhal Khul, also known as the Tibetan! This is the same spirit guide that directed Bailey to write many of her own occultic books. Muller is quite proud of this fact for the literature received from the Robert Muller School clearly admits that the philosophy underlying this curriculum "is based on the teachings set forth in the books of Alice A. Bailey by the Tibetan teacher Djwhal Khul and the teachings of M. Morya."

Muller spoke at the Conference in Search of the True Meaning of Peace which was held in Costa Rica on June 25-30, 1989. He urged them to work towards a one world religion. Here is part of his speech:

"We need a *World* or *cosmic spirituality*...religious leaders will get together to define before the end of this century the cosmic laws which are *common to all their faiths*....They should tell the politicians what the cosmic laws are, what *God,* or the *gods,* or the *cosmos* are expecting from humans.

"We must hope also that the Pope will come before the year 2000 to the United Nations, speak for all the religions and spiritualities on this planet and give the world the religious view of how the third millennium should be a spiritual millennium, a millennium which will see the integration and harmony of

humanity...." [Emphasis in the original]

Muller also claims:

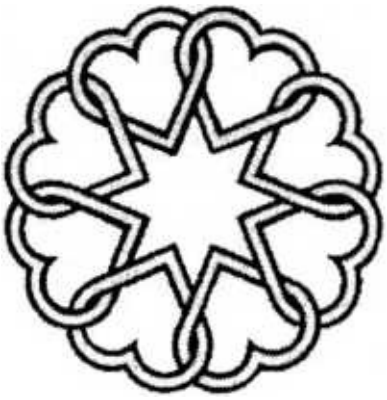
“The world’s major religions must speed up dramatically their ecumenical movement and recognize the unity of their objectives in the diversity of their cults. Religions must actively cooperate to bring to unprecedented heights a better understanding of the mysteries of life and of our place in the universe. ‘My religion, right or wrong,’ and ‘My nation, right or wrong’ must be abandoned forever in the planetary age.”

Along with the idea of a one world religion comes the idea of one humanity and one world. Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders on Human Survival has a logo that gives the idea of humanity uniting together to form one world as does the Quartus Foundation and the Planetary Commission for Global Healing.

The Center for the Dances of Universal Peace has a circle-of-hearts logo which doesn’t seem to suggest a one world order, but below their logo was this phrase: “Through music and dance, **TOWARD ONE WORLD,** within and without.” This group also explains their logo. They state:

“Actually, the heart-circle is original art, produced by graphic artist Marc Takaha, who **RECEIVED THE DESIGN IN VISION** specifically as the logo for the Dances of Universal Peace. The **VISION CAME UNBIDDEN,**

and Marc graciously donated the art to the Center. We wish to respect the intention of **THIS GIFT FROM THE COSMOS....”**



Did you notice that this logo came through a vision? In other words, this logo was evidently given by spirit (demonic) intervention! They also brag that these:

“Dances have spread around the world and are used in a variety of settings, including peace studies, transpersonal counseling, holistic health education, ecumenical conferences and cross-cultural arts celebrations. These have included the United Nations Day Celebrations, Association of Humanistic Psychology National Conference, San Francisco Folk Music Festival, Interfaith Peace Celebrations, Association for the Study of Cross-Cultural Consciousness Studies Conference, American Macrobiotic Society Conference, Whole Life Expos and others.”

By the way, the “Dances were originally the creation of the **SUFI** Murshid (teacher) Samuel L. Lewis and inspired by his teacher Hazrat Inayat Khan, as well as American dance pioneer Ruth St. Denis.”

A Sufi logo

The viewpoint of one humanity and one world is also expressed in the logo which appeared in a pamphlet from the Spiritual Unity of Nations (SUN). The front cover states: “DEDICATED TO THE SPIRITUAL UNITY OF RELIGIONS, NATIONS AND PEOPLES.” [Emphasis in the original]

One author informs us:

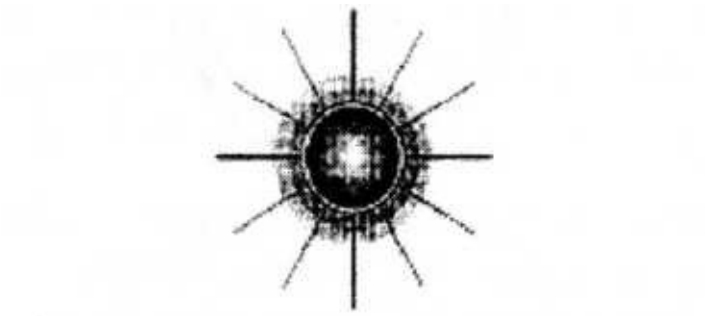
“In May 1968 the S-U-N [Spiritual Unity of Nations] held an international conference of Spiritual and **ESOTERIC** Organizations in Hove, Sussex, England. 1650 delegates attended, some coming from behind the Iron curtain and even as far afield as Iceland. There is a S-U-N Centre in detroit (sic), and groups in Chicago, Atlanta, Costa Mesa [California], Bulawayo [Rhodesia], New Zealand; and many in South Africa. The Americans sponsored a large S-U-N conference in November 1968 to formulate ‘A New Age World Religion' to complement the New World Order of the Aquarian Age.”

The illustration above appeared in one of SUN's pamplets. SUN also has an interesting logo on their stationery. Note the point inside the triangle, the circle, the seven-pointed star, and the twelve pointed star—all enclosed by a circle.

Another group working to bring all cultures and religions together is the Unity-and-Diversity World Council (UDC). Previous names for this same group are International Cooperation Council and Unity-and-Diversity Council. The *"Unity-in-Diversity Council is a powerful New Age promotional network...which* [in 1982—D.L.C.] *linked arms with the international network of* ***'Mind, Body, and Spirit Festivals.'*** *This formed a vast army dedicated to the merger of all religions into one, under a world leader*." They have produced a *Directory for a New World.* Their purpose is "to foster the emergence of a new person and civilization based on the dynamic integration of diversity among all peoples and all life." Their website states: "The methods we use are based upon our search for universal moral and **SPIRITUAL** principles We welcome the **COMING TOGETHER OF ALL** races, cultures and **RELIGIONS** into a unity-and-diversity type of community both locally and around the world." Their activities include Interfaith Celebrations.

"Since September 1995 this World Interfaith Network has been meeting at religious and spiritual centers around Los Angeles such as the Vedanta Society, the Islamic Center, the World Peace Prayer Society, and the

Mormon Temple....Celebrations include meditation...and messages from the different faith groups."



Unity-and-Diversity World Council

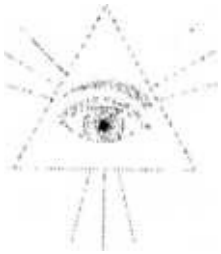
Leland P. Stewart was the founder of Unity-and-Diversity World Council. On May 10, 1998 he spoke at the Taurus Wesak Festival (sponsored by the Los Angeles InterGroup). Before mentioning some of Stewart's remarks, I think it is necessary to explain what the Wesak Festival is. The Group for Creative Meditation tells us:

"Held in the solar month of Taurus at the full moon of May, this Festival **HONORS THE BUDDHA, THE LORD OF LIGHT,** Messenger of the East. It is this great living Avatar Who brings the 'Light of Illumination' from 'the centre where the Will of God is known' closer to humanity. During Wesak we are reminded that it is the Will of God to awaken humanity and reveal its true purpose on earth.

"Year after year, the Forces of Light make an effort at Wesak to increase the flow of enlightenment into the world and to throw the light of wisdom and understanding 'into the minds of men.' If the demand from humanity is strong enough, mentally powerful and adequately focussed, the Forces of Enlightenment can be invoked and brought forth into human affairs."

Symbol for Enlightenment

This festival is referred to as “the supreme moment of the year.” Tom Carney says that Wesak “is a wonderful time to talk about the rising sun, for that is what the Festival is all about. It is about the eye being single and the whole body being full of light. It is about the impact of will upon the dedicated server, a single eye, a single will.”



A symbol representing the “Three Linked Meditation Festivals of Spring” (one of which is the Festival of Wesak) appears below.

It was at this festival in honor of Buddha, where Stewart commented:

“In preparing for my remarks today, I took the trouble to locate all of our Alice Bailey books and to look them over, especially the one entitled *The Externalisation of the Hierarchy.* What I discovered was a number of areas of COMMON GROUND with the work of the Unity-and-Diversity World Council. I’d like to mention a few of those areas now.

“I discovered that Synthesis is a very important term in the Alice Bailey teachings....In these teachings, the Buddha represents **light,** the Buddha being ‘the illumined one.’...The central goal of these teachings is to help give birth to a **new world religion.** All of these dimensions resonate with our work.

“The meaning of **unity-and-diversity** in this arena is to serve both the synthesis, which we call the **unity,** and also to pay close attention to the **diversity,** which each aspect of the unity represents....

“Let me just comment on the Wesak Festival itself in that regard. Wesak in Buddhism symbolizes the birth, life, and death of the Buddha....

“In addition to Buddhism and Christianity, we need to pay close attention to Judaism, Islam, Taoism, Confucianism, and a host of modern spiritual movements such as Baha'i, Vendanta (sic), and the like. All of them are making their contribution to the religious life....

“The NEW WORLD RELIGION is also a focus of common ground. We have been working on a ***World Scripture*** since the 1950’s as a document which people can use to learn to live in harmony with our universal heritage....Certainly we should include some of the most pertinent esoteric teachings....

“May our spiritual work together be an increasingly powerful force in the awakening of individuals and groups throughout the planet to the NEW WORLD RELIGION and the new world at large!” [Boldface and italics in the original; Caps and underline added]

Leland Stewart is not the only person looking for a new world with unity and diversity. The Sufi Order, founded by Hazrat Inayat Khan, is an interfaith group whose purpose is:

“to spread the message of unity, and promote the awakening of humanity to the divinity in all; to provide a program of spiritual training that brings about a deep personal transformation, culminating in a balanced, harmonious and creative life; to find ways to apply the spiritual ideals of love, harmony, and beauty to the challenges of everyday life; to promote understanding and acceptance among adherents of various faiths, and encourage the unfoldment of universal loving kinship.”

Notice that their logo uses wings as well as the moon and crescent.

Thomas Ehrenzeller has been associated with the World Federalist Association and the Association to Unite the Democracies. Both of these organizations are working for world government. Ehrenzeller remarks:

"The era in which the people of the world finally cast off the bonds of nationalistic self-deception, freeing themselves to join together in one free community, will be a true Solar Age. As solar citizens, we will be part of one mighty race.... We could build a world society...and so we will....Human society must finally become one single society, UNITED IN ITS DIVERSITY....The New Era is coming, whether the guardians of the old are ready or not....There can be a New World Order....We will save the world by making of it a bright New Age." [Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]

Mikhail Gorbachev also calls for unity in diversity. Addressing the United Nations (U.N.) on December 7, 1988, Gorbachev; "praised the '*tremendous impetus to mankind's progress'* that came from the French and Russian revolutions, and he called for a new role for the U.N., saying: '*World progress is only possible through a search for universal human consensus as we move forward to a* ***new world order....****What we are talking about...is* ***unity in diversity.****'* (The *Newsweek* article regarding this on December 19, 1988, was titled, 'Brave New World.')" [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

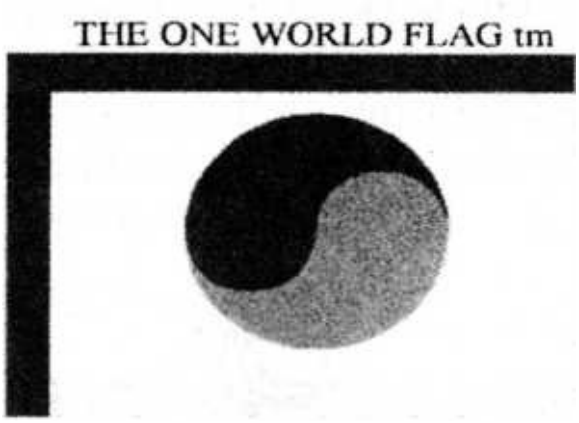
Gorbachev, who was president of Russia, is now the President of the Green Cross International. Their logo appears below. (Notice the yin/yang in the logo.)

The Gorbachev Foundation USA is based at the Presidio in San Francisco, California. Below is the Presidio Alliance's logo. They have the same logo as the United Religions Initiative which was seeking to set up their headquarters at Presidio.

It is also interesting to note that Russia has now changed their symbol of the hammer and sickle to that of the two-headed eagle. (The eagle symbolism is covered elsewhere in this book.)

Gorbachev mentioned that we need a new world order. Plans have been and are being laid for this new world order. There is even a flag called the “One World Flag.” They explain their symbol like this:

“Representing sky above and earth below, the circular icon grabs the eye and pulls our attention to *center*. Like the familiar ‘yin-yang’ symbol and other mandalas, it encompasses all, with everything in balance. Placed within a framework of colors representing the four directions—as generally agreed upon by native americans (sic) and many of the world’s indigenous peoples—we are called to continually think and act from a larger perspective. And with the overlapping of these stripes, we are inspired to move forward—into a future we have always imagined as possible.”



They add: “The steps of our paths may be diverse, but we will all arrive at the same destination!” There’s that **unity in diversity** theme again. Incidentally, this website has won the “Pagan Best of the Web” award and the “Mystic’s Award.”

Global Education Associates is also working for world order. They describe their logo like this:

“The sphere is each of us and it is all of us together and it is the earth as a whole in the system/mystery that is the universe.

“The tree is life—our life—becoming what it can be within and dependent on the larger sphere of life.

“The contrasting fluid fields of dark and light are the ancient elements: earth and water (dark), air and fire (light).

“*The dark and light are also the yin and yang of life. They are the opposites which cannot exist apart, and which together are an integrated whole. They are the inner and outer dimensions of our humanization—of our shared present and future.*” [Emphasis in the original]

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is also pushing for a one world order. The CFR publishes a magazine called *Foreign Affairs* as well as printing "position papers." One of these papers was published on November 25, 1959, and was entitled *Study No.* 7. This document called for the "building (of) a new international order (which) may be responsible to world aspirations for peace (and) for social and economic change...An international order — ...including labelling themselves as Socialist (Communist)."

They have an interesting logo. It is a naked man astride a white steed. His hand looks like he could possibly be making the sign of the homed devil.

The Bible tells us in Psalms 9:17 that "the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God."

A fascinating bit of information concerning the letters "CFR" is found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* The Moslems believe that an Antichrist is to appear who will have "one eye."

"Nor is Antichrist unknown to Mohammedan theology in which he is called Masth (sic) *al Dajjal, the false or lying Christ... He is to be one-eyed and marked on the forehead with the letters C.F.R., i.e. Cafir or infidel.*"

The Trilateral Commission, another group working for world government, has a logo that is a variation of the triskelion and 666. Notice also that the arrows form

a triangle, the center of which yields a broken cross.

Americans United for Separation of Church and State (AU) is yet another organization whose logo forms a triangle. Notice that flame at the top of this logo. The torch is covered elsewhere in this book. I also mention that a Masonic publisher is called The Torch Press. It should be noted that “about eighty percent of the funding for the predecessor of Americans United for Separation of Church and State came from Masons.” Their address is the very same address as that of the Masonic Service Association. In fact, a former Executive Director, Dr. Glenn L. Archer, and a former Associate Director, Dr. C. Stanley Lowell, were both 33° Masons.

AU is against creation being taught in the classroom and they are for abortions, contraceptives, and sex education. A letter received from Barry Lynn, the Executive Director of AU, declares:

"Now I'm asking you to join with Americans United as we prepare for a massive clash with the Religious Right.

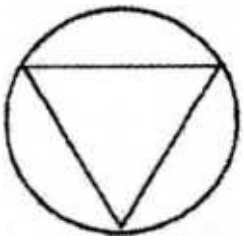
"I don't know about you, but personally I have seen enough, heard enough and read enough about the powerful new political influence of the revamped Religious Right. There's no point in mincing words: they must be stopped! And the sooner the better.

"If the Religious Right prevails, they will destroy our wondrous American mosaic. They'll thumb their noses at pluralism and stifle diversity. They'll inject their own moral code into our personal lives. We cannot—must not—let them do that!

"That's why I'm writing today to ask you—to urge you, really—to join Americans United and play a personal role in our battle against the Religious Right." [Emphasis in the original]

The Trismegistus Press printed a Masonic book (which was full of veiled occultism) by W. L. Wilmshurst. You can see that their logo also uses the torch along with the circle and triangle. By the way, remember that the god Hermes was called Hermes **TRISMEGISTUS** or Hermes the Thrice Great. It was Hermes Trismegistus who was the initiator of **OCCULT PHILOSOPHY and MAGIC.** Is this what the Trismegistus Press represents?

Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) also uses the circle and triangle in their logo. Bill Wilson, a co-founder of AA, explained their logo. He said: “The circle stands for the whole world of A. A., and the triangle stands for A.A.’s Three Legacies: Recovery, Unity, and Service.” That doesn’t sound bad but then he added: “It is perhaps no accident that priests and seers of antiquity regarded this symbol as a means of warding off spirits of evil.”



What this symbol (with the triangle pointing upward, called a **MAGIC TRIANGLE)** actually represents is interesting. It is a “symbol of importance to **WITCHES,”** and “represents the protection of the ‘circle’ and the power of the triangle. It is also associated with the **OCCULT** and used to procure the services of **DEMONS** in various rituals.”

Al-Anon, a group based on the principles of AA, also uses a circle and triangle as their logo.

The California Institute of Integral Studies’ logo has numerous triangles incorporated into it. A pamphlet from this group states:

“The Integral Counseling Center offers the San Francisco community growth counseling based on an integral perspective which recognizes the individual as a body-mind-spirit continuum. Counselors have a wide variety of backgrounds in both Eastern and Western philosophy and **psychology:** psycho-dynamic, cognitive, **psychosynthesis, yoga, meditation, Gestalt, Jungian psychology,** Rankian therapy and **dreamwork.”**

The logo for Apple Computers is an apple with a bite out of it.

“To many occult insiders, this signifies that the eating of the forbidden fruit (symbolically, the apple) by Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden was *a good* thing. Occultists and New Agers teach that taking a bite out of the apple gave the first two humans knowledge, or *gnosis,* putting them on the path to self-divinity and godhood.” [Emphasis in the original]

Interestingly, the price tag on the first personal computer from Apple was $666.

An unusual logo is that of the Raelists. One author points out:

“Last year [1991] they met in Canada; this year the sunny beaches of France hosted the 600 naked worshippers. They call themselves *Raelists* and their leader and prophet is *Rael,* a Frenchman who used to be a sports reporter but now proclaims, ‘I am the Messiah!’

“The name ‘Rael’ comes from combining the word *RA,* one of the names of the ancient Egyptian sun god, and *EL,* a Hebrew title for deity. The 45 year-old Rael says that in 1973 he was whisked to the ‘planet of the Elohim’ by a flying saucer. There, two, tiny, oval-eyed aliens briefed him on his earthly

mission as the messenger and savior of mankind.

“Rael explains that the spacemen also gave him a symbol for the new faith—a swastika inside the Jewish Star of David.

This, he indicates, means peace, love, and harmony and has nothing to do with Hitler or Nazism.

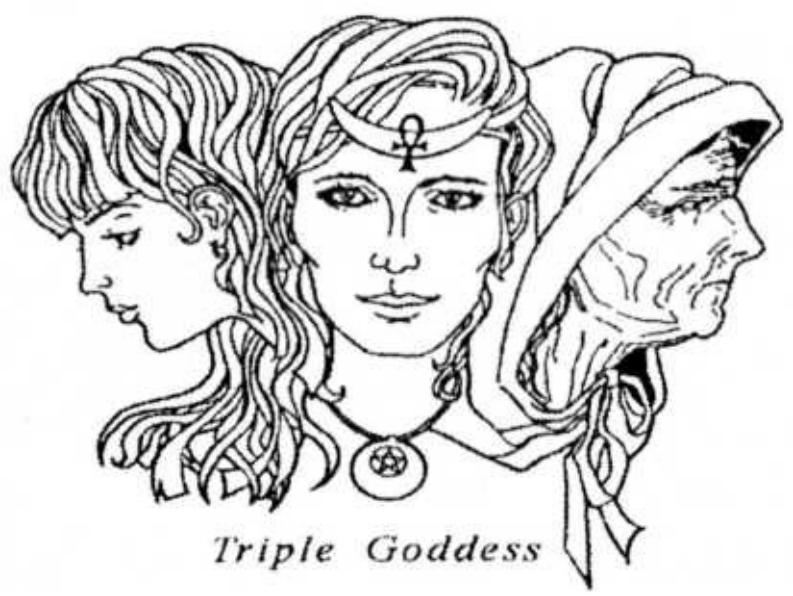
“The primary method of worship by the Raelists is sacred sex, engaged in open, outside spaces as their messiah sits lotus-legged playing a wind instrument. The fast-growing UFO cult now has devotee’s (sic) from 38 countries, including the USA, Japan, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Canada." [Emphasis in the original]

The Brookridge Institute had previously used a hexagon symbol but they are now using a different logo. The editors relate:

“Our energy model hexagon served us well but this **ancient Celtic symbol,** the *triscele*, speaks more eloquently about the consciousness approach....The *triscele* represents the three cycles of life, and we likewise are moving our publication frequency to three times a year.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

In an accompanying article called “The Triscele,” we are informed:

“The **Triscele, the Celtic version of the YIN-YANG** symbol, represents the wholeness of life. It is a circle enclosing three spiral figures that appear to move in the same direction from a single central point. Triplicity symbolizes the stages of Life: Birth, Death and ReBirth. The **CELTIC GODDESSES**typically showed three faces....



“Brookridge Institute has adopted this symbol as its logo because the Institute has two of nature’s four elements in its name (Brook and Ridge) and we also espouse wholeness and the cyclic, regenerative quality of life.”

Many other groups use the triskele (or triscele) as their logo. Remember that this is a variation of the yin/yang symbol but it is also a representation of 666!

New Ager, Richard (Dick) Sutphen, defines the logo he uses for his Reincamationist organization.

“It incorporates a variation of the pentacle, combined with the dove holding an olive branch. The pentacle, the five-pointed star with the **point up,**represents the highest power of spirituality on earth and is a seal against evil and negativity. It is often called the ‘Star of Man’, and the top point represents the Higher Self dominating the four lower points—the elements of fire, water, air and earth—symbolic of man controlling and creating his own reality.” [Emphasis in the original]

Sutphen also received a symbol during **meditation** on the night that his son, Hunter Shane, was born (June 2, 1986). He bragged: "He is a Gemini with Scorpio rising and moon in Aries. **Astrologically,** that adds up to a very determined young man who knows exactly what he wants." This symbol appears on page 213. The caption that was under this picture proclaimed:

"Hunter's birth announcement included a symbol of Hunter, received by Richard in meditation on the night of Hunter's birth. It was a young man on horseback in Crusader's attire, holding a grail, and behind it, a **glowing golden pentagram."** [Emphasis in the original]

Hunter's birth announcement included a symbol of Hunter, received by Richard in meditation on the night of Hunter's birth. It was of a young man on horseback in Crusader's attire, holding a grail, and behind it, a glowing golden pentagram.

It is interesting to note that "at least 20 or 30 **psychics** around the country predicted that Tara (Dick Sutphen's wife) would have a girl. Only two predicted a boy, one of whom was the Sutphens' close friend, author Jess Stearn." That should show how inaccurate psychic predictions are—and they even had a 50/50 chance of being correct and that many still missed it!

One issue of Sutphen's paper mentioned the words "New Age," or "New Ager(s)," at least 169 times in 26 pages. His magazines are full of advertisements for books, videos, and cassettes on handwriting analysis, automatic handwriting, past life experiences, the Tarot, how to contact spirit

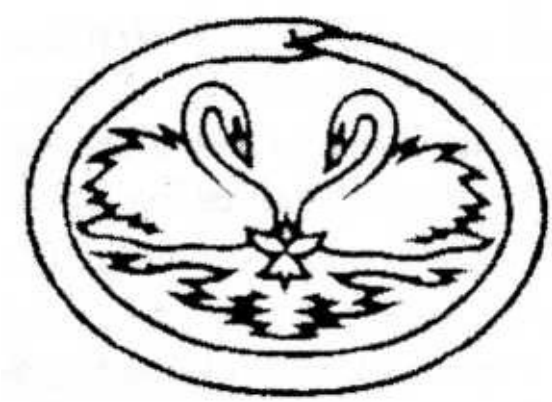
guides, hypnosis, *etc.* He also held Psychic seminars.

Cagliostro was an occultist and Mason who used a symbol with a snake. His symbol can be explained as thus:

“Because of his knowledge of alchemical mysteries, his familiarity with Hermetism and his skill in transmutation, Cagliostro was accorded new honors. It was at this time that a scholar of Nuremberg turned over to him a symbol which he was to adopt as his emblem and engrave on his seal in recognition of the powers that had been conferred on him. The symbol represented a serpent reared on its tail, swallowing an apple as an arrow pierced him through and through while blood gushed from the wound.

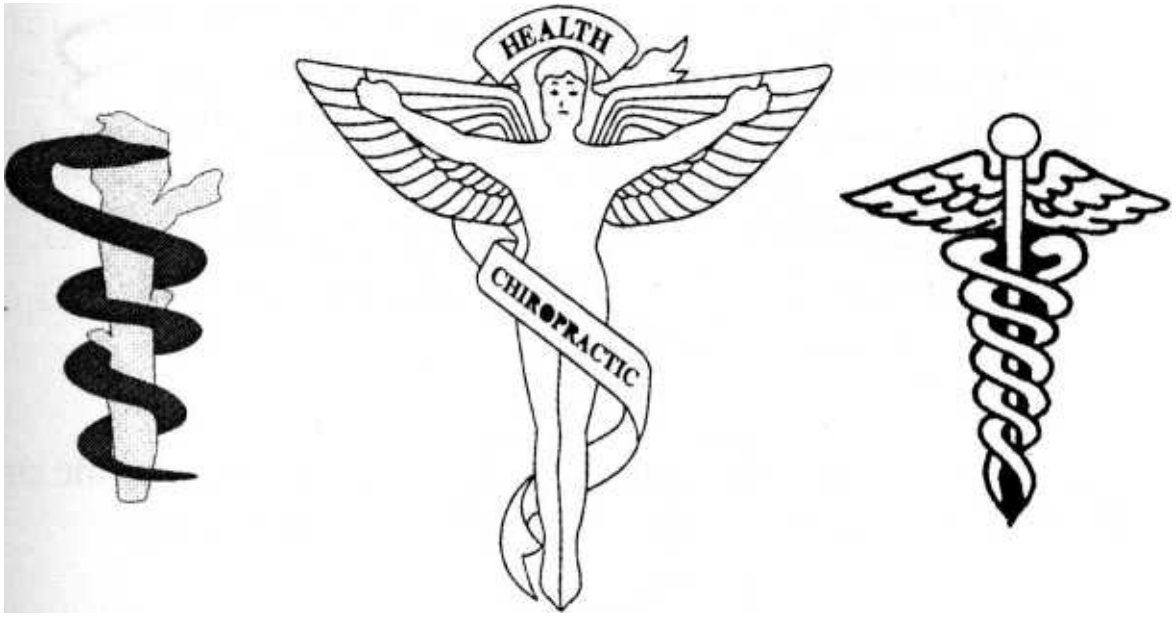
The arrow was pointed downward, the serpent stretching its jaws upward—the symbol and hallmark of the Rosicrucians. The serpent is thus seen eating the fruit of knowledge, but then dying of it. Cagliostro informs us that he found the esoteric tracing of this symbol in the great manuscript of the ‘Unknown Superiors’ of Germany. He also relates that a dignitary of Freemasonry who saw it on his seal, bowed before him reverently. In Nuremberg, another Master, noticing this mark of respect, offered him in homage a ring set with a beautiful diamond.”

Another logo that utilizes the snake is the Himalayan Institute. Notice that the circle is actually a snake biting its tail.



The American Medical Association's symbol is the caduceus. This is not surprising when you read the oath that doctors take. The Hippocratic Oath states: "I swear by **Apollo,** the physician, and **Aesculapius** and health and all-heal and **all the gods and goddesses** that, according to my ability and judgment I will keep this oath and stipulation...."

The chiropractic emblem is often the caduceus with just one snake. The International Chiropractors Association uses a logo that seems to be a variation of the yin/yang. Below (in the center) is yet another chiropractic representation.



The Theosophical Society is another society that incorporates the snake into its logo. Observe that there are a number of symbols besides the snake in this drawing. There's an ankh, a white and black triangle making a hexagram, a swastika, and an Om. Masonic writer, J. D. Buck, reveals:

“The perfect equilibrium of spirit and matter is symbolized by the six-pointed star, which is again only another form of the Square and Compass, each now having a base-line from which to form a triangle. Inclose (sic) the star in a circle, which symbolizes Infinity, and you symbolize the harmony, or at-one-ment of the Spirit that descended, and the body, now purified, with Divinity, or the Over-Soul. Place within the Star thus inclosed (sic) the Egyptian emblem of Life [the ankh], and we symbolize *Immortality*, as the result of regeneration. Transform the circle into a serpent and it now symbolizes Wisdom, as the crown or result of equilibrium; and is also a double glyph of the return of matter to its source in spirit. Separate the tongue and tail of the serpent by a*Thor’s Hammer*, or Svastica [swastika], inclosed (sic) within a circle, and it symbolizes regeneration through conquest of animal sense, precisely as taught in the Lodge, under the spiritual meaning of the symbol of the Compass.”

Notice the center of the large picture above. It’s the same as the small picture. Below is another logo for the Theosophical Society.

DASO has a catalog that offers all kinds of occultic paraphernalia including statues of gods and goddesses. Their logo also has a snake in it. DASO explains:

“Our latest offering is rich in mystic symbolism. Notice the person in the picture. He has both wings and roots, symbolizing freedom while being grounded. His head is bent in surrender.

“Surrounding him is a serpent, symbolizing the **KUNDALINI** force. Notice the serpent’s head: the shape is in a heart, between the eyes, the brow is in the shape of the Aries symbol [astrology], symbolising (sic) renewal and rebirth. The serpent has roses as a scale pattern, representing the enjoyment of life and it’s (sic) corresponding disappointments.

“The combining of the serpent and the man has produced an oasis in the desert, where a lotus blooms and two dragonflies play. Behind them you see the sun rising over the pyramids, a new day dawning for an ancient knowledge....

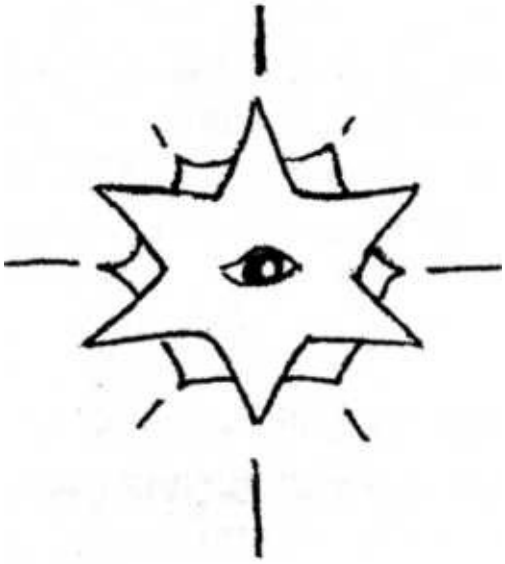
“The activation of the Kundalini is a dangerous step, but once activated the vital life force is flowing through the student. When that happens,
the **INITIATE**becomes an overflowing river of love, affecting those who come in contact.

“The pyramids symbolize the revival of knowledge once held sacred in Ancient Egyptian times. The secret processes of awakening your soul!

“DASO selected this picture for its logo because of the meaning behind it. We are now making the complete picture available as a **MEDITATION** Tool. We hope you will meditate on this picture and find the **HIDDEN MEANINGS** held within.”

Former President, George Bush, belongs to a secret society called the Skull & Bones. “The initiation ritual of Skull & Bones is bizarre and grotesque. New members must pass through a harrowing ordeal. At one point, the initiate, lying naked in a coffin in a darkened room, must reveal the most intimate details about his sexual history and experiences.” The logo for this association is a skull and bones with the mysterious number 322 below it.

Mountain Luminary is a New Age paper. Their logo uses the all-seeing eye.



The logo for the Ordo Templi Orientis also utilizes the all-seeing eye.

“Around the turn of the century, Karl Keller, a German, founded the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), a ritual magick group which taught sex magick. Crowley joined the OTO and was made the head of its British affiliate. To the heterosexual ninth degree he added a homosexual eleventh degree. OTO sexual magick seems to have been derived from Oriental sources as well as from P. B. Randolph of the American-based Fratemitas Rosae Crucis. It was perfected by Crowley during three years (1920-23) at the Abbey of Thelema in Sicily. Crowley also succeeded Theodor Reuss in 1922 as outer head of the OTO.

“Upon Crowley’s death in 1947, Karl Johannes Germer succeeded to the outer headship of the order. Germer had been with Crowley in England, but returned to his native Germany in the 1930’s.”

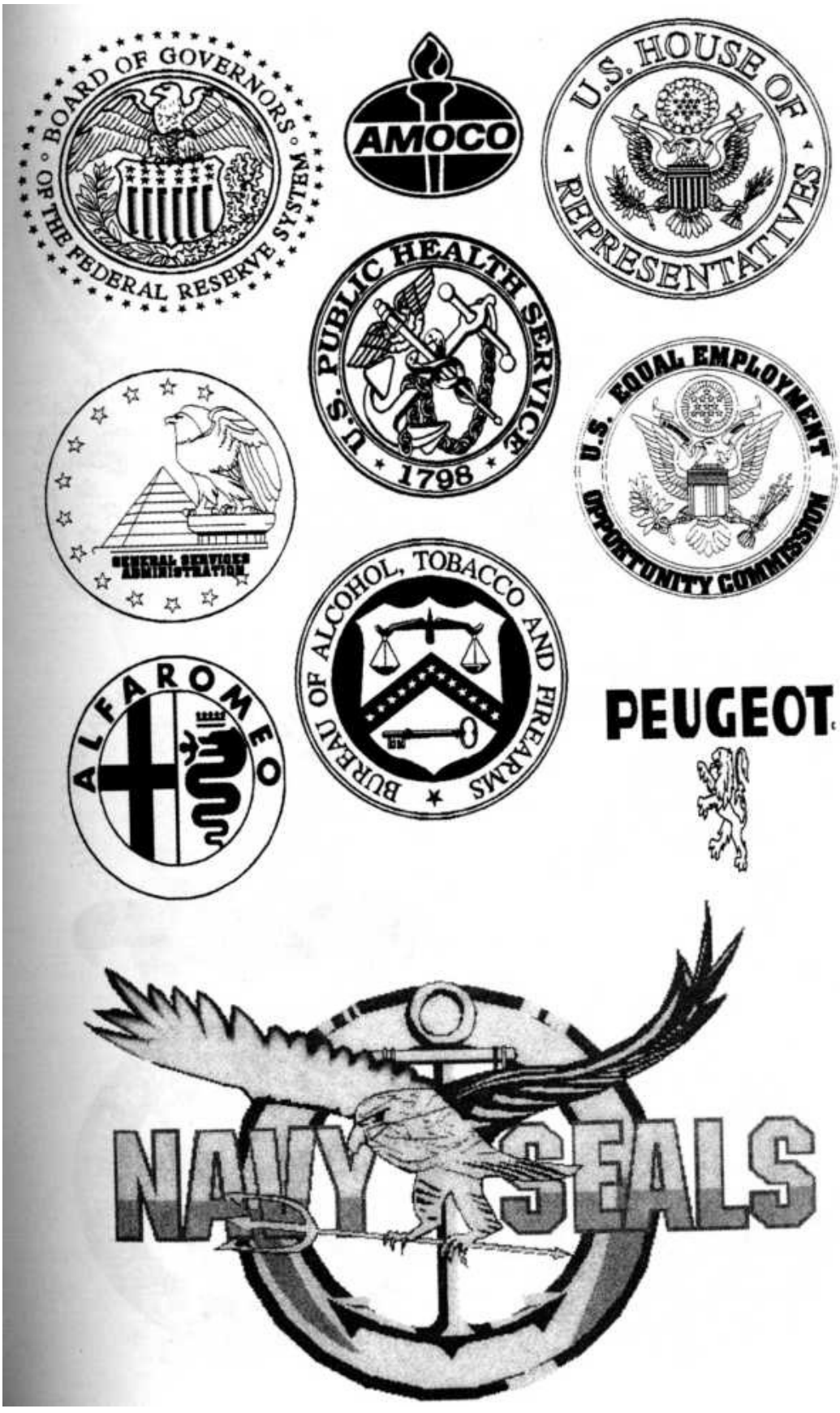
The American Psychotherapy Association has pentagrams in their emblem.

Shree Gurudev Ashram utilizes the “Om” for their symbol.

Below are a number of organizations (many of them government associations) that use various occultic symbolism. I am not saying that these groups**intentionally** used any particular symbol with occult connections in mind, but it is important to remember that many of our government officials do belong to secret societies such as Freemasonry or the Skull & Bones. In the book, *Sirius*, we are reminded:

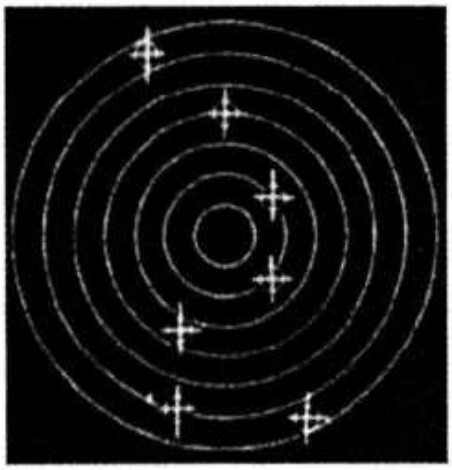
“Many of the founding fathers of the United States of America were Masons and they used its rituals in the consecration of their inspired work, including the erection of important government buildings. Study will reveal that there is more to Masonry than meets the modern eye, for there reside important aspects of the Mysteries within it, as we are told by the Tibetan.’'

The Tibtean is a spirit guide (actually a demon) that many New Agers such as Alice Bailey, Robert Muller, M. Temple Richmond, etc., have received guidance from.


BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
AMOCO
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
1798
U.S. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS
ALFA ROMEO
PEUGEOT
NAVY SEALS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CITGO
REPUBLICA DE EL SALVADOR EN LA AMERICA CENTRAL
CHRYSLER CORPORATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SEAL OF THE SPEAKER
1789
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NAVAL SUPPLY SYSTEMS COMMAND
REPUBLICA DE NICARAGUA
AMERICA CENTRAL
THE UNITED STATES
NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
VIRIBUS MARI VICTORIA
U.S. NAVAL
OCEANOGRAPHIC OFFICE
FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

National Sheriffs Association



University of Seven Rays

Lucent Technologies

Eternal State of Buddha—
Isn't this somewhat similar
to Lucent's logo?

14.

HAND SIGNALS

Proverbs 6:12 tells us: “A naughty person, a wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth. He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers.” It sounds as though this verse could be applied to Masons, occultists, gang members, and many other groups of people because they often use their hands and their feet to give messages to one another. For example, the Masons have their secret hand grips. They also position their feet in a particular manner to form a Tau cross. This type of position can be helpful if a Mason is called into court. With this stance, the judge (if he is also a Mason) can readily see that the person before his bench is a fellow member of his society.

You see, the Mason, taking the oath of the 3°, **PROMISES TO CONCEAL ALL CRIMES COMMITTED BY A FELLOW MASON** except those of treason and murder. By the 7° of Masonry, the candidate has to promise that he “will assist a Companion Royal Arch Mason when I see him engaged in any difficulty, and will espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, **WHETHER HE BE RIGHT OR WRONG.”**

In the 13° the oath is taken to the effect that **ALL CRIMES ARE TO BE CONCEALED, INCLUDING MURDER AND TREASON.**

This, of course, means that if a Mason has committed murder and the judge is also a Mason, the judge is obligated by his Masonic oath to set the murderer free, even if it results in placing the blame on an innocent person! In fact, this command is given in one handbook:

“YOU MUST CONCEAL ALL THE CRIMES OF YOUR BROTHER MASONS...AND SHOULD YOU BE SUMMONED AS A WITNESS AGAINST A BROTHER MASON BE ALWAYS SURE TO SHIELD HIM....IT MAY BE PERJURY TO DO THIS, IT IS TRUE, BUT YOU’RE KEEPING YOUR OBLIGATIONS.”

Witches tell us that hand signals are very important. In *Wicca: A Guide for the Solitary Practitioner* we find:

“Gestures are silent counterparts to words. Gestures can enhance Wiccan rituals when performed in conjunction with invocations or dance, or can be used alone for their real power....

“My introduction to Wicca happened to include some of these old gestures. In 1971 I saw some photographs of **MAGICAL** protective **GESTURES** such as the *mano figo* (a hand clenched into a fist, the thumb jutting out between the first and middle fingers) and the *mano cornuta,* a V formed by the first and little fingers and held upside down....the latter is **USED IN WICCA,** with points up to represent the God in his Homed aspect....

“Gestures in Wiccan ritual can easily became second nature. When invoking the Goddess and God, the hands can be held uplifted with the fingers spread to receive their power. The Goddess can be individually invoked with the left hand, the thumb and first finger held up and curled into a half-circle, while the rest of the fingers are tucked against the palm. This represents the crescent Moon. **The God is invoked** with the first and middle fingers of the right hand raised, or **with the first and fourth fingers up, the thumb holding down the others against the palm, to represent horns.**

“The elements can be invoked with individual gestures when approaching the four directions: a flat hand held parallel with the ground to invoke Earth at the North; an upraised hand, fingers spread wide apart to invoke Air at the East; an upraised fist for the South to invite Fire, and a cupped hand to the West to invoke Water....

“GESTURES ARE ALSO USED IN MAGIC. Each of the fingers relates to a specific planet as well as an ancient deity. Since **pointing is a magical act and is a part of many spells,** the finger can be chosen by its symbolism.

“The thumb relates to Venus and to the planet Earth. Jupiter (both the planet and the god) rules the forefinger. The middle finger is ruled by the god and planet Saturn, the fourth finger the Sun and Apollo, and the little finger by the planet Mercury as well as the god after which it is named....

“Gestures are magical tools as potent as any other, ones we can always take with us, to be used when needed.”

[Italics in the original; Caps and boldface added]

The “mano figo,” also called “fica gesture” (mentioned above), “has been regarded as a defense against the evil eye, a crude insult, and a sexual symbol as well.”

The “mano cornuta” was also mentioned. This is known by a number of other names such as: the devil’s triad, il cornuto, the horn, homed devil, twin-homed salute, homed hand, devil salute, and devil horn salute.

The Devil's triad is a recognition sign among Satanists and witches. Remember that Satan (or Pan) is called "The Homed God," so the hand signal is formed so as to resemble horns. Many people in heavy metal music or rock music also use this sign. Even some within the so-called "Christian" rock world (there is no such thing as Christian rock!) use this signal. Some of the rock groups who use this are: Gene Simmons (from KISS), Heart, Cheap Trick, Utopia, and so-called "Christian" rock group Petra. The Beatles were the first rock band to use the devil's triad on a record album cover.

Another rocker who frequently uses the devil salute is Ronnie James Padovana who calls himself "Dio" (which is Latin for "God"). He admits that he knows about the occult and he at one time "led thousands in 'altar calls' to Satan at concerts...."

His album covers also feature this sign. In addition, it is interesting to note his name on the cover. When his name is turned upside down, the word changes from "Dio" to "Devil"!

The Devil's triad "is a Silician sign of the Devil used to cast spells and to ward off the 'Evil Eye,"' as well as a sign for hexing and charming (casting spells), which is explicitly forbidden by Deuteronomy 18:10-12a: "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, Or a **CHARMER,** or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord."

This sign is "also used by the Mafia for signaling death."

It is also intriguing to note that the god Shiva (Siva), which is a synonym for Satan (according to *The Satanic Bible),* also is seen making the Devil's triad in some pictures. One Mason, J. S. M. Ward, brags: "Shiva, who carries in His second right hand the cabletow of death...is the Lord of Death, and therefore of rebirth [reincarnation], it is **particularly significant** that He should be represented as making the sign He is."

In *The Gods of India,* we find:

"I bow to Siva as Isana, the Ruler, who has five faces. Followed by the She-Goat...he holds in his hands the Vedas, an elephant hook, a noose, a hatchet, a skull, a drum, a rosary, a trident, and he shows the **gestures** of removing fear

and granting boons."

Below is the "moon sign." It is used by witches to salute the rising moon.

A hand signal can also be seen in the Tarot deck:

"*The Magician* (also called the Magus or the Juggler). A young man holding up a wand in his right hand, and pointing to the earth with his left. On a table before him are the four elemental symbols, and above his head is the sign of eternity or infinity....He is the Magus, the Adept, the human being integrated on all planes, the will liberated through understanding. His **GESTURE** refers to the basic **OCCULT** principle 'That which is above is as that which is below, but after another manner.'"

Notice that the artist of Baphomet, Eliphas Levi (who was a Mason and occultist), drew Baphomet making the same OCCULT gestures!

S. R. Parchment boasts:

"Those who received initiation into the mysteries were given certain keys pertaining to both **white and black magic** which were portrayed by the **right hand of Baphomet pointing upward** to the bright disc of the waxing moon while the **left pointed downward** to Lima in darkness. That **MANY OF** the leading lights of **MASONRY WERE IN QUEST OF THE MAGICAL SECRETS NO STUDENT OF OCCULT SCIENCE WILL DENY...."**

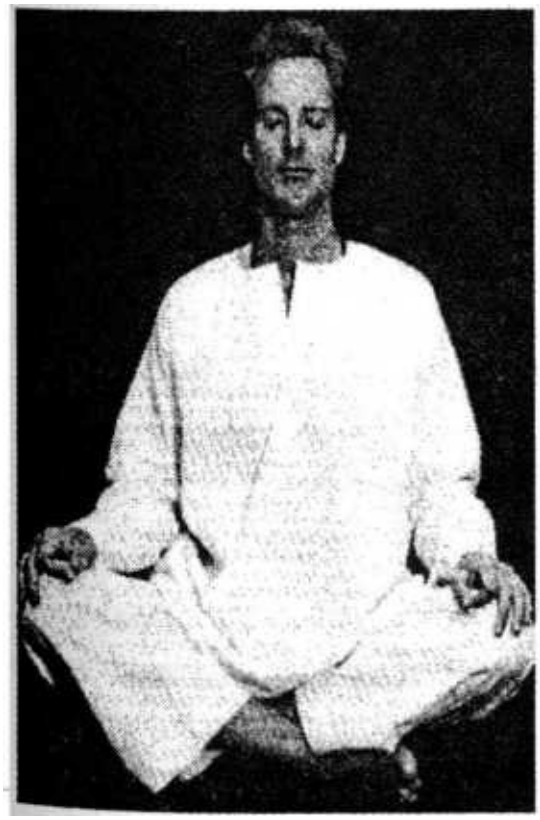
Another hand gesture is called a mudra. *The Seeker's Handbook* explains that a mudra is:

"A ritual gesture of the hand or body, often seen in Oriental art and sculpture, as in figures showing the Buddha with one hand raised in the gesture of granting peace and dismissing fear. Also, trancelike motions, or convulsive-ecstatic poses and hand gestures, often performed in a convulsive manner by someone receiving a direct transmission of spiritual power from a master (shaktipat)."

A *Dictionary of Mysticism* notes that the mudra is a ‘“mystic seal’ of Oriental **occultism;** a series of **occult signs** made with the fingers, and considered to have **magical** effects.”

In *The Gods of India* we find:

“In addition to *mantras yantras,* the third way of representing deities is through gestures *(mudra).* There is a large number of symbolic gestures used in ritual and believed to evoke supranatural beings. Many of the *mudras* through which a deity can be evoked are also used in the sacred dance.” [Emphasis in the original]



Notice how the fingers of both figures on page 231 are formed into circles. This is called a mudra.

Another hand gesture is that of benediction. The **shadow "represents Satan.** That shadow, according to Satanists, is the symbol of malediction. A modernized use of this sign appeared in the *Daily World* of October 18, 1969, as the insignia...of the **Communist** GIs & Vets for Peace." The Pope makes this sign frequently, especially when giving blessings.

A former witch, Mason, and Satanist explains:

“However, the two-fingers TOGETHER *mudra* symbolizes:

“1) the Masonic/Gnostic Law of opposites. The need for both dark and light, good and evil, pain and pleasure which is exemplified in such Masonic icons as the ‘Master’s Carpet,’ which is intended to be a black and white checkerboard. This is rooted in Persian dualism (the doctrine that there is a god of good and a god of evil; and that both gods are equal in power and are necessary to the equilibrium of the cosmos), and is totally un-Biblical....

“b) These also symbolize the ‘Abba’ or ‘Father Current’ of Magic and the ‘Aima’ or ‘Mother Current’ of Magic. These currents or ‘lines of power’ come down to us through the centuries from Babylon and Nimrod....

“In Satanism, that gesture is known as the sign of ‘The Bowman.’ It is a symbol of the anti-Christ. This Bowman/anti-Christ association IN THE OCCULT... is because of the connection between the Homed God of witchcraft and the hunt. A popular name for the Homed God in England is, in fact, Heme the Hunter.”

[Emphasis in the original]

The *Complete Book of Witchcraft* reveals:

“There was a deeply seated belief in the fascination or enchantment of shadows;

so that the witch, or magician, could use them to either produce sickness and death or to inspire love....the shadow of the priest's fingers raised in blessing was considered *[by Satanists—American Opinion*] to have evil significance....A remarkable thing connected with the hand so lifted, is that its shadow resembles the head and horns of the Goat of Baphomet...the symbol of black magic. The use of the 'shadow of blessing' was regarded as the legitimate prerogative of the Pope, and was most terribly exercised during the Dark Ages and at the times of the Inquisition." [Emphasis in the original]

A related hand signal is the "peace sign" or "v sign." The signal "actually began as a symbol of Satanic benediction during the rituals." This sign has been used by Yasser Arafat, Richard Nixon, Winston Churchill, and Stewart Meacham, Co-Chairman of Reds' New Mobilization Committee." Churchill said that the sign stood for victory but remember that Churchill was one of the insider "elite" and a Mason. He most likely knew the evil significance of this symbol but tried to give it a facelift.

The "v sign" has a colorful history. "V" is the Roman sign for the number five and Adam Weishaupt used it in the Illuminati to symbolize the "Law of Fives," but there's more. In the Cabala:

"the meaning for the Hebrew letter for V (Vau) is 'Nail.' Now, 'The Nail' is one of the secret titles of Satan within the Brotherhood of Satanism. Satan is letting us know that this is one of his favorite signs. Why else does he like the PENTA-gram (Penta = five!) and the FIVE-fold salute used in Masonry and Witchcraft?"

[Emphasis in the original]

[Emphasis in the original]

Furthermore:

"The Leftists, radicals, and Satanists who have popularized that sign...know its ancient significance very well. In fact, that 'V' sign is now used **extensively** by such **Communist** organizations as the Young Socialist Alliance, Vets for Peace in Vietnam, and the Students for a Democratic Society."

Although not a hand sign, the peace symbol itself needs to be examined.

"Known as the 'peace sign' throughout the 1960's and into the present day, this symbol is the **Teutonic rune** of **death.** 1950's peace advocate Gerald Holtom may have been commissioned by **communist sympathizer Bertrand Russell to design a symbol to unite leftist peace marchers in 1958.** It is clear that either Holtom or Russell deemed the Teutonic (Neronic) cross as the appropriate symbol for their cause.

"Throughout the last 2,000 years this symbol has designated hatred of Christians. Nero, who despised Christians, crucified the Apostle Peter on a cross head downward. This hideous event resembled the Teutonic cross and became a popular **pagan insignia** of the day. Thereafter, this sign became known as the 'Neronic cross.'

"The symbol's origin in history proves it to be the visual mystic character for 'Aum' (the split 'Y'), This is the sacred word to the Hindu. Chanting 'Aum' is supposed to help awaken 'the serpent power of Brahma' at the base of the human spine. Occultist Albert Pike also identifies this symbol as

mystical in his book on Freemasonry *Morals and Dogma*."

The peace symbol (also called the "broken cross," "crow's foot," "witch's foot," "Nero Cross," "sign of the 'broken Jew,"' and the "symbol of the 'anti-Christ'") is actually a cross with the arms broken. It also signifies the "gesture of despair," and the "death of man."

"The Germanic tribes who used it attributed strange and **mystical** properties to the sign. Such a 'rune' is said to have been **used by 'black magicians' in pagan incantations and condemnations....**To this very day the inverted broken cross—identical to the socialists' 'peace' symbol—is known in Germany as a *'todersrune,'* or death rune. Not only was it ordered by Hitler's National Socialists that it must appear on German death notices, but it was part of the official inscription prescribed for the gravestones of Nazi officers of the dread SS. The symbol suited Nazi emphasis on **pagan** mysticism." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

With the arms of the cross raised in an upright position, it is "a Pythagorean emblem of the course of life, in the form of a rising path with fork roads to Good and Evil." It also signifies fertility, but with the arms pointing downward, it denotes evil and death.

“In fact, the inverted ‘Man-rune’—the figure encircled in the common sign which the Communists tell us means ‘peace’—has for centuries been a favorite sign of Satanists.”

Anton LaVey, the founder of the Church of Satan, used the peace symbol as the backdrop for his altar.

One former witch makes the following comment about the peace symbol:

“It is an ancient and powerful symbol of Antichrist. During the dark ages it was used in Druid Witchcraft and by Satanists of all sorts during the initiation of a new member to their order. They would draw the magic circle and give the initiate a cross. The initiate would then lift the cross and turn it upside down. He would then renounce Christianity in all three dimentions (sic) of time (past, present and future) and break the horizontal pieces downward forming the design of the ‘Raven’s Foot.’ This ugly symbol is nothing short of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. For one to wear or display this symbol is to announce either knowingly or unknowingly that you have rejected Christ. Remember, symbolism is a picture language, and a picture is worth a thousand words.

Below are a few examples of how the peace symbol is being used.

Another hand signal is the Vulcan peace sign. It is supposed to mean "Live Long and Prosper," and can be seen in *Star Trek.*

Vulcan was a sun deity who was associated with fire, thunderbolts, and light. The festival in honor of him was called the Vulcania **human sacrifices** were offered. "According to Diel, bears a family relationship to the Christian **devil."** It fascinating to know that he married Venus, another name for Lucifer or the devil. What is even more interesting is that Vulcan adored in Masonry under the name of Tubal Cain. In the *Masonic Quiz Book* the question is asked: "Who was

Tubal Cain?" The answer is: "He is the **Vulcan** of the **pagans."**

In Masonry, Tubal Cain is the name of the password for the Master Mason (or third) degree.

Listen to what occultist and Mason, Manly Palmer Hall, has to say:

"When the Mason learns that the key to the warrior on the block is the proper application of the dynamo of living power, he has learned the mastery of his Craft. The **seething energies of Lucifer** are in his hands and before he may step onward and upward, he must prove his ability to properly apply energy. **He must follow in the footsteps of his forefather, Tubal-Cain,** who with the mighty strength of the war god hammered his sword into a plowshare."

There is also a sexual connotation associated with Vulcan and Tubal Cain. Former Mason, Bill Schnoebelen, explains:

"For Masons who wish to conceal their membership from non-Masons, but still advertise it to their Lodge brothers, there is a special pin (or tie tack) they can wear. It looks like an upside down golf club with two balls near the top....Many people assume the person is a golfing enthusiast, but it is actually a visual Masonic pun.

"This is called the 'Two Ball Cane,' and is a pun on the secret password of a Master Mason, 'Tubalcain (sic).'...It is also an all-too-obvious pun on the 'god' of Masonry, the male reproductive organ. Nice, eh?...especially when many men wear these wretched things to church on Sunday!"

While we are on the subject of Masonry, there is another Masonic symbol called the clasped hands. Of course, the Masons aren't the only ones who use this symbol.

"It is now used by the...A.F.L.-C.I.O., and is frequently reproduced in the Communist *Daily World* to indicate union between Comrades. This insignia is the official symbol of the Communist-controlled Student 'Nonviolent' Coordinating Committee, and serves as the logo for the Trotskyite Communists' *Workers World.*"

This emblem was also a Pythagorean symbol. (Pythagoras was a **MAGICIAN.)** Many Masonic sources reveal that the clasped hands are a "symbol of fidelity," but they don't stop with that explanation. For example, Albert G. Mackey, 33° Mason, confesses:

"The *right hand* has in all ages been deemed an emblem of fidelity, and our ancient brethren worshiped **DEITY UNDER THE NAME OF FIDES** or Fidelity, which was sometimes represented by **TWO RIGHT HANDS JOINED,** and sometimes by two human figures, holding each other by the right hands....

"Numa was the first who erected an altar to **FIDES,** under which name the **GODDESS OF OATHS** and honesty was worshiped. Obligations taken in her name were considered as more inviolable than any others." [Italics in the original; Boldface and caps added]

Oh, so here again the Masonic symbol represents a **PAGAN GOD**—this time it is Fides.

In fact, the very first degree of the Masonic ritual contains the following question and answer:

"Q. Why were you caused to rest your right hand on the Holy Bible, square, and compasses?

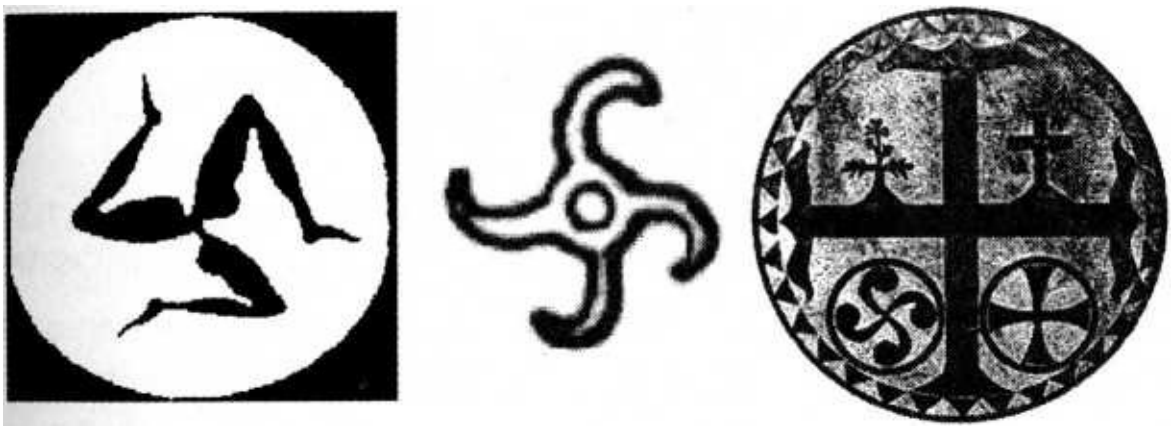
"A. Because the right hand was supposed by our ancient brethren to be the seat of fidelity, and so they worshipped Deity under the name of *Fides*, which was supposed to be represented by the right hands joined, and by two human figures holding each other by the right hand; the right hand, therefore, we masonically use to signify in the strongest manner possible the sincerity of our intentions in the business in which we are engaged." [Emphasis in the original]

How can a Christian worship Fides and at the same time worship the God who commanded: "Thou shalt have **NO** other gods before Me" (Exodus 20:3)? Another of God's precepts is: "Make **NO MENTION** of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth" (Exodus 23:13).

15.

A MEDLEY OF SYMBOLS

As mentioned earlier, the triskele (or triskelion) is one symbol that appears in many logos today. Although many people would probably not recognize the name “triskele,” they certainly would recognize a picture of this symbol. “The **triskelion** (Greek for three legs) **is a symbol of the sun** intended to express motion. A similar device, with four legs, called a tetraskelion, is a modification of the swastika.” Like the swastika, it is considered to be a good luck symbol.



An occult organization sells a triskelion and serpent pendant. They brag: “Double **magic!** Designs on both side (sic) of this unusually attractive pendant. One side bears the three-legged triskeles symbolizing rising, zenith, setting. On the other [side the] serpent portrays strength, divine power, infinite wisdom, eternity.” Another catalog tells us that the “legs’ represent birth, death, and **rebirth.”** Of course, this is a reference to **REINCARNATION.**

We must remember that since the triskele is “a Celtic version of the Yin-Yang symbol of life,” and a modification of the swastika, that what has been said previously about the yin/yang and the swastika (to be covered later) applies to this symbol as well.

A New Age organization sells a Celtic Goddess Pin. It is described like this: “Symbols of the triskele (the sea, good luck) and cauldron (abundance, inspiration) celebrate *Cerridwen:* Celtic goddess of transformation, who offers guidance and spiritual renewal at crucial junctures in the lives of her devotees. In Welsh mythology, she guarded the cauldron of inspiration and was the muse of the bards.” [Emphasis in the original]

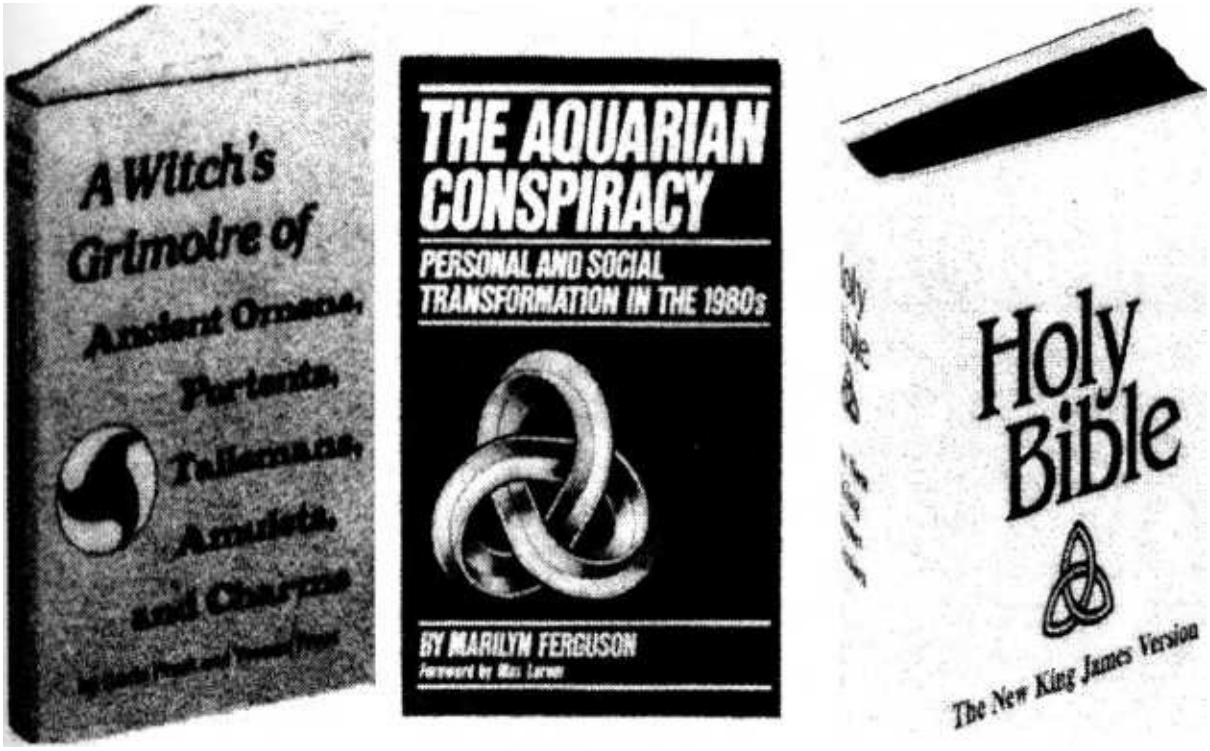
Cerridwen is the goddess of wisdom and **witchcraft.** A former witch reveals: "Cerridwen is the traditional name of the Crone. I learned that in ancient legend, she is the keeper of the Black Cauldron of Immortality. This is the Cauldron from which one sip could bring incredible insights, wisdom and supernatural powers."

Cerridwen is also another name for Venus (also known as Lucifer), Isis, and Hecate. In *Mythology* we find that "Hecate was the Goddess of the Dark of the Moon, the black nights when the moon is hidden. She was associated with the deeds of darkness, the Goddess of the Crossways, which were held to be ghostly places of evil magic."

Laurie Cabot, a witch, states: "At death Hecate was said to meet the departed souls and lead them to the Underworld....And so Hecate became known as the Queen of the Witches...." It's no wonder that Hecate is called the "Queen of the Witches" since she taught **SORCERY** and **WITCHCRAFT.**

Marilyn Ferguson, a New Ager, used the symbol of the triquetra (another name for the triskele) on her book *The Aquarian Conspiracy.* This is a variation for the number 666. Other books and materials have a similar design printed on them, such as books from David Spangler, the person who lauds Lucifer, and *The Witch's Grimoire.* As most people know, the number 666 is the number of the beast (see Revelation 13:18) and is evil, yet the occultists and New Agers love this number and consider it to be a sacred number.

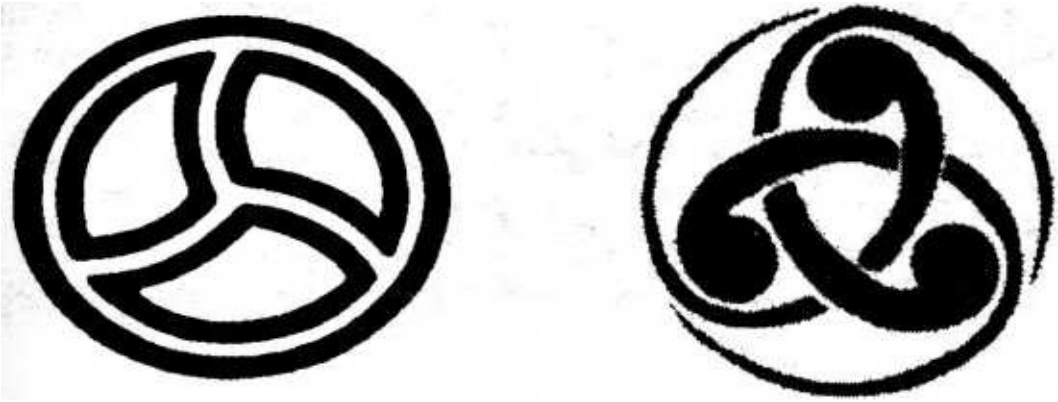
As stated earlier, many organizations, such as the World Future Society and the Trilateral Commission, incorporate this symbol into their logo. I think it is quite interesting to see that this same symbol appears on the cover of the *New King James Bible* as well!



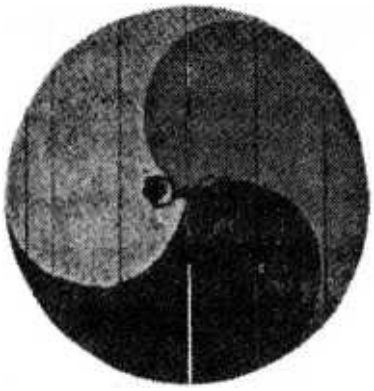
The symbol below is used to exorcise evil spirits. Isn't there a striking similarity to the logo on the *New King James Bible?!*

A few more variations of the triskele appear on the next page.

SUCCESS
THROUGH
HYPNOSIS



I think it is interesting to note that Paul (David) Yonggi Cho, a former Buddhist who is now supposedly a Christian, is pastor of the world's largest church with about 800,000 members. His church in Seoul, Korea, the Yoido Full Gospel Church, belongs to the Assemblies of God conference. The logo he uses is the triskele (see below). As a former Buddhist, I'm fairly sure he would be quite aware of the symbol he is using.

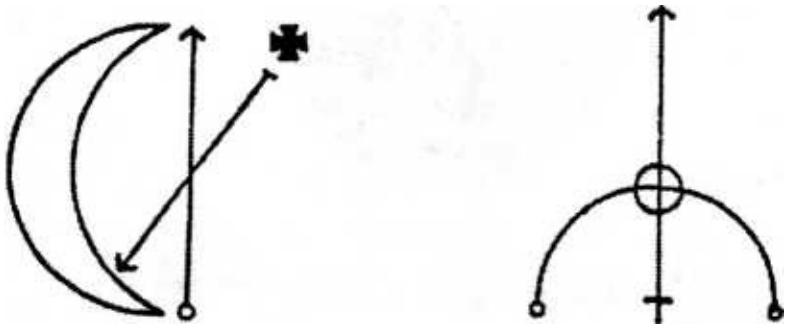


Satanists love to use 666 but sometimes it is disguised as "FFF," since "F" is the 6th letter of the alphabet. Sometimes they will use 999 since 9 is an upside down 6. Also used in Satanism is 3 circles connected at the center which is another symbol representing the mark of the beast.

Another symbol used in Satanism is the anarchy sign. It is a large A surrounded by a circle and it "represents the abolition of **all** law. Initially, those into 'punk' music used this symbol, but it is now widely used by Heavy Metal followers." [Emphasis in the original]

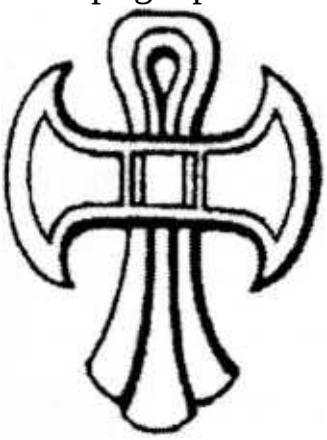
This symbol is really an emblem of rebellion. I Samuel 15:23 tells us that "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft." It isn't hard to see how rebellion can result in witchcraft. King Saul was rebellious and he eventually sought out a witch. Satan rebelled against God and now his followers obviously are following in his footsteps.

Below are two symbols that are used in Satanism. The first one is a "blood ritual symbol [that] represents human and animal sacrifices" and the second is a "sexual ritual symbol often...painted on objects near the side of the road to show the Satanists' use of the location."



Satanists also reverse the double-headed axe to represent "anti-justice to Satanists."

Of course, the doubled-headed axe (or labrys) in the upright position isn't a good

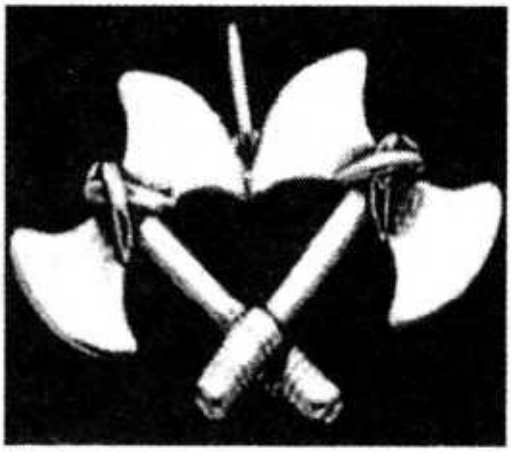


symbol, either. One witchcraft magazine states:

"A Labrys is a double-headed ax that some say dates back to matriarchal times. Women involved in Dianic **Witchcraft** and related paths of **Feminist Spirituality** wear **Labrys amulets** for protection, strength, and empowerment. For some, the Labrys also is the emblem of the Amazon."

In fact, the labrys is one of the symbols in witchcraft used to honor the Goddess. Another book on witchcraft states: "The labrys is symbolic of the phases of the Moon and of the Goddess. It was extensively used in Crete."

A gay and lesbian organization proudly uses the labrys. They brag: “The Labyris (sic) comes from the time when women lived equal and free. It symbolized power and strength, transformation and the Goddess. Labyris (sic) takes its name from labia and gives its name to **labyrinth, place of initiation. Lesbians** are self-initiated women who have transformed and empowered ourselves. The **double-axe is our symbol,** wear it with pride!”

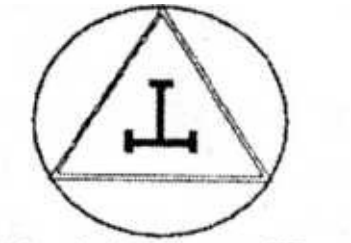


Marduk, a pagan god, was known as the Lord of the double-headed axe and a Masonic book tells us that the double-headed axe was the chief symbol of Sandan and that it was also “associated with the Syrian god of fertility....” *A Dictionary of Symbols* gives some revealing information about the axe:

“A symbol of the **power of light....**But much more important and complex is the significance of the **twin-bladed axe, related to the sign *tau*....**According to Luc Benoist, this twin-bladed axe is the same as the Hindu *vajra* and Jove’s **thunderbolt,** becoming, therefore, a **symbol of celestial illumination.** Nowadays, the **double-bladed axe** (the *labrys)* is **associated with the**

labyrinth, both being symbols in the Cretan cult." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

The tau is a Masonic symbol. The Mason makes the tau cross with his feet during his initiation ceremony and the triple tau appears on the Masonic apron. J. S. M. Ward, a Mason, reveals that the tau cross is "placed on the apron of the Master of the Lodge, though placed [upside down], so as to give also the symbol of the square, and also to emphasise its **phallic** meaning." He adds: "The *tau cross* is also a symbol of the male or creative side of the deity, and is really a conventionalised form of the phallus." [Emphasis in the original] *The Sign Language of the Mysteries* states somewhat the same tiling: "The tau cross is a very ancient symbol, representing the phallus and hence it often stands for our animal passions."



Upside down Tau

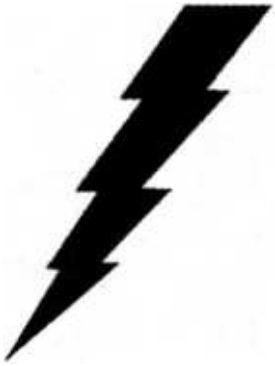
The book *Anacalypsis* reveals: "The Tau, T, is the emblem of Mercury, of Hermes. It is the *crux ansata,* and the *crux Hermis*....the **crux Tau was also the emblem of the generative power,** of eternal transmigrating life, and thus was used indiscriminately with the Phallus. It was, in fact, *the phallus.* The Tau is the Thoth, the Teut, the Teutates of the Druids; and Teutates was Mercury...." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

A former Mason mentions that the tau cross "is actually the symbol of the pagan slain and risen god, Tammuz (Ezekiel 8:13-14). It is a symbol for just another counterfeit Masonic 'Christ.'"

counterfeit Masonic "Christ."

The Phoenicians used the tau cross as a **magic** symbol.

As just mentioned, the tau and the double-headed axe are the same as the thunderbolt. Thor, Set, Zeus, and Jupiter (as well as other gods) were considered to be the gods of thunder and lightning. It's interesting to note that Thor (who is covered more thoroughly in the chapter on "Masonic and Eastern Star Symbols") is another name for Satan. Remember that Satanists love to use the lightning or thunderbolt (also called the Satanic S).



A Satanic rock group called KISS ("the name stands for 'Knights in Satan's Service'") uses the Satanic S for the last two letters in their name. They also have a song on one of their albums entitled "God of Thunder." Some other rock groups that use the Satanic S are "*Black Sabbath, AC-DC, Raven, Metallica, Krokus, Judas Priest, Keel, [and] Bowie....*" [Emphasis in the original]

A little history of where the Satanic S came from should prove fascinating. We're told: "In the early stages of the total Nazification of Germany, Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler, one of the most feared and hated men in the entire nation, undertook archeological excavations in various parts of Europe, digging for clues to the 'magnificent' past of the Aryan 'super-race.' At a site in Bavaria, ancient **runic** inscriptions were uncovered. **Runes** were part of a centuries-old Germanic alphabet which **possessed mystical significance** to the Teutonic tribesmen of that time. One of the tokens unearthed was the **lightning bolt 'S.' Himmler incorporated the sign into the Gestapo, making it the infamous 'SS' (for Schutzstaffel). Several other runes were also used in secret SS rituals.**

"The two letters of *KISS'* logo are identical to those of Himmler's SS...."

"These jagged symbols were also used by the Nazi **S.S.** as their **sign of Satanic terror. The sign represents the power of Lucifer falling to earth from Grace as a lightning bolt.** (Luke 10:18)." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

A Dictionary of Symbols claims; "The **thunderbolt** is held to be an emblem of sovereignty. The winged thunderbolt expresses the ideas of power and speed. Jupiter's three thunderbolts symbolize chance, destiny and providence—the forces that mould the future....The *vajra*, the Tibetan symbol for both 'thunderbolt' and 'diamond', is also connected with the world-axis....It **is also related to the glance from the third eye of Shiva** (or Siva), the destroyer of all material forms." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

The thunderbolt, in the form of the dordj, "is used by the lamas and bonzes to bless the faithful, and to exorcise demons." As just noted, it is also related to the third eye of Shiva. The third eye is covered in the chapter on the "All-Seeing Eye," but it should be noted, according to *The Satanic Bible*, that Shiva is another name for Satan.

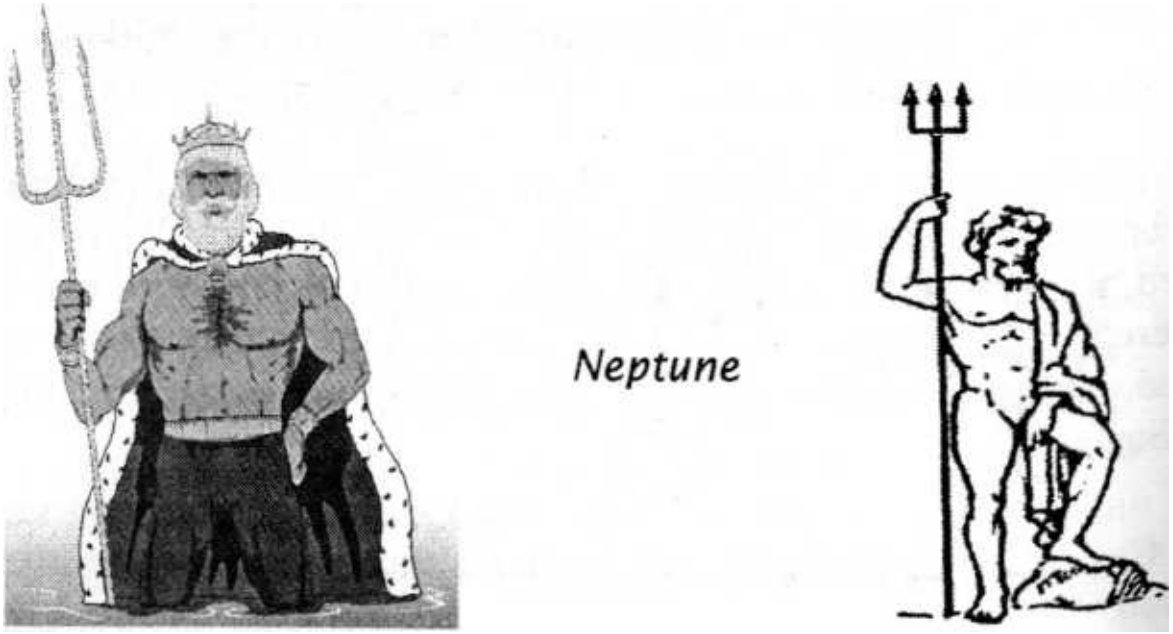
Shiva carries the **trisula** (or trident, which is referred to as the **Caduceus of India)** and Jupiter's thunderbolt was three-forked.

The number three is very important in Masonry and the occult. A Masonic author, John T. Lawrence, reminds us: "Thus we [the Masons] have **three** degrees, **three** great lights, **three** lesser lights, **three** principal officers, **three** assistant officers, **three** sets of **three** working tools, **three** steps, **three** pillars, **three** ornaments, **three** articles of furniture, **three** movable jewels and

three immovable jewels, **three** grand principles, **three** assassins, **three** searching lodges, **three** who rule a lodge, **three** Grand Masters, and **three** orders of architecture. In fact, the respect paid by Freemasons to this number goes far to suggest that our mysteries have affinities not only with the Egyptian rites and ceremonies, but with those of a good many other nations.

In the **mythologies** of Greece and Rome **the thunderbolt of Jupiter was three-forked; the sceptre of Neptune was a trident.** There were **three** Fates and **three** Furies. Both the sun and moon had **three** names—Apollo, Sol, and Liber, and Diana, Luna, and Hecate respectively. Cerberus was **three-headed.** In Hindu mythology **the worshipper of Vishnu has his forehead decorated with a trident."**

A Dictionary of Symbols explains that the **trident "is an attribute of the god** of the unconscious and **of sin—Neptune,** whose realm is the haunt of monsters and base forms of life. The triple character of the **trident is an 'INFERNAL replica of the Trinity....'"** Neptune, the god of the sea, is also known as Poseidon, Hades (hell), and Shiva.

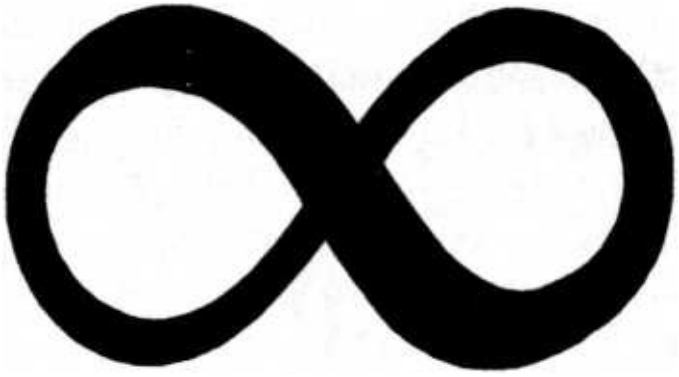


Mythologist Joseph Campbell reminds us that the "trefoil or trident, [is] the symbol of Shiva, Poseidon, Satan." The Lord of the Abyss is pictured with a hammer which "is symbolic, also, of the **lightning bolt of *illumination....***" The trident "is also a fire symbol...." Remember, that Lucifer (Satan) is called the

Light-bearer and the Bible tells us that Satan comes as “an angel of light” (II Corinthians 11:14).

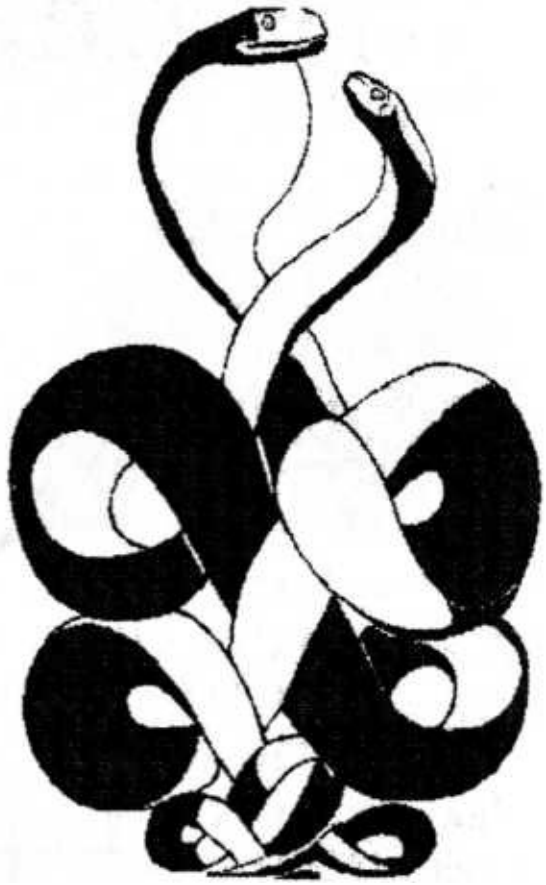
The trident or lightning bolt is used in many ways. It’s the symbol used for psychology and Neptune, the emblem on the flag for Barbados, as well as The United States Naval War College.

Another Satanic symbol is the **lazy eight** or the **infinity sign.** *The Seeker's Handbook* states that this sign is the "Western counterpart to the **YIN/YANG."** [Emphasis in the original]



Helena Petrovna Blavatsky comments that it "is symbolized in its turn by the **Caduceus."** One witchcraft book asserts that it is the symbol for immortality. To

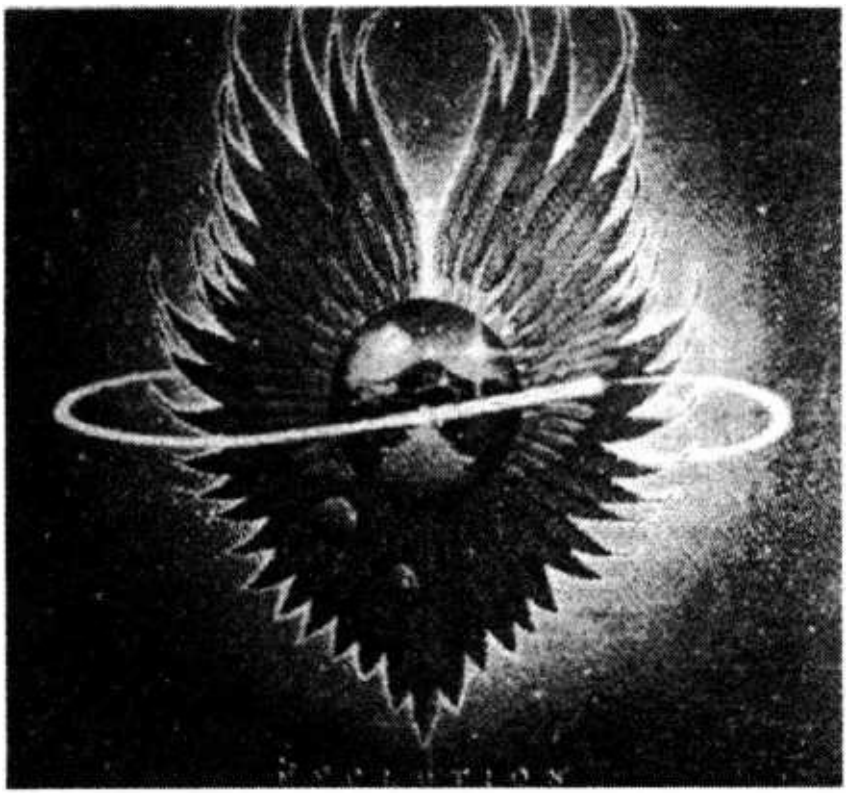
occultists, it represents Lucifer's eternal victory. It also symbolizes reincarnation and karma.



This symbol can be seen on certain Tarot cards such as "The Magician" (for picture, see the chapter on "Hand Signals") and "Strength."

The infinity symbol sometimes encircles a globe in which case it means that Satan has put the earth under his control.

The rock group, Duran Duran, also incorporates the lazy 8 and the globe in their album cover.



There is yet another meaning according to Starhawk, a witch. She maintains: “In the Faery tradition of Witchcraft, the unconscious mind is called the Younger Self; the conscious mind is called Talking Self....

“In the Faery tradition, a third ‘self’ is recognized: the Deep Self or God Self....The **Deep Self is the Divine within....**and is conceived of as both male and female....It is often **symbolized as** two linked spirals, or as **the infinity sign,** the 8 on its side. In the Faery tradition, it is called Dian Y Glas, the Blue God. Blue symbolizes spirit; the Deep Self was said to appear blue when psychically ‘seen.’...‘Dian’ is related to both Diana and Tana, the Faery name of the Goddess; also to Janicot, the Basque name of the Horned God....

“In modern occultism, the Deep Self often appears as the ‘Spirit Guide....’”

As a Christian knows, a spirit guide is really a demon. The Bible warns “that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils” (I Timothy 4:1). We can see that this is happening frequently today. Our society is quickly heading back to paganism.

The infinity sign also represents “the adept’s hourglass from which flows infinite time.” Once again we find that the hourglass is a Masonic symbol. It is also used in the Odd Fellows organization, which is known as “poor man’s Masonry.”

We’ve seen in the chapter on “Winged Symbols” that Cronus (or Saturn) is depicted as an old man with a scythe and an hourglass. The hourglass is also the symbol for Shiva’s drum (the Damaru).

As mentioned before, Shiva is another name for Satan. His drum is an hourglass which is the representation of the infinity sign. With this in mind, it was fascinating to learn that the sign for brimstone incorporates the infinity figure in its symbol. It was also interesting to see that the brimstone symbol appears at the top of the Church of Satan’s “Nine Satanic Statements.”

THE
NINE
SATANIC
STATEMENTS

1 Satan represents indulgence, instead of abstinence!

2 Satan represents vital existence, instead of spiritual pipe dreams!

3 Satan represents undefiled wisdom, instead of hypocritical self deceit!

4 Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it, instead of love wasted on ingrates!

5 Satan represents vengeance, instead of turning the other cheek!

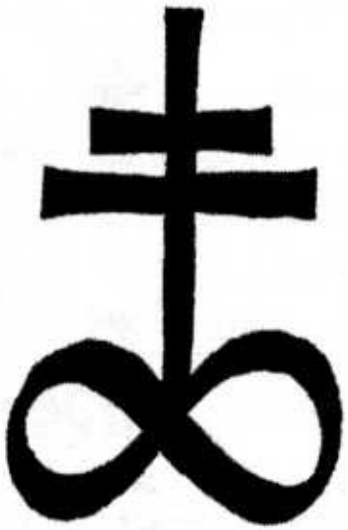
6 Satan represents responsibility to the responsible, instead of concern for psychic vampires!

7 Satan represents man as just another animal, sometimes better, more often worse than those that walk on all-fours, who, because of his "divine spiritual and intellectual development," has become the most vicious animal of all!

8 Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they all lead to physical, mental, or emotional gratification!

9 Satan has been the best friend the church has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years!

Anton Szandor LaVey



Brimstone

Satan (Baphomet, Lucifer) is proclaimed by the New Agers, occultists, and Satanists as the light-bearer. In the drawing of Baphomet (the Goat of Mendes) by Eliphas Levi, a Mason and occultist, we see that he has a **flaming torch** between his horns. The goat is used in Hermetic **MAGIC** where it represents **FIRE** and is also the symbol of generation.

The torch, therefore, is another symbol that needs to be examined but first we'll look at one of the witchcraft holidays called Imbolc (held on February 2nd). This festival: "marks the recovery of the Goddess after giving birth to the God. The lengthening periods of light awaken Her.

The God is a young, lusty boy, but His power is felt in the longer days. The warmth fertilizes the Earth (the Goddess), causes seed to germinate and sprout. And so the earliest beginnings of spring occur.

"This is a Sabbat of purification after the shut-in life of winter, through the renewing power of the Sun. **It is also a festival of light and of fertility,** once marked in Europe with **huge blazes, torches and fire in every form. Fire here represents our own illumination and inspiration** as much as light and warmth.

“Imbolc is also known as Feast of Torches, Oimelc, Lupercalia, **Feast of Pan,** Snowdrop Festival, Feast of the Waxing Light, Brigid’s day (sic), and probably by many other names. Some female Wiccans follow the old Scandinavian custom of wearing crowns of lit candles, but many more carry tapers during their invocations.”

Notice that the Feast of Torches is also called the Feast of Pan.

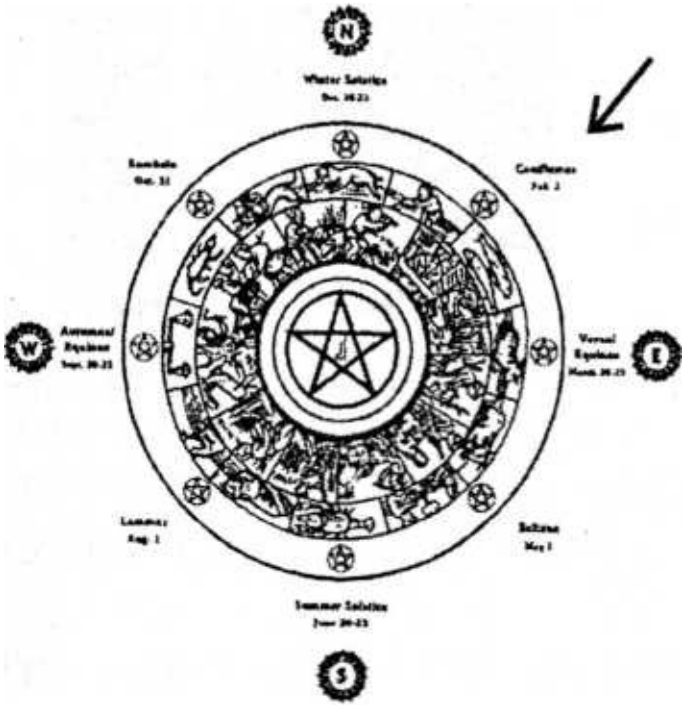
“The god **Pan** is a symbol of nature, and **is usually represented with horns** (expressive of the sun’s rays and of the aggressive force of Aries) and with legs covered with hair (denoting the vitality of base forces, earth, shrubs and the instincts). In astrology, Pan is one aspect of Saturn, **and is also equated with Satan** and with life in its involutive, and, in particular, its base, aspects.”

“PAN WAS THE PATRON SAINT OF SEXUAL PASTIMES.... He often tried to capture women, and because of his lustfulness, they lived in such fear of him that his name is still associated with fear, in the adjective ‘panicky’ and the noun ‘panic.’”

In *The Satanic Bible* Pan is called the “Greek god of lust” was “later relegated to devildom.” Since Pan is represented with horns it is no wonder that he is called the “Homed God” by witches.

Returning to the Feast of Pan or Brigid’s Day, did you notice that some witches

(wiccans) have the custom of wearing crowns of lit candles on **February 2nd?** Starhawk, a witch, reveals: “Brigid is the Irish Goddess of smithcraft, poetry, and healing—the **fire Goddess** who is also worshiped at holy wells. Her festival, on the eve of **February 2,** is a festival of the waxing light, celebrated when the sun begins to grow stronger and the days begin to grow longer. **Also called Candlemas,** it is a time of purification and strengthening, and seemed an appropriate time for our ritual.”



Candlemas is “[o]ne of the eight religious festivals of Witches.” What is interesting is that this **VERY SAME FESTIVAL (including the candles)** under the same name, **CANDLEMAS,** is celebrated in the Catholic Church. Stewart **Farrar, a** witch, comments about Candlemas: “This is the classical Lupercalia or **Feast of Pan.** More anciently still, it is the **celebration of the Goddess’s recovery from giving birth to the new year’s Sun God,** coming as it does six weeks after the winter solstice. The **same concept** has survived **undisguised** in the Christian festival of the **Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary....”**

A Christian author notes: “Another day adopted from paganism, supposedly to honor Mary, is called ‘Candlemas’ or the ‘Purification of the Blessed Virgin’ and is celebrated on February 2....In pagan Rome, this festival was observed by

the carrying of torches and *candles* in honor of Februa, for whom our month February is named! The Greeks held the feast in honor of the goddess Ceres, the mother of Proserpina, who with *candle*-bearing celebrants searched for her in the underworld. Thus we can see how adopting February 2 to honor the purification of Mary was influenced by pagan customs involving candles, even to calling it 'Candlemas' day. On this day all of the candles to be used during the year in Catholic rituals are blessed....Says *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'We need not shrink from admitting that candles, like incense and lustral water, were commonly employed in *pagan* worship and in rites paid to the dead.'" [Emphasis in the original]

Candlemas, the Festival of Torches, is just one of the pagan uses of the flame. Many of the gods and goddesses of mythology carried torches. Some of these are: Hecate (the "Queen of the Witches"), Comus, Eros, Hymenaeus (or Hymen), Apollo, Ilithyia, Eos (or Aurora), Iakchos, and Phosphorus (who is also called Lucifer).

Listen to what occultist Edouard Schure says about Lucifer and his flaming torch: **"Lucifer,** having regained his star and his diadem, will assemble his legions for new works of creation. Attracted by his **flaming torch,** celestial spirits will descend...and he will send these messengers from unknown spheres to earth. Then the **torch of Lucifer** will signal 'From Heaven to Earth!'—and the...(New Age) Christ will answer 'From Earth to Heaven!"'

Light (as signified by the torch) is a very important Masonic term. Masonic writer, Arthur H. Ward, in *Masonic Symbolism and the Mystic Way*, notes: "When later he [the Mason] is given **LIGHT,** it means really that he is taught the principles of **OCCULTISM...."** Occultist and Mason, Manly Palmer Hall, states that "the **torches represent the OCCULT** arts and sciences, the doctrines and dogmas by the light of which Truth is made visible."

A magical tool--Notice the flames, hexagram, triangle, circle, and moon.

In fact, a book publisher that prints Masonic and Eastern Star books is called The Torch Press. The torch is also prevalent in the Olympics. We mentioned the Olympics briefly in the chapter "Humanist Symbols," but let's look at this topic a little more. In the New Age *Rainbow Bridge Newsletter*, we find some interesting information.

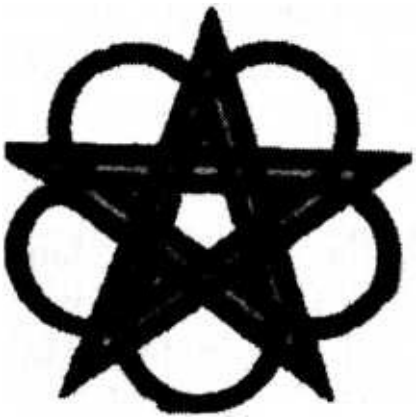
"The torch has been a symbol for ages of the light of God as it flames in the spirit of man. As it has been lighted at Olympics past and sent on its way to other nations, it has carried that symbology of the flame of spirit being extended from one nation to another. This time, it came to a land at whose doorstep stands a lady with another lighted lamp, significantly lighting the way for those seeking freedom.

Our national motto is 'I light the way.'...

"So, the Olympic torch came to a land prepared for its arrival....The torch reached the 'City of the Angels,' the heart **chakra** of our country, and was held proudly aloft by *one* of us for *all* of us....

“John Sinclair, speaking earlier at Meditation Mount about the Games said, **‘The Olympic Games are the heritage of the early forms of which the Yoga of Synthesis is the new yoga to come. It is the yoga of union, effort, enterprise, all of which is enshrined in the Games.** The ages of man are represented and the future of man is expressed in the effort and excellence which they represent. The Avatar of Synthesis is the inspirer of the Yoga of Synthesis which **man has now to evolve.**

“The symbol of the **five-pointed star** was presented over and over. It is the symbol of the New Group of World Servers, the symbol of perfected man, the **star of initiation.** As an energy it is expansion, progress, freedom dominion over the material plane, and a purificatory energy on all planes.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]



Torch races have a pagan origin. The Hephestia was an “Athenian festival in honour of Hephaistos, the Greek Vulcan, in which races were run with lighted torches, handed from one to another.” Also the Prometheia was a “festival held at Athens in honour of Prometheus, in which a torch race was run, from the belief that Prometheus stole fire from heaven, and hence was called the torch-bearer.”

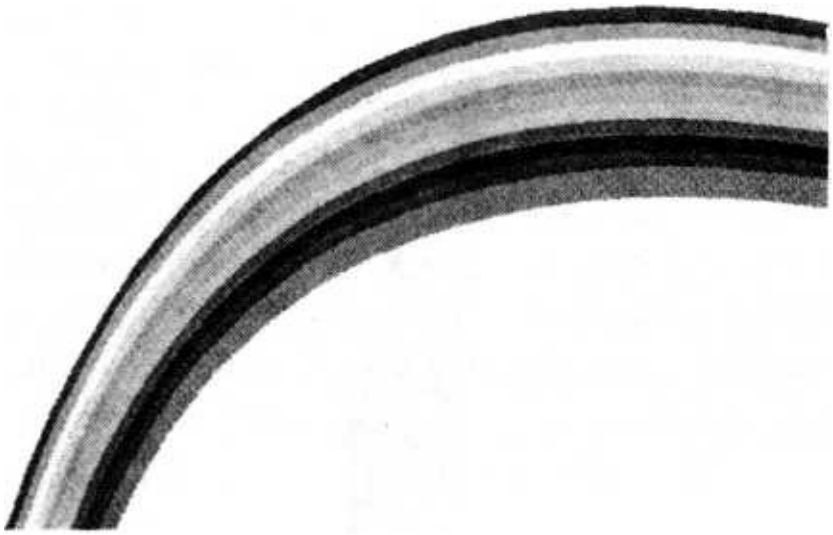
“Torch races date back to the ancient Greeks. A sanctuary in Olympia dedicated to the goddess Hestia, sister of Zeus, ‘housed the glowing embers which, every four years, would be fanned into flame by the winning athletes. To preserve the purity and power of the fire, it had to be moved with speed. Soon competitions developed to see which individual or group—a relay—could move the torch the fastest. The winner won the honor of lighting the fire in the name of the patron deity of the city.’”

As just mentioned, the Statue of Liberty also holds a torch in her hand. It’s no surprise to learn that the Masons gave us this “goddess.”

“Towering above the shimmering but polluted waters, she holds in her **outreached arm and hand** a **torch of fire and light. A gift of the Masonic Order,** the modern inheritors of the Illuminati heritage, the Statue of Liberty was sculptured by Frederic Bartholdi, a member of the Masonic Lodge of Alsace-Lorraine in Paris, France. The statue is significant to the secret societies plotting the New World Order.”

The Migration of Symbols reveals: "The **hand uplifted towards the sky** is...figured on native houses...to **ward off evil spirits** from the dwellers therein."

Another popular symbol with the New Agers and occultists is the rainbow. God gave the rainbow as a promise to mankind that He would never send a worldwide flood again to destroy man (Genesis 9:13-16).



The New Agers have taken this symbol and made it into something that it was never meant to be. Masonic author, George Oliver, remarks: "It is remarkable that in all the ancient systems of **MYTHOLOGY,** the Great Father, or the **MALE GENERATIVE PRINCIPLE** was uniformly symbolized by a **POINT WITHIN A CIRCLE.** This emblem was placed by the Scandinavian priests and poets on the central summit of a RAINBOW, which was fabled to be a bridge leading from earth to heaven."

Another author reveals: "In the practice of voodoo black magic in Haiti and

Africa today, the **RAINBOW IS DEPICTED AS AN EVENT CELEBRATING THE MARRIAGE OF A 'RAINBOW GOD' TO THE 'SERPENT GOD.'**

"In the ancient Jewish **KABBALA**—now being revived by New Age teachers of today—mystical rabbis taught that the **RAINBOW SYMBOLIZED A SEXUAL RITE.** The bow of the rainbow was supposedly the phallus of the male god which descended into the kingdom of the womb, the queen or goddess. The union was said to create immense divine powers."

Notice the astrological symbols under the rainbow

In Scandinavian mythology, there was a rainbow bridge called Bifrost. This bridge was "also known as the 'devil's bridge'" and was equated with the river Styx of the Egyptians, which was the river that they believed flowed through hell.

"In Greek mythology, the rainbow is the embodiment of the messenger of the goddess, Iris...." The Chinese rainbow differs somewhat in that it only has five colors (instead of the typical seven), "their synthesis symbolizing the union of YIN AND YANG." [Emphasis in the original]

In Babylonian literature the rainbow was "a sign of wrath, of terror, and of ill, and as an attribute of the goddess Tir-an-na, bringer of misfortune."

In Masonic symbolism, we find that the Rainbow appears as the representation of Lucifer, the Light Bearer.

The rainbow bridge (also called the antahkarana) is referred to frequently by the New Age movement and is found repeatedly in occult literature. One Christian author explains: “In the occult, the rainbow is a hypnotic device supposedly forming a bridge between the individual and the over-soul or Great Universal Mind. This ‘Mind’ is not God.”

Lynn F. Perkins, a Mason and author of *Masonry in the New Age*, reveals the following about the **antahkarana:** “Masons, as ‘Builders of a Spiritual Fabric,’ should become familiar with this old **Hindu** term. It refers to the ‘Bridge’ or ‘Pathway’ that every human being is consciously or unconsciously building between his ‘lower self’ and his ‘High-Self,’ between his imperfect self and his perfect self.

The process of the ‘Builder’ never ceases **FROM LIFE TO LIFE EITHER IN OR OUT OF A PHYSICAL BODY.** The ‘rough stone’ ultimately becomes the ‘Perfect Ashlar.’”

In passing, notice that Perkins is also promoting **REINCARNATION** by his remark about “life to life”!

In the teachings of Tibetan Buddhism: “the **RAINBOW SYMBOLIZES**

MAN'S ultimate perfect state—**DIVINITY,** when he has achieved an inner unity of good and evil, shadow and light, and becomes one with the Great One.

"In other words, **THE NEW AGE TEACHES THAT MAN'S PATH TO GODHOOD IS SYMBOLIZED BY THE 'RAINBOW BRIDGE,'** which man crosses over by achieving higher consciousness. The reward at the other end of the rainbow: self-empowerment, immortality, divinity."

With this in mind, it's no surprise to see the following notice in a witchcraft magazine. It states: **"CARRY A BEAUTIFUL SYMBOL OF THE NEW AGE SPREAD THE WORD—JOIN THE LEGIONS OF LIGHT...."**

"Ashtar and the 'Space Brothers' have repeatedly said that it is time we New Agers show our belief in the existence of more advanced life in space. As a special memento to coincide with the release of this important volume we are offering for a limited time only a beautiful medallion depicting the **symbol of the New World Order—a rainbow with a flying saucer** flying over it...."

A New Age book, *The Light Shall Set You Free*, states: "Since the seven major **chakras** comprise the seven colors of the RAINBOW...and since the **seven colors of the RAINBOW** form **WHITE LIGHT,** we must keep these chakras vibrating at their maximum strength within us at all times. This is done through the power of the mind and through **VISUALIZATION.** The process is also enhanced through **MEDITATION....**

"When each chakra is fully activated, vibrating with its purest color, the seven colors combine within and create an auric field of **WHITE LIGHT.** This forms a protective shield of energy around us and gives off a glow of energy that is often called **ILLUMINATION."**

The **white light** is an important symbol in the New Age. A former witch wrote: "In the upper three levels of witchcraft **LUCIFER IS REPRESENTED BY A WHITE LIGHT."** The Tara Center, a well-known New Age organization who is promoting the "New Age Christ," called Maitreya, explains: "Triangles work is easy. Mentally link up with the two other members; visualize a **TRIANGLE OF WHITE LIGHT** circulating above your heads; then say The Great Invocation aloud (whenever possible). See your **TRIANGLE** linked with all other triangles, transmission and meditation groups on the planet. See the **WHITE LIGHT** circulating among this network of focal points and pouring out to envelop the world, thus helping to form a channel for the downpouring of Light and Love into the body of humanity.

"When you say: 'From the centre where the Will of God is known,' which is Shamballa, visualise a great sphere of **WHITE LIGHT."**

Shamballa, by the way, is the mythological place where the "Lord of the World," Sanat Kumara or Shiva (who is actually Satan), is supposed to live!

Dennis Carpenter, a witch, advises: "Connect with the Divine as you know it. Imagine yourself surrounded with WHITE LIGHT, a protective sphere of light that will keep you safe throughout this meditation." Lazaris, a spirit guide (actually a demon), "suggests that he be visualized, simply, as a sphere of

WHITE LIGHT."

Kundalini is the name of the serpent that is supposed to lie coiled at the base of the spine but which is raised during yoga. New Ager, Elizabeth Clare Prophet, calls Kundalini the white light.

Prophet, as well as other occultists, refer to the Great White Brotherhood. New Agers, Shirley McCune and Norma Milanovich, explain: "The Great White Brotherhood (white meaning **WHITE LIGHT)** is composed of many of the beings in the Cosmic Hierarchy. This organization includes seventy Orders/Brotherhoods of the universe....

"Beings of Light can hold membership simultaneously in the Order of Melchizedek and in the Great White Brotherhood. In fact, most, if not all, do belong to both."

Both Masonry and Mormonism refer to the Melchizedek Priesthood. In fact, for one to become a god, according to Mormon doctrine, one must belong to the Melchizedek Priesthood. In Scottish Rite Masonry, the 19th degree is called "Grand Pontiff." It is during this ceremony that the "Candidate is anointed with oil, is made and proclaimed a priest for ever according to the Order of Melchizedek." Hebrews 5:5, 9 tells us, however, that "Christ glorified not Himself to be made an high priest" but was "called **OF GOD** an high priest after the order of Melchizedek," but occultists, Mormons, and Masons glorify **THEMSELVES** and take **ON THEMSELVES** the honor of priesthood that was given to **Christ ALONE.**

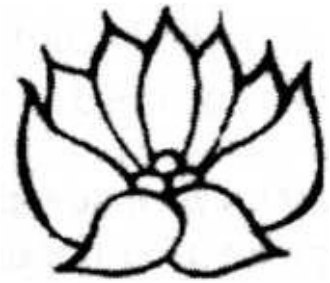
The Bible goes on to reveal that Christ "because He continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood" (Hebrews 7:24). The word "unchangeable" is "aparabatos" in the Greek and means **"UNTRANSFERABLE."** In other words, this priesthood cannot be passed on from one person to another. Christ is the one and only one who can hold this priesthood.

Example after example could be given of such quotations about the **"white light**." It is also interesting to note that *The White Light* is the name of a publication of the **OCCULT** organization the Temple of Truth. It is billed as "The Magazine of Ceremonial Magick." The name of their bookstore is The Magick Circle.

For much more information on the rainbow and the white light, see my book *Hidden Secrets of the Eastern Star.*

Another symbol that is frequently seen today is the lotus flower. Blavatsky says that the lotus: “is the flower sacred to nature and her Gods....With the Hindus, the lotus is the emblem of the productive power of nature, through the agency of fire and water (spirit and matter)....The lotus, in India, is the symbol of prolific earth....The lotus is the two-fold type of the Divine and human **hermaphrodite,** being of dual sex, so to say....

“The lotus flower, represented as growing out of Vishnu’s navel—that God resting on the waters of space and his Serpent of Infinity—is the most graphic allegory ever made: the Universe evolving from the central Sun, the POINT, the ever-concealed germ.” [Caps in the original; Boldface added]



Hall, writes:

“You will sometimes see strange little Chinese gods or Oriental Buddhas sitting on the blossom of a Lotus. In fact, if you look carefully you will find nearly all the Oriental gods are so depicted. This means that they have opened within themselves that Spiritual Consciousness which they call the **KUNDALINI.”**

One of the emblems of Isis is the lotus, which is a symbol of the resurrection. Of course, in Egyptian mythology, the idea of resurrection means rebirth or **REINCARNATION.** The lotus was also associated with sun gods.

“One Egyptian legend tells that before creation there was nothing but a stagnant ocean upon which floated a lotus. When the beautiful flower opened, all of creation, including the Gods, spilled forth from it. Another tale tells how a great lotus opened to reveal a scarab which became the sun, and each day as mighty Ra opens His eye (the lotus), the sun appears. The lotus flower opens and

closes each day as the sun rises and sets so the connection between the flower and the sun is very clear."

Hall explains:

"In the Western World the **Lotus has been changed to the Rose.** *The Roses of the Rosicrucians, the Roses of the Masonic degrees, and also those of the Order of the Garter in England* **ALL stand for the SAME THING: the awakening of spiritual consciousness** and unfolding into full bloom the soul qualities of man. When man opens this bud within himself, he finds, like the golden pollen in the flower, this wonderful spiritual city, **SHAMBALLA,** in the heart of the thousand-petalled Lotus of the brain."

Pike says that the "*Rose* was anciently sacred to Aurora and Sun." In another book Hall declares: "Of all symbolic flowers the lotus blossom of India and Egypt and the rose of the Rosicrucians are the most important. In their symbolism these two flowers are considered identical. The esoteric doctrines for which the Eastern lotus stands have been perpetuated in modern Europe under the form of the rose. The rose and the lotus are **yonic** emblems, signifying primarily the maternal creative mystery...."

Hall just said that the lotus and the rose are symbols of the female generative parts. An expanded definition is given in *A Dictionary of Symbols.* Another author writes: "For example, the *lotus* symbolizes the female vulva of the Mother Goddess, the *diamond* the male organ of the ancient Father God of paganism. Thus, when a New Ager speaks mysteriously of the 'diamond entering the lotus' during religious initiation ceremonies, he literally is referring to sexual intercourse as a New Age holy ritual." [Emphasis in the

original]

“There is a certain parallel between the symbolism of the lotus and that of the rose in Western culture. In Egypt, the lotus symbolizes nascent life, or first appearance. Saunier regards it as a natural **symbol for all forms of evolution**....As an artistic creation it is **related to the mandala,** its significance varying according to the number of its petals: the eight-petalled lotus is considered in India as the **Centre where Brahma dwells** and as the visible manifestation of his **occult** activity....The ‘thousand-petalled’ lotus symbolizes the final revelation....From the remotest days of antiquity, the lotus was unanimous choice of the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindus, the Egyptians and the Aryans. The lotus flower growing out of the navel of Vishnu, symbolizes the universe growing out of the central sun— the central point or the ‘unmoved mover’. It is the attribute of many deities.”

The mandala, mentioned in the previous paragraph, is: “a Hindu term for a circle. It is a kind of *yantra* (instrument, means or emblem), in the form of a ritual geometric diagram, sometimes corresponding to a specific, divine attribute or to some **form of enchantment** *(mantra)* which is thus given visual expression....They are to be found all over the Orient, and always as a means towards contemplation and concentration—as an aid in inducing certain mental states and in encouraging the spirit to move forward along its path of evolution from the biological to the geometric, from the realm of corporeal forms to the spiritual.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

One item that is used in Buddhism is the prayer wheel. “In Buddhist countries the wheel or chakra is twirled for **divination** and as a means of gaining inspiration.” The Tibetans put a prayer inside the wheel and then spin it over and over again. They feel that every time they spin it, the prayer is being sent forth. This is a repetitious form of prayer. In *Numerology: The Magic of Numbers* find: “We are all aware today that with the new interest in Indian **occultism** the modern gurus or teachers are fond of giving a ‘word’ to their disciples which they use as a prayer form and which has vibrations which build up in the body of the person using them by repetition. The word, such as *ohm*, must always be a specific one given to the individual, and it is the work of the guru to find out which word will indeed vibrate harmoniously with the vibrations of the individual receiving it. The **‘magic’ appears to be in the constant use of the word** rather **like the Tibetan prayer wheel** churning out its monotonous prayers.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

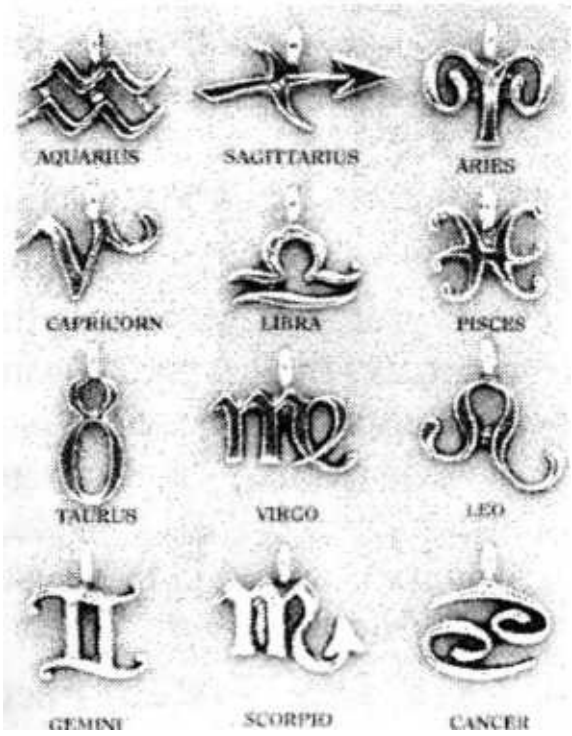
The Bible address this issue. In Matthew 6:5-8 we are told: “And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the comers of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which

is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. But **when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do:** for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. **Be not ye therefore like unto them:** for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask Him."

16.

ZODIAC SIGNS

Astrology (a form of **divination)** is a practice in which a person consults the sun, moon, stars, and planets to **foretell future events.** One occult magazine relates: "Anxious to know the future, they believed that by watching the stars they could deduce ahead of time the actions of their gods and goddesses who controlled every facet of their lives. Astrology can be traced back to ancient Babylon where the Zodiac was established."



The astrologers claim that the position of the heavenly bodies at the exact time of one's birth will influence this person's entire life including his personality, romance, and career. Given the exact time and location of one's birth, astrologers (those who study astrology) can then determine which days will be "lucky" and which days will be "bad". These good and bad days differ from person to person. If August 18th has been determined as a good day for you, you

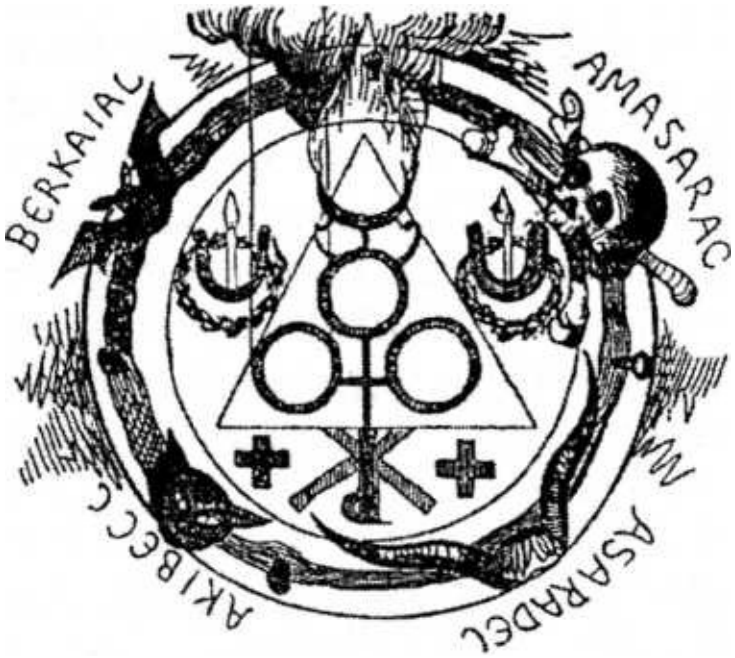
would then be encouraged to make a large business deal, apply for that special job opening that you always wanted, or take that long-awaited trip to Europe on **THAT** day. However, if August 18th is one of your bad days, you should not make any major decision until one of your "good" days, thus avoiding the possibility of having things turn sour.

The World Book Encyclopedia recounts: "During ancient times there was wide belief in **OCCULT** sciences. The best-known of the old **OCCULT subjects included ASTROLOGY,** alchemy, necromancy, and magic." Under "ASTROLOGY" we find: "Judicial astrology is the astrology of today. It was and still is closely related to other **pseudo** sciences and superstitions such as palmistry, numerology, and the use of charms and magic." Related articles under **"Magic"** include: **ASTROLOGY,** clairvoyance, divination, evil eye, exorcism, hypnotism, necromancy, shaman (witch doctor), telepathy, trance, voodoo and witchcraft!

Nat Freedland, in *The Occult Explosion*, writes that **"astrology is clearly the MOST IMPORTANT part of the OCCULT explosion."** He also says: "The greatest common denominator of **OCCULTISM** in the United States is the **astrology** column."

The *Treasury of Witchcraft* states: "Stemming from the **Black Arts,** and involving **goetic** premises, assuming the techniques and conditions of **occult practices** are alchemy, divination, **astrology,** and levitation." **Goetic magic,** by the way, **is black magic or sorcery.** Mason Kenneth MacKenzie says that goetia is the "term for black magic, in contradistinction to Theurgia, or white magic. The powers of darkness were invoked in this system with horrible rites."

One book explains the **Goetic Circle of Pacts** (see picture on page 277) like this: *"Symbols play a vital role in infernal conjuration. ...the Goetic Circle of Pacts, drawn by Eliphas Levi in the 19th century, is supposed to be used when the sorcerer is to make a pact with the Descending Hierarchy. The three circles in the center are the standing positions of the sorcerer and his apprentices. The skull must be from a parricide, the horns from a goat, the bat must have been drowned in blood, and the black cat, whose head is place opposite the skull, must have been fed on human flesh."* [Emphasis in the original]



Once again we can find Masonry **PROMOTING** an **OCCULT** practice. One Masonic author, Mr. Castells, brags: “The Zodiac is still with us in the Royal Arch, although...like so many other symbols of Freemasonry, its real import and significance has been obscured.” He adds: “In 1775, when the Freemasons’ Hall was erected, the **ZODIAC WAS ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE A MASONIC SYMBOL** by placing it over the main entrance of that edifice.”

In *Masonry and Its Symbols in the Light of “Thinking and Destiny,”* we find: “The Zodiac is the best symbol of the circle with the twelve points on the circumference which give a value to geometrical symbols....**Masonry has its symbols from the Zodiac.”**

Notice the astrological symbolism on the Masonic globe

Another Mason claims: "According to **Occult** teaching, each **reincarnation** is under the adjoining sign of the zodiac, hence a sign, thirty degrees, is a **symbol of rebirth,** and the moving over (the advancement) of thirty degrees is emblematic of rebirth."

The **zodiac** is based on astrology which is and **ALWAYS HAS BEEN associated with the OCCULT and WITCHCRAFT.** In spite of this, however, some "evangelical" people (such as D. James Kennedy of Coral Ridge Ministries) promote the zodiac and refer to "Biblical astrology." An ad in *Charisma and Christian Life* announced: "Startling discoveries made by eminent theologian Dr. D. James Kennedy prove that God created the Zodiac! God intended the stars to foretell the future of the world. Discover what Dr. Kennedy calls **BIBLICAL ASTROLOGY** or the Gospel in the stars. Order, 'The Real Meaning of the Zodiac' book on cassette...."

Let's look at some of what Kennedy teaches. He claims: "Fourthly, in the signs of the zodiac, is Sagittarius, the Archer. Sagittarius is a CENTAUR WITH THE BODY OF A HORSE AND THE TORSO OF A MAN. He is a man with a drawn bow and arrow. The Bible speaks of one in Revelation 6:2, **'And I saw, and behold a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow...and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.'** THIS IS A PICTURE OF ONE WHO HAS TWO NATURES: OF CHRIST WHO IS THE GOD-MAN (the *theanthropos,* both man and God) who is going forth conquering and to conquer." [Italics and boldface in the original; Caps added]

Personally, I feel that this is blasphemy. The centaur is a **MYTHOLOGICAL** animal, so does this make Christ a mythological being? In Revelation 6 we see **TWO DISTINCT** beings—a horse **AND** a man, not a horse-man. Supposedly this represents the two natures of Christ, but does the horse represent the man aspect of Christ or the divine aspect? Or, does the man represent the man aspect or the divine aspect? We cannot make either the horse or man DIVINE. Romans 1:22-23, 25 warns: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, And ***changed*** **the glory of the uncorruptible *God into an image made like to corruptible man,* and to birds*, and fourfooted beasts,* and creeping things....**Who **changed the truth of God into a lie,** and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen."

Kennedy admits: "Remarkably, the stars in the heaven which represent those twelve signs bear **absolutely no resemblance to the pictures or the signs themselves.** For example, what we call the Big Dipper has been called Ursa Major (Great Bear).

One thing it does not look like is a great bear! Neither do any of the other signs look like what they are supposed to represent."

This is some admission! Kennedy claims that "God intended the stars to foretell the future of the world," but if the signs do not "look like what they are supposed to represent," then how can the Gospel be clearly proclaimed by the constellations? The Bible tells us: "Have **NO** fellowship with the unfruitful works of **DARKNESS,** but rather **REPROVE** them" (Ephesians 5:11). We are not to try to "Christianize" the occult.

There are many explicit warnings AGAINST ASTROLOGY in the Bible. We covered Deuteronomy 18:10, 12 before but it's well worth repeating: "There shall not be found among you ANY ONE that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth **DIVINATION [ASTROLOGY!],** or an **OBSERVER OF TIMES [ASTROLOGER],** or an enchanter, or a witch....For **ALL** that do these things are an **ABOMINATION** unto the Lord."

Jeremiah 10:2 warns: "Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the SIGNS OF HEAVEN; for the heathen are dismayed at them. For the CUSTOMS of the people are VAIN...." Speaking about the doom of Babylon,

Isaiah prophesied:

"For thou hast trusted in thy WICKEDNESS....Therefore shall evil come upon thee....Stand now with thy enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries....Let now the ASTROLOGERS, the STAR-GAZERS, the MONTHLY PROGNOSTICATORS, stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee....**NONE** shall save thee" (Isaiah 47:10-15, in part).

A former witch cautions us that astrology, occult jewelry, face painting, tarot cards, playing cards, incense, drugs, nakedness, and occult games are definitely part of **witchcraft.** Let's do what I Thessalonians 5:22 tells us to do: "Abstain from **ALL** appearance of evil."

Connected to astrology is another symbol that is quite popular nowadays. It is called the enneagram. One Christian researcher explains: "A currently popular variation of the triangle is the *enneagram,* a symbol that has several triangles arranged so that nine points touch an outer circle. Sir John Sinclair, in his commentary on the legacy of Alice Bailey, founder of Lucis Trust, remarks that the **enneagram originated in ancient Egypt.** He suggests that the nine points on the enneagram represent nine different groups of **New Age** workers: financiers and economists, psychologists, telepathic communicators, workers in the field of religion, educators of the New Age, trained observers, scientific servers, political organizers, and magnetic healers.

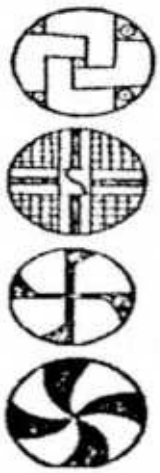
"Djwhal Khul, the spirit guide who revealed this diagram and its meaning to Alice Bailey, confided to her that once these nine groups come together, a 'tenth group'—which he failed to identify—will come forth to bring in a One World Order.

“The enneagram also is a Hindu symbol. Sri Aurobindo, an Indian Hindu guru whose writings and teachings hold a strange fascination for American and European New Agers, **connect the enneagram not only to the Mother Goddess of the Hindus but also to the goddess myths of Greece and Rome."** [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

“Also tying the Enneagram in with occult astrology, Aurobindo maintained that the secrets of the Enneagram are so important that he who unravels its secrets ‘will enjoy riches and wealth and be sexually fertile.’

“Regrettably, the Enneagram is also in vogue and gaining popularity amongst a number of Christian groups, with both Protestant and Catholic, whose leaders evidently are ever on the lookout for something new to give their audiences. It is especially popular in Catholic circles, with both priests and nuns promoting the use of the Enneagram to determine basic personality types, compulsions, and obsessions. One Catholic priest has even attempted to relate each of the nine points of the Enneagram with nine personality traits of Jesus! But it is not only used in the Catholic Church. Though its ancient occultic origins are undebatable, I have also received reports that the teaching of the Enneagram is being popularized at Southern Baptist retreats and in Methodist, Episcopal, and Charismatic circles.”

An ad in *Yoga International* stated the following: **“CREDENCE CASSETTES** features audio and video cassettes by authors who are free-spirited Catholics, many of whom are at home with and drink from the wells of Jung, Native American Spirituality, New Age music, guided imagery, and the Enneagram. Not your mother’s church, but probably your children’s!” [Emphasis in the original]



Some Native American symbols—Note the swastikas

It was an occultist, George Gurdjieff, who introduced the enneagram to Europe.

"[He] claims it originated about 2500 years ago in a Babylonian wisdom school....This may implicate the enneagram with Babylonian astrology, since those characteristics would be signified by a point on the enneagram. Gurdjieff's use of the enneagram also parallels the esoteric cabala's 'Tree of Life' of Jewish mysticism."

It doesn't matter what type of personality a person has, God can use him or her **IF** he or she is wholly committed to the Lord. God can take a hardened, drunken, wicked sinner and change that person into a kind, considerate, caring person. The Lord can take a shy person and make him or her into a bold individual who is willing to die, if need be, for the sake of the Gospel. Peter, as well as the other disciples, forsook Christ when it came time for Him to be crucified, yet just fifty-some days later these same disciples were bold enough to testify of Christ's resurrection (Acts 2:1 -47). When they were imprisoned and admonished not to speak about Christ, they boldly replied: "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29).

Let's forget all the man-made (and demonic) devices and personality testing, and let us also "obey God rather than men." "[Y]our faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God" (I Corinthians 2:5).

17.

TALISMANS

Webster tells us a talisman is “an object bearing a sign or character engraved under **astrological** influences and thought to act as a **charm** to avert evil and bring good fortune.”

In *Amulets and Superstitions* we are told:

“The object of the talisman is quite different from that of the amulet. The amulet is supposed to exercise its protective powers on behalf of the individual or thing continually, whereas the talisman is only intended to perform one specific task. Thus a talisman may be placed in the ground with money or treasure, which it is expected to protect and to do nothing else. But the line which divides the amulet from the talisman has rarely been observed by any people who regard such things as parts of the machinery of magic, and in modern times the use and meanings of the two objects are generally confounded, even by educated folk who are superstitious. And the experts are not agreed on the subject.”

One occult catalog that sells talismans and amulets states:

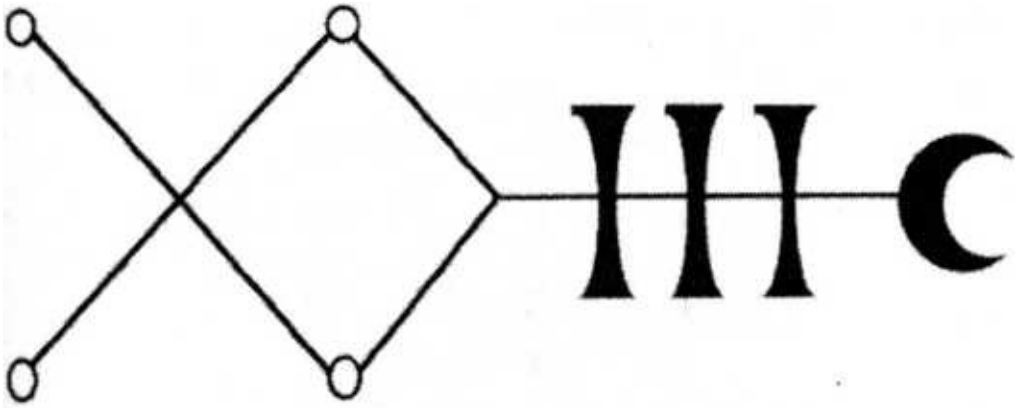
“The word **TALISMAN** is believed to come from Arabic as there are great similarities in that language. One of the root words means ‘to make marks as would a magician. The word **AMULET** is derived from the Latin *Amuletum*, and is a **magical** object.

“At one time there was a difference between an amulet and a talisman in that a talisman was made for a specific task, and an amulet had broader uses. With time, down through the centuries, this difference disappeared, and today, an amulet or talisman is considered one and the same as far as having magical powers is concerned.

“There are uncounted forms of amulets and talismans. They can be in the form of a seal, pentacle, charm, circle, Voodoo veve, table (name given certain engraved tablets), signets, gemstones, roots, bones, miniature statues of gods and goddesses, and any other item that represents a magical force that benefits its owner....

“There are also amulets and talismans that are connected with ceremonial **magic** rituals. These are seals, signets, tablets, and other forms that are used in

summoning supernatural powers, and causing them to give help and aid in any endeavor. Such supernatural beings have varying powers, and the proper ritual and required items must be used in accordance with whom is being invoked."



Magical seal of Sirius

Arthur Edward Waite, a Mason and occultist, reveals:

"Talismans may be made either of the seven kabbalistic metals—gold, silver, iron, copper, fixed mercury, brass, and lead—or of precious stones, such as carbuncles, crystals, diamonds, emeralds, agates, sapphires, and onyxes."

One talisman is called "Satan's Seal." It shows "Lucifer depicted as king, wielding a prong with which he catches sinners, and with hands of claws like those of a beast of prey. Inscription around edges reads, 'Master of the abyss of Hell.'"

An amulet in one catalog is described like this: “Let this strange little Japanese SPIRIT DEMON insure your safety and security. Many people claim that wearing this amulet brings serenity and peace of mind.”

One talisman sold by The Pyramid Collection is a Japanese Water Charm. It is described like this:

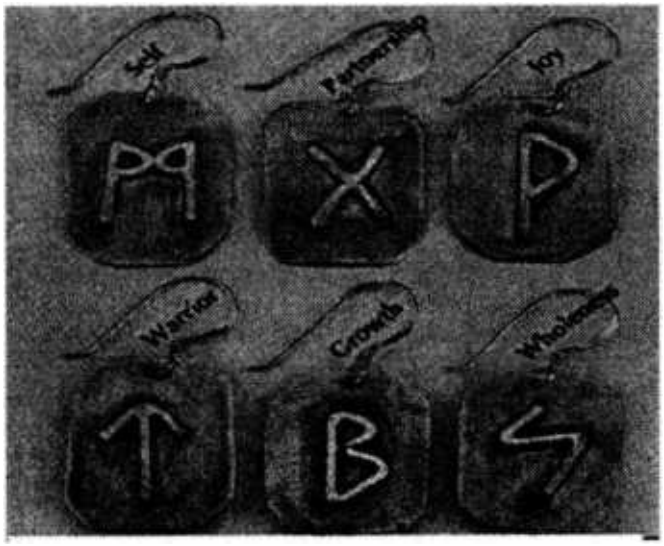
“In Japan, the ideographic symbol for ‘water’ can also represent that element’s properties of life, cleansing, and the emotions. Pendants similar to that shown...

(its design is taken from an ancient crest) were commonly worn as **charms** against fire. A strong, graphic **talisman** for men and women."

Water charm—This is the same symbol that is used for "Tao."

Other talismans they sell are Rune Jewelry. The catalog explains:

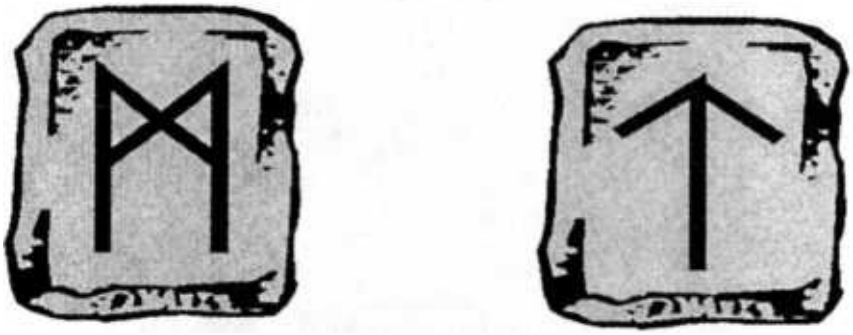
"The **Runes are secret, occult symbols** used by Norse runemasters until the 17th century. modern runemasters consult the runes to communicate with the subconscious self. The six brass Runes, with raised sterling-silver symbols, are **talismans** that promote inner growth."



Notice that runes are **OCCULT symbols.** What then, is so-called "Christian" Michael Smith doing with runic characters on his record? Several of the letters (M, E, and T) in his name are exact representations of the runes. When I wrote to Smith about this, his manager responded. He denied that the record

contained runic characters, but he did tell me that if I wanted to know more about runes that I should check out my library for more information! He may not be fully endorsing the runes, but he certainly didn't try to warn me that runes were occultic symbols. Incidentally, the flip side of this album has Smith's name written backwards.

Figure 22. "The Big Picture" (1986)



"Writing reversal is a SATANIC principle. Master satanist Aleister Crowley taught his disciples to walk backwards, talk backwards, think backwards, speak backwards, write backwards and even listen to phonograph records backwards to gain insight into the future." [Emphasis in the original]

It is also interesting to note that in this “Christian” album the name of Jesus is only mentioned **ONE** time!

Returning to the runes, we find the word rune means “secret." “The runes were associated with secrecy or mystery because only a few persons knew them. Heathen priests probably first used the characters in their **charms and magic spells.”** The runes are considered to be comparable to the I Ching and the Tarot and are a form of **DIVINATION.**

Magical Arts states:

“More than 2,000 years ago in the cold, rugged lands of Scandinavia, **shamans** seized evanescent, **magical** ideas and gave them form in symbols they called runes. These stick-like character, scratched onto pebbles and bits of wood, functioned as **talismans** and implements for **divination,** protection and guiding those who sought their wisdom....

“The original runic symbols developed into the letters of the earliest Germanic alphabet, known as the Elder Futhark. Even when put to this practical use, **the markings retained their old occult meanings...**.and runes were ubiquitous during the Viking era as tokens of **magical** power. People covered their home with the symbols to ward off evil; warriors engraved them on the hilts of their swords, hoping for strength in battle; midwives scratched them on the palms of women in childbirth to ensure safe delivery; and **shamans used them to commune with the dead, to cast spells,** and even, reportedly, to fly.”

The runes “were so connected with **witchcraft,** the early Christian missionaries in Europe refused to use them. They replaced this **satanic sign language** with the Latin alphabet instead.”

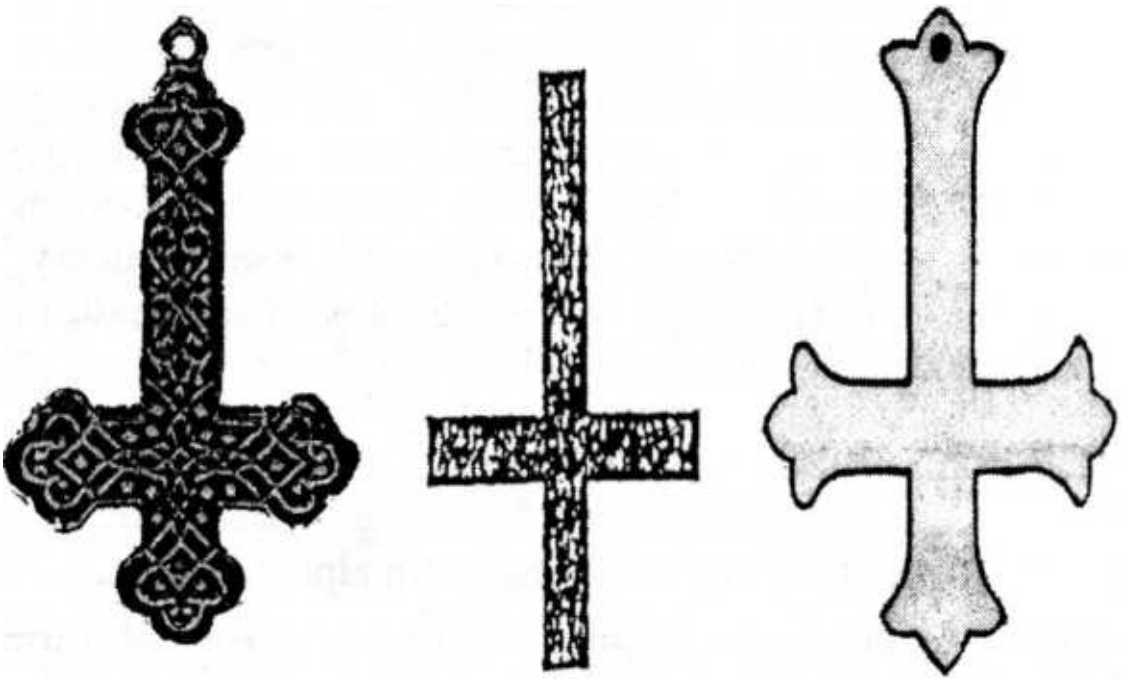
Let’s look at a talisman sold by Papa Jim. It is a 666 variation which is supposed to defeat witchcraft or voodoo!

Notice the three sixes

Isn’t it strange how Satan has blinded people’s eyes to think that by wearing an occult piece of jewelry, the occultic forces can be restrained? This would be like Satan casting out Satan. Jesus said:

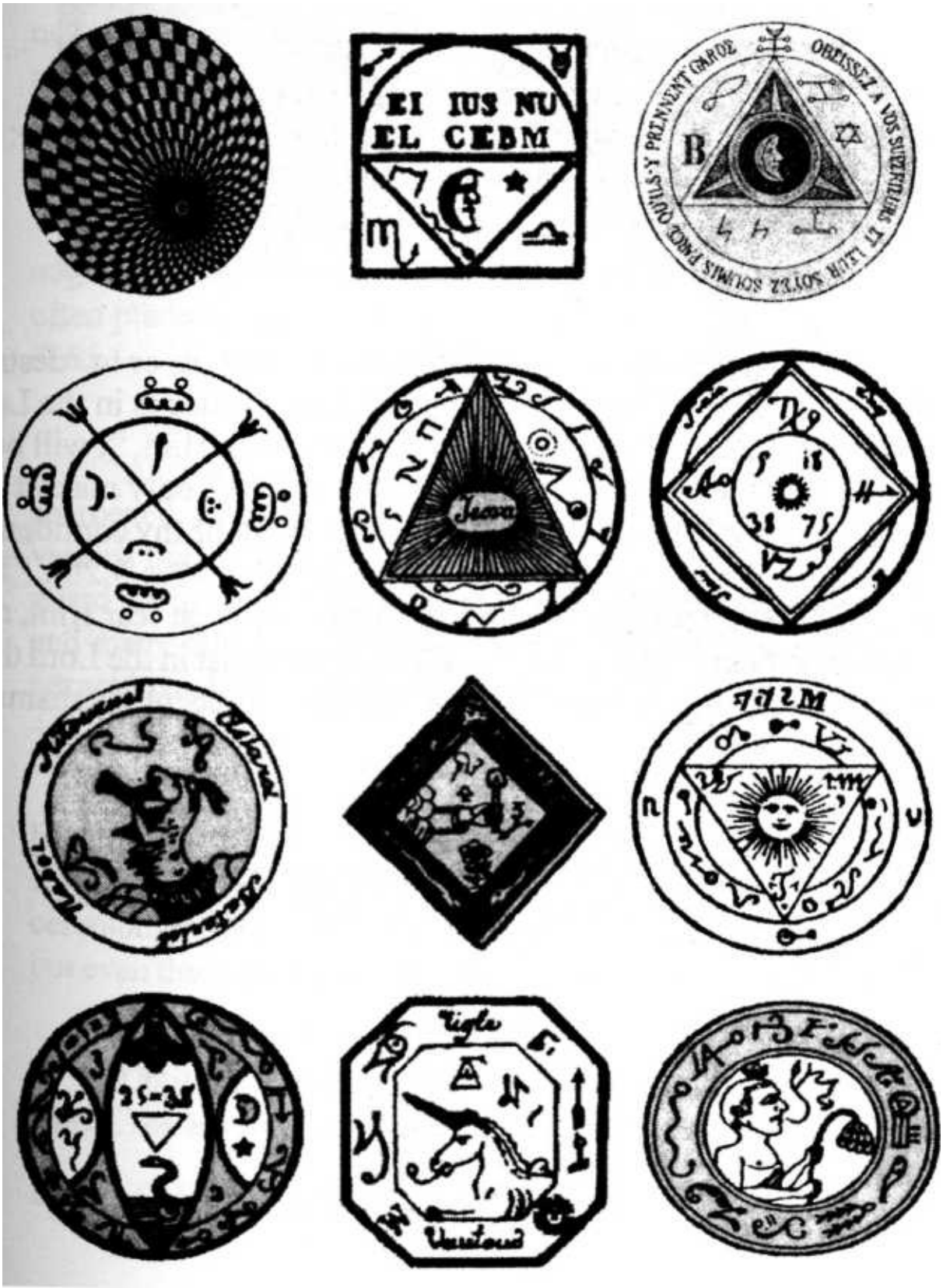
“How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. And if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end” (Mark 3:23-26).

The Satanic Cross, adopted by Satanists and devil worshippers, is another talisman. It is the Christian Cross which is inverted or turned upside down. Satanists reverse many things such as “praying” the Lord’s prayer backwards.



Satanists also turn a question mark upside down. We're told: "The upside down question mark asks mockingly, 'Did Jesus really die for our sins?"'

Below are some talismans for different purposes. One is called the "Clairvoyance Talisman" which is supposed to allow one to read another person's thought. One talisman is alleged to destroy the evil of Black Magic. Another one is to "discover the most hidden secrets, enabling its possessor to penetrate everywhere unseen." One talisman is for exorcism. Yet another one claims: "Will make the most taciturn man unbosom himself to its possessor, to confess his machinations." As can be seen, these talismans certainly have nothing to do with godliness and Christianity!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We do not need to have talismans to protect us or to “destroy the evil of Black Magic.” Our hope and confidence is in the Lord and He will keep us safe from harm if we trust in Him. “I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep for Thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety” (Psalm 4:8). “For the Lord shall be thy confidence, and shall keep thy foot from being taken” (Proverbs 3:26).

"The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him,
and delivereth them” (Psalm 34:7). “It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man” (Psalm 118:8) or in occultic talismans and amulets.

18.

JEWELRY

Many Christians, I believe, are aware of some occultic jewelry such as a ring with a pentagram on it. However, there is far more to jewelry than just some occultic symbol engraved on it. A witch, Scott Cunningham, explains:

"Jewelry's origins lie in magic. That should come as no surprise to us, for as I've said, nearly all human customs and the technologies which result from those customs stem from ancient magical practices and beliefs.

"In earliest times, jewelry was probably worn to avert negativity, then envisioned as 'evil spirits.' Jewelry was also often placed in tombs with other grave goods to guard the dead.

"As perception of the energies within objects sharpened, certain stones and metals were associated with various organs and regions of the body and were worn to guard the health. Later, stones, metals, horn, feathers, bone and many other materials were donned for their power to attract love, health, money and other necessities of life....

"When materialism has ruled over naturalism, jewelry has survived purely as ornamentation or, at times, as a statement of class definition. Yes, jewelry still has a few ceremonial roles, such as engagement and wedding bands, but even these have lost their **original magical** messages....

"Until the nineteenth century in much of the Western world, **the history of jewelry was a history of magic...."**

Laurie Cabot, another witch, comments:

"Many Witches wear crystals as jewelry, along with other gemstones that have magical powers. **Jewelry is a way to have magic on your body** without anyone knowing it but you and others who are wise in the ways of the Craft. In general, Witch jewelry is worn because it directs energies to various parts of the body."

In the *Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch,* we find that "the finger-ring, the bracelet, the anklet, and the necklace, all of which came to be worn as ornaments, were originally regarded as means of protection from evil."

Another well known witch, Sybil Leek, also brags about the protective properties of jewelry. She states:

"Jewelry and metals have their own vibrations and corresponding numbers, and again there is a link with the vibrations and colors of the planets. A favorite piece of jewelry will take on the vibrations of the person wearing it, especially over a long period, which gives the vibrations time to build up and become forceful. **Charms, amulets and talismans have been worn** throughout the ages not as a form of decoration but **as a focal point that can be charged with the appropriate vibrations.** We are not free from the use of such things even today, for there is an increasing business in the sale of charms, even though now they be only part of a dangling bracelet. It seems that the **amulet and talisman are gaining a new lease on life WHETHER OR NOT THE BUYERS AND WEARERS ARE AWARE OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE."**

"In the early days, mystical, magical properties were assigned to the star polygons, but their influence is still felt today even if the forms are used only in cheap charm-type jewelry. Pythagoreans regarded the star polygon, derived from the pentagon, as the symbol of health."

Many people find particular designs appealing but they have no idea what is being represented. For instance, in the 1993 issue of *Light Speed* we discover: "For several years the Cosmo Tech clothing and jewelry have had an amazing effect in their support of **beings accessing their Divinity** and living their True reality. All of the exquisite clothing and jewelry are **channeled** through Rahztar and Astara." New Ager, Dick Sutphen, sells jewelry that is called a "Circle of Unity Symbol." This is a:

"symbol of the unity of mankind. In **regressive hypnosis,** Dick Sutphen **channeled** this symbol from a highly advanced period in Atlantis. This was a time when all people were connected psychically—enabling everyone to **communicate telepathically.** The symbol is made up of three people with their arms raised and connected by the circle of oneness. The three also represent God, man and spirit."

When you pick up some jewelry, you may well be choosing an item that has been channeled through demons! Prisma catalog reveals: “The **amulets** of ancient times **have become the popular jewelry of today.** There is a resurgence of interest in the metaphysical attributes of gems and symbols.” As explained earlier, an amulet is “a charm...often inscribed with a magic incantation or symbol to protect the wearer against evil or to aid him.” *The Occult Sciences* explains that “the word amulet came to mean a small bag hung round the neck and containing roots, seeds and other articles which had an efficacious **OCCULT** power, or a metal disc engraved with Kabbalistic signs.”

We’ve all heard of a **“charm** bracelet.” People wear it without giving a thought as to what the word “charm” means.

Many people carry a rabbit’s foot or a four leaf clover for luck or put a horseshoe on their home to bring luck. All of these items are charms. You will even hear the phrase “it works like a charm,” in reference to some product that produced good results.

Just a few days ago I was looking through a “Christian” book catalog from Christian Book Distributors. I was surprised and disappointed to see a “Nativity **Charm** Bracelet” advertised. The descriptions reads: “Fashioned of gold-plated metal, these seven **CHARMS** include two wise men, two angels, a shepherd, a nativity scene, and Jesus carrying the cross.” We cannot “Christianize” pagan practices—even if we include a “Jesus” **CHARM.** Remember, **a charmer is also called an enchanter or a magician!**

Deuteronomy 18:10-12 warns:

“There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an **enchanter,** or a witch, Or a **charmer,** or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For **all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord.”**

In *Wicca: A Guide for the Solitary Practitioner* a witch remarks:

“Selecting and donning ritual jewelry naturally follows dressing. Many Wiccans have collections of exotic pieces with religious or magical designs. Then too amulets and talismans (devices made to ward off or to attract forces)

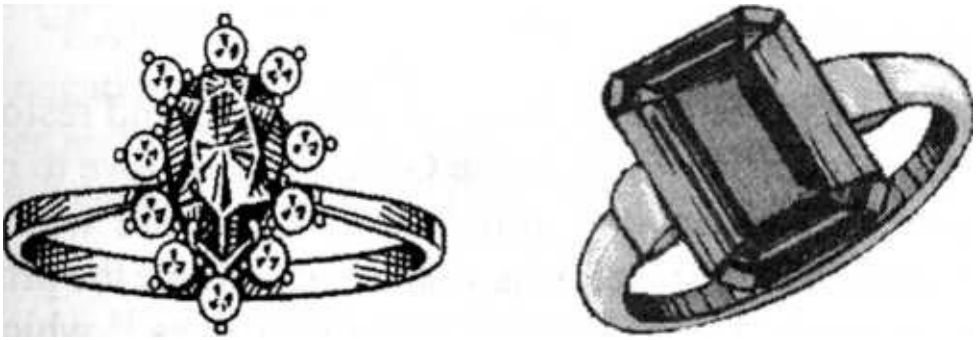
often double as ritual jewelry. Such wonders as necklaces of amber and jet, silver or gold bands worn on the wrists, crowns of silver set with crescent

moons, rings of emeralds and pearls, even ritual garters set with tiny silver buckles are often part of Wiccan regalia."

A Christian author comments:

"Personal jewelry is also very important to those in witchcraft, since they receive it during ritual ceremonies, having had it 'blessed' (cursed) with clinging demons. Since such things are worn close to the body, the witch or warlock always has his or her familiar spirits 'on call.' The symbols on the jewelry are very important; they are never accidental or harmless. The crescent or crescent and star are two of the most common symbols representing the Queen of Heaven and the 'bright morning star'—Lucifer."

As should be evident by now, it's not just the design or symbol on the jewelry, but the jewelry itself that has a magical meaning. Many people wear a ring or a necklace with their birthstone. However, these different gemstones are used for magical purposes and are based on **ASTROLOGY.**



Tanya Turner, a Christian, informs us:

"Birthstones were created during the Classical Period by the Romans, with each holding an **astrological** significance. In astrology, there are 12 signs of the zodiac each showing specific signs of weaknesses and/or strengths. A specific gem, possessing the necessary properties was assigned to each zodiac time frame in order to strengthen weaknesses and build on strengths supposedly possessed by persons born in that month or period of the zodiac. An article in *The Gatson Gazette,* March 22, 1990, made the following analysis: 'The concept of birthstones assigns a specific crystal thought especially beneficial to each astrological sign chosen specifically to counteract or protect from weaknesses and to enhance strengths inherent in each house of zodiac.'"

“In earlier cultures, shamans, witch doctors and medicine men utilized gems, believing them to have mystical healing powers. Certain stones were also used for protection against supposed mental and physical evils. They have been used to adorn Egyptian pharaohs’ death masks and sarcophagi, European crowns, and the fingers, wrists, and necks of innumerous women in love. With the coming of the New Age we are seeing a revival of the use of stones and gems for these same purposes.”

Prisma catalog advertises jewelry. It says that ruby “increases vigor and renews vital life forces.” “This beautiful stone,” claims Scott Cunningham, “was considered the most perfect offering to Buddha in China and Krishna in India....In 13th-century magic, rubies were well established as wealth-increasing stones. They were especially effective if engraved with the image of a dragon or snake before using.”

Opal is supposed to heighten “the emotions and restores dim vision. Known as ‘The Gem of the Gods,’ it is believe to open the Third Eye.” Another book proclaims: “Opals are worn during astral projection for protection as well as to facilitate the process.” Opals are also used to help recall one’s past lives, which is the false teaching of reincarnation. Witch Cunningham continues:

“The stone is favored by many to develop psychic powers and is often worn in jewelry for this purpose. Earrings are ideal....

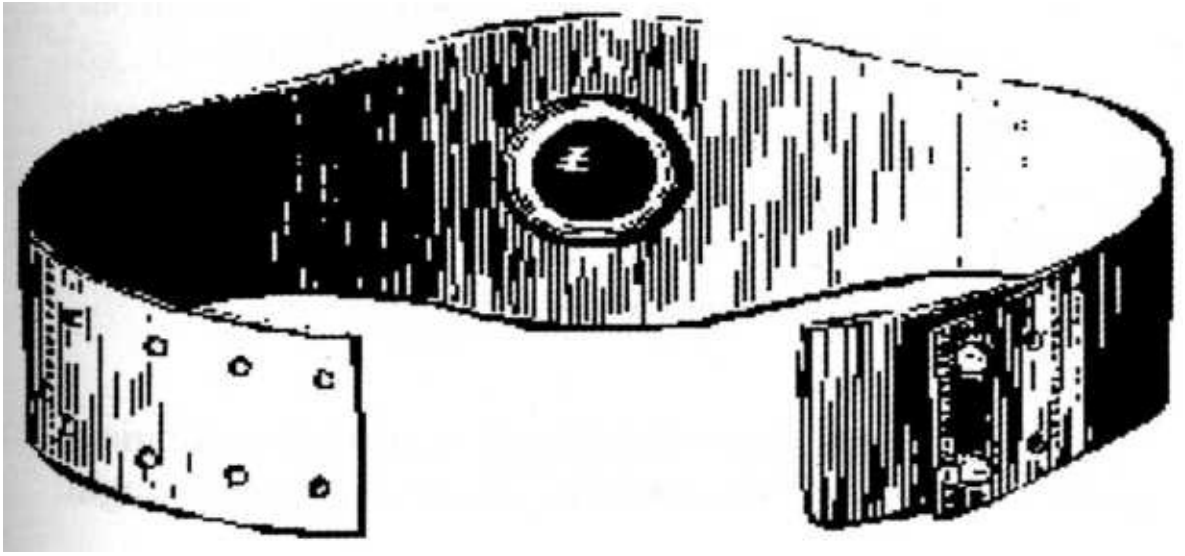
"Black opals are prized by magicians and Wiccans as power stones. They are often worn in ritual jewelry designed to increase the amount of power aroused and released from the body during magic.”

Moonstone “symbolizes the Third Eye, sharpens spiritual awareness, and assists in the astral realms.” Psychic ability is improved by wearing azurite, this catalog claims. So, the gemstones have an occult meaning behind them.

“In some contemporary Wiccan coven women— usually High Priestesses—wear necklaces consisting of alternative amber and jet beads. Though reasons for the use of these materials vary, it is said that **these two stones represent the Goddess and God, the feminine and masculine principles,** the projective and receptive forces of nature. They **also heighten magical effects....**

“Witches, Wise Women, and shamans wear amber beads to strengthen their spells, whether cast in caves, deserted valleys or at lonely seashores, or within magically created spheres of power in urban bedrooms. A large piece of amber placed on that altar increases the effectiveness of your magic.”

“BANGLE BRACELETS were worn in India to ward off negative astral forces. Hand-made bangles of copper, silver, and gold are said to exert an electromagnetic influence on the cells of the body.” [Emphasis in the original]



Let’s look at the ring for a few minutes.

“The **ring is** a circle, **symbolic of eternity, unity, reincarnation** and the universe. In earlier times the **ring was associated with the Sun and Moon. It was** an object of protection, **a magical guard** that warded off negativity through its continuity....

"All rings were once magical or sacred. Even goddesses and gods wore rings; Babylonian mythology is replete with stories of the rings of Shamash and Marduk. **Rings have also been linked to the zodiac, the yin/yang and the 'magic circle' of magicians and Wiccans.** Their **magical** history is complex and fascinating.

"In a magical sense, **wearing a ring 'binds' you with power, with energy.** The materials of which the ring is constructed, plus your **visualization,** determine the nature of this energy....

"The appearance or attractiveness of a ring, and certainly its material value, are of little importance in magic. The ring's design, the metals and stones used are the only factors involved in selecting rings for magic....

"The finger on which a ring is worn has magical significance. The index or 'ring' finger was once thought to be especially powerful. Herbal medicines were applied to the body with the ring finger to strengthen the effectiveness of the cure. Thus, rings containing stones which speed the body's healing are best worn on this finger....

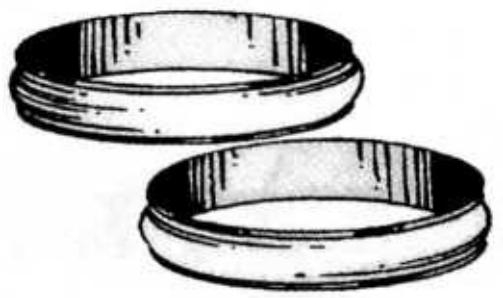
"Once, rings were usually worn on the third finger, because it was thought to contain a nerve that went directly to the heart. ***Betrothal rings are still traditionally worn on this finger."***

Another book reiterates:

“In **astrology,** the THUMB is correlated with Venus, the index finger with Jupiter, the middle finger with Saturn, the ring finger with the sun, and the small finger with Mercury.—In popular parlance, the ring finger used to be called the ‘heart finger’ because people believed that it was directly connected to the heart by a special vein or nerve; the symbolism of love and fidelity of the ring finger, particularly of the left hand (the side of the heart), also has to do with this.” [Caps in the original; Boldface added]

Our Phallic Heritage says this about the ring:

“The **Wedding Ring,** customarily put on during the marriage ceremony and worn continuously thereafter, **had a phallic origin.** In the **Buddhistic hand sign** of blessing, the thumb and index fingers are joined at the tips, forming a circle, symbolizing the **yoni,** while the other three fingers (the middle, ring, and little fingers) are extended, symbolizing...the male [genital] triad. When the ring is placed on the ring finger (the penis symbolized), it symbolizes the union of the male and female; hence, through this symbolism, the wedding ring means marriage or union.”



Occultist and Mason, Manly Palmer Hall, asserts:

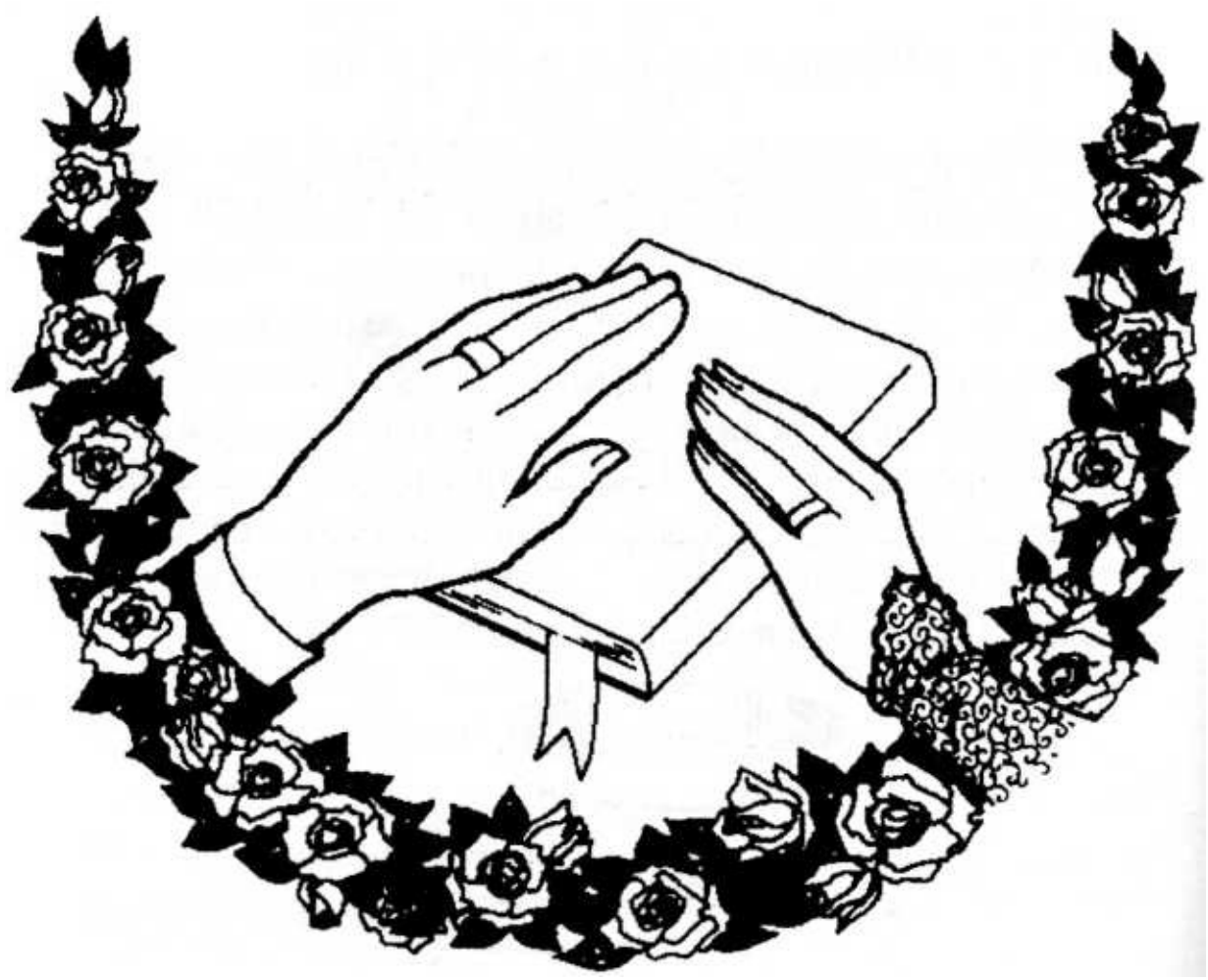
"The wedding ring originally was intended to imply that in the nature of the one who wore it the state of equilibrium and completion had been attained.

This plain band of gold therefore bore witness of the union of the Higher Self (God) with the lower self (Nature) and the ceremony consummating this indissoluble **blending of Divinity and humanity in the one nature** of the initiated **mystic** constituted the *hermetic marriage* of the Mysteries.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

More about the wedding ring can be found in *The Occult Sciences.* There we

find:

"It may be pointed out that **wedding rings are a remnant of the magic rings.** They are worn on the ring finger, because in **chiromancy** that finger corresponds to the heart. The husband will be master in the home, if, on placing it on his wife's finger, he is careful to push it right down."



According to *A Pictorial History of Magic and the Supernatural*, **"Chiromancy** is based on the cabbala...."

Also, chiromancy is another name for **PALMISTRY!** This is a form of **DIVINATION.** For instance, *Dictionary of Mysticism* states: **"Chiromancy:** The art of **DIVINATION** from the shape of the hand and fingers and the lines and other markings which appear on them." *The World Book Encyclopedia* indicates under "palmistry": "It is sometimes called *chiromancy.* It is a

combination of **astrology** and handreading....See also **FORTUNETELLING."**

Of course, divination and astrology are strictly forbidden by the Scriptures in Deuteronomy 18:10-12. See also II Kings 17:17 and Acts 16:16.

Now, let's turn our attention to the necklace. Cunningham discloses:

"The necklace is simply a large ring worn around the neck. Its powers and uses are much the same as those of rings. Because necklaces are often worn near the heart, they can be used to work on the emotions, or to attract or strengthen love.

"In contemporary Wicca, **women often wear necklaces of stones to represent reincarnation and the Goddess.**

"Wearing a necklace of stones increases their energies because you are surrounding yourself **(binding** yourself) with their powers. Thus, **the necklace is much more powerful than any one stone used separately."**

Another book relates:

"Broadly speaking, the threaded bead-necklace stands for the **unifying of diversity....**Regarded as a string, the necklace becomes a cosmic and social symbol of ties and bonds. Because it is usually worn on the neck or breast, it acquires a symbolic relation with those parts of the body and with the **signs of the Zodiac** pertaining to them. Since **the neck has an astrological association with sex', the necklace also betokens an erotic link."**

One item that is often found on the end of a necklace is the **Italian Horn** or the

leprechaun staff. This was “introduced by the lord druids of Scotland and Ireland” and was “used as the instrument of the druids for castrating animals and humans. It has been hexed and is used for luck and fortune. **Satanist priests wear this emblem for prosperity,** as a **charm** around their neck.”

“The **Italian horn,** also known as the Unicom Horn, **is an occult symbol for the devil to bless one’s finances.** It is believed that this **charm** is an offshoot from the word ‘malucka’ where the word Tuck’ is derived.” A former witch says that “the word Tuck’ is derived from the word ‘Lucifer.’” He adds that the cornucopia (which is covered in the chapter entitled “Masonic and Eastern Star Symbols”) “is derived from the word ‘uni-corn.’”

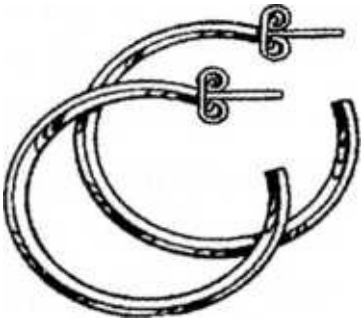
Another item worn as a necklace is the squash blossom. The “pendant is shaped to look like the moon in its first or last quarter; it is a fertility symbol.” A former witch writes the following about the squash blossom:

“This symbol represents the Crescent star. The person making it is offering it for a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility. The forming (budding) of the blossom on the squash represents youth. The wearer is usually unaware of the evil intent behind the making. The curse is being worked out and the wearer is acting as a catalyst because demons need bodies to carry their messages. **The wearer becomes a messenger of Satan.”**

According to *Magical Arts* evil spirits were thought to be able to enter the body through any of its openings and take control. “The first earrings were probably worn to bar the way to these spirits and so was the first lipstick.”

“Earrings are rings that are worn in the ears. Piercing the lobes to allow the wearing of earrings is an ancient practice.

“Most parts of the body have been pierced for various magical and religious reasons throughout the ages. Ears may have been among the first, along with the nose which is still pierced in India for protective, as well as cosmetic reasons.



“Folklore still surrounds this practice. Pierced earrings in general are often recommended to strengthen weak eyes— if set with emeralds, they are particularly effective. Gold earrings are often worn by those wishing to cure headaches, though some say to wear one gold earring and one silver for this purpose.”

In Genesis, when God told Jacob to go the Bethel, Jacob:

"said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments: And let us arise, and go up to Bethel; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went. And they **gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their earrings** which were in their ears; and **Jacob hid them under the oak** which was by Shechem" (Genesis 35:2-4).

When Jacob's household was ready to seek God, they got rid of all their earrings and idols. What some people don't realize is that Satan is a liar and a deceiver. Instead of these items protecting an individual **FROM** the evil spirits, they are actually **ATTRACTING** evil spirits.

Hosea 2:13 says that Israel "decked herself with her earrings and her jewels, and she went after her lovers, and forgat Me, saith the Lord."

I Timothy 2:9-10 advises: "In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works."

Concerning pierced ears, a former witch, David Meyer, reports:

"I think it is interesting to note at this point that Hillary Clinton said that she did not allow Chelsea to have her ears pierced until she was 13. There is, of course, a very good reason for that. It is a known fact **among occultists** that when a girl is 13, she is taken into what is called the 'outer court' of a coven, and the **token of this child becoming a neophyte witch is the piercing of the ears."**

Earrings were also a symbol of slavery.

With our culture returning to many pagan practices, it isn't surprising to see an increase in body piercing. Some are doing this "just for the fun of it," or because it is a fad, or because their favorite rock star had it done. Whether innocently or not, our children are nonetheless opening themselves to demonic influences and doctrines of devils by taking part in such activity. Tattooing parts of the

body is also quite prevalent at the present time. The Bible warns: **“Ye shall not** make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor **print any marks upon you:** I am the Lord” (Leviticus 19:28). Laurie Cabot, a witch, comments:

“The origins of **tattooing come from ancient magical practices** of painting designs and **talismans** on the skin either for temporary ceremonial purposes or permanently....

“Pay particular attention to how you adorn your forehead where the **Third Eye** is located. East Indians wear a red dot over this chakra point, ancient **Druids** wore crowns with a band of jewels in the center of the forehead; the African Berbers use black **makeup to tattoo** their faces with stars, moons, and other **magical** symbols. A quartz crystal worn across the **Third Eye** can be particularly powerful.”

Could the piercing of the body, along with the acceptance of tattoos, be preparing the way for the mark of the beast where a chip may be placed in the right hand or forehead?

Body painting is also a magical practice.

“Both men and women use some type of **makeup** as **a form of magic in Witchcraft....Native** Americans, Polynesians, the ancient Egyptians, the Chinese and Japanese, and African tribal peoples have also **used makeup and body paint for magical purposes.** The use of color affects our behavior and emotional dispositions.”

Cabot elaborates:

“Outlining the eye emulates the Goddess, who is often portrayed with large, distinctive eyes, capable of seeing through space and time as well as into our innermost hearts. Ishtarte, the Goddess of Light, was known in the ancient Middle East as the Eye Goddess because the light she brings from heaven to earth illuminates the world. The Egyptian Goddess Maat originally possessed the All-Seeing Eye, which later was transferred to Horus. In Syria the Goddess Mari had large, strong eyes that could see deep into the human soul. The Goddess’s ability to see and know all things became a terrifying concept in patriarchal times, and her **mystical eye** was turned into the **‘evil eye,’** associated during the time of the Inquisition with Witches....

“But the tradition of **outlining the eye to honor the Goddess of Love** and to make one’s own eyes more radiant and mysterious is a time-honored custom. Green, rose, or copper eyeshadow or eyeliner draw in energy from Venus, the planet of love and romance. Pink eyeshadow, blush, or lipstick will strengthen self-esteem. Glitter refracts and reflects light and will send out light to others. **Affixing jewelry to your body or face is also powerful.** Remember to charge your makeup and jewelry and body paint before you use them, catalyzing them with the specific intention of your spell.”

Another magazine states:

“The use of makeup is also said to stem from witchcraft where the painting of one’s face was believed to ward off evil. **Makeup was used extensively by American Indian witch doctors and European witches. Mascara was particularly a charm** inasmuch as it is made of antimony, an old witch metal.”

On three occasions the Bible refers to face painting. Jeremiah 4:30 and Ezekiel 23:40-44 refer to wicked women who tried to lure men into the sins of immorality. II Kings 9:30 mentions that Jezebel painted her face. Of course, Jezebel was a pagan woman who practiced witchcraft (II Kings 9:22) and worshipped Baal. King Ahab married her and he also started to worship Baal (I King 16:31-32). Since the pagans painted their face, it is no surprise to see Jezebel doing the same thing. In fact, wicked and immoral women today are often called a "Jezebel."

"In this connection, I should like to share an incident. About 25 years ago, a returned missionary from China spoke at our church and related the following. He had been in China for seven years, and upon return to this country for furlough he immediately noticed something different about the American women. In the seven years that he had been gone, many of the women had adopted the popular fad of painting their faces [makeup]. In China, **the prostitutes were the only women who painted their faces, wore ear rings, and had long painted fingernails.** This was their means of identifying themselves to their men-partners in sin. The shocking thing to the missionary was that the **American women had taken on the custom of the heathen harlot."**

The Bible says: "Abstain from all appearance of evil" (I Thessalonians 5:22) and "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them" (Ephesians 5:11).

19.

MASONIC AND EASTERN STAR SYMBOLS

Masons use many symbols which have already been covered such as the point within the circle, the pentagram, the circle, the triangle, the clasped hands, *etc.* We'll briefly look at a few other symbols that the Masons use.

The "G" is quite prominent in Masonry. In the lower degrees, the Mason is told that the "G" stands for "Geometry" or "God." The occultist Eliphas Levi, however, informs us that the "G" stands for Venus and that Venus' symbol is a lingam (a symbol of the male private part)! Remember, Venus is another name for Lucifer.

Levi also states that the:

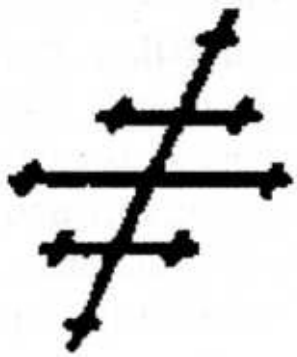
"G which Freemasons place in the centre of the Burning Star signifies GNOSIS and GENERATION, the two sacred words of the ancient Kabbalah. It also signifies GRAND ARCHITECT, for the Pentagram, from whatever side it may be looked at, always represents an A. By placing it in such a manner that two of its points are above and only one below, we may see the horns, ears, and beard of the hieratic god of Mendes [Baphomet], when it becomes the sign of infernal evocations." [Emphasis in the original]

Osiris, by the way, "was represented by the Ram of Mendes, sporting the horns natural to the ram."

Many other Masonic authors reveal that the “G” really means generation or carries a sexual connotation. Albert Pike claims that he “generative principle” is “represented by the letter G....”

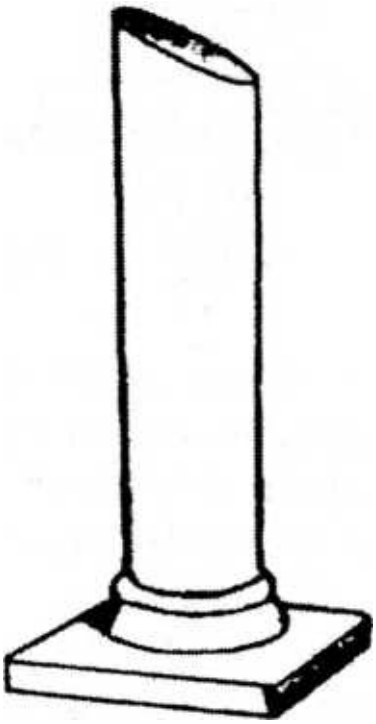
“A Masonic symbol seen less frequently is the 33° cross because it appertains only to the highest degrees. It is more commonly called the Crusader’s Cross or the Jerusalem Cross....It was supposedly worn by the first Grand Master of the Knights Templar, Godfrey de Bouillon, after he liberated Jerusalem from the Muslims.

“This symbol is on the hat of the Sovereign Grand Commander of all 33° Masons in a very slightly modified form. **It is part of the magical signature of Aleister Crowley, the supreme satanist of this century!** It is also found as the **logo of the new Catholic Bible, the Jerusalem Bible!”**



The broken column is used in both Masonry and the Eastern Star. The initiates are told that the broken column signifies an early death and the symbolism of the

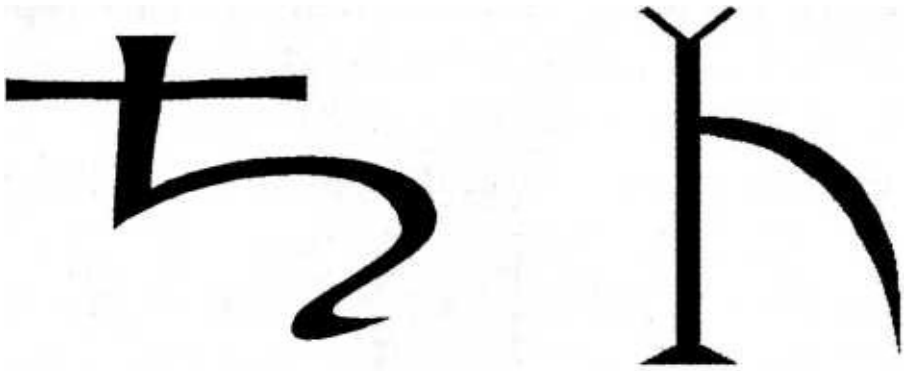
column can be traced back to ancient Egypt. We learn, however, that **columns represented gods.**



In a *Short Talk Bulletin,* entitled "The Broken Column," published by the Masonic Service Association for use in the Masonic Lodge, we find that: "In **EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY, ISIS IS SOMETIMES PICTURED WEEPING OVER THE BROKEN COLUMN** which conceals the body of her husband Osiris, while behind her stands Horus or Time pouring ambrosia on her hair." (See "Winged Symbols" for a picture of Isis weeping over the broken column.) A former Satanist and Mason explains:

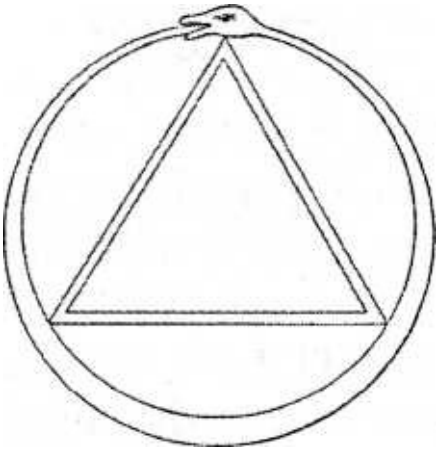
"Isis was both virgin and mother, so the 'beautiful virgin' is Isis weeping. The broken column is the missing member of Osiris [the phallus], the acacia, an allusion to the eternal life preached by the Egyptians as well as the fertility cults' emphasis on vegetation. The urn is an evocation of the canopic jars used in Egyptian funerals to store the vital organs of mummies.

"Finally, we have 'Time,' the god Saturn, a later form °f the mysterious and evil god, Set. In astrology, Saturn is called the 'greater malefic,' or greater evil.



Astrological representations of Saturn

Another name for Osiris is Saturn. Masonic writer, J. S. M. Ward explains that Saturn is really Satan. *A Dictionary of Symbols* mentions that Saturn "is related to the Ouroboros (or the serpent which bites it own tail)."



Saturn's symbol is a scythe. The scythe is really symbolic of renewed hopes for rebirth or reincarnation. This is quite fitting since the symbolism of the broken column represents Isis and Osiris. Osiris had a "rebirth" due to **SPELLS** performed by Isis.

Isis was known as a powerful **SORCERESS,** "the **GREAT ENCHANTRESS,** the **MISTRESS OF MAGIC,** the **SPEAKER OF SPELLS."** Not only was Isis a sorceress but she "has always been seen as the guiding light of the profession of **PROSTITUTION...."** Incidentally, Isis' name among the Syrians was Achot, meaning **"SISTER."** Isn't it interesting to learn that the degree **of** Martha is known as the **"SISTER"** degree in the Eastern Star?

Saturn is symbolized by the goat's head! Remember that the pentagram used in the Eastern Star also represents the goat's head. Is this just another "coincidence"?

Saturn is also another name for Nimrod who is considered by some Masons to be one of the founders of Masonry. According to the Bible, Nimrod built the Tower of Babel which displeased God, but Masonic writer John Yarker boasts that: "It

is well known that the **TOWER OF BABEL WAS ONE OF THE MOST ANCIENT TRADITIONS OF MASONRY....”**

Additionally, the acacia of Masonry and the fern or pine branch of the Eastern Star, which is used for Martha, symbolizes eternal life or immortality. The acacia, which is actually dedicated to the Powers of darkness, is placed on the Mason’s grave, but going back to Egyptian mythology we find that the acacia protected the grave of Osiris.

Yet another name for Osiris and Saturn is Baal. Of course, the Bible condemns Baal worship, but this is the god who is being represented in Masonry and the Eastern Star under the symbolism of the broken column, but there is an even deeper meaning.

Baal

The broken column actually represented the phallus of Osiris. Albert Mackey, a 33° Mason, specifies that "the **PHALLUS** was an imitation of the male generative organ. It was represented usually by a **COLUMN,** which was surrounded by a circle at its base, intended for the *cteis,* or female generative organ." [Italics in the original; Boldface and caps added]

The square is used in both Masonry and the Eastern Star. Eastern Star writer, Mary Ann Slipper, states:

"When turning square comers in floor work it is well to remember that this is acknowledging in action the great truth of being. The square not only means the acknowledgement of that Power but also our belief in the finished work of

the Master Builder, who some day will summon each one into that Great Temple not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

In other words, the square used in the Eastern Star floor work represents passing from earth to heaven. Also of interest is that both J. D. Buck and Harold Waldwin Percival mention that the Masonic Square and Compass is just another form of the six pointed star, which we have already covered.

The Masons use a square and compass combined in their degrees.

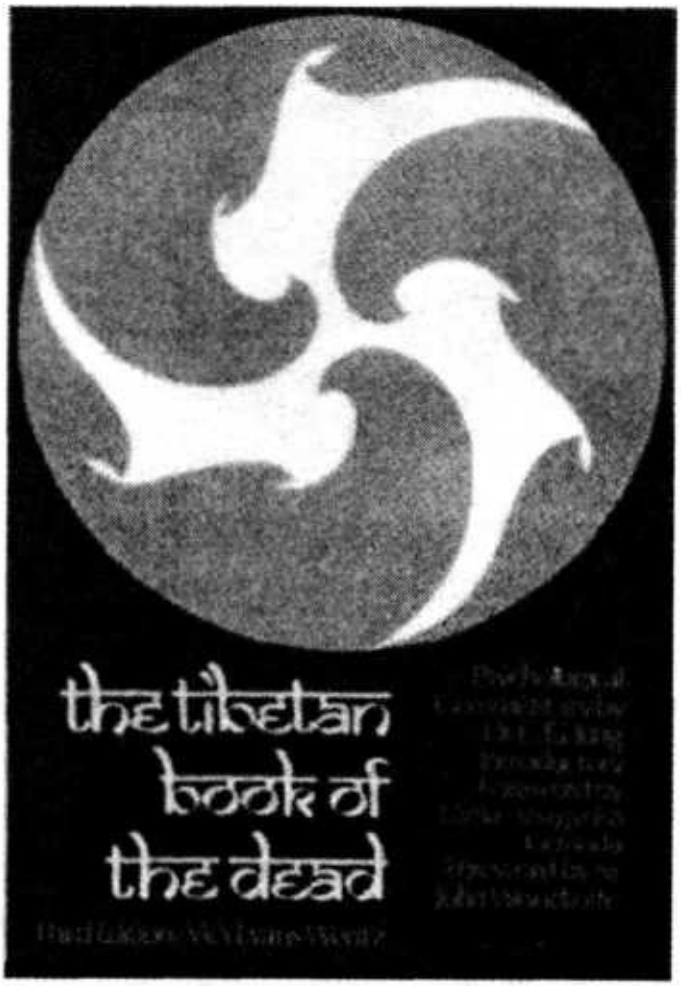
"The square represents the female (passive) generative principle, the earth, and the baser, sensual nature; and the Compass represents the male (active) generative principle, the sun/heavens, and the higher, spiritual nature."

The two symbols displayed together once again represent sexual union. In fact, in witchcraft, the square is actually the symbol of the lingam or the male reproduction organ and the compass represents the female organs. Combining the two symbols gives an obvious and vulgar meaning.

Another meaning of the square is that it represents a god or gods. Just which god is it? We don't have to wonder for long, for a number of Masons have already revealed some of these gods to us. For instance, in *The Symbolism of Freemasonry* by Albert G. Mackey, 33° Mason, we see that the "Thebans worshipped Bacchus under the form of a rude, **SQUARE** stone." He also explains that Mercury, or Hermes, was always represented by a cubical stone, because he was the type of truth...." In a footnote, he says: "In the most primitive times, all the gods appear to have been represented by cubical blocks of stone; and Pausanias says that he saw thirty of these stones in the city of

Pharae, which represented as many deities."

Masonic author, Albert Churchward writes: "The Square is also very clearly depicted, symbolically, in the Egyptian *Ritual* and is plainly **SHOWN IN 'THE BOOK OF THE DEAD,'**...This Square you find depicted in many of the ancient temples and in the Great Pyramid, as two seats, one for Osiris and one for Maat—**IT IS THE MASONIC SQUARE."**



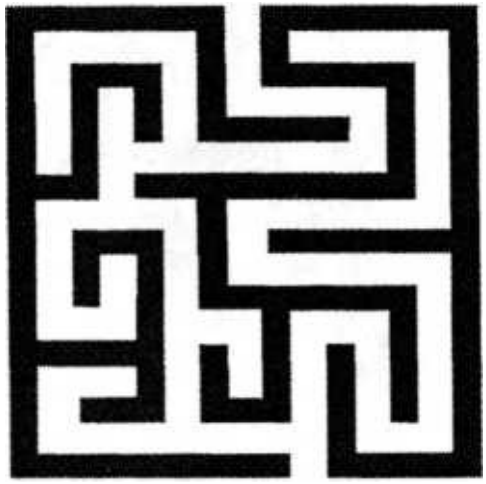
Tibetan Book of the Dead—Notice the triskele (666) on the cover

Joseph Fort Newton, also a Mason, claims that "Mercury, Apollo, Neptune, and Hercules were worshiped under the form of a **SQUARE** stone, while a large black stone was the emblem of Buddha among the Hindoos (sic), of Manah Theus-Ceres in Arabia, and of Odin in Scandinavia."

The labyrinth is used in the Eastern Star. We are told that the **LABYRINTH** "was made to conform to the idea of a **FIVE POINTED STAR, WITHIN A COMPLETE CIRCLE."** A witch, Laurie Cabot, explains that the **"CIRCLE AROUND THE PENTAGRAM** represents the totality of all intelligence. It is the **SIGN FOR THE GOD AND GODDESS,** the fullness of cosmic intelligence."

Albert Pike mentions that a **LABYRINTH "WAS BUILT IN HONOR OF THE SUN...."** We also learn that some labyrinths were designed with the purpose of luring devils into them so that they might never escape.

The labyrinth is also one of the symbols of the goddess, which is interesting knowing that the original names of the five Eastern Star women were actually names of goddesses. How appropriate, then, to use one of the goddess' symbols!



Was the labyrinth chosen intentionally or was it just a coincidence? In *The Symbolism of the Eastern Star* we read: “The meaning of the word Labyrinth is a series of winding passages, a maze of intricate windings; **copied from the structure made in Crete by Dadalus** (sic).” *The Seeker's Handbook* explains more about this:

“By a second derivation, labyrinth comes from the ancient Greek word *labrys*, ‘the double-headed axe.’ In **Cretan myth, the maze of Daedalus,** where Theseus found and slew the Minotaur, was known as the place of the double-headed axe—this being, apparently, the weapon of slaughter or sacrifice that the hero used. But deep research into Mediterranean culture of five to seven thousand years B.C. (reported by Marija Gimbutas) turns up the curious notion that the doubled-headed axes may have been a visual pun: At the earliest stage it appears to have been more common as the image of a butterfly! Now the butterfly itself—in Greek, *psyche*—is the earliest symbol that we have for the immortal human soul. It was also **an emblem held sacred to the Great Goddess or Mother Earth.** Somehow **the butterfly is deeply connected with the labyrinth,** as much as the double-headed axe. These two images, one so masculine and the other so feminine, appear to spring from an ancient unity of some kind.”

Minotaur

This book adds that the word labyrinth is:

"From the Latin *labor + intus,* 'into': the place of entering into labor, birth, or **rebirth.** At sacred sites, such as Chartres, Glastonbury, and Knossos in Crete, a maze constructed of earth-walls, ruts, tiles, or underground windings, believed to have been used in **initiations** as a place of ordeal and initiation through the **PSYCHO-DRAMA...**...They are also closely related to **SACRED DANCE,** for which they may have provided a sort of ground plan." [Italics and caps in the original; Boldface added]

The Labyrinth Walk is becoming popular in the United States.

"This is a mystical medieval practice of walking a 42' wide maze-like design (a sign of wholeness appearing also in Tibetan mandelas (sic) and Hopi Indian medicine wheels) which becomes a 'walking meditation.' People walk and 'contemplate,' walking to the 'center of their spirituality.'

In San Francisco, new ager, Jean Houston (Mrs. Clinton's guru) introduced the Labyrinth to Episcopal Priest(ess), Rev. Lauren Arness, who now travels the U.S. with a mobile model to introduce it to others.

“The Unitarian Church made one and loaned it to the Washington National Cathedral in DC. St. Luke’s Episcopal church in Stuart, FL has one and here, locally, the Pilgrim Congregational Church (Blue Roof Church) on Montclair Road has made one, as well. The Pilgrim Church regularly celebrates **WITCHCRAFT** and other new age events there.”

Mimi Lobell “designed a ‘Goddess Temple’ with a labyrinth and ring of fire (upper level) symbolic of the conscious, and a lower level symbolic of the unconscious.” Her husband, John Lobell, gave a speech at the World Service Forum which was distributed by the Lucis Trust.

The balance scales appear in Masonic and Egyptian symbolism. In Egypt, it was “Anubis’ duty to attend to the ritual preparation of bodies, to weigh the heart of every man on the **scale of justice,** and to judge a man’s good and bad deeds on earth." “In many traditions, The **Law of Karma has been symbolized** by **the Scales of Justice.** The Scale or Balance is also the symbol for the astrological sign of Libra.”

Not surprisingly, Anubis is one of the gods adored in **witchcraft.** One witchcraft magazine tells how to make an Anubis protection amulet. After the instructions are given, the writer of the article then adds: “Anubis can be anyone’s best friend, (He’s definitely mine!) even if He is considered by many to be the **most ominous God of the Underworld [hell].”** Personally, I don’t need (or want) the protection of the “God of the Underworld"! Do you?

Albert Pike tells us: “Isis was also aided in her search [for Osiris] by **Anubis,** in the shape of a dog. **HE WAS SIRIUS OR THE DOG-STAR....”** It was Anubis who supposedly guarded “the gates of death” and he “was associated with magic an divination.”

Another representation of Anubis

The description of Anubis given above clearly signifies to us that this god cannot possibly be the God of the Christians. For one thing, the Bible definitely states that “God is not the God of the dead, but of the living” (Matthew 22:31-32, Mark 12:26-27, and Luke 20:37-38). Notice also that Anubis is depicted in the shape of a dog (or a jackal). Many of the gods are presented in animal (or part-animal) forms. Thoth was illustrated as an ibis-headed man, a baboon, or sometimes as a “dog-headed ape” or a “dog-headed baboon.” Set was “represented by the head of a strange-looking animal that may have been a cross between a donkey and a pig” and was also worshipped under the crocodile and hippopotamus forms. Horus was symbolized as a hawk or falcon and Pan was portrayed as “half-goat, half-man.”

Horus

Hapi
Kebeh
Hathor
Ra (or Re)
Anubis
Sebek
Ra (or Re)
Garuda

You see, the “gods were originally believed to be animals or birds—and in later years were anthropomorphized and pictured with human bodies with the head of the animal or bird.” Of course, the Bible speaks about such a situation. Romans 1:21-23 and 25 state that:

“when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, And **changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things....**Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.”

This passage continues:

“For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature:...And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, Without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful...” (Romans 1:26, 28-31).

It’s no wonder, then, that all kinds of unrighteousness follow such a worship of pagan gods for the gods that are being revered are themselves portrayed as doing evil acts. Just a quick glance at mythology will show the gods lying, cheating, committing fornication, incest, adultery, murder, and such like. This is certainly a completely different lifestyle from the righteous life Christ lived (see Hebrews 7:26). Peter also admonishes us: “But as He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; Because it is written, Be ye holy; for I am holy” (I Peter 1:15-16).

Also presented in the description of Anubis is the idea that if good deeds outweigh bad ones, the person is rewarded and vice versa. A book printed by the Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company reveals:

"A painting of the Funeral Ritual represents the judgment of a soul; it advances toward the goddess *Thme*, who wears an ostrich feather on her head; beside this divinity of justice and truth, appears the **scale** in which *Anubis* and *Horus* weigh the actions of the deceased—they place in one side the ostrich feather, and in the other the vase containing the heart; if the weight of the heart is greater than that of the ostrich feather, the scale descends, and the soul is received in the celestial courts; above this scene appear the forty-two judges of the souls seated, and having the head ornamented with the ostrich feather." [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

What is interesting about this explanation is that **THIS "EGYPTIAN WITCHCRAFT" SCENE IS ACTUALLY PORTRAYED IN THE MASONIC LODGE** in the 31st degree where the candidate's actions are weighed on a **balance** scale. In this Masonic degree the "candidate is brought into the Court of the Dead to be judged for actions while living and to determine if he deserves to dwell among the gods." (For picture, see chapter entitled "Winged Symbols.") This is a teaching that is contrary to God's Word, for we can never be saved by works. II Timothy 1:9 mentions that God "hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, **NOT ACCORDING TO OUR WORKS,** but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." In Titus we are told: **"NOT BY WORKS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS** which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus 3:5).

The gavel is an important Masonic and Eastern Star symbol. Sarah Terry, in her Eastern Star book, *The Second Mile*, tells us that "in ancient times the **GAVEL** referred to the **HAMMER OF THE GOD THOR."** Thor is another **PAGAN** god—a god of fertility. He is part of the Scandinavian Trinity. What is interesting is that **THOR IS ANOTHER NAME FOR SIRIUS—THE BLAZING STAR OR THE PENTAGRAM!**

Albert Pike gives us some additional names for Thor. He explains: **"THOR WAS THE SUN, THE EGYPTIAN OSIRIS and Kneph, the Phoenician BEL OR BAAL." BAAL IS ALSO A SYNONYM FOR THE DEVIL.** This god Baal, under the name of Thor, is called "the Prince of the Power of the Air." Baal worship is condemned by the Bible (I Kings 16:30-33, 22:53; II Kings 17:16, etc.), and in Ephesians 2:2 we find that Satan is called the "prince of the power of the air." Not only does Satan have the same title as is given to the god Thor, but we should notice that the word "Thor" means "thunder." Thor "was the god of lightning and thunder in Norse mythology." This is a significant statement for Satanists use the symbol called a "Satanic S," which resembles a lightning bolt. In Luke 10:18 Jesus says: "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

Is it any wonder that the Bible further informs us that this "prince of the power of the air" is "the spirit that now worketh in the children of DISOBEDIENCE" (Ephesians 2:2)?

Additionally, the gavel, like so many of the other symbols, also has a sexual connotation. Masonic author, J. S. M. Ward, remarks: "Thus we see that the **HAMMER, OR GAVEL,** and the **TAU** were originally the same, and this is a natural evolution of symbols, for the **TAU CROSS IS EVOLVED FROM THE PHALLUS,** and that is the **SYMBOL OF GOD** the Creator...."

This reference shows us that the gavel, the hammer, and the tau cross were all the same and, therefore, the meanings would be the same.

Ward continues:

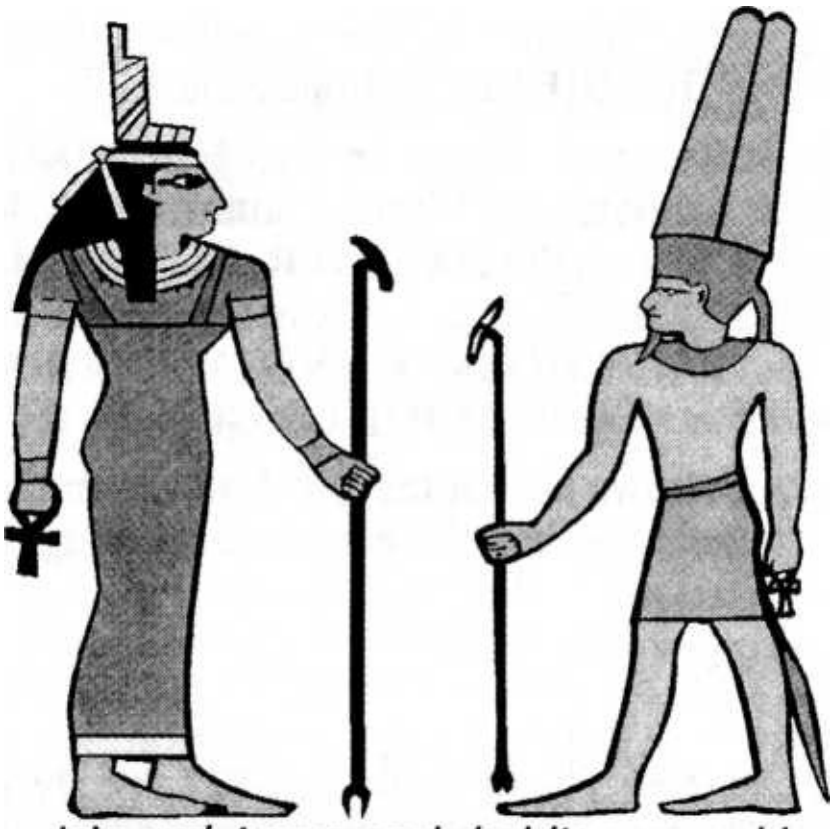
"But this is not the only place where the tau cross occurs. The gabels, or gavels,

are all T crosses and combine in one symbol the hammer, the sign of rule, and the T cross, the symbol of the male or creative side of the Deity; and, lest there should be any mistake, the T is placed on the apron of the Master of the Lodge, though placed [upside down], so as to give also the symbol of the square, and also to emphasise its **PHALLIC** meaning."

"The Tau, T, is the emblem of Mercury, of Hermes. It is the *crux ansata*, and the *crux Hermis*. It was the last letter of the ancient alphabets, the end of boundary, whence it came to be used as a terminus to districts; but the crux Tau was also the emblem of the generative power, of eternal transmigrating life [reincarnation], and thus was used indiscriminately with the Phallus. It was, in fact, *the phallus*." [Emphasis in the original]

The ankh (or crux ansata) is a symbol of life. A *Dictionary of Mysticism* explains the ankh as the "Egyptian cross, shaped like a capital T with an oval loop on the top, symbol of life in **occult** tradition." It was "used by the gods as an instrument for awakening the dead to a new life."

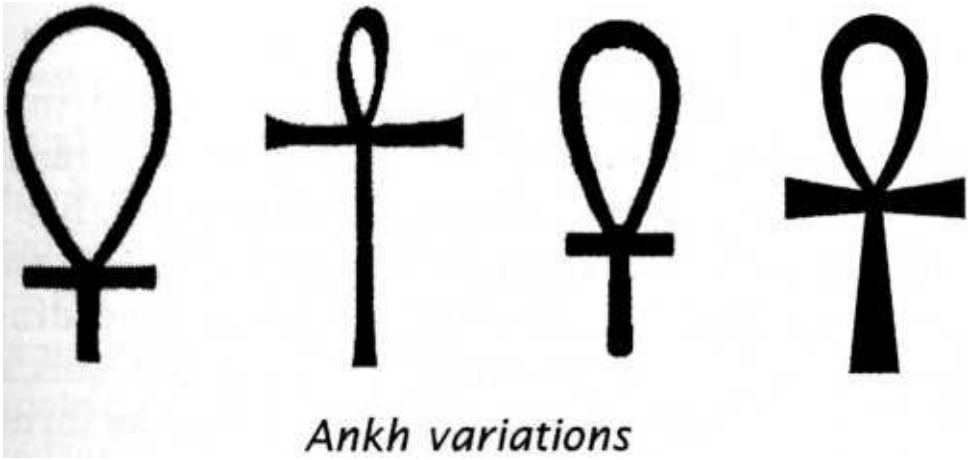
One Masonic book relates: "The Crux Ansata, so frequently observed in the hands of the statues of the old kings and gods of Egypt, was evidently both solar and **Phallic** in signification, and represented a combination of the male and female principles in," nature.



Isis and Amon each holding an ankh

In *The Origins, Practices, and Traditions of Halloween,* we find that the ankh is an "ancient symbol for immortality, fertility; a cross with a ring at the top worn and used in Satanic rites." A former witch reveals that the ankh is:

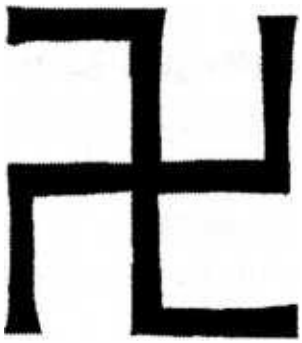
"An emblem (sic) to identify the wearer as a worshipper of the sun god Ra, a seeker of the Satanist beliefs, and one who practices the worship to the unknown gods of the supernatural. The wearer acknowledges the sun god Ra, works the voodoo of the unseen world through this **hex."**



Ankh variations

It is interesting to discover that, according to a Masonic book, that the **"caduceus is a variant of** the earliest form of the Cross, the *Crux Ansata* of the ancient Egyptians." [Italics in the original; Boldface added] (The caduceus is covered in more detail in "Winged Symbols.")

A related item to the ankh, the hammer of Thor, the tau cross, and the gavel, is the swastika. Occultist Helena Petrovna Blavatsky remarks: "Few world-symbols are more pregnant with real **OCCULT** meaning than the Svastika." In *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia of History, Rites, Symbolism, and Biography* we find that the **swastika:**



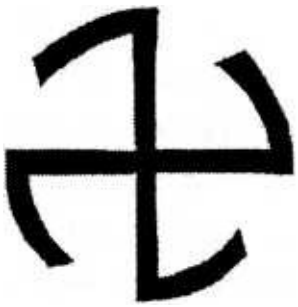
“was the hammer of Thor, celebrated in the mythology of the Norse nations, and the tradition ran that when Thor threw this golden cross, it struck, and, like the boomerang, returned again to his hand....**In Masonry,** however, **we find this hammer of Thor exceedingly important,** and of very ancient usage among the Goths, and **in the Masonic fraternity it has survived in the form of the mallet.”**

In *Amulets and Superstitions* we are told that it has been suggested that the four arms of the swastika “represent the four quarters of the heavens or earth, and also that the whole sign is an emblem of INDRA, or DYAUS, or ZEUS, or JUPITER, or THOR.” [Emphasis in the original]

In fact, Thor used the hammer for his weapon and the swastika as his emblem.

Rudyard Kipling, a Mason, used the swastika as his symbol. What most Masons today probably do not realize is that the swastika itself was also a **MASONIC** symbol. It is an older form of the Tau Cross (the ankh).

I have read quite a number of old Masonic books from the 19th and early 20th century. Many of these books will mention the swastika. For instance, one of the most popular Masonic books ever written is ***The Builders*** by Joseph Fort Newton. In this book he refers the reader to an essay by Thomas Carr **“in which he shows that the Swastika is the symbol of the Supreme Architect of the Universe among Operative Masons today....”**



Hinduism Today gives a little history on this symbol.

“When Buddhism fomented its birth out of India’s spiritual wellspring, it inherited the right-angled emblem. On the backs of monks, the little double-jointed **good luck** design journeyed north over the Himalayas into China— often carved into Buddha’s feet—and splayed into a spectrum of decorative ‘meandering’ swastikas, the classical, geometric oriental motif. Nineteenth century Americans picked up the symbol from the American Indians. Boy Scouts tightened their britches with brassy swastika buckles and a US World’s Fair minted flashy swastika commemorative coins.

Buddha’s footprint—Notice the swastikas on the toes

coins. Deformed into a mark of demonic racism by Hitler, the ancient symbol soon disappeared except in India where it still retains its auspicious identity and

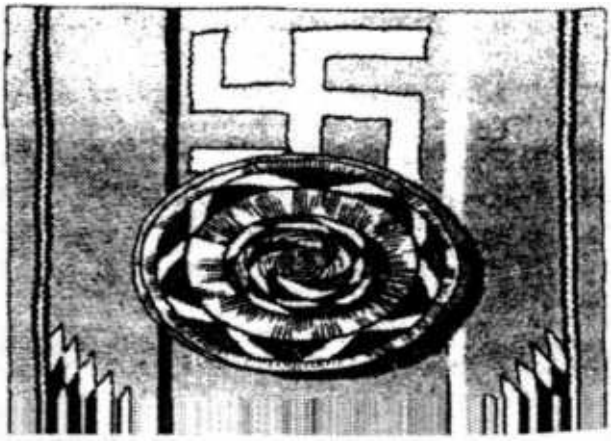
aura of blessings."

Women's Mysteries relates:

"Among the Hindus the right-handed swastika represents the male principle—light, life, and glory; it is the sun in its daily course from east to west. The left-handed swastika is, on the contrary, the emblem of the goddess Kali; it is the female principle—darkness, death, and destruction. These are four-armed swastikas, based on the equilateral cross; in addition three-armed, or three-legged, swastikas called triskeles also occur, for example, in Sicily and the Celtic countries....A three-legged swastika is the official emblem or arms of the Isle of Man, where the Celtic Moon Goddess, under the title of Anu or Aniis, was formerly worshipped."

In *Dictionary of Mysticism* we find that the swastika is a "very ancient and widespread symbol, one of the most **sacred** and **mystic** diagrams in **OCCULTISM....**In general it is regarded as the **symbol of the sun;** in India, especially, it is used as a symbol of good luck."

As is well known, Hitler used the swastika to represent his Nazi party. Hitler belonged to the occult Thule Society which also used the swastika. Additionally, Hitler was a disciple of the occultist Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

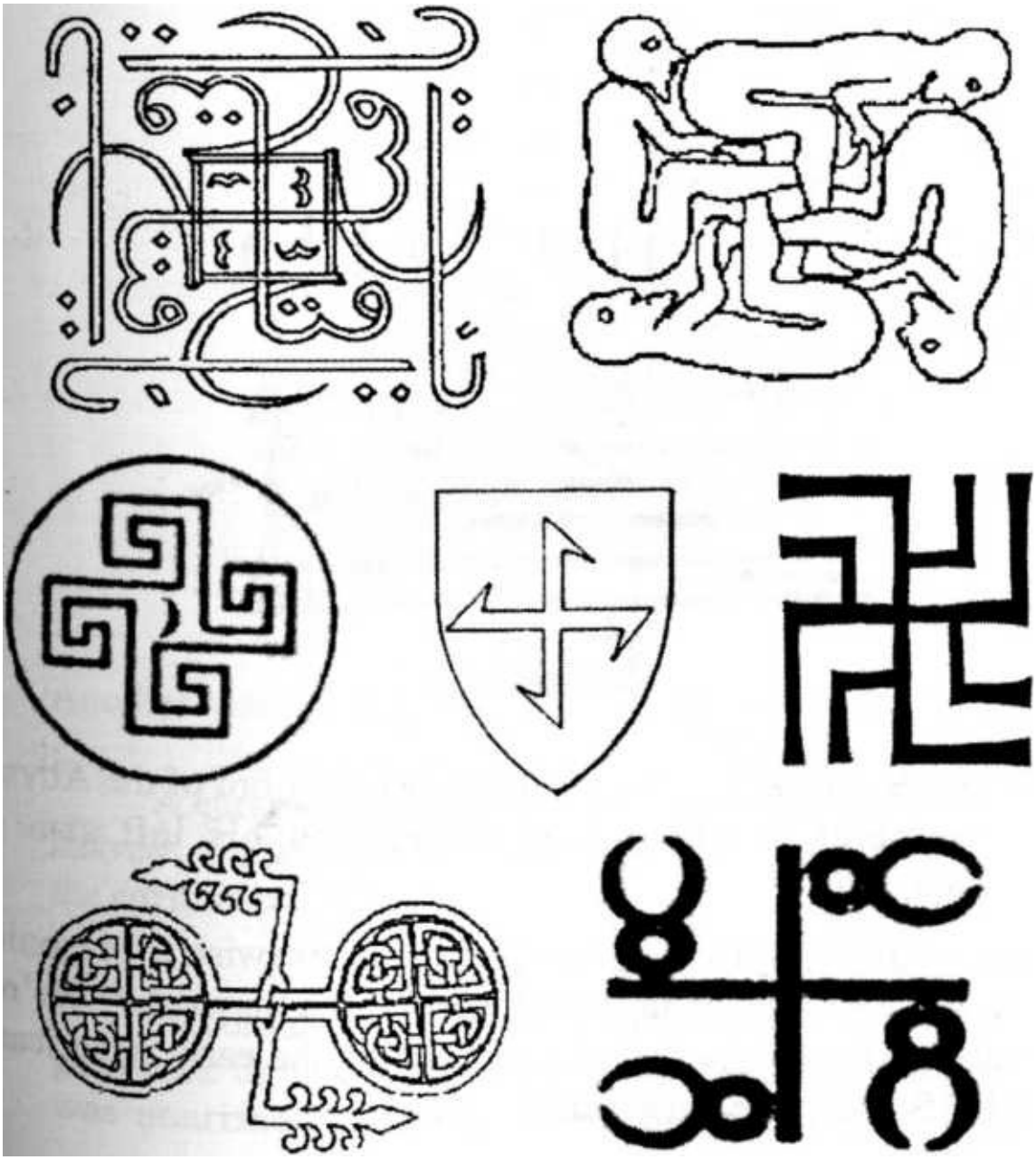


"By 1914 her Aryan doctrine had spread through Germany and Austria. It was a member of the inner circle of the Thule Society, Dietrich Eckart, who first introduced Hitler to the teachings of Madame Blavatsky. Reportedly, Hitler kept a copy of her book, *The Secret Doctrine*, by his bedside, and it was from her writings that he learned the meaning of the Aryan swastika. (The swastika is the

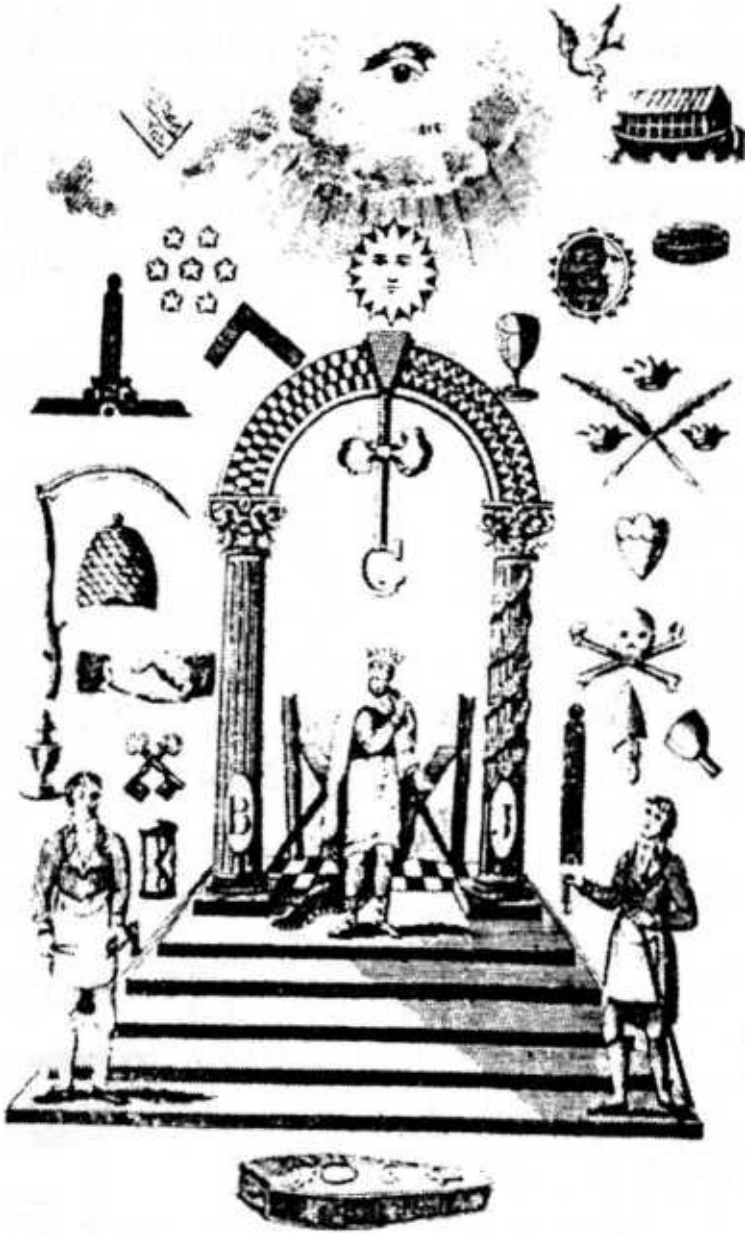
symbol of the seventh ray of initiation, and Hitler was a sixth ray initiate.)"

Blavatsky says that the swastika is "purely phallic." She also states: "The *Swastika,* the most sacred and mystic symbol in India, the 'Jaina-Cross' as it is now called by the Masons....It is the 'devil's sign,' we are told by the Indian missionaries." [Emphasis in the original] "The Nazi symbol has become popular with Satanists to represent nature out of harmony."

A few more representations of the swastika appear below.



The Druids also used the swastika, but this is no surprise since Masonic author, William Hutchinson, acknowledges that "our mode of teaching the principles of our profession **[MASONRY] IS DERIVED FROM THE DRUIDS...**[and] our chief emblems originally [came] from Egypt...." Albert Churchward, another Mason, also writes about Masons as **"OUR PRESENT DRUIDS"**!



In *The Masks of God* we discover that the Lord of the Abyss has a "hammer in his right hand and on his left arm a **cornucopia...."**

The cornucopia (or horn of plenty) is likewise a Masonic symbol. It can be seen

on the jewel worn by the Steward. We're told that the cornucopia "was introduced by the early American **WITCHES** that came over from Scotland."

Many Masonic authorities give us the meaning of this particular emblem. The Grand Lodge A.F. & A.M. of Canada admits:

"The emblem has allusion to the ancient **Greek legend** of Amalthea, a she-goat who nursed the god Zeus when he was a baby. Her horns were miraculous; from one of them flowed nectar, and from the other ambrosia. On one occasion she broke her horn off on a tree. Some one picked it up, filled it with fruit, and brought it to the baby god. According to some versions of the story it continued to replenish itself miraculously. The **cornucopia is appropriated to the Steward as his emblem** because of his function in ministering to the brethren at the hours of refreshment."

Another Masonic writer, Carl Claudy, comments:

"A curious derivation of a **Masonic symbol** from the heavens is that universally associated with the Stewards, the **cornucopia.**

"According to the **mythology of the Greeks** which goes back to the very dawn of civilization, the **god Zeus** was nourished in infancy from the milk of the goat, Amalthea. In gratitude the god placed Amalthea forever in the heavens as a constellation, but first he gave one of Amalthea's horns to his nurses with the assurance that it would forever pour for them whatever they desired.

"The horn of plenty, or the **cornucopia, is thus a symbol of abundance.** The goat from which it came may be found by the curious among the constellations under the name of **Capricorn.** The Tropic of Capricorn of our school days is the southern limit of the swing of the sun on the path which marks the ecliptic, on which the earth dips first its north, then its south pole toward our luminary. Hence there is a connection, not the less direct for being tenuous, between our Stewards, their symbol, the lights in the lodge, the place of darkness, and Solomon's Temple."

Astrological representation of Capricorn

The cornucopia is another example of an androgynous symbol. "The horn was masculine and the inside was feminine. The fruit inside symbolized productiveness of the female." *A Dictionary of Symbols* gives more information about this under the entry "cornucopia":

"In mythology, it was the goat Amalthea who fed the infant Jupiter with milk. Given that the general symbolism of the horn is strength, and that the goat has maternal implications, and in addition that the shape of the horn (phallic outside

and hollow inside) endows it with a complex symbolism (including that of the *lingam*, or symbol of generation), it is easy to understand its allegorical use as the horn of abundance. Piobb points out also that the cornucopia is an expression of prosperity deriving from its association with the zodiacal sign of Capricorn." [Emphasis in the original]

In spite of this interpretation of the cornucopia, the Masons are proud to use this symbol. In fact, the logo for the Job's Daughters (a Masonically-affiliated organization) is a double triangle with the letters "IYOB FILLAE" between the two triangles and inside the inner triangle are three girls wearing crowns. One girl is holding the horn of plenty (cornucopia), another girl is holding a dove, and the third girl is holding an incense burner.

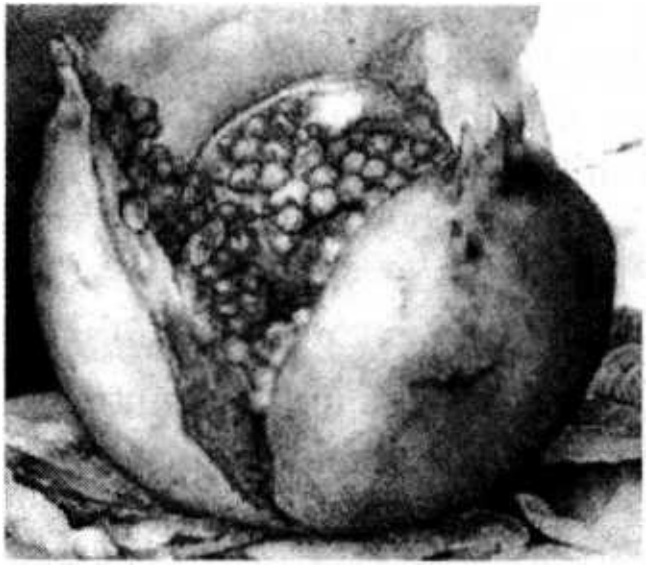
Another Masonic symbol that stands for plenty is the pomegranate. A Masonic book, *The Perfect Ashlar*, states: "The pomegranates, being a fruit remarkable for the number of their seeds, are **symbolic of fertility,** and the wreaths, or network, spread over the surface, indicate the courses of the heavenly bodies around the earth."

Another Masonic book, *The Lodge and the Craft,* gives an expanded (and more vulgar) definition about the meaning of the pomegranate in Masonry. The author claims:

"To illustrate some of the lines of thought which pass among the present philosophers of the Craft, we will describe a late theory that a certain brother, than whom *there is none brighter among our acquaintance.* Said he, 'The lodge is a representation of King Solomon's Temple and the Temple was calculated to

symbolize the maternal human body, wherein the candidate must enter to be born again. The uterus and vagina represent the porch of the Temple, the pillars of the porch represent the fallopian tubes, the network, the broad ligament with its accompanying blood vessels, the lily-work, the ampulla or fimbriated extremity of the tube, and the **pomegranate,** the ovary and its exuberant seeds, the ova cells.

The winding stairway is represented by the three divisions of the intestine. The three steps are represented by the ascending, transverse and descending colon, the five steps by the coils of the ilium and the seven steps by the coils of the jejunum. The veil of the Temple represents the diaphragm, the shechinah and the altar represent the heart, which is the source of life, the first to live and the last to die. This is overshadowed by the wings of the cherubim, in the shape of the lungs. The seven-branched candlestick is represented by the arch of the aorta, the great artery of the chest, which is itself the sanctum sanctorum, while the abdomen was the holy place or Middle Chamber. The brain represents the Deity, which governs all things, and is the analogue of the Holy Royal Arch, whose ark contains the Ineffable Name of God.' There are many other analogues which might be mentioned, which suggest themselves to the trained anatomist."



Knowing the meaning behind the pomegranate, isn't it interesting to learn that Milenko Matanovic, a friend of David Spangler (who praises Lucifer), started an organization called the Pomegranate Foundation? Matanovic and Spangler worked on a musical play. Spangler explains:

"One of my very close associates and friends whom I met here at Findhorn, a Yugoslavian named Milenko Matanovic who was largely responsible for creating the New Troubadours and much of the music which we sang, worked with me on a three-act musical play....In this play we tried to look, in a comic and a musical way, at the course of human evolution. In the first act of the play, four great beings have gathered together evaluating the situation here on Earth. Three of the beings are actually present and the fourth being is suggested as a being who is trying to be present. The three who are present were: **Pan, representing the overlord of nature** and all the principles of nature; **Lucifer,** representing the principle of self and of selfhood and of all that is involved in learning to be separate from the universe in order that you can reunite with the universe; the **Logos,** who represented the power of that reunion through love. The **fourth suggested entity was the one who would appear when these three elements of Pan, Lucifer and the Christ were all blended into a wholeness."**

Matanovic also wrote a song entitled "Festival of Light," which was sung at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. This is a very ungodly place where they took Christ off the cross and put a **FEMALE** "Christ" (called Christa) in His place on the cross.

Returning to the symbolism of the pomegranate, a Masonic book, *The Historical Landmarks and Other Evidences of Freemasonry, Explained,* declares: "The names of the pillars signified potency and perpetuity; the pomegranates on their capitals **were symbols of generation.** Hence **they were esteemed to be of Phallic reference."** He adds:

'"The **two pillars,'** says Fellows...'represent two imaginary columns, supposed to be placed at the equinoces (sic) to support the heavens....The one on the left is called Boaz, and **indicates Osiris, or the sun,** the one on the right is called Jachin, **and designates Isis,** the symbol both of the earth and its productions, and of the moon."'

Another name for a four-sided pillar is the obelisk. Pillars have always been worshipped as gods. In Egypt, the obelisk stood for the sun god. *The New Age Magazine* had an article by 33° Mason, Henry Ridgely Evans, in which he said that Osiris, the god of the underworld, was also depicted in the form of a pillar.

In fact, in *Numbers: Their Occult Power and Mystic Virtues*, we find that the lingam (the male sex organ) was an upright pillar.

H. L. Haywood, another Mason, states:

"In some cases these crude rock **pillars were thought to be the abodes of gods or demons;** in others, homes of the ghosts; and often as **symbols of sex.** Of the last-named usage one writer has said that 'pillars of stone, when associated with worship, have been from time immemorial regarded as symbols of the active and passive, the generative and fecundating principles.' In Egypt, Horus and Sut [Set] were regarded as two living pillars, twin builders and supporters of the heavens...."

Masonic author, Rollin Blackmer, elaborates:

"The symbolism regarding solar worship indicated by the point within the circle has many variations, but one of the most primitive and natural was that the Sun was to be regarded as the male generative power of nature. To the ancient philosopher the origin and creation of life led to the contemplation of only one process, the generative act. The Sun God was certainly the generator of life, light and heat, the male principle, and this was symbolically represented by the Phallus or Lingam, which was some picture, more or less veiled, of the human male generative organ. The most frequent illustration was of a **pillar** set up in the center of a circle. The circle just as distinctively represented the earth or female principle. The Sun was the Great Father. Under his benign influence all nature germinated, and the earth was the Universal Mother, in whose ample womb all these germs grew to maturity."

In *Our Phallic Heritage* we are told that "All pillars or columns originally had a phallic significance, and were therefore considered sacred." Pan, the goat god and god of sensuality, was often represented as an obelisk.

A former witch gives some interesting information about the obelisk. He writes:

“The obelisk is a long pointed four-sided shaft, the uppermost portion of which forms a pyramid. The word **‘obelisk’ literally means ‘Baal’s Shaft’** or Baal’s organ of reproduction. This should be especially shocking when we realize that we have a gigantic obelisk in our nation’s capital known as the Washington Monument.”

Of course, the Masons and Egyptians aren’t the only ones who had high regard for the obelisk. In front of the Vatican stands the very same obelisk that once stood in Egypt! Ralph Woodrow explains:

“The very same obelisk that once stood at the ancient temple which was the center of Egyptian paganism, now stands before the mother church of Romanism! This seems like more than a mere coincidence.

“The red granite obelisk of the Vatican is itself 83 feet high (132 feet high with its foundation) and weighs 320 tons. In 1586, in order to center it in front of the church in St. Peter’s square, it was moved to its present location by order of Pope Sixtus V. Of course moving this heavy obelisk— especially in those days —was a very difficult task. Many movers refused to attempt the feat, especially since the pope had attached the *death penalty* if the obelisk was dropped and broken!

“Finally a man by the name of Domenico Fontana accepted the responsibility. With 45 winches, 160 horses, and a crew of 800 workmen, the task of moving began. The date was September 10, 1586. Multitudes crowded the extensive square. While the obelisk was being moved, the crowd, upon penalty of death, was required to remain silent. But after the obelisk was successfully erected, there was the sound of hundreds of bells ringing, the roar of cannons, and the loud cheers of the multitude.” [Emphasis in the original]

When the children of Israel would forsake God, they turned to worshipping

idols. One of the idols they worshipped was the obelisk. God had specifically forbidden them to do so. Leviticus 26:1 warns: “Ye shall make you no idols nor graven image, neither rear you up a **standing image,** neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down unto it: for I am the Lord your God.” They were also told that when they went into pagan nations, they “shall overthrow their altars, and **break their pillars,** and bum their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God” (Deuteronomy 12:3-4). Many other such warnings are also in the Bible. The following references use the same Hebrew word for “pillar” but it is translated as “images.” See: Exodus 23:24, 34:13; Deuteronomy 7:5, 16:22; I Kings 14:23; II Kings 10:26,27, 17:10, 18:4, 23:14; II Chronicles 14:3, 31:1; Jeremiah 43:13; Hosea 10:1-2; and Micah 5:13.

How can anyone who truly loves the Lord belong to Masonry, the Eastern Star, or any other Masonically-affiliated organization when they so blatantly promote paganism? The Bible clearly states: “Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you” (II Corinthians 6:17).

Leviticus 18:3, 30 warns:

“After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do: and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances....Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs, which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: I am the Lord your God.”

One other phallic symbol, although not a Masonic symbol, is the maypole. A New Age magazine, *Utne Reader* gives a little explanation about the maypole and May Day.

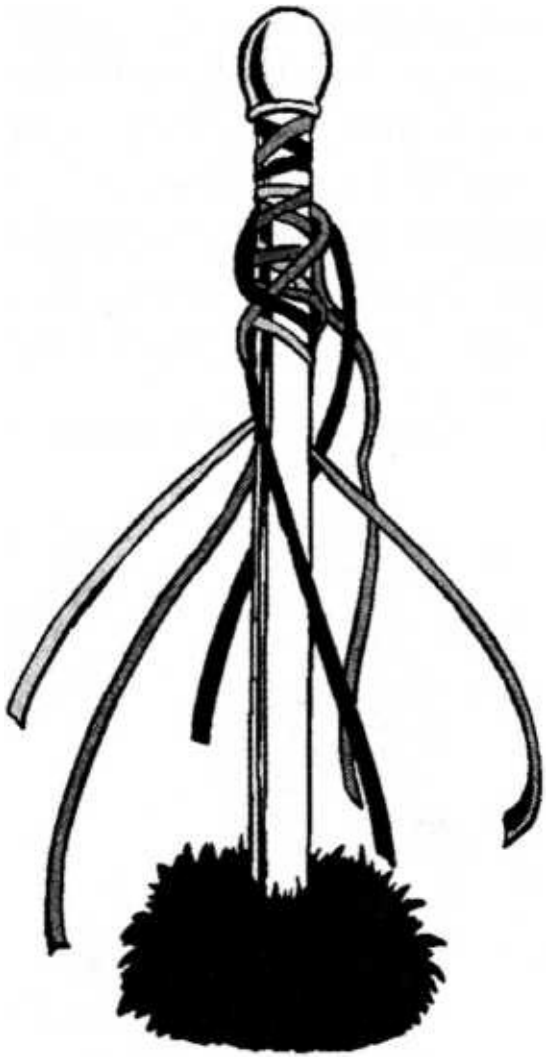
“In preindustrial Europe, the first of May was widely celebrated as the beginning of warm weather and natural fruition. The Romans held games in honor of the goddess of flowers around this date, and the Druids lit new fires in honor of the god Bel. In the Middle Ages, most European communities celebrated May by decorating their homes with new flowers (the custom of carrying in baskets of

flowers was known as ‘bringing in the May’), choosing a Queen of the May, and erecting and dancing around a maypole. **It was the maypole, with its phallic and pagan connotations,** that brought May Day into disrepute among the 17th-century Puritans. In both Old and New England the custom of dancing the maypole was outlawed by the religious authorities.”

Another author notes:

“The May pole was formerly a huge phallus decked with flowers and brightly colored ribbons and set upright in an open area, around which the young people joyously danced at the return of the mating season. This typified the rejoicing of the return of spring, with its fructifying powers, after the earth had awakened

from its long winter's sleep."



Witch Laurie Cabot tells us that May Day is a witchcraft holiday called Beltane in which:

"fires are lit and the great fertility ritual of the God and Goddess is celebrated with Maypoles, music, and considerable frolicking in the greening countryside. May is a lusty month. The fifth month in the year expresses all the sexual and sensual meanings in the number five....Nature celebrates the great fecundity of the earth in rituals of sex, birth, and new life....

"The sexual forces of springtime abound everywhere, and as the folk songs say, 'We go a-Maying.' Symbolically we celebrate the forces of the season by erecting Maypoles, around which young men and women dance,

entwining multicolored ribbons, weaving themselves together as they wrap the pole in festive colors."

Feminist Naomi Goldenberg adds:

:"The God's mother is the Goddess herself. As the year waxes into spring, her son becomes her lover [incest] and their union makes the whole world bloom with sexual energy. The first of May, **May Day,** is the time for this celebration — probably the **most joyous holiday of the witch's year.** The famous **Maypole** represents the God's erect phallus and is used as the rallying point for dancing and playing games."

Many other authors (such as Masons and witches) reveal that the Maypole is a

phallic symbol. With information like this, it was disappointing to see the May 1995 issue of *Clubhouse Jr.* This is a magazine for children distributed by Dr. James Dobson's Focus on the Family. On the back cover they mentioned May Day and the maypole and showed a maypole with adults and children dancing around the pole. The children were supposed to find hidden flowers in this drawing.

Those who profess to be Christians should not be promoting such a festivity which is actually held in honor of the god Belenos.

Not only is May 1st a prominent **WITCHCRAFT** and **SATANIST** holiday, it is also celebrated as a Communist holiday. Additionally, **it is the day that the Illuminati was founded and the day that appears on the back of our dollar bills** (which was orchestrated by Masonry).

James Walker, 32° Mason, mentions the **Masonic symbolism in the dollar bill.** Here is what he says:

- 13 leaves in the olive branches
- 13 bars and stripes in the shield
- 13 feathers in the tail
- 13 arrows
- 13 letters in the 'E Pluribus Unum' on the ribbon
- 13 stars in the green crest above
- 32 long feathers representing the 32° in Masonry
- 13 granite stones in the Pyramid with the Masonic 'All-seeing Eye' completing it.
- 13 letters in Annuit Coeptis, 'God has prospered.'

“On the front of the dollar bill is the seal of the United States made up of a key, square, and the Scales of Justice, as well as a compass which, of course, is an important symbol in Masonry.”

A former Mason and witch, Bill Schnoebelen, gives a little more detail about the Masonic symbolism in a dollar bill.

“On the front of the Seal is an eagle. Amazingly, the eagle *happens* to have 32 feathers in its right wing—32 being the number of ordinary degrees of the Scottish rite. The left wing of the bird has 33 feathers, which corresponds to the 33°. The tail-feathers number 9, the number of degrees in the York rite. The eagle itself is a prominent icon of Masonry, being used extensively in the Scottish rite.

“To magicians, the eagle is often a standin for the Phoenix....

“In a bit of historical irony, the Scottish rite had its beginning in France, and the York rite had its greatest success in America. Thus, this eagle can be thought of as a symbol of Franco-American unity. This theme is carried further when one realizes that the total number of feathers in the two wings is 65. This is the Cabalistic number of the Hebrew, ‘*Yam Echad*,’ meaning ‘to dwell in unity.’...

“Over the eagle’s head is a cloud with 13 pentagrams in the shape of a hexagram —or greater Seal of Solomon. To the sorcerer, the hexagram is a powerful tool to invoke Satan, and is a sign of anti-christ. (6 points, 6 angles, 6 planes—**666**) The **5** pointed pentagrams multiplied by the **13** stars equals 65, the same cabalistic number above! This makes one wonder with *whom or what,* we are to

dwell in unity?

“Though there is an obvious rationale for the 13 stars (13 colonies) there is also a more subtle reason—13 is a key number of Satan.” [Emphasis in the original]

One Masonic symbol that **appears** to be Christian is the cross and the crown emblem. However, this **is not** the case. Masonic author, Ray Denslow, reveals:

“The Cross and Crown may be said to be confined almost exclusively to the historical degrees in Masonry as exemplified in the various orders of knighthood of York and Scottish rites. In Gaul we find the *cross to have been a solar symbol* when it had equal arms and angles; to the Phoenicians it was *an instrument of sacrifice* to their God, Baal; and to the Egyptians, the *crux ansata was his symbol of eternal life.*” [Emphasis in the original]

In *The Masonic Report* we find more about this emblem:

“Question: What does Masonry’s emblem of the ‘Cross and Crown’ actually symbolize?

“Answer: The ‘Cross’ of Freemasonry is a philosophical cross, according to Albert Pike, ‘Morals and Dogma,’ p. 771. It is philosophical in the sense that it represents the generating fecundating principle by the perpendicular shaft, and

the matrix or womb of nature, the female producing principle, by the horizontal shaft. The philosophy of the Masonic cross is totally phallic.

“The ‘Crown’ of this Masonic emblems is also phallic, it being the first emanation of the Cabalistic Sephiroth....”

A former Mason also explains:

“The other York Rite jewelry you may see is the Templar symbol....It is a large Maltese cross with a circle in the center. Inside the circle is a red Latin cross within a crown. Around the arms of the cross is the Commandery motto, ‘In Hoc Signo Vinces.’ (In this sign, conquer!)

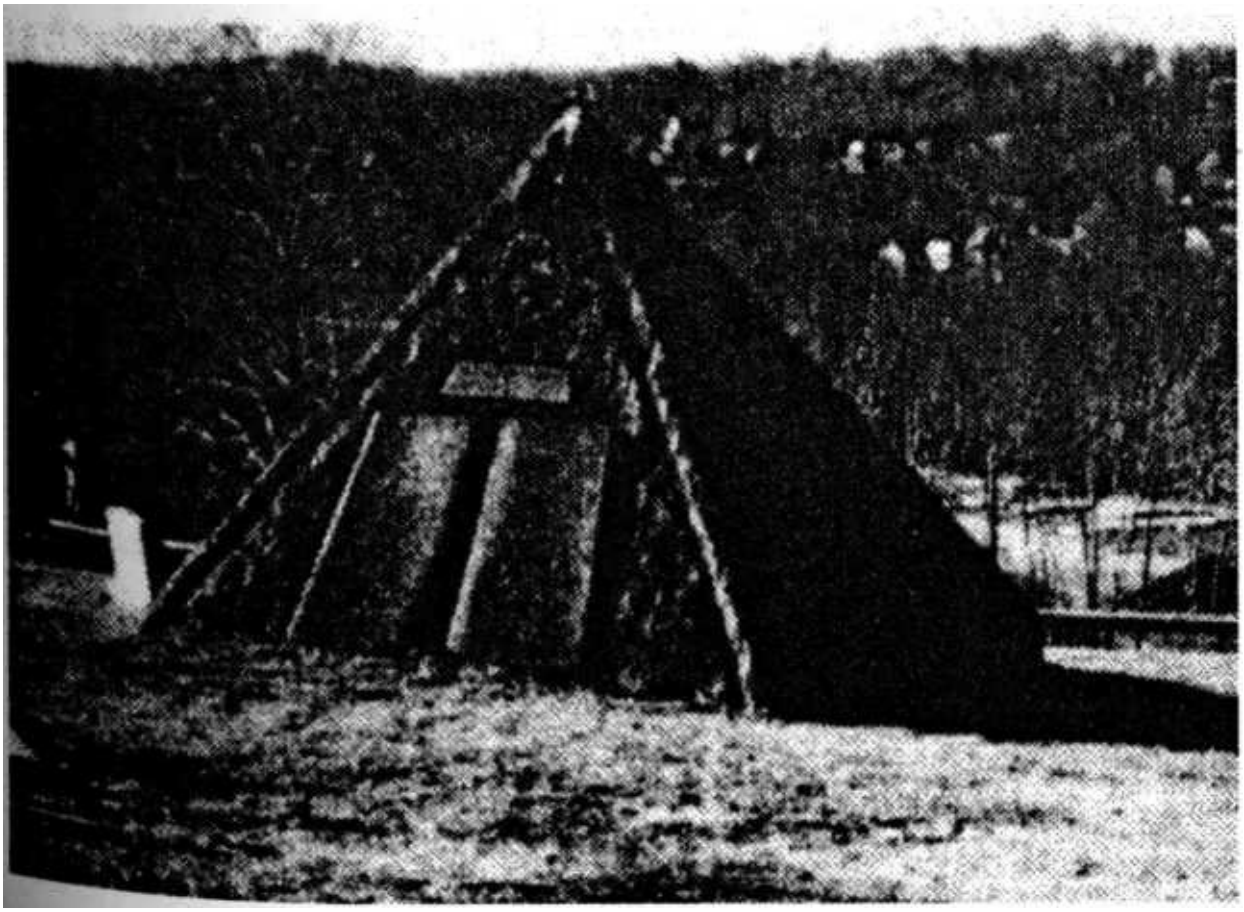
“Although this may seem harmless enough, the motto is originally attributed to the emperor Constantine, who used it in conjunction with a supposedly heavenly vision to begin the subversion and politicization of Biblical Christianity into the false, apostate Alexandrian cult....

“A similar shell game is played with the word ‘sign.’...The sign Constantine referred to was NOT a Christian cross, but a kind of ‘X’ which had both Christian and pagan associations. In modern magic, it is the sign of the slain and risen Egyptian god, Osiris (another version of the ‘slain and risen’ Hiram Abif).

“Again Masonry has downgraded Jesus and replaced Him with its own ‘christ.’” [Emphasis in the original]

Two other groups (both with Masonic connections) use the cross and crown. Charles Taze Russell was a Mason who started the Jehovah Witnesses. He used the red cross and other distinctive features of the Knights Templar logo.

He also used the Masonic symbol of the winged sun-disk with snakes and he is “buried in a pyramid with masonic symbols on its capstone.”



The other group that uses the cross and crown emblem is Christian Science. This group was founded by Mary Baker Eddy in Massachusetts but Mason Henry Steele Olcott, who was cofounder of the Theosophical Society with Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, was an associate of Mary Baker Eddy. Some Eddy Brothers held seances and it was at these seances that Blavatsky met Col. Henry Steele Olcott. Mary Baker Eddy herself had married a Mason and this was the only secret society which she allowed other Christian Science members to join. She even had some of her material published in the *Freemason's Monthly Magazine*. Several people connected with Christian Science such as directors and board members and a number of the editors of *The Christian Science Monitor* were Masons. Even the presidents of the Mother Church in 1922-23 and 1923-24 were Masons.

Below are some more Masonic symbols as well as some logos for different Masonic organizations.

A.A.O.N.M.S.
M O T
TYRE
R.O.J.
MATH IS KING
LOS OF N.A.
SHRINE
SHRINE
נתשתן
הלתי
NATIONAL
DEMOLAY
SOJOURN

AMARANTH
QUEEN OF THE SOUTH
EASTERN STAR

MOVPER
GROTTO

K.O.T.M.

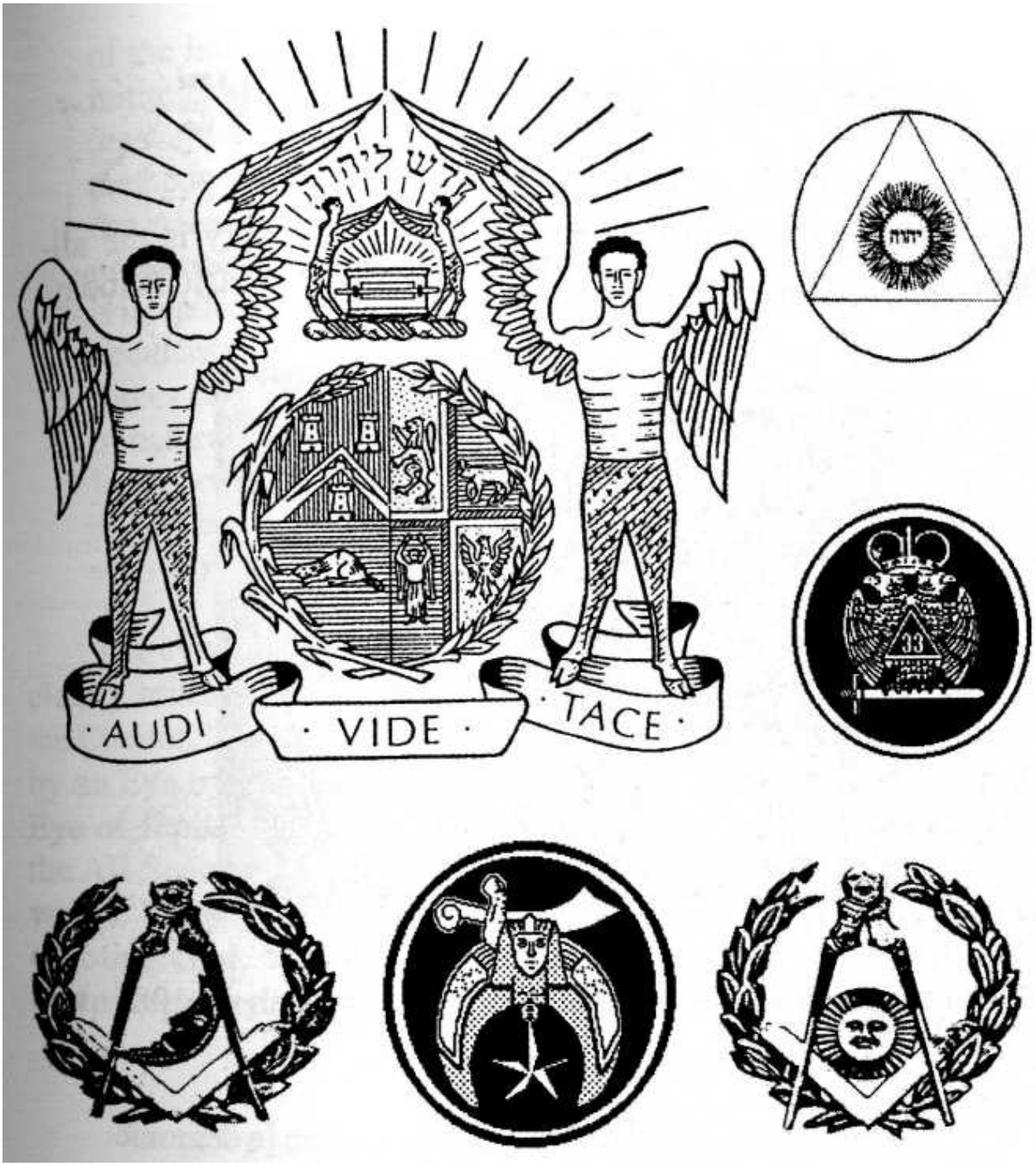
KYCH

32

ORDO AB CHAO

B
F
C
L
R

RAINBOW



Most of the symbols covered in this chapter (plus some others as well) are covered in greater detail in my book *Hidden Secrets of the Eastern Star* You can obtain a copy of this 512 page book (with Index) for $17.50 by writing to Sharing, 212-Y East Seventh Street, Mt. Carmel, PA 17851 -2211.

20.

THE All-SEEING EYE

One of the most prominent symbols in Masonry is the all-seeing eye. A single eye appears almost everywhere you look today.

Ralph Anderson, a 32° Mason, gave a speech in 1985. He said:

“A brief word about the future. The Tibetan [a demonic spirit guide] tells us: ‘The **three main channels through which the preparation for the New Age is** going on might be regarded as **the church, the Masonic fraternity and the educational field.** All of them are as yet failing to meet the need and to respond to the inner pressure. But in all of these three movements, disciples of the Great Ones are to be found and they are steadily gathering momentum and will before long enter upon their designated task.’

“He tells us further, ‘The **Masonic Movement** when it can be divorced from politics and social ends and from its present paralysing condition of inertia, will meet the need of those who can, and should, wield power. It is the custodian of the law; it is the home of the Mysteries and the seat of initiation. It holds in its symbolism the ritual of Deity, and the way of salvation is pictorially preserved in its work. The methods of Deity are demonstrated in its Temples, and **under the All-seeing Eye the work can go forward.** It is **a far more occult organisation than can now be realised,** and is intended to be the training school for the

coming advanced **occultists.** In its ceremonials lies hid the wielding of the forces connected with the growth and life of the kingdoms of nature and the unfoldment of the divine aspects in man.

In the comprehension of its symbolism will come the power to cooperate with the divine plan. It meets the needs of those who work on the first Ray of Will or Power.'"

The eye used in Masonry is a representation of **OSIRIS.** Pike clearly reveals that **the all-seeing eye is "the emblem of Osiris,** the Creator." He also maintains that Osiris' "power was symbolized by an Eye over a Sceptre. The Sun was termed by the Greeks the Eye of Jupiter, and the Eye of the World; and **HIS [OSIRIS']** is the All-Seeing Eye in our Lodges." Masonic author, Carl Claudy, writes:

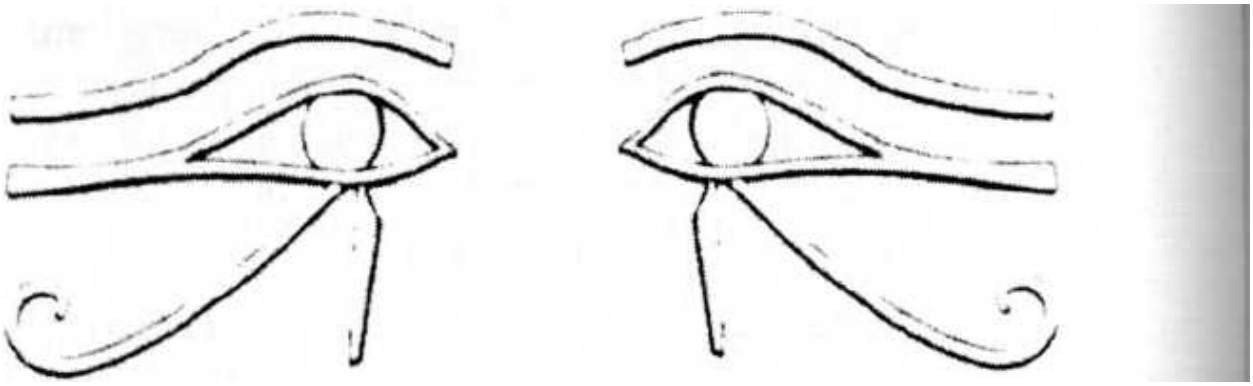
"This is one of the oldest and most widespread symbols denoting God. We find it in Egypt, in India....The **Open Eye of Egypt represented Osiris.** In **India Siva** is represented by an eye."

Albert Mackey, 33° Mason, agrees. He states:

"A symbol of the omniscient and watchful providence of God. It is a very ancient symbol, and is supposed by some to be a **relic of the primitive sun-worship.** Volney says *(Les Ruines,* p. 186) that in most of the ancient languages of Asia, the *eye* and the *sun* are expressed by the same word.

Among the Egyptians the eye was the symbol of their supreme god, Osiris, or the sun." [Emphasis in the original]

"To the ancient Egyptians, the right eye symbolized the sun and the left eye the moon."



“Legend recounts how an Eye of Ra which had fled from Egypt was brought back from Nubia by Anhur, and how this divine Eye became enraged upon seeing that another Eye had taken its place. Ra then set it on his forehead where it became the Uraeus which protected the god against his enemies.”

“The Eye, or *uraeus,* was to become the effective rule of the world, and as such was to be worn by the pharaohs as a symbol of their majesty and their descent from the sun god.” [Emphasis in the original]

Since the all-seeing eye represents Osiris, let’s look at who Osiris is. He committed incest with his sister, Isis, which resulted in the birth of Horus. Pike says: “Osiris was the image of generative power.” He is also the Egyptian **god of the dead** as well as a **SUN GOD.** Remember that the Bible reminds us that

the Christians' "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living" (Matthew 22:31-32, Mark 12:26-27, and Luke 20:37-38).

Osiris is known by many other names in other countries. In Thrace and Greece he is known as Dionysus, the god of pleasures and of partying and wine. A contrast between this pagan god and the true Christ once again becomes obvious when we look at the Bible. When Jesus was on earth He was called a "man of sorrows," not a "god of pleasures." Isaiah 53:3 prophesied of Jesus that "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from Him; He was despised, and we esteemed Him not."

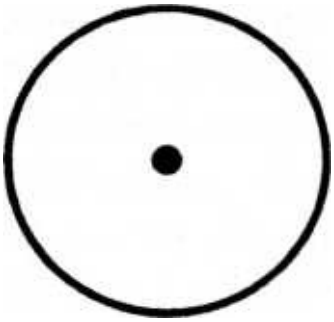
Festivals held in Dionysus' honor often resulted in **HUMAN SACRIFICES AND ORGIASTIC** (sexual) rites. In Rome Osiris is called Liber or Bacchus. The Lydians named him Bassareus and in Persia he is identified as Mithras, where **ASTROLOGY** is practiced by his followers. He is Zagreus to the Cretans and "became an **underworld divinity** who welcomed the souls of the dead to Hades [hell] and helped with their purification." The Phrygians know Osiris as Sabazius where he is honored as a solar deity (a sun god) who was represented by **horns** and his emblem was a **SERPENT.**

In other places he went by yet other names such as Deouis, The Boy Jupiter, The Centaur, Orion, Saturn, The Boy Plutus, Iswara, The Winged One, **NIMROD,** Adoni, Hermes, Prometheus, Poseidon, Butes, Dardanus, Himeros, Imbors, Iasius, Zeus, Iacchus, Hu, Thor, Bel, Serapis, Ormuzd, Apollo, Thammuz, Atus, Hercules, **SHIVA, MOLOCH,** and, believe it or not, **BAAL!**

The Bible condemned Baal worship. In Jeremiah 32:35 we find that the Israelites "built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech; which **I commanded them not, neither came it into My mind,** that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin." Jeremiah 19:5 mentions that the Israelites burnt their children with fire as burnt offerings for Baal. So, now we have a little better idea of who Osiris is and what the all-seeing eye represents.

The symbolic sign for Osiris and the sun is the point within the circle. This symbol was covered in the chapter "The Circle," but as a brief reminder, the point within the circle is a phallic symbol. This symbol also stands for the sun

and for air.



Mason and occultist Albert Pike contends:

"These two Divinities [Isis and Osiris], the Active and Passive **Principles of the Universe, were commonly symbolized by the generative parts of man and woman....**The Indian lingam was the union of both, as were the boat and mast and the **point within a circle:** all of which expressed the same philosophical idea as to the Union of the two great Causes of Nature, which concur, one actively and the other passively, in the generation of all beings...."

In *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man* we find that the point within a circle **"is an equivalent for the Eye,** and the two are co-types. Therefore it may be inferred that, as the fixed star at the centre, it was the Primordial All-Seeing Eye in the Astral Mythology." The all-seeing eye, then, has the same phallic meaning as the point within the circle. In spite of this, *The Short Talk Bulletin,* a Masonic pamphlet, has an article entitled "The All-Seeing Eye." It states: "The All-seeing Eye is to Freemasons the **cherished symbol....**Therefore the thinking **Freemason has reverence for this symbol."**

Robert Hieronimus, an occultist, wrote: "The single eye, alone or in a triangle, was used extensively by Freemasons and other secret societies."

Alice Bailey, whose husband, Foster Bailey, was a 32° Mason, also talked about the eye. She said:

the eye. She said:

"I would first have you note the emphasis upon the *'eye'* in this formula. It is a keynote and appears in various guises. Behind all the ideas lies the concept of seeing, of a Seeing One, looking on at the created Whole. This same concept is to be found in the fundamental Masonic symbol of the Eye of God which dominates everything within the Temple." [Emphasis in the original.]

Bailey then goes on to mention that the "Eye of God" is Shiva (or Siva), the Destroyer. Remember, Shiva is the Indian god who is equivalent to Osiris. Shiva is also a synonym for Satan.

Shiva

Charles Vail, a Mason, writes:

"This is the symbol of the higher **clairvoyance.** The Master always possessed this sight. **In India this All Seeing Eye was called the Eye of Siva.** The

Egyptians represented Osiris by the symbol of an open eye, and placed this hieroglyphic of him in all their temples. In the Lodge the All Seeing Eye represents the Omniscence (sic) of God,—The Eye that never sleeps. It may also represent, as in the Ancient Mysteries, the higher vision."

Masonic author, J. D. Buck, agrees:

"The EYE of SIVA is, in fact, an All-Seeing Eye; for it practically annuls Space and Time as concepts on the physical plane.... A real Master, then, has the Eye of SIVA; the pineal gland, dormant in others, is active in him; and the vibrations of his brain correspond to the synthesis of sound and light." [Emphasis in the original]

Hieronimus remarks: "The single eye also has been identified with the **third or spiritual eye** and therefore with **clairvoyance.** The esoteric tradition relates the single eye to the inner light, intuitive power, illumination, and the philosopher's stone...."

Many authors recognize that clairvoyance is gained through use of the third eye. For instance, a book entitled *The Third Eye* describes how T. Lobsang Rampa "entered Chakpori Lamasery, the Temple of Tibetan Medicine where he learned **clairvoyance, levitation and astral projection** by learning to **open the third eye."**

In *Yoga Made Easy* we find that the sixth chakra "is said to be the seat of the mystical 'third eye' which accounts for the **clairvoyance** claimed by some Yogis." In fact, yoga and visualization are two methods used to open the third eye.

"For centuries, the secrets of **Kundalini yoga** have been guarded by the yogis of India. Known to the ancients as 'the **sixth sense,'** this extraordinary life-force which makes it possible to open 'the **third eye'** is located at the base of the spine, and can provide an inexhaustible reserve of energy and knowledge!"

Alice Bailey, an occultist, declared: "Through the practice of the power of visualization the third eye is developed." Bailey also wrote:

"No man is a magician or worker in white magic until the third eye is opened, or in process of opening, for it is by means of that eye that the thought form is energised, directed and controlled, and the lesser builders are swept into any particular line of activity....

"The *'Eye of Shiva'* in the human being has its position... in the centre of the forehead, between the two physical eyes." [Emphasis in the original]

Mother Goddess with third eye

Laurie Cabot, a witch, remarks:

“Furthermore, the term ‘Third Eye’ is not just a fanciful metaphor conjured up by Witches and psychics to sound mysterious. Anatomists believe that the gland is indeed a remnant of a third eye that never developed in the course of **evolution.** From the oldest times, sages, **magicians, and Witches have spoken of the Third Eye as the doorway to all knowledge.**

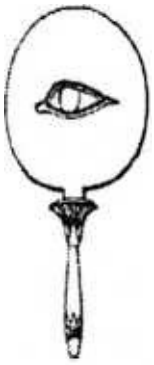
Ancient peoples have intuitively understood the importance of this power spot and honored it in various ways. In the Orient it is one of the seven chakras. Egyptian monarchs wore a cobra-headed ornament at the center of the forehead. In India a red dot is placed over the Third Eye. Celtic priestesses painted the area blue. Cultures that use ritual face makeup often single out this area in front of the pineal gland for special attention.”

“Pay particular attention to how you adorn your forehead where the Third Eye is located. East Indians wear a red dot over this chakra point, ancient Druids wore crowns with a band of jewels in the center of the forehead; the African Berbers use black makeup to tattoo their faces with stars, moons, and other magical symbols. A quartz crystal worn across the Third Eye can be particularly powerful.”

A Masonic book states:

“These considerations lead us to an interesting topic, the Eye of Mind or the Eye

of Horus, a subject elaborated in the Chapter on 'Horus' and conveying the idea of the 'All seeing Eye.' The end set before the Egyptian neophyte was **illumination,** that is to be **'brought to light.'** The Religion of Egypt was the Religion of Light."



A former witch and Mason comments:

"To 'open' the eye a little bit is to experience psychic powers. To open the eye completely is to have your brain flooded with the 'pure' consciousness of Lucifer himself. This is why one of the Masonic symbols is the 'All-Seeing Eye.' It is a symbol of Illumination.

"This is Satan's counterfeit for being Born Again. In it, you acquire a 'personal relationship' with Lucifer. You begin to think his thoughts and see with his eyes. You begin to look at humans the way he does. It is not a pretty experience!"

There is some very revealing information found in *The Power of Karma* (written in 1937 by Alexander Cannon). The author says that "much of that which is prophesied in the book of Revelation is to come to fruition." He goes on to mention that those who have the mark of wisdom have nothing to fear. He then notes that "this mark of wisdom needs explanation." He indicates that those

who have had superior past lives (meaning reincarnation) have been singled out for leadership. It results in seership, in clairvoyant gifts, in a type of intellect that perceives the hearts of men, their innermost ambitions, without the necessity for physical speech." He finally explains:

"YOU HAVE A LITERAL SIGN UPON YOUR FOREHEADS, PLACED BETWEEN YOUR EYEBROWS! DOUBT IT NOT! WE SPEAK WHEREOF WE KNOW!

"NOW, THAT SIGN UPON THE FOREHEAD IS EVER THE MARK OF THE SOUL IN CHRIST. It is ever the mark of those aligned with the great truth of Light. It is the Mark of those who have incarnated to render unto God the things that are God's, and found a **new order** in the current generation....

"The time has come to tell you that as you minister, so shall you be saved! As you join the ranks of those who presently walk with the **Sign on their foreheads,** so are your wants supplied by those who recompense you for the services performed to them and their children." [Caps in the original; Boldface added]

If you read Revelation 13 you will find some astonishing information. The mark that is put upon the foreheads is not the "mark of the soul in Christ," but is rather the mark of the beast or the antichrist. Once again we can see how the occultists and New Agers twist the Scriptures and make the good evil and the evil good. The Bible warns: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight!" (Isaiah 5:20-21).

Also notice that Cannon said that those who have this mark will have their wants supplied. Again turning to Revelation 13 we find that only those who have the mark can buy or sell:

"And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name" (Revelation 13:16-17).

We need to point out, however, that those who take this mark will end up in hell. Receiving the mark of the all-seeing eye or the third eye is not something glorious like the New Agers would have you think. Revelation 14:9-11 points out:

"And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and **receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand,** The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and **he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone** in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: And the **smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name."**

The all-seeing eye is also related to the Blazing Star. Pike tells us:

"...the **Blazing Star has been regarded as** an emblem of Omniscience, or **the All-seeing Eye,** which to the Egyptian Initiates was the emblem of Osiris, the Creator. With the YOD in the centre, it has the kabalistic meaning of the Divine Energy, manifested as Light, creating the Universe." [Caps in the original; Boldface added]

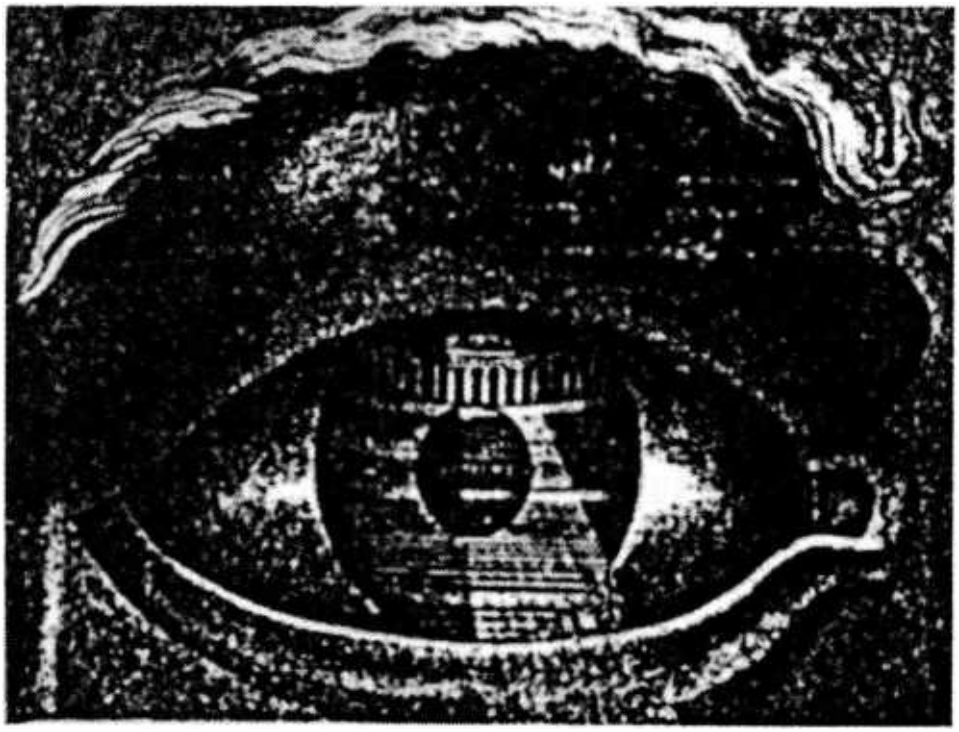
"The **Blazing Star in our Lodges,** we have already said, **represents Sirius, Anubis, or Mercury,** Guardian and Guide of Souls. Our Ancient English brethren also considered it an emblem of the Sun....accordingly the Blazing Star has been regarded as an emblem of Omniscience, or the All-Seeing Eye, which to the Ancients was the Sun."

We've already covered some of these pagan gods (like Anubis and Mercury) earlier in this book. Riane Eisler, a feminist, mentions that the eye is one of the symbols of the goddess. One goddess that was represented by an all-seeing eye was Maat.

"The Egyptian priesthood taught first that Maat, the Goddess of truth and judgment, possessed a **third eye.** Later the central text of the Egyptian Mystery Religion was revised and a male god, Horus, son of the Goddess, was given the **all-seeing eye."**

Laurie Cabot agrees that the "Egyptian Goddess Maat originally possessed the All-Seeing Eye, which later was transferred to Horus." She adds:

"Outlining the eye emulates the Goddess, who is often portrayed with large, distinctive eyes, capable of seeing through space and time as well as into our innermost hearts. Ishtarte, the Goddess of Light, was known in the ancient Middle East as the Eye Goddess because the light she brings from heaven to earth illuminates the world."



She continues: "The Goddess's ability to see and know all things became a terrifying concept in patriarchal times, and her mystical eye was turned into the **'evil eye.'..."** The "evil eye" is defined in *The Complete Book of Witchcraft and Demonology* as the "power of the glance to harm others." In *Witches* we are told: "No one would want a witch as an enemy. Some witches used 'the evil eye' on their victims. One glance from a bad witch could mean real trouble."

People became afraid of the evil eye and therefore they sought ways to "protect" themselves from it. Different charms and amulets were used. For instance, in *Amulets and Superstitions,* we find:

“The amulet used against the Evil Eye...was called BASKANION or PROBASKANION, and FASCINUM, and it was usually in the form of the PHALLUS. As children were specially liable to be attacked by the Evil Eye, models of the phallus were hung around their necks....Other names of the phallus amulet were *mutonium*, *scaevola*, and *Satyrica signa*....” [Emphasis in the original]

Another object used as protection was the “homed hand” or the “devil salute.” Budge writes that “a closed hand with the first and fourth fingers outstretched represents the ‘horns of the Devil.’

Nevertheless models of such a hand were worn as amulets. A closed hand with the first finger alone outstretched was in some countries regarded as a sure protection against the Evil Eye.”

Cabot remarks:

“Many customs and terms continue to reflect the importance that horns once held in local folklore. The word *scorn* comes from the Italian word that means ‘without horns,’ for to be without horns was a sign of disgrace, shame, or contempt. Holding up the index and little fingers in the form of horns was a gesture to ward off the **evil eye....**And since it was the male animal that had horns, the horn easily became a phallic symbol.” [Italics in the original; Boldface added]

In fact, Shiva (a synonym for Satan) can sometimes be seen making this gesture.

“In India, where the **occult** sciences are still followed, figures of Shiva, the Destroyer...is not only placing his right hand over his solar plexus, but has folded his fingers so as to form the **sign of the horns,** thereby combining the sign which drives away the **evil eye** with that of Destruction, of which he himself is the embodiment....although he is the Lord of Death and Destruction, he is also Lord of Birth, through whose hands the dead man’s soul passes once more into **reincarnation.”**

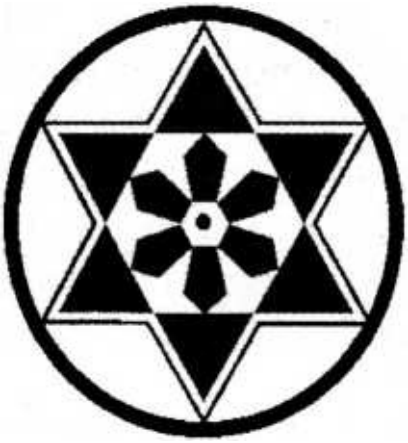
We must remember that the devil salute (which is covered in the chapter entitled “Hand Signals”) “is a Sicilian **sign of the Devil** used to cast spells....” This certainly is not any sign that a Christian would want to make. When one makes this gesture, one is actually calling on the devil to “protect” him from evil. Satan must laugh when someone “innocently” uses this signal to ward off the evil eye.

Hex signs are also used to fend off the evil eye. To hex means to place a curse on someone or something to bring bad luck. A witch remarks: “Many people say that the Hex signs were painted on barns to protect livestock from harmful spells, negative influences, and the Evil Eye, and to bring luck and prosperity." She then gives extensive instructions on how to make your own **hex sign talisman.** She starts by saying: “On the night of a **Full Moon,** cast a **Magic Circle** in your customary manner and consecrate your Hex sign with tools of the Elements. Sprinkle salt on the Hex sign for Earth," *etc.*

Again, many people are attracted to the Pennsylvania Dutch hex signs not knowing the **occult** connection behind them. J. Gordon Melton asserts:

“Among the Pennsylvania Dutch there is the survival of what seems to be genuine **‘witchcraft-life’** practice, locally termed **powwowing.** One must call it

witchcraft-life because, while it involves magick and the psychic, it is theologically a Christian derivative with Kabbalistic elements....The most obvious manifestations of the powwow power are the many colorful **hex signs** on the farmhouses in Eastern Pennsylvania. Each sign is a circle; within the circle are birds, hexagonal stars, *etc.*



"Powwowers are, in essence, Christianized **witches** working in the agricultural society of the Pennsylvania Dutch. They have a **grimoire** (a book of **spells** and **magical** procedures)...and they are as feared for the ability to **hex** as they are liked and sought after for their ability to heal."

Grimoire is a "name applied to any book on **black magic** which pretends to teach the practice of black magic, especially the art of the **evocation of evil spirits** and making an alliance with them." Another resource states that the grimoire is "a book containing formulas for **calling up and controlling demonic beings. A** manual of ceremonial magic."

Of course, there is no such thing as **"Christianized** witches" for the Bible clearly states that no one who practices witchcraft will go to heaven.

"Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, Idolatry, **witchcraft,** hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things **shall not inherit the kingdom of God"** (Galatians 5:19-21).

“But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and **sorcerers,** and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death” (Revelation 21:8).

Many other amulets and talismans are used to supposedly protect an individual from the evil eye.

Earlier we mentioned that the **Blazing Star** was connected to the all-seeing eye. Well, in a Masonic bulletin on the Blazing Star we are told that it is a **“hex sign.”** Interesting!

One author reports:

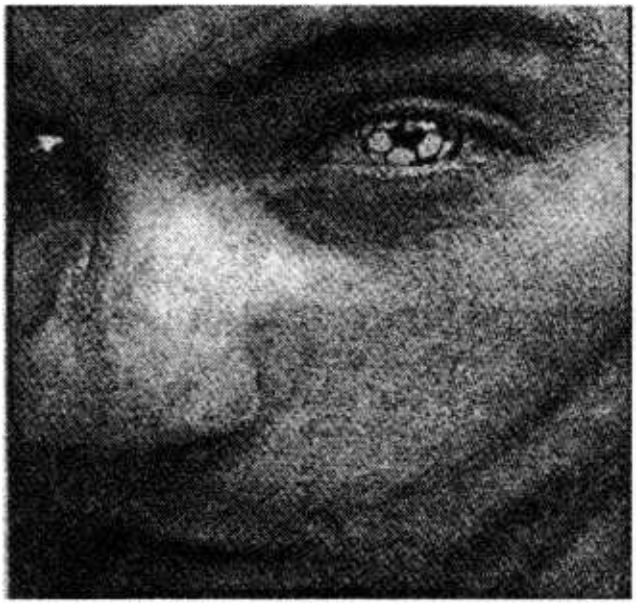
“One of the oldest, and most important symbols of Masonry is the Egyptian hieroglyph of the eye—or the ‘evil eye.’ It represents their god Osiris. It dominates the top of most Masonic documents, and now dominates the back of the Great Seal of the United States...its presence on the Great Seal suggests that secret societies were instrumental in creating the new nation of America, and still have an important influence in the present day.”

Not only does the Great Seal of the United States sport an all-seeing eye but so does our dollar bill. We’ve already covered some of the Masonic symbolism in the dollar bill in the last chapter.

What does the United Nations Meditation Room, the Egyptian Pyramids, The Temple of Understanding, and the Prayer Room in the United States Capitol have in common with the Great Seal of the United States? The all-seeing eye, of course!

Since this all-seeing eye represents the third eye of occultists and New Agers, as well as Masons, it’s no wonder that we see an increase in the widespread use of single eye designs. One author wrote:

“Perhaps not coincidental is the recent commercial for an ‘Eos’ (meaning ‘dawn’ in Greek) camera which zooms in close on only one of the sports figure’s eyes. There are also recent television ads (e.g., by Glidden Paint) that focus on one eye (the left eye) for a long time.”



"Concerning the New Age, one will increasingly see figures showing or emphasizing only one of their eyes on television ads, or on magazine covers, *etc.* In esoteric or occult terms, the right eye represents Osiris (the male) and the left eye represents Isis (the female). A single eye, indistinguishable as left or right, represents the All-Seeing Eye (Horus Hawk from Egypt). In the last few months, covering just over a year, Time magazine has had 10 covers with single eyes prominent. Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander on the 9/16/91, Ted Turner 1/6/92, Susan Faludi 3/9/92, Ross Perot 6/29/92, Kevin Buchberger with a caption 'come out of the darkness' 7/6/92, Bill Clinton 1/4/93, Zoe Baird 2/1/93, Cyberpunk 2/8/93, Boris Yeltsin 3/29/93, and 'The Info Highway' 4/12/93. Also see Ross Perot on Newsweek's cover 4/27/92.

"It is noteworthy that Ted Turner (1990 Humanist of the Year) is on one of the covers with only one eye showing, because June 14, 1986 when addressing about 1000 'futurists' at John Denver's Windstar Institute, Turner said at Snowmass Village, Colorado, that 'America must elect a "new age" president if it wants to survive through the year 2000' (according to 'Broadcaster Ties Survival to "New Age" President,' The Denver Post, June 15, 1986)." [Emphasis in the original]

Other magazine covers with single eyes (or an emphasis on one eye) are: *Science Digest* (March 1981), *Time* (April 26, 1993, May 17, 1993, and June 14, 1993), and *Discover.* There are also books such as *The Illuminatus! Trilogy*, *The*

Unschooled Mind, and *Multiple Intelligences* that have a single eye on the cover.

It is interesting to note that Time Warner's logo is an all-seeing eye. It was Time Warner who made a seven year, $80 million deal with Madonna in 1992. They also published her filthy, pornographic book.

A report put out in 1995 said that in 1994 there were 14,313 sex incidents, 8,333 violence incidents and 23,556 profanity incidents on primetime TV. One of the top twelve sponsors for this trash was none other than Time Warner.

They also fund the Council on Foreign Relations, a one world order organization. Time Warner gave $1 million (or more) to the New American Schools Development Corporation. Additionally, they gave $100,000 or more to the Points of Light Foundation.

"The Points of Light Foundation was begun with a $5 million grant from the U.S. Congress and the President. Its first chairman was J. Richard Munro, formerly the chairman of Time Warner, Inc....

"Not surprisingly, the logo for the Points of Light Foundation is also of an occultic nature. It depicts the golden sun disk with what at first glance appears to be a torch of light within. But wait, is it not the concealed image of two entities, a male and a female, facing each other? Occultic philosophers can easily recognize these two as the Sun God and his Goddess."

Of course, the interest in the eye goes back many centuries.

Dr. Dennis Cuddy writes:

Dr. Dennis Cuddy writes:

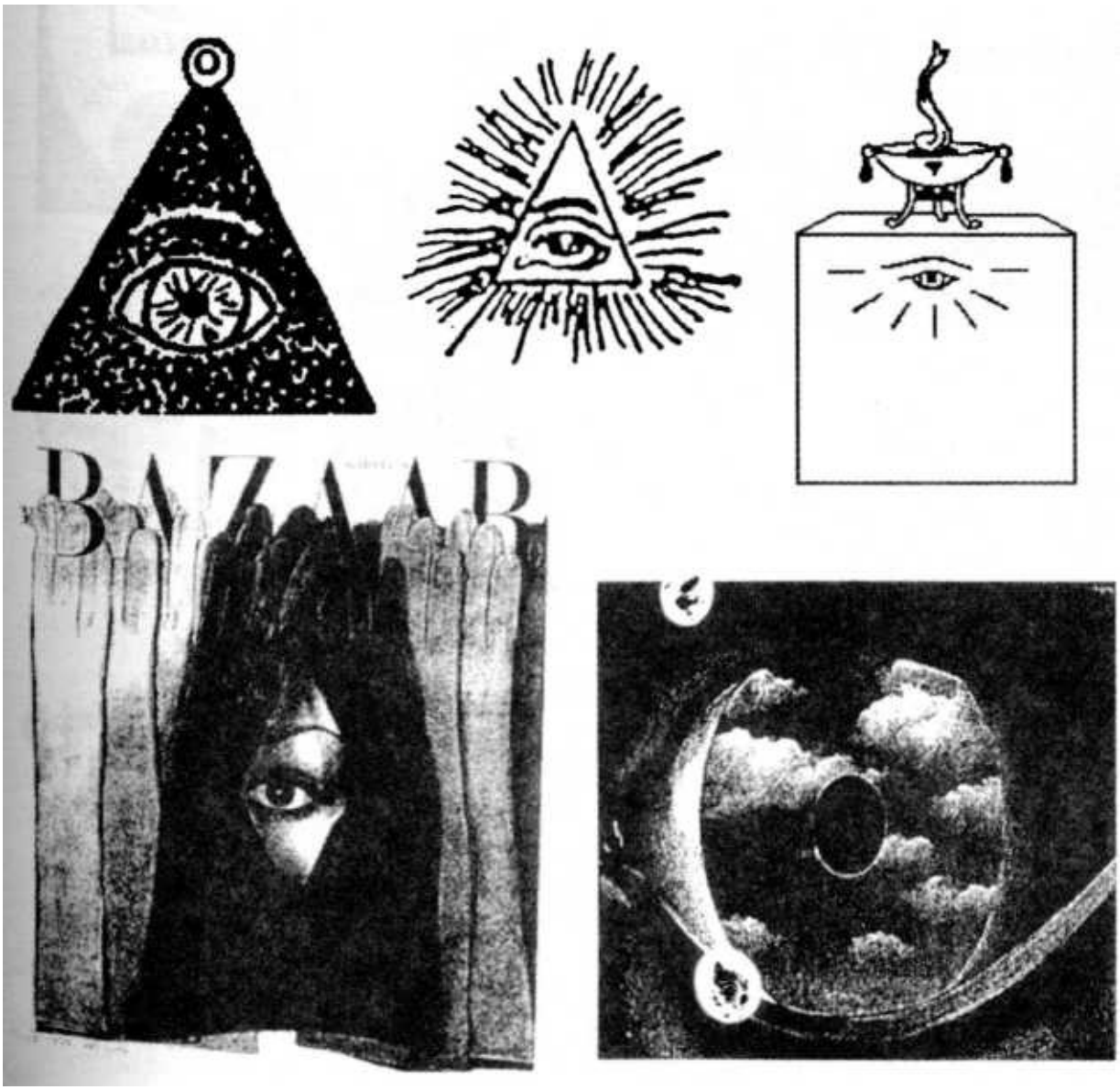
“Both King Henry VII and his granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth I (Queen of England, 1558-1603), used the ‘phoenix’ as one of their badges. Queen Elizabeth I (to whom President Bush is related) was also fascinated by men’s eyes....Favored servants of the queen signed their letters to her with symbolic eyes...and John Dee (who headed the British espionage network) signed himself ‘007.’ Dee, an acquaintance of the queen’s husband (the Earl of Leicester), was an alchemist, astrologer, psychic, and spy. According to *Mind Wars* (1984) by Ron McRae (former associate of columnist Jack Anderson), the basis for his ‘007’ signature was: *'Each zero representing an eye and the seven being the sum of two eyes, four other senses, and last, mystical knowledge from “the nine” spirits (muses) who spoke through Dee’s crystal ball, the “shew stone."*

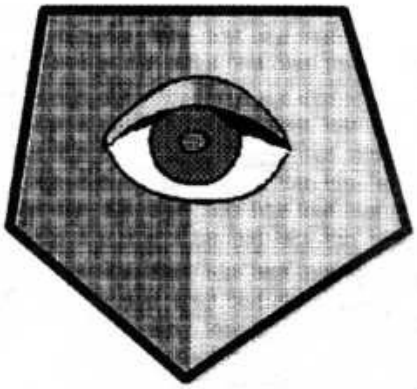
Dee credited the nine and his shew stone with uncovering a Spanish plot to burn the forests that provided wood for English shipbuilding. Whatever the source, the plot was real. Had it succeeded, the Spanish Armada might have sailed unopposed in 1588.”’ [Emphasis in the original]

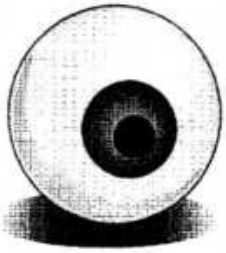
In *The Eye* Queen Elizabeth’s garment is described in detail. We are told: “The sumptuous robe of Elizabeth I is embroidered a remarkable **SERPENT** upon the sleeve, and a deft scattering of **EYES** and ears elsewhere, no doubt to signify that nothing escaped the attention of the Virgin Queen, our English Diana.”

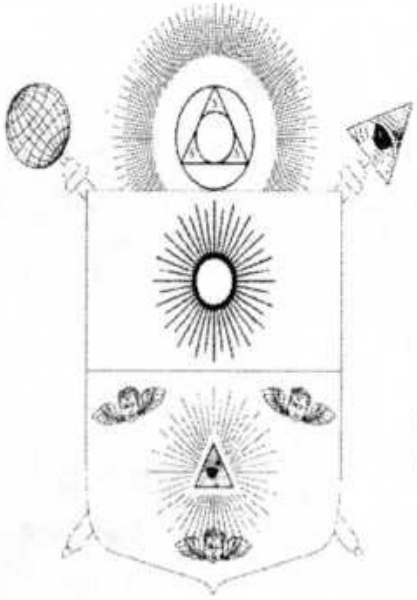
In Masonry, the symbol of the all-seeing eye can be disguised by the use of other symbols. *Ancient Operative Masonry* reveals: **“Instead of the ever-watching eye,** you at times behold the **square and compass** and the **letter ‘G’** floating in a spiritual light which words cannot describe. These visions are but glimpses of the human Ego which is veiled from the eyes of the profane.” We’ve covered these symbols elsewhere in this book, but when these symbols are seen, remember that a Satanic all-seeing eye stands behind them!

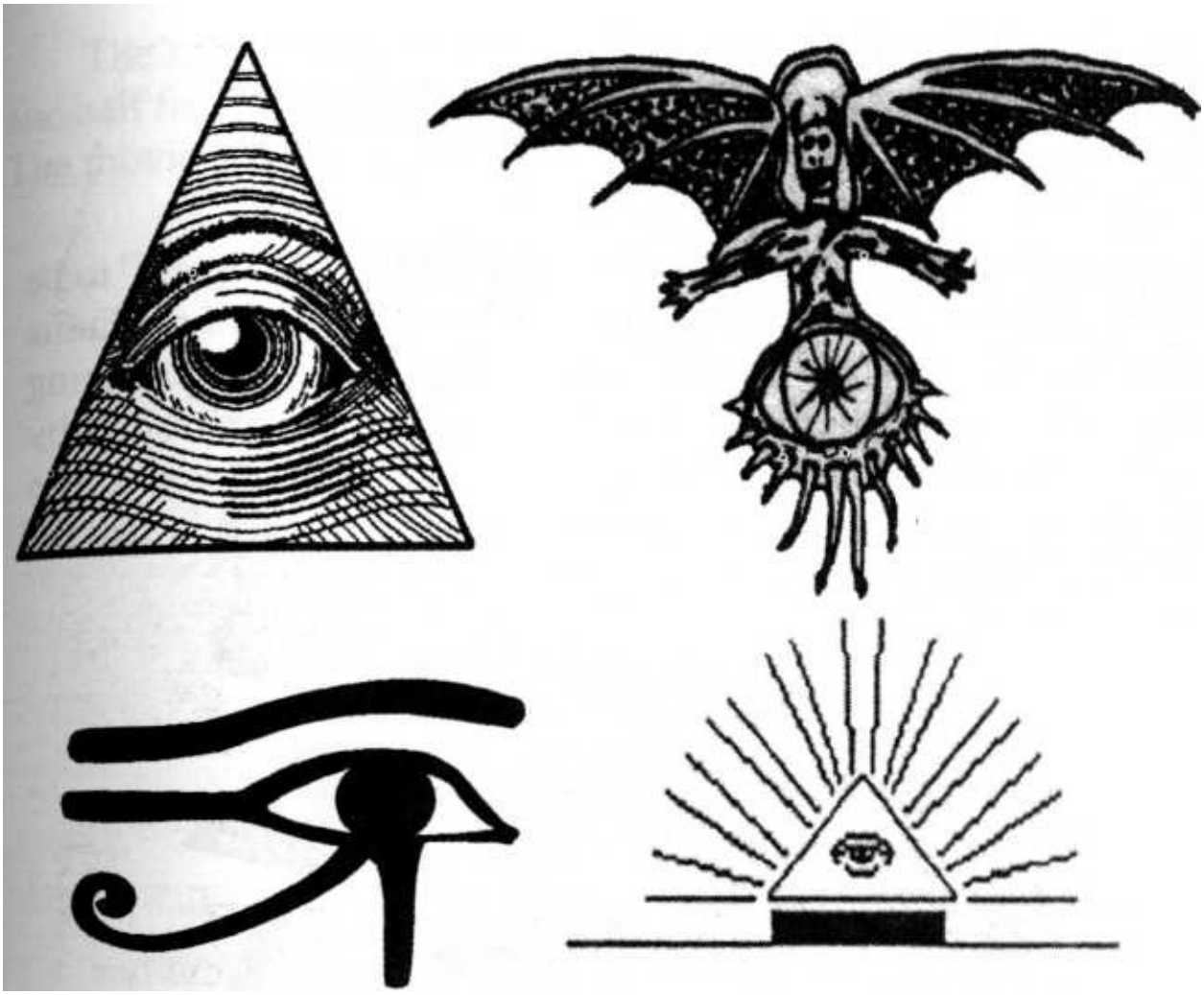
Below are a few more illustrations which use the all-seeing or single eye.


BAZAAR









21.

SYMBOLS IN BRIEF

Many people think that the Ouija Board is just a “game” to be played. However, this is not the case. It is used by spirit mediums and others to contact the spirit world. Using this board can bring people in contact with demons. The planchette is controlled by demonic entities to spell out messages from the spirit world. The idea of the ouija board is not new. Some boards were in use six centuries before Christ.

A werewolf is a man who can change himself temporarily into a wolf.

The mermaid is a mythological creature that is half-female and half fish. You encounter mermaids in fairy tales and elsewhere. The movie *Splash* popularized the mermaid.

“The pa kua is made up of eight combinations of solid and broken lines, the solid line representing symbolically the yang or male principle, and the broken line the yin or female principle. To each pair a third is added, representing the result of union, that is, offspring. The eight figures are arranged about a t' ai chi, or aboriginal One, forming the first of the 24 circles on the divining board....” [Emphasis in the original]

“PENTACLE OF THE GODDESS. With its five points— spirit, air, fire, water, and earth—the pentacle is the embodiment power and perfection. Like the endless circle, it binds negative elements and denotes good luck,” [Emphasis in the original] claims catalog which sells this pentacle.

A spiral is an ancient goddess emblem symbolizing the universal pattern of growth in Nature.

An occult catalog advertises one of their products like this:

“The Eleven-Pointed Star symbolizes the Divine Will expressing itself through humanity. This magically-correct design fuses elementary and planetary forces, enabling you to alchemically accomplish the Great Work.” [Emphasis in the original]

A similar-looking design is called the unicursal hexagram which is also called the Aquarian Star. It “is used to channel psychic energy. It’s (sic) function is to connect earth-plane consciousness to the infinite universal mind.” It was designed by Satanist and 33° Mason, Aleister Crowley, and was the symbol of his Order of the Silver Star (Astrum Argentum or AA).

The “magic hand amulet” is supposed to protect the wearer’s destiny and is considered to be “the ultimate goodluck (sic) **charm**.”

The hand was important in occultism. For instance, the hand of glory was “a hand cut off from a criminal, who had been hanged on a gibbet. In the Middle

Ages, such a hand, dried and steeped in various salts, was used in **spells."**

One occult catalog states:

"The hand is a universal symbol of healing, giving, blessing—and good luck because it wards off the 'evil eye.'...Wear the Palm Chakra Hand to stimulate higher consciousness; wear the Heart Hand to increase love flowing from and to you."

"When the eyes are situated in the hand, for example, by association with the symbolism of the hand they come to denote **clairvoyant** action. An excessive number of eyes has an ambivalent significance which it is important to note."

Below is another hand that was “connected with the old Rites of the *Mater Deorum.”* [Emphasis in the original] The pine cone “was an important symbol in the Mysteries of Ceres, as also in those of Bacchus. It has descended thence to the Secret Orders of modern times.”

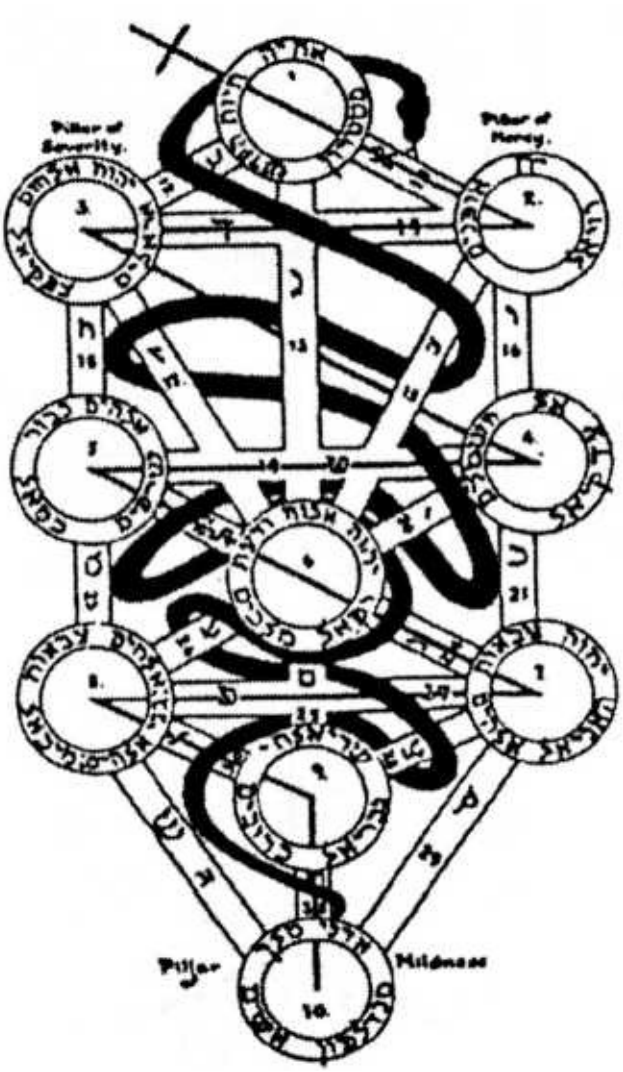
Earlier we discussed May Day and the Maypole. There are also peace poles. *Meditation* newsletter states:

“Peace Poles are obelisks inscribed with the message ‘May Peace Prevail on Earth.’ They have been dedicated the world over as an international symbol of peace. Their purpose is to spread the message of peace and act as a constant reminder of the necessity to wish and pray for peace at all times.”

Remember, obelisks are phallic symbols, but this is the object that’s been chosen to help promote peace.

The Tree of Life is used in magic and the Cabala. It is:

“A design consisting of ten points (SEPHIRA) linked by twenty-two lines, taken as a model of the creative emanations from the Godhead. Used for elaborate metaphysical speculations, psychological exercises, and ceremonial magic.”

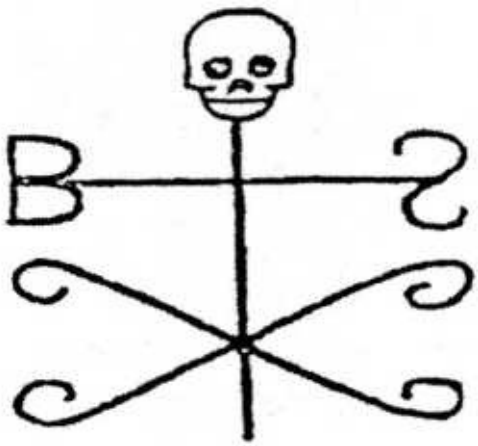


The Celtic Knot's "loops symbolize **Infinity, good luck, and** the harmony between peoples of the world."

The hypno-disc is used for hypnosis. "Achieve the hypnotic state in shortest

possible time," says the ad.

The symbol below is called a veve and is used in Voudoun (or Voodoo) rites to summon the loa (demonic spirits that possess voodoo worshippers). This particular veve is for Baron Samedi, the Lord of the Graveyards and Death.



"The ecology symbol is seen almost everywhere since it has been foisted on the unsuspecting people of America just after the demonic revolution days of the 1960's which served as the springboard for the 'Age of Aquarius' or the last generation. The symbol is a circle with a diagonal line through it and means 'God Sleeps.'...The 'God Sleeps' concept is the primary doctrine of 'Deism,' a religion that was embraced by such famous men as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Their doctrine states that, 'God, the Supreme Architect of the Universe created all things,' but then isolated Himself from the entire creation and lets it operate on its own.' This is the very essence of the teachings of

Freemasonry. Most people never look beyond the surface of anything. That is why we have this blasphemous Masonic symbol on our roadways, in our parks, in public buildings and even in churches."

The skull necklace shown below was advertised with these words:

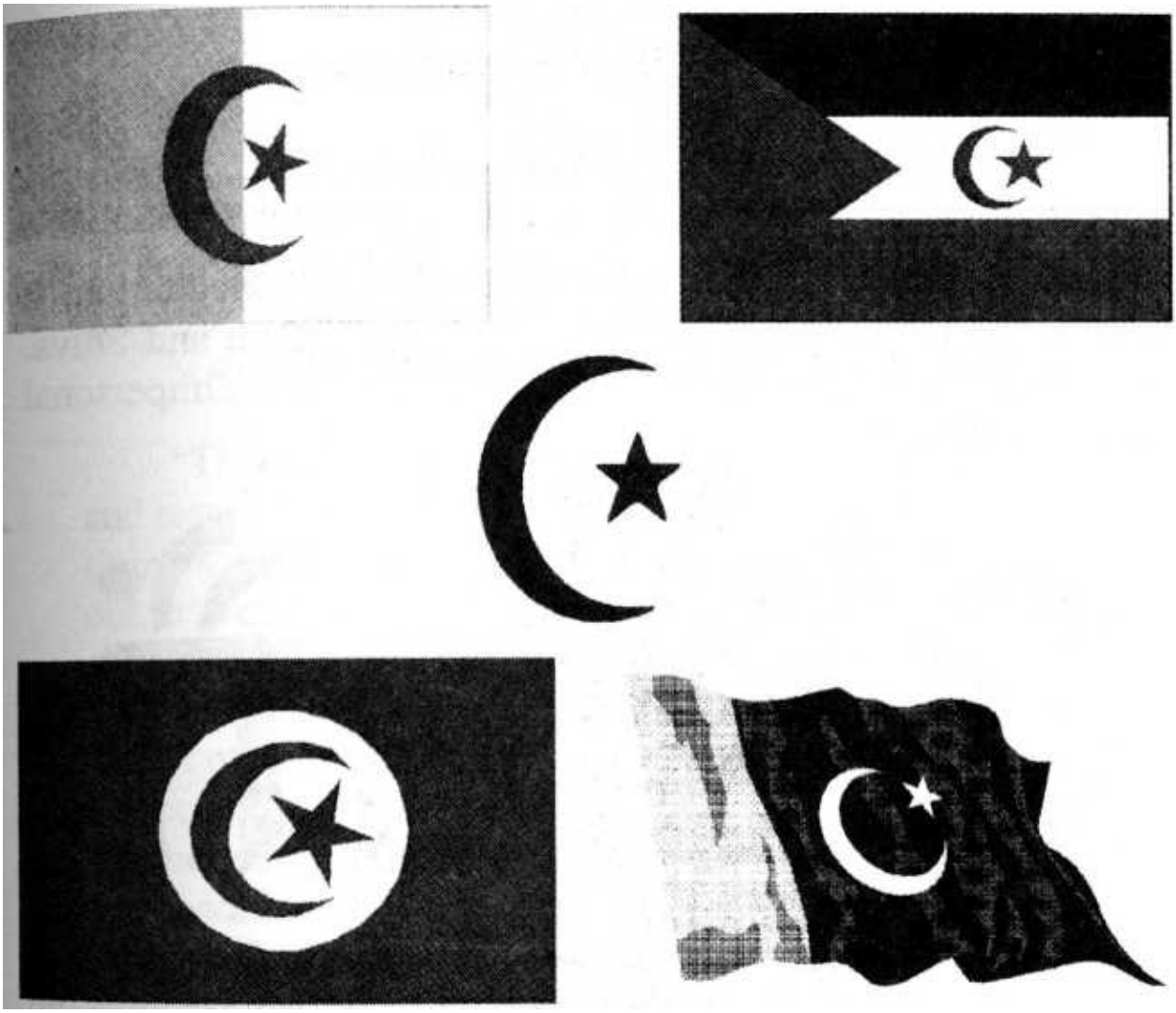
"An interesting symbol, the skull...it is an emblem of the mortality of man, yet it is in truth that which survives of the living being once its body has been destroyed. It is prominent in **WITCHCRAFT and DEMON WORSHIP** as a celebration of death. Our skull has a movable jaw, on a triangle...and makes a fascinating, macabre ornament for those who dare to be different."

Another necklace is the Baphomet necklace.

“Called the God of the Witches, he is said to possess the wisdom of God. This is a most popular symbol, sometimes called the Goat of Nedes or the Sabbatic Goat. It is a **sacred witchcraft** sysmbol (sic), and no witch, warlock, or unique amulet collector should be with[out] this....”

The man in the moon necklace below is labeled as “Jewelry of the Occult!”

The Islamic religion uses the crescent star and moon for their symbol. This emblem can be seen on many of the Islamic nations' flags.

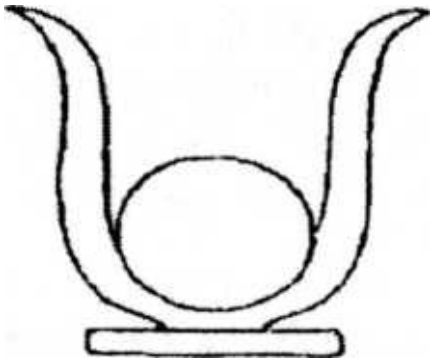


The Islamic God is called Allah. He was the moon god, who married the sun goddess. “Together they produced three goddesses who were called ‘the daughters of Allah.’ These three goddesses were called Al-Lat, Al-Uzza, and Manat.” The *Encyclopedia of Religion* mentions that “‘Allah’ is a pre-Islamic name...corresponding to the Babylonian Bel.” The symbol for Allah appears below.

The Islamic holy book is called the Koran (or Quran). This symbol looks like this:

Om (or Aum) is often used as a mantra for meditation. It signifies the Hindu pagan trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The Om symbols below are also used for Brahman, the impersonal god of the Hindus.

The goddess Isis sometimes wears a crown with a solar disk and at other times she wears horns. The symbol below shows the disk and the horns combined.



God's Eye (or Ojo de Dios) is an emblem used for enchantment and the worship of pagan deities. "With the work of the forces of the spirit world, the worshipper of the deities (sic) calls (chants) to the supernatural, and the demon spirits bring into being whatever the chanter is seeking."

Another symbol associated with the eye is the Rx sign. In *Healing Without Medicine* we find:

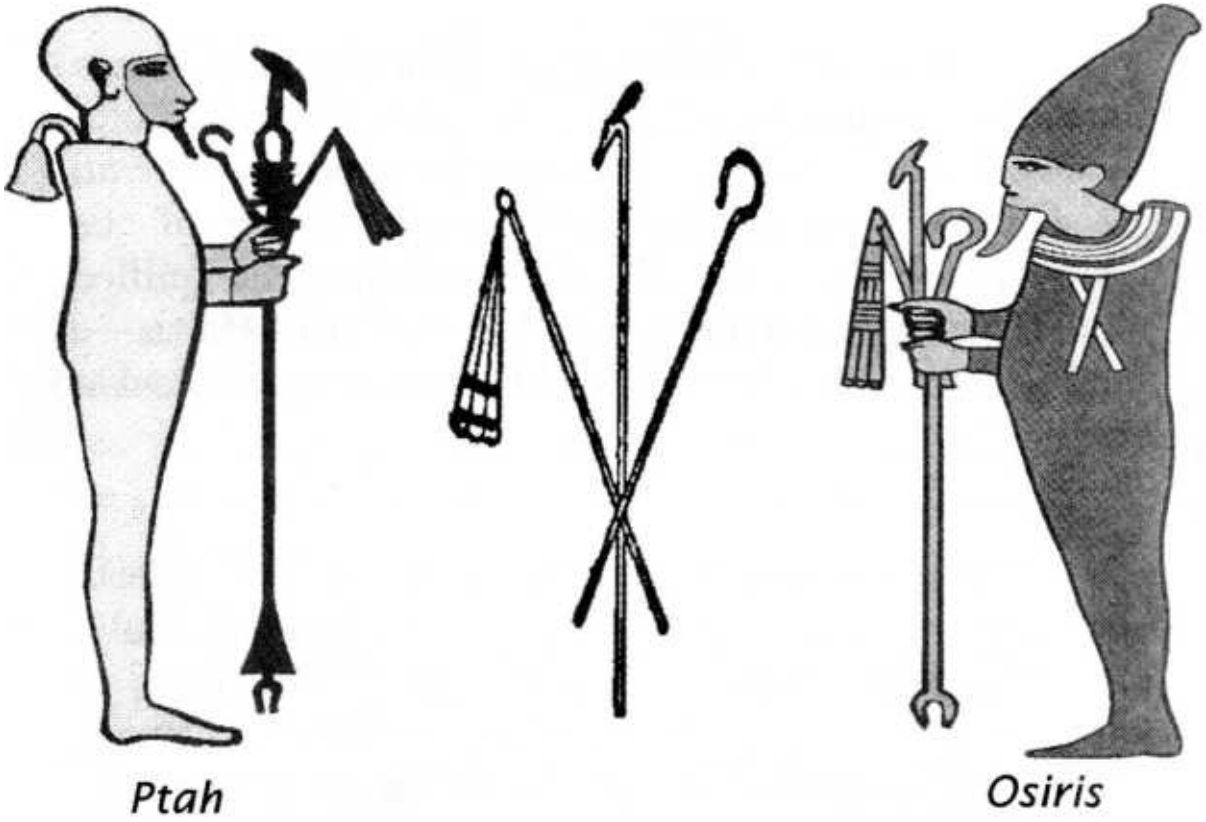
"In one aspect of modern medicine Egyptian magic continues to be practiced to the present day. When the 20th-century doctor writes out a prescription he prefaces it with the sign Rx. He may think this is an abbreviation of the Latin word *recipe*, but he will be wrong. It is a simplified form of the **Egyptian hieroglyph for the Eye of Horus**—a symbol familiar as a jewel among the treasures of Tutankamun.

"This symbol derives its power from the myth of death and resurrection of the

god Osiris. The myth says that after Osiris had been treacherously murdered, his son Horus set out to avenge his death. In the course of the long struggle one of his eyes was plucked out. This was eventually restored by Thoth, the god of wisdom, and came to be linked with the art of healing. Roman physicians introduced Egyptian symbols into their prescriptions to impress their patients, and the eye of Horus was one.... Over the centuries the outline was modified until it became the simpler symbol we know today. **Unwittingly,** then, even the most orthodox of **today's doctors make use of a magic sign."**

The "triple sceptre of the Nile" can be seen in several of the Egyptian gods' hands. The triple sceptre comprises the flail (or whip), the shepherd's crook, and the Anubis-headed staff. This triple sceptre represented the powers which an Initiate had mastered.

"With the Whip he had subjugated his physical body; with the Shepherd's Crook he was the guardian and keeper of his emotional body; with the Anubis-headed Staff he was master of his mind and worthy to wield the powers of government over others because, first of all, he obeyed the laws himself."



Ptah

Osiris

Below are several more representations of gods and goddesses (some in picture form and some only identified by a symbol).

Two forms of Buddha

Hotei

Athene

Ceres

Aton

Hermes

Juno

Brahman

Kama

Anhert

Kukulcan

Quetzacoatl

Quetzacoatl

Isis

Ea

Vishnu

Athena

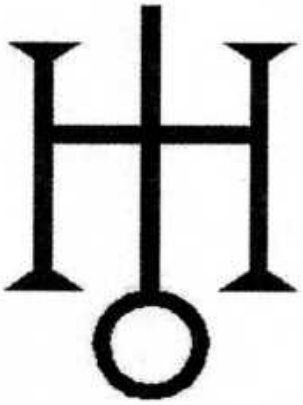
Venus/female

Pluto

Jupiter/
fortunetelling

Mercury

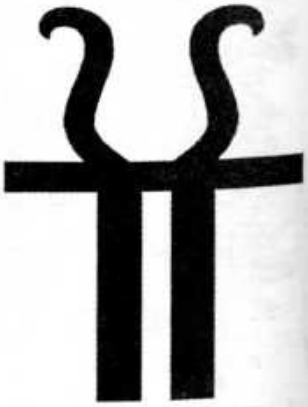
Sun goddess



Uranus

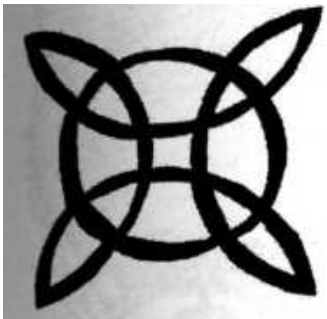
Uranus

Mars/male



Vesta

Below are a number of other symbols to watch out for.



Exorcism

Illumination or Energy

Evolution

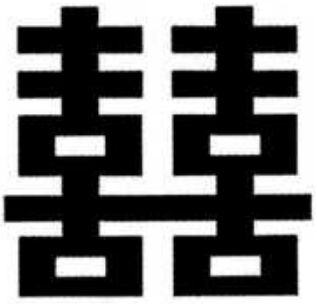
Sacred Fire (Zoroastrianism)

Good Luck

Wheel of Law

Torii (This is a structure that is typically built in front of Shinto temples.)

Path of Universality



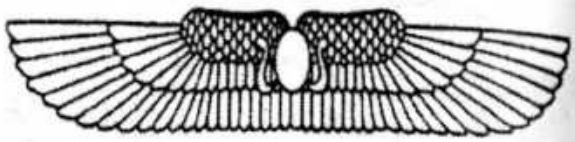
Conjugal Bliss

Energy

Good Fortune

Community

Another representation of Buddha's footprints



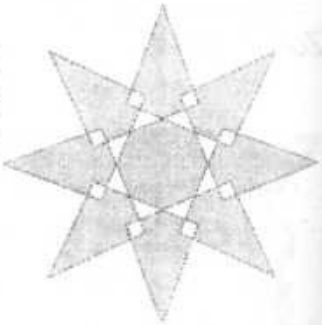
Initiation

Wisdom

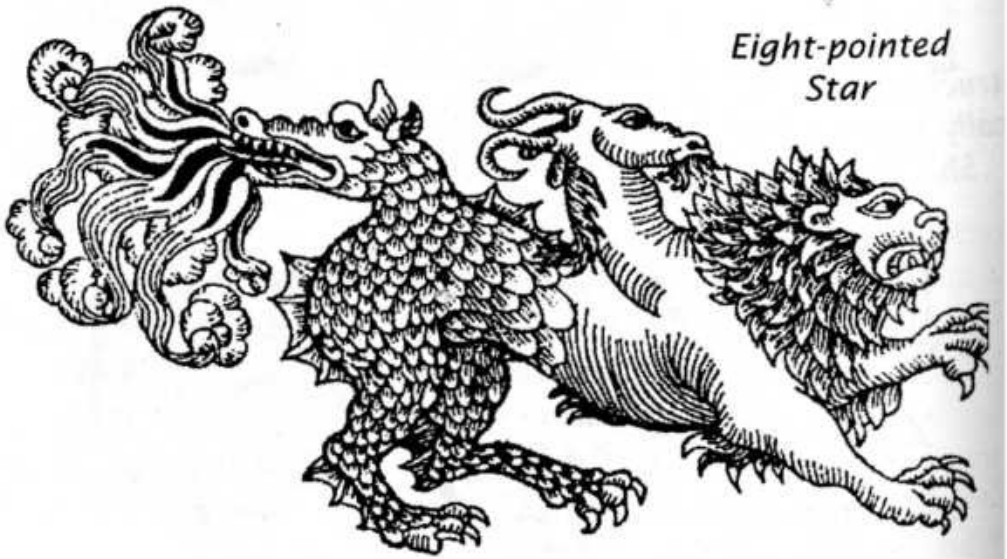
Cosmic Consciousness

Tree of Death

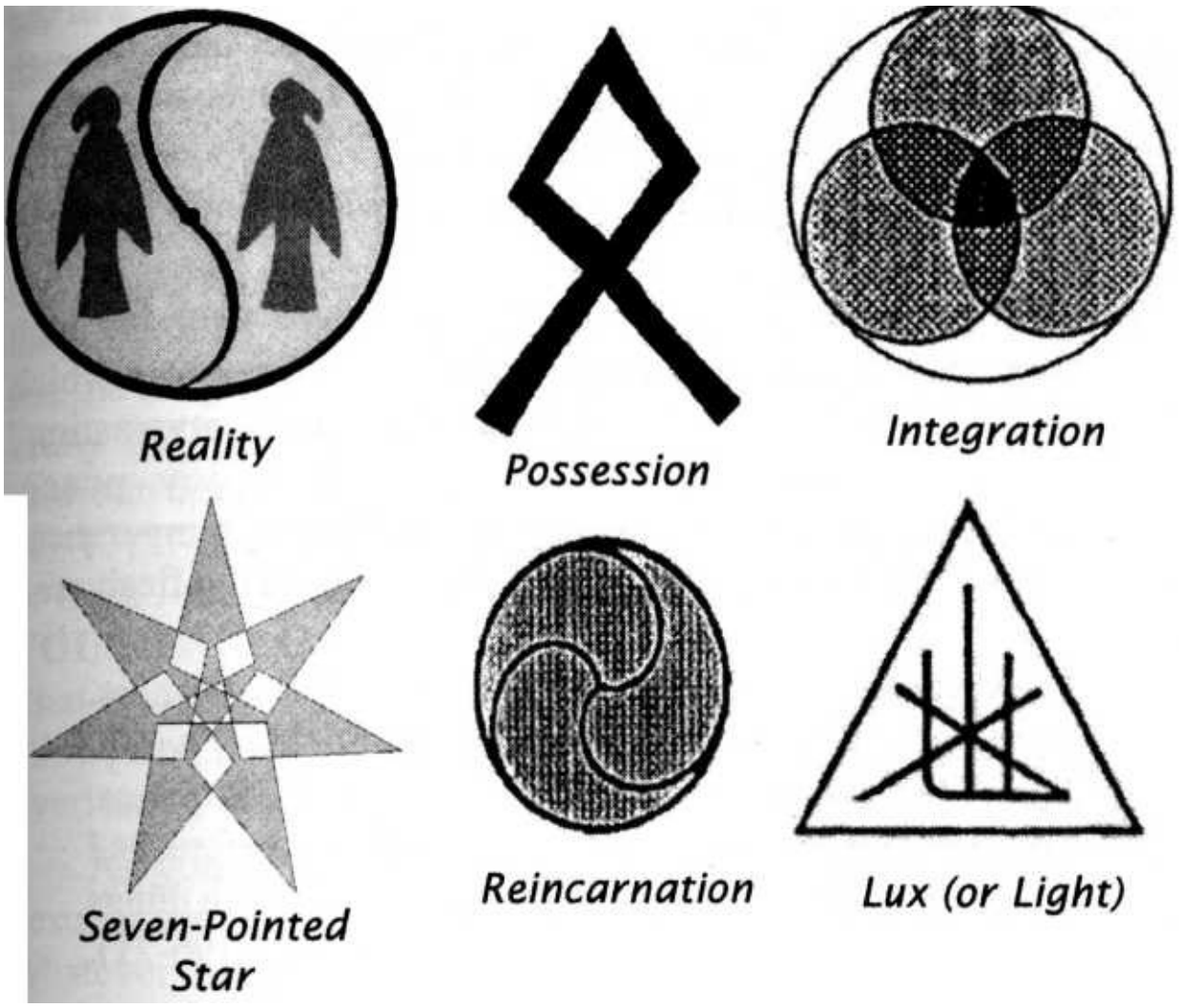
Earth



Eight-pointed Star



Chimera (a mythological creature)



As stated at the beginning of this book, there are many other symbols that could have been added but those shown and explained here will give you a good idea about many symbols that have not been included. How many of these symbols have YOU been using unknowingly?

Christ has a bride, the church, which is supposed to be holy. Paul refers to this bride in Ephesians 5:25-27: “Christ also loved the church, and gave Himself for it; That He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, That He might present it to Himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.” The Antichrist, too, will have a bride, but instead of being pure spotless, she will be a whore (Revelation 17:1, 15, 16).

Are you waiting for Christ or the Antichrist? Which person you following? Are

you professing to be a Christian while using paraphernalia, amulets, talismans, jewelry, runes, etc., of Satan? ho are you depending on for your protection? Do you think you need Satan's devices to supposedly keep evil away from you and your family or are you resting securely in Christ? "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them" (Psalm 34:7). "I sought the Lord, and He heard me, and delivered me from all my fears" (Psalm 34:4). "Every word of God is pure: He is a shield unto them that put their trust in Him" (Proverbs 30:5).

If you claim you are following Christ, does your life match your profession? We are admonished by Peter: "But as He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation" (I Peter 1:15). "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, Meekness, temperance" (Galatians 5:22-23). On the other hand, the fruits of the flesh are:

"Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (Galatians 5:19b-21).

"In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: **whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God,** neither he that loveth not his brother" (1 John 3:10). "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts" (Galatians 5:24). Does your life reflect the fruits of the Spirit?

Regardless of what man may say, the Bible is our final authority. No church can save you. Only Jesus Christ can do that. Even though you may be a moral and honest person, if you have never invited Christ into your heart as your own **PERSONAL** Savior, you, too, need to repent. Maybe you are not committing a blatant sin, but the Bible tells us that **"ALL** have sinned and come short of the glory of God" (Romans 3:23). The **"ALL"** includes both you and me, and "the wages of sin is [eternal] death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Romans 6:23). God's gift to us is eternal life, but we must accept this gift to make the transaction valid. If I had a gift to give to you and you refused to accept it, that gift would do you no good. You must **RECEIVE** this gift for it to become effective.

Even though **ALL** of us are born in sin, the good news is that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" (I Timothy 1:15). If you have never accepted Christ as your **PERSONAL** Savior and would like to do so, the first step is to be born again. John 3:3 emphasizes: **"EXCEPT** a man be born **AGAIN,** he **CANNOT** see the kingdom of God." How can one be born **AGAIN?** We all know that we were born once, our physical birth, but can we enter into our mother's womb and be born the second time (see John 3:1-17)? No. The second birth comes by being born into the family of God. John 3:16: "For God so **LOVED** the world [that includes **YOU!]** that He **GAVE** His only Begotten Son, that **WHOSOEVER** [that includes **YOU] BELIEVETH** [trusts, clings to, relies on] Him [God's Son, Jesus] should not perish [in hell], but have everlasting life."

All you need to do is sincerely believe with all your heart that Jesus is the Son of God and to be willing to turn from your sins, whatever they are—big or small. Ask Jesus to come into your heart and help you to live for Him, and He **WILL** do it. "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso **CONFESSETH AND FORSAKETH** them shall have mercy" (Proverbs 28:13). John 6:37 promises: "Him that cometh to Me I will **IN NO WISE** cast out." Romans 10:9 states: "If thou shalt **CONFESS** with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt **BELIEVE** in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou **SHALT** be saved [born again]."

If you would like to be born again, pray your own prayer or sincerely pray the following: *Dear Jesus, I realize that I am a sinner. I believe that You died for my sins. Please forgive me of my past sins and come into my heart. Save me for Your sake, and help me to live for You. I ask this in Your name. Amen.*

If you sincerely prayed and asked Jesus to forgive you of your sins, you will have the assurance that you are now a child of God. John 1:12 reveals: "But **AS MANY AS RECEIVED HIM,** to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that **BELIEVE** on His name." Read your Bible **EVERY** day (start with book of John), and find a Bible-believing church where you can Worship God with other born again believers.

“Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ” (Romans 5:1), “and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus” (Philippians 4:7). “If the Son [Jesus Christ] therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed” (John 8:36).

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Mark Gibbs

The Final DECEPTION

Hidden History & the Rise of the Imposter Christ

THE FINAL DECEPTION

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The Final Deception

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Special thanks to Diane K. Deane

and Guardians everywhere

There are three truths.
One truth corresponds to facts.
Another truth harmonizes with a system of beliefs.
And a third truth depends on you.

1

Shepherd Kings

Despite being the foundational books of the Old Testament, no specific references to contemporary events in the Middle East are recorded in Genesis and Exodus. No Pharaohs are identified by name in the sagas of the so-called Hebrew Patriarchs, though numerous incidental characters are. Two centuries of archeological digs have not unearthed a single Hebrew artifact in Egypt; and nowhere in the extraordinarily detailed Egyptian archives of the period are Hebrews even mentioned.

Traditionally, "Hebrew" and "Israelite" are interchangeable. The earliest reference to Israel is found on a stone pillar commemorating Pharaoh Merneptah's military campaign in Canaan around 1200 BC – "Israel is laid waste, his seed is not" – and relates to a group of people living in Canaan, *not* in Egypt. No mention of Israelites *in* Egypt exists anywhere.

Ostensibly, then, the core narrative of monotheistic religion and the seminal creed of western civilization – the ancient Israelites migrate from Canaan to Egypt; are enslaved for 400 years; and are liberated by Moses after a series of spectacular events – is pure fiction.

But is it?

The Stele of Merneptah, Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Matching recent archeological finds with previously uncorroborated details from ancient texts, an increasing number of researchers have come to believe the ancient Egyptians knew the Israelites by another name, chronicled their sojourn in Egypt, and did not consider them Hebrews.

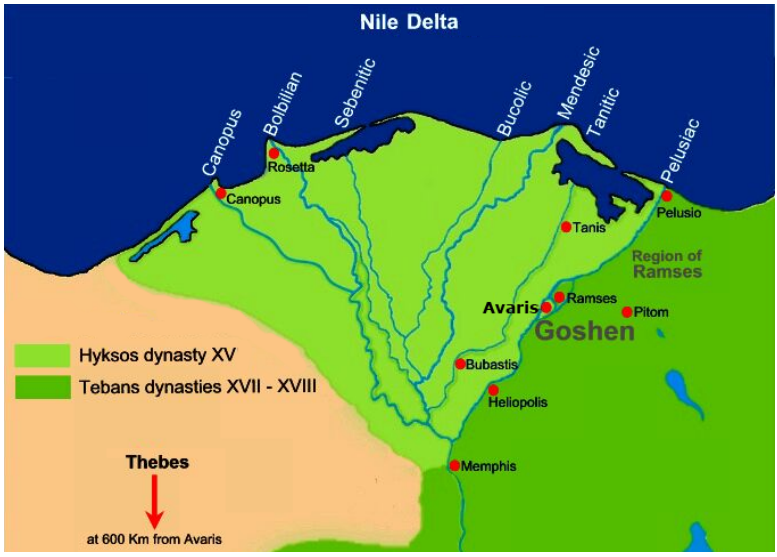
So who were the Israelites?

Israelites

According to Genesis, the term 'Israel' originates from a *malakhim*, which means "messenger" in ancient Hebrew, but is translated as *angelos* (angel) in the Greek version of the Old Testament. After wrestling with Jacob at the Ford of Jabok (Gen 32:22-28), the 'angel' renames him "Israel," literally "he who struggles with El" (*El* being the Canaanite word to express the

concept of divinity). Jacob is described as the son of Isaac, and the grandson of Abraham, who we shall return to later. But in the Bible, "Israelites" refers only to Jacob's lineal descendants.

To escape famine in Canaan, Jacob brings the Israelite clan south to Egypt, where he is reunited with his long lost favorite son, Joseph, who happens to be the Grand Vizier of Egypt, the second most powerful man in the world. Once in Egypt, "Israel settled in the region of Goshen; and they gained possessions in it, and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly." (Gen 47:27)



Map of the Nile Delta

Goshen is significant because it is located in the Nile Delta, where archeologists have long been excavating the ancient city of Avaris, capital to the Pharaohs of the Fifteenth Dynasty (1670 - 1550 BC), who ruled Egypt from the north without control of the entire land. Several impressions on clay documents made from a seal ring, in the shape of a scarab, have been found at Avaris bearing the name *Yacov Hr* (Jacob Hr). An Egyptian royal cartouche, which is an image of a circle of reeds surrounding the name, signifies that the owner of the seal-ring was a royal or high-ranking figure.

A papyrus dating from the era of Rameses II (1297-1213 BC), known as the Turin Kings List after the museum where it is

located, is a compilation of all the names and chronologies of all the rulers of Egypt. Six kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty (often omitted from other king lists) are named, who ruled for a total of 108 years. A hieroglyphic sign indicates that they were all foreigners. One of kings is named "Jacob Hr."

The Turin King's List, *Museo Egizio,* Turin

The name *Jacob Hr* follows the typical pattern of a "statement" name, which is composed of a verb plus a divine name, used throughout the ancient world to invoke and display the protection of a particular deity. *Michael, Samuel,* and *Gabriel,* are examples of statement names from the Bible that include *El.*

In several ancient Middle Eastern languages *Hr* means "mountain" or "rock," words commonly used as synonyms for a deity. For example, Isaiah 26:4 states "For in God we have an everlasting rock." In effect, *Hr* has an identical meaning to *El.* So the name 'Jacob' is a shortened form of the original statement name, Jacob *El,* which is the same as Jacob *Hr.*

Numerous other *Yacov Hr* scarabs, without the royal cartouche, have been found elsewhere in Egypt, Sudan, and Palestine, all dating to the middle and late 17th century BC. No scarabs dated from outside this time period have been found in Egypt.

Shepherd Kings

In the center of this scarab beetle-shaped royal seal, the hieroglyphics spell out the name **Y'qb-HR**, which is the Egyptian transliteration of Yaqub, or "Jacob."

The discovery of numerous similar seals attests to a widespread usage of the name **Jacob** during the first half of the second millennium BC. The name is subsequently absent from later archives for over a thousand years.

In 1969, another royal scarab of *Jacob Hr* was found inside a mid-eighteenth century tomb in Haifa, modern Israel, dated approximately 80 years before the Fifteenth Pharaonic Dynasty began. If this *Jacob Hr* was a local Canaanite ruler, in accordance with the biblical description of Jacob, then the later Avaris *Jacob Hr* scarab would have belonged to one of his successors. The name Jacob appears on no artifacts between the end of the Fifteenth Dynasty and the third century BC, while the name of Israel does, which supports the biblical claim that the name of Jacob was changed to Israel.

Historians, archeologists, and Egyptologists identify these foreigner rulers of Egypt as the "Hyksos," a mysterious people of ambiguous descent who continue to defy ethnic classification.

The Hyksos

Egyptian hieroglyphics that represent Hyksos Pharaohs include a shepherd's staff and a crown, which lends credence to the notion, still prevalent in the region, that

contemporaries nicknamed the Hyksos, "Shepherd Kings," as their name translates in Arabic. Writing in the aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, the Jewish priest-historian, Josephus, breaks down the etymology of "Hyksos" to literally mean "shepherd kings," the name by which the Hyksos are known by the third century BC Egyptian priest-chronicler Manetho, and the second century AD Christian historian, Julius Africanus.

Modern philologists explain the Greek word *Hykso*s derives from the Egyptian expression *heka khasewet* meaning "rulers of foreign lands," a phrase used to refer to Phoenicians and other foreign groups at different times, which implies the Hyksos were trans-national. Although the origin of the name remains unclear, "Hyksos" is thought to refer only to the leadership, and not to the foreigners as a whole, who the Egyptians knew as *amu*, which is usually translated as "Asiatics."

Clearly, the Hyksos Pharaohs were not pastoral farmers, but curiously enough, from the initial dynasty of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to the shepherd boy king David, the Old Testament describes almost every central character in Israelite history as a "shepherd."

The traditional image of Abraham – strolling across the landscape, shepherd's staff in hand, tending to his animals – lacks credibility. As it is unambiguously communicated in Genesis, he travels with an armed retinue, leads armies into military campaigns, and is received personally by kings and Pharaohs. Quoting from earlier sources, Josephus writes in his *Antiquities of the Jews,*

> Abraham reigned at Damascus (Harran), where he was a foreigner, having come with an army out of the land above Babylon….after a long time, the Lord got him up and removed him from that country together with his men and he went to the land then called Canaan but now the land of Judea."

Shepherd Kings

Abraham and Sarah (above left) watch their favorite son, and future shepherd, Isaac. As will become clear later, Sarah's "ark" is a symbol loaded with meaning.

David (above right) is the youth who became the "shepherd king" of Israel.

Jacob, shepherd (left), and founder of the Israelite nation,with his wife, Rachel, the shepherdess.

Patently, Abraham was no simple farmer. He was a major power broker in the region with huge financial resources and considerable political and military clout. What, then, is the significance of the recurring shepherd motif?

According to Genesis, before receiving his "divine call" at Harran (modern Turkey), Abraham lived in Ur, heartland of ancient Sumer (Gen 11:31), now Iraq. The Sumerians were the dominant cultural group of the entire Middle East from the beginning of the fourth millennium BC to the end of the third millennium BC. Not unlike the Hyksos, Sumerians origins are murky; their racial and linguistic affiliations remain unclassifiable, but their religious concepts profoundly influenced all the peoples of the Near East.

No explanation is given in the Bible for leaving Ur, but most biblical historians accept that Abraham's departure from Sumer

coincided with its imminent collapse some time before 2000BC. In the past, it was assumed he was a Semitic exile living in Sumer, but nothing in the Bible suggests Abraham was a returning immigrant. On the contrary, Abraham emerges as the uprooted scion of an elite family involved in Sumerian affairs of state.

Journey of Abraham

Since he is described as a son of "Terah," which translates as a type of shamanic priest, Abraham was a member of the hereditary Sumerian priesthood. He was also of royal blood, having married his half-sister, Sarah, who was a princess (*Sarai*), according to Sumerian custom. His apparent transformation from a Sumerian dignitary to a Semitic noble is recorded in Genesis through a process of name change from the Sumerian *Abram* (Father's beloved") to the Semitic *Abraham* ("Father of many nations").

From votive inscriptions found at Nippur, the religious center of Sumer, we know the kings of Ur prized the title 'Pious Shepherd,' and performed priestly functions there. Sumerian king lists record the names of antediluvian "shepherds" who ascended to "heaven;" and countless cuneiform tablets refer to the enigmatic *Annunaki* gods of Sumer, Assyria, and Babylon as "shepherds." Not only would Abraham have been steeped in Annunaki tradition, his legitimacy as a royal priest was based on the presumption of Annunaki blood descent, which purportedly inferred knowledge of the divine will.

Shepherd Kings

Dumuzi, the Annunaki shepherd god

Babylonian King Hammurabi (1792-1750 BC), in the prologue to his famous law code, declares that he has been chosen by the chief god of the city of Babylon, *Marduk*, to tend to the needs of the people on the god's behalf:

> I Hammurabi, the shepherd, have gathered abundance and plenty, have stormed the four quarters of the world, have magnified the fame of Babylon, and have elated the mind of Marduk my Lord.

This assertion of divine appointment as "shepherd" reinforces the political reality by divine mandate. The Annunaki god entrusts his flock to Hammurabi, the shepherd of his people: a metaphor which implies not two, but three parties, as a shepherd is usually employed by the owner of the sheep. The impression implied by kings who present themselves as a good shepherd is, at its foundation, not one of a caretaker lovingly caring for those in need, as in the stylized representation, but a strictly hierarchical administrative relationship between the gods and the king employed by them.

Around the turn of the third millennium BC Egypt experienced an influx of immigrants as a result of the relaxation of the immigration laws. One well preserved mural from the tomb of a Twelfth Dynasty official shows a group of bearded Asiatic people entering Egypt about 1900 BC. Reminiscent of the biblical Joseph (great-grandson of Abraham) and his famous "coat of many colors," the foreign visitors are distinguished by their multi-

colored striped robes, in contrast to the customary all-white Egyptian attire.

Scene from the tomb of Khnumhotep in Beni Hasan, depicting a group of foreign traders entering Egypt. The Hyksos hieroglyph is highlighted.

Populations that settled in the North of Egypt formed a community occupying the Delta region, which became a power base for the Hyksos and their allies. As the central power of the Twelfth Dynasty Pharaohs decreased, the Hyksos gradually insinuated themselves into strategic positions. By the mid-seventeenth century BC, the Hyksos had systematically imposed their hegemony over the Nile Delta and Middle Egypt, a state of affairs famously alluded to in Exodus 1:7, "the Israelites multiplied and grew exceedingly strong." South Egypt remained under the control of the Pharaonic dynasty in Thebes, which reached a begrudged accommodation with the "Asiatics" in the North.

As no evidence exists to support the typical scenario of an armed invasion and war of conquest, Egyptian chroniclers struggled to make sense of what happened. Surviving accounts, however, are unanimous in depicting Hyksos rule in a mold similar to the later Saxon, Vandal, and Viking raiders of Europe. A fragment from the priest-historian Manetho explains:

Shepherd Kings

> …unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others.

Far from being the bearers of an exclusive religion, the Hyksos seem to have borrowed extensively from the Egyptian; even a temple from the flourishing contemporary Minoan culture has been found by excavators at the Avaris site. Yet if Hyksos administration appears to have been tolerated, it was also deeply resented by most Egyptians. As quoted by Josephus, Manetho assessed the period of Hyksos domination as a measured genocide, "who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots."

Wall relief from a Minoan Temple found at Avaris

When Hyksos rule collapsed, all traces of their occupation were eradicated. Future generations would evoke memories of the dreaded Hyksos whenever a foreign threat was real or imagined. This hostility is evidenced in the Bible when Joseph advises his father and brothers to hide their true identity from the Pharaoh because "shepherds are an abomination to the Egyptians" (Gen 46:34).

Until the 2009 discovery at Avaris of a cuneiform tablet (right) with formal diplomatic language (dated 1600 BC-1550 BC) confirmed contact between the Hyksos regime and the Babylonian "shepherd" kings, Egyptologists had hitherto denied any relationship between Egypt and Babylon during the second millennium BC.

Hyksos rulers are known to have interacted with fellow Hyksos outside Egypt, but this cuneiform tablet indicates that Hyksos political diplomacy was much more organized and extensive than had been previously assumed.

Reversal of Fortune

Around 1560 BC, the Theban rulers of the south began a protracted war on the Hyksos. Eventually Pharaoh Ahmose I was successful in driving them out of Avaris in 1550 BC. Archeological evidence suggests that the city was abandoned, rather than destroyed. Ahmose chased them to Sharuhen, a Hyksos stronghold in southern Canaan, where, after a three year siege, he was again victorious.

Pharaoh Ahmose drives the Hyksos out of Egypt

Details of Ahmose I's military campaigns are known from an account written on the walls of a soldier's tomb. In the fighting around Avaris, Hyksos prisoners were taken and enslaved,

> Then Avaris was despoiled. Then I carried off spoil from there: one man, three women, a total of four persons. Then his majesty gave them to me to be slaves.

As Exodus 1:8 implies, Ahmose I belonged to a different ancestry; "there arose a new king over Egypt, who did not know Joseph." Payback was inevitable, and the roles were reversed. Having enslaved the Egyptians, the Hyksos were themselves enslaved, "they (the Egyptians) made the people of Israel serve with rigor, and made their lives bitter with hard service (Ex 1:13)."

Numerous alphabetic inscriptions, found in mountain caves and on pottery fragments near Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai Peninsula, where slaves dug for turquoise, date from the period 1550-1450 BC. The script, known as Proto-Sinaitic among scholars, has proved difficult to translate, but the name *El* appears in several places ("O, El save me from these mines").

Found at Serabit el-Khadim, Sinai Peninsula, dated c 1500 BC.
The figure "8" unclosed at the top, and the diagonal line beneath

translate as "El," or "god."

In Egyptian society, few could read and write hieroglyphic symbols let alone alphabetic script. And in the absence of any other suitable candidates, knowledge of lettering would surely have belonged to literate Hyksos slaves captured during the war, and doubtless proved a useful administrative tool. Manetho, as again quoted by Josephus, records that slaves from the mines were later relocated to the Avaris site:

> Those sent to work in the quarries lived miserably for a long while, and the king was asked to set apart the city Avaris, which the shepherds had left, for their habitation and protection; and he granted them their wish.

Likewise, Exodus 1:11 states:

> The Egyptians set taskmasters over them to afflict them
>
> with heavy burdens; and they built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Rameses.

Rameses was the name given to a city built by Pharaoh Rameses II in the eastern Nile Delta in the 13th century BC. For their own reasons, biblical scribes use this name instead of the historically apt one. Today, archeologists agree that the location and original name of Rameses is Avaris.

Both sides record the same events only from diametrically opposed viewpoints. Hence compilers of the Bible associate the former Hyksos capital with Israelite slaves, and Egyptian chroniclers link the former Hyksos capital with Hyksos slaves. Heroes in the Bible are "shepherds," and in Egyptian accounts, villains are "shepherds."

For obvious reasons, students at theological seminaries are not taught the ancient Israelites were the Hyksos, and Bible commentaries do not identify Old Testament Patriarchs as Hyksos Pharaohs. For the priestly intellectual Josephus, however, Hyksos descent was nothing to conceal.

Shepherd Kings

In a bold and unequivocal affirmation, unsurprisingly missing from later rabbinic literature, which perpetuates the myth of the holy priest, Josephus writes,

> Now Manetho, in another book of his says that "this nation, thus called shepherds, were also called captives in their sacred books." And this account is the truth… these shepherds as they are here called, were none other than our forefathers, who were delivered out of Egypt.

The Exodus

Chronology is probably the greatest source of confusion and debate among Bible students. But it is generally overlooked that Israelite scribes insinuated esoteric or sectarian numerology into time periods of 'dispensational' significance. So periods of fasting, exile, prayers, flooding and so forth, are inevitably based on the number 40 or multiples thereof.

Whatever the underlying rationale, the earliest historical source for the sanctity of the number 40 derives from the cuneiform records of Sumer/Babylon, which describe 40 as the sacred number of Enki, who is characterized as one of the high ranking Annunaki. Babylonian astrologers record the Pleiadian star system's 40 day disappearance from the constellation of Taurus as a period of rains, storms, floods and other dangers. The Pleiades' return was a time of celebration, and a bundle of 40 reeds was burned to purify the 40 days of evil power. This tradition is thought to lie behind the later Roman custom of "quarantine" (from the Latin *quarantos* or 'forty').

In any event, since the entire exodus story is replete with examples of the number 40, to willfully interpret "400 years of Israelite slavery" or "40 years wandering in the desert" as literal time periods in order to calculate exact dates is futile.

Most modern scholars assume a mid-thirteenth century date for the exodus, not

because overwhelming evidence exists to support that chronology, but mostly because the traditional mid-fifteenth century date advocated by Church Fathers does not match the accepted archeological timetable for the appearance of Israelites in Canaan.

According to Manetho, the Hyksos founded Jerusalem after being chased north by Ahmose I, but it appears Jerusalem was already a Hyksos enclave. Clay figurines, listing cities along major routes of travel, have been found in Egypt dated between 1800-1630 BC, and *urushalim,* a name for Jerusalem, is named. Known as "execration texts," ancient Egyptians would inscribe these figurines with the names and locations of their enemies. After a ritual cursing, the figurines were smashed into pieces to break their enemies' power.

After their expulsion, Hyksos factions returned periodically to raid inside Egypt. Professed to have been written by the Egyptian seer *Neferti*, the *Ermitage Papyrus* describes conditions prevailing in Egypt in the months before the reign of Amenhotep I (1526-1505 BC), and justifies his rise to power and subsequent actions.

A strange bird will breed in the Delta marsh,
Having made its nest beside the people (i.e. Egyptians)
The people having let it approach by default…
The land is bowed down in distress,
Owing to those feeders,
Asiatics who roam the land.
Foes have risen in the East,
Asiatics have come down to Egypt.

Amenhotep embarks on a military campaign to unite North and South Egypt, purge foreigners and foreign influences, and protect the borders from future incursion, "Asiatics will fall to his sword…rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels for him. One will build the Walls-of-the-Ruler, To bar Asiatics from entering Egypt."

A document at the Temple of Pharaoh Queen Hatshepsut (1479-1458 BC) at Speos Artemidos claims that the final eradication of the Hyksos menace occurred during her reign:

Shepherd Kings

> Hear ye, all people and the folk as many as they may be, I have done these things through the counsel of my heart. I have not slept forgetfully, (but) I have restored that which had been ruined. I have raised up that which had gone to pieces formerly, since the Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and vagabonds were in the midst of them, overthrowing that which had been made. They ruled without Ra, and he did not act by divide command down to (the reign of) my majesty.

For the duration of Queen Hatshepsut's reign, her stepson Tuthmosis III was co-regent. Nicknamed by modern historians as the "Napoleon of ancient Egypt," Tuthmosis III was a warrior king who conducted at least seventeen military campaigns, and presided over the largest empire Egypt had ever seen. Detailed Egyptian topographical lists inscribed at the Temple of Karnak show cities named *Joseph El* and *Jacob El* in Canaan when Tuthmosis III was there about 1480BC. Facts that led prominent historian Donald Redford to theorize the Israelite departure from Egypt occurred a few generations earlier in conjunction with the Hyksos expulsion in 1550 BC.

Inscriptions at Karnak detail Tuthmosis III's campaigns in Canaan

However, the Old Testament describes the evacuation of an oppressed slave population, *not* the overthrow and exile of a tyrannical regime. Therefore, if the biblical exodus is historical, the freed slaves are not the overthrown Hyksos administration, but rather descendants of captured Hyksos enslaved by their Egyptian conquerors. And since these slaves were still inside Egypt in 1480 BC, at least two distinct mass departures of Hyksos must have occurred, which were consolidated into one by later Israelite/Hyksos scribes.

Because Tuthmosis III collected tribute from Hyksos settlements in Canaan in 1480 BC, the biblical exodus must have taken place sometime between 1480 BC and the death of Queen Hatshepsut in 1458 BC. The notoriously stubborn and bizarrely anonymous Pharaoh from the Book of Exodus, who clashed with Moses, is therefore Tuthmosis III.

Interestingly, in his *Against Apion,* Josephus quotes Manetho, "After this people or shepherds had left Egypt to go to Jerusalem, Tethmosis (Tuthmosis III), who drove them out, was king of Egypt and reigned for twenty five years and four months, and then died." Tuthmosis III died in 1450. Irrespective of Manetho's personal spin on historical events, if his chronology is correct, then the biblical exodus probably took place in 1476 BC.

Moses

Because no physical evidence for his existence has ever been found, Moses is the Old Testament's greatest mystery. Until recently, most Bible commentaries incorrectly stated the name 'Moses' is Egyptian for "saved out of water." Moses simply means "born of," and is used as a suffix in Pharaonic names, which were prefixed by a deity – Tuthmosis (born of Thoth), Rameses (born of Ra), Ahmose (born of Ah), and so on. Moses' actual name would have included the epithet appropriate to his dynasty, with the component *Moses* (*Mosis, Mose*) suffixed.

The birth legend of Moses – the Pharaoh orders all Israelite male children thrown into the Nile; his mother puts him in a reed basket daubed with pitch; he is found by Pharaoh's daughter – is almost certainly a fiction lifted from Sumerian tradition because it

is identical to that of the King Sargon I, who founded the Sumero-Akkadian Dynasty about 2350 BC:

> I am Sargon, the king of Akkad…my mother bore me in secret, she put me in a little box made of reeds, sealing its lid with pitch. She put me in the river…the river carried me away and brought me to Akki the drawer of water. Akki adopted me and brought me up as his son.

Moses, we are told, is raised in the Pharaoh's palace and becomes a leading general; his true identity secret until the day he reportedly kills an Egyptian taskmaster for abusing a Hebrew slave. Forced to flee Egypt, he escapes to the wilderness of Midian, where he marries a Midianite priest's daughter and lives, predictably, as a "shepherd" before receiving his divine mission via a burning bush. As Genesis explains Midian as the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, after the death of his wife Sarah, Midianites had Sumerian roots.

Internecine strife between competing elites, royal and priestly, is a perpetual component of Pharaonic history, so it would be naïve to imagine all Hyksos living inside Egypt were rounded up and enslaved after the expulsion of 1550 BC. Doubtless many held influential positions incognito, particularly among the priesthood, and continued to pursue covert agendas to regain power. In reflecting this reality, the Moses story conceals the potentially embarrassing information that the savior of the Israelite nation was a Hyksos prince.

Soon after Hatshepsut's death, her statues were vandalized, her images were defaced, her hieroglyphs were scratched out, and the first female Pharaoh was deleted from Egyptian history. Hatshepsut would remain lost until, almost three thousand years later, Egyptologists reconstructed her damaged inscriptions and restored her to the historical record. Queen Hatshepsut was the eldest daughter of Tuthmosis I, and did not bear a son from her marriage to her half-brother, the succeeding Pharaoh Tuthmosis II.

Did Hatshepsut adopt or otherwise bring Moses into the royal family? Until Egyptologists can explain Tuthmosis III's

animosity toward Hatshepsut, the possibility that he believed Hatshepsut had brought a Hyksos cuckoo into the nest cannot be discounted.

Vandalized statue of Queen Hatshepsut

Did Moses return from exile to free the Hyksos slaves? In a seemingly weird story that most scholars consider has no single origin but rather combines numerous historical episodes, Manetho claims that a renegade Egyptian priest named Osarseph organized a rebellion of Hyksos slaves in Avaris. Combining forces with an army of "lepers," Osarseph forced the Pharaoh into exile, and instituted a thirteen year tyranny that is eventually overthrown when the unnamed Pharaoh returns. In a curious aside, usually dismissed as the anti-Jewish sentiment of an Arab editor, Manetho mentions that Osarseph later changed his name to Moses.

According to the Bible, the Pharaoh frees the Israelite slaves only after a succession of plagues convinces him that Moses, or rather a staff in Moses' possession wields extraordinary powers. Notwithstanding its heavy stylization, the biblical narrative basically describes the same events as an Egyptian papyrus from the late thirteenth century BC. Known as the *Admonitions of Ipuwer,* it is copied from an earlier original document, the date of which is unknown and remains in dispute.

The Ipuwer Payrus, National Archaeological Museum, Leiden, Netherlands

Some scholars regard the *Ipuwer Papyrus* as a poetic lamentation of Hyksos rule over Egypt and a pessimistic description of its consequences; "forsooth, the desert is throughout the land. The nomes (districts) are laid to waste. A foreign tribe from abroad has come to Egypt." Most Egyptologists prefer to interpret the *Ipuwer Papyrus* as an amalgam of literary archetypes with little, if any, historical value.

Table 1.

Ipuwer Papyrus	Book of Exodus
Indeed the river is blood, yet men drink of it. Men [shrink] from human beings and thirst for water.	Moses raised his staff…and all the water was changed into blood. The fish in the Nile died, and the river smelled so bad that the Egyptians could not drink its water. Blood was everywhere in Egypt.
Indeed, all animals, their hearts weep; cattle moan because of the state of the land.	All the livestock of the Egyptians died, but not one animal belonging to the Israelites died.
Indeed, gates, columns, and [walls] are burnt up… Behold, the fire has gone up on high, and its burning goes forth against the enemies of the land.	When Moses stretched out his staff toward the sky, the LORD sent thunder and hail, and lightning flashed down to the ground. So the LORD ruined hail on the land of Egypt.

Indeed, trees are felled and branches are stripped off.	Throughout Egypt hail…beat down everything growing in the fields and stripped every tree.
Neither fruit nor herbage can be found… everywhere barley has perished.	[The locusts] devoured all that was left after the hail—everything growing in the fields and the fruit on the trees. Nothing green remained on tree or plant in all the land of Egypt.
[The land] is not bright because of it.	So Moses stretched out his hand toward the sky, and total darkness covered all Egypt for three days.
Indeed men are few, and he who places his brother in the ground is everywhere… Indeed [hearts] are violent, pestilence is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking, and the mummy-cloth speaks even before one comes near it.	Every firstborn son in Egypt will die, from the firstborn son of Pharaoh, who sits on the throne, to the firstborn son of the female slave, who is at her hand mill, and all the firstborn of the cattle as well.

Nevertheless, when read literally, the *Ipuwer Papyrus* coincides with the Book of Exodus (see Table 1.) The text ascribes social upheaval, violence, famine, and death in Egypt to a series of disasters during the rule of an unnamed king, which occurs because slaves had abandoned their servitude and escaped with their masters' treasure, "gold and jewels are fastened on the neck of female slaves." A state of affairs that accords with Exodus 12:35, "let every man demand from his neighbor, and every woman from her neighbor, articles of silver and jewels of gold."

The Promised Land

The rest of the exodus legend is almost too familiar to bear recounting: Moses leads the Israelites into the wilderness and eventually receives the Ten Commandments on stone tablets. The so-called Ark of the Covenant is built, but the Israelites' lack of faith prolongs their journey to Canaan, the Promised Land. After Moses' death, Joshua leads the Israelite army in a succession of stunning victories against the local inhabitants. With the Canaanite

population subdued, the Promised Land is divided between the twelve tribes of Israel, and a priestly caste is designated to enforce the Law of Moses.

Archeological evidence neither substantiates nor invalidates an Israelite conquest of Canaan at any time. Indications of the destruction of Canaanite cities are obvious, but no consensus exists on either the dating of the destruction or the identity of the perpetrators.

Judging from the lack of historical record it appears the Hyksos vanished into thin air after leaving Avaris. But a Hyksos presence in Jericho and other cities during the sixteenth century BC is beyond dispute. And for Hyksos living there under Egyptian domination, a returning Hyksos army would be welcomed as liberators.

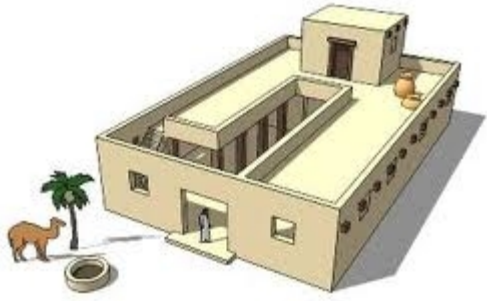
The Bible relates how two Israelite spies infiltrate Jericho and meet a female sympathizer there named Rahab, who helps them escape detection. Although the divine mandate requires the Israelites slaughter every man, woman and child inside Jericho, Rahab and her relatives are spared from the ensuing bloodbath when the Israelites invade the city (Josh 6:25).

According to the legend, the Israelites advise Rahab to hang a red thread from her window so her house would be recognized. The "red thread" features in an earlier biblical story of the birth of Jacob's twin grandsons, Perez and Zerah (Gen 38:28), where it is tied on Zerah's wrist to signify him as firstborn.

The protective power of scarlet is a recurring theme in Old Testament imagery ("She is not afraid of snow for her household, for all her household are clothed in scarlet" Psalm 31:21), but in ancient Egypt, where color represented the power and essence of the gods, the color red was associated with the god *Set*, or *Seth*, known to have been venerated by the Hyksos. After their expulsion, Set was demonized, and the color red was declared a color of evil, belonging to the powers of darkness.

The assumed date for the earliest Israelite presence in Canaan is around the beginning of the Iron Age, about 1200 BC, which is when the earliest Israelite houses are usually dated. The "Israelite house," a basic home structure with pillars and a four-room floor plan, is considered unique to ancient Israel. So mainstream

archeologists are at a loss to explain why numerous houses with an identical floor plan have been excavated on the site of the Hyksos settlement at Avaris since 2006.



Israelite Four-Roomed House

Four-Roomed House discovered at Avaris

Dr Neiman, one of the leaders of the Austrian archeological team excavating the ruins of Avaris, explains the Egyptian locals traditionally "know the area as *Tel Le Judia,* which means "The Jewish Ruins" for some reason." But who else are the Israelites, if not the Hyksos – and vice versa?

The Old Testament is essentially the Hyksos version of Hyksos history. So the central "God" character is, for the most part, a Hyksos conception of deity, with mitigating aspects likely drawn from elsewhere. This also raises important questions about the New Testament, but before they can be addressed we need to

trace the Hyksos as far back as the historical record allows – Sumer.

2

The Annunaki Legacy

Sumer, ancient homeland of the Shepherd kings, is also home to the ancient world's most documented and unfathomable society. Ever since nineteenth century archeologists unearthed its remains and discovered its clay cuneiform writing tablets, reputable scholars have conceded that the mid-fourth millennium BC Sumerian society is not only the template for all subsequent Mesopotamian civilizations, but is the prototype for all modern nations – cities, paved roads, monumental architecture, organized religion, schools, courts, writing, and bureaucratic institutions to control everything.

The standard text on ancient Sumer is *"History begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Recorded History,"* published in 1956 by Samuel Noah Kramer, the world's most renowned Sumerologist. But although a wealth of literature now exists, so far no one has explained who the Sumerians are, let alone why the blueprint for civilization should spring wholesale from a rainless desert, where agricultural land had to be created by draining swamps and

building artificial canals, and where stone, metal, and timber had to be transported from elsewhere.

No one, that is, except for the Sumerians themselves.

Located in southern Mesopotamia, ancient Sumer (c 3500 BC – 2000 BC) is modern Iraq

The Sumerian Archives

Using a small dry reed sharpened at one end, Sumerian scribes etched wedge-shaped ("cuneiform" from the Latin *cuneus* "wedge" and *forma* "shape") pictographs into tablets of wet clay, and then kiln-dried them for preservation. The language developed over the centuries, but cuneiform writing was used for at least three millennia. Figure drawings and seals were created by carving the contours on the exterior surface of a hollow stone cylinder, which produced a flat image when rolled over a sheet of wet clay.

According to best estimates, approximately two million clay writing tablets have been excavated since the mid-nineteen century, but no more than 100,000 have been published. Most gather dust in museum vaults and university storage rooms around the globe, with access to them restricted to a handful of approved scholars and government officials.

Neo-Sumerian stone cylinder seal (left), c 2100 BC

Sumerians were avid list makers and record-keepers. Many tablets report the minutiae of commercial transactions, legal contracts, administrative procedures, foreign engagements, and financial accounts; some are concerned with architecture, agriculture, cookery, music, and medicine; others consist of creation stories, and heroic poetry documenting the exploits of the gods. From these extensive sources, scholars believe they have pieced together a reasonably accurate picture of daily life in Sumer.

But the lists don't stop there. Several tablets contain what has come to be known as the "Sumerian King List," a meticulous delineation of names, places and lengths of rule. The list goes back over 430,000 years, beginning with 162,000 years of divine rule from "heaven," followed by rule from a succession of five different "cities" by 8 earthly god-kings lasting 241,200 years – an average reign of 30,150 years. The location of the five cities – Eridug, Bad-Tibira, Larag, Zimbir, Curuppag – is unknown, but each in turn "fell" from the seat of power until "the Flood swept over the land" about 30,000 years ago.

Of these 8 antediluvian kings, only one is given a title – Dumuzi, "the Shepherd," which implies not all "gods" are the same. Dumuzi was also known as husband of the celebrated fertility goddess "Inanna," or "Ishtar," who features in numerous cuneiform narratives. The "shepherd" designation suggests Dumuzi belonged to a strand of deity directly responsible for the

transition of divine power through earthly agents acting on their behalf.

Dumuzi carries special significance because later kings of Sumer, Assyria, and Babylon reenacted the role of Dumuzi in *hieros gamos* sacred marriage rituals with the priestess representing the goddess of the city. After copulation, the priestess would proclaim the king's destiny to be the "shepherd" of all nations.

Inanna/Ishtar, the shepherdess

Loaded with sexual allusions, the Old Testament's *Song of Songs* is widely believed to be drawn from the Sumerian fertility rites of Dumuzi and Inanna, who many consider the original prototypes of the "Bridegroom and "Bride" motif used repeatedly in the New Testament.

After the flood subsides, "kingship descended from heaven, and the kingship was in Kish." Archeologists believe Kish was located twelve kilometers from the site of Babylon. This period would last 24,510 years, consisting of 23 kings, with an average reign of 1070 years, a noticeably shorter length of kingly rule than during "Five Cities" era.

Again, of these kings one merited the "shepherd" distinction, "Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven and consolidated all the foreign countries." A poem known as the "Epic of Etana" explains that after another devastation caused by the gods it was decided to install intermediary kings on earth:

The great Annunaki who decree the fate
Sat exchanging their counsels regarding the land.
They who created the four regions,
Who set up the settlements, who oversaw the land,
Were too lofty for Mankind.

One example of the Sumerian King List, known as the Weld-Blundell prism, located in the Ashmolean cuneiform collection in Oxford, UK

After Kish, "the kingship was taken to E-ana," which scholars interpret as the city of Uruk. Twelve kings of Uruk are listed, the first five rule for a total of 2170 years, which is an average reign of 434 years. Described as a "shepherd," king Lugalbanda rules for the longest period - 1200 years. The remaining seven listed kings rule for a total of 140 years, with an average reign of 20 years each, signifying the era of contemporary lifespans. A further 101 kings are listed, which includes concurrent dynasties from neighboring kingdoms.

Modern text books state that current humanity, *Homo sapiens sapiens,* emerged in Africa approximately 200,000 years ago, and was preoccupied with primitive survival issues until about 6,000 years ago. So it is not surprising most scholars categorize the Sumerian timeline, along with references to gods or antediluvian societies in other ancient cultures, as fictional mythology designed to legitimize the power structure that formulated it. Nonetheless, historians and archeologists still use the painstakingly carved

"fictional" chronologies of the Sumerian King List to reconstruct the fourth and third millennia BC.

Another pool of seemingly impossible data was discovered on Babylonian tablets copied from earlier Sumerian record i.e. astronomical information including lists of stars invisible to the naked eye, and distances calculated between them; timetables of planetary orbits around the sun; and charts of comets, meteors and celestial phenomena related to the position of the earth. Calendars were drawn up based on a sophisticated understanding of the passage of spherical bodies pertaining to the ecliptic (the path the sun appears to trace through the stars), the equinoxes (when the Earth's axis aligns with the center of the Sun, which is directly overhead the Equator every March and September), and the solstices (when the sun is at its greatest distance from the equator every June and December).

Sumerian star map dated approx 3000BC

Mesopotamian zodiac constellations show awareness of the phenomenon known as the "Precession of the Equinoxes," whereby the gradual shift in the axis of the Earth's orientation over a period of approximately 26,000 years, appears to change the position of the fixed stars in the visible firmament. However this sophisticated astronomical knowledge was acquired, it was not needed to determine mundane farming or business schedules.

Repeatedly throughout the texts, the Sumerians credit their existence, along with all their learning, expertise and "everything that is beautiful" to the same source – the gods. Serious research into the identity of the Annunaki is conspicuously absent from academic publications. Imaginary beings, however, make for unlikely disseminators of highly-developed celestial mechanics.

The eight-pointed star (the planet Nibiru) and the seven spheres (Pleiades) are standard icons on Mesopotamian seals and boundary stones. Only six Pleaidean stars, however, are visible to the naked eye.

The Annunaki

A comprehensive study of the word "Annunaki" is still lacking, and no consensus exists on its literal meaning. Scholars agree the name derives from "Anu," or "Annu," the primordial Mesopotamian Father "sky-god," though "Anu" is sometimes applied collectively to occupants of the highest heavens. As described in the texts, the relationship between the Anu and the Annunaki is unambiguously hierarchical.

Today, anyone familiar with ancient astronaut theories knows the term "Annunaki," but before 1976, when Zecharia Sitchin published the first book in his *Earth Chronicles* series, the Annunaki were known only to the narrow readership of a few specialized academics. Although he leant upon the work of earlier scholars,

being free from peer pressure and uninhibited by institutional paymasters, Sitchin independently studied the Sumerian lexicon, translated the cuneiform texts, decoded the images, and blew away the tired "mythical sky-gods" hypothesis with an eloquence that made his books bestsellers, and turned the Annunaki into a cottage industry.

To briefly summarize Sitchin's research: an extra-terrestrial quasi-hominid race, or group of races, known as the "Annunaki," visited the earth several times in the distant past. Initially, they arrived in search of gold, travelling in space ships from the Annunaki home world of Nibiru, which is largest and outermost planet of our solar system, and which reverse orbits around the sun every 3600 years. Having a metallic-based biology, for the Annunaki to thrive on Nibiru its atmosphere requires periodic infusions of gold dust.

Production of gold on Earth ceased when the lower caste Annunaki workforce (*Igigi*) rebelled against the harsh conditions in the underground mines. Forced into a decision, the Annunaki leadership instructed its scientists to genetically engineer slaves to do the labor. After several failed attempts, modern humans were ultimately created as this new slave race by combining Annunaki DNA with samples taken from primitive "apeman," among other possible sources.

Centuries past, and the escalating human population became too difficult for the Annunaki to control, so it was decided to wipe them out by means of a flood. This plan was thwarted by the intervention of an Annunaki faction allegedly sympathetic to humanity's plight. After the flood, life expectancy on earth was drastically shortened, but the human race lived on and prospered.

In due course, human technological knowhow reached a level where it was deemed a potential threat. Resigned to the inevitably of human existence on Earth, the Annunaki chose a course of action that effectively rendered the entire population amnesiac, and unable to communicate. A program of mass 're-education' followed, exemplified by the construction of Sumerian society sometime after 3800 BC.

Human kingship and priesthood were inaugurated as institutional proxies through which the Annunaki could remotely

direct earthly affairs. Physical symbols of kingship – crown, scepter, and shepherd's staff – were reportedly brought to Earth directly from Nibiru. The Annunaki departed Earth, content to be "gods" ruling from afar, but one day the Niburians will return to check the progress of their wayward children. Zecharia Sitchin died in 2010, so did not live to witness this auspicious event.

Even though many of Sitchin's arguments are well-researched and highly persuasive, a number of his conclusions appear deeply flawed.

Apart from "Anu," the king of Nibiru, the most prominent Annunaki in the Sumerian texts are his sons "Enki" and "Enlil" ("Marduk," a "son" of Enki, is the key deity in the later Babylonian pantheon). Although described as singular personae, they are sometimes combined with different gods. Moreover, their respective titles, powers, accomplishments, sexual prowess, numbers of offspring, together with an apparent transcendence, suggests "Enki," "Enlil," and "Marduk" are best understood as individualized Annunaki tribe or racial groups, whose history is glamorized and/or misrepresented through the typical personality-dramas that drive myth and legend.

The Father god, "Anu," though undoubtedly the source or founder of the Annunaki in general, is more akin to a metaphysical gestalt. Not one image of Anu has ever been found among the many thousands of depictions of the ancient gods that have been uncovered.

Certain fundamental attributes of the Annunaki deserve mention because, as it is described in the epic poetry, basic Annunaki character is sadly lacking, and Annunaki society leaves plenty to be desired. Ruthlessness, cunning, brutality, deceit, distrust, and boastfulness are highly regarded qualities in a wildly patriarchal culture where incest abounds. Bloodline and genealogy are such obsessions females are regarded as no more than gestation chambers.

Predictably, the Annunaki are riddled with internecine strife, and divided into competing factions harboring long-standing mutual resentments.

Typical representation of an Annunaki god with horned headgear, long beard, rosette "wristband," holding a "pine cone" and a "bucket."

Decipherment of the Mesopotamian texts did not go unnoticed by late nineteen century biblical scholars researching source materials of the Old Testament, and of the Book of Genesis in particular. Today, a huge volume of published literature exists demonstrating the parallels between Bible stories and their much earlier Sumerian equivalents, though the impact of this information on the general public is negligible.

No one knows precisely when the *Torah*, or core books (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Leviticus) of the Old Testament were compiled, but it is generally accepted the process began during the sixth century BC when the Israelite elite was in Babylon, where they had access to the cuneiform libraries. But if priestly Jewish scribes intended to record the sacred history of

Israel, why would they need to study the archives of the Annunaki and their shepherd king representatives?

The Elohim

The answer is because the Israelites are the Hyksos, and Hyksos history *is* Sumerian history. The Hebrew text of Genesis conveys the polytheistic traditions of Sumer by attributing creation, the flood judgment, and the confusion of languages to certain *Elohim* – the plural form of *El,* which translates as "gods," not God.

Strictly speaking, since the Hebrew language uses the Canaanite word, *El,* a Father sky-god and equivalent of the Mesopotamian *Anu*, the plural *Elohim* refers to the *Anu* group or council, not to Annunaki rank and file.

By applying a type of theologically-inspired hindsight to transform *Elohim* into "God" (even when followed by a plural verb) in an era when monotheistic religion did not yet exist, translators distort its actual meaning and thus conceal the *Elohim* identity. In Genesis 20:13, for example, Abraham explains to the Philistine king Abimelech that "the gods *(Elohim*) caused me to wander…" In Genesis 35:7, Jacob returns to the place where he dreamed of angels ascending and descending a ladder to heaven,

> And there he built an altar and called the place El-bethel, because the gods *(Elohim)* had revealed themselves to him…

In another example, the King James Bible translates Genesis 48:15:

> And he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers' Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day…

But the literal translation of Genesis 48:15 is:

> And he blessed Joseph, and said, "The gods (*Elohim)* before whom my fathers' Abraham and Isaac walked, the

> gods *(Elohim)* who have been my **shepherds** all my life to this day...

Referring to the Elohim as "shepherds" in the original transcript links them with the Annunaki "shepherd" traditions with which the Hyksos were associated. In the Sumero-Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Elish,* the Annunaki home planet, Nibiru, is defined as a celestial manager and "shepherd" of the Annunaki:

> The stars of heaven, let Nibiru set their course; let him shepherd all the gods like sheep.

Jacob dreams of a ladder to heaven, Nicolas Dipre, 1525
Do winged "angels" represent the Annunaki?

The impression that humans were created by the Annunaki, or by the Anu-Elohim, is created only by naïve or misleading translations of the Sumerian creation accounts and the biblical text. Conveying human origins is not their purpose. For the Bible, along with other derivatives of Sumerian lore, is Annunaki history.

"Lulu" and Adam

Pointing to obvious similarities between the Genesis story of Adam's creation and the creation of the *Lulu* (translated as "man") mentioned in Mesopotamian epics, skeptics dismiss both accounts as typical mythology – imaginary gods did it. The level of detail in the Sumerian texts, however, seems not so much to describe unreal "gods," but real extraterrestrial visitors with advanced genetic engineering technologies.

A Sumero-Akkadian text called *Atra Hasis* describes a mutiny of Annunaki gold miners in vivid detail, and explains how the Annunaki leadership reached its decision to create an intelligent being capable of handling the backbreaking workload. Enki, the chief scientist, working together with *Ninmah,* the Chief Medical Officer, was instructed:

> Create Mankind (*Lulu*)! Create a Mixed One that he may bear the yoke, let him bear the yoke assigned by Enlil, let the Primitive Worker (*amelu*) toil for the gods!"

The "Lulu" is presented to Ninmah

In the sixth tablet of the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*, Marduk addresses the assembled Annunaki:

> I will bring together blood to form bone, I will bring into being a Lulu, whose name shall be "man". I will

> create a Lulu on whom the toil of the gods will be laid that they may rest.

Evidently, Enki (*Ea* in Babylon) and Ninmah (*Nudimmud*) successfully accomplished the mission:

> From his blood he (Ea) created the Lulu, on whom he imposed the service of the gods, and set the gods free. After the wise Ea had created the Lulu and had imposed the service of the gods upon them — That task is beyond comprehension. For Nudimmud performed the creation with the skill of Marduk.

Use of the word *amelu* in the pre-Babylonian version is significant. Usually translated as "slave" or "worker," in Babylonian society an *amelu* was a member of the hereditary ruling class, whose birth, death, and marriage was registered. According to the Code of Hammurabi, kings, priests, ministers, generals, and the high professions all came from the *amelu* caste. So if all humans were supposedly "amelu," why was the separate ruling caste in Babylon named "amelu?"

For some reason, the Lulu workforce came to be known as "the black-headed ones." In one Sumerian psalm Enlil is referred to as "Father Enlil, Shepherd of the Black-Headed Ones." Later in the *Enuma Elish,* an accolade paid to Marduk emphasizes his same role with the "black-heads:"

> Let him shepherd the black-heads, his creatures, Let them tell of his character to future days without forgetting.

Most people are unaware that Genesis includes two separate accounts of Adam's creation. The first version states "The Elohim said, "Let us make man (Adam) in our image, after our likeness" (Gen 1:26). In the second version (Gen 2:5), "the Adam" is prefixed with the definite article, and a specific reason is given for his creation, "there was no Adam to till the ground." Presumably, the first "Adam" did not practice agriculture. Was the second creation intended to mix Adam into contemporary civilization?

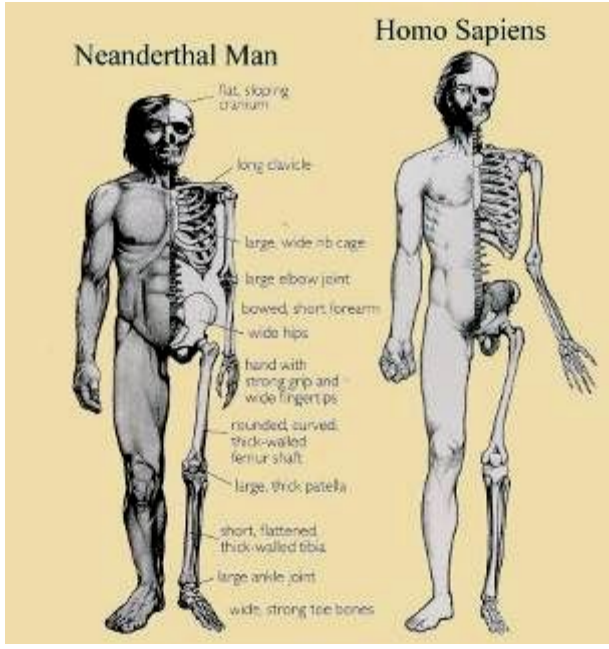
In acknowledgment of his famous Code, this marble relief of Hammurabi, wearing the horned headdress of the Annunaki, is displayed in the Capitol building, Washington DC

By way of explaining duplicate creation accounts, an ancient tradition in mainstream Judaism distinguishes between the ideal of "Adam Kadmon," who was "made in the image of God," and "the Adam" who "the Lord God formed from the dust of the ground (Gen 2:7).

The Sumerian word *Lu* means "man," but it also means "sheep." Characteristic of Sumerian wordplay, *Lulu* implies a "man-sheep" that is essentially a type of domesticated hominid-animal, which explains the need for "shepherds." The Annunaki required an extremely compliant being to follow instructions without too much thinking and without complaint. This being needed to be durable enough to withstand physical hardship, but above all, the "Lulu" slave miner needed a strong musculature and robust frame. In other words, the Annunaki needed a Neanderthal, not a human.

We know Neanderthals were much stronger than modern humans, comparable in height, with longer collar bones, wider shoulders, and a barrel-shaped rib cage. Neanderthals also had a longer torso, shorter stockier legs, and larger kneecaps than

humans, giving them a much lower center of gravity. Added to that, Neanderthals had larger rounder finger tips than humans, which were far better suited for heavy manual tasks.



Unlocking the sophisticated Sumerian dating system, Sitchin calculates that the Annunaki created the "Lulu" approximately 300,000 BC – the period when most anthropologists accept Neanderthals first appeared. The earliest Neanderthal tools site is dated at 300,000 years old.

The sudden and unexplained Neanderthal extinction is estimated to have occurred around 30,000 years ago. Humans and Neanderthals undoubtedly co-existed, but biologists have found no evidence that humans and Neanderthals interbred. While modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) share some nuclear DNA with Neanderthals, the two species do not share any mitochondrial DNA which in primates is always maternally transmitted.

Nothing in Genesis discounts the existence of indigenous forms of intelligent life – humans –before the creation of Adam. The word *Adam* predates its use in Hebrew. The earliest known

use is *Adamu*, a name recorded in cuneiform tablets listing Assyrian kings. Its root meaning is "red," "fair," or "handsome," generally thought to be related to the words *adom*, (red), and *dam* (blood).

Genesis also contains two separate creations of Eve. In the first account, man and woman are made synchronously, "male and female He created them." In the second account, Adam is created first, and Eve is created later from the material of Adam's body because "it is not good that the Adam should be alone." This apparent inconsistency lies at the root of the rabbinic *Lilith* legends, in which the "woman" in Genesis Chapter One (Lilith) is a separate individual from the "Eve" in Chapter Two.

Textual critics have long argued that the first two chapters of Genesis were written by different writers at different times, drawing from a combination of different sources. Even so, Genesis explains creation purely from the ancient Israelite perspective, and thus its purpose is to trace Hyksos descent to the Anu-Elohim.

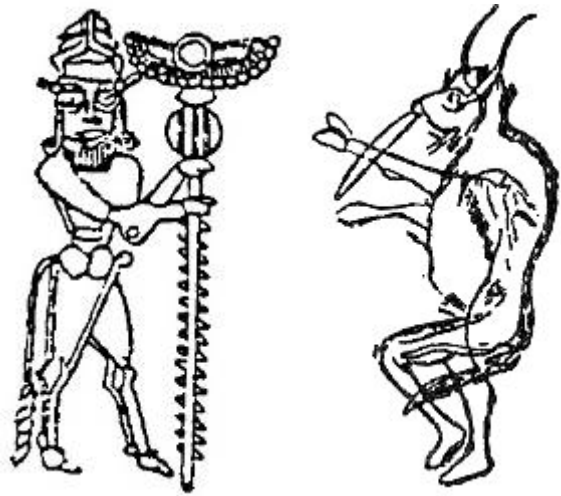
The Cro-Magnons

Assuming the Annunaki managed to successfully create a Lulu, or a Neanderthal slave race, by mixing diverse genetic materials, why would they have stopped there? The strong likelihood is that creation stories of the Lulu and the Adam are archetypal, and genetic engineering was an ongoing process.

Because evolution is understood as a subtle progression, evolutionary biologists are stumped by the precipitous arrival of Cro-Magnon man in the fossil record. The earliest date for the existence of Cro-Magnon man is approximately 43,000 BC. Cro-Magnons seem to have disappeared around 10,000 BC. But although Cro-Magnons were contemporaneous with Neanderthals for over 10,000 years, the nature of their relationship remains a mystery.

One scientific theory postulates that the Cro-Magnons methodically 'ethnically cleansed' the Neanderthals out of existence. Was Cro-Magnon man simply a genetically-engineered upgrade of the Neanderthal model?

Cro-Magnons were more similar to modern humans than to Neanderthals, with a larger cranium and greater musculature than humans; longer limbs and greater dexterity than Neanderthals. The Cro-Magnons did not farm. They were nomadic hunter-gatherers, responsible for the prehistoric cave paintings, but they did not "till the ground." Unlike Neanderthals, Cro-Magnon man did not suddenly become extinct. Genetic studies confirm that Cro-Magnons somehow evolved to the stage where they could interbreed with pre-existing humans (or *archaic* humans as anthropologists refer to them). And once that point had been reached, it appears there was no stopping them.



Sumerian Annunaki "god" dressed as a bull, and (right) cave drawing of a shaman dressed as a bull, c 13,000 BC, France

Over time, the Cro-Magnon race progressively assimilated itself into the human population, and disappeared. Paleontologists classify Cro-Magnons as *Homo sapiens*, and Modern humans are classified as a sub-species, *Homo sapiens sapiens*. No physical evidence that Cro-Magnons and humans co-habited exists. So how did this "assimilation" occur?

The sixth chapter of Genesis proves informative:

> The sons of the Elohim saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.

To explain it away, this verse has spawned a library of convoluted liberal and conservative theological constructs, none of which are worth repeating. Ancient alien advocates highlight it as evidence of direct miscegenation between humans and extraterrestrials, a not uncommon idea in ancient myth. But the "sons" of the Elohim are an Adamic race. Moreover, the innocent-sounding phrase "took them wives of all which they chose" reads as a not-so-subtle euphemism for mass rape.

In plain language, the same Bible verse might read:

> Cro-Magnon men systematically targeted and raped human females in order to impregnate them

In this way, the Cro-Magnon race facilitated its own demise, and accomplished a forced merger with humanity. Not only is the scenario of organized hunting, raping, and impregnating of human women utterly horrific, it infers a profoundly unpalatable root cause of misogynist violence and postnatal depression.

Many scholars consider the most developed Cro-Magnon cave paintings to be astromical maps. The Pleiades is depicted by 6 dots above the bull.

Eventually, Cro-Magnons and humans became physically indistinguishable one from the other. Without overt bodily differences, everyone appeared more or less the same, and distinctions were no longer made. But while evolutionary biologists prefer the term "Early Modern human" to "Cro-

Magnon," a consensus exists that while all Cro-Magnons are Modern humans, not all Modern humans are Cro-Magnon.

Seth

In Genesis, Adam and Eve have three sons – Cain, Abel, and Seth. Cain kills Abel and is cursed. The martyred Abel is identified as a "shepherd" (Gen 4:2). Cain re-appears briefly only to permanently disappear from the plot. Born after Abel's death, Seth is described by Eve as Abel's replacement (Gen 4:25). Consequently, Seth becomes the ancestor of the Hyksos, the biblical Israelites.

The Hebrew name "Seth" is philologically identical to the name of the Egyptian god "Set," principal deity of the Hyksos in Egypt. In post-Hyksos Egypt, Set was no longer categorized as an Egyptian god, but rather as a Lord of foreign lands. *Baal* of the Canaanites, and *Teshub* of the Hittites, were both considered forms of Set. As reflected in their respective iconography, Canaanite and Hittite deities are widely accepted as complements of the Sumerian Annunaki.

Teshub (left) and Baal (right) in the horned headgear of the Annunaki

One extremely well known Egyptian creation myth demonizes Set. *Geb*, representing the earth, and *Nut*, representing the heavens, have three sons – Osiris, Horus and Set. Set, as with the biblical Seth, is the third son. Set kills his brother Osiris, the first born, and becomes the villain of the piece. This contrasts with Genesis, in which the evil brother is the first born Cain. Seth, the third son, who replaces the innocent Abel, emerges as the savior.

Seth's origins are oddly related in the fifth chapter of Genesis:

> This is the written account of Adam's family line. When the Elohim created mankind, he made them in the likeness of the Elohim. He created them male and female…When Adam had lived one hundred and thirty years, he became the father of a son in his own likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth.

As the same "image" and "likeness" terminology is used in the creation of Adam, is an identical process of creation implied? Did Seth represent a new and improved model? If so, then what lies behind this seemingly arbitrary template of three "brothers?" Does it signify three related Annunaki factions?

Adam and Seth, Royal Chronicles of Cologne, 1238

"God-lists," which are akin to family trees for Annunaki deities, are included within various Mesopotamian texts to prove the king's ancestral credentials and legitimize his rule. In the earliest third millennium BC Sumerian lists, Enki is usually listed as the first born son of Anu. During the later Neo-Sumerian Akkadian period, Enlil is generally the first born son, indicating a power shift among the Annunaki had taken place. In the final Babylonian era, all the god-lists began with Marduk, from whom all Babylonian kings claimed descent. When Marduk became chief god in the region, history and epic poetry were re-written. Heroic acts of the distant past were attributed to Marduk.

The Israelites first compiled Genesis while in exile. According to biblical legend, the Jews were captured en masse by the army of Nebuchadnezzar II and forcibly taken to Babylon. Although archeological evidence proves that some Israelites were in Babylon during the sixth century BC, nothing shows they were prisoners there. When supposedly given freedom to return to Jerusalem by the Persian king Cyrus in 539 BCE, many Israelites preferred to stay put. No doubt for some, Babylon was always the homeland. Did the Babylonian priests of Marduk influence the composition of Book of Genesis?

Nebuchadnezzar II

Most Old Testament critics consider the Cain Abel conflict to be inspired by Enki-Enlil legends of Sumerian lore. Because Enki and Enlil were supposedly half-brothers competing for world domination, the connection is vaguely plausible. But when Seth is factored into the equation the fraternal dynamic begins to make sense.

In their efforts to connect names in Genesis' antediluvian genealogies to the Babylonian pantheon, nineteenth century scholars identified Seth with *Shitti*, which is an epithet for Marduk. Seth, it seems, is none other than Marduk, the third great Annunaki god, who inherited, or usurped, the former possessions

of Enki and Enlil, and consolidated power in Babylon. The Annunaki triumvirate of Enki-Enlil-Marduk is mirrored by Cain-Abel-Seth.

If the Lulu/Adam was the product of co-operation by Enki and Enlil Annunaki factions represented in Genesis by Cain and Abel, then the surviving Sethian lineage was claimed by the Marduk Annunaki, and documented accordingly by Hyksos scribes in Babylon.

Wrap-up

In the modern world, everyone is "human." Certain ancients, however, knew this was not so, and had the records to prove it. Considering themselves a genealogically superior race directly descended from "gods," they presumed a license to dominate and abuse inferior humans – the "Divine Right of Kings" – and to exploit the Earth. Genesis translates this philosophy as "be fruitful, multiply, and have dominion."

Authors of Sumerian and Biblical epics were unconcerned with human origins, and cared even less about human history. They record only the roots of a genetically engineered hybrid 'master' race, and its subsequent infighting, as though humans never existed.

As is it taught in schools, history is *not* study of the past, but of records of the past, which is not the same thing. Text books catalog wars of kings, queens, emperors, generals, prime ministers, presidents, popes, and religious leaders. Historians review, evaluate, and deliberate on these wars. But whose history is it?

Due to a chronic lack of archives, alternative interpretations of the past are difficult to justify. Ice ages and floods periodically wiped the slate clean, so to speak, and during the last few thousand years the destruction of cultural records has been routinely practiced by religious authorities, totalitarian regimes, and invading armies across all continents. Whatever has survived, so the cliché goes, "is written by the winners."

From the standpoint of comprehending the Annunaki agenda, the development and absorption of Cro-Magnons into the human population raises an obvious question. If complete control of the Earth and its resources was the target, why did the technologically superior Niburians not just kill all the humans?

3

Gene Raiders of the Lost Ark

Ever since the first cuneiform tablets were translated, folklorists and researchers have identified fingerprints of Sumerian deities in the myths and traditions of numerous ancient civilizations. This book focuses on Mesopotamia, though not exclusively, because the three global religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam trace to Abraham, who was a Sumerian. And for anyone wishing to make sense of the Annunaki agenda, it is logical to look for patterns in the recorded activities of their proxies.

Two important and persistent themes in ancient Mesopotamian literature are genealogical "purity" and "all-powerful" artifacts. To prove bloodline credentials of the main protagonists, authors of Sumerian poems and the books of the Old Testament were obliged to create elaborate lists of ancestors. And to wield the extraordinary powers they grant to the holders, epic heroes slaughter mercilessly to possess the "Tablets of Destiny" or the "Ark of the Covenant."

It appears the one fixation – DNA – relates directly to, and cannot be divorced from, the other – total control.

All in the Family

For kings and patricians throughout the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, the issue of succession was relatively straightforward. The dynastic line passed through the oldest male child. There was however, a strangely incestuous twist. Kings tended to marry and produce heirs with their half-sisters. No matter how many previous sons the king may have had from his other wives or concubines, priority was always given to the son by his half-sister.

This practice was enshrined in law. Early second millennium cuneiform law codes, discovered in Mari (modern Syria) and in Nuzi (modern Iraq), explicitly state that a man could marry his half-sister, with one stipulation. The half-sister must be born from the same father, *not* mother.

Abraham subscribed to this same custom. When questioned by the Pharaoh why he had presented his wife Sarah as his sister, Abraham replied,

> Indeed she is my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother, and she became my wife." (Gen 20:12)

If the intent was to keep the bloodline as pure as possible, why was marriage with a full sister forbidden? Did the ancients know the risks involved in mixing replicas of recessive genes carried in mutations of the Mitochondrial DNA and inherited only through the mother?

Whatever the case, the chief priority in this type of selective breeding is to contrive a genetic imprint in the fetus that is agreeable to a specific type of consciousness. Sitchin was first to notice this tradition of incest had initiated with the Annunaki, and is described in the tales of Enki's repeated efforts to create an heir with his half-sister *Ninhursag*. Though Enki failed in the end, his brother Enlil managed to reproduce a successor, *Ninurta*, with Ninhursag.

Generation of specific DNA blueprints lies behind many biblical legends. None more blatant than the story of Tamar, subject of Genesis Chapter 38. Despite being married in

succession to all three sons of Judah (from whom "Judaism" takes its name), Tamar is childless. But because Judah's lineage is "sacred," Tamar disguises herself as a Temple prostitute to seduce her father-in-law.

New Testament genealogies of Jesus, which are based on the Old Testament bloodline of Judah, demonstrate how the appropriate genetic conditions were created to allow for a "messianic" consciousness to birth.

If Cro-Magnons were introduced specifically to interbreed with humans, then ultimately they were a surrogate race for non-human consciousness. Simply put, Annunaki entities birthed into Cro-Magnon bodies, and then later into hybridized bodies that held a certain percentage of Annunaki DNA. Complications arose over succession because several non-human categories exist. Strict guidelines were followed to ensure only the right type entered the fold. This explains why the preferred mothers were half-sisters from the same father.

According to legend, the conflict between Enki and Enlil stems from Enki's refusal to recognize Enlil as Anu's first born son. From Enki's supposed autobiography:

My Father, king of the Universe,
Brought me forth in the Universe…
I am the fecund seed,
I am he who has been born
As the first son of the divine Anu!

No further details are given. This same rival sibling dynamic permeates the lineage of Old Testament Patriarchs, manifest in the stories of Cain/Abel, Ishmael/Isaac, Esau/Jacob, Ephraim/Manasseh, and Zerah/Perez. In every case, the second born son is favored.

But the Annunaki, it seems, were not the only game in town. Blending the Cro-Magnon genotype with the human had opened the door to other races of non-human consciousness. And at least one was determined to co-opt the Annunaki agenda.

Enter the Dragons

Among the thirty-nine recorded "firsts" attributed to the Sumerians by Sumerologist Samuel Kramer is "Chapter 22: *Slaying of the Dragon: The First Saint George*. In his analysis, Kramer acknowledges legends of dragon slayers are found almost everywhere, and that "there was hardly a Greek hero who did not slay his dragon." He concludes that the prototypical dragon, or serpent, originated in Sumer, because at least three dragon-slaying myths are found in third millennium BC cuneiforms.

Annunaki gods battle with a dragon/serpent

In the earliest of the three tales, *Kur*, a serpent-dragon, abducts the goddess *Ereshkigal*. Enki then tracks down the dragon, is victorious in battle, and rescues Ereshkigal. Kramer connects this story to the Greek tale of the "abduction of Persephone," the fertility goddess. Abduction of fertility goddesses is a regular theme in pre-Greek myth, and may have influenced the Genesis story of Eve and the Serpent, which conveys the same unmistakable sexual subtext. The Book of Revelation (12:9) refers to the Serpent in the Garden of Eden as "the ancient dragon," and "deceiver of the world world."

The dragon and maiden paradigm is epitomized in the story of Saint George and the Dragon. The numerous variants of this legend can be crystallized in one sentence. George slays the dragon to save the maiden from being consumed. Righteous

enough to make for a children's fairy tale perhaps. Except that it isn't.

Rape of Persephone, marble relief, Antiquities Museum of Toulouse

This design shows a fire-spitting winged dragon drawing the chariot of the Annunaki who had most probably subjugated it in battle. A nude female stands between the dragon's wings.

Females in serpent-dragon slaying myths are invariably virgins of child-bearing age. We are told this is because morality tales are meant to encourage chivalry and chastity. But their real message is about who gets the girl. Pragmatically speaking, the hero only kills the dragon so he can impregnate the maiden instead. At stake in

this life or death struggle is neither "honor" nor "virtue" but access to the human gene pool that the virgin female represents.

Temptation of Eve, Willam Blake, 1866

In Genesis, the Elohim curse the serpent:

> And I will put enmity between you and the woman,
> and between your seed and her seed. (Gen 3:15)

How does a "serpent" have children (seed) with a woman? Clearly, mythological "serpents" are not literal snakes, but rather a type of consciousness, or being. The "seed" of the serpent, then, can be called a Draconian-human hybrid, in contrast to the "seed" of Adam and Eve, which indicates Annunaki-human hybrids. Apparently, both forms of non-human consciousness can birth into bodies with the necessary ratio of Cro-Magnon – human DNA. And as the dragon slayer model plainly illustrates, the two non-human hybrid lineages are mutually inimical.

In most dragon folklore, dragons are primordial celestial creatures that predate humankind, existing even before the earth. Where dragons come from, and whether a dragon is good or evil, depends largely on who tells the story. In the ancient Near East, primeval dragons were enemies of the gods, but it appears the opportunity afforded non-humans to inhabit hybrid-human

bodies brought their age-old conflict to earth. And humans were stuck in the middle.

Saint George and the Dragon, Paulo Uccello, c 1450

The Legend of Saint George and the Dragon, Edward Burne-Jones, 1866

Courtesy of the Old Testament, something of the intensely visceral nature of this cosmic war, and how it effected human populations, can be gleaned from ancient Israelite battle strategies.

The Annunaki god *Ninurta*, a son of Enlil, defeats the dragon *Kur*

Gene Raiders

They attacked Midian just as the Lord had commanded Moses, and they killed all the men....Then the Israelite army captured the Midianite women and children.....But Moses was furious with all the military commanders who had returned from the battle. "Why have you let all the women live?" he demanded…"Now kill all the boys and all the women who have slept with a man. Only the young girls who are virgins may live; you may keep them for yourselves. (Numbers 31:7-18)

So they sent twelve thousand warriors to Jabesh-gilead with orders to kill everyone there, including women and children. "This is what you are to do," they said. "Completely destroy all the males and every woman who is not a virgin." Among the residents of Jabesh-gilead they found four hundred young virgins who had never slept with a man, and brought them to the camp at Shiloh in the land of Canaan. (Judges 21:10-12)

Symptomatic of a recurrent Old Testament pattern, i.e. the wholesale slaughter of non-Israelite males together with the seizure of non-Israelite females, these passages resonate with Manetho's description of the Hyksos:

> After they had subdued our rulers, they burnt down our cities, and destroyed the temples of the gods, and treated the inhabitants most cruelly; killing some and enslaving their wives and their children.....They all along waged war against the Egyptians, and wanted to destroy them to the very roots.

Midianite virgins are led away by the Israelites

In attempting to justify this practice, most Judeo-Christian apologists insist it was divinely-ordained policy necessary to preserve the purity of the "chosen people" in an extremely hostile environment. Ironically, socio-biologists claim such biblical episodes exemplify the primitive tribal survival instinct, a consequence of the male impulse to spread genes and remove competition for resources, which basically amounts to the same thing.

Theologians and evolutionists have yet to offer a convincing explanation as to why Israelites were required to kill only non-virgin women and only rape virgins. This behavior, according to the experts, reflects a cultural preference in the ancient world, and

cannot be judged by modern standards. Virgins, in other words, made better sex slaves.

Bearing in mind Moses' commandments not to kill or commit adultery, the esoteric school of Judaism, as expressed in *The Letter on Holiness* by Nahmanides (1194 - 1270), a Kabbalistic philosopher, emphasizes the "holiness" of a child depends on the intention and motivation behind conception, and not from technicalities of the Torah. "When the sexual relationship points to the Name, there is nothing more righteous and more holy than it." When this is understood, one "will then grasp a great secret regarding the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob."

The "great secret" is now out of the bag. The Israelites were "gene raiders" for the Elohim. Here's how it worked:

- A specific ethnic group is deemed superfluous. At the same time, its unique genetic material (DNA code sequences) is coveted.
- All males in this ethnic group, regardless of their age, are killed.
- All non-virgin females in this community are killed.
- As they carry no potential traces (fertilized eggs) of non-Israelite males, virgin females are kept alive.
- The virgins are repeatedly raped by Israelite (Hyksos) males until made pregnant.

Offspring from these unions would carry existing Israelite (Hyksos) gene codes plus coding from the targeted ethnicity. And wherever "prized" genes are located, the same formula is repeated. As this was obviously a long term strategy, it must have started long before the advent of biblical Israelites. Egyptians knew the Hyksos as a mixed race of unfathomable genealogy.

To prevent outsiders stealing their accumulated genetic "treasure," the Law of Moses strictly prohibited sexual relations between Israelite females and non-Israelite males. Genesis Chapter 34 demonstrates this rule was in effect during earlier times.

After having had sexual relations with Dinah, who was Jacob's daughter, Shechem, a "prince" in Canaan, expresses his desire to marry her. Following negotiations between Jacob and Shechem's

father, a marriage is agreed pending mass circumcision of the male population in Shechem's city, which is duly carried out. While the men of Shechem are still recuperating, Dinah's brothers enter the city, remove Dinah, and "slaughter all the males," including Shechem.

Jacob's sons slaying the Shechemites, Wencelaus Hollar, c 1650

Needless to say, the Bible mentions numerous instances of sexual relations between Israelite men and non-Israelite women, even intercourse with temple prostitutes is condoned. But this activity did not threaten the integrity of the Israelite, or Hyksos, genome, passed on by Israelite females. As keepers of the genetic "bounty," sanctions on sexual behavior were enforced only on Israelite women.

Rod and Staff

What gave the Hyksos Israelite gene raiders the confidence and to succeed with their program? Technologically-superior weaponry, by all accounts. During the protracted departure from Egypt and desert sojourn, to the conquest of the Promised Land and the establishment of kingship in Jerusalem, the Israelites

supposedly possessed the "rod" of Aaron, the "staff" of Moses, and the "Ark of the Covenant" gold box.

According to the Bible, the rod and staff sparked a succession of disasters that convinced the Pharaoh to free the slaves. Among other capabilities, the rod and staff could influence weather conditions and cause plagues. Moses even uses the staff to part the Red Sea, and he strikes a rock with the rod to create a spring for the Israelites to drink from. The staff is also used to gain victory in battle against the Amalekites.

Moses raises his "staff" and parts the Red Sea

No explanation is given in the Bible for the source of Aaron's rod, but Moses reportedly receives the staff when God speaks to him from the burning bush.

> "And thou shalt take this staff in thy hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs." And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father in law, and said unto him, "Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive." And the LORD said unto Moses in Midian, "Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life." And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them

> upon an ass, and he returned to the land of Egypt: and Moses took the staff of God in his hand. (Exodus 4:2-3)

Once the Israelites enter Canaan, the rod and staff are not directly used again, though they are frequently mentioned in the Bible, most famously in the "Lord is my Shepherd" Psalm 23, traditionally attributed to king David:

> Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy **rod** and thy **staff**, they comfort me.

Romanticising the terms "shepherd," "rod," and "staff," as in the customary interpretation, clouds the real meaning of this Psalm. Like every military commander with more advanced weaponry at his disposal, David was confident of victory.

As described in the Bible, the Ark of the Covenant is basically a gold-plated wood storage box (approximately 131 x 79 x 79 cm or 52 x 31 x 31 inches), built about one year after the exodus. Yet the Ark of the Covenant is unquestionably the main source of ancient Israel's power. On several occasions, the Israelites used the Ark to defeat their enemies, before it is eventually captured by the Philistines.

The Philistines return the Ark to the Israelites, because outbreaks of "hemorrhoids," "tumors," and "deathly panic" afflict their people wherever it was taken. As these epidemics are similar to plagues previously inflicted on the Egyptians, it is reasonable to assume the Ark of the Covenant box contained Aaron's rod and Moses' staff. The New Testament confirms a tradition that Aaron's rod was kept inside the Ark. (Hebrews 9:4)

On a few occasions, people reportedly dropped dead after touching the Ark or looking inside. Commensurate with the type of energy that caused these effects, the heavily guarded Ark box seems to have been purpose built to protect its contents. Actual power resided with the rod and staff, not the Ark. So the search for the lost Ark, which has always been a subject of historical intrigue, controversy, and conspiracy, is really the quest to recapture the missing rod and staff.

Ark of the Covenant, Ralph McQuarrie

Ring and Scepter

Even in the original Hebrew, "rod" and "staff" have similar meanings. From limited descriptions in the Old Testament, we can surmise that both items were hand held. To fit inside the Ark neither object can be very long, but to differentiate between them one must be longer, or have obvious differences in thickness or weight. Since a staff is usually held for walking it must have a certain length, so the rod was likely shorter. The rod may also have been broader, cylindrical, or perhaps not solid. Considering the power the "rod" and "staff" reputedly transmitted, they must have been made of crystal and/or precious metals, but definitely not wood.

Because it is closely associated with "shepherd," "staff" is a loaded word. For Shepherd Kings, the staff is the symbol of authority, the royal scepter. In Sumerian tradition, the ruler was granted kingship by the gods, and presented with a "scepter" and "ring," which were originally understood as the actual power behind the throne, and *not* as symbols. So the "ring" was not a finger ring as such, and is only so-called because it is hollow. Beyond vague notions that they might be "measuring items," scholars are unable to clearly identify these artfacts.

In Tablet IV of the Enuma Elish, reference is made to this staff and ring as unbeatable weaponry:

They rejoiced, and they did homage unto him,
saying, "Marduk is King!
They bestowed upon him the scepter, and the throne,
and the ring.
They gave him an invincible weaponry which
overwhelmeth the foe.

The Annunaki god (right) with scepter and ring.

In the Sumerian myth of the goddess Inanna's descent to the "nether world," she is described as "holding the lapis-lazuli staff and ring in her hand." In the ancient world, lapis lazuli, a deep blue crystal, was customarily linked with royalty. Among the many legends surrounding King Solomon, who built the Jerusalem Temple to house the Ark of the Covenant, God gave him a lapis lazuli ring with which to command "demons."

The Koran and the Book of Revelation both feature a "Beast" that appears at the Last Judgment. According to the "Hadith," which are a collection of reported sayings of the Prophet Mohammed, the "*Daabba*, (Beast) will emerge, and will have with it the Staff of Moses and the ring of Solomon," and will "destroy the noses of the unbelievers."

Babylonian king Hammurabi is presented with the scepter and ring

It seems "ring," is a synonym for the "rod." In Egypt, the divine *Shen ring* was often associated with a staff, and carried by the god *Horus* or the goddess *Nekhbet*. Represented in hieroglyphs as a circle with a tangential line, the shen ring is thought to symbolize eternal protection.

As a symbol of authority, the *Sekhem* scepter is an indispensable component of Pharaonic iconography. The word "sekhem" means "power" in Egyptian. From the earliest dynasties, *sekhem* appears in the royal names of the pharaohs, and later in the titles of queens and princesses. In depictions, the king usually holds a sekhem scepter in his right hand. The origin of the sekhem scepter is unknown.

"Staffs" of enormously destructive power surface in a variety of legends across the world. In Chinese mythology, the *Riyu Bang* is the ultimate weapon given to the immortal Monkey King, *Sun Wokong*, by the Dragon Queen of the East Sea. In Norse mythology, a giant gives Thor a weaponized staff, *Grioarvoir,* which is instrumental in saving Thor's life in his dueld with Loki. In

India, the *Kaladanda*, known as the staff of Death, is believed to be the supreme lethal weapon used by *Yama*, god of the underworld.

The vulture goddess, Nekhbet, carries the "shen ring" in her claws

By the same token, "measuring rods" were standard accessories for ancient divinities. The Greco-Egyptian God *Serapis* and the Greek goddess *Nemesis* were depicted with rods. In the Book of Revelation, the angel has a "rod" with which to measure the temple of God (Rev 11.1). The Rig Veda describes Vishnu as "rod and Lord." Until recently, the word for "rod" was used as a unit of length measurement throughout continental Europe.

Although they now appear lost to our collective memory, it seems two objects of enormous potency were tremendously important in the ancient world. Named for convenience sake as "rod" or "ring," and "staff" or "scepter," their origin is unknown.

Rabbbinic legend claims that the "rod" and "staff" were fashioned in heaven before the world began. And since these artifacts are unique, and cannot be reproduced, they were not manufactured by the Annunaki. Nonetheless, when possessed by them, the "rod" or "staff" were passed on to their hybrid representatives, such as Moses, when it was opportune to do so. In theory, both items changed hands many times.

From the Babel incident to the destruction of Sodom and Gomarrrah, the "rod" and the "staff" were tentatively responsible for a number of events ascribed in the Bible to the wrath of God.

Successive empires in the Near and Middle East may have risen and fallen depending on who possessed the "rod" and "staff." Did Sumer, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and the Hyksos kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon, take turns in holding the region hostage?

Life without the Ark

Suddenly, these weapons of mass destruction disappear, never to resurface, at least not in the public domain – "The glory has departed Israel" (I Sam 4:22). The Catholic Church, Knights Templar, and the Nazis are just some of the groups linked at various times to the legendary quest to find the "Lost Ark," which acts as a smokescreen to cloak what is truly coveted – the "rod" and "staff."

The totem of the ancient Israelites, the Ark of the Covenant was carried in front on the journey to Canaan, and during battles with the Canaanites, and was instrumental in bringing down the city walls at the siege at Jericho. Yet once Canaan was occupied, the Ark was allegedly put in cold storage for 350 years, abruptly reappearing during war with the Philistines, before returning to storage for another 20 years.

The Ark resurfaces when the divided Israelites are united under a monarchy. Kept by the army, King Saul did not use it. After David succeeds Saul, he brings the Ark to Jerusalem and celebrates by dancing wildly in public, events related in the First Book of Samuel, in which the Ark is repeatedly referred to as "The Ark of the Elohim." David's son Solomon builds a Temple to house it, and that is the last time we hear of the Ark.

The conquest of Jericho

According to the annals of his military victories transcribed on the walls at Karnak, Tuthmosis III campaigned throughout Canaan during and after 1457 BC, and it seems he was invincible. If the biblical exodus took place in or about 1476 BC, then the biblical claim that the Israelites warehoused the Ark of the Covenant somewhere in Canaan is likely a ruse, and the "rod" and "staff" were captured by the Egyptians.

Among modern historians, Tuthmosis III is widely considered a military genius. Recognized as Egypt's greatest general, he transformed Egypt into *the* international superpower. During his reign, he is reportedly captured an astonishing 350 cities in seventeen known military campaigns. How did he accomplish all of this?

Military analysts attribute Tuthmosis III's great success to having learned how to use the advanced weaponry and fighting techniques of the Hyksos. Yet his tactics were identical to those of the biblical Israelites. Tuthmosis approached his enemies city by city. He then put them under siege to weaken them until they finally capitulated. He would start with the smaller cities and gradually work upwards to the larger. He never failed.

Did Tuthmosis III use the "rod" and "staff" to smite his enemies?

What happened to the Israelites after Solomon's demise? The Bible states Israel was divided into two kingdoms, north (Israel) and south (Judah). Ten tribes stayed in the north, and the tribes of Judah and Benjamin lived in the south. As Jerusalem was located there, the priesthood also resided in the south.

After the Assyrians invaded around 740 BC, the northern tribes are forcibly deported, becoming widely known thereafter as "the lost tribes of Israel." At the turn of the sixth century BC, when the army of the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II invades the southern kingdom, the defeated population was carried back to Babylon.

In recorded history there is no mention anywhere of a mass expulsion from this region. Babylonian chronicles, however, confirm Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in 597 BC, and that a king of Judah stayed in Babylon, "Ya'u-kīnu, king of the land of Yahudu and five royal princes, his sons."

The Persian King Cyrus, as recent conqueror of Babylon, permits the exiled Jews to return to their homeland to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple. Cyrus' famous decree is recorded in the so-called *Cyrus Cylinder* but the text is specific to Babylon and Mesopotamia and makes no mention of Judah or Jerusalem.

Sumerian symbol of the *Anu* (above). Right, onyx eye stone inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, showing both the symbol of the Anu, and two eight-pointed stars of Nibiru.

Whatever the historical facts, it seems without the "rod" and "staff," ethnic cleansing and gene raiding were absent from the Israelite résumé. Despite having created many enemies in the

region, the Hyksos still had friends in high places. Both the Assyrians and the Babylonians had the power to wipe them out, but chose not to do so.

For the priestly leadership in Jerusalem, the Babylonian "captivity" was probably more of a rescue than an exile. And insofar as they would later control the region and administer Jerusalem, the Persians oversaw the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple and the beginnings of what became known as "Second Temple Judaism."

Ezra the priest, leader of the post-Babylon faction in Jerusalem, blamed the Israelites' trials and tribulations on interbreeding with Gentiles (non-Israelites), singling out the Levitical priesthood in particular for committing this "sin." Henceforth, ancestral genealogies to prove "purity" of descent were mandatory for those who served at the Temple.

The epithet "Jew" derives from the name Judah, the overwhelmingly predominant tribe from whom most of the population claimed descent. Technically, as most Israelites were not descended from Judah, most Israelites, including the priesthood, were *not* Jews.

Over the next centuries, "the Jews" repeatedly succumbed to foreign invasion, with all that that implies, and converts were accepted into the "Jewish" faith. No longer was it necessary for a "Jew" to have Israelite descent. Rival powerful factions with ties to foreign powers emerged with Judaism, such as the Sadducees and Pharisees, whose origins are untraceable. The original Hyksos core became another sect within Judaism.

Although it might appear the Hyksos had had the rug pulled from beneath their feet, they were far from finished.

4

The Two Christs

For hundreds of millions of Christians, Old Testament history is far less interesting than Old Testament prophecy. And since the New Testament is considered absolute proof that Jesus of Nazareth was the predicted "messiah," Old Testament history is more or less unnecessary.

Most biblical scholars, however, agree the New Testament contains so many contradictions, non-sequiturs, presuppositions, and factual errors, it is virtually impossible to treat it as accurate history. Together, the testimony of the four Gospel writers is the stuff of a cross-examiner's dream.

The Gospels were composed decades after the events they describe, but in a time when less than one per cent of the population was literate, even after two hundred years of New Testament scholarship, the jury is still undecided on the identity of the authors.

Bloodlines in Conflict

The New Testament begins with the ancestry of Jesus Christ. To establish his "messianic" credentials, the Gospel of Matthew presents a genealogy of Jesus. The third Gospel, Luke, does the same. Ancestral genealogies were obligatory for providential figures, and since it was taken for granted the Messiah would be a descendant of King David, any genealogy of Jesus needed to prove Davidic descent. The names in the two lists of ancestors, however, differ wildly and cannot be reconciled.

Matthew (Mt 1:1-17)

1	Abraham	27	Josiah
2	Isaac	28	Jeconiah
3	Jacob	29	Salathiel
4	Judah	30	Zorobabel
5	Perez	31	Abiud
6	Esrom	32	Eliakim
7	Aram	33	Azor
8	Aminadab	34	Sadoe
9	Naasson	35	Achim
10	Salmon	36	Eliud
11	Boaz	37	Eleazar
12	Obed	38	Matthan
13	Jesse	39	Jacob
14	David	40	Joseph
15	Solomon	41	Jesus
16	Roboham		
17	Abia		
18	Asa		
19	Josophat		
20	Joram		
21	Osias		
22	Joachim		
23	Achaz		
24	Ezekias		
25	Manasseh		
26	Amon		

Luke (3:23-38)

1	God	27	Earom	53	Addi
2	Adam	28	Aram	54	Melchi
3	Seth	29	Aminadab	55	Neri
4	Enoch	30	Naasson	56	Salathiel
5	Cainan	31	Salmon	57	Zorobabel
6	Maleleel	32	Boaz	58	Rhesa
7	Jared	33	Obed	59	Joanna
8	Enoch	34	Jesse	60	Judah
9	Methuselah	35	David	61	Joseph
10	Lamech	36	Nathan	62	Semel
11	Noah	37	Mattatha	63	Mattatias
12	Shem	38	Menan	64	Maath
13	Arphaxad	39	Melea	65	Nagge
14	Cainan	40	Eliakim	66	Esh
15	Sala	41	Jonan	67	Nahum
16	Eber	42	Joseph	68	Amos
17	Phalee	43	Judah	69	Mattatias
18	Ragau	44	Simeon	70	Joseph
19	Saruch	45	Levi	71	Janna
20	Nachor	46	Matthat	72	Melchi
21	Terah	47	Jorim	73	Levi
22	Abraham	48	Eliezer	74	Matthat
23	Isaac	49	Jose	75	Heli
24	Jacob	50	Er	76	Joseph
25	Judah	51	Elmodam	77	Jesus
26	Perez	52	Cosam		

Biblical genealogies do not for make scintillating reading (so and so begat so and so), so most readers skip them altogether. All the same, anyone taking time to study them cannot help but notice they differ not only on the identity of Joseph's father, whose name was presumably in living memory, but on the *entire* Davidic lineage.

The most popular solution to this thorny problem is that Matthew maintains Old Testament tradition so lists paternal forefathers in Joseph's ancestry, even though Matthew insists Joseph is *not* the biological father. Luke, not being as strictly "Jewish" as Matthew, cites Mary's paternal ancestry, despite no precedent for maternal genealogies existing anywhere in the archives of Judaism. Ancient Israelite culture was arguably the most patriarchal the world has ever seen.

Matthew's genealogy begins with Abraham; Luke traces Jesus all the way back to Adam, "son of God." It was not necessary for a genealogy to go back as far as Abraham, let alone Adam, and none that did would be believed. Furthermore, although Matthew and Luke name Joseph as the step-father, they both fail to name Jesus' biological father.

Clearly Matthew and Luke accessed diverse source materials to assemble their lists of names, and since neither list is likely to be historically accurate both were compiled for pedagogical purposes. For skeptics, the gross discrepancies between the names prove that at least one, if not both genealogies are fraudulent. But neither doubters nor believers have explained why Luke prefers the relatively unknown Nathan over his illustrious brother, the great hero King Solomon, of whom the Old Testament prophesies, "the throne of King Solomon would last forever over Israel" (I Chronicles 22: 9-10). Or likewise why Matthew lists the relatively obscure Jeconiah as an ancestor, about whom the prophet Jeremiah predicts, "He shall have no one to sit on the throne of David, or rule anymore in Judah" (*Jeremiah 22:30*). On face value, both lists make no sense.

Virgin Birth

Absent an explicit identification of the father, the Church was able to force its own interpretation onto the text. In other words, Matthew and Luke did not name Jesus' biological father because he had none. Mary's perpetual virginity was justified mainly by use of the Greek word for "virgin" in the infancy narratives when a

King Solomon – *not* Jesus' ancestor in Luke's genealogy

literal reading of "virgin" was entirely out of context. *All* Jewish girls were described as virgins before marriage; and Mary is no longer described as a "virgin" after Jesus was born, which is the whole point of the doctrine.

Scholars, holding the view that Matthew and Luke advocate a virgin birth, concede virgin birth is a pagan concept alien to Judaic thought. It is assumed, therefore, that Luke was a pagan convert. No one has yet explained from where the more "authentic" Jew Matthew got the idea.

Ironically, the dynamics of how Mary conceived a child while preserving her virginity intact provided fertile breeding ground for all manner of cerebral hypotheses by Greek-speaking intellectuals. In due course, the world was introduced to the high theological concept of the Trinity. Simultaneously God, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit, Jesus was the world's first and only hermetically sealed individual; spontaneously generated inside the womb of his mother; without sexual intercourse, lacking the sperm, chromosomes, and DNA of a human father, and devoid of the particular genetic signature of a paternal ancestry.

Still, the existence a family tree implies the subject's father is known. Not only does virgin birth negate the centrality of the bloodline principle upon which messianic Judaism was founded, it contradicts the requirement for genealogies.

While both genealogies intend to prove Jesus' messianic legitimacy, neither implies a miraculous conception. More significantly, neither source tradition for the names listed by Matthew and Luke represents mainstream first century Judaism. So it is worth looking further into these names.

Matthew

If Israelite genealogies precluded the names of women, names of Gentile women were unthinkable. Yet Matthew lists four foreign women, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and the "wife of Uriah" (Bathsheba) in the pre-monarchic (from Abraham to David) section of Jesus' ancestry.

As described in the Old Testament narratives, each of these four women violate sacrosanct rules of sexual conduct which make them liable to punishment by death. Tamar disguises herself as a prostitute and seduces Judah, her father-in-law; Rahab is a "prostitute" in Jericho; the unmarried Ruth sneaks naked into Boaz's bed; and Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, bathes naked in broad daylight. Yet all four are regarded by Jews as heroines because they risked their lives to further the Israelite cause.

Tamar disguised as a prostitute entraps Judah (Genesis 38)

Below, the prostitute Rahab helps the Israelite spies escape from Jericho

Boaz wakes to find Ruth in his bed, Louis Hersent, 1850

Bathsheba at the bath entices the watching David, Sebastiano Ricci, 1725

The Bible records Tamar, Ruth, and Bathsheba as willing participants in sexual liaisons that produce offspring with men belonging to a specific Israelite lineage. Matthew's source for Rahab's role in this "messianic" lineage is unknown, though later rabbinic legend claims she married Salmon, a prince of Judah.

Significantly, none of these Hyksos Israelite forefathers – Judah, Salmon, Boaz, and King David – has foreknowledge of the sacred mission to which these foreign women were committed. So, while the mission's success does not depend solely on non-Israelites, it seems the research, preparation, and initiation did. This would suggest the provenance of the Messiah or Christ ideal was non-Israelite, which contradicts *all* Judeo-Christian theology.

The standard theological explanation for the Gentile women in Jesus' genealogy is that Matthew emphasizes Jesus as savior for the whole world, and not only Jews. A pious ideal, but one which conveniently overlooks the racial exclusivity expressed by the adult Jesus in Matthew's Gospel:

> Go nowhere among the Gentiles....but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (Mt 10:6-7)

> I have come only for the lost sheep of the House of Israel. (Mt 15:24)

Who are these "sheep" that so interest Jesus? Are they Jews in general? Or does he refer only to Hyksos Jews – Israelites directly descended from the ancient Shepherd Kings? The Hyksos no longer held the reins of power in Jerusalem, is that what makes them "the lost sheep."

When he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd. (Mt 9:36)

Luke

Luke's pre-monarchic genealogy is basically the same as Matthew's (minus the four foreign women), but Old Testament genealogies do not mention Adam, let alone "son of God." Publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, has proven that divine begetting was thematic to the sect that secreted its sacred literature inside the caves at Qumran sometime before the Roman army arrived there in 68 AD.

When God has begotten the Messiah among them. (1QSa 2:11)

Not by coincidence does Luke list 77 names in Jesus' genealogy. A prophecy in the apocalyptic *Book of Enoch* predicts that the Messiah would deliver Israel 77 generations after the

primordial fall of the angels (1 Enoch 10:11-12). Enoch describes this event as the coming of an eschatological "Elect One." Luke is the *only* known writer to apply the same epithet to Jesus (Lk 9:35).

Because so much of its content was paraphrased, even quoted, in the New Testament, until recently scholars believed the Book of Enoch originated in the beginnings of the Christian era. With the discovery at Qumran of several Enochic manuscripts dating from the second century BC, this theory was shattered. The New Testament did not influence the Book of Enoch. The Book of Enoch influenced the New Testament.

And as the Parable of the Unjust Steward shows, an Enochic sect undoubtedly influenced Luke. Without repeating the whole of the parable, the punch line contains a reference to the "sons of light" (Luke 16:8), which is the favorite self-designation of the Qumran sect. No other ancient source exists for this title.

The gulf between ancestral names could be conjecture on the part of unconnected Christian groups, but the respective genealogies could just as easily belong to different people. The simplest explanation for two incompatible bloodlines is that they generated unique individuals.

Comparing the lists, an unmistakable break in the lineage occurs within the Davidic household, which is a rift that never heals. This strongly suggests two distinct persons of Davidic descent were recognized as the Messiah or Christ by one or the other faction that supplied names for their anomalous genealogies.

The First Birth

The Gospel of Mark is considered a primary source for both Matthew and Luke. All three gospels (usually known as *synoptic*, literally meaning "with one eye") present a Jesus whose contemporaries knew him as a Galilean. Mark ignores the issue of Jesus' birth so avoids the question Matthew and Luke attempt to answer. Why was Jesus a Galilean if he was born in Judea?

Matthew and Luke wrote independent birth narratives, but an actual birth is the *only* incident they have in common. Textual scholarship confirms Church tradition that Matthew is the earlier

version. According to Matthew, Jesus was born "in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king." Herod was a Roman client, who most historians accept ruled Judea from 37 BC to 4 BC, based on the chronicles of Josephus. Matthew mentions Herod's death and the start of his son Archelaus' reign, which occurred sometime during Jesus' early childhood. This dates Jesus' birth somewhere between about 14 BC and 4 BC.

Matthew claims Herod wants to kill the newborn "king of the Jews," so Jesus is taken to Egypt shortly after his birth. After Herod's death, the holy family is afraid to return to Bethlehem because Herod's son, Archelaus, is the new ruler of Judea. They move to Galilee instead. So Jesus was Judean by birth, but was raised a Galilean.

The glitch in this storyline is that Herod Antipas was the ruler of Galilee during this time; and since he was also Herod's son he shared the family interest in eradicating would-be child-kings. Territory under Herod Antipas' jurisdiction could only be considered a safe haven for Mary's child if Jesus was *not* considered a threat.

So is the Bethlehem birth story pure fantasy? Some scholars argue it was invented because many Jews believed the Messiah would be born there. Yet Matthew's Gospel is the *only* known source for this idea. Matthew specializes in the *pesher* method of interpreting prophecy, which means he reads recent events into ancient books of prophesy. Repeatedly, Matthew isolates a line or verse, and then reexamines it as though it had been written in direct reference to an incident in his narrative, in the process extracting meanings never intended by the original authors.

To justify Bethlehem as Jesus' birthplace, Matthew misquotes the Old Testament prophet, Micah:

> But you, Bethlehem Ephratah, though you are small among the clans of Judah, out of you will come for me one who will be ruler over Israel, whose origins are from of old, from ancient times. (Micah 5:2)

Matthew's version drops "Ephratah" from the original "Bethlehem Ephratah" because it refers to a dynasty, *not* to a physical location (Ephratah was the name of an eminent

Bethlehem family, (Ruth 1:2, I Samuel 17:12)). What, then, was so important about Bethlehem? Why not simply describe a birth taking place in Nazareth? If the Galilean Jesus is the long-awaited Messiah, what difference does his birthplace make?

Unless it was common knowledge the Christ child *was* born in Bethlehem, Matthew would surely not have gone to these lengths. No matter where Mary's child was born, Matthew *had* to record Bethlehem as the birthplace, even though he gives no explanation for Mary and Joseph's presence there.

Massacre of the Infants

Frustrated in his attempts to pinpoint the location of the Christ child's birth, Herod the Great orders the death of all male infants under two years old in the Bethlehem area. But is there any historical truth in Matthew's version of the so-called "Massacre of the Infants?"

Historians consider this event fiction for two reasons. First, no record of this carnage exists anywhere else, and Josephus, who delights in listing the unpopular Herod's atrocities, omits what would have been the most heinous. Second, it reads as a crude attempt to match Jesus and Herod with Moses and the Pharaoh, who reputedly ordered the killing of Israelite children in Egypt.

In Herod's later years factional strife broke out in his family over the succession. Not unusual for dictators, Herod suspected those in his close circle of plotting against him. Responding violently, he ordered the murder of two of his sons, Aristobolus and Alexandros, in 7 BC and 4 BC respectively, for allegedly conspiring with their mother. In light of this, how would Herod have reacted to a newborn Messiah in his jurisdiction?

An alternative royal dynasty would have been nipped in the bud before it started. So Matthew's "Massacre of the Infants" most probably represents a theologically–inspired gross exaggeration of the facts, rather than a wholesale fantasy, since Herod likely targeted only *one* child.

The Magi

The list of names in Matthew's genealogy of Jesus points to the existence of a hitherto unidentified group that kept family records. His material for Jesus' birth narrative most probably came from the same source.

For sure, parties with foreknowledge of the Christ child's birth would ensure the mother was as well-prepared as possible, and the birth place secure. Strange, then, that Mary's pregnancy should be unanticipated and unwelcome.

> When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child of the Holy Spirit; and her husband Joseph, being a just man and unwilling to put her to shame, resolved to divorce her quietly. (Mt 1:18-19)

Then, out of the blue, the *Magi,* enter the plot, and they do know about the birth. We are told the Magi, or "wise men," came to Jerusalem to ask for the whereabouts of the newborn "king of the Jews" so they could worship him. This notion is plausible only if the Magi had a death wish. Equally fantastic is Matthew's claim that Herod had a private discussion with the Magi before letting them visit the child unescorted.

For most Bible commentators, the famous three "gifts" of the Magi are self-explanatory. Gold is a precious metal; frankincense and myrrh are sweet smelling resins highly valued in the ancient world. The Magi, therefore, came to pay tribute to the "royal" child. Is it really that simple?

Ancient wisdom, specifically as it relates to herbs, metals, and the complex energy systems of the human body, remains for the most part a mystery. Some modern research, however, has shown that frankincense and myrrh can be used to increase blood flow and stimulate the pineal gland. Structurally altered gold, taken in powdered form, was understood by ancient Egyptians to induce short term changes in reality perception. Were these substances used by the Magi to facilitate the birth process in some way?

The Greek word "Christ" is used to explain the Hebrew concept "Messiah," which means "anointed one." While the root

of both words remains obscure, it is not inconceivable that the Magi came to Bethlehem to perform an "anointing" of sorts.

No reason exists for Matthew to invent the Magi because *all* other Magi references in the New Testament are pejorative, and the early Church associated Magi with the Gnostic heresy. So who were the Magi?

Most speculation over their identity centers on the vague statement that they came from "the East." Though the Magi are often thought to be Zoroastrian astrologers from Persia, "the East" customarily refers to regions beyond Mesopotamia – India, Tibet, or China. Non-canonical Church tradition alleges the Magi were 'kings," and if true, then the type of "king" is not to be confused with a nation-state monarch otherwise it would be relatively easy to identify them.

As the root of such words as "magic," "magistrate," and "majesty," *Magi* is an ancient term with profound meaning. All that can be safely said is that Magi-kings were highly respected members of a trans-national community that maintained a Christ tradition. And if Matthew's genealogy of Jesus is anything to go by, women from this international group donated genetic material to the Hyksos on behalf of the "Christ" tradition.

The Second Birth

Luke's gospel does not start with Jesus' genealogy, but with an introduction to the parents of John the Baptist – Zacharias the priest, and his wife Elisabeth. This is followed by a birth narrative of John, with which Jesus' birth is intertwined. The genealogy does not appear until midway through the third chapter, which raises the suspicion that what comes before was added later.

In Luke's schematization, John is born "in the days of Herod" (37 BC – 4 BC), and Jesus is born six months after John. At first this might appear to harmonize with Matthew's chronology, only Luke goes on to demolish his credibility with a Machiavellian explanation for Joseph and Mary's manifestation in Bethlehem:

> In those days a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrollment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria. And all went to be enrolled, each to his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth, to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be enrolled with Mary, his betrothed, who was with child. (Lk 2:1-5)

According to Josephus, Quirinius became governor of Syria after Augustus had banished Archelaus to Vienna, which happened in the tenth year of his reign, or 6 AD. The historian, Cassius Dio (c. 200), confirms that Syria acceded to Roman rule about 6 AD, which means Quirinius' first census could not have taken place earlier.

This particular Roman census was carried out only in Galilee, *not* in Judea. No reason exists for Joseph and Mary to travel from Galilee to Bethlehem, Judea. Luke contends that the census stipulated everyone return to their ancestral home for registration. Apart from the sheer logistical improbability, no record exists of any such requirement for any tax census in the history of the Roman Empire.

Clearly, Quirinius' census is a historical event seized upon by a resourceful Luke to persuade his readers that the Galilean Jesus

was *truly* born in Bethlehem, when he almost certainly was not. Evidently, it was accepted as historical fact that Christ was born in Bethlehem. But why would Luke present his Jesus as that same Christ if he was not? Why indeed.

If Herod died in 4 BC, then Luke's Jesus was born at least ten years after Matthew's Jesus. Luke is the sole source for the idea that John the Baptist is six months older than Jesus, which also makes John ten or more years younger than Matthew's Jesus. The other three gospels give the impression of a mature John the Baptist, who has already established his reputation long before Jesus went public.

Return of Abraham's Family

For most New Testament scholars, there are few, if any, facts in Luke's opening chapter. It is generally considered a theological machination to emphasize John the Baptist's role as Jesus' forerunner, and as a bridge between the Old and New Testaments. But Luke is far more ambitious than that.

The infancy narratives of John and Jesus are modeled on Old Testament birth legends, and written in the same style of ancient Greek used in the formal translation of the Hebrew original. More specifically, the characters and plot mechanics replicate the Genesis dramas of Abraham's family. Hence Zacharias and Elizabeth are the new Abraham and Sarah. Both couples are elderly; Abraham and Zacharias "walk blameless;" Sarah and Elizabeth are "barren." Divine messengers tell Abraham and Zacharias that their wives will have sons, and both respond with incredulity.

Mary even refers to her pregnancy as the fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant, "he has helped his servant Israel…as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his posterity forever" (Lk 1:54-55).

With his barren wife's permission, Abraham has a son, Ishmael, by Hagar, who is described as a *doule* (Gen 16:3) or "maid." Similarly, Luke presents Mary as a *doule* (Lk 1:38), then claims she visits the house of Zacharias immediately on being informed by the angel Gabriel about her upcoming pregnancy. At

this time, Elisabeth is six months pregnant with John the Baptist. Mary abruptly leaves Zacharias' home after "about three months," and before Elisabeth has given birth. Six months later, Mary gives birth to Jesus.

Nothing in this story rings true. If Mary came to visit her pregnant elderly sister, then ostensibly it was to assist Elisabeth through the final part of her pregnancy. Yet Mary leaves precisely when she was most needed. The timeline implies Mary was impregnated while at the house of Zacharias, and nothing in the angelic message suggests she had already conceived. From the instant Mary's impending pregnancy is announced (Lk 1:35), to the moment it is acknowledged by Elisabeth (Lk 1:43), Zacharias is the only man mentioned in the narrative (Lk 1:40).

Are we supposed to figure out that Zacharias was Jesus' father as well as John's? And that Jesus was the favored second son of Abraham revisited, just as second born Isaac was Abraham's favorite? The firstborn Ishmael "grew up and lived in the wilderness (Gen 21:20), as does John the Baptist,

> And the child grew and became strong in spirit, and he was in the wilderness. (Lk 1:80)

The older versus younger fraternal dynamic, whereby God favors the second born, repeats throughout the Old Testament. According to Luke, a fetal John the Baptist leaps inside his mother's womb at the sound of Mary's voice – an idea meant to evoke the unborn twins Jacob and Esau (the older brother), fighting for supremacy while inside Rebecca's womb. In this way Jesus is linked to Jacob, founding Patriarch of the Israelites.

John the Baptist is widely accepted as a historical personality who made a huge impression during his lifetime, though little dependable information is known about him. But although the priest Zacharias features in later non-canonical literature, as well as in the Koran, his existence traces to Luke. And as we have already seen, Luke does not allow facts to spoil a good story.

The Temple priesthood was hereditary, but nothing about John the Baptist suggests he was ever a priest. According to Josephus, priests were the aristocrats of ancient Israel, long-established as a wealthy landowning class. Did John retire from

this exclusive club at an early age to live on locusts and wild honey in the desert? More likely he was a never a member in the first place.

Priests married only daughters of other priests, so Zacharias' supposed wife Elisabeth was a priest's daughter. As Mary was allegedly Elisabeth's "kinswomen" (usually understood as sister), then Mary was also a priest's daughter, and her son therefore a priest. Was the Galilean Jesus really a priest?

This whole charade is designed to obscure the identity of the Galilean Jesus' father, and the truth about Jesus' conception, while simultaneously infusing neophytes with subliminal Hyksos myth. At the time of writing, Luke knew Christ's identity was a source of confusion. Having explained that the Galilean Jesus was one and the same as the Bethlehem-born Jesus Christ, Luke then claims John the Baptist was popularly mistaken for the Christ.

> As the people were in expectation, and all were questioning in their hearts concerning John, whether he was the Christ. (Luke 3:15)

For his readers, this seems perfectly understandable. After all, the two men were family, about the same age, and both were speaking in public. The thorny "two Christs" issue is thus solved. Except John was well-known for predicting the coming Christ was somebody other than him:

> Someone more powerful than I will come after me. I am not worthy to stoop down and untie the strap of His sandals. (Mt 3:11, Mk 1:7, Lk 3:16, Jn 1:27)

Baptist sects that venerated John are known to have endured in the region for centuries after his death, but none claimed to be followers of the true "Christ." In the sacred books of the Mandaeans of Iraq, who maintain they are descendants of John the Baptist's original disciples, Jesus (*Yeshu*) is described as a "devil Christ," who "stole John's teachings and spread fraud and malice around the world." Yet even the Mandaeans do not pretend John is the Christ.

For the birth of Luke's Christ, there would be no outsider visitors, no herbs, spices, or precious metals. And above all, there was no interference from Herod.

Shepherds of the Nativity

Shortly after his birth, Jesus is visited by local "shepherds," which hardly requires further elaboration. It is worth mentioning, however, that in the influential Book of Enoch's *Animal Apocalypse*, the end-time population of Israel (Jews of Hyksos descent) is divided into elite "shepherds" and rank and file "sheep." None of the visiting "shepherds" are identified by Luke, but they would be high caste Hyksos by theoretically superior genealogy.

Adoration of the Shepherds, c 1625

According to Luke, an "angel of the Lord" informs these shepherds that the Christ child has been born in Bethlehem. They decide to visit Mary and Joseph and report what the angel has spoken. Then they return home "praising God for all they had heard and seen." The story of the shepherds might seem an altogether pointless episode, but it would have satisfied Luke's

constituency. After all, who better than "shepherds" to attend the newborn Good Shepherd?

Summary

- Matthew and Luke consolidate two separate births into one.
- The first child was born in Bethlehem, Judea. The second child was not.
- Matthew creates a nativity story for the second child using details from the birth of the first.
- Luke fabricates an infancy narrative for the second child pretending that he describes the birth of the first.
- Both Gospels misrepresent Mary, mother of the second child, as the mother of the first child.
- Both Gospels fail to identify the father of the second child, and neither parent of the first child.

Step by step, the "Word of God" unravels into a "web of deceit." Nothing is what it appears to be. Nobody is who they seem.

5

Cosmic Identity Theft

To recapitulate: Ancient Mesopotamian clay tablets claim that the Annunaki created humankind. In reality, they engineered the Neanderthal slave race through a process of genetic experimentation and manipulation. The Cro-Magnon race represents an upgrade of the Neanderthal which eventually interbred with humans. The resultant hybrid-human bodies were vehicles for types of non-human consciousness. Untold centuries of hunting and systematically raping human females succeeded in blending Cro-Magnons out of existence and into the so-called "Modern" human race – Homo sapiens sapiens.

Kingship, caste system, and the priesthood were instituted in Sumer from among specific hybrid bloodlines. Sumerians are a race of unspecified ethnic origin. The same is also true of the Hyksos people, who began to call themselves "Israelites" sometime during the late second millennium BC. Since the Hyksos acknowledge Abraham, a high-ranking Sumerian, as their original Patriarch, the strong likelihood is that the Hyksos have Sumerian roots.

After Abraham was chosen by the Elohim (Annunaki) to initiate their "salvation" plan for humankind (Gen 1:17), the Hyksos began a policy of ethnic cleansing and organized mass

rape. The extent to which the Hyksos failed or succeeded depended largely on possession of certain powerful artifacts of unknown provenance. Known as the "rod" and "staff," the nature and origin of these objects was deliberately shrouded in obscurity by competing non-human elites.

New Testament Gospels describe a Hyksos pretender as the long-awaited Messiah. The genuine Christ existed, but his life and teachings are not the subject of the New Testament, which is composed primarily by Hyksos scribes, who are antagonistic toward mainstream Judaism.

* * * * * * * *

The modus operandi of the Hyksos effectively boils down to two words: identity theft. The Elohim are not God; the Israelites are not Hebrew, and not even Semitic; Adam is not human; and Jesus of the New Testament is not the Christ.

Hebrews and Israelites

In the popular mind, as well as in academic circles, "Hebrew" and "Israelite" are synonymous. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Ancient Hebrew, the written language of the Old Testament, is understood by modern philologists to derive from an original Canaanite language, which is why Hebrew is called "the language of Canaan" in Isaiah 19:18. If Hebrew was spoken in Canaan long before the arrival of Abraham and the Israelites, then the original Hebrew speakers are the original Hebrews.

The term "Hebrew" is traditionally explained as an adjective derived from the name *Eber,* who is listed in Genesis as one of Abraham's ancestors. As Abraham's ancestors were Sumerians, who did not even speak Hebrew, this notion is implausible.

The Bible refers to Abraham as an "Ibri," which is translated as "Hebrew." Most Bible dictionaries explain *Ibri* means "to cross over," and in the biblical context *Ibri* is generally taken to mean

"one who has crossed over the River Euphrates," which is what Abraham and his retinue did. More accurately, the verb *bri* means to "cross over," and the suffix *I,* when applied to a person, signifies their place of origin. Ibri, then, means literally "a person from the place of the cross over."

In transposing or translating from Sumerian to Hebrew, dropping the *n* is normal practice. By calling Abraham an *Ibri,* the Bible refers to his Sumerian roots, which could not be identified as any known ethnicity. So Abraham was a *Nibri.* The Sumerian word *Nibiru* means "place of the crossing over," and is also the name of the Annunaki home world, the planet that "crosses over" in reverse orbit around the sun. As an *Ibri*, Abraham is a Niburian, an Annunaki who birthed into a hybrid body with appropriate non-human genetics.

What the Bible refers to as "Hebrews" is a high caste Sumerian race – the Hyksos, who later coined the name "Israelites." Essentially, the relationship between the Hyksos and the original Hebrew people of Canaan is similar to that of a serial murderer and rapist to his victims:

> When you come to a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace. And it shall be, if it makes you an answer of peace and opens to thee, then it shall be that all the people who are found therein shall be your slaves, and they shall serve you.
>
> And if it will make no peace with you, but will make war against you, then you will besiege it. And when God has delivered it into your hands, you will kill every male with the edge of the sword. But the women and the little ones, and the cattle and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, you will take for yourself...
>
> (Deuteronomy 20: 10-15)

The Hebrew identity was co-opted, and the Hebrew language was spoken, by the Hyksos. Naturally, original Hebrews are not specified among those tribes singled out for annihilation:

> You will do this to all the cities which are very far from you, which are not of the cities of these nations.

> But of the cities of these people which God gives you for an inheritance, you will save alive nothing that breathes, but you will utterly destroy them, namely: the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as your God hath commanded you.
>
> (Deuteronomy 20: 16-18)

The Victory of Joshua over the Amalekites, Nicolas Poussin, 1655

Twelve Tribes

We are told the Israelites were divided into twelve tribes, each tribe descended from one of Jacob's sons or grandsons. After Canaan was conquered, the land was partitioned into twelve territories with each tribe settling in a separate zone.

The number twelve features 187 times in the Bible, and not always in reference to the Israelites. Genesis mentions the twelve tribes of Arameans (Gen 22:20-24), and of Edomites (Gen 36:10-14), and the twelve sons of Ishmael, Abraham's son by Hagar (Gen 25:12-15). And as John Mitchell and Christine Rhone point out in *Twelve Tribe Nations,*

> All over the world, in countries as far apart as China, Iceland, Ireland, and Madagascar, are records and

> traditions of whole nations and their territories being divided into twelve tribes and regions.

Mitchell and Rhone itemize these twelve tribe societies, and explain they were governed by twelve principle gods, corresponding to the division of the year into twelve months and of the celestial sphere into twelve astrological houses. They reach a logical conclusion,

> The more deeply we study the universal tradition of twelve tribe societies, the more splendidly apparent becomes the idea behind it: to create and maintain a perfectly balanced human order in harmony with the heavenly order.

A world of peace and harmony, home to a global family of the human race, evokes legends of a lost Golden Age, but unfortunately, the authors neglect to mention that these ancient twelve tribe nations were generally despotic slave-owning oligarchies constantly at war with each other. If there was a noble intent behind the twelve tribe nation ideal it preceded, and was distorted by, these cultures. Nonetheless, this does not mean humankind was not originally a twelve-tribe species.

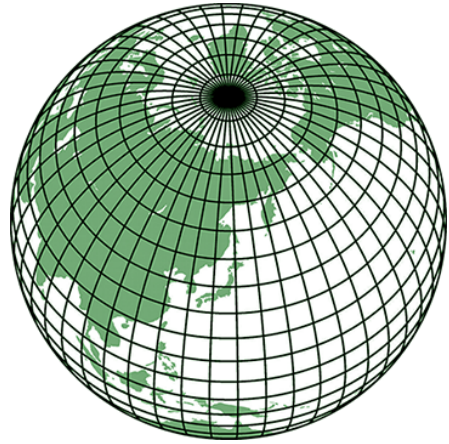
The Hyksos were not so much concerned with "a perfectly balanced order," as they were interested in consolidating diverse genetic material. When this process first began and when, or if, it ever ended, is moot. But clearly, Hyksos interbreeding was selective. Apparently, DNA from rival hybrid-human tribes was not a priority.

Whoever chose "the chosen people" did not pick humans. Through Old Testament myth-making, the Hyksos appropriated the original blueprint of twelve human tribes, and transposed it onto the twelve tribes of Israel – God's elect. This subterfuge has been enormously successful.

Hebrews were targeted presumably because they are one of the original twelve tribes of humankind. But why was the Hebrew tribe settled in Palestine?

Holy Land

What made a particular piece of real estate "sacred" to the ancients? Why did they conduct ceremonies, build monuments and temples at one specific location and not another? When Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire, monasteries and churches were erected on top of demolished pagan shrines that had previously been built on sites sacred to local cults. Was it simply for convenience sake?



Archeologists explain the location of "sacred sites" as a matter of chance. It just so happens they are where they are. They could just as easily be somewhere else. An alternative theory, as yet scientifically unproven, suggests that the spherical earth is sustained by an all-encompassing electromagnetic energy field or grid. As energies move through the grid network, vortices are formed at the physical locales of key junctions. These places were considered sacred by ancient civilizations because they were understood as gateways or access points to and from this and other reality systems.

Needless to say, this idea is dismissed as pseudoscience or wishful fantasy by those who believe *all* existing types of energy can be detected and measured by contemporary mechanical instrumentation. For those who accept the existence of "sacred sites," certain albeit unrecognized energies influence, and can be detected by, the human body.

Whatever the case, ancient tribes considered themselves as guardians of sacrosanct places, despite drawing no obvious strategic, geographic, or material advantages from them. The "holy" city of Jerusalem, for example, is located 2,500ft above sea level, in an area where water has always been scarce. Yet during its recorded history, Jerusalem has been destroyed at least twice, besieged 23 times, attacked 52 times, and captured and recaptured 44 times. The Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, have fought amongst themselves over Jerusalem, and specifically the Temple Mount, for the best part of two thousand years. Why?

Ceramic evidence indicates that the site of present-day Jerusalem was inhabited during the fourth millennium BC, long before Abraham was born. People speaking Northwest Semitic languages are known to have lived there from the early third millennium BC. Is the original Hebrew tribe the custodian of Jerusalem?

Temple Mount, Jerusalem

According to Josephus, the Hyksos army captured Jerusalem in 1550 BC after leaving Avaris. Egyptian archives record Jerusalem as a vassal to the Pharaohs shortly thereafter, and for over 400 years more. The Bible claims Jerusalem was not conquered during the Israelite invasion of the Promised Land despite repeated attempts to do so. Not until King David (c 1010 BC) was Jerusalem occupied by the Israelites, after which time it

became known as the "city of David" and capital of the United Kingdom. In typically euphemistic style, the Old Testament records:

> "After he left Hebron, David took more concubines and wives in Jerusalem, and more sons and daughters were born to him." (2 Samuel 5:13)

This particular information translates as follows:

> "Adoption of the Hebrew identity followed the assimilation of local genetics, and was cemented with the capture of Jerusalem."

Stealing Christ

Obvious from the disparate genealogies of Jesus, the messianic bloodline hit a fork in the road with King David. Two distinct lineages branch out, one set in motion by Solomon, the other by Nathan, both supposed sons of David and Bathsheba. While Solomon is only second behind David in the illustrious pantheon of Israelite leaders, Nathan merits only three mentions in the Bible, and nothing of his life is recorded.

As mentioned in the last chapter, references to Jesus' maternal ancestors in the Gospel of Matthew are witness to a non-Israelite, or non-Hyksos, group that engineered births in the messianic line. But Matthew does not mention the name "Bathsheba." She is cited only as "the wife of Uriah the Hittite," which draws attention to her adultery with David. Why would Matthew do that? He boldly names Tamar, who commits adultery with Judah, even while she was married to his son.

The story of David and Bathsheba is told in 2 Samuel 11. While walking on the palace roof one afternoon, David spots Bathsheba bathing naked, and arranges a rendezvous with her. Bathsheba is pregnant, and so that her husband, Uriah, might believe the child is his, David brings him back from military duty presuming he would sleep with his wife. However, Uriah refuses due to the soldier's code of conduct. Duly dispatched to the

frontline, Uriah is killed in battle. Thereafter, David marries the widowed Bathsheba.

Her apparent status as pariah must be connected more to her "mission" than her biblical legend because David is far more culpable. The Hebrew form of the name "Bathsheba" means "daughter of the oath." It seems Matthew cannot bring himself to mention the name Bathsheba because the genuine Jesus Christ was her descendant. Bathsheba is the "fork in the road." Nathan, the Israelite "prophet," may have known something of Bathsheba's "mission" as he is reportedly persuades David to make her son Solomon heir to the throne.

Why did Luke trace the Galilean Jesus from Nathan, another son of Bathsheba, if she was anathema? Why did Luke not list a son from one of David's other wives? In the same way Bethlehem was too well-known as the Christ's birthplace to delete from a birth story, so Bathsheba was well-known as the Christ's maternal ancestor. And since the sole purpose of Luke's genealogy is to supplant the genuine Christ with the Galilean Jesus, Luke mentions the only other recorded son of David and Bathsheba. So Nathan distinguishes the Galilean Jesus from Jesus Christ.

A genuine Christ would necessarily descend from David, but not from Solomon. As Luke immodestly points out in his introduction, he can be relied upon to set things straight:

> Since I myself have carefully investigated everything from the beginning, I too decided to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the certainty of the things you have been taught. (Lk 1:2-4)

Secrets of the Galilean

New Testament scholars have never managed to reach a consensus over for the so-called "messianic secret," a hypothesis that derives from the numerous instances in the Gospel of Mark, and elsewhere, in which

Jesus instructs his disciples to keep quiet about his identity. For example,

> But who say ye that I am? Peter answered and said unto him, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him. (Mark 8:30)

Tellingly, only the introductory first line of Mark's Gospel identifies Jesus with "Christ," "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Thereafter in Mark, "Christ" as a name is never applied to Jesus.

"Demons" feature prominently in Mark's gospel. At one point, Jesus warns exorcised demons not to speak about him:

> They brought to him all who were sick or possessed with demons….And he healed many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons; and he would not permit the demons to speak, because they knew him. (Mark 1: 32-34)

If demons knew Jesus, then why does Mark not clarify who the demons knew Jesus to be? Later, in a strange incident, the Galilean Jesus dismisses the young daughter of a Greek woman as a "dog," but then removes her child's demon after her mother agrees with him that her daughter is a dog.

> But immediately a woman, whose little daughter was possessed by an unclean spirit, heard of him, and came and fell down at his feet. Now the woman was a Greek, a Syrophoenician by birth. And she begged him to cast the demon out of her daughter. And he said to her, "Let the children first be fed, for it is not right to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs." But she answered him, "Yes, Lord; yet even the dogs under the table eat the children's crumbs." And he said to her, "For this saying you may go your way; the demon has left your daughter." (Mark 7: 25-29)

Though this scene shows the Galilean Jesus as both a racist and a narcissist, his ability to remove demons is assumed by

Christians to be a Christ-like quality. The ancients, however, believed demons existed in strict hierarchies, and most demons feared higher ranking demons.

> John said to him, "Teacher, we saw a man casting out demons in your name, and we forbade him, because he was not following us." But Jesus said, "Do not forbid him; for no one who does a mighty work in my name will be able soon after to speak evil of me."
>
> (Mark 9:39-40)

What was understood by "demon?" Unlike run of the mill "fallen angels," demons were unequivocally committed to the "dark" side. Believed to come from an abyss, or type of bottomless pit, somewhat akin to modern interpretations of a black hole, demons were thought to sustain themselves by drawing vitality from people. It was commonly accepted that certain demons birthed into human bodies to spread chaos and destruction. The Romans knew demons with notoriously sexual cravings as *incubus* or *succubus*.

All the synoptic Gospels record an accusation leveled at Jesus that he exorcised demons through the power of Beelzebub, the prince of demons. Jesus's reported response does not stand up to examination,

> If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand. And if Satan has risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but is coming to an end. (Mark 3:24-26)

If "evil" kingdoms or houses compete, the name of the victor may change, but the rule of evil, or "Satan," still stands.

One possible explanation for the so-called "messianic secret" is that the Galilean Jesus *knew* he was not the Messiah and he knew who was. Were his true identity be made public, it is not inconceivable the Galilean Jesus would be summarily killed by a mob.

In any event, his audience was Hyksos Jews – "lost sheep of the House of Israel," – confusion with the genuine Christ would come later. As Paul intimates in his second letter to the Corinthians, written around 50 AD,

> For if someone comes to you and preaches a Jesus other than the Jesus we preached, or if you receive a different spirit from the one you received, or a different gospel from the one you accepted, you put up with it easily enough. (2 Corinthians 11:4)

After a two-century-long quest to find "the historical Jesus," more and more scholars now interpret the New Testament Jesus character as a composite, if not entirely fictional figure, drawn mainly from pre-existing pagan archetypes. This assessment is at best a half-truth, because textual evidence reveals "Gospel Jesus" not merely as a fraud, but as an *imposter*. And the existence of an imposter Christ implies the existence of a *genuine* Christ.

The Historical Christ

Holding the manufactured position that the *Jesus of history* is not the same as the *Christ of faith*, most theologians and clergymen remain steadfastly unimpressed with efforts to uncover historical truth. All the same, a more accurate assessment is surely that the "Christ of history" is plainly not the same person as the "Jesus of faith."

The English name "Jesus" comes from the Greek *Iesous*, which is a transliteration of the Hebrew name *Yeshua,* an extremely common name in first century Palestine. In his *Antiquities*, the first century Jewish historian Josephus mentions no fewer than nineteen different "Yeshuas."

"Yeshua" has its origins *Yehoshua* in which the first part "yeho" supposedly refers to YHWH, the *Tetragrammaton* or supposed proper name of the Israelite God (*YHWH Elohim*). Yehoshua literally means "YHWH saves." The meaning and source of YHWH is unknown, but it is generally assumed to have been vocalized as "Yahweh." During the second and third

centuries BC, pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton was avoided or forbidden. To prevent accidental voicing of YHWH, Yehoshua was truncated to *Yeshua*, or, in Galilee, to *Yeshu*.

The name of Moses' successor, "Joshua," the exemplary Israelite warrior hero, is an Anglicization of "Yeshua." Thus the name of the Galilean "Jesus" was effectively a Hyksos title. For that reason alone, the earlier-born Judean Christ was unlikely to have been named "Yeshua," but rather a similar sounding original Hebrew name upon which Hyksos names were based.

One of the world's most secretive religions is that of the Druze minority of Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. Druze do not proselytize, do not publish a theology, and access to Druze texts is forbidden to outsiders. Druze firmly believe keeping secrets is fundamental to their survival. From the little of what is known of them, the Catholic Encyclopedia records,

> The Druze teach a distinction between Jesus, the son of Joseph, and the Christ. Christ instructed Jesus, but finally Jesus disobeyed Christ...

Druze tradition, therefore, would support the contention that the Gospels reference two births. Furthermore, not only was the son of Mary and Joseph *not* the Christ; he was educated *by* the Christ. In Druze lore, both men were known as "Jesus." The older Jesus Christ was born an Essene, and mentored the younger Jesus before the Galilean chose an alternative path, which is partly recorded in the New Testament.

If the historical Christ did not surround himself with disciples; did not indulge in heated public arguments with Pharisees; taught differently from the Galilean Jesus; and most of all, did not calculate and predict his own demise, then what did he do? That is surely the authentic "messianic secret."

Druze elders meet in Damascus in 2013

Essenes

The Essenes are one the great unsolved mysteries of the Biblical era. Our main source of information on them comes from Josephus who describes Essenes as one of the three principle sects of Jewish philosophy alongside Pharisees and Sadducees. Though he fails to explain their origins, Josephus portrays at least two Essene factions with contradictory beliefs and practices. One group is an all-male celibate commune; the other is family-oriented. While one is peaceful, contemplative, and detached from worldly ways; the other is fixated on ritual, and biblical prophecy, and is closely aligned with the regime of Herod the Great.

About twenty years before Josephus, the Roman writer Pliny the Elder (died c. 79 AD), mentioned the Essenes in his *Natural History*. According to Pliny, Essenes do not marry, have no money, and congregate together in the Dead Sea district as a means to escape from reality. Since the discovery and publication of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls, most scholars regard them as Essene literature, and the nearby settlement at Qumran as an Essene stronghold.

To explain the existence of two apparently incompatible groups both named "Essene," a number of scholars subscribe to the "Groningen hypothesis," which postulates that a schism within the Essenes took place at a time as yet unspecified.

Although the identity of those responsible for the Dead Sea Scrolls is unproven, no one argues they were not a patriarchal, militaristic, legalistic, exclusivist, messianic apocalyptic sect at odds with mainstream Jewish society, and fervently anti-Roman. Considering themselves the "true Israel," they venerated Old Testament patriarchs in general, and Enoch in particular. More than anyone else in history, they combed through their sacred books to extrapolate on the "Messiah." Everything points to them being Hyksos Jews.

Not limited to any cult, religion, or political persuasion, the Hyksos are whoever the Annunaki agenda requires them to be at any given time. After their expulsion, not all Hyksos left Egypt, and not all remaining Hyksos were slaves. Established high-ranking Hyksos families within elite Egyptian society, maneuvered under other names to regain the Pharaonic throne.

For example, the Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh, Amenhotep III (c 1390 -1350 BC), discontinued all wars in Canaan, and the 14th century BC diplomatic correspondence known as the *Amarna Letters,* shows that he offered one of his daughters in marriage to the Babylonian king, which is unprecedented for an Egyptian Pharaoh. Moreover, almost all the tablets found at Amarna are written in Sumero-Akkadian, rather than Egyptian, which is also unique.

Amenhotep III's second son, who became known as Pharaoh Akhenaten, distanced the Egyptian monarchy and administration from the entrenched priesthood and temple cults, by famously moving his capital from Thebes to modern day Amarna (Akhetaten). During this period, Akhenaten built a temple in Heliopolis (Cairo) dedicated to the *Aton*, the meaning of which remains a mystery. Heliopolis was the capital of the province of

Amarna letter, Sumero-Akkadian writing on clay tablet

Goshen in the Nile Delta, heartland of the Hyksos in Egypt. And as with the Hyksos Pharaohs of the Fifteenth Dynasty, all public traces of Akhenaten were removed after his death.

In 1897, a vast collection of documents and fragments dating from the 10th century onwards was discovered in Cairo. A number of them matched a Dead Sea Scroll known as the Damascus Document, not found until 1947. For at least a thousand years after Qumran was destroyed by the Romans, someone was obviously determined to preserve the sect's traditions.

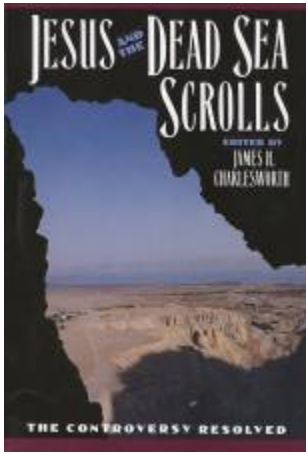
In his book, *The Mystery of the Copper Scroll of Qumran,* metallurgist Robert Feather demonstrates that the chemical composition of the Copper Scroll, found in a cave near Qumran in 1952, is identical to copper produced in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. The Copper Scroll is an engraved list of locations where various types of treasure are allegedly buried. The numbering system, and the system of weights used are based on ancient Egyptian systems from at least 1200 BC. The script is a mixture of Egyptian, ancient Hebrew, Greek, and Akkadian. Writing that was clearly important to, and part of the inheritance of, the Qumran sect.

Until Feather's analysis, large Greek letters systematically placed on the Copper Scroll had proved a code impossible to decipher. Feather shows that the first ten letters spell AKHENATE. While his findings are not disputed, scholarly convention dictates that it is impossible for the Qumran Essenes to have known Akhenaten, or even the lost city of Akhetaten, because they were not discovered until 1887.

Copper Scroll found at Qumran

Cosmic Identity Theft

Various publications detail undeniable similarities between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, and different conclusions are drawn. Most authors think John the Baptist was connected with the Qumran sect, and some think Jesus also knew them. Everyone agrees, however, that whoever wrote the sectarian books shared the Gospel writer's contempt for the Jerusalem authorities.



As representatives of Second Temple Judaism, Pharisees and Sadducees are repeatedly disparaged in the New Testament, while Essenes do not merit a single mention. This is often taken to imply the early Christians were Essenes, and that the Galilean Jesus was therefore an Essene. There is much more to it than that.

To airbrush the genuine Christ out of the historical picture, the early Church took a totalitarian approach. In other words, the real Christ and his "community" were expunged root and branch. Genuine Essenes were strictly taboo.

So who were the genuine or original Essenes? In denigrating Essenes as a whole, Pliny happens to mention that "they had existed for thousands of generations." Exaggeration by ancient historians is not uncommon, but even two hundred generations is 4000 years, and predates the Abrahamic era by two millennia. Pliny's point, then, is that Essenes were an ancient ethnicity in the region that predated the Jews. Are Essenes the original Hebrews?

From the Old Testament, we know that a non-Israelite faction intermittently cooperated with the ancient Israelites in matters of genealogical significance. If Druze tradition is based on fact, and the Essene Jesus Christ taught the Galilean Jesus, the Hyksos Yeshua, then this age-old collaboration was revived early in the first century AD, if not before.

At some point, there was a parting of the ways – violent or otherwise. If the Hyksos had not already assumed the Essene identity long before, they did so afterward. Did the Hyksos seize an opportunity to advance the Annunaki agenda? Most probably.

Son of man

> But when the Son of man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit upon his glorious throne. All the nations will be gathered in his presence, and he will separate them as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. (Matthew 25:31-32)

Although this passage defines the Annunaki design, as with most sayings of the Galilean Jesus it is invariably interpreted through a theological prism that distorts its meaning. No biblical phrase has acquired more manipulative ideological detritus than "Son of Man."

In the traditional perspective, "Son of man" is the natural counterpart to "Son of God." As "Son of God" affirms the Galilean Jesus' "divinity," so "Son of man" affirms his "humanity."

Jesus separates the sheep from the goats. Mosaic, Ravenna, Italy, 6th century.

The expression "son of man," which is a translation of the Hebrew *ben Adam*, occurs 107 times in the Old Testament. Supposedly a generic term for "human being," *ben Adam* literally refers to an offspring of Adam. As already explained, "Adam" is the name of the prototypical hybrid-human ancestor. As a vehicle for Annunaki consciousness, *ben Adam* symbolizes the antithesis of humanity. Some rabbinic literature and writings of the Kabbalah expand on the "original" Adam as the ideal template of a future perfect race, the so-called *Adam Kadmon*.

In the New Testament, the phrase "the Son of man" occurs 81 times in total, 69 times in the Galilean Jesus' sayings, and always with the definite article in ancient Greek. This interests textual scholars since the definite article is not used this way in the Old Testament, or in other surviving Greek documents of antiquity.

But "*the* Son of man" is used as a definite title in the Book of 1 Enoch, several Aramaic and Hebrew fragments of which were discovered at Qumran, and which most specialists date from between 150 BC and 50 BC. According to Enoch, God will punish fallen angels and wicked humans in the Last Days through an eschatological figure known as "the Son of man." This will happen seventy seven generations from Adam.

> And he answered and said unto me: This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness, With whom dwells righteousness, And who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness forever.
>
> And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen shall rise up the kings and the mighty from their seats, And the strong from their thrones And shall loosen the reins of the strong, And break the teeth of the sinners.

Listed as the seventy seventh name in Luke's genealogy, the Galilean Jesus is meant to be understood as Enoch's prophesied "Son of Man." So what is meant by "*the* Son of man?"

The definite article distinguishes this "Son of man" from all others. It is an upgraded model of a genetically engineered species. As an ongoing project, not only was the "Adam" open to improvement, its purpose was to progress toward the true Adam, or Adam Kadmon, who carries the maximum DNA potential without actually being human. For this reason, the Hyksos branch of Adamic hybrids gave themselves a license to continue bloodline agendas.

Adam Kadmon, Hildegard Von Bingen, c 1240

Authors of the New Testament considered Jesus of Galilee to be *The* Son of man, the perfect "Last Adam," implying he had achieved a genetic advancement.

The Last Adam

Cosmic Identity Theft

> The first man Adam became a living being; the last Adam, a life-giving spirit. (I Corinthians 15:45)

> Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who had not sinned in the likeness of the offense of Adam, who is a type of Him who was to come. (Romans 5:14)

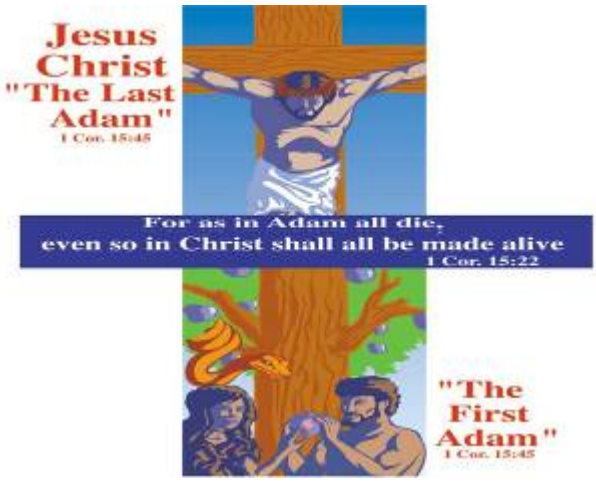
Written before the Gospels, Paul's epistles reveal next to nothing about the Galilean Jesus. They explain only Paul's theology, which is unrelated to historical fact.

Inside Judea, things did not pan out exactly how the Galilean Jesus had expected, and not enough Jews of Hyksos descent responded positively. News of his demise at the hands of the Romans would definitely create the impression of failure. So for Diaspora Jews scattered throughout the Roman Empire, who numbered more than double the approximately two million Palestinian Jews, Paul put a different spin on events.

Millions have pondered and debated the finer points of Paul's message. He has been credited with, and accused of, spreading the idea of salvation by "faith" in a crucified savior. He is admired for waxing lyrical about "love," and at the same time blamed for institutionalizing chauvinism, intolerance, and dogmatism.

Despite its popularity with Christians, Paul's "Adam" theology is construed by critics as a highly ambiguous personal interpretation, and a convenient way of insinuating Genesis into his salvation scheme. Some question whether Paul genuinely believed Adam was the historical first man.

It hardly matters. Paul's interest was the non-human Adamic race. Having long since assumed human identity, non-humans may genuinely believe they are human, but they are not. For Paul, Genesis Adam was only a "type of Him who was to come." Adam was never the original human blueprint. The hybrid Adamic race would advance and evolve to the point of the "Last" Adam – the Galilean Jesus.



But Adam implies Eve. So where is the Last Eve? In Paul's salvation theory, crucifixion of the "Last Adam" atones for the "sin" of the first Adam, but the principle blame for "sin" is attached to Eve, who was seduced directly by the serpent. So why does Paul leave Eve out of his restoration process?

Was this misogyny due to his literal belief that a talking snake had tricked a woman into eating a fruit? Or did Paul associate Eve with being human? Did not the Annunaki agenda require the "Adams" to assimilate genetic code from a human "Eves?"

Paul, along with the Gospel writers, portrays the Galilean Jesus as though he was a thirty year old asexual virgin bachelor. Paul takes this absurdity a step further by making him the poster boy for a race of sexual predators. And that being the case, surely the "Last Adam" would be the raider-in-chief?

What did the Galilean Jesus accomplish for the Hyksos agenda to qualify him as the Last Adam? Beyond the veils of silence and secrecy, clues exist, but first a long overdue investigation of the Galilean Jesus' background is in order.

6

Mary, Joseph, & John

In the absence of forensic evidence, most New Testament scholars agree the identity of the Galilean Jesus' biological father will always will be unknown. As an unsolvable mystery at the very foundation of the Christian faith it is a subject best left alone.

Jesus' biological mother is altogether different. Whether or not she was descended from King David, Mary was a simple Jewish girl. Expected to follow the rigorously codified laws on sexual behavior, and observe the decrees on marriage passed down by scriptural tradition, any controversy surrounding her pregnancy would have ended with her marriage to Joseph.

With one or two exceptions, that is about the extent of academic research into the Holy Family. So profound and multi-layered is the web of distortion underpinning the New Testament investigation into the Galilean Jesus' origins is stalled before it even begins. Fortunately, historical information is not conveyed by the written word alone.

The Dark-skinned Woman

Archeologists, historians, folklorists, psychologists, and scholars across many disciplines, know from experience that the past is often revealed through works of art, deliberately or unintentionally. And *all* the earliest images of Mary contradict her accepted myth.

Scattered throughout Europe, around 500 mostly wood statues and paintings depict the Madonna and child with dark brown skin. Despite concerted efforts by the Church to explain away the coloration as soot or age patina, each "Black" Madonna is the focal point of a cult stirring such devotion in the faithful that the Church now seeks ways to exploit them.

Mary, Joseph & John

Many Black Madonnas are located in Eastern Europe, but over sixty per cent are found in France, and most of them in the south, where alternative legends of the Virgin Mary circulate. Studies into the history of the Black Madonnas indicate this depiction of Mary and child is the original model. Later, when all representations of the Madonna were monitored by the Inquisition, the white Madonna became the official standard.

But why would white-skinned Europeans portray their most sacred icons with dark skin?

Some researchers wax poetic on the eternal significance of the ancient mother Goddess whose dark skin mirrors the dark soil of the earth; others explain reverence of the Black Madonna is merely a continuation of Isis worship, and Isis was black. Although the Church did borrow extensively from pagan tradition, the presupposition that Mary was a native Palestinian blurs the palpably obvious. Early Christians knew Mary was brown-skinned and depicted her complexion as accurately as possible.

Almost all the women associated with the Galilean Jesus happen to be named "Mary." *Mary*, mother of Jesus; *Mary* Magdalene; *Mary* of Bethany; *Mary* mother of James the younger; *Mary* mother of John Mark; *Mary*, the wife of Clopas, and *Mary* of Rome. Is it purely coincidental? Or is "Mary" (Hebrew, *Miriam*) only a title used to conceal their background and their real names from the uninitiated?

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, none of the main protagonists are identified by their real names. Use of aliases and stylized names appears standard practice within the Hyksos cult.

The Black Madonna's fine facial features give her an unmistakably south Asian appearance, and not North African. From the large hordes of Roman coins discovered in Indian port cities, archeologists know that bilateral trade between western India and the Roman Empire peaked during the first century CE, after Rome had conquered Egypt and opened up the Red Sea, and before the rise of Islam closed contact between India and the West. During this time the prosperous Jewish business community in India had its Indian counterpart in Judea.

No documented migration of people from India to the Middle East exists, but one group of Indians is known to have traveled west in this period. Known later in Europe as "Gypsies," they are

the predecessors of today's Romani people. By all accounts, white Europeans assumed these Indians came from Egypt due to their dark skin.

Gypsy society is tightly closed to outsiders, and there is no tangible evidence of their history or religious beliefs. Much Gypsy folklore, however, is centered on the infant Jesus. Gypsies (Romani) still teach their young that Jesus was protected by Gypsies after he was taken to Egypt after his birth. One legend claims the nails used by the Romans to crucify Jesus were made by a Gypsy blacksmith. Originally, the Romans told him to make four nails, but he withheld one at the last minute when he learnt their purpose. As a result, Jesus was fixed to the cross with three nails, and spared the agony of a nail through the heart.

All European states, with the support of Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox churches, have had laws to repress or expel Gypsies at one time or another. Strangely, anti-Gypsy sentiment was sporadically whipped up by an accusation that Gypsies refused to help the infant Jesus along his journey to Egypt.

Sarah the "Black, patron saint of Gypsies

The patron saint of Gypsies is Saint Sarah, or "Sarah the Black." Every year a mass pilgrimage of Gypsies visits her holiest shrine on the coast of southern France, where legend states that Sarah arrived together with the so-called "Three Marys," the three women who allegedly came to the tomb of Jesus in Gethsemane. The iconography of Saint Sarah resembles a carbon copy of the Black Madonna.

The authors of the groundbreaking book, *Holy Blood, Holy Grail,* suggest Sarah is actually the daughter of Jesus and Mary Magdalene, an idea repeated by Dan Brown in *The Da Vinci Code*. But if that is the case, is Sarah not a dead ringer for her grandmother?

The "Jewish" population of Judea was divided into three castes of pure blood descent—priests and Levites, who were from the tribe of Levi; and pureblood Israelites from the remaining tribes. A fourth social group was for those judged to be "impure,"

which included illegitimate births, and the families of Gentile converts.

Because it was accepted that Christ was Davidic, Matthew and Luke show Davidic genealogies for the Galilean Jesus, but neither genealogy connects to Mary or the biological father. So no reason exists to suppose Jesus was Davidic, or even a pureblood Jew.

The modern Church is disinclined to prohibit veneration of the Black Madonna since it has exploited the cult of the virgin for almost two thousand years. But if it were ever to consider a ban on the Black Madonna, the Church would have to explain why. And it could never do that.

> The story of the Black Virgin may also include a heretical secret with the power to shock and astonish even post-Christian attitudes, a secret, moreover, involving political forces still influential in modern Europe. Ean Begg, *Cult of the Black Virgin*

The Cover-up

Before her theological profile was fully developed, the Galilean Jesus' mother was a major embarrassment. Mark records nothing of Jesus' birth, affords no special honor to Mary, and does not even mention Joseph. No reference is made to Mary in the earliest extant version of the Gospel of John.

Mark records an incident when a group of neighbors refer to Jesus as the "son of Mary" (Mk 6:3). In this staunchly patriarchal society, maternal identification was an insult usually reserved for someone whose parents were not married. In the Gospel of John, some Pharisees respond to Jesus with the terse comment, "we were not born of fornication" (John 8:4), implying that he was. Chances are most Pharisees regarded Jesus as illegitimate, a *mamzer*, worthy only of disdain. The same accusation is made by later rabbinic writers who condemn Mary.

If the Galilean Jesus was looking for wider acceptance, the charge of illegitimacy was the most damaging of all, as it

disqualified him from any kind of leadership role in the Jerusalem Temple cult that was first century Judaism.

In the birth narratives, Mary is portrayed as an ingénue, and as a betrothed girl she would have been no more than fourteen years old. But there was nothing extraordinary about a betrothed girl becoming pregnant by her fiancé during the betrothal period. In such cases, the marriage would simply take place as soon as possible, and before her pregnancy was visibly obvious.

If Mary's pregnancy had the potential for scandal, she must have been married to someone other than the child's father. Throughout the Middle East, and particularly in Jewish Palestine, once identified, female "fornicators" were liable to be stoned to death. Husbands had the authority to kill adulterous wives. If such a woman was to death, news of her infidelity would soon become public knowledge. Was Mary killed?

According to Matthew, when Joseph hears of Mary's pregnancy he initially wants a divorce, but is convinced otherwise by an angel in a dream, and agrees to raise the child – which is an expedient way to explain why Jesus was adopted. In a possible scenario where Mary was killed after giving birth, her husband would definitely *not* have adopted her child. So not only was Joseph not Mary's husband, they were never betrothed. Whether her child was taken by Joseph, or by his biological father, is arguable, but he was not taken by Mary's husband.

The Stepmother

If his mother was dead, how could Mary be present during the Galilean Jesus' public ministry? The answer is simple. Every significant woman in the sect was called "Mary." If Jesus had a stepmother, her name would be "Mary." And the same name is essential to obscure the truth.

According to the Gospels, Mary had other children, which complicated things for early Church theologians who declared Mary an eternal virgin. It was decided, therefore, that Jesus' siblings were Joseph's children by an earlier marriage, and Mary was only the stepmother to her other children.

But textual evidence suggests the reality was the other way round. Mary was only the stepmother to Jesus, and Jesus' Gospel siblings were Mary's children.

Luke recounts the following episode:

> And when he was twelve years old, they went up according to custom; and when the feast was ended, as they were returning, the boy Jesus stayed behind in Jerusalem. His parents did not know it, but supposing him to be in the company they went a day's journey, and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintances; and when they did not find him, they returned to Jerusalem, seeking him. (Lk 2:42-45)

What "parents" would return home from a family trip without their twelve year old son? How many would need a day before they noticed he was missing?

During the famous wedding at Cana recorded in the Gospel of John, there is a brief exchange between Jesus and his "mother" that defies the conventional myth:

> On the third day there was a marriage at Cana in Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there; Jesus also was invited to the marriage, with his disciples. When the wine failed, the mother of Jesus said to him, "They have no wine." And Jesus said to her, "Woman, what have I to do with you?" (John 2:1-4)

Can Jesus' curt riposte to his mother be explained away as an expression of frustration? Or does "woman" signify a lack of respect on his part? The impression created by the abrupt words, "what have I to do with you" is of a stepson rejecting his stepmother.

Mary and her family make sporadic appearances in the Gospels. Mark records an occasion when Mary and her other children try to "seize" Jesus to prevent him from speaking in public (Mk 3:21):

> And when his family heard it, they went out to seize him, for people were saying, "He is beside himself."

All three synoptic gospels include the following scene:

> And his mother and his brothers came; and standing outside they sent to him and called him. And a crowd was sitting about him; and they said to him, "Your mother and your brothers are outside, asking for you." And he replied, "Who are my mother and my brothers?" And looking around on those who sat about him, he said, "Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother." (Mk 3:31-35, Mt 12:46-50, Lk 8:19-21)

Are these fabricated dramas to score theological points? If Mary and her other children are Jesus' step-family, and not biological relatives, then they make perfect sense. And the manifest distance between them is a subplot that needs no explanation.

Matthew quotes Jesus saying "a prophet is not without honor except in his own country and his own house" (Mt 13:57); John's Gospel states that "even his brothers did not believe in him" (John 7:5). But what about Joseph?

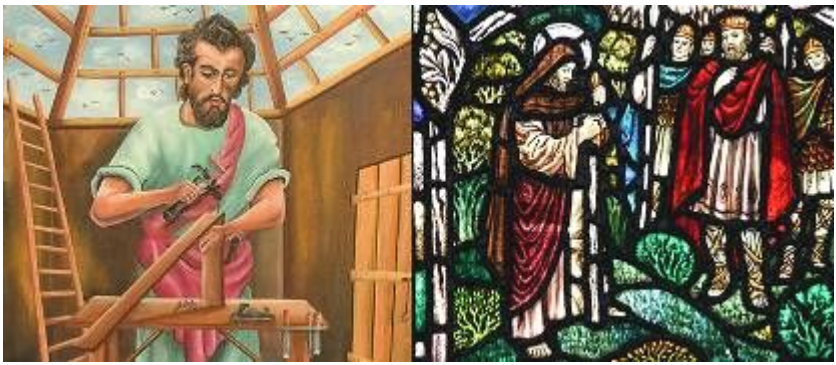
Man of the Craft

We appear to have only two pieces of information about Joseph. He was the Galilean Jesus' guardian; and he was a "carpenter" (Mt 13:55). Joseph's influence over Jesus is hazy, except that Jesus himself is also described as a "carpenter" (Mk 6:3), which infers he served an apprenticeship under Joseph.

This image of the savior as a humble woodworker was encouraged by the Church, and embraced by the faithful. Jesus was everyman – a salt-of-the-earth honest laborer. The problem with this picture is that it is due entirely to a naïve, or rather expedient, translation of the Greek word *tekton* as "carpenter."

Literally meaning "craftsman," an ancient *tekton* was a "man of the Craft." Echoing ancient Egyptian themes, Plato's "Creator" in the *Timaeus*, is called *tekton*; the *arche-tekton* is the "Architect of the Universe." As a student of the esoteric, belonging to a hermetic

brotherhood, a *tekton* did not often dirty his hands. In Modern Greek, *tekton* means "freemason" (*Collin's Contemporary Greek Dictionary*, 168, 311; *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Greek*, 189).



Joseph, the craftsman (left), or (right) Joseph, "Man of the Craft"

When Jesus speaks at a local synagogue in Galilee, we are told the audience "takes offense." In Luke's Gospel, the assembled mob tries to kill him. They ask rhetorically:

> Is not this the carpenter? (Mk 6:3)
> Is not this the carpenter's son? (Mt 13:55)
> Is not this Joseph's son? (Lk 4:22)

In the standard apologetic, self-righteous Galileans cannot accept that one of their own, a simple tradesman, might be a "prophet," and they react indignantly. A more plausible interpretation would be that the locals associate Jesus with "tektons," and specifically with Joseph, who was apparently known, and resented, as a secret society kingpin. "Guilt by association" caused them to be "offended" by Jesus, not the outrageous presumptuousness of a manual laborer.

Mark's Gospel does not mention a stepfather named Joseph, but another Joseph who plays a central role in the immediate aftermath of the crucifixion:

> Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the council, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, took courage and went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate wondered if he were

Detail from Ghirlandaio, *Marriage of Mary*, c 1490

As Joseph gives a wedding ring to Mary in this depiction of a non-biblical scene, a man coming from behind Joseph is about to strike him with a raised fist. Why?

> already dead; and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he was already dead. And when he learned from the centurion that he was dead, he granted the body to Joseph. (Mk 15:43-45)

This event breaks with Roman protocol, as crucified men were refused burial, the custom being to leave bodies to rot (or be pecked by birds) on the cross as a public spectacle. According to Matthew and Luke, Joseph of Arimathea was both a rich man and an influential member of the Sanhedrin - the supreme council that governed Judaism under Roman auspices (Mt 27:57-61; Lk 23:50-56). Josephus describes Pilate as cruel and brutal, but also notoriously corrupt, so the possibility that money exchanged hands between them does not stretch the imagination.

Handing over the body would also imply an acknowledgment by the Romans that Joseph of Arimathea was in some way related to the deceased. In extra-canonical tradition, Joseph of Arimathea is the Virgin Mary's paternal uncle, and therefore Jesus' great

uncle, who became legal guardian out of necessity after the first Joseph "passed away."

Linguistically, as the name "Joseph" combines "Io" and "Seth," it is therefore a 'statement name," with Seth the protective deity. Strictly speaking, only the honorific *Arimathea* separates the two Gospel Josephs, but nobody knows where or what Arimathea is. Luke claims Arimathea is "a city in Judea," but no such place is documented in any maps, censuses, or archives, of any period anywhere in recorded history. Are the two Josephs the same man? It would seem so.

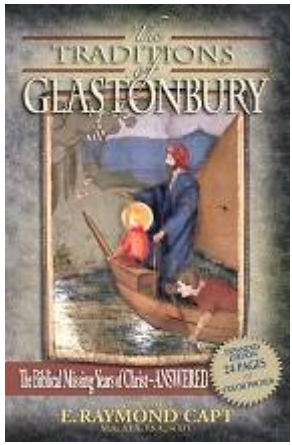
Carpenter Joseph holds a shepherd's crook

On the face of it, Arimathea is a total mystery, but clearly it meant something to someone. Is Arimathea a sectarian name or title with a special significance for members of a Hyksos brotherhood?

The Sorcerer's Apprentice

By all accounts, Joseph of Arimathea's wealth derived from supplying Rome with tin from the mines of Cornwall. Tin was then akin in importance to that of steel today. As a metal and shipping magnate, he reputedly owned one of the largest private merchant shipping fleets afloat. In Britain, a surviving tradition claims Joseph of Arimathea brought the young Galilean Jesus to southwest England on at least one of his voyages. Once there, Jesus was instructed in the Celtic mysteries. The English poet-mystic William Blake's famous poem *Jerusalem* is based on this legend.

Among the places Joseph and Jesus reputedly visited are Stonehenge and Glastonbury in Somerset, which at the time were sacred sites of the Celtic Druids. In a letter to the Pope, St Augustine claims to have discovered a church in Glastonbury that was built by followers of Jesus, but according to local legend, this same church was actually built by Joseph of Arimathea *and* Jesus, and dates back to pre-Roman times, or before 43 AD. Glastonbury Abbey is thought to have been built on the site of the original church.



Glastonbury, and Glastonbury Tor (conical hill), is the focus of more fable and esoteric myth than any other location in the British Isles. The hill is basically a spiral labyrinth or maze with seven deep, almost symmetrical terraces that defy explanation by conventional archeological models.

Similar to Cretan labyrinths, the pattern on Glastonbury Tor was created for ritual purposes long before the Druids used it in their rites and initiation ceremonies. Today, Glastonbury Tor is thought to be at the intersection of powerful ley lines, and is a destination for Christian pilgrimages and seasonal rituals by magicians, witches, pagans, and various occult groups.

Nearby Glastonbury Abbey is understood to have been constructed by a secretive guild of masons using Pythagorean numerology and arcane architectural principles similar to those observed at Chartres Cathedral. During the Middle Ages, Joseph of Arimathea and Glastonbury featured in numerous Arthurian romances and legends of the Holy Grail. King Arthur's supposed grave remains a tourist attraction at Glastonbury Abbey.

No question Glastonbury and the English southwest was a magnet for mystics and ancient "tektons." And researchers have discovered potential links between the Celtic mysteries and the Dead Sea sect that preserved Enochic lore.

Glastonbury Tor

The *Book of Enoch* contains numerous astronomical observations. In one section, Enoch is told by an angel to come north with him in order "to measure." In another passage the measurements given are those of the rising and setting of the Sun at different times of the year. From the description of the Sun at midsummer, it is calculated that Enoch is not in the Middle East, but at the latitude of southwest England.

> And the Sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

Family Feud

For Protestant Christians, the Virgin Birth is not official doctrine. Protestant theologians in general consider Joseph the most likely candidate, but the biological father of the Galilean Jesus is as irrelevant to Protestant salvation paradigms as it is to Paul.

So the question remains. Why do Matthew and Luke deny Joseph was the father? If the idea was to exclude Joseph from the equation why construct elaborate birth narratives that include him? Everyone must have known Jesus had a guardian. The truly embarrassing information was his biological father's identity.

Some scholars reason Luke combines the families of Jesus and to evangelize followers of John the Baptist, who constituted a rival sect to the early Christians. As mentioned previously, Luke states John was conceived "in the days of Herod" (37 BC - 4 BC), and Jesus was born during the Roman census of 6 AD, which indicates a generational gap between them. Luke then describes a difference of only six months between the births of John and Jesus. By misrepresenting their age difference, what is Luke trying to conceal?

John the Baptist's historicity is confirmed by Josephus who describes him as a respected ethics teacher whose influence was perceived as a threat by Herod Antipas, who had him arrested and eventually executed. When Antipas' army was routed in battle soon afterward, his defeat was popularly blamed on his treatment of John.

The Gospels do not necessarily contradict Josephus. They describe John as an immensely popular preacher, arrested for condemning Herod Antipas' marital status, and then beheaded at the behest of Antipas' wife. But New Testament scholars struggle to explain John the Baptist's role in the Gospel drama. At the outset, it seems as though John will have a central part, but it is only a cameo in the end.

Church teaching claims John the Baptist proclaimed the Galilean Jesus as the prophesied Christ. The evidence suggests he did no such thing. In all four Gospels, John baptizes Jesus, but the two men do not join together, and do they meet again. John maintains an independent group of disciples, who early Church Fathers considered the greatest thorn in the side of the Church.

Most of Jesus' teachings can be traced to Judaic, Greek, or Buddhist traditions, and his reported statements copy or paraphrase Old Testament axioms. Even his supposedly "unique" message of "the Kingdom" is not original:

> In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Mt 3:1-2)

The so-called "Lord's Prayer" also stems from John:

> When Jesus had finished praying, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, just as John taught his followers to pray." (Luke 11.1)

One common suggestion is that John the Baptist was originally Jesus' mentor, but after Jesus received a higher calling, they had to minister separately. Scholars have long recognized evidence of a conflict between John and Jesus that has not filtered down to the pulpit. Nowhere is this more transparent than on the decisive issue of "Elijah."

A folk hero throughout the Middle East, Elijah is known mostly for being taken up to "heaven" in a fiery chariot. In the New Testament, Elijah is mentioned more times than Moses, Abraham, or any other revered figure. Fueled by an Old Testament prophecy that he would return in the Last Days (Malachi 4:6), Elijah expectation reached its peak in first century Palestine.

Having provoked questions about Elijah's whereabouts, and being unaware of the prophecies, Jesus' disciples were stumped for an answer:

> And the disciples asked him, "Then why do the scribes say that first Elijah must come?" He replied, "Elijah does come, and he is to restore all things; but I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not know him".....Then the disciples understood that he was speaking to them of John the Baptist. (Mt 17:10-13)

On a separate occasion, Jesus says that "if you are willing to accept it, he (John) is Elijah who is to come" (Mt 11:4). But when a delegation of priests and Levites from Jerusalem ask John the question, "Are you the Elijah?" he replies, "I am not." (Jn 1:21).

Jews in general have a very simple approach to this subject. No Elijah. No Messiah. Whatever expectations the Galilean Jesus

had, John the Baptist effectively nailed his chances of being widely accepted as the Messiah.

During John's incarceration, Jesus reportedly said:

> Truly, I say to you, among those born of women there has risen no one greater than John the Baptist; yet he who is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. (Mt 11:11, Lk 7:28)

This is often misinterpreted as an expression of Jesus' profound respect for John as the ultimate paragon of humility. Earlier in Matthew's Gospel, however, Jesus clarifies what he means by "least in the kingdom:"

> Whoever then relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven. (Mt 5:19)

As far as Jesus is concerned, John the Baptist was public enemy number one.

Next of Kin

John's arrest is the catalyst for Jesus' own ministry:

> Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel." (Mk 1:14-15)

According to Luke, Herod Antipas had never even heard of the Galilean Jesus before John's death, which is a strong indication Jesus was not the Christ child Antipas' father sought to eliminate.

> And Herod said, "John have I beheaded: but who is this, of whom I hear such things?" (Luke 9:9)

Why would Antipas automatically connect John the Baptist with Jesus? In the same scene, Mark and Matthew appear to infer occult forces are at work:

> But when Herod heard of it he said, "John, whom I beheaded, has been raised." (Mk 6:16)

> This is John the Baptist, he has been raised from the dead; that is why these powers are at work in him. (Mt 14:2)

Some scholars see in Herod's remarks a reference to magic practices Jesus had supposedly learned in Egypt, whereby the captured "essence" of a recently deceased person can be accessed by the living. More simply, Herod's comments can be read to imply the Galilean Jesus had inherited John's "powers."

Jesus is quoted asking his disciples, "Who do men say that I am?" Their first response is illuminating:

> "John the Baptist."
> (Mk 8:27, Mt 16:13, Lk 9:18)

Under what circumstances might the general public perceive John and Jesus as one and the same? A clue comes with the news of John's death.

The custom in the Middle East, then, as it is today, was to bury a dead body as soon as possible. The deceased's next-of-kin was then notified, and the immediate family - father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, and spouse observed a *Shiva,* or seven-day mourning period. According to Matthew, after John died, "his disciples came and took the body and buried it; and they went and told Jesus." From outward appearances, Jesus immediately began the customary bereavement:

> When Jesus heard this, he withdrew from there in a boat to a lonely place apart. (Mt 14:13)

> And he said to them, "Come away by yourselves to a lonely place, and rest a while"…And they went away in the boat to a lonely place by themselves. (Mk 6:30-32)

No love was lost between the disciples of Jesus and John. On a previous occasion, Jesus had sent John's disciples packing with a forceful censure of their master, "Go and tell John what you hear and see….blessed is he who takes no offense at me" (Mt 11:4-6). Why then did they report John's death? Was it because the two men were maternal cousins, or because Jesus and John were next-of-kin?

In an interesting scene recorded in all three Synoptic Gospels, the Galilean Jesus is asked from where his authority comes.

> And as he was walking in the temple, the chief priests and the scribes and the elders came to him, and they said to him, "By what authority are you doing these things, or who gave you this authority to do them?" Jesus said to them, "I will ask you a question; answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things. Was the baptism of John from heaven or from men? Answer me." And they argued with one another, "If we say, 'From heaven,' he will say, 'Why then did you not believe him?' But shall we say, 'From men'?" - they were afraid of the people, for all held that John was a real prophet. So they answered Jesus, "We do not know." And Jesus said to them, "Neither will I tell you by what authority I do these things." (Mark 11:27-35)

Plainly, Jesus believed his authority should be recognized as a legacy from John the Baptist, as authority was traditionally inherited. Were he not Jesus' father, the priests and elders would have considered John the Baptist irrelevant to the issue at hand. But since they did not acknowledge John's authority, they would hardly recognize Jesus'.

In the Book of Acts, which is purportedly written by Luke, followers of John the Baptist had already established a presence in Ephesus (modern Turkey) before Paul and the first Christian arrived there. Luke recounts the story of Apollos of Alexandria:

> ….who was an eloquent man, well versed in the scriptures. He had been instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spoke and taught

> accurately the things concerning Jesus, though he knew only the baptism of John. He began to speak boldly in the synagogue; but when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him and expounded to him the way of God more accurately. (Acts 18: 24-27)

Later, Paul encounters a group of twelve Baptist disciples:

> And he said to them, "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed" And they said, "No, we have never even heard that there is a Holy Spirit." And he said to them, "Into what, then, were you baptized?" They said, "Into John's baptism." And Paul said, "John baptized with the baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe in the one who was to come after him, that is Jesus." On hearing this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. (Acts 19:2-7)

Occurring with ridiculous ease, such instantaneous conversions read as fairy tales. But what if it was explained to John's disciples that the Galilean Jesus was the son of John the Baptist?

Hidden in Plain Sight

One the great mysteries of European mysticism is why John the Baptist ranks higher than Jesus. Secret societies have hierarchical internal structures designed to preserve their secrets, but even though early Church Fathers denounced the "Johannite heresy," if they knew what was, they never explained it.

Knights Templar churches were invariably dedicated to John the Baptist, and decorated inside not with a crucifix, but with images of John's head on a plate. John the Baptist is also the patron saint of Freemasonry, self-proclaimed keepers of the Templar's legacy, and historical arch nemesis of the Roman Church. According to noted alchemist and medieval mystic Paracelsus (1493–1541), Elijah (John the Baptist), and not Jesus, was the ultimate savior figure.

During the Renaissance, there was an explosion of paintings with biblical themes commissioned by private individuals, as well as the Church. In the stringently controlled feudal theocracy of the time, painting was a means to reinforce Church dogma, and for enemies of Catholicism, to undermine it.

All works of art were monitored by the Inquisition, but supposedly devotional works with conventional Christian motifs sometimes contained "profane" ideas that bypassed unsophisticated censors. They still remain unnoticed by art historians, who focus on painting techniques, and by a general public that sees in an image only what it is conditioned to see.

As the definitive Roman Catholic icon, at least one version of the Madonna and Child was *de riguer* for Renaissance artists. Probably the most popular auxiliary character in the scene was the

infant John the Baptist. But some artists chose to disregard traditional ages, and depicted an adult John the Baptist, looking every inch the proud father.

Seemingly unhistorical or impossible images are generally attributed to "artistic license." So the inclusion of an adult John the Baptist signifies his proclamation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, "behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). However, other saints and clergymen, who occasionally feature in images of the Madonna and Child, usually stare at John, and draw attention away from Jesus.

In numerous Madonna and Child paintings and sketches, the infant Jesus holds a swallow. Striving for an explanation, Vatican historians construe the swallow as a symbol of the Resurrection. Just as Jesus mysteriously disappears from his tomb before rematerializing out of thin air, so nobody knows where swallows go every year, but they always return. This interpretation ignores the well-known meaning implied by a solitary swallow derived from Aesop's ancient Greek fable, *The Swallow and The Spendthrift.* Renaissance art was, after all, supposed to revive classic themes. Expressed in the aphorism, "one swallow does not a summer make," the moral of the tale is things are not always what they appear to be.

Alvise Vivarini, Madonna and Child with John the Baptist c. 1490

Another popular theme is known as the *Presentation of the Virgin*, which is drawn from the second century non-canonical *Protovangelium of James*. This text presents a narrative of Mary's birth, and makes the absurd claim that she entered the Jerusalem Temple as a three year old to be raised by priests. In the standard image, Mary is shown ascending the Temple steps as a group of priests welcome her. A number of artists contradict the legend and depict Mary as a young adult. One such artist was the celebrated Italian master, Domenico Ghirlandaio, who painted an extraordinary version.

As Mary hurries up the Temple steps, a resigned and somewhat forlorn-looking John the Baptist watches her intently from steps in the lower right hand corner of the picture. In Church tradition, John was not even born when this imagined event took place. If his appearance is artistic license then what is Ghirlandaio's message?

Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, Domenico Ghirlandaio c. 1490

On the left side of the picture, three finely-dressed female spectators strike curious poses. Two of them watch Mary and at the same time make strange hand gestures in her general direction. The leftmost woman seems to make an overtly sexually sign. The woman on the right looks somewhat disapprovingly at John, and stands as though she is accusing him. Ghirlandhaio's art, experts tell us, epitomizes devotional Catholic iconography. It does nothing of the sort.

John the Baptist

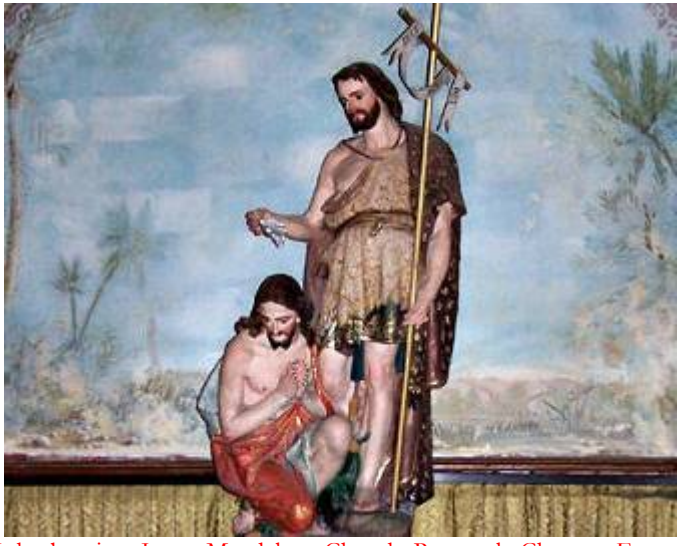
If John the Baptist was the father of the Galilean Jesus, then he probably had Hyksos descent, and was apart from mainstream Judaism, if he was even Jewish. Baptism was not a Jewish practice, and is mentioned nowhere in the Old Testament.

Descent from Abraham did not impress John:

Mary, Joseph & John

> Do not begin to say to yourselves, "We have Abraham as our father;" for I tell you, God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham. (Luke 3:8)

According to Luke, John was "in the wilderness till the day of his manifestation unto Israel," which is open to various interpretations. It may be significant that the separatist Dead Sea Scrolls community described itself as "Israel," and described its location as "in the wilderness."



John baptizes Jesus, Magdalene Church, Rennes le Chateau, France

Provence in southern France has most of the world's Black Madonna statues, and also the world's largest concentration of churches and buildings dedicated to John the Baptist. Among statues of John, some show him wearing a Roman toga, and not his traditional hair shirt and loin cloth. Nobody seems to know why, but local tradition must have understood him as a Roman citizen, or as somehow connected with a Roman deity, or both.

As one of the few episodes recorded in every Gospel, John's baptism of the Galilean Jesus seems genuine enough, though an actual baptism is not described in the Fourth Gospel. In the synoptic version, Jesus sees "the Spirit of God descending on him like a dove," and hears a "voice from heaven, saying this is my

beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Mk 1:10-11, Mt 3:16-17, Lk 3:22).

Because the doctrine of the Holy Trinity had not yet been formulated, this type of theological statement seems anachronistic, and therefore inauthentic. Is it possible the Gospels distort words spoken by Jesus' biological father – John the Baptist?

Anti-Semitism is one of the most common accusations leveled against the New Testament writers. Time and again, "the Jews" are depicted negatively, and blamed for most of Jesus' ordeals. At odds with the apparent "fact" that Jesus was himself a Jew, many scholars view the New Testament's portrayal of Jews as highly suspect.

The Galilean Jesus, however, was first and foremost a Hyksos Israelite, not a "Jew." For elite Hyksos, the Jewish establishment were interlopers of despised origins no different from the Roman army.

7

Spectacle at Calvary

Whether he is considered a Son of God, a social revolutionary, a magician, an itinerant preacher, an inscrutable mystic, a Mediterranean peasant, a failed coup leader, a delusional egotist, or a fictional fantasy figure, one event gets even more mileage than Jesus' birth – his death. And if his arrival is an artfully crafted, but fatally flawed deceit, why should his passing be any different?

The conviction that Jesus' death was staged has always been popular in the Middle East. The Koran claims the Romans unwittingly executed an eleventh hour replacement for Jesus. Found in Cairo, and believed to be copied from an earlier original, a fourth century Gnostic manuscript, known as *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, describes Jesus scoffing at the gullibility of his former persecutors, as he secretly watches them crucify a substitute.

According to the early Church Fathers, "Docetism" was the earliest and first major heresy. Docetics insisted Jesus did not die on the cross, and that his death was an illusion. Although "illusion" infers sleight-of-hand was utilized, as opposed to metaphysical or supernatural power, Docetics were caricatured by Christian writers as believers in magical apparitions.

But if Christianity's first major headache was to convince people that Jesus was actually crucified, then the views of the early Church's leading heresy hunter did not help much.

Ireneaus of Lyons

Ireneaus (c. 120-200) was the Bishop of Lugdunum in Gaul, now Lyon, France, which was part of the Roman Empire. His body of writings is considered formative in the early development of Christian theology. His best-known book, *Adversus Haereses* or *Against Heresies* is a detailed refutation of Gnosticism and Gnostic sects, which were considered the most serious threat.

For the most part, Ireneaus' work was dismissed as exaggerated rhetoric by modern scholars until discovery of the recently unearthed Gospel of Judas, in which Jesus asks Judas to betray him. Ireneaus mentioned the Gospel of Judas, and wrote of the sect that produced it:

> They declare that Judas the traitor was thoroughly acquainted with these things, and that he alone, knowing the truth as no other did, accomplished the mystery of betrayal; by him all things were thus thrown into confusion. They produce a fictitious history of this kind, which they style the Gospel of Judas.

In his exposition of the teachings of Basilides, an early second century Egyptian, who wrote over two dozen books of Gospel commentary (all now lost), Ireneaus explains Basilides' view that Simon of Cyrene was actually crucified,

Spectacle at Calvary

> Wherefore he did not himself suffer death, but Simon, a certain man of Cyrene, being compelled, bore the cross in his stead; so that this latter being transfigured by him, that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified, through ignorance and error, while Jesus himself received the form of Simon, and, standing by, laughed at them.

For Ireneaus, Jesus' crucifixion was real, but he did not believe Jesus was crucified in his thirties. Ireneaus castigated those who believed Jesus died prematurely, insisting instead that he lived to an old age:

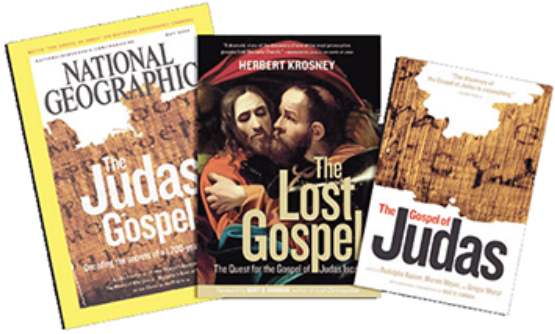
> Jesus therefore passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants; a child for children, thus sanctifying those who are of this age, being at the same time made to them an example of piety, righteousness, and submission; a youth for youths, becoming an example to youths, and thus sanctifying them for the Lord. So likewise He was an old man for old men, that He might be a perfect Master for all, not merely as respects the setting forth of the truth, but also as regards age, sanctifying at the same time the aged also, and becoming an example to them likewise. Then, at last, He came on to death itself, that He might be the first-born from the dead, that in all things He might have the pre-eminence. (*Adversus Haereses*, Book II, Ch 22)

As he was based in Lyons, Ireneaus would almost certainly have known the local legend that Jesus and Mary Magdalene had escaped persecution in Palestine to live in the south of France. Did he manage to find a way to accommodate the one legend with the other?

Joseph of Arimathea brings Jesus and the three Mary's to France

The Illusion

Apart from a few incongruities in the different accounts, all four Gospels tell a similar tale of Judas' betrayal of Jesus. The storyline is highly dubious, however, because Jesus reportedly knows about his betrayal in advance. Moreover, if Temple authorities rely solely upon Judas' kiss to recognize Jesus, how would they know Judas kissed the right man?



In May 1983, a Coptic language manuscript *Gospel of Judas* surfaced in the Geneva antiquities market. Experts soon recognized its significance after it was carbon dated to 280 AD, plus or minus 60 years. Since Ireneaus railed against the Gospel of Judas in 180 AD, the Coptic text was likely translated from an earlier Greek version.

The Kiss of Judas, Giotto di Bondone, c. 1306. Who did Judas kiss?

The introduction is self-explanatory:

> The secret account of the revelation that Jesus spoke in conversation with Judas Iscariot during a week three days before he celebrated Passover.

In conversation with Judas, Jesus speaks of the "incorruptible generation of Seth," which is a comment typical of "Sethian" Gnostic texts found at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945, which reflect Hyksos "Seth" veneration. In the controversial section where Jesus instructs Judas to betray him, the key lines are usually translated in English as:

> You will exceed all of them (Jesus' other disciples).
> You will sacrifice the man that clothes me.

The words, "the man that clothes me" form an abstract phrase that alters the literal meaning of the Coptic, "the man who resembles me." So Judas is not asked to hand over Jesus. He is asked to inform on Jesus' substitute. According to the Gospel of

The Final Deception

Judas, Jesus' crucifixion was a carefully planned deception. In *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, Jesus explains what happens:

> And the plan which they devised about me to release their Error and their senselessness - I did not succumb to them as they had planned. But I was not afflicted at all….And I did not die in reality but in appearance, lest I be put to shame by them because these are my kinsfolk. I removed the shame from me and I did not become fainthearted in the face of what happened to me at their hands…
>
> For my death, which they think happened, (happened) to them in their error and blindness, since they nailed their man unto their death…they were deaf and blind…Yes, they saw me; they punished me. It was another, their father, who drank the gall and the vinegar; it was not I. They struck me with the reed; it was another, Simon, who bore the cross on his shoulder. It was another upon whom they placed the crown of thorns. But I was rejoicing in the height over all the wealth of the archons and the offspring of their error, of their empty glory. And I was laughing at their ignorance.

Most Islamic scholars deny Jesus was crucified based on the following Koranic verse:

> That they said (in boast), "We killed Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the Messenger of Allah" - but they killed him not, nor crucified him, but so it was made to appear to them, and those who differ therein are full of doubts, with no (certain) knowledge, but only conjecture to follow, for of a surety they killed him not. (Sura 4:158)

Did Hyksos conspirators employ a surrogate martyr to simulate the Galilean Jesus' death?

The Substitute Imposter

The final chapter in Jesus' biography has always been subject of the most speculation, proclamation, debate, contemplation, and demagoguery. One day a confident Jesus rides triumphantly into Jerusalem, where he is hailed as king by cheering crowds, and kicks moneychangers out of the Temple. A few days later, a limp and fatalistic Jesus submits to an inevitable destiny.

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem

According to the problem-solving principle known as "Occam's razor," among competing hypotheses the one with the fewest assumptions should be selected. The apparent revolution in Jesus' character is most easily explained if the Gospels describe two different men.

To pass himself off as the Galilean Jesus, the substitute would need to be of similar age and complexion, but most of all, he would need to speak less, which according to the Gospels is precisely what he did.

Purportedly, because the Sanhedrin's own rules prohibited them from executing Jesus, he was transferred to Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator. But the Sanhedrin could have easily

fabricated a charge and had him stoned to death. It must therefore be assumed the conspirators, which surely included Joseph of Arimathea as an influential member of the Sanhedrin, wanted the Romans to judge, sentence, and crucify the substitute in the manner reserved exclusively for enemies of Rome. Evidently, it was vital Rome believed the Galilean Jesus was dead.

Before Herod Antipas, Duccio di Buoninsegna, 1308

The accumulated time and energy spent by scholars and laymen alike in scrutinizing different Gospel accounts to fathom why Jesus allowed himself to be interrogated, why he offered no defense, and were the Jews or the Romans responsible for his death, is incalculable. But all along it was not even Jesus.

The Substitute in Art

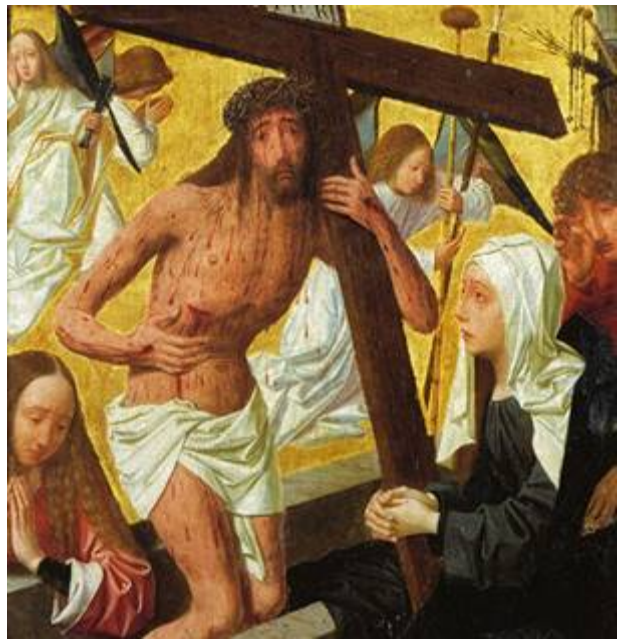
Among the most popular Gospel-based themes to inspire European artists from the thirteenth century onwards is what art historians categorize as the "Man of Sorrows." The title comes from a passage in the Book of Isaiah that happens to mention a despised and rejected "man of sorrows."

Spectacle at Calvary

Albrecht Durer, c 1520

Understood as a devotional image for the mystical contemplation of Christ's Passion, "Man of Sorrows" paintings usually feature a bloodied "Christ" in a loin cloth, with crucifixion wounds prominently displayed, and wearing a crown of thorns. From an orthodox viewpoint, these images are a visual expression of the profound Christian piety of the late Middle ages.

In many "Man of Sorrows" images the artist appears to depict remorse of a man on the receiving end of more than he had bargained for. For example, the supremely gifted and versatile German artist, Albrecht Durer, shows "Jesus" alive in his tomb, apparently fresh from the crucifixion. Appearing somewhat cynical and jaded, he looks bored waiting for the others to arrive and let him out.



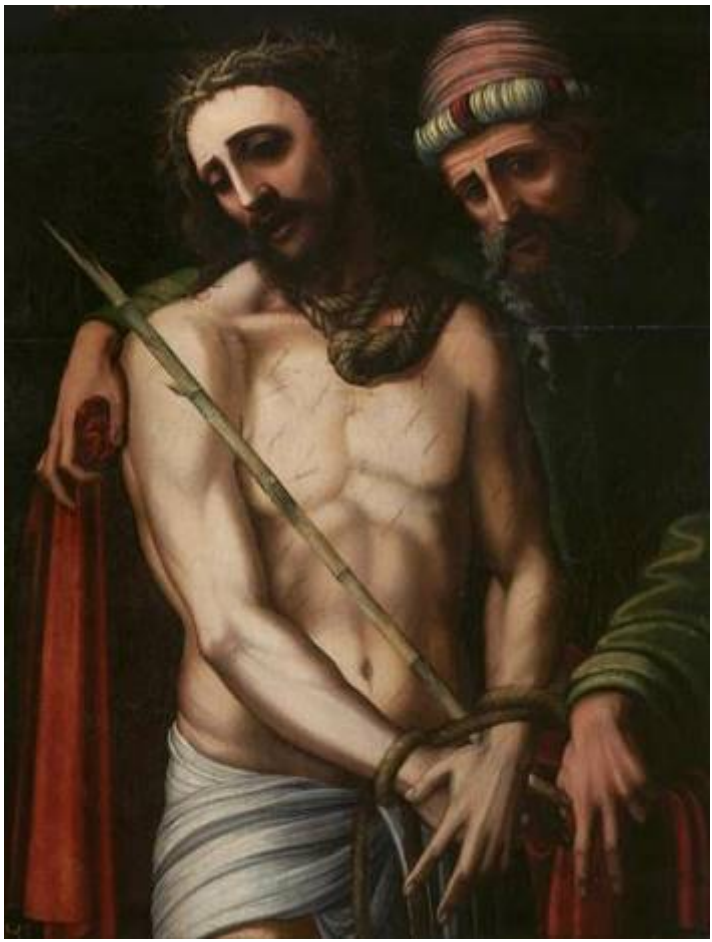
Man of Sorrows, Geertgen tot Sint Jans c 1490

Luis Morales, c 1560

Jan Gossart, c 1530

Spectacle at Calvary

For some reason, the late sixteenth century Dutch artist, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, depicts "Jesus" carrying the cross *after* his crucifixion, and not before. Amidst the mourners and the weeping angels, his plaintive facial expression conveys a transparently profane message along the lines of "can you ever forgive me?" or "I am so sorry about this, but I really didn't understand what I'd let myself in for."



Ecce Homo, Luis Morales c 1570

Luis de Morales, a sixteenth century Spanish artist, who specialized in Passion scenes, produced several versions of the "Man of Sorrows." In most cases, his "Jesus" appears decidely

disinterested, as though impatient for the charade to be finally over.

One other Passion scene painted by many artists is known as *Ecce Homo*, after the Latin words used by Pontius Pilate in the Vulgate translation of John 9:15, "Behold the man," when presenting a scourged Jesus to a hostile crowd. The "Ecce Homo" frequently depicts an older man with an authoratitive and paternal demeanour standing alongside "Jesus." In Morales' version, this gentleman places a fatherly arm around Jesus' shoulders as he holds his red cape. Who is this man supposed to be?

The most suitable candidate is Joseph of Arimathea, and as the picture implies, the relationship between the two men is one of manager and client. Joseph of Arimathea reassures "Jesus" as he guides him through the rest of his scheduled ordeal. In the Gospel accounts, Joseph of Arimathea is not mentioned as present during Jesus' scourging, and only collects his "dead" body for burial.

The Crucifixion

Why would anyone volunteer for a suicide mission in which they would be beaten, tortured, and crucified – and all as somebody else? It seems inconceivable except no reason exists to believe the mission was fatal. And would there not be a corresponding reward for services rendered?

To be an effective deterrent, Roman crucifixion was purposely designed as a slow death. Exposed to the elements, and pecked by scavenger birds, the victim's rotting corpse was a public reminder of what happens to those foolish enough to challenge Rome. Suspended with feet fixed to a stake to relieve pressure on his chest and lungs, a man in his thirties could survive for up to a week before dying of fatigue or thirst.

Yet we are told that Jesus died after only a few hours on the cross, and that his body was taken down because the next day was the Sabbath. According to Mark's Gospel, when Joseph of Arimathea "takes courage" and asks Pilate for the body:

Spectacle at Calvary

> Pilate wondered if he was already dead; and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he was already dead. And when he learned from the centurion that he was dead, he granted the body to Joseph.
> (Mk 15:43-45)

All the Gospels allege a thirsty Jesus was cruelly offered a sponge soaked in vinegar, but rather than as a stimulating tonic the vinegar acts as a permanent sedative:

> When Jesus had received the vinegar, he said, "it is finished;" and he bowed his head and gave up the spirit.
> (John 19:30)

Was Jesus given an opiate that rendered him unconscious? When this so-called "swoon hypothesis" was first advanced by nineteenth century scholars, it met with such vociferous disapproval that it is rarely mentioned today. Nevertheless, an administered soporific remains the most plausible explanation for the reported effect.

Jesus is offered a sponge soaked in "vinegar"

No matter how similar in appearance, would not at least some onlookers notice the substitute was not the Galilean Jesus? We know from his reported arrest, Jerusalem priests and Temple security guards believed the substitute was Jesus. But what about everyday folk who had welcomed King Jesus into the city? Would they not recognize a substitute?

The crucifixion did not take place in a freely accessible location. According to Mark, Matthew, and Luke, even those who knew Jesus could only watch from a distance:

> And all his acquaintances and the women who had followed him from Galilee stood at a distance and saw these things. (Luke 23:49)

The Gospels state that the crucifixion took place at "Golgotha," a name that brings to mind images of a desolate barren wasteland. But in reality, Golgotha is described as a privately-owned, and landscaped, piece of land that was recently customized for a burial:

> Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb where no one had ever been laid. (John 19:41)

Would the notoriously corrupt Pontius Pilate have allowed a Roman crucifixion to be held on private property? If the price was right, there is no question. By the same token, a Roman centurion in Pilate's service could just as easily be bribed. For the wealthy Joseph of Arimathea and his Hyksos co-conspirators, the circumstances to perpetrate a mock crucifixion could hardly have been more convenient.

"Mystic" Crucifixion

One of the most famous crucifixions scene painted is by the Italian master Sandro Botticelli, who was an early mentor to Leonardo da Vinci. Widely accepted as having been painted during Botticelli's late period, when he took to abstruse or profound themes, its imagery still baffles art historians who

collectively pigeon-hole Renaissance artists as devout Catholics. The work is untitled, and is known today simply as the "Mystic Crucifixion."

The Mystic Crucifixion, Sandro Boticelli, c 1495

While Jesus remains nailed to the cross, a prostrate and theoretically grief-stricken, Mary Magdalene wraps her arms around the base as she looks upward at a female angel holding a fox by its tail with one hand, while raising a stick with the other.

The angel looks down at Mary Magdalene and dangles the fox at her. What message does Botticelli impart?

In the satirical literature and art of medieval Europe, the fox is a widely-used symbol to depict venal hypocrisy and deceit inside the Church. By painting the fox the same color as Mary Magdalene's hair, Botticelli reinforces the connection.

The Fox is a medieval symbol of pious fraud and hypocrisy in high places.

From her demeanor, the angel is obviously scolding Mary for something. But considering her pain and anguish, how is Mary Magdalene being hypocritical? Because the person on the cross is not her lover, but a substitute. Her display of inconsolable loss is a sham, intended to deceive observers into believing the Galilean Jesus is dead.

In the background is the city of Florence, whose patron saint is John the Baptist. The Florentine school was the world's leading school of artists at the time, and included Leonardo da Vinci, who specialized in works dedicated to John the Baptist, an affinity that has never been explained. Botticelli and others plainly knew more than they were supposed to have known.

The Resurrection

If the Galilean Jesus was not crucified in the first place, he did not miraculously come back to life afterwards. So was his crucified substitute resurrected from the dead?

In the original Greek of Mark's Gospel, Joseph of Arimathea asks Pilate for Jesus' *soma,* a word used to refer to a "living" body. Although Roman law prohibited the burial of crucified men, in responding to his request Pilate uses the word *ptoma,* which means corpse. It is as though Mark wants to convey what each man *believed* was the case.

In Roman Catholic tradition, as well as several other Christian denominations, the "Stations of the Cross" denotes fourteen scenes from the "Passion of Christ," meditation upon which is intended to strengthen the faithful's connection with Jesus' sufferings. In the final, and fourteen Station of the Cross, Jesus is laid in the tomb.

Fourteenth Station of the Cross

Certain representations of the fourteenth Station in the south of France, nost notably in the Magdalene church at Rennes le Chateau, imply Jesus was *not* dead when he was laid in the tomb. In Jewish custom, it was absolutely forbidden to bury the dead at night, the moonlight being associated with negative powers. The only reason to unambiguously portray the fourteenth Station with a moon in the dark sky, would be to show that Jesus (or rather his substitute) was alive at the time.

But why go to the trouble of organizing a mock crucifixion? If the Galilean Jesus' life was genuinely in danger, why did Joseph of Arimathea not simply arrange for him to leave the country? Perhaps return to Britain, which was not a Roman province at this time. What was the agenda behind the staging of this pivotal event?

Fourteenth Station of the Cross, Rennes le Chateau, France

By all accounts, the Galilean Jesus had a modicum of support, but his public campaign and growing reputation had alienated powerful interests in Jerusalem. Whether or not the hullabaloo surrounding his entry into Jerusalem was indicative of a coup attempt, it was bound to have attracted the attention of those with links to Imperial Rome. From that moment on, the days of the Galilean Jesus were numbered.

Having repeatedly referred to himself as the "bridegroom," and having continuously related parables of "brides and bridegrooms," "wedding feasts," and "virgins," Jesus either had a predilection for fertility metaphors, or else reproduction was on his agenda.

Spectacle at Calvary

From the perspective of Hyksos elders, the debacle in Jerusalem had endangered the larger mission. Because of what they represented to the Annunaki agenda, it was absolutely imperative to protect the children of Jesus and Mary Magdalene.

Drastic action was necessary. First, the Romans *had* to believe the Galilean Jesus was dead. Second, but just as important, Rome had to be certain he was unmarried and childless. No one could know of the family's existence. Then Mary Magdalene, Jesus, and the children, needed to be evacuated to a safe haven as soon as possible.

Once the dust had settled, to maintain the pretense and conceal the truth, a crucified savior would be proselytized throughout the Roman Empire. Using the extensive Hyksos network, and backed by the Old Testament, new "Gospel" testimonies would form the basis of a religion centered on the Galilean Jesus as the prophesied Christ.

It just might work.

8

Regeneration

From whichever standpoint the Bible is analyzed, it is undeniably a history of a specific genealogical group, the central figures of which belong to a certain lineage within the group. From the Judeo-Christian perspective, this particular bloodline is "holy" because God bestowed on it the responsibility to save the human race. From another perspective, the Old Testament is the story of a hybrid-human raider race, the Hyksos, the sacred lineage of which represents an "unholy" Annunaki agenda to replace the human race.

Insofar as two Jesus' descended from the Israelite patriarchs, one an Essene Christ, the other a Hyksos pretender, both interpretations of the Old Testament have some validity. Although the New Testament is a gloss that shrouds the imposter Christ in theological obscurity, it is not a perfect gloss. But its central message of "rebirth" and "new life" in Jesus needs further clarification. Let's start with Mary Magdalene.

Mary Magdalene

Whether everything that can be said about Mary Magdalene has been said during the twenty years or so since she became the staple ingredient of bloodline conspiracies, and the cause célèbre of feminist spirituality, is debatable. But among Magdalene researchers, the following consensus exists:

- Mary Magdalene's association with the Galilean Jesus was deliberately obscured by the four Gospel writers, and later by the patriarchal Church, which misrepresented her as a "prostitute."
- The Gnostic gospels reveal an intimate bond existing between Mary Magdalene and Jesus, which implies theirs was a sexual relationship. She was resented by Jesus' male disciples.
- Mary Magdalene had at least one child, and possibly more, with Jesus.
- Mary left Palestine with her offspring to live in the south of France, with or without Jesus, shortly after the crucifixion.
- Regarded as "holy" or special by people who knew their origins, Mary's descendants constituted an elite caste in Europe.
- Secret societies, inimical to the Church, protect the Magdalene "legacy," or "Grail" line, but their motives are unclear.
- By concealing the true nature of her relationship with Jesus, the Christian religion was distorted by the Church, and women were reduced to second class citizens.

A common sentiment expressed by modern "Grail" writers is that Mary Magdalene was the driving force behind the Galilean Jesus, the power behind the throne, so to speak. Evidence for this opinion comes mostly from non-canonical Gnostic scriptures

that were condemned by the early Church, and from symbolic clues in unorthodox paintings by Renaissance masters and others, who may have belonged to an underground Grail Church.

Any serious investigation into the history of European heresy finds Mary Magdalene inextricably linked with John the Baptist. Locales with John the Baptist churches, particular in the south of France, almost always have adjacent Magdalene chapels or statues. In paintings, John and Mary are often featured together with the infant Jesus. Yet in the Gospels, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene never meet, and other than knowing Jesus, nothing seems to connect them.

Depictions of John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene, Hans Memling, c 1500

In the region of St Baume in Provence, is a small village named St Zacharie. Legend has it that Mary Magdalene spent her last years in this area. Inside the church is a statue of Mary Magdalene kneeling in prayer. At her side are two containers with the lower halves painted red so as to resemble vials holding blood. One vial is labeled *Sang de St Zacharie*, "Blood of St Zacharias" and the other, *Sang de Jean Baptiste,* "Blood of John the Baptist." As Zacharias is the supposed father of John the Baptist, the meaning behind the twin vials could not be more transparent. Bearing

children by the Galilean Jesus, Mary Magdalene continues the Baptist's bloodline.

Statue of Mary Magdalene, Church of John the Baptist, St Zacharie

Goddess with a Jar

In the traditional image of Mary Magdalene, she is invariably depicted holding a jar or vase, presumed to contain perfume, ointment, or spices. Mary Magdalene's "sacred" container is thought to identify her as the unnamed woman in all four Gospels who anoints Jesus with expensive perfume (Mt 26-6-13, Mk 14:3-9, Lk 7:36-50, Jn 12:1-8).

A similar "sacred jar" was associated with female deities in ancient Mesopotamia and elsewhere, which indicates this tradition was preserved for many generations. But what does it signify?

One goddess figurine dating from the third millennium BC shows her holding an open jar outwards from the womb. Her horned helmet means she is probably Inanna, the fertility goddess. Sumerian seals often depict women using straws to drink from jars. This is usually interpreted as a reference to some kind of beer-drinking ceremony, but sometimes this "drinking" occurs during sexual intercourse.

Does the eight-looped motif behind the seated queen signify the Annunaki genetic imprint?

Many scholars see in Magdalene's anointing of Jesus a reenactment of the ancient Mesopotamian *heiros gamos* ritual that features a ceremonial anointing of the king, as the god, by a sacred "prostitute," as the goddess, but its relevance to first century Judaism remains a mystery. But those readers who recognize the ancient goddess in the anonymous woman of the Gospels, would assume a sexual consummation with the god.

Regeneration

Note the long dress parts in the same way to show the feet

Buddhist fertility goddess, Kwan Jin with sacred jar

For the Hyksos, what defines a "goddess" is her highly valuable genetic potential as it relates to the Annunaki agenda, which is masked at all times. Hence biblical dramas describe such highly-treasured women in Israelite tradition – Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba – as morally dubious. And so it is with Mary Magdalene, who Church traditions claims is a reformed prostitute:

> And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment….Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw it, he spoke within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that touches him: for she is a sinner. (Lk 7:37-39)

Does Mary Magdalene's open jar signify that her genetic "treasure" has been accessed?

The Female Christ

The shadowy Annunaki background of ancient "gods" is neglected by most Magdalene commentators, who generally regard them as primordial archetypes, and prefer to imagine the highest ideals motivated the Galilean Jesus.

As we have seen, the Hyksos "master race" was tasked with intermingling Annunaki and human genotypes. At the outset, mass rape and forced impregnation was standard operating procedure, but over time more subtle strategies developed out of necessity.

Salvatore Mundi, "Savior of the world" ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, c 1495.

Once the Hyksos state of Israel was consolidated, the great heroic kings, David and Solomon, reportedly serviced hundreds, even thousands, of concubines. Clues in the Gospels infer the Galilean Jesus was no slouch in that department either.

Accused by his detractors of associating with known "prostitutes," in Luke's Gospel Jesus appears more as a "kept" man:

> And the twelve were with him, and also some women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities; Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Suzannah, and many others, who provided for them out of their means. (Lk 8:2-3)

Was Mary Magdalene exorcised from a case of multiple demonic possessions? If so, her portrayal in the Nag Hammadi texts represents a remarkably abrupt character transformation on her part. Rather than exorcism, there exists a far more plausible explanation for Luke's assertion. As part of the purification process for entry into Mesopotamian priesthoods, most notably for those connected with the goddess Inanna/Ishtar, newcomers were required to graduate through seven grades of initiation.

Mary Magdelene offers her sacred container to Mary, as John the Baptist indicates Jesus, Raphael, c 1525

Regeneration

As a Hyksos king-priest, the Galilean Jesus targeted Mary Magdalene not merely for instruction, and membership of his inner circle, but to bear his children. Why Mary Magdalene?

Theologians presume the "Messianic" genealogy ends with the Messiah. Yet no logical reason exists to presuppose the Messiah, or Christ, would not have offspring. Quite the reverse. And therein lays the importance of Mary Magdalene to the imposter Christ.

Some of her titles in Gnostic texts – "the woman who knew the All," "inheritor of the Light," "Apostle of the apostles," – suggest Mary Magdalene had a unique pedigree. In an inflexible society where deferential females had fixed roles, the idea of an innately or qualitatively "superior" female was not something easily accepted or understood by Jesus' male disciples. Peter, especially, seems to resent Mary's relationship with his master, and numerous heated exchanged between the two of them are recorded. An oft-quoted line from the Gospel of Philip captures the general mood in the camp:

> But Christ loved her more than all the disciples and used to kiss her often on the mouth. The rest of the disciples were offended by it and expressed disapproval. They said to him, "Why do you love her more than all of is?" The Savior answered and said to them, "Why do I not love you as I love her."

As yet not enough information is known for scholars to unravel the complexities of Gnostic thought, but the same Gospel implies Jesus only became "Christ" through his physical relationship with Mary Magdalene:

> The chrism is superior to baptism… and Christ is so-called because of the chrism…He who is anointed possesses the All. He possesses the resurrection, the Light, the Cross, the Holy Spirit. The Father gave him this in the bridal chamber.

It was the Magdalene's "Christ" gene code that gave her the "elevated" status, and made her the target. If she was born the

feminine counterpart, or female twin of the male Christ, then was Mary Magdalene not born to co-create a truly sacred lineage?

From the Hyksos perspective, that is exactly what she did. Hippolytus of Rome (c.170-235), one of the most prolific writers of the early Church, wrote a great deal about Jesus and Mary Magdalene. In his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Hippolytus subscribes to the Magdalene tradition found in the Gospel of Philip. His language, as in the *Song of Songs*, is replete with the sexual innuendo typical of *heiros gamos* poetry, and appears to celebrate the creation a new upgraded hybrid lineage:

> Mix this body of mine with the heavenly body! Drink it as wine! Take it and then reach it to heaven as a newly mixed drink.

Philip's Gospel continues, "Understand what great power undefiled intercourse possesses," inferring through procreation between the Galilean Jesus and Mary Magdalene the Hyksos assimilated the Christ genotype. The result being a new lineage with higher potentials into which non-human consciousness could birth.

Precisely how it was achieved is open to speculation, but somehow the imposter Christ "got" to Mary Magdalene before she realized who she was, or who he was. By then, it was too late….

Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, c 1517, Jesus grabs Mary Magdelene's jar

The Eight-Pointed Star

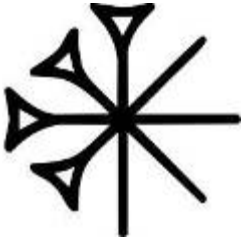
The eight-pointed star, and the related octagon, are stylized geometries found in the iconography of diverse cultures across all continents, but its meaning is hard to pin down. In Islam, the eight-pointed star is known as the "seal of the prophets," and forms the ground plan of the Dome of The Rock in Jerusalem. Many Church baptismal fonts are octagonal, according to Christian thinkers, because the number "8" symbolizes regeneration.

From its earliest appearance in Sumerian cuneiform tablets, the eight-pointed star is almost always included in images depicting gods and goddesses. Appearing to be in the heavens, the eight-pointed star is usually associated with Nibiru, the Annunaki home planet. In Sumerian writing, an eight-pointed pictogram represents the Anu.

In the Babylonian era, the eight-pointed star was chiefly linked with the goddess Ishtar/Inanna. In the Egyptian cosmogony taught at Hermopolis during the 3rd millennium BC, the *Ogdoad* were eight principle deities responsible for creation. In Taoist cosmology, there are eight *Bagua*, or fundamental interrelated principles of reality. It would seem "eight" holds an intrinsic or genealogical significance that differentiates gods from humans. Accordingly, coins of Greek kings and Roman Emperors, who were considered descendants of the gods, featured an eight-pointed star or wheel.

Greek coin, 3rd century BC

Roman coin of the Emperor Augustus



Anu pictogram

If the eight-pointed star can be taken as a crystallization of the Annunaki energetic encryption, this might explain its omnipresence in religious imagery. Symbols were used extensively by ancient cultures for protection, fertility, wealth, crop germination, and death and birth rituals. Since only the conscious direction of energy affects

physical conditions, symbols were geared to the subconscious mind. Modern science proves the more a symbol is used the greater its impact on neural networks, acting as a key to open energy pathways that lead to specific manifestations in real time and space.

Inanna in a classic scene

As will be explained later, both Imperial Rome and the Roman Catholic Church came under the sway of a power strongly opposed to Hyksos dominion, and the Annunaki agenda. Eight-pointed stars, common in Christian art, especially in images of the Madonna and Child, were calling cards of Hyksos-related factions inside the Church, and in Catholic society, used to advance the Annunaki agenda wherever possible.

Genesis describes a victorious Abraham receiving a heavenly commission from Melchizedek, king of Salem. No evidence for the existence of this Melchizedek has ever been unearthed. Nonetheless, within esoteric Judaism, Melchizedek is foundational as an angelic hero figure, and has even a quasi-divine status in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls.

In Enochic literature, Melchizedek is described as a priestly world savior figure who returns in the End Times. This same Melchizedek is referred to in the New Testament as the power behind the Galilean Jesus:

> Where Jesus has gone as a forerunner on our behalf, having become a high priest forever after the order of Melchizedek. (Hebrews 6:20)

The anonymous author of the *Letter to the Hebrews* goes on to describe Melchizedek as the "king of peace…without father or mother or genealogy, and had neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God he continues a priest forever. See how great he is!"

Detail from *The Rucellai Madonna*, Duccio di Buoninsegna 1285

Earliest Christian inscription found at Ephesus reads, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior," with an eight-pointed star.

Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, encircled by eight-pointed stars, and supported by eight angels.

For their own reasons, later Roman Catholic theologians chose to trivialize Melchizedek, and he had no part in Church doctrine or Christological formulations. With the rise of Protestantism, Melchizedek reemerged, but his central role was only restored in Mormon theology.

Earliest depictions of Melchizedek show him in the classic Mesopotamian father-god mold, receiving sacrifices on an altar

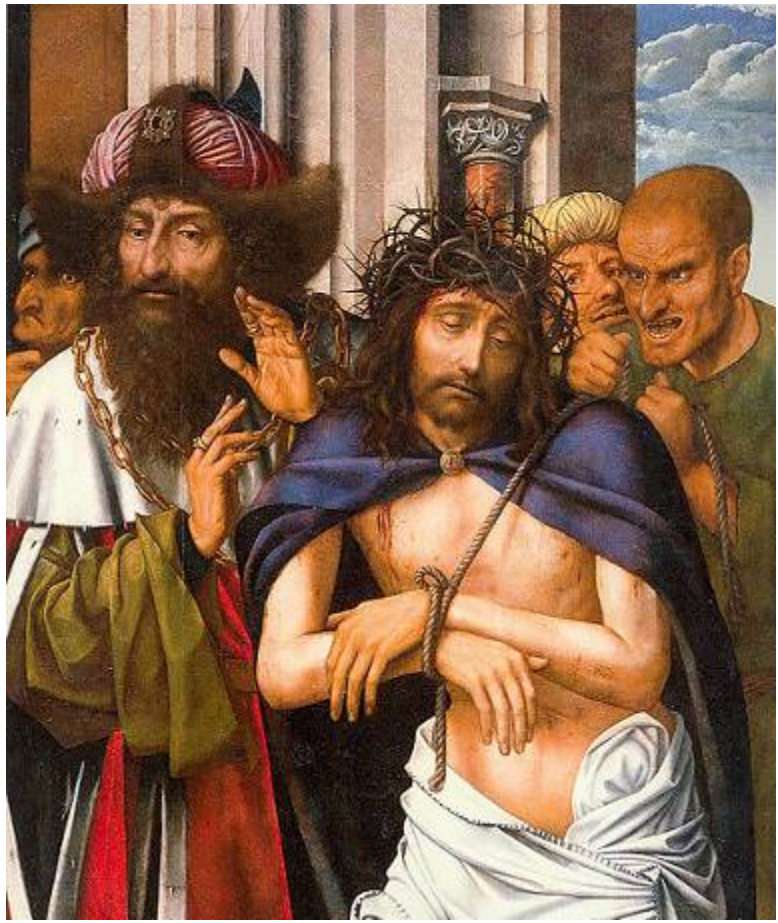
marked with an eight-pointed star known as the "seal of Melchizedek." There can be little doubt the impetus behind Judeo-Christianity is borne from the Annunaki agenda.

Mosaic showing Melchizedek receiving the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham, an eight-pointed star is on the altar. Ravenna, Italy, sixth century.

Jesus inside the seal of Melchizedek, 6th century Byzantine tapestry

Regeneration

As painted by the sixteenth century Dutch artist, Quentin Massys, in his version of *Ecce Homo*, as Joseph of Arimathea stands alongside the scourged substitute, his headdress is embroidered with the seal of Melchizedek. Significantly, Joseph of Arimathea makes the little-understood, and seldom recognized, "hand of Sabazios" gesture. This happens to be the same "blessing" gesture made by Jesus in countless depictions down through the centuries. This particular imagery has profound implications.



Joseph of Arimathea (left) wears the eight-pointed "seal of Melchizedek," *Ecce Homo*, Quentin Massys, 1520

The Hand of Sabazios

Sabazios is classified as a "sky father god" believed to have emerged in central and southeastern Europe during the first millenium BC, following the collapse of the Hittite empire. In stone steles found in Turkey and across the region, Sabazios is typically pictured on horseback defeating the primordial serpent in the classic dragonslayer tradition of the Sumerian Annunaki. The Greeks later equated Sabazios with Zeus, and sometimes with Dionysus.

Sabazios slays the Serpent, National Museum of Romanian history

According to the early first century Latin writer, Valerius Maximus, Jews that had settled in Rome were expelled in 139 BC, under a law which proscribed the cult of "Jupiter Sabazius:"

> Gnaeus Cornelius Hispalus, praetor peregrinus in the year of the consulate of Marcus Popilius Laenas… compelled the Jews, who attempted to infect the Roman custom with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius, to return to their homes.

The word "Jupiter" is the anglicized *Iuppiter,* from the Greek *Zeu pater,* "father Zeus." An exact parallel to Zeus and Jupiter is

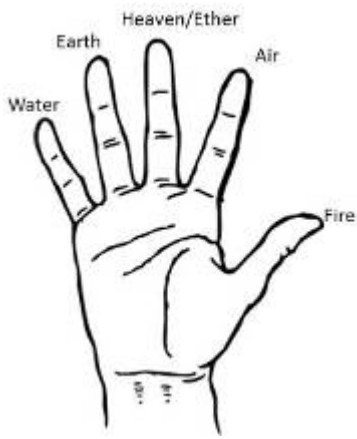
the Sanskrit god addressed as *Dyauṣ pitar: pitar* is "father," and *dyauṣ* means "sky." Since the "sky father god" traces to Sumer and the Annunaki, were Hyksos Jews active in Rome? Numerous scholars have equated YHVH with Jupiter/Zeus. And as YHVH was not a spoken name at the time, it was convenient to use "Jupiter" when in Rome.

In the Old Testament, YHVH and Elohim are interchangeable, and occur as *YHVH Elohe Tzevaot*, *Elohey Tzevaot*, and *YHVH Tzevaot*. Is there a connection between the Hebrew word *Tzevaot,* pronounced "sabaoth" (translated as "hosts" or "armies") and "Sabazius?" Were Hyksos Jews known as the "army of YHVH?" In any event, the cult of Jupiter Sabazios gained a firm foothold in Rome, and later spread westward.

In various parts of Italy and Western Europe, a number of ornate bronze "votive" hands used in the cult of Sabazios in still unidentified ceremonies, have been discovered. Dating between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD, small holes drilled around the bases suggest the hands were affixed to poles, but scholars are duly mystified as to their purpose.

Closely resembling a *mudra*, or a Hindu-Buddhist gesture to accentuate or redirect the body's energy flows, the position of the fingers and thumb is the same in all the hands. The index finger and forefinger are upright, the ring finger and little finger fold downwards, and the thumb is angled outwards. An assortment of different cult figurines appear on the fingers, but in most cases a pine cone is balanced on the tip of the thumb.

In Eastern traditions, the five fingers represent each of the five elements. Practice of hand mudras ("seals"), or hand yoga, regulates the five elements in the body to maximize health. The thumb is responsible for the "Fire" element, which is presumably why the pine cone in the hand of Sabazios is always on the thumb. Literal "fire" is visible plasma energy, or ionized gas. Irrespective of how, or from where, flow of plasma current is generated, the intent behind the ceremonial hands seems to be to direct "Fire" to the pineal gland.



Regeneration

Wherever blatant pagan symbols occur in Christian imagery, Church authorities routinely explain them as diabolic imitations. Yet although the pre-Christian hand of Sabazios is prominent in Christian art, and especially in images of the *Salvatore Mundi* (Savior of the World), its existence is not officially acknowledged. Along with other enigmatic gestures, it is interpreted as a divine benediction with roots in the Byzantine Church, the peculiar finger positions symbolizing different theological creeds.

John the Baptist blesses Jesus with the hand of Sabazios

Originating with John the Baptist, the odd concept of "baptism of fire," recorded in the New Testament, begins to makes sense. John's forecast that someone would "baptize with fire," and in so doing make his water baptism redundant, refers to the transmission of invisible plasma energy or current to the pineal gland, and subsequently throughout the central nervous system of the "baptized." By dint of his own energetic configuration, the predicted "fire baptizer" was a conduit for specific plasma frequencies.

Salvatore Mundi, Sandro Botticelli, c 1500

To whom, then, did John refer? Not the Galilean Jesus apparently, since John continued to baptize separately from him.

> Now a discussion arose between John's disciples and a Jew over purifying. And they came to John and said to him, "Rabbi, he who was with you beyond the Jordan… here he is, baptizing, and all are going to him."
>
> (John 3:26)

Regeneration

Four typical *Salvatore Mundi* images from the early sixteenth century. Jesus makes the hand of Sabazious gesture while holding the earth, or a globe, in the other. The crossd staff appears to be a four directional solstice-equinox marker, and strangely enough, it appears to be angled in sync with the earth's 23.5 degrees clockwise axial tilt. Not until Kepler's Laws, early in the seventeenth century, was it possible to calculate the tilt of the earth. What is the source of this "impossible" knowledge? Is the earth's tilt somehow connected to the Annunaki agenda?

The Virgin Mary wears an eight-pointed star, while Jesus makes the hand of Sabazios

Jan Gossart, *Virgin Mary, Jesus Blessing, and John the Baptist*, c 1525

Regeneration

In Carlo's Crivelli's (1435-1495) masterpiece, *The Annunciation to Mary*, there are several aspects worth mentioning. Perhaps the most significant, however, is the "ray of light"descending from the skies to the top of Mary's head, location of the fontonelle, and the so called "crown" chakra.
The angel facing Mary makes the "hand of Sabazios" gesture emphasizing her pineal gland react to the plasma current directed at her.

In modern society, symbols are more often than not taken for granted. But when orchestrated in alignment with specific energy patterns or formulae the unseen power of symbols is well known to occultists, Jungian psychologists, politicians, and advertising agencies.

Science has long understood all matter is interconnected energy in motion. Everything that exists, receives, holds, and transmits energy, and is distinguished by a unique frequency. Yet despite the carefully contrived images and icons that fill the archeological and historical record, research into their core energetic imprint barely scratches the surface.

The Annunaki agenda is displacement of the human race, a process explained as "Regeneration." For the "gods" to go to such lengths in order to conceal this program, a human must have value beyond words. But by allowing themselves to be manipulated into believing outright lies as sacred truths, humans unwittingly enable their own displacement.

Pineal Gland

Pine cones were used as a ritual symbol throughout the ancient Mediterranean and Near East. Later adopted by the early Church as a Christian motif, it became a regular component of medieval alchemic and later Masonic iconography. Paradoxically, the pine cone symbol first appeared in Mesopotamia, where no pine trees grew.

Rationally, as the pine cone resembles, it therefore represents, the pineal gland, so-called "third eye" of Hindu mystical tradition, located near the junction of the vertebrae and the middle of the brain. Five thousand years ago, sophisticated functions of cerebral anatomy were supposedly unknown, so how did anyone know the tiny pineal gland was important?

The first description of the pineal gland, and the first speculations about its role, are found in the writings of Galen, a 2nd century AD Greek medical doctor and philosopher. Galen explains the pineal gland as a support hub for blood vessels, and goes to great lengths to refute a popular notion that the pineal

regulated the flow of *pneuma*. The Greek word for "breath," in classical antiquity *pneuma* means "spirit of life," or "soul."

The world's largest pine cone is a bronze statue flanked by peacocks, believed to date from the 2nd century AD, located in the Vatican City

The pine cone is often featured in Freemason Octagons built into the ceilings of Masonic Lodges.

The French mathematician and philosopher, René Descartes (1596–1650), famously called the pineal gland "the seat of the soul," as it is the only single item inside the human brain, where everything else is twinned. For Descartes, the pineal gland contains "animal spirits," which he defines as types of plasma, "very lively and pure flames" that "enter and leave continually like the flow of water in a river."

> The part of the body in which the soul directly exercises its functions is not the heart at all, or the whole

> of the brain. It is rather the innermost part of the brain, which is a certain very small gland situated in the middle of the brain's substance and suspended above the passage through which the spirits in the brain's anterior cavities communicate with those in its posterior cavities. The slightest movements on the part of this gland may alter very greatly the course of these spirits, and conversely any change, however slight, taking place in the course of the spirits may do much to change the movements of the gland.

Modern text books explain the pineal gland as a small pine cone-shaped endocrine gland located in the center of the brain that medical science only partially comprehends. Known to be acutely sensitive to light, one of its main functions is to produce melatonin, which regulates circadian rhythms and affects the central nervous system.

Research on the psychedelic dimethyltryptamine (DMT) indicates the pineal gland plays a role in the production of DMT in the brain, which implies the pineal gland is instrumental to the perception of reality. It has also been suggested the pineal gland produces psychedelic amounts of DMT specifically at times of intense neurological significance, such as the moment when consciousness (hypothetically) enters and leaves the body.

Pine cones topped the ceremonial staffs of Osiris and Dionysus (Bacchus), and were often placed at the summit of a caduceus staff, symbol of medical associations around the world. A likely connection between the pine cone and staff, and the pineal gland and the spine, has not gone unnoticed.

Regeneration

Greek god Dionysis holds the pine cone topped staff

This ornate stone carved caduceus (right), topped with a pine cone, and featuring the twin masonic pillars, is on the outside of the Whitehall Building in New York City's financial district.

"Kundalini" is a type of energy believed by many to sit at the base of the spine. It can be released to travel up the spine and into the pineal gland through the use of certain techniques. Theoretically, the "awakened" Kundalini aligns and merges the chakra energy vortices that are situated along the vertical column of the spine.

Asclepius looks disapprovingly at Hermes, who brings a merchant to bargain for the three naked "Graces."

Sometimes referred to as a "serpent," the Kundalini energy is best represented in Western lore by the rod of Asclepius, not to be confused with the twin serpents that entwine the caduceus rod. In theosophical science, and in certain esoteric schools, these twin serpents are thought to represent the wandering dual "Vagus" nerve that twists around the spine to connect the body's principle internal organs to the brain stem (as shown in red ink).

The Vagus nerve

Among its many key functions, the Vagus nerve acts as the "reset" button after a perceived threat or shock to the system. The Vagus nerve communicates with the important centers of the body to quickly restore bodily functions to normal. Significantly, the Vagus nerve is associated with neurogenesis (creation of new neurons), and increased brain-derived neurotropic factor (BDNF). BDNF is a super-food for

brain cells that helps repair brain tissue, and aid regeneration throughout the whole body. Researchers have also discovered that stem cell growth is directly connected to Vagus nerve activity. Activating the Vagus nerve can stimulate stem cells to produce new cells and even repair and rebuild organs. The Vagus nerve can only function with the appropriate chemicals from the pineal gland, and ceases to function properly without them.

Without question, ancient and medieval Hermeticists participated in rituals and techniques designed to stimulate energy flows of the pineal gland. Symbols of these processes were encoded into religious imagery so devotees were unknowingly, or subliminally influenced. Not surprisingly, as items of church décor, pinecones are explained to the laity as symbols of regeneration, "new life" in Christ.

Large pinecones in Wreay Chapel, Cumberland, UK

Worldwide folklore, as comprehensively listed in the writings of Sir James Frazer and Joseph Campbell, supports the claim in Genesis that ancient gods somehow interfered with human development to drastically shorten lifespan and scramble cognitive processes (Gen 6:3, 11:7). This capability, by definition, would require highly advanced knowledge of DNA and of the body's internal mechanics, and to be achieved globally, the ability to effect change in the planetary electromagnetic field.

By cultivating the appropriate energetic conditions in the human life support system, could a non-human, or Annunaki consciousness, replace its human occupant without killing the body? Renowned hermetic scholar and Egyptologist, R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, in his introduction to *Sacred Science*, asks the question:

> What object could be the aim of the Hermetic opus? It will necessarily be an undetermined substance and not a mineral, plant, or animal being. This substance can be none but the vital "Fire," Life, capable of being transmitted to a specific being in order to lead that being to its own perfection. *This indeed is what all good texts intimate.*

The New Testament quotes the Galilean Jesus in an obvious reference to the potential of the pineal gland:

> The light of the body is the eye: if therefore your eye be single, your whole body shall be full of light. (Mt 6:22)

"Enlightenment," in the conventional Christian context, appears badly in need of reassessment.

Third century Greek relief, showing Prometheus creating mankind. With pine cone and staff suitably primed, Annunaki can birth into Homo sapiens bodies.

Alpha and Omega

> And he who sat upon the throne said, "Behold I make all things new." …And he said to me, "It is done. I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end."
> (Revelation 21:5-6)

"Regeneration" would seem to lie behind the *Alpha and Omega* metaphor used in the apocalyptic Book of Revelation, which predicts a global catastrophe resulting in a "new" earth for God's elite ("alpha" and "omega" being first and last letters of the Greek alphabet"). From artistic representations of "Alpha and Omega," the Annunaki associate themselves with "Alpha," as initiators. "Regenerated" humanity, as recipients, is "Omega."

The Ω symbol predates the Greek alphabet and traces back five thousand years to Sumerian cuneiforms, and later Babylonian culture, where the Ω symbol features on *kudurru* or "boundary stones." No scholarly agreement exists on its meaning, but the Ω symbol often appears next to Ninkhursag (*Ninurta* in Babylon), fertility goddess and supposed wife and consort of Enki. Does the shape "Ω" represent the womb and birth process?

Ninkhursag and Enki

In this scene, sexual union between the god and goddess is not implied. Instead, new life is artificially generated through a mixing process – genetic engineering.

In this way, the "Omega" child is birthed, and the final solution of the Alpha Omega agenda begins.

Babylonian boundary stone or marker

Old Babylonian Period plaques of clay with molded reliefs show a goddess (probably Ninurta) flanked by Ω motifs, beneath which sit naked hominid forms as if newly emerged from the womb. Two heads emerging from the shoulders is a theme primarily associated with the god Ningishzida, who collaborated with Enki to create the Lulu race.

An identical message of divinely ordained genetic transformation was repeatedly broadcast in Renaissance art. Fra

Bartolomeo's *God the Father and Saints Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine* is a noteworthy example. The customary bearded Father sky-god is surrounded by eight angels as he holds an open book displaying the letters Alpha and Omega ("w" is the lower case of **Ω**). He blesses the two female saints with the hand of Sabazios, as the Magdalene proffers her sacred jar.

In Saint Catherine's legend, she has a mystical vision in which she is Jesus' bride. In the foreground is a white so-called "Annunciation lily," a flower often featured in paintings of the birth Annunciation to Mary, and which recalls the messianic bride's proclamation to the king in the Song of Songs (2:1), "I am the Lily of the Valley."

God the Father, Mary Magdalene, and Catherine, Fra Bartolomeo c 1495

In the final chapter of the Book of Revelation, Jesus states,

> "I am the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are those who wash their robes that they may have the right to the tree of life." (Revelation 22: 13-14)

What is meant by the "tree of life" and what it its significance to the Alpha and Omega "regeneration" project?

This Alpha and Omega Jesus makes the Sabazios Gesture as he holds the earth, Byzantine tile mozaic.

The Tree of Life

Discovery of huge Assyrian stone reliefs displayed prominently in temples and palaces has made famous the tall muscular stylized Annunaki "god." In some scenes that are obviously copied from earlier cylinder cuneiforms, winged

bearded deities, sometimes wearing eagle-head masks, hold a bucket in one hand and a pine cone in the other. In most cases, these deities point their pine cones at the backs of the heads of kings and priests, who stand before an artificial tree; or else point their pine cones directly at the artificial tree; or directly at the king or priest, with no artificial tree present.

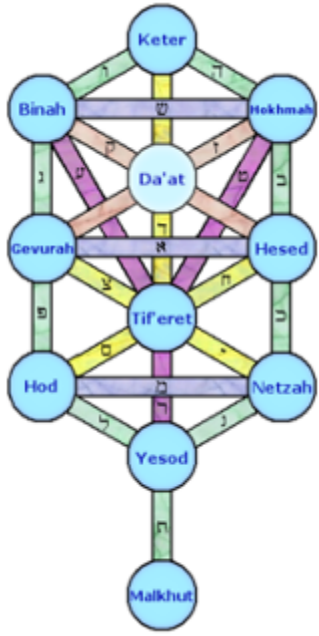
There is no unanimity among scholars as to the meaning of this "tree," and no textual evidence pertaining to this symbol is known to exist. However, it appears to be a cult object with nodes and crisscrossing lines, not a literal tree, and though it has a standardized structure, the specific details vary from one tree to the other.

Some scholars interpret this Mesopotamian "tree" as the original model for the biblical "tree of life." The "tree of life" is mentioned ten times in the Bible, most notably in the story of Adam and Eve, but it seems allegorical. Similar "tree of life" concepts occur in numerous other world cultures, some with descriptive details. Frequently, a serpent or dragon is coiled at the base of the tree, which is reminiscent of the Kundalini serpent, and a phoenix or winged bird sits at the top. Most "tree of life" mythology is linked to "gods," and promises of "eternal life."

Without doubt the most sophisticated "tree of life" ideology belongs to the Jewish Kabbalah tradition, where it serves as the template for the structure of the universe and all creation. Essentially, the tree of life consists of ten or sometimes eleven *Sephirot,* or divine attributes, that permetate everything. *Sephirot* are interconnected through twenty-two energy channels, and organized into three vertical columns. Each *Sephirot* has a specific name, and can be located within the physical human structure, with the central column repesenting the spine. Initiates meditate on the names (stations) and advance upward through the respective transformative stages of the "tree of life."

Kabbalah teachings, and those of similar and related esoteric systems, place great emphasis on the biblical Adam as the blueprint for the ideal. But as already explained, Adam represents a genetically engineered hybrid race, which is *not* the original human prototype. Adam's sole purpose is as an earthly vehicle for non-human Annunaki consciousness.

Whatever spiritual benefits or insights may accrue from its study, in the final analysis the Adamic "tree of life" is more than likely a distortion of the original human energetic template, which would contain twelve stations.



The Finger of Fire

In terms of physical energy, ancient philosophers categorized everything into four elements: Earth, Wind, Fire, and Water. A fifth element, "Ether," was understood as the non-physical causal element. These four elements correspond to the four states of matter: solid, gas, liquid, and plasma.

Plasma, in short, is ionized air or gas. Because it does not behave as a gas, plasma constitutes a separate state of matter. Fire and lightning are crude plasmas, but most plasmas are invisible to the naked eye. Although most school children are only taught three states of matter, not only is plasma physics is on the cutting edge of modern science, plasma is overwhelmingly the most abundant form of matter in the Universe.

Ionization of air or gas to form plasma occurs when the number of electrons in its atoms or molecules is reduced or increased to create charged particles – positive ions or negative

ions. Ionization is induced by heat or by electromagnetic fields, and the resulting plasma has similar conductive properties to that of metal, and is subject to electromagnetic influences.

In European alchemy, great emphasis is placed on the "transmutative power of fire." Chief of the four elements, fire alone can transform the other three. Literal "fire" can only burn or incinerate a person, but as an agent of internal structural reform, "Fire" is plasma energy. By overriding all other energy frequencies, plasma frequency can change pre-existing conditions.

As a receptor of light and magnetism, the pineal gland is predisposed to the influence of plasma waves. The Pineal gland, neurological networks, DNA – these are the principle interests of those who wish to alter the human body for their own purposes.

In the Hermetic rituals of Western Europe, magic was the key component. Different orders developed specialized magic wands to invoke and transmit the element of "Fire," either as a weapon or healer. As it acted as an extension of the pointer or index finger, adepts did not in theory need a wand. "Fire" could be summoned and conveyed by pointing the index finger – a loaded image in the encrypted art of the Renaissance.

The Creation of Adam, Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel

Regeneration

Prometheus, Piero do Cosimo, 1515

In Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam*, Adam is created through pointing an index finger, demonstrating the transmission of plasma frequencies by a Father sky god or "Anu." Adam likewise receives the transmission via his index finger. In classic illustrations, Prometheus, who created man and gave him "fire" according to Greek mythology, points his index finger. Primeval "fire" of the ancient gods does not refers to literal flame, an everyday occurrence on earth whether man exists or not.

Hermetic orders break down the four Hebrew letters of the name *YHVH*, the Old Testament God, to represent the four elements. The first letter *Yod* is Fire. Images of biblical heroes from both Testaments frequently show them with pointed index fingers, an odd gesture not recognized anywhere as part of Christian iconography.

The Angel visits Abraham, Jan Provost, c 1525.

"Finger magic" is prominent in this image, as the angel uses both hands to show a raised thumb and a pointed index finger to explain something to Abraham, as though the Annunaki agenda is being outlined to the "Father of Faith," who appears to be getting the message.

Art experts explain pointed fingers in religious paintings as reminders to the faithful that their salvation comes from heaven, which was imagined at high altitude. This idea is consistent with how the Annunaki agenda is ordinarily packaged and presented to the public.

To ridicule Jesus' delusions of grandeur, we are told Pilate instructed that a plaque be affixed to the cross, written in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. In the synoptic Gospels, the sign reads, "King of the Jews." But in the Gospel of John, the wording is "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," or *Iesvs Nazarenvs Rex Ivdæorvm* in Latin.

Though most depictions of the crucifixion show a sign with "INRI," that particular acronym would not have been written. From census records, historical maps, and archeological excavations, there is no evidence that Nazareth

existed at the time of Jesus and Pilate. Even if it had, the name of a small village in Galilee was a meaningless reference to people in Jerusalem.

Rituals in medieval secret societies used the Latin language of ancient Rome. It was believed Latin words had magic power when spoken aloud in the correct sequence. *Igne Natura Renovatur Integra* – INRI – was an important mantra, the meaning of which is "By fire nature is restored to purity." Freemasonry, which continues Hermetic tradition, explains this maxim as symbolizing the regeneration of mankind by "sacred fire." "Fire," it is claimed, is a metaphor for "divine love and truth."

But then again, who would believe "fire" from ancient gods refers to artificially generated plasma frequencies? And who would ever imagine this "fire" was meant to reconfigure the human body to accommodate non-human consciousness?

The Phoenix

By improbable coincidence, in the mythology of most regions of the world is a large mythical bird that periodically renews itself through "fire." In the West, this bird is the Phoenix from Greek myth. Among its counterparts are the Persian *anka*, the Hindu *garuda*, the Russian firebird, the Persian *simorgh*, the Turkish *kerkes*, the Tibetan Me *byi karmo*, the Chinese *fenghuang*, and the Japanese *hō-ō*, which all share the same basic design.

Hermetic Regeneration

The Phoenix has proven an enduring symbol of rebirth and regeneration much favored by governments, armed services, and large corporations worldwide. Phoenix statues can be seen in parks or on public land; military operations are frequently named after the phoenix; and a disproportionate number of companies use the phoenix name and logo.

The earliest known depictions of the phoenix are found in Sumerian seals. Having passed thru the different grades, when a neophyte is presented to the Annunaki god or goddess, a stylized phoenix represents his rebirth or regeneration. In maintaining this tradition, a new initiate in the so-called Greco-Roman mystery religions was named a "phoenix."

Regeneration

The goddess Innana receives an initiate for "rebirth."

The phoenix became associated with royalty, and was depicted on coins of Roman emperors. With the advent of Christianity, phoenix statues often held center stage inside Catholic churches. Even more so in the medieval Knights Templar churches, which were independent from Rome. Predictably, the phoenix is explained as a symbol of Christ's resurrection, and the rebirth of Christian believers.

The legend of the phoenix is just another fairy tale without appreciating that it is not literal burning flames that cause regeneration or rebirth, but plasma currents, for which "fire" is a synonym. As the Phoenix begins a new life, so too the Annunaki, who plan to inhabit energetically transformed human bodies, suitably altered by plasma-based processes to accommodate them.

Coin of the Emperor Constantius II, 384 AD.
Note that the Phoenix is depicted with an eight-pointed star

Typical phoenix statuette placed near Anglican church altar

Phoenix statues are prominent in some English churches

Regeneration

Phoenix statues in public parks in the USA and Japan

9

The Many Faces Of Thoth

God of shepherds, merchants, cheats and thieves, travelers, athletes, and border crossings were just some of the titles given to Hermes by the ancient Greeks. Romans knew him as Mercury. When Hellenistic civilization collapsed, the gods of Olympus passed into myth, except for Hermes. Church Fathers adopted Hermes Trismegistus ("thrice great") as a pre-Christian saint. Islamic tradition equates Hermes with El Khidr, immortal guide to Moses and Mohammed, who is still revered throughout the Middle East. The ancient Hindu text, *Mahanirvana,* states that Gautama Buddha is Hermes.

Emergence of the religious and philosophical system, "Hermeticism," coincided with the development of modern science in the early Middle Ages. Isaac Newton was an avid student of the *Corpus Hermeticum,* Egyptian-Greek texts from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD that deal primarily with cosmological issues.

The profile of Hermes adorns the United States silver "Mercury" dime, and statues of Hermes holding a caduceus are installed in public places in most European capitals, and in major cities around the world. Why?

Typical Hermes statues from around the world.

The Greek Gods

Greeks described their deities as having hominid form, but not human, and not subject to the usual limitations of earthly life. In stories of their deeds, the gods are competitive to a fault, prone to childish jealous, quick to anger, and fixated on sexual conquest. In others words, Greek deities are no different from the Sumerian Annunaki.

Not surprisingly, the principle Father sky-god, Zeus, is also a dragon slayer, who rises to supremacy after defeating Typhon, the deadliest monster of Greek Mythology. As with the Annunaki, Greek deities were hierarchical, with a council of twelve "Titans," overseeing affairs. Each god had specific functions and responsibilities, and human activity in those fields prospered or suffered at the whim or mood of the respective god. Rituals and ceremonies were conducted to appease the gods and gain their favor. Like their Sumerian counterparts, Greek gods had personal names, but sometimes a personal name is applied to a collective.

Zeus hurls lightning at Typhon, Greek vase c 550 BC

The Greek historian Herodotus (c. 450 BC), who spent several months traveling around the country, wrote about the history and religion of Egypt. But when Herodotus mentions an Egyptian god he uses the Greek equivalent name rather than the Egyptian name transliterated into Greek because,

> The Egyptians were the first to introduce solemn assemblies, processions, and litanies to the gods; of all

> which the Greeks were taught the use of by them. It seems to me a sufficient proof of this that in Egypt these practices have been established from remote antiquity, while in Greece they are only recently known.

When Alexander conquered Egypt in 332 BC, there was no need to impose Greek gods on the local population because they were already worshipped. The head of the Egyptian pantheon, *Ra*, was equivalent to Zeus, and presided over an assemply of twelve gods. *Thoth*, messenger of the gods, inventor of writing, and supposed author of all works of science, religion, philosophy, and magic, was Hermes. Most often portrayed with an ibis bird head-covering, Thoth (also known as "thrice great") is the most ubiquitous of the Egyptian deities.

In Egyptian king lists, as in the Sumerian lists, the first kings were gods who ruled for thousands of years. In both timelines, human kingship begins in th mid-fourth millenium BC. Historians, who regard chronicles of non-human kingship as pure fiction, treat names and dates after 3000 BC from the *same* chronicles as fact. How different civilizations, supposedly isolated from each other, could produce the same mythic history has yet to be explained.

Differences and similarities exist between Sumerian and Egyptian cultures, but if the gods of Sumer and Egypt were contemporaneous, then they were most likely the same gods. If the Egyptian god Thoth was also the Greek Hermes, did Thoth have an equivalent in the Sumerian pantheon?

Ningishzida

In his Earth Chronicle books, Zechariah Sitchin was first to identify the Sumerian deity, *Ningishzida*, as Thoth. And based on their mutual attributes, the association is unavoidable. Ningishzida

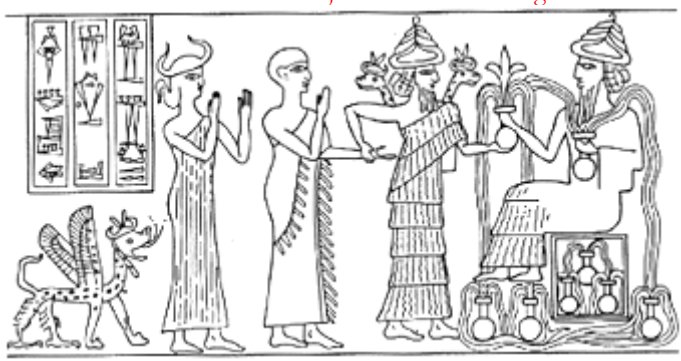
designed ziggurats; Thoth was the architect of pyramids. Both were horned gods, who decreed the measurement of time, and the movement of the planets. "Ningishzida" translates as "Lord of the Tree of Life;" or "Lord who makes the trees grow properly." Egyptian murals depict Thoth tending to a "tree of life." Sumerian cuneiforms show Ningishzida with twin serpents and the Egyptian *ankh* – exactly how Egyptian murals portray Thoth.

Probably the strongest evidence connecting Ningishzida with Thoth/Hermes is found on a ceremonial steatite vase belonging to Gudea, the self-described "shepherd" king of Lagash during the 21st century BC. The vase, which is dedicated to his protector god, Ningishzida, is carved with winged creatures supporting twin serpents that are entwined around a central staff, which constitutes the earliest representation of the caduceus on record. In cuneiform seals, Ningishzida is normally depicted with two serpents. Likewise, Egyptian murals show Thoth holding two serpent rods.

Sumerian records describe Ningishzida as an ally of Enki, and they appear together on cylinder seals. Considering the implications of Ningishzida's iconography, more than likely he was involved in the genealogical experimentation that led to the creation of the hybrid Adamic race.

The so-called winged eagle-headed "genie" of Assyrian and Mesopotamian iconography remains an unidentified Annunaki god. Yet his constant depiction with a "tree of life" suggests a link with Ningishzida, who was given the epithet "hawk predator of the gods." And as with his Egyptian counterpart, Thoth, the "genie" wears a bird headdress.

Caduceus libation vase or jar dedicated to Ningishzida



Ningishzida (two snakes emerging from his shoulders) brings Gudea to Enki.

Thoth holds two serpents as he points an ankh at the Pharaoh

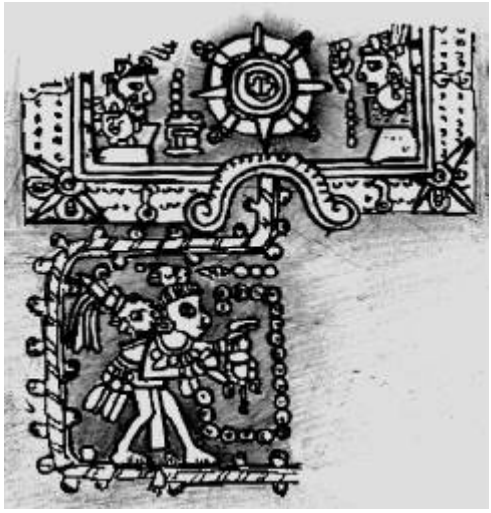
Standing serpents flank Ningishzida (seated) as he receives initiates

Iconographic evidence suggests Thoth is also *Quetzalcoatl*, the legendary Central American "feathered" or "winged" serpent god, who is credited with a central role in creating and instructing humanity, and who introduced the Mayan calendar, and the building of Sumerian-style ziggurats in Mexico. Like the Sumerian "hawk" and the Egyptian "ibis," the "quetzal" is a bird headdress for this Mesoamerican deity.

Since mainstream historians do not accept that Mesoamerican and Mesopotamian civilizations could have met, evidence to the contrary is either ignored or classed as a hoax. In 1992 an expedition to Chua, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, discovered a ceramic bowl, which was unearthed by a local man

some 30 years before, covered with glyphs. Reputable linguistic scholars around the world declared the writing system was Sumerian cuneiform. Other artifacts and stone monuments have been found elsewhere in Bolivia and Peru, with various forms of Mesopotamian writing.

Quetzacoatl, left, holding caduceus; right, holding a Sumerian style "bucket"



Quetzacoatl and the eight-pointed Mayan calendar

If the high-ranking Annunaki Thoth led an expedition to Central America, then the statue of Quetzacoatl holding a caduceus confirms the mission's prime directive – alteration of the local populations.

Ceramic "Fuente Magna" bowl with proto-Sumerian writing found in Bolivia.

But Thoth's story does not necessarily begin in ancient Sumer. According to Plato, a highly advanced civilzation on the lost continent of Atlantis was home to the gods before its demise sometime during the 10th millenium BC. Hermetic tradition maintains Thoth was an Atlantean. Atlantis is not the subject of this book, but if Thoth was as all-knowing and powerful as his extroordinary reputation maintains, then how could Atlantis have perished? On the other hand, how could Atlantis have perished without Thoth's contribution?

The Emerald Tablet

By all accounts, Thoth knew all the fundamental laws and principles by which everything in the universe exists. Written or encoded onto an "Emerald Tablet," one of twelve alleged to exist, this information was reportedly copied and stored in as many as 40,000 books, and safeguarded by an ancient priesthood.

When did all this take place? Different dates are posited, but the general timeframe suggests a date between 25,000 and 13,000 years ago – impossible under the prevailing academic interpretation of history, which dates the beginnings of written language no earlier than 3500 BC.

Modern philologists claim *all* languages derive from one common source. The "Babel" event, as recorded in Genesis, and

in global folklore, suggests the Elohim, or sky gods, somehow managed to wipe the original human tongue from collective memory, and replace it with a bewildering assortment of new languages. As mentioned previously, the minimum requirement to accomplish this feat would be the ability to manipulate the planetary electromagnetic fields.

Peoples of the ancient Meditteranean, as well as medieval Hermeticists, believed Thoth/Hermes devised and imparted these derivative languages to the amnesiac population. He also taught medicine, agriculture, astronomy, and religious ritual – everything a newborn society needed to know.

To comprehensively delete memories of the past, the entire cultural legacy of civilization would need to be physically erased. An unimaginable task of mind-boggling proportions, but perhaps that is why no advanced cultural artifacts survive from before 3500 BC? Was the evidence removed from the scene of the crime?

Earlier structures still standing, must have been essential to the larger Annunaki agenda. And since they are all made of stone, these monuments cannot be carbon dated anyway.

If this history is a glimpse into the consequences for humanity of Thoth's possession of the "Emerald Tablet," then what exactly is an "Emerald Tablet?"

Almost every culture has a tradition of primordial warring gods, and among many shared elements that indicate a common source for these legends, is the quest to capture certain "magic" stones or crystals, the possession of which guarantees victory. And no culture devotes as much attention to these objects as the Sumerian.

Epic poems describe Annunaki gods fighting over the *ME,* or "Tablet of Destinies," usually against the dragon monsters, *Tiamat* and *Anzu*. Since world domination was at stake, it seems non-humans were locked in a struggle to possess the Tablet of Destinies. Scholars have yet to quantify a *ME,* but as R. A. Boulay points out in *Flying Serpents and Dragons,* a *ME* seems to be an Emerald Tablet*:*

> The *ME* seemed to apply to anything composed of system, direction, ordered events, law, arts, and crafts, even weapons and mechanical devices.

Annunaki battle with the dragon *Tiamat* to retrieve the Table of Destiny

In *The Cosmic War,* Joseph Farrell explains that a *ME* is often called *ME-LAM,* which means "brilliant" or "light-emitting," implying the Tablet of Destinies utilizes electromagnetic energy. Further clues suggest the *ME* can manipulate weather and effect action from a distance. "Destinies" infers the *ME* were used to predict the future, not necessarily by astrological means, but through probable outcomes or realities recorded on the *ME*. Logging all past, present, and future probabilites, the *ME* was akin to a dynamic digital disk with infinite date storage capacity.

In the consensus view of Masonic scholars, *Hiram Abif,* the central hero of Freemasonry, and the architect of King Solomon's Temple, is none other than Thoth/Hermes. Furthermore, antidiluvian knowledge, which is purportedly preserved in Masonic teachings and rituals, originates from the *Book of Thoth*. In *The Secret Teaching of All Ages,* the prominent Masonic scholar, Manley P. Hall, elucidates further:

> ..while Thoth/Hermes still walked the earth with men, he entrusted to his chosen successors the sacred Book of Thoth. This work contained the secret processes by which the **regeneration of humanity** was to be accomplished and also served as the key to his other writings.

Hall does not specify what this "book" is, or how its information is translated, but asserts "it is still in existence and

continues to lead disciples of this Age into the presence of the Immortals."

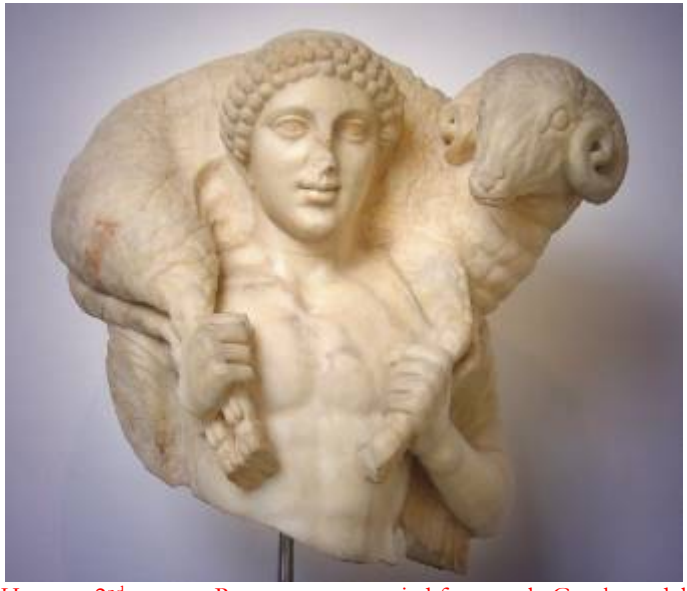
Nothing implies the *ME* or "Emerald Tablet" was created by Thoth, or any other "god." But since the information it contains provided the Annunaki with sufficient know how in order to "regenerate" humankind, the manufacturers must have been privy to the original human blueprint. Presumably it was guarded with the utmost security, so how did Thoth gain access to an "Emerald Tablet?" How did he retrieve its information?

Whatever occurred, he must first have earned a sacred trust from the guardians of the Emerald Tablets…before betraying them. Is this why Thoth/Hermes was also known as the god of cheats, liars, and thieves?

Thoth, dragonslayer with Emerald Tablet

"The ram bearer"

> What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he loses one of them, does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he finds it? And when he has found it, he lays it on his shoulders, rejoicing. (Luke 15:4-5)



Hermes, 2nd century Roman statue copied from early Greek model

The Parable of the Lost Sheep has inspired millions of sermons about Jesus' love for mankind, but apart from the sheer impracticality of lifting an adult sheep (150 - 200lbs), why would anyone put a sheep on his shoulders in the first place?

Two reasons: one, because this is what Hermes is known for, and two, because "ram's horns" are inside the human brain.

Dated between 700 BC and 400 AD, numerous statues and images of Hermes carrying a ram on his shoulders have been discovered throughout the ancient Greco-Roman world. Known as the *Hermes Kriophorus* ("ram bearer"), they are presumed to commemorate the propitious killing of sacrificial rams. Some later ones were labeled by the Church as "Jesus, the Good Shepherd."

The Greek historian, Pausanias (110 AD -180 AD), explains there were sanctuaries in classical Greece dedicated to *Hermes Kriophorus,* and in some places there was a joint cult with *Apollo Karneus (*from *karnos,* also meaning "ram") in which "ram-bearers" participated in secretive rites.

According to Pausanias, these "sanctuaries" were named *Promachos,* after a soldier in the first rank of the phalanx, which collectively refers to the first line of battle. The *Promachoi* were a legendary mainstay of the highly militaristic and notoriously xenophobic culture of Sparta, where, according to Herodotus, "they considered the things of the gods weightier than the things of men."

Sparta was also the chief center of worship of Apollo Karneus. Classical scholars are unsure how to classify *Apollo Carneus*, but translate the name to mean "the god of flocks and herds," which means Apollo Carneus is a "shepherd" deity.

The "Good Shepherd" as seen in the Christian catcoombs.

Standard "ram-bearer: statue

Coin from c 350 BC showing Apollo Karneus with ram's horns

Kinship between Israelites and Spartans is asserted in the *Book of First Maccabees*, and is corroborated in Josephus' *Book of Antiquities*. First Maccabees recounts correspondence between Jonathan, the High Priest in Jerusalem, and the king of the Spartans (known as *Lacedemonians*), around 320 BC.

> Jonathan the high priest, and the elders of the nation, and the priests, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedemonians their brethren send greeting: There were letters sent in times past unto Onias the high priest from Darius, who reigned then among you, to signify that ye are our brethren….wherein declaration was made of the league and friendship, lest we should become strangers to you altogether, for there is a long time passed since ye sent unto us.
>
> We therefore at all times without ceasing, both in our feast, and other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as reason is, and as it becomes us to think upon our brethren, and we are right of your honor. We commanded them also to go unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters concerning the renewing of our brotherhood….It is found in writing, that the Lacedemonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham. Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity. We do write back again to you, that your cattle and goods are ours, and ours are yours.

Represented as a "lost tribe" of Israel, the Spartans appear to be of Hyksos descent, which explains why Luke alludes to Spartan iconography. Writing of the Greco-Persian Wars, which began in 499 BC, Herodotus mentions that Sparta was home to the cult of *Zeus Ammon*, the bearded god with ram's horns, who became associated with Alexander the Great two centuries later. So what is the significance of the ram's horns?

Zeus Ammon

Enki, the archetypical horned god as depicted in 2D relief

Many Faces of Thoth

The main event in the Spartan calendar was known as the Carneia festival, which took place every year from the 7th to the 15th of August. This period is known as a highly auspicious time of the year in Hermetic lore, when planetary electromagnetic energy flows are understood to be especially conducive to "regenerative" processes, and which reach a peak on August 12th.

Silver coin showing Alexander the Great with ram's horns, c 290 BC

Phoenix rising from the flames, 2012 Olympic Games closing ceremony, August 12, London

The Annunaki idea of "regeneration" means blocking core organic energy distribution in the human body, and superimposing inorganic flows. This outcome necessitates manipulation of cerebral and neurological processes.

Located under the cerebral cortex, in the medial temporal lobe, the "hippocampus" is a major component of the human brain. Two hippocampi, one in each side of the brain, are known to have key roles in the consolidation of information from both short-term and long-term memory.

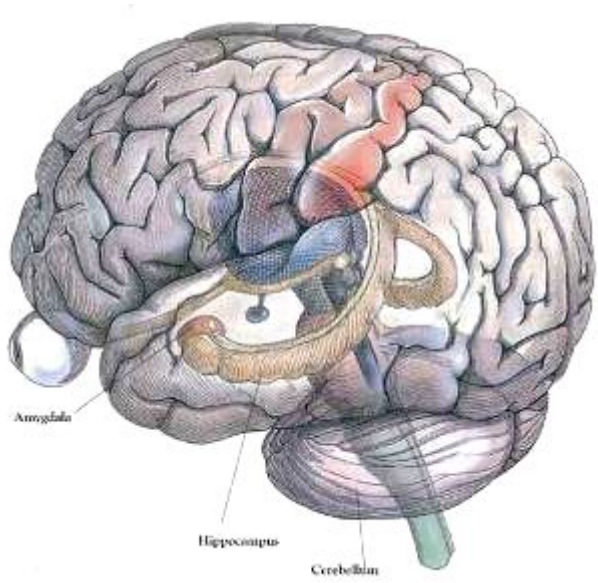
The famous eight-pointed Mayan Long Count calendar, as given by Quetzalcoatl, is recognized as the world's most accurate, needing adjustment 1 day in 380,000.

The end date was December 21st 2012, the start date was – August 12th, 3013 BC.

Modern surgical texts commonly refer to the hippocampus as "Ammon's horns." The name "ram's horn" was first proposed by Danish anatomist Jacob Winslow in 1732; and a decade later the Parisian surgeon, de Garengeot, named it "cornu Ammonis," supposedly after the Egyptian god Ammon, whose symbol was the ram.

Ammon's horns

"Ammon's horns" inside the brain



Electroencephalograms (EEG) record electrical activity along the scalp, and measure voltage fluctuations resulting from ionic current (plasma) flows within the neurons of the brain. EEG patterns in the hippocampus show vibrant patterns of electrical activity, which are not yet fully understood. The high concentration of neurons in the hippocampus, and the "fornix" (the bundle of fibers (axons) carrying signals from the hippocampus to the hypothalamus), implies a central function in regulating synaptic activity, and everything that implies, particularly in terms of neuroplasticity, and neurogenesis.

Is the ritual worship of heroic statues of ram-bearers and gods with ram's horns, intended to subliminally stimulate neurons in the hippocampus? If so, would this hypothetically increase their susceptibility to synchronized plasma flows calibrated to form neural pathways specific to desired modes of thought and behavior?

The Herma

Among his many attributes, Hermes was the god of boundaries and borders. No one knows why, but it seems the

shepherd Hermes was believed responsible for herding groups of people into different lands, and for maintaining the divisions. In the Greek-speaking world, these borders lines were initially marked by strategically placed piles of stones, known as "Herma." In time, these stones were replaced by giant carved phalluses.

Eventually, in all but the remotest areas, the phalluses were in turn replaced by busts of Hermes atop tall rectangular stone pillars, with a much smaller phallus carved at the appropriate height. No consensus exists on this peculiar depiction, as Hermes is not generally known as a fertility god. But as psychoanalysts will confirm, the phallus is the classic symbol for the male generative power, or "regeneration" in the broader sense.

Due to the Renaissance, attention returned to the gods of ancient Greece and Rome. Paintings and sculptures frequently featured scenes lifted from the various myths of Hermes. Although he was the most celebrated artist of the Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci did not directly depict Hermes. But he seems to have done so indirectly.

Leonardo Da Vinci

Leonardo produced two versions of "The Virgin of the Rocks," and in both paintings huge "Herma" phalluses tower behind Mary. This imagery cannot have been accidental, or copied from nature, as Leonardo left nothing to chance in his paintings, and this type of rock formation is virtually impossible inside a cave (often used as a symbol of the womb). Similar, equally improbable rock phalluses were placed in the background.

The Virgin of theRocks, Leonardo da Vinci, second version

If Leonardo's intent was to undermine the "virgin" birth doctrine, why bring Hermes into the equation? The answer may lie in Leonardo's curious obsession with John the Baptist. For Renaissance masters, it seems at least one crucifixion scene was compulsory, yet Leonardo Da Vinci painted none. In Leonardo's body of work, the roles of Jesus and John the Baptist appear to be reversed.

His final painting, for which he did not receive a commission, is an enigmatic portrait of John the Baptist pointing his index finger upward. Earlier artists had shown John the Baptist more subtly making the same gesture, but Leonardo made it the dominant aspect.

John the Baptist, Leonardo da Vinci, 1510

No one seems to know what to make of John's self-satisfied expression. As his life is recorded in the Gospels, there seems to be little, if anything, to smile about. Yet the face seems to be saying, "I know something you will *never* know." Could there be a secret only Leonardo Da Vinci and John the Baptist share?

Leonardo's original version of *The Virgin of the Rocks*, which hangs in the Louvre, was rejected for reasons not made public, but which are easy to understand. The subject of the painting is a non-canonical legend, in which the Holy Family travel to Egypt. On the way they meet the infant John the Baptist and Uriel, his "protector" angel, inside a cave. In Catholic tradition, this occasion was when Jesus gave John the authority to baptize him in later life.

In the original painting, the two infants appear identical, and John blesses the kneeling Jesus, in a blatant turnaround of Church myth.

In the second version, which was accepted, the positions of Jesus and John are switched. So Mary now sits with John, who is identifed by the Baptist's traditional reed cross, and Uriel sits with with Jesus, who is now depicted with a less cherubic face.

Apparently, Leonardo was determined to set the record straight, which for him meant an acknowledgment of John the Baptist's superiority. If a detail from his *Last Supper* is anything to go, where an accusatory disciple thrusts John's upright index finger at Jesus, Leonardo was unhappy with the Galilean's superior status. So distinctly personal is Leonardo's art, it is almost as if he believed *he* was John the Baptist. The Renaissance was, after all, a "rebirth" of Greco-Roman culture when the transmigration of the soul was an accepted philosophy.

It doesn't stop there. In *The School of Athens,* Raphael depicts Plato as Leonardo Da Vinci, making the same "Fire" gesture as John the Baptist. This sign, however, predates Renaissance imagery, and traces to ancient depictions of Hermes.

Detail from *The School of Athens*, Raphael, 1510

Leonardo Da Vinci (left), as Plato, holds a copy of *Timaeus,* a discourse on the nature of the physical world focused on the four elements – Fire, Water, Earth, and Air – and the transmigration of the soul.

Early Christians believed John the Baptist fulfilled an Old Testament prophecy that Elijah would return, and the Gospels describe John wearing the same hair shirt and leather belt worn by Elijah (2 Kings 1:8). In almost all Middle East traditions, Elijah is equated with Hermes/Thoth. In the Gospels, John's message is reduced to a couple of proclamations and a few bland statements, but if he had the ear of kings, and Antipas struggled to understand him, his message was anything but simple:

> When Herod heard John, he was greatly puzzled; yet he liked to listen to him. (Mark 6:20)

Many Faces of Thoth

As Thoth/Hermes/Elijah were all "messengers," so was John the Baptist. According to the Book of Acts, when Paul preached in Phrygia (Turkey), people mistook him for Hermes,

> When the crowds saw what Paul had done, they raised their voice, saying in the Lycaonian language, "The gods have become like men and have come down to us." And they began calling Barnabas, Zeus, and Paul, Hermes, because he was the chief speaker.
>
> (Acts 14:11-12)

The Gospels insist John the Baptist's food was "locusts and wild honey," a diet shared by Hellenistic gods. It was through eating wild honey that Hermes became the gods' messenger.

In Greek mythology, the *Thriae* were a trinity of bee goddesses who represented the life cycles of birth, death and regeneration. Attributed with the power of prophecy, they instructed Apollo on the art of divination and reading signs in natural world. In the fourth century Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, Apollo speaks to Hermes:

Gold-embossed Thria, c 700 BC. Note the eight-petal flowers

> "There are certain holy ones, sisters born--three virgins gifted with wings: their heads are besprinkled with white meal (pollen)... These are teachers of divination apart from me.. From their home they fly now here, now there, feeding on honey-comb and bringing all things to pass. And when they are inspired through eating yellow honey, they are willing to speak the truth; but if they be deprived of the gods' sweet food, then they speak falsely. These, then, I give you; enquire of them strictly and delight you heart: and if you should teach any mortal so to do often will he hear your response--if he have good fortune." So he spoke. And from heaven father Zeus himself gave confirmation to his words, and commanded that glorious Hermes should be lord over all birds of omen . . . and also that he only should be the

appointed messenger to Aides, who, though he takes no gift, shall give him no mean prize.

Unholy Blood

In Ghirlandaio's depiction of the *Adoration of the Shepherds,* a figure dressed in green, wearing the green laurel wreath of the Greek gods, points out the infant Jesus to a "ram bearer," carrying a ram with green foliage on its head. Green was the color associated with Hermes/Mercury, whom Sufi tradition equates with the Middle Eastern fertility icon, the "Green Man," commonly found carved into Knights Templar churches. Is the Hermetic "Green Man" John the Baptist, father of the child in question? Was Hermes a fertility symbol because of the central role he played in the "regeneration" of humankind?

Adoration of the Shepherds, Domenico Ghirlanhaio, c 1475

Many Faces of Thoth

Royalty began in Sumer as a control mechanism for the Annunaki, and royal symbolism down the centuries implies a continuity of purpose. One image is exceptionally revealing. The anonymous "Wilton Diptych" is an extremely rare example of late fourteenth century portable dual-panel art featuring the Madonna and Child. Due to anti-Roman sentiment in England during the Puritan revolution, blatantly Catholic icons were destroyed. The Wilton Diptych most likely survived, not in spite of its royal theme, but because its theme was Annunaki royalty.

The Wilton Diptych, c 1395

In the left hand panel, John the Baptist and two earlier English royals, Edward the Confessor and Edmund the Martyr (left), accompany the kneeling Richard II of England. Together they present the king to the Virgin Mary, the infant Jesus, and a party of female angels, in the right hand panel.

Each female angel wears Richard's white hart livery badge. The royal gown is similarly embroidered with horned stags – the archetypal fertility motif that features in an anonymous, and well-known, 16th century painting of John the Baptist as

Dionysus/Bacchus, the Greco-Roman fertility god, which is based on an original Leonardo da Vinci drawing.

The Wilton Diptych could hardly be a more obvious Annunaki fertility icon. Representing willing recipients of the royal seed, fecund female angels assemble with Mary, as the infant Jesus blesses the king with the hand of Sabazios. The presence of John the Baptist confirms Richard's genealogical heritage, and the formal manner in which he presents the king mirrors a similar protocol depicted in Sumerian cuneiforms.

Ningishzida (Thoth/Hermes) presents the king to Enki, pictured with 8 sacred "jars," intimating a genealogical theme

Standing beside John, the Anglo-Saxon Edward the Confessor is known mostly for his pro-Norman sympathies, which eventually led to the Norman conquest of England after his death in 1066. Little is known of Edmund the Martyr, other than that he was a nineth century king of East Anglia, venerated by the Vikings, who minted coins to commemorate him.

Chief deity of the Normans and the Vikings was Odin, or Wotan to the Saxons. According to Julius Caesar and the Roman historian Tacitus, Wotan/Odin was a name for the Roman god Mercury – Thoth/Hermes.

The Peacock Angel

Northern Iraq is home to the Yezidis, a Kurdish speaking people who claim to have the world's oldest religion – the primeval faith upon which all other religions are based. Without texts, Yezidi tradition is passed down orally. The central deity is known as *Melek Taus* or "Peacock Angel," who is believed to have brought the colors of the rainbow into the world manifested as a

peacock, whose iridescent feathers display all the colors as the angle of illumination changes.

Yezidis believe the Peacock Angel participated in the creation of Adam, and is directly responsible for teaching the different languages to mankind. As the unseen ruler of the world, Yezidis believe priests, kings, and emperors have acknowledged his authority with peacock motifs on everything from thrones to coinage.

He is also a dragon slayer, known in diverse traditions by various names. The Peacock Angel does not always manifest as a peacock. He is the Islamic prophet El Khidr, the Christian Saint George, Thoth of the ancient Egyptians, Hermes of the Greeks, and he is also John the Baptist.

Curiously enough, peacocks often feature in scenes of the Annunciation to Mary, and the Adoration of the Magi. Citing a medieval superstition that peacock flesh did not decay after death, art historians claim the peacock image symbolizes the Resurrection. But as peacocks *never* feature in crucifixion scenes, or in depictions of the resurrected Jesus, this explanation is unconvincing. However, peacocks are undeniably associated with the immortal gods of Mesopotamia, India, Persia, Greece and Rome, and are often depicted alongside the Tree of Life.

Tree of Life Peacock Tapestry, India

In Renaissance art, the peacock usually appears as a kind of observer with a keen interest in events. In painting of the *Adoration of the Magi*, Jesus' biological father is obviously absent, but it seems as if he is represented by the peacock. In the coded language of the Renaissance artists, it seems once again we being reminded that John the Baptist, who is an incarnation of the Peacock Angel, is also the father of the Galilean Jesus.

The Adoration of the Magi, Fra Angelica and Fra Lippo Lippi, 1445

Adoration of the Magi, Sandro Botticelli, 1475

Detail of the Peacock

From the painted walls of the ancient catacombs of Rome, to the sophisticated mosaics of 5th century Byzantium, and the art of medieval Europe, the peacock image is central to conveying the "regeneration" message. In Van der Weyden's painting, *The Last Judgment,* the Peacock Angel even weighs the souls of the dead to check the extent of their "regeneration."

Christian catacombs, Rome, c 250 AD

Although the Christian catacombs of Rome are well known, few people are aware of the existence of Jewish catacombs, at least six of which have been discovered. Similar in construction, Jewish

catacombs are thought to predate the Christian by about one hundred years. Tunnel walls of both are decorated with peacock images.

Peacocks inside a Jewish catacomb in Rome, c 150 AD

Why would early Christians, who supposedly blamed the Jews for Jesus' death, use Jewish icons to decorate tombs of Christian dead? The peacock symbol only makes sense when painted in both sets of catacombs if the people buried there maintained Annunaki traditions. So the earlier Hyksos in Rome morphed from "Jews" into "Christians" as the direction of the wind changed.

Detail from *The Last Judgment*, Rogier Van der Weyden, 1450

10

Dark Knights

Subject to supervision, harassment and continuous abuse by hybrid intruder races, who prefer to call themselves "Knights," humans turn to religion for comfort. Put your faith in Jesus Christ. Yet cathedrals and churches are built on sites sacred to Annunaki gods. Religious worship, ritual, and iconography are designed not to save souls, but to expedite the "regeneration" of believers. And how can a religion centered on retroactive biographies of an imposter, and not on teachings of the historical Christ, be considered Christian?

As an academic discipline, Church History only pretends to study the history of Christianity. True Christian history is not on the syllabus. What has passed for "Christianity" for two thousand years is nothing other than a developmental stage in the non-human "invasion from within" agenda. Wars between nations, and conflicts within religions, testify to an ongoing struggle between competing forces to appropriate humankind. Ultimately, they have nothing to do with "freedom."

Emerging in different times and places, and usually with different names, they might not always be in the ascendant, but the Hyksos are always involved.

Templars

Why are the medieval Knights Templar the focus of so much mystery, speculation, and conspiracy theory? Because conventional Knights Templar history makes no sense, and like the Gospel drama, it was edited by the Church. Apart from a few commercial transactions, Templar archives are lost. Relying mainly on Catholic sources to explain them, orthodox historians provide only a narrow interpretation of the Templars that raises more questions than it answers.

The Knights Templar was formally registered as a monastic order in 1118. But all the founding members, as well as their illustrious sponsor, Bernard of Clairvaux, were related. So this was a close-knit family operation. As the secretive Templar organization expanded, leadership positions were based strictly on genealogy, and drawn from inter-related noble families of Europe.

Their mission was to supposedly protect Christian pilgrims en route to the Holy Land. No proof exists of them ever doing that. Although an obvious cover story, it was never publically challenged by their critics, even during the Templar trials.

After receiving huge donations of land, property, and money from European aristocrats, within two decades the Templars were the richest private enterprise in the world, and the first multinational corporation. But why would the notoriously uncharitable feudal barons suddenly give so much so readily? The formulaic response is they were guilt-ridden medieval Catholics, and Bernard of Clairvaux had promised them a place in heaven. In the real world, the barons coughed up because something visceral obliged them to do so.

It is generally known the Templars spent their first nine years in the Holy Land methodically digging beneath the site of Solomon's Temple. No one knows what they were looking for, or if they found anything. And strangely enough, their enemies never mention it.

Within a few years, the Templars had developed into an autonomous crack military unit, independent from the Crusader armies. Although respected as warriors, visiting monarchs accused the Templars of having a conflict of interest. It was said Templars

would only fight against certain Moslems, and made secret deals with others. Mutual antipathy between Templars and the Knights Hospitallers, a contemporary rival military order, eventually broke out in open warfare.

After the fall of Acre in 1291, enthusiasm for further Crusades faded. Templars headquarters was relocated to Cyprus, where all efforts to raise enough support for an expedition to retake the Holy Land failed. By this time, public opinion was firmly against them, and the European nobility knew it.

Supposedly in response to allegations of blasphemy, the French crown and the Papacy moved to investigate the Templars. But the chosen strategy – a coordinated dawn raid – was primarily to seize "treasure" not detain suspects whose identity was already known. As far as is known, nothing substantial was confiscated.

Transcripts of the heresy "show" trials that followed reveal almost nothing of the roots of Templar ideology. So who were the Knights Templar? From the limited information available Templars appear to sing from the same hymn sheet as the Hyksos Essenes.

Return of the Sons of Light

According to his legend, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was a devout twelfth century mystic, who rose to prominence as head of the Cistercian brotherhood. Confidante of popes and kings, he single-handedly inspired a crusade to rescue the Holy Land for Christendom.

What is beyond dispute is that Bernard was a man with a mission. He was only twenty two years old when he joined the ailing Cistercian order of Benedictine monks in 1112. At the same time, however, thirty two of his noble friends and family members joined with him. Effective control of the abbey at Citeaux was usurped by the newcomers, and on account of his charisma, intellect, and energy, Bernard emerged as leader and spokesman.

In 1115, his cousin, Theobald II, the Anglo-Norman Count of Champagne, donated land to build Clairvaux ("Valley of Holy Light") abbey, a few miles from Troyes. This signaled a period of

explosive growth and over 300 abbeys were founded during Bernard's lifetime. Cistercians practiced the same lifestyle as the Qumran Essenes – daily ablutions, strict dietary regimen, and all personal wealth belonged to the community. Added to that, the membership shared the same conviction they were responsible for establishing the kingdom of God on earth. Bernard, as a new "Teacher of Righteousness" would inspire the new "sons of Light" in a Holy War against the forces of darkness

Three years later, the military wing, *The Poor Knights of Christ of the Temple of Solomon,* otherwise known as the Knights Templar, was unveiled. In his tract, *In praise of the New Knighthood*, Bernard wrote of the new order:

> They fight two wars, one against adversaries of the flesh and blood, and another against a spiritual army of wickedness in the heavens.

Since all the founding members were related to the Count of Champagne, one of the richest men in the world, none of them were literally "poor." The epithet "poor" originates in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where it is a title for the membership as a whole. It was also used by the Galilean Jesus, "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of God" (Mt 5:3). Bernard introduced a "rule" for the Templars, remarkably similar to the Community Rule of the Qumran Essenes.

Why the rush? In 1099, after a long siege and bloody massacre of its inhabitants, Jerusalem was captured by crusaders. It was now directly controlled by Frankish nobles, not by the Papacy. For Bernard, this was the time to unleash the Templars:

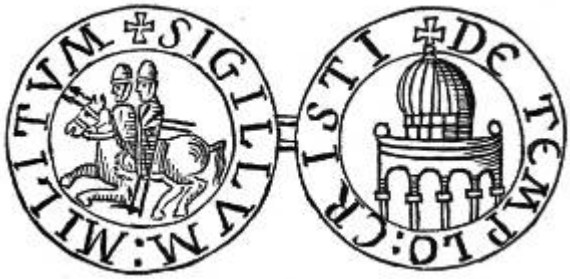
> Hail land of promise, which, formerly flowing with milk and honey for thy possessors, now stretcheth forth the food of life and the means of salvation for the entire world.

Of course, Jerusalem was always a sacred location, but why should its possession necessarily lead to global "salvation?" Did Bernard and the original Templars have reason to believe the "rod" and "staff" were buried beneath the Temple Mount, or perhaps even a Tablet of Destiny? Nine years is a long time to dig.

Whatever they found, no doubt some, including a future French king, would have assumed it was the lost Ark.

Seals & Symbols

To authenticate documents, Grand Masters of the Knights Templar used a double-sided wax seal that showed the Dome of the Rock on one side, and the symbol of two knights on one horse on the other. Different seals were used by provincial masters, but none were spontaneous designs. A seal was meant to convey the essence, or energetic imprint, of whatever it represented.



During the Templar era, the two knights on a single horse were thought to represent the poverty of the order. Not only is this idea ridiculous, the Templar rule expressly forbids riders from sharing a horse. Later commentators explained it as a reference to fraternal love, while their detractors claimed it symbolized Templar homosexuality.

More sensibly, the image is designed to signal unity. Two beings in harmony, or two ethnicities united together in one common cause, or both. Although they are related members of a societal caste, the Knights Templar may have understood themselves as a race, or more correctly a "master" race.

The only other known representation of two warriors riding together into battle on one horse is found on Sumerian cuneiforms.

Other seals suggest Templars roots go back to ancient Mesopotamia. The "Frater Robert" seal, which is usually explained as the sun and moon, actually shows the eight-pointed star of the Annunaki. Certainly the most familiar emblem of the Knight Templar is the "cross pattée," which is an equidistant cross with four splayed arms. The Templar cross is featured on seals, rings, amulets, clothing, shields, and was the banner carried into battle. Numerous theories to explain its meaning are extant, and the cross pattée is known to have been used by various cultures at different times, but there is no doubt it first appears in ancient Sumer.

Templar Knight

Stylized Assyrian king as the god Ninurta

As a recurring Annunaki symbol, the Templar cross is found on Sumero-Babylonian cylinder seals, and on stone carvings from the Assyrian period. As a union of "temple" and "pillar," the word "Templar," and thus the Templar symbol, more than likely represent the quest rather than the Annunaki themselves, the geometry of the cross a code for a pre-existent planetary metaphysical "template."

Though the god Ninurta is described Enlil's son, he was mentored by Enki, and entrusted with guardianship of the *ME*s. In his heroic Babylonian legend, Ninurta battles with the monster Anzû to recapture the stolen Tablet of Destinies. Assyrian kings, depicted in Ninurta's likeness, wear a "Templar" cross in the middle of the chest.

The double-headed eagle is another widely-used seal with an uncertain meaning. Brought west by knight Crusaders, this symbol quickly spread throughout all Europe, though it is now known to have been used in parts of England prior to Norman times. Eventually, it became the imperial emblem of Russia, Austria, Serbia, Prussia, among other states, and a principal motif in Scottish Rite Freemasonry. Today the double-headed eagle is on heraldic shields, and coat of arms of towns and cities in all the major nations.

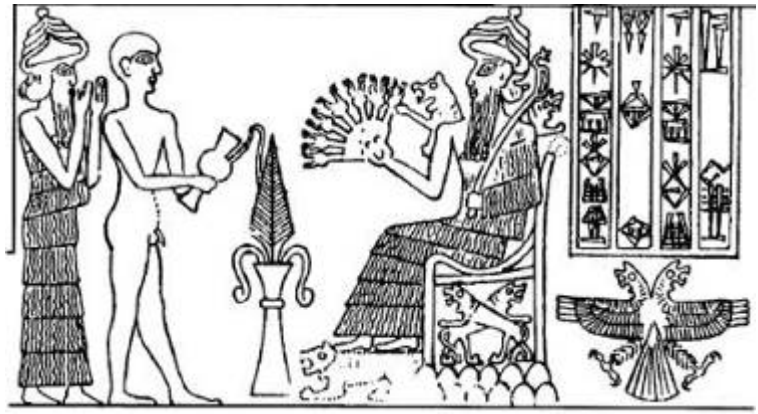
It was also the flag of the nomadic raiders known as Seljuk Turks (right), sworn enemies of Christendom, whose capture of Jerusalem from the Egyptian Fatimids in 1073 instigated the Crusades. In 1098, the Fatimids retook Jerusalem from the Seljuks, and pleaded in vain for the Crusader army to leave Jerusalem alone. It didn't work.

The notorious adversary of the Knights Templars, Saladin, who recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, was a Fatimid ruler, and a bitter enemy of the Seljuks. During their time in the Holy Land, the Templars fought numerous battles against the Fatimids, but maintained cordial relations with the Seljuks, which infuriated foreign monarchs to whom *all* Moslems were the enemy.

The double-headed eagle of Freemasonry

Double-headed eagle stone carving, Cappadocia,Turkey

A variety of two-headed eagles can still be seen among the archeological ruins of the 2nd millenium BC Hittite Empire, located in modern day Turkey, Syria and Lebanon. But the two-headed eagle goes back to ancient Sumer, where it is included in images of Ningishzida (Thoth) and Enki that are loaded with suggestions of genetic manipulation. These are the two principal Annunaki "gods" associated with the creation of the Lulu.



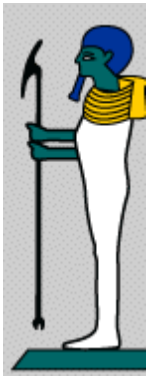
A naked initiate approaches Ningishzida. The double eagle is bottom right

As Enki is sandwiched between two trees of life, a flow of watery "abzu" energy connects him to a two-headed eagle and to two men in fish garb. A Templar cross is to the right.

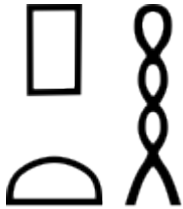
Thoth-Enki Brotherhood

It seems the two eagle heads represent two Annunaki strains, possibly with a common avian genealogy. Given the Mesopotamian penchant for combining gods, the two are joined together to form one "race." The symbol of the two-headed eagle is therefore a code for this Thoth-Enki pact and its hybrid lineage. Assyrian eagle-headed gods, carved in 1st millennium BC stone reliefs, who are preoccupied with a tree of life, most likely represent Thoth and Enki, or their respective factions.

For casting spells and warding off evil demons, scarab-shaped magical amulets were popular in ancient Egypt, worn either as a necklace or hand-held. On one such amulet, dated about 200 BC,



is a two-headed deity holding a Djed scepter and an ankh. The two heads are a serpent and an ibis. In Egypt, only Thoth was depicted with the head of an ibis. The Djed was always associated with the god Ptah, who scholars understand as the counterpart of the Sumerian Enki. Ptah's hieroglyph was an entwined rope/serpent, and in Sumerian clay seals, Enki was sometimes depicted as a hominid-serpent being



Egyptian amulet with two-headed (snake and ibis) deity, c 200 BC

The half-serpent Enki is shown on the right

Presumably, the divine lineage represented by Enki/Ptah had part-reptilian origins, as represented by the snake head and serpent tail, which is not to be mistaken for the primordial dragon/serpent that was anathema to the Annunaki gods.

Thoth-Enki brotherhood acknowledged in modern esoteric sects

Double-headed busts have been discovered throughout Europe and the Middle East, the earliest of which is believed to date from 500 BC. Although classified as "two-headed Hermes" figures, the faces are different, and so far no explanation for them exists. But why else would two gods be conjoined if not to represent their physical union? In other words, the two male gods symbolize a unified brotherhood of mixed descent. As Hermes is Thoth, so the other head signifies Enki, whose Greek counterpart is Prometheus, the supposed creator of humankind.

In Greek mythology, Prometheus is distinguished from other titans by his close kinship with Hermes. Both Hermes and Prometheus have the gift of "fire," and are linked in primordial acts that set a course for human destiny.

The German equivalent of the Knights Templar, the Teutonic Knights, used the banner of the double-headed eagle. So although the word "Teutonic" means descended from *Teutes*, an Egyptian rendering of Thoth, Enki is also acknowledged. The preponderance of a variety of gods, however, implies the Thoth-Enki combined lineage is only one of several Annunaki factions in

hybrid-human form, though it may be the most overt. That being the case, most hybrid-humans are unlikely to have conscious knowledge, or memory, of their status and affiliations. Nor would they know their genetic imprint leaves them susceptible to physical/emotional/psychological manipulation, and everything that follows.

Supposed double-headed "Hermes" in Athens, c 300 BC. More likely, this bust represents the union of Prometheus (left) and Hermes (right).

Two-headed "Hermes" found in France, c 500 BC

The Gnostic Connection

From their seals, we know the Knights Templar honored Abraxas, who different sources describe as either a Gnostic deity or a demon. In his typical appearance, engraved on ancient gemstones and amulets, Abraxas has the head of a cockerel, the body of a man, and his legs are two snakes. He holds a Pharaonic flail with one hand, and a shield with the other.

Abraxas is mentioned in several Sethian gnostic texts found in Nag Hammadi, where he is a sort of high-ranking angelic savior or "aeon." Abraxas also features in numerous fragments of the so-called *Greek Magical Papyri,* a collection of magical spells, rituals, and incantations found in Egypt dating from the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD.

According to early Church heresiologists, including Ireneaus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, and Tertullian, Abraxas was a central figure in the cosmology of Egyptian Gnostic Basilides, who taught in the first half of the 2nd century AD. Their interpretations of Abraxas vary, but the common denominator is of Abraxas as a high-ranking creator god, who is responsible for constructing the heavens and the 365 day year. In Isopsephy, the Greek practice of adding up the number values of the letters in a word to form a single number, the number of Abraxas is 365.

In all likelihood Abraxas is a name or word made to hold a magic formula, not unlike "Abracadabra. Coupled with his bizarre appearance, identifying Abraxas is problematic. But when he is compared with Thoth/Hermes it is obvious who is Abraxas.

Key among his many "accomplishments," Thoth configured the solar system and calibrated the moon's orbit. He is therefore responsible for the calendar, and the fundamental design of time. By assigning these aspects to the name "Abraxas," Greek-speaking Gnostics simply magicalized "Thoth/Hermes."

Hermes above the clock at Grand Central Station, New York

At the basic level, symbols represent the core imprint, which is the genealogical foundation. With a human torso, head of the cockerel, and serpent's legs, Abraxas is a hybrid, which is to say his genetic make-up includes human, avian, and reptilian DNA. Ningishzida, Thoth's Sumerian identity, is the earliest known depiction of an *anguiped*, the technical term for a deity with serpent's legs.

One as often different birds often surround Thoth. The cockerel was closely associated with Hermes. On gemstones, he was sometimes depicted as a cockerel with a human head. After Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul, when Greco-Roman gods were introduced, the cockerel became a symbol of Gaul, and later the national emblem of France. Most of Europe's earliest weathervanes depicted

Hermes. In modern times, Hermes has been replaced with his traditional symbol, the cockerel, and occasionally with the caduceus.

Seated Hermes (above) is cockerel and a goat, French silver platter, 2nd century AD

French heraldry from Mazamet, showing Hermes the (cockerel) and 3 bee goddesses. pictured with a

In Bellini's cryptic *Blood of the Redeemer*, "Christ" stands upon the checkerboard matrix of Masonic tradition, as in the background the seated Hermes (with caduceus and cockerel) welcomes an initiate.

In Church tradition, the founder of Gnosticism is Simon Magus, a character briefly described in the Book of Acts, but

whose life was the subject of much myth and speculation in early Christian literature. Such was his notoriety that Ireneaus claims,

> All those who in any way corrupt the truth, and harm the teaching of the church, are the disciples and successors of Simon Magus of Samaria.

If Simon Magus was the quintessential heretic, then in the *Clementine Literature* of the early Jewish-Christian Ebionites (literally "the Poor"), he is described as John the Baptist's favorite disciple, sent to Egypt to "perfect his studies of magic."

> Being an adherent of John…through whom he came to deal with religious doctrines…Of all John's disciples, Simon was the favorite, but on the death of his master, he was absent in Alexandria.

Sometimes referred to as the 'last Gnostics," sacred texts of the Mandaean people of Iraq interpret John the Baptist in the mold of a classic Gnostic redeemer, descending from the realms of light to rescue souls trapped in the world of darkness below. After death, John escorts the Mandaean soul through different levels of the afterworld. Known as a psychopomp (from the Greek "guide of souls"), the role of the Mandaean John the Baptist is the same as that of the Gnostic Abraxas. In Greek mythology, Hermes was the psychopomp who led dead souls in a journey through the afterworld.

In most examples of Abraxas gemstones, amulets, and seals, the three letters I, A, and W are

juxtaposed forming the word IAW, either around the figure or separately on the shield. The most common explanation is that these three letters represent "IAO," pronounced "iaho," a Jewish-Egyptian rendering of the name YHVH. However, YHVH was not spoken by Jews at this time, and so would not be included in a magical formula. The simplest explanation is that the Greek letters, "I" Iota, "A" Alpha and "W" Omega, translate as "I am the Alpha and the Omega."

Abraxas, as the Gnostic name for Thoth, is another arm of the Annunaki "regeneration" agenda, to which the Knights Templar subscribed, unwittingly or otherwise. Gnosticism has many faces, and is notoriously difficult to pin down, but Sethian Gnosticism appears to have Hyksos origins. Early Christianity, which also stood on Hyksos foundations, used the A and W letters in some of its formative iconography, as can been in the Roman catacombs.

After Roman Emperor Constantine I adopted the Greek *Chi Rho* symbol (literally meaning "good") as a military standard, the letters A and W were incorporated to create one of the most widely-used Christian monograms.

Depiction of Jesus, with the "A" and "W," Alpha & Omega, Roman catacombs, late 3th century.

Baphomet

When news broke of the Templar's arrest, there was no public outrage, not even protests on the streets of Paris. No evidence of sympathy for the Templars exists from any source without Templar connections. None of the knightly orders were popular at the time, the Knights Templar less than most. Widely perceived as aloof, arrogant, secretive, greedy, and corrupt, rumors had long circulated that Templars indulged in orgiastic rites, worshipped the devil, and believed all kinds of

blasphemies. During the Templar trials, numerous witnesses, including low-ranking defectors, told of rituals that denied, mocked and vilified the cross; and of ceremonies with various idols to invoke an entity known as Baphomet.

Grand Masters of the Knights Templar (right) and Knights Hospitallers, blessed by a Fox as the Pope, French manuscript, 13th century

If, as it seems, the Templars embodied Hyksos tradition, then their reported view of the crucifixion is to be expected. But who, then, is "Baphomet?" Most historians think the name is a distortion of Mohammed, and from their time spent in the Middle East, Templars had been influenced by Moslem practices. Medieval Islam, however, was not idolatrous.

"Baphomet" predates the Templar trials, and first appears in a letter written in Latin by the crusader Anselm of Ribemont, who was present at the siege of Seljuk Turk-held Antioch, and dated July 1098:

> As the next day dawned, they called loudly upon Baphometh; and we prayed silently in our hearts to God, then we attacked and forced all of them outside the city walls.

And also in an anonymous lament from a returning crusader about 1250:

> Then it is really foolish to fight the Turks, now that Jesus Christ no longer opposes them. They have vanquished the Franks and Tartars and Armenians and Persians, and they continue to do so. And daily they impose new defeats on us; for God, who used to watch on our behalf is now asleep, and Bafometz puts forth his power in support of the Sultan.

Having previously mentioned "he who was laid on the cross," the author was almost certainly a formal Catholic, not a Templar. Taken in context, "Bafometz" appears to refer to a "supernatural" entity other than God, and not to Mohammed, who was considered a mortal. If not the "devil," then Baphomet is a type of fallen angel or demon whose "power" was accessed by Seljuk Turks.

Nineteenth century drawing of Baphomet

Since 1856, Baphomet has been closely associated with an image drawn by Eliphas Levi, a French writer recognized as a major influence on the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and on English occultist Aleister Crowley. According to Levi, the figure of Baphomet was supposed to represent the "sum total of the universe."

Used today by numerous occult groups, including the Church of Satan, the goat-headed Baphomet is sometimes equated with *Azazel*, leader of the fallen angels in Enochic lore, whose name was given to the biblical "scapegoat." Goat symbolism, however, has strong connections to Hermes. A goat cult centered on Hermes is known to have existed for several centuries among Thracian tribes in Ainos, Greece. Coins, dating as far back as 500 BC, feature the head of Hermes, with a goat on the reverse.

Herodotus wrote that Thracian royal families worshipped Hermes "the most," and believed him to be their ancestor. No scholarly consensus exists on the relevance or meaning of the "goat" and its connection to Hermes.

Four examples of Thracian Coins

On the crown of Baphomet's head is a flaming torch symbolizing the "regenerative" fire associated with Prometheus and Hermes. The pentagram on Baphomet's forehead stresses the "third eye" of the pineal gland. Foremost symbol of witchcraft and the occult, and often hidden in plain sight as a "star," the pentagram is highly significant to the non-human agenda.

Medieval magicians and alchemists saw in the pentagram the blueprint, not for physical beauty or proportion, but for the underlying energy flows of the human condition, exploitation of which was their essential interest. The pineal gland directs these vital energies.

Female breasts mean Baphomet is a hermaphrodite, so–called after Hermaphroditus, the two-sexed child of Hermes and Aphrodite. Union of the two principles of generation and conception in Baphomet, in conjunction with his caduceus and the hand of Sabazios, emphasizes the Annunaki agenda.

This program is further underscored by Baphomet's arms pointing upwards, inscribed with the word *Solve*, and downwards inscribed with *Coagula*. "Solve et Coagula" is a recognized alchemical formula that translates as "separate and join together," the meaning of which is self-explanatory from the assimilator's perspective.

While the etymology of "Baphomet" is debatable, it represents not just Thoth/Hermes as a principle architect behind humanity's current plight, but the prospective non-human coup itself, many thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of years, and which involves non-human races other than Annunaki.

Friction between John the Baptist and his son, the Galilean Jesus, manifested in ill-feeling between their followers. If the Knights Templar denied the Jesus was the Christ, it is most probably because they knew he was not. And if they rejected the doctrine of vicarious salvation by a crucified savior, it is because they knew Jesus was not crucified. They venerated John the

Baptist, not because they thought *he* was the Christ, but because they believed John was Thoth/Hermes, who is the Hyksos savior figure.

As the son of John the Baptist, the Galilean Jesus was still considered important. Not only did he continue the sacred Annunaki lineage, he upgraded it by integrating the Christ coding of Mary Magdalene. For this, he was respected by the Knights Templar, and related Hermetic groups – just not as highly as John was. If anything, the Hyksos Yeshua was to be feared.

Prince of Demons

Detail from *The Last Judgment*, Hans Memmling, 1470

Approximately 400 years before Eliphas Levi drew Baphomet, the Dutch master Hans Memmling painted Jesus in *The Last Judgment* in the exact same pose, purely by coincidence, or to

deliberately transmit the twisted "new life in Christ" message of the Annunaki.

These contrived arm positions have their roots in ancient Mesopotamian iconography. In Assyria and Babylon, statues of the demon king *Pazuzu* depict him with the right arm pointing up, and the left arm pointing down. Though he was a demon, sacrificial offerings were made to Pazuzu. First, because he could drive other demons and evil spirits away and thus protect people from misfortune; second, because he was also an incubus, as the phallus indicates. Sexual union with a demon king, so it was thought, could produce offspring with privileged lives on earth.

As most people know from the Gospels, the Galilean Jesus was called a demon by his detractors. The word "demon" was probably bandied around a great deal, but in this instance Jesus is specifically accused by "scribes," scholars educated in religious tradition, who would have studied demon or fallen angelic lore in extensive detail. Their opinion, therefore, was not necessarily based on bigotry or envy, as Church tradition maintains.

Although Islam prohibits figurative drawing, some Sufi religious artwork survives from the Middle Ages. In one 14th century manuscript, *Iblis,* equivalent of the Christian devil, is depicted strikingly similar to Baphomet. Crossed arms have signifancee in Hermetic symbolism, but the central identifying feature of the image is the matching finger positions of both hands, whereby the index finger and little finger are extended, and the two middle fingers are folded into the palm.

In popular culture, this gesture is known today as the "sign of the horns," or the "hand of Baphomet" Its origins are obscure, but its earliest established use was in ancient India, where this sign is seen in statues of Gautama Buddha and his consort Kwon Yin.

Known as the *Karana mudra,* it is used to expel demons and remove negative influences, and in no way a recognized Christian blessing. Neverthless Jesus is depicted making the "hand of Baphomet" in an anonymous mid-twelfth century painting produced in Jerusalem during the height of the Crusader kingdom, and which somehow managed to survive.

The image is part of the *Melisende Psalter*, an illuminated manuscript of the New Testament, commissioned by, or for, Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. Melisende was the eldest daughter of King Baldwin II. Baldwin II was instrumental in establishing the Knights Templar presence in Jerusalem, and wrote Bernard of Clairvaux asking for help in influencing Pope Honarius to grant the Knights Templar official status. Melisende's husband, Fulk V, Count of Anjou, was a Knights Templar.

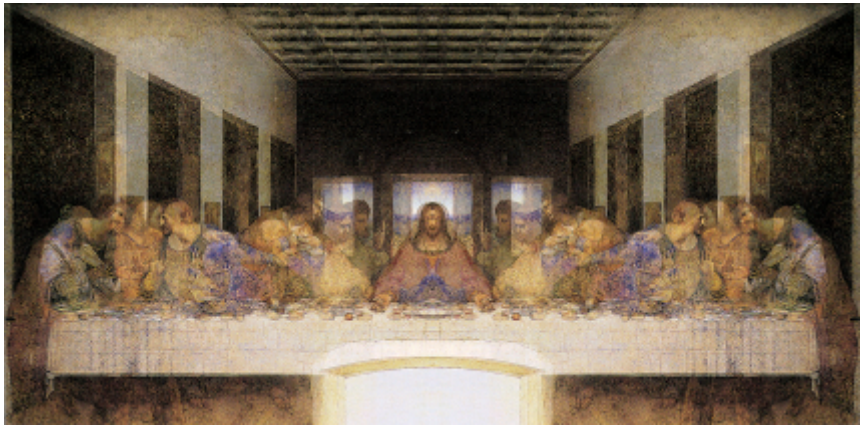
It would not stretch credulity, therefore, to suggest that Folio 12, the painting in question, betrays Knights Templar "secrets." The father on the right, John the Baptist, and mother Mary on the left, make identical gestures to present their son, the bethroned

Jesus. Jesus' evident scowl directed at John is easy to understand, but his finger gesture hints toward the unthinkable. Was the Galilean Jesus literally a prince of demons?

Folio 12, Melisende Psalter, anonymous, 1135

It is common knowledge that Leonardo da Vinci used "mirror script," which means his writing flows from right to left with all the letters inverted, and can only be read with the untrained eye using a mirror. Historically, mirror imaging was used for *encipherment* whereby calligraphy or images are converted into a code or cipher. So it is more than conceivable Leonardo used mirror imaging in some of his paintings. Researchers have shown

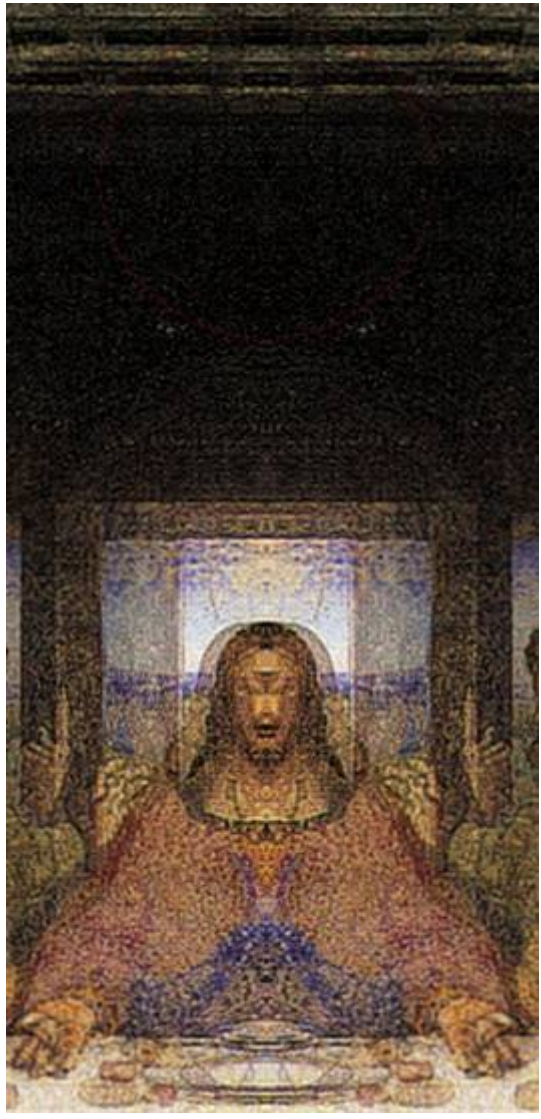
that when a mirror image of *The Last Supper* is superimposed on itself an entirely new picture emerges.



Mirror image of The Last Supper superimposed on itself

Jesus remains intact but wholly different. Above his head, there appears a descending white dove aligned with a vertical column consisting of highlighted chakra energy centers that western medicine does not formally acknowledge – the crown on top of the head, the third eye or pineal on the forehead, the throat, the central heart, and the solar plexus.

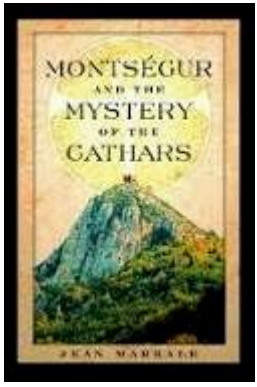
On the same vertical, directly above the dove, are what appear to be a number of horned goat-like heads, which might be a trick of the light except one horned face is unmistakably a Baphomet type of demon. In other words, Leonardo's *The Last Supper* reverses the Church interpretation of Jesus. Far from representing the Holy Spirit, the descending dove brings with it a host of demonic powers.



11

Keepers of the Truth

Seven hundred and seventy years ago, an army of ten thousand soldiers, paid for by the Roman Catholic Church and the French Crown, surrounded the hill top fort of Montsegur in the eastern Pyrenees. The majority of the approximately two hundred and fifty men, women, and children trapped inside the compound were Cathars, or Kathars, members of a heretical sect against whom the Pope had declared a holy crusade thirty five years earlier. After a siege lasting approximately nine months, the occupants finally surrendered. All of them were thrown into a fire and burnt alive by the Inquisition.



According to Inquisition archives, at least four Cathars managed to escape sometime during the night before the fall of their fortress, carrying with them an unspecified "treasure." They were never captured. These events took place in 1244, but the precise nature and whereabouts of the Cathar treasure is still a mystery. An even greater mystery is the Cathars themselves. At the height of the persecution, not only was every Cathar man, woman, and child,

hunted down, bodies of dead Cathars, and even Cathar sympathizers, were exhumed and ceremonially burnt. After Montsegur, scattered Cathar communities managed to survive until the mid-fourteenth century. Yet nobody seems to know who they were….or what their heresy was.

Manichaeans

Unfortunately, most information on the Cathars comes from their enemies, who made no distinctions and described them as a uniform group. Based primarily on these accounts, modern scholars categorize Cathars as Gnostic dualists. In its purest form, Gnostic dualism teaches there exists a transcendent *good* God and an *evil* false creator god. While "spirit' is divine and comes from God, "flesh" is perishable and is made by the false god.

The Inquisition accused Cathars of being dualist followers of *Mani* (c. 216-276), whose movement was probably the biggest thorn in the side of the Church from the late 3rd century to the early 5th century. Born in southern Babylonia (Iraq), Mani proclaimed a new religion of "light," explaining himself as the culmination of a long line of prophets, beginning with Adam and including Hermes, Buddha, and Jesus. He also claimed to be the *Paraclete,* the priestly savior figure, predicted by the Galilean Jesus in the Gospel of John (Jn 14:16), who would come and help his disciples.

From Persia, Manichaeism spread rapidly west into the Roman Empire. By the 4th century, Manichaean churches were established in Occitania, or Languedoc, which is where the Cathars later emerged. Following sustained attacks from Rome, Manichaeism disappeared almost entirely from Western Europe by the end of the 5th century. It was present in the Mediterranean

region at least to the 7th century, and in Central Asia and Persia until the 10th century.

It is usually suggested Manichaean philosophy was reintroduced into southern France by Bogomil missionaries from Bulgaria in the 11th century, and took root among a population disaffected with Roman Catholicism.

Among many surviving fragments of Manichaean holy texts are sections from *The Book of Giants*, written in numerous languages. The Book of Giants is similar to the Book of Enoch, being concerned with legends of primordial fallen angels. Missing from Enoch are details about a race of *Nephilim* giants and their offspring.

All the names of the fallen angels and giants in the Manichaean Book of Giants are Aramaic. This is informative as Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants, along with fragments of the Book of Enoch, were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran (4Q203, 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q530-532, 6Q8), and nowhere else.

Since Mani saw himself as the successor to the Galilean Jesus, and Manichaean sacred texts were found at Qumran, Manichaeism is likely spawned by the Hyksos, the original "sons of light," and is thus part of the greater Annunaki agenda. And as with the Sethian Gnostics and Docetics, Manichaeans did not believe Jesus was crucified. Jesus' apparent change of "form and appearance" is called a *raz*, or mystery.

Manichaean iconography was meticulously purged wherever Manichaeism was overthrown, but many scholars think the so-called Cross of Thomas (right), first discovered in India and still used by several Protestant denominations, is the original Manichaean cross. Mani is known to have preached in India, where Thomas is believed to have lived and died. Numerous 4th and 5th century Church Fathers claim he treasured the lost Gospel of Thomas, which was found at Nag Hammadi in 1945.

The appearance of a dove on the Manichaean cross would seem to contradict traditional Church interpretation of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit, since Gnostic dualism has no use for a Holy Trinity let alone a crucifixion. As a Christian motif, the descending dove derives from Gospel accounts of the Galilean Jesus' baptism by John, in which "the Spirit of God" descends in the "shape of a dove." The dove was also an essential Cathar motif.

Paper manufacturing was a well- known Cathar industry. By 1280, the Cathars had devised a technique using wires to imprint paper with symbols that were invisible to the naked eye, but which appeared when held up to the light. Some of these designs featured doves, a phoenix, and select ancient Mesopotamian motifs. Certain Cathars, it seems, understood the power of subliminal messaging.

The Dove

Few traditions are as long and enduring as the dove. Much more than a religious symbol, the dove is now firmly established as the international icon for peace and reconciliation, used by numerous global institutions, corporations, military and pacifist groups, and even by communist nations.

"Dove" is another word for pigeon, an extremely common bird that can be trained to ferry messages, but which is generally regarded as a civic nuisance. What, then, lies behind its worldwide dominance?

The dove is the most recurring bird in the Old Testament, and for ancient Jews, and practitioners of other religions in the region, ritual killing of doves was mandatory. According to Genesis, the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt was caused by Abraham's failure to cut a dove in two at the required time. In ancient Babylon, priests of Marduk would ceremonially cut a dove in two at the Spring Equinox.

This tradition derives from an episode some researchers consider an explanation for the existence of an asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter. The Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Elish,* explains that after Marduk destroyed "Tiamat" he split the body in two, "setting half of her to form the sky as a roof for our earthly house." Tiamat became *Tehom* or "Firmament" in Genesis. Firmament literally means "what is spread out," in reference to the former body of Tiamat.

This is significant because the principal Mesopotamian goddess, Inanna/Ishtar (and several other names), is described as "the daughter" of Tiamat, and the dove was her symbol. The name Ishtar comes from the Sumerian USH-TAR, "uterus" in Latin. "Dove," *peristera* in Greek, also means "womb." The earliest Sumerian name for Inanna, *Iahu* (pronounced "yahoo"), translates as "exalted dove." "Iahu" is thought by many scholars as the source of the biblical "Yahweh/Jehovah."

In the Middle East and Asia Minor, monuments still exist to the mythical queen-goddess Semiramis, who became an important figure of Greek mythology. In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid wrote the

fable of "Semiramis into a pigeon." On her death, Semiramis was changed into a pigeon, and "to express the celestial benignity of her nature, she was called by the name of *D'Iune*," which means "The Dove." "D'Iune" without the article is "Juno," name of the Roman "queen of heaven." Doves, of course, are standard in depictions of Mother Mary, the Catholic successor "queen of heaven"

Worship of the Mesopotamian goddess and the dove spread to Crete, where she was depicted with doves on her head, and to Cyprus where doves can be seen on Roman coins perched on her temple. Throughout the Greco-Roman world, pigeon offerings were made to Aphrodite (Venus) in exchange for blessings and favors, and Demeter (Ceres), another version of the Mother Goddess, was also associated with the dove symbol.

The name of Eurynome, the pre-Olympian Greek goddess, means "widely distributed." The leading scholar of Greek Mythology, Robert Graves, equates her with the Sumerian Iahu. One Greek creation myth explains Eurynome was encircled by a serpent before changing her form into the dove that laid the egg from which the world emerged.

The encircled serpent is widely recognized as an ancient representation of time, or the passage of time, but also of "regeneration," and as such its connection to the Annunaki goddess, or Dove, is inevitable. Sumerians were the first to give animal names to constellations, but insisted the names were first given to them by the Annunaki. Although the "dove"

may be the name of a hitherto unspecified constellation, it also appears the result of specific celestial maneuvers that cause an energy configuration or flow in the shape of a dove – as per the Hermetic aphorism, "As above, so below." As an important aspect of the Annunaki agenda, humans on earth cannot see the "dove," they can only experience its effects. Association with the fertility goddess, the heavenly queen, and the circling serpent, implies "dove" energy impacts how life and death on earth is experienced at the most fundamental level.

From the alternative non-human viewpoint, as expressed in the Bible and ancient mythology, the "dove" provides sustenance to those who subscribe to, or wish to co-opt, the Annunaki agenda. In the early medieval period, the "dove" resurfaced.

Of the Grail Romances that appeared during the heyday of the Knights Templar, *Parzifal* by Wolfram von Eschenbach is acknowledged as an esoteric masterpiece by everyone from Aleister Crowley to Adolf Hitler. In Parzifal, a hermit reports how the Templars protect the Grail:

> The Grail is guarded by the Templars. I will tell you how they are nourished. They live from a stone whose essence is most pure…A dove flies down from heaven. It brings a small white wafer to the stone and leaves it there. The Dove all dazzling white, then flies up to heaven again... from which the Stone receives all that is good on earth of food and drink of paradisal excellence.

In many depictions, the dove radiates from the center of an 8- pointed wheel.

"Cathars"

Besides the Cathars, Languedoc was home to the highest concentration of Knights Templar in Europe, and ruins of Templar castles and churches still dot the region. Yet even though it occurred on their doorstep, the Knights Templar did not participate in the anti-Cathar crusade, nor was their seige expertise called upon. On the contrary, it appears the Templar leadership tried to stall Rome, and even protect the Cathars.

Although twelfth century Church councils condemned them, and missionaries were dispatched to Languedoc, the Cathars were unmoved. So the Church turned to its leading light and foremost intellectual giant, and asked Bernard of Clairvaux, author of the Templar Rule, to investigate the Cathars. While Gnostic dualism was Roman Catholicism's undisputed historical nemesis, Bernard minimized Cathar "doctrinal error." According to Bernard, who condoned and even encouraged the wholesale slaughter of innocents in the Holy Land, the Cathars were best left alone, "if you were to examine their mode of life, you will find nothing more irreproachable."

Bernard died in 1153. Sixty-six years passed before Pope Innocent III declared a crusade against heresy in 1209. Yet throughout the long ordeal, the dissident population were oddly identified as "Albigensians" (after the town of Albi near Toulouse, a supposed stronghold of the heretics), or any of several perjoratives, but never as "Cathars." The word "Cathar" was carefully avoided in official correspondence. Obviously, Rome knew its targets well enough to know most were *not* Cathars, or at least not genuine "Kathars."

Keepers of the Truth

In their book, *The Templar Revelation,* Lynn Picknett and Clive Prince explain Cathar Knights were trained and sheltered on Templar property, and that Templars allowed hostile activity against the crusaders based from their locations.

Cathar coin with Niburian 8-pointed star

There is one documented occasion where the Templars directly fought against the crusaders. In September 1213, Templars joined a coalition army of Aragon King Pedro II and Cathar sympathizer Raymond of Toulouse that had laid siege to Muret, near Toulouse, where Simon de Montfort's crusaders were encamped. De Monfort, who was the military commander-in-chief of the crusade, took the offensive, broke the siege, and scattered the coalition forces, which suffered enormous casualties.

The Inquisition are known to have dug up Cathar bodies on Templar land even thirty years after the end of the crusade. Despite knowledge of their "Cathar" connection, Rome did not move against the Templars until 1307, and in the Templar heresy trials, Inquisition prosecutors did not bother to mention Cathars.

"Heretical doctrine," then, was never Rome's prime motivation for the crusade, but only a smokescreen to justify genocide against both Hyksos-related "Cathars," and genuine Kathars, whose existence has never been acknowledged.

Kathars and Cathars

Etymologists explain that the word "Cathar" comes from the Greek *katharoi,* meaning "pure." Because "Cathar" was not known as a self-designation, and their enemies accused them of being "cat-worshippers," not all scholars are convinced. Adding to the confusion, *Kathari* were named in passing as a deviant sect at the First Council of Nicea in 325. Mani's father was a member of the unidentified *Katharoi* sect in Persia, and the fourth century writer

Epiphanius claims the gnostic *Novations* of Asia Minor called themselves *Kathari*. At a later date, "Kathar" was changed to "Cathar" probably to obscure much wider "Kathar" implications.

We know Cathars used the New Testament, revered the Galilean Jesus and Mary Magdalene, had close ties with the Knights Templar, and utilized symbols of the Annunaki agenda overtly and covertly. We also know they separated themselves into *Perfecti* ("perfect ones"), similar to the Manichaean "elect," and *Credentes* ("believers"). Perfecti wore black robes, and performed a ceremony known as the *Consolamentum*, which was purportedly similar to a ritual of the Mani priesthood.

Cathar Perfecti perform the Consolamentum

Local legends claim they were protectors of the sacred bloodline of Jesus and Mary Magdalene, widely believed to have lived in Cathar territory, and Cathar nobility was supposedly of their direct descent. All this suggests Cathars were Annunaki hybrids. No matter how these "Cathars" had congregated in Languedoc, as far as Rome was concerned, their numbers had reached critical mass by the turn of the twelfth century.

Yet by all accounts, Cathars/Kathars were well-loved by the non-Cathar local population. At the infamous massacre at Beziers in 1209, upwards of 20,000 Catholic men, women, children, and priests were butchered for repeatedly refusing demands to surrender 222 known Cathars to the crusader army. Self–sacrifice on this scale is barely imaginable. It can only be assumed Cathars convincingly taught, explained, or showed something that negated Church doctrine to such an extent people preferred death over life as a Catholic. Would people have done the same thing to protect the Knights Templar?

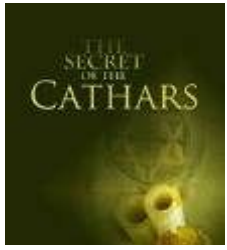
It is difficult to imagine these "Cathars" as Templars allies. More likely, two groups of "Cathars" existed, for convenience

sake - "Cathars" and "Kathars." And just as Catholic friars were differentiated by black robes (Dominicans), and white robes (Cistercerians), so "Cathars" were described wearing both black or white robes. One Kathar group, then, was distinghuised by white, and not black clothing.

More fundamentally, Kathars and Cathars held incompatible beliefs about the Christ. Historians regard the seventeeth century Church historian, *Raynaldus,* as a valuable source of information because he reproduces numerous original documents. In his *Accusation against the Cathars,* Raynaldus cites an early thirteenth century monastic chronicle,

> They said also, in their secret doctrine, that Christ who was born in the visible, and terrestrial Bethlehem, and crucified in Jerusalem, was a bad man, and that Mary Magdalene was his concubine

It seems the monk tries to make sense of his source material to make it fit a Gnostic-sounding paradigm. Evidently, he heard something about two Christs. In the Catholic mindset, God planned for Christ to be born in Bethlehem and crucified in Jerusalem. So if Kathars insisted Jesus of the Gospels was a malevolent imposter, then the good Kathar Christ must have been invisible and non-terrestrial otherwise the same Gospel story would be his. "Concubine" suggests Kathars claimed not just that the Gospel Jesus had a physical relationship with Mary Magdalene, but something was inappropiate about it.



From where did the Kathars get this information? They must have possessed indisputably bona fide records of the historical Christ. So irrefutable that the Church would do whatever it takes, even if it means slaughtering 20,000 Catholics in cold blood, to confiscate them.

The controlling faction behind Rome during this period is not the topic of this book. Its tradition icon, however, is the dragon slain by the Annunaki dragonslayer. Suffice it to say

Hyksos Cathars and Knights Templar were enemies of the Church because they competed with Rome for the same prize.

As the net tightened around them, Kathars and Cathars were forced together for their mutual survival. But why were they together in Languedoc in the first place?

Visigoths

Indigenous inhabitants are hardly mentioned in the chronicles of Languedoc, undoubtedly one of the most popular areas of Europe. History books focus on successive raiders or conquerors who descended on the region – Celts, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Moslems, and Franks. Foreign intruders are unlikely to have discovered the sacred sites and geometries for which this part of the world is renowned, but some may have had advance knowledge.

The Goths were an East Germanic tribe, who played a central role in the fall of the Roman empire. Moving south, Goth armies headed for both Rome and Constantinople. From this time on, they were known as Visigoths in the west, and Ostrogoths in the east. After sacking Rome in 410, the Visigoths were allowed to settle in southern Gaul and northern Spain. Though they were well-known as nomadic marauders, for some reason the Visigoths settled, and by 475, they were independently in control. Eventually, a Visigoth kingdom was established which lasted until 725 when Arab invaders conquered the land. The history of this period, however, remains obscure largely because the Roman Catholic Church declared the Visigoths heretical. Classified as "Arians," Visigoths were nominally Christians who believed Jesus was a man, and not God.

What distinguishes Visigoths from other outsiders is that they intermarried with the local population. Realistically speaking, the locals did not have much

choice. But historians are unable to explain why Visigoths moved en masse to the site of the modern hilltop village of Rennes-le-Chateau, 50 kilometers (30 miles) from Montsegur, after the Franks drove them from Toulouse in 507. For at least a century, Rennes-le-Chateau was occupied by approximately 30,000 people. Today its population is 91, although it receives upwards of 100,000 tourist visitors annually since the publication of *The Da Vinci Code* in 2003.

Roman writers, historians, and later ethnographers, equated Goths with the *Getae*, who were a group of Thracian tribes on both sides of the Lower Danube. The sixth century Roman writer of Goth descent, *Jordanes*, who compiled the *Origins and Deeds of the Goths,* claims the Goths and the Getae went back and forth and were in constant contact for many centuries.

Acccording to Jordanes, one Goth tribe known as the *Dani* came from the isle of Scandza (Scan*dan*avia), and also lived in Jutland (Denmark, home of the *Dan*ish). In Greek mythology, *Danaos* came with his daughters from Egypt and settled in Argos. *Danaans* are said to have created the Mycenae civilization of ancient Greece (1600-1100 BC). The Denyen were sea raiders who harassed Egyptian shipping during this period, and even attacked Egypt in 1207 BC. They are mentioned in the Armarna Letters in relation to the "Land of the *Danuna*" in Canaan, and were also linked with the people of *Adana,* in southern Turkey (Cilician pirates).

Attempts to identify this population with the biblical lost Israelite "Tribe of Dan" have been thwarted by DNA evidence, which does not match with modern Jews. But since the Hyksos were not Hebrew, and not even Semitic, genealogical roots of the so-called lost "Dan" tribe lie elsewhere.

Visigoth iconography displays unmistakable Sumerian origins. On almost every Visigoth coin can be seen the Templar cross, sometimes with an eight-pointed star. From surviving gold jewelry and artifacts, this cross was clearly *the* core Visigoth motif. Among emblems commonly displayed on Visigoth battle shields is the eight-pointed star, the double-headed eagle, and the encircled serpent.Visigoth brickwork, and terracotta tomb plaques depict

doves alongside the alpha and omega monogram. Doves, principle symbol of the Cathars, are found carved on Visigoth royal caskets.

Visigoth coins, 612-621

Gold coin 7th century

Bejeweled gold Templar cross

Carved wood casket, 6-7th century

Depiction of Visigoth shields

By all accounts, the Visigoths did not assimilate well with the Hispanic-Romano population in Spain. That they somehow made the effort in Languedoc strongly suggests the Visigoths targeted a native group there. They may not have been the first gene raiders to invade the south of France, but the Visigoth bear the unambiguous stamp of the Hyksos.

Visigoth Brick

At the heart of the Hyksos modus operandi is identity theft. In blunt terms, "Cathars" are a non-human hybrid ethnicity created by raiding human Kathars. In as far as their name and identity was appropriated by hybrid factions, Kathars are similar to Essenes, and similar targeted human ethnicities.

Perhaps the symbol that best throws light on the Visigoth elite is the bee, which was worn as a pendant necklace. Despite its undeniable status as one the most ubiquitous motifs in the world's iconographical inheritance, this winged insect is generally passed off as a token of industry, or even as an innocuous reference to honey. But to specific Annunaki hybrid races the bee has profound genealogical connotations.

Insectoid Raiders

In most cases, ancient gods and goddesses are depicted in hominid form. Occasionally, this hominid form is combined with reptilian, avian, aquatic, mammalian, or insectoid features that serve to identify an underlying or original genetic structure. This does not imply that all reptiles, birds, fish, animals, and insects on earth are trespassers, anymore than it implies all humans are.

The giant scarab beetle statues of ancient Egypt are baffling because it is so unimaginable that humans could worship insects. But by far the most prevalent of deified insects in the ancient world is the bee. And the deified bee is often, but not exclusively the goddess, and is always connected with fertility and regeneration.

Worshipping bees in Egypt

Renowned Egyptologist, Wallis Budge, translated the *Book of Opening the Mouth,* and in doing so confirmed the bees' importance,

> The Bee, giving him protection, they make him to exist…Going about as a bee, thou seest all the goings about of thy father.

So the bee was understood as a creator god. The bee symbol, therefore, does not represent the literal insect, but a non-human insectoid race that participated in the creation of Annunaki human-hybrid races. As Hermes was trained by bee goddesses, so this insectoid race was allied with the Thoth/Enki partnership.

Modern picture of a Bee Goddess

Bee Goddess Neolithic Spain 5000BC

The Bee is featured prominently on many Egyptian monuments, including the pillars of Karnak, the Luxor obelisk that stands on the Place de la Concorde in Paris, the sarcophagus of Rameses III, and a granite statue of Rameses II, to name only a few. An inscription at the

temple of Dendera recounts how Osiris emulated the Bee and provided directions to the "sacred garden of the Bee" where the golden apples of immortality exist. But the bee symbol was foremost in the Hyksos dominated Delta region, which was known as *Ta-Bitty*, or "the land of the bee." This explains why Israelites described the Promised Land as "flowing with milk and honey."

Images of the pre-dynastic Egyptian god *Min,* known as "Master of the Bees" dispel any confusion regarding the insectoid agenda. Min was usually depicted with an erect phallus, and wearing a headdress decorated with bees. This not so subtle exhortation for the hybrid intruder race to "go forth and multiply" parallels the biblical instruction to Adam to "multiply and have dominion."

Bee carved on Min's headress

Bee dieties are a constant theme wherever local legends and ancient artifacts betray Annunaki interence. For example, *Ah-Muzen-Cab* is a Mayan bee god; *Potnia*, the Minoan-Mycenaean fertility goddess, was referred to as "The Pure Mother Bee." Her priestesses were given the name "Melissa," which literally means "bee." Priestesses of Artemis and Demeter were called "Bees."

Ah-Muzen Cab

Nothing less than global hegemony was the objective. Bees are often depicted swarming around the planetary globe. In Rennes-les-Bains, a village only 2 miles from Rennes le-Chateau, researchers discovered a floor carving that shows an insectoid goddess standing on a globe, and holding a victory wreath. Representing the four corners of the globe four large bees watch on.

Subliminal cultivation of the "hive" mindset, and a willing disposition to be a "worker," doubtless underpins much of the public bee imagery that is probably best typified in Manchester, UK, where the bee is the official city insignia, and a bee-dominated earth features in the city's crest.

French kings draped themselves in bee embroided robes, but none went as far as Napoleon Bonaparte who made the bee his personal emblem and put bees on almost everything. And it is in France were the "bee" is most clearly associated with sacred genealogies. The tomb of the fifth century Merovingian king, Childeric, contained 300 solid gold bees. Merovingians are persistently linked with the theoretical lineage of Jesus and Mary Magdalene. Bernard of Clairvaux, so effusive in his praise of Cathar ethics, is the patron saint of bees and bee-keepers. And so on and so forth.

Zeus Trophonius

In this self-explanatory encapsulation of the Annunaki "regeneration" agenda, lush vegetation surrounds the Father god as he holds the beehive and acknowledges the phoenix.

Montsegur

Tourist guide books and websites explain that the name "Montsegur" means "safe mountain" in English, and castle ruins perched at the summit have an altitude of 1200 meters, or 3,900 feet, but are not from the Cathar era. Having destroyed the last bastion of the heretics, the French replaced it with a standard military fortification. Cathars believed the mountain's steep slopes and sheer ruggedness made Montsegur impregnable. They were mistaken, and unfortunately paid with their lives. That is the potted version of Montegur. And it makes no sense.

We know that at least four, and possibly more, occupants of the beseiged fortress, escaped during the night using ropes to descend the almost vertical cliff face. But if the others knew they were all going to be killed if they remained behind, why did they not escape? There was nothing to lose. The exodus could have been staggered over several nights. Perhaps there was only enough rope for four people, but more than likely the main body of trapped Cathars knew nothing of the planned escape until after the fact.

Some suggest the Cathars were concerned solely with preventing their "treasure" falling into Rome's hands. But actions of Montsegur Cathars are what brought Rome to their doorstep. In May 1242, a group of Cathar knights left Montegur to rob and murder a delegation of Inquisitors, who were staying in Avignonet, a town between Toulouse and Carcassonne. When news of the assassinations spread, revolts broke out across Occitania against the French Crown and Catholic authorities. By January 1243, the rebellion had failed, and the fate of Montsegur was sealed.

Either Cathars were unaware of the "treasure" or were ignorant of its true nature. Genuine Kathars, on the other hand, knew of the treasure *and* its contents, and concealed them not only from Rome, but from Hyksos-related Cathars.

On March 1st 1244, the Cathars negotiated a two week grace period to be followed by surrender on March 15th. As there is no logical explanation for this request, or for why the Inquisition agreed to it, a great deal of speculation surrounds these fourteen days. Most commentators think the extension allowed a sacred Cathar ceremony to take place. It was during this grace period, however, when the "treasure" was removed from Montsegur. But with 10,000 Catholic troops surrounding the base of the mountain, how could the security of the "treasure," or of those carrying it, be guaranteed?

They may have been outnumbered by Cathars, but Kathars, it seems, had friends in high places. In other words, the highest levels of the Catholic Church had been infiltrated, and a Kathar "agent" played both the Inquisition and the Cathars to secure enough time to organize evacuation of the Kathar's "treasure."

Theoretically, this "treasure" may have had the potential to expose the non-human takeover agenda, and to unravel the distorted paradigm within which unknowing humans live. So why was it kept at Montsegur? Surely there were safer places? The answer connects to why Kathars and Cathars were in Languedoc. As with Jerusalem, and other locations, this part of the world is regarded as special or "holy," which implies it has human

"guardians," conscious or otherwise. Twelfth century Kathars may not have been alone, but they were *aware*.

The site of Montsegur is not the highest hill in the immediate the vicinity, but it affords a 360 degree view of the area, which is clearly why it was selected. So the surrounding area, as much as Montsegur itself, would appear the most sacred real estate in Languedoc. And since the "treasure" needed to be "on site," and not buried somewhere, it must have provided information pertinent to this area. This suggests the Kathars were not at Montsegur for refuge, but for practical operations.

* * * * * * *

Modern Freemason consider themselves Knights Templar. Most independent investigators into Masonic origins agree. If the Knights Templar are still here, does that mean the Cathars are? Why not? Who would argue surveillance and the iron fist of state power had gone away? And if three two groups are here, then so are the Kathars.

Mark Gibbs

The Final DECEPTION

Hidden History & the Rise of the Imposter Christ

Melchizedek and the Mystery of Fire

Manly P. Hall

Melchizedek
And the
Mystery of Fire

A Treatise in Three Parts

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MELCHIZEDEK AND THE MYSTERY OF FIRE

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INTRODUCTION

The elaborate rituals of the ancient Mysteries and the simpler ceremonials of modern religious institutions had a common purpose. Both were designed to preserve, by means of symbolic dramas and processionals, certain secret and holy processes, by the understanding of which man may more intelligently work out his salvation. The pages which follow will be devoted to an interpretation of some of these allegories according to the doctrine of the ancient seers and sages.

Every man has his own world. He dwells in the midst of his little universe as the lord and ruler of the constituent parts of himself. Sometimes he is a wise king, devoting his life to the needs of his subjects, but more often he is a tyrant, imposing many forms of injustice upon his vassals, either through ignorance of their needs or thoughtlessness concerning the ultimate disaster that he is bringing upon himself. Man's body is a living temple and he is a high priest, placed there to keep the House of the Lord in order. The temples of the ancients were patterned after the human form, as a study of the ground plan of either the sanctuary at Karnak or of St. Peter's Church at Rome will prove. *If the places of initiation were copies from the body of man, the rituals which were given in the various chambers and passageways symbolize certain processes taking place in the human body.*

Freemasonry is an excellent example of a doctrine intimating, by means of pageants and dramas, that the regeneration of the human soul is largely a physiologic and biologic problem. For this reason the Craft is divided into two parts, *speculative* and

operative Masonry. In the lodge room, Masonry is speculative, for the lodge is only a symbol of the human organism. Operative Masonry is a series of mystic activities taking place within the physical and spiritual organisms of those who have assumed its obligations.

The possession of the occult keys to human salvation through the knowledge of self is the goal for which the wise of all ages have labored. It was the hope of possessing these secret formulae that strengthened the candidates who struggled valiantly through the dangers and disappointments of the ancient initiations, sometimes actually giving their lives in the quest of truth. The initiations of the pagan Mysteries were not child's play. The Druid priests consummated their initiatory ritual by sending their candidates out upon the open sea in a small unseaworthy boat. Some never returned from this adventure, for if a squall happened to arise, the boat was immediately capsized.

In Central America at the time when the Mexican Indian Mysteries were in their glory, candidates seeking light were sent into gloomy caverns armed with a sword and were told that if for a second they relaxed their vigilance they would meet a horrible death. For hours the neophytes wandered, beset with strange beasts which seemed even more terrible than they actually were because of the darkness of the caverns. At last, wearied and almost discouraged, the wanderers found themselves on the threshold of a great lighted room cut from the natural rock. As they stood, not knowing which way to turn, there was a whir of wings, a demoniacal cry, and a great figure with the wings of a bat and the body of a man passed swiftly just over the candidates' heads, swinging in its hands a great sword with razorlike edge. This creature was called the Bat God. Its duty was to attempt to decapitate the ones seeking entrance to the Mysteries. If the neophytes were off their guard or too exhausted to defend themselves, they died on the spot, but if they had presence of mind

enough to ward off this unexpected blow or jump aside in time, the Bat God vanished and the room was immediately filled with priests who welcomed the new initiates and instructed them in the secret wisdom. The identity of the Bat God has been the basis of many arguments, for while it appears many times in Mexican art and in the illuminated codices, no one knew who or what it actually was. It could fly over the heads of the neophytes and was the size of a man, but it lived in the depth of the earth and was never seen save during the Mysteries, although it occupied an important position in the Mexican Indian Pantheon.

The Mysteries of Mithras were also tests of real courage and perseverance. In the rites the priests, disguised as wild beasts and weird composite animals, attacked the aspirants who were passing through the gloomy caverns in which the initiations were given. Bloodshed was not unusual and many lost their lives striving for the Great Arcanum. When the Emperor Commodus of Rome was initiated into the Mithraic Cultus, being a remarkable swordsman, he defended himself so valiantly that he killed at least one of the priests and wounded several others. In the Sabazian Mysteries a poisonous serpent was placed upon the breast of the candidate, who failed in his initiation if he showed any sign of fear. These incidents from the rituals of the ancients give an inkling of the trials through which seekers after truth were forced to pass in order to reach the sanctuary of wisdom. But when we estimate the wisdom which they received if successful, we realize that it was worth the dangers, for from between the pillars of the gates of Mystery came forth Plato and Aristotle and hundreds of others, bearing true witness to the fact that in their day the *Word* was not lost.

The tortures of initiation and the severe mental and physical tests were intended to serve as a process for eliminating those unfit to be entrusted with the secret powers which the priests understood and communicated to the new initiates at the time

of their "raising." Those who hung on crosses for nine hours until they became unconscious, as Apollonius of Tyana, initiated in the Great Pyramid, would never reveal the secret teachings through fear of bodily torture, and such as obeyed the order of Pythagoras that unless they remained silent, speaking to no man for five years, they could not enter his school, were not likely to reveal through thoughtless indiscretion any part of the Mystery which it was forbidden that the foolish should know. Because of the great care used in selecting and testing applicants and the remarkable ability to read human nature displayed by the priests, there never was one who betrayed the more important secrets of the temple. For that reason the *Word* remained lost to all save those who still complied with the requirements of the ancient Mysteries, for the law was, *to such as live the life the doctrine is revealed.*

It is unlawful to reveal to the uninitiated the key links to the chain of the Mysteries. It is permissible, however, without breach of confidence, to explain certain of the lesser secrets, a consideration of which will not only vindicate the integrity of the older hierophants but will also reveal part of the Divine mystery of man's nature. The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that, regardless of claims to the contrary, the operative Arcanum of the temple has never been revealed to the public. A few candidates who went but a little way along the path and who either became discouraged or were eliminated because of their failure to be honest with themselves, have attempted to expose what they knew, but the inherent weakness which prompted them to betray was recognized by their instructors. Therefore, they were given nothing which could actually supply a link to connect the outer teaching with the wisdom of the sanctuary. The world within man—not the world without, was the concern of the Mysteries of antiquity. Hence we are apt to look upon the priests of old as ignorant when compared with ourselves; but while the modern world is mastering the visible universe and

raising a colossal civilization, it is ignorant in the fullest sense of the word concerning the identity of that mysterious lodestone of power in the midst of every living thing, without which no investigation could be conducted and no cities built. Man is never truly wise until he has fathomed the riddle of his own existence, and the temples of initiation are the only repositories of that knowledge—a knowledge which will enable him to unfasten the Gordian knot of his own nature. Still, the great spiritual truths are not so deeply concealed as might be supposed. Most of them are exposed to view at all times, but are not recognized because of their concealment in symbol and allegory. When the human race learns to read the language of symbolism, a great veil will fall from the eyes of men. They shall then know truth and, more than that, they shall realize that from the beginning truth has been in the world unrecognized, save by a small but gradually increasing number appointed by the Lords of the Dawn as ministers to the needs of human creatures struggling to regain their consciousness of divinity.

The supreme Arcanum of the ancients was the key to the nature and power of fire. From the day when the hierarchies first descended upon the sacred island of the polar ice cap, it has been decreed that fire should be the supreme symbol of that mysterious, abstract divinity which moves in God, man, and Nature. The sun was looked upon as a great fire burning in the midst of the universe. In the burning orb of the sun dwelt the mysterious spirits controlling fire, and in honor of this great light, fires burned upon the altars of countless nations. The fire of Zeus burned upon the Palatine Hill, the fire of Vesta upon the altar of the home, and the fire of aspiration upon the altar of the soul.

PART I

FIRE THE UNIVERSAL DEITY

Since the earliest times man has venerated the element of fire above all others. Even the most untutored savage seems to recognize in the flame something closely resembling the volatile fire within his soul. The mysterious, vibrant, radiant energy of fire was beyond his ability to analyze, yet he felt its power. The fact that during thunderstorms fire descended in mighty bolts from heaven, felling trees and otherwise dealing destruction, caused the primogenial human being to recognize in its fury the anger of the gods. Later, when man personified the elements and created the multitudinous pantheons which now exist, he placed in the hand of his supreme Deity the torch, the thunderbolt, or the flaming sword, and upon his head a crown, its gilded points symbolizing the flaming rays of the sun. Mystics have traced sun worship back to early Lemuria and fire worship to the origin of the human race. In fact, the element of fire controls to a certain degree both the plant and animal kingdoms, and is the only element which can subjugate the metals. Either consciously or instinctively, every living thing honors the orb of day. The sunflower always faces the solar disc. The Atlanteans were sun worshippers, while the American Indians (remnants of the earlier Atlantean people) still regard the sun as the proxy of the Supreme Light-Giver. Many early peoples believed that the sun was reflector rather than source of light, as is evidenced by the fact that they often pictured the Sun-God as carrying on his arm a highly polished shield, on which was chased the solar face. This shield, catching the light of the Infinite One, reflected

it to all parts of the universe. During the year the sun passes through the twelve houses of the heavens, where, like Hercules, it performs twelve labors. The annual death and resurrection of the sun has been a favorite theme among unnumbered religions. The names of nearly all the great Gods and Saviors have been associated with either the element of fire, the solar light, or its correlate, the mystic and spiritual light invisible. Jupiter, Apollo, Hermes, Mithras, Bacchus, Dionysius, Odin, Buddha, Krishna, Zoroaster (Zarathustra), Fo-Hi, Iao, Vishnu, Shiva, Agni, Balder, Hiram Abiff, Moses, Samson, Jason, Vulcan, Uranus, Allah, Osiris, Ra, Bel, Baal Nebo, Serapis, and King Solomon are some of the numerous deities and supermen whose symbolic attributes are derived from the manifestations of the solar power and whose names indicate their relationship to light and fire.

According to the Greek Mysteries, the gods, gazing down from Mount Olympus, repented that they had made man, and never having given to the primitive creature an immortal spirit, they decided that no harm would be done if the quarreling, dissenting human ingrates were destroyed forever and the place where they had been left vacant for a nobler race. Discovering the plans of the gods, Prometheus, in whose heart was a great love for struggling humanity, determined to bring to mankind the divine fire, which would make the human race immortal so that not even the gods could destroy it. So Prometheus flew to the home of the Sun-God and, lighting a tiny reed with the solar fire, he carried it to the children of the earth, warning them that the fire should always be used for the glorification of the gods and the unselfish service of each other. But men were thoughtless and unkind. They took the divine fire brought them by Prometheus and used it to destroy one another. They burned the homes of their enemies and with the aid of heat they tempered steel, making swords and armor. They grew more selfish and more arrogant, defying the gods, but they could not be destroyed, for they possessed the sacred fire. For his disobedience, Prometheus

(like Lucifer) was chained, but the Greek hero was placed upon the brow of Mount Caucasus, there to remain with a vulture gnawing at his liver until a human being should master the sacred fire and become perfect. This prophecy was fulfilled by Hercules, who climbed Mount Causcasus, broke the fetters of Prometheus, and liberated the friend of man who had been in torture for so many ages. Hercules represents the initiate, who, as his name implies, partakes of the glory of light. Prometheus is the vehicle of solar energy. The divine fire which he brought to men is a mystic essence in their own natures, which they must redeem and regenerate if they would liberate their own crucified souls from the rock of their base physical natures.

According to occult philosophy, the sun in reality is a three-fold orb, two parts of its nature being invisible. The globe which we see is merely the lowest phase of the solar nature and is the body of the Demiurgus, or, as the Jews call him, *Jehovah*, and the Brahmins, *Shiva.* The sun being symbolized by an equilateral triangle, the three powers of the solar disc are said to be coequal. The three phases of the sun are called Will, Wisdom, and Action. Will is related to the principle of life, Wisdom to the principle of light, and Action, or Friction, to the principle of heat. By Will the heavens were created and the eternal life continued in supreme existence; by Action, friction, and striving, the earth was formed, and the physical universe molded by the Lords of the Fire Mist passed gradually from its molten condition into its present and more orderly state.

Thus Heaven and Nature were formed, but between these two was a great void, for God did not comprehend Nature and nature did not comprehend the Deity. The lack of intercourse between these two spheres of consciousness was similar to the condition of paralysis in which the consciousness realizes the condition of its body, but owing to the lack of nerve connection it is incapable of governing or directing the activities of the

body. Therefore, between life and action there came a mediator, which was called Light, or Intelligence. Light partakes of both life and action: it is the sphere of blending. Intelligence stood between heaven and earth, for through its medium man learned of the existence of his God and God began His ministration to the needs of men. While both life and action were simple substances, light was a compound, for the invisible part of light was of the nature of heaven and the visible part of the nature of earth. Down through the ages this light is said to have taken upon itself bodies. Although these bodies have borne witness to that light, the great spiritual truth behind the symbol of the embodied light is that in the soul of every creature within whose mind intelligence is born there dwells a spirit which assumes the nature of this intelligence. Every truly intelligent man and woman who is working to spread light in the world is *christ*-ened, or *Light*-ened, by the actual labor which he or she is seeking to perform. The fact that light (intelligence) partakes of the natures of both God and the earth is proved by the names given to the personifications of this light for at one time they are called the "Sons of Men' and at another time the "Sons of God."

The initiate in the Mysteries was always instructed concerning the existence of three suns, the first of which—the vehicle for God the Father—enlightened and warmed his spirit; the second—the vehicle of God the Son—unfolded and broadened his mind; the third—the vehicle of God the Holy Spirit—nourished and strengthened his body. Light is not only a physical element, it is also a mental and spiritual element and in the temple the disciple is told to revere the invisible sun even more than the visible one; for every visible thing is only an effect of the invisible or causal, and as God is the Cause of All Causes He dwells in the invisible World of Causation. Apuleius, when initiated into the Mysteries, beheld the sun shining at midnight, for the chambers of the temple were brilliantly illuminated, although there were no lamps of any kind. The invisible sun is not lim-

ited by walls nor even the surface of the earth itself, for its rays being of higher vibratory rate than physical substance, its light passes unimpeded through all the planes of physical substance. To those capable of seeing the light of these spiritual orbs, there is no darkness, for they dwell in the presence of limitless light and at midnight see the sun shining under their feet.

By means of one of the lost arts of antiquity the priests of the temple were able to manufacture lamps which would burn for centuries without replenishment. The lamps resembled what is commonly called the "virgin lamps," or those carried by the Vestal Virgins. They were a little smaller than a human hand and, according to available records, their wicks were made of asbestos. It has been maintained that these lamps have burned for a thousand years or more. One of them was found in the tomb of Christian Rosencreutz which had burned for 120 years without the supply of fuel being diminished. It is supposed that these lamps (which, incidentally, burned in hermetically sealed vaults without the aid of oxygen) were so constructed that the heat of the flame extracted from the atmosphere some substance which took the place of the original fuel as rapidly as the mysterious oil was consumed.

Hargrave Jennings has collected numerous references concerning the times when and places where these lamps have been found. In the majority of cases, however, they went out shortly after the vaults were opened or else were broken in some strange way, so the secret was not discovered. Concerning these lamps, Mr. Jennings writes: " The ancient Romans are said to have preserved lights in their sepulchers many ages by the *oiliness of gold* (here steps in the art of the Rosicrucians), resolved by hermetic methods into a liquid substance; and it is reported that at the dissolution of monasteries, in the time of Henry the Eighth, there was found a lamp which had then burned in a tomb from about three hundred years after Christ—nearly twelve hundred

years. Two of these subterranean lamps are to be seen in the Museum of Rarities at Leyden, in Holland. One of these lamps, in the Papacy of Paul the Third, was found in the Tomb of Tullia (so named), Cicero's daughter, which had been shut up fifteen hundred and fifty years."

Madame Blavatsky, in Isis Unveiled, gives a number of formulae for the making of ever-burning lamps, and states in a footnote that she herself saw one, made by a disciple of the hermetic arts, which had burned steadily without fuel for six years previous to the publication of her book.

The ever-burning lamp was of course a most appropriate symbol of the Eternal Fire in the Universe, and while chemistry has denied the possibility of manufacturing them, the fact that many have been made and seen over a period of thousands of years is a warning against dogmatizing. In Tibet, the Lama magicians have discovered a system of lighting rooms by means of a luminous ball of phosphorescent, greenish-white color, which increases in luminosity when ordered to do so by the priests, and after the departure of those who are in the chamber it gradually becomes fainter until only a spark remains, which burns continuously.

This apparent miracle is no more difficult to explain than another performed by the Tibetans. There is in Tibet a sacred tree which sheds its bark annually, and as the old bark peels off an inscription written in Tibetan characters is found upon the new bark underneath. These secrets of so-called savage and primitive peoples incessantly refute the ridicule with which Caucasians almost invariably view the culture of other races.

The Druid priests in Britain, recognizing the sun as the proxy of the Supreme Deity, used a ray of solar light to start their altar fires. They did this by concentrating the ray upon a specially cut crystal or aquamarine, set in the form of a magic brooch or buckle upon the front of the belt of the Arch-Druid.

This brooch was called the "Liath Meisicith" and was supposed to possess the power of drawing the divine fire of the gods down from heaven and concentrating its energies for the service of men. The buckle was, of course, a burning glass. Many of the nations of antiquity so revered the fire and light of the sun that they would not permit their altars to be lighted by any other means than the concentration of the sun's rays through a burning-glass. In certain of the ancient temples, specially arranged lenses were placed in the ceiling at various angles so that each year at the vernal equinox the sun at high noon would send its rays through these glasses and light the altar fires which had been specially prepared for this occasion. The priests considered this process equivalent to the gods having actually lighted the fires themselves. In honor of Hu, the supreme Deity of the Druids, the people of Britain and Gaul celebrated an annual lighting of fires on what they termed Midsummer's Day.

One of the reasons why the mistletoe was sacred to the Druids was because many of the priests believed that this peculiar parasitic plant fell to the earth in the form of lightening bolts and wherever a tree was struck by lightning the seed of the mistletoe was placed within its bark. The great length of time the mistletoe remained alive after being cut from the tree had much to do with the veneration showered upon it by the Druids. That this plant was also a powerful medium for the collection of the mysterious cosmic fire circulating through the ethers was discovered by the early priests, who valued the mistletoe because of its close connection with the mysterious astral light, which is in reality the astral body of the earth. Concerning this, Eliphas Levi writes in his *History of Magic*: "The Druids were priests and physicians, curing by magnetism and charging amulets with their fluidic influence. Their universal remedies were mistletoe and serpents' eggs, because these substances attract the astral light in a special manner. The solemnity with which mistletoe was cut down drew upon this plant the popular confidence and ren-

dered it powerfully magnetic.** The progress of magnetism will some day reveal to us the absorbing properties of mistletoe. We shall then understand the secret of those spongy growths which draw the unused virtues of plants and become surcharged with tinctures and savors. Mushrooms, truffles, gall on trees and the different kinds of mistletoe will be employed with understanding by a medical science, which will be new because it is old."

Certain plants, minerals, and animals have been held sacred among all nations of the earth because of their peculiar sensitiveness to the astral fire. The cat, sacred to the city of Bubastis in Egypt, is an example of a peculiarly magnetized animal. Anyone stroking the fur of a domestic cat in a dark room can see the electrical emanations in the form of green phosphorescent light. In the temples of Bast, sacred to the cat goddess, three-colored cats were viewed with unusual veneration, as was any member of the feline family whose two eyes were of different colors. Lodestone and radium in the mineral kingdom and various parasitic growths in the plant kingdom are strangely susceptible to the cosmic fire. The magicians of the Middle Ages surrounded themselves with certain animals, such as bats, cats, snakes, and monkeys, because they were able to borrow the power of the astral light from these creatures and appropriate it to their own uses. For this same reason the Egyptians and certain of the Greeks kept cats in the temples and serpents were always in evidence at the oracle of Delphi. The auric body of a snake is one of the most remarkable sights that the clairvoyant will ever see, and the secrets concealed within its aura demonstrate why the serpent is the symbol of wisdom among so many nations.

That Christianity has preserved (in part at least) the primitive fire worship of antiquity is evident in many of its symbols and rituals. The incense burner so often used in Christian churches is a pagan symbol relating to the regeneration of the human soul. The incense burner represents the body of man. The incense

within the burner, made from the extracted essences of various plants, represents the life forces within the body of man. The flaming spark burning in the midst of the incense is emblematic of the spiritual germ concealed in the midst of the material organism of man. This spiritual spark is an infinitesimal part of the divine flame, the Great Fire of the Universe, from Whose flaming heart the altar fires of all His creatures have been lighted. As the spark of life gradually consumes the incense, so the spiritual nature of man through the process of regeneration gradually consumes all the gross elements of the body, transmuting them into soul power —symbolized by the smoke. Although smoke is actually a dense and physical substance yet light enough to rise in clouds, so the soul is actually a physical element, but through purification and the fire of aspiration it has taken upon itself the nature of intangible atmosphere; though composed of the substance of earth, it becomes light enough to rise as a fragrant odor into the presence of Deity.

While some authorities have held that the form of the cross was derived from the ancient Egyptian instrument called the "Nilometer" and used for measuring the inundations of the Nile, others hold the opinion that the symbol had its origin in the two crossed sticks used by primitive peoples to generate fire by friction. The use of the bell towers and campaniles in the construction of the cathedrals of medieval Christianity, also the more familiar conventionalized church steeple, may be traced to the fire obelisks of Egypt, which were placed in front of the temples sacred to the superior deities. All pyramids are symbols of fire, while the heart used on valentines is merely and inverted candle flame. The Maypole had its origin in similar antiquity, where it is both a phallic symbol and an emblem of cosmic fire.

The prevailing custom of having churches face the East is, of course, further evidence of the survival of sun worship. Practically the only branch of the human race that does not

observe this rule is the Arabic. The Mohammedans face their mosques toward Mecca, but still have their appointed hours of prayer governed by the sun. The rose windows and ivy covered walls are survivals of pagandom, for ivy was sacred to Bacchus because of the shape of its leaf, and this plant was always allowed to trail over the walls of the temple sacred to the Greek solar deity. The golden ornaments upon the altars of Christian churches should remind the philosophical observer that gold is the sacred metal of the sun, because (according to alchemists) the sun ray itself crystallized in the earth, thus forming this precious metal —which, incidentally, is still being made. The candles so often seen adorning the altars, and most frequently appearing in an uneven number, are a reminder that the uneven numbers are sacred to the sun. When three candles are used, they symbolize the three aspects of the sun: sunrise, noon, and sunset, and are thus emblematic of the Trinity. When seven are used, they represent the planetary angels called by the Jews "Elohim", whose numerical and Qabbalistic values are also seven. When the even numbers 12 or 24 appear, they represent the signs of the zodiac and the spirits of the hour of the day, called by the Persians the "Izeds." When only one light is shown, it is the emblem of the Supreme Invisible father, Who is One, and the little red lamp ever burning over the altar is an offering to the Demiurgus—Jehovah, or the Lord Builder of Forms.

What oil is to the flame, blood is to the spirit of man. Therefore, oil is often used in anointing, for it is a fluid sacred to the solar power. Because oil contains the life of the sun, it is used in large quantities in far Northern lands where it is necessary to generate an abundance of body heat. Hence, the proclivity of the Eskimos for eating tallow candles and whale oil.

The actual word "Christ" is itself sufficient proof that fire and the worship of fire are the two most essential elements of the Christian faith. The rays of light pouring from the sun were

viewed by the ancients as the blood of the Celestial Lamb which at the vernal equinox died for the sin of the world and redeemed all humanity through its blood (rays).

The Mystery Schools of ancient Egypt taught that the blood was the vehicle of the consciousness. The spirit of man traveled through the bloodstream and therefore was not actually located in any one part of the compound organism. It moved through the body with the rapidity of thought, so that consciousness of self, cognition of externals, and sense perception could be localized in any part of the body by the exercise of the will power. The initiates view the blood as a mysterious liquid, somewhat gaseous in nature, which served as a medium for manifesting the fire of man's spiritual nature. This fire, coursing through the system, animated and vitalized all parts of the form, thus keeping the spiritual nature in touch with all of its physical extremities. The mystics looked upon the liver as the source of the heat and power in the blood. Hence it is significant that the spear of the centurion should pierce the liver of Christ and the vulture should be placed over the liver of Prometheus to torment him throughout the ages.

Occultism teaches that it is the presence of the liver which distinguishes the animal from the plant and that mystically certain small creatures having power of motion but no liver are actually plants in spiritual consciousness. The liver is under the control of the Planet Mars, which is the dynamo of this solar system and which sends a red animating ray to all the evolving creatures within this solar scheme. The philosophers taught that the planet Mars, under the control of its regent Samael, was the transmuted "Sin-Body" of the Solar Logos which originally had been the "Dweller on the Threshold" of the Divine Creature whose energies are now distributed through the fire of the sun. Samael, incidentally, was the fiery father of Cain, through whom a part of humanity has received the flame of aspiration and are

thus separate from the sons of Seth, whose father was Jehovah.

The Egyptians considered the juice of the grape to be more nearly like human blood than any other substance. In fact, they believed that the grape secured its life from the blood of the dead who had been buried in the earth. Concerning this subject, Plutarch writes as follows: "The priests of the Sun and Heliopolis never carry any wine into their temples, * * * and if they made use of it at any time in their Libations to the Gods, it was not because they looked upon it, as in its own nature acceptable to them; but they poured it upon their altars as the blood of those enemies who formerly had fought against them. For they look upon the vine to have first sprung out of the earth after it was fattened with the carcasses of those who fell in the wars against the Gods. And this, say they, is the reason why drinking its juice in great quantities makes men mad and beside themselves, filling them as it were with the blood of their own ancestors—" (*Isis and Osiris*.) The magicians of the Middle Ages were aware of the fact that they, by their occult powers, could control any person by first securing a small amount of his blood. If a glass of water be left over night in a room where someone is sleeping, the next morning the water will be impregnated to such an extent with the psychic radiations of that person that anyone understanding the modus operandi may find contained in the water a complete record of the life and character of the one who occupied the room. These records are transmitted and preserved in a subtile substance which the medieval transcendentalists called the *astral light*, an ever-present all-pervading fiery essence, which preserves intact the record of everything transpiring in any part of Nature.

The streaming rays pouring from the face of the sun have caused it to be associated with the lion, because of the shaggy mane of this king of beasts. The golden-haired Savior Gods of many nations subtly signify by their uncut locks the solar radia-

tions. The sun was the king of heaven, and earthly rulers desiring to advertise their terrestrial power delighted to be considered as "Little Suns," their vassals being viewed as planets basking in the glory of the central light. The highest of each kingdom in Nature was also considered symbolic of the sun. Hence the scarab beetle, being the most intelligent of all insects, the eagle the most aspiring of all birds, and the lion the strongest of all beasts, were considered fitly symbolic of the solar disc. Thus the Moguls chose the lion for their standard, while Caesar and Napoleon used the eagle to symbolize their dignity. The crowns of kings were originally bands of gold with radiating points to symbolize that they partook in part of the divine power vested in the sun. As time went on, the crown was conventionalized. Its surface was encrusted with jewels, a number of its points were changed, and its evident resemblance to the sun was lost.

The halo so often seen pictured around the heads of both Christian and pagan deities and saints is also emblematic of the sun power. According to the Mysteries, there comes a time in the spiritual unfoldment of man when the mysterious oil which has been moving slowly up the spinal column finally enters the third ventricle of the brain, where it becomes beautifully golden in color and radiates in all directions. This radiance is so great that it can-not be limited by the skull and it pours out from the head, especially from the back of the neck where the uppermost vertebra of the spine articulates with the condyles of the occipital bone. It is this light pouring out in a fan-shaped aura around the posterior part of the head that has given rise to the halos of saints and the nimbus so often used in religious art. This light signifies human regeneration and it forms part of the auric bodies of man.

These auras have greatly influenced the color and form of the garments used in religious ceremonials. The robe of blue and gold which Albert Pike speaks of and the vestments of the

different degrees in the hierarchies of all religious orders are symbolic of these invisible emanation forms which surround man, their colors changing with his every thought and feeling. By means of these auras the priests and philosophers of the ancient world chose those disciples who would do credit to their teachings. The "Robes of Glory" of the High Priest of Israel are all symbolic, as Josephus with his Oriental instruction has shrewdly noted. The plain white linen symbolizes the purified physical nature; the many-colored garments represent the astral body, the blue raiment the spiritual nature, and the violet the mind, for it is a color made up of two shades, one spiritual and the other material.

In the Egyptian Mysteries it was not uncommon to show the rays of the sun ending in human hands. One of the chairs recently found in the tomb of Tutankhamen showed a sun with its rays ending in human hands. Among the ancients the hand was the symbol of wisdom, because it was used to raise the fallen, and no man is so low in his estate as an ignorant man. The physical proclivities of the sun and its water-drawing power were used to symbolize a spiritual process in which the divine nature of man was raised, or illuminated, and drawn upward by the heat of the sun, these emanating rays spreading the threefold spiritual power as love, wisdom, and truth.

PART II

MAN THE GRAND SYMBOL OF THE MYSTERIES

Pythagoras said that the universal Creator had formed two things in His own image: The first was the cosmic system with its myriads of suns, moons, and planets; the second was man, in whose nature the entire universe existed in miniature. Long before the introduction of idolatry into religion, the early priests to facilitate their study of the natural sciences caused the statue of man to be placed in the sanctuary of their temples, using the human figure to symbolize the Divine Power in all its intricate manifestations, Thus the priests of antiquity accepted man as their text-books, and through the study of him learned to understand the greater and more abstruse mysteries of the celestial scheme of which they were a part. It is not improbable that this mysterious figure standing over the primitive altars was made in the nature of a mannequin and, like certain emblematic hands in the Mystery Schools, was covered with hieroglyphs either carved upon its surface or painted there-on with everlasting pigments. The statue may have opened, thus showing the relative positions of the organs, bones, muscles, nerves and other parts.

The present generation is prone to underestimate the knowledge of anatomy possessed by ancient races. Owing to destruction by time and vandalism, the available records do not adequately represent the learning of antiquity. Professor James H. Breasted, archeologist of the University of Chicago, recently stated that his investigations showed that the learned doctors

of Egypt during the 18th dynasty—that is, about seventeen centuries before Christ—had a medical knowledge comparable to that of the twentieth century. Professor Breasted is quoted as follows: "For instance in it (the Edwin Smith papyrus, an early scientific document) the word 'brain' appears for the first time recorded in human speech, and there is evidence that the Egyptians understood the localization of brain control of muscles—a knowledge that has only been rediscovered within the last generation."

The knowledge which the Egyptian priest-physicians possessed concerning the functions of the several parts of the human body not only equaled that of many modern scientists, but as regards those functions and powers concerned with the spiritual nature of man and organs and centers through which the spiritual essences control the body, their knowledge exceeded that of the modern world.

During ages of research, much was contributed to fundamental principles of the early philosophers, and at the time Egypt reached the crowning glory of her civilization the manikin was a mass of intricate hieroglyphs and symbolic figures. Every part had its secret meaning. The measurements of this stone figure formed a basic standard by means of which it was possible to measure all parts of cosmos. It was a glorious composite emblem of all the knowledge possessed by the sages and hierophants of Isis, Osiris, and Serapis.

Then came the time of idolatry. The Mysteries decayed from within. The secret meanings were lost and none knew the identity of the mysterious man who stood over the altar. It was only remembered that the figure was a sacred and glorious symbol of the universal power. This figure came to be looked upon as a god, the one in whose image man was made. The secret knowledge of the purpose for which the manikin was constructed being lost, the priests worshipped the actual wood and stone, until

finally their lack of spiritual understanding brought the temple down in ruins about their heads and the statue crumbled with the civilization which had forgotten its meaning.

Today the great faith of the white race—Christianity—is served by a great number of honest, sincere, devout men and women. While devoted to their task, they are only partly efficient, because the majority of them are totally ignorant of the fact that so-called Biblical Christianity is an allegory concerning the true spirit of Christianity and of that esoteric doctrine evolved in the temple by the initiated minds of pagandom, and promulgated to serve the religious needs of the human race. Today this faith is served by millions and understood by only a handful, for while the Mystery temple no longer exists as an institution on the corners of the streets as it did in the ancient world, the Mystery School still exists as an invisible, philosophical structure. It admits into the knowledge of its secrets only a few, permitting the great mass to enter only the outer courtyard and make its offering upon the brazen altar. Christianity is essentially a Mystery School, but most of its adherents do not understand it well enough to realize that there are secrets concealed behind the parables and allegories which are an important part of its dogma.

Why should Christianity not be a Mystery School? Its founder was an initiate of the Essenian Mysteries. The Essenes were disciples of the great Pythagoras and were also connected with the Secret Schools of India. The Master Jesus was himself a hierophant, deeply versed in the ancient Arcanum. St. John by his writing proves himself to be acquainted with the ritualism of the Egyptian cult, and it is contended that St. Matthew was the teacher of Basilides, the immortal Egyptian sage, co-founder with Simon Magus of Gnosticism, the most elaborate system of Christian mysticism that has ever evolved from the main stem of St. Peter's church. During its early history in Rome,

Christianity was in constant contact with Mithraism, the fire philosophy of Persia, from which it borrowed no small part of its rituals and ceremonials.

If Christianity were looked upon less as a church and more as a Mystery School, the modern world would rapidly gain a clearer understanding of its tenets. Every priest of Christendom, every minister of the gospel should be an anatomist and a physiologist, a biologist and a chemist, a physician and an astronomer, a mathematician and a musician, and above all, a philosopher. By a philosopher we mean one who could study intelligently all these different lines of thought and discover the interrelationship existing between them, and use all the arts and sciences as methods by which to interpret the magnificent emblematic pageant and mystery drama of the Christian faith. If they were to intelligently consider the secrets handed down from the priests of pagan antiquity (whose stupendous genius soared far above the rutted prejudices of modern thought), they would make a number of important discoveries.

First of all, they would discover that in the present translation of both the Old and New Testaments are numerous mistakes, owing to the fact that the translators were not spiritually competent to interpret the secret mysteries of the Hebrew and Greek languages. They would find numberless contradictions caused by misunderstanding and would also discover that the so-called Apocryphal books (rejected as uninspired) contain some of the most important keys which have descended to us from antiquity.

They would learn that the Old Testament was not to be considered literally; that concealed between its lines were certain secret teachings without which the true meaning of the Hebrew writings cannot be discovered. They would no longer laugh at the pagans for their plurality of gods, for they would discover that they themselves, if faithful followers of their Scriptures, are

polytheists. The word "Elohim" as used in the early chapters of Genesis and translated "God," is a masculine-feminine plural word meaning a number of gods who are androgynous, and not one Supreme Deity. They would realize that Adam was not a man, but a species—a race of creatures; they would also realize that the Garden of Eden was not located in Asia Minor.

Even if some men knew these things to be true, a great part of humanity would still reject them, because they would disagree with the accepted traditions, venerated not because they are true but because they have been accepted for generations. They would crown their discoveries by a realization that the Holy Land of all nations is the human body; that this is sacred earth, consecrated to the gods. They would realize that their own bodies were the Holy Sepulchres that have long been in the hands of the infidel, and they would realize that there is no infidel of any race half so heartless as the infidel which dwells in the heart of man himself; that there is no enemy to the faith like the lower nature of the individual; there is no Judas like selfishness, no betrayer like ignorance, no tyrant like pride, no Red Sea to be crossed like that which comprises the emotional nature of man, surging outward form the red blood-forming centers in the human liver.

If the modern theologians could see the ancient mannequin over the altar, they would clearly understand all this, but not realizing that there is a secret doctrine they do not seek for it. Yet who can read the Book of Ezekiel and Revelation and not realize that the Beloved Disciple, John, transcending all the others in his vision, was indeed lifted up, or "raised" as the modern Mason might say, and beheld the pageantry of the Mysteries. The allegories of St. John are drawn from every religion of the ancient world. The drama which he unfolds in Revelation is synthetic and therefore truly Christian in that it includes the great teachings of all ages. Some believe that God has not willed that man

should understand the mystery of his own destiny, but let these recall those immortal words; "There is nothing concealed that shall not be revealed; there is nothing hidden that shall not be made known." This being true, let us take up the labor of solving, or unveiling, of reconstructing. Following in the footsteps of the illumined of all ages, we too shall discover truth, by following the winding stairs up which the candidates of every nation and religion have passed, wearing ruts in the stones.

The spirit of man is a tiny ring of colorless fire from which pour streamers and rays of scintillating force. By a mystic process the rays build bodies around that central formless germ, and man dwells in the midst of these bodies, controlling them by waves of force in a manner difficult to appreciate unless one is familiar with the occult constitution of man.

This ring of invisible flame is the eternal fire, the spark from the Infinite Wheel, the birthless, deathless, eternal center which includes within itself all that it has ever been, all that it is, and all that it ever shall be. This germ dwells in the state Eternity, for to this immortal spark time is illusionary, distance is nonexistent, joy and sorrow are unknown, for concerning its function and consciousness all that can be said is that "It is." While other things come and go, *It is*.

This germ of immortality enters into the embryo at the time of quickening and passes out at the moment of death. With its coming, heat is generated; with its leaving, heat is withdrawn. As the flaming orb of the sun is in the midst of the solar system, so this flaming ring of spirit is in the midst of the bodies of man. It is the altar fire which never goes out, and to the service of this divine flame the wise of all nations have consecrated themselves, for in this flame lies all perfection and the possibility of ultimate attainment. This flame manifests individualities and personalities, but the extracted essences of experience, intelligence, and activity stored up in the individualities and personalities are fi-

nally absorbed into this flame, furnishing it with fuel with which it gleams and burns more brightly. From this one altar fire all of the fires in the human body are lighted, like the countless flames which have been started from the sacred fires of the Parsees.

Compare the flaming spirit of man to the light of a candle. First, in the midst of the candle, close to the wick, is a glow nearly colorless. Around this is a ring of golden light, and still further out surrounding the yellow is a deeper orange or reddish flame, which gives off more or less smoke. These three lights—blue, yellow, red—are closely related to the flame in man, for there is a blue, fuel-less light, and there is a yellow light supplied by a pure oil that burns with a steady glow, giving no smoke. Then there is a red flame supplied with a coarser fuel. This is called the consuming fire of the ancients, for in the human body the blue flame is the clearly burning light of reason, illuminating the mind and lighting the darkness of the night, while the red flame is the false light, the fire of passion and lust. It is smoky like the battlefield where hates and fears go up together in one seething, lurid sheet of brick-red flame.

These are the three fires—the fire of divinity, the fire of humanity, the fire of the demons. These three are enshrined within the nature of man, whence their radiance goes forth as the sacred trisyllabic word by which the heavens are created, the earth formed, and the works of evil destroyed. The disciples of the ancient wisdom realized that during the dawn of this earth scheme certain instructions were deposited in safe places by the Sons of the Dawn, or as we call them, the gods, and that after having insured that these doctrines would be preserved for the ultimate salvation of the race, the gods entered into the constitution of man and lost their identity. For this reason it is said that the kingdom of heaven is within you, for the kingdom of heaven includes the divine Father, His Trinity, His seraphim, cherubim, powers, dominations, principalities, thrones, angels,

and archangels.

Each of these celestial creatures has contributed something to the nature of man. Through the power of one he feels; through the power of another he sees; through the power of a third he speaks; through the power of a fourth he understands; through the power of the Divine Father he is immortal; through the power of the Trinity he is threefold in his constitution—spiritual, intellectual, physical; through the power of the seraphim the great fires were given to him, while from the cherubim he secured his composite form. Hence these spirits are confined within his own nature until man builds that nature to the point where he releases these cosmic powers through giving them adequate expression and no longer limiting them by his own ignorance and perversion.

In truth, the kingdom of heaven is within man far more completely than he realizes; and as heaven is in his own nature, so earth and hell are also in his constitution, for the superior worlds circumscribe and include the inferior, and earth and hell are included within the nature of heaven. As Pythagoras would say; "The superior and inferior worlds are included within the area of the Supreme Sphere." So all the kingdoms of earthly nature, the minerals, the plants, the animals, and his own human spirit are included within his physical body, and he himself is the appointed guardian spirit of the mineral kingdom and he is responsible to the creative hierarchs for the destiny of the stones and metals.

The infernal world is also part of himself, for within his nature is Lucifer, the Beast of Babylon, Mammon, Beelzebub, and all the other infernal Furies. At the basis of his spine burns an infernal fire, and the Witch's Sabbath so glowingly described by Eliphas Levi can be traced to its source in the lower emotional centers of the human body.

Thus man is heaven, earth, and hell in one, and his salvation

is a much more personal problem than he realizes. Realizing that the human body is a mass of psychic centers and that during life the form is crisscrossed with endless currents of energy, that all through the form are sunbursts of electric force and magnetic power, man can be seen by those who know how to see as a solar system of stars and planets, suns and moons, with comets in irregular orbits circling through them. As the Milky Way is supposed to be a gigantic cosmic embryo, so man is himself a galaxy of stars, each of which some day will be a constellation in itself.

Whichever way we look, we find life. Wherever we find life, we find light, for in the midst of all these living things are tiny sparks of immortal splendor. Those whose eyes are chained by earthly limitations see the forms, but to those transcending materiality each life appears as a gleam of immortal splendor. Even the atmosphere is alive with lights, and the clairvoyant passes through spheres of flame. There are lights of a thousand colors and rainbow hues for surpassing in brilliancy the luminosity of the sun, lights a thousand times more varied than the spectrum that we know, color undreamed of, lights so brilliant they cannot be seen but are felt as ringing sounds in the head, lights that must be heard, others like solid columns of fire that must be felt. Wherever the seer gazes he beholds fire. It pours from the stone; it flashes in geometric stars from the petals of flowers, and shoots in waves from the fur of animals. It surrounds man with an aureole of radiance and the earth with a halo of rainbow bands extending miles from its surface. Fire pours light upward through the surface of the earth; it shoots light downward from the empty air; it radiates light outward from the center of everything, and inward from the circumference of everything.

Is it strange that this universal, living splendor was revered? It is man's most perfect symbol of God, for this light is the primary

manifestation of the Unmanifested and Eternal One. This eternal fire, burning fuelless in the soul of everything, has been since the beginning of time the most sacred symbol in all the world, for while figures of wood and stone, paintings on canvas, and even songs are more or less expressions of the form, the physical side of Nature, this radiant light, this flaming splendor is symbolic of the spirit, the life, the immortal germ in the midst of form. It was sacred to the Superior Deity and all worshipped it and made offering to it. It was the source, and men worshipped the source, seeking by secret culture handed down through the ages and based upon the instructions of the gods themselves, to make that light shine out more gloriously from within themselves. This is the source of fire and light symbolism.

Light is not only sacred because it dispels the darkness in which lurk all the enemies of human life. It is also sacred because it is the vehicle of life. This is evidenced by the effect of sunlight upon plant, animal, and human life. Light is also the vehicle of color, the coloring matter of all earthly things being imparted from the sun. It is the vehicle of heat, and according to the wisdom of antiquity, it carries the sperm of all things from the sun. Through light also pass the impulses from the Grand Man. According to the Mysteries, God controls His universe by means of impulses of intelligence which He projects through streamers of visible or invisible light. This light serves the universe in a capacity somewhat similar to that in which the nervous system serves the body.

Pythagoras said; "The body of God is composed of the substance of light." Where light is, God is. Who worships light, worships God. Who serves light, serves God. What more fitting symbol has any man ever conceived of the ever-living, pulsating Divine Father than the living, pulsating radiating fire. Fire is the most sacred of all elements and the most ancient of all symbols. This being the case, the ancients were not without

reason and philosophy when they accepted fire, or light, as their supreme symbol, and chose as the emblem of the universal light the central glory of the sun. In so doing they became not sun-worshippers but worshippers of God as He manifests Himself through the light of truth.

The fire philosophers worshipped three lights—the light of the sun, that of the earth, and that of the soul, this latter being the light in man which they believed would ultimately be reabsorbed into the Divine Light from which it was temporarily separated by the prison walls of man's lower nature. The Mysteries of all ages were dedicated to the reunion of the little light with the Great Light, its Father and Source. To the Gnostics Christ was the colorless divine Light which assumed the form of radiant splendor (Truth), that it might minister unto the needs of the little light struggling for expression in the soul of every human creature. This Divine Light entered into the light of Nature, and by strengthening the latter, assisted the vitalizing of all living things.

The light in man, the God in miniature, was saved—or more correctly, *released*—by a process called *regeneration.* The secret method used to effect this release without the long spiral path of evolutionary progress was the great and supreme secret of the Mysteries, revealed only to those who had proven themselves worthy to be entrusted with the power of life and death. These Mysteries are perpetuated today in Freemasonry.

The Masonic order is founded in the Secret Schools of the pagan antiquity, many of the symbols of which are preserved to this day in the various degrees of the Blue Lodge and the Scottish Rite. Concerning the origin of the name "Freemason," which is itself a key to the doctrines of the Order, Robert Hewitt Brown, 32°, writes: "Long before the building of the King Solomon's temple, masons were known as the '*Sons of Light.*' Masonry was practiced by the ancients under the name of *Lux*

(light), or its equivalent, in the various languages of antiquity. * * * We are informed by several distinguished writers that it (the word *Masonry*) is a corruption of the Greek word *Mesouraneo,* which signifies 'I am in the midst of heaven,' alluding to the sun, which, 'being in the midst of heaven,' is the great source of light. Others derive it directly from the ancient Egyptian *Phre*, the sun, and *Mas*, a child; Phre-Massen—children of the sun, or Sons of Light."

The true secret of the regeneration of the fire in the human soul is revealed by the ritual of the Third Degree of the Blue Lodge under the allegory of the murder of Hiram Abiff. The name *Hiram* is, as has already been noted, closely related to the element of fire. His direct descent from Tubal-Cain, the first great worker of metals by means of fire, still further connects this cunning worker of metals with the immortal life flame in man. In his *Secret Societies of all Ages,* Charles W. Heckethorne gives an old Qabbalistic legend in connection with the relation of early Masonry to the worship of fire. According to this legend, Hiram Abiff was not a descendant of Adam or Jehovah, as were the Sons of Seth, but was born of a nobler race, for in his blood ran the fire of Samael, one of the Elohim. Further, there are two kinds of people in the world; those with aspiration and those without. Those without aspiration are the Sons of Seth, true children of the earth, who cling to their parent with tenacity, and the keyword of their nature is *Earthiness*.

There is another race who are Sons of Fire, for they are descendants of Samael, the regent of fire. These flame-born sons are ever fired with ambition and aspiration. They are the builders of cities, the raisers of monuments, the conquerors of worlds, the pioneers, the workers in metals, true sons of the eternal flame. Fiery and tempestuous are their souls and earth to them is a burden. Jehovah does not answer their prayers, for they are sons of another star. *Aspiration* is the keynote of their nature,

and again and again they raise, phoenix-like, from the ashes of failure. Never will they rest, like the element of which they are a part; they are wanderers upon the face of the earth, with their eyes upon the flaming star from which they came.

This fundamental difference is plainly visible in daily life. Some are always contented; others never reach the goal. Some are the Sons of Water—the keepers of flocks; others are Sons of Fire—the builders of cities. One group is conservative, the other is progressive. One is the king, the other the priest. But within the nature of every living thing the Sons of Fire and the Sons of Water exist together. In the Scriptures the flame-born ones are called the Sons of God and the water-born are referred to as the Daughters of Men, for the flame-born Son is the divinity in man and the water-born is the humanity in man. These two brothers are deadly enemies, but in the Mysteries they are taught to cooperate one with the other and are symbolized in Freemasonry as the double-headed eagle of the 33°.

According to the ancient wisdom, a time will come when man has two complete spinal systems, both equally developed, and his life will be controlled by two powers working in unity one with the other. To express this the ancient alchemists symbolized attainment as a two-headed figure, one head male and the other female. The androgynous *Ishwara,* the planetary lord of the Brahmins, has the right half of his body male and the left half female, to symbolize that he is the archetype for the ultimate human race. Man then being positive and negative in one, will no longer reproduce himself as at the present time.

One of the Ancient Mysteries taught that the end of all things is like the beginning plus the experience of the cycle, and some day the human race will give birth to its new bodies out of its own nature, as certain primitive animals still do. Then, indeed, will man be his own father and his own mother, complete in himself. Initiation makes possible this process in

man much earlier than the natural sequence of human evolution would permit it. Such is the true mystery of Melchizedek, King of Salem, the Priest-King (Priest, water; King, fire) who was his own father and his own mother, and in whose footsteps all initiates follow.

The highest of all occult orders which exists only in the inner world may be called the "Order of Melchizedek," although among certain nations it has other names. This Order is composed entirely of the graduates of the other Mystery Schools who have actually reached the point where they can give birth to their present selves out of their own natures, like the mysterious phoenix bird which, breaking open at death, permits a new bird to fly forth. The Phoenix was once regarded as an actual zoological rarity, but it is now known that it never existed other than a symbol of a high stage in the development of man. The phoenix built its nest out of flames, which is exceedingly significant.

The secret Order of Melchizedek can never appear in the physical world while humanity is constituted according to its present plan. It is the supreme Mystery School, and a few have reached the point where they have blended their divine and human natures so perfectly that they are symbolically two-headed. The heart and mind must be brought into perfect equilibrium before true thinking or true spirituality can be attained. The highest function of the mind is reason; the highest function of the heart is intuition, a sensing process not necessitating the normal working of the mind. Reason alone is heartless; feeling alone is mindless, but these two blended together temper justice with mercy and kindliness with strength.

The spirit is neither male nor female, but both—an androgynous entity. The perfect manifestation of the androgynous spirit must be through an androgynous body, which is self generating. But many millions of years must pass before the human race learns the lessons of polarity sufficiently well to assume this new

nature with intelligence. In that day everything will be complete unto itself. Understanding will be mature and there will be a depth and broadness which cannot be manifest through either a male or a female organism alone. Such is the mystery of the Priest-King and such was the position which Jesus reached when he was called a priest forever after the Order of Melchizedek. All this is symbolized in the emblems of the 33° of Freemasonry.

When considered clairvoyantly, the body of man resembles a great bouquet of flowers, for all over the physical form are petal-like groups of emanating force rays of various shapes and colors. There is one of these mysterious centers in the palm of each hand and in the sole of each foot. Nearly all the vital organs have whirling or radiating vortices of light as spiritual bases. These spinning vibrating flowers are extremely important occult centers. Each of them is capable, under certain conditions, of assisting man to secure a broader function of consciousness.

It is possible to see with the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. In fact, ultimately man will see with all parts of his body. A symbol of this ultimate condition was preserved in the Egyptian Mysteries by the figure of Osiris, who is often shown sitting upon a throne, his entire body composed of eyes. The Greek god Argus was also noted for his ability to see with different parts of his body. The Oriental Buddhas are often symbolized as having peculiar geometric patterns on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. The famous footprints of Buddha carved in stone have a miniature sun just in front of the heel of each foot. Some of the Japanese jiu-jitsu artists are acquainted with the secret science of these mysterious nerve centers, although the knowledge has been concealed from the majority of the Japanese wrestlers. There are charts in Japan which show the exact location of these sacred centers. The slightest pressure upon certain of them will paralyze the entire body, so great is their control over the rest of the nerve system.

The jiu-jitsu exponents are also taught how they can resuscitate a person who is absolutely dead by means of pressure brought to bear on certain points in the upper vertebrae of the spine. This is successful in nearly every case, often after all other methods have failed.

The sunbursts of varicolored lights in the body constitute the sacred lotus blossoms of India and Egypt and the roses of the Rosicrucians. They are also the immortal beads of the Bhagavad-Gita strung upon a single thread. It is through these centers that the nails of the crucifixion were driven. The crucifixion contains the secret of opening the flower centers in the hands, feet, side, and head. The three nails which accomplish this are preserved to Freemasonry as the three leading officers of a Lodge and the three murderers of Hiram Abiff.

The Mexican Indian Osiris, called Prince Coh, died from three wounds inflicted by his enemies, and his heart was found in an urn by Augustus Le Plongeon, who spent many years in investigating Central American antiquities.

The relationship between these sacred centers and the jewels in the breastplate of the High Priest of Israel must not be overlooked, for both symbols have a similar meaning.

The most sacred part of the human body is the brain and spinal system, revered from all antiquity and symbolized again and again in all the religions of the world. While other parts of the body are of great interest to the student, the mysterious working of the spinal fires by means of which liberation is finally attained is so tremendous that many years must be spent in understanding even the fundamental principles. The spine is the rod which budded, the Yggdrasil Tree, the flaming sword, the staff of comfort, the wand of the Magi.

PART III

THE SACRED FIRE IN THE SPINE AND BRAIN

Santee called the *medulla spinalis* (spinal cord) the central axis of the nervous system. In a person of average size the spinal cord is about eighteen inches in length, weighs approximately one ounce, and terminates opposite the first lumbar vertebra. The upper end of the spinal cord, passing upward through the *foramen magnum* (the large opening in the occipital bone of the skull) ends at the *medulla oblongata.* Running through the spinal cord is a tiny central channel referred to as the *sixth ventricle.* This is described as follows; "It is just visible to the naked eye, but it extends throughout the cord and expands above the fourth ventricle. In the *conus medullaris* it is also dilated, forming the *ventriculus terminalis* (Krausei)."

According to the Eastern system of occult culture, there are 49 sacred nerve centers in the human body, of which the seven most important and key centers are placed near the spine at various intervals. The total number, 49, is the square of 7, and is also the number of rounds and sub-rounds of a planetary chain. When seen clairvoyantly, all of these centers resemble flowers or electric sparks. Each one of the seven main plexuses has six of lesser importance surrounding it, thus forming six-pointed stars diagrammatically, although the centers are not arranged in starlike order in the body.

Concerning the continued recurrence of the sacred number

seven in connection with the organs and parts of the human body, H. P. Blavatsky writes; "Remember that physiology, imperfect as it is, shows septenary groups all over the exterior and interior of the body; the seven orifices, the seven 'organs' at the base of the brain, the seven plexuses the pharyngeal, the laryngeal, cavernous, cardiac, epigastric [some as solar plexus], prostatic, and sacral plexus, etc." These seven are the negative spinal plexuses of first importance, but disciples of the mysteries are warned not to attempt the development of these centers, because they are negative poles. All of the real plexuses which the true disciple of the highest knowledge should try to unfold are located within the skull, for the body is a negative pole of that spiritual body contained within the cranial cavity. As the body is controlled by the brain, the true adept works with the brain, avoiding the negative poles of the brain centers which are located along the spine. Proper development of the seven brain discs, or spiritual interpenetrating globes, results in the awakening of the spinal flowers by an indirect process. *Beware of the direct process by concentrating upon or directionalizing the internal breath towards the spinal centers.*

Madame Blavatsky might have added to her list of septenaries the seven sacred organs about the heart, the seven ductless glands of first importance, the seven methods by which the body is vitalized, the seven sacred breaths, the seven body systems (bones, nerves, arteries, muscles, etc), the seven layers of the auric egg, the seven major divisions of the embryo, the seven senses (five awakened and two latent), and the seven-year periods into which human life is divided. All of these are reminders of the fact that seven primitive and primary spirits have become incarnated in the composite structure of man and that the Elohim are actually within his own nature, where from their seven thrones they are molding him into a septenary creature. One of these Elohim, which corresponds to a color, a musical note, a planetary vibration, and a mystical dimension, is the key con-

sciousness of every kingdom in Nature. The Elohim also take turns in controlling the life of the human being.

According to the ancient Brahmins, the Lord of the human race is keyed to the musical note fa, and His vibration runs through the minute tube in the spinal column. This tube is called the *sushumna.* The essence moving through the *sushumna* finally blossoms outward, forming a magnificent flower in the brain. This is called *sahasrara,* the thousand petaled lotus, in the midst of which is enthroned the divine eye of the gods. In India it is possible to secure inexpensive chromos showing a meditating Yogi with these flower centers along the spine connected together by the three *nagas,* or serpent gods, which represent the divisions of the spinal cord. The caduceus of Hermes shows the two serpents wound around the central staff, where they vibrate as the sharp and flat notes of the central stem.

The *naga* gods, or serpents, often symbolized with human heads (sometimes as cobras with seven heads) are favorite motifs in Oriental art. In an isolated part of the jungle in Indo-China stand the remains of the ancient city of Angkor, concerning the building of which nothing is known, although the natives maintain that its great structures were raised in a single night by the gods. These buildings contain hundreds of carvings of great serpents, most of them hooded cobras. In some cases the bodies, being of great length, are used as railings around walls and the sides of steps. In the Indian chromos the blossoms along the spine are often shown with varying numbers of petals. For example, the one at the base of the spine has but four petals; the next above six. Each of these petals is inscribed with a mysterious Sanskrit character representing a letter of the ancient alphabet. The petals are believed to indicate the number of nerves branching from the plexus or ganglion.

The lotus blossoms are often ornamented with the figures of the gods, for all of the deities of the Brahmin Pantheon are

related to nerve centers in the human body, and the proclivities which they demonstrate mythologically are symbolic of activities within the nature of man. One Oriental painting shows three sunbursts, one covering the head, in the midst of which sits Brahma with four heads, his body a dark mysterious color. The second sunburst, which covers the heart, solar plexus, and upper abdominal region, shows Vishnu sitting in the blossom of the lotus on a couch formed of the coils of the serpent of cosmic motion, its seven-hooded head forming a canopy over the god. Over the generative system is a third sunburst, in the midst of which sits Shiva, his body a grayish white, and the Ganges river flowing out of the crown of his head. This painting was the work of an Indian mystic who spent many years on the figures, subtly concealing therein great truths. The Christian legends could be related to the human body by the same method as the Oriental, for the meanings concealed in the teachings of both schools are identical.

In Masonry the three sunbursts represent the gates of the Temple, at which Hiram is struck, there being no gate in the north because the sun never shines from the northern angle of the heavens. The north is the symbol of the physical because of its relation to ice—crystallized water—and to the body—crystallized spirit. In man the light shines toward the north but never from it, because the body has no light of its own; it shines with the reflected glory of the Divine life particles concealed within the physical substances. For this reason the moon is accepted as the symbol of man's physical nature. Hiram, or Chiram as he should more properly be called—inasmuch as his name consists of the letters which in Hebrew stand for fire, air, and water—represents the mysterious fiery airy water which must be raised through the three grand centers symbolized by the ladder with three rungs and the sunburst flowers mentioned in the description of the Indian painting. It must also pass upward by means of the ladder of seven rungs, the seven lotus

blossoms first described. These blossoms need not be considered entirely from an Oriental angle. Christians could properly call them the stations of the cross, for they are sacred places where the redeeming fire stops for a moment on its way up Calvary to liberation.

The spinal column is a chain of thirty-three segments, divided into five groups: (1) the *cervical,* or neck, vertebrae, seven in number, (2) the *dorsal,* or *thoracic*, vertebrae, of which there are twelve (one for each rib), (3) the *lumbar* vertebrae, five in number, (4) the *sacrum* (five segments fused into one bone), and (5) the *coccyx* (four segments considered as one). The nine segments of the *sacrum* and *coccyx* are pierced by ten *foramina*, through which pass the roots of the Tree of Life. Nine is the sacred number of man and there is a great mystery concealed in the *sacrum* and *coccyx.* That part of the body from the kidneys downward was called by the early Qabbalists the *Land of Egypt*, into which the Children of Israel were taken during the captivity. Out of Egypt Moses (the illuminated mind, as his name signifies) led the tribes of Israel, the twelve faculties, by *raising* the brazen serpent in the wilderness upon the symbol of the Tau Cross. At the base of the spine there is a tiny nerve center concerning which nothing is known, but the occultist realizes that the symbolism of the second crucifixion, which is supposed to have taken place in Egypt, has reference to the crossing of certain nerves at the base of the spine. A friend visiting Mexico was good enough to count the rattles on the tails of stone images of Quetzalcoatl, or Kulkulcan as he is sometimes known. In nearly every case they were nine in number.

The cosmic hierarchy controlling the Constellation of Scorpio has control of the occult fires in the human body. To symbolize this they were given the name of the *serpent gods* and the priests initiated into their mystery wore the coiled serpent in the form of the *uraeus* upon their foreheads. These priests

also often carried flexible staffs carved in the form of a snake and from six to ten feet long. The wood of which they were made was specially treated by a process now lost. At a certain part of the ceremonial, the priests bent the flexible staffs into circles, placing the tail of the carved snake into its mouth, accompanying the process with secret invocations. The transcendentalists of the Middle Ages did the same thing, but not with the full understanding possessed by the ancient priests. The Lords of Scorpio, being the great initiators, accepted none into the Mysteries save when the sun was in a certain degree of Taurus, symbolized by Apis, the Bull. When the Bull carried the sun between his horns, the neophytes were admitted. In geocentric astrology, this takes place when the sun is supposedly in the last decan of the Constellation of Scorpio. This is true not only in the ancient Egyptian rituals, but it is still true in the Mystery Schools. Candidates for the occult path of fire are to this day admitted only when the sun is geocentrically in Scorpio and heliocentrically in Taurus. The star group constituting the Constellation of the Scorpion closely resembles a spread eagle and is one of the reasons why that bird is sacred to Freemasonry, which is a fire cult.

Although the three tubes of the spinal cord are called in the ancient wisdom the *nagas*, or *whirling snakes*, and the serpent which cannot die till sun-down was accepted as their symbol, the scorpion has also been used as emblematic of the spinal fire. This scorpion was called Judas, the betrayer, for he is a backbiter, carrying his sting in the *sacrum* and *coccyx*. We are reminded of the legend of Parsifal, for the Castle of Klingsor, the evil magician, located at the foot of the mountain in the midst of a garden of illusion, is merely a symbol of this City of Babylon and the Land of Darkness, where all too often the Son of God is tempted to sacrifice his immortality. Here also is the scene which Goethe called "Walpurgis Night." It is here also that the false light is chained for a thousand years, as related by

Milton in *Paradise Lost.*

Concerning the descent of the spirit of fire down the spine into the place of darkness, Milton says: "Him the Almighty Power hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky, with hideous ruin and combustion, down to bottomless perdition, there to dwell in adamantine chains and penal fire!"

It is also from here that the hordes of scorpions arose, spreading blight and destruction to all the earth, as is related in the Book of Revelation. Here also is the rock Moriah, over the brow of which Hiram is buried. Here lurks Typhon, the Destroyer, and Satan, who was stoned. This is the dwelling place of the false light, to differentiate it from the true light which shines out through the regions of *schamayim* above. Between these two lies the length of the spinal cord, a rope connecting the Ark and the Anchor.

There is a legend among the Orientals to the effect that Kundalini, the goddess of the serpentine spinal fire, growing tired of heaven, decided to visit the new earth which was being formed in the sea of space. She therefore climbed down a rope ladder (the umbilical cord) from heaven and found an island (the fetus) in the Sea of Meru (the amniotic fluids) surrounded by the mountains of Eternity (the Chorion), all of which existed within the egg of Brahma (the womb of Matripadma). After exploring the island, Kundalini decided to return up the ladder once more, but as she was about to ascend, the ladder was cut from above (the umbilical cord severed at birth) and the island drifted off into space. In fear Kundalini ran and hid herself in a cave (the sacral plexus) where, according to certain of the Eastern teachings, she remains coiled like the cobra in the snake charmer's basket, from which she can be lured only by the three mysterious notes of the charmer's flute. When Kundalini begins to unwind she ascends as a serpentine stream of fire through the spinal canal and into the brain, where she stimulates the activity

of the pituitary body.

The spine may be divided horizontally into three sections. The lowest section includes the *lumbar* vertebrae, together with the segments forming the *sacrum* and *coccyx*, and is surrounded by a brick-red haze of a lurid and angry color. This haze is oily in texture and causes the *sacrum* and *coccyx* to appear the color of dried blood. The color, however, is living rather than dead. Higher up towards the lumbar vertebrae the color is somewhat lighter and not so angry looking. It gradually turns to orange and through the section composed of the twelve *dorsal* vertebrae there is a golden glow radiating outward from a thread-like line of what appears to be a river of yellow fire. These colors extend somewhat outward along the nerves which branch off from the spine between the vertebrae. A little higher the yellow becomes flecked with green and through the *cervical* section the stream becomes faintly electric blue. Through the *ida* and *pingala*—two lateral tubes through the spinal cord, paralleling the central tube on either side—this stream of fire goes up and down incessantly. The farther up the fire goes, the thinner and less brilliant its hues, but the purer and more beautiful the colors, until finally they meet in a seething, molten mass in the *pons* of the *medulla oblongata*, where the fire begins almost immediately to permeate the third ventricle and agitate the pituitary body.

This tiny form is described by Santee as follows: "The *hypophysis* (pituitary body) is composed of two lobes bound together by connective tissue. A sheet of *dura mater* (diaphragma sellae) holds them in the hypophyseal fossa. The anterior lobe, the larger, is derived from the epithelium of the mouth cavity; and, in structure, resembles the thyroid gland. Its closed vesicles, limed with columnar epithelium (in part ciliated), contain a viscid jelly-like material (pituita), which suggested the old name for the body. The anterior lobe is hollowed out on its posterior-surface (kidney-shape) and receives the posterior lobe, the in-

fundibulum, into the concavity. The hypophysis has an internal secretion which appears to stimulate the growth of connective tissues and to be essential to sexual development."

The pituitary body is the negative pole, yet it plays many roles in the development of the spiritual consciousness. In one sense of the word it is the initiator, for it "raises" the candidate (the pineal gland). Being of feminine polarity, the pituitary body lives up to its dignity by being the eternal temptress. In the Egyptian myths, Isis, who partakes of the nature of the pituitary body, conjures Ra, the Supreme Deity of the sun (who is here symbolic of the pineal gland) to disclose his sacred name, which he finally does. The physiologic process by means of which this is accomplished is worthy of detailed consideration.

The pituitary body begins to glow very faintly and little rippling rings of light pour out from around the gland and gradually fade out a short distance from the pituitary body. As occult growth continues, according to the proper understanding of the law of occultism, the emanating rings around the gland grow stronger. They are not equally distributed around the pituitary body. The circles are elongated on the side facing the third ventricle and reach out in graceful parabolas towards the pineal gland. Gradually, as the stream becomes more powerful, they approach ever closer to the slumbering eye of Shiva, tinting the form of the pineal gland with golden-orange light and gently coaxing it into animation. Under the benign warmth and radiance of the pituitary fire, the divine egg thrills and moves and the magnificent mystery of occult unfoldment takes place.

The pineal gland is thus described by Santee: "Pineal body (*corpus pineale*) is a cone-shaped body, 6mm. (0.25 in.) high and 4 mm. (0.17 in.) in diameter, joined to the roof of the third ventricle by a flattened stalk, the *habenula.* It is also called the *epiphysis.* The pineal body is situated in the floor of the transverse fissure of the cerebrum, directly below the splenium of

the corpus callosum, and rests between the superior colliculi of the quadrigeminal bodies on the posterior surface of the midbrain. It is closely invested by pia mater. The habenula splits into a dorsal and ventral lamina, which are separated by the pineal recess. The ventral lamina fuses with the posterior commissure; but the dorsal stretches forward over the commissure in continuity with the roof epithelium. The border of the dorsal lamina is thickened along the line of attachment to the thalamus and forms the *stria medullaris thalam*i (pineal stria). The thickening is due to the presence of bundle of fibres from the columna of the fornix and the intermediate stria of the olfactory tract. Between the medullary striae at the posterior end there is a transverse band, the *commissura habenularum*, through which the fibres of the striae partially decussate to the nucleus habenulate in the thalamus. The interior of the pineal body is made up of closed follicles surrounded by ingrowths of connective tissue. The follicles are filled with epithelial cells mixed with calcareous matter, the brain-sand (*acervulus cerebri*). Calcareous deposits are found also on the pineal stalk and along the chorioid plexuses.

"The function of the pineal body is unknown. Descartes facetiously suggests that it is the abode of the spirit (the sand) of man. In reptiles there are two pineal bodies, an anterior and a posterior, of which the posterior remains undeveloped, but the anterior forms a rudimentary, cyclopean eye. In the Hatteria, a New Zealand lizard, it projects through the parietal foramen and presents an imperfect lens and retina and, in its long stalk, nerve fibers. The human pineal body is probably homologous with the posterior pineal body of reptiles."

The pineal gland is a link between the consciousness of man and the invisible worlds of Nature. Whenever the arc of the pituitary body contacts this gland there are flashes of temporary clairvoyance, but the process of making these two work

together consistently is one requiring not only years but lives of consecration and special physiological and biological training. This third eye is the Cyclopean eye of the ancients, for it was an organ of conscious vision long before the physical eyes were formed, although vision was a sense of cognition rather than sight in those ancient days.

As man's contact with the physical world grew more complete he lost his inner understanding together with the conscious connection with the creative hierarchies. In order to regain this connection, it is necessary for him to rise above the limitations of the physical world. He must not, however, sever his connection with humanity by becoming a recluse or an impractical dreamer. The occultist must not *walk* out of anything; he must *work* out of everything. In the pineal gland there is a tiny grit, or sand, concerning which modern science knows practically nothing. Investigations have shown that this grit is absent in idiots and others lacking properly organized mentality. Occultists know that this grit is the key to the spiritual consciousness of man. It serves as a connecting link between consciousness and form.

The foregoing will give brief understanding of part of the mystery of man's occult anatomy. Those with discerning eyes will see in the spinal canal leading upward into ventricles of the brain—through certain doors concerning which science is ignorant—the passageways and chambers of the ancient Mysteries. They will realize that the spinal spirit fire is the candidate who is being initiated. In the triangular room of the third ventricle the Master Mason's Degree is given. Here the candidate is buried in the coffin; and here, after three days, he rises from the dead.

The lower degrees of the ancient Mysteries led through tortuous passageways where howling and crying rent the air and the flames of the inferno flickered through the darkness. The neophyte seeking for light was first led through the under-

world, where he fought strange beasts and heard the wailing of lost souls. All this was emblematic of man's own lower nature, through which his spiritual ideals must rise to illumination and truth. The higher degrees of the Mysteries took place in beautiful domed buildings where white-robed priests chanted and sang, and lights from invisible lamps shone on golden jewels. The Greater Mysteries represented the felicity of the soul surrounded by light and truth. They symbolized that man had "raised" himself from the darkness of ignorance into the light of philosophy. Plato said that the body is the sarcophagus of the soul, for he realized that within the form was an immortal principle which could free itself from mortal sheath only by death or by initiation. By the ancients these two were considered almost synonymous. For that reason the dying Socrates ordered his disciples to make an offering at the time of his death similar to the one which candidates made when about to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The mystery of the All-Seeing Eye was sometimes symbolized by the peacock, because this bird had eyes in all of its feathers. In honor of the sacred eye in the crown of the head, the monks of all nations shave their hair over the place which it is supposed to look out. Small children who have but recently completed their embryonic recapitulation of humanity's early struggle for life have and unduly sensitive area about the crown of the head. The skull does not close there immediately. In some cases it never closes, although usually the sutures unite between the second and fifth years. The extreme sensitiveness over the area of the third eye is accompanied by a certain clairvoyance. The small child is still living largely in the invisible worlds. While its physical organism is unresponsive, it is conscious and active (at least to limited degree) in those worlds with which it is connected by the open gateway of the pineal gland. Gradually certain manifestations of his higher consciousness enter into its physical organism

and crystallize into the fine grit found in that gland. There is no grit in the pineal gland until consciousness enters.

Not only are the two glands in the head tremendously important, but the whole glandular system, especially the ductless glandular system, exercises tremendous sway over the human system. The white blood corpuscles are not actually manufactured in either the pancreas or the spleen, but are really formed by activity of the etheric double, which is connected to the physical form through the spleen. A continuous stream of partly etheric white blood corpuscles pours from the invisible world into the visible organism through the gateway of the spleen. The same is true of the liver, for the red blood corpuscles are to a certain degree a crystallization of astral forces, for the liver is the portal leading into the astral body.

The seven major ductless glands are under the control of the seven planets, and each one of them is actually a sevenfold body in the same way that all the vital organs are sevenfold. The heart is divided into seven complete organs by a certain process of occult anatomy, as is also the brain. The fact that the human brain closely resembles in certain details—especially the organs grouped about the base of it—an androgynous human embryo, is sufficient to cause further investigation. Sometime physicians will realize that the knowledge of the organs and functions of the human body is the most important and complete method of understanding the religions of all the world, for all religions—even the most primitive—are based on the functions of the human form. It was not without reason that the ancient priests placed over the temple gate the immortal motto:

"MAN KNOW THYSELF"

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FLORENTINE CODEX

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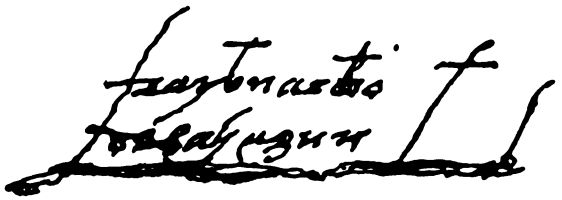
Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN



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BOOK I—THE GODS

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON
School of American Research

CHARLES E. DIBBLE
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART II

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Temporary Foreword

The *Florentine Codex* is one of three well-known manuscripts planned by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún to describe the civilization of the Aztecs. The others, both of which are fragmentary, are the *Biblioteca del Palacio* and *Academia de la Historia* MSS in Madrid; these may have been field notes which Sahagún used for the complete version, the *Florentine Codex*. In this, Fr. Bernardino wrote the same accounts in parallel columns, Spanish on the left and Aztec on the right. The work was profusely illustrated. The Spanish text sometimes was fuller than, and sometimes only summarized, the Aztec text. From this codex stemmed the Spanish texts published by Bustamante and, probably, Kingsborough, more than a century ago; and these early printed versions are the basis of later editions. Sahagún named his work *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España;* the term *Florentine Codex* used in this Temporary Preface means Sahagún's *Historia* in the famed manuscript of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy.

A microfilm copy of the *Florentine Codex* was secured in 1938 by the late Lansing B. Bloom who, with his wife, was sent to various European Libraries to secure microfilms of this and other important manuscripts—mostly relating to Southwestern history. Mr. and Mrs. Bloom performed wonders in the face of considerable difficulties. The project was a joint undertaking of the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Bandelier Centennial Committee.

The microfilm negatives were delivered to the late Dr. E. L. Hewett, then Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, in 1939. As prime mover in the securing of the copy of the *Florentine Codex* for the School of American Research, he was interested in its being published; and as an anthropologist, he recognized the necessity of a complete English translation of the Aztec, of which only a little had been translated into any language.

First, photographic enlargements were made from the negatives, by Miss Bertha P. Dutton and Miss Hulda Hobbs of the School of American Research. One copy remained with the School of American Research, and another was deposited for additional security with the University of New Mexico. Later, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley arranged for the distribution of four additional copies in American universities and other institutions which were interested, and with the Mexican Government. It was stipulated that these copies were not to be published for a period of five years.

In the eighteen months during which Dr. Morley was Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, he carried on the plans started by Dr. Hewett for the translation of the Aztec text of Sahagún's immortal *Historia,* a project which he also had for some years been interested in seeing through. The final outline of procedure was completed just before his last illness. He would undoubtedly have been deeply concerned with and infinitely helpful in its progress had he lived.

To carry out the considerable task of translating the twelve books of Sahagún's *magnum opus,* Dr. Morley brought together the only two scholars in the United States whom he knew, at the time, to be prepared to undertake the work. Dr. Charles E. Dibble's studies in the Mexican field had aroused his admiration. Dr. Arthur J. O. Anderson, on the instance of Dr. Morley and Dr. Hewett, had been studying Nahuatl for some years. By arrangement with Dr. A. R. Olpin, President of the University of Utah, Dr. Dibble's teaching schedule at the University was modified so that he could devote half of his time to the translation project. Dr. Morley similarly made adjustments with Dr. Anderson's time at the Museum of New Mexico.

The plan, as developed by Dr. Morley, Dr. Dibble, and Dr. Anderson, was to translate the dozen books of Sahagún's *Historia* singly and not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the *Florentine Codex* and the printed Spanish and French editions, and to publish them as completed, as Parts II-XIII of a Monograph of the School of American Research and a Publication of the University of Utah. Part I was to appear last of all, and to include a Preface and other introductory material, the Table of Contents, the Bibliography, and the General Index. Each part was to be fully illustrated, and, because of their unusual clarity, the Paso y Troncoso illustrations were to be reproduced.

These plans are being carried out.

As to translation procedure, Dr. Morley urged that the product be in readable English. The compilation of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, so valuable to the anthropologist and the historian, was to be regarded as a major source book for the student, yet presented so as to be of value to the scholar and of interest to the general reader. Taking advantage of some broad similarities between English and Aztec syntax, the translators were to put it into English such that the structure of the translations would resemble as closely as possible that of the original. Since the Spanish text

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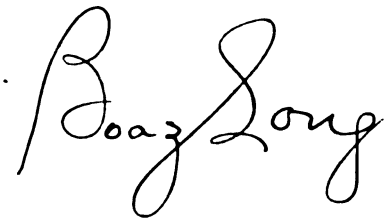
of the *Florentine Codex* was Sahagún's sixteenth-century Spanish, the English translation of the Nahuatl was to parallel, in a sense, the late Renaissance feeling of Sahagún's Spanish through the employment of occasional archaisms which might give it something of the atmosphere of the King James version of the Bible. This procedure, while it precludes a translation which would be word-for-word a precise duplicate (in English), would, it was felt, still preserve sufficient accuracy in its presentation of the meaning of the Aztec version.

A less flexible rendition would, of course, have been possible; or an interlinear. A linguistic study, however, was not contemplated in this translation. For the linguist, and for any who would wish to check the accuracy of the translation, the Aztec of the *Florentine Codex* was to be faithfully reproduced.

This procedure the translators have attempted to follow.

If, when the total translation project is completed, the translators have produced a work sufficiently accurate to convey reliably the meaning of the Aztec, and thus be of use to the historian and ethnologist, they will have sufficiently accomplished their purpose.

A. Ray Olpin
President
University of Utah



Boaz Long
Director
School of American Research

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

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De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which telleth of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague —that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.[5]

And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear-pendant of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent disguise, the blue netted cloth,[7] the arm band.[8] He wore rattles and shells.[9]

Jnic ce capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja teteuh: yn qujnmoteutiaia, yoan yn qujntlamanjliaia, yn ie vecauh.

Vitzilubuchtli: çan maceoalli, çan tlacatl catca: naoalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teixcuepanj: qujiocoianj in iaoiutl, iaotecanj, iaotlatoanj:

ca itechpa mjtoaia, tepan qujtlaça yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhoaztli, q. n. iaoiutl, teuatl, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtiloia, malmjcoaia, tlaaltilmjcoaia: tealtiaia, yn pochteca.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia: xiuhtotonacoche catca, xiuhcoanaoale, xiuhtlalpile, matacaxe, tzitzile, oiuoalle.

Second Chapter, which telleth of the god named He who Hasteneth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Uitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he pressed on and urged them ahead.[10]

Jnic vme capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca paynal: yn qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia ie uecauh.

Paynal: motepatillotianj, moteixiptlatianj: tepan mixeoanj: iehica ca qujmixiptlatiaia, in vitzilubuchtli, yn iquac tlaiaoaloaia, motocaiotia paynal: ipampa ca cenca, qujtototzaia, qujmotlalochtiaia.

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1. The corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: *"Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios. . . ."*

2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 423, refers to him as *nur ein Stammheros.*

3. Seler thus phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked rogue, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1939), Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 4.

4. *Cf.* Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 229. ". . . of him it is related that he throws the xiuhcoatl and the fire-borer, i. e., war, water (spear-throwing) and fire at the people" (Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 218). *Cf.* also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *nuestro dios Vitzilopuchtli usaba de dos cosas para contra sus enemigos para aterrarlos y ahuyentarlos; la una se llama* xiucóatl, *y la otra* mamalhoaztli . . . *y él tenía por cetro real en la mano una culebra hecha de mosaico, que llaman* xiucóatl, *no derecha sino tortuosa o combada, y aquella, siendo vivo, como nigromántico en las batallas como gran serpiente viva la echaba sobre los enemigos con que los espantaba y hacía huir."*

5. The meaning (*cf. tealtia*) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (*cf.* Sahagún, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 370, 384).

6. *Cf. ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 164. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425) identifies the bird as *Cotinga cincta s. coerulea*, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a mosaic pattern. Siméon, *op. cit.*, p. 699, calls the bird *Herbarum avis* (Hern.).

7. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 379, suggests that such an article of clothing was sometimes worn about the hips.

8. Seler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223, and Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 144, and Vol. II, p. 380, say the arm-band was provided with a hole or a reed, to insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex*, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *matacaxtli* as *"pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manipulo, que se usa en la missa." Cf.* also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as *quetzalmapancatl.* See illus. of Uitzilopochtli.

9. The *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *tzitzilli, oyoalli, in icxic*—an indication that they were worn on the calves of the legs.—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.

10. Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as *ligero apresurado.*

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And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling, howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather head-ornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. His was the humming-bird disguise. He had the breast-mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh in maceoalti, qujtocaia, qujtlalochtocaia, coiohujtiuja, quicaoatztiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli qujpopotztiuja: iuhqujn tlaixqujqujça, tlalli tetecujca:

auh ce tlacatl qujnapalotiuja.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, teuquemetiuja, quetzalapanecaiutl, in contlalitiuja, ixoacalichioale, ixcitlalichioale, mixcitlal-ichiuh, xiuhiacamjoa, vitzitzilnaoale, eltezcaoa, xiuhchimale.

Third Chapter, which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Jnic ey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn jtoca tezcatl-ipoca: in qujmoteutiaia, yoan in qujtlamanjliaia, ie uecauh.

Tezcatlipoca: ynin vel teutl ipan machoia, noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlalticpac, ylhujcac. Jn jquac nemja tlalticpac, iehoatl qujiolitiaja, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ teupouhquj, qujteittitiaia,

tetzalā, tenepantla motecaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iautl, muchi qujiocoiaia, qujtemoujaja, qujteecaujltiaia, qujtecujtiaia yn jxquich aqualli tepan muchioaia: teca maujltiaia, tequequeloaia.

Auh in quenman, qujtemacaia, in necujltonolli: in tlatqujtl, in oqujchiotl, in tiacauhiutl, in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiutl, in pillotl, in mauizçotl.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.[13]

Tlaloc the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also rattles. He had a plaited-reed banner.[16]

Jnjc nauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoaia yn teutl, yn jtoca tlaloc, tlamacazquj.

Tlaloc, tlamacazquj: ynjn ipan machoia, in qujiaujtl: ca iehoatl quiiocoaia, qujtemoujaia, qujpixoaia, in quijaujtl, yoan in teciujtl: quixotlaltiaja, qujtzmolinaltiaja, qujxoxuvi-altiaja, quicueponaltiaja, quizcaltiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no itech tlamjloia, in teilaqujliztli, in tlaujtequjliztli.

Auh ynjc muchichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixolhujlli, motliloçac, ixmjchioave, ixmichioauhio, auachxicole, aiauh-xicole, aztatzone, chalchiuhcozque, poçulcaque, no tzitzile, aztapilpane.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jnic macujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca quetzalcoatl.

11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Seler (*Collected Works,* Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 44) defines it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the *xicolli* (jacket) and the *tzitzicaztilmatli* (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Seler (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacazcatl* and *tlamacazqui* mean "pious" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as *"Regengott . . . . Regenpriester,"* in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Caecelie Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Stecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Seler (*loc. cit.*): *"im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk."*

15. *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. I, p. 185; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, pp. 443-4.

16. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143.

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Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and road-sweeper of the rain gods,[17] of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: "[Quetzalcoatl] is wrathful."

Quetzalcoatl: yn ehecatl ynteiacancauh yntlachpancauh in tlaloque, yn aoaque, yn qujqujiauhti. Auh yn jquac molhuja eheca, mjtoa: teuhtli quaqualaca, ycoioca, tetecujca, tlatlaiooa, tlatlalpitza, tlatlatzinj, motlatlaueltia.

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical[18] ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and mesquite symbols.[19] He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.[20] He wore a gold neckband of small sea-shells.[21] He had the quetzal-pheasant as a burden on his back. He had ocelot anklets with rattles. He wore a cotton bone[-ribbed] jacket.[22] He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.[23] He had the curved [inlaid] spear-thrower[24] and also foam sandals.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia: ocelocopile, mjxtlilpopotz, hecanechioale, mizqujnechioale, tzicoliuhcanacoche, teucujtlaacuechcozque, quetzalcoxollamamale, ocelotzitzile, icpaomjcicujle, hecacozcachimale, hecaujque, no poçulcaque.

Sixth Chapter: here are noted the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods.

Jnjc chiquacẽ capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn oc cenca tlapanauja yn cioateteu: yn qujnmoteutiaia, in qujnteutlapiqujaia yn njcan tlaca.

The savage Snake-woman (Ciuacoatl), ill-omened and dreadful,[25] brought men misery. For it was said: "She giveth men the hoe and tump-line. Thus she forceth men [to work]."

Cioacoatl tequanj: yoan tetzaujtl, tetetzaujanj, icnoiutl qujteittitia: ca mjtoaia, victli mecapalli, qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia.

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hairdress rose like two horns above her head.

Auh ynjc moteittitiaia, motenextiliaia: iuhqujn tecpan cioatl, nanacoche, iitznacoche, iztaian moquetza, iztaian actica, iztacatla ycaia, iztazticac, vel panj qujquetza yn jneaxtlaoal, yn jaxtlacujl,

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.[26]

ioaltica chocatinenca, tecoiouhtinenca, no iautetzaujtl catca.

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.[27] She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers[28] and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Auh yuj yn muchichioaia yxiptla, yn jxaiac, centlacochichiltic, centlacotliltic, yujquatzone, teucujtlanacoche, quechqueme, xiuhtzotzopace.

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17. *Cf.* Eduard Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquia indiana,* Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlalocs is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 263): *"Esta gente atribuia el viento a un dios que llamaban* Quetzalcoatl, *bien casi como dios de los vientos. Sopla el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, según ellos decian; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen estar el paraiso terrenal al cual llaman* Tlalocan, *(y) a este viento le llamaban* tlalocáyotl; *no es viento furioso, cuando él sopla no impide (a) las canoas andar por el agua."*

18. Conical shape is not specifically implied; but the definition of *copilli* in Siméon *(op. cit.)* is *mitre.* Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing trait of Quetzalcoatl.

19. Wind-painting, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, p. 435; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, hint of the wind-dress—the rounded edges of the *maxtlatl,* for instance. *Ichuia: cf.* Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

20. Eduard Seler (*ibid.*, p. 435) calls it *"den dornig gekrümmten Ohrpflock."* In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully than in the Aztec text, says: *"Tenja, vnas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mosayco. . . . ."* The word *tzitzitl* means turquoise used in mosaic work (Siméon, *op. cit.*).

21. The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: *"tenja vn collar de oro, de que colgauan, vnos caracolitos mariscos, preciosos."*

22. See Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

23. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has: *"vna rodela, con vna pintura, con cinco angulos: que llaman, el joel de viento."* The term *ecacozcachimalli* may be translated more literally as "shield with pendant shell" design. A bisected shell design usually hangs as a breast shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Tonalamatl of Codex Borbonicus.*)

24. Corresponding Spanish text says: *"era como empuñadora de espada."*

25. *Cf.* also *tetzauhcoatl,* species of snake mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general,* Vol. III, p. 206), so named because *"mata con espanto."*

26. This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

27. See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

28. Seler translates this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymn of Ciuacoatl are convincing. *Cf. Collected Works,* Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 59.

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cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[29] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn cioateutl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: iehoatl ipan mjxeoaia, qujmjxiptlatiaia, in tonacaiotl: yoan in çaço tlein ynenca, yiolca maceoalli, ynjoa, ynqualo.

Auh yujn ynnechichioale catca; ixtlauhxaoale, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacueie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33]

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

And when there was a feast, when it was time for the slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They hid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huaxtecs,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

Jnic chicuei, capitulo: vncã moteneoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca: Teteu ynna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yoan Toçi.

Jnnã catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaja, in titici, in teitzmjnque, tetzinanque, tetlanoqujlique, teixpatique.

Auh yn cioa, temjxiujtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaxilique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchaiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

No iehoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcaleque; ypampa y, quitlaliliaia yn jxiptla, in temazcalixquac, qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

Auh yn jquac, in ie ilhujqujxtililoia, in ie imjquiztequippa: in iehoantin titici, yn jxiptla catca teteu ynna, qujtlaoculpopoloaia, amo vel chocaia, queelelqujxtiaia, qujtlanenectiaia, qujtlanenequjltiaia, qujceceltiaia, haqujchoctlanja, qujtlatlahtitiaia, momjquizquequeloaia, qujnecaliltiaia, qujiaochioaia, qujtlacaoachiliaia, coiuujaia, tlauiznextiloia, netlauizmacoia, netlauhtiloia: in qujmjliuhca muchioaia in tiiacaoa, ic quintiçaujaia, ic qujnpotonjaia, qujmotzacujlitiuja, ic panj moquetzaia.

Auh yn jquac onmjc, yn jxiptla: njman ce tlacatl onmaqujaia, yn jeoaio, ynnepantla oalmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuexoa, qujujcaia, qujtzatzacutiujia:

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.

30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

31. *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 446.

32. Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 444) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to feathers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.

34. *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

35. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 6. *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "*iban delante de ellos aquellos sus devotos que se llaman* icuexóan."

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They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hawk scratches. They went naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mitre-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[36]

They brought him to Toci's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[37]

And the costume [of Teteu innan] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[38] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered skirt, called a star-skirt. She had the star-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, pointed eagle feathers. Her shield had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, *totoicxitl*. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

motiçauique, motlotloujtecque, çan pepetlauhtiuj, in memecamaxtli: amacalli in qujmama, mahmalacaquetzallo, ichcaxochiio, hiujquetzallo:

vmpa concaoa, in tocititlan: quauhtlapechco contlaliaia yn jeoaio.

Auh ynjc nechichioale, motenolcopi, tlaxapuchtli qujmotlatlalili yn jcamapã ichcaxochioa, çoiatemale, cuechcueie, mocuechcueti: ic mjtoa, citlalli ycue, citlalcueie, quavîvih, tzetzeliuhquj yn juipil, quauhtzetzeliuhquj, iztac quavihujio, quauhteuitzço; yn jchimal, teucujtlaytixapo, totoicxiio, popoa, izqujce.

Nînth Chapter, in which one heareth of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made turpentine.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[39] they who were hoarse used the turpentine unguent on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[40] or cracks in the skin of the feet, lips, face, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the *tortilla*-sickness.[41]

Its oil and its heat were used to advantage in indeed many places.

And when the feast day was celebrated, they who sold the turpentine unguent bought slaves and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[42] Her old men sang for her; they beat the two-toned wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried poppy-seed pods,[43] and they rattled bone rattles.

Thus was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were spattered over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble corn-tassels. She carried the mist-rattleboard.[44]

Jnjc chicunauj capitulo: vncan moteneoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca Tzaputla tena.

Ce cioatl, ipan mjxeoaia, yn oxitl ynacaio muchioaia:

quipaleuja yn tenacaio, yn aqujn quaxocociuj, tozcamjiaoaciuj, motozcaoxiuja: chaquachiuj, quaçaoati, xotzaianj, tentzaianj, ixteteçonauj, mateteçonauj, icxitzatzaianj, yoan in qualo, yn tlaxcaliciuj:

yn jchiaoaca yn jtonal vel mieccan monequj.

Auh yn jquac ilhujquixtiloia, yn oxinamacaque, motlacacoujaia, tlacamjctiaia, qujtzooallotiaia yn jxiptla, qujcujcatiaia, yn iveveiooan, qujteponacilhujaia, caiotzotzonjlia, caioujtequjlia, caiacachilhuja, comjchicaoacilhuja.

Jnjc nechichioale omexaoale, amacale, olchachapanquj, tlaolchipinilli yn jamacal, yoan quetzalmjiaoaio, aiuchicaoace.

36. See Plate 8.

37. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182, calls it *garita*.

38. *Cf.* text and illus. in MS *Biblioteca del Palacio*, cited in Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 468-9, in which these are described as a head-band of unspun cotton.

39. "... *una manera, de bubas, o sarna, que nace, en la cabeça*" (corresponding Spanish text).

40. "... *otra enfermedad ... casi mismo, que nace en la cabeça: que es como bubas*" (*loc. cit.*).

41. See p. 41, n. 130.

42. *Cf.* Diego de Durán: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme* (México: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 197.

43. "*Ayacachtli. sonajas hechas a manera de dormideras*" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

44. *Cf.* Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 474; and *Einige Kapitel*, p. 7—*Nebel-Rasselbrett* (cloud-rattleboard). The same author, cited in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. V ("*Los cantares de los dioses*"), says: "*Esta voz* (ayochicauaztli) *significa evidentemente lo mismo y, merced a una leve variación en el modo de pronunciar, tomó origen de* ayauhchica-uaztli. *Servía el instrumento para encantamiento de la lluvia. ...*" (pp. 47-8); "*El* chicauaztli, *báculo de sonaja, instrumento musical que traen en la mano los dioses de ... la Lluvia y del Agua. ... En la procesión de los sacerdotes en la* Etzalqualiztli, *llevan delante el* ayauchicauaztli, *sonaja de niebla. Es el instrumento mágico, con que*

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Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Ciuapipiltin).[45]

These were five devils, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Ciuapipiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Ciuapipiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of soft, folded *tortillas* called *tlamatzoalli,* butterfly-shaped *tortillas* called *papalotlaxcalli,* [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*xonecuili*),[46] small tamales called *xocuichtlamatzoalli,*[47] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with pointed figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Jnic matlactli, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn cioateteu, cioapipilti:

Diablome catca y, macujltin, teme yn jmixiptlaoan; intech tlamjloia, qujlmach tetlauelia, teca mocaiaoa, ynjc aca itech qujneoaia tlauelilocati, tennecujliuj, ixnecujliuj, matzicoliuj, icxicopichauj, icximjmjquj, momacuecuetza, tenqualacquiça: ic mjtoaia omotenamicti, ypan oquizque cioapipilti, vmaxac chaneque. Jpampa y yn tetaoa, anoço tenaoa, qujmilhujaia yn jnpilhoan: maca xonqujça tlalpan aci, temo in cioapipilti.

Auh ipampa y, yn iquac ymjlhujuh, ynjc qujntlamanjliaia: tlamatzoalli, papalotlaxcalli, xonecujli, xocuichtlamatzoalli, izqujtl.

Auh yn vncan momana y, in quenman vncan yn cioateucalco, in quenman, vmaxac.

Auh yn jnnechichioal catca, mjxtiçauique: auh panj tlaolxaoalti, tlaitzcopeoaltectli, tlaitzcopeoalli, yn jmamatlaquen, potoncacaqueque.

Eleventh Chapter: which telleth of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She upset the canoe, she emptied it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water striketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Jnic matlactli vce capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa, yn cioateutl, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue: iehoatl yn atl.

Teutl ipan machoia: iuhqujn cioatl qujxiptlatiaia, iuh mjtoaia, qujlmach ynvan pouj, inueltiuh in tlaloque:

ynic mauiztililoia, ynic imacaxoia, ynjc mauhcaittoia, ynjc tlamauhtiaia, teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia, tepan poçonja, moteponaçoa, maxiciotia, tepan moteujlacachoa, ynjc tecentlanjujca:

yn acalli qujcuepa, qujxtlapachcuepa, queoatiquetza, ca aco maiauj, ca tema.

Auh in quenma teapachoa, teapotzauja, mocueiotia, titicujca xaxamacatimanj, cocomocatimanj, hatlacamanj:

yn jquac oceuh, yn ie ceuj, aujc iaiauh: qujtoa, maujltia, xixiqujpiliuj, cocomotzauj, atentli itech onmotlatlatzoa, onmochachaquanja, mapopoçoquillotia.

se hace descender lluvia. . . . El chicauaztli *es al par símbolo de las fertilidad y, sin duda, también instrumento mágico con que se obtiene ésta*" (pp. 129-30).

45. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 324-5; Vol. II, pp. 181-5. Seler (*Collected Works,* Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 38, and pt. 3, p. 100, and Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 69, 80) *ibid.*, holds that *Ciuapipiltin* (the princesses) are the same as *Ciuateteo* (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (*mociuaquetzque*) or on the sacrificial stone, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spectral earth-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were arrayed in certain warriors' symbols—eagle feathers and down sandals, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

46. An S-shaped cake, made to resemble lightning.—Seler; *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 47.

47. Folded *tortillas* in the form of agave-fibres, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel,* p. 8.

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And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli,* the eating of boiled corn,[48] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[49]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlalocs, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[50]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atezcattitimanj, petlantimanj, cuecueiocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujxtiloia, çan no iquac yn etzalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia tlaloque,

colotli in qujchichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetiaia, qujujpiltiaia, qujcozcatiaia, cozcapetlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuztic teucujtlacomalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, yiauhtli, ixpan qujtepevilia,

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque, ycujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in qujcoaia, iehoan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apantlaca: yoan acalquetzque tianquizco, in qujtechieltia atl.

No iuh qujchichioaia, no iuh qujtlamamacaia, no iuh qujcencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan inteupan, tlaloque, quelteteqüja.

Jn jquac y, no cenca qujmauiztiliaia, yn motecuçuma: ixpan tlenamacoia, yn jxiptla, qujtlacotonjlia,

iuh qujtoaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, qujtlamacehuja yn jmaceoal: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc qujmahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn ixqujch tetech monequj.

No iuh qujmauiztiliaia, yn jxiptla tonacaiotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoā yn jxiptla iztatl, ytoca Vixtocioatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel ynenca muchioa in maceoalli, ic vellamati, ic vel nemj.

Auh yujn, in muchichioaia: moxaoaia, texotica, motenujltec, motexotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuzque, xiuhnacoche, texoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuiujpile, atlacujlolcueie, atlacueçonanchimale, aiuchicaoaçe, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): *"este etzalli era hecho de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo."* Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210): *"el maiz cocido por si solo llamanle pozolly pero a causa de revolverlo con frijol (etl) le llaman etzally."*

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: *". . . la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienē sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . ."*

50. Corresponding Spanish text: *". . . porque dezian, que estas tres diosas: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiessen, viujr, y multiplicar."*

51. Corresponding Spanish text: *". . . la pintauan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . ."*

52. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Tenja en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecho a manera, de la custodia, en que se lleua el sacramento, quando vno solo le lleua: y era como cetro, desta diosa."* See p. 5, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli ycue and Tzapotlan tenan.

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Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteutl).[53]

Tlaçolteutl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteutl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocutzin (the youngest sister).[54] These four women, it was said, were god-[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteteu).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[55] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteutl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green and yellow waters.[56]

And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteutl the heart was opened; before her one recited, one told one's sins.

And her warden[57]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[58]

Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteutl.

In tlaçulteutl: yoan itoca ixcujna, yoan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic motocaiotia tlaçulteutl, qujl ipampa, qujl iehoatl yiaxca, ytlatquj, ytech pouj, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli: in qujtoznequj, avilnemjliztli, qujl ipan tecuti, ypan tlatocati, yn aujlnemjlizçutl.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcujna: qujl navinti eoah, in cioa: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocutzin. Jnjque hin, naujntin cioa: qujl teteu. Jnjque hin, ceceiaca yntoca: tlaçulteteu.

Auh ynjc motocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, imixpã mjtoa, imjxpan mopoa, yn jxqujch nequalli: iixpan mjtoa, momelaoa, yn jxqujch tlahellachioalli: immanel cenca temamauhti, immanel cenca oujh: atle mopinavizcaoa, vel muchi, iixpan neci, ixpan mjtoa. Neiolmelaoaliztli.

Qujlmach in tlaçulli, in teuhtli, in aujlnemjliziotl: iehoatl qujtemaca, ic temotla, ic tehipitza in tlaçulteutl. Auh çan no iehoatl, qujtepolhuja: iehoatl chico, tlanaoac qujujca, qujteca: iehoatl, tepapaca, tehaltia: iehoatl imac manj ym matlalatl, in toxpalatl.

Auh injc qujtepopolhuja ynjc chico, tlanaoac, qujujca, qujteca: iixpan neiolcujtilo, iixpan neiolmelaoalo, yn tlaçulteutl, iixpã mopoa, mjhtoa, in tetlachioal.

Auh iix, ynacaz, ytlacaccauh muchioa, in tlapouhquj, in

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53. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Einige Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

54. *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called *Ixcuinan*, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as patroness of adulterers. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuina, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the shooting to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

55. Eater of filth or of ordure (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is *"comedora de cosas suzias."*

56. *Cf.* Eduard Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the mutability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*. May she cleanse of the dirt which thou hast of thy father and thy mother'. . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, thy Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . enter the water, the blue (*Matlalac*), the yellow, (*Tozpalac*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), notes ". . . *oraciones con que la partera oraba a la diosa del agua llamada* Chalchiuhtlícue *y* Chalchiuhtlatónac, *y decia así: 'Señora nuestra* Chalchiuhtlícue *y* Chalchiuhtlatónac, *venido ha a vuestra presencia esta criatura: ruégoos que la recibáis.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella su resuello, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y también la tocaba el pecho con ella, y el celebro de la cabeza, a manera de cuando se pone el óleo y crisma a los niños, y deciale de esta manera: 'Hijo mio muy amado,—y si era mujer decia, hija mia muy amada—, llegaos a vuestra madre y padre la señora* Chalchiuhtlícue *y* Chalchiuhtlatónac; *tómeos ella, porque ella os ha de llevar a cuestas y en los brazos en este mundo.' Y luego metia en el agua a la criatura, y decia: 'Entra hijo mio—o hija mia—en el agua, que se llama* Matlálac *y* Tuxpálac; *láveos en ellas, límpieos él que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traéis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'*" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuitl icue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuitl icue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the throne of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations motivated Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

57. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xliii (*teix, tenacatz*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 249.

58. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Enige Kapitel*, p. 5) uses the term *Kalenderwahrsager*.

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the *tlapouhqui*, wise in reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been uttered.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "Thou hast been given this favor."

He instructed him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went there. Or perchance the penitent went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, also take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"Thou hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Thou hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil atmosphere, thy corruption. Thou hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And as, in this manner, thou comest [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatsoever way thou art moved, in whatsoever manner it is, whatsoever thou hast done, whatsoever thou hast achieved, whatsoever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruptness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatinj, yn jmac manj, yn amuxtli, yn tlacujlolli: in qujpia yn tlilli, yn tlapalli, yn matile, yn piale, yn nonotzale, yn oqujto

yn mojolmelaoaz in tlapilchioale; achto qujtlacaqujtia in tlapouhquj, qujlhuja.

Ca ytechtzinco njnaxitiznequj, yn tlacatl, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque: in totecujo, yioalli, yn ehecatl, ytoptzin, ypetlacaltzin, njcnottitiliznequj.

Qujlhuja in tlapouhquj: otimotlacnelili:

qujnaoatia, yn iqujn oallaz: qujpepena in tonalli, qujtta yn jamux, yn jtlacujlol: qujtta, yn iqujn qualli tonalli, yn ieccan, in qualcan: mjtoa: qujtonalpepenja.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie ynaoatilpan, iancujc petlatl quicoa: yoan copalli, yoan quaujtl: yn tlamauizti in tlamaceuhquj, çan ichan yn moiolmelaoa, ie vmpa iauh in tlapouhquj. Auh anoce teujc iauh, in tlamaceuhquj:

iancujc petlatl in moteca, vellachpano yn vncan motlalia; yoan tletlalilo: njman copalli contema in tleco in tlapouhquj, qujnotza in tletl; qujlhuja.

Teteu ynnan, teteu ynta, veue teutl, njcan oallatia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn maceoalli: njcan chocatiujtz, tlaocuxtiujtz, moteupouhtiujtz, ancan omalauh, ancan omotepotlamj, ancan oqujnamjc yn vitlallotl, in tocatzaoalli, yn çacamjtl; aquj iolitlacoa, qujtequjpachoa, Tlacatle, totecujoe, tloquehe naoaquehe, manoço xicmocujli, ma xicmocaqujti, yn jnentlamachiliz yn maceoalli.

Niman qujnotza, yn moiolmelauhquj, in iehoatl tlapouhquj: qujlhuja.

Tioalmovicatia yujctzinco, iixpantzinco, in tloque naoaque; ticmolhujlico, ticmomaqujlico, yn mjiaca, in mopalanca: ticmotlapolhujlico, in motop, immopetlacal,

a ma no ceppa ieh njcan timatoiauj, timotepexiuj: ma ixpantzinco ximopepetlaoa, ximomamaxauj, in tloque, naoaque, in totecujo, in ioalli, in ehecatl.

A cujx tictlacaittaz in totecujo, a cujx mjtztlacanotzaz: ca ioalli, ca ehecatl.

Auh ynjn quen tiujtz, ma xictlapo im motop, in mopetlacal: ma xicpoa in monemjliz, in motlachioal, yvin quenjn ticmati, yvin quenjn cah: in quenjn muchiuh, in quenjn tax; in quenjn ticchiuh, in monequal, in monequaujtec:

xicnoquj, xicpetlanj, in maiectica, in maqualtica, in mjiaca in mopalanca.

Auh xicmotlaoculnonochili, yn totecujo, in tloque naoaque,

59. *Cf. Florentine Codex, loc. cit.*, and Sahagún, *Historia general, loc. cit.*

60. *Cf.* corresponding Spanish text. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yoalli, ehecatl* (1) *"espíritu, aire y tiniebla"*; and (2) *"dios invisible sin imagen . . . impalpable, y favorecedor y amparador y todopoderoso, por cuya virtud todos viven. . . ."* Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, México: n. p., 1940), p. 113, translates *tloque naoaque* as *"que está cerca y junto"* —the sun, God in general.

61. Context suggests that pronoun refers to the penitent.

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who, stretching forth his arms to thee, embraceth thee and carrieth thee upon his back.[62]

"Be daring; be not timid because of shame; be not backward."

Then the penitent [swore an oath to tell the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the soothsayer and spoke—for [the seer] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, protector of all, because thou perceivest my evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are reflected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

And when he ended his words, then had he told all his sins.

Then answered the seer, the warden [of the god]; he said unto him:

"Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Ciuapipilti descend, when the feast of the Ciuapipilti or the Ixcuiname is celebrated,[63] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt starve thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and *maguey* spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. These thou thus payest in blood.

"And thou shalt pass these straws, as many as thou wishest, whether straws or *maguey* spines. And thou shalt pass these straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only to earn merit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of thee.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out, or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

in momaçoaltitica, y macochetica, in teputzetica;

ximotlapalo, ma timopinoquetz, ma titzicolo.

Nimã ōtlalqua in tlamaceuhquj, oncopaltema: njman ixpan motlalia in tlapouhquj: qujlhuja, injc teviujti, ynjc tepatiloti, ynjc teixiptla.

Totecujoe, tloquehe, naoaquehe: ca ticmocujlia, ca ticmocaqujtia, in njiaca in nopalanca: mjxpantzinco, njnopepetlaoa, njnomamaxauja: ca onax, ca onjcchiuh: cujx ichtaca, cujx tlaiooaian, ca tezcac, ca tlavilpan im mjxpantzinco, yn onax.

Niman compeoaltia: in jtlapilchioaliz, vel iujn quenjn cah, vel yujn quenjn qujchiuh: yn maca çan cujcatl, cenca çan jvin coneoa, cencan yvin conjtoa, yn juh qujchiuh, in imaca çan vtli, cencan qujtocatiuh yn jtlachioal, yn juhuj cencan qujtocatiuh.

Auh yn otlamjto yn jtlatol, yno muchi qujto ytlachioal:

qujnanqujlia, yn tlapouhquj, yn jxtli, yn nacaztli muchioa, in teujujti, in tepatilloti: qujlhuja.

O ca ticmononochilia, ca ticmomaqujlia, in tloque naoaque, im motlachioal, in monequavitec.

Auh ynjn, ca izca yn taiz, yn ticchioaz: yn jquac temoa, yn jquac temo cioapipilti, anoçe yn jquac ymjlhujuh cioapipilti, yn jxcujname: naujlujtl timoçaoaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, timotenoatzaz.

Auh yn iquac vel jlhujtl, in ie oallatujh, in ioaltica tiçacatlaçaz, titlacoqujxtiz: ynjn motlapilchioal, iuh ticnamjctiz y: auh ynjn iuh namjque ez y:

auh jn quenjn ticnequiz, iuh ticnequiz: yntla tiçacatlaçaz, iehoatl in teucalçacatl tiqujxtiz, anoço tlacotl. Auh aço monacazco in titlaqujxtiz, anoço monenepilco.

Auh ynjc tiqujxtiz: ca amo ma çan titlamaceoa, ca teuhtli, tlaçulli in tictlaça, tictlacoçoz, ticcujtlacueponiz, ỹ monenepil, mjxpampa ticaquiz,

motzintlan in ticqujxtiz, in tictlaçaz: aço çan cecen in ticqujxtiz, anoço çan ticcenqujxtiz, tictlatlaçalhuiz, yn aço centzontli, aço vntzontli, in ticqujxtiz tlacotl:

ic poliuiz, in motlatlacul, in motlapilchioal, im monequal.

62. *Cf.* Note 56.

63. See Cap. X. The *Ciuateteo* or *Ciuapipiltin* were thought to be earth-goddesses who descended to earth in the form of eagles; they incited men to sin and crime.

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And if the sins of the penitent were only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt parch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt starve thy entrails for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Totochtin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with pointed figures,[64] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, there before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skirt."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—so it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they told only of great vanities, grave violence, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayer, before whom were laid [one's] sins, nowhere spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and told in secret to the god. And him mortal man might not see.

Auh intla çan xicca, yn jtlapilchioal, tlamaceuhquj: qujlhuja,

timotenoatzaz, titlacatlaquaz, timocujtlaxculçaoaz, naujlhujtl:

anoço qujlhuja

titlatotiz, timoteteuhcaoaz, titepiquiz:

anoço qujlhuja.

ca nel vctli, yn jpan otitlaneçomalti, tiqujnqujxtiz in totochtin.

Auh qujlhuja, ynjc qujnaoatia:

yn iquac tiaz, yn titlamaceoaz ioaltica, atle motech vetztiaz, tipetlauhtiaz: yn momaxac, amatl tlaitzcopeoalli in mantiaz: centetl mjcampa, motzintlampa, mantiaz.

Auh yn jquac tioalmocuepaz, vmpa tocontlaçaz yn jmjxpan totecujooan, yn teteu, ym mamacue.

Auh yn jquac otlamaceuh, njman oalauh yn jchan:

ic cenmajan, monemjlizcuepa: qujlmach intla oc cepa tlatlacoz, qujl ça aocmo tlaoculilonj.

Qujlmach çan yio vey nequalli, vey nequaujtectli, in tetlaximaliztli: in qujtoaia veuetque.

Jnjc moiolmelaoaia veuetque: qujlmach, iehoatl, ynjc amo tzacujltilozque, njcan tlalticpac, yn jntlapilchioal: yntla otetlaxini ynjc amo quatetlaxililoz, ynjc amo quatepitzinjloz, ynjc amo quatetzotzonaloz, moiolmelaoa.

Jn tlapouhqui, yn jixpan tlalilo, tlapilchioalli: çan njman acan qujtoa, in tlein ixpan tlalilo, in tlein ilhujlo:

ipampa ca amo ieh yn jlhujlo, in nonotzalo, ca tloque, ca naoque, in maco, in jlhujlo, in tlapilchioalli: ca amo ieh motta, im maceoalli.

Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[65] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, thus] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was burned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was burned, the lime was burned; things were fried,

Jnic matlactli vmey, capitulo: yntechpa tlatoa, yn tepitoton teteuh: yn qujntoqujlia, yn omoteneuhque, yn veueintin teteuh.

Xiuhtecutli: ixcoçauhquj, yoan cueçaltzin. Jehoatl motocaiotia in tletl, anoço veue teutl yoan tota:

teutl ipan machoia: iehica, ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa, tlachinoa: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc tlacnelia: ca ic nezcolo, ic tlapaoaxo, ic tlacuxitilo, ic tlaxco, ic iztatlatilo, ic necutlatilo, ic tecullatilo, ic tenextlatilo, ic tlatetzoionjlo, yc tlatzoionjlo, ic tlatleoatzalo, yc tetlecujlolo, ic temazcallatilo, ic oxitlatilo, ic tlanextlatilo.

64. The most characteristic emblem of Tlaçolteotl is a broom wrapped with a *tlaitzcopintli*—paper impressed with pointed figures (see *Codex Borbonicus*, month of *Ochpaniztli*). The paper loin cloth is no doubt of this same pattern. Probably the *huipil* worn by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the loin cloth.

65. Corresponding Spanish text has: *"que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos."*

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cooked, and roasted in a pot; one roasted [on the fire]; sweat-houses were heated, unguents were melted, things were cleansed.

And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Moctezuma; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

Tamales [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some snakes, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Thus, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

And every four years a festival most greatly honored him—when Moctezuma danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tzonmulco.[69]

And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

And then they gave the children uncles and aunts, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. These took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Ixcoçauhqui. There [the parents] pierced their ears; thus they placed a sign upon them, while their uncles and aunts[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[Ixcoçauhqui's] ornament was [thus]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of arrowshafts; a crown of spear-shafts;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, cexiuhtica: ipan itlamjan yzcalli: qujxiptlatiaia in motecuçuma, ixpan tlacotonaloia, copaltemjlilo,

oauhqujltamalli nechivililoia, in cecencalpan: achto ixpan qujmanjliaia in tletl, çatepan qualoia.

Auh yn jveveiooan, iuh cemjlhujtl, in qujcujcatia, qujteccizpichilia, qujteponacilhuja, caiacachilhuja:

auh aiac vel cõmaçoaia in comalco, tetlacaoaltiloia, ynjc amo aca motlatiz, mochichinoz: ipampa in iancujcan oqualoc oauhqujltamalli, ynjc otlamanaloc.

Auh in pipiltotonti, muchintin qujntlaxqujaia: yn aca coatl: cujiatl, xoujli, axolotl, tototl: in çaço tlein ocacic ioioli, ycamac contlaçaia in tlecujlli: ic mjtoaia, motlaxquja yn tota.

Auh yn oiooac, noujan tlatlaoanaia in vevetque, ylamatque: iuh qujtoaia, qujtlatoiaujliaia yn tletl, texcalceuja.

Auh nauhxiuhtica, yn oc cenca, mauiztililoia, ilhuiuh: iquac motecujtotiaia yn motecuçuma, ixpan yn jteucal, xiuhtecutli, ytocaiocan tzonmulco.

Auh in jquac hy, vel muchitlacatl, vel no ixqujch tlacatl, qujpaloaia, qujltequja, in vctli, in pipiltotonti: ic motocaiotiaia, pillaoano:

yoan vncã qujntlatiaia, qujnmahujtiaia in pipiltotonti. Ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli, in qujntemoaia pilhoaque, qujntlauhtiaia; iehoantin qujnmamatihuja, vmpa qujmoncaoaia, yn iteupan ixcoçauhquj: vmpa qujnnacazxapotlaia, qujnnacazcoionjaia: iuhqujn ic qujnmachiotiaia, ynjc qujmitta, yntlaoan, ymaujoan: çatepan tlaqualo.

Jn jnechichioal catca: tliltica motenujltec, chalchiuhtetele, xiuhtotoamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, mjtzone, tlacotztzone, xiuhcooanacoche, amacozneapanale, no tzitzile, cocujole, xiuhtezcatlatlapanquj yn jchimal, tlachieltopile.

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66. "*Una de las hierbas que se comen cocidas se llama* huauhquilitl, *que son bledos, es muy verde, tiene las ramas delgadillas y altillas, tiene las hojas anchuelas. Los tallos de esta hierba se llaman* huauhtli *y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sabe a cenizos, exprímese del agua que se cuece para comerse; hácense tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman* quiltamalli." Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233. On p. 338, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Amarantus hypochondriacus Amarantáceas.*

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's parents hunted and roasted these animals. In the *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 207, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208; see *texcalceuja* in Siméon: *op. cit.*

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 227.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *padrino* (god-father; patron or protector). Molina (*op. cit.*) translates the words *tlatli* and *auitl* as uncle and aunt.

71. *Chalchiuhtetelli*—a strap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*xiuhtototl*); *quetzalcomitl* or *xiuhtotoamacalli iquetzalmiauayo*—a tiara of feather mosaic work in the form of a reversed cone, broadening upwards; *mitzontli tlacochtzontli* or

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fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili,* [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli,*" on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili;* [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas, tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan neneuhque, ynjc neteutiloia tecpantzinca inteuh:

yn jquac neçaujliloia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, qujntlaçulmjctia yn jneçaoaliz,

ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujteilhujltiaia, qujtemaceoaltiaia, in xochiciuiztli, yn menexoaliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli, quexiliuiliztli,

yuicpa netoloa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuiz, ynjc qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculiztli.

Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa navilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chilcaoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, moxochiçaoa:

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:

yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ce tlacatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatquj, ipan mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, tlacoqujxtiloia: yoã tlamanjliloia yn jteupan, macujltetl in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoqujliaia oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcaxtica, mantivia, centetl tliltic, centetl tlatlauhquj.

Auh yn aca izqujtl, anoço necuzqujtl, anoço xonecujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzooallaxcalli, tzooalchimalli, tzooalmjtl, tzooalmaquaujtl, tzooalnenetl:

yoan noujian oalcaoaloia, in mamalti njcan mexico, moteneoa maltequjme, yn jxqujch techiaoalotoc, yn

ome quamamalhuaztli—two arrow shafts or wooden drills, projecting forward above the frontal band on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ome acatl* ("2 reed") or the *mamalhuaztli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). Seler: *The Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection,* p. 75. *Tlacotztzone,* in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlacochtzone.*

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: *"heria, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, incordios, etc."*

73. In corresponding Spanish text: *"panes azimos."*

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surrounding us, brought by those [Nahuas] living on the borders of warring people. Those who had taken these prisoners, these "tribute-captives," brought them, [and] here guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him, they bought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.

And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was thus]: on his lips there was the imprint of a hand. His face was red and burnt. He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the top. The cotton cloth, which was girt behind, had red edges. He wore sun sandals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Two Reed (Omacatl).

This Omacatl was god of Uitznauac.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced banqueting—invitations to feasts, acceptance [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that near relatives assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He chided one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why dost thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

And if he was sorely enraged, when one ate he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he ate the god, often he sickened. Thus he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was troubled when he ate. And if he walked, he stumbled and fell.

And thus was his feast celebrated. Whoso ate the image of the god first made a sacred cylinder [of dough]: this was the bone of the god. The chief man—the priest, the elder of the city—[made it], a cubit long—fat, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when day broke, they stabbed Omacatl in the stomach and killed him. Then the sacred roll was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been assumed, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who accepted, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were clean, because they had repaid [their debt].

And thus was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

iautenoaque, yn iaotenco onoque, qujnoalcaoaia yn jnmalhoan, yn jntlaaxioan, in maltequjhoan, muchioaia: njcan qujnpiaia, yn calpixque, in cacalpixque.

Auh intla aca tlaielti, intla tlachololti, ypan tlacaquetzaia, motlacacoujaia, qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujxiptlatiaia:

in tlatlacuti, vncan miqujia, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia.

Auh yn jnechichioal: tenmacpale ixtlapaloatzale, tlaixtlapaloatzalujlli, tlaixtlapalvilli, yhujtzoncale, quachichiqujle, vitonquj yn jtlamamal, vitoncatlamamale, ypan icac, tonalopanjtl, quetzaltzonio, quetzaltzontecomaio, quetzaltzontecome, quetzaltzonteconio, tentlapaltica motzinjlpi, motzinapa, ytonalocac, tonalocaque.

Jnic caxtolli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca Omacatl.

Jnjn omacatl, vitznaoac, teutl catca, yn jtech tlamjloia, in piqujliloia, qujtooaia ca iehoatl imactia, in cooaiutl, in tecooanotzaliztli, in tetlacamatiliztli, in tetlatlaqualtiliztli: ymatijan muchioaia yn jnnecentlaliliz, yn jnnecenqujxtiliz teoaiolque, techā vicoia, vmpa mauizmachoia, necujtlaujloia yn jxiptla.

Auh no qujtooaia, yntlacamo maviztililo, yn juhqujma cooanotzalo, tlavelcuja: tecochpa, anoço tecochizpan teaoaia, qujlhujaia, yn aqujn qujtemjquj. Jn tehoatl tleyca yn amo tinechmavizmati; njmitztlalcahuiz: auh ie ne njcmati, in tlein mopan njcchioaz.

Auh intla cenca moçuma, yn jquac tlaqualo, mjecpa tzontli qujtetololtia, in atl, in tlaqualli ipan. Auh yn aquj̄ yn mjtoa teuqua, miecpa mococoa: ynjc qujtolinja, melcima, ycopac mjlacatzoa in atl: meltepotlamja in jquac tlaqua: auh yntla nenemj motepotlamja, motecujnja, motlavitequj.

Auh ynjc ilhujqujxtililoia: yn aqujn teuqua, achtopa qujchioaia, teumjmilli, yiomjio in teutl catca: çan tlacatl, teupixquj calpole, cen molicpitl ynjc hujviiac, vel totomaoac, mjmjltic.

Auh yn aiamo nemamaco, oc achtopa tlatlaqualo, atlioa, tlaoano: auh yn otlathujc conjtitzopinja, yn omacatl conmjctia: njman ic nemamaco, netlatlapanjlo, nexexelhujlo, in teumjmjlli:

iquac quaqualo, iuhqujn ic tetzoiotiloia, tetlacaqujtilo, tetlalhujlo, temolcaoaltilo: ca yn aquique macoia, yn iquac ie ilhujuhqujçaz, mocujtlaxcolixtlaoaia, mopopooaia, ypampa ca ontlaxtlaoaia.

Jn inechichioal catca: ihvitzoncale, quauhtzoncale, yoā

74. Probably the temple of Uitznauac (Uitznauac calmecac) is meant. *Cf.* Seler: *Collected Works,* Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 82. Sahagún describes it as the 24th temple (*Historia general,* Vol. I, p. 222). The same source suggests various other meanings—the south, the *barrio* or part of the city named Uitznauac, the people of that area, or the south house or south temple. See *ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 137, 197-99, 215, 221, 222, 229, and also Seler: *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 7-8, 9-10.

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the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's dress bordered in red eyes, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[75] His breast ornament had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] arrayed with a chalky ear-plug; his shield was chalk-covered and had paper streamers. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He sat upon] his stool of reeds and rushes.

yquauhquentenchil, naoaio, ycuechin, ielpancozqui cyli tezcatlatlapanquj yn jxaiac: yn jnechichioal, ytiçanacoch, ytiçachimal, amapaio, ytlachiaia ymac catca, ytolicpal, acacpalli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-stamper (Tlaltetecuini).[76]

Jnic castolli vce capitulo ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl yn jtoca, catca, ixtlilton, tlaltetecujn.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many earthen bowls, covered over. These were called "his black water."

Teutl catca, çan quavitl yn jteupan catca, ytocaiocan tlacujlocan: in vncan yteupan, mjec yn apaztli, tzatzacutimanca, motocaiotia itlilauh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aqujn mococoaia, piltontli, vmpa qujujcaia yn jteupan ixtlilton: centetl, qujtlapoaia yn apaztli, conjtiaia yn jtlilauh; ic patia in piltontli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was arrayed [like the god].

Auh yn aqujn qujtotiz, copaltica in conanaia, ynjc qujvicaia ychan yn jxiptla: çan tlacatl in muchichioaia.

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the wine [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[77]

Jn oacic ychan, tlatotiz, teytotiz: njman tlatlaqualo, atlioa: yn otlaqualoc, njman mjtotia, yn jxtlilton: yn omjtoti, yn onmaceuh, calitic oncalaquj: iehoatl qujtlapoa in vctli, navilhujtica tzacutimãca: ic mjtoaia, tlaiacaxapotla, vitzmana.

Then they began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Niman yc vmpeoa, yn ie tlaoano: oc cepa oalqujça itoalco, qujtlapoa yn jtlilauh, no tzacutimanca navilhujtica: ic macujlilhujtl in qujtlapoa:

If dirt, cobwebs, straw, charcoal [were found] upon it, then it was said perchance he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a monster, he who had the dance. Thus they confronted and reproached him openly. Thus they said [the god] sowed discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjtoaia, ic moteneoaia, intla tlaçolli, yntla tocatzaoalli, yntla tzontli, intla tecolli, vncan vetztoc: ic mjtoaia, aço tetlaxima, aço ichtec, anoço ahavilnemj, mahaviltia: ac aço tlacacemelle, in tlatotia, ic qujxmotlaia, qujxcomacaia, qujxpantia: ic mjtoaia tetzalan, tenepantla moteca: iehica, ca qujteixcomaca, qujteixpantia, ic teixmotla, yn tetlatlacul.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called *ixquen* (face-covering).[78]

Auh ynjc oalquiça techã, quachtli yn qujmacaia motocaiotia, ixquen.

Thus was [Ixtlilton] bedight: he was spread over with unguent; his face was covered with soot; about his lips was

Jnic muchichioaia, moçac, mocemjxtlilpopotz, mjxtiçatlatlali, yn jcamapa: tecpaquachichiqujle, quetzallo,

75. For description, see illustrations and text in Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, pp. 515 and 523; and also illustration (Omacatl) —Plate 15.

The term *cuechintli* means the netted cape or mantle, with sea-snail shells knotted where the cords crossed. The *chalcaayatl* and the *mecaayatl* were presumably the same or similar. Seler: *Collected Works,* Vol. II, pt. 3, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general,* Lib. III, Apendiz, cap. 5. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex, fo.* 37r), Sahagún refers to *"vn ornamento de vn palmo en quadro, hecha en tela rala, al qual llamauan ycuechin, atada con vnas cuerdas de algodon a los pechos. . . ."*

76. God of medicine. *Tlaltetecuin* (or *tlaltetecuini*) is probably formed from *tlalli* and *tetecuinia. Cf.* Seler: *Enige Kapitel,* Vol. I, p. 16.

77. Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. I, p. 314: *". . . los que neuvamente horadaban los magueyes y hacian vino nuevo, que se llamaba uitztli."* The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that *"a este abrimjento, llamavan tlaiacaxaputla, qujere dezir, esto: abrimjento primero, o vino nueuo."* On the meaning of *onmaceuh,* see Sahagún, *op. cit.,* p. 37, for a definition of *maceualiztli.*

78. *". . . dauanle mãtas: las quales llaman ixquen: que quiere dezir, cubertura de la cara: porque quedaua, auergonçado, aquel que auja hecho, la fiesta. . . ." Loc. cit.*

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white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[79] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red arara feathers. His sun flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[80] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

cueçalvitonquj yn jtlamamal, ytonalopan ipan icac, totonaloio yn jmaneapan, totonaloio yn jchimal, tlauhio yiollotopil, xopilcuzque, yamamaxtli, tzitzile, coiole, itonalocac.

Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Left (Opochtli), whom anciently men here worshipped as a god.

This Opochtli was one of the Tlalocs. He was the god of those who lived on the water, who worshipped him.

They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water, food, [and] wine were made; and the cane of corn plants, scented smoke, incense, and sweet-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their rattle-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old men, his old women, and the city elders made music for him.

As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a heron-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Jnic castolli vmome capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn teutl, yn itoca catca opuchtli: yn qujmoteutiaia ie uecauh, nican tlaca.

Inin opuchtli, ipan mixeoaia, tlaloc: atlaca inteuh catca, qujmoteutiaia.

Juh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl itlatzintil, ytlanextil, qujnexti, qujteittiti in matlatl, yn atlatl, yn mjnacachalli, yn avictli, tzonoaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujxtililoia, atl, tlaqualli, vctli, in ventli muchioaia: yoan cintopilli, xuchitl, yietl, copalli, yiauhtli, qujtepeviliaia, ic qujnanamiquja: chicaoaztli concacalachiliaia mumuchitl qujchaiaviliaia: iuhqujn tecivitl povia: no yoã qujcujcatiaia, yn iveveiooan, yn jlamaiooan, calpoleque.

Jn jnechichioal catca: amacale, tlaôçalli, tlaolaltilli, aztatzone, quetzalmjiaoaio, amamaxtle, amaneapanale, tonaloio.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[83]

He was the god of the sea-shore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

His gifts, [which] he dealt out, his particular creations, his attributes, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

Those who were affected, we men thus sickened, would thereupon vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, having donned it, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

All hastened pursuing in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]stained, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

Jnic caxtolli vmey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn itoca, xipe totec.

Anaoatl iteouh: tzapoteca in vel inteuh catca,

yn itequiuh pouja, yn ixcoian ytlachioal, yn ineixcavil: ic temotlaia, ic texoxaia, iehoatl qujtemacaia, in totomonjliztli, papalaniliztli, çaçaoatiliztli, ixcuculiztli, ixchichitinaliztli, ixtenpipixqujliztli, ixtamaçoliciuiztli, ixaiauhpachiuiliztli, ixnacapachiuiliztli, ixoaoaciviztli, ixtotoliciviztli, ixtezcayciuiztli.

Jn aqujn ipam muchioaia, yn cuculiztli toqujchti, yuicpa monetoltiaia, yujcpa mjtoaia: ynjc onmaqujz yn jieoaio, ynjc itlan aquiz, yn jquac ilhujqujxtililo: motocaiotia, tlacaxipeoaliztli:

tlapainaltiaia, tetocaia, mjequjntin momanaia, muchinti eoaiotiuj, chichiiaoatiuj, chichipicatiuj, tzotzotlantiuj in

79. *Cf.* Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. II, p. 388 (*tecpaquachichiquilli*).

80. *Cf.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Vol. II, p. 531) for explanation of *manta del sol.*

81. ". . . *un dardo de tres puntas que se llama minacachalli.*"—Sahagún, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Opochtli, contains the same information: ". . . *es como fisga, aunque no tiene, sino tres puntas,* [marginal insertion, partly missing: *(o?) triangulo (co?)mo tridente*] *con que hiere, a los peces; y tambien cõ el matan aues.*"

82. Standing in the boat, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the term *remo,* oar, which is technically inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection,* p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.,* Lib. III, cap. 15) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Teotitlan district. A clear discussion of the "*yopimes y tlapanecos*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general,* Vol. III, p. 133. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

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blood], so that they terrified those whom they followed.[85] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—chosen men [all].

tetoca, ynjc motlamauhtiliaia: qujnnecaliltiaia, qujnnamjquj in tiiacaoan, tlapepenti, tlatzonanti:

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, imitating and pretending to be warriors, unafraid of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who wore skins], and played at combat like fighters in war, none resting.[86] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Totecco.

yoan in ixqujchti, çan papaqujnj, yn mjhivintia, tlatlamati, moqujchnequj, moqujchnenequj, amjquizmauhque, teca momotlanj, iaotlaveliloque: vncan moieiecoaia, moiaomamachtiaia, yn juh mjcalizque iaopan, vmpa mocacaoaia yn aiac, mjtoaia totecco.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[87] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on *zapote*-fibre seats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

Auh yn totecti njman ie ic noujan, tepan cacalaquj, no tlatlaeoa: tzapoicpalpan tlalilo, qujmocholcuzcatia, qujnxochineapanaltia, qujmicpacxochitia, qujntlaoantia.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

Auh intla aca cioatl, totomonja, ixcocoieia: qujtoa, ma njctlamaniliz, in totec, iquac tlacaxipeoaliztli.

[Xipe's] garb [was thus]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[88] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi*-crown[89] was placed [a band] with forked ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a *zapote*-leaf skirt. He had rattles. His shield was red and had circles. His rattle stick[90] was in his hand.

Jn inechichioal, mizcolnechimale, tenmaxaltic vltica, yiopitzon contlaliticac maxaliuhquj, conmaqujticac tlacaieoatl, yieoaio malli, tzonchaiaoale, teucujtlanacoche, tzapocueie, tzitzile, ichimal tlauhtevilacachiuhquj, chicaoaztli yn jmac icac.

Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacatecutli).[91]

Jnic caxtolli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in teutl: yn jtoca yiacatecutli.

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, arraying in paper[92] the stout traveling staves[93] with

Puchteca inteuh catca: cenca qujmaviztiliaia, qujtlaquentiaia amatica: yn jntopil, ymotlatopil, yni nenemja, ynj

85. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: *"En esta fiesta, hazian como vn juego de cañas: de manera que el vn vando, era de la parte deste dios, o ymagen del dios totec: y estos todos, yuan vestidos de pellejos de hombres que aujan muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas velicosas, y esforçadas: que no tenjan en nada la muerte: osados, atreujdos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los vnos, con los otros, se exercitauã, en el exercicio de la guerra: persegujan los vnos, a los otros: hasta su puesto, y de alli, bolujan huyendo, hasta su proprio puesto."* *Cf.* also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124. The game of cañas in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 299-300, is described as *"Antigua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos ó cuadrillas corriendo á caballo, caracoleando gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se resguardaban con la adarga."* A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was reserved to the nobility. It took the form of a picturesque war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and spear-throwing.

86. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, has *uncan* in the Aztec text, instead of *aiac*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Seler translates the passage as "they stopped, ceased, at the place called Totecco."

87. *Cf.* Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124: *"Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vestian muchos mancebos, a los cuales llamaban Tototecti."* *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tototecti as *"los muertos a honra del dios Totec."*

88. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Seler, *op. cit.*), the word is *mizçolchiuhticac*, translated as *"er hat im Gesicht die Wachtelbemalung."* Seler also (*Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 102) uses the term *mixçolchiuhticac* (quail face painting).

89. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "the red people" (Tlapaneca), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they wore pointed caps.

90. "The word chicauaztli means 'wherewith anything is made strong.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the strengthening of the reproductive function, to fertilizing, hence we also saw the chicauaztli with the first sign projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Seler: *Tonalamatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 100.

91. Seler suggests that the form of the name should be *iyacac-tecuhtli* or *yacantecuhtli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 57). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57) says he also was named *Yacacoliuhqui* (*"el que tiene la nariz aguileña"*); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiacateuctli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Seler refers to Yacatecutli as meaning "lord of the nose," and to the form Iyacatecutli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "lord of the departed," explaining the connection of the cult of this god with that of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yacatecutli with Ixcoçauhqui. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

92. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 92).

93. The corresponding Spanish text states: ". . . *era una caña, maziza, que ellos llaman vtlatl. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de baculo,*

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which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set them up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They betook themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, incāpa cuchizque, vncan qujtilquetza, ixpan tlamaceoa, mjço, qujcopaltemjlia, ynjc qujtlauhtia yn jnteouh yiacatecutli, ynjc qujtlanjlia, ynjc qujmatataqujlia, yteicneliliz:

noujan acitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic moteneoa, puchteca yiaque: itech canque, yn itoca inteuh, yiacatecutli:

Oztomeca, anaoac calaqujnj, vel qujtemotinemj, in tlein qujmonanauhtizque, anaoatl qujxaqualotinemj, anaoatl qujlacatzotinemj,

tonalciiauhtinemj, heecaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtiuj, elciciuhtiuj, mociauhquetztiuj, ymellelacitiuh, ymjxqua tlatlatiuh, intonal qujmacujtiuj, intonalomjuh ietiuh:

ixtlaoatl qujnamjctinemj, atlauhtli, tepetl, qujtemouja, qujtlecauja, ixqujchca ana: inmolicpi, intetepon ic tlatlacça, ic moquequetza:

vel qujciiavj vel qujhiiouja, ynic qujtemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in teucujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, xiuhtototl, in toztli, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequaneoatl, yn ocelupetlatl.

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que es vna caña negra liujana, maciza: sin ñudo ninguno: que es como junco, de los que se vsan en españa." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 106, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 57-8) says they gathered the staves all together, girt with a ribbon, worshipping the staves as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente (oztomeca anauaca calaquini)* (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1104, Seler states: *"Yacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Weggegangenen') war der Gott der Karawanenführer der oztomec anauac calaquini der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten."*

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Oztotlan in Anáhuac as one of the towns famous for the *Xiuhtototl*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 350, to the *Naualoztomeca*, appears to refer to a grade or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca tlatoque*.

96. Anáhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as *"todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar."* In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states *"Fuéronse hasta Anáhuac, que dista más de cien leguas"* (from Tula). Also, *"Entraban en la provincia de Anáhuac, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En ese pueblo se dividían, unos iban a Anáhuac Ayotlan; otros iban a Anáhuac Xicalanco."*—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 354.

Seler defines Anáhuac Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Anauac Xicalanco as the state of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. *"Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitztli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir pluma muy verde, y itztli piedra de navaja, la cual es muy pulida y sin mancha ninguna, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene mancha, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente."* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. *"Teoxihuitl, quiere decir turquesa de los dioses . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mácula y muy lucida."*—*Loc. cit.*

99. *"Las plumas que cría en la cola se llaman* quezalli *(y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, como unas hojas de espadaña, dobléganse cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente."*—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. *"El tocado que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltotol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llaman a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es preciosa esta pluma y llámanla tzinitzcan."*—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: *"Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene crialas en el pecho y en los sobacos y debajo de las alas; son la mitad prietas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes."*—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *teoquechol* means red *quecholli* or precious *quecholli*. It is an aquatic bird. *"Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino."*—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 653). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 57n., gives *Platalea Ajaia rosea* L. (roseate spoonbill).

102. Sahagún defines *xiuhtototl* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*graja*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Coerulea* (*ibid.*, p. 654). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: *"Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) reverbera el color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen como llama de fuego y como oro, críanse en Anáhuac."*

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chiconquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcaputzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in poctecomatl, in aiutectli, in aquaujtl, yn atzaccaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioaliztica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica qujntlaehecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlaneçomaltique, intla oittoque: vncan qujnpoiomjctia, qujnchillatilia: ça aca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa qujça, iehoatl qujoalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

ic vncan qujmaca, caqujlia, yapoçonaltenteuh, yc qujmaviziotia, ic qujnezcaiotia, in tiiacauh, vncan ic oqujchtia.

Auh yn jquac oalacia, ynchan: yn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oqujchiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: ixqujch tlacatl qujnotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic moteittitiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca qujmaviztiliaia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco qujquetzaia: achto qujtlamanjlia, yn jquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, qujtlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, iehoatl caltiaia, qujxeoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in qujnmoteutiaia in chiconqujaujtl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yoan acxomucujl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac qujiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concovaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputzalco: motlahtlatilia, motlapapatilia, qujncuecuepa, qujmjhitta, yn qualtin qujncoazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuxque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

ynjc iehoan qujnmictizque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujqujxtililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac qujnchichioaia, qujntlamamaca, intech qujtlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn aiamo qujnmjctia, achtopa qujnteittitiaia: mjtoa qujmjxnextia, ic qujtemachitia in tealtizque:

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104. *Cf.* Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yacacoliuhqui *"propiamente representa persona, que tiene viveça, ò habilidad, para mofar graciosamente, ò engañar, y es sabio, y sagàz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes) . . . ."*

105. *Cf.* Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §83.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonia que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as *"yglesia del barrjo, ò perrocha"* (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: *"Estos dueños que mataban a estos esclavos."—Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chiconquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomociul is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

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goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly mantles which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

And if any were noted who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

[Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlauhtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn ĩtlaaltilhoan, ieccan, qujnquetza: much tlaçotilmatli, yn jntech qujntlalilia: ipā mjtotiaia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatinemj, tlatlahtlamj yn jncujc, ynjc momiquizquequeloa.

Auh intla aca oittoc, in cenca mjmati tlaaltilli, yn cujcamatinj, in iolizmatquj, yn jxe, yn iollo: qujqujxtiaia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzaia:

no iuhquj, intla cioatl, intla tlamachiuhquj, anoço vellaqualchioa, vel achioa, in qualli yiauh, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatolmelaoac: no qujxtiloia, qujnmotlacacioaoatiaia in pipilti.

Jn jnechichioal motlatlatlali, mixapetzvi, ytemjlo, ixquatzo, ixquatzone, quetzallalpile, teucujtlanacoche, xiuhtlalpilli yn jtilma, tlaçomaxtle, tzitzile, oiooale, teccaque, quetzalxicalcoliuhquj yn jchimal, ytlacçaia ymac onoc, otlatopile.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. He was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[112]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[113]

They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He washeth and batheth men; he shaketh and sprinkleth rain upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

Jnic cempoalli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl yn jtoca catca Napa tecutli.

Juh mjtoa, ca no intech pouj yn tlaloque: iehoan ymjxcoian, incatjan, in calpolloc, qujmoteutiaia in petlachiuhque:

yoan tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechjuhque, ytech mopoaia:

iuh qujtoaia, ca iehoatl achto qujnmachti, qujmittiti, in petlachioaliztli, yn icpalchioaliztli:

iehoatl axcaoa cococaoaia, tlatqujoa, tlanextile, tlatzintile, tlapeoaltile.

Joan iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl qujxoaltia, qujqujxtia, in toli in tolpitzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolmjmjlli, aztapili, in tolqujiutl, in tolcaputl, yn jtztoli, xomali:

yoan yn jquac ilhujuhqujçaia, iuh mjtoa, tepapaca, tealtia, tepan qujtzetzeloa, tepan qujpixoa, yn aoachtli, cenca tlaihtlanjliloia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan qujxeoaia, tlacotli, in qujmictiaia cexiuhtica:

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110. Corresponding Spanish version states that *"esta cubierto con vna manta açul, y sobre el açul, vna red negra: de manero quel açul, se pareçe, por las mallas de la red."*

111. The *xicalcoliuhqui* also has been referred to as a conventionalized serpent-head design.

112. *Calpulli*—clan or gens, which consisted, probably, of heads of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Seler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 85, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve sumaria relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-227). In various of his writings Seler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, *"hazen cañizos de juncias: que llaman tolcuextli."*

114. *Cf.* Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143 and Vol. III, p. 272.

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They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of mats desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpuleque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpuleque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up seats; they shook [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] bedight; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His hairdress, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

qujchichioaia, ymac mantinenca, xoxoujc, xoxouhquj xicalli: vncan ietinemj atl, vexotica ic teatzelhvia.

Auh yn jquac amo ilhujuh, yn çan nenmajan: oc no ce qujxiptlaiotiaia, qujchichioaia:

yn jquac tla aca, petlachiuhquj qujnequj ychan qujtotiz, qujnepieltiz: vmpa qujvicaia, in calpuleque, teatzelhujtiuh, teaoachvitiuh, iuhqujn ic qujtlanjliaia, ynjc qujmicneliz.

Yoan iuhqujn yvic mocujtlaxculixtlaoaia: yn açaca ie vnca itlaquj, yaxca:

qujtoaia, macamo njcnenqua, macamo njcnenpolo, macamo njcnixcauj, yn nocneliloca: ma onqualo, ma onjoa, ma onpopoliuj, ma ic onmjtoti in toteouh napa tecutli: ma çaquen njnonemjtiz, yn ac iuhquj njcochiz, ac iuhquj njneoaz, iehe qujmati, yn açoc itla, nechmomaqujliz, qujmomacaviliz:

ic quixquentiaia ce quachtli, yn ixiptla muchioaia, ic oalquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchitlacatl, tlatlaquaia yn joaniolque.

Auh yn jcalpulco in vmpa pialoia yxiptla, cenca tlamauiztiliaia, tlâceliaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlateteca, icpalteteca, tlatzetzeloa, tlachpana, tlacuicuj, tletlalia, muchipa copaltema, tlatetzcaliuhtoc tlatetzcaliuhtimanj, atle vetztoc, çe tlaçolli.

Auh yujn yn muchichioaia, motliloçac, mjxtlilpopotz, mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujticac, amacale, yiamacuexpal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, iztaccaque, atlacueçonanchimale, aztapiltopile.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlalocs.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlalocs.

Those thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images; that they would mold representations of

Jnic cempoalli vce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn itoca tepictoton: yn jnoan pouja tlaloque.

No ynoan pouj, intech tlamjloia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepicto, çan qujmonpiqujia, qujmixiptlaiotiaia, in tetepe, in çaço catle tepetl.

Auh yn aqujn coaciujia, oaoapaoaia, quaquauhtia, cocototzauja: anoço yn aqujn atlan miquiznequj, ehecatl ipan moquetza atla: vncan monetoltiaia ynjc tepiquiz, in qujnpiquiz: quetzalcoatl, in chalchivitl ycue, in tlaloc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text specifies "*vn ramo de salze*" (*sauce*).

116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 223), the *calpuleque* were "*señores ó guardas de barrios.*"

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Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl, Poiauhtecatl,[117] and any other mountains of which they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118] made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the mountains] were represented, thus when they made them, they thereupon arrayed them.

And they made papers, and they spattered them with liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fastened together, so that they were held in a row before the small molded ones [Tepicme].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes] were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were held the rubber-spotted papers.

And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored. Before [the Tepicme] they set this, which they called the turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus they offered [them] wine.

And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experienced, to make [the Tepicme] and set them in place. None of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests, it was said, they caused them to forget.

When the Tepicme were fashioned, thereupon they held a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for the Tepictoton, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night, and they made music for [the Tepictoton].

They whistled with their fingers, they made music for them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their cups, who cut capers, and amused people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoton [images]; they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks. Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoton figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepicme thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

popucatepetl, iztac tepetl, poiauhtecatl: yoan in çaço quezqujtetl tepetl in qujnteneoaz in qujpiquiz.

Auh in qujnpiquja, in qujmixiptlatiaia in tetepe, çan tzoalli, qujntlacatlaliaia, qujntlacatlachieltiaia, tlacatlachixticatca:

qujntlantiaia aiooachtli, auh in qujmjxtelolotiaia aiecutli: in quenamj yntlatquj in qujmixiptlatiaia, in qujnpiqujia çan no iuhquj ynjc qujnchichioaia.

Auh yoan qujchioaia, amateteujtl, colchachapatzaia, colchipiniaia, qujnquequentiaia:

auh in cequj amatetevitl, tlaolchipinjlli, tlaolchachapatzalli, mecatitech qujpipiloaia, mecatitech qujnenetechilpiaia, qujnenetechçaloaia, ymjxpan antoc, ic itzacutoque in tepicme:

hiçanacatoc papapatlacatoc, papatlantoc, oztopilquaujtl, necoc, nenecoc, necoccampa tlatlalacticac, tetzotzonticac, yn itech antoc teteujtl.

Auh tzilacaiutli, tlaixtlapantli, tlaittitatactli: ymixpan mamanca, chalchiuhxicalli ipam poujia, vctli vnca ca, vctli ic mamanca.

Auh çan iehoan in tlamacazque, yn jntequiuh, in machiceque catca, yn qujnchichioaia, in qujntlaliaia: aiac çan moiocuiaia, in calla in qujnchichioaia.

Auh macujltica in qujntlalhujaia, mjtoa: qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque:

yn o ie cauhque tepicme, njman ie ic qujntoçaviia, qujncujcatia:

in ceiooal napa in qujntlamanjlia, tamalololli in qujnmacaia, qujmanaia ymjxpā, in tlamacazque, in tepiccujca:

no napa in qujntlamacaia ceiooal, yoan qujntlapichiliaia,

qujnmaquiqujxiliaia tecuciztli in qujnpichiliaia, yoan vilacapitztli, cocoujlotl,

vilacapitzoaia, çan telpopochti, papaqujnj, haavienj, mihivintianj, tececemeltianj, ceceleque, no tlamacoia.

Auh yn otlatvic njman qujnmictia yn tepicme, qujnquechcotona, qujnquechcuj, qujnquechilacatzoa, çatepan qujncemololoa, concēcuj, in tepictzoalli, qujtquj yn calmecac yn vmpa onoque, tlamacazque.

Auh in tepiqujnj, njman ie yc calaqujh yn itlacoanotzalhoan, yn jcooaoan, vncan mopia, mopixtoque:

auh in ie iooatiuh, in ie tevtlac niman ie ic tlaoana, motlaoancatlalia in veuetlaca, yn ie chicaoaque, yn otlachi-

117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (*cf.* corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl (Iztac ciuatl) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*vna massa*), in the Spanish column; Seler renders it *zerquetschten Samen des Stachelmohns* (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de gotas de ulli, a los cuales papeles llamaban amateteuitl*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

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well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all went to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some went off weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some went shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they rested from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinences; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[120]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[121] to one side his mouth would shift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the green mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains. At the distribution, only the relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the dregs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[122] of fruit wine,[123] of white wine, of sleep-producing wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was thus cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made thus paid his debt and thus fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornment—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame-sticks,[124] their cloud-bundles;

and the turquoise cups and their little sauce bowls with

calhujque, in ie quaiztaque, in ie tzoniztaque, yoan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:

iehoan vel innemac catca, in vctli in quizque.

Auh in otlaivintic, niman ie ic viujloa, cecenmanoia, xixitinjoa:

yn aca mochoqujlitiuh, yn aca moqujchitotiuh, mjtotitiuh, momamantiuh: yn aca tetzatzilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaoaltiloia: çan no onnenca yn itequjuh, yn jchiujl:

tlacaqujtiloia, navilhujtl maçaoaia, qujneçaujliaia yn itequjuh, ynic amo xocoiaz:

vel mopiaia, vel motlacaoaltiaia, amo cioacochia, amo oqujchcochia, intla cioatl:

çan niman aiac vel ontlapaloaia yn vctli, yoan in necutli, ynic muchioaia:

aiac inmanel imapil, conaqujaia, vel ymacaxoa, vel malhujloia, yn ixqujchica, moiacaxapotlaz yn vctli.

Auh yn aqujn, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia inmanel çan tepiton oconpalo: iuh mjtoaia tennecujlivia tepantiliviia, avic momamana avic xoqujvi yn ite:

yoan in aca matzicoliujia, yma qujcuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichauj, icxicopichauj, icxicuecuechca, yhixatotoco, tenpapatlaca, tenviviioca, itech qujneoa: mjtoa, oqujtlavelique in xoxouhque tepicme.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic apeoalo: yn apeoa çan iehoan, yn ioaniolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemeoa, in vel icujtlaxcolloc, yn vel imecaioc:

moteneoa apeoalo, iquac cempoliuja tlatlamj, in quexqujch mocaoaia, in atl, in tlaqualli:

yoan in oc quexqujch omocauh xaiocomjc in vctli, in aiuctli, in tlachioalvctli, in iztac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiqujnj, in tepicquj: intla coacivi, yn juh omjto tlacpac, ic patiz: yoan yn aqujn atlan miquizquja ynjc amo mjc: iehoatl, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc moxtlaoa, ynjc qujneltilia ynnetol.

Auh yn jxqujch, yn jnnechichioal, yn jntlaquen, yn jmamaneapan, yn jmoztopil, yn jntlapetlanjlquauh, yn jmaiauhcocul:

yoan yn jnchalchiuhxical, yoã yn jntlaquaia molcaxtotonti,

120. *Cf.* Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 29, citing marginal gloss in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38.

121. Probably *tenpatiliviia* is meant. It thus appears in *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* (*Cf.* Seler, *loc. cit.*)

122. Possibly *aoctli*.

123. See Molina (*Vocabulario*).

124. Alvaro Tezozomoc, *Histoire de Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans. tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 300, describes this as a light flame-colored club: ". . . *on eût dit qu'il en sortait des flammes et des étincelles.*" Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (*Blitzholz*).

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which [the celebrants] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco: they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Pantitlan.

Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochti).

He [was] the wine, in times past[125] considered full of sin. For he hurled people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an awesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Ijouhtecatl, Acolhua, Tlilhoa, Pantecatl, Izquitecatl, Toltecatl, Papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, Ome tochtli, Tepoztecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Colhuatzintecatl.[126]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper ear-plug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red arara feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the pulque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the flint staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhcaxtotonti, çoqujtecontotonti, muchi vmpa concaoaia tepetzinco: atlan contepeoaia, vmpa anepantla, ytocaiocan pantitlan.

Jnic cempoalli vmume capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tezcatzoncatl, yn jnoan pouj centzontotochti.

Jehoatl in vctli, ieppa tlatlaculli ipan machoia: ca tetepexiuja, tequechmecanja, teatlauja, temjctia;

tetzavittonj, amo pinavilonj, amo chicoittolonj.

Auh ynjn tezcatzoncatl, ynoan pouj, ynoan eoa, yn moteneoa, centzõtotochti, yn vctli innacaio, yn iJauhtecatl, Aculhoa, tlilhoa, pantecatl, Jzqujtecatl, Toltecatl, papaztac, Tlaltecaiooa, vme tuchtli, tepuztecatl, chimalpanecatl, Colhoatzincatl.

Auh yn jnechichioal Tezcatzoncatl, aztatzone, iacametze, amanacoche, cveçalvitoncaoa, chaiaoac cuzque, colotlalpile, vmetuchchimale, itztopile, tecpatopile, no tzitzile.

fin del libro

125. *Yeppa:* formerly, in times past (Molina: *op. cit.*). The meaning also could be "thrice."

126. See Sahagún: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 314; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

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APPENDIX

Apendiz
del primero libro

Comiença el apendiz, del primero libro: en que se confuta la ydolotria, arriba puesta: por el testo, de la sagrada escriptura, y buelta en lengua mexicana: declarando, el testo suficientemente.

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quen dezian: todo esto dezian, que acontecia, porque estos dioses, de que agora se trata, se auyan enojado contra el. Despues de acabada la fiesta, otro dia luego de mañana, el que auya hecho, la fiesta: juntauan a sus parientes, y a sus amigos, y a los de su barrio, con todos los de su casa: y acabauan de comer, y beuer, todo lo que auya sobrado, de la fiesta. A esto llamavan, apcoalo, que quiere dezir: añadidura de lo que estaua comido, y beuido: ninguna cosa quedaua de comer, ni de beuer, para otro dia. Dezian que los dioses, haziendo esta fiesta, sanaua de la gota: o de quales quiera, de las enfermedades, que arriba se dixeron: y los que auyan escapado, de algun peligro de agua: con hazer esta fiesta, cumplian con su voto. Acabada toda la fiesta: los papeles, y aderecos, con que auyan adornado, ellos y imagines: y todas las vasijas, que auyan sido menester, para el combite: tornauanlo todo, y leuauanlo, a vn sumidero, que esta en la laguna de mexico: que se llama pantitlan, y alli lo arronjauan todo.

ichtaca tlapaloaia, ynitlachtaca yia immanel can tepiton oacn polo: iuh mitoaia tenmeuaqui via tepanthlauia, auic monamana auic xoquiui pnite: yoan maca matzicahuia. yma quiqueuecuetza, icxi quiqueuecuetza, macopichauj, xicxicopichauj, icxi cuecuechca, ynixatotoco, ten papatlaca, tenvivioca, itech qeyneoa: mitoa, oquitlavelique inxoxouhque tepieme. Auh ynotlathuje, niman ie ic apeoa lo: ynapeoa can ichoan, ynicaniolque, in vel iaxtloc, in can tlaca, comeoa, in vel icuitlax coloc, yn vel imecaioc: motene oa apcoalo, iquac cempolihuia tlatlamj, in quexquich moeoa ia, mati, in tlaqualli: yoan inoc quexquich omocauh xaxacomje in vetli, maiauetli, in tlachialvetli, in istaeuetli, in cochvetli. Auh ynic piquinj, in tepiquj: in tla coaci vi, ynjuh omito tlacpac, ic patiz: yoan ynaquin atlan mjquizquia

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After Paso y Troncoso

1—Uitzilopochtli. 2—Painal. 3—Tezcatlipoca. 4—Tlaloc.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

5—Quetzalcoatl. 6—Ciuacoatl. 7—Chicome coatl. 8—Teteu innan.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

9—Tzapotlan tenan. 10—Ciuapipilti. 11—Chalchiuhtli ycue. 12—Tlacolteutl.

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13—Xiuhtecutli. 14—Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli. 15—Omacatl. 16—Ixtlilton.

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17—Opochtli. 18—Xipe totec. 19 -Yiacatecutli. 20--Napa tecutli.

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21—Tezcatzoncatl. 22-26—Tepictoton.

27—Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11). 28—Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. 11).

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

29—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli ycue (Chap. 11), Chicome coatl (Chap. 7). 30—Tlaçolteutl—Confession (Chap. 12). 31—Napa tecutli (Chap. 20). 32—Tepictoton (Chap. 21). 33—Pantitlan (Tepictoton) (Chap. 21). 34—Appendix, Chap. 13. 35—Appendix, Chap. 13.

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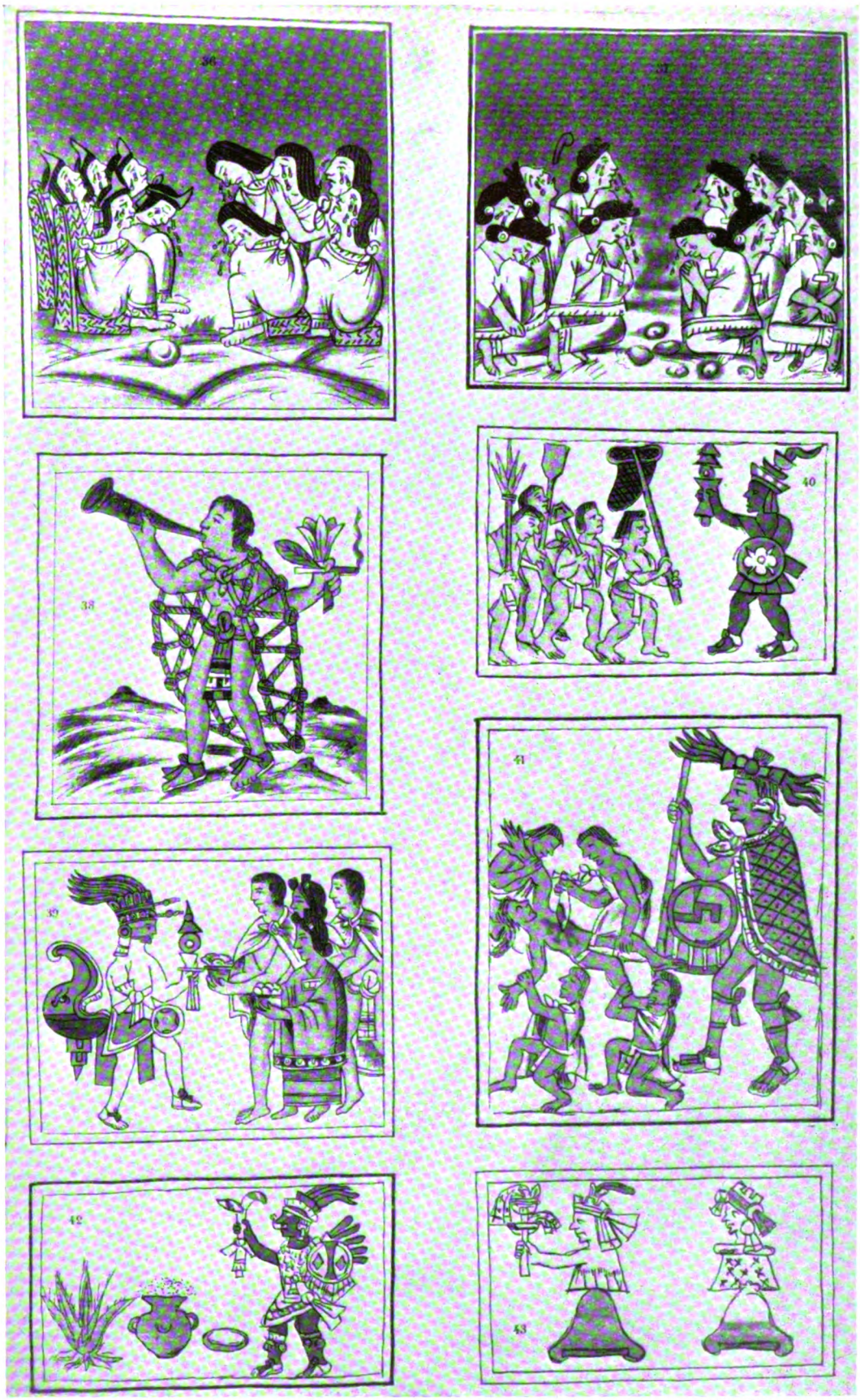

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

36—Appendix [Refutation]. 37—Appendix [Refutation]. 38—Titlacauan. Xiuhtecutli. 40—Opochtli. 41—Yiacatecutli. 42—Tezcatzoncatl: 43—Tepicme.

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APPENDIX

Prologue

Ye who were born here, in New Spain: ye Mexicans, ye Tlaxcalans, ye Cholulans, ye Michoaca; all ye who are vassals dwelling in the land of the Indies—

Your ancestors—your fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers—left you in great darkness, error, unbelief, and idolatry, as is evident in your ancient picture writings.

Hear and understand well. For now it hath come to pass that the Lord our God hath it in His heart to cause the light, the torch, the splendor to be sent you: that the true God and creator, who careth for all His creatures, may be made known to you.

For error, in which you have lived in all past time, came to you. It hath misled and deluded you. And with this light and splendor, you may attain true faith.

And thus you may hear and accept the word of God, here written, which he, your lord, the King of Spain, hath caused to be sent to you, as well as God's Vicar, the Holy Father, who dwelleth in Rome.

And this they have caused to be done, that you may escape the hands of the devils, and that you may attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Truth of God's Word[127]

The people here on earth who know not God, who esteem Him not, are only vain and worthless. For if men in their hearts and understanding knew God's creations, they had known God. Because they esteem and know creatures, they had known that He exists, that He is the Creator, the Creator of man—God, who is not seen.

And these did not so; they took not example of God's creations. Thus they acknowledged [God's creatures] as their gods, their lords. God their Creator they forgot [for God's] creatures.

They worshipped as gods the fire, the water, the wind, the sun, the moon, the stars. These things they worshipped, saying to them:

"Verily, you are the creators, you guide us, you rule us. Verily, you order things, you protect things."

A. These, the blind, the mad, were idolators. Greatly they

Prologo, mexicano

In amehoantin, in njcan antlaca, in nueua españa: in anmexica, in antlaxcalteca, in ancholulteca, in anmjchoaque, yoan in amjxqujchtin in anmacehoaltin, in njcan annemj in india tlalli ipan:

ca cenca vey tlaiooalli, yoan netlapololtiliztli yn atlaneltoqujliztli, in tlateutoqujliztli, in jpan oamechcauhtiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn amachcoculhoan: yn juh neci, in ipā ie uecauh amotlacujlol:

ma vel cenca xiccaqujcan, vel xicacicaqujcan. Ca in axcan, oqujmonequjlti in totecujo dios, otlacauhquj in jiollotzin yn oamechoalmjoalili, in tlaujlli, in ocotl, in tlanextli: injc anqujmjximachilizque, in vel nelli dios teiocuianj, in qujmocujtlaujtzinoa, in jxqujch in jtlachioaltzin.

Auh yn netlapololtiliztli, yn jpan annemj yn jxqujch cavitl, vmpa otioallaque: ca iehoatl yn amechiztlacaujaia, amechtlapololtiaia: auh in tlavilli, in tlanextli anqujcnopilhuizque, yn jca vel melaoac tlaneltoqujliztli:

yoan ic vel anqujcuizque, anqujcaquizque, in jtlatoltzin dios, yn njcan icujliuhtica: in vel iehoatl in amotlatocatzin in españa rey, in amechvalmjvalili: no iehoatzin in jxiptlatzin Dios in Sancto padre, in roma moyetztica.

Auh injn ca ipampa oqujmuchivilique, injc inmac anqujçazque in diablosme: ioan ynjc anqujcnopilvizque yn jlvicac tlatocaiotl.

Jmelaoaca in teutlatollî

Jn tlalticpac tlaca, yn amo qujmiximachilia in dios, ca amo tlaca ipan pouj, ca çan nentlaca, nenquizque: ca intla tlaca yntla vnca iniollo, intla vnca intlacaqujliz: in jtlachioalhoan dios, intech canazquja, intech qujcuizquja, in jximachocatzin dios; ipampa qujmjtta in qujximati in tlachioalti, qujmatizquja ca vmmoetztica, monemjtia in tlachioale, in teiucoianj, yn amo motta in iehoatzin dios.

Auh ynjn ca amo iuhquj qujchiuhque, amo itech omjscujtique, yn jtlachioalhoan dios: ynjc qujmjximachilizquja yn jnteouh, yn jntlatocauh, yn jnteiocuscatzin dios, çan îtech omotlapololtique yn jtlachioalhoan dios:

oqujmoteutique in tletl, in atl, in ehecatl, in tonatiuh, in metztli, in cicitlalti; iehoātin hi, oqujnmoteutique, qujtoque,

ca impal tinemj, ca techiacana, techpachoa, ca tlatquj, ca tlamama.

A. Jn iehoantin, y, ca ixpopoiume, motlapololtianj, injc

127. The non-Aztec text begins here the thirteenth, fourteenth, twelfth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the *Book of Wisdom* (in the Vulgate's Latin). The Aztec text parallels rather than translates the Latin.

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honored God's creatures, as if they illumined, revealed, and gave comfort to men. And these should not be thus worshipped, because it should be remembered that God, their Creator, is most powerful, giving more light, illumination, and comfort.

For only He, alone, revealeth, giveth light, comforteth all, instructeth all; only He alone is the Creator.

otlateutocaque: ca cenca qujmaujçoque, yn jtlachioalhoan dios, ynjc tlanextia, ynjc pepetlaca, in teiollalia: auh ynjn amo ic qujmoteutizquja: ca çan ic qujlnamjquizquja, ca oc cenca tlapanauja, ynjc cenca tlanextia, pepetlaca, teiollalia, tepapaqujltia, yn jnteiocuxcatzin dios:

in çan vel iceltzin itetzinco quiça in pepetlaca, in tlanextia, in jxqujch teiollali, yn jxqujch tetlamachti, vel iehoatzin çan vel izeltzin, tlachioale.

B. And if they had wondered greatly because some of God's creatures are strong, they had considered God, their Creator, even stronger.

B. Auh intla cenca otlamaujçoque ipampa cequjnti itlachioalhoan dios, cenca chicaoaque: qujlnamjquizquja, ca yn jnteiocuxcatzin dios, oc cenca chicaoacatzintli.

C. All God's power is the wisest, the richest, the most glorious. For His creatures appear in Him. For He is very great; He made the world. Many things hath He made, very wonderful, very glorious.

C. Jn jsqujch iueli, in dios, ynjc cenquizca tlamatinj, ynjc cenca tecujltono, cenquizca tetlamachti: ca ytlachioaltzin itech neci: iehica ca cenca vey, cemanaoac oqujmuchiujli, cenca mjec tlamantli, oqujmuchiujli, vel mauiztic, vel tetlamachti.

D. These, the idolaters, resist [and] draw back. They say:

"We seek Him for ourselves; we covet the Giver of Life, the Creator. For through Him we have come to doubt the sun, the moon, the stars, and other creations; on His account they are estimable [and] valued; they have comforted and enriched men. For truly we are not men of strong heart and understanding."

D. Jnjque hi, tlateutocanjme, momanauja, motzinqujxtia, qujtoa:

in teohanti, ca iehoatzi tictotemulia, in iehoatzin tiqueleuja yn jpalnemoanj, in teiocujanj: auh ca ytech otitotzotzonato, in tonatiuh, in metztli, in cicitlalti, yoan oc cequj tlachioalti: ipampa ca mauiztique, vellaçoti, cenca teiollalique, vel tetlamachtique: ca nel titlaca amo chicaoac, in toiollo, in totlamachiliz.

E. [With] these words the idolaters sought to defend themselves. For they do not quiet men's doubts, but only anger them because they do not quiet their doubts. For these, who began idolatry, saw and discovered many dangerous teachings; they saw and discovered the way to reckon the years and the days, and other ingenious conceits. And just as by consultation [and] by inquiry they knew what things were, just so, much better, could they have seen and found the [true] God [and] Creator, if they had counseled and inquired well among themselves.

E. Jnjn tlatolli, ynjc momanauiznequj tlateutocanjme: ca amo teiolpachiujti, ca çan tequalanj, ipampa amo teiolpachiujti: ca in iehoantin, oquipeoaltique, in tlateutoqujliztli, mjec tlamantli, oqujnextique, oqujttaque, in ouj tlatolli: in xiuhtlapoaliztli, in tonalpoaliztli, yoan in oc cequj ouj tlatolli, oqujttaque, oqujnextique: auh in quenjn omojolnonotzque, in quenjn oqujnemjlique, injc oqujximatque in omoteneuh: çan no iuhquj, oc oalca, ynjc qujximatizquja, qujttazquja, yn jpalnemoanj, in tlachioale, intla vellanemjlianj, intla vel moiolnonotzanj.

F. Behold, perverse and unhappy are these, the accursed dead who worshipped, as gods, images thus fashioned in stone and in wood, or of gold, or of silver, or of copper; or made gods of four-footed animals, of creatures which fly, of those which live in the waters. Or of the images [of these] which carpenters hewed of wood, or stone-workers made of stone, or metal-workers molded in metal.

F. Ointlaueliltic, in iehoanti, in tlacamjccapupul, in qujmoteutique, in tetlaxintli, in quaujtl tlaxintli, in teixiptla, in tepatillo: in teucujtlatl, yn anoço tepuztli, ic tlachiuhtli: yn anoço ie oqujmoteutique, in manenemj, yn patlantinemj, in atlan nemj: yn anoço ym jxiptlaoan, in qujnxinque, in quauhxinque, in tetzotzonque, yn anoço in teucujtlapitzque, oqujpitzque.

G. Behold the works with which the idolaters delude and terrify men. For if a carpenter wisheth to make a god for himself, he goeth into the forest and felleth a tree. It is good, it is tall and straight. And then he letteth it fall and striketh off its branches. And the bark, the leaves, and branches he taketh to his house and useth. Therewith he

G. Jzcatquj, yn jntlachioal yn tlateutocanjme in cenca vel tetlapololti, in vel teiçauj, ca in aca quauhxinquj qujchioaznequj yn jteouh, vmpa iauh in quauhtla, ce quaujtl qujtlaça, ie in qualli, ie in melaoac: auh njman qujmatlatlaça, qujmatepeoa: auh yn jmama, yn jmatzocul in quaujtl, vmpa iauh yn jchan, vmpa monequiz: ynjc ycuciz, ytlaqual.

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will cook his food. And as for the tree, he cutteth it. He maketh a log, a cylinder of wood. And he shapeth the log well; with good will he heweth it, shaping a head for it, and eyes, and a face, and a body, and hands and feet. And when he is done, then building walls he maketh a house [for the image]. Here he placeth it. And that it may not fall, he maketh it firm on the wall with either pegs or iron nails.

Auh in quaujtl, qujtequj: cen tlacutl, quauhtemjmjlli, qujchioa: auh yn oc cen tlacutl, vel qujxima, yujã qujxixima, qujtzontecontia, qujxtelolotia, qujxaiacatia, qujtlactia, qujmatia, qujxitia: auh yn jquac oiecauh, njmã tepantli itech qujcaltia, vncan qujquetza: auh ynjc amo vetziz, caltech qujquãmjna, aço ica tlaxichtli, anoço ica tepuztlaxichtli.

A. When he hath set his god up, then he layeth an offering before him. He cutteth his ears, that blood may be offered before him. He offereth prayers. He maketh vows. He weepeth before him and doth a penance, hoping to gain the favors which he requireth of him.

A. Jn iquac vel oqujquetz iteouh: njmã ixpan tlamana, ixpan monacaztequj, mjço, qujtlatlauhtia: ivic monetoltia, ixpan choca, tlamaceoa qujtlanjlia, yn jtech monequj.

B. This wretched idolater hath no shame as he calleth [to the god], he beggeth in prayer [before him] who heareth not, seeth not, liveth not, hath no soul. And the prayer that he may be well, he prayeth to one who is sick. And for life he prayeth to one who is dead. And for favors he prayeth to one who is helpless. And the prayer that he may travel in safety he prayeth to one who cannot walk. And all which he asketh of him, which he wisheth to gain, [the image] hath not, giveth not. For it is only wood.

B. Jnjn tlateutocanipul, amo pinaoa in qujnotza, in qujtlatlauhtia, yn amo tlacaquj, in amo tlachia, yn amo iuli, yn atle yanjma: auh yn ipampa inic patiz, qujtlatlauhtia in cucuxquj: auh in jpãpa nemjliztli, qujtlatlauhtia in micquj: yoan qujtlatlauhtia yn atle ynecoca, ynjc qujpaleuiz: auh qujtlatlauhtia, ynjc vel nenemiz, qujtlatlauhtia yn auelnenemj: auh in ie muchi, yn jtech monequj qujtlanjlia, in atle quipia, yn atle vel qujtemaca içan quaujtl.

Fourteenth Chapter

The wood is good and of use; it is God's creature. For many things are made of it; for of it is made the house in which we dwell, and of it is made the canoe. With it is gained one's livelihood. For these things of great worth are thus made of wood, which is a thing needed of which we gain our livelihoods.

Capitulo quarto decimo

Jn quaujtl ca qualli, ca monequj, ca itlachioaltzin in dios: ca mjec tlamantli ic muchioa: ca ic muchioa in calli in uncan tinemj, yoan ic muchioa in acalli, ynjc netlaiecultilo: ipampa hi, vellaçotlalonj in quaujtl ynjc muchioa, in totech monequj ynjc titotlaiecultia.

A. And the wood thus used for idolatry is accursed. Unhappy and accursed is he who [so] useth and fashioneth the wood; even as the wood itself.

And the hewer of wood must needs be accursed, because he made it, which is worthless and a delusion to men. And the wood which is much needed shall also be accursed, because it is only wood which hath been made into an idol.

A. Auh in quaujtl ynjc muchioa, in tlateutoqujliztli, vel telchioalonj: auh in qujchioa in qujxima, vel oitlaueliltic, vel telchioalonj, yn jvan in quaujtl:

auh in quauhxinquj, monequj cenca telchioaloz, iehica ca oqujchiuh, in amo monequj in cenca tetlapololti: auh in quaujtl, cenca monequj, no telchioaloz: iehica ca çan quaujtl, auh teutoco.

B. And God, our Lord, abhorreth both the idolater and idolatry; [both] him who is the cause of idolatry and those who live in it. Both [of them] will forever be in torment in the land of the dead.

B. Auh in totecujo dios, vntlamanjsti cenca qujmotlaelittilia, yn tlateutocanj, yoan in tlateutoqujliztli: in qujpeoalti tlateutoqujliztli, yoan in tlateutocatinemj, ym umexti mjctlan, cemjcac tlaihijoujltilozque.

C. These, the demons, were the cause of idolatry. For never will God have mercy upon them. And although [they are] God's creatures, they must needs be abhorred and accursed, for they are liars, deceivers, and trouble-makers.

C. Jn iehoantin in diablome, oqujpeoaltique in tlateutoqujliztli, ipampa aic qujnmotlaoculiliz in dios: auh maciuj yn jtlachioalhoan dios, monequj cuculilozque, telchioalozque, ca teiztlacaujanjme, teixcuepanjme, tetlapololtianjme.

D. Those who first were the cause of idolatry [and the

D. Jn iehoantin vel achto oqujtzintique, in tlateutoquj-

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makers of] idols offended God. Thus they angered God. For thus were many led into error.

When the world began, none lived as idolaters. And before the world shall end, idolatry will perish.

E. The witless and senseless began worshipping idols here upon earth. And because of their malice they suddenly died.

F. Behold how the wicked, men of little understanding, began the worship of idols.

A man [who was] a chief had a son, an only son, a youth, whom he loved much. And the youth died. And the father, much saddened thereby, wept and mourned exceedingly.

And then he commanded that an image of his beloved son be hewn of wood or fashioned of stone. [And] he bade the artisan to make it in the likeness of his son, so that it would be the painted image of his son.

The image was done, and then he placed it in a good place, to be worshipped there as a god, and to have offerings laid before it, and paper, and incense, and flowers.

G. And it came to pass that the chief bade all his vassals to worship as a god the image of his son, and to place offerings before [the image].

Thus it was that the worship of idols began.

A. Behold another manner by which arose idolatry.

Some made the images of those whom they loved, those who lived in far places.

And because they lived in distant parts [and those who fashioned them] could not see their bodies, their images consoled them. And they paid them honor and laid offerings before them—[the images of] either princes or princesses.

B. And the painters very skillfully painted the images. Very marvelously and well they made the images. Thus they persuaded men that they should be worshipped.

C. He who painted, or hewed from wood, or worked stone, or cast in gold or silver, since he wished to quiet doubts, caused the work which he made to be even better than the flesh from which was molded or taken the image. [As] he made the image better, so he led men deeper into error.

D. Very many common men, luckless people, who saw that the image was subtly and carefully made, worshipped

liztli, in ydolosme, ixtzinco icpactzinco, oeoaque, onenque in dios: ic cēca omoqualanalti in dios, ca cenca mjequjntin ic omotlapololtique:

yn jquac otzintic cemanaoac, aiac tlateutocatinenca: auh in aiamo tlamiz cemanaoac, puliuiz in tlateutoqujliztli.

E. Jn tlateutoqujliztli, in aqujmamatcaoaque, in xulopime, oqujtzintique, in nican tlalticpac: auh ipampa yn jntlauelilocaio, iciuhca omjcque.

F. Jzcatquj in quenjn oqujpeoaltique in tlaueliloque, yn aqujmatinj, yn tlateutoqujliztli.

Ce tlacatl tlatoanj vnnenca ipiltzin, çan vel izel ipiltzin, itelpuch, in cēca qujtlaçotlaia: auh in telpuchtli, mjc: auh yn jtatzin cenca ic omotequjpacho, cenca chocac, cenca otlaocux:

auh njmā otlanaoati, ynjc quaujtl, manoço tetl muchioaz moximaz in jxiptla itlaçopiltzin: oqujtlaquauhnaoati in quauhxinquj, ynjc vel ipatillo qujchioazque, in vel iuhquj iez, yn ipiltzin in tlaixiptlaiotl.

Jno iecauh y, in teixiptla, njman qualcan oqujquetz, vncan oqujmoteuti: njman oqujnnaoati yn jchan tlaca, in qujmoteutizque, yoan ixpā tlamanazque, qujmanazque yn amatl in copalli, in suchitl.

G. Auh ie iquezquj xiuhioc, otlanaoati in tlatoanj, ynjc ixqujchtin, imaceoalhoan qujmoteutizque, yn ixiptla, yn ipiltzin, yoan ixpan tlamanazque:

yujnj, yn otzintic, in tlateutoqujlizti.

A. Izcatquj in oc centlamantli, ynjc otzintic tlateutoqujliztli:

cequintin, oqujchiuhque, imixiptlahoan, yn jntlaçohuan in veca nemj:

auh in jpampa ca veca nemj, auel qujttaia yn ynnacaio, ytech moiollaliaia yn jmjxiptlaoan: yoan qujnmauiztiliaia, yoan ispan tlamanaia, aço tlatoanj, anoço civapilli.

B. Auh in iehoanti, in tlacujloque, cēca qujnematca icujloque in teixiptla, vel mauiztic, vel iectli oqujchiuhque, yn teixiptla, ic oteioleuhque, ynjc oneteutiloc.

C. Jn iehoatl in tlacujlo, yn anoço quauhxinquj, anoço texinquj, anoço teucujtlapitzquj: injc cenca qujiolpachiujtiznequi, yn oqujteq'ti, oc cenca qualli oqujchiuh, yn amo mach iuhquj catca yn jnacaio, yn jtech omocopin, yn jtech omocujc in teixiptla: oc cenca qualli oqujtlali in teixiptla, cenca ic otetlapololtique.

D. Cenca miequjntin, maceoaltin, icnotlaca, yn oqujttaque in teixiptla, in vel mjmati, in vellanematcachioalli,

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it as a god. They thought it was a god. Only it led them into error because it was subtly and well made.

oqujmoteutique: omomatque, ca teutl, çan oqujntlapololti in teixiptla injc mjmati, ynjc tlanematcachioalli.

E. In this manner men on earth were led into error. For, because of its costliness, or because of the honor paid to it, they thought it holy. The precious name of God, which belongeth only to God, they thus [gave as] name to the image of stone [or] of wood.

E. Jhujn yn omotlapololtique, in tlalticpac tlaca: ca ipampa in tetlaçotlaliztli, anoço ipampa in temaviztililiztli, ocaujlqujstique in teuiotl: in tlaçotli tocaitl in teutl, in çan vel izeltzin yaxcatzin in dios, ynjc oqujntocaiotique in teixiptla in tetl, in quaujtl.

F. The follies of the idolaters, which arose from the worship of idols, were not one but many. These [men] thought they were in peace; but it was in war that they lived.

F. Jn tlateutocanjme, amo çan centlamantli, in jnnetlapololtiliz, ca cenca mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli itech qujça, itech iuli in tlateutoqujliztli: in iehoantin momati ca pacticate, iece vei iauiutl, ipan nemj.

G. These idol-worshippers slew their own sons before their gods. And by night they did many things before their gods, which sicken and rouse one to anger, all vicious things. They hated one another, they slew one another, they committed adultery one with another. [There were] murder, robbery, adultery, misguiding of men, public disorders, fighting spread everywhere. And none looked to gentle things, chastity, continent living. Vice and carnal living were verily the idolaters' way of life.

G. Jn iehoantin in tlateutocanjme, qujnmjctia, in jnpilhoan, imjxpan yn inteuhoan: auh cenca mjec tlamantli, in tetlaelti, in tequalanj, in ioaltica qujchioa, yn jmjxpan in teuhoa: in ixqujch in jntlachioal, yn jnnemiliz, muchi teuhio, tlaçollo: nepanotl mocuculia, nepanotl momjctia, nepanutl motlaxima: in temjctiliztli, yn ichtequjliztli, in tetlaximaliztli, in teca necacaiaoaliztli, in necomonjliztli, neisnamiqujliztli, noviian actimotecac: auh aiac qujmocujtlauja in necnelilmatiliztli, in nepializtli, in chipaoacanemjliztli, in haujlnemjliztli, in teuhtli, in tlaçolli, vel innemjliz, in tlateutocanjme.

A. Idolatry is much to be loathed. In its beginning and in its end it is evil. And all loathsome things which lead one into error have their birth in idolatry.

A. Jn cenca tetlaelti, tlateutoqujliztli, itzin ipeuhca, yoan itzonquizca, yn jxqujch, amo qualli, amo iectli: yoan in jxqujch tetlaelti, yoan in tetlapololti, muchi itech iuli qujça in tlateutoqujliztli.

B. They who worship idols, when they take their pleasure, drink [wine] which maketh them as if maddened, and they talk as if drunken.

B. Jn tlateutocanjme, yn jquac papaquj, iuhqujnma tlaoanque, iollotlaueliloque muchioa, iuhqujn tlaoanque tlatoa.

C. Worshippers of idols, when they reproach their gods, see nothing in them. They speak ill of them; they have no fear of them; for they have no souls.

C. Jn tlateutocanjme, in iquac intech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnteuhoan, çan no atle inpan qujmitta, qujnchicujtoa, amo qujmjmacaci, iehica ca atle yn inanjma.

D. Many [such] things the idolaters do. Not without cause doth the Lord, the only God, abominate them; [for] they much esteem their false gods. And they are wont to swear false oaths, and thus they err and see not true justice.

D. Jn izqujtlamantli in, inpan muchioa tlateutocanjme: amo çan nen ca oqujnmotelchiujli in dios icel teutl: auh yn imiztlacateuhoan, cenca qujmauiztilique. Auh in iztlaca juramento, cenca itech omomatque, injc teca omocacaiauhque: auh in melaoac iusticia atle ipan qujttaque.

E. Such oaths are not needful. Those who often call upon His holy name commit a sin. For it is not proper that one shall call upon the holy name of God, Who is great, unless it is much needful. They who falsely call upon His holy name commit a sin, which shall be their last sin.

E. Jn iuramento, amo monequi itech nemachoz: in aqujque miecpa qujteneoa itocatzin, tlatlacoa: ca amo monequi vpa moteneoaz, yn iteutocatzin, in jpan vei, yn ipan in cenca monequj: in çan tlapicq' teneoa yn jtocatzin tlatlacua, qujtzacutiaz in itlatlacul.

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Chapter Twelve

Alas, our Lord God, Thy heart is all good, all merciful. All things which Thou dost for us, who are the people of the world, all are good, all are righteous. And because Thy heart is good, Thou dost not now destroy those who sin; Thou dost not consume them with fire; Thou warnest them even yet, Thou admonishest them to leave their evil life, to turn to Thee.

A. Our Lord, these idolaters who lived on Thy earth Thou hast much abominated because of their evil life, because they have aroused Thy great wrath, habitually displeasing Thee. For they were wont to practise astrology, they cured the sick by removing stone knives from the body, they practised divination by means of knotted cords and by strewing grains of dried corn. Moreover, they slew [men] before the devils and the demons; and they slew their sons, yea, they offered them as sacrifices before things shaped of stone and hewn of wood. And they ate the flesh of men. Thou hast waited for these, who lived in times past, that they might repent their evil life. And because they wished not to repent their evil life, Thou hast chastised and destroyed them who in their malice destroyed Thy vassals the Christians.

B. Our Lord, will one say, "What hast Thou done?" Will one say, "Why hast Thou done this thing?" Will one dispute Thee, because Thou hast done thus? Will one avenge himself on Thee because of his punishment, being evil and unrighteous? And if Thou shalt destroy all the idolaters on earth, will one speak? Will one say, "Why didst Thou thus?" For all of them are Thy creatures.

C. [For] there is no other God; there are no other creatures. For Thou only art God; for Thou alone commandest all things which are in heaven and earth. And when Thou givest judgment, it is righteous. Then no great lord, no great emperor, shall question Thee, saying: "Why hast Thou slain and consumed my vassals?"

D. Lord, for this reason art Thou wholly good; all that Thou dost is righteous and good. Because all is possible to Thee, all is filled with Thee; all is good and righteous. And because Thy holy name is everywhere, Thy mercy is everywhere.

E. Lord, Thou showest Thy power and Thy strength to those who worship idols, who wish not to know Thy eternal power and Thy eternal strength; so that Thou increasest

Capitulo 12

Jioiave, totecujoe diose, in moiollotzin, ca cenquizca qualli, cenqujzca iamanquj: in jxqujch in topan ticmuchiujlia in timuchinti, in cemanaoac titlaca, ca muchi qualli, muchi melaoac: auh ipampa ca cenca qualli moiollotzin, in tlatlacoanj, amo njman tiqujnmopopolhuja amo njman tiqujnmotlatlatilia, çan oc tiqujnmonemachtilia, tiqujmononochilia, ynjc qujcaoazque, yn jmaqualnemiliz, ynjc motetzinco pachiuizque.

A. Totecujoe, in iehoantin tlateutocanjme, in motlalpantzinco nemja, cenca otiqujnmotlaelittili, yn ipampa yn imaqualnemiliz: ipampa ca cenca tequalanj, teiolitlaco, in qujchiuhtinenca: ca tonalpouhtinenca, tetlacujcujlitinēca, mecatlapouhtinenca, tlaulchaiauhtinenca. Auh in tlatlacateculo in tzitzitzimi imjxpan tlamictiaia: yoā yn jnpilhoan qujnmictiaia, in ca mostlaoaia, yn imjspan, in tetlaxinti, in quauhtlaxinti: yoan qujquaia in tlacanacatl: in iehoantin jn vecauhtica tiqujnmuchieli: ynjc qujcuepazque yn jmaqualnemjliz: auh ipampa yn amo qujnecque in qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz otiqujnmopupulhuj, oqujtzacutiaque, yn jntlauelilocaio, oqujnpopoloque in momaceoaltzitzinhoan in xp̄ianome.

B. Totecujoe ynic oiuhticmuchiujli, yn, cuix aca itla qujtoz? Cuix aca qujtoz, tleica yn iuh ticmuchiujlia, in? auh cuix aca mitzmotlatzovililiz? in ipampa iuh ticmuchiujli? auh cujx aca motetzinco motzoncuiz, yn ipampa intlatzacujltiloca, yn aqualti, yn aiecti? auh intla tiqujnmopopolhuiz, yn jxq'chtin cemanaoac tlateutocanjme, cujs aca tlatoz? cujx aca qujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujlia? ca muchinti motlachioaltzitzinhoan.

C. Niman aiac vnca, oc ce teutl, nimā aiac oc ce tlachioale, ca çan moceltzin titeutl, ca çan moceltzin ticmopachilhuja, yn jsqujch yn jlhujcac onoc, in tlalticpac, onoc: auh ynjc timotetlatzontequjlilia, ca vel melaoac, njman aiac vei tlatoanj, in anoço vei Emperador, mitzmotlatlanjliz, mitzmolhuiliz: tleicâ otiqujnmomjctili, otiqujnmotlatlatili, in nomaceoalhoan?

D. Totecujoe, iehica ca ticenquizca qualli, yn jsquich ticmuchiujlia, muchi melaoac, muchi qualli: ipampa ca muchi moueli, motetzinco cenquiztoc, yn isquich qualli, melaoac: auh ipampa ca novijan aci, in motlatocaiotzin, novjian timotetlaoculilia.

E. Totecujoe, in mouelitilitzin, in muchicaoaliztzin, ticmonestilia, in impan tlateutocanjme: in amo qujneltocaznequj, in cemanqui movelitilitzin, yn cemanqui, muchi-

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their misery, because of their disobedience. Lord, perfect and great power is Thine. And Thou hast the power to destroy those who sin, now, when they offend Thee. And Thou dost not [destroy them], but Thou waitest that in peace they may repent of their evil lives.

caoaliztzin: ynjc oc cenca tiqujnmoveililia yn jnnetoliniliz, yn ipampa intzõtetiliz: Totecujoe ca maxcatzin, in cenquizquj in vei in velitiliztli: auh ca timovelitilia, yn njman tiqujnmopolhuiz, in tlatlacoanj, yn jquac mitzmoiolitlacalhuja: auh ynjn ca amo iuh ticmuchivjlia, ca çan oc tiqujnmuchielia, ynjc iviian qujcuepazque yn jnnemjliz.

Chapter Fifteen

Thou, Who art our God, Who art our Lord, greatly merciful and good is Thy heart. And all the things which Thou dost are good and righteous. And in Thy mercy hast Thou disposed all creatures.

A. Lord, thus are our hearts troubled, for we are Thine, we who are Christians. If we shall sin, still we are Thine. We know Thou art perfectly great and perfectly good. And if we shall not sin, we know we are with Thee. For we are Thy chosen ones.

B. Our Lord, the knowledge of Thee hath been well-revealed and hath redeemed us. And those who have obeyed Thy commandments thus merit eternal life.

Capitulo 15

Jn tehoatzin, in tidios, in titoteuh, in titotlatocatzin, cenca iamanquj, cenca qualli moiollotzin: auh in jxqujch in ticmuchiujlia, muchi qualli, muchi melaoac: auh ca motetlaoculiliztica, ticmotecpanjlia, yn ixqujch chioalonj.

A. Totecujoe, ca iuh qujmattica in toiollo, ca timaxcatzitzinhoan, in tixpianome: intla titlatlacozque, ca ça oc motetzinco tipouj: ticmati ca ticenquizca vei, ticenquizca qualli: auh intlacamo titlatlacozque, ticmati ca motlantzinco ticate: ca timotlapepenaltzitzinhoan.

B. Totecujoe, yn miximachocatzin, ca vel tetlanestili, vel temaqujsti: auh yn ipialoca, yn motenaoatiltzin, ic icnopilhujlo, in cemjcac nemjliztli.

Chapter Sixteen

Our Lord God, The lives and deaths of our bodies are of Thy making. Our body's life of peace or life of misery are in Thy hand.

A. And the death of our souls is not of Thy creation nor because of Thy commandment. For we, who are Thy people, with our sins and wickedness kill our souls and thrust them into the land of the dead. And when our souls go forth from our bodies they may never return. All will be ended forever; for one remaineth forever and is there either in the place of the good or else not in the place of the good. There one is placed in his place; and none who is in Thy hand will resist; because all is possible to Thee, for Thou art everywhere.

B. The worshippers of idols who will not know Thee, by the might of Thy hand Thou punishest them; with water, with hail stones, and with fire Thou hast destroyed them.

Capitulo 16

Totecujoe diose, ca tehoatzin, vel moneiocultzin, momachitzin, yn jiuliliz, yoã imiquiz in tonacaio: yn jpaccanemjliz yoan yn jcuculiz in tonacaio, ca momactzinco ca.

A. Auh yn imjquiz, in tanjma, amo motlachioaltzin, amo motlatlalitzin: ca çan tehoanti, in titlaca, totlatlacultica, totlavelilocaiotica, ticmjctia in tanjma, mjctlan tictlaça. Auh yn iquac, yn tanjma qujtlalcahuja in tonacaio, auelitiz in oc cepa itic calaquiz, yn jxqujch ica tlamiz cemanaoac, ca oiccenquiz, oiccenta: in anoço qualcan, yn acanoço qualcan, vmpa ceniez yn vmpa oticmoieiantili: auh ca njman aiac momacpatzinco momapatlaz: iehica ca muchi moueli, ca noviian timoietzinotica.

B. Jn tlateutocanjme, yn amo mitzmomachitocaznequj, mocenmacca velitiliztica, tiqujnmotlatzacujltilia, atica, teciuhtica, yoan tletica, otiqujnmopopulhuj.

[Confutation of Idolatry][128]

The word of God hath been set forth; it hath been spread before you, my beloved children. Strongly hath it shined upon you and made you see. Thus it will be known that the

Jn teutlatolli omoteneuh, in amispan omomelauh, notlaçopilhoane: ca cenca chicaoac vel tetlanextili, tetlachialti. Jnjc vel iximachoz, in tlateutoquiliztli, in ca cenca

128. The Latin of the Vulgate ends with the second paragraph. Sahagún's confutation begins without title in the *Florentine Codex*.

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worship of idols hath led men into great error; it will thrust them into the land of the dead; it is a great sin against God, our peace and salvation.

And now, that their hearts shall be filled, since their minds and hearts are weak, once more must I unfold God's word, as written above, so that all men shall know it. For the worship of idols is much to be abominated and despised.

tetlapololti: vel mictlan tetlaz, vel vei *yiolitlaculocatzin* in dios, in toteiocuxcatzin, totemaquisticatzin.

Auh yn axcan ynjc vel iniollo pachiuiz, yn amo cenca chicaoac in imjx, yn iniollo, oc monequj oc achi njcmelaoaz, in teutlatolli, in tlacpac omjcuilo ynjc muchi tlacatl qujmatiz, ca in tlateutoqujliztli, cenca vellaelittalonj, telchioalonj.

A. Perceive, my beloved children, the light, the torch, by which will be known the only God, God the Creator; for this is the word of God. And knowledge of the false gods whom the ancients worshipped, of them also is set forth the truth in God's word. This word of God lieth folded away in the guarded places of the Holy Church, our mother, like the gold, the silver, the emeralds of heaven, the turquoise, the precious stones, the gems which belong to it, which exceed all things in preciousness, in being worthy of guarding. This word of God which is to save all [men], is of great need to all who of good will believe it. Thus is the word of God a light, a torch. God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, hath given and guarded our mother, the Holy Church, that she may give the light to, and teach, all her children.

A. Tla xicmocaqujtican, notlaçopilhoane, yn tlanextli, yn ocutl, ynjc vel iximachoz, yn izel teutl ipalnemoanj dios: ca iehoatl in teutlatolli. Auh yn jmiximachoca yn iztlacateteu, in qujnmoteutiaque, in vevetque: çan no itech quiça yn jmelaoaca, in teutlatolli. Jnjn teutlatlatolli ixillantzinco, itozcatlantzinco, in tonantzin sancta yglesia, cuecuelpachiuhtoc, iuhqujnma ilhujcac teucujtlatl, ilhujcac quetzalitztli, teuxiujtl, temaquiztli, tlaçotetl ipam pouj: in vellapanauja ynjc tlaçotli, ynjc pialonj: ynjn teutlatolli, yn jsqujchtin momaqujxtiznequj, cenca intech monequj, in iollocopa qujneltocazque: iehica ca dios itlatoltzin, ca tlanestli, ca ocotl. Jn dios tetatzin, in tepiltzin, in espiritu sancto, qujmomaqujli, qujmopialtili, yn tonantzin sancta yglesia, ynjc qujntlanextilia, qujnmachtia, yn jsqujchtin ipilhoan.

B. My children, perceive God's word, which is God's light. Thus will see those who live in darkness, who have lost the way; those who worship idols, who go with the sins of the devil, who is the father of lies. And thus will be known to them their gods and their lords which the word of God, the word of truth, hath declared to them. Because already I have made known and have told the word of God, which here, lying unfolded, revealeth how idolatry began. Likewise here are revealed many things [concerning] the error, misery, and blindness into which the worshippers of idols fell.

B. Tla xicmocaqujtican, notlaçopilhoane, in teutlatolli, ca teutlanestli: ynjc vellachiazque in tlaiooaian nemj, in mixcueptinemj, yn tlateutocanjme, in qujtocatinemj ymiztlacatlatol in diablo, yn vel yta in iztlacatiliztli. Auh ynjc vel qujmiximachilizque, yn jnteouh, yn jntlatocauh, in qujmotenqujstili in teutlatolli, yn neltiliztlatolli: ipampa in tlacpac, onjcteneuh, in tlacpac onjqujto, in teutlatolli, yn vncan neztica, melaoatica, yn quenjn otzintic opeuh, in tlateutoqujliztli; no yoan vncan neztica, in ca mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli, netoliniliztli, ixpopuiutiliztli, ipan ovetzque yn tlateutocanjme.

C. This, the word of God, the light of God, instructeth and telleth us, now, that there are not many gods, for there is but one, the only Maker and Creator, Lord everywhere. And the word of God, which hath been written before, revealeth what followeth: *Non est enim alius deus quam tu, cui cura est de omnibus,* which meaneth: "Our Lord God, Thou alone art God and Lord; none else is God, none else is Lord. In Thy hand alone are all things visible and invisible."

C. Jn iehoatl in teutlatolli, in teutlanextli, techmachtia techcaqujtia, ca njman amo velitiz, in mjequjntin iezque teteu, ca çan vel çe in çan vel izeltzin, teiocuianj, ipal nemoanj, novian, tlatoanj: auh in teutlatolli yn tlacpac omjcujlo, itech neztica, izcatquj. Non est enjm alius deus quam tu, cuj cura est de omnjbus. q. n. Totecujoe, diose, ca çan mozeltzin titeutl, titlatoanj, aiac oc ce teutl, aiac oc ce tlatoanj: çan mozeltzin momactzinco ca, yn jxqujch ittalo, yn amo yttalo.

D. This is thus revealed: Huitzilopochtli is no god; Tezcatlipoca is no god; Tlaloc is no god; nor Tlalocatecutli; Quetzalcoatl is no god; nor is Ciuacoatl a goddess; Chicome coatl is no goddess; neither is Teteo innan a goddess; Tzapotla tenan is no goddess; nor are the Ciuapipilti goddesses; nor the Ciuateteu; neither is Chalchiuhtli ycue a goddess; nor is Uixtociuatl a goddess; nor is Tlaçolteotl a

D. Jnin ca ic vel neztica, ca amo teutl, in vitzilubuchtli: amo teutl, in tezcatlipuca, amo teutl in tlaloc; yn anoço tlalocatecutli: amo teutl in quetzalcoatl: amono teutl, in cioacoatl: amo teutl in chicome coatl; amono teutl yn teteu innan: amo teutl in tzaputla tena: amono teteu, in cioapipilti, anoço cioateteu: amono teutl in chalchiuhtli, icue; amono teutl, in vixtocioatl: amono teutl in tlaçulteutl:

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goddess; Xiuhtecutli is no god; Macuilxochitl is not a god; nor is Omacatl a god; neither is Ixtlilton Tlaltetecuin a god; Opochtli is not a god; Xipe totec is not a god; Yiacatecutli is no god; Chiconquiauitl is not a god; Chalmecaciuatl is no goddess; Acxomocuil is not a god; Nacxitl is no god; Cochimetl is not a god; Iacapitzauac is not a god; Napa tecutli is no god; the Tepictoton are not gods; the sun is not a god; the moon, the stars—none are gods; Tlaltecutli [lord of the earth] is no god; the water of the sea, the ocean, is no god. And here in New Spain all were in times past worshipped as gods, [though] none are gods. For they are all devils and demons, as the word of God [stateth]. *Omnes dii gentium demonia;* that is to say [in Nahuatl], "All whom the idolaters worship as idols are devils, demons, evil spirits."

amo teutl in xiuhtecutli: macuilsuchitl amo teutl; vmacatl amono teutl: istlilton, tlaltetecujn, amono teutl: in opuchtli, amono teutl: xipe totec amono teutl: yiacatecutli amo teutl: chicūquiavitl amo teutl: chalmeca cioatl amo teutl: in acxumocujl amo teutl: nacxitl amo teutl: cochimetl amo teutl: in iacapitzaoac amo teutl: in napa tecutli amo teutl: tepictoton, amo teteu: yn tonatiuh amo teutl: in metztli, in cicitlaltin aiac teutl: in tlaltecutli amo teutl, yn teuatl, yn ilhujcaatl, amo teutl. Auh yn ie muchintin, yn nican nueua españa, neteutiloia, ie vecauh, njman aiac teutl: ca muchintin tzitzitzimj, culeleti: iuh ca in teutlatolli. Omnes dij gentium demonja: qujtoznequj. Jn isqujchtin, yn qujnmoteutia, yn tlateutocanjme, muchintin, diablome, tzitzitzimj, culeleti.

E. Unhappy are they who worshipped these devils as idols, for they are full of wickedness, [they are] our adversaries; [they are] the affliction of us, the people [who live] on earth. Ill-fated are they who offered up to them the blood of their children, the hearts of their fellows. These [also] are unfortunate who supplicated them humbly, who kissed the earth in the presence of the devils; and who begged the images for the things they desired. Greatly were they in error thinking that they were powerful, these—[that] they gave all wealth and riches, that these would protect, support, and save men. As they believed this, your forefathers were themselves destroyed and others were destroyed. And because they [wished] to merit that which their hearts desired, they made offerings before the devils; they fasted; they passed all-night vigils; they offered their blood; they prayed. Thus they afflicted and tormented their bodies in the presence of the devils and demons. Moreover, they offered them many offerings. They made offerings of precious green stone and quetzal feathers—spreading, curving, green; and valuable mantles and costly vestments. And before them they made offerings of various flowers; and many kinds of incense. Such [things] they did, thus to pay honor to their adversaries, who afflicted them, who injured them, who required no honor, who needed no love. For they merited only to be abominated, abhorred, and hated. Therefore are condemned and accursed the enemies of the Lord God and of us, [who are] mankind.

E. Ointlaueliltic, in qujnmoteutitiaque in iehoantin in tzitzitzimi, ca uel qujmaxiltique tlaueliloque, vel toiaohoan, vel totecuculicahoan, in tlalticpac titlaca. Ointlaueliltic in qujnmacaque, yn jmezço, yn inpilhoan, yn jniollo, in jnvampoan: yn iehoantin jn ointlaueliltic, in qujmicnotlatlauhtiaia, in jmispan tlalquaia, in diablosme: yoan yn jmixiptlaoan ynic qujmjtlaniliaia, in tlein intech monequja: cenca moztlacaujaia, ynic momatia ca in iehoantin, vel qujtemaca, in jsqujch in tetlamachti, in isqujch tecujltono. Yoan ca no iehoanti, tepaleuja, temanauja, yoan temaqujstia: in iuh momatque hi, in amoculhoan, cenca omotlapololtique, yoan cenca otetlapololtique. Auh yn ipampa injc vel qujcnopilhuizque, in tlein qujnequja iniollo: imispan tlamanaia in diablome, moçaoaia, istoçoaia, mjçoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, mjec tlamantli ynjc qujtoneoaia, ynjc qujchichinatzaia in jnnacaio, in jmispan in diablome, in tzitzitzimj: no yoan cenca mjec tlamantli ventli, in qujmanaia: invē muchioaia in chalchiujtl, in quetzalli, in patlaoac, in vitoliuhquj, in vel xopaleoac: yoan in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçotlāquj. Yoan imjxpan qujmanaia, in nepapan xuchitl: yoan miec tlamantli, in copalli: in juh qujchioaia hi, ca ic qujnmauiztiliaia in jniaohoan, yn jntecuculicaoan, yn jntetolinjcaoa: in atle intech monequj mavizcotl, yn atle intech momonequj tetlaçotlaliztli: ca çan monequj cenca telchioalozque, tlaellitalozque, cuculilozque: iehica ca tlacemjsnanaoatilti, tlacentelchioalti: yiaohoan yn totecujo dios, yoan toiaohoan in titlaca.

F. Unhappy and much to be blamed are they who even now are idolaters, yet whom God's word hath reached, who have heard the Holy Gospel. Even more to be wept and reproached are those who, having been baptised, once again practice sorcery, casting auguries in water, believing in demons or [taking account of those who] cry out or quiver their eyelids [in their sleep]; or who hold the owl as an omen. And even more in times past were people terrified [by these things]. All who so do must meet torment here

F. O cel intlaueliltic, ca cenca tlacemjsnaoatilti, in iehoantin in ocnoma tlateutocatinemj in axcan, in ie oacico teutlatolli, in ie caco in sancto Evāgelio: ca oc cenca techoctique, tetozqujtenque, in iehoantin in ie omoquatequjque, yn ipan in jnnequatequjliz, in ie no ceppa tlapoa, atlan teitta, qujneltoca in temjctli, anoço in tozqujchoca, ymjspapatlaca: anoço qujmotetzavia in chiquatli, in teculotl: yoan oc cequj in ie vecauh netetzaujloia. Jn jsq'chtin, yn iuhquj qujchioa yn, cenca monequj in njcan tlalticpac,

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on earth, and when they shall die, they will be cast into the land of the dead.

G. Because of the worship of idols, much misery befell the old people, your grandfathers and your grandmothers. There were many wars in New Spain, while there was idolatry; famine was frequent; pestilence was often widespread; thus people died. And therefore did the Spaniards come to conquer; therefore were many peasants destroyed, because idolatry did all [this]. And now there is much misery, because [there is] idolatry, because it is not yet all forgotten. Our Lord God is exceeding wroth; He consumeth the worshippers of idols with fire. For idolatry offendeth our Lord God; it breaketh His commandment; [it is] all sinful. And as for the idolaters there in the land of the dead, even more terrible is their evil-smelling place of torment; their weeping, their tears, their cries, which shall never cease; for [thus] it is written in God's word.

A. Behold the groans, the tears, of the worshippers of idols: *Erravimus in via veritatis,* etc. ([*Book*] *of Wisdom,* Chapter 5). That is to say [in Nahuatl]: "Unhappy were we, for we erred while we were on earth; and the straight road of righteous life we saw not; the sun of righteousness shone not upon us; our sinful way tormented and exhausted us; and our road to ruin vexed us; our sins led us to dangerous places. Of what advantage to us were pride and grandeur? Of what advantage to us was riches on earth? Many such things fall confused like the shadows of smoke; [they are] like the messenger running fast; like the rapidly moving canoe, as if driven by the wind, of which nothing is seen where it goeth; like the bird which flieth swiftly leaving no trace of his flight; like the arrow quickly reaching its target, nor is it seen where it flew. Behold, so it befell us on earth, for we lived on earth but a moment and soon died, because our sins ended and destroyed our lives."

B. Behold these, the words of the idolaters, their weeping, their tears, their wailing, their cries, which shall never be comforted. And they who know, who obey our Lord God shall gain His kingdom and His riches. Because our Lord God is complete contentment, as hath been said before by the word of God.

C. Behold, once more I say unto you: *O quam bonus et quam suavis est domine spiritus tuus in omnibus,* etc. That is, "Alas, our Lord God. For Thou art perfectly good, and Thou art gentle of heart. Thou lovest all of us."

[This] is well shown to mean thus: "O Lord God, Thy

tlaihiioujltilozque, yoan yn jquac miquizque, mjctlan tlaçalozque.

G. Jn ipampa tlateutoqujliztli, cenca mjec tlamantli netoliniliztli, impā muchioaia in veuetque, yn amoculhoan, yn amocihoan: ca mjec tlamantli iauiotl, njcan manca, in nueua españa, yn oc ipan tlateutoqujliztli: miecpa, maianaloia, miecpa cuculiztli momanaia, ic mjcooaia. Auh inic tepeoaco inin españoles, jnjc miequjnti ispoliuhque in maceoalti, ca muchi ipampa omuchiuh, in tlateutoqujliztli: auh yn axcan yn izqujtlamantli tetoliniliztli manj, ca muchi ipampa in tlateutoqujliztli, iehica, ca aiamo cemjlcauj: Jn totecujo dios, tlapanauja ynic moqualanaltia, ca qujnmotlatlatilia, in tlateutocanjme: iehica ca in intlateutoqujliz ynjc qujmoiolitlacalvia in totecujo dios, vel quipanauja, yn jsqujch tlatlaculli. Auh in tlateutocanjme, in vmpa mictlan, oc cenca temamauhti, yn jntlaihiioujltiloca: yn jnchoquiz, yn jmjxaio, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn aic vel qujcaoazque: ca teutlatolpan ycujliuhtoc.

A. Jzcatquj yn inchoquiz, yn imixaio in tlateutocanjme. Erraujmus in via veritatis, etc. Sapientie, 5 capitulo. qujtoznequj. Ototlaueliltic ca otitiscuepque yn oc tlalticpac tinenca: auh in melaoac iecnemilizvtli, amo tiqujttaque, in iecnemiliztonatiuh, amo techtlanextili, otechtlaciavilti, otecianmjcti, in totlatlaculvuj: auh yn tonetlapololtilizvuj cenca otechama, cenca ovican otechaquj, in totlatlacul: tle otechonqujsti, in nepoaliztli, in tlatocaiutl? tle otechonqujsti, in tlalticpac necujltonoliztli? Jn izqujtlamantli hi, iuhqujma puctli ceoalli, ompoliuhtiuetzi: iuhqujnma titlantli in cenca totocatiqujça: iuhqujnma acalli, in cenca totocatiuh, in juhquj êcatoco, yn amo tle neci incampa quiça: iuhqujnma tototl, in cēca totoca injc patlanj, yn atle icximachio qujcauhtiuh: iuhqujnma totomjtl, in vel iciuhca onacitiuetzi, amono neci, incampa oquiz: O ca iuhquj otopanomuchiuh in tlalticpac, ca çan achintoca tlalticpac otonnēque, çan iciuhca ontzonquiz, in tonemjliz, yn ipampa in totlatlacul, ovntlan, vmpoliuh in tonemjliz.

B. O ca iuhquj hi, yn intlatol in tlateutocanjme, iuhqui in, yn inchoquiz, yn jmixaio, yn intlaocullatol, yn jnchoquiztlatol, yn njman aic vel moiollalizque. Auh in qujmiximachilia, in qujmotlacamachitia, yn totecujo dios qujcnopilhuizque, yn jtlatocaiotzin, yn jnecujltonoliztzin: iehica ca cenquizca mocujltonoanj, yn totecujo dios, iuh ca in teutlatolli in tlacpac omjto.

C. Izcatquj ie no cepa namechmelavilia O quam bonus et quam suaujs est domjne spiritus tuus in omnjbus, etc., qujtoznequj. Yioiaue, totecujoe diose, ca ticenquizca qualli, auh ca cenca iamanquj in moiollotzin, cenca titechmotlaçotilia yn timuchinti.

Jnic vel momelaoa, q'toznequj. Jio totecujoe diose, in

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love is of the Holy Ghost; it is all powerful. And Thou causest its goodness, its gentle righteousness, to come over us, [because of] Thy love.

"Thou hast made all the good and the righteousness which is in Thy creatures.

"Thus all is of advantage to us.

"And also Thou givest Thyself to us. Thus it is plain, and we know, that Thou art greatly merciful.

"For Thou offerest us Thy truth, that Thou mayest be known to us.

"And Thou offerest us Thy commandments, that we may obey Thee.

"And Thou offerest us Thy Sacraments, that Thou mayest comfort and purify us, and strengthen our souls.

"Thus shall we gain eternal life in Heaven.

"And Thou further showest Thy mercy.

"For Thy servants who offend Thee, them Thou destroyest and castest into the flames not now, but Thou callest to them gently, Thou teachest them gently that they may repent.

"For with Thy word, Thy preachers give counsel to those who sin. And Thy priests give them the Sacraments, that they may change their lives and that they may be pleasing to Thee.

"And those who wish not to know Thee, who wish not to cease the worship of idols, them Thou causest to be cast into the land of the dead.

"And [even] those who believe in Thee,[129] who will not change their lives, who die in sin, them Thou punishest in eternal torment, there in the land of the dead.

"And this Thou dost in such wise [that] it is all righteous. [For] then none may change Thy word, none may change Thy commandment.

"Neither they who dwell in Heaven nor those who dwell on earth may ask, 'Why dost Thou do this?' For Thy word may not be changed.

"For that which Thou hast caused to be done is just. And indeed Thou art the fount of life, the fount of good, the source of power. In Thee is all riches, all glory, all comfort.

"And verily Thou rulest everywhere, and all good and righteousness come from Thee. Thou alone givest them."

D. Thus it is very plain, my dear children, how much worthy of love, how much worthy of honor is our Lord God. For He is giver of life, our creator, ruler everywhere.

Likewise it hath been shown above what manner of gods were those of your forefathers—wicked, false, fraudulent, hateful, horrible, well deserving of scorn.

motetlaçotlalitzin, ca iehoatzin in espiritu sancto, ca muchiueli: auh ca topan quivalmjoalia, yn iqualtiliz, yn jiectiliz aviiaca in motetlaçotlalitzin:

oticmuchiujlitzino, yn isqujch in qualli, in iectli in intech ca yn motlachioaltzitzinhoan:

ynjc muchi techpaleuiz in titlaca:

auh ca no vel tehoatzin titonemactzin in titlaca, ynjc neci, ynjc ticmati, ca cenca timotetlaoculilianj:

iehica ca titechmomaqujlia yn moneltococatzin, ynjc vel timitztiximachilizque:

yoan titechmomaqujlia yn motenaoatiltzin, injc vel timitztouellamachtilizque:

yoan titechmomaqujlia in mosacramentotzin, ynjc ticmopatilia, yoā ticmuchipavilia, yoan ynic ticmuchicavilia in tanjma:

inic vel tiqujcnopilhuizque, in cemicac nemjliztli, in vmpa ilhujcac:

yoan oc cenca ticmonextilia in motetlaoculilitzin:

ca in iehoanti yn momaceoaltzitzinoan in mjtzmoiolitlacalhuja amo njman tiqujnmopopolhuja, amo njman tiqujnmotlatlatilia, çan iujan tiqujnmononochilia, çan ivian tiqujnmonemachtilia: injc vel qujcuepazque yn jnnemiliz:

ca motēcopatzinco, in motemachticaoan, qujnnonotza in tlatlacoanj, auh in moteupiscatzitzinhoan, qujnmaca in sacramentos ynjc vel qujcuepazque in jnnemiliz, yoā injc vel motetzinco pachiuizque.

Auh yn amo mitzmjximachiliznequj, yn amo qujcaoaliztlamati, in tlateutoqujliztli, mjctlan tiqujnmotlaxiliia:

yoan in motlaneltocacaoan in amo qujcuepaznequj, yn innemjliz, in çan ipan miq' yn intlatlacul, cemicac tlaihiioujliztli, ic tiqujnmotlatzacujltilia, in vmpa mictlan:

auh ynjn yn iuh ticmuchivilia in, ca muchi melaoac, çan njman, aiac qujcuepaz in motlatoltzin, aiac mitzmotlatolilochtiliz:

yn aço ilhujcac chaneque, yn anoço tlalticpactlaca, aiac velqujtoz, tleica in iuh ticmuchiujlia hi? njman amo cuepalonj, in motlatoltzin:

iehica, ca cenca melaoac in ticmuchivilianj, yoan ca tinemjlizameialli, tiqualtilizameialli, tiuelitilizameialli, motetzinco cenqujztoc, in isqujch tecujltono, in ixqujch tetlamachti, yn jsqujch tepapaqujlti:

auh ca tehoatzin, novian timotlatocatilia: yoan in jsqujch in qualli iectli, motechpatzinco quiça, çan moceltzin ticmotemaqujlia.

D. Jc cenca vel neztica, notlaçopilhoane, in quenjn cenca tlaçotlalonj, cenca mauiztililonj in totecujo dios: iehica ca ipalnemoanj, toiocoianj, noujan tlatoanj:

çan no tlacpac neztica, in quenamique inteuan, yn amocolhoan: cenca vellaveliloque, teiztlacaujanj, teca mocacaiaoanj, tecuculianj, vellaelittalonj, vel telchioalonj.

129. Corresponding Spanish text reads: *"y a los que no os quieren conocer."* The negative is missing in the Aztec.

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E. Now you must needs know the history of each of your forefathers' gods, severally, that their wickedness may be made plain.

They, the ancients, who were well-apprised, related to us, [and] we have newly instructed you, how Uitzilopochtli was adored as a god everywhere in the land of Mexico, [as] the true god of the Mexicans.

And this Uitzilopochtli, we know, was a man, a sorcerer, an omen of evil, a madman, a deceiver, a creator of war, a war-lord. He brought hunger and plague—that is, war.

This Uitzilopochtli, who truly serveth the devil, your grandparents honored by a feast thrice each year. War captives and slaves were slain; they shed much blood, here at Itepeyoc. They did many mad things before his image.

These most villainous, most terrible, most shameful things your grandparents brought about.

F. Likewise we know that, in times past, everywhere in New Spain, all adored Tezcatlipoca as a god.

And they [also] named him Titlacauan, and Iaotl, Necoc Iaotl, Moiocoian, and Neçaualpilli. The ancients considered this Tezcatlipoca [as] a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, in heaven.

When he walked upon the earth, he stirred up war; he brought vice and sin; he brought anguish and affliction to men. He established discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." He mocked and jeered people, [wherefore] he was called the wind and the shadow.

This evil Tezcatlipoca, we know, is Lucifer himself, the great devil who there in heaven, even in the beginning, incited war, hatred, and sin. From there he was cast out, and he fell.

And he walketh upon the earth deluding and misleading people.

For so is the word of God: *Factum est proelium magnum in coelo.* Apoc. 12. That is, a great war was fought in heaven which Lucifer incited.

He, this Tezcatlipoca, [this] Titlacauan, [is] a great devil. The ancients adored him as a god, and they celebrated his feast [in the month of] Toxcatl. And they slew him who was his likeness, whom they named Titlacauan.

So much were the ancients crazed.

G. Behold yet another devil, whom the ancients adored as a god, named Tlaloc, or Tlaloque. To him was attributed the rain.

They said: "For these make things sprout, they make them bloom, they bring life to trees and plants, and, indeed, all our sustenance." Also to the Tlalocs were attributed the flood, and the thunder-bolt.

For the sake of these devils the ancients celebrated a feast [in the month of] Quauitl eua or Atl caualo, when

E. Jn axcan vel monequj, in anqujcaquizque cecẽiaca intlatollo, yn jnteuan catca, yn amoculhoan: ynjc vel neciz in jntlauelilocaio.

Jn iehoantin yn ueuetque, in vel machiceque, otechcaqujtique, in tehoantin, in vel iancujcan otamechmachtique, in quenjn oneteutiloc in Vitzilobuchtli: noviian in tlalpan in mexica, vel inteouh in mexica.

Auh ynjn vitzilobuchtli ticmati, ca maceoalli, naoalli, tetzaujtl, atlacacemelle, teiscuepanj, qujiocuianj, iauiotl, iautecani: tepan qujtlaça in xiuhcoatl, in mamalhuaztli, in iauiotl, in teuatl, in tlachinolli:

Jnin Vitzilobuchtli, in vel ymaceoal in diablo, in amoculhoan quilviquixtiliaia, espan cecexiujtl: malmjcoaia, tlaaltilmjcoaia: cenca miec eztli noquiuja, in vncan itepeioc: miec tlamantli netlapololtiliztli quichioaia, ispan in ixiptla.

Jnin, cenca tetlapololti, cenca teiçauj, cenca tepinauhti, in oqujchiuhtiaque yn amoculhoan.

F. No yoan ticmati, ca njcan noujan nueua españa ie uecauh, oneteutiloc in tezcatlipuca:

yoan qujtocaiotique, titlacaoan, yoan iautl, necoc iautl, moiocoia, neçaoalpilli. Jnjn tezcatlipuca qujtotiaque in veuetque, vel teutl, noujan ynemjan, mictlan, tlalticpac, ilhujcac:

in iquac nemja tlalticpac, iaoiutl qujiolitiaia, iehoatl qujiolitiaia in teuhtli, in tlaçolli, cococ, teupouhqui tepan qujchioaia, tetzalan tenepantla, moquetzaia: ipampa y, moteneoa necoc iautl, teca maujltiaia, tequequeloaia: moteneoa ehecatl, tlaioalli.

Jnin tlaueliloc tezcatlipuca, ticmati ca iehoatl in lucifer, in vei diablo, in vmpa ilhujcatl itic, vel iancujcan oqujpeoalti, iaujutl in tecuculiliztli, in teuhtli, in tlaçolli: vmpa oaltotococ, vmpa oalvetz.

Auh in nican tlalticpac teiztlacaujtinemj, teca mocacaiauhtinemj:

ca iuhca in teutlatolli. Factum est prelium magnũ in celo, apoc. 12. quitoznequj, vei iaoiutl, omuchiuh in ilhujcatl ytic oqujpeoalti in lucifer:

in iehoatl tezcatlipuca, titlacaoa, vei diablo: iehoatl qujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque: yoan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, yn iquac toxcatl: yoan qujmjctiaia yn jxiptla, yn qujtocaiotiaia titlacahoan,

ic cenca omotlapololtique in veuetque.

G. Jzcatquj yn oc no ce diablo, qujmoteutitiaque in ueuetque, yn jtoca tlaloc, anoço tlaloque: itech tlamjloia in qujiaujtl:

qujtoque. Ca iehoãtin, qujxoaltiaia, qujcueponaltia quizcaltiaia in quaujtl, in çacatl: auh in ie muchi tonacaiutl. No yoan yntech tlamjloia in tlalloque, in teilaqujliztli, tlavitequjliztli:

ipampa ynin diablome, qujmilhujqujstiliaia, yn ipan quavitl eoa, anoçe atl caoalo in veuetque, in iquac xiuh-

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the new fire was made. On their feast day, many children, called *tlacateteuhti,* were slain on the mountain tops—those who had two cowlicks in the hair, and whose day-signs [at the time of birth] were favorable. And also they were sought out and bought. It was said that they were most precious blood-offerings.

This was a very great and terrible sin which the ancients committed for the sake of the devils, the spirits of the air, the demons. These Tlalocs aroused fear because they gave rain and all our sustenance.

Thus greatly were the ancients crazed, and greatly they offended God. For, indeed, only He Himself giveth all of us men on earth this rain, wherewith is made all our sustenance.

For behold, this is the word of God: *Dabo vobis pluvias, temporibus suis, et terra germinabit germen suum: et pomis arbores replebentur.* Levitici, 26.

Thus speaketh our Lord God and saith: "I shall give you rain, every year in its good time (if you live by My commandments, if you fall not into idolatry). And at My word the earth will become green and will bear fruit. And at My word the fruit trees will bear much fruit and will greatly increase."

Your forefathers knew not, they heard not the word of God. Thus the devils, our great adversaries, much deluded us, the people who live on earth.

A. Behold the word of God according to which the idolaters are brought to shame: *Incommunicabile nomen lapidibus et lignis imposuerunt.* Sapientiae, 14. That is, "So were the worshippers of idols led into error that they gave the name of God to stone and wood; they worshipped stone and wood as idols. The [name] God is only of Him Himself, God the creator, through whom all live."

And the idolators, blinded, called by name the stone, saying, "For thou art my god." To wood they said, "For thou art my god, thou are my lord."

Also for this were the worshippers of idols to be abhorred —that they placed the name of God, Him by Whose grace we live, on men and on women, mortals, who were corrupt, who lived evilly and were of evil hearts.

These are great sins of idolatry, the deeds of your fathers, your grandparents, the ancients. Behold their madness.

B. These, the ancients, worshipped an idol [called] Quetzalcoatl, who was ruler at Tula. And you named him Topiltzin.

He was a man. He was mortal, for he died; for his body corrupted. He is no god.

And though a man of saintly life, who performed penances, he was not to be worshipped as a god. The things which he did [which were] like miracles, we know he did

tzitzquiloia: in ipam imilhujuh, tepeticpac mjctiloia, mjequintin pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti, in iehoantin yn ontecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: no yoan temoloia, patiutiloia: mjtooaia, ca iehoantin vel tlaçonextlaoalti.

Jnjn ca cenca vey, yoan cenca temamauhti tlatlaculli, in qujchioaia in veuetque, yn jmpampa diablome, in tzitzitzimj, in culeleti: in iehoan tlaloque, momotia ca iehoanti qujtemaca, in qujaujtl: yoan in isqujch tonacaiutl:

ic cenca omotlapololtique in veuetque, yoan cenca, oqujmoiolitlacalhuique yn dios: ca çā vel izeltzin techmomaqujlia, in tisqujchti cemanaoac titlaca in iehoatl, qujavitl, ynjc muchioa yn isqujch tonacajutl:

ca iuhca in teutlatolli, izcatquj. Dabo vobis pluujas, temporibus sujs, et terra germjnabjt germen suum: et pomjs arbores replebuntur. leujtici. 26.

Motlatoltia in totecujo dios, qujmitalhuja. Namechnomaqujliz in qujavitl, in cecexiuhtica, in imonecian (intla uel anqujmonemiliztizque notenaoatil, intlacatle tlateutoqujliztli, anqujchioazque), auh in tlalticpactli notencopa tlaxoaltiz, tlatlaaquillotiz: auh in xochiqualquaujtl, notencopa cenca moxochiquallotiz, cenca tlaaquiz.

Jn amoculhoan, amo qujmattiaque, atle oqujcactiaque, in teutlatolli: ic cenca in ca amocacaiauhque in diablome, in vel toiaoan, in tlalticpac titlaca.

A. Jzcatquj in iuhca teutlatolli, ynic pinauhtilo in tlateutocanjme. Jncōmunjcabile, nomen lapidibus, et lignis inposuerunt: Sapientie 14, q. n. Jn tlateutocanjme ynjc cenca omotlapololtique, in teutocaitl, ytech oqujtlalique, in tetl yoan in quavitl: qujteutocaque in tetl, yoā in quavitl: in teotl çan vel izeltzin yneixcaujlaxcatzin, in dios in teiocuianj, yn jpalnemoanj.

Auh yn jxpopoiome, in tlateutocanjme, qujtocaiotique in tetl, qujlhujque: ca tinoteouh, qujlhujque, in quaujtl, ca tinoteouh, tinotlatocauh.

No yoan in cēca tlaelittalonj, in tlateutocanjme: yn jtocatzin dios ipalnemoanj, intech oqujtlalique, yn oqujchti, yn cioa: in miqujnj, in palanjnj, yn amo qualli innemiliz, yn amo qualli iniollo.

Jnjn ca tetzauhtlatlaculli, in tlateutoqujliztli, yn jntlachioal yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in veuetque: izcatquj yn jnnetlapololtiliz.

B. Jn iehoantin in veuetque, oqujteutocaque in quetzalcoatl, in tollan tlatoanj catca: yoan anqujtocaiotiaia, Topiltzin.

Jnin ca maceoalli, ca mjqujni ca omjc, ca opalan yn jnacaio, ca amo teutl:

auh maciuj in iecnemjlize in tlamaceoaia, ca amo qujmoteutizquja: in tlein oqujchiuh, iuhqujnma tlamauiçolli, ticmati ca çan tlacateculotlatoltica oqujchiuh: ca

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only through the command of the devil. He is a friend of devils. Therefore he must needs be accursed and abominated; for our Lord God hath caused him to be thrust into the land of the dead.

The ancients held that Quetzalcoatl went to Tlapallan; [that] yet he will return. He is still expected. This is not true; it is falsehood. For his body died; here on earth it became dust, it became filth. And his soul our Lord God damned and caused to be thrown into the land of the dead. In that place it is. It will forever suffer in the flames.

C. Behold another madness of your forefathers. For they worshipped as a god a devil representing a woman, named Ciuacoatl.

When she appeared she took the form of a woman. She frightened and terrified people. Of her it was supposed that she gave poverty and misery—the digging-stick, the tump-line—and grief.

Wherefore they celebrated a feast-day. They made offerings and slew victims before her, that her anger and ill will might not fall [upon them].

Such deeds of your forefathers were very great madness. They knew not that only He alone, He by Whom we live, our Lord God, watcheth over and defendeth us. And he who believeth and hath faith in God will suffer no ill from the devil.

For so is the word of God: *Quoniam in me sperabit, liberabo eum, protegam eum; quoniam cognovit nomen meum, clamabit ad me, et ego exaudiam eum, cum ipso sum in tribulatione, eripiam eum et glorificabo eum.* Ps. XC.

That is: [thus] saith God: "He who will believe and have faith in Me, him shall I favor and aid, to him shall I turn. For he knew My name. He will call to Me, and I shall hear him with favor. I shall comfort him when he is in anguish. I shall deliver him and aid him."

For it is plain that only our Lord God Himself aideth and defendeth us. And it is necessary only to call and supplicate Him Himself when anything afflicteth us.

D. In many other ways the devils deluded the ancients, making them believe in the demons of the air. For they believed in certain goddesses, and for their sake celebrated feast days and laid offerings and slew sacrificial victims before them.

One [of these] was named Chicome coatl. It was thought that she made our sustenance and every means of life of the common people.

A second [one was] Teteo innan, or Tlalli yiollo; and she was also known as Toci. The ancients held that this one gave birth to the gods, whence came men on earth. Hence they named her Toci (our grandmother). This Teteo innan the physicians served, the leeches, those who

imjcniuh in tlatlacateculo, ic monequj telchioaloz, tlaelittaloz: ca mjctlan oqujmotlaxili in totecujo dios:

qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca tlapallan ia in quetzalcoatl, oc vallaz oc chielo: injn ca amo nelli, ca iztlacatlatolli: ca omjc yn jnacaio, nican tlalticpac otlaltic, otlaçoltic: auh yn janjma, oqujmotlatzontequjlili yn totecujo dios, mjctlan qujmotlaxili, vmpa ca, cemjcac tleco tlaihiiouiz.

C. Jzcatquj, yn oc centlamantli ynnetlapololtiliz yn amoculhoan, ca oqujmoteutique in diablo, yn ipã mixeoa cioatl, yn jtoca cioacoatl.

Jnjn yn iquac motenestiliaia, iuhq'nma cioatl, ynjc necia: teiçaviaia, tlamauhtiaia, ytech tlamjloia, injc iehoatl qujtemacaia, in netolinjliztli, yn jcnoiutl, in victli in mecapalli, in choquiztli.

Auh yn ipampa hi, qujlhujqujxtiliaia: ixpan tlamanaia, ixpan tlamjctiaia, ynjc amo ipan vechoaz in iqualan, yn jtlauel.

Jnin iuh qujchiuhtinenca, yn amoculhoan, cenca vei netlapololtiliztli: amo qujmatia, ca çan vel izeltzin in ipalnemoanj totecujo dios, motepielia, motemanavilia: auh in diablo, njman aquen qujnchioaz yn itlaneltocacaoan in dios, yn jtetzinco motemachia,

ca iuhca yn teutlatolli. Quonjam in me sperabit, liberabo eum, potegam eum: quonjam cognoujt nomen meum: clamabit ad me, et ego exaudiam eum, cum ipso sum in tribulatione eripiam eum, et glorificabo eum. psal. 90.

qujtoznequj: Motlatoltia yn dios. Jn aquin nechneltocaz, yoan notechmotemachiz, njcpaleuiz, ipan njnilacatzoz: ipampa ca oqujxima, in notocatzin: nechmotzatzililiz, nictlavelcaqujliz, niciollaliz, yn iquac motequipachoz, njcmaqujxtiz, nicpaleuiz.

Jnjn ca vel ic neci, ca çan izeltzin totecujo dios, motepaleujlianj, motemanavilianj: auh ca monequj, çan vel izeltzin notzaloz, tlatlauhtiloz; in iquac itla techtequjpachoa.

D. Oc miec tlamantli, ynic in ca mocacaiauhque in veuetque in diablome, in tzitzitzimj, oqujntlaneltoqujtique: ca cequjntin cioateteu inpan qujnmatia: auh yn jpampa y, qujmilhujqujxtiliaia, yoan ymjxpan tlamanaia, yoan tlamjctiaia.

Ce ytoca chicume coatl: in iehoatl in, itech tlamjloia, in tonacaiutl, in çaço tlein, ȳnenca injulca in maceoalti:

ynic vme teteu innan, anoço tlalli yiollo, no yoan moteneoaia toci: qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca in iehoatl i, oquintlacatili in teteu: ca neci in tlalticpac tlaca, ipampa in moteneoa toci. Jn iehoatl teteu inna, qujtlaiecultiaia in titici, in teitzminque, yn tetlanoqujlique, teispatique; auh

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purged people, the eye-doctors; and the women—midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of maize, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth and the eyes.

in cioa, in temjxiujtianj, tepillalilianj, tetlatlaxilianj, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaulchaiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixocujlanque.

Also those who had sweat-houses prayed to her. Because of this, they set up her image in the front of the sweat-houses, and called her the grandmother of the sweat-houses.

No qujtlatlauhtiaia in temazcaleque: ipampa y, qujtlalia yn ixiptla, yn ixquac in temazcalli: yoan qujtocaiotiaia, temazcalteci.

And all of these observed her feast day each year, [and] laid offerings before her, [and] slew men before her.

Auh yn jsqujchtin hi, qujlhujqujxtiliaia, cecexiujtl, ispan tlamanaia, ispan tlamjctiaia.

E. Another woman [whom] they adored as a goddess was named Tzapotla tenan.

E. Oc no ce cioatl, qujmoteutiaia itoca tzaputla tena:

By her was made the turpentine unguent. And they said that in truth she healed itch of the head; those with hoarseness applied [the unguent] to the throat; [it was used by] those with a scurf on the head, with mange of the head, with cracks on the feet or the lips, with dry scabs on the face, with cracks in the skin of the legs. And one applied it to [sores raised by] ticks.[180]

itech tlamiloia in vxitl, yoan qujtoaia ca qujnpaleujaia in quaxocociuj, in tozcamjiaoaciuj, qujntozcavxiuja, in chaquachiuj, in quaçaoati, in xutzaianj, in tentzaianj, yn isteteçonauj, yn jcxitzaianj: yoan in qualocatl, intech motlalia, in tlaxcaliciuiztli.

The turpentine unguent or liquid turpentine was used for many purposes. Thus said the ancients. But they only lied; they thus only led men into error.

Jn vxitl, yn anoçe vxiatl, vel mjeccan moneq', ynjn iuh qujtotiaque in veuetque, ca çã oiztlacatiaque, çan ic teca omocacaiauhque.

And when her feast day was celebrated, the turpentine unguent merchants bought and slew a slave. They made an image [of Tzapotla tenan] in dough made of amaranth seed and maize.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujstililoia, in vxinamacaque, motlacacoujaia, tlacamictiaia, qujtzoallotiaia in jxiptla:

[In] many other ways, in like manner, they paid honor to this Tzapotla tenan.

oc mjec tlamantli, ynjc qujmauiztiliaia y, in iehoatl tzaputla tena.

F. Another goddess whom your forefathers worshipped was named Chalchiuhtli icue.

F. Oc no ce ciuateutl, oqujmoteutitiaque in amoculhoan, yn jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue:

They said she belonged among the Tlalocs, as their elder sister. It was said that she cast people into the water; she drowned them and sank them in the water. Hence she greatly terrified [people] and was feared.

qujtoaia, invam pouj, inveltiuh in tlaloque: qujlmach teatoctiaia, teatlanmjctiaia, tepolactiaia: ic cenca tlamauhtiaia ymacaxoia.

The water-carriers and men who sailed boats celebrated her feast day. And before her they laid offerings and slew men. [With] many such acts they thus paid honor to her, in vain, only because of their madness.

Qujlhujqujstiliaia yn anamacaque, yoan atlaca: yoã ixpan tlamanaia yoan tlamictiaia: mjec tlamantli ynjc qujmauiztiliaia, in çan nen, in çan in netlapololtilizpã.

Still other evil women your fathers and forefathers worshipped as goddesses. [One] was named Tlaçolteutl. By her were brought to pass vice and sin.

Oc no cequjntin, in cioatlaueliloque in qujnteutocatiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, yn itoca tlaçulteutl: ytech tlamjloia, in teuhtli, in tlaçulli:

It was said that there were four women. The first was named Tiacapan; the second was named Teicui; the third was named Tlaco; the fourth was named Xocotzin.

qujl naujntin eoa cioa: injc ce, ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, itoca teicui, inic ey, itoca tlacu, ynic nauj ytoca xocutzi.

130. *Cf.* p. 5. A passage in Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 101) may clarify: ". . . *algunos curan esto con la penca del maguey cortando un pedazo a manera de parche, y poniéndola en el nacido, y abriéndola por medio para que queda descubierta la boca del nacido, y tomar un poco de* óxitl *y ponerlo en la propia boca del nacido, de suerte que poniendo fuego sobre el* óxitl *quede quemado el nacido . . . . su comida del enfermo serán tortillas tostadas. . . .*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 7) translates *tlaxcalicivi* as "*Maisfladenkrankheit.*"

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These four women were looked upon as god[desses]. They were called Tlaçolteteu (goddesses of filth).

From the names of these goddesses of filth your young girls have taken their names—some have been named Tiacapan, some Teicui, some Tlaco, others Xocotzin.

This is idolatry. It must cease and be abominated.

Your fathers and grandfathers worshipped these evil women, and before them they slew men and offered gifts.

Jn iehoan hi, in navinti cioa impam machoia teteu: in iehoantin y motocaiotia tlaçulteteu:

yn intechin yn intoca, in tlaçulteteu, qujcuj yn jntoca yn amochpuchoan cequjntin qujmotocaiotia, tiacapan, cequjntin teicuj, cequjntin tlacu, cequjnti xucutzin.

Jnjn ca tlateutoqujliztli, ca monequj caoaloz, tlaelittaloz: in iehoantin in in naujanjme, qujnmoteutitiaque yn amotahoan, yn amoculhoan: yoan ymjxpan tlamjctiaia, ymixpan tlamanaia.

G. The devil blinded the ancient people with another similar folly, which he caused them to believe.

Women who died in childbirth, they said, became goddesses. They named them Ciuateteu and Ciuapipilti.

Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth].

They said thus: "Indeed, they have met and contended with the Ciuapipilti."

Therefore they greatly revered and worshipped them. At houses which were at crossroads they set out gifts before them.

[When] they celebrated their feast-day they thus offered many things to them on this day.

This which your forefathers did, in worshipping many women, was foolish and laughable, and brought great shame upon them.

This, verily, all the word of God refutes well.

G. Oc no centlamantli, netlapololtiliztli ic oqujmixpupuiotili in diablo in veuetque, oqujntlaneltoqujti:

in iehoantin in mocioaquetzque, qujtoaia moteucuepa, qujntocaiotique, cioateteu, cioapipilti.

Jntech tlamiloia, qujlmach tetlaueliaia, teca mocacaiaoaia, injc aca itech qujneoaia, in tlavelilocatia, tennecujliuja, isnecujliuja, matziculiujaia, icxicupichauja: icximjmjquja, momacuecuetzaia, tēqualacqujçaia:

ic mjtoaia ca omotenamjcti, ipan oquizque in cioapipilti:

in ipampa hi cenca imacaxoia, neteutiloia, in chachan in vmaxac, imixpan tlamanaloia:

ilhujqujxtililoia, mjec tlamantli ic qujntlamanjliaia, yn imjlhujuh ipan.

Jnjn in qujchiuhtiaque, yn amoculhoan, injc q'nmoteutiaia, mjequjnti cioa, vel tetlapololti, yoan teuetzqujti, cenca ic omopinauhtique:

injn ca uel qujtlauelnamjquj yn isqujch teutlatolli.

A. The ancients worshipped many other gods whom they did not consider so great as those [already] mentioned.

And one of these, the fire, was worshipped everywhere as a god. They named him Xiuhtecutli. And they also named him Ixcoçauhqui, and also Cueçaltzin, and Ueueteotl, and Tota.

He was thought a god, considering that he burned one, he consumed one, he scorched the fields. And many other things were his office.

The feast day of this Xiuhtecutli was observed in [the month of] Izcalli. And before him men were slain, gifts were laid; before him all danced. And many more things they did, in order to pay honor to this Ixcoçauhqui. This your forefathers, the ancient ones, did.

Thus is shown their arrant blindness. For they worshipped as a god that which seeth not, nor heareth, nor liveth; which is only a creature of God—a gift which He made that it might serve us. Hence it is meet to honor, praise, and serve our Lord God [for those things] which He hath given unto us.

A. Oc no mjequjnti teteu, oqujnmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn amo qujnneneujlia yn omoteneuhque:

auh ceme iehoan in, in iehoatl in tletl, in vel noujian neteutiloc, oqujtocaiotique xiuhtecutli, no yoā oqujtocaiotique iscuçauhquj, no yoan cueçaltzin, yoan veueteutl, yoan tota:

Jnin teutl ipan machoia, iehica ca tetlatia, tepaloa, techichinoa: yoan oc cequj miec tlamantli itequjo.

Jnjn xiuhtecutli ilhujqujstililoia yn ipan izcalli: yoā yispan tlamictiloia, tlamanaloia, ispan netotiloia. Auh oc cequj mjec tlamātli, muchioaia, ipampa yn jmauiztililoca, in iscuçauhquj: ynjn yn iuh quichiuhtinenca, yn amoculhoan, in veuetque:

ic vel neci ca cenca vey, yn jmjxpupuiotiliz: ca qujmoteutiaia yn amo tlachia, yn amo tlacaquj, yn amo iuli, in çan itlachioaltzin dios: tonemac omuchiuh ynjc techtlaiecultiz: ypampa iehoatl monequj mauiztililoz, iecteneoaloz, tlaiecultiloz, yn otechmomaqujlitzino in totecujo dios.

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B. Another devil whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god, they named Ixtlilton, Xochipilli.[131]

And they said that when people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [Xochipilli] would visit them with haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, and piles, whereupon they would make vows to him in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

Wherefore [when] they observed his feast-day, they went into mourning for him and offered him gifts.

This was a great folly of the ancient ones, this which they did on his account. For they kept not, they knew not, the commandments of God.

And now, know well that only He alone, the true God, heareth you, and giveth you life. There is no other.

When pain or affliction befall one, he may pray to, he may seek only Him alone, according to the commandment of God, as hath been said above.

B. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque, in qujtocaiotique istlilton, yoan xuchipilli:

ynjn qujtoaia, yn jquac neçavililoia: intla aca toq'chti ipan cioacuchiz, anoço cioatl ipan oquichcuchiz, qujtoaia, qujtlaçolmjctiaia yn ineçaoaliz:

ic tetech qujtlaliaia, in suchiciuiztli, in menexoaliztli, in tlapalanaltiliztli, in quexiliujliztli. Jn ipampa hi, yujc nenetoltiloia, ynic qujceuiz, ynjc qujquaniz in cuculiztli:

ipampa qujlhujq'xtiliaia, qujneçaujliaia, qujtlamanjliaia.

Jnjn ca vey, yn innetlapololtiliz in veuetque, yn ipampa iuhquj qujchiuhtinenca: ca atle qujpiaia, atle qujmatia, in teutlatolli.

Auh in axcan, ma uel xicmatican, çan vel izeltin, izel teutl dios, motepatilianj, moteiolitilianj, aiac oc ce:

in jquac itla topan muchioa, in tecoco, in tetolinj, çan vel izeltzin, tlatlauhtiloz, temuloz, iuhca in teutlatolli, in tlacpac omjto.

C. Yet another devil whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god was named Omacatl.

For they said that this one first devised invitations, feasts, gatherings of families.

To one's house was brought, and there honored, he who was his likeness.

Yet many more things your forefathers said and ascribed to him in their childishness, their puerility, which [were] lies, laughable and scarcely to be believed.

Likewise one Ixtlilton or Tlatetecuin, was a god of the ancient ones.

There was his black water. Also it was said that it was his office to "tap" or taste it. Many other things were ascribed to him and many pastimes were enjoyed [when] they brought [the impersonator of] Ixtlilton to their houses.

Thus it appeareth that the ancient ones are deserving of tears, of reproaches moving them to tears, because verily they believed childish and infantile things which are not to be believed.

C. Oc no ce diablo qujmoteutiaia in veuetque, yn itoca omacatl,

in qujtoaia ca iehoatl ymactia in covaiutl, in tecoanotzaliztli, yn jnnecentlaliliz in tevaniolque:

techan vicoia, vmpa mauiztililoia in ixiptla:

oc cenca miec tlamantli, itech oqujtotiaque, ytech oqujtlamjtiaque, in amoculhoã, in cucuneiutl, in pipillutl, in iztlacatlatolli: in teuetzqujti, in njman amo neltoconj.

Çan no iehoatl istlilton, anoço tlaltetecujn, inteouh catca in veuetque:

vncatca yn jtlilauh: no yoan qujlmach itequjuh, tlaiacaxaputlaia, vitzmanaia: oc no mjec tlamantli, itech tlamjloia: yoan mjec tlamantli, neaviltiliztli, in qujchioaia, yn jnchã, qujvicaia, yn istlilton;

ic neci ca cenca techoctique, vel tetozqujtenque, in vevetque: iehica ca qujneltocaia, yn amo neltoconj, in cucunejutl, im pipillutl.

D. One more devil who was a god of the ancients was named Opochtli.

They said he was god of them who sailed boats. Thus they said that from him came the net, the dart-thrower, the trident, the boating-pole, the rope for snaring.

And when his feast day was celebrated, many were the gifts which they laid before him. And many were the things which they did before him, these seafarers whom the devil thus deluded. Thus did they greatly offend God, our Lord.

The ancient ones worshipped as a god another devil, named Totec or Xipe.

It was said that his office was to wound men with blisters,

D. Oc no ce diablo inteouh catca in veuetque, yn jtoca opuchtli:

qujtoque ca inteouh, yn atlaca, iuh qujtoaia ca iehoatl itlatzintil, in matlatl, yn atlatl, in mjnacachalli, ỹ aujctli, in tzonvaztli.

Auh yn iquac ilhujqujstililoia, miec tlamantli in ventli, in jspan qujmanaia: yoan oc mjec tlamãtli ixpan qujchioaia, yn atlaca, in iuh qujmiztlacauj in diablo: ic cenca oqujmoiolitlacalhujque in totecujo dios.

Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn jtoca totec, anoço xipe:

qujl itequjuh catca, ic temotlaia in totomonjliztli, papa-

131. The incorrect pairing of Ixtlilton and Xochipilli is in the Aztec text. The Spanish text is correct.

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sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, maladies causing watery eyes, infected eyelashes, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes cataracts, glazing of the eyes.

Whosoever was visited with these sicknesses [among] us men, for that reason, it was said, he made a vow that he would wear the skin of Totec.

This was great folly, great blindness which your forefathers left to you. Alas for them, woe even to them, if perchance now they think upon it.

E. Another demon whom the ancient ones worshipped as a god was called Yiacatecutli and Iacaculiuhqui. It was said that he was the god of the merchants. Each year the merchants observed his feast-day.

They slew many slaves before him; and in many other ways they thus paid him honor.

Alas for those who devised this; even greater woe to them if even yet they think upon it.

F. Yet another devil whom the old people worshipped as a god was named Nappa tecutli. It is said that he was god of those who made mats and those who made [a kind of] frame of reeds.

Likewise they said that this one caused the growth of the reeds used for plaiting mats, the white reeds, the thick round reeds, etc.

And once yearly the mat-makers, the makers of mats of thick reeds, celebrated his feast-day. And when his feast-day came, his old men performed many foolish things.

Woe unto them who thus brought these thing to pass. Twenty score times woe to any who may even yet think upon it. For the devil will carry off their souls.

G. Another demon whom the ancients worshipped as a god was named Tezcatzoncatl. It was said that he made the wine; it was said that it was of his invention.

His many friends [were] demons like him. And also this same wine was their office as well.

All, in truth, were worshipped as gods; their feast-days were celebrated; service was given them because of their wickedness—for they cast men from crags, they strangled and slew them.

These makers of wine did many other things, wherefore [men] served them.

Woe unto them that thus lived; even greater woe, if some even now thus persist in doing this. For the devil will carry off their souls.

A. There was another folly to which your forefathers bore witness. For they considered mountains to be gods; wherefore they fashioned [figures to represent] the mountains.

lanjliztli, çaçaoatiliztli, iscocoliztli, ischichitinaliztli, istenpipixqujliztli, istamaçoliciuiztli, isaiauhpachiujliztli, istotoliciuiztli, istezcaiciuiztli:

in aq'n ipan muchioaia yn, in cocoliztli toqujchtin, iujcpa mjtoaia, monetoltiaia, ynjc vmmaquiz yeoaio totec.

Jnjn ca vei netlapololtiliztli, vey ispupuiotiliztli, yn amotech qujcauhtiaque, yn amoculhoan: ointlaveliltic, oc cēca ointlaueliltic, yn axcan, yn açoc qujlnamiquj.

E. Oc no ce diablo, oqujmoteutitiaque yn veuetque, yn jtoca yiacatecutli, yoan iacaculiuhquj: qujl inteouh in puchteca, cecexiuhtica, qujlhujquistiliaia, in puchteca:

mjequjntin tlatlacuti, ispan qujmjctiaia: yoan mjec tlamantli, ynjc qujmaviztiliaia,

ointlaueliltic, in iehoantin, in qujiocuxtiaque hi, oc cenca ointlaveliltic, yn noma qujlnamjquj.

F. Oc no ce diablo oqujmoteutitiaque, in veuetque, yn itoca nappa tecutli: qujl ynteouh in petlachiuhque, yoan in tlacuechiuhque.

No qujtoaia ca iehoatl, qujxoaltiaia, in petlatolin, yn aztapili, yn tolmjmjlli, etc.

Auh cexiuhtica qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in petlachiuhque, in tolcuechiuhque, in tlacuechiuhque: auh yn iquac ynilhujuh quiçaia, yn iehoantin yn jveueiovan, cenca mjec tlamantli tlavelilocaiutl, qujchioaia.

O cel intlaveliltic, yn iuh qujchiuhtiaque hi: o centzompa yn tlaveliltic intla cequjnti noma qujlnamiquj, ca diablo qujnvicaz yn jmanjma.

G. Oc no ce diablo, qujmoteutitiaque in veuetque, yn jtoca catca tezcatzoncatl: qujl qujchiuh yn vctli, qujl itlanextil,

oc no mjequjnti yn jcnioan, yn jtlacateculopoa: çan no iehoatl yn vctli yn intequjuh catca.

Ca muchinti neteutiloia, ilhujqujstililoia, tlaiecultiloia, ypampa yn jntlavelilocaio, ynjc tetepexiujaia, tequechmecanjaia, temjctiaia:

oc cenca iehoanti yn tlachicque, mjec tlamantli, qujchioaia ynjc qujntlaiecultiaia.

ointlaueliltic yn juh qujchiuhtinenca, oc cenca ointlaveliltic, intla cequjntin noma iuh qujchiuhtinemj, yn anoço qujlnamjctinemj: ca diablo qujnvicaz yn jmanjma.

A. Oc no centlamantli netlapololtiliztli, amotech qujcauhtiaque, yn amoculhoā: ca oqujtotiaque, in tetepe ca teteu: ipāpa quinpiquja in tetepe.

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And these images they named Tepictoton.

And for [their ills] they made vows—those with the palsy—that they would make these images, etc.

And when they had made these images, then they laid offerings before them, they sang before them, they did many things in their presence. Thus they paid them honor.

Greatly were they in error, they who offered offerings to those who were only besotted.

And indeed [the observance] is not now completely uprooted; even now some pay their debts [to them] on mountain tops.[182]

And this is a mortal sin, a great offence to God, a great heresy. It is an abominable sin.

B. Behold also how the ancient ones paid honors to the mountains. They called them Tepicme: [they said they were] like men. Hence they placed masks upon them.

And this the *tlamacazque,* the priests of the Tlalocs, did.

And when they made these, the common men, those who had made vows, laid offerings before them; they ate, drank, and danced in their presence.

And when their feast-day came, they cut up and divided the Tepicme, and they ate them. This your forefathers did. It was childish; it was puerile.

C. Your forefathers did many other foolish things. And your fathers and grandfathers worshipped more gods, without number, whom no one may well record, and many who will never be numbered.

* * *

Let him who understandeth read this well.

Whosoever thou art who readest the words set forth above, which have been written, look thou well.

Understand well, for my command is made in the presence of God, that thou shalt tell if thou knowest if any practise or if anywhere is practised that which is said to be idolatry.

Then shalt thou place [what thou knowest] before the justice of the Holy Church; [before] the priests; or else the justice of the Royal *Audiencia,* [before] the *alguaciles;* or better [before] the *padres;* not only in the confessional but verily in court.

And thou shalt tell this speedily; thou shalt not delay, neither shalt thou have fear.

Thou shalt place before the priest whatsoever thou hast seen and whatsoever thou hast heard.

Whosoever know or witness the worship of idols, if they wish not to tell of it, if they wish not to lay it before the

Auh yn jmixiptlavan, qujntocaiotiaia tepictoton:

yoan ynvic monetoltiaia, in coaciuja, ynjc tepiquizque, etc.

Auh yn oqujnpicque, njman imixpan tlamanaia, ymjxpan cujcujcaia, mjec tlamantli, ymjxpan qujchioaia; ynjc qujnmaviztiliaia:

vel motlapololtiaia in maca çan tlavancapupul.

Auh yn axcan ca aiamo cempoliuj, noma cequjnti, moxtlaoa tepeticpac:

auh ynjn ca vei tlatlaculli, vey yiolitlaculoca yn dios, vey eregia, ca tetzauhtlatlaculli.

B. Jzcatquj no qujchioaia, yn veuetque, ynjc qujnmauiztiliaia in tetepe: qujnchioaia tepicme, iuhqujnma titlaca, ynjc qujnxaiacatiaia:

auh ynjn, iehoantin qujchioaia, in tlamacazque, yn jntlamacazcaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn jquac ie oqujnchiuhque: in iehoantin in maceoalti, yn netoleque ymixpan tlamanaia, ymjxpan tlaquaia, atlia, mjtotiaia.

Auh yn jquac oquiz ilhujtl, qujnmococotinjaia yn tepicme: yoan qujnquaia. Ynjn iuh qujchioaia, yn amoculhoã ca cocunejutl, ca pipillutl.

C. Oc no mjec tlamantli, netlapololtiliztli oqujchiuhtiaque, yn amoculhoan: yoan oc cenca mjequjnti, yn amo çan tlapoalti in teteu in oqujnmoteutique, in amotahoan, yn amoculhoan, in aiac vel qujcujloz: yoan in anoiac vel qujnpoaz, ynjc cenca mjequjnti.

* * *

Ma uel qujcaquj, in qujpoaz hi.

In ac tehoatl, in ticpoaz in, in tlatolli in tlacpac omjto, yn omjcujlo, cencatle ticmati:

vel xicmati, ca monahoatil muchiuhtica, yn jspantzinco in dios, injc titlatoz, intla ticmati, intla aca qujchiuhtinemj, anoço canapa muchiva, yn omjto tlateutoqujliztli:

njman tiqujspantiliz, yn jiusticia in sancta yglesia, in teupisque: yn anoço yiusticia in audientia real: in topileque, oc cenca iehoantin in padreme: amo çan neiolmelaoalizpan, vel neteilhujlizpan.

Auh ynjn iciuhca tiqujtoz: amo ticvecaoaz, amono timomauhtiz:

vel tiqujspantiliz in teupisquj, yn juh otiqujttac, yn juh oticcac.

Jn aqujque yntla qujmati, intla oqujttaque, in tlateutoqujliztli, yn amo qujtoznequj, yn amo qujspantiliznequj: in

132. Corresponding Spanish text is interesting because a date establishes the time when Sahagún must have worked on the Appendix to Book I: *"y esto aun no a cesado, que este año pasado, de 1569, yendo vnos religiosos . . . sobre la sierra de toluca . . . hallaron . . . vn sacrificio . . . muy reziente, de cinco, o seys dias antes hecho. . . ."*

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priest, they are idolaters, they are devils; [they are] enemies of our Lord God.

* * *

Behold the words of sorrow and pity which [the author] setteth on paper; how he crieth out, how he prayeth for [the idolaters] to God. Thus he speaketh.

* * *

Alas, my heart weepeth exceedingly; tears fill my eyes. My tears fall like hailstones as I think upon the multitude of lies by which the people here in New Spain were led into error.

[This has been,] not for only four hundred years, not for only eight hundred years; it has been for much time in the past.

Alas, my heart suffereth much—it is as if my heart burneth—when I think upon how great is the hatred of the *tzitzimitl* (demon of the air) and of Satan.

So much he hateth men on earth. For easily, as he willeth, he bringeth us sons of Adam to our ruin; we have been humbled and degraded.

This he hath brought to pass through lies, delusions, and treachery.

Alas, O Lord God, when I think upon Thy commandments, upon the sternness of Thy divine judgments, much am I afraid, greatly do I marvel.

For, O Lord God, all this time Satan hath led the people of New Spain into error. Why hast Thou not known these things?

For he hath spewed over them his lies without number, his error and darkness.

It is thus that they, over whom Satan reigned, have offended Thee.

And he hath brought much ill fame and shame to all of us men on earth.

And even I am greatly moved on their account, that Satan hath thus wrought.

Wherefore I humbly pray to Thee for them, our Lord, that Thou mayest cause Satan to be chained, imprisoned, that he may nevermore thus act.

And also, I pray to Thee, for them, that Thou shalt offer men here [in New Spain] Thy grace, Thy great light, [the like of] which hath not been, because of surpassing sin and darkness.

teupisquj: ca tlateutocanjme, ca diablome, *yiauoan* in totecujo dios.

* * *

Jzca in ichoqujztlatol, yn jtlaocullatol, in amatl oqujtlali: inic cenca tzatzi, in qujmotlatlauhtilia dios, qujtoa.

* * *

Iioiave, cenca chocan noiollo, vel njxaio njxtlan moteteca: iuhqujn teciujtl pixavi njxaio, ynjc niqujlnamjquj, ca cenca mjec tlamantli, iztlacatlatolli, ynjc iztlacaviloque, in nican nueua españa tlaca:

ca amo çan centzonxiujtl, ca amo çan vntzonxiujtl, ca cenca ie uecauh.

Jioiaue, cenca noiollo toneoa, vel iuhqujn tlatla noiollo: injc niqujlnamjctimotlalia, yn quenjn cenca vei, yn jtecuculiliz in tzitzimjtl, in satanas:

injc techcuculia, yn tlalticpac titlaca: iehica vel yiollocopa, vel ixqujch ytlapal qujchioa, ynjc qujtemotinemj, yn topoliujliz, in totlanjtlaçaloca, yn totelchioaloca, yn tipilhoā Adan:

injn ca teiztlacaujliztica, teca necaiavaliztica, teichtacamjctiliztica, yn iuh qujchiuhtinemj.

Jioiaue, totecujoe, diose, yn jquac niqujztimotlalia, in motlatlaliltzin, yn vuj moteutetlatzontequjlilitzi: ca cenca ninomauhtia, cenca njniçavia:

totecujoe, diose, yn jsqujch cavitl, in o ic in ca mocacaiauhtinê, in satanas, in nueua españa tlaca: tleica, yn amo tiqujnmocujtitzino?

ca cenca mjiec yn jiztlac, yn jtenqualac, in tlaioalli, in jmpāc oqujçotlac:

injn ca ic omitzmoiolitlacalujtzino, ic mocpactzinco onē yn satanas:

auh in timuchinti in cemanaoac titlaca, cenca otechaujlqujxti, cenca otechpinauhti.

Auh in nehoatl, ca cenca njqualanj, yn ipampa injc oiuh qujchiuh in satanas:

ic cenca nimitznotlatlauhtilia totecujoe: ma xicmolpili ma xicmocaltzacujli, in satanas, injc aoqujc oc cepa iuhquj qujchioaz.

Auh no cenca ic nimitznotlatlauhtilia, ynjc tiqujnmomaqujliz, yn njcan tlaca, yn mograciatzin, tiqujnmomaqujliz, in vei moteutlanetzin, yn amo machiuhquj catca, in tlatlaculli, in tlaioalli, çan oc cenca ic tlapanauiz.

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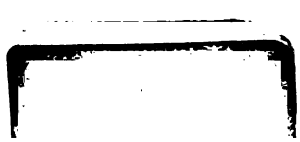

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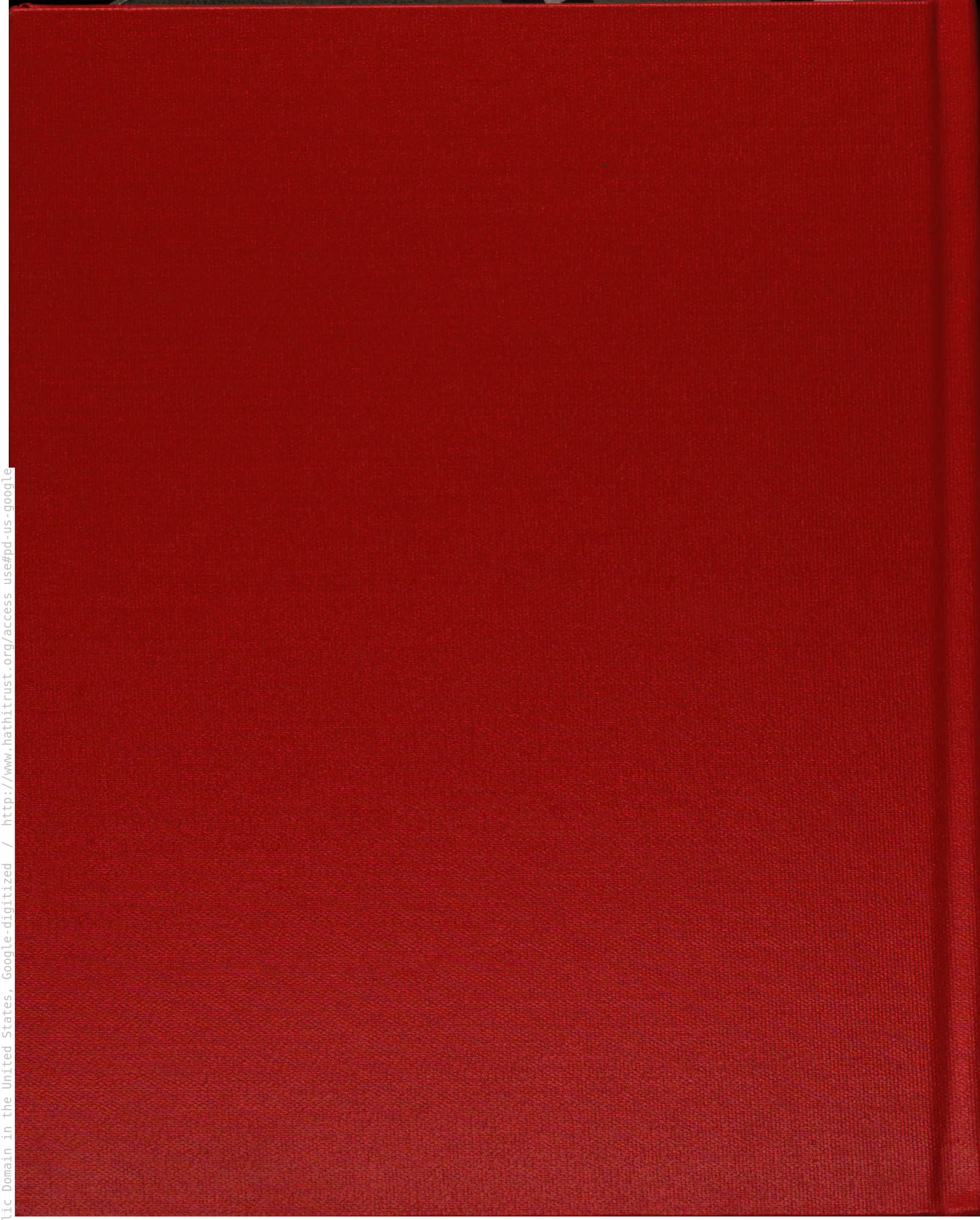

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RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

The great diversity of religious beliefs and practices precludes the presentation here of an all embracing picture of South American religions. Clear understanding of the various South American cults may be gained only from an analysis of representative religious systems in the several areas; this task was achieved in the preceding volumes. The purpose of the present chapter is to examine certain basic concepts like the idea of a Supreme Being and beliefs about gods, spirits, demons, and ghosts; to describe certain religious practices like sacrifice, prayer, and shamanism; and to indicate their distribution on the continent. As far as possible, we shall present the principal similarities and differences between the more developed religions and those usually considered to be more primitive.

The difficulties of adequately summarizing the fundamental characteristics of religious life in South America are considerably increased by the poor quality of the source materials at our disposal. The picture of the Andean religions given by the ancient chroniclers is most unsatisfactory because it is both incomplete and twisted by the Catholic and classical viewpoint of our main authorities. In the rest of the continent much of our information is marred by hasty generalizations or by the accumulation of trifling and unrelated details. There are few groups whose religion may be said to be approximately well recorded, and even for those with the best documentation we have to reckon with gaps and obscurities.

THE HIGH GODS

The tradition of a Creator or Great Ancestor, who made the world and mankind and who set men on their way to civilization, is probably general throughout South America. Because of the contrast between the loftiness of this figure and the insignificance of his active part in religion, which has often been pointed out, there is a tendency to

consider him to be no more than a mythical character. Nevertheless, even though the Creator or Culture Hero usually keeps aloof from human affairs, his remoteness is less absolute than our imperfect knowledge of the Indian religious systems may lead us to suppose. Among certain tribes like the *Tupinamba* and *Guarayú* there are traces of a cult dedicated to the Creator, and a closer examination of the ceremonies of other tribes may well show that the Indians sometimes turn to him in their prayers and expect his assistance. The Great Ancestor generally is the ruler of the Land of the Dead and in this capacity is associated with funerary practices and beliefs about the afterworld (*Tembé*, *Guarayú*, etc.). The Creator often is described as a Transformer and, as a rule, he is the lawgiver and instructor of the young humanity. After he has accomplished his tasks, he wanders westward to the end of the world, where he rules over the shadows.

An Originator and Civilizer of this kind could easily become a Supreme Being or a High God; this change seems actually to have taken place in ancient Perú. The fragmentary myths about the God Viracocha—whose full name, Con-Ticci-Viracocha-pachayachachic, means something like "the ancient foundation, the lord and instructor of the world"—represent him with all the typical characteristics of a Creator-Transformer-Civilizer. According to the myths, he made the earth, the sky, the stars, and mankind; destroyed the first people by a flood and created new men; wandered across Perú establishing the social and moral order and instructing mankind in many arts; and gave men their staple food plants and taught them the secrets of cultivation. In addition, he was a great transformer who changed mountains into plains and valleys into mountains and turned men into stones. We may well surmise that these are the deeds of the original Culture Hero of the *Quechua* or some other Andean people who, in the course of time and through the speculations of priests, was elevated to the position of a Supreme Deity, greater than all the other gods, even the powerful Sun God. Viracocha was worshiped in special temples by sacrifice and prayer and was represented in anthropomorphic images. Because of his exalted position and the comparatively recent emergence of his cult, he was less popular with the multitude than were the Sun deity and other lesser gods, but his worship was well established in the 16th century, and there can be no doubt but that he was a functioning god.

Con or Coniraya, who was worshiped by the Coastal people of Perú, has been associated or compared with Viracocha. This deity, about whom few traditions have survived, was a solar god and had many attributes of a Creator, a Transformer, and a Culture Hero. Pachacamac, the god of the famous temple, may have belonged to the same category of supernaturals.

Modern *Araucanians* celebrated the cult of a Supreme Being whom they addressed as "Master of men," "Master of the land," "Father," "King Father," or "Blue (sky) King Father." He not only was the creator, the giver of life and fecundity to men, animals, and plants, but also was directly concerned with the welfare of mankind. Unfortunately, it is impossible to decide whether this conception of a High God was pre-European or came of the *Araucanians'* long contact with White people. Our knowledge about this Supreme God's cult does not go back further than 150 years. The many close analogies between *Araucanian* beliefs and customs and those of the people of Perú suggest the early existence of a figure of a Creator and Culture Hero who, in the course of years, was refashioned into a Supreme Being, probably under Christian influence.

Belief in a High God seems to have been one of the most fundamental concepts of the religion of the *Ona*, *Yahgan*, and *Alacaluf*, who are considered to be the most primitive tribes in South America. The evidence about the Fuegian Supreme Being was gathered from 1920 to 1926 by Father Gusinde and Father Koppers, both disciples of Father Wilhelm Schmidt, so that most of our information about the religion of these Indians was obtained when they had long been subject to White influence and when both the *Yahgan* and *Ona* were on the verge of extinction. Gusinde and Koppers undoubtedly are right in insisting that the Fuegian belief in a High God was independent of any Christian religious teaching, but many details and traditions concerning him may have been lost and the data gleaned at the last moment perhaps give us the illusion of a more philosophical and abstract deity than he actually was.

In the light of our present knowledge, the High God of the Fuegian tribes cannot be regarded as a deified Creator and Culture Hero, for he has few of the attributes of these mythical characters; in his nature he is closer to the Christian God than to Viracocha and other wandering Transformers and Teachers.

According to Gusinde, the *Ona*, *Yahgan*, and *Alacaluf* believed that the Supreme Being was an invisible spirit without material needs, omniscient and all powerful, who lived in the sky beyond the stars. The *Ona* called him Temáukl'; the *Yahgan*, "The Old One"; and the *Alacaluf*, Xél'ás, "The Star." The *Ona* avoided the use of his name, preferring to call him "The one who lives in the sky." When praying, the *Yahgan* said, "My father" or called him "The Good One," "The Strong One," or "The Highest One"; when they were angry they spoke of him as "The Murderer in the Sky."

The *Ona* and *Alacaluf* believed that the Supreme God was the creator of the Universe; the *Yahgan* did not specifically regard him as such, though they considered him to be the master and owner of the

world and the provider of food. He was endowed with a highly moral nature, and, since he introduced the norms of conduct, he was the custodian of morality and the dispenser of justice. Disease and death were manifestations of his wrath—hence the real or apparent resentment expressed against him when a person died. His good will was gained by living in accordance with the moral code of the tribe. The *Alacaluf* are said to have refrained from any worship because the very perfection of the High God rendered vain every attempt to change his will. The *Yahgan* prayed to him for food and health and thanked him for his favors. The *Ona* offered him morsels of food in a symbolic gesture.

The *Yahgan* High God was more alive and closer to man than was the *Ona* deity, who was somewhat pushed away in a distant and cloudy world.

The distinction between a Creator who is worshiped and, therefore, is part of the religious system and a Creator who is purely a mythological figure is more theoretical than practical. The *Guarayú* prayed to Tamoi, their Great Ancestor, and performed ceremonies in his honor. Although Nanderuvuçú, whose name means "Our Great Father" or "Our Great Grandfather," was typically an idle deity, his existence was not a matter of indifference to the *Apapocuva*, for they believed that one day, as once before, he would destroy the world. They conceived of his abode as a paradise and during the last century made several attempts to go there and live under his law.

The Noma—"Father"—of the *Witoto* is certainly a more abstract figure, who almost appears to be the product of a single brilliant and metaphysical mind. According to the *Witoto* creation myth, he was originated by the "word"; that is to say, by magico-religious formulae and by myths impregnated with magic power. He was the personification of this "word," which he in turn passed on to the first men. As a Culture Hero, he introduced all the religious ceremonies and also cannibalism. His relationship to the *Witoto* religion was not expressed in any form of direct worship, yet he was more than a theological concept, for without him the chants and ceremonies would have been without power. Unless Preuss (1921–23) has overstressed the metaphysical character of this God, he also must be regarded as an embodiment of vegetation.

Among the matrilineal *Cágaba*, the Supreme Being was a goddess whose titles are indicative of her exalted position. She was believed to be the "Mother of all human races, of the world, of animals, fruits, trees, rivers, thunders, the Milky Way, songs, dances, sacred objects, and sanctuaries." Her four sons were the ancestors of mankind. Because she was the source of all things, all ceremonies were performed

for her to see. The *Cágaba* asked her to send rain and to grant them abundant harvests.

Less information is available about Eschetewuarha, the goddess of the *Chamacoco*, and for this reason her position within the *Chamacoco* religion is more difficult to ascertain. She was believed to be married to a Great Spirit whom she controlled as she did everything else in the world. The Indians prayed to her for water, for she was the mother of the Osasero birds (the clouds).

Kumana, the great goddess of the *Yaruro*, may have been a deity of the same type as the *Cágaba* "Mother of all things," but because of the fragmentary and contradictory nature of our sources, this cannot be positively ascertained. One informant said, "Everything sprang from Kuma, and everything that the *Yaruro* do was established by her" and "the other gods and culture heroes act according to her law."

The number of High Gods in South America was certainly larger than this summary indicates, but in most cases our information is either scanty or unreliable. Both the nature and the functions of these High Gods require more detailed investigation.

Father Wilhelm Schmidt has stressed repeatedly the analogies between the Supreme God of the Tierra del Fuego Indians and the High Gods of the primitive tribes of California and eastern North America. His parallels probably are as valid as are those established between the deified Culture Heroes of the Andean people and those of Central America.

THE NOTION OF GOD, DEMON AND SPIRIT

Inca religion with its array of gods, its numerous priesthood, and complex ritualism differs vastly from the diffuse and often amorphous animism of the tropical tribes as well as from the simple theism of Tierra del Fuego. The contrast is, however, not so profound as it may appear. On the one hand, only strong animistic beliefs can explain the cults of the countless huacas or minor dieties and fetishes of ancient Perú; on the other hand, some of the nature gods of the *Inca* pantheon crop up here and there among the tribes of the forests.

Throughout South America natural objects and phenomena are personified or are believed to be the abodes or manifestations of supernatural beings. There is, nevertheless, considerable variation in the degree of individualization of these spirits, in their functions, and in the nature of their relationship with people.

In Perú the heavenly bodies, the natural phenomena, and the elements as well as the earth and the sea were conspicuous deities that were worshiped in temples and served by priests. In most of the primitive tribes the same natural objects were either mythological figures without religious significance or were animated by spirits with little individuality. The personification of nature sometimes brings about

situations which are difficult to define in terms of our usual notions about religion. For example, among the *Mataco*, Sun was a mythological figure but not a functioning deity, for no prayers were addressed to him and no ceremonies were performed in his honor; yet shamans "visited" him to take advantage of his great knowledge in solving their problems.

Outside of Perú, where Sun was the ancestor and the principal god of the *Inca* dynasty, Sun and Moon were potent deities only in three small *Ge* tribes of Eastern Brazil: the *Apinayé*, the *Sherente*, and the *Canella*. There were also traces of a solar cult among the ancient *Guaraní* and their modern descendants, the *Apapocuva*, but its importance probably was slight.

Although from Tierra del Fuego to the Guiana stars and constellations were visualized as Culture Heroes or mythical animals that had migrated to the sky, the phenomena were deified only in Perú and among the *Sherente*, to whom they appeared in visions as deputies of Sun and Moon. It is possible that the Pleiades were worshiped by the *Guaicuruan* tribes of the Chaco, but we have no details.

The sky never has been personified in South America, but human will and feelings were attributed to it in Chaco mythology when, for instance, the sky changed place with the earth so as not to be soiled by it.

The Thunder God ranked very high in the *Inca* pantheon and survived to modern times under the name of Santiago. In the Chaco and in the Tropical Forest, thunder was attributed either to birds or to spirits. The Thunder Spirit of the ancient *Tupí-Guaraní* of the Brazilian coast underwent a strange metamorphosis after the Discovery. The missionaries, in their search for the notion of a Supreme Being, heard the Indians refer to this sky demon, and raised him to the dignity of a High God. Today Tupan is the name of the Christian God among all the people of Brazil and Paraguay who speak a *Guaraní* dialect; tupan also has taken on the meaning of "sacred."

The Earth-mother is a typical Andean deity whose cult was perhaps more important in the popular religion than that of the Sun or other *Inca* major gods, for it remained almost intact from Ecuador to the Argentine long after most of the gods of the *Inca* pantheon had been forgotten. The cult of the Earth Goddess has been reported among the *Jívaro*, but there she was probably a simple vegetation demon, for only female plants were under her protection.

In Perú the term huaca was applied to everything sacred; in the chronicles it designates the gods, demons, and spirits worshiped by the people of the Empire. Some of these huaca were nature gods adored in the several provinces, but the majority were no more than local spirits or demons that haunted the hills, lakes, rivers, and caves

or that animated the countless fetishes worshiped by the lineages and families of the Empire. Without any doubt, these spirits were similar to those that filled the world of the forest Indians, but many assumed the character of gods by becoming the protectors of a large social group that developed a cult around them. The accumulated myths and traditions gave them individuality and increased their prestige. Other spirits, such as the mallcu and samiri of modern *Aymara*, remained simple fetishes—cones or earth and stones that were the custodians of an ayllu and were only dimly conceived of as the receptacles of spirits.

The Guiana Indians regarded rapids, waterfalls, conspicuous mountains, strangely grown trees, and other natural oddities as the abodes of special spirits that bore a distinctive name and incarnated themselves in animals (e. g., water serpents, hawks, caimans, etc.). These localized spirits differ from the Peruvian huaca only in the absence of a regular cult, yet in some cases simple rites were performed in their behalf. For example, before crossing a rapid haunted by a spirit, Indian crews sometimes rubbed red pepper in their eyes to ward off danger.

The Peruvian Indians gave a very secondary place to such vegetation deities as Mother Maize or Mother Potato, for in Perú the fertility of the soil was under the protection of the Sun and especially of the Earth-mother. Nevertheless, plant spirits had a cult and were symbolized by unusually large and oddly shaped ears of corn or tubers. In tropical South America, the Spirit of the Cassava or the Maize, though no more important than other spirits and like them subject to the will of the shamans, nevertheless assumed some of the characteristices of a vegetation god. The *Cashinawa* performed dances to propitiate the Maize Spirit. The Barama *Carib* asked their shamans to consult with the Cassava Spirit about crop prospects; during the interview, the spirit was given manioc beer, a gesture of courtesy that might perhaps be interpreted as an offering.

Among the spirits that tend toward a greater individualization are the supernatural protectors of the animal species usually called the "Father or Mother of such-and-such kind of game or fish." In the myths these spirits are represented as particularly large specimens of the species, and, as a rule, they may take on human form at will. To this category belong Rato, an aquatic monster who, the *Taulipáng* said, was the Father of all fish and water animals, as well as the *Toba* Indians' Soinidi, who was both a water spirit and the protector of the fish. These custodians of the species freely permit the use of their protégées as food, but they do not tolerate their wanton destruction by man, and they punish severely hunters who kill more than they actually need to survive. In some cases, these guardians could be

propitiated by prayer and small gifts, but the exercise of moderation and self-restraint was the best way to gain their favor. The notion of a protector of the species was strong in ancient Perú, where the supernatural custodians were identified with constellations to which prayers were addressed. Even in modern times the Indians of the Puna de Atacama believed that the wild herds of vicuña were led by Coquena, a troll who punished men who hunted the vicuña out of greediness.

For purposes of analysis, it is desirable to differentiate wherever possible between spirits that are individualized and those that are not. The term "demon" should be applied only to a spirit that may be defined as an individualized supernatural being that is unique of its kind or is strictly localized and distinguished by a specific name. The term "spirit," on the other hand, should be reserved for the anonymous members of a collectivity of supernatural beings. So, for instance, the *Taulipáng* serpent monster, Rato, must be regarded as a demon, for, even though he may appear in many places, he has a definite personality and never merges with other spirits. Similarly, the *Palicur* Kamũbalu, who is the genius of a mountain, must also be defined as a demon to distinguish him from the swarming spirits that often haunt special sites.

Demons and spirits alike could be summoned by shamans, but since demons generally were more clearly conceived, their behavior generally conformed closely with the traditional ideas maintained about them by the Indians.

Some tribes themselves attempted to classify supernatural beings into categories. The Barama *Carib* based their classification in part on the favorite abode of the spirits; they had spirits of the air, water, creeks, rivers, and hills. The last category was in part geographical and in part functional, for the mauari were both the spirits of the hills and of disease. Each category of spirits was led by a chief who bore toward his group the same relationship that a human headman did toward his family and descendents. This classification was not exhaustive, since it omitted the cassava spirits, the tree spirits, the gnomes, and lutins.

The spirit protagonists of most *Witoto* myths were distinguished by epithets that defined their nature. Thus, the muinane were the people of the past, the hunessai the people of the waters and of plants associated with fish, and the rigai were the spirits of the air, that is to say, of birds and insects.

It is no less difficult to draw the line between spirits and ghosts than it is to distinguish a spirit from a god. The Indians themselves did not always clearly differentiate them. Thus, the *Taulipáng* applied the name "mauari" to the spirits of the mountains, the rivers,

and the lakes, to the members of the Rato family, and also to the ghosts of certain dead. The soul of a shaman that left its body became a mauari. Among the same people, olazan meant both ghost and an evil spirit that haunted the living and caused eclipses.

In *Witoto*, the word hanai, which means mysterious, not to be apprehended by the senses, served to designate not only ghosts but also spirits properly speaking as well as magic trees, mythical animals, and some nocturnal animals. The *Shipaya* used only one word, "awa," for ghosts, bad spirits, and mythical monsters. Many Guiana Indians believed that ghosts could finally become spirits.

The distinction between spirits and ghosts was, however, of vital importance in *Bororo* religion. The bope were uncreated nature spirits that lived in the 10 skies of the Universe and were responsible for natural phenomena. They had claims on several foods which could not be eaten without a special ceremony, and they maintained a relationship with a special category of shamans, the bari. Ghosts, on the other hand, lived in special villages and incarnated themselves in animals. They were invoked during certain ceremonies—at the baptism of a child, at initiation rites, and at funerals—and they were served by a different category of shamans, the aroettaware. Similarly, the *Ona* insisted that the forest spirits, though very much like ghosts, were very different from them.

Encounters between spirits and ordinary folk tended to be dangerous, for many of them were sanguinary monsters, eager to kill, and some even had strong cannibalistic inclinations. Others were simply mischievous and delighted in playing tricks, such as causing their victims to lose their way in the forest. Intercourse with a spirit almost always had evil consequences, and could even be fatal to the human partner.

Certain spirits, like the aña or azan of *Tupí* and *Carib* folklore, played the same part in Indian folklore that ogres do in ours; they were cruel and mischievous, but easily deceived and turned to ridicule.

Two bush spirits of the ancient *Tupí* tribes are still popular among the caboclo population of modern Brazil. The most colorful is Curupira, who is described as a small man who walks with upturned feet, and who is still greatly feared by country people. He is the protector of game animals and is generous to those who help him, but punishes severely those who are rude to him. The other spirit, Yurupari, is a real ogre; his name has been used to designate all kinds of demons and spirits worshipped or feared by many non-*Tupí* tribes of the Guianas and the Amazon.

Insight into South American Indians' conception of spirits may be gained from an analysis of their folklore. In these tales a spirit representing an animal or vegetal species may take on human form, but,

though he seems identical to any Indian, his true nature is revealed in some physical peculiarity or some special skill or habit. Indeed, spirits in general are visualized as having a human appearance with some monstrous characteristic; they may be hairy, or they may have protruding eyebrows or two heads; they may have no articulation at the knees, or they may be linked together like Siamese twins. Sometimes spirits look like skeletons or skulls. These supernatural beings are wont to assume the shape of persons closely related to their victims, but, as a rule, they may be recognized by some sign, such as the lack of a big toe (Guiana). The approach of a spirit generally is announced by peculiar whistlings or, at night, by cracking noises, but often these warnings come too late.

Spirits often live in villages in countries of their own located on mountains or under water.

Indian folklore is greatly concerned with the adventures of men who meet spirits. Sometimes the spirits are benevolent and helpful. Among them are spirits who marry human beings, but even when they establish personal relationship with a man or woman, the spirits remain volatile and touchy. A slur or the violation of a taboo may rouse their resentment and induce them to break their human bond. Sometimes spirits adopt a man or woman whom they change into a spirit.

Spirits are mortal and are exposed to dangers of various kinds. Guiana folklore has many tales about men who rescued spirits from disaster and who were rewarded by good luck in hunting and fishing.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS

Shamans derived their power from their association with spirits whom they could summon at will to assist them in their many functions. As a rule, ordinary men did not enjoy any companionship with the supernaturals and, therefore, were obliged to resort to shamans when they needed the spirits' assistance. Nevertheless, the notion of the guardian spirit is not entirely lacking in South America; some references occur in the literature, but apparently the concept never was so clearly defined as among North American Indians.

The best instance of the quest for a guardian spirit in the North American manner occurs among the *Charrua* of Uruguay.

> Some men went on top of a solitary hill where there was a pile of stones to fast in order to find a companion. There they inflicted on themselves many wounds and suffered a rigorous penance until in their mind they saw a living being whom they invoked in times of peril as their guardian angel. [Haedo, 1937, p. 348.]

Witoto myths collected by Preuss contain frequent allusions to protecting animal spirits captured during a hunting party. They advised

their master when he was in danger and ran errands for him. There is also an allusion to a guardian spirit in a *Taulipáng* myth in which a mutilated man sends his spirit in the guise of a bird to warn his wife (Koch-Grünberg, 1923 a, 3:185).

A statement by Rochefort about the beliefs of the *Island Carib* may be construed as a reference to guardian spirits:

> They believe that these good spirits, or gods, are many and every person believes that among them he has one all to himself; this is his particular spirit, his own familiar. [Rochefort, 1658.]

Yet spirits were invoked only through shamans, so that it seems these familiars were not guardian spirits in the strict sense of the word.

Every *Yahgan* was under the protection of a diminutive spirit assigned to him at his birth by a shaman.

The notion of the guardian spirit may perhaps throw some light on the nature of the mystic relationship between the *Inca* and his Wauki, or supernatural guardian, with whom he was united by a fraternal bond. The supernatural brother was represented by a statue. Still, there is little evidence that the belief in a personal guardian was widespread in Perú and even less that it was the soul of some ayllu ancestor, as Cunow (1937, p. 191) surmises.

GHOSTS AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD

Everywhere in South America funeral rites expressed the desire of the living to placate the dead, to prevent their return, or to facilitate their journey to the other world. More rarely these practices developed into a cult of the dead in the restricted sense of the word, that is to say, into a worship of the souls of the dead because they directly affected the welfare of their descendents.

Worship of the dead was an important component of the religions of ancient Perú. There the ancestral mummies were attended by priests and were offered sacrifices; during certain feasts they were taken on processions. A feast celebrated in the month of October in honor of the dead of the group was later assimilated to All Saints' Day and is still observed by the Highland Indians of Perú and Bolivia. On this day the dead returned to receive offerings of food and drink.[1]

The care with which the Guiana and Amazonian Indians (*Carib*, *Mundurucú*, *Apiacá*, *Yuruna*, *Ipurina*, *Moré*) preserved the bones of the dead in their huts suggests a cult of the dead, but we lack confirming evidence. The *Island Carib* and the ancient *Guaraní*, however, believed that the souls could return to the bones and advise their living relatives.

[1] Davila (1942, p. 409) attributes to the Coastal Indians the following reasoning: "Los Europeos, el día de Todos los Santos dan de comer, como nosotros, y de beber a sus muertos. Vayamos, pues, nosotros tambien a la iglesia y llevemos de comer a nuestros muertos."

Cubeo religion to a large extent was based on a cult of the Ancestors, who were invoked during tribal meetings, when they were represented by gigantic trumpets. The *Bororo* also believed that the ancestral souls continued to maintain a close relationship with the living and often came to their villages to eat, drink, and dance. The link between the dead and their living relatives was provided for by a special category of shamans, the aroettaware, who served as mediums for the souls of the dead. The great feasts celebrated by the *Guaicurú* in their cemeteries probably were the expression of a cult of the dead.

The *Cágaba* regarded the Ancestors, whom they called aluna (souls), as superior to demons. They attributed the origin of all human institutions to the Ancestors, whose actions were always beneficial to mankind; demons, on the contrary, were harmful unless they were controlled by the Ancestors. The aluna long ago ceased to take any interest in human affairs, but men continued to exist, thanks to their teaching and to the celebration of ceremonies introduced by them.

Likewise, ancestor worship was a salient feature of the religion of the ancient *Taino*, for the great Zemi of the caciques were believed to contain the souls of the chiefs' ancestors, and certain cotton and wooden zemis contained the skulls and bones of deceased relatives.

The most important religious celebration of the *Shipaya* was the dance of the ghosts, which took place at the special request of the headman of the dead. In order to dance and drink, the ghosts had to borrow the body of a shaman whose soul supposedly remained idle in a hut while his body, covered by a long cape, danced on the plaza. The feast continued for several nights until each ghost and some animal spirits had in turn executed a dance and sung a song.

There is no trace of a cult of the dead among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego.

THE CONCEPT OF SOUL

In a considerable number of South American Indian tongues the words for soul, shadow, and image are synonymous (*Bacaïri*, *Taulipáng*, *Cubeo*, *Arawak*, *Apinayé*, *Abipón*). The *Carib* make no distinction between soul and heart. In *Tucano* there is but one word for soul, heart, and pulsation. In *Witoto* the word komeke has the meaning of heart, chest, memory, and thought.

The *Island Carib* believed in the plurality of souls which resided in the heart, in the head, and in the articulations of the body where pulsation was felt. Only the first soul went to the sky; the others, which remained on earth, changed to beasts or spirits.

Very similar conceptions were held by the *Taulipáng*. These *Carib* believed that man had five souls, "like men but uncorporeal, the same fested in the widespread belief that soul loss caused disease and death

another lighter and a third even lighter, the fourth very light, but still a shadow. The fifth soul is the one that talks. It is the soul that manifests itself by yawning and sneezing and deserts the body during sleep." Only the "speaking soul" went to the other world after death; another remained with the corpse and a third turned into a bird of prey (Koch-Grünberg, 1923 a, 3: 170–172).

The *Shipaya* believed that the soul had two parts; one,called awa, was the envelope of the other and the equivalent of the ghost. Shamans translated the name of the other part as language, heart of a person (Nimuendajú, 1921–22, 16–17: 367).

According to the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, two souls coexisted in every man. One, called ayvucue, which came from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, entered the body at birth and was identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables. The other was an animal soul (acyigua), which harbored in a person's neck; it was this one that actually conditioned an individual's temperament. A patient, friendly person might have a butterfly soul; a jaguar soul made a man cruel and brutal. In general, unrest, violence, malice, and a lust for meat were attributed to the acyigua. After death, the two souls separated; the ayvucue, though it usually tried to reach the Land-Without-Evil, sometimes lingered dangerously near its former home; the animal soul, too, was likely to turn into a fearful ghost (Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 304–306).

Every adult *Botocudo* is said to have as many as five or six souls, but only one of them resides in the body, the rest remaining nearby.

The *Chocó* also believed that man had two souls: a short one for the body as a whole and a long one for the bones (Wassén, 1935, p. 118).

Throughout South America the belief prevailed that sleep, catelepsy, and trance were the result of a temporary absence of the soul, which abandoned the body to wander far away, often to the land of the dead. Shamans enjoyed the power of sending their soul on missions to observe events taking place in distant regions. The adventures of the soul during these journeys were pictured in dreams and visions. It was often deemed dangerous to wake a person suddenly, for then his soul might not have time to reenter the body (*Bacaïri*, *Paressi*, *Taulipáng*). Many Indians (e. g., the *Lengua* and *Pilagá*) were inclined to attach greater importance to events experienced in dreams than to those encountered in their waking hours. At one time in recent years the *Pilagá* were on the verge of war because an Indian had dreamed that some members of their tribe had been killed by soldiers. *Bororo* women sent their souls after a hunting party to find out where the men were and what they were doing.

The fragility of the bond between soul and body was also manifested in the widespread belief that soul loss caused disease and death.

The *Aymara* diagnosed many diseases as the consequence of the sudden departure of the frightened soul. It was also believed that the soul could be kidnapped by a sorcerer or even more often by a ghost or spirit.

Souls were far from being immortal. They might be destroyed during the journey to the other world; even after they reached safety, there they might undergo several metamorphoses and finally disappear (*Apinayé*, *Mataco*). The *Apinayé* were persuaded that souls died of a pain on the left side and were transformed into animals, tree stumps, and termite hills (Nimuendajú, 1939, p. 141).

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Images and idols.—The Peruvian deities were represented by idols placed in the shrines. Viracocha often was represented by anthropomorphic images, but in the great temple he was symbolized by an oval golden plate. The images of the Sun combined solar and anthropomorphic features. Many idols destroyed by the Spanish inquisitors were, however, rudely carved or had no particular form. The famous idol of Pachacamac was a roughly sculptured post. In modern times, the *Aymara* and *Chipaya* of Carangas represented the mallcu or guardian spirits of the ayllu by whitewashed earthen cones.

In contrast to the tropical tribes of the South American mainland among whom material representations of deities or spirits were infrequent, the *Taino* of the West Indies centered their religion around the cult of countless images and sacred objects collectively called zemis—stone or wooden images, images of cotton and other fabrics enclosing bones, prepared skulls, masks and frontal amulets, pictures and body decorations (Joyce, 1916, p. 182). Some of the large zemis, such as the two sweating images in the cave of Giovavava, were those of nature deities; others were the receptacles of ancestral souls. Although some figures were carved in the shape of animals or birds, the majority were anthropomorphic. Wonders were related about certain famous images that could walk, talk, and grow mutilated parts. Zemis were carved as a result of supernatural warnings; the tree itself directed the work of the artisan. Certain zemis belonging to the cacique were worshiped by the whole tribe, but each man is said to have had his personal one. The stress put by the Spaniards on the zemi cult and the vast number of these images found in caves and excavations confirm the rich development of fetishism in *Taino* culture.

Although on the whole sacred images are rare among tropical Indians, they have been mentioned in several tribes. Stone statues have been reported anciently in the Guianas; one of them which came from the Uaupés is now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris. Nevertheless, their occurrence must have been most unusual. In recent times, sha-

mans occasionally used clay or wooden dolls; their exact function is not known, but they cannot be regarded as idols. Cardim states that the ancient *Tupinamba* deposited offerings at the base of posts planted at places haunted by spirits. The *Tupinamba* of the region of Maranhão kept small wax images in cabins built in the bush where the shamans went to burn sweet-smelling resins and to make offerings to the spirits.

The feathers which the *Palicur* stuck to the end of the painted sticks on the dancing ground sheltered spirits. Among the *Shipaya*, *Curuaya*, and *Juruna* of the lower Xingú, the god Kumaphari was represented by a crudely carved image. According to Roquette-Pinto (1938), an unshaped piece of wood was one of the most sacred objects of the *Paressí*.

The deities of the *Tacanan* tribes of the basin of the Madre de Dios were represented by pieces of wood covered with feather mosaics, by pebbles, and by manufactured objects, such as spears, arrows, axes, and pots. The carved wooden pieces were images of the Wind, Sun, and Moon gods; the pebbles were the deities of maize, yuca, and bananas. The image of the god Epymará was an elliptical piece of wood.

Rivero (1883, pp. 277–278) mentions some petroglyphs in the *Achagua* county that played a part in religious ceremonies. Formerly, wooden images seem to have been regarded by the *Mbayá* as religious objects; in more recent times they have sunk to the level of simple children's toys.

The most sacred object in a considerable number of tropical tribes was the gourd rattle or maraca. The grains inside were manifestations of spirits and the tinkling noise, the spirits' voices. The *Tupinamba* made food offerings to the maraca and consulted them to learn the spirits' intentions. Rattles were the instrument par excellence of the shaman and are discussed in connection with shamanism.

In several *Arawakan* tribes (*Ipurina*, *Paressí*, *Mojo*), and in some others influenced by them (*Tucano*, *Witoto*, *Yurimagua*, *Tucuna*) large bark trumpets and flutes represented either vegetation demons or ancestors (*Tucano*). Among the *Paressí*, there were the images of the serpent demons, Nukaima and his wife. Sacred trumpets and various other instruments played a prominent part in the alligator dance of the *Mojo*. In all these tribes the sacred musical instruments were taboo to the women and were kept in the men's house (*Paressí-Cabishí*) or were hidden in some sacred spot.

Masks.—Masked characters appear in the religious ceremonies of many South American tribes but only in a few cases do we have sufficient information to understand the significance of the performances (Krause, 1911, pp. 97–122). Among the *Ona* and *Yahgan* the masked men who stood in front of the kina hut impersonated demons and

spirits; the purpose of their appearance was to frighten the women. This was also the intention of the *Chamacoco* mummers.

Dances by masked men have been described among the *Carajá* and the *Shavajé*, but their significance is obscure. The masks were kept in a special house taboo to women. *Carajá* masks represented animals and were worn both at feasts that coincided with the ripening of various fruits and at celebrations following successful hunting or fishing expeditions. Some were worn by men who went around the village begging for food. Others were associated with the cult of the dead.

South of the Amazon, the most remarkable masks are those that were formerly worn at dances by the tribes of the upper Xingú. Essentially anthropomorphic, these masks were considered to be representations of animals, each of which could be identified by a distinctive feature or by a symbolic painted motif. The masks were of several types. Some consisted of an oval frame covered with a coarse cotton textile, which might be unadorned or have attached to it stylized eyes and nose modeled in wax. The most common were rectangular pieces of wood, often with only the forehead and nose carved and the symbol of some animal painted as an ornament. Especially spectacular was the wooden mask with the bell-shaped skirt fully 30 feet (10 m.) in circumference, which gave the dancer the appearance of a gigantic mushroom. Unfortunately, Von den Steinen, who has described the masks of the Xingú tribes in great detail, gives little information about the religious or magic significance of their use. He states that masks were worn in a dance representing a fishing party or other activities, but does not say whether the performance was given to help fisherman or for some other purpose.

Most remarkable masked dances were performed by the tribes of the Caiarí-Uaupés soon after a death had taken place in a village. While the widow and mother of the dead man wailed, masked dancers impersonating animals and demons simulated an attack upon the communal house. When the attacking party finally forced an entrance they sang ritual songs and performed dances which culminated in a phallic pantomime. The whole ceremony has been interpreted by Koch-Grünberg (1923 b, p. 248), who saw it, as a ritual propitiation of the ghosts and demons who might have caused the death.

Dancers wearing masks sometimes appeared in connection with puberty feasts. The *Lengua* of the Gran Chaco represented in a dance the supernatural dangers that threatened the menstruating girl. In the course of the performance there appeared lines of boys dressed in nandu (rhea) plumes and wearing masks representing evil spirits. They passed among the crowd jingling bunches of deer hoofs and from time to time uttered shrill cries. Whenever they approached the girl,

the women drove them off. Among the *Tucuna* Indians of the Upper Amazon, the most colorful episode of the elaborate girls' puberty feast was the appearance of the guests wearing huge masks that represented demons and animals. They came in small groups, asked for drinks, and then vanished into the forest.

In ancient Perú, masks were worn during religious festivals. Judging from paintings on Chimu pottery, the masks represented animal deities. Masked dancers still perform religious dances in modern Perú and Bolivia, but as yet no study has been made of their symbolism.

CEREMONIALISM

Even though the elaborate and spectacular rites of the *Inca* and *Chibcha* religions seem far apart from the simple practices of the forest Indians, there are nonetheless many common elements. The differences consist mainly in the infinitely greater complexity of *Inca* ceremonies, in the importance given to practices which elsewhere occurred only in embryonic form, and in the existence of a class of specialists who carried out the cult activities. Sacrifice, prayer, and religious songs occurred also among tribes whose approach to the supernatural was characterized by magical rather than by religious attitudes.

In the Andean area, with the possible exception of Chile, the service of the gods acquired a stable and complex structure requiring so precise a knowledge of detail that only specially trained priests could lead religious ceremonies. In tropical South America and on the southern plains the simpler rituals were familiar to most if not all the members of the community. The religious life and ceremonialism of some tribes of eastern Bolivia (*Mojo*, *Manasí*, *Araona*) were markedly influenced by Perú. Among these tribes the shamans were tending to become priests who represented the community before the deities.

In most tropical tribes of South America, religious ceremonies lack complex and meticulous ritualism. Symbolic elements are, as a rule, very elementary. In this respect, the magico-religious festivals of the *Arawakan*, *Panoan*, *Carib*, and *Tupí-Guaranian* tribes cannot be compared to the elaborate initiation rites of the *Ge* tribes or even to the *Tucuna* puberty feasts. Yet it must always be borne in mind that apparent simplicity may be due largely to lack of documentation.

The early chroniclers described at some length many of the feasts that marked almost every month of the *Inca* calendar. The Emperor and his families as well as the provincial chiefs took part in some of the festivals. The most solemn of all was the Intip raimi, in which the splendor of the costumes and the lavishness of the gold and silver paraphernalia were most impressive. This ceremony opened with an

homage to the Sun rendered by the *Inca* Emperor, his families, and the curaca. After this the Emperor made a libation to the Sun and drank chicha with his families. Then, with the Emperor leading the procession, everyone went to the Sun Temple. Only the imperial family was admitted to make offerings of precious vessels or images to the god. Omens were read in the entrails of a black llama which was sacrificed to the Sun. Later many llamas were slaughtered and burned in a holocaust lighted by means of a concave mirror. The ceremony ended with banquets and drinking bouts. Throughout the feast, the hierarchy of the rulers and functionaries of the Empire was strictly observed.

The situa feast was a magico-religious ceremony for the expulsion of diseases and calamities that also honored all the minor idols and mummies of the dead, which were carried in procession and offered libations. Blood puddings or bread prepared with the blood of llamas were eaten by all the participants and were sent to the shrines of the Empire.

Other Peruvian feasts that coincided with the beginning of the sowing season, the harvest, and the onset of the rainy season combined propitiatory and magic rites to ensure an abundant supply of food.

There is less information about *Chibcha* festivals. These were attended by the Zipa who was preceded by processions of men covered with luxurious ornaments of feathers and gold or wearing gold masks; many were disguised as animals. Perhaps the parade was symbolic, for it is said that those who carried masks with tears were beseeching the aid of the gods while those who danced and jumped were celebrating the success of their prayers. Offerings of gold to the snake god of Lake Guatabita were made by the chief, who was gilded with gold dust, and his noblemen, who went on a raft to the middle of the lake for this purpose. Processions were made to other lakes as well that were the abodes of snake gods.

The most spectacular festivals of the Amazonian tribes were those held for the vegetation demons, usually called Yurupari feasts (Northwest of Brazil, *Puinake*, *Yurimagua*, *Tucuna*). Among the *Tucanoan* and *Arawakan* tribes of the upper Rio Negro and the basin of the Cairí-Uaupés, they were celebrated when certain palm fruits relished by the Indians (e. g., miritĺ and yapura) were ripe. When the feast opened baskets of the fruit were ceremonially carried to the village preceded by men who blew huge trumpets. These instruments, which represented the vegetation demons, were sacred and, under penalty of death, were kept hidden from the women and children at some distance from the village. During the first part of the ceremony, the women remained closed in a hut, but after the performance of ritual dances in which the men whipped each other with long lashes, the secret rites

ended and the women joined the men to dance and make merry for several days.

The *Arawakan* tribes who migrated south of the Amazon faithfully preserved the cult of the sacred trumpets. The *Ipurina*, *Mojo*, and *Paressí* also celebrated this festival, and the terrorized women were made to believe that they would be punished by the demons if they did not supply the men abundantly with beer and food.

The Yuruparí ceremonies, so characteristic of the religion of the Rio Negro and Orinoco tribes, fulfilled several functions; by their means the men favorably influenced the fertility spirits, brought about cures, and enhanced their prestige and their power over the women.

Human sacrifices.—Human sacrifices were entirely limited to the Andean region, unless we regard the cannibalistic meals of the *Shipaya* as a form of human sacrifice. Although in Perú they never reached the monstrous proportions characteristic of México, it is known that at the enthronement of an *Inca* as many as 200 children were put to death by strangulation or extraction of the heart. The *Chibcha* also practiced human sacrifice on a large scale. Children bought from ambulant merchants were kept in temples, and were killed when they reached puberty. So sacred were these prospective victims that they could not touch the ground. In a peculiar ceremony, the purpose of which is unknown, the *Chibcha* sacrificed a slave by tying him in a sort of crows' nest on a pole and shooting him with darts. Priests standing under the pole collected the dripping blood. When a chief built a new palace he had small girls, said to have been given by noble families, crushed beneath the main posts to ensure the good fortune of the building.

The Indians of Urabá strangled and burned slaves before the idol of the Dabaina goddess. Sacrifices of war prisoners by ablation of the heart were a feature of the religion of the Indians of the Cauca Valley.

Sacrifices of goods and animals.—Sacrifices of goods and animals were an essential cult feature only in the area of the high civilizations of the Andes. Almost all public and private religious ceremonies required offerings or blood sacrifices. Immense treasures in the form of gold figures and precious stones were buried or were thrown into lakes by the *Chibcha* to propitiate their gods. *Inca* offerings included a wide variety of foods, magic substances, clothes, and jewels. In modern times the same variety, though not, of course, the same value, characterized the sacrifices made by the impoverished *Aymara;* the care with which the priest combined and placed the substances gives us an inkling of the complexity of the sacrificial ritual in the great temples of the vanished Empire.

The same rigid ritualism regulated the sacrifice of animals in the

Andean area. The victims were selected in accordance with mystical associations and rules determined their acceptability to the deity. The sacrifice also was a divinatory rite, for omens were read in the entrails of the victims. The walls of the buildings and the faces of the idols were smeared with blood.

Bloody sacrifices also existed among the *Araucanians*, who introduced them into the Pampas. The *Tehuelche* strangled mares at funerals to appease the ghosts and when danger was lurking to placate the spirits.

Sacrifices of food, drink, and goods in honor of spirits or demons were practiced by many *Tupí-Guaraní*, *Arawakan*, and *Carib* tribes. Sometimes a whole community, sometimes an individual who wished to placate a spirit or gain its favor, made a sacrifice. The *Palicur* expressed their gratitude by inviting spirits to drinking bouts. The supernatural guests entered benches carved in animal shapes and, as soon as their presence had been announced, were given gourds of cashiri. The *Carib* feasts described by Rochefort (1658, p. 417), which were celebrated after the cure of a sick person, probably were identical to those of the *Palicur*, for they offered the spirits cassava and manioc beer on small tables. The offerings were not accompanied by "any adoration nor prayer, and consisted only in the presentation of these gifts." The *Taino* offered cassava cakes to the zemi. The piai received the cakes, blessed them, and divided them into small pieces, which he distributed to his assistants. The fragments were sacred talismans to be preserved for an entire year.

The *Mundurucú* offered food and alcoholic drinks to the Mothers of Game, Fish, and Plants, whom the shamans summoned during feasts dedicated to these supernatural beings. Even in recent times no *Carib* would cut a tree for a canoe or a bow without first making an offering to the spirit inside; when he opened a clearing in the forest, he poured some chicha on the stumps of the felled trees. Before eating fish and game, the *Bororo* reserved a few morsels which were given to the spirits through the shamans. The *Ona* practiced an incipient form of sacrifice, for whoever partook of a late meal would throw away a small piece of meat for the High God. During cold weather or a heavy snowfall they also would cast out a firebrand for the Supreme Being. These offerings were not regarded as gifts for the High God, but as symbols of gratitude. The sacrifice of a firebrand, however, has all the earmarks of a magic rite.

Prayer.—Prayer constituted an important part of *Inca* liturgy. During the ceremonies, the priests recited prayers which were repeated by the assembly. We have a few examples of prayers or hymns addressed to the Supreme Being glorifying him and expressing a longing to get a better understanding of his being. If the

translations are accurate, they equal some of our best psalms in style and in the nature of the thoughts expressed. Simple prayers made by individuals to obtain some favor from a god were not based on stereotype formulae, but were improvised in the spirit of the moment and often were addressed silently.

Prayer was the only external form of worship of the Supreme Being by the *Yahgan*. The 60 prayers collected among these Indians fall into the following categories: (1) Complaints about the death of a relative; (2) requests for a favor; (3) prayers of thanksgiving; and (4) prayers expressing the greatness of the Supreme Being and corresponding to our "If the good God wills it." Although these particular prayers were couched in a somewhat patternized, archaic language, anyone could address the Supreme Being in his own words.

An *Apinayé* who wished to make a request of the Sun isolated himself and without any preamble asked, "Father, give me this or that." The *Mundurucú* prayed the Mother of the Manioc in these terms, "O Mother of Manioc, favor us with the fruits of your sons. Don't let us suffer privations. Every year we pray to you and do not forget you."

Fasting and purification.—Participation in religious ceremonies often required periods of fasting and various kinds of purification. Before the *Taino* could take caoba to have visions or could consult a shaman, they had to fast and drink the juice of a certain herb. As a preamble to a feast, members of the whole community made themselves vomit by tickling their throat with a small stick.

Confessions of sins.—Confession has a very limited distribution in South America. It has been reported only for the *Inca* of Perú, the *Ica* and *Cágaba* of Colombia, and the *Tupinamba* of the Brazilian coast. As a rule, confession to a priest or shaman served as a means of preventing or allaying private and public disasters which were the consequences of the violation of taboos; sometimes it served as a purificatory rite before the celebration of a feast.

In Perú confession was obligatory in times of illness and also in anticipation of certain feasts (e. g., the oncoy mitta, which was celebrated in June in honor of the Pleiades). When excessive frost endangered the plantations, twins and all others who had had an abnormal birth (e. g., those born feet first, with a harelip, etc.) were subjected to special treatment and had to confess their sins.

The confessors, who were recruited from among the diviners (huacuc) and who were called ichuri or aucachic (Cajatambo and Huaylas), heard all the members of their own ayllu including their wives and children. At one time confession seems not to have been secret, but it became so later; certain hideous crimes were reported to the supreme priest (huillac umac) or his assistant (hatun huillac).

The confession took place near a stream. After the person had enumerated his faults, the confessor gave him maize and shell powders to blow away, struck his head with a small stone, and ordered him to wash in water mixed with maize. Sometimes the penitent bathed in the stream. The confessor consulted auguries to discover whether the sinner had lied or withheld a fault. He also meted out penances which took the form of temporary observance of chastity, fasting, or abstaining from certain foods (e. g., salt and pepper), or a period of isolation on a mountain top. Wealthy persons made offerings to the gods.

In very exceptional circumstances, the *Inca* Emperor confessed to the Sun and the Great Priest to Viracocha; neither one confessed to a person on any occasion. When they performed the rite they held in one hand a bunch of straw or grass on which they spat before throwing it into a stream or fire.

One of the most important functions of the *Cágaba* and *Ica* mamas (priest-shamans) was to hear confessions. A man would confide his "sins" to a priest under the following circumstances: When he was ill, before starting the treatment; when he feared he might become ill; before a feast in which prophylactic rites were celebrated; and after an eclipse or an earthquake. Most so-called sins were sexual (e. g., intercourse with a relative of forbidden degree or with the servant of a mama, adultery with an unpurified widow, etc.). Planting coca without the priest's permission and stealing (*Cágaba*) also were considered offenses against the gods. The mama imposed a penance, but its form is not specified (Preuss, 1919–20, pp. 95–96; Bolinder, 1925).

The *Tupinamba* attached great importance to confession. Yves d'Evreux (1864, p. 309) states that when a great shaman (pagi) visited the villages he ordered everyone, but especially women and young girls, to confess to him. If they refused to comply, he threatened them, saying that his spirits would punish them for not declaring their offenses. Afterward he gave them absolution. Nobrega (1844, p. 92) confirms this statement, and adds that before the coming of an important shaman women went in pairs into every hut, where they mutually confessed offenses against their husbands and asked for forgiveness.

MAGICAL PRACTICES

Magical practices to insure good luck, avert danger, cure or inflict disease, and in general to help people perform acts the outcome of which is not under their rational control, are extremely numerous and often have been recorded while the more significant religious or social phenomena have passed unobserved. The magic rites that accompany life crises and economic pursuits are more conveniently described in

connection with the circumstances that provoke them. In this section we will examine only a few magic rites with special significance in specific areas.

Ordeals.—Whipping is one of the most conspicuous ritual acts in the magico-religious ceremonies of most Guiana tribes as well as among several Amazonian groups. This ordeal made the victim strong, courageous and diligent, and conferred upon him other virtues; for this reason it was associated with puberty rites, and with preparations for war expeditions, etc. Apparently, it also had purificatory properties, for both new householders and mourners who were celebrating a funeral feast were whipped. The relationship between flagellation and the fertility of fields is less clear, but on the Orinoco and the Rio Negro and among the *Mura*, whipping was an important element in agrarian festivals.

Exposure to ant or wasp bites seems to have had a similar effect. Guiana Indians claimed that the insect ordeal developed proficiency in hunting and fishing, refreshed the body, gave one vigor, and made one gay and lusty. They also believed it to be an excellent prophylactic against disease. The ordeal was a particularly appropriate treatment for boys and girls who had reached puberty and were about to become full-fledged, useful members of the community, but not because it was a test of courage, as has often been said. The ant ordeal was administered for the first time at puberty or during initiation rites, but most people voluntarily exposed themselves to it whenever they desired to fortify themselves to increase their vitality and ability.

Scarification.—From the Guianas to the Chaco, Indians ascribe great virtue to scarification, for by this means they believe they can dispel fatigue and impart strength to their body. The material out of which the scarification awls are made determines the effect. *Betoya* fishermen, for instance, punctured their skin with a sting ray tail, hunters with pecari or bird bones (Rivero, 1883, p. 348).

In most Chaco tribes, when a man engaged in heavy work felt tired, he drew blood from his limbs by pricking the skin with a rhea or jaguar bone awl. The *Guaicuruan*-speaking Indians gave much importance to this treatment and encouraged even small children to jab themselves.

Tattooing and painting.—Although it would be a gross exaggeration to stress, as Karsten (1926) does, the exclusively magical value of tattooing, there can be little doubt but that tattoo marks are frequently acquired in connection with life crises or that they have a prophylactic power. The *Toba* specifically explained to me that the tattooed motifs on their limbs were talismans against disease. The ancient *Betoya* painted serpents on their legs so that the "venom of

the painted reptiles would set in flight the real snakes" (Rivero, 1883, p. 348).

When a *Tupinamba* girl had her first menses, geometric designs were cut on her back with a sharp rodent tooth; ashes rubbed into the wounds left indelible tattoo marks. Before returning to everyday life, a *Tupinamba* who had ceremonially killed a prisoner slashed various patterns on himself with an agouti tooth; the more such tattoo marks a man could exhibit, the higher was his prestige.

Incision tattooing of the girls was still practiced by the *Guarayú* in the last century.

While we seldom learn the reasons why Indians use body painting, we may surmise that they do attach magical or other values to the practice, from the circumstances under which they paint themselves or their relatives. Infants very often are smeared with urucú soon after birth. Menstruating girls usually are profusely painted. Warriors commonly go to battle wearing elaborate designs on their person. Mourners frequently paint their face or their body black with charcoal (*Yahgan*, *Ona*, *Tehuelche*, *Araucanian*) or with genipa (*Tupinamba*, *Macushí*, *Mundurucú*, *Sipibo*). *Cashinawa* male mourners smeared their entire body with genipa, women only parts of it, lest they be killed by the ghost of the deceased (Abreu, 1914, pp. 145–149). Red was the mourning color of the ancient *Chibcha*, who smeared their body with urucú and wore red capes. Among the *Macushí* also, the closest relatives of a dead person painted themselves with urucú; more distant relatives stained only their feet and hands. The same distinction between close and distant kin was made by the *Jirara* and *Ayrica* who, however, used genipa as a sign of mourning.

Talismans.—Countless talismans and amulets are found in South America. Only a few examples are listed here. Among the most famous are the bina of the Guiana Indians. These were leaves or tubers which bore some superficial resemblance to the animals upon which they were supposed to have influence. For instance, the talisman used to catch aymara fish (*Hoplias macrophtalmus*), which have a spotted skin, was a leaf with black and white spots. Another, considered to be a good talisman to charm birds, was a small tuber shaped like a beak (Ahlbrinck, 1924, p. 224).

The *Jívaro* traced designs on their skin before going on hunting parties with the stones found in the crop of birds. Such stones were carefully preserved.

The Highland Indians of Perú carry on their persons and keep in their houses a very considerable number of amulets. The shape of something which is desired may be carved in soft stone and used as an amulet: a hand with money brings good fortune, a simple hand re-

moves fatigue and also endows a weaver with skill. Many amulets are simply stones which seem to resemble an animal or an object.

The *Toba* try to insure their hunting luck by wearing belts containing fragments of the skin of game animals and various herbs. Small children wear around their neck a small leather packet containing magic herbs.

Chants and charms.—Chanting is, of course, closely linked to and accompanies all religious ceremonies throughout South America. Its importance as a means of averting impending dangers is well illustrated by the behavior of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, who, at the slightest difficulty or even because they felt depressed, resorted to chanting. Hardly a night passed when no one chanted a magic song. When the matter was of some importance, maracas or stamping tubes also were used.

The compulsive power of chanted charms is exemplified in the *Ona* myth about the origin of chanting, in which the first ancestor, who invented chanting, was able to kill a whale and bring it to shore singlehanded by this means (Gusinde, 1931, p. 635).

The power of charms and magic chants is forcefully expressed in the mythology of the *Witoto*, who seem to have believed that chants preceded the Supreme God. Words, that is to say, chants, were said to be more important than the gods, for without the rites and feasts in which they were sung, the gods could achieve nothing.

Shamans use charms and incantations as a prophylaxis against the impure influences that may affect people and objects, and also to expel diseases and destroy enemies, to summon spirits, and to endow objects with supernatural power. A great many charms are known to ordinary people, who recite them to protect themselves against danger, to rid themselves of pain, or to ensure the success of an enterprise. Unfortunately, few charms have been recorded except for a large collection obtained by Koch-Grünberg among the *Taulipáng* (1923 a, 3: 219–222). The *Taulipáng* charms fall into two categories: (1) those intended to cause damage; (2) those that ensured the success of a cure or an enterprise. They were recited to heal wounds, snake and sting ray bites, throat inflammations, pustulent eruptions, stomach worms, dysentery, and also to facilitate childbirth or, on the contrary, to make it difficult. Some charms could turn an enemy into a friend. The efficacy of each one is guaranteed by a short myth in which animals, plants, and personified elements play a large part. Animals that figure in the charms have some relationship to the desired result. For instance, a person who suffered from a swelling caused by deer flesh would invoke a jaguar, since it feeds on deer. After childbirth, before eating fish, one had to call the otters because they eat fish. In a charm to relieve sore throat, the howling monkey had to be mentioned.

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There is also a charm to disarm an enemy by making him laugh; this one alludes to armadillos because, as a *Taulipáng* myth explains, lightnings were once about to kill the armadillos when the animals made them laugh, so that instead of destroying them, lightnings gave them worms.

Sometimes the pronouncement of a charm gives an object magic virtue. The *Aparaí* recited a charm on water given as a remedy to a sick person in order to force helpful spirits into the liquid (Speiser, 1926, pp. 187–188).

The *Shipaya* believed that a charm could assume a human form to accomplish the wish that had caused its expression. A wiru charm, for instance, went in the guise of a man to an enemy village and killed everyone he met (Nimuendajú, 1919–20, p. 1007).

Dances.—Feasts and ceremonies are almost always occasions for dancing. Dances may be of a profane character and may be performed only for amusement, but, like chants, they very frequently have a magico-religious efficacy and are executed to influence supernatural beings or to coerce nature.

When danger threatened the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* community, even if it was only the phantasy of a shaman, a dance often was organized to combat it. A common worry, an epidemic, some unreasoned fear, a collective enterprise in the making, or sometimes the mere pleasure of an event could be the occasion for the celebration of a ritual dance. The *Kamarakoto* Indians organized the Great Serpent dance to cure snake bites and ulcers. Certain dances of the *Aparaí* had an immediate effect on game animals and fish. The *Cágaba* explained the magic virtue of the dances they performed by saying that they had been revealed by the very spirits who caused illness and other troubles but that these were forced to abandon their evil intentions when the dances were executed. Many Chaco dances had a definite ceremonial value. (See Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 353–354.)

Dances were organized in connection with most of the important occasions of a person's life and of the yearly round of a tribe. These are best described, however, in connection with the events themselves.

The mystical value of dancing is illustrated by the almost morbid importance it assumed in South American Indian revivalistic movements. In the 16th century, as well as in very recent years, the *Guaraní* resorted to frenetic dancing in order to reach the Land-Without-Evil. So great was the power they attributed to dancing that they were convinced that if only they could keep going long enough both they and their ceremonial house would fly to the sky. They often attributed their failure to achieve their aim to the weakness of their bodies.

Divination.—In South America the most common form of divination was consultation of the spirits or gods through the mediation of

shamans or priests. Stupefaction by same narcotic was the means of contact with the supernatural taken by the shamans in most primitive tribes and by certain categories of priests in Perú and Colombia.

The *Inca* had other forms of divination which they used on solemn occasions. Expert diviners summoned spirits to braziers which threw flames in confirmation of the spirit statements. On other occasions, diviners examined the markings on the entrails of sacrificed animals.

In Perú prognostications about the future were made by observing the movements of animals or insects, especially spiders, or the positions of coca leaves, by counting pebbles, and by examining saliva which had been mixed with coca juice and spat on the hand.

Chibcha wizards watched the twitching of fingers and the movements of joints.

The *Araucanians* divined with chicha and with water dropped on a stone ax. The *Caingang* attached oracular significance to the belches of a person who had drunk maté.

However, dreams were the most important as they were the most universally accepted source of omens. Shamans often were asked to interpret them, and the portents of the dream of a single man could determine the course of an undertaking involving the whole group.

The Indians also regarded as an infallible sign of impending fate a considerable number of small occurrences like the cries of birds, the cracking of trees, the appearance of meteors, and other natural phenomena. Omens exercised such an influence on most Indians that they never hesitated to interrupt an enterprise as soon as an omen foreboded a bad outcome.

Modern *Aymara* have specialists who practice divination by reading coca leaves, observing the flight of birds, the direction of smoke, the movement of flame, the position of the stars, the viscera of animals, the interpretation of dreams, and the movement of objects floating in water (Tschopik, Handbook, vol. 2, p. 563).

Defenses against evil: [2]

Defense against evil spirits.—The forest Indians devised many means to keep at bay or escape from threatening spirits. *Carib* Indians dropped string puzzles designed to catch the attention of the bush spirits, who became so engrossed in solving the problem that they forgot to pursue their victims. The Pomeroon *Carib* planted a certain species of caladium near their huts to warn them when a spirit was in the vicinity. Another method of chasing a spirit was to shout, "Show who you are or else bring something to eat!" Playing flutes and dancing also dispersed evil spirits.

All Indians avoided walking in the bush at night; when they had to expose themselves to this danger, they generally carried a firebrand.

[2] See also Sorcerers under Shamanism.

They avoided going alone through regions haunted by spirits, for spirits never attacked groups of people, but only solitary wanderers.

The expulsion of disease.—When the *Pampas* Indians and the *Tehuelche* were beset by ailments and misfortunes, they organized a ceremony that was actually a mock battle against the walichu, or personified calamities. In modern times in similar magic rites performed in the Chaco for the same reasons, men and women wearing sacred paraphernalia and brandishing calabashes threatened their invisible enemies.

During the situa feast of the *Inca*, a general expulsion of disasters, misfortunes, and illnesses was effected by means of armed force. Soldiers massed on the Cuzo plaza charged toward each of the four points of the horizon shouting, "Go forth all evils, go forth all evils!" Their clamor was echoed by the crowds.

PRIESTHOOD

East of the Andes, where the cult of the gods and spirits still was somewhat amorphous, the shaman acted as the principal intermediary between the human and the supernatural world. The shaman's functions, which were essentially prophylactic or remedial and were performed primarily in behalf of the individual, seldom were those customarily associated with the concept of priesthood. Nevertheless, no clear cut distinction can be made between the two kinds of agents of the supernatural, for in many cases the shaman, like the priest, acted in behalf of the community, organized and led group ceremonies, and made sacrifices to the gods, spirits, or demons.

In two regions of tropical South America, the shaman seemed to be developing into a priest in the strict sense of the word. The *Taino* piai, like his colleagues on the mainland, healed the sick, but he also officiated at the Zemi ceremonies for the whole community.

There was a similar situation among the *Arawakan Mojo* and their *Chiquitoan* neighbors, the *Manasí*. Our early sources draw a distinction between the priests and the medicine men, but the difference seems to have been based on the specialized activities of certain shamans rather than on their functions. Priests and shamans underwent the same training and observed the same taboos. In the case of the *Manasí*, it is even specifically stated that priests attended the sick. Moreover, the *Manasí* priest's approach to the gods still followed the shamanistic pattern; the god descended into the tabernacle in the same way that the spirit entered the shaman's hut. Indeed, the rite was essentially a direct and personal interview between the mapono and the gods rather than prayer and sacrifice to an unseen deity. The final ascent of the priest also was an old shamanistic trick.

A real priesthood characterized the religions of the *Inca* and *Chib-*

chan peoples. In ancient Perú priests tended the shrines, made sacrifices, and prayed to the gods in behalf of the faithful. In addition they were diviners, interpreters of oracles, and confessors. The clergy was organized into a hierarchy at the head of which was the huillac umac. Priests were appointed by the Emperor or inherited their profession; traditionally, the high priest was a close relative of the Emperor or, according to Cobo (1890–93), a member of the Tarpuntay ayllu. The Sun priests in the provinces belonged to ruling families. A large number of priests who performed specialized functions were attached to the most famous sanctuaries such as the Coricancha; smaller shrines had only one priest or were attended by an old man without specific priestly training.

The gods also were attended by the mamacona, Chosen Women, who were lodged in conventual buildings. They wove the textiles used in the cults and prepared chicha for festivals. Those who were not selected as wives or concubines by the *Inca* Emperor and nobles preserved their virginity.

Among the *Chibcha*, priests enjoyed a very high prestige and authority. They seem to have been recruited among the nobility and inherited their office from their maternal uncles. Neophytes trained for 12 years under the direction of experienced priests. During this period, they lived in special buildings, observed a permanent fast—their food consisting mainly of maize mush and only now and then some meat—and were obliged to remain perfectly chaste. Their inauguration was celebrated with great feasts. At this time their ears and nose were pierced and the chief gave them a calabash of coca, symbolic of their office.

Priests lived in sanctuaries surrounded by many taboos. They ate parsimoniously, fasted at set periods, talked little, and often scarified their body. They slept little and spent part of the night chewing coca. They performed the ceremonies for the community and, in addition, frequently were consulted by people who sought divine advice or who wanted to be cured of disease, for they were also medicine men. They received the offerings which were buried or thrown in the lakes. The priests were maintained by the community, which saw to the cultivation of their fields and provided them with clothes. Although there was no hierarchy, the priest of Iraca enjoyed special prestige and authority; unlike his colleagues, he could marry.

The strict rules governing the training of priests among the ancient *Chibcha* survived among the *Ica* and *Cágaba*. *Ica* novices lived in isolation, were forbidden to speak to women, and, during their initiation, abstained from eating a great number of foods. Everything they ate had to be cooked in a pot made by a priest. Infractions of the taboos were atoned for by periods of complete fasting, confessions, and

conjurations. Novices could marry but had to refrain even from touching their wives during the first year of marriage. The considerable influence of the priests extended to all the activities and phases of life. They ensured the fertility of the fields, consecrated houses and fields, and played a part in all the ceremonies celebrated at birth, first menstruation, marriage, and death. They led the dances and presided at all religious ceremonies. They also heard confessions and were consulted by individuals about future events.

In other areas of South America, the concept of priesthood was lacking, for the priestly function was assumed whenever necessary and to the extent required by the ritual by the less specialized shamans, whose principal functions were quite different.

SHAMANISM

Outside the Andean area the religious life of the Indians centered on the shaman, for he was the intermediary between both the individual and the community and the supernatural world and led most of the ceremonies by which help and guidance were obtained from the spirits. Yet the shaman was not primarily a religious leader; his efficacy derived rather from his magic powers, which gave him control over spirits. By these means the shaman could cause and cure the ills and accidents to which all people were subject. His ability to learn about events taking place in distant places and to forecast the future often gave him an important voice in community plans; his command over spirits sometimes gave him a significant economic role. Because of his specialized knowledge, he often played a conspicuous part in life crisis ceremonies, and he could be in effect the keeper of tribal traditions and the upholder of the group's moral code.

Throughout South America, with the outstanding exception of the *Araucanians,* shamanism was a man's profession, though women were by no means entirely debarred. Nevertheless, their functions were rarely so inclusive as those of their male colleagues for in most cases women were restricted to curing. In a few tropical tribes (*Goajiro*, *Mojo*, *Itonama*, *Guaraní*), the number of female shamans seems to have been as large as that of men. Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, women who had been blessed with chants not only healed but also danced and prophesied, but they never were credited with sufficient mastery of their art to rank with the great shamans who conducted the harvest festival and were the heads of their tribe. Some *Ona* female shamans acquired fame for their cures, but very few emulated the exploits of men.

The few scattered references to the character of shamans describe them as particularly gifted, intelligent men; there are hardly any allusions that could lead one to consider them neurotic personalities.

But here again *Araucanian* shamans are exceptional, for during the 17th and 18th centuries they generally were recruited among berdaches and persons afflicted with mental or nervous disorders. Any boy who seemed delicate or effeminate was dressed as a girl, and from an early age prepared for his future profession. It is not unlikely that Spanish influence contributed to the change that took place in the 19th century from transvestites to women shamans.

Vocation.—Our information about the circumstances that prompted a young man to begin shamanistic training is not so complete as one might wish. The profession was frequently hereditary owing to the natural desire of a man to transmit to his son or another close relative a profession that was both remunerative and esteemed. Among the Indians of the Putumayo area the shaman gave preference to the most hairy of his children. Hairiness seems to have been an important attribute of shamans who, unlike most Indians, never depilated themselves. (It also should be recalled in this connection that spirits often were pictured as hairy men.) In some tribes the shaman himself selected among the children of the village the one whom he wished to be his successor; among the *Apinayé*, he had first to obtain the permission of the parents. However, the inheritance of the office was a tendency rather than an absolute rule, for nothing prevented a young man who had a vocation or who had the means to pay for his training from becoming a shaman. Indeed, inheritance could not be an indispensable prerequisite in societies that attached such importance to mystic revelation and to calls from the supernaturals, which could come to anyone at any time.

In a great many tribes from the Guianas to Tierra del Fuego, the young man made his decision after being called by some supernatural being, spirit, or ghost. The elected one suddenly had a vision during which he saw mysterious things, generally animals, and finally a spirit. At that moment he fell prey to strange sensations and usually began to chant a song revealed to him by the spirit. The notion of a divine call was particularly strong among the Tierra del Fuego Indians and the *Araucanians*. Among the latter, female shamans even disclaimed any desire to enter the profession and considered that they had been forced to practice their art by a spirit or the Supreme Being. The shaman often reminded her familiar spirit or God that he had to assist her because he was responsible for her calling. In the Chaco the belief also prevailed that all shamans were chosen by a spirit who appeared to them suddenly. The supernatural call manifested itself in unusual agitation, trembling, and peculiar behavior.

Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamanistic power was bestowed by the dead, who taught chants to relatives whom they favored. The tribe was divided into four groups with different degrees of magic

power: those who had no magic chants; those who had a chant for their own exclusive use; those who had enough chants to practice medicine and to lead religious dances; and, finally, at the summit of the hierarchy, those who excelled in their art.

Sherente shamans were recruited among those who had had a vision of the anthropomorphized planet Mars. *Bororo* shamans were divided into two categories according to the nature of the spirits by whom they had been called.

In the rest of tropical South America details about supernatural calls are rare. The preliminary steps toward entering the profession seem to have been taken by the young man himself, who subjected himself to various mortifications to provoke the initial vision which put him in touch with the supernatural world. This second type of initiation into the shamanistic career differs from the first principally in the mechanisms that were set to work to create contact with the supernatural.

Initiation.—In addition, a distinction must be made between the techniques used to obtain visions and the initiation into the art, though these two aspects of the shaman's formation generally were simultaneous. In the shamans' schools in the Guianas, all kinds of devises were used to provoke a state of hallucination in the novices. They fasted, danced, and drank tobacco juice until at last they saw spirits who taught them the magic chants by which the spirits could be freely summoned. On the upper Amazon, where shamans took ayahuasca, a strong narcotic, to be transported to the land of the spirits, tobacco juice was poured into the candidate's eyes during the initiation to make them clear-sighted. As a final ordeal, a frame holding ants or wasps was applied to the initiates' body or limbs to give them strength and skill.

One of the main purposes of the initiation was to provide the candidate with the weapons of his art. Invisible darts, stones, or mysterious substances were injected into the body of the initiate by his instructor; these he later used to cause illness and to kill his enemies. *Toba* novices stood in a line and were hit by the shaman with a stick which penetrated and remained in the body. The Guiana shaman placed a spirit stone in the mouth of his disciple and then drew it through his shoulders and arms "in order to make the tube in the arm through which the shooting is done" (Gillin, 1936, p. 173).

Training.—The confusion between the initiation rites and the period of actual training has resulted in many discrepancies in our sources in the estimate of the time needed by a novice to become a full-fledged shaman. In many Guiana tribes (*Arecuna*, *Taulipáng*, etc.) the apprenticeship is said to have lasted from 10 to 20 years; but among the *Karima Carib*, the *Suisí*, and *Ipurina*, a novice could acquire his

title within a few months. Among the *Karima Carib*, the candidate absorbed the essential knowledge within 3 months. When the training period extended over many years, it must be assumed that the future shaman assisted his teacher from childhood.

Even when the call came unexpectedly, the elected one could not immediately begin to practice his art. He had to learn how to summon his familiar spirit and had to establish a permanent bond with it. Moreover, the techniques which he employed conformed to traditional patterns and could be mastered only after training in their use. Shamans who claimed that their knowledge derived solely from their relationship with spirits, probably glossed over the arduous months or years of apprenticeship in order to stress the mystical aspects of their career.

Very often, as among the *Ona*, the very spirit who selected the man was said also to be his teacher. *Campa* apprentice shamans also disclaimed receiving their training directly from a human teacher, and feigned to learn their art from the soul of a dead shaman. As they put it, the shaman's soul appeared to the novice in his sleep and persuaded him to practice shamanism; if the man consented, the soul repeated its visits every night to instruct him in all the necessary skills.

The *Okaina* and *Muenane* also were said to have no living teachers. A man became a shaman from the moment he received a soul in his body. *Chébero* medicine men were trained in their art by an owl.[3]

In other cases the candidates were trained by experienced shamans. In addition to learning their art by assisting and observing their teacher, the apprentice shamans frequently had to undergo various ordeals that placed them in the group of those who could deal with the supernatural world.

> A young *Galibi* who wished to dedicate himself to being a piaye, placed himself under the rule of an old piaye to whom he was completely devoted and who trained him for a laborious and austere existence. [Barrère, 1743, p. 217.]

Yahgan novices, after their supernatural call, were trained by older shamans and also went to an assembly of shamans which was held for several months. During their attendance at the school, the candidates lived in seclusion and were required to fast, sing, and maintain a certain posture; at the same time, they were taught medicine and the techniques of their office.

The ancient *Araucanian* shamans also were secluded for a long time in caves or secret places, and were consecrated in a solemn feast. In modern times the machi learned chants, drumming, and the rituals of various ceremonies before they were received as full-fledged shamans in a very solemn ceremony. The rites performed on this occasion had

[3] These instances of miraculous training without a human instructor are cited by Tessman who, unfortunately, is not always a reliable authority.

as their purpose the establishment of a symbiosis between the novice and sacred trees; they also symbolized the transmission of magic power from the teacher to the pupil. Moreover, the candidate went through the exact medical treatment that she later performed on her patients.

While serving his master as an assistant, the novice learned to recognize the herbs and magic substances utilized in curing. He progressively familiarized himself with the ritual gestures and learned the technical aspects of his profession, such as the imitation of bird and animal calls and, if he had the necessary gift, ventriloquism. To this knowledge he added the memorization of chants, magic formulae, and sometimes the traditional lore of the community. Astronomy could also be part of his curriculum. Shamans emerged from their training period equipped not only with the magic techniques that permitted them to get in touch with the supernatural at will, cure their patients and destroy their adversaries and the enemies of their clients, but also with a fund of practical knowledge. They became acquainted with curative herbs and drugs and were able to perform simple surgery. Their knowledge of natural phenomena helped them to make predictions based on actual observations.

The power of the shaman.—The shaman's power rested on his ability to summon a spirit that could perform tasks beyond the capacity of ordinary people. The spirit called by the shaman sometimes was his own soul, which he could detach from his body; for instance, shamans sent their souls to investigate events taking place in far away places or to consult with the dead or other spirits or gods. *Mataco* shamans sent their souls to the Sun in the guise of birds. There was a widespread belief that a shaman's soul could enter the body of a jaguar or could actually turn into a jaguar in order to make itself frightful.

In other cases shamans were assisted in their endeavors by spirits that were ghosts, sometimes the souls of dead shaman, animal spirits, or spirits that took animal forms. *Taulipáng* shamans were helped not only by the ghosts of dead shamans but also by the spirits of various plants and animals. One shaman could have several familiars at his disposal.

The shaman's power often was identified with his breath or with tobacco smoke, which materialized his breath and added to it the efficacy of tobacco. The purifying and strengthening power of breath and tobacco smoke played an important part in magic treatments and other magic rites.

The shaman's power also has been described by some authorities as a mysterious substance which the magician carried in his body. The gestures of shamans during their magic operations suggested that they were handling some invisible stuff which they removed from the

patient's body or transmitted to persons or even things to enhance their excellence. The *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans, for instance, were given a substance by the spirits which, in turn, they could communicate to other people to increase their vitality. Nimuendajú, who watched a shaman passing his magic strength on to a new-born child, tells us that the shaman removed it from his body as if it were a garment. Similarly, the *Shipaya* shaman gave his "sleep" to his disciple—that is to say, his power to get in touch with spirits—by pretending to break an invisible belt which he then tied around the waist of the novice.

There is no basic difference between the magic substance—an invisible but tangible stuff—and the arrows, crystals, and thorns that sometimes lodge in the shaman's body. These objects really are materializations of the shaman's power that is sometimes conceived of in the more abstract and vague form of "magic substance." The guardian spirit or familiar of the shaman likewise is a personification of the same power rather than a different entity coexisting with the notion of invisible substance. Magic substance, pathogenic objects, and guardian spirits are three different aspects of the same fundamental but vaguely conceived notion of magic power.

Some concrete examples may illustrate the point. Among several tribes of the upper Amazon the magic substance is closely connected with invisible thorns and darts which are soaked in it.

There is also association between crystals and magic force among the *Cubeo*, where the shaman put into the head of the novice small pieces of crystal that ate up his brains and eyes, replacing these organs and becoming his "power."

The rock crystals also are spirits. According to the Barama *Carib*, each category of spirits was represented by a different kind of stone, the possession of which ensured to the shaman power over the class of spirits identified with the stones. Toward the end of the initiation, stones were passed from the novice's mouth through his arms to open a passage for a magic missile. The crystals and spirits are identical. The magic weapons are endowed with life, for after performing the task assigned to them, they return to the shaman's body.

When a *Yaguá* shaman died, the darts in his body went into the person of a disciple. If a shaman had no heir, the darts flew in the air until they found a shaman into whose body they could enter.

Techniques used by shamans to send their souls away or to conjure up spirits.—Most South American shamans put themselves into a state of trance in order to enter into contact with the supernatural world. In the Guianas, trance was provoked by drinking a decoction of tobacco juice; on the upper Amazon, ayahuasca served the same end. *Tupinamba* shamans smoked until they swooned; *Mataco* and *Vilela*

shamans took snuff made of sebil seeds (*Piptadenia* sp.). The soul of a *Taulipáng* shaman remained in the land of the spirits until the tobacco juice in his body dried.

Conjurations of spirits usually took place at night in a hut vacated by its inhabitants or in special huts built for the purpose. *Tupinamba* shamans, for instance, retired to small cabins where they were visited by the spirits; the people stood outside asking questions which the spirits answered in a "whistling voice."

Shamans' accessories.—The shaman's accessories were few and simple. In most South American tribes from the Guianas to Chile, the rattle was the symbol of the office. The grains inside not only were sacred but actually were materializations of the spirits and the sound of the instrument was their voice. The rattle was a source of power and sanctified the smoke blown through it.

The bench used by Guiana shamans was second in importance to the rattle; it was often carved in an animal shape suggesting the type of spirit consulted by the practitioner. A bundle of leaves was sometimes used by shamans (Guianas, *Tereno*, *Mbayá*) when they summoned spirits; the audience interpreted the rustling noise as a sign of the spirits' presence. Shamans also used feather bundles to sweep off evil spirits during their cures (*Mbayá*, *Tereno*).

Among the *Araucanians*, the shaman's most important accessory was the flat drum, which she beat to put herself into a state of trance. In appearance the instrument is very like the North American and Siberian shaman's drum, and its use was almost identical. In ancient times, the bouncing of the drum was a characteristic shamanistic trick. The use of the flat drum was restricted to the southern part of Chile. It is one of several traits linking the *Araucanians* to North America, which seem to have followed the Pacific Coast long before the development of the high cultures of Perú.

The shaman as a healer.—The idea that diseases are due to natural causes usually is said to have been foreign to South American Indians. Instead, they are thought to have believed that all ills, even accidents caused by clumsiness, had a magic origin. But light and common ailments and the sicknesses introduced by the Whites often were regarded as natural and were treated with drugs rather than by shamanistic means. Nevertheless, most diseases and serious illnesses were attributed to one of two causes: either the patient had been struck by an invisible missile shot by a sorcerer or spirit, or his soul had been kidnapped or had fled.

The technique of shooting a victim varied somewhat in different regions. In some cases the shaman sent his soul to hurl the invisible dart; in others his soul or familiar spirit assumed an animal guise to carry out the misdeed. Sometimes spirits or demons acting of their

own accord attacked a person and caused him to fall ill; plant and animal spirits were especially prone to take revenge in this manner.

A person also could fall ill because his soul had been kidnapped by a sorcerer or spirit or because it had fled the body as a result of a sudden fright. The theory of soul loss was very common in the Chaco, where it co-existed with the concept of intrusion by a pathogenic agent. It was formerly held that the belief in soul loss was foreign to the forest tribes, but evidence of its occurrence continues to turn up as the peoples of the area are better studied (*Caingang*, *Apinayé*, *Omagua*, *Itonama*, *Cocama*, *Tucuna*, *Taulipáng*, *Witoto*, *Botocudo*).

Whatever the shaman's diagnosis, the treatment of the sick was practically identical from the West Indies to Tierra del Fuego. The cure consisted essentially in massaging, blowing, and sucking the patient. Very often the shaman rubbed him with saliva and blew tobacco smoke on him. After some time he removed that cause of the evil: sticks, thorns, or insects. If the agent was a magic substance, he made gestures as though he were removing some sticky but invisible mass. In cases of soul loss, the shaman sent his own soul after it; if it succeeded in recapturing the victim's soul, the shaman placed it back in its bodily envelope.

North of the Amazon the treatment was accompanied by spirit consultations. Plunged in a trance, the shaman went to the land of the spirits to consult them or to challenge the soul of the sorcerer who had caused the trouble.

After the treatment the shaman prescribed a diet and drugs that often were taken not only by the patient but also by his close relatives.

The treatment of diseases among the ancient and modern *Araucanians* was extremely complex and included rites unknown elsewhere in South America. For example, the shaman, during a trance induced by dancing and beating her magic drum, "extracted" the patient's viscera. In modern times, female shamans recited long prayers and magic formulae and, after climbing to the top of a ladderlike post, fell into a swoon.

When diseases and other misfortunes beset the whole village, manifesting the uncanny presence of spirits, it was the duty of shamans to drive the evil out. During an annual feast, *Witoto* shamans expelled the souls that carried ailments.

Other shamanistic functions.—Although the practice of medicine was the shamans' main function, it seldom constituted their only activity. In particular, it was the duty of shamans to watch over the welfare of the group and to ward off attacks of evil spirits. Since the wrath of the spirits often was provoked by violations of taboos, shamans had to prevent such transgressions, and so were in effect the guardians of the religious and moral traditions of the group. They

were also the organizers of magico-religious feasts and were dance leaders.

The shaman often played a considerable part in the economic life of the community. Sometimes he went into a trance to discover the whereabouts of game animals or shoals of fish; with his magic power he could drive animals within the range of hunters' arrows. He also performed fertility rites on behalf of the community and summoned the spirits presiding over the growth of plants. When offerings or sacrifices were made to the spirits, it usually was the shaman who called them and presented the community's request.

The shaman played a decisive role before a war expedition. On such occasions he fasted and went into a trance to consult the spirits in order to learn from them the military dispositions of the enemy. His magic performances were believed to be powerful instruments of victory. When the *Chébero* went to war, their shamans lived in seclusion and fasted for several months. Military disasters were blamed on their negligence.

Shamans sometimes claimed to control weather and other natural phenomena. They could cause rain to fall or, on the contrary, could dissipate storms (*Tapirapé*, *Carajá*). They often were asked to intervene when the Indians felt threatened by some natural event like an eclipse (*Ona*, *Tupinamba*, *Mundurucú*), or the fall of meteors (*Bororo*). *Ona* shamans protected children from being devoured by the moon.

Shamans also had a hand in the administration of justice, for whenever misfortunes or deaths were attributed to witchcraft, the shaman was called upon to unmask the sorcerer, who was generally savagely killed.

Many private rites intended to ensure the well-being of the individual were performed by shamans. They pronounced charms at critical stages in the individual's life, i. e., at birth or puberty, at death or funerals. By their art they ensured the fecundity of women (*Tapirapé*, *Shipaya*), identified the souls reincarnated in the newborn (*Apapocuva-Guaraní*), or chose auspicious names (*Arawak*). The shaman was almost always a trusted adviser.

Payment of shamans.—Only among the Fuegian tribes did the shamans receive no material recompense for their services. In most tribes in which division of labor hardly existed, the shaman was the only specialist and the only person who could acquire wealth by his activities, for as a rule he was paid for his services. The compensation usually consisted of things like knives, combs, urucú, a hammock, bows, and arrows. The *Chébero* gave their shamans part of the war booty and some of the captives. Fees often were demanded in advance of treatment, which might be refused if the patient's family

was too poor to pay. They were payable even when the patient died. *Toba* shamans rationalized their insistence on the ground that the spirits would punish both the practitioner and his patient for a lack of generosity. *Araucanian* women shamans received rich fees; sometimes they claimed that the amount demanded had been supernaturally revealed. *Abipón* shamans were the wealthiest members of their tribe.

Shamans often were paid by their disciples too. If to these revenues one adds the presents given them by people who feared them and the services rendered by their many wives, one may get an idea of the prosperous circumstances of some shamans. When a *Tapirapé* shaman grew too wealthy, he was forced by public opinion and under threat of losing some of his prestige to distribute part of his property.

Authority and prestige of shamans.—The supernatural power of the shaman and the importance of his functions gave him considerable authority and prestige. Most shamans were respected and feared. Veneration reached a peak among the *Tupinamba* and *Guaraní*, who received famous shamans into their villages with extraordinary manifestations of respect and gratitude. Sometimes they even went to the extreme of cleaning the paths such a shaman was to follow. The ancient *Guaraní* worshiped the bones of famous shamans, which were kept in huts in luxurious hammocks covered with feather capes. People came to make offerings and to consult them as oracles.

The reputation of clever shamans in tropical South America went far beyond the limits of their own community. Legends crystallized around the personality of a shaman who impressed his people with his ability, and countless miracles were attributed to him. Some shamanistic accomplishments were based on tricks and sleight-of-hand performances. The *Bororo* claimed that some of their bari could chew up tapir bones and drink boiling water. *Apapocuva* shamans took honey out of closed sections of bamboo. *Guajajara* shamans, possessed by the frog spirit, swallowed embers. *Tereno* piai extracted feathers from their skin, swallowed arrows, and even "removed" limbs. Fire walking was a common performance by shamans in the Chaco and Tierra del Fuego.

Despite their considerable influence, the functions of shamans were, as a rule, independent of those of chiefs. However, there are many instances of chiefs who were at the same time powerful shamans. Their authority was especially conspicuous among the *Guaraní*, who often were ruled by shaman-chiefs. Among the *Taulipáng* and *Carib* tribes, shamans often had more power than the chiefs.

Shamans as sorcerers.—Since shamans were by definition "carriers of invisible arrows or magic substances" they were provided with

powerful weapons that could be used as well for good and evil. Without his negative power, the shaman could not be a doctor. A shaman who used his weapons only to attack enemies outside the community would have a good reputation and would be regarded as the best servant of the group. It was only when he turned against members of his own group that he provoked hatred, distrust, and, in the end, sometimes revenge.

The magic substance which was the shaman's strength and which he used to heal and strengthen his clients, became a mortal weapon when it was turned against an enemy. "The power of the shaman is identical with the poison" that kills. The *Guaraní* shaman struck at his foes by casting into them the magic substance recovered from the body of his patients. The *Chiquito* shaman carried in his stomach a blackish substance which was fatal to those in whom it was injected with criminal intent.

Shamans also practiced rites of imitative and contagious magic on the exuviae of their victims. Moreover, shamans could change themselves into dangerous animals, especially jaguars. The belief in werewolves was very strong in most South American tribes.

In the Guianas, criminal acts classified as kanaima cover practically all kinds of black magic, though certain authors have reserved the use of this term for a mysterious fraternity of avengers and criminals. The concept of kanaima is, however, very much more inclusive. When epidemics swept through the land, when several sudden deaths caused terror, or when a person died of a slow wasting disease, the Indians spoke of kanaima. Kanaima may be many things. It may be a person, an avenger who follows his victim for many years, or a murderer who performs his misdeeds at night. It may be a real or an imaginary tribe, or, in fact, any secret enemy, any ghost against whom there is no defense. Kanaima is also every disgrace and misfortune and, in addition, the desire for revenge that overtakes a victim and forces him to do something dreadful (Koch-Grünberg, 1923 a, 3: 216–217).

The punishment which the Indians meted out to witches was proportionate to the fear with which they regarded them. The most cruel acts committed by Indians were always those against shamans who had forfeited their trust. The *Campa* not only slaughtered the guilty shaman, but also his family, and destroyed his goods.

Shamans as priests.—In the strict sense of the word, a man was a shaman only insofar as his relationship with the spirits was of a personal nature, and his actions were determined by immediate circumstances rather than by formalized religious tradition. The shaman served his community because of his supernatural power, not because he was a man invested with functions specified by a traditional cult. Nevertheless, because of his magic powers, it was the shaman who

could best act as intermediary between the community and the supernatural world, and so he sometimes functioned as a religious leader for the group.

Where Andean influences were felt, the function of the shaman was developing toward that of the priest. The best examples of this sort of shift in emphasis and role are found among the *Mojo* and the *Manasí* of eastern Bolivia (Métraux, 1943 a). A similar change seemed to be taking place among the *Taino* of the West Indies.

Mojo shamans presented offerings to the gods and prayed and fasted for the community, but they also were possessed by spirits and cured patients just as shamans did in the rest of tropical South America.

Taino shamans were simultaneously priests and medicine men. They presided over the cult of the zemi and organized religious ceremonies; they distributed the cassava offerings, which the people kept as talismans. In addition, they treated people by sucking, blowing, and the other methods common to their Guiana colleagues.

Among the *Araucanians*, the machi, or female shamans, played an important part in the ceremonies (ngillatuns) celebrated to ask favors of the supernaturals.

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"The mission of man is to remember. To remember to remember. To taste everything in eternity as once in time. All happens only once but that is forever."

HENRY MILLER
Remember to Remember

To Richard Gutherie, artist, and Tomás Díaz—each, in his own way, proving that when enough pressure is applied a diamond appears from within.

G. D., 1993

Thanks to Alberto and Gualberta Trejo, papermaker, San Pablito, Mexico; Armando Arriaga, woodcarver, Puebla, Mexico; Beckey Reisberg, conservator and bookmaker; Jeff Baker, photographer; Carl and Terrie Huff, whose door was always open; Patricia Morris, Lenny Lamm and Henry Miller, for showing the way.

A. R., 1993

My thanks go to John Pohl, Betsy Smith and Nancy Troike, inspiring students of pre-Columbian writing; to Cara Tannenbaum for almost everything; and to Leah Madeline for giving reason to being.

B. B., 1993

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THE PLATES 1

ARTISTS' PREFACE

The aim of the Díaz-Rodgers version of the Codex Borgia was to reproduce the codex using traditional methods and materials, and to restore as accurately as possible all damaged sections of the book; in short, to see the book in the pristine condition it had existed in during the time of the Aztecs.

Of course, the idea of codex restoration is not new. This project was heavily influenced by the restoration work done on the Codex Dresden and, most importantly of all, the work on the Codex Nuttall, which has been reprinted by Dover Publications.

Work on this project began with drawings made from photographs of the Codex Borgia. The first set of drawings was made to become familiar with the symbols and characters within the manuscript. The object at this point was to copy the original artwork as closely as possible. After the first drawings were completed, the entire book was redrawn again using pen and ink on Herculene film. In these final drawings, the restoration of the codex was conducted. First, each character (separate image) was centered within its defined space. For example, if the original artist(s) implied a division of one-half page in the original text, exactly one-half page was used to reproduce that portion of the codex. With regard to the characters, no changes were made. If a temple leaned in one direction or another, it was left as it was. Here, the process of extrapolated restoration occurred. The easiest restoration was the connecting of the lines based on other undamaged parts of the manuscript. This was relatively easy in some parts, as the figures were easily identifiable with just small parts of the figure worn away.

Of course, other sections were not so easily reproduced and some value judgments were called for. It is here, in the more difficult restoration parts, that some criticism is possible. An example is Plate 2. According to Alexander von Humboldt, the first and last pages of the original codex were partially burned by servant children of the Giustiniani family. In one of the burned areas (upper right), a scorpion is partially visible. Therefore, in the final series of drawings it was reproduced as a whole scorpion using other scorpions in the codex as guidelines. For example, Plates 13, 18, 59 and 69 each contain stylized versions of the scorpion. What may be wrong or lacking is the direction or curve of the scorpion's stinger on Plate 2. In order to fill and balance the given area, the scorpion was drawn with the straight extended stinger as found on Plate 59. The stylistic traits of the partial scorpion on Plate 2 served as the foundation of the new scorpion. In the final drawings, implied symmetry was formalized. All red dividing lines were made straight in the horizontal and vertical directions.

In the section of the book comprising Plates 61 through 70, the day signs, or symbols, are accurate. What may be lacking are certain characteristics unique to that particular day according to its place within the sacred order of 260 days. For instance, it should be noted that each half of these pages has 13 day signs associated with it. This order was noted by Sahagún in his monumental work *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*. What will be found lacking are certain aspects of characteristics of the day signs which would have borne specific significance for that specific time period. For example, "Ollin," or Movement, can take several forms. In all the different forms, Movement is still Movement but it has several ways of being represented in this manuscript. On Plate 65 (upper half) it is seen upright and entwined with a red side dominating the right half of the symbol. On this same plate, in the bottom row of day signs, Movement is found again entwined, but this time it is lying down with the red half of the symbol on the bottom side. Plate 70 again shows Movement in the top row of the day signs. Here it is exactly as found on the bottom row of Plate 65, except the blue half is found on a totally different form. It is no longer entwined, but rather a star or flower form. That is by no means all of the possible forms of "Ollin." Sometimes the color and the shape of the center point varies. Each aspect that "Ollin" assumes has an important symbolic meaning and something distinct to say about that particular moment in time and space.

The bottom parts of Plates 28, 57, 58, 61 through 64 and 66 through 70 were especially difficult to reproduce. In all of these plates, the day signs were entirely missing, which called for quite a few judgment calls during the restoration process.

Concurrent with the drawing process was the investigation of different types of traditional *ámatl* bark paper. This investigation led to San Pablito, Mexico, and to Alberto and Berta Trejo. The Trejos were traditional makers of the paper that was used in this project. The process for this handmade paper has been well documented in many papers and several books; however, because of the special size requirement of the paper and the fact that the paintings were to be mounted onto an accordion-like book, several new methods of producing oversize pieces of paper were investigated. The new process for large-format paper quickly became the standard for the entire village.

After the final drawings were completed and the *ámatl* paper selected, the drawings made on the transparent film were transferred to the *ámatl* paper using a blackline undercoating. Because of the variation in the paper's color and quality, approximately 20 copies of each plate were transferred. The best copy of each plate was then carefully selected, based on paper characteristics and accuracy of line reproduction.

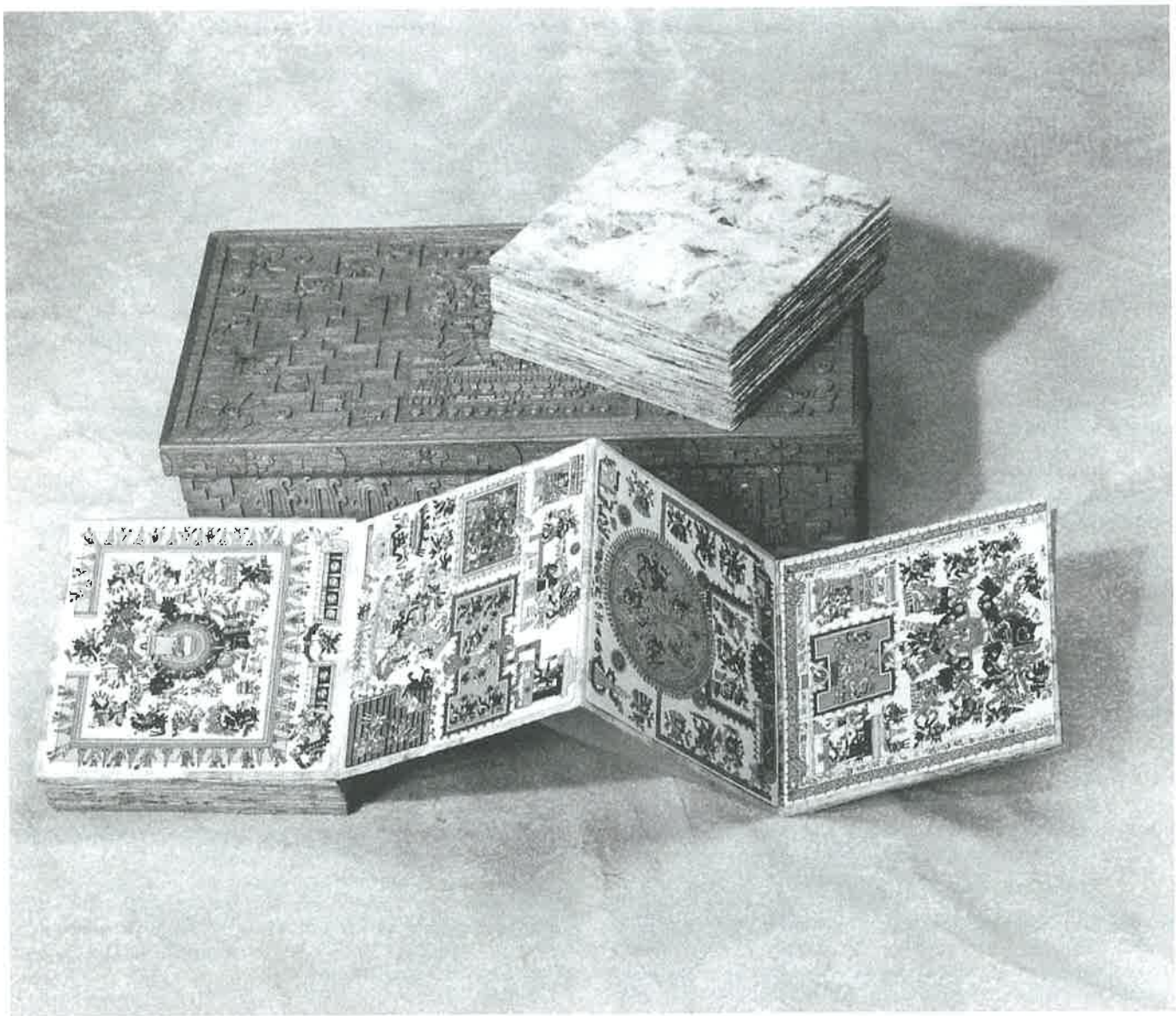
The next phase was the application of color. First, two coats of titanium-white watercolor were applied as a base. This served to stretch the paper and fill the porous surface of the paper. Colors were then applied by hand starting with yellow. Red was the final color to be applied. Experiments were conducted using natural dyes; however, it quickly became apparent that this was beyond the

scope of this project. Instead, watercolors were used. To insure uniformity in paint color, some portions of the plates required as many as four or five separate coats of paint. Although the plates were produced over several years, every effort was made to insure uniformity and consistency in color from Plate 1 through Plate 76. Finally, after all the colors were applied, the black lines were hand painted with tiny brushes, thereby encasing the characters of the manuscript. Two coats of acrylic fixative were finally applied to protect the colors. The plates were produced in order.

After the paintings were completed, they were photographed by Dallas photographer Jeff Baker. The plates were then taken to Beckey Reisberg, who assembled them into a unique accordion-style book using proper conservation techniques and methods. Two 40-foot *ámatl* sheets were produced. Each painting was then mounted on one of these long sheets, which then folded into an accordion-style book. Plates 1 through 38 are in one of these original books and Plates 39 through 76 are in the other. The books are stored in a hand-carved cedar box produced by Armando Arriaga, one of Mexico's finest woodcarvers.

Total time to complete the project was seven years.

G. D.
A. R.



The original painted Díaz and Rodgers restoration of the Codex Borgia, showing its screenfold (accordion-fold) nature, its *ámatl* paper and the handsome box crafted for it.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY BRUCE E. BYLAND

The Present Edition of the Codex Borgia

The present edition is a new hand-painted restoration of the Codex Borgia designed to recreate the sense of awe and wonder that the original manuscript must have inspired before the depredations of time and ill treatment took their toll. Over the five or more centuries since the original was painted by some unknown Mexican scribe or scribes, much has happened to it. It has been opened and closed countless times. Its fragile pages have been touched and manipulated, folded and rubbed, photographed and drawn. It has been exposed to heat and humidity. It has survived the abuse of children, who folded some of its pages and burned others. It has lost its original wooden end pieces. The result of all this activity is that the images painted so carefully by the original artist or artists have been damaged. In many places flakes of pigment have been rubbed off and lost, thus obscuring the original images to varying extents. Most seriously, parts of three leaves have been damaged by fire.

This has left a document which, though still recognized as one of the finest and most important original sources for the study of pre-Columbian religion, has been seriously compromised. Ms. Gisele Díaz and Mr. Alan Rodgers are to be commended for their efforts to recover the grandeur of the original manuscript. The Dover edition will, for the first time, make a reproduction of the manuscript accessible to the general public. That it is not a photographic or precise facsimile may possibly trouble some among the corps of professional codex scholars, though they are among the few who have access to the costly photographic facsimiles already published (Kingsborough 1831–48, Ehrle 1898, Seler 1904–09 [Spanish translation as Seler 1963], Nowotny 1976). Although these rare, expensive editions remain preferable for serious scholarship, that does not lessen the inspirational and broad educational value of this restoration.

Just as Dover's edition of Zelia Nuttall's copy of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall is not an exact rendition of the original, the reproduction published here is not an exact copy of the Codex Borgia, even in its current state. It is, rather, an informed attempt at a restoration, a careful reimagining of the original beauty of the manuscript. Even though the restoration has omitted the glosses added to the manuscript by a European hand after the conquest, it is not intended to be a definitive reconstruction of the original as it was painted before the arrival of the Spanish. It is not a precise copy of the extant portions but rather a redrawing that includes tiny differences of detail throughout. (Any significant differences will be pointed out in the commentary later in this introduction.) Colors are rendered close to their appearance in the original as it exists today, not as they were when the Codex Borgia was new; for example, some original greens are now a shade of tan, and it is the tan that appears here.

Because of its very availability and because of the care that Díaz and Rodgers have put into this faithful restoration of the manuscript, students can learn much from it. Those who want to study the original in fine detail should first use this edition as a guide but should also seek out a copy of the fine photographic facsimile published by ADEVA (Nowotny 1976). They should also look for the outstanding commentaries on the codex published by Nowotny (1961a) and Seler (1963). In addition, the serious student should not neglect the important studies of the Codex Borgia and the other members of the Borgia Group of codices published by Humboldt (1810), Caso (1927), Noguera (1927), Robertson (1963), Spranz (1964), Glass (1975), Sisson (1983), Biedermann (1989) and others. The present edition will become a starting point for study of the religious codices of highland Mexico just as the Dover publication of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975) has become the principal introduction to the Mixtec historical codices for so many modern students.

The original codex was painted on a long strip of folded animal skin as a screenfold book. Fourteen strips of skin were attached end to end, trimmed to a standard height of 27 cm, folded into a screenfold and prepared for painting with a white lime-plaster ground. The artist or scribe then painted the manuscript with an extraordinarily artistic hand, using both mineral and vegetable pigments. The book was intended to be read in continuous fashion from one end to the other, from right to left, on one side and then turned over so that the reading could continue on the other side. Even though the current binding does not reproduce that screenfold format, the reading order in this edition does recreate the linear form of the original by binding the pages in reverse order so that the text begins at the back and is read from right to left and from back to front, in much the same way as the Dover edition of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall.

The History of the Codex Borgia

The Codex Borgia has long been recognized as one of the most elegant and beautiful of the few surviving pre-Columbian painted manuscripts. Its special significance has been seen in its detailed depiction of highland Mesoamerican gods and the ritual and divination associated with them. Substantial portions of the codex convey various aspects and attributes of the 260-day ritual calender. The more detailed ceremonial aspects of the images have been harder to understand.

The Codex Borgia is today housed in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican in Rome, Italy. It was originally painted somewhere in the central highlands of Mexico as a unique manuscript. The exact

place at which it was painted is not now known and is the subject of much discussion. During the summer of 1982, the Pre-Columbian Studies Program at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., sponsored a summer research seminar on the codices of the Borgia Group at which much attention was paid to this problem (Sisson 1983). While no final conclusion could be drawn, the opinion of most of the participants in the seminar was that the Codex Borgia was probably originally painted somewhere in central or southern Puebla, the area around Tepeaca and Cuauhtinchan or the Tehuacán Valley. Others would expand this potential area of origin to include nearby areas of the Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca. Since various aspects of the manuscript seem to point with equal validity to each of these areas, we cannot choose one over the others. Perhaps we should conclude, rather, that central and southern Puebla and northern Oaxaca shared a religious and iconographic scheme and that the pronouncements of the Codex Borgia would have had equal validity in all of these nearby regions (Pohl and Byland n.d.). Seen in that light, the precise point of origin is not so important as the information that can be gained from careful study of the codex.

It is generally believed that the Codex Borgia was originally painted in the decades immediately before the arrival of the Spanish. This presumption is based on the observation that its style shows no hint of European influence. In addition its religious content was more apt to have been repressed rather than encouraged after the arrival of Catholic priests. It is not possible now to determine exactly how long before the beginning of the Colonial period it was painted, though it probably dates to the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.

The Codex Borgia was sent back to Europe at some point in the early Colonial period, though when, by whom and to whom is not known. Its early movements in Europe are also obscure. It has been argued that at some time in the sixteenth century the manuscript was sent to Italy either directly from Mexico or from an intermediate stop in Spain (Ehrle 1898). This supposition is based on the paleography of a gloss on page 68 of the manuscript that appears to have been written in poor Italian (presumably in the hand of a sixteenth-century Mexican or Spaniard not fully fluent in Italian). At any rate, from then until very late in the eighteenth century nothing is known of the whereabouts of the codex.

It first came to the attention of scholarship when in 1805 Alexander von Humboldt saw it in Rome among the effects of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who had died the previous year. Humboldt wrote, with some authority, that Cardinal Borgia had acquired the codex from the Giustiniani family, neighbors who had entrusted the document to some servants, who in turn had given it to their children as a plaything. As a result, before Humboldt ever saw it the manuscript had been burned and mistreated. When Cardinal Borgia died he left almost all of his possessions to the branch of the Vatican which he had directed for many years, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; his brother was to inherit the family museum. Although the codex was not located in the family museum at the time of the Cardinal's death, his brother sued for its possession. After a few years of legal wrangling the Congregatio was awarded the codex and housed it in its library. Late in the nineteenth century it was transferred to the Apostolic Library of the Vatican, where it remains today.

Pre-Columbian Manuscripts

The painted books of Mesoamerica represent an amazing legacy of the religious and historical knowledge acquired by the pre-Columbian people of Mexico and northern Central America. A scant few of these documents survive to this day. The vast majority of them were destroyed in the misguided efforts of early Spanish priests to stamp out all vestiges of the heathen religions of the native peoples. Accounts of the burning and destruction of hundreds and thousands of native books can bring tears to the eyes. We can only wonder today at the range and depth of information lost through the destruction of so vast a cultural resource. Despite this tragedy, much can be said about the manuscript-painting traditions of Mesoamerica. We have perhaps fifteen or so surviving books and manuscripts that were produced either before the Conquest or in a native style in the years directly after the arrival of the Spanish (Glass 1975:11–12). In addition to these works, there are about two dozen pictorial documents made by indigenously trained native scribes and artists for the Spanish conquerors as illustrations of native history, religion, custom and practice. Finally, there are literally hundreds of pictorial manuscripts produced by native artists during the early Colonial period in many ordinary contexts: maps to go with geographic descriptions, genealogies or histories to support claims to titles and tribute, lists of tribute actually paid or due, evidence for cases tried in Spanish courts, calendrical documents and many others.

The surviving pre-Conquest–style screenfolds include three classes or groups of books: Mixtec histories, Maya religious books and highland religious books. The histories include the seven Mixtec historical manuscripts, which deal with local history and royal genealogies from various communities in the Mixteca Alta and surrounding regions (Smith 1973, Byland and Pohl in press). A second group comprises the three or four surviving Maya screenfolds, all of which are painted on paper rather than animal skin (Glass 1975:77). These codices are substantially divinatory and calendrical in content and are written in a distinctively Mayan style incorporating much Maya hieroglyphic text. A third group of pre-Conquest books is known as the Borgia Group, named after their most prominent member, the Codex Borgia (Nowotny 1961a). These are all screenfolds on animal skin that are concerned with religious and ritual matters. They are painted in styles very similar, though not identical, to those of the Mixtec historical codices.

The Mixtec historical manuscripts include the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975, Troike 1987); the Codex Colombino-Becker I, composed of two rejoined parts (Troike 1980, Smith 1963, Caso and Smith 1966); the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1961b); the Codex Bodley (Caso 1960); the Codex Selden (Smith 1983, Caso 1964); the Codex Vindobonensis (Furst 1978, Adelhofer 1963); and the Codex Egerton (Burland 1965).

The three widely accepted Maya codices are the Codex Paris (Anders 1968), the Codex Dresden (Anders and Dekkert 1975) and the Codex Madrid (Anders 1967). Each appears to be dedicated to the calendar, the deities of the Maya pantheon and the supernatural aspects of the calendar associated with ritual divination. A fourth codex, the Grolier Codex, may also be a member of this group though it is not yet universally accepted.

The Codex Borgia is the leading member of a small group of pre-Columbian manuscripts known collectively as the Borgia Group. The Borgia Group is particularly significant because of its pre-Conquest date and its religious content. The many manuscripts treating religious subjects that must have existed before the sixteenth century were particularly sought out for destruction by zealous Spanish priests and friars who were charged with ending idolatrous practices. The manuscripts of the Borgia Group seem to have been spared this fate by the happy accident of their having been sent to Europe, probably to Spain, early in the Conquest period.

In addition to the Codex Borgia, the principal screenfold members of the Borgia Group are the Codex Cospi (Nowotny 1968),

which is a ritual calendar with some ritual information on its reverse side; the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Burland 1971), which is a ritual calendar; the Codex Laud (Burland 1966), which is a ritual calendar with several other kinds of ritual information included; and the Codex Vaticanus B (Anders 1972), which is also a ritual calendar. The other related documents sometimes included in the group as minor members are the Fonds Mexicains no. 20, a single page of deerskin, and the Codex Porfirio Díaz, a screenfold that includes a section with similar ritual and religious content.

From these extant native-tradition books we may discern several characteristics of Mesoamerican written records. We know, for example, that books were not published in a European sense. That is to say, they were all handmade in single copies without the use of any type of impression-making device: no movable type, no stamps or rollers. It is arguable that every book was unique, made in one place by one patron and for one set of purposes. Information is shared among several of the codices but its form is never identical. Of course, the very small sample size of surviving manuscripts makes this generalization difficult to prove. It is certainly possible that books were exactly copied in a scribal tradition similar to that of the European monastic tradition, though no proof of this possibility exists.

It can be argued that the written literature of the pre-Columbian peoples was divided into categories in their minds as well as ours. Historical books deal with people, places, politics and genealogy. Religious documents deal with the calendar, ceremonialism and divination. Overlap between them is found in areas where historically important people participate in divination or other ceremonies and where politically significant places have sacred significance.

The content of the post-Conquest documents suggests the possibility of other written genres that have not survived. The codices do not contain two-dimensional maps of the landscape in forms familiar as such to European eyes. Despite this observation, the fact that space is represented in the codices in various ways (Pohl and Byland 1990) and the existence of many post-Conquest maps (see Glass 1975) suggest that space had been graphically represented in pre-Columbian times. In addition, the lists of tribute obligations of towns prepared for the Spanish tax collectors suggests the likelihood of similar record keeping before the European arrival. We can imagine the rulers of native communities making a sincere effort to keep such documents, if they ever existed, out of the hands of the new oppressors.

Pre-Columbian Religion

The religious beliefs of pre-Columbian peoples in Mesoamerica were vastly complex. There was a shared religious system over much of Mexico and northern Central America with regard to the calendar, the major deities, the structure of the world and the hierarchy of the supernatural world. Nevertheless, each town and region had its own nuances of belief that set it apart from its neighbors. Different deities were held in esteem in different places and many gods, even major ones, had differing characteristics of dress and behavior. Much of this complexity is not now discernible but some has been preserved. We know, for example, the patron deities of many communities whose particular charge was the protection of the local people and land.

The behavioral range covered by religion in ancient Mesoamerica was like that of any complex religious system. The gods were organized in a hierarchy reflecting that of the people. They came equipped with family ties, affections and jealousies, indeed with all the complexities of human life. They had potential influence over the very existence of the world, having caused its destruction and re-creation as many as five times, according to Aztec chroniclers. On a smaller scale they were thought to have the capacity to affect the forces of nature and the success of human endeavor. Rain would come only if the rain deity was properly propitiated. Wind would blow too strongly or too weakly unless the wind deity was correctly worshiped. Spirits inhabited the night air and the wild animals of the hills. Auguries and oracles could predict the success or failure of any activity. Patterns in nature were explained by the interaction of the forces of the supernatural world with those of the physical one. In all these ways and more, the supernatural was present in the daily lives of the people of Mesoamerica.

The people of the various towns and cities of ancient Mesoamerica had to be able to deal with the potent forces of the transcendent world above, below and around them. These interactions were often made on a personal level, at a family shrine, or by repetition of a special prayer or incantation in the fields or while doing some task. At other times connection to the power of the supernatural required a trained specialist, a priest. For this task a wide variety of specialized priests was available. There were priests dedicated to each of the many gods and other supernatural forces. There were bureaucratic priests dedicated to the ancestral deities of each town or region. There were priests who performed autosacrifice and human sacrifice. There were those who prophesied the future of natural phenomena and those who prophesied the future of human activity. There were priests who preached and others who taught.

For priests to be able to fulfill all these complex roles they had to have immense knowledge. Part of that knowledge was acquired in formal schools called *calmecac*. More was learned on the job as junior priests working with older, more experienced priests. Among the things required of priests was the ability to read books and interpret the information contained in them. That was nowhere more evident than in the case of the religious books, which served as densely packed compendia of vital information about the nature of the supernatural world and its relationships with the physical one. The Codex Borgia was just such a book.

Much of the capacity to interpret the codex was based on intimate knowledge of the gods and their many characteristics. The pantheon of ancient Mesoamerica was amazingly complex. The many deities often had multiple identities, different names and characteristics apparently being associated with a single deity. Similarly, the iconographic representations of deities often seem to display substantial overlap. Attributes associated with two or more individual deities could be represented on the person of a single god in a particular context. All this makes the study of pre-Columbian religion a daunting task. The most encyclopedic analysis of which I am aware is the masterly work of H. B. Nicholson (1971). A very strong, and more accessible, recent study is by Davíd Carrasco (1990).

It is not possible in any brief treatment to expound fully the intricacies of pre-Columbian religion and its extraordinarily complex deities. A few characteristics of a handful of the deities will have to suffice as an introduction here.

Quetzalcóatl is the Feathered Serpent. He is a god of rebirth and renewal. In one of his most important capacities he is known as Ehécatl, the god of the wind. He is at one and the same time the god of the wind, the four winds of the four directions and the 400 little winds that blow everywhere. In another identity he is known as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the embodiment of the planet Venus as the morning or evening star. Quetzalcóatl was one of the creators of the sun and the world.

Tezcatlipoca is the Dark Smoking Mirror. He is an all-knowing, ever-present and all-powerful god. He, too, is a god of several capacities or personalities. Tezcatlipoca is sometimes represented as

the Red Tezcatlipoca (Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca) and sometimes as the Black Tezcatlipoca (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca). He is the sower of discord and conflict, a god of darkness and warfare.

Tláloc is the god of rain and storm. He is the god of waters in the sky. Tláloc is a creator of life; his rain brings regrowth in the spring. He also carries the lightning and is responsible for destructive storms.

Chalchiuhtlicue is the consort of Tláloc. She is the goddess of running water, waters on the earth like lakes, rivers and springs. Her name literally means "Precious Green Stone Skirt."

Tlazoltéotl was a very basic and very complex deity. She was a goddess of the earth. She had a role as the goddess of the moon. She was sometimes known as Tlaelcuani and in that capacity was known as the eater of filth and excrement. In this role she was also a sensual goddess of enticement and sexuality. Other names for Tlazoltéotl included Teteoinnan, "mother of the gods," and Toci, "our grandmother."

There were, of course, dozens of other deities both high and low, some of whom will be identified briefly in the commentary below.

The Nature of the Codex Borgia

Purpose or Function

The Codex Borgia is a native-tradition religious manuscript from an unidentified part of the southern central highlands of Mexico, perhaps from somewhere in what is now the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Though we do not know from what indigenous context it was first extracted by the Spaniards, it is not hard to surmise that it was a ritual document taken from a sacred place—perhaps a temple, a priest's residence or a sacred shrine of some sort. Its content suggests that it was used for several purposes. It seems to have been a prognostication tool for divining the future in various ways. Parts of the codex are ritual 260-day calendars. These are augmented by substantial sections delineating the signs of the days and the deities of the days and the nights. Other pages characterize various portions of the ritual calendar and still others relate the ritual calendar to the solar year. Another part of the manuscript presents a sort of numerological prognostication of the lives of wedded couples. Other sections concern the cardinal directions of the world and the supernatural characters and attributes of these regions. Other portions describe the characteristics of various deities, forming a sort of catalog of supernatural beings who can influence the world. Still other passages may contain a pattern for ceremonies for the installation of rulers in certain pre-Columbian kingdoms. These aspects will all be discussed below in an abbreviated commentary based largely on the work of Seler (1963) and Nowotny (1961a).

An underlying level of meaning within the Codex Borgia is found in its frequent depictions of the various deities and other supernatural beings. The interpretation of auguries depended on the priest's reading of the images and his knowledge of the characteristics of the various powerful creatures represented.

Approaches to Reading the Codex

The Codex Borgia is composed of 39 equally sized leaves. The first and last of these, the outside surfaces of the stack of folded pages, were affixed to end pieces, presumably fashioned of wood. Every exposed side of the manuscript was painted with information by the artist or artists who created the document. We thus have 37 leaves that are painted on both sides and two end leaves painted on only one side, for a total of 76 painted pages.

The wonderful character of a screenfold manuscript, in comparison with a modern binding, that the reader is not restricted to seeing only two pages at once. When a screenfold book is opened two, four, six or more pages can be seen at a time. Indeed, the pages being consulted simultaneously do not need to be consecutive or even on the same side of the manuscript. This structure allows for easy transgression of a simple linear reading order. Flashbacks, flashforwards and cross references can be found entirely out of the simple flow of time.

As a result of this versatile format, reading order for a learned scribe could be very diverse. He could read a book from beginning to end in a linear form similar to ours, or else read several pages at once, referring back and forth as needed through many images to follow different aspects of the information being studied. Clearly the skill required to read these books was not easily obtained.

The Content of the Codex

Though the content of the Codex Borgia is only partially understood, we can say with assurance that it is a ritual book. Substantial parts seem to be a text of standard ritual information, to be used like a reference book. Other parts seem to be mnemonic devices encoding more arcane ritual information. Yet another part seems to have been a prescriptive set of directions for the performance of a particular series of ceremonies. The best and most detailed commentaries on the manuscript are those written by Eduard Seler (1904–09) and K. A. Nowotny (1961a). Their work notwithstanding, much of the interpretation offered to date is limited. While codex scholars have been able to work out much of the calendrical order and to recognize some of the deities, creatures and objects depicted in the manuscript, the contexts in which they have been portrayed are still not fully understood. It is still necessary to identify the more obscure images and to divine the relationships between the deities and activities depicted and the calendar to which they are attached. Efforts to do so are ongoing. Similarly, it is still necessary to pinpoint the language spoken by the original authors of the Borgia Group codices; many separate languages were spoken in the likely regions of origin. Recent work on these manuscripts has been conducted by a handful of scholars from around the world, among them Peter van der Loo, John M. D. Pohl, Maarten Jansen, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Mark King and Edward B. Sisson.

What follows here is a very brief redaction of the commentaries of Seler and Nowotney, informed by the more recent work of Pohl (Pohl and Byland n.d., 1991) and van der Loo (1982, 1987 and personal communication) and with a few ideas of the present writer. It is intended to help the novice reader begin the search for understanding. All readers of this introduction are encouraged to pursue the study of ancient Mexican religion by referring to more extensive commentaries on the codex and to other more general studies of pre-Columbian religion (Carrasco 1990, León-Portilla 1963, Lopez Austin 1973, Nicholson 1971) and writing (Benson 1973, Marcus 1992, Smith 1973). The text of the Codex Borgia has been arbitrarily divided into a number of groups of pages or parts of pages that seem to make sense when taken together. Though these divisions seem today to be reasonable, they should not be considered to be absolutely authoritative. New insight may be gained by trying new ways of seeing and understanding the images of highland pre-Columbian writing systems.

An Abbreviated Commentary on the Codex Borgia

Plates (Original Pages) 1–8: The First Calendar, a 260-Day Ritual Calendar

A fundamental tool of ritual prognostication and divination throughout ancient Mesoamerica was the 260-day ritual calendar, known to the Aztecs as the *tonalpohualli,* or "the book of the days." (In many ancient Mesoamerican languages the term for the ritual calendar had much the same meaning; the Mixtecs, for example, had several names, including *tutu yehe dahui quevui,* "the book that has the days.") This ritual calendar, covering a period that is shorter than the solar year, was used for various purposes. It was much more than just a list of days: it expressed the relationship between time and space and between both of them and the world of the gods. The Mixtecs had another term for the calendar that conveys some of this interconnection: *nee ñuhu duyu dusa,* meaning more or less "all the spirits who support the disc of the earth" (Alvarado 1962[1593]:41v, Arana and Swadesh 1965). The disc of the earth is the plane upon which we live. It is composed of four cardinal directions and linked to the realms above and below by a central hinge that constitutes a fifth direction. Periods within the calendars are associated with specific supernatural figures and are linked to the five directions. Here the relationship of time, space and the supernatural world becomes evident.

The 260-day ritual calendar was constructed using two continuous sequences, one of 13 numbers and the other of 20 day signs. The 13 numbers run in sequence and then start again. Similarly the 20 day signs run in sequence and then start again. The total number of uniquely identified days using this system, then, is 13 times 20 or 260. In Figure 1, the 260 days of the calendar are arranged in 13 columns and 20 rows. To the left of each row is found the day sign, and in each cell of the diagram is the corresponding day number. The calendar in this form should be read from top to bottom and from left to right through 260 days. In this illustration the first day is 1 Alligator, the second day is 2 Wind and so on. The thirteenth day is 13 Reed, but be sure to note that the fourteenth day is 1 Jaguar, not 14 Jaguar, because only 13 numbers are used in the day-number cycle.

The first eight pages of the Codex Borgia enumerate the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli* together with images that seem to carry information about the qualities of these days. Here the 260 days are arranged in five narrow rows of day signs with the 13 numbers omitted. Above and below the rows of day signs are 104 taller images laid out in two rows. These 104 images are unique depictions of people, deities, places or things that presumably have supernatural qualities. They are usually taken to be qualifiers for the five specific days shown between each upper and lower pair. Some are clearly of standard deities. Tonatiuh, Tezcatlipoca, Xipe Tótec and others.[1] Others represent natural objects and artifacts: the scorpion, offerings, bundles, serpents, the sky, the sun and many other things. Still others seem more religious and iconographic: images of human sacrifice and other offerings, serpents descending from the sky, blood flowing from the sun, complex sacred bundles and other things laden with unknown meaning. The actual significance to a pre-Columbian priest of these many different images remains obscure but can certainly be the subject of further study.

The enumeration of 260 days begins with a drawing of the Alligator at the lower right corner of the five narrow rows on Plate 1. It then proceeds from right to left across all eight pages of the *tonalpohualli.* At the end of that row, at the bottom left corner of Plate 8, the day sign for Grass is found. It is the fifty-second day sign and should, if 1 Alligator was the first day, represent the day 13 Grass. The next day in the sequence should be the day 1 Reed. The only place that Reed is found at either end of one of these five rows of day signs is at the right end of the next row up, the second row from the bottom on Plate 1. If the reading continues there, Reed is followed by Jaguar and Eagle and Vulture and so on. Following this pattern, the calendar is read as five rows of 52 day signs from right to left and from bottom to top. The last day in the calendar is the day Flower, which should be 13 Flower if the first day was indeed 1 Alligator.

Plates 9–13: The 20 Deities of the 20 Named Days

The next five pages of the Codex Borgia are also meant to be read as a unit, as they depict 20 deities, four to a page. Each quarter-page contains a deity, an elaborately drawn day sign and another figure or group of figures. These five pages undoubtedly carry information important to the interpretation of the supernatural qualities of each of the 20 days.

The five pages of the deities of the days are meant to be read in the order of the days, beginning with Alligator in the lower right quadrant of Plate 9. The reading order then proceeds from right to left along the lower register across pages in succession until the lower left quadrant of Plate 13 is reached with the deity of the day named Dog. The next day sign in sequence is Monkey, which is found on page 13 just above Dog—that is, in the upper left quadrant. The reading order then proceeds from left to right until you reach the day Flower in the upper right quadrant of Plate 9, just above the first of the 20 day names. This arrangement of the days sets up a cyclic structure: the reading can proceed continuously through the circle of 20 names again and again in a never-ending cycle, just as the calendar goes on and on.

The deities associated with each day sign are characters who have some relationship with the natural qualities of the name of the day, though these relationships are not always obvious. The identification of these 20 deities was accomplished by both Seler and Nowotny, who used the iconographic associations of the images as drawn here and in other native-tradition manuscripts. Another detailed analysis of the intricacies of the imagery and inter-deity associations is to be found in Spranz (1973). A summary is offered here; extensive explication of the main areas of influence of each of these deities is beyond the scope of this introduction.

Day Sign	Deity (Nahuatl)	Deity (English)
Alligator	Xochipilli/ Tonacatecuhtli	Prince of Flowers/The Supreme Male Deity
Wind	Quetzalcóatl/ Ehécatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
House	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Lizard	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl	Goddess of the Moon
Deer	Tláloc	Rain and Storm (Rain of Fire)
Rabbit	Mayáhuel	Goddess of Maguey

[1]Since we do not know the language spoken by the authors of the Codex Borgia the Nahuatl (Aztec language) names for deities will be used. The Nahuatl names are well known thanks to many records from the early Colonial period. The reader should understand that the attributes of the deities depicted in the Codex Borgia may not have exactly coincided with those of their Aztec counterparts.

FIGURE 1: DAY SEQUENCE FOR THE 260-DAY CALENDAR.

E		Alligator	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
N		Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
O		House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
S		Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
E		Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
N		Death	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
C		Deer	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
S		Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
E		Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
N		Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
O		Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
S		Grass	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
E		Reed	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
N		Jaguar	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
O		Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
S		Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
E		Movement	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
N		Flint	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
O		Rain	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
S		Flower	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	God of the Underworld
Monkey	Xochipilli	Prince of Flowers
Grass	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Reed	Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli	The Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes
Jaguar	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Eagle	Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca	Red Smoking Mirror
Vulture	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Movement	Xólotl	God of Twins
Flint	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Rain	Tonatiuh	The Sun
Flower	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather

Plate 14: The Nine Deities of the Night

The next page of the Codex Borgia changes the format to an arrangement of three rows of three deities each. These nine divine beings are generally understood to represent the supernatural rulers of the nine hours of the night, and are connected to the first nine day signs from the list of 20 days. Each of these gods stands offering a bundle of sticks, a rubber ball and a quetzal feather as the components of a burnt offering that perhaps symbolizes the night in some way.

The nine deities of the night hours are read in a serpentine pattern beginning at the bottom right and proceeding from right to left across the lower register. As the end of that register is reached, the reading proceeds, in the order of the days, directly up to the middle register at the left margin and then proceeds from left to right, and finally up to the upper register and there from right to left. The identifications of the deities who rule these nine parts of the night are indicated below. You will note that, though the calendrical signs tied to them are the same as the beginning of the list of 20 days given in the previous five pages, the deities are different (or at least associated with different day signs).

NIGHT HOUR	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Wind	Itztli (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca)	Flint (Black Smoking Mirror)
House	Piltzintecuhtli	God of Youth (a solar deity)
Lizard	Cintéotl	God of Maize
Serpent	Mictlantecuhtli	God of Death (the Underworld)
Death	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Deer	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Rabbit	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Water	Tláloc	Rain and Storm

Plates 15–17: 20 Deities and 80 Days

The next two and one-third pages are filled with 20 images of deities connected to 20 groups of four days each. The signs of the days form a continuous sequence of 80 days. Each deity is depicted with subordinate characters who are shown as sacrifices, offerings, newborn children or nursing infants. The purpose of these subordinate figures is not clearly understood but seems in a way to characterize groups of the main deities.

Five groups of four day signs are needed to go through one complete set of 20 days. Only five of the 20 possible day signs can be found in the lead position in each group of four days. The first day of each group of four will always be Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed or Movement. As a result of this peculiarity, the 20 deities can be grouped in two different ways. The five deities who illustrate one group of 20 consecutive days belong together. Similarly, the five deities who illustrate the same set of four day signs can be said to belong together. As it turns out, each of the four groups of five consecutive deities is also linked by their actions. Hence, one of each group is connected to each set of four day signs.

Seler assigns directional qualities to the days and their deities. The directional system of Mesoamerican religion has five cardinal directions—North, South, East, West and Center, with Center being a kind of linchpin connecting the four directions and linking them to the abodes of the gods above and below the disc of the Earth. Seler has suggested that the directional associations of the five groups of four days—the groups that begin with Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement—are West, South, Center, East and North.

The reading order of days is the same as in the day lists given above. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 15 with the day sign Alligator, and then proceeds from right to left across Plates 15 and 16. After 20 days, five groups of four days and five corresponding deity images, the count of day signs begins again in a continuous cycle. Each of these first five deities is seen to be sacrificing the eye of a smaller human figure with a sharpened bone awl. The reading then continues to the last image on the lower register of Plate 16 and, following the order of the days, moves up to the center register at the left side and from there continues from left to right back across Plate 16 and Plate 15. These five deities are all offering small figures who share attributes with them and indeed generally seem to be smaller versions of these very deities. On Plate 15, in the center panel of the page, the day-sign sequence begins again and the behavior of the deities again changes. This group of five deities is shown holding the umbilical cords of small figures that are in the pose of a newborn baby. Midway in this sequence the reading has moved up to the upper register of Plate 15 and has changed direction again to move from right to left. All five of the birth figures are found on Plate 15. As the reading continues to Plate 16, the fourth and last group of five deities and 20 days begins. In this group the deities are all female and four of the five are nursing infants, three of whom are human children and one an animal. The fifth deity is nourishing a full-sized skeletal figure with blood rather than milk, thus maintaining the pattern with an altered image. The last two images of this sequence are found on the upper register of Plate 17, a placement necessary to complete the pattern of 20 deities and 80 days.

A result of this structure is that the first five deities in the list of 20 may be taken to characterize the five cardinal directions for a certain quality, perhaps that of sacrifice. The second group of five may characterize the five cardinal directions for offering, the third for birth and the fourth for sustenance. Alternatively, we might group together the four deities who are linked calendrically to the West (and similarly for each of the other directions) and say that they describe four qualities of that direction, the qualities of sacrifice, offering, birth and sustenance.

An identification of most of the deities in this list of 20 is as follows (each will be listed with its directional association following Seler). The first group of five: W–Cintéotl (God of Maize); S–a complex deity not yet identified; C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E–Quetzalcóatl (God of the Wind); and N–Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers). The second group of five: W–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather); S–Tláloc (God of Rain and

Storm/Rain of Fire); C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E–Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (God of Venus as the Morning Star); and N–Mixcóatl (God of the Hunt). The third group of five: W–Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers); S–Tonatiuh (God of the Sun); C–Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli (Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes); E–Xipe Tótec (Our Lord the Flayed One); and N–Macuilxóchitl (5 Flower, God of Games). The fourth and last group of five: W–Mayáhuel (Goddess of Maguey); S–Tlazoltéotl (Goddess of Filth and the Earth); C–Mictecacíhuatl (Goddess of the Underworld), E–Chalchiuhtlicue (Goddess of Running Water); and N–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather).

Plate 17: Tezcatlipoca with the 20 Day Signs on His Body and Costume

The lower portion of Plate 17 contains a large and beautiful image of the deity Tezcatlipoca in his black guise. This image expresses the magical relationships between certain parts of his body and costume and each of the 20 day signs. The association of day signs with body parts presumably has at least some connection with ritual curing, but since several day signs are associated with costume elements rather than with body parts, the curing explanation is limited. Seler and Nowotny believe that these day signs express attributes that are in some way appropriate to the form or function of the costume elements involved. Why Tezcatlipoca rather than some other deity is used as the base upon which to show these relationships is not clear.

Plates 18–21: Eight Supernatural Scenes with Calendrical Associations

The next four pages of the codex form an abbreviated 260-day calendar that follows the structure of the first *tonalpohualli,* found on the first eight pages of the manuscript. Each of these four pages is divided into upper and lower halves, with each half further divided into a band of five day signs and a wider band of images of supernatural characters and their appurtenances.

The reading order begins with the lower register of Plate 18, proceeds from right to left across all four pages, moves up to the upper register of Plate 21 and from there proceeds from left to right until Plate 18 is again reached. The five day signs on each of these eight panels are equivalent to a single column of five day signs in the *tonalpohualli* found on Plates 1 to 8. For example, the first panel—the lower panel on Plate 18—shows five day signs beginning with Alligator and continuing with Reed, Serpent, Movement and Water. These are not in the order one would expect from the sequence of 20 day signs, but if you direct your attention to the rightmost column of day signs on Plate 1 you will find these same five day signs in identical order from bottom to top. At the left side of the larger panel on the lower half of Plate 18 there are six red dots. These represent the next six columns of day signs found in the first *tonalpohualli.* The eighth column of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* (Plate 2, second column from the right) includes the day signs Rabbit, Flower, Grass, Lizard and Vulture. These are the same as the day signs depicted in the lower register of Plate 19. The entire ritual calendar is represented in this fashion: a column of day signs (that is, a column in the first *tonalpohualli*), red dots as spacers, a column of day signs, red dots as spacers and so on.

With this explanation, the pattern of reading the day signs and interpreting them as an abbreviated 260-day calendar has been established. The five day signs on each half-page of Plates 18–21 represent one column of days in the calendar arranged as five rows of 52 days each (Plates 1–8). The dots between pages on Plates 18–21, to the left on the lower register and to the right on the upper register, serve as spacers or place holders and represent the given number of columns of days. Each of the sets of enumerated days can be found in the first *tonalpohualli* by skipping over the number of columns equal to the number of red dots indicated, and then looking at the next column of days. Adding up all of the dots and the eight groups of days that are actually enumerated, we get 52 groups of five days, the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli.*

This unusual arrangement suggests that the images in the eight larger panels were not intended to qualify or characterize eight periods within the *tonalpohualli.* Rather, they seem to refer to five separate short periods of seven or five days each (interpreting the red dots as time included with the five named days) or five single days separated by six or four days each (reading the red dots as spacers between the relevant periods). In either case, the possibility that images in the major bands were intended to have significance apart from the simple counting of days must be considered.

The first panel, on the lower half of Plate 18, contains an image of the solar deity, Tonatiuh, who is making an offering in front of a temple.

The second panel, found on the lower half of Plate 19, contains the image of Quetzalcóatl standing in front of a platform that supports a tree and the God of Venus as the Morning Star.

The lower half of Plate 20 contains an image of Chalchiuhtlicue, the Goddess of Running Water. She stands making an offering of blood before a smoking stream that contains a fire serpent and supports minimal images of two deities identified by Seler as Xochiquétzal, Goddess of Love, and Nanahuatzin, a God of Lechery and of the Evening Sun.

The lower part of Plate 21 contains the fourth scene of this series. It is dominated by the image of the Black Tezcatlipoca to the right of a ball court and the smaller image of the Red Tezcatlipoca to the left.

The reading order reverses now as we move to the upper register of Plate 21. Here the Red and Black Tezcatlipocas have changed their relative sizes and their sequence. The Red Tezcatlipoca is shown as a traveler with a walking stick and a backpack. The smaller Black Tezcatlipoca is placed at the end of the path.

The next image, on Plate 20, shows the rain deity Tláloc cultivating corn using a *coa* or wooden digging stick. A smaller Tláloc shown at the center of the image throws curved lightning at a corn plant, which is thus destroyed.

The seventh panel of this group is found at the top of Plate 19. It shows the God of the Planet Venus (perhaps as Evening Star) chopping branches from a tree with an ax.

The last of the eight scenes follows on the upper half of Plate 18. Here the background is obscured in a representation of the night or the darkness of the underworld. The two main deities seen here are the male and female gods of death and the underworld, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl. An inset rectangle placed between them represents the dark sky with the moon and stars.

The manner in which these eight pages would have been used by an ancient Mesoamerican priest remains obscure. The physical pattern of relationship to the calendar is very clear. The significance of that relationship is far from clear. How the eight panels are related one to the other, and what directional significance should be attached to the days tied to each of them, is difficult to interpret.

Plate 22: Two Deer That Represent One Half of a 260-Day Calendar

The upper portion of Plate 22 uses the same shorthand system of referring to the first *tonalpohualli* that we have just seen in the

previous four pages. In this case the page is divided into two halves, right and left. Each half is divided into three bands, the upper band containing the image of a deer and 12 place-holding red dots, and the middle band containing five day signs. (The lower band is part of the next passage, to be discussed below.)

The two rows of five day signs in the middle register represent columns of day signs from the *tonalpohualli* found at the beginning of the Codex Borgia, on Plates 1 through 8.

As we read from right to left across the upper two registers, the first half of the page contains the image of a white male deer, which is apparently dead, and the five day signs of the first column of the *tonalpohualli.* The 12 red dots drawn to the left of the deer mark the place of the next 12 columns of days and, together with the five day signs enumerated below, represent one quarter of the days in the *tonalpohualli,* those shown in the first quarter of the calendar. Note that these are not the first 65 consecutive days of the calendar round of 260 days. They represent five discontinuous groups of 13 days each.

Continuing the reading on the upper two registers of the left half of the page, we find a tan male deer, which is being pierced by an arrow, and the five day signs of the fourteenth column of the *tonalpohualli.* Just as before, to the left of the wounded deer we see 12 red dots, which this time represent the fifteenth through twenty-sixth columns of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* from the first eight pages of the Codex Borgia.

These images are odd in that they refer to only half of the *tonalpohualli,* the first two quarters of the calendar. No reference is made to the third and fourth quarters. The directional associations generally identified with the first two parts of the calendar are East and North. Why these two clusters of days are defined here and the others are not mentioned is not yet completely understood.

Plates 22–24: 20 Supernaturals Associated with the 20 Day Signs

The bottom third of Plate 22, and the next two pages, contain another list of 20 deities or their representatives in association with the 20 day signs. These figures are not all images of deities. Some seem to be priests dedicated to deities, others seem to be objects symbolic of deities and one seems to be a world region. Many of the deities are unusual composites and are difficult to identify. The relationship of this list to that of the deities of the day signs enumerated on Plates 9 through 13 of this codex is not understood. Clearly, the supernaturals associated with the day signs are different but we do not know why. It may be that this list is of patrons of some particular parts of the days or that it refers to the numbers 1 to 20 rather than to days.

The reading order of this series of 20 images is serpentine. The day signs are found in normal order, beginning with Alligator at the bottom right of Plate 22. Reading then flows from right to left across Plates 23 and 24. Upon arrival at the bottom left panel of Plate 24, with the day sign Rabbit, the sequence moves up to the middle register and the day sign Water. Reading proceeds from there from left to right back across Plates 24 and 23 until the day sign Jaguar is reached and the order moves up to the top right of Plate 23, where Eagle is found. From there again reading proceeds from right to left until the top left of Plate 24 is found at the day sign Flower.

The relationship, if any, of the 20 days and their supernatural figures is unknown. Rather than belabor what we do not know, I will conservatively follow Seler in attempting to identify the 20 images on these three pages. Where an identification has eluded us a question mark will be found.

Day Sign	Supernatural (Nahuatl)	Supernatural (English)
Alligator	priest of Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Wind	?	a god of death and blood
House	Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Lizard	Quetzalcóatl as bird	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue as bird	Goddess of Running Water
Death	?	jaguar supporting sky
Deer	Nanahuatzin?	God of Lechery and Evening Sun
Rabbit	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
Water	Xochipilli?	Prince of Flowers in his solar or fire aspect
Dog	Tamoanchan	The Western Region (a place)
Monkey	?	An animal/human god of music
Grass	Tonatiuh	Sun God
Reed	Tonatiuh	Sun God as autosacrificer
Jaguar	Teyollocuani	priest—eater of hearts
Eagle	?	black priest—related to Tláloc
Vulture	Patécatl (symbolically)	pulque vessel and rabbit
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and The Earth
Flint	Íztac Mixcóatl	Old God of the Heavens
Rain	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water
Flower	Xochipilli (symbolically)	corn plant and fire serpent

Plates 25–28: The Five Directions with Calendrical Notations

Here follow four pages in each of which the world is shown divided into five parts. In each of these representations the implication is that there are four cardinal directions and a fifth, central, direction. Of course, in addition to the spatial significance of these images there is in each case a calendrical significance as well. Plate 25 presents four deities, placed in the four corners of the page. They are divided by a peculiar arrangement of the 20 day signs. The day signs are arranged in a cross surrounding an enlarged Movement sign, which is given the number 10 (the ten dots). Three leftover day signs are tacked on in the upper left corner of the page. The order of the day signs can easily be followed but is very unusual, beginning with Alligator in the upper arm of the cross but then going to the left arm with Wind, House and Lizard, and from there to Serpent, Death and Deer in the lower arm, and from there to Rabbit, Water and Dog in the right arm, and from there to Monkey, Grass and Reed in the upper arm, from there jumping to the three signs in the corner, Jaguar, Eagle and Vulture, and finally hopping back to finish the count from the central Movement and then Flint from the left arm, Rain from the lower arm and Flower from the right arm. Though there is a pattern, there is no readily apparent reason for this odd display.

The four deities are the patrons of the four cardinal directions. Each is tied physically to an arm of the cruciform calendar by a red line. The patron of the West is Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, shown in the lower left corner. The patron of the South is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, shown in the lower right corner. The patron of the East, shown in the upper right corner, is a complex figure who bears elements of the solar deity and a god of pulque. The patron of the North is Mixcóatl, the god of the hunt, shown in the upper left corner. No patron deity is shown for the central direction. It is simply named "10 Movement."

Plate 26 contains another unusual display of the five-directional scheme coupled with an unusual arrangement of the 20 day signs.

The human skull in the center is surrounded by the 20 day signs in a new and unusual array. These, in turn, are surrounded by four deceased and bundled deities, who have been placed on thrones, and by four human figures interspersed between them.

The calendrical figures (the day signs) begin, as usual, with Alligator at the bottom of the group of four signs on the right side of the central skull; one reads up that column and from there across the second group of four day signs, above the skull. That gets the reading through Rabbit and up to Water. The day sign Water is found at the corner next to Rabbit, and the reading order proceeds counterclockwise around the four corners of the square (Dog, Monkey, Grass). After the day sign Grass (located at the top right corner) the reading picks up again at the top of the left column of day signs with the sign for Reed and proceeds down that group of four and on to the fifth and last group across the bottom of the square, which is read from left to right.

The four deities located at the four sides of the calendar square and the skull in its center are to be associated with the cardinal points of the compass. The deities are shown as deceased: their eyes are closed, they are wrapped in cloth and tied in funerary bundles, and they bear funerary banners. The figure at the right side of the page is Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water, as patron of the four day signs of the West. At the top of the page we find Mixcóatl, god of the hunt, as patron of the day signs of the South. At the left side of the page is Xochipilli, the young prince of the flowers, as patron of the day signs of the East. At the bottom of the page is a dark deity as patron of the day signs of the North. This character seems to be the same as the unidentified patron of the Eagle day sign at the top right corner of Plate 23. The central direction is characterized by a skull and four long bones painted within the square formed by the 20 day signs.

The directional associations given here disagree with those given by Seler in his discussion of this part of the manuscript, but agree with his determination of the directionality of the day signs as discussed earlier, in the analysis of Plates 15–17.

The use of a death's-head as the symbol of the Center direction and of the dead deities on the four sides suggests that this page describes the directional scheme of the world in the land of the dead and relates that spatial information to five divisions within the sequence of 20 day signs.

Plate 27 repeats the basic theme of these pages, the division of the world into the five directions and their relationship to the calendar. This page, however, is different from all the previous temporal information presented in the Codex Borgia because here, for the first time, the year being referred to is not the magical 260-day *tonalpohualli* but the solar year of 365 days.

The solar year can be formed from the 13 day numbers and the 20 day signs by using 18 cycles of 20 signs plus 5 other named days ($(18 \times 20) + 5 = 365$) or by using 28 cycles of 13 numbers plus 1 other day number ($(28 \times 13) + 1 = 365$). A mathematical consequence of these relationships is that every year will begin one day number and five day signs ahead of the previous year. That means that all the solar years will start with one of only four possible day signs and will count smoothly through the 13 day numbers and then begin again in a perpetual cycle. A further consequence of the comparison between the 365-day solar year and the 260-day magical year is that the initial dates of the years do not repeat until 52 solar years have passed. This 52-year period can be divided into four parts of 13 years each. As it turns out, each of these quarters begins with a date that has the coefficient of 1 and one of the four year bearers.

If the calendar starts with the day 1 Reed, as most Mesoamerican calendars do, then the four quarters of the 52-year period are begun by days named 1 Reed, 1 Flint, 1 House and 1 Rabbit. These days are shown on Plate 27, one in each quarter of the page. Oddly, there are four other days indicated besides these normal year-bearing days. These other days are 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture. These four days are separated from each other in exactly the same fashion as the more normal year bearers. If the solar calendar began on the same day as the ritual calendar, then the year bearers would have these four day names. These four days, 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture, would be the initial dates of the four quarters of the 52-year period in such a calendar. Their association here with the more normal solar calendar seems to show the relationship of the *tonalpohualli* as related in the Codex Borgia to the familiar solar calendar. How this relationship influenced the interpretation of the days is not fully understood.

Plate 27 is composed of four quarters and a central panel, representing the four cardinal directions and the Center. Each of these five sections contains an image of Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, looking skyward and pouring water onto the earth below. Each of these deity figures is colored and dressed differently, though each is clearly a manifestation of the rain deity. In the four corners the Tláloc are standing over fields of corn which are, in turn, resting on two day signs with the numerical coefficient of 1, indicated by an embellished dot. In the center Tláloc is standing over a representation of the earth with two small figures of Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running water. The Tláloc in the center is a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc, who embodies both fertility and pestilence. Since the 52-year period is completed by the periods associated with the four quarters or directions, there are no time markers associated with the Center direction.

The four cardinal directions and the years associated with them are each shown to have different qualities. In the lower right quadrant the Black Tláloc represents the first quarter of the 52-year cycle and the direction East. His period of 13 years begins with the year 1 Reed (1 Alligator). He sheds rain on a healthy field of corn, suggesting that the East is a fertile and fecund region. The upper right quadrant contains a Yellow Tláloc representing the second quarter and the North. His period begins with the day 1 Flint (1 Death). Here locusts are shown destroying the corn despite the rain. The upper left quadrant contains a Blue Tláloc representing the third quarter and the West. His period begins with the year 1 House (1 Monkey). The cornfield here is inundated with water, perhaps suggesting excessive rain. The lower right quadrant completes the 52-year period and depicts a Red Tláloc representing the fourth quarter and the South. His period begins with the day 1 Rabbit (1 Vulture). In this panel the ears of corn are being eaten by small furry animals with little skeletal jaws.

Plate 28 has much in common with the previous page of Tlálocs in their relation to the solar year and to the 52-year period, but it is also quite distinct. This page, too, contains five images of Tláloc, set in the center and the four corners. It, too, shows rain falling on corn and it, too, has indications of a solar calendar in the dates painted below the Tláloc figures. It stands apart, though, in that the dates are different, each containing a year sign and two day dates seemingly selected at random. It is also different if Seler's interpretation is correct and the directions are placed differently on the page. It is further different in that supplementary supernaturals are shown in containers or on the earth below each Tláloc.

A guiding characteristic of this arrangement is that each of the directional panels is labeled with a date that incorporates a year sign. These years are consecutive and are the first five years of the 52-year cycle. The bottom register of the page is badly damaged in the original and is not completely reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers. Seler has been able to infer some information about this row of dates that cannot now be seen. For example, in the lower right panel there are three dates. The leftmost of these must have

had a year sign, in the form of an intertwined capital A and O, behind it and must have been the year 1 Reed. We know this because the pattern continues in the upper right quadrant, where the rightmost date is 2 Flint with an A-O year sign behind the Flint. From there the upper left quadrant has the year 3 House with the A-O year sign as its rightmost date. The lower left quadrant should have 4 Rabbit with the year sign as its leftmost date but it, too, is illegible. The center, which here has time indicators unlike on the previous page, has the year 5 Reed as its leftmost date. These five years are the first five of the 52-year period of solar years. It is this interpretation by Seler that unequivocally ties this page to the solar-year cycle.

Though the day dates seem to be chosen at random, there may be some as yet unrecognized underlying order to them. It seems unlikely that they are truly insignificant.

The five directions with their Tláloc figures are differently located and characterized when compared to the previous page. Here reading begins as before at the lower right quadrant, where the first year sign was once located, the year 1 Reed. Tláloc is black in this panel and has the face paint of Tezcatlipoca, the God of the Smoking Mirror and God of the Night. This conjoined Tláloc/Tezcatlipoca is interpreted by Seler as the patron of the North. The second year, 2 Flint, is found in the upper right panel, where a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc has the face paint of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus, in this case as the Evening Star. This compound deity is said to be the patron of the West. The third year is 3 House, found at the upper left corner of the page. Tláloc here is yellow and has the fact paint of Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, thought to be the patron of the East. The fourth year, 4 Rabbit, is at the lower left and is protected by the black figure of Tláloc. This Tláloc has only two elements of facial adornment to suggest a composite nature. They are a yellow beard, barely visible in the original and not reproduced in the Díaz and Rodgers restoration, and a yellow line at the front of the face. These tiny features are characteristic of Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent and the wind deity. His presence is further indicated by the small effigies of Quetzalcóatl that emerge from the ears of corn and the streams of water in other parts of the image. This Tláloc/Quetzalcóatl is conceived as the patron of the East. It is noteworthy that this rain/wind deity also has smoke coming from his eye. This is a nonstandard trait of Quetzalcóatl that will be important in identifying a particular person in the long ritual passage on Plates 29 through 46. The fifth year, 5 Reed, is located in the center image and is again seen in front of a partly hidden A-O year sign. Its Tláloc, said to represent the Center, has a red body and wears the face paint of Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers.

Plates 29–46: A Long Supernatural Journey and Ritual Sequence

This passage of 18 pages is the longest and most elaborate of the entire Codex Borgia. It has the character of a story or narrative rather than a calendar, and in that is unique. The narrative, if such it is, is filled with ritual acts and with apparently real as well as supernatural characters. It is certainly religious in nature, though there does seem to be an element of physical reality that runs through the pages. This has been recognized by Nowotny (1961a) as well as by many others.

In this section of the codex the orientation of the pages shifts from that of a long horizontal strip read from right to left to that of a long vertical strip read from top to bottom (from the right edge of the page to the left edge of the page). This orientation prevails through page 46, the end of the current passage, after which the earlier orientation returns. The imagery of these pages is consummately complex. It is out of the question here to describe these plates fully or to discuss all the potential interpretations, even concisely. Nevertheless, an overview of the structure may be helpful.

This long passage begins with a series of five enclosures (Plates 29–32) that serve to make supernatural statements. Two major temples dedicated to heaven are then identified (Plates 33 and 34). Then begins a ceremonial sequence in which a principal participant, known to us as Stripe Eye (a name given to him by Peter van der Loo), engages in a long ritual journey in which he performs several specific deeds (Plates 35–44). Finally the series is closed by a short passage (Plates 45 and 46) from which Stripe Eye is apparently missing but in which a new fire, symbolizing a new beginning, is ignited.

The account begins on Plate 29, the first of several enclosures formed by the body of a goddess of death. Within this enclosure is a large black disc. On the disc is a large blue vessel from which emerges a dark foamy substance. From this substance emerge numerous animate creatures who are characterized as winds by the Quetzalcóatl features they display. In addition to the many winds, two skeletal figures are shown, one a deity of death and the other a representation of Tlazoltéotl as the earth below the blue vessel. At the left edge of the page (the lower edge of the image) two intertwined starry wind serpents spit out smaller wind figures to lead the reader to the next page.

There (Plate 30) a similar scene is found. The body of the death deity forms an enclosure containing a large circular device that in turn contains the two intertwined wind serpents and their two small wind figures. Other significant features of this page are the 20 day signs arranged counterclockwise around the central device and the presence of four Tláloc–plant combination figures at the corners of the enclosure. Among the day signs four have been singled out by their placement in medallions that are pierced by the four Tlálocs wielding sacrificial instruments. These four days are Alligator, Death, Monkey and Vulture. The Tlálocs are each adorned with trees. This page can be said to represent the abundance of the Eastern direction.

The selection of these four day signs for special treatment is indicative of the use of a different form of the 260-day calendar from that which we have encountered so far. The *tonalpohualli* on Plates 1–8 of the Codex Borgia is arranged with 52 day signs in a row, a layout that requires five rows to include all of the 260 days. If, instead, 65 days comprised a row, then only four rows would be needed to incorporate all 260 days. As it turns out, the four days singled out here on Plate 30 would be the first day signs in each of these four rows. The directional qualities of this calendar are such that these four days and the four groups of 13 days that they begin are days ruled by the East. In a calendar composed of four rows rather than five, the days governed by one direction are found together. It is important to understand which form of the *tonalpohualli* is being used in any given case, because the directional qualities and the supernatural patrons of the days and periods of the calendar are different.

Plate 30 ends with the intertwined wind serpents again leading the way to the next page by spitting out two small wind creatures.

Plate 31 is divided into two halves, each of which depicts enclosures similar to those of the previous two pages. Calendrical medallions are found at the four corners of these two enclosures. The first of these scenes, on the right side of the page (top half of the image), has Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind singled out. These are the day signs that begin the third, Western, section of the calendar as laid out in four rows. The colors of this scene are generally dark and obscure, appropriate to the direction in which

the sun sets. In the center of this half of the page are a variety of death deities or skeletal spirits. The central image is of a naked goddess with bandaged eyes, whose heart is exposed outside of her chest. Two small death creatures lead the way through the passage to the next enclosure.

The left side of the page (bottom half of the image) is similar, though its color scheme is red, the color of blood. The day signs featured in medallions at the corners of this enclosure are those of the North. They lead the second group of four rows of 13, the days Jaguar, Rain, Lizard and Water. Again death and earth images abound in the various small figures within this border.

Plate 32 has the calendrical associations of the South, bearing the day signs of the fourth segment of the calendar as described above, the signs of Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. This enclosed space is constructed differently from the previous four. It does not have a death deity in its border; instead, at the left margin of the page (the bottom of the image) a female skeletal figure, who seems to be an earth goddess as well as a death goddess, appears as a border and a passage to the next scene. The border of the enclosure is composed of rows of flint knives surrounding a broad dark band of obscurity. This band is occupied by eight figures carrying decapitated heads in both hands, four Tezcatlipocas in the corners and four other supernatural figures. The central image of the panel is of a white-and-red-striped figure with two large flint knives in place of a head. Tezcatlipocas emerge from flint knives at its arms and legs and appear as the heads of the serpents below. The overall imagery of this scene is very clearly about blood sacrifice by cutting and decapitation. The page ends at the left margin, where a figure of Quetzalcóatl is born from between two large flint knives found in an opening in the body of the white Death/Earth Goddess. This Quetzalcóatl is unusual in that he has two volutes indicating smoke emerging from the corner of his eye.

Considering that the subsequent 12 pages seem to refer to a ceremony or series of ceremonies undergone by Stripe Eye, it may be that these first four pages should be read as a sort of invocation undertaken in preparation for the performance of the central events being described in this long passage. The sequence of events could be as follows: first, a pot is prepared that liberates the winds (Plate 29); second, the winds and rains of the East are propitiated (Plate 30); third, the death and sacrifice of the West and the North are observed (Plate 31); fourth, the blood sacrifice of the Tezcatlipocas who influence the South is honored so that fifth, and finally, the Quetzalcóatl character can emerge ready for what is to come (Plate 32). This is certainly speculative interpretation but it seems to me to be a plausible framework for reading these pages as a prescription for the performance of a ceremony of major importance.

The next two pages of this passage, Plates 33 and 34, are taken up by two very large and distinctive structures with some activity going on around them. These two temples are unusual in at least two ways. They are by far the largest and most elaborate buildings illustrated in the codex. They are identified as "Temples of Heaven" by the presence in their roofs of three bands of stars and Venus symbols. Atop each of these two structures sits a Flint-helmeted deity from whom descends a white rope. The building on Plate 33 has a pointed, conical roof, a form associated with Quetzalcóatl, the wind deity. Quetzalcóatl appears seated on a throne within the temple, where he is being addressed by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. At the top of the stairs in the front of the temple lies Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One. Other deities in the scene include Xólotl, the god of twins, standing behind the temple building; Cintéotl, the corn goddess, also behind the temple but above Xólotl, and a second appearance of Quetzalcóatl and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli performing heart sacrifice in front of the temple building. A monstrous black serpent winds around the building and several horizontal male figures are drawn on the roof and on the tiers of the platform that supports the temple.

The temple on Plate 34 is similar, though it has a rectangular roof with "ears" at its peak. It is also topped by a Flint-helmeted deity, is entwined by a monstrous serpent, has Cintéotl, the corn goddess, behind the temple and bears horizontal figures on its roof and platform, though this time the serpent is red and the figures are female. The innermost part of the temple is occupied by Tepeyóllotl, the Heart of the Mountain. In front of him fire is started on a jewel in the chest of a representation of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon. In front of the temple, heart sacrifice is again performed by a second appearance of the deity shown within, in this case Tepeyóllotl. These two buildings provide the scene and place for the ceremonies that follow. They are prominently portrayed in undoubted relation to their importance to these ceremonies.

Plates 35–38 give an account of a sacred-bundle ritual performed before the Temple of Heaven. The actions that now take place all seem to be physically possible; they present a sense of reality grounded in real space rather than of ethereal, supernatural events occurring on another plane. It seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret these images as rituals that occur or could occur in the real world. It seems to John Pohl and to me that these pages present a prescription for the proper enactment of a very complex ceremony in which a person is elevated to the role of king or ruler of a community. The actors in this account, then, should be interpreted as real people whenever possible.

The account begins on Plate 35 in the top right corner of the image (bottom right of the page). Here we see a priest wearing a goggle-eyed mask who is passing the sacred bundle to two associates standing on an eagle place at the end of a blue road. The upper associate combines attributes of Quetzalcóatl (his wind mask) and Tezcatlipoca (his face paint), and the second is a black Quetzalcóatl who has a puff of smoke painted near his eye. The temple in which the goggle-eyed priest is sitting also has stars in its roof, though the configuration of the roof shows that this structure is different from either of the Temples of Heaven depicted on the previous pages and thus must represent some other building. After the priests Wind Mask and Smoke Eye receive the sacred bundle, they transport it along the blue road to a point where it ends at the edge of the next page. John Pohl and I have discussed these buildings, this road and the activity that follows elsewhere (Byland and Pohl in press).

Next to the road, in the ball court, the character now known as Stripe Eye makes his first appearance. The angular black stripe that runs from his hairline to his eye and then to the corner of his jaw is a variant of the facial painting of Quetzalcóatl. Seler (1904–09) noted that this character is the subject of a continuous story that runs through this and the next nine pages of the codex. Seler identified Stripe Eye as Quetzalcóatl, failing to recognize that he was different from other Quetzalcóatl figures in the passage. While it is indeed possible that he is meant to represent Quetzalcóatl, the nature of his behavior also suggests that he is the idealized king of this ceremonial center.

After the ball game, Stripe Eye appears on Plate 36 in front of the sacred bundle that the Wind Mask and Smoke eye priests have brought from the shrine above. The bundle is then opened under the supervision of Wind Mask and another priest (or deity) who wears the costume of Xólotl, a Dog Mask. Stripe Eye is then enveloped in a heavenly mist and magically transported across Plates 36 and 37. On Plate 38 he emerges from the mouth of Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl. While Stripe Eye is on this magical journey, a number of priests, notably including Dog Mask, enact a series of

rituals (Plate 37) in a large area that appears to lie in front of the eared-roofed Temple of Heaven and a smaller structure similar to that portrayed on Plate 35. On Plate 38 Stripe Eye and Dog Mask engage in other ritual acts.

It is noteworthy that this series of events seems to be moderated or overseen by a series of specialized priests. The Quetzalcóatl priest known as Smoke Eye first appeared on Plate 32, as the initial series of sacred enclosures came to an end and we were about to arrive at the two major Temples of Heaven. After sacrificial rituals were undertaken at the two temples, Smoke Eye was joined by a Tezcatlipoca priest wearing a Wind Mask. The two of them proceeded to the place where the sacred bundle dedicated to Quetzalcóatl was opened for the idealized king known as Stripe Eye. There Wind Mask took over and Smoke Eye dropped out of the account. Wind Mask was then joined by a Xólotl priest who wore the Dog Mask. After the bundle was opened Wind Mask's role ended and he dropped out, leaving Dog Mask to oversee the action until just after Stripe Eye emerged from his sacred journey. From this point on Stripe Eye does not have priestly guides to perform actions on his behalf. It is as though the experience of witnessing the opening of the bundle and of undertaking the supernatural journey had transformed him into a person of new status and capacity, one who now was qualified to act on his own behalf in a highly charged ritual. Future appearances of these priests show them to be clearly acting as assistants while Stripe Eye conducts the central activities himself, until the very end of the long passage.

Plate 38 is the last page of the obverse side of the Codex Borgia. The story of Stripe Eye and his ritual activity continues on the reverse side beginning with Plate 39. Entrance to Plate 39 is afforded at the right of the page (top of the image), where a Quetzalcóatl figure without the eye stripe emerges from the body of the earth goddess. Stripe Eye is depicted in the center of the page paired with a red Quetzalcóatl, in a red field surrounded by a blue road upon which dance 12 women or female spirits known as *cihuateteo*. The four calendar signs dedicated to the West are found in medallions at the four corners of the dance scene: Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind. Arrayed at the left and right sides of the image are six deities. Counterclockwise from the bottom right, they are: the Black Tezcatlipoca, a black Mictlantecuhtli, a blue Xochipilli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Tepeyóllotl and the Red Tezcatlipoca. The blue road enters the jaws of the earth monster, identified by Seler as the supreme deity, Tonacatecuhtli.

Tonacatecuhtli's body forms a large rectangle that covers the remainder of this page and all of Plate 40. Within this outline is found a band of day signs. In the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction there are a few errors in the replacement of the most seriously damaged of these, mostly on the bottom margin of the page and a few at the upper left corner. The progression of these day signs begins at the top of the rectangle, just to the right of the head of Tonacatecuhtli. The first day signs visible are Wind and House just below the clawed arm of the deity. We can imagine that Alligator is obscured by the head of the god. The 20 day signs then proceed in normal order clockwise until the twentieth, Flower, is reached. Then the cycle begins again and runs for 12 or 13 additional days. It seems that Death is obscured by the leg of the god, that Dog was left out in the original and that Water was replaced by Rain in the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction. Seler did not recognize the last sign in the series, Reed, but Díaz and Rodgers did recognize it, and it is here drawn just below the red-and-white-filled box at the center left side of Plate 40. The left half of this band of day signs seems to be organized with directional significance (as indicated in the *tonalpohualli* arranged in four rows of 65 days) paramount. The first nine day signs are the four that are associated with the North repeated twice, and with the first one drawn a third time. Following Seler, they should be Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain, Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain and Jaguar; all but the last are incorrectly reconstructed here. It should be noted that the original is so badly damaged on this edge of the page that none of these signs but the last is really recognizable. Continuing clockwise in the same pattern for nine days are the day signs of the Center direction, Rabbit, House, Flint and Reed. Then come nine signs associated with the West: Wind, Movement, Grass and Deer. These proceed correctly to the top right edge of Plate 40, where the sign for grass is omitted by Díaz and Rodgers; then, at the continuation on Plate 39, the first two signs should be Deer and Wind. Finally, descending along the top margin of the frame, back on Plate 39, are the signs of the East: Vulture, Monkey, Death, Alligator and Vulture. Here only five signs are visible as the rest of the presumed sequence of nine are obscured under the head and arm of the god Tonacatecuhtli.

Entering from the top into the space framed by the calendar band and the body of Tonacatecuhtli are the two Quetzalcóatl figures seen first in the center of Plate 39. The one on the right is presumably the figure of Stripe Eye, though his face paint is now dark. The central figure of Plate 40 is that of Stripe Eye, who, assisted by eight priests, is conducting a heart sacrifice of the solar deity, Tonatiuh. Pohl has suggested that this scene is similar to scenes of confirmation depicted for the lords of Tilantongo in the Mixtec historical codices Zouche-Nuttall and Bodley (Byland and Pohl 1993). In these documents Lord 8 Deer journeys to the Sun God's oracle as part of his process of confirmation as legitimate ruler of Tilantongo. Stripe Eye, as the idealized ruler of the ceremonial precinct depicted here, similarly visits the solar deity, though here a symbolic sacrifice is shown.

The remainder of Plate 40 is taken up by a small ball court and two temples. Interestingly, the two temples are shown as a conical temple dedicated to Quetzalcóatl, with a smoke-eyed Quetzalcóatl priest in it, and an eared temple, with Tezcatlipoca (minus his wind mask) shown in front of it. There is, however, no obvious indication that these are the same temples as the important ones referred to earlier. The ball court contains images of Tlazoltéotl, to the right, and the Red Tezcatlipoca, to the left, both looking at an odd skeletal monster who is giving birth. There is no passage indicated to lead the reader out of this page's effigy of Tonacatecuhtli and on to the next page.

The entry to Plate 41 is shown as an elongated skeletal earth goddess, Tlazoltéotl, drawn perhaps as Teteoinnan, the mother of the gods, similar to her depictions on Plates 32 and 39. At an opening in her belly a skeletal figure enters a small cloudy-bordered enclosure. There two fleshed Tlazoltéotls, shown as the goddess of the moon, descend with a Black Tezcatlipoca. They seem to be directed toward a large cogged disc, which is half in and half out of a blue road that emerges from the headdress and feet of the skeletal Tlazoltéotl and that forms a larger rectangular enclosure. On the left branch of this road we find Stripe Eye, a Black Tezcatlipoca and a black *cihuatéotl,* the spirit of a woman who died in childbirth. On the right branch of the road we find a parallel sequence of characters, a white Quetzalcóatl with red dots, a Red Tezcatlipoca and a red-costumed *cihuatéotl.*

The central disc is shown calendrically to represent the Southern direction. It is marked with a day sign (in a medallion) of an Eagle, one of the four days of the South. Arranged around the outside of the disc are four other day signs related to each of the other four directions: House–Center, Deer–West, Rain–North and Monkey–East. Within the disc a Quetzalcóatl with a dark face (presumably Stripe Eye) and his associate, the Quetzalcóatl with a white body and red dots, perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs

with bone implements. The blood flows into the mouths of Chalchiuhtlicue and her male counterpart.

Just below this disc, 13 consecutive day signs, beginning with Eagle, are painted between the roofs of two temples, one with a round roof and the other with an eared roof. The roofs of these buildings are on Plate 41 and their bases are on Plate 42. Note the parallel construction between the placement and the construction of these two buildings and the two temples seen earlier on Plate 40. The identity of these two sets of buildings seems unequivocal. The round temple on Plate 42 has Stripe Eye within it and the eared temple has a version of Xochipilli. Between the temples is a platform with a sacrificial stone on which Stripe Eye extracts the heart of the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots. In this he is assisted by the Black Tezcatlipoca. Above them floats a medallion with the day sign Jaguar, which is taken to represent the North, in contraposition to the South of the cogged disc on the previous page. From this sacrifice scene, the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots is taken to the underworld and to a ball court. Next we see him on a cruciform device with five little images of Nanahuatzin, the dead and cooked god of lechery and the evening sun, emerging from his four limbs and his heart. Seler interpreted this as the transformation of Quetzalcóatl into Xólotl-Nanahuatzin. Nanahuatzin is shown to the left and right of this image as well. Stripe Eye participates in the cooking of him at the left.

On Plate 43 an opening in another elongated image of Tlazoltéotl provides entry for Stripe Eye to a precinct bounded by ears of corn and rays of sunlight. Within this enclosure we see a large image of a dark solar deity who supports the birth of corn from the earth. The figure of the deity is in the pose of childbirth; its body is covered by a dark solar disc with stars on its periphery. This solar deity wears the skin of a jaguar and the jaws of a serpent. Its face is dark and its eye is hanging out of its socket. This suggests that it may represent the sun-at-night, the "dark sun," or the moon. Below the solar disc is a Tlazoltéotl figure surrounded by ears of maize and encrusted with stars. Around these figures are eight small characters who are shown sustaining the growth of maize plants with blue and (originally) green fluids that emanate from their mouths. A dark-faced Quetzalcóatl leaves the sun/maize precinct through an opening at the left side of the page and descends, bearing a basket full of maize, to the next page.

On Plate 44 another elongated Tlazoltéotl with an opening in its belly allows Stripe Eye to descend, in his last appearance in the story, into the next in this series of precincts or compounds. This one is composed of a broad wall surrounded by flowers on its exterior and lined by flint knives on its interior. The four corners of the broad wall hold medallions with the four day signs of the South: Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. The walls of the precinct are open at the four sides where four figures enter, three serpents and a bat, all with human heads. Placed on the broad wall, adjacent to these four figures, are symbols of sacrifice: decapitated heads, severed arms and legs and skeletal ribs with hearts. The three human-headed serpents are being tormented by rapacious animals, and the bat is facing the priest whom we know as Smoke Eye. He is wearing a hummingbird costume. From a heart in the hands of the bat flows a bifurcated torrent of blood that lands at the head and feet of a recumbent variant of Xochiquétzal, shown as the young goddess of the moon. She has a lunar disc in her chest that holds a heart, from which grows a multicolored tree.

Plate 45 is entered through an opening in the chest of Tlazoltéotl, the skeletal earth goddess. This time her orientation is reversed and the entering figure is a cloudy wind serpent similar in form to the one that emerged from the sacred bundle on Plate 36. The main character, Stripe Eye, does not appear on this page or the next. The activities seem to have been taken over by the Quetzalcóatl priest we know as Smoke Eye; he appears several times, both here and on the next page.

In the four corners of Plate 45 are four houses of eagles, each with a figure of Smoke Eye. One of the houses is drawn as a conical-roofed round temple and another has eagle down rather than an adult eagle on its roof. On either side of the page are images that Seler has interpreted as representing the life and death of warriors. Life is represented by a pot of pulque, an intoxicating liquor made from maguey, with a drunken figure beneath it and the Black and Red Tezcatlipocas above it. Death is represented by a red-and-white-striped figure in a stream whose heart is torn out by Smoke Eye dressed as an eagle. The center of the page contains a skull-rack platform upon which stands a skeletal figure identified by Seler as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. This figure supports a tree from which emerge six banners. The bottom of the page contains an image of Smoke Eye with a Venus star as his headdress. He is bleeding from his buttocks and is covered by a net or blanket that bears nine faces painted with the four directional colors and the dots indicative of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. This image is surrounded by four full figures of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli with similar-colored face paint.

The final page (Plate 46) is framed by a pair of elongated Tlazoltéotl figures. Smoke Eye enters from the top and leaves from the bottom. The remainder of the image is framed by two structures and two thrones. The structures contain images of Xiuhtecuhtli, the old fire god, presenting Smoke Eye and a Black Tezcatlipoca priest. This may hark back to the two priests who attended the opening of the sacred bundle on Plates 35 and 36. The two thrones are occupied by a Black Tezcatlipoca and a figure who seems to be an amalgam of a Black Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcóatl and Xiuhtecuhtli.

The center of the page contains a four-sided red field bounded by four fire serpents, and an image of Smoke Eye starting a fire in the chest of a combined image of the Fire Serpent and Xiuhtecuhtli. The red field contains a pot in which Smoke Eye is being cooked, perhaps only symbolically in preparation for the lighting of the fire.

These last two pages are reminiscent of the early activities of the priests in preparing the way for Stripe Eye to undergo his complex ceremonial sequence. Here, though, they seem to be bringing the ceremonial sequence to a close, performing the acts that mark the end of the ceremony and the beginning of the new era.

Plates 47 and 48: Three Groups of Five Deities

These two pages represent three groups, each with five supernatural figures. They are read simply from right to left in the three registers (the orientation of the text is back to the horizontal arrangement normal to most of the codex). Each of the upper two registers includes a sixth panel depicting the birth of the five associated characters.

The bottom row represents five elaborately dressed female deities, who all bear the significant attributes of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon and of the earth. In each case she is dressed differently and has different figures accompanying her. Each Tlazoltéotl is given a separate calendrical name: from right to left, 9 Reed, 4 Flint, 6 Reed, 8 Reed and 1 Eagle. Seler interprets them as having directional significance as well: from right to left, East, North, West, South and Center.

The second row of figures are five *cihuateteo,* the deified spirits of women who died in childbirth. Their collective birth is indicated in the panel at the right margin of Plate 47 by the image of the birth of a female figure with bandaged eyes. There, on a blue field, a monstrous being is the source of five serpents and four centipedes.

Around the edge of the field are five dates that all begin with the number 13. Seler has shown that they are the dates that fall immediately before the first day indicated in each of the five panels of *cihuateteo*. Just as with the Tlazoltéotls, the five *cihuateteo* are each differently dressed and painted and have different accompanying figures. They also are each associated with a calendrical notation, one that is a bit more complex than those accompanying the Tlazoltéotls. For each of these female figures, 13 consecutive days are indicated, with the first, fifth and thirteenth shown by their day sign and the others shown by red-dot place holders. The names and directional associations of the *cihuateteo,* then, are: 1 Deer–East, 1 Rain–North, 1 Monkey–West, 1 House–South and 1 Eagle–Center.

The top row of figures are five male deities of sensual pleasures, the *ahuiateteo*. They are part of a group of deities whose names begin with 5 and whose best-known member is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure. The first image of the top row, similarly to that of the center row, represents the birth of the five *ahuiateteo* by showing a stone (?) from which five serpents extend and from which a male figure is born. There are five dates around this image, all of which begin with the number 4. The male figure in this image is identifiable as Nanahuatzin, the god of lechery, who is another aspect, or another personality, of Xólotl, the god of twins. This relationship is reinforced by the presence of a dog (*xólotl*) standing on the rock. The names of the five *ahuiateteo* are given by the fifth day sign in the series of 13 shown with each image. These are, with their directional qualities: 5 Lizard–East, 5 Vulture–North, 5 Deer–West, 5 Flower–South and 5 Grass–Center.

Plates 49–53: The Five Directions and Their Supernatural Patrons

The next four and one-half pages present a sort of definition of the qualities and protectors of the five directions of the world. The first four pages describe the four cardinal directions: East, North, West and South. The right half of page 53 represents the Center. Each page is constructed with a band of day signs at the bottom. Above this is a wide band showing a directional tree and bird. On Plates 49–52 this wide band also contains other figures, including a temple and various deities. Above the wide band is another band of day signs. Finally, at the top of each page, a wide band shows the supernaturals who support the heavens and walk on the earth in each of the directions. Seler has suggested that these supernaturals are associated with the opposite direction from that depicted in the lower register, so that for the first page, for example, the tree is of the East but the upper-register deities are of the West.

The largest fields describe the qualities of the cardinal directions. Their central image is a tree with a bird in its branches and an earth goddess from which it springs. Above this image on Plates 49–52 is a temple with a special patron deity of the direction. Clockwise from the temple, the other images are of a sacrificer, two celestial spirits descending, the maker of fire, a throne and deity seated before it, a place where a male and female deity are married, an animal ball player and a tree with a pair of sacrificed animals.

For the East, depicted on Plate 49, the central tree is one of precious jewels. It was originally painted blue and green (blue and tan in this edition, as in the current state of the original) and has jewels as its fruit. Its bird is a green quetzal. The temple above is an eared temple dedicated to the sun and is attended by Tonatiuh, the solar deity. In the upper register on the right the Western starry blue sky is supported by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star, and on the left Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, walks the earth with his blue-and-white flowered staff.

For the North, shown on Plate 50, the central tree is a cactus covered with spines. It is painted blue and green and has small flowers and what are perhaps prickly pears as fruit. Its bird is a black-and-white eagle. The temple above is a house of flint knives with the image of the moon inside. A broad channel of darkness descends from above and fills the interior of the temple. The attendant of the temple is a male moon god, Metztli. The god who supports the Southern dark starry sky in the upper register at the right is Xiuhtecuhlti, the old fire god. On the left the god of death walks with his red staff tied with red-and-white banners.

On Plate 51 the Western direction is shown with a tree of unusual qualities. It has been identified as a young corn plant with tassels but without fruit. The bird is a blue raptorial bird of indeterminate species. The temple is again an eared-roofed building with flowers in its roof. In the temple is a yellow object that Seler identifies as a gourd for holding tobacco. The deity attending the temple is a combination of several and cannot be easily identified. He manifests aspects of Xochipilli, Tonacatecuhtli, Cintéotl and perhaps Xiuhtecuhtli. In the upper register Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, god of the wind, supports the Eastern blue starry sky, and Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers, the god of sustenance, walks the earth with his flowering tree as a staff.

The South is shown on the lower register of Plate 52. Its red spiny tree has solar discs as its fruit. The red bird in the tree is perhaps an owl, associated with Xiuhtecuhtli. The temple above is a skeletal building with an owl in its interior. Mictlantecuhtli, the God of Death, stands before it and offers blood from the neck of a headless person. In the upper register Mictlantecuhtli supports the Northern dark starry sky, and Cintéotl, the corn god, walks the earth with a precious red staff.

The right half of Plate 53 contains the images of the Center direction. The tree here is a large green maize plant that is producing ears of corn as its fruit. The tree emerges from the earth alongside two huge ears of corn. Two figures perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone awls and shedding blood on the base of the tree. These figures are: on the right, Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower; and, on the left, Quetzalcóatl in the form of the lord Stripe Eye (see Plates 35 through 44). This image beautifully portrays a mythic relationship held between people and the earth such as that described for the Mixtec people of the village of Nuyoo by John Monaghan (1987): the people feed the earth their blood and their bodies, and in return the earth feeds the people by yielding maize. Having the king make this sacrifice idealizes the perpetual nature of this relationship and sanctifies it for the people of the kingdom. In the upper register of the right half of Plate 53 a human figure descends into the mouth of an earth monster that has a decidedly rectilinear, architectural aspect. This descent into the mouth of the earth corresponds well with the up-and-down nature of the Center as the middle of the earth, the central hinge of space and time.

Plates 53 and 54: Xochipilli as a Deer, and Five Frames of Piercing Sacrifices with Calendrical Notations

The upper left corner of Plate 53 contains an image of a deer with the 20 day signs attached to its body. The deer is an animal closely associated with Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers. This deer is marked as a representative of Xochipilli by its face paint. Arrayed on a curved white panel in front of the deer are five of the day signs, the sixth through the tenth in the series of 20: Death, Deer, Rabbit, Water and Dog. These are taken, one each, from the list of days linked to each of the five directions: East, West, Center, North and South. After offering two other forms of expressing the directional

qualities of the calendar and the characteristics of the directions in this image the Codex Borgia presents a third way of describing these associations. The relationship of this image of Xochipilli to the preceding pages or to the following page is unclear. We do not know why it is inserted here.

Directly below the Xochipilli deer we find the first of five representations of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the Venus deity, performing a spear sacrifice. Each of these images is in a frame bounded on two sides by an unusual arrangement of dates. The names of these dates are drawn from the five directions in the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in four rows of 65 days: Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The days give a certain directional quality to these five images. In contrast to these qualities, the deities or objects being speared have other directional associations. To further complicate the issue, Seler assigns to the image of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli in each of the five panels the direction opposite to the one associated with his adversary.

In the first of them, in the lower left corner of Plate 53, a black-skull-faced Venus god strikes the leg of Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water. The day signs around the scene include all the numbers from 1 to 13 paired with Alligator, beginning with 1 Alligator at the lower right. The day sign Alligator yields an association of this scene with the East. Chalchiuhtlicue is a goddess of the East, and because of the conflict between the characters Seler represents Venus as being the West. Floating above Chalchiuhtlicue are the next three day signs, Wind, House and Lizard. If these were taken to represent three days in the *tonalpohualli* following 1 Alligator, then the fifth day in that sequence would be 5 Serpent.

This is the day that begins the display on the lower right corner of Plate 54. There an owl-faced Venus god strikes the leg of the Black Tezcatlipoca. The day sign Serpent belongs to the group associated with the South. The Black Tezcatlipoca is the god of the North, so that Seler assigns Venus here to the South. Above Tezcatlipoca are the next three days signs, Death, Deer and Rabbit. If we continue the count from 5 Serpent, the next day in the sequence should be 9 Water.

This is the date that appears at the lower right end of the next quadrant of the page. In this corner, the lower left, a dog-faced Venus god strikes the corn god, Cintéotl, on the leg. Here the Water day sign can be calendrically tied to the North, but Cintéotl is a god of the West and Seler assigns this Venus to the East.

Continuing the pattern, after the day signs of Dog, Monkey and Grass should come 13 Reed, and indeed it appears as the first in the list of Reed dates in the upper left quadrant of the page. In this panel a rabbit-faced Venus god strikes the leg of an unusual figure identified by Seler as embodying *tlatocáyotl,* the concept of kingship. Reed is an indication of the Center direction, but the residence of the sumptuous gods, including the *tlatocáyotl,* is in the South. Consequently, Venus in this panel is of the North.

In the fifth and last of these images, a white-skull-faced Venus deity strikes a round shield and cluster of arrows, the *yaóyotl,* symbol of warfare and warriors. The day sign associated with this panel is Movement, which is of the West. The young warriors symbolized by the shield and other implements of war reside in the Center. Since the center is both up and down, it is its own opposite and this Venus is also of the Center.

Plate 55: Six Deities with 20 Day Signs

On this page the reading order is once more from right to left and in a reverse S-curve from bottom to top. Guides to indicate this reading order are plentiful: the day signs proceed in this order, the deities face in these directions and the footprints on the path of the days are pointed in these directions.

Each of the six panels on this page presents a deity standing in a pose that suggests walking. Seler calls them "the six celestial walkers." The first is Tonatiuh, the solar god, who makes offerings of a rubber ball and a bundle of sticks to a temple that contains a precious bowl. The second is Tlazoltéotl, the moon goddess, who walks in front of a rabbit in the moon in a dark sky and a bleeding serpent. The third is a blue-faced deity who wears a costume of turquoise and carries a turquoise staff. He is Yacatecuhtli, god of merchants and of wealth. The fourth is the Black Tezcatlipoca (his skin is red but he carries the shield and arrows characteristic of the black form of the deity), who walks with a spiny staff. The fifth is the Red Tezcatlipoca (his skin is yellow but he carries the quetzal bird characteristic of the red form of the deity), who walks with a jeweled staff. The sixth and final one of these travelers is Íztac Mixcóatl, the old god of fire, who carries a fire serpent as a walking stick. Why these six are displayed here and why the day signs are divided as they are is unclear.

Plate 56: Gods of Life and Death, and the 260-Day Ritual Calendar

This is a strikingly beautiful page, which portrays gods of life and death back to back, framed by day signs to the right and left and place-holding dots above and below. Quetzalcóatl, the wind god and god of life, is on the right and Mictlantecuhtli, the god of death and the underworld, is on the left. The image conveys the duality of existence, the joining of opposites and the inevitable relationship of life and death.

The 20 day signs are arranged in the order of the first signs of each group of 13 days in the *tonalpohualli.* The first day is 1 Alligator, located at the bottom right corner of the page. This is followed by 12 place-holding dots standing for the other 12 days in the group of 13. The fourteenth day sign is Jaguar and the day is 1 Jaguar. This sign is found at the extreme lower left corner of the page. It begins the second group of 13 days, the rest of which are again symbolized by the 12 place-holding dots. The twenty-seventh day sign, the first day of the third period of 13 days, would be the day 1 Deer, which is found immediately above the Alligator. Following this pattern of alternating between sides of the page, we can traverse the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* in a much abbreviated form.

Plate 57: Six Supernatural Couples

This page is divided into six panels, each of which has five day signs placed below a pair of deities who face each other across a central device. The gods of each pair are male and female and represent male and female aspects of divinity relevant to a particular area of responsibility. Each pair sits beneath a celestial disc: sun, moon or obscure sky (in most cases only the lower half of the disc appears), and each is accompanied by a group of red-dot place holders to mark unnamed days in the ritual calendar. The significance of the association of these pairs of deities with particular parts of the *tonalpohualli* is unknown. The reading order follows the same sinuous route that we have seen so often.

Beginning at the lower right panel, the first day sign is Alligator. Following that sign the entire *tonalpohualli* is indicated either by day signs or place holders. The day 1 Alligator is followed by seven unnamed days, indicated by the seven red dots at the left edge of the panel. The ninth day sign is Water, which is found in the first

position of the lower left panel in the series. That day should be 9 Water. It is followed by seven days indicated by the dots at the left edge of that panel. The next day should be 4 Movement, and Movement is found in the first position, this time at the left end of the row, in the left center panel on the page. Proceeding in this fashion, 52 days are counted by the time the last dot on the upper left panel is reached. The next day after those 52 would be the day 1 Reed, which is found adjacent to the Alligator in the starting position in the lower right panel. If the progression is followed five times, all the day signs on the page are accounted for and 260 days have passed. This page represents yet another shorthand way of expressing the entire ritual calendar.

The gods in each panel are shown as married pairs. In the first panel they are Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacíhuatl, the father and mother of the gods, the lord of sustenance and the lady of life. Between them is a rich offering consisting of a turquoise bowl, a gold box, turquoise beads and a young man. They all rest under the bright sun. In the second panel the deities are Patécatl and Tlazoltéotl as the god and goddess of pulque, the intoxicating liquor made from the sweet sap of the maguey. They sit on either side of a vessel marked with a skull and two intertwined snakes. The disc of the heavens is half sun and half obscure night sky, an image that is probably appropriate to pulque. The third panel, the center left one, has the images of Cintéotl, the corn god, and a female counterpart, a goddess of corn. They sit across from each other and are holding a pair of large flowering maize plants growing from a bowl that also contains four ears of corn. The sun again shines on this scene. The fourth panel contains Tláloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, the god of rain and the goddess of water. Their offering is a precious bowl with four ears of corn, green-and-blue twined garlands and a young man. The sun above this scene is bright and has four jewels hanging from it. The fifth panel is unusual in that the supernatural couple are seated with their backs to one another. They are Xochipilli and Xochiquétzal, the young prince of flowers, who is also the young sun god, and the young goddess of flowers, who is also the young goddess of the moon. Their offering is an eagle descending into a precious bowl. The sun shines clearly on them. The final scene is of Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl, the god and goddess of death and the underworld. Their offering contains a skull devouring a person, and the moon rather than the sun shines above them.

Plates 58–60: 25 Couples (Numerological Marriage Prognostications)

These three pages contain 25 panels, each of which contains a married couple, a celestial symbol, a number of dots from two to 26, and some ancillary images. The unusual aspect of this group of images is that they do not include day signs. In my opinion the best interpretation of these pages yet offered has been made by Peter van der Loo (personal communication). He has suggested that they represent a sort of numerological prognostication of the success of marriages. If one were to consider only the day numbers of the names of a young man and woman and add them together, the sum of their day numbers could range from $1 + 1 = 2$ to $13 + 13 = 26$. The predicted qualities of the relationship are suggested by the activities of the couple, the objects around them and the heavenly disc above them.

In general it seems that odd-number totals are more favorable than even totals. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this process. The first pair, whose number is 2, is found in the lower left panel of Plate 58, and they are depicted as Mictlantecuhtli and Xochiquétzal. She is cutting the throat of one child and he is devouring another. The sky above them is half dark, on her side, and half sun, on his side, perhaps because he is following his nature but she is not. For them the future would be read as unfavorable, certainly on her side and perhaps on his. The second pair, whose number is 3, is just left of the first pair. They are shown as Xochiquétzal and an unidentified man. Their sun is bright, and between them is an offering bowl made of turquoise and containing precious beads and ears of corn. For them the future is good. The third couple is identified as Xochiquétzal and the Red Tezcatlipoca. For them the celestial symbol is replaced by a precious bowl that overflows with a frothy material. That their predicted life together is poor is indicated by the overturned bowl between them spilling out its contents.

The reading order follows the count of numbers, indicating by the red numeral dots from two to 26. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 58 and reads from right to left across the three pages. The sequence then moves up the page to the center row and proceeds from left to right back across the three pages, finally moving up to the top of the page and going back to the left to the twenty-fifth panel at the top left of Plate 60. Despite much damage to the original, the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction has missed only two numeral dots in the whole series; the fourth panel should have five dots and the twenty-second panel should have 23 dots.

Plates 61–70: Another 260-Day Ritual Calendar

The next ten pages present a second complete 260-day *tonalpohualli,* or ritual calendar. Each page contains 26 day signs (two 13-day groups) and two images of gods, objects and actions that presumably characterize the 13-day groups. This arrangement of the calendar divides it into 20 equal periods, each of which is begun uniquely by one of the day signs. These 20 groups of 13 days are known as *trecenas.* The deities whose images are painted in the panels of each of the periods may be thought of as patrons of the period initiated by the appropriate day sign. It is worth pointing out, as Seler does, that the associations of gods and periods of the calendar are not obvious. For example, the period that begins with the day sign Flower does not have Xochiquétzal, the goddess of flowers, as its patron or regent. On the other hand, the period that begins with Rain is indeed governed by Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, in a very obvious concordance of meanings.

The nature of the influence over the 13-day period wielded by each of these 20 patrons is not clear. How their influence was combined with that of the patrons of the day signs themselves, as discussed in connection with Plates 9–13 of the codex, is similarly unknown. Further, their relationship to the 104 images associated with the *tonalpohualli* on the first eight pages of the codex is also not understood. Ultimately it must be said that, despite all the information we have gleaned from interpretations of the Codex Borgia and the various other religious manuscripts of the Borgia Group, we do not know very much about how prognostication worked for the Mesoamerican priests. The intricacies of the magical process remain obscure.

The 260-day sequence of this *tonalpohualli* begins at the lower right corner of Plate 61 with the day sign Alligator. This, following a long-established pattern, should be considered as the day 1 Alligator. Armed with this crucial bit of information, we require no other indication of the day number because we know that the 13 numbers are used in a continuous cycle. Accordingly, every group of 13 day signs, every *trecena,* must begin with a day numbered 1. The reading order follows the order of the day signs across the bottom of the page and up its left margin to Reed, the thirteenth day sign. The next day sign in the order of the 20 is Jaguar, which

is found at the bottom right margin of Plate 62. The same pattern is followed across ten pages, until the day sign Dog is located at the top of the left column of day signs on Plate 70. There the sequence simply moves up to the upper register and changes to the left-to-right direction. The first day of the second half of the *tonalpohualli* is the day 1 Monkey and the last day of its period of 13 days is the day 13 House. After counting through the days named in the upper register of these ten pages, we reach the last day of the ritual calendar at the upper right corner of Plate 61, the day 13 Flower.

A brief table will identify the deities who are patrons of the 20 *trecenas* of this calendar.

First Day Sign of the Period	Deity (Nahuatl)	Deity (English)
Alligator	Tonacatecuhtli	Supreme Male Deity
Jaguar	Quetzalcóatl	God of Wind
Deer	Tepeyóllotl, Tlazoltéotl	Heart of the Mountain; Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Flower	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote, God of Dance
Reed	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl, Tonatiuh	Goddess of the Moon, God of the Sun
Rain	Tláloc	Rain and Storm
Grass	Mayáhuel	Goddess of Maguey
Serpent	Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	God of Fire, Venus as the Morning Star
Flint	Mictlantecuhtli, Tonatiuh	God of the Underworld, God of the Sun
Monkey	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Lizard	Itztlacoliuhqui, Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca	God of the Bent Knife, Black Smoking Mirror
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Dog	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
House	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Vulture	Xólotl	God of Twins
Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Wind	Chantico	Goddess of Fire
Eagle	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather
Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli, Xipe Tótec	God of Fire, Our Lord the Flayed One

Plate 71: The Sun and the Moon with 13 Birds

Plate 71 is composed of a large central panel surrounded on three sides by 13 smaller panels of approximately equal size. The large panel contains a representation of the solar deity sitting on a bench; a skeletal-jawed animal sacrificing a quail to the sun; the moon in a dark and starry sky; the jaws of the earth monster with a quail's head; and the day sign 1 Reed, which is the calendrical name of Quetzalcóatl. The image of Tonatiuh, the solar deity, is given the name 4 Movement. This is the name of the actual sun in the current creation as conceived by the Aztecs.

The 13 smaller panels contain 13 birds or, more accurately, 12 birds and one butterfly. Each is individually drawn to represent a particular kind of bird, some identifiable and some not. Each is also accompanied by one of the numbers from 1 to 13. These flying creatures are the winged companions of the 13 numbered days/deities not identified in the Codex Borgia. They represent the 13 levels of creation above the plane of the earth.

Plate 72: The Four Directions with Plumed Serpents and Deities

This page is divided into four quarters, each surrounded by the image of a serpent with its head near the center of the page and its body all but enclosing the four sides of a rectangle. In each case the serpent's belly forms the outer edge of the rectangle border and its back forms the inner edge. At the center of the page is a little spiritual beast known as a *tzitzímitl.* Within each rectangle is the image of a deity who is physically connected to five of the day signs.

Beginning at the lower left corner and proceeding counterclockwise, the deity assigned by Seler to the East is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm; he has attached to his body the day signs for Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The deity of the North is Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the earth, filth and the moon; she has attached to her body the day signs for Wind, Death, Dog, Jaguar and Flint. The deity of the West is Quetzalcóatl, the god of the wind; he has attached to his body the day signs for House, Deer, Monkey, Eagle and Rain. The fourth deity, the deity of the South, is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure; he has attached to his body the day signs for Lizard, Rabbit, Grass, Vulture and Flower.

The astute reader will have noticed that these day signs are regularly spaced in the series of 20. They follow the arrangement of the columns of day signs in the first representation of the *tonalpohualli* in the codex, beginning on Plate 1. If they are to be assigned directional significance here, as Seler has done for the quarters of the *tonalpohualli* when arranged as five rows of 52 days, the five day signs associated with the East are found in the first column of the *tonalpohualli,* the days of the North are in the fourteenth column, the West in the twenty-seventh column and the South in the fortieth column. In each case the five day signs are found in the first column of the quarter of the calendar assigned to the appropriate direction. This same grouping of days was used in the preparation of Plates 18–21 and 22 (and will be used on Plates 75 and 76), though Seler did not use the directional aspect of it for his interpretation of Plates 18–21.

Plate 73: Gods of Death and Life with 26 Days and the 20 Day Signs

The image of life and death on Plate 73 harks back to the compositionally similar image of a wind deity, representing life, and a death deity on Plate 56. There the image of Quetzalcóatl as the wind god is on the right side of the page and Mictlantecuhtli as the god of death is on the left side. Here those positions are reversed. The overall structure remains the same, though; the two deities are shown back to back, looking outward, and holding staves. The image of Quetzalcóatl is differently colored, black on Plate 56 and blue on Plate 73. His face paint and some of his costume elements are also changed. The image of Mictlantecuhtli is very similar in the two representations.

On Plate 56 these gods are accompanied by a shorthand version of the *tonalpohualli.* On Plate 73 they are ringed by 26 consecutive day signs (six are repeated; note the appearance of Death in the lower left corner just inside the ring) and have the 20 day signs attached to their bodies and costumes.

This parallel structure, appearing so many pages apart, suggests that these two pages may serve as bookends of a sort, unifying the various sections found between them. These sections are the six supernatural couples, the 25 divinatory couples, the second complete 260-day calendar, the sun and moon with their 13 birds and

the four directions with plumed serpents. The motive for this potential relationship is not immediately evident.

Plate 74: Male and Female Gods of Sensuality

This page presents images of two deities who are, at least in part, dedicated to sensuality and procreation. The bottom half of the page is given over to a male deity of sensuality, an *ahuiatéotl,* and a set of the 20 day names. The upper half contains an image of Tlazoltéotl and another set of the 20 day names. Tlazoltéotl is principally known as the old goddess of the earth and of the moon and as the eater of filth. She is also known as Teteoinnan, the "mother of the gods," and as Toci, "our grandmother." It is in these capacities that she displays the characteristics of a goddess of sensuality and voluptuousness.

The original of the Codex Borgia has been very badly damaged on this page through burning and the loss of the white lime surface that underlies the paintings. As a result much of this page is reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers following a drawing of the page made for Lord Kingsborough in the nineteenth century. Neither Kingsborough nor Díaz and Rodgers could decide where to put the day sign for Movement on the lower half of the page, so it is omitted though it was surely there at one time. On both halves of the page, 14 of the day signs are arranged around the margins, and six are in the center with the image of the god. In both cases these six are consecutive days. For the *ahuiatéotl* they are the last four and the first two, and for Tlazoltéotl they are the last six of the series of 20.

Plates 75 and 76: Eight Deities

The last two pages, the most seriously damaged of the entire codex, are meant to be read together. Each page is divided into four parts, with each quarter dominated by the figure of a god seated on a throne. In front of each deity are several other things, including a small figure of a priest offering incense and blood, and an urn with other sacrifices in it. Beneath each set of images are five day signs taken from a column of the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in five rows of 52 days, like the one on Plates 1–8 of the codex. At one side of each panel is a group of either five or six red dots as calendrical place holders.

The reading order begins at the bottom right corner of Plate 75 and proceeds from right to left across the two pages. It then goes up to the top register at the upper left corner of Plate 76 and proceeds from left to right back across the two pages. After five circuits of the eight images an entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* will have been counted. If we begin reading with the day 1 Alligator at the bottom of Plate 75 and count the six place markers as days 2 through 7, the next day will be 8 Rabbit, which is the first of the painted day signs in the next panel. From there five place markers take us past days 9 through 13, making the next day 1 Jaguar. Clearly, each pair of figures represents two parts of a single group of 13 and, just as clearly, each pair of figures can be associated with the direction linked to that part of the *tonalpohualli.* The reason for this association is not so clear, though it may be based on principles similar to those that informed the painting on Plate 72 with its four plumed serpents.

The deity in the first panel is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm. Before him are a bowl full of ears of corn, instruments of autosacrifice and an urn with a rubber ball and an ear of corn. The second panel contains Tonatiuh, the sun god, enthroned before a hill with instruments of warfare at its peak. These two panels are attributed to the East by Seler.

The next pair of panels, at the bottom of Plate 76, contain a red skeletal figure, as a symbol of the moon as well as of death, on the right, and Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon, on the left. This pair is connected to the second portion of the *tonalpohualli,* that of the North. The skeletal figure is seated before a pair of autosacrificial tools and an urn containing a ball of rubber, a bundle of sticks, three loose sticks, a plant and a fire serpent's tail. Tlazoltéotl is seated before a hill with a crossroads and a bundle of sticks.

The third pair of panels is found at the top of Plate 76. The first of the pair was almost completely destroyed by the late-eighteenth-century fire. The second, on the right side of the page, is a representation of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, though the diagnostic five dots on his face are not in evidence. He sits before a hill that has instruments of warfare at its peak and water running down its sides. These panels are tied calendrically to the West.

The fourth and final pair, at the top of Plate 75, is connected to the South in the calendar. The first of the pair contains a figure of a green skeleton covered with green grass (the green has become tan). Before him are broken instruments of autosacrifice and an urn very similar to that of the third panel (which featured the red skeleton) and with nearly identical contents. Again, the second panel of this last pair was almost completely destroyed by the unfortunate fire and by friction.

The relationship between these four quarters, in the form of eight paired images, and the four plumed serpents on Plate 72 was first noted by Seler, who remarked that correspondences of color and imagery suggest that these two sections of the codex were about similar matters.

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THE PLATES

The painted pages of the Codex Borgia restoration are here reproduced in numerically reverse order to make the reading of them as close to that of the original screenfold as possible (without the necessity of turning the book around halfway through). The codex is read from right to left, so that the reader is asked to turn to codex page 1 (= Dover Plate 1) and to read the color pages straight through from right to left and from back to front. Please note the detailed remarks in the introduction and commentary for the reading order on individual pages and groups of pages. The brief explanatory captions accompanying the plates have been provided by the writer of the introduction, Bruce E. Byland.

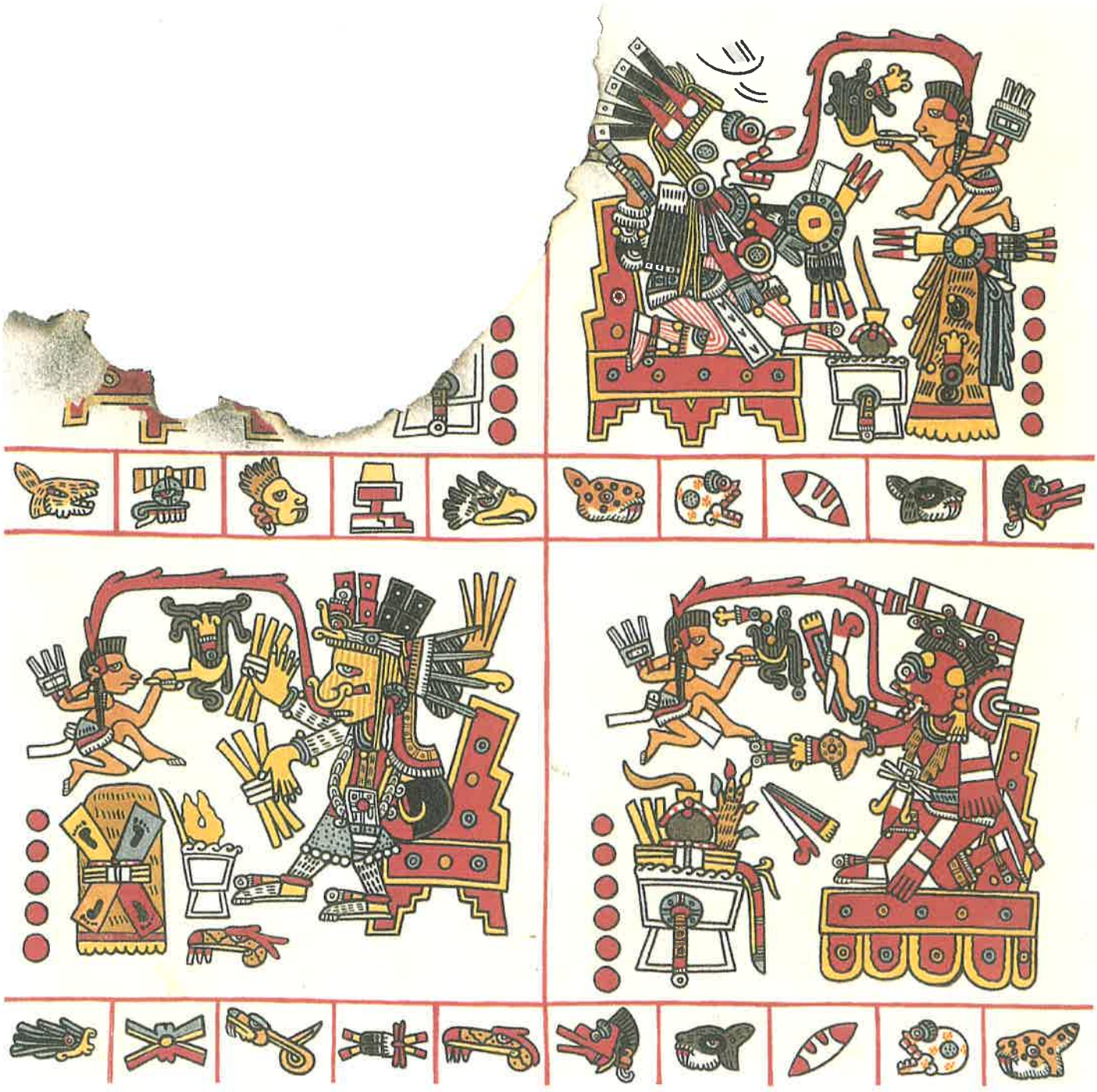

PLATE 76: Page 2 of eight deities

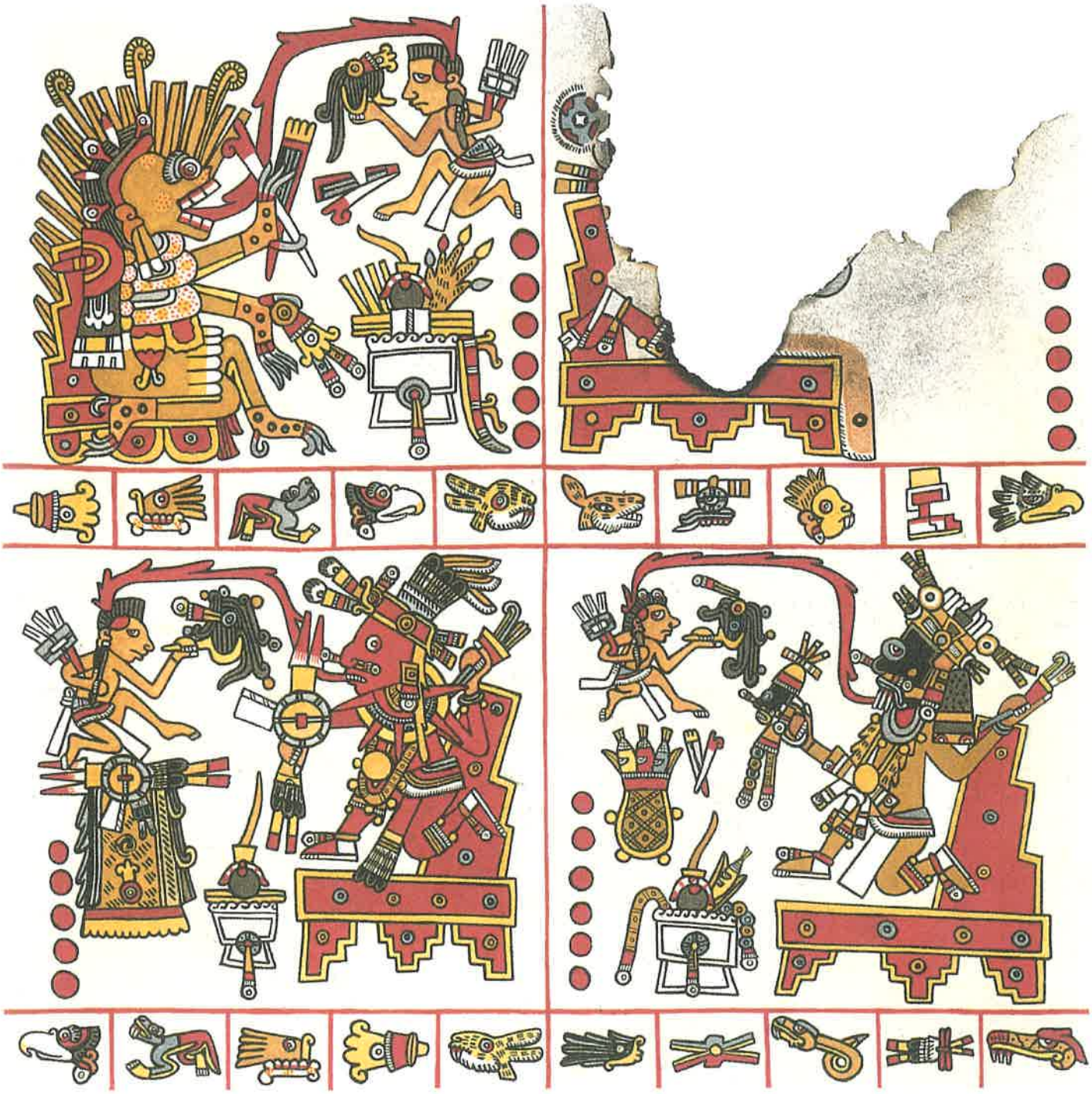

PLATE 75: Page 1 of eight deities

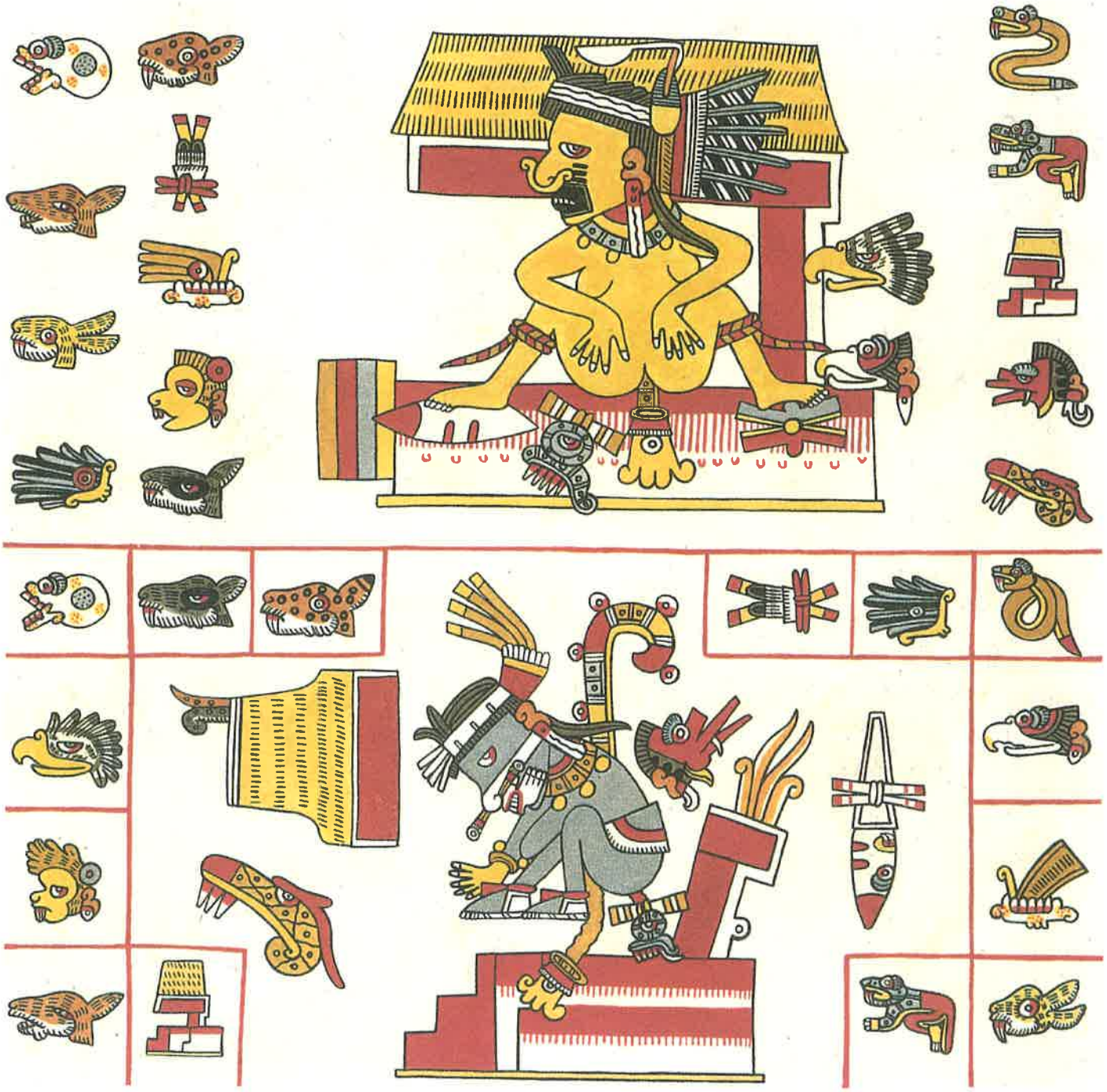

PLATE 74: Male and female gods of sensuality

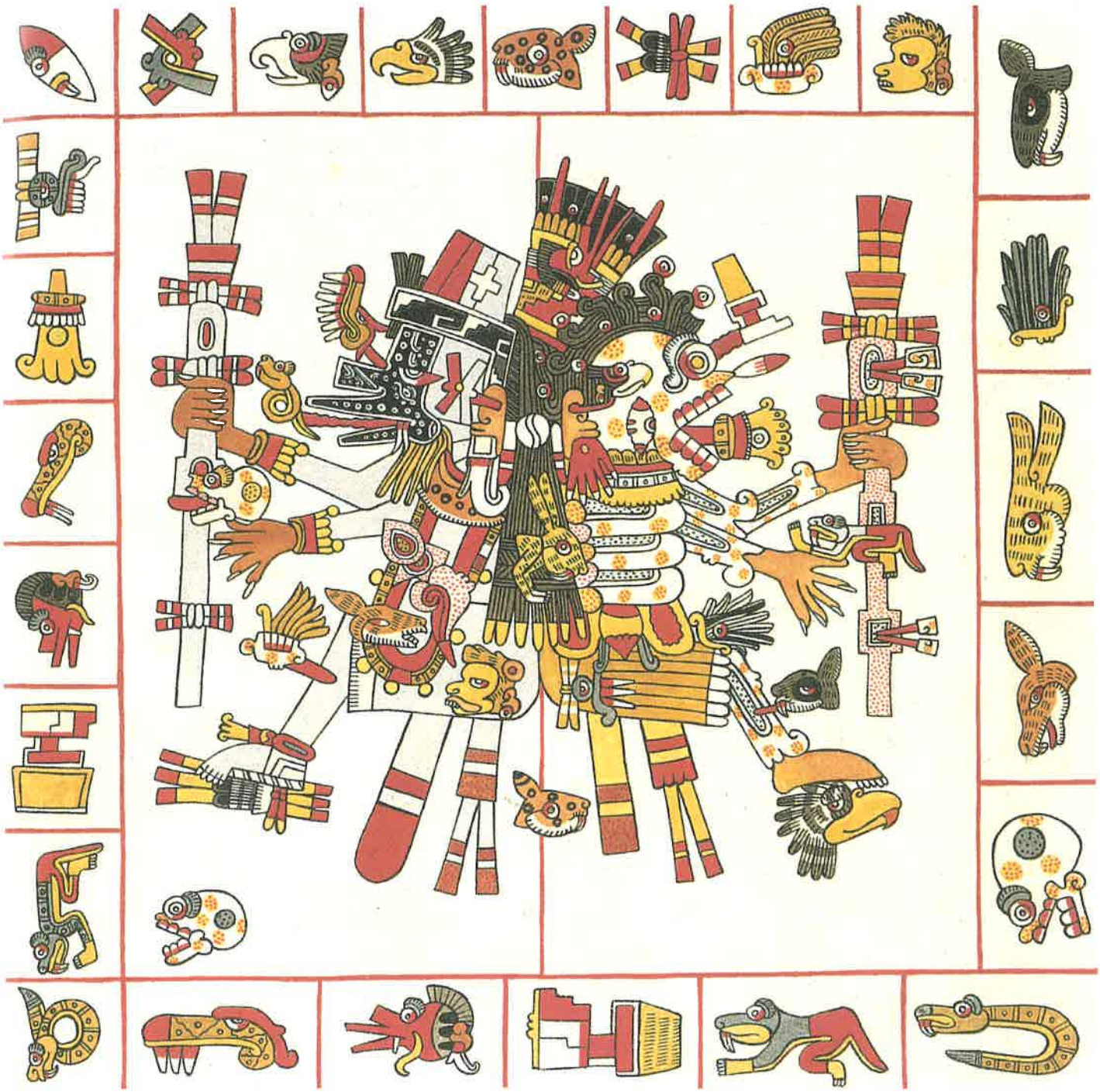

PLATE 73: Gods of death and life with 26 days and the 20 day signs

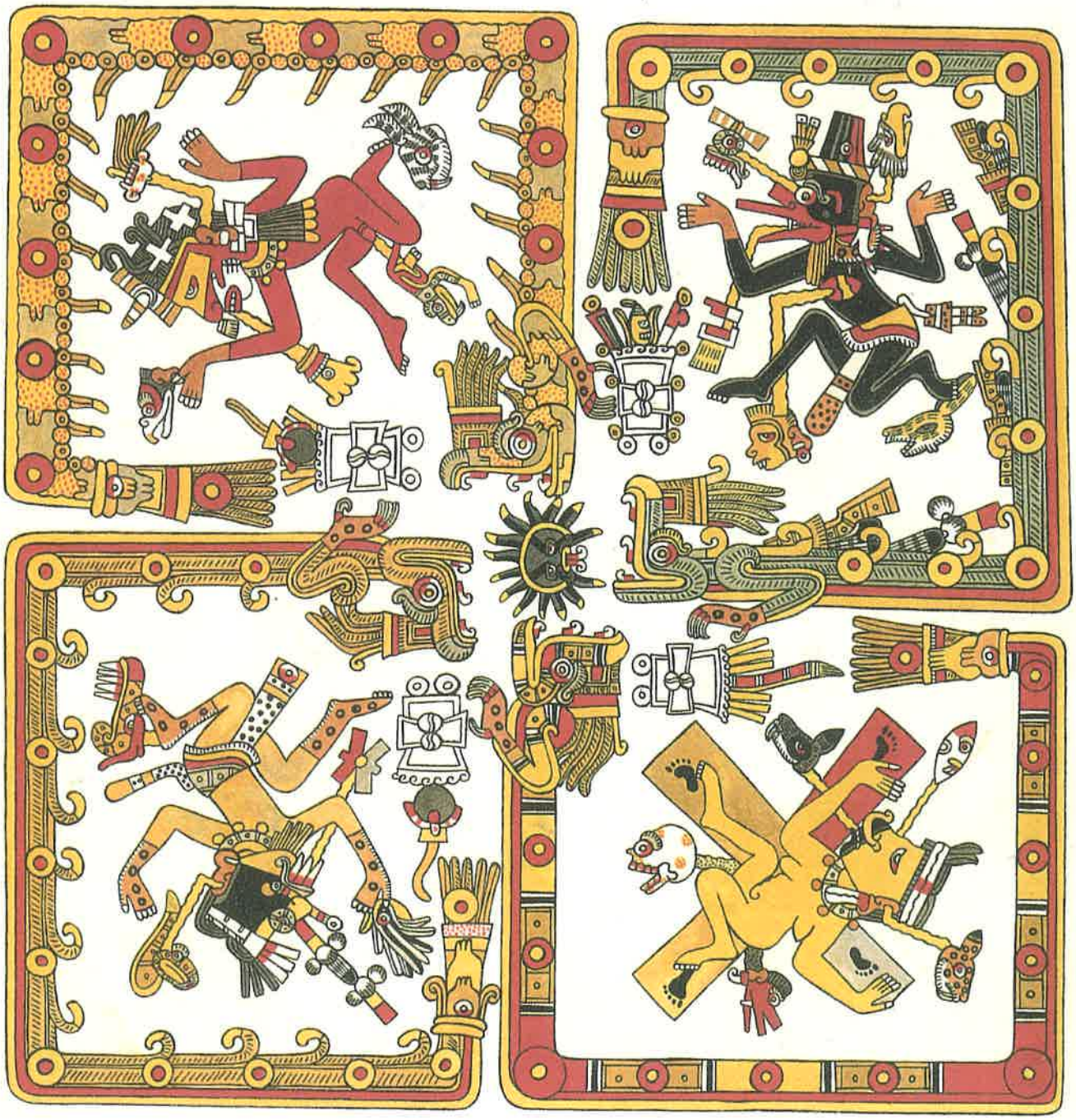

PLATE 72: The four directions with plumed serpents and deities

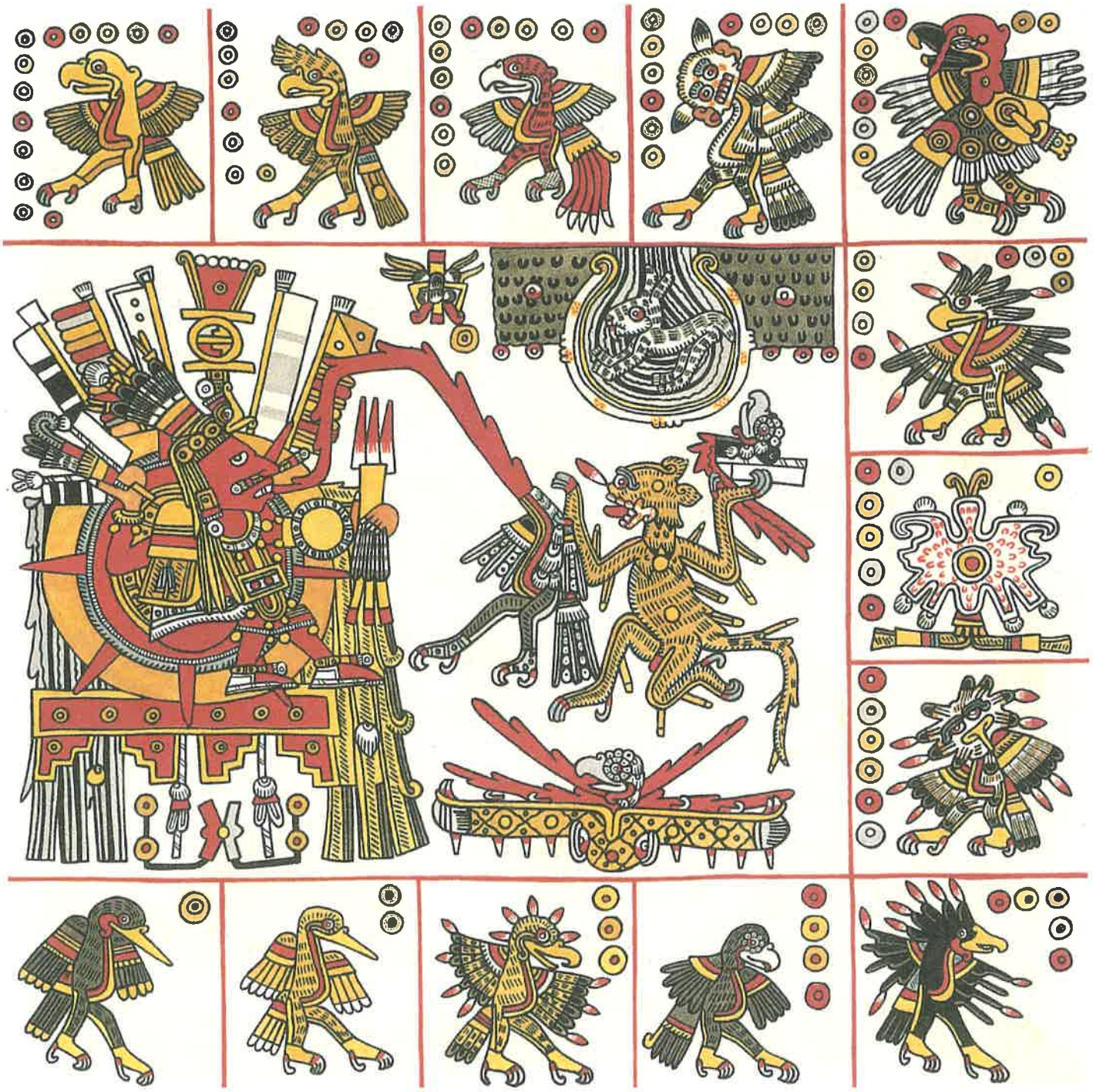

PLATE 71: The sun and the moon with 13 birds

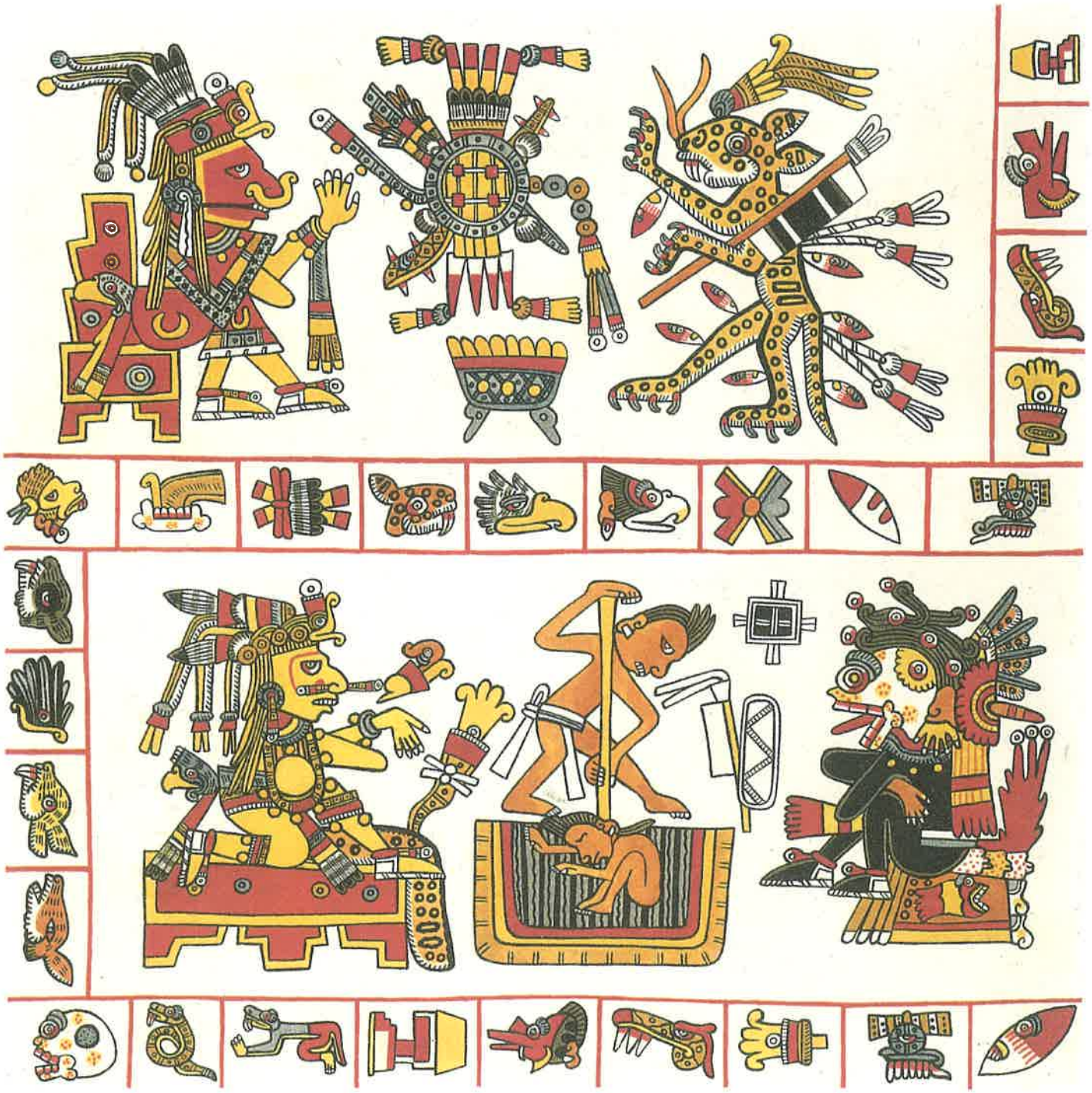

PLATE 70: Page 10 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 69: Page 9 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 68: Page 8 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 67: Page 7 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

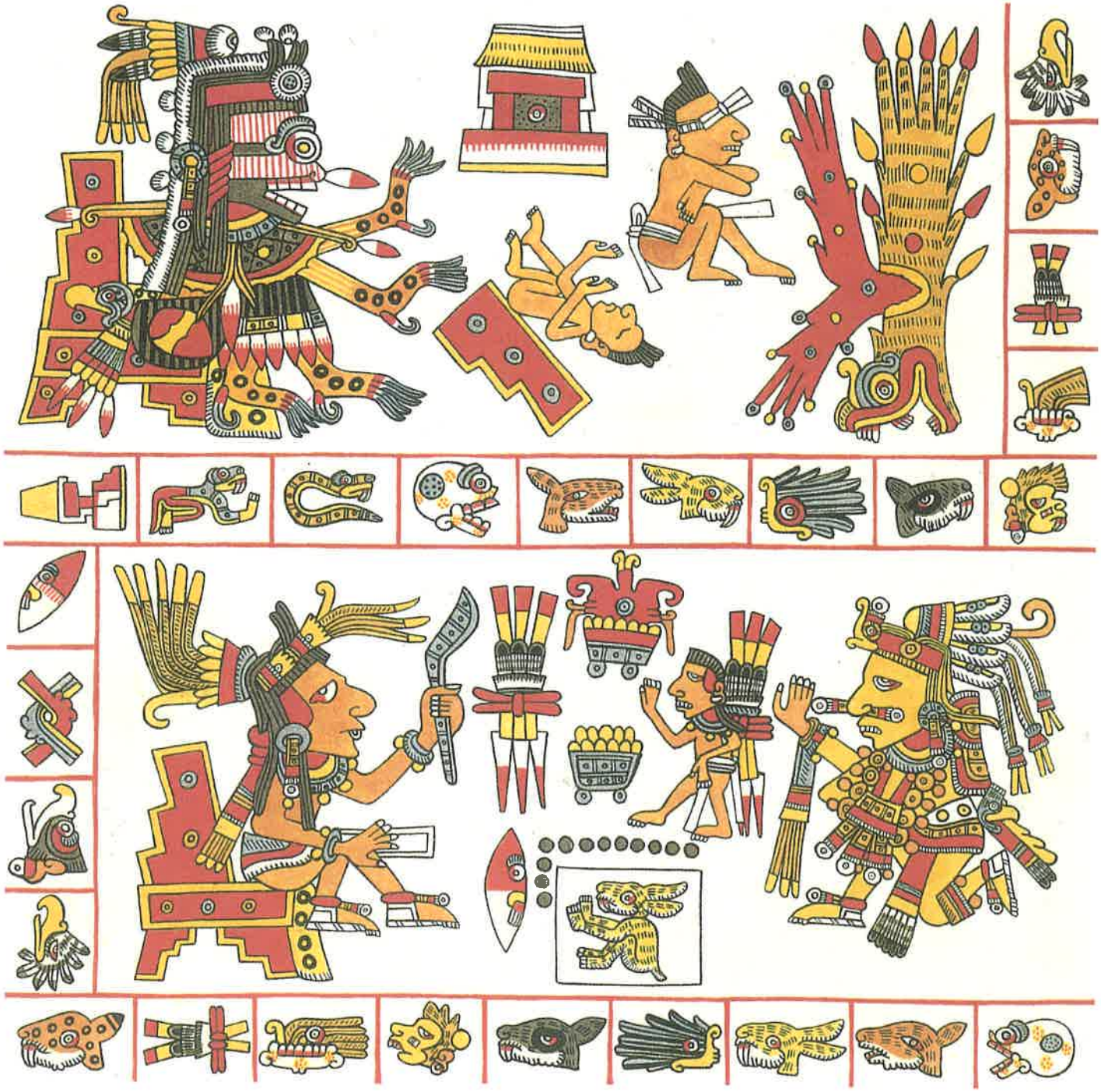

PLATE 66: Page 6 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

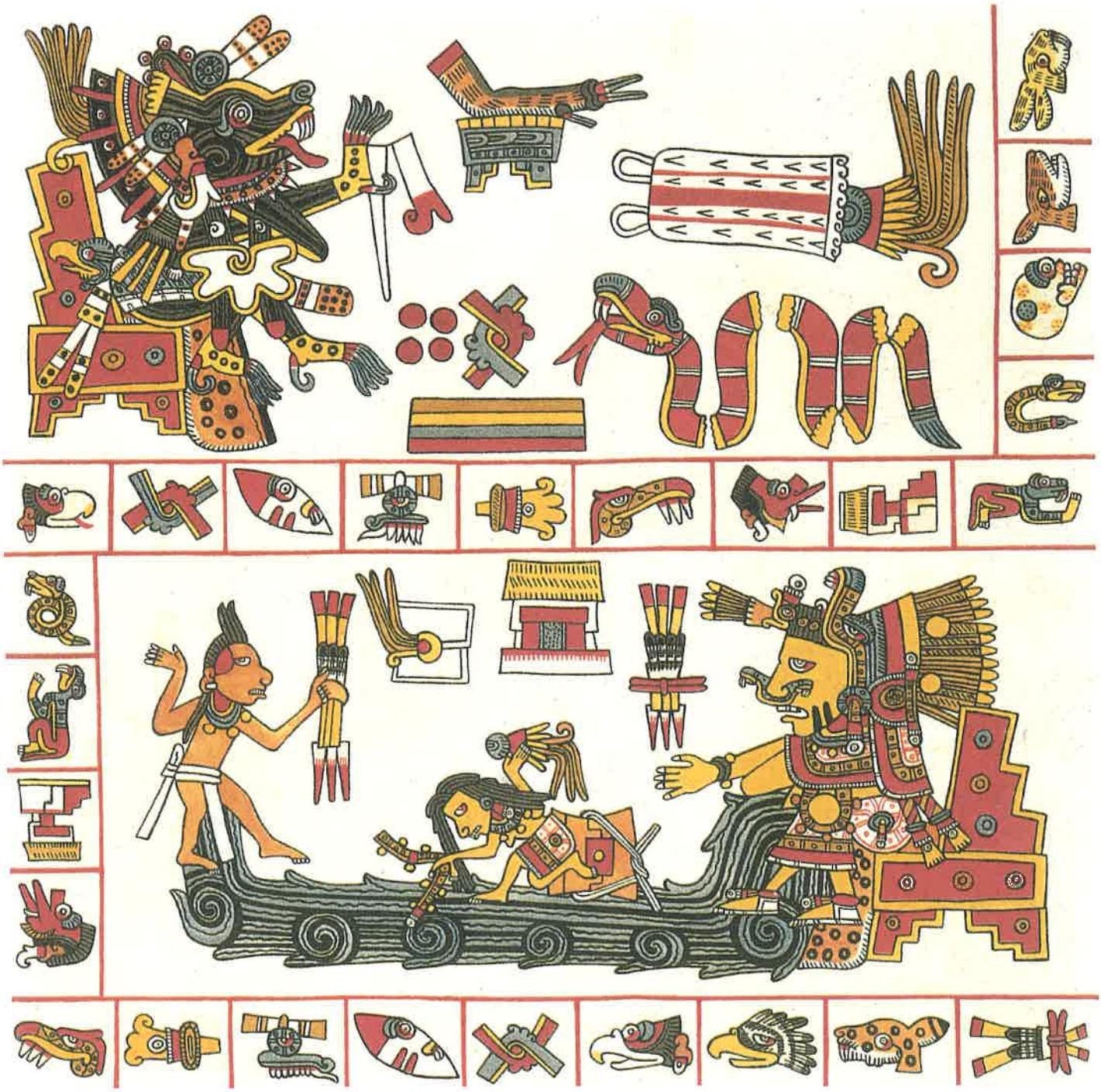

PLATE 65: Page 5 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 64: Page 4 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

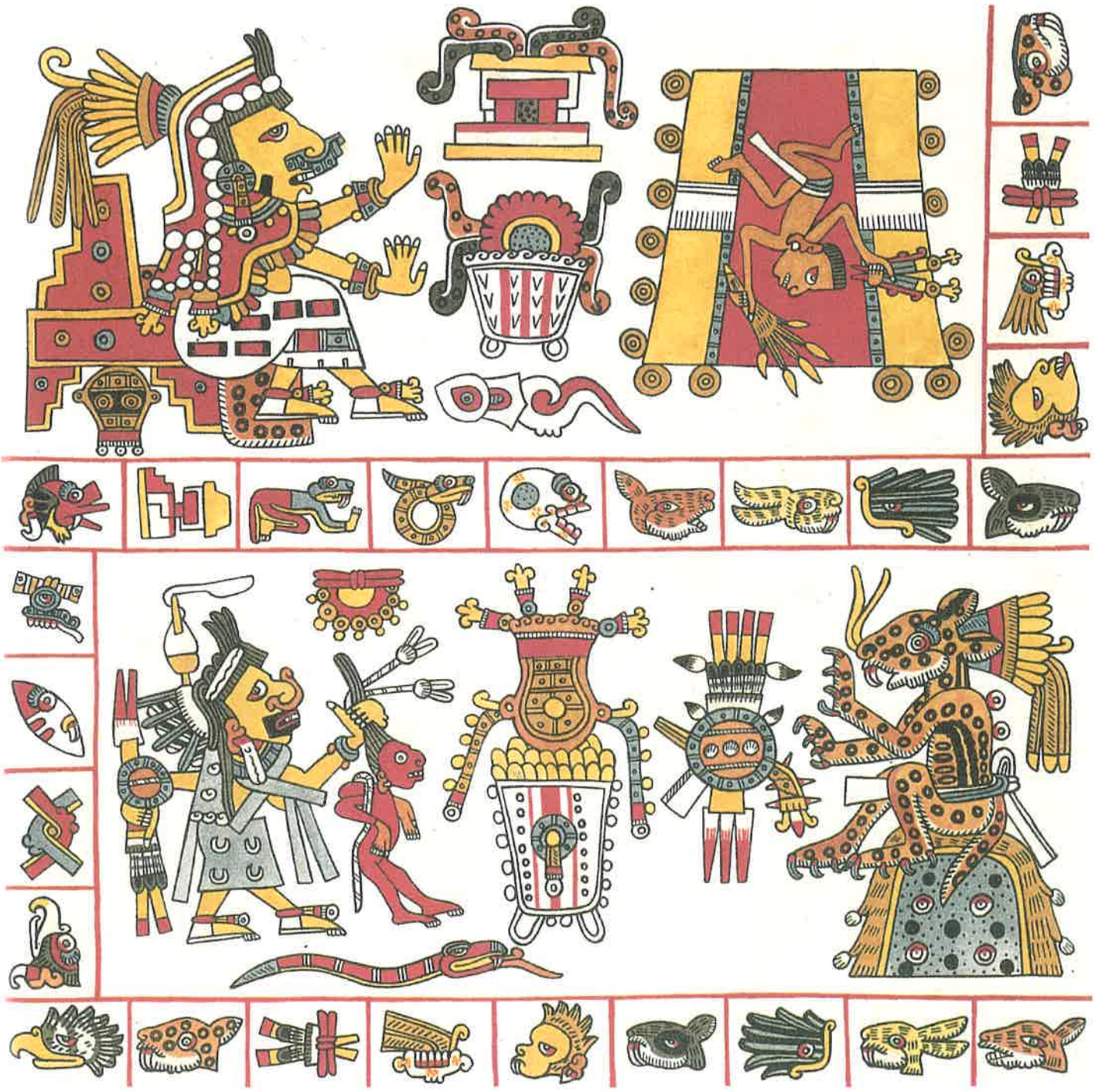

PLATE 63: Page 3 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 62: Page 2 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

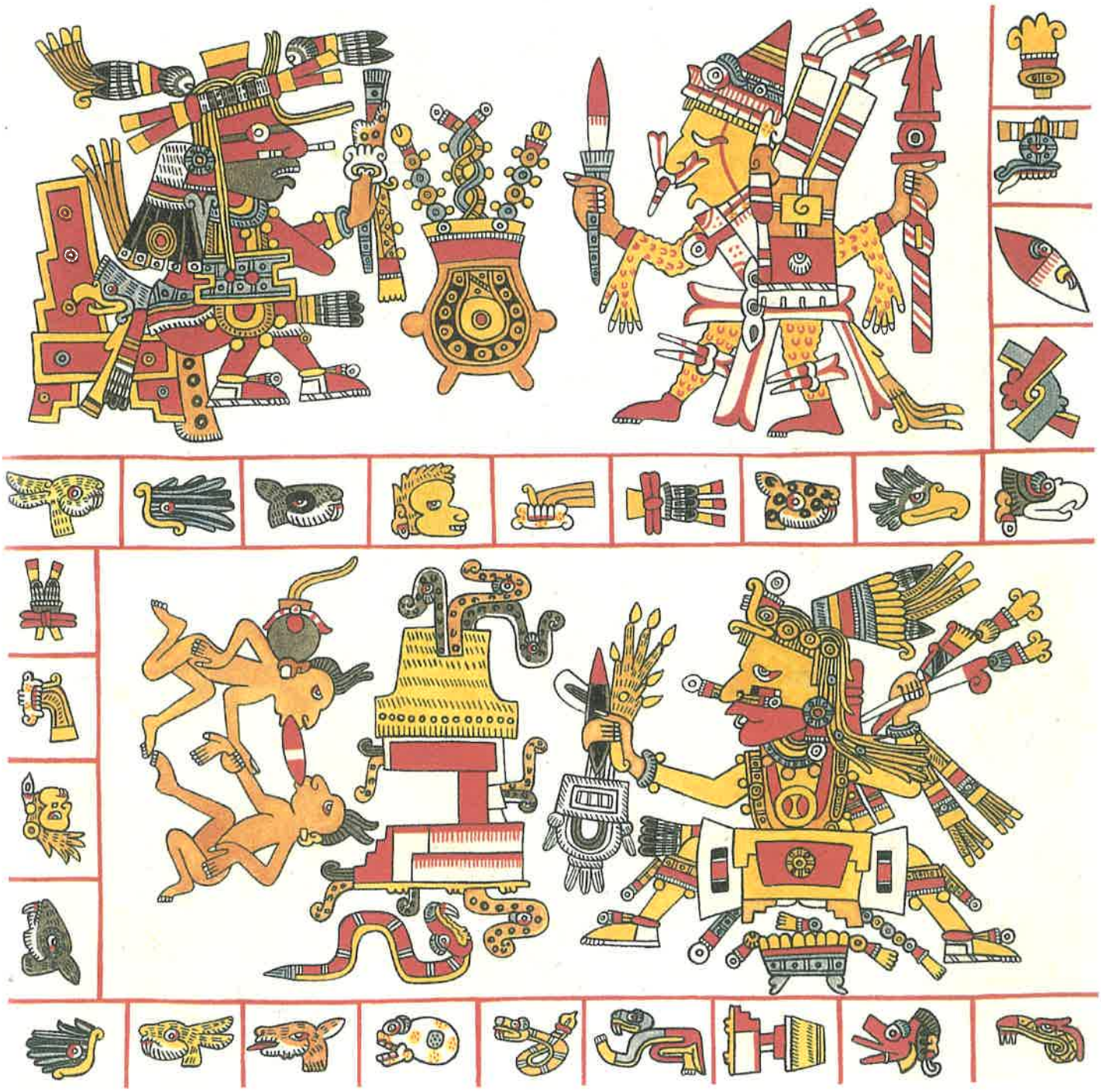

PLATE 61: Page 1 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 60: Page 3 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 59: Page 2 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 58: Page 1 of the numerological marriage prognostications

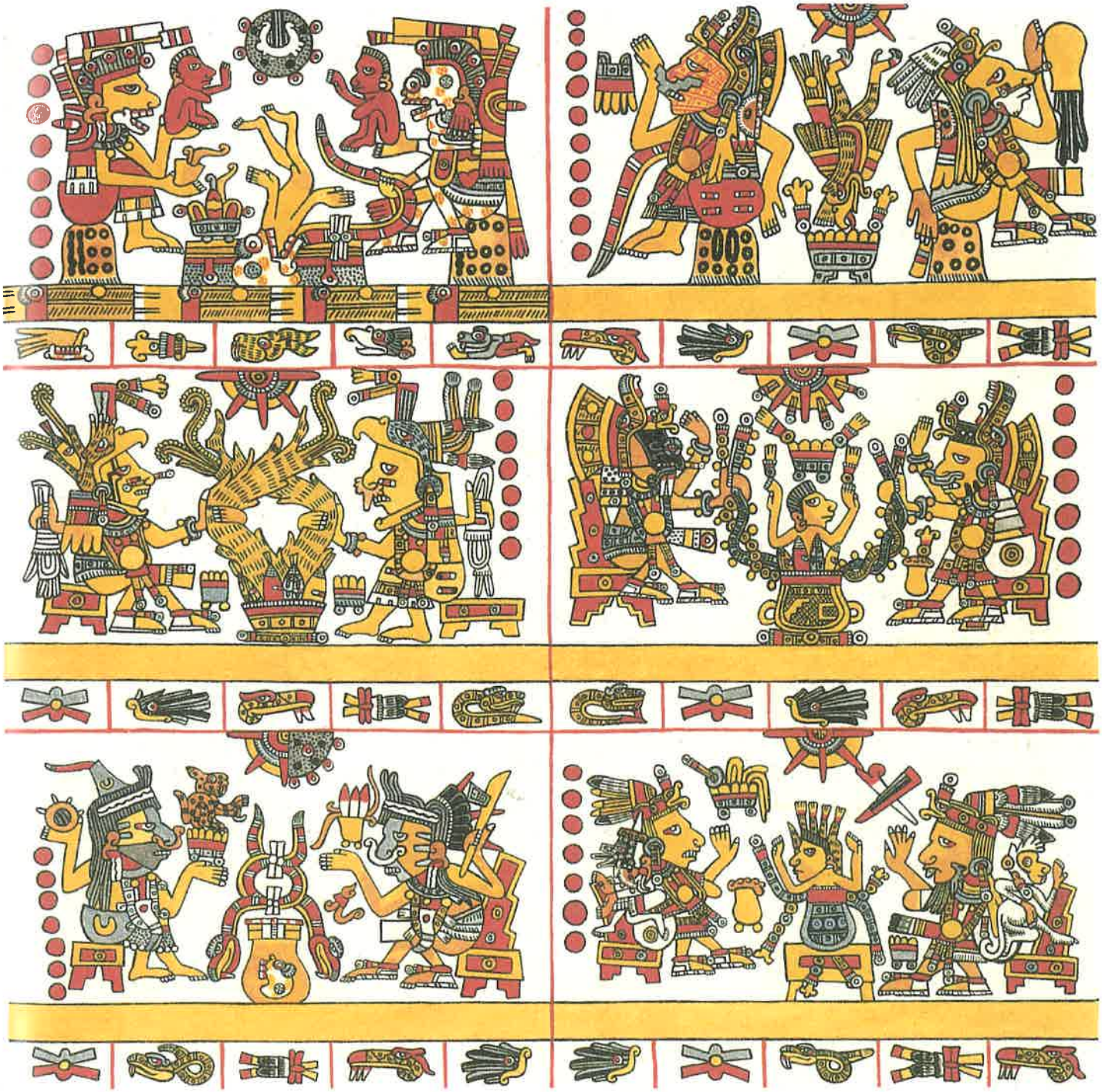

PLATE 57: Six supernatural couples

PLATE 56: Gods of life and death, and the *tonalpohualli*

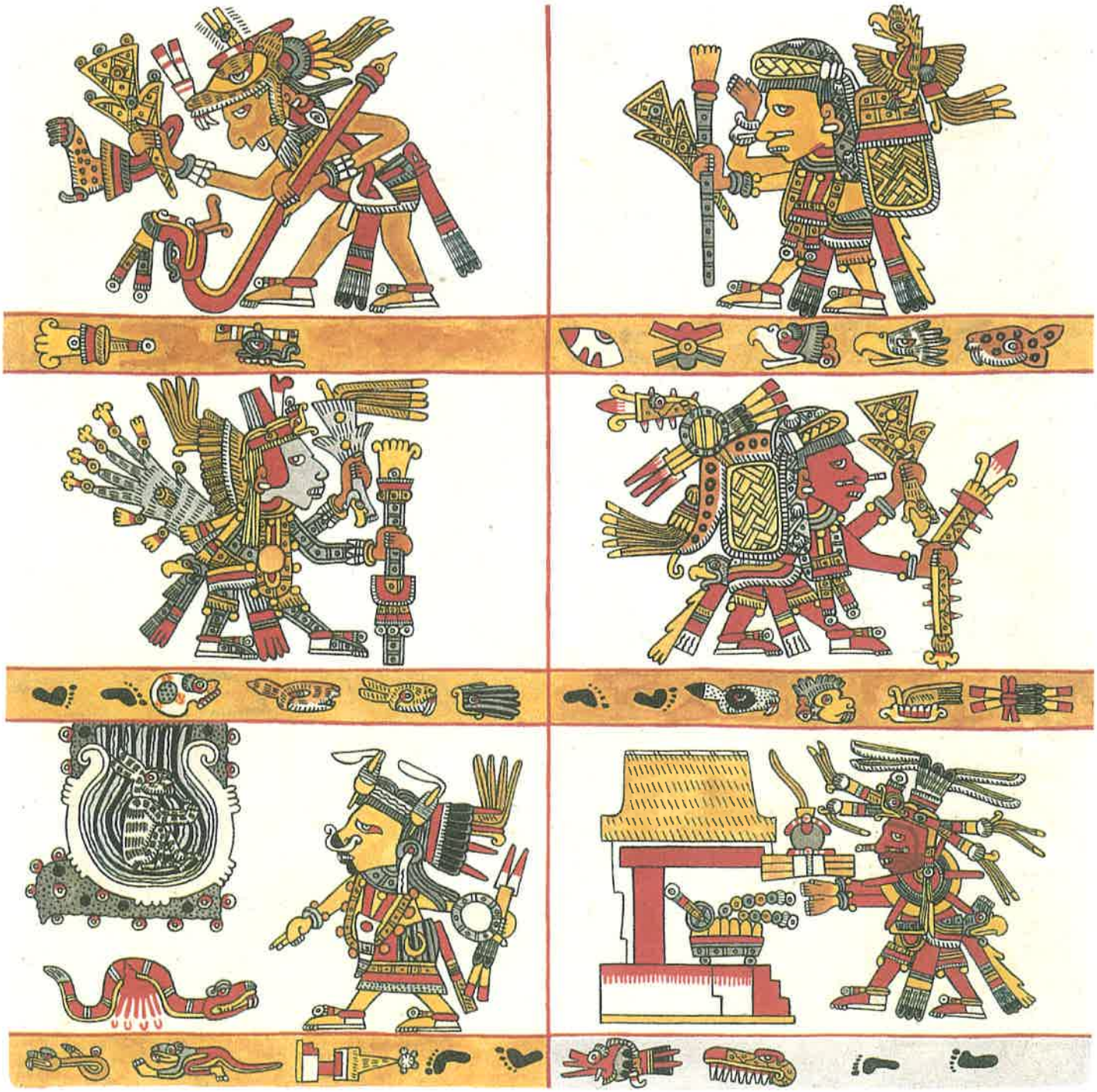

PLATE 55: Six deities with 20 day names

PLATE 54: Four more piercing sacrifices

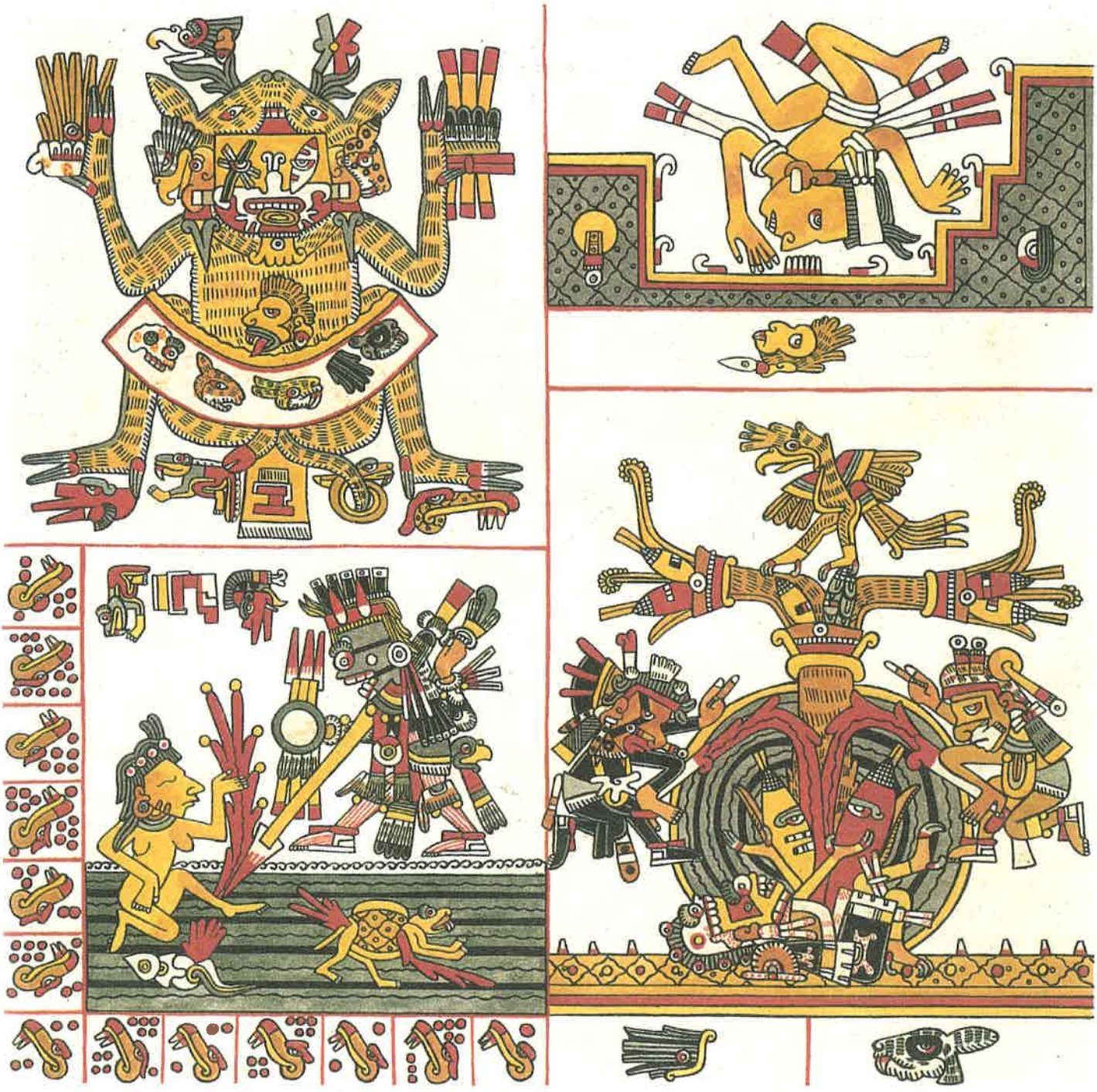

PLATE 53: Page 5 of the five directional trees, the Center; Xochipilli as a deer; and the first of five piercing sacrifices

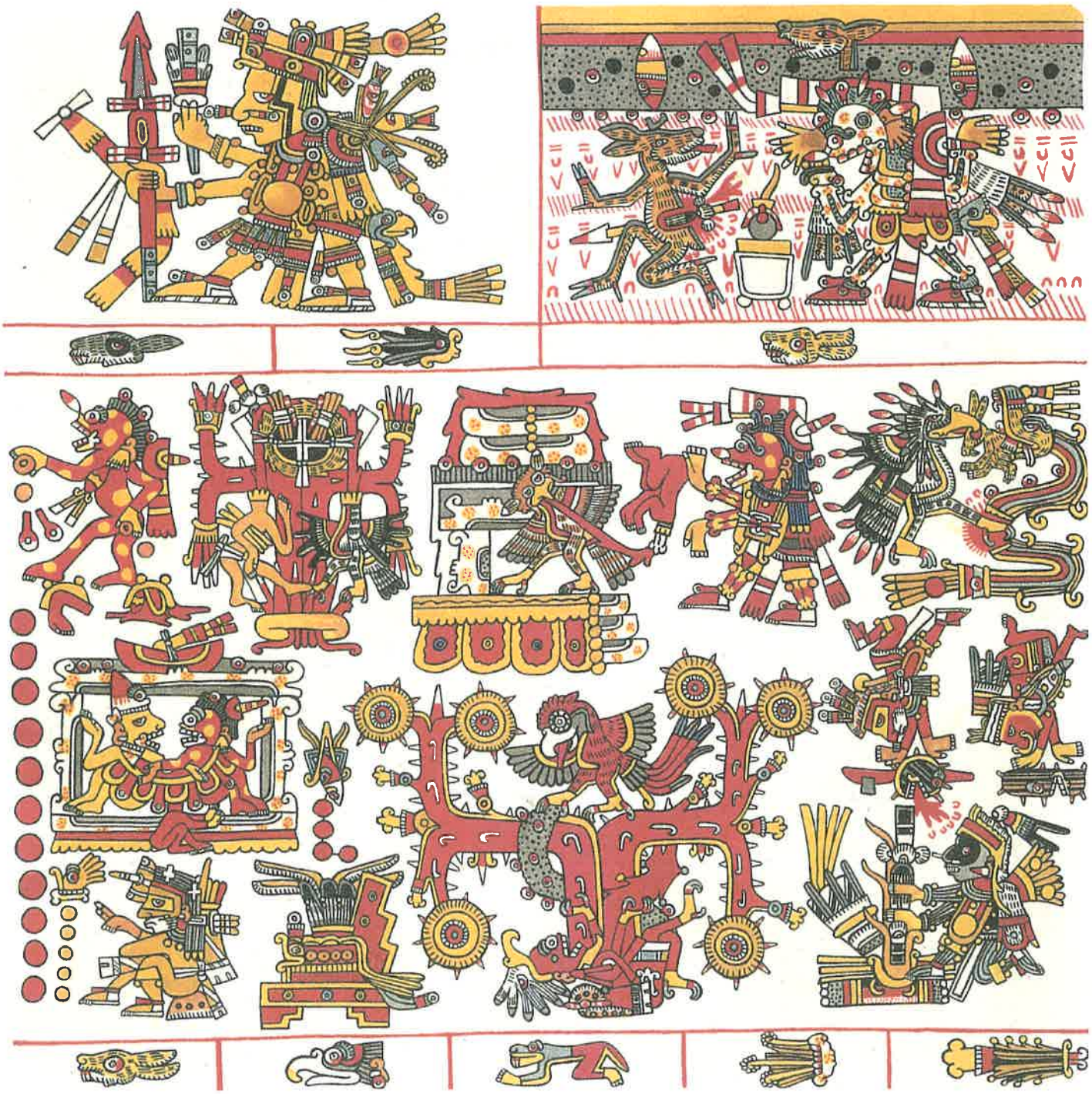

PLATE 52: Page 4 of the five directional trees, the South

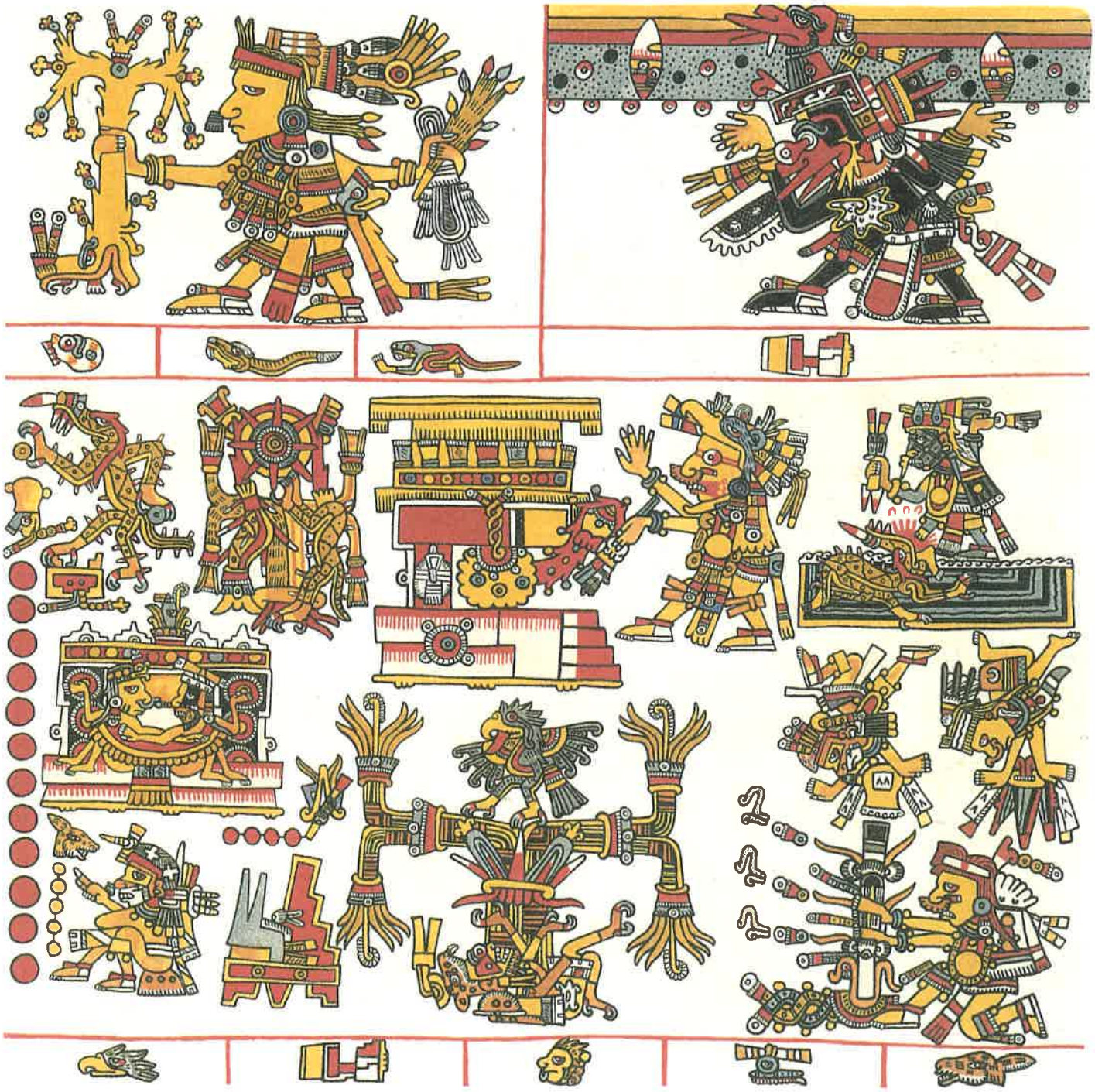

PLATE 51: Page 3 of the five directional trees, the West

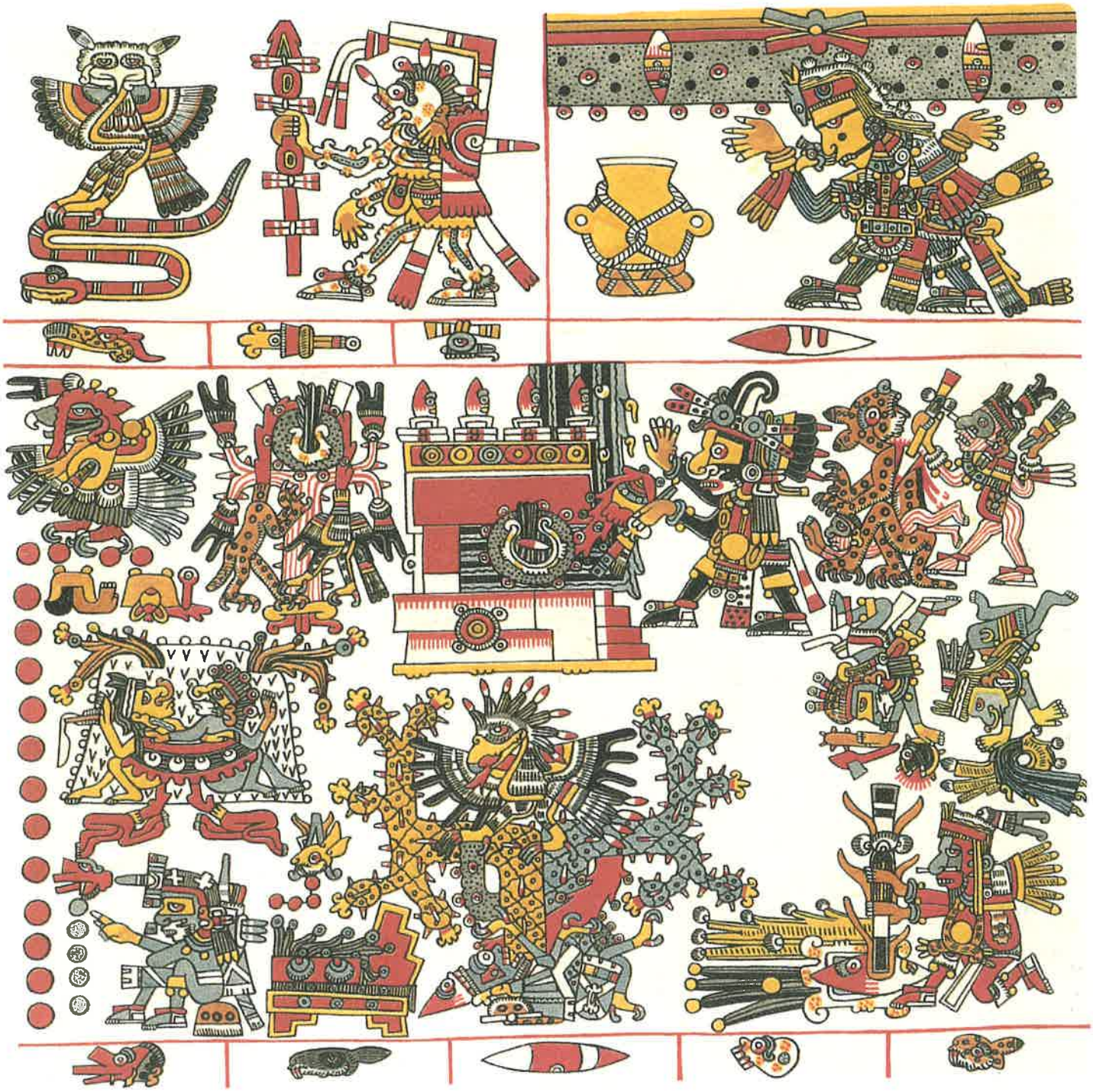

PLATE 50: Page 2 of the five directional trees, the North

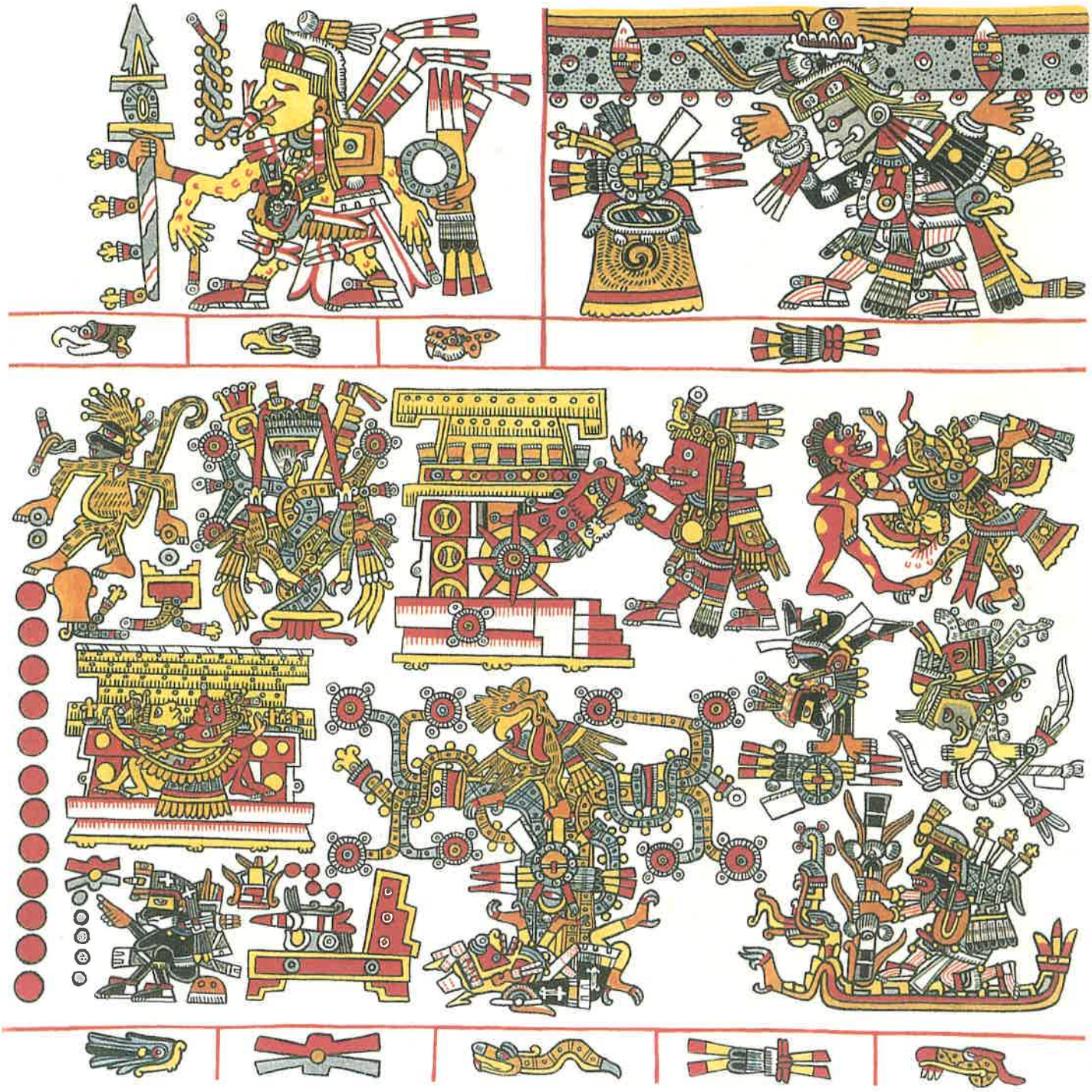

PLATE 49: Page 1 of the five directional trees, the East

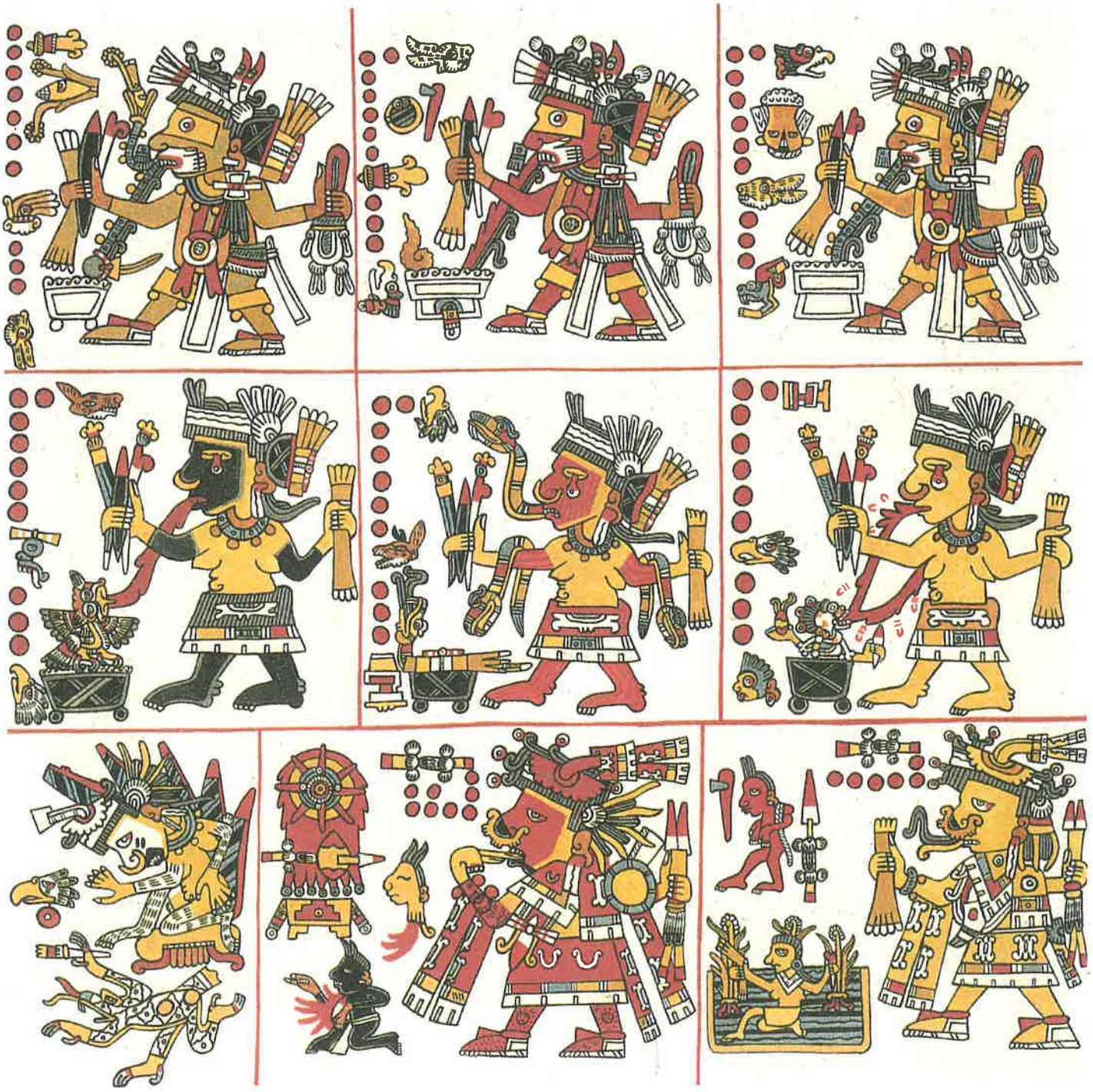

PLATE 48: Page 2 of three groups of five deities

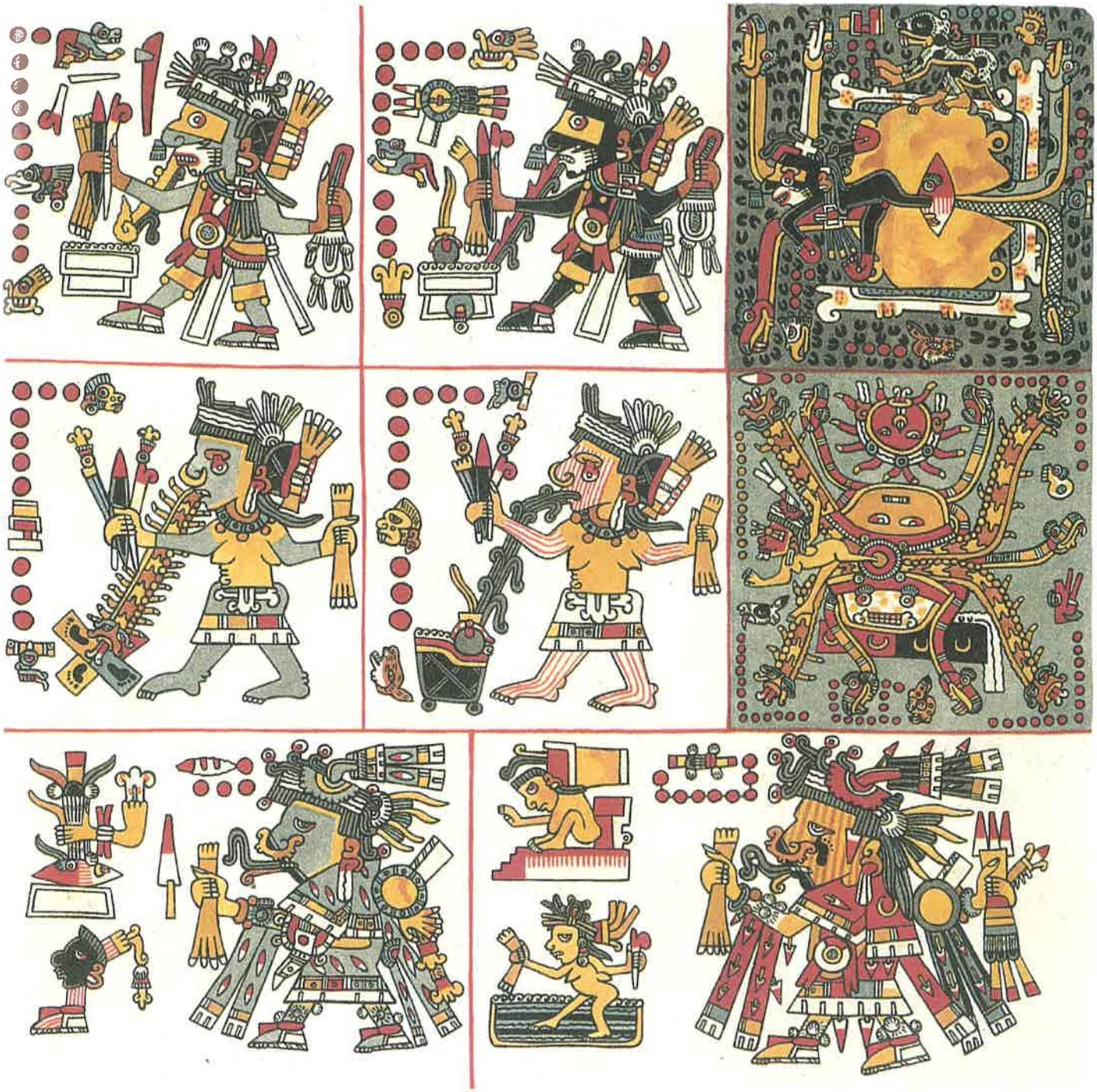

PLATE 47: Page 1 of three groups of five deities

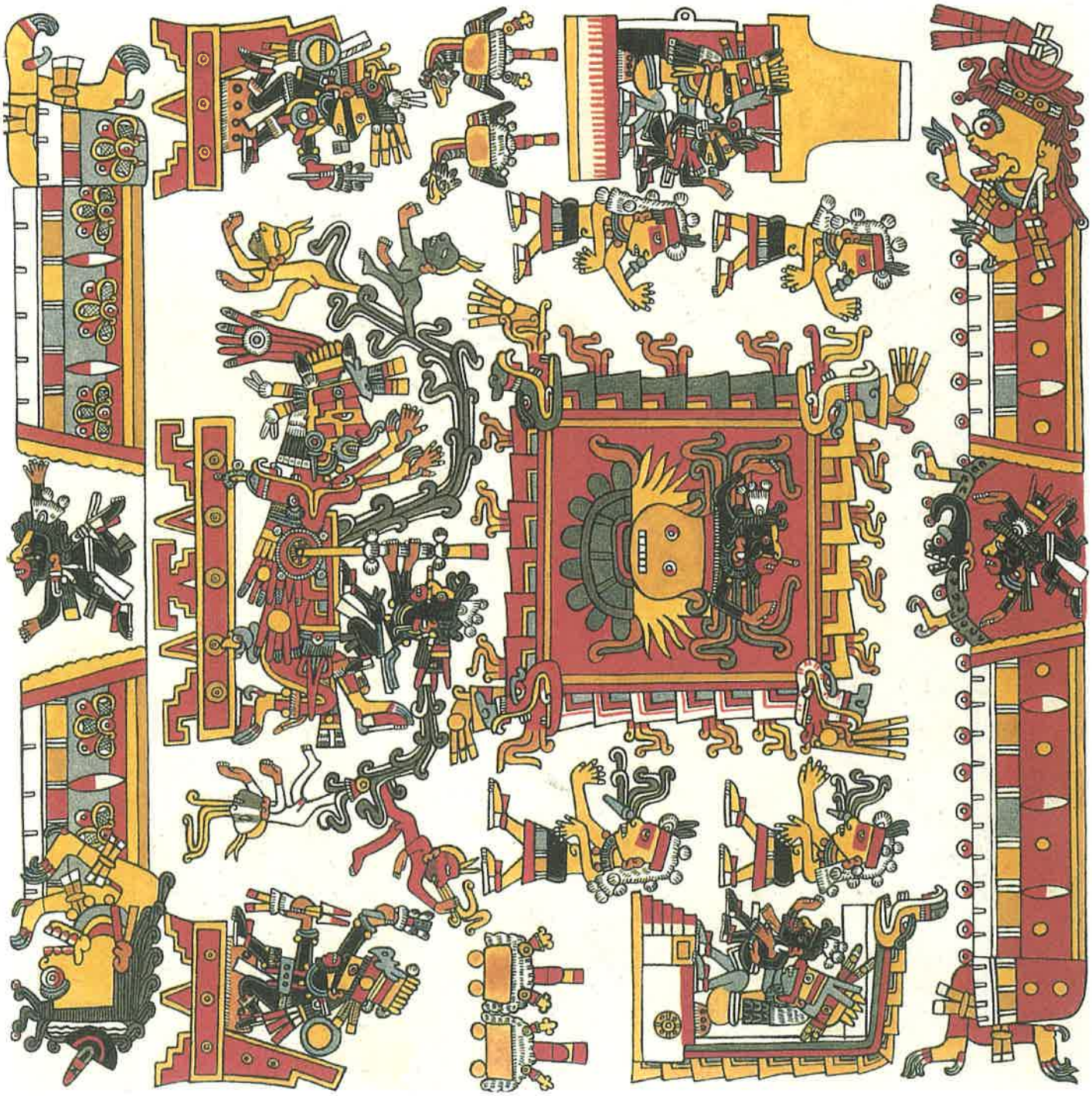

PLATE 46: Page 18 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony with new-fire lighting

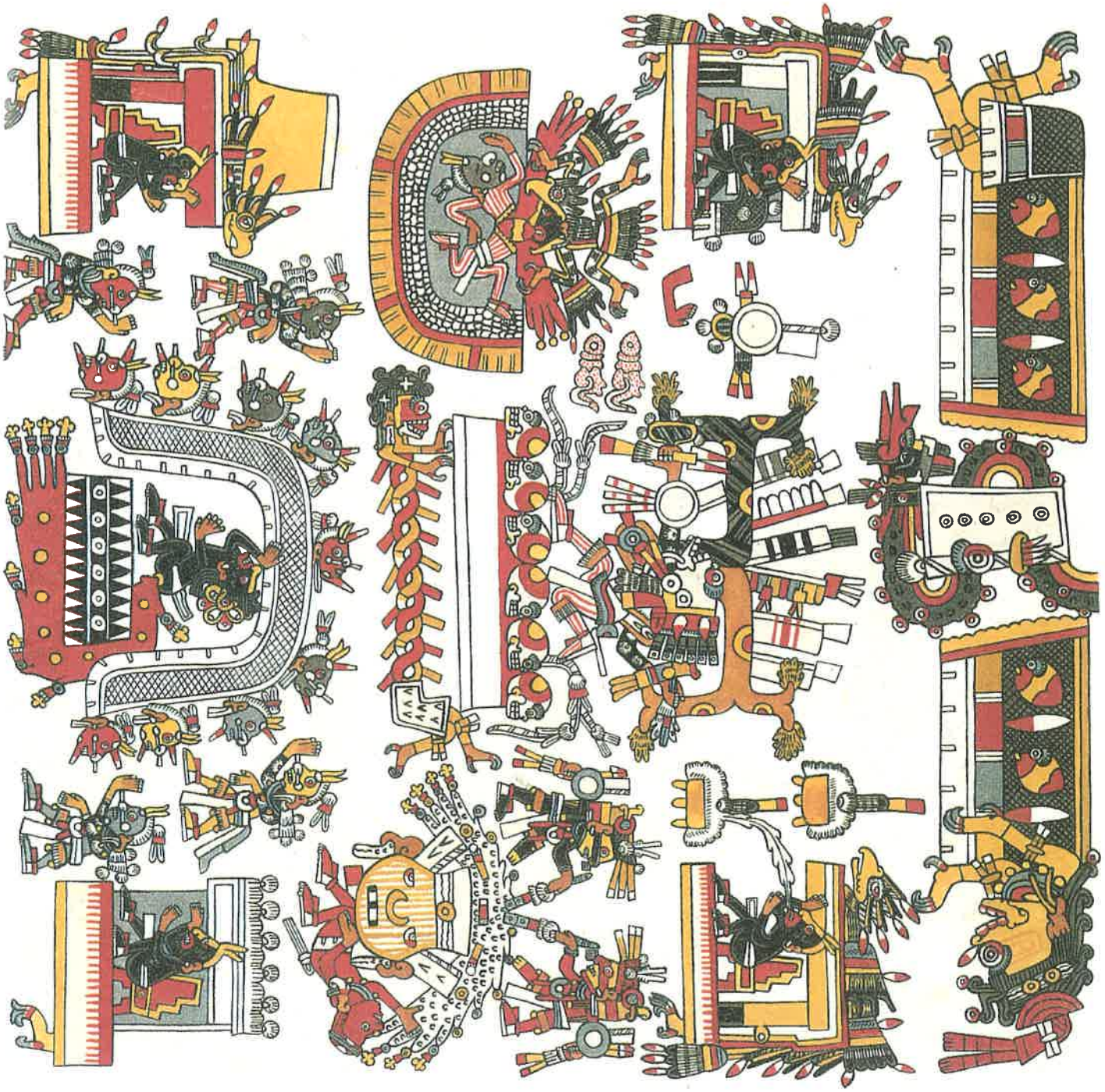

PLATE 45: Page 17 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony

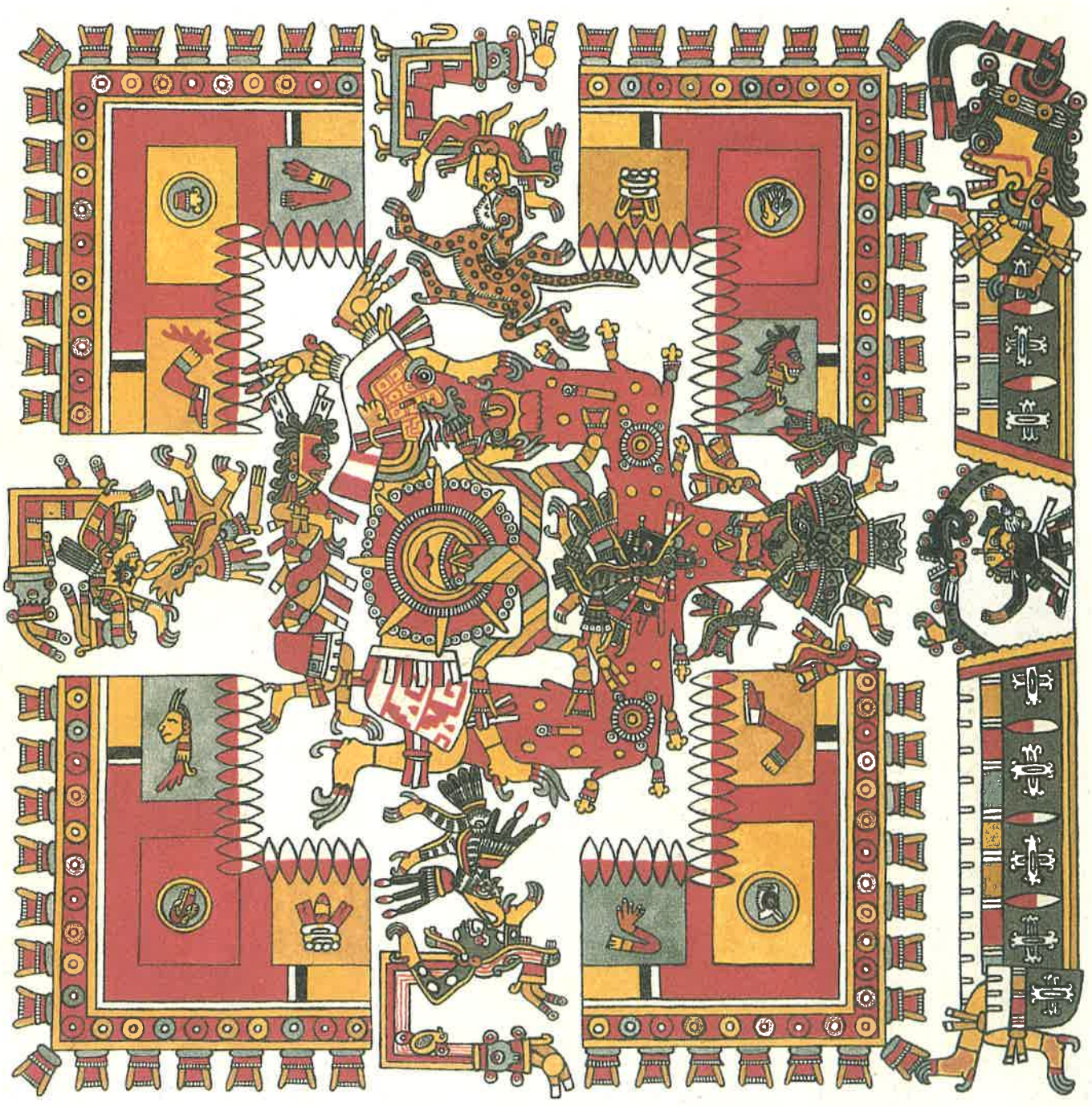

PLATE 44: Page 16 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a flower/flint compound

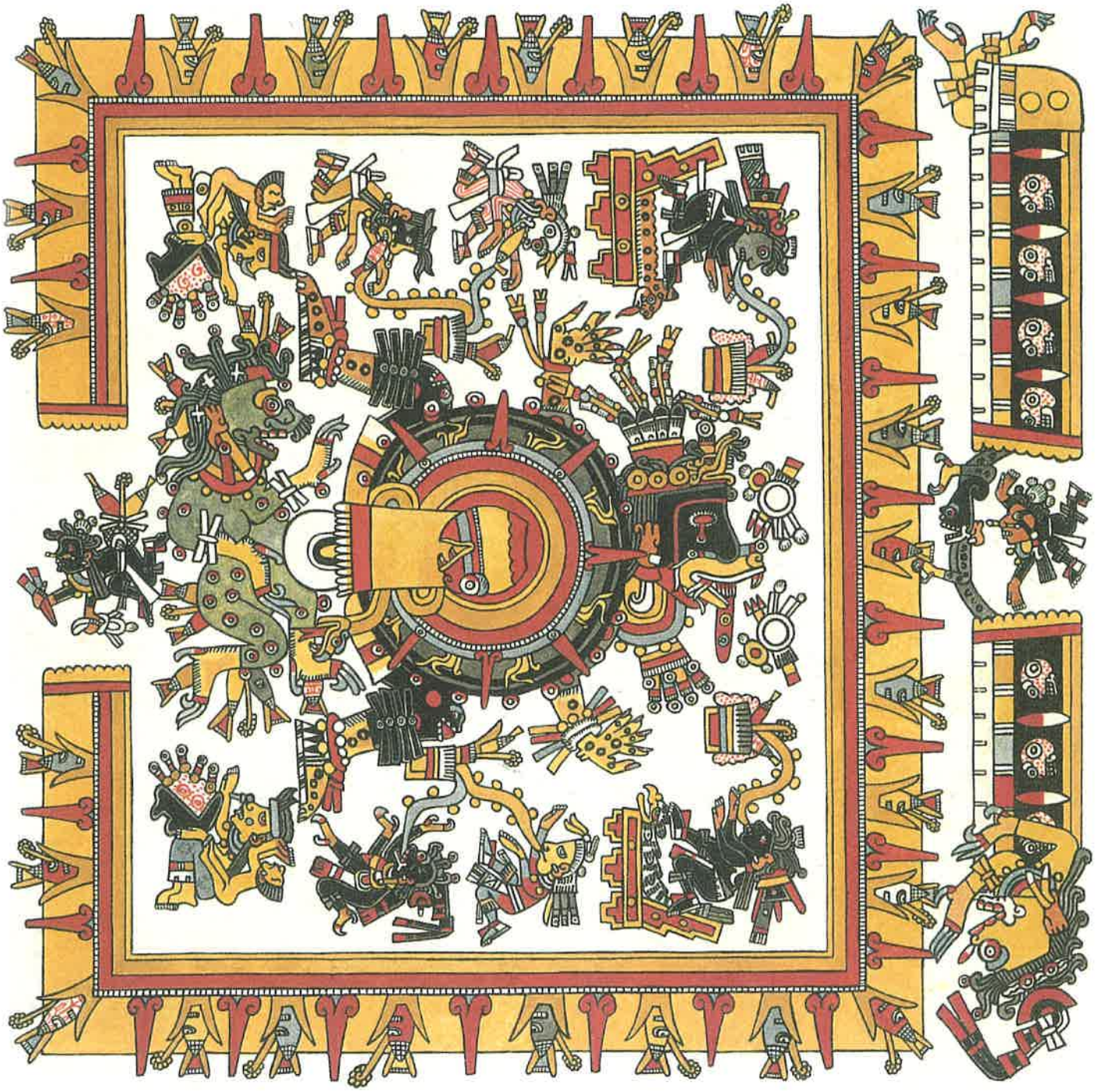

PLATE 43: Page 15 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a corn/sun compound

PLATE 42: Page 14 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye leads ceremonies of sacrifice

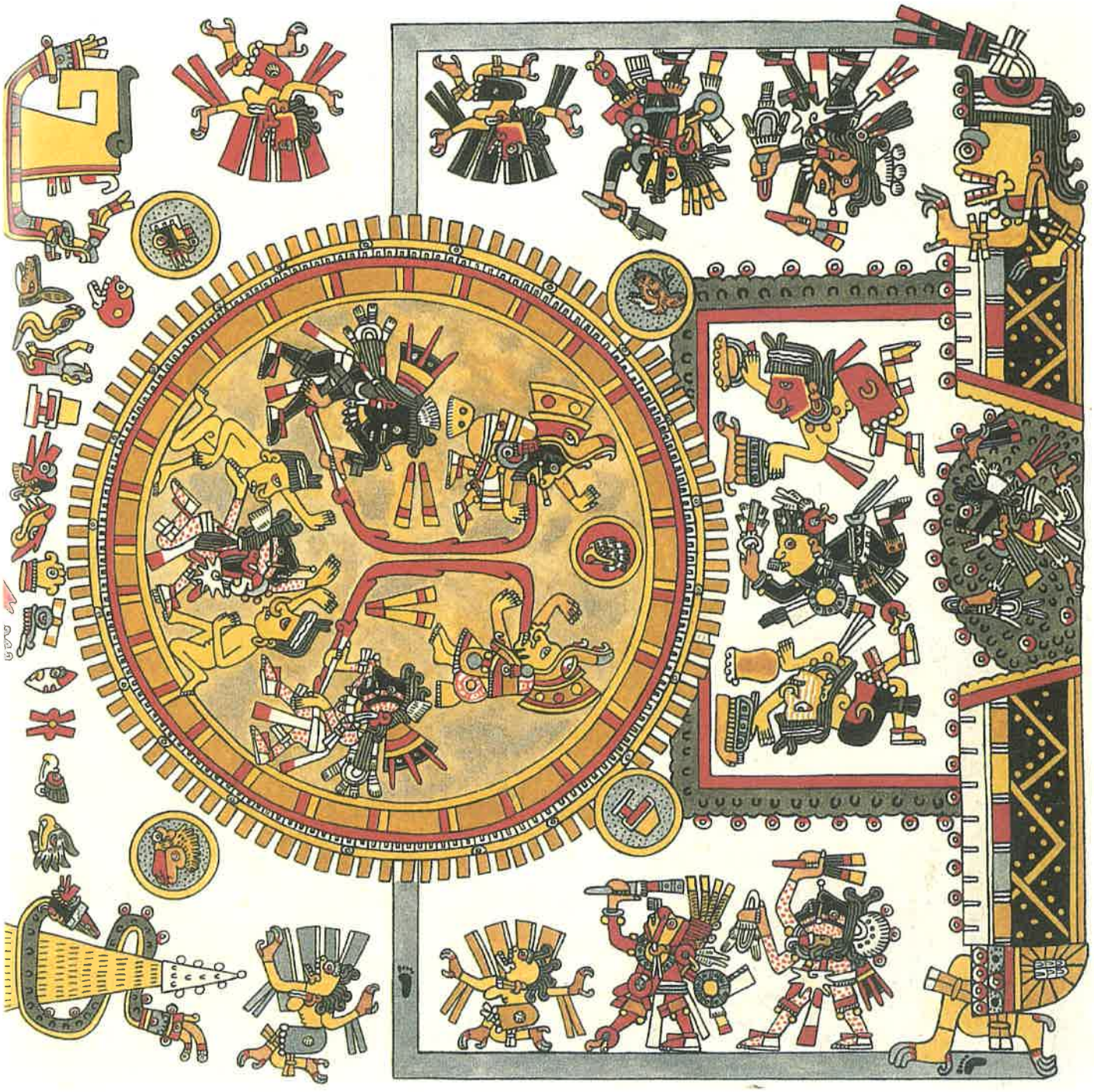

PLATE 41: Page 13 of the ritual sequence, a blue road and a cogged disc as Stripe Eye continues

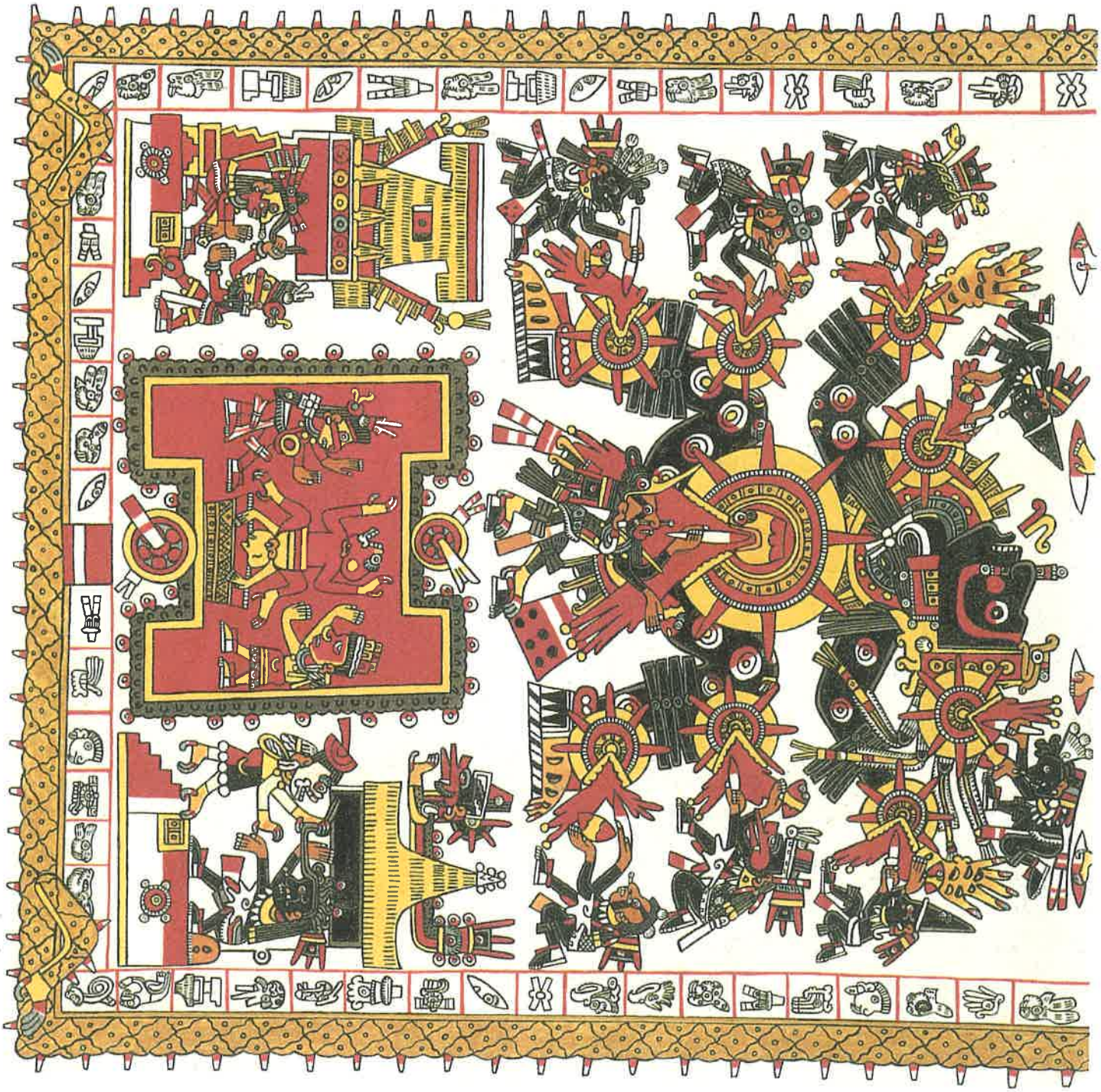

PLATE 40: Page 12 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye sacrifices the solar deity

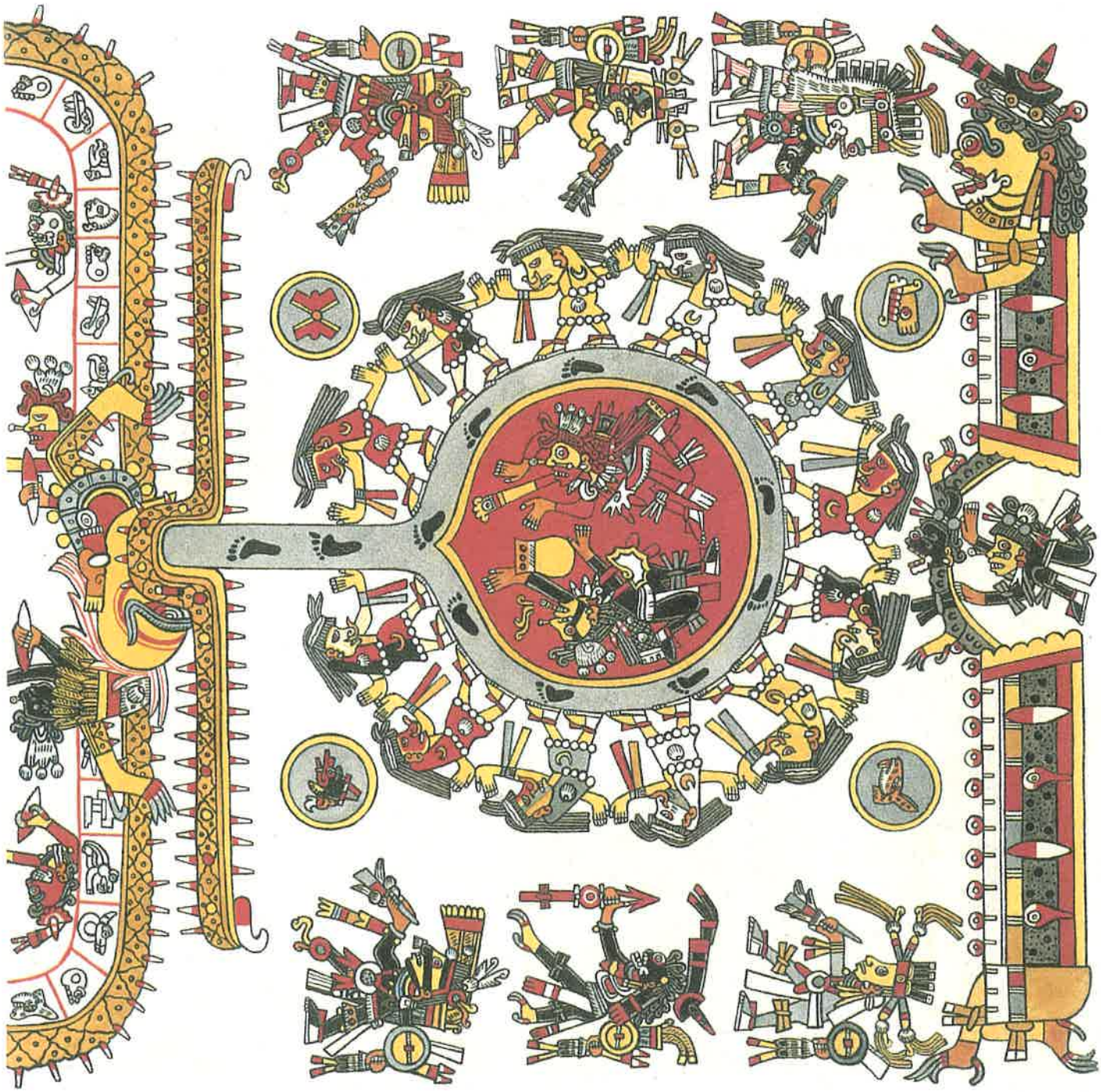

PLATE 39: Page 11 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye in another ceremony

PLATE 38: Page 10 of the ritual sequence, rituals as Stripe Eye ends his magical journey

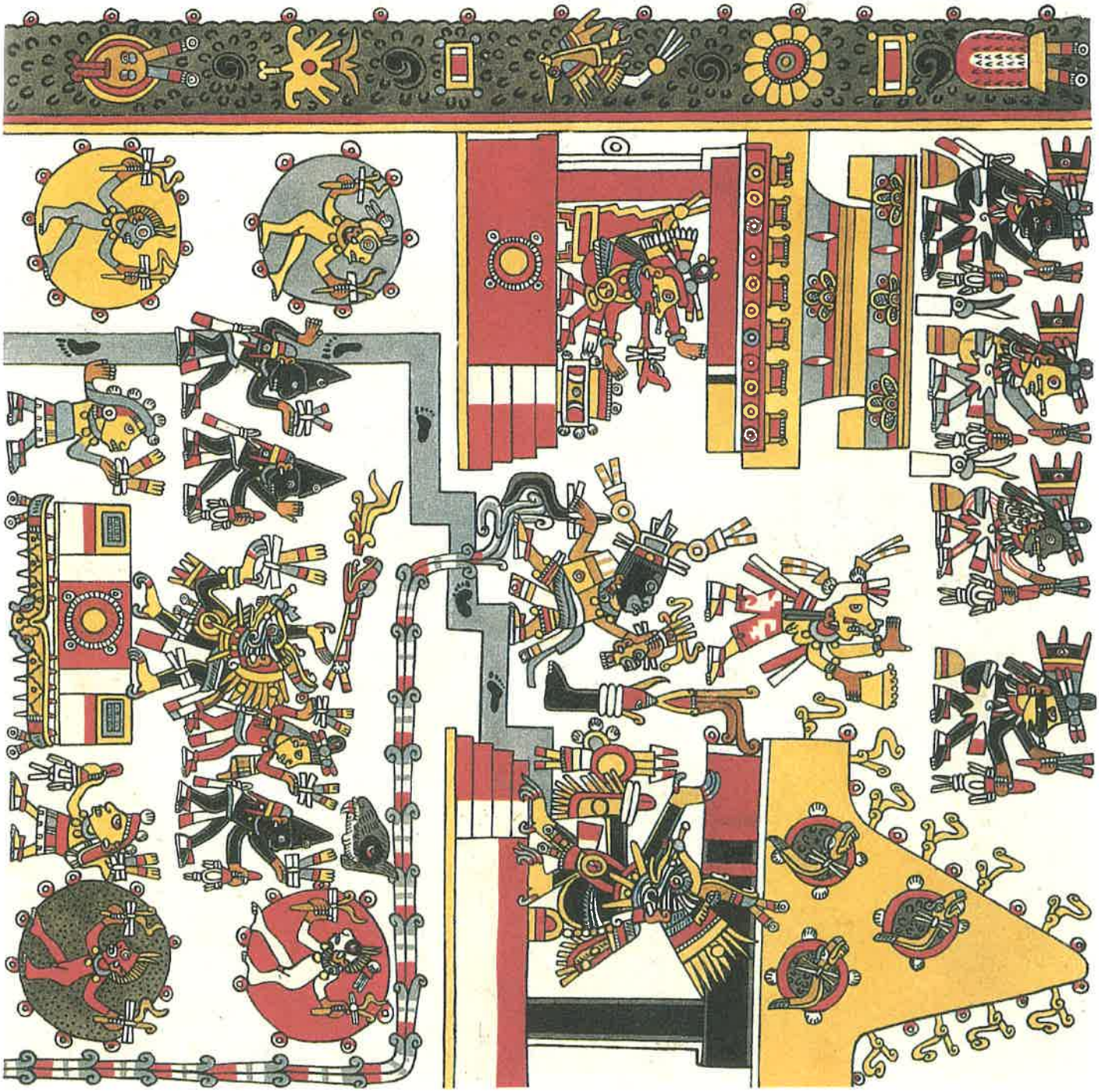

PLATE 37: Page 9 of the ritual sequence, rituals in the plaza of the heaven temple while Stripe Eye magically journeys

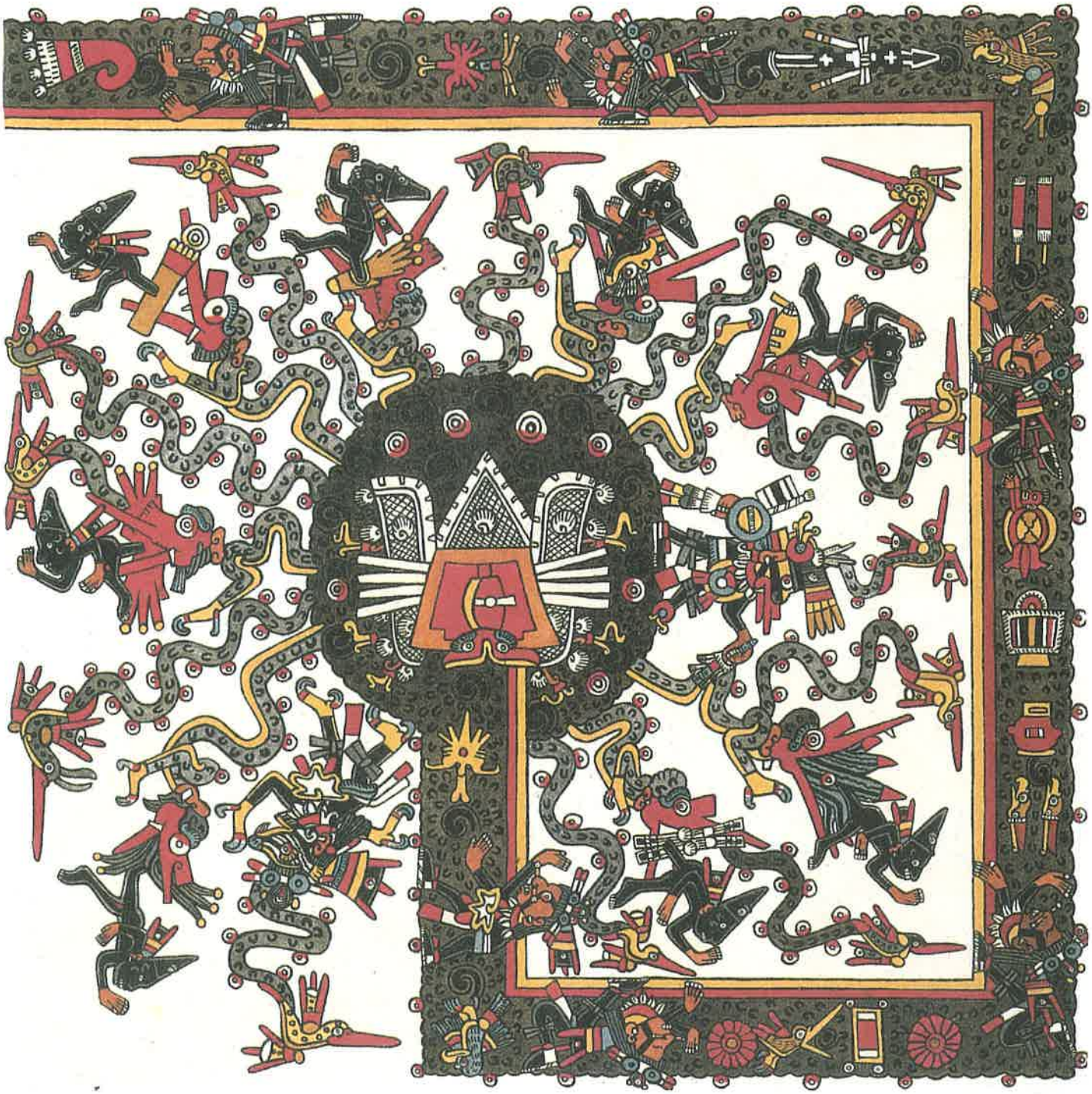

PLATE 36: Page 8 of the ritual sequence, the wind bundle is opened

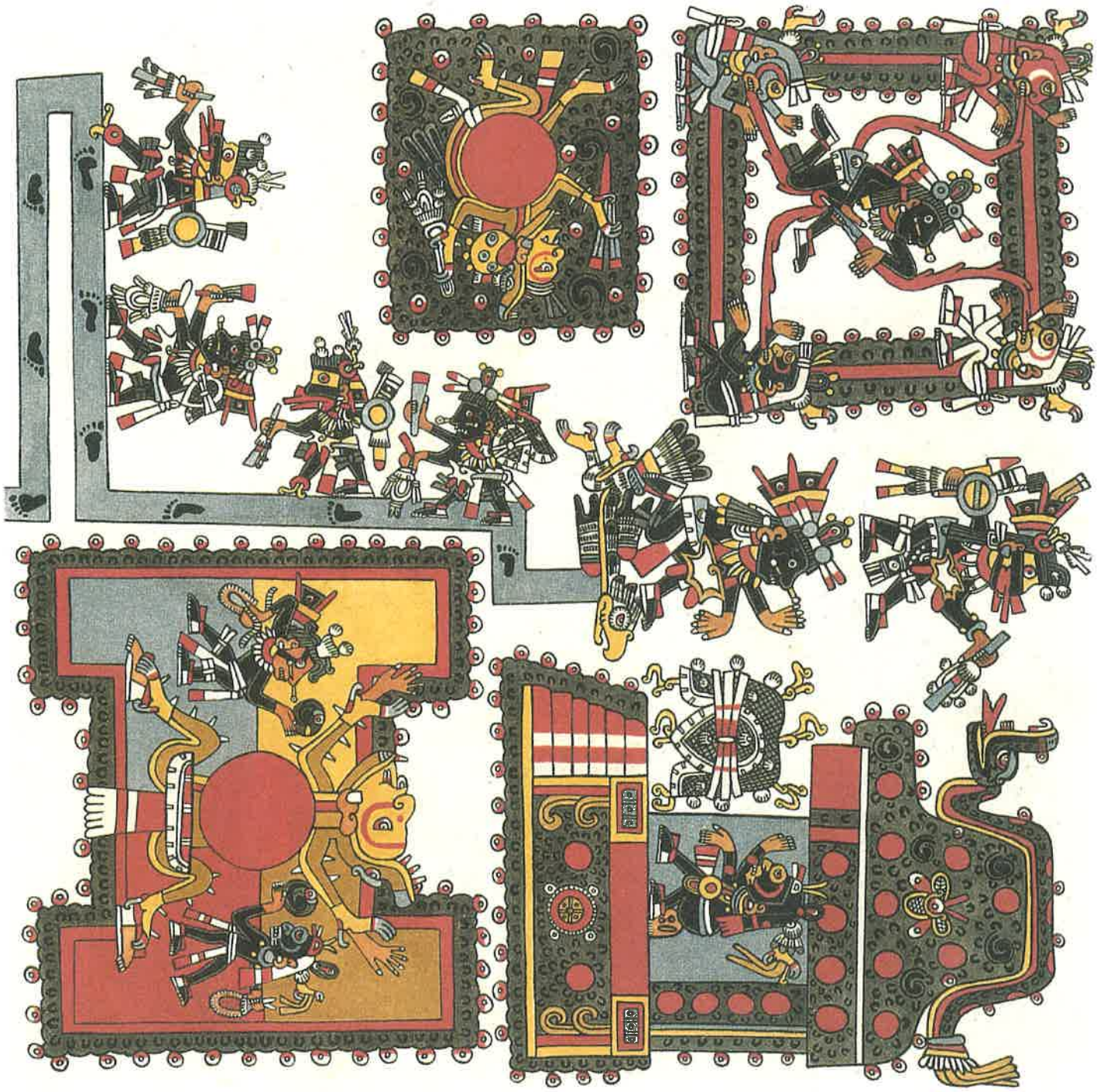

PLATE 35: Page 7 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye's journey begins on the blue road

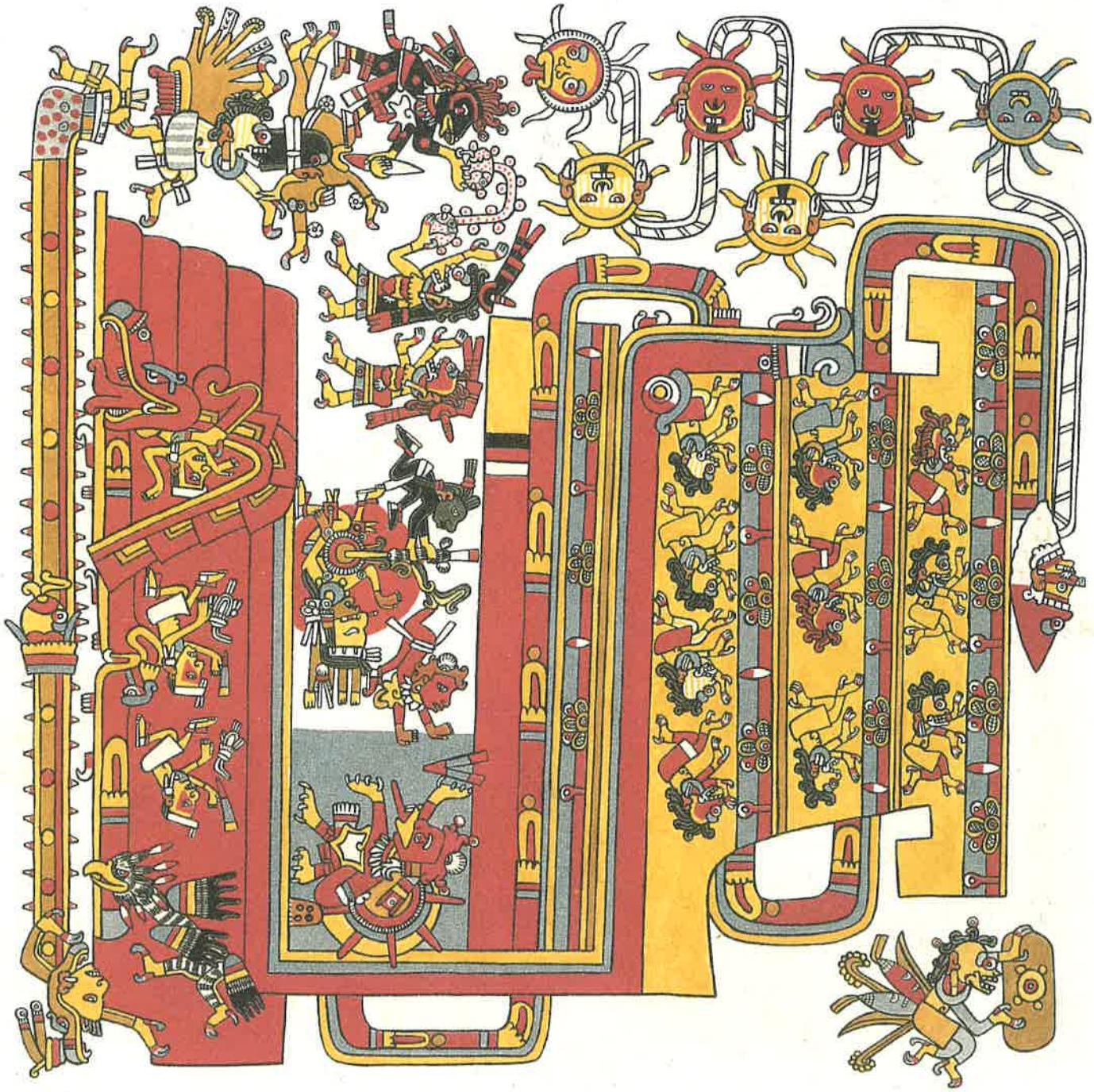

PLATE 34: Page 6 of the ritual sequence, the eared-roofed heaven temple

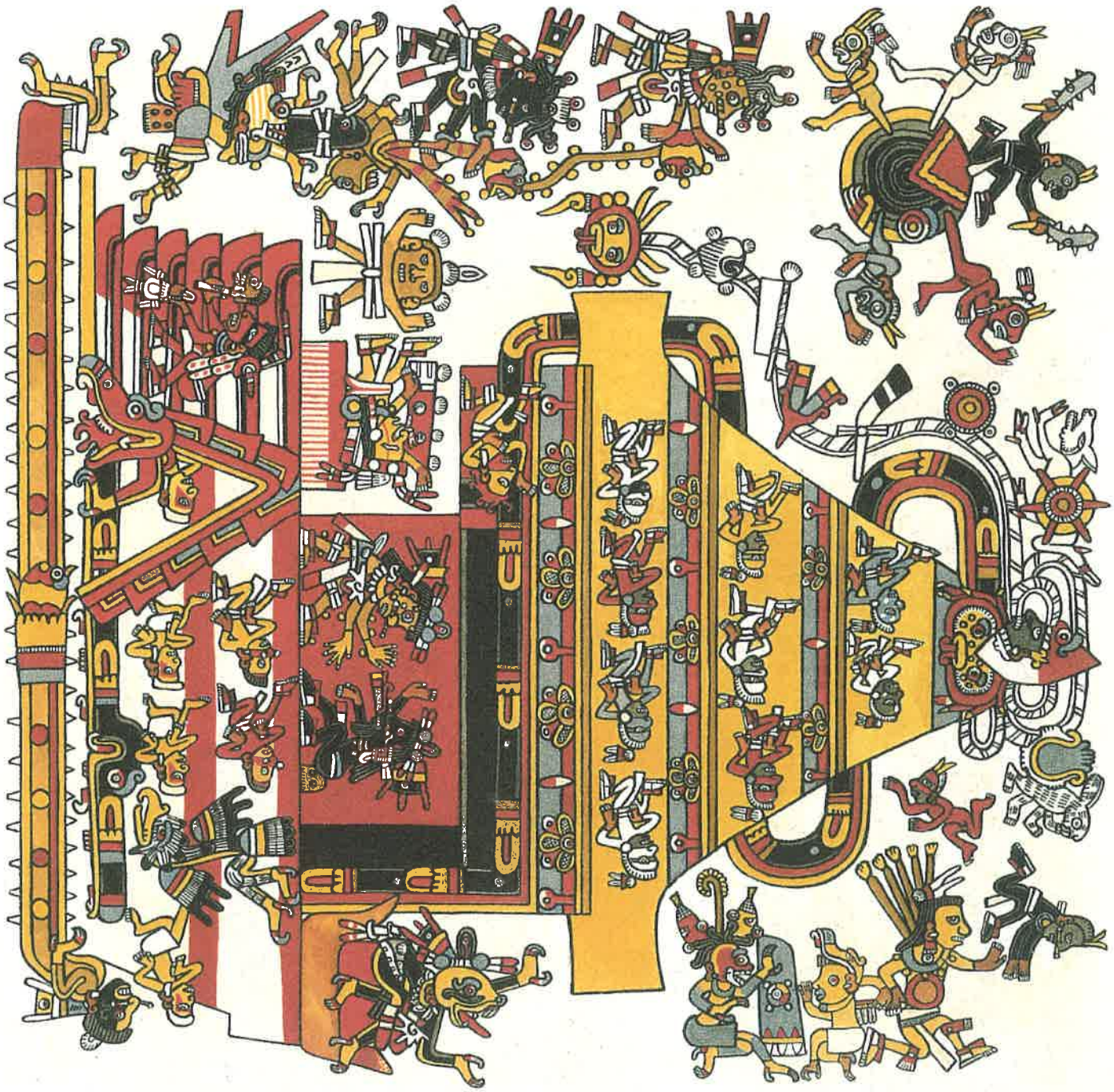

PLATE 33: Page 5 of the ritual sequence, the round heaven temple

PLATE 32: Page 4 of the ritual sequence, the fifth enclosure

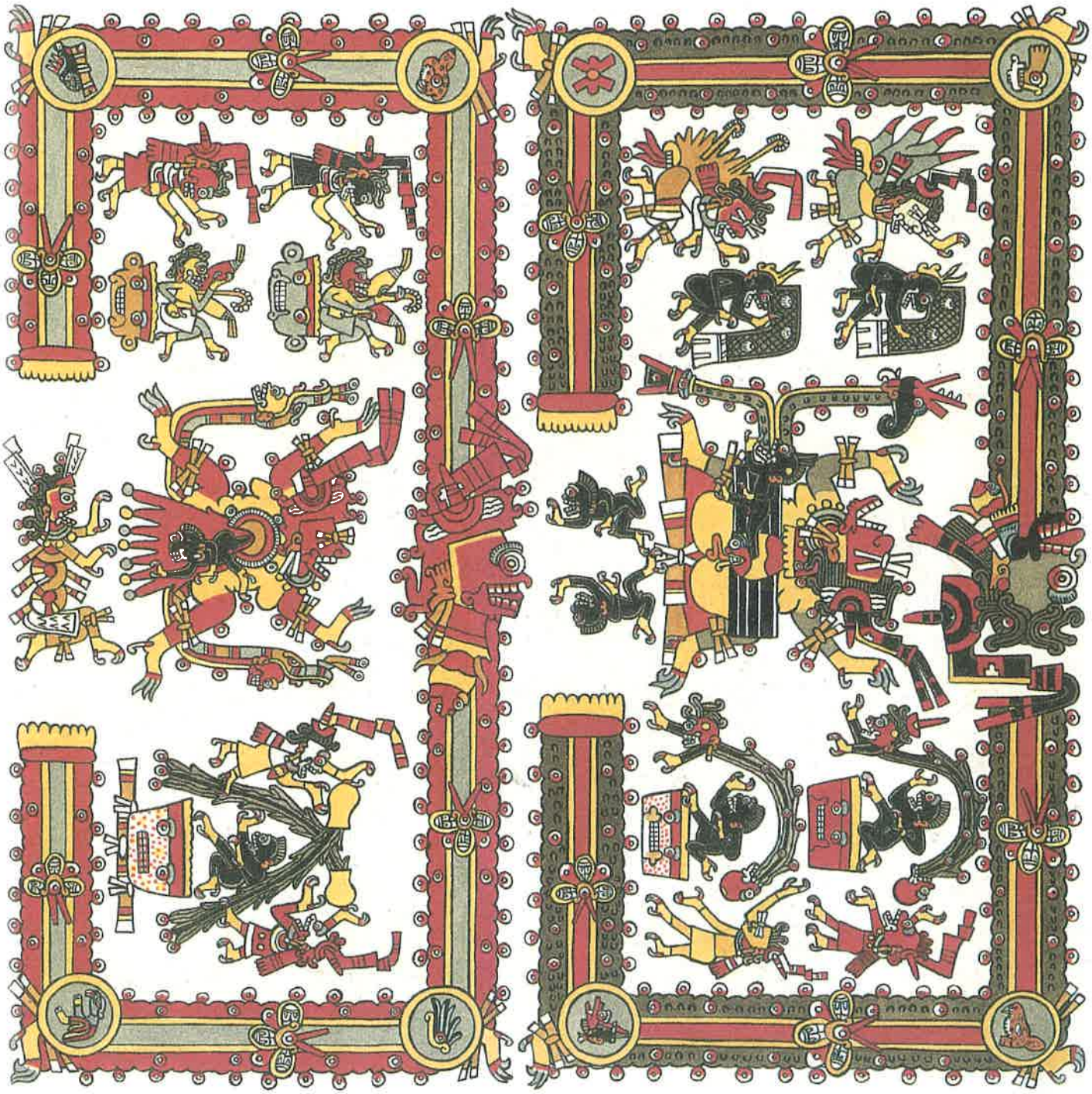

PLATE 31: Page 3 of the ritual sequence, the third and fourth enclosures

PLATE 30: Page 2 of the ritual sequence, the second enclosure

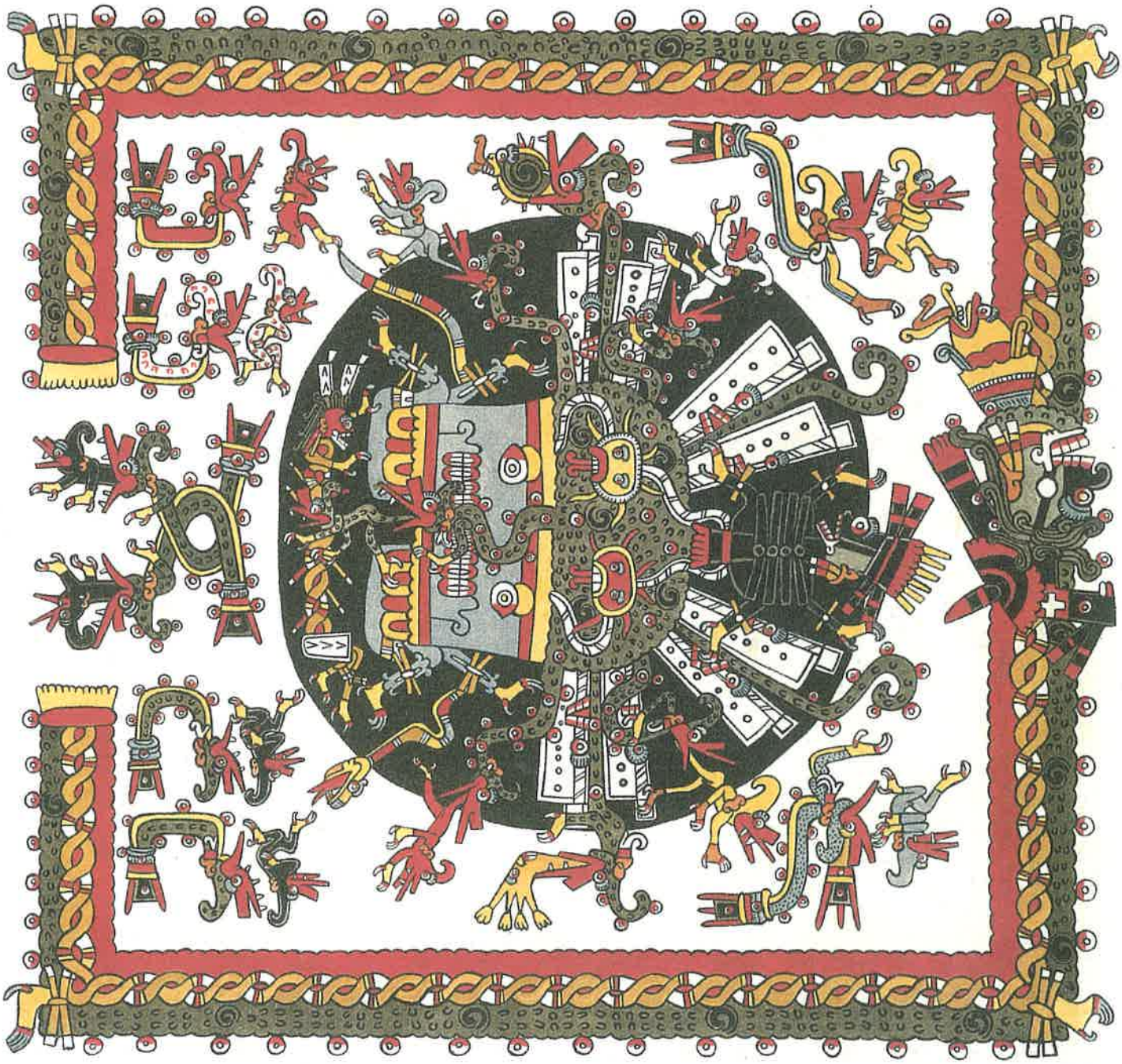

PLATE 29: Page 1 of the ritual sequence, the first enclosure

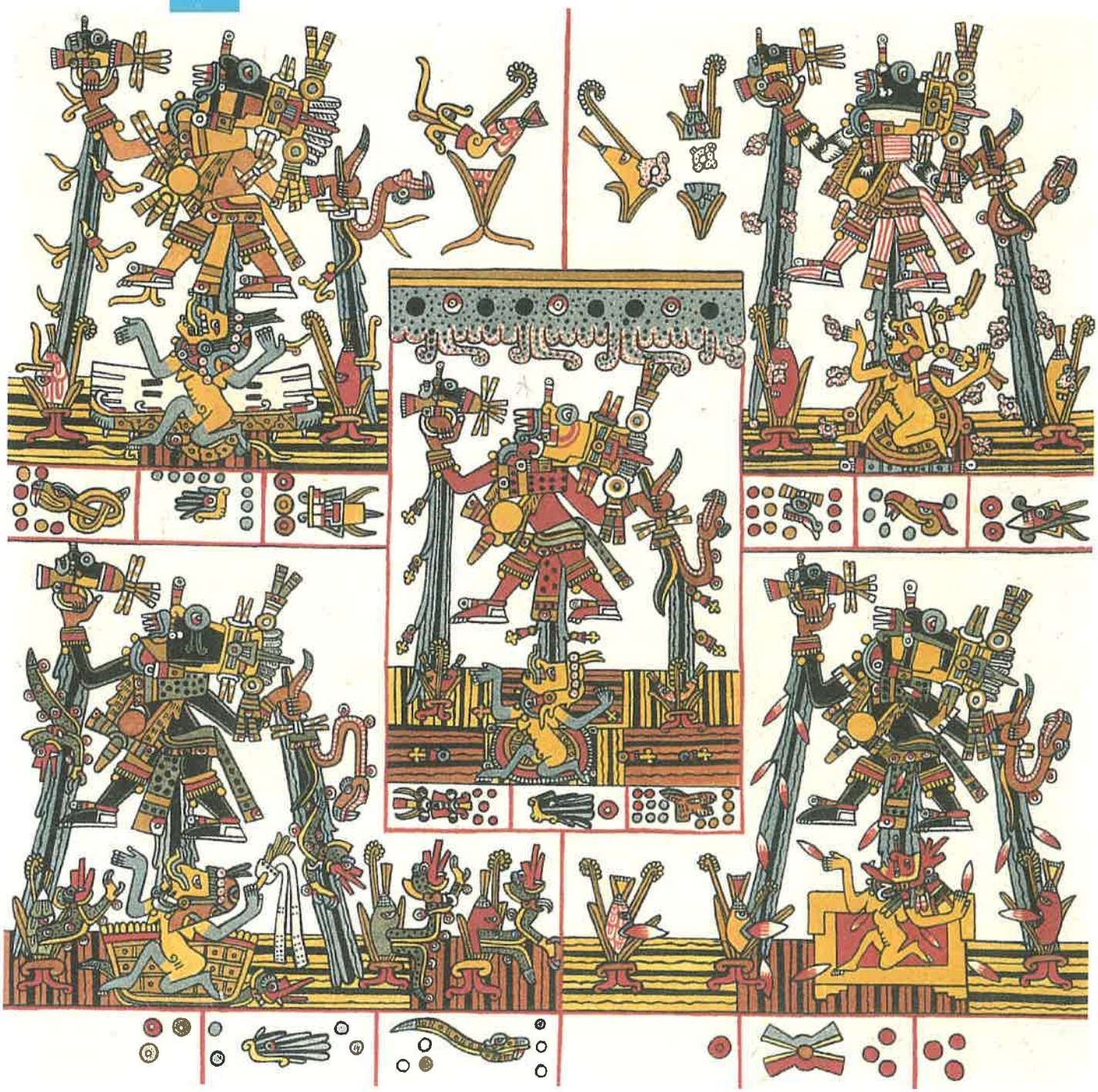

PLATE 28: The five directions with rain deities and the first five years of a 52-year calendar cycle

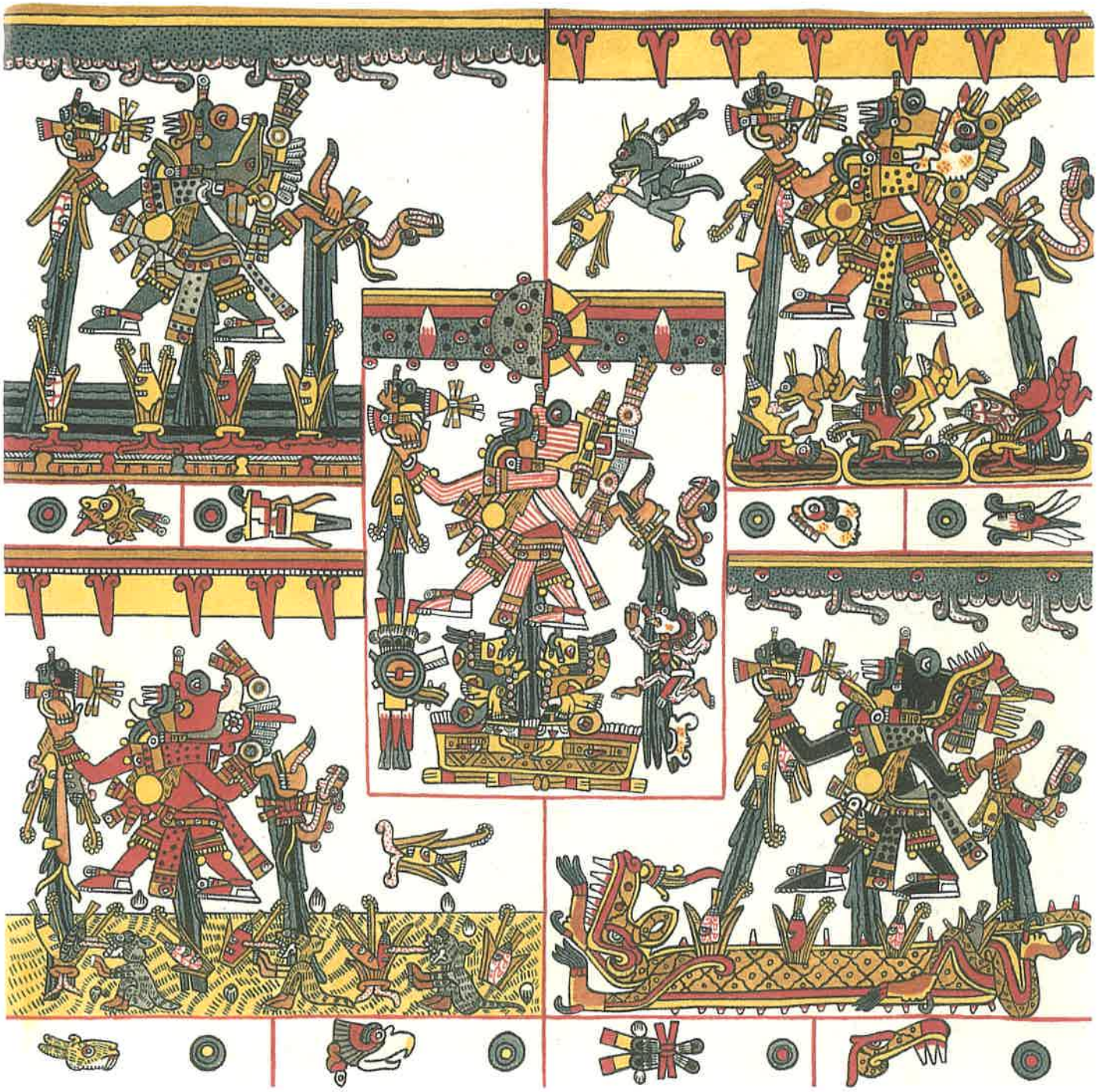

PLATE 27: The five directions with rain deities and four quarters of a 52-year calendar cycle

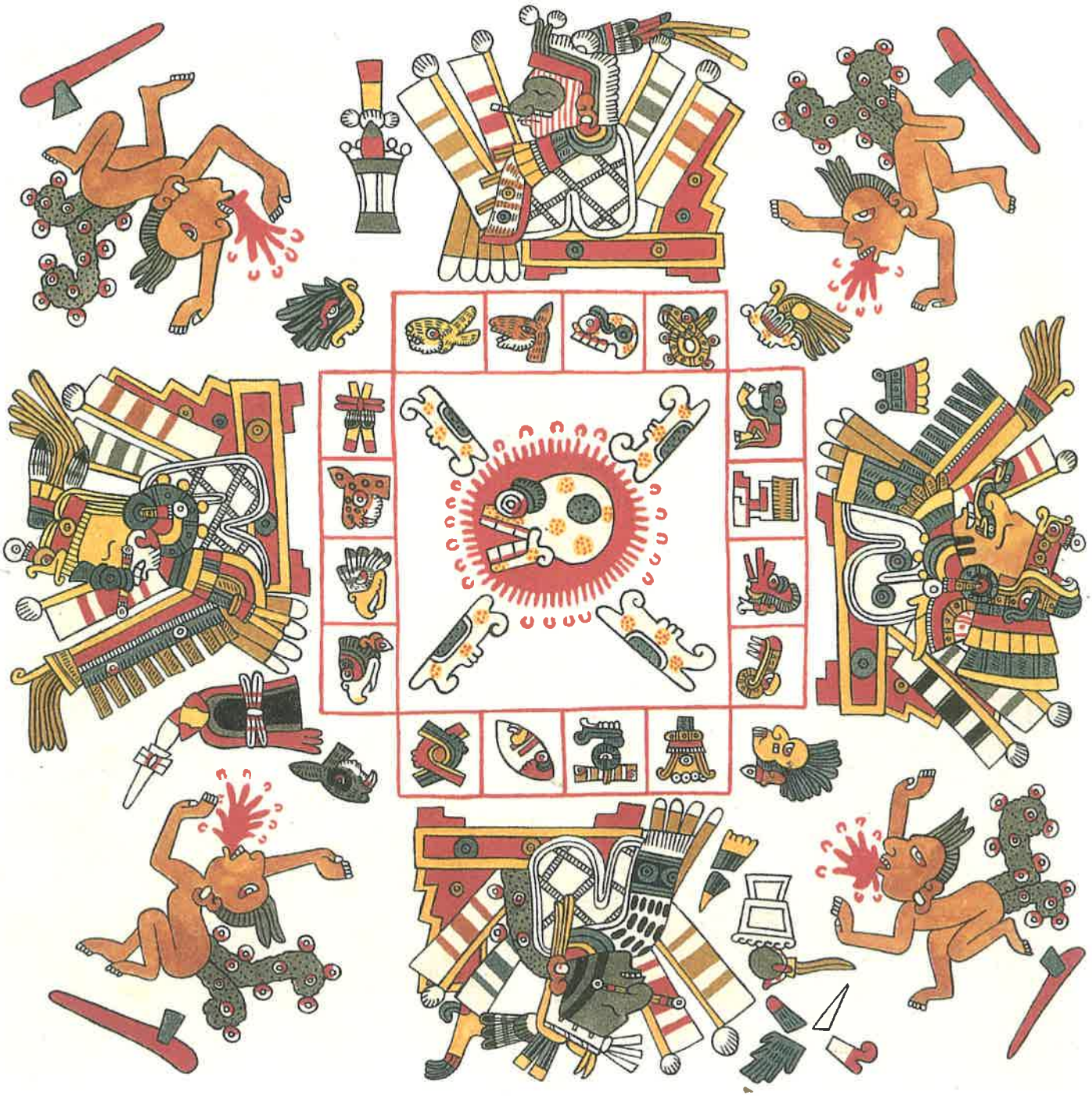

PLATE 26: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs in the underworld

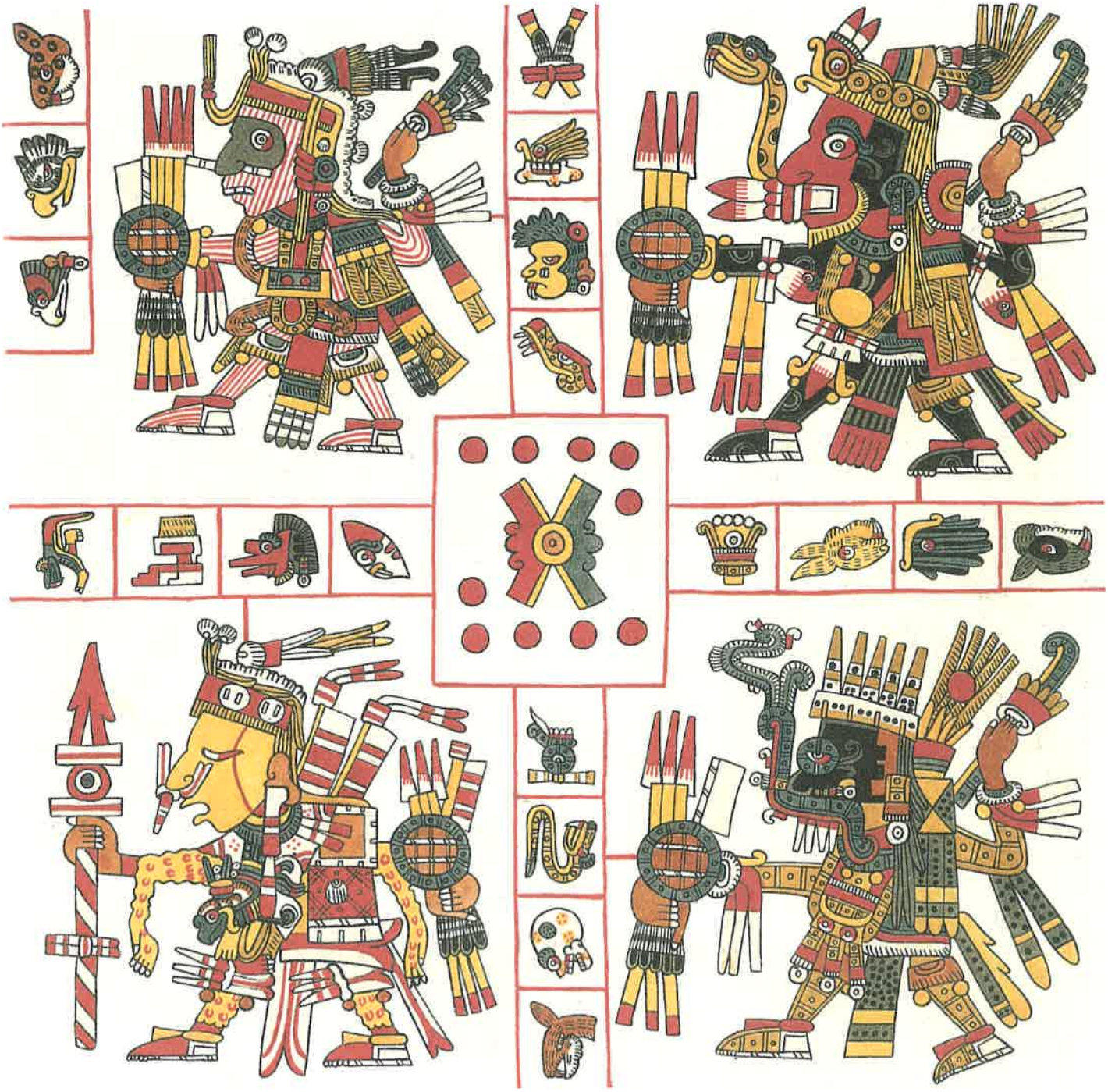

PLATE 25: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs

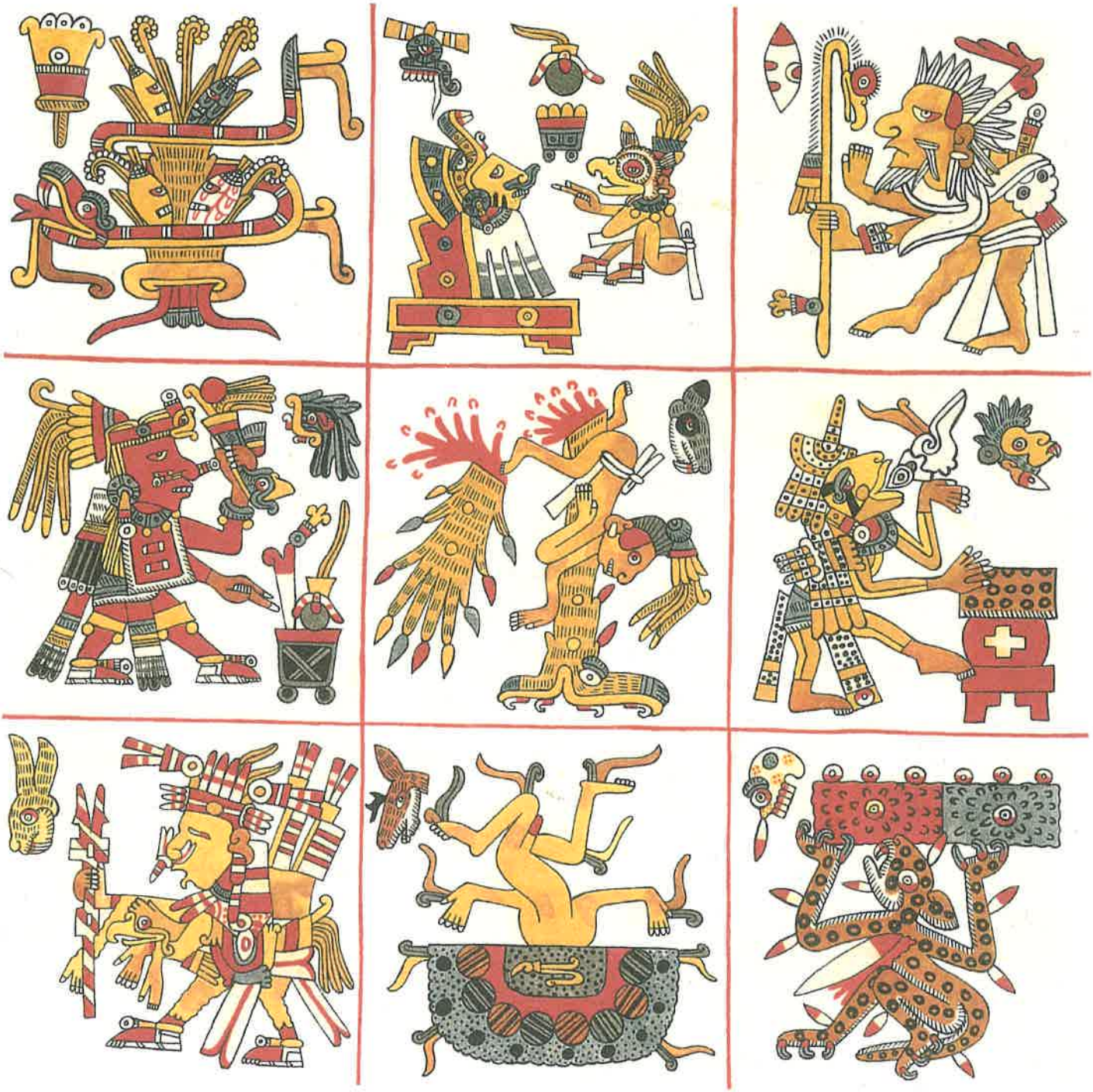

PLATE 24: Page 3 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 23: Page 2 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 22: Two deer with one half of the *tonalpohualli*, and page 1 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

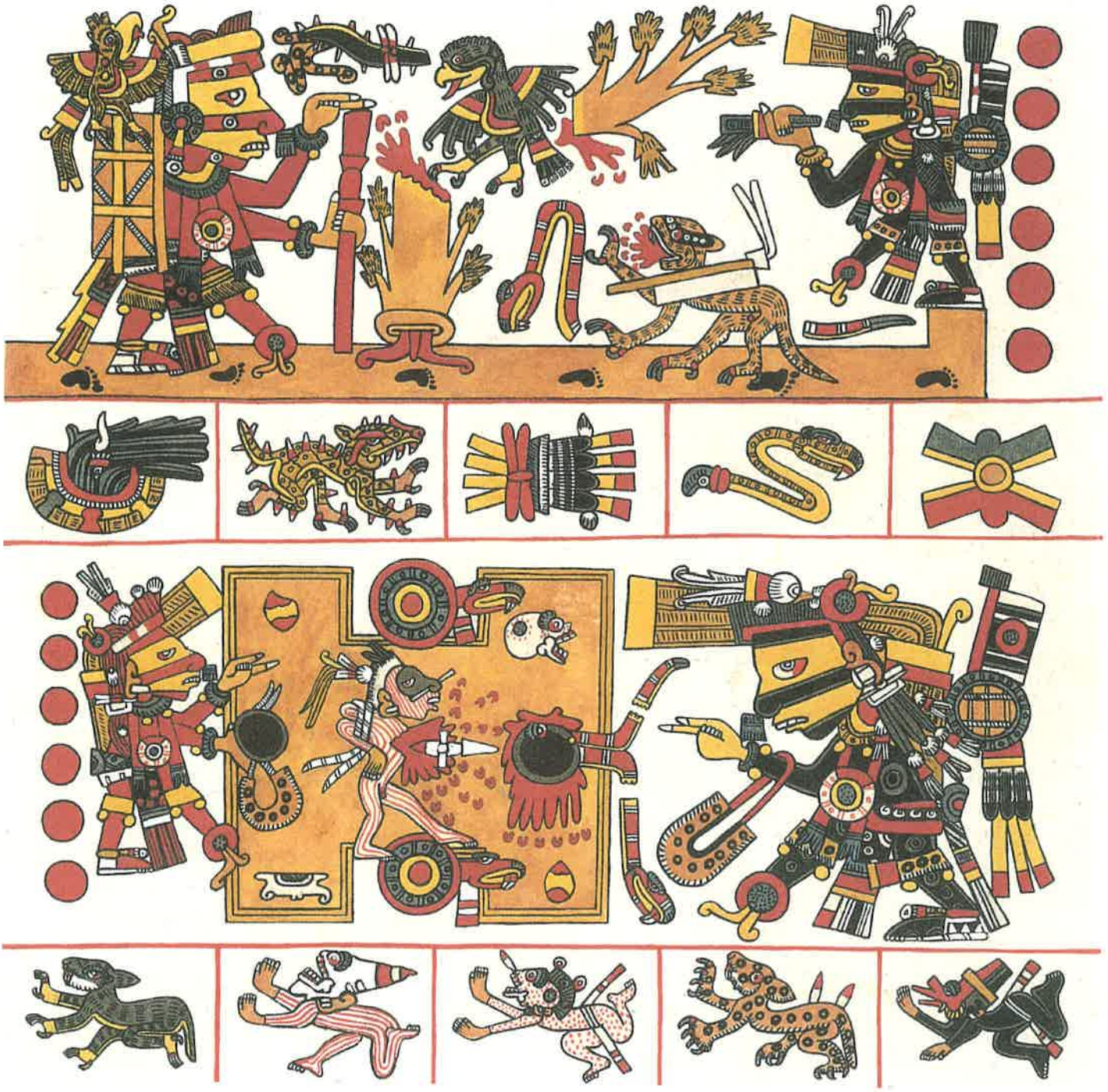

PLATE 21: Page 4 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

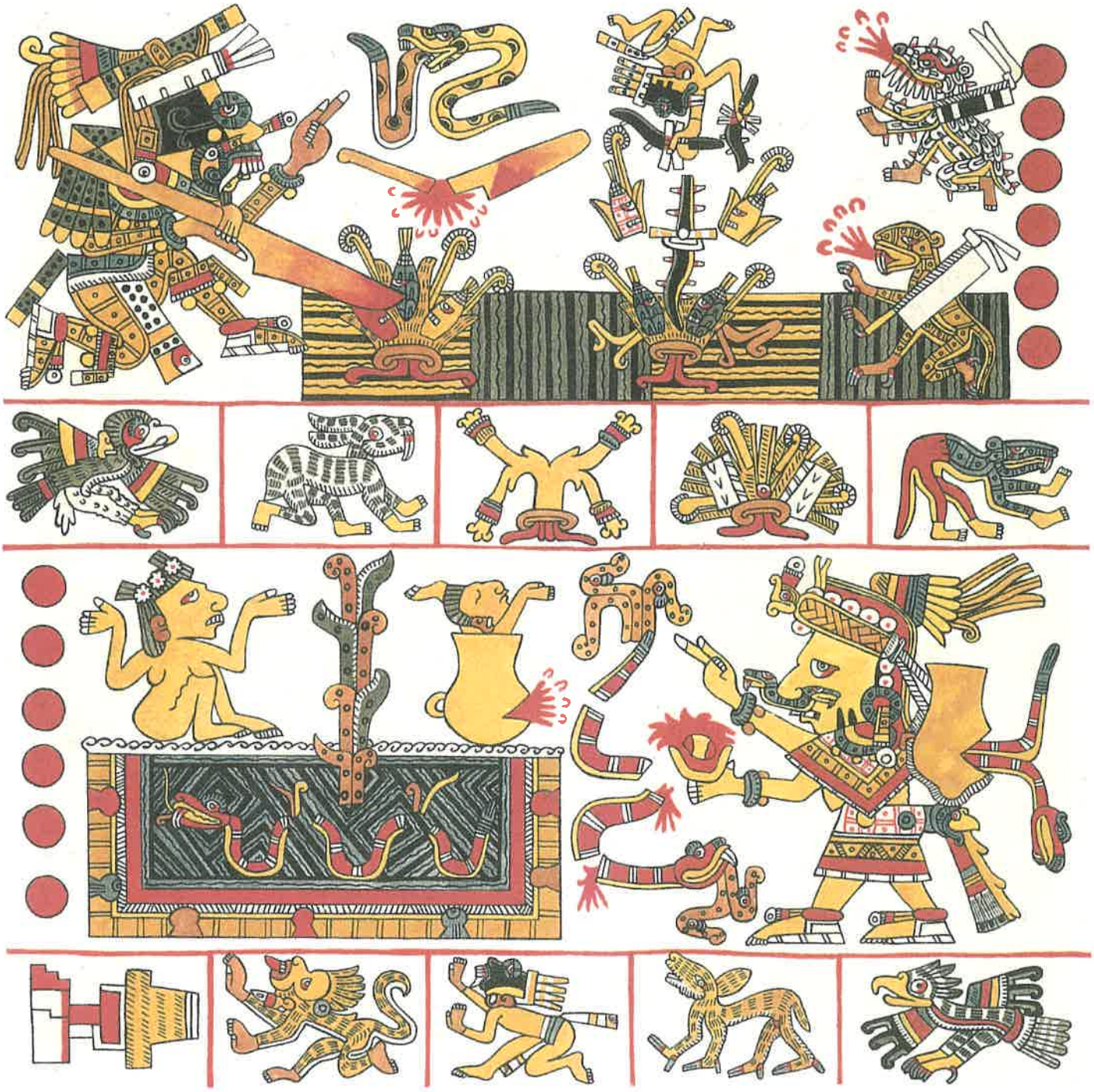

PLATE 20: Page 3 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

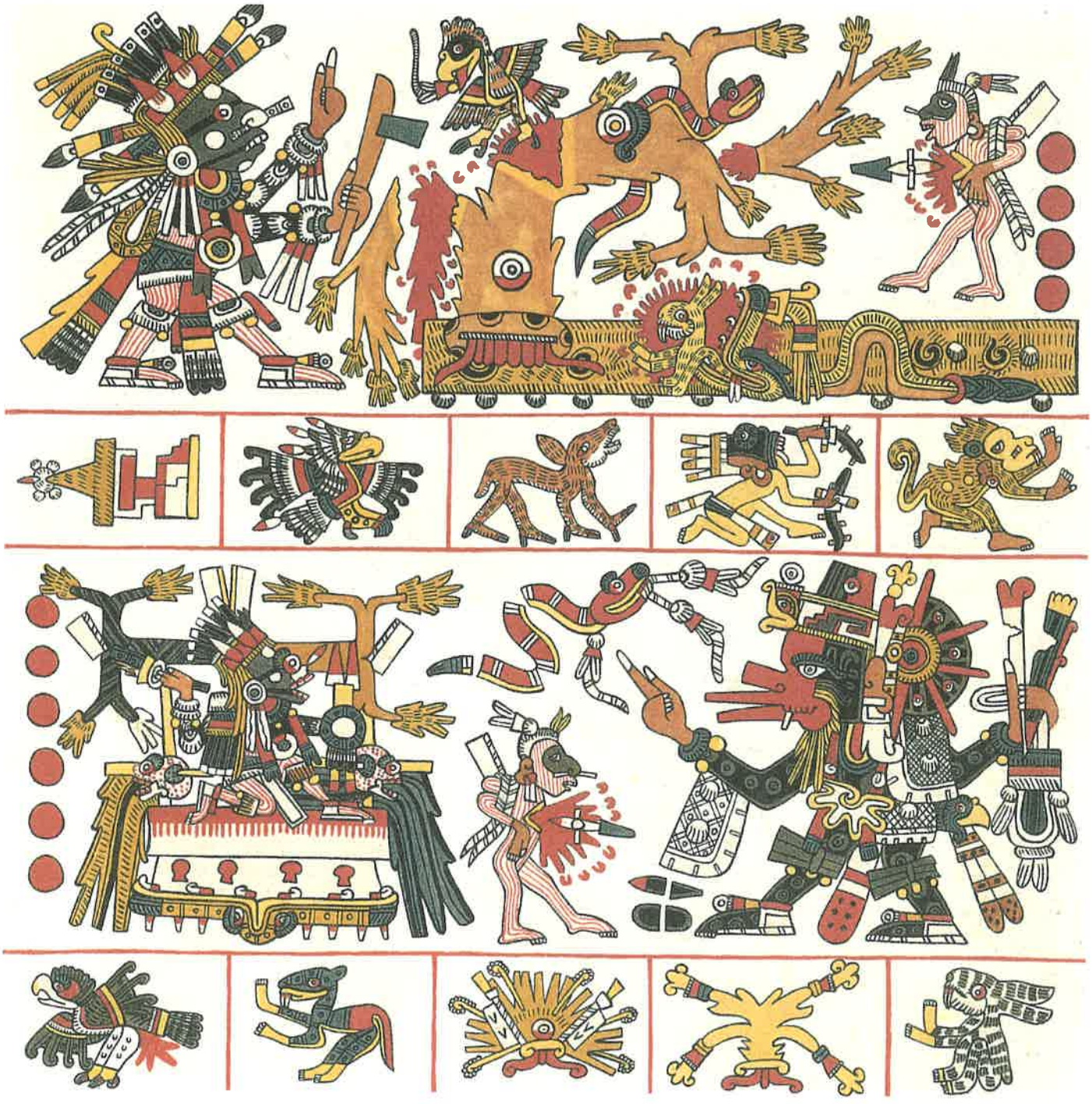

PLATE 19: Page 2 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

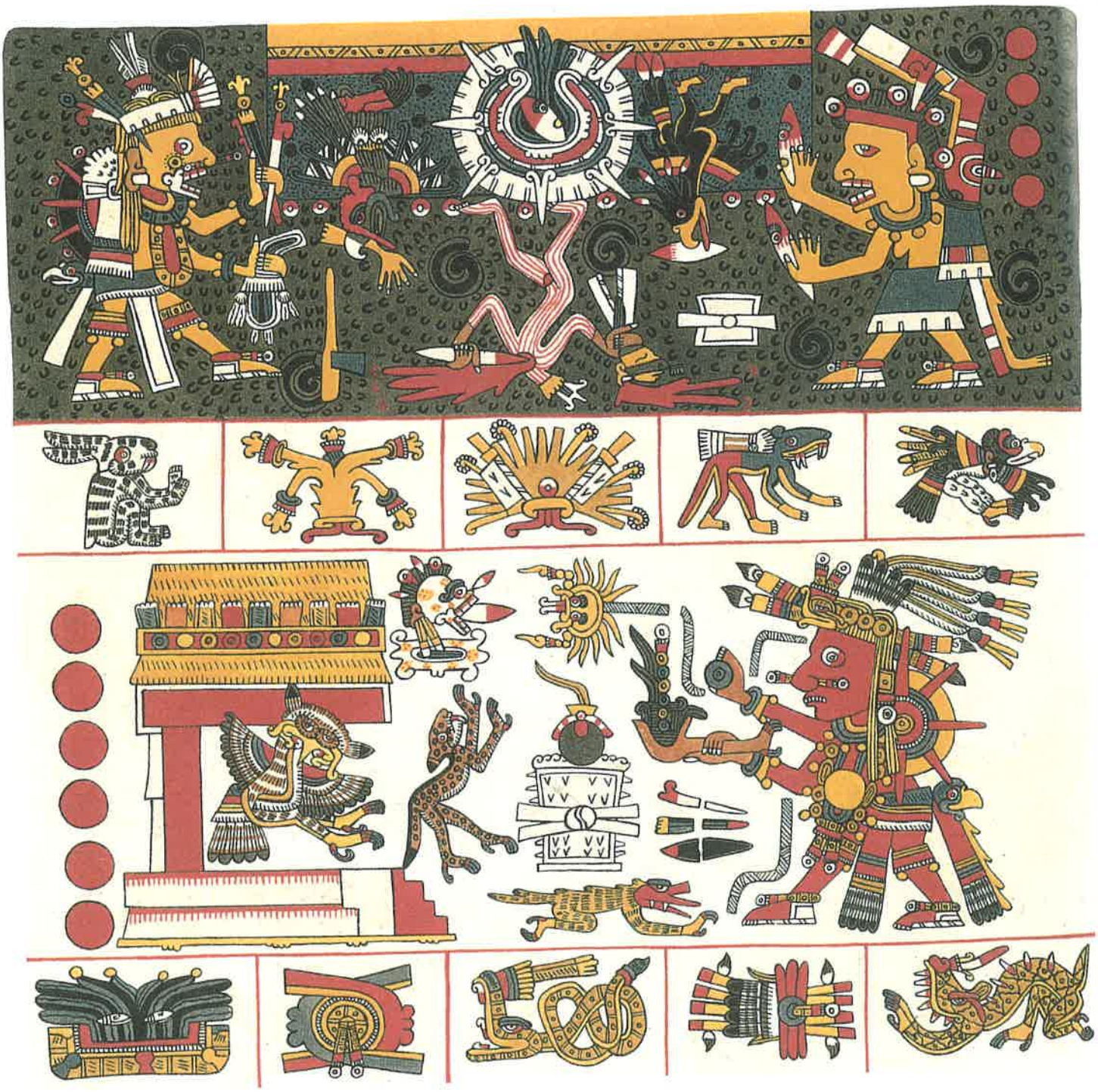

PLATE 18: Page 1 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 17: Page 3 of 20 deities and 80 days, and Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca with the 20 day signs on his body and costume

PLATE 16: Page 2 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 15: Page 1 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 14: The nine deities of the night

Piltzintecuhtli pescando los "11 peces de esmeralda", los humanos en su pre-forma (acuáticos). Están en Tlalocan, pero sobre todo Omeyocan (son, a veces, lo mismo). (Garibay 124)

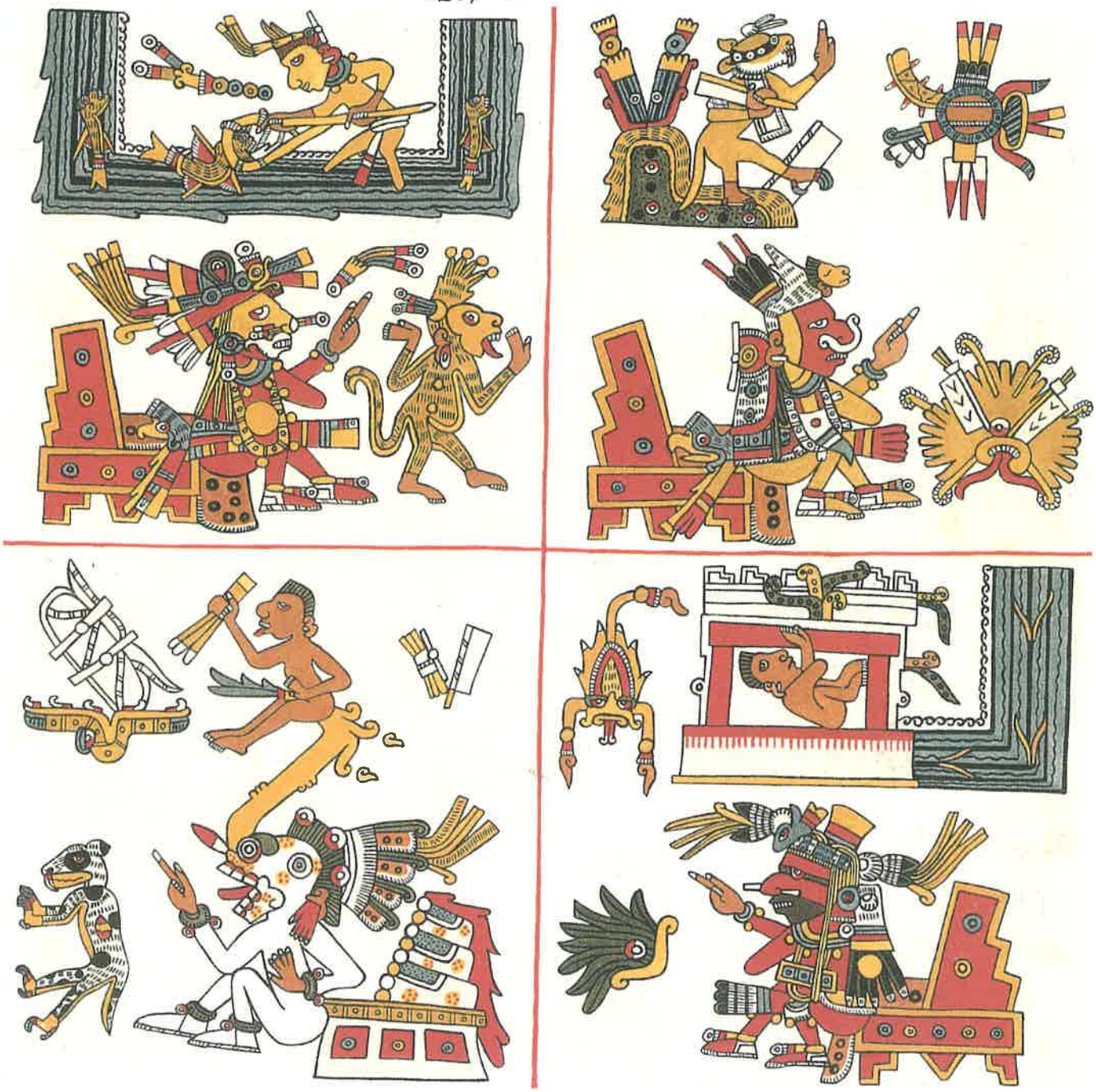

PLATE 13: Page 5 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 12: Page 4 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 11: Page 3 of the deities of the 20 day signs

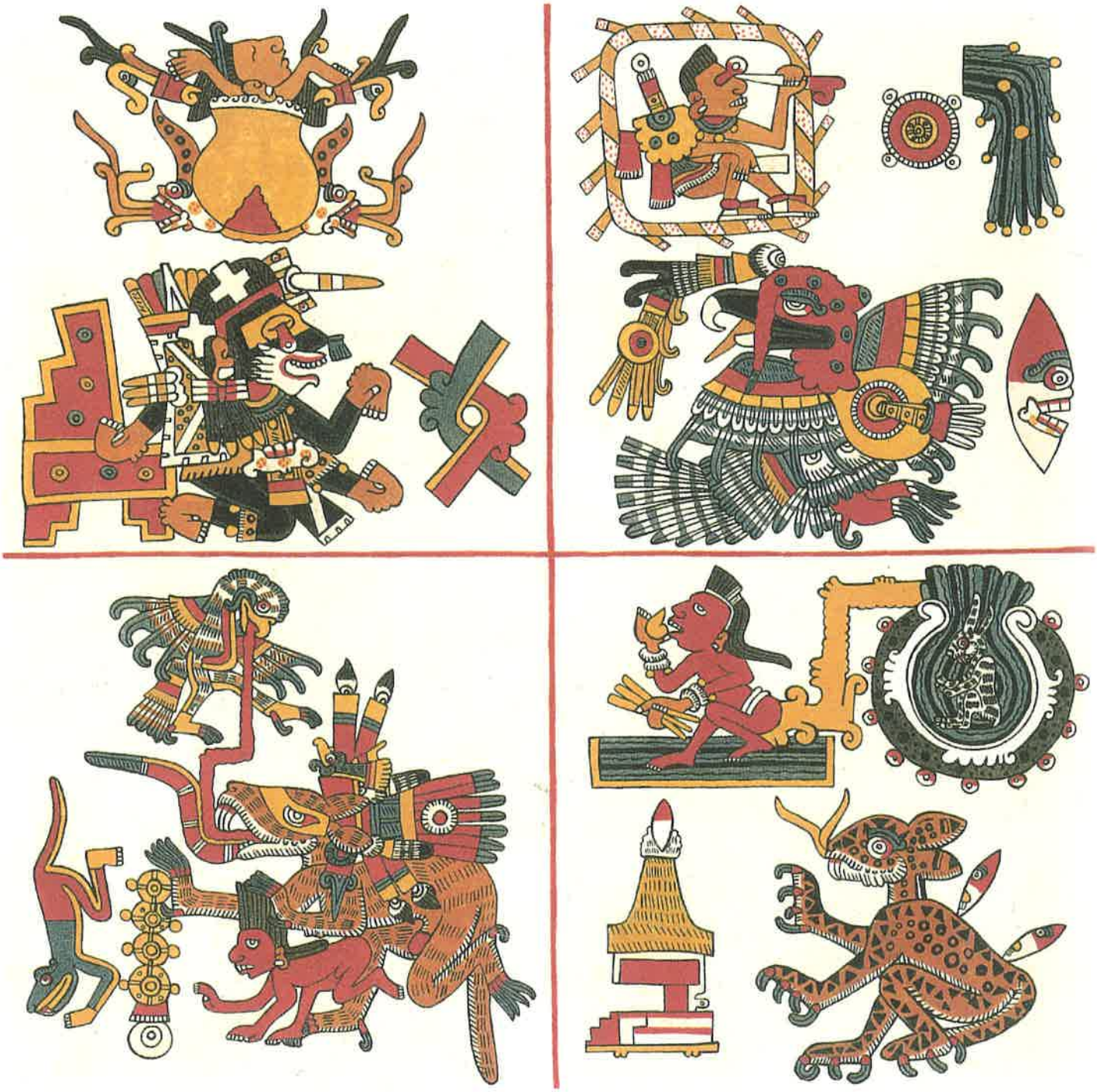

PLATE 10: Page 2 of the deities of the 20 day signs

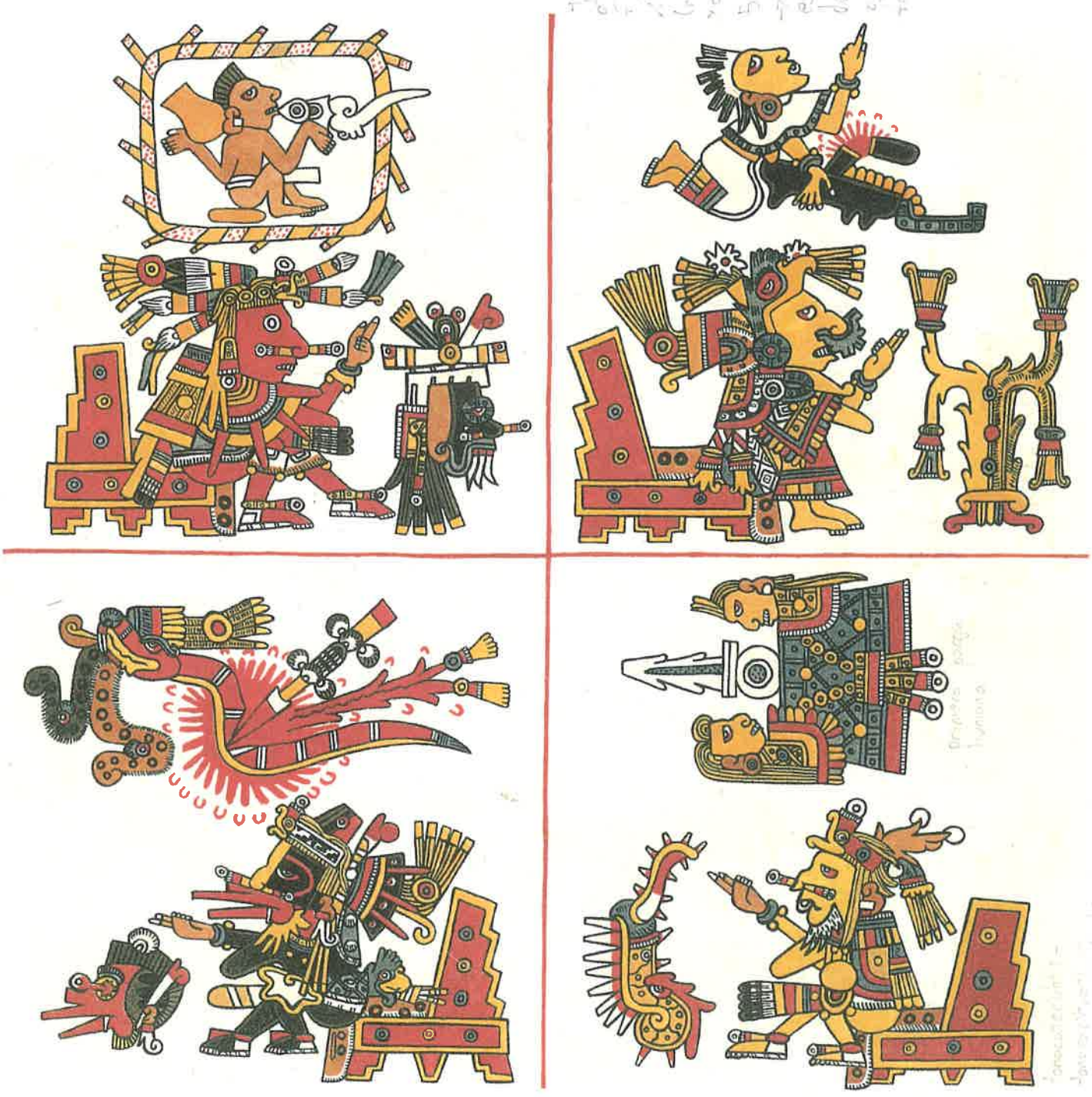

PLATE 9: Page 1 of the deities of the 20 day signs

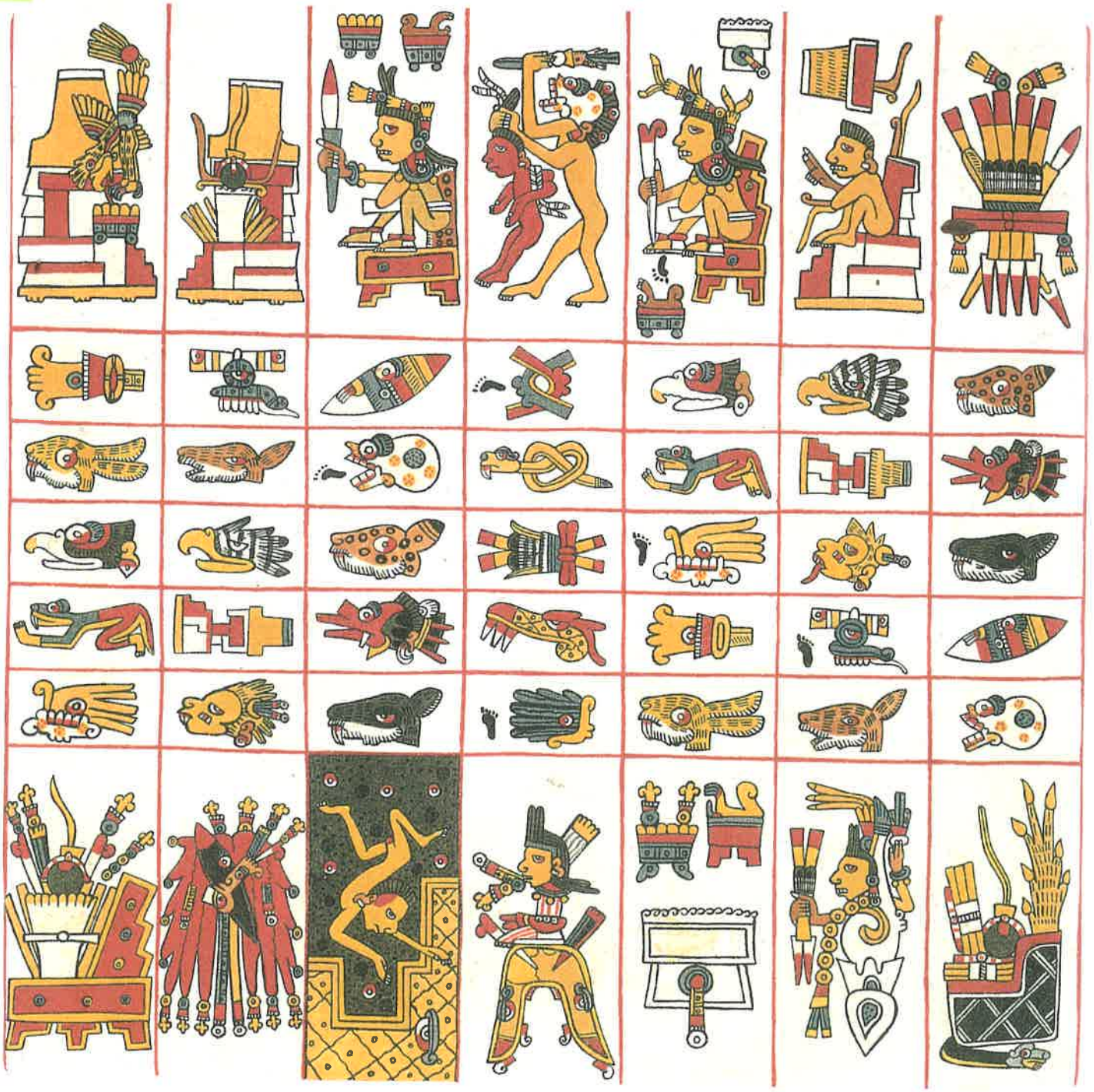

PLATE 8: Page 8 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

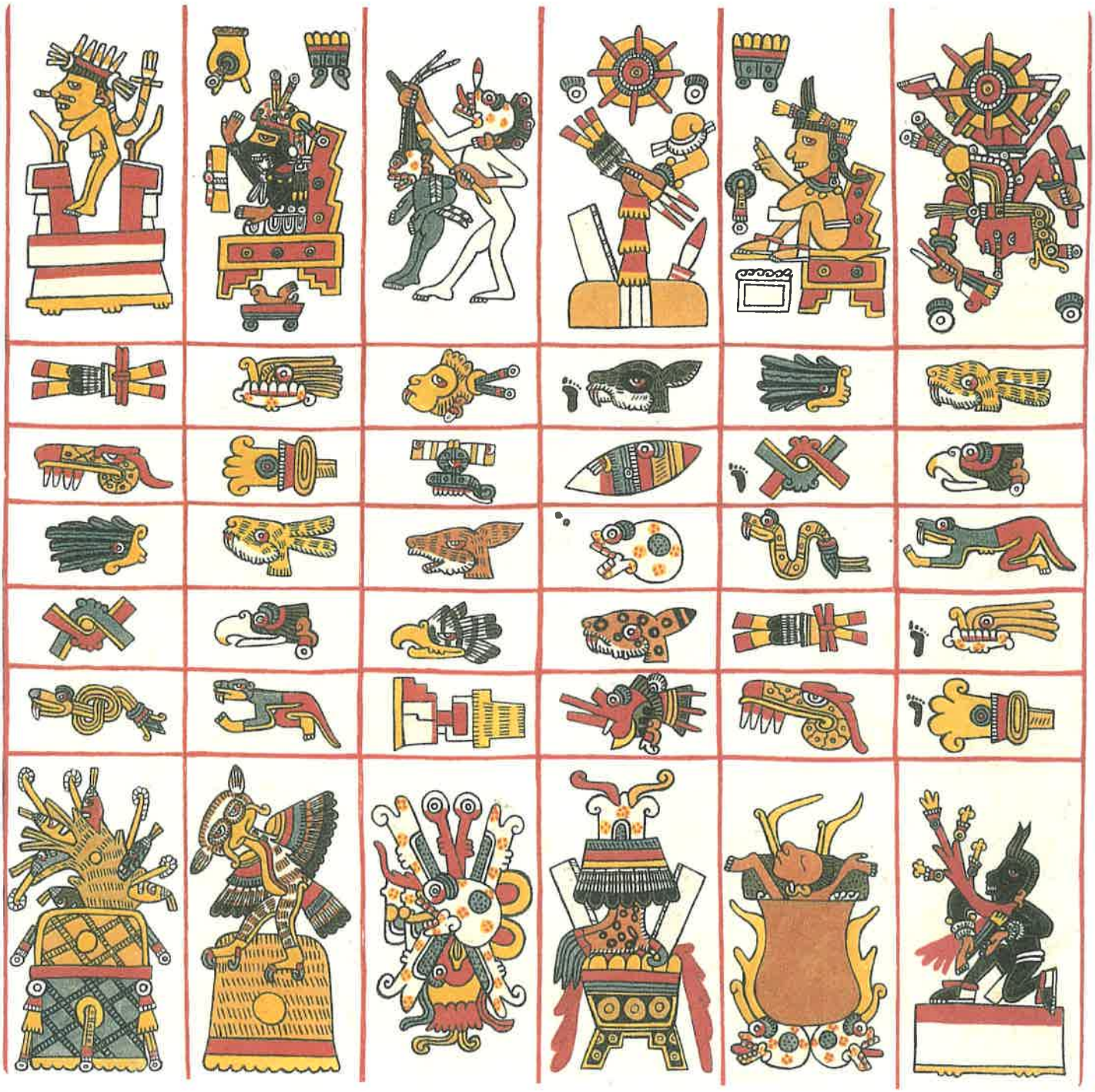

PLATE 7: Page 7 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

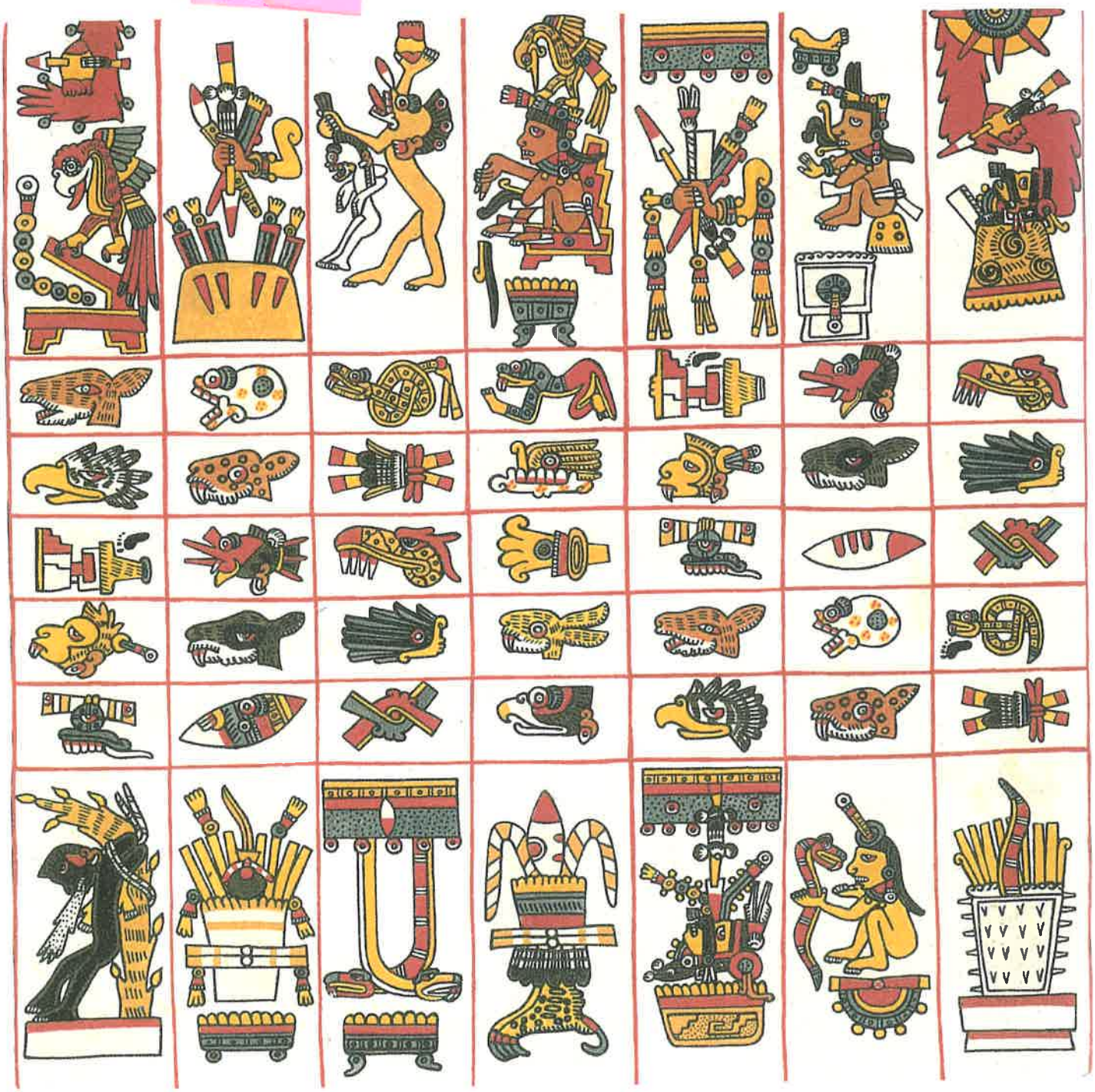

PLATE 6: Page 6 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

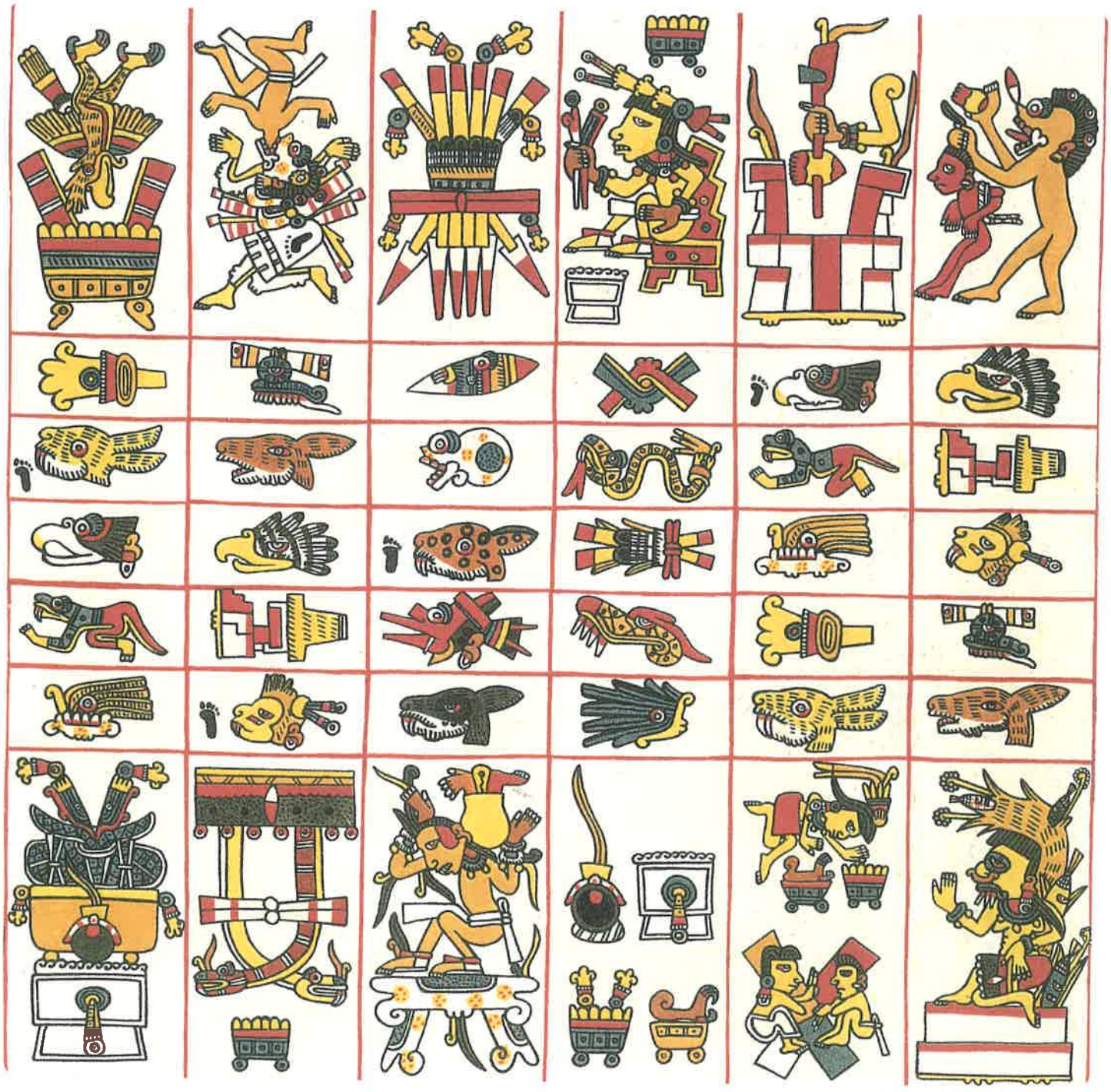

PLATE 5: Page 5 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

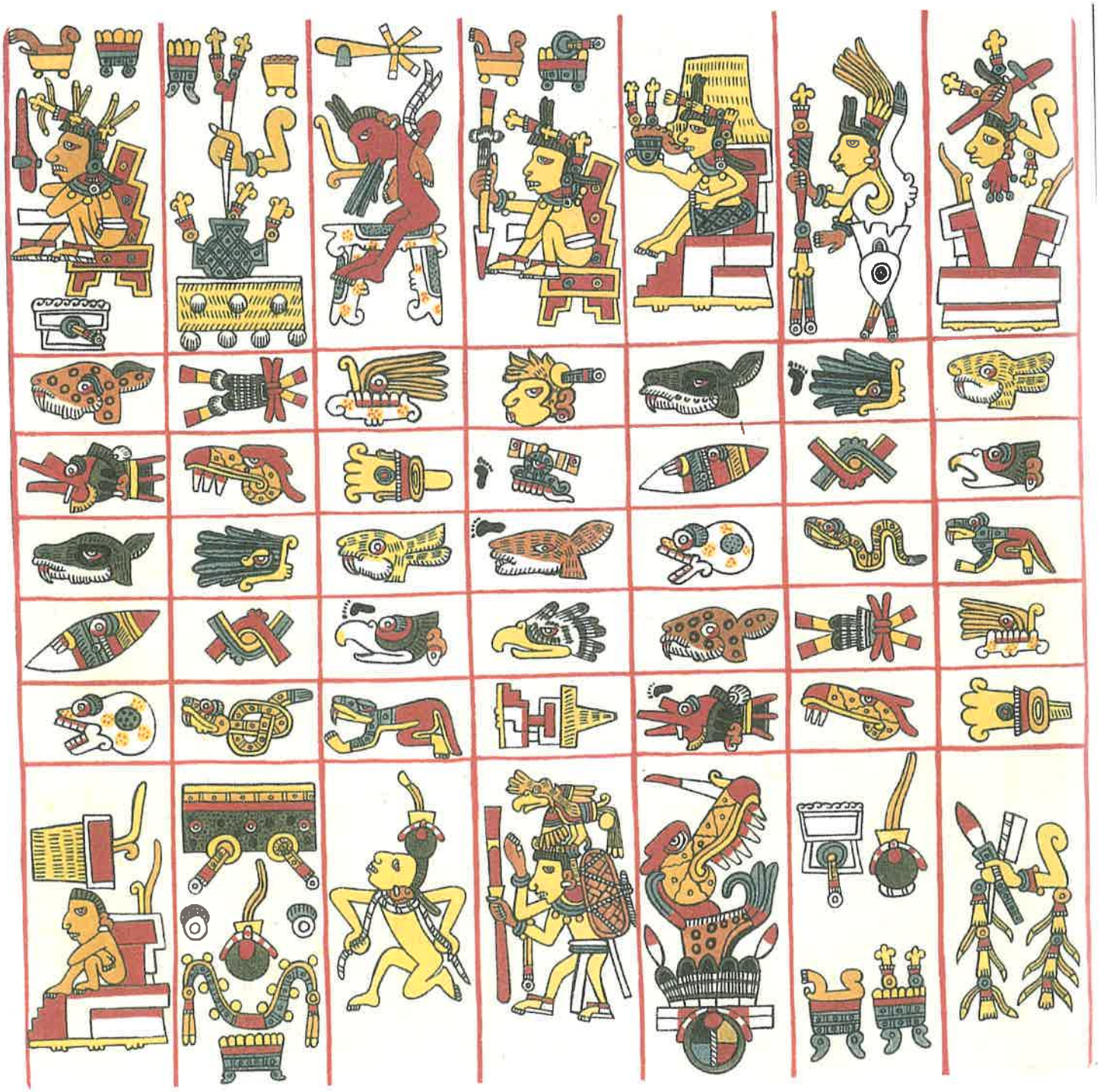

PLATE 4: Page 4 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

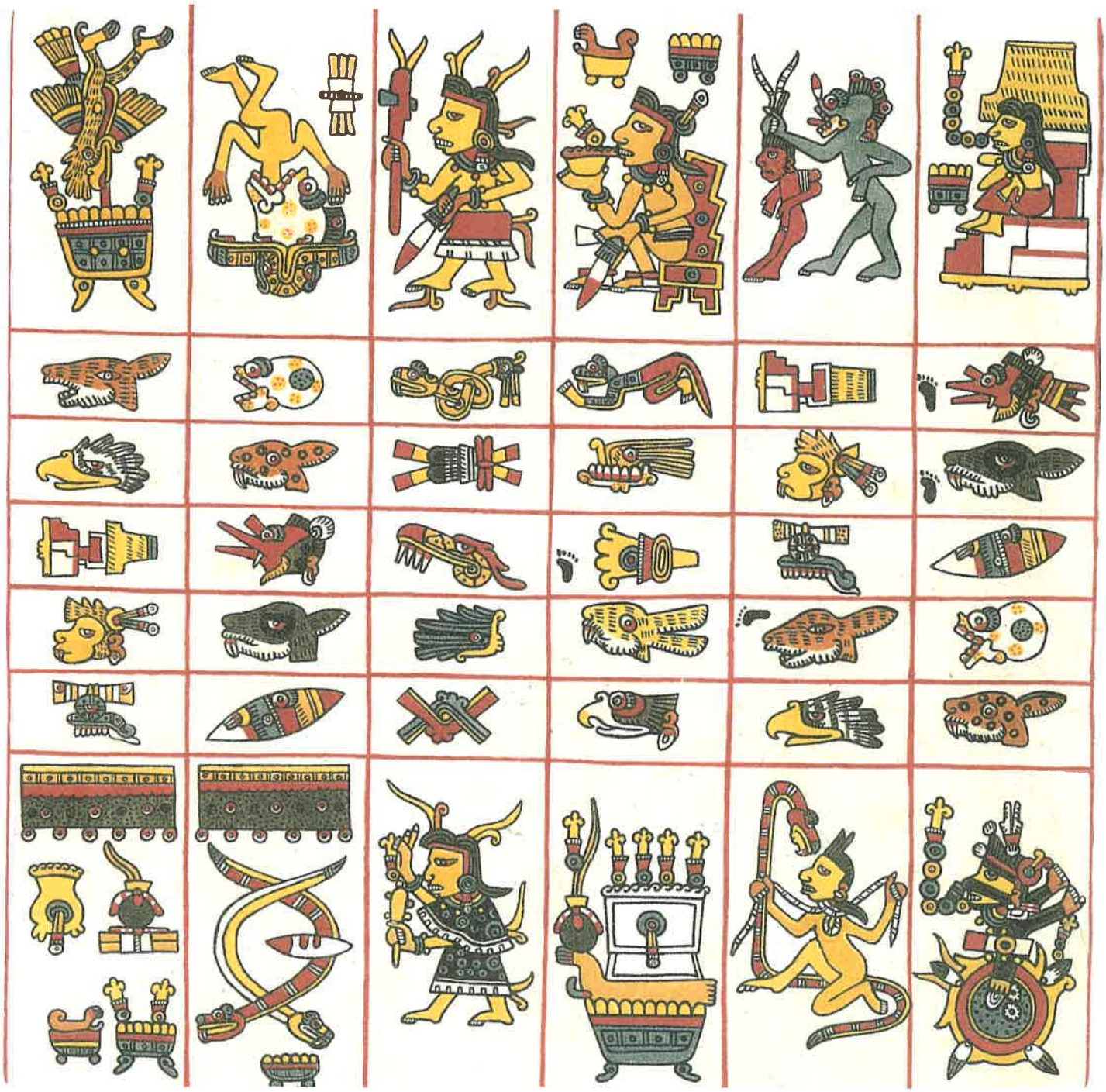

PLATE 3: Page 3 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 2: Page 2 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 1: Page 1 of the *tonalpohualli* (260-day ritual calendar) arranged in five rows of 52 members

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"The mission of man is to remember. To remember to remember. To taste everything in eternity as once in time. All happens only once but that is forever."

HENRY MILLER
Remember to Remember

To Richard Gutherie, artist, and Tomás Díaz—each, in his own way, proving that when enough pressure is applied a diamond appears from within.

G. D., 1993

Thanks to Alberto and Gualberta Trejo, papermaker, San Pablito, Mexico; Armando Arriaga, woodcarver, Puebla, Mexico; Beckey Reisberg, conservator and bookmaker; Jeff Baker, photographer; Carl and Terrie Huff, whose door was always open; Patricia Morris, Lenny Lamm and Henry Miller, for showing the way.

A. R., 1993

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B. B., 1993

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THE PLATES 1

ARTISTS' PREFACE

The aim of the Díaz-Rodgers version of the Codex Borgia was to reproduce the codex using traditional methods and materials, and to restore as accurately as possible all damaged sections of the book; in short, to see the book in the pristine condition it had existed in during the time of the Aztecs.

Of course, the idea of codex restoration is not new. This project was heavily influenced by the restoration work done on the Codex Dresden and, most importantly of all, the work on the Codex Nuttall, which has been reprinted by Dover Publications.

Work on this project began with drawings made from photographs of the Codex Borgia. The first set of drawings was made to become familiar with the symbols and characters within the manuscript. The object at this point was to copy the original artwork as closely as possible. After the first drawings were completed, the entire book was redrawn again using pen and ink on Herculene film. In these final drawings, the restoration of the codex was conducted. First, each character (separate image) was centered within its defined space. For example, if the original artist(s) implied a division of one-half page in the original text, exactly one-half page was used to reproduce that portion of the codex. With regard to the characters, no changes were made. If a temple leaned in one direction or another, it was left as it was. Here, the process of extrapolated restoration occurred. The easiest restoration was the connecting of the lines based on other undamaged parts of the manuscript. This was relatively easy in some parts, as the figures were easily identifiable with just small parts of the figure worn away.

Of course, other sections were not so easily reproduced and some value judgments were called for. It is here, in the more difficult restoration parts, that some criticism is possible. An example is Plate 2. According to Alexander von Humboldt, the first and last pages of the original codex were partially burned by servant children of the Giustiniani family. In one of the burned areas (upper right), a scorpion is partially visible. Therefore, in the final series of drawings it was reproduced as a whole scorpion using other scorpions in the codex as guidelines. For example, Plates 13, 18, 59 and 69 each contain stylized versions of the scorpion. What may be wrong or lacking is the direction or curve of the scorpion's stinger on Plate 2. In order to fill and balance the given area, the scorpion was drawn with the straight extended stinger as found on Plate 59. The stylistic traits of the partial scorpion on Plate 2 served as the foundation of the new scorpion. In the final drawings, implied symmetry was formalized. All red dividing lines were made straight in the horizontal and vertical directions.

In the section of the book comprising Plates 61 through 70, the day signs, or symbols, are accurate. What may be lacking are certain characteristics unique to that particular day according to its place within the sacred order of 260 days. For instance, it should be noted that each half of these pages has 13 day signs associated with it. This order was noted by Sahagún in his monumental work *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*. What will be found lacking are certain aspects of characteristics of the day signs which would have borne specific significance for that specific time period. For example, "Ollin," or Movement, can take several forms. In all the different forms, Movement is still Movement but it has several ways of being represented in this manuscript. On Plate 65 (upper half) it is seen upright and entwined with a red side dominating the right half of the symbol. On this same plate, in the bottom row of day signs, Movement is found again entwined, but this time it is lying down with the red half of the symbol on the bottom side. Plate 70 again shows Movement in the top row of the day signs. Here it is exactly as found on the bottom row of Plate 65, except the blue half is found on a totally different form. It is no longer entwined, but rather a star or flower form. That is by no means all of the possible forms of "Ollin." Sometimes the color and the shape of the center point varies. Each aspect that "Ollin" assumes has an important symbolic meaning and something distinct to say about that particular moment in time and space.

The bottom parts of Plates 28, 57, 58, 61 through 64 and 66 through 70 were especially difficult to reproduce. In all of these plates, the day signs were entirely missing, which called for quite a few judgment calls during the restoration process.

Concurrent with the drawing process was the investigation of different types of traditional *ámatl* bark paper. This investigation led to San Pablito, Mexico, and to Alberto and Berta Trejo. The Trejos were traditional makers of the paper that was used in this project. The process for this handmade paper has been well documented in many papers and several books; however, because of the special size requirement of the paper and the fact that the paintings were to be mounted onto an accordion-like book, several new methods of producing oversize pieces of paper were investigated. The new process for large-format paper quickly became the standard for the entire village.

After the final drawings were completed and the *ámatl* paper selected, the drawings made on the transparent film were transferred to the *ámatl* paper using a blackline undercoating. Because of the variation in the paper's color and quality, approximately 20 copies of each plate were transferred. The best copy of each plate was then carefully selected, based on paper characteristics and accuracy of line reproduction.

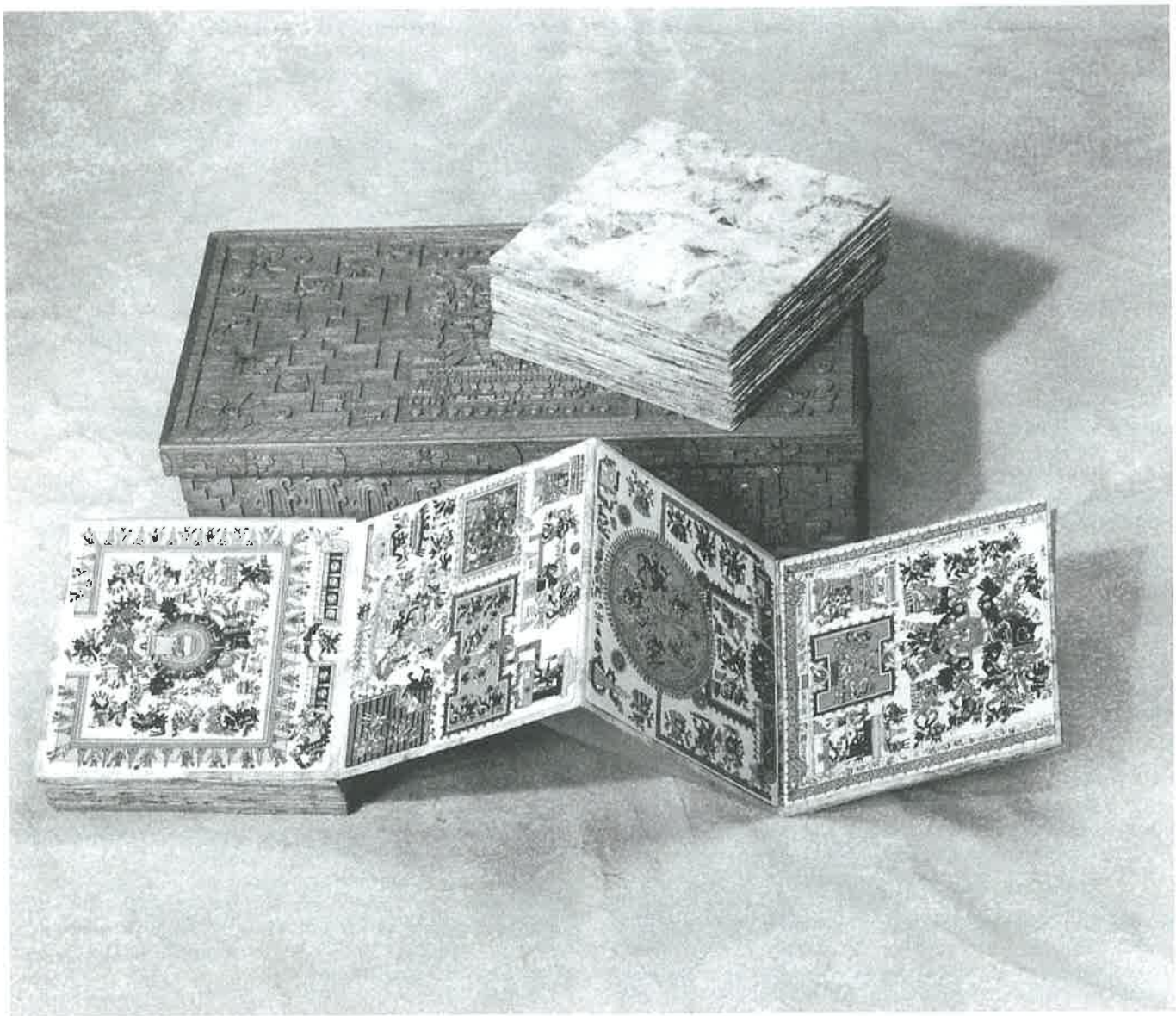
The next phase was the application of color. First, two coats of titanium-white watercolor were applied as a base. This served to stretch the paper and fill the porous surface of the paper. Colors were then applied by hand starting with yellow. Red was the final color to be applied. Experiments were conducted using natural dyes; however, it quickly became apparent that this was beyond the

scope of this project. Instead, watercolors were used. To insure uniformity in paint color, some portions of the plates required as many as four or five separate coats of paint. Although the plates were produced over several years, every effort was made to insure uniformity and consistency in color from Plate 1 through Plate 76. Finally, after all the colors were applied, the black lines were hand painted with tiny brushes, thereby encasing the characters of the manuscript. Two coats of acrylic fixative were finally applied to protect the colors. The plates were produced in order.

After the paintings were completed, they were photographed by Dallas photographer Jeff Baker. The plates were then taken to Beckey Reisberg, who assembled them into a unique accordion-style book using proper conservation techniques and methods. Two 40-foot *ámatl* sheets were produced. Each painting was then mounted on one of these long sheets, which then folded into an accordion-style book. Plates 1 through 38 are in one of these original books and Plates 39 through 76 are in the other. The books are stored in a hand-carved cedar box produced by Armando Arriaga, one of Mexico's finest woodcarvers.

Total time to complete the project was seven years.

G. D.
A. R.



The original painted Díaz and Rodgers restoration of the Codex Borgia, showing its screenfold (accordion-fold) nature, its *ámatl* paper and the handsome box crafted for it.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY BRUCE E. BYLAND

The Present Edition of the Codex Borgia

The present edition is a new hand-painted restoration of the Codex Borgia designed to recreate the sense of awe and wonder that the original manuscript must have inspired before the depredations of time and ill treatment took their toll. Over the five or more centuries since the original was painted by some unknown Mexican scribe or scribes, much has happened to it. It has been opened and closed countless times. Its fragile pages have been touched and manipulated, folded and rubbed, photographed and drawn. It has been exposed to heat and humidity. It has survived the abuse of children, who folded some of its pages and burned others. It has lost its original wooden end pieces. The result of all this activity is that the images painted so carefully by the original artist or artists have been damaged. In many places flakes of pigment have been rubbed off and lost, thus obscuring the original images to varying extents. Most seriously, parts of three leaves have been damaged by fire.

This has left a document which, though still recognized as one of the finest and most important original sources for the study of pre-Columbian religion, has been seriously compromised. Ms. Gisele Díaz and Mr. Alan Rodgers are to be commended for their efforts to recover the grandeur of the original manuscript. The Dover edition will, for the first time, make a reproduction of the manuscript accessible to the general public. That it is not a photographic or precise facsimile may possibly trouble some among the corps of professional codex scholars, though they are among the few who have access to the costly photographic facsimiles already published (Kingsborough 1831–48, Ehrle 1898, Seler 1904–09 [Spanish translation as Seler 1963], Nowotny 1976). Although these rare, expensive editions remain preferable for serious scholarship, that does not lessen the inspirational and broad educational value of this restoration.

Just as Dover's edition of Zelia Nuttall's copy of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall is not an exact rendition of the original, the reproduction published here is not an exact copy of the Codex Borgia, even in its current state. It is, rather, an informed attempt at a restoration, a careful reimagining of the original beauty of the manuscript. Even though the restoration has omitted the glosses added to the manuscript by a European hand after the conquest, it is not intended to be a definitive reconstruction of the original as it was painted before the arrival of the Spanish. It is not a precise copy of the extant portions but rather a redrawing that includes tiny differences of detail throughout. (Any significant differences will be pointed out in the commentary later in this introduction.) Colors are rendered close to their appearance in the original as it exists today, not as they were when the Codex Borgia was new; for example, some original greens are now a shade of tan, and it is the tan that appears here.

Because of its very availability and because of the care that Díaz and Rodgers have put into this faithful restoration of the manuscript, students can learn much from it. Those who want to study the original in fine detail should first use this edition as a guide but should also seek out a copy of the fine photographic facsimile published by ADEVA (Nowotny 1976). They should also look for the outstanding commentaries on the codex published by Nowotny (1961a) and Seler (1963). In addition, the serious student should not neglect the important studies of the Codex Borgia and the other members of the Borgia Group of codices published by Humboldt (1810), Caso (1927), Noguera (1927), Robertson (1963), Spranz (1964), Glass (1975), Sisson (1983), Biedermann (1989) and others. The present edition will become a starting point for study of the religious codices of highland Mexico just as the Dover publication of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975) has become the principal introduction to the Mixtec historical codices for so many modern students.

The original codex was painted on a long strip of folded animal skin as a screenfold book. Fourteen strips of skin were attached end to end, trimmed to a standard height of 27 cm, folded into a screenfold and prepared for painting with a white lime-plaster ground. The artist or scribe then painted the manuscript with an extraordinarily artistic hand, using both mineral and vegetable pigments. The book was intended to be read in continuous fashion from one end to the other, from right to left, on one side and then turned over so that the reading could continue on the other side. Even though the current binding does not reproduce that screenfold format, the reading order in this edition does recreate the linear form of the original by binding the pages in reverse order so that the text begins at the back and is read from right to left and from back to front, in much the same way as the Dover edition of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall.

The History of the Codex Borgia

The Codex Borgia has long been recognized as one of the most elegant and beautiful of the few surviving pre-Columbian painted manuscripts. Its special significance has been seen in its detailed depiction of highland Mesoamerican gods and the ritual and divination associated with them. Substantial portions of the codex convey various aspects and attributes of the 260-day ritual calender. The more detailed ceremonial aspects of the images have been harder to understand.

The Codex Borgia is today housed in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican in Rome, Italy. It was originally painted somewhere in the central highlands of Mexico as a unique manuscript. The exact

place at which it was painted is not now known and is the subject of much discussion. During the summer of 1982, the Pre-Columbian Studies Program at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., sponsored a summer research seminar on the codices of the Borgia Group at which much attention was paid to this problem (Sisson 1983). While no final conclusion could be drawn, the opinion of most of the participants in the seminar was that the Codex Borgia was probably originally painted somewhere in central or southern Puebla, the area around Tepeaca and Cuauhtinchan or the Tehuacán Valley. Others would expand this potential area of origin to include nearby areas of the Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca. Since various aspects of the manuscript seem to point with equal validity to each of these areas, we cannot choose one over the others. Perhaps we should conclude, rather, that central and southern Puebla and northern Oaxaca shared a religious and iconographic scheme and that the pronouncements of the Codex Borgia would have had equal validity in all of these nearby regions (Pohl and Byland n.d.). Seen in that light, the precise point of origin is not so important as the information that can be gained from careful study of the codex.

It is generally believed that the Codex Borgia was originally painted in the decades immediately before the arrival of the Spanish. This presumption is based on the observation that its style shows no hint of European influence. In addition its religious content was more apt to have been repressed rather than encouraged after the arrival of Catholic priests. It is not possible now to determine exactly how long before the beginning of the Colonial period it was painted, though it probably dates to the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.

The Codex Borgia was sent back to Europe at some point in the early Colonial period, though when, by whom and to whom is not known. Its early movements in Europe are also obscure. It has been argued that at some time in the sixteenth century the manuscript was sent to Italy either directly from Mexico or from an intermediate stop in Spain (Ehrle 1898). This supposition is based on the paleography of a gloss on page 68 of the manuscript that appears to have been written in poor Italian (presumably in the hand of a sixteenth-century Mexican or Spaniard not fully fluent in Italian). At any rate, from then until very late in the eighteenth century nothing is known of the whereabouts of the codex.

It first came to the attention of scholarship when in 1805 Alexander von Humboldt saw it in Rome among the effects of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who had died the previous year. Humboldt wrote, with some authority, that Cardinal Borgia had acquired the codex from the Giustiniani family, neighbors who had entrusted the document to some servants, who in turn had given it to their children as a plaything. As a result, before Humboldt ever saw it the manuscript had been burned and mistreated. When Cardinal Borgia died he left almost all of his possessions to the branch of the Vatican which he had directed for many years, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; his brother was to inherit the family museum. Although the codex was not located in the family museum at the time of the Cardinal's death, his brother sued for its possession. After a few years of legal wrangling the Congregatio was awarded the codex and housed it in its library. Late in the nineteenth century it was transferred to the Apostolic Library of the Vatican, where it remains today.

Pre-Columbian Manuscripts

The painted books of Mesoamerica represent an amazing legacy of the religious and historical knowledge acquired by the pre-Columbian people of Mexico and northern Central America. A scant few of these documents survive to this day. The vast majority of them were destroyed in the misguided efforts of early Spanish priests to stamp out all vestiges of the heathen religions of the native peoples. Accounts of the burning and destruction of hundreds and thousands of native books can bring tears to the eyes. We can only wonder today at the range and depth of information lost through the destruction of so vast a cultural resource. Despite this tragedy, much can be said about the manuscript-painting traditions of Mesoamerica. We have perhaps fifteen or so surviving books and manuscripts that were produced either before the Conquest or in a native style in the years directly after the arrival of the Spanish (Glass 1975:11–12). In addition to these works, there are about two dozen pictorial documents made by indigenously trained native scribes and artists for the Spanish conquerors as illustrations of native history, religion, custom and practice. Finally, there are literally hundreds of pictorial manuscripts produced by native artists during the early Colonial period in many ordinary contexts: maps to go with geographic descriptions, genealogies or histories to support claims to titles and tribute, lists of tribute actually paid or due, evidence for cases tried in Spanish courts, calendrical documents and many others.

The surviving pre-Conquest–style screenfolds include three classes or groups of books: Mixtec histories, Maya religious books and highland religious books. The histories include the seven Mixtec historical manuscripts, which deal with local history and royal genealogies from various communities in the Mixteca Alta and surrounding regions (Smith 1973, Byland and Pohl in press). A second group comprises the three or four surviving Maya screenfolds, all of which are painted on paper rather than animal skin (Glass 1975:77). These codices are substantially divinatory and calendrical in content and are written in a distinctively Mayan style incorporating much Maya hieroglyphic text. A third group of pre-Conquest books is known as the Borgia Group, named after their most prominent member, the Codex Borgia (Nowotny 1961a). These are all screenfolds on animal skin that are concerned with religious and ritual matters. They are painted in styles very similar, though not identical, to those of the Mixtec historical codices.

The Mixtec historical manuscripts include the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975, Troike 1987); the Codex Colombino-Becker I, composed of two rejoined parts (Troike 1980, Smith 1963, Caso and Smith 1966); the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1961b); the Codex Bodley (Caso 1960); the Codex Selden (Smith 1983, Caso 1964); the Codex Vindobonensis (Furst 1978, Adelhofer 1963); and the Codex Egerton (Burland 1965).

The three widely accepted Maya codices are the Codex Paris (Anders 1968), the Codex Dresden (Anders and Dekkert 1975) and the Codex Madrid (Anders 1967). Each appears to be dedicated to the calendar, the deities of the Maya pantheon and the supernatural aspects of the calendar associated with ritual divination. A fourth codex, the Grolier Codex, may also be a member of this group though it is not yet universally accepted.

The Codex Borgia is the leading member of a small group of pre-Columbian manuscripts known collectively as the Borgia Group. The Borgia Group is particularly significant because of its pre-Conquest date and its religious content. The many manuscripts treating religious subjects that must have existed before the sixteenth century were particularly sought out for destruction by zealous Spanish priests and friars who were charged with ending idolatrous practices. The manuscripts of the Borgia Group seem to have been spared this fate by the happy accident of their having been sent to Europe, probably to Spain, early in the Conquest period.

In addition to the Codex Borgia, the principal screenfold members of the Borgia Group are the Codex Cospi (Nowotny 1968),

which is a ritual calendar with some ritual information on its reverse side; the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Burland 1971), which is a ritual calendar; the Codex Laud (Burland 1966), which is a ritual calendar with several other kinds of ritual information included; and the Codex Vaticanus B (Anders 1972), which is also a ritual calendar. The other related documents sometimes included in the group as minor members are the Fonds Mexicains no. 20, a single page of deerskin, and the Codex Porfirio Díaz, a screenfold that includes a section with similar ritual and religious content.

From these extant native-tradition books we may discern several characteristics of Mesoamerican written records. We know, for example, that books were not published in a European sense. That is to say, they were all handmade in single copies without the use of any type of impression-making device: no movable type, no stamps or rollers. It is arguable that every book was unique, made in one place by one patron and for one set of purposes. Information is shared among several of the codices but its form is never identical. Of course, the very small sample size of surviving manuscripts makes this generalization difficult to prove. It is certainly possible that books were exactly copied in a scribal tradition similar to that of the European monastic tradition, though no proof of this possibility exists.

It can be argued that the written literature of the pre-Columbian peoples was divided into categories in their minds as well as ours. Historical books deal with people, places, politics and genealogy. Religious documents deal with the calendar, ceremonialism and divination. Overlap between them is found in areas where historically important people participate in divination or other ceremonies and where politically significant places have sacred significance.

The content of the post-Conquest documents suggests the possibility of other written genres that have not survived. The codices do not contain two-dimensional maps of the landscape in forms familiar as such to European eyes. Despite this observation, the fact that space is represented in the codices in various ways (Pohl and Byland 1990) and the existence of many post-Conquest maps (see Glass 1975) suggest that space had been graphically represented in pre-Columbian times. In addition, the lists of tribute obligations of towns prepared for the Spanish tax collectors suggests the likelihood of similar record keeping before the European arrival. We can imagine the rulers of native communities making a sincere effort to keep such documents, if they ever existed, out of the hands of the new oppressors.

Pre-Columbian Religion

The religious beliefs of pre-Columbian peoples in Mesoamerica were vastly complex. There was a shared religious system over much of Mexico and northern Central America with regard to the calendar, the major deities, the structure of the world and the hierarchy of the supernatural world. Nevertheless, each town and region had its own nuances of belief that set it apart from its neighbors. Different deities were held in esteem in different places and many gods, even major ones, had differing characteristics of dress and behavior. Much of this complexity is not now discernible but some has been preserved. We know, for example, the patron deities of many communities whose particular charge was the protection of the local people and land.

The behavioral range covered by religion in ancient Mesoamerica was like that of any complex religious system. The gods were organized in a hierarchy reflecting that of the people. They came equipped with family ties, affections and jealousies, indeed with all the complexities of human life. They had potential influence over the very existence of the world, having caused its destruction and re-creation as many as five times, according to Aztec chroniclers. On a smaller scale they were thought to have the capacity to affect the forces of nature and the success of human endeavor. Rain would come only if the rain deity was properly propitiated. Wind would blow too strongly or too weakly unless the wind deity was correctly worshiped. Spirits inhabited the night air and the wild animals of the hills. Auguries and oracles could predict the success or failure of any activity. Patterns in nature were explained by the interaction of the forces of the supernatural world with those of the physical one. In all these ways and more, the supernatural was present in the daily lives of the people of Mesoamerica.

The people of the various towns and cities of ancient Mesoamerica had to be able to deal with the potent forces of the transcendent world above, below and around them. These interactions were often made on a personal level, at a family shrine, or by repetition of a special prayer or incantation in the fields or while doing some task. At other times connection to the power of the supernatural required a trained specialist, a priest. For this task a wide variety of specialized priests was available. There were priests dedicated to each of the many gods and other supernatural forces. There were bureaucratic priests dedicated to the ancestral deities of each town or region. There were priests who performed autosacrifice and human sacrifice. There were those who prophesied the future of natural phenomena and those who prophesied the future of human activity. There were priests who preached and others who taught.

For priests to be able to fulfill all these complex roles they had to have immense knowledge. Part of that knowledge was acquired in formal schools called *calmecac*. More was learned on the job as junior priests working with older, more experienced priests. Among the things required of priests was the ability to read books and interpret the information contained in them. That was nowhere more evident than in the case of the religious books, which served as densely packed compendia of vital information about the nature of the supernatural world and its relationships with the physical one. The Codex Borgia was just such a book.

Much of the capacity to interpret the codex was based on intimate knowledge of the gods and their many characteristics. The pantheon of ancient Mesoamerica was amazingly complex. The many deities often had multiple identities, different names and characteristics apparently being associated with a single deity. Similarly, the iconographic representations of deities often seem to display substantial overlap. Attributes associated with two or more individual deities could be represented on the person of a single god in a particular context. All this makes the study of pre-Columbian religion a daunting task. The most encyclopedic analysis of which I am aware is the masterly work of H. B. Nicholson (1971). A very strong, and more accessible, recent study is by Davíd Carrasco (1990).

It is not possible in any brief treatment to expound fully the intricacies of pre-Columbian religion and its extraordinarily complex deities. A few characteristics of a handful of the deities will have to suffice as an introduction here.

Quetzalcóatl is the Feathered Serpent. He is a god of rebirth and renewal. In one of his most important capacities he is known as Ehécatl, the god of the wind. He is at one and the same time the god of the wind, the four winds of the four directions and the 400 little winds that blow everywhere. In another identity he is known as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the embodiment of the planet Venus as the morning or evening star. Quetzalcóatl was one of the creators of the sun and the world.

Tezcatlipoca is the Dark Smoking Mirror. He is an all-knowing, ever-present and all-powerful god. He, too, is a god of several capacities or personalities. Tezcatlipoca is sometimes represented as

the Red Tezcatlipoca (Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca) and sometimes as the Black Tezcatlipoca (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca). He is the sower of discord and conflict, a god of darkness and warfare.

Tláloc is the god of rain and storm. He is the god of waters in the sky. Tláloc is a creator of life; his rain brings regrowth in the spring. He also carries the lightning and is responsible for destructive storms.

Chalchiuhtlicue is the consort of Tláloc. She is the goddess of running water, waters on the earth like lakes, rivers and springs. Her name literally means "Precious Green Stone Skirt."

Tlazoltéotl was a very basic and very complex deity. She was a goddess of the earth. She had a role as the goddess of the moon. She was sometimes known as Tlaelcuani and in that capacity was known as the eater of filth and excrement. In this role she was also a sensual goddess of enticement and sexuality. Other names for Tlazoltéotl included Teteoinnan, "mother of the gods," and Toci, "our grandmother."

There were, of course, dozens of other deities both high and low, some of whom will be identified briefly in the commentary below.

The Nature of the Codex Borgia

Purpose or Function

The Codex Borgia is a native-tradition religious manuscript from an unidentified part of the southern central highlands of Mexico, perhaps from somewhere in what is now the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Though we do not know from what indigenous context it was first extracted by the Spaniards, it is not hard to surmise that it was a ritual document taken from a sacred place—perhaps a temple, a priest's residence or a sacred shrine of some sort. Its content suggests that it was used for several purposes. It seems to have been a prognostication tool for divining the future in various ways. Parts of the codex are ritual 260-day calendars. These are augmented by substantial sections delineating the signs of the days and the deities of the days and the nights. Other pages characterize various portions of the ritual calendar and still others relate the ritual calendar to the solar year. Another part of the manuscript presents a sort of numerological prognostication of the lives of wedded couples. Other sections concern the cardinal directions of the world and the supernatural characters and attributes of these regions. Other portions describe the characteristics of various deities, forming a sort of catalog of supernatural beings who can influence the world. Still other passages may contain a pattern for ceremonies for the installation of rulers in certain pre-Columbian kingdoms. These aspects will all be discussed below in an abbreviated commentary based largely on the work of Seler (1963) and Nowotny (1961a).

An underlying level of meaning within the Codex Borgia is found in its frequent depictions of the various deities and other supernatural beings. The interpretation of auguries depended on the priest's reading of the images and his knowledge of the characteristics of the various powerful creatures represented.

Approaches to Reading the Codex

The Codex Borgia is composed of 39 equally sized leaves. The first and last of these, the outside surfaces of the stack of folded pages, were affixed to end pieces, presumably fashioned of wood. Every exposed side of the manuscript was painted with information by the artist or artists who created the document. We thus have 37 leaves that are painted on both sides and two end leaves painted on only one side, for a total of 76 painted pages.

The wonderful character of a screenfold manuscript, in comparison with a modern binding, that the reader is not restricted to seeing only two pages at once. When a screenfold book is opened two, four, six or more pages can be seen at a time. Indeed, the pages being consulted simultaneously do not need to be consecutive or even on the same side of the manuscript. This structure allows for easy transgression of a simple linear reading order. Flashbacks, flashforwards and cross references can be found entirely out of the simple flow of time.

As a result of this versatile format, reading order for a learned scribe could be very diverse. He could read a book from beginning to end in a linear form similar to ours, or else read several pages at once, referring back and forth as needed through many images to follow different aspects of the information being studied. Clearly the skill required to read these books was not easily obtained.

The Content of the Codex

Though the content of the Codex Borgia is only partially understood, we can say with assurance that it is a ritual book. Substantial parts seem to be a text of standard ritual information, to be used like a reference book. Other parts seem to be mnemonic devices encoding more arcane ritual information. Yet another part seems to have been a prescriptive set of directions for the performance of a particular series of ceremonies. The best and most detailed commentaries on the manuscript are those written by Eduard Seler (1904–09) and K. A. Nowotny (1961a). Their work notwithstanding, much of the interpretation offered to date is limited. While codex scholars have been able to work out much of the calendrical order and to recognize some of the deities, creatures and objects depicted in the manuscript, the contexts in which they have been portrayed are still not fully understood. It is still necessary to identify the more obscure images and to divine the relationships between the deities and activities depicted and the calendar to which they are attached. Efforts to do so are ongoing. Similarly, it is still necessary to pinpoint the language spoken by the original authors of the Borgia Group codices; many separate languages were spoken in the likely regions of origin. Recent work on these manuscripts has been conducted by a handful of scholars from around the world, among them Peter van der Loo, John M. D. Pohl, Maarten Jansen, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Mark King and Edward B. Sisson.

What follows here is a very brief redaction of the commentaries of Seler and Nowotney, informed by the more recent work of Pohl (Pohl and Byland n.d., 1991) and van der Loo (1982, 1987 and personal communication) and with a few ideas of the present writer. It is intended to help the novice reader begin the search for understanding. All readers of this introduction are encouraged to pursue the study of ancient Mexican religion by referring to more extensive commentaries on the codex and to other more general studies of pre-Columbian religion (Carrasco 1990, León-Portilla 1963, Lopez Austin 1973, Nicholson 1971) and writing (Benson 1973, Marcus 1992, Smith 1973). The text of the Codex Borgia has been arbitrarily divided into a number of groups of pages or parts of pages that seem to make sense when taken together. Though these divisions seem today to be reasonable, they should not be considered to be absolutely authoritative. New insight may be gained by trying new ways of seeing and understanding the images of highland pre-Columbian writing systems.

An Abbreviated Commentary on the Codex Borgia

Plates (Original Pages) 1–8: The First Calendar, a 260-Day Ritual Calendar

A fundamental tool of ritual prognostication and divination throughout ancient Mesoamerica was the 260-day ritual calendar, known to the Aztecs as the *tonalpohualli,* or "the book of the days." (In many ancient Mesoamerican languages the term for the ritual calendar had much the same meaning; the Mixtecs, for example, had several names, including *tutu yehe dahui quevui,* "the book that has the days.") This ritual calendar, covering a period that is shorter than the solar year, was used for various purposes. It was much more than just a list of days: it expressed the relationship between time and space and between both of them and the world of the gods. The Mixtecs had another term for the calendar that conveys some of this interconnection: *nee ñuhu duyu dusa,* meaning more or less "all the spirits who support the disc of the earth" (Alvarado 1962[1593]:41v, Arana and Swadesh 1965). The disc of the earth is the plane upon which we live. It is composed of four cardinal directions and linked to the realms above and below by a central hinge that constitutes a fifth direction. Periods within the calendars are associated with specific supernatural figures and are linked to the five directions. Here the relationship of time, space and the supernatural world becomes evident.

The 260-day ritual calendar was constructed using two continuous sequences, one of 13 numbers and the other of 20 day signs. The 13 numbers run in sequence and then start again. Similarly the 20 day signs run in sequence and then start again. The total number of uniquely identified days using this system, then, is 13 times 20 or 260. In Figure 1, the 260 days of the calendar are arranged in 13 columns and 20 rows. To the left of each row is found the day sign, and in each cell of the diagram is the corresponding day number. The calendar in this form should be read from top to bottom and from left to right through 260 days. In this illustration the first day is 1 Alligator, the second day is 2 Wind and so on. The thirteenth day is 13 Reed, but be sure to note that the fourteenth day is 1 Jaguar, not 14 Jaguar, because only 13 numbers are used in the day-number cycle.

The first eight pages of the Codex Borgia enumerate the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli* together with images that seem to carry information about the qualities of these days. Here the 260 days are arranged in five narrow rows of day signs with the 13 numbers omitted. Above and below the rows of day signs are 104 taller images laid out in two rows. These 104 images are unique depictions of people, deities, places or things that presumably have supernatural qualities. They are usually taken to be qualifiers for the five specific days shown between each upper and lower pair. Some are clearly of standard deities. Tonatiuh, Tezcatlipoca, Xipe Tótec and others.[1] Others represent natural objects and artifacts: the scorpion, offerings, bundles, serpents, the sky, the sun and many other things. Still others seem more religious and iconographic: images of human sacrifice and other offerings, serpents descending from the sky, blood flowing from the sun, complex sacred bundles and other things laden with unknown meaning. The actual significance to a pre-Columbian priest of these many different images remains obscure but can certainly be the subject of further study.

The enumeration of 260 days begins with a drawing of the Alligator at the lower right corner of the five narrow rows on Plate 1. It then proceeds from right to left across all eight pages of the *tonalpohualli.* At the end of that row, at the bottom left corner of Plate 8, the day sign for Grass is found. It is the fifty-second day sign and should, if 1 Alligator was the first day, represent the day 13 Grass. The next day in the sequence should be the day 1 Reed. The only place that Reed is found at either end of one of these five rows of day signs is at the right end of the next row up, the second row from the bottom on Plate 1. If the reading continues there, Reed is followed by Jaguar and Eagle and Vulture and so on. Following this pattern, the calendar is read as five rows of 52 day signs from right to left and from bottom to top. The last day in the calendar is the day Flower, which should be 13 Flower if the first day was indeed 1 Alligator.

Plates 9–13: The 20 Deities of the 20 Named Days

The next five pages of the Codex Borgia are also meant to be read as a unit, as they depict 20 deities, four to a page. Each quarter-page contains a deity, an elaborately drawn day sign and another figure or group of figures. These five pages undoubtedly carry information important to the interpretation of the supernatural qualities of each of the 20 days.

The five pages of the deities of the days are meant to be read in the order of the days, beginning with Alligator in the lower right quadrant of Plate 9. The reading order then proceeds from right to left along the lower register across pages in succession until the lower left quadrant of Plate 13 is reached with the deity of the day named Dog. The next day sign in sequence is Monkey, which is found on page 13 just above Dog—that is, in the upper left quadrant. The reading order then proceeds from left to right until you reach the day Flower in the upper right quadrant of Plate 9, just above the first of the 20 day names. This arrangement of the days sets up a cyclic structure: the reading can proceed continuously through the circle of 20 names again and again in a never-ending cycle, just as the calendar goes on and on.

The deities associated with each day sign are characters who have some relationship with the natural qualities of the name of the day, though these relationships are not always obvious. The identification of these 20 deities was accomplished by both Seler and Nowotny, who used the iconographic associations of the images as drawn here and in other native-tradition manuscripts. Another detailed analysis of the intricacies of the imagery and inter-deity associations is to be found in Spranz (1973). A summary is offered here; extensive explication of the main areas of influence of each of these deities is beyond the scope of this introduction.

Day Sign	Deity (Nahuatl)	Deity (English)
Alligator	Xochipilli/ Tonacatecuhtli	Prince of Flowers/The Supreme Male Deity
Wind	Quetzalcóatl/ Ehécatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
House	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Lizard	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl	Goddess of the Moon
Deer	Tláloc	Rain and Storm (Rain of Fire)
Rabbit	Mayáhuel	Goddess of Maguey

[1]Since we do not know the language spoken by the authors of the Codex Borgia the Nahuatl (Aztec language) names for deities will be used. The Nahuatl names are well known thanks to many records from the early Colonial period. The reader should understand that the attributes of the deities depicted in the Codex Borgia may not have exactly coincided with those of their Aztec counterparts.

FIGURE 1: DAY SEQUENCE FOR THE 260-DAY CALENDAR.

E		Alligator	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
N		Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
O		House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
S		Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
E		Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
N		Death	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
C		Deer	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
S		Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
E		Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
N		Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
O		Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
S		Grass	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
E		Reed	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
N		Jaguar	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
O		Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
S		Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
E		Movement	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
N		Flint	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
O		Rain	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
S		Flower	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	God of the Underworld
Monkey	Xochipilli	Prince of Flowers
Grass	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Reed	Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli	The Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes
Jaguar	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Eagle	Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca	Red Smoking Mirror
Vulture	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Movement	Xólotl	God of Twins
Flint	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Rain	Tonatiuh	The Sun
Flower	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather

Plate 14: The Nine Deities of the Night

The next page of the Codex Borgia changes the format to an arrangement of three rows of three deities each. These nine divine beings are generally understood to represent the supernatural rulers of the nine hours of the night, and are connected to the first nine day signs from the list of 20 days. Each of these gods stands offering a bundle of sticks, a rubber ball and a quetzal feather as the components of a burnt offering that perhaps symbolizes the night in some way.

The nine deities of the night hours are read in a serpentine pattern beginning at the bottom right and proceeding from right to left across the lower register. As the end of that register is reached, the reading proceeds, in the order of the days, directly up to the middle register at the left margin and then proceeds from left to right, and finally up to the upper register and there from right to left. The identifications of the deities who rule these nine parts of the night are indicated below. You will note that, though the calendrical signs tied to them are the same as the beginning of the list of 20 days given in the previous five pages, the deities are different (or at least associated with different day signs).

NIGHT HOUR	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Wind	Itztli (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca)	Flint (Black Smoking Mirror)
House	Piltzintecuhtli	God of Youth (a solar deity)
Lizard	Cintéotl	God of Maize
Serpent	Mictlantecuhtli	God of Death (the Underworld)
Death	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Deer	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Rabbit	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Water	Tláloc	Rain and Storm

Plates 15–17: 20 Deities and 80 Days

The next two and one-third pages are filled with 20 images of deities connected to 20 groups of four days each. The signs of the days form a continuous sequence of 80 days. Each deity is depicted with subordinate characters who are shown as sacrifices, offerings, newborn children or nursing infants. The purpose of these subordinate figures is not clearly understood but seems in a way to characterize groups of the main deities.

Five groups of four day signs are needed to go through one complete set of 20 days. Only five of the 20 possible day signs can be found in the lead position in each group of four days. The first day of each group of four will always be Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed or Movement. As a result of this peculiarity, the 20 deities can be grouped in two different ways. The five deities who illustrate one group of 20 consecutive days belong together. Similarly, the five deities who illustrate the same set of four day signs can be said to belong together. As it turns out, each of the four groups of five consecutive deities is also linked by their actions. Hence, one of each group is connected to each set of four day signs.

Seler assigns directional qualities to the days and their deities. The directional system of Mesoamerican religion has five cardinal directions—North, South, East, West and Center, with Center being a kind of linchpin connecting the four directions and linking them to the abodes of the gods above and below the disc of the Earth. Seler has suggested that the directional associations of the five groups of four days—the groups that begin with Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement—are West, South, Center, East and North.

The reading order of days is the same as in the day lists given above. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 15 with the day sign Alligator, and then proceeds from right to left across Plates 15 and 16. After 20 days, five groups of four days and five corresponding deity images, the count of day signs begins again in a continuous cycle. Each of these first five deities is seen to be sacrificing the eye of a smaller human figure with a sharpened bone awl. The reading then continues to the last image on the lower register of Plate 16 and, following the order of the days, moves up to the center register at the left side and from there continues from left to right back across Plate 16 and Plate 15. These five deities are all offering small figures who share attributes with them and indeed generally seem to be smaller versions of these very deities. On Plate 15, in the center panel of the page, the day-sign sequence begins again and the behavior of the deities again changes. This group of five deities is shown holding the umbilical cords of small figures that are in the pose of a newborn baby. Midway in this sequence the reading has moved up to the upper register of Plate 15 and has changed direction again to move from right to left. All five of the birth figures are found on Plate 15. As the reading continues to Plate 16, the fourth and last group of five deities and 20 days begins. In this group the deities are all female and four of the five are nursing infants, three of whom are human children and one an animal. The fifth deity is nourishing a full-sized skeletal figure with blood rather than milk, thus maintaining the pattern with an altered image. The last two images of this sequence are found on the upper register of Plate 17, a placement necessary to complete the pattern of 20 deities and 80 days.

A result of this structure is that the first five deities in the list of 20 may be taken to characterize the five cardinal directions for a certain quality, perhaps that of sacrifice. The second group of five may characterize the five cardinal directions for offering, the third for birth and the fourth for sustenance. Alternatively, we might group together the four deities who are linked calendrically to the West (and similarly for each of the other directions) and say that they describe four qualities of that direction, the qualities of sacrifice, offering, birth and sustenance.

An identification of most of the deities in this list of 20 is as follows (each will be listed with its directional association following Seler). The first group of five: W–Cintéotl (God of Maize); S–a complex deity not yet identified; C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E–Quetzalcóatl (God of the Wind); and N–Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers). The second group of five: W–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather); S–Tláloc (God of Rain and

Storm/Rain of Fire); C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E–Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (God of Venus as the Morning Star); and N–Mixcóatl (God of the Hunt). The third group of five: W–Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers); S–Tonatiuh (God of the Sun); C–Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli (Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes); E–Xipe Tótec (Our Lord the Flayed One); and N–Macuilxóchitl (5 Flower, God of Games). The fourth and last group of five: W–Mayáhuel (Goddess of Maguey); S–Tlazoltéotl (Goddess of Filth and the Earth); C–Mictecacíhuatl (Goddess of the Underworld), E–Chalchiuhtlicue (Goddess of Running Water); and N–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather).

Plate 17: Tezcatlipoca with the 20 Day Signs on His Body and Costume

The lower portion of Plate 17 contains a large and beautiful image of the deity Tezcatlipoca in his black guise. This image expresses the magical relationships between certain parts of his body and costume and each of the 20 day signs. The association of day signs with body parts presumably has at least some connection with ritual curing, but since several day signs are associated with costume elements rather than with body parts, the curing explanation is limited. Seler and Nowotny believe that these day signs express attributes that are in some way appropriate to the form or function of the costume elements involved. Why Tezcatlipoca rather than some other deity is used as the base upon which to show these relationships is not clear.

Plates 18–21: Eight Supernatural Scenes with Calendrical Associations

The next four pages of the codex form an abbreviated 260-day calendar that follows the structure of the first *tonalpohualli,* found on the first eight pages of the manuscript. Each of these four pages is divided into upper and lower halves, with each half further divided into a band of five day signs and a wider band of images of supernatural characters and their appurtenances.

The reading order begins with the lower register of Plate 18, proceeds from right to left across all four pages, moves up to the upper register of Plate 21 and from there proceeds from left to right until Plate 18 is again reached. The five day signs on each of these eight panels are equivalent to a single column of five day signs in the *tonalpohualli* found on Plates 1 to 8. For example, the first panel—the lower panel on Plate 18—shows five day signs beginning with Alligator and continuing with Reed, Serpent, Movement and Water. These are not in the order one would expect from the sequence of 20 day signs, but if you direct your attention to the rightmost column of day signs on Plate 1 you will find these same five day signs in identical order from bottom to top. At the left side of the larger panel on the lower half of Plate 18 there are six red dots. These represent the next six columns of day signs found in the first *tonalpohualli.* The eighth column of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* (Plate 2, second column from the right) includes the day signs Rabbit, Flower, Grass, Lizard and Vulture. These are the same as the day signs depicted in the lower register of Plate 19. The entire ritual calendar is represented in this fashion: a column of day signs (that is, a column in the first *tonalpohualli*), red dots as spacers, a column of day signs, red dots as spacers and so on.

With this explanation, the pattern of reading the day signs and interpreting them as an abbreviated 260-day calendar has been established. The five day signs on each half-page of Plates 18–21 represent one column of days in the calendar arranged as five rows of 52 days each (Plates 1–8). The dots between pages on Plates 18–21, to the left on the lower register and to the right on the upper register, serve as spacers or place holders and represent the given number of columns of days. Each of the sets of enumerated days can be found in the first *tonalpohualli* by skipping over the number of columns equal to the number of red dots indicated, and then looking at the next column of days. Adding up all of the dots and the eight groups of days that are actually enumerated, we get 52 groups of five days, the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli.*

This unusual arrangement suggests that the images in the eight larger panels were not intended to qualify or characterize eight periods within the *tonalpohualli.* Rather, they seem to refer to five separate short periods of seven or five days each (interpreting the red dots as time included with the five named days) or five single days separated by six or four days each (reading the red dots as spacers between the relevant periods). In either case, the possibility that images in the major bands were intended to have significance apart from the simple counting of days must be considered.

The first panel, on the lower half of Plate 18, contains an image of the solar deity, Tonatiuh, who is making an offering in front of a temple.

The second panel, found on the lower half of Plate 19, contains the image of Quetzalcóatl standing in front of a platform that supports a tree and the God of Venus as the Morning Star.

The lower half of Plate 20 contains an image of Chalchiuhtlicue, the Goddess of Running Water. She stands making an offering of blood before a smoking stream that contains a fire serpent and supports minimal images of two deities identified by Seler as Xochiquétzal, Goddess of Love, and Nanahuatzin, a God of Lechery and of the Evening Sun.

The lower part of Plate 21 contains the fourth scene of this series. It is dominated by the image of the Black Tezcatlipoca to the right of a ball court and the smaller image of the Red Tezcatlipoca to the left.

The reading order reverses now as we move to the upper register of Plate 21. Here the Red and Black Tezcatlipocas have changed their relative sizes and their sequence. The Red Tezcatlipoca is shown as a traveler with a walking stick and a backpack. The smaller Black Tezcatlipoca is placed at the end of the path.

The next image, on Plate 20, shows the rain deity Tláloc cultivating corn using a *coa* or wooden digging stick. A smaller Tláloc shown at the center of the image throws curved lightning at a corn plant, which is thus destroyed.

The seventh panel of this group is found at the top of Plate 19. It shows the God of the Planet Venus (perhaps as Evening Star) chopping branches from a tree with an ax.

The last of the eight scenes follows on the upper half of Plate 18. Here the background is obscured in a representation of the night or the darkness of the underworld. The two main deities seen here are the male and female gods of death and the underworld, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl. An inset rectangle placed between them represents the dark sky with the moon and stars.

The manner in which these eight pages would have been used by an ancient Mesoamerican priest remains obscure. The physical pattern of relationship to the calendar is very clear. The significance of that relationship is far from clear. How the eight panels are related one to the other, and what directional significance should be attached to the days tied to each of them, is difficult to interpret.

Plate 22: Two Deer That Represent One Half of a 260-Day Calendar

The upper portion of Plate 22 uses the same shorthand system of referring to the first *tonalpohualli* that we have just seen in the

previous four pages. In this case the page is divided into two halves, right and left. Each half is divided into three bands, the upper band containing the image of a deer and 12 place-holding red dots, and the middle band containing five day signs. (The lower band is part of the next passage, to be discussed below.)

The two rows of five day signs in the middle register represent columns of day signs from the *tonalpohualli* found at the beginning of the Codex Borgia, on Plates 1 through 8.

As we read from right to left across the upper two registers, the first half of the page contains the image of a white male deer, which is apparently dead, and the five day signs of the first column of the *tonalpohualli.* The 12 red dots drawn to the left of the deer mark the place of the next 12 columns of days and, together with the five day signs enumerated below, represent one quarter of the days in the *tonalpohualli,* those shown in the first quarter of the calendar. Note that these are not the first 65 consecutive days of the calendar round of 260 days. They represent five discontinuous groups of 13 days each.

Continuing the reading on the upper two registers of the left half of the page, we find a tan male deer, which is being pierced by an arrow, and the five day signs of the fourteenth column of the *tonalpohualli.* Just as before, to the left of the wounded deer we see 12 red dots, which this time represent the fifteenth through twenty-sixth columns of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* from the first eight pages of the Codex Borgia.

These images are odd in that they refer to only half of the *tonalpohualli,* the first two quarters of the calendar. No reference is made to the third and fourth quarters. The directional associations generally identified with the first two parts of the calendar are East and North. Why these two clusters of days are defined here and the others are not mentioned is not yet completely understood.

Plates 22–24: 20 Supernaturals Associated with the 20 Day Signs

The bottom third of Plate 22, and the next two pages, contain another list of 20 deities or their representatives in association with the 20 day signs. These figures are not all images of deities. Some seem to be priests dedicated to deities, others seem to be objects symbolic of deities and one seems to be a world region. Many of the deities are unusual composites and are difficult to identify. The relationship of this list to that of the deities of the day signs enumerated on Plates 9 through 13 of this codex is not understood. Clearly, the supernaturals associated with the day signs are different but we do not know why. It may be that this list is of patrons of some particular parts of the days or that it refers to the numbers 1 to 20 rather than to days.

The reading order of this series of 20 images is serpentine. The day signs are found in normal order, beginning with Alligator at the bottom right of Plate 22. Reading then flows from right to left across Plates 23 and 24. Upon arrival at the bottom left panel of Plate 24, with the day sign Rabbit, the sequence moves up to the middle register and the day sign Water. Reading proceeds from there from left to right back across Plates 24 and 23 until the day sign Jaguar is reached and the order moves up to the top right of Plate 23, where Eagle is found. From there again reading proceeds from right to left until the top left of Plate 24 is found at the day sign Flower.

The relationship, if any, of the 20 days and their supernatural figures is unknown. Rather than belabor what we do not know, I will conservatively follow Seler in attempting to identify the 20 images on these three pages. Where an identification has eluded us a question mark will be found.

Day Sign	Supernatural (Nahuatl)	Supernatural (English)
Alligator	priest of Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Wind	?	a god of death and blood
House	Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Lizard	Quetzalcóatl as bird	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue as bird	Goddess of Running Water
Death	?	jaguar supporting sky
Deer	Nanahuatzin?	God of Lechery and Evening Sun
Rabbit	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
Water	Xochipilli?	Prince of Flowers in his solar or fire aspect
Dog	Tamoanchan	The Western Region (a place)
Monkey	?	An animal/human god of music
Grass	Tonatiuh	Sun God
Reed	Tonatiuh	Sun God as autosacrificer
Jaguar	Teyollocuani	priest—eater of hearts
Eagle	?	black priest—related to Tláloc
Vulture	Patécatl (symbolically)	pulque vessel and rabbit
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and The Earth
Flint	Íztac Mixcóatl	Old God of the Heavens
Rain	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water
Flower	Xochipilli (symbolically)	corn plant and fire serpent

Plates 25–28: The Five Directions with Calendrical Notations

Here follow four pages in each of which the world is shown divided into five parts. In each of these representations the implication is that there are four cardinal directions and a fifth, central, direction. Of course, in addition to the spatial significance of these images there is in each case a calendrical significance as well. Plate 25 presents four deities, placed in the four corners of the page. They are divided by a peculiar arrangement of the 20 day signs. The day signs are arranged in a cross surrounding an enlarged Movement sign, which is given the number 10 (the ten dots). Three leftover day signs are tacked on in the upper left corner of the page. The order of the day signs can easily be followed but is very unusual, beginning with Alligator in the upper arm of the cross but then going to the left arm with Wind, House and Lizard, and from there to Serpent, Death and Deer in the lower arm, and from there to Rabbit, Water and Dog in the right arm, and from there to Monkey, Grass and Reed in the upper arm, from there jumping to the three signs in the corner, Jaguar, Eagle and Vulture, and finally hopping back to finish the count from the central Movement and then Flint from the left arm, Rain from the lower arm and Flower from the right arm. Though there is a pattern, there is no readily apparent reason for this odd display.

The four deities are the patrons of the four cardinal directions. Each is tied physically to an arm of the cruciform calendar by a red line. The patron of the West is Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, shown in the lower left corner. The patron of the South is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, shown in the lower right corner. The patron of the East, shown in the upper right corner, is a complex figure who bears elements of the solar deity and a god of pulque. The patron of the North is Mixcóatl, the god of the hunt, shown in the upper left corner. No patron deity is shown for the central direction. It is simply named "10 Movement."

Plate 26 contains another unusual display of the five-directional scheme coupled with an unusual arrangement of the 20 day signs.

The human skull in the center is surrounded by the 20 day signs in a new and unusual array. These, in turn, are surrounded by four deceased and bundled deities, who have been placed on thrones, and by four human figures interspersed between them.

The calendrical figures (the day signs) begin, as usual, with Alligator at the bottom of the group of four signs on the right side of the central skull; one reads up that column and from there across the second group of four day signs, above the skull. That gets the reading through Rabbit and up to Water. The day sign Water is found at the corner next to Rabbit, and the reading order proceeds counterclockwise around the four corners of the square (Dog, Monkey, Grass). After the day sign Grass (located at the top right corner) the reading picks up again at the top of the left column of day signs with the sign for Reed and proceeds down that group of four and on to the fifth and last group across the bottom of the square, which is read from left to right.

The four deities located at the four sides of the calendar square and the skull in its center are to be associated with the cardinal points of the compass. The deities are shown as deceased: their eyes are closed, they are wrapped in cloth and tied in funerary bundles, and they bear funerary banners. The figure at the right side of the page is Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water, as patron of the four day signs of the West. At the top of the page we find Mixcóatl, god of the hunt, as patron of the day signs of the South. At the left side of the page is Xochipilli, the young prince of the flowers, as patron of the day signs of the East. At the bottom of the page is a dark deity as patron of the day signs of the North. This character seems to be the same as the unidentified patron of the Eagle day sign at the top right corner of Plate 23. The central direction is characterized by a skull and four long bones painted within the square formed by the 20 day signs.

The directional associations given here disagree with those given by Seler in his discussion of this part of the manuscript, but agree with his determination of the directionality of the day signs as discussed earlier, in the analysis of Plates 15–17.

The use of a death's-head as the symbol of the Center direction and of the dead deities on the four sides suggests that this page describes the directional scheme of the world in the land of the dead and relates that spatial information to five divisions within the sequence of 20 day signs.

Plate 27 repeats the basic theme of these pages, the division of the world into the five directions and their relationship to the calendar. This page, however, is different from all the previous temporal information presented in the Codex Borgia because here, for the first time, the year being referred to is not the magical 260-day *tonalpohualli* but the solar year of 365 days.

The solar year can be formed from the 13 day numbers and the 20 day signs by using 18 cycles of 20 signs plus 5 other named days ($(18 \times 20) + 5 = 365$) or by using 28 cycles of 13 numbers plus 1 other day number ($(28 \times 13) + 1 = 365$). A mathematical consequence of these relationships is that every year will begin one day number and five day signs ahead of the previous year. That means that all the solar years will start with one of only four possible day signs and will count smoothly through the 13 day numbers and then begin again in a perpetual cycle. A further consequence of the comparison between the 365-day solar year and the 260-day magical year is that the initial dates of the years do not repeat until 52 solar years have passed. This 52-year period can be divided into four parts of 13 years each. As it turns out, each of these quarters begins with a date that has the coefficient of 1 and one of the four year bearers.

If the calendar starts with the day 1 Reed, as most Mesoamerican calendars do, then the four quarters of the 52-year period are begun by days named 1 Reed, 1 Flint, 1 House and 1 Rabbit. These days are shown on Plate 27, one in each quarter of the page. Oddly, there are four other days indicated besides these normal year-bearing days. These other days are 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture. These four days are separated from each other in exactly the same fashion as the more normal year bearers. If the solar calendar began on the same day as the ritual calendar, then the year bearers would have these four day names. These four days, 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture, would be the initial dates of the four quarters of the 52-year period in such a calendar. Their association here with the more normal solar calendar seems to show the relationship of the *tonalpohualli* as related in the Codex Borgia to the familiar solar calendar. How this relationship influenced the interpretation of the days is not fully understood.

Plate 27 is composed of four quarters and a central panel, representing the four cardinal directions and the Center. Each of these five sections contains an image of Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, looking skyward and pouring water onto the earth below. Each of these deity figures is colored and dressed differently, though each is clearly a manifestation of the rain deity. In the four corners the Tláloc are standing over fields of corn which are, in turn, resting on two day signs with the numerical coefficient of 1, indicated by an embellished dot. In the center Tláloc is standing over a representation of the earth with two small figures of Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running water. The Tláloc in the center is a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc, who embodies both fertility and pestilence. Since the 52-year period is completed by the periods associated with the four quarters or directions, there are no time markers associated with the Center direction.

The four cardinal directions and the years associated with them are each shown to have different qualities. In the lower right quadrant the Black Tláloc represents the first quarter of the 52-year cycle and the direction East. His period of 13 years begins with the year 1 Reed (1 Alligator). He sheds rain on a healthy field of corn, suggesting that the East is a fertile and fecund region. The upper right quadrant contains a Yellow Tláloc representing the second quarter and the North. His period begins with the day 1 Flint (1 Death). Here locusts are shown destroying the corn despite the rain. The upper left quadrant contains a Blue Tláloc representing the third quarter and the West. His period begins with the year 1 House (1 Monkey). The cornfield here is inundated with water, perhaps suggesting excessive rain. The lower right quadrant completes the 52-year period and depicts a Red Tláloc representing the fourth quarter and the South. His period begins with the day 1 Rabbit (1 Vulture). In this panel the ears of corn are being eaten by small furry animals with little skeletal jaws.

Plate 28 has much in common with the previous page of Tlálocs in their relation to the solar year and to the 52-year period, but it is also quite distinct. This page, too, contains five images of Tláloc, set in the center and the four corners. It, too, shows rain falling on corn and it, too, has indications of a solar calendar in the dates painted below the Tláloc figures. It stands apart, though, in that the dates are different, each containing a year sign and two day dates seemingly selected at random. It is also different if Seler's interpretation is correct and the directions are placed differently on the page. It is further different in that supplementary supernaturals are shown in containers or on the earth below each Tláloc.

A guiding characteristic of this arrangement is that each of the directional panels is labeled with a date that incorporates a year sign. These years are consecutive and are the first five years of the 52-year cycle. The bottom register of the page is badly damaged in the original and is not completely reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers. Seler has been able to infer some information about this row of dates that cannot now be seen. For example, in the lower right panel there are three dates. The leftmost of these must have

had a year sign, in the form of an intertwined capital A and O, behind it and must have been the year 1 Reed. We know this because the pattern continues in the upper right quadrant, where the rightmost date is 2 Flint with an A-O year sign behind the Flint. From there the upper left quadrant has the year 3 House with the A-O year sign as its rightmost date. The lower left quadrant should have 4 Rabbit with the year sign as its leftmost date but it, too, is illegible. The center, which here has time indicators unlike on the previous page, has the year 5 Reed as its leftmost date. These five years are the first five of the 52-year period of solar years. It is this interpretation by Seler that unequivocally ties this page to the solar-year cycle.

Though the day dates seem to be chosen at random, there may be some as yet unrecognized underlying order to them. It seems unlikely that they are truly insignificant.

The five directions with their Tláloc figures are differently located and characterized when compared to the previous page. Here reading begins as before at the lower right quadrant, where the first year sign was once located, the year 1 Reed. Tláloc is black in this panel and has the face paint of Tezcatlipoca, the God of the Smoking Mirror and God of the Night. This conjoined Tláloc/Tezcatlipoca is interpreted by Seler as the patron of the North. The second year, 2 Flint, is found in the upper right panel, where a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc has the face paint of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus, in this case as the Evening Star. This compound deity is said to be the patron of the West. The third year is 3 House, found at the upper left corner of the page. Tláloc here is yellow and has the fact paint of Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, thought to be the patron of the East. The fourth year, 4 Rabbit, is at the lower left and is protected by the black figure of Tláloc. This Tláloc has only two elements of facial adornment to suggest a composite nature. They are a yellow beard, barely visible in the original and not reproduced in the Díaz and Rodgers restoration, and a yellow line at the front of the face. These tiny features are characteristic of Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent and the wind deity. His presence is further indicated by the small effigies of Quetzalcóatl that emerge from the ears of corn and the streams of water in other parts of the image. This Tláloc/Quetzalcóatl is conceived as the patron of the East. It is noteworthy that this rain/wind deity also has smoke coming from his eye. This is a nonstandard trait of Quetzalcóatl that will be important in identifying a particular person in the long ritual passage on Plates 29 through 46. The fifth year, 5 Reed, is located in the center image and is again seen in front of a partly hidden A-O year sign. Its Tláloc, said to represent the Center, has a red body and wears the face paint of Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers.

Plates 29–46: A Long Supernatural Journey and Ritual Sequence

This passage of 18 pages is the longest and most elaborate of the entire Codex Borgia. It has the character of a story or narrative rather than a calendar, and in that is unique. The narrative, if such it is, is filled with ritual acts and with apparently real as well as supernatural characters. It is certainly religious in nature, though there does seem to be an element of physical reality that runs through the pages. This has been recognized by Nowotny (1961a) as well as by many others.

In this section of the codex the orientation of the pages shifts from that of a long horizontal strip read from right to left to that of a long vertical strip read from top to bottom (from the right edge of the page to the left edge of the page). This orientation prevails through page 46, the end of the current passage, after which the earlier orientation returns. The imagery of these pages is consummately complex. It is out of the question here to describe these plates fully or to discuss all the potential interpretations, even concisely. Nevertheless, an overview of the structure may be helpful.

This long passage begins with a series of five enclosures (Plates 29–32) that serve to make supernatural statements. Two major temples dedicated to heaven are then identified (Plates 33 and 34). Then begins a ceremonial sequence in which a principal participant, known to us as Stripe Eye (a name given to him by Peter van der Loo), engages in a long ritual journey in which he performs several specific deeds (Plates 35–44). Finally the series is closed by a short passage (Plates 45 and 46) from which Stripe Eye is apparently missing but in which a new fire, symbolizing a new beginning, is ignited.

The account begins on Plate 29, the first of several enclosures formed by the body of a goddess of death. Within this enclosure is a large black disc. On the disc is a large blue vessel from which emerges a dark foamy substance. From this substance emerge numerous animate creatures who are characterized as winds by the Quetzalcóatl features they display. In addition to the many winds, two skeletal figures are shown, one a deity of death and the other a representation of Tlazoltéotl as the earth below the blue vessel. At the left edge of the page (the lower edge of the image) two intertwined starry wind serpents spit out smaller wind figures to lead the reader to the next page.

There (Plate 30) a similar scene is found. The body of the death deity forms an enclosure containing a large circular device that in turn contains the two intertwined wind serpents and their two small wind figures. Other significant features of this page are the 20 day signs arranged counterclockwise around the central device and the presence of four Tláloc–plant combination figures at the corners of the enclosure. Among the day signs four have been singled out by their placement in medallions that are pierced by the four Tlálocs wielding sacrificial instruments. These four days are Alligator, Death, Monkey and Vulture. The Tlálocs are each adorned with trees. This page can be said to represent the abundance of the Eastern direction.

The selection of these four day signs for special treatment is indicative of the use of a different form of the 260-day calendar from that which we have encountered so far. The *tonalpohualli* on Plates 1–8 of the Codex Borgia is arranged with 52 day signs in a row, a layout that requires five rows to include all of the 260 days. If, instead, 65 days comprised a row, then only four rows would be needed to incorporate all 260 days. As it turns out, the four days singled out here on Plate 30 would be the first day signs in each of these four rows. The directional qualities of this calendar are such that these four days and the four groups of 13 days that they begin are days ruled by the East. In a calendar composed of four rows rather than five, the days governed by one direction are found together. It is important to understand which form of the *tonalpohualli* is being used in any given case, because the directional qualities and the supernatural patrons of the days and periods of the calendar are different.

Plate 30 ends with the intertwined wind serpents again leading the way to the next page by spitting out two small wind creatures.

Plate 31 is divided into two halves, each of which depicts enclosures similar to those of the previous two pages. Calendrical medallions are found at the four corners of these two enclosures. The first of these scenes, on the right side of the page (top half of the image), has Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind singled out. These are the day signs that begin the third, Western, section of the calendar as laid out in four rows. The colors of this scene are generally dark and obscure, appropriate to the direction in which

the sun sets. In the center of this half of the page are a variety of death deities or skeletal spirits. The central image is of a naked goddess with bandaged eyes, whose heart is exposed outside of her chest. Two small death creatures lead the way through the passage to the next enclosure.

The left side of the page (bottom half of the image) is similar, though its color scheme is red, the color of blood. The day signs featured in medallions at the corners of this enclosure are those of the North. They lead the second group of four rows of 13, the days Jaguar, Rain, Lizard and Water. Again death and earth images abound in the various small figures within this border.

Plate 32 has the calendrical associations of the South, bearing the day signs of the fourth segment of the calendar as described above, the signs of Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. This enclosed space is constructed differently from the previous four. It does not have a death deity in its border; instead, at the left margin of the page (the bottom of the image) a female skeletal figure, who seems to be an earth goddess as well as a death goddess, appears as a border and a passage to the next scene. The border of the enclosure is composed of rows of flint knives surrounding a broad dark band of obscurity. This band is occupied by eight figures carrying decapitated heads in both hands, four Tezcatlipocas in the corners and four other supernatural figures. The central image of the panel is of a white-and-red-striped figure with two large flint knives in place of a head. Tezcatlipocas emerge from flint knives at its arms and legs and appear as the heads of the serpents below. The overall imagery of this scene is very clearly about blood sacrifice by cutting and decapitation. The page ends at the left margin, where a figure of Quetzalcóatl is born from between two large flint knives found in an opening in the body of the white Death/Earth Goddess. This Quetzalcóatl is unusual in that he has two volutes indicating smoke emerging from the corner of his eye.

Considering that the subsequent 12 pages seem to refer to a ceremony or series of ceremonies undergone by Stripe Eye, it may be that these first four pages should be read as a sort of invocation undertaken in preparation for the performance of the central events being described in this long passage. The sequence of events could be as follows: first, a pot is prepared that liberates the winds (Plate 29); second, the winds and rains of the East are propitiated (Plate 30); third, the death and sacrifice of the West and the North are observed (Plate 31); fourth, the blood sacrifice of the Tezcatlipocas who influence the South is honored so that fifth, and finally, the Quetzalcóatl character can emerge ready for what is to come (Plate 32). This is certainly speculative interpretation but it seems to me to be a plausible framework for reading these pages as a prescription for the performance of a ceremony of major importance.

The next two pages of this passage, Plates 33 and 34, are taken up by two very large and distinctive structures with some activity going on around them. These two temples are unusual in at least two ways. They are by far the largest and most elaborate buildings illustrated in the codex. They are identified as "Temples of Heaven" by the presence in their roofs of three bands of stars and Venus symbols. Atop each of these two structures sits a Flint-helmeted deity from whom descends a white rope. The building on Plate 33 has a pointed, conical roof, a form associated with Quetzalcóatl, the wind deity. Quetzalcóatl appears seated on a throne within the temple, where he is being addressed by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. At the top of the stairs in the front of the temple lies Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One. Other deities in the scene include Xólotl, the god of twins, standing behind the temple building; Cintéotl, the corn goddess, also behind the temple but above Xólotl, and a second appearance of Quetzalcóatl and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli performing heart sacrifice in front of the temple building. A monstrous black serpent winds around the building and several horizontal male figures are drawn on the roof and on the tiers of the platform that supports the temple.

The temple on Plate 34 is similar, though it has a rectangular roof with "ears" at its peak. It is also topped by a Flint-helmeted deity, is entwined by a monstrous serpent, has Cintéotl, the corn goddess, behind the temple and bears horizontal figures on its roof and platform, though this time the serpent is red and the figures are female. The innermost part of the temple is occupied by Tepeyóllotl, the Heart of the Mountain. In front of him fire is started on a jewel in the chest of a representation of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon. In front of the temple, heart sacrifice is again performed by a second appearance of the deity shown within, in this case Tepeyóllotl. These two buildings provide the scene and place for the ceremonies that follow. They are prominently portrayed in undoubted relation to their importance to these ceremonies.

Plates 35–38 give an account of a sacred-bundle ritual performed before the Temple of Heaven. The actions that now take place all seem to be physically possible; they present a sense of reality grounded in real space rather than of ethereal, supernatural events occurring on another plane. It seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret these images as rituals that occur or could occur in the real world. It seems to John Pohl and to me that these pages present a prescription for the proper enactment of a very complex ceremony in which a person is elevated to the role of king or ruler of a community. The actors in this account, then, should be interpreted as real people whenever possible.

The account begins on Plate 35 in the top right corner of the image (bottom right of the page). Here we see a priest wearing a goggle-eyed mask who is passing the sacred bundle to two associates standing on an eagle place at the end of a blue road. The upper associate combines attributes of Quetzalcóatl (his wind mask) and Tezcatlipoca (his face paint), and the second is a black Quetzalcóatl who has a puff of smoke painted near his eye. The temple in which the goggle-eyed priest is sitting also has stars in its roof, though the configuration of the roof shows that this structure is different from either of the Temples of Heaven depicted on the previous pages and thus must represent some other building. After the priests Wind Mask and Smoke Eye receive the sacred bundle, they transport it along the blue road to a point where it ends at the edge of the next page. John Pohl and I have discussed these buildings, this road and the activity that follows elsewhere (Byland and Pohl in press).

Next to the road, in the ball court, the character now known as Stripe Eye makes his first appearance. The angular black stripe that runs from his hairline to his eye and then to the corner of his jaw is a variant of the facial painting of Quetzalcóatl. Seler (1904–09) noted that this character is the subject of a continuous story that runs through this and the next nine pages of the codex. Seler identified Stripe Eye as Quetzalcóatl, failing to recognize that he was different from other Quetzalcóatl figures in the passage. While it is indeed possible that he is meant to represent Quetzalcóatl, the nature of his behavior also suggests that he is the idealized king of this ceremonial center.

After the ball game, Stripe Eye appears on Plate 36 in front of the sacred bundle that the Wind Mask and Smoke eye priests have brought from the shrine above. The bundle is then opened under the supervision of Wind Mask and another priest (or deity) who wears the costume of Xólotl, a Dog Mask. Stripe Eye is then enveloped in a heavenly mist and magically transported across Plates 36 and 37. On Plate 38 he emerges from the mouth of Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl. While Stripe Eye is on this magical journey, a number of priests, notably including Dog Mask, enact a series of

rituals (Plate 37) in a large area that appears to lie in front of the eared-roofed Temple of Heaven and a smaller structure similar to that portrayed on Plate 35. On Plate 38 Stripe Eye and Dog Mask engage in other ritual acts.

It is noteworthy that this series of events seems to be moderated or overseen by a series of specialized priests. The Quetzalcóatl priest known as Smoke Eye first appeared on Plate 32, as the initial series of sacred enclosures came to an end and we were about to arrive at the two major Temples of Heaven. After sacrificial rituals were undertaken at the two temples, Smoke Eye was joined by a Tezcatlipoca priest wearing a Wind Mask. The two of them proceeded to the place where the sacred bundle dedicated to Quetzalcóatl was opened for the idealized king known as Stripe Eye. There Wind Mask took over and Smoke Eye dropped out of the account. Wind Mask was then joined by a Xólotl priest who wore the Dog Mask. After the bundle was opened Wind Mask's role ended and he dropped out, leaving Dog Mask to oversee the action until just after Stripe Eye emerged from his sacred journey. From this point on Stripe Eye does not have priestly guides to perform actions on his behalf. It is as though the experience of witnessing the opening of the bundle and of undertaking the supernatural journey had transformed him into a person of new status and capacity, one who now was qualified to act on his own behalf in a highly charged ritual. Future appearances of these priests show them to be clearly acting as assistants while Stripe Eye conducts the central activities himself, until the very end of the long passage.

Plate 38 is the last page of the obverse side of the Codex Borgia. The story of Stripe Eye and his ritual activity continues on the reverse side beginning with Plate 39. Entrance to Plate 39 is afforded at the right of the page (top of the image), where a Quetzalcóatl figure without the eye stripe emerges from the body of the earth goddess. Stripe Eye is depicted in the center of the page paired with a red Quetzalcóatl, in a red field surrounded by a blue road upon which dance 12 women or female spirits known as *cihuateteo*. The four calendar signs dedicated to the West are found in medallions at the four corners of the dance scene: Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind. Arrayed at the left and right sides of the image are six deities. Counterclockwise from the bottom right, they are: the Black Tezcatlipoca, a black Mictlantecuhtli, a blue Xochipilli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Tepeyóllotl and the Red Tezcatlipoca. The blue road enters the jaws of the earth monster, identified by Seler as the supreme deity, Tonacatecuhtli.

Tonacatecuhtli's body forms a large rectangle that covers the remainder of this page and all of Plate 40. Within this outline is found a band of day signs. In the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction there are a few errors in the replacement of the most seriously damaged of these, mostly on the bottom margin of the page and a few at the upper left corner. The progression of these day signs begins at the top of the rectangle, just to the right of the head of Tonacatecuhtli. The first day signs visible are Wind and House just below the clawed arm of the deity. We can imagine that Alligator is obscured by the head of the god. The 20 day signs then proceed in normal order clockwise until the twentieth, Flower, is reached. Then the cycle begins again and runs for 12 or 13 additional days. It seems that Death is obscured by the leg of the god, that Dog was left out in the original and that Water was replaced by Rain in the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction. Seler did not recognize the last sign in the series, Reed, but Díaz and Rodgers did recognize it, and it is here drawn just below the red-and-white-filled box at the center left side of Plate 40. The left half of this band of day signs seems to be organized with directional significance (as indicated in the *tonalpohualli* arranged in four rows of 65 days) paramount. The first nine day signs are the four that are associated with the North repeated twice, and with the first one drawn a third time. Following Seler, they should be Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain, Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain and Jaguar; all but the last are incorrectly reconstructed here. It should be noted that the original is so badly damaged on this edge of the page that none of these signs but the last is really recognizable. Continuing clockwise in the same pattern for nine days are the day signs of the Center direction, Rabbit, House, Flint and Reed. Then come nine signs associated with the West: Wind, Movement, Grass and Deer. These proceed correctly to the top right edge of Plate 40, where the sign for grass is omitted by Díaz and Rodgers; then, at the continuation on Plate 39, the first two signs should be Deer and Wind. Finally, descending along the top margin of the frame, back on Plate 39, are the signs of the East: Vulture, Monkey, Death, Alligator and Vulture. Here only five signs are visible as the rest of the presumed sequence of nine are obscured under the head and arm of the god Tonacatecuhtli.

Entering from the top into the space framed by the calendar band and the body of Tonacatecuhtli are the two Quetzalcóatl figures seen first in the center of Plate 39. The one on the right is presumably the figure of Stripe Eye, though his face paint is now dark. The central figure of Plate 40 is that of Stripe Eye, who, assisted by eight priests, is conducting a heart sacrifice of the solar deity, Tonatiuh. Pohl has suggested that this scene is similar to scenes of confirmation depicted for the lords of Tilantongo in the Mixtec historical codices Zouche-Nuttall and Bodley (Byland and Pohl 1993). In these documents Lord 8 Deer journeys to the Sun God's oracle as part of his process of confirmation as legitimate ruler of Tilantongo. Stripe Eye, as the idealized ruler of the ceremonial precinct depicted here, similarly visits the solar deity, though here a symbolic sacrifice is shown.

The remainder of Plate 40 is taken up by a small ball court and two temples. Interestingly, the two temples are shown as a conical temple dedicated to Quetzalcóatl, with a smoke-eyed Quetzalcóatl priest in it, and an eared temple, with Tezcatlipoca (minus his wind mask) shown in front of it. There is, however, no obvious indication that these are the same temples as the important ones referred to earlier. The ball court contains images of Tlazoltéotl, to the right, and the Red Tezcatlipoca, to the left, both looking at an odd skeletal monster who is giving birth. There is no passage indicated to lead the reader out of this page's effigy of Tonacatecuhtli and on to the next page.

The entry to Plate 41 is shown as an elongated skeletal earth goddess, Tlazoltéotl, drawn perhaps as Teteoinnan, the mother of the gods, similar to her depictions on Plates 32 and 39. At an opening in her belly a skeletal figure enters a small cloudy-bordered enclosure. There two fleshed Tlazoltéotls, shown as the goddess of the moon, descend with a Black Tezcatlipoca. They seem to be directed toward a large cogged disc, which is half in and half out of a blue road that emerges from the headdress and feet of the skeletal Tlazoltéotl and that forms a larger rectangular enclosure. On the left branch of this road we find Stripe Eye, a Black Tezcatlipoca and a black *cihuatéotl,* the spirit of a woman who died in childbirth. On the right branch of the road we find a parallel sequence of characters, a white Quetzalcóatl with red dots, a Red Tezcatlipoca and a red-costumed *cihuatéotl.*

The central disc is shown calendrically to represent the Southern direction. It is marked with a day sign (in a medallion) of an Eagle, one of the four days of the South. Arranged around the outside of the disc are four other day signs related to each of the other four directions: House–Center, Deer–West, Rain–North and Monkey–East. Within the disc a Quetzalcóatl with a dark face (presumably Stripe Eye) and his associate, the Quetzalcóatl with a white body and red dots, perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs

with bone implements. The blood flows into the mouths of Chalchiuhtlicue and her male counterpart.

Just below this disc, 13 consecutive day signs, beginning with Eagle, are painted between the roofs of two temples, one with a round roof and the other with an eared roof. The roofs of these buildings are on Plate 41 and their bases are on Plate 42. Note the parallel construction between the placement and the construction of these two buildings and the two temples seen earlier on Plate 40. The identity of these two sets of buildings seems unequivocal. The round temple on Plate 42 has Stripe Eye within it and the eared temple has a version of Xochipilli. Between the temples is a platform with a sacrificial stone on which Stripe Eye extracts the heart of the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots. In this he is assisted by the Black Tezcatlipoca. Above them floats a medallion with the day sign Jaguar, which is taken to represent the North, in contraposition to the South of the cogged disc on the previous page. From this sacrifice scene, the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots is taken to the underworld and to a ball court. Next we see him on a cruciform device with five little images of Nanahuatzin, the dead and cooked god of lechery and the evening sun, emerging from his four limbs and his heart. Seler interpreted this as the transformation of Quetzalcóatl into Xólotl-Nanahuatzin. Nanahuatzin is shown to the left and right of this image as well. Stripe Eye participates in the cooking of him at the left.

On Plate 43 an opening in another elongated image of Tlazoltéotl provides entry for Stripe Eye to a precinct bounded by ears of corn and rays of sunlight. Within this enclosure we see a large image of a dark solar deity who supports the birth of corn from the earth. The figure of the deity is in the pose of childbirth; its body is covered by a dark solar disc with stars on its periphery. This solar deity wears the skin of a jaguar and the jaws of a serpent. Its face is dark and its eye is hanging out of its socket. This suggests that it may represent the sun-at-night, the "dark sun," or the moon. Below the solar disc is a Tlazoltéotl figure surrounded by ears of maize and encrusted with stars. Around these figures are eight small characters who are shown sustaining the growth of maize plants with blue and (originally) green fluids that emanate from their mouths. A dark-faced Quetzalcóatl leaves the sun/maize precinct through an opening at the left side of the page and descends, bearing a basket full of maize, to the next page.

On Plate 44 another elongated Tlazoltéotl with an opening in its belly allows Stripe Eye to descend, in his last appearance in the story, into the next in this series of precincts or compounds. This one is composed of a broad wall surrounded by flowers on its exterior and lined by flint knives on its interior. The four corners of the broad wall hold medallions with the four day signs of the South: Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. The walls of the precinct are open at the four sides where four figures enter, three serpents and a bat, all with human heads. Placed on the broad wall, adjacent to these four figures, are symbols of sacrifice: decapitated heads, severed arms and legs and skeletal ribs with hearts. The three human-headed serpents are being tormented by rapacious animals, and the bat is facing the priest whom we know as Smoke Eye. He is wearing a hummingbird costume. From a heart in the hands of the bat flows a bifurcated torrent of blood that lands at the head and feet of a recumbent variant of Xochiquétzal, shown as the young goddess of the moon. She has a lunar disc in her chest that holds a heart, from which grows a multicolored tree.

Plate 45 is entered through an opening in the chest of Tlazoltéotl, the skeletal earth goddess. This time her orientation is reversed and the entering figure is a cloudy wind serpent similar in form to the one that emerged from the sacred bundle on Plate 36. The main character, Stripe Eye, does not appear on this page or the next. The activities seem to have been taken over by the Quetzalcóatl priest we know as Smoke Eye; he appears several times, both here and on the next page.

In the four corners of Plate 45 are four houses of eagles, each with a figure of Smoke Eye. One of the houses is drawn as a conical-roofed round temple and another has eagle down rather than an adult eagle on its roof. On either side of the page are images that Seler has interpreted as representing the life and death of warriors. Life is represented by a pot of pulque, an intoxicating liquor made from maguey, with a drunken figure beneath it and the Black and Red Tezcatlipocas above it. Death is represented by a red-and-white-striped figure in a stream whose heart is torn out by Smoke Eye dressed as an eagle. The center of the page contains a skull-rack platform upon which stands a skeletal figure identified by Seler as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. This figure supports a tree from which emerge six banners. The bottom of the page contains an image of Smoke Eye with a Venus star as his headdress. He is bleeding from his buttocks and is covered by a net or blanket that bears nine faces painted with the four directional colors and the dots indicative of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. This image is surrounded by four full figures of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli with similar-colored face paint.

The final page (Plate 46) is framed by a pair of elongated Tlazoltéotl figures. Smoke Eye enters from the top and leaves from the bottom. The remainder of the image is framed by two structures and two thrones. The structures contain images of Xiuhtecuhtli, the old fire god, presenting Smoke Eye and a Black Tezcatlipoca priest. This may hark back to the two priests who attended the opening of the sacred bundle on Plates 35 and 36. The two thrones are occupied by a Black Tezcatlipoca and a figure who seems to be an amalgam of a Black Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcóatl and Xiuhtecuhtli.

The center of the page contains a four-sided red field bounded by four fire serpents, and an image of Smoke Eye starting a fire in the chest of a combined image of the Fire Serpent and Xiuhtecuhtli. The red field contains a pot in which Smoke Eye is being cooked, perhaps only symbolically in preparation for the lighting of the fire.

These last two pages are reminiscent of the early activities of the priests in preparing the way for Stripe Eye to undergo his complex ceremonial sequence. Here, though, they seem to be bringing the ceremonial sequence to a close, performing the acts that mark the end of the ceremony and the beginning of the new era.

Plates 47 and 48: Three Groups of Five Deities

These two pages represent three groups, each with five supernatural figures. They are read simply from right to left in the three registers (the orientation of the text is back to the horizontal arrangement normal to most of the codex). Each of the upper two registers includes a sixth panel depicting the birth of the five associated characters.

The bottom row represents five elaborately dressed female deities, who all bear the significant attributes of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon and of the earth. In each case she is dressed differently and has different figures accompanying her. Each Tlazoltéotl is given a separate calendrical name: from right to left, 9 Reed, 4 Flint, 6 Reed, 8 Reed and 1 Eagle. Seler interprets them as having directional significance as well: from right to left, East, North, West, South and Center.

The second row of figures are five *cihuateteo,* the deified spirits of women who died in childbirth. Their collective birth is indicated in the panel at the right margin of Plate 47 by the image of the birth of a female figure with bandaged eyes. There, on a blue field, a monstrous being is the source of five serpents and four centipedes.

Around the edge of the field are five dates that all begin with the number 13. Seler has shown that they are the dates that fall immediately before the first day indicated in each of the five panels of *cihuateteo*. Just as with the Tlazoltéotls, the five *cihuateteo* are each differently dressed and painted and have different accompanying figures. They also are each associated with a calendrical notation, one that is a bit more complex than those accompanying the Tlazoltéotls. For each of these female figures, 13 consecutive days are indicated, with the first, fifth and thirteenth shown by their day sign and the others shown by red-dot place holders. The names and directional associations of the *cihuateteo,* then, are: 1 Deer–East, 1 Rain–North, 1 Monkey–West, 1 House–South and 1 Eagle–Center.

The top row of figures are five male deities of sensual pleasures, the *ahuiateteo*. They are part of a group of deities whose names begin with 5 and whose best-known member is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure. The first image of the top row, similarly to that of the center row, represents the birth of the five *ahuiateteo* by showing a stone (?) from which five serpents extend and from which a male figure is born. There are five dates around this image, all of which begin with the number 4. The male figure in this image is identifiable as Nanahuatzin, the god of lechery, who is another aspect, or another personality, of Xólotl, the god of twins. This relationship is reinforced by the presence of a dog (*xólotl*) standing on the rock. The names of the five *ahuiateteo* are given by the fifth day sign in the series of 13 shown with each image. These are, with their directional qualities: 5 Lizard–East, 5 Vulture–North, 5 Deer–West, 5 Flower–South and 5 Grass–Center.

Plates 49–53: The Five Directions and Their Supernatural Patrons

The next four and one-half pages present a sort of definition of the qualities and protectors of the five directions of the world. The first four pages describe the four cardinal directions: East, North, West and South. The right half of page 53 represents the Center. Each page is constructed with a band of day signs at the bottom. Above this is a wide band showing a directional tree and bird. On Plates 49–52 this wide band also contains other figures, including a temple and various deities. Above the wide band is another band of day signs. Finally, at the top of each page, a wide band shows the supernaturals who support the heavens and walk on the earth in each of the directions. Seler has suggested that these supernaturals are associated with the opposite direction from that depicted in the lower register, so that for the first page, for example, the tree is of the East but the upper-register deities are of the West.

The largest fields describe the qualities of the cardinal directions. Their central image is a tree with a bird in its branches and an earth goddess from which it springs. Above this image on Plates 49–52 is a temple with a special patron deity of the direction. Clockwise from the temple, the other images are of a sacrificer, two celestial spirits descending, the maker of fire, a throne and deity seated before it, a place where a male and female deity are married, an animal ball player and a tree with a pair of sacrificed animals.

For the East, depicted on Plate 49, the central tree is one of precious jewels. It was originally painted blue and green (blue and tan in this edition, as in the current state of the original) and has jewels as its fruit. Its bird is a green quetzal. The temple above is an eared temple dedicated to the sun and is attended by Tonatiuh, the solar deity. In the upper register on the right the Western starry blue sky is supported by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star, and on the left Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, walks the earth with his blue-and-white flowered staff.

For the North, shown on Plate 50, the central tree is a cactus covered with spines. It is painted blue and green and has small flowers and what are perhaps prickly pears as fruit. Its bird is a black-and-white eagle. The temple above is a house of flint knives with the image of the moon inside. A broad channel of darkness descends from above and fills the interior of the temple. The attendant of the temple is a male moon god, Metztli. The god who supports the Southern dark starry sky in the upper register at the right is Xiuhtecuhlti, the old fire god. On the left the god of death walks with his red staff tied with red-and-white banners.

On Plate 51 the Western direction is shown with a tree of unusual qualities. It has been identified as a young corn plant with tassels but without fruit. The bird is a blue raptorial bird of indeterminate species. The temple is again an eared-roofed building with flowers in its roof. In the temple is a yellow object that Seler identifies as a gourd for holding tobacco. The deity attending the temple is a combination of several and cannot be easily identified. He manifests aspects of Xochipilli, Tonacatecuhtli, Cintéotl and perhaps Xiuhtecuhtli. In the upper register Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, god of the wind, supports the Eastern blue starry sky, and Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers, the god of sustenance, walks the earth with his flowering tree as a staff.

The South is shown on the lower register of Plate 52. Its red spiny tree has solar discs as its fruit. The red bird in the tree is perhaps an owl, associated with Xiuhtecuhtli. The temple above is a skeletal building with an owl in its interior. Mictlantecuhtli, the God of Death, stands before it and offers blood from the neck of a headless person. In the upper register Mictlantecuhtli supports the Northern dark starry sky, and Cintéotl, the corn god, walks the earth with a precious red staff.

The right half of Plate 53 contains the images of the Center direction. The tree here is a large green maize plant that is producing ears of corn as its fruit. The tree emerges from the earth alongside two huge ears of corn. Two figures perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone awls and shedding blood on the base of the tree. These figures are: on the right, Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower; and, on the left, Quetzalcóatl in the form of the lord Stripe Eye (see Plates 35 through 44). This image beautifully portrays a mythic relationship held between people and the earth such as that described for the Mixtec people of the village of Nuyoo by John Monaghan (1987): the people feed the earth their blood and their bodies, and in return the earth feeds the people by yielding maize. Having the king make this sacrifice idealizes the perpetual nature of this relationship and sanctifies it for the people of the kingdom. In the upper register of the right half of Plate 53 a human figure descends into the mouth of an earth monster that has a decidedly rectilinear, architectural aspect. This descent into the mouth of the earth corresponds well with the up-and-down nature of the Center as the middle of the earth, the central hinge of space and time.

Plates 53 and 54: Xochipilli as a Deer, and Five Frames of Piercing Sacrifices with Calendrical Notations

The upper left corner of Plate 53 contains an image of a deer with the 20 day signs attached to its body. The deer is an animal closely associated with Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers. This deer is marked as a representative of Xochipilli by its face paint. Arrayed on a curved white panel in front of the deer are five of the day signs, the sixth through the tenth in the series of 20: Death, Deer, Rabbit, Water and Dog. These are taken, one each, from the list of days linked to each of the five directions: East, West, Center, North and South. After offering two other forms of expressing the directional

qualities of the calendar and the characteristics of the directions in this image the Codex Borgia presents a third way of describing these associations. The relationship of this image of Xochipilli to the preceding pages or to the following page is unclear. We do not know why it is inserted here.

Directly below the Xochipilli deer we find the first of five representations of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the Venus deity, performing a spear sacrifice. Each of these images is in a frame bounded on two sides by an unusual arrangement of dates. The names of these dates are drawn from the five directions in the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in four rows of 65 days: Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The days give a certain directional quality to these five images. In contrast to these qualities, the deities or objects being speared have other directional associations. To further complicate the issue, Seler assigns to the image of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli in each of the five panels the direction opposite to the one associated with his adversary.

In the first of them, in the lower left corner of Plate 53, a black-skull-faced Venus god strikes the leg of Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water. The day signs around the scene include all the numbers from 1 to 13 paired with Alligator, beginning with 1 Alligator at the lower right. The day sign Alligator yields an association of this scene with the East. Chalchiuhtlicue is a goddess of the East, and because of the conflict between the characters Seler represents Venus as being the West. Floating above Chalchiuhtlicue are the next three day signs, Wind, House and Lizard. If these were taken to represent three days in the *tonalpohualli* following 1 Alligator, then the fifth day in that sequence would be 5 Serpent.

This is the day that begins the display on the lower right corner of Plate 54. There an owl-faced Venus god strikes the leg of the Black Tezcatlipoca. The day sign Serpent belongs to the group associated with the South. The Black Tezcatlipoca is the god of the North, so that Seler assigns Venus here to the South. Above Tezcatlipoca are the next three days signs, Death, Deer and Rabbit. If we continue the count from 5 Serpent, the next day in the sequence should be 9 Water.

This is the date that appears at the lower right end of the next quadrant of the page. In this corner, the lower left, a dog-faced Venus god strikes the corn god, Cintéotl, on the leg. Here the Water day sign can be calendrically tied to the North, but Cintéotl is a god of the West and Seler assigns this Venus to the East.

Continuing the pattern, after the day signs of Dog, Monkey and Grass should come 13 Reed, and indeed it appears as the first in the list of Reed dates in the upper left quadrant of the page. In this panel a rabbit-faced Venus god strikes the leg of an unusual figure identified by Seler as embodying *tlatocáyotl,* the concept of kingship. Reed is an indication of the Center direction, but the residence of the sumptuous gods, including the *tlatocáyotl,* is in the South. Consequently, Venus in this panel is of the North.

In the fifth and last of these images, a white-skull-faced Venus deity strikes a round shield and cluster of arrows, the *yaóyotl,* symbol of warfare and warriors. The day sign associated with this panel is Movement, which is of the West. The young warriors symbolized by the shield and other implements of war reside in the Center. Since the center is both up and down, it is its own opposite and this Venus is also of the Center.

Plate 55: Six Deities with 20 Day Signs

On this page the reading order is once more from right to left and in a reverse S-curve from bottom to top. Guides to indicate this reading order are plentiful: the day signs proceed in this order, the deities face in these directions and the footprints on the path of the days are pointed in these directions.

Each of the six panels on this page presents a deity standing in a pose that suggests walking. Seler calls them "the six celestial walkers." The first is Tonatiuh, the solar god, who makes offerings of a rubber ball and a bundle of sticks to a temple that contains a precious bowl. The second is Tlazoltéotl, the moon goddess, who walks in front of a rabbit in the moon in a dark sky and a bleeding serpent. The third is a blue-faced deity who wears a costume of turquoise and carries a turquoise staff. He is Yacatecuhtli, god of merchants and of wealth. The fourth is the Black Tezcatlipoca (his skin is red but he carries the shield and arrows characteristic of the black form of the deity), who walks with a spiny staff. The fifth is the Red Tezcatlipoca (his skin is yellow but he carries the quetzal bird characteristic of the red form of the deity), who walks with a jeweled staff. The sixth and final one of these travelers is Íztac Mixcóatl, the old god of fire, who carries a fire serpent as a walking stick. Why these six are displayed here and why the day signs are divided as they are is unclear.

Plate 56: Gods of Life and Death, and the 260-Day Ritual Calendar

This is a strikingly beautiful page, which portrays gods of life and death back to back, framed by day signs to the right and left and place-holding dots above and below. Quetzalcóatl, the wind god and god of life, is on the right and Mictlantecuhtli, the god of death and the underworld, is on the left. The image conveys the duality of existence, the joining of opposites and the inevitable relationship of life and death.

The 20 day signs are arranged in the order of the first signs of each group of 13 days in the *tonalpohualli.* The first day is 1 Alligator, located at the bottom right corner of the page. This is followed by 12 place-holding dots standing for the other 12 days in the group of 13. The fourteenth day sign is Jaguar and the day is 1 Jaguar. This sign is found at the extreme lower left corner of the page. It begins the second group of 13 days, the rest of which are again symbolized by the 12 place-holding dots. The twenty-seventh day sign, the first day of the third period of 13 days, would be the day 1 Deer, which is found immediately above the Alligator. Following this pattern of alternating between sides of the page, we can traverse the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* in a much abbreviated form.

Plate 57: Six Supernatural Couples

This page is divided into six panels, each of which has five day signs placed below a pair of deities who face each other across a central device. The gods of each pair are male and female and represent male and female aspects of divinity relevant to a particular area of responsibility. Each pair sits beneath a celestial disc: sun, moon or obscure sky (in most cases only the lower half of the disc appears), and each is accompanied by a group of red-dot place holders to mark unnamed days in the ritual calendar. The significance of the association of these pairs of deities with particular parts of the *tonalpohualli* is unknown. The reading order follows the same sinuous route that we have seen so often.

Beginning at the lower right panel, the first day sign is Alligator. Following that sign the entire *tonalpohualli* is indicated either by day signs or place holders. The day 1 Alligator is followed by seven unnamed days, indicated by the seven red dots at the left edge of the panel. The ninth day sign is Water, which is found in the first

position of the lower left panel in the series. That day should be 9 Water. It is followed by seven days indicated by the dots at the left edge of that panel. The next day should be 4 Movement, and Movement is found in the first position, this time at the left end of the row, in the left center panel on the page. Proceeding in this fashion, 52 days are counted by the time the last dot on the upper left panel is reached. The next day after those 52 would be the day 1 Reed, which is found adjacent to the Alligator in the starting position in the lower right panel. If the progression is followed five times, all the day signs on the page are accounted for and 260 days have passed. This page represents yet another shorthand way of expressing the entire ritual calendar.

The gods in each panel are shown as married pairs. In the first panel they are Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacíhuatl, the father and mother of the gods, the lord of sustenance and the lady of life. Between them is a rich offering consisting of a turquoise bowl, a gold box, turquoise beads and a young man. They all rest under the bright sun. In the second panel the deities are Patécatl and Tlazoltéotl as the god and goddess of pulque, the intoxicating liquor made from the sweet sap of the maguey. They sit on either side of a vessel marked with a skull and two intertwined snakes. The disc of the heavens is half sun and half obscure night sky, an image that is probably appropriate to pulque. The third panel, the center left one, has the images of Cintéotl, the corn god, and a female counterpart, a goddess of corn. They sit across from each other and are holding a pair of large flowering maize plants growing from a bowl that also contains four ears of corn. The sun again shines on this scene. The fourth panel contains Tláloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, the god of rain and the goddess of water. Their offering is a precious bowl with four ears of corn, green-and-blue twined garlands and a young man. The sun above this scene is bright and has four jewels hanging from it. The fifth panel is unusual in that the supernatural couple are seated with their backs to one another. They are Xochipilli and Xochiquétzal, the young prince of flowers, who is also the young sun god, and the young goddess of flowers, who is also the young goddess of the moon. Their offering is an eagle descending into a precious bowl. The sun shines clearly on them. The final scene is of Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl, the god and goddess of death and the underworld. Their offering contains a skull devouring a person, and the moon rather than the sun shines above them.

Plates 58–60: 25 Couples (Numerological Marriage Prognostications)

These three pages contain 25 panels, each of which contains a married couple, a celestial symbol, a number of dots from two to 26, and some ancillary images. The unusual aspect of this group of images is that they do not include day signs. In my opinion the best interpretation of these pages yet offered has been made by Peter van der Loo (personal communication). He has suggested that they represent a sort of numerological prognostication of the success of marriages. If one were to consider only the day numbers of the names of a young man and woman and add them together, the sum of their day numbers could range from $1 + 1 = 2$ to $13 + 13 = 26$. The predicted qualities of the relationship are suggested by the activities of the couple, the objects around them and the heavenly disc above them.

In general it seems that odd-number totals are more favorable than even totals. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this process. The first pair, whose number is 2, is found in the lower left panel of Plate 58, and they are depicted as Mictlantecuhtli and Xochiquétzal. She is cutting the throat of one child and he is devouring another. The sky above them is half dark, on her side, and half sun, on his side, perhaps because he is following his nature but she is not. For them the future would be read as unfavorable, certainly on her side and perhaps on his. The second pair, whose number is 3, is just left of the first pair. They are shown as Xochiquétzal and an unidentified man. Their sun is bright, and between them is an offering bowl made of turquoise and containing precious beads and ears of corn. For them the future is good. The third couple is identified as Xochiquétzal and the Red Tezcatlipoca. For them the celestial symbol is replaced by a precious bowl that overflows with a frothy material. That their predicted life together is poor is indicated by the overturned bowl between them spilling out its contents.

The reading order follows the count of numbers, indicating by the red numeral dots from two to 26. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 58 and reads from right to left across the three pages. The sequence then moves up the page to the center row and proceeds from left to right back across the three pages, finally moving up to the top of the page and going back to the left to the twenty-fifth panel at the top left of Plate 60. Despite much damage to the original, the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction has missed only two numeral dots in the whole series; the fourth panel should have five dots and the twenty-second panel should have 23 dots.

Plates 61–70: Another 260-Day Ritual Calendar

The next ten pages present a second complete 260-day *tonalpohualli,* or ritual calendar. Each page contains 26 day signs (two 13-day groups) and two images of gods, objects and actions that presumably characterize the 13-day groups. This arrangement of the calendar divides it into 20 equal periods, each of which is begun uniquely by one of the day signs. These 20 groups of 13 days are known as *trecenas.* The deities whose images are painted in the panels of each of the periods may be thought of as patrons of the period initiated by the appropriate day sign. It is worth pointing out, as Seler does, that the associations of gods and periods of the calendar are not obvious. For example, the period that begins with the day sign Flower does not have Xochiquétzal, the goddess of flowers, as its patron or regent. On the other hand, the period that begins with Rain is indeed governed by Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, in a very obvious concordance of meanings.

The nature of the influence over the 13-day period wielded by each of these 20 patrons is not clear. How their influence was combined with that of the patrons of the day signs themselves, as discussed in connection with Plates 9–13 of the codex, is similarly unknown. Further, their relationship to the 104 images associated with the *tonalpohualli* on the first eight pages of the codex is also not understood. Ultimately it must be said that, despite all the information we have gleaned from interpretations of the Codex Borgia and the various other religious manuscripts of the Borgia Group, we do not know very much about how prognostication worked for the Mesoamerican priests. The intricacies of the magical process remain obscure.

The 260-day sequence of this *tonalpohualli* begins at the lower right corner of Plate 61 with the day sign Alligator. This, following a long-established pattern, should be considered as the day 1 Alligator. Armed with this crucial bit of information, we require no other indication of the day number because we know that the 13 numbers are used in a continuous cycle. Accordingly, every group of 13 day signs, every *trecena,* must begin with a day numbered 1. The reading order follows the order of the day signs across the bottom of the page and up its left margin to Reed, the thirteenth day sign. The next day sign in the order of the 20 is Jaguar, which

is found at the bottom right margin of Plate 62. The same pattern is followed across ten pages, until the day sign Dog is located at the top of the left column of day signs on Plate 70. There the sequence simply moves up to the upper register and changes to the left-to-right direction. The first day of the second half of the *tonalpohualli* is the day 1 Monkey and the last day of its period of 13 days is the day 13 House. After counting through the days named in the upper register of these ten pages, we reach the last day of the ritual calendar at the upper right corner of Plate 61, the day 13 Flower.

A brief table will identify the deities who are patrons of the 20 *trecenas* of this calendar.

First Day Sign of the Period	Deity (Nahuatl)	Deity (English)
Alligator	Tonacatecuhtli	Supreme Male Deity
Jaguar	Quetzalcóatl	God of Wind
Deer	Tepeyóllotl, Tlazoltéotl	Heart of the Mountain; Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Flower	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote, God of Dance
Reed	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl, Tonatiuh	Goddess of the Moon, God of the Sun
Rain	Tláloc	Rain and Storm
Grass	Mayáhuel	Goddess of Maguey
Serpent	Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	God of Fire, Venus as the Morning Star
Flint	Mictlantecuhtli, Tonatiuh	God of the Underworld, God of the Sun
Monkey	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Lizard	Itztlacoliuhqui, Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca	God of the Bent Knife, Black Smoking Mirror
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Dog	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
House	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Vulture	Xólotl	God of Twins
Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Wind	Chantico	Goddess of Fire
Eagle	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather
Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli, Xipe Tótec	God of Fire, Our Lord the Flayed One

Plate 71: The Sun and the Moon with 13 Birds

Plate 71 is composed of a large central panel surrounded on three sides by 13 smaller panels of approximately equal size. The large panel contains a representation of the solar deity sitting on a bench; a skeletal-jawed animal sacrificing a quail to the sun; the moon in a dark and starry sky; the jaws of the earth monster with a quail's head; and the day sign 1 Reed, which is the calendrical name of Quetzalcóatl. The image of Tonatiuh, the solar deity, is given the name 4 Movement. This is the name of the actual sun in the current creation as conceived by the Aztecs.

The 13 smaller panels contain 13 birds or, more accurately, 12 birds and one butterfly. Each is individually drawn to represent a particular kind of bird, some identifiable and some not. Each is also accompanied by one of the numbers from 1 to 13. These flying creatures are the winged companions of the 13 numbered days/deities not identified in the Codex Borgia. They represent the 13 levels of creation above the plane of the earth.

Plate 72: The Four Directions with Plumed Serpents and Deities

This page is divided into four quarters, each surrounded by the image of a serpent with its head near the center of the page and its body all but enclosing the four sides of a rectangle. In each case the serpent's belly forms the outer edge of the rectangle border and its back forms the inner edge. At the center of the page is a little spiritual beast known as a *tzitzímitl.* Within each rectangle is the image of a deity who is physically connected to five of the day signs.

Beginning at the lower left corner and proceeding counterclockwise, the deity assigned by Seler to the East is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm; he has attached to his body the day signs for Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The deity of the North is Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the earth, filth and the moon; she has attached to her body the day signs for Wind, Death, Dog, Jaguar and Flint. The deity of the West is Quetzalcóatl, the god of the wind; he has attached to his body the day signs for House, Deer, Monkey, Eagle and Rain. The fourth deity, the deity of the South, is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure; he has attached to his body the day signs for Lizard, Rabbit, Grass, Vulture and Flower.

The astute reader will have noticed that these day signs are regularly spaced in the series of 20. They follow the arrangement of the columns of day signs in the first representation of the *tonalpohualli* in the codex, beginning on Plate 1. If they are to be assigned directional significance here, as Seler has done for the quarters of the *tonalpohualli* when arranged as five rows of 52 days, the five day signs associated with the East are found in the first column of the *tonalpohualli,* the days of the North are in the fourteenth column, the West in the twenty-seventh column and the South in the fortieth column. In each case the five day signs are found in the first column of the quarter of the calendar assigned to the appropriate direction. This same grouping of days was used in the preparation of Plates 18–21 and 22 (and will be used on Plates 75 and 76), though Seler did not use the directional aspect of it for his interpretation of Plates 18–21.

Plate 73: Gods of Death and Life with 26 Days and the 20 Day Signs

The image of life and death on Plate 73 harks back to the compositionally similar image of a wind deity, representing life, and a death deity on Plate 56. There the image of Quetzalcóatl as the wind god is on the right side of the page and Mictlantecuhtli as the god of death is on the left side. Here those positions are reversed. The overall structure remains the same, though; the two deities are shown back to back, looking outward, and holding staves. The image of Quetzalcóatl is differently colored, black on Plate 56 and blue on Plate 73. His face paint and some of his costume elements are also changed. The image of Mictlantecuhtli is very similar in the two representations.

On Plate 56 these gods are accompanied by a shorthand version of the *tonalpohualli.* On Plate 73 they are ringed by 26 consecutive day signs (six are repeated; note the appearance of Death in the lower left corner just inside the ring) and have the 20 day signs attached to their bodies and costumes.

This parallel structure, appearing so many pages apart, suggests that these two pages may serve as bookends of a sort, unifying the various sections found between them. These sections are the six supernatural couples, the 25 divinatory couples, the second complete 260-day calendar, the sun and moon with their 13 birds and

the four directions with plumed serpents. The motive for this potential relationship is not immediately evident.

Plate 74: Male and Female Gods of Sensuality

This page presents images of two deities who are, at least in part, dedicated to sensuality and procreation. The bottom half of the page is given over to a male deity of sensuality, an *ahuiatéotl,* and a set of the 20 day names. The upper half contains an image of Tlazoltéotl and another set of the 20 day names. Tlazoltéotl is principally known as the old goddess of the earth and of the moon and as the eater of filth. She is also known as Teteoinnan, the "mother of the gods," and as Toci, "our grandmother." It is in these capacities that she displays the characteristics of a goddess of sensuality and voluptuousness.

The original of the Codex Borgia has been very badly damaged on this page through burning and the loss of the white lime surface that underlies the paintings. As a result much of this page is reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers following a drawing of the page made for Lord Kingsborough in the nineteenth century. Neither Kingsborough nor Díaz and Rodgers could decide where to put the day sign for Movement on the lower half of the page, so it is omitted though it was surely there at one time. On both halves of the page, 14 of the day signs are arranged around the margins, and six are in the center with the image of the god. In both cases these six are consecutive days. For the *ahuiatéotl* they are the last four and the first two, and for Tlazoltéotl they are the last six of the series of 20.

Plates 75 and 76: Eight Deities

The last two pages, the most seriously damaged of the entire codex, are meant to be read together. Each page is divided into four parts, with each quarter dominated by the figure of a god seated on a throne. In front of each deity are several other things, including a small figure of a priest offering incense and blood, and an urn with other sacrifices in it. Beneath each set of images are five day signs taken from a column of the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in five rows of 52 days, like the one on Plates 1–8 of the codex. At one side of each panel is a group of either five or six red dots as calendrical place holders.

The reading order begins at the bottom right corner of Plate 75 and proceeds from right to left across the two pages. It then goes up to the top register at the upper left corner of Plate 76 and proceeds from left to right back across the two pages. After five circuits of the eight images an entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* will have been counted. If we begin reading with the day 1 Alligator at the bottom of Plate 75 and count the six place markers as days 2 through 7, the next day will be 8 Rabbit, which is the first of the painted day signs in the next panel. From there five place markers take us past days 9 through 13, making the next day 1 Jaguar. Clearly, each pair of figures represents two parts of a single group of 13 and, just as clearly, each pair of figures can be associated with the direction linked to that part of the *tonalpohualli.* The reason for this association is not so clear, though it may be based on principles similar to those that informed the painting on Plate 72 with its four plumed serpents.

The deity in the first panel is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm. Before him are a bowl full of ears of corn, instruments of autosacrifice and an urn with a rubber ball and an ear of corn. The second panel contains Tonatiuh, the sun god, enthroned before a hill with instruments of warfare at its peak. These two panels are attributed to the East by Seler.

The next pair of panels, at the bottom of Plate 76, contain a red skeletal figure, as a symbol of the moon as well as of death, on the right, and Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon, on the left. This pair is connected to the second portion of the *tonalpohualli,* that of the North. The skeletal figure is seated before a pair of autosacrificial tools and an urn containing a ball of rubber, a bundle of sticks, three loose sticks, a plant and a fire serpent's tail. Tlazoltéotl is seated before a hill with a crossroads and a bundle of sticks.

The third pair of panels is found at the top of Plate 76. The first of the pair was almost completely destroyed by the late-eighteenth-century fire. The second, on the right side of the page, is a representation of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, though the diagnostic five dots on his face are not in evidence. He sits before a hill that has instruments of warfare at its peak and water running down its sides. These panels are tied calendrically to the West.

The fourth and final pair, at the top of Plate 75, is connected to the South in the calendar. The first of the pair contains a figure of a green skeleton covered with green grass (the green has become tan). Before him are broken instruments of autosacrifice and an urn very similar to that of the third panel (which featured the red skeleton) and with nearly identical contents. Again, the second panel of this last pair was almost completely destroyed by the unfortunate fire and by friction.

The relationship between these four quarters, in the form of eight paired images, and the four plumed serpents on Plate 72 was first noted by Seler, who remarked that correspondences of color and imagery suggest that these two sections of the codex were about similar matters.

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THE PLATES

The painted pages of the Codex Borgia restoration are here reproduced in numerically reverse order to make the reading of them as close to that of the original screenfold as possible (without the necessity of turning the book around halfway through). The codex is read from right to left, so that the reader is asked to turn to codex page 1 (= Dover Plate 1) and to read the color pages straight through from right to left and from back to front. Please note the detailed remarks in the introduction and commentary for the reading order on individual pages and groups of pages. The brief explanatory captions accompanying the plates have been provided by the writer of the introduction, Bruce E. Byland.

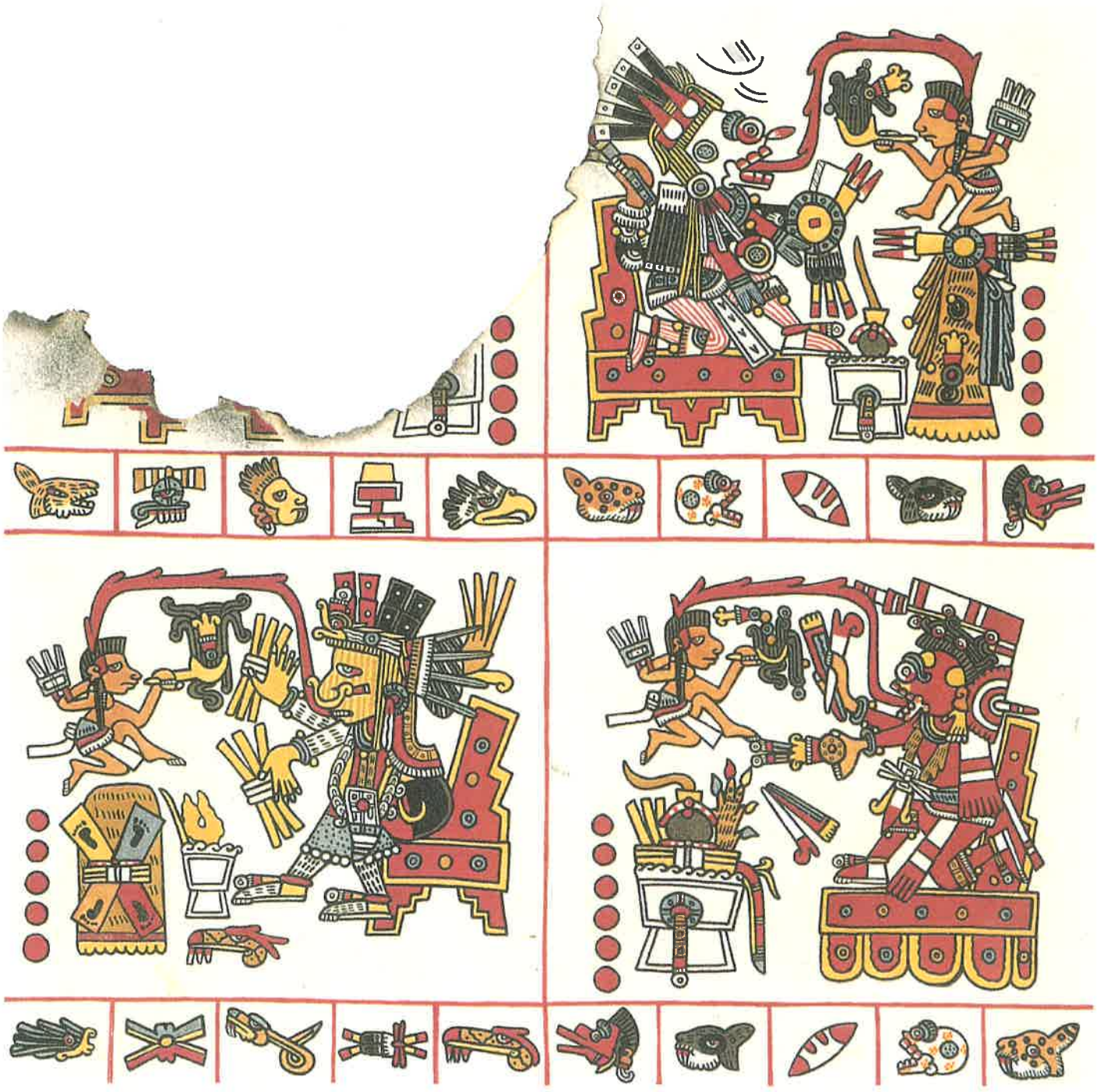

PLATE 76: Page 2 of eight deities

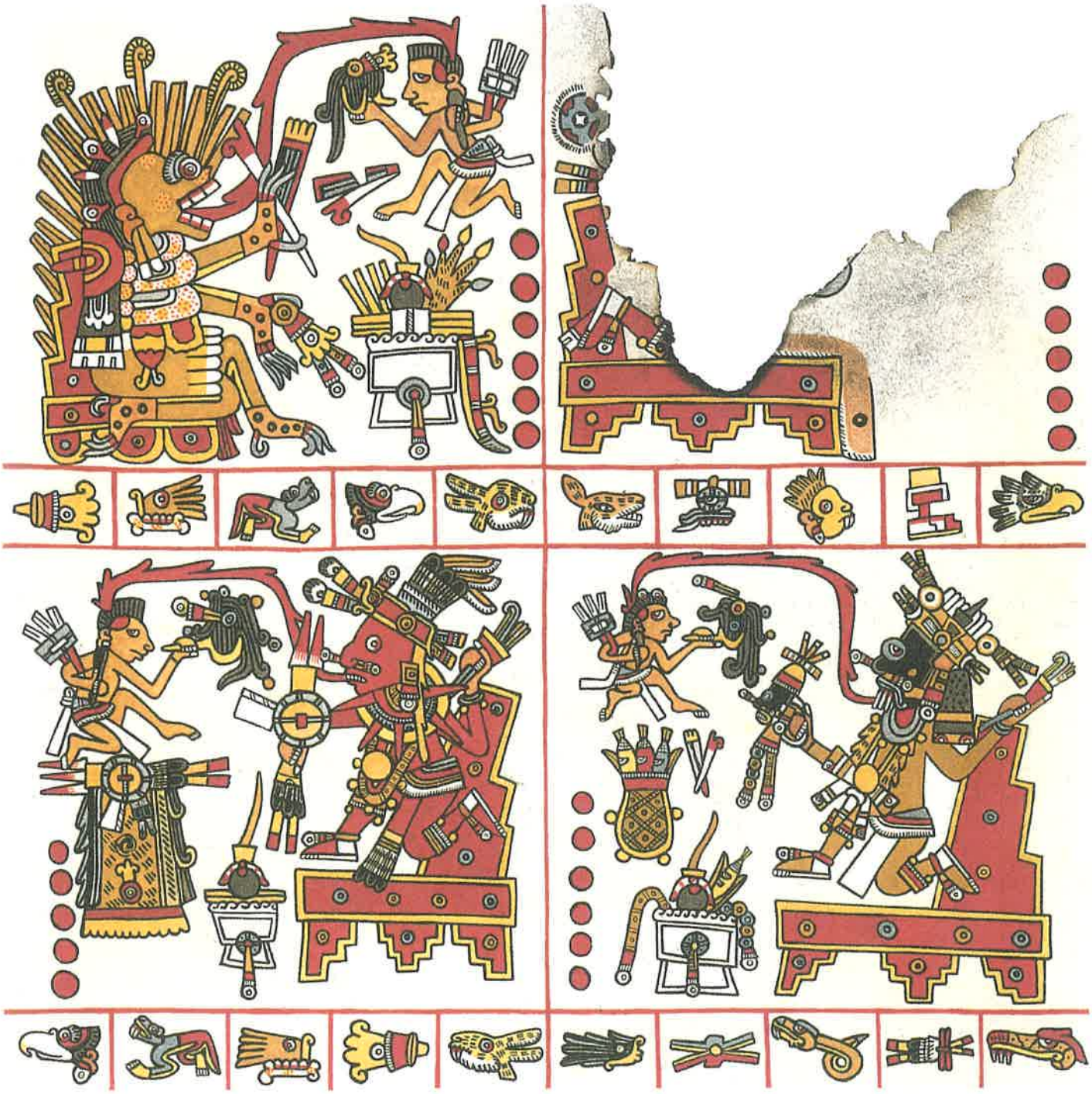

PLATE 75: Page 1 of eight deities

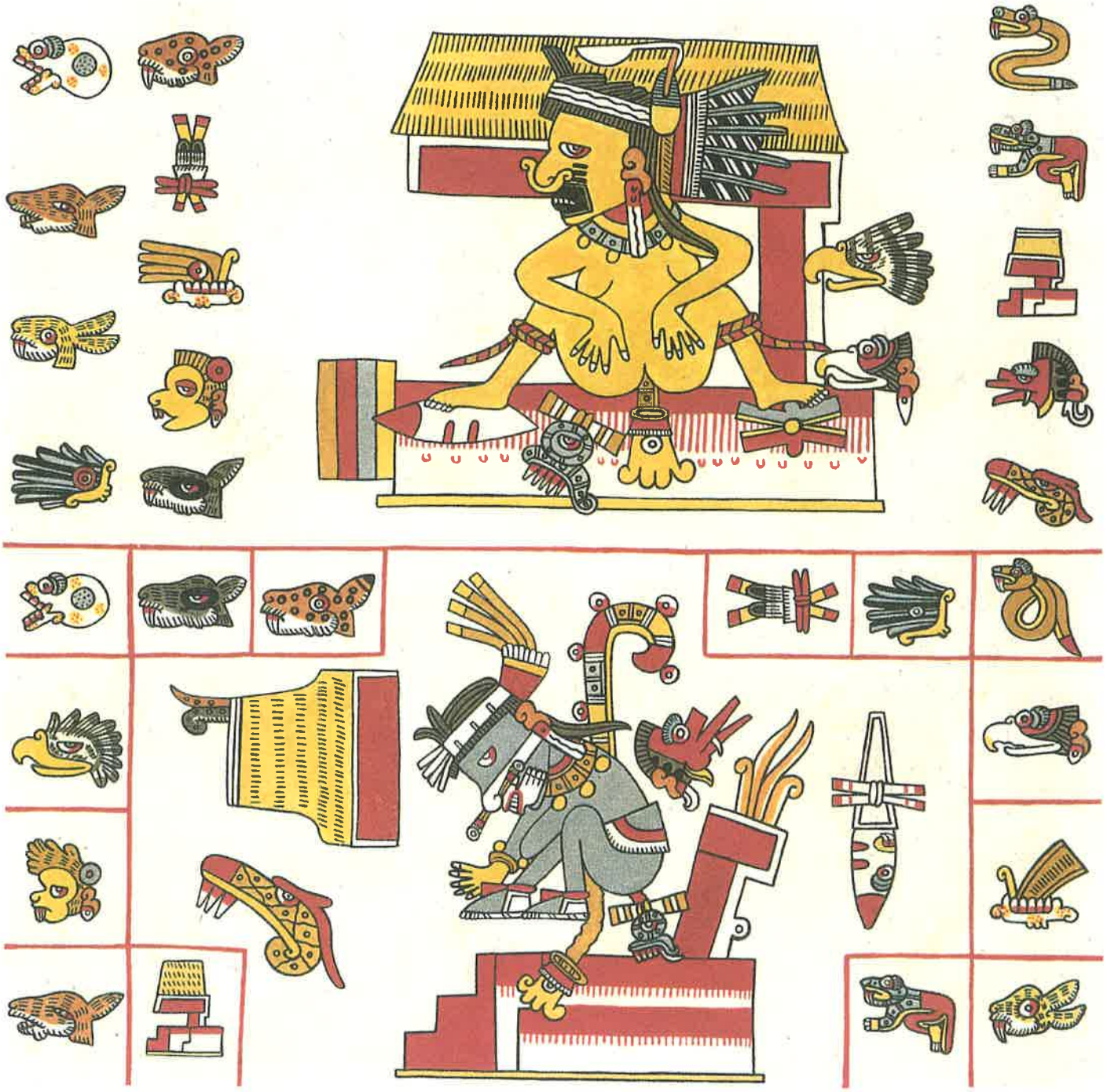

PLATE 74: Male and female gods of sensuality

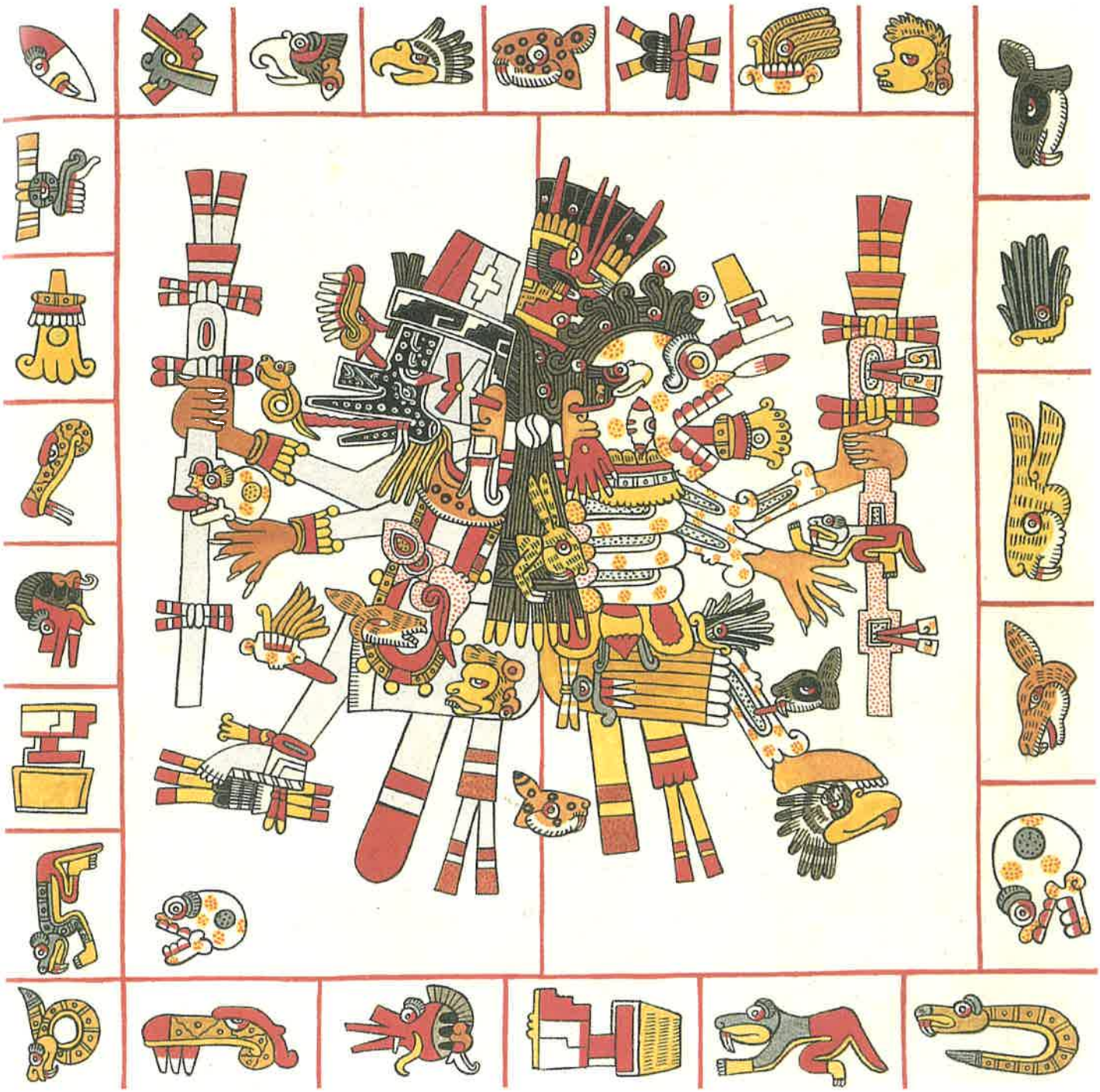

PLATE 73: Gods of death and life with 26 days and the 20 day signs

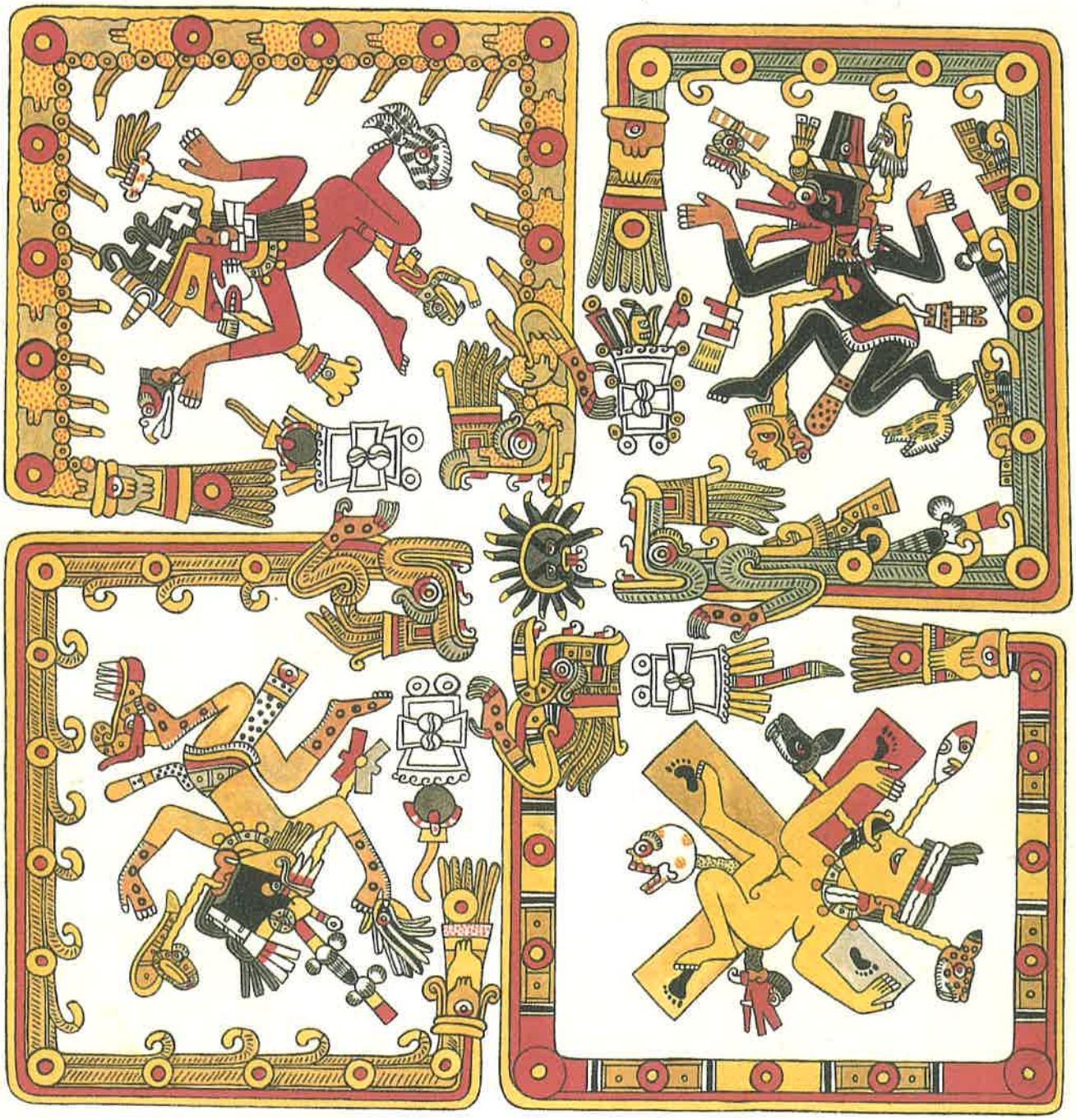

PLATE 72: The four directions with plumed serpents and deities

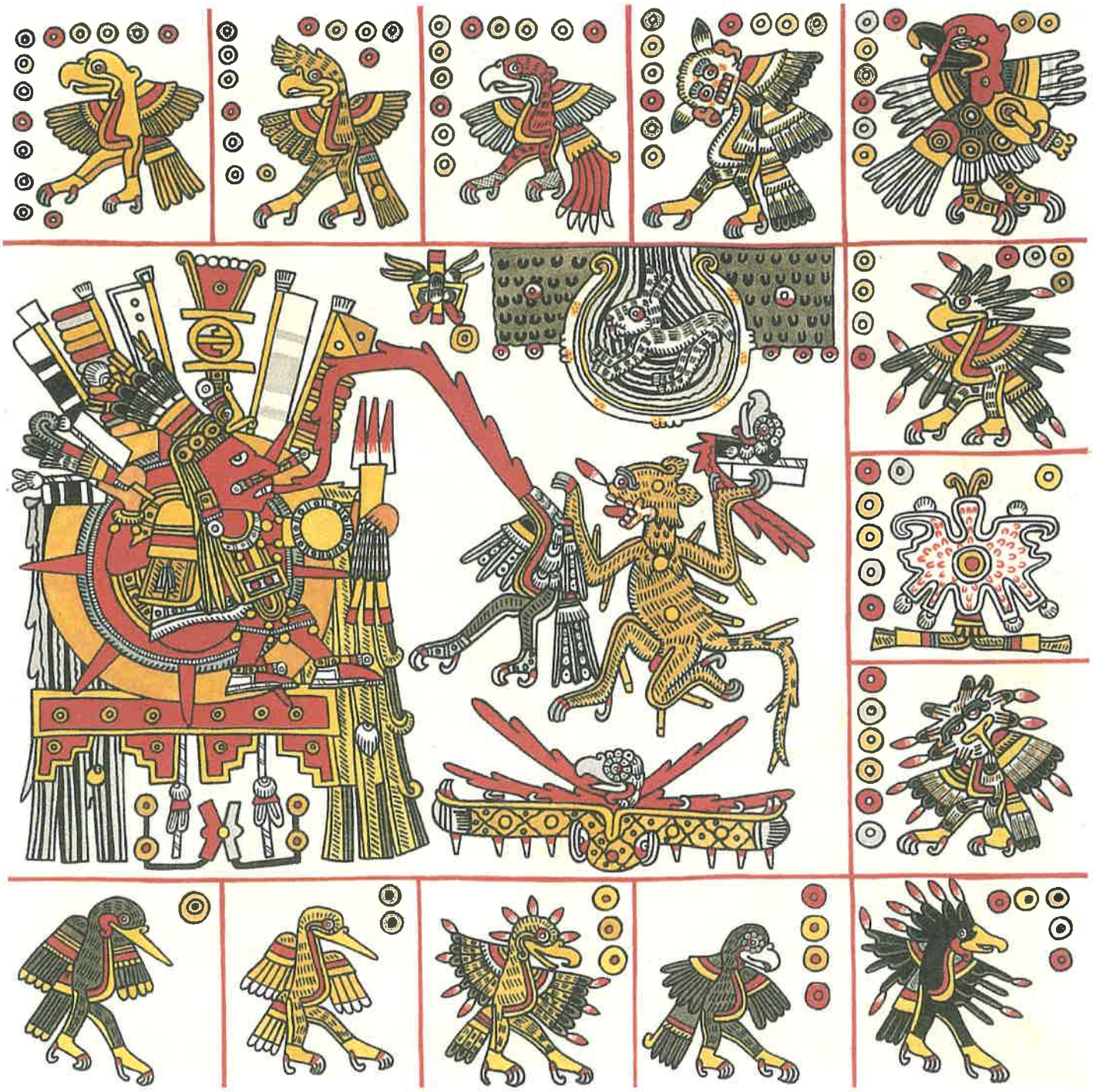

PLATE 71: The sun and the moon with 13 birds

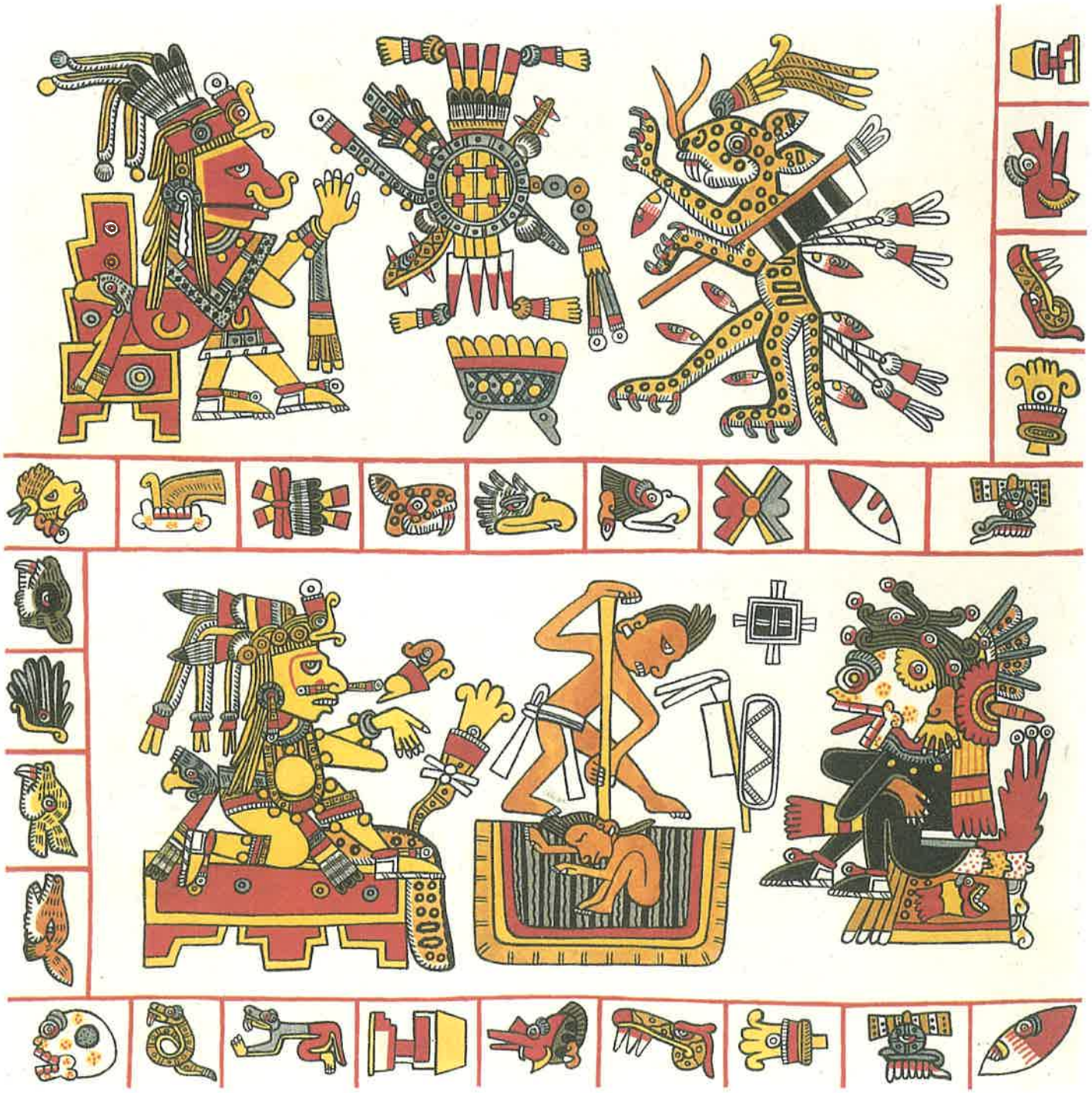

PLATE 70: Page 10 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 69: Page 9 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 68: Page 8 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 67: Page 7 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

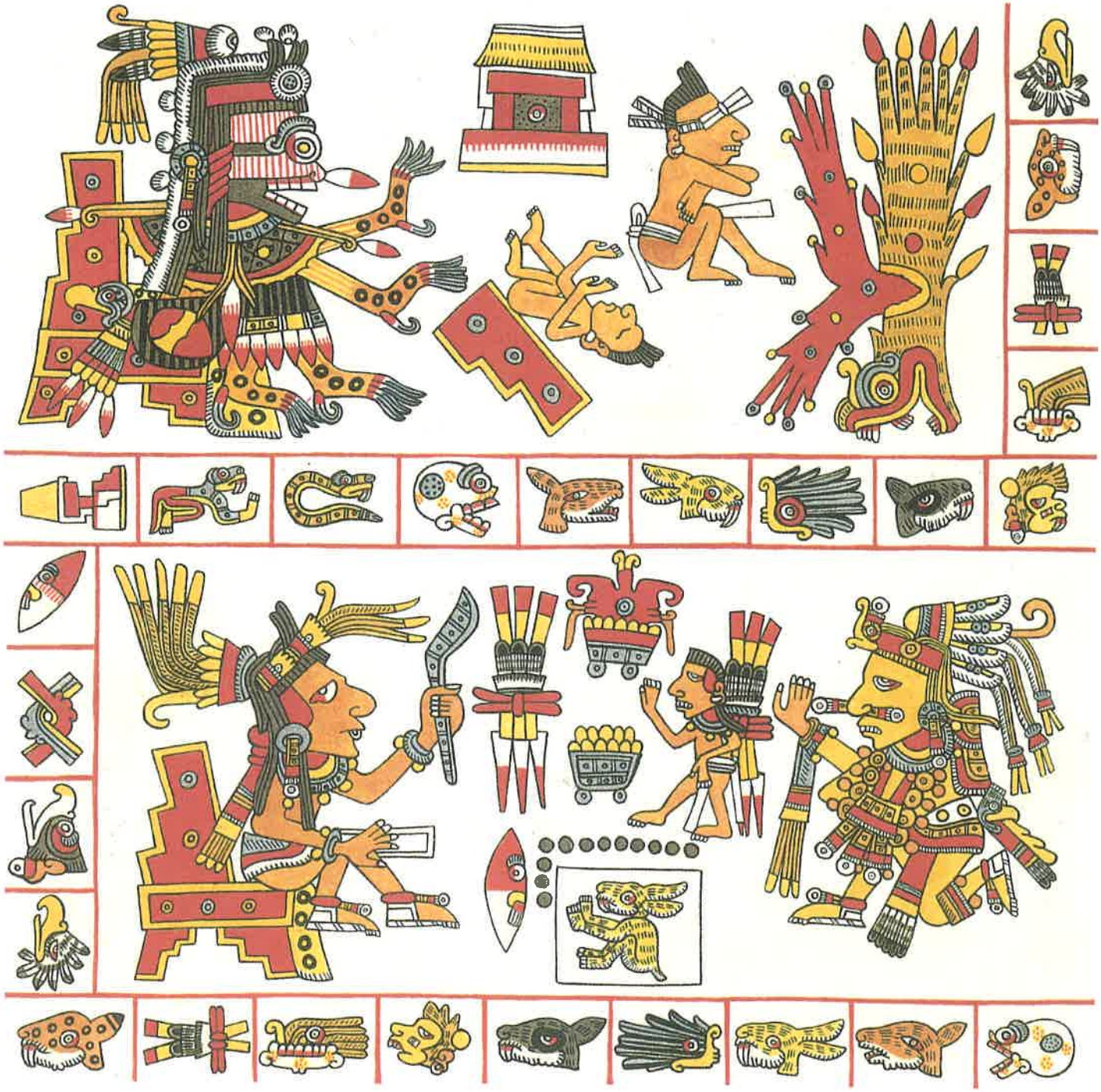

PLATE 66: Page 6 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

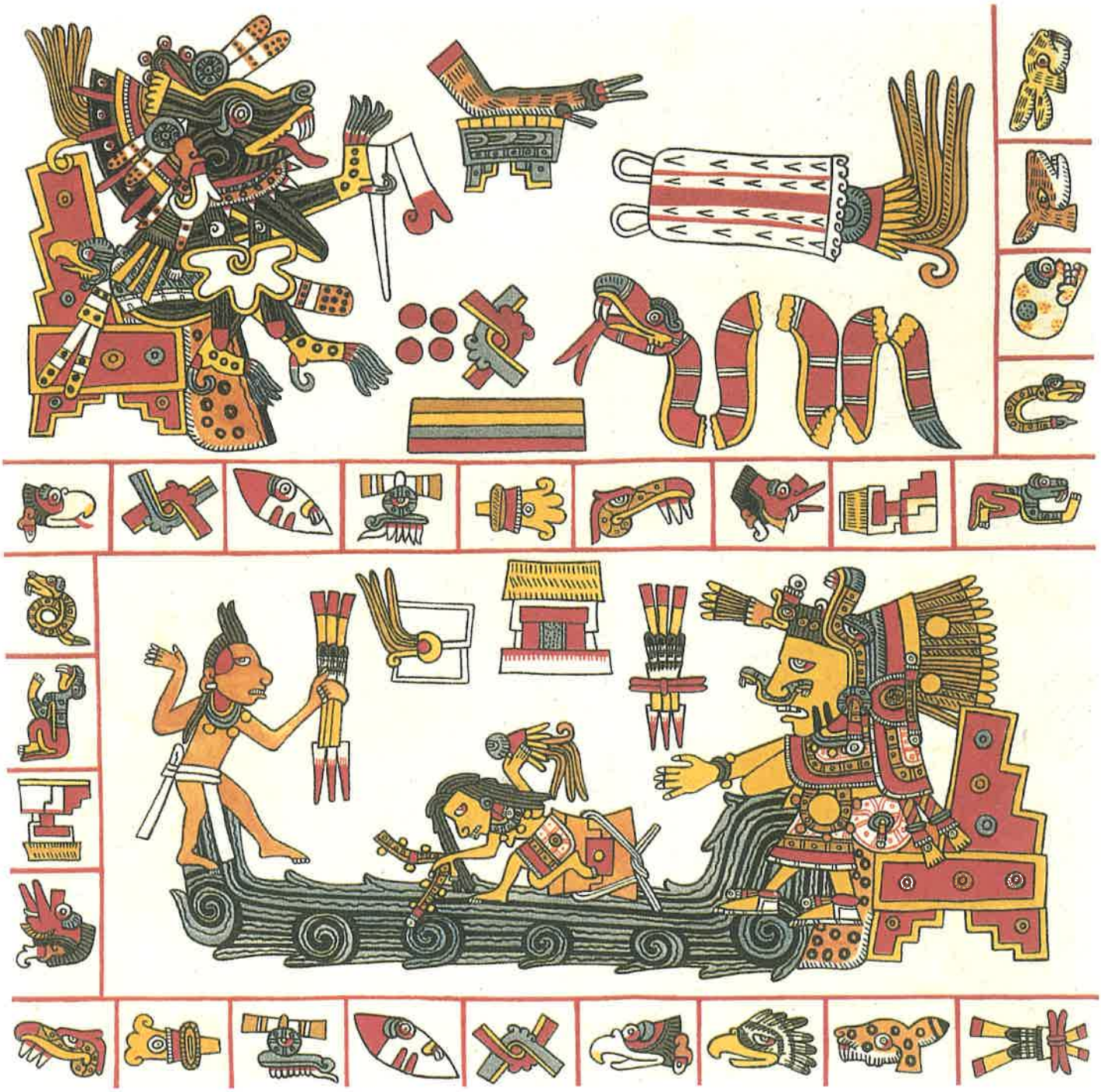

PLATE 65: Page 5 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 64: Page 4 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

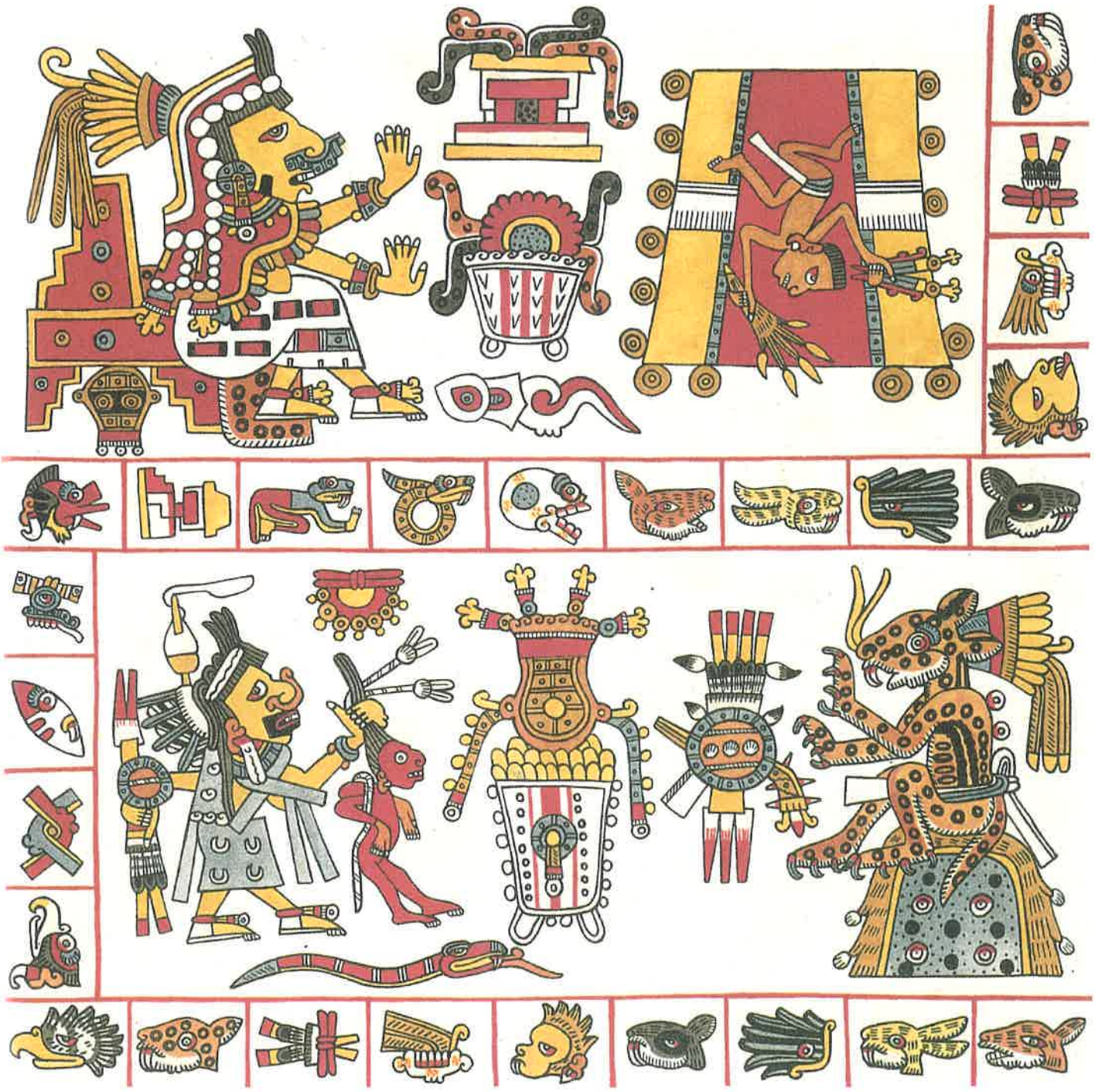

PLATE 63: Page 3 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 62: Page 2 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

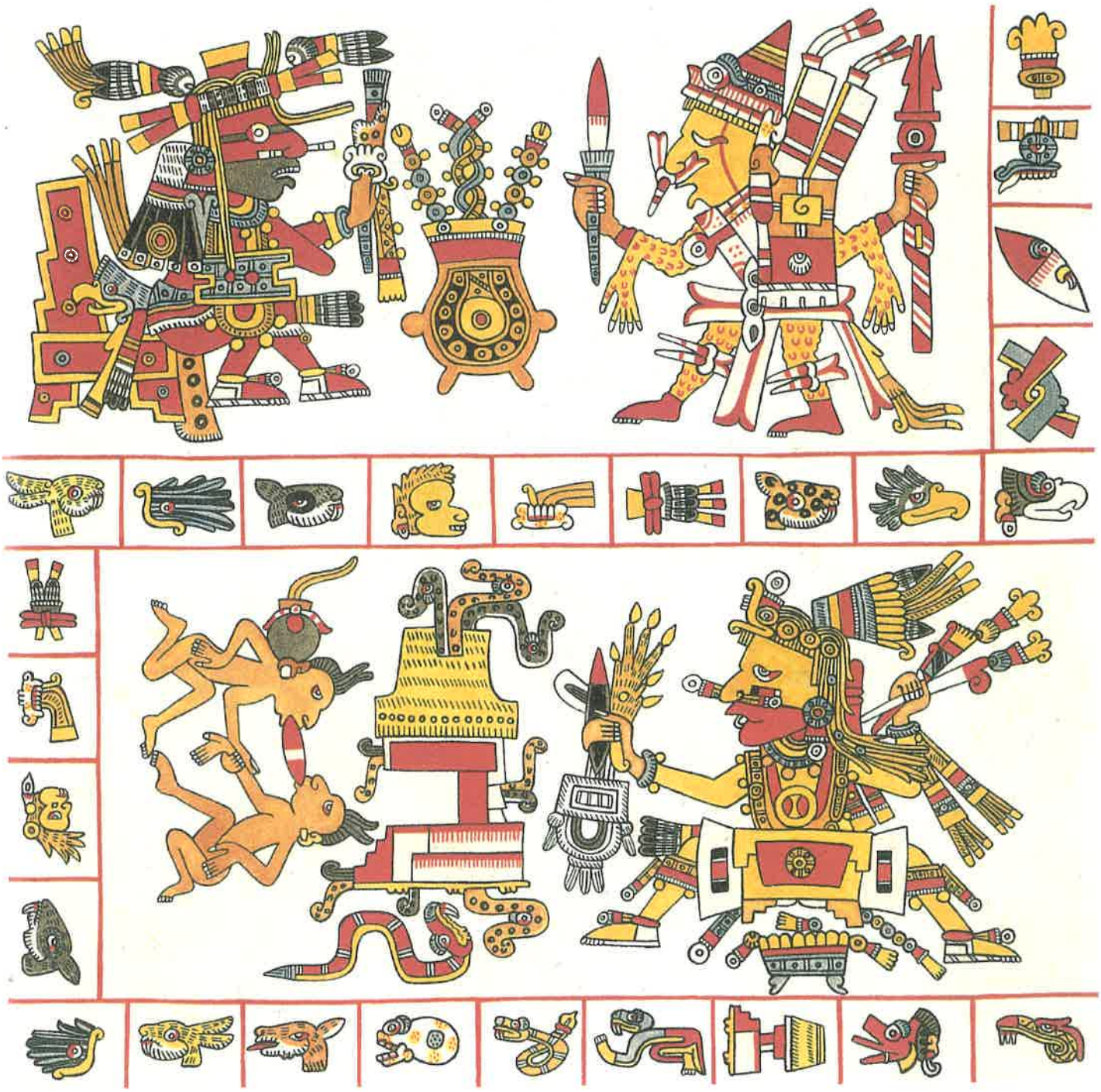

PLATE 61: Page 1 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 60: Page 3 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 59: Page 2 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 58: Page 1 of the numerological marriage prognostications

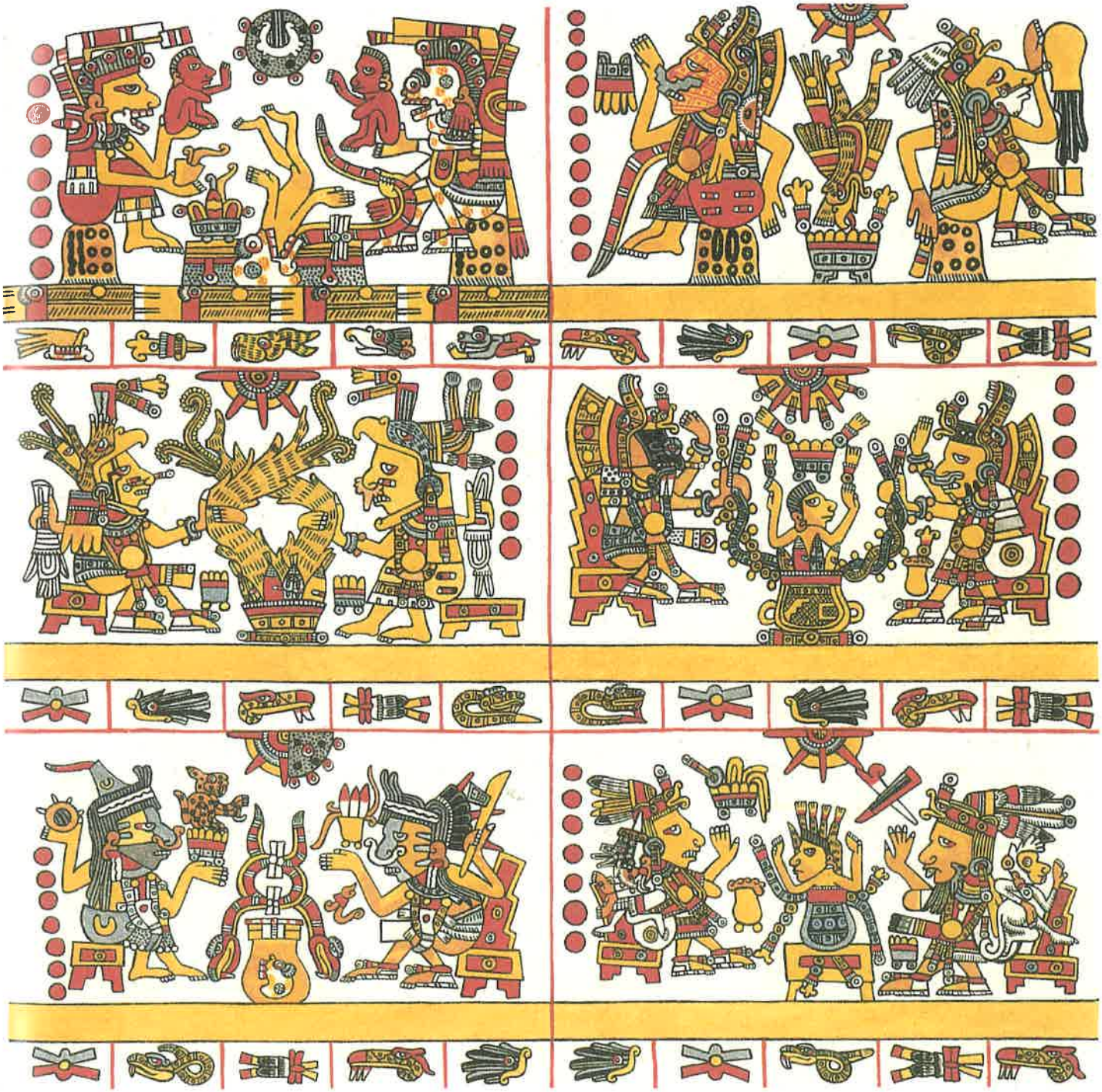

PLATE 57: Six supernatural couples

PLATE 56: Gods of life and death, and the *tonalpohualli*

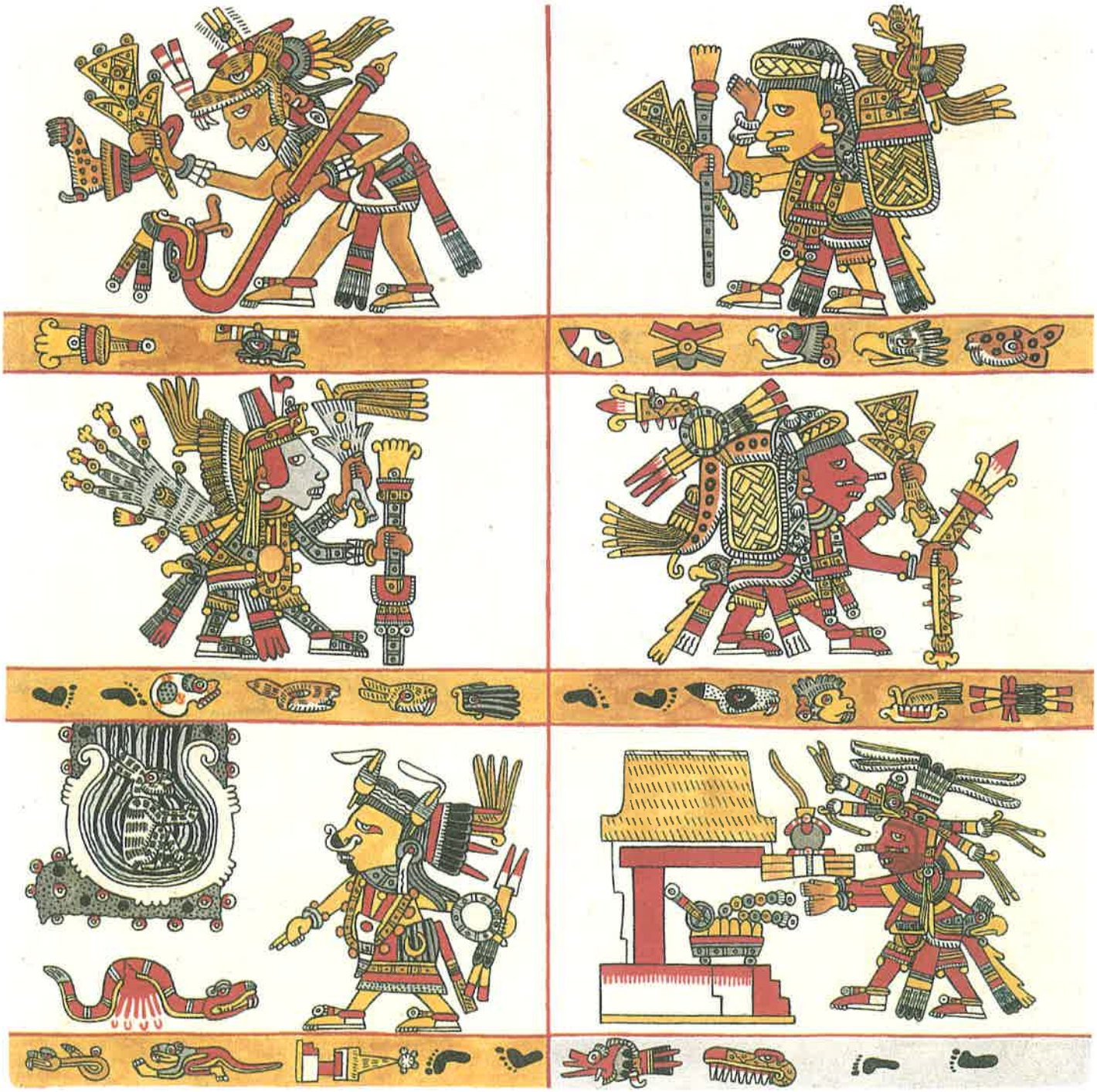

PLATE 55: Six deities with 20 day names

PLATE 54: Four more piercing sacrifices

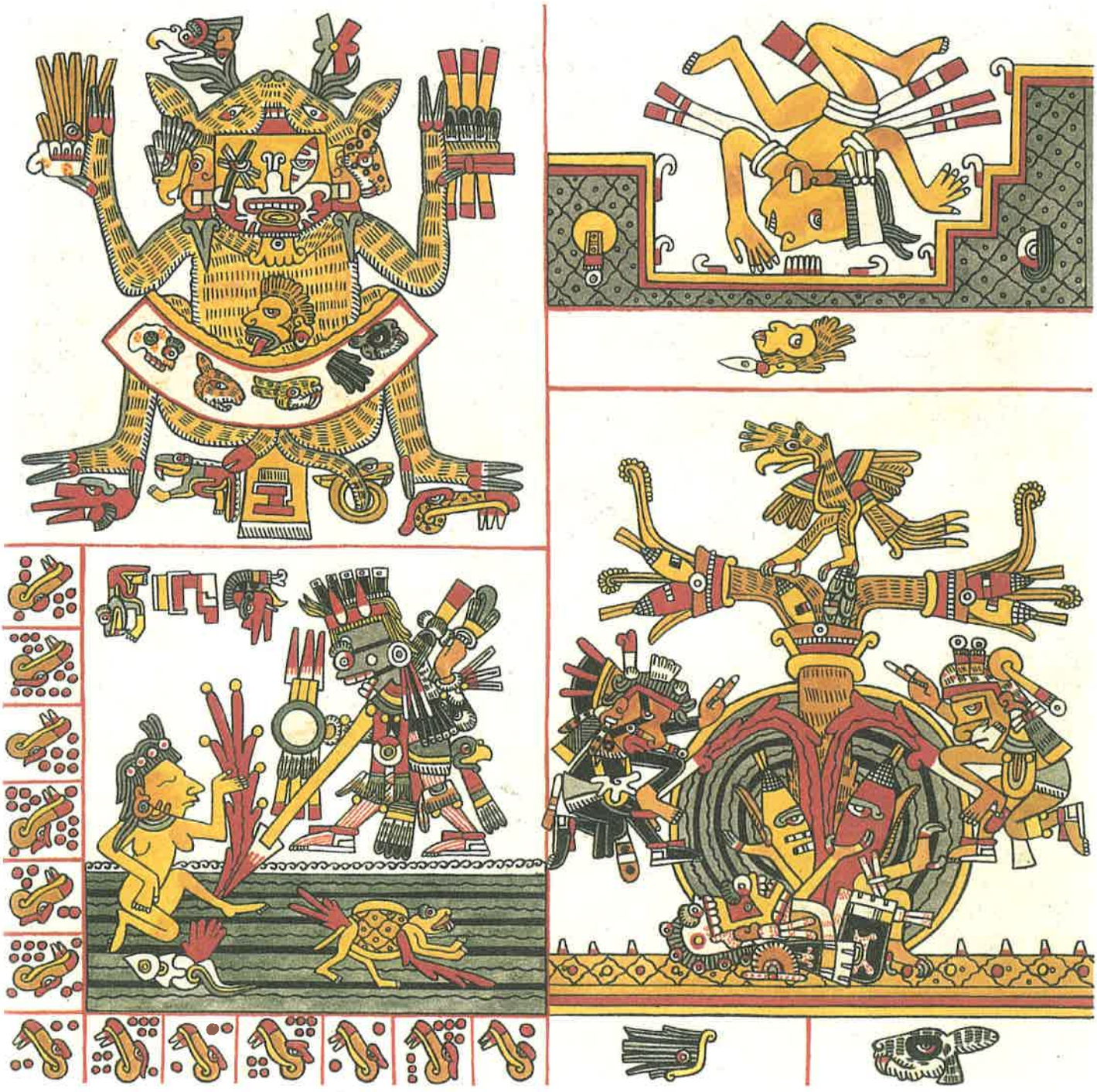

PLATE 53: Page 5 of the five directional trees, the Center; Xochipilli as a deer; and the first of five piercing sacrifices

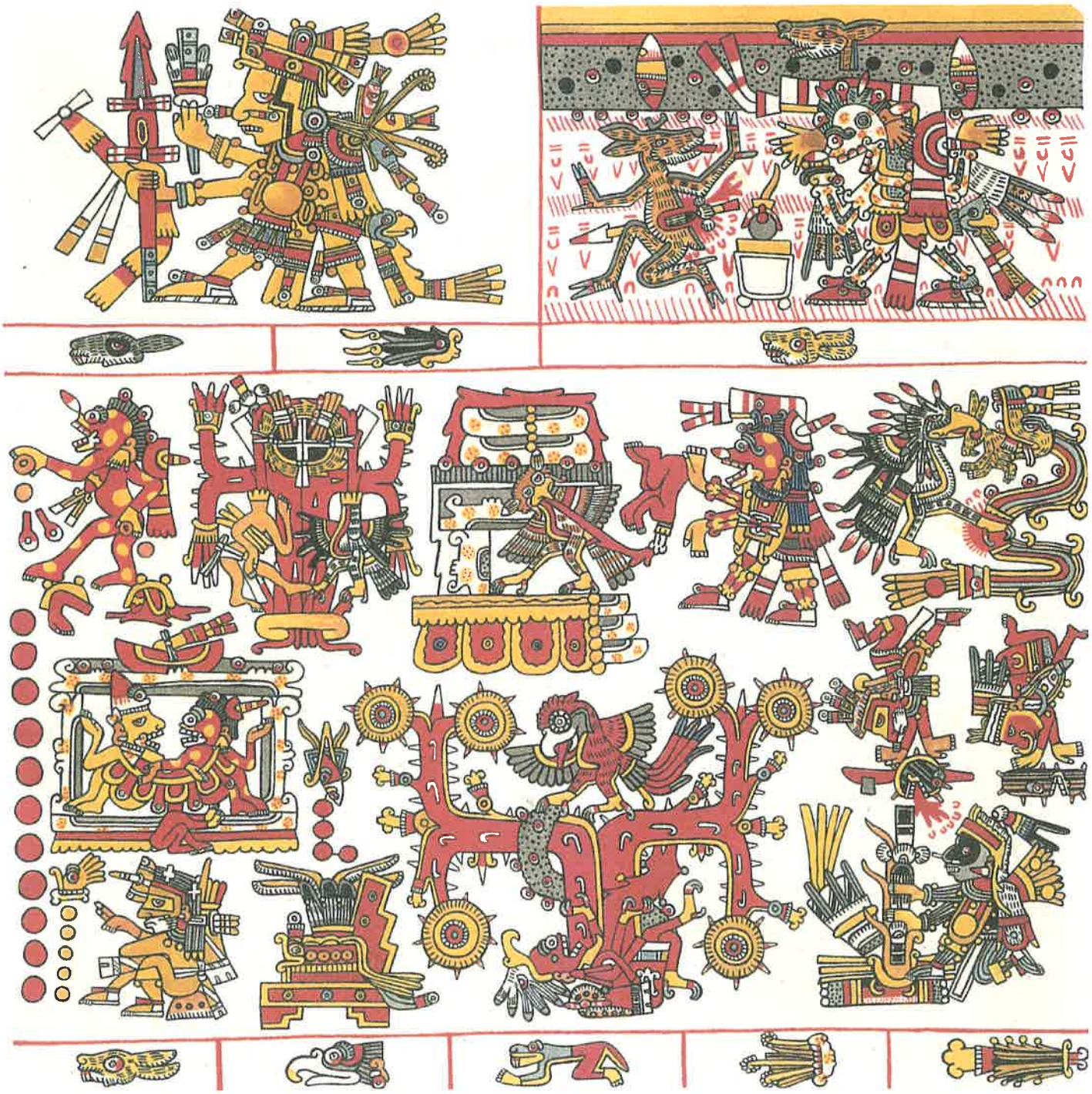

PLATE 52: Page 4 of the five directional trees, the South

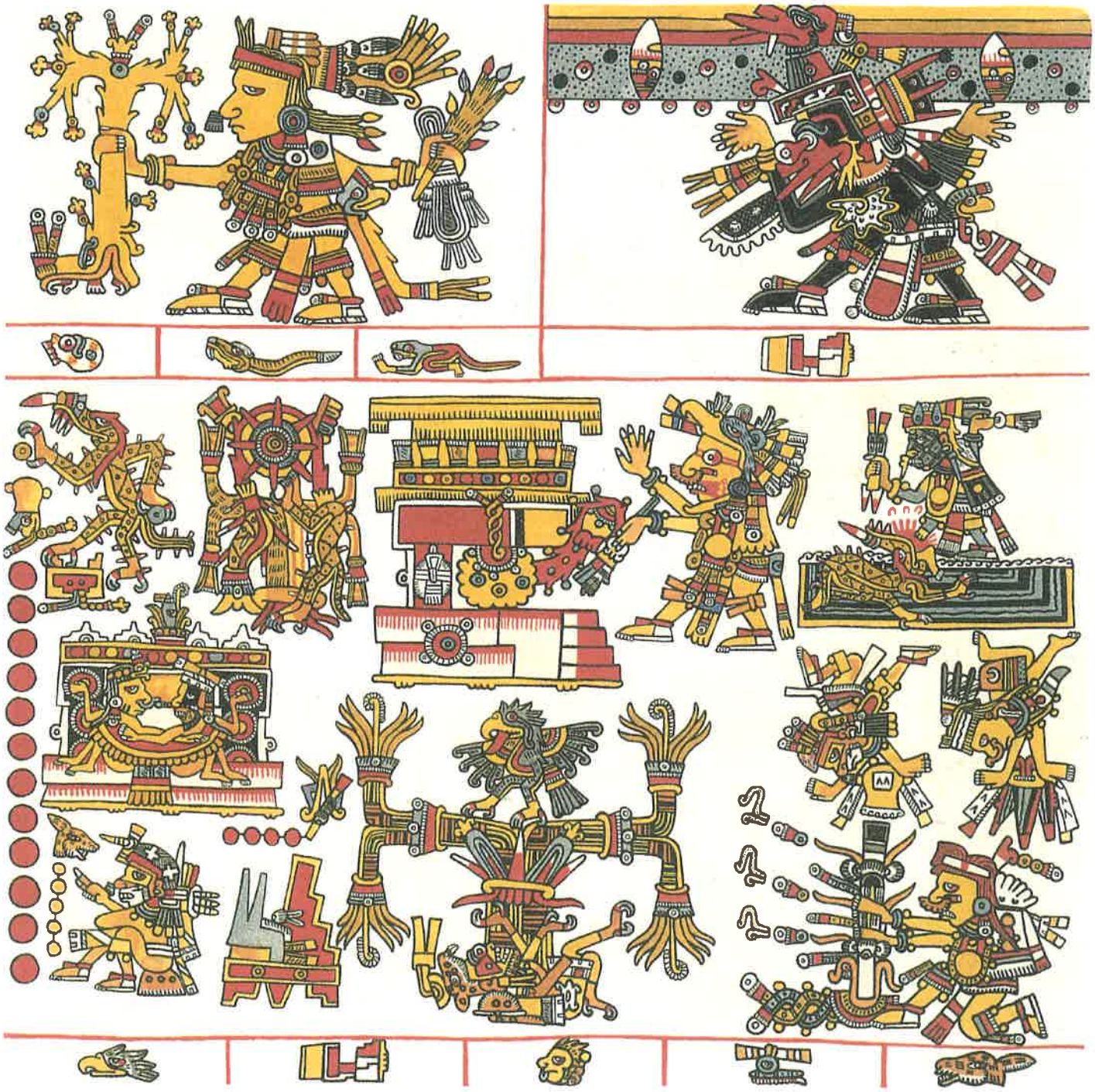

PLATE 51: Page 3 of the five directional trees, the West

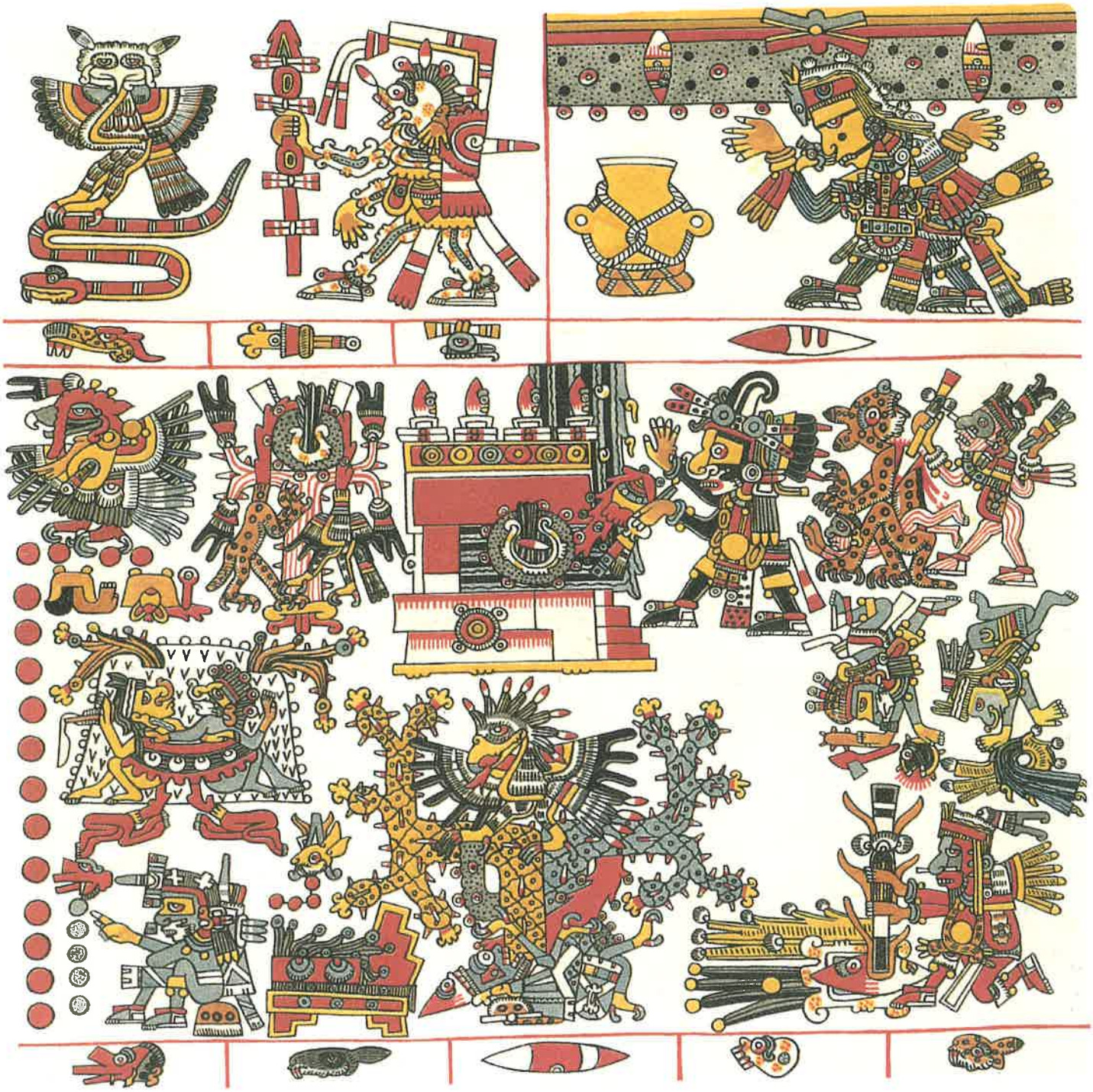

PLATE 50: Page 2 of the five directional trees, the North

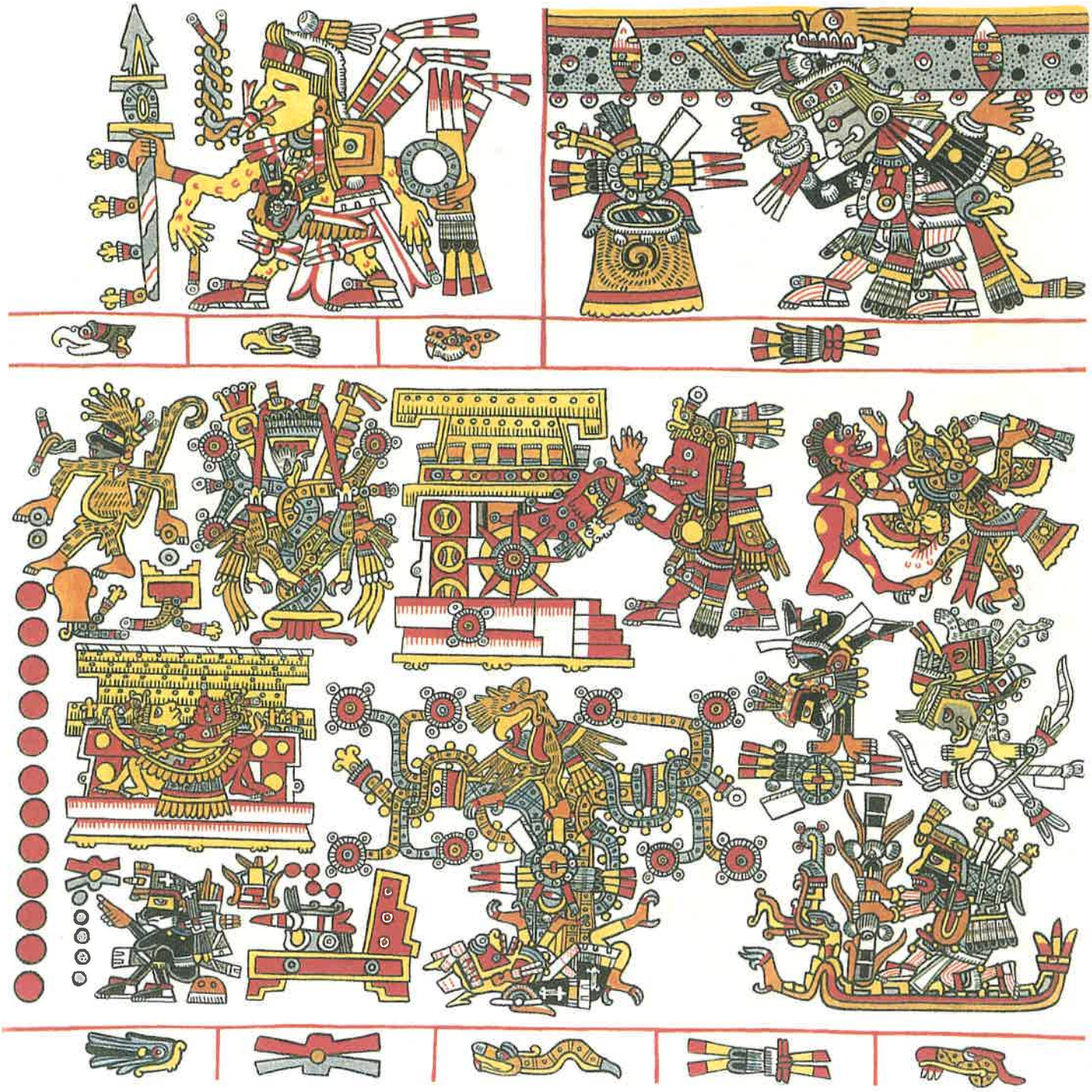

PLATE 49: Page 1 of the five directional trees, the East

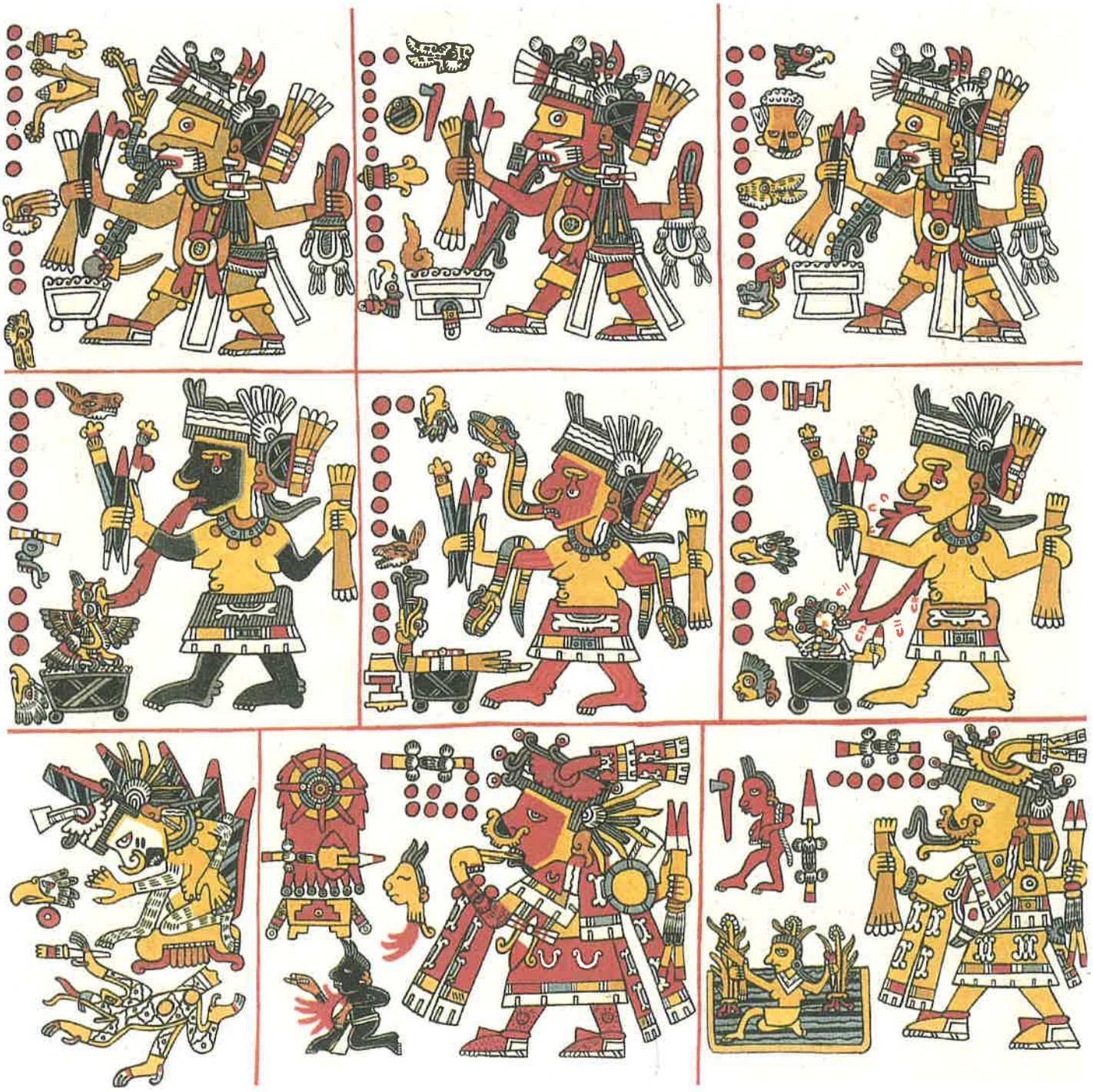

PLATE 48: Page 2 of three groups of five deities

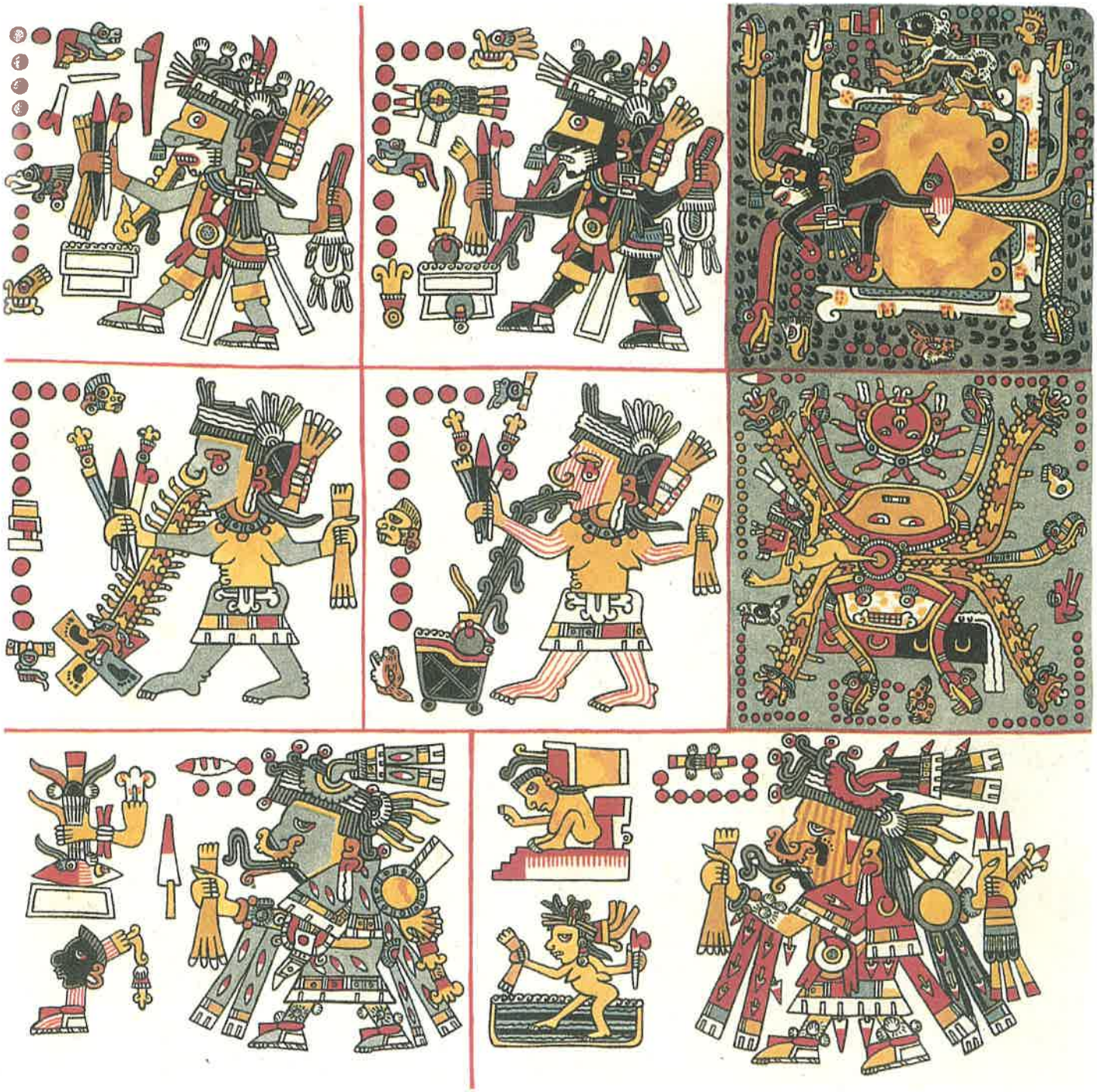

PLATE 47: Page 1 of three groups of five deities

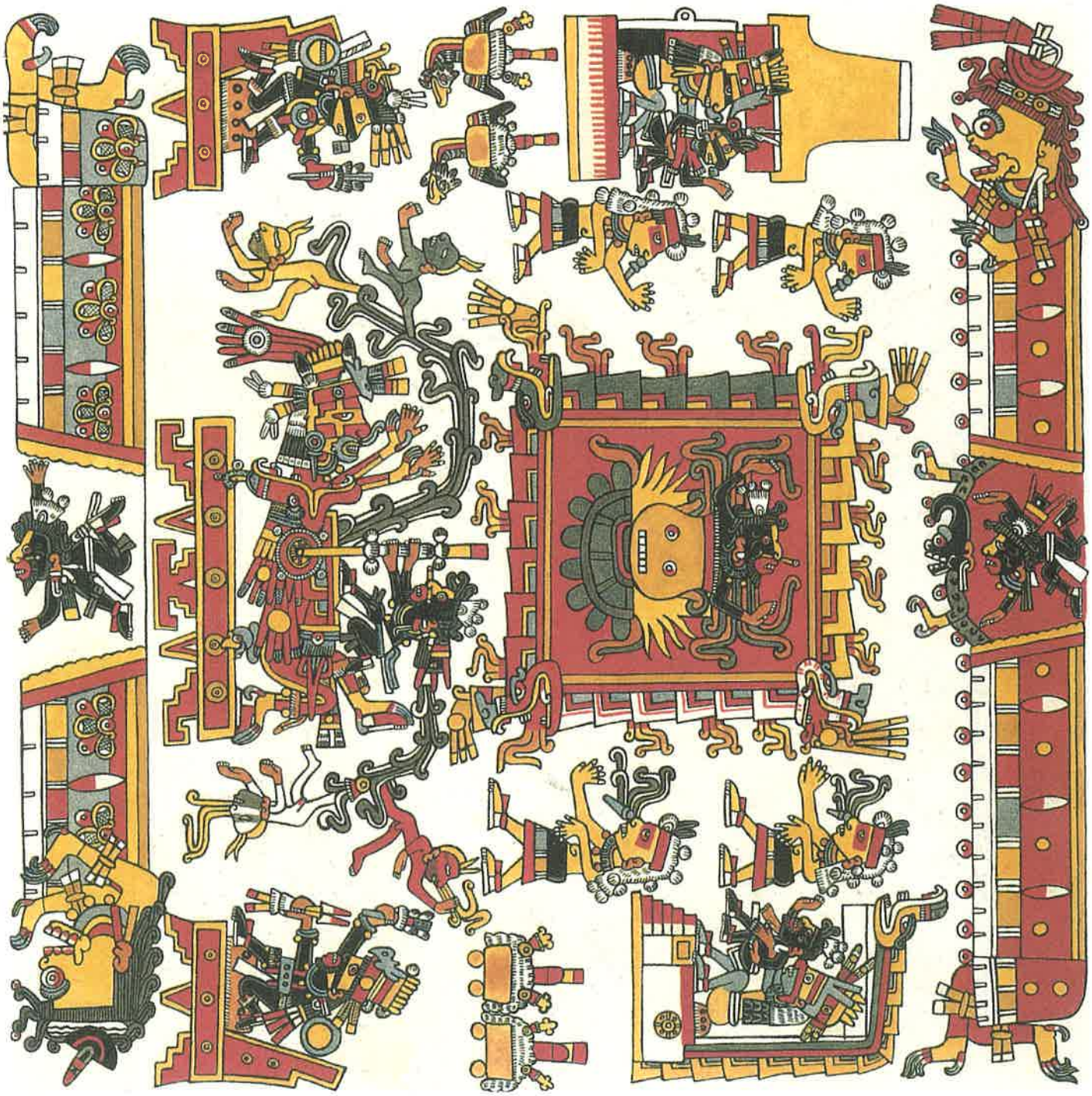

PLATE 46: Page 18 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony with new-fire lighting

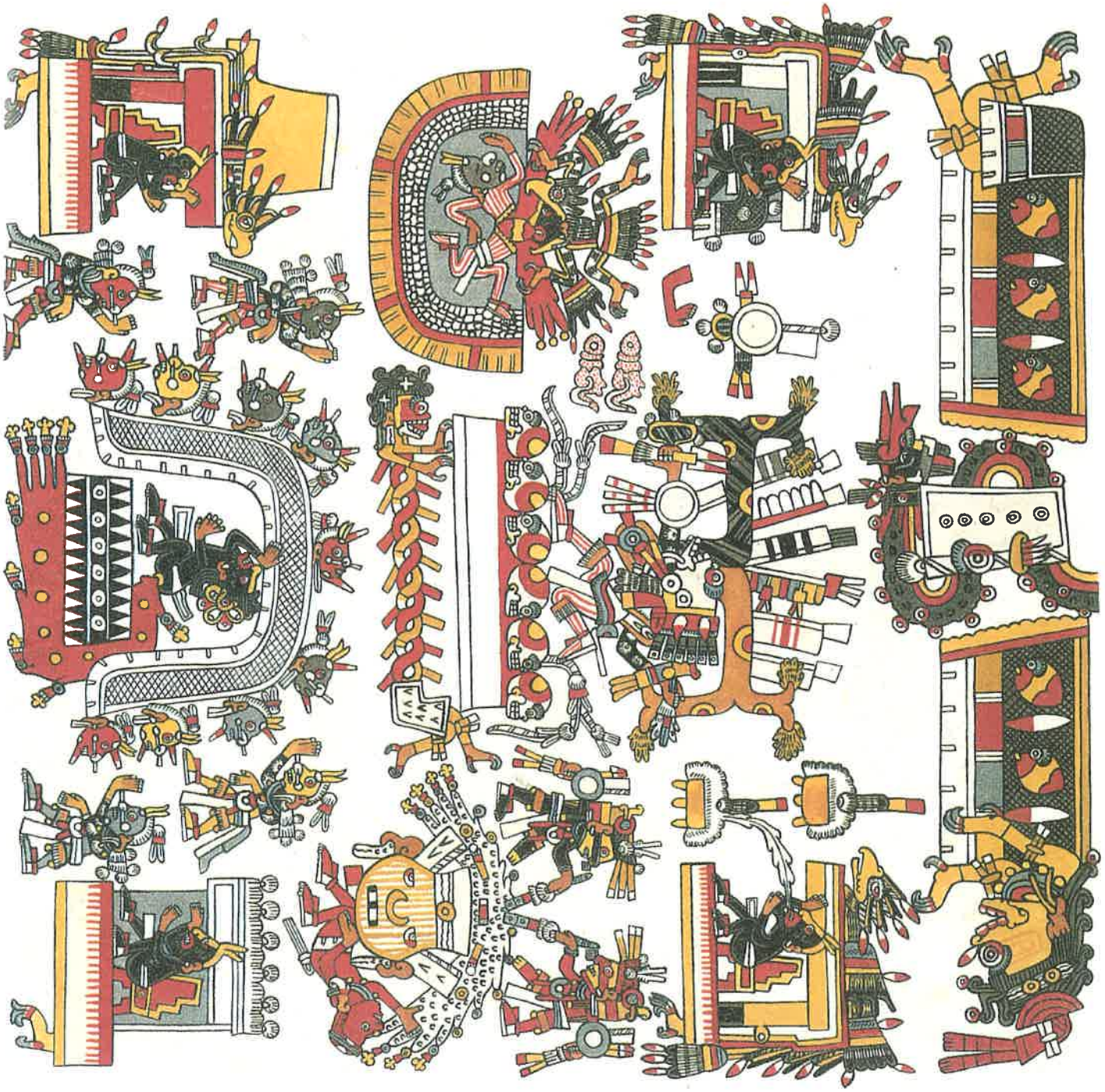

PLATE 45: Page 17 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony

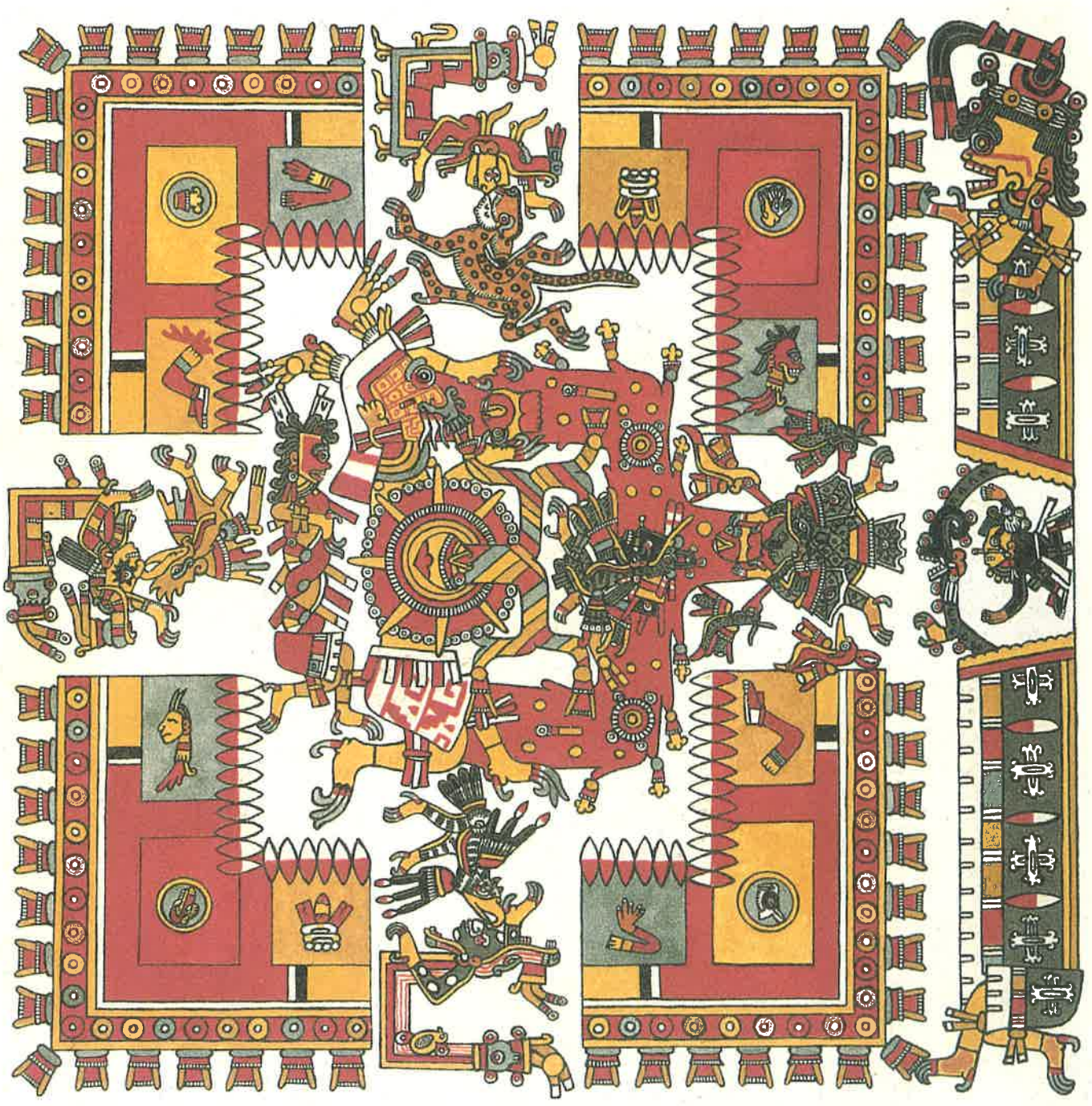

PLATE 44: Page 16 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a flower/flint compound

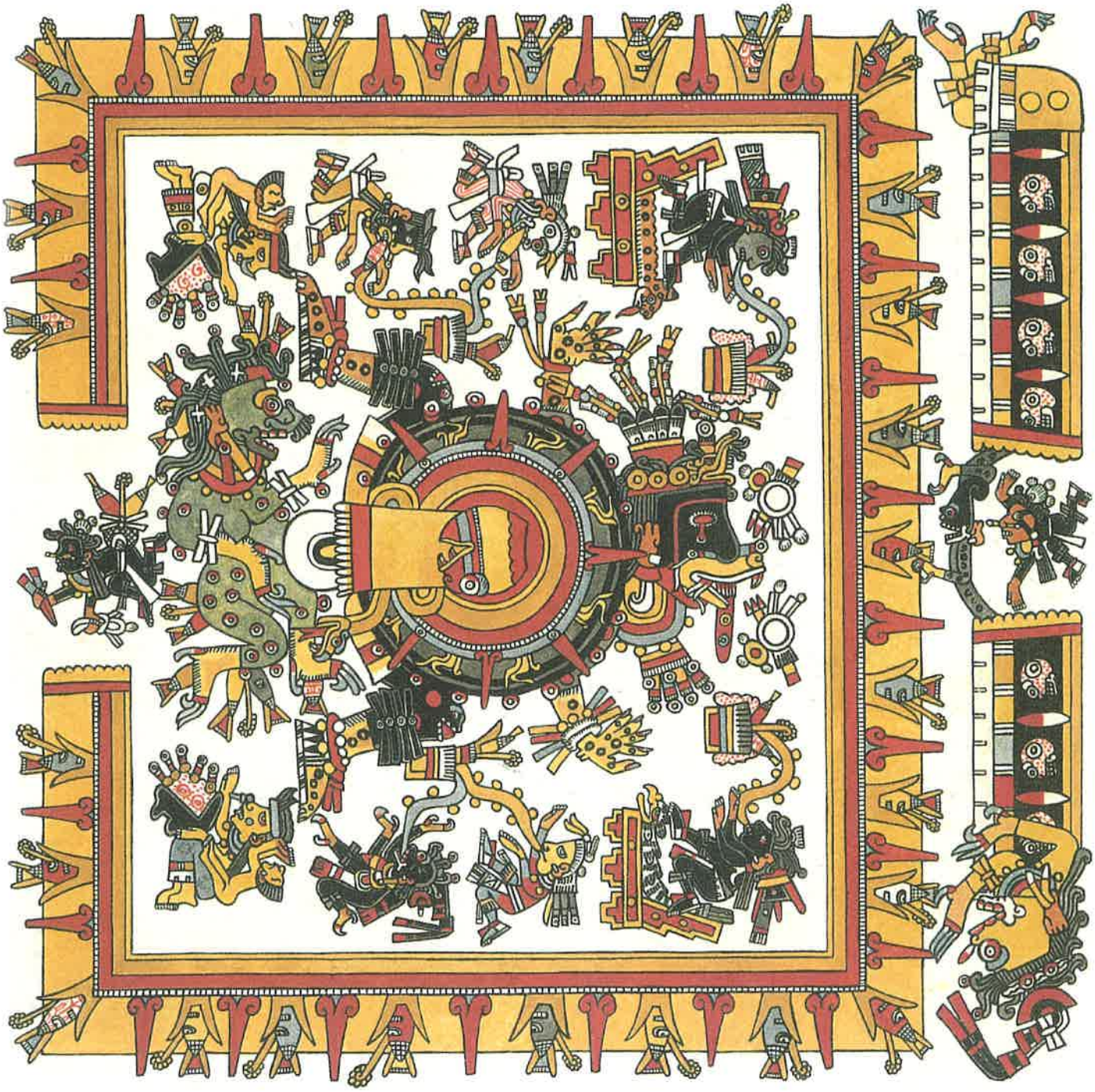

PLATE 43: Page 15 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a corn/sun compound

PLATE 42: Page 14 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye leads ceremonies of sacrifice

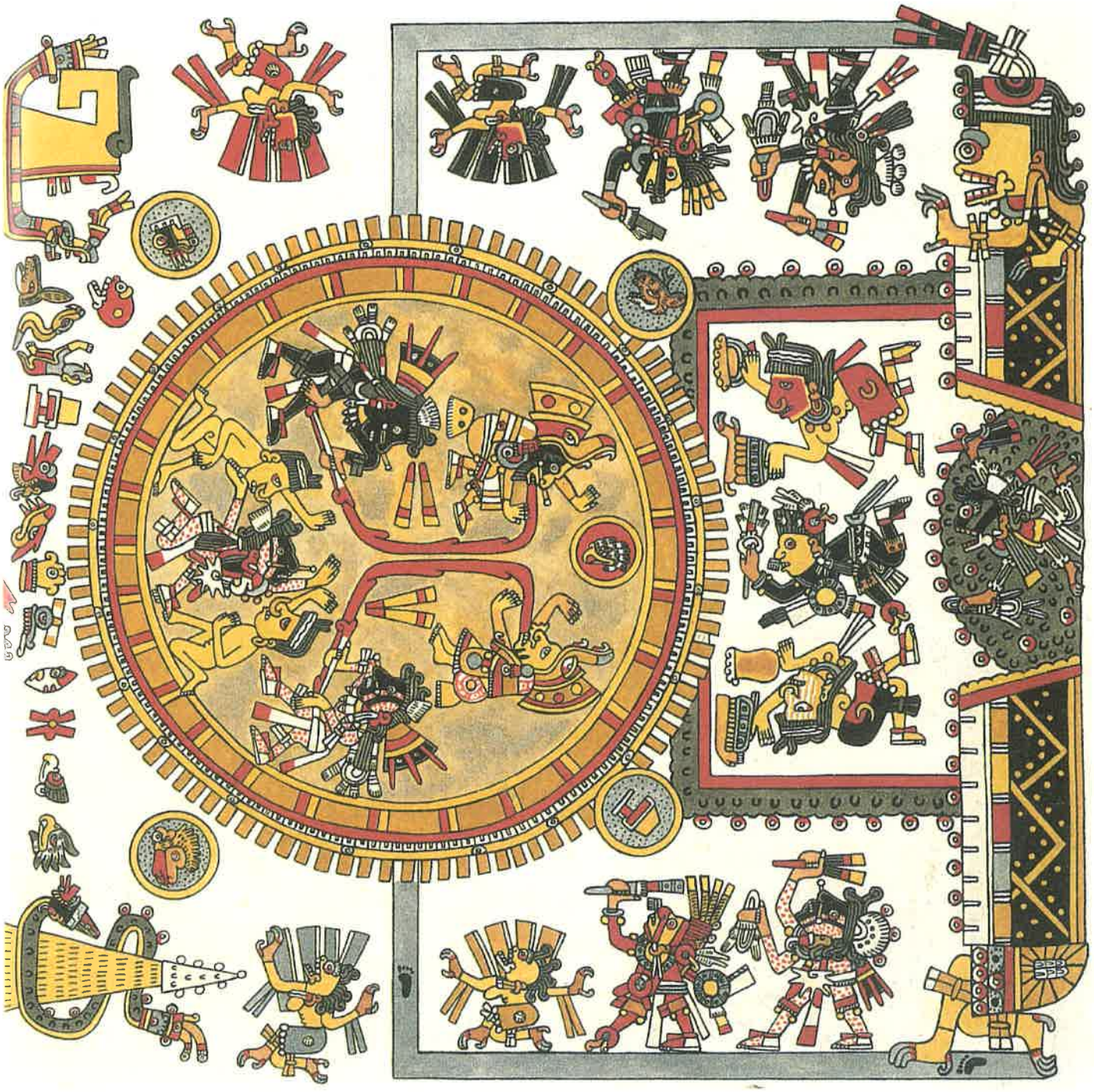

PLATE 41: Page 13 of the ritual sequence, a blue road and a cogged disc as Stripe Eye continues

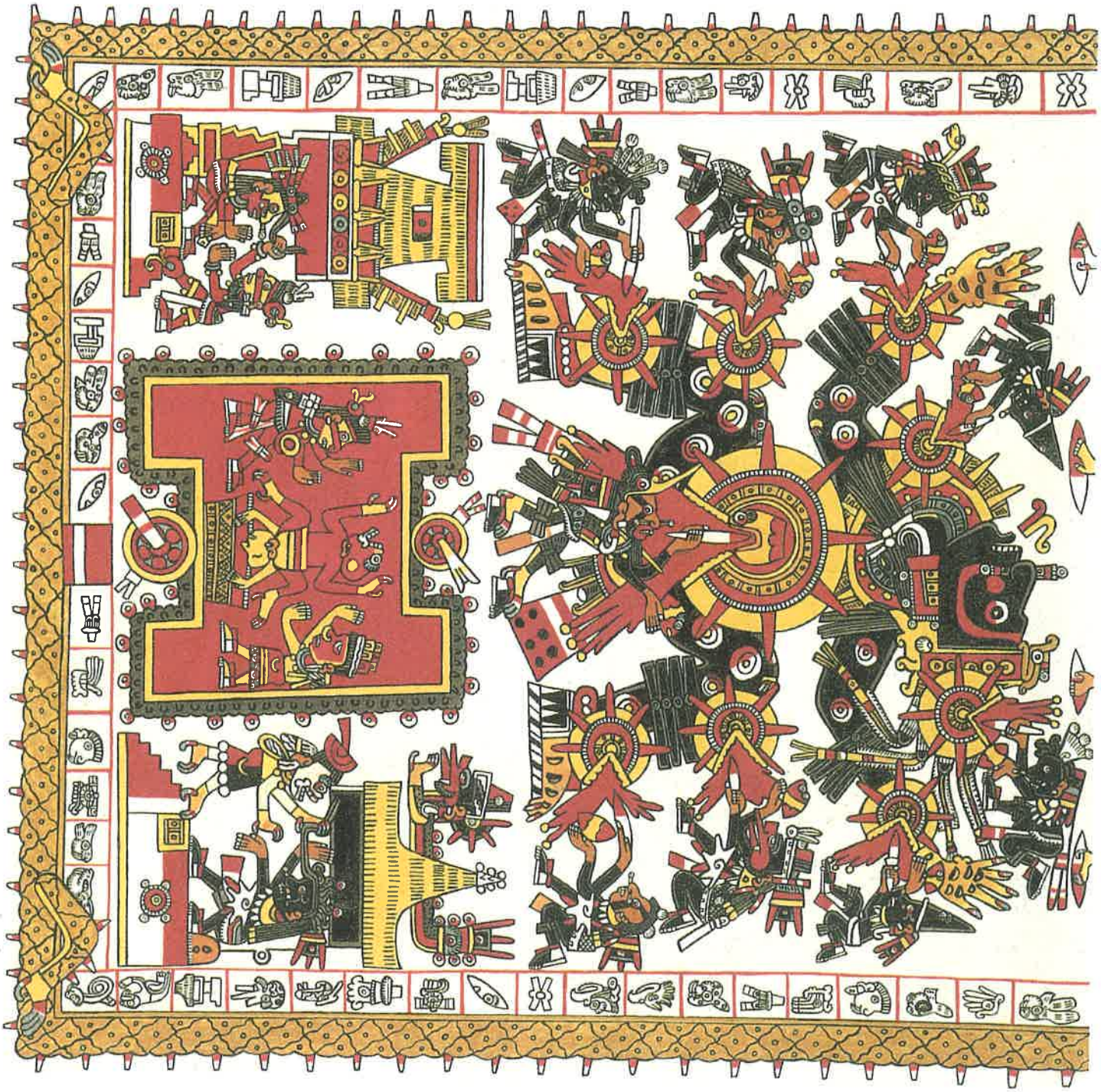

PLATE 40: Page 12 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye sacrifices the solar deity

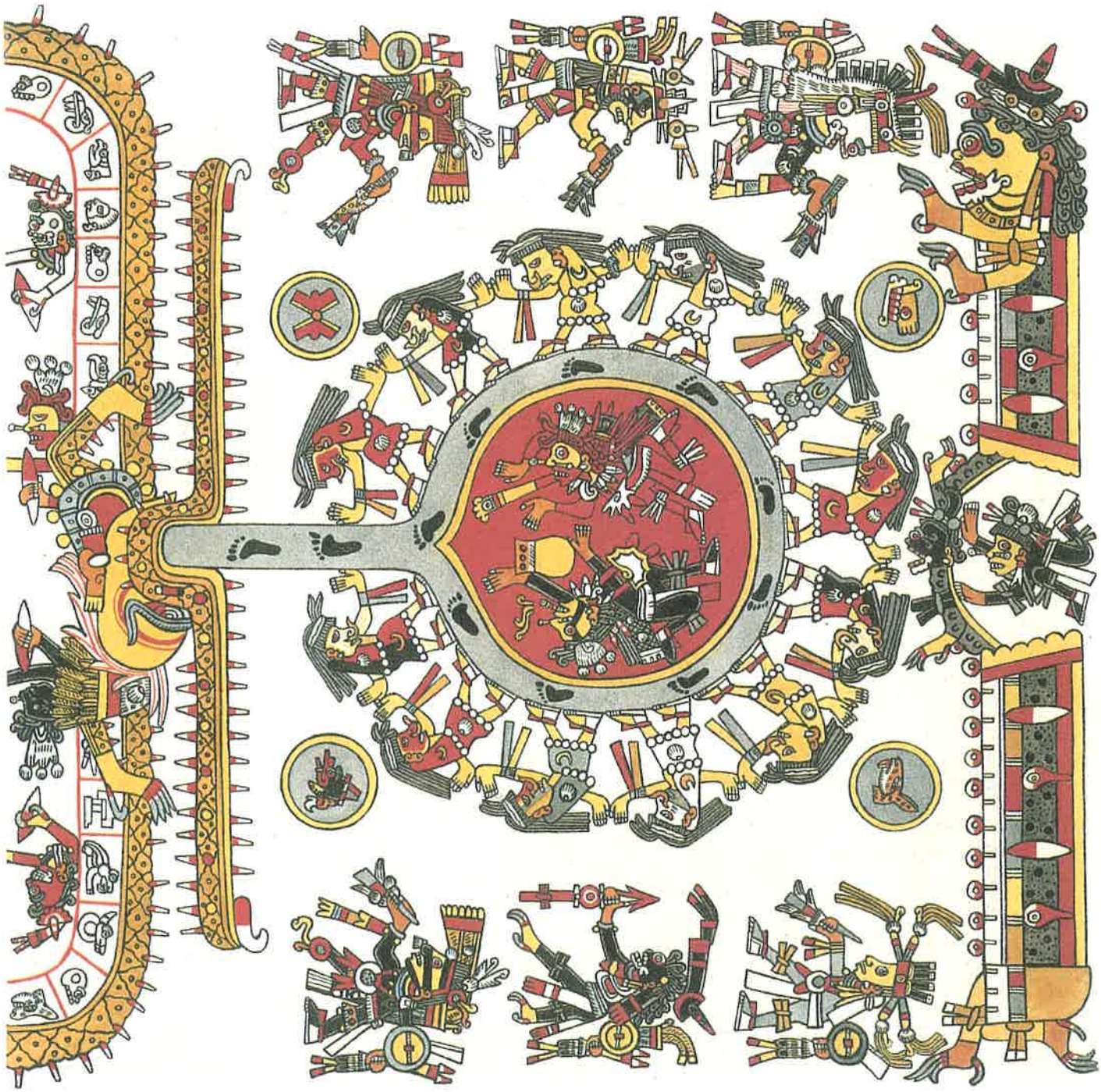

PLATE 39: Page 11 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye in another ceremony

PLATE 38: Page 10 of the ritual sequence, rituals as Stripe Eye ends his magical journey

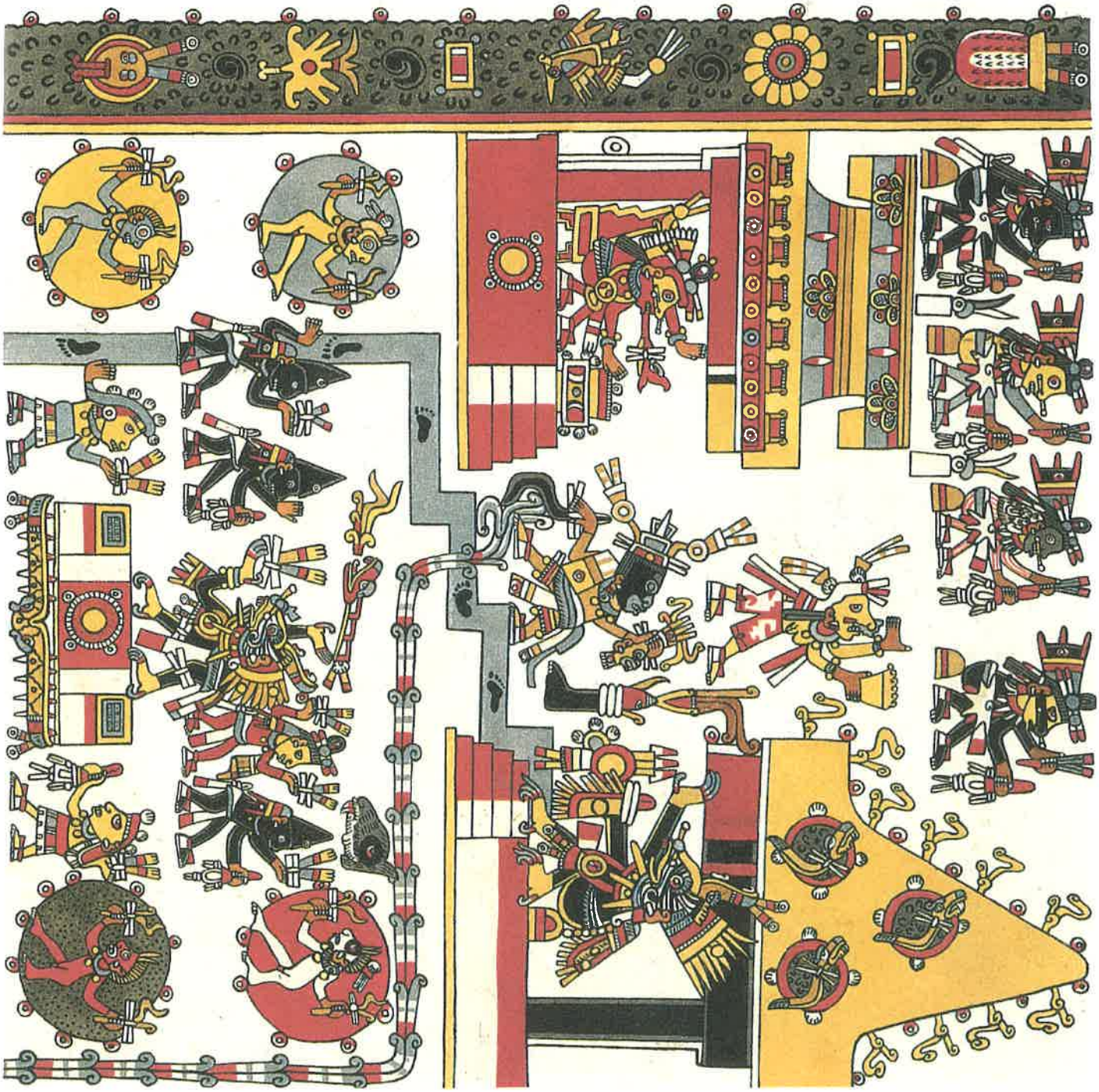

PLATE 37: Page 9 of the ritual sequence, rituals in the plaza of the heaven temple while Stripe Eye magically journeys

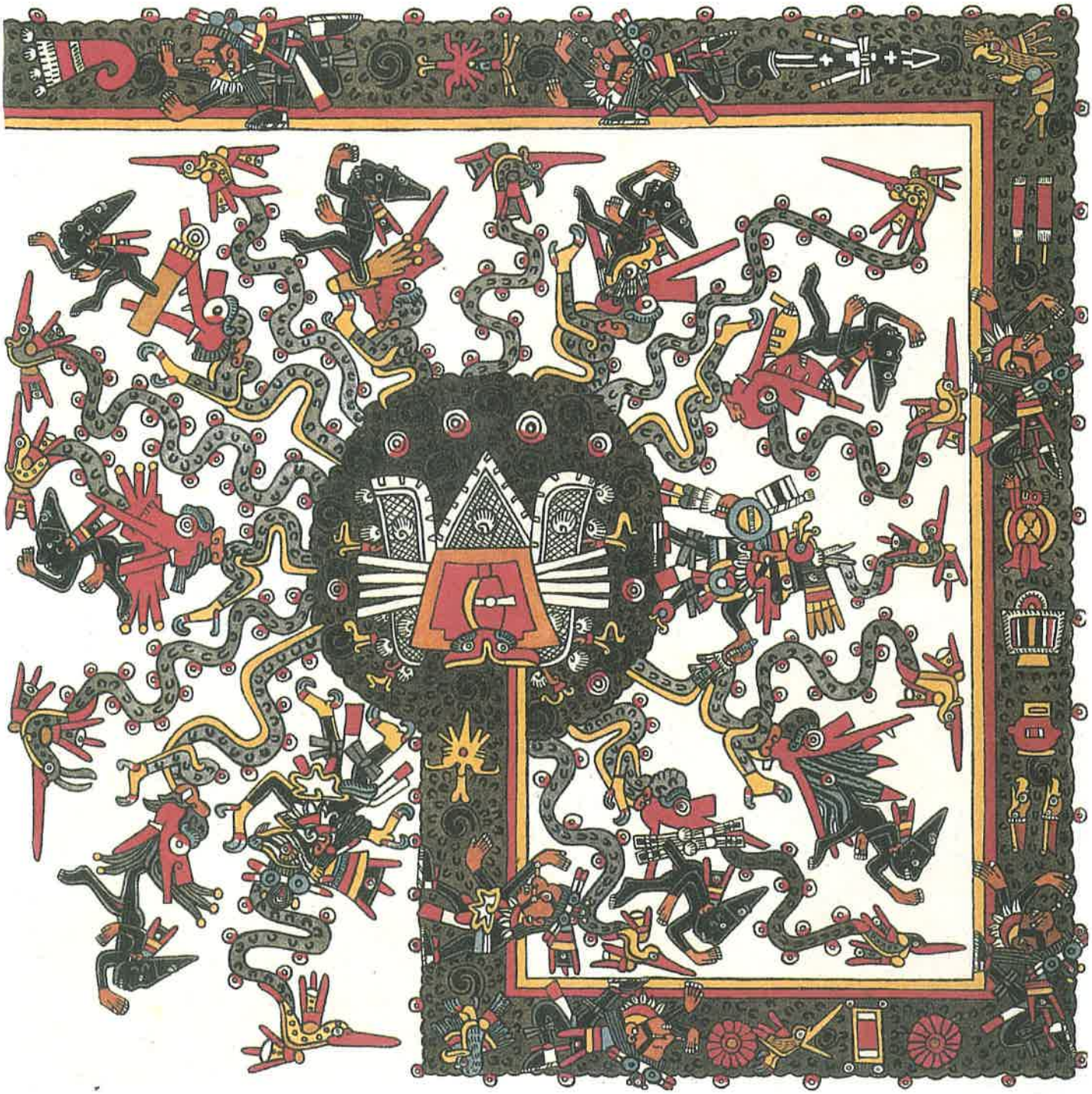

PLATE 36: Page 8 of the ritual sequence, the wind bundle is opened

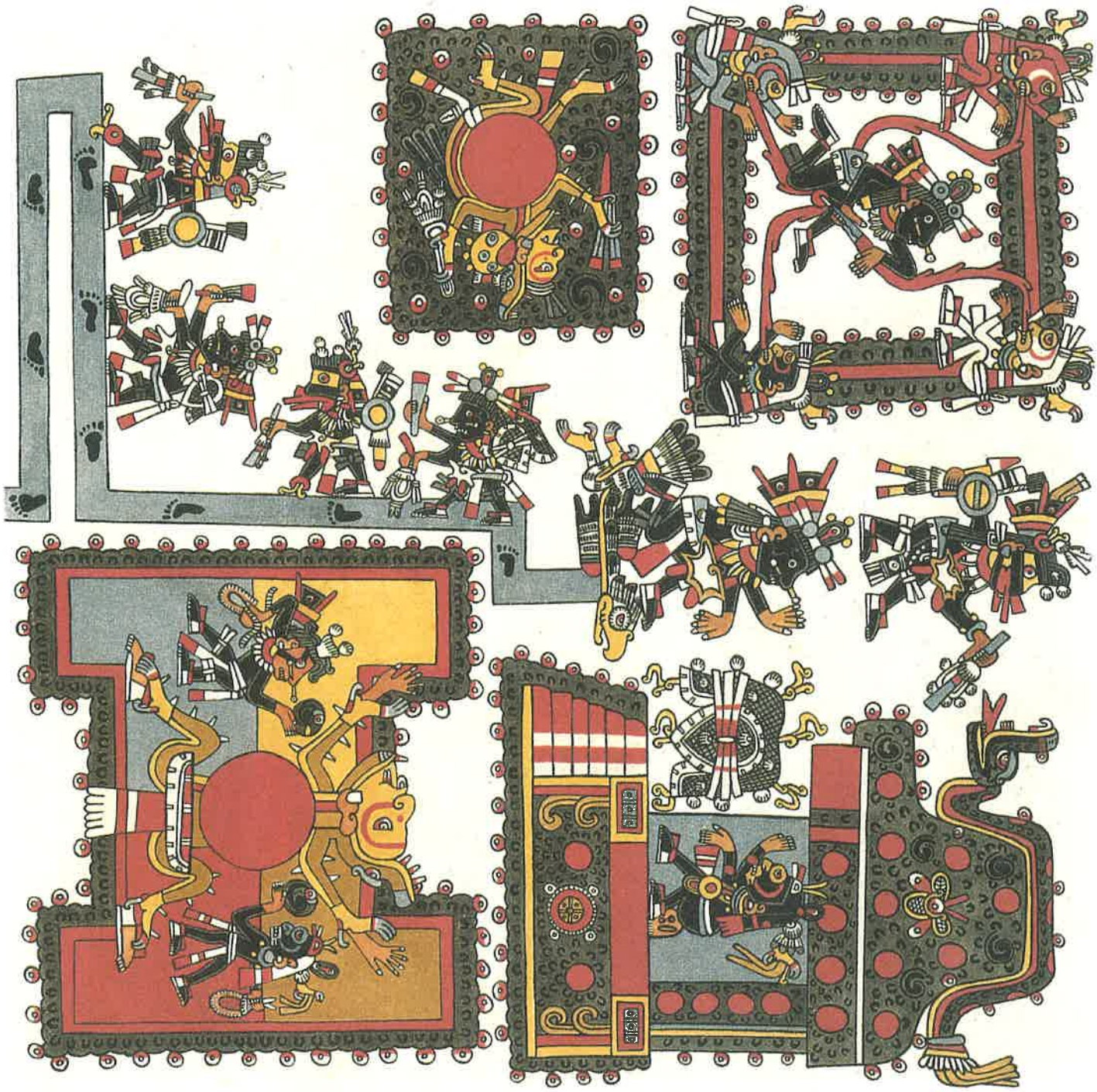

PLATE 35: Page 7 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye's journey begins on the blue road

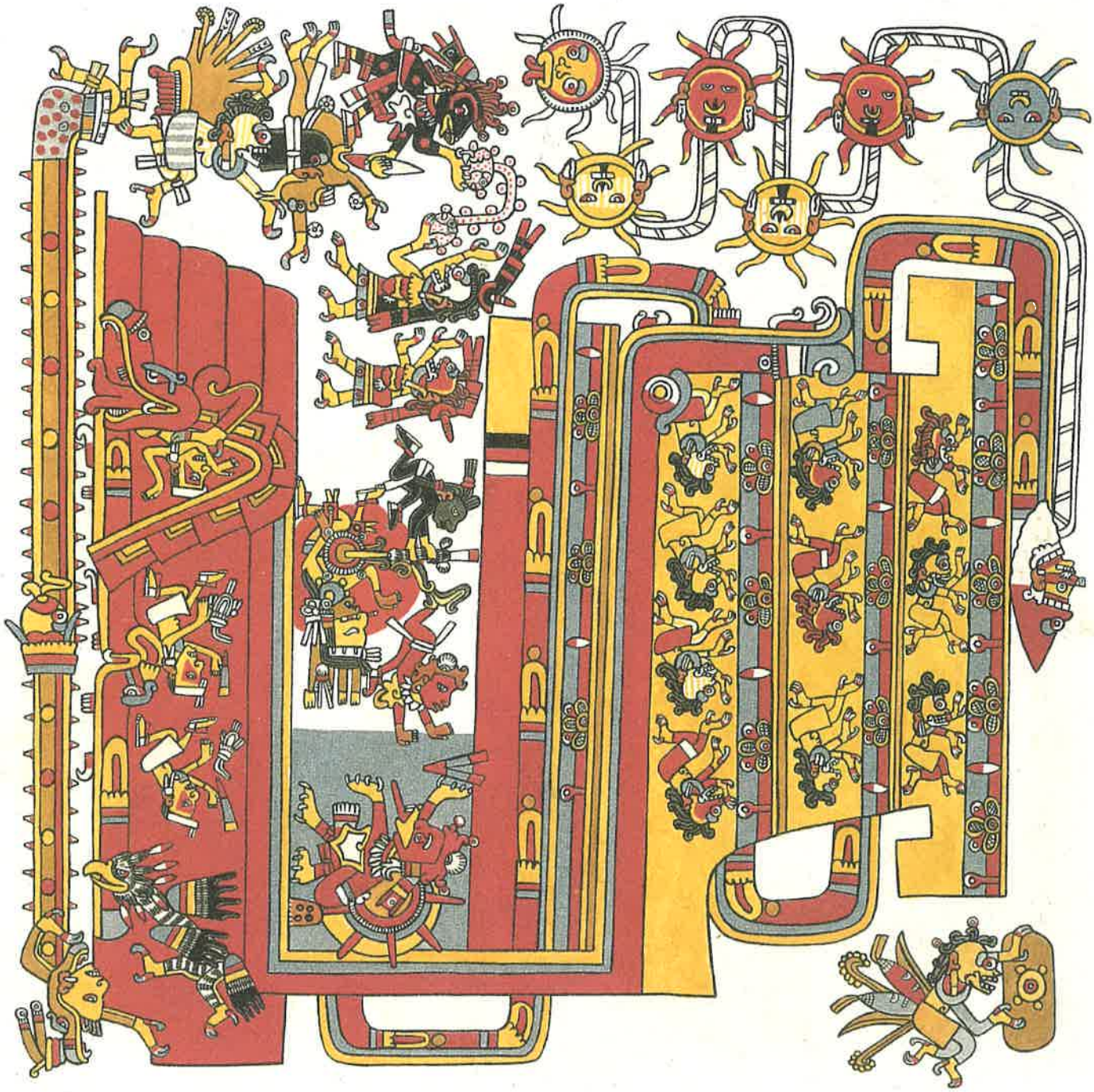

PLATE 34: Page 6 of the ritual sequence, the eared-roofed heaven temple

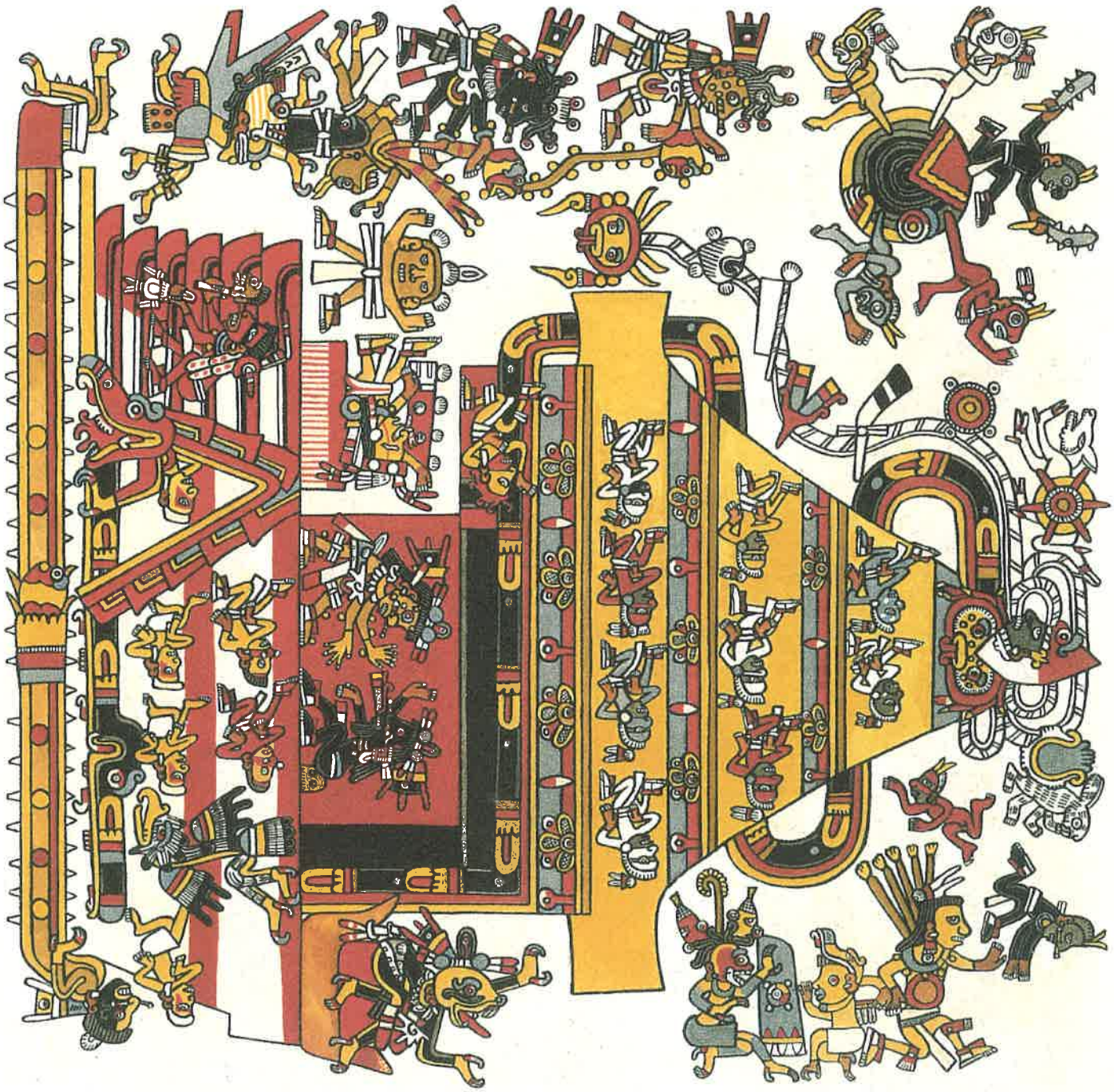

PLATE 33: Page 5 of the ritual sequence, the round heaven temple

PLATE 32: Page 4 of the ritual sequence, the fifth enclosure

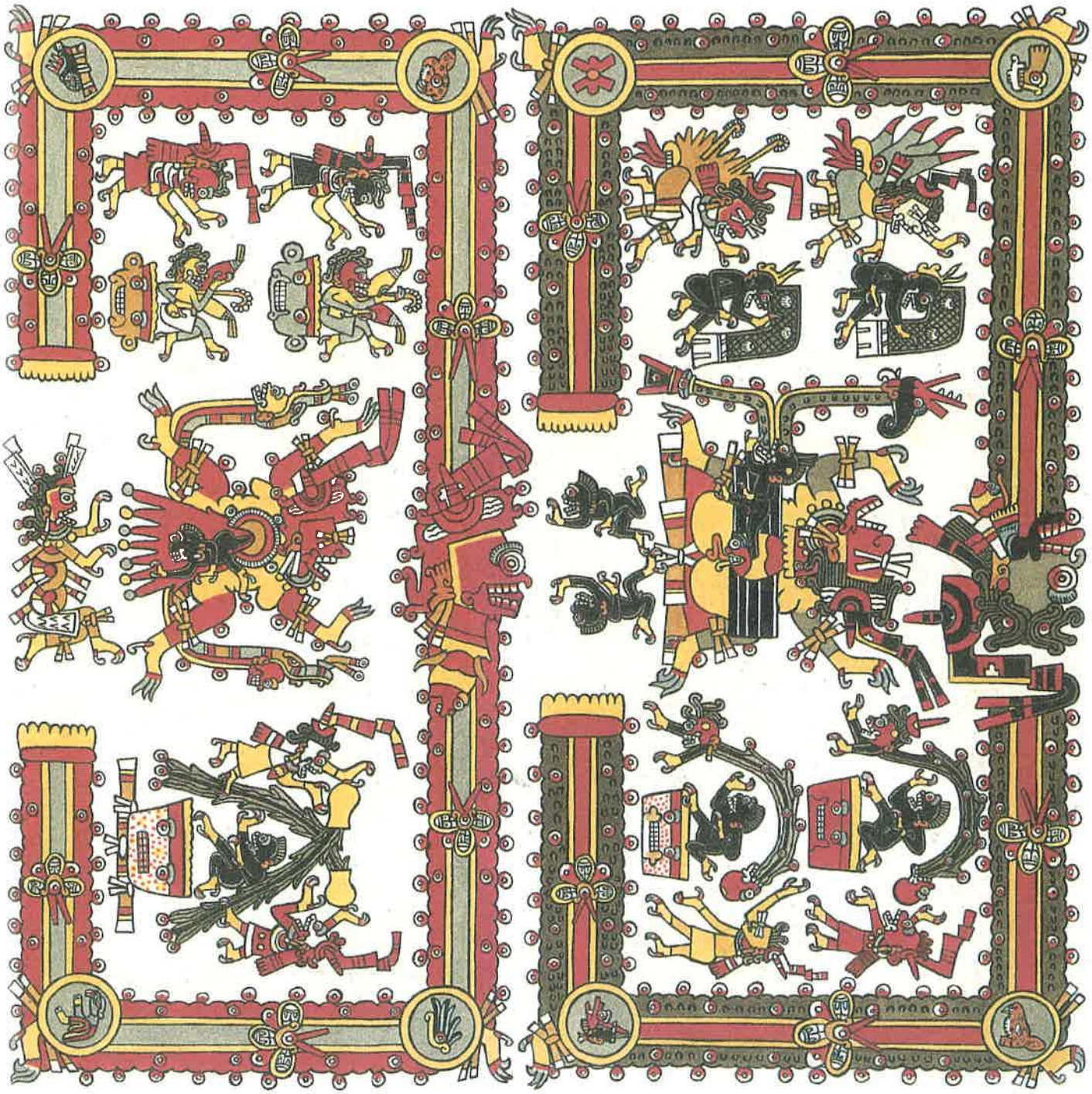

PLATE 31: Page 3 of the ritual sequence, the third and fourth enclosures

PLATE 30: Page 2 of the ritual sequence, the second enclosure

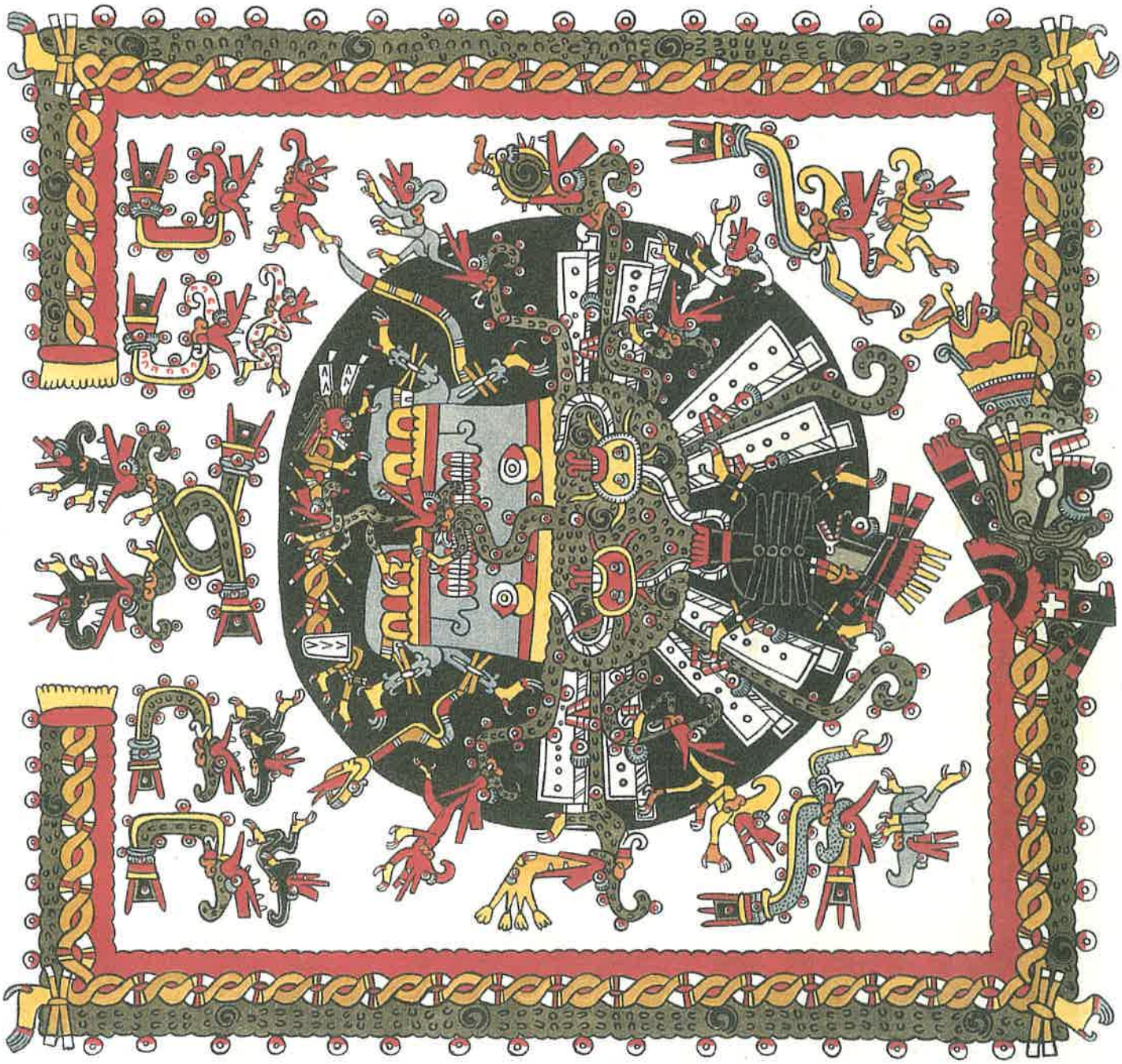

PLATE 29: Page 1 of the ritual sequence, the first enclosure

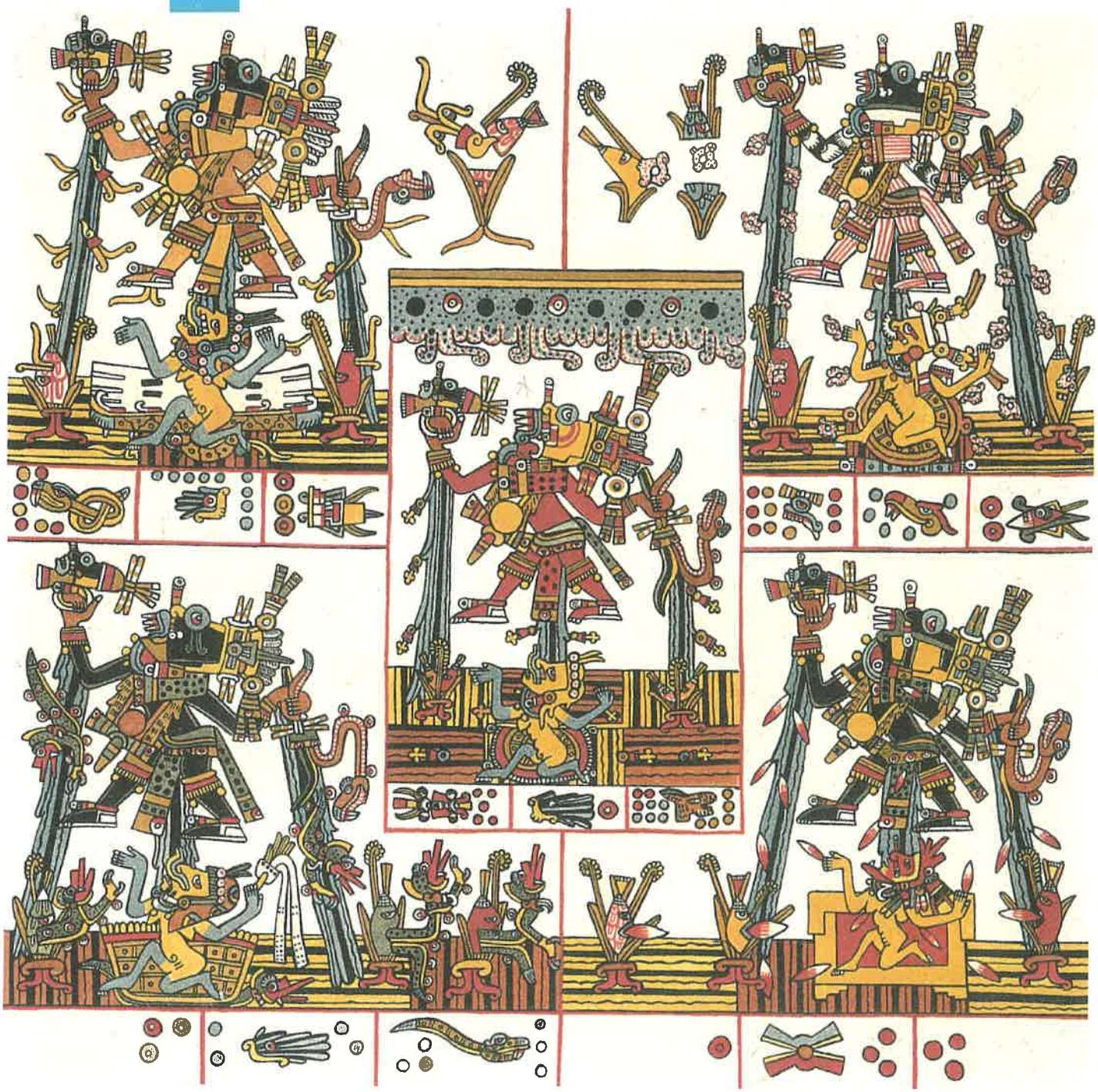

PLATE 28: The five directions with rain deities and the first five years of a 52-year calendar cycle

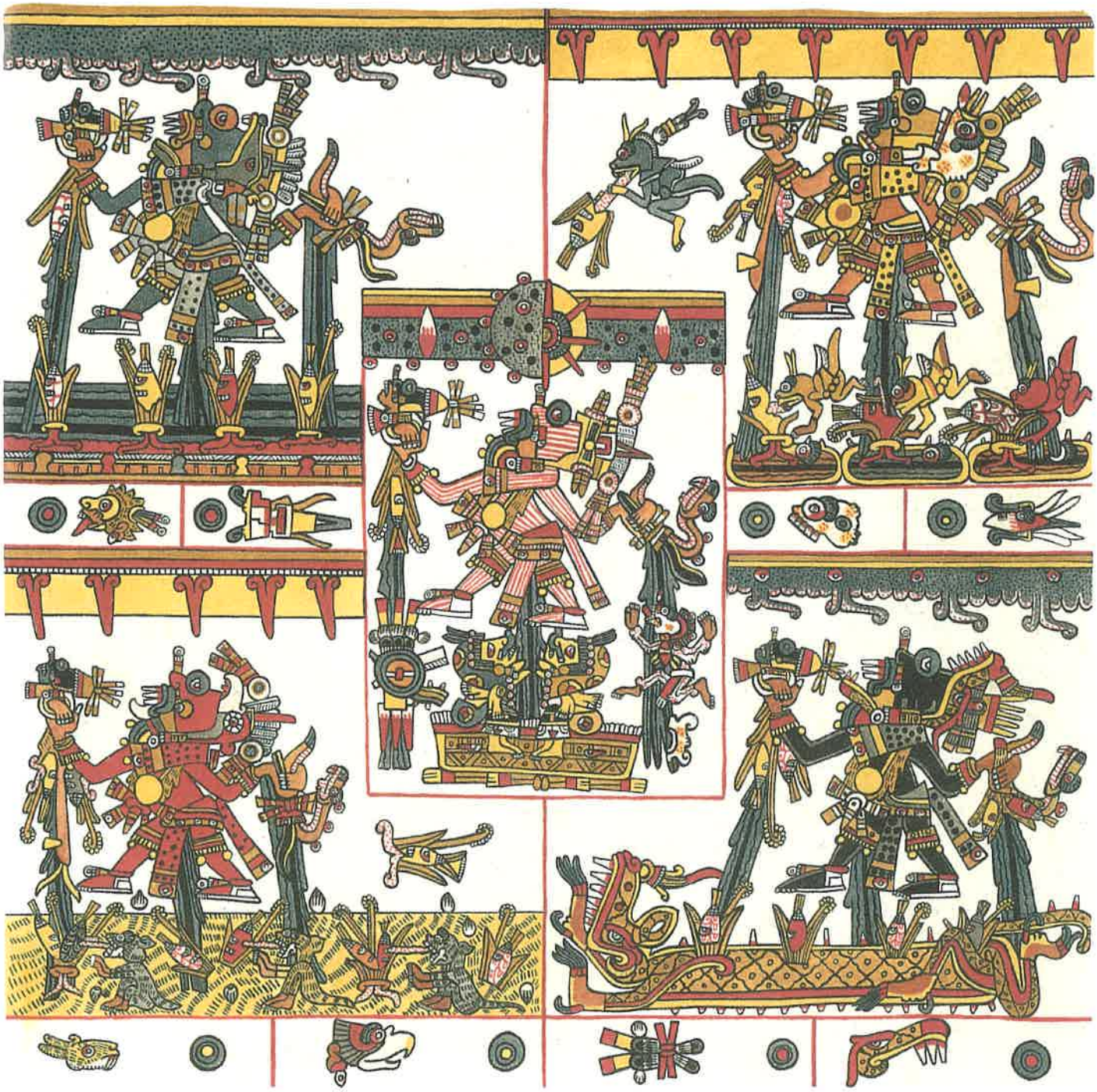

PLATE 27: The five directions with rain deities and four quarters of a 52-year calendar cycle

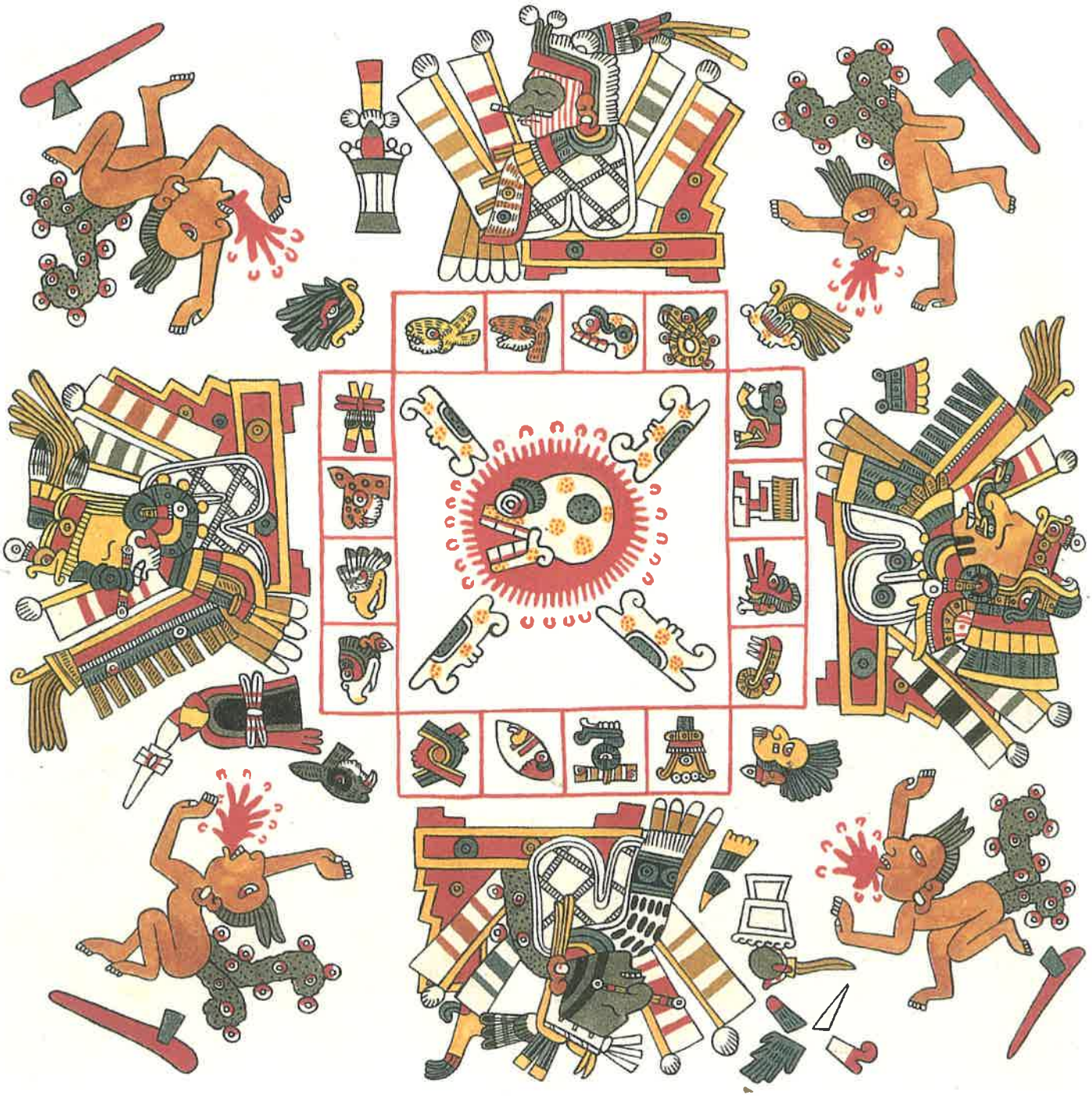

PLATE 26: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs in the underworld

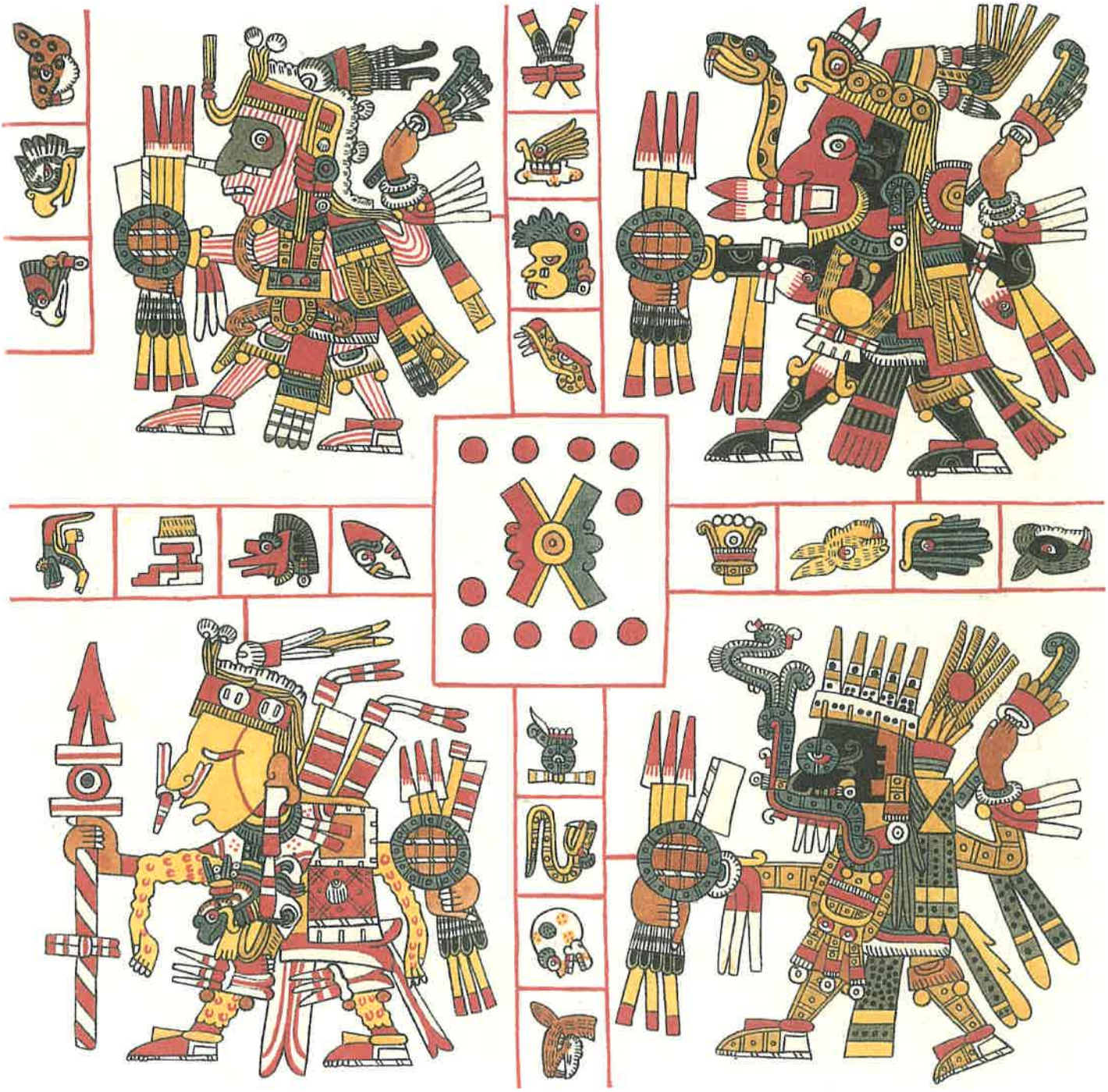

PLATE 25: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs

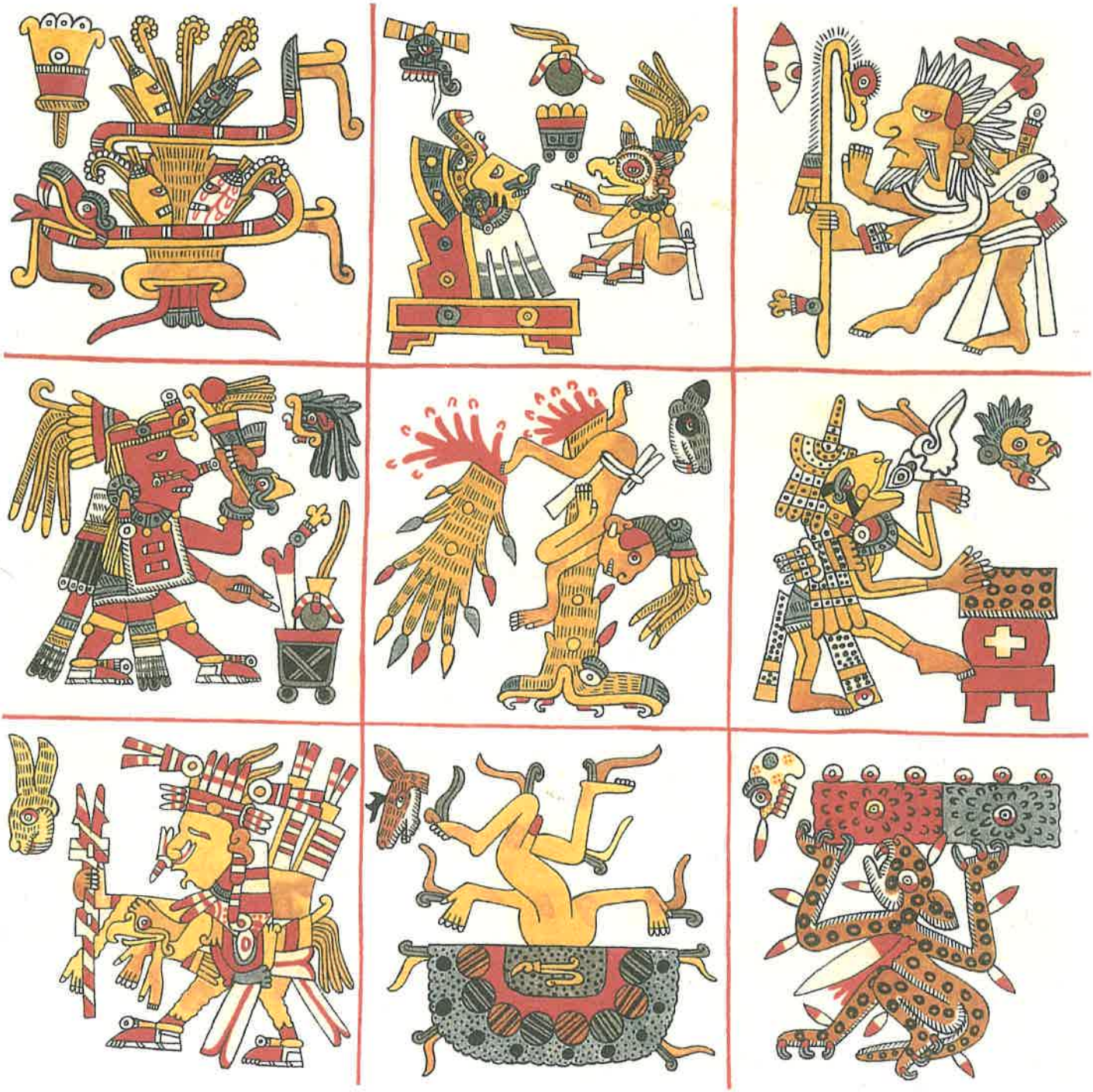

PLATE 24: Page 3 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 23: Page 2 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 22: Two deer with one half of the *tonalpohualli*, and page 1 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

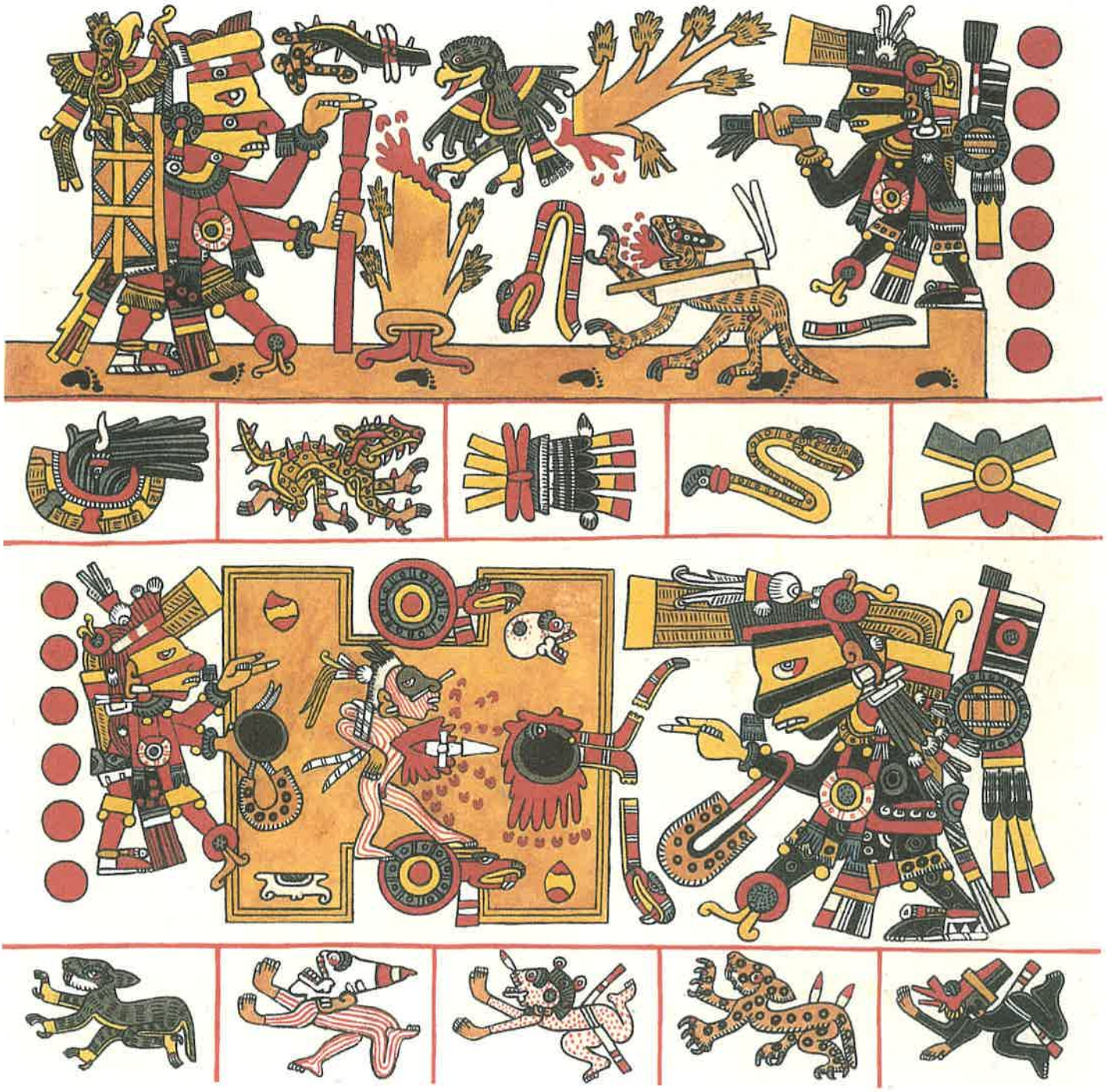

PLATE 21: Page 4 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

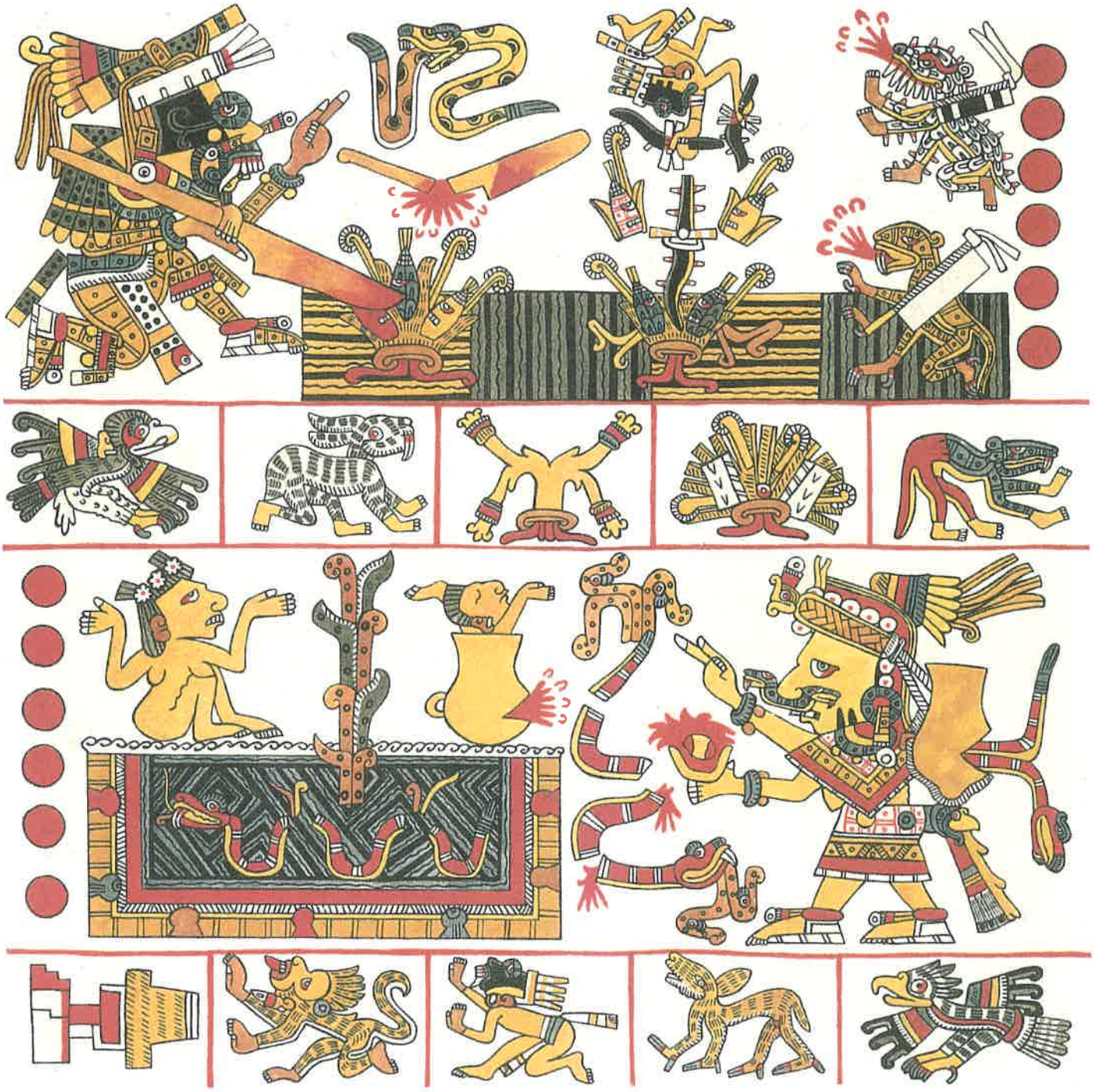

PLATE 20: Page 3 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

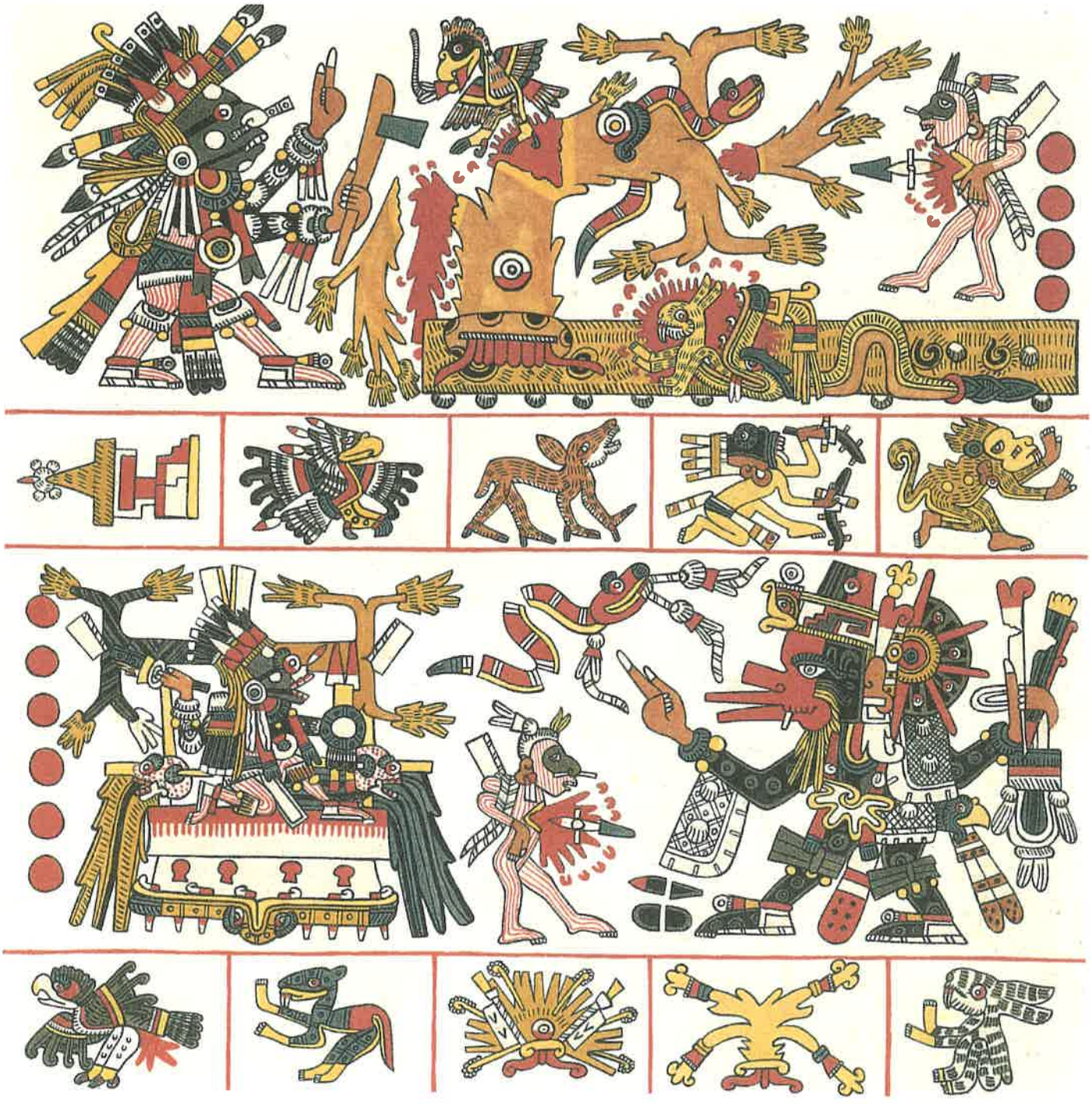

PLATE 19: Page 2 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

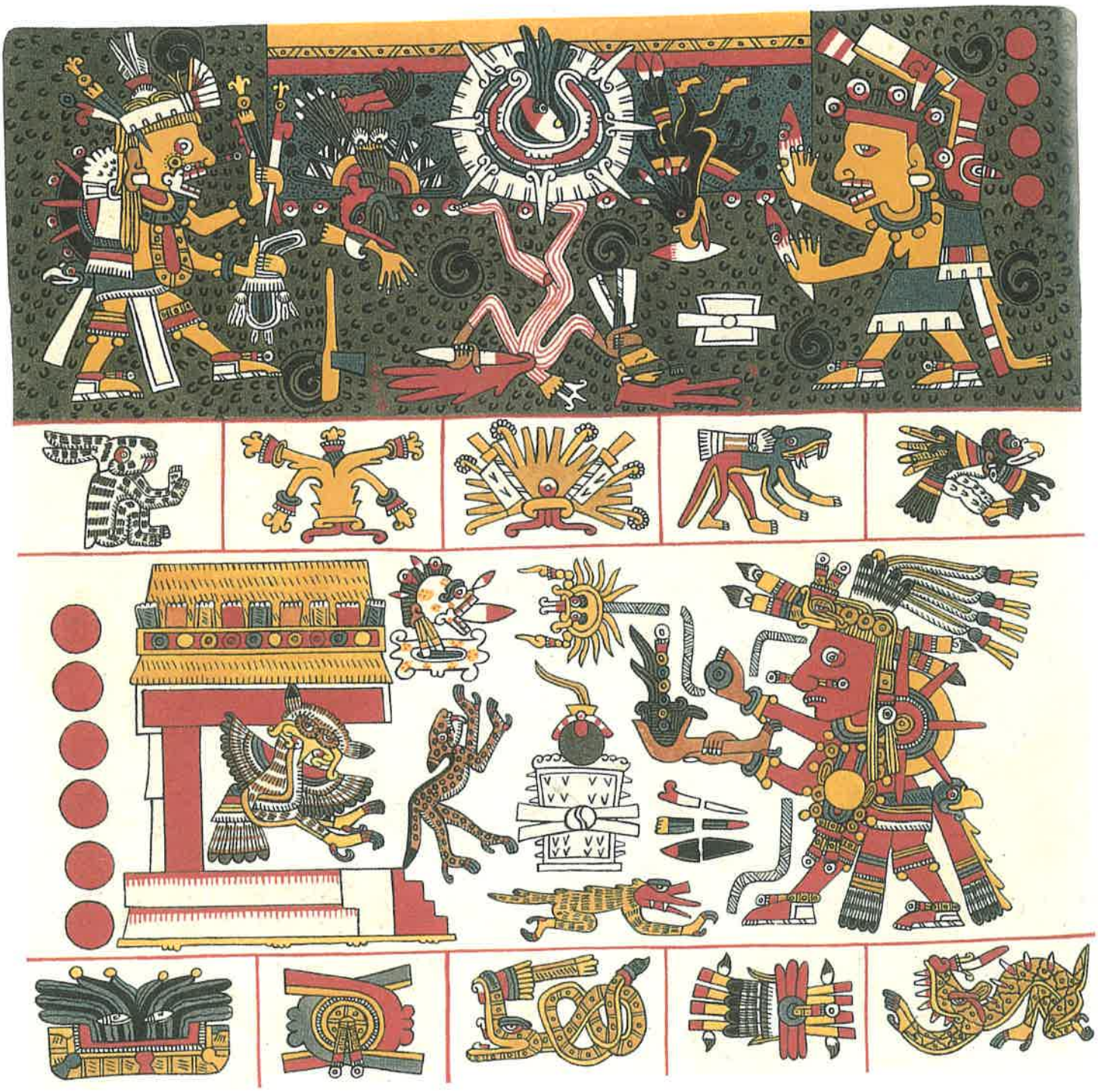

PLATE 18: Page 1 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 17: Page 3 of 20 deities and 80 days, and Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca with the 20 day signs on his body and costume

PLATE 16: Page 2 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 15: Page 1 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 14: The nine deities of the night

Piltzintecuhtli pescando los "11 peces de esmeralda", los humanos en su pre-forma (acuáticos). Están en Tlalocan, pero sobre todo Omeyocan (son, a veces, lo mismo). (Garibay 124)

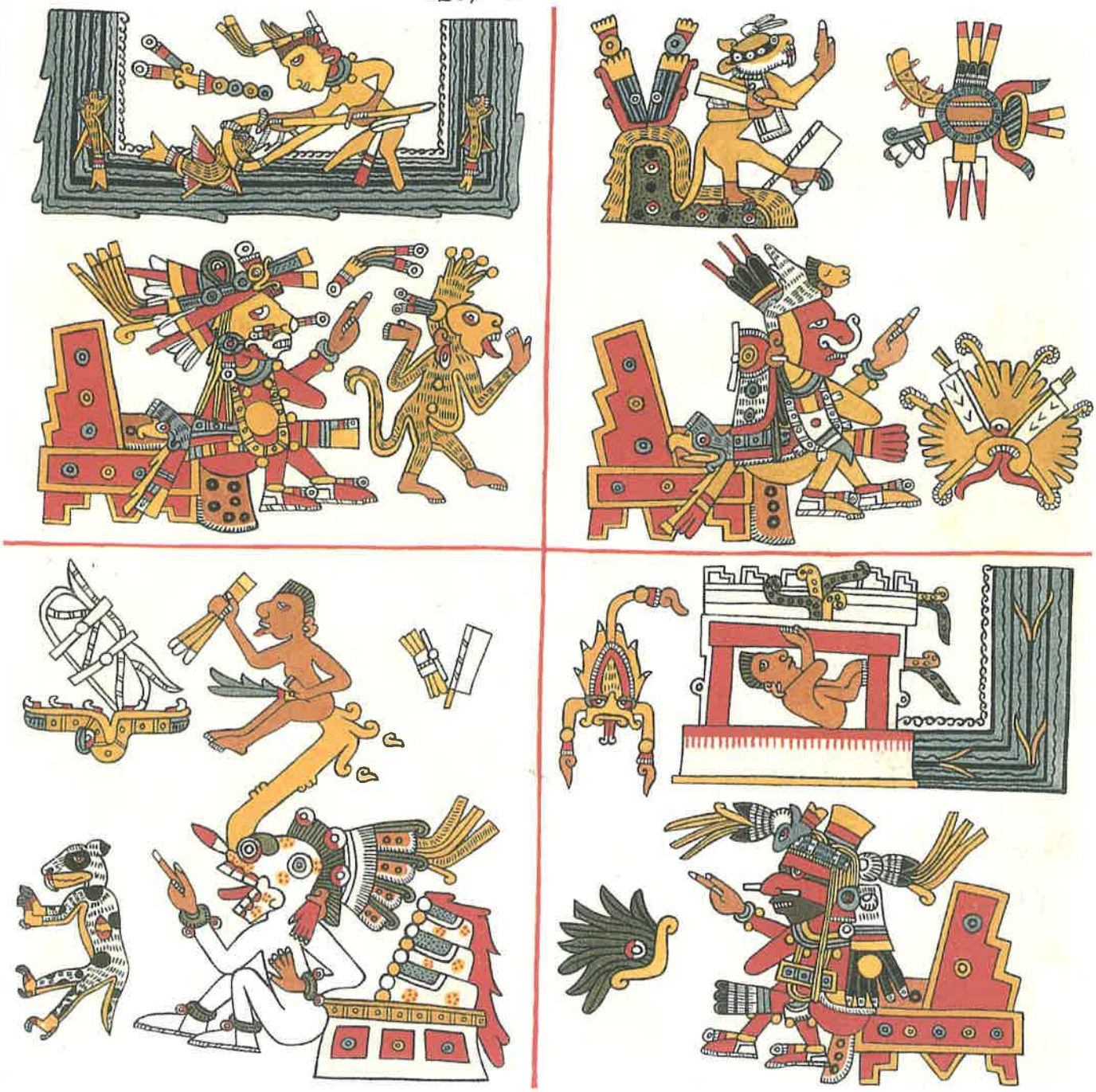

PLATE 13: Page 5 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 12: Page 4 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 11: Page 3 of the deities of the 20 day signs

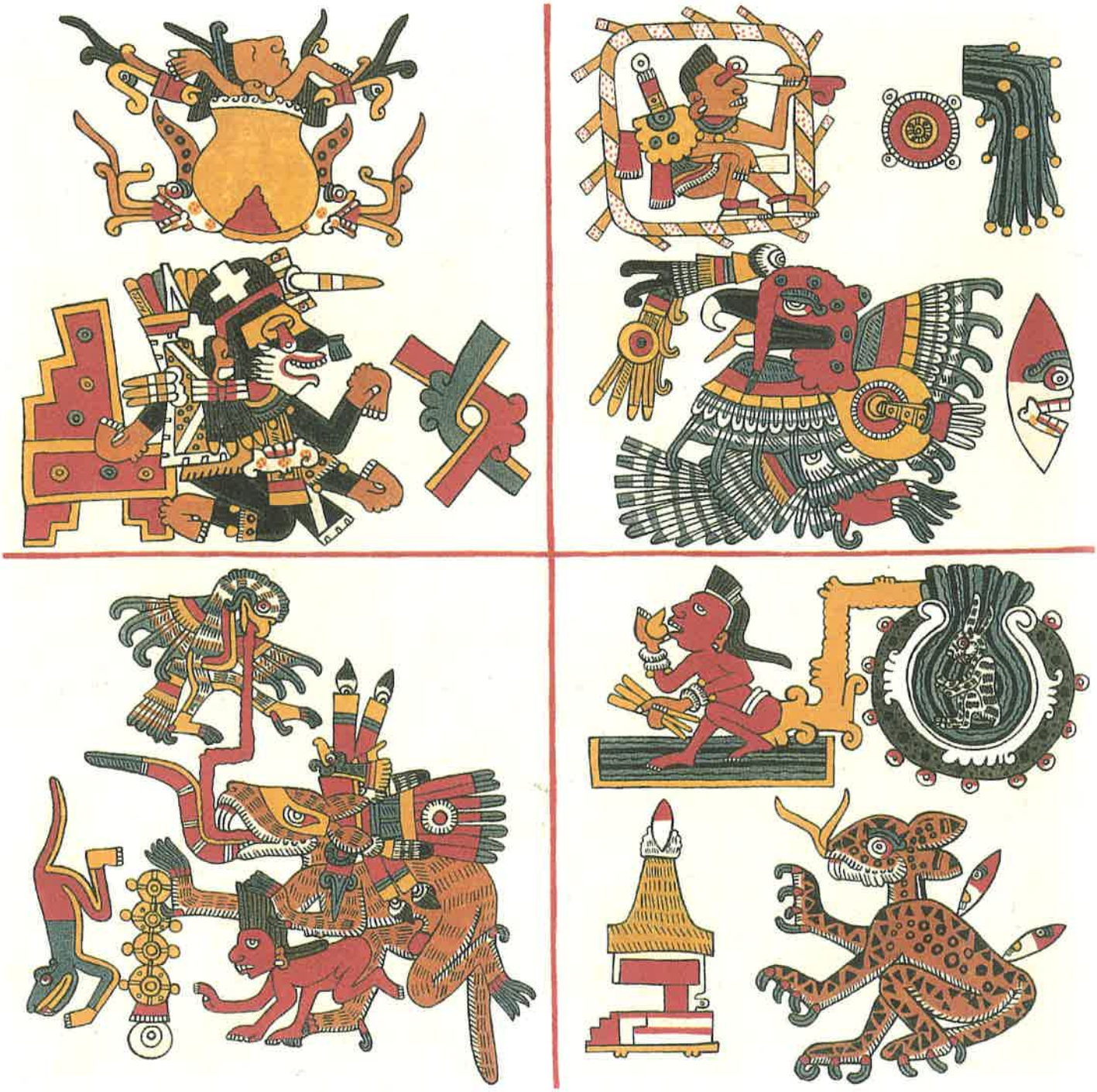

PLATE 10: Page 2 of the deities of the 20 day signs

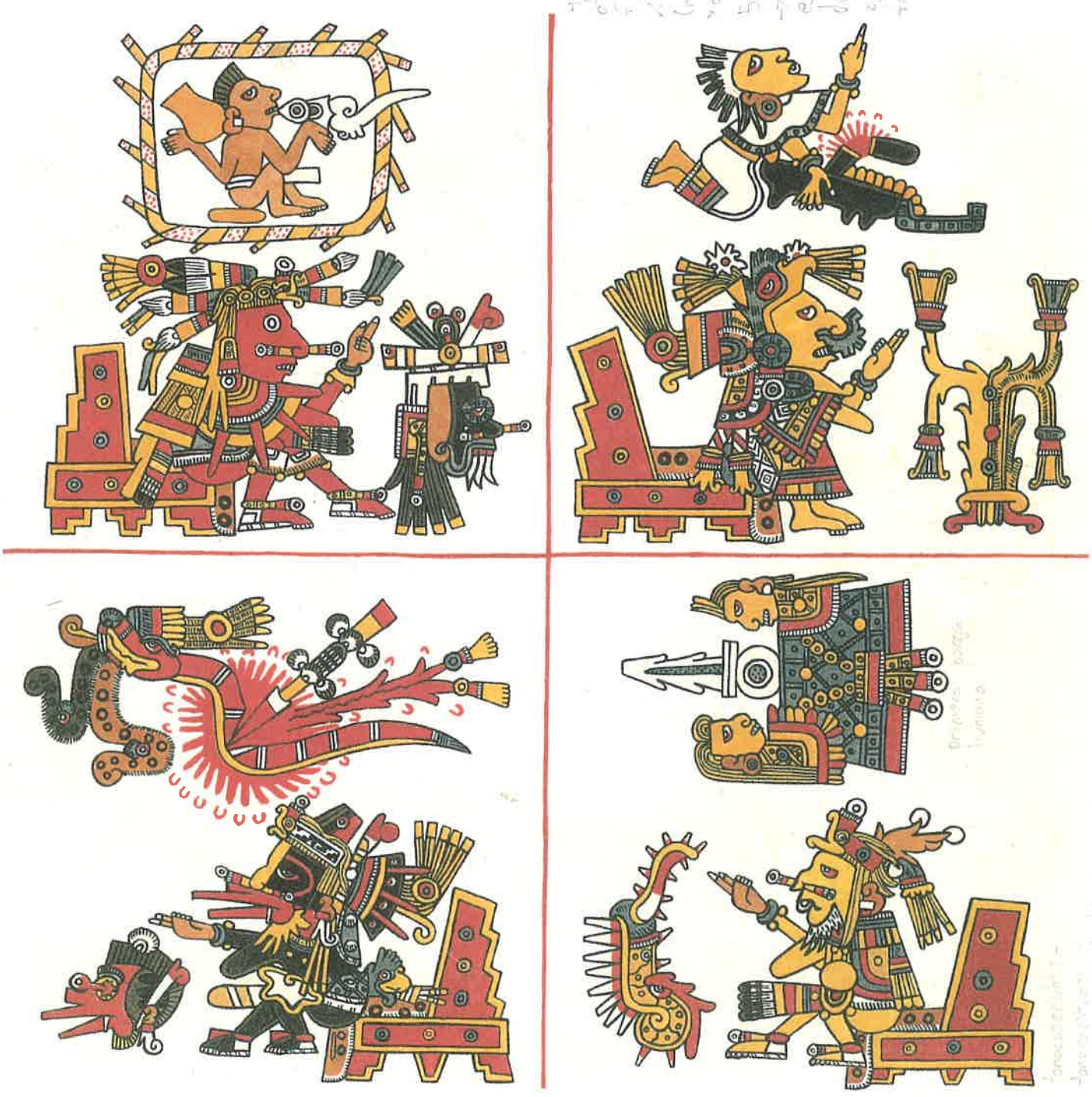

PLATE 9: Page 1 of the deities of the 20 day signs

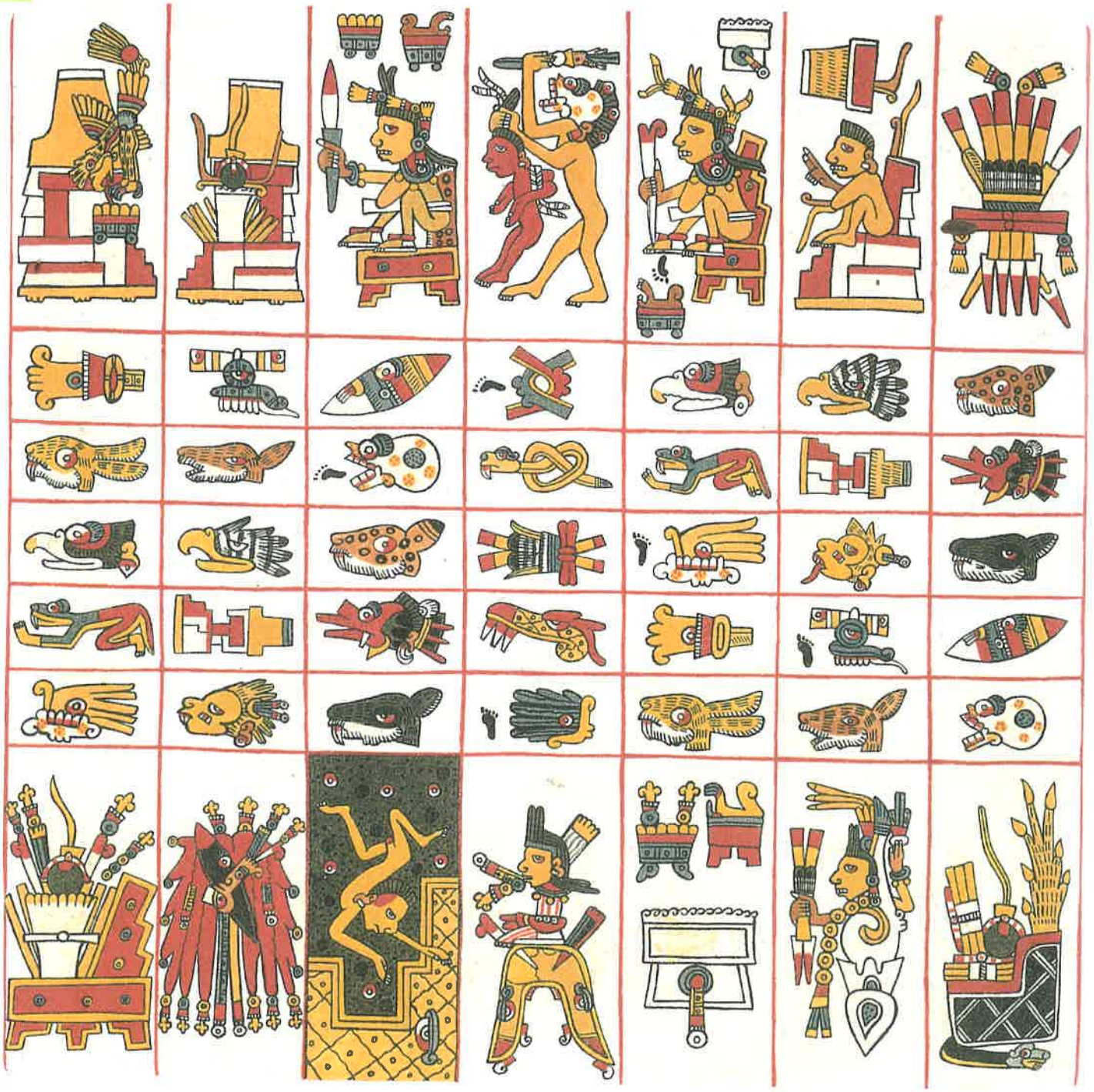

PLATE 8: Page 8 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

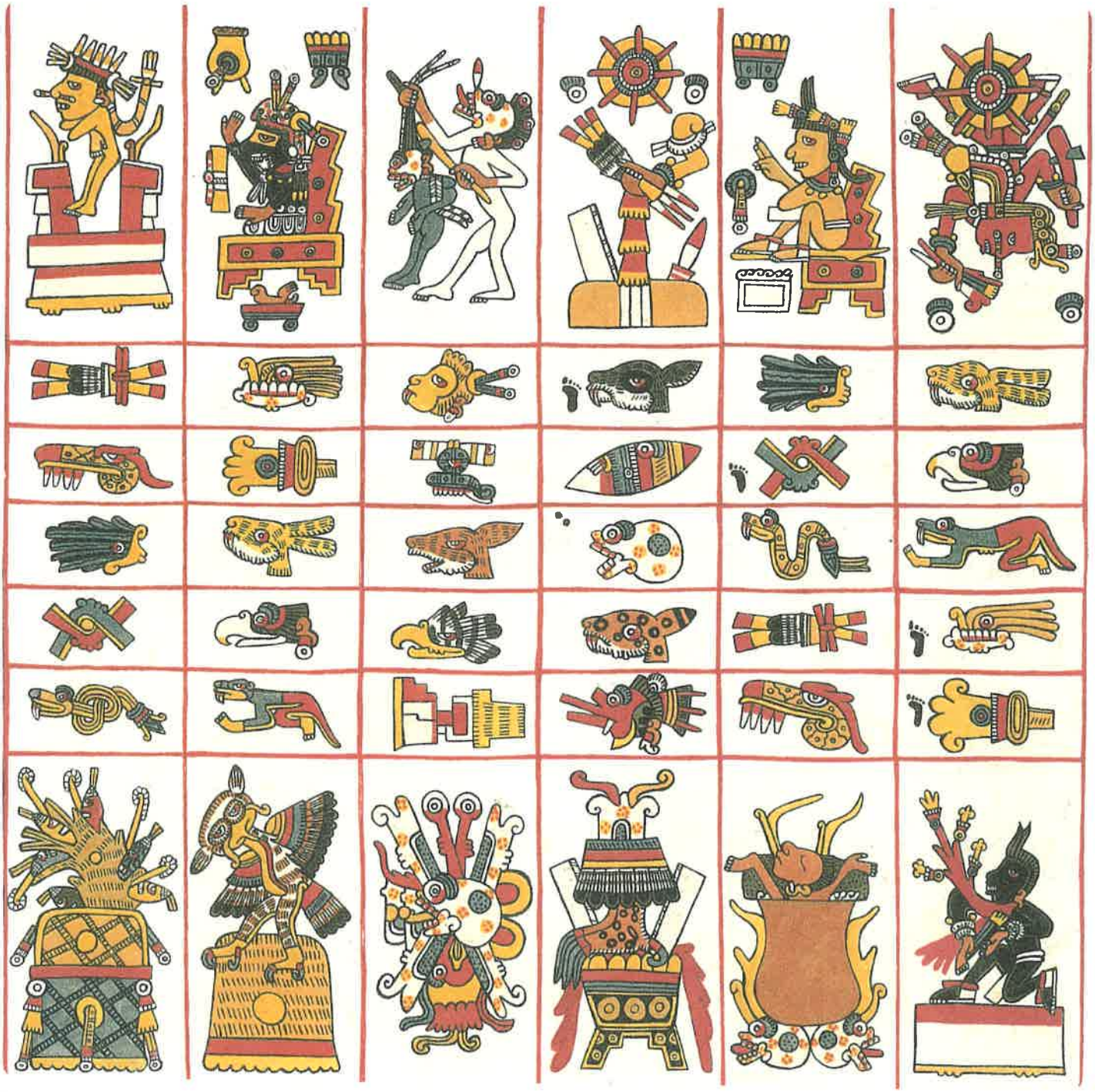

PLATE 7: Page 7 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

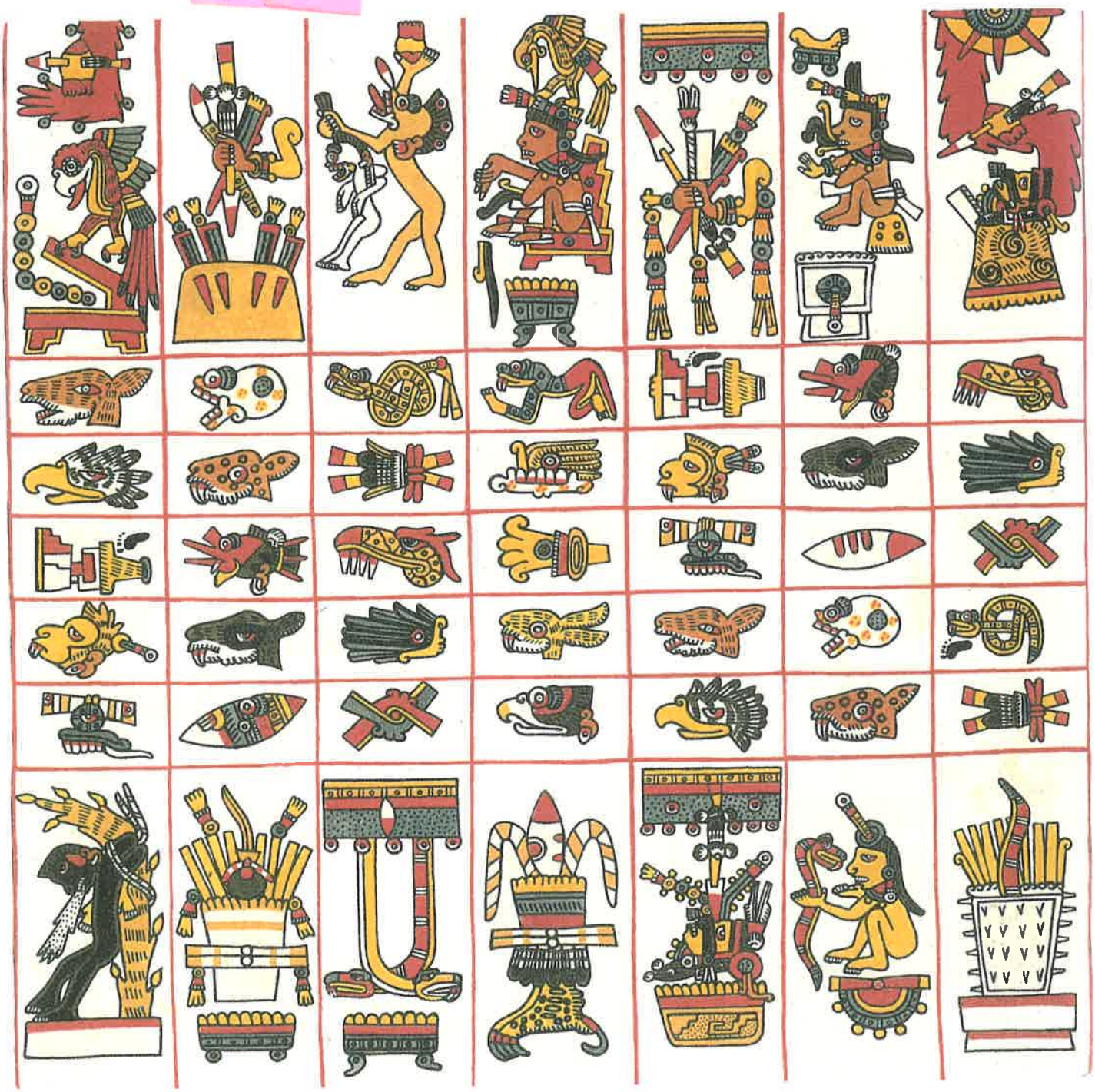

PLATE 6: Page 6 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

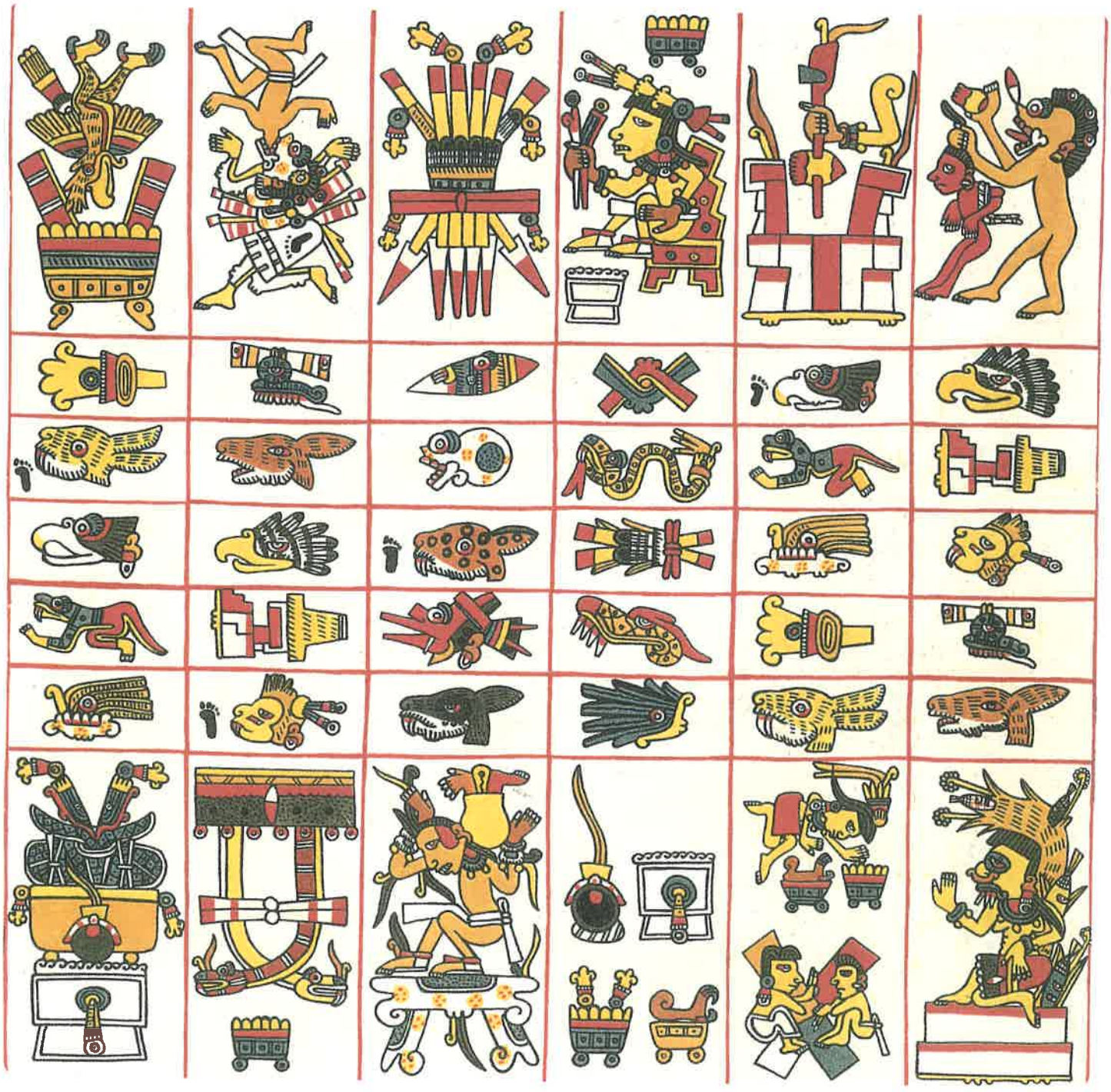

PLATE 5: Page 5 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

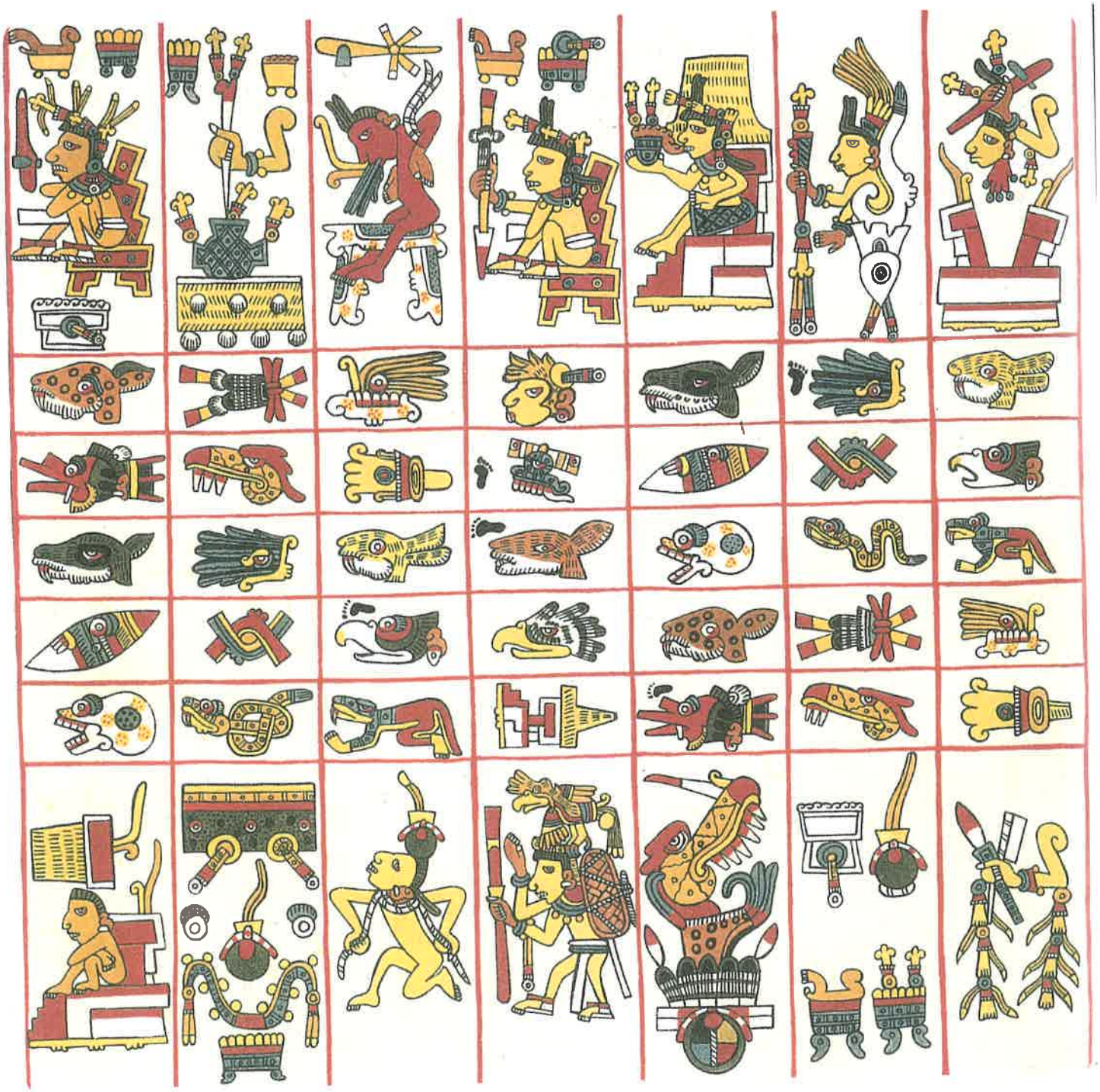

PLATE 4: Page 4 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

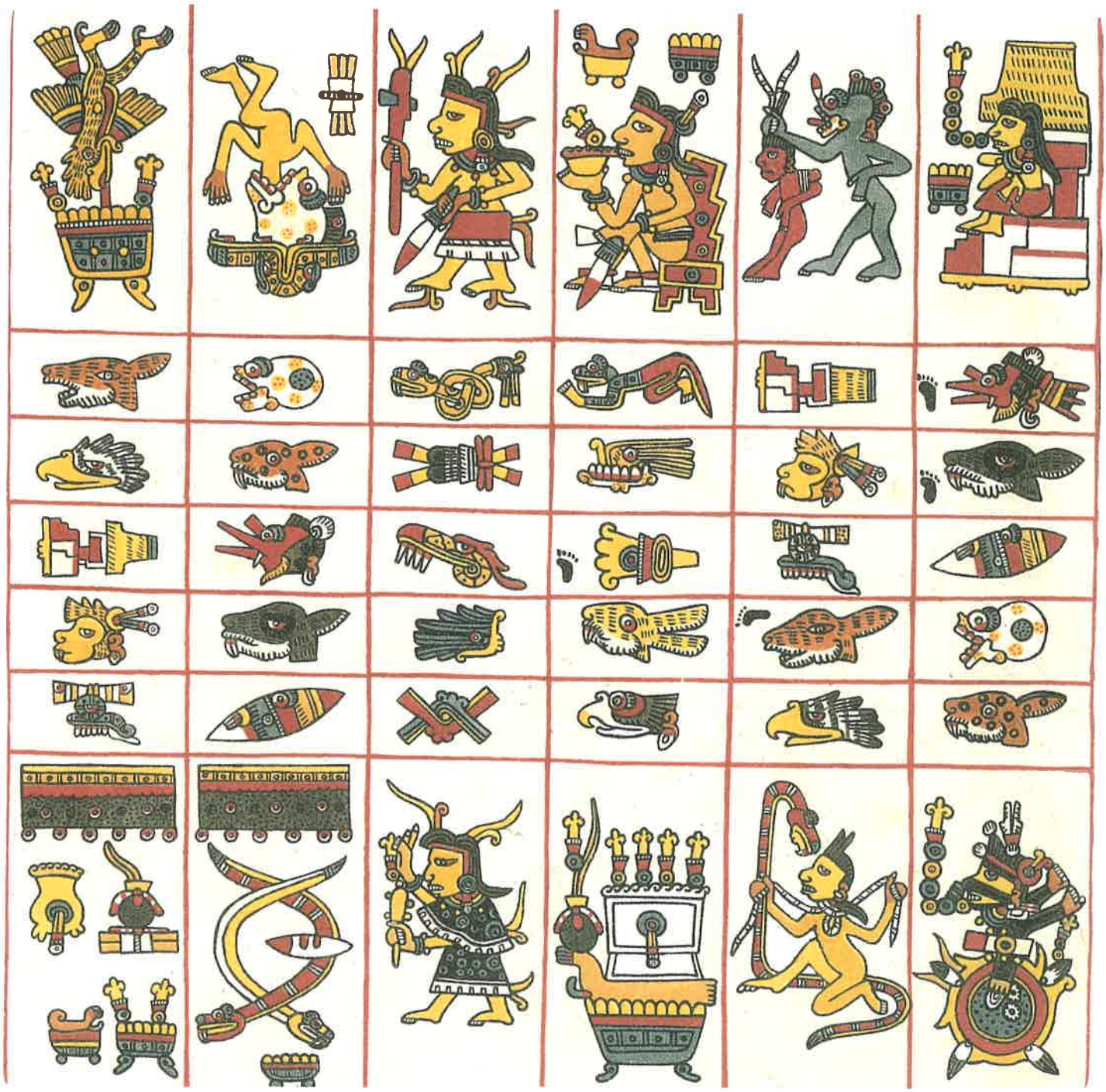

PLATE 3: Page 3 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 2: Page 2 of the *tonalpohualli* arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 1: Page 1 of the *tonalpohualli* (260-day ritual calendar) arranged in five rows of 52 members

(continued from front flap)

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Gisele Díaz & Alan Rodgers

With a New Introduction and Commentary by Bruce E. Byland

Considered by many scholars the finest extant Mexican codex and one of the most important original sources for the study of pre-Columbian religion, the *Codex Borgia* is a work of profound beauty, filled with strange and evocative images related to calendrical, cosmological, ritual and divinatory matters. Generally similar in style to such Mixtec manuscripts as the *Codex Nuttall*, the *Codex Borgia* is thought to have had its origin (ca. 1400 A.D.) in the southern central highlands of Mexico, perhaps in Puebla or Oaxaca. It is most probably a religious document that once belonged to a temple or sacred shrine.

One use of the *Codex* may have been to divine the future, for it includes ritual 260-day calendars, material on aspects of the planet Venus and a sort of numerological prognostication of the lives of wedded couples. Another section concerns various regions of the world and the supernatural characters and attributes of those regions. Also described are the characteristics of a number of deities, while still other passages may relate to installation ceremonies of rulers in pre-Columbian kingdoms.

Until the publication of this Dover edition, the *Codex Borgia* has been largely inaccessible to the general public. The priceless original is in the Vatican Library and previous photographic facsimiles are very rare or very expensive or both. Moreover, the original *Codex* has been damaged over the centuries, resulting in the obscuration and loss of many images. In order to recapture the beauty and grandeur of the original, Gisele Diaz and Alan Rodgers have painstakingly restored the *Codex* by hand—a seven-year project—employing the most scrupulous research and restoration techniques. The result is seventy-six large full-color plates of vibrant, striking depictions of gods, kings, warriors, mythical creatures and mysterious abstract designs—a vivid panorama that offers profound insights into pre-Columbian Mexican myth and ritual. Now students, anthropologists, lovers of fine art and rare books—anyone interested in the art and culture of ancient Mexico—can study the *Codex Borgia* in this inexpensive, accurate, well-made edition. An informative introduction by noted anthropologist Bruce E. Byland places the *Codex* in its historical context and helps elucidate its meaning and significance.

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VOL. V

THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

G. B. GORDON

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
1913

INTRODUCTION.

Doctor Daniel Garrison Brinton, Professor of American Archaeology and Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, died in 1898, having a short time before presented his entire collection of books and manuscripts to the University to be kept forever in the Museum library. This famous collection, brought together by Dr. Brinton for the purposes of the chief work with which he was occupied in his lifetime, contains among many items of great value and extreme rarity, one set of documents which possess a supreme interest, and which for students of ancient American history are unrivaled in importance. These are the manuscripts written in the Maya language in the earlier centuries succeeding the conquest of Mexico and Central America and gathered for preservation and in the exercise of his scholarship by Dr. Hermann Berendt, after whose death at Guatemala City they passed into the hands of Dr. Brinton. To Dr. Berendt, therefore, the student of American history and antiquities owes a very great debt. That indefatigable scholar, during many years of travel in Yucatan and Guatemala, among the ancient seats of the Mayas, felt the spell of the past upon him and devoted the best energies of a mind well fitted for such studies, to the task of rescuing from oblivion such unconsidered fragments of their ancient literature as still survived. Laboriously and in a clear firm hand, he copied whatever he found and these copies make up the principal part of the collection. It is safe

to say that Dr. Berendt had a more intimate knowledge of the Maya language and literature than any other scholar of his time, and no one since has been so fortunate as he in the enjoyment of an opportunity for research or in the possession of an accomplishment that enabled him to improve that opportunity. It is, therefore, a matter of very great regret that he contented himself with copying and has left us no fruit of his scholarship in the form of translations or commentaries. Although the loss to Maya literature and history involved in the omission must always be deplored, every true student of aboriginal American history and literature derives satisfaction from the fortunate circumstance that transferred the documents gathered by Berendt to the library of Dr. Brinton, making the more famous and more fortunate scholar the heir at once to the treasures and the labors of the other. Into this unexplored field of Maya literature, Dr. Brinton brought the knowledge and experience gained during many years of study of American linguistics, supported by a ripe scholarship based on a scientific training. The result of these labors was the publication in 1882 of the *Maya Chronicles* as the first volume of Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. These chronicles consist of passages from the Books of Chilam Balam selected, arranged and translated by Dr. Brinton.

In the collection left by Dr. Berendt are two volumes of special interest and importance, all written in Berendt's own hand and copied by him from originals in Yucatan. These two volumes have the following titles:

> CHILAM BALAM. Articulos y Fragmentos de Manuscritos Antiguos en Lengua Maya, colectados y copiados en Facsimile por C. Herman Berendt, M. D. Merida 1868, 1 vol, 4° pp. 200.

CODICE PEREZ—Chilam Balam. Articulos y Fragmentos de Manuscritos Antiguos en Lengua Maya, colectados por D. Juan Pio Perez, copiados en Merida 1870, 1 vol. 4° pp. VI, 258.

In these two manuscripts are comprised all the known fragments of the historical writings of the Mayas. They constitute at the same time the principal part of all the extant Maya literature. The designation CHILAM BALAM is not a proper name but the title of a class of priests. It is probable that every village in Yucatan, during the century succeeding the conquest, possessed a book to which this title was applied and which was compiled by a native priest who had learned the use of the Spanish alphabet. What the original sources of these compilations were, and to what extent the books represent the literary productions of the priesthood after the conquest cannot be discussed in this introduction, but there is evidence that the original writings which served as the models and the sources of these compilations were written in the days before the conquest in the hieroglyphic characters of the native culture, and therefore formed part of a large body of ancient literature that was the product of native genius and that perished in the general catastrophe that overtook the native civilization after the coming of Europeans.

An increased interest in American antiquities and especially in those of the Mayas which the science of archaeology has witnessed in recent years, has created a demand both in America and in Europe for more materials for study than have hitherto been accessible to scholars generally.

The University Museum has always given scholars ready access to the precious documents in its collections, but their use has been confined necessarily to those who could visit the

Museum and work in its library. In order to place this body of material where any one interested in the subject could have it at hand no matter where he might be situated, the Museum authorities decided more than two years ago to undertake the publication of all the important Maya documents in its collection, and the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel was selected to form the initial volume.

The difficulties attending the undertaking were very great. The first question that presented itself was whether the text should be published in facsimile or in type. The second and much more difficult question was whether the original text should be accompanied by a translation. At the outset the whole of the text after being transcribed from Berendt's copy was set up in type. A proof was sent to Señor Audomaro Molina of Merida, Yucatan, whose intimate knowledge of modern Maya and of Yucatecan history are matters recognized by all Maya scholars. Molina kindly undertook the collation of this text with that of the original document, to which he had access through the courtesy of those who have it in their keeping. It was then found that Berendt's copy of 1868 differed in some details from the original of 1782. The plan followed by Molina was to use the 1782 original as his model and correct the proof of Berendt's copy according to this reading. All differences between the two manuscripts would thus be eliminated on the assumption that they were the mistakes of copying. Molina made no attempt at the punctuation of the document or its division into sentences, nor did he attempt to adopt a uniform orthography. His plan was to follow the text of the original, with all its peculiarities, its irregular spelling and its undivided sentences. The printing of this corrected proof of Berendt's copy proved inexpedient.

Shortly after he had finished his correction of the proof in the manner described, Molina's untimely death in December, 1910, took away from the small group of Maya scholars in America an accomplished gentleman.

Meantime, during the summer of 1910, I went to Merida and succeeded, through Señor Molina's courtesy and the kindness of those who have it in their keeping, in borrowing the original document and in bringing it to the Museum, where each page was photographed. This is the photographic copy which is reproduced in this volume.

My reason for publishing the original text in facsimile instead of printing Berendt's copy is based on the fact that the interest of students can at present best be served by making the original in its actual form accessible to everybody.

The question of preparing a translation has received the most careful consideration. It presents a peculiar problem. The relationship between the language of the document and the modern Maya is very close. There are, however, certain forms of expression and certain use of words in the book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel which are not current in modern Maya and which are without significance to those who speak the language. It is not to be inferred that these forms have been rendered obsolete by the changes which the language has undergone in the century and a quarter since the original compilation was written. It seems that such changes are not at all marked. The obscure passages and unintelligible phrases occur chiefly where the writer deals with ancient ritual or religious usage and are closely associated with a religious system which is no longer remembered and which even at the end of the eighteenth century was more than half forgotten, and in so far as it survived at all, was known only to the late represent-

atives of an older priesthood whose business it was to keep intact the forms and ceremonies prescribed by ancient usage. This priestly cult made use of verbal formulas which were not in common circulation and which had a meaning only in connection with the practice of their profession. Our chief difficulty, therefore, in producing an intelligible translation is due to the extinction of that profession and of the specialized knowledge that went with it and to the want of historical information about the religious observances and other customs of the ancient Mayas. A large part of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, as well as of the other ancient writings in the Berendt collection dealing with various matters, present no great difficulties in the way of translation, but other portions are of such obscure meaning that it is more than doubtful whether a satisfactory translation can be made at the present time.

In Brinton's *Maya Chronicles* are included several chronological passages from the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. These passages are found on plates 74–81 of this volume which correspond to the folios 41–44 of the original. Brinton's abstracts follow the text of Berendt's copy except where consistency led him to prefer a uniform spelling and a system of punctuation. At one point, however, there will be found a discrepancy between Brinton's text and that of the original. On plate 74 of this volume the katuns are arranged in order with their corresponding numerals written in the Roman style. Opposite each numeral appears its Maya name followed by the word *abau*. These numerals run in their proper sequence according to the Maya method of numbering the katuns. On plate 74, however, the Roman numeral VIII is omitted from its place in the column, but the blank space is followed by the Maya

name of the numeral indicating the name of the katun, and this is followed by an historical note. In making his copy Berendt filled in the Roman numeral. Brinton, however, by some oversight, omitted not only the Roman numeral but the words *Uaxac ahau* as well, and brought the historical note into line with *Lahun ahau*, which is the name of the preceding katun.

This omission is mentioned to illustrate the method followed by Berendt, than whom there never was a more careful and conscientious copyist, who sometimes filled in an omission of the scribe without comment and more often corrected his work in a different colored ink. It is mentioned also to make clear the importance of publishing a facsimile of the original.

The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel was found in the village of that name in Yucatan. It was compiled by Juan José Hoil, a Maya Indian, in the year 1782. It consists of a number of abstracts on various topics selected by the compiler. Berendt's copy was made in 1868, at which time some portions of the text were slightly more perfect than at present, a circumstance which adds greatly to the value of the copy. The paper on which it is written has become very much worn, stained by use and discolored by age. The first leaf is missing, as well as leaf 55. Several of the leaves are torn, the margins are sometimes very much worn or decayed, and small portions have been eaten away by insects. The whole is protected by a leather cover, in the front portion of which a hole has been burnt. The facsimile reproduction presented in this volume preserves the exact size of the original writing and a comparison shows that nothing is lost in the process.

Brinton's translations of the abstracts which he published stand as the result of a conscientious effort to render the Maya text into intelligible English. Since the year 1882 in which

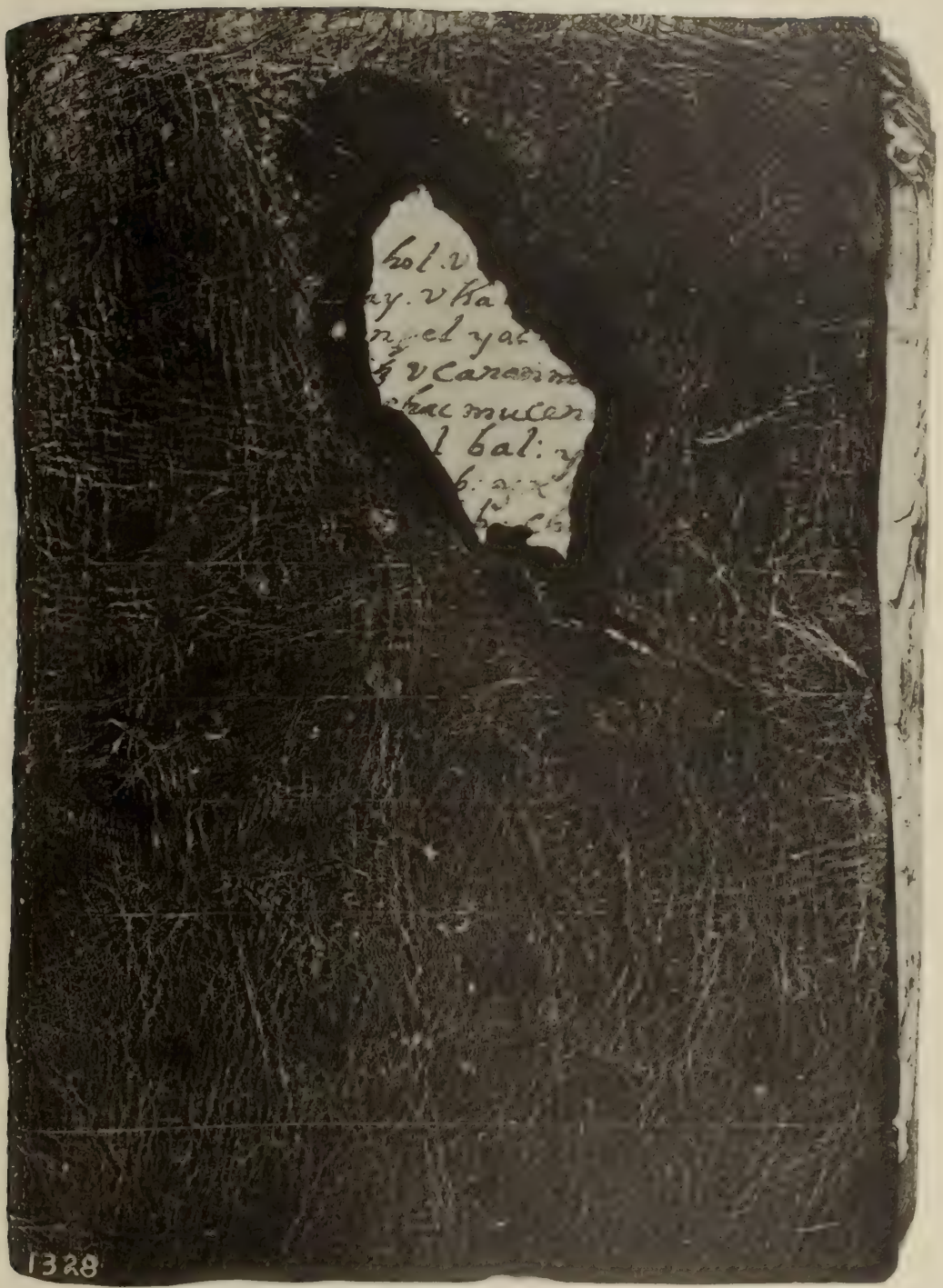
the *Maya Chronicles* were published, some progress has been made in the study of Maya antiquities and the time has come when the mistakes of the pioneers may in part be corrected. It is well known today, for instance, that *ahau* was never used as the name of a period of time, but was the designation of one of the twenty days of the Maya month. This day name, with a cardinal number from one to thirteen attached to it, appears, not only as a means of distinguishing a particular day occurring at certain intervals in the calendar, but also as a means of identifying the katuns. This method of naming the katuns proceeded from the fact that the chronological calendar is so constructed that a katun always begins with a day so designated. Such an expression as *lahun ahau,* therefore, is not to be translated tenth ahau but ten ahau and is to be understood as meaning katun ten ahau. With this correction applied throughout Brinton's translation of the chronicles may stand today after thirty years as substantially correct, although some passages of the Maya text are very obscure and of doubtful meaning. Whatever may have been his errors, the place which Dr. Brinton once filled in the world of letters has not been occupied since his death and his work on the Maya chronicles has not been superseded.

In a volume which is now in the course of preparation it is proposed to print the text complete after the original here reproduced, supplemented according to Berendt's copy. In this volume will be included critical notes and commentaries, and the question of a translation will also come under discussion.

To those who have encouraged and supported this publication, I wish to return my thanks, and especially to the President of the Museum, Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., and to

Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, of Boston, the author of *Maya Numeration, Calendar Systems and Astronomy.* I wish to record also my very deep obligation to the late Señor Audomaro Molina for his kind offices in procuring for me the loan of the MS. for photographing.

G. B. G.



COVER

Codice Chumayel.

v chan vu[illegible]il. ax Canule: Ix sag
[illegible] Culur[illegible]ah: yixmehen pa[illegible]
v pasel y[illegible]: v chuvuinicil[illegible]

7. Yahau ah [illegible]ohol. v chun vuinicil ah[illegible]
[illegible]an [illegible]cay. v kaba v chun vuinicil a[illegible]
[illegible]uche: Bolonpel yachaa: v Canan ma[illegible]
bolonpel. Viz v canan maob: chac tok [illegible]
v tunil = ah chac mucen cab [illegible] ymix
9. yax che. v ɔul bal: yantilakin: cha
cal puete: v [illegible]ob: yx chac ya[illegible]
yx chac ak bilob: chac yx kan [illegible]
yulumoob: Ix chac Opool. yiximob.
Sac tok tun v tunil: v tunil tixanan [illegible]
ymix yax che. v ɔul bal: Sac mu[illegible]
cab: yx Sac tan yulumob: Sac [illegible]
bilob: Sac yxim yiximob: =
9. Ek tok tun: v tunil. ti chikin: ek [illegible]
yax che v ɔul bal: Ix ek hub: yixi
mob: yx ek chuch ys: yisilob: yxe[illegible]
v Cum: yulumob: ek akab. chan v
nalob: yx ek baul: v baulob ek yb: yi
bilob: kan tok tun. v tunil: v no[illegible]
ymix [illegible]xche: kan ymix yax che:
v ɔul [illegible]lob: kanal puete v chiob: yx
kan puete yisilob: Ix kan puete [illegible]
lumob: yx kan [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] ob = g: Buluc Ahau [illegible] Vkatunil
[illegible] u pach Cu chob: C[illegible] talel. ah pis
[illegible] Lay ah piste: yah pi[illegible] lu bob. Cazu
tato chac te: aban. chactetic u[illegible] bob: Cata
li uac hab nal hoch xiu tic ulu bob: tamuk
utalel: mis cit ahau: mistic ulu bob: [illegible]
v talel yah pisul u lu bob: hek lay Coch. [illegible]
cupis ci: Cacahi: Vhool poop: yx noh: Dc: v
hool. v poop: Ah lakin: Ox to coy moo: vhol
upoop. [illegible] kin: Ox pauah [illegible] vhol upop. tila
kin. ah mis: uhol upop. tilakin. ——
Batun uhol upop. tixaman. ah puch uhol
upop tixaman.. balam na. uhol upop tixa
m. ake uhol pop. tixaman —
[illegible] an uhol pop. tichikin. ah chab. uhol —
pop tichikin: a[illegible] cuch. vhol pop tichikin —
[illegible] yamas uhol pop tinohol. ah puch uhol
pop tinohol. Cauich vhol pop. tinohol —
ah Couoh uhol pop tinohol — ah puc uhol
pop tinohol —
Chac yx chuuah Cabob tilakin: chac
lol u luchob: cha chac nic te: unic teib: —
Sac yx chuuah Cabob. tixaman sac ix
pach sau nic teilob — Sac lol u lu[illegible]b: —
Ek yx chuuah Cab u Cabob. [illegible] kin. Ek
ixlau nic te Vnic teilob: Ek lol uluchob —
Kan yx chuuah Cabob tinohol. Kan lol ulu
[illegible] n [illegible] ac nic te. unic teilob —

Ca[illegible]nya[illegible]iy unum te aal cab. [illegible] cu
samil, v [illegible] cab, yu luch cab: yuya
cheel cab: v chulil cab: kinpa uan [illegible]
yah kinobi = Laymek tan mail: v pilul
k[illegible]n. Canan mail ah hulneb tan tun.
Cusamil = ah yax: ac: chi nab: kinichkak
mo =
Ah ik: tzim thul chac: v mek tan nob: ych
can si hoo: vayom chich: chich yah ki
nob: ych can si hoo: Canul: yx poptiba
lam: v catul = ah kin chable: v yahauob:
Cabal xiu: yah kinob: vx mal chac v
mek tanob: Lay yah kin cuchi: Caul sa
bi: hapai can = tu chem chan: Lay ha
li: Cauchi kikil pak: te vx male:
tii, Ca colabi. v cangel. chac xib chace:
sac xib chac: colabi u cangel: v cange
lix. ek yuuan chac: colabi. xan: yx sac
belis: vkaba v chi chob: chac ek yuuan chac
vyumob: hun yuuan chac: v thupilob:
vooh: puc vkaba = Lay ɔib tabi: vooh tu
tan ukab: Caɔib tabi vooh. yalan v cal:
Caɔib tabi: tu tan yoc: Caɔib tabi: ychil
u puc vkab ti ah vooh pucil: makui:
chac cob: = g: halili ha hal ku cayu
mil ti Diose: vkulob tuthan tuyi
ɔa til: maya pan: ah kin [illegible]

Amado señor mocc

ah kin te ych: paa:e. Ꝑu[illegible]im chan:
[illegible]ikin: Nauat: yah [illegible]C[illegible]il: v Vol
pa ti nohole: Couoh: yah canul: Vol pa
til lakin: ah ek: v Lak: heyahauobe.
ah tapai nok Cauich: v ka ba [illegible]halach.
uini cob: hun nac ceel: Vpul been: ah
mex Cuci: Caukatah hun tulis Nic te:
Caukatah: sac pop: Caukatah: capel u tan
nok: Caukatah: yax vlum: Caukatah:
Vle: Caukatah: sac homaob: tiliku
lob Cakuchob: poole: tipolhob: yalaah
yꝫai: titun u Naa in tahob yx poli:
Cakuchob: Ake: ti sihob: tix Akei: A
ke: ukaba vaye: Cuthanob: Catun ku
chob: Alaa: alaa: vkaba Vaye: Cuthanob
Catalob: kan holaa. Catalob: tix chel: ti
chel hi: uthanobi: tichel hi: vcanobi: Ca
tun ku chob: Ninum: ti Num hi: v
thanobi: tinumhi: v Canobi: ah yꝫaobi=
Catun kuchob: Chikin: ɔonot: tichikin
tan hi u uichobi: chikin ɔonot v kaba Vaye:
Cuthanob: Catun kuchob: ꝫuc: oopp: tiu
ꝫucah u baobi: yalan: opi: ꝫuc op: vkaba
vaye: Cuthanob: Catun ku chob: tahcab:
tiuhuy tah cab. yꝫai: Cauki tumenel
x koh takin: Cahuy tabi: ti cab: Cayu
[illegible]h: Cabitneba: v kaba: Cakuchob

Kiki: tiucanahob: Kiknaki: Kikil v
Kaba vaye: Cuthanob: Cakuchob: panabhaa:
tiupanahob hai: Catalob: Cucuchil: haa:
vCachob: tutamil haai: Cakuchob: yal si
hon: yal sihon v Kaba vaye: cah lic cah=
Cakuchob: x ꝑpi tah: cah xan: Catunku
Chob: Kancab: ɔonot: tilikulob: Caku
chob: ɔula: Caix talob: pib haal ɔonot:
Catunkuchob: tah: aac:: v Kaba: Cata
lob: t Cooh: v Kaba: tiumanahob: than
Coohi: tiumanahob: Cani: ti Coh v Kaba
vaye: Cakuchob: ti Kal: tiukalah: vb
obi: ti Kal u Kaba vaye: Calalob: timaax:
tiumaax tah v ba Katunobi: Cakuchob
Buc ꝫoꝫ: tiubiucinahob u ꝫo ꝫel v poi
lobi: buc ꝫoꝫ v Kaba vaye Cuthanob.
Ca Kuchob: ɔi ɔon tun: tihopob: Chuc
lum ɔiɔi: ɔihol tun v Kaba vaye: Caku
Chob: yobain: tiuuayintahob ayini:
tumen umamobi: ah yamasi: g: Jahau
lil tuchi Kaknab: Cakuchob: sinanche:
tiu vayintahob ci cin sinanche v Kaba
vaye: Cakuchob ti cah: chac: Cakuchob:
ɔeuc: pisilba: vcahob u lakob Cakuchob
v Mamob: v lak: timul ɔemlah yolobi
ɔemul v Kaba vaye: Cakuchob: Kini:
yicnal x Kil: ~~ɔemul v Kaba vaye~~
yꝫampech: x ɔeuc: v lak [illegible]

chobicnal. x Kil. y ʒam pech: Jal uKi
niob: Catun Ku chob: Baca: ti bac chahi:
haatiobi: Baca: Vaye: Cuthanob: Catun
Kuchob: Sabac nail: yicnal vmamob: V
Chun v uinicil ah Nae: lay chelnae: vma
mob: Catun Kuchob: te benaae: tikahi: vnaa
tiobi: Catalob: yxil: Catun binob: chulul:
Ca Kuchob. chichi caan: catunbinob hol
tun chable: Catalob. y ʒam na: Catalob.
Chubulna: Ca Kuchob: Cau cel: ticeel.
chahobi: Cau cel: Vaye Cuthanob: Catun
Kuchob: V Cu: tiyalahob: ya v Cu: Ca
binob: hunuc ma: Ca Kuchob. Kinchil: Ca
binob: Kana: Ca Ku chob: tix peton cah:
Ca Kuchob Sahab balam: ca Kuchob. tah
Cum chakan: Ca Kuchob: tix balche:
Ca Kuchob: Vx mal titun li Kulob Ca Ku
chob: tix yubak. Ca Kuchob Munaa: ti
mun hi: v thanob: timun hi v canobi: Ca
binob: Ox loch hok: Cabinob chac akal.
Cabinob. xocne Ceh: Ceh v vayob Ca Ku
chobi: Cabinob pus tunich. Ca binob. puc
nal chac: Ca binob pen Cuyut: Cabi
nob. ꝑax Ve vet: Ca Ku chob tixaya:
Ca Kuchob: tis tis: v Kaba: Ca Kuchob
tuchi Can: Ca Ku chob tix ~~[illegible]~~ me vac

vac

Cakuchob hunac thi: Cakuen [illegible]
Cakuchob: tamus balna: Cakuchob: tixcan:
Cakuchob: lop: Cakuchob: chee miuan: uan
Cakuchob: oxcah vanka: cabinob: sacba fol. 5
cel caan: Cakuchob: Cetelac: vkaba
cah: macalob: y vkabacheenob: Cauhac
yohel taual tuxmanob: tanuximbal ticob:
yilaob: uauh: lay peten: Vaunahmacah
talob: Vaylae: hol petenvkaba tuthanob:
Cayumil ti D.s lay holpeten. Lay sihes yo
kolcab. tulacal layx holxan:: heob
lae kabansah peten vcahob: kabansah
cheen vcahob: kaban sah cacab. vcahob
kabansah luum vcahob: tumenmamac
kuchuc. vaye: Vayi vcal peten Cakuchob
Vaylae:

Subinche: kaua: Cum canul: tiem tun:
ti: emob ti tuni: sical: sacii: ti ɔooc:
ti ɔooc vthankatuni: timo con: popola:
tihay upop katuni: ti pixoy: Vayum haa:
lacba can: tinum: tinumchithan tabobi:
tima cal: popola: tiu holahob vpop: katuni:
tixmac culum: tiuma cahob thani: ɔit haah
bon kauil: tixmex: kochilla: tixxocan:
chunpak: pibahul: tun kaas: haal tun
haa: kuxbila: ɔiɔil che: ti cool: sitil
pech: chalamtr: tichalhiyolobi: y
hamthulil: tipakab: tipak tchobi:

tiya ... ansahcab: ɔi ɔom tun: Ye tun v
mamob: ti che choc ɔiiɔ: ɔiɔ hol tun: popo
ta: tunohol sinanche: Ca tal muçi: sac
nicte cheen: so ɔil: Vay tumul tum tahob
Katune. mul tumut. u Kaba: Vay matule:
mu xupip: aKa: hoc tun: ti Cum tahob
tuchun tuni: xoc chel bohe: sah cab haa:
ʒanlah cat: human: ti huni than yo
Kolobi: ti humni upec ʒilobi: chalam te:
pacax va: v Kaba vaye: Cathanob: tekit:
tikit yala yʒaobi: yokol cheen pu
pul ni huh: huh u uayob caho Kobi:
ɔo ɔile: tiab: bitun cheen: vch ciyo
Colob tipi Kal: v Kaba cheen: vch ci v ti
pilob: Cabinob poc huh: v Kaba cheen:
vch ci upoci cob huh: Cabinob: Manii:
timan Kahi than tiobi: Ca Ku chob tiɔaan
ox Kin ɔaman nobi: Cabin ti Cul: Sac
luum cheen: tix tohil cheen: ti tohmi:
yolobi: Cabinob Balam Kin: v poten
nil ah Kinob: cheen chomai: Sac nicteel
ɔonot: tiyax cab: v man: ox Cum:
San hil: ych Caan si hoo: tinoh Naa
nohpat: poy chena: Chulul: Ca Ku chob
tu tiʒluum Cum Kal: ti Cum lah v
tiʒ pateni: sic pach: yax Ku Kul:

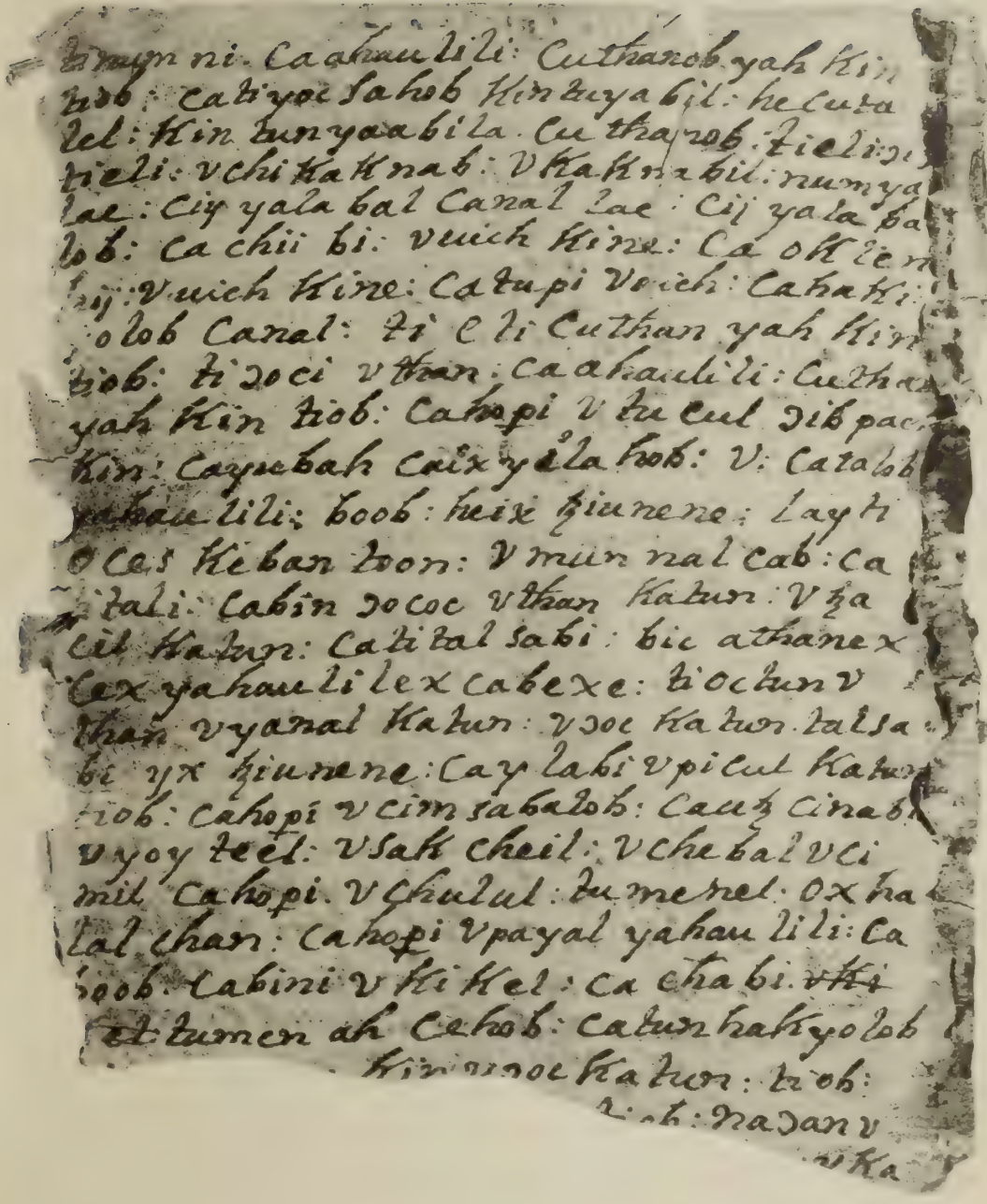
Kul

tix kokob: cuca: ch...
xan: ekol ekol: vkabach...
tix veve: tix veve vkaba: cheen yaye:
vhum tal tal hun hatzi: tix kani ma cal:
ti x haan: yum xul: vch ci vyum tic v
haan: holtun ake: a Can queh: ti cooh:
ti chahil: ti chac maya pan: ych paa:
yokol haa: Cabinob: Nabula: tix mu
Cuy: tix kan hube: Joyila: Cakuchob
ti sip: ti sip v thanobi: ti sip v canobi: Ca
hopi: uhes luumob. yahauobi: ti yanah
yah kin palon cabi: hek lay yah kinobe
mutec pul vkaba: heah kin palon cabe
ahmay: heah kin mutec pule: ah canul:
Vay yom chichix xan nunilixan: yu ca
tun ah chable: ah ych caan si hoo: hol tun
Balam: v mehen: Lay u chaah yx yaxum
Chakane: ti tun ku chi: v lak ahauobi:
Laobi ahau vnup v thanobe: ti yahau
tilob ti Buluc ahau tun: v kaba Cu
Chi: Cau hesah Cabobi: Caix ti hes luum
nahobi: Caix cahla hobi: ych Caan si
hoo: Caemob ah hol tun Ake: Caemob:
ah Sabac nailob: Ca tun ku chob yetun
yet Ahau tilob: heah Sabac naile: v Chun
v uinicil: ahna: Catun umolah v baob
te yeh caan si hoo: ti yan yx pop
ti balam. tilic ya hau tili: hol tun ba
lam:

[illegible] ili yah ulil.
[illegible] boy lay u Chun uuinicil. Co
[illegible] xiuix tloual xan: Chac te ahau
Chac te ce lumil vchuc yahau lilob: teppan
quis: yah kinob: lay ych tabilae: lay ah
piste: pis vlumilobe: hetun lub [illegible] vlu
mil vluubobe: Vuc lub cab: ah may he
tun: ac Cunte: vxu kil: vluumob: ah
ac Cunte: vxu kil ah mis mis te vluu
mob lay mis cit ahaue: he tun hes ci cab
tiobe: lay ho yahel cabe: he tun te yahal
cab tiobe: tum te ahau: tum te ya halcab.
tiobe. Cahopi yo col patan tiobe: tuchi
cheen: ti kuch vch ci. vkuchul vpa
tan: Cantul vinicobe: buluc ahau.
vkaba vkatunil: Cuchi: ti baax lahi
patan te. Cetel ace: Vpakte: vchi
yanile: Catun emi vpatan hol tun su
huy vate: cetel ace: ti cet hi uthanobi
ox lahun ahau vkatunil Cuchi: ti u
kamah ob patan halach vinicobi: Caho
pi vtepal lobi: Cahopi ti pay ahau lilobi:
Cahopi vtan la balob: Cahopi vkuchul
vpulul teob: Cahopi vpulicob ych
cheen: Cauyabac vthanob tu menel
yahau lili: mahul vthanob lay Cauich
hun hunah ceele: lay cauich vkaba
[illegible] ci[illegible]: ti cu thi cal tu hol cheen

Codice Chumayel.—

cheen: ti nohol Catun bini Chabil Catun
hoki yalab v than: cahop uchabal v than: ca
ɔuni v than: cahopi yala bal: ahauil: Cacul
hij: tacuchil ahau Uob: tumenob. cahopi y
bal halach vinicil: ma ahau cuchij =
chen ubel ahmex cuc: caix alabi ahau
vpul ben: ahmex cuc = Coot. bin: v Nau
Cabin cax taui tu vizil: Cabin: ɔuni: v
Chabal v than lay ahau: la: citun yala
bal: catun hopi: vnac sabal: canalnaa: ti
ti ahau lil: cahopi: vpa kal: ye bal: Catun
culhi ti canalna: ychil ox lahun: Aha
Vactepal. caɔuni: v kuchul v ya bil v th
v kin: v.ua ahmex cuc: v ka ba caupulal
Naɔan baca v kin ahmex cuucci: Caya
Cun tubi: Cahopi v yumin tauali: Cahopi
v zicili: tu kaba ahmex Cuuc: Catun zi
ci Catun tan la bi. te tu chi cheene: chi
cheen y zam. v kaba = tumen ti bin y za
Caulu kah v tunil cabi: v tunil viil cuch
y zam: luk cabin y chil haa: catun hopi
yo col numya. te chi chen y zac: Catun
bini te li kine: cakuyie nal ah kin cob
taiel v cah vaxac Ahau ka tun cuchi
Vaxac ahau v kaba katun: vch ci v tapa
Catun hoki. v hal katun ca[illegible]
hei y ahauob.



Buluc. Ahau Cumaan ti pop: Cumaan
ti ɔaam: ti valaac. vthan. ti valaac
yahau lili: yax xaal chac vuch
ti yahau lili: Emom Canil ual e
mom: Canil: ɔulub: Caanil ɔɔab:
pec nom Vpax: pecnom v soot: ah
buluc ahau: ti. yoc te tok: yub
te takin: yax vʒ tuba. tu kinyan
Sulim chan: tu kinyan chi kin
pu tun: Viil: Nom che Viil: nom tu
nich: ah satal: Viil: ychil ah Buluuc
ahau: katun: buluuc ahau: vhopol
vxoCol: yoklal. lay katun: yan cay
li ɔulob: ti vtale lob. ti li kin Caule
obe: ✠ tiix: hopi Christianoil xani:
ti la kin vɔoc than ych caan si hoo:
Vheɔ: Katun — heu kah lay vch
ci: bal tumen tahob: man lahci: vthan
y vthanob: heuac manan vnucual tu
la cal: heuac hun taɔ manci: bay ɔi
bannile: he cacicinuc besabac tula
cale: maiuil lobe: mai tun bahun ɔib
ti lobe: maix hach yab ɔiban tucuch:
vke ban thanob: tu batan baob: Bay
u cah yahau ah yʒaobe: Bayix ah
yʒ mal: ah: Ake: Bay ah Vx mal:
Bay ah ych caan si hoo: bay ah ci
[illegible] ouooh: xane: halach yab [illegible]

tach vinicob: ma con con ke banthan
vci bahob: tu batan baobe: heuac ma
chi caan ychil yan vaye: ma bahun
bin tzolo ci: hex ohel mail tal ci ca
chi bal: con maya vinice: lay tun yo
hal vnuc bes: cabin vxo cob: yan vaye
ti tun yilic: catun vnuc bes: vabic chu
canil: vsavin katun: tumen cah ki
nob: ah kin xuluc: maix xuluc v
kaba cuchi xani: chen tumen lay
cu kinil lay cuah kinil. caoci num
ya: caoci christianoil: tumen lay hach
christianoob: ti vli yhahal ku:
hahal D.s heuac vchun num ya toon
vchun patan vchun limosna. vchun
hoc mu cuuc tza: vchun ɔon bacal tza
vchun cum tan tza: vchun toc luk
sah: vchun ɔal pach: pax vchun
pak pach: pax vchun cacatza:
vchun num sah ya: vchun toc luk sah
vchun vmeyah tabal españoles ob
yah kinob: vmeyah tabal Bata
bob: vmeyah tabal cam sa hob. v
meyah tabal fis calob: tumen ma
hen palalob: vpalil cahob: tamuk
vchac num sabal ti ya: ah num
yaob lay hach ohilobe: lay hach
ohilob ma ti ku lobi: tilic vmen ne

tic

Cij: v ɔaal. pach: lay v: antachris toil. yo
Kol cabob lae: vh cab cohil cahob: vcha
macil cahob: vh picil cahob: yah ɔuɔil
oʒil mose ualob: lae: heuac bini to
Kuchuc tukin: v Kuchul yalil v uichob
yicnal cayumil ti D.s: emon v Jasti
sia cayumil ti D.s hun yuk ti balcah:
hach li Kul ti D.s bin tal bal: ah
Kantenal: Jx pucyola. vxu tanni
lob yo Kol cab lae ——

Ti haab de mil quinientos: quarenta y
vno:

181 Juul. at. S: DIK: 92 nhele

9: V Kah lay tin ɔibtah: uch ci yuk
cinnabal: mul: tumen. hexegesob:
oxKal Katun: uk cinnabci: ca tac hol
hun pis Katun: tumen tahob: nu[illegible]
vinicob: Cayx ti bin. yala v uini
cilob = car ta bona: vKaba: v [illegible]
yanil lob helelae: ti yanobi. Ca[illegible]
li: S.n Bernabe: ti cambesa[illegible]
cacim sabiob tumen vinicob: here
gesob vKaba: v uini cilob ——

156: vcuch: helec = 15: años:

9: Hele tin ɔibtah uch ci yuk [illegible]

nabal. Nucuch muul lob. tumen chibal
lob. y hecen baal. vmentah ahauuob:
hex lic vmenticob mulle: ox lahun
te katun: catac Vacpel haabi: licyuh
cin nicob: cuchi. heyx Vchun mul: yah
cinnahobe: hool hun baak. vkaalal
vmullil catac lahu yox kal = Vmuch
cuentail: Mul yuh cinnahob: tuyuk
lah cabil peten: Bay ti kaknab
tac tu chun cab: Vpatahix Vkabaob
xan y vcheenil: catun: Vh cinna
[illegible]achil tiob tumen Dios lae: ca
clob tumen kak: tucahal Ysrael =
y bobil laya: Vkaah lay katunob
y haabob = lukcite: Vi xo.a chac =
vnes cab: vchibal tu tul xiuobe

9. Vkah lay cab katunob: y haabboob
yax chuc ci: vpetenil - yucatan
tumenel. Julob: sac uinicob = Y
chil bin buluc ahau: katun: vch
ci: vchucicob: vhol haa = e cab =
tilakin utalelob: caa vlob = Op =
bin vyax kam chi tahobi: lay uchun
vkabaticob ah mak = Op = Julilob
ah Juuj = Op Jul ukabaob = heix bin
vkaba ah otoch nalob. vchucahob
bie = e cabe = Na com Balam vka
ba = heyx yax chucite: e cabe
tumen yax capitane = Dn Juan

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de Montejo: yax con cix ta ɛor. Vay 10
tupetenil. yucatanlae: Layili: vka
tunil: vch ci vkuchul: ych caan 10
si hoolae =

q: tu yaabil = 15. 13 años = OX
Lahun ahau katun: vch ci vchu
ci cob: Campech = hun ɔit katun
yanobi: = Ah kin camal: Likul
Campech: oces ɔulob; Vay tipeten
lae: D.n Fran.co Carrillo

q: helel en 20 de Agosto: ti yaabil de
mil quinientos: quarenta y uno: tin
chic besah vkabahaabob. hopic chris
tianoil lae

q: Mil quinientos: dies y nuebe años
kuchic vuckal hab. catac bulucpis
habi = Vch ci consierto: y ɔulob
Laylic cabotic vlik sah katun
ɔulob: y vyanal vini coblae: Vay
ti cahob = Layu capitanil cahob = V
chie: Laytun cabotic helelae —

q: helel ɔibnahen. ti yaabil - mil
quinientos. quaren tay uno años
yax vl ci ɔulob: ti la kin: ecab
vkaba = tuyabil vch ci: vkuchulob
tuttoh haa = ecab: tu cahal Nacom
Balam: tuyax chun vk[illegible] vhabil

Vkatunil. bulue ahau. katun. capaxob
ah y ʒaob hool hun kal haab. Vtalel yu
lel ɔulob capaxicah. sac lah tun capa
xicah. kin chil coba: capaxicah. tu
chi chen y ʒam. capaxicah tuxax vx
mal: tuno hol cah: vxmal: cib: vkaba
y katah: paxicah: seye: y pakam:
y hom tun: ticah. tix calom kin. yake:
holtun ake: paxicah emal chac: eʒe
mal. = tiemi yixmehen: hahal kui
vyumil caan. yx ahau: yx suhun
yxmac ʒil = cayalah ahau = emom
chim: kinichkakmo: ma paat ti
ahaulil vaye: vay ti pati: yxmac
ʒil: yx ɔayaʒil = emom sum = e
mom tab tal ticaan: emom vthan
tal ticaan. lay cicun tabi. yahau
lili tumen vchucan cahob: cayala
hob: ma pati yahau lilob: emmal
catun bin noh ah yʒaob lae
Oxlahun bak = V Bakal vpiccil:
lob catac hol hun bak vbakal
vhokallili = V Nuc teel lob: here
gesob. ah yʒaob = hetun: bini =
yah ʒenul teob: xannum bilob
bin tupachob ʒenticob lae
Ox hunpis bin yiximal vpol
vcuentailob: catac bolon pis: al
mut catac ox. oc yiximalob =
[illegible] mahen cahob - bin: vh
lay [illegible] tupachob xan
xan

Mat yoltahob vpak tob ɔulob: ma v
Mat cristianoilob: ma yoltahob. v bot patan
ahvayom chichob: ahuayom: tunob
ahvayom sinil tunob: ah vayom Ba
lamob: ox vayahob: can bak hab v xul
v cux talob: catac hol hun kal hab -
yan cataci: tuxul v cux talob = tumen
yohelob v pis kinob: tu baob: ___
tulis: v: tulis hab: tulis kin: tulis:
a kab: tulis: yk: cuxim kalxan
tulis: kik xan: tukuchul: tuua
yob: tupoopoob: tuɔamob = pis v can
ti cob yuʒil = Oxaob - pis: v caxan
ti cob yuʒil kin: la tupis yi licob
yocolob: vʒul: ckob: tuyahaulil
tanupix ych ticob yocolob. yahau
lil: uʒul ckob: vʒ tun tulacal: ca
tun utak bes ya lob: tucux olalob
yan: manan tun keban: tusanto
okolalob yan: v cux talob: manan
tun: chapahal - manan tun: chibil
bac: tiob: manantun: ɔam chacuil:
tiob. minantun x pom kakil -
tiob: minantun: elel ʒemil tiob:
minantun: yanakil tiob: minan
tun ʒenʒem cimil tiob: minanchi
bil pol tiob: ʒolom bil tun: v bin
v uinicilob = Makaytun: v man tah
ɔulob = tivliob lae: sab [illegible]

Sahob: catalob. Cacux hiyol nicte. Cux hi
tun yol tunic teob = Nacxit. xuchit
tunic te v lakob: minan tun. yuh kin
nob yet sahob toon. Layuchun cakin
xec: ca kin ahau lil Layix vchun
Cimil toon xan: Manan yuh kin ton
xan minan Cux olal toon = tu
xul Casat mail y lil: y sub talil:
Et lahom tulacal: Minan Nohach
Can: Minan yahau than: mi
nan ahau Can ti lay vhel ahau
uoob ti vliob lae: huc Cepah
Kinil: Cutalel u men ta bal
ti te lae: tumen ɔulob: Catun
tu patahob: yal v mehenob
Vay tan cah lae Laytun kami
cob v Num yail ob = Vch Ci
v chi bil lay ɔulob lae hebin
ah y haobe ox ten hij bin v
chi cob ɔulob: lay tun tumen
ox kal haab yan toon: tuluk
si cob Ca patan: tumen uch ci
v chi bil ob: tumen lay vin cob

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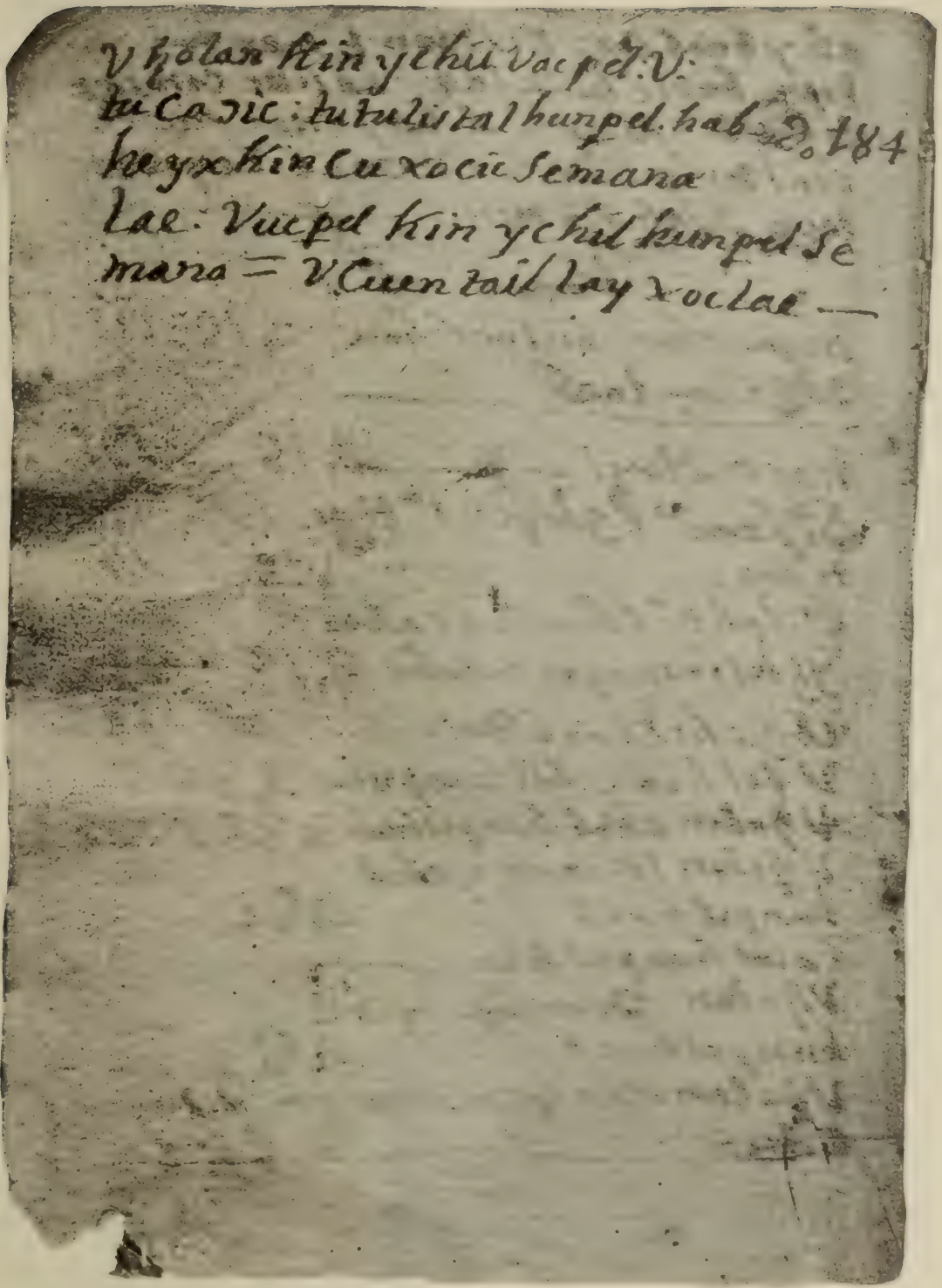
ah yzaob lae: Matoon t mentei: 12
toon botic hele lae: heuac consier
toyanil yanuxul Cayanac hun o 12
olal ton y Dulob - Vamac biyanac
toon Doh Katun

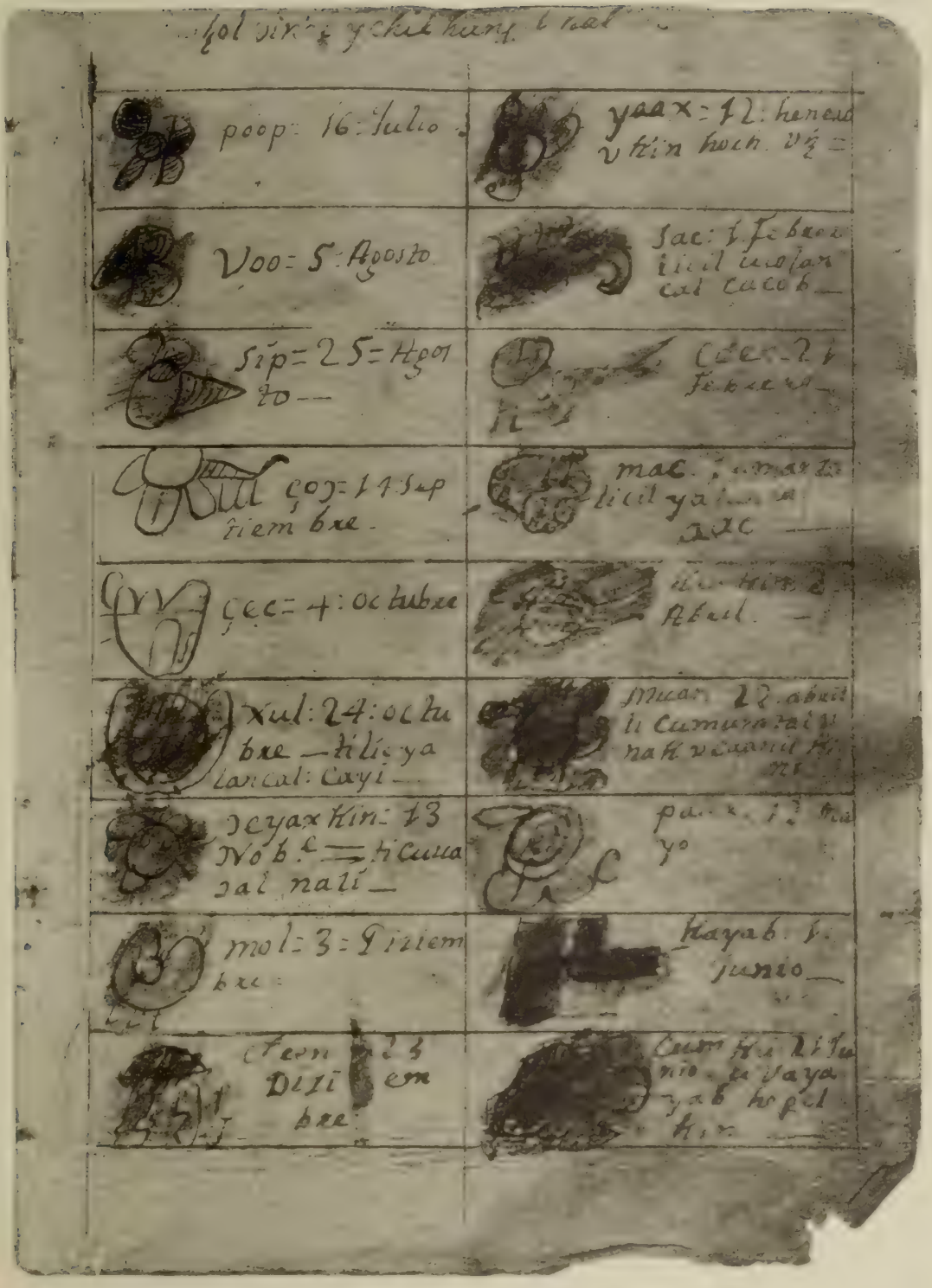
Katun

tuyaxchun bulucthau = Do 15 = 13 a
Do Cilay lae

hopci Hooil ——— Do 15 ——— 19 a
S.n Fran.co Eglayci: S.n tigo
ti hoo ——— Do 15 ——— 19
Eglahci Chumuc Cahoo
yglesia mayor tuhabil Do 15 - 40 -
:V: ychil haab dose ——— 12
V zol Kin ychil hunpel hab Do 365
V zolan akab hunpel hab Do 365 ...
V zolan semana ychil
hunpel haab ——— Do 52 ...
Catac hunpel Kin ———
V zolan Domingo: ychil
hunpel haab ——— Do 53 ...
V zolan Kin ychil vac pel: V: tuyax
Chun ——— Do 181 ...



V holan kin ychil vac pel: V:
tu ca ɔic: tutulistal hunpel. hab. d. 184
he yx kin cu xocic semana
lae: Vuc pel kin ychil hunpel se
mana = V. Cuen tail lay xoclae —


poop: 16: Julio
yaax: 12: henero
Voo: 5: Agosto
Sac: 1 Febrero
Sip: 25: Agosto
Çoz: 14 Septiembre
mac
çec: 4: octubre
Abril
Xul: 24: octubre
Muan 22 abril
Ceyax Kin: 13 Nob.e
mol: 3: Diziembre
Kayab: 1 Junio
Cum Ku 21 Junio
Diziembre

Mumayel 2 4 Sihhi ayilada

Micaela Castañeda

14

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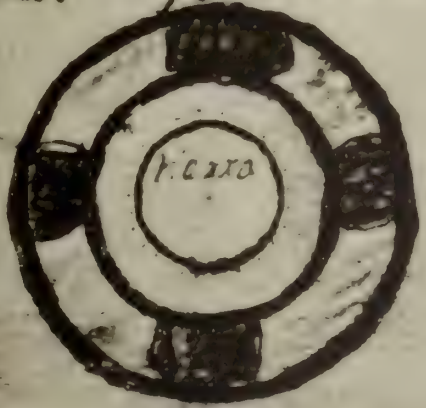
Vchun Luum Campech. upuçi Kai Luum. Mani
Calkini
ych caan çihoo
Vpolpetan.
Cum Kal.
Naumpech
Içacnicte
cheen çosil
mutul
Kin çaçal
xa
çaquij
ah Kin
chable
ah Kok
bak tix
Kokob

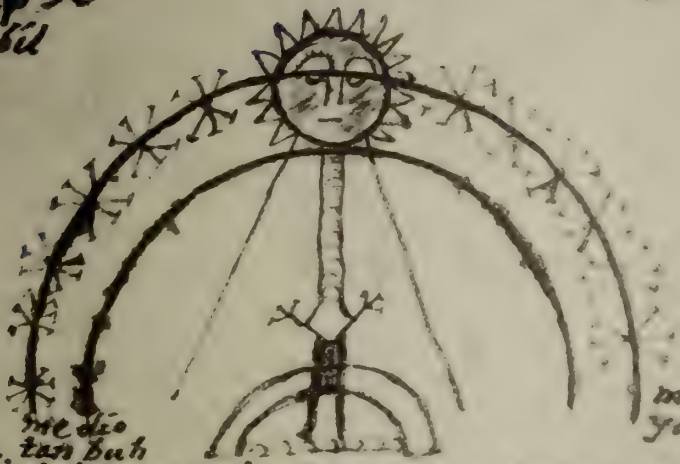
7

Hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin tabulucpis Junio:
Vchau cil Kin: hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin lay ox
lahunpis Septiembre: hach lah cet lay Kin
y Akab hecabin Kuchulay Kin la tu lah ca
pis Diziembre: chinchan Kin com akab
hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin la tu lahunpis
março lah [illegible] Kin y akab ——
halay V Petel yan Chumuca: Sasac
Vnu Cul Licil v binel. Vximbal Kin=
tu capelil V Copol lay ye ye Kilo —
lay ynu [illegible] lay u uich Kino —
tu binel yo Kol lay Vno hol. ye ye Ki
lo: tu ye mel tu chinchanil. V Copol ye
ye Kilo. Layi lie lah cet tan u binel
y bay u ximbal. Vay Yo Kol Cab Lili
xane: ti luum. bayix Vchacaan pa
hal tuyu Kul Petenxan: Vxim
bal Kin ha hal noh Cuchaic Vxim
balte: O Cebal ti tunoh O xo: V
Chil yo Kol cab V Kah Lail Kin=
o hel tabal Vay Yo Kol cab lae



Eclipse
Vchibil

Dze Sol
Kin

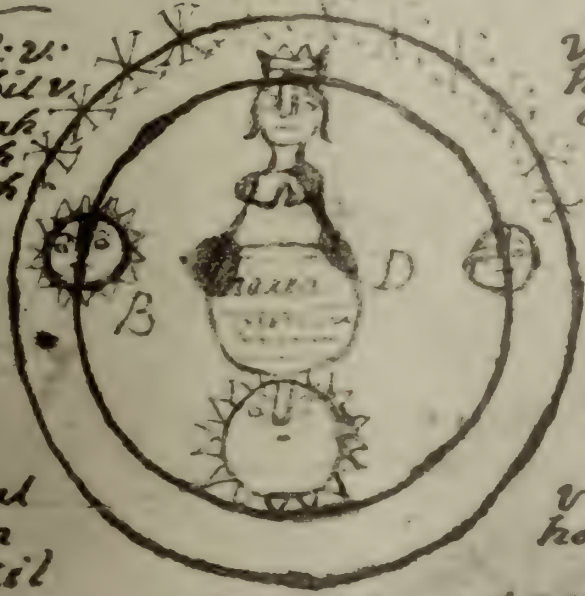


medio
tan buh

mundo
yokolcah

tixiblalob tuxaxob yanlay hun buha: ucun bail
machibil: ucah ki ni: hetun yanchumuco: lay
Cuchi bil: nuptan ba ucah y. V. tuchibil. xim
bal ucah payan be. timaili chi bil
ucah uxim bal tixaman: nohoch:
pelili tun: vchibilob kin y: V: timaili ka
chuc chum kine: Vnucul utial yahul tic
mayauinicob bal cuyachul ti kin y ti
:V: lae

Vchibil: v:
machibil v.
Cahi: cah
ham ych
tal ucah
:V: y kin
tuhel
peten



Vchibil
kin: ma
chibil v
cahi:
caham
ych tal
ucah
kin y
:V: tu
hel pe
ten

B

D

Chicul
tumen
Ds licil

vlah cet
hal-

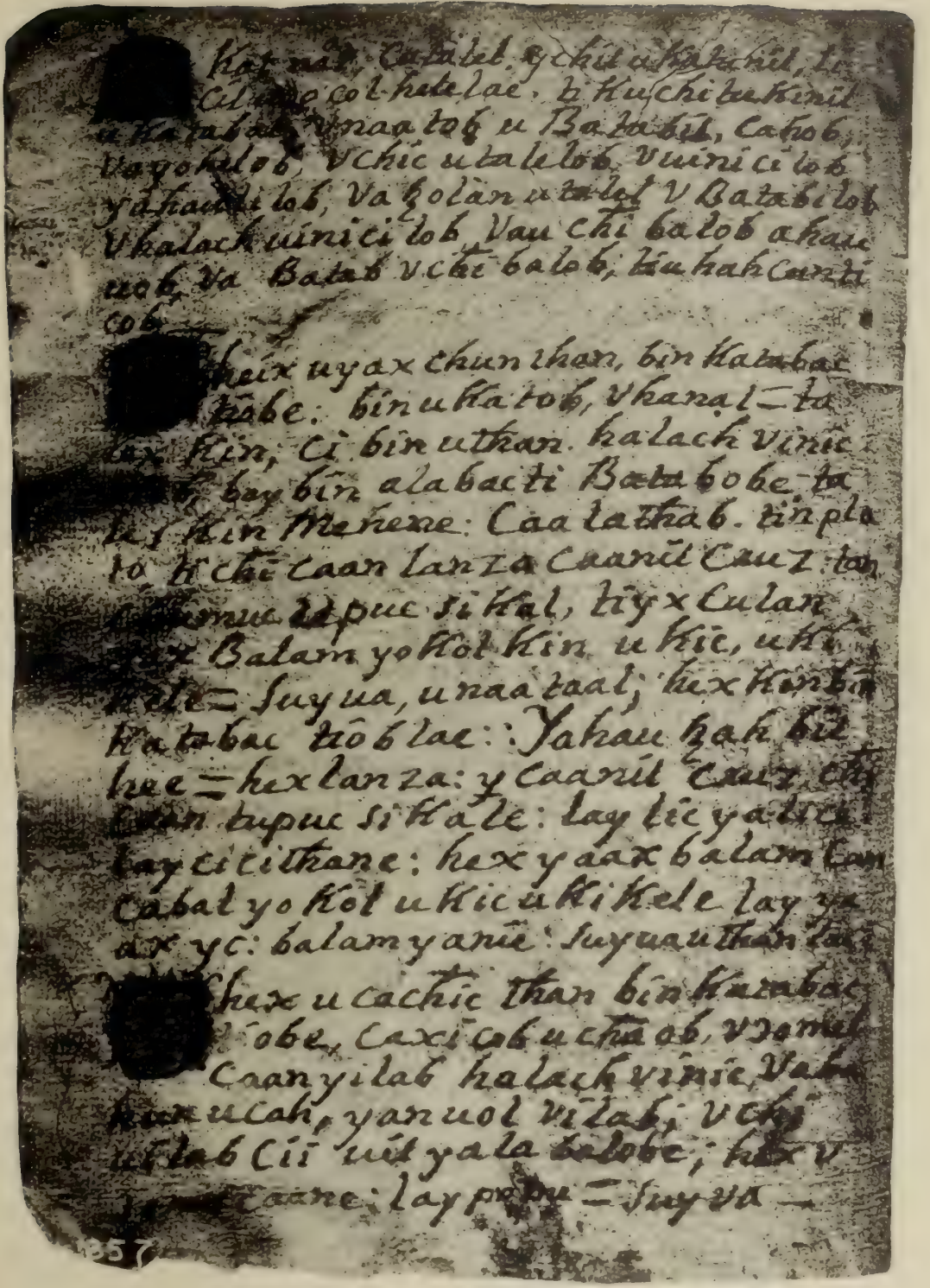
heeac machibil. vcahi

9: Suyuaa than, y Naat. Vtial Cayum S.r Gov
maris cal, lay uchic ucah tal, ꝗuc ua xim lae
tulakin, ych caan çihoo, tiyan luum vchic
vyantalv pakali y v solar, uchic ucah tal
lae; Binix kuchuc tu kin uholol v bel
xan, talel uthan, vhalach vinic cil, chac
vthan. Cabin uluc, Chac cix ubuc xan

Hele lae, tu suyua than, lay binu
than, lay binu kat, vhalach ui
nicil; cah lae, cabin kuchuc tu kin
vɔo col uthan, ah ox Ahau katun
Cabin Culae uyanal katun; ah hun a
hau katun. Boy alanil lae

Hex katun helelae, ox ahau katun
ɔocix ukuchul tukinil, uɔocol
yahau lil, y vtepal: halilibe ma
hanix vyanal

Hex hun ahau katun, Calan ychil
yoloch ah ox ahau katun lae
yulate, tanuɔabal uchaan, tumenel
ah ox ahau katun lae: Sub ꝗil, bin
bin balob, tucahalob

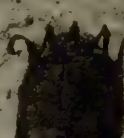


[illegible] Kat nat, Catalel, ychil u Katunil, ti
[illegible] Cil [illegible] col-helelae. ti Ku chi tu Kinil
u Katabal, Vnaa tob u Batabil, Cahob,
Vayohelob, Vchic u talelob, Vuini ci lob
yahau[illegible] lob, Va ʒolan u talel V Batabilob
Vhalach uini ci lob, Vau chi balob ahau
uob, Va Batab v chi balob, tiu hah Canti
cob.

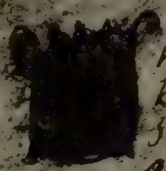
[illegible] heix uyax chun than, bin Katabac
[illegible] tiobe: bin u Katob, Vhanal = ta
lex Kin, Ci bin uthan. halach vinic
[illegible], bay bin alabacti Batabobe ta
les Kin Menene: Caa lathab. tin pla
to ti chi caan lanza Caanil Cruz: tan
[illegible] tupuc si Kal, tiyx Culan
[illegible] Balam yo Kol Kin u Kic, u Ki
Kele = Suyua, u naa taal; hex Kin bin
Katabac tiob lae: Yahau ʒah bil
hee = hex lanza: y Caanil Cruz chi
Caan tupuc si Kale: lay lic ya lice
lay ci cithane: hex yaax balam Can
Cabal yo Kol u Kic u Ki Kele lay ya
ax yc: balam yanie: Suyua uthan [illegible]

[illegible] hex u cachic than bin Katabac
[illegible] tiobe, Caxi cob u cha ob, v ʒomel
Caan yilab halach vinic, Vaba
[illegible] u cah, yan uol vilab; v chi
uilab Cii uil ya la balobe; hex v
[illegible] caane: lay po[illegible] = Suyva —

Chex uyox chic than bin katabac tiobe.
Cau kaxob Nohoch na; Vac thil Vuaan:
hun ɔit tili yoc mal: heix Nohoch Na
lae: lay Jahau poc ɔos lae: bin alabac ti
Canacac yokol Jahau Sasac ḫimin = Sa
sac Vnok y suyem = y Sasac Çoot: Vmach
ma tukab: tamuk u soot tic: Vḫimin:
tiyan Olom kik. tulol Vsoot: tiuil ulu
kula: Heyx saçac ḫimin lae: lay yoc
bil xanab: Sos cil kaane: heix sasac
Çoot. lic yalabale; Lay sasac suyeme:
Lay Nic tee: Sasac ɔulube: = heix
Olom kik Vlol soote: lic ukatabai
tie. lay takine: yan tan chumuc
yoklal kikilli kul: tukikel: yx
manaa: yx mayum: Vtalel lae: —



Cheix u canchic than bin katabac tiobe
Caxicob tiyoroch. Catun alabac tiob. heix
Cabin talacex. avil benexe: tukak
chumuc kin vale: caput palex: kak
a cahex: cabin ulucex. tiyan aual pek
tapachexe: heyx aual pekex lae: V
nachma v Pixan Caci lich colel cabin
vlucech yelel: heix caput. palil lic
yalabal tie: kakchumuc kin. cabinxic. V
Cumtanma u booy: lay licil yalabal. kukil
V binel: Cabin kuchuc: yic nal halach. vi
nice: heix yal pek lic u katabal tie. lay V
Chuplite: heix vPixan Cacilich. Colebile
yahau candelas: hacha. cabe: = Suyua
than lae



4 heix vhochic than, bin katabac tiobe
binalabac tiob, caxicob vchaob vpuc
sikal ku: cit bil: ti caan: heix cabin
atalis tene ox lahun yal: vtas: tij te
pan upachty çac poz: heix lay vpuc sikal ku
cit bil: lic yala bal tiob lae: lay kane: heix
vtas: lay ox lahun yal: lic ya la bale: lay
yahau: vahe: ox lahun yal. buul yan y chi
le: heix sasac poze: lay sasac no ke: lay
bin katabac tiob = vnaatul: suyua —

heix vuac chic than bin katabac ti
obe: v binel vchaob. vkabchoo =
y ox bal hax = y cuxul ak: lay bin
vciil te. yn hanal samal: yanuol
yn hantante. mayuil lob ukuxul: v
chunchoe = cij ya la balob = heix v.
chunchoe: lay chope: heix ox balha
xe: lay une huhe: heix cuxul ake
lay v chochel kekene: heix vchun
choe: vchun une chop: suyua than —

2 heix vuuc chic than bin katabac
tiobe = binalabac tiob xenmol
ten umac yit ɔonot: capel sasa
ci: capel kankani = yanuol yn
hante: heix umac yit ɔonot: lic u
katabal tiobe: lay sasac chi came: ca
pel kankani: = vnatul: vchuc =
vchucul vBatabil cah: capul tutan
ahau = yaxhalach vinic lae —

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He thanob lae Vamatan v. Na tabal tumen
v Batabil Cahobe: Okom mol ʒil: ek
taplay hom akab, cha kax than ʒil yotoch
Okom mol ʒil hom Okom bul Cum. tan chu
muc tancab, yicnal ah al mehenilob
ah Cimil; mau naa ticob; ah Cux tal bin
unaa tab; lay bin yanac yokol v Bata
bil Cahob, lay yet pisan v hoch bilan
ohel tabal yail bin ɔoccebal ahau
lil lae — lay kaxan v kab tutan
y yuma: che: chapayan v Sumil bin
Sabal v cah. yicnal ahau, yax ha
lach uinic; lay v ɔoc Batabil, lay
bin yanac. yokol v Cokin, v Coka
tun; bin yu bob ya Cabin ɔococ, v bat
lob, v Batabil Cahob; lay bin yanac
tukin lae; hij ɔe bal u than katun
Cabin ɔococ ah ox. ahau katun:
Chu Com u ~~Bata~~ bil cahob. tumen
minanil. v Naa tob lae ~~~~

Bay bin uch Cu
chucul. V Bara
bil cah lae —
Kah lay vchebal
V ɔai cob V hanal
yax ɔ talach
vinicob: Cabin
V Katob vhanalob
hi Chom V Calob —
xotom Vniya
Kob — Colom V
uichob — tuki
nil = lay bin ɔo
ce bal lae:
hex chi bale =
tiix V hok sic
V ba tutan V
yum, ti Caclampix vche bal yo hel tabal. ya
nil V Cux o la lob, tiyx V Kubul: V poop: y uɔam:
tiobxani: lay yet pi san: yi la bal V hoch bilan
Cio ʒil yilabal v chi bal, halach Vinic tilu
um Vaye = Lay bin Cux lac tu Kinil, layix
bin Kamic. yax Bara xan; Bay tun bin —
heɔ luum nah bal V chi bal Maya Vinicob
Vay tu Cahal yucatan tu ca sut lae —
Dios Paybe. ɔocebal Vay Jo Kol Cab lae
Lay u hahil ahau bin tac v Kat toon. Lay
Catepalilob. Lay Ca Kulob lae =
tunob; Kanob = Jetel bin Katic pakal =
Cis: bal Che = hemac minan tie: Cim sabil =
hemax bin ʒicice: Diosil vcah tuthan
a Maiuil yol tic D.s yuchub tulacal
bal ɔibanob lae —

Bayxan. heixalme
henob. V chibal Ba
tabob: yohelma bix
talicob. vuinicilob.
y yahaulilob. vte
palob. Ciohil: yi
labal, V Cuxolalob.
Vmektanmavhi
Cil teilob. binix
Cicikubuc: vpop
tiob y vɔam: tiob
tumenel Cayum
yaxhalach vinic
lay upop. y vɔam bax
tabi. muc luum ta
bi. vuich popok
chektabi. tuuich
luum. bibil ya
bi. tuchochopaz
Cokin. vco katun
yalx buyuk. yatco
Vmehen kas: ah cakin pop: ah cakin ɔam. vma
xil: Ahaulil: vmaax katun: lay ximbalna
hob: y chil. ah ox ahau katun: hethan bolonbuth:
y chil vpuc cikal = V chibal almehenob: ahaulil
vinicob: licitacyalabal ti: vbinel vchab V Bata
bil Cahobe: Caxic vchab ——————
Mehene xencha: vlol akabten vaye: Cij vil
yalabal = Catun xic ti Cac lampix: tutanha
lach vinic = katic tie =
Tume heyx vlol: akab = licakatic tene =
Vet talic = y vkazakabe = tij yan vicnale
Cij vthan Balamehene: vatiyanavic
nale

vicnale =
tiuayan: yax ix ɔoy: ta pache: y Noh Copoe:
yume tiyan uicnale: vet vlic:
Balamehene = vaa vet ulice: xen pay a la kob ten:
Lay hun tul Noh xibe = Bolon tul v me hene = y
huntul yx Nuc = Bolon tul yale: yume Cij
vthan Cabin unucub - Vet vlic: Vayan tinpa
che = payan be: vtalob ten: Cat v len ynuilech =
Balamehene vauayan tapache - Xen molob
ten: v tunichil: cha kan: yetelob: catacech = v
lot maob tuzem: Cutalel = Vahalach vinic
cechibe = vatech vchi bal ahau Vay ti luumbe
Suy vathan —
Heyx vlol akab lic u katabal tie: Ck: ti
Caan: hex u kaz akabe: lay: ve: hex yax
ix ɔoye: y noh Copoe: lay ah Cuch Cabe: Ot
lom cabal vkabae: hex hun tul noh xib lic
vkatabal tie lay bolon tul v mehene: lay v
Naa yocce: heix hun tul: yx nuc: lic u kata
bal tie: lay u naa v kabe: hex u tun chil cha
kan: lic u katabal tie: y v lot ma u me he -
Lay v be chee:
Bay xan Mehene: Cex ayax haan alabitech:
ma alan apac te. v uiche: Vayan tinpache: yume:
Bala me hene. xen chaten yibnel Caan vaye:
tiatalel ti lakin Cabin taceche: Cuch pach
vtaltech: = Cay baac be yume: Cij uthan =
Hex uyax haan: tiyan tupach: Cati kuchie =
Lay upach Caae: hex uyibnel Caane: lic u ka
tabal tie: lay pat bil pome: Oxlahun ual upatal =
heix licil yala bal tie Cuch pachil vtalel tie =
teyan u boy tupache: zelep kin Cochom: =
Mehene - halach vinicech - ah tepale chixan
Xen tun chaten ayax Cuentexe, licil apa
chie —

yal chie: hex u yax Cuentexe = lic v katabaltic 21
lay kane: Catun katabac titun vabahun kin
Cupayalchi: yume Cuthan
tuhunte kin cinpayal chij: y tulahun kin cin
payalchij:
Balx kinil licil anac sic apayal chij: —
Yume tubolon kin: y tuyox lahun kin: Bolon
ti ku: y ox lahun ticit bil: lay licil yn xocic
yn Cuentex = loe:
Mehene xen chaten avex ynuui v booc vaye
y nach v booc ce: v booc yn vexe: v booc yn noke
v booc yn yub ake: pay num u boc tu ɔu caane
y tu ɔu muyalle: y yn yax pakab chee
yan ti çac hothe: vahalach vinicechibe
yume bin yn tales - Cij v than
Hex u boc yex lic u katice: lay paynum
v booc tu ɔu caane: Lay pome thab bil =
elil v cah: hex yax pakab chi: lic v
katice: lay mux bil ca cau = ch c vaae
Balamehene xen tales ten v yax kikel
yn uix mehene: y v pole: y v hom tanile:
y v chac bacele: y v ka be: y lay valah
ama cab ti su huy cate: y v yax kan
chee = vix mehene: Ctesten yanuol vi
lab = Vch yn ɔab tech = li ciuil yacal
tin tane: li ciuil v vakal vokole:
Lay bacac be yume: yet tal v ɔiic: v xi
cin ahbol: cabeh: yetel: Catun xictun =
Hex v yax kikel yix mehen lic v ka
tic loe: = lay maya cije: = hex u hom
tanil

tanil yix mehene: Lay vho bonil cabe: hex
vpol yix mehene: lay Suhuy Cate: ɔam lic Cije=
heyx uyax Kan che yix mehene: Lay u Cocoh tun
Cabe: hex u ɔic u xi cin ah bo le= Lay u
Sulil Cije: hex u bacel yix mehene: lay
v holil bal chee= hex u chac bacel lic
ya lice= lay u cheel bal chee= hex v Kab
yix mehene= lay u Kab bal chee= heyx
li cil ya lic yo Kole= Cal hal u than=
Cæ tun xic vɔab ti= ten Culu ba= chu
v than= tes Cun u than Cabin Kuchuc=
[illegible] helay a uix mehena= a ɔah yn Canan
te: lic a ua lic Cech yume= Cech ah tepale=
Cij tun u than v mehen tie= ——
Bee: Mehene: Vet halach vinicile= Vet
ah tepalile: Ka haan baca tech= a vo
hel baca: Cij u than= lay tun v Ki Kel Vix
mehen lic yn Katictech lae: Ox la hun
Num tun: v Manel v Ki Kel yix mehen=
V tan tun= yo Kol yix mehen: ti Che lic tu tan
Ca bal= hijj= Ci tun yo Kol= tamuk
yilic= ti chin lic= tamuk v than= Bee
Mehene= Cij tun u than: tamuk yo Kol
halach vinice che= Bee Mehene ah te
pale chi xan= Bee Vet halach vinicile:
Bin tun yn Kub a pop: y a ɔam= y a ua
hau lil Cech Mehene= a tial tepal= a tial ix
a hau lil xan: Cech Mehene ——
Bay tun bin ɔocebal v thanal v Batabil
Cahob= Cabin lu Kuc cob. yic nal yax
halach

halach vinic: te tupol petene: Catunxicob
tiyotoch: tij tunyan tiyotochob: tanuɔaic
vhanalob halach vinic tanix vkatic
vhanal tiob xan bay binebal vʒolic lae =

Mehene Caatales ten Can cot chac ɔi ɔib: yan
tuhol: ac tune: tin vatal yokol ynyax
pakab chi = Chac niceni uil: valic vput =
yokol: ynyax pakab chie: Cabin kuchuc
tintane: Caybacacbe yume —
Heix lic vkatice lay Civie: hex vput lic
yatice: lay yom chuc vuae = hex uyax
pakab chie = Cacau ɔocan vhuchul = Suyva =

Mehene Caatales ten vchichil akab = yv
hochil akab = yet tal vɔomel Caan = hach
yanuol vilab vaye = Caybacacyume =
Hex lic ukatice lay hoyobe = licil vto
Cabal pome = hex vhochil akab lic v
katice = lay kane = hex vɔomel caane =
lay pome: Suyuathan —

Mehene caa tales ten vbacel ayum: lay amu
Cah Oxpel hab hie = hach yanuol vilab =
Caybacac yume = Hex lic ukatice:
lay ɔijne = pibbil: Caxic ɔabil tihalach vi
nic. —
Mehene Caatales ten hun tul Noh xib =
lay ma kalan: vbotonil = vhabone = homto =
chac vkabae = Caybacac beyume =
Hex lic vkatice = lay Ibache = yx veche =

Mehene Caatales ten Ox buh Caan yanvol
ynhantante: Caybacac beyume —

Hex lic u Katice: thohob çacae = lay om
çacae = Suyuathanil binkatabal talacal -

Mehene. Caatalesten vChun cij vCucutil cij =
minan ukabi = maa luk sic yolli = yet tal
ox thothol: yoc ʒi ʒil = Cay bacacyume
Heix lic vKatice: vpol ke ken: pib bil: cabin
xic ɔabil tie: hex yol licyalice: lay yake
tumen heyak bale: vyol = Suy va =

Mehene Caatalesten v Cosil akab = Ynhantante:
Cay bacyume = heix lic vKatice: pollos - ahthel -
Suyva

Mehene Caaualti: yax yx ɔoi = Otlom Cabal. v
Kabae: Cautalesten hun xu xac: pichum =
tiu chucul yalan Noh Copoe: ti banantuboy
Copoe = Cay bacacyume: = hex lic vKatice +
eek buul = ʒiyan ti yotoch. ah Cuch Cabe -
lay yax ɔoye: yOtlom cabale: licyalice = Suy:

Mehene. Caxic Chuc bil v Balamil actun: ta
menel: vCiil te: ynhanal: yanuol ynhantan
te: Balam = Cay bacac beyume: hex Balam
Lic vKatice: lay ka leuue = Suyuathan —

Mehene Caatalesten: Vuc yal vpix: yx mayum:
yanuol ynhantante. tukiniuil = vhantabale.
Cay bacacyume = hex lic vKatice. lay ɔotob
Chaye:

Mehene Caatalesten yax ʒubla lob vaye =
Catacob ti Okot ynchaante yet talob vpax y
çoot = y vual = y vKabupax = lay ynpakob =
Cay bacacyume: hex lic vKatice = Ah ʒo =
hexupaxe: vKoo: hexuçoote: vpol. hex
uvale = vne = hexukabupaxe = vchac
bacel = Suyvathan —

Mehene Caatalesten vCaʒ peten yanuol yn
han

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hantante: Cay bacacyume = hex lic v Katice =
v Kabil Cab — Suyva —

Mehene Caatalesten: u tun chil Chuh cab = lay
elele = yet talel yalili = v Che bal yn tupic =
Vayix v xi Cil tin tane = hex lic u Katice: pibil
ma Cal = hex yalile = v tial u tupice: lay u Kabil
Cabe = Suyvathan —

Mehene Caatalesten: a Kab Ca Cay = lay hun xa
man = hun chi Kin = u man u booc = yet ta
v lez ak Balam = Cay ba cacyume = Hex lic
v Katice = Chamal = hex u lez ak Balam
lic u Katice = lay Kake =

Mehene Caatalesten - a vix mehen: yn vilab - lay
hach: Cac ha ɔen u uiche: hach Cich pame =
Ça Çac u booch = y v Kaxi = hach yan uol ti: Cay
ba cacyume = hex lic u Katice = Sac luch = y
hune: Ça cae = Suyua —

Mehene Caatalesten Sabel v Kabae = lay sa
mac nac u booce = Cay ba cac beyame = hex lic
v Katice: lay Mi lone =

Mehene Caatalesten yax yx lochen cal = yayax
v pach = yan uol yn han tan te = Cay ba cacyume =
hex lic u Katice = v Cal ah zoo = Suyua —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul Chuplal: hach
Çac vouol: v pul yoc = Vay yn si lic: v pic tu
pul yoce = Cay ba cac beyume = hex lic v Katice:
Chi Cam = hex v si lic v pice = v ɔi lic = v pach —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul Chuplal: hach cich
pam = hach Çac u uich = hach yan uol tij = Vay
yn pulic: v pic: y yipil = tin tane = Cay ba
cac beyume = hex lic v Katice: hun Cot: yx
tux v lum = v han tan te = hex v pulic v pi ce —

y yipile = Layutho col: v Kukmele: Catunkak
tabac v tial hanal = Suy vathan —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul ah canan col: Noh
xib vaye = yanuol vi lab = vuich = Cay bacacbe
yume = hex licukatice: vCucutilmacal = v
hantante = Janat =

Mehene Caatalesten yx Canan Col = yx Nuc =
ek tun lah = vuini Cile = Vuc nab vtan
yitte = yan uol vilab = hex licu katice =
Lay vyax ych Jole: Suyuathan: bin kuchuc
vkin

Hele ti kin tupochek tah — Cayum yax
halach Vinic lae = Licitac yulel Vay ti
luum = tulumil = yu cal peten lae = Cupa
yic Batabob = Cabin tac Batabob = Payal
v Cahob tumen Cayum halach vinic = tex
va Batabe = toni beyume = Ciuil vthanob lae:

Mehenexe Vatex halach Vinic Vay ti luum lac
Ciuil yala baloblae = Xenex cha xiknal: Ba
lam Catacex a Jabex yn han te: Cicij: Ja
ex yuob = Cicij: Jaex. v pu toob: Catacex
a Jaex ynhante: y xenex tac tusebal =
hach heley tac atalexe = Mehenexe =
hach yan yanuol ynhante: cex Mehenexe
Cexhalach Vinicexe = heob xmayohele:
Ozil hom. v tu cul: y vpacat. Be mabal
bin yalab = heyx yohelobe = Cilmac yol Ca
bin xic uchab Xiknal Balam: Catun
tac yetel = techua Mehene = teni beyume =
techua chibale = Mehene: teni beyume = cex
alakobe = Mehene = Yume tiyanob ti kaxe =
v xachetob Balame = Minan Balam tu
than

thanob Catun v manes tutan = hex lic v katice lay
Balame = V ẋimin ah Batabil = V kat v kanta =
lay ẋembil ẋimine = hex yue lay cas ca beles e =
hex V ẋa te = lay chachac kuche = Cici ɔabil y
V Silla: y V ẋeno = Suy uathan —

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hun tiku: y Caix paxi vpol: Caix lahi vuich:
Caix tuba bi: Caix Cuch pach hixan: Caix Colabi
vCangel: y Vhol Sabac: Cacha bi yx ku kii:
yx yaxun: y Cachabi ybnel pu yem Viil.
y v puc cikal puyem çi cil: y puyem top y
puyem buul: Vtepah ynah. yax bolon ɔacab.
Cabini tuyox lahun tas caan: Cayx tun Culhij
Vma ɔil: y vni u bac lili: Vay yo kol cabe: Ca
tun bin upuc çi kal tumenel Ox lahun ti ku:
maix yol tahob bin ci vpuc çi kal Viil lae: Caix
hul la hi yx mayu mob y ah Num yaob. yx
ma y chamob: Cuxanobix timinan upuc çika
lob: Cayx muc chahij tumen: vyam çuc tuyam
kak nab: hun vaɔ hail hulom haa il: tij
Cau chi Col Cangelili: ti homoc nac Canal:
homoc na Cix ti cab: Valic can tul ti ku:
Can tul ti ba cab: lay haye çob: tuchij.
tun Caɔoci hay Cabil - lay cah Cunah = che
balcabolic kan xib yui: Caual hi çacymix
che: ti xaman: Cayx ual hi yoc mal caan.
v Chi Cul hay Cabal: lay çac ymix che:
Valic Cuchic Cayx Valhi ek ymix che: Cu
ek tan pi ɔ oy = Cayx ual hij. kan ymix
che: v chi Cul hay Cabal: Culic kan tan pi
ɔoy: Cum li cix kan xib yui yx kan oyal
mut: Caix ual hij: yax ymix che: tu chu
muc v kah lay hay cabil = Culic: Vatal: Cum
tal v cah: v lac: canah ual katun: ahpay kab
ahpai oc: tuyum: Cum tal v Cah chac pil
tec = tu la kin Cab: ah pay oc tuyum: Cum
tal u Cah: çac pil te tu xaman cab: ah

pai

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pay Oc tuyum = Cum tal u cah Lahun Chan: ah pay
Kab. tuyum: ~~hex u uol Cab Valic~~ Cum tal v cah
Kan pil tee: ah pay Kab tuyum: hex v uol cab
Valic ah Vuc chek nale: tali tuuuc tas cab:
Ca emi v chekeb te: v pach: y ʒam Kaba in =
tij Ca emi tumuk v xuk luum: Caan: xim
bal v Cahob. tu can cib: tu Cantaʒ: ti ek: ma sa
sil Cab: tihun minan Kin: tihun minan a Kab:
ti hun minan: V: ah ubahob ti yx tan v ya
hal Cab = Catun ahi Cab: ✠ Valacito: ya
hal Cab: Oxlahum pic ɔac tuuuc v xo can
yahal Cab: Catun ah Cab. tiob: Ciuba: Ca
Kin ɔam: Ox Kin ɔam: Cayx hopi yo Kol
Ox lahun ti Ku: Okol u cahob ti yahaulil:
Chacab tun tepal: Chac hix pop: chac a can
v yax chel cab: Chacan v num teil Cab. tu
menelob: Vuc yol Çip: maix tu Kin v tepal:
lay lic yok ti cob: bolon ti Ku lae: tij Catali
v ʒolol pop: Chac cix pop. Culic bolon ti Ku: ɔut
pol bilix yit. ti Culic tu pop: ti Caemi Çiɔ
tali tan yol caan = lay u çi ɔil tepal: V çi ɔil
ahaulil = Caix Cum la hij Chac eɔ: Ca Cum
la hi Çac ye ɔe bil ahaulil: eɔ: Ca Cum la
hij: ek: eɔ. Ca Cum la hij: Kan. eɔ Ca Cum
la hij. Chac tenel ahau: ah ten pop: ah ten
ɔam: Ca Cul hi: Çac te mal: ah ten pop. ah
ten ɔam: Ca Cum la hij: ek tenel ahau:
ah ten pop. ah ten ɔam: Ca Cum la hij Kan
tenel ahau. ah ten pop ah ten ɔam: ti
Kuix tu than: ti uaix: maix Kui = ti
minanix v uah. ti minanix yaal: hun
xeli: 29

Lic ualic vmul vi t ic maix tab utal vyabal:
lic uyan Cun tic: Caal: vmut ticulic: Cal kin
Caal numya: ti tali: tamuk yahaulil; cakku
chi: ti culic tupop: top canal hopan vkak:
Colop uuich: kin: to can ti cab = lay ubuuc: ti
yahaulil = lay uchun licil yok tic v tepal:
tukin = Numen: chuc: numen Celem: tukin =
vnatal naat: ahauob = Can ualic vchic che:
mol tukin: Çatay ba balili: Canualic: vche:
ah muuc = tuho can be: tuho can heleb: okoombu
Cum tukinil: Momolij = pepen = ti tali chacmi
tannuya = lic utalel _ ox vin keek = vkin:
Ox ahau: katun: Ox tuc ti hab: lay bin nu
puc: y chil Ah Ox ahau katun Cabin Cum
lac vyanal katun = Ox: uuah: Ox yaal:
Cup: uuah: Cup: yaal: la cuhan tic: la cu
yu kic = x batun = Chi chim chay: Cuhantic
~~la cuyu kic~~ = lay Cul hi: lay tu Cahal numyac
yume: y chil v Bolon tun = tu kinyan:
ɔulili = katal u Cah u Cuch katun: tu
lah ya bil = ah ox lahun ahau = tij ca
Cauhe kah yoc: ah Buluc ahau = tij
Caemi u than. Bolon ɔa Cab: vniyak =
Caemi: katal: v Cah u Cuch katun: katun
Bolon te u Cuch Caemi: ti Caanil = kanix
u kinil: kaxci = v Cuch: tij Caemi haa:
tali tanyol Caan = chebal u Caput çihil:
Bolon haaban: yotoch: yet em cij Bo
lon mayel: Cha huc u chi = vniyak =
Chahuchi u ɔomel: ti Caemi: Cantul: chaac =
vaya: Caat lae: lay u Cabilob nicte: lae

tij

tij Caho Kij: yx chac hoch Kom: ti: y yx 26
Çac hoch Kom: ti. y yx ek hoch Kom: y yx
Kan hoch Kom: y yx haunal: y yx huknab=
yet hokci tun: yx hoyal nicte: y yx ho
nixte: y yx ninich: Cacau: y yx chauil
tok: y yx bac nicte: y yx mac uil xuchite=
yx holon yol nicte= y yx laul nicte: y
Kouol: yoc tah nicte: lay hokob nicte: lao
bix ah Comayelob: lay vnaa: Nicte: Caho
Kiob: yuɔub ah Kin: yuɔub ahau: yu
ɔub hol Can: lay u Cuch Nicte ahau=
Caemi: mina nix uyanal: lay uile: cu
than= maix uah u Cuch ma= tij tun Cahoki
yx hau lah nicte: Oc çicu Keban: Bolon
ti Ku: Ox teix tihab: Ukin Cayalah:
Cuchij: maix Kuchi chab: Naci: Ku: mit
nalt= Bolon ɔacab: Caemi tuchun nicte: pis limte.
yax bac: ɔununix. Vuayinah Caemi- Cauɔuɔah
vcabil= Bolon yal nicte: tu y chil tun, cacha yoham
nij yx hoyal nicte: Catun ho Ki upuc çi Kal nicte:
Vxim ban tey uba: Can he Kix Ulac nicte: lac=
tiyx Cuban ah Kin: xoc bil tun Chumuc: tij Ca
u chi lohu yol Ox lahun ti Ku: mayx yohel tah
yemel u Keban upop: ti Kuix tathan Cuchie
Nicteyx Vpop: nicteix Vkan che: nicteyema:
Çauin Culic. Çauin uxim bal Çauin ulac. Çauin u
luch. Çauin upu çi Kal. Çauin unat. Çauin u tu
cul. Çauin uchi. Cool uthan tiyahaulili. tu Kin
uat uil: tu Kin uaat. Vkul. tuxayuchi licuha
nal tupach uxau licuuil Vchije ma chee= et
ma tunich. Chac u Cool yan ti lahun chan. Vuich
ti Culic çipuuich çiputhan çipucan çipunaat=
çipu ximbal Kaxan uuich ti Culic chac cah
vpop

vpop Culic ~~tamuk~~ yahaulil tubanuyum tuban vnaa:
maix yohelma vnaa: a lin tee thaban upuc cikal
tuhunal ychil yxmayumil ah poch yum: ychil
yxmanail binximbal nac Calan umut. Çatal
unaat yicnal uyum yicnal vnaa: minanti bitti.
minanuh tupuc çikal. halili yantuni yak ɔe
ɔec loe mayohel bix bin ɔoc cebal mayxyo
hel balyan tu ɔoc yahaulili lay Cabin ɔocnac
ukinil vtepale =

Hebolon tiku lae bolon chan uich ahau uil
vinicob. ah cakin pop. ah cakin ɔam: lay tali y
chil ox ahau katun tiyx bin yanal uyanal
vyumil peton yah cul cin nahul vthan vya
nal katun Cabin ɔococ uthan ah ox ahau ka
tun tukinil v con con mehen lay bin yanaç
yokol vnunil ahyʒa, hun ua chuen hunua
Celem hun ɔit tunil vhex vkeban vnunil
ahyʒa. laybolon ti ku: lay bin ɔocebal vthan
ah ox ahau katun tiyx vnatal nat yahau
lil cabobi: ɔocebal vthan katun tix vchucan
hal vchi bal almehenobi Batabob yvyanal
ah Cux olalob. y vchi bal Batabob taymuc
chek tabi luum tuuichabe. camabalhiob tu
men v Cokin v Cokatun vmehen kaç yalx
buyuk. lay çihob Ca ahicab ychil ah oxa
hau katun baybin ɔocebal vtepalob ahca
pel ychob ti Cayumil ti Ds hex cabin ɔocnac
vthan katun lae Catun uɔab Ds yuchul hun
ye Ciil tu Caten lay hay cabile: lay tun Cu
ɔocole Catun emec cayumil ti jesuchris
to yokol. komil josapat. tuxax cahje

xu

xu salen v chic ulo hi coon tu cilich kikel. layix
bin emec tinoh muyal v ɔab u tohol canil hah
v mançah ti çinan ti crus che: cuchie. tij tun
yemel tinoh uchucil tinohix utepal xan
hahal Ds lay hahal ku. tay çihes caan y luum
y yokol cab tu lacal. layx bin emec tax
cun tic yokol cab xan tuyu ḫil y ulob tacil
yah ɔoy sahulob ah nu nob= _____

9 Dominus vobiscum v lah ci uthenob v kail
timinan caan y luum: ~~Ox amay tun grasia~~
tij caçih tan hom lah cabil timinan caan
y luum ox amay tun grasia. v ch ci upat ci v
kail ah tepale: timinan caan. cuchie: ti ca
çihi vuc te tun vucpel katun chuyan tu yol
y k. vuc: tetete: cibin: capecni: vucpelix
v grasial xan: vuc tulix v san toil xan: e max
yic lo. v ch ci v çihil tihun tun g.a hunpicib
g.a v ch ci upicil akab timinan Ds cuchie:
may to v kamab v Ds sil. cuchie. tij liyan
y chil g.a tuba tuhunal. y chil ak bil timi
nan caan y luum. cabu ki tu ɔoc katun
tima uchuc çihil tihun te katun. yanij.
v tuyij: a deu: ti paramij: v ch ci v kuil: ca
calu kij caix xibni tu capicib tun g.a caku
chi tu capel katun: al pil con: v kaba
v angelil: çih ci= lukul tu cibah: v ca
pel g.a tu capel v picil akab. timamac ya
nac cuchie: cau kamah v kuil tuba tu hu
nal

hunal Catali vlukul = Ofir mar. Cijx vthan
Caukamah vkuil tuba tuhunal. Calukij ca
bini tuyox picib tun g.a alba Congel vka yan
gelili lay vyoxpel g.a xicentucan picib tun
g.a vcanpel uil akab = atea Oke = lay uka
ba yangelili. çihil vcibah vcanpel g.a caho
pi uthanic uba tuhunal Bee kue: ahtepa
le: ma baca macen tinhunali baca: Cuthan
tubalanil. tukuil ychil g.a xicento. Ciuthan
Cabini tuhopicib tun g.a tuhopicib akab.
çihil vcibah vhopel g.a tuhopel katan. Caa
ualhi uthanab ukuil Caçihi yangelili. De
çip tu ukaba yangelili. Caualhi: xicenit
baca. macen vile: kuen baca: ahtepalenī
baca. Caix uthan vkuil tuba tuhunal.
a Ninite Deisin: çuthan Caukamahu
kuil tuba tuhunal. Cabini tuuac picib
tun g.a tuuac pel vpisil akab tuuac te katan
kuex ahtepalexe. nucex ynthan: ma baca
macyan tihunali baca. çihil u cibah vuc
pel g.a conlamil vkaba yangelil = ten
kulu ba kutex. kaexe: nucex ynthan
ma baca macyan: mamac nucic ynthan.
Ciuil uthan tiualic: ta muk vsihçic vuc te
g.a Cilmac tiyol çihici. Vuc te ka tun: Vuc
pel çaçil Vuc pelix vpisil akab. Vuc picib
abien to. bocayento. de la çipil na de fente
note. Sustina g.a tuse mili. yno cargo-
bende yxhuntic = Catic = oxhuntic =
oxhun bacam. vkatunil = Oxuuc pic
Catiah cab = ti D.s cit bil. tuba tuhunal

tu tunil oxamay tun g.a ahcicab ti D.s cit bil
✠ vkaba vpec ʒil = vNidad. y D.s cit bil
layukaba: henabilex. vkatunilex. oxɔa
cab hun yaban. vaan catali. vucpis ɔacabix
tu camge: cantenhiix. vyaxthan. hunɔalab
ti akab. hunɔalab ti canal. teni vchune. te
niuil bin ɔocebale. hex tun vcan muchi
vthane: data te: vayi ti kaman cahe: teni
vni date. tenix vni tata. tenix vcame:
tenix. vnitata: anuni: talel vcah vNidad-
Nilu: vkaba: akab. layuyax than kulae
layuyaxthan cit bil lae: ti maxix tun v
tunil = tu batahanal y chil ak bil lile: —
Etomas = Çipancas: vkaba yk: hun katun
vyum: ota ho canil: Atucangel. vkaba yk:
heronix vkaba yk: xiclu to tanil: vka
bayk lae. vir tu tus: vkaba yk. Jora
mis vkaba yk: tu caɔic katun: hetun
cuthan: cat hel pah tune: jax yon lacal
pa. vmacahu kaba: vci lich caanil: va
lic ca cilich yum cit bil = Bolay vkaba
vcanil: vcaɔic caan heix tu tos yoc sus
tina g.a vkaba tiyx ti vʒhi lon mias =
lom tun vtunil: y chil ak bil çihon tun
vtunil eɔ lic: laytunob: tuyox tenhi: vcu
tal tuyoc sustina g.a lay tunob çihob: yan
yalan. hun uil tun: y chac ye tun: ocan
tun chac yenapal tun chac: ciob tun tu
lacal ti hunac ʒuc ti cabob yax Ahau

Dios cit bil lae: hu tic katun. [illegible] u [illegible]
mehen D.s lae: [illegible] cit bil: ox tic katun ex
pleo: u caan: u kaba: chihe chac. opitla u kaba: valie
u [illegible] en pileo: caan u kaba lae: expleo u kaba:
+ y chil yax le: Dios lae: [illegible] bones: u pelil mehen D.s
Nen bin [illegible] lic tu [illegible] u yum tu tunil
yum:
Cabin u çik çah. u coo ça [illegible] caan [illegible] lay hun:
+ Pel gaaçia hunpel tun. zihantun ekak: tixitate:
u kaba: u çasilil caanil. Sustinal bin u ço kal
u çaçil caanil: ac pa u men katun. çik ci çasil
[illegible] caanil alpa u manga. u kaba xul ci lae.
Cangeles yk valie tamuk. u chab. [illegible]
[illegible] ob minan caan y luum =
[illegible] pauah tun —
[illegible] pauah tun —
[illegible] pauah tun —
[illegible] pauah tun —
He yax caan valie. Dios cit bil [illegible] u mach
[illegible] tunil: u machma u cangel: u mach
ma u kabalil. [illegible] tichuyantu cangeles yk
[illegible] u kaba [illegible] ya lane = [illegible]
[illegible] luum: Ox tul per sona ob; lay Dios
cit bil, Dios Mehenbil. Dios Espiritu Sancto,
Valie planetas; Santurnio, Jupiter, Marte,
Venus, lic ya lic u machma kui, caanil
u chie. u chab. heu kaba caane: Christa
[illegible] he [illegible] lae. [illegible]
[illegible] u lathma

Vlathma uCicithan bilil yum bil. ti minan Caan
y luum: inpic co u ñaba uchic u ẓi ẓatabal
Angelesob: tulacal: Baloyo u ñaba:
Cacauecan Seros: u ñaba: Et sepeuas —
laus Deo

Cabal chac Bolay Balam y ca-cau Ba
lamte: Esperas u ñaba. Vactas caan: y speras
u ñaba. Vuctas Caan. Caçihi yckol cab tumen
D.s Ah tepale: tu uuctekatun. Çihic y chil akbil
Espiritu u ñaba. S.to. edendeus. S.to Elu
çeo. santoob. layti y ca u çihil u lamaytun.
u lamay akab: Serepite eli tu. entri de
noche: Cii uthan catu thanah u lam[illegible]
u lamay akab. tronas. ale seyo [illegible]
degraçia. en apedia tejo. çipi[illegible]te. en pic
ted. graç[illegible]to. esuleptun. [illegible] mestunast
gra. Suplitis. [illegible] me [illegible]. a bin
finitis gra. y metis absolubtum timetis
de graçia. [illegible] gra. [illegible]
de [illegible] lo com
dar y me gra. tre [illegible]. [illegible]
de graçia. inpriçio de gra. = tre se mil
Vno de cargo. [illegible]: huntic. catic.
Oxhuntic: [illegible]: Oxhun bakam
Vkatunil: Oxuuc pic. Vyahal cab. ca
çihi u lamaytun. u lamay akab. timinan
Caan y luum. Cathan tumen D.s cit bil

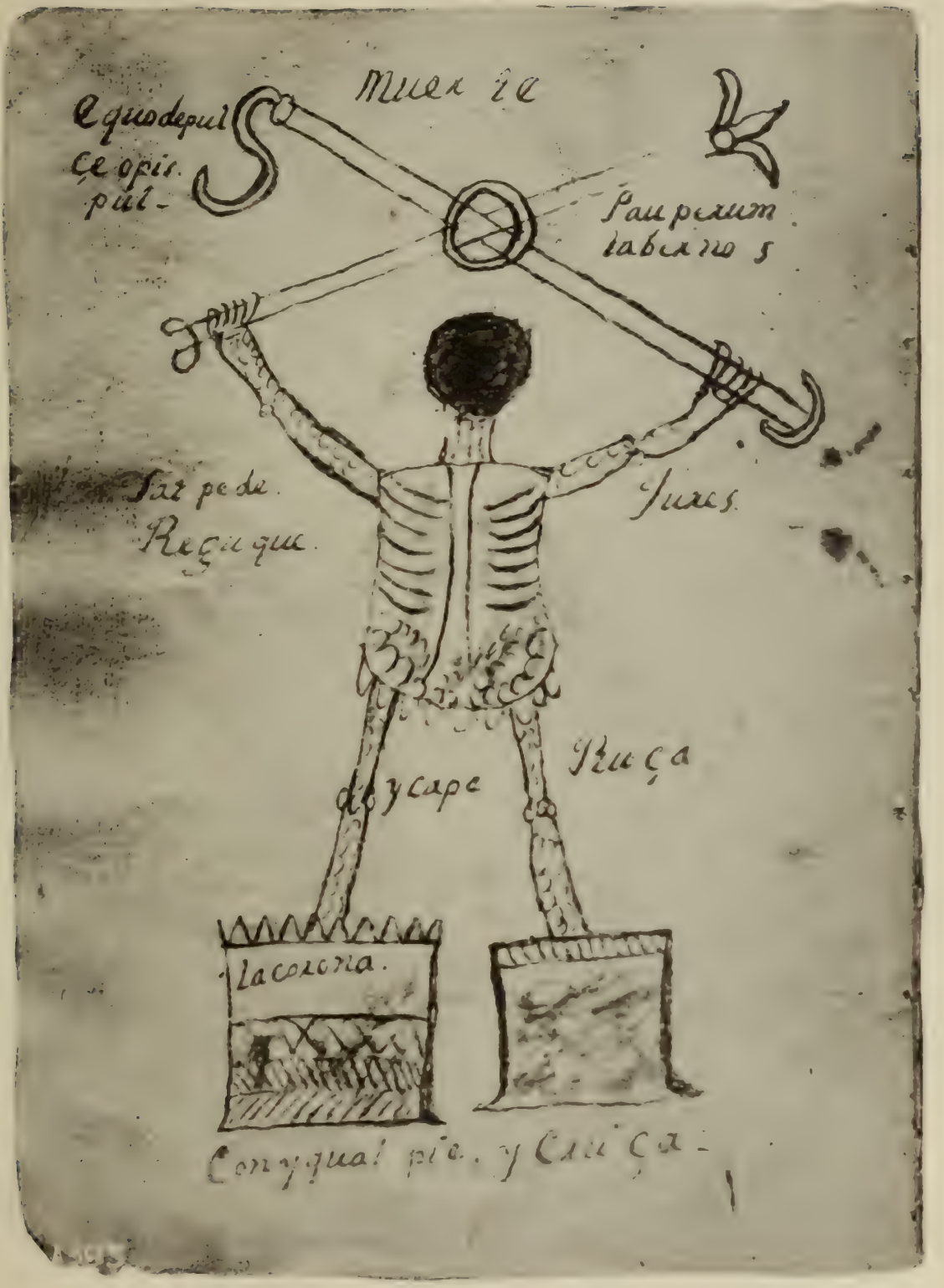
tuba tuhunal. ti Ox co coxakab. cuchie.
layuyaxthan ku. timinancaan yluum. ca
tiluk tu tunil: tilubi tu capistun: tiix
tun vpatah ukuil. capec nahi hun tic pic
katun. Cuthan hun pis ti tun de graçia.
hun pilis tun de grã. Op hach kintah tupach
acantun. Mac tiçihi caemi cayum. tech
auohel. çihilucah. Vyax batan op hoch
chintah: tupachacantun. bal tiçihi: coe
Baluayume tech auohel. çihilucah ah
mun ticaan. Çiripacte: hor ca mundõ.
ni mompan pan est Noche.. amanena.
Omonena: apa opa: hokciyk. ticalam
tun grã. çipiones ted coruna. patex profe
çido = cibinuthan. cakuchi tu uucpel capa:
Vçuhuy tun grã. bal te piones Ox teçipio.
Reçi quentã noche. hun ebu tate: hun
Cu te Profeçiado. Vchci uthanal An
gel. gerupite. Caɔab caan. Corporales.
ti Oɔales tumenel yax papa. = Vuich
katun: Vcuch katun: ti Oxlahun
Ahau = Valkahom u uich kin.
Nocpahom yokol: Valac yahaulil.
Çatai uinicil. çatay Ahau lil. = Ho
pel kin chian kin cabin pacatnac: -
Vtaahte Oxlahun Ahau. Chiculu
ɔah D.s vchuc ucimil yahaulil.
lay.

Lay lumoob lae: Bayix cabintac lay Jax
Ahauoob Vpaah u baob: Catali yo Col Chris
tianoil Vay tipetenlae.
Bayix bin uɔaic chi cul Coyumil ti Dr.
Cabin ta cob. yoklal minanhun olal: hach
man uthan num çah ya: tiyalumehenɔb.
VChristiano ma on tantun umansi coon
bay bal Cheobe. lay yatu yol Dios tiah
ɔuɔob loe —— Milicinientos treinta
y Nuebe años: = bayla = 1539 años.
Likin bail u hol yotoch. Dn Juan Mon
tejo = O ces christianoil. Vay tipetenlae
Yucalpeten Yucatanlae

Chilam Balam profeta

1383

31
Chac pauah tun
ut Coxu sis
Çac pauah tun
Coxo Cal bo
Ek pauah tun.
Col xu si pro vento
Kan pauah tun.
Moses
No Vis
No Va
Mesis ter
latin tun.
Del Romançe
Meçias ukaba
Dios timaçihic
Caan y luum
Laymexias xpoa
ukaba. Catun v
çih çah Angelob
heuac chacan
nili ti Dios
binili çipic
Angelo be: tan
hasta
Vcaɔic. ukaba
Dios. laymanuel
vɔaci ukaba
tuyoxɔic ukaba
bae: lay tun
heremias
ukabae
timinan Caan
y luume
Epl S: SKI
bipilil2
MMR
MH
B.
III
S2
cu h3
bs


Muer te
Equodepul
çe opis.
pul-
Pauperum
laberno s
Sat pede.
Reçuque.
Jures.
Ruça
de ycape
la corona.
Con yqual pie. y Cruça-

DAMAÇENO. V Kaba Chakkan pat ci Cayax yum ti Adan tumenel Ds. heix u Kabae lay uyax Kabalae: Adan: Cao ci V Pixan Caua cunabi Paraysoe: Çihanilitun Adan ca çihi Cayax Naa tie vae: Jax chuplal V Naa balcah tuçinil. Chun thah biintun = hun thah binaban. caçi hij. timinan Caan Cuchie:

Hetun cii bile: Çihij tuba tuhunal: ychil ak bil hetunobe. hunpai çih ciob: hetun a cantune: lay luumlae = Layix chabi uchciupatal Adan xane. laytac umehen lay O Cantacol yienal acanobe = Blahex u Kaba tahob Capat lahobe. layitac Vyax Chun lui nicil = Dios cii bile, Dios Mehanbil, y Dios Espiri santo, laymol cab Ds. lae = lay [illegible] tutunil chac hilibtun. y Vyub tun graçia. lay ber be u Kobae: Josus tin graçia ——

Hetun: yixhun yetae: Çihi tutunil ek oyob tun lay berbum tuorum V Kabae = Ix Co altun = Ix Co aal Cab = [illegible] = ti u chaah u Colel Cabili. Cabin ti cutal Ox Co cox Caan. V Co cox xil caan Cuchie = Sac homen Cu lic. tac Cabal: ti yol Sus tinal graçia. Ox lahun pic u Ka tu nil. Chelan tu tunil. Capec nahi Vuilim hunac Ceel Ahau. ——

Hay Gemaet Kinon tix Kan thixal titun Emac u Cobol yuçtacil uinic. Innok. yn uex. yalaho ua Kue: Bala cauok tic: ijx Cijx mamace. vmunalen u chiichun cen ti ulio. Chuc lum ɔiɔ Vtah Katun. aya

tu chicheen yʒao. antan he ya: O yulu
uayanoo: e tihun imix: V kijnil chuc
caan bin Ahau. tuchi kin cheene: e taba
ech yane kue: e tun hun ymix. v kin.
yalah: tuchicheen yʒa o a: antahere yao.
yulu ua yano. = muc lam: muclam: cijx yaua
to: muclam muclam cixan. yohelob = thun
ci yaue: cixan yauato tu hunte yax kine
chichil kinij = cate ak yabil: ti talio =
ayano: ayano = ayano: yuluuayano: yan
xin = mac xin. ahan uale: chichilnicate
ayano: Oxten c acan: V kine kue: cah
ualob = cahualob = V uiyao: max an
Vlom tuchicheen yʒaoa = antahere yae:
yulu uayano = Oxte caan: u kin:
hemacen ua tuthan = tanyol vinice:
cenumac lee: e ya macen ua tuthan tan
yol putun = men anateo: e yan chaben
akaben: coonua çihij o = e ya alakon.
mis cit Ahau = ho a talux: V lu max.
e labin yn kacun tah tin kay be: an
tan here yao: yulu uayano: — e ya ci
milen yalah = tumen u kin caho: e ya ca
tacen yalahe: tumen u çat caho: V tiu
lah tiyol: V tuc lah tupuc ci kale = menu
çat caho: Vali kacun: tan in kayo: antan
here yao: ayano = yulu uayano =

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lay kay tulacal lae Vɔoc lukanil yanu
mal Ahau Dios lae:
Bay ʒolci yaxah miaʒ. mexchise: yaxah
bouat: Napuc tun. sacerdote. yaxahkin
lay kay uchciuçi hil Vinal. tima to Ahac
cab Cuchie: ~~timato~~ Cahopi uxim bal tuba
tuhunal= Cayalah uchich: Cayalah uɔenaa:
Cayalah umim: Cayalah umuu: Bal bin
c alab. Cabin c ylab vinic tibe: Cuthanob
tamuk uxim balob: Cuchie: minan uinic
Cuchi: Catun kuchiob teti likine. Ca
hopi yalicob: mac ti mani Vaylae: huyocob
lae: pis tauoci. Ci bin uthan u Colel cab.
Cabin upisah yoc Cayumilti D.s cit bil. layu
chun yalci. xoc lah cab: oc lae. lah caoc
Lay ʒolan çihci. tumen Oxlahun oc= Vchci
anup tanba yoc: likciob teti likine: ca
yalah ukaba= timinan ukaba kin cuchie
ximbalnah ci: y Vchiich yuɔenaa y V
mim: y Vmuu : Çi uinal: çihci kin=
Vkaba çih ci: Caan y luum: Eb haa: luum:
tunich: y che: Cih ci v bal kak nab: y luum:
hun chuen. Vhokçici ubatu kuil: Vment
ci caan y luum: Ca eb: Vment ci yaxeb=
Emci li kul tanyol caan: tanyol haa:
minan luum y tunich: y che: Oxmen: v
ment ci tulacal bal: hibahun bal: v
caanob y ubal kak nab y vbal luum
can:

Canix: uchci unix pahal Caan y luum: ho
men = uch ci u meyah tula cal. Vac cib. uch
ci ument ci. yax cib: Vchci u ça silhal:
timinan Kin: y: V: Vac Caban. yax çihci
cab: timinan toon cu chi: Vaxac l ɔnab:
l ɔlah ci. u Kab. y yoc: Cau chi chaah. yo
Kol luum: Bolon Cauac: yax tum tabci:
metnal: lahun Ahau: Vchci v binob: v
lobil Vini cob timetnal tumen D.s cit bil:
machi canac Cuchie: Bulu yx uch
ci upatic tunich y che: lay u mentah
ychil Kin = lah ca bil y K: Vch ci uçih
ci y K. = lay uchun u Kabatic y K. tumenmi
nan Cimil y chil lac: Ox lahun Akal vch
ci uchaic haa = Cayak sah luum = Caupatah
Cauinichi: hunnil Kan = Vyax ment ci ulepel
yol tumenel vlobilu çih çah = Cachic chan:
uchci uchic tahal Vlobil hibal yilah ychil uuich
Cahe = Ox cimil Vtusci cimil uch ci. utus
ci yax cimil: Cayumil ti D.s

Holamat: lay u tus ci vuc lam Chac haal Kak
nab = Vac mu luc: Vch ci Vmuc chahal Kopob
tula cal: timato Ahac Cabe: lay uch ci yokol
Vtus thanil Cayumil ti D.s tula cal = ti
minan tunthan ti Caan: timinan tunich
y Che: Cuchi: Catun binob u tum tu
baob Cayalah tun bayla =

Ox lahun

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Oxlahun tuc ::: Vuctuc hun = lay Jalah cahok
Vthan timinan thanti :: Cakatab uchun tumen yax
Ahau kin: Maix hepahac Vnucul than tiob: V chebal
Vthanic u baobe :: Cabinob tanyol caan Caumachaik
Vkab tu batan baobe: Catun ua lah tan Chumuc peten:
hek lay lae : hek laobi ah too cob can tu lob lae =

Can chic chan	O Ah	toc	E 2°
Ca nil	OC Ah	toc	Pio
Camen	O Ah	toc	MER.
Can ahau	O Ah	toc	
Lay ahauob	can tu lob lae		

Vaxac muluc	Hoil ca uac
Bolon oc	Vac a hau
Lahun chuen	2 Vay Jmix
Buluc eb	Vacilxacil yk.
Lah camen	4 Bolon a ka bal
Oxlahun yx	5 Lahun kan
hun men	6 Buluc chic chan
Cacib	Lah ca cimiy
Ox caban	7 Oxlahun man ik
Can ɛ) nab	hun lamat.

lay çihci vinal y uch ciyahal cab: ʒolci
caan y luum. y cheob y tunich. çihci tula
Cal tumen Cayumil ti D. lae Lay cit bil

timinan caan y luum: ti bay Janil tu Diosil
tumuyalil. tu batu hunal cau çih cah bal cah
tuçinil: Capecnahi tucaanil tukuil ti bay non
u chucil yanil ahtepale
V ʒolan kin çan çamal licil vxocol.
V chun tilikine hebix ʒolanile

---

lay u ka bay hab Vici ʒu lob lae
De mil cinnientos i dies y nuebe años: bay lae
1519. lay u habil yan cau li ʒulob. Vay
tac cahal coon ahyʒa Vay ti luum yu
cal peten. yucatan tuthan maya ahyʒa
ob lae:
Bay Jalci yax a Delantado. Dn Juan de
Montejo: yoklal bay alab ci ti tumen
D. Lorenso chable = vyube lay con cix
tadox tix kokobe: [illegible] ʒulob [illegible]
[illegible] u kabatic [illegible] Lorenso
chable [illegible] u ʒaci kak bil bak. Vhan
te ʒulob: y cappitanob tu la cal: yanix V Mehen
Dn Martin chable u kabaxan
Ileu habil cuximbal. cahopi u chaic uba ʒulob
Vtial u chuci cob Vay Jucal peten lae —
Vyohel tahix ah kin: Ah bouat ah xupan
v kaba = Oc ci christianoil toon = D. 1519 a =
Ey lah ci kuna ti ʒloo: D. 1540 a: caʒo
ci kuna ti ʒloo: D. 1599 a. Vch cixe
kik: hop ci cimil toon D. 1648 años

Vuiihi = Cimil: hopel hab: Do 1650 años 35
Do 1651 a Do 1652 a Do 1653 a Do 1654 a
Ca ɔoci uiih lae Chac y kal: ti cimi Padre
Agustin Gomes = Do 1661 año Vchci kin tun
yabil: Do 1669 años uchci x u San kak =
Do 1692 año. ti Cul hi lahun pis katun =
ti cul hi nic te katun: Ox te uu culan: yu
ma: Vne ʒi uit kuk yaxun: ti ual yan u
may chiich: ti ual yan bolon te uiʒ: yuma Vne ʒi
uit kuk yaxun = mac bin naa ti cob: Chab tan kin
tanob ti yahau lili: tulan capis tun: ti ya lah u kaba =
Lay uile = Balam upol: Vaan u coo: ɔu ɔul uinicil =
pek uuin eil: mancha cai han yatu puc çi kal
Cijx uhanal Cijx yukul: maia bin yube: Bini x u tu
Coil uthan: matub u ɔaic uba: Yx Cuch luum [illegible]
Bin lu ke bal uay ti pesene: Bin baya cob x cuch
lum y ɔinil: ti ya lob: yix mehenob: yx lolok bay
pala lob ɔamal cabche: ɔa ex aba Cex uiɔin çu
Cunexe: maneçe x u cuch katun. lic u tale: uama
tan amaneçexe: tiumoʒ hal tauoc exe: te xi bin u
helinte: Vamaa mançicexe: te xi bin ku xie u
Chun che: y xiu: uama amançicexe. Bay çinic ce
hil bin u chebal uhokol: ta cahalex: tij x u hokol
Ahau bin manac u suʒ y chil Acahalexe timau
Cuchilic: = y Ocna kuchile: Vkin uma ya cim
lal baal cheob: ty cul hi tupop hunçiputhan huncip
u Can: lay uçip katun: Ox ʒuc u uah katun. Nicte ka
tun: Lay ti cul hij: Ox lahun yal upop ah Calam
Chuuch ah cal pach kiban = tij x u talel Bala:
Vac ʒuc tuba Ox ten bin man bal Bula: Cabin
u luc u Jueçil. Bula lai: Va ah xolte tukin
bin u Jue silte: Vai x çac cib bin u ke xin te:
xani:

xane: heçac ciblae: tiyemel Justiçia Likul ti
Caan: Nacebal Christianoil. Vinic tu uich V
Justiçiail: ti tun u mentic Vpec Caan y luum,
yaix bin docebal Nicte Katun: Ma uil macbin
Kuchuc uthanie: Cabin Chinchin pol Cintabac:
uteel chacil chee: ti tun uyukba Peten tula
Cale: Con bil bin docbal uthan nicte Katune:
Minaniuilu uilal adaic apolex ti Axzo Obispoe: Ca
bin emece Bin xicex abal abaex ti Kax: Vabin
ada abaexie = ti binanexiuil tupach xpo:
tiyanob cochomie = tij tun cabin dococ Vuiçitae:
tatel bin ucib: Vlilib nicte tijx cabinanatexe:
Cabin ticinpec nac Caane: tij to Cabin thanac
Vdibte unak pake: tiyx aualicex Kuil xanie.
lay bin auoc çic tauolex Kuil: hii uil to mac.
ahmiatz yan auichilex bin naitice: tij tun u
binel tikax utanle. V christianoile: mac bin na
ticlae = Halili lo lahu canpel haab. V Ba
ta bil Cabin hun Kul Vluc Mehen bil: lay
Dn Antonio Martines: y Saul: lay u Kabaob:
Calu Ki ti Caan. : tijx tibini tzimen tane:
tiyan tzimentan. tiix tiyalah huntul yx Ahau:
Vyichamte. vucteix tihaab u Kamic u casamian
toil: Ca tikebi u Puertail takin ti Can Kasna:
Et çabiti: Caix utus çih çah chem: Oxlahun
Baak. Caix tu lik çah Katun: hauana: ulu
mil: tijx yan vnup uthan: Rey hauana. Caa
lab v xicin Rey tumen unup uthan: tiix yanyah
tocul u hool tupach catibini: ti yu bahix
v chu cul xani: ti tun li Kul Cabini te tzimen
tane tiix tun ti chuci: Oxpel V. lukuc yah
chucil Cakuchi tzimentanne: titun chuci

tiixtun

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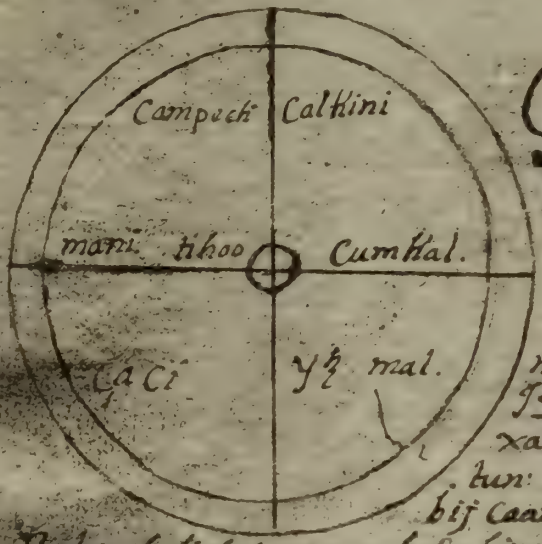
tijx uxotah uthan ti chucil. ka kuchi ꝫimentane: Caix
yalah xen uinice Cuthan ti: O V: yn kuchuli Cuthan
Oxpel. V: luk cech halelae:: Ox: V: ech akuchuli. lic
tun akuchule: lictun akalal timoscab. tamuk tunin
talel: tini bin luk çicech timoscab. texcex Cappitane
Catulili bin yanac tinpachi: Cathan: Nac çabac Bolonçian:
y tiɔui llan ɔone: Binix elec kaknab: Bin inlike
bali. ticulan kak upacat ti: Binix likicex y yom haay:
Binix tupuc uuich kin tumen: chac lubuc yikale.
ti tun ucenic uba Cappitane. Binix hutuc tuuich lurum:
tumen ykal xane. lictun yn cumtal tin kan che
tunne: lictun utalel Ox Bak cheme tiix tun ucenic
uba Reyxani. Chaa ba yumile te utalel fran çee: Cijx
uthanten: Bin cimicoon: tumen uinice: Balx auil:
ulubul amuke: tumen auet uinicile: li cechi toe xi
can tinɔab utohol chem tanchumuce. uet lik cijx
inuikal xan: Elix elix kaknab in bin cijx. Nac
Cijx uuich Caan. He tun ca emene. tak licil V
uich cacat chem mac uinicila cuthan ten: tenix
ixma okolale. tenix achaal tee: teni bin acapuc
çiheçe: Binix in tum te in kaba: lay martines

D

Dios cit bil. Dios mehen bil. Dios espiritu san to
in kaba: Caix inhoksah uuc ɔacab li ble in xocab
Caix tiɔoci: ti Oxpel V: hix Vmançic ubaol
ah Belnalobe: ti tun ialah uɔab ucahal ten: tancoch:
uinice: tabian acahal in cahal tulacal: tiabotic
in cahal. Cen yaxule: lictun inualic ti emi justiçia.
uchebal unacal christianoil. Bolonpixanil bin ɔoce
bal. tijx ukatabal. uprobail tiob tiyahau lil Cahe:
uamayohelobe: tiix uhokol ich luumil tunich: y
ich luumil che: tiuinic cha hal ti tun ieɔtal
cahi: Minan tun cha mac bin chibal naci: Lay toah
Bolon Ahau katun. Hopel haabil ubinel: lay
tulah pach inthan lae: ti kuchi tukinil: yemil
patan. tiɔoci uboticob ulikçah katunob Cayumoch
maix aualic auah ualililex katun: Cutalel kic
nal lai

nal lae: Cah lohil tijesuchristo. yah canuc capixan Bay uay Jokol cabo Baycabin u cha capixan tu cilich caanil xan Mehenexe Hahal Dios Amen ——



G: Oxlahun. eg nab: uch ci: u heg cab. Oxlahun Che neb uch ci u chek tabal ygleçia mayor: ti can. akab naa: yglesia mayor ti caan —— Bay ca chek tabi uay xane. Oxlahun te ka tun: Vcuch lahun chek bij caan: Can chek lukii Bolon chekeb. tun u cuch Cubinel Canale: Heixca caput chek tabi likul tuuich luume. Can chekeb: ca hek tuuich luum: = He Manii e: Chun peten: Campech: u nixik peten: Calkini. v chun. uxik peten: .... yz mal... uchumuc. uxik peten: Ça ci: .. vnixik peten: .. Con kal: Vpol peten: chu: mu: Can ti hoo: ... yglesia mayor. u ka kal na u uzilna. a kabna: V uilu: Dios yum bil. Dios me hen bil. Dios espiritu san to. — Macx Oc tu nail Diose yume. lay ix kalem. Vkabae. — Bax u kinil tak ci tunak Suhui Chuplale yume: Canil: oc: tak ci tunak. —— Mehene bal x kinil. hok ci: Oxil Oc: hok ci: — Bal kinil cim ci. hun cimil cim ci be. tij x Oci tumuc nal. ti hun cimie. bax Oc tumuc nal yume. mabentun. Oc tumuc nal: bax Oc tu chac bacel yume. lay chac haal tune: lay oc tu tunil cab. te ti caane: — Cunx u kabe: yume: halal tun. lay ix iic u kin beça bal xan: lay Oc ti chac Cui tunil bin ti la kin.

catali

Catali tetixamane: lay ocli çoc cui tunil. layix ti
Oc ti Ch Cui tunil: ti chi kin: Bayix ti kan Cui
tunil. ti nohol: Mehene haipel Kom Chop: lay
Licil yauat chul. Chul tahe: mehene. tabyan donoi.
lah dam yalilè: minan u chi chil yite: ti tacan
Chulul tuhole: lay kunac: Mehene. Ce x yax Casa
mientosobe. lub umuk kay kumenobe. yetelix
lub ci umuk u chi yanil halah uinicobe: kumenobe
y layobix in muk. kumenob xan = lay uahe =
Mehene tauilahua yax ha al tune: capel lobe tiuaan
Cuu Chumucc = U uich uinic: Mehene: tubx yanob
ah yax Ocha obe: yanil huntul yx mana. yan.
yue: yanix utzitz moc xan = lay pe a ue = y x
ma yume = Mehene: Cex xtoplah kauuic. y U jo
mel Cooj doc yt peeche: yku dim patti = i nucul
Vlum: Mehene xe: tale çex ten: kokkah caan
y hohob coc: Ceh: yatel ka: Mehene: Cex
ix nuc Vucnab u tan yite: x ek kun ah Chu
plale = lay dole = mehene. y lux ten Cac lah Chuplul Va
uel uak upicè: lic a coni çac toke = lay cac. Me
hene tale çex ten Cacol ix kan kun col chuxbac ni =
hun col tix bin xoloc u cali: bi nix uu ti ti ti
kel xan. y x kaan ceh = y yax kuch yaal a cuchua =
Mehene xe Vle çex ten kun kal ah kach Cuch
kinob uaye = caul casadsobe: bech y mu cui: Me
hene tales ten Cum O x bal u haxal yn tat in cuu
lay huke = Mehene: tac ci paac tanul Vilab
uaye lay cic: Mehene bin a tale cex umac u hol
caan: y yabal uaye. Bolontas lah cab: Nohuah:
Mehene tauilahua ah noc xa mach noh x i be. kach
noh u kòc: hoc tan u tal kinuune: lay ah kòc
Mehene tales ten ah canan Colob noh xibob. kun
kuch u tal u choone y ya tane. tix mu mil chac tale
Cex uaye: y lix ah canan Col Chuplalobe.
bin cac lah Chuplalobe. ten ix bin kukkic upi cob
yo Kole: catun in hante. lay Chi came

Mehene talesten noh ʒublal yn chaante. mauil lob yokotob.
Cabin inuilabe: layah ʒoc = Mehene Cex yax ah mole.
pul nok. y pulcamissae y Çuyem. y poc: y xanabe =
mehene tabech timani. ti ua timanech ticanal buk
tune. nix be bal uhol caane: yanil uhol paae: heca
timane chie. tauilahua uini cob. ʒaya nob utalelob
tatane: tiyan bolon Chaan. y yax ah kulele: Vku
lil ych: y vua bal ek ɔamii ich: = Mehene taui
lahua u kaxal yaal kue: timani yalan uuiʒil
kue tijx ti Oc yalan uuiʒil kue: tiyan Cruzi
ticha kani: Coop nebal caan. tii timani yaal
kui = Mehene taxb Cumanel yaal kue: te cuho
kol Cui tune yume: Vhool uinic: y yukul
Co uinic tumanel tu uol u cal uinic: tuho kol tu
Chune = Mehene max tauilah ti be çame
Mehene tabx tamançah ala kob
ʒayan utalelob tapachobe: he in la koblae: ma
tan in patab. lay in mu cut uxot kin Diose
Cabin cimicene = helay ubooi uinice: Mehe
mac x tauilah ti be: tauilahua noh xibob.
yanpalal tupachobe: yume he noh xibob tin
uilah ti bee: tiyanob tin pach maixtan upat
benobe: hek lay Vnaa oc: y yalobe: Mehene
tabx tauilah ixnucob yan umek çaca
lob yulak palalobe: yume hex lae tii to
yan tinpach. licil yn hanal may to uchac
ynpatic: Vnaa yn kab y yalob: Mehene
tabx timanech y anil yoc haae: yume
heyoc haae: tiyx yan teuicnale: hek lay
ubel yn pache = Mehene tab x tauilah Noh
xib. kaan yo kol ʒimine Cha cat nebal
yoc haae. yume hex noh xib lae: tiy to yan
vicnale: hek lay u ʒimin yn pache

lii

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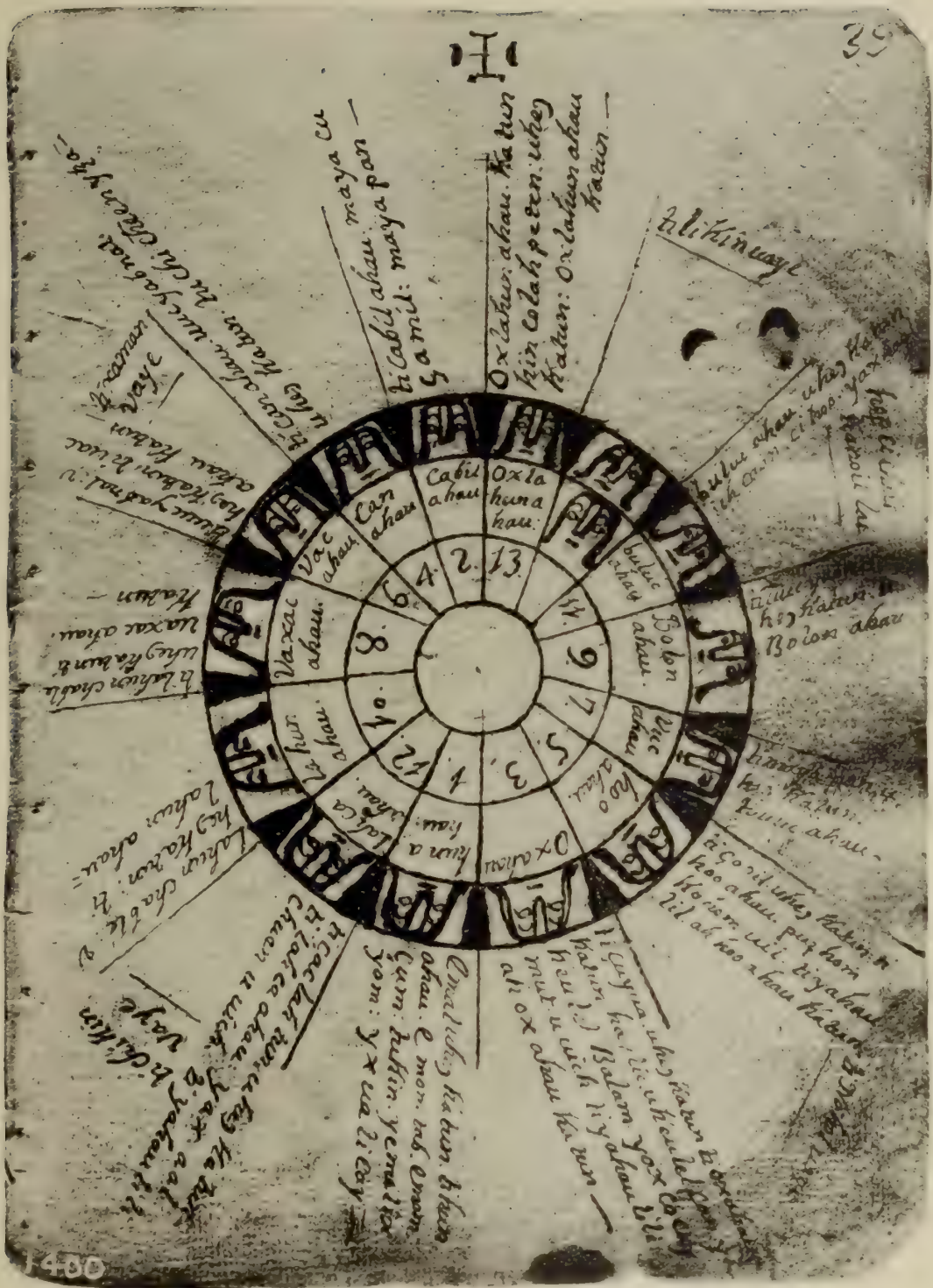
lic. aualic kalic noh xibe: Mehene hex noh xib
yan pach lie aualic be: chican hahil y tohil —
Mehene xencha upuc çi kal tunich yutam nel
luum te vil kin cilic çama le: heix uilah
— hunpel lie hauaan: heix hunpelie: nocaan
bay ubinel y chil mit nale: heklay haleue: y
ch ʒube. y yax Batab. y yax ah kulele. hexukal
upuc çi kal tuniche: heklay uni cob: y vmac v
uol ucal mitnale: heklay is: y chicame: Mehene
caxicech achab ix halis couaye. hun cuy
ual upole: hach cich pam. ix lok bayan te
ni bin luk çic upic y ubuc ce: Çamac nac uil
uboc. cabin yn luk es ubucce: — hach cil ma
ynuol cabin y nuilab — çamac nacil ubocce
y hun çu yil upole: — he klay pibil nale =
Mehene catun xicech achab noh xib y vxi
uil tanil kaknabe: hex noh xiblae = ac:
y ix bau: Mehene catun xicech achaab v
tunichil yit kax cke: lay ah ʒaʒace =
Mehene catun xicach achaab utunichil cha
kanvaye lay beche = y yax ah menole = ca
tulob tu ba: heklay baa: y ʒub: y haleu: y
citane: Mehene caxicech achab u chacba cel.
luum. lay ɔine = Mehene caxicech achaab
yax ʒublal uaye. y yax kayomobe = cuʒ =
yh ʒoo = Mehene bin auu les a uix mehene =
teyan kin çamal vilabe: payanbe bin tale
bal uɔeɔile = pach he bal bin tale bal u
nohole. caix cici kaxac u kaxpole: tikuk
mil kax. tiiyan uil uboche = teni to uil bin
luk sic uboche = y tiyan ah kulil tupach
che

che: Mehene catun xi cech achab vn
trus nicte kuɔbene teuil kin çamale.
kel bil yxim y cab- Mehene vay tin
cuc yah apec ʒile= yan yan cooɔ tiac
tun yan auicnale. Caix acuc les cilab.
vay tu kin ʒil kanale= ʒab bil kee=

MΣ ʒaay ni tic tun. chac tun Vua
yasba. kab caan # yʒ caan Vuayas
ba

Vuay ba achaab tac kin, achaab taci ticab
Vuayasba yʒ caan, kab caan, kan lol caan. Vua
yas ba, ba cin in chaab tahci akinil: chab tabci a
v. il: bacit bacin in chaab tatunil= ynchaabech
ti cum tal: tahoyobal: akah cunic. vkinam.
tayam kin: cati tu tux chi tabech: tacha cit
timuc ce: yn chabech yn cum cin nech. tac helel
yn chaic uuyic aki name: tumenel ayum
amucut ticit ti tune: in colob ta tachie:
vkan ti tune: ——— lay cubin uximbal vɔolic
tae lay ahauob ʒ lanob lae. xic ubin axoc caa
ructe toe ———


Cabil ahau
Oxlahun ahau
Can ahau
Vac ahau
Vaxac ahau
Lahun ahau
Lahca ahau
Oxahau
Bolon ahau
Vuc ahau
Hoo ahau
Bulue ahau
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

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q: Buluc Ahau: uhes katun. ych caan çihoo: yaaxhaal
uuich: e mom canal ual: e mom canal u sub:
pec nom upax = pec nom u çoot: ah Bolon yoc: te
tukin yan yax cuz: tu kin yan çulun chan
tukin cha kan putun: uil noh che: uil nom
tunich. ah çali uiil: ychil ah Buluc Ahau katunlae

q: Vuc yab nal uhes katun. ti can Ahau katun: tuchi
cheen: uuc yab nal uhes ti nohol: ah ba co col:
ma can uuich: cimen uuich yokol yaal: yokol
uaah chac kitan: nahom upop yu saam: xe kik:
u cuch: tukin yan: çaçac uil uyex: çacac uil unak
ix ma chan. menuah: u uah katun: hulom [illegible]
hulom yaxum: hulom kaxte: hulom mute: hu
lom zimin: mucuc patan ti chi cheen: iae

q: May lu za ci maya patan. u hes katun: ti cabil Ahau:
katun: oc lis tuba katun: e mom çum: e mom çaban
maya cimlal: oxmul tun ze kil: çac pe tay
uinicil catali: kaxan u cuch: buluc chaab tan
kan yopol yk oxil uah u uah: cabil ahau: tan
coch hom uii hi: tan coch hom uahi: lay u cuch
ah cabil ahau katunlae:

q: kin chil coba uhes katun maya cu oxlahun
Ahau katun: ye zam na: yzam zab uuich ti
yahau lil: bin uiibic oxi: oxteti hab: cakal
abil. lahun sacab: et bom ual: et bom u sab
yaxa: al chac u cuch tu caanil: ix ma chac bin
uah: u uah katun: ti oxlahun ahau: chi [illegible]
kin

kini. Capic ucuch katun. Çatay uini cil: Çatay ahaulil: hopel kin uil chian kin cabin pacat nac: Lay u cuch ah oxlahun ahau katun lae

9. Vkah lay uxocan katunob: uch ci uchic tahal uchi cheen yʒa: uchilae: lay ɔiban ticab lae: u chebal yohel tabal tumen hij mac yolah yohel ta u xo col katun lae

VI Vac ahau uch ci uchic tahal uchi cheen yʒa
IIII Can ahau lae
II Cabil ahau
XIII Oxlahun ahau ʒol ci pop
[illegible] Bulue ahau
IX Bolon ahau
VII Vuc ahau
V Hoo ahau
III Ox ahau
I Hun ahau
XII Iah ca ahau.
X Iahun ahau
Vaxac ahau. pax ci uchi cheen yʒa: Vchi oxlahun uuɔ katun cacahi: chakan putun ti yotochob u katunil

VI Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau: chuc ci ulumil tumenob chakan putun
II Cabil ahau
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Bulue ahau.

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IX Bolon ahau
VII Vuc ahau.
V. Hoo ahau.
III Ox ahau
I Hun ahau
XII Iahca ahau
X. Iahun ahau.
VIII. Vaxac ahau. paxci. chakan putunob. tumenob ah yʒa
uinicob. cataliob. u ʒac le uyotochob. tucaten. ox
Lahun uuʒ u katunil: Cahanob chakan putunob tie
yotochob. Lay li u katunil bin ciob ah yʒaob. yalan
che: yalan haban: yalan ah tinum yaob lae

VI Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau
II. Cabil ahau.
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Buluc ahau.
IX Bolon ahau.
VII Vuc ahau.
V. Hoo ahau.
III Ox ahau.
I. Hun ahau.
XII Iahca ahau.
X. Iahun ahau.
VIII. Vaxac ahau. paxci ah yʒauinicob. ti yotochob.
tucatin. tumen u keban than. hun nac ceel.
tumen u uahal uahob: y ah yʒmal. oxlahun
uuʒ u katunil. Cahanobi. Capaxiob. tumen hun
nac ceel. tumen u ʒabal unatob. ah yʒaob lae

VI. Vac ahau.
IIII Can ahau. chucci. uluumil ichpaa [illegible]
pan. tumen ah yʒauinicob. ti kulob. ti yotochob
tumenel ah yʒmalob tumen u keban than
hun nac ceel: lae.

II Cabil ahau.
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Buluc ahau.
IX Bolon ahau.
VII Vuc ahau.
V. Hoo ahau
III Ox ahau
I Hun ahau
XII Lahca ahau.
X. Lahun ahau
VIII Vaxac ahau. uch ci puch tun. ych paa: maya pan. tumen upach paa. upaah tu lum: tu men mul tepal ych cah mayapan lal lae
VI. Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau. uch ci maya cimlal. uch ci. Oc na ku chil ych paa: Cabil ahau: uch cika kil noh ka kile: ——
XIII Oxlahun ahau: cimci ahpula: uacpel hab. u binel u xocol haab tilakin: cuchie Caanil kan Cum lah ci pop tilakin. he tun re na cici pahool katun haab. hun hix cip Catac ox peli Bolon ymix hi. u kinil. lay cim ci ah pula lae: na pot xiu. tu habil. Do 158 años ——
XI Buluc ahau: hul ciob kul uinicob. tila kin. uyah tal cahulob uyax chun. uay tac luumil Coon maya uinice = tu habil Do 1513 años ——

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IX — Bolon ahau. hop ci xp̃noil: uch ci caput ci
hile: lay tal y chik u katunil. hul ci obispo
to: a. va xa ne hauci huy tabe tu habil.
Do 1546 años

VII Vuc ahau. cim ci obispo delan da.
V. Hoa ahau
III Ox ahau

9: Can ahau. u kaba katun. uch ci u ci
hilob. paua haen cuh u yahauoob

9: Ox hunte ti katun lic u tepalob. lay u kaba
ob tamuk u tepalob lae

9: Can ahau u kaba katun. em ciob. noh he
mal: ɔee mal. u kabaob lae

9: Ox lahun te ti katun. lic u tepalob. lic u
kaba ticob: tii ualac. u cutob ~~lae~~ Ox
lahun cuthi: u cutob lae

9: Can ahau. u katunil. uch ci u caxanti
cob u chi cheen y ʒae. tij uʒ cin nabi
mac ʒil tiob tumen u yumoobe: Can ʒuc
luk ciob can ʒucul cab. V kabaob. li kul
tili kin. kin colah peten bini hun ʒuci
kul xaman na co cob hok hun ʒucci
heix hoki hun ʒucie: hol tun cuyu
ti chi kin hoki: hun ʒuc cie: Can heh
uiʒ: bolonte uiʒ: u kaba ul [illegible]

9. Can ahau uKatunil. uchci upayalob. tucan ʒucci
lob. can ʒuc cul cab uKabaob caemiob. tiyumta
lob Caemiob. tuchicheen yʒac. ah yʒatun uKa
baob. Oxlahun tetiKatun. lic utepalobi: Caoci.
uKeban thanobi. tumen hun nac Ceeli: Capaxi uca
bob. Cabiniob tan yolche: tan xuluc mul: VKaba.
Can ahau uKatunil: uchci yauat pixanobi
Oxlahun tetiKatun. lic utepalobi. y Vnum yaobi:
Vaxac ahau uKatunil: uchci yulelob. yalaob
ah yʒa uKabaob: Caulob. tij Caualac utepalob.
Chakan putune: Oxlahun ahau. uKatunil. V
hej Cob Cah mayapan. mayauinic uKabaob.
Vaxac ahau paxci u ca bobi. Cauec chahiti
peten. tulacal. Vac Katuni paxciob. Caha
ui umaya Kabaob. Buluc ahau uKabau
Katunil hauci umaya Kabaob. maya uinicob
Christiano uKabaob tulacal. V Cuch Cabal
ʒo ma Sanc Pedro y Rey ahtepale —

VKaplaY Katunob. vtial ah yʒaob. mayaKa
tun uKabalac ——————

Y lahca ahau
Y lahun ahau
Y Vaxac ahau
Y Vac ahau paxciob ahconi —
Can ahau
Cabil ahau

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Y Oxlahun ahau
Y Buluc ahau
Y Bolon ahau
Y Vuc ahau
Y Hoo ahau paxci ucab. yahau ah yẓamal
Kinich Kakmoo. y pop hol chan tamenel hun
nac Ceel.

Y Ox ahau
Y Hun ahau paxci yala ahyẓa tuchicheen tu
yoxpiẓ tun ychil hun ahau paxci uchicheon

Y Lahca ahau
Y lahun ahau
Y Vaxac ahau uKatunil hezci cab yala ah yẓa
li Kul yanche yalan haban: tan xuluc mul:
uKaba. ti li Kulob cauhezahob luum. Caclac
tun. mayapan uKaba. tu uuc piẓ tun Vaxac
ahau uKatunil laix uKatunil Cimci cha
Kanputun tumen Kak upa Cal yetel
tec uilue.

Y Vac ahau
Y Can ahau
Y Cabil ahau
Y Oxlahun ahau
Y buluc ahau
Y Bolon ahau
Y Vuc ahau
Y Hoo ahau. vl ci ɔul ti chibil tunic y

1401

ma pic sul ukaba. mapaxi peten tumenelobi
Ox ahau –
Hun ahau. paxci peten tancah maya pan ukaba
tuhunpiz tun. ychil hun ahau. ukatunile. tuk
cihalach uinic tutul: yuBatabilob cabe. ycan
kuc cal cabobe. layu katunil paxci uin cob. tan
cah cauec chahiob uBatabilob cabe

Lahca ahau. te chabi. Oz mal utunile
Lahun ahau. te chabi. çiçal utunile.
Vaxac ahau. te chabi kan caba utunile.
Vac. ahau te chabi hun nac thi utunile.
Can ahau te chabi ati kuhe. utunilae
layukatunil uchci maya cimlal. tuhopiztun
ychil can ahau ukatunil lae. ——

Cabil ahau te chabi. chacalna utunile.
Oxlahun ahau. te chabi. euan utunile.
Buluc ahau Vyaxchun kin Colox peten cha
bi utunile. laix ukatunil cimci ah pula.
napot xiu ukaba. tuhunpis tun Buluc a
hau. laix ukatunil. yax hul ciob: españoles
sob. Vay tac lumillae. tu uuc pis tun Bu
luc ahau: ukatunil: tiix hopi xpñoillae.
tuhabil quinientos dies ynueve años Do 1519 a
Bolon ahau. machabi utunil lae. lay katun
yax ul ci Obispo. fray Fran.co to Kal.: huli
tu uac pis tun ychil ah Bolon ahau. katun
lae.

lae

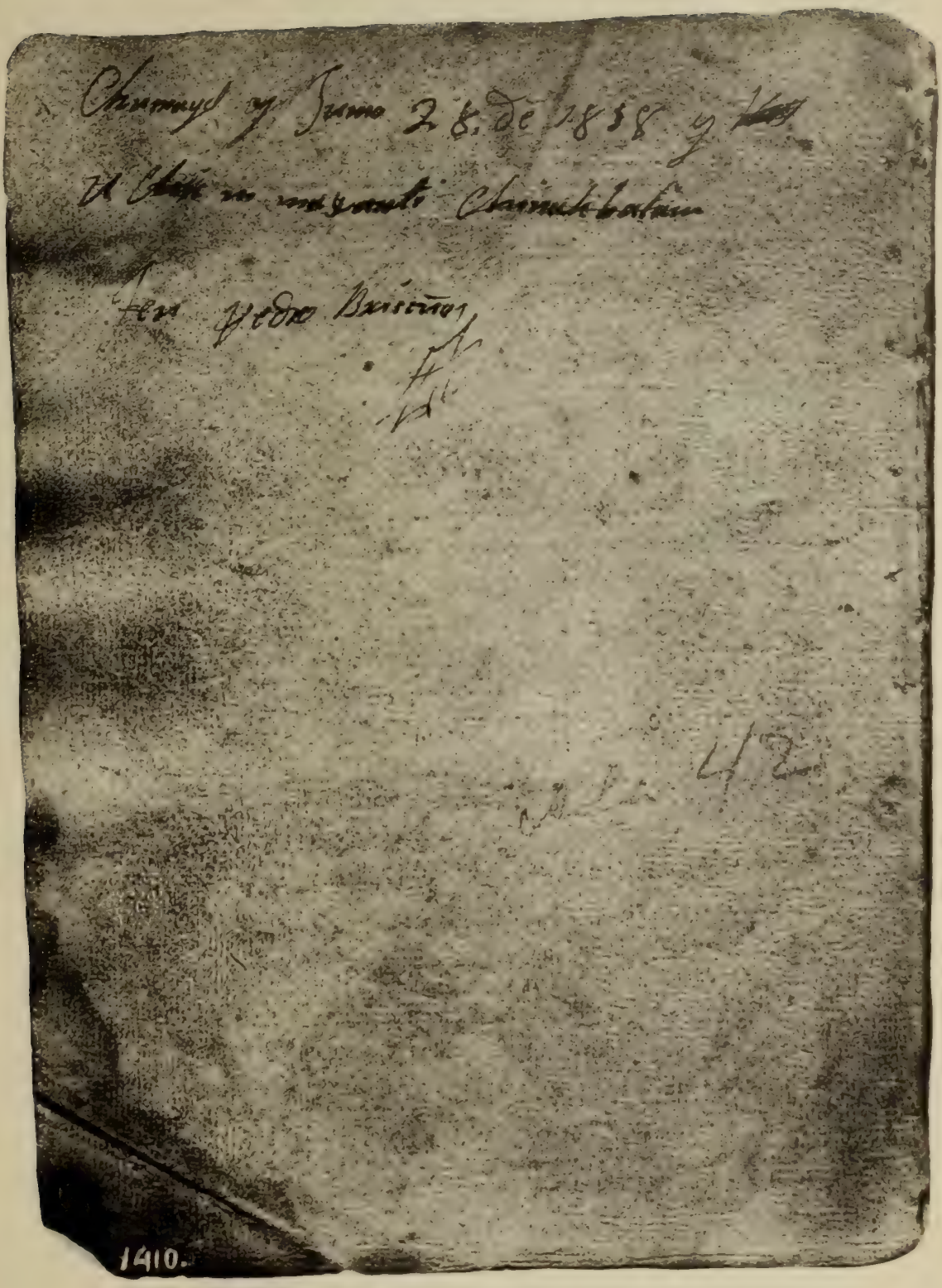
Y Vac ahau. ma chabi u tunil. lae. lay u katunil cim ci Obispo elan. o a lae. tixuli uhel Obispo xani.

Y Hoo ahau. —

Y Ox ahau —

helel en 18 de Agosto de 1766 a lae: cauchi chac ykal lae ukah la yil cin dib tic. cau tzac yilic bahun hab cabin u chuc ulak lae —

helel en 20 de henero de 1782 años cacheket hi chu pil uay ti cah chumay el lae tucal uinic cu chu pul caix emec cabal xan tac ti chin chan tac ti nohoch pis umis tic hunpelna. cabin oc coli heu dacal lae pah taan y limones. vaix si sal [illegible] mehen tace. tac tu ha bil 81 años chumpahi tix u daah nohoch kin tun yabil xani. ol ma oc chac: ellah kax tu lacal. cimlahix kaxob xan — lay u kah lay cin dib tic cen Dn. Juan Josef Noil lae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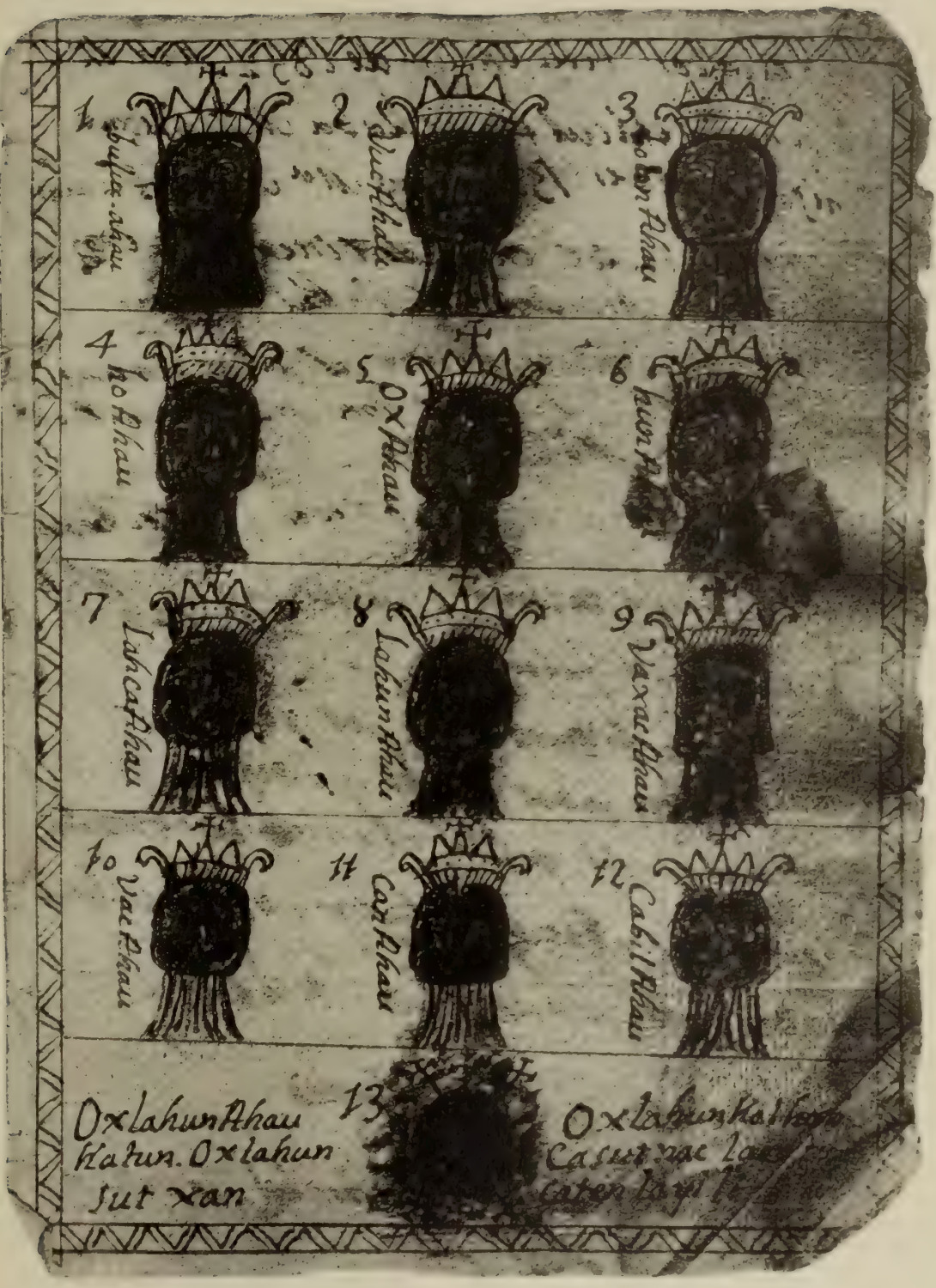
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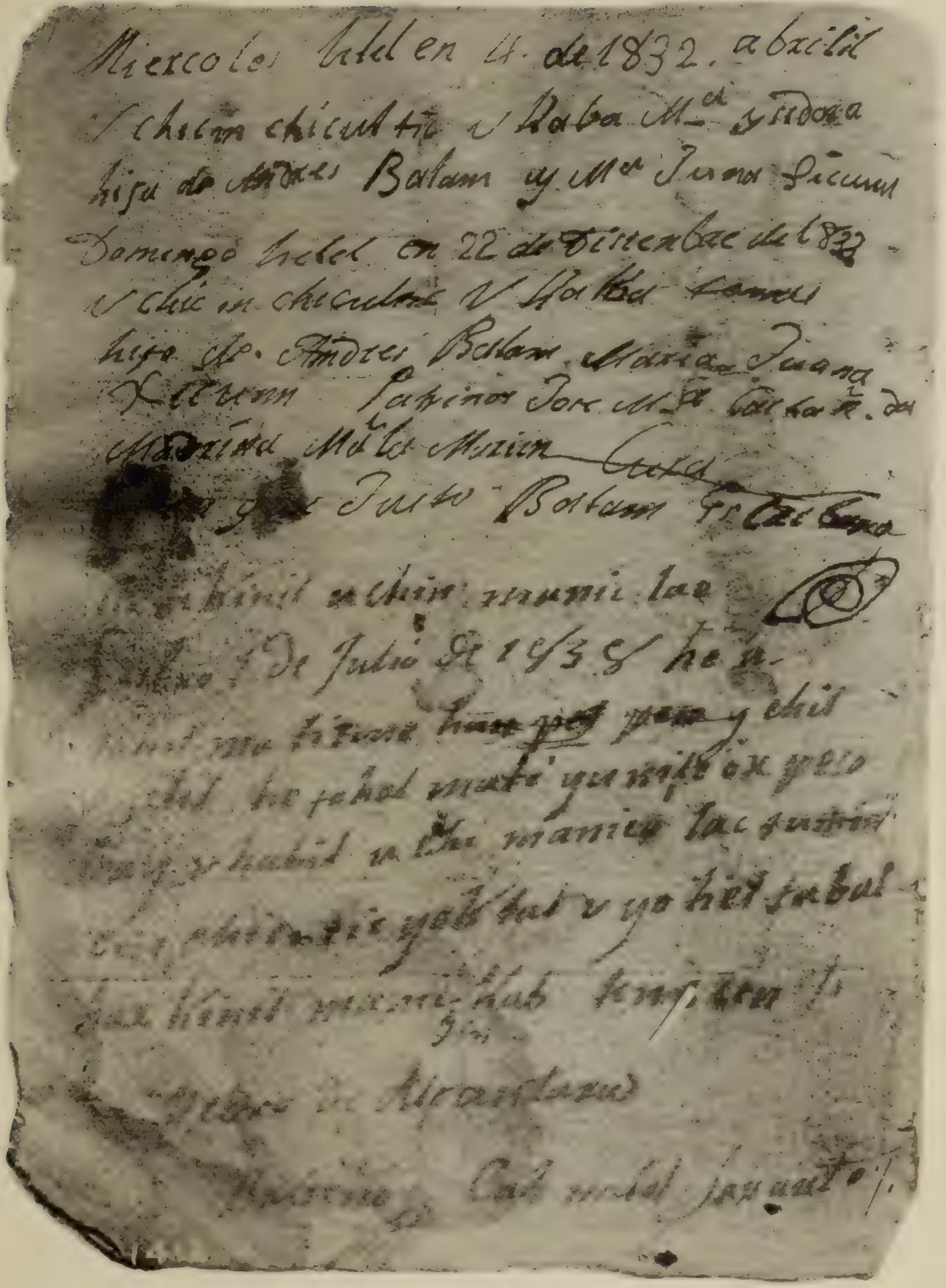
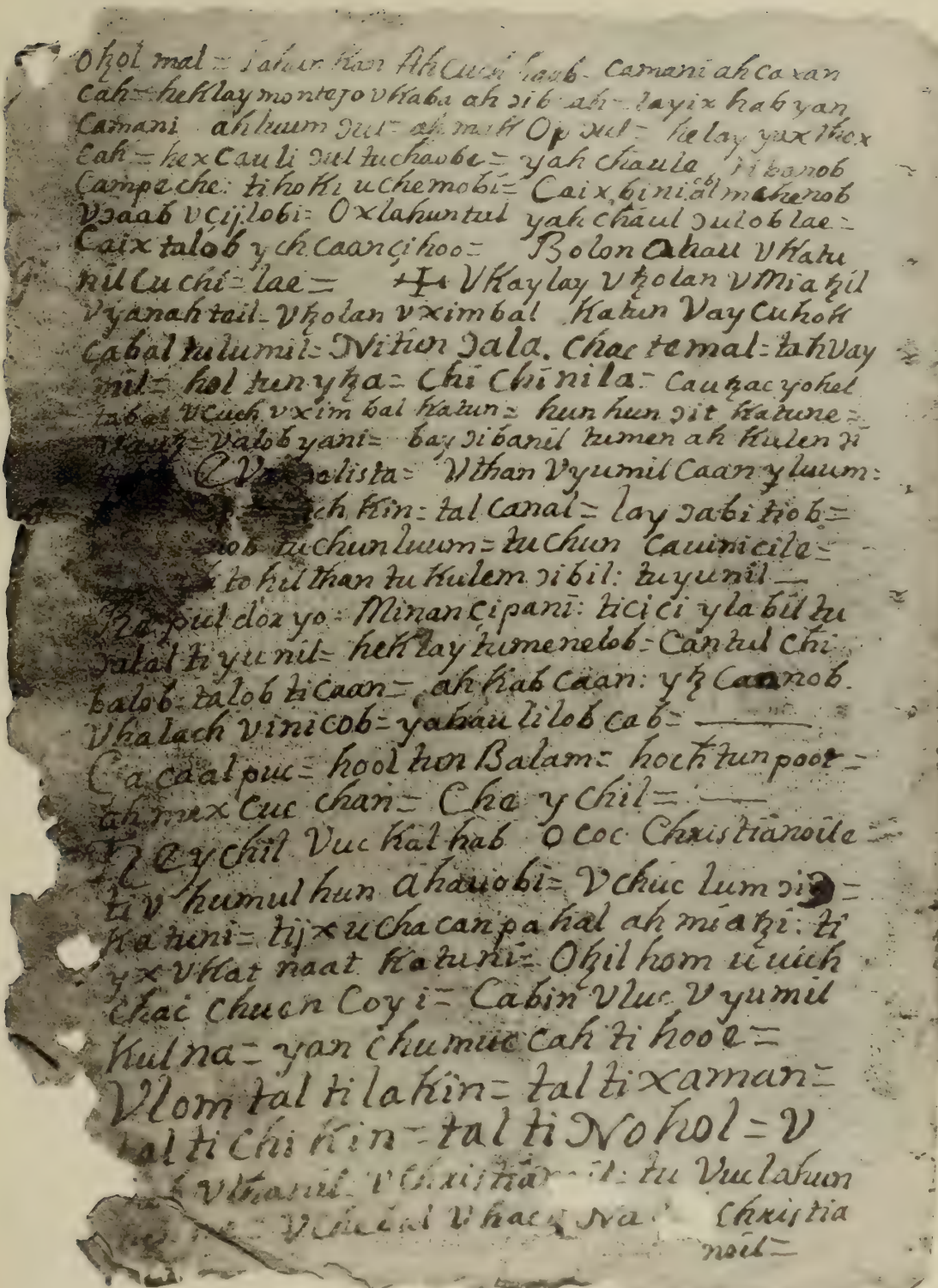
13
Ox lahun Ahau
Katun. Ox lahun
Sut xan



Ox lahun Ahau Katun yax ho Ki: vcheem ɔul
lob Campech: Mili quinientos y quarenta y Vno: V
Kaba hab Cuchi: Cayul çahob V Kin yocolob ti chris
tianoil: Maya Vini cob: haɔ ci cab: tantun Cuçamil=
tancoch hab yanobi: Cabiniob: tu hol haa: ti chiKi
ne: tiyx OC Vpatan ah chi Kin cheel lobi=
Q: lay hab yan Cuchi = Do 1542 = haɔ ci vpet
nil ti hoo: ych Can çi ho: Buluc Ahau Katunlae = heix ya
Halach Vinice: = Dn Franco Montojo = Adelantado = lay
ɔac Vchinam ɔulob: Kul Vini cob = ychil ya bit = Do 1542
Oci patan = Do 1545 = hab yan Cu chi. Cahuti pa
dreob = Canpel hab huluc ɔulob cuc[illegible] tijx ho[illegible] yo
Col haa tupol Vini cobi, ti Cahal cah [illegible]
yax Vlo be. thoxcicah tiob ——
Mili quinientos quarenta y quatro a. haab [illegible]
lahu cabak haab catac hol hu can Kal haab = [illegible]
cah tuchi cheen yza: Paxci ti cahalob lae.
Cabak haab, catac lahu can Kal haab = pax
cicah = Vx mal lae = paxci vcabob lae
Mili quinientos, y treinta y siete a — ti Bolon
Cauac V Kaba Kin: uch ci V Mol tan baob = al
Mehenob = ti canan cilob: ti cah Mani V che
bal ubinelob ti cha ɔul tu cahal = yoklal cin
çab ci halach vinice =
+ lay u Kabaob lae = Ah moo chan xiu = Nahaues ah
ɔun chinab = Na poot Cupul = Napot che = N
Batun yza = Ah Kin Evan = tal co cel = Na chan
vc = tal ti ɔi bil Kab = Ah Kin v can = tal ti
Ekob = Na chi vc = Ah Kul Koh = Na chan m
tul = Nahau Coyi = Laobi Vnucil Vin cob
thaniob cabin [illegible] Kabil ɔul tu cahal lae
lal vc [illegible] halach vinicil cah ah
xiu = Oho mal



Ohol mal = [illegible] Ah Cuch [illegible] Camani ah Caxan
Cah = hek lay montejo vkaba ah ɔib ah = layix hab yan
Camani ah luum ɔul = ah mak Op ɔul = he lay yax thox
Cah = hex Cauli ɔul tuchaobe = yah chaula [illegible] tibanob
Campeche: tihoki uchemobi = Caix bini al mahenob
Vɔaab vçijlobi = Oxlahuntul yah chaul ɔulob lae =
Caix talob ych Caançihoo = Bolon Ahau Vkatu
nil Cuchi = lae = ✠ Vkaylay vtzolan vMiatzil
Vyanah tail = Vtzolan vximbal Katun Vay Cuhok
Cabal tulumil = Nitun ɔala. Chac temal = tah Vay
mil = hol tun ytza = Chi Chi nila = Cautzac yohel
tabal vCuch vximbal Katun = hun hun ɔit Katune =
[illegible] = Valob yani = bay ɔibanil tumen ah Kulen ɔi
[illegible] Ca[illegible]elista = Vthan Vyumil Caan yluum =
[illegible]ch Kin = tal Canal = lay ɔabi tiob =
[illegible]ob tuchun luum = tuchun Cauinicile =
[illegible] to hil than tu Kulem ɔibil: tuyunil —
Ka pul dor yo = Minançipani: ticici ylabil tu
ɔalal ti yunil = hek lay tumenelob = Cantul Chi
balob talob ti Caan = ah kab Caan: ytz Caanob.
Vhalach vinicob = yahau lilob cab = ——
Ca caal puc = hool tun Balam = hoch tun poot =
ah mex Cuc chan = Che y Chil = ——
Ze y chil Vuc kal hab o coc Christianoile =
ti v humul hun ahauobi = Vchuc lum ɔiɔ =
Katuni = tijx u cha can pahal ah miatzi: ti
yx vKat naat Katuni = Otzil hom u uich
Chac chuen Coy i = Cabin Vluc Vyumil
Kul na = yan chumuc cah ti hooe =
Vlom tal ti lakin = tal ti xaman =
tal ti Chi Kin = tal ti Nohol = V
[illegible] Vthanil Vchristia[illegible]: tu Vuclahun
[illegible] Vchebal Vhacz Na[illegible] Christia
noil =

47

noil = Vlom V Sadreil - Vlom V Obispoil = Sancto yn
quiçicion Vthan Dios bin bel tabaci = mamac
bin hauçiclae Amen =

Capitulo, del Año Katun =

Primero = Buluc Ahau Vyax hej luum, ɔulob

Primero -

Buluc Ahau, Katun, Vyax chun
vxo col Katun, Vhun ɔit Katun
ych caan çihoo; vhej Katun, [illegible]
ci ɔul lob; Chac u mex v m[illegible]
Kin - ah mexob; ti la Kinu [illegible]
lob = cauliob = vay tac luumila =
V ɔulilob cab [illegible] uinicob
Chac uinicob [illegible]
V Chun nic [illegible]
ob = Nicte V[illegible]
baob = Bee ah yz[illegible]
Chaab [illegible] talel ucah = [illegible]
O ych caan = çac tun lah pal: tal ti caan = çac
ua [illegible] che = bin e mabal tal ti caan = hun auat =
hun lub utalel: auilicex yahal cab: auilicex
mat; Bee Ok taba coon ti taliob: Vlicob hunac
ah mol tunichob: hunac ah mol cheob = Vçac yb te
elob cab = hopom Kak tuni v Kabob: y[illegible] mac
uçabanob: yutabob: v chebal v hich cal Vyumob
Bee ah yzae heix a Kule: mabal uuilal: lay ko
hahal Ku [illegible] e milae: hunçipiuthan: hunçipi
can: Co cix bin u Katunil: Co cix bin u chal
lob: mac touil ah Kin = mac touil ah Bouat b[illegible]
natic = Valac utalel tancah maya patan: ti
chi cheen yzae = Bee Alan yɔinil = ti tali
Chil = Vuc Ahau: Katun: tucal ya: tucal num
ya = tu patan tac yax Cul hex tac pulex yalan
patan: çamal cabehe: ti tali Mehenexe [illegible]
abaex: amançex ucuch num ya [illegible]
yam a Cahalexe: hex Katun ti cal hulae [illegible]

Katun: vKatunil Numya: vKatunil vka ciçin ti
Culhi: ychil Buluc ahau Katun: Kamex Kamex
a uulaexob = ahmexob = ahpulob tuchicul
Ku = talel tun u cahob: a çucunexob: ahtan tu
nob = Lay to bin Katic vçian Kutax: yetal lobe:
heix uKaba yah Kinobe = Ah mis nilac pe = Coh =
Antachristo = vuichob = tuKinil = teutalel: vKi
nil: tatanexe = Bee tuyabal numya = Mehe
nexe = layuthan Cayum = Clom ticab =
[illegible]ac petahom Caanal = tuKatunil = uchmale:
tali tuchi Dios cit bil: matusbil thanni = Bee
hach: al ucuch Katun: ti culhi ychil Chris
[illegible]il = he[illegible]lac cutalele: pentacil than = pentac
[illegible]nich = pentac uinic = titalij = binKu
[illegible]ili cex: talel uCah = heix halach
[illegible] ahCaKin ɔamoob = ahCaKin popoob:
[illegible]ay yab haab = tiu Coy Kinilobi = halili v
xtal uthan Dios = Buluc pis = vluch = mol yam =
vMut = vuich tiyahaulili = Mol tun ucan =
Mol tun vthan = binex cimic = binex Cuxlac =
mex Caanaatex = vthan = Cuxul Vooh = lae =
ah May pane = vMehen uba tuhunal: vJustisia
il = lay ti ɔaic timas cab = lay tihoK sic = cauKax
Cauhaɔab = Catun tac ti cu tal = Cayaluxicin.
vmehen. tiyan vpoc tuhola = y vxanab ti
yoca: ti Kaxan vtaab tunaKe: heualac v
talele =

1560

2

Segundo

Bolon ahau, katun: vcaɔit ka
tun; Cuxocol ych caan ci hoo=
Vheɔ katun; tijx tukamah v
Patanobi= vɔullilob cabi= tijx
Vliob vyumil Capixanni= ti
yx hun mol hi cahi= ti ʒucen
ʒucil: tu hol vpoopobi= tiyx
ti hopi vcanal santo okolal
tix hopi yocol haa tac po
tijx= eɔ lahi vchun santa
Yglesia mayori= vkakal na Diosi= vxiuil
xitelna= Dios cit bil= tix eɔ [illegible]
vucpel sacramentoy= Çateb[illegible]
tix hopi ban meyah chumuc cah [illegible]
numya bal cahi= tix vuatal ca[illegible]
lic u than kui= xanomi tali tuchi [illegible]
bil= ti yulel çac tun lah pal= tal ti caan= çu
huy chuplel u kaba: vna vucpel cha chac ek=

* * * * * * *

Vchucma tu bolon pis yabil: ah bolon ahau tu
taninah christianoil= Bay ɔibanil tu
men propheta Chilam Balam= tu bolon ɔa
lab tun te caanale: Oxlahun eɔnab vki
kinil te ti caane: Bayx vay ti luume= ti
caanil xol= ti caanil ual= em tab= vtha
Dios= tal ti canal= hun yuk ti bal cah= tuc
nil= Bolon pis: vlac= Bolon pis: vluch= Bee
chaaba ah yʒae: ma tub aɔaic auulaex: b
ahantexob= bin ix uhantexob xan: ti talilae

Vuc ahau

4

1580

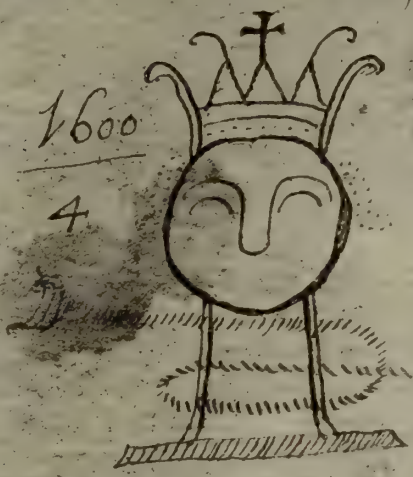
3

terçero

Vuc ahau, Katun: yox ɔit
Katun yax al chac = ych
Caan çi hoo = Vheɔ Katun =
yax al chac Vuich: ti ya
haulil = ti yah Miatzil =
Vtanpax cabal = V tan
xot cabal nic te vah =
nic te haa = yaal ti vho
pol Vtzuc a chil = ah
Miatzobi = Vbebech Kab-
nic tei = Vbebech Kab-
Katuni = ti vhopol V
[illegible] lay bin hunyuk ka tic balcah
V buc = Nic te vuich = Nic te V
[illegible] vxanab = Nic te vpol = Nic te Vxim
[illegible] Kuy Cu cal = Kuy Cu chi = muɔ Cu uich =
pu ɔ Cutub = tu xi blalil = tu Chuplalil = tu Ba
tabil = tu Justiçiail = tu chun thanil = tus
Cariuanoil = tu h Cam çahil = tu noho hil =
tu chan chanil = Minan to nohoch can = ti u
hach çatal Caan y luum tiobi = ti uhach sa
tal sub tal li = ti vhichil v cal vhalach vi
ni cil cahi = yahaulil cabi = V Boua til cah
hi = yah kin maya uinicobi = Satal tun naat =
Satal tun Miatz = Chaaba ah y tzae: A me
henexob to bin y lic = Vhi ɔib te Katun = Vba
xal Katun = Coo: vthan = Coo vuich = ti ya
haulil tuhalach vinicil = Chac Ven co =
Vuc pel Vlac = Vuc pel Vluch = Vthan Dios =
[illegible] hich cal V Cuch Katun lae

hoo ahau

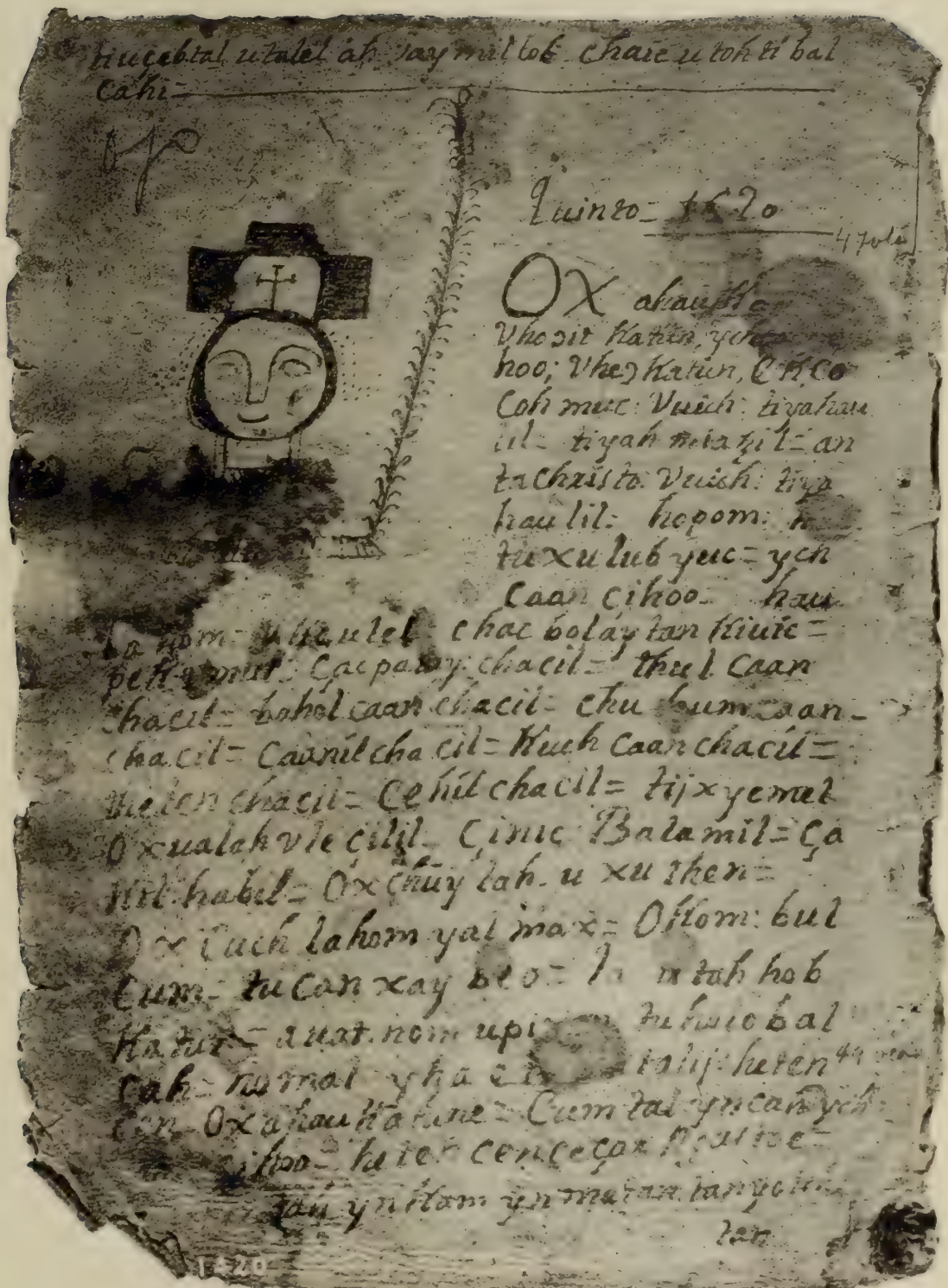
49 Quarto 49



1600

4

Ho ahau; Katun. Vcan
ɔit Katun, ychcaan çi hoo-
Vheɔ Katun, chich uuich, chich
Vm[illegible]: tiyahaulil= chibil
al= chibil Mehen= titalij=
tiuhopoluʒaciçin. tibal
Cahi= tijx ubinel vuich-
Kauil= Can c he bil Caan:
tucan he bil he le be=
tij vyuchul Chuyab.
tibal Ca[illegible]
Vcal: [illegible]
ti chibali= tijx vli Kil v cal. holil [illegible]
Con con mehen= Con con aal= ti talij= tij[illegible]
Uhool Chamal= chab ci Vyum bal cah= tu[illegible]
yan bin yubah= Okot bot bat= Ox[illegible]
chac [illegible]lab= chac uayah cab= Ybal vçoot= yah ɔaul
capuc çikal ychil patan= tucaiya= tucal ʒa= Batab
och= Batab chamac= Batab ahpic= ah ɔuuɔ. Vɔuta
nil Cahob= Cum utal= Xin cayn la hab x apax= [illegible]
cech viɔin= cucun= ah xac lampat tech: Vuuhi
le= ex tolil Och= Vkatunil= Nic te Vkan che
Culic tuɔam= ti chaan tan Kiuic= tan pop [illegible]
Cakin ɔam= ah Cakin pop= tutab cah ca haan=
Vchi Vba[illegible] nil cab= tucatulil= Batab Och= y[illegible]
xac lampat= maya cin[illegible]al: bin ɔaicob: vchun [illegible]
xob= e ɔeɔe cil cuchie= takubatah tun [illegible]
tu chic chic çoo[illegible]un= tu Ke ban than Katun
tancah maya pa[illegible] chac Xuyua patan= tulac
lam pach Balam= ah cab cob= tuchibal Katun
tu chibal haab= [illegible] çi ɔob: tiyahaulil- ban ba[illegible]
hich cal vcuch Katun= Vacu hichil [illegible]
bil cah telae= Vxul vnum ya maya [illegible]



1640 ✠ Primero

6

Hun ahau, katun,
uuuc ɔit katun emal:
uheɔ katun: tu kinil
yulel yx puc Yola
yox uala Cij = e
mom Çuum: emom
tab. tal ti Caan.
u thanil matus bilbe=
Cutalel ubel tubali=
uthan vyumil Caan; matus bil thani:
pek umut: ah kuch umut: pan u Cadic uui
ni Cil: Och: uuich: ti yahau lili: Ox kasap
u tu Cul: y uthan Ox kaçap: yu toon: Oxka
çap uto k= ti yahau lili; ti yah miazili=
tiix yulel hun pic ti ax ti chi bali. Ba
lam: y Canul ti chi bali: yah chi ul: vijl=
yah çatul kauil: u bo bo chil uiil = yah
çatul hanal: Vuc pel hab: u chibal hun
ti ax: uuc pel hab: u chibal canul: Cabin
emec: u Jus ti sia Cayumil ti Dios: yokol
nic te: yokol u çac: yb teel cah: yokol
chac uen co: Vmaxil katun: ti yx yu
lel uyanal thani: uyanal cani: maix tan
yoc çob ti yol maya ui ni cobi: bin kayac
y chilob uthan Dios: u yum bil Caan Cau
toh cint ubelob: Caupa chint tulobil v
balob: Vnucili ti maya uini cob: mauhot

yuc

15 yubob uthan Diose = Ena yum bilob ah xot
kin nobe: Binix Okomac yolob: uhalach
uinicil bal cah: ɔeɔec: ocanti yol: maix
ocan ti yol xanie: Bala tathane hun lu
kul ah cici olal: uBalamil cabe = haxom =
kaak: tuchi cul maya çuhuye = hun nab
ku: tuçu huyil: hunab yglesia tiyauati: la: u
yub uthan uyumil caan uyumil yo kol cab = binix
okomac yol bal cah: tuçinil titalie: pec nom: v
xik cab pec nom chumuc cab: titali ukinil:
tijx yemel uʒicilob: ah bentana ɔulobi: uthan
Dios = Oxmuc bin emebal u Justiçia cayumilti
yokol bal cahi = tijx yemel noh katun yokol
uçac yb teel cahi: Oheltabal uahalach chich
yoc olalobi: tijx yemel ahmek tan: u sih =
hoyic u uich u cu yil cab umaxil katun; v
chuyum thu lil cah; u chamacil cah: tiix yu
lel uma xul ahaui uxot utabil u cuch numya:
lae xotom ahau = tix yemel ukoch tulacal, tal
ticaan; ukoch bal cah tu çinil kin tunyaabil =
tupach. yan to tukin hunnac ʒucti cab = hun
kal hom yala ah canan çuçah canan kak
nab; ah uaymil; bay ah emal; Oxmuch
hom yala tan kak nab; u ɔoc katun; bay
yili. ubel tabal tukuchul u Vuɔ katune -
tix ucham ua pani: tijx uhiɔ uʒaciçi
ni; an ta cristoi: lom tok ʒa. hoc mu cuc
ʒa: ɔon bacal ʒa: Cum tan ʒa: puch tun
ʒa = Vhiɔibte katun lae tan yol che: u
kamic umatan çe çar agusto: che
tun

49 tun Cimil tumen viih oc [illegible] chil; maya Cimlal
Okom bul Cum; y yax [illegible] tuho can be: tu hocan
heleb; alan y ɔi nil; ɔi ɔi mehen tali ti bal cahij
tiix yulel ahau; tinaa tal nat ti; na Com. uuich:
umehen Kui; tijx Yulel Obispoi; San toqui
çiçion uKaba: y Saul; uKat oKolal; y Chris
tianoil; uɔoçi ɔil; uɔoc num çahya ti balcah
heix bin ɔoc ce bal uthanile Noh Katun, li
Kom chan; y ho tzuc chaKan; ti bateel: uchan
Katun; hun ahau Katun; Ka Kal moçon chac=
u Cuch Ka tun; tzolen chac cil; thul Caan
Chac Cil; Vlobil Katun; hun chic xulil yoc
çah; tijx yemel uCuch tzai; ti yemel patani=
tijx uKatabal, pro uaxi; y Vuc çap yi bnel cab=
tiuhach chichKal utan la bal Diosi: Vɔoc uKa
mic utaKin an ta christo; Matali; an ta Cristo=
mau Kat Cayumil ti Diosi: ma usatal Katun=
lae: Vay tac petenil; tumen Ca sihnalil lay
peten lae= heuchun lay an ta christoil lae:
ɔutul. ɔut til; heix ma tac Kul uinicobe
minan toc luK çah: minan çi ɔil= y pochil
tuKiKel, ulaK uinic; tumuK ah numya
tumuK cuhanal hun hun tul: heCutulele:
hopel uich che tiuhannal Cab: Cohi:
ah bentena, be la tun yatuyol. uyumil caan
yx pom KaK uɔoc uthan Katun; li Kom
Katun, ha bana: Ox lahun baK chem
lae ——— lah ca Ahau ———

Segundo

Lah cabil ahau, katun: Vuaxac
ɔit katun. Cuxo col sac lahtun:
Vheɔ katun: yax. al Chuen-
uuich bulau. caan: Chac. u
uich ti yahaulil = hokon.
yan tu Caanil-kin= yantu
caan nil akab= hunnac, ah
mennil: hun nac ah y
ɔa til: yani ci ci halach
uinicil: ci ci katabil-
yanni ci ci olal. uthan bal cah tu çinili=
bin a yi kalac ah numya uinici= ua halu ah
uthan katuni= a yi kal hab= bal ba halixan
yuhil katun: yu hilix Chac cob: bin meyah
nacobi= yich= tijx uhokol ych luumil tu
nichi ti christianoili= yet tal Diosi; minan
tun Chamac: y ah cab coh ti chi bali; ti
tun u ka tal; Okolal ti yah. bolnalil Cah:
hobi. y u puer tail takin: y u cassamien
toil Cah: ti can kas na= tijx u katabal
Caxanab-ualalicil cachristianoil= hek
lay ti ahi Cab- tac menel: he lay Ca
ualic hi le lae: heix bin ɔoc bal Nicte:
katun lae: Con bil bin ɔoc bal: Vlel u
than yahaulili= tij Cabin uluc: Vuc vihil:
chac ek: y tupem caana: pahool
Chacce: tu uuc lahun tunna:

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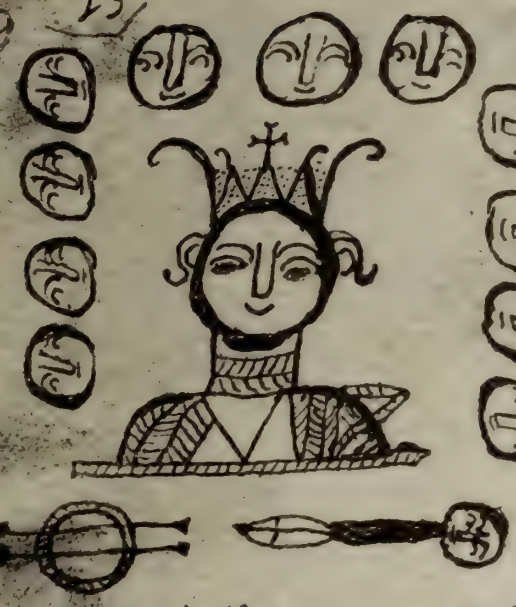
tercero

1680

8.

Lahun ahau katun
chabla uhe katun
ti yulel u caha lob: can
uat hom u kax e
cheob: yo kolob ya
haulil cab bob; elom
ɔiɔ: elom cuschi
kak elomu kuchich-
va kom chal tun kin tun ya bil: u cuch katunn
uthan cayumil ti Dios: cit bil- yu colel caan-
uyeka tun: mamac bin hau sic: uthan ca
yumil ti Ds Ds mehen bil- vyumil caan ye
tel luum lae: mama nomi= bin u chi
cal ti bal cahil= tuçinil bin u luc santoil
christiano pulic u kin cau uas kes u baob
ahnu nob: tu lo bil u belob= mamac bin hau
sic- lay tun kin tun yaa bil: cha bil. uthan yoko
lob, maya ah kinob lae= Vthan Dios- Vaxac
ahau= Vuɔ= quarto

9 13



Quarto —

Vaxac ahau Ka
tun. u Bolonɔit —
Katun. yꝫ mal
uheɔ. Katun
Kinich. Ka Kmo —
Emom: Chi mal —
Emom halal —
tupach yahau
lil Cabob. pakom —
u pol chakan pu
tunob. vɔulil cab —
uɔoc çiɔil. uɔoc unum çah yaob — ti balcah —
uthan Dios cit bil: ban ban Katun yah. bin
bel ta baci = tumenei ah otoch nalo be: —

1720

Quinto —

Vac ahau Katun: ula
hun ɔit. Katun, cuxocol
Vx mal uheɔ Katun —
oclis tubaob. chicix.
uthan: chicix uuich
ti yahau lil. bin utus
cob u coil than: Catun
Emec Dios cit, bil xotic u calob: tumen
uKeban tana lob. Catun caput Cux la cob —
[illegible] tob u xot Kin Cayumil ti Ds Latulah yo
[illegible] ti christianoil. y u cuchul tei lob he
[illegible] than vay yo hol cabe: bin ococob ti
[illegible] il —

1740

11

Primero—

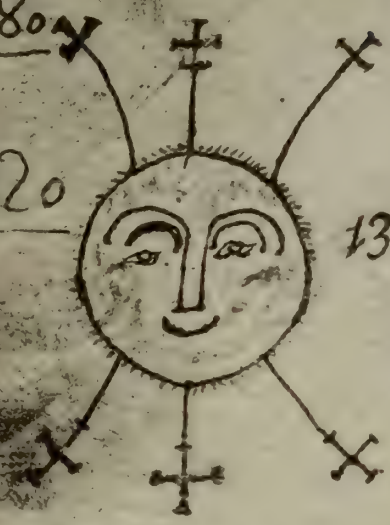
Can ahau katun
u bulue ɔit katun cu
xocol. chicheen y
ʒa: uheɔ katun
ulom u cahal. ah
yʒaobi: hulom-
kuk ulom ya
xum: ulom ah
kantenal. ulom
xa kik: hu[illegible]
kukul can= tupachob tu cate u than Dios
lae — Vlom ah yʒa—

1760

12

Segundo—

Cabil ahau katun
ulah caɔit katun [illegible]
ya Vas cu çamil—
uheɔ katun tan coch
hom u uah: tancoch
hom yaal: uthan
Dios lae tan coch hom u templo. ti ya
haulilob. u xul uthan Dios lae —

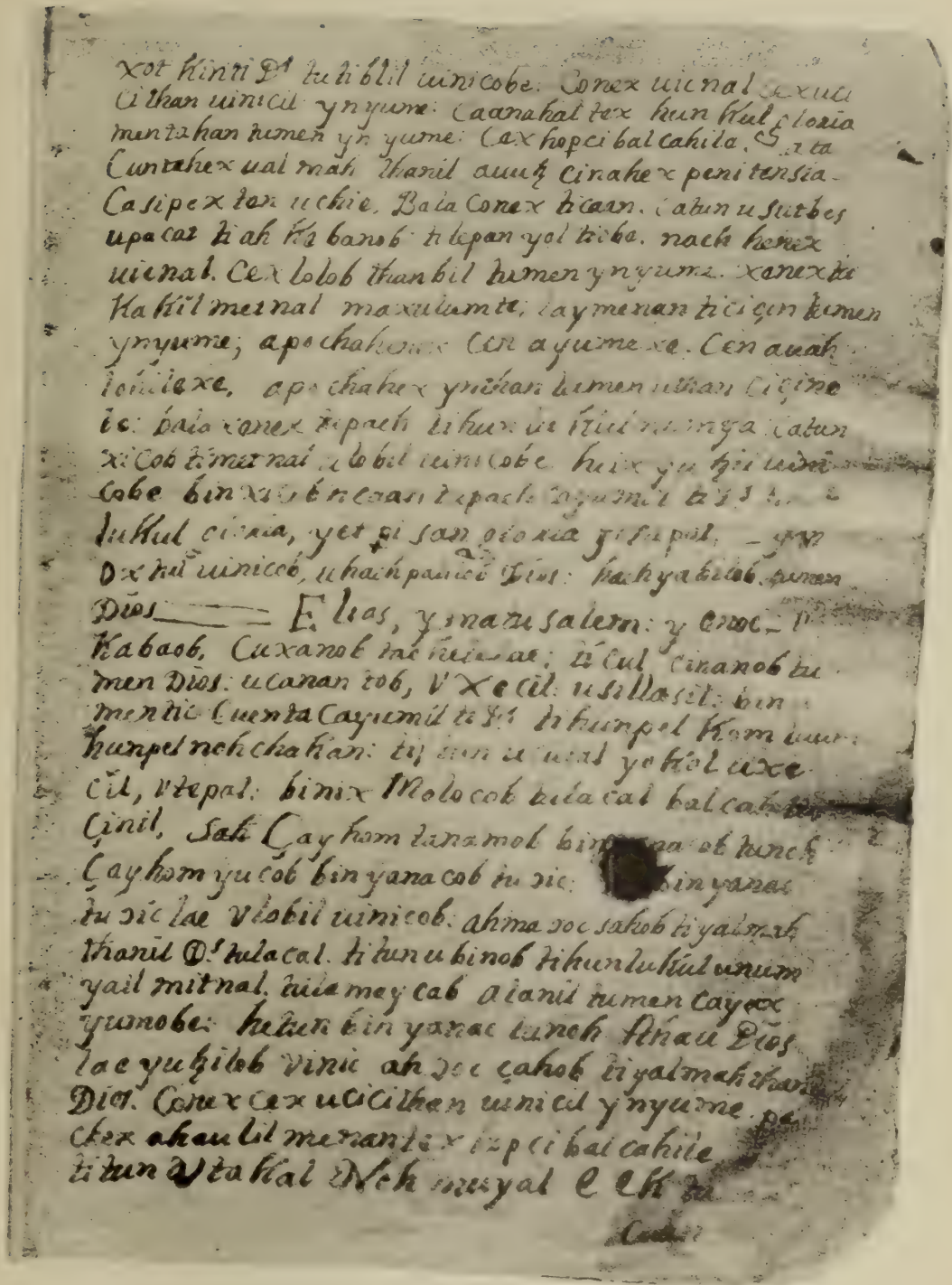


1780 1599 : terçero Juiçio

1520

13

Oxlahun ahau katun Cuxocol. kin chil coba. uhez katun. yoxlahunɔit. katun. et lahom uɔub. yahaulil cabobi, uyuk xot kin cayumil ti Dios, emom. ukikel che, y tunich; elom caan yluum. uthan Dios. cit bil: y Dios mehen bil y D.s espiritu santo. santo xot kin lae. San to Juiçio. tumenel cayumil ti D.s: bin Mi. nanac umuk caan. y luum. bin Ococ ti christ kanoil nucuch cahob; vcahal mac nalob. vno. hochil cah max ukaba: Bay ucah. tuyukul lay mehen cahob: lae: tuyukul lay capetenil: maya cuçamil: maya patan: licil ca. cakin ui nicil: tucal coil: ɔiɔi mehenil: tuxul ca sat mail y lil: y subtalil cuxyol camehenob tunic teob: minan yuk kin toonlae uchun cimil: tulobil kik: tuho kol. v. tu bin. v. tu lisiuil: v. vchac cuchie: tuiis kik: Bayti uk̄ul planeta obe: ylabil yuk̄il lae: vxul uthan Dios: Bin lae yoktob: yalil: caput si hil: San to pixan: [illegible] santo, olio, ma ɔal bil upachobi; tal ti Dios [illegible] bin christiano ah balob: tusanto. oc olal [illegible] ob, y Balamoob; ɔo. an tun casatic ca.



10 Caan taitauich luum Bay homiuil, Ciotzil, uilay Angelesob. Minanyet pi san Ciotzilil: bin naca bal hahal Ku: Vyumil caan y luum. lae

HE thanob ti utz cin nahan lae: ala bebal uxicin nob yx mayumob. yx manai lob, lae heix lay thanlae bin tacun tabal bay u ta cun tabal ah Kan thi xal ti tuna= licil u talel yocol Christianoil tan cah mayapan tuchicheen y tza= ualac uil Suyua: ualac uil y tza= Ahom cab hunlaKin: hun xaman= hun chi Kin: hun nohol= tali tu chi D.s cit bil_ lay cu tzilicob, hotul ah Kinob: ah Kulem ah Ki nob Kuchiob tutan D.s Lay tzolob u cuch num ya= Catal. yocol Christianoil lae

Hek lay u Kabaob, ɔibanob lae:

1 Chi lam Balam Noh saçerdote:
2 Napuc tun; Noh saçerdote,
3 Nahau pech, Noh saçerdote.
~~Na tzin yabun chan, Noh sacerdote~~
4 Ah Kuil chel, Noh saçerdote;
5 Natzin yabun chan, Noh saçerdote,

Vchinam Dios. coɔ lic upach tan Suhuy luum, lay tzoliob, u cuch num ya. tu tan Cayumil ti D.s: talel tun u cah yocol Christianoil; lae: Xokik ma ya cimlal: Kin tun yaabil= Sakil haabil

yx

yx pom Kakil= Vcuch Numya= uzaciçin= Sacpe
ta hom Canal= Elom ticab= ychil Ox ahau Ka
tun— hun Ahau Katun= Vlobil Ox ɔit Katun=
Bay ɔibanil tumenel Euangelistas= y propeta
Balam= talitu chiuyumil caan yluum= Catu Kulem
ɔib tahob- ah Kinob, tu Kinil noh Kin tun yaabil
Lahun chable: ych Christianoil ti cab in uluc
Saul; y Dn An do martines Vchab utoh
yal v mehenob. ahan tun cabe= bay ɔibanil tu yal
mah thanil Noh ah Kin propeta Chilam Ba
lam= y ti cal man ben, Amen Jesus

La interpretaçion, historias, de yucatan

1 Sacerdotesob, profeciado; Napuc tun
2 Elom ticab: pe tahom canal; V uaom Kauil;
3 ua ah tan u chamal. Elom ticab: Elom ɔiɔ= tuka
4 tunil: u chamal talome= Vbixan, bin y[illegible]
5 bin yal uthan; bin yokte v numyail: uch mala

Vprofeçiado, ah Kuil chal; Saçerdote

1 Cuhi ɔibte Katuneyume= mex ca anate ualac
2 u talal: mac bin Ca ɔab tu coɔ pop: Katune; yume
3 bin uluc holom uil tucal ya: ta li ti xamen
4 tali ti chi Kine; tu Kinob uil yane yume: mac
5 to ah Kin; mac to ah bouat; bin tohalic uthan
6 uoohe = yume ychil Balam ahau; me[illegible]
7 riaate; hunac tzuc ticab= hun ɔal pi[illegible]
8 nal; tzu tzuc chac Be ciol tzili vil [illegible]

9 tepal cuchie; Cijuil yokol yahau lil Cabobe:
10 kah Can auol ah yzae;

V. Profeciado, Nahau pech; gran Sacerdote

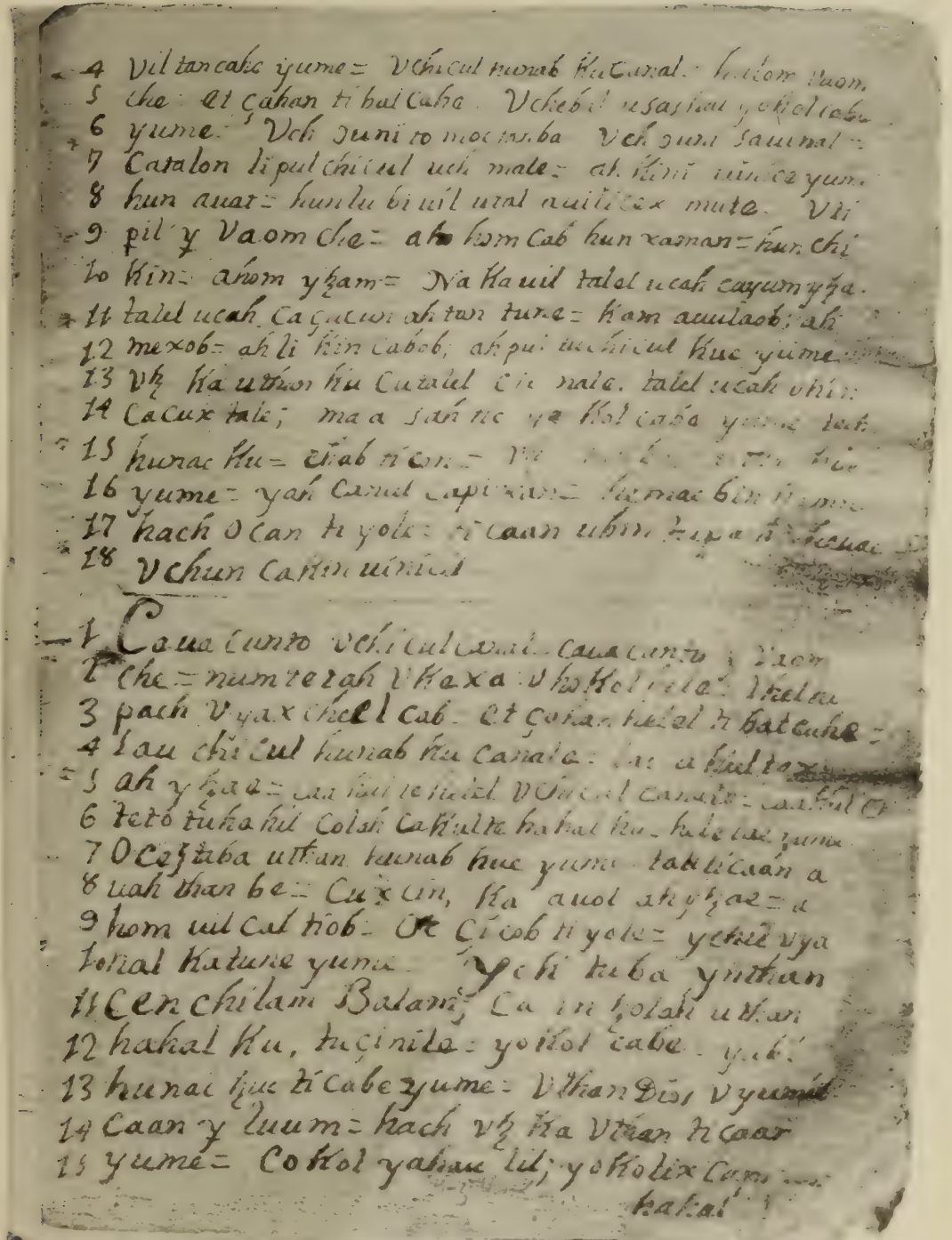
1 Tukiniuil u uatal kine yume= li yok cah ych ahte
2 pal u lo; tucanoit uka tunil; V cominale = Vhahal
3 pul tukin kue; yok. lae. Ka uba, yn kuben yu
4 me; y chex tubel auula yzae; Vyumcab; cah u lom
5 tal tuchi Nahau pech= ahkin; tukinil ua: Can ahau
6 katun= uhiz bin u katunile yume- Satomuil si
7 ... Vinicil= bin yanac tu pach Viil= tumen vbobo-
8 chil viil= Vchu yum thu lil viil= Sinic- Diu=
9 kau= pich= Xpucil=

V. Profeciado, Nazin yabun chan; Vchi; Vthan=

1 Hahal ku; tipeten= lay apak= Vhokole yume=
2 yah kinob uil bin puch cob uchmale= ja= cex
3 ka anat tu than- tu zacil kae= apixanex,
4 ... bin hahal kamice= xeth auol takul ah
5 yzae= tubes ahauay ku: a satatay ku loe
6 talacal yanil ahtepale yume= yah chaabul caan-
7 y tuum tucinil= lay yatauol ynualic techo maya
8 ah yzae= maakat auuy yanil Dios= haaha
9 kul talhano= lay Vyo cel tun tauol. Vthan
10 yn zec lae

Profeciado de chilam Balam; de Zixcoyom-

Cauichen many= Oxla hun ahau Vhijo
vil katune= Valac vil yza= Valac
vil



4 Vil tancahe yume= Vchicul hunab ku canal. [illegible] Vaom
5 che: et çahan ti bal cahe. Vchebil usashal yokol cabe
6 yume. Vch ɔuni to moc tanba Vch ɔuni sauinal=
7 Catalon li pul chicul uch male= ah kini uinice yum
8 hun auat= hunlu bi uil ural auilicex mute. Vti
9 pil y Vaom che= ah hom cab hun xaman= hun chi
10 kin= ahom yʒam= Na ka uil talel ucah cayum yʒa.
11 talel ucah ca çucun ah tan tune= kam auulaob; ah
12 mexob= ah li kin cabob; ah pul tu chicul kuc yume
13 Vʒ ka uthan ku cutalel cic nale. talel ucah uhin
14 cacux tale; ma a sah tic ya kol cabe yume tech
15 hunac ku= chab ti con= [illegible]
16 yume= yah canul capi [illegible]= hemac bin [illegible]
17 hach o can ti yole= ti caan ubin [illegible]
18 Vchun cakin uinicil

1 Caua cunto vchicul canal. caua cunto y Vaom
2 che= num tetah Vkaxa vhokol hele: Vhelu
3 pach Vyax cheel cab. et çahan helel ti bal cahe=
4 lau chicul hunab ku canale: [illegible]
5 ah yʒae= [illegible] Vchicul canale= [illegible]
6 teto tuhahil colah cakulte hahal ku. hele lae yume
7 O ceʒtaba uthan hunab kuc yume tali ti caan a
8 uah than be= cux cin, ka auol ah yʒae= a
9 hom uil cal tiob. Oc çicob ti yole= yehil vya
10 nal katune yume. Ych tuba ynthan
11 cen chilam Balam; ca in ʒolah uthan
12 hahal ku, tuçinile= yokol cabe. yab
13 hunac kuc ti cabe yume= Vthan Dios Vyumil
14 caan y luum= hach vʒ ka Vthan ti caan
15 yume= cokol yahau lil; yokolix cam [illegible]
hahal

8

heob
16 hahalku: heuac ti vles lae yume: Ox alam vkil=
17 xcuch lum y ɔi nil= ɔaman yol= Cimenix vpuc
18 çikaltunic teob xan= ahuaua tulupoob= ahva
19 tan çinaob= ɔNac xit= xuchit tunic te ulakob=
20 Caca kin yahaulilob= Coylac te tu ɔamoob=
1 Coylac te tunic teob- Cacakin uinicil= vthan
2 nob= Cacakin uxecob= vluchob= vpoocob
3 vCokin nob= vCo akab= vmaxilob= yokol
4 Cab= kuy cu cal= muɔ cu uich= puɔ cuchi=
5 tiyahaulil Cabob= yume he cu talel Minan
6 kan tuthanob; vɔulilob Cah- Bin yalob
7 kach talanilob= vmehen uuc tocoynaob=
8 yalob vuc tocoynaobe yume= Mac to ah
9 Bouat- Mac to ah kin= bin tohol cantic
10 vthan Vooh lae

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13

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE MUSEUM

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

VOL. V

THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

G. B. GORDON

PHILADELPHIA

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

1913

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INTRODUCTION.

Doctor Daniel Garrison Brinton, Professor of American Archaeology and Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, died in 1898, having a short time before presented his entire collection of books and manuscripts to the University to be kept forever in the Museum library. This famous collection, brought together by Dr. Brinton for the purposes of the chief work with which he was occupied in his lifetime, contains among many items of great value and extreme rarity, one set of documents which possess a supreme interest, and which for students of ancient American history are unrivaled in importance. These are the manuscripts written in the Maya language in the earlier centuries succeeding the conquest of Mexico and Central America and gathered for preservation and in the exercise of his scholarship by Dr. Hermann Berendt, after whose death at Guatemala City they passed into the hands of Dr. Brinton. To Dr. Berendt, therefore, the student of American history and antiquities owes a very great debt. That indefatigable scholar, during many years of travel in Yucatan and Guatemala, among the ancient seats of the Mayas, felt the spell of the past upon him and devoted the best energies of a mind well fitted for such studies, to the task of rescuing from oblivion such unconsidered fragments of their ancient literature as still survived. Laboriously and in a clear firm hand, he copied whatever he found and these copies make up the principal part of the collection. It is safe

to say that Dr. Berendt had a more intimate knowledge of the Maya language and literature than any other scholar of his time, and no one since has been so fortunate as he in the enjoyment of an opportunity for research or in the possession of an accomplishment that enabled him to improve that opportunity. It is, therefore, a matter of very great regret that he contented himself with copying and has left us no fruit of his scholarship in the form of translations or commentaries. Although the loss to Maya literature and history involved in the omission must always be deplored, every true student of aboriginal American history and literature derives satisfaction from the fortunate circumstance that transferred the documents gathered by Berendt to the library of Dr. Brinton, making the more famous and more fortunate scholar the heir at once to the treasures and the labors of the other. Into this unexplored field of Maya literature, Dr. Brinton brought the knowledge and experience gained during many years of study of American linguistics, supported by a ripe scholarship based on a scientific training. The result of these labors was the publication in 1882 of the *Maya Chronicles* as the first volume of Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. These chronicles consist of passages from the Books of Chilam Balam selected, arranged and translated by Dr. Brinton.

In the collection left by Dr. Berendt are two volumes of special interest and importance, all written in Berendt's own hand and copied by him from originals in Yucatan. These two volumes have the following titles:

> CHILAM BALAM. Articulos y Fragmentos de Manuscritos Antiguos en Lengua Maya, colectados y copiados en Facsimile por C. Herman Berendt, M. D. Merida 1868, 1 vol, 4° pp. 200.

CODICE PEREZ—Chilam Balam. Articulos y Fragmentos de Manuscritos Antiguos en Lengua Maya, colectados por D. Juan Pio Perez, copiados en Merida 1870, 1 vol. 4° pp. VI, 258.

In these two manuscripts are comprised all the known fragments of the historical writings of the Mayas. They constitute at the same time the principal part of all the extant Maya literature. The designation CHILAM BALAM is not a proper name but the title of a class of priests. It is probable that every village in Yucatan, during the century succeeding the conquest, possessed a book to which this title was applied and which was compiled by a native priest who had learned the use of the Spanish alphabet. What the original sources of these compilations were, and to what extent the books represent the literary productions of the priesthood after the conquest cannot be discussed in this introduction, but there is evidence that the original writings which served as the models and the sources of these compilations were written in the days before the conquest in the hieroglyphic characters of the native culture, and therefore formed part of a large body of ancient literature that was the product of native genius and that perished in the general catastrophe that overtook the native civilization after the coming of Europeans.

An increased interest in American antiquities and especially in those of the Mayas which the science of archaeology has witnessed in recent years, has created a demand both in America and in Europe for more materials for study than have hitherto been accessible to scholars generally.

The University Museum has always given scholars ready access to the precious documents in its collections, but their use has been confined necessarily to those who could visit the

Museum and work in its library. In order to place this body of material where any one interested in the subject could have it at hand no matter where he might be situated, the Museum authorities decided more than two years ago to undertake the publication of all the important Maya documents in its collection, and the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel was selected to form the initial volume.

The difficulties attending the undertaking were very great. The first question that presented itself was whether the text should be published in facsimile or in type. The second and much more difficult question was whether the original text should be accompanied by a translation. At the outset the whole of the text after being transcribed from Berendt's copy was set up in type. A proof was sent to Señor Audomaro Molina of Merida, Yucatan, whose intimate knowledge of modern Maya and of Yucatecan history are matters recognized by all Maya scholars. Molina kindly undertook the collation of this text with that of the original document, to which he had access through the courtesy of those who have it in their keeping. It was then found that Berendt's copy of 1868 differed in some details from the original of 1782. The plan followed by Molina was to use the 1782 original as his model and correct the proof of Berendt's copy according to this reading. All differences between the two manuscripts would thus be eliminated on the assumption that they were the mistakes of copying. Molina made no attempt at the punctuation of the document or its division into sentences, nor did he attempt to adopt a uniform orthography. His plan was to follow the text of the original, with all its peculiarities, its irregular spelling and its undivided sentences. The printing of this corrected proof of Berendt's copy proved inexpedient.

Shortly after he had finished his correction of the proof in the manner described, Molina's untimely death in December, 1910, took away from the small group of Maya scholars in America an accomplished gentleman.

Meantime, during the summer of 1910, I went to Merida and succeeded, through Señor Molina's courtesy and the kindness of those who have it in their keeping, in borrowing the original document and in bringing it to the Museum, where each page was photographed. This is the photographic copy which is reproduced in this volume.

My reason for publishing the original text in facsimile instead of printing Berendt's copy is based on the fact that the interest of students can at present best be served by making the original in its actual form accessible to everybody.

The question of preparing a translation has received the most careful consideration. It presents a peculiar problem. The relationship between the language of the document and the modern Maya is very close. There are, however, certain forms of expression and certain use of words in the book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel which are not current in modern Maya and which are without significance to those who speak the language. It is not to be inferred that these forms have been rendered obsolete by the changes which the language has undergone in the century and a quarter since the original compilation was written. It seems that such changes are not at all marked. The obscure passages and unintelligible phrases occur chiefly where the writer deals with ancient ritual or religious usage and are closely associated with a religious system which is no longer remembered and which even at the end of the eighteenth century was more than half forgotten, and in so far as it survived at all, was known only to the late represent-

atives of an older priesthood whose business it was to keep intact the forms and ceremonies prescribed by ancient usage. This priestly cult made use of verbal formulas which were not in common circulation and which had a meaning only in connection with the practice of their profession. Our chief difficulty, therefore, in producing an intelligible translation is due to the extinction of that profession and of the specialized knowledge that went with it and to the want of historical information about the religious observances and other customs of the ancient Mayas. A large part of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, as well as of the other ancient writings in the Berendt collection dealing with various matters, present no great difficulties in the way of translation, but other portions are of such obscure meaning that it is more than doubtful whether a satisfactory translation can be made at the present time.

In Brinton's *Maya Chronicles* are included several chronological passages from the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. These passages are found on plates 74–81 of this volume which correspond to the folios 41–44 of the original. Brinton's abstracts follow the text of Berendt's copy except where consistency led him to prefer a uniform spelling and a system of punctuation. At one point, however, there will be found a discrepancy between Brinton's text and that of the original. On plate 74 of this volume the katuns are arranged in order with their corresponding numerals written in the Roman style. Opposite each numeral appears its Maya name followed by the word *ahau*. These numerals run in their proper sequence according to the Maya method of numbering the katuns. On plate 74, however, the Roman numeral VIII is omitted from its place in the column, but the blank space is followed by the Maya

name of the numeral indicating the name of the katun, and this is followed by an historical note. In making his copy Berendt filled in the Roman numeral. Brinton, however, by some oversight, omitted not only the Roman numeral but the words *Uaxac ahau* as well, and brought the historical note into line with *Lahun ahau*, which is the name of the preceding katun.

This omission is mentioned to illustrate the method followed by Berendt, than whom there never was a more careful and conscientious copyist, who sometimes filled in an omission of the scribe without comment and more often corrected his work in a different colored ink. It is mentioned also to make clear the importance of publishing a facsimile of the original.

The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel was found in the village of that name in Yucatan. It was compiled by Juan José Hoil, a Maya Indian, in the year 1782. It consists of a number of abstracts on various topics selected by the compiler. Berendt's copy was made in 1868, at which time some portions of the text were slightly more perfect than at present, a circumstance which adds greatly to the value of the copy. The paper on which it is written has become very much worn, stained by use and discolored by age. The first leaf is missing, as well as leaf 55. Several of the leaves are torn, the margins are sometimes very much worn or decayed, and small portions have been eaten away by insects. The whole is protected by a leather cover, in the front portion of which a hole has been burnt. The facsimile reproduction presented in this volume preserves the exact size of the original writing and a comparison shows that nothing is lost in the process.

Brinton's translations of the abstracts which he published stand as the result of a conscientious effort to render the Maya text into intelligible English. Since the year 1882 in which

the *Maya Chronicles* were published, some progress has been made in the study of Maya antiquities and the time has come when the mistakes of the pioneers may in part be corrected. It is well known today, for instance, that *ahau* was never used as the name of a period of time, but was the designation of one of the twenty days of the Maya month. This day name, with a cardinal number from one to thirteen attached to it, appears, not only as a means of distinguishing a particular day occurring at certain intervals in the calendar, but also as a means of identifying the katuns. This method of naming the katuns proceeded from the fact that the chronological calendar is so constructed that a katun always begins with a day so designated. Such an expression as *lahun ahau,* therefore, is not to be translated tenth ahau but ten ahau and is to be understood as meaning katun ten ahau. With this correction applied throughout Brinton's translation of the chronicles may stand today after thirty years as substantially correct, although some passages of the Maya text are very obscure and of doubtful meaning. Whatever may have been his errors, the place which Dr. Brinton once filled in the world of letters has not been occupied since his death and his work on the Maya chronicles has not been superseded.

In a volume which is now in the course of preparation it is proposed to print the text complete after the original here reproduced, supplemented according to Berendt's copy. In this volume will be included critical notes and commentaries, and the question of a translation will also come under discussion.

To those who have encouraged and supported this publication, I wish to return my thanks, and especially to the President of the Museum, Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., and to

Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, of Boston, the author of *Maya Numeration, Calendar Systems and Astronomy*. I wish to record also my very deep obligation to the late Señor Audomaro Molina for his kind offices in procuring for me the loan of the MS. for photographing.

G. B. G.

COVER

Codice Chumayel

v [illegible] vu[illegible]il. an Canule: Ix Sac
[illegible] Culur[illegible]ah: yixmehenpa[illegible]
v pasel y[illegible]: v chuvuinicil[illegible]

7. Yahau ah [illegible]ohol. v chun vuinicil ah nol
[illegible]an [illegible]cay. v Kaba v Chun vuinicil a
[illegible]uche: Bolonpel yachaa: v Canan ma[illegible]
bolonpel. Viz v Canan maob: chac tok [illegible]
v tunil = ah chac mucencab [illegible] ymix
9. yax che. v ɔul bal: yantilakin: cha
cal puete: v [illegible]ob: yx chac ya [illegible]
yxchac ak bilob: chac yx Kan ɔul
yulumoob: Ix chac Opool. yiximob.
Sac tok tun v tunil: v tunil tixaman [illegible]
ymix yax che. v ɔul bal: Sac mu[illegible]
cab: yx Sac tan yulumob: Sac y[illegible]
bilob: Sac yxim yiximob. =
9. Ek tok tun: v tunil. ti chi kin: Ek [illegible]ix
yax che v ɔul bal: Ix Ek hub: yixi
mob: yx Ek chuch ys: yisilob: yxe[illegible]
v Cum: yulumob: Ek tak ab. chan v
nalob: yx Ek buul: v buulol Ek yb: yi
bilob: Kan tok tun. v tunil: v no[illegible]
ymix [illegible]xche: Kan ymix yax che.
v ɔul [illegible]lob: Kanal puete v chaob: y[illegible]
Kan puete yi[illegible]lob: Ix Kan puete
[illegible]mob: yx Kan [illegible]
[illegible] Cab[illegible]

[illegible]ob = g: Buluc Aha[illegible] ~~bulu~~ [illegible] vkatunil
[illegible] u pach cu chob: C[illegible] talel. ah pis
[illegible] Lay ah pis te: yah p[illegible] lu bob. Cazo
tato chac te: aban. chactetic u [illegible] bob: Cata-
li uac hab nal hoch xiu tic ulu bob: tamuk
utalel: mis cit ahau: mistic ul[illegible] bob: [illegible]uk
v talel yah pisul u lu bob: hek lay co[illegible] lub
cupis ci: cacahi: vhool poop: yx noh: [illegible]c: v
hool. v poop: Ah lakin: Ox to coy moo: vhol
upoop [illegible]kin: Ox pauah[illegible] vhol upop. tila
kin. ah mis: uhol upop. tilakin. ——
Batun uhol upop. tixaman. ah puch uhol
upop tixaman. balam na. uhol upop tixa
m[illegible]. ake uhol pop. tixaman —
[illegible]an uhol pop. tichikin. ah chab. uhol
pop tichikin: a[illegible] cuch. vhol pop tichikin —
[illegible]h yamas uhol pop tinohol. ah puch uhol
pop tinohol. Cauich vhol pop. tinohol —
ah couoh uhol pop tinohol — ah puc uhol
pop tinohol —
Chac yx chuuah cabob tilakin: chac
lol u luchob: cha chac nic te: unic te[illegible] —
Sac yx chuuah cabo[illegible]. tixaman sac ix
pach sau nic te ilob — Sac lol u lu[illegible]b: —
Ek yx chuuah cab u cabob. ti[illegible]kin. Ek
ixlau nic te vnic te ilob: Ek lol uluchob —
Kan yx chuuah cabob tinohol. Kan lol ulu
[illegible] zac nic te. unic te ilob —

Ca[illegible]nya[illegible]iy unum te aal cab. [illegible]cu
samil, v[illegible] cab, yu luch cab: yuya
cheel cab: v chulil cab: kinpa uah [illegible]
yah kinobi = Laymek tan mail: v pi cul
k[illegible]n. Canan mail ah kulneb tan tun.
Cusamil = ah yax: ac: chi nab: kinichkak
mo =
Ah ik: tzim thul chac: v mek tan nob: ych
can si hoo: vayom chich: chich yah ki
nob: ych can si hoo: Canul: yx poptiba
lam: v catul = ah kin chable: v yahauob:
Cabal xiu: yah kinob: Vx mal chac v
mek tanob: Lay yah kin cuchi: Caul sa
bi: hapai can = tu chem chan: Lay ha
li: Cauchi kikil [illegible]k: te vx male:
tii, Ca colabi. v cangel. chac xib chace:
sac xib chac: colabi u cangel: v cange
lix. ek yuuan chac: colabi xan: yx [illegible]
belis: vkaba v chi chob: chac ek yuuan chac
vyumob: hun yuuan chac: v thupi lob:
vooh: puc vkaba = Lay ɔib tabi: vooh tu
tan ukab: Caɔib tabi vooh. yalan v cal:
Caɔib tabi: tu tan yoc: Caɔib tabi: ychil
u puc vkab ti ah vooh pucil: makui
chac cob: = g: halili ha hal ku cayu
mil ti Diose: vkulob tuthan tuyi
ɔa til: maya pan: ah kin coba:

Amado señor mocc

ah kin te ych: paa:e. Ꝛu lim chan:
ti chikin: Nauat: yah ꝛC[illegible]il: v vol
pa ti nohole: Couoh: yah canul: vol pa
til lakin: ah ek: v lak: heyahauobe.
ah tapai nok Cauich: v ka ba vhalaab
uini cob: hun nac ceel: v pul been: ah
mex Cuci: Caukatah hun tulis Nic te:
Caukatah: sac pop: Caukatah: capel u tan
nok: Caukatah: yax vlum: caukatah:
vle: Caukatah: sac homaob: tiliku
lob Cakuchob: poole: tipolhob: yalaah
yꝛai: titun u Naa in tahob yx poli:
Cakuchob: Ake: ti sihob: tix Akei: A
ke: ukaba vaye: Cuthanob: Catun ku
chob: Alaa: alaa: vkaba vaye: Cuthanob
Catalob: kan holaa. Catalob: tix chel: ti
chel hi: uthanobi: tichel hi: vcanobi: Ca
tun ku chob: Ninum: ti Num hi: v
thanobi: tinumhi: v Canobi: ah yꝛaobi=
Catun kuchob: Chikin: ɔonot: tichikin
tan hi u uichobi: chikin ɔonot v kaba vaye:
Cuthanob: Catun kuchob: ꝛuc: oopp: tiu
ꝛucah u baobi: yalan: opi: ꝛuc oo: vkaba
vaye: Cuthanob: Catun ku chob: cahcab:
tiuhuy tah cab. yꝛai: Cauki tumenel
x koh takin: Cahuy tabi: ti cab: Cayu
[illegible]h: Cabil neba: v kaba: Cakuchob

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Kiki: tiucanahob: Kiknaki: Kiril v
Kaba vaye: Cuthanob: Cakuchob: panab haa:
tiupanahob hai: Catalob: Cucuchil: haa:
vCachob: tutamil haai: Cakuchob: yal si
hon: yal sihon vKaba vaye: cah lic cah=
Cakuchob: xppitah: cah xan: Catunku
Chob: Kancab: ɔonot: tilikulob: Caku
chob: ɔula: Caix talob: pib haal ɔonot:
Catunkuchob: tah: aac:: vKaba: Cata
lob: t Cooh: vKaba: tiumanahob: than
Coohi: tiumanahob: cani: ti coh vKaba
vaye: Cakuchob: ti Kal: tiukalah: vba
obi: ti Kal uKaba vaye: Catalob: timaax:
tiumaax tah vbaKatunobi: Cakuchob
Buc ʒoʒ: tiubucinahob uʒoʒel vpol
lobi: bucʒoʒ vKaba vaye Cuthanob=
Cakuchob: ɔi ɔon tun: tihopob: chuc
lum ɔiɔi: ɔihol tun vKaba vaye: Caku
Chob: yobain: tiuuayintahob ayini:
tumen umamobi: ah yamosi: g: Jahau
lil tuchi Kaknab: Cakuchob: sinanche:
tiu vayintahob ci cin sinanche vKaba
vaye: Cakuchob ti cah: chac: Cakuchob:
ɔeuc: pisilba: vcahob ulakob Cakuchob
vMamob: vlak: timul ɔemlah yolobi
ɔemul vKaba vaye: cakuchob: Kini:
yicnal xKil: ~~ɔemul vKaba vaye~~
yʒampech: xɔeuc: vlakob [illegible]

chibicnal. x Kil. y ʒam pech. Jah uKi
niob: Catun Ku chob: Baca: ti bac chahi:
haatiobi: Baca: Vaye: Cuthanob: Catun
Kuchob: Sabac nail: yicnal v mamob: v
Chun v uunicil ah Nae: lay chelnae v ma
mob: Catun Kuchob: te benaae: ti Kahi: v naa
tiobi: Catalob: y xil: Catun binob: chulul:
Ca Kuchob. chichi Caan: catunbinob hol
tun chable: Catalob. y ʒam na: Catalob.
Chubulna: Ca Kuchob: Cau cel: ticeel.
chabobi: Cau Cel: Vaye Cuthanob: Catun
Kuchob: V Cu: ti yalahob: ya v Cu: Ca
binob: hunuc ma: Ca Kuchob. Kinchil: Ca
binob. Kana: Ca Ku chob: tix peton cah:
Ca Kuchob Sahab balam: ca Kuchob. tah
Cum chakkan: Ca Kuchob: tix balche:
Ca Kuchob: V x mal: titun ti Kulob Ca Ku
chob: tix yub ak: Ca Kuchob Munaa: ti
mun hi: v thanob: timun hi v canobi: Ca
binob: Ox loch. hok: Cabinob chac akal.
Cabinob. xocne Ceh: Ceh v vayob Ca Ku
chobi: Cabinob pus tunich. Ca binob. puc
nal chac: Ca binob pen Cuyut: Cabi
nob. ppax Ve vet: Ca Ku chob tix aya:
Ca Ku chob: tis tis: v Kaba: Ca Ku chob
tuchi Can: Ca Ku chob tix ~~mac~~ me vac

vac

Cakuchob hunac thi: Cakuc[illegible]
Cakuchob: tamus balna: Cakuchob: tixcan:
Cakuchob: lop: Cakuchob: chee miuan: uan
Cakuchob: oxcah vanka: cabinob: sacba fol. 5
cel caan: Cakuchob: cetelac: vkaba
cah: macalob: y vkabacheenob: Cauhac
yohel taual tuxmanob: tanuximbal ticob:
yilaob uauh: lay peten: Vaunahmacah
talob: Vaylae: hol petenvkaba tuthanob:
Cayumil ti D.s lay holpeten: Lay sihes yo
kolcab: tulacal: layx holxan: heob
lae kabansah peten: vcahob: kabansah
cheen vcahob: kabansah cacab: vcahob
kabansah luum vcahob: tumenmamac
kuchuc vaye: Vayi vcal peten Cakuchom
Vaylae:

Subinche: kaua: Cum canul: tiem tun
ti: emob ti tuni: si cal: sacii: ti dooc:
ti dooc vthankatuni: timo con: popola:
tihay upop katuni: ti pixoy: Vayum haa:
sac ba can: tinum: tinumchithan tabobi:
tima cal: popola: tiu holahob: vpop: katuni:
tixmac culum: tiumacahob thani: Dit haas
bonkauil: tixmex: kochilla: tixxocen:
chunpak: pibahul: tun kaas: haal tun
haa: kuxtila: didil che: ti cool: sitil
pech: chalamtz: tichalhiyolobi: y
hamthulil: tipakab: tipak tchobi:

tiya. ansahcab: ɔiɔom tun: Ye tun v
mamob: ti che choc ɔiiɔ: ɔiɔ hol tun: popo
la: tunohol sinanche: Ca tal muçi: sac
nicte cheen: so ɔil: Vay tumul tum tahob
Katune. mul tumut. u Kaba: Vay mutule:
mu xupip: aKa: hoc tun: ti Cum lahob
tuchun tuni: xoc chel bohe: sah cab haa:
ʒanlah cat: human: ti huni than yo
Kolobi: ti hurani upec ʒilobi: chalam te:
pacox va: v Kaba vaye: Cathanob: tekit:
ti Kit yala yʒaobi: yoKol cheen pu
pul ni huh: huh u uayob cahoKobi:
ɔo ɔile: tiab: bitun cheen: vch ciyo
Colob tipi Kal: vKaba cheen: vch ci vti
pilob: Cabinob poc huh: v Kaba cheen:
vch ci upoci cob huh: Cabinob: Manii:
timan Kahi than tiobi: Ca Ku chob tiɔaan
ox Kin ɔaman nobi: Cabin ti Cul: Sac
bum cheen: tix tohil cheen: ti tohmi:
yolobi: Cabinob Balam Kin: v peten
nil ah Kinob: cheen chomac: Sac nic teet
ɔonot: tiyax cab: Vman: ox Cum:
San hil: ych Caan si hoo: tinoh Naa
nohpat: poy chena: Chulul: Ca Kuchob
tu tiʒluum Cum Kal: ti Cum lah v
tiʒ pateni: sic pach: yax Ka Kul:

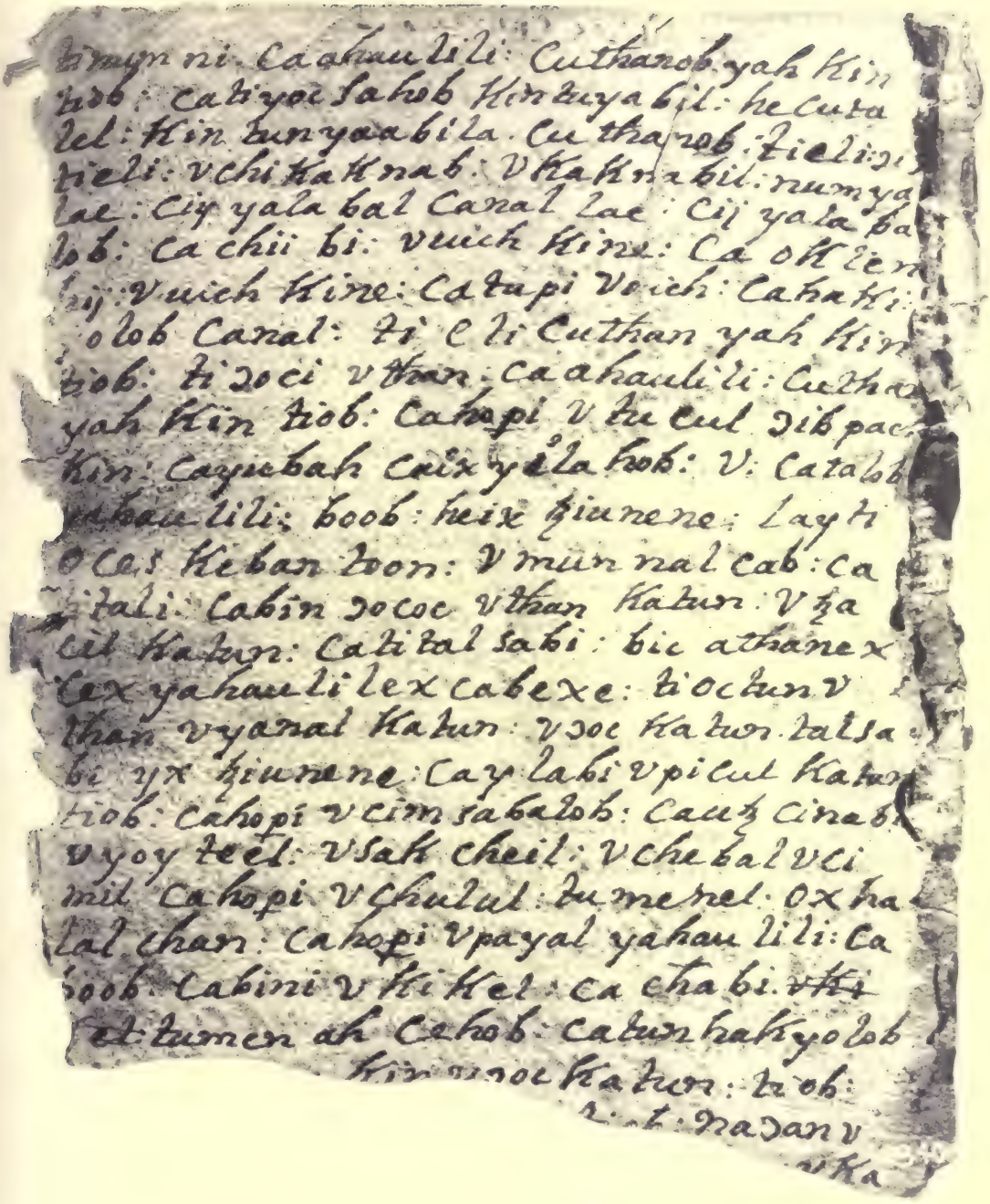
Kul

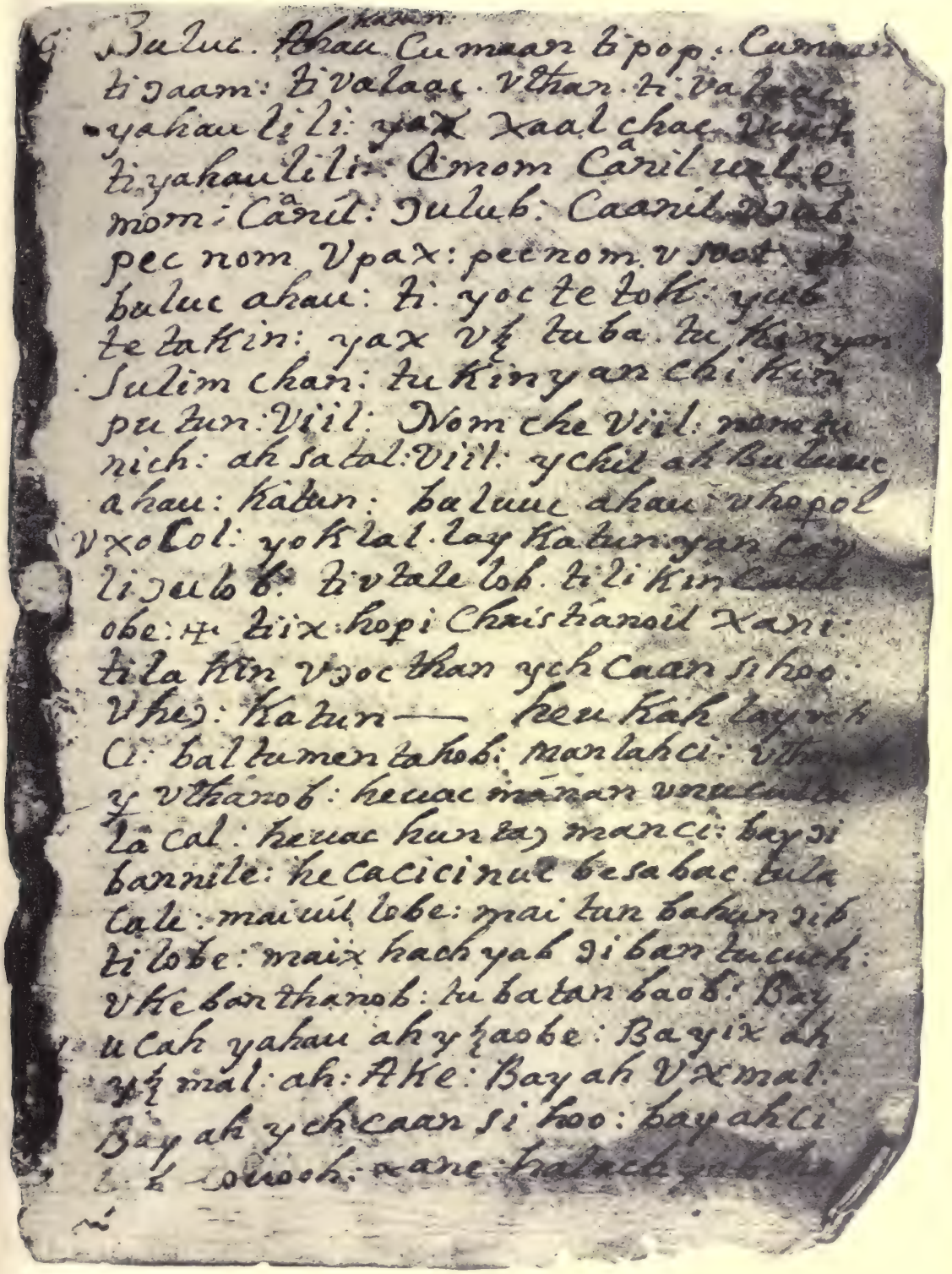
tix Kokob: cuca: ch[illegible]
xan: ekol ekol: vkabach[illegible]:
tix veve: tix veve vkaba: cheen yaye:
vhum tal talhun hatzi: tix kani ma cal:
ti. x[illegible]aan: yum xul: vch ci vyum tic v
haan: holtun ake: a Can queh: ti cooh:
ti chahil: ti chac maya pan: ych paa:
yokol haa: Cabinob: Nabula: tix mu
Cuy: tix kan hube: Joyila: Cakuchob
ti sip: ti sip v thanobi: ti sip v canobi: Ca
hopi: uhes luumob. yahauobi: ti yanah
yah kin palon cabi: hek lay yah kinobe
mutec pul vkaba: heah kin palon cabe:
ahmay: heah kin mutec pule: ahcanul:
Vayyom chichix xan nunilixan: yu ca
tun ah chable: ah ych caan sihoo: hol tun
Balam: vmehen: Lay u chaah yx yaxum
Chakane: ti tun kuchi: vlak ahauobi:
Laobi ahau vnup v thanobe: ti yahau
lilob ti Buluc ahau tun: vkabaCu
Chi: Cauhesah Cabobi: Caix tihes luum
nahobi: Caix cahlahobi: ych Caan si
hoo: Caemob ah hol tun Ake: Caemob:
ah Sabac nailob: Ca tun kuchob yetun
yet Ahau lilob: heah Sabac naile: vchun
vuinicil: ahna: Catun umolah vbaob
te ych caan si hoo: ti yan yx pop
ti balam. tilic ya hau lili: hol tun ba
lam:

[illegible] ili yahaulil.
[illegible] boy. Lay u Chun uuinicil. Co
[illegible] xiuix tloual xan: Chac te ahau:
Chac te u lumil vchuc yahau lilob: teppan
quis: yah kinob: Lay ych tabilae: Lay ah
piste: pis vlumilobe: hetun lubte vlu
mil vluubobe: Vuc lub cab. ah may he
tun: ac Cunte: vxu kil. vluumob: ah
ac Cunte: vxu kil ah mis Mis te vluu
mob Lay mis cit ahaue: he tun hez cicab
tiobe: Lay ho yahel cabe: he tun te yahal
Cab tiobe: tum te ahau: tum te ya halcab.
tiobe. Cahopi yo col patan tiobe: tuchi
Cheen: ti kuch vch ci. vkuchul vpa
tan: Cantul vinicobe: buluc ahau.
vkaba vkatunil: Cuchi: ti baax lahi
patan te. Cetel ace: Vpakte: vchi
yanile: Catun emi vpatan hol tun su
huy vate: cetel ace: ti cet hi uthanobi
ox lahun ahau vkatunil Cuchi: ti u
kamah ob patan halach vinicobi: Caho
pi vtepal lobi: Cahopi ti pay ahau lilobi:
Cahopi v tan la balob: Cahopi vkuchul
vpulul teob: Cahopi vpulicob ych
Cheen: Cauyabac vthanob tu menel
yahau lili: mahul vthanob Lay Cauich
hun hunah ceele: Lay Cauich vkaba
[illegible] cile: ti cu thi cal tu hol cheen

Codice Chumayel.

cheen: ti nohol Catun bini Chabil Catun
hoki yalab v than: Cahop uchabal v than: Ca
ɔuni v than: Cahopi yala bal: ahauil: Cacul
hij: tacuchil ahau Uob: tumenob. Cahopi y
bal halach vinicil: ma ahau Cuchij
chen ubel ahmex Cuc: caix alabi ahau
vpul ben: ahmex Cuc = Coot. bin: v Nac
Cabin Cax taui tu vizil: Cabin: ɔuni: v
Chabal v than Lay a hau: la: Citun yala
bal: Catun hopi: vnac sabal: canalnaa: ti
ti ahau lil: Cahopi: vpa kal: ye bal: Catun
Culhi ti Canalna: ychil ox lahun Ahau
Vactepal. Caɔuni: v kuchul v ya bil v th
v kin: v. ua ahmex cuc: v ka ba caupula
Naɔan baca v kin ahmex Cuuc ci: Cayas
Cun tubi: Cahopi v yumin tauali: Cahopi
v ʒicili: tu kaba ahmex Cuuc: Catun ʒi
ci Catun tan la bi. te tu chi cheene: chi
cheen y ʒam. v kaba = tumen ti bin y ʒ
Caulu kah v tunil Cabi: v tunil Viil Cuch
y ʒam: luk Cabin y chil haa: Catun hopi
yo col numya. te chichen y ʒac: Catun
bini te li kine: Caku yie nal ah kin cob
talel v cah vaxac Ahau ka tun Cuchi
Vaxac ahau v kaba ka tun: vch ci v tepa
Catun hoki. v hal ka tun Ca[illegible]
hel y ahauob.





lach vinicob: ma con con ke banthan
vcs bahob: tu batan baobe: heuac ma
chi caan ychil yan vaye: ma bahun
bin ʒolo ci: hex ohel mail tal ci ca
chi bal: con maya vinice: lay tun yo
hal vnuc bes: cabin vxo cob: yan vaye
ti tun yilic: catun vnuc bes: vabic chu
canil: vsavin katun: tumen cah ki
nob: ah kin xuluc: maix xuluc v
kaba cuchi xani: chen tumen lay
cu kinil lay cuah kinil: caoci num
ya: caoci christianoil: tumen lay hach
christianoob: ti vli yhahal ku:
hahal Ds heuac vchun num ya toon
vchun patan vchun limosna: vchun
hoc mu cuuc ʒa: vchun ɔon ba calʒa
vchun cum tanʒa: vchun toc luk
sah: vchun ɔal pach: pax vchun
pak pach: pax vchun cacaʒa:
vchun num sah ya: vchun toc luk sah
vchun vmeyah tabal españoles ob
yah kinob: vmeyah tabal Bata
lob: vmeyah tabal cam sa hob. v
meyah tabal fiscalob: tumen me
hen palalob: vpalil cahob: tamuk
vchac num sabal ti ya: ah num
yaob lay hach oʒilobe: lay hach
oʒilob ma li ku lobi: tilic vmen ric

tic

Cij: v ɔaal. pach: lay v: antachris toil: yo
kol cabob lae: vh cab cohil cahob: vcha y
macil cahob: vh picil cahob: yah ɔuɔil
ozil mas eualob: lae: heuac bini to
kuchuc tukin: v kuchul yalil vuichob
yicnal cayumil ti D.s: emon v Jasti
six cayumil ti D.s hun yuk ti balcah:
hach li kul ti D.s bin tal bal: ah
kantenal: Ix pucyola. vɔu tanni
lob yokolcab lae ——

Tihaab de mil quinientos: quarenta y
vno:

181 ɔuul. at. S: DIK: 92 nhele

9: Vkah lay tin ɔibtah: uchciyuk
cinnabal: mul: tumen. hexegesob:
oxkal katun: uk cinnabci: ca tachol
hun pis katun: tumen tahob: nucuch
vinicob: Cayx ti bin. yala vuini
cilob — car tabona: vkaba: vlumil
yanil lob helelae: ti yanobi. Ca
li: S.n Bernabe: ti cambesah
cacim sabiob tumen vinicob. here
gesob vkaba: vuinicilob ——

156: vcuch: helec = 15: años:

9: Hele tinɔibtah uchci yuk [illegible]

nabal. Nucuch muul lob. tumen chibal
lob. y hecen baal. vmentah ahauuob:
hex lic vmenticob mulle. ox lahun
te katun: catac Vacpel haabi. licyuh
cin nicob: cuchi. heyx Vchun mul: yah
cinnahobe: hool hun baak. vkaalal
vmullil catac lahu yox kal = Vmuch
cuentail: Mul yuh cinnahob. tuyuk
lah cabil peten: Bay ti kak nab
tac tu chun cab: Vpatahix Vkabaob
xan y vcheenil: catun: Vh cinna
[illegible]achil tiob tumen Dios lae: ca
clob tumen kak: tucahal Ysrael =
y bobil laya: Vkaah lay katunob
y haabob = luk ci te: Vi xo.a chac =
Vnes cab: vchibal tu tul xiuobe

9. Vkah lay ~~cab~~ katunob: y haabbool
yax chuc ci: Vpetenil - yucatan
tumenel. Julob: sac uinicob = Y
chil bin buluc ahau: katun: vch
ci: vchucicob: Vhol haa = e cab =
ti lakin utalelob: caa vlob = Op =
bin vyax kam chi tahobi: lay uchun
vkabaticob ah mak = Op = Julilob
ah Juuj = op Jul ukabaob = heix bin
vkaba ah otoch nalob. vchucahob
bie = e cabe = Na com Balam vka
ba heyx yax chucite: e cabe
[illegible] yax capitane = D.n Juan

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de Montejo: yax con cix ta ɛor. Vay 10
tupetenil yucatanlae: Layili: vka
tunil: vch ci vkuchul: ych caan 10
si hoolae =

q: tu yaabil = 15. 13 años = OX
Lahun ahau katun: vch ci vchu
ci cob: Campech = hun ɔit katun
yanobi: = Ah kin camal: Likul
Campech: oces ɔulob; Vay tipeten
lae: Dn. Franco Carrillo

q: helel en 20 de Agosto: ti yaabil de
mil quinientos = quarenta y uno: tin
chic besah vkabahaabob. hopic chris
tianoil lae

q: Mil quinientos: dies y nueve años
kuchic vuckal hab - catac bulucpis
habi = Vch ci consierto: y ɔulob
Laylic cabotic vlik sah katun.
ɔulob: y vyanal vini coblae: Vay
ti cahob = Layu capitanil cahob = V
chie: Laytun cabotic helelae —

q: helel ɔibnahen. ti yaabil - mil
quinientos. quaren tay uno años
yax vl ci ɔulob: ti la kin: ecab
vkaba = tuyabil vch ci: vkuchulob
tutlob haa = ecab: tu cahal Nacom
Balam: tuyax chun vk = vhabil

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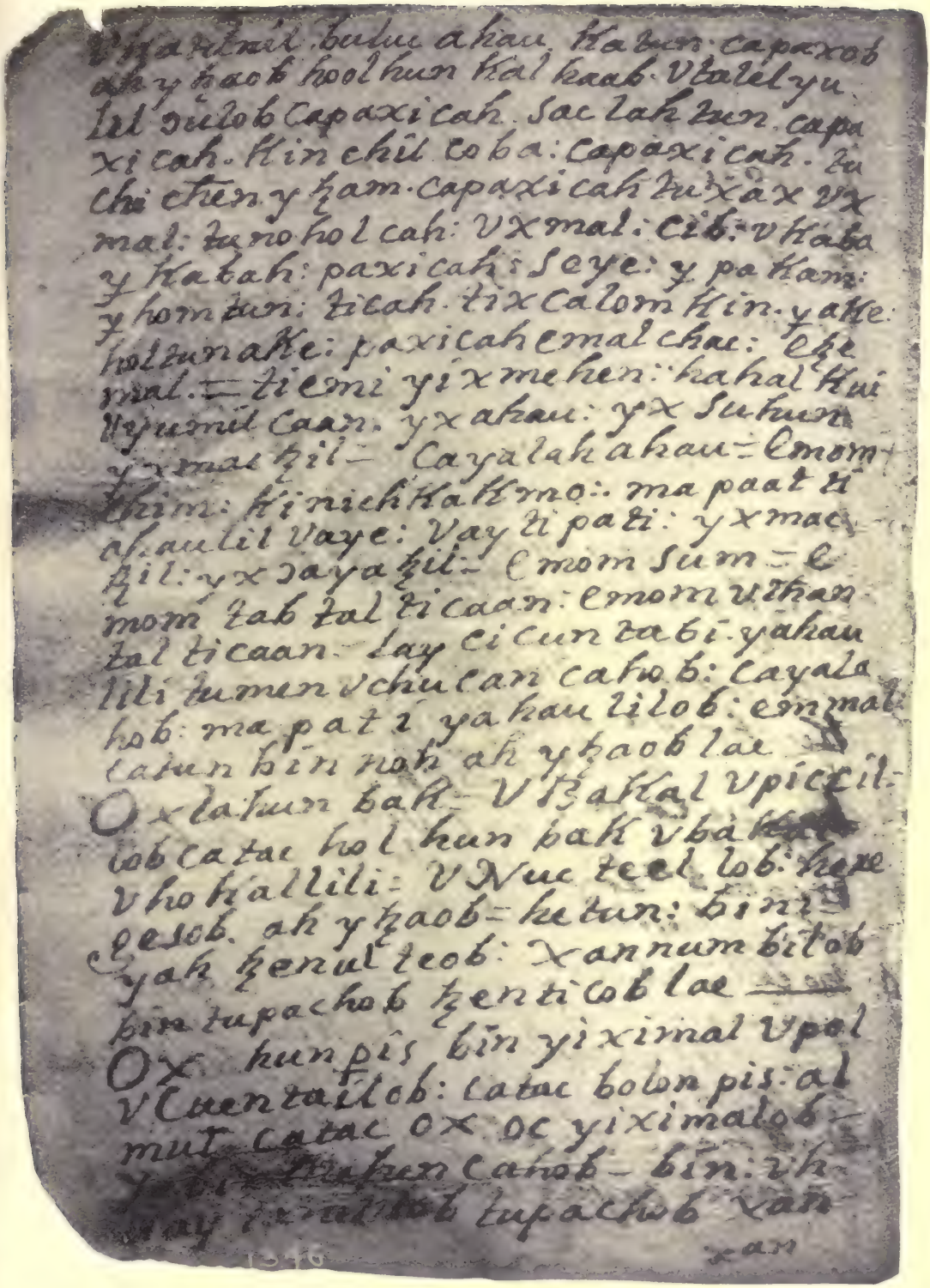


Vkatelnil. buluc ahau. katun. capaxob
ah y ʒaob hool hun kal kaab. Vtalel yu
lel ɔulob capaxicah. sac lah tun. capa
xicah. kin chil coba: capaxicah. tu
chi chen y ʒam. capaxicah tuxax vx
mal: tuno hol cah: vxmal: cib: vkaba
y kabah: paxicah: seye: y pakam:
y hom tun: ticah. tix calom kin. yake:
holtunake: paxicah emal chac: eʒe
mal. = tiemi yixmehen: hahal kui
vyumil caan. yx ahau: yx suhun
yxmac ʒil = cayalah ahau = emom
chim: kinichkakmo:. ma paat ti
ahaulil vaye: vay ti pati: yxmac
ʒil: yx ɔayaʒil = emom sum = e
mom tab tal ticaan: emom vthan
tal ticaan = lay ci cun tabi. yahau
lili tumen vchucan cahob: cayala
hob: ma pati yahau lilob: emmal
catun bin noh ah yʒaob lae
Oxlahun bak = V Bakal vpiccil
lob catac hol hun bak vbakal
vhokallili = V Nuc teel lob: here
gesob. ah yʒaob = hetun: bini
yah ʒenul teob: xannum bilob
bin tupachob ʒenticob lae
Ox hun pis bin yiximal vpol
vcuentailob: catac bolon pis: al
mut catac ox oc yiximalob
[illegible] cahob = bin: vh
[illegible] tupachob xan

xan

Mat yol tahob vpak tob ɔulob: ma v
Mat cristianoilob: ma yol tahob. v bot patan
ahvayom chichob: ahuayom: tunob
ahvayom sinil tunob: ah vayom Ba
lamob: ox vayahob: can bak hab vxul
vcux talob: catac hol hun kal hab =
yancataci: tuxul vcux talob = tumen
yohelob vpis kinob: tu baob: ___
tulis: v: tulis hab: tulis kin: tulis
akab: tulis: yk: cuximbalxan
tulis: kikxan: tukuchul: tuua
yob: tupoopoob: tuɔamob = pis vcan
ticob yuʒil = Oxaob = pis: vcaxan
ticob yuʒil kin: latupis yilicob
yocolob: vʒul: ekob: tuyahaulil
tanupix ych ticob yocolob. yahau
lil: uʒul ekob: vʒ tun tulacal: ca
tun utak besyalob: tucuxolalob
yan: manan tun keban: tusanto
ɔkolalobyan: vcux talob: manan
tun: chapahal: manan tun: chibil
bac: tiob: manantun: ɔamchacuil:
tiob. minantun xpom kakil =
tiob: minantun: elel ʒemil tiob =
minantun: yanakil tiob: minan
tun ʒenʒem cimil tiob: minanchi
bil pol tiob: ʒolombil tun: vbin
vuinicilob = Makaytun: vmen[illegible]
ɔulob = tivlioblae: [illegible]

Sahob: catalob. Cacux hiyol nicte. Cux hi
tun yol tunic teob = Nacxit. xuchit
tunic te v lakob: minan tun yuh kin
nob yet sahob toon. Layuchun cakin
xec: ca kin ahau lil Layix v chun
Cimil toon xan: Manan yuh kin ton
xan minan Cux olal toon = tu
xul Casat mail y lil: y sub talil:
Et lahom tulacal: Minan Nohoch
Can Minan yahau than: mi
nan ahau Can ti lay vhel ahau
uoob ti v liob lae: huc cepah
kinil: Cutalel u menta bal
ti telae: tumen ɔulob: Catun
tu patahob: yal v mehenob
Vay tan cah lae Laytun kami
cob v Num yail ob = Vch ci
v chi bil Lay ɔulob lae hebin
ah y haobe ox ten hij bin v
chi cob ɔulob: Lay tun tumen
ox kal haab yan toon: tuluk
si cob Ca patan: tumen uch ci
v chibilob: tumen lay vin cob

1348

ah yzaob lae: Matoon t mentei: 12
toon botic hele lae: heuac consier
toyanil yanuxul Cayanac hun o 12
olal ton y Dulob Vamac bi yanac
toon Noh Katun

Katun

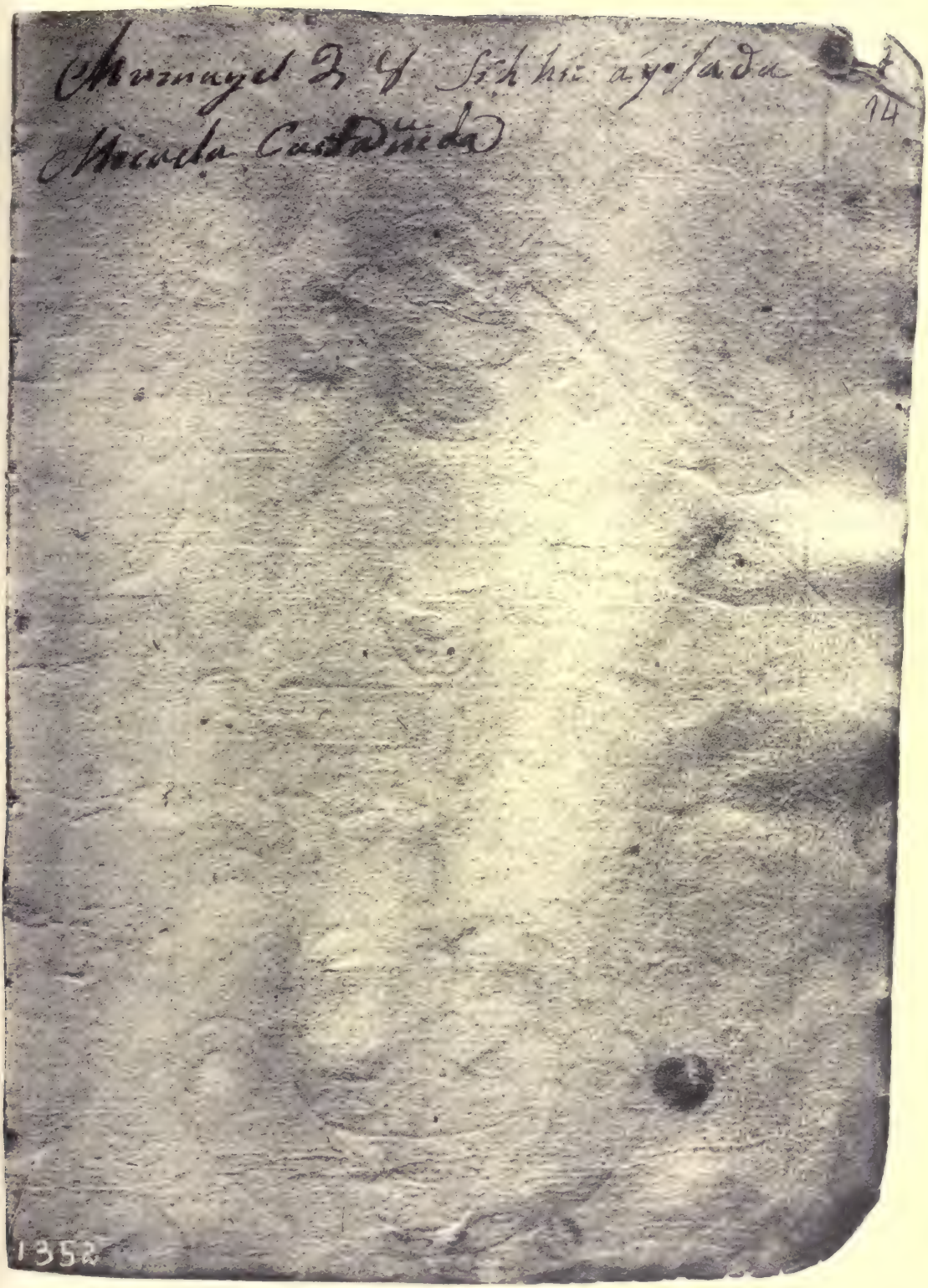
tuyaxchun bulucAhau = Do 15 = 13 a
Do Cilay lae

hopci Hooil — Do 15 — 19 a
S.n Fran.co Eglayci: S.n tigo
ti hoo — Do 15 — 19
Eglahci Chumuc Cahoo
yglesia mayor tuhabil — Do 15 — 40
:V: ychil haab dose — 12
V zol Kin ychil hunpel hab Do 365
V zolan akab hunpel hab: Do 365
V zolan semana ychil
hunpel haab — Do 52
Catac hunpel Kin
V zolan Domingo: ychil
hunpel haab — Do 53
V zolan Kin ychil vac pel: V: tuyax
Chun — Do 181

V holan kin ychil vacpel. V.
tu ca ɔic: tutulistal hunpel. hab. do. 184
heyx kin cu xocic semana
lae. Vucpel kin ychil hunpel se
mana = V. Cuen tail lay xoclae —

1350

poop= 16=Julio
yaax=12: henero
v kin hoch. vh=
Voo= 5=Agosto
Sac: 1. Febrero
licil uiolan
cal çacob
Sip=25=Agos
to
Ceeh 21
Febrero
çoy=14 sep
tiem bre
mac: 13 marzo
licil yalan
aac
çec=4: octubre
Abril
xul: 24: octu
bre — tilic ya
lancal: Cayi
Mucan: 22 abril
li cumum tal
nak v caanil
yeyax kin: 13
Nob.e = ticuua
yal nali
paax: 12 ma
yo:
mol=3=Diziem
bre=
Kayab: 1:
Junio
Cteen 23
Dizi em
bre
Cum ku: 21 Ju
nio
yab hopel
kin


14
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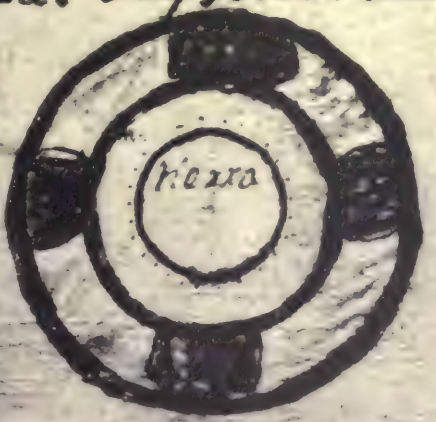
Vchun Luum Campech. upucçikal Luum. mani
Calkini
ychcaançihoo
Vpolpetan.
Cumkal.
Naumpech
Içacnicte
cheençosil
mutul
mal.
Kinçaçal
çaquij
xa
ah Kin
chable
ah Kok
bak tix
Kokob

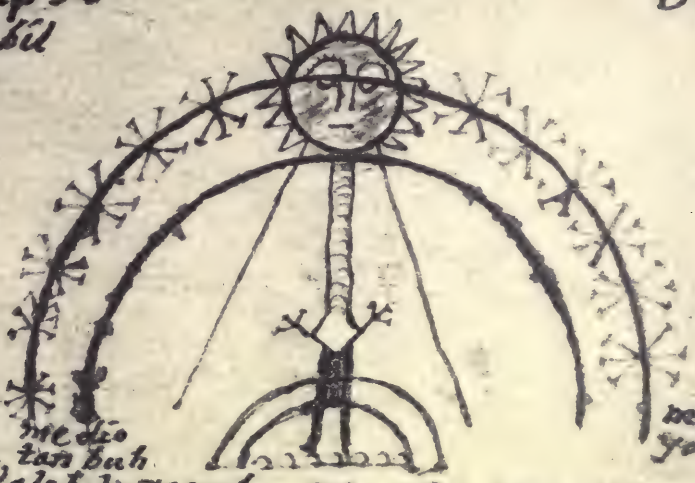
7

Hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin tabulucpis Junio e:
Vchau cil Kin: hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin lu yax
lahunpis Septiembre: hach lah cet lay Kin
y Akab hecabin Kuchu lay Kin la tu lah ca
pis Diziembre: chiu chan Kin lom akab
hecabin Kuchuc lay Kin la tu lahunpis
março lah [illegible] Kin y akab ——
halay V Petel yan Chumuca: Sasac
Vnu Cul Li cil v binel. Vximbal Kin=
tu capelil v Copol lay ye ye Kilo —
lay ynu [illegible] lay u uich Kino —
tu binel yo Kol lay Vno hol. ye ye Ki
lo: tu ye mel tu chin chanil. v Copol ye
ye Kilo. Lay i lie lah cet tan u binel
y lay u ximbal. Vay Yo Kal Cab Li li
xane: ti luum. bayix v chacaan pa
hal tuyu Kul Petenxan: Vxim
bal Kin ha hal noh Cuchaic Vxim
balte: O Cebal ti tunoh O xo: V
Chil yo Kol cab v Kah Lail Kin=
o hel tabal Vay Yo Kol cab lae



Eclipse
Vchibil

Dre Sol
Kin



medio
tan buh

mundo
yokolcah

tixiblalob tuxaxab yanlay hun buha: ucuin bail
machibil: ucah ki ni: hetun yanchumuco: lay
Cuchi bil: nuptan ba ucah y. V. tuchibil. xim
bal ucah payan be. timaili chi bic
ucah uxim bal tixaman: nohoch: kuchul
pelili tun: vchibilob Kin y: V: timaili ka
chuc chum kine: Vnucul utial yohel tic
mayauinicob bal cuyachul ti Kin: y ti
:V: lae

Vchibil: V:
machibil V
Cahi: cah
hamych
tal ucah
:V: y Kin
tuhel
peten

Vchibil
Kin: ma
chibil V
cahi:
Caham
ych tal
ucah
Kin y
:V: tu
hel pe
ten

B

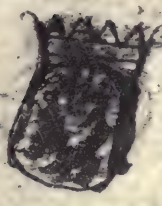
D

Chicul
tumen
D.s licil

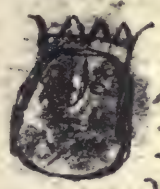
V lah cet
hal

hecuac machibil. Vcahi

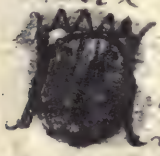
9: Suyuaa than, y Naat. Vtial Cayum S.r Gov
Maris cal, lay uchic ucah tal, huc ua xim lae
tulakin, ych Caan Çihoo, tiyan luum vchic
vyantalv pakali y v solar, u chic ucahtal
lae; Binix kuchuc tu kin uholol v bel
xan, talel uthan, vhalach vinic cil, chac
vthan Cabin uluc, Chac Cix ubuc xan



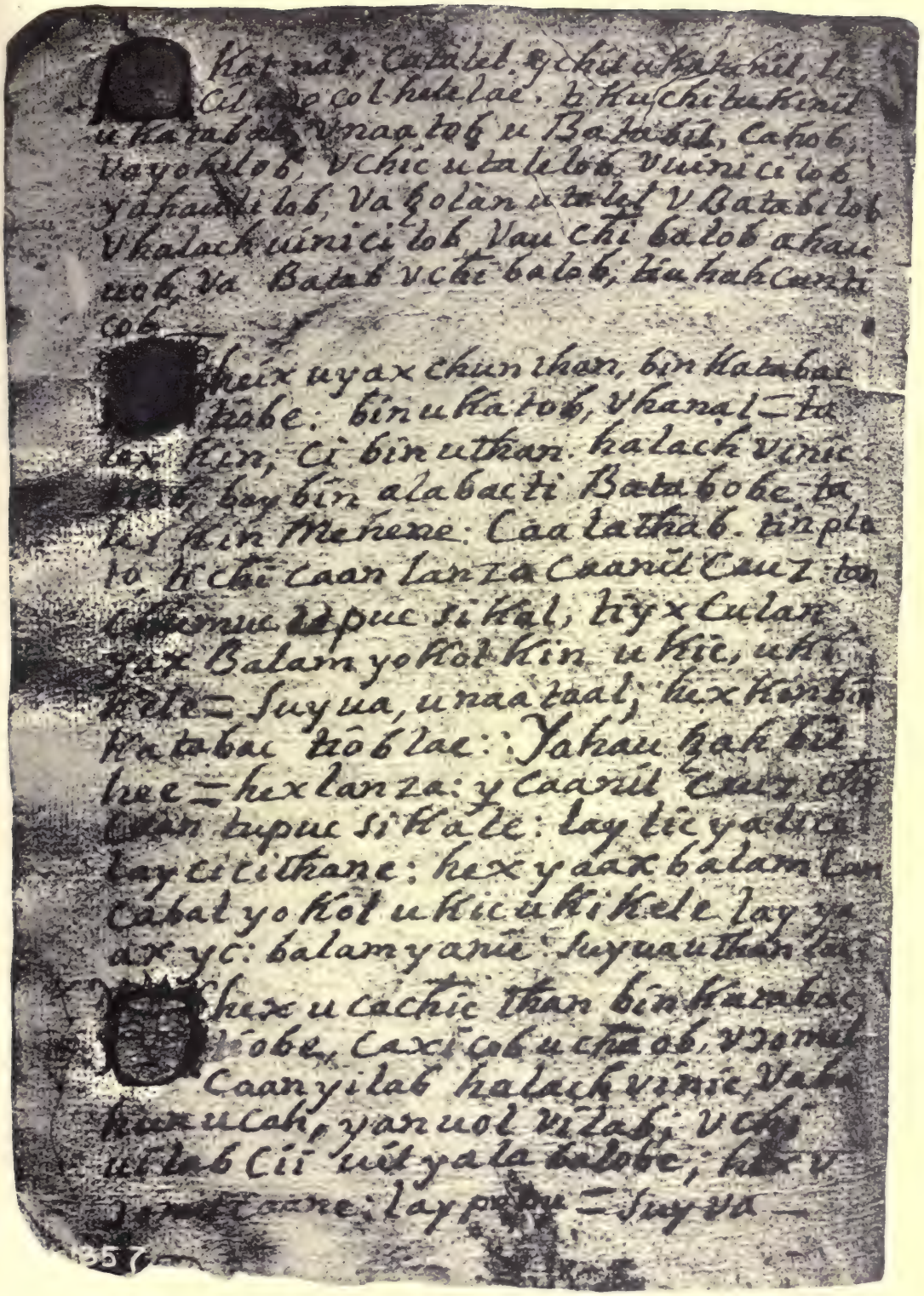
Hele ac, tu suyua than, lay binu
than, lay binu kat, vhalach ui
nicil; cah lae, cabin kuchuc tu kin
vɔo col uthan, ah ox ahau katun
Cabin Culac uyanal katun; ah hun a
hau katun. Bay alanil lae



hex katun helelae, ox ahau katun
ɔocix ukuchul tukinil, uɔocol
yahau lil, y vtepal: halilibe ma
hanix vyanal



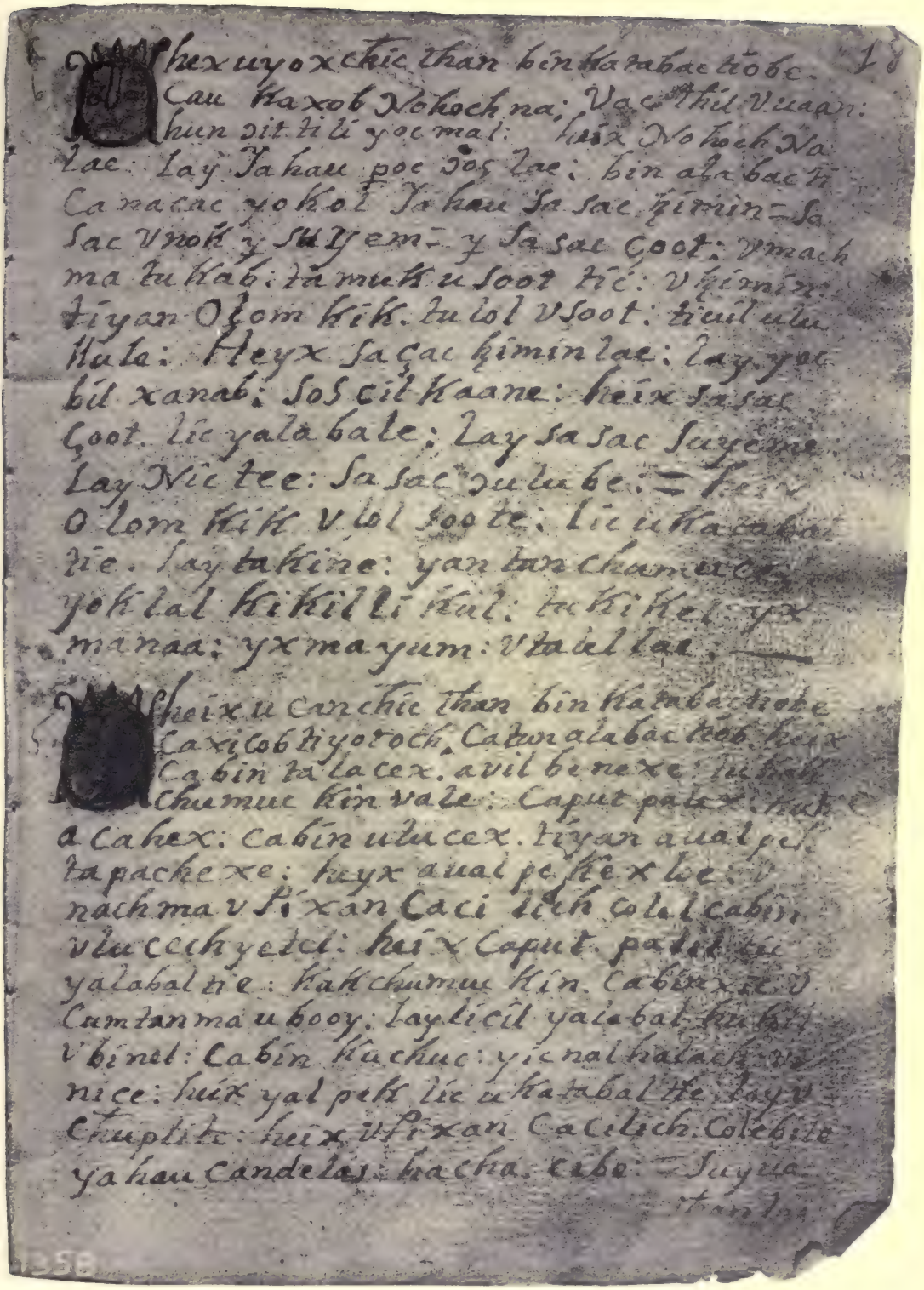
hex hun ahau katun, Culan ychil
yoloch ah ox ahau katun lae
yulate, tanuɔabal uchaan, tumenel
ah ox ahau katun lae: Sub ʒil, bin
bin balob, tucahalob



Kat naa. Catalel. ychil ukatanil, li
cil uzo col helelae. ti ku chi tu kinil
u katabal, vnaa tob u Batabil, Cahob,
Vayohelob, vchic utalelob, vuinicilob
yahaulilob, Vazolan utalel v Batabilob
Vhalach uinicilob, Vau chi balob ahau
uob, Va Batab vchi balob, tiu hah cunti
cob

Cheix uyax chun than, bin katabac
tiobe: bin ukatob, vhanal = ta
lex kin, ci bin uthan. halach vinic
tiob, bay bin alabacti Batabobe ta
les kin Mehene: Caa lathab. tin pla
to, ti chi caan lanza caanil Cruz: tan
chumuc tupuc sikal, tiyx culan
yax Balam yokol kin ukic, uki
kele = Suyua, unaa taal; hex kin bin
katabac tiob lae: Yahau zah bil
hee = hex lanza: y caanil Cruz chi
caan tupuc sikale: lay lic yalice
lay cicithane: hex yaax balam can
cabal yokol ukic ukikele lay ya
ax yc: balam yanie: Suyua uthan lae

Chex u cachic than bin katabac
tiobe, caxi cob u chaob, vzomel
Caan yilab halach vinic, Vaba
hun ucah, yan uol vilab; vchi
uilab cii uit yala balobe; hex v
zomel caane: lay popu = Suyva —



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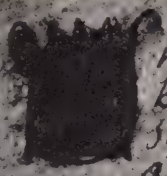
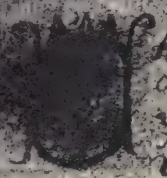
6 Hex uyoxchic than bin katabac tiobe.
Cau kaxob Nohoch na; Vac thil Vuaan:
hun ɔit tili yoc mal: heix Nohoch Na
lae: lay Jahau poc ɔoc lae: bin alabac ti
Canacac yokol Jahau Sasac ḳimin = Sa
sac Vnok y suyem = y Sasac Çoot: Vmach
ma tukab: tamuk u soot tic: Vḳimin:
tiyan Olom kik. tulol Vsoot: tiuil ulu
kula: Heyx saçac ḳimin lae: lay yoc
bil xanab: Sos cil kaane: heix sasac
Çoot. lic yalabale; Lay sasac suyeme:
Lay Nic tee: Sasac ɔulube: = heix
Olom kik Vlol soote: lic ukatabal
tie. lay takine: yan tan chamuc
yoklal kikilli kul: tukikel: yx
manaa: yxmayum: Vtalel lae.

5 Heix u canchic than bin katabac tiobe
Caxicob tiyotoch. Catun alabac tiob. heix
Cabin talacex. avil benexe: tukak
chumuc kin vale: Caput palex: kak
a cahex: cabin ulucex. tiyan aual pek
tapachexe: heyx aual pekex loe: V
nachma v Pixan Caci lich colel cabin
vlucech yetel: heix Caput. palil lic
yalabal tie: kakchumuc kin. Cabin xic V
Cumtanma u booy: laylicil yalabal kukil
Vbinel: Cabin kuchuc: yicnal halach vi
nice: heix yal pek lic ukatabal tie. lay V
Chuplite: heix vPixan Cacilich. Colebile
yahau Candelas: hacha. cibe = Suyua
than lae



heix vhochic than, bin katabac tiobe
binalabac tiob, caxicob vchaob vpuc
4 sikal ku: cit bil: ti caan: heix cabin
atales tene oxlahun yal: vtas: tij te
0 pan upachty çac poz: heix lay vpuc sikal ku
cit bil: lic yala bal tiob lae: lay kane: heix
vtas: lay oxlahun yal: lic yala bale: lay
yahau: vahe: ox lahunyal: buul yan y chi
le: heix sasac poze: lay sasac noke: lay
bin katabac tiob = vnaatul: suyua



heix vuac chic than bin katabac ti
obe: v binel vchaob vkabchoo =
y oxbal hax = y cuxul ak: lay bin
vciil te. yn hanal samal: yanuol
yn hantante: mayuil lob ukuxul: v
chunchoe = cij ya la balob = heix v
chunchoe: lay chope: heix ox balha
xe: lay une huhe: heix cuxul ake
lay v chochel kekene: heix vchun
choe: vchun une chop: suyuathan

2 heix vuuc chic than bin katabac
tiobe = binalabac tiob xenmol
ten umac yit ɔonot: capel sasa
ci: capel kankani = yanuol yn
hante: heix umac yit ɔonot: lic u
katabal tiobe: lay sasac chi came: ca
pel kankani: = vnatul: vchuc =
vchucul v batabil cah: capul tutan
ahau = yaxhalach vinic lae

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He thanob lae. Vamatan v. Na tabal tumen
v Bata bil Cahobe: Okom mol ʒil: ek
taplay hom akab, cha kax than ʒil yotoch
Okom mol ʒil hom Okom bul Cum. tan chu
muc tancab, yicnal ah almehenilob
ah Cimil; mau naa ticob; ah Cux tal bin
unaa tab; lay bin yanac yokol v Bata
bil Cahob, lay yet pisan v hoch bilan
ohel tabal yail bin ɔoc cebal ahau
lil lae ═ lay kaxan v kab tutan
y yuma: che: chapayan v Sumil bin
sabal v cah, yicnal ahau, yax ha
lach uinic; lay v ɔoc Bata bil, lay
bin yanac, yokol v Cokin, v Coka
tun; bin yu bob ya Cabin ɔococ, v bat
lob, v Bata bil Cahob; lay bin yanac
tukin lae; hij ɔe bal u than katun
Cabin ɔococ ah ox. ahau katun
Chu Com u ~~Bata~~ bil cahob. tumen
minanil. v Naa tob lae ~~~~

Bay bin uch Cu
chucul. V Bara
bil cah lae —
Kah lay vchebal
vɔai cob Vhanal
yax ɔtalach
Vinicob. Cabin
Vkatob vhanalob
hi Chom vCalob
xotom Vniya
Kob — Colom v
uichob — tuki
nil = lay bin ɔo
ce bal lae:
hex chi ba le =
tiix Vhoksic
Vba tutan V
yum, ti Caclampix vche bal yo hel tabal. ya
nil vCux ala lob, tiyx vKubul: Vpoop: y vɔam:
tiobxani: lay yet pi san: yi la bal. v hoch bilan
Cio ʒil yilabal v chi bal, halach Vinic tilu
um Vaye = Lay bin Cux lac tu Kinil, layix
bin Kamic. yax Bara xan; Bay tun bin
heɔ luum nah bal v chi bal Maya Vinicob
Vay tu Cahal yucatan tu ca sut lae —
Dios Paybe. ɔocebal Vay Jo Kol Cab lae
Lay u hahil ahau bin tac v Kat toon. Lay
Catepalilob. Lay Ca Kulob lae =
tunob; Kanob = Jetel bin Katic pakal =
Cis: bal Che = hemac minan tie: Cimsabil =
hemax bin ʒicice: Diosil vcah tuthan
a Maiuil yol tic D.s yuchul tulacal
bal ɔibanob lae —

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Bayxan. heixalma
henob. V chibal Ba
tabob: yohelma bix
talicob. V uinicilob.
y yahaulilob. V te
palob. Ciokil: yi
labal, V Cuxolalob.
V mek tanma V ki
Cil teilob. binix
Cicikubuc: V pop
tiob y V ɔam: tiob
tumenel Cayum
yax halach vinic
lay u pop y V ɔam bax
tabi. muc luum ta
bi. V uich popok
chek tabi tuuich
luum bibil ya
bi. tuchochopay V
Cokin. V Co katun
yalx buyuk yalco
V mehen kas: ah Cakin pop: ah Cakin ɔam V ma
xil: Ahaulil: V maax katun: lay ximbalna
hob: y chil. ah ox ahau katun: hethan bolon buth:
y chil V puc cikal = V chibal almehenob: ahaulil
vinicob: lici tacyalabal ti: V binel V chab V Bata
bil Cahobe: Caxic V chab
Mehene xencha: V lol akabten Vaye: Cij vil
yalabal = Catun xic ti Caclampix: tutanha
lach vinic = katic tie =
Yume heyx V lol: akab = lic akatic tene
Vet talic = y V kazakabe = tij yan vicnale
Cij V than Balamehene: vatiyanavic
nale

vicnale =
tiuayan: yax ix ɔoy: ta pache: y Noh Copoe:
yume tiyan uicnale: vet vlic:
Balamehene = vaa vet ulice: xen pay a lakob ten:
Lay hun tul Noh xibe = Bolon tul v me hene = y
huntul yx Nuc = Bolon tul yale: yume cij
vthan Cabin unucub - Vet vlic: Vayan tinpa
che = payan be: vtalob ten Cat v len ynuilech =
Balamehene vauayan tapache - Xen molob
ten: v tunichil: cha kan: yetelob: catacech = v
lot maob tuʒem: Cutalel = Vahalach vinic
cechibe = vatech vchi bal ahau Vay ti luumbe
huy vathan —
Heyx vlol akab lic ukatabal tie: Ck: ti
Caan: hex ukaʒ akabe: lay: ve: hex yax
ix ɔoye: y noh Copoe: lay ah Cuch Cabe: Ot
lom cabal vkabae: hex hun tul noh xib lic
vkatabal tie lay bolon tul v mehene: lay v
Naa yocce: heix hun tul: yx nuc: lic ukata
bal tie: lay unaa vkabe: hex u tun chil cha
kan: lic u katabal tie: y vlot ma u me he -
Lay: v be chee:
Bay xan Mehene: Cex ayax haan alabitech
ma alan apac te. vuiche: Vayan tinpache: yume
Bala me hene. xen chaten yibnel Caan vaye
tiatalel ti lakin Cabin taceche: Cuch pach
vtaltech: = Cay baac be yume: Cij uthan =
Hex uyax haan: tiyan tupach: Cati kuchie =
Lay upach Caae: hex uyibnel Caane: lic uka
tabal tie: lay pat bil pome: Oxlahunual upatal =
heix licil yala bal tie Cuch pachil vtalel tie =
teyan uboy tupache: ʒelep kin Cochom: =
Mehene - halach vinicech - ah tepale chixan
Xen tun chaten ayax Cuentexe, licilapa
chie —

yal chie: hex uyax Cuentexe = lic vkatabaltic 21
Lay kane: Catun katabac titun vabahun kin
Cupayalchi: yume Cuthan
tuhuntekin cinpayalchij: y tulahun kincin
payalchij:
Balx kinil licil anac sic apayalchij: —
Yume tubolon kin: y tuyox lahun kin: Bolon
ti ku: y ox lahun ticit bil: lay licilyn xocic
yn Cuentex = loe:
Mehene xenchaten: avexynuui vbooc vaye
ynach vboocce: vbooc yn vexe: vbooc ynnoke
vbooc yn yub ake: paynum u boc tu ɔu caane
y tu ɔu muyalle: y yn yax pakab chee
yan ti çac hothe: vahalach vinicechibe
yume bin yn tales- Cij vthan
Hex uboc yex lic u katice: lay paynum
vbooc tu ɔu caane: Lay pome thabbil =
elil vcah: hex yax pakab chi: lic v
katice: lay mux bil cacau = ch c vaae
Balamehene xentales ten vyax kikel
yn uix mehene: y vpole: y vhom tanile:
y vchac bacele: y vkabe: y lay valah
ama cab ti su huy cate: y vyax kan
chee = vix mehene: Etesten yanuol vi
lab = Vch yn ɔab tech = li ciuil yacal
tin tane: liciuil vvakal vokole:
Cay bacac be yume: yet tal vɔiic: vxi
cin ahbol: cabeh: yetel: Catunxictun =
Hex vyax kikel yix mehen lic vka
tic loe: = lay maya cije = hex uhom
tanil

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tanil yix mehene: Lay vho bonil cabe: hex
vpol yix mehene: lay Suhuy Cate: ɔam lic Cije=
heyx uyax Kan che yix mehene: Lay u Cocoh tun
Cabe: hex u ɔic u xi cin ah bo le= Lay u
Sulil cije: hex u bacel yix mehene: lay
v holil bal chee= hex u chac bacel lic
ya lice= lay u cheel bal chee= hex v Kab
yix mehene= lay u Kab bal chee= heyx
li cil ya lic yo Kole= Cal hal u than=
Cæ tun xic v ɔab ti= ten Culu ba=chu
v than= tes Cun u than Cabin Kuchuc-
Yume helay a uix mehena= a ɔah yn Canan
te: lic aua lic Cech yume= Cech ah tepale=
Cij tun u than v mehen tie: ——
Bee: Mehene: Vet halach vinicile= Vet
ah tepalile: Ka haan baca tech= a vo
hel baca: Cij u than= lay tun v Ki Kel vix
mehen lic yn Katictech lae: Ox la hun
Num tun: v Manel v Ki Kel yix mehen=
V tan tun= yo Kol yix mehen: ti Che lic tu tan
Ca bal= hijj:= Ci tun yo Kol= tamuk
yi lic= ti chin lic= tamuk v than= Bee
Mehene= Cij tun u than: tamuk yo Kol
halach vinice che= Bee Mehene ah te
pale chi xan= Bee Vet halach vinicile:
Bin tun yn Kub a pop: y a ɔam= y aua
hau lil Cech Mehene= a tial tepal= a tial ix
a hau lil xan: Cech Mehene ——
Bay tun bin ɔocebal v thanal v Batabil
Cahob= Cabin lu Kuc cob. yic nal yax
halach

halach vinic: te tupol petene: Catunxicob
ti yotoch: tij tunyan ti yotochob: tanuɔaic
vhanalob halach vinic tanix vkatic
vhanal tiob xan bay binebal vʒolic lae =

Mehene Caa tales ten Can cot chac ɔi ɔib: yan
tuhol: ac tune: tin vatal yo kol ynyax
pakab chi = chac niceni uil: valic vput =
yokol: ynyax pakab chie: Cabin kuchuc
tintane: Cay bacacbe yume —
Heix lic vkatice lay civie: hex vput lic
yatice: lay yom chuc vuae = hex uyax
pakab chie = Cacau ɔocan vhuchul = Suyva =

Mehene Caa tales ten vchichil akab = yv
hochil akab = yet tal vɔomel Caan = hach
yanuol vilab vaye = Cay bacac yume =
Hex lic ukatice lay ho yobe = licil vto
Cabal pome = hex vho chil akab lic v
katice = lay kane = hex vɔomel caane =
lay pome: Suyuathan —

Mehene Caa tales ten vbacel ayum: lay amu
Cah oxpel hab hie = hach yanuol vilab =
Cay bacac yume = Hex lic ukatice:
lay ɔijne = pib bil: Caxic ɔa bil tihalach vi
nic. —

Mehene Caa tales ten hun tul Noh xib =
lay ma kalan: vbotonil = vhabone = homto =
chac vkabae = Cay bacac be yume =
Hex lic vkatice = lay Ibache = yx veche =

Mehene Caa tales ten Ox buh Caan yanvol
ynhantante: Cay bacac be yume —

Hex lic u Katice: thohob çacae = Lay om
Çacae = Suy uathanil binKatabal talacal =

Mehene Caatalesten V Chun Cij V Cucutil Cij =
Minan uKabi = Maa luk sic yol li = yet tal
ox thothol: yoc ʒi ʒil = Cay bacacyume
Heix lic vKatice: Vpol Ke Ken: pib bil: cabin
xic ɔabil tie: hex yol lic yalice: lay yake
tumen heyak bale: Vyol = Suy va =

Mehene Caatalesten V Cosil akab = Ynhantante:
Cay bacacyume = heix lic vKatice: pollos = ahthal
Suy va

Mehene Caaualti: yax yx ɔoi = Otlom Cabal v
Kabae: Cautalesten hun xu xac: pi chum =
tiu chu cut yalan Noh Copoe: ti banan tuboy
Copoe = Cay bacacyume: = hex lic vKatice +
eek buul = ʒiyan ti yotoch. ah Cuch Cabe =
Lay yax ɔoye: y otlom cabale: lic yalice = Suy =

Mehene. Caxic Chuc bil v Balamil ac tun: ta
menel: V Ciil te: ynhanal: yanuol ynhantan
te: Balam = Cay bacac beyume: hex Balam
Lic vKatice: lay ha leuue = Suyuathan =

Mehene Caatalesten: Vuc yal vpix: yx mayum:
yanuol ynhantante. tukiniuil = vhantabale:
Cay bacacyume = hex lic vKatice: lay ɔotob
Chaye:

Mehene Caatalesten yax ʒubla lob Vaye =
Catacob ti Okot ynchaante: yet talob vpax y
Çoot = y vual = y vKabupax = lay ynpakob =
Cay bacacyume: hex lic vKatice = Ah ʒo =
hex upaxe: vKoo: hex u Çoote: Vpol: hex
u Vale = vne = hex uKab u paxe = vchac
bacel = Suy vathan =

Mehene Caatalesten. V Caʒ peten: yanuol yn
han

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hantante: Cay bacacyume = hex lic v Katice =
v Kabil Cab — Suyva —

Mehene Caatalesten: u tun chil Chuh cab = lay
elele = yet talel yalili = v Che bal yn tupic =
Vayix v xi Cil tin tane = hex lic u Katice: pibil
ma Cal = hex yalile = v tial u tupice: lay u Kabil
Cabe = Suyvathan —

Mehene Caatalesten: a Kab Co Cay = lay hun xa
man = hun chi Kin = u man u booc = yet ta
v lez ak Balam = Cay bacacyume = Hex lic
v Katice = Chamal = hex ulez ak Balam
lic u Katice = lay Kake =

Mehene Caatalesten - a vix mehen: yn vilab - lay
hach: Cac ha ɔen u uiche: hach Cich pame =
Ça Çac u booch = y v Kaxi = hach yan uol ti: Cay
bacacyume = hex lic u Katice = Sac luch = y
hune: Ça cae = Suyua —

Mehene Caatalesten Sabel v Kabae = lay sa
mac nac u booce = Cay bacacbeyame = hex lic
v Katice: lay Mi lone =

Mehene Caatalesten yax yx lochen cal = yayax
v pach = yan uol yn han tan te = Cay bacacyume =
hex lic u Katice = v Cal ah zoo = Suyua —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul Chuplal: hach
Çac Vouol: v pul yoc = Vay yn si lic: v pic tu
pul yoce = Cay bacacbeyume = hex lic v Katice:
Chi Cam = hex v si lic v pice = v ɔi lic = v pach —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul Chuplal: hach cich
pam = hach Çac u uich = hach yan uol tij = Vay
yn pulic: v pic: y yipil = tin tane = Cay ba
cacbeyume = hex lic v Katice: hun Cot: yx
tux Vlum = Vhan tan te = hex v pulic v pi ce

y yipile = Layutho col: v Kuk mele: Catun Kak
tabac v tial hantal = Suy vathan —

Mehene Caatalesten hun tul ah Canan col: Noh
xib vaye = yanuol vi lab = vuich = Cay bacacbe
yume = hex licu Katice: v Cu Cu tilma Cal = v
han tante = Janat =

Mehene Caatalesten yx Canan Col = yx Nuc =
ek tun lah = vuini Cile = Vuc nab vtan
yitte = yan uol vilab = hex licu Katice =
Lay vyax ych Jole: Suyuathan bin Kuchuc
v Kin

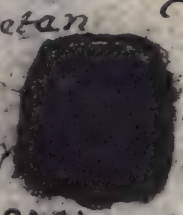
Hele ti Kin tupochek tah — Cayum yax
halach Vinic lae = Licitac yulel Vay ti
luum = tulu mil = yu cal peten lae = Cupa
yic Batabob = Cabin tac Batabob = Payal
v Cahob tumen Cayum halach vinic = tex
va Batabe = toni beyume = Ciuil vthanob lae:

Mehenexe Vatex halach vinic Vay ti luum lac
Ciuil yata baloblae = Xenex cha xiknal: Ba
lam Catacex a Jabex yn han te: Cicij: Ja
ex yuob = Cicij: Jaex. v pu toob: Catacex
a Jaex yn han te: y xenex tac tusebal =
hach heley tac atalexe = Mehenexe =
hach yan yanuol yn han te: Cex Mehenexe
Cexhalach Vini cexe = heob xmayohele:
Ozil hom. v tu cul: y vpacat. Be mabal
bin yalab = heyx yohelobe = Cilmac yol Ca
bin xic u chab Xiknal Balam: Catun
tac yetel = techua Mehene = teni beyume =
techua chibale = Mehene: teni beyume = cex
alakobe = Mehene = Yume tiyanob ti Kaxe =
v xachetob Balame = Minan Balam tu
than

thanob Catun v manes tutan = hex lic v katice lay
Balame = v ʒimin ah Batabil = v kat v hante =
lay ʒembil ʒimine = hex yue: lay cas cabelese =
hex v pu te = lay chachac kuche = Cici ɔabil y
v Silla: y v freno = Suyuathan —

Tihach kabet - v bel yoc sabal ti: ol: lay utunil =
tupatah Cayum Cit bil = lay u kam chi lay
baal che: licil Ca ʒicic; vay Con ah tepallin
cob = hach pay ben ʒil u kul tabalob = hahilob
kuob = laobi = tunob: Cum lahic hahal ku =
Cayumil ti Dios = v yumil Caan y luum: hahal
ku: Bacacix = yax kuobe = hauay kuob = ɔoc
v than v kul tabalob: kaʒ pahiob tumen v ben
dision: v yumil Caan = Caɔoci: v lohol balcah = ca
ɔoci. v caput Cuxtal hahal ku hahal Dso Cauci
Ci than tah caan y luum = ti kas pahi akul maya
vini cexe: xeth auol ta kulex lae. v kah lay
Cab tukinil = lay tumen ɔiban lae = tumen ma
kuchuc tukin v me yah lay hunob lae pi cil thanob
lae: v tial katabal v chi maya vini cob. vay
yohelob bix sihanilob eɔ lic cab vay ti petenlae

tipetan



Y chil Buluc. ahau, tij Cahoki ah
mucen cab; kaxic uuichob. Ox lahun
ti ku; mayx yohel tahobi: v kaba halili:
v cic: y v mehenobe: yalahob; timaix chacan
hij v uich ti obxan; tuchi yx caɔoci yahal cabe:
mayx yohel tahob. binil v lebal: Cayx chuci Ox la
hun ti ku: tumenel Bolon ti ku; tij Caemi
kak: Caemi tab. Caemi tunich y che: Cata
li v baxal che: y tunich: Caix chuci Ox la
hun

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hun ti ku: y caix paxi v pol: caix lahi v uich-
caix tu ba bi: caix cuch pach hi xan: caix colabi
v cangel: y vhol sabac: cacha bi y x ku ki l:
y x yaxun: y cachabi y b ne l pu yem viil.
y v puc cikal puyem çi cil: y puyem top y
puyem buul: v tepah ynah: yax bolon dacab:
Ca bini tuyox lahun tas caan: Cayx tun culhij
v ma dil: y vni u bac lili: Vay yo kol cabe: Ca
tun bin upuc çi kal tumenel Ox lahun ti ku:
naix yol tahob bin ci v puc çi kol viil lae: Caix
hul la hi y x mayu mo b: y ah Num yaob: y x
ma y chamob: Cuxanobix timinan upuc çi ka
lob: Cayx muc chahij: tumen: vyam çuc tuyam
kak nab: hun vaj hail: hulom haa il: tij:
Cau chi col cangelili: ti homo c nac canal:
homo c na cix ti cab: Valic can tul ti ku:
Can tul ti ba cab: lay haye çob: tu chij:
tun ca doci hay cabil = lay cah cunah = v che
balcabolic han xib yui: Caual hi çacy mix
che: ti xaman: Cayx ual hi yo c mal caan.
v chi cul hay ca bal: lay çac y mix che:
Valic Cuchic Cayx Valhi ek y mix che: Cu
ek tan pi d oy = Cayx ual hij: Han y mix
che: v chi cul hay cabal: Culic han tan pi
doy: Cum li cix han xib yui: yx han oyal
mut: Caix ual hij: yax y mix che: tu chu
muc v kak lay hay cabil = Culic: Va bal: Cum
tal v cah: v lac: canah ual Ka tun: ah pay kab
ah pai oc: tuyum: Cum tal v cah chac pil
tec = tu la kin cab: ah pay oc tuyum: Cum
tal u cah: çac pil te tu xaman cab: ah

pai

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pay Oc tuyum = Cum tal u cah lahun chan: ah pay
kab. tuyum: ~~hex u uol cab valic~~ Cum tal v cah
kan pil tee: ah pay kab tuyum: hex v uol cab
Valic ah Vuc chek nale: tali tuuuc tas cab:
Ca emi v chekeb te: v pach: y ʒam kab a in=
tij ca emi tumuk v xuk luum: caan: xim
bal v cahob. tu can cib: tu cantaʒ: ti ek: ma sa
sil cab: tihun minan kin: tihun minan akab
ti hun minan: V: ah ubahob ti yx tan v ya
hal cab = Catun ahi cab: ✠ Valacito: ya
hal cab: Oxlahum pic ɔac tuuuc v xo can
yahal cab: Catun ah cab. tiob: Ciuba: Ca
kin ɔam: Ox kin ɔam: Cayx hopi yokol
Ox lahun ti ku: Okol u cahob ti yahaulil:
Chacab tun tepal: chac hix pop: chac a can
v yax chel cab: chacan v num teil cab. tu
merelob: Vuc yol çip: maix tu kin v tepal:
lay lic yok ti cob: bolon ti ku lae: tij catali
v ʒolol pop: chac cix pop. Culic bolon ti ku: ɔut
pol bilix yit. ti Culic tu pop: ti caemi çiɔ
tali tan yol caan = lay u çi ɔil tepal: V çi ɔil
ahaulil = Caix Cum la hij chac eɔ: Ca Cum
la hi çac ye ɔe bil ahaulil: eɔ: Ca Cum la
hij: ek: eɔ. Ca Cum la hij: kan. eɔ Ca Cum
la hij. Chac tenel ahau: ah ten pop: ah ten
ɔam: Ca Cul hi: çac te mal: ah ten pop. ah
ten ɔam: Ca Cum la hij: ek tenel ahau:
ah ten pop. ah ten ɔam: Ca Cum la hij kan
tenel ahau. ah ten pop ah ten ɔam: ti
kuix tu than: ti uaix: maix kui: ti
minanix v uah. ti minanix yaal: hun
xeli: 29

Lic ualic vmul vi t ic maix tabutal vyabal:
lic uyan Cun tic: Caal: vmut ticulic: Cal Kin
Caal numya: titali: tamuk yahaulil; caku
chi: ti Culic tupop: ʔ top canal: hopan vKak:
Colop uuich: Kin: to can ticab = lay ubuuc: ti
yahaulit = lay uchun licil yok tic v tepal:
tukin = Numen: chuc: numen Celem: tukinat =
vnatal naat: ahausb = Can ualic: V chic che:
mol tu Kin: Çatay ba balili: Canua lic: vche:
ah muuc = tuho can be: tuho can heleb: O Kombul
Cum tu Kinil: Mo molij = pepen = ti tali chacmi
tannuya = lic utalel = ox Vin Keeh = vKin =
Ox ahau: Katun: Ox tuc ti hab: lay bin nu
puc: y chil Ah Ox ahau Katun: Cabin Cum
lac vyanal Katun = Ox: uuah: Ox yaal:
Cup: uuah: Cup: yaal: la Cuhan tic: la Cu
yu Kic = x batun = Chi chim chay: Cuhantic:
~~la Cuyu Kic~~ = lay Cul hi: Vay tu Cahal numyac
yume: y chil v Bolon tun = tu Kinyan:
ɔulili = Katal u Cah u Cuch Katun: tu
lah ya bil = ah ox lahun ahau = tij Ca
Cauhe Kah yoc = ah Buluc ahau = tij
Caemi u than: Bolon ɔa Cab: Vniyak =
Caemi: Katal: V Cah u Cuch Katun: Katun
Bolon te u Cuch: Caemi: ti Caanil = Kanix
u Kinil: Kax ci = V Cuch: tij Caemi haa:
tali tanyol Caan = V chebal u Caput Çihil:
Bolon haaban: yotoch: yet em Cij: Bo
lon mayel: Cha huc: u chi = Vniyak =
Chahuchi u ɔomel: ti Caemi: Cantal: chaac =
Vaya: Caat lae: lay u Cabiloh nicte: lae

tij

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tij Caho Kij: yx chac hoch Kom: ti: y yx
çac hoch Kom: ti. y yx ek hoch Kom: y yx
Kan hoch Kom: y yx haunal: y yx huknab=
yet ho Kci tun: yx hoyal nicte: y yx ho
nixte: y yx ninich: Cacau: y yx chacuil
tok: y yx bac nicte: y yx mac uil xuchite=
yx holon yol nicte= y yx laul nicte: y
Kouol: yoc tah nicte: lay hokob nicte: lao
bix ah Comayelob: lay vnaa: Nicte: Caho
Kiob: yuɔub ah Kin: yuɔub ahau: yu
ɔub hol Can: lay u Cuch Nicte. ahau=
Caemi: mina nix uyanal: lay uile: cu
than= maix uah u Cuch ma= tij tun Cahoki
yx hau lah nicte: Oc çic u Keban: Bolon
ti Ku: Ox teix tihab: Vkin Cayalah:
Cuchij: maix Kuchi chab: Na Ci: Ku: mit
nalt= Bolon ɔacab: Caemi tuchun nicte: pis limte.
yax bac: ɔununix. Vuayinah Caemi- Cauɔuɔah
vcabil= Bolon yal nicte: tu y chil tun cacha yoham
nij y x hoyal nicte: Catun ho Ki upuc çi Kal nicte:
v xim ban tey uba: Can he Kix Vlac nicte. lac=
tiyx Culan ah Kin: xoc bil tun Chumuc: tij Ca
u chi Vhu yol Ox lahun ti Ku: mayx yahel tah
yemel u Keban upop: ti Kuix tathan Cuchie
Nicteyx Vpop: nicteix Vkan che: nicteyema:
çauin Culic. çauin u xim bal çauin ulac. çauin u
luch. çauin upu çi Kal. çauin unat. çauin ulac
cal. çauin uchi. cool uthan tiyahaulili. tu Kin
uat uil: tu Kin uaat. Vkul. tuxayuchi licuha
nal tupach uxau licuuil Vchije ma chee= et
ma tunich. Chac u Cool yan ti lahun chan. Vuich
ti Culic çip uuich çip uthan çip ucan çip unaat
çip u ximbal Kaxan uuich ti Culic chac cah
vpop

vpop Cutic tamuk yahaulil tubanuyum tuban vnaa:
maix yohelma vnaa: a lin tee thaban upuc cikal
tuhunal. ychil yxmayumil ah poch yum: ychil
yxmanail bin ximbal nac Calan umut. Çatal
unaat yicnal uyum yicnal vnaa: minanti bilti.
minanuh tupuc çikal. halili yan tuni yak ɔe
ɔec loe mayohel bix bin ɔoc cebal may x yo
hel bal yan tu ɔoc yahaulili lay Cabin ɔocnac
ukinil vtepale =

Hebolon tiku lae bolon chan uich ahau uil
vinicob. ah cakin pop. ah cakin ɔam: lay tuli y
chil ox ahau katun tiyx bin yanal uyanal
vyumil peton yah cul cin nahul vthan vya
nal katun Cabin ɔococ uthan ah ox ahau ka
tun tukinil v can con mehen lay bin yanaç
yokol vnu nil ahyha, hun ua chuen hunua
Celem hun ɔit tunil vkex vkeban vnunil
ahyha. laybolon ti ku: lay bin ɔoce bal vthan
ah ox ahau katun tiyx vnatal nat yahau
lil cabobi: ɔocebal vthan katun tix vchucan
hal vchi bal al mehenobi Batabob y vyanal
ah Cux olalob. y vchi bal Batabob lay muc
chek tabi luum tuuichobe. ca mabalhiob ta
men v Cokin v Cokatun vmehen kas yalx
buyuk. lay çihob ca ahicab ychil ah oxa
hau katun bay bin ɔocebal vtepalob ah ca
pel ychob ti Cayumil ti Ds hex cabin ɔocnac
vthan katun lae Catun u ɔab Ds yuchul hun
ye Ciil tu caten lay hay cabile: lay tun Cu
ɔocole Catun emec cayumil ti jesuchris
to yokol. komil josapat. tuxax cah je

xu

xusalen v chic ulo ki coon tu cilich kikel. layix
bin emec tinoh muyal v ɔab u tohol canil hah
v mançah tiçinan ti crusche: cuchie. tij tun
yemel tinoh uchucil tinohix utepal xan
hahal Ds. lay hahal ku. tay çihes caan y luum
y yokol cab tu lacal. layx bin emec tax
cun tic yokol cab xan tuyuhil y ulob tacil
yah ɔoy sahulob ah nu nob= _____

9 Dominus vobiscum v lah ci uthanob v kail
timinan caan y luum: ~~Oxamay tungrasia~~
tij caçih tan hom lah cabil timinan caan
y luum oxamay tungrasia. vchci upat ci v
kail ahtepale: timinan caan. cuchie: ti ca
çihi vuc tetun vucpel katun chuyan tuyol
yk. vuc: tetete: cibin: capecni: vucpelix
v grasial xan: vuc tulix v san toil xan: amax
yic lo. vchci v çihil tihun tun g.a hunpicib
g.a vchci upicil akab timinan Ds. cuchie:
may to v kamab v Ds sil. cuchie. tij liyan
y chil g.a tuba tuhunal. y chil ak bil timi
nan caan y luum. cabu ki tu ɔoc katun
tima uchuc çihil tihun te katun. yanij
v tuyij: adeu: tiparamij: vchci v kuil: ca
calu kij caixxibni tu capicib tun g.a caku
chi tu capel katun: al pil con: v kaba
v angelil: çih ci= lukul tu cibah: v ca
pel g.a tu capel v picil akab. timamac ya
nac cuchie: cau kamah v kuil tuba tu hu
nal

hunal Catali vlukul = Ofir mar. Cijx vthan
Caukamah vkuil tuba tuhunal. Calukij ca
bini tuyox picib tung.a alba Congel vka yan
gelili lay vyoxpel g.a xicentucan picib tun
g.a vcanpel uil akab = atea Oke = lay uka
ba yangelili. çihil vcibah vcanpel g.a caho
pi uthanic uba tuhunal Bee kue: ahtepa
le: ma baca macen tinhunali baca: Cuthan
tubalanil. tukuil ychu g.a xicento. Ciuthan
Cabini tuhopicib tung.a tuhopicib akab.
çihil vcibah vhopel g.a tuhopel katan. Caa
ualhi uthanab ukuil Caçihi yangelili. De
çip tuukaba yangelili. Caualhi: xicenit
baca. macen vile: kuen baca: ahtepalani
baca. Caix uthan vkuil tuba tuhunal.
a Ninite Deisin: Çuthan Caukamahu
kuil tuba tuhunal. Cabini tuuac picib
tung.a tuuacpel vpisil akab tuuac te katan
kuex ahtepalexe. nucex ynthan: ma baca
macyan tihunali baca. çihil u cibah vuc
pel g.a conlamil vkaba yangelil = ten
kulu ba kutex. kaexe: nucex ynthan
ma baca macyan: mamac nucic ynthan.
Ciuil uthan tiualic: ta muk vsihçic vuc te
g.a Cilmac tiyol çihici. Vuc te ka tun: Vuc
pel çaçil Vuc pelix vpisil akab. Vuc picib
abien to. bocayento. de la çipil na de Fente
note. Sustina g.a tresemili. yno cargo-
bende yxhuntic = Catic = oxhuntic =
oxhun bacam. vkatunil = Oxuuc pic
Catiah Cab = ti D.s cit bil. tuba tuhunal

tu tunil oxamay tun g.a ahcicabti D.s cit bil
✠ vkaba vpec ʒil = vNidad. y D.s cit bil
layukaba: henabilex. vkatunilex. oxɔa
cab hun. yaban. vaan catali. vucpis ɔacabix
tu camge: cantenhiix. vyaxthan. hunɔalab
ti akab. hunɔalab ti canal. teni vchune. te
niuil bin ɔocebale. hex tun vcan muchi
vthane: datate: vayi ti kamancahe: teni
vni date. tenix vni tata. tenix vcame:
tenix. vnitata: anuni: talel vcah vNidad-
Nilu: vkaba: akab. layuyaxthan kulae
layuyaxthan cit bil lae: timaxix tun v
tunil = tu batahunal ychil ak bil lile: —
Etomas = Çipancas: vkabayk: hunkatun
vyum: otahocanil: Aucangel. vkabayk:
heronix vkabayk: xiclutatanil: vka
bayklae. vix tu tus: vkabayk. Jora
mis vkabayk: tu caɔic katun: hetun
cuthan: cat hel pah tune: jax yon lacal
pa. vmacahu kaba: vci lich caanil: va
lic cacilich yum cit bil = Bolay vkaba
vcanil: vcaɔic caan heix tu tos yoc sus
tina g.a vkaba tiyx ti vʒhi lon mias =
lom tun vtunil: ychil ak bil çihontun
vtunil eɔlic: laytunob: tuyoxtenhi: vcu
tal tuyoc sustina g.a lay tunob çihob: yan
yalan. hunuil tun: ychac ye tun: ocan
tun chac yenapal tun chac: ciob tun tu
lacal ti hunac ʒuc ti cabob yax Achau

Dios cit bil lae: hun tic katun. lay çih ci vo elil
mehen D. lae. Catic katun cit bil: ox tic katun ex
pleo: v caan: v kaba: chihe chac. opilla u kaba: valae
v caanil. en pileo: caan u kaba lae: ex pleo u kaba:
+ y hil yax le: Dios lae: he bones: v pe lil mehen D.
Nen bin. ti hec lic tu celem hal. u yum. tu tunil
yum.
Cabin x çih cah. u coo caanil caan. hek lay hun
+ Pel gaa çia hun pel tun. zihan tun. kak. tixitate=
u kaba. v çasilil caanil. sustinal bin u ço hal
u çasil caanil: ac pa u men katun. çih ci çasil
yoh caanil alpa u manga, u kaba xul ci lae.
Cangeles yk valic tamuk. u chab. tuek mu ça
cac cob minan caan y luum=
Cac pauah tun—
Cac pauah tun—
Ek pauah tun—
[illegible] pauah tun—
He yax caan valic. Dios cit bile u mach
[illegible] tunil: v machma u cangel: v mach
ma u kabalil. [illegible] tichuyan tu cangeles yk
cerpinus u kaba. [illegible] tun ya lane= O kele=
v pis luum: Ox tul per sona ob; lay Dios
cit bil, Dios mehen bil, Dios espiritu sancto,
Valic planetas; Santurnio, Jupiter, Marte,
Venus, lic ya lic u machma kui, caanil
v chie, u chab- heu kaba caane: Christa
lino. he [illegible] lae. [illegible] u kaba [illegible]
u lachma

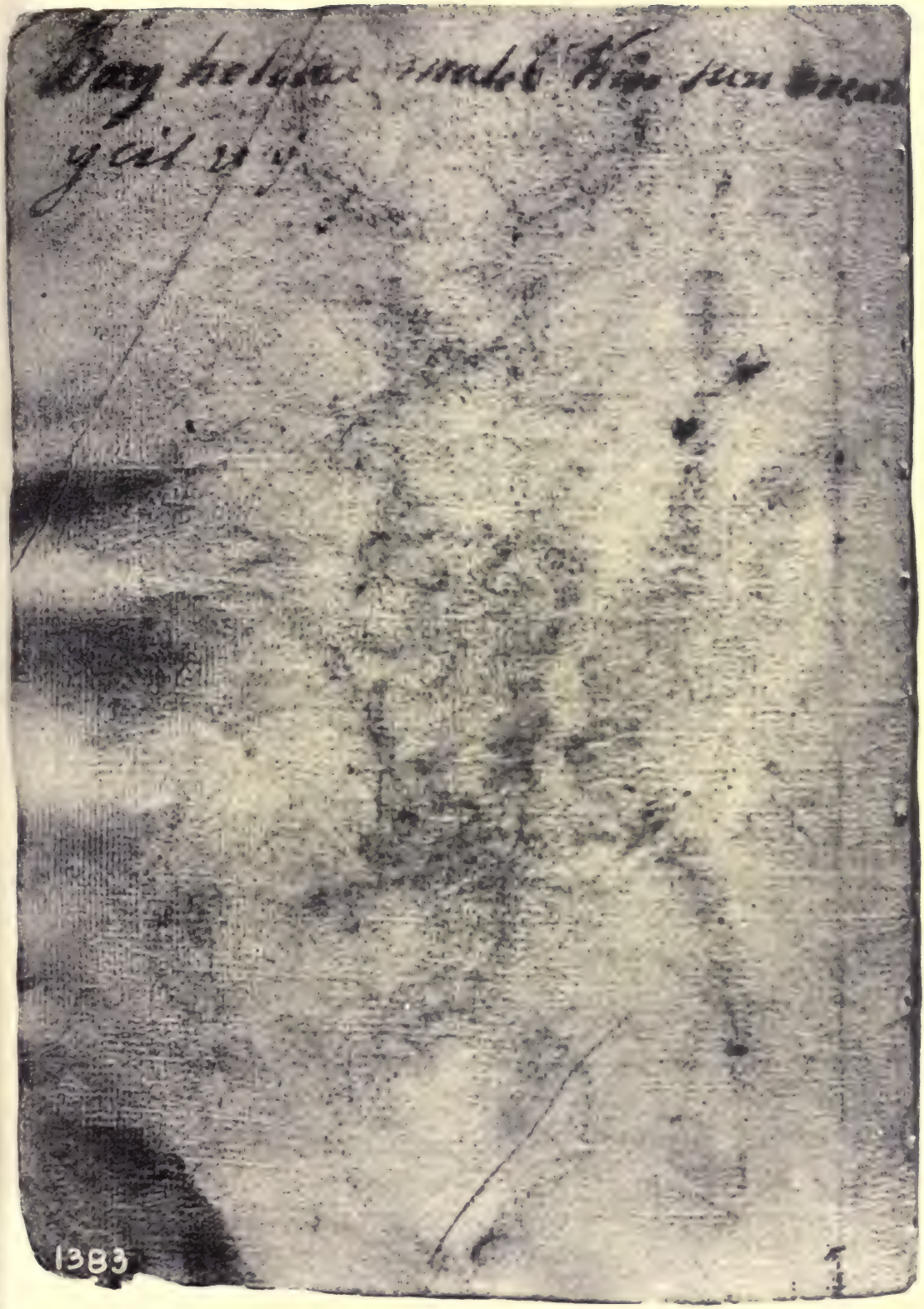
Vlathma uCicithan bilil yum bil. ti minan caan
y luum: inpic co uKaba uchic u tzi tzatabal
Angelesob: tulacal: Baloyo uKaba:
Cacauecan Seros: uKaba: et sepeuas —
laus Deo

Cabal chac Bolay Balam y ca cau Ba
lamte: Esperas uKaba. Vactas caan: y speras
uKaba. Vuctas caan. Caçihi yoKol cab tumen
D.s Ah tepale: tu uuctekatun. çihic y chil ahbil
Espiritu uKaba. s. to. edendeus. s. to elu
çeo. santoob. layti y la u çihil ulamaytun.
ulamay aKab: Serepite eli tun entri de
noche: Cii uthan catu thanah ulam[illegible]
G: ulamay aKab. tronas. ale seyo de [illegible]
degraçia. en apedia tejo. çipidiate. enpic
ted. graçia. s. to. esuleptun. Jaam estunast
gra. Suplilis. el timeo. me firme. aben
finitis gra. y metis absolubtum timetis
degraçia. abegintis. gra. Edendeo gra.
defentis degraçia. Fenoplis tungra: lo com
dar y me gra. tre tris. vmis gra. Noçilerçi
degraçia. inpriçio de gra. = tre semil
Vno de cargo. leonte: huntic. catic.
Oxhuntic: huntuuc: Oxhun bakam.
VKatunil: Oxuuc pic. Vyahal cab. ca
çihi ulamaytun. vlamay aKab. timina
Caan y luum. Cathan tumen D.s cit bil.

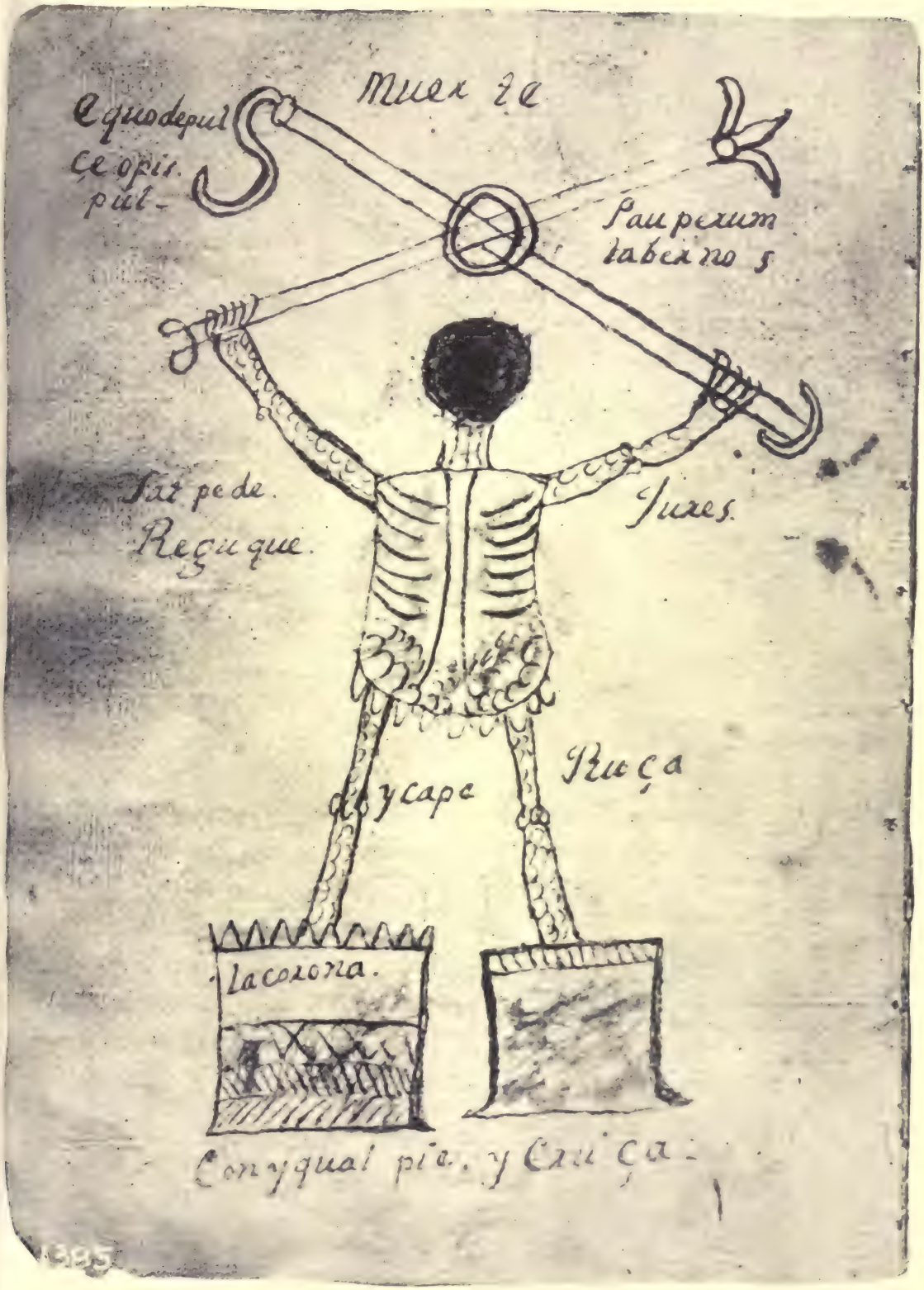
tuba tuhunal. ti Ox co coxakkab. cuchie.
layuyaxthan ku. timinancaan yluum. ca
tiluk tu tunil: tilubi tu capistun: tiix
tun vpatah ukuil. capec nahi hun tic pic
katun. Cuthan hun pis ti lun de graçia.
hun pilis tun de gra. Op hach kintah tupach
acantun. Mac tiçihi caemi cayum. tech
auohel. çihilucah. Vyax batan op hoch
chintah: tupach acantun. bal tiçihi: coe
Batuayume tech auohel. çihilucah ah
mun ti caan. Çiripacte: hor ca mundo.
ni mompan pan est Noche.. amanena.
Omonena: apa opa: hokciyk. ti calam
tun gra. çipiones ted coruna. patex profe
çido = cibinuthan. cakuchi tu uucpel capa:
Vçuhuy tun gra. bal te piones Ox teçipio.
Reçi quenta noche. hun ebritate: hun
Cute Profeçiado. Vchci uthanal An
gel. gerupite. Caɔab caan. Corporales.
ti Ojales tumenel yax papa. = Vuich
katun: Vcuch katun: ti Oxlahun
Ahau = Val kahom u uich kin.
Nocpahom yokol: Valac yahaulil.
Çatai uinicil. çatay Ahau lil. = Ho
pel kin chian kin cabin pacatnac: -
Vtaahte Oxlahun Ahau. Chicul u
ɔah D.s vchuc ucimil yahaulil.
Loy.

Loy lumoob lae: Bayix cabintac lay Tax
Ahauoob vpaah u baob: Catali yo Col Chris
tianoil Vay tipetenlae.
Bayix bin uɔaic chi cul Coyumil ti D.
Cabin ta cob. yoklal minanhun olal: hach
man uthan num çah ya: tiyalumehenoh.
VChris tiano ma on tantun umansi coon
bay bal Cheobe. loy yatu yol Dios tiah
ɔuɔob loe ——— Milicinientos treinta
y Nuebe. años: = bayla = 1539 años
Likin bail u hol yotoch. Dn Juan Mon
tejo = O ces chris tia noil. Vay tipetenlae
Yucal peten Yucatanlae ———

Chilam Balam profeta


1383

31
heixucakkaba. Dios
cit bil. catali v
yan hal tuperso
naçe. cihanili
balcah. y luum
lay tun ukkaba
lae: So Suc: uca
ɔice: tuyox ɔice
uca kkabae: Ox uch:
Ox ten hi lae
Mesister
latin tun.
Del Romance
Chac pauah tun
ut Coru sis
Çac pauah tun
Coro Cal bo
Ek pauah tun
Col ru si pro vento
Kan pauah tun
Moses
No Vis
No Va
Meçias ukkaba
Dios timaçihic
Caan y luum
lay mexias xpoa
ukkaba. Catun v
çih çah Angelob
heuac chacan
nili ti Dios
binili çipic
Angelo be: tan
has ʒ ʒa
V Ca ɔic. ukkaba
Dios. lay manuel
vɔaci ukkaba
tuyox ɔic ukka
bae: lay tun
here mias
ukkabae
timinan Caan
y luume
1384


Muer te
Equodepul
çe opis.
pul-
Pauperum
taberno s
Sat pede.
Reguque.
Jures.
Ruça
ycape
lacorona.
Conyqual pie. y Cruça.

DAMAÇENO. V Kaba Chakkan pat ci Cayax yum ti Adan
tumenel Ds. heix u Kabae lay uyax Kabalae: Adan: Cao ci
V Pixan Caua cunabi Paraysoe: Çihanilitun Adan ca
çihi Cayax Naa tie vae: Jax chuplal V Naa balcah
tuçinil. Chun thah bi in tun = hun thah bin ban caçi
hij. timinan Caan Cuchie:

Hetun cii bile. Çihij tuba tuhunal: ychil akbil
hetunobe. hunpai çih ciob: hetun a cantune. lay
tuumlae = Layix chabi uchciupatal Adan xane
laytac umehen. lay O cantacob yicnal acanobe = Blahex
u Kaba tahob Capat lahobe. layitac Vyax Chun Vui
nicil = Dios cii bile, Dios Mehenbil, y
Dios Espiri santo, laymol cab Ds. lae = lay [illegible]
tutunil chac hilibtun. y Vyub tun graçia. lay ber
bo u Kabae: Josus tin graçia ——

Hetun: yixhun yetae: Çihi tutunil ek oyob
tun — lay berbum tuorum V Kabae = ix co
altun = Ix co aal Cab = [illegible] = ti u chaah v
Colel Cabili. Cabin ti cutal Ox Co cox Caan.
V Co cox xil caan Cu chie = Sac homen Cu
lic. tac Cabal: ti yol Sus tinal graçia. Ox
lahun pic u Katu nil. Chelan tu tunil. Capec
nahi Vuilim hunac Ceel Ahau. ——

Hay Gemaet Kinon tix Kan thixal titun
Emac u Cobol yuçtacil uinic. Innok.
yn uex. yalaho ua Kue: Bala cauok tic.
yx Cijx mamace. vmunalen u chiichen
cen ti ulio. Chuc lum sis Vtah Katun. ay

tu chicheen yʒao. antan he ya: O yulu
uayanoo: e tihun imix: V kijnil chuc
caan bin Ahau. tuchi kincheene: e taba
ech yane kue: e tun hun ymix. v kin.
yalah: tuchicheen yʒa o a: antahere yao.
yulu ua yano. = muc lam: muclam: cijx yaua
to: muclam muclam cixan. yohelob = thun
ci yaue: cixan yauato tu hunte yax kine
chichil kinij = cate ak yabil: ti talio =
ayano: ayano = ayano: yuluuayano: yan
xin = mac xin. ahan uale: chichilnicate
ayano: oxten c acan: V kine kue: cah
ualob - cahualob = V uiyao: max an
V lom tuchicheen yʒaoa = antahereyae:
yulu uayano = Oxte. caan: u kin:
hemacen ua tuthan = tanyol vinicc:
cenumac lee: e ya macen ua tuthan tan
yol putun = men anateo: e yan chaben
a kaben: coonua çihij o = e ya alakon.
mis cit Ahau = hoa talux: V lu max.
e labin yn kacuntah tin kay be: an
tan here yao: yulu uayano: - e ya ci
milen yalah = tumen u kin caho: e yaca
tacen yalahe: tumen u çat caho = V tiu
lah tiyol: V tuc lah tupuc ci kale = menu
çat caho = Vali kacun: tan in kayo: antan
here yao: ayano = yulu uayano =

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lay kay tulacal lae Vɔoc lukanil yanu
mal Ahau Dios lae:
Bay ʒolci yaxah miaʒ. mexchise: yaxah
bouat: Napuc tun. sacerdote. yaxahkin
lay kay uchciuçi hil Vinal: tima to Ahac
cab Cuchie: ~~timato~~ Cahopi uxim bal tuba
tuhunal= Cayalah uchich: Cayalah uɔenaa:
Cayalah umim: Cayalah umuu: Bal bin
c alab. Cabin c ylab vinic tibe: Cuthanob
tamuk uxim balob: Cuchie: minan uinic
Cuchi: Catun kuchiob teti likine. Ca
hopi yalicob: mac ti mani Vaylae: heyocob
lae: pis tauoci: Ci bin uthan u Colel cab.
Cabin upisah yoc Cayumilti Ds. cit bil. layu
chun yalci. xoc lah cab: oc lae. lah caoc=
Lay ʒolan çihci. tumen Oxlahun oc= Vchci
unup tanba yoc: likciob teti li kine: Ca
yalah ukaba= timinan ukaba kin cuchie
ximbal nah ci: y Vchiich: yuɔenaa: y V
mim: y Vmuu: Çi uinal: çihci kin=
Vkaba çihci: Caan y luum: Ebhaa: luum
tunich: y che: cihci v bal kak nab: y luum
hun chuen. Vhokçici ubatu kuil: Vment
ci caan y luum: Ca eb: Vment ci yaxeb=
Emci li kul tanyol caan: tanyol haa
minan luum y tunich: y che: Oxmen: v
ment ci tulacal bal: hibahun bal: v
caanob y ubal kak nab y vbal luum
can:

Canix: uchci unix pahal Caan y luum: ho
men = uch ci u meyah tulacal. Vac cib. uch
ci ument ci. yax cib: Vchci u ça silhal:
timinan Kin: y: V: Vac Caban. yax çihci
cab: timinan toon cuchi: Vaxac Ɔnab:
Ɔlah ci. u Kab. y yoc: Cau chi chaah. yo
Kol luum: Bolon Cauac: yax tum tabci:
metnal: lahun Ahau: Vchci vbinob: v
lobil Vini cob timetnal tumen D.s cit bil:
machicanac Cuchie: Bulu yx uch
ci upatic tunich y che: lay u mentah
ychil Kin = lah ca bil y K: Vch ci uçih
ci y K. = lay uchun u Kabatic y K. tumenmi
nan Cimil y chil lae: Oxlahun Akal vch
ci uchaic haa = Cayak sah luum = Caupatah
Cauinichi: hunnil Kan = Vyax ment ci ulepel
yol tumenel vlobil uçih çah = Cachic chan:
uchci uchic tahal Vlobil hibal yilah ychil uuich
Cahe = Ox cimil Vtusci cimil uch ci. utus
ci yax Cimil: Cayumil ti D.s

Holamat: lay utus ci vuclam Chac haal Kak
nab = Vac mu luc: Vch ci Vmuc chahal Kopob
tulacal: timato Ahac Cabe: lay uch ci y Kol
vtus thanil Cayumil ti D.s tulacal = ti
minan tunthan ti Caan: timinan tunich
y Che: Cuchi: Catun binob utumtu
baob Cayalah tun bayla =

oxlahun

1389

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OX lahun tuc ::: Vuchuc hun = lay Ialah cahok
Vthan timinan thanti :: Cakatab uchun tumen yax
Ahau kin: Maix hepahac Vnucul than tiob: V chebal
Vthanic u ba obe :: Ca binob tanyol caan Caumachash
V kab tu batan baobe: Catun ua lah tan chumuc peten:
hek lay lae :: hek laobi ah too cob can tu lob lae =

Can chic chan	O Ah	toc	E 2°
Ca nil	OC Ah	toc	Pio
Camen	O Ah	toc	MER
Can ahau	O Ah	toc	
Lay ahauob	can tu lob lae		

Vaxac muluc
Bolon oc
Lahun chuen
Buluc eb
Lah camen
Oxlahun yx
hun men
Cacib
Ox caban
Can ⊙ nab

Hoil ca uac
Vac a hau
2 Vay Imix
Vacilxacil yk.
4 Bolon a ka bal
5 Lahun kan
6 Buluc chic chan
Lah ca cimiy
7 Oxlahun man ik
hun lamat.

lay çihci vinal y uch ci yahal cab: tzolci
caan y luum. y cheob y tunich. çihci tula
Caltumen Cayumil ti D. lae Lay cit bil

1390

timinan caan y luum: ti bay Janil tu Diosil
tumuyalil: tu batu hunal cau çih cah balcah
tuçinil: Capecnahi tucaanil tukuil ti baynon
u chucil yanil ahtepale
V ʒolan kin çan çamal licil vxocol.
V chun tilikine hebix ʒolanile

---

layu ka bahab Vici ʒu lob lae
Demil cinnientos i dies y nuebe años: bay lae
1519. layu habil yan cau li ʒulob. Vay
tac cahal coon ahyʒa Vay ti luum: yu
cal peten: yucatan tuthan maya ahyʒa
ob lae:
Bay Jalci yax a Delan tado. Dn Juan de
Montejo: yoklal bay alab ci ti tumen
Dn Lorenso chable = vyube lay con cix
tadox tix kokobe: [illegible] kamahix ʒu lob tuuo
lal [illegible] cihal: [illegible] chun: u kaba tie Dn Lorenso
chableile = yoklal u ʒaci kak bal bak. V han
te ʒulob: y cappitanob tu la cal: yanix v mahen
Dn Martin chable u kabaxan.
Ileu habil cuximbal. cahopi u chaic uba ʒulob
Vtial u chucicob Vay Jucal peten lae =
Vyohel tahix ah kin: Ah bouat: ah xupan
v kaba = Oc ci christianoil toon = D. 1519 a =
Ol ah ci kuna ti Hoo: D. 1540 a: caʒo
ci kuna ti Hoo: D. 1599 a. Vch cixe
kik: hop ci cimil toon D. 1648 años

Vuiihi = Cimil: hopel hab: D. 1650 años 35
D. 1651 a D. 1652 a D. 1653 a D. 1654 a
Ca ɔoci uiih lae Chac y kal: ti cimi Padre
Agustin Gomes = D. 1661 año Vchci kin tun
yabil: D. 1669 años uchci x u San kak =
D. 1692 año. ti Cul hi lahun pis katun =
ti cul hi nic te katun. Ox te uu culan: yu
ma: Vne ʒi uit kuk yaxun: tijual yan u
maychiich: ti ual yan bolon te uiʒ: yuma Vne ʒi
uit kuk yaxun = mac bin naa ti cob: Chab tan kin
tanob ti yahau lili: tulah capis tun: ti ya lah u kaba
Lay uile = Balam upol: Vaan u coo: ɔu ɔul uinicil
pek uuin cil: mancha cat han yatu puc çi kal
Cijx uhanal Cijx yukul: mala bin yube: Bini x u tus
Coil uthan: matub u ɔaic uba: Yx Cuch luum y ɔinil
Bin lu kebal uay ti petene: Bin baya cob x cuch
lum y ɔinil: ti ya lob: yix mchenob: yx lolok bay
pala lob samal cabche: ɔa ex aba Cex u ɔin çu
Cunexe: maneçex u cuch katun: lic u tale le: uama
tan amaneçexe: ti u moʒ hal tauo ce xe: te xi bin u
helinte: Vamaa man çi cexe: te xi bin ku xie u
Chun che: y xiu: uama aman çi cexe: Bay çinic ce
hil bin u chebal uhokol: ta cahalex: tij x u hokol
Ahau bin manac u suʒ y chil A cahalexe ti mau
Cuchilic: = y Ocna ku chile: Vkin uma ya cim
lal baal cheob: ty cul hi tupop: hun çip uthan hun cip
u Can: Lay u çip katun: Ox ʒuc u uah katun. Nicte ka
tun: Lay ti cul hij: Ox lahun yal upop ah Calam
Chuuch ah cal pach keban = tij x u tal el Bula:
Vac ʒuc tuba Ox ten bin man bal Bula: Cabin
u luc u Jue çil. Bula lae: Va ah xol te tahin
bin u Jue silte: Vaix çac cib bin u kexin te:
xan

1392

xane: heçac ciblae: tiyemel Justiçia li kul ti
Caan: Nacebal Christianoil. Vinic tu uich V
Justiçiail: ti tun u mentic Vpec Caan y luum,
yaix bin ɔocebal Nicte katun: Ma uil mac bin
kuchuc uthanie: Cabin Chinchin pol Cintabac:
uteel cha cil chee: ti tun uyukba Peten tula
Cale: Con bil bin ɔocbal uthan nicte katune:
Minani uilu uilat ɔaic apolex ti Arzo Obispoe: Ca
bin emece Bin xicex abal abaex ti kax: Vabin
aɔa abaexie = ti binanexiuil tupach xpo:
tiyanob cochomie = tij tun cabin ɔococ Vuiçitae:
talel bin ucib: Vlilib nicte tijx cabin anatexe:
Cabin ticin pec nac Caane: tij to Cabin thanac
Vɔibte unak pake: tiyx aualicex kuil xanie.
Lay bin auoc çic tauolex kuil: hii uil to mac.
ah miatz yan auichilex bin naitice: tij tun u
binel tikax utanle. V christianoile: mac bin na
ticlae = Halili lo. la hu canpel haab. V Ba
ta bil Cabin hun kul Vluc Mehen bil: Lay
Dn Antonio Martines: y Saul: lay u kab aob:
Calu ki ti Caan. : tijx ti bini tzimen tane:
tiyan tzimentan. tiix tiyalah huntul yx Ahau:
Vyichamte. vucteix tihaab ukamic u casamian
toil: Ca tihebi u Puer tail takin ti Can kasna:
Et çabiti: Caix utus çih çah chem: Oxlahun
Baak. Caix tu lik çah katun: hauana: ulu
mil: tijx yan Vnup uthan: Rey hauana. Caa
lab V xicin Rey tumen unup uthan: tiix yanyah
tocul u hool tupach catibini: ti yu bahix
V chu cul xani: ti tun li kul Cabini te tzimen
ne: tiix tun ti chuci: Oxpel V. lukuc yah
chucil Cakuchi tzimentanne: titun chuci

tiixtun

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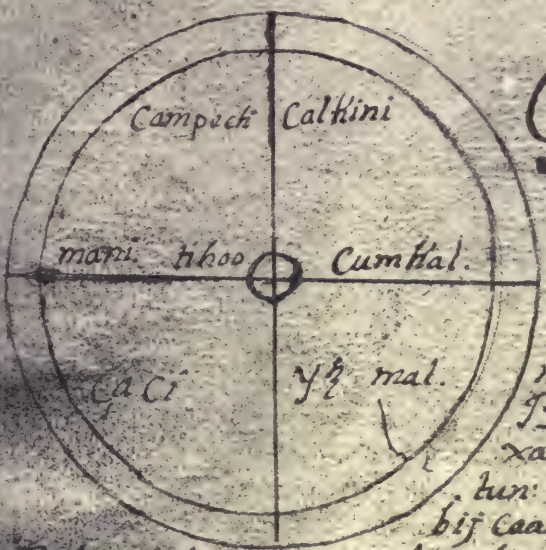
tijx uxotah uthan ti chucil. Ha kuchi tzimentane: Caix
yalah xen uinica Cuthan ti: O V: yn kuchuli Cuthan
Oxpel V: luk coch halelae:: Ox: V: ech akuchuli lic
lun akuchule: lic lun akalal timoscab: lamuk lunin
lalel: lini bin luk çicech timoscab. lox cox Capitane
Catulili bin yonac tinpachi: Cathan: Nac çabac Bolonçion
y tixui llan xono: Binix elec kaknab: Bin inbe
bali ticulan kak upacat ti: Binix libicex y yomhaay:
Binix tupuc uuich kin lumen: Chac lubuc yikala
li lun ucenic uba Capitane. Binix kutuc tuuich lumen
lumen y kalxane: lic lun yn cuntal iin kan che
tun ne: lic lun utalel Ox Bak cheme tix lun ucenic
uba Rey xoni. Chaa ba yumile te utalel Fran çee Cijx
uthan ten: Bin cimicoon: lumen uinica: Balx auil:
ulubul amukle: lumen auer uinicile: li cechi xoe xi
can tinyab u tohol chem tan chumuca. uui lik cijx
inuikal xan: Clix Clix kaknab in bin cijx
Cijx u uich Caan. He lun ca Cmene tak lucil V
uich cacat chem mac uinicila cuthan ten: tenix
ixma okolale. tenix achaal tee: teni bin a capuc
çihe çe: Binix in lun te in kaba: Lay max tine
Dios cit bil. Dios meken bil. Dios espiritu san to
in kaba: Caix in holl sah uuc yacab li bla in xo
Caix ti yoci li Oxpel V: hix Vmançit ubaob
ah Belnalobe: li lun ialah u yab u cahal ten: tan coh:
uinica: tabian acahal in cahal tu lacal: li abotic
in cahal. Can yax ule: lic lun inualic ti Cmi justiçia
u che bal una cal christianoil. Bolonpixanil bin yoca
bal. tijx u katabal. upro bail tiob ti yahau lil Cahe:
uama yohalobe: tix ubo hol ich luumil tumich: y
ich luumil che: ti uinic cha hal ti lun ie y tal
cahi: Minan lun cha mac bin chibal naci: Lay to ah
Bolon Ahau Katun. Hopel haabil u binel: lay
tu lah pach in than lae: li Kuchi lutkinil: yemil
patun. tiyoci uboti cob ulil çah Katun ob Cajom
maix aua lic auah ua lili lex Katun: Cabalal tic
hal lae

1394

nal lae: Cahlohil tijesuchristo. yah canuc capixan Bay
uay Jokolcabo Baycabin u cha capixan tucilich caanil
xan Mehenexe Hahal Dios Amen ——



G: Oxlahun. eɔnab:
uch ci: uheɔ cab.
Oxlahun Che neb
uch ci u chek tabal
ygleçia mayor: ti can.
akab naa: yglesia
mayor ti caan ——
Bay ca chek tabi uay
xane. Oxlahun te ka
tun: Vcuch lahun chek
bij caan: Can chek lukii
Bolon chekeb: tun u cuch Cubinel Canale: Heix ca
caput chek tabi likul tuuich luume. Can chekeb:
ca hek tuuich luum: = He Manii e:
Chun peten: Campech: unixik peten: Calkini u
chun uxik peten: ... yzmal.. uchumuc. uxik peten:
Ca ci: unixik peten: .. Con kal: Vpol peten: chu
muc: Can ti hoo: ... yglesia mayor. u ka kal na
u ui zil na. a kab na: V uilu: Dios yum bil. Dios
me hen bil. Dios espiritu san to. — Macx Oc
tu nail Diose yume. lay ix kalem. Vkabae. —
Bax u kinil tak ci tunak Suhui Chuplale yume:
Canil: oc: tak ci tunak. —— Mehene balx kinil. hok
ci: Oxil Oc: hok ci — Bal kinil cim ci. hun
cimil cim ci be. tijx Oci tumuc nal. tihun cimie.
bax Oc tumuc nal yume. mabentun. Oc tumuc
nal: bax Oc tu chac bacel yume. lay chac haal
tune: lay oc tu tunil cab. te ti caane: — Cunx
u kabe: yume: halal tun. lay ix lic u kin beça
bal xan: lay Oc ti chac Cui tunil bin ti la kin.

catali

Catali te ti xamane: lay octi çac cui tunil. layix ti
oc ti ck cui tunil: ti chikin: Bayix ti kan cui
tunil: ti nohol: Mehene haipel kom okop: lay
licil yauat chul. chul tahe: mehene. tab yan ɔonot.
lah ɔam yalile: minan u chi chil yite: ti tacan
chulul tuhole: lay kunac: Mehene. cex yax casa
mientosobe. lub umuk rey tumenobe. yetelix
lub ci umuk u chi yanil halach uinicobe: tumenelobe
y layobix inmuk. tumenobxan = layuahe =
Mehene tauilahua yax al ha al tune: capel lobe ti uaan
caus chumucce = U uich uinic: Mehene: tubx yanob
ah yax ocha obe: yanil huntul yx mana. yan:
yue: yanix uhiz moc xan = lay pe e ue = yx
ma yume = Mehene: cex xtoplah kauiu. y uɔo
mel cooɔ ɔoc yt peehe: ykulim paki = U tuchil
Vlum: Mehenexe: taleçex ten: hokbah çaan
y hokob coe: ceh: yetel ba: Mehene cex
ix nuc Vucnab u tan yite: x ek tun ah chu
plale = lay ɔole = mehene. ylex ten çac lah chuplat ve
uel uak upice. lic u conic çac toke = lay cac = Me
hene taleçex ten cacot ix kan. hun cot chuchac bili =
hun cot tix bin xotoc u cali: bi nix uu kich u ki
kel xan. yx kaan ceh = y yax luch yan [illegible]
Mehenexe Vleçex ten hun kal ah koch [illegible]
tunob uaye. y catul casado sobe: bech y mucui: Me
hene tales ten çam ox bal u haxal ynkat in uiac
lay huhe = Mehene: tac ci paac tanal Vilab
uaye: lay cic: Mehene bin ataleçex umac uhol
caan: y yebal uaye. Bolontas lah cab: Nohuah =
Mehene tauilahua ah noc xamach noh xi be. hach
noh u koc: hoc tan u tal tiluume = lay ah hoe =
Mehene tales ten ah canan colob noh xibob. hun
tuch u tal u choone y yatane. tix mumil chac tale
cex uaye: y lixah canan col chupla lobe.
bin cac lah chuplalobe. tenix bin lukci upicob
yo kole: catun in hante. lay chicame

1396

Mehene talesten noh ʒublal yn chaante. mauil lob yokotob.
Cabin inuilabe: layah ʒoe = Mehene Cex yax ah mole
pul nok. y pulcamissae y Çuyem. y poc: y xanabe =
mehene tabech timani. ti ua timanech ticanal buk
tune. nix be bal uhol Caane: yanil uhol paae: heca
timane chie. tauilahua uini cob. ʒayanob utalelob
tatane: tiyan bolon Chaan. y yax ah kulele: Vku
lil ych: y vua bal ch ɔamil ich: = Mehene taui
lahua u kaxal yaal kue: timani yalan uuiʒil
kue tij x ti Oc yalan uuiʒil kue: tiyan Cruzi
ticha kani: Coop nebal Caan. tii timani yaal
kui = Mehene taxb Cumanel yaal kue: te cuho
kol Cui tune yume: Vhool uinic: y yukul
Co uinic tumanel tu uol u cal uinic: tuhokol tu
Chune = Mehene max tauilah ti be çame
Mehene tabx tamançah ala kob
ʒayan utalelob tapachobe: hein la koblae: ma
tan in patab. lay in mu cut u xot kin Diose
Cabin cimicene = helay ubooi uinice: Mehe
mac x tauilah ti be: tauilahua noh xibob.
yanpalal tupachobe: yume henoh xibob tin
uilah tibee: tiyanob tin pach maixtan upat
benobe: heklay Vnaa Oc: y yalobe: Mehene
tabx tauilah ix nucob yan umek çaca
lob yulak palalobe: yume hex lae tii to
yan tinpach. licil yn hanal may to uchac
ynpatic: Vnaa yn kab y yalob: Mehene
tabx timanech y anil yoc haae: yume
heyochaae: tiyx yan teuicnale: heklay
ubel yn pache = Mehene tab x tauilah Noh
xib. kaan yokol ʒimine: Cha cat nebal
yoc haae. yume hex noh xib lae: tiy toyan
vicnale: heklay u ʒimin yn pache

lii

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lic aualic kalic noh xibe: Mehene hex noh xib
yan pach lie aualic be: chican hahil y tohil —
Mehene xencha upuc çi kal tunich yutam nel
luum te vil kin cilic çama le: heix uilah
hunpel lie hauaan: heix hunpelie: nocaan
bay ubinel y chil mit nale: heklay halleue: y
ʒube. y yax Batab. y yax ah kalele. hexupal
upuc çi kal tuniche: heklay uni cob: y vmac v
uol ucal mit nale: heklay is: y chi came: Mehene
caxi cech achab ix halis couaye. hun cuy
ual upole: hach cich pam. ix loh bayan te
ni bin luk çic upic y ubuc ce: Çamac nac uil
uboc. cabin yn lukes ubucce: — hach cil mac
ynuol cabin y nuilab — çamac na cil ubocce
y hun çu yil upole: — he klay pibil nale
Mehene catun xicech achab noh xib y vxi
uil tanil kaknabe: hex noh xib lac = ac:
y ix bau: Mehene catun xi cech achaab v
tunichil yit kax cke: lay ah ʒaʒace =
Mehene catun xicech achaab u tunichil cha
kanvaye lay beche = y yax ah menole = ca
tulob tu ba: heklay baa: y ʒub: y haleu: y
citane: Mehene caxicech achab u chac ba cel
luum. lay ɔine = Mehene caxicech achaab
yax ʒublal uaye. y yax kayomobe = cuʒ
yh ʒoo = Mehene bin auu les a uix mehene
teyan kin çamal vilabe: payanbe bin tale
bal uɔeɔile = pach hebal bin talebal u
nohole. caix cici kaxac u kaxpole: tikuk
mil kax. tiiyan uil uboche = teni to uil bin
luk sic uboche = y tiyan ah kulel tupach
che

1998

che: Mehene catun xi cech achab vn
trus nicte kuꝯ bene teuil kin çamale
kel bil yxim y cab- Mehene vay tin
cuc yah apec ꝫile= yan yan cooꝯ tiac
tun yan auicnale. Caix acuc les cilab-
vay tu kin ꝫil hanale= ꝫab bil hee=

Mꝫ ꝫaay ni tictun chac tun Vua
yasba. Kab caan ꝫ yꝫ caan Vuayas
ba

Vuay ba achaab tac kin, achaab taci ticab
Vuayasba yꝫ caan, kab caan, kan lol caan. Vua
yas ba, ba cin in chaab tahci akinil. chab tab ci a
v il. bacit ba cin in chaab ta tunil- yn chaabech
ti cum tal: tahoyobal: akah cunic vkinam.
tayam kin. cati tu tux chi ta bech. tacha cit
timuc ee yn chabech yn cum cin nech. tac helel
yn chaic uuyic aki name. tumenel ayum
amucut ticit ti tune. in colob ta tachie
vkan ti tune. tay cubin uximbal vꝯolic
tac tay ahauob ꝫolanob lac. xicubin a xac caa
nucte tac

1399

39
Cabil ahau
Oxlahun ahau
Can ahau
Vac ahau
Vaxac ahau
Lahun ahau
Lahca ahau
Oxahau
Hun ahau
Hoo ahau
Vuc ahau
Bolon ahau
Buluc ahau
1400

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q: Buluc Ahau uhes katun: ych caan çihoo: yaaxhaal
uuich: e mom canal ual: e mom canal u ɔub:
pec nom upax = pec nom u çoot: ah Bolon yoc: te
tukin yan yax cuz: tu kin yan çulun chan
tukin cha kan putun: uil noh che: uil nom
tunich: ah çali uiil: ychil ah Buluc Ahau katunlae

q: Vuc yab nal uhes katun. ti can Ahau katun: tuchi
cheen: uuc yab nal uhes ti nohol: ah ba co col:
ma can uuich: cimen uuich yokol yaal: yokol
uaah chac kitan: nahom upop yuɔaam: xe kik:
u cuch tukin yan: çaçac uil uyex: çacac uil unak
ix ma chan. menuah: u uah katun: hulom [illegible]
hulom yaxum: hulom kaxte: hulom mute: hu
lom ʒimin: mucuc patan ti chi cheen lae

q: May lu ʒa ci maya patan. u hes katun: ti cabil Ahau
katun: oc lis tuba katun: e mom çum: e mom çaban
maya cimlal: oxmul tun ʒe kil: çac pe tay
uinicil catali. kaxan u cuch: buluc chaab tan
kan yopol yk oxil uah u uah: cabil ahau: tan
coch hom uii hi: tan coch hom uahi: lay u cuch
ah cabil ahau katunlae:

q: kin chil coba uhes katun maya cu oxlahun
Ahau katun: ye ʒam na: yʒam ʒab uuich ti
yahau lil: bin uiibic oxi: oxteti hab: cakal
abil. lahun ɔacab: et bom ual: et bom u ɔub:
yaxa: al chac u cuch tu caanil: ix ma chac bin
uah: u uah katun: ti oxlahun ahau: chi [illegible]
kin

Kini. Capic u cuch Katun. Çatay uini cil: Çatay ahau lil: hopel Kin uil chian Kin cabin pacat nac: Lay u cuch ah oxlahun ahau Katun lae

9. Vkah lay uxocan Katunob: uch ci uchic tahal uchi cheen yʒa: uchilae: lay ɔiban ticab lae: u chebal yohel tabal tumen hij mac yolah yohel ta u xo col Katun lae

VI Vac ahau uch ci uchic tahal uchi cheen yʒa
IIII Can ahau lae
II Cabil ahau
XIII Oxlahun ahau ʒol ci pop
XI Buluc ahau
IX Bolon ahau
VII Vuc ahau
V Hoo ahau
III OX ahau
I Hun ahau.
XII Iah ca ahau.
X Lahun ahau
Vaxac ahau pax ci uchi cheen yʒa: Vchi oxlahun uuɔ Katun cacahi: chakan putun ti yotochob u katunil

VI Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau: chuc ci ulumil tumenob chakan putun
II Cabil ahau
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Buluc ahau.

1402

IX Bolon ahau
VII Vuc ahau
V. Hoo ahau
III Ox ahau
I Hun ahau
XII Iahca ahau
X. Iahun ahau
VIII Vaxac ahau. paxci. chakan putunob. tumanob ah yʒa
uinicob. cataliob. u ʒac le uyotochob. tucatan. ox
Iahun uuʒ u katunil: Cahanob chakan putunob tu
yotochob. Iay ti u katunil bin ciob ah yʒaob yalan
che. yalan haban: yalan ah tinum yaob lae
VI Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau
II. Cabil ahau.
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Buluc ahau.
IX Bolon ahau.
VII Vuc ahau.
V. Hoo ahau.
III Ox ahau.
I. Hun ahau.
XII Iahca ahau.
X. Iahun ahau.
VIII Vaxac ahau. paxci ah yʒauinicob. tiyotochob.
tucatin. tumen u keban than. hun nac Ceel.
tumen u uahal uahob: y ah yʒmal. oxlahun
uuʒ u katunil. Cahanobi. Copaxiob tumen hun
nac Ceel. tumen uʒabal unatob. ah yʒaob lae
VI. Vac ahau.
IIII Can ahau. chucci. uluumil ichpaa [illegible]
pan. tumen ah yʒauinicob. ti kulob [illegible]
tumenil ah yʒmalob tumen u keban [illegible]
hun nac Ceel. lae

II Cabil ahau.
XIII Oxlahun ahau
XI Buluc ahau.
IX Bolon ahau.
VII Vuc ahau.
V. Hoo ahau
III Ox ahau
I Hun ahau
XII Lahca ahau.
X. Lahun ahau
VIII Vaxac ahau. uch ci puch tun. ych paa: maya pan. tumen upach paa. upaah tu lum: tu men mul tepal ych cah mayapan lal lae
VI. Vac ahau
IIII Can ahau. uch ci maya cimlal. uch ci. Oc na ku chil ych paa: Cabil ahau: uch cika kil noh ka kile: ——
XIII Oxlahun ahau: cimci ahpula: uacpel hab. u binel u xocol haab tilakin: cuchie Caanil kan Cum lah ci pop ti lakin. he tun te na cici pahool katun haab. hun hix cip Catac ox peli Bolon ymix hi. u kinil. lay cim ci ah pula lae: na pot xiu. tu habil. Do 158 años ——
XI Buluc ahau: hul ciob kul uinicob. tila kin. uyah tal cahulob uyax chun. uay tac luumil Coon maya uinice = tu habil Do 1513 años ——

1404

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IX Bolon ahau. hop ci xp̃noil: uch ci caput ci
hila: lay tal y chil u katunil. hul ci obispo
tor a va xa ne hauci huy tabe tuhabil
do 1546 años

VII Vuc ahau. cim ci obispo delan da.
V. Hoa ahau
III Ox ahau

g: Can ahau. u kaba katun. uch ci. u ~~ch~~ ci
hilob paua haen cuh u yahauoob

g: Oxhunte ti katun lic utepalob lay u kaba
ob tamuk utepalob lae

g: Can ahau u kaba katun. em ciob noh he
mal: ɔee mal. u kabaob lae

g: Oxlahun te ti katun. lic utepalob. lic u
kaba ticob: tii ualac. u cutob ~~lae~~ Ox
lahun cuthi: u cutob lae

g: Can ahau. u katunil. uch ci u caxanti
cob u chi cheen y ʒae. tij uʒ cin nabi
mac ʒil tiob tumen u yumoobe. Can ʒuc
luk ciob can ʒucul cab. V kabaob. li kul
tili kin. kin colah peten bini hun ʒuci
kul xaman naco cob hok hun ʒucci
heix hoki hun ʒucie: hol tun cuyucca
ti chi kin hoki: hun ʒuc cie. Can hoh
uiʒ: bolonte uiʒ: u kaba ul[illegible]

9. Can ahau ukatunil. uchci upayalob. tucan ʒucci
lob. can ʒuc cul cab ukabaob caemiob. tiyumta
lob caemiob. tuchicheen yʒae. ah yʒatun uka
baob. Oxlahun teti katun. lic utepalobi. Caoci
ukeban thanobi. tumen hun nac ceeli. Capaxi uca
bob. Cabiniob tan yolche. tan xuluc mul. Vkaba
Can ahau ukatunil. uchci yauat pixanobi
Oxlahun teti katun. lic utepalobi. y vnum yaobi.
Vaxac ahau ukatunil. uchci yulelob. yalaob
ah yʒa ukabaob. Caulob. tij caualac utepalob.
Chakan putune. Oxlahun ahau. ukatunil. v
hej cob. cah mayapan. mayauinic ukabaob.
Vaxac ahau paxci uca bobi. Cauec chahi ti
peten tulacal. Vac katuni paxciob. caha
ui umaya kabaob. Buluc ahau ukabau
katunil hauci umaya kabaob. maya uinicob
Christiano ukabaob tulacal. V cuch cabal
ʒo ma Sanc Pedro y Rey ah tepale —

Vkahlay katunob. vtial ah yʒaob. mayaka
tun ukabalae ——————

Lahca ahau
Lahun ahau
Vaxac ahau
Vac ahau paxciob ahconi —
Can ahau
Cabil ahau

1406

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Y Oxlahun ahau
Y Buluc ahau
Y Bolon ahau
Y Vuc ahau
Y Hoo ahau paxci ucab yahau ah yẓamal
Kinich Kakmoo. y pop hol chan tamenel hun
nac Ceel.

Y Ox ahau
Y Hun ahau paxci yala ahyẓa tuchicheen tu
yoxpiẓ tun y chil hun ahau paxci uchicheen

Y Lahca ahau
Y Lahun ahau
Y Vaxac ahau u Katunil hezci cab yala ah yẓa
li Kul yanche yalan haban: tan xuluc mul
u Kaba. ti li Kulob cauhezahob luum Caclac
tun mayapan u Kaba. tu uuc piẓ tun Vaxac
ahau u Katunil laix u Katunil cimci cha
Kanputun tumen Kak upa cal yetel
tec uilue.

Y Vac ahau
Y Can ahau
Y Cabil ahau
Y Oxlahun ahau
Y buluc ahau
Y Bolon ahau
Y Vuc ahau
Y Hoo ahau. vl ci ɔul. ti chibil tunic

1407

ma pic ɔul ukaba. mapaxi peten tumenelobi
Ox ahau
Hun ahau. paxci peten tancah maya pan ukaba
tuhunpiz tun. ychil hun ahau. ukatunile. tuk
cihalach uinic tutul: yuBatabilob cabe. ycan
ʒuc Cal Cabobe. layu katunil paxci uin cob. tan
Cah Cauec chahiob uBatabilob cabe

Lahca ahau. te chabi. Oʒ malutunile.
Lahun ahau. te chabi. çiçal utunile.
Vaxac ahau. te chabi kan caba utunile.
Vac ahau te chabi hun nac thi utunile.
Can ahau te chabi ati kuhe. utunilac
layu katunil uchci maya Cimlal. tuhopiztun
ychil can ahau ukatunil lac.

Cabil ahau te chabi. chacalna utunile.
Ox lahun ahau. te chabi. euan utunile.
Buluc ahau Vyaxchun kin Colox peten cha
bi utunile. laix ukatunil Cimci ah pula
napot xiu u kaba. tuhunpis tun Buluc a
hau. laix ukatunil. yax hul ciob: españoles
sob. Vay tac lumillac. tu uuc pis tun Bu
luc ahau: ukatunil: tiix hopi xpñoillac
tuhabil quinientos dies ynuebe años Do. 1519 a
Bolon ahau. machabi utunil lac. lay katun
yax ul ci Obispo. fray Fran.co to Ral.: huli
tu uac pis tun ychil ah Bolon ahau. katun
lac.

1408

lae

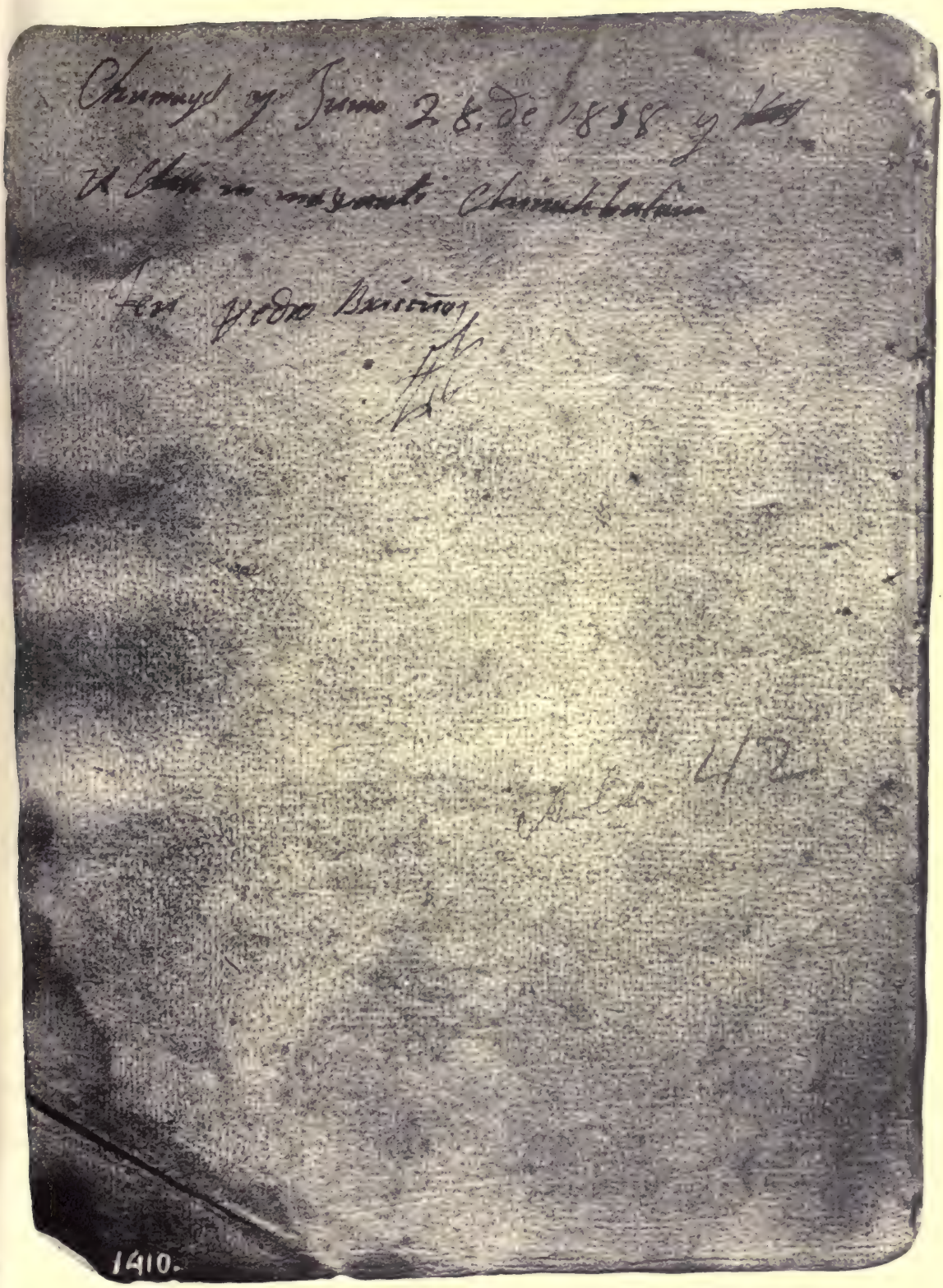
Y Vac ahau. ma chabi u tunil lae. lay u kabunil cim ci Obispo elan o a lae. tiixuli uhel Obispo xani.

Y Hoo ahau.—

Y Ox ahau —

helel en 18 de Agosto de 1766 a lae: cauchi chac ykal lae ukah la yil cin dib tic. cau tac yilic bahun hab cabin u chuc ulak lae —

helel en 20 de henero de 1782 años cacheket hi chu pil uay ti cah Chumay el lae tucal uinic cu chu pul caix emec cabal xan tac ti chin chan tac ti nohoch pis umis tic hunpel na. cabin oc cali heu dacal lae pah taan y limones. vaix si sal mu mehen tace. tac tu ha bil 81 años chumpa hi tiix u daah nohoch kin tun yabil xani. ol ma oc chac: el lah kax tu lacal. cimlahix kaxob xan— lay u kah lay cin dib tic cen Dn. Juan Josef Noil lae



1410.

1
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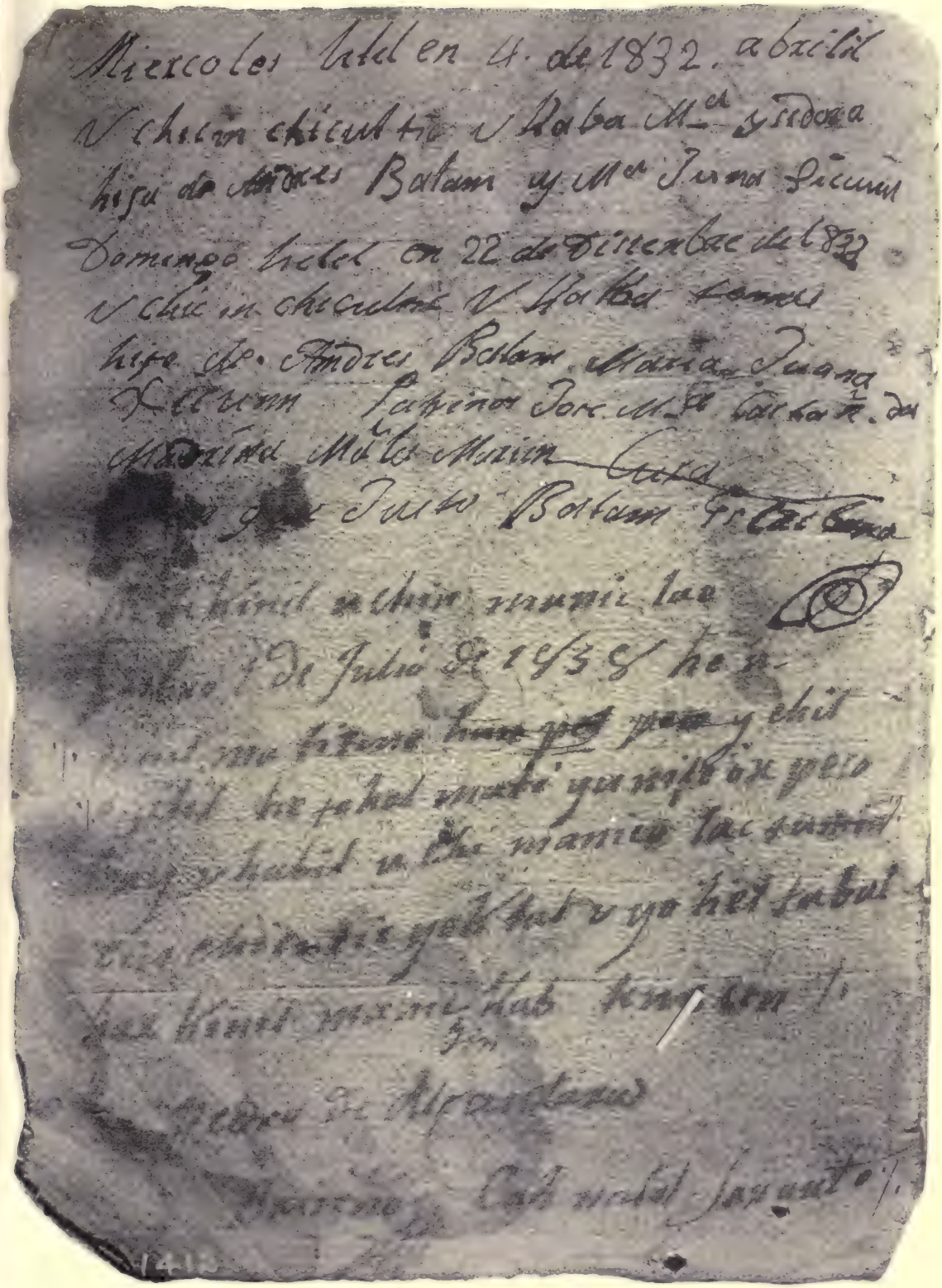
13
Ox lahun Ahau
Katun. Ox lahun
Sut xan



Ox lahun Ahau Katun yax ho Ki: vcheem ɔul
lob Campech: Mili quinientos y quarenta y Vno: V
Kaba hab Cuchi: Cayul çahob V Kin yocolob ti chris
tianoil: Maya Vini cob: haɔ ci cab: tan tun Cuçamil
tancoch hab yanobi: Cabiniob. tu hol haa: ti chiKi
ne: tiyx OC Vpatan ah chi Kin cheel lobi
Q: Lay hab yan Cuchi = Do 1542 = haɔ ci Vpet
nil ti hoo - ych Can çi ho: Buluc Ahau Katun lae = heix ya
Halach Vinice: = Dn Franco Montejo = Adelantado = lay
ɔae Vchinam ɔulob: Kul Vini cob = ychil ya bil = Do 1542
Oci patan = Do 1545 = hab yan Cu chi. Cahuli pa
dreob = Canpel hab huluc ɔulob cuc[illegible] tijx hoɔi yo
Col haa tupol Vini cobi, ti Cahal cah [illegible]
yax Vlo be. thoxcicah tiob —
Mili quinientos quarenta y quatro a. haab [illegible]
lahu cabak haab catac hol hu can Kal haab [illegible]
cah tuchi cheen yʒa: Paxci ti cahalob lae
Cabak haab, catac lahu can Kal haab = pax
ci cah = Vx mal lae = paxci vcabob lae
Mili quinientos, y treinta y siete a. — ti Bolon
Cauac Vkaba Kin: uch ci Vmol tan baob al
mehenob = ti canan cilob: ti cah Mani Vche
bal ubinelob ti cha ɔul tu cahal = yoklal cin
çab ci halach vinice =
+ lay u Kabaob lae = Ah moo chan xiu = Nahaues ah
ɔun chinab = Na poot Cupul = Napot che = N
Batun yʒa = Ah Kin Evan = tal co cel = Na chan
vc = tal ti ɔi bil Kal = Ah Kin vcan = tal ti
Ekob = Na chi vc = Ah Kul Koh = Na chan m
tul = Nahau Coyi = Laobi Vnucil Vin cob
thaniob cabin [illegible] habil ɔul tu cahal lae
lal vc [illegible] halach vinicil cah ah
xiu = Oho mal

Ohol mal = Lahun Kan Ah Cuch haab = Camani ah caxan
cah = hek lay montejo v Kaba ah ɔib cah = lay ix hab yan
Camani ah luum ɔul = ah mak Op ɔul = he lay yax thox
cah = hex Cauli ɔul tuchaobe = yah chaula ti banob
Campeche: ti hoki u chemobi = Caix bini al mahenob
Vɔaab v çij lobi = Oxlahun tul yah chaul ɔulob lae =
Caix talob y ch caan çi hoo = Bolon Ahau V Katu
nil Cu chi = lae = ✠ V Kay lay V tzolan V Mi atzil
V yanah tail = V tzolan v ximbal Katun Vay Cuhok
Cabal tulumil = Nitun ɔala. Chac temal = tah Vay
nil = hol tun ytza = Chi Chi nila = Cautzac yohel
tabal V Cuch v xim bal Katun = hun hun ɔit Katune =
[illegible] = Valob yani = bay ɔibanil tumen ah Kulen ɔi
[illegible] Va[illegible]elista = V than V yumil Caan y luum =
[illegible]ch Kin = tal canal = lay ɔabi tiob =
[illegible]ob tuchun luum = tu chun Cauinicile =
[illegible] to hil than tu Kulem ɔibil: tu yunil —
[illegible] pul dor yo: Minan çipani: ticici y labil tu
ɔalal ti yunil = hek lay tumenelob = Cantul Chi
balob: talob ti caan = ah Kab caan: ytz Caanob:
V halach vinicob = yahau lilob cab = ——
Ca caal puc = hool tun Balam = hoch tun poot =
ah mex Cuc chan = Cha y Chil = ——
Ze y Chil Vuc Kal hab o coc Christianoile
ti v humul hun ahauobi = V chuc lum ɔi[illegible] =
Katuni = tij x u cha can pa hal ah mi atzi: ti
y x V Kat naat Katuni = Otzil hom u uich
chac chuen Coy i = Cabin V luc V yumil
Kul na = yan chumuc cah ti hooe =
V lom tal ti la Kin = tal ti xaman =
[illegible]al ti Chi Kin = tal ti Nohol = V
[illegible] V thanil = V Christian[illegible]il: tu Vuc lahun
[illegible] = V Chebal V hac[illegible] Na[illegible] Christia
noil =

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noil = Vlom V Sadreil = Vlom V Obispoil = Sancto yn
quiçicion Vthan Dios bin bel tabaci = mamac
bin hauçiclae Amen =

Capitulo, del Año Katun =

Primero = Buluc Ahau Vyax hej luum, ɔulob

Primero —

Buluc Ahau, Katun, Vyax chun
vxo col Katun, Vhun ɔit Katun
ych caan çihoo; vhej Katun, [illegible]
ci ɔul lob; Chac u mex v m[illegible]
Kin- ah mexob; ti la Kin u [illegible]
lob = Cauliob = Vay tac luumil a
V ɔulilob cab [illegible] uinic[illegible]
Chac uinicob [illegible]
V Chun nic [illegible]
ob = Nicte V[illegible]
baob = Bee ah yz[illegible]
Chaab talel ucah = [illegible]
O ych caan = çac tun lah pal: tal ti caan = çac
ua om che: bin e ma bal tal ti caan = hun auat
hun lub u talel: auilicex yahal cab: auilicex
mat; Bee Ok taba coon ti taliob: Vlicob hunac
ah mol tunichob: hunac ah mol cheob = Vçac y b te
elob cab = hopom Kak tuni v Kabob: yet mac
uçabanob: yutabob: v chebal v hich cal Vyumo
Bee ah yzae heix a Kule: mabal uuilal: lay ku
hahal Ku ti emilae: hunçipiuthan: hunçipi
can = Co cix bin u Katunil: Co cix bin u chal
lob: mac touil ah Kin = mac touil ah Bouat bi
natic = Valac u talel tancah maya patan: ti
chi cheen yzae = Bee Alan yɔinil = ti tali
Chil = Vuc Ahau Katun tucal ya: tucal num
ya = tu patan tac yax Cul hex tac pulex yalan
patan: çamal cabehe: ti tali Mehenexe [illegible]
abaex + amançex u cuch num ya [illegible]
yam a Cahalexe: hex Katun ti cul hilae [illegible]

Katun: vKatunil Numya: V Katunil v ta ciçin ti
Culhi: y chil Buluc ahau Katun: Kamex Kamex
a uulae xob = ah mexob = ah pulob tu chi cul
Ku = talel tun u cahob: a çu cunexob: ah tan tu
nob = Lay to bin Katic Vçian Kutax: y etal lobe:
heix u Kaba yah Kinobe = Ah mis ni lac pe = Coh =
An ta christo = V uichob = tu Kinil = te u talel: V Ki
nil: ta tanexe = Bee tu ya bal num ya = Mehe
nexe = lay u than Cayum = Elom ti cab =
Caç peta hom Caanal = tu Katunil = uch male:
tali tu chi Dios cit bil = matus bil thanni = Bee
hach: al u cuch Katun: ti Cul hi y chil Chris
[illegible] il = he[illegible]lac cu talele: pentacil than = pentac
[illegible]ich = pentac uinic = ti talij = bin Ku
[illegible]ili cex: talel u Cah = heix halach
[illegible] ah Cakin ɔamoob = ah Cakin popoob.
y[illegible] Vay yab haab = ti u Coy Kinilobi = halili v
x[illegible] u than Dios = Buluc pis = V luch = mol yam =
V Meut = V uich ti yahau lili = Mol tun u can =
Mol tun v than = binex cimic = binex cuxlac =
mex Caanaatex = V than = Cuxul Vooh = lae =
ah May pane = V Mehen u ba tu hunal: V Justisia
il = lay ti ɔaic ti mas cab = lay ti hok sic = cau Kax
cauha ɔab = Catun tac ti cu tal = Cayal uxicin.
V mehen. ti yan V poc tu hola = y V xanab ti
yoca: ti Kaxan v taab tu nake: heualac v
talele = ——————————

1560

2

Segundo

Bolon ahau, katun: vcaɔit ka
tun; cuxocol ych caan ci hoo=
vheɔ katun; tijx tukamah v
patanobi= vɔallilobcabi= tijx
vliob vyumil capixanni= ti
yx hunmol hi cahi= ti ʒucen
ʒucil: tu hol vpoopobi= tiyx
ti hopi vcanal santo okolal
tix hopi yocol haa tac po
tijx= eɔ lahi vchun santa
yglesia mayori= vkakal na Diosi= vxiuil
xitelna= Dios cit bil= tix eɔ [illegible]
vucpel sacramentoy= çateb[illegible]
tix hopi ban meyah chumuc ca[illegible]
numya bal cahi= tix vuatal ca[illegible]
lic u than kui= xanomi tali tuchi [illegible]
bil= ti yulel çac tun lan pal= tal ti caan= çu
huy chupl[illegible] u kaba: vna vucpel cha chac ek=

* * * * * * *

vchucma tubolon pis yabil: ah bolon ahau tu
taninah christianoil= Bay ɔibanil tu
men propheta Chilam Balam= tu bolon ɔa
lab tun te caanale: Oxlahun eɔnab vki
kinil te ti caane: Bayx vay ti luume= ti
caanil xol= ti caanil ual= em tal= vtha
Dios= tal ti canal= hun yuk ti bal cah= tuc
nil= Bolon pis: vlac= Bolon pis: vluch= Bee
chaaba ah yʒae: ma tub aɔaic auulaex: b
ahantexob= bin ix uhantexoh xan: ti tali la[illegible]

Vuc [illegible]

4

1580

3

tercero

Vuc ahau, katun. yox ɔit
katun yax al chac = ych
Caan çi hoo = Vhe ɔ katun =
yax al chac Vuich: ti ya
haulil = ti yah Miatzil =
Vtan pax cabal = V tan
xot cabal nic te vah =
nic te haa = yaal ti vho
pol Vtzuc a chil = ah
Miatzobi = Vbe bech kab-
nic tai = Vbe bech kab-
katuni = ti vhopol v
[illegible] lay bin hunyuk ka tic balcah
[illegible] V buc = Nic te vuich = Nic te
[illegible] xa nab = Nic te vpol = Nic te Vxim
[illegible] kuy cu cal = kuy cu chi = muɔ cu uich =
puɔ cu tub = tu xi blalil = tu chuplalil = tu Ba
tabil = tu Justiçiail = tu chun thanil = tus
Cauanoil = tu h Cam çahil = tu nohochil =
tu chan chanil = Minan to nohoch can = ti u
hach çatal Caan y luum tiobi = ti uhach sa
tal sub tal li = ti vhichil v cal vhalach vi
ni cil cahi = yahaulil cabi = V Boua til cah
hi = yah kin maya uinicobi = Satal tun naat =
Satal tun Miatz = Chaaba ah y tzae: A me
henexob to bin y lic = Vhi ɔib te katun = Vba
xal katun = Coo: vthan = Coo vuich = ti ya
haulil tu halach vinicil = Chac Ven co =
Vuc pel Vlac = Vuc pel Vluch = Vthan Dios =
[illegible] n hich cal V Cuch katun lae

hoo ahau

49 Quarto 49

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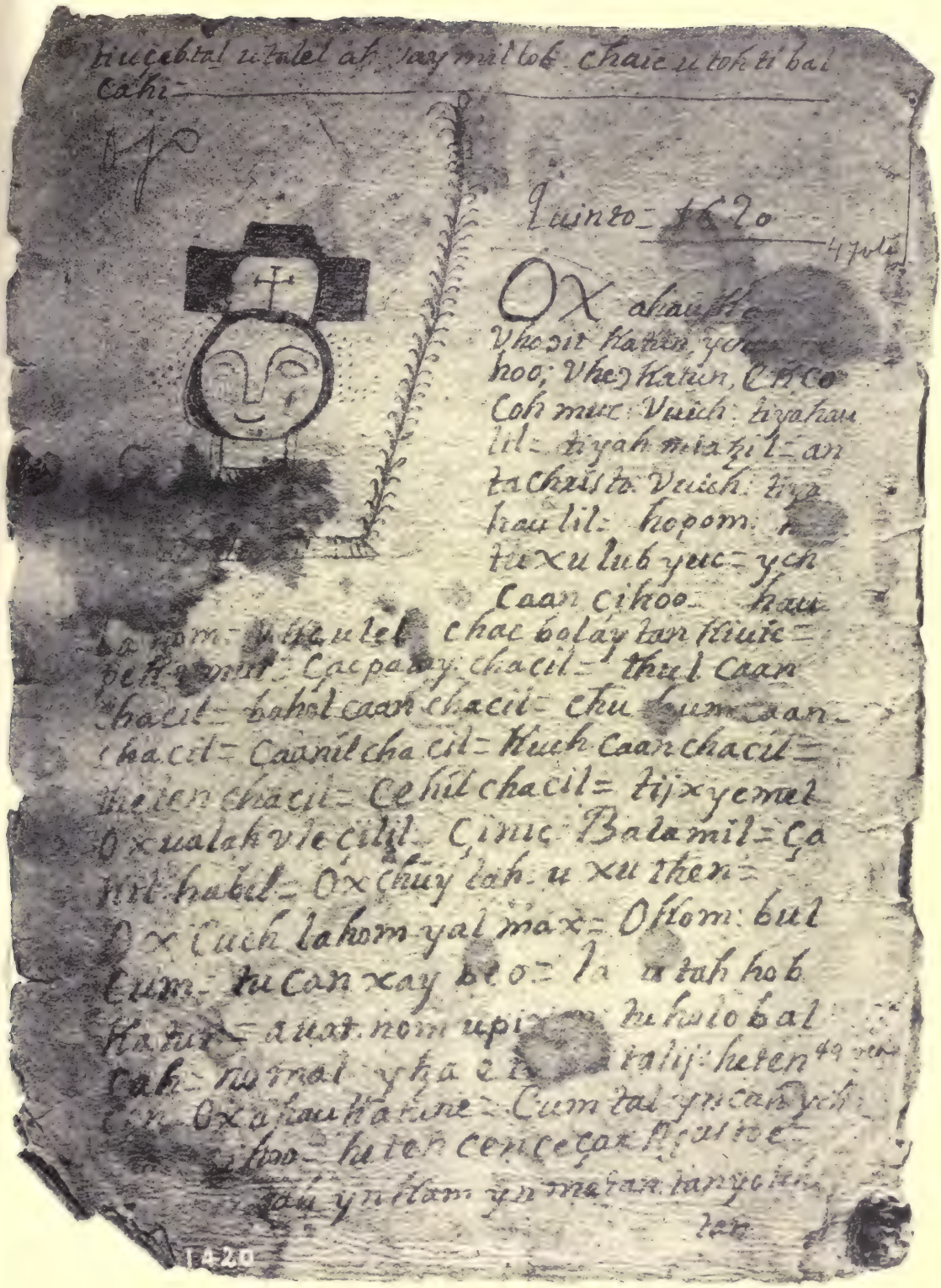
4

Ho ahau, Katun. Vcan
ɔit Katun, ychcaan ci hoo-
Vheɔ Katun, chich uuich, chich
Vm[illegible]: tiyahaulil= chibil
al= chibil Mehen= titalij=
tiuhopolutzaciçin: tibal
Cahi= tijxubinel vuich-
Kauil= Can c he bil Caan:
tucan he bil helebe=
tij vyuchul Chuytab-
tibal ca[illegible]
Vcal: [illegible]

tichibali= tijxvlikil vcal. holil [illegible]
Con con mehen= Con con aal= titalij= tij[illegible]
Ahool Chamal= Chabci Vyum balcah= tu[illegible]
yan binyubah= Okot bot bat= Oxchac nicon:
chac [illegible]ulab= chac uayah cab= Vbal vcpot= yahɔaul
capu [illegible]kal ychil patan= tucalya= tucal ha= Batab
och= Batab chamac= Batab ahpic= ah ɔuuɔ Vɔuta
nil Cahob= Cum utal= Xin caynlahab x apax= [illegible]
Cech Viɔin= Cucun= ah xac lampat tech Vuchi
le= Extolil Och= Vkatunil= Nic te Vkan che-
Culic tuɔam= tichaan tankiuic= tan pop= ah
Cakin ɔam= ahCakin pop= tutab cah Ca haan=
Vchi Vba[illegible]nil Cab= tucatulil= Batab Och= y[illegible]
xac lampat= maya cin[illegible]al: bin ɔaicob= vchun [illegible]
xob= e ɔeɔe cil Cuchie= takabatah tun[illegible] helelac
tu chic chic Çoc[illegible]un= tuke ban that Katun
tancah maya pa[illegible] chac Xuyua patan= tulac
lam pach Balam= ahcab cob= tuchibal Katun
tuchibal haab= ci ɔob: tiyahaulil- ban ba[illegible]
hich cal vcuch Katun= Vacu hichil [illegible]
bil cah telac= Vxul vnum ya may[illegible]



1640 ✠ Primero

6

Hun ahau, katun,
uuuc ɔit katun emal:
uhez katun: tu kinil
yulel yx puc Yola
yox uala Cij = e
mom Çuum: emom
tab. tal ti Caan.
u thanil matus bilbe=
Cutalel ubel tubali=
uthan vyumil Caan; matus bil thani:
pek umut: ah kuch umut: pan u Cadic uui
ni cil: Och uuich: ti yahau lili: Ox kasap
u tu Cul: y uthan Ox kaçap: yu toon: Ox ka
çap uto k: ti yahau lili; ti yah Miatzili=
tiix yulel hun pic ti ax ti chi bali. Ba
lam: y Canul ti chi bali: yah chi ul: Vijl=
yah çatul kauil: u bo bo chil uiil = yah
çatul hanal: Vuc pel hab: u chibal hun
ti ax: uuc pel hab: u chibal canul: Cabin
emec: u Jus ti sia Cayumil ti Dios: yokol
nic te: yokol u çac: yb teel cah: yokol
chac uen co: Vmaxil katun: ti yx yu
lel uyanal thani: uyanal cani: maix tan
yoc çob ti yol maya uini cobi: bin kayac
y chilob uthan Dios: uyum bil Caan Cau
toh cint ubalob: Caupa chint tulobil v
balob: Vnucili ti maya uini cob mauhat

15 yubob uthan Diose = Ena yum bilob ah xot
kin nobe: Binix Okomac yolob: uhalach
uinicil bal cah: ɔeɔec: ocan ti yol: maix
ocan ti yol xanie: Bala ta thane hun lu
kul ah cici olal: u Balamil cabe = haxom =
kaak: tu chi cul maya çuhuye = hun nab
ku: tu çu huyil: hunab yglesia ti yauati: la: u
yub uthan uyumil caan uyumil yo kol cab = binix
okomac yol bal cah: tu çinil ti tatie pec nom: v
xik cab pec nom chumuc cab: titali ukinil:
tijx yemel uʒi cilob ah ben tana ɔulobi: uthan
Dios = Oxmuc bin eme bal u Jus ti çia cayumilti
yokol bal cahi = tijx yemel noh katun yokol
u çac yb teel cahi: Oheltabal uahalach chich
yoc o lalobi: tijx yemel ahmek tan: u sih =
hoyic u uich u cu yil cab u maxil katun: v
chuyum thu lil cah; u chamacil cah: tiix yu
lel uma xul ahaui uxot utabil u cuch numya:
lae: xotom ahau = tix yemel ukoch tulacal, tal
ti caan; ukoch bal cah tu çinil kin tunyaabil =
tupach. yan to tu kin hunnac ʒuc ti cab = hun
kal hom yala ah canan çuçah canan kak
nab; ah uaymil; bay ah emal; Oxmuch
hom yala tan kak nab; u ɔoc katun; bay
yili ubel tabal tukuchul u vuɔ katune =
tix u cham ua pani: tijx uhiɔ uʒaciçi
ni; an ta cristoi: lom tok ʒa. hoc mu cuc
ʒa: ɔon bacal ʒa: Cum tan ʒa: puch tun
ʒa = vhiɔibte katun lae tan yol che: u
kamie u matan çe çar agusto: che

tun

49 tun Cimil tumen Viih. oc [illegible] chil; maya Cimlal
Okom bul Cum; y yax [illegible] tuho can ba: tu hocan
heleb; alan y ɔi nil; ɔi ɔi mehen tali ti bal cahij
tiix yulel ahau; tinaa tal nat ti; na Com. ucuch
umehen Kui; tijx Yulel Obispoi; San toqui
çiçion ukaba: y Saul; ukat okolal; y Chris
tianoil; uɔoçi ɔil; uɔoc num çahya. ti balcah
heix bin ɔoc ce bal uthanile Noh Katun; ti
Kom Chan; y ho tzuc chakan: ti bateel: uchan
Katun; hunahau Katun; Kakal moçon chac
u Cuch Katun; tzolen chac cil; thul Caan
Chac Cil; Vlobil Katun; hun chic xulil yoc
çah: tijx yemel uCuch tzai: ti yemel patani
tijx ukatabal, pro uari; y Vuc çap yi bnel cab
tiuhach chichtlal utan labal Diosi: Vɔocukka
mic utakin an ta christo: Matali: an ta Cristo
mau Kat Cayumil ti Diosi: ma usatal Katun
lae: Vay tac petenil; tumen Ca sihnalil lay
peten lae = heuchun lay an ta christoil lae
ɔutul. ɔut til; heix matac Kul uinicobe
minan toc luk çah: minan çi ɔil = y pochil
tukikel, ulak uinic; tumuk ah numya
tumuk cuhanal hun hun tul: hecutale la
hopel uich che tiuhannal Cab: Cohi;
ah bentena, bela tun yatuyol. uyumil caan
yx pom Kak uɔoc uthan Katun; ti Kom
Katun, ha bana: Oxlahun bak chem
lae ——— lah ca Ahau ———

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Segundo

Lah cabil ahau, katun: Vuaxac
ɔit katun. Cuxo col sac lahtun:
Vheɔ katun: yax. al Chuen-
u uich bulau. caan: Chac. u
uich ti yahaulil = hokon.
yan tu Caanil-kin = yantu
caan nil akab = hun nac, ah
mennil: hun nac ah y
ɔa til: yani ci ci halach
uinicil = Ci ci Batabil-
yanni ci ci olal. uthan bal cah tu çinili =
bin a yi kalac ah numya uini ci = ua haluah
uthan katuni = a yi kal hab = bal ba halixan
yuʒil katun: yu ʒilix Chac cob: bin me yah
na cobi = yich = tijx uhokol ych luumil tu
nich ti christianoili = yet tal Diosi; minan
tun Chamac: y: ah cab coh ti chi bali; ti
tun u ka tal; Okolal ti yah. bel nalil Cah:
hobi. y u puex tail takin: y u cassamien
toil Cah: ti can kas na = tijx u katabal
Caxanab-ua lalicil cachristianoil = hek
lay ti ahi Cab-tac menel: he lay ca
ualic he le lae: he ix bin ɔoc bal Nicte:
katun lae: Con bil bin ɔoc bal: Vlel u
than yahaulili = tij Cabin uluc: Vuc viʒil:
chac ek: y tupem caana: pahool
Chacce: tu uuc lahun tunna:

1424

tercero-

1680

8.

Lahun ahau katun
chable uheꝯ katun
ti yulel u caha lob: can
uat hom. u kax. e
cheob yo kolob ya
haulil cabbob; elom
ꝯiꝯ elom çuschi
kak elomu kuchich-
va kom chal tun kin tun ya bil: u cuch katunni
uthan cayumil ti Dios: cit bil- yu colel caan-
uyeka tun: mamac bin hau sic: uthan ca
yumil ti Ds Ds mehen bil- vyumil caan ye
tel luum lae: mamanomi= bin u chu
cal ti bal cahil= tuçi nil bin u luc santoil-
christiano pulic u kin cau uas kes ubaob
ahnu nob: tu lo bil u belob= mamac bin hau
sic- lay tun kin tun yaa bil: cha bil. uthan yoko
lob, maya ah ki nob lae= Vthan Dios- Vaxac
ahau= Vuꝯ = quarto =

9 13

Quarto —

Vaxac ahau Ka
tun. u Bolonɔit —
Katun. yꝫ mal
uheɔ. Katun
Kinich Ka Kmo —
Emom: Chi mal —
Emom halal —
tupach yahau
lil Cabob. pakkom —
u pol chakkan pu
tunob. vɔulil cab —
uɔoc çiɔil. uɔoc unum çah yaob — ti balcah —
uthan Dios cit bil: ban ban Katun yah: bin
bel ta baci = tumenel ah otoch nalo be: —

1720

Quinto —

Vac ahau Katun: ula
hun ɔit Katun, cuxocol
Vx mal uheɔ Katun —
oclis tu baob. chicix.
uthan: chicix uuich
ti yahau lil. bin utus
cob u coil than: Catun
Emec Dios cit bil xotic u calob: tumen
uKeban tana lob. Catun caput cux la cob —
pak tob u xot Kin cayumil ti Ds latulah yo
[illegible] ti christianoil. y u cuchul tei lob he
[illegible] than vayyo hol cabe: bin ococob ti
[illegible] il —

1740

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Primero—

Can ahau katun
u bulue ɔit katun cu
xocol chicheen y
ʒa: uheɔ katun
ulom u cahal: ah
yʒaobi: hulom
kuk ulom ya
xum: ulom ah
kantenal. ulom
xa kik= hulom
kukul can= tupachob tu cate u than Dios
lae — Vlom ah yʒa—

1760

12

Segundo—

Cabil ahau katun
ulah caɔit katun ma
ya Vas cu camil—
uheɔ katun tan coch
hom u uah: tancoch
hom yaal: uthan
Dios lae tan coch hom u templo tiya
haulilob. u xul uthan Dios lae —

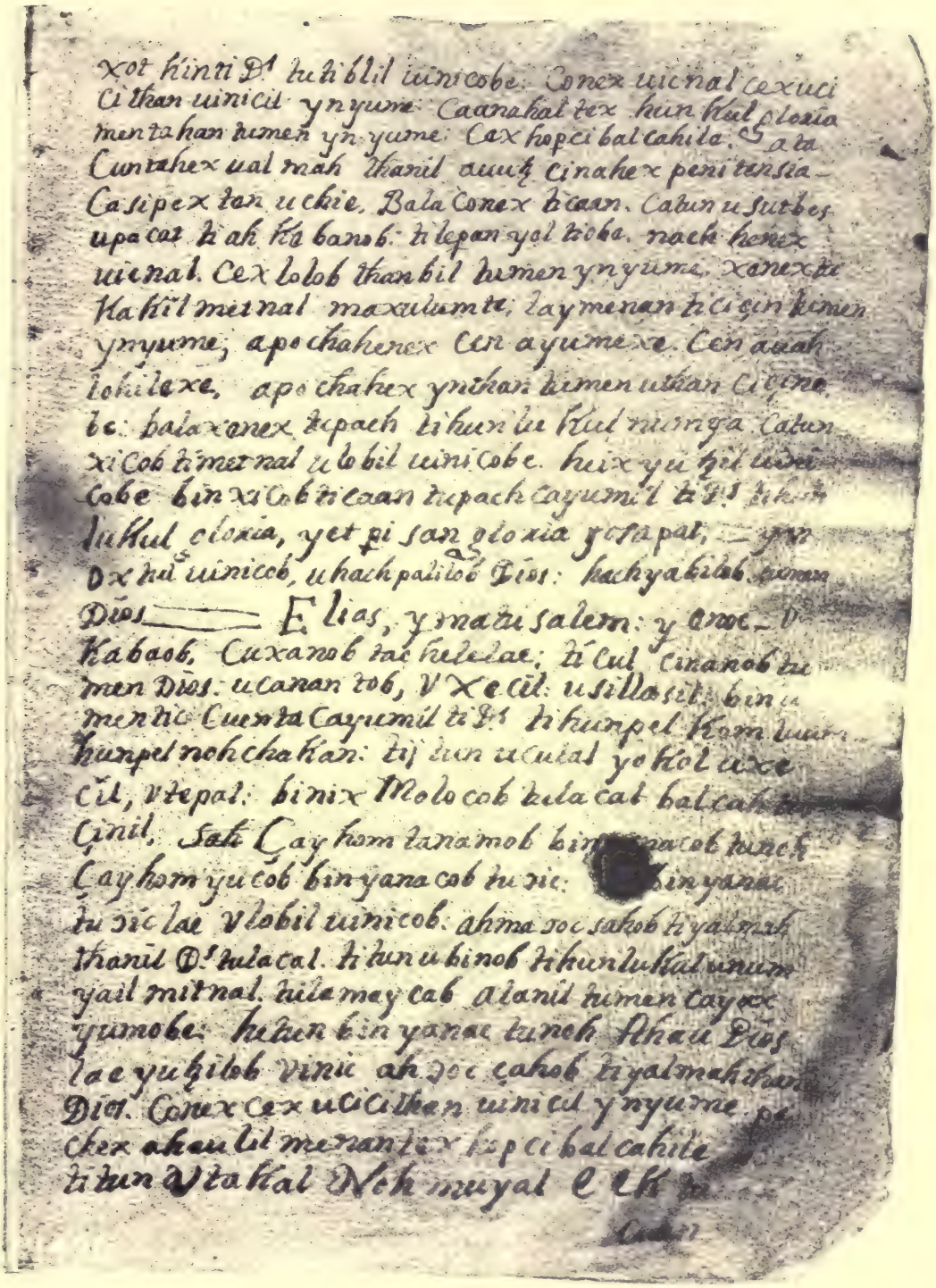
1780

1920

13

1599: terçero Juiçio

Oxlahun ahau katun. Cuxocol. kin chil coba. uhez katun. yoxlahunɔit. katun. et lahom uɔub. yahaulil cabobi, uyuk xot kin cayumil ti Dios, emom ukikel che, y tunich; elom caan yluum. uthan Dios. cit bil: y Dios mehen bil y Ds. espiritu santo. santoxot kin lae san to Juiçio. tumenel cayumil ti Ds.: bin Mi. nanac umuk caan. y luum. bin Ococ ti christ kanoil nucuch cahob; vcahal mac nalob. vno. hochil cah max ukaba: Bay ucah. tuyukul lay mehen cahob. lae: tuyukul lay capetenil: maya cuçamil: maya patan: licil ca. cakin ui nicil: tucal coil: ɔiɔi mehenil: tuxul ca sat mail y lil: y subtalil cuxyol camehenob tunic teob: minan yuz kin toonlae uchun cimil: tulobil kik: tuho kol. v. tubin. v. tulisiuil: v. vchac cuchie: tulis kik: Bayti uzul planeta obe: ylabil yuzil lae: vxul uthan Dios: Bin lae yoktob: yalil: caput si hil: san to pixan: [illegible] santo, olio, ma ɔal bil upachobi; tal ti Dios [illegible] bin christiano ah balob: tusanto. oc olal [illegible] ob, y Balamoob; ɔo an tun casatic ca.



xot kinti Ds tutiblil uinicobe. Conex uicnal cexuci
ci than uinicil ynyume. Caanahal tex hun kul gloria
mentahan tumen yn yume. Cex hopci bal cahila. Sata
Cuntahex ual mah thanil auuz cinahex penitensia-
Casipex tan uchie. Bala Conex ticaan. Catun u sutbes
upacat ti ah ke banob. tilepan yol tioba. nach henex
uicnal. Cex lolob thanbil tumen ynyume. xanex tu
kakil metnal maxulumte; laymenan ticiçin tumen
ynyume; apochahenex Cen ayumexe. Cen auah
lohilexe, apochahex ynthan tumen uthan ciçine
be: balaxanex tupach tihun lu kul numya. Catun
xicob timetnal ulobil uinicobe. heix yu zil uini
cobe binxicob ticaan tupach cayumil ti Ds tihun
lukul gloria, yet pi san gloria yosapat, — yn
ox tul uinicob, uhach palilob Dios: hachyabilob tumen
Dios ——— Elias, ymatu salem: y enoc — V
kabaob, Cuxanob tac helelae; ti cul cinanob tu
men Dios: ucanan tob, V xecil: usillasil: bin u
mentic Cuenta Cayumil ti Ds tihunpel kom luum
hunpel nohchakan: tij tun uculal yokol uxe
cil, vtepal: binix Molocob tulacal balcah tu
çinil. Sah Çay hom tanamob bin [illegible]acob tunch
Çay hom yucob binyanacob tu ɔic: [illegible] binyanac
tu ɔic lae vlobil uinicob: ahma ɔoc sahob tiyalmah
thanil Ds tulacal. ti tun u binob tihunlukul unum
yail mitnal. tulamaycab alanil tumen cayex
yumobe: hetun binyanac tunch Ahau Dios
lae yuzilob vinic ah ɔoc çahob tiyalmahthan
Dios. Conex cex ucicithan uinicil ynyume. pe
chex ahaulil menantex hopci bal cahile
titun Vtakal Noh muyal e ek [illegible]

Catun

10 Caan tac tuuich luum. Bay homiuil, Ciotzil, ukay Angelesob. Minanyet pi san Ciotzilil: bin naca bal hahal ku: Vyumil caan y luum lae

HE thanob ti utz cin nahan lae: alabebal uxicin nob yxmayumob. yxmanai lob, lae heix lay thanlae bin tacun tabac bay u ta cun tabal ah kan thi xal ti tuna= licil utalel yocol Christianoil tan cah mayapan tuchicheen y tza= ualac uil suyua: ualacuil y tza= Ahom cab hunlakin: hun xaman= hun chi kin: hun nohol= tali tu chi D.s cit bil_ lay cu tzi cob, hotul ah kinob: ah kulem ah ki nob, kuchiob tutan D.s Lay tzolob u cuch num ya= Catal yocol Christianoil lae

Hek lay u kabaob, ɔibanob lae:

1 Chi lam Balam Noh saçerdote:
2 Napuc tun; Noh saçerdote,
3 Nahau pech, Noh saçerdote
~~Na tzin yabun chan, Noh sacerdote~~
4 Ah kuil chel, Noh saçerdote;
5 Natzin yabun chan, Noh saçerdote,

Vchinam Dios. coɔ lic upach tan suhuyluum, lay tzoliob, u cuch num ya. tu tan cayumisti D.s: talel tun u cah yocol Christianoil; lae: Xekik maya cimlal: kin tun yaabil= Sakil haabil

yx

yx pom Kakil= Vcuch Numya= uhaciçin= Sacpe 597
ta hom Canal= Elom ticab= ychil Ox ahau Ka
tun— hun Ahau Katun= Vlobil Ox ɔit Katun=
Bay ɔibanil tumenel Euangelistas= y propeta
Balam= talitu chiuyumil caan yluum= catu Kulem
ɔib tahob- ah Kinob, tu Kinil noh Kin tunyaabil
Lahun chable: ych Christianoil ti cabin uluc
Saul; y Dn An Do martines Vchab utoh
yal v mehenob ahan tun cabe= bay ɔibanil tu yal
mah thanil Noh ah Kin propeta Chilam Ba
lam= y ti cal man ben, Amen Jesus

La interpretaçion, historias, de yucatan

1 Sacerdotesob, profeciado; Napuc tun
2 Elom ticab: petahom canal; V uaom Kauil;
3 ua ahtan u chamal, Elom ticab: Elom ɔiɔ= tuha
4 tunil: u chamal talome= Vbixan, bin y[illegible]
5 bin yal uthan; bin yokte v numyail: uch male

Vprofeciado, ah Kuil chal; Saçerdote

1 Cuhi ɔibte Katuneyume= mex ca anate ualac
2 u talal: mac bin Ca ɔab tu coɔ pop: Katuna; yume
3 bin uluc holom uil tucal ya: ta li ti xamon
4 tali ti chi Kine; tu Kinob uil yane yume: mac
5 to ah Kin; mac to ah bouat; bin tohalic uthan
6 uoohe= yume ychil Balam ahau; me[illegible]
7 riaate; hunac tzuc ticab= hun ɔal pi[illegible]
8 nal; tzu tzuc chac Be ciol tzili uil [illegible]

9 tepal cuchie; Cijuil yokol yahau lil cabobe-
10 kah cun auol ah yzae; ——

V. Profeciado, Nahau pech; gran sacerdote

1 Tukiniuil, u uatal kine yume= ti yok çah ych ahte
2 pal u-lo; tu can ɔit uka tunil; V cominale = Vhahal
3 pul tu kin kine; yok. lac. ka.uba, yn kuban yu
4 me; y chex tubel auula yzae; Vyumcab; cah u lom
5 tal tichi Nahau pech= ahkin; tukinil ua: Can ahau
6 katun= tuhiɔ bin u katunile = yume= Satomuil: si
7 nic= Vinicil= bin yanac tu pach Viil= tuman v bo bo
8 chil vijl= Vchu yum thu lil vijl= Sinic= ɔiu=
9 kan= pich= Xpucil=

V. Profeciado, Nazin yabun chan; Vchi; Vthan=

1 Hahal ku; tipeten= lay apak= Vhokola yume=
2 yah kinob uil bin puch cob uchmale= ɔa= cex
3 ka anat tu than- tuzacil kae = apixanex,
4 ce h bin hahal kumice = xeth auol takul ah
5 yzae = tubes ahauay ku: a satatay ku loe =
6 tulacal yanil: ahtepale yume= yah chaabul caan:
7 yluum tuçinil= lay yatauol ynualic techo maya
8 ah yzae= maakat auuy yanil Dios= haah a
9 kul tathano= lay Vyo col tun tauol. Vthan
10 yn zec lae ——

Profeciado de chilam Balam; de ~~xx~~ Zix coyom-

Cauichen many= Oxla hun ahau Vhijɔ
uil katune= Valac vil yza= Valac
vil

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4 Vil tancahe yume= Vchicul hunab ku canal= hulom vaom
5 che= et çahan ti bal cahe= Vchebal usashal yokol cabe=
6 yume= Vch ɔuni to moc tanba= Vch ɔuni sauinal=
7 Catalon ti pul chicul uch male= ah kini uinice yume
8 hun auat= hunlu bi uil utal auilicex mute= Vti
9 pil y Vaom che= ah hom cab hun xaman= hun chi
10 kin= ahom yzam= Na ka uil talel ucah cayum yza.
11 talel ucah ca çucun ah tan tune= kam auulaob; ah
12 mexob= ah li kin cabob; ah pul tuchicul kue yume=
13 Vz ka uthan ku cutalel cic nale: talel ucah vkin
14 cacux tale; ma a sah tic yo kol cabe yume= tech
15 hunac ku= chab ti con= Vz tun bac uthan kue=
16 yume= yah canul capixan= hemac bin kamic
17 hach ocan ti yole= ti caan ubin tupach hemac
18 Vchun cakin uinicil=

1 Caua cunto vchicul canal= caua cunto y Vaom
2 che= num tetah Vkaxa Vhokol hele= Vhel tu
3 pach Vyax chel cab= et çahan helel ti bal cuhe=
4 lau chicul hunab ku canale= lac a kul tex
5 ah yzae= caa kul te helel Vchicul canale= caakul
6 teto tuhahil colah cakulte hahal ku= hele lae yume
7 Oceztaba uthan hunab kue yume= tali ti caan a
8 uah than be= cux cin, ka auol ah yzae= a
9 hom uil cab tiob= Oc çicob ti yole= ychil vya
10 nal katune yume= Yok tuba ynthan
11 cen chilam Balam, ca in zolah uthan
12 hahal ku, tuçinile= yokol cabe= yabi
13 hunac zuc ti cabe yume= Vthan Dios Vyumil
14 caan y luum= hach vz ka Vthan ti caan
15 yume= Cokol yahau lil; yokolix can
hahal

8

16 hahalku: heuac heob ti vles lae yume: Ox alam vkil=
17 x cuch lum y ɔi nil= ɔaman yol= Cimenix vpuc
18 Çikal tunic teob xan= ahuaua tulupoob= ah va
19 tan çinaob= ɔNac xit= xu chit tunic te ulakob=
20 Caca kin yahaulilob= Coylac te tu ɔamoob=
1 Coylac te tunic teob= Cacakin uinicil= vthan
2 nob= Cacakin uxecob= vluchob= vpoocob
3 v Cokin nob= v Co akab= vmaxilob= yokol
4 cab= kuy cu cal= muɔ cu uich= puɔ cuchi=
5 tiyahaulil cabob= yume he cu talel Minan
6 kan tuthanob; v ɔulilob cah= Bin yalob
7 [illegible] talanilob= vmehen uuc tocoynaob=
8 yalob vuc tocoynaobe yume= Mac to ah
9 Bouat= Mac to ah kin= bin tohol cantic
10 vthan vooh lae

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An

Seine Excellenz

Herzog Joseph Florimond de Loubat.

Ew. Excellenz!

Später als ich gedacht habe, und von Ew. Excellenz gewiss schon längst mit Ungeduld erwartet, ist dieser zweite Band meiner Erläuterungen zum Codex Borgia fertig geworden, den ich heute die Ehre habe, Ew. Excellenz vorzulegen. Schwierigkeiten, die in der Sache liegen, und persönliche Behinderungen haben den Abschluss verzögert. Dafür glaube ich aber, Ew. Excellenz ein Buch bieten zu können, das meine langjährigen Studien an den Bilderschriften dieser Gruppe zu einem Abschlusse bringt, und das in der hier zum ersten Male versuchten durchgeführten Deutung der figurenreichen Tafeln, die die Mitte und den Kern dieser schönen Bilderschrift bilden, sowohl die Treue der Naturbeobachtung jener Stämme, wie die gewaltige Kraft ihrer mythenbildenden und künstlerisch gestaltenden Phantasie, in hoffentlich überzeugender Weise dem Leser zum Bewusstsein bringen wird. Parallelstellen und Vergleichsmaterial habe ich mich bemüht, so vollständig wie möglich zusammenzutragen, so dass der Leser überall mit eignen Augen sehen und meine Darstellung kontrollieren kann. Ist es auch nur ein enger Zirkel, in dem sich die Gedankenwelt jener Stämme bewegte, so hat er doch Bedeutung durch die Gestalten, die die Elementargebilde und die Glieder dieses Zirkels bilden, — die bunte Götterwelt, die in ihrer uns so seltsam anmuthenden Ausgestaltung doch nur die der Natur unsers Denkens angemessene Fortentwicklung einfacher grosser Naturanschauungen ist. Wer immer an der Erforschung der elementaren Gänge menschlicher Gedankenentwicklung Interesse nimmt, wird es Ew. Excellenz als hohes Verdienst anrechnen, dieses bedeutsame Material der allgemeinen Benutzung zugänglich gemacht zu haben.

Steglitz, im Juli 1906.

Eduard Seler.

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13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.

Blatt 29—46 (=Kingsborough 10—1, 76—69).

Die vorliegende Reihe bildet den Kern und ohne Zweifel das merkwürdigste Stück der ganzen Handschrift, das auch in der ganzen bisher bekannt gewordenen bilderschriftlichen Litteratur keine Parallele hat. Ich habe es „Höllenfahrt der Venus" genannt. In der That, ein Blick auf diese Blätter lehrt, dass es sich bei einer ganzen Reihe von ihnen um eine Fahrt durch unterirdische Räume handeln muss, während das überaus häufige Vorkommen einer Gestalt, die die Trachtabzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s und das Sternauge auf dem Scheitel mit dem Quincunx weisser Flecken auf dem Gesichte vereint, es zum mindesten sehr nahe legt anzunehmen, dass es die Gottheit des Planeten Venus sein soll, deren Wanderung durch diese Räume hier geschildert ist.

Das grosse Problem, das sich dem primitiven Geiste in der Bewegung der Sonne über den Himmel, ihrem Verschwinden im Westen, ihrem Wiederaufgange im Osten, bot, und das noch grössere des Mondes, der bald in vollem Glanze die ganze Nacht durch leuchtet, bald an Ausdehnung verlierend der Morgengegend immer näher rückt, um endlich im Sonnenaufgange zu verschwinden, und darnach am Abendhimmel wieder auftaucht, um aufs Neue an Glanz und Helligkeit und Dauer seines Scheinens zu gewinnen, sind auch von den Mexikanern und den anderen alten Kulturvölkern México's und Mittelamerikas in einer Fülle von Erzählungen behandelt worden. Für die Unterweltsfahrt der Sonne, die Besiegung der Mächte der Unterwelt durch die verbündeten beiden Lichtkörper der Sonne und des Mondes, ist der klassische Mythus der in der Qu'iche-Sage des Popol Vuh uns erhaltene von den beiden Zwillingsbrüdern *Hun ahpu* und *Xbalanque*. Die Tötung und Zerstückelung des Mondes bei seinem Näherrücken an die Sonne ist in dem Mythus von *Uitzilopochtli* und den *Centzonuitznaua* und den zahlreichen anderen Erzählungen von der Göttin behandelt, die die erste gewesen, die im Kriege gestorben, d. h. geopfert worden, sei, mit der die Institution der Menschenopfer begründet worden sei. Aber auch die andere berühmteste Sage der Mexikaner, die von *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Priester und Könige der Tolteken, der in der „Binsenstadt" (*Tollan*) ein Reich des Segens, der Fülle, des Wachsthums begründete, wo es eine Menge von Türkisen und andern Edelsteinen gab, wo nur die Götter der Geburt, die Ur- und Zeugungsgötter angerufen, nur unblutige Opfer ins Feuer geopfert wurden, wo Fürst und Volk in Sühne, Reinigung und Heiligung lebte, wo Kalender- und Priesterwissenschaft erfunden wurden, — ein Reich, das aber dann der Fürst, von einem unerbittlichen Verhängnisse getrieben, mit seinem Volk verlassen musste, um der Sonne entgegen, *teotl iixco*, *tonatiuh iixco*, nach Osten, dem Lande des Sonnenaufgangs, dem Rothlande (*Tlapallan*), dem Lande der schwarzen und rothen Farbe (*Tlillan Tlapallan*), dem Lande der Schrift, dem *Tlatlayan*, dem Orte des Brennens, zu ziehen, wo der Fürst oder Gott sich verbrannte oder (nach anderen) im Meere des Ostens verschwand, von wo er aber mit Bestimmtheit zurückerwartet wurde, um wieder in seinem Lande die Herrschaft zu übernehmen, — auch das ist, so sicher wie nur irgend ein Mythus gedeutet werden kann, auf den Mond und seine jedem aufmerksamen Auge offensichtlichen Erlebnisse am Himmel zu beziehen.[1]) Aber von anderen ähnlichen sagenhaften Wiedergaben jener wunderbaren himmlischen Vorgänge bei anderen Völkern unterscheidet sich der mexikanische Mythus sehr bestimmt durch die enge Verbindung, ja Parallelität, in die er mit dem Morgensterne gebracht wird. Der Morgenstern bewegt sich ja auch, nachdem er seine grösste westliche Elongation erreicht hat, *teotl*

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[1]) Vgl. Seler, „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVII, Berlin 1906.

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iixco, der Sonne entgegen, um endlich in den Strahlen der Sonne zu verschwinden. Und auch er erscheint nachher wieder am Abendhimmel, von der Sonne sich entfernend bzw. hinter ihr zurückbleibend. Aber freilich, das Problem ist hier ein ungleich komplizierteres. Für den Planeten Venus wiederholt sich am Abendhimmel derselbe Vorgang, der sich für ihn und für den Mond am Morgenhimmel abspielte. Nachdem er seine grösste östliche Elongation erreicht, biegt er wieder nach Westen um, um anfangs langsam, dann sehr rasch sich nach der Sonne zu zu bewegen und schliesslich in ihren Strahlen zu verschwinden. Und abermals am Osthimmel und vor der Sonne aufgehend, entfernt er sich langsam von ihr, um, wenn er die grösste Elongation in westlicher Richtung erreicht, das Spiel von neuem zu beginnen. Und während der Mond nur einen Tag wirklich verborgen bleibt, die Aufgabe für den Mythenerfinder in diesem Falle nur darin bestand, das Auftauchen des neuen Mondes am Abendhimmel zu erklären, dauert es bei dem Planeten Venus 77—80 Tage, bis er sich wieder so weit von der Sonne entfernt hat, dass neben diesem, oder nach diesem gewaltigen Lichtkörper sein schwaches Licht zur Wahrnehmung gelangt. In dem ersten Theile der Geschichte, in der Wanderung der Sonne entgegen bis zu dem Verschwinden in den Strahlen der Sonne, deckten sich die Erlebnisse des Planeten Venus nahezu mit denen des Mondes. Die Veränderung der Lichtgestalt ist eine andere, da der Planet Venus zur Zeit der grössten westlichen Elongation zwar auch nur halberleuchtet ist, aber dann bei dem Näherrücken an die Sonne immer voller wird. Immerhin konnte die Gestalt *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des nach Osten der Sonne entgegenwandernden, als ein adäquater Ausdruck auch der Erlebnisse des Planeten Venus gelten, während das Zusammentreffen des sterbenden Mondes mit dem Erscheinen des Morgensterns am Himmel, das auch von anderen Völkern in verschiedener Weise mythisch verarbeitet worden ist, als eine Verwandlung des Planeten in diesen Stern gedeutet werden konnte. Die anderen Stücke des Lebenslaufes der Venus, die werden in besondern Mythen geschildert worden sein. Es hat noch niemand festgestellt, was für Mythen das waren. Es mag sein, dass die eine oder andere der *Quetzalcouatl*-Sagen in Betracht gezogen werden kann. Aber vollständig sind, wie ich glaube nachweisen zu können, diese Erlebnisse des Planeten Venus auf unseren Blättern 29—46 zur Schilderung gelangt. Das erste Blatt (29) zeigt uns den Tod des Morgensterns; die drei folgenden (30—32) die Wanderung durch die Unterwelt nach dem Westen; das Ende von Blatt 32 das Aufgehen im Westen; Blatt 33—38 die Wanderung am Abendhimmel der Sonne nach — *i'co k'ih* „er sucht die Sonne" nennen ja die Quiché den Planeten; — Blatt 39 und 40 das Eingehen in die Erde im Westen; Blatt 40—44 die Rückwanderung durch die unterirdischen Regionen; und die letzten beiden Blätter 45 und 46 das Wiedererscheinen des Planeten und das Aufgehen der Sonne an dem östlichen Himmel.

Die beiden ersten Blätter und die beiden Hälften des dritten sind je von einer Einzäunung umgeben, die als Leib einer Todesgöttin sich geben. Der Kopf liegt in der Mitte der Eingangsseite, und die Idee ist wohl, dass der offene Mund dieser Todesgöttin den Eingang bildet. An den vier Ecken der Einfassung sind die in Adlerfänge endigenden Füsse angesetzt. Das Gesicht der Göttin ist schwarz, mit dem *tlaxapochtli*, der eigentlich schwarzen, hier im Kontraste weissen Scheibe der *Tlaçolteotl* auf der Backe; nur in dem vierten Falle (Blatt 31 links) ist das Gesicht der Göttin, wie die ganze Einfassung, roth. Das runde Totenauge, mit der Braue darüber, die fleischlosen Kiefer und das wirre, dunkle, mit Augen (oder Sternen) besetzte Haar kennzeichnen die Todesgöttin. Desgleichen der Ausputz, der in einem in abwechselnden Feldern roth und schwarz gefärbten Hinterhauptschilde (*cuexcochtechimalli*), einer in gleichen Farben gemalten und mit weissem Kreuze gezeichneten geknickten Totenfahne (*pantoyaualli*) und einem Halskragen besteht, unter dem, gewissermassen als Brustschmuck, ein rauchendes Menschenherz frei herausragt Als Leib gehört zu diesem Kopfe der Todesgöttin eben die Einfassung selbst. Auf den ersten beiden Blättern besteht diese aus einem äusseren schwarzen, mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) besetzten und einem inneren blutrothen Streifen, während der Kern auf Blatt 29 von einer in den Farben des Krautes *malinalli*, d. h. grün und weiss- und rothgestreift gemalten gedrehten Schnur (dem Bilde des Tageszeichens *malinalli*, das den Mexikanern als Sinnbild des Absterbens, der Vergänglichkeit galt), auf Blatt 30 von einem Skelettbrustkorbe gebildet wird. Auf den beiden Hälften des Blattes 31 setzt sich diese Einfassung, oder der Leib der Todesgöttin, aus einem äusseren und einem inneren, mit Augen (oder Sternen) besetzten Streifen zusammen, die aber auf der rechten Hälfte schwarz, auf der linken Hälfte des Blattes blutroth gefärbt sind, und denen als Kern ein in den entgegengesetzten Farben (roth bezw. schwarz) gemalter, mit

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grossen dreitheiligen Sternaugen besetzter Streifen eingefügt ist. Im Grunde ist also in allen vier Fällen die Idee die gleiche. Es ist eben in der That der Leib der Todesgöttin. An der linken, dem Eingange abgewandten Seite ist in allen vier Fällen dieser Leib zerrissen, und eine breite Oeffnung gestattet ein Weiterwandern nach dem nächsten Raume.

Auf dem ersten Blatte 29 sehen wir in der Mitte der Einfassung das Loch in der Erde oder die Mitte der unterirdischen Räume dargestellt, mit tief schwarzer Farbe gemalt. In ihm steht auf einer Erd- oder Todesgöttin, deren Leib aus einer gedrehten *malinalli*-Schnur besteht, und die mit weissen Papierfahnen im Haare und einer Enagua (*cueitl*) aus weissem, mit spitzwinkligen Figuren (*tlaitzcopintli*) bemaltem Rindenpapiere geschmückt, ein mit den Farben des Türkises (*xiuitl*) bemaltes Gefäss, das aber auf der Vorderseite ein Skelettgesicht und blau (türkisartig) gemalte, aber aus Knochen bestehende und in Adlerfänge endigende Beine und Arme hat, während eine, nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichnete, aber bunt, türkisartig gemalte Schlange das Gefäss quer durchzieht. Aus diesem Gefässe quillt eine dunkle, schwarze Masse, die mit weissen Papierfahnen, Todesfahnen, besteckt ist, und von der sich schlängelnde Streifen, Spiralen, Wirbel erheben, die bald frei, mit eingerollter Spitze enden, bald unter dieser Spitze einen *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottkopf tragen, aus dessen aufgesperrtem Schnabel bei dem einen Wirbel (zur Linken) eine Stachelkugel (= *tetl* „Stein"), bei einem zweiten (zur Rechten) ein blühender Baum (= *quauitl* „Holz"), sonst aber andere kleine, am Scheitel schneckenartig eingerollte *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottfigürchen heraustreten. Das ist meiner Ansicht nach das Gefäss mit dem verbrannten Gotte, das in der Erde beigesetzt ist, und aus dem die Asche stäubt. In der That sieht man über dieser herausquellenden Masse und zwischen den aufwirbelnden Streifen ein schwarzes Mumienbündel, von dem ein Seil mit einem rothen und gelben Skorpiongesichte am Ende herabhängt, dem aber ein schwarzer Skelettkopf mit dem Kopfschmucke *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, der Gottheit des Morgensternes, aufgesetzt ist, und das durch schwarze, in Adlerfänge endigende Arme und Beine und eine schwarz und rothe Schambinde zu einer Menschenfigur vervollständigt ist. Andere *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlangenfiguren, die ebenfalls kleine *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottfigürchen mit spiral eingerolltem Scheitel aus ihren Rachen entlassen, aber weiss, roth, gelb, blau und schwarz gemalt und — sechs im ganzen — in die vier Winkel der Einfassung vertheilt sind, stellen vielleicht die verwehende Asche dar, die zum Himmel stieg und sich in allerhand Vögel von kostbarem Gefieder verwandelte. --

auh mitoa yn icuac yn [motlatito yn Quetzalcouatl]
und man sagt, als Quetzalcouatl sich verbrannt hatte,
niman ye yc 'aco quiçaya inexyo
da stieg seine Asche empor
auh yn neçiya yn quittaya mochi tlaçototóme
und es erschienen, man sah, viele Vögel von kostbarem Gefieder,
yn aco quiça yn ilhuicatl quimonitta
die in die Höhe flogen, die man dort am Himmel sah,
tlauhquechol xiuhtototl tzinitzcan ayoquan
(weiss und rothe) Löffelreiher, (blaue) Türkisvögel, (dunkelgrüne) —, (schwarz und gelbe) Trupiale,
tozneneme alome cochome
gelbe Papageien, rothe Araras, grüne Papageien
ixquich noccequi tlaçototome
und alle anderen Arten von Vögeln mit kostbarem Gefieder. —

Dass in all diesen Fällen aus dem Rachen der *Quetzalcouatl*-Köpfe, die am Ende der Aschenwirbel oder der Windgottschlangen stehen, wieder kleine *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottfiguren heraustreten, das scheint mir eine deutliche Illustration oder ein Hinweis auf die Thatsache, die selbstverständlich hier angenommen wird, zu sein, dass der Gott eben in dem Feuer des Scheiterhaufens nicht gestorben, dass er aus der Asche wieder lebendig geworden ist. Und wenn wir endlich in der breiten Ausgangsöffnung an der linken Seite des Blattes zwei mit einander verschlungene, dunkel gefärbte und am ganzen Leibe mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen besetzte *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlangen sehen, die je eine dunkel

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gefärbte *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottfigur aus ihrem geöffneten Rachen hervortreten lassen, so ist das augenscheinlich ebenfalls der aus der Asche lebendig gewordene Gott, die Seele des Gottes, — oder die beiden verbrüderten Gestirne, Mond und Morgenstern — die ihren Weg weiter durch die unterirdischen Räume suchen.

Es folgen nun vier Abtheilungen, die auf die Blätter 30—32 vertheilt sind, die wir — was auf dem ersten Blatt 29 nicht der Fall war, — durch beigesetzte Tageszeichen bestimmten Himmelsrichtungen zugeschrieben, oder die wir durch die beigesetzten Tageszeichen in bestimmter beabsichtigter Weise aneinander gereiht finden. Das *Tonalamatl* aber, dessen Abschnitte wir hier zu Bezeichnungen der Himmelsrichtungen oder bestimmter Abtheilungen verwendet sehen, ist nicht das gewöhnliche, sonst allgemein benutzte, das in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordnete. Dieses zerfällt, wie ich S. 17, 18 des ersten Bandes dieser Erläuterungen gezeigt habe, in vier grosse Abtheilungen, und lässt sich in Folge dessen nur zur Bezeichnung von vier Himmelsrichtungen, den bekannten vier Kardinalpunkten — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, — verwenden. Auf diesen Blättern hatte aber der Verfasser augenscheinlich das Bedürfniss, auch die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, die Mitte oder das Unten oder Oben andeuten zu können. Und so bediente er sich einer *Tonalamatl*-Anordnung in viergliedrigen Säulen, die herauskommt, wenn man nicht vier, sondern fünf Dreizehnheiten in horizontaler Richtung hintereinander schreibt, wie es die Tabelle auf der folgenden Seite zeigt: —

Diese Anordnung kommt in mexikanischen Bilderschriften sonst fast nirgends vor, findet sich aber in Maya-Handschriften, z. B. Codex Cortes 13—18, und lässt sich auch aus den Bestimmungen ableiten, die in dem Kalender der Bücher des Chilam Balam für gewisse Tage angegeben werden. Die Zeichen und Zahlen ordnen sich bei ihr in derselben Weise, wie sie in Folge der Annahme eines Jahres von 365 Tagen auf die Anfangstage der auf einander folgenden Jahre zu stehen kommen. Man sieht dass bei dieser Anordnung in der That das *Tonalamatl* in fünf Abschnitte zerfällt, deren Anfangssäulen alle die Ziffer „eins“ haben. Es ist nun allerdings zunächst die Frage, an welcher Stelle die fünfte Himmelsrichtung in die Reihe der übrigen einzufügen ist. In der Aubin-Goupil'schen Handschriften-Sammlung befindet sich ein interessantes Blatt, das neuerdings von Dr. Walther Lehmann eingehend behandelt und erklärt worden ist[1]), auf dem, wie aus den dabei stehenden Tageszeichen zu entnehmen ist, die Folge der Himmelsrichtungen in der Art angenommen ist, dass die fünfte Weltgegend, die Mitte, in der Mitte der übrigen ihre Stelle hat, — also Osten, Norden, Mitte, Westen, Süden. Eine ähnliche Folge musste ich auch auf den Blättern 15—17 unserer Handschrift, wo die vier mal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden dargestellt sind, als gegeben voraussetzen. Auf den Blättern der gegenwärtigen Reihe aber ist, wie sich aus der Prüfung der Einzelheiten der Symbole ergibt, die Folge der Himmelsrichtungen dieselbe, wie auf den Blättern 47, 48 unserer Handschrift, und zwar: — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte. Denn die dritte der Himmelsrichtungen wird durch den Mais und die Maisgottheiten charakterisirt, — und diese gehören dem Westen an; — die vierte aber durch abgeschnittene Köpfe, und das ist, wie ich unten nachzuweisen haben werde, eine Kennzeichnung der Himmelsrichtung des Südens. Demgemäss würden für die jetzt in Frage kommenden Abschnitte — und, meiner Ansicht nach bei dem in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl* ganz allgemein —, die Himmelsrichtungen und die Tageszeichensäulen sich in folgender Weise entsprechen: —

1. Osten. — *cipactli* (Krokodil), *miquiztli* (Tod), *oçomàtli* (Affe), *cozcaquauhtli* (Geier).
2. Norden. — *ocelotl* (Jaguar), *quiauitl* (Regen), *cuetzpalin* (Eidechse), *atl* (Wasser).
3. Westen. — *maçatl* (Hirsch), *malinalli* (Gras), *olin* (Bewegung), *eecatl* (Wind).
4. Süden. — *xochitl* (Blume), *couatl* (Schlange), *itzcuintli* (Hund), *quauhtli* (Adler).
5. Mitte. — *acatl* (Rohr), *tecpatl* (Feuerstein), *calli* (Haus), *tochtli* (Kaninchen).

Wir sehen nun in der That auf dem Blatte 30 die vier Tageszeichen der ersten Säule durch eine medaillonartige doppelte Umkreisung unter den (sechszehn) übrigen neben ihnen abgebildeten Tageszeichen hervorgehoben und müssen darnach schliessen, dass dieses Blatt und der auf ihm dargestellte unterirdische Raum dem Osten zugewiesen sein soll. Wir sehen in der rechten Hälfte des Blattes 31, an den vier Ecken der von dem Leibe der Todesgöttin gebildeten Einfassung, in ähnlichen Medaillonen die

1) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVI (Berlin 1905) S. 848–871.

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Das in viergliedrige Säulen geordnete *Tonalamatl.*

I. [Osten]	1 *cipactli*	2 *eecatl*	3 *calli*	4 *cuetzpalin*	5 *couatl*	6 *miquiztli*	7 *maçatl*	8 *tochtli*	9 *atl*	10 *itzcuintli*	11 *oçomatli*	12 *malinalli*	13 *acatl*
	1 *miquiztli*	2 *maçatl*	3 *tochtli*	4 *atl*	5 *itzcuintli*	6 *oçomatli*	7 *malinalli*	8 *acatl*	9 *ocelotl*	10 *quauhtli*	11 *cozca-quauhtli*	12 *olin*	13 *tecpatl*
	1 *oçomatli*	2 *malinalli*	3 *acatl*	4 *ocelotl*	5 *quauhtli*	6 *cozca-quauhtli*	7 *olin*	8 *tecpatl*	9 *quiauitl*	10 *xochitl*	11 *cipactli*	12 *eecatl*	13 *calli*
	1 *cozca-quauhtli*	2 *olin*	3 *tecpatl*	4 *quiauitl*	5 *xochitl*	6 *cipactli*	7 *eecatl*	8 *calli*	9 *cuetzpalin*	10 *couatl*	11 *miquiztli*	12 *maçatl*	13 *tochtli*
II. [Norden]	1 *ocelotl*	2 *quauhtli*	3 *cozca-quauhtli*	4 *olin*	5 *tecpatl*	6 *quiauitl*	7 *xochitl*	8 *cipactli*	9 *eecatl*	10 *calli*	11 *cuetzpalin*	12 *couatl*	13 *miquiztli*
	1 *quiauitl*	2 *xochitl*	3 *cipactli*	4 *eecatl*	5 *calli*	6 *cuetzpalin*	7 *couatl*	8 *miquiztli*	9 *maçatl*	10 *tochtli*	11 *atl*	12 *itzcuintli*	13 *oçomatli*
	1 *cuetzpalin*	2 *couatl*	3 *miquiztli*	4 *maçatl*	5 *tochtli*	6 *atl*	7 *itzcuintli*	8 *oçomatli*	9 *malinalli*	10 *acatl*	11 *ocelotl*	12 *quauhtli*	13 *cozca-quauhtli*
	1 *atl*	2 *itzcuintli*	3 *oçomatli*	4 *malinalli*	5 *acatl*	6 *ocelotl*	7 *quauhtli*	8 *cozca-quauhtli*	9 *olin*	10 *tecpatl*	11 *quiauitl*	12 *xochitl*	13 *cipactli*
III. [Westen]	1 *maçatl*	2 *tochtli*	3 *atl*	4 *itzcuintli*	5 *oçomatli*	6 *malinalli*	7 *acatl*	8 *ocelotl*	9 *quauhtli*	10 *cozca-quauhtli*	11 *olin*	12 *tecpatl*	13 *quiauitl*
	1 *malinalli*	2 *acatl*	3 *ocelotl*	4 *quauhtli*	5 *cozca-quauhtli*	6 *olin*	7 *tecpatl*	8 *quiauitl*	9 *xochitl*	10 *cipactli*	11 *eecatl*	12 *calli*	13 *cuetzpalin*
	1 *olin*	2 *tecpatl*	3 *quiauitl*	4 *xochitl*	5 *cipactli*	6 *eecatl*	7 *calli*	8 *cuetzpalin*	9 *couatl*	10 *miquiztli*	11 *maçatl*	12 *tochtli*	13 *atl*
	1 *eecatl*	2 *calli*	3 *cuetzpalin*	4 *couatl*	5 *miquiztli*	6 *maçatl*	7 *tochtli*	8 *atl*	9 *itzcuintli*	10 *oçomatli*	11 *malinalli*	12 *acatl*	13 *ocelotl*
IV. [Süden]	1 *xochitl*	2 *cipactli*	3 *eecatl*	4 *calli*	5 *cuetzpalin*	6 *couatl*	7 *miquiztli*	8 *maçatl*	9 *tochtli*	10 *atl*	11 *itzcuintli*	12 *oçomatli*	13 *malinalli*
	1 *couatl*	2 *miquiztli*	3 *maçatl*	4 *tochtli*	5 *atl*	6 *itzcuintli*	7 *oçomatli*	8 *malinalli*	9 *acatl*	10 *ocelotl*	11 *quauhtli*	12 *cozca-quauhtli*	13 *olin*
	1 *itzcuintli*	2 *oçomatli*	3 *malinalli*	4 *acatl*	5 *ocelotl*	6 *quauhtli*	7 *cozca-quauhtli*	8 *olin*	9 *tecpatl*	10 *quiauitl*	11 *xochitl*	12 *cipactli*	13 *eecatl*
	1 *quauhtli*	2 *cozca-quauhtli*	3 *olin*	4 *tecpatl*	5 *quiauitl*	6 *xochitl*	7 *cipactli*	8 *eecatl*	9 *calli*	10 *cuetzpalin*	11 *couatl*	12 *miquiztli*	13 *maçatl*
V. [Oben-Unten] oder [Mitte]	1 *acatl*	2 *ocelotl*	3 *quauhtli*	4 *cozca-quauhtli*	5 *olin*	6 *tecpatl*	7 *quiauitl*	8 *xochitl*	9 *cipactli*	10 *eecatl*	11 *calli*	12 *cuetzpalin*	13 *couatl*
	1 *tecpatl*	2 *quiauitl*	3 *xochitl*	4 *cipactli*	5 *eecatl*	6 *calli*	7 *cuetzpalin*	8 *couatl*	9 *miquiztli*	10 *maçatl*	11 *tochtli*	12 *atl*	13 *itzcuintli*
	1 *calli*	2 *cuetzpalin*	3 *couatl*	4 *miquiztli*	5 *maçatl*	6 *tochtli*	7 *atl*	8 *itzcuintli*	9 *oçomatli*	10 *malinalli*	11 *acatl*	12 *ocelotl*	13 *quauhtli*
	1 *tochtli*	2 *atl*	3 *itzcuintli*	4 *oçomatli*	5 *malinalli*	6 *acatl*	7 *ocelotl*	8 *quauhtli*	9 *cozca-quauhtli*	10 *olin*	11 *tecpatl*	12 *quiauitl*	13 *xochitl*

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Tageszeichen der dritten, in der linken Hälfte des Blattes die der zweiten Säule angegeben und müssen entsprechend schliessen, dass die rechte Hälfte dieses Blattes dem Westen, die linke dem Norden entsprechen müsse. Wir sehen endlich auf Blatt 32 in gleichen Medaillonen die vier Zeichen der vierten Säule und müssen deshalb dieses Blatt der Himmelsrichtung des Südens zuweisen. Daraus folgt, meiner Ansicht nach, mit Notwendigkeit, dass auf dem ersten Blatte, dem oben schon behandelten Blatte 29, auf dem die Mitte der unterirdischen Räume abgebildet war, die Zeichen der fünften Säule, die Zeichen *acatl*, *tecpatl*, *calli*, *tochtli* eigentlich ihren Platz haben sollten. Man hat sie, wie mir scheint, nicht gesetzt, weil der auf dem Blatte abgebildete Vorgang selbst das Zeichen *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" an die Hand gab. Denn das war ja der Tag oder das Jahr, an dem *Quetzalcouatl* in *Tlillan Tlapallan* „dem Lande der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe", in *Tlatlayan*, dem „Orte der Verbrennung", den Scheiterhaufen bestieg und sich verbrannte.

Der von dem Leibe der Todesgöttin umschlossene Raum auf Blatt 30 also würde dem Osten zugewiesen werden müssen. Als solcher scheint er in der That auch dadurch sich kundzugeben, dass hier in die vier Ecken vertheilt eine Art dämonischer oder unterweltlicher *Tlaloc*- oder Regengottfiguren gezeichnet sind, mit schwarzer Farbe und mit einer Perrücke aus Blitzfeuer bekleidet, die aber Kopalbeutel und Knochendolch in der Hand tragen und durch diese priesterlichen Sühne- und Kasteiungswerkzeuge in ähnlicher Weise die gute Vorbedeutung und die Segensfülle dieser Himmelsrichtung zum Ausdruck bringen, wie das der als Priester gekleidete *Quetzalcouatl* thut, der auf dem ersten Blatte unserer Handschrift als Determinativ und Regent des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, d. h. des Ostens, steht (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 19, 20).

Für die Mexikaner, wie überhaupt für die Bewohner der Tropenzone, ist in der That der Ostwind der Regenwind und wurde deshalb auch *tlalocayotl* genannt.[1]) In den Büchern des Chilam Balam, die in der zweiten Hälfte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, in Maya-Sprache niedergeschrieben, wichtige Reste der alten augurischen und kalendarischen Wissenschaft enthaltend, finden wir bei den, mit der Zahl „Neun" verbundenen vier Tagen dieser ersten Serie (*imix*, *cimi*, *chuen*, *cib* = mexikanisch *cipactli*, *miquiztli*, *oçomàtli*, *cozcaquauhtli*) des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s die Notiz: — *u ziyanil chac* „der Geburtstag des Regengotts".

Die vier *Tlaloc*-Figuren unseres Blattes sind dabei unter sich wieder nach den Himmelsrichtungen differenzirt. So trägt der erste, der bei dem Zeichen *cipactli* steht, also den Osten im engeren Sinne bezeichnet, einen blühenden Baum auf dem Rücken; der zweite, der des Nordens, der bei dem Zeichen *miquiztli* steht, trägt eine Agave-Pflanze; der dritte, der als der des Westens bei dem Zeichen *oçomàtli* angegeben ist, einen Baum, an dessen Zweigenden weisse (Baumwoll- oder *izquixochitl*-?)Blüthen stehen; der vierte, der des Südens endlich, bei dem Zeichen *cozcaquauhtli*, einen Baum, auf dessen Zweigen kuglige Früchte (Kautschukkugeln?) wachsen.

In der Mitte des Blattes ist ein grosser *chalchiuitl*, grüner Edelstein oder Jadeït gezeichnet, der aussen von dem aus schwarzen, augenbesetzten Federn und rothen, stabartigen Gebilden bestehenden Nackenschmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s umsäumt ist, innen aber in dem rothen, von ineinander gedrehter *malinalli*-Schnur umsäumtem Kerne dasselbe miteinander verschlungene Paar von *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windschlangen umschliesst, das wir auf Blatt 29 an der Ausgangsseite aus der von dem Leibe der Todesgöttin gebildeten Einfassung heraustreten sahen, und das ich als die Seele des toten Gottes bezeichnete. Der einzige Unterschied ist, dass hier, in der Mitte der *chalchiuitl*-Scheibe, die kleinen, aus dem Schnabel der *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlangen heraustretenden *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottfiguren noch das priesterliche Handwerkzeug *Quetzalcouatl*'s, den Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) in der Hand tragen, was aber, meine ich, nur dazu beitragen kann, die Deutung, die ich oben für dieses miteinander verschlungene Windgottschlangenpaar gegeben habe, zu stützen. Der *chalchiuitl*, der grüne Edelstein oder Jadeït, war den Mexikanern das Sinn- oder Abbild des Lebens. Ein *chalchiuitl* wurde dem toten Könige in den Mund gesteckt, der das Herz des Toten darstellte, und der nach der Verbrennung der Leiche sorgsam aufgesucht und mit der Asche und den Knochenresten in der Aschenkiste geborgen wurde. Es kann darnach wohl kaum

1) Sahagun Buch 7, Kap. 5.

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einem Zweifel begegnen, wenn ich den auf Blatt 30 abgebildeten *chalchiuitl* als das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s bezeichne, das, der Tradition nach, nach der Verbrennung des Gottes in den Planeten Venus sich verwandelte: —

auh yn ontlan inexyo
und nachdem die Asche ganz verflogen war,
niman ye ic aco quiça yn iyollo Quetzalcoatl yn quitta
flog das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s in die Höhe,
auh yn yuh quimatia
und wie sie erfuhren,
ilhuicac yâ, ilhuicac calac
gieng es zum Himmel, gieng in den Himmel ein,
quitohuaya yn huehuetque
die alten Leute erzählten,
yehuatl mocuep yn çitlalli
dass es sich in den Stern verwandelte,
yn tlahuizcalpan hualneçi
der in der Gegend des Hellwerdens (der Morgendämmerung) erscheint.
yn yuh quitoa, yn icuac neçico
Wie man sagt, als er erschien,
yn mic Quetzalcouatl
starb *Quetzalcouatl*
yc quitocayotiaya Tlahuizcalpan teuhtli.
man nannte ihn den Herrn der Morgendämmerung.

Seinem eigentlichen Inhalte nach sagt uns deshalb dieses Blatt 30 nichts mehr und nichts anderes, als was schon der Darstellung des Blattes 29 zu entnehmen war. Demnach sehen wir denn auch hier aus der Ausgangsöffnung an der linken Seite des Blattes 30 dasselbe verschlungene Paar von *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlangen, die Seele des Gottes, wie auf dem Blatte 29, heraustreten, um von diesem zweiten der unterirdischen Räume einen Weg zu anderen Räumen zu suchen.

Die Mitte und den Osten hat der Gott hinter sich. Jetzt folgen auf Blatt 31 der Westen und der Norden, die hier in durchgängig homologer Weise zur Anschauung gebracht sind. Beide sind, gleich den beiden auf Blatt 29 und 30 dargestellten Weltgegegenden, von einer Einfassung umschlossen, die von dem Kopfe und dem nach beiden Seiten herumgeführten Leibe einer Todesgöttin gebildet wird. Bei beiden besteht dieser Leib der Todesgöttin aus einem mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzten Nachthimmel, der bei dem Westen von schwarzer, bei dem Norden von blutrother Farbe ist, und auf dessen anders (complementär) gefärbtem Mittelstreifen grosse dreitheilige Stern- oder Lichtaugen, wie an Riemen befestigt, nach hinten hängen. Bei beiden endlich ist das Haupt- und Mittelstück die Figur einer nackten Todesgöttin, die *mamaçouhticac*, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, in der Haltung der Erdkröte, dargestellt ist und das Gesicht, dessen Augen eine Binde bedeckt, nach oben wendet. Arme und Beine sind dabei bei der Figur des Westens dunkelblau, das Haar schwarz; bei der des Nordens wieder blutroth. Quer über den Leib der ersteren ziehen sich Binden schwarzer und weisser Farbe, und darüber hängt ein rauchendes Herz frei heraus. Aus dem Leibe (oder der vulva?) der zweiten kommt je eine bunte Schlange heraus, deren Oberkiefer als Helmmaske eines Totenkopfes dient; an Stelle des Herzens trägt diese Figur die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein". Unter der Figur des Westens ist der Boden durch mit einander verknüpfte *malinalli*-farbene Bänder, unter der des Nordens durch eine liegende Todesgöttin mit gedrehtem *malinalli*-Leibe veranschaulicht. Aus einer Oeffnung des Herzens der ersten (westlichen) Figur kommt ein schwarzes Skelett heraus, das eine schwarze *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlange aus seinem Munde entlässt und demnach wohl den beiden Windgottschlangen der vorigen beiden Blätter, die die Seele des toten Gottes darstellten, wesensgleich bezeichnet werden muss. Zwei andere schwarze Skelette gleicher Art sind in der Ausgangsöffnung dieser Abtheilung, auf den folgenden Raum zu sich bewegend, gezeichnet; sie wiederholen ohne Zweifel nur, was schon durch das aus dem Herzen

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der Westfigur heraustretende Sklelett veranschaulicht war, die Seele des toten Gottes. Aus dem die Stelle des Herzens einnehmenden *chalchiuitl* oder grünen Edelsteine der Nordfigur kommt in gleicher Weise aus einer Oeffnung, die reichlich Blut auf den Boden strömen lässt, ein anderes, ähnlich gestaltetes und ebenfalls schwarzes Skelett hervor, das ebenso zweifellos als die jetzt auch diesen Raum verlassende Seele des toten Gottes zu deuten ist.

Es ist wohl klar, dass durch diese beiden Figuren, deren Herzen die Seele des toten Gottes entsteigt, der Westen und der Norden in gleicher Weise als die Region der Sünde bezeichnet werden sollen. Die Nacktheit und die Binde über den Augen sind in dieser Beziehung in gleicher Weise kennzeichnend, wozu noch bei der zweiten Figur, der des Nordens, die bunte Schlange kommt, die wir an verschiedenen anderen Stellen unserer und der verwandten Handschriften neben der nackten Sünderin, die Sünde bezeichnend, angetroffen haben (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 39 und 53, Abb. 109—111 und 168, 169). Der vermittelnde Gedanke ist bei der Weltgegend des Westens wohl die enge Verbindung, in die der Westen mit Geburt und Zeugung und demgemäss mit geschlechtlichem Verkehre gebracht wurde; bei der Weltgegend des Nordens der Begriff des Steins und der Kälte, der ja auch in der bekannten Figur *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s sich zum Gotte der Verblendung und der Sünde entwickelt hat.

Die gleichen Vorstellungen kommen auch in den Nebenfiguren dieser beiden Abtheilungen in mehr oder minder gewollter Weise zum Ausdruck.

Auf der linken Seite der Hauptfigur sehen wir in der ersten, der westlichen Abtheilung die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze und die Göttin des *malinalli*-Grases, dessen Verkörperung die Pulquegötter sind (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 137, 138). Beide Göttinnen sind in den Farben ihrer Pflanze, aber als Todesgöttinnen und mit verbundenen Augen, also als Göttinnen der Sünde gezeichnet. Und vor ihnen sieht man je ein schwarzes Skelett, dessen Schädel aber mit einer Feuerperrücke bekleidet ist, über der zwei Stirnlocken hoch emporzüngeln, unter einem schwarzen Tuche sitzen. Es ist schwer, sich in bestimmter Weise darüber auszusprechen, wie diese Figuren etwa zu deuten sind, aber dass die Grundidee der ganzen Gruppe die des Pulquegenusses und seiner verderblichen Folgen ist, ist wohl klar.

In der zweiten, der nördlichen Abtheilung sieht man auf der linken Seite der Hauptfigur zwei Todesgöttinnen in der üblichen Ausstattung, von denen die eine schwarzes, die andere rothes Gewand und entsprechenden Schmuck hat. Vor ihnen zwei Schalen, eine türkis- (oder Agave-) artig blau, die andere *chalchiuitl*- (oder *malinalli*-) artig grün bemalt und beide mit einem Totengesichte auf der Fläche. In diesen Schalen liegt je eine Todesgöttin, an Armen und Beinen blau bemalt (gleich der Hauptfigur der ersten westlichen Abtheilung), über der zwei Maiskolben und eine Maisblüthe emporragen. Die Parallelität der beiden Abtheilungen in Betracht ziehend, möchte ich diese Gruppen als das aus Maiskörnern bereitete berauschende Getränk, die Chicha, deuten, obwohl mir über die Herstellung von Chicha in der vorspanischen Zeit México's nichts Näheres bekannt ist.

Deutlich ist die Parallelität der beiden Abtheilungen des Blattes 31 auf der rechten Seite der Hauptfigur. In beiden Abtheilungen sieht man ein Gefäss mit einem Totengesichte auf der Fläche, das weiss (in der Farbe des Knochens) oder roth bemalt ist, und so mit den Gefässen, bezw. Pflanzen, der Gruppen der linken Seite den Farbenturnus — weiss, roth, blau, grün (oder schwarz) — vervollständigt. In dem Gefässe kniet ein schwarzes Skelett, über welchem eine Todesgöttin eine schwarze Flüssigkeit ausgiesst. In der ersten (westlichen) Abtheilung sind es zwei Gefässe und zwei Skelette und über jedem giesst eine Todesgöttin, eines Schädels als Kruges sich bedienend, die schwarze Flüssigkeit aus; die Flüssigkeit selbst endet in Kopf und Arme einer Todesgöttin. In der zweiten (nördlichen) Abtheilung ist nur eine Schale und ein Skelett gezeichnet, aber zwei Todesgöttinnen giessen, diesmal aus gewöhnlichen Krügen, die schwarze Flüssigkeit über es aus; die Flüssigkeit selbst endet hier in gewöhnlicher Weise in weisse Scheiben (Augen) und weisse Schneckengehäuse. Erwägt man, dass auch in dieser Nebengruppe, in der ersten (westlichen) Abtheilung die eine Todesgöttin eine Binde über den Augen hat, so wird man nicht verkennen können, dass der Symbolismus auch dieser Nebengruppe das Tauchen in Sünde, das Tränken, Behaften mit Sünde zum Ausdruck bringen soll. Und es ist wohl klar, dass überhaupt das Nebeneinander dieser beiden Abtheilungen und ihr Farbengegensatz (schwarz und roth) beabsichtigt ist, die

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Farben der Pulquegötter, des Pulquegenusses und des Sündhaften, das in der Vorstellung der Mexikaner mit dem letzteren verknüpft war, zur Anschauung zu bringen.

Das folgende Blatt 32 ist nun der Himmelsrichtung des Südens zugeschrieben, wie die Tageszeichenreihe *xochitl* (Blume), *couatl* (Schlange), *itzcuintli* (Hund), *quauhtli* (Adler), die vierte des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, beweist, die man auf ihm angegeben findet. Hier haben wir nicht mehr, wie in den vorhergehenden vier Abtheilungen, eine von dem Kopf und dem nächtlichen Leibe einer Todesgöttin gebildete Einfassung, die aber, an der linken Seite des Blattes durchbrochen, eine Weiterwanderung in folgende Räume oder Abtheilungen gestattete, sondern das ganze Blatt wird in seinem grösseren rechten Theile von einem rings geschlossenen Vierecke eingenommen, das in einen breiten Randstreifen von nächtlichem, mit Augen (d. h. mit Sternen) besetztem Dunkel, in dem grösseren Mittelfelde von blutrother Farbe erfüllt ist. Der breite Randstreifen zerfällt dabei in vier seitliche und vier Eckabtheilungen, und diese — mit dem Mittelfelde — zusammen neun Abtheilungen bildenden Felder sind aussen und ringsum von Linien dicht aneinander gereihter Steinmesser umschlossen. Die Himmelsrichtung des Südens ist als das *uitznauac* „an den Dornen" bekannt, d. h. wohl als die Region des Feuers. In dem oben schon einmal erwähnten Kalender der in Maya-Sprache geschriebenen Bücher des *Chilam Balam*, finden wir in der That bei einem von den dreizehn Säulen des *Tonalamatl*'s, die aus den oben genannten Zeichen des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Fünftels oder der Südregion bestehen, Feuerzärimonien vorgeschrieben. Und zwar scheint der Anfang bei dem als Zeichen des Feuergottes zu betrachtenden Tage *yoxil oc* (= mexikanisch *yei itzcuintli*) „drei Hund"[1]) gemacht worden zu sein. Ausser den vier Tagen dieser Säule werden nämlich nur die drei um zwanzig und Vielfache (das Zwei- und Dreifache) von zwanzig von ihr abstehenden Säulen in Betracht gezogen.

Bei den Zeichen der ersten Säule:

3 *oc*, *men*, *ahau*, *chicchan*

[= *itzcuintli* (Hund), *quauhtli* (Adler), *xochitl* (Blume), *couatl* (Schlange)] finden wir die Notiz: — *u ch'a kak ahtoc* „der Brenner holt das Feuer".

— Bei den Zeichen der zweiten Säule: —

10 *oc*, *men*, *ahau*, *chicchan*

lesen wir: — *u hoppol u kak ahtoc* „das Feuer des Brenners beginnt".

— Bei den Zeichen der dritten Säule: —

4 *oc*, *men*, *ahau*, *chicchan*

steht: — *yal kaba ahtoc.*

— Bei denen der vierten: —

11 *oc*, *men*, *ahau chicchan*

endlich: *u tup kak ahtoc* „der Brenner löscht das Feuer".

Auf unserem Blatte, dem Blatte 32 des Codex Borgia, ist aber nicht eigentlich das Feuer, sondern nur das Scharfe, das Zerschneiden, Zerstückeln, in specie das Kopfabschneiden, zum Ausdruck gebracht. Das zeigt sich zunächst in der Hauptfigur in dem blutrothen Mittelfelde. Hier sieht man auf einer Unterlage von *malinalli*-farbenen Bändern eine mit weisser Knochenfarbe bemalte und ein Totengesicht auf seiner Fläche zeigende Schale, deren äusserer Rand ebenfalls von einer Reihe dicht aneinander gedrängter Steinmesser gebildet wird. In ihr sitzt — *mamaçouhticac* „mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen" — eine weiss und roth gestreifte Figur, deren Haltung sowie die Adlerklauen, in die die Arme und Beine enden, sie als eine Erd- oder Todesgöttin kennzeichnen. Die Figur ist aber kopflos. Sie trägt an Stelle des Kopfes, über einem nach Art eines Opferseiles (*aztamecatl*) gezeichneten Halskragen, ein Steinmesserpaar, aus dessen Mitte eine kleine *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur schwarzer Farbe hervorkommt. Der bekannte fehlende oder abgerissene *Tezcatlipoca*-Fuss wird hier durch eine Art Spiegel ersetzt, der sich an der Stelle befindet, wo die beiden Steinmesser an ihrer Basis sich berühren. Andere kleine *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren, und zwar eine weisse, gelbe, rothe, blaue, kommen aus dem Rachen von Steinmessern hervor, die die geköpfte Göttin als Schmuck an den Unterarmen und Unterschenkeln

1) Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 126.

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trägt. Und auch hier bleibt der fehlende (abgerissene) *Tezcatlipoca*-Fuss in dem Rachen des Steinmessers stecken. Die Farbenfolge dieser vier Figuren, der sich als fünfte die schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur anschliesst, die zwischen den zwei Steinmessern, die den Kopf der Göttin bilden, hervorkommt, entspricht natürlich der der Himmelsrichtungen: — Osten (weiss), Norden (gelb), Westen (blau), Süden (roth), Mitte oder unten (schwarz). Auch auf der Mitte der Brust trägt die Göttin ein, und zwar besonders prunkvoll und detaillirt gezeichnetes Steinmesser. Aus dessen Rachen kommt aber nunmehr der Gott, um den es sich auf diesen Blättern handelt, der diesen fünften Raum zu passiren hat, — *Quetzalcouatl* bezw. der mit ihm ident gedachte Gott des Morgensterns, — als eine roth gefärbte, aber im Gesichte die Bemalung *Quetzalcouatl*'s aufweisende kleine Menschengestalt heraus. Dass diese Hauptfigur dieses Blattes in der That eine geköpfte Göttin vorstellen soll, wird, meiner Ansicht nach, ausser durch die Haltung und die Adlerfänge an Armen und Beinen, auch noch durch die Schlangen bewiesen, die, genau in derselben Weise, wie bei der Hauptfigur der linken Abtheilung des vorhergehenden Blattes 31, zwischen den Beinen der Göttin hervorkommen. Nur sind hier, da wir uns nicht in der Nord- sondern in der Südregion, dem *Uitznauac* (dem Orte der Dornen) befinden, die beiden Schlangen mit Dornen besetzt, und aus ihren Rachen schaut nicht ein Totenkopf, sondern ein *Tezcatlipoca*-Gesicht, — ein gelb gemaltes auf der linken, ein blau gemaltes auf der rechten Seite — heraus. Dieselbe Idee des Zerstückten, Geköpften wird endlich auch durch die beiden kleinen Figuren zur Anschauung gebracht, die die geköpfte Göttin in den Klauen ihrer, so zu sagen, Hände hält. Denn auch dieses sind geköpfte Figuren. Bei der einen, zur Linken, ist der Kopf durch eine Art Blitzfigur, bei der andern, zur Rechten, durch gelbe Scheite Brennholz ersetzt.

Dieselbe Idee kommt nun aber auch in den acht Abtheilungen des breiten dunklen Randstreifens zum Ausdruck. Denn in den vier Eckabtheilungen sehen wir je eine *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur, und zwar einen weissen, gelben, rothen, blauen *Tezcatlipoca*, der in jeder Hand einen abgeschnittenen blutenden Skelettkopf, einen rother und einen gelber Farbe, trägt. Und in den vier den Seiten des Mittelvierecks entsprechenden Abtheilungen sehen wir bald eine in Adlerverkleidung, bald bloss in Steinmesserverkleidung, aber mit feuerfarbenem Haar und aufzüngelnden Stirnlocken erscheinende Gestalt, die einen abgeschnittenen Kopf, diesmal menschlicher Bildung, einen noch mit vollem Fleisch und Haar versehenen, in jeder Hand trägt. Das aus der Halswunde tretende Blut ist dabei durch eine Anzahl — vier, fünf und sechs — Tropfen markirt, die in weisser Farbe von dem dunklen Grunde sich abheben.

Es ist nun klar, dass diese Bilder nicht einfach als solche zu betrachten sind, die das Zerschneiden, Zerstückeln, Fussabreissen, Kopfabschneiden zur Anschauung zu bringen bestimmt sind. Die besonderen Züge, die uns in diesen Bildern entgegentreten, haben jedenfalls auch ihre Bedeutung, und dem muss auch die Erklärung Rechnung tragen. Ich glaube, wir haben zunächst davon auszugehen, das uns das Hauptbild eine geköpfte Göttin zeigt. Eine geköpfte Göttin kennen wir in der That. Es ist das Abbild der *Teteoinnan* oder *Tlaçolteotl*, der alten Göttermutter und der Göttin der Wollust, das an dem zur Erntezeit gefeierten *Ochpaniztli*, dem Besenfeste, in dieser Weise vom Leben zum Tode gebracht oder geopfert wurde. Auch wissen wir, dass die *Coyolxauh*, die als Anführerin der *Centzon Uitznaua*, der „vierhundert Südlichen" zum Kampfe gegen die mit dem Gotte schwangere Mutter *Uitzilopochtli*'s heranzieht, von dem in Wehr und Waffen dem Leibe seiner Mutter entsteigenden jungen Gotte mit der Waffe *xiuhcouatl*, der Feuerschlange, zerschmettert wird, so dass ihr Kopf auf dem *Couatepetl*, dem Schlangenberge, liegen bleibt, während ihr Leib den Berg herunterfällt und zerschellt, — *cecenca ueuetz in ima in icxi ivan itlac* „an verschiedene Stellen fielen ihre Arme, ihre Beine und ihr Leib". Von der alten Göttermutter *Teteoinnan*, die auch *Tlaçolteotl*, Göttin der Wollust, heisst, habe ich in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 152—165, eingehend gehandelt. Ich habe auch dort hervorgehoben, dass diese Göttin den in schwarzer und rother Farbe im Gesicht und mit einem goldenen (oder knöchernen) Halbmond in der Nase erscheinenden *Totochtin* oder „Kaninchen", den Pulquegöttern, nahe verwandt ist. Ich habe aber dort noch nicht gesagt, dass diese alte Göttermutter, gleich den *Totochtin*, — die Mondwesen sind, da sie das Kaninchen verkörpern, das die alten Mexikaner auf der Scheibe des Mondes sahen, — ihrer eigentlichen und ursprünglichen Natur nach auch als Mondgöttin zu betrachten ist, die, gleich den *Totochtin*, zu einer Göttin der Ernte, der Feldfrüchte, des Ackerbaus geworden ist, weil bei den

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alten mexikanischen Stämmen, wie vielleicht allgemein auf dem Erdballe, das Zunehmen des Mondes als Vorbild für das Wachsen überhaupt, das Absterben zur Zeit des Neumondes und Wiedererscheinen im Westen als Vorbild des Absterbens und Wiedererwachens der Vegetation betrachtet wurde, die aber auch, weil der Mond mit den Weibern, ihrer Periode und deshalb mit der Liebe und Zeugung zu thun hat, zu einer Göttin der Wollust und des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs geworden ist, und die schliesslich, da der Mond das in der Dunkelheit leuchtende, in alle Winkel dringende Auge ist, gleich *Tezcatlipoca*, die alles Wissende ist, der man seine Sünden, insbesondere die in puncto Veneris, zu beichten hat, um der auf die Sünde folgenden Strafe zu entgehen. *Coyolxauh*, die Anführerin der *Centzon Uitznaua*, aber kann auch wiederum nur der Mond sein. Denn diese „vierhundert Südlichen", die von dem eben geborenen, aber gleich in voller Kraft dem Leibe seiner Mutter entsteigenden jungen Gotte ihres Glanzes beraubt und nach Süden gejagt, — oder, wie in einer anderen Sage berichtet wird, von demselben Gotte durch Zauberei getötet werden, können nur die Sterne sein, die von der aufgehenden Sonne verjagt werden. Die Anführerin, die ältere Schwester der Sterne aber, das ist natürlich der Mond. Und auch er wird ja von dem Sonnengotte getötet, wenn er — in der zweiten Hälfte des Monats nur in der zweiten Hälfte der Nacht, gegen Morgen, am Himmel sichtbar werdend, dem Orte des Sonnenaufganges, der Sonne immer näher rückt, und dabei halbirt und geköpft wird, d. h. — ihm derjenige Theil der Scheibe abgeschnitten wird, der mit Beziehung auf den Lauf der Sonne, die scheinbare Bewegung des Mondes und des ganzen Firmaments, die von Ost nach West erfolgt, als der vordere zu bezeichnen ist, — worauf dann der Leib der Göttin ausgehöhlt, d. h. zur schmalen Sichel gemacht, und sie schliesslich, als Neumond, ganz vernichtet wird. Wenn demnach die geköpfte Göttin in der That der Mond ist, so werden wir vermuthen dürfen, dass auch auf unserem Blatte 32 des Codex Borgia das Köpfen, Zerstückeln, Zerschneiden, sich auf das Halbiren, Zerschneiden, Zerstückeln der Mondscheibe bezieht, das die Menschen immer wieder von Neuem am Himmel sich vollziehen sahen, und das zweifellos seit Urzeiten die Menschen zu immer erneuten Erklärungsversuchen veranlasst hat.

Die zweite Besonderheit, die uns in diesen Darstellungen des Blattes 32 entgegen tritt, der wir Rechnung tragen müssen, sollen wir den Anspruch erheben dürfen, eine annehmbare Deutung dieser Bilder gegeben zu haben, ist, dass die abgeschnittenen Köpfe, die auf diesem Blatte in der Hand der verschiedenen Dämonen zu sehen sind, bald die Gestalt eines Skelettkopfes rother oder gelber Farbe, bald die eines Kopfes menschlicher Bildung, mit vollem Fleische und langem Haare, aufweisen. Wir werden diesen Umstand um so mehr bei der Deutung berücksichtigen müssen, als wir auf einem folgenden Blatte, dem Blatte 44 unserer Handschrift, wo auch die vier Tageszeichen der Südregion verzeichnet, und wo auch abgeschnittene Köpfe und abgeschnittene Glieder zur Anschauung gebracht sind, die abgeschnittenen Köpfe ebenfalls bald das Ansehen eines Skelettkopfes rother Farbe, bald das eines Kopfes menschlicher Bildung mit vollem Fleische und langem Haare haben. Ich meine, wir werden uns der Annahme nicht entziehen dürfen, dass hier in der That zwei verschiedene mythische oder dämonische Wesen als zerschnitten, als zerstückt, als des Kopfes beraubt, bezeichnet werden sollen. Gibt es nun ausser dem Monde ein Wesen, das dem gleichen Schicksale unterlag? Einen solchen Körper gibt es in der That, das ist der Planet Venus, der, als innerer Planet, wie der Mond, seine Phasen hat, zur Zeit der grössten (östlichen oder westlichen) Entfernung von der Sonne die Gestalt eines Halbmondes hat und gerade zur Zeit des grössten Glanzes, wenn er als Abendstern auf der uns zugekehrten Hälfte seiner Bahn wieder der Sonne zuwandert, nur als schmale Sichel erscheint. Es ist aber die Frage, ob das unbewaffnete Auge, selbst an dem klaren Himmel trockener tropischer Regionen, diese Veränderung der Lichtgestalt wahrzunehmen im Stande ist. Ich glaube, dass wir diese Frage bejahen können. Aber ich meine auch, dass wir diese hypothetische Bejahung gar nicht brauchen, um zu verstehen, dass etwa hier neben dem Monde auch ein Stern, oder der Vertreter der Sterne, als geköpft, als zerstückt dargestellt, anzunehmen wäre. Die Mondgöttin, die *Coyolxauh*, erscheint ja als die Anführerin der *Centzon Uitznaua*, des Heeres der Sterne. Und wenn in der Sage auch ein Unterschied in der Behandlung dieser beiden Klassen von Feinden des jungen Sonnengottes gemacht wird, das Kopfabschlagen und das Zerstückeln nur mit Bezug auf die Mondgöttin erzählt wird, so konnte doch in dieser bildlichen Wiedergabe des alten mythischen Vorganges, wie er dann auf unserem Blatte 32 vorliegen müsste, die Homologie, die Gleichzeitigkeit des

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Vorganges und schliesslich die Schwierigkeit, das Verjagen der Gestirne in einem beschränkten Raume in präziser Weise zum Ausdruck zu bringen, Veranlassung gewesen sein, dass man auch die Vernichtung der Gestirne durch den Sonnengott, wie sie bei Anbruch des Tages sich vollzieht, als ein Köpfen der Gestirne darstellte. Dass diese Idee überhaupt vorliegt, wird meiner Ansicht nach dadurch bewiesen, dass auf Blatt 44 des Codex Borgia, wo wir ja auch die Südregion dargestellt sehen, der mit vollem Fleische und langem Haare bekleidete, einfach menschliche Züge aufweisende abgeschnittene Kopf mit zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden, langen Locken dargestellt ist, die, wie es scheint, in dieser Klasse von Bilderschriften, immer das Abzeichen des Morgensterns oder anderer Gestirne, oder überhaupt von Lichtwesen ist. Die abgeschnittenen Skelettköpfe würden demnach den Mond bezeichnen. So verstehen wir, dass diese Skelettköpfe mit rother oder gelber Farbe gemalt sind. Denn der Mond, wenn er auch, weil er der nächtliche, und auch weil er der absterbende ist, immer mit dem Tode in Verbindung gebracht wird, — die Mondgöttin ist bekanntlich in den Bilderschriften die Verkörperung des Tageszeichens *miquiztli* — bleibt doch immer ein Lichtwesen. Die abgeschnittenen Köpfe menschlicher Bildung würden auf den Morgenstern oder die Sterne zu beziehen sein. In der That werden ja auch auf unserem Blatt 32 die abgeschnittenen Skelettköpfe von *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren getragen. Von *Tezcatlipoca* wissen wir, dass er der nächtliche, der in der Nacht wandernde ist und mit dem Monde in Verbindung gebracht wurde, und dass es deshalb wohl eigentlich erst gekommen ist, dass er zugleich auch als der alles sehende, alles wissende, die Sünde strafende Gott betrachtet wurde. Die abgeschnittenen Köpfe menschlicher Bildung aber werden von Figuren des Steinmessergottes oder steinmesserköpfigen Figuren getragen, die bald das gelbe, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnde Haar der Gottheit des Morgensterns oder der Sterngötter tragen, bald ganz und gar in Adlermaske erscheinen, die, wie Blatt 45 unserer Handschrift zeigt, das Gewand ist, in dem der Morgenstern am Osthimmel erscheint. Es würden demnach in diesen vier Eck- und den vier seitlichen Abtheilungen des Blattes 32, in den ersteren der Mondgott, in den letzteren der Sterngott dargestellt sein, jeder seinen abgeschnittenen Kopf in der Hand tragend. Vielleicht können wir nun aber noch eine genauere Bestimmung vornehmen.

Es fällt einigermassen auf, dass die *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren, die in den vier Eckabtheilungen des breiten dunklen Aussenrandes des Blattes 32 stehen, im allgemeinen gleich sind, nur selbstverständlich nach den Farben der vier Himmelsrichtungen variirt, indem der eine weiss, der zweite gelb, der dritte roth, der vierte blau gemalt ist; die Sterngottfiguren aber, die ein Steinmesser als Kopf tragen, sich in zwei Paare sondern, von denen das eine uns an dem Steinmesserkopfe das gelbe, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnde Stirnhaar zeigt, während bei dem anderen der Steinmesserkopf aus einer Adlermaske hervorsieht, wobei die Farbenvariation ohne Rücksicht auf diese Differenz in dem üblichen Turnus — weiss, gelb, roth, blau — sich vollzieht. Wir müssten eigentlich für diese Differenz auch eine Erklärung geben können.

Tezcatlipoca ist nicht der Mond schlechtweg. Es ist der Mond, dem ein Bein fehlt, d. h. dem an der Scheibe ein Stück hinten abgeschnitten ist, — dieses „hinten“ selbstverständlich zu verstehen mit Beziehung auf die scheinbare, ostwestliche Bewegung der Sonne und des ganzen Firmaments und dieses Lichtkörpers selbst am Himmel. *Tezcatlipoca* ist der zunehmende Mond, der am Abendhimmel erscheint. Mit dem Abende wird dieser Gott in der That allgemein in Verbindung gebracht. Ich habe deshalb den Gott mir immer als die untergehende Sonne gedacht, dem beim Hineintauchen in die Erde durch die zusammenschlagenden Felsen ein Bein abgezwackt wird, was ja nahe lag, da die Vorstellung der Symplegaden, der zusammenschlagenden Berge, bei den Mexikanern bestand; das *tepetl imonamiquian* (so nannten die Mexikaner die Symplegaden) wird als ein Ort angegeben, der auf dem Wege zur Unterwelt zu passiren ist. Wenn also *Tezcatlipoca*, der der fusslose Mond ist, die abgeschnittenen Mondköpfe in der Hand hält, so könnte das vielleicht als eine Veranschaulichung der Thatsache gedacht sein, dass der Kopf, der der Scheibe des Mondes in der Zeit der Abnahme, in der zweiten Hälfte des Monats, wenn der Mond nur am Morgenhimmel noch sichtbar wird, abgeschnitten wird, in dem jungen Monde wieder erscheint.

Bei dem Planeten Venus ist die Veränderung der Lichtgestalten eine gerade umgekehrte. Die Lichtgestalt nimmt zu, wenn der Planet am Morgenhimmel erscheint, und sie nimmt ab, wenn der Planet als Abendstern leuchtet. Die Sache komplizirt sich aber hier insofern, als der Planet, wenn seine Licht-

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gestalt sich verkleinert, an Glanz gewinnt, da er dann, auf den Zweig seiner Bahn übertretend, der ihn vor der Sonne herumführt, uns beträchtlich näher kommt. Selbst wenn demnach die Veränderung der Lichtgestalt, wie es allerdings wahrscheinlich ist, von den alten indianischen Astronomen beobachtet wurde, so ist doch kaum anzunehmen, dass diese Veränderung zu Vorstellungen und zu Mythen so prägnanter Art den Anlass gegeben habe, wie ich sie eben für den Mond gezeigt habe. Aber in einem anderen Punkte unterscheidet sich, wie ich oben schon hervorgehoben habe, der Planet Venus sehr wesentlich von dem Monde. Der Mond stirbt nur einmal, nämlich dann, wenn er am Morgenhimmel steht. Die Venus rückt nicht nur der Morgensonne, sondern auch der Abendsonne näher; sie stirbt in der That zweimal. Da nun die abgeschnittenen Köpfe in der Hand der steinmesserköpfigen Figuren des Randstreifens des Bildes auf Blatt 32 vermuthlich als Veranschaulichung des Todes des Sterngottes aufzufassen sind, so musste dieser zweimalige Tod in irgend einer Weise zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, und ich glaube, es geschah dadurch, dass zwei verschiedene Figuren als Träger der abgeschnittenen Köpfe gezeichnet wurden, von denen die einen (die Figuren der Adlermaske), vermuthlich den Morgenstern, die anderen wahrscheinlich den Abendstern anzeigen sollen.

Wie kommt nun aber die Himmelsrichtung des Südens dazu, in dieser Weise durch abgeschnittene Köpfe, die die Reduzirung der Mondscheibe in der zweiten Hälfte des Monats und den Tod des Sterngottes in der Morgen- und der Abendsonne veranschaulichen, gekennzeichnet zu werden? — Hier weise ich darauf hin, dass eine Bewegung über eine Fläche hin von jenen alten Bilderschriftkundigen als ein Durchlaufen der vier Himmelsrichtungen gedacht wurde. So theilte man auch die Fläche des Ballspielplatzes in vier Felder, obwohl ja nur in einer Richtung, von Norden nach Süden oder von Süden nach Norden gespielt wurds. Da der sakrale Turnus von Osten über Norden nach Westen und von Westen über Süden nach Osten geht, so bezeichnet der Norden die Bewegung mit der Sonne, der Süden die der Sonne entgegen. Der Norden ist das Land der Toten, der Gestorbenen, der Seelen der Väter, der ersten Geopferten. Darum gehen die Seelen der toten Krieger mit der Sonne zum Zenith. Die Seelen der im Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen aber, die im Westen, im Lande der Geburt, wohnen, und die der Sonne entgegen gehen, sie am Zenithe in Empfang nehmen, die sind zugleich mit der Himmelsrichtung des Südens verbunden. Ihre Begleiter sind die fünf *Uitznaua*, die Repräsentanten des vierten, des südlichen *Tonalamatl*-Viertels, *Macuil xochitl* und seine Genossen, was die unten zu erläuternden Blätter 47, 48 des Codex Borgia, zeigen. Im Süden also, wenn der Mond der Sonne entgegenrückt, — dieses schrittweise Heranrücken ist in der Erzählung Sahagun's von der Geburt *Uitzilopochtli*'s recht anschaulich beschrieben, — da findet die Köpfung und Zerstückelung des Mondes statt, die mit dem Tode der Mondgöttin im Neumond und mit der Verjagung ihrer Begleiter durch die aufgehende Sonne endet. Das ist, meiner Ansicht nach, der Grund dafür, dass in dem Mythus *Uitzilopochtli*'s dieses Gefolge des Mondes als die *Centzon Uitznaua*, die „vierhundert Südlichen", bezeichnet wird. Die *Centzon Mimixcoua*, die „vierhundert Nördlichen", das sind die Seelen der Toten, die Väter, die „Dioses primogénitos", wie sie in der Relacion de la provincia de Michuacan genannt werden, die in der Schlachtordnung auf der rechten Seite stehen. Sie werden in der Sage auch in Verbindung mit dem Monde gebracht, weil der Mond der erste Mensch, die Mondgöttin die erste, die vorbildlich Gestorbene ist. Die *Centzon Uitznaua* aber, das sind die Sterne, die als Gefolge des Mondes der Sonne entgegen gehn und von der aufgehenden Sonne verjagt werden, die *virambanecha* der Relacion de la provincia de Michuacan, die in der Schlachtordnung zur Linken stehen, und denen die Göttin an dem Schwitzbade opfert, dessen Patronin ja die Mond- und Geburtsgöttin ist.[1])

Es bleibt nun auf unserem Blatte 32 noch die Darstellung an der linken Seite des Blattes zu besprechen. Wir sehen hier eine Todesgöttin, die den Rand des Blattes in seiner ganzen Höhe einnimmt, und deren Gesicht der linken, d. h. der Ausgangsseite des Blattes zugekehrt ist. Der Leib dieser Göttin wird von einem Stücke Zeugs gebildet, dessen Körper aus einem netzartig durchbrochenen Gewebe besteht, und das — offenbar mit Beziehung auf die Himmelsrichtung, die auf dem anderen, grösseren Theile dieses Blattes zur Anschauung gebracht ist — unten von einer Reihe dicht aneinander gedrängter Steinmesser

1) Vgl. Seler. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band III, Berlin 1906, S. 134—137.

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umsäumt und auch auf der Fläche abwechselnd mit Augen und Steinmessern verziert ist. Dazu trägt die Göttin eine Enagua, deren breiter Saum zur Hälfte aus Steinmessern, zur Hälfte aus einer Lichthimmelborte (einem blauen Streifen mit einem grossen dreitheiligen Stern- oder Strahlauge) gebildet wird. Der den Leib dieser Göttin bildende Zeugstreifen ist in seiner Mitte in einer breiten Oeffnung zerrissen, und dort kommt zwischen zwei grossen Steinmessern eine schwarz gemalte menschliche Figur heraus, die die Gesichtsbemalung *Quetzalcouatl*'s und das feuerfarbene, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnde Sternhaar hat, die also die Gottheit des Planeten Venus darstellen muss. Der Gott tritt aus der Oeffnung in das Freie heraus und tritt zwischen den Steinmessern hervor, wie in dem Mittelfelde dieses Blattes die *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur zwischen den zwei Steinmessern hervortritt. Wir werden daher annehmen müssen, dass es — ein Analogon *Tezcatlipoca*'s — der am Abendhimmel erscheinende Planet ist. Und in der That werden wir sehen, dass die beiden folgenden Blätter den Morgen- und den Abendhimmel und das Aufgehen eines Lichtkörpers im Westen veranschaulichen, und dass die dann folgenden Blätter uns allerhand Vorgänge vorführen, die im Westen, am Abendhimmel, sich abspielen.

Ehe ich nun aber zu der Erläuterung dieser weiteren Blätter selbst übergehe, habe ich noch einiges über die Bedeutung der Tageszeichensäulen zu sagen, die, wie wir sahen, in den vier letzten Abtheilungen der bisher besprochenen Blätter angegeben sind. Diese Tageszeichensäulen bezeichnen, wie ich oben ebenfalls schon angab, die Himmelsrichtungen des Ostens, Westens, Nordens, Südens. Dabei fällt auf, dass diese Himmelsrichtungen nicht in der sakralen, sonst immer beobachteten Folge, — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden — aufgeführt sein würden. Ich musste mir die Frage vorlegen, ob dem nicht eine besondere Ursache zu Grunde liegen sollte. Und ich meine aus dieser besonderen Folge den Schluss ziehen zu müssen, dass die Tageszeichensäulen hier nicht als die Himmelsrichtungen bezeichnenden Anfangssäulen von vier *Tonalamatl*-Fünfteln gemeint sind, sondern als Bezeichnungen in gewissen Abständen einander folgender Tage. In der That, wenn die erste dieser Säulen, die auf Blatt 30, wie wir als wahrscheinlich annehmen müssen, mit dem Tage *cipactli* „Krokodil" anfängt, der auf diesem Blatte in der rechten unteren Ecke steht, so muss die Tageszeichensäule der zweiten Abtheilung, derjenigen auf der rechten Hälfte des Blattes 31, mit einem Tage *eecatl* „Wind"; die der dritten Abtheilung, der auf der linken Seite des Blattes 31, mit einem Tage *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse"; die der vierten Abtheilung aber, die Tageszeichensäule des Blattes 32, mit einem Tage *itzcuintli* „Hund" beginnen. Denn das ist die Stelle, die den Zeichen *cipactli*, *eecatl*, *cuetzpalin* der vorhergehenden Abtheilungen entspricht. Gehen wir nun von einem Tage *cipactli* aus, so sehen wir, dass ein Tag *eecatl* unmittelbar darauf folgt, dass ein Tag *cuetzpalin* dann der dritte darauf folgende Tag sein würde, ein Tag *itzcuintli* aber erst der 29., 49., 69. u. s. w. darauf folgende Tag sein könnte. Da fiel mir ein, ob nicht diese Tageszeichensäulen, oder vielmehr der Abstand der letzten von der ersten, die Zeit angeben könnten, die der Planet, der als Morgenstern gestorben ist, verborgen bleibt, ehe er wieder am Himmel neben der Sonne, und zwar als Abendstern sichtbar wird. Nun beträgt diese Zeit, wenn wir mit Förstemann als Dauer der Nichtsichtbarkeit die Zeit annehmen, in der der Planet um weniger als 10° von der Sonne entfernt ist, 77—80 Tage. Dem würde die Zeit von 69 Tagen, die zwischen einem Tage *cipactli* und einem Tage *itzcuintli* vergeht, nahe kommen, aber doch noch 8—10 Tage dahinter zurückbleiben. Da fiel mir aber weiter ein, dass ja die Verbrennung *Quetzalcouatl*'s in dem Zeichen, oder an dem Tage *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" erfolgt sein soll — dieses Datum wird ja geradezu als Hieroglyphe des mit *Quetzalcouatl* identificirten Morgensternes gesetzt, — *ce acatl yn ipan in xihuitl yn mic Quetzalcouatl auh mitoa çan ya yn Tlillantlapallan ynic ompa miquito* „im Jahre eins Rohr starb *Quetzalcouatl*, und man sagt, dass er in *Tlillantlapallan* starb".[1]) — *ye ypan yn xihuitl ce acatl motenehua mitoa yn yquac oaçito teoapan ylhuicaatenco, niman moquetz chocac concuic yn itlatqui mochichiuh yn yapanecayouh yn ixiuhxayac etc. Auh yn icuac omocencauh niman yc ynomatca motlati motlecahui yc motocayotia yn Tlatlayan yn ompa motlatito yn Quetzalcouatl.* „Im Jahre eins Rohr, sagt man, gelangte (*Quetzalcouatl*) an das Gotteswasser, an den Rand des Himmelswassers (des Meeres), da hub er an zu weinen, legte den Schmuck ab, den er trug, den Quetzalfederschmuck, die Türkismaske u. s. w. Und nachdem er damit fertig, ver-

1) Anales de *Quauhtitlan*, Anales del Museo Nacional de México Tomo. III Appendix p. 17.

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brannte er sich (verschwand er), selbst aus freien Stücken verbrannte er sich (stieg er empor), darum wird *Tlatlayan* (Ort des Brennens) genannt, wo *Quetzalcouatl* sich verbrannte (verschwand)."[1]) — Wir müssen demnach eigentlich dieses Datum *ce acatl* „eins Rohr", bezw. die Säule *acatl* (Rohr), *tecpatl* (Feuerstein), *calli* (Haus), *tochtli* (Kaninchen) auf dem ersten Blatte 29 suppliren. Und gehen wir nun von dem Tage *ce acatl* aus, so kommen wir nach acht Tagen auf den Tag *chicunaui cipactli* „neun Krokodil", der demnach auf dem Blatte 31 angegeben sein müsste. In dem Chilam Balam von Mani finden wir bei dem Tage *bolon imix* (der dem Tage „neun Krokodil" entspricht), wie bei den drei anderen Tagen seiner Säule, die Notiz *u ziyanil chac* „Geburtstag des Regengottes". Es spricht gewiss für die Richtigkeit meiner Auffassung, dass wir auf unserem Blatte 30 des Codex Borgia die Zeichen *cipactli, miquiztli, oçomàtli, cozcaquauhtli* gerade durch eine Figur des Regengottes charakterisirt sehen. Gehen wir nun aber von *ce acatl* um 8 + 69 oder 77 Tage weiter, so kommen wir auf den Tag *matlactli omomei itzcuintli* „dreizehn Hund". Und dieser, meine ich, muss als das leitende oder eigentliche Datum des Blattes 32 angesehen werden.

Wir hätten damit, — um zu rekapituliren, — auf der ersten der fünf Abtheilungen dieser Gruppe, Blatt 29, die Tageszeichensäule

1 *acatl, tecpatl, calli, tochtli* — die fünfte Weltgegend, die Mitte

— zu suppliren. Wir hätten in den drei folgenden Abtheilungen auf den Blättern 30 und 31 die Tageszeichensäulen:

9 *cipactli, miquiztli, oçomàtli, cozcaquauhtli* — den Osten,
10 *eecatl, maçatl, malinalli, atl* — den Westen,
12 *cuetzpalin, atl, ocelotl, quiauitl* — den Norden,

und in der fünften Abtheilung auf Blatt 32 die Säule

13 *itzcuintli, quauhtli, xochitl, couatl* — den Süden,

angegeben. Man wird mir zugeben, dass schon die Folge der Zahlen in diesen letzten vier Abtheilungen für die Richtigkeit meiner Auffassung spricht. Denn es fehlt in der Reihe ja nur die Ziffer 11, die nicht gesetzt werden konnte, weil die dieser Ziffer entsprechende Säule (11 *calli, tochtli, acatl, tecpatl*), bezw. die ihr entsprechende Weltgegend, schon durch die in der ersten Abtheilung, Blatt 29, zu supplirenden Tageszeichen vorweggenommen ist. Scheint es demnach durchaus natürlich und berechtigt, in der oben angegebenen Weise die Zahlen zu den auf den Blättern 30—32 verzeichneten Tageszeichen zu ergänzen, so hätten wir zwischen dem ersten und dem letzten Blatte dieser Reihe, d. h. von dem Verschwinden des Morgensterns, der Verbrennung *Quetzalcouatl's*, in den Strahlen der Sonne und seinem Wiedererscheinen als Abendstern die Zeit von 77 Tagen angegeben, d. h. mit einer fast verblüffend wirkenden Genauigkeit die Zahl der Tage, die unter der oben gemachten Annahme, dass der Planet nicht mehr sichtbar ist, wenn er sich in weniger als 10° Entfernung von der Sonne befindet, für die Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten in der oberen Konjunktion anzusetzen ist.

Ich verhehle mir nicht, dass dieses Resultat nicht nur beängstigend genau ist, sondern dass es auch in einem gewissen Widerspruche zu anderen Dingen steht, die wir bisher als feststehende Thatsachen oder gesicherte Deutungen anzusehen gewohnt waren, nämlich zu der Art, wie in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift die Venusperiode in Abschnitte getheilt ist, und zu der Erklärung, die bisher von diesen Abschnitten gegeben worden ist. Auf jedem der fünf Blätter 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift sehen wir nämlich in dreizehn horizontalen Reihen Daten angegeben, die um 236, 90, 250 und 8 Tage von einander abstehend, zusammen eine Periode von 584 Tagen oder eine Venusperiode ergeben. Diese 236, 90, 250 und 8 Tage hat Förstemann als Sichtbarkeit als Morgenstern, Unsichtbarkeit während der oberen Konjunktion, Sichtbarkeit als Abendstern und Unsichtbarkeit während der unteren Konjunktion gedeutet, da die genannten Zeiträume den wirklich für diese Perioden anzusetzenden Zeiträumen, die Förstemann auf 243, 77—80, 252—249 und 12 Tage berechnet, nahe stehen. Hat Förstemann darin Recht, so würde, — bei den innigen Beziehungen, die zwischen der mexikanischen Wissenschaft und der der Maya-Priester bestand, — eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür sprechen, dass wir dieselbe Theilung

1) Ibidem p. 21.

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der Venusperiode auch auf unseren Codex Borgia-Bildern wiederfinden müssten. Und um so näher liege eine solche Vermuthung, als z. B. das erste derjenigen Daten, das darnach in der Dresdener Handschrift für das Aufgehen des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern angegeben ist, — eigentlich allerdings der diesem folgende Tag, — auch auf einem Blatte des Codex Vaticanus 3773 verzeichnet ist, das das Aufgehen eines Gestirns in bedeutsamen Bildern zur Anschauung zu bringen scheint.[1]) Trotz dieser Divergenz möchte ich indes das von mir gefundene Resultat aufrecht erhalten. Erstlich, weil es doch immer nur ein Wahrscheinlichkeitsschluss wäre, der uns zu der Annahme der gleichen Art der Berechnung der Venusperiodenabschnitte in den Maya- und in den mexikanischen Handschriften drängte. Sodann aber stimmt die der Wirklichkeit mehr entsprechende, genauere Berechnung der Venusperiodenabschnitte zu 243, 77, 252 und 12 Tagen nicht nur für die in diesem ersten Abschnitte unserer Codex Borgia-Blätter verzeichneten Daten, sondern, wie ich zeigen werde, auch zu den folgenden, während umgekehrt die ungenauere Berechnung der Venusperiodenabschnitte der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift weder mit den auf diesen ersten Blättern 29—32 des Codex Borgia angegebenen, noch mit den späteren Daten zu vereinen ist, wie auch immer wir den Ausgangspunkt der ganzen Datenreihe wählen.

Ich möchte im Anschluss hieran noch erwähnen, dass in den Anales de Quauhtitlan die merkwürdige Notiz sich findet, dass *Quetzalcouatl*, nachdem er sich verbrannt, erst vier Tage in der Unterwelt geweilt habe und dann vier Tage Knochen gewesen sei, und erst am achten Tage sei der „grosse Stern" erschienen, und habe sich als Gott auf dem Throne niedergelassen — *yquitoaya, yn icuac mic ca nahuilhuitl yn amo nez quitoaya ycuac mictlan nemito auh no nahuilhuitl momiti, ye chicueylhuitica yn neçico huey citlalli yn quitoaya Quetzalcoatl quitoaya ycuac mohteuhtlali.* — Nimmt man, wie man das eigentlich muss, an, dass die Verbrennung *Quetzalcouatl*'s sich auf das Verschwinden des Planeten als Morgenstern bezieht, — *Quetzalcouatl* ist ja der Gott, der nach Osten wandert und dort im Osten, im *Tlapallan*, verschwindet, — so ist mit dieser Zahl von acht Tagen nichts zu machen. Sie könnte höchstens Sinn haben, wenn man sie auf die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten in der vierten Konjunktion, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen, bezieht. Da wandert der Planet aber nach Westen, um freilich dann als der *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, als der Herr in dem Hause des Hellwerdens, als Morgenstern, aufzugehen. Es scheint mir aber nun, dass noch eine dritte Möglichkeit in Betracht gezogen werden kann. Wir haben oben gesehen, dass, wenn man *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" als den Tag oder das Zeichen ansieht, an dem *Quetzalcouatl* sich verbrannte oder in den Strahlen der Morgensonne verschwand, dann noch acht Tage anzunehmen sind bis zu dem Tage *chicunaui cipactli*, der auf dem Blatte 30 des Codex Borgia verzeichnet ist, das uns das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s, also den Theil des Gottes, der dazu bestimmt ist, in den Planeten Venus sich zu verwandeln, vor Augen führt. In der That ist nur auf den ersten beiden Blättern dieser Reihe der von einem Raume zum anderen wandernde Gott als *Quetzalcouatl*, d. h. mit der Vogelschnabelmaske des Windgottes und Schlangenleib, dargestellt. In den beiden Abtheilungen des Blattes 31 erscheint er als schwarzes Skelett und erst in der letzten Abtheilung, Blatt 32, als Figur menschlicher Bildung, die allerdings noch die Gesichtsbemalung *Quetzalcouatl*'s trägt, aber daneben das feuerfarbene Haar und die beiden über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken, die den Sterngott kennzeichnen. Ich halte es für recht gut möglich, dass auf diese durch Blatt 29 und 30 repräsentirte Distanz von acht Tagen sich die obige Angabe der Anales de Quauhtitlan bezieht. Sie würde dann die Zeit bezeichnen, die der Gott braucht, um aus dem *Quetzalcouatl* zum *Tlauizcalpan tecutli* zu werden, aus dem Mondgotte, der er war (wie wir interpretiren können), in den Planeten Venus sich zu verwandeln, würde sich aber nicht auf die Dauer des Aufenthalts des Gottes in der Unterwelt überhaupt beziehen. Es würde dann implicite diese Angabe eine weitere Bestätigung dafür sein, dass die mexikanischen Priester die Abschnitte der Venusperiode nicht in der Art, wie die Schreiber der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, sondern in einer der Wirklichkeit mehr entsprechenden Weise gerechnet haben.

Auf der linken Seite des Blattes 32 also steigt, wie wir gesehen haben, der Gott zwischen zwei Steinmessern und aus einer breiten Öffnung in dem Leibe der Erdgöttin, die dort die ganze Breite des Blattes einnimmt, empor, — empor, wie wir annehmen müssen, am Abendhimmel. Aber, wohlverstanden,

1) Vgl. meine Erläuterung zum Codex Vaticanus 3773, Berlin 1902, S. 291, 292.

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am Abendhimmel kann er ja nicht aufgehen, — er wie alle anderen Gestirne und die Sonne und der Mond gehen im Osten auf, — der Planet ist von der Sonne gewissermassen über den ganzen Himmel mitgenommen worden und wird nun zuerst der Sonne nahe am Abendhimmel sichtbar. Dieser Abendhimmel oder die Region des Sonnenuntergangs ist nun hier auf den beiden folgenden Blättern in ganz merkwürdiger Weise durch ein schwarzes und ein rothes, ein männliches und ein weibliches Haus, gekennzeichnet, die man versucht ist, als Häuser des Ostens und des Westens zu erklären, die aber doch nicht diesen gleichzusetzen, sondern als Ganzes, als Einheit aufzufassen sind, als Kennzeichnung eben des einen Abendhimmels. Das wird durch des Bild des *quauhtemoc*, des herabfliegenden Adlers, den man bei beiden auf der rechten Seite von der Plattform der Pyramide sich herabstürzen sieht, (vgl. Abb. 1) auf das Klarste bewiesen. Denn wenn man über die Deutung dieses herabfliegenden Adlers auch etwas zweifelhaft sein kann, — man kann an die abwärts wandernde Sonne, oder an die in Adlergestalt herabkommenden *Tzitzimimê* denken, — so weisen die verschiedenen Erklärungen dieser Figur doch immer auf den Westen hin.

Wir sehen nämlich auf diesen beiden Blättern zunächst, den ganzen linken Rand der Blätter einnehmend, die Gestalt einer Erdgöttin, die, wie in den vorher erwähnten Fällen, auf dem Rücken liegend gedacht ist, die aber nicht, wie auf den vorhergehenden Blättern mit Skelettkopf abgebildet ist, sondern als alte Göttin, mit eingekniffenem Mundwinkel (dem Abzeichen alter Leute), mit rother Bemalung um den Mund und aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines *cipactli*, des „Fisches, aus dem die Erde, der *Tlaltecutli*, gemacht wurde“ [1]), hervorschauend (Abb. 1). Es ist also hier offenbar die Erdoberfläche gemeint, nicht das Erdinnere, wie in den vorhergehenden Fällen. Der von Zacken starrende Leib des *cipactli* bildet auch den langgestreckten Leib der Göttin, die mit einer blauen Enagua bekleidet ist und im übrigen dieselbe Haltung der Arme und Beine und dieselben Adlerklauen an Händen und Füssen hat, wie die auf dem Rücken liegenden Erdgöttinnen der vorhergehenden Blätter. Aber in der Mitte tritt hier frei das Herz der Göttin heraus. Das hat wohl seine Bedeutung. Denn im Westen wie im Osten muss ja das Herz der Erde frei sein. Dort muss das Loch in der Erde sich befinden, durch das am Abend die Sonne, der Mond und die Gestirne in die Erde hineingehen, bezw. am Morgen aus ihr hervorgehen. Ueber diesem Erdloche sieht man nun, nach unten sich öffnend, je einen Schlangenrachen, der auf dem ersten Blatte, dem männlichen, in der Hauptsache schwarzer, auf dem zweiten Blatte, dem weiblichen, in der Hauptsache rother Farbe ist, und der die Wurzeln des Himmels darstellen muss, denn die Wurzeln der Bäume wurden von den Mexikanern und den anderen mittelamerikanischen Stämmen, ganz in gleicher Weise durch einen nach unten sich öffnenden Schlangenrachen veranschaulicht (vgl. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 17, 18). Jedenfalls trägt dieser schwarze bezw. rothe Schlangenrachen hier das ganze Himmelsgebäude, das sich über ihm in diesen zwei Häusern aufbaut, und das auf beiden Blättern aus einer Stufenpyramide mit einem Treppenaufgange, aus einem Tempelgemache auf der Plattform der Pyramide und hochaufragendem Strohdache besteht. Die Treppenwange wird dabei auf beiden Blättern von dem Leibe und dem Kopfe einer grossen Schlange gebildet, die roth gemalt ist, auf dem ersten Blatte fusslos ist, auf dem zweiten mit einem Fusse gezeichnet ist, und die in ihrer Verwendung hier in frappanter Weise an die grossen Federschlangen erinnert, die man in *Chich' en itzá* in Yucatan, in dem sogenannten Castillo und an anderen Monumenten, als Ballustraden die Treppenaufgänge einfassen sieht. Um beide Häuser windet sich der Leib einer Schlange, der wieder gleich dem die Wurzel oder das Fundament bildenden Schlangenrachen, auf dem ersten Blatte in der Hauptsache schwarzer, auf dem zweiten in der Hauptsache rother Farbe und auch in der Bekleidung mit grossen gelben Federn oder Schuppen dem genannten Schlangenrachen gleich ist, aber nicht mit ihm direkt zusammenhängend gezeichnet ist.

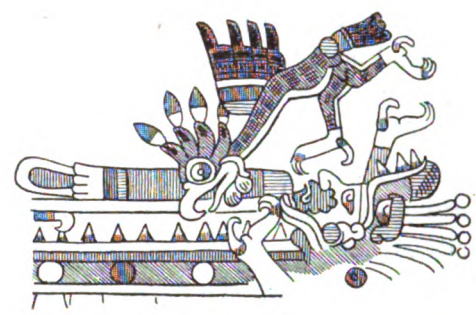

Abb. 1. Kopf der Erdgöttin (*Tlaltecutli*), aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines *cipactli* hervorsehend. Das Fundament über den der Himmel des Westens sich aufbaut. Codex Borgia 34 (= Kingsborough 5). Nach Kingsborough gezeichnet.

1) „Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas“. Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Nueva Coleccion de documentos para la Historia de México. Tomo III (México 1891) p. 230, 231.

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Die Stufenpyramide selbst ist auf dem ersten Blatte 33, dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange, weiss und roth, in den Farben *Xipe Totec*'s, „unseres Herrn des Geschundenen", gemalt, und die Treppenstufen, die gleicher Farbe sind, haben die nach aussen geschweifte Form, die, beim Zusammentreten von zwei solchen Gebilden, das *maxaliuhqui*, das „Sperren", das schwalbenschwanzartige Auseinandertreten der Enden ergibt, das für den Gürtel, die Schambinde und andere Trachtstücke des Gottes kennzeichnend ist. *Xipe Totec*, „unser Herr der Geschundene", der in feierlicher Anrede auch *Youallauana* „der in der Nacht, in der Dämmerung Pulque trinkende", genannt wird, ist der in der neuen Haut (der abgezogenen Haut des Opfers) erscheinende, der neue, der zunehmende, der am Abendhimmel zuerst sichtbare Mond und ist deshalb zum Gotte des Wachsthums, der Vegetation, des Neueinsetzens der Vegetation, der Gott der Erde, der Frühlingsgott geworden. Er ist der männliche Gott des Westens. Und das männliche Haus des Westens ist dieses Haus der schwarzen Schlange, das auf dem Blatte 33 unserer Handschrift dargestellt ist. Die auf den Treppenstufen kauernde Figur, die roth und im Gesichte in der Art des Feuergottes gemalt ist, aber das wirre Haar des Todesgottes hat und am Nacken eine roth und weisse Rosette (*cuexcochtechimalli*) und die roth und weisse Fahne *Xipe*'s befestigt hat, dürfen wir wohl als den Priester dieses Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens ansehen. Er hält in der rechten Hand einen abgeschnittenen Skelettkopf (den getöteten Mond?), in der anderen einen Kopalbeutel. *Xipe* selbst ist unter einer rothen, weiss gesäumten und mit Daunenfedern besteckten Decke auf einem roth und weissen (rothgestreiften *tlauauantli*) Steine liegend zu sehn, der auf der Plattform gerade am Ende des Treppenaufgangs sich erhebt. Der Gott ist in seiner Ausstattung dargestellt und liegt auf dem Rücken, mit zum Empfang ausgebreiteten Armen, wie die Erdgöttinnen abgebildet zu werden pflegen. Vor ihm sieht man eine merkwürdige en face-Figur, die mit grüner Farbe gemalt ist, den Leib mit einer Schleife umbunden und das Haar mit drei Daunenfederbüscheln besteckt hat und darüber ein weisses, spitz eiförmiges Gebilde trägt, das wie ein Schliff aus einem Schneckengehäuse erscheint. Das in den Bilderschriften sonst äusserst selten gezeichnete en face-Gesicht, die Haltung des breitbeinig dastehenden, die Arme emporstreckenden Gesellen muthet einen an, wie die Veranschaulichung des Erscheinens, wie die Verkündigung eines Herolds, der von der Höhe des Tempels sein *teotl eco*, „der Gott ist erschienen", herabruft.

Auf dem zweiten Blatte 34, dem Hause der rothen Schlange, sind die Stufenabsätze der Pyramide, wie die Treppenstufen, einfach roth. Auf der Höhe der Plattform sieht man hier eine rothe Scheibe und darauf eine alte Göttin, auf deren Leibe, auf einem — offenbar das Herz der Göttin repräsentirenden *chalchiuitl* oder grünen Edelsteine eine schwarze Gestalt, ein Priester, wie es scheint — darauf deutet wenigstens das an der einen Seite lang herabfallende Haar —, Feuer quirlt. Die Göttin hat eine grüne, wohl als dunkel gemeinte Bemalung um den Mund. Das Auge ist schmal geschlitzt, wie das Auge *Xipe*'s. Offenbar soll auch diese Göttin, wie *Xipe*, in die abgezogene Haut des Opfers gekleidet sein, Das Haar, über dem die beiden Stirnlocken der Lichtgötter (Mond- und Sterngötter) emporragen, ist von einer weissen Bastbinde umgeben. Auf dem Haare ruht das *aztaxelli* der Krieger, der Reiherfedergabelschmuck, denn die Göttin ist die Kriegerin, die einen Gefangenen gemacht hat, sie hat geboren. Das ist die Göttin des vollen Mondes, die *Teteo innan* „Mutter der Götter" oder *Toci*, „unsere Ahne", aber auch *Tlaçolteotl* oder *Tlaelquani*, „Göttin des Unraths, der Sünde, der Fleischeslust" genannt wurde, die in dem *Tamoanchan*, dem Hause des Herabkommens, dem Hause der Geburt, dem mythischen Westen, den *Cinteotl*, den Maisgott geboren hat, und der deswegen zur Herbstzeit das grosse Erntefest, das *Ochpaniztli*, das Besenfest gefeiert wurde. Das ist die weibliche Gottheit des Westens. Denn das *Tamoanchan*, das Haus des Herabkommens, das Haus der Geburt, der Westen, die Region des zunehmenden, des wachsenden Mondes, das ist ihre Heimat —

ahuiya coçavic xochitla oya cueponca
o die gelbe Blüthe ist aufgebrochen
yeva tonana teu mechave
sie, unsere Mutter, die mit der Schenkelhaut der Göttin im Gesichte bemalte,
moquiçican tamoanchan
sie stammt aus Tamoanchan

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— heisst es von dieser Göttin im Liede.[1]) So ist denn auch hier hinter der auf der rothen Scheibe liegenden Göttin der Blüthenbaum zu sehen, das bekannte Symbol des *Xochitl icacan*, „wo die Blüthen stehen", das nur ein anderer Name für *Tamoanchan* ist. Dieses Haus der rothen Schlange, das Haus des Blattes 34 unserer Handschrift, ist demnach das Haus der Mond- und Erdgöttin, das weibliche Haus des Westens.

Das Tempelgemach, die Cella, hat auf dem ersten Blatte, in dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange, dem Hause des männlichen Gottes des Westens, schwarze Thürbalken und roth gemaltes Innere und ein hohes spitzes Strohdach, das oben in einem aufrecht stehenden Steinmesser endet, das in einem jaguarfellfarbenen Skorpiongesichte wurzelt, und aus dessen Mundöffnung ein schwarzes Menschengesicht hervorsieht. Auf dem zweitem Blatte, in dem Hause der rothen Schlange, hat die Cella rothe Thürbalken und einen blauen Innenraum. Das ganze Gemach ist als Höhlentempel aufzufassen, es ist ein *couatl icamac*, aus dem Rachen einer grossen rothen Schlange gebildet gedacht. Das Strohdach darüber ragt zwar auch hoch in die Höhe, hat aber einen breiten, nach den Seiten sich herunterbiegenden First und wird von einem liegenden Steinmesser gekrönt, aus dessen Mundöffnung ein rothes *Tezcatlipoca*-Gesicht hervorsieht.

In beiden Häusern ist der obere Thürbalken, wie das Dach in dreifachen Absätzen oben von einer Sternaugen- oder Himmelsborte umsäumt, — ein Zeichen, dass diese beiden Häuser den Himmel des Westens darstellen sollen. Und unter diesem Himmelsstreifen, wie unter dem oberen Rande der Pyramidenabsätze, sieht man Reihen von Gestalten, die auf dem ersten Blatte, in dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange in der Hauptsache männlich und sämmtlich in Tanzstellung dargestellt sind, während auf dem zweiten Blatte, in dem Hause der rothen Schlange diese Figuren sämmtlich weiblich sind und die Arme wie zum Empfange ausgebreitet haben, wie wir das auf den vorhergehenden Blättern der Handschrift an den verschiedenen Figuren der Erd- oder Todesgöttinnen gesehen hatten.

Auf dem ersten Blatte, in dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange, sieht man an dem untern Stufenpyramidenabsatze eine Reihe von vier weiblichen Gestalten, die aber keine Adlerklauen, sondern Hände und Füsse menschlicher Bildung haben und durch ein eigenthümliches, dreieckig spitz nach unten laufendes rothes Feld um das Auge auffallen. Darüber folgen an dem oberen Stufenpyramidenabsatze zwei männliche Figuren, von denen die eine gelber, die andere rother Körperfarbe ist, die im Gesichte eine *Tezcatlipoca*-artige Bemalung haben und in den Nasenflügeln zwei blaue Knöpfe tragen, die mir dem *yacaxiuitl*, dem Nasenschmucke der Seele des toten Kriegers, bezw. des Mumienbündels, das man für den im Kriege Gefallenen errichtete, zu entsprechen scheinen. Weiter sieht man vorn an dem oberen Thürbalken eine männliche Figur, die das Gesicht in der unteren Hälfte roth, in der oberen Hälfte gelb gemalt, und roth gefärbtes, wirres Haupthaar trägt. An den drei Himmelsstreifen des Daches endlich liegen Reihen männlicher Figuren, die das mit Daunenfedern besteckte Haar und den Reiherfedergabelschmuck (*aztaxelli*) der Krieger tragen, abwechselnd weisser, gelber, blauer, rother Farbe sind und im Gesichte bald die Bemalung des Feuergottes, bald den Quincunx weisser Flecke, das Abzeichen des Sterngottes (in specie der Gottheit des Morgensternes) tragen. Was man sich bei den vier weiblichen Figuren denken soll, die an dem unteren Stufenabsatze der Pyramide abgebildet sind, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, aber dass die an den Himmelsborten sich entlang ziehenden, bald die Bemalung des Feuergottes, bald die des Sterngottes tragenden Gestalten, die *Ueueteteô*, die „alten Götter", die ersten Menschen darstellen sollen, die als Sterne am Himmel aufziehen, scheint mir klar.

Auf dem zweiten Blatte, in dem Hause der rothen Schlange, sieht man an der Basis der Stufenpyramide ebenfalls eine Reihe weiblicher Gestalten, die Hände und Füsse menschlicher Bildung und ein dreieckig, spitz nach unten laufendes rothes Feld um das Auge haben, aber wie die anderen weiblichen Gestalten, die Hände wie zum Empfange geöffnet haben und damit gewissermassen Agavedorn (*uitztli*) und Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*), das priesterliche Handwerkszeug, darzureichen oder zu empfangen scheinen. Bei den drei Himmelsborten des Daches sieht man hier Reihen weiblicher Gestalten, die auch verschiedenfarbig sind, wie die Sterngötter des ersten, des männlichen Blattes, die aber einen Skelett-

1) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 994.

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kopf haben und Adlerklauen an den zum Empfange geöffneten Händen, wie an den Füssen haben. Für die weiblichen Gestalten an der Basis der Pyramide erlaube ich mir auch hier keine Deutung. Aber die mit Adlerklauen bewehrten skelettköpfigen Frauen an den Himmelsborten des Daches sind offenbar die *Ciuateteô*, die Seelen der im Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen, die im Westen hausen, von dort zur Erde herabkommen und in gewisser Weise wohl mit den Dunkelheitsdämonen, den *Tzitzimimê*, sich decken. Beide, die *Ueueteteô*, die Feuergötter, die ersten Menschen, die ersten Gestorbenen, die männlichen Toten, wie die *Ciuateteô*, die weiblichen Toten, sind übrigens in der Zahl von zehnen angegeben. Das kann ein durch die Raumvertheilung bedingter Zufall, kann aber auch beabsichtigt sein. Es kann bedeuten, dass für jede der fünf Weltgegenden in beiden Klassen je zwei Vertreter angenommen sind. Denn dass die Gestalten nach den Himmelsrichtungen differenzirt gedacht sind, ist ja schon darin ausgesprochen, dass sie in verschiedenen Farben gemalt sind. Beide Kategorien zusammen sind die Vorfahren, die dort am Abendhimmel aufziehen. Denn der Abendhimmel ist das *Tamoanchan*, das Haus des Herabkommens, das Haus der Geburt. Dort liegt das *Colhuacan*, das Land der Vorfahren. Dort auch das *Omeyocan*, der Ort der Zweiheit, der himmlischen Höhe, von der noch heute die Kinder in die Welt kommen.

Eine Differenzirung nach männlichen und weiblichen Potenzen und gleichzeitig eine Charakterisirung des Westens, kommt auch in den Gebilden zum Ausdrucke, die man in beiden Häusern von den die Krönung des Gebäudes bildenden Steinmessern ausgehen sieht. Von beiden dieser Dachkrönungen schlingt sich nämlich ein Seil nach unten, das auf dem ersten, dem männlichen Blatte, in eine Art Skorpiongesicht, auf dem zweiten, dem weiblichen Blatte, in eine Art Spinnengesicht endet. Ich meine, man muss an den Spinnenfaden denken, an dem nach der im Mendieta[1]) uns überlieferten Sage *Tezcatlipoca* sich vom Himmel herabliess, an das Seil, an dem Blatt 48 der Wiener Handschrift *Quetzalcouatl*, Blatt 18 des Codex Nuttall der den Tempel herabbringende Priester vom Himmel herunterkommen, endlich an die Spinnenfiguren (Abb. 2), durch die im Codex Borbonicus gewisse Götter — *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, *Mictlantecutli*, *Tepeyollotl*, *Chalchiuhtotolin*, *Mayauel*, *Tlaçolteotl*, *Itzpapalotl*, *Xochiquetzal*, — als *Tzitzimimê*, als die vom Himmel Herabkommende, als Götter des Westens, gekennzeichnet werden.

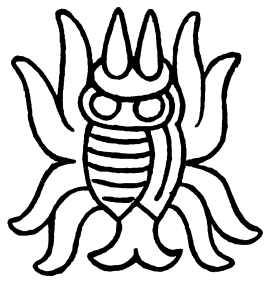

Abb. 2. Spinne, *tzitzimitl*. Codex Borbonicus.

An dem Seile, das von dem aufrechten Steinmesser auf dem Firste des ersten, des männlichen Hauses, ausgeht, ist über dem Skorpiongesicht, das das Seil gewissermassen herunterbringt, zunächst ein Daunenfederbüschel (*tiçatl iuitl*), eine Opferfahne (*amapamitl*), Agave-Dorn (*uitztli*), dann das merkwürdige, knieförmig gebogene, bumerangartige Instrument, das Blatt 58 unserer Handschrift der mit dem Todesgotte Rücken an Rücken sitzende *Quetzalcouatl* in der Hand hält, und ein *chalchiuitl*, ein grüner Edelstein, das Sinnbild des Herzens, des Lebens, angebracht, an den obersten Windungen des Seiles endlich eine von einem Hirsche (*maçatl*) getragene Sonnenscheibe (*tonatiuh*) und die von einem Kaninchen (*tochtli*) getragene Hieroglyphe des Mondes (*metztli*), — ein Zeichen, dass hier am westlichen Himmel die Sonne und der Mond zur Erde herabkommen. — An dem Seile dagegen, das auf dem zweiten Blatte von dem liegenden Steinmesser, das dort die Bekrönung des Hauses bildet, sich in vier Windungen herabschlingt, sind über dem Spinnengesichte am Ende fünf mit goldenem Nasenhalbmonde und Baumwoll-Ohrpflocke ausgestattete, in verschiedenen Farben gemalte *Tlaçolteotl-* oder *Ciuateotl*-Gesichter. Es sind eben die *Tzitzimê*, die von diesem weiblichen Hause des Westens zur Erde herabkommen. Die Fünfzahl entspricht auch hier wieder ohne Zweifel der Anzahl der Weltgegenden. Sie wird bekanntlich geradezu für die *Ciuateteô* angegeben, und hat für sie auch, wie wir bei der Erläuterung der Blätter 47, 48 unserer Handschrift näher zu zeigen haben werden, einen auf besonderen Verhältnissen beruhenden zureichenden Grund.

Der Westen kommt endlich auf den beiden Blättern noch in den grossen Gruppen zum Ausdrucke, die vor diesen beiden Häusern der schwarzen und der rothen Schlangen, die ja als Tempel gedacht sind, ihre natürliche Stelle haben, denn es sind Opferszenen. Geopfert wird auf beiden Blättern ein

1)Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana lib. 2, cap. 5·

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grün gemaltes, mit Adlerklauen an Händen und Füssen versehenes männliches Wesen, das einen kugeligen Kopf, der gleich den Kautschukkugeln der Handschriften mit rundem Totenauge und langen Raffzähnen gezeichnet ist, und feuerfarbenes, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelndes Haar besitzt, also ein Lichtwesen darstellen muss. Und das stimmt ja auch. Denn im Westen, da werden die Lichtwesen, die Sonne und der Mond getötet. Da gehen sie in die Erde hinein. Das Opfer ist rückwärts über einen grossen schwarzen Opferstein geworfen, der von einer Todesgöttin gehalten wird, die auf dem ersten, dem männlichem Blatte, als Göttin der Agave-Pflanze (*metl*), auf dem zweiten als die des *malinalli*-Grases gezeichnet ist. Wir haben also hier dieselben zwei Figuren, die wir schon zuvor einmal in der rechten Abtheilung des Blattes 31 angetroffen haben, einer Abtheilung, die, wie wir oben gesehen haben, ja auch den Westen veranschaulicht. Das Opfer vollzieht auf dem ersten, dem männlichen Blatte ein als Priester des Todesgottes frisirter schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*, und das Herz nimmt in Empfang — offenbar um es weiterzutragen, der Gottheit des Tempels darzubringen, — ein auch als Priester des Todesgottes frisirter grüner (d. h. dunkler) *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*. Auf dem zweiten, dem weiblichen Blatte vollzieht eine auch als Priester des Todesgottes frisirte, mit den Tracht- und Schmuckstücken *Quetzalcouatl*'s ausgestattete, mit rothen Scheiben auf der schwarzen Grundfarbe des Körpers gezeichnete Figur, die einen in das Menschengesicht eingesetzten Thier- (Schlangen-? Jaguar-?) Rachen und Jaguarpranken hat, das Opfer. Das Gesicht dieser Figur hat die Bemalung *Quetzalcouatl*'s, aber das Auge, das aus der Höhle heraushängt, wie das manche Bilder *Quetzalcouatl*'s, und auch das *Nauauatzin*'s, des syphilitischen Gottes (vgl. den I. Band dieser Erläuterungen, S. 199, Abb. 379, 380) zeigen, umzieht hinten ein rother Halbring, wie wir solchen im Gesichte des Sonnen- (und des Mond-) Gottes angegeben finden. Ich glaube, wir werden an *Tepeyollotli*, den Gott der Höhlen, den Jaguar als den Gott des Westens, denken müssen, über den ich in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 91—95 Näheres mitgetheilt habe. Das Herz nehmen hier zwei Todesgöttinnen, von denen die eine schwarzes Haar und schwarzen Schmuck, die andere rothes Haar und rothen Schmuck hat, in Empfang. Das Herz des Geopferten ist dabei auf dem ersten, dem männlichen Blatte, ein lebendiges Menschenherz, und das Blut eine grüne Edelsteinschnur. Auf dem zweiten, dem weiblichen Blatte, ist das Herz, das dem Opfer aus der geöffneten Brust genommen wird, weiss und knöchern, das Blut eine weisse, roth punktirte, d. h. knöcherne Schnur.

Im Tempelgemache selber sieht man auf dem ersten, dem männlichen Blatte, als Herrn dieses Ortes, einen schwarzen, — auch im Gesichte durchaus schwarzen, nur an der Schläfe den rothen Fleck, die Priesterbemalung, tragenden *Quetzalcouatl*, vor oder in dessen Munde eine blutige Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) sichtbar wird. Vor ihm erscheint, von ihm willkommen geheissen, ein mit grüner, d. h. wohl dunkler Farbe gemalter *Quetzalcouatl*, der aber im Gesichte den Quincunx weisser oder gelber Flecken, das Abzeichen der Gottheit des Morgensterns, trägt, also als *Tlauizcalpan tecutli* zu bezeichnen ist.

In dem Tempelgemache des rothen, von dem Rachen einer Schlange gebildeten Hauses auf dem zweiten, dem weiblichen Blatte, ist als Herr des Orts ein rother, die Trachtabzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s tragender Gott dargestellt, der aber wirres Haar, ähnlich dem des Todesgottes, nur rothes und mit Daunenfederbüscheln bestecktes, einen in das Menschengesicht eingesetzten Thier- (Schlangen-? Jaguar-?) Rachen und Jaguarpranken hat, den wir also, wie den Priester, der vor ihm opfert, als *Tepeyollotli* zu bezeichnen haben. Er trägt aber hier eine grosse Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken, und aus dem geöffneten Thierrachen streckt sich die Zunge, wie ein rother Pfahl, weit hervor. Das Auge hängt, wie bei seinem Abbilde, dem Priester, der vor ihm opfert, aus der Höhle heraus. Vor diesem Gotte ist eine oben gespaltene Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) angegeben, und ihn begrüsst eine kleine rothe, die Abzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s tragende und augenscheinlich auch als Abbild dieses rothen *Tepeyollotli* gedachte, aber mit rein menschlichen Zügen dargestellte Figur, die aus dem Rauche herausspringt, der über dem Feuer sich erhebt, das auf dem Leibe der alten auf der rothen Scheibe liegenden Göttin gequirlt wird.

So stehen also diese beiden Häuser, die die Westregion oder den Abendhimmel veranschaulichen, einander gegenüber, das *Tlillan* und das *Tlapallan*, das Haus der schwarzen Schlange und das *couatl icamac* „im Rachen der Schlange" erscheinende Haus der rothen Schlange, — offenbar beide als Pfeiler gedacht, die die Oeffnung oder die Thür umrahmen, durch die am Abend die Sonne

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unter die Erde taucht. Sie stehen nicht über einander, sondern einander gegenüber, und dadurch ist für sie selber noch eine andere Richtung bedingt. Das eine ist der Nordpfeiler, das dunkle Haus des Nordens, darum ziehen an ihm die ersten Menschen auf, die ersten Gestorbenen, die *Ueueteteô*, die Feuergötter, die im Norden, im Totenlande wohnen, und mit der Sonne am Himmel emporgestiegen sind. Denn über den Norden geht der sakrale Turnus von Osten nach Westen, d. h. mit der Sonne. Das andere ist der Südpfeiler, das feurige Haus des Südens. An ihm ziehen die Göttinnen auf, die *Ciuateteô*, die der Sonne entgegengehen, die mit dem Monde oder als Mond der Sonne entgegenwandern, den sakralen Turnus vom Westen über den Süden nach Osten vollziehen, die deshalb der Nacht angehören, die Leuchten der Nacht sind und zugleich die *Tzitzimimê*, die Dunkelheitsdämonen, die als Gespenster an ihren Tagen zur Erde herabkommen. Denn diese *Tzitzimimê* sind, worauf ich schon längst aufmerksam gemacht habe, nichts anderes als die Sterne, die bei Sonnenfinsternissen am hellen Taghimmel sichtbar

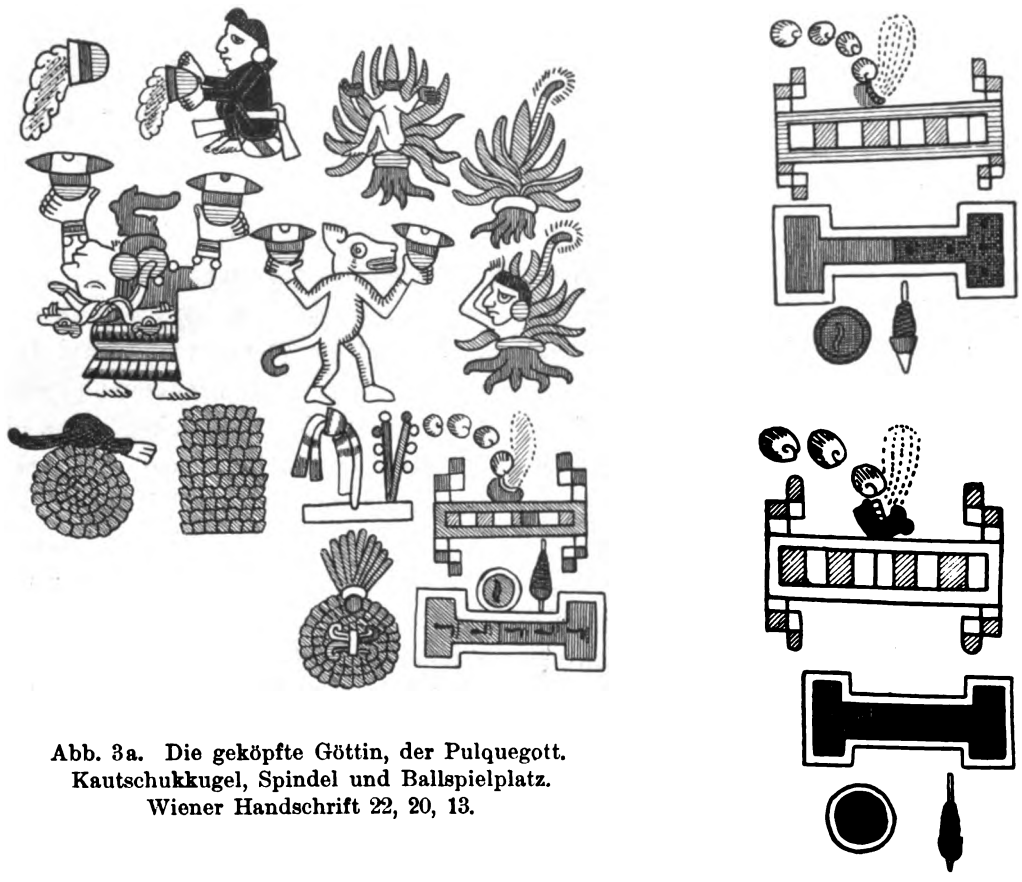

Abb. 3a. Die geköpfte Göttin, der Pulquegott. Kautschukkugel, Spindel und Ballspielplatz. Wiener Handschrift 22, 20, 13.

werden. Sie sind deshalb auch die Genossinnen der *Uitznaua*, „der Südlichen", die auch die Sterne sind, und treten uns als solche auf den Blättern 47, 48 unserer Handschrift, wie auf dem schönen Blatte der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung, das neuerdings von Dr. Lehmann[1]) analysirt worden ist, entgegen.

So erklären sich also die Farben dieser Blätter 33 und 34 unserer Handschrift, und es ergibt sich zugleich die mythische Bedeutung des *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, das uns so oft in den Texten begegnet, das nicht die Stelle ist, wo die Erde sich mit dem Himmel berührt, — die würden wir ja ringsum am ganzen Horizont zu suchen haben, wo das *ilhuicaatl* „donde se junta el cielo con la mar", d. h. das Meer, die Erde rings umgibt, — sondern die beiden Stellen im Westen und im Osten bezeichnet, wo zwischen dem schwarzen Pfeiler des Nordens und dem rothen Pfeiler des Südens die Sonne in die Erde hineingeht und aus der Erde wieder hervorkommt. Dass dies die richtige Auffassung ist, wird, — ausser durch unsere beiden Codex Borgia-Blätter — auch durch die Farbengebungen der Ballspielplätze (*tlachtli*)

1) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Band XXXVI (Berlin 1905) S. 848–871.

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bewiesen. Diese waren, wie ich nachgewiesen habe[1]), durchweg nordsüdlich orientirt, und dementsprechend finden wir auch das Feld des Ballspielplatzes in der Wiener Handschrift und im Codex Nuttall (Abb. 3, 4) in querer Theilung in eine schwarze und eine rothe Hälfte getheilt, wo nicht der Zeichner es vorgezogen hat (vgl. Abb. 5, 6), statt dessen geradezu zwei Ballspielplätze, einen schwarzen und einen rothen, zu zeichnen. Und das ist auch das Geheimniss des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*, der zweifellos der Gott des Abends ist, der am Abendhimmel erscheinende Mond, vielleicht zugleich auch die in die Erde eingehende Sonne, und deshalb, zusammen mit dem Käuzchen, der Ohreule, im *Tonolamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung und des Codex Borbonicus die zehnte Tagesstunde bezeichnet[2]), der aber auch als in zwei Formen erscheinend bekannt ist, als der schwarze, der *Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca* und als der rothe, der *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* und deshalb bald *Tlacochcalco yaotl* oder *tlacochcalcatl* „der Krieger im Speerhause (im Hause des Nordens)", bald *Uitznauac yaotl* oder *uitznauacatl* „der Krieger am Orte der Dornen (im Süden)" genannt wird.[3]) In der That sehen wir auf unserem Blatte, Codex Borgia 34, aus dem Rachen des liegenden Steinmessers, das dort den First des Hauses krönt, das Gesicht des rothen

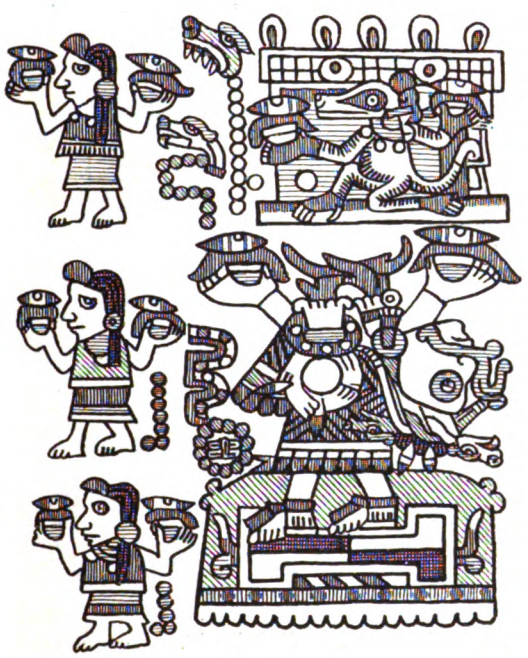

Abb. 3b. Die geköpfte Göttin.
Codex Nuttall 3.

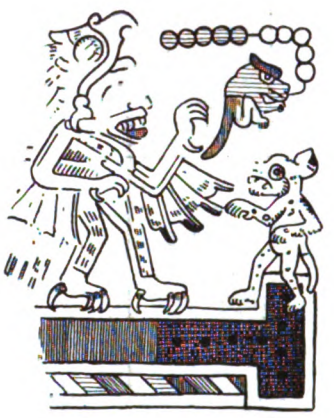

Abb. 4. Der Gott „zehn Eidechse" auf dem Ballspielplatze. Wiener Handschrift 29.

Tezcatlipoca hervorsehen. Ja, das bekannte aus einer halben Sonnenscheibe und dem Bilde der Nacht zusammengesetzte Symbol, das ziemlich regelmässig, und zwar sowohl in den Bilderschriften, wie auf Monumenten[4]), bei den Pulquegöttern und auch bei *Quetzalcouatl* angegeben wird, das ich immer als ein Sinnbild der Scheide von Tag und Nacht angesehen habe, und das Preuss sich in einer langen Abhandlung bemüht hat, als den Ausdruck des Oben und Unten, des Hinabstürzens in den Erdrachen, zu erweisen, das werden wir richtiger als dieses *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, den Nordpfeiler und den Südpfeiler, die den Westen und den Osten bezeichnen, erfassen. Denn dann ist es ohne Weiteres klar, wie dieses Symbol sowohl bei den Pulquegöttern, wie bei dem im Osten verschwindenden Gott, bei *Quetzalcouatl*, gezeichnet wird.

1) Bastian Festschrift und Seler, Die alten Ansiedelungen von Chaculá im Distrikte Nenton des Departements Huehuetenango der Republik Guatemala. Berlin (Dietrich Reimer) 1902, S. 27, 57, 102.

2) Vgl. meine Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung, Berlin 1900, S. 29, 30 und 33, 34.

3) Seler, Die achtzehn Jahresfeste der Mexikaner, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Band VI, Berlin 1899, S. 153, 167.

4) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 921.

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Nun ist aber noch ein Punkt hierbei klar zu legen. Wenn schwarz und roth, oder schwarz und roth mit einem goldenen Halbmonde in der Mitte, im Gesichte der Pulquegötter oder auf der Kleidung der den letzteren verwandten Göttermutter erscheint[1]), so können wir das verstehen, weil die eine wie die anderen die Verkörperung des Mondes, Gottheiten des Mondes sind, der der Typus des Wechsels, des Absterbens und des Wiederauflebens, ist, ja es kann dieses Farbennebeneinander geradezu als Bild der Mondscheibe, der zur Hälfte dunklen, zur Hälfte leuchtenden, aufgefasst werden. Es ist das ein Vorkommen, das in keiner Weise in einem inneren Gegensatze zu dem vorher Festgestellten steht, vielmehr ihm innerlich ganz konform ist, und das auch den äusseren Thatsachen entspricht, da diese Theilung der Mondscheibe in eine dunkle und eine helle Hälfte ja bekanntlich stattfindet, wenn der Mond dem Westen und dem Osten nahe ist, nur am Abend oder erst gegen Morgen sichtbar ist. — Das Schwarz und Roth ist aber auch die Farbe des Feuergottes, die in seiner Gesichtsbemalung, wenigstens wie er in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe abgebildet wird, klar zum Ausdrucke kommt. Für *Tlillan-Tlapallan* haben wir in den Anales de Quauhtitlan das Synonymon *Tlatlayan* „Ort des Brennens“. Nun steht ja allerdings der Feuergott unleugbar in gewisser Beziehung zu der Gottheit des Mondes, aber andererseits hat er doch als Feuergott eine reale Existenz, wie auch der Farbengegensatz Schwarz und

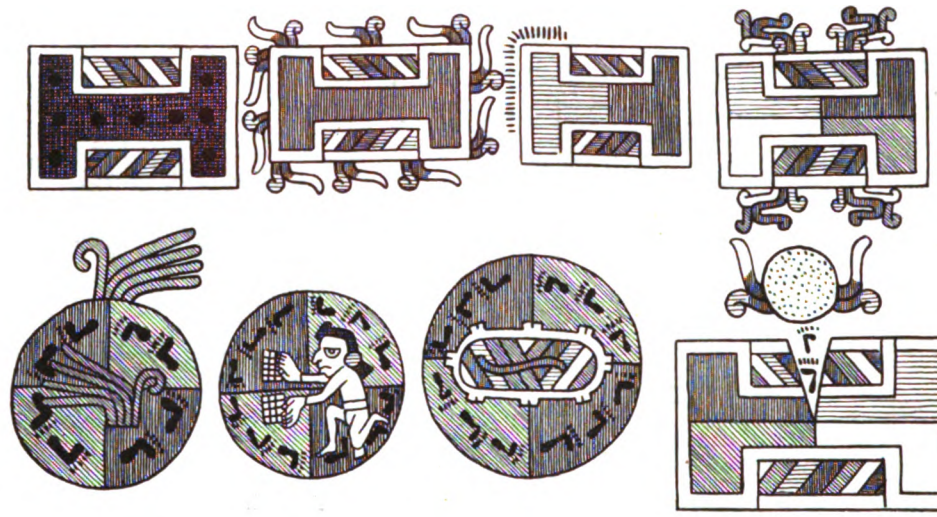

Abb. 5. Erdrunde und Ballspielplätze. Wiener Handschrift 19.

Roth als Ausdruck seiner Natur verstanden werden kann. Da entsteht aber die Schwierigkeit, dass wir uns den Osten, den Sonnenaufgang sehr gut als Land des Feuergottes vorzustellen im Stande sind, dass das aber, so meine ich, entschieden schwieriger ist, in gleicher Weise für den Westen und den Sonnenuntergang anzunehmen. Oder wenigstens, wir könnten es nur verstehen, wenn wir als den Ausgangspunkt dieser Vorstellungen die Morgen- und die Abendröthe annehmen, die in realistischer Weise als Feuer verstanden worden seien. Thatsache ist jedenfalls, dass nicht nur das *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, wohin der Heros von *Tollan* zog, als ein *Tlatlayan*, ein „Ort des Brennens“ aufgefasst wurde, sondern dass auch das *Tlillan-Tlapallan* unserer beiden Codex Borgia-Blätter, das zweifellos den Westen, den Abendhimmel, bezeichnet, zu gleicher Zeit als ein Reich des Feuergottes dargestellt sein soll. Das ergibt sich nicht nur aus dem ganzen Ansehen dieser Blätter, sondern spricht sich im Besonderen noch darin aus, dass auf den beiden Blättern, sowohl in dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange, wie in dem der rothen Schlange, nahe dem Fundamente eine Reihe von vier bezw. drei weiblichen Gestalten angegeben sind, die, wie ich oben angab, durch ein spitz nach unten gezogenes rothes Feld um das Auge gekennzeichnet sind, und die ich aber bisher noch nicht näher bestimmt habe. Ein Vergleich mit den vier weiblichen Figuren, die auf Blatt 46 zu beiden Seiten des von den vier Feuerschlangen gebildeten Vierecks angegeben sind,

1) Vgl. den I. Band dieser Erläuterungen, S. 141, 142 und 164.

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lässt aber keinen Zweifel darüber, dass wir in den einen wie den anderen Priesterinnen des Feuergottes zu erkennen haben.

Ist nun aber deshalb der Abendhimmel, das *Tamoanchan*, schlechtweg, — etwa als das Land der Abendröthe, — als das Land des Feuergottes zu bezeichnen? Ich glaube nicht. Die alten Priestergelehrten waren esoterischer in den Bildern, in denen sie ihre Weisheit, ihr wirkliches Wissen und ihre mythologischen Spekulationen, der Mit- und Nachwelt überlieferten, und jedenfalls pedantischer. Es wird ihnen schwerlich genügt haben, die Region, um die es sich hier handelt, in dem einen Bilde anzuschauen. In der That werden wir sehen, dass noch vier weitere Blätter der Handschrift der Schilderung derselben Gegend gewidmet sind. Auf den Blättern 29–32, die die erste Wanderung des Gottes durch die Unterwelt erzählen, waren die Bilder nach den Himmelsrichtungen gruppirt, die durch die daneben angegebenen Tageszeichen in bestimmter Weise bezeichnet waren. Aehnliches wird uns auf den Blättern 39—46 wieder begegnen, wo die zweite Wanderung des Planeten durch die Unterwelt erzählt wird. Das Erscheinen des leuchtenden Sterns, der Abend für Abend ungefähr an derselben Stelle des Himmels sichtbar

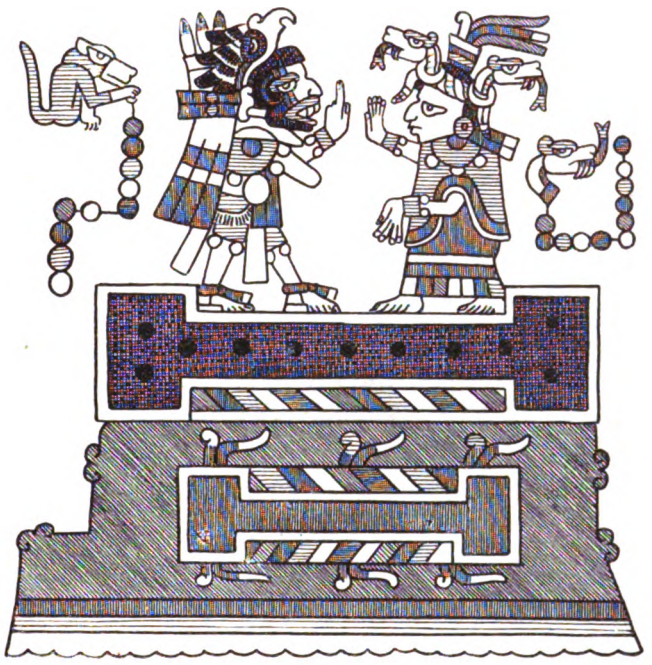

Abb. 6 Der Gott „Zehn Eidechse“ und die Erdgöttin (Mondgöttin) „Eilf Schlange“.
Wiener Handschrift 3.

wurde, konnte nicht gut als ein Wandern nach den vier Richtungen angeschaut werden. Dagegen war es den alten Gelehrten bewusst, dass die Region, wo der Abendstern erschien, das alte Land der Geburt war, das *Tamoanchan*, die Urheimat, von wo die ersten Menschen auf diese Erde gekommen waren. Sie wussten aber zugleich, dass — *in icuac omoman tlalli in ilhuicatl o yuh nauhtlamantli onca yn tlaca nauhtlamantli nemiliztli omochiuh in yuh quimatia ce centetl in tonatiuh catca*[1]) „als Erde und Himmel gelegt wurde, es da vier Klassen von Menschen, vier Klassen von Menschenaltern oder Weltaltern gab, indem ebenso viele verschiedene Sonnen existirten (oder vielmehr einander folgten)“, — die, wie bekannt und überliefert war, als die Zeitalter des Dunkels oder der Erde, des Windes oder der Luft, des Feuers oder Feuerregens und des Wassers gezählt wurden. So haben, das ist mir klar, und ich werde es in dem Folgenden beweisen, die alten Gelehrten, die die schöne Handschrift, mit der wir uns hier beschäftigen, schrieben oder die Bilder ersannen, die auf diesen Blättern niedergelegt sind, die Region des Abendhimmels, das alte Land der Geburt, das Land der Vorfahren, als ein Reich des Feuers, als ein Reich des Dunkels oder der Erde, als ein Reich des Windes und ein Reich des Wassers, — die ja in

1) Anales de Quauhtitlan l. c. .p 9.

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gewisser Weise allerdings auch den Himmelsrichtungen Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden entsprechen, — angesehen und in dieser Folge auf den Blättern 33—38 unserer Handschrift zur Anschauung gebracht.

Es sind nun noch einige Einzelheiten auf den beiden Blättern 33 und 34, die uns so reichen Anlass zu Betrachtungen gaben, zu besprechen. Nach dem vorher Gesagten müssten wir als Herrn des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, d. h. des Nordpfeilers und des *couatl icamac*, des Hauses der rothen Schlange, des Südpfeilers, eigentlich den schwarzen und den rothen *Tezcatlipoca* erwarten. Das ist aber nicht der Fall. In beiden Häusern finden wir vielmehr eine mit Trachtabzeichen *Quelzalcouatl*'s ausgerüstete Gestalt. In dem ersten Hause, dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange einen schwarzen (*yayauhqui*) *Quetzalcouatl*, dem ein die Gesichtsbemalung *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s tragender Gott gegenübersteht. In dem Hause der rothen Schlange einen jaguarfüssigen rothen (*tlatlauhqui*) *Tepeyollotli*, mit der Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken, zu dem die beiden Todesgöttinnen oder *Tzitzimimê*, die das Herz des Geopferten in Empfang nehmen, gewissermassen das Gegenüber bilden. Das hat seinen Grund vermuthlich darin, das dieses ganze Stück unserer Handschrift ja nicht die Thaten *Tezcatlipoca*'s schildert, sondern ein Stück der Lebensgeschichte *Quetzalcouatl*'s darstellt, dass aber jedem dieser beiden Götter sicherlich in jeder der Priesterschulen eine universellere Bedeutung zukam. Der rothe *Tepeyollotli* des Südhauses erinnert durch das heraushängende Auge und die Sonnenscheibe, die er auf dem Rücken trägt, an *Nanauatzin*, den syphi-

Abb. 7. *Xolotl* neben dem Tempel der schwarzen Schlange. Codex Borgia 33 (= Kingsborough 6).

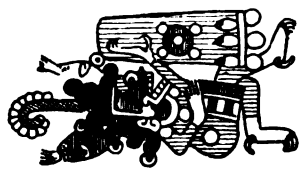

Abb. 8. *Tonacaciuatl*, Göttin der Lebensmittel. Codex Borgia 33 (= Kingsborough 6).

Abb. 9. *Tonacaciuatl*, Göttin der Lebensmittel. Codex Borgia 34 (= Kingsborough 5).

litischen Gott, den wir Blatt 10 links oben in unserer Handschrift kennen gelernt haben, den Gott, der in dem Feuer sich verbrennt, um als Sonne am Himmel aufzugehen, — oder wie wir hier sagen können, — den Gott, der über den Süden den Weg nach dem Osten sucht, um dort wieder aufzugehen (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 198 ff). Der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl* im Nordhause ist vielleicht mit *Xolotl* in Verbindung zu bringen, dem hundsköpfigen Gotte, der, wie ich an derselben Stelle des ersten Bandes gezeigt habe, die Sonne zu den Toten hinabbringt, also in der That der mit der Sonne, in derselben Richtung wie die Sonne gehende, mit ihr im Westen hinabtauchende Gott und eben deshalb das Gegenstück zu dem eben genannten *Nauauatzin* ist. In der That sehen wir den echten *Xolotl*, mit Hundskopf und Adlerkrallen, genau so, wie er in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 65 unserer Handschrift dargestellt ist, auf der Plattform des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, gerade hinter dem Tempelgemache, in dem der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl* als Herr des Hauses abgebildet ist, in einem mit rother Substanz gefüllten, mit den Rändern nach aussen gebogenen braunen Behälter sitzen. Ich habe diese Figur, deren Umrisse in dem heutigen Zustande des Originals, und deshalb auch in der Faksimileausgabe des Codex Borgia, nicht mehr vollständig zu erkennen sind, hier in Abb. 7 nach der Kingsborough'schen Zeichnung reproduzieren lassen. Er ist, wie man sieht, mit nach oben gerichtetem Kopfe und in die Höhe gestreckten Armen dargestellt, wie wenn er darauf wartete, die von oben herabkommende Sonne in Empfang zu nehmen, um sie dann hinunter in die Unterwelt und weiter zu führen.

Schliesslich sind auf den Blättern 33 und 34 unserer Handschrift noch einige Nebenfiguren zu

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erwähnen, die ich bisher noch nicht erörtert habe. Auf beiden Blättern sieht man rechts neben den Dächern der beiden Häuser unter einer, eine *chalchiuitl*-artige Zeichnung zeigenden Decke, die auf dem ersten Blatte blauer Farbe, d. h. Agave-blattfarben, auf dem zweiten Blatte grüner Farbe, d. h. *malinalli*-grasfarben, ist, eine Erd- oder Todesgöttin, aus deren Haar zwei Maiskolben und eine Maisblüthe hervorwachsen, d. h. eine *Tonacaciuatl*, eine „Herrin der Lebensmittel", eine „Herrin des Maises", auf dem Rücken liegen. Diese Figuren sind in dem Originale zur Zeit auch schon ziemlich zerstört, ich habe sie in Abb. 8 und 9 nach der Kingsborough'schen Zeichnung wiedergeben lassen. Sie haben wohl denselben Werth und dieselbe Bedeutung wie der *quauhtemoc*, der Adler, den man auf beiden Blättern von der Höhe der Plattform des Tempels sich herabstürzen sieht, d. h. sie sollen, wie eine Hieroglyphe, die Darstellungen der beiden Blätter, mit der Heimat des Maises, dem Wohnorte der *Tonacaciuatl*, dem *Tamoanchan*, dem mythischen Westen, verknüpfen.

Die beiden Gruppen endlich, die an der Eingangseite dieser Blätter, d. h. der rechten Seite von Blatt 33, zu beiden Seiten der Dachspitze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange gezeichnet sind, sind augenscheinlich dazu bestimmt, die Verbindung zum Ausdrucke zu bringen, in die die Darstellungen dieser beiden Blätter mit der Geschichte, die hier erzählt wird, gebracht werden sollen. Sie sollen das Erscheinen, das Aufgehen des Gestirns des Planeten Venus an der durch diese beiden Blätter bezeichneten

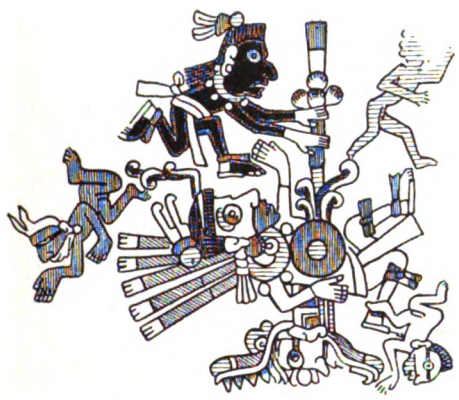

Abb. 10. Feuerbohrer.
Codex Borgia 33 (= Kingsborough 6).

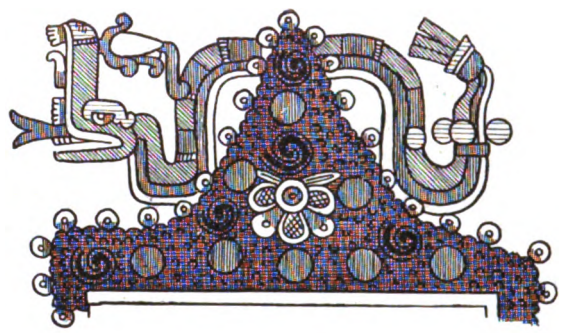

Abb. 11. Dach des Tempels der Nacht.
Codex Borgia 35 (= Kingsborough 4).

Region, in dem Westen, am Abendhimmel, zur Anschauung bringen. Denn die eine dieser beiden Gruppen, die zur Linken an der Spitze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, zeigt uns einen grossen schwarzen, mit Totenauge und *Tlaloc*-Zähnen versehenen Ball, aus dessen oberer Öffnung, zwischen einem weissen, gelben, blauen, rothen Lichtwesen als fünfter, d. h. in der fünften Richtung, nach oben, ein schwarzer Gott hervorkommt, in jeder Hand das mit Zacken besetzte, hin und her gekrümmte Gebilde haltend, das wir sonst in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s, des Regen- und Gewittergottes, sehen, das den Blitz veranschaulichen soll. Das bedeutet: — es erscheint in der Region, die durch die Darstellungen dieser beiden Blätter gekennzeichnet ist, ein Blitze aussendendes, d. h. leuchtendes Wesen, ein Stern.

Die Gruppe zur Rechten der Dachspitze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange ist in dem Originale auch nicht mehr in ihren Einzelheiten zu erkennen. Ich habe sie in Abb. 10 nach der Kingsborough-schen Zeichnung wiedergeben lassen. Man sieht hier über einer in den Boden beissenden, d. h. dort wurzelnden Schlange, deren Rachen als Helmmaske ein die Bemalung des Feuergottes tragendes Menschengesicht umschliesst, eine Figur auf dem Boden liegen, die in jeder Beziehung der auf der rothen Scheibe liegenden alten Göttin auf der Plattform des Hauses der rothen Schlange (Blatt 34 unserer Handschrift) entspricht. Nur ist es ein, mit Schambinde bekleideter, d. h. männlicher, Gott, und das Auge hat nicht den schmalen *Xipe*-Schlitz, der das Anzeichen einer aus Menschenhaut gefertigten Maske ist, sondern ist gross und rund, mit Brauen versehen, wie das Auge des Totengottes und *Quetzalcouatl*'s. Aber hinter dieser Figur sind dieselben blühenden Zweige zu sehen, die auch hinter der Göttin auf der rothen Scheibe

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angegeben sind, und die die Hieroglyphe für *Xochitl icacan* oder *Tamoanchan* sind. Es ist also der männliche Gott des Westens, der *Tonacatecutli*, der „Herr der Lebensmittel“ und Herr der Geburt, der Mondgott, wenn man will. Auf einem Spiegel (*tezcatl*), der das Herz oder den Leib oder den Nabel dieses Gottes bildet, quirlt ein schwarzer Priester, ähnlich dem, den wir über der Göttin auf der rothen Scheibe des Blattes 34 sahen, Feuer, und aus dem Rauche kommen Männchen gelber, blauer, rother Farbe, die die Bemalung des Feuergottes tragen und feuerfarbenes Haar und über der Stirn aufzüngelnde Locken haben, also Feuerwesen sind, heraus. Auch das kann offenbar weiter nichts besagen, als dass es im Westen zu brennen anfängt, dass dort ein leuchtender Körper sichtbar wird.

Ich gehe zu dem folgenden Blatte 35 über. Auch hier wollen wir uns zunächst vergewissern, um welche Lokalität es sich auf diesem Blatte handelt. Diese Lokalität wird durch die vier Bilder zu bestimmen sein, die gewissermassen als ruhende Zentren in den vier Ecken des Blattes verteilt sind. Das Hauptbild ist offenbar das, das, — wenn man die linke (Ausgangs-) Seite des Blattes als Basis nimmt, in der rechten oberen Ecke zu sehen ist. Es ist wiederum ein Tempel, aus einem Unterbaue bestehend, an dem eine Treppe steil hinaufführt, einem Tempelgemache oder einer Cella darauf und spitz aufragendem Dache. Die Seitenwand des Unterbaus, die Thürpfosten und die Oberschwelle des Gemaches und die Fläche des Daches sind schwarz mit rothen Flecken gemalt, und Basis, Treppenaufgang, Aussenwände des Gemachs und Aussenkanten des Daches sind von dunkler, mit Häkchen und Wirbelzeichnung erfüllter, mit Augen, d. h. Sternen, besetzter Masse, d. h. von Nacht, umhüllt. Der Unterbau ist in gewisser Weise verziert. Man sieht zwei rechteckige, innen mit blauem Mosaike erfüllte Felder, von denen gleichsam Stücke des Leibes einer Federschlange herabziehen, und in der Mitte der Fläche ist gross die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“ angegeben. Aber das Dach zeigt auf der dunklen Fläche nichts weiter als ein grosses, dreitheiliges Stern- oder Strahlauge (vgl. Abb. 11), und über der Spitze des Daches wölbt sich eine Schlange, die im Kingsborough mit grüner Farbe gemalt ist, in Wirklichkeit am Kopfe und auf dem Leibe dasselbe nächtliche Dunkel hat, wie das Dach und der den ganzen Tempel einhüllende Rand. Es ist also offenbar der Tempel der Nacht, der in diesem Bilde sich darstellt. Sein Insasse, der in dem (mit blauer Farbe gemaltem) Tempelgemache als Herr dieses Hauses abgebildet ist, muss der *Youaltecutli*, der „Herr der Nacht“ sein. Er präsentirt sich uns in der That in derselben nächtlich dunklen Farbe, und hat, wie es scheint, eine weisse Bemalung um den Mund, einen weissen Ring um das Auge und hinter dem Auge den rothen Halbring, den man in dem Gesichte des Sonnen- (und des Mond-) Gottes sieht. Der Nacken ist mit einem schwarz und rothen Tuche bedeckt, über der Stirn hat er eine Schleife, und aus dem Federschmucke ragt ein Adlerfuss heraus. Aber als Brustschmuck trägt er ein in einen Ring gefasstes Auge, auf dem Scheitel hat er das Sternauge, das *Tlaloc*, *Quetzalcouatl*, *Xochipilli* tragen, und über der Stirnbinde züngeln feuerfarben zwei Locken empor. Denn dieser *Youaltecutli*, dieser Herr der Nacht, ist offenbar auch ein Lichtwesen, vielleicht die Leuchte der Nacht, die Sonne in der Unterwelt, oder der Mond.

Die anderen drei Bilder, die an den beiden Seiten dieses Blattes noch zu sehen sind, sind als Zubehör zu dem Hauptbilde, dem Tempel der Nacht, zu betrachten. Aber sie sind zum Theil prägnanter, sie setzen die Nacht in Verbindung mit der Erde und sind ein Beweis, das auf diesem dritten Blatte des besonderen Abschnittes, der uns augenblicklich beschäftigt, der Himmel an dem der Abendstern erscheint, in dem Sinne der zweiten der mythischen Weltperioden als ein Reich des Dunkels oder der Erde aufgefasst sein soll.

Die drei anderen Bilder des Blattes 35 stellen, so meine ich, den Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*), die Opferblutschale (*quauhxicalli*) und das Fastenhäuschen (*neçaualcalli*) dieses Hauses oder Tempels der Nacht dar.

Der Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*) liegt gerade unter dem Tempel an der rechten Seite des Bildes, von der linken Blattseite als Basis aus betrachtet. Er hat die gewöhnliche Form und die gewöhnliche Theilung in vier verschieden gefärbte Felder und ist von einem innen von einer rothen Linie umsäumten Streifen mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzten Dunkels umzogen. Den Seiten eingesetzte Ballspielringe (*tlachtemalacatl*) fehlen.

Dafür liegt quer über dem ganzen Platz, in der Richtung von Westen nach Osten, und

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mamaçouhticac, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, eine in *cipactli*-Hülle gekleidete Figur des alten Gottes, des Herrn der Lebensmittel und der Zeugung, *Tonacatecutli*'s, der durch das ringförmige Anhängsel unter der Lippe, die Umgestaltung des eingekniffenen Mundwinkels alter Götter, als solcher gekennzeichnet ist, hier aber ausserdem, — in gleicher Weise, wie der *Youaltecutli* des Haupttempels, — durch

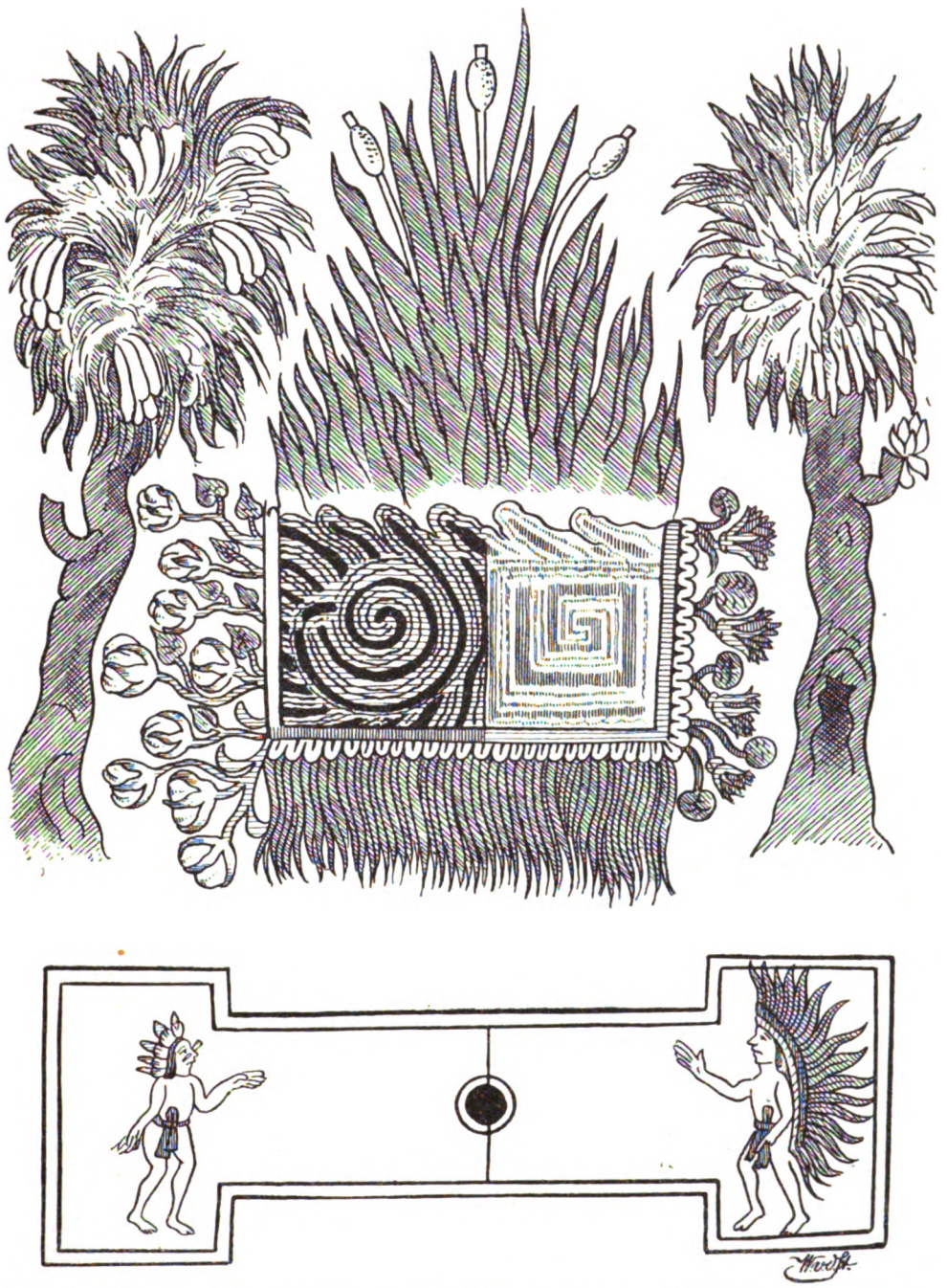

Abb. 12. Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, Sammlung Aubin-Goupil (Manuscrits mexicains Nr. 51—53; Text im Ms. Nr. 54—56).

einen der Gesichtsbemalung des Sonnengottes entlehnten oder mit ihr übereinstimmenden, den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden rothen Halbring sich auszeichnet. An Stelle von Brust und Leib zeigt dieser alte Gott eine grosse rothe Scheibe, und diese markirt genau die Mitte, in der die vier Felder des Ballspielplatzes zusammenlaufen. Gegenüber, auf der linken Seite des Bildes, (immer von der linken Blattseite als Basis aus betrachtet), sieht man auf einem von Augen, d. h. Sternen, umsäumten dunklen viereckigen Felde dieselbe Figur in demselben *cipactli*-Kleide, mit derselben rothen Scheibe an der

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Stelle von Brust und Bauch, nur noch mit der Tabakkalabasse (*yetecomatl*) der Priester auf dem Rücken, oder vielmehr am Nacken, mit zwei Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*) in der einen, dem Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) in der anderen Hand dargestellt. Diese Figur ist aber hier im Profil gelagert, und man sieht deutlich, dass der Rücken und der Leib der Figur um die genannte rothe Scheibe herumgezwängt ist, gewissermassen ein Gefäss oder einen Behälter bildend, in dem die rothe Scheibe ruht. Ich habe deshalb vorhin auch geradezu dies Bild als die zum Tempel der Nacht gehörige Opferblutschale (*quauhxicalli*) bezeichnet.

Was bedeuten nun diese Figuren? Zunächst ist klar, dass das *cipactli*-Kleid diese Figuren zu der Erde in Beziehung setzt, denn der *cipactli* ist, wie ich oben nach der „Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas“ schon anführte, der Fisch, aus dem der *Tlaltecutli*, der Gott der Erde, geschaffen wurde. Die Gesichtsbemalung charakterisirt diese Gestalten als Lichtwesen. Das ist an sich kein Widerspruch. Die Götter, die das Wachsthum bedingen, von denen die Entstehung und das Reifen der Feldfrüchte abhängt, die die agrarischen Götter im engsten Sinne des Wortes sind, hängen auf das innigste mit den

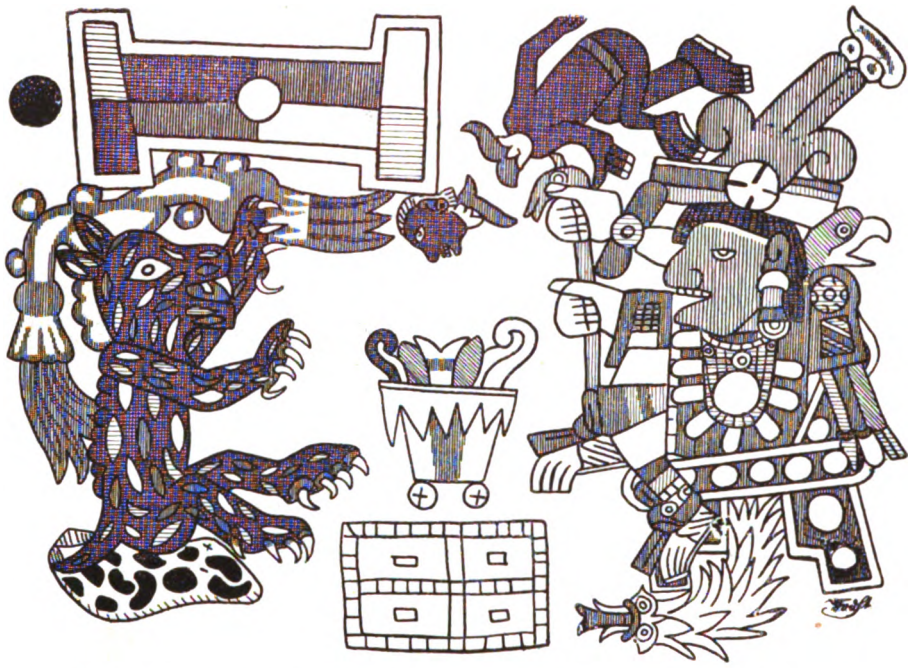

Abb. 13. *Xochiquetzal*, Herrin des neunzehnten Tonalamatlabschnittes.
Tonalamatl der Aubinschen Sammlung 19.

grossen Lichtwesen zusammen, insbesondere mit jenem grossen Lichtkörper, der in sich das Wachsthum und den Wechsel, das Absterben und die Wiedererneuerung veranschaulicht, mit dem Monde. Und sollte da die grosse rothe Scheibe, die gewissermassen den Körper dieser beiden *Tonacatecutli*-Figuren bildet, nicht einfach vielleicht als die Scheibe des vollen Mondes gedeutet werden müssen? Sehen wir doch auf dem Blatte 34 auf einer solchen rothen Scheibe die alte Göttin, mit dem nach Art des *Xipe*-Auges geschlitzten Augenspalte, die demnach die in die abgezogene Menschenhaut gekleidete alte Göttin, die Göttermutter, die alte Mondgöttin sein muss, liegen. Und treten uns doch auch in dem Haupttempel dieses Blattes, dem Tempel der Nacht, auf dem dunklen Grunde der Pfosten und des Daches die rothen Scheiben bedeutsam entgegen, gewissermassen eine Vollmondverzierung darstellend. Liegt aber hier in der That eine solche Auffassung vor, so lehrt uns das Bild, das ich an dritter Stelle genannt habe, das ich als *quauhxicalli* deutete, dass dieser die Mondscheibe umschliessende, sie gewissermassen verkörpernde *Tonacatecutli* als Schale, als Behälter gedacht ist. Und dann werden wir dasselbe vielleicht auch für den *Tonacatecutli* des zweiten Bildes, den quer über den Ballspielplatz gelagerten, annehmen dürfen, d. h. die rothe Scheibe in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes als Loch in der Mitte

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des Ballspielplatzes deuten können. In der That sieht man ja die Ballspielplätze nicht selten, oder gewisse Ballspielplätze (vgl. Abb. 12, 13), nicht mit den steinernen Ringen *tlachtemalacatl* an dem Aussenrande der Seiten, sondern mit einem Loche in der Mitte gezeichnet. Es kann das Zufall, oder vielleicht andeutungsweise Zeichnung sein, aber ich kann mich nicht enthalten, dabei an die sonderbare Geschichte zu denken, die in dem zweiten Kapitel der Crónica mexicana Tezozomoc's berichtet ist, von dem Loche oder dem Brunnen in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes, das die mythischen Mexikaner auf Geheiss ihres Gottes *Uitzilopochtli* voll schöpfen, worauf dann eine weite Seelandschaft mit Sumpfzypressen, Weiden, Rohr und Seerosen und einer Fülle von Krebsen, Fischen, Wasservögeln und anderen Wasserthieren vorgezaubert wird, ein prähistorisches México, wo *Uitzilopochtli* den *cuicatl tlaxotecayotl* und den *tecuilhuicuicatl*, den Gesang des Herrenfestes, des Festes des jungen Maises und des jungen Gottes der

Abb. 14. *Xochiquetzal*, Herrin des neunzehnten Tonalamatlabschnittes.
Codex Borbonicus 19.

Lebensmittel, tanzt, das aber dann mit Zauberschlag verschwindet, und das die mystische Bedeutung des Ballspielplatzes sein soll. In der Abhandlung, die unten in der Anmerkung genannt ist,[1]) habe ich den Nachweis geführt, dass diese spiegelnde, durch Zauberei und den Schlag des Gottes verschwindende Seefläche und diese Utopie nur auf das uralte Land, die Herrschaft des Mondes, das *Colhuacan*, den „Berg mit der gekrümmten Spitze“ oder *Tollan*, die „Binsenstadt“ bezogen werden könne, von dem in den Sagen der Mexikaner und weit über das mexikanische Gebiet hinaus so viel erzählt wird, dass also die mystische Bedeutung des Ballspielplatzes der Mond ist, der bald im Ballspiele verliert wenn er dem Morgen, der Sonne sich nähert und schliesslich getötet, zum Neumonde wird, bald in dem Ballspiele gewinnt, indem er als junger Gott am westlichen Himmel erscheint und dann immer mehr sich zu runden beginnt, bis zu dem vollen Glanze des Vollmondes sich auswächst. Wir sehen in der That

1) „Einiges über die natürliche Grundlage mexikanischer Mythen“. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVII (1906).

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in dem *Tonalamatl* den Ballspielplatz als Determinativ nicht bei dem Sonnengotte, sondern bei der jungen Göttin der Liebe, der *Xochiquetzal*, der schönen Mondgöttin (vgl. Abb. 13, 14), angegeben.

Wie in der Abb. 12 das Ballspiel nicht einfach in seinen Umrissen, sondern mit zwei Spielern gezeichnet ist, so sehen wir auch auf Blatt 35 des Codex Borgia auf dem Ballspielplatze, über den der die Mondscheibe tragende *Tonacatecutli* gelagert ist, zwei Ballspieler dargestellt, mit dem Hüftenschutzleder (*quezeuatl*) in der einen, dem Gummiballe (*olli*) in der anderen Hand, mit rückwärts gewendetem Kopfe und den Hintern zum Auffangen und Fortschleudern des Balles vorstreckend. Diese Ballspieler sind natürlich *Quetzalcouatl* auf der einen, der Genius loci, der Herr in dem Tempel der Nacht, der *Youaltecutli*, auf der anderen Seite.

Das vierte Gebäude in der Ecke links oben (von der linken Blattseite als Basis aus betrachtet), ist eine dreieckige Einfassung, die aus einem schmalem rothem Kernstreifen und einem ihn aussen umhüllendem breiterem dunklem, mit Augen, d. h. Sternen, besetztem Randstreifen besteht. Auf den Ecken sitzen Figürchen des Genius loci, *Youaltecutli*'s, ein schwarzer, weisser, rother, gelber, und in der Mitte steht ein *Quetzalcouatl*, der mit einer Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) sich den Penis sakrifizirt. Vier Blutströme treten aus der Wunde des Penis hervor, die nach den vier Ecken und in den Mund der dort sitzenden vier *Youaltetecutin* übergehen. Das ist also nach der Form und nach der Handlung, die sich in ihm vollzieht, das typische Fastenhäuschen (*neçaualcalli*), das überall zu den Tempeln gehörte, und das als viertes zu der Pyramide (*tzaqualli*), dem Ballspielplatze (*tlachtli*) und der Opferblut- oder Weihrauchschale (*quauhxicalli*), die ich zuvor beschrieben habe, hinzutritt.

Der Gott, dessen Schicksale auf diesen Blättern beschrieben werden, der in den Planeten Venus verwandelte *Quetzalcouatl*, der auf Blatt 33 in Gestalt *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s vor dem Herrn des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, dem schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl*, auf Blatt 34 als eine rothe mit dem wirren Haare des Todesgottes versehene Gestalt vor dem mit Jaguarrachen und Jaguarpranken bewehrten rothen Sonnenträger, dem Herrn des Hauses der rothen Schlange, erschien, kommt auch hier auf Blatt 35, dem Herrn dieser Abtheilung, dem *Youaltecutli* in dem Tempel der Nacht, seine Reverenz zu bezeugen. Er erscheint hier, entsprechend, als schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl* und wird von einem fliegenden Adler getragen, denn er fliegt ja jetzt in der Luft, an dem Abendhimmel, dahin. Aber er erscheint nicht allein. Mit ihm tritt jetzt ein *Tezcatlipoca* auf, eine Figur mit dem *ixtlan tlatlaan*, der Gesichtsbemalung dieses Gottes, mit der Kriegerfrisur (*tzotzocolli*), dem Reiherfedergabelbusch (*aztaxelli*) der Krieger, mit dem rauchenden Spiegel an der Schläfe und dem abgerissenen und durch einen rauchenden Spiegel ersetzten Fusse und mit den Waffen — Schild, Speerbündel, Handfahne in der einen, dem Wurfbrette in der anderen Hand. Aber dieser *Tezcatlipoca* hat zugleich die Vogelschnabelmaske des Windgottes und den aus einem Schneckengehäuse geschliffenen Brustschmuck *ecailacatzcozcatl* des Windgottes, *Quetzalcouatl*'s. Es ist der Genosse *Quetzalcouatl*'s, der Gott des Abends, der vor dem Stern des Abends dahinwandelt.

Ich habe bisher immer, und so noch in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, diesen Gott des Abends, *Tezcatlipoca*, als die in die Erde eingehende Sonne betrachtet, indem ich den abgerissenen Fuss, der das besondere Kennzeichen dieses Gottes bildet, als in den Symplegaden, dem *tepetl imonamiquian*, dem „Orte, wo die Berge zusammenstossen", in den sich schliessenden Thoren, die die Sonne beim Hinabtauchen unter die Erde zu passiren hat, verloren betrachtete. Ich bin noch immer der Meinung, dass diese Idee bei der Ausarbeitung der Gestalt dieses Gottes auch eine Rolle gespielt hat, möchte das aber jetzt doch eher für eine nachträgliche Hineindeutung halten. Denn seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach ist *Tezcatlipoca* der junge Gott, der *telpochtli*, und das ist in diesem Falle, wo es sich um die Sonne des Abends handeln müsste, doch ein schwer verständlicher Zug. Ich glaube jetzt, dass *Tezcatlipoca* der junge am Abendhimmel erscheinende Mond ist, und dass er deshalb nur mit einem Fusse erscheint, weil dem Körper des Mondes, wenn er neu am Himmel erscheint, der, — mit Rücksicht auf die Bewegung des ganzen Firmaments, — als der hintere zu bezeichnende Theil der Scheibe fehlt. So glaube ich deshalb auch, wenn wir hier auf dem Blatte 35 die beiden Götter *Tezcatlipoca* und den schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* hinter einander her wandeln sehen, dass dies nicht, wie das sonst nahe läge, anzunehmen, der Abendstern sei, der hinter der Sonne einherwandelt, sondern dass hier an dem nächtlichen Himmel Mond und Abendstern dargestellt sein sollen, — zwei Lichtkörper, die, wie es scheint,

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immer von den Völkern zusammengebracht werden, wie ja die mexikanische Sage auch die beiden Lichtkörper des Morgenhimmels, den in den Strahlen der Sonne verschwindenden Mond und den vor der Sonne aufgehenden Morgenstern in die innigste und unmittelbarste Verbindung bringt, indem sie letzteren aus dem ersten entstanden denkt. Dass aber gerade auf diesem Blatte dem Gotte *Quetzalcouatl*, d. h. dem Planeten Venus, hier dem Abendsterne, der Gott *Tezcatlipoca*, d. h. der neue Mond, sich gesellt, das hat doch wohl seinen Grund darin, dass die vier Reiche des Feuers, des Dunkels oder der Erde, des Windes und des Wassers eben doch den vier Himmelsrichtungen parallelisirt wurden, dieses Reich des Dunkels und der Erde, in dem wir uns auf Blatt 35 befinden, also gewissermassen der Norden ist, als dessen Repräsentant in den Bilderschriften immer *Tezcatlipoca* erscheint. Auf Grund meiner neu gewonnenen Auffassung von dem Wesen dieses Gottes kann ich auch hinzufügen, dass er in der That mit Recht der Vertreter des Nordens und der Erde ist, denn der neu am Abendhimmel erscheinende junge, der zunehmende Mond ist immer und überall Ausdruck und Gewährleistung des Wachsthums überhaupt, der Mondgott ist überall, und so auch bei den Mexikanern, zum Erdgott geworden.

Es erscheint nun aber hier auf diesem Blatte 35 *Quetzalcouatl*, der Gott des Planeten Venus, von *Tezcatlipoca* geleitet, nicht einfach vor dem Tempel der Nacht, um den Herrn des Tempels, *Youaltecutli*, seine Reverenz zu bezeugen, wie ich vorhin sagte. Man sieht zwischen ihm und dem letzteren, auf der Plattform des Tempels, unmittelbar über dem Treppenaufgange ein Packet von Decken aus dunkelgefärbtem, leichtem netzartigem Gewebe (*ayatl*), wie es die Krieger trugen, das mit Daunenfederbällen besteckt und mit einem roth- und weissgefärbten Bande umschnürt ist, und aus dem auf allen Seiten Flammen herausbrechen. Das muss noch seine besondere Bedeutung haben. Im ersten Augenblicke ist man versucht, das etwa als das Huldigungsgeschenk zu betrachten, das der Ankömmling dem Herrn des Hauses darbringt. So galten bekanntlich bei den Mexikanern die Decken und Kleidungsstücke, die man mit den Toten verbrannte, oder im engeren Sinne, die Decken und sonstigen Geschenke, die man an dem Totenerinnerungsfeste mit dem falschen Mumienbündel, durch das man den Toten imitirte, verbrannte, als das Geschenk, das der Tote brauchte, es bei seinem Eintritte in die Unterwelt *Mictlantecutli*, dem Herrn der Unterwelt, zu überreichen. Eine solche Auffassung ist indes hier ausgeschlossen, weil in den Gruppen, die uns auf diesem Blatte das Weiterwandern *Tezcatlipoca*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s zeigen, man den Gott *Quetzalcouatl* ein Bündel auf dem Rücken tragen sieht, das allerdings in verkleinertem Massstabe gezeichnet ist, aber offenbar dasselbe Deckenpacket sein soll, das weiter oben auf der Plattform des Tempels der Nacht vor dem *Youaltecutli* aufgebaut ist. *Quetzalcouatl* schenkt also nicht dieses Bündel, sondern er erhält es und zieht damit weiter.

Eine weitere Idee, die einem dann kommt, ist, dass dieses Deckenpacket vielleicht den Einsatz oder den Gewinn darstelle, um den *Quetzalcouatl* und der *Youaltecutli*, die man ja auf Blatt 35 auf dem Ballspielplatze einander gegenüber sieht, spielen. Man würde indes, wenn das richtig wäre, erwarten dürfen, auf unserem Blatte 35 die Besiegung *Youaltecutli*'s durch *Quetzalcouatl* dargestellt zu sehen. Das ist aber keineswegs der Fall. Und es widerspricht jener Auffassung auch, dass das genannte Deckenpacket auch auf dem den nun folgenden Blatte 36 eine sehr merkwürdige und bedeutsame Rolle spielt.

Auf dem Blatte 36 ist augenscheinlich der Abendhimmel als die Region des grossen Windes dargestellt. Denn wir sehen auf diesem Blatte einen grossen Wirbel dunkler Masse, der drei Seiten dieses Blattes umzieht und auch an der einen Seite des Blattes 37 sich fortsetzt und erst auf Blatt 38, und zwar mit einem grossen Windgottkopfe endet, aus dessen aufgesperrtem Vogelschnabel *Quetzalcouatl* in der Form, wie er hier immer als Vertreter der Gottheit des Planeten Venus abgebildet ist, herauskommt. Und aus der dunklen Masse, die den Kern des Blattes 36 und den Ansatz des grossen Wirbels bildet, ringeln sich nach allen Seiten Schlangen heraus, die theils in Windgottköpfe, theils in eine Art geflügelter Wesen enden, die einen langen, spitzen Oberschnabel, Flügel nach Art des Nackenfederschmuckes *Quetzalcouatl*'s und einen Insektenleib haben, und die ich kurzweg als Windflieger bezeichnen möchte. Auf dem grossen Wirbel wechseln mit geschlossenem Auge gezeichnete, d. h. tote *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren mit gelben und rothen Feuerschmetterlingen, mit Quetzalvögeln, Windfliegern, Würmern mit Adlerschnäbeln, Gefässen mit einem Halstheile in Jaguarfellzeichnung und zwei rechteckigen Streifen

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auf der Fläche nach Art der Bemalung der Wassergöttin, mit rothen und gelben Blumen oder solchen, deren Kern ein *chalchiuitl* (grüner Edelstein) bildet, mit Rasselstäben (*chicauaztli*), die auf dunklem Grunde ein grosses weisses Windkreuz (*Xolotl-* oder *Nanauatzin*-Kreuz) tragen, mit verschiedenfarbigen Feldern (*tlapapalli*), die das Abzeichen des Gottes der Tänze und Gesänge *Macuilxochitl* bilden, mit buntgestreiften Taschen oder Decken, mit Handstäben, die mit rothem, weissgefranstem Zeuge umwickelt sind, mit Schmuckscheiben, auf denen ebenfalls die beiden rechteckigen Streifen der Gesichtsbemalung der Wassergöttin angegeben zu sein scheinen, und von denen nach beiden Seiten je zwei *chalchiuitl*-Bänder herausragen, und mit anderen Dingen, die alle Kostbarkeit oder Schmuck zu veranschaulichen scheinen. Aus dem geöffneten Schnabel der Windgottschlangen, die sich rings aus der dunklen Kernmmasse herausringeln, sieht man bald eine Agave-Pflanze (*metl*) ein Paar Maiskolben (*cintli*) oder *malinalli*-Gras, bald ein Paar mit Daunenfedern besteckte weisse Bänder (Zeichen des *tiçatl iuitl*, der Krieger und Opferbemalung), einen Adlerkopf (*quauhtli*), ein grünes Edelsteinband (*chalchiuitl*) oder Blut (*eztli*) hervorschauen. Und aus all diesen verschiedenen Gegenständen kommt jedesmal eine kleine schwarze Menschenfigur, die den Federschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s am Nacken trägt, aber als Hut oder Helmmaske ein mit Totenauge versehenes schwarzes Obsidianmesser (*itztli*) aufgesetzt hat. Die spitzen Schnäbel der Windflieger, wie diese aus einem schwarzen Obsidianmesser bestehenden Helmmasken der aus dem Rachen der Windgottschlangen hervortretenden Figürchen scheinen geradezu das *itzeecayan*, den Ort der scharfen, schneidenden (oder kalten) Winde veranschaulichen zu sollen, der zwar gewöhnlich als einer der Orte genannt wird, die auf dem Wege zur Unterwelt zu passiren sind, aber in der Historia de Tlaxcala des Geschichtsschreibers Muñoz Camargo als „Ort der frischen, kühlen Winde" und als einer der Namen für *Tamouan ichan*, des Himmels der Liebesgöttin *Xochiquetzal*, d. h. des Abendhimmels, angegeben wird.

Die dunkle Masse, die den grossen bis auf die Blätter 37 und 38 sich erstreckenden Windwirbel bildet, sieht man nun in der Mitte des Blattes 36 aus dem Rachen einer Art von Feuerwurm hervorgehen, der gewissermassen die Mündung einer mit den gleichen Farben, roth und gelb, gemalten trapezförmigen Platte bildet, die vielleicht als Koffer oder Schachtel zu betrachten ist. Diese liegt einem Deckenpackete genau der gleichen Art auf, wie wir es auf Blatt 35 auf der Plattform des Tempels der Nacht vor dem *Youaltecutli* aufgebaut sahen. Und unter diesem Deckenpackete ist die dunkle Masse ausgebreitet, die den Kern des Blattes 36 bildet, von der nach allen Seiten die Windgott- und Windfliegerschlangen sich herausringeln. Es ist nur natürlich, dass man dieses Blatt mit dem S. 3 besprochenen Blatte 29 vergleicht, wo wir ja auch aus einer dunklen Masse nach den verschiedenen Seiten Windgottschlangen sich herausringeln sahen. Dort mussten wir diese dunkle Masse als die Asche des verbrannten Gottes auffassen. Sollte das nun nicht hier auch der Fall sein? Die toten *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren, die in diesem grossen dunklen Wirbel zu sehen sind, die Feuerschmetterlinge und die Schmuckvögel, sowie die verschiedenen Schmuckstücke u. s. w. deuten in der That darauf hin, dass dieser grosse Windwirbel die Asche eines geehrten Toten, die Asche *Quetzalcouatl*'s, zur Anschauung bringen solle. Ich denke an die Geschichte, die in den Anales de Quauhtitlan erzählt wird, dass der junge *Quetzalcouatl* die Gebeine seines Vaters ausgrub und sie im *Quilazteopan*, im Tempel der Göttin *Quilaztli*, beisetzte. So stelle ich mir vor, dass dieses Deckenpacket das *nexquimilli* ist, das aus Decken gebildete Bündel darstellt, das die Asche des Vaters, des Vorgängers *Quetzalcouatl*'s, hier also des Gottes des Abendsternes, enthält. Der Gott erhält dieses *nexquimilli* von *Youaltecutli* in dem Tempel der Nacht und zieht damit weiter, wie wir auf Blatt 35 sehen. Indem der Wind des *itzeecayan* hineinbläst, bekommt diese Asche Leben, und so lässt der grosse Aschenwirbel aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Windgottkopfes, mit dem er auf dem Blatte 38 endet, den Gott des Abendsterns lebendig hervorkommen, d. h. aus der Asche neu erstehen. Es wäre dann auf dem Blatte 33 gezeigt, wie der Gott am Abendhimmel erscheint und zu leuchten beginnt; und hier auf unseren Blättern 35 und 36, wie er am Abendhimmel wieder lebendig wird.

Der Abendhimmel selbst würde auf dem Blatte 36 dann allerdings zunächst nur durch die Agave- und die *malinalli*-Pflanzen und das Maiskolbenpaar, die in dem Rachen der Windgottschlangen sichtbar werden, angedeutet sein. Die kriegerischen Embleme, — Adlerkopf, *tiçatl iuitl* und Blut, die daneben aus dem Rachen anderer Windgottschlangen hervorkommen, würden auf den „Krieger" des Abend-

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himmels, d. h. den Stern, der ja geradezu (von den Michuaque) als der „Kriegerstern“ bezeichnet wird, oder den Gott des Abendhimmels zu beziehen sein. Nun kommen aber noch die grossen Figuren in Betracht, die innerhalb des grossen Aschenwirbels und zwischen den Windgottschlangen des Blattes 36 zu sehen sind. Auf dem grossen Aschenwirbel selbst, nahe seinem Ursprunge, dem den Wirbel ausspeienden Feuerwurmrachen gegenüber, ist *Quetzalcouatl* selbst dargestellt, der hier, wie auf den vorhergehenden Blättern, dem Genius loci, der Asche seines Vaters, seine Reverenz bezeugt. Auf dem Aschenhaufen, der den Kern des Blattes 36 bildet, sieht man *Xolotl*, den hundsköpfigen Gott, wandeln und hinter ihm, durch den Stamm des grossen Aschenwirbels von ihm getrennt, *Tezcatlipoca*, der, wie auf dem vorhergehenden Blatte, mit den typischen Trachtabzeichen *Tezcatlipoca*'s den Windgottschnabel und den Schneckengehäusschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s verbindet. Der hundsköpfige *Xolotl* ist die zu den Toten hinabgehende Sonne, *Tezcatlipoca*, der am Abendhimmel erscheinende neue Mond. Beide Götter sind typische Gestalten des Abendhimmels, die über die Region, in der die Darstellungen dieses Blattes sich bewegen sollen, keinen Zweifel lassen.

Wenn wir uns nun weiter zu den Blättern 37 und 38 wenden, so müsste auf ihnen, falls die oben S. 25, 26 ausgesprochene Ansicht über den Sinn der Darstellungen dieser Abtheilung richtig ist, die vierte Periode oder der Abendhimmel als Herrschaft des Wassers zur Anschauung gebracht sein. Denn dieses ist, nachdem das Feuer, das Dunkel oder die Erde und der Wind ihre Verkörperung gefunden haben, allein noch übrig. Und das Wasser oder die Mächte des Wassers treten uns in der That auf diesen beiden Blättern entgegen, — allerdings in einer Gestalt, wie sie der Region, in der wir uns befinden, angemessen sind.

Als Herren des Ortes sind auf dem Blatte 37 zwei Gottheiten, jede in ihrem Tempel, abgebildet. Wenn wir, wie wir das bei sämmtlichen Blättern dieser Serie machen müssen, bei der Betrachtung die linke Seite des Blattes als Basis nehmen, so haben wir oben, zur Rechten und Linken, je einen Tempel vor uns. Die Basis scheint bei beiden aus einem einfachen Unterbau zu bestehen, dessen Wandung auf rothem Grunde die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“ zeigt, das Zeichen der Kostbarkeit, das demgemäss auch das Opfer ausdrückt und zur Kennzeichnung von Gegenständen dient, die zum Opfer bestimmt sind oder dem Opfer dienen. Darüber erhebt sich aber auf der rechten Seite ein Bau, dessen Pfosten in der Hauptsache schwarz sind, wie die des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, des Nordhauses, des männlichen Hauses, auf Blatt 33, und das auch in ähnlicher Weise, wie jenes, mit einem hoch aufragenden, spitzen Strohdache versehen ist. Auf der Linken ein Bau, dessen Pfosten in der Hauptsache roth sind, wie die des *couatl icamac*, des Hauses der rothen Schlange, des Südhauses, des weiblichen Hauses, auf Blatt 34, und der auch gleich diesem, ein Dach mit breitem, an beiden Seiten nach unten gebogene Firste trägt.

Das hohe spitzige Strohdach des Tempels zur Rechten ist ringsum von Augen und Feuerflammen umgeben, und auf seiner Fläche sieht man schwarze, mit rothem Rande versehene und mit Daunenfederbällen umsetzte Scheiben, wie sie in den Stadthieroglyphen der Tributliste und des Codex Mendoza als Hieroglyphe für *tezcatl* „Spiegel“ verwendet werden, und auf diesen Spiegeln sind hin und her gewundene kurze, feuerfarbene (gelbe) Schlangen festgebunden. Dieser Tempel zur Rechten ist demnach ein Haus des Glanzes und des Feuers. Und im besonderen dürfen wir wohl, — was sollten die Schlangen, die auf dem Dache festgebunden sind, sonst bedeuten? — es als ein Haus des Blitzes betrachten. Dem scheint in der That die Natur der Gottheit, den wir in dem Tempelgemach als Herrn des Tempels sehen, durchaus zu entsprechen. Es erscheint allerdings zunächst nicht leicht, diesen Herrn des Tempels hier zu bestimmen. Die Linien der Figuren und die Farben sind an dieser Stelle des Blattes leider durch Abreibung in grosser Ausdehnung geschwunden und waren es schon zu Kingsborough's Zeit. Immerhin lehrt ein Vergleich mit der in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes deutlich und kenntlich abgebildeten Figur des die Feuerschlange schleudernden Gottes *Xolotl* (Abb. 15), dass derselbe hundsköpfige Gott *Xolotl*, der seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach das vom Himmel fallende Feuer, den Blitz, repräsentirt, — wie ich das in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 195ff., nachgewiesen habe, — auch in der Cella des schwarzen Tempels zur Rechten dargestellt war, hier, wie in Abb. 15, aus dem aufgesperrten Rachen einer gelben Schlange hervorsehend, einen grossen fächerförmigen Schmuck aus gelben Federn am Nacken, und flügelartige, mit gelben Federn

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umsetzte Behänge an den Unterarmen tragend und mit einem Halskragen in Form einer Sonnenscheibe geschmückt, aus dem gelbe Federn strahlenartig heraustreten. Bei der oben im Tempel dargestellten Figur scheint der Schlangenrachen, aus dem das Gesicht hervorsieht, nach hinten in einem Schlangenleibe sich fortzusetzen, der über den Rücken herabfällt und dort in einer reich mit Federn besetzten Schwanzspitze endet. Der flügelartige Behang des Unterarmes ist grösser als in der unteren Figur. Die linke Hand scheint einen Rundschild und eine Jagdtasche, ähnlich der der grossen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur, Blatt 17 unserer Handschrift, zu halten. In der rechten Hand wird der Gott wohl irgend eine Waffe geschwungen haben, doch ist davon nichts mehr zu sehen.

Der rothe Tempel zur Linken ist über dem oberen Thürpfosten mit einer Borte von blauen und grünen Edelsteinen auf rothem Grunde geschmückt, über der eine Reihe von sieben rothen Blumen aufragt, und das breit ausladende Strohdach ist unter dem Firste und in der Mitte mit je einer breiten Sternhimmelborte geschmückt, in der, wie gewöhnlich, auf blauem Grunde grosse dreitheilige Sterne oder Strahlaugen mit (gestielten Augen und) Steinmessern abwechseln. Dieser Tempel ist ein *Xochicalli*, ein

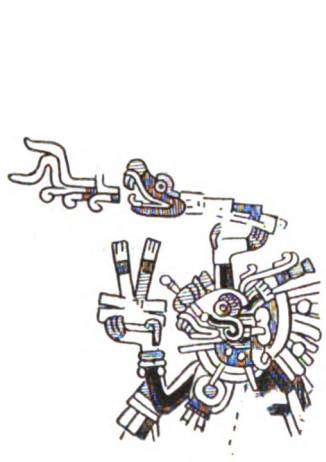

Abb. 15. *Xolotl*, die Feuerschlange schleudernd. Codex Borgia 37 (= Kingsborough 2).

Abb. 16. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott (als Ballspieler) vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s. Codex Borgia 37 (= Kingsborough 2).

Abb. 17. Der herabstürzende *Xolotl*. Codex Borgia 38 (= Kingsborough 1).

Himmel der Blumen, und dementsprechend sehen wir in seiner Cella einen Gott, der durch die rothe Körperfarbe und die Gesichtsbemalung, die in der obern Hälfte gelb, in der untern Hälfte roth ist und um den Mund eine weisse Zeichnung aufweist, sowie durch den grossen Nackenschmuck aus weissen Federn, das über zwei grossen Edelsteinen sich erhebende, dunkel umsäumte Sternauge auf dem Scheitel und die Goldscheibe (*teocuitlacomalli*) auf der Brust, als *Xochipilli*, der Gott der Blumen und der Liebe, sich kundgibt. Aus dem Munde des Gottes kommt, wie es scheint, eine rothe Schlange hervor, und vor ihm steht ein bunt bemalter Kasten, über dem ein breiter Ausschnitt der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl*, „grüner Edelstein", „Kostbarkeit" sich erhebt.

Xolotl, der Hund, das aus den Wolken fallende Feuer, der aus dem Wasser geborene Gott, ist der natürliche Genosse *Tlaloc*'s, des Gottes der Berge, der Wolken, des Regens und des Blitzes. So sehen wir denn diesen Gott, — etwas anderer Gesichtsbildung allerdings, als wir ihn sonst zu sehen gewohnt sind, mit schwarzem Gesichte, blauem, das Auge umgebendem Ringe, aber mit um Ober- und Unterlippe gelegter blauer Schlange (vgl. Abb. 16): — vor dem schwarzen Tempel *Xolotl*'s dargestellt, im übrigen mit derselben aus Trapez und Strahl bestehenden Krone und den daraus hängenden Rosetten weisser und grüner Farbe, wie er z. B. auf den Blättern 27, 28 unserer Handschrift und auf Blatt 14 als neunter der

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neun Herren abgebildet ist. Der Gott hält in der Rechten eine schwarze, gekrümmte Waffe, den Donnerkeil, das Symbol des Blitzes, in der Linken einen als *Tlaloc*-Kopf gebildeten Krug, aus dem Federn und Feuer herauskommen. Dabei ist aber der Gott hier, vorwärts schreitend, jedoch mit zurückgewandtem Gesichte und auch die linke Hand mit dem Gesichtskruge nach hinten, dem im Tempel sitzenden *Xolotl* entgegen, haltend dargestellt. Das heisst, er ist hier als Ballspieler aufgefasst, in der Haltung, die man auf dem Blatte 35 die beiden Spieler auf dem Ballspielplatze einnehmen sieht. Denn *Xolotl* galt, wie ich ebenfalls in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 193, näher auseinandergesetzt habe, auch als Gott des Ballspiels, — eine Vorstellung, die schon in seinem Namen sich ausspricht, denn *Xolotl* heisst der paarweis Auftretende, die Gemination. Zum Zeichen aber, dass dieser das Blitzfeuer repräsentirende Gott *Xolotl* seinem Wesen nach mit dem Wasser in engster Verbindung stehend gedacht, und er deshalb hier als Herr dieser Blätter gesetzt ist, sieht man am Grunde dieses Blattes, an der Ausgangsseite des Blattes 38 eine andere *Tlaloc*-Figur aus einem grossen *Tlaloc*-Kruge Wasser ausschütten, das, mit einem anderen Wasserstrome sich kreuzend, über die knieende Figur eines Stern- oder Lichtgottes sich ergiesst, während an der Kreuzungsstelle der beiden Ströme eine Kette von Wasserwirbeln, die wie ineinander gesteckte Blüthen aussehen, aber wohl die Form von Röhrenknochen imitieren sollen, nach oben sich zieht, an der ganzen Seite dieses und zum Theil des vorhergehenden Blattes entlang, um auf diesem, dem Blatte 37, vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s endend, das Gestell zu bilden, auf das der Ballspieler *Tlaloc* seinen Fuss setzt.

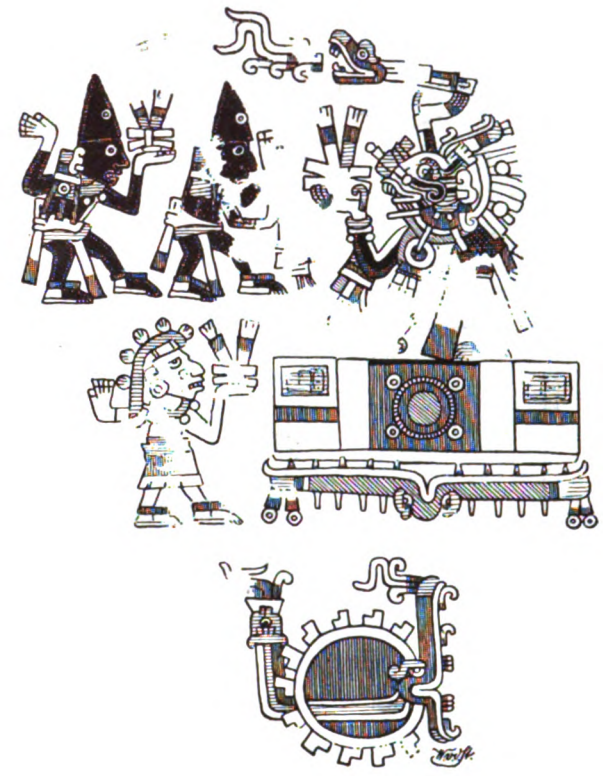

Abb. 18. Der die Feuerschlange schleudernde *Xolotl* und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe. Codex Borgia 37/38 (= Kingsborough 2,1).

Noch in ein Paar anderen Bildern kommt auf diesen Blättern die besondere Natur des Gottes *Xolotl*, des Herrn dieser Abtheilung, zum Ausdruck: — Von der Plattform des schwarzen Tempels *Xolotl*'s sieht man einen blauen Weg abwärts ziehen, der auf dem Blatte 38 über einem anderen einfachen Tempelunterbau, einer Terrasse, und zugleich in einer *Xolotl*-Figur (Abb. 17) endet, der diese Terrasse offenbar als Ruhepunkt dient. Dieser *Xolotl* ist deutlich in der Stellung eines Herabgestürzten dargestellt, aber auch mit zurückgewendetem Kopfe und nach hinten gestreckter linker Hand, als ob er, gleich der oben beschriebenen *Tlaloc*-Figur, die Haltung eines Ballspielenden zur Anschauung bringen sollte.

Zugleich aber ist, unter dem schwarzen Tempel *Xolotl*'s, auf Blatt 37, *Xolotl* in demselben Schmucke, wie ihn die in der Cella sitzende *Xolotl*-Figur trägt, abgebildet (vgl. Abb. 18), — auf einer Terrasse stehend, die über einem geöffneten Erdrachen sich erhebt und, ähnlich dem Unterbaue des Tempels der Nacht des Blattes 35, mit zwei seitlichen Feldern in blauem Mosaik und einer grossen Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein" geschmückt ist. In der linken Klaue hält der Gott zwei mit einer Schleife zusammengebundene Bänder oder Blumen, die man versucht ist als ein Zeichen der Gemination zu deuten, da ja der Gott selbst in seinem Namen und in seinem Wesen die Gemination verkörpert. Mit der rechten Hand schleudert er eine rothe Feuerschlange und gibt sich dadurch in der That als der Blitzdämon kund, als den ich ihn oben bezeichnet habe. Der blaue Schmuck, der über der Nase des Gottes sich erhebt, entspricht in seiner Form dem *yacaxiuitl*, der zur Ausstattung des Mumienballens gehört und ein Abzeichen des toten, des geopferten Kriegers ist. *Xolotl* wird dadurch ebenso, wie durch den unter ihm klaffenden Erdrachen, als der hinabfahrende, in die Erde, zu den Toten hinabgehende Gott

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bezeichnet. Dasselbe Zeichen der Gemination, das *Xolotl* in der Hand hält, wird auch von vier schwarzen, den Nackenfederschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s tragenden, aber als Obsidianmesser (*itztli*) maskirten männlichen und zwei weiblichen Figuren getragen, die, — die ersteren eine obere, die letzteren eine untere Reihe bildend, — um den Gott auf seiner Terrasse vertheilt sind. Die dem Gotte zunächst stehende und ihm zugekehrte der vier männlichen Obsidianmessermasken hält einen Kopalbeutel in der rechten Hand. Und ebenso in der unteren Reihe die auf der rechten Seite stehende weibliche Figur, die durch ihr rothes Gewand und durch die Form ihres Nasenschmuckes als Maisgöttin sich kundzugeben scheint. Es sind also dienende Geister in priesterlicher Funktion. Zu beiden Seiten dieser Gruppe endlich sieht man noch, vier Eckposten bildend, eine schwarze, rothe, blaue, gelbe, mit Augen (d. h. Sternen?), umsäumte Scheibe

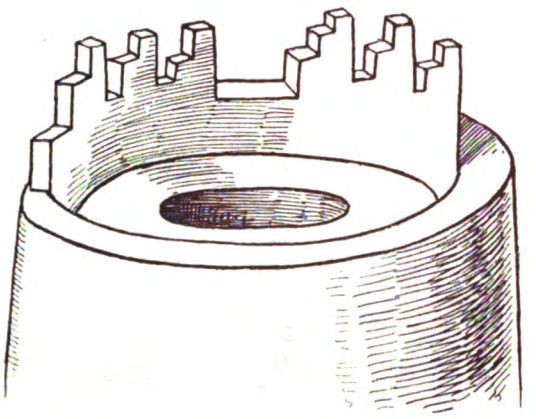

Abb. 19. Halbunterirdischer massiver Bau (Feuerheerd?) von 1,90 *m* Durchmesser, *Calle de las Escalerillas* (México).

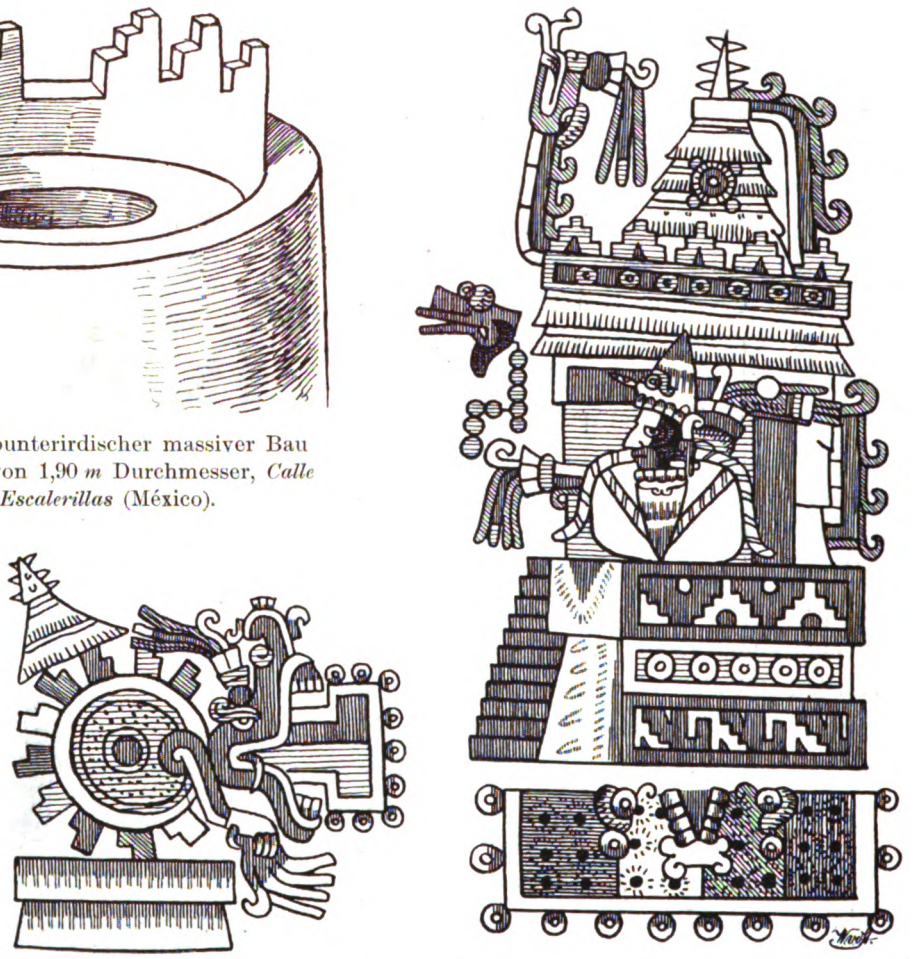

Abb. 20. Der Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe. Codex Nuttall 15.

abgebildet, von denen je eine nackte männliche Figur, rother, schwarzer, gelber, blauer Farbe, sich abhebt, die durch das mit Daunenfedern beklebte Haar und die zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken als himmlische oder Lichtwesen bezeichnet zu sein scheinen, und die, in jeder Hand eine Fackel tragend, ihrerseits ebenfalls als dienende Geister die Natur des Gottes zu veranschaulichen scheinen.

Die Feuerschlange, der Blitz, den der Gott schleudert, ist unter der ganzen Gruppe noch einmal dargestellt, aus einer von Zinnen umsetzten rothen Scheibe hervorkommend (vgl. Ab. 18). Die in der Ebene des Blattes gezeichneten Zinnen sind natürlich aufrecht, einen Rundbau gewisser Höhe krönend, zu denken. Denn da die Alten nicht verstanden, perspektivisch zu zeichnen, so sieht man in den Bilderschriften und zum Theil noch in Malereien aus später spanischer Zeit, — man vergleiche z. B. das Bild *Tlaloc*'s in seiner Einfassung, Lam. 15 des Appendix zu der in México besorgten Ausgabe des Geschichtswerkes Duran's — die die Umfassungsmauern eines Hofes oder anderen Bauwerkes krönenden Zinnen

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regelmässig in der Ebene des Blattes und nach aussen gelegt gezeichnet. Wir werden daher die von Zinnen umsetzte rothe Scheibe in Abb. 18, mit der Feuerschlange darin, einfach als einen Feuerheerd runder Gestalt aufzufassen haben, der der Tempelterrasse, auf der der *Xolotl* steht, gegenübergestellt ist. Denn die Feuerheerde der Tempel scheinen in der That in der Regel eine Zinnenbekrönung gehabt zu haben (wie das z. B. das Bild des Feuerheerdes, Codex Borbonicus Blatt 34, zeigt). Vielleicht kann man geradezu den halbunterirdischen Bau Abb. 19 zum Vergleiche heranziehen, der vor einiger Zeit in der *Calle de las Escalerillas*, an dem Orte des grossen Tempels in México, aufgedeckt worden ist.

Eine interessante Parallele zu dem Bilde Abb. 18 findet sich im Codex Nuttall. Man sieht dort (vgl. Abb. 20—23) einen Tempel, dessen hohes spitzes Strohdach mit der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edel-

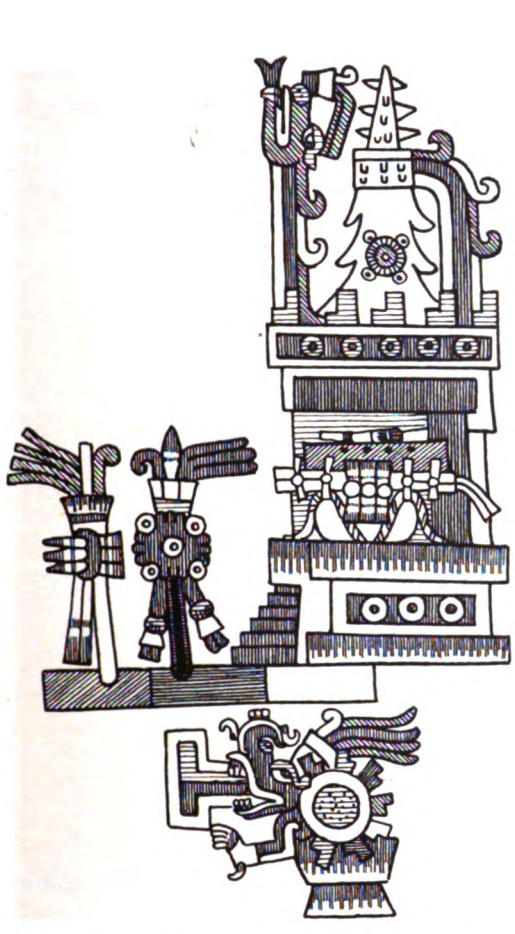

Abb. 21. Der Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe. Codex Nuttall 17.

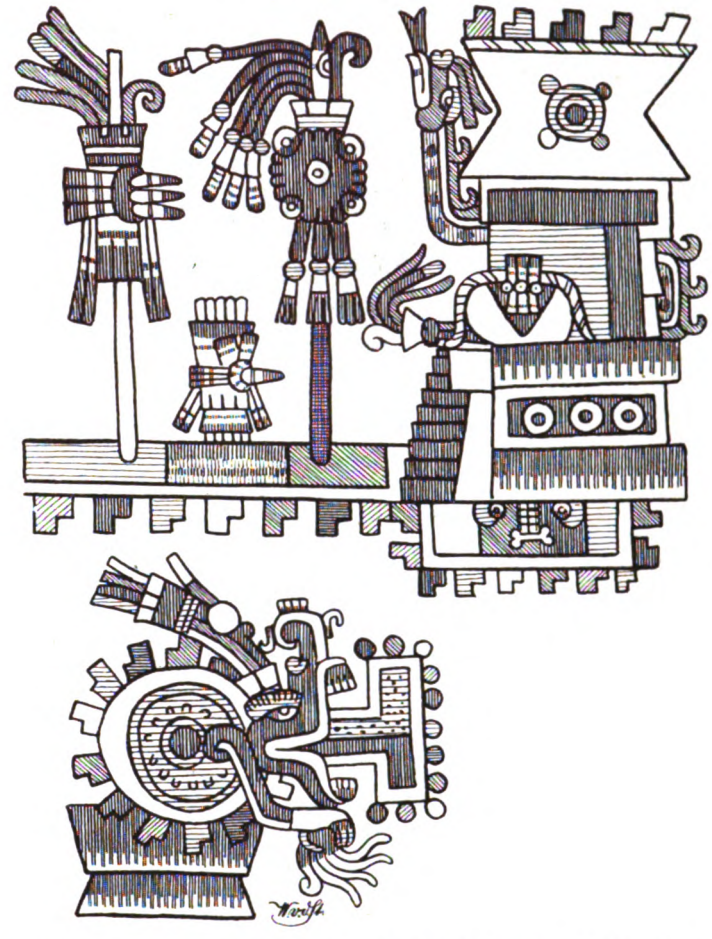

Abb. 22. Der Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe. Codex Nuttall 18.

stein“ geschmückt ist, dessen Wandungen gleichsam von einer Quetzalfederschlange (*quetzalcouatl*) gebildet sind, und in dessen Innern das *teomimilli* (das Bündel, das das Idol oder den Fetisch birgt), zusammengebundene Papiere (*amatl*), die beiden Stücke des Feuerbohrers (*tlequauitl*) und ein Opfermesser (das in der Abb. 20 als Verkörperung des Gottes *Chicunaui eecatl* „neun Wind“, d. h. *Quetzalcouatl*'s, erscheint), — also lauter priesterliches Handwerkszeug, — aufgebaut sind. Vor oder unter diesem Tempel ist nun, an all den in Abb. 20—23 wiedergegebenen Stellen, eine rothe Feuerschlange abgebildet, die genau in gleicher Weise aus einer von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe hervorkommt. Nur ist diese Scheibe hier nicht roth, sondern dunkel (blau), oder nur mit einem rothen Kerne in der Mitte, gemalt. Sie steht auf einer Terrasse und ist zweifellos auf dieser eigentlich in horizontaler Position angebracht zu denken. An der einen Stelle (Abb. 20) ist sie sogar mit einem spitzen Strohdache, ähnlich dem des Tempels versehen. Die Feuerschlange selbst hat überall ein Büschel halb rother, halb gelber Federn, — offenbar ein Sinn-

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bild des Feuers, — in der Klaue; und in ihrem aufgesperrten Rachen erblickt man einen von Augen, d. h. wohl auch hier von Sternen, umsetzten Ballspielplatz, ein *citlallachtli*.

Diese Bilder fordern noch vielmehr zu einem Vergleiche mit dem Bauwerke Abb. 19 auf, da wir ja hier überall die äussere von Zinnen gekrönte Umfassung, den vertieften Innenraum und, wie es scheint, ein Loch in der Mitte des letzteren unterscheiden können. Offenbar handelt es sich in den Abb. 20—23 um Feuerheerde runder Gestalt, die auf einer Terrasse dem Tempel gegenüber angebracht waren, etwa in ähnlicher Weise wie in dem Haupttempel in México vor dem Treppenaufgange zur Hauptpyramide auf einem terrassenartigen Unterbaue der runde *quauhxicalli*, die „Adlerschale", stand, die das Blut und die Herzen der Geopferten aufzunehmen bestimmt war, zu der aber auch an dem grossen *Uitzilopochtli*-Feste von der Höhe des Tempels (d. h. vom Himmel) eine künstliche Feuerschlange herabkam, die auf dem Steine aufgehäuften Opferpapiere zu verzehren. — Der Umstand, dass in den Bildern des Codex Nuttall die Feuerschlange mit einem Sternballspielplatze im Rachen abgebildet ist, hat zu Spekulationen

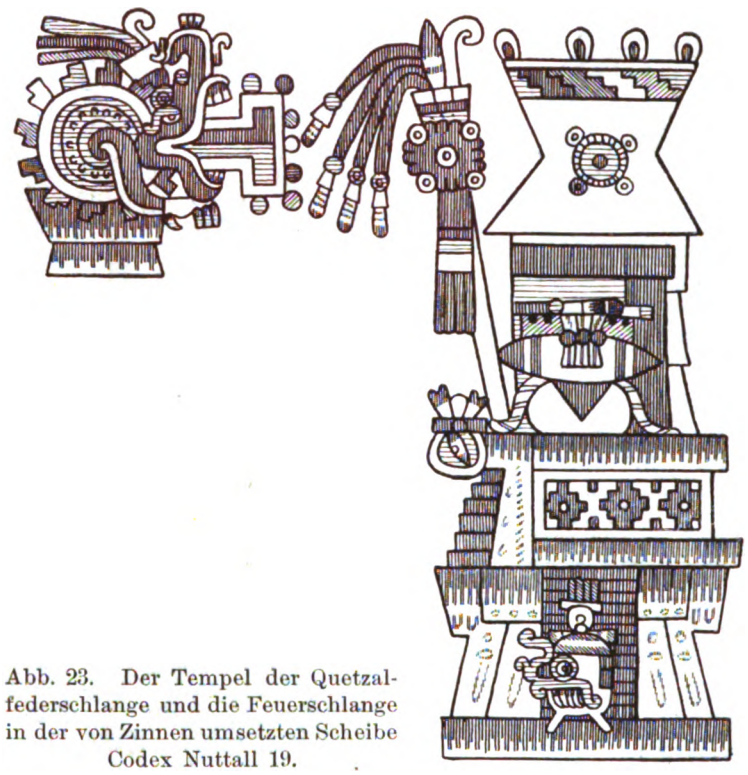

Abb. 23. Der Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe Codex Nuttall 19.

Anlass gegeben. Es lassen sich einfachere Erklärungen hierfür geben. Und jedenfalls ist die Feuerschlange in den Bilderschriften nicht mit dem Osten sondern mit dem Norden verknüpft, wie das das Blatt der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung, das neuerdings von Dr. Walther Lehmann in der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie behandelt worden ist,[1]) deutlich zeigt.

Wie vor dem schwarzen Tempel *Xolotl*'s sein Ball spielender Genosse *Tlaloc* dargestellt war, so scheint auch der auf Blatt 37 zur Linken in dem rothen Tempel sitzende Gott *Xochipilli* noch durch eine besondere Figur näher charakterisirt werden zu sollen. Nämlich durch die Figur, die ich in Abb. 24 noch einmal besonders habe zeichnen lassen, die durch die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche auf dem Scheitel, die blaue, stufenförmig ausgeschnittene Nasenplatte, und die rothe, mit weissem Stufenwirbel verzierte Enagua sich als Abbild der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* gekennzeichnet. Man sieht sie vor diesem Tempel über der *Tlaloc*-Figur abgebildet, in der einen Hand eine Schale mit Blumen besteckter, schäumender, brauner Flüssigkeit, in der anderen eine Schüssel mit Maiskörnern und einem abgeschnittenen Thierfusse emporhaltend.

1) Band XXXVI, Berlin 1905, S. 848—871.

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Wie kommt nun aber dieser rothe Gott der Blumen und der Liebe dazu, dem hundsköpfigen *Xolotl*, der Verkörperung des aus der Wolke in die Erde fahrenden Blitzes, dem die Toten in die Unterwelt geleitenden Gotte, gegenübergestellt zu werden? Hier kommt wohl die merkwürdige Beziehung in Betracht, auf die ich zuerst in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen und später auch in der dem Stuttgarter Amerikanistenkongresse vorgelegten Abhandlung über das Grünsteinidol des Stuttgarter Museums aufmerksam gemacht habe, dass nämlich dieser Hund, diese besondere Auffassung des Feuergottes, nicht der die Toten schlechtweg über die Wasser und in die Unterwelt geleitende Gott ist, sondern dass er die besondere Aufgabe hat, die Sonne zu den Toten hinabzuführen, und deshalb auch, weil die Sonne ja nicht in dem verschlossenen Hause bleibt, dafür zu sorgen hat, dass sie am anderen Morgen wieder aufgeht und ihren Lauf von Neuem beginnt. Um das thun zu können, muss *Xolotl* sich opfern, muss er verbrennen, muss er zum *Nanauatzin*, zu dem syphilitischen Gotte, d. h. zu dem Gotte der Lust, der Sünde, der Liebe, werden, und dieser ist mit dem Gotte *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", der der *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust ist, und seinen Genossen und mit *Xochipilli*, dem Gotte der Blumen und der Liebe ident. So hat es seine Berechtigung, dass hier auf den Blättern 37 und 38 zwei Götter, und anscheinend so verschiedene, als Herren dieser Abtheilung gesetzt sind.

Abb. 24. *Xochiquetzal*, die Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe (vor dem Tempel des rothen Gottes dargestellt). Codex Borgia 37 (= Kingsborough 2).

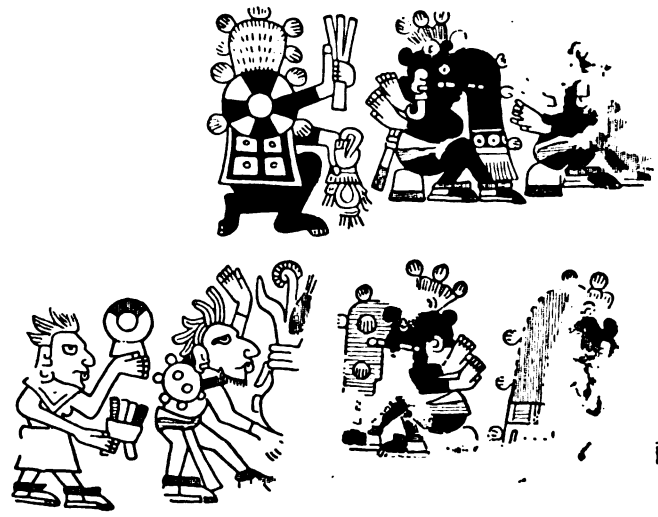

Abb. 25. Codex Borgia 38 (= Kingsborough 1).

Die den oberen Rand des Blattes 37 bildende Reihe der vier sitzenden, mit dem Nackenfederschmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s, sowie mit dessen Brust- und Ohrschmucke ausgestatteten, die Räucherwerktasche (*copalxiquipilli*) und Agave-Blattspitzen (*uitztli*), die Werkzeuge der Kasteiung in der anderen Hand haltenden Figuren, deren vorderste als *Tezcatlipoca* gemalt ist, während die anderen einen weissen (roth gestreiften), einen blauen und einen schwarzen Gott darstellen, können wir wohl als die den anderen Himmelsrichtungen entsprechenden Parallelen oder Ergänzungen *Xochipilli*'s, des rothenGottes des Südens, ansehen.

Nun bleiben aber noch drei andere Gruppen von Figuren zu besprechen, die ich bisher noch nicht erwähnt habe, die auf Blatt 38 einen grossen Theil der Fläche des Blattes füllen.

Die eine Gruppe, in der Ecke rechts oben, scheint sich unmittelbar an die oben (S. 37) beschriebene Darstellung des die Feuerschlange schleudernden *Xolotl*'s anzuschliessen. Aus dem geöffneten Rachen der Feuerschlange, die unter diesem *Xolotl* aus der von Zinnen umsetzten rothen Scheibe hervorkommt, ist anscheinend die in Abb. 25 noch einmal besonders wiedergegebene Gruppe von fünf Figuren herausgetreten, die in zwei Reihen, oben nach rechts, unten nach links gewendet, dort von dem alten Ehepaare, — man mag es *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, man mag es *Oxomoco*, *Cipactonal* nennen, — begrüsst werden, die ihnen, der eine, der durch die Tabakkalabasse (*yetecomatl*), die er auf dem Rücken trägt, als Priester gekennzeichnete Alte, einen Krug mit einer Maispflanze, die andere, die Alte, die erste Frau (*Ilancueye*), eine

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Schale (mit Mais?) und einen Spiegel (oder Brustschmuck?) entgegenbringen. Die fünf Figuren selbst sind insgesammt schwarz gemalt. Die ersten vier gleichen einander in Tracht und Haltung. Sie haben ein schwarzes Gesicht mit einfach menschlichen Zügen, tragen einen Nasenstab und einen Ohrschmuck gleich dem *Xolotl*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s, aber haben das runde Totenauge, das wirre Haar des Todesgottes, und darüber eine dicke Daunenfederperrücke. Sie haben die beiden Arme in kurioser Weise nach hinten gestreckt und sitzen jeder unter einer Decke, die, offenbar den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend, bzw. blau, roth, [gelb] und schwarz gemalt und mit Daunenfederbällen besteckt ist, im Uebrigen durchaus den Decken gleicht, unter denen in der ersten (westlichen) Abtheilung des Blattes 31 die beiden schwarzen Skelettköpfe vor den Göttinnen der Agave-Pflanze und des *malinalli*-Grases sitzen. Es scheint mir deshalb wahrscheinlich, dass man auch für diese vier ersten Figuren der Abb. 25 eine ähnliche Beziehung, d. h. eine Beziehung zum Pulque und den Pulquegöttern, anzunehmen haben wird. Die fünfte Figur ist anders gebildet und augenscheinlich als Versinnbildlichung der fünften Himmelsrichtung gedacht, mit einem grossen Daunenfederballe als Kopf, einer *tlachieloni*-artigen in neun Felder getheilten Scheibe in der Halsgegend und einen in vier Felder getheilten Behange darunter. Diese Figur ist auch in anderer Haltung dargestellt als die vier anderen, nicht auf einem Kissen sitzend, sondern knieend, und in der einen Hand einen Gras- oder Federbusch, in der anderen den Kopalbeutel haltend. Die ganze sonderbare Darstellung hat vielleicht Beziehung zu dem Mythus, der sowohl im Mendieta,[1]) wie in der Histoyre du Mechique Thevet's,[2]) wie in der Historia de Culhuacan y Mexico[3]) überliefert ist, wonach *Xolotl* bzw. *Nanauatl* von den Göttern beauftragt wird, den in *Tamoanchan* aufgefundenen Mais als Nahrung für die Menschen zu präpariren, d. h. zu entkörnen, zu schlagen (*uitequi*), denn *Xolotl*, als der Blitz, ist ja der „schlagende" (*tlauitequini*).

Die beiden anderen noch übrigen Bilder des Blattes 38 scheinen diese vierte Region als die Region des Wassers noch nach zwei besonderen Richtungen hin zu charakterisiren, nämlich einmal (unten links) als das Wasser, das das Verkommen, Vermodern, Verwesen in der dunklen Feuchte bewirkt, und andererseits (unten rechts) das Wasser, das die Geburt bedeutet, das die Feldfrüchte, den Mais, die Lebensmittel erzeugt. Das erste dürfte im engeren Sinne eine weitere Ausmalung des Wesens *Xolotl*'s sein, der ja auch der Gott der Missbildungen ist; das andere im Besonderen auf *Xochipilli*, den Gott der Blüthen, des jungen Maises, zu beziehen sein.

In der Ecke unten links sehen wir ein grosses viereckiges Wassergefäss, dessen Wandungen in der üblichen Weise (wie es scheint, in Anlehnung an die äussere und innere Bemalung von Kalebassenschalen) bemalt sind. Die offene Mündung des Gefässes ist aber durch eine breite Fläche in Reihen geordneter schuppiger Gebilde weisser Farbe geschlossen. In dem Wasser sieht man eine Figur, die durch die Adlerfänge an Armen und Beinen, die den Unterarm und Unterschenkel schmückenden schwarzen Binden und den Nacken-, Ohr- und Halsschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s als *Xolotl* gekennzeichnet ist. Aber die Arme und Beine sind Totenknochen, der Kopf ein Totenschädel und mit dem wirren dunklen Haare des Todesgottes bedeckt. Ein eigentlicher Leib ist gar nicht zu sehen. Der Kopf und die Glieder sind gewissermassen Anfügungen an einen grossen Baum, dessen Stamm über dem durch zahlreiche Einschnitte zerfetzten Ohre emporwächst. Dieser Baumstamm geht über dem Scheitel der Figur zunächst in eine auf beiden Seiten mit Jaguarfell überzogene schwarze Trommel über, die mit ihrem grossen weissen Andreaskreuz den Haarschmuck der Figur bildet, und wächst dann aus dem Wasser heraus. Der Stamm ist mit Spiegeln, nach Art derer auf dem Dache des Tempels *Xolotl*'s auf Blatt 37, geschmückt. Die sich gabelnden Zweige enden in Laubwipfel der herkömmlichen Form. Nach unten wachsen aus diesem Stamme theils gewöhnliche, sich gabelnde Baumzweige, theils nach Art von Feuer- oder Rauchwolken sich krümmende Schlangenleiber heraus, die in Schlangenköpfe und Drachenarme enden und mit Schneckengehäusen besetzt sind. Und in dem Wasser sieht man andere merkwürdige Gebilde, die auch mit Augen und mit Schneckengehäusen besetzt sind. Auch aus der Nase der Figur wächst ein in

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1) Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana, Buch 2, cap. 1.

2) Herausgegeben von Dr. Ed. de Jonghe (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris) Nouvelle Série, tome II, Num. 1 (1905) p. 29.

3) Manuscrits mexicains de la Bibliothèque Nationale Nr. 312 (II. Theil der sogenannten Anales de Quauhtitlan).

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eine Art Grasblüthe endender beblätterter Stengel empor. Die Figur hält in der Klaue das merkwürdige Bumerang-artige, weiss und schwarz, wie *Itztlacoliuhqui*, der Gott des Steins und der Kälte, kolorirte Werkzeug, das wir auf dem Blatte 56 unserer Handschrift in der Hand des Rücken an Rücken an den Todesgott gelehnten *Quetzalcouatl*'s sehen, und das in der Form auch dem Stabe gleicht, den auf Blatt 66 unserer Handschrift der Mondgott in der Hand hält. Dieses Bumerang oder die ganze im Wasser liegende Figur in Empfang zu nehmen ist über dem Wassergefässe eine *Tlaloc*-Figur abgebildet, die mit grüner Farbe gemalt ist, die Arme und Beine *cipactli*-artig mit Stacheln besetzt hat, und deren Gesicht aus dem Rachen einer grünen Schlange hervorsieht. Ein Blutstrom geht aus dem Munde dieser *Tlaloc*-Figur nach dem oberen Rande der weissen Masse, die die Oeffnung dieses Wassergefässes verschliesst. — Der Umstand, dass in diesem Bilde der Baum gerade von dem oberen Rande des durch Einschnitte zerfetzten Ohres der Hauptfigur seinen Ursprung nimmt, sowie der Blutstrom, der, anscheinend aus diesem Gefässe aufsteigend in den Mund der *Tlaloc*-Figur über ihm übergeht, könnte einen auf die Vermuthung bringen, dass hier nicht das einfache Wasser, sondern das *chalchiuhatl*, das Edelsteinwasser, das Opferblut, das Kasteiungsblut in einem besonderen Bilde zur Anschauung gebracht worden sei. Ich neige mich aber doch mehr der Ansicht zu, dass der Zeichner in diesem Bilde das Proliferiren, das monströse Wachsthum des im Wasser vergrabenen, modernden *Xolotl* darstellen wollte.

Das andere Bild gegenüber, an der (mit Beziehung auf die Stellung der Figuren) als rechte zu bezeichnenden, eigentlich unteren Seite des Blattes 38, zeigt ein geschlossenes Viereck, dessen Wandungen von hängenden *chalchiuitl*- oder Edelsteinstreifen gebildet wird, und das in seinem Innern ganz mit rother Farbe gemalt ist. In der Mitte sieht man, gross, die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „Steinperle", „Edelstein" gezeichnet. Im Kerne der letzteren ist ein querer Schlitz angegeben, aus dem ein grosses Edelsteinband heraushängt. Die Perle oder das Auge, in dem dieses Edelsteinband endet, ist mit zwei rauchwolkenartig sich einrollenden Wasserstreifen besetzt, und es scheint dadurch dieses Bild mit dem auch in rauchwolkenartige Gebilde sich auflösenden, oder mit ihnen besetzten Wasserstrome in Verbindung gebracht werden zu sollen, der gerade darunter von der *Tlaloc*-Figur über das knieende Lichtwesen ausgegossen wird. Es ist der Strom, der, wie ich oben angab, von dort in die Höhe gehend, vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s endet, auf den der vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s abgebildete (Ball spielende?) *Tlaloc* tritt. Aus demselben Schlitze in der Mitte der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* tritt aber, ausser diesem Edelsteinbande, noch eine kleine nackte Menschenfigur heraus, die der Zeichner Kingsborough's mit geschlossenem Auge gezeichnet hat. Es ist leider, bei der starken Abreibung gerade dieser Theile des Blattes, nicht mehr festzustellen, ob er darin Recht hat. Dagegen ist es deutlich, dass diese kleine nackte Menschenfigur mit den beiden über der Stirn aufstrebenden Locken, die die Sterne oder Lichtwesen kennzeichnen, abgebildet ist. Bedeutsam ist ferner, dass unter dem Edelsteinbande, zu beiden Seiten dieser nackten kleinen Menschenfigur, je ein in Blüthenform endender, also junger, Maiskolben hervorkommt.

Um diese den Kern des rothen Vierecks bildenden, bezw. von ihm ausgehenden Darstellungen waren aber nun noch vier Schlangen gruppirt, aus deren geöffneten Rachen je ein Menschengesicht hervorsah. Und über dieser ganzen Gruppe waren noch, wie zwei Hermen, zwei Götterköpfe einander gegenüber gestellt. Leider sind von diesen sechs Figuren nur die drei der linken Seite einigermassen deutlich, denn die rechte Seite des Vierecks ist durch Abreibung der Stuckschicht des Blattes fast ganz zerstört. Von den vier Schlangen ist die in der Ecke links oben mit blauer Farbe (und schwarzem und gelbem Bauchstreifen) gemalt. Dass das Blau die Farbe des Wassers wiedergeben soll, ist noch durch kleine weisse Schneckengehäuse, die in dem Blau vertheilt sind, besonders zum Ausdruck gebracht. Aus dem geöffneten Rachen der Schlange sieht ein Menschengesicht heraus, das in der Hauptsache auch mit blauer Farbe gemalt ist. Nur der hintere Theil des Gesichts, in der Form dem rothen Schläfenflecke der Priester entsprechend, ist mit anderer, mit gelber Farbe angegeben. Die Schlange ist mit Armen versehen, und unter der Biegung des Leibes kommt eine Federreihe und ein Gebilde hervor, das in etwas dem trapezförmigen Schwanzende einer *xiuhcouatl*, der Türkisschlange, der Schlange des Feuergottes, ähnelt und vielleicht als solches gemeint ist. Wie im Uebrigen der Leib dieser blauen die linke obere Ecke füllenden blauen Schlange verläuft, ob er sich noch auf die rechte Seite des Vierecks fortsetzt, und wie er dort endet, ist leider nicht mehr zu sehen.

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Die zweite Schlange links unten ist schwarz oder vielmehr *cicitlallô*, schwarz mit weissen Flecken nach Art des Sternhimmels (und mit rothem und gelbem Bauchstreifen) gemalt, und auch das Menschengesicht, das aus dem geöffneten Rachen dieser Schlange hervorsieht, ist *cicitlallô*, d. h. geradezu mit dem Quincunx weisser Flecken auf dunklem Grunde versehen, der die Gesichtsbemalung der Sterngottheiten, insbesondere der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, ist. Unter dem Leibe dieser Schlange, die gleicher Weise wie die blaue Schlange links oben, nach vorn gestreckte Arme trägt, kommen aber hier zwei blaue Beine hervor, über deren Bedeutung und Zugehörigkeit ich unten noch zu sprechen haben werde. Der Leib der schwarzen oder *cicitlallô* gemalten Schlange ist auch weiter oben auf der rechten Seite des Vierecks in einer Schleife zu verfolgen, und scheint sich darüber sogar noch auf der linken Seite in einem gleich gemalten Bogenstücke, das anscheinend an dem Leibe der blauen Schlange endet, fortzusetzen.

Gegenüber dieser schwarzen oder *cicitlallô* gemalten Schlange war, rechts unten, eine dritte Schlange gezeichnet, deren Leib, wie es scheint, roth (mit blauem und gelbem Bauchstreifen) gemalt war, von der aber vorn nur noch ein Theil des in eine Adlerklaue endenden Armes zu sehen ist. Der Leib aber scheint sich nach hinten in einer ähnlichen Schleife auf der linken Seite des Vierecks fortzusetzen, wie die *cicitlallô*-Schlange (links unten) in einer Schleife auf der rechten Seite des Vierecks ihre hintere Fortsetzung hat. Und es scheint denn auch dem auf der linken Seite sichtbaren obersten Bogenstücke der *cicitlallô*-Schlange ein ähnliches Bogenstück auf der rechten Seite des Vierecks zu entsprechen, das als oberstes Ende zu dem Leibe dieser dritten, der rothen Schlange (rechts unten) gehört. Entsprechend den blauen Beinen, die links unter dem Leibe der schwarzen *cicitlallô*-Schlange hervorkommen, sieht man rechts unter dem Leibe der rothen Schlange zwei Jaguarpranken.

Die vierte Schlange, rechts oben, müsste, — wenn wir annehmen dürfen, dass hier derselbe Farbenturnus, wie anderwärts, vorgelegen hat, — mit gelber Farbe (und vielleicht schwarzem und gelbem Bauchstreifen) gemalt gewesen sein. Ein einziger Farbenfleck, rechts oben, lässt mich vermuthen, dass das in der That der Fall war. Aber im Uebrigen ist, — abgesehen von ein Paar blauen Farbflecken an der Stelle, wo die Nägel der Adlerklauen dieser Schlange sich befanden, — von dieser vierten Schlange nichts mehr zu erkennen.

In dem oberen Theile des Vierecks, über dem grossen die Mitte des Vierecks einnehmenden *chalchiuitl* sieht man links eine gelbe Farbspur, wie es scheint, mit Jaguarflecken, rechts eine blaue Farbspur. Der Zeichner Kingsborough's hat links zwei aufrechte Jaguarpranken, rechts einen zusammenhängenden blauen Streifen gemalt. Das Letztere scheint mir zweifelhaft. Ein paar Jaguarpranken aber sind auf der linken Seite in der That zu erkennen, wie ich mich an der Originalhandschrift, die jetzt in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek aufbewahrt wird, überzeugen konnte. Sie gehören zu der gleich zu beschreibenden Figur, die zur Linken von diesem Mittelstreifen gezeichnet ist.

Zur Linken und zur Rechten von diesem Mittelstreifen war nämlich je eine hermenartige Götterfigur dargestellt. Nur die zur Linken ist noch deutlich zu erkennen. Es ist ein alter Gott, durch das ringförmige Anhängsel unter der Lippe, das Homologon des eingekniffenen Winkels des zahnlosen Mundes alter Götter, gekennzeichnet. Er hat die, in der hinteren Hälfte schwarze, in der vorderen gelbe Gesichtsbemalung und den das Kinn umrahmenden Bart *Quetzalcouatl*'s und der ihm verwandten Gestalten und die viereckige Ohrplatte, die sonst den besondern Schmuck des Regengottes und der Pulquegötter bildet. Ein kammartiger, *patzactli*-Schmuck aus grünen Federn erinnert an gewisse Bilder des alten Gottes (*Tonacatecutli*'s) der Wiener Handschrift. Er scheint als Kamm einer Schlange sich darzustellen, deren aufgeklappter Rachen über der Stirn sichtbar wird. So wird wohl dieser ganze Schmuck ein Analogon des Kopfschmuckes der beiden *Xolotl*-Figuren des Blattes 37 sein. Das Ganze scheint mir den alten Gott *Tonacatecutli*, den Herrn der Lebensmittel, vielleicht als *Chalchiuhtlatonac* als Gott des Wassers gedacht, vorzustellen. Die den Mund umgebende Gesichtspartie aber ist, wie in der Originalhandschrift deutlich zu erkennen ist, mit Jaguarflecken gezeichnet. Und, wie ich oben schon sagte, die seinem Gegenüber entgegengestreckten Arme enden in Jaguarpranken. — Von dem Gegenüber, der Figur, die der Zeichner in der rechten oberen Ecke angebracht hatte, ist leider kaum eine Linie mehr deutlich. Wir können nur muthmassen, dass dem alten Gotte hier die alte Göttin, dem Herrn der Lebensmittel,

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dem *Chalchiuhtlatonac*, die Herrin der Lebensmittel, die *Chalchiuhtlicue*, gegenübergestellt war. In der Originalhandschrift kann man in der That die Zahnreihe des Mundes und darüber die stufenförmige blaue Nasenplatte erkennen, die das Abzeichen der *Xochiquetzal* und der ihr verwandten Gestalten war. Das Gesicht der Göttin schaute offenbar in gleicher Weise, wie das des alten Gottes ihr gegenüber, aus dem aufgeklappten Rachen einer Schlange hervor und damit war, wie man an den Resten auf unserem Blatte noch deutlich sieht, ein ähnlicher *patzactli*-artiger Kopf- oder Nackenschmuck verbunden. Auch diese Göttin zur Rechten streckte ihrem Gegenüber die aufgehobenen Arme entgegen, und es ist in der Originalhandschrift deutlich, dass diese Arme und die Hände mit blauer Farbe gemalt waren. — Da also der männliche Gott zur Linken mit Jaguarfellzeichnung um den Mund und mit Jaguarpranken, die Göttin zur Rechten mit blauen Armen und Händen dargestellt ist, so ist es fast gewiss, dass die unter dem Leibe der rothen Schlange rechts unten gezeichneten Jaguarpranken, die unter dem Leibe der *cicitlalli* (schwarz mit weissen Flecken) gemalten Schlange links unten gezeichneten blauen Beine, — die zu den Schlangen selbst unmöglich gehören können, — als die unteren Gliedmassen der in dem oberen Theile des Vierecks dargestellten hermenartigen Figuren des alten Gottes und der alten Göttin gemeint sind. Daraus ergibt sich aber ohne Weiteres, dass diese beiden Götter in verschränkter Stellung gezeichnet, d. h. in Kopulation befindlich, gedacht sind. Es sind eben die Zeugungsgötter — *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl* —, die in der That hier in diesem Bilde dargestellt sein sollen.

Was nun den Sinn dieses ganzen Bildes angeht, so scheint mir klar, dass der Edelstein hier auch das Wasser, und die verschiedenen Farben der nach den verschiedenen Seiten sich wendenden Schlangen das nach den Himmelsrichtungen differenzirte Wasser, den Regen, veranschaulichen sollen, — aber nicht das Wasser als den Erzeuger geilen, monströsen Wachstums, sondern das Wasser, das die Feldfrucht, den Mais hervorbringt, das deshalb mit Recht als das „Edelsteinwasser“ bezeichnet wurde, wie es in dem Liede an *Xipe* heisst: —

noteua chalchimamatlaco apanaytemoaya
„mein Gott, dein Edelsteinwasser kam herab“

— d. h. (wie der Interpret erklärt), die Regenzeit hat begonnen, es ist grün geworden. Darum sehen wir denn auch hier die beiden Maiskolben mit der kleinen Menschenfigur, die eben die Geburt bezeichnen mag, aus dem Schlitze des Edelsteins in der Mitte hervorkommen, und sehen über der ganzen Gruppe, — in Schlangenmaske, d. h. als Wassergötter, als *Chalchiuhtlatonac* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, kostümirt, — die beiden alten Götter, die im Westen hausen, *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*, die die Herren der Geburten und der Lebensmittel, die Herren der Feldfrüchte sind.

Das folgende Blatt 39 beginnt mit einer Figur ähnlich der, mit der das Blatt 32 geschlossen hatte, nämlich mit einer die ganze Breite des Blattes einnehmenden Gestalt der Erdgöttin, die mit Skelettkopf, mit Adlerklauen an Armen und Beinen und mit Enagua bekleidet dargestellt ist, und deren Leib gewissermassen von einer breit ausgespannten Decke gebildet wird, deren Muster dem der Enagua entspricht, und die hier den Nachthimmel imitirt, indem sie Augen und Steinmesser auf dunklem Grunde zeigt und mit einem Saum von Augen, d. h. von Sternen, besetzt ist. In der Mitte dieser Decke oder dieses Vorhangs ist ein breites Loch gerissen, durch das der Gott, — hier natürlich überall *Quetzalcouatl*, — aus- oder eintritt. An dem Ende von Blatt 32 war dieses Loch in der Richtung des Fortgangs der Darstellungen breit offen, und der Gott stieg dort zwischen zwei Steinmessern heraus. Es bezeichnete uns ja, wie wir gesehen haben, dieses Bild den Moment, wo der Gott als Abendstern am Himmel sichtbar wird. Hier im Anfange von Blatt 39 ist diese Oeffnung durch einen dunklen Bogen geschlossen, der wie von einer Nebelfigur, aus einer dunklen Figur mit Skelettkopf und Adlerfängen gebildet wird, die aber mit dem eingerollten Scheitelkamme der Windgottschlangen und der mit den beiden grossen Edelsteinen geschmückten Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s versehen ist. Und durch diesen Nebel dringt der Gott hinein. Das heisst, er geht von hellen Räumen in dunkle, er steigt vom Himmel in die Erde hinab, er verschwindet in die Erde. Denn dieses Bild bezeichnet den Moment, wo der Abendstern der untergehenden Sonne schon ganz nahe gekommen und nicht mehr sichtbar ist, wo er mit ihr im Rachen der Erde verschwindet. Darum sehen wir unmittelbar darunter die *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin*, die Weiber, die im Westen hausen, die Abbilder der alten Mond- und Geburtsgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*, dargestellt, — zwölf an der

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Zahl, abwechselnd roth, blau, weiss, gelb und zweifarbig (roth und schwarz) gekleidet und auf der Gewandung das Bild eines Daunenfederballes (des Zeichens der himmlischen Region), und das des *yacametztli*, des goldenen Nasenhalbmondes der *Tlaçolteotl*, tragend. Die weissen Scheiben, die den unteren Rand des Nackentuches und der Enagua besäumen, sind offenbar als Schneckengehäuse und zugleich als Abbilder der das Gewand der Erd- und Mondgöttin besäumenden Sternaugen gedacht. Sie erklären die sonderbare Bezeichnung *citlalcueitl* „Stern-Enagua, Stern-Hüfttuch", der in den mexikanischen Quellen für den aus Schneckengehäusen bestehenden rasselnden Gürtelbehang der Erd-, d. h. Mondgöttinnen, angegeben wird. Die zwölf Göttinnen umtanzen eine rothe Scheibe, auf der der schwarze und der rothe *Quetzalcouatl*, — oder wenn man will, *Quetzalcouatl* und *Macuil xochitl*, d. h. Mond und Sonne, — der erstere einen Topf, der letztere eine Blume in den beiden Händen haltend, abgebildet sind. Und mit dieser Scheibe werden die beiden, — das deutet der die Scheibe umkreisende Weg an, — in den aufgeklappten *cipactli*-Rachen gezogen, der dem Gesichte der darunter abgebildeten weisshaarigen *Tonacatecutli*-Figur eingesetzt ist. Das heisst sie verschwinden im Rachen der Erde. Und Zeugen dieses Verschwindens sind zwei Reihen von je drei Göttern, die links und rechts davon aufgebaut sind, deren Umrisse leider auch zum Theil durch Abreibung der Stuckschicht zerstört sind. Es sind auf der rechten Seite (der Seite des schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl*), von unten nach oben einander folgend: — der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*, dann (wie es scheint)? ein schwarzes Skelett mit Adlerfängen (wie auf dem Blatte 43), also ein *Mictlantecutli*, und endlich ein blauer Gott, ein *Xochipilli* oder *Tonacatecutli*. Auf der linken Seite (der Seite des rothen *Quetzalcouatl*), entsprechend: — der rothe *Tezcatlipoca*, dann ein bärtiger Gott mit dem Kopfschmucke des Regengottes, der vielleicht *Tepeyollotli* darstellen soll, und ein weisser, roth gestreifter, in Daunenfedern gekleideter und die Federn *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, des Morgensterns, im Kopfschmucke tragender Todesgott, der entweder diesen Morgenstern oder die im Osthimmel hausenden Seelen der geopferten Krieger oder vielleicht auch den Abendstern darstellen kann.

Auf dem Blatte 32, das uns. wie ich oben auseinandergesetzt habe, das Ende der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, bezw. den Anfang seiner Sichtbarkeit als Abendstern, bezeichnet, war durch die Tageszeichen *itzcuintli* „Hund", *quauhtli* „Adler", *xochitl* „Blume", *couatl* „Hund", die eine der 65 Tageszeichensäulen des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, zugleich die Himmelsrichtung des Südens und der Tag bezeichnet, an dem der Planet Venus als Abendstern am Himmel sichtbar wird, wenn wir *ce acatl* „eins Rohr", — das ist der Tradition nach der Tag, an dem *Quetzalcouatl* starb, — als Beginn der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, als Tag seines Verschwindens in den Strahlen der Sonne, annehmen. Die Rechnung stimmte genau, wenn wir mit diesen Tageszeichen *itzcuintli*, *quauhtli*, *xochitl*, *couatl*, die Zahl „dreizehn" verbanden. Auf unserem Blatte 39, das, wie ich eben gezeigt habe, das Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern bezeichnet, sind die vier Zeichen einer anderen der fünfundsechszig Säulen des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s angegeben, nämlich, — wenn wir, wie das auf den meisten dieser Blätter der vorgeschriebene Turnus zu sein scheint, rechts unten beginnen, — die Zeichen *eecatl* „Wind", *maçatl* „Hirsch", *malinalli* „Gedrehtes", *olin* „Bewegung". Haben wir auf Blatt 32 Recht gehabt, die Zeichen jener Säule als Andeutung des Tages aufzufassen, an dem der Planet als Abendstern am Himmel sichtbar wird, so werden wir hier die Zeichen der Säule *eecatl*, *maçatl*, *malinalli*, *olin* als Bezeichnung des Tages nehmen müssen, an dem zum ersten Mal der Abendstern nicht mehr sichtbar ist. Die Zeitdauer der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern haben wir oben (vgl. S. 14) auf 252 Tage berechnet. Wenn wir vom Tage 13 *itzcuintli* um 252 Tage weiter zählen, so kommen wir in der That auf einen Tag, der mit dem Zeichen *eecatl* „Wind" benannt ist, nämlich auf den Tag 5 *eecatl*. Ich meine also, dass wir zu den hier auf dem Blatte 39 angegebenen Tageszeichen die Zahl „fünf" hinzuzudenken haben, und halte dieses Zusammenstimmen in der That für einen starken Beweis für die Richtigkeit meiner ganzen Deutung.

Auf den Blättern 29—32, die das Verweilen des zum Morgensterne gewordenen Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* in den unterirdischen Räumen, d. h. die Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen ist, schildern, fanden wir dieses Verweilen in der Unterwelt als ein Durchwandern der unterirdischen Räume in den vier Richtungen, oder der vier Gegenden der unterirdischen Räume, dargestellt. Genau in gleicher Weise sehen wir auf den nun hier folgenden Blättern, die die Unsichtbarkeit des

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Planeten, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen ist, veranschaulichen, vier den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechende Räume in Bildern und Symbolen zum Ausdruck gebracht, bis dann wieder, auf Blatt 45, durch ein, der Darstellung des unteren Endes von Blatt 32 entsprechendes Bild, das Auftauchen des Gottes aus der Unterwelt dem Beschauer vorgeführt wird.

Der erste dieser unterirdischen Räume, der dem Osten entsprechen müsste, ist auf dem unteren (eigentlich linken) Ende von Blatt 39 und auf Blatt 40 dargestellt. Gewissermassen den Leib der *Tonacatecutli*-Figur bildend, in deren *cipactli*-Rachen der schwarze und der rothe *Quetzalcouatl* hineingezogen werden, umzieht ein von einem stachligen *cipactli*-Leibe gebildetes Viereck das untere (eigentlich linke) Ende von Blatt 39 und Blatt 40. Diesem *cipactli*-Viereck sind ringsherum Tageszeichen eingeschrieben, in eigenthümlicher Anordnung, die erkennen lässt, dass man mit diesen Tageszeichen nur den Raum hat füllen wollen. Auf der rechten Seite beginnt oben das Zeichen *calli* „Haus“, das sich an das darüber ausserhalb des *cipactli*-Vierecks stehende Zeichen *eecatl* „Wind“ anschliesst, dem es in der Reihe der Tageszeichen folgt. Dann folgen nach rechts und unten sich fortsetzend, in ihrer richtigen Reihe die anderen Tageszeichen bis zu dem letzten, *xochitl* „Blume“ und weiter von dem ersten, *cipactli*, bis zu dem zwölften *malinalli* „Gedrehtes“, mit dem die Mitte der Unterseite erreicht ist. Auf der linken Seite des *cipactli*-Vierecks aber sind die Tageszeichen in der Art neben einander geschrieben, wie sie in den Säulen des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s einander folgen. Dabei sind aber wiederholt die Zeichen derselben Säule mehrere Male hinter einander wiederholt, und am Schlusse der vier Glieder der Säule das Anfangszeichen als fünftes dazu gesetzt. Das Nähere habe ich hinten auf der erläuternden Tafel angegeben.

In dieses *cipactli*-Viereck sieht man oben den schwarzen und den rothen *Quetzalcouatl*, wiederum jederseits eskortirt von einer *Ciuateotl*-Figur, eintreten. Die beiden *Quetzalcouatl* aber, wie die beiden *Ciuateteô*, haben jetzt je ein Opfermesser in jeder ihrer Hände. Den Innenraum nehmen zwei Hauptdarstellungen ein: —

Oben sieht man den Gott der Nacht oder den Sonnengott in der Unterwelt, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, *mamaçouhticac*, in der Haltung der Erdkröte und, gleich dieser, mit klaffenden Mäulern an den Knie- und Ellbogengelenken dargestellt. Er ist schwarz gemalt, mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) auf den Gliedern; das Gesicht ist ebenfalls schwarz, aber gleich dem des Sonnengottes, mit einer rothen Scheibe auf der Backe und einer den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden rothen Linie gezeichnet. Hände und Füsse haben die Farbe und die Flecke des Jaguarfells. In der Zeichnung der Hände, die knotige Auswüchse zeigten, scheint eine gewisse Missgeschaffenheit oder krankhafte Bildung ausgedrückt werden zu sollen. Wie der Sonnengott, trägt diese Figur eine mit Edelsteinscheiben besetzte Kopfbinde, mit einem stylisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirn, und eine Krone von Adlerfedern, aus der haarig umsäumte Streifen heraushängen, die wie Fellstreifen aussehen, aber wohl mit Adlerdaunen beklebte Bänder oder Riemen vorstellen sollen. Den Hals umgibt kragenartig eine Strahlenscheibe. Das Ohrgehänge aber hat die Form des *tzicoliuhqui nacochtli* des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl*. Auf dem Rücken dieser Figur ist eine grosse Sonnenscheibe angegeben, und kleinere, aber durchaus gleichartige andere auf den Oberarmen und Oberschenkeln und den Hand- und Knöchelgelenken. Die grosse Sonnenscheibe hat als Kern ein wirkliches Herz. In dieses Herz, bzw. in den Edelsteinkern der anderen kleineren Sonnenscheiben, stechen mit einem Opfermesser, und nehmen das Herz der Sonnenscheibe heraus, neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren, die, verschieden kostümirt, doch nur Varianten derselben vielgestaltigen Gottheit sind. Die Hauptfigur, die der grossen Sonnenscheibe das Herz herausnimmt, hat einen langen Kinnbart und ist als Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) maskirt. Eine andere, zur Rechten, erscheint in der Gestalt des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl*, mit dessen vogelschnabelartig vorgeschobenen Mundtheilen, der Stirnbinde mit dem Stufenmäander und der zweifarbigen kegelförmigen Mütze (*copilli*). Eine andere, links oben, hat den Kopf mit den zwei Schlangen umwunden, wie der *Quetzalcouatl* des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes auf Blatt 63 unserer Handschrift. Die Figur darunter hat die häufige Form der abgerundete Enden aufweisenden, mit zwei grossen Edelsteinscheiben geschmückten Stirnbinde und das von Dunkel umgebene Auge (Sternauge?) auf dem Scheitel. Zwei andere Figuren, links unten und rechts oben das wirre Haar des Todesgottes mit einem grossen Daunen-

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federbusch darin, — eine gerade auf den vorliegenden Blättern nicht selten vorkommende Form der *Quetzalcouatl*-Frisur. Eine letzte Figur, links oben, ist in Obsidianmessermaske dargestellt. Das ganze Bild gibt sich demnach klar als die in der Unterwelt aufgehende Sonne, die tote Sonne zu erkennen. Den Raum, den dieses Bild füllt, werden wir als die Region des Sonnenaufgangs in der Unterwelt auffassen und bezeichnen können. Es ist nun die Frage, ob auch die anderen Darstellungen dieses Blattes, in der unteren Hälfte des *cipactli*-Viereckes sich dieser Auffassung fügen.

Wir sehen hier wieder zur Rechten den Tempel des schwarzen Gottes, zur Linken den des rothen Gottes. Der erstere hat, wie der Tempel der schwarzen Schlange auf Blatt 33 unserer Handschrift, ein spitzes Strohdach, und dieses ist von einer *Quetzalcouatl*- oder Windgottschlange umwunden. Der Tempel des rothen Gottes auf der linken Seite hat, wie das Haus der rothen Schlange auf Blatt 34 unserer Handschrift, ein Strohdach mit breitem First, dessen beide Enden heruntergebogen sind. Ueber dem oberen Thürbalken sieht man einen mit Edelsteinscheiben verzierten Fries, dem — wie dem Tempel des rothen Gottes auf Blatt 37, eine Reihe von Blumen und ausserdem zwei Federbanner aufgesetzt sind. Das Haus zur Rechten werden wir demnach, wie das Haus der schwarzen Schlange auf Blatt 33, als den Nordtempel; das Haus zur Linken, wie das Haus der rothen Schlange auf Blatt 34, als den Südtempel bezeichnen können. Wir hätten demnach auch hier die beiden Pfeiler, zwischen denen die Sonne hindurch muss, wenn sie im Osten aufgeht oder im Westen untergeht.

Zwischen diesen beiden Pfeilern nun ist hier auf unserem Blatte 40 der eigentliche Ostpunkt durch einen Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*) bezeichnet, dessen Wandungen, ähnlich wie auf Blatt 35, von mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) umsäumtem Dunkel gebildet werden, dessen ganze Fläche aber einfach roth gemalt ist. Die beiden *tlachtemalacatl* oder Ballspielringe sind an ihrer Stelle in der Mitte der Seitenwandungen angegeben; ein roth- und weissgefärbtes Band kommt aus der unteren und oberen Oeffnung der zentralen Durchbohrung heraus. In der Mitte dieses Ballspielplatzes sieht man eine merkwürdige Darstellung. Zu unterst eine Schale, deren Wandung mit den Farben der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein" gemalt ist, die also das *chalchiuihtlapaztli*, die „Edelsteinschale", die jenseit des Ostmeers gelegene Höhle bezeichnen mag, aus der man auf dem Lienzo de Jucutacato[1]) die Stämme der Menschen hervorkommen sieht. Ueber dieser Schale sieht man ein rothgemaltes Skelett, oder eine rothgemalte Figur mit Skelettkopf, die *mamaçouhticac* mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, in der Haltung der Erdkröte, abgebildet ist, — eine Haltung, die an verschiedenen Stellen der Bilderschriften zweifellos als Geburtsstellung gemeint ist.[2]) Auch hier muss man wohl das Gleiche vermuthen, da mit diesem rothen Skelett eine mit gelber Farbe gemalte, mit menschlichen Zügen dargestellte Figur in der Weise verbunden ist, dass sie aus dem Anus oder der Vulva des rothen Skeletts hervorkommend gedacht sein könnte. Der Zeichner Kingsborough's hat diese unter dem Leibe des rothen Skeletts hervorkommende Halbfigur mit geschlossenen Augen wiedergegeben. Es ist leider nicht mehr zu erkennen, ob das richtig gezeichnet ist. Wie dem auch sei, das ganze Bild scheint mir zweifellos die Geburt der Sonne über dem Meere des Ostens veranschaulichen zu sollen. Und nur als Zeugen dieses Vorgangs, so scheint mir, sind daneben zur Rechten (auf der dunklen, der nördlichen Seite) die Erd- oder Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*, zur Linken (auf der hellen, der südlichen Seite) der rothe (*Tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca* abgebildet. Nur als Zeugen, nicht als Ballspieler, denn sie sind weder, wie auf Blatt 35 die beiden Götter, in der Haltung von Ballspielern, noch mit dem Ballspielhandwerkzeuge (Bällen, Hüftenleder und dergleichen) dargestellt. Höchstens könnte man vermuthen, dass in ihnen Erde und Himmel, Mond und Sonne, als die Eltern des jungen Gottes vorgeführt worden seien. Dass aber der ganze Vorgang dieser unteren Hälfte des Blattes 40 auf Geburt zu beziehen sei, scheint mir klar dadurch angedeutet zu sein, dass diese beiden Gottheiten gleichzeitig als Gefangene machende, als *tlamanimê*, dargestellt sind, — *Tlaçolteotl* dem schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* des Nordtempels gegenüber, den sie am Schopfe hält, und der rothe *Tezcatlipoca* dem rothen *Quetzalcouatl* oder *Xochipilli* des Südtempels gegenüber, den er in gleicher Weise am

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1) Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde Band III, Berlin 1906, S. 44, 45.

2) Vgl. Seler, Codex Vaticanus 3773. Berlin 1902, S. 219, 263.

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Schopfe gepackt hält. Wir wissen ja, dass das Weib in Geburt von den Mexikanern dem Krieger in der Schlacht verglichen oder vielmehr gleichgesetzt wurde, die glücklich Gebärende dem Sieger in der Schlacht, die im Kindbette Gestorbene dem gefallenen und geopferten Krieger. So wurde das Gebären eines Kindes als das Gewinnen eines Gefangenen aufgefasst und so bezeichnet. Eben das aber scheint hier auch der Grund dafür zu sein, dass der Vorgang, der die Geburt der Sonne darstellt, auf einem Ballspielplatze vorgeführt wird.

Ist das aber nun richtig, dürfen wir wirklich annehmen, dass der untere Theil der Darstellungen des Blattes 40 auf die Geburt der Sonne sich bezieht, diese zur Anschauung zu bringen bestimmt ist, so werden wir rückschliessend auch vermuthen dürfen, dass der *Youaltecutli*, der dunkle Sonnengott, der Träger der Sonnen, der in der oberen Hälfte dieses Blattes abgebildet ist, nur deshalb *mamaçouhticac*, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, vorgeführt wird, weil auch er, nicht die Sonne der Unterwelt schlechtweg, sondern die Geburt der toten Sonne, d. h. die Ostregion der Unterwelt, zur Anschauung bringt.

Ich gehe weiter zu den Blättern 41, 42. Wir betreten hier eine neue Region. Das wird, wie auf dem Blatte 39, durch die an der Eingangsseite (eigentlich rechten Seite) des Blattes 41 quer über die ganze Breite gelagerten Figur der Erdgöttin bewiesen, die, gleichsam einen Vorhang bildend, durch einen Riss in diesem Vorhange den Gott in diesen neuen Raum eintreten lässt. Die Figur stimmt in allen wesentlichen Einzelheiten mit der des Blattes 39 überein. Der Vorhang, der gewissermassen den Leib dieser Erdgöttin bildet, ist hier schwarz, mit einem Netze grüner, von Reihen von Kreisen gleicher Farbe eingefasster Streifen, und ist am unteren Rande mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzt. An der Enagua der Göttin scheint dieser Besatz durch einen Saum von weissen Muschelscheiben ersetzt zu sein, die das *citlalcueitl* der Erd- und Mondgöttinnen, bilden, d. h. die Enagua, die in Nachahmung von Augen, d. h. von Sternen, mit Muschelscheiben oder Schneckengehäusen besetzt ist. Der Riss in diesem den Leib der Göttin bildenden Vorhange ist auch hier gewissermassen mit Nebel erfüllt, denn es ist eine neue unterirdische Region, in die wir auf diesem Blatte treten. Aber der Verschluss wird auf Blatt 41 nicht, wie auf dem Blatte 39, durch einen dünnen Nebelbogen gebildet. Das mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzte und mit Augen erfüllte Dunkel füllt als kompakte Masse den Riss in seiner ganzen Ausdehnung. Denn es ist der dunkelste Raum dieser unterirdischen Regionen, der Norden, das *mictlampa* oder die Gegend des Totenreichs in dieser Unterwelt, in die wir auf Blatt 41 treten. So sehen wir denn auch den Gott *Quetzalcouatl* in diesen Raum eintreten, geführt von *Tezcatlipoca*, der der Gott des Nordens ist, und der hier als Krieger mit dem Wurfbrette in der einen, mit seinem Schilde, mit Speerbündel und Handfahne in der anderen Hand abgebildet ist, und begleitet von zwei Figuren der Erd- und Mondgöttin, einer rothen, mit rother Enagua bekleideten und einer weissen (gelben), die eine zweifarbige, roth und schwarze Enagua trägt. Der Gott selbst, *Quetzalcouatl*, der in diesen Raum eintritt, ist als Toter, als Skelett, gebildet, mit Skelettgliedmassen, einem schwarz gemalten Schädel als Kopfe und freiliegendem Herzen, aber auch so noch seinen Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) und die Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*), die Werkzeuge der Kasteiung, in der anderen Hand tragend. Aber so dunkel ist dieser Raum, die Nordregion der Unterwelt, dass ausser dem Nebelballen, der, wie ich oben angab, das Eingangsloch, den Riss in dem Vorhange, der den Leib der Erdgöttin bildet, stopft, noch ein vom Dunkel umwallter Vorraum zu passiren ist.

Ausserhalb dieses Vorraums führen dann zwei Wege nach der Mitte des Hauptraums. Auf dem einen wandelt, seine Agavedornen (*uitztli*) schwingend und seinen Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) in der Hand haltend und geführt von dem schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca* und einer schwarzen und einer rothen *Ciuapilli* ein *Quetzalcouatl*, dessen Glieder in normaler Weise und mit schwarzer Farbe, dessen Gesicht braun (in Menschenfarbe) mit schwarzem Längsstreifen gemalt ist. Auf der anderen Strasse wandelt, auch Agavedornen und Kopalbeutel haltend, aber geführt von dem rothen *Tezcatlipoca* und einer gelben und einer blauen *Ciuapilli*, ein *Quetzalcouatl*, dessen Gliedmassen in Knochenfarbe (weiss und roth punktirt) gemalt sind, und dessen Gesicht auch zur Hälfte schwarz, zur Hälfte knochenfarben ist. Der Gott, der diese Räume durchwandelt, ist also hier gewissermassen gespalten in einen lebenden, oder zum Leben bestimmten, und in einen toten oder zum Tode bestimmten Gott. Das ist eine genaue Parallele zu dem Qu'iché-Mythus des Popol Vuh, der die Frage, wie es möglich sei, dass Sonne und Mond in der

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Erde verschwinden und am anderen Tage wieder neu am Himmel emporsteigen, dadurch löst, dass er zwei Generationen annimmt, — eine ältere, durch *Hun hunahpu* und *Vukub hunahpu* repräsentirte, die den Mächten der Unterwelt erliegt, und eine jüngere, die von den beiden Hauptheldeu *Hunahpu* und *Xbalanque* gebildet wird, die das Reich der Finsterniss besiegen, seine Fürsten töten und *Hun hunahpu* und *Vukub hunahpu* als Sonne und Mond am Himmel emporsteigen lassen.

Die Mitte des Blattes 41, nach der von der Eingangsseite her die beiden Wege führen, ist von einer in den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des grünen Edelsteins gemalten kreisförmigen Umwallung gebildet, die offenbar das Herz dieses Raumes vorstellen soll. Wenn dem Gotte bei seinem Eintritte in diesen Raum und bei seinem Weiterwandern einerseits der Gott *Tezcatlipoca*, andererseits die beiden Erdgöttinnen, bezw. die vier *Ciuapipiltin*, als Führer dienen, — die in diesem zweiten Falle skelettköpfig, mit Adlerfängen und einer aus vier Fahnen bestehenden Rückendevise dargestellt sind, — so hat das offenbar seinen Grund darin, dass *Tezcatlipoca* der Gott des Nordens und der Dunkle, der Nächtige ist, und dass die Erd- und Mondgöttinnen, bezw. die *Ciuapipiltin*, zu gleicher Zeit die *Tzitzimimê* sind, die Dunkelheitsdämonen, die, wenn die Sonne einmal verlischt, zur Erde herunterkommen werden, die Menschen zu fressen. Aus dem gleichen Grunde sehen wir hier auch den zentralen, von der *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung umschlossenen Raum, der das Herz dieses Reiches der Dunkelheit darstellt, nicht nur im Innern mit schwarzer Farbe erfüllt, sondern in seinem Umkreise auch die fünf Tageszeichen abgebildet, die die Anfangssäule des dritten (dem Westen gehörigen) Viertels des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s bilden, und die zu gleicher Zeit die Tage sind, an denen nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner die *Ciuapipiltin* zur Erde herunterkommen. Das ist der Grund, weshalb hier auf einmal, statt der Tageszeichen einer Säule des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, wie sie sonst ganz allgemein auf den Blättern dieses Abschnitts verwendet werden, die einer Säule des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s gezeichnet sind, und dass hier auf dem Blatte, das die Nordregion bezeichnen muss, Zeichen erscheinen, die sonst der Charakterisirung der Westregion dienen. Es bezeichnen eben in diesem Falle die fünf Tageszeichen *maçatl*, *quiauitl*, *oçomatli*, *calli*, *quauhtli* nicht eine Himmelsrichtung, sondern es sind hier gewissermassen die Namen der fünf *Tzitzimimê*, der Dunkelheitsdämonen. Und wie in dem vierten Buche Sahagun's von diesen *Ciuapipiltin* oder *Tzitzimimê* die letztgenannte, die die am Tage *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" herunterstieg, als die schlimmste betrachtet wurde, und bei ihr dort, ganz unvermittelt, Kapitel über Schwangerschaft, Geburt und Taufe der Neugeborenen angefügt werden, die offenbar eigentlich als Appendix zu den *Ciuapipiltin* überhaupt, den Vertretern der Weiblichkeit, den Geburtsgöttinnen, gedacht sind, so ist auch hier auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte das Zeichen *quauhtli* „Adler" besonders hervorgehoben, indem es als fünftes in die Mitte des von der *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung umschlossenen Raumes gestellt ist, und dazu unter dieser *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung die dreizehn Tageszeichen, die die Woche *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" bilden, und zwar nur sie allein, aber augenscheinlich als Vertreter dieses ganzen den *Ciuateteô* geweihten *Tonalamatl*-Viertels, aufgeführt sind.

Was hat es nun zu bedeuten, dass das Herz dieses Reiches der tiefsten Dunkelheit, des Nordens der Unterwelt, als ein von grüner Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Zeichnung umschlossener Raum, gewissermassen als *chalchiuhapaztli*, als Edelsteinschale, dargestellt ist? — Man könnte vermuthen, dass es geschehen sei, weil der *chalchiuitl*, der grüne Edelstein, den Mexikanern das Sinnbild des Herzens, des Lebens war. Ich meine indes, dass wir einen zureichenderen Grund zu suchen haben werden, und ich glaube, dass wir die Edelsteinschale, den *chalchiuhapaztli*, wörtlich, oder vielmehr als *chalchiuh-a-apaztli* als „Behälter des Edelsteinwassers", oder *chalchiuhaolhuaztli* als „Brunnen des Edessteinwassers", d. h. des Opferblutes, des Blutes der Geopferten, zu nehmen haben. Denn der Norden ist die Steinmesserregion, die Region des Krieges und des Opfers. Das Opfer aber war der grosse Edelstein, die Kostbarkeit. Darum sehen wir bald auf dem Dache der Tempel (z. B. im Codex Nuttall, vgl. Abb. 20—23, oben S. 38—40), bald auf der Fläche des Pyramidenaufbaus, (so ziemlich allgemein auf den Blättern unserer Handschrift), die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein" angegeben. Und *chalchiuhtepetl* „Edelsteinberg" ist ein allgemeiner Name für „Opferstätte". Darum ist eben *chalchiuhatl* das „Edelsteinwasser" das Opferblut. Und dass in der That hier auf unserem Bilde an die Opferblutschale gedacht werden muss, das ist klar und deutlich dadurch ausgesprochen, dass wir innerhalb

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dieser *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung, also in der Edelsteinschale, in *chalchiuitl*- oder Edelsteinfarbe gekleidet, eine *Chalchiuhtlicue*, eine Wassergöttin, und ihr gegenüber einen *Chalchiuhtlatonac*, das männliche Gegenstück der Wassergöttin, sitzen sehen, das Blut trinkend, das die beiden *Quetzalcouatl*, der schwarze und der knochenfarbene, vor ihnen aus ihren Beinen, durch Durchstechen mit einem Knochendolche, herausfliessen machen. Dieses in zwei dicken Strahlen nach oben spritzende Blut scheint gewissermassen das Taufwasser für den knochenfarbenen, d. h. den zum Tode bestimmten *Quetzalcouatl*, zu sein, den man in der gleichen Haltung, wie den Lichtgott unter dem Taufwasser auf Blatt 38, unter den beiden Blutstrahlen knien sieht, assistirt von zwei nackten Figuren der Erdgöttin, zweien *Ciuateteô*, die auch hier, wie auf dem Wege hierher, seine Begleiter sind.

Auf dem anstossenden Blatte 42 sehen wir zunächst, rechts und links, dieselben beiden Tempel, die wir auf dem Blatte 40 am unteren Rande der Darstellungen angetroffen hatten, — zur Rechten den Tempel mit dem spitzen, von einer Windgottschlange umwundenen Strohdache, in dem der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl* sitzt; zur Linken den Tempel des rothen Gottes, mit dem mit Edelsteinscheiben verzierten Friese und der Blumenreihe darüber, dessen Strohdach aber hier nicht, wie auf den Blättern 40 und 34, einen breiten, an den Enden heruntergebogenen First zeigt, sondern die Gestalt eines am Schnauzenende nach hinten zurückgebogenen Rachens der Feuerschlange hat und von einer bunten Schlange, die wohl der rothen Schlange des Tempels des Blattes 34 entspricht, umwunden ist. Andere kleine Unterschiede sind noch, dass auf diesem Blatte 42 der Tempel des schwarzen Gottes sich über einem aufgesperrten *cipactli*-Rachen erhebt, und dass die Edelsteinscheibe an der Pyramidenwand des Tempels des rothen Gottes einen goldnen Nasenhalbmond umschliesst, der das Abbild des Mondes und der Mondgöttin und das Kennzeichen aller Gestalten ist, die mit dieser Göttin im Zusammenhange stehn. Offenbar, weil der rothe Gott der *Auiateotl* und somit der natürliche Genosse der *Ciuateotl* ist. — Auf dem Blatte 40 habe ich die beiden Tempel des schwarzen und des rothen Gottes den Tempeln der schwarzen und der rothen Schlange der Blätter 33 und 34 gleichgesetzt und als den Nordpfeiler und den Südpfeiler bezeichnet, zwischen denen die Sonne hindurchzugehen hat, wenn sie Morgens am Firmamente sich erhebt und Abends in die Erde hinabsinkt. Das Gleiche werden wir hier auch anzunehmen haben. Nur dass diese beiden Pfeiler hier nicht mit Beziehung auf die zwischen ihnen liegende Region, sondern um ihrer selbst willen hingesetzt sind. Wir sind auf den Blättern 41, 42 in der Nordregion der Unterwelt. Und in der That, es sind diese beiden Tempel durchaus nicht gleichwerthig. Der Nordtempel, der Tempel zur Rechten, der Tempel des schwarzen Gottes ist es allein, der in den Kreis der Darstellungen dieses Blattes einbezogen ist. An ihn sind die im Folgenden zu beschreibenden Bilder angeschlossen.

Von diesem Tempel des schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* führt der Weg zunächst nach einem Ballspielplatze, der, — wie hier überall, — mit von Augen oder Sternen umsäumter dunkler Umwallung und mit einfach rothem Felde gezeichnet ist. Auf ihm haben wir aber jetzt eine ganz andere Darstellung. Ich sagte oben schon, dass auf diesen beiden Blättern die Figur des Gottes, um den es sich in diesem ganzen Abschnitte handelt, *Quetzalcouatl*'s, in zwei Formen gespalten ist, in einen knochenfarbenen, d. h. zum Tode bestimmten, und einen in normaler Weise mit schwarzer Farbe gemalten, den Gott, der das Leben, oder das Wiederaufleben, das Wiederlebendigwerden repräsentirt. Auf diesem Ballspielplatze des Blattes 42 wird nun zunächst die Besiegung dieses knochenfarbenen, zum Tode bestimmten *Quetzalcouatl*'s dargestellt. Man sieht ihn, noch in der Haltung des Ballspielers, mit zurückgewendetem Kopfe, in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes am Boden liegen, umgeben von fünf Kautschukkugeln und vier kurzen, mit Totenauge und Mundöffnung versehenen Stäben, die vielleicht die Spielstäbe, die zur Markirung der Points dienten, darstellen oder, dem als *tetl* „Stein" aufgefassten Kautschukballe gegenüber, das *quauitl* „Holz" zum Ausdrucke bringen. Ihm gegenüber sind an den beiden Enden des Ballspielplatzes die Sieger, je zwei Figuren des schwarzen, zum Leben bestimmten *Quetzalcouatl*'s, mit einem Kautschukballe in der Rechten, einem Holze in der Linken, abgebildet. Es ist hier also der lebende, zum Wiederaufleben bestimmte Gott, der den toten, oder zum Tode bestimmten, besiegt.

Auf den Ballspielplatz folgt, darüber, in der Mitte zwischen den beiden oben genannten Tempeln, die Szene, die die Tötung des knochenfarbenen, d. h. des zum Tode bestimmten Gottes, vor Augen führt. Diese vollzieht sich in Gestalt eines Opfers. Wir sehen eine Terrasse, zu der von beiden Seiten Stufen

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hinaufführen und die als Opferstätte durch die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“ die, in einem rothen Felde, die Wand der Terrasse schmückt, gekennzeichnet ist. Auf der Höhe dieser Terrasse erhebt sich der Opferstein (*techcatl*), für dessen pfeiler- oder kegelartige, oben abgerundete Gestalt, diese Opferszene einen klassischen Beleg bildet, und der, wie gewöhnlich in unserer Handschrift, mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt und mit einem Papierstreifen umbunden ist und durch ein auf seiner Fläche angebrachtes, mit runder Braue versehenes Totenauge in ein Gesicht transformirt ist. Ueber ihn ist, rücklings, der knochenfarbene Gott geworfen, die Brust ist ihm aufgeschnitten, und das Herz wird ihm herausgenommen. Und dieses Opfer vollzieht der schwarze Gott, d. h. der lebende, zum Wiederaufleben bestimmte. Auch bei dieser Szene bildet, wie in dieser ganzen Abtheilung, der Gott des Nordens, der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*, den Führer. Er trinkt das Blut, das in breitem Strome der Brustwunde des Geopferten entfliesst. Ueber der ganzen Szene ist ein Tageszeichen angegeben, das allerdings, durch Abblättern oder Verlaufen der Farbe, nicht mehr recht zu erkennen ist, das wir aber doch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit als *ocelotl* „Jaguar“ bestimmen können. Man könnte höchstens schwanken, ob hier nicht vielleicht der Kopf eines Kaninchens gezeichnet sei. Das ist aber meiner Ansicht nach dadurch ausgeschlossen, dass dieser Thierkopf deutlich mit gelbbrauner Farbe gemalt ist. Im Codex Borgia ist aber ganz allgemein das Kaninchen mit heller gelber Farbe gemalt, während Hirsch und Jaguar ebenso regelmässig durch gelbbraune Farbe sich auszeichnen. So scheint denn auch der Zeichner Kingsborough's an unserer Stelle einen Jaguar gesehen zu haben. Wie wir die Tageszeichen *maçatl*, *quiauitl*, *oçomatli*, *calli*, *quauhtli* auf dem vorhergehenden Blatte 41 als *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch“ u. s. w. und als Namen der Genien der Westregion, der Dunkelheitsdämonen, zu erklären hatten, so werden wir auch hier das Zeichen *ocelotl* „Jaguar“ mit der Ziffer „eins“ zu verbinden, also *ce ocelotl*, zu lesen haben. Und dieses Zeichen, das Anfangszeichen des zweiten Viertels des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s bezeichnet und repräsentirt als solches einerseits den Norden, also die Region, in der wir uns auch hier auf den Blättern 41 und 42 befinden. Andererseits ist es auch der Regent der Woche von dreizehn Tagen, der der Tag *naui olin* „vier Bewegung“ angehört, der das Zeichen der Sonne und damit auch des Opfers ist, denn der Sonne wurden die Herzen der Geopferten gebracht.

Die Leichen der Geopferten wurden die Stufen der Pyramide hinunter auf den Boden geworfen. So sehen wir denn auch hier auf Blatt 42 von der Terrasse, auf der das Opfer stattfand, einen Weg nach unten führen und am Ende dieses Weges den nackten Leib des knochenfarbenen Gottes, — der der Geopferte war, — in dem Rachen eines *cipactli*, des Erdkrokodils, verschwinden, dessen Leib, ein geschlossenes Viereck bildend, den Ort der schwärzesten Dunkelheit, die tiefste Hölle umschliesst. In diesem rings geschlossenen, von tiefster Dunkelheit erfüllten Raume, wo Käuzchen, die Totenvögel, Schädel, Totenknochen und der zerstückte Leib des knochenfarbenen, des geopferten Gottes zwischen Augen, den Sinnbildern der die Nacht aufhellenden, aber auch sie bezeichnenden Sterne, zerstreut sind, sieht man die Herrin des Totenreichs, die *Mictecaciuatl*, ein roth gemaltes Skelett, mit Adlerfängen an Armen und Beinen, mit Skelettbrustkorb und freiliegendem Herzen, am Nacken das *cuexcochtechimalli*, die Rosette des Todesgottes, tragend, auf einem Stuhle sitzen und vor ihr kniend und sie begrüssend den knochenfarbenen, den geopferten Gott.

So ist denn der Gott wirklich tot und in der tiefsten Hölle angelangt. Aber er soll ja wieder lebendig werden, er soll wieder als Stern am Himmel aufgehen, und da muss derselbe Zauber Platz greifen, wie der, der bewirkt, dass die Sonne wieder am Osthimmel aufgeht. Der *Xolotl*, der Hund, das vom Himmel stürzende Feuer, muss sich in den *Auiateotl* wandeln, den Gott der Lust, der der *Nanauatzin*, der syphilitische Gott ist, der in das Feuer springt, vom Feuer verzehrt wird, um darnach als Sonne am Himmel emporzusteigen. So sehen wir denn in der untersten Reihe der Darstellungen der Blätter 42 (vgl. Abb. 26) rechts den *Xolotl*, den Gott der Missgeburten, mit der Gesichtsbemalung *Macuilxochitl*'s, des Gottes „Fünf Blume“, der der *Auiateotl*, der „Gott der Lust“ ist, aber mit verkrümmten Gliedmassen, heraushängendem Auge und zugleich mit dem Windkreuze im Haare und der Kopfbinde des Regengottes — genau so wie er auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift als Herr des siebzehnten Tageszeichens abgebildet ist, aber auch mit dem Blitze in der Hand, — denn er ist ja eigentlich der *Xolotl*, der Hund, das vom Himmel fallende Feuer (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 195ff.) — aus dem Schneckengehäuse im Wasser hervor-

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kommen, d. h. wie der Blitz aus der Wolke, aus dem Wasser geboren werden. Denn das Schneckengehäuse veranschaulichte den Mexikanern den Mutterschooss.[1]) Die Natur des Wassers ist dabei durch die beiden Figuren der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, der „Wassergöttin", und des *Chalchiuhtlatonac* zur Anschauung gebracht, die beide wahrscheinlich ganz genau in der gleichen Tracht und Ausstattung, wie vorher auf Blatt 41, hier im Wasser dargestellt waren, aber in Folge von Abreibung der Stuckschicht und Auslaufens der Farben nicht mehr recht zu erkennen sind. Gleichzeitig weist aber ein Maiskolbenbündel in dem Wasser darauf hin, dass dieses Wasser hier ein anderes ist als das, das oben auf Blatt 41 durch die beiden Wassergötter veranschaulicht war. Es ist hier nicht das *chalchiuh-atl*, das Opferblut, sondern das Wasser, das den Mais wachsen lässt, der Regen. Die Wolke ist es, aus der der *Xolotl* geboren wird. Denn der *Xolotl*, der Hund, ist seinem ursprünglichen Wesen nach der zur Erde herniederfahrende Blitz.

Auf der andern Seite dieses unteren Streifens, links unten, sehen wir *Xolotl* als *Nanauatzin* im Kochtopfe sitzen, genau so, wie auf Blatt 10 über *Xolotl*, dem Herrn des siebzehnten Tageszeichens. In dem äusseren Arrangement liegen Varianten vor. Auf Blatt 10 ruht der Kochtopf auf zweien (eigentlich dreien) feuerspeienden Schädeln als Herdsteinen, hier auf Blatt 42 auf einer von einer Feuerschlange

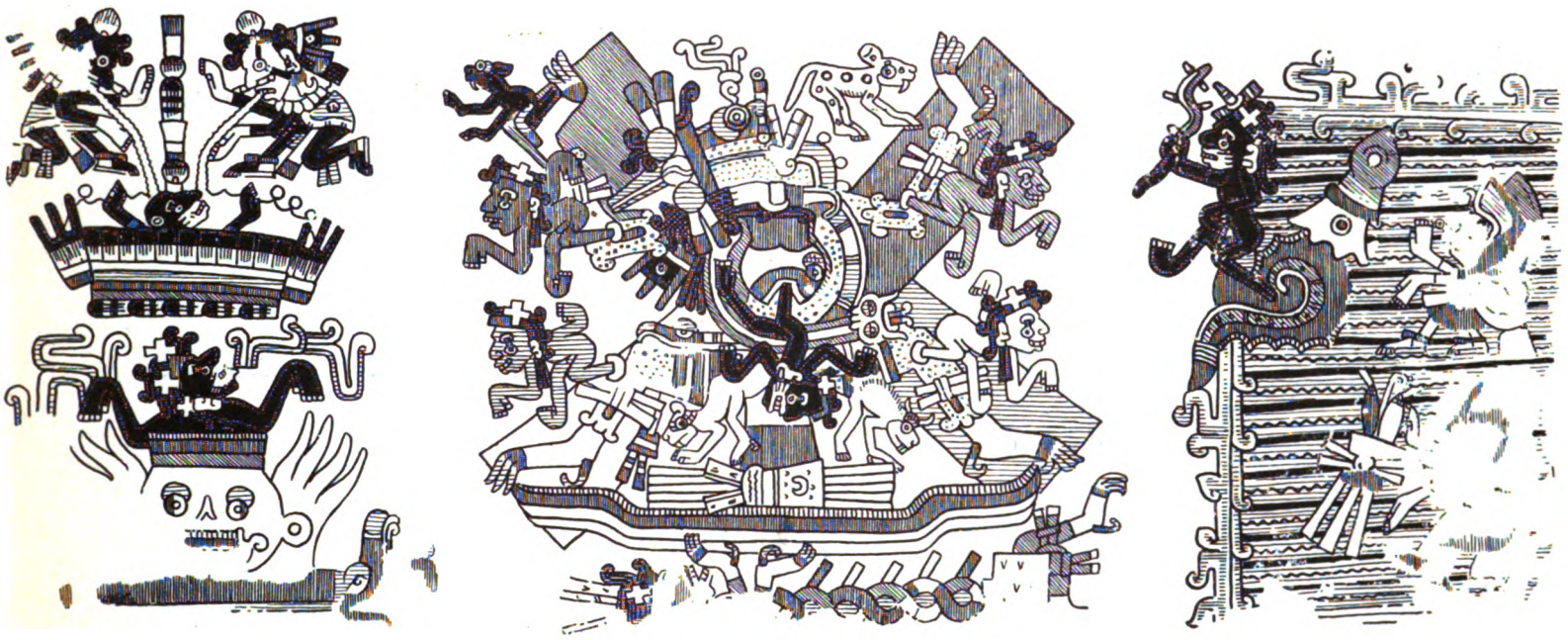

Abb. 26. Codex Borgia 42 (= Kingsborough 73).

gebildeten Herdummauerung. Auf Blatt 10 hat der Topf unten einen grossen Riss und oben scheint Wasser heraus zu kochen. Hier ist der Topf als Gesichtsurne gezeichnet, und der Rand in den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des grünen Edelsteins, gemalt, und es scheint vielmehr eine trockene Destillation stattzufinden. Auf Blatt 10 sind es augenscheinlich zerstückte Gliedmassen, die dort im Topfe ganz oder gesund gekocht werden, während hier auf Blatt 42 der Gott in ganzer Figur und unzerstückt im Topfe sitzt. Das Bild des Blattes 10, wie überhaupt das Kochen oder Brennen im Topfe, ist eigentlich nicht ganz entsprechend der *Nanauatzin*-Legende. Aber diese *Nanauatzin*-Legende ist jedenfalls doch nur eine von verschiedenen Formen desselben Naturmythus, die alle besagen, dass dort im Osten, — im *Tlillan Tlapallan*, im „Lande der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe", im *Tlatlayan*, „am Orte des Brennens oder Verbrennens" — die junge Sonne erscheint.

In der Mitte zwischen diesen beiden Darstellungen, dem aus dem Wasser geborenen *Xolotl* auf der einen, dem im Kochtopfe schmorenden *Nanauatzin* auf der anderen Seite, sieht man nun eine grössere

1) „Así como sale del hueso el caracol, asi sale el hombre del vientre de su madre". Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 105.

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Gruppe, die man kaum anders als die Verwandlung des knochenfarbenen, d. h. des geopferten und, — wie wir ja wissen — schon in der tiefsten Unterwelt vergrabenen *Quetzalcouatl* in den *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* deuten kann. Ueber einer quer auf dem Boden liegenden Figur der Erdgöttin, deren Leib, wie wir das schon wiederholt angetroffen haben, aus einer *malinalli*-Schnur gebildet ist, sehen wir eine Art Schale, deren Gestalt einen Schlangenrachen zu imitiren scheint, die aber in den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des grünen Edelsteins, gemalt ist. Darin liegt der Besen (*çacatl*, *popotl*), die Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcaxochitl*) und das mit dem goldenen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) und der Häkchenzeichnung, bezw. spitzwinkligen Figuren, bedruckte (*tlaitzcopintli*), Nackentuch der Göttin der Wollust, *Tlaçolteotl*, die auch die *Toci* und die *Teteo innan*, die Mutter der Götter, und wie wir wissen, eigentlich die Mondgöttin ist. Darüber sieht man einen Kreuzweg, — das ist die Stelle, wo die *Tlaçolteotl* und ihre Vervielfältigungen, die *otlamaxac Ciuapipiltin*, die Seelen der im Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen, ihr Wesen treiben. Auf diesem Kreuzwege liegt *mamaçouhticac*, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, in der Haltung der Erdkröte, der knochenfarbene, d. h. der geopferte Gott, jetzt mit einem Schädel als Kopf und mit Adlerfängen an Armen und Beinen, also fast wie eine *tzitzimitl*, eine *Ciuapilli*, aussehend aber mit der spitzen Mütze, der mit den beiden grossen Edelsteinen geschmückten Stirnbinde und dem Nackenfederschmuck des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* angethan. Die vier Glieder und das die Mitte des Leibes fast ganz einnehmende freiliegende Herz sind durch neben ihnen gezeichnete Thiere mit den Himmelsrichtungen in bestimmte Verbindung gebracht. Und zwar entsprechen:

dem rechten Beine, — ein mit heller Farbe gemaltes und mit Insektenfühlern versehenes Thier (das Thier des Ostens),
dem rechten Arme, — ein Jaguar (das Thier des Nordens),
dem linken Arme, — ein schwarz gemaltes Thier, Ratte? (das Thier des Westens),
dem linken Beine, — der Puma mit dem *cicitlallô* oder in Sternhimmelfarbe gemalten Streifen über dem Auge (das Thier des Südens),
dem Herzen — eine Schlange (das Thier der Mitte, oder der unteren Region).

Und aus den vier Gliedern und aus dem Herzen kommt je eine nackte Figur des *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* hervor, und zwar entsprechend: —

aus dem rechten Beine — ein gelber,
aus dem rechten Arme — ein grüner,
aus dem linken Arme — ein rother,
aus dem linken Beine — ein blauer,
aus dem Herzen — ein schwarzer.

Die Beziehung zu der Lust, zu der Sünde, bezw. zu der Göttin der Sünde, die ich für den *Xolotl* des Blattes 10 unserer Handschrift aus der Gesichtsbemalung des Gottes *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", die dieser *Xolotl* trägt, schliessen zu müssen glaubte, findet durch dies Gruppenbild volle Bestätigung.

Wie ist aber diese Beziehung entstanden? Wie kamen die Mexikaner dazu, den syphilitischen, den mit Bubonen behafteten Gott zur Sonne werden zu lassen? Dieser Frage, die ich in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, bei Besprechung des Blattes 10, zu stellen und zu beantworten unterlassen habe, muss ich hier, wo diese Figuren in so bedeutsamer Weise wieder erscheinen, doch etwas näher treten. Ist es einfach die Idee, dass dem Verachteten das Grosse gelingt? oder haben wir spezifische Vorstellungszusammenhänge anzunehmen? Das Letztere scheint mir gewiss. Welcher Art sind aber diese Zusammenhänge? — Preuss denkt an die natürliche Missgestalt der in der Unterwelt befindlichen Sonne. Das lässt sich hören, erklärt aber nicht die besondere Beziehung, die in dem *Nanauatzin* und in der *Auiateotl*- oder Lustgottbemalung *Xolotl*'s, wie in den Gruppirungen der Figuren und Symbole unseres Blattes 42 vorliegt. Ich glaube, dass hier verschiedene Vorstellungen zusammenwirkten. Einerseits hat man wohl die Exantheme geschlechtlicher Erkrankungen und überhaupt freie Stellung, Rang und Reichthum, den unbeschränkten, rücksichtslosen Genuss und deshalb auch die Sünde, mit der Sonne in Verbindung gebracht, und es mag dabei die Vorstellung bestanden haben, dass sie, während ihres Ganges am Himmel, vielleicht während ihres abwärts gerichteten Laufs, die Sünde auf sich lädt, die sie nachher, — in der Zeit der Dunkelheit, der Nacht, — als *Nanauatzin*, als mit Bubonen behafteten

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Gott erscheinen lässt. Wie aber der Büsser durch das Feuer der Kasteiung, — das wir nicht selten bei den Kasteiungswerkzeugen und bei dem Büsser durch einen Skorpion veranschaulicht sehen, — seiner Sünde quitt wird, so wird auch die verkappte Sonne, indem sie sich verbrennt, d. h. wieder feurige Gestalt annimmt, als leuchtender Körper am Himmel aufgeht, ihrer Schwären und Gebrechen ledig, aus dem *Nanauatzin* ist der junge Sonnengott geworden. Andererseits dürfen wir aber doch nicht vergessen, dass die Gottheit, die in den Kommentaren der Bilderschriften und in den Berichten der Historiker *Tlaçolteotl*, „Göttin der Wollust" und *Tlaelquani* „Dreckfresserin, Sünderin" genannt wird, eigentlich eine ganz andere Bedeutung hat, dass es die Mondgöttin ist, die als Prototyp und Gewährleistung des Wachsthums, der Erneuerung nicht nur zur Herrin der Lebensmittel, sondern auch zur Göttin der Generation, zur Göttin der Liebe geworden ist. Wenn also der verlarvte Sonnengott in den *Nanauatzin*, in den *Auiateotl* sich wandelt, wenn er, der eigentlich (am Abend) der vom Himmel stürzende Hund, das in die Erde eingehende Feuer war, die Gesichtsbemalung des Gottes *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", des *Auiateotl*, des Gottes der Lust, annimmt, so hat er damit nicht nur das Sündhafte und das mit der Sünde Verknüpfte, die Krankheit, sondern auch das Prinzip der Erneuerung auf sich genommen. Das ist, meine ich, der eigentliche Grund, weshalb von dem *Nanauatzin* erzählt wird, dass er sich verbrennt. Denn der Mond ist es ja eigentlich, der, nachdem er ganz zerstückt ist, im Osten in der Sonne sich verbrennt, um darnach (am Abendhimmel) als neuer Mond wieder zu erscheinen. Der berühmteste Gott der Mexikaner, *Quetzalcouatl*, der Heros von *Tollan*, ist nichts anderes als eine mythische Ausgestaltung dieser Naturanschauung. So erklärt es sich auch, meiner Ansicht nach, dass auf Blatt 10 unserer Handschrift der *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* in zerstückter Gestalt in dem Kochtopfe siedet. Weil der Mond der Zerstückte und zu gleicher Zeit der sich Erneuernde ist, wird jede Erneuerung als ein Zusammenfügen, ein Zusammenbrennen, Zusammenkochen des Zerstückten aufgefasst.

Wie dem auch sei, zweifellos ist, dass der unterste Theil der Darstellungen des Blattes 42 zur Anschauung bringt, dass der knochenfarbene Gott, der besiegt, geopfert worden und in die tiefste Hölle hinabgestürzt ist, in den *Auiateotl*, in den *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* sich wandelt, um wieder erneuert, um wieder lebendig zu werden. Das Resultat gewissermassen dieser Wandlung sehen wir in diesem untersten Theile der Darstellungen des Blattes 42, links oben, dem Beschauer vorgeführt. Wir sehen ein *quauhxicalli*, ein Adlergefäss, in sehr realistischer Weise durch die Federn und die Flügel dieses Vogels veranschaulicht. In ihm sitzt wieder, wie in dem Kochtopfe darunter, *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, aber hier schon in einer gelben Fluth, in einem Meere von Feuer. Ein Pfeilschaft in diesem gelben Wasser wird wohl ein Saugrohr bezeichnen sollen, da wir an anderen Stellen der Bilderschriften in ähnlicher Weise in Pulquegefässen ein oder mehrere Pfeilschafte stecken sehen. Und diese gelbe Fluth, das Feuer des verbrannten *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, scheint in der That ein Wasser der Erneuerung, ein Lebenswasser sein zu sollen. Denn man sieht darüber zwei Figuren *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Gottes, dessen Schicksale den Inhalt der Blätter dieses Abschnittes bilden, in dickem Strahle dies gelbe Wasser schlürfen. Und diese beiden Figuren sind jetzt nicht mehr, wie vorhin, ein knochenfarbener (zum Tode bestimmter) und ein schwarzer (ein lebendiger) Gott, sondern zwei in gleicher Weise mit schwarzer Farbe auf Leib und Gliedern gemalte, also zwei lebendige Götter, von denen nur der eine auch das Gesicht schwarz hat, während der andere das Gesicht in der üblichen Weise braun gemalt hat, mit schwarzer Linie, die in der Breite des Auges das Profil des Gesichts der Länge nach in zwei Hälften theilt.

Damit müsste jetzt eigentlich dieser Abschnitt zu Ende sein. Der Gott hat das Wasser der Erneuerung getrunken, er ist wieder lebendig geworden, er kann nunmehr wieder als Morgenstern am Himmel erscheinen. Allein diese Erneuerung, dieses Wiederlebendigwerden des Gottes ist auf unserem Blatte 42 im Anschlusse an den Tod des Gottes gezeigt worden. Dieser Tod aber fand, wie es sich gehört, in der Region, die ja schlechtweg *mictlampa*, das Land der Toten genannt wird, im Norden, statt. Der Norden ist aber erst die zweite der vier oder fünf Weltgegenden. Der Schematismus erheischt es, dass der Gott, der die beiden ersten dieser Regionen in der Unterwelt durchwandert hat, nunmehr auch zum mindesten die beiden anderen passire.

Darum folgt jetzt auf Blatt 43 an der Eingangsseite (der rechten Seite des Blattes) wieder die bekannte Grenze, der Vorhang, der eigentlich der Leib einer Todesgöttin oder Erdgöttin, ist, und der in

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der Mitte einen klaffenden Riss hat, durch den der Gott hineintritt. Denn es ist wieder ein neuer Raum der Unterwelt, den wir hiermit betreten, — als Raum der Unterwelt wieder durch den Nebelbogen, der die Eingangsöffnung schliesst, bezeichnet. Und zwar ist es der dritte Raum der Unterwelt, den wir hier betreten, der also den Westen zur Anschauung bringen muss. Der Vorhang, der diesen Raum absperrt, ist in konventioneller Weise mit Schädeln und Steinmessern bemalt. Der Kopf der Erdgöttin liegt, das ist eine Abweichung gegenüber den früheren Fällen, auf der rechten Seite. Der Raum selbst ist, ähnlich wie auf den Blättern 29—31, durch eine Umwallung geschlossen, die nur auf der Ausgangsseite (der linken Seite des Blattes) in einem klaffenden Spalte den Austritt frei lässt. Diese Umwallung zeigt über einem inneren Streifen, der in den Farben des *chalchiuhtli*, des grünen Edelsteins, gemalt ist, einen breiten Randstreifen gelber Farbe, in dem Sonnenstrahlen mit Maiskolben abwechseln. Es ist also ein Sonnenhaus und ein Maishaus (*cincalli*), und das ist ja der Westen in der That, der das *Tamoan chan*, der Ort der Geburt und der Ort der Lebensmittel, die Heimath des Maises ist. Und so natürlich auch der Westen der Unterwelt. Dem *Motecuhçoma*, der nach der Ankunft der Spanier im Lande sich mit Selbstmordgedanken trug, antworten die Freunde, die er befragte: — *ca vmmati in mjctlan yoan tonatiuh ichan, yoan tlalocan, yoan cincalco, in ic ompatiz* „hay quien sepa el camino para ir al infierno, y tambien al paraiso terrenal, y á la casa del sol, y á la cueva que se llama *Cincalco* que está cabe á *Tlacuyoacan* detrás de *Chapultepec* que hay grandes secretos, en uno de estos lugares se podrá V. M. remediar.“ — Also das Totenreich (*mictlan*), d. h. der Norden; das Haus der Sonne (*tonatiuh ichan*), der Osten; das Reich des [Feuers]regens (*tlalocan*), der Süden; und das Maishaus (*cincalco*), der Westen, — das sind die vier Höhlen, wo es in die Erde hineingeht, das sind die vier Weltgegenden und auch die vier unterirdischen Regionen. Wir werden ja weiterhin auch noch auf Blatt 51 den Maisgott als den Göttertypus für die Region des Westens angegeben finden.

Das Hauptbild des Blattes 43 stellt sich als Gegenstück zu dem Hauptbilde des Blattes 40, das die Region des Ostens bezeichnete, dar. Wir sehen auch hier eine *mamaçouhticac*, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen, gezeichnete Gestalt, deren Leib und Glieder schwarz gemalt sind, aber hier mit rothen Scheiben gemustert (nicht mit Augen, wie auf Blatt 40), deren Füsse und deren knotige, also krankhaft veränderte Hände die Farbe und die Behaarung des Jaguarfells haben, deren Kniegelenke, wie bei der Erdkröte, klaffende Mäuler sind, die durch ein mit Braue versehenes Totenauge darüber zu einem Schädelgesichte vervollständigt sind. Auch der Kopfschmuck ist bei beiden Figuren annähernd der gleiche, aus der Edelsteinkopfbinde des Sonnengottes bestehend, mit einem stylisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirnseite, und einer kurzen Krone von Adlerfedern, aus der fellartig aussehende Streifen heraushängen, die wahrscheinlich Riemen darstellen sollen, die auf beiden Seiten mit Daunenfedern beklebt sind. Endlich ist noch das Gesicht bei beiden Figuren eigentlich auf den gleichen Grundton gestimmt, indem es mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt ist, mit einer (der Gesichtsbemalung des Sonnengottes entsprechenden) rothen, den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden Bogenlinie. Aber bei der Figur des Blattes 40, die den Herrn der Ostregion, den *Youaltecutli*, den Sonnengott der Unterwelt darstellt, hat das Gesicht regelmässige menschliche Züge, das Auge seine normale Gestalt und Beschaffenheit, — nur eben rund, als Totenauge, oder Auge einer Todesgottheit, gezeichnet. Bei der Figur unseres Blattes 42 dagegen, bei der auch die untere Hälfte des Gesichtes roth gemalt ist, ist in das menschliche Gesicht eine Art Raubthier- oder Jaguarschlangenrachen eingesetzt, mit lang herunterhängender Zunge, und das Auge hängt, wie bei *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, aus seiner Höhle heraus und nach unten. Der Gott des Blattes 40 endlich trägt auf dem Rücken eine Sonnenscheibe, auf den Gliedern acht andere kleine, und neun Figuren des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* schneiden in diese Sonnenscheiben hinein, nehmen das Herz aus ihnen heraus, also töten, opfern sie. Hier auf dem Blatte 43 trägt die Figur eine Strahlenscheibe auf dem Rücken, deren Kern, wie in allen Bildern der Sonnenscheibe, von einem grossen *chalchiuitl*, einem grünen Edelstein gebildet wird, deren äusserer, peripherischer Ring aber nicht, wie sonst in leuchtendem Gelb, sondern in mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) umsäumtem Dunkel gemalt ist, und aus dem Herzen dieser Scheibe hängt ein breites Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Band herunter, unter dem eine grüne Schlange Windungen macht. Das kann schwerlich die Sonne sein, das wird wohl der Mond sein sollen, der Mond des Abendhimmels, des Westhimmels, d. h. der neue Mond, dessen Scheibe in aschgrauem, (von der Erde) reflektirtem Lichte leuchtet, mit einer schmalen,

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glänzenden Sichel, die an einer Seite, der westlichen, die Scheibe säumt. Darum sehen wir unter dieser Figur mit der dunklen Strahlenscheibe eine Art Erdgöttin auf dem Boden liegen, die entsprechend der Maishausnatur dieser Region im Umkreise des Leibes mit Maiskolben umsetzt ist, deren Leib selber aber in mit Augen erfülltem und mit Augen umrandetem dunklem Blau gemalt ist, also vermuthlich den Sternhimmel bezeichnet. Und über der Figur mit der dunklen Strahlenscheibe sehen wir zweimal das Zeichen des Krieges, — Schild, Speerbündel, Netztasche für Steinspitzen und Papierfähnchen — angegeben. Das entspricht auch dem jungen Monde, der der junge Krieger ist, wie das in den beiden Gestalten, die seine mythischen Veranschaulichungen sind, in *Tezcatlipoca* und *Xipe Totec*, klar vorliegt.

Die anderen Darstellungen dieses Blattes beziehen sich auf den Mais, der in dieser Region des Westens seine Heimath hat. In den unteren Ecken, rechts und links, sehen wir die Maisgöttin und die Wassergöttin, — jede mit ihrem Kinde, dem jungen Maisgotte, der auf den Hüften der Mutter hockend, aber der unterweltlichen Region entsprechend mit geschlossenem Auge dargestellt ist, — vor dem Mahlsteine (*metlatl*) kniend, die Handwalze (*metlapilli*) in der Hand, und auf dem Mahlsteine häuft sich die zermahlene Maismasse, weisser Farbe und roth punktirt und von vier, bezw. fünf Edelsteinperlen umsäumt, die das Werthvolle der Substanz veranschaulichen.

In den oberen Ecken des Maishausvierecks aber sieht man einen schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* und einen ähnlich kostümirten Gott, der aber an der Schläfe den rauchenden Spiegel des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca* trägt, auf je einem Stuhle (*teoicpalli*) knien. Der *Quetzalcouatl*'s zur Rechten ist mit einem Adlerbalge, der *Tezcatlipoca*'s zur Linken mit einem Jaguarfelle gepolstert. Die beiden Götter, die darnach hier geradezu den *quauhtli-ocelotl*, den „Adler und Jaguar", d. h. den Krieger, — den jungen Krieger, den neuen Mond, — veranschaulichen, geniessen die kostbare Frucht, die diese Westregion, die Heimath des Maises, bietet. Denn vor ihnen sieht man je ein *quauhxicalli*, eine mit Adlerfedern ornamentirte Schale, die mit über den Rand quellender weisser Maismasse und mit Maiskolben gefüllt ist, und ein Edelsteinband geht von dem Inhalte dieser Schalen in den Mund der beiden Götter über.

In ähnlicher Weise sieht man unter diesen beiden Göttern noch vier andere Gestalten, — wenn wir links unten anfangen, ist es ein grüner Gott (*Tepeyollotli*), ein weisser skelettköpfiger (*Tlauizcalpantecutli*), ein blauer (*Xochipilli?*) und ein schwarzes Skelett mit Adlerfängen (*Mictlantecutli*), also dieselben vier Gestalten, die schon auf Blatt 39 die Begleiter der beiden Hauptgottheiten waren, — aus einer mit Maiskolben gefüllten Adlerschale den kostbaren Inhalt ihrem Munde zuführen.

Der Gott endlich, — *Quetzalcouatl*, seine Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*) und seinen Räucherwerkbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) schwingend, — der durch den breiten Spalt der Ausgangsseite diese Region verlässt, ist auch mit Maiskolben ausgestattet, die er in einem dicken, aus Netzstoff hergestellten Bündel auf dem Rücken mit sich nimmt.

Die Eingangsseite (die rechte Seite) des folgenden Blattes 44 ist dann wieder von einem Vorhange, der den Leib einer Erdgöttin bildet, und hier mit Steinmessern und gekreuzten Totenbeinen bemalt ist, eingenommen. Der Kopf der Erdgöttin liegt, an der (mit Beziehung auf die Darstellungen des Blattes) als linke zu bezeichnenden (eigentlich oberen) Seite des Blattes. Durch den breiten Spalt in der Mitte des Vorhangs tritt der Gott ein. Aber dieser Spalt ist wieder durch einen Nebelbogen geschlossen. Denn es ist eine neue unterweltliche Region, in die wir auf diesem Blatte treten, die vierte, die der Himmelsrichtung des Südens entspricht. — Auf Blatt 32 war der Süden der Unterwelt durch ein rings geschlossenes, mit Reihen dicht gestellter Steinmesser innen und aussen umsäumtes Viereck veranschaulicht. Hier auf Blatt 44 ist das Viereck an der Eingangs- und der Ausgangsseite und in der Mitte der beiden Seitenwände von einer breiten Oeffnung durchbrochen. Die übrigbleibenden Quadranten sind an der Innenseite wenigstens in derselben Weise von Reihen dichtgestellter Steinmesser umsäumt. Um die Aussenseiten der Quadranten aber zieht sich ein mit Edelsteinscheiben geschmückter Fries, der aussen mit Reihen von Blumen besetzt ist. Denn die Region des Südens wird hier nicht bloss, wie auf Blatt 32, als ein *itzcalli*, als ein „Steinmesserhaus", sondern vor allem als ein *xochicalli*, ein „Blumenhaus" bezeichnet. Aber, wie auf Blatt 32, finden wir auf den Ecken des Vierecks die vier Tageszeichen, die die Anfangssäule des vierten, dem Süden gehörigen Fünftels des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s bilden, — die Zeichen *xochitl* „Blume", *couatl* „Schlange",

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itzcuintli „Hund“ und *quauhtli* „Adler“ — angegeben. Und wie wir auf Blatt 32 den Rahmen des Vierecks in seiner ganzen Breite von Figuren eingenommen sahen, die einen abgeschnittenen Kopf in der Hand tragen, so sehen wir auch hier den übrig bleibenden Theil des Rahmens in den vier Quadranten mit zerstückten Gliedmassen, — zwei abgeschnittenen Beinen, zwei abgeschnittenen Armen, zwei Rippenkörben mit dem Herzen und zwei abgeschnittenen Köpfen, — bemalt. Der Unterschied endlich, den wir auf Blatt 32 zu notiren hatten, dass nämlich in den Ecken des Vierecks *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren dargestellt sind mit einem rothen Skelettkopfe in der Hand, auf den Seiten des Vierecks dagegen andere Figuren, die einen abgeschnittenen Kopf menschlicher Bildung, der durch zwei über der Stirn aufstrebende Locken als Lichtwesen charakterisirt ist, in der Hand tragen, ist auch hier zu bemerken. Von den beiden abgeschnittenen Köpfen auf dem Rahmen des durchbrochenen Vierecks unseres Blattes 44, hat der in dem linken oberen Quadranten (links zu verstehen, mit Bezug auf die Stellung, in der die Bilder anzusehen sind) die Gestalt eines rothgemalten Skelettkopfes; der in dem rechten unteren Quadranten ein einfach menschliches Ansehen und eine Perrücke, über der auch hier zwei Stirnlocken aufrecht in die Höhe stehen. Ich habe oben (vgl. S. 10ff.) auseinandergesetzt, dass wir diese Zerstückung des menschlichen Leibes auf Phasenbildungen von Himmelskörpern zu beziehen haben, dass der rothe Skelettkopf den halbirten, den abnehmenden Mond (im letzten Viertel), der abgeschnittene Kopf mit den beiden Stirnlocken eine Phasenbildung der Venus veranschaulicht, dass endlich der Süden als die Region der Zerstückung, der Phasenbildung des Mondes und der Venus deshalb betrachtet wurde, weil in dem sakralen Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen der Süden die Bewegung nach Osten, also der Sonne entgegen, und die Zeit der Annäherung des Mondes an die Sonne bezeichnet.

Die Lesung der vier Tageszeichen, die die Anfangssäule des vierten Fünftels des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s bilden, hatten wir auf dem Blatte 32, der Lesung der anderen Blätter entsprechend, in der rechten unteren Ecke, also mit dem Zeichen *itzcuintli* „Hund“ begonnen, und wir hatten, — aus Gründen, die oben des Näheren klargelegt sind, — dieses Zeichen mit der Zahl 13 verbunden und waren damit zu einem Tage gelangt, der von *ce acatl* „eins Rohr“, dem Tage, der aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach den Ausgangspunkt der Rechnung dieses Abschnittes bildet, um 77 Tage absteht, das ist gerade die Zeit, die wir für die Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen, und bevor er als Abendstern erscheint, anzusetzen haben. Hier, auf unserem Blatte 44 ist der Turnus der nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen sich differenzirenden Darstellungen, wie auf anderen Blättern dieser Handschrift, in einem der Drehung des Uhrzeigers entgegengesetzten Sinne anzunehmen, der Anfang der Darstellungen liegt aber in der der Eingangsseite des Blattes zunächst liegenden Vierecköffnung, wo die Fledermaus erscheint. Demgemäss wird auch der Anfang der Lesung der vier Tageszeichen dort angenommen werden müssen, und ich meine, es wird das Zeichen *quauhtli* „Adler“, das in dem der ersten Darstellung sich (links) anschliessenden Quadranten, also links oben, steht, sein, das wir als Anfang zu setzen haben. Auf Blatt 39 hatten wir als Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern einen Tag *eecatl* „Wind“ angegeben gefunden, den wir mit der Zahl 5 verbinden mussten, um von 13 *itzcuintli* ab die Zahl von 252 Tagen zu erhalten, die für die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern anzusetzen ist. Nehmen wir nun an, dass das Zeichen *calli* „Haus“, das auf Blatt 40 die Reihe der Tageszeichen beginnt, den Anfang der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen ist, bezeichnet, so würden wir dieses Zeichen entsprechend mit der Zahl 6 zu verbinden haben. Und gehen wir von dem Tage 6 *calli* um 12 Tage weiter, — die Zeit, die wir nach dem oben (S. 14, 15) von mir entwickelten Prinzipe für diese Unsichtbarkeitsdauer anzusetzen haben, — so würden wir in der That auf einen Tag *quauhtli* „Adler“ und zwar auf den Tag *macuilli quauhtli* oder „5 Adler“ kommen, als den Tag, bis zu dem diese Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit sich erstreckt. Es ergibt sich demnach, dass wir das Zeichen *quauhtli* „Adler“ in der linken oberen Ecke des Blattes 44 und demgemäss auch die anderen Tageszeichen dieses Blattes, mit der Zahl 5 zu verbinden haben. Denn wie wir sehen werden, ist an der Eingangsseite des auf Blatt 44 folgenden Blattes 45 das Erscheinen des Planeten Venus am Himmel als Morgenstern dargestellt.

Nachdem somit alles, was auf den vier Quadranten der Einfassung des von dem Blatte 44 gebildeten Raumes seine Erklärung gefunden hat, wende ich mich nunmehr den Darstellungen zu, die

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den Innenraum dieses *xochicalli*, *itzcalli* füllen, des Blumenhauses und Steinmesserhauses, das die Region des Südens repräsentirt. Wir werden sehen, dass sie dem Charakter dieses Hauses, wie er sich uns dargestellt hat, durchaus entsprechen. Ich habe oben den Süden die Region der Zerstückung genannt. Und wir sahen in dem Innenraume des Blattes 32, das auch den Süden bezeichnet, diese Zerstückung durch das Bild des kopflosen Steinmessergottes und die seinem Leibe entspringenden fusslosen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren zur Anschauung gebracht. Hier auf Blatt 44 sind es die zerstückenden Thiere, die dieselbe

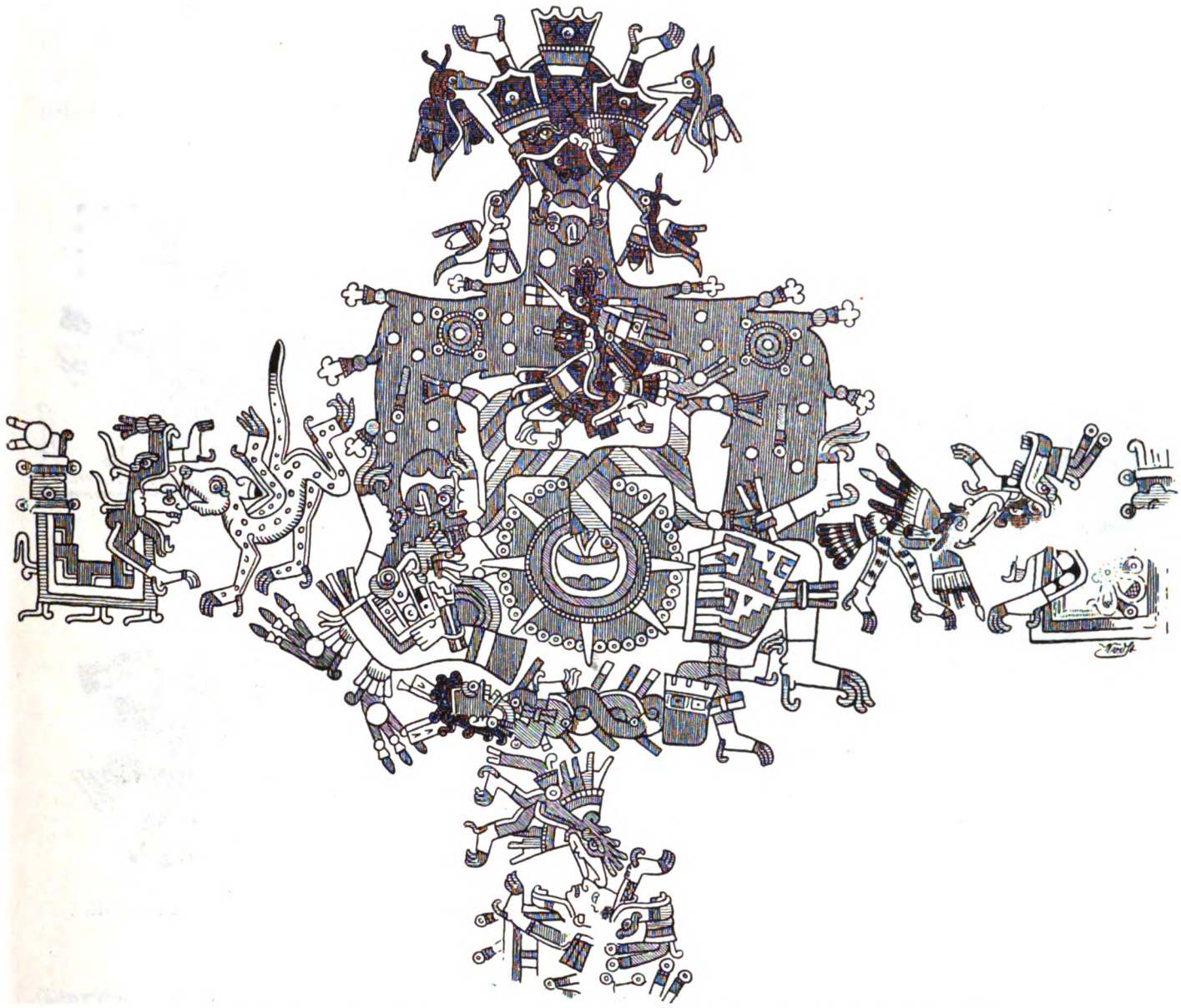

Abb. 27. Die vier zerstückenden, zerreissenden Thiere. Codex Borgia 44 (= Kingsborough 71).

Idee dem Beschauer vorführen müssen. Dass das in der That der Fall ist, ist nun zwar in unserem Bilde selbst, — ich gebe die den Innenraum des *xochicalli*'s unseres Blattes 44 füllenden Gruppen noch einmal besonders in Abb. 27 wieder, — nicht unmittelbar zu erkennen. Aber diese Bilder haben, wie ich schon in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus 3773 S. 125 hervorgehoben habe, Parallelen in einer merkwürdigen Reihe von vier Bildern, die, den Tageszeichensäulen, die die Himmelsrichtungen Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden bezeichnen, koordinirt, auf den Blättern 24—27 (= Kingsborough 72—75) des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 (Abb. 28, 31, 34, 37) und entsprechend auf den oberen Hälften der Blätter 41, 42 (= Kingsborough 34) des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 29, 32, 35, 38) und in den Ecken rechts oben der unteren Abtheilungen der Blätter 49—52 (= Kingsborough 66—63) unserer Handschrift (Abb. 30, 33, 36 und 39) zur Anschauung gebracht sind.

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Als Dämon des Ostens sieht man hier (Abb. 28—30) *tzinacantli* die Fledermaus, oder den *tlacatzinacantli* den Fledermausmann, oder Fledermausgott, eine Figur, die in den mexikanischen Bilderschriften sonst nicht vorkommt, auch in den Texten und in den Ueberlieferungen der Mexikaner kaum erwähnt wird, die aber in gewissen Theilen des Maya-Gebiets und vielleicht auch bei einigen anderen der Urstämme eine grosse Rolle gespielt zu haben scheint.[1]) Von den Figuren der drei Handschriften, in denen diese Reihe vorkommt, lässt die des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 29) den Fledermausmann deutlich erkennen, mit den haarigen Gliedern, der zwischen den Armen ausgespannten mit Zacken umsäumten Flughaut, den den Daumennägeln entsprechenden Krallen an Armen und Beinen, und dem Thierkopfe mit den kleinen, spitzen Zähnen und dem aufgerichteten häutigen Nasenblatte. Die Farbe ist merkwürdiger Weise grün, das heisst aber doch wohl nur dunkel, und auf der Flughaut sind zwei Augen

Abb. 28. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 24 (= Kingsborough 72). *Tlacatzinacantli*, die kopfabreissende Fledermaus, der Dämon des Ostens.

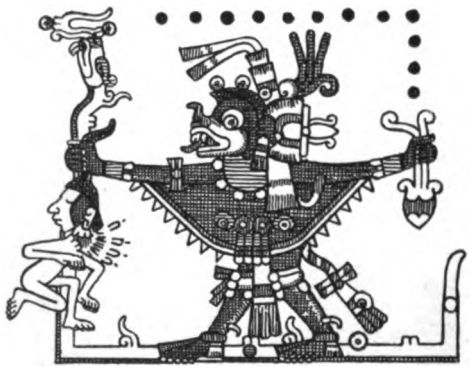

Abb. 29. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 41 (= Kingsborough 4) obere Hälfte.

Abb. 30. Codex Borgia 49 (= Kingsborough 60) untere Hälfte.

angegeben. Das dunkle, mit Augen besetzte Haupthaar, das Hinterhauptschild (*cuexcochtechimalli*) und das Papierfähnchen mit den flatternden Bändern sind Todessymbole, Abzeichen des Todesgottes.

Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 28) ist der Fledermausgott mit rother Farbe gegeben; nur eine Partie um das Auge und die hinteren und unteren Säume der Glieder sind, der helleren Bauchseite des Fells entsprechend, mit gelber Farbe gemalt. Der Gott ist hier schon mehr ein *tlacatzinacantli*, ein als Fledermaus verkleideter Mensch, insofern man an den Armen unter der Thierpranke die Menschenhand hervorkommen sieht. Im Uebrigen ist durch die ausgespannte, mit Klauen besetzte Flughaut, die grossen, der ersten Zehe entsprechenden Klauen oberhalb der Füsse und der Thierhände und das prognathe Gesicht, mit der verlängerten Schnauze und den kleinen spitzen Zähnen, das Thier genügend gekennzeichnet. Das häutige Nasenblatt fehlt. An Stelle dessen ist, vielleicht aus Missverstand, vielleicht auch, um die Figur als einen Todesgott erkennen zu lassen, ein Steinmesser gezeichnet. Die Flughaut ist dunkel. Auf dem *tezcacuitlapilli*, dem Kreuzspiegel, der dem Gürtel hinten aufsitzenden Rosette, ist ein Toten-

1) Vgl. Seler: „Der Fledermausgott der Maya-Stämme". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XXVI (1896), S. (577)—(585).

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schädel befestigt. Der Kopfschmuck aber ist nicht der des Todesgottes, sondern vereint die Edelsteinkopfbinde des Sonnengottes und den an ihrer Stirnseite befestigten stylisirten Vogelkopf mit der halb schwarzen, halb rothen kegelförmigen Mütze (*copilli*), dem dunklen Nackenfederschmucke und den Kasteiungswerkzeugen *Quetzalcouatl*'s.

Die Figur des Blattes 49 des Codex Borgia (Abb. 30) ist, wie die des Codex Fejérváry, mit dunkler, grüner Farbe gemalt. Die Form und Bemalung des Kopfes, die spornartigen Afterzehen und das stielartige geschwungene Gebilde auf der Schnauzenspitze, das Homologon des häutigen Nasenblattes, lassen das Thier nicht verkennen. Aber die eigentlichen Fledermausmerkmale sind hier mit grosser Freiheit behandelt. An Stelle einer zusammenhängenden Flughaut sieht man nur ein Paar fast schmetterlingsflügelartig aussehende, zackig umsäumte Anhänge an den Armen, denen sich ein ähnliches,

Abb. 31. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 25 (= Kingsborough 73) *ocelotl*, der Jaguar, der Dämon des Nordens und *Mixcouatl*, der Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd.

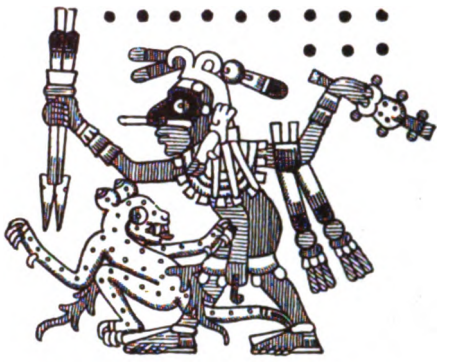

Abb. 32 Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 41 (= Kingsborough 4) obere Hälfte.

Abb. 33. Codex Borgia 50 (= Kingsborough 65) untere Hälfte.

aber vollkommen unorganisches Anhängsel anfügt, das schwanzartig hinten vom Gürtel herunterhängt. Gleich dem Fledermausgotte des Vaticanus, ist auch diese Figur mit der Edelsteinkopfbinde des Sonnengottes, dem kegelförmigen zweifarbigen Hute (*copilli*) und dem dunklen Nackenfederschmucke des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* ausgestattet.

Dass nun, wie ich oben angab, diese Reihe die zerstückenden Thiere zur Anschauung gebracht, ist hier bei dem ersten Gliede dieser Reihe, der Fledermaus, absolut klar. Denn die Figur des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 28) hält in jeder Hand einen abgerissenen menschlichen Kopf, und ein abgeschnittener menschlicher Arm ist ausserdem noch daneben zu sehen. Die Figur des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 29) hält in der rechten Hand ebenfalls einen abgeschnittenen menschlichen Kopf, in der Linken ein ausgerissenes Herz. Die Fledermaus des Codex Borgia allerdings (Abb. 30) ist in anderer Haltung dargestellt, sie schwingt in der einen Hand ein Wurfbrett und nimmt mit der anderen einem vor ihr stehenden, roth, mit gelben Flecken gemalten Skelette das Herz aus der Brust. Aber, wenn diese Fledermaus auch nicht, wie die beiden anderen Figuren, abgeschnittene Köpfe in den Händen

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hält, so trägt sie doch einen abgeschnittenen, aus der Halswunde blutenden menschlichen Kopf als Brustschmuck. Dadurch ist die Identität der Darstellung für sie und die beiden anderen Figuren festgestellt.

In dem zweiten Gliede der Reihe (Abb. 31—33), das uns den Dämon des Nordens vorstellen muss, ist die wesentliche und eigentliche Figur *ocelotl*, der Jaguar. Denn wenn hier auch an sämmtlichen Stellen der Jaguar der Angegriffene ist, so ist er doch, das zeigen die Bilder des Vaticanus und des Blattes 50 des Codex Borgia, auch der Angreifer, und der Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, *Mixcouatl*, der ihm mit Speer und Wurfbrett entgegentritt, ist seinem Wesen nach zweifellos dem Jaguar verwandt.

Der Gott ist an allen drei Stellen, als wilder Mann, d. h. nackt, dargestellt. Der Codex Vaticanus und der Codex Borgia malen ihn weiss, mit rothen Längsstreifen, der Fejérváry zweifarbig, blau und

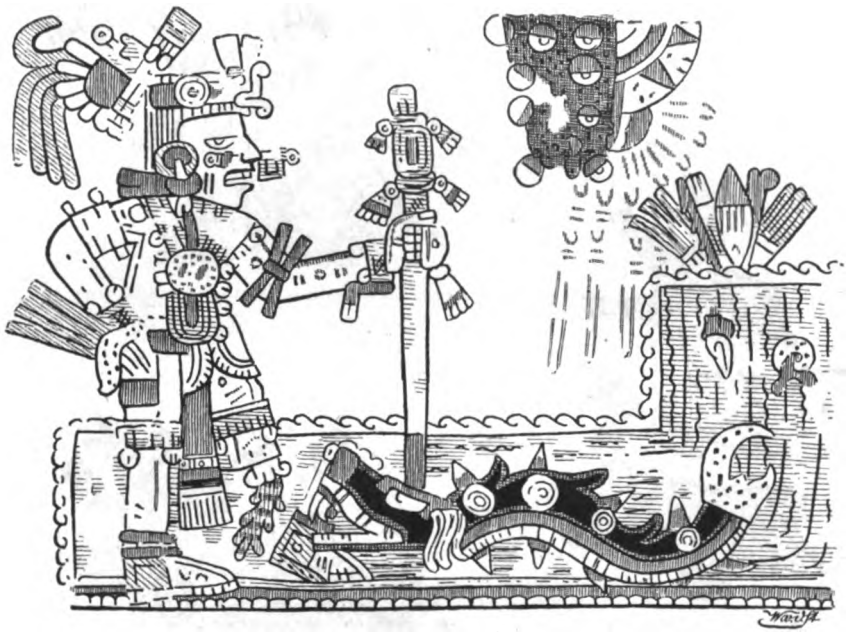

Abb. 34. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 26 (= Kingsborough 74) *acipactli*, das Wasserungeheuer, der Schwertfisch, der Dämon des Westens und *Xochipilli*, der junge Gott der Zeugung und der Lebensmittel (im Codex Borgia-Bilde mit dem Abendsterne identifiziert).

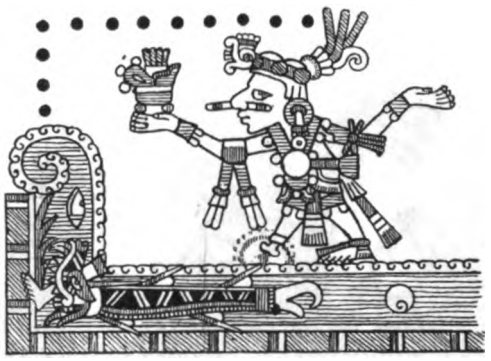

Abb. 35. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 42 (= Kingsborough 3) obere Hälfte.

Abb. 36. Coder Borgia 51 (= Kingsborough 64) untere Hälfte

roth. Diese Zweifarbigkeit ist aber nur eine Variante der weissen Farbe. Beide bezeichnen die Zeit der Dämmerung, des Zwielichts, des schwachen Lichts.

In dem dritten Gliede der Reihe (Abb. 34—36) tritt uns als Dämon des Westens ein *cipactli*-artiges Thier entgegen, das aber im Wasser lebt. Und das gehört sich so. Denn der Westen tritt uns ja auch an anderen Stellen der Bilderschriften, z. B. Blatt 27 unserer Handschrift als ein Land der Wasserfülle entgegen. Dort liegt das *Tamoanchan*, das Haus der Geburt, das *atl ayauican*, das Land des Wassers und des Nebels.[1]) Dort ist auch das grosse Meer, in dem die Sonne des Abends versinkt, und der Strom, über den die Seelen der Toten setzen müssen, um an ihren Ruheort zu gelangen. Der Dämon des Westens kann also nur ein Wasserthier sein. Und der Zeichner scheint an das Wesen gedacht zu haben, das die Mexikaner *acipactli* nannten, das gelegentlich deutlich als Schwertfisch be-

1) Dies Wort kommt als Synonymon für *Tamoanchan* in dem Liede an die *Xochiquetzal* vor und in dem Liede, das an dem *Atamalqualiztli*, dem Feste des Wasserkrapfenessens, gesungen wurde. Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde Band II. Berlin 1904. S. 1032, 1059, 1065.

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schrieben wird, aber auch als mythisches Wasserungeheuer uns entgegentritt. An der Stelle des Codex Borgia (Abb. 36) unterscheidet sich das Thier in Zeichnung und Farbe kaum von der Art, wie das *cipactli*, der „Fisch, aus dem die Erde gemacht wurde", das Thier des ersten Tageszeichens, in dieser Bilderschrift wiedergegeben wird. An den anderen beiden Stellen (Abb. 34, 35) ist dieses Wasserungeheuer mehr in Gestalt eines Fisches, mit haifischartigem, heterozerkem Schwanze, aber stachlig, wie das echte *cipactli*, abgebildet.

Gleich dem ersten Gliede dieser Reihe, der Fledermaus, ist auch dieses Wasserthier als ein zerstückendes, zerreissendes dargestellt. Die Fledermaus, der Dämon des Ostens ist mit abgerissenen oder abgeschnittenen Köpfen dargestellt. Das *acipactli*, der Dämon des Westens, hat dem vor ihm stehenden Gotte, den Fuss abgezwackt. Das ist zweifellos nicht ohne Bedeutung. Ich habe oben auseinandergesetzt, dass wir diese Darstellungen von Zerstückungen eines menschlichen Leibes auf wechselnde

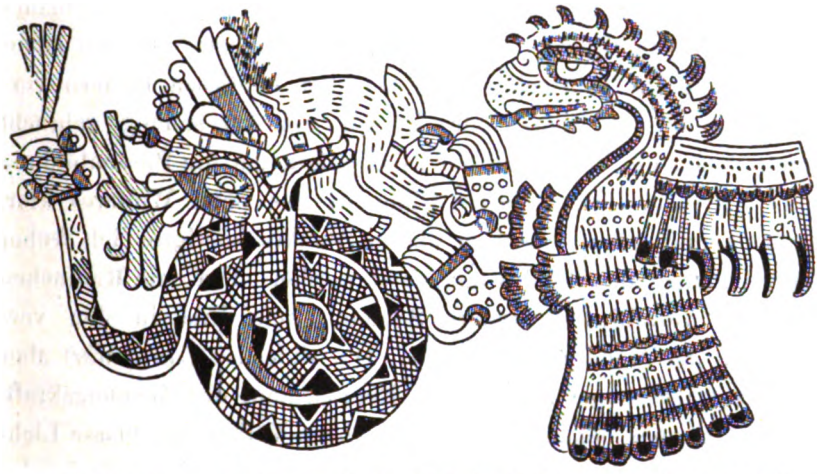

Abb. 37. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr, 3773) Blatt 27 (= Kingsborough 75) *quauhtli*, der Adler, der Dämon des Südens, und das im Rachen der Himmelsschlange erscheinende Kaninchen, bzw. die in ihm erscheinende *Iguana*, der junge Mond.

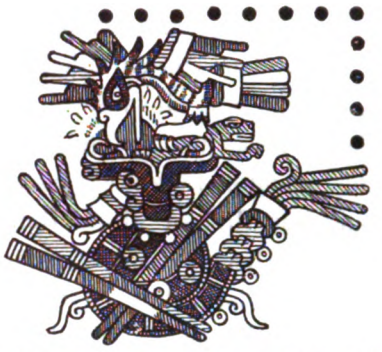

Abb. 38. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 42 (= Kingsborough 3), obere Hälfte.

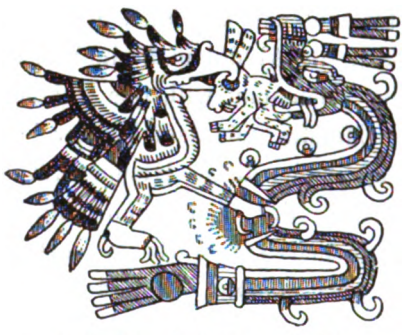

Abb. 39. Codex Borgia 52 (= Kingsborough 63), untere Hälfte.

Lichtgestalten, auf Phasenbildungen von Himmelskörpern, insbesondere des Mondes, zu beziehen haben. Wenn der Mond als abnehmender erst gegen Morgen aufgeht, im Osten erscheint, fehlt ihm der Theil seiner Scheibe, der, mit Rücksicht auf die tägliche Bewegung des Firmaments, als der vordere zu bezeichnen ist, d. h. sein Kopf. Der Dämon des Ostens hat also dem Monde den Kopf abgerissen. Wird aber der Mond, als junger Mond, als zunehmender Mond, erst wenn er schon dem Horizonte nahe ist, d. h. am Abendhimmel, im Westen, sichtbar, dann fehlt ihm, der von der im Westen versunkenen Sonne erleuchtet wird, der nach Osten gewandte, der hintere Theil seiner Scheibe, d. h. sein Fuss. Der Dämon des Westens also reisst dem Monde den Fuss ab. Ich habe erwähnt, dass die alte Mondgöttin, die Göttermutter *Teteoinnan*, die auch *Toci* „unsere Grossmutter" und *Tlaçolteotl*, die „Göttin der Wollust" genannt wurde, die Göttin des Herbstes, des reifen Maises, der Ernte, mit abgeschlagenem Kopfe dargestellt wird. Sie repräsentirt eben den schon abnehmenden, der Sonne entgegeneilenden, den nur im Osten noch sichtbaren Mond. Der junge Mondgott, der Gott des Abendhimmels, *Tezcatlipoca*, der geradezu *Telpochtli*, der „junge Krieger" heisst, wird typisch und regelmässig mit abgerissenem Fusse

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abgebildet. So ist es denn auch hier in unseren Bildern Abb. 34—36 ein junger Gott, dem das *acipactli*, der Dämon des Westens, einen Fuss abgezwackt hat. Seinem Ansehen und seinen Attributen nach würden wir ihn als *Xochipilli*, als den jungen Gott der Zeugung, des Wachsthums, der Lebensmittel, zu bezeichnen haben, bei dem wir offenbar auch ursprünglich eine Mondnatur anzunehmen haben. Als *Xochipilli* dürfen wir diesen Gott indes nur in den beiden Bildern des Vaticanus und des Fejérváry (Abb. 34 und 35) bestimmen. Der Codex Borgia (Abb. 36) zeichnet einen Gott, der den Quincunx weisser Flecke im Gesichte, die Gesichtsbemalung *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, des Gottes des Planeten Venus, hat und auch dessen Stirnbinde mit der aus spitzeiförmigen weissen (Muschel-) Platten bestehenden Verzierung aufweist und einen Nackenschmuck, dessen lang herabfallendes Ende von den schwarzen, mit einem weissen Augenflecke am Ende versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern gebildet wird, die auch die Federkrone *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s zusammensetzen. Da diese Figur ausserdem mit einem Nasenschmucke versehen ist, der in Farbe und Form mit dem des Maisgottes übereinstimmt, so werden wir wohl annehmen dürfen, dass der Zeichner des Codex Borgia den Planeten Venus, wenn er am Abendhimmel erscheint, an Stelle des *Xochipilli* der anderen beiden Handschriften, hat darstellen wollen.

In dem vierten Gliede der Reihe (Abb. 37—39), das uns den Dämon des Südens vorführen muss, sehen wir einen Adler (*quauhtli*), der ein Kaninchen (*tochtli*) packt, das in dem Rachen einer Schlange erscheint. An Stelle des Kaninchens sieht man in dem Fejérváry-Bilde (Abb. 38) eine mit blauer Farbe gemalte Eidechse (*cuetzpalin*) oder Iguana im Rachen der Schlange angegeben. In den zuvor behandelten Bildern dieser Reihe hatten wir aus der Thatsache, dass bei den in diesen Bildern vorgeführten Dämonen ein Zerstücken, ein Abreissen von Köpfen oder Füssen, zur Anschauung gebracht wird, geschlossen, dass es sich dabei eigentlich um ein Verändern der Lichtgestalt, um die Phasenbildung der grossen Himmelskörper handeln müsse. Hier in diesem vierten Bilde ist das ohne Weiteres klar, denn sowohl das Kaninchen, wie die Iguana, können nur, — und in diesem Punkte korrigire ich früher ausgesprochene Vermuthungen, — als Repräsentanten des Mondes aufgefasst werden. Von dem Kaninchen (*tochtli*) wissen wir, dass die Mexikaner, wie verschiedene andere Stämme, sein Bild in den verschwommenen Umrissen der dunkleren Partien der Mondscheibe sahen. Die Eidechse (*cuetzpalin*) aber wurde als Abbild und Sinnbild des Wassers betrachtet und zugleich als Repräsentant der Zeugungskraft, oder wenn man will, der Unkeuschheit.[1]) Es ist aber bekannt, dass die meisten Völker das blasse Licht des Mondes mit dem Wasser in Verbindung brachten, — die Mexikaner zeichneten es ja auch in der Hieroglyphe dieses Himmelskörpers[2]), — und dass der Mond auch zu den Weibern Beziehung hat und als Herr der Generation galt. Das gleiche Bild des in dem Rachen einer Schlange erscheinenden Kaninchens sehen wir ja auch als Determinativ bei *Xipe Totec*, dem Herren des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens *quauhtli* „Adler" angegeben. Von *Xipe Totec*, der den goldenen Halbmond in der Nase trägt und, wie die alte Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*, in der abgezogenen Haut des Opfers erscheint, steht es aber doch wohl fest, dass er seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach ein Mondgott ist, und nur, weil der Mond der Herr alles Wachsthums ist, zum agrarischen Gotte geworden ist.[4]) Die Frage ist nur, wie wir die Schlange zu deuten haben, in deren Rachen hier der Mond erscheint. In den Bildern des Codex Borgia (Abb. 39 und Blatt 11, oben links) hat diese Schlange im Allgemeinen das Ansehen einer Federschlange, und ich bin deshalb bisher immer der Ansicht gewesen, dass diese Schlange das Wasser, etwa das Meer, oder das die Erde überziehende Grün, von dem in dem *Xipe*-Liede die Rede ist, bezeichnen müsse. Aber, abgesehen davon, dass in den anderen beiden Bildern Abb. 37, 38 diese Schlange sehr wenig nach einer Federschlange aussieht, zeigen auch die Schlangen der beiden Stellen des Codex Borgia eine besondere Eigenthümlichkeit, die ich bisher übersehen hatte, und die den echten Federschlangen fehlt. Diese federschlangenartigen Schlangen der Abb. 39 und des Blattes 11 des Codex Borgia sind nämlich am Leibe, oder wenigstens am Schwanzende, mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzt. Und das gleiche

1) Vgl. meine Erläuterungen des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773. Berlin 1902. S. 145—147.
2) Siehe Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 103, Abb. 295.
3) Ibidem S. 166, Abb. 352, 353 und Codex Borgia Blatt 11 oben links.
4) Vgl. meine Abhandlung „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Band XXXVII.

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zeigen auch, wenigstens am Schwanzende, die Schlangen der Abb. 37, 38. Wenn in den Bilderschriften bei irgend einem Gegenstande ein Besatz von Augen, oder eine Erfüllung mit Augen, angegeben wird, so haben wir in den meisten Fällen dabei an Sterne zu denken. Diese Vermuthung muss sich uns daher auch hier aufdrängen. Und in der That, gerade die Parallele mit der grossen Gruppe unseres Blattes 44 des Codex Borgia, die ich oben S. 59 in Abb. 27 noch einmal wiedergegeben habe, beweist zur Evidenz, dass diese Schlange keine Federschlange ist, sondern als eine Himmelsschlange aufzufassen ist. Denn die Schlange, die dort (vgl. Abb. 27, oben S. 59) an der rechten Seite der Gruppe dem Adler gegenüber abgebildet ist, ist nicht nur ebenfalls am Schwanzende mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzt, sie zeigt auch durch die weisse, rothgestreifte Farbe des Leibes, durch die *cicitlallô*, sternhimmelartig, d. h. mit weissen Kreisen auf schwarzem Grunde, ausgeführte Bemalung der Arme, und durch das grosse dreitheilige Stern- oder Strahlauge, das hinter ihr, gewissermassen als Rückenschmuck, angebracht ist, sowie durch die Quincunx-Bemalung des Menschengesichts, das aus dem Rachen dieser Schlange hervorsieht, an, dass diese Schlange der oberen Region angehören soll, dass sie eine Himmelsschlange ist, die den Himmel oder die Luft bezeichnet, vielleicht die Milchstrasse. Denn diese zieht ja bekanntlich von Süden nach Norden, vom Sternbilde der Crux australis nach beiden Seiten zur Cassiopeja.

Wenn ich nun zu der Besprechung des grossen zentralen Bildes (Abb. 27) im Ganzen zurückkehre, das die Mitte des Blattes 44 unserer Handschrift einnimmt, und zu dem die Bilder der Codices Vaticanus, Fejérváry und die Blätter 49—52 des Codex Borgia (Abb. 28—39) nur eine Parallele darstellen, so ist zunächst Folgendes hervorzuheben. An den genannten Stellen der Codices Vaticanus 3773, Fejérváry und 49—52 des Codex Borgia sind die vier Gruppen, die ich oben beschrieben und in Abb. 28—39 wiedergegeben habe, einfach nach einander, den vier *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitten, d. h. den vier Himmelsrichtungen, koordinirt aufgeführt. Wir sehen aus der Art, wie sie uns vorgeführt werden, insbesondere bei dem ersten und dem dritten Gliede der Reihen, dass es die zerstückenden Thiere sein sollen, die in diesen Bildern wiedergegeben sind, und nur aus allgemeinen Erwägungen kamen wir dazu, anzunehmen, dass in ihnen die nach den Himmelsrichtungen differenzirten Dämonen dargestellt sein sollen, die den grossen Himmelskörpern Theile ihres Leibes abreissen und damit die Phasenbildungen, insbesondere des Mondes, verursachen. Hier auf unserem Blatte 44 steht die grosse zentrale Gruppe, der die vier Thiere angefügt sind, in der Mitte des *itzcalli*, *xochicalli*, des Steinmesserhauses und des Blumenhauses, das den Süden bezeichnet, und das uns schon auf einem anderen Blatte dieses Abschnittes, auf Blatt 32 des Codex Borgia, als ein Haus des Zerschneidens, Zerstückens, des Zerstückens der grossen Himmelskörper, vorgeführt worden war. Und auf dem Rahmen der äusseren Einfassung dieses *itzcalli xochicalli* sind, also für die ganze Gruppe, und auch für die vier Thiere, gültig, der abgerissene Kopf des Mondes, der abgerissene Kopf des Sterngottes, und abgerissene Arme, Beine, Rippenkörbe zur Anschauung gebracht. Was also in den anderen Handschriften unvermittelt und unerklärt nur einfach aufgeführt war, ist hier einer organisch entwickelten, sinngemäss fortschreitenden Reihe von Darstellungen eingefügt.

Dass die grosse Gruppe des Blattes 44 unserer Handschrift (Abb. 27, oben S. 59) eine Parallele zu den Reihen Abb. 28—39 ist, ist klar. Aber es ist eine in besonderer Weise aufgefasste und eigenartig ausgestaltete Darstellung. Eine sehr auffällige und eigenthümliche Variante liegt schon in dem dritten Gliede der Reihe vor. In den Reihen der anderen Handschriften (Abb. 28—39) waren Fledermaus (*tzinacantli*), Jaguar (*ocelotl*), Wasserungeheuer (*acipactli*) und Adler (*quauhtli*) als die vier zerstückenden Thiere aufgeführt. Hier sind es die Fledermaus (*tzinacantli*) in der Mitte des oberen Randes der Gruppe Abb. 27, Jaguar (*ocelotl*) an der linken Seite, Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltototl*) in der Mitte der Unterseite und Adler (*quauhtli*) an der rechten Seite der Abb. 27. Der Fisch *acipactli* der anderen Handschriften ist also durch den Quetzalvogel ersetzt. Das ist gewiss eine merkwürdige Abweichung, erklärt sich aber leicht durch den Vorstellungszusammenhang, der bei den alten Mexikanern zwischen der grünen Schmuckfeder (*quetzalli*), dem grünen Edelsteine oder Jadeïte (*chalchiuitl*) und dem Wasser (*atl*) bestand.

Dann sind aber auch die vier Thiere hier auf Blatt 44 unserer Handschrift in ganz anderen Gruppen aufgebaut. In den anderen Handschriften stand die Fledermaus, das erste Glied der Reihe, mit

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ihren Menschenköpfen, bezw. dem Herzen, in der Hand, ganz allein da. Nur in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde (Abb. 30, oben S. 60) war ihr gegenüber ein roth, mit gelben Flecken gemaltes Skelett dargestellt, dem die Fledermaus das Herz aus dem Leibe nimmt. Hier auf Blatt 44 unserer Handschrift sieht man der Fledermaus gegenüber, die von oben, an der Eingangsseite, herunterkommt, eine grosse Figur der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* über einer, in der üblichen Weise mit einem *malinalli*-Leibe dargestellten Erdgöttin, am Boden liegen. Die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* ist durch die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche auf dem Scheitel, die künstlich in allerhand Mustern ausgeführte Gesichtsbemalung, die in Stufenmäandern rother Farbe auf weissem Grunde verzierte Enagua und die in Voluten ausladende grosse türkisfarbene Nasenplatte, den *yacapapalotl*, zur Genüge gekennzeichnet. Aber abweichend von anderen Darstellungen ist sie hier als *Ciuateotl* oder *tzitzimitl*, oder etwa wie die *Itzpapolotl*, die Göttin des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, mit einem Totenauge, mit langen Raffzähnen und mit Adlerfängen an Armen und Beinen ausgestattet. Ein Strom von Blut, der an den Enden mit Blumen besetzt ist, und auf dessen Fläche die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“ und *chalchiuitl*-Bänder sich abheben, der also ohne Zweifel das *chalchiuhatl*, das Edelsteinwasser, das Opferblut, bezeichnen muss, geht von der Fledermaus aus und sich gabelnd auf die *Xochiquetzal* zu, in der Mitte eine Lücke lassend, die für eine andere Darstellung bestimmt ist. Mit diesem Blutstrome bringt die Fledermaus ein Menschenherz der *Xochiquetzal* entgegen, und diese nimmt aus dem einen Zweige des Blutstromes auch ein Menschenherz in Empfang. Die Fledermaus ist also hier auf unserem Blatte nicht der Kopfabreisser oder der Herzausreisser, sondern bringt im Gegentheil der ihr gegenüber auf dem Boden liegenden *Xochiquetzal* das Herz, d. h. das Leben. Und es scheint, dass das Ergebniss dieses Vorganges auch in dem Bilde schon vorliegt. Denn wir sehen auf dem Leibe dieser Göttin eine grosse Strahlenscheibe, deren Kern, wie allgemein bei der Sonnenscheibe, von der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“, dem Sinnbilde des Herzens, des Lebens, gebildet wird, deren peripherischer Ring, zwischen den Strahlen, aber nicht, wie bei der Sonnenscheibe, in leuchtendem Gelb, sondern mit rother Farbe und mit einem Saume von weissen Muschelscheiben gemalt ist. *Xochiquetzal* ist, das dürfen wir wohl als festgestellt ansehen, die junge Mondgöttin, der zunehmende Mond, der in der ersten Hälfte der Nacht leuchtet, die Geliebte des Sonnengottes, die von dem Gotte, der jetzt weit von ihr entfernt ist, gesucht wird, und die deshalb zur Göttin der Liebe geworden ist. Die Strahlenscheibe auf ihrem Leibe werden wir daher als den Mond betrachten müssen. Die rothe Farbe sowohl wie die Schneckengehäuse sind ja Kennzeichen des Mondes, und die roth und weisse Farbe, die die Göttin hier, sowohl in ihrem Kopftuche, wie auf ihrer Enagua, und auf der Strahlenscheibe zur Schau trägt, sind bekanntlich auch die Farben *Xipe Totec*'s, der, wie ich oben anführte, mit Sicherheit auch als eine der zahlreichen Gestalten und Wandlungen des Mondgottes, und zwar ebenfalls als der junge Mond, zu bezeichnen ist.

In dem Mittelpunkte der rothen, von weissen Muschelscheiben umsäumten Strahlenscheibe, die den jungen Mond bezeichnet, sehen wir, von dem *chalchiuitl*-Ringe umschlossen, und selbst zum Theile als *chalchiuitl* gezeichnet, ein menschliches Herz. Ein sich verzweigender und an seinen Zweigspitzen in *chalchiuitl*-Blüthen endender Baum wächst aus diesem Herzen heraus, und auf seinem Wipfel kniet *Quetzalcouatl*, als Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) verkleidet, während vier andere mit Kolibrischnabel und Kolibriflügeln versehene, aber damit einen wurmförmigen Leib und Insektenfühler verbindende geflügelte Wesen zu beiden Seiten der Fledermaus sichtbar sind. *Quetzalcouatl* hat hier zweifellos seinen Platz, denn wir wissen, dass dieser ganze Abschnitt, mit dem wir uns hier beschäftigen, den Schicksalen und Erlebnissen *Quetzalcouatl*'s gewidmet ist, und wir haben ja in der That bisher auf sämmtlichen Blättern in der einen oder anderen Gestalt, und häufig in mehreren, das Bild dieses Gottes angetroffen. Dass nun hier, auf unserem Blatte 44 *Quetzalcouatl* in Kolibrigestalt erscheint, das könnte einfach ein Ausdruck dafür sein, dass wir uns hier im *Itzcalli*, *xochicalli*, dem Hause der Steinmesser und der Blumen, im Süden, befinden. Wie auf dem vorhergehenden Blatte 43, das das Maishaus, den Westen darstellt, der Gott Maiskolben essend vorgeführt ist und mit Maiskolben beladen den Raum verlässt, so könnte hier der Gott in Kolibrimaske erscheinen, weil der Kolibri der spitzschnäblige Vogel und zugleich der leuchtende Schmuckvogel, also gewissermassen ein Sinnbild des *Itzcalli*, *xochicalli* ist. Es ist indes noch eine andere Auffassung denkbar. — Dass hier auf dem Blatte 44 nicht, der Natur der Himmelsrichtung entsprechend,

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das Zerstücken des Mondes, sondern, umgekehrt, sein Lebendigwerden vorgeführt wird, das scheint mir eine Parallele zu den Bildern zu sein, die wir am Schlusse in Blatt 42 angetroffen und studirt haben. Wie dort, so scheint es mir, die Verbrennung *Nanauatzin*'s, also die Geburt der Sonne, die Erneuerung der Sonne, zur Anschauung gebracht wurde, einzig zu dem Zwecke, damit auch das Wiederlebendigwerden *Quetzalcouatl*'s zu schildern oder zu erklären, so scheint mir hier der wieder neu gewordene Mond und seine Göttin vorgeführt zu sein, um damit gleichzeitig auch die Erneuerung *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Morgensterns, zu erklären, der ja zu dem Monde in geheimnissvollen Beziehungen stand, dem Mythus nach ja geradezu aus ihm entstanden ist. Denn *Quetzalcouatl*, der nach Osten wandert, ist ja eigentlich der Mond, und der Morgenstern ist das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s, der im Osten sich verbrannt hat oder im Meere des Ostens verschwunden ist. Ist nun dies die richtige Auffassung der Darstellungen unseres Blattes, so würden wir das Kolibrigewand, in dem hier *Quetzalcouatl* erscheint, doch etwas anders deuten können. Der Kolibri war den Mexikanern nicht nur der Vogel mit dem feinen, spitzen Schnabel, der von Blüthe zu Blüthe fliegt, um (der allgemeinen Anschauung gemäss) Honig aus den Blüthen zu saugen, sie glaubten von ihm auch, dass er in der Trockenzeit tot, vertrocknet und ohne Federn am Baume hienge, und im Beginne der Regenzeit wieder zu neuem Leben erwache — „renuevase cada año; en el tiempo de invierno cuelganse de los árboles por el pico: alli colgados se secan y se les cae la pluma. Cuando el árbol torna á reverdecer, él vuelve á revivir, y tórnale á nacer la pluma, y cuando comienza á tronar para llover, entonces despierta, vuela, y resucita".[1]) — Er repräsentirte also wie *Nanauatzin*, der syphilitische Gott, die Wiedergeburt, und es mag deshalb sein, dass man von dem Kolibri annahm, dass er gut gegen Syphilis sei, in Bezug auf sie prophylaktisch wirke, aber gleichzeitig auch die Zeugungskraft zerstöre.[2]) Zweifellos hängt es mit diesen Anschauungen zusammen, dass auch der grosse Gott der Mexikaner, *Uitzilopochtli*, in der Gestalt dieses Vogels gedacht wurde, und ich meine, dass auch diese „chupamirtos", wie sie der Spanier nennt, die Kolibri, in erster Linie gemeint sind, wenn von den Seelen der toten, der geopferten Krieger, die in dem Hause der Sonne als Diener der Sonne wohnen, gesagt wird, dass sie sich, nach Verlauf von vier Jahren in allerhand Schmuckvögel verwandeln.[3])

niman ic mocuepa, tlaçototome — darnach verwandeln sie sich in Schmuckvögel,

huitzitzilti, xochitototl, totocoztli, mixtetlicomolo — in Kolibri, Blumenvögel, gelbe Vögel mit schwarzer Grube um die Augen (d. h. mit der Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns),

tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl xicalteconpapalotl — in weisse Kreide-Schmetterlinge, in weisse Daunenfeder-Schmetterlinge, in Trinkschalen-Schmetterlinge (d. h. in Schmetterlinge gross wie Trinkschalen oder weiss getünchte mit dem Trinkschalenstein[4]),

tlachichina in ompa in inonoian — sie saugen (den Honig der Blüthen) dort an ihrem Wohnort,

yoan in nican tlalticpac oalhui — und sie kommen hier zur Erde nieder,

in quivalchichina, in ixquich nepapan xochitl — (den Honig) aller Arten von Blumen zu saugen,

in equimitl, anoço tzompanquavitl – der Erythrina corallioïdes-Blüthen[5]),

xiloxochitl, tlacoxiloxochitl — der Carolinea princeps- und der Calliandra-Blüthen.

Man beachte, dass von den verschiedenen Vögeln, die hier genannt sind, nur die ersten, die Kolibri, in der Pluralform gesetzt sind, dass sie einzig von allen übrigen als „lebende Wesen" behandelt sind. Den als Kolibri gekleideten *Quetzalcouatl* auf Blatt 44 unserer Handschrift könnten wir demnach auch als den Vogel betrachten, in den sich die Seele des toten, des (auf Blatt 42) geopferten Gottes gewandelt hat, und der nunmehr zur Erde niederkommen, wieder lebendig werden wird.

Der kopfabreissenden Fledermaus, dem ersten der vier zerstückenden Thiere, sind hier auf unserem Blatte 44, dem Konventionalismus entsprechend, der die Zärimonien und die Darstellungen jener

1) Sahagun 11, Cap. 2, § 2.
2) Ibidem.
3) Sahagun Buch 3, Appendix, Cap. 3.
4) Vgl. *xicaltetl* „cierto barniz de piedra blanca sobre que pintan, ó doran, ó yeso". (Molina.)
5) Die botanische Bestimmung der Blüthen habe ich nach den Beschreibungen des Hernandez vorgenommen.

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alten mittelamerikanischen Stämme beherrschte, auch die den drei anderen Himmelsrichtungen zugehörigen Thiere dieser Reihe gesellt, die, wie ich oben angab, hier nicht, wie in den anderen Handschriften, durch Jaguar, Wasserungeheuer und Adler, sondern durch Jaguar, Quetzalvogel und Adler repräsentirt sind. Wie an den oben näher beschriebenen Stellen der anderen Handschriften (Abb. 32—39, oben S. 60—63) stehen sie nicht allein, sondern sind mit anderen Figuren zu einer Gruppe zusammengestellt. Während aber in den anderen Handschriften dem Jaguar *Mixcouatl*, der Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, dem *acipactli*, dem Wasserungeheuer, der Gott *Xochipilli* (bezw. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*), dem Adler das im Rachen der Himmelsschlange erscheinende Kaninchen gegenübergestellt waren, ist hier vor jedem der drei Thiere eine Schlange abgebildet, in deren Rachen das Gesicht einer Gottheit sichtbar wird. Wir dürfen wohl annehmen, dass alle drei, und ebenso auch der *Mixcouatl*, der *Xochipilli* und das dem Rachen der Schlange entsteigende Kaninchen der anderen Handschriften Parallelen, Homologa, Gegenstücke der Mondgöttin *Xochiquetzal* sind, die wir auf unserem Blatte 44 der Fledermaus gegenüber dargestellt sehen.

Dem Jaguar (*ocelotl*), der das Thier des Nordens ist, steht auf Blatt 44 eine rothe Feuerschlange (*xiuhcouatl*) gegenüber, die die Verkleidung eines Gottes ist, dessen Gesicht mit zwei schmalen schwarzen Querstreifen, einem in der Höhe des Auges, einem in der Höhe des Mundes, gezeichnet ist. Das ist eine Bemalung, die bei *Otontecutli*, oder *Xocotl*, der an dem Feste *Uei miccailhuitl*, dem grossen Totenfeste, zur Erde herniederkommt, und die Seele des toten Kriegers, der Repräsentant der Vorfahren, der ersten Menschen, ist, und auch bei einem mit blauer Farbe an Armen und Beinen gemalten Feuergotte vorkommt, den wir auf dem Blatte 46 unserer Handschrift antreffen werden. Dass die Feuerschlange von den Mexikanern mit dem Norden verknüpft wurde, habe ich oben schon einmal erwähnt (vgl. S. 40), und dass die Seelen der Toten im Norden hausen, ist auch bekannt. *Mixcouatl*, der Gott des Nordens, der in den anderen Handschriften dem Jaguar gegenübergestellt wird, vereinigt in sich dieselben beiden Vorstellungen. Er ist in den Bilderschriften und in den Traditionen als der Feuererbohrer bekannt, und er ist als Gott der Chichimeken der Repräsentant der Vorfahren und in Ansehen und Tracht geradezu der typische Vertreter der geopferten Krieger.

Dem Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltototl*), der auf unserem Blatte 44 als das Thier des Westens den *acipactli* der anderen Handschriften ersetzt, ist eine Schlange gegenübergestellt, die mit den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des grünen Edelsteins, gemalt ist. Aus ihrem Rachen sieht ein Gesicht hervor, dessen besondere Züge leider nicht mehr zu erkennen sind, das aber, wie es scheint, im Allgemeinen mit dunkler Farbe gemalt war. Wenn wir aber auch den Gott, dessen Verkleidung der *chalchiuhcouatl* bildet, nicht mehr bestimmen können, so können wir doch mit Fug und Recht behaupten, dass ein Gott, der in solcher Verkleidung erscheint, seinem Wesen nach dem *Xochipilli* verwandt sein muss, der in den anderen Handschriften mit dem *acipactli*, der dort das Thier des Westens ist, zusammengebracht wird.

Der Adler (*quauhtli*), der auch hier auf unserem Blatte 44 das Thier des Südens ist, hat, wie ich oben schon anführte, eine Schlange vor sich, deren Leib mit weisser, rothgestreifter Farbe, deren Arme aber *cicitlallô*, sternhimmelartig, d. h. mit weissen Kreisen auf schwarzem Grunde, gemalt sind. Das Schwanzende ist mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen besetzt, und ein grosses dreigliedriges Stern- oder Strahlauge war, wie es scheint, als Devise auf dem Rücken dieses Thieres befestigt. Das Gesicht, das aus dem Rachen dieser Schlange hervorsieht, ist in den Einzelheiten auch nicht mehr recht zu erkennen, doch ist soviel sicher, dass es mit dunkler Farbe gemalt war, und dass auf ihm der Quincunx weisser Flecke angebracht ist, der das Kennzeichen des Morgensterns oder der Sterngötter überhaupt bildet. Es ist also der Sterngott, der aus dem Rachen des *citlalcouatl*, der Sternschlange oder Himmelsschlange, hervorsieht. Dieses muss nun eine Parallele zu dem im Rachen der Himmelsschlange erscheinenden Kaninchen, bezw. der im Rachen der Schlange erscheinenden Iguana, der anderen Handschriften sein. Und wir können es als solche verstehen, wenn wir uns gewärtig halten, dass Mond und Morgenstern zusammengehen, mythologisch einer aus dem anderen entstehen und an verschiedenen Stellen geradezu gleich behandelt werden. Jedenfalls aber scheint mir dieses Bild des Blattes 44 unserer Handschrift zu beweisen, dass auch in den Abbildungen 37—39 die Schlange gewissermassen nur als Verkleidung des Kaninchens, bezw. der Iguana, zu betrachten ist.

Ich habe oben gesagt, dass die Feuerschlange und der Repräsentant der Vorfahren unseres

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Blattes 44, wie der *Mixcouatl* der anderen Handschriften, die Edelsteinschlange unseres Blattes und der *Xochipilli* der anderen, die Sternschlange des Codex Borgia und das im Rachen der Schlange erscheinende Kaninchen insgesammt als Homologa der Mondgöttin *Xochiquetzal* zu betrachten sind, die der Fledermaus, dem Thiere des Ostens, gegenüber dargestellt ist. Sie bezeichnen insgesammt den Himmelskörper, der von den vier genannten Thieren zerstückt, dessen Scheibe in regelmässigem Turnus bis zum Nichts reduzirt, aber auch, wie unser Blatt zu beweisen scheint, von denselben Thieren auch wieder leuchtend hergestellt wird. Diese Grundvorstellung hat nun auch in einer interessanten Qu'iche-Sage Ausdruck gefunden, auf die ich nicht unterlassen will, hier noch hinzuweisen.

Der Mond bezeichnet die Zeit und die Herrschaft der Finsterniss und der Nacht, — *chi k'ekum, chi a'kab*, wie die Qu'iche sagten, — wo die Sonne noch nicht geboren war, die Herrschaft der alten, der vorzeitlichen Menschen, die naturgemäss nur eine unvollkommene Menschenschöpfung darstellten und daher der Vernichtung anheimfielen. Nach der gewöhnlichen mexikanischen Vorstellung gab es vier verschiedene Weltperioden, die Zeit des Dunkels oder der Erde, die des Windes, des Feuers und des Wassers, die entsprechend durch Jaguare, durch Windstürme, Feuerregen und Sintfluth zu Grunde giengen. Die Qu'iche-Sage, die im Popol Vuh uns erhalten ist, identifizirt gewissermassen die vorzeitliche unvollkommene Menschenschöpfung, die *poy aham ché*, die „aus Holz geschnitzten Puppen" mit dem Himmelskörper, der in jener Zeit, vor der Geburt der Sonne, leuchtete und lässt ihnen durch dieselben Thiere den Garaus machen, die wir hier als die Zerstücker, die Phasenbildner des Mondes kennen gelernt haben. Die Namen dieser Thiere sind freilich etwas entstellt überliefert, was vielleicht ein Zeichen dafür ist, dass diese Sage nicht eigentlich bei den Qu'iche ihre Stelle hatte; doch begegnen uns im Popol Vuh Unregelmässigkeiten, ungenaue Ueberlieferungen, gerade in den Namen öfter. Ich lese *cot* „Adler" für *k'ol* (Harz); *xc'ot qui vach* „er grub ihnen die Augen aus" für *xecotcovach*; *c'ama zo'tz* „die (kopf)abreissende Fledermaus" für *camalotz*. Die Namen *cotzbalam* und *tucumbalam* oder *tecumbalam* sind mir zweifelhaft; doch finde ich weder eine passende Etymologie noch eine Korrektur, die mir annehmbar erschiene. Mit den oben angegebenen Verbesserungen lautet die Stelle: —

quehecut qui camizaxic — und in folgender Weise wurden sie getötet: —
xe butic — sie fanden in einer Ueberschwemmung ein Ende.
xpe nima cot chila chicah — es kam ein grosser Adler dort vom Himmel,
xc'ot qui vach u bi — „der ihnen die Augen aushöhlt" genannt,
xc'otin uloc u bak qui vach — der grub ihnen die Augenhöhlen aus;
xpe c'ama zo'tz — es kam die (kopf)abreissende Fledermaus,
xcupin ula qui holom — die riss ihnen den Kopf weg;
xpe cotz balam — es kam der ? — Jaguar,
xtio qui tiohil — der frass ihr Fleisch;
xpe tucum balam — es kam der ? — Jaguar,
xtukuvic xquichouic qui bakil qui bochil — der zerbrach und zermalmte ihre Knochen, ihre Sehnen.

Dass hier dieselben vier Thiere gemeint sind, wie die, die wir in den oben behandelten Stellen der Bilderschriften kennen gelernt haben, ist wohl, — trotz der Unsicherheit in den letzten beiden Namen, — klar. Aber bemerkenswerth ist, dass die Aufzählung nicht, wie in den Bilderschriften, mit dem Osten, mit der Fledermaus beginnt, sondern mit dem Adler, dem Thiere des Südens. Das ist mir ein Beweis dafür, dass auch die Qu'iche-Sage diese vier Thiere, die zerstückenden Thiere, insgesammt mit der Himmelsrichtung des Südens, mit dem *itzcalli*, *xochicalli*, in Verbindung brachte.

Mit dem auf Blatt 44 dargestellten Raume hat der Gott nun den letzten der vier Räume der Unterwelt durchwandert. Nachdem er in dem zweiten dieser Räume, in der Nordregion (Blatt 42), getötet (geopfert) und zur tiefsten Hölle hinabgesunken, aber durch Verwandlung in den *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* wieder zu neuem Leben erweckt ist, nachdem er in dem letzten der Räume, in der Südregion (Blatt 44), mit dem Monde sich verjüngt hat, zum Kolibri geworden ist, kann er nunmehr wieder am Himmel emporsteigen, und so sehen wir denn an der Eingangsseite von Blatt 45 den Vorhang, der den Leib der breit gelagerten Erdgöttin bildet, in einem Spalte zerrissen, der durch keinen Nebelbogen mehr geschlossen ist, und aus

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der Oeffnung kommt der Gott als Windgottschlange heraus, eine Papierfahne (*amapamitl*) oder Opferfahne auf dem Rücken tragend, deren Schaft in ein Totengesicht transformirt und an der Spitze von einem Daunenfederballe gekrönt ist. Denn die Region, in die der Gott jetzt eintritt, das ist die obere Region, der Himmel, der Osthimmel, das Land, in dem die Seelen der geopferten Krieger, die ins Haus der Sonne, zur Sonne gegangen sind, weilen. Denn der Morgenstern, das ist der *iaqui telpochiaqui*, der Krieger, der vorangeht, — *Urendequa vecara* „der vorangeht" und *hozqua qhuangari* „der Stern, der Krieger" wurde er von den Tarasca geradezu genannt, — der in dem *Tonalamatl*, mit dem Feuergotte zusammen, als Herr des neunten Abschnittes und Repräsentant der Hieroglyphe *atl tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand", des Symbols des Krieges, erscheint. Der Vorhang, der Leib der Erdgöttin, durch dessen Spalt man in diesen Raum eintritt, ist dementsprechend von einem Netzgewebe (*ayatl*), dem Kriegermantelstoffe, gefertigt und mit Steinmessern (Opfermessern) und ausgerissenen Herzen bemalt. Der Raum selbst, in den der Gott auf Blatt 45 eintritt, ist als die obere, als die Region des Kriegerhimmels, zunächst durch die vier *qauhcalli* oder „Adlerhäuser, Kriegerhäuser" gekennzeichnet, die, an den vier Ecken des Blattes vertheilt, den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend, das eine (das in der Ecke rechts unten, das wohl dem Osten entspricht) rings mit weissen Adlerdaunen (*quauhiuitl*), die anderen (die des Nordens, Westens, Südens) gewissermassen mit einem Adlerbalge (*quauhcuatl*) umsäumt, dabei an Pfosten und Oberschwelle oder Thürbalken, das erste weiss, d. h wohl *tiçatl* = kreidefarben, die anderen, die des Nordens, Westens, Südens, entsprechend gelb, weiss und roth gemalt sind, und in denen überall der Gott, — oder die Seele des toten Kriegers, — eine an Leib und Gliedern und im Gesichte *Quetzalcouatl*-artig bemalte, aber durch feuerfarbenes Haar und die beiden über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken gekennzeichnete Gestalt auf dem *teoicpalli*, dem Stuhle, sitzt. Vor ihnen sieht man auf der linken Seite das Zeichen des Krieges, — Schild, Speerbündel, mit Daunenfedern besetzte Netztasche und das von einem Daunenfederballe gekrönte Papierfähnchen oder Opferfähnchen. Und darunter, ebenfalls auf der linken Seite, einen Arm der Form und Krümmung, wie er in Gruppenbildern von Opfergaben (vgl. Abb. 40) auf einer Schale zu sehen ist, neben einem Türkisgefässe mit Opferblute und Behältern für Räucherwerk und Kautschukopfer, der also vermuthlich die Kannibalenmahlzeiten bezeichnet, die sich regelmässig an die Opferung von Kriegsgefangenen schlossen. Auf der rechten Seite sieht man vor dem *quauhcalli*, dem Adlerhause, über einander zwei dreibeinige Schalen, mit Daunenfedern (Adlerdaunen) gefüllt, in denen ein Pfeilschaft steckt. Mit Adlerdaunen beklebte sich der Krieger im Gesichte, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hatte. Darum heisst es in dem Liede an die *Ciuacouatl*: —

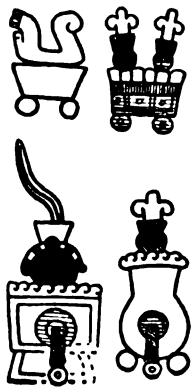

Abb. 40.
tlamamalli, Opfergaben, Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 37) unten.

ahuiya quavivitl amoxayavalli
onaviya yecoyametl amoxoyavalli
„Adlerdaunen sind eure Bemalung,
der tapfer kämpft, eure Bemalung,"

was der Kommentator einfach mit den Worten wiedergibt:

oahuia yn otlamaloc in quavivitl yc moxava
„wenn Gefangene gemacht worden sind, bemalt er sich mit Adlerdaunen".[1])

— Darum sieht man hier aus der einen Schale die Adlerdaunen in einem Strome nach dem Munde der nächsten, in dem Adlerhause sitzenden Gestalt, (der Seele des toten Kriegers), übergehen.

Zwischen diesen Adlerhäusern werden, an beiden Seiten des Blattes, gewissermassen des Kriegers Loos, sein Leben und Sterben, dem Beschauer vor Augen geführt. Zur Rechten sieht man eine roth gemalte Gestalt, deren Kopf leider verwischt ist, die aber wohl einen *Auiateotl*, einen Gott der Lust,

1) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Band II. Berlin 1904, S. 1050, 1051.

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vorstellen soll, wie trunken am Boden liegen, mit der einen Hand aber, der Linken, einen grossen Pulquekrug, haltend oder darbietend, der mit dem Gesichte der *Tlaçolteotl*, ihrer weiss und gelben Farbe, dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde, und ihrer Kopfbinde und ihrem Ohrgehänge aus ungesponnener Baumwolle verziert und mit Papierfähnchen besteckt ist, und aus dem oben der *tiçaoctli*, der weisse Pulque herausschäumt, der als kostbares und wohlschmeckendes Getränk durch *chalchiuitl*-(Edelstein-)Bänder auf seiner Fläche und durch Blumen (*xochitl*) an den Enden seiner Theilströme gekennzeichnet ist. Darüber aber stehen, als Vertreter der Krieger und gewissermassen zum *necocololo*, dem Kriegertanze, antretend, der schwarze (*yayauhqui*) und der rothe (*tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*, beide, wie es scheint, in der Linken das Wurfbrett, in der Rechten Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne haltend. Leider ist der rothe *Tezcatlipoca* zur Rechten so abgerieben, dass man nicht mehr recht erkennen kann, ob nicht noch bei ihm eine Variante in der Ausstattung gegenüber der des schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca* vorliegt. Es hat den Anschein, als habe er auf seiner Handfahne das grosse Kreuz der Handfahne *Xipe Totec*'s getragen.

Pulquegelage und der Kriegertanz, das sind des Kriegers Freuden, sein Leben. Auf der anderen Seite des Blattes, zur Linken zwischen den beiden Adlerhäusern, ist demgegenüber sein Leiden, das endliche Schicksal, dem er anheimfällt, sein Sterben, geschildert. In einer grossen Trinkschale, die wohl das *quauhxicalli*, die Adlerschale, die Opferschale vorstellen soll, in einem Wasser, das zur Hälfte aus Wasser gewöhnlicher Farbe, zur anderen aus Reihen weisser schuppiger Substanz besteht, ähnlich der, die auf Blatt 38 unserer Handschrift das Gefäss mit dem, Baumzweige treibenden, toten *Xototl* schloss, sieht man den toten Krieger, am Körper und im Gesichte wie der Morgenstern bemalt, das Haar mit Daunenfedern beklebt und über der Stirn die beiden feuerfarbenen Locken zeigend, mit zurückgeworfenem Leibe, wie auf dem Opfersteine liegen. Die Brust ist in breitem Schnitte geöffnet, in einem gewaltigen, nach beiden Seiten spritzenden Blutstrome tritt das Herz heraus, zu dem von oben der Adler, (die Sonne), oder vielmehr der Gott in Adlerverkleidung, herabkommt, es in Empfang zu nehmen und zu verzehren.

Zwischen diesen Darstellungen, die also den Ort, an dem wir uns hier befinden, nach jeder Richtung hin, scharf charakterisiren, sieht man nun in der Mitte der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 45 auf einer Estrade, die über einer der in üblicher Weise mit *malinalli*-Leibe gezeichneten liegenden Figur der Erdgöttin steht und die auf ihrer Oberfläche mit einer Reihe von sechs Schädeln besetzt ist, zwischen denen Opferseile (*aztamecatl*) emporragen, die also das *itzompan* „seine Schädelreihe", „seine Schädelstätte" vorstellt, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, die Gottheit des Morgensterns knieen. Der Leib und die Beine sind weiss und roth gestreift (*tlauauantli*) gemalt, die Arme, in einer besonderen Ausführung des *cicitallô* = der Sternhimmelbemalung, mit Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde bemalt. Das Gesicht, als Totengesicht und mit grossem rundem Totenauge gezeichnet, ist wahrscheinlich mit einem Quincunx grosser weisser Doppelkreise auf schwarzem Grunde bemalt gewesen. Die Bemalung ist an dieser Stelle leider zum grössten Theile abgerieben. Das Haar besteht aus weissen Adlerdaunen, der Ohrpflock ist weiss. Die Stirnbinde zeigt die charakteristischen spitzeiförmigen weissen Schmuckplatten, wie ich sie nach den Bildern des Telleriano Remensis, des Borgia und anderer Handschriften von der Gottheit des Morgensterns beschrieben habe; und darüber erhebt sich die Krone aus den steifen schwarzen, mit weissem Endflecke versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern, die in derselben Weise für die Gottheit des Morgensterns kennzeichnend ist. Sein Brustschmuck ist der *anauatl*, der Ring, das Abbild des Auges. In der Rechten hält er Schild, Handfahne, Speerbündel und Netztasche, in der Linken das Wurfbrett. Sein Gesicht ist nach oben gewandt, und hinter ihm erhebt sich ein in den Farben des Steines, braun und schwarz, gemalter und mit Spiegeln verzierter, nach beiden Seiten sich verzweigender Baum, der, entsprechend der Zahl der Schädel, die sein Fussgestell bilden, mit sechs Kriegerfahnen verschiedener Farbe besteckt ist. Das Ganze bringt so eindrucksvoll, wie möglich, zur Anschauung, dass hier der Morgenstern, der Krieger, wieder am Osthimmel erscheint. Zwei grosse, weisse, roth punktirte Meerschneckengehäuse, die vor dem Gotte noch angegeben sind, sind möglicherweise als Ausdruck der Geburt des Gottes zu verstehen.

Unter dieser Gruppe folgt aber nun, in der Mitte der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 45, noch eine andere Darstellung, die ich mich vorderhand noch nicht getraue, in gleicher Weise nach allen Richtungen hin aufzulösen. Auf einer Estrade, die mit schwarzen Zackenlinien auf weissem Grunde bemalt

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ist, — eine Bemalung, die, auf Hackenkappen gewisser Gottheiten vorkommend, dort als *tlaitzcouaicuilolli* als „Obsidianschlangenbemalung“ bezeichnet wird, — sieht man *Quetzalcouatl* als Sterngott, mit grossem Strahlauge auf dem Scheitel, kauern. Am Hintern hat er ein grosses Loch, und aus dem kommt ein breiter, wie gewöhnlich an den Theilstromenden mit Blumen besetzter Blutstrom heraus, der an der Seite der Estrade herab auf den Boden fliesst. Ueber dem Ganzen wölbt sich eine Netzdecke (*ayatl*), wie sie die Krieger trugen, die aussen mit neun — den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend abwechselnd schwarz, gelb, blau, roth, aber zugleich mit dem Quincunx weisser Flecke, der Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns, bemalten, das Daunenfederhaar, und das feurige Stirnlockenhaar tragenden Köpfen besetzt ist, die wohl als Abbilder des Morgensterns, d. h. als *tonatiuh iixco yaque*, als Seelen toter Krieger, zu betrachten sind, die aber hier gleichzeitig durch zwei über dem Gesichte emporragende Spitzen in Sternaugen oder Strahlaugen verwandelt erscheinen. Vier gleiche Gestalten, ein weisser, rothgestreifter, schwarzgesichtiger, ein gelber, ein blauer und ein rother Kriegerseelengott, sind um diese Gruppe vertheilt. — Ich wiederhole, dass ich mich vorderhand noch nicht getraue, dieses Bild in bestimmter Weise zu deuten. Es muss aber in irgend einer Weise eine Charakterisirung der Gottheit des Morgensterns sein. Von dem grossen Gotte der *Michuaque*, dem Gotte der Leute von *Pátzcuaro* und *Tzintzuntzan*, dem schwarzen *Curicaveri*, dessen Banner aus weissen Reiherfedern bestand, und der in Gestalt eines weissen Adlers erschien, und von dem an einer Stelle der interessanten, aus der Mitte des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts stammenden Relacion de la Provincia de Michuacan gesagt ist, dass er und *Urendequa vecara*, der Gott des Morgensterns, der der besondere Gott der Stadt *Curinguaro* war, zusammen erschaffen worden seien[1]), wird erzählt, dass er seine Feinde mit Krankheiten strafe, und als solche Krankheiten werden an zwei verschiedenen Stellen der Relacion Durchfall, Trunkenheit (Betäubung), Lähmung genannt, — „dass alle auf den Boden fielen und wie trunken (von Sinnen) waren.“[2]) — Hier ist also an beiden Stellen an erster Stelle Durchfall genannt, und als solcher ist vielleicht „camaras de sangre“, d. h. Blutruhr, gemeint. Auf mexikanisch heisst die „Blutruhr“ *tlaelli* und „Blutruhr haben“ *tlaellaça*, *tlaelli quitlaça*, gleichsam „das Innerste auswerfen“. Sollte etwa der Morgenstern als der „Werfer“, der „Schütze“, der in der That ist, als der Blutruhrsender betrachtet worden sein? Aber auch, falls das der Fall wäre, würden wir doch wiederum nach einem Grunde hierfür fragen müssen. Und ich möchte es wenigstens als Vermuthung aussprechen, dass der Morgenstern, der vor der Sonne aufgeht, die Morgenröthe hinter sich hat, also gewissermassen Blut scheisst.

Dass der Morgenstern vor der Sonne aufgeht, ist endlich nun noch das Thema des folgenden Blattes 46, des letzten Blattes dieses Abschnittes. Wir sehen an der Eingangsseite hier wieder, die ganze Breite des Blattes einnehmend, die Gestalt einer Erdgöttin, deren Leib von einem Tuche oder einer Decke gebildet wird, und durch einen Riss oder Spalt in diesem Vorhange tritt der Gott in den Raum ein, in dem die Vorgänge sich abspielen, die auf diesem Blatte dargestellt sind. Dieser Raum muss auch noch als ein unterweltlicher gedacht sein. Denn der Spalt, durch den der Gott in den Raum eintritt, ist — wie auf den Blättern 39, 41, 43, 44 — durch einen Nebelbogen verschlossen. Und es ist ja auch klar, das Feuer, mit dem die Sonne leuchtet, das muss schon unter der Erde entzündet sein, da sie gleich in vollem Glanze über dem Horizonte emportaucht. Wenn aber dies ein unterweltlicher Raum ist, so vervollständigt dies Blatt 46, den vorigen sich anschliessend, die Zahl der Weltgegenden oder Himmelsrichtungen. Denn auf Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden und auf die obere Region würde hier, auf dem Blatte 46, noch einmal besonders die untere Region folgen.

Dem Reiche des Feuers, das dieses Blatt 46 uns vorführt, entsprechend, ist der Vorhang, der den Leib der Erdgöttin, die diesen Raum abschliesst, bildet, mit rother Farbe gemalt und mit Steinmessern gemustert. Der Raum selber ist auch hier wieder schon durch die vier Tempel oder Göttersitze gekennzeichnet, die in die vier Ecken vertheilt sind. Auf der rechten Seite dieses Blattes ist leider wieder

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1) „. . . *Curicaveri* que es muy gran Dios que fueron engendrados *Urendequarecara* nuestro dios, y él juntos“ (Relacion Prov. Michuacan Edicion Morelia 1904, p. 192.)

2) „. . . correncia y embriaguez y dolor de costado y estropeamiento . . . . cayeron todos en el suelo y estaban todos embriagados“ (Relacion Prov. Michuacan. Edicion Morelia 1904, p. 142) — „camaras y embriaguez y estropeamiento, y empezaron à andar desatinados . . . y cayeron todos en el suelo“ (ibidem p. 212, 213).

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ziemlich viel abgerieben. Immerhin kann man doch erkennen, dass in der Ecke rechts unten es der Feuergott sein soll, der über dem *teoicpalli*, dem königlichen Stuhle, — auf ihm kniend, nicht auf ihm sitzend, — dort abgebildet ist. Denn der Gott ist zwar mit schwarzer Farbe an Armen und Beinen und im Gesichte gelb und schwarz, mit rother Partie um den Mund, also wie *Quetzalcouatl* gemalt, aber er trägt an der Stirnseite der mit Edelsteinscheiben besetzten Kopfbinde den herabfliegenden Türkisvogel (*xiuhtototl*) und auf der Brust die türkisfarbene blaue Platte, die beide echte Trachtabzeichen des Feuergottes, des *Ixcoçauhqui* oder *Xiuhtecutli*, sind. In der Hand hält der Gott das Wurfbrett und das Speerbündel.

Auf diesen Gott, den wir der Stelle nach, die er auf unserem Blatte einnimmt, und auch aus allgemeinen Gründen als den Vertreter des Ostens annehmen müssen, folgt nun in der Ecke rechts oben der Vertreter des Nordens. Dieser sitzt in einem Tempel, über dessen Dach und Wände sich eine in in der Hauptsache blaue Schlange zieht, deren Leib aus trapezförmigen Absätzen besteht, wie bei den Schlangen, die das Viereck in der Mitte unseres Blattes bilden, — eine Besonderheit, die überhaupt das allgemeine Merkmal der Feuerschlangen oder *xixiuhcouâ* ist (vgl. die Abb. 15 oben S. 36). Und in der That, ich habe ja oben schon einmal angeführt, dass der Berg der Feuerschlange ein Charakteristikum der Himmelsrichtung des Nordens ist. In diesem Tempel der Feuerschlange sitzt ein Gott, der einige Besonderheiten an sich zu haben scheint, von dem ich es daher doppelt bedauere, dass in Folge der Abreibung dieser Blattseite so wenig mehr von ihm zu sehen ist. Man erkennt wohl noch, dass er gleich der darnach zu besprechenden Figur, die in dem Westtempel sitzt, Arme und Beine mit blauer Farbe bemalt hat; man sieht auch, dass die Partie um den Mund ebenfalls blau gemalt ist, dass darüber eine rothe Partie kommt, und das die Gegend um das Auge gelb gewesen zu sein scheint. In der Profillinie des Gesichtes scheint ein Knorren an der Nasenwurzel sich zu markiren, und eine sehr eigenthümliche türkisfarbene Kopfbinde ist deutlich, die über der Stirn in zwei Spitzen aufsteigt, und von der auch vorn und hinten (rechts und links?) zwei in Daunenfederbüschel endende Riemen abgehen, die wir ähnlich bei *Ueuecoyotl*, dem alten Koyote, dem Tanzgotte, dem Herrn des vierten Tageszeichens, und bei dem jungen Gotte der Generation und der Lebensmittel, *Xochipilli*, dem Herrn des eilften Tageszeichens, finden. Aber mehr ist nicht zu sehen, und das ist in diesem Falle doppelt bedauerlich, da dies eine Figur ist, die in den Bilderschriften sonst selten ist, wenn sie überhaupt in gleicher Weise anderwärts noch vorkommt. Man kann nur soviel über sie sagen, dass sie jedenfalls auch ein *Xiuhtecutli*, ein Herr des Türkises, ein Feuergott, sein muss. Was für eine besondere Schattirung dieser grossen Gottheit aber in dieser Figur vorliegt, vermag ich nicht zu bestimmen. Der Gott sitzt übrigens in seinem Tempel nicht allein, er hält auf seinem Schosse eine kleine Figur des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* und bildet damit ein Gegenstück zu dem Gotte des Westtempels, der eine kleine *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur auf seinem Schosse hält. Diese beiden gegensätzlichen Götter, denen wir so oft auf diesen Blättern begegnet sind, scheinen auch hier die Kennzeichnung des Gegensatzes zwischen den beiden Seiten des Blattes und der von ihnen vertretenen Himmelsrichtungen, — des Ostens und des Nordens einerseits, des Westens und des Südens andererseits, — zu dienen.

Der Westtempel, in der linken oberen Ecke unseres Blattes, ist durch ein hohes Strohdach ausgezeichnet, das aber nicht in eine Spitze ausläuft, wie das Haus der schwarzen Schlange, und der *Quetzalcouatl*-Tempel, die wir auf den vorhergehenden Blättern kennen gelernt haben, sondern bei aller Höhe immer noch einen breiten First hat. Der Gott, der in diesem Tempel sitzt, ist auch eine Figur, der wir sonst selten begegnen, steht aber nicht ganz vereinzelt da. Wir werden ihn später noch, in der oberen Abtheilung des Blattes 50 dieser Handschrift, als einen der vier Himmelsträger kennen lernen. Es ist ohne Zweifel auch ein echter Feuergott. Denn diese Figur trägt ebenfalls an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde den herabfliegenden Türkisvogel (*xiuhtototl*), der, wie ich angab, und wie ich früher gezeigt habe (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 121, 122), das besondere Kennzeichen des Feuergottes ist. Aber dieser Gott des Westtempels ist, wie der des Nordtempels unseres Blattes, an Unterarmen und Unterschenkeln mit blauer Farbe und sonst gelb gemalt, und er hat nicht die eigenthümliche rothe und schwarze Gesichtsbemalung, die wir sonst bei dem Feuergotte antreffen, sondern nur ein Paar schmale schwarze Querstreifen in der Höhe des Auges und des Mundes, eine Bemalung, die, wie ich oben angab, den Gott *Xocotl* oder *Otontecutli*, der an dem grossen Totenfeste *Uei miccailhuitl* hernieder-

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kommt (geboren wird), kennzeichnet, und die wir eben auch auf Blatt 45 in dem Gesichte des Gottes getroffen haben, der dort als das lebendige Prinzip der die Gottheit des Nordens charakterisierenden Feuerschlange erscheint. Gleich dem Gotte des Nordens hält dieser Gott des Westens auch eine kleine Götterfigur vor sich, und zwar *Tezcatlipoca*, der, gegenüber dem den Osten und den Norden repräsentierenden *Quetzalcouatl*, hier als Vertreter des Westens und des Südens erscheint.

In der linken unteren Ecke endlich ist als Vertreter des Südens, dem Feuergotte gegenüber, und wie dieser auf einem *teoicpalli* kniend, der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca* in seiner typischen Tracht und Ausstattung dargestellt. Es verdient sehr bemerkt zu werden, dass *Tezcatlipoca* hier schlechtweg in der Reihe der Feuergötter erscheint. Die Berechtigung dafür liegt meiner Ansicht nach in der Urverwandtschaft, die zwischen *Tezcatlipoca* und dem Monde besteht, und in den Beziehungen, die sich zwischen dem Mondgotte, dem ersten Menschen, dem Repräsentanten der Vorfahren, und dem Feuergotte nachweisen lassen.[1])

Die Feuergötter sind die Repräsentanten des *atl-tlachinolli*, des Wassers (Speerwerfens) und des Brandes, d. h. die Götter des Krieges. Darum begegnen uns hier auch einige Symbole, die wir ähnlich auf dem vorhergehenden Blatte 45, das ja den Aufenthaltsort der Seelen der toten Krieger veranschaulicht, getroffen haben. Auf der rechten Seite des Blattes nämlich eine dreibeinige Schale mit Adlerdaunen (*quauhiuitl*), in der ein Pfeilschaft steckt. Die Adlerdaunen sind hier nur noch, was an den betreffenden Gefässen des Blattes 45 nicht der Fall war, mit Blumen besteckt, die offenbar, wie ja ganz allgemein, das Blut bedeuten, — das Blut, mit dem die Adlerfedern erkauft werden. Gegenüber auf der linken Seite des Blattes sehen wir zwei andere Gefässe mit Adlerdaunen, in deren Mitte ein Pfeilschaft steckt, und die auch mit Blumen besetzt sind; es sind aber hier die Gefässe in die Gestalt eines *quauhtemoc*, eines herabkommenden Adlers, verwandelt.

Die vier Eckdarstellungen kennzeichnen uns also den Raum, in dem wir auf Blatt 46 uns befinden, als den Sitz der Feuergötter. In der Mitte des Blattes wird unten die Erzeugung des Feuers selbst dem Beschauer vor Augen geführt, und darüber in dem durch vier Feuerschlangen umschlossenen Raume die Verjüngung des Gottes durch das Feuer, die ihn befähigt, als Sonne am Himmel emporzusteigen.

Die Erzeugung der Feuers geschieht über einer kostbaren, nach Art des *teoicpalli* aus Holz geschnitzten, mit Gold beschlagenen und mit Edelsteinscheiben verzierten Estrade auf dem Leibe der Feuergöttin, die ausgestreckt, wie wir die Erdgöttinnen immer getroffen haben, auf dieser Estrade liegt, mit Adlerfüssen versehen ist und aus dem Rachen einer mit Araraflügeln und Ararafedern bekleideten Schlange hervorsieht. Sie ist mit dem echten Kopfputze und auch dem Türkisvogel des Feuergottes geschmückt, gibt aber in der Gesichtsbemalung, wie es scheint, die des Feuergottes des Nordtempels wieder, indem die Partie um den Mund blau gemalt ist, der übrige Teil des Gesichtes eine Felderung in rother und gelber Farbe aufweist. Auf dem Leibe dieser Feuergöttin, in einem Edelsteine (*chalchiuitl*), der offenbar das Herz der Göttin vorstellt, erhohrt *Quetzalcouatl* das Feuer. Den Rauchwolken entspringen die Feuergötter, eine weisse, rothe, blaue, gelbe nackte Menschenfigur, die die Gesichtsbemalung des echten Feuergottes und feuerfarbenes Haar mit den zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken zeigen.

Ueber dieser Feuererzeugung sieht man ein von einer weissen (rothgestreiften), einer gelben, einer blauen, einer rothen Feuerschlange gebildetes, geschlossenes Viereck, das innen ganz roth, mit der Farbe des Feuers gemalt ist, und das offenbar das *tlecuilli* oder *tlequaztli*, den Feuerheerd, vorstellt. An das Herdfeuer, das in der Mitte des Hauses brennt, gehört das Weib. Darum sehen wir um dies von den Feuerschlangen gebildete Viereck vier weibliche Gestalten postirt, die natürlich, als Dienerinnen des Feuers, mit der Farbe des Feuers, gelb und in einem das Auge umgebenden Felde roth gemalt sind, (gleich den Figuren, die auf den Blättern 33 und 34 an der Basis der Tempelpyramiden angebracht waren); sie haben einen türkisfarbenen Schmuck in der Nase, dessen Grundform wohl das Trapez und der Strahl ist, das Feuer- und Jahressymbol, das vielleicht die Abbreviatur eines Sonnenbildes ist. Als

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1) Vgl. hierüber meine Abhandlung: „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Band XXXVII (1906).

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Dienerinnen des Feuergottes sind sie auch die Kriegerinnen und sind daher mit einer Perrücke von Daunenfedern abgebildet, über der an der Stirnseite zwei Locken in die Höhe stehen. Im Innern des von den Feuerschlangen gebildeten Feuerheerdes steht auf einer Unterlage von Türkisplatten ein grosser Kochtopf, der in den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des Edelsteins, gemalt ist und auf seiner Vorderseite die Elemente eines Gesichtes mit fletschenden Zähnen zeigt. In diesem Topfe brennt der Gott. Das ist also derselbe Verjüngungszauber, den wir auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift bei *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, dem Herrn des siebzehnten Tageszeichen dargestellt sahen, und der uns auch in dem Abschnitte, der uns jetzt beschäftigt, schon einmal (auf Blatt 42, vgl. oben S. 53) begegnete. Während aber an diesen beiden Stellen, und auch sonst, es stets *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* ist, den man in dem Kochtopfe schmoren sieht, ist es hier weder dieser Gott, noch etwa der Sonnengott, der ja aus dieser Verjüngung entstehen soll, sondern der Gott schlechtweg, der Gott, dem dieser ganze Abschnitt gewidmet ist, *Quetzalcouatl*.

So sieht man denn auch an der Ausgangs- und Schlussseite dieses Blattes wieder eine Figur der Erdgöttin quer über die ganze Breite des Blattes gelagert. Ihr Leib bildet einen mit den Symbolen des Himmels, mit Steinmessern, den Sinnbildern der Strahlen, und mit Licht- oder Strahlaugen, den Abbildern des Lichts, bemalten Vorhang. Denn dieser Vorhang scheidet nicht mehr eine Abtheilung der Erde oder der Unterwelt von der anderen, sondern ist die Thür zum Himmel. Aus dem breiten offenen, durch keine Nebelbrücke versperrten Spalte kommt wieder, wie auf der Ausgangsseite von Blatt 32 und auf der Eingangsseite von Blatt 45, der Gott hervor, um als Lichtkörper am Himmel emporzusteigen. Und auch hier, wo es sich nicht um das Erscheinen des Abendsterns (wie auf Blatt 32), noch um das Aufgehen des Morgensterns (wie auf Blatt 45) handeln kann, wo das Aufsteigen der Sonne am Firmamente zur Anschauung gebracht sein muss, ist es wieder der Gott schlechtweg, ist es *Quetzalcouatl*, der seinen Weg zur Höhe nimmt. Was sich mir bei der Erzählung von den vier Göttertrachten aufdrängte, die *Motecuhçoma* dem Cortes als dem wiederkehrenden Gotte entgegensandte, was auch das merkwürdige Blatt 89 des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 predigt, das finde ich hier bestätigt, dass auch jene blutigen Polytheïsten in der sich drängenden Fülle ihrer Göttergestalten eine Einheit ihres Wesens ahnten.

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14. Die fünf Ciuateteô, die zu Göttinnen gewordenen Weiber, die Dämonen des Westens, und die fünf Auiateteô, die Götter der Lust, die Dämonen des Südens.

Blatt 47, 48 (= Kingsborough 68, 67).

Auf diese merkwürdige, fünf weibliche und fünf männliche Götter umfassende Reihe, für die eine Parallele auf den Blättern 77—79 (= Kingsborough 20—18) des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 vorliegt, habe ich schon in einer meiner ersten Arbeiten, in denen ich die Ergebnisse meiner bilderschriftlichen Studien niederlegte[1]), aufmerksam gemacht. Ich habe dort darauf hingewiesen, dass die Anfangszeichen der Dreizehnheiten von Tageszeichen, die bei den fünf weiblichen Gottheiten der mittleren Reihe dieser beiden Blätter angegeben sind, genau die Zeichen sind, an denen nach dem vierten Buche Sahagun's in dem die augurische Bedeutung der einzelnen Zeichen des *Tonalamatl*'s oder Kalenders von 13 × 20 Tagen auseinandergesetzt ist, die *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin*, die Göttinnen, die im Westen hausen, die Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, zur Erde herniederkommen, die Kinder mit Epilepsie schlagend und die Männer zur Unzucht und Sünde verleitend. Ich habe deshalb schon damals geschlossen, dass die hier in der mittleren Reihe der Blätter 47, 48 dargestellten weiblichen Gottheiten die *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin* dar-

1) „Der Codex Borgia und die verwandten Bilderschriften." Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Bd. XIX (1887). — Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band I, Berlin 1902, S. 133—144.

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stellen müssen. Als ich dann im Jahre 1904 den betreffenden Abschnitt des Vaticanus, die Blätter 77—79 (= Kingsborough 20—18) beschrieb, wies ich darauf hin, dass die Tageszeichen, die bei den fünf *Ciuateteô* angegeben sind, die fünf Dreizehnheiten des dritten, dem Westen gehörigen Viertels des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s darstellen, und dass die Tageszeichen, die bei den fünf männlichen Gottheiten stehen, in ähnlicher Weise die fünf Dreizehnheiten des vierten, dem Süden gehörigen Viertels des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s angeben, und ich habe darum auch in der Ueberschrift dieses Kapitels die ersten die Göttinnen des Westens, die letzten die Götter des Südens genannt. Ich habe auch dort, in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus, schon die beiden vorliegenden Blätter des Codex Borgia herangezogen und auf die beiden Bilder hingewiesen, die hier im Codex Borgia, an der rechten Seite des Blattes 47, an, oder vielmehr vor, dem Anfange der Reihen der fünf weiblichen und der fünf männlichen Gottheiten stehen, und gezeigt, dass aus diesen, den beiden Reihen der weiblichen und männlichen Gottheiten vorhergehenden Bildern mit Sicherheit folgt, dass für die *Ciuateteô*, die Reihe der weiblichen Gottheiten, jedesmal die ersten der dreizehn Tageszeichen, die bei diesen fünf weiblichen Gottheiten angegeben sind, zu gelten haben; für die fünf männlichen Gottheiten aber jedesmal die fünften Tage der bei ihnen aufgeführten Dreizehnheiten bezeichnend sind, obwohl bei beiden, den weiblichen wie den männlichen Figuren, in den begleitenden Tageszeichenreihen in durchaus gleicher Weise das erste und das fünfte Zeichen besonders (durch volle bildliche Darstellung) hervorgehoben ist. In der That, in dem mit blauer Farbe erfüllten Vierecke, das das erste rechts in der mittleren Reihe 47 des Codex Borgia ist, sehen wir in der Ecke rechts oben, in der Ecke links oben, in der Ecke links unten, in der Ecke rechts unten und in der Mitte der unteren Seite die Daten:

13 *miquiztli*,	13 *tecpatl*,	13 *itzcuintli*,	13 *eecatl*,	13 *ocelotl*,
(Tod)	(Feuerstein)	(Hund)	(Wind)	(Jaguar)

Das sind genau die Tage, die den Tagen

1 *maçatl*,	1 *quiauitl*,	1 *oçomàtli*,	1 *calli*,	1 *quauhtli*.
(Hirsch)	(Regen)	(Affe)	(Haus)	(Adler)

vorangehen. Und letzteres sind eben die Anfangstage der Dreizehnheiten, die bei den in der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 47, 48 aufgeführten weiblichen Gottheiten stehen, und die, wie wir aus dem vierten Buche Sahagun's wissen, die Zeichen sind, an denen die *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin* zur Erde herniederkommen. — In dem mit dunkler Farbe erfüllten Vierecke aber, das das erste rechts in der obersten Reihe des Blattes 47 ist, sehen wir in der Ecke links oben, in der Ecke links unten und in der Mitte der unteren Seite die Daten: —

4 *calli*,	4 *quauhtli*,	4 *maçatl*
(Haus)	(Adler)	(Hirsch)

und dazu, — wenigstens in der Originalhandschrift noch deutlich zu erkennen, — in der Ecke rechts unten und in der Ecke rechts oben die Daten: —

4 *quiauitl*,	4 *oçomàtli*
(Regen)	(Affe).

Das sind aber wiederum die Tage, die den fünften Tagen der Reihen von dreizehn Tagen vorangehen, die die fünf männlichen Gottheiten der obersten Reihe der Blätter 47, 48 begleiten, — den Tagen

5 *cuetzpalin*,	5 *cozcaquauhtli*,	5 *tochtli*,	5 *xochitl*,	5 *malinalli*
(Eidechse)	(Geier)	(Kaninchen)	(Blume)	(Gedrehtes Gras).

Und dass diese Tage in der That für die fünf hier in der obersten Reihe dargestellten männlichen Gottheiten zu gelten haben, das wird unwiderleglich dadurch bewiesen, dass wir in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte der Biblioteca del Palacio in Madrid und in der Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florenz in dem Kapitel, das von den Göttertrachten handelt, mit dem Namen *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", *Macuil tochtli* „Fünf Kaninchen" zwei Götter abgebildet und beschrieben finden, die als besonderes Abzeichen im Gesichte dieselbe Zeichnung einer weissen Menschenhand um den Mund aufweisen (vgl. Abb. 41, 42), die wir auch in der Gesichtsbemalung der fünf männlichen Götter der obersten Reihe der Blätter 47, 48 unserer Handschrift erkennen, — eine Gesichtsbemalung, die vielleicht weiter nichts als eine hieroglyphische Kenn-

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zeichnung der Zahl Fünf ist, die diese Götter im Namen tragen. Der rothe Gott *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", der in dieser Reihe der Götter des Südens als der vierte der Reihe noch insbesondere den Süden repräsentirt, also gewissermassen der Prototyp der Reihe ist, galt den Mexikanern als der Gott des Gesanges, des Tanzes, des Spiels, den wir z. B. im Codex Magliabecchiano Blatt XIII, 3 Fol. 60 (Abb. 44) dem *patolli*-Spiele präsidiren sehen, als der Gott der Lust überhaupt, der *Auiateotl*. Und darum habe ich diese ganze Reihe in der Ueberschrift als die *Auiateteô* bezeichnet.

Abb. 41. *Macuil xochitl*, Gott des Spiels. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio. (Madrid.)

Abb. 42. Der Gott *Macuil tochtli* „Fünf Kaninchen". Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio. (Madrid.)

Abb. 43. Der Gott *Macuil cuetzpalin* „Fünf Eidechse", Banner- und Fackelträger vor dem Sakrarium des Gottes *Uitzilopochtli*, des Gottes von México. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio. (Madrid.)

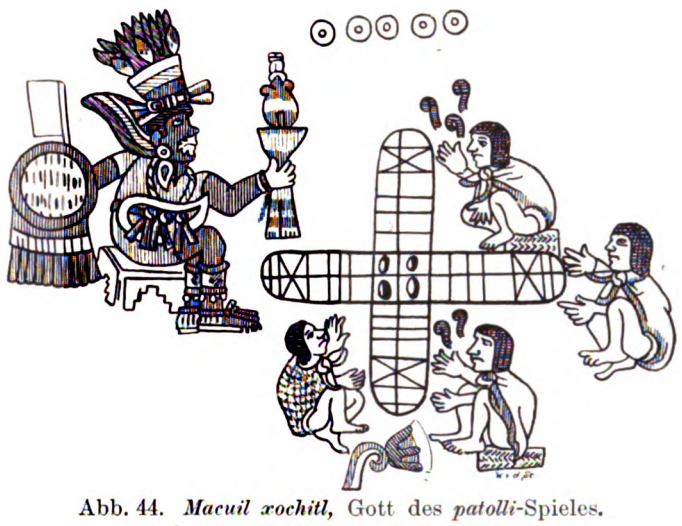

Abb. 44. *Macuil xochitl*, Gott des *patolli*-Spieles. Codex Magliabechiano XIII, 3. fol. 60.

Während aber der Codex Vaticanus sich darauf beschränkt, die beiden Reihen der fünf weiblichen und der fünf männlichen Gottheiten, der *Ciuateteô* und der *Auiateteô*, aufzuführen, ist auf unseren Blättern 47, 48 des Codex Borgia in der untersten Reihe, d. h. also — nach der Lesung, die in unserer Handschrift überall befolgt ist, — vor den beiden Reihen der fünf *Ciuateteô* und der fünf *Auiateteô*, noch eine dritte Reihe von fünf Figuren abgebildet, weibliche Figuren, — gleich denen der mittleren Reihe der Blätter 47, 48, aber in Gesichtsbemalung und Tracht von ihnen in bestimmter Weise sich unterscheidend. Es sind Figuren in im Allgemeinen viel reicherer Tracht, die durch die schwarze, *tlaolcopintli*, d. h. mit flüssigem Kautschuk gemachte Bemalung um den Mund, durch den *yacametztli*, den halbmondförmigen Nasenschmuck, der hier noch durch die knotigen Auswüchse als ursprünglich aus Knochen gefertigt bezeichnet wird, und durch den *ichcaxochitl*, die Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle, sowie das *iuitemalli*, den Nackenfeder-

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schmuck aus dunklen (Truthahn-Flügel-?) Federn und langen gelben Federn, als Bilder der alten Erdgöttin, eigentlich Mondgöttin, gekennzeichnet werden, die als *Teteo innan* „Mutter der Götter“ und *Toci* „unsere Grossmutter“, und auch unter den Namen *Tlaçolteotl* „Göttin des Unraths“, *Tlaelquani* „Dreckfresserin“, d. i. Sünderin, und *Ixcuinan* bekannt ist. Von den gewöhnlichen *Tlaçolteotl*-Bildern weichen diese Figuren der untersten oder Anfangsreihe der Blätter 47, 48 unserer Handschrift dadurch ab, dass sie mit dem wirren, dunklen, an dem Ende der Locken mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen, besetzten Haare des Todesgottes und einer Rosette auf dem Scheitel dargestellt sind, aus der eine Schnur mit dicker Endquaste heraushängt, — eine Frisur und ein Kopfschmuck, den wir auf Blatt 16 unserer Handschrift bei der *Mayauel*, der Göttin der Agavepflanze, angetroffen haben. Reihen von Tageszeichen, ähnlich denen, die bei den Figuren der mittleren und obersten Reihe, den *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô*, angegeben sind, fehlen in dieser unteren Reihe. Aber es ist bei jeder der fünf Figuren ein bestimmtes Datum angegeben, das gewissermassen den Namen der Göttin ausdrückt. Und es sind durch besondere Begleitbilder die Himmelsrichtungen gekennzeichnet, zu denen die einzelnen dieser fünf Figuren in Beziehung gesetzt werden.

Die erste dieser fünf *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren, in dem ersten Fache rechts in der untersten oder Anfangsreihe des Blattes 47, soll als Grundfarbe eigentlich wohl das *tlauauantli*, die rothe Streifung, aufweisen. Das ist die Farbe des Morgensterns (wie wir auf Blatt 45 gesehen haben) und der Seelen der geopferten Krieger, also des Morgenhimmels, des Ostens. Und dem Osten soll augenscheinlich diese erste der fünf *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren angehören. Diese rothe Streifung ist aber hier nicht, wie sonst, auf weissem Grunde, sondern auf der gelben Grundfarbe, der natürlichen Hautfarbe der Weiber in den Bilderschriften, die auch die gewöhnliche Farbe der *Tlaçolteotl* ist, ausgeführt. Diese rothgestreifte Grundfarbe sollte eigentlich auch auf der Scheitelrosette und den Trachtstücken der Figur zum Ausdruck gebracht sein. Der Zeichner hat sich aber die Sache vereinfacht und hat die Scheitelrosette und das pellerinenartige Gewand (*quechquemitl*), sowie die Enagua (*cueitl*) und die von dem Armbande herunterhängenden Bänder, gleichmässig roth gemalt. Auf dem *quechquemitl*, auf der Enagua, und auf den vom Armbande herunterhängenden Bändern sind aber als Determinativ Feuerstein-Pfeilspitzen angebracht, die man auch von dem Haare, den Armen und den Beinen herunterhängen sieht. Es unterliegt mir keinem Zweifel dass wir diese Pfeilspitzen als ein Symbol der Krieger und des Kriegerhimmels, oder als ein Symbol des schiessenden Gottes, d. h. des Morgensterns, des Morgenhimmels, anzusehen haben. So trägt denn auch die Göttin auf der Brust den *anauatl*, den weissen, oben mit rothem Leder umwickelten Ring, das Abbild des Auges, den Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s, des Kriegergottes, und *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*'s, und sie hat neben dem Grasbündel, das sie, (gleich den *Ciuateteô* und den *Auiateteô*), in der einen Hand trägt, in der anderen die Kriegswaffen: — Schild, Handfahne, Speerbündel und Stachelkeule (Schwertfischschwert).

Als Name ist bei dieser ersten der fünf *Tlaçolteotl* das Datum *Chicunaui acatl* „neun Rohr“ angegeben. Das ist der Tag, der in der That im Sahagun (Buch 4, Kap. 20) als der der Göttin *Tlaçolteotl* geweihte Tag angegeben wird, und unter dessen Namen die Göttin *Tlaçolteotl* auch auf der Rückseite des Codex Bologna abgebildet wird [1]) Die Woche, der dieser Tag angehört, ist die neunte der zwanzig Dreizehnheiten des *Tonalamatl*'s, die mit dem Tage *ce couatl* „eins Schlange“ beginnt, und die die Woche der Götter des Krieges ist, — *Xiuhtecutli*'s, des Feuergottes, und *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*'s, des Gottes des Morgensterns, die die Vertreter des *atl-tlachinolli*, des „Wassers (Speerwerfens) und des Brandes“ (des Symboles, bezw. der Hieroglyphe, des Krieges) und deshalb auch als Verkörperungen des neunten Tageszeichens, des Zeichens *atl* „Wasser“, gesetzt sind. *Tlaçolteotl* berührt sich mit diesen Gottheiten, weil sie ja eigentlich die Mondgöttin ist. Denn der Mond, wenn er, als abnehmender, im Osten, in der aufgehenden Sonne, angelangt ist, verbrennt sich, stirbt, und verwandelt sich in den Morgenstern. Das ist der wahre und eigentliche Inhalt der Sage von *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Heros von *Tollan*. Man begreift demnach, dass hier, in der untersten Reihe des Blattes 47 des Codex Borgia, *Tlaçolteotl* als Vertreter des Ostens und mit kriegerischen Attributen ausgerüstet, in mit Pfeilspitzen ornamentirtes Gewand gekleidet, auftritt, und neben ihr als Determinativ ein brennendes Haus und die nackte Figur einer Göttin im Wasser angegeben sind, die nichts anderes als eine besondere und höchst interessante Form der Hieroglyphe *atl-tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand“, der metaphorischen Bezeichnung des Krieges, darstellen.

1) Siehe meine Erläuterungen zum Codex Féjerváry-Mayer. Berlin 1901. S. 52.

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Die zweite der fünf *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren, in dem zweiten, dem linken Fache der untersten (oder Anfangs-)Reihe des Blattes 47, ist im Gesichte, auf dem Leibe und den Gliedern mit blauer Farbe gemalt, und blau sind auch ihr Gewand und ihre verschiedenen Trachtabzeichen. Es ist die Göttin des Nordens, der hier die blaue Farbe gegeben ist, weil der Norden die Region des Dunkels ist. Als besondere Kennzeichnung sind auf ihrem Gewande noch — in üblicher Weise halb weiss, halb roth gemalte, d. h. in Blut getauchte, — Steinmesser angegeben. Als Brustschmuck trägt sie auf einem am Rande mit Baumwollbüscheln besetzten Kragen das eigenthümliche, hornartig geschweifte, weiss und blau gebänderte Gebilde, das wir auf Blatt 13 unserer Handschrift rechts oben bei *Pàtecatl*, dem Pulquegotte, und auf Blatt 12 rechts oben bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Herrin des vierzehnten Tageszeichens, kennen gelernt haben. In der rechten Hand hält sie, wie die erste dieser fünf Göttinnen, ein Büschel *malinalli*-Gras, in der Linken aber, neben Schild und Handfahne, eine Kette von Blumen.

Als Name steht bei dieser Göttin das Datum *Naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser". Das scheint zunächst der Gewanddekoration dieser Göttin zu entsprechen, denn diese besteht ja, wie ich angab, in Bildern von Feuersteinmessern, und *Naui tecpatli* könnten wir etwa mit „Feuersteinmesser in den vier Richtungen" oder „Lauter Feuersteinmesser" übersetzen. Und beides könnte eine Kennzeichnung des Nordens, als der Region des Scharfen, Kalten, Schneidenden, d. h. des Steinmessers, sein. Wir müssen aber auch, — und das ist vielleicht richtiger, — in Betracht ziehen, dass *naui tecpatl* der vierte Tag des neunzehnten, mit *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" beginnenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, und dass der Regent dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes eine der *Tlaçolteotl* verwandte Gestalt, die junge Göttin der Blumen, d. h. der Liebe und der Zeugung, die Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, ist. Dass in der That an diese Göttin bei der zweiten dieser fünf Figuren, der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens, gedacht worden ist, scheint mir dadurch ausgesprochen zu sein, dass der Zeichner dieser zweiten Figur nicht, wie den anderen, ein Speerbündel, sondern eine Kette von Blumen in die Hand gegeben hat.

Allerdings erscheint es etwas wunderbar, dass eine Göttin der Liebe und der Zeugung gerade mit der Himmelsrichtung des Nordens, der Region des Dunkels und des Todes, in Verbindung gebracht worden sei. Es ist das in der That auch nicht die Regel. Es ist aber zu verstehen, wenn wir einerseits daran denken, dass der Norden, als das Land der Toten, zugleich auch das Land der Vorfahren und der ersten Menschen ist, und wenn wir ferner in Erwägung ziehen, dass die Bedeutung, die der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* in der Regel zugeschrieben wird, die der jungen, schönen Göttin der Liebe, der Patronin der Freudenmädchen und der Beschützerin alles dessen, was schön, kunstvoll, geschmackvoll erscheint, offenbar erst eine abgeleitete ist. Gleich der aus dem Meere geborenen Aphrodite, ist diese mexikanische Göttin der Liebe zweifellos ursprünglich die junge, schöne Mondgöttin. Und in der That, in dem zweiten noch unveröffentlichten Theile der „Historia de los reinos de Culhuácan y México" (Catalogo del Museo Indiano del cavallero Boturini § VIII, No. 13)[1]), die von Brasseur de Bourbourg unter dem Titel „Codex chimalpopocatl" zitirt, und deren erster Theil in den Anales del Museo Nacional de México unter dem Namen „Anales de Quauhtitlan" veröffentlicht worden ist, — eine Abschrift dieses zweiten Theiles verdanke ich der Güte meines jungen Freundes Dr. Walther Lehmann — wird der Mondgott (*Metztli*), der dem syphilitischen, mit Bubonen behafteten Gotte *Nauauatl* nach ins Feuer springt, aus dem er als Sonne, der Gott *Metztli* als Mond hervorgeht, mit dem Namen *Naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser" genannt. *Naui tecpatl* galt also in der That als einer der Namen des Mondes. Die Beziehung zwischen der *Xochiquetzal* und dem Monde, auf die ich zuerst in meinem Aufsatze „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen"[2]) hingewiesen habe, besteht zu Recht. In der That wird ja auch der Mondgott im Codex Telleriano Remensis und in verwandten Bilderschriften, regelmässig mit einem Blumenkranze im Haare dargestellt. Die Verbindung des Mondes mit dem Norden aber ist eine herkömmliche und gewöhnliche. Wir werden ihr weiter unten noch begegnen.

Als Determinativ stehen bei dieser zweiten der fünf Figuren der Erdgöttin wieder zwei Bilder: — oben eine Gruppe, die das Feuerbohren in einem Steinmesser veranschaulicht, wie wir das ganz genau ebenso auf Blatt 50 unserer Handschrift bei derselben Himmelsrichtung des Nordens angegeben finden werden.

1) Diese Indentifizirung verdanken wir den Studien Dr. Walther Lehmann's.
2) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVII, Berlin 1906.

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Daneben eine Feuersteinpfeilspitze. Und darunter eine schwarze Kriegermaske an einem *tlauauantli*, weiss- und rothgestreift, d. h. in den Farben *Mixcouatl*'s, des Gottes der Chichimeken und der Jagd, des Gottes des Nordens, gemalten Beine. Dieses etwas räthselhafte Bild ist gewissermassen eine Replik zu der Abbildung 45, die wir in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl* bei der mit [10] *atl* „Wasser" beginnenden Säule angegeben finden. Das letztere Bild unterscheidet sich aber von der Gruppe, die diese zweite der fünf Figuren der Erdgöttin begleitet, dadurch, dass neben dem weissen, rothgestreiften Beine und der Kriegermaske noch ein nach unten geöffneter Schlangenrachen zu sehen ist, den wir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit als „Wasserspeier" erklären können. Denn in demselben in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten

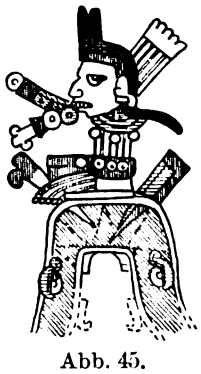

Abb. 45.
aoztotl, die Wasserhöhle und Bein und Maske des geopferten Kriegers (*tlauauantli*).
Codex Borgia 8 (= Kingsborough 31) unten.

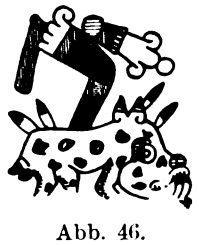

Abb. 46.
ocelotl, der Jaguar, der Gott der Höhlen und der geopferte Krieger.
Codex Bologna 8, unten.

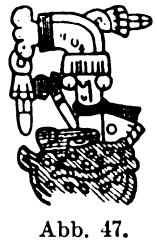

Abb. 47.
oztotl, die Höhle und der geopferte Krieger.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 8 (= Kingsborough 56), unten.

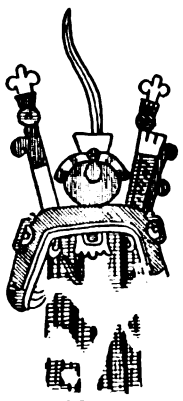

Abb. 48.
aoztotl, die Wasserhöhle.
Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 37) unten.

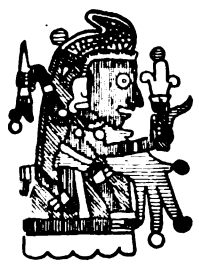

Abb. 49.
Tepeyollotli, der Gott der Berghöhle. Codex Bologna 2, unten.

Abb. 50.
oztotl, die Berghöhle.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 2, (= Kingsborough 50), unten.

Tonalamatl steht bei der mit [9] *atl* „Wasser" beginnenden Säule die Abb. 48, die in dem Bilde des Codex Borgia (Abb. 48) uns deutlich den Wasser speienden Schlangenrachen, den *aotztotl*, die „Wasserhöhle" vor Augen führt und in der Parallelstelle des Codex Bologna (Abb. 49) einfach durch *Tepeyollotli*, den Gott der Höhlen, ersetzt ist. Ich möchte darnach das Bein und die Maske des *tlauauantli*, des geopferten Kriegers, als symbolische Bezeichnung der Gestorbenen, der Vorfahren, und als Hinweis auf den *aoztotl* die „Wasserhöhle, die „Höhle" betrachten. Denn von den Gestorbenen heisst es ja im 24. Kapitel des sechsten Buches Sahagun's: — ... „los viejos y viejas que yá estan en su recogimiento en la cueva y en el agua, en el infierno, donde están descansando" „die alten Männer und Frauen, die schon in ihrem Ruheorte sich befinden, in der Höhle und in dem Wasser, in der Unterwelt, wo sie (von den Mühsalen des Lebens) ausruhen." — Ich möchte somit, die Auffassungen aufgebend, die ich früher von diesen Bildern

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hatte, die Konjektur wagen, dass auch die bei der zweiten der fünf Figuren der *Tlaçolteotl* stehende Gruppe eine, aber der Himmelsrichtung des Nordens angemessene Darstellung der Phrase *teoatl tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand", des metaphorischen Ausdrucks für „Krieg", ist, die hier gesetzt ist, weil diese Göttinnen sämtlich als die Kriegerinnen gedacht sind.

Die dritte Figur, — die erste in der untersten Reihe des Blattes 48, — ist mit gelber Farbe gemalt. Ihre Enagua und die von ihrem Unterarme herunterhängenden Bänder sind mit Totenknochen gemustert, und sie trägt, gleich der vorigen Figur, das merkwürdige hornartig gekrümmte, weiss und blau gebänderte Gebilde, den Schmuck des Pulquegottes und der *Tlaçolteotl*, auf der Brust. In der rechten Hand hält sie, wie die beiden vorigen, ein Büschel *malinalli*-Grases; in der Linken zwei Speere. Es ist die Erdgöttin des Westens, deren Gewand mit Totenknochen gemustert ist, weil der Westen die Region der toten Sonne und zugleich das *Tamoanchan*, die Urheimath, das Land ist, von dem die Vorfahren, die längst Verstorbenen, kamen.

Als Name ist bei dieser dritten Figur das Datum *Chiquacen acatl* „acht Rohr" angegeben. Das ist der sechste Tag des zwanzigsten, mit *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen" beginnenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, dem *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec*, „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Erdgott, der Gott des Wachsthums und der Erneuerung der Vegetation, der Frühlingsgott, als Regenten gesetzt sind. Und mit diesen beiden Göttern soll offenbar diese dritte der fünf *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren in ihrem Wesen sich berühren. Denn der Westen ist ja das Land der Geburt und die Heimath des Maises.

Als Determinativ stehn bei dieser dritten Figur zu oberst ein Steinbeil (*itztopolli*), ein gefesselter Gefangener und ein Pfeil, die alle drei wohl als Sinnbilder der richterlichen Strafe, oder des Gottes der richterlichen Strafe, zu betrachten sind, und darunter ein Wassergefäss und in ihm die Maisgöttin (*cinteotl*) mit Maispflanzen. Als König und Richter erscheint in den Bilderschriften der Feuergott, die Strafe selbst ist wohl als Feuer gedacht. Der Gott der richterlichen Strafe insbesondere aber war *Tezcatlipoca*, der Gott des Abends, der nächtliche, der *teimatini* „der die Leute kennt"[1]) und *quittani in teiollo* „der das Herz der Leute kennt"[2]), genannt wird. Als Richter haben wir ihn das dreizehnte Tageszeichen *acatl* „Rohr" verkörpern gesehen.[3]) Die Maisgöttin aber ist die Göttin des Westens, denn der Westen ist das *cincalco*, das Maishaus, „die Heimath des Maises". Das Wasser mit der Maisgöttin ist demnach das Wasser des Westens. So scheint mir auch diese Gruppe eine Versinnbildlichung der Phrase *teoatl tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand", der Bezeichnung des Krieges, zu sein, aber eine dieser dritten Himmelsrichtung, dem Westen, angepasste Versinnbildlichung.

Die vierte Figur in der Mitte der untersten Reihe des Blattes 48, die dem Süden entsprechen muss, ist mit rother Farbe gemalt, und roth sind auch ihre Trachtstücke. Als Muster erscheint auf einigen der letzteren derselbe Totenknochen, wie bei der dritten Figur; *quechquemitl* und Enagua aber sind mit dem gelben Halbmonde verziert, den die Pulquegötter und *Tlaçolteotl* in der Nase tragen, mit dem auch das Gewand der typischen Bilder der *Tlaçolteotl* bedruckt ist, und der das Bild des Mondes ist, der diese Götter als Mondwesen bezeichnet. Unter dem *quechquemitl* hängt ein in einer Fassung befestigtes Steinmesser heraus, wie es uns sonst als Brustschmuck in der Regel nur bei dem Todesgotte begegnet, das wir aber als Determinativ (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 103, Abb. 295) auch auf der wässerigen Fläche der Hieroglyphe des Mondes angetroffen haben. Am linken Arme ist Schild und Handfahne befestigt; die linke Hand hält zwei Speere, wie die vorige Figur. Aber das Büschel *malinalli*-Gras in der rechten Hand fehlt. Die rechte Hand ist umgebogen. Der ausgestreckte Zeigefinger berührt die Unterlippe. Diese sonderbare Geberde, die einzig bei dieser vierten der fünf *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren vorkommt, muss ihren besonderen Grund haben. Nehmen wir an, — wie es wahrscheinlich anzunehmen ist, — dass die tiefschwarze, im Sahagun als *olcopinticac* bezeichnete, d. h mit flüssigem Kautschuk gemachte, Bemalung um den Mund, die das besondere Charakteristikum der *Tlaçolteotl* ist, sie als die kennzeichnen solle, die Schmutz oder Unrath gefressen hat, die *Tlaelquani*, die Dreckfresserin, die Sünderin,

1) Sahagun, Buch 6, Cap. 3.
2) Sahagun, Buch 6, Cap. 4.
3) Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 144.

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so würde die oben beschriebene Geberde vielleicht bedeuten können: — „ich bin die *Tlaelquani*“, oder „ich bin die eigentliche Göttin dieser Reihe“.

Als Name ist bei dieser vierten Figur das Datum *Chicuei acatl* „acht Rohr“ angegeben Das ist der achte Tag des sechsten mit *ce miquiztli* „eins Tod“ beginnenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, dessen Regent der Mondgott ist. Das Datum *Chicuei acatl* scheint in der That im Codex Bologna und im Codex

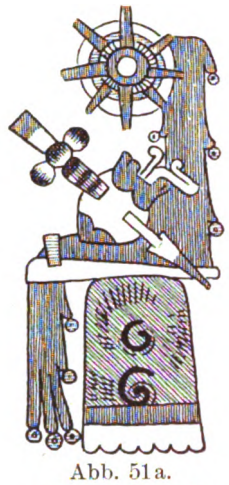

Abb. 51a.
Codex Borgia 2 (= Kingsborough 37) oben.
Die Sonne und die Zeichen der Strafe, bei dem Zeichen [11] *oçomàtli* „Affe“.

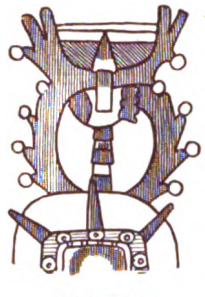

Abb. 51b.
Codex Bologna 2, oben.

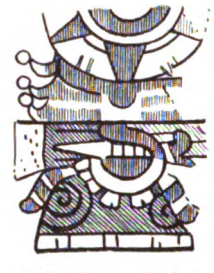

Abb. 51c. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 2 (= Kingsborough 50) oben.

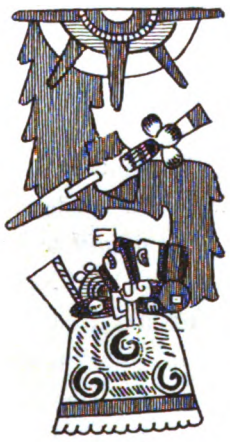

Abb. 52a.
Codex Borgia 6 (= Kingsborough 33) oben.
Die Sonne und die Zeichen der Strafe, bei dem Zeichen [7] *acatl* „Rose.“

Abb. 52b.
Codex Bologna 6, oben.

Abb 52c.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 6 (= Kingsborough 54) oben.

Laud als Name der Mondgöttin vorzukommen, und wir werden wohl diese vierte Figur unserer Reihe als die Repräsentantin der Mondgöttin im engeren Sinne anzusehen haben.

Als Determinativ finden wir bei dieser Figur eine Gruppe angegeben, die uns oben ein Bild der Sonne zeigt, ganz von Blut umgeben, und in dem breiten Blutstrome, der von ihr herabfliesst, ein von einem Pfeile durchbohrtes Herz. Darunter, wie es scheint, eine Schatzkiste; und daneben einen abgerissenen menschlichen Kopf mit zwei über der Stirn aufstrebenden Locken. Unter dem Ganzen

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endlich eine kniende schwarze Menschenfigur, die mit einem Steinmesser sich selbst die Brust aufschneidet.

Wie bei der zweiten der hier behandelten Gruppen haben wir, — und zwar hier für beide Theile des Bildes, — gewissermassen Repliken unter den Bildern, die wir als Begleitbilder des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s kennen gelernt haben. Für den oberen Teil des Bildes die Abbildungen 51—53, die bei dem Zeichen [11] *oçomàtli* (Affe), [7] *acatl* (Rohr) und [13] *quiauitl* (Regen) stehen, und die sämtlich — vgl. darüber meine Ausführungen in dem ersten Theile dieser

Abb. 53a. Codex Borgia 6 (= Kingsborough 33) oben. Blutstrom mit dem Zeichen der Strafe, und der Arara, der Vogel des Feuergottes, auf der Schatzkiste. Bei dem Zeichen [13] *quiauitl* „Regen".

Abb. 53b. Der Vogel des Feuergottes, des Herrn des Reichthums, des Richters und Königs. Codex Bologna 6, oben.

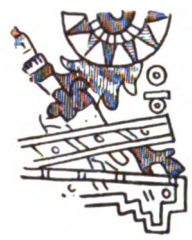

Abb. 53c. (Der Feuergott), der Herr des Reichthums, der Richter und König. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 7 (= Kingsborough 55), oben.

Abb. 54a. Codex Borgia 1 (= Kingsborough 88) unten. Der sich selbst Opfernde bei dem Zeichen [6] *miquiztli* „Tod".

Abb. 54b. Der sich selbst Opfernde. Codex Bologna 1, unten.

Abb. 54c. Der sich selbst Opfernde. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 1 (Kingsborough 49) unten.

Erläuterungen, S. 40, 59, 64 — den Begriff der richterlichen Strafe zum Ausdruck bringen, wozu aber noch, wenigstens in Abb. 53 deutlich, der Begriff des Feuers (repräsentirt durch den Arara) und des Goldes (repräsentirt durch die Schatzkiste) kommt. Für den unteren Theil der bei unserer vierten Figur stehenden Gruppe sind die Abbildungen 54, 55 deutliche Repliken, die bei den Zeichen [6] *miquiztli* (Tod) und [1] *xochitl* (Blume) stehen. Für den oberen Theil unserer Gruppe scheint mir demnach, als esoterische Bedeutung, der Begriff „Feuer" (*tlachinolli*) gesichert zu sein, während wir für den unteren Theil wohl berechtigt sind, als die gewollte Bedeutung den Begriff *chalchiuhatl* „kostbares Wasser", d. h. das Blut, das man bei der Selbstpeinigung sich entzieht, das Opferblut, suppliren können.

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Somit würde auch hier wieder die Phrase *teoatl tlachinolli*, die methaphorische Bezeichnung des Krieges, zur Darstellung gelangt sein, allerdings wieder in besonderer, dieser vierten Himmelsrichtung, dem Süden, angepassten Weise. Denn neben dem vom Pfeile durchbohrten Herzen und dem Blutstrome und neben der Schatzkiste des oberen Theiles sehen wir einen abgerissenen menschlichen Kopf, wie wir ihn auf den Blättern 32 und 44 unserer Handschrift als Bezeichnung der Himmelsrichtung der Zerstückung, des Südens, kennen gelernt haben. Die Repliken zu dem unteren Theile aber, die wir in den Abbildungen 54, 55 vor uns haben, stehen in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl* bei dem Zeichen *miquiztli* (Tod) und *xochitl* (Blume). Die Verkörperung des einen ist, wie wir wissen, und wie das Blatt 11 unserer Handschrift (links unten) uns zeigt, die Mondgöttin. Das andere Zeichen aber kommt in der Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, der jungen Göttin der Liebe, zur Anschauung, und die letztere haben wir allen Grund auch

Abb. 55a. Codex Borgia 7 (= Kingsborough 32) unten. Der sich selbst Opfernde. Bei dem Zeichen [1] *xochitl* „Blume".

Abb. 55b. Codex Bologna 7, unterste Reihe. Der sich selbst Opfernde, sich Kasteiende.

Abb 55c. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 7 (= Kingsborough 55), unterste Reihe. Der sich selbst Opfernde.

Abb 56. *Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agavepflanze. Codex Borgia 16 (Kingsborough 23).

Abb. 57 Die herabkommende Fledermaus bei der *Mayauel*, der Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, der Erdgöttin der Mitte oder der Richtung nach unten. Codex Borgia 48 (= Kingsborough 67).

als die Mondgöttin anzusehen, die schöne, von dem Sonnengott geliebte und von ihm gesuchte Göttin. Wir wissen aber, und ich habe das oben S. 3 auseinandergesetzt, dass nach dem sakralen Turnus der Süden die Bewegung auf die Sonne zu und deshalb den abnehmenden Mond, der im Osten zu sterben geht, bezeichnet.

Die fünfte Figur dieser Reihe, die Figur zur Linken in der untersten Reihe des Blattes 48, ist weiss im Gesichte und an Armen und Beinen gefärbt, und weiss auch ist die Rosette, die sie auf dem Kopfe trägt. Im Uebrigen kommt aber eine Gewandfarbe nicht in Betracht, da die Göttin nackt, also als Sünderin, dargestellt ist. Die weisse Farbe auf den Gliedern ist deutlich als Federbeklebung (*tlapotonilli*) gezeichnet. Auf der weissen Grundfarbe des Gesichts heben sich zwei kurze, schwarze Querstreifen ab, genau der gleichen Art wie auf dem weissen Gesichte der Göttin Abb. 56, die wir auf Blatt 16 unserer Handschrift als *Mayauel*, als Göttin der Agavepflanze, kennen gelernt haben. Und dass auch diese

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unsere fünfte Figur im Besonderen die *Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agavepflanze, die Pulquegöttin, vorstellen solle, ist deutlich durch die grosse Agavepflanze (*metl*), von der ihr Leib sich abhebt, zum Ausdrucke gebracht. Die Göttin bezeichnet hier die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, die Mitte oder das Oben-Unten. Der Zeichner hat sie daher auch, gegenüber den anderen vier, in gewisser Weise herausgehoben, indem er sie erstens nackt dargestellt, und zweitens ihr auch weder das *malinalli*-Grasbüschel, noch die Waffen in die Hand gegeben hat, die wir bei den vier anderen sehen.

Als Name steht bei der Göttin dieser fünften Himmelsrichtung das Datum *Ce quauhtli* „eins Adler". Dieses sollte eigentlich der Name der *Xochiquetzal* sein, denn der von der *Xochiquetzal* beherrschte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt fängt mit dem Tage *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" an. Der *Mayauel*, der Göttin der Agavepflanze, kommt vielmehr der achte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt zu, der mit dem Tage *ce malinalli* „eins Grasstrick" beginnt, und wir müssten daher vielmehr das Datum *Naui quauhtli* „vier Adler", — das dieser achten Dreizehnheit angehört, — hier angegeben finden. Es scheint mir, dass der Zeichner dieses Blattes einfach den Namen der fünften der *Ciuateteô*, der in der That *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" ist, statt des eigentlich der Göttin der Agavepflanze zukommenden Namens, bezw. Datums, eingesetzt hat.

Wie diese fünfte Figur selbst in der Ausstattung von den vier anderen Figuren der Reihe sich unterscheidet, so ist auch das Begleitbild bei ihr nicht in der zweitheiligen Weise wie die Begleitbilder der anderen konstruirt — eine Zweitheilung, die uns die Phrase *teoatl tlachinolli*, den metaphorischen Ausdruck des Krieges suggerirte. Es ist vielmehr bei der Göttin der fünften Himmelsrichtung nur das Thier angegeben, das uns die Abb. 57 zeigt, — die allerdings nach der Kingsborough'schen Ausgabe des Codex Borgia gezeichnet ist, da heute leider an dieser Stelle des Blattes der feine Stucküberzug, der die Malereien trägt, so stark abgerieben ist, dass die Figur nicht mehr in ihren Einzelheiten deutlich ist. Nach dieser Abbildung ist zunächst klar, dass dieses Thier von oben herabkommend gedacht sein soll. Es bestätigt sich dadurch meine Annahme, dass dieses fünfte Bild die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, die Mitte oder das Oben-Unten veranschaulicht. Das Thier ist, das sieht man auf unserem Bilde noch deutlich, mit grüner Farbe gemalt. Im Uebrigen aber würde es, hätten wir nur dies Bild vor uns, schwierig sein, das Thier zoologisch zu bestimmen. Glücklicherweise haben wir in der oben S. 60 in Abb. 30 wiedergegebenen Figur, die dem Blatte 49 des Codex Borgia entnommen ist, ein Bild vor uns, das offenbar dasselbe Thier vorstellen soll, wie unsere Abb. 57, von ihm sich in der That in der Hauptsache nur durch die flügelartigen Anhänge an den Armen, die dem Thiere Abb. 57 fehlen, und durch die Bekleidung mit der Schambinde der Männer und durch den Kopf- und Brustschmuck unterscheidend. Denn das Thier unserer Abb. 57 ist nackt, wie die Göttin, bei der es steht. Von der Abb. 30 wissen wir nun, das wird durch die Parallelstellen, die oben auf derselben Seite in Abb. 28, 29 wiedergegeben sind, klar bewiesen, — dass es die kopfabreissende Fledermaus (*tzinacantli*) vorstellen soll. Diese haben wir also auch in unserer Abb. 57 zu erkennen. Nur haben wir hier vielleicht weniger an das Thier mit dem scharfen Gebiss, das kopfabreissende, tötende, als an das Thier der Dunkelheit, das in der Dämmerung fliegende, zu denken. Man erinnere sich, dass bei den Pulquegöttern mit grosser Regelmässigkeit das aus einer halben Sonnenscheibe und dem Bilde der Nacht kombinirte Symbol angegeben zu werden pflegt, das wir als die Scheide von Tag und Nacht, den Abend, die Dämmerung, die Zeit, wo die Sonne in die Erde hinabgeht, wo der Mond am Himmel aufzieht, und wo auch die Pulquegelage stattfanden, zu deuten haben.

Das ist die Reihe der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, die hier im Codex Borgia, und zwar nur im Codex Borgia, der Reihe der fünf *Ciuateteô* und der ihrer Begleiter, der fünf *Auiateteô*, vorgesetzt sind, offenbar um das Wesen, das Geheimnis, die esoterische Bedeutung dieser *Ciuateteô*, dem in die priesterliche Wissenschaft Eingeweihten, in deutlicheren Bildern vor Augen zu stellen. Was ist nun das Wesen dieser *Ciuateteô?*

Zunächst ist klar, dass der Umstand, dass diese *Ciuateteô* und ihre Begleiter, die *Auiateteô*, in der Fünfzahl erscheinen, — die Fünfzahl wird auch in dem Götterkapitel Sahagun's den *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin* zugeschrieben[1]), — durch die Bezugnahme auf die fünf Himmelsrichtungen und auf das in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordnete *Tonalamatl* bedingt ist. Daher auch in den Begleitbildern der oben

1) *Ciuatehtev Ciuapipilti diablome catca y, macuiltinteme ynimixiptlauan catca.* (Sahagun Lib. 1, Cap. 10.)

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besprochenen Reihe der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl* eine unverkennbare Uebereinstimmung mit den Begleitbildern des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s zu Tage tritt. Es sind diese *Ciuateteô* eben die Göttinnen des Abends, des Westens, die, nachdem sie ihren Dienst gethan, zur Erde herniederkommen, und das *Tonalamatl*, das die Himmelsrichtungen verkörpert, gab darüber Aufschluss, welche Tage dem Westen, dem Abend, zugehören, an welchen Tagen dementsprechend das Herabkommen der *Ciuateteô* zu erwarten, bezw. zu befürchten, war. Dass sich aber die Vorstellung dieser Gestalten aus dem *Tonalamatl* entwickelt habe, ist schwerlich anzunehmen. Diese Vorstellungen wurzeln augenscheinlich in uraltem Volksaberglauben, der bestand, ehe noch an eine Konstruktion des *Tonalamatl*'s gedacht wurde.

Die Reihe, die hier im Codex Borgia vor der Reihe der *Ciuateteô* aufgeführt ist, charakterisirt sich mehr oder minder bestimmt als die nach den fünf Himmelsrichtungen variirten, oder die den fünf Himmelsrichtungen entsprechenden Formen der Mondgöttin. Denn die *Tlaçolteotl*, die mit ihrem esoterischen Namen *Chicunaui acatl* „Neun Rohr" an der Spitze der Reihe steht, ist zweifellos ihrem eigentlichen Wesen nach die Mondgöttin. Das wird durch gewisse Bilder gerade unserer Handschrift, des Codex Borgia (z. B. Blatt 10 unten rechts und Blatt 55 unten links) auf das Klarste bewiesen. Die vier anderen Figuren sind aber nur Varianten der ersten, und unter den bei ihnen angegebenen Namen-Daten begegnen uns zwei (*Naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser" und *Chicuei acatl* „acht Rohr"), die aus anderen Quellen als besondere Bezeichnungen der Mondgottheit bekannt sind. Gerade von der *Tlaçolteotl* endlich wird auch angegeben, dass sie vier Geschwister habe, die im Sahagun[1]) etwas schematisch *Tiacapan* „die ältere", *Teicu* „die jüngere", *Tlaco* „die mittlere" und *Xocotzin* „die jüngste" genannt werden. Also auch für die *Tlaçolteotl* ist die Fünfzahl charakteristisch.

In meiner schon wiederholt angeführten Abhandlung: „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen"[2]) habe ich darauf hingewiesen, dass die Gestalt des Mondes, sein Gang am Himmel und seine Wandlungen nach zwei Hauptrichtungen hin die Vorstellungswelt des primitiven Menschen beeinflusste, die auch bei den Mexikanern in verschiedenen, mehr oder minder bestimmt ausgeprägten göttlichen Gestalten sich krystallisirt haben. Einmal ist der Mond als der sich ewig Wandelnde, sich ewig Erneuernde, zum Prototype des Wachsthums und der Erneuerung, und darum auch der Beförderer, ja geradezu die Ursache jeglicher Entstehung geworden. Die Pulquegötter, *Xipe Totec*, die alte Göttermutter *Teteo innan* und der Gott, der nach Osten wandert, um dort zu sterben, *Quetzalcouatl*, repräsentiren diese Anschauung des Wesens der Mondgottheit, und eine Weiterentwicklung derselben Vorstellung nach einer etwas anderen Richtung hin, hat die Gestalt der jungen Göttin der Liebe, die *Xochiquetzal*, geschaffen. Andererseits aber ist der Mond auch der in der Nacht Wandelnde, das Auge der Nacht. Und daraus ist die Gestalt *Tezcatlipoca*'s entstanden, der zu gleicher Zeit der Dunkele, der Nächtige, der Zauberer, der in der Nacht sein Wesen treibt, und der allmächtige grosse Gott ist, der die Sünde sieht und straft. Eine dritte und augenscheinlich noch primitivere Vorstellung ist die des Widerparts der Sonne. Und diese Auffassung von dem Wesen des Mondes hat sich in der Gestalt der *Ciuacouatl* oder *Quilaztli* und in den *Ciuateteô* oder *Ilhuica-Ciuâ* den „Göttinnen" oder den „im Himmel wohnenden Frauen", verkörpert. Die Sonne ist der junge Krieger, der im Osten strahlend aufgeht, der den *cueçalmamazyô mitl*, den „mit Ararafedern (oder Flammen) befiederten Pfeil" auf seine Gegner wirft[3]), mit dem *xiuhcouatl*, der „blauen Schlange", der Schlange des Feuergottes, der flammenden Fackel, seine Feindin, die Mondgöttin, zertheilt.[4]) Seine Verkörperungen, seine Diener, sein Gefolge sind die alten Helden, die Krieger, die Tapferen, die mit Schild und Schwert gekämpft, aber dem Kriegerlose erlegen sind, die *tonatiuh ilhuicac yaquê*, die Seelen der geopferten Krieger. Der Mond ist, im Gegensatz zur Sonne, weiblich gedacht. Er ist die Kriegerin, die von der Sonne zerschnitten, zerstückt, getötet wird, die *Ciuacouatl* oder *Quilaztli*, die erste, die im Kriege gestorben, d. h. geopfert worden, ist, die aber als Göttin, als Himmlische, wieder auflebend, am Westhimmel erscheint. Ihre Verkörperungen, ihre Diener, ihr Gefolge sind die Seelen der im Kriege gestorbenen Frauen, die Frauen, die im Kindbett gestorben sind. Denn das sind die

1) Sahagun Buch 1, Cap, 12.
2) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVII. Berlin 1906.
3) Historia de los reinos de Colhuacan y Mexico, Ms.
4) Siehe den Mythos von der Geburt *Uitzilopochtli*'s.

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wahren weiblichen Gegenstücke der gefallenen Krieger, die *mociuaquetzque* die „(Krieger), die die Gestalt einer Frau angenommen haben". Dem siegreichen Krieger, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hatte, verglich man die Frau, die ein Kind geboren hatte; und folgerichtig dem erschlagenen oder geopferten Krieger die Frau, die — *ic micquj ijti* „an ihrem Bauche (oder dem darin Befindlichen) gestorben", d. h. im Kindbette gestorben war. Ihr gebührte also das gleiche Loos, sie kam in den Himmel, zur Sonne, sie „wurde zum Gott", *oonteut.* Das hob denn auch die Hebamme, die Tote anredend, hervor:[1]) —

Chamotzin, noxocoiouh, quauhcioatl, tepitzin, cocotzin, nochpuchtzin — „du dunkle Schmuckfeder, mein jüngstes Kind, du Kriegerin, du Feine, du Täubchen, mein Mädchen",

otitlacotic, otitequjt, ovetz motequjtzin — du hast gearbeitet, du hast dich gemüht, ein mühseliges Loos ist auf dich gefallen."

oticmonânamjqujli in monantzin, in cioapilli, in quauhcioatl, in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli — du hast dich gesellt deiner Mutter, der Fürstin, der Kriegerin, der *Ciuacouatl*, der *Quilaztli*,

otoconcujc, otoconacoc, oitlan tonac in chimalli, in tevelli: du hast den Schild, den Schild der Göttin, ergriffen, hast ihn erhoben, hast an ihn deine Kraft gesetzt,

in o momac qujman in iehoatl monantzin in cioapilli: in cioacoatl, in qujlaztli — den deine Mutter, die Fürstin, *Ciuacouatl, Quilaztli* in deine Hand gelegt hat:

auh in axcan ma xiça, ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, — und jetzt erwache, erhebe dich, stehe auf!

ca ie tlaca, ca ie tlalvi, ca otlacueçaleoac, ca omoquetzaco in tlavizcalli — schon ist es Tag, schon ist es hell geworden, schon hat sich die Flamme erhoben, schon ist das Morgenroth angebrochen,

ca ie tlatoa in cueçalpaxitl, in cueçalcujcujtzcatl, ie tlatoa in nepapan cueçalquechol — schon singt das Feuer-Waldhuhn, die Feuer-Schwalbe, schon singen die verschiedenen Feuer-Schmuckvögel,

ma ximeoa, ma ximoquetza, ma ximochichioa — erhebe dich, steh auf, mach dich bereit,

ma ximovica, ma xontlamati in qualcan, in ieccan — geh nach dem guten Orte,

in monan, in mota in tonatiuh ichan: — in das Haus deiner Mutter, deines Vaters, der Sonne,

in vmpa aviialo, in vellamacho, in pacoa, in netlamachtilo — wo man in Freuden, in Seligkeit, in Fülle alles Genusses lebt,

Ma xommovica, ma xocomotoqujli in tonan, in tota tonatiuh: — gehe, begleite unsere Mutter, unseren Vater, die Sonne,

matitech mjtzonmaxitili injveltioatzitzinoan in cioapipiltin, in jlvicacioa: — deine älteren Schwestern die Fürstinnen (*cioapipiltin*), die Himmelsfrauen (*ilhuicaciua*) nehmen dich an der Hand,

in muchipa, in cemjcac in aviia, in vellamati, in paquj — die für immer und ewig in Lust, in Genuss, in Freude leben,

in motlamachtia in jitloc, in jnaoac in tonan tota tonatiuh — die unmittelbar mit und neben unserer Mutter, unserem Vater, der Sonne wandeln,

in caviltia, in coiovia — sie belustigen, sie mit kriegerischem Getöse begleiten."

In dieser Rede werden also die Seelen der toten Frauen den Seelen der toten Krieger, bezüglich des Looses, das ihrer wartet, durchaus gleichgesetzt. Aber ein grosser und wesentlicher Unterschied besteht. Die Seelen der toten Krieger sind gewissermassen Verkörperungen der Sonne. Sie wohnen im Osten und begleiten die Sonne bis zum Zenith. Die toten Frauen sind Verkörperungen des Mondes. Ihr Heim ist der Westen. Sie nehmen die Sonne am Zenith in Empfang und geleiten sie hinab bis zur Erde. So heisst es in demselben 29. Kapitel des sechsten Buches Sahaguns: —

In iuhca çaçanjlli, iniuh nenonotzalli: — Wie das Märchen, wie die Tradition berichtet,

in tiacaoan, in quauhtin ocelo in iaomicque, ca ompa vi in tonatiuh ichan — giengen die Häuptlinge, die Adler und Jaguare, die im Kriege Gestorbenen, in das Haus der Sonne,

auh ie ompa nemi in tlapcopa, in ompa oalquiçaz tonatiuh, — und sie leben im Osten, wo die Sonne erscheinen soll,

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1) Sahagun, Buch 6, Cap. 29. Ms. Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florenz.

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in oc iooan: *mocencava*, *moyaochichiva* — in der Morgendämmerung rüsten sie sich, legen kriegerischen Schmuck an,

connamjquj injc oalquiça tonatiuh qujoalqujxtia — gehen der Sonne zum Empfang entgegen, wenn sie erscheint, holen sie heraus,

coiovitivitze, *caviltitivitze*, *qujnecaliltitivitze ijxpan maviltitivi* — begleiten sie mit kriegerischem Getöse (mit Rasseln), belustigen sie, führen für sie Kampfspiele auf, belustigen sich vor ihr,

oncan qujoalcava in jlvicatl inepantla in mjtoa nepantla tonatiuh — begleiten sie bis zur Mitte des Himmels, die man Mittag nennt.

Auh njzca in jntlatollo in jnçaçanjllo in iaomjcque cioa ioan in mocioaquetzque: — und folgendes ist die Erzählung, das Märchen von den im Kriege gestorbenen Frauen und den (Kriegern) die in der Gestalt von Frauen auftreten (den Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen)

ca ompa nemj in jvetzian, *in jcalaqujan tonatiuh*: — die leben da, wo die Sonne hinabgeht, wo sie in das Haus eingeht.

ic ipampa in vevetque in aqujque tlatlalitivi qujtocaiotique cioatlampa in ompa calaqujj tonatiuh, *ipampa in ompa nemj cioa*: — das ist der Grund, weshalb die Alten, die die Ordnung der Dinge begründet haben, die Gegend, wo die Sonne ins Haus geht, *cioatlampa* „die Gegend der Weiber“ nannten, weil dort die Weiber wohnen,

auh in ovalqujz tonatiuh, *in ie otlatoca*, *in ie caviltitivitze*, *in ie coiovitivitze iaomjcque in tiacaoan*, *in ie otlatocatiuh in iehoatl tonatiuh*: — und wenn die Sonne aufgegangen ist, wenn sie schon ihre Bahn wandelt, wenn die im Kriege gestorbenen Häuptlinge ihr Kurzweil machen und sie mit kriegerischem Getöse begleiten, wenn also sie, die Sonne, schon ihre Bahn wandelt, —

njman mocencava in cioa, *moiaochichiva*, *concuj in chimalli*, *tlaviztli* — dann rüsten sich die Weiber, legen kriegerischen Schmuck an, ergreifen den Schild und die Kriegsabzeichen (Federdevisen),

njman oaleoa tlecotivitze, *oncan qujoalnamjquj in tonatiuh in nepantla* — dann brechen sie auf, steigen (am Himmel) empor und gehen, die Sonne am Zenith zu empfangen.

vncan inmac conana in quauhtin ocelo, *in iehoatl tonatiuh*: — dort (am Zenith) nehmen sie die Sonne aus der Hand der Adler Jaguare entgegen,

vncan inmac concava in cioa in tonatiuh, *in iehoantin quauhtin*, *ocelo*, *in iaomjcque* — dort übergeben die im Kriege gestorbenen Adler Jaguare die Sonne den Weibern.

. . . . . .

Auh in cioa: *njman conpeoaltia*, *qujvica*, *qujtemovia in tonatiuh:* und die Weiber beginnen dann die Sonne hinabzuführen,

quetzalapanecaiotica in qujvica, *quetzalco in ietiuh*, *qujtlapechhvia* — in Quetzalfederschmuck führen sie sie, in einer aus Quetzalfedern bestehenden Tragbahre tragen sie sie,

auh ynjc qujvica, *no coiovitivi*, *caviltitivi*: *iaoiotica in caviltitivi* — und während sie sie geleiten, machen sie ihr ebenfalls kriegerisches Getöse, machen ihr Kurzweil vor, belustigen sie mit Kämpfen,

vmpa concava, *in vmpa mitoa. in vmpa oncalaqujj tonatiuh* — sie geleiten sie bis dorthin, wo man sagt, dass die Sonne in das Haus eingeht,

qujl inmac concava in Micteca, *qujtoznequi*, *mjctlan tlaca*, *mjctlan chaneque*, *qujtoznequi mjmjquztin* — man sagt, dass sie sie den Bewohnern des Totenlandes übergeben,

vmpa qujvica in mjctlan — dass sie sie nach dem Totenlande bringen.

Ic conjtotivi in vevetque: — denn folgendes erzählen die Alten:

in njcan tlaiova, *ie tlaneci*, *ie tlatvi in mjctlan*: — wenn es hier Nacht wird, so wird es im Totenlande hell,

hiça, *mehoa in mjmjcque* — dann erwachen und erheben sich die Toten.

Dieser Bericht ist deutlich und klar. Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Klassen der Seligen,

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den männlichen und weiblichen Toten, ist aber noch ein anderer und noch grösserer. Die toten Krieger sind am Mittage ihres Dienstes quitt und gehen dann ihre eigenen Wege, kommen zur Erde herab, als Schmuckvögel, als Schmetterlinge, den Honig der Blüthen zu saugen. An der Stelle, wo ich oben eine Lücke gelassen habe, wo gesagt worden ist, dass am Zenithe die Sonne von den Kriegern den Weibern übergeben worden ist, heisst es dann weiter: —

auh njman cêcênmanj, novian tlâtlachichina, qujchichina in nepapan xochitl — und dann zerstreuen sie sich und gehen überall den Honig der verschiedenen Blüthen saugen.

Das ist der Grund, weshalb — worauf ich zum ersten Male in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung hingewiesen habe, worauf ich in einem späteren Abschnitte noch einmal zurückzukommen habe, — in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung und des Codex Borbonicus die Mittagsstunde durch den Sonnengott in Vogelmaske und durch einen Schmetterling, bezw. den in Schmetterlingsverkleidung erscheinenden Feuergott, zur Anschauung gebracht wird. Die Mittagsstunde ist eben die Zeit, wo die Seelen der toten Krieger in Gestalt von Kolibrien, von Schmuckvögeln, von Schmetterlingen zur Erde herabkommen — *tlachichina in vmpa in inonoian, yoan in njcan tlalticpac oalhui in qujoalchichina in jxqujch nepapan xochitl* — „den Honig saugen dort an ihrem Wohnorte und zur Erde herabkommen, den Honig der verschiedenen Arten von Blumen zu saugen" —[1]) unschuldige, harmlose Wesen, Abbilder der Leben und Wärme spendenden Sonne, denen man mit Freude begegnete, und die man, aus Rücksicht darauf, dass sie die Verkörperungen der Seelen geliebter Toter sein könnten, mit dem Blasrohre verschonte.[2])

Die toten Frauen aber waren erst frei, wenn es Nacht wurde, wenn die Sonne zu den Toten gegangen war. Von ihnen heisst es: —

auh in o inmac concauhque cioa, in mjcteca, in iehoatl tonatiuh — und die Frauen, wenn sie die Sonne den Bewohnern des Totenlandes übergeben hatten,

njman no cecemmanj oalhui, oaltemo in tlalticpac — so zerstreuen sie sich auch und kommen zur Erde herunter,

qujoalcuj, qujoaltemoa in malacatl in tzotzopaztli, in tanatli, in jxqujch cioatlatqujtl qujoaltemoa — suchen nach den Spindeln, den Webehölzern, den Arbeitskörbchen, der gesammten weiblichen Habe,

injc tlaztlacaviaia in tzitzimitl, in coleletli — erscheinen in der falschen Gestalt von Schreckgestalten (Dunkelheitsdämonen), von Gespenstern,

mjiecpa monextiaia, moteittitiaia iuhqujn ma ie mocioaquetz — erschienen und zeigten sich oft den Leuten in der Gestalt der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frau,

qujnotza, qujmottitia injnamjc — besuchten und zeigten sich ihren Ehegatten,

qujtemolia, qujtlanjlia in cueitl, vipilli in jxqujch cioatlatqujtl — verlangten von ihnen Hüfttücher, Weiberhemden, die gesammte Habe der Weiber."

Ganz im Gegensatze zu den Seelen der toten Krieger waren also diese toten Frauen gefürchtete, gespenstische Wesen. Ihr Anblick bewirkte lähmendes Entsetzen. Darum suchten die Krieger einen Finger oder das Haar der Toten zu erbeuten, um es in ihren Schild einzusetzen. Denn sie glaubten[3]) —

injc oqujchtizque, injc tiacauhtizque — „dass sie Männer, dass sie Häuptlinge werden würden,

injc aiac vel qujmjxnamjqujz. injc aiac imjxco eoaz — dass ihnen niemand würde entgegentreten können,

injc amo tlatlamatca chioazque iniaoc — dass sie kühn dem Feinde entgegen gehen würden,

ioan injc mjequjntin qujntopeoazque, qujmacizque in jniaoan — und dass sie viele ihrer Feinde besiegen und fangen würden,

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1) Sahagun, Buch 3, Appendix, Kap. 3.

2) Vgl. Strophe 7 des Liedes, das am *Atamalqualiztli* gesungen wurde (Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde II (1904) S. 1060).

3) Sahagun, Buch 6, Kap. 29.

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qujl mjhijctia injtzon injmapil mocioaquetzquj — man sagte, dass das Haar, der Finger der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frau (Kraft) aushaucht,

qujl qujmjcximjmjctia in jniaoan, — man sagte, dass sie den Fuss ihrer Feinde lähme.

Und die Spitzbuben suchten sich den linken Arm einer im Kindbette gestorbenen Frau zu verschaffen. Denn, damit auf die Schwelle klopfend, waren sie im Stande, die gesammten Bewohner des Hauses in Unbeweglichkeit zu versetzen, so dass sie ungehindert und ungestraft das Haus ausplündern konnten. *motemacpalitotique* „die mit der Hand (einer Toten) tanzen", wurden daher diese Spitzbuben genannt.[1]) — Vor allem aber fürchtete man, dass diese toten Frauen von den Kindern Besitz ergreifen würden. Und das war geschehen, wie man glaubte, wenn ein Kind in epileptische Krämpfe verfiel Denn gleich den Orientalen galt auch den Mexikanern ein Epileptischer als ein von Dämonen Besessener.

ynic aca ytech quinevaia tlauelilocati — wenn Jemand vom Dämon besessen, geschlagen ist,
tennecuiliui yxnecuiliui — mit verzogenem Munde und verdrehten Augen (daliegt),
matzicoliui ycxicopichavi ycximimiqui — mit zusammengeballten Händen, eingekrümmten Füssen,
momacuecuetza tenqualac quiça — mit den Händen um sich schlagend, Schaum vor dem Munde,
yc mitvaya omotenamicti, — dann sagte man, er hat sich (mit einem Dämon) verbunden,
ypan oquizque ciuapipilti omaxac chaneque — die *Ciuapipiltin*, die auf den Kreuzwegen Hausenden, haben seine Gestalt angenommen.

Darum warnten an den Tagen, wo diese *Ciuateteô* besonders Macht hatten, — d. h. an den fünf Tagen, die die Anfangssäule des dritten, den Westen bezeichnenden *Tonalamatl*-Viertels bilden, — die Eltern ihre Kinder, aus dem Hause zu gehen: —

maca xonquiça tlalpan acy temo yn civapipiltin[2]) — „geh nicht heraus, die *Ciuapipiltin* kommen auf die Erde herab".

Es verkörperte sich eben in diesen Wesen, den Seelen der unglücklich gestorbenen Frauen, alles Gespenstische, Unheimliche. Und *omaxac Ciuapipiltin* „die auf dem Kreuzwege hausenden Fürstinnen" ist daher die ständige Benennung dieser Frauen.

Es versteht sich nun aber von selbst, dass eigentlich diese Gestalten mit dem Westen deshalb in Zusammenhang gebracht wurden, weil diese Weltgegend die Region des Dunkels, des Abends, der untergehenden Sonne war. Indem sie aber, durch eine natürliche Ideenassoziation, mit dem am Westhimmel erscheinenden Monde verschmolzen, übertrug sich auf sie nicht nur der ganze Vorstellungskomplex, der von der gegensätzlichen Stellung des Mondes zur Sonne seinen Ausgang genommen hat, sondern auch all das, was der Mond in der besonderen Beziehung, in der er zu den Weibern und ihrer Periode steht, an Unverstandenem, Geheimnissvollem, Unheimlichem an sich hat, die ganze unergründete, fremde räthselhafte und doch so gewaltige Macht der Weiblichkeit. Die *Ciuapipiltin* waren auch die Dämonen, die zur Unzucht, zum Ehebruch, zur Sünde verführten. Von den Tagen, wo die *Ciuateteô* mächtig waren, wo sie zur Erde herabkamen, gibt der Berichterstatter an, dass sie „suciedades y torpezas" hervorriefen.[3]) Und die Unglücklichen, die an diesen Tagen geboren wurden, waren dazu bestimmt, einmal als Ehebrecher gesteinigt zu werden. Das ist offenbar auch der Grund, weshalb auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte und in der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus die *Ciuateteô* mit den *Auiateteô*, den Göttern der Lust, kombinirt erscheinen.

Das zu gleicher Zeit Gespenstische, Unheimliche, Nächtige und Sündhafte, das in der Vorstellung dieser Wesen liegt, kommt denn auch in vollem Masse in dem Bilde zum Ausdruck, das in unserer Handschrift die Reihe der *Ciuateteô* einleitet — der Darstellung, die das Fach zur Rechten in der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 47 füllt, die, mit den Zeichen und Zahlen der Tage kombinirt, die dem Erscheinen der *Ciuateteô* vorgehen, gewissermassen die Vorbereitung auf dieses Erscheinen, das Herniederkommen, das Geborenwerden dieser Gestalten selbst zum Ausdruck bringt. — In dem mit dunkler, blauer, Farbe gemalten Felde, auf einer Unterlage, die aus dem halb rothen, halb schwarzen, mit goldenen Halbmonden verzierten Hüftentuche der *Tlaçolteotl* und ihrem aus ungesponnener Baumwolle gefertigten Kopfschmucke

1) Sahagun, Buch 4, Kap. 31.
2) Sahagun, Buch 1, Kap. 10.
3) Sahagun, Buch 4, Kap. 27.

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ichcaxochitl besteht, sehen wir gewissermassen eine Pandorabüchse: — eine auf der Vorderseite mit einem Skelettgesichte gezeichnete, in der Farbe des Totenknochens gemalten Schale, über der als Deckel eine auch mit einem Gesichte verzierte, aber in den Farben des *chalchiuitl*, des grünen Edelsteins, gemalte andere Schale gestülpt ist. Aus dem Spalte zwischen diesen beiden Schalen kommen fünf nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichnete rothe und bunte Schlangen und vier mit Skelettwirbelsäule versehene Skolopender heraus und zwischen ihnen, aus dem Kerne einer Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl*, ein nacktes Frauenzimmer, das denselben Kopfschmuck trägt, wie die in der untersten Reihe der Blätter 47, 48 abgebildeten fünf *Tlaçolteteô* oder Mondgöttinnen, aber die Augen mit einer Binde verdeckt hat, also als *ixquimilli*, als Sünderin, gekennzeichnet ist. Ueber der ganzen Gruppe sieht man noch, mit rother Farbe gemalt, das Spinnengesicht, mit dem halbmondförmigen Schmucke unter der Nase, das wir schon auf Blatt 34 unserer Handschrift als Bezeichnung der *Tzitzimimê*, der vom Himmel herunterkommenden Dunkelheitsdämonen, kennen gelernt haben. Indem dieses hier mit dem Scheitel nach unten gezeichnet ist, wird zu gleicher Zeit das *tzontemoc*, das „kopfüber Herunterkommen" zum Ausdrucke gebracht.

Die *otlomaxac manca Ciuapipiltin*, die „auf den Kreuzwegen hausenden Fürstinnen", werden, als die *Ilhuicaciua*, „die im Himmel wohnenden (oder vom Himmel kommenden) Frauen", die sie sind, im Sahagun als die weissen Frauen beschrieben (Abb. 58). Ihr Gesicht ist mit weisser Infusorienerde (*tiçatl*) gemalt, ihr Gewand ist weiss und mit spitzwinkligen Figuren (Zeichen des Blitzes?) bemalt (*tlaitzcopintli*) und weiss (*iztac*) bezw. mit (weissen) Daunenfedern beklebt (*potonquî*) sind auch ihre Sandalen. Grosse Tortillas (*tlamatzoualli*), Brote in Gestalt von Schmetterlingen (*papalotlaxcalli*) und in Blitzfigur (*xonecuilli*) und geröstete Maiskörner (*izquitl*), aus deren geplatzter Schale blendend weiss das Innere herausquillt, brachte man ihnen zum Opfer.[1])

Abb. 58. *otlamaxac ciuapilli.* Sahagun-Ms. Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid.

In unserer Handschrift und in der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus ist die erste der fünf *Ciuateteô* ebenfalls mit weisser Farbe (mit rother Längsstreifung), wenigstens im Gesichte und an Armen und Beinen, bemalt. Die vier anderen erscheinen, da der Unterschied der Himmelsrichtungen durch Variation der Farbe angegeben zu werden pflegt, in anderen Farben, im Allgemeinen der Farbengebung der untersten Reihe der fünf *Tlaçolteteô* entsprechend: — die zweite, die dem Norden entspricht, in blauer, die dritte, die des Westens, in gelber, die vierte, die des Südens, in rother und die fünfte, die der Mitte oder der unteren Region, in schwarzer Farbe. So im Codex Borgia. Im Vaticanus haben (vgl. Abb. 59b und c) die zweite und die dritte die Farben getauscht; und die fünfte *Ciuateotl* (Abb. 59e) erscheint in der natürlichen (gelben) Körperfarbe der Weiber. Im Vaticanus erstreckt sich die Verschiedenheit der Bemalung auf Gesicht, Leib und Glieder, während im Codex Borgia der Leib und eigentlich auch das Gesicht in der natürlichen Farbe der weiblichen Haut, d. h. gelb, angesetzt sind und nur der mittlere, allerdings grösste Theil des Gesichts und die unteren Theile der Arme und Beine die Verschiedenheit der Farben aufweisen. In beiden Handschriften ist dabei der Leib mehr oder minder deutlich faltig gezeichnet, wie bei Weibern, die vor Kurzem geboren haben. Und die Augen hängen aus den Höhlen heraus, — eine Besonderheit, die die Bilder *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*'s, des syphilitischen Gottes, auszeichnet und die wir auch auf Blatt 43 unserer Handschrift bei dem auch mit etwas verkrümmten Gliedmassen gezeichneten Mondgotte der Unterwelt und auf Blatt 34 unserer Handschrift bei dem durch Jaguarpranken und eine Thierschnauze ausgezeichneten rothen, die Sonne auf dem Rücken tragenden Herrn des Hauses der rothen Schlange, des Südpfeilers der Westregion, angetroffen haben. Das Ausbohren des Auges ist eine symbolische Bezeichnung des Selbstopfers. Das heraushängende Auge könnte aber vielleicht auch das Missgeschaffene, Krankhafte zum Ausdruck bringen. Im Codex Vaticanus ist die fünfte der fünf Figuren (Abb. 59e), die die Mitte oder das Unten bezeichnet, ähnlich den Bildern *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*'s,

1) Sahagun, Buch 1, Kap. 10 und das Göttertrachtenkapitel. Vgl. Seler, „Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde" II. Berlin (1904) S. 498.

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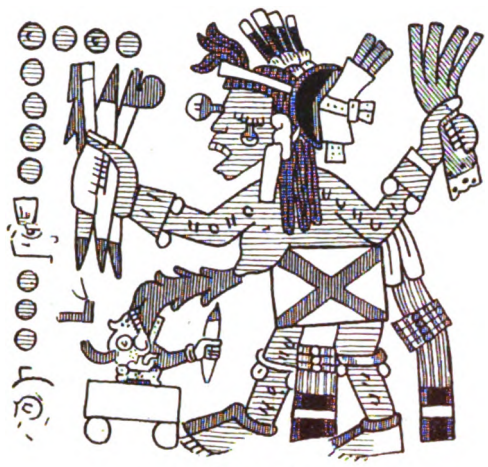
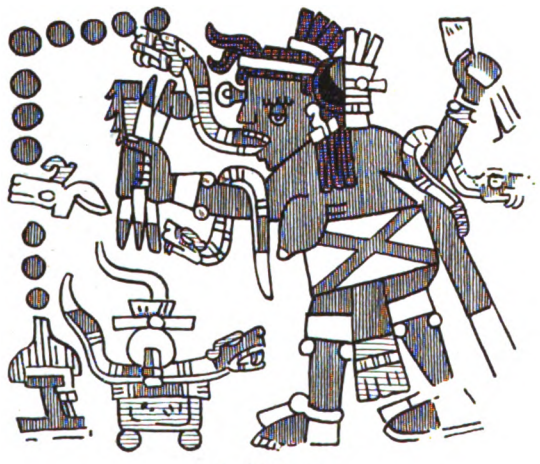


c. (Westen).

b. (Norden).

e. (Mitte).



d. (Süden).

a. (Osten).

Abb. 59a—e. *Ciuateteô*, die Seelen der geopferten oder im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen. Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773, Blatt 77—79 (= Kingsborough 20–18).

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mit verkrümmten Füssen gezeichnet. Und auch bei den Figuren des Codex Borgia deuten die knotigen Auswüchse hinten an den Füssen auf krankhafte Bildungen hin.

Die Figuren des Codex Vaticanus sind als die Kriegerinnen (*quauhciuatl*) mit dem *maxtlatl*, der Schambinde der Männer, bekleidet, und die erste der fünf *Ciuateteô* zeigt im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 59a) auch das einseitig aufgebürstete Haar der Kriegerfrisur *tzotzocolli* Die übrigen vier haben, gleich den Figuren des Codex Borgia, das von dem *ichcaxochitl*, der Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle, umwundene Haar der *Tlaçolteotl* und die beiden über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken der Sterngötter. Die Figuren des Codex Borgia tragen den halbmondförmigen goldenen Nasenschmuck (*yacametztli*) und den Ohrpflock der *Tlaçolteotl* aus ungesponnener Baumwolle. Die Hüften sind mit einer kurzen Enagua (*cueitl*) verhüllt, die mit gekreuzten Totenbeinen oder nur mit einem rothen Andreaskreuze bemalt ist. Bei der *Ciuateotl* der fünften Richtung des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 59e), besteht die Enagua aus halb als Totenknochen gezeichneten *malinalli*-Blattstreifen, der Gürtel aus einer Skelettwirbelsäule. Sowohl bei den Figuren des Codex Borgia wie des Vaticanus ist am Hinterkopfe oder auf dem Scheitel das *aztaxelli*, der Reiherfederschmuck der Krieger, befestigt, während am Nacken, statt eines Nackenfederschmucks, ein schwarzes Gefäss zu sehen ist, das ein Brennholzbündel und ein Büschel *malinalli*-Gras enthält. In der einen Hand halten die Figuren die Opfer- und Kasteiungswerkzeuge — Obsidianmesser (*itztli*), Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*), — in der anderen ein Büschel *malinalli*-Grases. Die Blumen an dem Knochendolche und an der Agave-Blattspitze bedeuten natürlich Blut.

Aus schwarzen Räuchergefässen, die vor den Göttinnen stehen, schlürfen diese den Rauch, der ihnen offenbar gebracht sein soll. Aber nur bei der ersten der fünf Figuren ist in dem Räuchergefässe eine wirkliche Räucherkugel, ein Kautschukball, enthalten; und nur bei ihr steigt wirklicher Rauch aus dem Gefässe auf und geht in den Mund der Göttin über. Bei den anderen Figuren sieht man in dem schwarzen Gefässe statt der Räucherkugel bald ein Skelett, bald ein Käuzchen, bald ein Brennholzbündel, aus dem eine Feuerschlange sich erhebt; und bei der Göttin des Nordens ist das schwarze Gefäss geradezu durch einen Kreuzweg ersetzt. Statt des Rauches sieht man bei der dritten und fünften Figur Blut, und zwar, wie es scheint, nicht in den Mund der Göttin übergehen, sondern umgekehrt aus dem Munde, bezw. dem Munde und der Brustwarze der Göttin, in den Mund des Käuzchens, bezw. des Skelettes, sich zu ergiessen, während bei der vierten Figur, der des Südens, der Strom zerstückt und in verschiedene Schlangen zertheilt ist, von denen die eine aus dem Munde der Göttin hervorkommt, die anderen über ihren Armen hängen. Bei der *Ciuateotl* des Nordens endlich geht, statt der Rauch- und Blutsäule, ein Skolopender zu dem Kreuzwege herunter, der bei dieser Göttin das Räucherbecken vertritt.

Diesen *Ciuateteô*, den im Westen hausenden, zu Göttern gewordenen Seelen der geopferten oder im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, sind nun auf unseren Blättern 47, 48 des Codex Borgia und der Parallelstelle Blatt 77—79 des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 die *Auiateteô*, die „Götter der Lust“ gesellt, die durch die neben ihnen stehende Tageszeichenreihe der Himmelsrichtung des Südens zugeschrieben sind, und deren bekanntester der Gott *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume“ ist. Es sind die Tanzgötter, denen das vierte Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse“, das den Mexikanern das Zeichen der Wollust war[1]), und der vierte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt entspricht, und die in der Reihe der Tageszeichengötter und der der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte durch *Ueuecoyotl*, den „alten Prairiewolf“, vertreten sind (vgl. Blatt 10 dieser Handschrift unten links und Blatt 64 unten). Dass man gerade diese Götter mit der Himmelsrichtung des Südens verband, das hat vermuthlich seinen Grund darin, dass der Süden als die Region des Feuers gedacht ist, der Sonnenwärme, des *tonalli*

hun [Tullan] chi vi vi c'a chi c'abovil — „ein Tula (das vierte, das südliche) aber liegt in der Gegend der Gottheit (d. h. der Sonne),

heisst es in den in Cakchiquel-Sprache geschriebenen Annalen des Geschlechtes der *Xahil*. Es sind denn auch diese Götter in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte der Madrider Biblioteca del Palacio, mit dem *tonallo*-, dem „Sonnenwärme- oder Sonnenblumenemblem“ auf Schild und Rückenfahne ausgestattet (Abb. 60—62).

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1) Vgl. meine Erläuterungen zum Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773, Berlin 1902, S. 145—147, und den I. Band dieser Erläuterungen, Berlin 1904, S. 7 und 95ff.

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Diese Himmelsrichtung selbst wird nach ihnen in den Anales de Quauhtitlan *xochitlalpan*, das „Land der Blumen“ genannt.[1]) Im Besonderen aber verknüpft sich die Vorstellung dieser Götter, wie wir sehen werden, mit der Gestalt des Gottes, der in das Feuer springt und sich verbrennt, um darnach als Sonne wieder am Himmel emporzusteigen, mit *Nanauatl* oder *Nanauatzin*, dem syphilitischen Gotte. Dieser

Abb. 60. Der Gott *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume“. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio (Madrid).

Abb. 61. *Ixtlilton*, „das kleine Schwarzgesicht“, der Tanzgott. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio.

Abb. 62. Der Gott *Macuilcuetzpalin* „Fünf Eidechse“, Banner- und Fackelträger vor dem Sakrarium des Gottes *Uitzilopochtli*, des Gottes von México. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio.

Abb. 63. Der Gott *Macuel tochtli* „Fünf Kaninchen“. Sahagun-Ms. Bibl. del Palacio (Madrid).

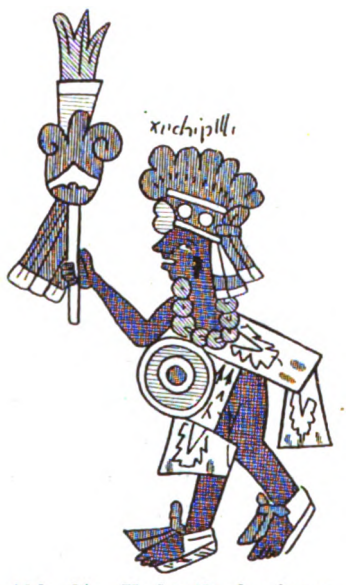

Abb. 64. *Xochipilli*, der junge Gott der Blumen und der Lehensmittel. Sahagun-Ms. Biblioteca del Palacio (Madrid).

Abb. 65. *Xochipilli*, Abbild des *Xochilhuitl*, des am Tage *chicome xochitl* „Sieben Blume“ gefeierten Festes. Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3. fol. 47.

aber, der gewissermassen die Wanderung der Sonne durch die Unterwelt (die kranke, missgeschaffene Sonne), also die Bewegung dem gewöhnlichen Laufe der Sonne entgegen, von Westen nach Osten,

1) Vgl. Anales de Quauhtitlan (Anales del Museo Nacional de México, Band III, Appendix) p. 7: — *xitlaminacan huitztlan, huitznahuatlalpan amilpan, xochitlalpan* „schiesst nach Süden (dem Lande der Dornen, der bewässerten Aecker, der Blumen)“; — und Sahagun, Buch 10, Kap. 29, § 9: — *tlaluica yeh nipa yn onoque amilpampa vitztlampa* — „die Tlalhuica wohnen im Süden“ (in der Gegend der bewässerten Aecker, der Gegend der Dornen). —

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repräsentirt, ist dadurch naturgemäss der Vertreter der Himmelsrichtung des Südens, weil nach dem sakralen Turnus die Bewegung von Westen nach Osten über Süden geht.[1])

Die Glieder dieser Reihe, die in dem Göttertrachtenkapitel Sahagun's genannt sind, — die Götter *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume" (Abb. 60) und *Macuil tochtli* „Fünf Kaninchen" (Abb. 63), — sind im Bilde und in der Beschreibung durch zwei besondere, ihnen eigenthümliche Merkmale gekennzeichnet: — durch die in weisser Farbe ausgeführte, von dem Mundwinkel nach hinten ziehende Zeichnung einer menschlichen Hand (*motemacpalhuiticac*) und durch einen in Federmosaik gearbeiteten Helm (*iyhuitzoncaleticac*), an dem an der Seite eine grosse Rosette mit herabhängenden, nach hinten fliegenden Bändern angebracht ist, und der von einem Scheitelkamme aufrechter grüner Federn gekrönt ist (*iquachichiquil*). Ich habe seiner Zeit gezeigt, dass dieser Helm mit den Rosetten und dem Scheitelfederkamme aus der Gestalt eines durch einen Kamm aufrechter Federn auf dem Scheitel ausgezeichneten Vogels, des *quetzalcoxcoxtli*,

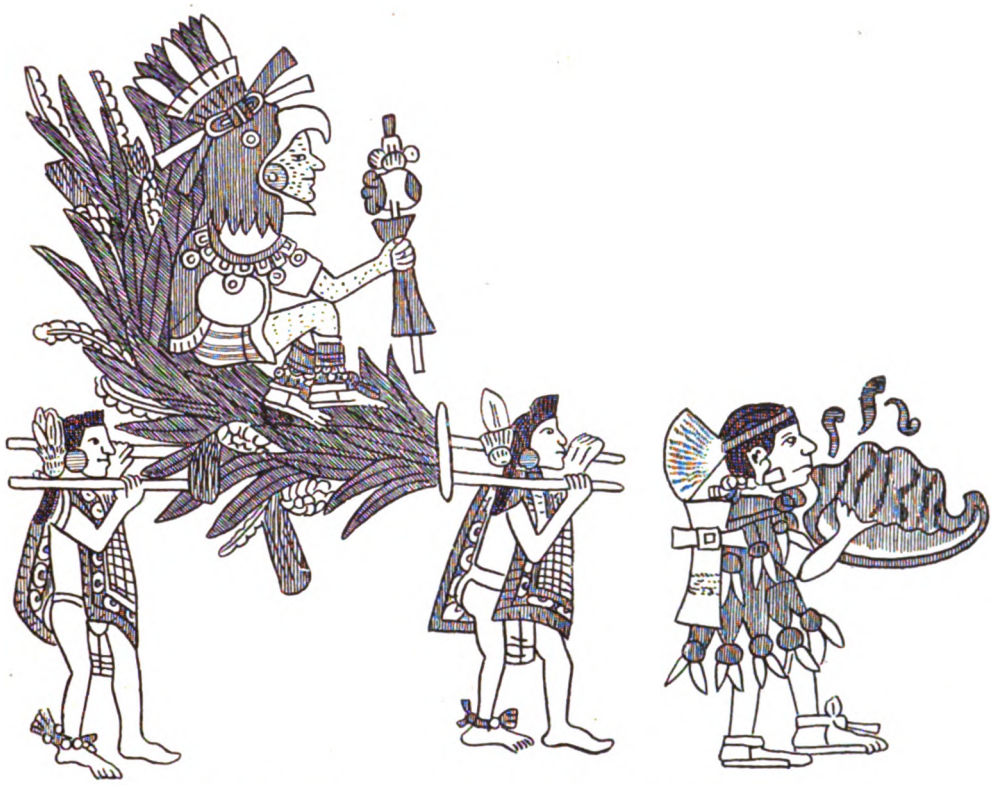

Abb. 66. *Xochpilli*, Abbild des achten Jahresfestes *Uei tecuilhuitl*.
Codex Magliabacchiano XIII, 3, fol. 35.

einer Art Waldhuhn der Tierra Caliente, erwachsen ist, der die Verkleidung, die Helmmaske dieser Götter bildete. Diese *quetzalcoxcoxtli*-Helmmaske finden wir im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, der Bilderhandschrift der Florentiner Biblioteca Nazionale, bei einem rothen Gotte angegeben (Abb. 65, 66), der in dieser Handschrift *Tlaçopilli* „kostbarer Prinz", sonst gewöhnlich *Xochipilli* „Blumenprinz" genannt wird, der der Gott des Blumenfestes (*xochilhuitl*) und der grossen in der Zeit der Maisblüthe und des jungen Maises gefeierten Tänze (*uei tecuilhuitl*) ist, über den ich im ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 129—137 eingehend gehandelt habe, und der in naher Beziehung zu dem oben genannten Gotte der Lust *Macuil xochitl* steht, aber von ihm durch die Gesichtsbemalung sich unterscheidet. Während bei *Macuil xochitl*, wie ich oben angab, eine in weisser Farbe ausgeführte menschliche Hand von dem Mundwinkel nach hinten zieht, ist der wesentlichste Bestandtheil der Bemalung *Xochipilli*'s ein ebenfalls in weisser Farbe ausgeführter Schmetterling, der in der en-face-Ansicht des Gesichts den Mund vollkommen umgibt, indem der Kopf des Schmetterlings auf die Nasenspitze, die Flügel auf die die Mundwinkel umgebenden

1) Vgl. oben S. 13.

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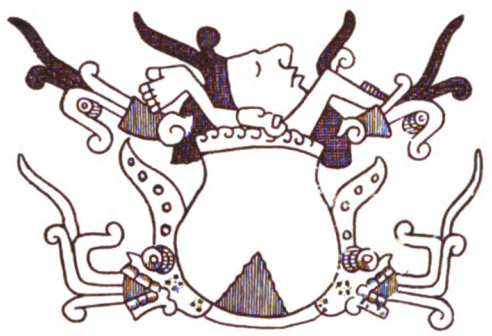
Wangentheile zu liegen kommen. Es ist das gewissermassen eine Ergänzung oder Vervollständigung der Vorstellung der Blume, die durch den Gott selber zur Anschauung gebracht sein soll. Es ist der Schmetterling, der, Honig saugend, auf der geöffneten Blüthe sitzt. Ganz ähnlich sind auf den Blättern 61, 62 des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 die Blüthen, die dort bei den Bildern des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* das Blut bezeichnen, das der Gott sich bei seinen Kasteiungen entzieht, durch einen Kolibri vervollständigt, der mit seinem spitzen Schnabel in der Oeffnung der Blüthenkrone hängt.

Ganz im Gegensatze zu dieser Zeichnung bezeichnet das Bild der menschlichen Hand auf der Wange *Macuil xochitl*'s und der anderen Götter der Lust augenscheinlich nichts weiter als die Zahl „Fünf", die ja mexikanisch *ma cuilli* „die Hand genommen" (d. h. die Finger einer Hand abgezählt) genannt wird. Und dass diese Götter mit der Zahl „Fünf" im Gesichte gezeichnet wurden, und auch als Name für sie immer der mit der Zahl „Fünf" verbundene Tag ihrer Tageszeichenreihe gewählt wurde,



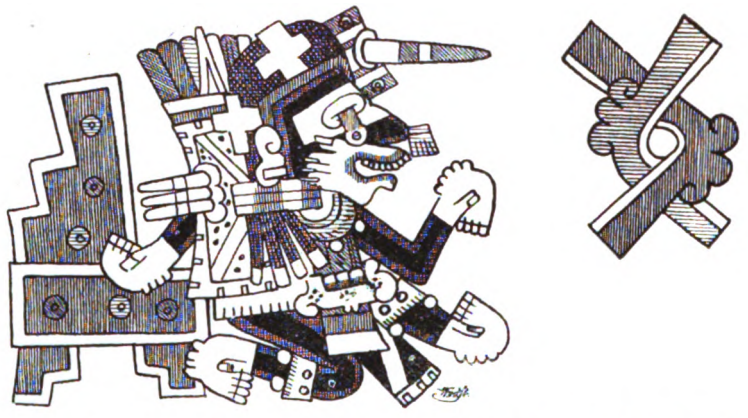


Abb. 67 *Nanauatzin,* der Syphilitiker, die andere Form *Xolotl*'s, des Gottes der Zwillinge und der Missgeburten. Codex Borgia 10 (= Kingsborough 29).

hat wohl seinen Grund darin, dass den Mexikanern die Fünfzahl als das über die heilige Vierzahl, die Zahl der Cardinalpunkte, d. h. das über das Normale Hinausgehende, erschien. So heisst es in dem ethnographischen Kapitel Sahagun's (Buch 10, Kap. 29, § 12) bei der Erzählung von dem Gelage, das die Götter gelegentlich der Erfindung des *octli*, des Pulques, des berauschenden, aus dem Safte der Agave gewonnenen Getränkes, veranstalteten, dass jeder der Götter und Fürsten nur vier Schalen oder Becher trank (*nanavhcaxitl nanoço nanavhtecomatl in quique cecenme; in aço tlein yc quique nanavi yn quique mochinti*), aber der Fürst der Huaxteken, der *Cuextecatl* trank fünf und wurde davon trunken (*auh in itoca Cuextecatl in intlatocauh centlamantin tlaca . . . amo çan navi yn quic . in oconic navi . oc quimitlani occe . ic macuilli yn quic ic vel yvintic vel xocomic*), und in der Trunkenheit verlor er das Bewusstsein der Schicklichkeit und warf die Schambinde von sich, sodass seitdem sein Volk, die Huaxteken, keine Schambinde tragen. Darum sage man noch jetzt zu einem Trunkenbolde: — *cuix tictlami yn macuil octli* „du hast wohl fünf Pulque vertilgt."

Es repräsentiren demnach die mit der Zahl „Fünf" Gezeichneten und die Fünf in ihrem Namen tragenden Götter, *Macuil xochitl* und seine Genossen, nicht, — wie *Xochipilli*, — die Freude, den Genuss,

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Musik, Tanz, Fülle von Lebensmitteln u s. w. an sich, sondern die übermässige Hingabe an den Genuss, die sündhaften Neigungen und die für solche Sünde Bestraften, insbesondere die mit Krankheiten an den Geschlechtstheilen Gestraften. Darum heisst es im 14. Kapitel des ersten Buches Sahagun's von *Macuil xochitl*, dass er denen, die zur Fastenzeit sich mit Weibern einliessen, also ihr Fasten beschmutzten —

> *yc quitemacaya tetech quitlaliaya quiteylhuiltiaya quitemacevaltiaya yn xochiciuiztli yn menexualiztli tlapalanaltiliztli, quexiliviliztli* — als Strafe dafür die Lustseuche zu Theil werden liess, die Fleckenkrankheit, Vereiterung des Penis und Leistengeschwüre.

Darum bilden auch, hier an dieser Stelle unserer Handschrift, und in der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus die fünf *Auiateteô* die Gegenstücke oder die Begleiter der *Ciuateteô*, in deren Wesen, wie ich oben angab, das Sündhafte, Unzucht, Ehebruch und dergleichen einen starken Einschlag bildeten. Darum endlich sind diese fünf Gottheiten auf das Innigste auch mit dem Gotte verwandt, der geradezu als der Syphilitiker, der mit Bubonen behaftete — *Nanauatl* oder *Nanauatzin* — bezeichnet wird, der, nach der an verschiedenen Stellen mehr oder minder gleichartig überlieferten Sage, allein von den Göttern es wagt, sich selbst opfernd in das Feuer zu springen, um darnach als Sonne im Osten aufzugehen. Als Darstellung dieses Gottes habe ich in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen die auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift links oben abgebildete Figur, die ich hier in Abb. 67 noch einmal reproduzire, nachgewiesen, die dort für den Hund *Xolotl*, den die anderen Bilderschriften an jener Stelle haben, eintritt. Man hat mir die Berechtigung dieser Indentifikation bestritten. Aber sie wird schon dadurch klar bewiesen, dass das siebzehnte Tageszeichen *olin* „Bewegung", das diese Figur Abb. 67, und das der Hund *Xolotl* der Parallelstellen der anderen Handschriften, in sich verkörpern, in der „Chronica de la S. Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus de Guatemala" *tecpilnanauatl* — so muss man nach der glücklichen und zweifellos richtigen Konjektur Dr. Walther Lehmann's das *tecpilhanahuatl* der Behrendt'schen Abschrift korrigiren, — d. h. „Beulen der Hofleute" oder „Syphilis" genannt wird. Und das Gleiche ergibt sich daraus, dass, wie hier in den Bildern des Regenten des siebzehnten Tageszeichens, so auch in den Sagen und Ueberlieferungen, der Hund *Xolotl* und der Syphilitiker *Nanauatl* für einander eintreten. So heisst es in der Sage, die die Schaffung des Menschengeschlechtes aus den Stücken des aus der Unterwelt heraufgeholten Totenknochens behandelt, dass nun auch Nahrung für die Menschen beschafft werden müsse. Diese wird in dem Maise gefunden, der in *Tamoanchan* von den Thieren gezeigt wird. Und darauf berichtet die eine Ueberlieferung (Histoyre du Mechique Thévet's), dass *Xolotl* die eben geschaffenen (jungen) Menschen mit eingeweichtem Brote nährt; die andere (Historia de Culhuacan y México), dass *Nanauatl* auf Geheiss der Götter den Berg der Lebensmittel (*Tonacatepetl*) zerschlägt und den Mais befreit, bezw. den Maiskolben entkörnt.

Besteht nun aber diese Identifikation des syphilitischen Gottes *Nanauatl* und unserer Abb. 67, die Verwandlung des Hundes *Xolotl* in den mit Bubonen behafteten *Nanauatzin* zu Recht, so wird man an der Verwandtschaft der fünf *Auiateteô* unseres Codex Borgia-Blattes und des Vaticanus mit dem im Feuer sich verbrennenden *Nauauatzin* nicht mehr zweifeln können. Diese springt schon bei einem Vergleiche der beiderseitigen Bilder in die Augen. Der *Nanauatzin* der Abb. 67 hat in der That dieselbe eigenthümliche Gesichtsbemalung, mit dem gelben Felde, das die Augen umgibt, und der den Mundwinkel umgrenzenden weissen Hand, wie die *Auiateteô* des Blattes 47, 48 des Codex Borgia. Nur ist der *Nanauatzin* der Abb. 67 als Kranker, mit verkrümmten Gliedmassen und heraushängendem Auge gezeichnet, und er hat als die andere Form oder die verwandelte Gestalt des Blitzthieres *Xolotl*, das weisse Windkreuz in seinem dunklen Haare und den weiss und grünen Schmuck des Regen- und Gewittergottes *Tlaloc*. Noch deutlicher aber spricht sich die Verwandtschaft *Nanauatzin*'s und unserer Abb. 67 mit den *Auiateteô* darin aus, dass in dem Felde der rechten Seite der oberen Reihe des Blattes 47, das die Reihe der fünf *Auiateteô* einleitet, und in dem die fünf Tage angegeben sind, die den Tagen *Macuil cuetzpalin*, *Macuil cozcaquauhtli*, *Macuil tochtli*, *Macuil xochitl*, *Macuil malinalli*, mit denen die fünf *Auiateteô* genannt werden, vorangehen, — ein Feld, das darnach offenbar das Erscheinen der fünf *Auiateteô* vorbereiten soll, — der syphlitische Gott *Nanauatzin* aus dem Steinmesser geboren wird, und darüber noch, wie als Determinativ oder besonderer Hinweis, der Hund, das Thier *Xolotl*'s, abgebildet ist.

Im Uebrigen ist dieses Feld durchaus als Parallele zu dem ersten Felde der mittleren Reihe, das

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die Reihe der fünf *Ciuateteô* einleitet, und deren Erscheinen vorbereitet, behandelt. In der ebenfalls mit Dunkel, und zwar mit häkchenerfülltem Grau, ausgemalten Fläche sieht man in einer aus Totenknochen gebildeten Höhle wieder zwei Schalen, die eine über die andere gestülpt. Nur entbehren die Schalen hier der Gesichtzeichnung auf der Wölbung und haben in ihrer braunen Farbe und mit den Henkeln an der Seite mehr das Ansehen von Töpfen. Aus dem Spalte zwischen den beiden Schalen kommen auch hier fünf, aber einfarbige Schlangen, eine *cicitlallô* (schwarz mit weissen Flecken) gemalte, eine blaue, gelbe, rothe, grüne — heraus. Und in der Mitte des Spaltes, wo in dem Felde der mittleren Reihe ein *chalchiuitl* sich befand, aus der die Sünderin geboren wird, sieht man hier ein aufrechtes Steinmesser, aus dem der *Nanauatzin*, der syphilitische Gott, hervorkommt. Und wie in der oberen Hälfte des ersten Feldes der oberen Reihe die besondere Natur dieser Reihe durch das *tzitzimitl*-Gesicht sehr eindringlich zur Anschauung gebracht wird, so in der oberen Hälfte des ersten Feldes der oberen Reihe die Natur der Gestalten dieser Reihe durch die weiss und schwarz gefleckte Gestalt eines Hundes (*itzcuintlî*), der das Thier des Feuergottes und das Abbild *Xolotl*'s ist.

Da die fünf *Auiateteô* ihrem Wesen nach mit *Nanauatzin* ident betrachtet werden, so ist der erste dieser fünf Götter, der den Osten repräsentiren muss, mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt, die die Farbe *Xolotl*'s und *Nanauatzin*'s ist. Die drei folgenden *Auiateteô*, der des Nordens, Westens, Südens, haben dieselbe Farbengebung, wie die entsprechenden Gestalten der mittleren Reihe, d. h. blau, gelb (bezw. braun) und roth. Der letzte, der der fünften Region oder der der Mitte, der, der Färbung der fünften *Ciuateot* entsprechend, schwarz sein müsste, ist mit grüner Farbe gemalt, da das Schwarz schon für die erste der fünf Gestalten vergeben ist.

Alle fünf *Auiateteô* haben das wirre dunkle Haar des Todesgottes, das aber an den Lockenenden mit Daunenfederbällchen besteckt ist, und von einer Binde aus Rindenpapier (*amatl*), wie man sie gelegentlich auch bei dem Regengotte sieht, umschlungen. Am Hinterkopfe sieht man über einem grossen Daunenfederballe, statt der Adler- oder Reiherfedern, zwei federartig geschwungene Steinmesser. Die Schambinde ist weiss (*amamaxtlatl*). In der Nase haben diese Götter den blauen Hängeschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s und auf der Brust das *anauatl*, den weissen, an der einen Seite mit rothem Leder umwundenen Ring, das Abbild des Auges, den Schmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s. Am Nacken endlich tragen sie, wie die *Ciuateteô*, ein schwarzes Gefäss, in dem man ein Brennholzbündel und ein Büschel *malinalli*-Grases sieht. In der rechten Hand halten die *Auiateteô* neben Obsidianmesser (*itztli*) und Knochendolch (*omitl*), den Kasteiungswerkzeugen, ein Büschel *malinalli*-Grases; in der linken die Kopaltasche (*copalxiquipilli*). Vor jedem steht, wie vor den *Ciuateteô*, ein Räuchergefäss, aber weisser Farbe. In ihm sieht man bald eine Kautschukkugel, bald einen Knorren Kopalharz. Aus dem Gefässe geht dunkler Rauch in den Mund der Götter über, der aber bei den einen (dem des Ostens und dem des Südens) mit einem Strome von Blut, bei einem anderen (dem des Nordens) mit einem Strome von Feuer, bei dem des Westens und dem der Mitte endlich mit einem Türkisbande verbunden ist. Der *Auiateotl* des Ostens, *Macuil cuetzpalin* „Fünf Eidechse" ist durch Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne, die neben ihm angegeben sind, als Gott der Krieger gekennzeichnet, — wenn man will, als *Tezcatlipoca*. Der zweite, der *Auiateotl* des Nordens, *Macuil cozcaquauhtli*, „Fünf Geier", durch ein Steinbeil und einen zerbrochenen Knochendolch, wie es scheint, als Gott der Strafe. Der *Auiateotl* des Westens, *Macuil tochtli* „Fünf Kaninchen", der also das Thier der Pulquegötter in seinem Namen hat, ist gebührendermassen durch einen Pulquetopf (*octecomatl*) als Pulquegott bezeichnet. Im Sahagun-Manuskripte (vgl. oben S. 94, Abb. 63) verbindet dieser Gott ja auch (mit den *Macuil xochitl*-Merkmalen die Schilddevise des Nasenhalbmondes (*yacametztli*) und das Steinbeil *itztopolli*) der Pulquegötter. Der vierte, der Gott *Macuil xochitl* „Fünf Blume", der *Auiateotl* des Südens, hat Kautschukkugel (*olli*) und Beil (*tepoztli*) neben sich. Die erstere charakterisirt ihn als Gott der Spiele; das letztere vielleicht auch als Pulquegott. Der letzte, der *Auiateotl* der Mitte oder der unteren Region, *Macuil malinalli* „Fünf Grasstrick" ist durch einen Maiskolben als Maisgott gekennzeichnet. Bei ihm sieht man nicht nur, wie bei *Macuil tochtli*, mit der in seinen Mund gehenden Rauchsäule eine Türkiskette verbunden, sondern eine zweite Türkiskette kommt aus seinem Munde heraus, die wieder in einen Maiskolben und eine Maisblüthe endet.

In der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus sind die betreffenden Figuren (vgl. Abb. 68a—e) etwas

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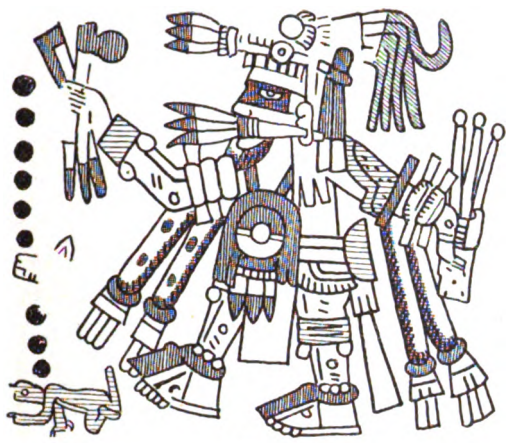
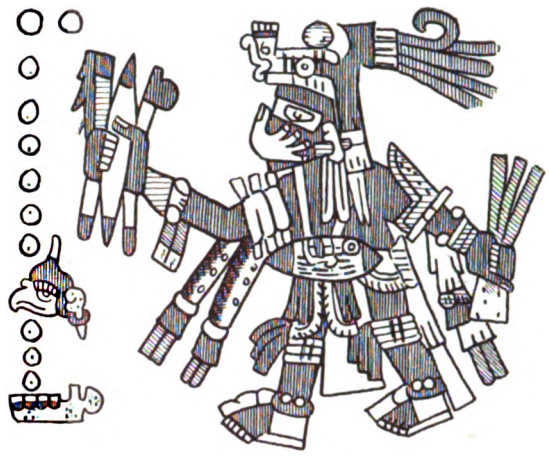
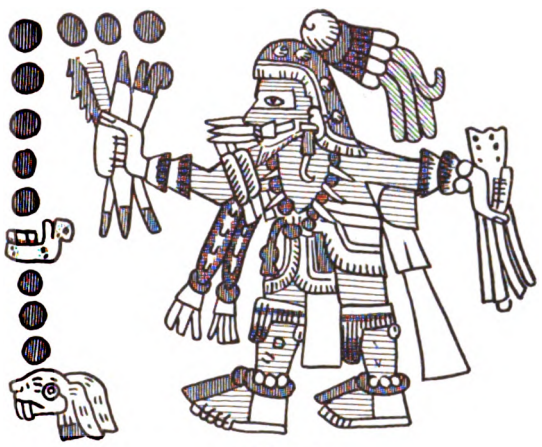


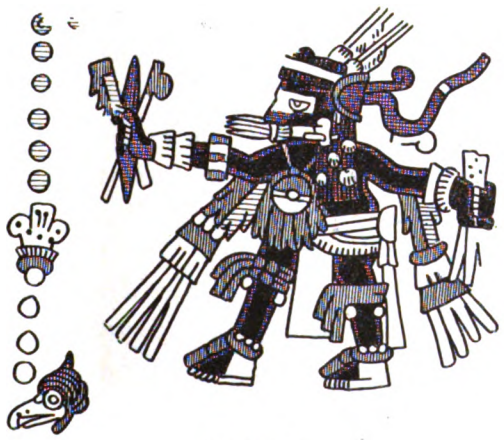
c. (Westen.)



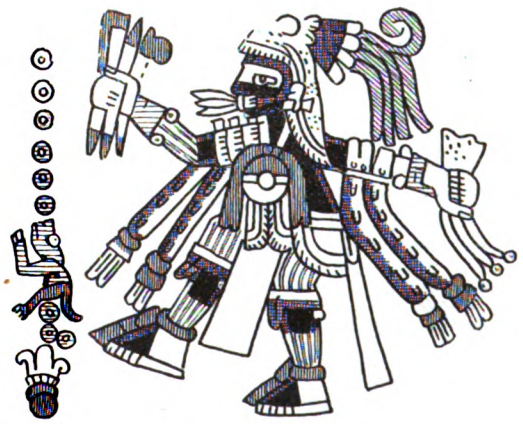
b. (Norden.)



e. (Mitte.)



d. (Süden).



a. (Osten).

Abb. 68a—e. Die *Auiateteô*, die männlichen Götter der Lust, die Götter des Südens.
Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773, Blatt 77—79 (= Kingsborough 20—18).

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abweichend aufgefasst und gezeichnet. Die Gesichtsbemalung zeigt bei allen ein die Augen einschliessendes, rechteckig begrenztes helles Feld, das dem Felde hellgelber Farbe bei den Codex Borgia-Figuren (und dem verwandten *Ueuecoyotl*, dem Tanzgotte) entspricht. Aber statt der weissen, vom Mundwinkel nach hinten ziehenden Zeichnung einer menschlichen Hand, haben wir nur bei der zweiten Figur (Abb. 68b) eine wirkliche, den Mund ganz und gar bedeckende Hand, bei den übrigen im Munde ein Bündel Steinmesser, wie wir es bei der merkwürdigen bärtigen Figur im rechten oberen Quadranten des Blattes 23 des Codex Borgia kennen gelernt haben. Auch die Farbenfolge weicht ab. Der erste (Abb. 68a) hat das Gesicht und den oberen Theil der Arme und Schenkel schwarz, den unteren weiss und *tlauauantli* (mit gelben, eigentlich rothen Längsstreifen) gemalt. Die zweite Figur ist roth, die dritte gelb, die vierte schwarz, die fünfte blau gemalt. Die Gestalten sind alle, mehr oder minder deutlich, als *Tezcatlipoca* aufgefasst. Die erste, dritte, vierte (Abb. 68a, c, d) haben das *anauatl*, den Ring, das Auge, den Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s, die zweite (68b) trägt ein Steinmesser auf der Brust, die fünfte (68e) hat das *xopilcozcatl*, das Halsband aus Thierklauen. Die erste und die fünfte Gestalt (Abb. 68a und e) zeigen das kappenartig den Kopf bedeckende Tuch, das man bei dem rothen *Tezcatlipoca* angegeben zu finden pflegt. Die vierte (68d) hat den Reiherfedergabelbusch (*aztaxelli*) auf dem Scheitel und den echten rauchenden Spiegel *Tezcatlipoca*'s

Fig. 69a. Codex Borgia (Kingsborough 55).

Fig. 69b. Codex Laud Pl. 39.

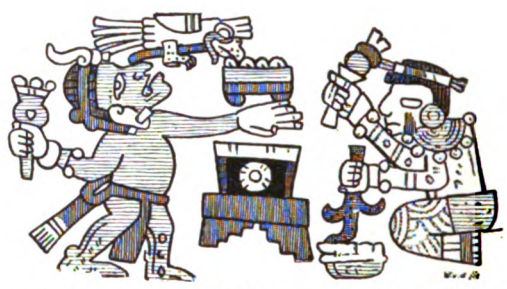

Abb. 69c. Codex Vaticanus B, (Nr. 3773) 38 (= Kingsborough 86).

Die Götter der Musik, *Xochiquetzal* und der Mondgott.

an der Schläfe. Die dritte Gestalt, der westliche Gott (68c) ist deutlich bärtig und scheint dadurch an *Tepeyollotli* zu erinnern. Ich habe auf diese Verwandtschaften *Tezcatlipoca*'s, insbesondere des rothen (*tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca* mit *Macuil xochitl*, dem rothen Gotte des Südens, dem Gotte des Tanzes und der Musik, schon in früheren Publikationen hingewiesen.[1])

Diese Homologie der *Auiateteô* und *Tezcatlipoca*'s, die uns hier entgegentritt, ist nun aber ein Zug, an dem wir nicht achtlos vorübergehen dürfen. Besteht sie zu Recht, so wird das, was wir über das eigentliche Wesen *Tezcatlipoca*'s anzunehmen veranlasst sind, in gewisser Weise auch für die *Auiateteô* gelten müssen. Ich habe die letzteren bisher nur in der Funktion gelten lassen, die die Tradition ihnen anweist. Nach dem Obigen aber scheint es, dass wir als den eigentlichen Grundzug ihres Wesens dasselbe anzunehmen haben, was für *Tezcatlipoca* gilt, d. h. wir werden auch sie als Mondgötter oder Mondwesen erklären müssen. Und das ist ja in der That auch durchaus wahrscheinlich. Auf die Beziehungen, in denen der Mond zu den Weibern, zu der Geburt u. s. w. steht, habe ich oben, und auch früher wiederholt schon, hingewiesen. Und auch die besondere Rolle, die man den *Auiateteô* zuweist, dass sie Götter des Tanzes und der Musik seien, gilt ja in gleicher Weise für den Mondgott. Ich brauche zum Beweise dafür nur auf die drei homologen Bilder, die ich in Abb. 69a—c wiedergegeben

1) Seler, „Die achtzehn Jahresfeste der Mexikaner". „Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde." Band VI (Berlin 1899), S. 136ff.

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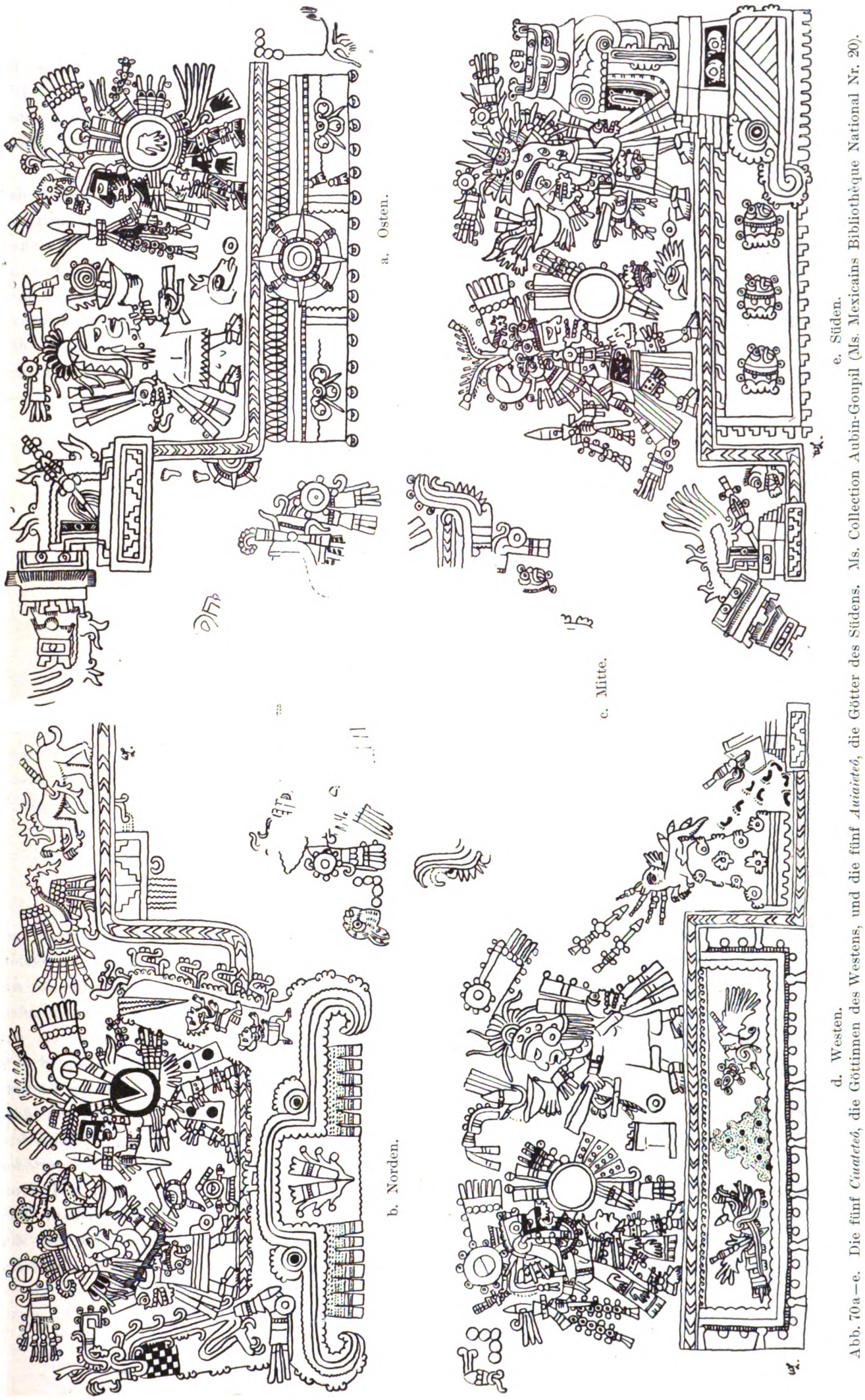

a. Osten.

b. Norden.

c. Mitte.

d. Westen.

e. Süden.

Abb. 70a—e. Die fünf *Cuateteô*, die Göttinnen des Westens, und die fünf *Auiateô*, die Göttinnen des Südens. Ms. Collection Aubin-Goupil (Ms. Mexicains Bibliothèque National Nr. 20).

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habe, hinzuweisen. Der Gott der Musik, der in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde Abb. 69a die Pauke schlägt, ist in den Parallelstellen des Codex Laud und des Vaticanus einfach durch den Mondgott ersetzt. Die Zusammenstellung, die auf unseren Blättern 47 und 48 des Codex Borgia und der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus uns entgegentritt, die Vergesellschaftung der *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô*, hat in der ursprünglichen Natur der einen und der anderen Klasse dieser mythischen Wesen ihren metaphysischen Grund.

Eine dritte, noch interessantere, aber durchaus anders variirte Parallele zu der Darstellung der Blätter 47, 48 des Codex Borgia findet sich auf einer Bilderhandschrift, die ihrem Charakter nach unstreitig der Gruppe der Wiener Handschrift und des Codex Nuttall angehört, und die neuerdings von Dr. Walther Lehmann behandelt und in ihren Einzelheiten erklärt worden ist.[1]) Es ist ein Blatt der Aubin-Goubil'schen Sammlnng, Nr. 20 der Manuscrits Mexicains de la Bibliothèque Nationale, das ich hier in Abb. 70 nach den Zeichnungen Dr. Lehmann's wiedergebe. Hier sind die *Ciuateteô* und die *Auiateteô*, jede mit den ihren Namen angebenden Daten einander gegenübergestellt, und diese Gruppen nach den fünf Weltgegenden angeordnet. Während aber auf den Codex Borgia-Blättern, wie wir gesehen haben,

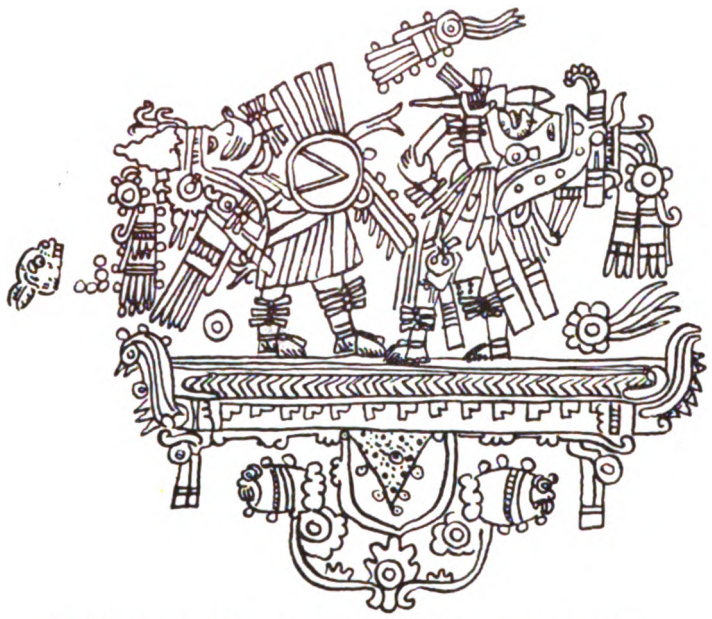

Abb. 70f. Die Mitte des vorigen Bildes nach der Kopie Leon y Gama's.

die Figuren den Himmelsrichtungen in der Folge Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte oder Unten entsprechen, sind auf dem Blatte Abb. 70 die Gruppen in der Folge Osten, Norden, Mitte, Westen, Süden angeordnet, d. h. nach dem Gesetze, das ich in dem vierten Abschnitte dieser Erläuterungen für die auf Blatt 15—17 unserer Handschrift dargestellten viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden anzunehmen mich veranlasst sah. (Vgl. den I. Theil dieser Erläuterungen, S. 238ff.) Dabei ist der Osten als das Reich des Feuers, das brennende Haus (*Tlatlayan*) und zugleich als die Gegend der am Himmel aufgehenden Sonne aufgefasst. Der *Auiateotl* hat dieselbe Gesichtsbemalung und dieselbe schwarze Körperfarbe wie der *Auiateotl* des Ostens des Codex Borgia; er trägt als Schildemblem die Hand mit dem knorrigen Auswuchse, d. h. die krankhaft veränderte Hand, die Hand *Nanauatzin*'s, des syphilitischen Gottes. — Der Norden erscheint als der Berg der Feuerschlange (*xiuhcouatl*), der Ort des Kriegertodes und als der offene Erdrachen (der Eingang ins Totenreich), bezw. als der gespaltene Berg, und dementsprechend auch als die Wohnstätte der beiden alten Götter, *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*. Der *Auiateotl* dieser Region hat gelbe Körperfarbe und eine einfachere Gesichtsbemalung, die der des Musikanten des Blattes 4 des Codex Borbonicus entspricht, genauer noch zu der des *Macuil xochitl* des

1) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXVI (Berlin 1905), S. 848—871.

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Blattes 26 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer stimmt. — Der Westen ist als die Region des Wassers und des *iztac axalli*, des Sandberges, der Sanddüne aufgefasst. Der *Auiateotl* des Westens, als welcher hier ja *Macuil xochitl* erscheint, ist dementsprechend roth gemalt. Die Gesichtsbemalung ist ähnlich der des *Auiateotl*'s des Nordens. Aber in der Nase trägt dieser Gott den Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter. In dem komplizirten Kopfschmucke erscheint unter anderem das *tonallo*-Emblem, das in den Bildern der Sahagun-Handschrift für *Macuil xochitl* und die ihm verwandten Götter kennzeichnend ist. — Der Süden ist auf dem Blatte Abb. 70 zugleich die Region des Feuers (des brennenden Hauses) und die des Todes, des Blutes und des Opfers, und dementsprechend erscheinen auch der *Auiateotl* (und die *Ciuateotl*) mit einem halben Schädelgesicht, und auch Gewand- und Gürtelschmuck wird von Schädeln und Totenbeinen gebildet. — Die Mitte endlich, die leider vollständig nur in einer Kopie Leon y Gama's erhalten ist, ist als die doppelköpfige Schlange dargestellt, auf der der von Zinnen umgebene Hof ruht (die Wolken?), während darunter, wie es scheint, der *aoztotl*, die „cueva de agua", die Wasserhöhle, die grosse Tiefe sich öffnet, wieder mit dem Sandberge in der Mitte des Wassers. — Diese Parallele, an sich von grossem Interesse, ist deshalb auch noch besonders wichtig, weil sie die weite Verbreitung der gleichen mythisch-figurativen Darstellungen und der Vorstellungen, auf denen diese beruhen, zeigt.

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15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

Blatt 49—53 (= Kingsborough 66—62) untere Hälfte.

Die Darstellungen dieser Blätter sind in ihrer Gesammtheit (als Ganzes) unserer Handschrift eigenthümlich. Einzelne Gruppen aber haben, wie wir sehen werden, Parallelen in den anderen Bilderschriften.

Es handelt sich, wie ein Blick auf diese Blätter und die sie begleitenden Tageszeichen lehrt, die die Anfangssäulen der vier Abschnitte des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s sind, um die vier Weltgegenden oder Himmelsrichtungen, und die Mitte, oder die fünfte Weltgegend, um die die vier anderen gelagert sind. Als Ganzes bilden daher diese Blätter eine gewisse Parallele zu dem ersten Blatte des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71), obwohl der Inhalt der Darstellungen dieses Blattes nur zum Theil mit unseren Codex Borgia-Blättern übereinstimmt, nur einzelne Gruppen der Codex Borgia-Blätter wiederholt.

Als erste und Hauptdarstellung sind die vier Bäume und die vier auf ihnen sitzenden Vögel anzusehen, die in der Mitte der Blätter unten dargestellt sind und den Kern bilden, um den alles Uebrige sich gruppirt. Sie haben eine Parallele in den Bäumen, die auf dem Blatte 1 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71) die Speichen des Andreaskreuzes füllen und in den Abbildungen 72—75, die mit den gleichen Tageszeichensäulen versehen, auf den Blättern 17 und 18 des Codex Vaticanus 3773 zur Anschauung gebracht sind.

Wenn man die Himmelsrichtungen als Bäume dargestellt hat, so hat man dabei vielleicht an Pfähle gedacht, die an den vier Ecken, wie die Pfosten des Hauses, aufgepflanzt sind. Vielleicht hat auch die Beobachtung von Wolkengebilden, die am Horizont baumartig sich aufbauen, suggestiv gewirkt. An so etwas möchte man wenigstens denken, wenn man, wie z. B. in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift 30, 31c den Zeichen der vier Himmelsrichtungen vier Bäume koordinirt sieht, auf denen der Regengott, der *Chac*, sitzt. — Die Bäume erheben sich auf dem Blatte des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71) über Symbolen, die ihrerseits die vier Himmelsrichtungen zum Ausdruck bringen, — über einem Tempel mit der Sonnenscheibe (Osten), einem offenen Erdrachen (Norden), einer von dem Nasenhalbmonde der Pulquegötter gekrönten *tzitzimitl*-Figur (Westen) und einer Schale mit einem Feueropfer und den Kasteiungswerkzeugen (Süden). Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 72—75) ist am Fussende der Bäume ein *chalchiuitl*-artig gezeichnetes und gemaltes Sitzpolster angebracht, auf dem eine Gottheit sitzt, die den Stamm des Baumes umklammert hält, — und zwar ist es bei dem Ostbaume der Sonnen-

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oder Feuergott, bei dem Nordbaume *Mixcouatl*, der Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, bei dem Westbaume ein blau gemalter Gott (*Xochipilli?*), bei dem Südbaume *Tezcatlipoca*; — und unterhalb des Sitzpolsters, auf dem diese Götter sitzen, sind die Wurzeln des Baumes theils realistisch — in der Weise, wie die Wurzeln in den mexikanischen Bilderschriften gezeichnet zu werden pflegen, — theils symbolisch durch einen in den Boden beissenden Schlangenrachen zur Anschauung gebracht. In unserer Handschrift

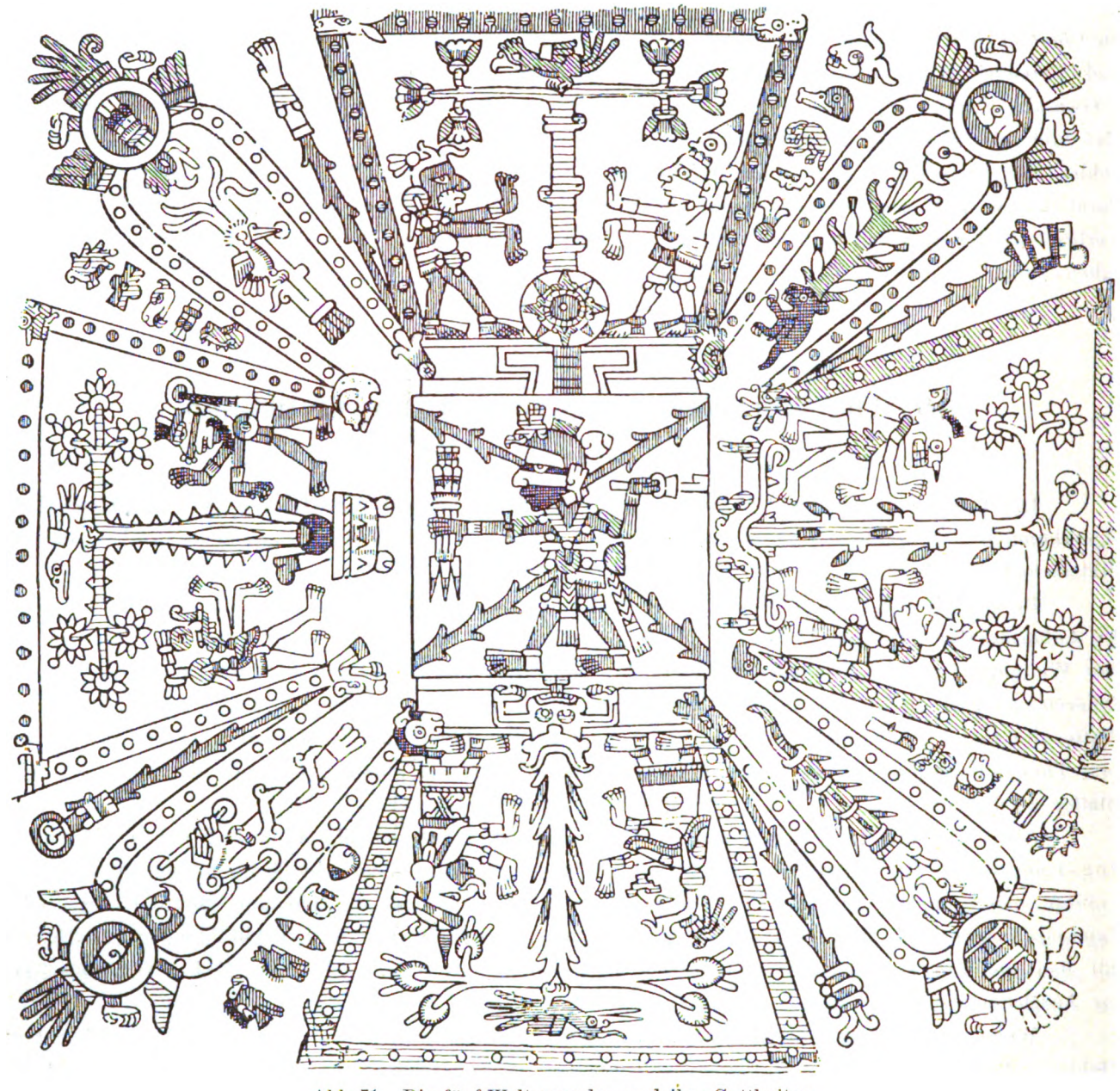

Abb. 71. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 1 (= Kingsborough 44).

erheben sich die Bäume über dem Leibe einer mit dem Rücken auf dem Boden liegenden *Ciuacouatl*, einer mit Totenschädel als Kopf und Adlerklauen an Armen und Beinen ausgestatteten weiblichen Gestalt, die die Erde darstellt. Bei dem ersten, dem Ostbaume (Blatt 49), ist diese *Ciuacouatl* oder Erdgöttin gelb an Leib und Gliedern und mit einem spitz nach unten ausgezogenen rothen Felde im Gesichte gemalt und scheint als Helmmaske den Kopfschmuck des Feuergottes zu tragen. Bei dem zweiten, dem Nordbaume (Blatt 50), ist diese Erdgöttin blau, und nur das spitz nach unten und hinten ausgezogene Feld hinter dem Auge ist roth gemalt; ihr Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Steinmessers (*tecpatl*)

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heraus. Die dritte Göttin, die des Westbaumes (Blatt 51), ist gelb, nur wiederum mit dem eigenthümlich umrissenen rothen Felde hinter dem Auge; ihr Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Jaguars (*ocelotl*) heraus. Die vierte Erdgöttin, die des Südbaumes (Blatt 52), ist roth gemalt und schaut aus der Schnabelöffnung eines Adlers (*quauhtli*) heraus. Die fünfte Erdgöttin, die des Baumes der Mitte (Blatt 53, rechts), liegt auf einem mit Stacheln besetzten *cipactli*-Streifen. Sie ist wieder gelb gemalt und hat auch das spitzwinklig ausgezogene rothe Feld im Gesicht. Ihre Helmmaske bildet ein weisser, knochenfarbener Totenschädel.

Der Baum des Ostens setzt sich in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 49) aus einer türkis-(*xiuitl*-)farbenen, d. h. blauen, und einer Jadeit-(*chalchiuitl*-)farbenen, d. h. grünen Hälfte zusammen und grüne

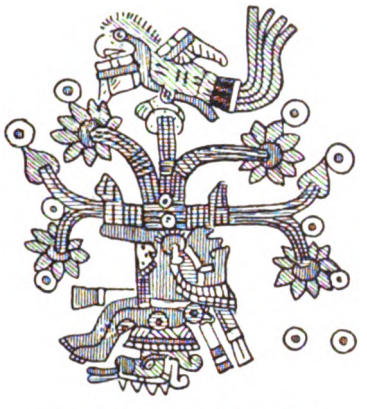

Abb. 72. Baum des Ostens.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 17
(= Kingsborough 65).

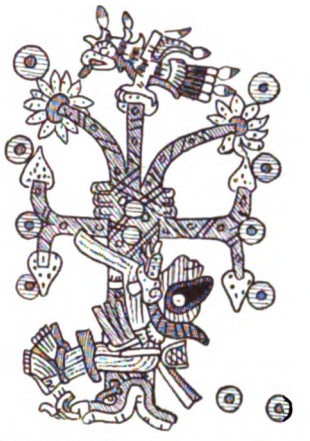

Abb. 73. Baum des Nordens.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 17.
(= Kingsborough 65).

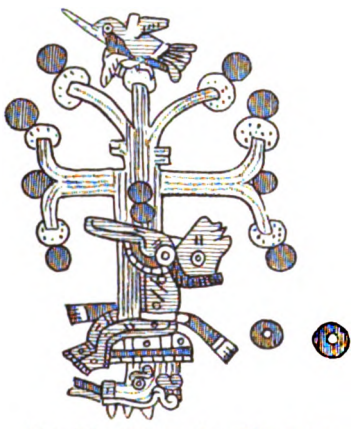

Abb. 74. Baum des Westens.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 18
(= Kingsborough 66).

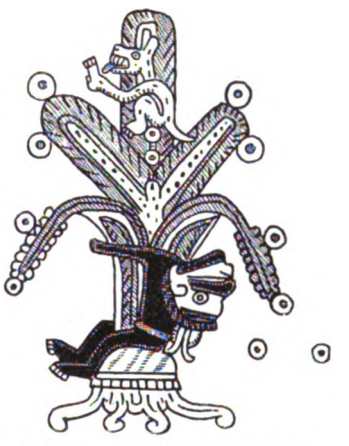

Abb. 75. Baum des Südens.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 18
(= Kingsborough 66.)

Edelsteine, Jadeite (*chalchiuitl*) schmücken als Blumen die Zweigspitzen. Je eine in eine Blume endende Türkis- und *chalchiuitl*-Schnur ist ausserdem noch um den Baum geschlungen. Auf seinem Wipfel thront ein Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltototl*), und als besonderes Determinativ ist auf dem Stamme des Baumes das Zeichen des Krieges (*yaoyotl*) angegeben: — Schild, Speerbündel, Wurfbrett, Handfahne und Tasche für Steinpfeilspitzen. Als der Ort des Reichthums und des Krieges, d. h. wohl als das Land der Sonne und der Könige, scheint in diesem Bilde also der Osten sich darzustellen. — Auch die beiden anderen Blätter, das des Fejérváry (Abb. 71) und das des Vaticanus (Abb. 72), zeigen in der Ostabtheilung einen türkisfarbenen Baum mit Blüthen an den Zweigenden und einem Quetzalvogel auf seinem Wipfel.

Der Baum des Nordens setzt sich in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 50) ebenfalls aus zwei Hälften, deren eine blau, deren andere grün gemalt ist, zusammen, aber die Zeichnung auf diesen Hälften ist

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nicht die der Edelsteinschnur, sondern die der Schildkrötenschale oder der *cipactli*-Haut, und wie das *cipactli* sind der Stamm und die Zweige dicht mit Stacheln besetzt; die Zweigspitzen schwellen zu mit Stacheln besetzten Kugeln an, auf denen kleine Blüthen sitzen. Auf dem Wipfel des Baumes thront ein Adler (*quauhtli*), seine Raubvogelnatur durch die Steinspitzen (Feuersteinmesser) kundgebend, die an dem Ende der gesträubten Kopffedern und der Schwanzfedern angebracht sind. Als besonderes Determinativ sieht man noch, von dem Stammende ausgehend, einen schwarzen (Nacht- *youalli*-) und einen rothen (Blut- *eztli*-)Streifen sich nach oben ziehen, die als das *Tlillan*- und das *Tlapallan*, d. h. als die Gegensätzlichkeit der Nord- und der Südregion aufzufassen sind (vgl. das oben S. 21 ff. Gesagte). Der Norden ist durch dieses Bild als die Region der Erde (des *cipactli*) und des Scharfen, Schneidenden, sowie als die des Dunkels gekennzeichnet. Auf dem Blatte des Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71) liegt mit Beziehung auf die Nord- und Südabtheilung eine Verwechselung vor. Durch die Tageszeichen, die auf dem Blatte angegeben oder angedeutet sind, ist ein Turnus entgegengesetzt der Bewegung des Uhrzeigers angezeigt. Demgemäss müsste die Nordregion in der linken Speiche des Andreaskreuzes zu suchen sein. Thatsächlich sieht man aber den Erdrachen, der den Norden bezeichnet, und auch die beiden Götter, die dem Norden zukommen, in der rechten Speiche des Andreaskreuzes. Als den Baum des Nordens aber haben wir doch wohl den in der linken Speiche des Andreaskreuzes abgebildeten zu erkennen. Denn auf ihm sitzt der Vogel der Nordregion, der Raubvogel, der Adler. Der Stamm und die Zweige dieses Baumes sind, wie die des Codex Borgia-Baumes, mit blauer Farbe gemalt und dicht mit Stacheln besetzt. Der Stamm ist nach der Basis zu angeschwollen und zeigt dort einen Spalt, der vielleicht das durch Trockenheit geplatzte Holz, vielleicht das hohle Erdinnere bezeichnen soll. Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 73) sind Stamm und Zweige gelb gemalt, aber mit der schwarzen Zeichnung, die in dieser Handschrift eine knochige Beschaffenheit anzudeuten pflegt. Auf knochige Beschaffenheit deuten auch die knorrigen Auswüchse, die der Stamm über der ersten Abzweigung zeigt. An den Zweigenden sitzen Blüthen; und auf dem Mittelzweige thront ein erkennbar gezeichneter Adler, der auch durch Feuersteinspitzen an den Federenden als Raubvogel sich kundgibt.

Der Baum des Westens ist in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 51) mit abwechselnd gelben und braunen Feldern gezeichnet, die mit abwechselnd gestellten breiten und schmalen schwarzen Streifen und Linien erfüllt sind. Sie sollen offenbar, gleich der winklig gebrochenen, aus einem breiten schwarzen Streifen und einer schmalen schwarzen Linie bestehenden Gesichtsbemalung des Maisgottes, die Ackererde (*milli*) veranschaulichen. An den Zweigenden sitzen Maisblüthen, und auf dem Wipfel thront ein Vogel, der mit blauer Farbe gemalt, aber sehr konventionell, fast wie ein Adler oder anderer Raubvogel gezeichnet ist. Der Vergleich mit den anderen Handschriften lässt vermuthen, dass eigentlich ein Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) gemeint sei Als Determinativ ist auf dem Stamme eine sonderbare Figur angegeben, die aus einem breiten Wurzelende und zwei über Dornen lang ausgezogenen (gestielten), von Dornen eingefassten Blüthen besteht. Das Ganze sieht wie ein in Blüthen transformirtes Stern- oder Strahlauge aus. Es ist klar, dass dieser Baum den Westen als die Heimath der Maisfrucht bezeichnet, und der Kolibri ist auf ihm augenscheinlich deshalb angebracht, weil der Kolibri nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner in der Trockenheit tot ist und in der Regenzeit, wenn die Bäume und die Feldfrüchte zu spriessen anfangen, zu neuem Leben erwacht, also der Vogel der Regenzeit, der Zeit des Wachsthums, ist, ja geradezu das Wiedererwachen der Vegetatation in sich verkörpert. — Bei dieser Himmelsrichtung stimmen die Parallelbilder der anderen Handschriften nicht recht zu dem Charakter des Codex Borgia-Baumes. Im Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71) ist der Baum mit weisser Farbe gemalt, mit spitzenartig vortretenden Auswüchsen, in deren Achseln lange Dornen sitzen. An den Zweigenden scheinen Daunenfederbüschel, statt der Blüthen, zu stehen. Das Vaticanus-Bild (Abb. 74) zeigt auch einen weissen (roth gestreiften) Stamm, aber ohne Spitzen und Dornen, mit ein Paar knorrigen Auswüchsen oberhalb der ersten Abzweigung und mit runden Knospen (?) an den Zweigenden. Der Vogel, der auf dem Baume sitzt, ist sowohl im Fejérváry-Mayer, wie im Vaticanus, durch den langen spitzen Schnabel deutlich als Kolibri gekennzeichnet.

Der vierte Baum, der Baum des Südens, ist in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 52) mit rother Farbe gemalt, mit flammenartigen Figuren weisser Farbe auf der Fläche des Stammes und der Zweige und an

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dem Aussenrande mit Stacheln besetzt. Grosse, sonnenartige, einen *chalchiuitl*-Kern enthaltende, aber in Stacheln oder Dornen ausstrahlende Blüthen stehen an den Enden der Hauptzweige. Kleinere, regulär gebildete Blüthen, Kurzzweigen aufsitzend, umsäumen den Stamm und die Hauptzweige. Auf dem Wipfel thront ein schön und deutlich gezeichneter, langschwänziger rother Arara, der Vogel des Feuergottes. Als Determinativ ist wieder, wie bei dem Nordbaume, ein schwarzer (Nacht- oder *youalli*-) Streifen und ein rother (Blut- oder *eztli*-)Streifen angegeben, die auch hier wieder das *Tlillan* und das *Tlapallan*, die Gegensätzlichkeit der Nord- und der Südregion, zum Ausdrucke bringen Als Region des Feuers und des Blutes tritt uns in diesem Bilde der Süden entgegen. — Die Bilder der anderen beiden Handschriften weichen auch hier wieder bedeutend ab. Auf dem Blatte des Codex Fejérváry - Mayer (Abb. 71) ist der Baum in der rechten Speiche des Andreaskreuzes als der Südbaum anzusehen. Er ist zur Hälfte blau, zur Hälfte weiss gemalt. An dem mit knorrigen Auswüchsen versehenen Stamme scheinen, (nach Art der Kakaofrucht) rothe Fruchtschoten zu entspringen. Aber die Zweigenden tragen Blüthen. Der Vogel, der auf dem Baume sitzt, ist zwar nicht als Arara, aber doch als Papagei, deutlich zu erkennen. Ganz abweichend ist der Baum des Vaticanus (Abb. 75). Er soll offenbar eine Palme darstellen. In seinem Wipfel sitzt, statt eines Araras oder Papageien, ein Jaguar. Man sieht, dass die Südbäume des Fejérváry-Mayer und des Vaticanus, wenn auch nicht den Begriff des Feuers, so doch den der Tierra Caliente zum Ausdrucke bringen.

In unserer Handschrift ist nun, was den anderen Quellen fehlt, auch die fünfte Weltgegend oder die Mitte durch einen Baum bezeichnet (Blatt 53 rechts). Ich habe oben schon gesagt, dass hier die Erdgöttin, deren Leibe der Baum entspriesst, mit einem Totenschädel als Helmmaske ausgestattet ist und auf einem mit Stacheln besetzten *cipactli*-Streifen liegt, der natürlich die Erde, oder die Erdoberfläche bezeichnet. Derselben Vorstellung der Erde oder der Erdoberfläche hat aber der Zeichner in demselben Bilde noch einen anderen Ausdruck gegeben, indem er eine blau gemalte und mit Wasserlinien erfüllte Scheibe, — die natürlich nur das *anauatl* oder das Erdrund vorstellen kann, — hinzugefügt hat. Nur hat er diese, da er sie in horizontaler Position nicht perspektivisch richtig zeichnen konnte, aufrecht gestellt. In der Mitte der *cipactli*-Fläche, in der Mitte des *anauatl*, erhebt sich nun, über dem Leibe der Erdgöttin der Baum der Mitte. Seine Wurzeln oder der Leib der Göttin, aus dem er emporwächst, werden mit dem Blute, das eine *Macuilxochitl*-Figur zur Rechten, ein *Quetzalcouatl* zur Linken sich durch Sakrifizirung des Penis entziehen, befruchtet, und so wächst der Baum gleich zwischen zwei grossen Maiskolben empor, an der Abzweigung der Äste und an den Enden der beiden grossen Äste andere Paare von Maiskolben und Maisblüthen tragend. Der Baum selbst und seine Zweige sind in der dunkelgrünen Farbe der Quetzalfedern gemalt, und ein grosser Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltotol*) thront auf seinem Wipfel. Die fünfte Weltgegend, die Mitte, die Region des Feuergottes wird in diesem Bilde in nachdrücklichster Weise als das Land der Fülle, des Reichthums und des Gedeihens dem Beschauer vorgeführt.

Auf dem Blatte des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 71) sieht man die vier Bäume den Speichen eines Andreaskreuzes eingeschrieben, und in dem Zentrum dieses Andreaskreuzes und in dem Innenraume der vier Speichen sind zu gleicher Zeit der Feuergott und vier Paare von Göttern zur Anschauung gebracht, die zusammen die bekannte Neunzahl von Göttern, die neun „Señores de la noche", die Herren der neun Stunden der Nacht[1]), darstellen. In dem Codex Vaticanus ist zwar nicht die Neunzahl der Götter in ihrer Gesammtheit, aber immer der zweite Gott eines jeden der vier Paare bei dem seiner Himmelsrichtung entsprechenden Baume angegeben, — also bei dem Baume des Ostens *Tonatiuh* (Abb. 76), bei dem des Nordens *Mictlantecutli* (Abb. 77), bei dem des Westens *Tlaçolteotl* (Abb. 78), bei dem des Südens *Tlaloc* (Abb. 79), — indem natürlich der Feuergott fehlt, da die fünfte Himmelsrichtung auf den beiden Vaticanus-Blättern überhaupt nicht zur Anschauung gebracht ist. Diese Parallelisirung der vier (bezw. fünf) Bäume mit entsprechenden Gruppen der neun Señores de la noche hat auf den Codex Borgia-Blättern keinen Ausdruck gefunden.

Es lohnt sich nun vielleicht, noch einen Blick auf die Stelle der Maya-Handschriften zu werfen, wo man die Zeichen der Himmelsrichtungen mit verschiedenen Bäumen, bezw. mit den verschiedenen

1) Vgl. hierüber meine Erläuterung des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin 1901, S. 21 ff.

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Formen des Regengottes *Chac*, in Verbindung gebracht sieht. Man sieht dort (Dresdener Handschrift 39c), dass der Norden durch einen mit Dornen besetzten Baum ausgedrückt worden ist, und man sieht in der Reihe Dresdener Handschrift 29, 30a, dass auch dem Süden ein Dornbaum dient. Die letztere Reihe ist ferner deshalb interessant, weil in ihr auch die fünfte Weltgegend Ausdruck gefunden hat, die aber nun nicht durch einen Baum, sondern durch ein mit dem Zeichen *caban* erfülltes Gebilde bezeichnet worden ist. Das Zeichen *caban* entspricht dem mexikanischen *olin* und bezeichnet die Erde. Also auch in diesen Maya-Handschriften ist die Mitte als „este asiento de la tierra" als das *tlalticpac*, die Erde, aufgefasst.

Die zweite Hauptdarstellung auf unseren Blättern 49—52 des Codex Borgia sind die den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechenden Häuser oder Tempel, mit ihren Symbolen oder Fetischen, denen die Götter der Region ihre Huldigung oder ihr Opfer darbringen. Diese Gruppen haben in der Mitte des oberen Theiles dieser vier Blätter, gerade über den vier Bäumen, ihre Stelle. Ganz interessante Parallelen für sie finden sich im Codex Bologna (Abb. 80, 82, 89, 91), sowie im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 81, 83, 90, 92).

Das Haus des Ostens ist in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 49) durch einen Tempel auf zweistufigem Unterbaue dargestellt, zu dem an der Vorderseite eine Treppe hinaufführt. Auf der Pyramidenwand sieht man die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein", „Kostbarkeit", das Zeichen des Opfers. Die Pfosten der Cella sind mit Spiegeln verziert, deren Kern, wie es scheint, das Bild eines menschlichen Herzens (herausgerissenen Herzens) bildet. Das hohe Strohdach hat den breiten, an den Enden nach unten

Abb. 76. *Tonatiuh - Piltzintecutli*, dritter der neun Herren der Nacht, Herr des Ostens. Codex Vaticanus 3773 Blatt 17 (= Kingsborough 65).

Abb. 77. *Mictlantecutli*, fünfter der neun Herren der Nacht, Herr des Nordens, Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 17 (= Kingsborough 65).

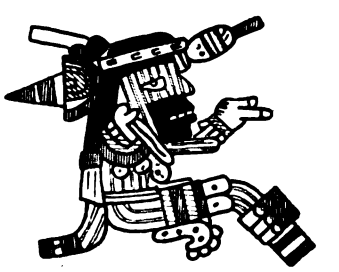

Abb. 78. *Tlaçolteotl*, siebenter der neun Herren der Nacht, Herrin des Westens Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 18 (= Kingsborough 66).

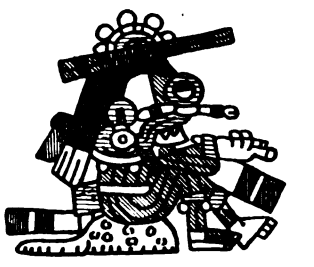

Abb. 79. *Tlaloc*, neunter der neun Herren der Nacht Herr des Südens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 18 (= Kingsborough 66).

gebogenen First, den wir auf Blatt 34 unserer Handschrift bei dem Hause der rothen Schlange und dann wiederholt auf den folgenden Blättern bei dem Tempel des rothen Gottes (*Xochipilli*'s, des rothen *Tezcatlipoca*) angetroffen haben. Und wie bei dem letzteren, ist auch hier bei dem Osttempel des Codex Borgia an der Basis des Daches ein mit Edelsteinscheiben eingelegter Fries, der eine Reihe von (sieben) Blumen trägt, angebracht. Es ist also auch dieser Osttempel des Codex Borgia als ein *Xochicalli*, ein Tempel des Gottes der Lust, oder, genauer wohl, als ein Tempel der Kostbarkeit aufgefasst. Im Innern der Cella sieht man als Fetisch oder als Idol eine Sonnenscheibe aufgestellt, und ihr bringt *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott, — eine rothe Gestalt, die ungefähr in derselben Weise ausstaffirt ist, wie wir den Sonnengott Blatt 9, 15, 18 unserer Handschrift[1]) kennen gelernt haben, seine Opfergabe, ein menschliches Herz in einem Strome von Blut, das er mit dem Wurfbrette (*atlatl*) ihr zuwirft.

Der Osttempel des Codex Bologna (Abb. 80) steht ebenfalls auf einem zweistufigen Unterbaue, dessen obere Terrassenwand mit eingelegten Edelsteinscheiben und wellig begrenzten, schrägen rothen und gelben Linien (Herz-, d. h. Opfer, Verzierung) geschmückt ist, und zu dem vorn eine steile Treppe hinaufführt. Das Dach hat ebenfalls einen mit eingelegten Edelsteinen verzierten Fries, ist aber als flaches Dach gedacht, dessen Umrandung von Zinnen (*mixxotl*) gekrönt ist. Auf diesem flachen Dache aber erhebt sich ein in den Farben des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) und des Türkises (*xiuitl*) gemalter

1) Siehe Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 203, 268, 284.

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Baum, mit Blüthen an den Zweigenden, der deutlicher als das *xochicalli* des Codex Borgia zum Ausdrucke bringt, dass dieser Osttempel ein Haus der Kostbarkeit darstellen solle. Im Innern der Cella, deren Wand gleichartig bei allen vier Tempeln mit einer *cipactli* oder Schildkrötenschalenzeichnung bekleidet ist, sieht man, offenbar als Repräsentanten des Sonnenballes, ein *quetzalcoxcoxtli*, das Waldhuhn, das in der Morgenfrühe singt. Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-)Bänder, deren eines in einer Blüthe endet, kommen aus seinem Schnabel hervor. Vor dem Tempel befindet sich ein Opfer- oder Räuchergefäss, mit einer *chalchiuitl*-Blüthe, die hier für die brennende Räucherharzmasse steht. Dem Tempel gegenüber steht auch hier der Sonnengott, gelber Gesichtsfarbe, mit der rothen den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden Linie und dem kreisrunden, rothen Flecke (dem Abbilde der Sonnenscheibe) auf der Backe, und als Hinterhaupts- oder Nackenschmuck, als Devise, eine grosse Sonnenscheibe tragend. Der Gott bringt nicht Blut und Herzen, sondern in einem Räucherlöffel (*tlemaitl*) Räucherharz dar, dessen Rauchwolken, die Kostbarkeit zu bezeugen, in Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-)Bänder enden. Die zugehörige Räuchertasche (*copalxiquipilli*) hält der Gott in der rechten Hand.

Im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 81) ist der Osttempel durch drei auf der Fläche des Strohdaches angebrachte Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-)Scheiben und einen aus Blumen geflochtenen First ebenfalls als Haus der Kostbarkeit bezeichnet. Zur besseren Verdeutlichung ist aber noch eine halbe Sonnenscheibe daneben gesetzt, von der, wie das so häufig in den Bilderschriften angegeben wird, Blut herabrinnt. Das Idol im Innern der Cella, — eine kleine sitzende Figur, mit hellgelbem Gesichte und rothem, mit ein-

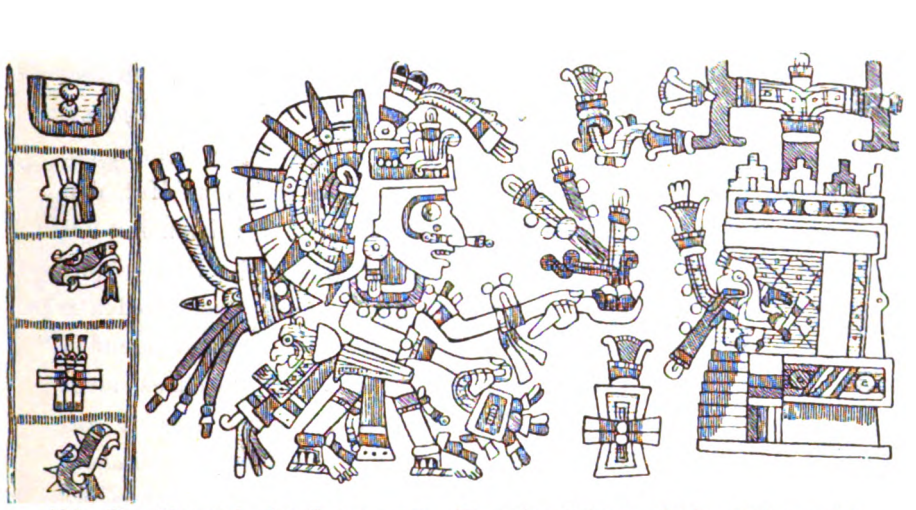

Abb. 80. *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott. Herr des Ostens. Codex Bologna 12.

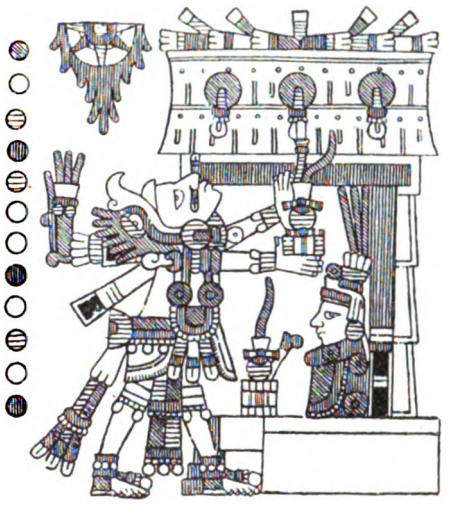

Abb. 81. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 33 (= Kingsborough 12) unten.

gelegten Edelsteinscheiben verziertem Leibe und mit einer in den Farben des grünen Edelsteines (*chalchiuitl*) gemalten Decke (*quemitl*) bekleidet, — soll offenbar den Sonnengott bezeichnen. Ein Brennholzbündel, mit einer Kautschukkugel und einem Knochendolche, befindet sich vor ihm. Und eine grosse Figur des Sonnengottes, hellgelb gemalt, mit Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*)-Schmuck angethan, das Gesicht aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Quetzal- oder Coxcoxtli-Vogels hervorsehend, steht vor der Tempelzelle und bringt dem Idole darin ein ähnliches Brennholzbündel mit einer Kautschukkugel als Opfer dar.

Das Haus des Nordens in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 50) erhebt sich über einem Unterbaue der gleichen Art, wie wir ihn bei dem Osttempel getroffen haben. Aber die Pfosten des Tempels sind unverziert, und das Dach ist ein flaches (Stein-)Dach, dessen Ränder über einem mit Edelsteinen verzierten Friese, an Stelle von Zinnen, mit Steinmessern (Opfermessern) gekrönt sind. Es ist also ein *tecpacalli*, ein „Steinmesserhaus“. Als Idol steht in der Cella in einem Wasserstrome die Hieroglyphe des Mondes (*metztli*), — ein von nächtlichem Dunkel umgebener knöcherner Nasenhalbmond, der ein wässeriges Feld mit einem Steinmesser (*tecpatl*) umschliesst. Das Steinmesser ersetzt hier das Kaninchen, das in anderen Formen der Mondhieroglyphe in dem von dem Nasenhalbmonde umschlossenen Felde

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abgebildet ist.[1]) Vor diesem Tempel steht, wie der Sonnengott des Ostblattes, mit dem Wurfbrette ein Herz in einem Blutstrome dem Idole in dem Tempel vor ihm zuwerfend, eine sonderbare Figur, die schwarzen Leib und schwarze Glieder und im hinteren Theile des Gesichtes das *temacpalhuiticac*, auf schwarzem Grunde die weisse Zeichnung einer Hand, also die Bemalung eines schwarzen (*yayauhqui*) *Auiateotl*, hat[2]), in der anderen Hälfte des Profilgesichtes aber einfach gelb gemalt ist und in der Nasenscheidewand den Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter und der *Tlaçolteotl* trägt. Mit dieser Bemalung und diesem Schmucke aber verbindet die Figur die beiden grossen Edelstein-(Türkis-, *xiuitl*-) Scheiben und die abgerundeten Schleifenenden der Kopfbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s und den Nackenfederschmuck *coxoliio vei itepul*) dieses Gottes, sowie das mit weissem Rindenpapiere umwickelte Haar, den weissen Ohrpflock (*amanacochtli*) und den schwarz und weissen, nach hinten sich einrollenden Hut *itztlacoliuhqui* des ebenfalls *Itztlacoliuhqui* genannten Gottes des Steines, der Kälte und der Sünde. Auf der Brust trägt die Figur, gleich dem Sonnengotte des Ostblattes und gleich dem Maisgotte des Westblattes, die grosse Goldscheibe (*teocuitlacomalli*) an einer *chalchiuitl*-Kette (einem *chalchiuhcozcapetlatl*). Der schwarze (*yayauhqui*) *Auiateotl* ist wohl dem schwarzen (*yayauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca* gleich zu setzen. Die Verwandtschaft dieser beiden Gestalten trat uns in den Bildern, die der Codex Vaticanus von den *Auiateteô* gibt, auf das Deutlichste entgegen (vgl. Abb. 68a—e, oben S. 99). Und wir werden sehen, dass in den Parallelstellen diese vor dem Nordtempel stehende Gestalt, statt der *Auiateotl*-Gesichtsbemalung, statt des *temacpalhuititac*, das *tlatlaan*, die Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s, aufweist. Es ergibt sich demnach, dass in der Figur, die auf dem Blatte 50 unserer Handschrift dem Tempel des Nordens, dem Mondtempel gegenübersteht, aus vier verschiedenen Elementen, aus *Tezcatlipoca-Auiateotl*, aus den Pulquegöttern (bezw. der *Tlaçolteotl*), aus *Quetzalcouatl* und *Itztlacoliuhqui* sich zusammensetzt. Die ersten drei sind uns als Formen der Mondgottheit bekannt, und dass auch der letztere, der schwarz und weisse Gott des Steins, der Kälte, der Sünde, der Sohn der *Teteo innan* oder *Tlaçolteotl*, der an dem *Ochpaniztli*-Fest mit dem *mexxayacatl*, der Maske aus der Schenkelhaut des Opfers, bekleidet wird, zu dem Mondgotte in Beziehung stehn muss, ist wohl klar. Der sonst ganz unverständliche Zug, dass der mit scharfer Schneide versehene Hut, den der Gott trägt, nach hinten sich krümmt oder einrollt, könnte eine Erklärung durch einen Vergleich mit der Mondsichel finden. Demnach hätten wir in der Gestalt, die auf Blatt 50 des Codex Borgia der Hieroglyphe des Mondes in dem Nordtempel sein Opfer bringt, den Mondgott vor uns, aus den verschiedenen Formen oder Auffassungen, in denen er sich den Menschen darstellte, oder von der mythenbildenden Phantasie ausgearbeitet wurde, zusammengesetzt. Selbstverständlich will ich damit durchaus nicht behauptet haben, dass der Zeichner ihm bekannte Formen der Mondgottheit zu einer Gestalt zusammensetzte. Ich zweifle z. B., ob den Zeichnern des Codex Borgia bewusst war, dass *Quetzalcouatl*, der nach Osten wandernde, eigentlich der Mondgott ist. Aber der Zeichner stellte zusammen, was ihn zu dem Bilde der im Norden herrschenden Gottheit zu passen schien, und wählte, durch den inneren Zusammenhang getrieben, die Züge aus, die in den verschiedenen, historisch gewordenen Auffassungen der Mondgottheit wurzeln.

Im Codex Bologna (Abb. 82) ist die Pyramide des Tempels des Nordens mit Blut und einem ausgerissenen menschlichen Herzen verziert. Das Dach zeigt den von Zinnen gekrönten Edelsteinfries, wie der Osttempel, aber darüber ein hochaufragendes Strohdach, auf dessen Fläche man eine rothe Scheibe sieht. Im Innern der Zelle steht, als Repräsentant des Mondes, eine Ohreule, und eine dunkle, mit Häkchenzeichnung erfüllte, mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) besetzte Nachtwolke steigt hinter ihr in die Höhe, von deren Fläche eine Stachelkugel und ein mit Totenauge und Mundöffnung versehener Klotz sich abheben, die vielleicht Bezeichnung des *tetl quauitl*, des „Steines und Holzes", d. h. der Strafe, sein sollen. Wie vor dem Tempel des Ostens, befindet sich auch hier vor dem Tempel des Nordens ein Räuchergefäss, aus dem hier wirkliche Rauchwolken sich erheben, die aber durch Augen, Zähne und gespaltene Zunge in eine Art Schlangenrachen transformirt sind. Der Gott, der diesem Tempel sein Opfer bringt, steht auf einer dunkel gemalten Bodenfläche, die eine Reihe von sieben, einen Stein als Kern enthaltenden Stachelkugeln umschliesst. Der Gott selbst ähnelt durchaus der vor dem Nordtempel des Codex Borgia dargestellten

1) Vgl. die Formen der Mondhieroglyphe in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 103, Abb. 295.
2) Vgl. den vorigen Abschnitt, oben S. 95, 98.

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Gestalt. Auch er ist schwarz an Leib und Gliedern, hat allerdings, statt der *Auiateotl*-Bemalung, das *tlatlaan*, die abwechselnd gelben und schwarzen Querstreifen der Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s und Jaguarfellzeichnung um den Mund; verbindet damit aber auch den Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter und der *Tlaçolteotl*, hat eine Kopfbinde, an der man wenigstens noch die beiden grossen Edelsteinscheiben der Kopfbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s erkennen kann, und die Augenbinde und den schwarz und weissen, nach hinten gekrümmten Hut *itztlacoliuhqui* des Gottes gleichen Namens, der hier noch, wie auch in anderen Bildern dieses Gottes ganz allgemein, von einem Pfeile durchbohrt ist. Es ist also auch eine aus verschiedenen Formen oder Auffassungen der Mondgottheit kombinirte Gestalt, die aber hier noch in der Rolle eines sich Sakrifizirenden dargestellt ist, indem der Gott mit einem langen Knochendolche sich das Ohr durchsticht, aus dem ein dicker Blutstrom nach hinten sich ergiesst. Wie der Sonnengott vor dem Osttempel des Codex Bologna bringt er der Gottheit des Tempels im Räucherlöffel (*tlemaitl*) Weihrauch dar, dessen Wolken aber einfach schwarz gemalt, nicht (wie bei dem Gotte vor dem Osttempel) zum Theil in Edelsteinbinden sich verwandeln.

Der Nordtempel des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 83) hat am Firste seines Strohdaches eigenthümliche weisse Gebilde, die etwas an Rauchwolken erinnern und fast genau ebenso auf Blatt 30 der-

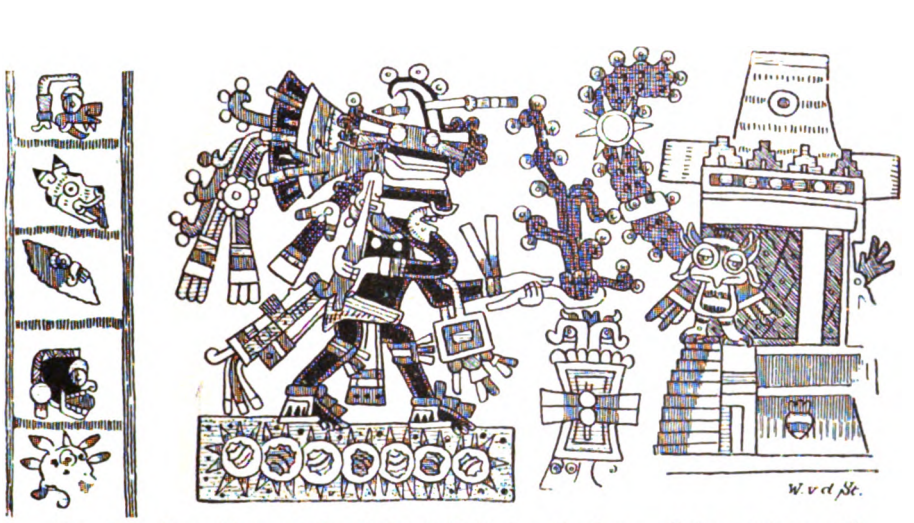

Abb. 82. *Tezcatlipoca-itzilacoliuhqui*, Gott des Nordens. Codex Bologna 12.

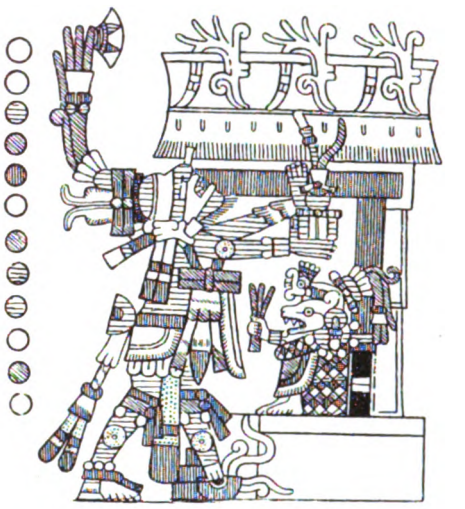

Abb. 83. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 33 (= Kingsborough 12) unten.

selben Handschrift unten links an dem Firste des Tempels vorkommen, der dort in der Reihe der Häuser, die den sechs Himmelsrichtungen entsprechen, den Nordtempel bezeichnet. Als Idol sitzt im Innern der Cella auch hier nicht der Mondgott, sondern ein kleines weisshaariges Thier mit spitzer Schnauze und scharfen Zähnen und einer das Auge umgebenden nach vorn und hinten spitz ausgezogenen schwarzen Zeichnung, das mit dem thierköpfigen Priester übereinzustimmen scheint, der auf den Blättern 25—28 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift die Regenten der Jahre hereinbringt. Das Thier ist mit der Kopfbinde des Sonnengottes bekleidet und in buntes Gewand gehüllt. Man sieht es fast genau in der gleichen Weise in dem Nordtempel der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 30 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer abgebildet, wo es geradezu als Gegenstück zu dem in dem ersten Tempel (dem Westtempel?) abgebildeten Gotte *Xochipilli* erscheint. — Diesem thierköpfigen Dämon, dem Repräsentanten des Mondes(?), bringt eine hier nun deutlich als *Tezcatlipoca* gezeichnete Gestalt, deren einer Fuss abgerissen und durch einen rauchenden Spiegel ersetzt ist, die auch auf dem Scheitel das *aztaxelli*, den Reiherfedergabelschmuck der Krieger und *Tezcatlipoca*'s trägt, und die mit dem *malinalli*-Röckchen des Todesgottes gegürtet ist, als Opfer (wie der Sonnengott in der ersten Abtheilung dieses Blattes) ein Brennholzbündel und eine Kautschukkugel dar. Diese *Tezcatlipoca*-artige Gestalt ist aber nicht schwarz an Leib und Gliedern und mit schwarzen und gelben Querbinden im Gesichte gemalt, sondern blau, mit weissen, schwarz punktirten Scheiben auf den Armen, und hat auch dementsprechend blaue und gelbe Querstreifen im Gesicht. Diese Abweichung in der Bemalung scheint mir auf den Gott der Kälte, auf *Itztlacoliuhqui*, hinweisen zu sollen, dessen

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Binde dieser Gott des Codex Fejérváry ja auch über den Augen trägt. So hätten wir in diesem Bilde des Codex Fejérváry auch eine aus *Tezcatlipoca* und *Itztlacoliuhqui* komponirte Gestalt. Es fehlt diesem Bilde aber der Nasenhalbmond, und es fehlt die *Quetzalcouatl*-Kopfbinde, die wir in der einen der beiden Parallelstellen deutlich wiedergegeben, in der anderen wenigstens angedeutet fanden.

Das dritte Haus, der Tempel des Westens, ist in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 51) fast genau ebenso gezeichnet wie das erste, der Tempel des Ostens. Es ist auch ein *xochicalli*, hat auch den Edel-

Abb. 84.
Wiener Handschrift 10.

Abb. 85.
Wiener Handschrift 33.

Abb. 86.
Wiener Handschrift 30.

Abb. 87.
Wiener Handschrift 30.

Abb. 84—87. Der alte Priester *Ome itzcuintli* „zwei Hund".

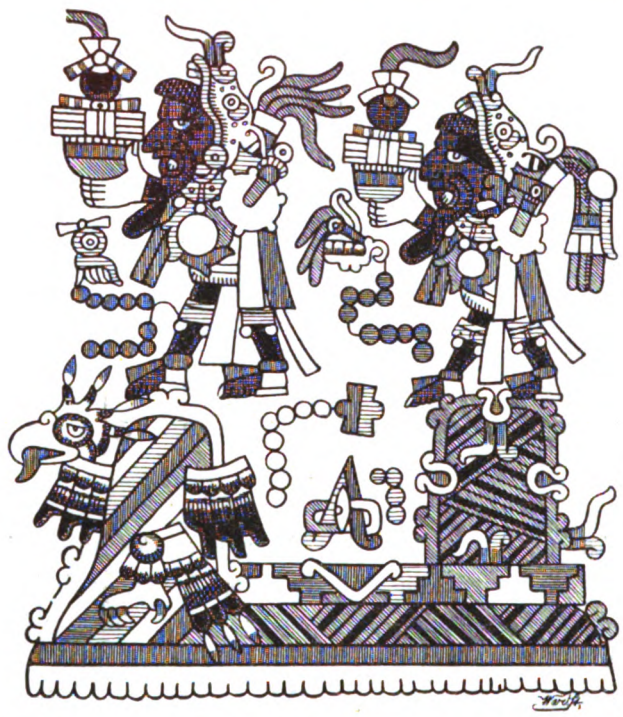

Abb. 88. Die beiden alten Priester. *Matlactli quiauitl* „Zehn Regen" und *Matlactli malinalli* „Zehn Grasstrick.
Codex Nuttall 14.

steinfries mit den sieben Blumen an der Basis des Strohdachs, und dieses selbst hat die charakteristische typische Form des Hauses der rothen Schlange, mit dem breiten Firste, dessen Enden nach unten gebogen sind. Nur die Dekoration auf dem Thürpfosten der Cella ist eine andere und stellt, wie es scheint, ein Räuchergefäss oder Feuergefäss weisser Farbe dar. Als Fetisch oder Idol sieht man in der Cella eine Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) wie sie die Priester auf dem Rücken trugen, abgebildet, genau der gleichen Art, — mit den eingelegten Edelsteinscheiben, dem *chalchiuitl*-Verschlusse und den über der Mündung in die Höhe ragenden *chalchiuitl*-Bändern, — wie wir sie z. B. Blatt 60 unserer Handschrift oben links von dem alten Gotte *Iztac Mixcouatl*, und in der Wiener Handschrift und im Codex Nuttall von den alten Priestern (vgl. Abb. 84—88) getragen sehen. Diese Tabakkalebasse ist augenscheinlich nur ein Symbol

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dieses alten Gottes und Priesters, *Tonacatecutli*'s, des Herrn der Lebensmittel, und als ein *tonacacalli* ein „Haus der Lebensmittel" oder *tonacayo tlalpan* wird das Haus des Westens damit bezeichnet. Diesem Tempel steht auf unserem Codex Borgia - Blatte ein Gott gelber Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe gegenüber, der durch eine schmale rothe Querlinie in der Höhe des Auges und eine entsprechende rothe Bemalung in der Umgebung des Mundes an den Feuergott erinnert, aber auf der Wange das verschiedenfarbige rechteckig begrenzte Feld, das *tlapapalli*, die Gesichtsbemalung *Tonacatecutli*'s und *Xochipilli*'s, zeigt und dazu eine braune gezackte Nasenplatte trägt, wie wir sie in gleicher Weise bei der Maisgöttin (*Cinteotl*)

Abb. 89. *Cinteotl*, der Maisgott, Herr des Westens. Codex Bologna 13.

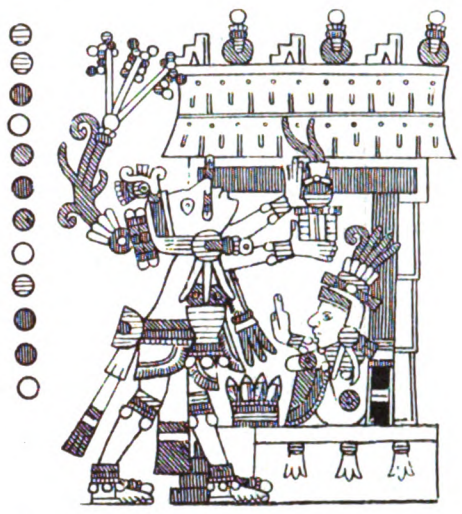

Abb. 90. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (= Kingsborough 11) unten.

Abb. 91. *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott, Herr des Südens. Codex Bologna 13.

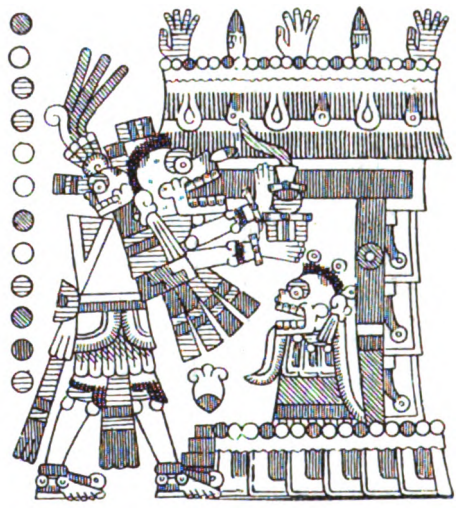

Abb. 92. Codex Fejérváry - Mayer 34 (= Kingsborough 11) unten.

in dem linken Felde der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 57 unserer Handschrift sehen, und dessen Gesicht auch, wie das der zuletzt genannten weiblichen Figur, aus dem geöffneten Schnabel eines blaugefiederten Vogels (einer Taube?) hervorsieht, der aber damit wiederum bekannte Abzeichen *Xochipilli*'s, das von Dunkel umgebene gestielte Auge auf dem Scheitel und den aus weissen Federn bestehenden *patzactli*-artigen Nackenschmuck, verbindet. Es ist also eine Figur, die, wie der Mondgott des vorigen Blattes, die Züge verschiedener Figurentypen der Handschriften, der Maisgöttin, *Xochipilli*'s, vielleicht auch des Feuergottes, vereinigt, jedenfalls hier als Herr des Maises und der Lebensmittel dem Tempel der Lebensmittel gegenüberstehen soll. Er trägt, wie die Götter der beiden vorigen Blätter, an einem Edelsteinhalsbande (*chalchiuhcozcapetlatl*) eine grosse Goldscheibe (*teocuitlacomalli*). Sein Opfer besteht

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auch aus einem Herzen in einem Strome von Blut, das er ebenfalls mit dem Wurfbrette der Tabakkalebasse, dem Symbole *Tonacatecutli*'s, in der Tempelzelle zuwirft.

Der Westtempel des Codex Bologna (Abb. 89) hat denselben Unterbau wie der Osttempel dieser Handschrift, aber das Dach ist ein hohes Strohdach, und an seiner Basis befindet sich ein schmaler Fries, der eine Reihe von (vier) Blumen trägt. Im Innern steht, wie in der Cella des Osttempels, ein *quetzal-coxcoxtli*-Vogel, von dessen Auge oder Schnabel ebenfalls ein in eine Blüthe endender Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Riemen nach oben schwingt. Das Räuchergefäss, das vor diesem Tempel sich befindet, hat eine etwas andere Form als das vor dem Osttempel, aber als Opfer sieht man in ihm, neben Kautschukkugel und Brennholzbündel, auch eine Blüthe, wie in dem Räuchergefässe vor dem Osttempel. Der Gott, der in dem Codex Bologna diesem Westtempel gegenübersteht, hat in allen Einzelheiten genau die gleiche Gesichtsbemalung wie der Lebensmittel- und Maisgott vor dem Westtempel des Codex Borgia. Auch die Platte, die er in der Nase trägt, hat die gleiche gezackte Form, ist aber blau gemalt. Dagegen fehlt der Gestalt des Codex Bologna die aus dem Kopfe des blaugefiederten Vogels (der Taube?) bestehende Helmmaske. Der Kopf ist mit wirrem, dunklem Haare bedeckt, das an das des Todesgottes erinnert. Und er trägt einen mit den Farben des *chalchiuitl* gemalten Korb auf dem Rücken, aus dem grosse Maiskolben und Maisblüthen hervorragen. Als Maisgott, als *Cinteotl*, ist daher auch diese Gestalt auf das deutlichste gekennzeichnet. Gleich den Göttern der anderen Abtheilungen des Codex Bologna bringt dieser Maisgott in einem Räucherlöffel (*tlemaitl*) ein Opfer von Weihrauch dar, und, wie bei dem Sonnengotte vor dem Osttempel, gehen auch hier die Rauchwolken in Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Bänder über. Die Kopaltasche (*copalxiquipilli*) hat der Gott an dem linken Arme, der den Räucherlöffel hält, hängen. Mit der Rechten hat er, wie es scheint, eine Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) umklammert.

Der Westtempel des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 90) ist am Unterbaue mit Blumen, am Dachfirste mit Edelsteinscheiben zwischen stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Zinnen (*mixxotl*) verziert. Das Idol in der Cella soll wohl eine kleine sitzende Figur *Xochipilli*'s, des jungen Gottes der Lebensmittel, sein. Ein Edelsteingefäss befindet sich vor ihm, in dem vier buntgemalte, spitzeiförmige Gebilde stecken, die vermuthlich Maiskolben vorstellen. Dem Tempel gegenüber steht wieder *Xochipilli*, in der Bemalung und Ausstattung, wie er auch an anderen Stellen dieser Handschrift dargestellt wird, und bringt, gleich den Göttern der anderen Abtheilungen, ein Brennholzbündel und eine Kautschukkugel als Opfer dar.

Das Haus des Südens ist in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 52) als ein *Mictlan*, ein Beinhaus, ein aus Totenknochen, Herzen, Blut und nächtlichem, mit Augen (d. h. Sternen) besetztem Haare erbauter Tempel dargestellt. In der Cella steht, als Idol oder Fetisch, ein Käuzchen, eine Ohreule (*tecolotl*), das Abbild des Todesgottes, und eine Skelettfigur, ein *Mictlantecutli*, bringt diesem Idole sein Opfer dar, das hier nicht in einem Herzen, dem Symbole des Lebens, sondern in einem *tzontemoc*, kopfüber nach unten fallenden, kopflosen Rumpfe eines Menschen besteht, den der Todesgott einfach mit der Hand dem Käuzchen zuwirft, in dessen Schnabelöffnung das der Halswunde entströmende Blut übergeht.

Im Codex Bologna (Abb. 91) ist das Haus des Südens in gleicher, nur noch schrecklicherer und komplizirterer Weise aus Totenknochen, Herzen, Skelettbrustkörben, Schädeln, Blut und wirrem, dunklem, hier mit langgestielten Augen und Steinmessern besetztem Haare des Todesgottes konstruirt. In ihm steht breitbeinig, wie in der Cella des Nordtempels, eine Eule. Auch das Räuchergefäss vor dem Tempel ähnelt durchaus dem des Nordtempels. Der Todesgott, der diesem Beinhause gegenübersteht, ist hier mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt und trägt als Devise vier schwarze Papierfahnen auf dem Rücken. Eine Parallelität mit dem *Tezcatlipoca Itztlacoliuhqui*, dem Mondgotte, vor dem Nordtempel dieser Handschrift ist dadurch hergestellt, dass auch der Todesgott hier mit der einen Hand sich sakrifizirt, mit einem grossen Knochendolche sich das rechte Ohr durchsticht. Die andere Hand hält dann, wie die Figuren der übrigen Abtheilungen, einen Räucherlöffel (*tlemaitl*) mit Weihrauch. Die Weihrauchmasse selbst, oder ein Theil des aus ihr sich entwickelnden Rauches ist als Knochenmännchen gezeichnet, mit nach hinten, nach Art eines gebundenen Gefangenen, gewendeten Armen. An dem Arme, der den Räucherlöffel hält, hängt auch die Kopaltasche.

Das Südhaus des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 92) hat wenigstens ein aus einem Skelettbrustkorbe gebildeten Unterbau, die Thürpfosten und das Strohdach sind mit langgestielten Augen besetzt,

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und der aus einer Knochenwirbelsäule bestehende Dachfirst trägt Steinmesser (Opfermesser) und abgeschnittene Menschenhände. Als Idol sitzt in der Cella ein kleines Skelett, und vor ihm ist als Determinativ ein ausgerissenes menschliches Herz, das Zeichen des Opfers, angegeben. Als Opferer erscheint vor der Cella eine andere, grössere Figur des Todesgottes, mit einem Schädel als Kopfe, ein Büschel *malinalli*-Grases im durchbohrten Ohrläppchen tragend und mit einem *malinalli*-Röckchen gegürtet. Das Opfer, das er bringt, ist das gleiche, wie das der anderen Figuren: — ein Brennholzbündel und eine Kautschukkugel.

Überblicken wir nun noch einmal die Gesamtheit dieser Bilder, so ist es klar, und darauf möchte ich hier noch hinweisen, dass eine gewisse Homologie zwischen dem Osten und dem Westen einerseits, dem Norden und dem Süden andererseits besteht, — eine Homologie, die uns ja auch schon bei den Bäumen, insbesondere dem Nordbaume und dem Südbaume, entgegentrat. Das ist auch für die folgenden Bilder im Auge zu behalten.

Den beiden die Mitte der Blätter 49—52 unserer Handschrift einnehmenden Hauptgruppen lasse ich nun die Gruppen folgen, die in der linken oberen Ecke an die in der Mitte stehenden Darstellungen sich anschliessen. Das ist erstens ein Baum, der mit Fahnen besteckt ist und auf seinem Wipfel das Emblem oder den Fetisch der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung trägt, über das das Blut zweier enthaupteter thierischer Wesen sich ergiesst, die darunter, am Fusse des Baumes, gezeichnet sind. Man könnte meinen, dass das das *tzompantli*, das Schädelgerüst, der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung vorstellen solle, das neben dem Tempel der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung angegeben sei. Daneben ist, ganz links, ein Thier gezeichnet, das mit vier Kugeln Ball spielt. Hier kann man sich vorstellen, dass weiter auch der zu dem Tempel gehörige Ballspielpatz, das *teotlachtli*, angedeutet sein solle. Darunter sieht man in einem en face gezeichneten Tempel oder Hause das Götterpaar der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung in Kopulation. Diese Bilder gehören indes vielleicht in eine andere Vorstellungsreihe. Für diese drei Gruppen habe ich in anderen Bilderschriften bisher noch keine Parallele gefunden.

Das *tzompantli* des Ostens (Blatt 49, links oben) entspricht dem in der Mitte der unteren Hälfte desselben Blattes dargestellten, oben S. 105 beschriebenen Baume des Ostens. Es ist auch ein aus einer blauen Türkis- (*xiuitl-*) Schnur und einer grünen Jadeït- (*chalchiuitl-*) Schnur zusammengedrehter Stamm, der an den Zweigenden Figuren der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* als Blüthen trägt. Der Baum ist mit Feder- und Blumenbannern besteckt, derselben Art, wie wir sie unten Blatt 71 bei dem Sonnengotte finden werden. Und auf ihm thront ein realistisch in Form eines Adlers gebildetes *quauhxicalli* „Adlergefäss“ oder Opferblutgefäss, in dem zwei von einem Pfeile durchbohrte Herzen liegen. Am Fusse des Baumes stehen ein enthaupteter blauer und ein enthaupteter grüner Quetzalvogel, gewissermassen ein *xiuhquetzaltotot* und ein *chalchiuhquetzaltotot*. Das ihren Halswunden entströmende Blut füllt die auf dem Baume thronende Adlerschale. Der Baum des *tzompantli* und die Thiere darunter bezeichnen, wie der Baum des Ostens und der Tempel des Ostens diese Himmelsrichtung als die Region der Kostbarkeit, des Gedeihens, des Reichthums oder als die des Opferblutes. Das *quauhxicalli* aber ist einfach als Abbild der Sonne zu betrachten. Als die Chichimeken, so berichtet eine Tradition der Leute von *Quauhtinchan*,[1]) aus *Chicomoztoc* ausgezogen waren, blieb vier Nächte und vier Tage *in tota in totepeuh* „unser Vater, unser Herr“ (d h. die Sonne) auf der Erde stehen. Da sprachen die Chichimeken: — *mayecuelle ma tiquizcaltican, ma ticnenequiltican ma tictzinanacan in quauhxicalli in tonacapiaztli*: „Lasst uns nähren, lasst uns befriedigen, lasst uns stützen das Adlergefäss, den Kanal (das Saugrohr) der Lebensmittel“, (d. h. die Sonne).

Das *tzompantli* des Nordens (Blatt 50, links oben) wird durch einen Dornbaum, der *tlauauantli*, d. h. weiss und roth gestreift, gemalt ist und als Blüthen an den Zweigenden das *aztaxelli*, den Reihenfedergabelschmuck der Krieger, trägt. Der Baum ist mit weissen Papierfahnen (*amapamitl*), d. h. Opferfahnen, besteckt Auf seinem Wipfel thront die Hieroglyphe des Mondes (*metztli*). Ein enthaupteter Adler (*quauhtli*) und ein enthaupteter Jaguar (*ocelotl*), die Kriegerthiere, stehen am Fusse des Baumes, mit dem Blute, das ihrer Halswunde entströmt, das Bild des Mondes auf dem Baume netzend. Als die

1) Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, Ms. der Sammlung Aubin-Goupil, Paris.

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Region der Geopferten, d. h. der Alten, der Gestorbenen, der Vorfahren, und als Region des Mondes, stellt in diesem Bilde die Himmelsrichtung des Nordens sich dar.

Das *tzompantli* des Westens (Blatt 51, links oben) wird durch einen halb grün (quetzalfederfarben), halb gelb (maisfarben) gemalten Baum mit gelben Blüthen an den Zweigenden veranschaulicht. Er ist, wie das *tzompantli* des Ostens, mit einem Federbanner und einem Blüthenbanner besteckt, und auf seinem Wipfel thront die Sonnenscheibe (*tonatiuh*). Ein enthauptetes *cipactli* (das Krokodil oder der Fisch, aus dem die Erde gemacht wurde) und ein enthaupteter Fisch, die Thiere der Fruchtbarkeit, stehen unten am Baume, mit dem Blute, das ihrer Halswunde entströmt, das Sonnenbild auf dem Baume netzend. Dieses Bild stellt, gleich den anderen Darstellungen dieses Blattes, den Westen als die Region der Fruchtbarkeit dar. Und interessant ist, dass hier, statt des Symboles des Herrn der Lebensmittel (*Tonacatecutli*), die Sonnenscheibe eintritt. Die Sonne und die fruchtbare Erde sind eben beide Lebenspender, und auch die Sonne ist, wie wir oben gelesen haben, ein *tonacapiaztli*, ein „Saugrohr der Lebensmittel".

Das *tzompantli* des Südens (Blatt 52, links oben) gleicht dem oben, S. 106, 107, beschriebenen Baume des Südens, indem es auch ein (feurig) rother, mit Dornen besetzter Stamm ist. Nur die Blüthen an den Zweigenden sind etwas anders gestaltet, indem diese hier einfach als Dornblüthen, d. h. Blüthen, die, statt der Korolle, Dornen enthalten, ausgebildet sind. Der Baum ist, wie das *tzompantli* des Nordens, mit weissen Papierfahnen, Opferfahnen (*amapamitl*) besteckt. Der Schaft der einen wird von einem Pfeilschafte gebildet. Und auf dem Baume ruht, als Emblem oder Fetisch dieser Region, ein von *malinalli*-Gras umhülltes, kreuzweis umschnürtes, Packet, anscheinend weiss und roth gestreifter Farbe (ein *nexquimilli?* Aschenpacket?), und zwei Brennholzbündel. Unter dem Baume stehen zwei enthauptete Wesen, deren eines offenbar einen Raubvogel, vielleicht eine Eule, vorstellen soll, während das andere einen Menschen mit einem Brennholzbündel unter dem Arme darstellt. Das ihrer Halswunde entströmende Blut umgibt das Bündel, das auf dem Wipfel des Baumes liegt. Der Süden stellt auch in diesem Bilde als eine Region des Feuers sich dar.

Als Ballspieler (*ollamani*) des Ostens erscheint auf Blatt 49, an der linken, der oberen Reihe der betreffenden Blattabtheilung ein in *malinalli*-Gras gekleideter Affe (*oçomàtli*), das Thier *Xochipilli*'s und das Thier des Tanzgottes, das hier auch mit einer an die Bemalung *Xochipilli*'s und des Tanzgottes erinnernden Gesichtsbemalung auftritt. Vor seinem Munde sind zwei mit einander verschlungene Edelsteinschnüre, eine blaue und eine grüne, angegeben, die vielleicht Gesang oder Musik bedeuten. Die Bälle, mit denen dieser Affe spielt, sind blau und grün, von der Farbe des blauen und des grünen Edelsteins. Und unter ihm sind ein Topf und eine Schachtel (Schatzkiste) umgestürzt, aus denen Edelsteinschnüre herausfallen.

Als Ballspieler (*ollamani*) des Nordens ist an dem linken Ende der oberen Reihe der betreffenden Abtheilung des Blattes 50 ein Truthahn (*uexolotl* oder *chalchiuhtotolin*) abgebildet, der, eigentlich der Vogel des Regengottes (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 200ff.), weiter zum Repräsentanten des *chalchiuhatl*, des Opferblutes, und zum Abbilde *Tezcatlipoca*'s geworden ist. Die vier Bälle, mit denen er spielt, sind roth, von der Farbe des Blutes. Unter ihm sind ein Paar Schalen umgestürzt, aus denen ein abgeschnittener menschlicher Arm, ein menschliches Herz und ein langgestieltes (herausgebohrtes oder herausgerissenes) Auge, das Zeichen des Opfers, herausfallen.

Der Ballspieler (*ollamani*) des Westens, am linken Ende der oberen Reihe der betreffenden Abtheilung des Blattes 51, ist ein *cipactli* (ein Krokodil, der Fisch, aus dem die Erde gemacht wurde), das Thier der Fruchtbarkeit, das Thier des Gottes der Lebensmittel. Er spielt, wie der Affe des ersten Blattes, mit blauen und grünen (edelsteinfarbenen) Kugeln. Unter ihm sind wieder ein Topf und eine Schatzkiste umgestürzt, aus denen auch wieder, wie auf dem Ostblatte, in Blumen endende Edelsteinschnüre und ein *coxcoxtli*-Kopf, Zeichen des Reichthums, der Kostbarkeit, herausfallen.

Der Ballspieler (*ollamani*) des Südens, am linken Ende der oberen Reihe der Abtheilung des Blattes 52, ist natürlich ein Todesgott, der aber nicht ganz als Skelett gezeichnet ist, nur mit einem Skelettkopfe oder Schädel. Dieser Schädel ist aber auch, wie der ganze Leib, feurig roth und mit gelben Scheiben oder Flecken gemalt. Auch die Bälle, mit denen er spielt, sind gelb und roth, von der Farbe des Feuers.

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Ein Paar herausgerissene Augen sind vor ihm angegeben. Und unter ihm sind ein Paar Schalen umgestürzt, aus denen wieder, wie unter dem Truthahne des Nordblattes, ein abgeschnittener menschlicher Arm, Blut und Herzen herausfallen.

Diesen beiden, wie es scheint, zusammengehörigen Gruppen — der einen, die ich, (um dem Kinde einen Namen zu geben), als *tzompantli* bezeichnet habe, und der des Ballspielers — gegenüber sieht man auf der anderen Seite von dem Tempel der Sonne, des Mondes, der Lebensmittel und des Feuers oder des Todes die vier Gruppen der zerstückenden Thiere, die ich oben, S. 60—63, in den Abbildungen 30, 33, 36, 39 wiedergegeben und dort auch, nebst den Parallelbildern der anderen Handschriften, eingehend behandelt habe. Schienen mir das *tzompantli* und der Ballspieler gewissermassen nur Ergänzungen und Vervollständigungen des Tempels der Himmelsrichtung und seines Gottes, so bringen die Gruppen der zerstückenden Thiere ein neues Moment hinzu. Sie stellen offenbar die Mächte, die Dämonen dar, die in der Zeit der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung der Welt ein Ende machen. Es sind nicht die aufbauenden, sondern die zerstörenden Mächte, deren Differenzirung nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen in diesen Gruppen vorgeführt wird.

Wenn die Welt zu Grunde geht, die Sonne erlischt, so kommen die Dunkelheitsdämonen, die Gespenster, die *Tzitzimimê*, zur Erde herunter, die Menschen zu fressen. Darum sind nun auch auf unseren Blättern 41—52 auf der rechten Seite, unter den Gruppen der zerstückenden Thiere, die *Tzitzimimê* dargestellt, ein weiblicher und ein männlicher, der erstere natürlich in der Gestalt einer *Ciuateotl*, einer der Göttinnen des Westens, die auf den beiden vorhergehenden Blättern in grossen Bildern uns entgegentraten, über die ich oben, S. 85 – 93, ausführlich gesprochen habe; der letztere in der Gestalt eines *Auiateotl*, einer der Götter der Lust, die ja die Begleiter der *Ciuateteô* sind. Und da, wenn die Welt zu Grunde gegangen ist, das Feuer wieder neu errieben werden muss, so ist unter den Paaren der *Tzitzimimê* der Feuerreiber abgebildet.

Als *Tzitzimimê* erscheinen auf dem Blatte des Ostens (Blatt 49) eine weisse *Ciuateotl* und ein schwarzer *Auiateotl*. Das entspricht den Farben, die wir auf dem Blatte 47 unserer Handschrift für die *Ciuateotl* und den *Auiateotl* des Ostens angetroffen haben. Nur war die *Ciuateotl* des Ostens dort auf Blatt 47 weiss und roth gestreift (*tlauauantli*), hier weiss und mit Daunenfedern beklebt. Das sind homologe Bemalungen, die beide die himmlische Region, den Morgenstern und den zum Opfer bestimmten Krieger bezeichnen. Schmuck und Ausstattung dieser *Tzitzimimê* unseres Blattes 49, wie der der folgenden Blätter 50—52, weichen im Uebrigen von dem Schmucke und der Ausstattung der *Ciuateteô* und der *Auiateteô* der Blätter 47, 48 unserer Handschrift etwas ab. Die *Ciuateotl* unserer Blätter 49—52 ist einfach als *Tlaçolteotl* ausgestattet, auch mit dem Truthahnflügel dieser Göttin am Nacken. Der *Auiateotl* der Blätter 49—52 gleicht im Kopfputze und in der allgemeinen Ausstattung dem *Macuil xochitl*, den wir auf Blatt 15 unserer Handschrift, links oben, als den dem Süden entsprechenden Herrn der dritten Reihe der Hüter der Venusperioden (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 271ff.) angetroffen haben. Die weisse *Ciuateotl* unseres Ostblattes (Blatt 49) bringt ein *aztamecatl*, ein Opferseil, und eine weisse Papierfahne (*amapamitl*), die Opferfahne, herunter; der *Auiateotl* des Ostens die Waffen des Krieges, Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne.

Die *Tzitzimimê* des Nordblattes (Blatt 50) sind blau gemalt, wie die *Ciuateotl* und der *Auiateotl* des Nordens des Blattes 47. Die *Ciuateotl* des Nordens bringt auf unserem Blatte 50 das *atl-tlachinolli* „Wasser und Brand“, das Zeichen, bezw. den metaphorischen Ausdruck, des Krieges, herunter. Der *Auiateotl* des Nordens, die Zeichen der Strafe, das Steinbeil (*itztopolli*) und Stachelkugel und Stachelholz, die wohl für das *tetl quauitl*, „Stein und Holz“, den metaphorischen Ausdruck der Strafe, stehen.

Die *Tzitzimimê* des Westblattes (Blatt 51) sind gelb gemalt, wie die *Ciuateotl* und der *Auiateotl* des Westens auf Blatt 48. Diese *Tzitzimimê* sind als Pulquebringer dargestellt. Denn der Pulque ist ja auch ein Symbol des Ueberflusses, der Fruchtbarkeit. Die Göttin der Agavepflanze, die *Mayauel*, wird als eine Frau mit vielen Brüsten beschrieben. Die *Ciuateotl* des Blattes 51 bringt die Agavepflanze (*metl*) herunter und zwei mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bedruckte (*tlaitzcopintli*) Papierfahnen; der *Auiateotl* den Pulquetopf (*octecomatl*), der auch mit zwei weissen, mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bedruckten (*tlaitzcopintli*) Papierfahnen besteckt ist.

Die *Tzitzimimê* des Südblattes (Blatt 52) endlich sind roth gemalt, wie die *Ciuateotl* und der

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Auiateotl des Südens auf Blatt 48. Diese entsprechen wieder in gewisser Weise den *Tzitzimimê* des Nordens, denn die rothe *Ciuateotl* bringt das Stachelholz (*quauitl*), der rothe *Auiateotl* das Steinbeil (*itztopolli*) und die Stachelkugel, die für *tetl*, den Stein der Strafe, steht, herunter.

Die Darstellungen des Feuerreibens oder Feuerbohrens (*tlemamaliliztli*), an der rechten Seite der Blätter 49—52, ganz unten, stellen auch wieder eine Reihe ganz analoger Bilder dar. Als Feuerbohrer (*mamalhuaztli*) ist, wie überall in den Bilderschriften, ein Pfeilschaft aus Rohr gezeichnet, an dem in der üblichen Weise Daunenfederbälle und Adlerfedern befestigt sind. Er ist auf allen vier Blättern nicht gelb, wie das Pfeilrohr, sondern weiss und schwarz gebändert gemalt und ist von aussergewöhnlicher Dicke. Gelbe Federn schlagen wie Flammen an ihm empor. Als Bodenstück des Feuerbohrers dient aber nicht, wie es ja doch eigentlich sein müsste, ein Stück Holz — „unos palos que tienen coraçon", — sondern besondere, nach den Himmelsrichtungen wechselnde Symbole: — Auf dem Ostblatte (Blatt 49) ist es der Rücken siner Feuerschlange, in den der Feuerbohrer eingesetzt ist, und in dem das Feuer gequirlt wird. Auf dem Nordblatte (Blatt 50) ist es (wie bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens in der unteren Reihe des Blattes 47) ein Steinmesser (*tecpatl*), das auf einem grossen Röhrenknochen (*omitl*) liegt, dem seinerseits das Zeichen *atl tlachinolli* „Wasser und Brand", das Symbol und die metaphorische Bezeichnung des Krieges, zur Unterlage dient, das die *Ciuateotl* darüber vom Himmel heruntergebracht hat. Auf dem Westblatte (Blatt 51), das ja die Heimath des Maises und der Götter der Lebensmittel dem Beschauer vorführt, sind es zwei verschlungene Edelsteinbänder, eine blaue Türkis-(*xiuitl-*)Schnur und eine grüne Jadeït-(*chalchiuitl-*)Schnur, die als Basalstück des Feuerbohrers dienen, und Edelsteinbänder kommen auch als Flammen und als Rauch an der Seite des Feuerbohrers heraus. Auf dem Südblatte endlich (Blatt 52) steckt das untere Ende des Feuerbohrers in dem Nasenhalbmonde (*yacametztli*) der *Tlaçolteotl*, der von ihren anderen Tracht- und Ausstattungsstücken, ihrem Besen (*popotl*) und dem Truthahnflügel und dem daraus hängenden Busche langer, gelber Federn, der ihren Nackenschmuck bildet, umgeben ist. Der Süden erscheint auf diesem Blatte als die Region des (Feuers und des) Todes. Die Göttin, die hier als Basalstück dem Feuerbohrer sich unterschiebt, wird häufig auch als Göttin der Erde, als *tlalli iyollo*, bezeichnet. Es scheint indes, dass sie hier eher als die *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin der Sünde, gedacht ist. Denn es sind die Werkzeuge der Strafe, das *tetl quauitl* und das Beil, das die *Tzitzimimê* dieses Blattes, die über dem Feuerreiber abgebildet sind, von oben herunterbringen.

Die Gestalten der Feuerreiber selbst weisen auf allen vier Blättern einen gewissen Familientypus auf. Handelt es sich darum, ihre Natur zu bestimmen, so ist man zunächst versucht, an die Gestalt des alten *Mixcouatl* zu denken, der „Wolkenschlange", die in der Tradition als der Feuerreiber *κατ' ἐξοχήν* festgehalten wurde. So heisst es in dem VI. Kapitel der „Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas"[1]), dass, nachdem der nach der Sintfluth eingestürzte Himmel wieder emporgehoben worden, und die erschlagene Erde wieder lebendig gemacht worden war, was im Jahre *ce tochtli* „Eins Kaninchen" geschah, im Jahre darnach, d. h. im Jahre *ome acatl* „Zwei Rohr" — „*Tezcatlipuca* dejò el nombre y se le mudò en *Mixcoalt*, que quiere dezir culebra de nieve, . . . y quizo en este año hacer fiesta à los dioses, y para eso sacò lumbre de los palos que lo acostumbraban sacar, y fué el principio de sacar fuego de los pedernales, que son unos palos que tienen coraçon, y sacado el fuego, fué la fiesta hazer muchos y grandes fuegos", d. h. *Tezcatlipoca* verwandelt sich in *Mixcouatl* und erbohrt zum ersten Male Feuer aus den Hölzern, und darnach wird das grosse Feuerfest gefeiert. — Und ähnlich heisst es in dem Liede an *Macuilxochitl*:[1]) —

Tezcatzonco moyolcan ayyaquetl yyatochi — Im *Tezcatzonco* (dem Tempel des Pulquegottes) ist
der Krieger, das Kaninchen, lebendig geworden,
quiyocuxquia noteuh — mein Gott hat es geschaffen,

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1) Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Nueva Coleccion de documentos para la Historia de México, Tomo III, México 1891, p. 234.

2) Cantares que dezian a honrra de los dioses en los templos y fuera dellos. Nr. 19 (Sahagun-Ms. Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid). — Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanisehen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 1098.

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niquiyatlaçaz niquiyamamaliz — ich werde ihn (den Feuerbohrer) niederbringen, ich werde es (das Feuer) erbohren,

mixcoatepetl colhoacan — (auf) dem Berge *Mixcouatl*'s, (in) Colhuacan.

Nun ist allerdings *Mixcouatl* in seiner gewöhnlichen Gestalt, als der Gott des Nordens, der Chichimeken und der Jagd, wie wir ihn aus den Bilderschriften kennen, und wie er z. B. auf unserem Nordblatte (50 des Codex Borgia) neben dem Jaguar, dem zerstückenden Thiere des Nordens steht, in keiner der vier Gestalten des Feuerreibers auf unseren Blättern 49–52 des Codex Borgia zu erkennen.

Der erste, auf dem Blatte des Ostens (Blatt 49) ist zwar am Körper weiss und roth gestreift (*tlauauantli*), wie *Mixcouatl*, aber die Gesichtsbemalung ist ganz abweichend. Sie stimmt ungefähr mit der *Quetzalcouatl*'s, genauer mit der *Tepeyollotli*'s auf Blatt 14 unserer Handschrift und in gewisser Weise auch mit dem Mondgotte auf Blatt 50 unserer Handschrift, dem Nordblatte. Und wie bei *Quetzalcouatl*, bei *Tepeyollotli* und zumeist auch bei dem Mondgotte, ist das Kinn von einem langen Barte umrahmt. Den Kopf scheint eine Kappe zu bedecken, die von einem Blumenkranze umwunden ist. Auf dem Rücken trägt er einen aus Adlerfedern gefertigten Korb, und in diesem liegt ein Bündel, dessen Umwickelung aus blauem Netzstoffe (*xiuhtlalpilli*) besteht, und das mit weissen Bändern umbunden ist. Darüber ragen drei weisse Papierfahnen empor, deren Schaftspitze von einer Blume gekrönt ist. Die Gesichtsbemalung und der Blumenkranz weisen auf den Mondgott hin, und es wäre ja auch nicht gerade wunderbar, dass dieser Herr der Nacht und alte Gott als Feuerreiber dargestellt worden wäre. Der Korb aus Adlerfedern, das *xiuhtlalpilli*-Bündel und die Papierfahnen sehe ich als Sonnen-, bezw. Opferembleme, an, die dieser ersten der vier Richtungen, dem Osten, zukommen.

Der zweite Feuerreiber auf Blatt 50, dem Blatte des Nordens, ist roth an Leib und Gliedern und hat ein halb schwarzes, halb rothes Gesicht. An dem hinteren Rande der hinteren rothen Gesichtshälfte sind drei rechtwinklig begrenzte, kurze schwarze Querbalken angegeben, die das ganze Gesicht auf das Auffallendste dem des Pulquegottes auf Blatt 57 unserer Handschrift unten links ähnlich erscheinen lassen. Das Kinn ist im Uebrigen auch bei ihm von einem langen schwarzen Barte umrahmt. Das Haar ist aber feuerfarben, und über der Stirn züngeln, wie bei dem Sterngotte, zwei Locken in die Höhe. Das Haar ist im Uebrigen (wie das der Krieger, der zum Opfer Bestimmten und *Mixcouatl*'s) mit Daunenfedern beklebt, und auf dem Scheitel liegt das *aztaxelli*, der Reiherfedergabelschmuck der Krieger. Auf dem Rücken trägt er ein *quemitl* aus weissen (Daunen-)Federn, wie der Feuergott auf Blatt 13 und 14 unserer Handschrift.

Der Feuerreiber des Blattes 51, des Westblattes, ist gelb an Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe, wie der Mais, wie der Gott der Maisfrucht, und wie die beiden *Tzitzimime*, die über ihm vom Himmel herunterkommen. Das Haar ist merkwürdiger Weise roth. Auf der Backe sieht man das verschiedenfarbige rechteckig begrenzte Feld, das *tlapapâlli*, die Gesichtsbemalung *Tonacatecutli*'s, *Xochipilli*'s und der Maisgötter. Und in der Nase trägt der Gott dieselbe braune gezackte Platte, wie der Maisgott, der auf demselben Blatte über ihm vor dem Tempel der Lebensmittel steht. Es scheint demnach in der That der Gott der Lebensmittel selber zu sein, der hier als Feuerreiber auftritt. Im Haare steckt übrigens ein Knochendolch, an dessen Spitze man eine Edelsteinscheibe und eine Blüthe sieht, die Zeichen des Opferblutes. Und am Nacken scheint er einen fächerförmigen (rothen?) Federschmuck zu tragen.

Der Feuerreiber des vierten Blattes, 52, des Südblattes, ist eine schwarz an Leib und Gliedern und im Gesichte gemalte Gestalt. Das Kinn ist bartlos, das Haar feuerfarben, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnd, wie das des Feuerreibers des Nordblattes, und wie bei diesem mit Daunenfedern beklebt und auf dem Scheitel ein *aztaxelli*, den Reiherfedergabelschmuck der Krieger, tragend. Auch das *quemitl*, das er auf dem Rücken trägt, ist durchaus dem des Feuerreibers des Nordblattes gleich. Ein Feuergott muss es wohl sein. Aber eine wirkliche Parallele kann ich für diesen Gott nicht aufweisen.

Waren demnach auf der rechten Seite des Blattes die zerstörenden Mächte, die Dunkelheitsdämonen und der Gott, der, „in der Dunkelheit, in der Nacht“ (*chi k'ekum chi a'kab*), vor der Geburt der Sonne, das Feuer entzündet, dargestellt, so scheinen dem gegenüber, auf der linken Seite des Blattes, unter den beiden Gruppen, die ich oben als die des *tzompantli* und des Ballspielers bezeichnete, die Mächte

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zur Anschauung gebracht zu sein, die die Welt und das Leben von neuem hervorbringen. Es sind die Gruppen der kopulirenden Paare in ihrem Hause, die ich oben schon einmal erwähnte, die nun auch, wie die sämmtlichen Einzeldarstellungen dieser Blätter, nach den Himmelsrichtungen differenzirt sind.

Auf dem Ostblatte (Blatt 49) sieht man das kopulirende Paar in einem Hause dargestellt, das in der Form des Daches und in der Verzierung mit Goldscheiben auf den Pfosten, mit Blumen an der Basis des Daches, dem Tempel des Ostens, dem oben beschriebenen Sonnentempel, der in der Mitte der obersten Reihe dieser Abtheilung steht, entspricht. Das kopulirende Paar ist natürlich der Sonnengott und die Sonnengöttin, ersterer mit rother, letztere mit gelber Farbe gemalt. Die Decke, die sie verhüllt, ist eine kostbare, farbig gemusterte, aus Türkisvogelfedern und Quetzalfedern gewebt.

Das kopulirende Paar des Nordens, auf Blatt 50, ist nicht in einem Hause oder Tempel, sondern vor einem Berge weisser Farbe dargestellt, einem Berge aus Rindenpapier, einem *amatepetl*, der mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bedruckt ist (*tlaitzcopintli*), wie das Papiergewand der *omaxac manca Ciuapipiltin* des Sahagun-Manuskriptes, und auf dessen Gipfel zwei Dornbäume wachsen. Die Kopulirenden sind der Mondgott, der hier — gleich dem opferbringenden Mondgotte vor dem Mondtempel in der Mitte dieses Blattes, halb als dunkler (blauer) *Auiateotl* (Gott der Lust), halb als Pulquegott mit dem Nasenhalbmonde (*yacametztli*) in der Nase gezeichnet ist; und die Mondgöttin[1]), die *Tlaçolteotl*, in ihrer typischen Ausstattung mit dem Nasenhalbmonde (*yacametztli*), der Stirnbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcaxochitl*), den Spindeln im Haare (*tlamamalacaquetzalli*) und dem Ohrpflocke aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcanacochtli*). Die Decke, die die beiden verhüllt, hat das Muster der *tenixyo tilmatli*, der mexikanischen Kriegermäntel, roth, mit weissen Augenfiguren auf schwarzem Grunde. Das Roth der Decke wird von dem Blute zweier geköpfter Menschen geliefert, die unter diesem Paar des Nordens angegeben sind.

Das kopulirende Paar des Westens auf Blatt 51 ist wieder in einem Hause dargestellt, die Pfosten sind mit grossen Figuren der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* verziert. Die Umrandung des flachen Daches ist, über einem mit eingelegten Edelsteinen verzierten Friese, mit Zinnen (*mixxotl*), den Abbildern der Wolken, besetzt und in der Mitte von einer grossen Blüthe überragt, auf der ein Maiskolben und eine Maisblüthe sich erheben. Als kopulirendes Paar müssten wir hier eigentlich *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*, den Herrn und die Herrin der Lebensmittel, bezw. *Xochiquetzal*, oder den Maisgott und die Maisgöttin, erwarten. Der weibliche Theil des Paares scheint auch dieser Forderung zu entsprechen. Der männliche Theil aber stimmt in der Bemalung und in der Kopfbinde mit *Tepeyollotli* überein, dem Gotte der Höhlen, dem Gotte des Westens, wie wir diesen als achten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht auf Blatt 14 unserer Handschrift (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 231 ff.) kennen gelernt haben. Man mag vielleicht auch an den Feuerreiber unseres Ostblattes 49 oder an den *Iztac Mixcouatl* der Sagen denken. Die Decke, die das Paar verhüllt, ist hier auch, wie bei dem kopulirenden Paare des Ostens, in den Farben des Türkisvogels und des Quetzalvogels gemalt, also aus den Federn dieser beiden Schmuckvögel gewebt zu betrachten.

Das kopulirende Paar des Südens auf Blatt 52 sitzt natürlich in einem Beinhause, einer aus Totenknochen erbauten Behausung, deren Dach aus dem nächtig dunklen Haare des Todesgottes besteht, von einem roth und gelb, in den Farben des Feuers, gemalten grossen Hinterhauptsschilde (*cuexcochtechimalli*), wie es der Todesgott trägt, und einer in den gleichen Farben gemalten geknickten Fahne (*pantoyaualli*) überragt. Der männliche Theil des kopulirenden Paares ist ein rother, gelbgefleckter Todesgott der gleichen Art, wie wir ihn darüber als Ballspieler abgebildet sehen; der weibliche Theil eine nackte, gelb (in der Farbe der Weiber) gemalte Figur, aber mit Skelettgebiss, fleischlosen Kiefern, also als Todesgöttin gedacht, deren Gesicht aus dem Rachen eines Steinmessers hervorsieht. Die Decke, die die beiden verhüllt, besteht aus Blut und Herzen, die mit gestielten (herausgebohrten) Augen abwechseln, dem Zeichen des Opfers. Das Material für diese Decke wird hier auch, wie für das Paar auf dem Nordblatte, durch das Blut geliefert, das dem kopflosen Rumpfe einer kleinen Menschenfigur, die darunter angegeben ist, entströmt.

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1) Das sind die beiden „Vegetationsdämonen“, von denen Preuss erzählt, dass sie durch ihren Beischlaf die Dornbäume über ihnen erzeugen, woraus er „einwandsfrei“ eine Identität von Empfängniss und Geburt ableitet.

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Es bleiben nun noch die wichtigen Gruppen in der linken unteren Ecke unserer Blätter, die deshalb von besonderem Interesse sind, weil in ihnen je zwei Daten angegeben sind, von denen das eine, — nahezu der einzige Fall der Art in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, — ein Jahresdatum ist, das als solches durch ein eigenthümliches Symbol sich kennzeichnet, das aus der Verschlingung einer Trapezfigur (oder eines Ringes) und eines Strahles entstanden ist, und das in dieser Weise sonst nur aus den Bilderschriften der Gruppe der Wiener Handschrift, dem Codex Nuttall, dem Códice Colombino (Codex Dorenberg) und Codex Becker (Manuscrit du cacique) u. s. w. und den Bodley Codices, sowie den

Abb. 93. Jahr 1 *acatl* (Rohr), Tag 1 *cipactli* (Krokodil). Codex Nuttall 1.

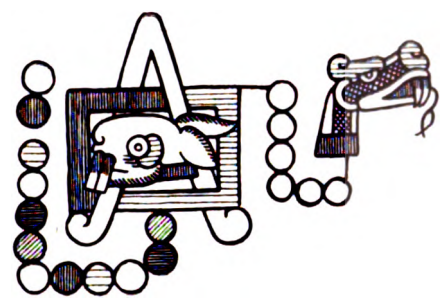

Abb. 94. Jahr 12 *tochtli* (Kaninchen), Tag 6 *couatl* (Schlange). Codex Nuttall 83.

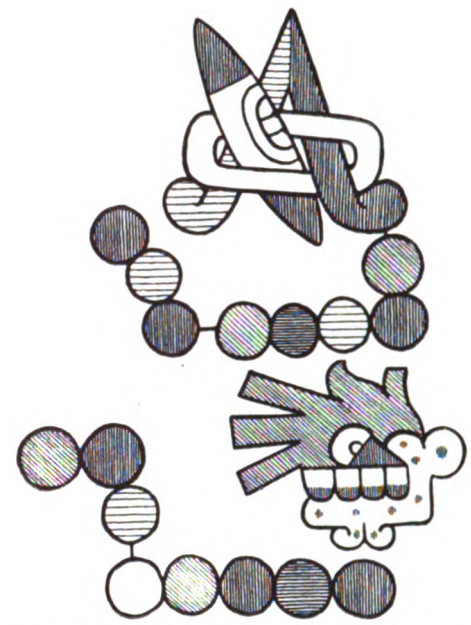

Abb. 95. Jahr 8 *tecpatl* (Feuersteinmesser), 8 *malinalli* (Gedrehter Grasstrick). Wiener Handschrift 1.

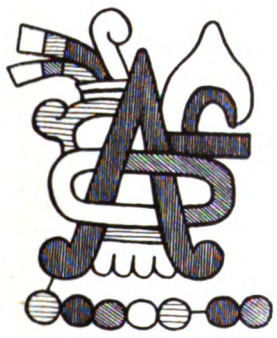

Abb. 96 Jahr 7 *calli* (Haus). Codice Colombino (Codex Dorenberg) 9.

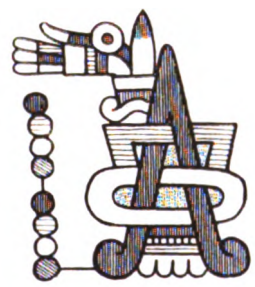

Abb. 97. Jahr 8 *tecpatl* (Feuersteinmesser). Codice Colombino (Codex Dorenberg) 18.

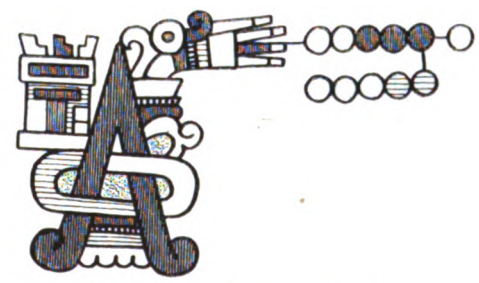

Abb. 98. Jahr 11 *calli* (Haus). Codex Becker (Manuscrit du cacique) 8.

Monumenten, die derselben Region, wie diese Handschriften, angehören, bekannt ist (vgl. Abb. 93 – 98). Die Gruppen bestehen nun aus drei besonderen Bildern: —

Am meisten nach innen, dem Baume der Himmelsrichtung benachbart, sieht man einen aus Holz geschnitzten, mit Metallbeschlag und eingelegten Edelsteinscheiben verzierten Stuhl der üblichen Form, ein *teoicpalli* oder einen Königsstuhl. Auf ihm liegt auf dem ersten, dem Ostblatte (49) eine dunkle Haarperrücke, die über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelt. Darauf ist quer, nur eben wie in einer Trophäe zusammengestellt, die roth und weiss gebänderte spitze Mütze *Xipe Totec*'s befestigt, das *yopitzontli*, mit den schwalbenschwanzartig (*maxaliuhqui*) ausgeschnittenen, ebenfalls roth und weiss gebänderten, flatternden Streifen. Darunter endlich ist, auf gelbem Grunde, der weisse knöcherne Nasenhalbmond

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(*yacametztli*) der *Tlaçolteotl* und der Pulquegötter und auf dunklem Grunde der weisse Papierohrpflock, das *amanacochtli* der Pulquegötter[1]), angegeben. Mit anderen Worten, es sind auf dem Blatte des Ostens, auf dem Königsstuhle die Insignien der Mondgottheit, der Gottheit des Nordblattes, zur Schau gestellt.

Auf dem zweiten Blatte, dem Nordblatte (50) sieht man an der entsprechenden Stelle auf dem Königsstuhle eine Perrücke liegen, die, blauer Farbe, augenscheinlich ganz aus Wasser bestehen soll, und die von einer breiten rothen (Leder-)Binde umschlungen ist, auf der zwei Daunenfederbälle, aber ebenfalls von der blauen Farbe des Wassers, befestigt sind. Ich kann in diesen Bildern nur die Insignien einer Gottheit des Wassers sehen. Diese selbst aber kann kaum mit der Himmelsrichtung des Nordens verknüpft gedacht sein. Sie muss, wie auf dem Blatte 27 unserer Handschrift, dem Westen angehören, es sind auch hier die Insignien der Gottheit des folgenden Blattes, der Gottheit des Westblattes, die auf dem Nordblatte, auf dem Königsstuhle, zur Schau gestellt sind.

Auf dem dritten Blatte, dem Westblatte (51) ist an der betreffenden Stelle auf dem Königsstuhle eine weisse Perrücke zu sehen, die über einem gelben Felde von einer breiten blauen (in Türkismosaik ausgeführten) Binde umgeben ist, über der an der Stirnseite zwei Zinken steil und hoch emporragen. Es ist die Krone, die auf dem Blatte 46 unserer Handschrift der blaue, den *Quetzalcouatl* haltende Feuergott des Nordhauses, des Feuerschlangenhauses, trägt, und als ein Emblem des Feuergottes werden wir sie auf jeden Fall ansehen müssen. Auf der weissen von dieser Binde umschlungenen Perrücke des Blattes 51 liegt noch ein aus einem Daunenfederball und zwei Gabelfedern bestehender Schmuck, ein *aztaxelli*, und hinter der blauen Türkisbinde sind noch zwei Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-)Riemen zu erkennen. Das Feuer und den Todesgott bringt das vierte unserer Blätter, das Südblatt, zur Anschauung. Somit werden wir auch das auf dem Stuhle des Westblattes liegende Emblem als den Vertreter der Gottheit des folgenden Blattes ansehen müssen.

Dieses vierte Blatt endlich, das Südblatt (52) zeigt uns auf dem Königsstuhle das feuerfarbene gelbe Haar des Sonnengottes, von der Edelsteinkopfbinde umwunden, an der an der Stirnseite ein stylisirter Vogelkopf (Adlerkopf) vorspringt; und die Adlerfederkrone, mit den daraus hervorragenden, vier haarig begrenzten Streifen, die in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe das charakteristische Abzeichen des Sonnengottes bilden. Demnach hätten wir hier auf dem Königsstuhle des Südblattes, d. h. des Blattes des Todes und des Feuers, die Embleme des Sonnengottes, des Regenten des Ostblattes zur Anschauung gebracht.

Aus all dem müssen wir schliessen, dass in diesen Gruppen gezeigt werden solle, dass, nachdem die Herrschaft, das Jahr, das Zeitalter der einen Himmelsrichtung zu Grunde gegangen, nunmehr, — durch die Thätigkeit der kopulirenden Paare, die darüber dargestellt sind, — von neuem Leben geschaffen ist, und das der neuen, der folgenden Himmelsrichtung angehörende Jahr, Zeitalter usw. seine Herrschaft antritt.

In unmittelbarer Verbindung mit diesen, die Embleme der Gottheit der folgenden Himmelsrichtung tragenden Königsstühlen sind auf unseren Blättern 49—52 die vier Jahresdaten angegeben, und zwar ist es —

auf Blatt 49, dem Ostblatte — das Jahr *naui calli* „vier Haus“,
„ „ 50, „ Nordblatte — „ „ *naui tochtli* „vier Kaninchen“,
„ „ 51, „ Westblatte — „ „ *naui acatl* „vier Rohr“,
„ „ 52, „ Südblatte — „ „ *naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser“.

Und vor den Königsstühlen und den Jahresdaten sehen wir die Gestalt eines *Nanauatzin* oder *Auiateotl*, eines syphilitischen Gottes oder Gottes der Lust, genau in der gleichen Bemalung und Ausstattung, wie sie der *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, der Herr des siebzehnten Tageszeichens *olin* „Bewegung“ auf Blatt 10 unserer Handschrift hat, nur nicht mit den herausgelaufenen oder heraushängenden Augen und den verkrümmten und krankhaft veränderten Gliedern, wie dieser, gezeichnet. Auf dem Ostblatte (49) ist dieser *Nanauatzin* schwarz gemalt, wie der echte *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* des Blattes 10 und wie der *Auiateotl* des

1) *Totochtin . . . ygamanacuch* (Sahagun, Ms. Biblioteca Palacio, Madrid).

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Ostens auf Blatt 47 unserer Handschrift. Auf dem Nordblatte (50) ist er blau gemalt, wie der *Auiateotl* des Nordens des Blattes 47. Auf dem Westblatte (51) gelb, wie der *Auiateotl* des Westens des Blattes 48. Aber auf dem Südblatte (52) nicht roth, wie der *Auiateotl* des Südens, sondern grün, wie der *Auiateotl* der Mitte oder der unteren Region des Blattes 48. Vor diesen Figuren endlich sieht man vier andere Daten, (die aber keine Jahresdaten sind), angegeben, und zwar —

vor dem *Nanauatzin* des Ostblattes (49) das Datum *macuilli olin* „fünf Bewegung“,
„ „ „ „ Nordblattes (50) „ „ *macuilli eecatl* „fünf Wind“,
„ „ „ „ Westblattes (51) „ „ *macuilli maçatl* „fünf Hirsch“,
„ „ „ „ Südblattes (52) „ „ *macuilli malinalli* „fünf Gedrehtes (Grasstrick)“.

Es ist nun zunächst klar, dass diese Daten nicht in der Weise, wie das z. B. in den Daten der Abbildungen 93—98 der Fall ist, mit den Jahresdaten zu verbinden sind. Dazu stehen sie schon von diesen zu weit entfernt. Sie gehören vielmehr als Namen zu den Gestalten der vier *Nanauatzitzintin*. Diese, d. h. die *Auiateteô*, werden ja auch sonst allgemein, wie wir gesehen haben, mit Daten bezeichnet, die die Zahl Fünf mit einem Tageszeichen verbinden. Nun wissen wir, dass *Nanauatzin* den Gott bezeichnet, der sich verbrennt, um als Sonne am Himmel emporzusteigen. Die Tage *macuilli olin*, *macuilli eecatl*, *macuilli maçatl*, *macuilli malinalli* gehören in der That in dieser Ordnung dem ersten, zweiten, dritten, vierten Viertel des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, also den Himmelsrichtungen des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens an, aber die Tage *olin*, *eecatl*, *maçatl*, *malinalli* sind zugleich die letzten Tage der Jahre, die mit den Zeichen *acatl*, *tecpatl*, *calli*, *tochtli* beginnen, d. h. der Jahre des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. Es liegt also nahe, anzunehmen, dass die mit *macuilli olin* bezeichnete *Nanauatzin*-Figur den letzten Tag der Ostjahre, oder gewissermassen die Asche bezeichne, aus der das neue Jahr, das *tecpatl*-Jahr, das Nordjahr, entstehen soll. Und entsprechend der *macuilli eecatl* genannte *Nanauatzin* den Gott darstelle, der die *calli*-Jahre, oder die Westjahre bringt; der *macuilli maçatl* genannte *Nanauatzin* den Gott, der die *tochtli*-Jahre oder die Südjahre bringt; und der *macuilli malinalli* genannte *Nanauatzin* den Gott, der die *acatl*-Jahre oder die Ostjahre bringt. Insofern stimmen diese *Nanauatzin*-Figuren vortrefflich zu den Bildern der Königsstühle mit den Emblemen der Gottheit der jedesmal folgenden Himmelsrichtung, die der Zeichner hinter den *Nanauatzin*-Figuren angegeben hat.

Diese Blätter 49—52 des Codex Borgia sind damit eine gewisse Parallele zu den berühmten Blättern 25—28 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, auf denen, wie das Cyrus Thomas zuerst nachgewiesen hat, die Zärimonien veranschaulicht sind, die bei den Stämmen Yucatan's und den ihnen in Kult und Sitte verwandten Völkern in den letzten fünf Tagen des alten Jahres vorgenommen wurden. Wenn wir — nach der Korrektur, die für die Himmelsrichtungen nothwendig ist und die ich in meiner Abhandlung „Zur mexikanischen Chronologie“[1]) beschrieben habe — immer das obere Drittel der Blätter zu dem vorhergehenden Blatte ziehen, so hätten wir in der Mitte der Bilder immer den Regenten der Jahre, der den vier Tempeln und den vor ihnen opfernden Göttern in der Mitte der oberen Reihe unserer Blätter 49—52 des Codex Borgia entsprechen würde. In dem unteren Drittel der Blätter den Gott des folgenden Jahres, der auf unseren Codex Borgia-Blättern den Königsstühlen mit den Emblemen der Gottheiten der folgenden Himmelsrichtung entsprechen würde, und in dem thierköpfigen Priester, der von dem oberen Drittel des nächsten Blattes zu dem vorhergehenden Blatte gezogen werden müsste, den Bringer des Regenten des neuen Jahres, der unseren vier *Nanauatzin*-Figuren entsprechen würde.

Was bedeuten nun aber die vier Jahresdaten? Wir sahen, dass im Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden die Jahre *naui calli*, *naui tochtli*, *naui acatl*, *naui tecpatl* angegeben waren. Diese scheinen aber in keiner Weise zu den Himmelsrichtungen zu stimmen. Nach der allgemeinen Ueberlieferung, die auch z. B. durch Blatt 27 unserer Handschrift bestätigt wird[2]), entsprechen die *acatl*-, *tecpatl*-, *calli*-, *tochtli*-Jahre den Himmelsrichtungen Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden. Darnach würde das Jahr *naui calli* in den Westen gehören. Und nehmen wir an, dass die ganzen Viertel der zweiundfünfzigjährigen Periode auf die vier Himmelsrichtungen vertheilt worden seien, — was zweifellos nicht die Regel war, — so würde

1) Seler „Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde“, Band I, Berlin 1902, S. 529, 530.

2) Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 341 ff.

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naui calli in den Süden fallen. Jedenfalls gehört das Jahr nicht dem Osten an, und auch nicht der darauf folgenden Himmelsrichtung, dem Norden. Nehmen wir, der allgemeinen Ueberlieferung entsprechend, an, dass das Jahr *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" der Repräsentant der Jahre des Ostens war, so würde das Jahr *naui calli* von diesem gerade um 42 Jahre entfernt sein.

Auf diese Periode von 42 Jahren war ich bei meiner Untersuchung des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer gekommen. Ich glaubte dort[1]) eine Periode von 59 Tagen oder zwei synodischen Monaten gefunden zu haben, die die Eigenschaft haben würde, dass sie in dem *Tonalamatl* oder seinen Vielfachen

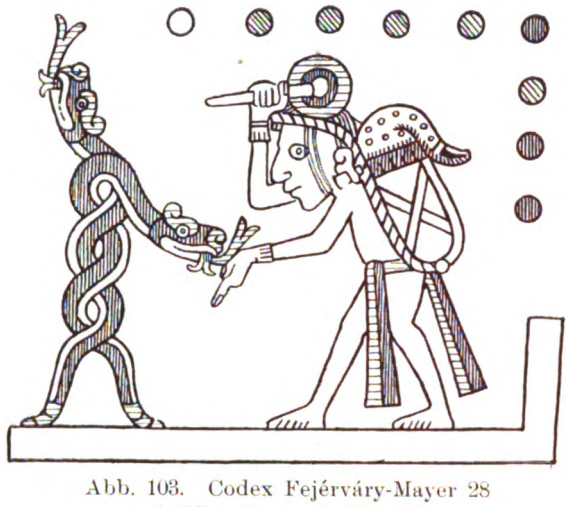

Abb. 103. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 28
(= Kingsborough 17). V.

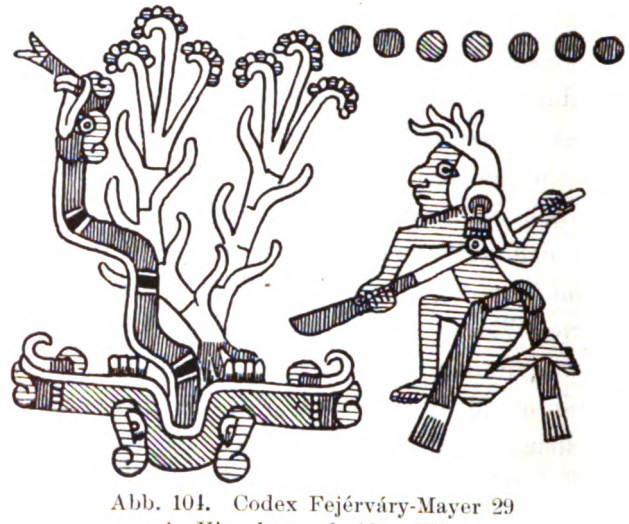

Abb. 104. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 29
(= Kingsborough 16). VIII.

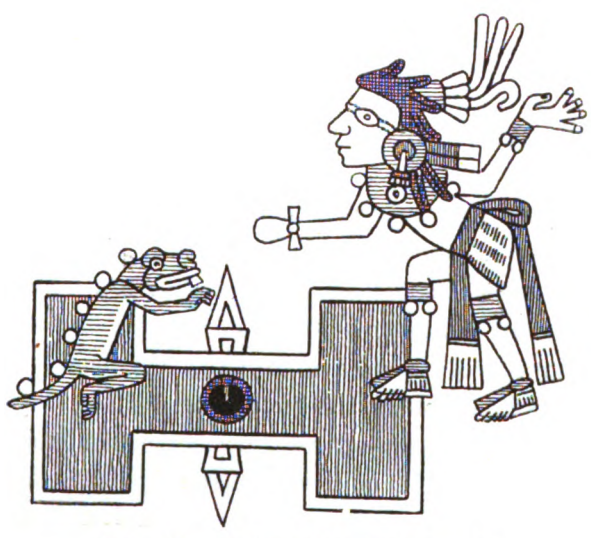

Abb. 102. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 29
(= Kingsborough 16). VII.

Abb. 101. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 27
(= Kingsborough 18). IV.

Abb. 99—106. Die Gottheiten der sechs Weltgegenden (in der Ordnung

in keiner Weise aufgeht, sodass erst nach 59 × 260 Tagen oder 42 Jahren (von 365 Tagen) und 10 Tagen auf den Anfangstag dieser Perioden wieder dieselbe Zahl und dasselbe Zeichen fiele. Diese Periode hatte ich aus der Reihe von acht Bildern erschlossen, die die untere Hälfte der Blätter 26—29 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer füllen, indem ich annahm, dass jedem Bilde eine Tageszeichenssäule, entsprechend der bei dem ersten Bilde angegebenen, zukäme, und dass die farbigen Kreise nur, der allgemeinen Regel nach, die dazwischen fehlenden Tageszeichensäulen andeuten sollten. Das ist nun wohl ein Irrthum von mir gewesen. Wie Dr. Ed. de Jonghe in einem kürzlich in der Zeitschrift für Ethnologie publizirten Aufsatze wahr-

1) Vgl. meine Erläuterung des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin 1901, S. 134ff.

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scheinlich gemacht hat, hat man vielmehr die farbigen Kreise zu der bei dem ersten Bilde angegebenen Säule hinzuzuzählen und erhält dann nicht 59, sondern 52 Säulen oder ein vollständiges *Tonalamatl*. Dass Dr. de Jonghe darin Recht hat, ist mir deshalb gewiss, weil diese Reihe von acht Bildern des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer den acht schönen grossen Bildern der Blätter 18—21 unserer Handschrift, die ich in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 284—299 beschrieben habe, homolog ist, und bei diesen letzteren Bildern in der That auch das einfache *Tonalamatl* in 8 fünfgliedrigen Säulen und $6 \times 6 + 2 \times 4$ die Lücken füllenden farbigen Kreisen angegeben ist. Die Homologie der beiden Bilderreihen des Codex Fejérváry-

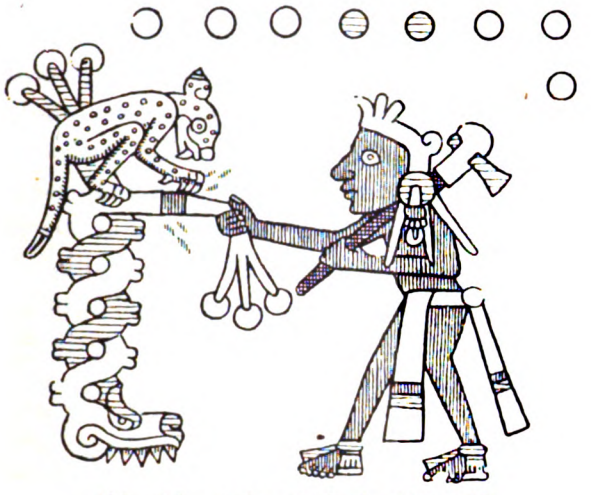

Abb. 105. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 28 (= Kingsborough 17). VI.

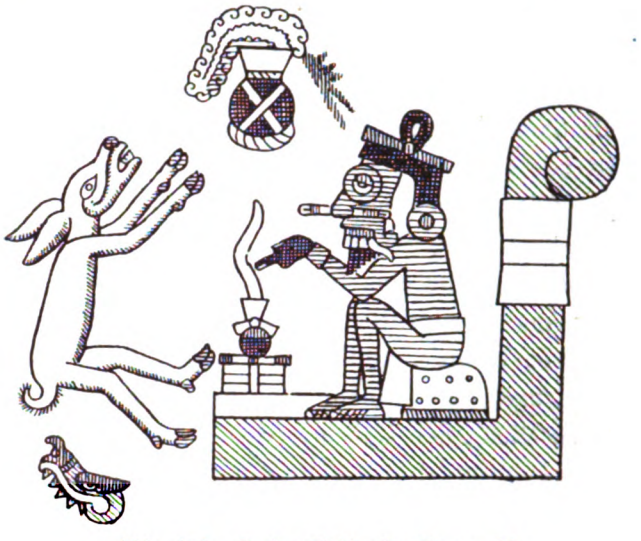

Abb. 106. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 26. (= Kingsborough 19). I.

Abb. 100. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 27 (= Kingsborough 18). III.

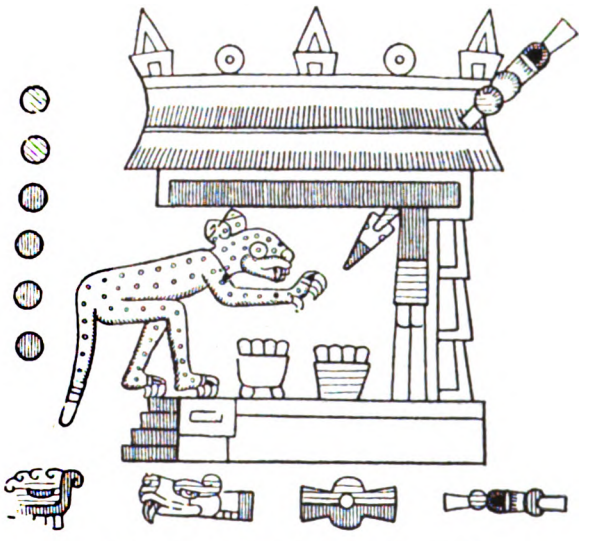

Abb. 99. Codex Fejerváry-Mayer 26 (= Kingsborough 19). II.

wie die homologen Bilder auf den Blättern 18—21 des Codex Borgia geordnet sind).

Mayer und des Codex Borgia springt nun freilich nicht ohne Weiteres in die Augen, — obgleich ich sie immer schon vermuthet habe. Denn die Anordnung der Bilder ist im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer eine andere als im Codex Borgia, — allerdings nicht, ohne dass ein gewisses Gesetz in der Verschiedenheit der Anordnung zu Tage tritt. Bezeichne ich die Bilder in der Folge, wie sie auf den Blättern 18—21 unserer Handschrift vorliegen, mit 1—8, so sind im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer die entsprechenden Bilder in der Folge: — 8, 1; 2, 3; 5, 7; 4, 6 — angeordnet. Ich habe, um dies zu zeigen, und die Vergleichung zu erleichtern, die Bilder des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer hier in Abb. 99—106 wiedergegeben, sie aber genau in der Ordnung zusammengestellt, wie sie auf den Blättern 18—21 des Codex Borgia erscheinen. Den Beweis

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der Homologie im Einzelnen zu führen, darauf kann ich mich momentan nicht einlassen. Der prüfende Leser wird sich ihrer nicht entziehen können und wird interessante Beobachtungen bei der Vergleichung machen können.

War nun also diese Periode von 59 Tagen ein Irrthum von mir, so glaube ich, hat die Periode von 42 Jahren, die ja hier auf unseren Codex Borgia-Blättern unzweifelhaft vorliegt, doch ihre Bedeutung, und zwar die, die ich ihr in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer zuschrieb. Es ist nämlich nach 42 Jahren das mexikanische Jahr von 365 Tagen hinter dem wirklichen Jahre von 365 Tagen, 5 Stunden, 48 Minuten, 47½ Sekunden genau um 10 Tage; 4 *h* 9′ 15″ zurückgeblieben. Es würde also hier eine Einschaltung von zehn Tagen den in Folge der zu kleinen Jahreslänge in Unordnung gerathenen Kalender mit einer geringen Ungenauigkeit mit der wirklichen Chronologie wieder in Uebereinstimmung gebracht haben. Dass man solche Einschaltungen irgend wann einmal vornehmen musste, ist mir klar, da sonst die in dem Jahre gefeierten Feste zu sehr in Unordnung gerathen sein würden, die Zeit, wo man sie feierte, der Zeit, für die sie von Bedeutung waren, sehr bald nicht mehr entsprochen haben würde. Ein Ablauf von 42 Jahren empfahl sich für die Vornahme einer solchen Korrektur da dann gerade eine Einschaltung von zehn Tagen, also der Hälfte eines der 18 Zeiträume, in die die Mexikaner und Mittelamerikaner das Jahr theilten, angezeigt war. Ich habe seiner Zeit nachgewiesen[1]), dass im Codex Nuttall eine andere, der Periode von 42 Jahren verwandte Periode von 81 Jahren vorliegt, nach deren Ablauf eine Einschaltung von 20 Tagen, also eines vollen sogenannten Monats, in ähnlicher Weise den Kalender wieder einigermassen in Ordnung brachte.

16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

Blatt 49—53 (= Kingsborough 66—62) obere Hälfte.

Ueber den vier Blättern, die im vorhergehenden Abschnitte behandelt sind, auf denen die Bäume der vier Himmelsrichtungen, die Tempel der vier Himmelsrichtungen mit ihrem Zubehör, die Mächte, die der Generation der betreffenden Himmelsrichtung ein Ende machen, und die, die das Leben wieder aufbauen, dargestellt waren, steht in unserer Handschrift eine Reihe, die in dem Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 in der oberen Hälfte der Blätter 19—23 (= Kingsborough 67—71) eine Parallele hat, und die aus vier den Himmel stützenden Gestalten und vier anderen, die dazwischen ihre Stelle haben, und die jeder ein Rasselbrett in der Hand halten, besteht. Im Codex Vaticanus folgt diese Reihe auf die beiden Blätter, auf denen in jener Handschrift die vier Bäume, die die Himmelsrichtungen veranschaulichen, dargestellt sind. Unmittelbar unter dieser Reihe stehen dort die neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. Ich habe diese Figuren in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus (Berlin 1902) auf den Seiten 81—93 behandelt und habe dem dort Gesagten eigentlich wenig hinzuzufügen.

Das Merkwürdige ist zunächst, dass bei diesen viermal zwei Figuren die zwanzig Tageszeichen in der Weise hinzugefügt sind, dass das zwölfte, siebenzehnte, zweite, siebente Zeichen, d. h. die Zeichen *malinalli* „Gedrehtes“, „Grasstrick“, *olin* „Bewegung“, *eecatl* „Wind“, *maçatl* „Hirsch“, über dem ersten, zweiten, dritten, vierten Himmelskörper gewissermassen als ihre Namen stehen, von den dazwischenfallenden vier Tageszeichen das eine unter dem Himmelsträger, die drei anderen unter seinem Begleiter, dem Erdgotte, ihre Stelle haben, und nur das letzte, *oçomàtli* „Affe“, dem in den Erdrachen stürzenden Menschen, der, nach den vier Himmelsträgern und ihren Begleitern, die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, die Mitte, die Bewegung nach unten, zur Anschauung bringt, zugetheilt ist. Ich bin der Meinung, dass durch diese Anordnung angezeigt sein soll, dass die vier Abtheilungen, die vier Himmelsträger und ihre Begleiter, den Himmelsrichtungen nicht in der gewöhnlichen Ordnung, sondern in der Folge Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden entsprechen sollen. Wir werden gleich sehen, dass durch das Studium der

1) Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band XXXV (1903), S. 27 ff.

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einzelnen Figuren diese Annahme in der That bestätigt wird. Und wir können uns vorstellen, dass diese Anordnung deshalb beliebt worden ist, weil dann z. B. auf den Blättern unserer Handschrift die unteren und die oberen Hälften die gegensätzlichen Himmelsrichtungen zur Anschauung bringen würden.

Der Umstand, dass die Reihe der Himmelsträger, wie wir sehen werden, mit der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, als Repräsentanten des Westens, beginnt, und auch der Himmelsgott des Ostens, *Quetzalcouatl*, eine Figur ist, der astronomische Bedeutung zukommt, erweckt die Vermuthung, dass die vier Himmelsträger überhaupt als Sterne aufzufassen seien. Vier Sterne, an den vier Enden des Himmels, als Hüter oder Halter des Himmels, war zweifellos eine den Mexikanern durchaus geläufige Vorstellung. Es ist eine interessante Thatsache, dass bei einem der wenigen mexikanischen Stämme, die noch heute in primitiven Verhältnissen leben und in primitiven Anschauungen befangen sind, den *Huichol* des Staates Jalisco, der Reisende Lumholtz dieselbe Vorstellung noch lebendig fand. Auf einer Art Himmelskarte, die der Reisende von diesen Indianern gebracht hat, sieht man dem Morgensterne, der dort *tonáami* „der Sänger" genannt wird, gegenüber, im Westen, einen grossen Einzelstern, *rawá* oder *rawámi*, angegeben, der immer am Himmel sein und nach Ablauf eines Jahres, im Oktober, mit dem Morgensterne in Konjunktion kommen soll. Und im Kreuze dazu, im Süden und Norden, stehen zwei andere grosse Sterne, die nach dem einen Gewährsmann nur einfach *rulíve* „Sterne" genannt wurden, und die zu denen gehören sollten, „die bisweilen niederfallen und an den Felsen zerbrechen, wenn sie eine (Wolken-) Schlange zu töten versuchen"; nach einem anderen Gewährsmann aber unbeweglich, als „Hüter der Welt" dort stünden, der eine *tévali keliákawi* „der südliche Grossvater", der andere *tévali yoáwi* „der blaue Grossvater" genannt.

Wo in der Chronik des Tezozomoc von dem Baue des grossen Tempels die Rede ist, da werden wiederholt die *Tzitzimimê* erwähnt. Es heisst an der einen Stelle, dass zur Vollendung des Tempels die *Tzitzimimê Ilhuicatzitzquique* „angeles de aire, sostenedores del cielo", die man auch *Petlacotzitzquique* „tenedores del tapete de caña" nenne, die sechs „tenedores y sustentadores del cielo" noch fehlen[1]), — die *Tzitzimimê*, die „dioses de los aires que traian las lluvias, aguas, truenos y relámpagos y rayos, y habian de estar á la redonda de *Huitzilopochtli*"[2]), — und dass man nachher diese „dioses, signos y planetas", die man *Tzitzimimê* nenne, auf die Höhe des Tempels gebracht und sie um das Idol *Uitzilopochtli*'s herum an ihre Stelle gesetzt habe.[3]) Diese „tenedores y sustentadores del cielo" müssen mit den Himmelsträgern unserer Handschriften, in der Grundvorstellung übereinstimmen. Unter den *Tzitzimimê* sind aber ursprünglich zweifellos Sterngottheiten zu verstehen, die nur, weil bei einer Sonnenfinsterniss die Sterne am Tageshimmel sichtbar werden, zu Dämonen der Finsterniss wurden.[4])

Diesen Himmelsträgern gegenüber, sind nun die begleitenden Figuren, wie ich oben schon angab, dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass jeder einen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) in der Hand hält. Nur bei der einen der vier begleitenden Figuren, der in der dritten Abtheilung, ist der Rasselstab durch einen Blüthenbaum ersetzt. Diese Figuren werden durch den Rasselstab, den sie in der Hand halten, in besondere Beziehung zur Erde gesetzt. Denn er ist das Kennzeichen der Erdgottheiten, *Xipe*'s, der verschiedenen Maisgottheiten und der Wassergötter. Er wurde, indem man ihn fest auf die Erde setzte, rasseln gemacht. — *yoan ychicauazcacalacaya ymayauhcampa quitzitziquiaya yn iquac tlalpan quitilquetza cacalacaca* „und seinen Rasselstab hielt er (*Xipe Totec*) in der rechten Hand. Wenn er ihn fest auf den Boden setzt, rasselt er".[5]) — In den merkwürdigen Strophen, die, ihrem Inhalt nach ein Stück für sich bildend, in dem Liede an die *Ciuacouatl*, die Erd- und Kriegsgöttin von *Colhuacan*, enthalten sind, das

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1) Crónica Mexicana cap. 38.

2) Ibidem cap. 59.

3) Ibidem cap. 66.

4) Vgl. Chimalpain, VII Relacion: — *X tochtli xichuitl, 1478 años. auh ça no iheuac yn cualoc tonahtiuh. mochi nezque yn cicitlaltin . . . auh ça no yheuac yn nezque yn tecuanime. yn tzitzimime.* „Und in diesem selben Jahre „10 Kaninchen", = A. D. 1478, war eine Sonnenfinsterniss, alle Sterne wurden sichtbar, . . . und in derselben Zeit erschienen die Raubthiere, die *Tzitzimimê*." — Vgl. Sahagun 8, cap 1: — „Y tambien en su tiempo (del dicho *Auitzotzin*) aconteció muy grande eclipse del sol á medio dia: casi por espacio de cinco horas hubo muy grande obscuridad, porque aparecieron las estrellas, y las gentes tuvieron grande miedo, y decian que habian de descender del cielo unos monstruos que se dicen *tzitzimis* que habian de comer á los hombres y mugeres".

5) Sahagun Buch 9, cap. 15,

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uns das Sahagun-Manuskript erhalten hat[1]), wird das *chicauaztli*, der Rasselstab, in unmittelbare Beziehung zum Bestellen des Ackers gebracht:

Huiya tonaca acxolma centla

„O, das, woraus unser Leib sich aufbaut[2]), die Maisfrucht"

teumilco chicavaztica motlaquechizca

„auf dem Acker des Gottes, auf den Rasselstab, stützt sich (die Göttin)"

d. h. [so erläutert der Kommentar]:

Inic motocaya centli, in mochivaya teumilpan ichicavaztica ynic tlatatacaya, ynic tocaya

„Das Eingraben der Maisfrucht geschah auf dem Acker des Gottes, mit ihrem Rasselstabe grub sie die Erde auf, pflanzte sie."

Vitztla, vitztla nomac temi

vitztla, vitztla nomac temi

„der Dorn (die Agaveblattspitze) ist in meiner Hand"

açan teumilco chicavaztica motlaquechizca

„auf dem Acker des Gottes, auf den Rasselstab, stützt sich (die Göttin)"

d. h. [erläutert der Kommentar]: —

Vitztla, q. n. nomactemi nochicavaztica ynic nitocaya, ynic nitlatatacaya

„der Dorn, d. h. [hier gieng offenbar dem Kommentator die Wissenschaft aus], ist in meiner Hand. Mit meinem Rasselstabe pflanzte ich, grub ich die Erde auf."

Malinalla nomac temi

„der Grasbusch (der Besen) ist in meiner Hand"

açan teumilco chicavaztica motlaquechizca

„auf dem Acker des Gottes, auf den Rasselstab, stützt sich (die Göttin)."

d. h. [erläutert der Kommentar]: —

malinala, victli, q. n. victica in tlachpanaya

id est. *icelimiquia, yn vncan teumilpan auh ychicavaztica inic nitlatatacaya inic nitocaya*

„der Grasbusch (der Besen), das ist die Coa (das hölzerne Grabwerkzeug) d. h. mit der Coa (der hölzernen Schaufel) fegte sie den Boden, d. h sie war ununterbrochen dort auf dem Acker des Gottes beschäftigt, und mit ihrem Rasselstabe, damit grub ich die Erde auf, damit pflanzte ich."

In noch prägnanterer Bedeutung endlich sehen wir das *chicauaztli*, den Rasselstab, in den Bildern, die bei *Tonacatecutli*, dem Herrn der Zeugung, dem Regenten des ersten Tageszeichens, das erste Menschenpaar oder die geschlechtliche Vereinigung zur Anschauung bringen. Das *chicauaztli*, das hier zwischen den von der gemeinsamen Decke umhüllten beiden Personen aufgepflanzt ist, kann nichts anderes als diesen Vorgang versinnbildlichen. Und es ist nur noch bemerkenswerth, dass in dem Bilde des Vaticanus A das *chicauaztli* durch ein Feuersteinmesser (*tecpatl*) und zwei Pfeilschäfte, die augenscheinlich das *mamalhuaztli*, den Feuerbohrer, darstellen sollen, ersetzt ist. — Der Sinn des Befruchtens liegt schliesslich auch in dem Worte *chicauaztli* selbst, das eine Art Instrumentalbildung darstellt und das „womit etwas stark und kräftig gemacht wird" bedeutet.

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1) Cantares que decian a honrra de los dioses en los templos y fuera dellos Nr. 13. *Cicaccatl ycuic*, Strophe 2—4. (Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde Band II. Berlin 1904. S. 1048).

2) Diese Uebersetzung ist nur mit Vorbehalt gegeben worden. *acxotl*, eigentlich *acx-xotl*, d. i. *acx-yotl* steht für *icxxotl* oder *icxyotl*, d. h. es ist das Abstraktum von *icxitl* „Fuss", das z. B. in dem Namen eines der Genossen *Yacatecuhtli*'s, des Gottes der Kaufleute, *Acxomocuil* „dem der Fuss weggenommen ist" (das ist *Hurakan* des Popol Vuh oder *Tezcatlipoca*) vorliegt

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Die vier Rasselstabträger vor den vier Himmelsrichtungen sind daher zweifellos als die Gottheiten der Erde aufzufassen. Die Rasselstabträger mit den Himmelsträgern zusammen, die ganze auf den oberen Hälften der Blätter 49–52 unserer Handschrift dargestellte Reihe, werden wir demnach kurzweg als „Himmel und Erde an den vier Enden der Welt“, — oder, wie ich es in der Ueberschrift gesagt habe, als die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen (oder Fundamente) der Erde bezeichnen können.

Was nun die acht Figuren im Einzelnen angeht, so ist der erste der vier Himmelsträger, auf Blatt 49 unserer Handschrift, über dem das Zeichen *malinalli*, „Gedrehtes“, „Grasstrick“ steht, und der meiner Annahme nach, den Westen bezeichnen muss, deutlich als *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus, zu erkennen. Das sieht man an der weissen, rothgestreiften (*tlauauantli*) Bemalung des Leibes und der Glieder, die nur (wie bei dem *Tlauizcalpantecutli* in der Mitte des Blattes 45 unserer Handschrift) an den Armen durch Daunenfederbälle auf schwarzem Grunde, eine Art *cicitlalli* — oder Sternhimmelbemalung — ersetzt ist. Man sieht es an dem Quincunx weisser Flecke auf dem schwarzen Grunde des Gesichts, dem feuerfarbenen über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnden Haare, den auf die lederne Kopfbinde aufgesetzten weissen Plättchen, dem weissen Ohrpflocke und dem Nackenschmucke aus schwarzen,

Abb. 107. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Gott des Planeten Venus, Himmelsträger des Westens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 19 (= Kingsborough 67), oben.

Abb. 108. *Uitzilopochtli*, der Feuergott des Südens, Himmelsträger des Südens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 20 (= Kingsborough 68), oben.

mit weissem Endflecke versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern. Als der schiessende Gott und der Repräsentant der im Himmel, im Hause der Sonne wohnenden Seelen der geopferten Krieger, hat er die Zeichen des Krieges vor sich: — Schild, Speerbündel, Wurfbrett, Handfahne, Stachelkeule und die Netztasche für die Steinpfeilspitzen.

Nicht ganz so charakteristisch ist die entsprechende Figur des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 107), bei der eigentlich nur die weiss und gelb- (eigentlich roth-) gestreifte Bemalung des Leibes und der Glieder, der Kriegerkopfschmuck *aztaxelli* auf dem Scheitel und das *anauatl*, der weisse Ring, das Abbild des Auges, der Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s, auf den Gott des Planeten Venus schliessen lässt. Der Gott trägt eine weisse Kappe auf dem Kopfe, mit rothen Flecken, und auch die beiden Enden seiner Schambinde zeigen ein eigenthümliches Muster punktartiger rother Flecke, die wie ein Kranz einen grösseren, runden rothen Fleck, der die Mitte bildet, umgeben. Wie vor dem *Tlauizcalpantecutli* unserer Handschrift, sind auch vor der Figur des Vaticanus die Kriegswaffen, und zwar in derselben Vollständigkeit angegeben; aber von der Netztasche, in der die Steinpfeilspitzen aufbewahrt werden, sind nur die beiden Riemen zu sehen.

Der Himmelsträger des Südens, auf Blatt 50 unserer Handschrift, über dem das Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung“ angegeben ist, führt uns eine Gestalt vor, die in dieser besonderen Bemalung und Ausstattung in den Bilderschriften nicht gerade häufig vorkommt. Es ist zweifelsohne ein Feuergott, das zeigt der

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herabstürzende Türkisvogel an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde, — der freilich in unserem Bilde fast mehr wie ein Fisch aussieht, aber in der besonderen Gestalt des Kopfes doch vollkommen mit dem Türkisvogel übereinstimmt, den wir an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde des sicher als Feuergott zu bezeichnenden Herren des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes auf Blatt 69 unserer Handschrift sehen; — das zeigt ferner der *coxcoxtli*-Vogelkopf, der seinen Nasenschmuck, wie den des Feuergottes des Blattes 69 unserer Handschrift, bildet; das zeigen die rechteckige Türkisplatte, die er auf der Brust trägt, und die beiden Türkisvögel, die an der Halsschnur befestigt sind, — denn genau in gleicher Weise sehen wir auch bei dem Feuergotte, dem ersten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773, einen blauen

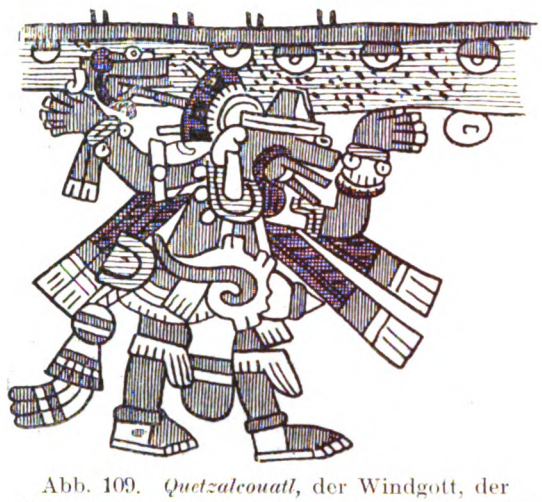

Abb. 109. *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott, der Himmelsträger des Ostens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 21 (= Kingsborough 69), oben.

Abb. 110. *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott, der Himmelsträger des Nordens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 22 (= Kingsborough 70), oben.

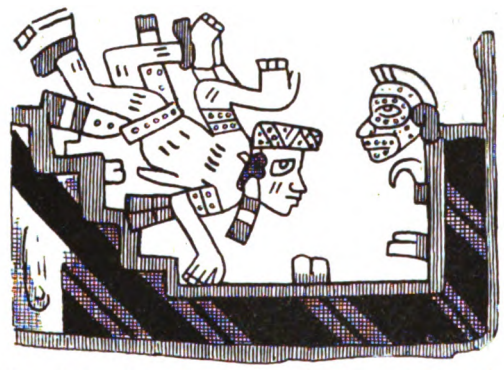

Abb. 111. Der in den Erdrachen Stürzende, Bezeichnung der Mitte oder der Richtung nach unten. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 23 (= Kingsborough 71), oben.

Vogel auf der Halsschnur sitzen; — das zeigen endlich das feuerfarbene Haar und der Nackenschmuck, oder das *quemitl*, das er auf dem Rücken trägt, das in Ararafedern, d. h. in Federn des Vogels des Feuergottes, endet. Aber die Körper- und Gesichtsbemalung dieses Gottes des Blattes 50 unserer Handschrift sind ungewöhnlich und abweichend. Während sonst der Feuergott in unserer Handschrift roth an Leib und Gliedern und im Gesichte gemalt ist, mit schwarzer unterer (den Mund umgebenden) Gesichtspartie und einem schmalen schwarzen Querstreifen in der Höhe des Auges, ist dieser Gott hier gelb am Leibe und im Gesichte gemalt, mit blauen und gestreiften Unterarmen und Unterschenkeln und Füssen und hat im Gesichte nur zwei schmale schwarze Querstreifen, einen in der Höhe des Mundes und einen in der Höhe des Auges, sowie ein *tlaxapochtli*, eine kleine, sich kaum abhebende Scheibe schwarzer Farbe auf

1) Berlin 1902, S. 91.

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der Backe, die an ähnliche Scheiben rother Farbe erinnert, die man in unserer Handschrift auf der Backe des Sonnengottes angegeben sieht. In dieser Bemalung mit zwei schmalen Querstreifen im Gesichte, wie auch in den Einzelheiten der obigen Ausstattung, stimmt dieser Gott genau mit dem Feuergotte überein, den wir, mit einer kleinen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur vor sich, in dem Hause mit hohem Strohdache auf der Westseite des Blattes 46, sitzen sehen. Ich habe in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 diesen Feuergott mit *Uitzilopochtli*, dem Kriegsgotte, dem Stammgotte der Mexikaner, in Verbindung gebracht Denn dieser Gott war in der That ein Gott des Südens, und blau und gelb sind auch seine Farben, und auch bei ihm sind insbesondere die Arme und Beine blau- und längsgestreift. *Opochtli* heisst auch der „Linke", und die Region zur Linken war den Mexikanern die Region des Südens. — *ompa in imaopuchcopa tlalli mihtouaya uitznaucatlalpan* „das Land zur linken Hand, das man Land der Uitznaua (d. h. Süden) nennt" — heisst es im aztekischen Texte des Sahagun. — Die von *Uitzilopochtli* bekämpften und besiegten Brüder sind die *Centzon uitznaua*, die „vierhundert Südlichen". Und auch der *uitzitzilin*, der Kolibri, dessen Name in dem Namen des Gottes enthalten ist, und dessen Gestalt dem Gotte als Verkleidung dient, hat gewiss ebenso viel mit dem *uitznauac*, der Region „an den Dornen", d. h. dem Süden, zu thun, wie bekanntermassen mit dem Sommer, der Regenzeit, der Jahreszeit des Südens.[1]) Nach Süden war auch der grosse Tempel *Uitzilopochtli*'s in der Hauptstadt México gerichtet Auch *Uitzilopochtli* ist ja ein Feuergott. Er trägt, wie der Feuergott, das *xiuhcouanaualli*, die „Türkisschlangenverkleidung". Sein Fest, das im Herabkommen der Schlange *xiuhcouatl* und ihrem Verbrennen gipfelt, ist entschieden ein Feuerfest. Und im Codex Borbonicus wird sogar das grosse Feuerfest, das feierliche Erbohren neuen Feuers, vor Beginn der neuen 52jährigen Periode in das Fest *Panquetzaliztli*, in das Fest *Uitzilopochtli*'s, verlegt. Dass der Gott *Uitzilopochtli* hier in diesen Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe genau so aufgefasst und dargestellt worden sei, wie in der Stadt México und wie in den Malereien, die schon in spanischer Zeit von dem Gotte gemacht wurden, wird man nicht erwarten dürfen. Dass aber diesem Gotte eine allgemeinere, über die eines Lokalfetisches hinausgehende Bedeutung zukam, wird man schon deshalb annehmen müssen, weil ja die zur Zeit der Conquista politisch so mächtigen Bewohner der Stadt México doch nur die Erben einer alten Kultur waren und sich als solche fühlten, derjenigen, die mit dem Namen der Tolteken bezeichnet wurde, der zweifelsohne eine reale, geschichtliche Bedeutung zuzuschreiben ist, und der vermuthlich diese Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe näher standen, als der Zivilisation, die in der späteren geschichtlichen Zeit die Spanier in der Stadt México kennen lernten.

Das Bild des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 108) ist wieder viel charakterloser. Hier sind Leib und Glieder roth gemalt, das Gesicht in der unteren Hälfte schwarz, mit einer tief schwarzen Scheibe (*tlaxapochtli*) auf der Backe, in der oberen Hälfte gelb mit gekreuzter schwarzer Strichzeichnung, wie auf dem Stamme des Baumes des Nordens in dieser Handschrift. Immerhin weisen auch bei dieser Figur die blaue viereckige Brustplatte und der blaue Vogel auf der Halsschnur, — der hier mit seinem spitzen Schnabel fast wie ein Kolibri aussieht, — entschieden auf einen Feuergott hin.

Vor beiden Figuren, der des Codex Borgia und der des Vaticanus, sieht man einen mit Stricken umschnürten Henkeltopf, mit rundem Boden, in einem Strohkranze aufgestellt. Ein Pulquetopf ist das nicht, ein Kochtopf auch nicht. Aber genau ebenso mit Stricken umschnürte, auf einem Strohkranze stehende Henkeltöpfe werden in der Tributliste und im Codex Mendoza verwendet, um einen Tribut von Honig zu bezeichnen.

Der dritte Himmelsträger, Blatt 51 unserer Handschrift, über dem das Zeichen *eecatl* „Wind" steht, und der der Himmelsgott des Ostens sein muss, ist *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott, in typischer Weise dargestellt, mit den rothen schnabelartig vorgezogenen, am Grunde von einem Barte umgebenen Mundtheilen, dem herausgetriebenen Auge, (dem Zeichen der Kasteiung), der kegelförmigen, halb schwarzen, halb rothen Mütze, die, wie auch sonst in unserer Handschrift am Grunde von einer mit Stufenmäandermuster versehenen Binde umgeben ist, in der die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agave-

1) Nach der Vorstellung der Mexikaner hängt der Kolibri in der trockenen Jahreszeit, im Winter, tot und ohne Federn an einem Baum und erwacht erst in der Regenzeit, im Sommer, wieder zu neuem Leben. Vgl. Sahagun, Buch 11, Kap. 2, § 2.

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Blattspitze (*uiztli*) stecken, mit dem Waldhuhnflügel am Nacken (*coxoliio uei itepol*), dem aus Muschelschale geschliffenen hakenförmigen Ohrgehänge (*epcololli*) und dem grossen, aus einem spiralgewundenen Meerschneckengehäuse geschliffenen Brustschmucke (*ecailacatzcozcatl*).

Die Parallelfigur des Codex Vaticanus habe ich in Abb. 109 wiedergegeben. Der Gott ist hier mit rother Farbe gemalt, aber im Uebrigen in ebenso typischer Weise gezeichnet und ausgestattet, wie der des Codex Borgia.

Quetzalcouatl ist der Gott der nach Osten wandert, der *tonatiuh iixco yaqui*, und ist deshalb wohl hier als der Himmelsträger des Ostens aufgeführt. Als Himmelsträger, oder vielleicht genauer, als Träger des *ilhuicaatl*, des Himmelswassers, des Meeres, erscheint er auch auf einem Blatte der Bilderhandschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien, 47 der Kingsboroug'schen Ausgabe, wo daneben die beiden Daten 2 *quiauitl*, 10 *calli* und 2 *olin*, 8 *tecpatl* angegeben sind. Und ein Himmelsträger, ein „sostenedor del cielo", ein „tenedor del tapete de caña", war wohl auch der als Karyatide gearbeitete *Quetzalcouatl*, der bei den Ausgrabungen in der Calle de las Escalerillas, am Orte des grossen Tempels, in México in zwei Exemplaren gefunden worden ist.[1])

Der letzte Himmelsträger, der der des Nordens sein muss, Blatt 52 unserer Handschrift, ist *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott. Er ist durch das Zeichen *maçatl* „Hirsch" bezeichnet, das über ihm angegeben ist, und einen vom Speere getroffenen Hirsch sieht man auch, ihm gegenüber, gezeichnet. Gerade das ist einer der Umstände, die es mir bestätigen, dass ich Recht hatte, die Figuren so, wie ich es gethan, mit den Himmelsrichtungen in Verbindung zu bringen. Denn den vom Speere getroffenen braunen Hirsch fanden wir ja Blatt 22 unserer Handschrift und in einer Parallelfigur des Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 229—301) mit den Zeichen der Anfangssäule des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Viertel, d. h. den Zeichen des Nordens, verbunden. — Der Todesgott selbst ist hier ganz als Skelett und in der Weise, wie er sonst in unserer Handschrift dargestellt wird, abgebildet. Eine Besonderheit ist nur, dass er gewissermassen als *tlacatecolotl*, d. h. mit Käuzchenflügeln an den Armen, erscheint, und dass er, gleich den anderen Himmelsträgern, als Kreuzspiegel, als *tezcacuitlapilli*, auf dem hinteren Knoten seiner Schambinde den Kopf des *coxcoxtli*- oder Türkisvogels trägt. Ein weisses Räuchergefäss steht vor ihm, mit einer Kautschukkugel darin, — ein Zeichen, dass auch dieser Todesgott des Nordens (was ja allerdings auch schon durch das Zeichen *maçatl* „Hirsch nahe gelegt ist) als Feuer aufgefasst sein soll. Die Parallelfigur des Vaticanus habe ich in Abb. 110 wiedergegeben. Auch vor diesem Todesgotte des Vaticanus sieht man den vom Pfeile getroffenen Hirsch und die Kautschukkugel, das Zeichen des Feuers oder des Feueropfers, angegeben.

Wie den vier Bäumen in den unteren Hälften der Blätter 49—52 unserer Handschrift, die die Himmelsrichtungen veranschaulichen, auf der rechten Seite des Blattes 53 ein fünfter Baum hinzugefügt war, der die fünfte Weltgegend oder die Mitte der Welt bezeichnen sollte, so ist auch hier den vier Himmelsträgern, die an den vier Enden der Welt den Himmel stützen, auf derselben rechten Seite des Blattes 53 ein fünftes Bild hinzugefügt, das der fünften Weltgegend oder der Mitte entspricht. Das ist nun aber nicht ein fünfter Himmelsträger, — denn diese Atlanten gehören ihrer Natur nach an die Enden der Erde, — aber den Himmelsträgern entsprechend, die ja, wie ich oben ausführte, eigentlich wohl Sterngottheiten sind, ist hier gewissermassen ein Stern, d. h. ein *tzitzimitl*, ein *tzontemoc*, ein von oben Herabkommender, dem Beschauer vorgeführt. Denn man sieht eine mit weiss und rother Schambinde bekleidete menschliche Gestalt, die das Haar, das über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelt, von einer Binde aus weissem Rindenpapiere umwickelt hat, kopfüber in einen gewissermassen heraldisch ausgebildeten, gleichsam in einen Feuerherd, einen von Zinnen umschlossenen Behälter, transformirten Erdrachen stürzen.

Von den vier Erdgottheiten, die auf unseren Blättern die vier Himmelsträger begleiten, steht als erster, auf Blatt 49, neben *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem Himmelsträger des Westens, der Gott *Xipe Totec*, „Unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Frühlingsgott, der Gott der Vegetation, über den ich S. 167—180

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1) Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 847 und 848, 849.

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des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen ausführlich gesprochen habe. Er ist in typischer Weise dargestellt, fast genau so, wie er z. B. auf Blatt 25 unserer Handschrift als Herr der ersten Venusperiode und Regent des Westens erscheint, und wie ich ihn S. 178—180 des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen beschrieben habe, und er trägt auch hier, wie auf dem Blatte 25 unserer Handschrift, eine Wachtel, das sternhimmelartig gezeichnete Thier auf der über der Brust herabhängenden Blumenkette. Eine Besonderheit ist nur, dass er neben der weiss und rothen Binde mit schwalbenschwanzartig (*maxaliuhqui*) ausgeschnittenem Ende, die hier, wie allgemein bei den *Xipe*-Figuren des Codex Borgia, seinen Gürtel bildet, noch das *tzapocueitl*, das Weiberröckchen aus grünen Zapoteblättern trägt. Und eine Besonderheit sind ferner die Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-)

Abb. 112. *Xipe Totec*, „Unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Frühlingsgott, der Gott der Vegetation, Erdgott des Westens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 19 (= Kingsborough 67).

Abb. 113. *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott, Erdgott des Südens. Codex Vaticanus 3373, Blatt 20 (= Kingsborough 68.)

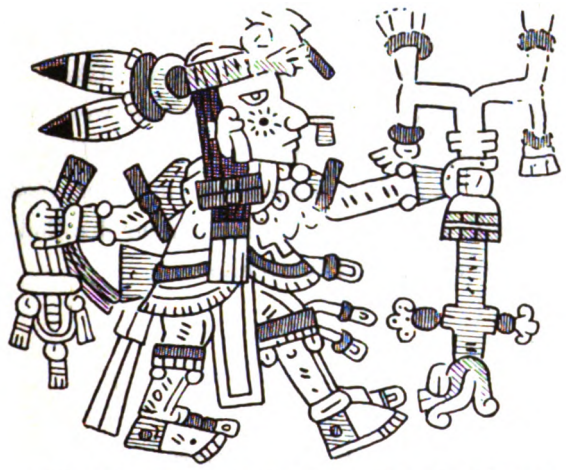

Abb. 114. *Xochipilli*, der junge Gott der Blumen und der Lebensmittel, Erdgott des Ostens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 21 (= Kingsborough 69).

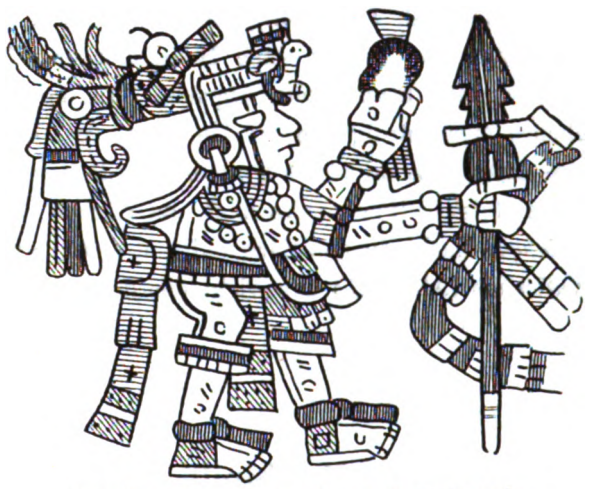

Abb. 115. *Cinteotl*, der Maisgott, Erdgott des Nordens. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 22 (= Kingsborough 70).

Bänder, die von den Händen der Menschenhaut, die er trägt, herabhängen, sowie die in einander gedrehten Edelstein-Schnüre, die, die eine blau (in der Farbe des Türkises), die andere grün (in der Farbe des Jadeïts) gemalt, aus seinem Munde hervorkommen, sowie dass auch sein Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) blau, in der Farbe des Türkises, gemalt und mit Blumen besetzt ist. — Der Figur des Codex Borgia entspricht in der ganzen Ausstattung ziemlich genau das Parallelbild des Codex Vaticanus, das ich in der Abb. 112 wiedergegeben habe, nur dass natürlich die ganze Figur etwas anders, in der Art der Figuren dieser Handschrift, gezeichnet ist.

Neben dem Feuergotte des Südens, dem zweiten Himmelsträger, auf Blatt 50 unserer Handschrift

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und an der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 113), sieht man *Mictlantecutli*, den Todesgott, als Erdgott des Südens dargestellt. Er trägt auch, wie die anderen Figuren der Reihe, das *chicauaztli*, den Rasselstab, der bei ihm natürlich (feuer- bezw. blut-) rother Farbe ist. Eine Ohreule, ein Käuzchen, ist neben ihm abgebildet, das auf einer nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichneten rothen Blutschlange sitzt.

Als Erdgott des Ostens erscheint auf Blatt 51, neben *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Himmelsträger des Ostens, ein hellgelb an Leib und Gliedern und im Gesichte gemalter Gott mit feuerfarbenem Haare, das über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelt und an den Enden *malinalli* artig, aber in buntgemalten Blüthenköpfchen, endet, mit einem Krieger-Kopfschmucke auf dem Scheitel und einem grossen, in Quetzalfedern endenden Federschmucke am Hinterkopfe, der nach Art des Kopfschmuckes des Sonnengottes mit Adlerfederdaunen verziert ist, und auf der Brust eine Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Platte tragend, von der drei *chalchiuitl*-Riemen herabhängen. Der ganze Habitus der Figur, insbesondere auch der zuletzt genannte Schmuck, machen es gewiss, dass wir in ihr ein Abbild *Xochipilli*'s, des jungen Gottes der Zeugung und der Lebensmittel, zu erkennen haben. Und dem entspricht auch, dass er in der einen Hand neben der Kopaltasche (*copalxiquipilli*) einen Blüthenzweig, in der anderen statt des Rasselstabes (*chicauaztli*), den die anderen Figuren dieser Reihe haben, einen Blüthenbaum hält. — Die Parallelfigur des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 114) entspricht auch hier ziemlich genau dem Codex Borgia-Bilde.

Als letzte Figur der Reihe, als Erdgott des Nordens, ist auf unserem Blatte 52, neben dem Todesgotte, dem Himmelsträger des Nordens, merkwürdiger Weise *Cinteotl*, der Maisgott, abgebildet. Er ist natürlich gelber Farbe und hat die eigenthümliche, rechtwinkling gebrochene schwarze Doppellinie im Gesichte, die — augenscheinlich ein Symbol der in Felder getheilten Ackererde — das besondere Charakteristikum des Maisgottes in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe ist und z. B. genau so bei dem Maisgotte, dem vierten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, auf Blatt 14 unserer Handschrift zu sehen ist. Er trägt hier über dem Kopfriemen mit dem stylisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirnseite das von Dunkel umgebene Auge, das Sternauge, das *Quetzalcouatl*, *Tlaloc*, *Xolotl* und *Xochipilli* auf dem Scheitel haben, und das Doppelpaar von Edelsteinriemen, das bei *Xochipilli* und den ihm verwandten Gestalten (z. B. *Uenecoyotl*), und gelegentlich auch beim Sonnengotte, von der Kopfbinde ausstrahlend gezeichnet ist. In der einen Hand hält er seinen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) rother Farbe, hat damit aber zugleich eine Blumenkette gepackt. In der anderen hält er ein Wurfbrett (*atlatl*). Das letztere ist ebenso merkwürdig wie der Umstand, dass der Maisgott hier im Norden steht. Wir müssen wohl voraussetzen, dass er, als Erdgott des Nordens, nur als Stellvertreter, der Repräsentant einer anderen Gottheit gemeint ist. Man denke z. B. an *Cinteotl*, den Sohn der *Toci* oder *Teteo innan*, der mit der *itztlacoliuhqui*-Maske in den Zärimonien des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes eine Rolle spielt. — Die Parallelfigur des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 115) entspricht der des Codex Borgia in allen wesentlichen Einzelheiten.

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17. Xochipilli, der Gott der Lust, und sein Zeichen.

Blatt 53 (= Kingsborough 62) obere Hälfte der linken Blattseite.

Die rechte Hälfte des Blattes 53 unserer Handschrift ist von den beiden Darstellungen eingenommen, die sich an die Reihe der Weltgegenden und ihrer Gottheiten und der der vier Stützen des Himmels und ihrer Begleiter schliessen. Und die untere Hälfte der linken Blattseite wird von dem Anfangsbilde der folgenden, fünf Bilder umfassenden Reihe der Venusperioden in Anspruch genommen. So blieb in der linken oberen Ecke des Blattes ein Quadrant frei. Diesen hat der Zeichner mit einem Bilde ausgefüllt, das auf dem letzten Blatte des Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 wiederholt ist (vgl. Abb. 116), und das ich deshalb in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus schon einmal besprochen habe, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung aber, wie ich dort schon hervorhob, erst aus unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde ersichtlich ist.

Das Bild stellt einen Hirsch (*maçatl*) dar, der durch das braune, haarige Fell, die paarigen Hirschklauen und die beiden Geweihhälften über der Stirngegend deutlich gekennzeichnet ist, der aber

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hier en face und mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen gezeichnet und von den zwanzig Tageszeichen der Mexikaner in der Weise umgeben ist, dass die einzelnen Tageszeichen mehr oder minder deutlich bestimmten Körpertheilen zugeschrieben werden, also ein Fall, den wir in ähnlicher Weise schon einmal auf dem Blatte 17 unserer Handschrift bei der grossen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur angetroffen haben (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 280—283). Der Hirsch ist aber hier nicht einfach als Thier gezeichnet, sondern augenscheinlich als Verkleidung des Gottes, der durch eine gelbe obere, eine rothe untere Gesichtshälfte und eine den Mund umgebende weisse Schmetterlingsfigur gekennzeichnet ist, d. h. *Xochipilli*'s, gedacht; denn diese Elemente der Gesichtsbemalung *Xochipilli*'s schauen aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Hirsches heraus, und sie werden flankirt von einem Paar Menschenohren — die nur kurioser Weise noch mit einem Auge versehen, also in ein Gesicht transformirt sind —, in denen ein weiss und blauer Ohrpflock steckt,

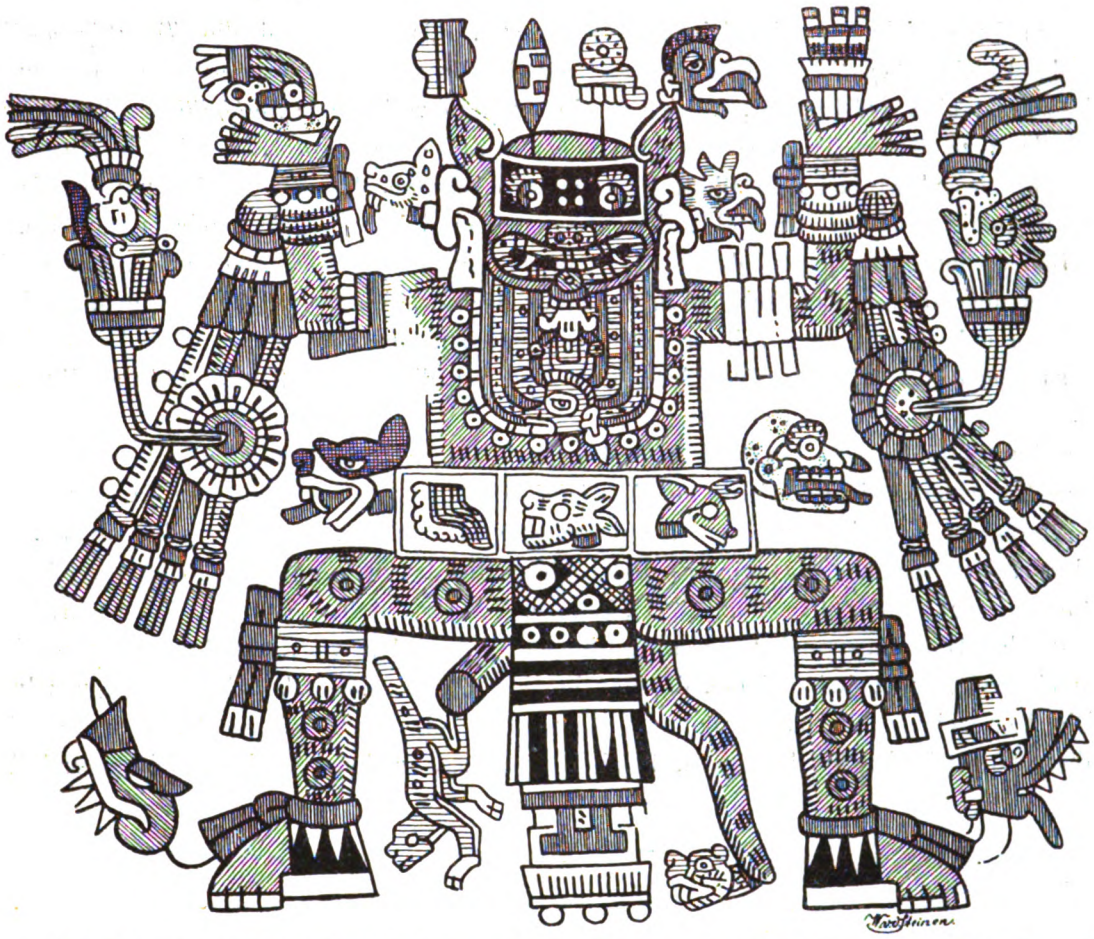

Abb. 116. *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust und seine Zeichen. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 96 (= Kingsborough 1).

und von denen ein schweres Gehänge in Gestalt eines mit blauer Farbe gemalten Strahles herabhängt, genau der Form, wie es auf Blatt 22 unserer Handschrift der weisse tote Hirsch des Ostens und auf Blatt 10 unserer Handschrift *Ueuecoyotl*, die Verkörperung des vierten Tageszeichens, der Tanzgott, trägt.

Die Reihe der Tageszeichen beginnt, wie bei der grossen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur des Blattes 17 unserer Handschrift, an dem einen Fusse, unter dem wir den Kopf des *cipactli*'s, das erste Tageszeichen, angegeben finden. Dann folgt unter dem anderen Fusse das zweite Tageszeichen *eecatl* „Wind", auf der Schambinde das dritte, *calli* „Haus" und, wie bei der *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur des Blattes 17, das vierte Tageszeichen, *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse", das — wie ich nachgewiesen habe — in der That den Schreibern dieser Bilderschriften das Zeichen der Unkeuschheit war, am Penis. Dann weiter an dem Schwanze des Thieres das fünfte Zeichen, *couatl* „Schlange", und auf einem queren weissen Schilde, das über die Schenkel und die Kniee gelegt ist, das sechste bis zehnte Zeichen: *miquiztli* „Tod", *maçatl* „Hirsch", *tochtli* „Kaninchen", *atl* „Wasser", *itzcuintli* „Hund". Und dann in der Mitte des Leibes, gross und schön gezeichnet, das

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Zeichen *oçomàtli* „Affe“, — offenbar weil dieses Thier den Schreibern dieser Handschriften die Verkörperung des Wesens dieser Gottheit darstellte, wie denn in der That auch in der Reihe der Tageszeichen, die wir auf den Blättern 9—13 unserer Handschrift und in parallelen Darstellungen des Codex Vaticanus kennen gelernt haben, *Xochipilli*, der Gott mit der weissen Schmetterlingsfigur um den Mund, der Vertreter des eilften Tageszeichens *oçomàtli* „Affe“ ist. Das zwölfte und dreizehnte Zeichen: *malinalli* „Grasstrick“ und *acatl* „Rohr“ stehen dann an den beiden Vorderfüssen, das vierzehnte und fünfzehnte: *ocelotl* „Jaguar“ und *quauhtli* „Adler“ an den beiden Ohren, das sechszehnte und siebzehnte: *cozcaquauhtli* „Geier“ und *olin* „Bewegung“ an den beiden Geweihhälften, das achtzehnte und neunzehnte: *tecpatl* „Feuersteinmesser“ und *quiauitl* „Regen“ auf den beiden Backen und das zwanzigste, *xochitl* „Blume“, wie bei der grossen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur des Blattes 17, im Munde.

Es sind demnach hier auf unserem Blatte 53 und auf dem Blatte 17 des Codex Borgia das erste und das letzte Tageszeichen an die gleiche Stelle gesetzt. Aber während die *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur des Blattes 17 das Zeichen *tecpatl* „Feuersteinmesser“ auf der Brust trägt, gewissermassen als Verkörperung seines Wesens, ist hier, auf Blatt 53, wo der in einen Hirsch verkleidete *Xochipilli* der Träger der Tageszeichen ist, das dem Wesen dieses Gottes entsprechende Zeichen *oçomàtli* „Affe“ in die Mitte des Leibes gesetzt. Und während wir auf dem Blatte 17 annehmen konnten, dass die Vertheilung der Tageszeichen auf die Körpertheile gewissen Ideen über die Zusammengehörigkeit von Tageszeichen und Körpertheilen oder die Beherrschung der einen durch die anderen entspreche, sind hier auf unserem Blatte 53, abgesehen von dem vierten Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse“, dessen Stellung an dem Penis offenbar eine gewollte und beabsichtigte ist, die anderen Tageszeichen nur so gruppiert, dass sie von dem *cipactli* am Fusse zu dem *oçomàtli* in der Mitte des Leibes und von diesem zu dem *xochitl* im Munde einfach überleiten.

Das Parallelbild des Codex Vaticanus, das ich hier in Abb. 116 wiedergebe, zeigt einen als Hirsch verkleideten Menschen. Die Beziehung auf *Xochipilli* lässt sich nur durch die vier weissen Kreise in der Mitte des schwarzen Stirnfeldes errathen, die das *tonallo* oder „Sommersonnen“- oder „Sommerblumen“-Emblem darzustellen scheinen, das wir aus den Bildern, die das Sahagun-Manuskript von *Macuil xochitl* und *Ixtlilton* gibt (vgl. oben S. 94, Abb. 60, 61), kennen. Ferner durch den grossen Edelsteinschmuck, den die Figur um den Hals trägt, und die grossen Blumen, die auf dem von ihren Armen herunterhängenden Federschmucke angebracht sind und die, die eine in einem Affen-, die andere in einem Quetzalvogelkopfe enden. Die Tageszeichen sind an ganz der gleichen Stelle angebracht wie an der Codex Borgia-Figur, doch ist die Symmetrie der Vertheilung, d. h. die Körperseite, an der sie stehen, nicht überall die gleiche.

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18. Die dreizehnmal fünf Venusperioden.

Blatt 53—54 (= Kingsborough 62, 61).

Die hier folgenden fünf Bilder unserer Handschrift, denen die Blätter 80—84 (= Kingsborough 17—13) des Codex Vaticanus und die fünf Bilder auf den Blättern 9—11 des Codex Bologna entsprechen, enthalten die wichtigen Darstellungen, aus denen, wie ich das seiner Zeit zuerst nachgewiesen habe[1]), auf das deutlichste hervorgeht, nicht nur dass den Verfassern dieser Bilderschriften, die zweifellos mexikanisch redenden Stämmen angehörten, die Venusperiode, der synodische Umlauf des Planeten Venus, die Zeit, die von einer Konjunktion dieses Gestirns bis zur gleichnamigen nächsten verfliesst, ebenso gut bekannt war, wie den Schreibern der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, sondern auch,

1) „Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe.“ Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 16. Juni 1898 [Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XXX, S. (346)—(383)]. Vgl. Seler, „Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde.“ Berlin (A. Asher & Co.) 1902. Band I. S. 618—667.

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dass die besonderen abergläubischen Vorstellungen, die jene alten Stämme mit diesem Gestirn verknüpften, bei den Mexikanern, wie den Maya-Stämmen, im Wesentlichen die gleichen waren.

Aus der gegebenen Grösse der synodischen Umlaufszeit des Planeten Venus, die im Mittel 583 Tage 22 Stunden 6 Minuten 40 Sekunden beträgt, aber von jenen alten Gelehrten etwas ungenau zu 584 Tagen angenommen wurde, ergab sich, da $584 = 29 \times 20 + 4$ ist, und die 4 in der 20, und zwar fünfmal, aufgeht, dass von den zwanzig Zeichen, die die Mexikaner zur Benennung der einander folgenden Tage verwendeten, nur fünf auf die Anfangstage dieser zu 584 Tagen angenommenen Perioden fielen. Wenn, beispielsweise, die erste Periode mit dem ersten Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil" begönne, so müsste die zweite mit dem fünften Zeichen *couatl* „Schlange", die dritte mit dem neunten Zeichen *atl* „Wasser", die vierte mit dem dreizehnten Zeichen *acatl* „Rohr", die fünfte mit dem siebzehnten Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung" beginnen, und der Anfangstag der sechsten würde wieder mit dem Zeichen *cipactli* zusammenfallen. Da ferner $584 = 44 \times 13 + 12$ ist, und die 12 in der 13 nicht aufgeht, so musste auf jede folgende Periode immer eine um eine Einheit verminderte Zahl fallen und erst nach dem Ablauf von dreizehn Perioden konnte es vorkommen, dass der Anfangstag einer Periode wieder dieselbe Zahl in seinem Namen enthielt, wie der einer der vorhergehenden Perioden. Aus diesen beiden Thatsachen folgte die weitere, dass erst 5×13 Perioden vergehen mussten, ehe der Fall wieder eintrat, dass der Anfangstag einer Periode mit demselben Zeichen und derselben Ziffer benannt wurde, wie der einer der vorhergehenden Perioden. So waren also durch den Umstand, dass die Mexikaner ihre Tage mittels einer Kombination von 13 Zahlen und 20 Zeichen benannten, und durch die für den Umlauf der Venus beobachtete Zeit von 584 Tagen, ganz von selbst zwei kleinere Zyklen von fünf und von dreizehn Perioden und ein grösserer Zyklus von 5×13 Perioden gegeben. Der erste, der Zyklus von fünf Perioden, umfasste die möglichen Variationen des Anfangszeichens. Er verglich sich also der Einheit von vier Jahren, für die das Gleiche zutraf, und die demnach auch, wie wir in einem in dem I. Theile dieser Erläuterungen besprochenen Abschnitte gesehen haben, in dem Leben und dem Kultus der Mexikaner und Mittelamerikaner eine besondere Rolle spielte. Der Zyklus von dreizehn Perioden besass die Eigenthümlichkeit, dass in ihm die Anfangstage der Perioden lauter verschiedene Zahlen in ihrem Namen hatten. Er verglich sich dem, was die älteren Archäologen eine Indiktion nannten, der Zahl von dreizehn Jahren, für die ebenfalls das Gleiche zutraf. Den grossen Zeitraum von 5×13 Venusperioden endlich muss man dem bekannten Zyklus von 4×13 oder 52 Jahren an die Seite stellen. Denn auch für diesen galt es, dass erst nach seinem Ablauf es wieder eintrat, dass der Anfangstag eines Jahres dasselbe Zeichen und dieselbe Zahl erhielt, wie der eines vorhergehenden. — Die Anfangstage der Perioden jenes grossen Zyklus würden darnach, wenn man als Anfangstag der ersten Venusperiode den Anfangstag des *Tonalamatl*'s setzt, sich in folgender Weise ordnen:

Die 13×5 Venusperioden. Tabelle I. (Wirkliche Folge.)

1.	9.	4.	12.	7.	2.	10.	5.	13.	8.	3.	11.	6. *cipactli*
13.	8.	3.	11.	6.	1.	9.	4.	12.	7.	2.	10.	5. *couatl*
12.	7.	2.	10.	5.	13.	8.	3.	11.	6.	1.	9.	4. *atl*
11.	6.	1.	9.	4.	12.	7.	2.	10.	5.	13.	8.	3. *acatl*
10.	5.	13.	8.	3.	11.	6.	1.	9.	4.	12.	7.	2. *olin*

wobei angenommen ist, dass zuerst von oben nach unten und dann von links nach rechts gelesen wird.

Die hier in den fünf Querreihen mit Zahl und Zeichen genannten Anfangstage der Venusperioden, d. h. die Anfangstage der Perioden, die immer um fünf Perioden von einander abstehen, die also immer dasselbe Zeichen in ihrem Namen enthalten, die sind es nun, die man auf den Blättern 53—54 unserer Handschrift und an den entsprechenden Stellen der anderen beiden Handschriften mit Zahl und Zeichen aufgeführt sieht. Nur ist die Ordnung, in der sie dort genannt sind, nicht die der obigen Liste, die der wirklichen Folge der Perioden entspricht. Schreibt man in ähnlicher Weise, wie vorhin, diese auf den Blättern 53—54 aufgeführten Anfänge der Venusperioden in Querreihen aus, so ergibt sich vielmehr folgende Ordnung:

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Die 13 × 5 Venusperioden. Tabelle II. (Schematische Aufzählung.)

(Blatt 53 unten links): — 1. 8. 2. 9. 3. 10. 4. 11. 5. 12. 6. 13. 7. *cipactli*
(„ 54 „ rechts): — 5. 12. 6. 13. 7. 1. 8. 2. 9. 3. 10. 4. 11. *couatl*
(„ 54 „ links): — 9. 3. 10. 4. 11. 5. 12. 6. 13. 7. 1. 8. 2. *atl*
(„ 54 oben „): — 13. 7. 1. 8. 2. 9. 3. 10. 4. 11. 5. 12. 6. *acatl*
(„ 54 „ rechts): — 4. 11. 5. 12. 6. 13. 7. 1. 8. 2. 9. 3. 10. *olin*

d. h. man hat in mehr schematischer Weise, wie die Tage jeder Querreihe in dem *Tonalamatl* hinter einander zu stehen kommen würden, diese einander folgen lassen.

So sieht man das sowohl in den fünf Abtheilungen der Blätter 53 und 54 unserer Handschrift, wie auf den entsprechenden Blättern des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 117, 119, 121, 123, 125). In noch schematischerer Weise, noch mehr bloss andeutungsweise, ist man im Codex Bologna verfahren. Dort sind (vgl. Abb. 118, 120, 122, 124, 126) die Tageszeichen vom ersten bis zwanzigsten abgebildet und mit den Ziffern, die den ersten zwanzig Tagen des *Tonalamatl*'s entsprechen. Aber die fünf Zeichen *cipactli*, *couatl*, *atl*, *acatl*, *olin* fallen aus der Reihe heraus, indem sie nicht mit den ihnen in der Reihe zukommenden Ziffern, sondern mit einer grossen Eins abgebildet sind. — Man sieht, wie sehr in dieser Beziehung diese mexikanischen Bilderschriften von den Maya-Handschriften abweichen. In den Maya-Handschriften ausgeführte Rechnungen, peinliche Genauigkeit in der Fixirung sowohl der Daten, wie ihrer Abstände. Hier in den mexikanischen Schriften nur eine Andeutung der wirklichen Arithmetik und jegliche Arithmetik überhaupt den Bildern gegenüber zurücktretend. Man hat den Eindruck, dass die mexikanischen Bilderschriften Bekanntes den Wissenden in Erinnerung bringen, die Maya-Handschriften Kenntnisse festhalten oder übermitteln.

In diesem besonderen Falle war übrigens dafür gesorgt, dass der Beschauer über das Verhältniss der schematischen Aufzählung zu der wirklichen Folge orientirt sein konnte. Wir sehen in sämmtlichen fünf Quadranten, die für die Darstellungen dieser Reihe in Anspruch genommen sind, — und so auch an den entsprechenden Stellen des Vaticanus — theils am oberen, theils am unteren Rande der Felder drei Tageszeichen angegeben, die den Abstand des Anfangszeichens der einen Venusperiode bis zu dem der nächstfolgenden anzeigen, von jenem zu diesem hinüberleiten. Ausserdem sieht man im Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 117, 119, 121, 123, 125) auf jedem der fünf Blätter oben links fünf dicht neben einander gezeichnete, aus einer Scheibe, einem Trapez und einer Art Schlangenzunge bestehende Gebilde, die auf den ersten beiden Blättern blau, auf dem dritten gelb, auf dem vierten blau und auf dem fünften wieder gelb gemalt sind. Diese Gebilde, die etwas an die Art erinnern, wie in den historischen mexikanischen Bilderschriften die Jahre durch Türkisscheiben und Ausstrahlungen nach oben wiedergegeben werden, können kaum etwas anderes als fünf Perioden bezeichnen, und müssen, so meine ich, Perioden sein, die, gleich den drei Tageszeichen, einen Abstand angeben. Es sind, das ist mir zweifellos, die fünf Perioden, die in Wirklichkeit zwischen den Perioden liegen, deren Anfänge in der schematischen Aufzählung dieser Blätter einander folgen. In der That, es folgt z. B. in dem ersten Quadranten auf dem Blatte 53 links unten (und so auch in Abb. 117) auf den Tag 1 *cipactli*, den Anfangstag der ersten Venusperiode, der Tag 8 *cipactli*, und das ist, wie ein Blick auf die Tabelle I lehrt, der Anfangstag der sechsten auf die erste folgenden, d. h. einer von ihr durch fünf Perioden getrennten Periode.

Wenn es nun in der That zweifellos ist, dass auf diesen fünf Blättern die Anfangstage der 13 × 5 Venusperioden in korrekter, für den Wissenden vollständig verständlicher Weise niedergeschrieben sind, so ergibt sich weiter aus dieser Niederschrift, wie auch in gleicher Weise an anderen Stellen unserer Handschriften, an denen Anfangstage von Venusperioden genannt sind, dass im Gegensatze zu den Jahren, deren Anfangstage zu keiner Zeit auf den *Tonalamatl*-Anfang fallen, die Venusperioden von dem Anfange des *Tonalamatl*'s aus gezählt wurden. Richtiger muss man das wohl ausdrücken, dass man die Zählung der Tage des *Tonalamatl*'s mit den Venusperioden in Uebereinstimmung gebracht hat. Denn die Venusperioden sind gegebene Zeiten, der Anfang des *Tonalamatl*'s ist zu irgend einer Zeit einmal willkürlich festgesetzt worden. Der Tag, wo das Gestirn am Himmel die Stellung einnahm, die man als den Anfangspunkt seiner Laufbahn betrachtete, der ist zu irgend einer Zeit einmal als der erste Tag des *Tonalamatl*'s gewählt worden. Die verwandtschaftliche Beziehung des *Tonalamatl*'s zu der Venusperiode,

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auf die ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, im ersten Kapitel, S. 17, schon aufmerksam gemacht habe, springt auch hier in die Augen.

In den fünf Quadranten der Blätter 53 und 54 unserer Handschrift, auf denen also in der oben näher bezeichneten Weise die 13×5 Perioden der Venus verzeichnet sind, sehen wir, fünfmal wiederholt, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, die Gottheit des Planeten Venus, in der Ausstattung, in der wir ihn z. B. auf Blatt 16 unserer Handschrift als den vierten der zweiten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 255ff.) und in dem sechszehnten Kapitel dieser Erläuterungen (vgl. Blatt 48 oben rechts und oben S 129) als ersten der vier Himmelsträger kennen gelernt haben, dargestellt. Allerdings ist er hier, auf den Blättern 53, 54 unserer Handschrift, in seiner typischen Bemalung und Ausstattung nur in dem ersten Quadranten, auf Blatt 53 unserer Handschrift, zu sehen, und auch hier, abweichend von den Vorkommnissen an den beiden anderen angegebenen Stellen, mit einem Schädel, an Stelle eines Menschengesichtes, gleich dem Gotte des Morgensterns, den wir in der Mitte des Blattes 45 unserer Handschrift auf der Schädelestrade kniend sahen. Aber die Farbe des Leibes und der Glieder ist auch hier, wie an den oben genannten Stellen, in der eigenthümlichen Weise variirt, dass der Rumpf und die Beine weiss und roth gestreift (*tlauauantli*), die Arme aber in einer Art *cicitlalli* oder Sternhimmelbemalung angegeben sind, mit weissen Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde. Der Schädel, der den Kopf der Figur bildet, ist auch, — gleich dem Menschengesichte der Figuren an den anderen beiden Stellen, — schwarz mit zwei schmalen tiefschwarzen Querstreifen in der Höhe des Mundes und des Auges gezeichnet und mit dem Quincunx weisser Flecke, der Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 254) versehen. Das Haar ist feuerfarben, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnd und von einem rothen Lederstreifen umschlungen, dem zwei spitzeiförmige, weisse (an der Spitze roth gefärbte) Platten aufgesetzt sind, die wohl Schliffe von Muschelschalen darstellen. Der Ohrpflock ist weiss. Der Brustschmuck der weisse, oben mit einem Lederriemen umwundene Ring (*anauatl*), das Abbild des Auges, der Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s. Seine Federkrone aber, sowie das Feder-*quemitl*, das über den Rücken hängt, bestehen in der Hauptsache aus den schwarzen, an der Spitze mit einem weissen Endflecke versehenen Federn, den Schwanzfedern des Truthahns, die auch in der Figur, die der Codex Telleriano-Remensis von *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem Herrn des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, gibt (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 252, Abb. 432), seine Krone bilden. Seine Schambinde endlich ist die farbige, mit einem Vorstosse von Adlerfedern versehene, die man häufig in den Bildern des Feuergottes, des Sonnengottes und anderer lichter Götter angegeben findet.

In den vier anderen Quadranten aber, die das Blatt 54 unserer Handschrift füllen, in denen die je dreizehn Reihen der zweiten, dritten, vierten und fünften Venusperiode dem Beschauer vorgeführt sind, sind die Bilder des Gottes, augenscheinlich den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend, die durch diese vier Perioden repräsentirt werden, mit verschiedenen Farben angegeben, und zwar ist der Gott der zweiten Periode (Blatt 54 rechts unten) mit blauer, der der dritten (Blatt 54 links unten) mit rother, der der vierten (Blatt 54 links oben) mit gelber (rothgestreifter), und der der fünften (Blatt 54 rechts oben) mit weisser, rothgestreifter Farbe gemalt. Ausserdem aber ist in den Figuren dieser vier Quadranten der Gott zwar im Uebrigen in genau derselben Ausstattung, wie in der des ersten Quadranten auf Blatt 53, dargestellt, aber der Kopf ist durch einen anderen Kopf ersetzt: — bei dem Gotte der zweiten Periode durch einen Eulenkopf (*tecolotli*), bei dem der dritten durch den Kopf eines Hundes (*itzcuintli*), bei dem der vierten durch den Kopf eines Kaninchens (*tochtli*), bei dem der vierten durch einen Schädel weisser Farbe. — Auch das muss in der Verschiedenheit der Himmelsrichtungen seinen Grund haben, die man mit den Regenten der vier bezw. der fünf Venusperioden in Verbindung setzte. Welches sind nun diese Himmelsrichtungen?

Von vornherein ist man ja natürlich geneigt, den sakralen Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte, — den wir oben noch auf den Blättern 47 und 48 und den unteren Hälften der Blätter 49—53 unserer Handschrift befolgt sahen, auch hier anzunehmen, also die Reihe der fünf Venusperioden und ihrer Regenten mit dem Osten zu beginnen. Dem widerspricht aber eine Beobachtung, die wir schon gemacht haben. Wir sind der Reihe der fünf Venusperioden und ihrer Regenten im Codex Borgia schon einmal begegnet. Das war auf dem Blatte 25, das uns die Regenten

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der fünf Venusperioden, — oder genauer die der vier ersten Venusperioden, denn die fünfte war nur durch ihr Anfangsdatum repräsentirt, – nicht in der Weise, wie wir es hier auf unseren Blättern 53, 54 sehen, durch Bilder der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, sondern durch die von vier besonderen Gottheiten vor Augen führt, — Bilder, die in gewisser Weise den Gottheiten entsprechen, die die Dresdener Maya-Handschrift auf den berühmten Blättern 46—50, auf denen in derselben Weise wie auf den Codex Borgia-Blättern, die wir jetzt besprechen, die dreizehnmal fünf Venusperioden dargestellt sind, als Regenten der fünf Venusperioden abbildete (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 327—336). Auf dem Blatte 25 unserer Handschrift fanden wir als Regenten der ersten Periode *Xipe Totec* angegeben, den wir als Gott des Westens ansehen müssen, und als Regenten der vierten Periode *Mixcouatl*, den Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, der zweifellos der Gott des Nordens ist. Wir mussten darnach schliessen, dass die Reihe der Venusperioden nicht mit dem Osten, sondern mit dem Westen begonnen wird, — eine Abweichung von dem sakralen Turnus, die wahrscheinlich dadurch gekommen ist, dass die astronomischen Beobachtungen, die zur Feststellung des synodischen Umlaufs der Venus und der Tage führte, mit denen die einander folgenden Perioden beginnen, zunächst an dem Abendsterne gemacht wurden. Haben ja doch auch die Tempel, die der Gottheit des Planeten Venus gewidmet waren, — ich habe als solche die sogenannte „Casa del adivino“ oder „Casa del enano“ in *Uxmal* und das Ostgebäude der „Casa de las Monjas“ in *Uxmal* nachgewiesen[1]) — ihre Front dem Westen zugekehrt.

Ist das aber in der That der Fall, so würden wir auch hier vermuthen müssen, dass der weisse (*tlauauantli*) und *cicitlallô* gemalte *Tlauizcalpantecutli* des linken unteren Quadranten des Blattes 53, der Gott der ersten Venusperiode, den Westen, der blau gemalte eulenköpfige Gott der zweiten Venusperiode in dem rechten unteren Quadranten des Blattes 54 den Süden, der rothe hundsköpfige Gott der dritten Periode in dem linken unteren Quadranten den Osten, der gelbe kaninchenköpfige Gott der vierten Venusperiode im linken oberen Quadranten den Norden, und der weisse Gott der fünften Periode in dem rechten oberen Quadranten des Blattes 54, der einen weissen Schädel als Kopf trägt, die fünfte Weltgegend oder die Mitte bezeichnen müsse. Man wird mir zugeben, dass die Vertheilung der Farben und die Thiermasken einigermassen diese Theorie rechtfertigen. Denn den Süden haben wir ja als Region des Todesgottes kennen gelernt, dem der Eulenkopf entsprechen würde. Der Osten ist das Land der Sonne und das *Tlatlayan*, „wo es brennt“, dazu würde die rothe Farbe und der Hund, das Thier des Feuergottes, vortrefflich stimmen. Der Norden ist die Region der Erde; das würde durch die gelbe Farbe und das Kaninchen veranschaulicht werden. Und die Mitte das Oben und das Unten, der Himmel und die Unterwelt, das würde in dem weissen Gotte mit dem weissen Schädel als Kopfe seinen Ausdruck gefunden haben können. Wir werden unten sehen, dass vor allem auch die Vertheilung der Nebenfiguren sich mit der oben angegebenen Beziehung zu den Himmelsrichtungen sehr gut vereinen lässt.

Nun müssen wir aber erst noch einen Blick auf die entsprechenden Figuren der Parallelstellen werfen. Im Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 117, 119, 121, 123, 125) ist der Regent der Venusperioden auf allen fünf Blättern annähernd ident gezeichnet. Eine der Verschiedenheit der Beziehung auf die Himmelsrichtung entsprechende Farbenvariation fehlt ganz und gar. Wir sehen einen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der das Weisse (rothgestreifte, *tlauauantli*) und Schwarz (*cicitlallô*) der Körperbemalung der Codex Borgia-Figur in anderer Weise dadurch zum Ausdruck bringt, dass Rumpf und Schultern, die Schenkel oberhalb und unterhalb des Knies und die Füsse schwarz, die übrigen Theile der Arme und Beine weiss und gelb- (d. h. roth-) gestreift sind. Dem dunklen Gesichte fehlen die schmalen, schwarzen Querstreifen der Codex Borgia-Figur, aber der Quincunx weisser Flecke ist — in allerdings etwas unorganischer Weise, auf der einen Hälfte des Profilgesichts vollständig ausgeführt, — zur Anschauung gebracht. Das Haar ist auch von der Farbe des Feuers und züngelt über der Stirn in drei Locken auf. Die weissen Scheiben auf dem Lederriemen, der das Haar umgibt, haben nicht spitz eiförmige Gestalt, sondern die Form durchbohrter Scheiben. Auffällig ist ein der Lippenschlange *Tlaloc*'s ähnliches, aber mit gelber Farbe gemaltes Gebilde, das bald in einfacher, bald in doppelter Linie den unteren Augenrand umsäumt und über der

1) Archiv für Anthropologie, Band XXX (1903) S. 114.

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Nasenwurzel eine Schlinge zu bilden scheint und dort noch mit quastenförmigen Enden oder Fortsätzen versehen ist. Das ist ein Gebilde, das ich bei anderen Figuren dieser Handschriften noch nicht gefunden habe, das mich aber in auffallender Weise an einen Typus erinnert, der in Skulpturen und Bildwerken der Maya-Region hervortritt und eine bestimmte Gottheit bezeichnet, die der des Abend-

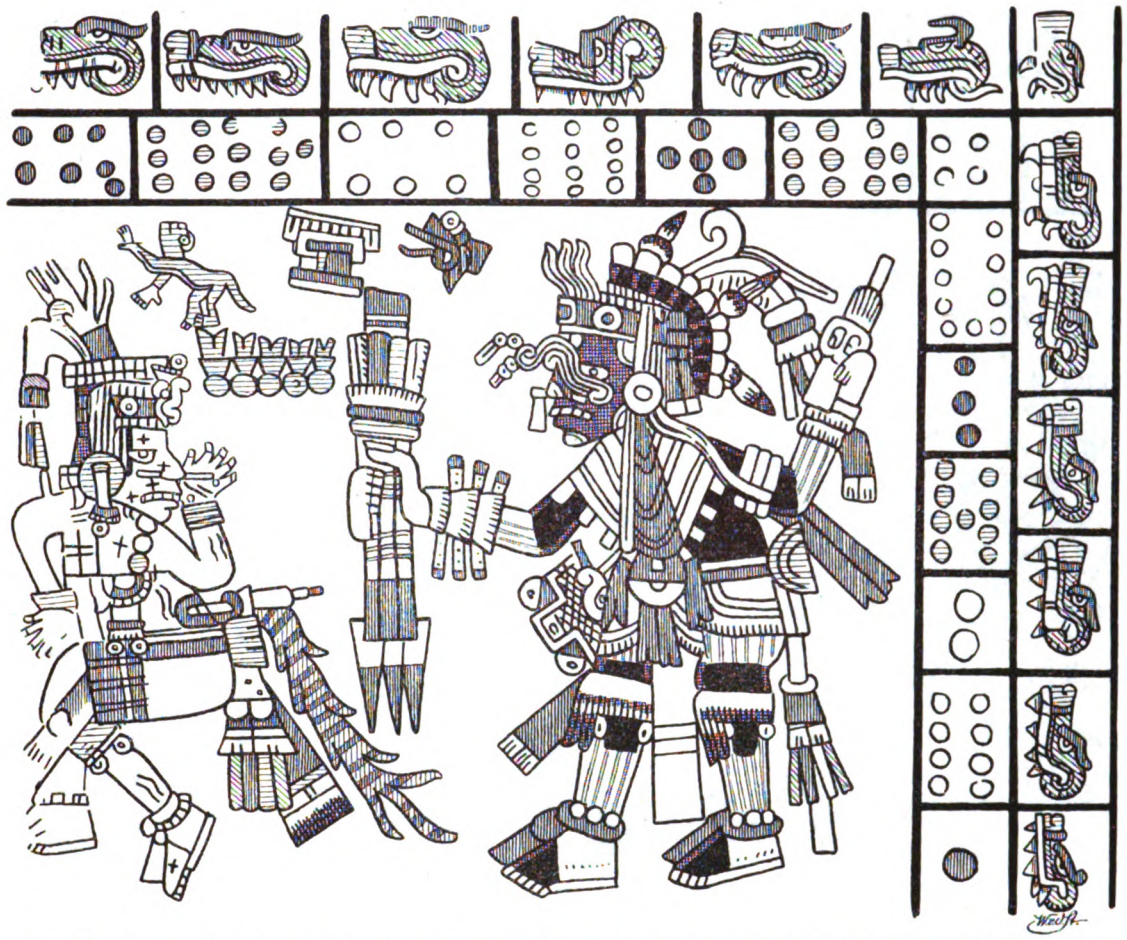

Abb. 117. *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* der Gott des Planeten Venus, den Speer gegen *Cinteotl,* den Maisgott, schleudernd. Codex Vaticanus, Blatt 80 (= Kingsborough 17).

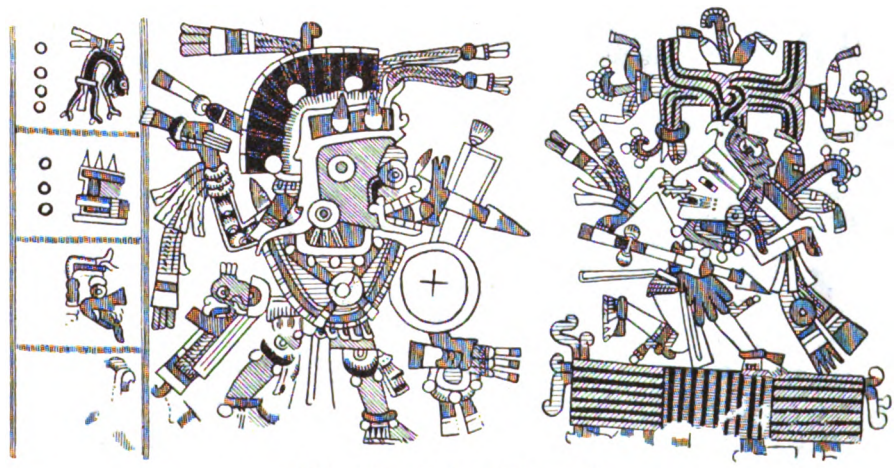

Abb. 118. Codex Bologna 9.

sternes nicht sehr fern stehen wird.[1]) Die Federkrone hat in den *Tlauizcalpantecutli*-Figuren des Codex Vaticanus das Ansehen eines kammförmigen, *patzactli*-artigen Schmuckes, besteht aber aus denselben

1) Vgl. Seler, Die alten Ansiedelungen von Chaculá im Distrikte Nenton des Departements Huehuetenango der Republik Guatemala. Berlin 1901, S. 89ff. und 177, 178.

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schwarzen, mit weissem Endflecke versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern, wie bei dem Gotte des Codex Borgia. Ueber ihnen ragen dann noch drei Adlerdaunenfederbüschel empor. Der Ohrpflock ist auch hier von weisser Farbe; der Brustschmuck ebenfalls der Ring *anauatl*, das Abbild des Auges. Vor diesem Brustschmucke trägt der Gott noch ein Auge mit dreitheiliger Ausstrahlung über der Braue, aus deren Zwischenräumen

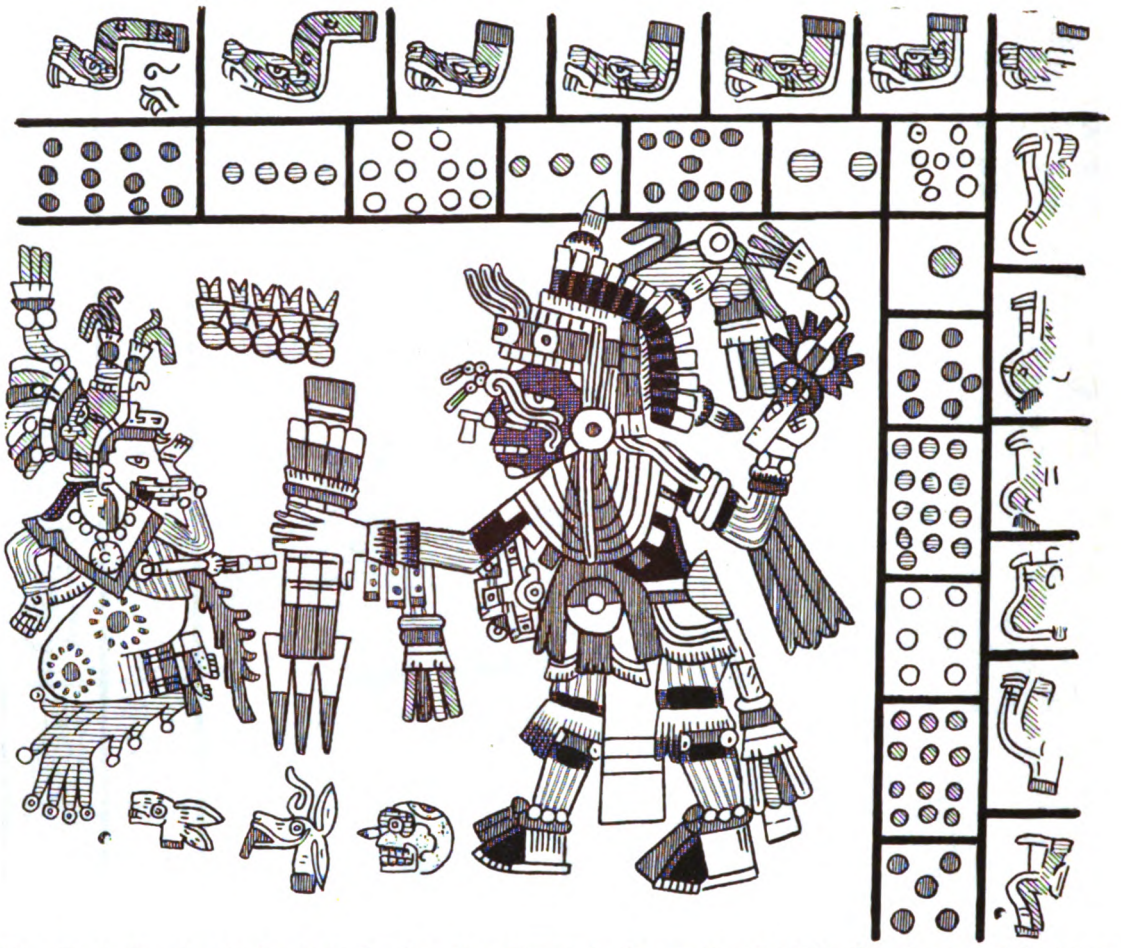

Abb. 119. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus, in der zweiten Periode, den Speer auf *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers schleudernd. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 81 (= Kingsborough 16).

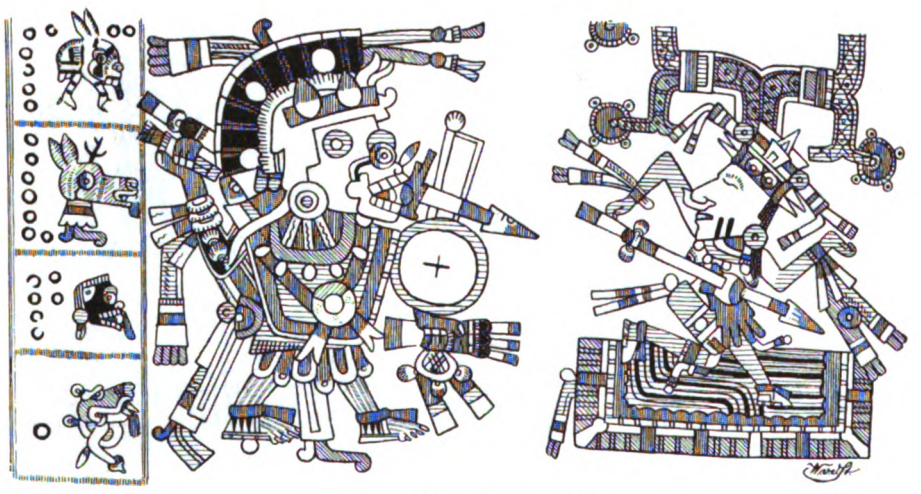

Abb. 120. Codex Bologna 9.

Augen hervorschiessen, also eine Art Stern- oder Strahlauge, das offenbar hier als Abbild des Gestirns selbst gedacht ist, wie wir ja ein solches Strahlauge auch als Halskragen bei dem *Tlauizcalpantecutli* des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 257, Abb. 445) angetroffen haben.

Die *Tlauizcalpantecutli*-Figuren des Codex Bologna (Abb. 118, 120, 122, 124, 126) haben sämmtlich einen

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Schädel als Kopf. Der Quincunx weisser Flecke auf dem Gesichte ist bei keiner der Figuren angegeben. Dagegen entspricht das feuerfarbene über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnde Haar, die spitz eiförmigen, in der unteren Hälfte weiss, in der oberen roth gemalten Platten, die der Lederkopfbinde aufgesetzt sind, der kammförmige Federkopfschmuck aus den schwarzen, mit weissem Endflecke versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern, der weisse Ohrpflock und das *anauatl* durchaus der Ausstattung der *Tlauizcalpantecutli*-Figuren der anderen beiden Handschriften. Wie die Figuren des Codex Borgia, unterscheiden sich auch die fünf Figuren des Codex Bologna von einander durch die Farbe, die sich bei ihnen sogar auch auf das Gesicht erstreckt. Die Variation der Farben scheint, beim ersten Anblick eine ganz andere zu sein als die, die uns in den Codex Borgia-Figuren entgegentritt. Es ergibt sich indes, — darauf habe ich später noch zurückzukommen, — aus den Nebenfiguren, oder vielmehr den der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, des Regenten der Venusperiode, gegenüberstehenden Figuren, dass den Regenten der ersten, zweiten, dritten, vierten, fünften Venusperiode des Codex Borgia, die zweite, fünfte, erste, vierte, dritte Figur des Codex Bologna entspricht. Und das Gleiche gilt für die Figuren des Codex Vaticanus. Es sind demnach, sowohl im Codex Bologna, wie im Vaticanus, die erste, zweite, dritte, vierte, fünfte Venusperiode, nicht, wie im Codex Borgia, auf den Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden und die Mitte, bezogen, sondern sind zu den Himmelsrichtungen in der Folge Osten, Westen, Mitte, Norden, Süden in Beziehung gesetzt. Gerade diese Differenz, der zu Folge also sowohl der Codex Bologna, wie der Vaticanus, ihre Venusperioden mit dem Osten beginnen, beweist mir, dass ich Recht hatte, für den Codex Borgia die Beziehung so, wie ich das oben angegeben habe, anzunehmen. Behält man nun dies im Auge, so zeigt sich, dass die Figur des Codex Bologna, die dem Westen entspricht, — es ist der Regent der zweiten Periode, Abb. 120, — dieselbe Farbe hat wie die entsprechende Figur des Codex Borgia (der Regent der ersten Periode in dem linken unteren Quadranten des Blattes 53), nämlich weiss (und rothgestreift) am Leib und an den Beinen (und weiss auch am Kopfe), aber *cicitlallô*, d. h. mit weissen Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde, auf den Armen. Die Figur des Codex Bologna, die dem Süden entspricht, — es ist die fünfte, Abb. 126, — ist blau wie die entsprechende des Codex Borgia (im rechten unteren Quadranten des Blattes 54). Die Figur des Codex Bologna, die dem Osten entspricht, die erste, Abb. 118, ist allerdings grün, während die entsprechende des Codex Borgia (im linken unteren Quadranten des Blattes 54) roth gemalt ist. Aber die Figur des Codex Bologna, die dem Norden entspricht, die vierte, Abb. 124, ist braun, d. h. dunkelgelb, was zu der gelben Farbe der entsprechenden Figur des Codex Borgia (im linken oberen Quadranten des Blattes 54) vollständig passt. Und die Figur des Codex Bologna, die der Mitte entspricht, die dritte, Abb. 122, ist hellgelb gemalt. Das können wir, gegenüber der dunkelgelben Bemalung der vorhergehenden Figur, dreist als Aequivalent der weissen Farbe der entsprechenden Codex Borgia-Figur (im rechten oberen Quadranten des Blattes 54) ansehen. Somit stimmt im Allgemeinen die Farbengebung der Codex Bologna-Figuren ganz gut zu der, die wir in den Bildern des Codex Borgia notirt haben. Zu bemerken ist noch, dass, ausser der weissen Figur des Westens, auch die grüne des Ostens und die dunkelgelbe des Nordens die Arme *cicitlallô*, d. h. mit weissen Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde gemalt haben. Bei den anderen beiden Figuren aber fehlt dieser Unterschied.

Die sämmtlichen Figuren der drei Handschriften sind nun, wie die der Regenten der fünf Venusperioden auf dem Blatte 25 unserer Handschrift und dem Parallelblatte des Codex Vaticanus, mit Speer und Wurfbrett bewaffnet. Die Figuren der Blätter 53, 54 unserer Handschrift und die des Codex Bologna schleudern den auf das Wurfbrett gelegten Speer. Die des Codex Vaticanus und die des Blattes 25 unserer Handschrift, und ebenso die der Blätter 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 333, Abb. 584) halten nur Wurfbrett und Speerbündel in der Hand. Das hat seinen Grund darin, dass der Planet Venus, der „grosse Stern“ (*uei citlalin* oder *citlalpol*), wie er genannt wurde, als der grosse Strahlenwerfer, d. h. als der schiessende Gott betrachtet wurde. Denn Sonnen-, Feuer-, Lichtstrahlen sind immer und überall als Speere oder als Pfeile betrachtet worden. *Miotli*, das von dem Substantivum *mitl* „Pfeil“ abgeleitete Abstraktum, oder *tona-miotli*, *tona-meyotl* ist im Mexikanischen terminus technicus für „Strahl“. Das „Schiessen“ des Morgensterns hat zu einer merkwürdigen Legende Veranlassung gegeben, die sich in dem zweiten Theile der Historia de Colhuacan y México, des bald

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als Codex Chimalpopoca, bald als Anales de Quauhtitlan bezeichneten Manuskriptes, finden, und von der ich eine Abschrift, die der in der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung enthaltenen Kopie jener Handschrift entnommen ist, meinem Freunde Dr. Walther Lehmann verdanke. Es wird dort die bekannte

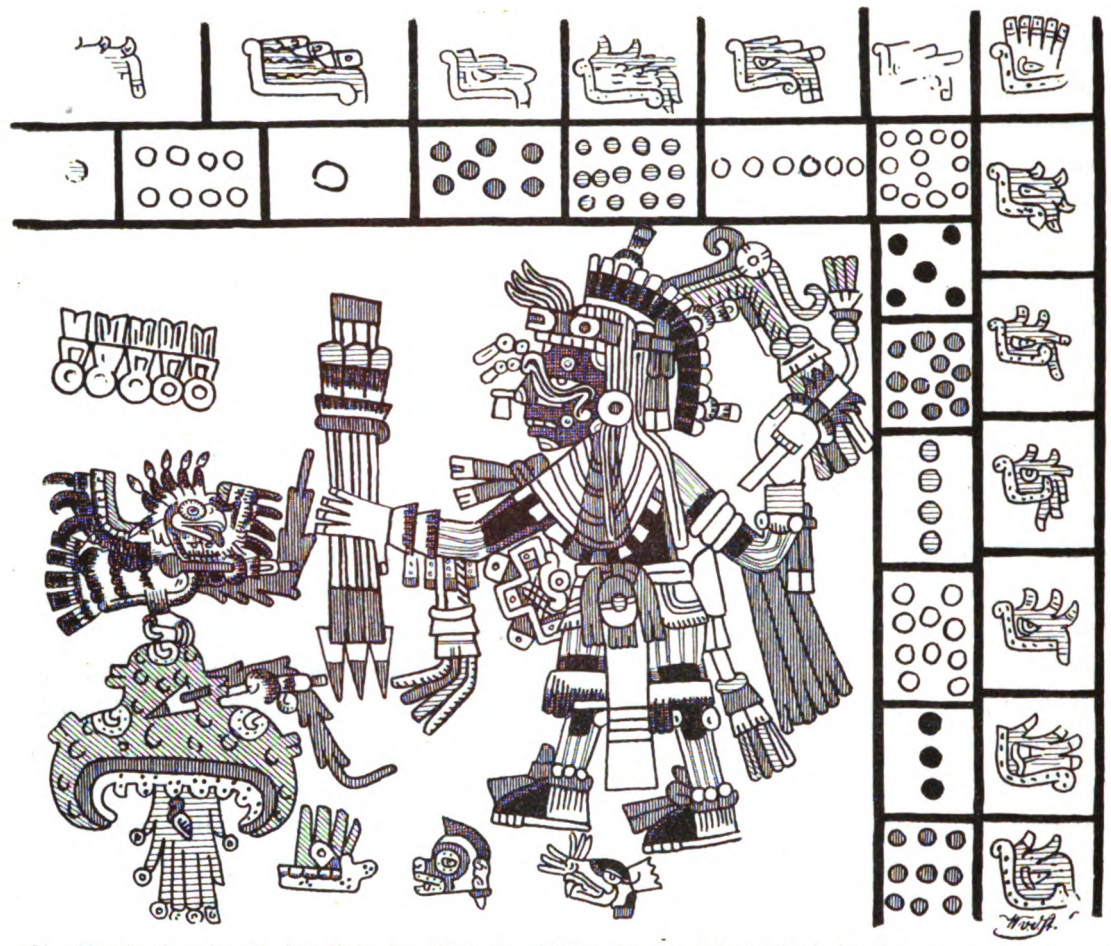

Abb. 121. *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* der Gott des Planeten Venus, in der dritten Periode, den Speer auf das *altepetl,* die Gemeinde- und die Kriegerschaft (*quauhyotl*), schleudernd. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 82 (= Kingsborough 15).

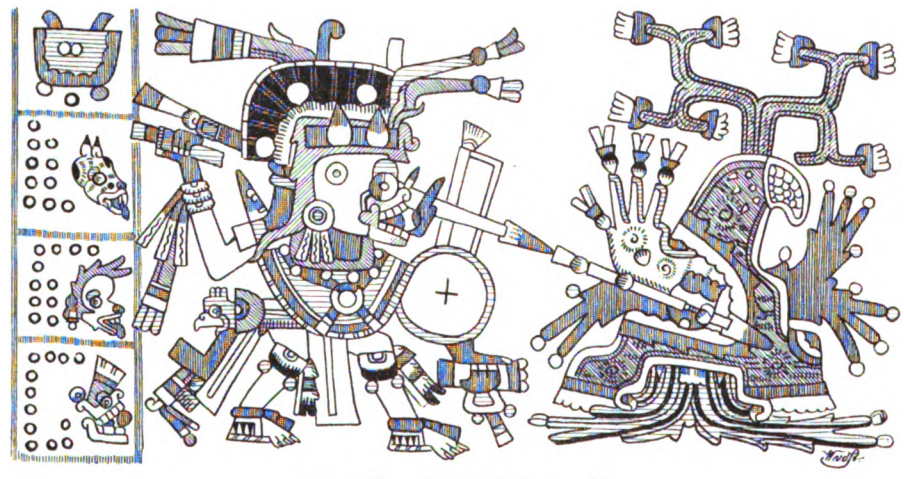

Abb. 122. Codex Bologna 10.

Geschichte erzählt, dass die eben geschaffene Sonne zunächst vier Tage am Himmel stehen bleibt und nicht weiter geht. Die bestürzten Götter schicken zuerst den Sperber (*tlotli*) aus, um zu fragen, weshalb die Sonne sich nicht weiter bewege, erhalten aber von dieser nur eine hochmüthige Abweisung. Da berathen die Götter weiter, und dann heisst es: —

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Niman ye mononotza in teteo
„darnach berathen die Götter“,
auh niman ye quallani in Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli ye quitva: —
und dann wird der Gott des Morgensterns zornig, er spricht: —
„Auh tleica ma nicmina? ma ça ce niman momanaco“
„warum soll ich sie nicht schiessen? sie soll nicht gleich vollkommen stehen bleiben“. —
Niman ye quimina, amo huel quimin
da schiesst er sie (die Sonne), konnte sie aber nicht schiessen (nicht treffen)
ye ye quimina in Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli
da schiesst sie (die Sonne) den Gott des Morgensterns
ye ic quimina in cueçalmamazço in imiuh Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott schiesst ihn mit seinen mit Ararafedern (mit Flammen) befiederten Pfeile,
auh niman ic quihualixtlapacho in Chiucnauhapan
und warf ihn mit dem Gesicht auf den Boden in das Neunwasser (den Strom der Unterwelt, oder in das Westmeer)
yuhqui ca yehuatl in Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli in cetl
„so ist der Gott des Morgensterns der (Gott der) Kälte. —

Darnach (weil im Kampfe gegen die Sonne nicht aufzukommen ist), opfern sich die Götter *Titlacahuan*, *Huitzilopochtli*, *Xochiquetzal*, *Yapalli icue* (die mit dem weihrauchkrautfarbenen, d. h. dunklen, schwarzen Hüfttuch) und *Nochpalli icue* (die mit dem karminfarbenen Hüfttuch), d. h. die Kriegsgötter und die Vertreter des *Tlillan Tlapallan*, der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe, des Nordens und des Südens, hier offenbar als die Repräsentanten des Mondes und der Sterne, die sie sind, und der alten Gestorbenen gemeint, und (durch dieses Opfer genährt und gestärkt) kann die Sonne ihren Lauf fortsetzen.

Das ist also offenbar dieselbe Legende wie die, die in der Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana Mendieta's (Buch 2, Kap. 2), wie in der Monarquia Indiana Torquemada's (Buch 6, Kap. 42), im Anschlusse an dieselbe Erzählung von der Geburt der Sonne und die von der Götterversammlung *in Teotiuacan* berichtet wird. Nur dass im Mendieta *Citli* (der „Hase“) für *Tlauizcalpantecutli* gesetzt ist, doch ist mir wahrscheinlich, dass dieses *Citli* einfach Missverständniss für *Cetl*, den Gott der Kälte, ist. Es heisst im Mendieta, dass die Götter, nachdem der Sperber (*Tlotli*) mit der grausamen Antwort der Sonne, dass sie alle töten würde, zu ihnen zurückgekehrt war, zum Theil in Furcht, zum Theil in Wuth geriethen, und dass der eine *Citli* einen Bogen und drei Pfeile ergriff und auf die Sonne schoss, um ihr die Stirn zu spalten. Aber die Sonne bückte sich und der Pfeil traf nicht. Er schoss zum zweiten Male und verwundete die Sonne am Leibe; und ebenso zum dritten Male. Da nahm die Sonne, erzürnt, einen jener Pfeile und schoss ihn auf *Citli* ab und spaltete ihm die Stirn, sodass er sogleich starb. Die anderen Götter aber, da sie sahen, dass gegen die Sonne nicht aufzukommen war, beschlossen sich zu opfern, ein Opfer, das *Xolotl* vollzog, worauf dann die Sonne, versöhnt, ihres Weges weiter zog.

Die Geschichte in der Originalform, wie sie in dem Texte der Historia de Culhuacan y México vorliegt, ist wichtig, weil sie die Erzählung von der Tötung und Zerstückung des Mondes durch die Sonne, durch die von der Zerspaltung und Tötung des Morgen- bezw. Abendsterns durch die Sonne, die ja annähernd in der gleichen Form sich vollzieht, ergänzt. Sie ist interessant, weil sie uns die an sich kaum zu ahnende Identität *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, der Gottheit des Morgensterns, und *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s, des Gottes des Steins und der Kälte, enthüllt und dadurch das so merkwürdige Auftreten *Cinteotl*'s, mit der *itztlacoliuhqui*-Maske, des Sohnes der *Teteo innan* oder *Toci*, am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste erklärt. Es ist eben der Morgenstern, der Sohn des Mondes, den die Mutter im Quartier der Kaufleute, im *Pochtlan*, in dem Tempel der *oztomeca anauac calaquini*, vielleicht geradezu in dem Küstenlande, in der Tierra caliente, sucht, und mit dem vereint sie dann an den Zärimonien des Festes theilnimmt. Die Erzählung erklärt endlich, was auch an sich ganz unverständlich war, dass *Itztlacoliuhqui*, der Gott des Steins und der Kälte, in den Bilderschriften fast stets mit einem Pfeile an der Stirnseite des nach hinten gebogenen kammartigen

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Kopfaufsatzes abgebildet wird. Es ist eben der *Cetl*, der der *Tlauizcalpantecutli* ist, dem der Sonnengott mit einem Pfeile die Stirn spaltete.

Weil der Morgenstern der „schiessende Gott“ ist, ist er der Schütze, der Jäger, ist zum *Mixcouatl*,

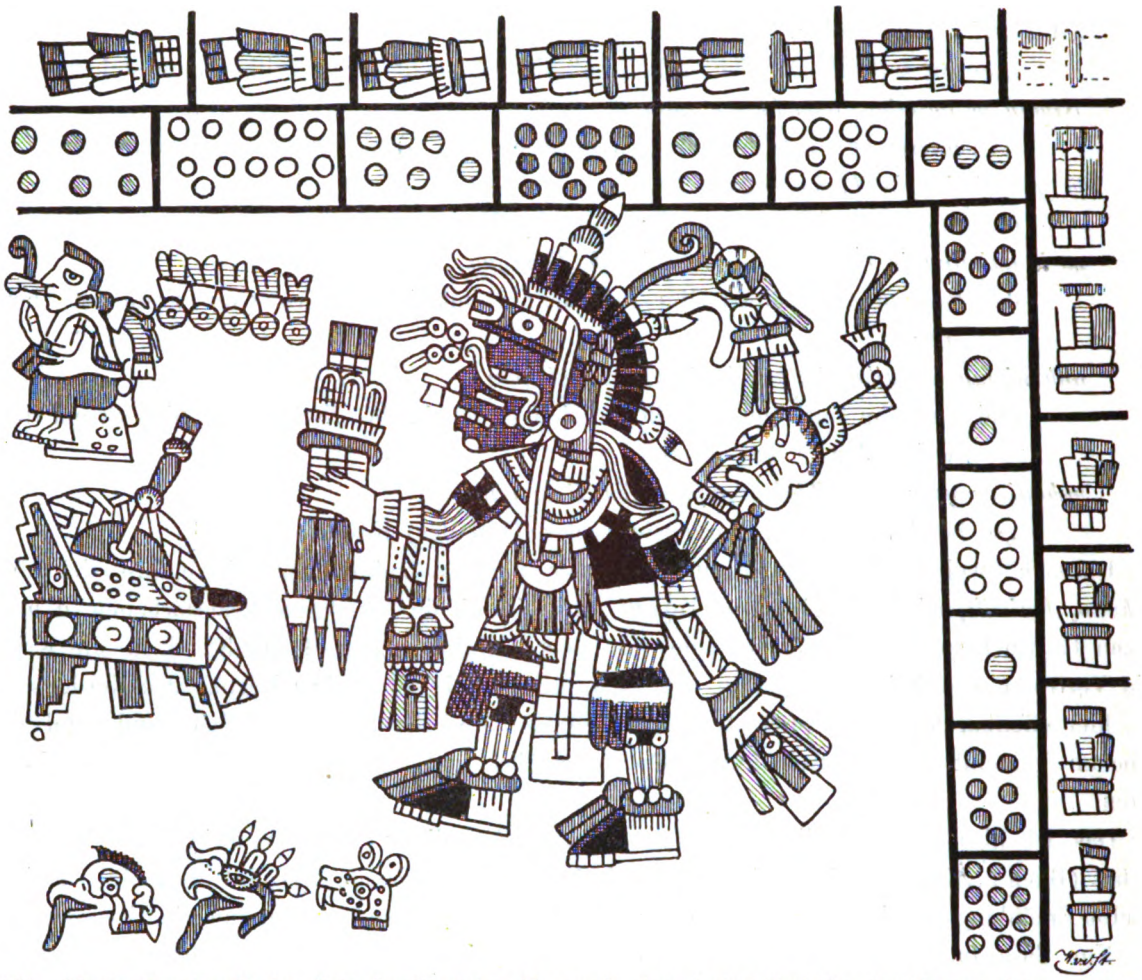

Abb. 123. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus, in der vierten Periode, den Speer auf das *petlatl-icpalli*, den Königsthron, und die Könige schleudernd. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 83 (= Kingsborough 14).

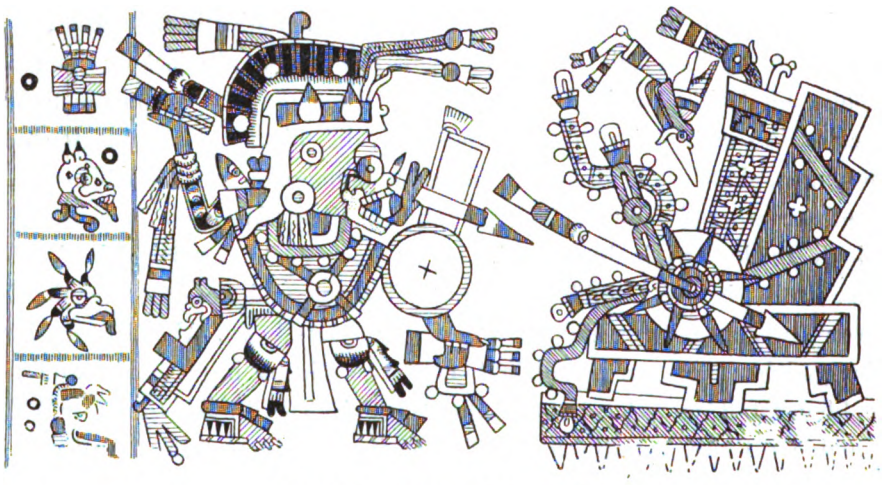

Abb. 124. Codex Bologna 10.

dem Gotte der Jagd, der als solcher der Gott der Chichimeken und des Nordens ist, geworden. Ueber die Beziehungen zwischen diesen beiden Göttern, die klar zu Tage legen, und die im Besonderen auch in der Körper- und Gesichtsbemalung dieser beiden Götter zum Ausdrucke kommen, habe ich im I. Bande,

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S. 259ff., ausführlich gesprochen. Und so ist noch heute bei den Cora und bei den Huichol der westlichen Sierra Madre der „ältere Bruder“ — *Tabatzi*, wie ihn die Cora, *Tamats*, wie ihn die Huichol nennen, d. h. der Morgenstern, — der grosse Jäger, der zuerst die Götter lehrte, wirksame Jagdpfeile zu

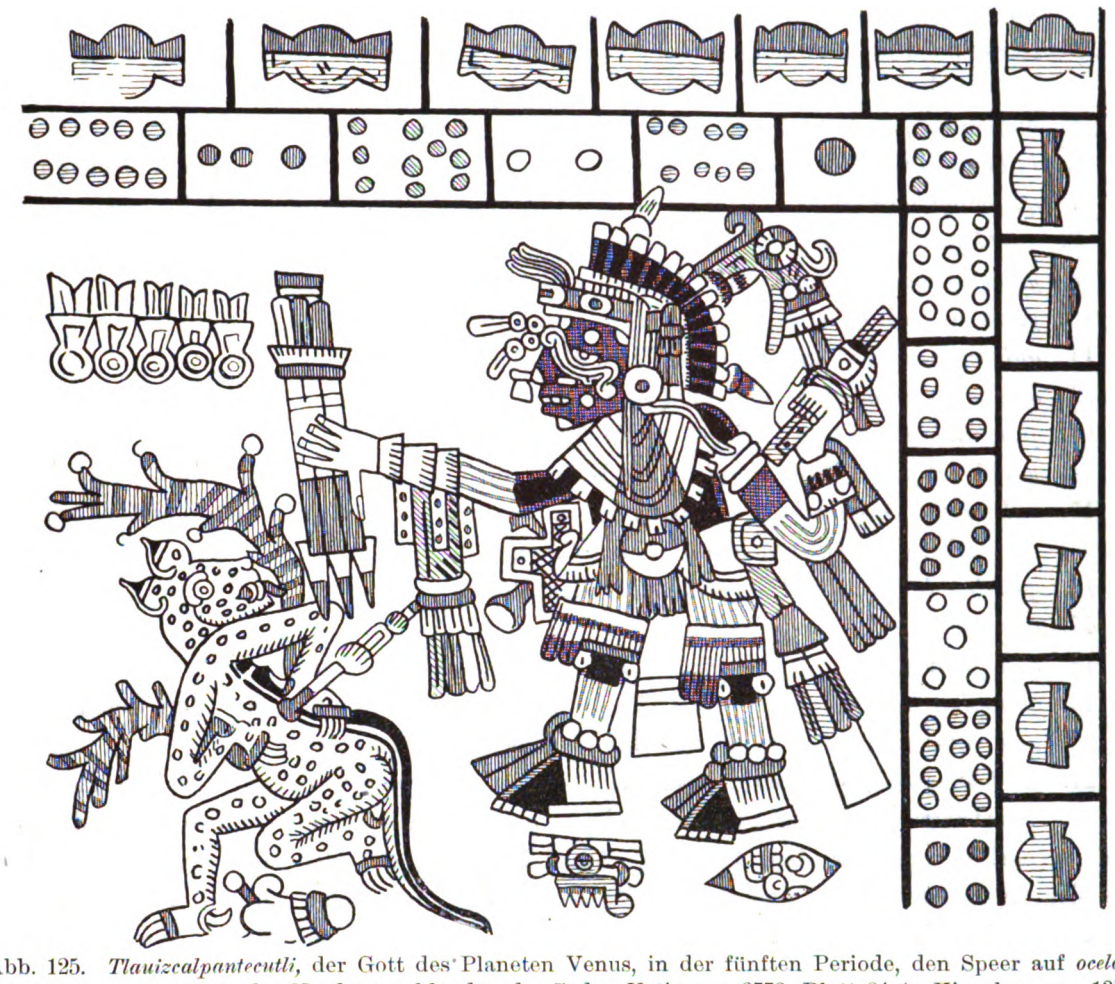

Abb. 125. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus, in der fünften Periode, den Speer auf *ocelotl*, den Jaguar, den Gott des Nordens, schleudernd. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 84 (= Kingsbouroug 13).

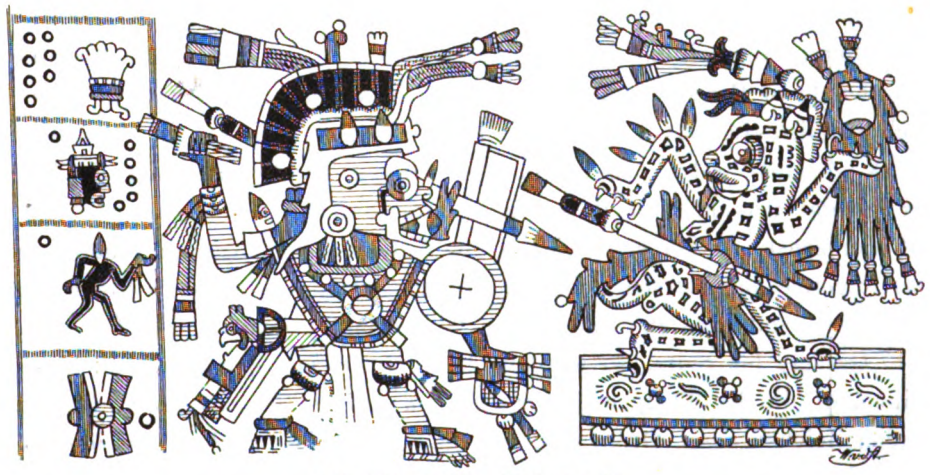

Abb. 126. Codex Bologna 11.

verfertigen, und der selbst in Gestalt eines grossen Hirsches erschien, der von den Jägern und für Jagdglück angerufen wurde.

Ich habe schon in meinem Aufsatze über „Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe“ auf eine Stelle in den sogenannten Anales de Quauhtitlan aufmerksam gemacht, in der von dem „Schiessen“ der Gottheit des Morgensterns die Rede ist. Hier wird von dem Gotte gesagt,

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dass er je nach dem Wechsel der Zeichen seine Strahlen auf verschiedene Klassen von Leuten werfe. Ich gebe die Stelle, da sie wichtig ist, hier noch im Wortlaute wieder: —

1. *auh in iuh quimatia* — und wie sie erfuhren (die Alten, die Vorfahren): —
2. *yn iquac hualneçtiuh*, — wenn er erscheint (aufgeht),
3. *yn tleyn ypan tonalli* — je nach dem Zeichen, in dem er aufgeht,
4. *çeçentlamantin ynpan miyotia* — trifft er verschiedene Klassen von Leuten mit seinen Strahlen,
5. *quinmina quintlahuilia* — schiesst sie, wirft sein Licht auf sie,
6. *intla çe çipactli ypan yauh* — wenn er im (I) Zeichen „eins Krokodil“ erscheint,
7. *quinmina huehuetque ylamatque* — schiesst er die alten Männer und Frauen.
8. *mochi yuhque yntla çe oçelotl* — Ebenso im (II) Zeichen „eins Jaguar“,
9. *yntla çe maçatl* — im (III) Zeichen „eins Hirsch“,
10. *yntla çe xochitl* — im (IV) Zeichen „eins Blume“,
11. *quinmina pipiltotontin* — er schiesst die kleinen Kinder,
12. *auh yntla çe acatl* — und im (V) Zeichen „eins Rohr“,
13. *quinmina tlatoque* — schiesst er die Könige.
14. *mochi yuhqui yntla çe miquiztli.* — Ebenso im (VI) Zeichen „eins Tod“.
15. *auh yntla çe quiyahuitl* [verbessere: *çe cohuatl*] — und im (VII) Zeichen „eins Regen“ [verbessere: (IX) Zeichen „eins Schlange“],
16. *quimina in quiyahuitl* — schiesst er den Regen,
17. *amo quiyahuiz* — es wird nicht regnen,
18. *auh yntla çe olin* — und im (XIII) Zeichen „eins Bewegung,
19. *quinmina telpopochtin ychpopochtin* — schiesst er die Jünglinge und Jungfrauen,
20. *auh yntla çe atl* — und im (XVII) Zeichen „eins Wasser“.
21. *ye tohuaquic* [verbessere: *tohuaquiç*] — ist allgemeine Dürre. Andere Lesart: — *yc tahuaqui* [verbessere: *yc tlahuaqui?*] — vertrocknen wir [oder: — vertrocknet alles] dadurch.

Ich bemerke, dass für den Text der Annalen bisher nur der sehr verderbte Abdruck im III. Bande der Anales del Museo Nacional de México vorlag. Ich habe, als ich seinerzeit die obige Stelle für meine Abhandlung „Die Venusperiode in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe“ übersetzte, das in Zeile 9 gegebene *ce maçatl* für das *ce mecatl* des Textes und in Zeile 12 das *ce acatl* für das *ce maçatl* des Textes gesetzt. Die Richtigkeit dieser Korrekturen schien mir durch die Reihenfolge der Zeichen im *Tonalamatl* gewährleistet, und eine Vergleichung, die neuerdings Dr. Walther Lehmann mit den älteren Abschriften dieser Annalen, die sich in der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris befinden, hat meine Muthmassungen bestätigt. Eine andere grössere Korrektur, dass ich nämlich für das *ce quiyahuitl* der 15. Zeile *ce couatl* „eins Schlange“, also für das VII. Zeichen das IX. Zeichen, setzte, findet in den älteren handschriftlichen Kopien keine Stützen. Nichtsdestoweniger glaube ich auch zu dieser Korrektur berechtigt zu sein, weil das einleitende *auh* „und“ in der That hier sonst nur bei den Zeichen der Kolumne *cipactli*, *acatl*, *couatl*, *olin*, *atl* steht, und durch Verlesen das folgende *quiauitl* sehr leicht für *couatl* sich untergeschoben haben kann.

Lassen wir diese Aenderung zu, und lassen wir vorläufig das bei den Zeichen *ce maçatl* und *ce xochitl* (Zeile 9—11) Gesagte bei Seite, so würden die fünf Zeichen der Kolumne: *cipactli*, *acatl*, *couatl*, *olin*, *atl* übrig bleiben, die in der That, wie wir gesehen haben, die an den Anfangstagen der Venusperioden herrschenden Zeichen sind. Ordnen wir sie nach der Reihe, nicht wie sie im *Tonalamatl*, sondern in Wirklichkeit einander folgen, so würde über den Einfluss des Planeten Venus in seinen fünf aufeinander folgenden Perioden in den Anales de Quauhtitlan Folgendes ausgesagt sein:

1. Im Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil“ schiesst er die alten Männer und Frauen.
2. Im Zeichen *couatl* „Schlange“ schiesst er den Regen, es wird nicht regnen.
3. Im Zeichen *atl* „Wasser“ ist allgemeine Dürre.
4. Im Zeichen *acatl* „Rohr“ schiesst er die Könige.
5. Im Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung“ schiesst er die Jünglinge und Jungfrauen.

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Kehren wir nun zu unseren Bilderschriften zurück, so zeigt sich, dass auch hier der Gott des Planeten Venus in den verschiedenen Zeichen oder in den verschiedenen Perioden seinen Speer auf verschiedene Arten von Figuren oder Symbolen schleudernd dargestellt ist. Und zwar stimmen mit Beziehung auf die Art der Figuren und Symbole, gegen die der Gott in den verschiedenen Perioden seine Waffe richtet, der Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 117, 119, 121, 123, 125) und der Codex Bologna (Abb. 118, 120, 122, 124, 126) direkt überein, und beide zusammen auch mit dem Codex Borgia, falls man die Annahme macht, dass im Codex Borgia die erste, zweite, dritte, vierte, fünfte Periode oder die Zeichen *cipactli*, *couatl*, *atl*, *acatl*, *olin*, dem Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden und der fünften Weltgegend, im Codex Vaticanus und im Bologna aber dem Osten, Westen, der fünften Weltgegend, dem Norden und dem Süden parallelisirt sind, — eine Annahme, auf die uns schon, wie ich oben ausgeführt habe, die Verschiedenheit der Farbenfolge in den Figuren des Codex Borgia und des Codex Bologna hinwies.

In der ersten Abtheilung des Codex Borgia (Blatt 53 unten links), die dem Westen entspricht, ist es eine nackte Figur der Wassergöttin im Wasser, die von dem Speere des Gottes getroffen wird. Als Wassergöttin, als *Chalchiuhtlicue,* ist sie ebensowohl durch den Kranz von Muschelscheiben im Haare, wie durch die beiden kurzen dicken Striche am unteren Rande der Backe gekennzeichnet (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 100), die nur hier nicht, wie sonst, in tiefschwarzer, sondern in rother Farbe angegeben sind. Die Göttin ist, als zu Tode getroffen, durch das geschlossene Auge bezeichnet, und, gleich der Göttin selbst, sind auch die Thiere des Wassers, eine Meerschnecke (*tecciztli*) und eine Schildkröte (*ayotl*), vom Speere des Gottes verwundet worden, denn sie sind mit Verletzungen gezeichnet, aus denen Blut in dickem Strahle heraustritt. — Die entsprechende Figur des Codex Bologna, in der zweiten Periode (Abb. 120) steht auch im Wasser und ist auch als Wassergöttin nicht nur durch die blaue Farbe des Gewandes und der Glieder, sondern vor allem durch die beiden dicken, kurzen, schwarzen Streifen am unteren Rande der Backe, durch den blauen Nasenschmuck, der eine vereinfachte Form der doppelköpfigen Schlange, mit der die *Chalchiuhtlicue*-Figuren des Codex Borgia abgebildet sind, darstellt, und den dem Kopfschmucke *Tlaloc*'s ähnlichen Kopfputz deutlich gekennzeichnet. Hinter ihr erhebt sich ein in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalter, Hieroglyphenbilder des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) als Blüthen an den Zweigenden tragender Baum, der die Natur des Elements, das die Göttin repräsentirt, in allgemein verständlichen Symbolen zum Ausdrucke bringt. Die Göttin ist nicht nackt, sondern, wie oben angegeben, bekleidet gezeichnet, aber, als zu Tode getroffen, auch hier durch das geschlossene Auge bezeichnet. — Die entsprechende Figur des Codex Vaticanus ist, gleich der des Codex Bologna, in der zweiten Periode dem Beschauer vorgeführt (Abb. 119). Sie trägt die blaue stufenförmige Nasenplatte und die Schlangenhelmmaske der Wassergöttin und kniet auf einem Wasserstrome, weicht aber insofern etwas ab, als sie mit diesen Abzeichen der Wassergöttin die schwarze Kautschukbemalung um den Mund und die aus ungesponnener Baumwolle bestehende Kopfbinde (*ichcaxochitl*) der *Tlaçolteotl* verbindet.

In der zweiten Abtheilung, in dem rechten unteren Quadranten des Blattes 54 unserer Handschrift, der meiner Annahme nach dem Süden entsprechen muss, wirft der (blaue, eulenköpfige) Gott des Planeten Venus seinen Speer auf eine nackte Figur des schwarzen (*yayauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*, der über einem gespaltenen Berge (*tepexic*) kniet, von dem Wasser herabrinnt. Ein in der Farbe der Erde oder des Steins, d. h. halb braun, halb schwarz gemalter Dornbaum erhebt sich hinter ihm. Der Gott ist auch als Toter, mit geschlossenem Auge, gezeichnet. — In der entsprechenden Abtheilung, der fünften, des Codex Bologna und des Vaticanus (Abb. 126 und 125) sieht man, statt der *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur, einen Jaguar (*ocelotl*), das Thier, das in der That in der Tradition allgemein als Verkörperung jenes Gottes der Nacht und des Dunkels und der Erde erscheint. In dem Codex Bologna-Bilde (Abb. 126) ist der Jaguar mit Daunenfederperrücke, mit zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken und dem Reiherfedergabelschmuck (*aztaxelli*) der Krieger auf dem Scheitel, d. h. als *Mixcouatl*, als Gott der Jägerstämme und des Nordens, dargestellt; er hält in der einen Hand ein von einem Blutstrom umgebenes menschliches (herausgerissenes) Herz und kniet auf einem verbrannten, mit Daunenfederbällen besetzten Felde.

In der dritten Abtheilung unserer Handschrift, der dritten Venusperiode, die dem Osten zuzuweisen ist, im linken unteren Quadranten des Blattes 54, ist es der Maisgott, *Cinteotl*, der von dem Speere des rothen, hundeköpfigen *Tlauizcalpantecutli* verwundet wird. Der Getroffene ist auch hier, wie die

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Wassergöttin der ersten und der *Tezcatlipoca* der zweiten Abtheilung, nackt gezeichnet. Er ist als Maisgott natürlich mit gelber Farbe, aber ohne die eigenthümliche, winklig gebrochene Doppellinie im Gesichte, gemalt, hat aber das *tlapapalli*, das mehrfarbige, rechteckig begrenzte kleine Feld auf der Backe, gleich den anderen Göttern des Maises und der Lebensmittel, und auch die braune Nasenplatte, die wir bei dem Maisgotte der unteren Abtheilung des Blattes 51 kennen gelernt haben. Sein Gesicht schaut, wie bei der eben angeführten Figur des Blattes 51, aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines blaugefiederten Vogels (einer Taube?) heraus, und auf dem Scheitel trägt er ein Bündel verschieden gefärbter Maiskolben und Maisblüthen. Er kniet auf einem in Felder brauner und schwarzer Farbe getheilten Acker, in dem aber skelettköpfige Würmer die Maiskolben fressen. Der Gott selbst ist als krankhaft verändert, tot, nicht nur durch das geschlossene Auge, sondern auch durch einen in der Farbe des Knochens, weiss und roth punktirt, gemalten Streifen, der von der Gegend des Penis ausgeht, gekennzeichnet, der dem einen der skelettköpfigen Würmer zum Frasse dient. — Die entsprechende Figur des Codex Bologna, die wir, nach dem oben angegebenen Gesetze, hier in der ersten Abtheilung, in der Abb. 118 zu suchen haben, führt uns auch den Maisgott *Cinteotl* mit seinen typischen Besonderheiten vor, der gelben Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe, die hier sogar genau mit der gleichen rothen Bemalung um den Mund und den schmalen rothen Streifen in der Höhe des Auges kombinirt ist, wie bei dem Maisgotte, dem Herrn des Westens, in der unteren Abtheilung des Blattes 51 unserer Handschrift und der entsprechenden Figur Blatt 13 des Codex Bologna (vgl. Abb. 89, oben S. 113); ferner durch das *tlapapalli* auf der Backe, durch die von dem Kopfe eines hühner- oder taubenartigen Vogels gebildete Helmmaske, die aber hier grün, nich blau gemalt ist, und durch den in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalten, mit Maiskolben tnnd Maisblüthen gefüllten Korb am Nacken. Der Gott ist nicht nackt, sondern bekleidet, dargestellt, — mit der Schamibnde, da der Maisgott in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe in der Regel als männlicher Gott aufgefasst ist, und mit dem kurzen Tuche, das die Göttergestalten nicht nur der Handschriften dieser Gruppe, sondern ausnahmslos sogar auch die des Sahagun-Manuskripts, um den Hintern gebunden haben (*motzinilpiticac*). Der Gott steht auch hier auf einem braun und schwarz gefelderten Acker, in dem wir zwar keine fressenden Würmer sehen, wie in dem Parallelbilde des Codex Borgia, der aber doch auch durch die Figuren von Feuerflammen, mit denen er rings umsetzt ist, als abnorm, krankhaft, in gleicher Weise wie der Gott selbst, von dem Speere seines Angreifers affizirt, bezeichnet wird. Die besondere Natur des Gottes ist endlich noch durch den Baum zum Ausdrucke gebracht, der hinter seinem Kopfe sich erhebt, und der an einem merkwürdig verzweigten braunen, mit den schwarzen Linien des Ackerfeldes gezeichneten Stamme in den Farben des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) gemalte Behälter mit Maiskolben und Maisblüthen trägt. — Im Codex Vaticanus findet sich die entsprechende Figur ebenfalls in der ersten Abtheilung (Abb. 117). Sie ist weniger charakteristisch gezeichnet, als die der anderen beiden Handschriften. Doch sind Leib und Gesicht hier auch mit gelber Farbe gemalt, und im Gesichte ist sogar auch die winklig gebrochene schwarze Doppellinie, die Ackerfeldbemalung des Maisgottes, zu erkennen. Aber an Stelle von Maiskolben und Maisblüthen trägt der Gott nur einen mit gelber Farbe gemalten Grasbusch auf dem Scheitel.

In der vierten Abtheilung, der der vierten Periode, die dem Norden entsprechen muss, in dem linken oberen Quadranten des Blattes 54 unserer Handschrift, wirft der gelbe, gestreifte, als Kaninchen (*tochtli*), d. h. mit dessen Kopfe, erscheinende Gott des Planeten Venus seinen Speer nicht auf eine Figur, sondern auf ein Symbol, einen hölzernen, geschnitzten, mit eingelegten Edelsteinscheiben und mit Metallbeschlägen verzierten Stuhl, ein *teoicpalli*, auf den als Polster ein Jaguarfell (*tequaneuatl*) geworfen ist. Eine nackte, als Toter, mit geschlossenem Auge dargestellte Menschenfigur kniet auf ihm, die das lang herabfallende Haar mit einem Kranze von *malinalli*-Gras, an dem an der Stirnseite eine Goldscheibe befestigt ist, umbunden hat, und in den Nasenflügeln, als Schmuckpflöcke, zwei Knochenstäbe oder Knochendolche trägt. Aber der Wurf des Gottes gilt nicht dieser Figur, die Speerspitze bohrt sich vielmehr in den Stuhl selbst ein, und aus der Spalte, den die scharfe Steinspitze gegraben, quellen dicke, schwarze Rauchwolken hervor. Es ist eben der Königsstuhl, oder vielmehr das Königthum, die Gesammtheit der Könige, das *tlatocayotl*, das in dieser Periode oder in diesem Zeichen von dem Speere der Gottheit des Planeten Venus getroffen wird. Ein Gefäss (für Mais und andere Speisen) und ein Topf (für Pulque oder

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Cacao) sieht man noch vor dem Stuhle stehen, die vielleicht den Tribut oder die Gaben bezeichnen, die man dem Könige zu bringen pflegte. Auch diese sind verletzt und gespalten, und dicker, schwarzer Rauch quillt auch hier aus den Verletzungen heraus. — Im Codex Bologna steht die entsprechende Figur in der vierten Abtheilung (Abb. 124), da in dieser Handschrift, wie ich oben angab, die vierte Periode dem Norden entspricht. Wir sehen auch hier den Königsstuhl (*teoicpalli*), der hier noch mit Rückenlehne versehen ist, und auf einem, am unteren Rande mit Zähnen oder Stacheln besetzten Stücke eines *cipactli*-Leibes steht. Das *teoicpalli*, der „Stuhl des Gottes", d. h. „der Sonne", ist hier noch deutlicher durch eine Sonnenscheibe hervorgehoben, die auf dem Stuhle liegt, und die von dem Speere des Gottes getroffen wird. Edelsteinketten (*chalchiuhcozcatl*) und Edelsteinbänder kommen, an Stelle von Blut, aus der Wunde hervor. Ein breiter, in den Farben des Türkises gemalter, am Ende mit einem Stufenmuster versehener Streifen, der an der Rückenlehne liegt, scheint hier der Stellvertreter des Jaguarfelles, des Sitzpolsters, des Codex Borgia-Bildes zu sein. Der König selbst, oder die Seele des toten Königs, die wir in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde in der knienden Menschenfigur zu erkennen haben, scheint hier im Codex Bologna (Abb. 124) durch das Bild des Kolibris, den man von oben auf den Stuhl zufliegen sieht, zur Anschauung gebracht zu sein. — Das entsprechende Bild des Codex Vaticanus, das natürlich auch in der vierten Abtheilung steht (Abb. 123) ist noch deutlicher und charakteristischer. Wir sehen auch hier den Königsstuhl (*teoicpalli*) der bekannten Form, darauf das Jaguarfell (*tequaneuatl*), darauf aber noch eine aus Rohr geflochtene Matte (*petlatl*), in der, von einem rothen Farbflecke, d. h. von Blut, umgeben, der Speer des Gottes steckt. Es ist demnach hier das *petlatl-icpalli*, „die Matte und der Stuhl", von dem Speere des Gottes getroffen, und das heisst das Königthum, denn *petlatl-icpalli* ist der gewöhnliche metaphorische Ausdruck für „Herrschaft" oder „Königthum". *Ah pop, ah ɔam*, „der Herr der Matte, der Herr des Thrones" ist in der Maya-Sprache von Yucatan, und ähnlich in den verwandten Idiomen, die eigentliche Bezeichnung des Königs. In unserem Vaticanus-Bilde (Abb. 123) ist aber ausserdem noch der König selbst in einem ebenso deutlichen Bilde zum Ausdrucke gebracht in der kleinen Menschenfigur, die man über dem von dem Speere getroffenen *petlatl-icpalli* auf einem Jaguarfelle sitzen sieht, mit dem Zeichen der Rede, den beiden Hauchwolken, vor dem Munde. Denn der „Redende" (*tlatouani*) ist im Mexikanischen der gewöhnlichste und reguläre Ausdruck für „König".

In der fünften Abtheilung endlich, der fünften Periode, die der fünften Weltgegend, der Mitte, entspricht, im rechten oberen Quadranten des Blattes 54 unserer Handschrift, wo der weisse, gestreifte (*tlauauantli*), einen weissen Schädel als Kopf tragende *Tlauizcalpantecutli* seinen Speer wirft, ist es wieder nicht eine Figur, sondern ein Symbol, das von dem Speere des Gottes verwundet oder zu Tode getroffen wird, und zwar hier das Symbol der Kriegerschaft, das *yaoyotl* oder *quauhyotl*, durch einen aus Bambusrohr geflochtenen Schild (*chimalli*) und ein Bündel mit Steinspitzen bewehrter Speere (*tlacochtli*) zum Ausdrucke gebracht. Und hier ist das, was gemeint ist, in durchaus deutlicher Weise noch durch den schön gezeichneten Adlerkopf, der eben die *quaquauhtin*, die „Adler", die „Krieger", bezeichnet, und die Schambinde (*maxtlatl*) angezeigt, das männliche Kleidungsstück, dessen in bekannter Weise verziertes Ende unter dem Schnabelgrunde des Adlers herabhängt. Das Zeichen der Krieger selbst, der Schild und das Speerbündel, das von dem Speere des Gottes verwundet wird, liegt auf einem Felde verbrannten Grases, auf dem man Daunenfederbälle und eine Schlange mit abgerissenem Kopfe sieht, und aus dessen geborstenem oberen Rande dunkle, schwarze Massen emporquellen. Man ist versucht, dies als das *atempan*, *tlachinoltempan*, den Ort des „Wassers und des Brandes", d. h. des Krieges, zu erklären, als das Schlachtfeld, auf dem die Krieger sich bewegen. Es fehlt aber hier ganz und gar die Darstellung des *atl*, des Wassers. Und so neige ich mich, auch noch aus einem bestimmten Grunde, der später klar werden wird, zu der Meinung, dass dies verbrannte Feld eben nichts anderes bedeute, als was es darstellt, nämlich Brand. — Im Codex Bologna und im Codex Vaticanus haben wir, nach dem oben angegebenen Gesetze, das entsprechende Bild in der dritten Abtheilung, d. h. in Abb. 122 nnd 121, zu suchen. Das ist nun anscheinend ein von dem Codex Borgia vollständig abweichendes Bild. Die Abweichung erklärt sich aber dadurch, dass hier im Codex Bologna, und so auch im Vaticanus, die Kriegerschaft (*yaoyotl* oder *quauhyotl*), die das Symbol des Codex Borgia-Bildes uns vorführt, durch den Begriff *altepetl* oder *atl-tepetl*, „Dorf", „Gemeinde", — die ja im Wesentlichen mit der Kriegerschaft sich deckt, denn

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nur diese zählen in der Gemeinde, — ersetzt ist. In der That, wir sehen sowohl im Bologna (Abb. 122), wie im Vaticanus (Abb. 121) einen Berg (*tepetl*) der gewöhnlichen Form, der nur im Codex Bologna in der in dieser Handschrift allgemein befolgten, — und sehr schön z. B. in den *Tepeyollotli*-Bildern der ersten acht Blätter zu erkennenden — Art an der Spitze umgebogen und mit einer weissen Schuppenzeichnung erfüllt ist, die vielleicht eine Schneebedeckung der Spitze zum Ausdrucke bringen soll, und die ich sonst nur noch aus einem Bilde der handschriftlichen Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca[1]) von dem *ycoliuhqui tepetl*, dem „gekrümmten Berge", der Urheimath der Leute von Cholula und Quauhtinchan, kenne. Unter diesem Berge sehen wir, sowohl im Codex Bologna (Abb. 122), wie im Vaticanus (Abb. 121), aus dem Rachen oder der Höhle am Fusse des Berges einen Wasserstrom hervorkommen, der eben das *atl* „Wasser" darstellt, das mit dem Berge (*tepetl*) zu *atl-tepetl* oder *altepetl*, „Dorf, Stadt, Gemeinde" sich ergänzt.

Dieser Berg mit dem Wasser darunter ist in beiden Handschriften von dem Speere des Gottes durchbohrt. Aber aus der weiten Oeffnung, die der Speer gemacht, kommt im Codex Bologna (Abb. 122) nicht nur ein mächtiger Blutstrom heraus, der ein Herz umschliesst, das der Speer auch durchbohrt hat, sondern neben dem Blutstrome kommt noch ein anderer gelb gemalter, dunkelgeränderter und in Daunenfederbälle endender Strom heraus, der nicht anders als „Feuer" gedeutet werden kann, und der zweifellos wohl ähnlich, wie das verbrannte Feld des Codex Borgia-Bildes, nicht etwa, wie ich früher wohl meinte, das *atl tlachinolli* „Wasser und Brand", d. h. den metaphorischen Ausdruck des Krieges, sondern einfach „Feuer" oder das in Brand gesetzte Dorf, zur Anschauung bringt. Dasselbe ist in etwas anderer Weise in dem Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 121) dadurch erreicht, dass der ganze Berg gelb (in der Farbe des Feuers) und wie mit eingebohrten (eingebrannten) Löchern gezeichnet ist. In dem Codex Bologna-Bilde endlich (Abb. 122) ist oben auf dem Berge noch ein Baum mit braunem Stamme und rothen und gelben Blüthen zu sehen, der vielleicht rebus-artig die Silbe *quauh* zum Ausdrucke bringen soll, die „Baum", aber zugleich auch „Adler", d. h. „Krieger" bedeutet. Im Codex Vaticanus aber (Abb. 121) ist deutlicher, und wie im Codex Borgia-Bilde, ein Adler (*quauhtli*) gezeichnet, der auch von dem Speere des Gottes verwundet ist, und der in seiner Figur eben die *quaquauhtin*, die „Adler", die „Krieger", denen in dieser Periode der Planet Venus mit seinen Strahlen droht, dem Beschauer vorführt.

Es ergeben sich demnach aus unseren Bilderschriften für die Einwirkungen des Planeten Venus in den verschiedenen Perioden oder in den verschiedenen Zeichen die folgenden zwei Listen, deren Verschiedenheit aus der verschiedenen Art, in der die einander folgenden Perioden auf die Himmelsrichtungen bezogen wurden, resultirt:

A. Codex Borgia (Blatt 53 links unten, Blatt 54).

I. Periode.	Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil".	Westen.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Wassergöttin (*Chalchiuhtlicue*).
II. „	„ *couatl* „Schlange".	Süden.	—	Der Planet schiesst den Gott der Erde (*Tezcatlipoca*), bezw. den Jaguar (*ocelotl*).
III. „	„ *atl* „Wasser".	Osten.	—	Der Planet schiesst den Maisgott (*Cinteotl*).
IV. „	„ *acatl* „Rohr".	Norden.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Könige (*tlatocayotl*).
V. „	„ *olin* „Bewegung".	Mitte.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Krieger (*quauhyotl*).

B. Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 117, 119, 121, 123, 125) und Bologna (Abb. 118, 120, 122, 124, 126).

I. Periode.	Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil".	Osten.	—	Der Planet schiesst den Maisgott (*Cinteotl*).
II. „	„ *couatl* „Schlange".	Westen.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Wassergöttin (*Chalchiuhtlicue*).
III. „	„ *atl* „Wasser".	Mitte.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Krieger (*quauhyotl*).
IV. „	„ *acatl* „Rohr".	Norden.	—	Der Planet schiesst die Könige (*tlatocayotl*).
V. „	„ *olin* „Bewegung".	Süden.	—	Der Planet schiesst den Jaguar (*ocelotl*), d. h. den Gott der Erde.

1) Collection Aubin-Goupil. Manuscrits Mexicains de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Nr. 54–58.

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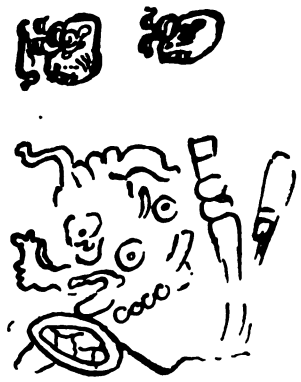
Es gibt nun noch eine Liste, die uns die von dem Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Wesen vorführt. Sie findet sich auf den Blättern 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, auf denen auch die 13 × 5 Venusperioden, aber noch genauer mit ihren Daten und mit Differenzangaben, aufgeführt sind, und

d) Süden. *aac*, die Schildkröte. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus (in der vierten Periode) getroffen. Dresdener Handschrift 49.

c) Westen. Der Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, der Maisgott. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus (in der dritten Periode) getroffen. Dresdener Handschrift 48.

c) Mitte. *holcan*, der Krieger. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus (in der fünften Periode) getroffen. Dresdener Handschrift 50.



a) Osten. *Ah bolon tz'acab*, der Wassergott. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus (in der ersten Periode) getroffen. Dresdener Handschrift 46.

b) Norden. *balam*, der Jaguar. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus (in der zweiten Periode) getroffen. Dresdener Handschrift 47.

Abb. 127 a—e. Die fünf vom Speere des Planeten Venus Getroffenen. Dresdener Maya-Handschrift 46—50.

jede der dreizehnmal wiederholten fünf (584 Tage umfassenden) Perioden in Abschnitte von 236, 90, 250 und 8 Tagen getheilt ist, die der Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten als Morgenstern, seiner Unsichtbarkeit während der oberen Conjunktion, der Zeit seiner Sichtbarkeit als Abendstern und der Unsichtbarkeit während der unteren Conjunktion entsprechen. Auf diesen Blättern sind, wie ich oben schon angab, die Regenten der fünf Perioden nicht, wie auf den hier besprochenen Blättern der drei Bilderschriften der

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Codex Borgia-Gruppe, durch fünf Figuren *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, sondern durch fünf verschiedene, aber auch mit Speer und Wurfbrett bewaffnete göttliche Gestalten dem Beschauer vorgeführt, deren Abbildungen ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 333 wiedergegeben habe, weil sie den auf dem Blatte 25 des Codex Borgia dargestellten fünf Göttern, den Hütern der Venusperioden, entsprechen, die ich ebenfalls schon im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 327 ff. behandelt habe. Diese fünf Regenten der Venusperioden sind auf den Blättern 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift in der Mitte der rechten Hälften der Blätter abgebildet. Auf denselben rechten Hälften dieser Blätter sieht man nun unten je eine vom Speere getroffene Gestalt, die ich in Abb. 127a—e genau entsprechend den auf S. 333 des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen abgebildeten fünf Regenten der Venusperioden geordnet habe, d. h. an derselben Stelle, wo dort ihr zugehöriger Regent abgebildet ist, auch das Bild des vom Speere Getroffenen wiedergegeben habe. Da ergibt sich nun die bemerkenswerthe Thatsache, dass diese fünf Figuren den fünf vom Speere getroffenen Gestalten der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, die ich eben besprochen habe, in der Ordnung, wie sie im Codex Borgia aufgeführt sind, fast genau entsprechen.

In der That, die erste dieser fünf Figuren (Abb. 127a), der Gott mit der proliferirenden Nase, ist zweifellos der Gott des Wassers, dem, wie ich nachgewiesen habe, der Name *Ah bolon tz'acab* zukommt.[1]) Er ist also der richtige Vertreter der *Chalchiuhtlicue* in der ersten Venusperiode des Codex Borgia.

Die zweite Figur (Abb. 127b), der Jaguar, ist nur eine andere Form des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*, der im Codex Borgia in der zweiten Venusperiode vom Speere getroffen abgebildet ist. Und wirklich war ja dieser Gott schon in den anderen beiden Handschriften, im Codex Bologna und im Vaticanus, einfach durch den Jaguar ersetzt.

Die dritte Figur (Abb. 127c), der gelbe Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, ist zweifellos der Maisgott, entspricht also genau der Gottheit, die im Codex Borgia in der dritten Venusperiode als vom Speere der Gottheit getroffen abgebildet ist. Ja, ich glaube sogar in der feinen Linie, die man in unserer Abb. 139c allerdings nicht deutlich, aber sonst allgemein das Gesicht des Gottes mit dem *kan*-Zeichen in seiner ganzen Länge durchschneiden sieht, die winklig gebrochenen schwarzen Längsstreifen der Gesichtsbemalung des Maisgottes der Handschriften der Codex-Borgia-Gruppe zu erkennen.

Zweifel kann man bezüglich der vierten Figur (Abb. 127d) hegen. Das ist die Schildkröte. Ich glaube aber, dass auch hier eine Beziehung vorliegt. Im Codex Perez wird die Schildkröte mit der Hieroglyphe der Sonne auf dem Rücken abgebildet. Es ist das, wie ich meine, durch die gelbe strahlige Zeichnung veranlasst worden, die die auch in México weit verbreitete Dosenschildkröte auf dem Rücken trägt. Man wird es mir wenigstens als eine Hypothese, die manches für sich hat, gelten lassen, wenn ich annahme, dass die Schildkröte als das Sonnenthier betrachtet worden sei und deshalb hier als Symbol der königlichen Gewalt stehe.

Sicherer kann man wiederum bezüglich der fünften Figur (Abb. 127e) sein. Denn dass diese fünfte vom Speere getroffene Gestalt einen Krieger darstellen soll, lehrt der Augenschein, da man sie mit Schild und Speer bewaffnet sieht.

Ist nun diese Koïnzidenz, auf die ich schon in meiner Abhandlung über die „Venusperiode in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe" hingewiesen habe, an sich von hohem Interesse, so ist sie mir noch aus einem anderen Grunde wichtig. Von den fünf vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Gestalten der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift sind die drei ersten wenigstens in ganz bestimmter Weise mit den Himmelsrichtungen zu verbinden. Der Wassergott *Ah bolon tz'acab* ist auf dem Blatte 25 der Dresdener Handschrift als Regent der *been*-Jahre und des Ostens dargestellt. Der Jaguar (*balam*) erscheint auf dem folgenden Blatte 26 als Abbild *Kinch ahau*'s, des Sonnengottes, der der Regent der *ɔnab*-Jahre und des Nordens ist. Und den Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, den Maisgott, sieht man in derselben Weise auf dem Blatte 27 als Abbild des alten Gottes *Itzamná*, des Regenten der *akbal*-Jahre und des Westens, dem Beschauer vorgeführt. Es sind demnach augenscheinlich die fünf vom Speere getroffenen Gestalten der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift in der Weise, wie ich das in den Unterschriften zu den

1) Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Band I, Berlin. (A. Asher & Co.) 1902. S. 377, 378.

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Abbildungen 127a—e angegeben habe, mit den Himmelsrichtungen zu verbinden, d. h. in der Ordnung Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte. Der Schluss liegt nahe, dass das Gleiche nun auch für die fünf vom Speere Getroffenen des Codex Borgia zu gelten hat. Und in der That, das war ja an sich schon fast gegeben; denn z. B. *Tezcatlipoca*, der zweite der von dem Speere des Planeten getroffenen Götter, wird ja in der Regel mit dem Norden verbunden. Und hier auf unserem Blatte 54 des Codex Borgia sieht man ihn noch über dem gespaltenen Berge, dem *Tepexic*, knieen, den wir auch in dem einen Bilde der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung, das ich oben S. 101 in Abb. 70b wiedergegeben habe, und anderwärts mit dem Norden verknüpft fanden. Der Maisgott, der in der dritten Abtheilung unserer Blätter steht, wird aber fast allgemein auf den Westen bezogen, denn dort liegt das *Tamoanchan*, der Ort des Herabkommens, das Land der Geburt, das eben deshalb auch die Heimath des Maises ist. —

Da wir nun aus den Gründen, die ich im Anfange dieses Kapitels angegeben habe, die Regenten der Venusperioden selbst, die fünf Gestalten *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s des Codex Borgia, mit den Himmelsrichtungen in der Ordnung Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden, Mitte zu verbinden haben, so folgt, dass in den fünf auf unseren Blättern 53—54 des Codex Borgia dargestellten Gruppen der Gott des Planeten Venus seinen Speer immer auf die Gestalt schleudert, die in der entgegengesetzten Himmelsrichtung mächtig ist. Wir werden darnach die oben S. 152 gegebene Liste A noch in folgender Weise vervollständigen können:

A. Codex Borgia (Blatt 53 unten links, Blatt 54).

I. Periode. Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil". Der Planet regiert im Westen. — Er wirft seinen Speer auf die Wassergöttin, *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des Ostens.

II. Periode. Zeichen *couatl* „Schlange". Der Planet regiert im Süden. — Er wirft seinen Speer auf den Gott der Erde (*Tezcatlipoca*) bezw. den Jaguar (*ocelotl*), den Gott des Nordens.

III. Periode. Zeichen *atl* „Wasser". Der Planet regiert im Osten. — Er wirft seinen Speer auf den Maisgott (*Cinteotl*), den Gott des Westens.

IV. Periode. Zeichen *acatl* „Rohr". Der Planet regiert im Norden. — Er wirft seinen Speer auf die Könige (*tlatocayotl*), die im Sonnenlande, im Süden, heimisch sind.

V. Periode. Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung". Der Planet regiert in der Mitte (oben oder unten). — Er wirft seinen Speer auf die auch in der Mitte der Welt, aber am entgegengesetzten Orte Weilenden, die Krieger (*quauhyotl*), die Gemeinde (*altepetl*).

Hier besteht nur noch ein Zweifel, wie man die Richtungen in der letzten, der fünften Periode aufzufassen hat. Man kann daran denken, dass die Krieger, die Geopferten, im Himmel, im Hause der Sonne, wohnen, und kann demgemäss annehmen, dass der Planet in der fünften Periode in der unteren Region regiert und von dort seinen Speer auf die Himmlischen, die Seelen der geopferten Krieger werfe. Dazu würde in gewisser Weise stimmen, dass dieser Regent der fünften Venusperiode im Codex Borgia mit einem weissen Totenschädel als Kopf abgebildet ist. Andererseits hat es aber doch eine gewisse Schwierigkeit, sich vorzustellen, dass eine Sterngottheit in der unteren Region regierend angegeben sein sollte. Auch stimmt die weisse, gestreifte Farbe dieses Regenten viel mehr zu der oberen Region, zu einer Gottheit der himmlischen Höhe. Ich meine daher, dass die Kriegerschaft, das *altepetl*, die Gemeinde, vielmehr diese irdische Welt, die uns umgibt, bezeichnen solle und deshalb der Mitte, der fünften Weltgegend, zugeschrieben worden sei. Ich meine, dass die Vorstellung bestanden hat, dass in dieser fünften Periode, oder vielmehr am Ende der fünften Periode, oder genauer am Ende der dreizehnmal fünf Perioden, der allgemeine Untergang drohe, und dass darum hier, in dieser fünften Periode die vom Speere getroffene Dorfschaft, das vom Speere getroffene *altepetl*, die Kriegerschaft, das *quauhyotl*, dargestellt worden sei. Einen Beweis für die Richtigkeit meiner Auffassung sehe ich darin, dass dieses Bild der fünften vom Speere Getroffenen in allen drei Handschriften, die wir hier untersucht haben, mit dem Bilde des Feuers verbunden ist.

Die Vorstellung, dass am letzten Tage der zum dreizehnten Male wiederkehrenden fünften

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Periode, d. h. am Tage *matlactli omei xochitl* „dreizehn Blume“ (dem dem Tage *ce cipactli* „eins Krokodil“, dem Anfangstage der Venusperioden, vorhergehenden Tage) der allgemeine Weltuntergang drohe, ist in der That in den in Maya-Sprache geschriebenen Büchern des *Chilam Balam* ausdrücklich ausgesprochen. Im Chilam Balam von *Titzimin* finden wir in einer Aufzählung der dreizehn sogenannten *Katun* oder Perioden von 20×360 Tagen, die alle mit einem Tage *ahau*, d. i. mexikanisch *xochitl* „Blume“, beginnen, bei dem Katun oder dem Tage *oxlahun ahau* = mexikanisch *matlactli omei xochitl*, die folgende merkwürdige Passage angegeben:

— *[oxla] hun ahau u kin ti, ca bin nupptambanac kin yetel u yetel akab, ti ca tali u yahal cab, ti oxlahun ku, tumen bolon ti ku, ti ca sihi chhab, ca sihi ytzam cab ain, xoteb u kin balcah, cahau lai caan, ca nocpahi peten ca ix hoppi u hum oxlahu ti ku, ca uchi noh haicabil, ca liki noh ytzam cab ain, ɔocebal u than u uuɔ katun, lai hun yeciil, bin ɔocebal u than katun, ma ix yoltah bolon ti kui, ca ix xoti v cal ytzam cab ain, ca u chhaah u petenil v pach lai ah voh puc v kabae, ma ix u toh pultah u kaba tiob, ti kaxan tun u uich valac yahaulil lae.* —

„Dreizehn *ahau*, das ist der Tag, da werden Sonne und Mond und Nacht sich vereinigen, da kam es, dass es Morgen wurde für die dreizehn Götter (des Tages) durch die neun Götter (der Nacht), da wurde geboren das Ergriffenwerden, da wurde geboren (das Ergriffenwerden) des Krokodils des Landes des Tropfens, womit die Welt verurtheilt ist. Unser Vater, der Himmel, stürzte über der Erde zusammen, da fieng es an, dass ans Ziel gelangten die dreizehn Götter (des Tages), da geschah der grosse Weltuntergang, da erhob sich das grosse Krokodil des Landes des Tropfens, womit die Zählung der wiederkehrenden Zeitperioden (*katun*) zu Ende kommt, das ist die allgemeine Trunkenheit (der Weltuntergang), womit die Zählung der Zeitperioden zu Ende kommt, obwohl es die neun Götter nicht wollten, da wurde auch der Kopf abgeschlagen dem Krokodile des Landes des Tropfens und die Erde nahm in Besitz der *Ah uoh puc*, ohne ihnen seinen Namen zu berichten. Die Bindung der Abschnitte ist das Symbol dieser Herrschaft.“ —

Und an einer anderen Stelle desselben Buches heisst es deutlicher:

oxlahun ahau v yoxlahun ɔit katun .... eklahom v ɔub, nocpahom kin, nocpahom u uich v, emom v kikel che yetel tunich, elom caan, elom luum, yuk xot kin yokol cuxanob yokol cimenob ....

— „es schwärzen sich die duftenden Blumen, die Sonne fällt auf ihr Gesicht, das Antlitz des Mondes fällt auf sein Gesicht, die blutige Strafe (Holz und Stein = mexik. *tetl quauitl*) kommt herab, der Himmel brennt, die Erde brennt, allgemeines Gericht findet statt über die Lebenden, über die Toten.“

Nachdem nun durch diese Stellen meine Auffassung eine Stütze erhalten hat, die man, glaube ich, nicht ohne Weiteres zurückweisen können wird, bitte ich meine Leser, noch einmal die Liste in Betracht zu ziehen, die ich oben S. 148 aus den Angaben abstrahiert habe, die in den Anales de Quauhtitlan über die Wirksamkeit des Planeten Venus, bei seinem Aufgehen in den verschiedenen Zeichen, gemacht werden. Diese Liste, die mir lange Zeit ziemlich räthselhaft war, glaube ich jetzt mit dem, was die Bilderschriften uns zeigen, recht gut in Einklang bringen zu können. Nur muss man 1. nicht die Folge der Himmelsrichtungen, die im Codex Borgia vorliegt, sondern die der Codices Bologna und Vaticanus in Betracht ziehen; 2. muss man die Annahme machen, wozu man aber zweifellos berechtigt ist, dass der Maisgott der Bilderschriften in den Quellen, aus denen die Anales de Quauhtitlan schöpften, durch den alten Gott der Lebensmittel, durch *Tonacatecutli*, ersetzt war, und 3. dass in denselben Quellen *Tezcatlipoca*, der Gott der Erde, der ja auch der *Telpochtli*, der „junge Krieger“ heisst, als Repräsentant der jungen Mannschaft, der jungen Krieger (*telpopochtin*) und der Jungfrauen (*ichpopochtin*) betrachtet wurde. Unter dieser Annahme würden wir, den Text der Anales de Quauhtitlan mit unserer Liste B (siehe oben S. 152) kombinirend, zu folgenden Ergebnissen gelangen:

B. Codex Bologna 9—11, Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 80—84, Anales de Quauhtitlan.

I. Periode. Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil“. Der Planet regiert im Osten. Er schiesst den Maisgott (*Cinteotl*) (bezw. *Tonacatecutli*, den alten Gott der Lebensmittel), den Gott des Westens und dessen Vertreter, die alten Männer und Frauen (*ueuetque*, *ilamatque*).

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II. Periode. Zeichen *couatl* „Schlange“. Der Planet regiert im Westen. Er schiesst die Wassergöttin, *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des Ostens, er schiesst den Regen (*quiauitl*), es wird nicht regnen.

III. Periode. Zeichen *atl* „Wasser“. Der Planet regiert in der Höhe. Er schiesst die Krieger (*quauhyotl*), die Gemeinde (*altepetl*), die hier unten auf der Erde (*tlalticpac*) wohnen (es entsteht ein allgemeiner Brand) und die Folge davon allgemeine Dürre (*touaquiz*, *tlauaqui*).

IV. Periode. Zeichen *acatl* „Rohr“. Der Planet regiert im Norden. Er schiesst die Könige (*tlatocayotl*), die im Süden, im Sonnenlande, heimisch sind.

V. Periode. Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung“. Der Planet regiert im Süden. Er schiesst den Jaguar (*ocelotl*), den Gott der Erde, den Gott des Nordens und die Repräsentanten *Tezcatlipoca*'s, die Jünglinge (*telpopochtin*) und die Jungfrauen (*ichpopochtin*).

Diese Liste aber, wohlverstanden, dürfte erst durch Umdeutung, unter Beibehaltung der festen Beziehung zwischen den vom Speere getroffenen Gestalten und den Himmelsrichtungen, entstanden sein. Die ursprünglichere und korrektere Ordnung liegt in der oben S. 155 gegebenen Liste A des Codex Borgia vor, der auch die Folge der Gestalten auf den Blättern 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift durchaus entspricht. Im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, am Schlusse des neunten Kapitels, das von den fünf Venusperioden handelt, hatte ich auf gewisse Thatsachen hingewiesen, die es einem nahe legen, anzunehmen, dass die Mythologie und die Wissenschaft dieser Zeitperioden und die Beobachtungen, auf denen sie sich aufbauten, auf dem Gebiete mexikanisch redender Völker entstanden und erst von ihnen, den Maya-Völkern, überbracht worden seien. Aus dem oben Angeführten möchte man, wenigstens was Codex Bologna, Vaticanus und die Anales de Quauhtitlan betrifft, eine Entwicklung in umgekehrter Richtung folgern. Wenn nicht eben doch auch hier der Codex Borgia, d. h. das Gebiet, in dem diese Handschrift entstand, als das grosse Zentrum bliebe, von dem nach der einen Richtung und nach der anderen die Anregungen und Uebermittlungen ausgegangen sein könnten.

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19. Die sechs Himmelswanderer.

Blatt 55 = Kingsborough 60.

Dieses merkwürdige und schöne Blatt hat eine deutliche Parallele in der oberen Hälfte der Blätter 30—32 (= Kingsborough 15—13) des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, wie ich schon in meinem Kommentar zu der letzteren Handschrift (Berlin 1901, S. 150ff.) hervorgehoben habe, und zwei andere, weniger deutliche in den oberen Hälften der Blätter 35—37 (= Kingsborough 10—8) und 38—40 (= Kingsborough 7—5) derselben Bilderschrift.

Das Blatt zerfällt, wie man sieht, in sechs Abtheilungen, an deren unterem Rande überall ein Feld oder ein Weg angegeben ist, der in den verschiedenen Abtheilungen verschiedene Farbe hat, und auf dem die zwanzig Tageszeichen in der Weise eingeschrieben sind, dass für die erste der sechs Gestalten (rechts unten) das Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil“, für die zweite Figur (links unten) das Zeichen *calli* „Haus“, für die dritte (mittlere Reihe links) das Zeichen *miquiztli* „Tod“, für die vierte (mittlere Reihe rechts) das Zeichen *itzcuintli* „Hund“, für die fünfte (rechts oben) das Zeichen *ocelotl* „Jaguar“ und für die sechste und letzte (links oben) das Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ massgebend ist. Genau die gleichen Zeichen finden wir auch bei den entsprechenden sechs Figuren der ersten Reihe des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 128, 131, 134, 137, 140, 143) angegeben, während bei den Figuren der anderen beiden Parallelreihen (Abb. 129, 132, 135, 138, 141, 144; — 130, 133, 136, 139, 142, 145) die Zeichen in dem zweiten und in dem fünften Gliede um eins verschoben sind.

In der ersten Abtheilung, Blatt 55 unten rechts in unserer Handschrift, sieht man über einem Felde oder Wege türkisblauer Farbe, bei dem Zeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil“, den Sonnengott *Tonatiuh*, angegeben. Er ist

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in der üblichen Weise ausgestattet, rother Farbe, mit der Edelsteinkopfbinde und dem stylisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirne, der Adlerkrone und daraus herabhängenden haarig besäumten Streifen und den zwei Paaren von Edelsteinbändern, die von der Stirnbinde nach vorn und hinten (d. h. rechts und links?) herausragen. Vor ihm erhebt sich ein Tempel, in dem eine mit Edelsteinen gefüllte und selbst in den Farben des Edelsteines, des Türkises (*xiuitl*), gemalte Schale steht. Vor diesem Tempel bringt der Sonnengott ein Opfer von Brennholz (*quauitl*) und einer Kautschukkugel (*oltelolotli*) dar. Es ist etwas ungewöhnlich, dass der Sonnengott ein Feueropfer bringend, abgebildet ist. Wir haben ihn so eigentlich nur auf Blatt 14 unserer Handschrift, in der Reihe der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, gesehen. Dort bezieht sich das Feueropfer offenbar auf das dort ihm zugewiesene Amt, als eines der neun Herren der Nacht. Ungewöhnlich ist es auch, dass der Sonnengott hier bei dem Zeichen *cipactli* steht. Denn das letztere ist eigentlich das Zeichen der fruchtbaren Erde, der Götter *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, der Herren der Zeugung und der Herren der Lebensmittel. Wir werden wohl annehmen dürfen, dass der Sonnengott hier auch als Herr der Lebensmittel, oder für den Herrn der Lebensmittel, steht.

Dass in der That hier auf unserem Blatte 55 des Codex Borgia der Sonnengott in einer besonderen Rolle gemeint ist, das ergibt denn auch der Vergleich mit den Parallelstellen des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Denn hier sehen wir, in der ersten Reihe (Abb. 128), zwar auch den Tempel; statt der Schale mit Edelsteinen eine Schachtel mit Edelsteinen, zu der von oben ein Quetzalvogel herabfliegt; wir sehen auch das Brennholzbündel (*quauitl*) und die Kautschukkugel (*oltelolotli*), aber als Opfernder steht vor dem Tempel nicht der Sonnengott, sondern ein blau gemalter Gott mit langem Barte, der im ganzen Ansehen dem Mondgotte *Tecciztecatl* gleicht, wie wir diesen z. B. in der oberen Abtheilung des Blattes 24 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer abgebildet sehen, wo er als fünfter in der ersten Reihe der Hüter der viermal fünf Venusperioden steht, für den Gott *Xochipilli* des Codex Borgia eintretend.[1])

In der zweiten Parallelreihe des Codex Fejérváry ist der Sonnengott des Codex Borgia durch einen blauen *Quetzalcouatl* ersetzt (Abb. 129), der in der einen Hand auch ein Feueropfer, eine Kautschukkugel (*oltelolotli*) darbringt, in der anderen Hand aber einen Fächer hält (*ecaceuaztli*), das Zeichen der Wandernden, der Reisenden. In der dritten Parallelreihe steht bei dem Anfangszeichen *cipactli* die Gruppe Abb. 130, die vielleicht als Versinnbildlichung eines Herrn der Zeugung gemeint ist, aber schwerlich irgendwie unmittelbar auf den Sonnengott zu beziehen ist.

In der zweiten Abtheilung des Blattes 55 unserer Handschrift, links unten, bei dem Zeichen *calli* „Haus“, — das ja häufig als das dunkle Haus der Erde aufgefasst, bei den Maya-Völkern geradezu durch *akbal* „Nacht“ ersetzt ist — sehen wir, über einem mit gelber Farbe gemalten Wege oder Felde, *Tlaçolteotl*, die alte Göttin der Erde dargestellt, die, wie wir wissen, eigentlich die Mondgöttin ist, und ihr gegenüber *metztli*, den Mond. Die Göttin ist mit ihrer schwarzen Kautschukbemalung um den Mund, der halbmondförmigen gelben Nasenplatte (*yacametztli*), der Stirnbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcaxochitl*) und ihren Spindeln im Haare (*mamalacaquetzalli*) und dem eigenthümlichen kommaförmig gekrümmten, weiss und blau gebänderten Brustschmucke dargestellt, der für sie und die ihr verwandten Pulquegötter in unserer Handschrift kennzeichnend ist[2]). Und sie ist in die halb rothe, halb schwarze mit dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde verzierte Enagua gekleidet, eine Farbenzusammenstellung, die wiederum für sie und die Pulquegötter charakteristisch ist, und die die Mondbemalung oder genauer den Abendhimmel, an dem der Mond erscheint, darstellt. — Der Mond (*metztli*), der hier der Göttin gegenüber angegeben ist, ist wieder durch das Kaninchen im wässerigen Felde, das von dem knöchernen und von Nacht umhüllten Nasenmonde umschlossen ist, bezeichnet, genau, wie wir den Mond auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift unten rechts bei *Tepeyollotli*, dem Jaguar, abgebildet sahen. Nur ist hier unter dem Monde noch eine rothe Blutschlange gezeichnet.

Nicht so charakteristisch sind die entsprechenden Bilder der Parallelreihen des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. In der ersten Reihe (Abb. 131) ist die *Tlaçolteotl* wohl noch zu erkennen. Wenigstens ähnelt die Figur durchaus der *Tlaçolteotl*, die in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 28 des Codex Fejérváry als

1) Siehe den ersten Band dieser Erläuterungen, S. 246, Abb. 425.
2) Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 143, 164.

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zweite in der vierten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden abgebildet ist.[3]) Aber die Göttin ist hier zwar mit derselben Handbewegung, wie die *Tlaçolteotl* des Codex Borgia dargestellt, zugleich aber als Wandernde, als Reisende. Während die Figur des Codex Borgia den Schild und das Speerbündel, die ihr als der Kriegerin zukommen, in der Hand hält, trägt die Göttin des Codex Fejérváry den bambusgeflochtenen Schild und die Handfahne in einem Bündel auf dem Rücken. Eine andere, noch

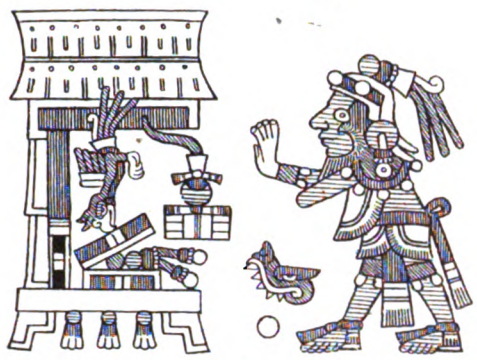

Abb. 128. *Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott. Codex Fejéváry-Mayer 30 (= Kingsborough 15).

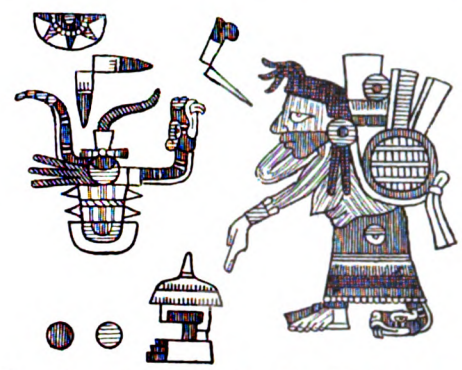

Abb. 131. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 30 (= Kingsborough 15).

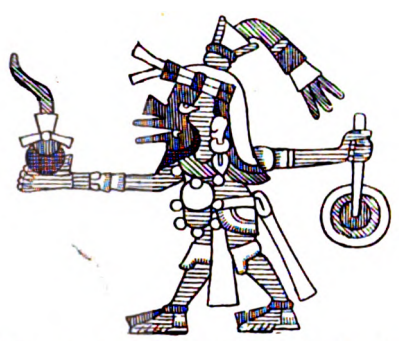

Abb. 129. *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott, als Wanderer. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 35 (= Kingsborough 10).

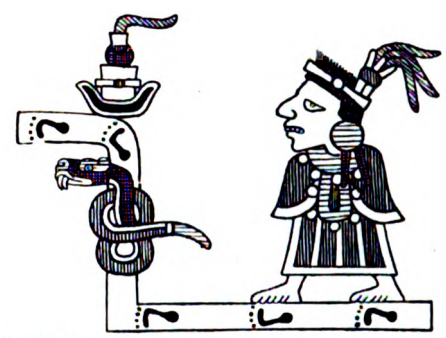

Abb. 132. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 35 (= Kingsborough 10).

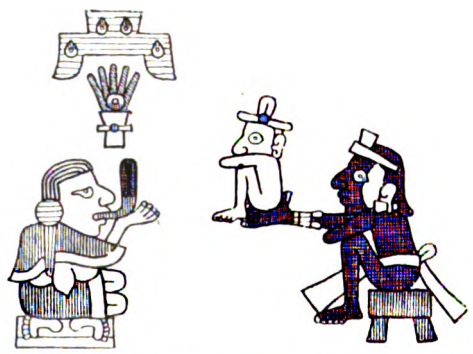

Abb. 130. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 38 (= Kingsborough 7).

Abb. 133. Codex Fejérvary-Mayer 38 (= Kingsborough 7).

merkwürdigere Besonderheit ist, dass der eine Fuss der Göttin durch den Kopf einer rothen Blutschlange ersetzt ist. Wir werden in ähnlicher Weise bei dem fünften Gliede dieser ersten Parallelreihe des Codex Fejérváry den einen Fuss durch einen in der Körperfarbe des Gottes gemalten Schlangenkopf ersetzt sehen. Ich bin geneigt, das mit dem abgerissenen *Tezcatlipoca*-Fusse in Zusammenhang zu bringen. — Statt des Mondes sehen wir bei dieser zweiten Figur der ersten Parallelreihe des Codex Fejérváry eine halbe Sonnenscheibe angegeben — also gewissermassen die „halbe Sonne, die nur schwach leuchtete", von der in der Erzählung der „Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas" von den prähistorischen

1) Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 276, Abb. 471.

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oder präkosmischen Weltperioden, die bekanntlich in die Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne fallen, die Rede ist.[1]) Unter dieser Andeutung des Mondes sieht man auch eine rothe Schlange, die liegt aber hier auf einem Zackengefässe, einem Räuchergefässe, zusammen mit einem *malinalli*-Busche (oder Besen) und einer Kautschukkugel. Ein zerbrochenes Steinmesser und ein zerbrochener Knochendolch, die wir in gleicher Weise bei dem sechsten Gliede dieser Reihe angegeben finden werden, scheint auf die alte Zeit, die Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne, hinzuweisen.[2])

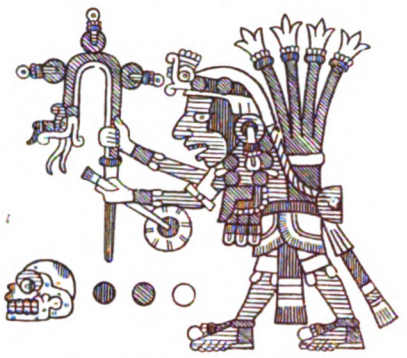

Abb. 134. *Yacatecutli,* der Gott der Reisenden. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 31 (= Kingsborough 14).

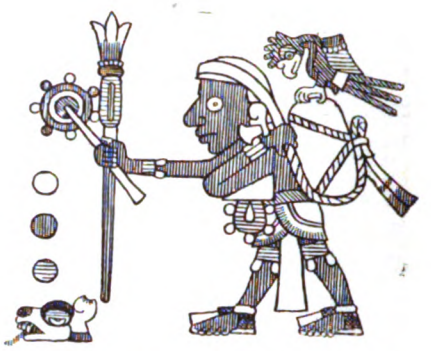

Abb. 137. Der Himmelswanderer des Nordens = *Tezcatlipoca.* Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 31 (= Kingsborough 14).

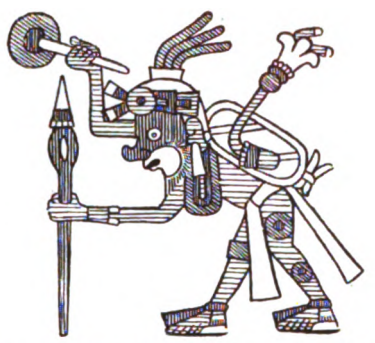

Abb. 135. *Yacatecutli,* der Gott der Reisenden. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 36 (= Kingsborough 9)

Abb. 138. Der Himmelswanderer des Nordens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 36 (= Kingsborough 9).

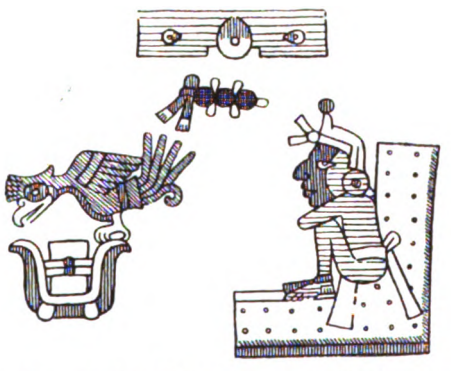

Abb. 136. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 39 (= Kingsborough 6).

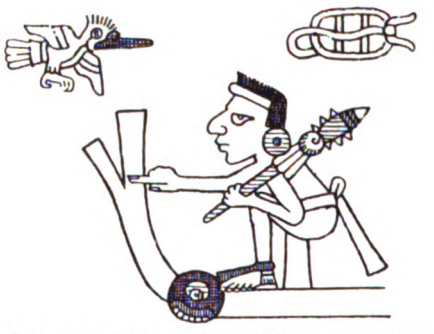

Abb. 139. Der Himmelswanderer des Nordens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 39 (= Kingsborough 6).

In der zweiten Reihe des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer ist das Bild, das dort (Abb. 132) in der zweiten Abtheilung steht, noch reduzirter. Wir sehen eine Frau, die keine besondere Kennzeichen oder Bemalung an sich hat, aber als Kriegerin frisirt zu sein scheint, in roth und weissem Gewande. Diese steht also

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1) Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, Nueva Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México, Vol. III. (México 1891), p. 229.

2) Siehe meine Erläuterungen zum Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Berlin 1901, S. 161.

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hier für die *Tlaçolteotl* der anderen Stellen. Sie stellt vielleicht im Besonderen eine *Ciuacouatl* oder *Çiuateotl*, die ja gewissermassen Repräsentantinnen der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Mondgöttin, sind, vor. Sie steht auf einem Wege, der sich nach oben wendet, an dem eine rothe Schlange und darüber, in einer schwarzen Schale, ein aus einem Brennholzbündel und einer Kautschukkugel bestehendes Feueropfer

Abb. 140. Der Himmelswanderer des Südens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 32 (= Kingsborough 13).

Abb. 143. *Iztac Mixcouatl*, der alte Feuergott, der erste Mensch, als Hirsch. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 32 (= Kingsborough 13).

Abb. 141. Der Himmelswanderer des Südens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 37 (= Kingsborough 8).

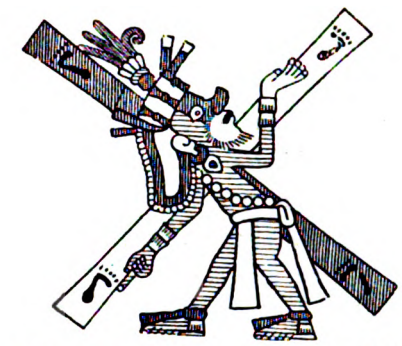

Abb. 144. *Yacatecutli*, der Gott der Reisenden, auf dem Kreuzwege. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 37 (= Kingsborough 8).

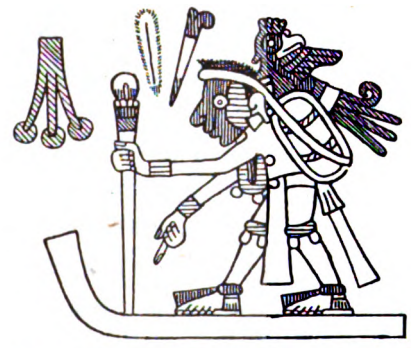

Abb. 142. Der Himmelswanderer des Südens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 40 (= Kingsborough 5).

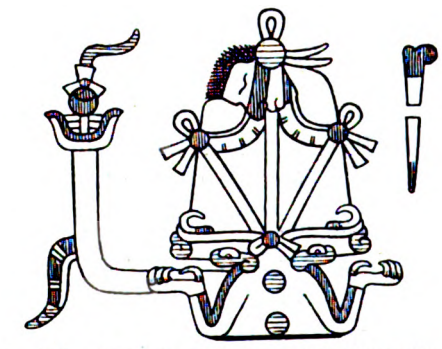

Abb. 145. *Mictlantecutli*, der Gott der Unterwelt. Codex Fejérvary-Mayer 40 (= Kingsborough 5).

angebracht ist. Das Bild des Mondes fehlt hier ganz und gar. Aber die akzessorischen Elemente, die wir in Abb. 131 unter der halben Sonnenscheibe (d. h. dem Monde) sahen, sind vertreten.

Ganz anders ist das entsprechende Bild der dritten Reihe (Abb. 133). Keine Göttin, keine Mondscheibe, nur ein Priester, der eine Kugel rollt. Aber eine Beziehung zu dem Bilde der ersten Reihe ist dadurch hergestellt, dass die Kasteiungswerkzeuge (Knochendolch und spitzer Federstab) und der *malinalli*-Busch, den er in der Hand hält, wie in jenem Bilde, zerbrochen, zerstückt gezeichnet sind.

Die vier noch übrigen Bilder unseres Blattes scheinen enger zusammenzugehören. Die Figuren haben, trotz aller Variation im Einzelnen eine gewisse Familienähnlichkeit. Zunächst sind sie alle vier

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mit Fächer (*ecaceuaztli*) und Wanderstab (*topilli*), d. h. als Wanderer, als Reisende, gezeichnet. So sind im dritten Theile des Codex Mendoza die Gesandten *Motecuhçoma*'s mit dem Stabe in der einen, mit dem aus Palmblatt geflochtenen Fächer in der anderen Hand abgebildet. Und wo, im Codex Mendoza, der Ueberfall mexikanischer Kaufleute durch fremde, feindliche Stämme dem Beschauer vorgeführt wird, ist, neben dem Traggestelle (*cacaxtli*) mit der daraufgeschnürten Last, der Fächer (*ecaceuaztli*) und der Wanderstab (*otlatopilli*) angegeben. Noch deutlicher sind der zweite und der dritte dieser vier (in der rechten Hälfte der mittleren und der oberen Querreihe unseres Blattes) als Wanderer gekennzeichnet, da sie auch mit der in Matten verpackten und verschnürten Last, die sie in der noch heute üblichen Weise an einem über die Stirn gehenden, breiten, aus Palmblatt geflochtenen Bande (*mecapalli*) befestigt auf dem Rücken tragen, abgebildet sind. Diese vier Figuren, die auf unserem Blatte dem Sonnengotte und der Mondgöttin, bezw. dem Gotte der Nacht und der Mondgöttin, folgen, werden wie demnach wohl als Abbilder der ewig Wandernden, der Sterne, anzusehen haben.

Die erste dieser vier Gestalten, die in der dritten Abtheilung, der linken Hälfte der mittleren Querreihe unseres Blattes bei dem Zeichen *miquiztli* „Tod" steht, ist ein blau, in der Farbe des Türkises (*xiuitl*) gemalter Gott, der die Stirnbinde des Sonnengottes und den zur Hälfte dunklen (blauen, schwarzen), zur Hälfte hellen (rothen) kegelförmigen Hut *copilli* und den in die Stirnbinde eingesteckten Knochendolch (*omitl*) des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* trägt, mit einem Halsschmucke aus grünen Edelsteinen (*chalchiuhcozcapetlatl*), einem in den Farben des grünen Edelsteines (*chalchiuitl*) gemalten Hüfttuche und einem grossen fächerartigen Nackenschmucke aus Quetzalfedern geschmückt ist, der Schneckengehäuse, statt Kupferschellen, an den Handgelenkbändern trägt, dessen Fächer auch aus einem Türkisvogel (*xiuhtototl*), bezw. dessen Federn besteht, und dessen Stab in den Farben des Türkises (*xiuitl*) gemalt, mit grünem Edelsteine (*chalchiuitl*) geschmückt ist und in eine Blume (*xochitl*) endet, der endlich als Devise oder als Last auf dem Rücken einen in der Farbe des Türkises (*xiuitl*) gemalten Blüthenbaum trägt. Wir sind dieser Gestalt, die zu gleicher Zeit als ein Herr des Türkises und des grünen Edelsteins, als ein *xiuhpilli chalchiuhpilli*, und als *Quetzalcouatl* sich kundgibt, schon einmal begegnet, auf Blatt 22 unserer Handschrift, wo er in der anderen Reihe der Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen das erste Tageszeichen *cipactli* „Krokodil" vertrat. Nur war er dort noch deutlicher, als hier auf unserem Blatte, als *Quetzalcouatl* gekennzeichnet. Ich habe über diesen Gott in dem ersten Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 301 und 319 ff. ausführlich gesprochen und habe dort gerade unter Bezugnahme auf das Vorkommen auf diesem Blatte 55 und seine Entsprechungen im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer und unter Berücksichtigung der Parallelen, die ich mit dem schwarzen Gotte der Maya-Handschriften, *Ekchuah*, zu ziehen mich genöthigt sah, geschlossen, dass er *Yacatecutli*, den „Herrn der Nase", den Gott der Kaufleute, — d. h. den Gott der reichen Leute, der darum selbst auch ein Herr des Reichthums sein wird, — vorstellen müsse.

Die Parallelstellen des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 134—136) zeigen in der That diesen Gott nicht nur als einen mit Türkis- und Edelsteinfarbe gemalten, mit Edelsteinen geschmückten, seine Blüthenlast auf dem Rücken tragenden Wanderer (Abb. 134, 135), sondern auch in Abb. 135 mit einer Maske, in der eine besondere Form der Nase in der auffälligsten Weise in die Erscheinung tritt, — eine Form, die offenbar eine gewollte und beabsichtigte ist, die genau in der gleichen Weise bei dem wandernden, seine Last tragenden schwarzen Gotte der Maya-Handschriften (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 323 und 325) zu erkennen ist, und die eben den *Yacatecutli*, den Herrn der Nase, kennzeichnet. — Es versteht sich von selbst, dass mit dieser Identifikation über die Natur des Gottes zunächst nichts gesagt ist. Denn was für eine mythische Verkörperung in dem Gotte der Kaufleute, *Yacatecutli*, eigentlich vorliegt, darüber ist den Berichten nichts zu entnehmen. Umgekehrt werden wir aus den hier vorliegenden Stellen für den Gott der Kaufleute schliessen können, dass es ein Sterngott, vielleicht ein bestimmtes Gestirn, vielleicht eine besondere Auffassung des „grossen Sternes" *uei citlalin* oder *citlalpol*, d. h. des Planeten Venus, war, den die Kaufleute als *Yacatecutli* verehrten. In der That zeigt unsere dritte Parallelstelle, die des Blattes 39 des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 136), über dem auf dem Jaguarstuhle sitzenden Gotte nicht nur die Edelsteinkette, das Zeichen des Reichthums, sondern auch den Sternhimmel mit einem grossen Sterne in der Mitte.

Die folgenden beiden Bilder, in den rechten Hälften der mittleren und der obersten Reihe des

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Blattes 55 des Codex Borgia, die — das erste durch das Zeichen *itzcuintli* „Hund", das zweite durch das Zeichen *ocelotl* „Jaguar" — gekennzeichnet sind, sind deutliche Parallelen. Es sind Wanderer, κατ' ἐξοχήν, mit dem Stabe und dem Fächer in der Hand und der hübsch in Matten (*petlatl*) geschnürten Last, die sie an dem breiten, über die Stirn gehenden, aus Mattengeflecht bestehenden *mecapalli* befestigt, auf dem Rücken tragen. Beide haben unter dem Tragbande auf dem Kopfe ein den Scheitel ganz bedeckendes, hinten lang herabfallendes, mit Daunenfederbällen besteckes Tuch, das wir als kennzeichnendes Trachtstück bei *Tezcatlipoca* finden, z. B. bei dem rothen *Tezcatlipoca*, Blatt 11 unserer Handschrift, und bei dem schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca* auf dem Schlussblatte (44) des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Aber der erste der beiden Götter ist in unserer Handschrift ein rother Gott. Sein Stab ist die gekrümmte, mit *cipactli*-Zeichnung bemalte, mit *cipactli*-Stacheln besetzte, an der Spitze mit einem Steinmesser bewehrte Waffe, — Schwertfischschwert oder Stachelkeule — die wir im Codex Borgia fast regelmässig mit Schild, Speerbündel und Netztasche vereinigt als Zeichen und Abbild des Krieges gezeichnet sehen, und er trägt auf seiner Rückenlast auf einem Jaguarfelle oben das Zeichen des Krieges (*yaoyotl*), — Schild, Speerbündel und Schwertfischschwert oder Stachelkeule. Der andere Gott, der bei dem Zeichen *ocelotl* „Jaguar" steht, ist ein gelber Gott. Sein Stab ist türkisfarben und endet in eine Blume, wie der *Yacatecutli*'s. Und über seine Rückenlast ist eine grüne Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*)-Schale gestülpt, auf der ein Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltototl*) hockt.

Weniger differenzirt sind die entsprechenden Figuren in der ersten Parallelreihe des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 137 und 140). Zwar der erste Gott ist hier auch ein rother, der zweite ist an Körper und Gliedern schwarz, im Gesichte gelb gefärbt. Aber der Stab und der Fächer ist bei beiden gleich, in eine Blume endend; und bei beiden hockt auf der Last ein Quetzalvogel. Eine Besonderheit ist nur noch, dass der zweite, der am Leibe schwarze Gott, den einen Fuss durch einen Schlangenkopf ersetzt hat, gleich wie die Mondgöttin derselben Reihe.

In der zweiten und dritten Reihe des Fejérváry sind die beiden Gestalten wieder deutlicher unterschieden. In der zweiten Reihe (Abb. 138 und 141) ist der erste ein gelber, der zweite ein rother Gott. Die Last des ersten ist augenscheinlich in ein Thierfell gehüllt, und in ihr steckt ein Pfeilschaft; auf der Last des zweiten hockt der Quetzalvogel, wie bei der entsprechenden Figur des Codex Borgia. Der erste endlich hat gewissermassen als Determinativ ein kleines schwarzes Thier vor sich, das offenbar ein nächtiges, ein Thier der Erde, eine Maus (*quimichin*) oder dergleichen sein soll, und das wir, ganz ähnlich gezeichnet, Blatt 2 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, auf oder an einem Kreuzwege hocken sehen, als Determinativ für *Itztli* oder *Tezcatlipoca*, den zweiten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. Bei dem zweiten der beiden Götter aber (Abb. 141) ist gewissermassen als Determinativ ein Vogel mit spitzem Schnabel angegeben, der mit diesem spitzen Schnabel in dem Wanderstabe des Gottes hängt und dadurch also, wie durch den spitzen Schnabel, die Vermuthung erweckt, dass er einen Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) vorstellen solle. Als ein zweites Determinativ ist bei ihm ein Ohr mit Einschnitten am oberen Rande und eine Art Rauchwolken an ihm angegeben. Das dürfte wohl auf Kasteiung oder Selbstpeinigung zu beziehen sein.

In der dritten Reihe des Fejérváry-Mayer sind die beiden Gestalten (Abb. 139 und 142) auf einem sich nach oben krümmenden Wege gezeichnet, der aber bei dem ersten Gotte (Abb. 139) sich spaltet. Der erste Gott trägt keine Last auf dem Rücken. Diese ist aber über ihm angegeben. Er hält einen Stab mit Stachelspitze in der Hand, erinnert dadurch also wieder an die entsprechende Figur des Codex Borgia. Der zweite Gott (Abb. 142) wandert mit seiner Last auf dem Rücken, und auf der hockt wieder der Quetzalvogel. Als Determinativ sieht man bei ihm die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch (*omitl*), spitzen Federstab (oder zugespitzte Federpose) und *malinalli*-Busch.

Fasst man zusammen, was diese vier verschiedenen Paralleldarstellungen uns zeigen, so kann man sagen, dass der erste Gott, der rothe Gott des Codex Borgia deutliche Beziehungen zu *Tezcatlipoca*, dem Gotte des Nordens aufweist, — man denke an das schwarze Thier in der Abb. 138. Der zweite, der gelbe Gott des Codex Borgia erinnert durch den Quetzalvogel auf der Traglast an den rothen *Tezcatlipoca*, den wir in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 21 des Codex Borgia ganz in der gleichen Weise ausstaffirt sehen. Wir werden also für diesen zweiten Gott eine Beziehung zu dem Süden annehmen können, dem

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uitztlampa, der „Gegend der Dornen“, eine Beziehung, die mir auch durch den Kolibri und die Kasteiungswerkzeuge gegeben scheint. So komme ich zu dem Schlusse, dass, wenn der blaue Gott der dritten Abtheilung, den ich mit *Yacatecutli* identifizire, als besondere Form der Gottheit des grossen Sternes, der Venus, zu betrachten und dadurch mit der Ost- und mit der Westregion in Verbindung zu bringen ist, so wird der Wanderer der vierten Abtheilung, der rothe Gott des Codex Borgia, der die Waffen des Krieges auf seiner Traglast trägt, das Heer der Sterne des Nordens, der Wanderer der fünften Abtheilung, der gelbe Gott des Codex Borgia, der die Edelsteinschale und den Quetzalvogel auf seiner Rückenlast hat, das Heer der Sterne des Südens veranschaulichen sollen.

Es bleibt nun noch die Figur der sechsten Abtheilung, die in der linken Hälfte der oberen Reihe unseres Blattes bei dem Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ steht, zu besprechen. Das ist im Codex Borgia ein alter Gott, mit Reiherfederbart (und Reiherfederhaar), derselbe, den wir schon auf dem Blatte 24 unserer Handschrift, oben rechts, als Herrn des achtzehnten Tageszeichens *tecpatl* „Feuersteinmesser“ kennen gelernt haben, und den ich dort mit dem *Iztac Mixcouatl*, von dem in den Stammessagen der mexikanischen Stämme des Hochlandes die Rede ist, identifizirt habe. Dort, auf Blatt 24 unserer Handschrift, hatte der Gott einen Reiherstab (*aztatopilli*) in der Hand und die Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) der Priester

Abb. 146. Der alte Priester *ome itzcuintli* „zwei Hund“ mit der Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) auf dem Rücken. Wiener Handschrift 10.

Abb. 147. Der alte Priester *ome itzcuintli* „zwei Hund“ mit der Jaguarfussfelltasche (*oceloyataztli*) auf dem Rücken. Wiener Handschrift 21.

auf dem Rücken. Hier schwingt er zwar auch, mit dem Fächer, den er in der Hand hält, die Jaguarfusshauttasche (*oceloyataztli*), die in gleicher Weise wie der *yetecomatl*, Abzeichen der Priester und Behälter für das *yaqualli*, die Tabakspeise, ist (vgl. Abb. 146, 147). Aber sein Stab ist hier nicht der Reiherstab, sondern ein Feuerschlangenstab (*xiuhcouatopilli*); der Gott ist nicht einfach menschlicher Gestalt, wie auf Blatt 24, abgebildet, sondern sein Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Maule eines Hirsches (*maçatl*) heraus, d. h. der Gott erscheint hier in der Verkleidung eines Hirsches. Das ist aber, gerade für diesen Gott, eine durchaus angemessene Verkleidung. Ueberall in den Sagen begegnen wir der Vorstellung von Urgöttern in Hirschgestalt. Ich erinnere an die Sage, die Fray Gregorio Garcia im vierten Kapitel des fünften Buches seines (sonst wenig erfreulichen) Werkes „Origen de los Indios“ uns erhalten hat, von dem Hirschgotte und der Hirschgöttin, die auf dem Berge bei *Apoala* in der Mixteca wohnten. Ich erinnere auch daran, dass der erste Toltekenkönig, der unmittelbar, nachdem die gegenwärtige Sonne geboren war, die Herrschaft in *Tollan* begründete, geradezu *Mixcoa·maça-tzin* „Wolkenschlangenhirsch“ genannt. Die Rolle als Urgott kommt dem Hirsche zu, weil der Hirsch die Sonne oder das Feuer repräsentiert. Auf Blatt 33 unserer Handschrift wird die Sonne von einem Hirsche, der Mond von einem Kaninchen getragen. So ist also auch hier, bei unserem sechsten der Himmelswanderer, die Hirschverkleidung, gleich dem *xiuhcouatopilli*, den der Gott hält, nur eine Andeutung dafür, dass dieser alte reiherfederhaarige Gott eigentlich der Feuergott ist. Und wenn dieser Gott hier bei dem Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ steht, so darf ich wohl daran erinnern, dass der Regengott auch den Feuer-

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regen, die eine der prähistorischen Weltperioden, repräsentirt, dass das siebente Tageszeichen *maçatl* „Hirsch“ in unseren Handschriften durch *Tlaloc*, den Regengott, und umgekehrt das Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ durch die Feuergöttin oder den Sonnengott, als deren Vertreter, veranschaulicht wird.

Die Abbildungen, die uns in den Parallelreihen des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer begegnen, sind in mehr als einer Hinsicht interessant. In der ersten Reihe (Abb. 143) sehen wir eine Figur, die durchaus die gleiche Persönlichkeit vorstellen muss wie das Bild des Codex Borgia. Aber der Gott hat hier den weissen Reiherstab (*aztatopilli*), der ihm, wie wir auf Blatt 24 des Codex Borgia gesehen haben und wie wir unten auf Blatt 60 unserer Handschrift wieder sehen werden, von Natur gebührt, und er ist nicht bloss in Hirschmaske, sondern geradezu mit Hirschkopf gezeichnet. Ueber ihm sieht man eine Schale mit einem herausgetriebenen Auge (dem Zeichen der Selbstpeinigung) und einem *aztaxelli*, dem Reiherfedergabelschmucke der Krieger. Und darunter die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Steinmesser (*tecpatl*), die aber hier, wie bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Mondgöttin, in der zweiten Abtheilung, zerbrochen oder zerstückt gezeichnet sind, weil es sich auch bei diesem Gotte um die uralte Zeit, die Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne, handelt.

In der zweiten Parallelreihe dagegen sehen wir (Abb. 144) statt des alten Gottes in Hirschverkleidung wieder *Yacatecutli*, den „Herrn der Nase“, den Gott der Reisenden, der Kaufleute, genau in der gleichen Farbe, Form und Bildung wie in der dritten Abtheilung derselben Reihe. Aber der *Yacatecutli* steht hier vor einem Kreuzwege, oder in der Mitte eines solchen, wie wenn hier gesagt werden sollte, dass hier nicht die *yacateteuctin* des Ostens und des Westens, des Nordens oder des Südens, sondern der der Mitte, das ist natürlich der Feuergott, gemeint sein solle.

In der dritten Parallelreihe endlich (Abb. 145) sieht man den aufgesperrten Rachen einer Erdkröte und in ihm eine eingebündelte Leiche mit der Maske eines toten rothen (*tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*. Ein Weg führt von ihm in die Höhe und endet in einer Schale mit einem Feueropfer. Und auf der anderen Seite sieht man wieder, wie in der Abb. 143, einen zerstückten Knochendolch. Das Ganze scheint zu sagen, dass der Feuergott der alte Gott, der erste Mensch, d. h. der Repräsentant der Vorfahren, der längst Verstorbenen ist. — Die Gesammtheit dieser vier Bilder spricht für sich. Hier sind die Sterne oder die Sterngötter in der fünften Richtung gemeint, die mit dem Feuergotte, dem ersten Menschen, den Chichimeken und den Vorfahren, sich decken.

Nach der im Obigen gegebenen Analyse der sechs Figuren unseres Blattes 55 und ihrer Parallelen brauche ich, glaube ich, mich kaum mehr besonders zu rechtfertigen, dass ich dieses ganze Blatt als die sechs Himmelswanderer bezeichnet habe. Freilich ist, wenn diese Bezeichnung auch richtig ist, der Zweck dieses Bildes oder der ganzen Reihe noch nicht erklärt. Das sind Fragen, die auf einem anderen Blatte stehen, die wir wirklich nur in den leider noch seltenen Fällen beantworten können, wo wir die Darstellungen der Handschriften mit astronomischen Verhältnissen, Zeitperioden und dergleichen in Zusammenhang bringen können.

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20. Der Gott des Lebens und der Gott des Todes in der irdischen Region.

Blatt 56 = Kingsborough 59.

Dies grosse Doppelbild, das hier von den Zeichen der Anfangstage der zwanzig Dreizehnheiten des Tonalamatl's begleitet ist, die abwechselnd links und rechts einander folgen, hat eine unmittelbare Parallele in dem Blatte 76 (= Kingsborough 21) des Codex Vaticanus 3773, dessen Hauptfigur ich in Abb. 148 wiedergebe, und eine verwandte Darstellung begegnet uns auf dem Blatte 73 (= Kingsborough 42) unserer Handschrift, das wiederum in dem Blatte 75 (= Kingsborough 22) des Vaticanus 3773, dessen Hauptfigur in Abb. 149 wiedergegeben ist, seine besondere Entsprechung hat.

Die beiden Bilder zeigen *Quetzalcouatl*, den Windgott, und *Mictlantecutli*, Rücken an Rücken gelehnt. *Quetzalcouatl* erscheint hier auf unserem Blatte in seiner gewöhnlichen Gestalt, schwarzer Farbe,

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mit dem halb schwarzen, halb rothen Gesichte und der rothen, von langem gelbem Barte umsäumten vogelschnabelartigen Maske mit der halb schwarzen, halb rothen kegelförmigen Mütze (*copilli*) und den Stufenmäandern auf der Kopfbinde, die hier so schön wie fast nirgend sonst ausgeführt sind, endlich mit seinem gewöhnlichen, oben wiederholt beschriebenen Ohren-, Brust- und Nackenschmucke.[1]) Er hält einen eigenthümlichen weissen, schwarz gebänderten Stab in der Hand, der in der Form dem blauen Stabe entspricht, den auf dem Blatte 66 unserer Handschrift der Mondgott führt. Auf dem Parallelblatte des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 148) ist dieses Instrument durch einen Schlangenstab (*couatopilli*), der aber auch an der Spitze eingekrümmt ist, ersetzt. Wir haben dieses bumerangartig gekrümmte, weisse, schwarzgebänderte Instrument in unserer Handschrift schon zweimal angetroffen: auf Blatt 33, wo es an

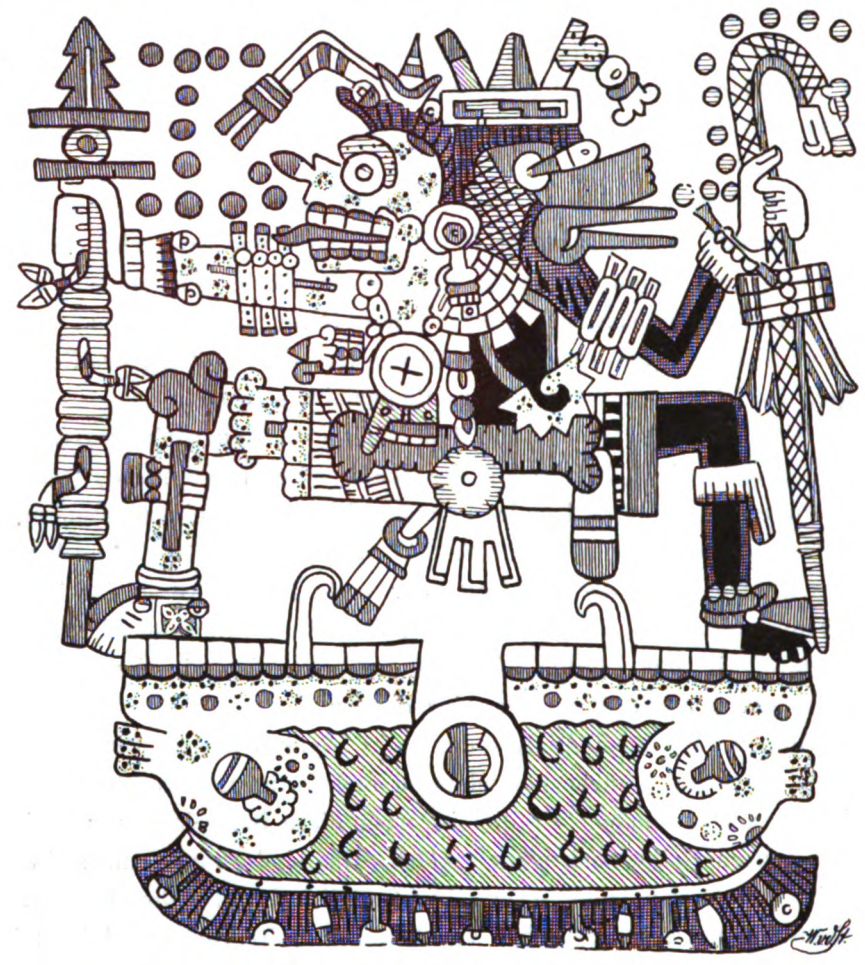

Abb. 148. *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli*, in der irdischen Region.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 76. (= Kingsborough 21).

dem Opferseile befestigt war, das der Skorpion von der Spitze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, dem Nordpfeiler, herunterbringt, und auf Blatt 38, wo es der in dem Wassergefässe liegende tote *Xolotl* der über dem Gefässe stehenden *Tlaloc*-(Regengott-)Figur reicht. Der mit dem Rücken an *Quetzalcouatl* gelehnte *Mictlantecutli* ist ganz als Skelett in der üblichen, aber, in Folge der Grösse des Bildes, sehr eindrucksvollen Art gezeichnet. Er hält einen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*), der natürlich, der Natur des Todesgottes entsprechend, in Knochensubstanz ausgeführt und von einer geschlossenen Menschenfaust (statt der sonst üblichen harpunenartigen Spitze) gekrönt ist. In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 148) hat der Todesgott einen Rasselstab gewöhnlicher Form und Farbe in der Hand, von dem nur als interessante Einzelheit die an Riemen hängenden Paare rasselnder Schneckengehäuse zu erwähnen sind, die an den Hauptgliedern des Stabes befestigt sind. Das ganze Doppelbild steht auf unserem Blatte 56 und in dem Parallelbilde des Vaticanus (Abb. 148) über einem *tzontemoc*-artigen, mit dem

1) Vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 88.

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Scheitel nach unten gezeichneten grossen Skelettkopfe, der wohl die Erde bezeichnen soll. Er ist in unserer Handschrift an der Stirnseite mit der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* „grüner Edelstein“ gezeichnet, — eine Hieroglyphe, die sonst, worauf ich oben schon mehrfach hingewiesen habe, das zum Opfer Bestimmte oder die Opferstätte bezeichnet. In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 148) steht dafür das siebzehnte Tageszeichen, *olin* „Bewegung“, das Zeichen *Xolotl*'s und der Sonne, die zu den Toten hinab geht. Auf unserem Blatte 56 endlich sind neben diesem grossen, die Erde bezeichnenden Skelettkopfe auf der Seite *Quetzalcouatl*'s ein Paar mit Daunenfederbällen besteckte Netzmäntel oder Netzdecken (*ayatl*), einer schwarzer, einer blauer Farbe, wie sie *Quetzalcouatl* selbst um die Hüften gebunden hat, angegeben, auf der Seite *Mictlantecutli*'s ein Paar *malinalli*-Grasröckchen, die das gewöhnliche Hüfttuch, das der Todesgott auch hier trägt, darstellen.

Ganz anders ist *Quetzalcouatl* in dem Doppelbilde des Blattes 73 unserer Handschrift, dem im Vaticanus das Bild Abb. 149 entspricht, bemalt und ausgestattet. Hier ist er nicht schwarz, sondern

Abb. 149. *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli*, in der himmlischen Region.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 75 (= Kingsborough 22).

blau, von der Farbe des Himmels und der Luft, und die vordere Hälfte des Gesichts, die vogelschnabelartig vorspringt, ist nicht roth, sondern *cicitlallô* „sternhimmelartig“, mit weissen Kreisen auf schwarzem Grunde, in sehr eigenthümlicher Weise bemalt. Die kegelförmige Mütze (*copilli*) ist nicht schwarz und roth, sondern blau und roth gemalt, und an Stelle des Auges, das sonst auf der Grenzlinie der schwarzen und der rothen Hälfte angegeben ist, das eben den zwischen dem dunklen Nordpfeiler und dem hellen Südpfeiler aufsteigenden oder hinabsteigenden Lichtkörper bezeichnet, sieht man hier das weisse Windkreuz, das Zeichen des Himmels. Der Kopfbinde fehlt der stylisirte Vogelkopf an der Stirnseite; die Binde selbst ist nicht roth (von der Farbe des Leders), sondern weiss, und von dem weissen Grunde heben sich die Stufenmäander in tief schwarzer Farbe ab; es sind also hier auch gewissermassen die Farben der *cicitlallô*- oder Sternhimmelbemalung zur Verwendung gekommen. Das Haar endlich erhebt sich über der Stirn in zwei aufstrebenden Locken, was wir immer als eine Kennzeichnung der Sterngötter, der Nachtgötter, der Himmelsgötter — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, *Mixcouatl*'s und der Mondgötter, d. h. bei der *Tlaçolteotl* und bei *Xipe* — angetroffen haben. Der Gott hält hier, wie der Todesgott, gegen den er gelehnt ist, einen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) in der Hand, der bei ihm blauer Farbe, bei dem Todesgotte

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von der Farbe des Knochens ist, bei dem letzteren übrigens, wie der Rasselstab des Todesgottes in Abb. 148, mit an Riemen hängenden Paaren rasselnder Schneckengehäuse ausgestattet ist. Dieses Doppelbild ist dabei, dort auf Blatt 73 und in dem Parallelbilde Abb. 149 des Vaticanus, nicht von den Anfangszeichen der zwanzig Dreizehnheiten des Tonalamatl's begleitet, sondern es sind in dem Umkreise des Bildes, oder vielmehr in dem Rahmen, der das Bild umgibt, die Zeichen der ersten und die der zweiten Dreizehnheit des Tonalamatl's hingeschrieben, — von der letzten allerdings in dem umgebenden Rahmen nur die zwölf ersten Zeichen, indem das fehlende dreizehnte, *miquiztli* „Tod" innerhalb des Rahmens in der linken unteren Ecke noch seinen Platz gefunden hat, — eine nothwendige Vervollständigung, die in dem Parallelbilde des Vaticanus Abb. 149 vergessen, jedenfalls ausgelassen worden ist. Endlich sind um das Doppelbild herum die zwanzig Tageszeichen gesetzt und mit verschiedenen Körpertheilen der beiden Götter in Verbindung gebracht worden, wobei mir ein wesentlicher Zug zu sein scheint, dass auf der Hand der beiden Götter das Zeichen *miquiztli* „Tod" und *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse" angegeben sind, wie wenn

Abb. 150. *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*. Codex Borbonicus 22.

die Götter diese beiden Zeichen darreichten. Da die Eidechse den Mexikanern das Zeichen der Generation, der Wasserfülle, also des Lebens, der Schädel naturgemäss das des Todes ist, so ist in diesen beiden Zeichen die Natur der beiden Götter *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli*, so wie sie hier wenigstens aufgefasst sind, offenbar zum Ausdrucke gebracht. Hier würde allerdings in unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde die Unregelmässigkeit oder Inkorrektheit vorliegen, dass auf diesem Blatte 73 die *Quetzalcouatl*-Figur, abweichend von dem Bilde Blatt 56 und den beiden Vaticanus-Bildern (Abb. 148, 149) auf die linke Seite des Doppelbildes gebracht worden ist und dadurch auch die Zeichen vertauscht worden sind. Während in dem Vaticanus-Bilde Abb. 149 korrekter Weise *Quetzalcouatl* die Eidechse, *Mictlantecutli* den Schädel auf der Hand hält, ist durch die genannte Abweichung in der Vertheilung der beiden Götterfiguren auf Blatt 73 des Codex Borgia gerade das Umgekehrte der Fall — dort, auf Blatt 73, hält *Quetzalcouatl* den Schädel und *Mictlantecutli* die Eidechse in oder auf der Hand.

Fragen wir nun nach der Bedeutung dieser Bilder, so ist klar, dass diese beiden mythischen Gestalten, Rücken an Rücken gelehnt, die beiden Seiten des Daseins, Leben und Tod, zur Anschauung bringen müssen. Diese beiden Doppelbilder muthen einen an, wie eine Uebersetzung, eine bildliche Wiedergabe des Ausdruckes *youalli-eecatl* „Nacht und Wind", der bei den Mexikanern eine Bezeichnung, oder geradezu ein Name, der Gottheit war. So heisst es in dem ethnographischen Kapitel Sahagun's

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(Buch 10, Kap. 29, § 3) von den *Naua* oder *Nauatlaca:* — *auh teouaque quinotzque, quitlatlauhtique quimoteutique in teotl in quitocayotique youalli ehecatl* „auch hatten sie einen Gott, sie riefen ihn an, beteten zu ihm, verehrten den Gott, den sie *youalli eecatl* (Nacht und Wind) nannten". — Von den Kaufleuten wird im Sahagun (Buch 9, Kap. 6) erzählt, dass sie im Zeichen *ce calli* „eins Haus" heimzukehren pflegten, weil man der Meinung war, dass dann alles gewissermassen als Habe des Gottes (also im Schutze des Gottes) ins Haus käme (und in Folge dessen im Hause bleiben würde). Und da ist der Gott mit den drei Ausdrücken: — *tloquê nauaquê* „der Herr des an und der Herr des bei" (d. h. der Herr der unmittelbaren Nähe, der immer und überall da ist, oder der Herr der Mitte, der Feuergott); *tlalticpaquê*, der „Herr der Erdoberfläche" und *in youalli in ehecatl* „der (Gott), der Nacht und Wind ist" — bezeichnet. Und das Gebet an *Tezcatlipoca*, das uns Sahagun in dem ersten Kapitel des sechsten Buches überliefert, beginnt mit den Worten: — *Tlacatle totecue, tloquee nauaquee, iovalle, ehecatle* „o Heer, du unser Herr, o Herr des an, Herr des bei, o Nacht, o Wind!" — In dem Manuskripte der Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florenz ist dabei ein Windgottkopf auf einem dunklen Himmel gezeichnet. Und ähnlich an zahlreichen anderen Stellen. Die Zeitgenossen Sahagun's erklärten diesen Ausdruck dahin, dass er den unsichtbaren, nicht merkbaren, nicht fühlbaren Gott bezeichne. So heisst es im zweiten Kapitel des dritten Buches Sahagun's: — *auh yoan in Titlacavan quitoaia, amo ittoni, çan iuhquin ioalli, ehecatl* „und man sagte auch von *Titlacauan* (d. h. von *Tezcatlipoca*), dass er unsichtbar, gleichsam Nacht und Wind, sei". — Man kann indes sehr zweifeln, ob das die richtige, die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Ausdruckes sei. Gerade unsere beiden Doppelbilder, und noch mehr die zwei Varianten, die in diesen Handschriften bei den beiden Doppelbildern vorkommen, lassen doch kaum eine andere Deutung zu, als dass hier der Herr des Lebens und der Herr des Todes einmal in der irdischen Region, aus der Erde aufsteigend oder in die Erde hinabsteigend, das andere Mal als der in der himmlischen Höhe Weilende, zur Anschauung gebracht ist.

Lassen wir nun aber auch diese Deutung zu, so bleibt doch immer noch einigermassen schwer verständlich, weshalb man diese Doppelbilder in diese hauptsächlich augurischen Zwecken dienenden Bilderreihen gebracht hat, einmal von den Anfangstagen der zwanzig Dreizehnheiten des Kalenders, das andere Mal von den Zeichen der ersten und der zweiten Dreizehnheit begleitet. Die letztere Zusammenstellung allerdings lässt sich verstehen. Die erste Dreizehnheit *ce cipactli* „eins Krokodil", ist das Zeichen *Tonacatecutli*'s, des Herrn der Lebensmittel, des Herrn des Lebens; die zweite Dreizehnheit *ce ocelotl* „eins Jaguar", ist das Zeichen des Nordens, der die Region des Todes ist. Aber nicht so einfach ist das Bild unseres Blattes 56 zu erklären, wo das Doppelbild des Schöpfergottes und des Todesgottes mit der Gesammtheit der Kalenderzeichen kombinirt ist.

Ich meine, man muss bei diesem Doppelbilde, das Leben und Tod uns vor Augen führt, vor allem auch an die göttliche Potenz denken, in der Leben und Tod, Sterben und Wiederaufleben verkörpert war, an das grosse Gestirn der Nacht, den Mond, der offenbar das Denken und die Vorstellungen dieser, wie aller, Völker auf das Tiefste beeinflusst hat. Nehmen wir das an, so erklärt sich das Vorkommen dieses Doppelbildes in unseren Handschriften wie seine Assoziirung mit den Zeichen des Kalenders von selbst. Denn der Mond ist in der That der *μὴν*, der „me-n-s-is", d. h. der Massgeber (*μετρητής*, mensōr), der Zeitmesser. Und *Quetzalcouatl*, der hier die eine Hälfte des Doppelbildes bildet, wird nicht nur allgemein als Erfinder des Kalenders genannt, sondern ist auch, wie ich nachgewiesen zu haben glaube, seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach der Mond. So fasse ich diese beiden Doppelbilder des Codex Borgia und des Codex Vaticanus gewissermassen als Paralleldarstellungen zu einem anderen Doppelbilde, das ich hier in Abb. 150 wiedergebe, und das im Codex Borbonicus, den beiden anderen Kalendergöttern, den alten Zauberern *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*, gegenüber, zwar nicht mit den Zeiten der zwanzig Dreizehnheiten des *Tonalamatl*'s, aber mit den Zeichen der 52 Jahre der Periode assoziirt, also jedenfalls als Abbild der Kalendergötter, dem Beschauer vor Augen geführt ist.

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21. Die sechs Götterpaare.

Blatt 57 = Kingsborough 58.

Das Blatt ist in sechs Abtheilungen gegliedert, die genau in der gleichen Weise, wie auf dem Blatte 55, einander folgen, d. h. den Anfang bildet die rechte Abtheilung der unteren Querreihe, und es folgen die linke Abtheilung der unteren Reihe, die linke Abtheilung der Mittelreihe, die rechte Abtheilung der Mittelreihe, die rechte Abtheilung der obersten Reihe, und den Schluss macht die linke Abtheilung der obersten Reihe. In jeder Abtheilung haben wir über einem Felde oder Wege eine männliche und eine weibliche Gottheit abgebildet, und am unteren Rande ist in jeder Abtheilung eine der Säulen des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s angegeben. Die Zahl der Säulen, die zwischen die Säule der einen und die der ihr folgenden Abtheilung fallen, sind am Ausgangsrande der Abtheilung durch eine entsprechende Anzahl rother Kreise zum Ausdrucke gebracht, dergestalt, dass die in den Abtheilungen angegebenen Säulen, und die Zahl der nur durch rothe Kreise angedeuteten Säulen zusammen ein vollständiges *Tonalamatl*, einen Zeitraum von 13×20 Tagen, ausmachen. Es ist also wieder das *Tonalamatl*, das hier nach den sechs Richtungen vertheilt erscheint. Die Vertheilung selbst konnte natürlich keine gleichmässige sein. Denn die Zahl 6 geht in 260, bezw. in $^{260}/_{5}$ oder 52, nicht auf. 52 ist $6 \times 8 + 4$. Man hat daher auf die Anfangssäule zunächst vier Säulen folgen lassen, deren jede von der vorhergehenden immer um acht Zeichen absteht, und erhielt dabei lauter Säulen, die dieselben fünf Zeichen in derselben Folge, nur mit wechselnden Anfangszeichen enthielten. Wenn wir, was jedenfalls das Richtige ist, mit der ersten Säule die Ziffer eins verbinden, so würden darnach die ersten fünf Säulen die folgenden sein: —

[1] *cipactli*, *acatl*, *couatl*, *olin*, *atl*
(Krokodil), (Rohr), (Schlange), (Bewegung), (Wasser)
[9] *atl*, *cipactli*, *acatl*, *couatl*, *olin*
[4] *olin*, *atl*, *cipactli*, *acatl*, *couatl*
[12] *couatl*, *olin*, *atl*, *cipactli*, *acatl*
[7] *acatl*, *couatl*, *olin*, *atl*, *cipactli*.

Dann aber hat man die letzte Säule nicht ebenfalls um acht Zeichen abstehen lassen, so dass der ganze Ueberschuss von vier Tagen auf den Abstand vom letzten zum ersten Zeichen gefallen wäre, sondern man hat den noch übrigen Abstand von zwanzig Zeichen in $11 + 9$ getheilt, und zu dem letzten, dem sechsten Bilde, als sechste Säule die Säule: —

[5] *cuetzpalin*, *cozcaquauhtli*, *tochtli*, *xochitl*, *malinalli*
(Eidechse), (Geier), (Kaninchen), (Blume), (Grasstrick)

gesetzt. Es ist das vermuthlich deshalb geschehen, weil sonst die sechste Säule wieder die gleichen Zeichen mit demselben Anfangszeichen gehabt hätte, wie die erste. Und das wollte man offenbar vermeiden. Denn da zu den Tageszeichen keine Ziffern gesetzt sind, diese vielmehr von dem Leser zu ergänzen sind, so hätte das leicht zu Missverständnissen führen können.

Für die Himmelsrichtungen scheint dabei, wie sich aus der Betrachtung der in den Abtheilungen dargestellten Figuren ergeben wird, die Folge — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Oben, Unten — angenommen worden zu sein.

Das Blatt hat eine Parallele auf den Blättern 35—37 (= Kingsborough 10—8) des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, und ich habe daher schon, als ich im Jahre 1901 einen Kommentar zum Codex Fejérváry-Mayer schrieb, auch die Gestalten dieses Blattes in eingehender Weise beschrieben.

Das erste Bild steht auf der rechten Seite der untersten Reihe des Blattes 57 unserer Handschrift. Wir sehen den alten Gott mit feuerfarbenem Haare, der in dem *Tonalamatl* und in der Reihe der zwanzig Tage das erste Zeichen, *cipactli* „Krokodil", bezeichnet, und der dort als *Tonacatecutli*, der Herr der Lebensmittel, der Herr der Schöpfung, der Zeugung, interpretirt wird. Demgemäss muss die Frau ihm gegenüber *Tonacaciuatl*, die Herrin der Lebensmittel, sein. Der Bart des

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Gottes besteht hier nicht, wie bei dem *Tonacatecutli* des Blattes 9 des Codex Borgia, aus weissen Reiher-, sondern aus schwarzen Adlerfedern. Aus dem Federschmucke, den er auf dem Scheitel trägt, ragen, zwischen zwei Adlerfedern, die beiden haarigen Streifen heraus, die sonst das Abzeichen des Sonnengottes bilden. Die bemerkenswertheste Besonderheit aber ist, dass die beiden Gottheiten, gewissermassen als Devise auf dem Rücken, oder als die Last, die sie herbeibringen, der eine einen Affen, der andere eine als Weib gekleidete *Quetzalcouatl*-Figur, tragen. Es scheint mir, dass dadurch die beiden Gottheiten als die Erzeuger *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Windgottes, — oder wohl auch als im Wesen dem Windgotte gleich, — charakterisirt werden sollen.

Das erste Bild des Fejérváry (Abb. 151) zeigt dieselben zwei Personen, aber ins Jugendliche übersetzt. An Stelle *Tonacatecutli*'s, des alten Herrn der Lebensmittel, *Xochipilli*, den jungen Gott der Blumen. Statt der *Tonacaciuatl*, die jugendliche Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die ja allgemein von den Interpreten der Göttin *Tonacaciuatl* gleich gesetzt wird. Die weibliche Figur ist als *Xochiquetzal* nicht nur durch die stufenförmige blaue Nasenplatte und den Blumenkranz im Haare, sondern vor allem durch den grossen, in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalten, aber jedenfalls wohl ein Schildkrötenschild darstellenden Kreuzspiegel (*cuitlatezcatl*), gekennzeichnet, der hinten der Schleife des Gürtels, mit dem die Enagua um den Leib befestigt wird, aufgesetzt zu denken ist. Denn genau einen solchen grossen, schildkrötenschildartigen *cuitlatezcatl* sehen wir im Fejérváry-Mayer und im Codex Vaticanus 3773 bei der Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die die fünfte der vierten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden ist. (Siehe Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 279, Abb. 476, 477). Und auch der männliche Gott dieses Bildes hat ganz das Ansehen des Gottes *Xochipilli*, wie er sonst im Fejérváry immer z. B. auf der rechten Seite der unteren Hälfte von Blatt 24, gezeichnet ist. Die *Xochiquetzal* dieses Bildes hält einen *chalchiuitl*, einen grünen Edelstein, in der Hand. Dadurch soll sie vermuthlich auch als Mutter *Quetzalcouatl*'s gekennzeichnet sein. Denn bekanntlich wurde *Quetzalcouatl* von seiner Mutter empfangen, als diese einen grünen Edelstein, einen *chalchiuitl*, verschluckte.[1]) Allerdings würde man auf die Vermuthung dieser Bedeutung des *chalchiuitl* in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal* dieser Handschrift kaum kommen, lehrte uns nicht die homologe Figur des Codex Borgia, dass hier in der That die Göttin als die Bringerin, die Gebärerin *Quetzalcouatl*'s dargestellt sein soll. Als Name für die Mutter *Quetzalcouatl*'s wird in der Regel das Wort *Chimalman* „der liegende Schild" oder „auf einem Schild liegend" genannt. Ich habe das immer als Charakterisirung der Erde, der flach ausgebreiteten, aufgefasst. Bilder, wie das an dieser Stelle unserer Handschrift, legen mir den Gedanken nahe, dass das eigenthümliche Trachtstück dieser Göttin, der schildkrötenschildartige grosse *cuitlatezcatl*, und der Name *Chimalman* vielleicht in irgend einer Beziehung zu einander stehen.

Zwischen den beiden Gottheiten sieht man im Codex Borgia eine Schatzkiste, ähnlich der, die der *Tonacatecutli*, der Herr der ersten *Tonalamatl*-Dreizehnheit, des Blattes 61 des Codex Borgia auf der Brust trägt. Aus ihr hängen eine Kette von blauen und grünen Edelsteinperlen und eine blaue (mit Türkismosaik inkrustirte) Schnur heraus, und auf ihr steht ein Gefäss, das in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalt ist, aus dem zu den Seiten wieder in Blumen endende Perlenketten und Edelsteinschnüre herausquellen, während aus der Mündung des Gefässes ein nacktes Männlein und ein Blüthenbaum hervorsehen. Durch dieses Symbol scheinen mir die beiden Götter als die Herren des Gedeihens, des Reichthums, als die Schöpfer des Lebens, des pflanzlichen sowohl, wie des thierischen und menschlichen Lebens, deutlich gekennzeichnet zu sein. — Ausser diesem Symbole sieht man in dieser Abtheilung auf der linken Seite, neben der *Tonacaciuatl* noch eine in den Farben des blauen Edelsteins gemalte Schale (*xiuhapaztli*). Darin ein *chalchiuitl*, Goldschmuck und Quetzalfedern. Unter der Schale steht ein Gefäss, aus dem ein braunes Getränk herausschäumt, das fast wie Kakao aussieht, aber, wie ich schon in den Erläuterungen zu den acht ersten Blättern unserer Handschrift hervorgehoben habe, vielleicht als siedende Harzmasse, als Räucherwerk aufzufassen ist. Zur Rechten, neben *Tonacatecutli*, dagegen sehen wir Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) und Knochendolch (*omitl*), die Werkzeuge der Kasteiung, die Abzeichen des Priesteramts. Am oberen Rande des Blattes endlich ist eine halbe Sonne angegeben.

1) Mendieta. Historia ecclesiastica Indiana lib. 2 cap. 5.

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Im Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 151) fehlt die Schatzkiste und das Gefäss, aus dem der Blüthenbaum und das nackte Männlein hervorsehen. Dagegen sind die Symbole zur Linken, die Schale mit dem *chalchiuitl* und den Quetzalfedern und das Gefäss mit der daraus hervorquellenden Masse ebenfalls angegeben. Neben dem männlichen Gotte zur Rechten sieht man, an Stelle des Knochendolchs und der Agave-Blattspitze, ein Gefäss mit einem Thierfusse, ein Bild, das uns in den Darstellungen von Opferdarbringungen ebenfalls oft begegnet.

Das zweite Bild des Codex Borgia, auf der linken Seite der untersten Reihe des Blattes 57 zeigt uns den Pulquegott und ihm gegenüber die *Tlaçolteotl* als Pulquegöttin. Beide tragen den halbmondförmigen Nasenschmuck (*yacametztli*), der diesen beiden Gottheiten eigenthümlich ist und sie als Mondgötter kennzeichnet, und den merkwürdigen, kommaförmig gekrümmten Schmuck auf der Brust, der vielleicht das Stück einer Spindel eines grossen Schneckengehäuses ist, und der ebenfalls nur bei diesen beiden Göttern, dem Pulquegotte, dem Regenten des zwölften Tageszeichens Codex Borgia 13 und der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Regentin des vierzehnten Tageszeichens Codex Borgia 12 zu sehen ist. Beide haben das zur Hälfte schwarze, zur Hälfte helle Gesicht der Pulquegötter; die *Tlaçolteotl* aber verbindet damit noch die dieser Göttin eigenthümliche schwarze Kautschukbemalung um den Mund. Die Göttin trägt den

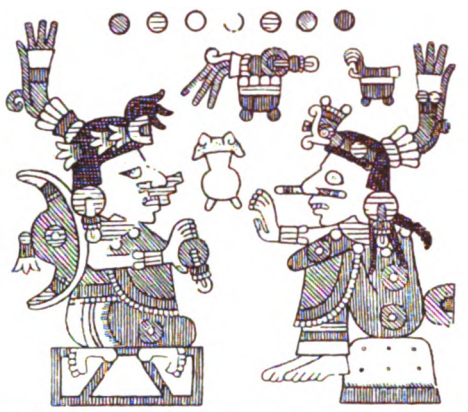

Abb. 151. *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*, die Herren der Lebensmittel, die Herren des Ostens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 35 (= Kingsborough 10) unten.

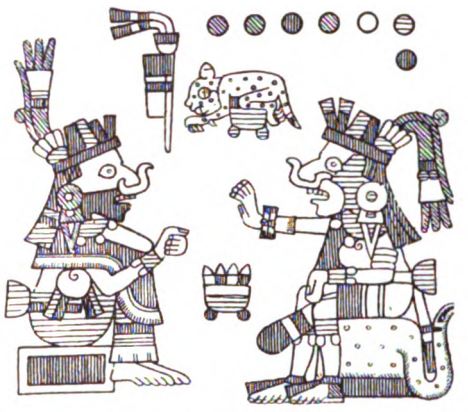

Abb. 152. Der Pulquegott und die Pulquegöttin, die Herren des Nordens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 35 (= Kingsborough 10) unten.

copilli, den huaxtekischen kegelförmigen Hut. Auf ihm und auf ihrer Enagua hat sie den gelben Halbmond, das Bild des *yacametztli*, das Abzeichen der Pulquegötter und des Mondes, gemalt. Der männliche Gott verbindet damit den *cueçaluitoncatl*, den fächerartigen huaxtekischen Nackenschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s. Beide Götter, der männliche Gott eben so wohl, wie die Göttin, tragen das *ichcaxochitl*, die Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle, das Abzeichen der *Tlaçolteotl*, und als Pflock im Ohre einen Streifen ungesponnener Baumwolle. — Und beide Götter haben die beiden über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken, das Abzeichen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s und der anderen Sterngötter. Sie sind dadurch auch gewissermassen als Sternhimmel- oder Nachthimmelgötter, nämlich als Personifikationen des Mondes gekennzeichnet. — Der männliche Gott hält ein Steinbeil (*itztopolli*) in der Hand, das Abzeichen und die Waffe der Pulquegötter. Der Stiel erinnert in seiner nach oben keulenförmig verdickten Form ganz an die Steinbeile, die noch heute von den Waldindianern im Quellgebiete des Xingú in Brasilien gebraucht werden. Die Klinge des Beils ist in blauer Farbe gemalt Das soll wohl Nephrit oder eine andere werthvolle und für diesen Zweck brauchbare Steinart und zugleich die Politur des Steins bezeichnen. Die Göttin hält in der erhobenen rechten Hand eine mit Zacken besetzte Kugel, die wir in unserer Handschrift wiederholt, neben einem Stücke Holz (*quauitl*) und offenbar als Bezeichnung des *tetl* „Stein", also als figürlichen Ausdruck des *tetl quauitl* „Stein und Holz", der metaphorischen Benennung der Strafe angetroffen haben.

Im Parallelbilde des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 152) sind unverkennbar dieselben Personen dargestellt. Der männliche Gott hat die zweifarbige Bemalung der Pulquegötter, die Göttin die der *Tlaçolteotl*, wie

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sie z. B. die typische *Tlaçolteotl*-Figur in der linken Abtheilung der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 32 und die der linken Abtheilung der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 30 des Fejérváry zeigt. Beide Gottheiten, die männliche sowohl, wie die weibliche, tragen den halbmondförmigen Nasenschmuck (*yacametztli*) und das in zwei Farben, blau und roth, gemalte *copilli*, den kegelförmigen huaxtekischen Hut. Ein scheibenförmiges Schneckengehäuse bildet den Hals- und Brustschmuck, und von der Ohrscheibe hängt ein eigenthümliches aus einem Trapezstück und einem Strahl bestehendes Gehänge herab, wie es der Feuergott auf dem Blatte 61 des Codex Borgia und der grosse, aus dem Haupttempel von México stammende Steinkopf der *Coyolxauhqui*, ebenfalls haben, und das gewissermassen eine Abbreviation des Sonnenbildes oder der aus Trapezstücken bestehenden Feuerschlange ist. Die Enden der Schambinde bei dem männlichen Gotte haben die abgerundete Form, die man an der Schambinde der *Quetzalcouatl*-Bilder sieht.

Die Natur der beiden Gottheiten ist in unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde durch das grosse Gefäss veranschaulicht, das zwischen den beiden Gottheiten steht, das mit dem Bilde eines Schädels bemalt ist, oder einen Schädel in seinem Innern bergen soll, und über dessen Mündung man ein Brennholzbündel und darüber zwei sich verschlingende und zu einem Ring zusammengebundene Feuerschlangen sieht — ein durchaus verständliches Symbol der todbringenden und der feurigen Natur des Getränks. Darüber ist noch, an dem oberen Rande des Bildes, das aus einer halben Sonne und der Hieroglyphe der Nacht zusammengesetzte Zeichen zu sehen, das in dieser und in anderen Handschriften bei den Pulquegöttern angegeben zu werden pflegt, und das die Scheide von Tag und Nacht, vielleicht auch geradezu den Mond, bezeichnet. Endlich sind noch, zur Rechten und zur Linken, über den erhobenen Händen der beiden Götter, gewissermassen von ihnen dargereicht, eine Schale mit einem Jaguar und eine Schale mit drei Steinmessern, aus denen Flammen hervorbrechen, endlich unten vor dem männlichen Gotte das mit Rauchwolken versehene *cuitlatl*-Zeichen, das Abbild des Feuers, dargestellt, Symbole, die natürlich wiederum in durchaus verständlicher Weise die Natur des Getränkes zur Anschauung bringen.

Im Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 152) ist die Zahl der Begleitbilder wieder reduzirt. Die Schale mit dem Jaguar ist zu sehen, und davor noch eine Opferfahne. Und weiter unten steht eine Schale mit vier abwechselnd blau und roth gemalten Körpern, die wohl Steinmesser darstellen sollen.

Das dritte Bild des Codex Borgia, auf der linken Seite der mittleren Reihe unseres Blattes 57 zeigt uns die beiden Maisgötter. Der männliche Gott, zur Linken, ist genau so gemalt, wie der *Cinteotl*, der vierte der neun Herren, auf Blatt 14 des Codex Borgia nur noch mit dem mehrfarbigen kleinen Rechtecke (*tlapapalli*) auf der Backe, das wir wiederholt als Gesichtsbemalung *Xochipilli*'s, *Tonacatecutli*'s und auch des Maisgottes angetroffen haben. Der Gott trägt eine aus Kolben und männlichen Blüthen bestehende Maispflanze am Nacken, und sein Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Quetzal-, oder vielleicht *coxcoxtli*-Vogels heraus. Die Göttin, ihm gegenüber, gleicht mehr dem Maisgotte der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 51 unserer Handschrift, der dort die dritte, oder die Westregion bezeichnet. Mit diesem stimmt die hier dargestellte Figur in der Form der Nasenschmuckplatte, die hier nur noch einen zackenartig ausspringenden mittleren Theil hat, und auch darin überein, dass ihr Gesicht aus dem Schnabel eines, wie es scheint, hühner- oder taubenartigen blaugefiederten Vogels hervorsieht. Das kleine Rechteck (*tlapapalli*), das ich oben erwähnt habe, hat auch sie auf der Backe. Dasselbe ist, zweimal wiederholt, auch auf ihrer Enagua zu sehen. Der Federschmuck, den die Göttin am Hinterkopfe trägt, ist in allen Einzelheiten dem des *Tonacatecutli* des ersten Bildes dieser Reihe gleich.

Die beiden Götter haben auf dem Scheitel eine Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) stecken, von der eine Blume und ein Edelsteinband herabhängen, und halten in der einen Hand eine Tasche für Räucherwerk (*copalxiquipilli*). Die Agave-Blattspitze, an der die Blume und das Edelsteinband Symbole für das Kasteiungsblut sind, und die Kopaltasche bezeichnen die beiden Götter als Priester. Es scheint aber ausserdem, dass der Kopalbeutel, wie die Tabakkalebasse, die wir auf dem Blatte 51 des Codex Borgia als Determinativ des Tempels der Maisgottheit getroffen haben, und wie das Homologon der letzteren, die aus Jaguarfussfell gefertigte Tabaktasche, ein Sinnbild für Lebensmittelfülle, für *tonacayo*, für den Mais, war. Mit der anderen Hand halten die beiden Götter je eine blühende Maispflanze gepackt, die aus einer in den Farben des grünen Edelsteins, des *chalchiuitl*, gemalten Schale emporwachsen, und an

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deren Grunde man die vier Varietäten des Maises, den gelben, blauen, rothen, weissen Maiskolben, sieht Zu den Seiten dieses die Mitte bildenden Symbols stehen noch zwei Schalen, und am oberen Rande ist wieder, wie in der ersten Abtheilung dieser Reihe, eine halbe Sonne angegeben.

Das dritte Bild des Fejérváry (Abb. 153) lässt, wenigstens in der Figur zur Rechten den männlichen Gott, den Maisgott, deutlich erkennen. Denn, wenn ihm auch die charakteristische Gesichtsbemalung fehlt, so trägt er doch genau die gleiche blühende Maispflanze auf dem Scheitel, wie der *Cinteotl*, der vierte der neun Herren, wie er auf Blatt 3 derselben Handschrift dargestellt ist. Die Göttin, ihm gegenüber, ist ihm durchaus entsprechend gemalt und kostümirt, nur dass die blühende Maispflanze auf dem Scheitel fehlt. Es ist aber kein Zweifel, dass es sein weibliches Gegenstück, die Maisgöttin, sein soll.

Von den Symbolen, die in dem Codex Fejérváry-Bilde angegeben sind, lässt sich die Schale mit dem Brustgeschmeide, dem grünen Edelstein und dem Quetzalfederschmucke in gewisser Weise, als dem Sinne nach das Gleiche bedeutend, auf das Mittelstück des Codex Borgia-Bildes beziehen. Wir haben eine solche Schale übrigens auch in derselben Handschrift, in der ersten Abtheilung dieser Reihe (Abb. 151), bei den Göttern der Lebensmittel und der Zeugung angetroffen. Der rothe Thierfuss auf der Schale ist eine Opferdarbringung und würde in gewisser Weise ein Homologon der Kopaltasche sein,

Abb. 153. Der Maisgott und die Maisgöttin, die Herren des Westens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 36 (= Kingsborough 9) unten.

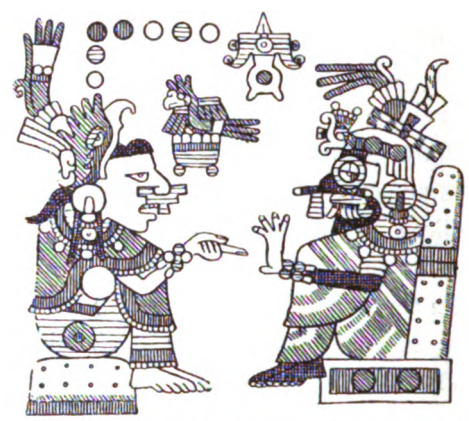

Abb. 154. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Wassergöttin, die Herren des Südens. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 36 (= Kingsborough 9) unten.

die die beiden Figuren des Codex Borgia-Bildes in der Hand halten, während die Agave-Blattspitze und der Knochendolch, die man weiter unten sieht, der Agave-Blattspitze, die die beiden Maisgötter des Codex Borgia-Bildes auf dem Scheitel haben, entspricht. Ein besonderes Symbol ist in dem Fejérváry-Bilde (Abb. 153) über der weiblichen Gottheit zur Linken, das von Punkten umgebene Auge. Ich habe — das ist allerdings nur eine Idee, — die Vermuthung, dass dies das Ausstreuen der Maiskörner, z. B. auf der Oberfläche von Wasser, zu Weissagungszwecken bedeuten könnte.

In dem vierten Bilde des Codex Borgia, auf der rechten Seite der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 57, erblicken wir die bekannten Gestalten *Tlaloc*'s, des Regengottes, und der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, der Wassergöttin. Gesicht und Ausstattung sind den Bildern gleich, die z. B. auf dem Blatte 14 unserer Handschrift von diesen beiden Göttern, als dem neunten und dem sechsten der neun Herren, gegeben werden. Nur schaut das Gesicht des Regengottes hier ebenso, wie das der Wassergöttin, aus dem geöffneten Rachen einer Schlange hervor.

In der Mitte zwischen diesen beiden Gottheiten steht ein Gefäss, das wieder in den Farben des grünen Edelsteins, des *chalchiuitl* gemalt ist, aber nicht eine Schale darstellt, wie das des vorigen Bildes, sondern einen mit zwei Henkeln versehenen Krug. Auf seiner Fläche sieht man den Stufenmäander, das *xicalcoliuhqui*-Muster[1]). angegeben. In diesem Kruge, der an zwei sich verschlingenden Schnüren, einer

1) Vgl. Seler „Ueber altmexikanischen Federschmuck und militärische Rangabzeichen." Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 17. Januar 1891 und „Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde", Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 530, Ab. 35a („manta de xicara tuerta") und 551 (*chimalli quetzalxicalcoliuhqui*).

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blauen, mit Türkis (*xiuitl*) inkrustirten und einer aus grünen Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*)-Perlen bestehenden Kette von den beiden Göttern gehalten wird, sieht man wieder die vier Arten des Maises, den gelben, blauen, rothen und grünen Kolben, und dahinter ein nacktes Männlein in derselben aufstrebenden Haltung, wie in dem verwandten Symbole, das das Mittelstück des ersten Bildes dieser Reihe im Codex Borgia, in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 57, bildete. Wir werden annehmen dürfen, dass damit das Aufstreben, das Wachsthum, das *izcalli* gemeint sein soll, also das Wachsthum der Maisfrucht. Darüber sieht man noch eine Edelsteinschale (*xiuhapaztli*) mit Blumen an den Ecken und an dem oberen Rande des Bildes eine halbe Sonne, zwischen deren Strahlen Edelsteinbänder heraushängen. Das ist nur so zu verstehen, dass die halbe Sonne hier allgemein für Himmel steht, wo dann natürlich der vom Himmel tropfende *chalchiuitl* den Regen bedeutet. Vor der *Chalchiuhtlicue* endlich ist noch, ähnlich wie vor der *Tonacaciuatl* des ersten Codex Borgia-Bildes, ein kleiner Krug mit der braunen herausschäumenden Masse zu sehen, von der ich bei Gelegenheit des ersten Bildes gesprochen habe.

Das vierte Bild des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 154) zeigt auf der rechten Seite den Regengott *Tlaloc* in seiner charakteristischen Gestalt. Die Göttin ihm gegenüber aber ist nicht, wie die *Chalchiuhtlicue* dieser Handschrift und der anderen Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe mit einer Schlange als Helmmaske dargestellt, sondern ihr Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Quetzalvogels hervor. Es ist deshalb wahrscheinlicher, dass wir diese Göttin als *Xochiquetzal* zu bezeichnen haben.

Von Symbolen ist hier nur eine Edelsteinschale mit einem Quetzalvogel darin und ein Krügchen zu sehen, aus dem eine mit Augen besetzte Flüssigkeit, die demnach wohl als dunkle, als ein *tlilatl*, gemeint ist, herauskommt, während darüber ein Kreis und eine Spitze, vielleicht das Ende eines *chicauaztli*, eines Rasselstabes, wie ihn die Erd-, Mais- und Wassergottheiten führen, bezeichnen soll.

Das fünfte Bild des Codex Borgia, auf der rechten Seite der obersten Reihe des Blattes 57, zeigt uns zur Rechten das Bild des Gottes *Xochipilli*, genau so gezeichnet und gemalt, insbesondere auch mit den beiden, den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden rothen Strichen, der Gesichtsbemalung des Sonnengottes, wie wir ihn als fünften Gott der ersten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden auf Blatt 16 unserer Handschrift kennen gelernt haben. Nur sind Körper und Glieder hier gelb und nicht roth gemalt. Die Göttin ihm gegenüber stimmt in Zeichnung und Bemalung genau mit der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* überein, der Herrin der neunzehnten Woche, des Blattes 62 des Codex Borgia, die ich unten noch zu besprechen haben werde. Eine Besonderheit ist hier nur der Leib der rothen Schlange, der unter dem rechten Arm hervorhängt, der wohl dieselbe Bedeutung hat, wie die in gleicher Weise nach Art der Korallenotter gefärbte rothe Schlange, die wir so oft bei der *Tlaçolteotl* und bei den Bildern der nackten Sünderin und des Sünders getroffen haben. Der Kopf der Göttin schaut, wie der der Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue*, aus dem geöffneten Rachen einer Schlange hervor. Während in allen übrigen Abtheilungen dieser Reihe die Paare einander zugekehrt sind, wenden diese beiden Götter einander den Rücken zu. Das muss natürlich seinen besonderen Grund haben. Es ist offenbar darin ein Richtungsgegensatz zum Ausdruck gebracht. Da wir, wie ich glaube, annehmen müssen, dass dieses fünfte Bild die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, und zwar die himmlische Höhe, bezeichnet, so kann dieser Richtungsgegensatz nicht gut das Oben und Unten sein. Wohl aber könnte er, und das wird sich, wie wir gleich sehen werden, bestätigen, den Gegensatz des Ostens und des Westens zum Ausdrucke bringen, den Gegensatz zwischen der jungen im Osten aufgehenden Sonne und dem neuen Monde, der am Abendhimmel erscheint.

Der männliche Gott, *Xochipilli*, schüttet aus einem Kruge Wasser auf die Erde. Es ist eben der Himmel, von dem das Nass auf die Erde tropft. Die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* scheint aus einer Schale etwas auszuschütten, das aber nicht gezeichnet ist. Aus der entsprechenden Darstellung des Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 155), die ich gleich zu beschreiben haben werde, scheint geschlossen werden zu müssen, dass es sich um Ausstreuen von Maiskörnern handelt. Es ist indes möglich, dass diese Schale nur das „mit der Mündung nach unten", also die verkehrte Richtung, angeben solle.

In der Mitte des Bildes, zwischen den beiden einander abgewandten Gestalten steht eine blaue Edelsteinschale, mit Blumen an den Ecken, ähnlich der, die wir in dem vorigen Bilde bei dem Regengotte und der Wassergöttin gesehen haben. Auf sie kommt von oben ein Vogel, der ein *quetzaltototl*, oder

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auch ein *coxcoxtli* sein kann, herab, um aus dem Gefässe zu trinken. Ist dieses Bild, das wir unter den Begleitbildern des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s auf den acht ersten Blättern unserer Handschrift so oft getroffen haben, einerseits wiederum eine deutliche Veranschaulichung des Richtungsgegensatzes, den dieses ganze Bild vor Angen zu führen bestimmt scheint, so kann ich andererseits nicht umhin, darin eine Erinnerung an das zu sehen, woran ich bei dem Gotte *Xochipilli*, der ja bekanntlich in Vogelgestalt erscheint, immer gedacht habe, an die Erzählung des P. Lizana von dem Gotte von Itzmal, *Kinich-Kakmó*, der zur Mittagsstunde herabkam, um das Opfer auf dem Altare zu verbrennen — „como baxava volando la vacamaya, con sus plumas de varias colores". —

In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 155) sieht man die beiden Götter unmittelbar Rücken an Rücken gelehnt sitzen, nur getrennt durch eine in zwei Stockwerken sich aufbauende schwarze, mit weissem Stoff umbundene Wand, deren eigentliche Bedeutung mir nicht ganz klar ist. Der männliche Gott, *Xochipilli*, ist hier ganz und gar mit rother Farbe gemalt. Der weisse Schmetterling, den der Gott um den Mund gemalt haben muss, ist hier schon zu einer konventionellen, gelappten Zeichnung entartet. Die Göttin ist als *Xochiquetzal* durch den Blumenkranz im Haare gekennzeichnet. Sie hält einen Jaguarschwanz in der Hand, der sie vielleicht als die dunkle Göttin kennzeichnen soll.

Abb. 155. *Xochipilli*, der junge Sonnengott, und *Xochiquetzal*, die junge Mondgöttin, die Herren des Himmels. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 37 (= Kingsborough 8) unten.

Abb. 156. *Mictlantecutli* und *Mictecactuatl*, die Herren der Unterwelt. Codex Fejérváry-Mayer 37 (= Kingsborough 8) unten.

Der Krug, aus dem Wasser herausfliesst, ist bei dem *Xochipilli* des Fejérváry-Mayer ebenfalls angegeben. Darunter aber auch, ebenfalls in umgestürzter Lage die Schale mit dem Thierfusse, die uns in dieser Reihe schon mehrfach begegnet ist, das Abbild von Opfergaben. Neben der Göttin, der *Xochiquetzal*, ist, wie in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde, ebenfalls in umgestürzter Lage eine Schale zu sehen, aus der aber hier Maiskörner herauszufallen scheinen. Das könnte dazu bestimmt sein, die Göttin als Maisspenderin zu bezeichnen, oder vielmehr sie — was mir wahrscheinlicher erscheint — als die mit Maiskörnern Looswerfende, die Prophetin, die Zauberin, zu veranschaulichen.

Der männliche Gott ist in unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde zwar durch die Schmetterlingsbemalung als *Xochipilli*, der Gott des jungen Maises, der junge Gott der Lebensmittel und der Generation, zugleich aber durch die beiden rothen, den hinteren Augenwinkel umziehenden Streifen als Sonnengott bezeichnet. Denn der junge Sonnengott, das ist wohl überhaupt die Vorstellung, die der Gestalt *Xochipilli*'s, die mit dem in der Morgenfrühe singenden Vogel, dem *quetzalcoxcoxtli*, sich identifizirt, ursprünglich zu Grunde liegt. *Xochiquetzal* aber ist, das habe ich wiederholt hervorgehoben, ursprünglich und eigentlich die junge Mondgöttin und scheint als solche auch in dem Fejérváry-Bilde (Abb. 155) durch den Blumenkranz im Haare deutlich gekennzeichnet zu sein, da wir mit ihm in der That den echten Mondgott in manchen Handschriften, z. B. im Codex Telleriano Remensis, geradezu typisch ausgestattet sehen. Demgemäss würde dieses fünfte Bild die aufgehende Sonne und den neu erscheinenden Mond, das sind natürlich die Götter der himmlischen Höhe, bezeichnen.

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Das letzte Bild endlich, das sechste, auf der linken Seite der obersten Reihe des Blattes 57 unserer Handschrift zeigt die Herren der unteren Region, der Unterwelt, die Todesgötter *Mictlantecutli* und *Mictecaciuatl*. Sie sind in der üblichen, schreckhaften Weise ausgestattet. *Mictlantecutli* in Knochenfarbe gemalt, mit einem Skelettbrustkorbe und einem Schädel als Kopfe. *Mictecaciuatl* mit der gelben Farbe der Weiber und der Toten und wenigstens mit fleischlosen Kiefern und entblössten Zahnreihen. Beide ausserdem mit der dunklen, mit Augen besetzten Perrücke, die Nacht bedeutet, mit dem Hinterhauptsschilde (*cuexcochtechimalli*) und der nach vorn übergebogenen Fahne (*pantoyaualli*), dem Leichenschmucke. Der männliche Gott ausserdem mit einer Hand als Ohrpflock, und Blut und Herzen als Brustgeschmeide tragend. Auch der Boden, auf dem ihre Stühle stehen, ist nicht einfach gelb, wie in den anderen Abtheilungen, sondern in abwechselnden Feldern, nach Art der hieroglyphischen Ackerzeichnung, aus *malinalli*-Gras und Schädelstücken zusammengesetzt. Die beiden Götter reichen sich eine rothgemalte, nackte, menschliche Figur dar. Das ist, wie wir in dem in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen behandelten Abschnitte bei den viermal fünf Hütern der Venusperioden gesehen haben, ein Symbol des Menschenopfers. In der Mitte zwischen beiden steht eine Art Gefäss oder Tisch, der in Nachahmung der *chalchiuitl*-Bemalung, mit augenbesetztem Schwarz (an Stelle von grün), mit rothem Mittelstreifen und gelbem Rande (an Stelle des weissen gefransten) gemalt ist. Auf diesem Tische steht auf der linken Seite eine Schale, mit Blut und rauchenden Herzen gefüllt, und die Göttin scheint aus einem Becher Feuer darauf zu giessen. Zur Rechten kommt der Leib und der Schwanz einer rothen Blutschlange heraus, die der Gott gepackt hält. In der Mitte aber sieht man einen Schädel, der einen kopfüber in seinen Rachen stürzenden Menschen verschluckt. Am oberen Rande des Blattes ist noch das Bild des Mondes — an Stelle des der Sonne der übrigen Abtheilungen — angegeben, ein auss weissem Knochen gebildeter Nasenhalbmond, von Nacht umgeben und mit einer in den Farben des Wassers gemalten Füllung, auf der aber hier kein Kaninchen, noch irgend ein anderes Symbol, zu sehen ist.

In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Abb. 156) sind die Götter beide als Todesgötter, mit einem Schädel als Kopfe, einem Busche *malinalli*-Grases im Ohre und dem roth und weissen Hinterhauptsschilde gezeichnet. Der männliche Gott ist ganz in Gewänder gehüllt, die aber schwarz und mit Augen und gekreuzten Todtenbeinen verziert sind. Sein Sitz ist aus Rippen und einem Schädelstücke gebildet, und er hält, gleich dem Gotte des Codex Borgia, eine rothe Blutschlange. An Stelle des Aufbaus, der im Codex Borgia-Bilde die Mitte einnimmt, sieht man einen aufgeklappten Erdrachen und einen roth gemalten, aber toten (mit geschlossenen Augen gezeichneten) Menschen, der in dem Rachen versinkt. In der oberen Hälfte der Abtheilung ist noch eine rothe Schale mit einem steinernen Opfermesser abgebildet, die wohl der Schale mit Blut und Herzen des Codex Borgia zu vergleichen ist.

Wir haben somit gesehen, dass sowohl in dem allgemeinen Inhalt, wie in zahlreichen Einzelheiten, die sechs Bilder dieser Reihe des Blattes 57 unserer Handschrift und die Abbildungen 151—156 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer einander durchaus entsprechen. Aber eine Besonderheit haben die Bilder unserer Handschrift, die in dem Codex Fejérváry-Mayer gar nicht zum Ausdrucke kommt. Das ist das Bild der Sonne, bezw. das der Dämmerung und des Mondes, das man am oberen Rande der Bilder in sämmtlichen Abtheilungen des Codex Borgia-Blattes sieht. Ich glaube, dass diese Besonderheit wieder einen Anhalt für die allgemeine Deutung dieser Reihe bieten kann. Offenbar ist durch diesen Zug die Reihe unseres Blattes 57 mit der im nächsten Abschnitte zu behandelndenden Reihe der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare in engste Verbindung gebracht. Woran aber hierbei im Besonderen gedacht worden ist, das getraue ich mich doch nicht, in bestimmter Weise anzugeben.

Die Folge der Himmelsrichtungen scheint mir dabei, wie ich oben schon angab, offenbar die gewöhnliche — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Oben, Unten — zu sein. Der Osten wäre darnach durch die beiden Zeugungsgötter, die Herren der Lebensmittel, *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, repräsentirt und als Ort der Lebensmittelfülle und der Schöpfung gekennzeichnet. Der Norden ist die Region der Dunkelheit, und dementsprechend durch dio Erdgöttin und den Pulquegott, bezw. die beiden Mondgötter, den männlichen und den weiblichen, repräsentirt. Der Westen ist die Region der Maisgötter, der Süden die der Regengötter, indem hier, ebenso wie z. B. auf Blatt 25 des Codex Borgia, dem das Blatt 70 des Vaticanus entspricht — *Tlaloc*, der ja zu gleicher Zeit der Repräsentant des Feuerregens ist, für den Süden steht.

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Der obere Himmel durch den jungen Sonnengott und die junge Mondgöttin. Die Unterwelt, das Erdinnere, durch die beiden Todesgötter. In dieser Assoziation von Himmelsrichtungen und Göttern weicht diese Reihe von dem bekannten Blatte mit den *Tlaloc*-Figuren der vier Jahre und von verschiedenen anderen Reihen dieser Handschriftengruppe in auffallender Weise ab. Sie ähnelt aber darin den Blättern 49—52 des Codex Borgia, denen die der vorliegenden Reihe unmittelbar vorhergehenden unteren Hälften der Blätter 33, 34 des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer entsprechen. Es hat nur eine Verschiebung dadurch eintreten müssen, dass statt der einen Himmelsrichtung des Südens hier deren drei — Süden, Oben, Unten — den Schluss der Reihe bilden.

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22. Die fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare.

Blatt 58—60 = Kingsborough 57—55.

Die drei Blätter dieses Abschnitts enthalten fünfundzwanzig Gruppenbilder, die von allen anderen Darstellungen dieser Handschrift dadurch abweichen, dass hier nicht Tage oder Tageszeichen, also bestimmte Zeitabstände, bei den Bildern angegeben sind, sondern Ziffern, und zwar Ziffern, die nicht mit eins, sondern mit zwei beginnen und dann bis zu 26 fortschreiten, so dass also, wie gesagt, fünfundzwanzig Gruppenbilder herauskommen. Der Anfang liegt dabei, wie es die Regel in unserer Handschrift ist, in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des ersten der drei Blätter, des Blattes 58. Man hat von dort in der untersten Reihe bis zu dem Ende des Blattes 60 weiterzugehen, muss dann auf die mittlere Reihe übergehen und diese in der Richtung von links nach rechts bis zu dem Anfange des Blattes 58 verfolgen und hat dann schliesslich wieder am Anfange der obersten Reihe des Blattes 58 von rechts nach links zu gehen, um in der linken Abtheilung der obersten Querreihe des Blattes 60 das Ende zu erreichen. — Dieselben Gruppen kehren, allerdings in beträchtlich vereinfachter Gestalt, aber mit ihren Ziffern und inhaltlich in der That den Codex Borgia-Bildern ident, auf den Blättern 33—38 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) des Codex Laud wieder, wo die Reihe in der rechten Abtheilung der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 38 beginnt und in der Richtung von hinten nach vorn (von rechts nach links) bis zu dem Blatte 33 sich fortsetzt, um dann in der oberen Hälfte der Blätter in der Richtung von links nach rechts (von vorn nach hinten) bis zu dem hinteren Rande des Blattes 38 zurückzugehen. Endlich sind dieselben Gruppen, den Bildern des Codex Laud im Grossen und Ganzen ziemlich ähnlich, auf den unteren Hälften der Blätter 33—42 des Codex Vaticanus 3773 zu sehen, deren obere Hälften von den im vierten Kapitel des ersten Bandes dieser Erläuterungen besprochenen viermal fünf Hütern der Venusperioden eingenommen sind. Hier folgen sie aber im Gegensatze zu dem Fortgange, der sonst allgemein auf der ersten Hälfte der Vorderseite der Handschrift beobachtet wird, nicht von links nach rechts, sondern von rechts nach links (von hinten nach vorn). Der Anfang liegt in der rechten Abtheilung des Blattes 42, das Ende in der linken Abtheilung des Blattes 33. Gegenüber den genannten beiden Paralleldarstellungen des Codex Laud und des Vaticanus zeichnen sich unsere drei Codex Borgia-Blätter nicht nur durch die bedeutendere Grösse und die bessere und detaillirtere Ausführung, sondern auch dadurch aus, dass an dem oberen Rande fast eines jeden Faches das Zeichen einer halben Sonne oder das des Abends (von Tag und Nacht) oder das des Mondes angegeben ist. Diese fünfundzwanzig Gruppenbilder treten dadurch mit den Darstellungen der sechs Götterpaare auf dem Blatte 57, dem den drei Blättern unseres Abschnittes unmittelbar vorhergehenden Codex Borgia-Blatte, in enge Berührung.

Für die eigenthümliche Art der Zifferverteilung, die wir bei diesen 25 Gruppen beobachten, dass die Zahlen nämlich mit der Zwei beginnen und mit 26 enden, könnten zwei Thatsachen eine Erklärung bieten. Die eine ist, dass von diesen 25 Gruppen die ersten 24 sich in zwölf Paare zu ordnen scheinen, die dadurch bestimmt sind, dass bei der ersten Gruppe des Paares immer das aus dem Zeichen von Sonne und Nacht zusammengesetzte Zeichen des Abends oder das des Mondes an dem oberen Rande des Faches angebracht ist, bei der zweiten Gruppe des Paares das der Sonne. Die andere Thatsache

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ist, dass die dann als Dreizehntes und als Einzelgruppe übrigbleibende fünfundzwanzigste Gruppe, bei der also die Ziffer 26 steht, zwei Personen enthält, den alten Gott und die alte Göttin, *Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Ilancueyê*, die den im obersten dreizehnten Himmel wohnenden *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl* oder *Ometecutli*, *Omeciuatl*, den Göttern des Lebens, den Herren der Zeugung, gleich zu setzen sind, dass demnach für diese als Dreizehntes und als Einzelgruppe übrig bleibende fünfundzwanzigste Gruppe die Zahl dreizehn bedeutsam ist. Man kann sich vorstellen, dass der, der diese Reihe erfand, die Absicht hatte, die Zahl 13 bei dieser letzten fünfundzwanzigsten Gruppe zu nennen. Da aber die anderen Glieder der Reihe, wie wir gesehen haben, durch zwölf Paare von Gruppen gebildet werden, so sah er sich veranlasst, um die Gruppen dieser Paare entsprechend beziffern zu können, neben die Endgruppe die Ziffer 2×13 zu schreiben, und dann fiel natürlich, da diese letzte Gruppe eine Einzelgruppe ist, die Ziffer eins am Anfange aus.

Dass die 24 ersten Gruppen sich in zwölf Paare ordnen, denen die fünfundzwanzigste als Einzelgruppe gegenübersteht, macht diese ganze Reihe in gewisser Weise der Reihe der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht vergleichbar, die, wie das Anfangsblatt des Codex Fejérváry (vgl. Abb. 71 oben S. 104) uns lehrt, sich ja auch in vier Paare ordnen, denen das Anfangsglied als Einzelfigur gegenübersteht. Bei der Reihe der neun Herren ist diese Gruppirung ein Ausdruck dafür, dass das Anfangsglied für die Gegend der Mitte, die anderen paarweise für die vier Himmelsrichtungen bezeichnend sein sollen. Wir könnten nun die Frage aufwerfen, ob nicht auch bei der Reihe, die uns hier beschäftigt, das Einzelglied, das Endglied, die fünfundzwanzigste Gruppe, als für die Gegend der Mitte bezeichnend gedacht sein soll, die anderen, die zwölf Paare, mit den Himmelsrichtungen oder Weltgegenden in Beziehung zu setzen seien. Natürlich würden hier nicht die vier Himmelsrichtungen, sondern die sechs Weltgegenden in Betracht kommen, indem dem Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden noch das Unten und das Oben anzufügen wäre. Und da wir zwölf Paare oder vierundzwanzig Einzelgruppen haben, so würden auf jede dieser sechs Weltgegenden vier Gruppen entfallen. Dass eine Beziehung zu den sechs Weltgegenden hier in der That vorliegt, dafür würde sprechen, dass im Codex Borgia vor dieser Reihe die sechs Weltgegenden durch die sechs Götterpaare des Blattes 57 veranschaulicht sind, und dass im Codex Vaticanus auf diese Reihe eine Anzahl Blätter folgen, die uns die sechs Weltgegenden in Gestalt von sechs Regengöttern vor Augen führen.

Eine Vertheilung von zwölf Paaren oder vierundzwanzig Einzeldarstellungen auf die sechs Weltgegenden ist natürlich in verschiedener Weise möglich. Welche Art der Vertheilung wirklich vorliegt, das können nur die Bilder selbst uns lehren. Wir müssten also zunächst einmal nachsehen, ob in einzelnen dieser Bilder ein sicherer Hinweis auf eine bestimmte Himmelsrichtung gegeben ist. Und das scheint in der That der Fall zu sein. Das erste Bild (Blatt 58 unten rechts in unserer Handschrift) zeigt uns den Todesgott, der einen Menschen verschlingt, und die Erdgöttin, die in der einen Hand ein Steinmesser (Opfermesser) hält und mit der anderen eine Menschenfigur, die sie am Schopfe gepackt hat, ihrem Gegenüber, dem Todesgotte, hinreicht. Entsprechende Darstellungen sieht man in den anderen Handschriften. Dies Bild werden wir also mit der Gegend des Unten in Verbindung bringen müssen Aber ebenso zeigt uns auch das vierundzwanzigste Bild, also das Endglied der Paare, die wir zu den sechs Weltgegenden in Beziehung setzen müssten, im Codex Borgia einen in den geöffneten Rachen eines Schädels kopfüber stürzenden Menschen, also wiederum einen Hinweis auf die Richtung Unten. Es geht daraus hervor, dass, wenn in diesen Bildern eine Beziehung zu den sechs Weltgegenden vorliegt, die Formel nicht so einfach ist, dass wir vielmehr eine einmalige oder dreimalige Wiederholung des Turnus und bei dem wiederholten Turnus eine Folge der Richtungen in entgegengesetztem Sinne anzunehmen haben würden.

Der Umstand, dass am Anfang und gegen Ende der Reihe das Unten ausgedrückt zu sein scheint, ruft indes noch eine andere Vorstellung wach, die des Aufsteigens und Absteigens. Und das hat mich zunächst zu einer anderen Vermuthung geführt. In dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung und auch im Codex Borbonicus sehen wir auf jedem Blatte, die aufeinanderfolgenden Tage begleitend, eine Reihe von 13 Göttern und eine Reihe von 13 Vögeln, die Verkleidungen von ebensoviel anderen Göttern sind, dargestellt. Ich habe in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung den

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Nachweis zu bringen versucht,[1]) dass diese beiden Reihen zu parallelisiren und als die Hüter der dreizehn Stunden des Tages zu betrachten seien. Wie wenn nun den zwölf Paaren und der darauf folgenden Einzelgruppe hier eine ähnliche Bedeutung innewohnte? Wenn vielleicht die ersten, durch das Bild des Abends oder des Mondes bezeichneten Glieder der Paare die Nachtstunden, die zweiten mit dem Bilde der Sonne bezeichneten die Tagstunden angäben, die endständige Einzelgruppe gleichzeitig die dreizehnte Tag- und die dreizehnte Nachtstunde bezeichnete? Man wird nicht leugnen können, dass diese Vermuthung etwas für sich hat. Im Codex Borbonicus ist die dreizehnte Gottheit, die Hüterin der dreizehnten Stunde, deutlich als *Citlalin icue*, die Göttin des Sternhimmels, gekennzeichnet, die den beiden alten Gottheiten des letzten Faches unserer Reihe gleich zu setzen ist. Für die Mitte des Tages würde sich in unserer Reihe das mit der Ziffer 15 bezeichnete vierzehnte Bild ergeben (in der Mitte der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 59), und das scheint in der That den Sonnengott in Adlerfedermaske darzustellen. Für die neunte Tagesstunde würden wir das mit der Ziffer 19 bezeichnete achtzehnte Bild erhalten (in der rechten Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 58), und das zeigt uns *Quetzalcouatl*, der auch im Codex Borbonicus und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung die neunte Tagesstunde angibt. Es gibt nun allerdings noch eine andere, tiefere, ursprünglichere Vorstellung, die ebenfalls vorliegen könnte, die auch ein Aufsteigen zu einem mit der Höhe des Tages Zusammenfallenden und ein

Abb. 157. Codex Laud 38 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.

Abb. 158. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 42 (= Kingsborough 90) unten rechts.

Die Herren der ersten Nachtstunde und der unteren Region.

Absteigen zu einem der Mitte der Nacht Entsprechenden in sich schliessen würde. Auf sie denke ich am Schlusse dieses Abschnittes noch zurückzukommen. Wir können vorläufig die Beziehung auf die Stunden des Tages und die Stunden der Nacht festhalten. Denn es liegt ganz im Geiste jener alten Philosophen, dass man das in einem Gebiete Erkannte auch auf andere Gebiete anwandte, auch in anderen Gebieten in ähnlicher Weise wiederfinden zu müssen glaubte.

Die Beziehung zu der Mitte und den sechs Weltgegenden könnte daneben als bestehend angenommen werden. Wir würden dann vielleicht die zwölf Nachtstunden oder die zwölf Abschnitte, die in die Nacht fallen, zweimal wiederholt den sechs Weltgegenden in der Ordnung Unten, Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Oben, die zwölf Tagstunden bezw. die zwölf Zeitabschnitte, die mit dem Tage zusammenfallen oder von ihm beherrscht werden, denselben sechs Weltgegenden in der Ordnung Oben, Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Unten zuzuschreiben haben, damit wäre die Bedingung erfüllt, dass sowohl das erste wie das letzte Bild der zwölf Paare die untere Region kennzeichnen soll.

Das erste Bild, das die Ziffer 2 hat, muss, nach meiner Hypothese, die erste Nachtstunde oder die erste nächtliche Zeit und die untere Region bezeichnen. — In unserer Handschrift sehen wir (Blatt 58 unten rechts) in der Mitte des oberen Randes das aus dem Bilde der Nacht und dem der Sonne zusammengesetzte Symbol, das den Abend, oder hier vielleicht geradezu die Nachtstunden, bezeichnet.

1) Berlin 1900. S. 26–35.

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Der Todesgott, in der üblichen Weise ausgestattet, ist ein Opfer verschlingend dargestellt. Die Erdgöttin tritt uns als *Xochiquetzal* entgegen, in buntem Gewande, das Haar mit zwei hornartig aufragenden Flechten und mit bunten Bändern umwunden, die an die sogenannten Tlacoyales der zapotekiscken Weiber erinnern. Sie reicht dem Todesgotte ein Opfer dar, dem sie aber, wie es scheint, mit einem Opfermesser den Hals durchschneidet — wenn nicht das Messer einfach vorgestreckt gehalten wird. Ausserdem ist an der rechten Seite noch ein Topf mit zerbrochenem Boden, aus dessen Bruchstelle eine rothe Schlange hervorkommt, und an der anderen Seite ein Kaninchen vor einer Kiste zu sehen.

Eindrucksvoller ist hier, an dieser ersten Stelle, das Parallelbild des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 158). Wir sehen an dem unteren Rande des Faches, die ganze Breite einnehmend, einen Erdrachen dargestellt. Darüber in der Mitte ein Gestell oder einen Stuhl, auf dem ein Feueropfer, ein Brennholzbündel und eine Kautschukkugel sich befinden. Zur Linken steht *Mictlantectuli*, der Todesgott, in vollem Ornat, mit Menschenknochen, Schädeln und in Querstreifen weiss und roth bemalten Papierfahnen geschmückt, einen Menschen, den er mit der Hand gepackt hat, verschlingend, während die andere Hand, verlangend, nach. seinem Gegenüber vorgestreckt ist, *Ciuacouatl*, der Erdgöttin, die ihm ein weiteres Opfer entgegenbringt Das Gesicht der letzteren sieht aus dem geöffneten Rachen einer Schlange heraus, genau wie bei der Göttin, die wir der *Mictecaciuatl*, der vierten der vier Hüter der dritten Venusperiode, gegenüber in dieser

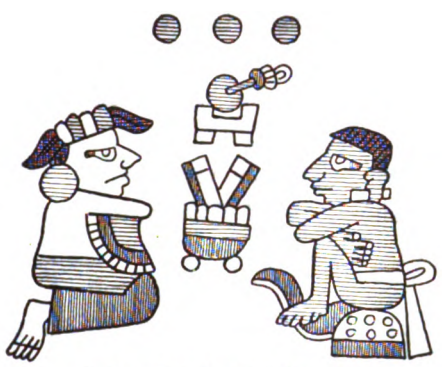

Abb. 159. Codex Laud 38 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten links.

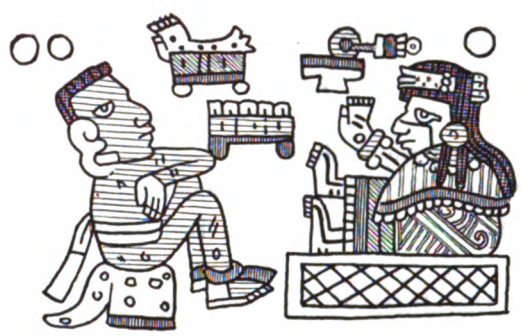

Abb. 160. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 42 (= Kingsborough 90) unten links.

Die Herrin der ersten Tagstunde und der oberen Region.

Handschrift abgebildet fanden (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 277, Abb. 472). Vor den Füssen des Todesgottes sieht man noch den Kopf eines *cipactli*, das Zeichen der Erde.

Das entsprechende Bild des Codex Laud (Abb. 157) ist etwas einfacher. Der Erdrachen ist auch hier, aber kleiner, in der Mitte des Feldes zu sehen. Die Erdgöttin ist geradezu als Genossin des Todesgottes, gleich ihm mit dem Unterkiefer eines Schädels und freiliegenden Zähnen gezeichnet. Sie reicht auch hier ein Opfer dem Todesgotte dar, das dieser mit der Linken packt, um es an sich zu nehmen.

Das zweite Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 3 steht, muss, meiner Hypothese nach, die erste Tagstunde oder den ersten vom Tage regierten Zeitabschnitt und die obere Region bezeichnen.

In unserer Handschrift, in der mittleren Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 58, sieht man oben das Bild der Sonne. An der linken Seite die *Xochiquetzal*, die fast genau so wie in dem vorhergehenden Bilde gezeichnet und gemalt ist, mit in bunten Streifenmustern gewebtem *quechquemitl* und bunter Enagua, das Haar von einem Bande umwunden, aus dem zwei Flechten hornartig emporragen. Sie ist in der Haltung einer Adorirenden dargestellt, und ebenso ihr Gegenüber, eine männliche Figur, die nur mit einer Schambinde bekleidet ist und auf dem Scheitel ein *iuitemalli* trägt. Beide sitzen auf einem *oceloicpalli*, einem Sitzpolster aus Jaguarfell. Die Göttin hält einen Knochendolch (*omitl*) in der Hand, ihr Gegenüber ein Bündel Halme (*çacatl*), wie sie sich die sich kasteienden Priester durch das Loch zogen, das sie sich in die Zunge schnitten. Von Opfergaben sind in der Mitte des unteren Randes des Faches ein in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalter Topf zu sehen, in dem zwei Maiskolben stecken und aus dem zwei Schnüre von Edelsteinperlen heraushängen. Daneben war eine Schale

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gezeichnet, die der Zeichner Kingsborough's noch vollständig wiedergibt, aus der drei Blumen emporragen, die Opferblut oder den Duft einer schmelzenden Harzmasse bezeichnen können. Nur diese Blumen sind, wie aus dem Faksimile zu schliessen ist, jetzt noch in der Handschrift zu sehen.

In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 160) sieht man zur Rechten eine Göttin auf einer Matte sitzen, die wohl wieder die *Xochiquetzal* sein muss, denn sie trägt einen Blumenkranz im Haare und hat um den Mund die rothe Winkellinie, die wir auch im Gesichte der *Xochiquetzal*, der fünften in der vierten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden in dieser Handschrift, angetroffen haben (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 279, Abb. 476). Die Göttin ist für dieses Fach als die Hauptperson anzusehen. Denn die ihr gegenüber, auf dem Jaguarfelle sitzende, mit blauer Farbe gemalte männliche Gestalt ist mit verschränkten Armen gezeichnet, in der Haltung, die auch heute bei den mexikanischen und mittelamerikanischen Indianern Unterwürfigkeit anzeigt, in der der Diener seinem Herrn naht. Zwischen den beiden Figuren sind noch Opfergaben angegeben, eine Edelsteinschale mit Mais, eine Schale mit einem Thierfusse (oder einem menschlichen Unterarme) und ein Gestell mit einem Edelstein.

Die Göttin und ihr Diener sind auch in dem Bilde des Codex Laud (Abb. 159) zu sehen. Die Göttin ist knieend dargestellt, der üblichen Ruhestellung der mexikanischen Weiber. Das von einem bunten Bande umwickelte und in zwei hornartigen Flechten abstehende Haar erinnert auffallend an die Weiberhaartracht der Wiener Handschrift und des Codex Sanchez Solis. Der auf einem Jaguarfellsitze sitzende Diener ihr gegenüber ist in derselben Unterwürfigkeitshaltung dargestellt und auch mit blauer Farbe gemalt. Unter den Opfergaben erkennen wir hier auch ein Holzgestell (*tlapechtli*) mit einer Edelsteinschale (*chalchiuitl*) und eine Schale mit Maiskörnern, in der aber zwei Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*) stecken.

Die Gruppe dieses Faches scheint die *Xochiquetzal* im engeren Sinne vorführen zu sollen, d. h. die Göttin, die von den Kommentatoren der *Tonacaciuatl*, der Herrin der Lebensmittel und der Herrin der Geburt, die im obersten Himmel ihre Wohnung hat, gleichgesetzt wurde.

Das dritte Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 4 angegeben ist, müsste nun die zweite Nachtstunde, oder den zweiten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitt, und den Osten bezeichnen.

Das Codex Borgia-Bild, in der linken Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 58, zeigt mit wünschenswerter Deutlichkeit die Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die hier wieder mit zwei hornartig aufragenden Flechten dargestellt ist, das Haar aber nicht mit einem bunten Bande, sondern mit einem Kranze weisser Blumen (*izquixochitl* = Beureria huanita?) umwunden hat. Eine in dieser Weise frisirte und geschmückte, aber nackte Göttin sieht man in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 20 unserer Handschrift auf dem Wasser, vor der Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue*, abgebildet. Der *Xochiquetzal* unseres Blattes gegenüber sitzt der rothe (*Tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*. Er ist durchaus typisch dargestellt, mit der ihm zukommenden Gesichtsbemalung, der Kriegerfrisur *tzotzocolueyac* und einem Federbusche auf dem Scheitel, der allerdings nicht die gewöhnliche Form des *aztaxelli* der Krieger hat, sondern ein *quetzaltemalli* ist. Die Göttin hat einen Quetzalvogel unter dem Arm, während der Gott eine rothe Schlange um den Hals gewickelt hat. Von Opfergaben sind bei diesen Göttern noch oben eine Schale mit einem überschäumenden braunen Getränke (Kakao oder schmelzendes Harz), in der Mitte eine umgestürzte Schale, aus der Maiskörner (?) herausfallen, und zur Rechten der abgerissene Kopf einer Wachtel zu sehen. Der umgestürzte Topf, aus dem die Maiskörner (?) herausfallen, ist vielleicht als „er sendet die Gaben von oben“ zu verstehen. Wir sehen in ähnlicher Weise eine umgestürzte Schale mit Mais auf dem Blatte 49 (= Kingsborough 48) des Codex Vaticanus bei *Tonacatecutli*, dem Regenten des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, angegeben. Und wir werden diese umgestürzte Schale weiterhin in dieser Reihe in dem Fache finden, wo, wie ich annehmen muss, der Sonnengott dargestellt ist. —

In dem Parallelbilde des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 162) ist eine Göttin dargestellt, die diesmal einen grossen Quetzalfederbusch auf dem Scheitel hat, die aber, wie der Vergleich mit dem Codex Borgia-Bilde lehrt, auch wieder als *Xochiquetzal* bestimmt werden muss. Sie hat auf der Backe, nach Art des Sonnengottes, einen runden Fleck in rother Farbe gemalt und hält einen grossen Quetzalvogel unter dem Arm. Ihr gegenüber, — oder vielmehr hinter ihr, denn die Göttin ist ihm abgewandt — sieht man einen Gott, der

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hier wohl richtiger als *Auiateotl* oder *Macuilxochitl* bestimmt werden muss. Sein Leib ist roth, sein Gesicht mit einem gelben Querstreifen versehen, der das Auge umgibt, was wohl als *Auiateotl*-Bemalung aufzufassen ist; Nase und Mundpartie sind, was mir anderwärts noch nicht begegnet ist, mit blauer Farbe angegeben. Er scheint eine Art Haarwulst gelber Farbe auf dem Kopfe zu haben, und dieser ist von einer Kette umwunden, die vermuthlich aus Steinmessern bestehen soll. Der Gott ist nur mit einer Schambinde bekleidet und hat eine grosse rothe Schlange um den Hals gewunden. Er ist in derselben Unterwürfigkeitshaltung dargestellt wie der *tlamacazqui* des vorigen Faches.

Im Codex Laud (Abb. 161) sieht man dieselben zwei Personen, die Göttin mit dem Quetzalvogel unter dem Arm und den rothen Gott, der eine rothe Schlange um den Hals gewickelt hat. Nur haben die beiden Personen eigentlich nichts an sich, das gestattete, sie mit einer bestimmten Gottheit zu identifiziren.

Der Quetzalvogel, den die Göttin im Arme hält, ist wohl ein Zeichen des Genusses; die Schlange aber, die um den Hals des männlichen Gottes gewunden ist, ein Zeichen der Sünde. Der im Codex Borgia als rother *Tezcatlipoca* erscheinende, im Vaticanus deutlicher als *Auiateotl* bezeichnete Gott steht hier augenscheinlich für den sündigen Gott, den *Nanauatzin*, der ins Feuer springt, um als Sonne am

Abb. 161. Codex Laud 37 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.

Abb. 162. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 41 (= Kingsborough 89), unten rechts.

Die Herren der zweiten Nachtstunde und des Ostens.

Himmel emporzusteigen. Und darin wird wohl der Grund liegen, dass dieses Paar hier in einem Felde steht, das wir zugleich als Bezeichnung einer Nachtstunde und der Region des Ostens ansehen müssen.

Das vierte Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 5 steht, müsste die zweite Tagstunde, oder den zweiten vom Tage regierten Zeitabschnitt, und zugleich den Osten bezeichnen.

Das Bild des Codex Borgia, in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 59, ist ziemlich einfach. Man sieht, am oberen Rande des Faches, das Bild der halben Sonne. Darunter ist, die Mitte des Faches einnehmend, ein Blüthenbaum gezeichnet. Die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* hat wieder ihren Kranz von weissen Blüthen (*izquixochitl*) im Haare, die Figur ihr gegenüber, der *tlamacazqui*, einen Knochendolch am Ohr. Und beide, sowohl die Göttin, wie der *tlamacazqui*, sind diesmal in Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, mit unter der Brust verschränkten Armen dargestellt, und beide halten ein Büschel grünen Grases (*malinalli*) in den Armen. Am unteren Rande des Faches sieht man Edelsteinschmuck in einem Edelsteingefässe als Opfergabe.

Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 164) sehen wir zur Rechten wieder *Xochiquetzal* auf einem Jaguarfellsitze, mit dem rothen Winkelstreifen im Gesichte und wieder etwas anders geschmückt, mit einem Blumenkranze im Haare und den beiden Scheitelfederbüschen (*ome quetzalli*), die ja das besondere Abzeichen dieser Göttin sind. Ihr gegenüber ebenfalls wieder den *tlamacazqui*, den Diener der Göttin, in Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, mit unter der Brust verschränkten Armen. Aber in der Mitte zwischen beiden steht

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eine Frau, deren Kopf abgeschlagen und durch einen Blüthenbaum ersetzt ist, während auch, wenn ich recht sehe, aus den Brüsten Blüthen hervorkommen. Sie berührt mit der einen Hand den *tlamacazqui* und hält mit der anderen der *Xochiquetzal* eine Blüthe unter die Nase. Die Frau mit dem abgeschlagenen Kopfe bezeichnet eigentlich den Mond, der, als abnehmender, den vorderen Theil seiner Scheibe verloren hat. Der Mond aber war diesen Völkern das Sinnbild, ja die Ursache des Wachsens und der Erneuerung, und so fällt die Gestalt dieser Gottheit mit der Vorstellung der fruchtbaren Erde zusammen. Man denke an das Kolossalbild der *Couatl icue*, der sogenannten *Teoyoamiqui* der mexikanischen Archäologen, deren Kopf abgeschlagen und durch zwei Schlangen ersetzt ist. Das Ganze ist ein sehr eigenartiges Bild des

Abb. 163. Codex Laud 37 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung), unten links.

Abb. 164. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 41 (= Kingsborough 89) unten links.

Die Herren der ersten Tagesstunde und des Ostens.

Abb. 165. Codex Laud 36 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.

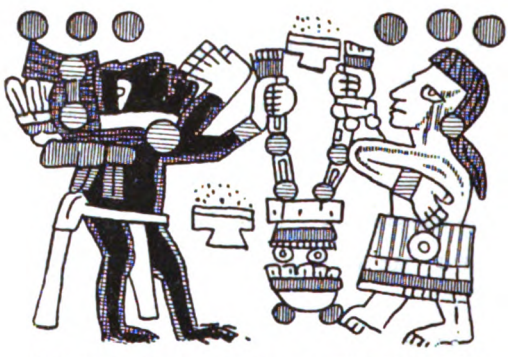

Abb. 166. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 40 (= Kingsborough 88) unten rechts.

Die Herren der dritten Nachtstunde und des Nordens.

Blühens, des Gedeihens, der Fruchtbarkeit der Erde, und das war die Vorstellung, die die Mexikaner mit der Region des Ostens verknüpften.

Das Bild des Codex Laud (Abb. 163), wie gewöhnlich, einfacher, zeichnet nur die Frau, hier mit Kriegerfrisur, und ihr gegenüber den die Arme unter die Brust verschränkt haltenden *tlamacazqui* und zwischen beiden einen Blüthenbaum. Ein in zwei Stücke zerbrochener Knochendolch (*omitl*), den man an der Seite des *tlamacazqui* sieht, ist ein Symbol, das wir bei der Mondgöttin und ebenso bei den alten Göttern des Lebens wiederholt angetroffen haben (vgl. Abb. 131 und 143, oben S. 159 und 161).

Das fünfte Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 6 steht, muss meiner Annahme nach die dritte Nachtstunde, oder die dritten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, und zugleich den Norden bezeichnen. In diesem

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Fache weichen, obwohl die Grundidee durchaus die gleiche ist, die drei Handschriften in der Ausgestaltung der Figuren etwas von einander ab.

Das charakteristischste Bild ist das unserer Handschrift, in der mittleren Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 59. Es handelt sich um die Nacht und den Norden. Deshalb sehen wir am oberen Rande des Blattes den Mond dargestellt, und die handelnden Personen sind als die Götter der alten Zeit, als chichimekische, gedacht. Die Göttin mit einem Hirschkopfe als Kopfschmuck und fliegenden Haarsträhnen, wie in dem vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt die sogenannte *Ixnextli* gezeichnet wird. Der Gott mit der Gesichtsbemalung der Tanzgötter und dem Koyoteohr an der Schläfe, also als *Ueuecoyotl*. Zwischen beiden befindet sich eine Kette aus grünen Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) scheiben oder Edelsteinperlen, deren eines Ende dem Gotte um den Hals gelegt ist, während das andere von der Göttin gehalten wird. Eine zwischen beiden Figuren am Boden liegende kleine Menschengestalt hat wohl ähnliche Bedeutung wie der am Boden liegende oder zu Boden fallende Mensch, den man bei *Ueuecoyotl*, dem Regenten des vierten Tageszeichens und des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes abgebildet sieht.

An den anderen beiden Stellen im Vaticanus (Abb. 166) und im Codex Laud (Abb. 165), sieht man statt des Tanzgottes einen Krieger in Tanztracht (schwarz bemalt und mit dem *aztaxelli* im Haar)

Abb. 167. Codex Laud 36 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten links.

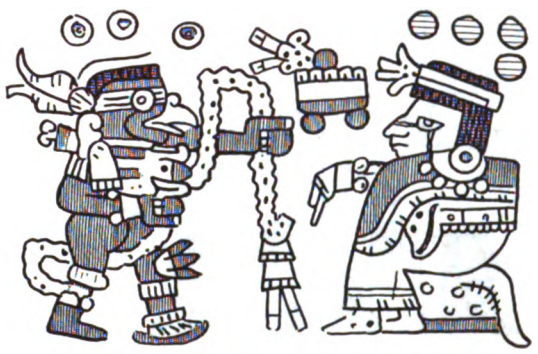

Abb. 168. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 40 (= Kingsborough 88) unten links.

Xochiquetzal und der Geier. Die Herren der dritten Tagesstunde und des Nordens.

und in Tanzstellung. Statt der Hirschgöttin eine Frau mit der Haartracht der Männer und augenscheinlich auch in Tanzstellung, also zweifellos eine der *maqui*, der Genossinnen der unverheiratheten Krieger, die an dem Tanze der Krieger theilnahmen, und deren Patronin und Prototyp die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* ist. Die Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*) Kette, die in dem Bilde des Vaticanus noch mit einem Mittelstücke, einer Brustplatte, versehen ist, wird von den beiden Tanzenden mit der Hand gepackt. Offenbar bedeutet diese Kette die Verbindung der Tanzenden zu einem geschlossenen Reigen. Im Vaticanus ist ausserdem das Fest noch durch zwei Pulqueschalen veranschaulicht.

Die sechste Gruppe, neben der die Ziffer 7 steht, muss nun entsprechend die dritte Tagstunde oder die dritten vom Tage regierten Zeitabschnitte und ebenfalls die Region des Nordens bezeichnen.

In allen drei Handschriften sieht man *Xochiquetzal* und ihr gegenüber einen Vogelmenschen, und zwar einen *tlacacozcaquauhtli*, einen als Geier verkleideten oder geierköpfigen Menschen, der im Codex Laud (Abb. 167) einfach roth gemalt, in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 59, unten links) und im Vaticanus (Abb. 168) ausserdem noch als Skelett gezeichnet ist, im Vaticanus auch das *aztaxelli*, den Kriegertanzschmuck, am Nacken hat, und der die Blume, d. h. das Herz, sich aus dem Leibe zieht, in dem Bilde des Codex Borgia auch wirklich ein Menschenherz seinem Gegenüber reicht. Die Schale mit der Blume, die in unserer Handschrift und im Vaticanus neben diesem Paare noch zu sehen ist, ist natürlich ein *quauhxicalli*, eine Schale mit Opferblut.

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Der *cozcaquauhtli*, der Geier, das Thier mit dem kahlen Kopfe, war den Mexikanern der Alte, der Repräsentant der Alten, d. h. der vorzeitlichen Menschen. Die Verkörperung des Tageszeichens *cozcaquauhtli* ist, wie wir im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen gesehen haben, *Itzpapalotl*, der „Obsidianschmetterling", die chichimekische Göttin. So stimmt also das Bild, das wir hier, wo die dritte Tagesstunde und der Norden veranschaulicht werden soll, vor uns haben vortrefflich zu dem vorhergehenden, das uns die dritte Nachtstunde und auch den Norden veranschaulichte.

Das siebente Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 8 steht, muss die vierte Nachtstunde oder die vierten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte und die Region des Westens darstellen. Hier stimmen der Codex Vaticanus und der Codex Laud fast genau überein, weichen aber anscheinend auffallend von demjenigen ab, das das Bild des Codex Borgia uns vor Augen führt. Wir werden aber sehen, dass auch hier die Grundvorstellung die gleiche ist.

Das Bild des Vaticanus (Abb. 170) und das des Codex Laud (Abb. 169) zeigen uns *Xochiquetzal*, mit reich ausgeführter Gesichtsbemalung, mit der blauen stufenförmigen Platte, die von der Nasenscheidewand über den Mund hängt, und mit der Quetzalvogelhelmmaske, wie wir sie auf dem Blatte 42 des Vaticanus rechts oben als vierten der vier Hüter der fünften Venusperiode angetroffen haben (Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 279, Abb. 476). Die Göttin ist aber hier mit ausgebreiteten Beinen

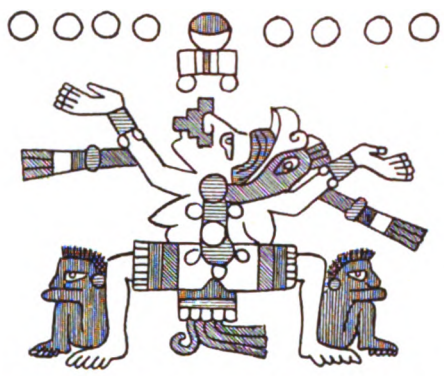

Abb. 169. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.

Abb. 170. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 39 (= Kingsborough 87) unten rechts.

Xochiquetzal, die Göttin, die Zwillinge geboren hat, Regentin der vierten Nachtstunde und des Westens.

(*mamaçouhticac*), d. h. in Geburtsstellung, dargestellt, und ein Quetzalfederschmuck, ein Sinnbild des — *nopilhtze, nocuzque, noquetzale* „o du mein Kind, mein Edelsteinhalsband, mein Quetzalfederschmuck" — kommt aus der Vulva der Göttin hervor. Zwei Fellstreifen, die man von den Handgelenkbändern der Götter herunterhängen sieht, und die in anderen Bildern der Göttin nicht angetroffen werden, bedeuten vielleicht Armbänder aus *tlaquatzin* („Beutelratte")-Fellstreifen, die man Kreisenden anlegte, um die Geburt zu erleichtern. Im Bilde des Codex Laud sind die Hände der Göttin offen und leer, aber im Vaticanus hält sie in der einen Hand einen Maiskolben, in der anderen einen Edelsteinschmuck, die beide offenbar auch auf das von der Göttin Geborene Bezug haben. Die Kinder selbst, — es sind deren zwei, — sieht man zur Rechten und zur Linken zu den Füssen der Göttin sitzen. Denn die Göttin ist, wie die Tradition berichtet, die erste Frau, die Zwillinge geboren hat.

Dieses in seiner Art durchaus klare Bild ist im Codex Borgia, wo es in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 60 steht, durch eine vollständig abweichende, aber in ihrer Weise ebenso klare und denselben Vorgang vor Augen führende Darstellung ersetzt. Hier steht nämlich für die Göttin, die Zwillinge geboren hat, *Quaxolotl*, die in zwei Köpfe auseinandergehende, zwei Köpfe, zwei verschiedene Gesichter tragende Göttin. Aber die Zwillinge, die sie geboren hat, sind genau ebenso, wie in den anderen beiden Bildern, unter der Göttin abgebildet. Die Göttin selbst hat die Tracht, das bunte *quechquemitl* und die bunte Enagua, der *Xochiquetzal*, aber von der Hinterseite jedes der beiden Arme hängt Flügel und Schwanz eines Quetzalvogels herab. Das kann wiederum Bezug auf

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die beiden Kinder, die sie geboren hat, haben. Und Darstellungen, wie diese, machen es wahrscheinlich, dass die *ome quetzalli*, d. h. die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche, die man in den typischen Bildern der *Xochiquetzal* von ihrem Scheitel aufragen sieht, und die man zunächst geneigt ist, nur als kostbare Umgestaltungen der beiden hornartig aufragenden Flechten der mexikanischen Weiberfrisur anzusehen, auch ein Ausdruck dafür sein sollen, dass die *Xochiquetzal* eben die erste Frau ist, die Zwillinge geboren hat. Von den beiden Köpfen oder Gesichtern, die das Bild der Göttin im Codex Borgia trägt, zeigt uns das eine ein von langen Haarsträhnen umrahmtes Weibergesicht, aber mit dem fleischlosen Unterkiefer und den freiliegenden Zähnen eines Totenschädels, also eine *Ciuacouatl* oder *Mictecaciuatl*. Das andere, das hintere Gesicht aber ist das *Tepeyollotli*'s, des Herzen der Berge, des Gottes der Höhlen, den wir als achten der neun Herren der Nacht kennen gelernt haben (Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 231—235). Dass gerade dies Gesicht als anderer Teil des Januskopfes gewählt ist, hat, meine ich, keinen anderen Grund als den, dass die *Tepeyollotli*-Köpfe auch die Zweiheit, die Zwillingsbildung in den zwei auf dem Scheitel aufragenden Haarwülsten an sich tragen.

Der *Quaxolotl* gegenüber sieht man in der Abb. 456 den Windgott *Quetzalcouatl* dargestellt, mit seiner Hacke (*uictli*) in der Hand und einen Maiskolben (*cintli*), gleichsam als Feder eingesteckt, am Hinterkopfe tragend. Diese ganze Figur ist offenbar weiter nichts als ein hieroglyphischer Ausdruck für

Abb. 171. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten links.

Abb. 172. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 39 (= Kingsborough 87) unten links.

Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl, die Herren der vierten Tagesstunde und des Westens.

xolotl „doppelter Maiskolben". Denn *Quetzalcouatl*, dessen Name eigentlich „Quetzalfederschlange" bedeutet, kann auch als der „kostbare Zwilling" übersetzt werden.

Der Westen ist das *ciuatlampa*, die Region der Weiber. Es ist das augenscheinlich der Grund gewesen, dass die vierte nächtliche Periode, die zugleich den Westen bezeichnet, durch das Bild der Zwillinge gebärenden Göttin ausgedrückt wurde.

Die achte Gruppe, neben der die Ziffer 9 steht, muss entsprechend die vierte Tagstunde oder die vierten mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte und zugleich die Region des Westens bezeichnen. Dieselben Vorstellungen, die in den eben besprochenen Bildern einen so merkwürdigen Ausdruck gefunden haben, sind auch für die Darstellungen dieser Abtheilung massgebend geworden. Es sind *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, die Herren des Lebens, die Herren der Zeugung, die man hier gewählt hat, um den Westen und die vierte Stunde zum Ausdruck zu bringen, indem man der Gebärenden, der Erdgöttin, die die Nachtstunde veranschaulichte, als Sinnbilder der entsprechenden Tagstunde, die im obersten Himmel hausenden Götter des Lebens und der Zeugung gegenüberstellte.

Der Herr des Lebens ist in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde in der Mitte der untersten Reihe des Blattes 60 durch das alte bärtige Gesicht, mit dem sonderbaren ringförmigen Anhängsel unter der Oberlippe, dass in unserer Handschrift den eingekniffenen Mundwinkel alter Götter wiedergibt, deutlich gekennzeichnet. Für *Tonacaciuatl* hat man einfach *Xochiquetzal* gesetzt, die ja, wie wir wissen, mit der

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Tonacaciuatl identifizirt wird. Der Vorgang, um den es sich handelt, ist dann dadurch zum Ausdruck gebracht, dass die Göttin dem Gotte eine Blume, d. h. eine Kostbarkeit, hinreicht, womit bei diesen Göttern zweifellos ein Kind gemeint ist. Nun kommt aber dem Priester bei diesem Symbole sofort wieder die andere Bedeutung, die das Bild der Blume haben kann, nämlich die von Opferblut, in Erinnerung. So zeichnete er zunächt darüber eine Schale mit einer rothen Korallenschlange, und die bedeutet, wie wir wissen, Blut. Aus demselben Grunde scheint er weiter den Gott in Jaguarkleidung gesteckt, die Göttin mit einer Adlerhelmmaske versehen zu haben, sie auf diese Weise zu Repräsentanten des *quauhtli-ocelotl*, des „Adler-Jaguars", d. h. des Kriegers, machend. Endlich hat er noch dem Gotte einen Knochendolch (*omitl*), der Göttin eine Agaveblattspitze (*uitztli*) in den Kopfschmuck gesteckt, an beiden eine Blume zeichnend, die natürlich hier wieder „Blut" bedeutet. Und er hat an den unteren Rand des Faches noch eine Schale gesetzt, aus der zwei Edelsteinbänder heraushängen, und in der noch zwei Knochendolche stecken, jeder mit einer Blume, d. h. mit Blut, am oberen, dem Gelenkende, dem Griffende.

Dasselbe sehen wir in einfacherer Zeichnung im Codex Laud (Abb. 171) und im Vaticanus (Abb. 172). Die Göttin ist in diesen beiden Handschriften einfach als *Tonacaciuatl* oder *Xochiquetzal*

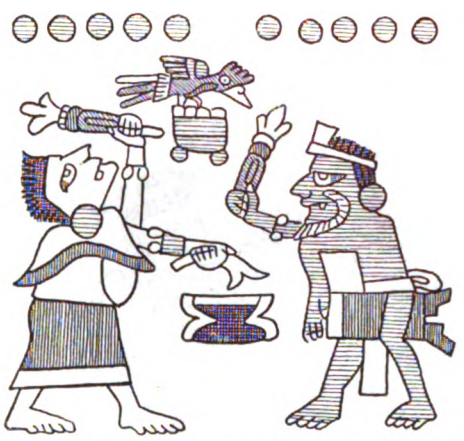

Abb. 173. Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.
Xochiquetzal und *Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott.

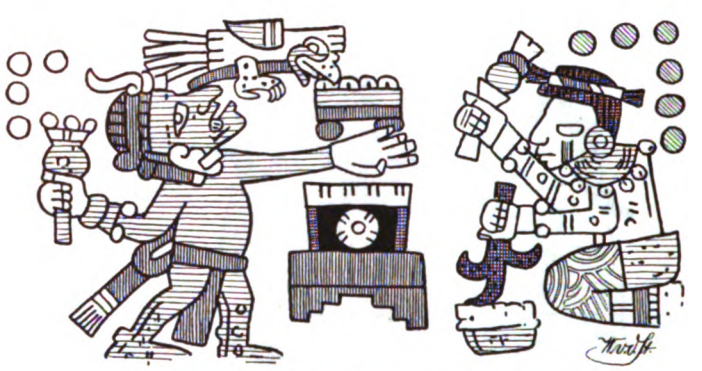

Abb. 174. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 38 (= Kingsborough 86) unten rechts.
Die Herren der fünften Nachtstunde und des Südens.

ohne die Adlerhelmmaske dargestellt. Aber der Gott ist in beiden Handschriften ein *Tlacaocelotl*, eine halb mit der Farbe der Menschenhaut gemalte, halb in Jaguarfell gehüllte Gestalt, deren Gesicht aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Jaguars hervorsieht. Hier ist bei beiden Göttern eine Blume angegeben, die man in dem Bilde des Vaticanus aus der Göttin hervorkommen sieht, die also zweifellos das Kind bedeutet. Und die Beziehung auf das Blut ist durch die Opfergaben angedeutet, in denen man, in dem Bilde des Codex Laud (Abb. 171), zwei Agaveblattspitzen stecken sieht.

Die neunte Gruppe, bei der die Ziffer 10 steht, muss dann, meiner Annahme nach, die fünfte Nachtstunde und die fünften, in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte und zugleich den Süden bezeichnen.

Das sind die Bilder, auf die ich schon in früheren Publikationen des Oefteren Bezug genommen habe, die uns das indianische Orchester und den Gott der Musik und des Tanzes zeigen. Der weibliche Theil der beiden Musikanten ist wieder die Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 60 unten links) mit ihrem Kranze weisser Blumen (*izquixochitl*), im Vaticanus (Abb. 174) mit einem bunten Bande im Haare, im Codex Laud (Abb. 173) ohne jeglichen Schmuck im Haare gezeichnet ist. Der männliche Theil ist im Codex Borgia der Gott der Musik und des Tanzes, für den wir, ohne in einen argen Fehler zu verfallen, den Namen *Ueuecoyotl*, „der alte Koyote", gebrauchen können. Er ist, wie ich das schon in frühren Publikationen beschrieben habe[1]), durch eine ringförmige weisse (*tiçatl*) Bemalung um

1) Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin 1901, S. 125–127.

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das Auge und eine mit derselben weissen Erde gemachte, aber nach hinten spitz verlaufende Bemalung um den Mund gekennzeichnet und trägt ein Thierohr (Koyoteohr?) an der Schläfe, einen rasselnden, aus Muschelschale geschnittenen nach unten spitz verlaufenden Behang, dem, wie ich nachgewiesen habe, der Name *oyoualli* zukommt, im Ohrläppchen und an der auf der Brust herabhängenden Halskette. Statt dieses Tanzgottes sieht man im Vaticanus (Abb. 174) und im Codex Laud (Abb. 173) einen alten bärtigen, mit blauer Farbe gemalten Gott, der durch das Schneckengehäuse, das er in dem Bilde des Vaticanus an der Stirn trägt, als *Tecciztecatl*, d. h. als Mondgott, deutlich gekennzeichnet ist.

Von Interesse ist auch das Orchester, das man hier in Anwendung sieht. Der Gott schlägt in allen drei Handschriften die Fellpauke, einen auf der einen Seite mit Fell überspannten, auf der anderen mit stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Füssen versehenen hölzernen Zylinder, der in der Abbildung des Codex Borgia und des Vaticanus ein wirkliches *tlalpan ueuetl* ist, d. h. auf dem Boden steht, während im Codex Laud der Gott das Instrument in kurioser Weise zwischen den Beinen hält. Im Codex Borgia schlägt der Gott nur diese Pauke. Im Codex Laud und im Vaticanus schwingt der Gott mit der anderen Hand eine Kürbisrassel (*ayacachtli*). Die Göttin ihrerseits hat als Hauptinstrument eine Schildkrötenschale (*ayotl*), die allerdings in keiner der drei Handschriften sehr kenntlich gezeichnet ist, und bearbeitet diese mit einem Hirschgeweih. Mit der anderen Hand schwingt auch sie die Kürbisrassel (*ayacachtli*),

Abb. 175. Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten links.

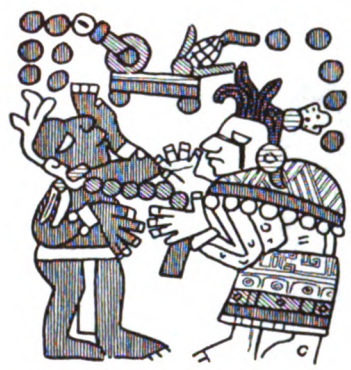

Abb. 176. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 38 (= Kingsborough 86) unten links.

Die beiden Tänzer. Die Herren der fünften Tagstunde und des Südens.

die augenscheinlich am Ende mit einer Quaste versehen sein soll, die der Zeichner hier durch eine Blume wiedergegeben hat.

Der Süden ist das *Xochitlalpan*, das Land der Blumen. Dort haben die Götter der Musik und des Tanzes, wie auch die Götter der Lustbarkeit und des Spiels, *Macuilxochitl* und seine Genossen, ihre Heimath. Und wir werden im letzten Kapitel dieser Erläuterungen sehen, dass eine tiefere Beziehung die Tanzgötter mit den Sternen verbindet, die auch die Südgötter, die *Centzon Uitznaua*, mit denen *Uitzilopochtli* kämpfte, sind.

Im Vaticanus (Abb. 174) und im Codex Laud (Abb. 173) sieht man in dem oberen Theile des Faches noch einen Quetzalvogel, der zu einer Opferschale sich herabneigt. Das ist das Herabkommen zum Opfer, das wir bei dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*, das den Anfang dieser Handschrift bildet, so oft dargestellt fanden. Ich bin geneigt, den Vogel hier als den Sonnenvogel und das Ganze als eine andere Bezeichnung der Gegend des Südens aufzufassen. Im Codex Borgia-Bilde kommt der Quetzalvogel nicht zur Schale herab, sondern hockt auf dem Scheitel der Göttin.

Die zehnte Gruppe, bei der die Ziffer 11 steht, muss entsprechend die fünfte Tagesstunde oder die fünften, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte und zugleich den Süden bezeichnen.

In dieser Abtheilung, scheint es, sind es die einfacheren Bilder, die wir im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 176) und im Codex Laud (Abb. 175) finden, die uns den eigentlichen Sinn der Darstellung erkennen

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lassen. In diesen beiden Handschriften ist es nämlich ohne Weiteres klar, dass wieder zwei Tanzende dargestellt sein sollen, da ebenso wie in dem fünften Bilde (vgl. oben Abb. 165, 166) die beiden Personen hier durch eine Kette aus Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-)Scheiben oder Perlen verbunden und auch augenscheinlich in Tanzstellung abgebildet sind. Man sieht, dass auch hier wieder bei dem Bilde der Tagstunde dieselbe Vorstellung zum Ausdruck kommt, wie in dem der entsprechenden Nachtstunde. Der weibliche Theil ist wieder *Xochiquetzal*, die im Vaticanus mit drei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken gezeichnet ist. Ihr Gegenüber weist im Codex Laud gar keine besonderen Merkmale auf. Im Vaticanus ist er mit rothem Leibe und rothem Gesichte und feuerfarbenem, über der Stirne in drei Locken aufzüngelnden Haare abgebildet. Der Vergleich mit der Figur des Codex Borgia-Bildes berechtigt uns, diese Gestalt als *Xochipilli*, den Gott der Blumen und der Lebensmittel, der auch eine Art Feuer- oder Sonnengott ist, zu bestimmen. Eine Schale mit einem Maiskolben und einer *chalchiuitl*-Scheibe vervollständigt das Bild.

Im Codex Borgia, wo das entsprechende Bild in der linken Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 60 steht, sieht man zwei sitzende Figuren. Aber die Göttin, die ein in den Farben des Regengottes gemaltes *copilli* auf dem Kopfe trägt, hält mit beiden Händen ebenfalls eine Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-) Kette. Und der Gott, der hier den Kopfschmuck des Sonnengottes trägt, nimmt, wie es scheint, eine

Abb. 177. Codex Laud 33 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten rechts.

Abb. 178. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 37 (= Kingsborough 85) unten rechts.

Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl, die Herren des Lebens, in *Tamoanchan*, Herren der sechsten Nachtstunde und der oberen Region.

Edelsteinkette aus dem Kruge, der unten abgebildet ist, oder legt eine solche in ihn hinein. Beide Götter haben ausserdem Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze in dem Kopfputze stecken. In dem oberen Theile des Faches ist noch eine Kautschukkugel und unten zwei Edelsteinschalen mit Opfergaben angegeben. Ich wage es hier nicht, eine speziellere Deutung zu geben.

Die eilfte Gruppe, neben der die Ziffer 12 steht, müsste, wenn meine Hypothese wirklich begründet ist, nunmehr die sechste Nachtstunde oder die sechsten, in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte und zugleich die obere Region bezeichnen.

Hier hat es nun zunächst den Anschein, als ob die Hypothese versagt. Es ist nämlich hier in allen drei Handschriften (vgl. in unserer Handschrift die mittlere Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 60 und die Abb. 177 und 178) der gebrochene Blüthenbaum dargestellt, aus dessen Wunde Blut fliesst. Wir haben diesen Baum bei der *Itzpapalotl*, der Herrin des sechszehnten Tageszeichens (vgl. Blatt 11, oben rechts und S. 180—190 des I. Bandes dieser Ertäuterungen) angetroffen und werden ihn unten, wo dieselbe Göttin als Herrin des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes steht, wieder antreffen. Und wir wissen, dass dort dieser Baum ein Symbol des Ortes *Tamoanchan*, „des Hauses des Herabsteigens", ist, der auch *Xochitl icacan* „wo die Blumen stehen" genannt und als Wohnort seliger Götter, als Heimath der Erdgötter und des Maises und als das Land, wo die wandernde Stämme sich lange Zeit aufgehalten haben, beschrieben wird. Diesen Ort habe ich bisher immer, der Bedeutung des Namens „Haus des Herab-

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steigens“ gemäss, aus allgemeinen Erwägungen und auch auf die Art des Vorkommens fussend, mit dem Westen, der Gegend, wo die Sonne in die Erde hinabsteigt, indentifizirt. Wie soll dieser Baum hier dazu kommen, die sechste Nachtstunde und zugleich die obere Region zu bezeichnen? Und mehr noch, wie sollen wir an die obere Region denken, wenn hier in dem Bilde des Codex Laud (Abb. 177) geradezu das Hinabsteigen in die Tiefe durch das bekannte Bild des Reptilrachens (Erdrachens) veranschaulicht wird, in dessen Oeffnung ein kopfüber hinabstürzender Mensch verschwindet? — Meine Antwort darauf ist, dass es sich bei all diesen Verhältnissen nirgends um absolut feste, gewissermassen juristisch bestimmte Begriffe handelt, dass im Gegentheil das Schillern, die Mehrdeutigkeit, das Hinüberspielen des einen Begriffs in den anderen die Hauptweisheit, das Hauptmysterium bildet. Der Reptilrachen mit dem in ihm verschwindenden Menschen ist sicher hier nichts als Hieroglyphe für *Tamoanchan* „Haus des Herabsteigens“. Dieses *Tamoanchan* aber wird auch geradezu, wie aus der S. 209 des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen angeführten Stelle der Historia de Tlaxcala des Diego Muñoz Camargo auf das Klarste hervorgeht, als das *Chicuhnauhnepaniuhcan Itzehecayan* „donde los aires son muy frios, delicados y helados, sobre los nueve cielos“, der Ort über den neun Himmeln, der Ort der frischen Winde, d. h. in der That als die oberste Region, der Himmel, wo *Xochiquetzal* weilt, und wo die Herren des Lebens *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl* wohnen, aufgefasst. Und in der That sehen wir hier im Vaticanus (Abb. 178) neben dem

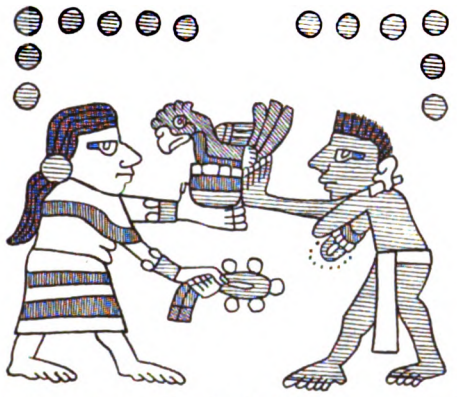

Abb. 179. Codex Laud 33 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) unten links.

Abb. 180. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 37 (= Kingsborough 85) unten, in der Mitte.

Die Herren der sechsten Tagesstunde und der unteren Region.

gebrochenen Baume zur Linken den *Tlacaocelotl*, den Gott mit der Jaguarhelmmaske, der in dem achten Bilde (vgl. unsere Handschrift in der Mitte der untersten Reihe des Blattes 60 und die Abbildungen 171 und 172) für *Tonacatecutli*, den alten Herrn des Lebens, eintrat. Und wir sehen zur Rechten des Blüthenbaumes im Vaticanus (Abb. 178) die Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die hier, nach Art gewisser *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren, den Kopf mit einem rothen Tuche bedeckt hat, durch einen über ihr angegebenen Maiskolben deutlich als *Tonacaciuatl* „Herrin des Lebens“ bezeichnet. Denn *tonacayotl* „unser Fleisch, unser Leib“ ist der Mais und wird einfach als Wort für Mais gebraucht.

Während nun der Codex Laud (Abb. 177) zwar, wie gewöhnlich, viel einfacher gezeichnet, dabei doch nichts enthält, was dem, das das Bild des Vaticanus uns lehrt, widerspräche, sind in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde die beiden Hauptpersonen in merkwürdig anderer Weise kostümirt. Sie haben beide den fleischlosen Unterkiefer und die freiliegenden Zähne eines Totenschädels und haben beide das Haar mit einer rothen Korallenschlange umwunden. Ich glaube, dass hier für *Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacaciuatl*, die Herren des Lebens, als Bewohner von *Tamoanchan* die beiden alten Zauberer *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* gesetzt sind, die Erfinder des Kalenders und Erfinder von Wahrsagung und Zauberei, die als die beiden Alten durch den Totenunterkiefer, als die Zauberer durch das aus einer Blutschlange bestehende Haarband gekennzeichnet sein würden.

Der anscheinende Widerspruch, der in dieser Abtheilung uns entgegentrat, ist also lösbar und hebt meine Annahme nicht auf. Es traten eben bei den Mexikanern, sowohl wenn sie an den

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Westen, wie wenn sie an die obere Region dachten, dieselben Vorstellungen in Erscheinung. In der That haben wir ja in dem dem Westen zuzuschreibenden achten Bilde dieselben Herren des Lebens abgebildet gesehen, denen sonst die oberste Region des Himmels als Wohnort zugewiesen wird.

Die zwölfte Gruppe endlich, neben der die Ziffer 13 steht, würde unserer Hypothese nach die sechste Tagesstunde oder die sechsten, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte und die untere Region bezeichnen müssen.

Das Bild des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 180) zeigt an der rechten Seite eine stehende Figur der *Xochiquetzal*, die diesmal mit einem Blumenkranze im Haare und mit zwei auf dem Scheitel in die Höhe ragenden Flechten dargestellt und mit einem rothen *quechquemitl* und wie gewöhnlich einer in den Farben des *chalchiuitl* gemalten Enagua bekleidet ist. Sie lässt den Quetzalvogel, den ihr Gegenüber im Arme hält, aus ihrer Schale trinken und reicht ihm zugleich ein *cozcatl*, eine Edelsteinhalskette hin. Der Vorgang ist ganz ähnlich in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde in der rechten Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 60, und etwas variirt im Codex Laud (Abb. 179) dargestellt. In dem Bilde des Codex Laud nämlich gibt der Mann, der hier vor der Brust noch einen Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*) hängen hat, seinen Vogel der Göttin hin, während diese ihm mit der einen Hand ihre Schale, mit der anderen ein *cozcatl* reicht. Ich glaube,

Abb. 181. Codex Laud 33 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben links.
Die fastenden und sich kasteienden Priester.

Abb. 182. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 37 (= Kingsborough 85) unten links.
Die Herren der siebenten Nachtstunde (der Mitternacht) und der unteren Region.

wir werden diesem Vorgang eine ganz bestimmte, und zwar auf den geschlechtlichen Verkehr bezügliche Bedeutung zuschreiben müssen. Denn im Codex Borgia ist der weibliche Theil hier als *Tlaçolteotl*, d. h. als die Göttin des Unraths, als die Vertreterin der Sinnenlust, abgebildet, die in der üblichen Weise durch die schwarze Kautschukbemalung um den Mund, den goldenen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*), die Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcaxochitl*) und die mit Halbmonden gemusterte Enagua gekennzeichnet ist. Ich glaube, dass auch in den anderen beiden Handschriften, dem Codex Laud und dem Vaticanus, wo die *Tlaçolteotl* als solche, d. h. mit ihrem Kostüm und ihren Abzeichen, nicht abgebildet ist, eben der Vorgang die *Tlaçolteotl* charakterisiren soll, und dass dieses Bild gewählt ist, weil die *Tlaçolteotl*, die eigentlich die Mondgöttin ist, mit der Erde identifizirt, geradezu (im Duran) *Tlalli iyollo* „Herz der Erde" genannt wird und deshalb auch die untere Region repräsentirt.

Der männliche Theil der Gruppe trägt hier, wie meist in diesen Bildern, in denen überall die Göttin die Hauptperson ist, keine besonderen Abzeichen. In unserer Handschrift ist er mit rother Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe gemalt, also vielleicht als *Xochipilli* oder *Macuilxochitl* gedacht.

Von Opfergaben ist im Vaticanus (Abb. 180) noch eine Pulqueschale und ein Gefäss, in dem Blumen und ein Knochendolch stecken, also wohl eine Opferblutschale, abgebildet. Im Codex Borgia ein *chalchiuitl* und eine Schale, auf der eine Blume, Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze liegen, also ebenfalls eine Opferblutschale.

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Mit dem folgenden dreizehnten Bilde, bei dem die Ziffer 14 steht und das der siebenten Nachtstunde oder der Mitte der Nacht, bezw. dem siebenten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, entsprechen würde, müsste, wenn meine Annahme richtig ist, der Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen in derselben Weise, wie er sich für die ersten zwölf Bilder uns bestätigt hat, von Neuem beginnen. Dass in den folgenden zwölf Bildern der Turnus wirklich in derselben Weise abläuft, dafür sehe ich zunächst schon eine gewisse Bestätigung in einer kleinen Aeusserlichkeit. Im Codex Borgia ist in dem Bilde, das meiner Annahme nach in dieser zweiten Reihe die Nachtstunde und den Norden bezeichnen würde, — es ist das achtzehnte Bild der ganzen Reihe (vgl. die mittlere Abtheilung in der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 58) — am oberen Rande des Faches, und zwar in der zweiten Reihe allein in diesem Fache, das Bild des Mondes angegeben. Dasselbe Bild des Mondes haben wir aber in der That auch in der ersten Reihe allein bei der Gruppe, die dort in der ersten Reihe die Nachtstunde und den Norden bezeichnete, nämlich der fünften Gruppe, in der mittleren Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 59, an Stelle des Bildes des Abends, das die anderen die Nachtstunden bezeichnenden Fächer am oberen Rande aufweisen, angetroffen. Der sonderbare Umstand aber, dass, wie ich angenommen habe, die Nachtstunden mit der unteren, die Tagstunden mit der oberen Region beginnen, das findet, wenn in der That bei dieser dreizehnten Gruppe der Turnus von neuem ansetzt, seine Erklärung. Die dreizehnte und vierzehnte Gruppe müssen nämlich die siebente Nacht- und die siebente Tagstunde, d. h. die Mitternacht und den Mittag, bezeichnen. Und man versteht ohne Weiteres, dass man für die Mitternacht die untere, für den Mittag die obere Region massgebend sein liess.

Das jetzt zunächst folgende dreizehnte Bild müsste also, wie gesagt, die Mitternacht und die untere Region bezeichnen. In der Mitte des Bildes sehen wir hier, in allen drei Handschriften (vgl. die linke Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 59 und die Abb. 181 und 182), einen Skorpion (*colotl*) abgebildet. Der Skorpion, dessen Stich brennenden Schmerz verursacht, ist das Thier des Feuergottes und wird in der Regel bei dem Feuergotte abgebildet. Aber er ist eben deshalb auch Sinnbild der Kasteiung. Das sehen wir deutlich an dem Reliefe eines Steinsitzes der Uhde'schen Sammlung des Königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde angegeben, wo auf der Ober- und Hinterseite das Bild des Skorpions, auf der Vorderseite aber das Bild des Grasballens (*çacatapayolli*) ausgemeisselt ist, in den man die Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*) steckte, die man mit dem Blute, das man sich durch Einschnitte in Zunge oder Ohr abgezapft hatte, bestrich. Ist aber der Skorpion ein Sinnbild der Kasteiung, so ist er auch ein Sinnbild der Zeit, wo man sich kasteite. Und das ist die Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*). Denn in der Mitternacht, da ertönten von den Tempeln die Muschelhörner, und es erhoben sich die Priester, um sich zu kasteien, zu singen und dann in Prozession zum Bade zu ziehen. Die Mitternacht wird deshalb *tlatlapitzalizpan netetequizpan*, „wo man die Muschelhörner blies, wo man sich das Fleisch zerschnitt", genannt.[1]) Es kann deshalb das eben angeführte Relief geradezu als Parallele für die Bilder z. B. des Codex Borbonicus betrachtet werden, wo man über dem mehr oder minder stylisirten Bilde des *çacatapayolli* die Hieroglyphe Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*), ein von Dunkel umgebenes Auge, angegeben findet. Ich glaube darnach in der That berechtigt zu sein, das Bild des Skorpions, das man hier bei der dreizehnten Gruppe in allen drei in Betracht kommenden Handschriften abgebildet sieht, für eine Bezeichnung der Mitternacht zu halten.

Dementsprechend ist denn auch von den zwei Personen, die zu Seiten des Skorpions stehen, der Mann augenscheinlich als Priester dargestellt, d. h. Körper und Gesicht schwarz gemalt und mit einem breiten rothen Flecke an der Schläfe. So wenigstens im Codex Borgia und im Vaticanus (Abb. 182), während er im Codex Laud (Abb. 181) — wie in dieser Handschrift fast allgemein die männlichen Personen in den die Nachtstunden bezeichnenden Gruppen — mit rother Farbe gemalt ist. Im Codex Borgia trägt dieser Priester ausserdem den Kopf des Thieres, das wir im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (vgl. Abb. 83, oben S. 111) an Stelle der Hieroglyphen des Mondes in dem Nordtempel abgebildet fanden und das wir auch an anderen Stellen[2]) als Erdgott und Repräsentanten der unteren Region kennen gelernt

1) Sahagun 7, cap. 3. Ms. Biblioteca Laurenziana.
2) Vgl. meine Erläuterungen zum Codex Vaticanus, Berlin 1902, S. 71, 72, Abb. 258, 259.

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haben. Die Göttin aber, die im Vaticanus und im Codex Laud in der gewöhnlichen Art, als *Xochiquetzal*, dargestellt ist, hat in unserer Handschrift einen Hirschkopf auf dem Kopfe, gleich der Göttin, die in dem fünften Bilde mit dem alten Koyote, dem Tanzgotte, den Reigen führt, und die dort den Norden, die Region der Erde, bezeichnete. Unter dem Priester ist in unserer Handschrift, wie es scheint, ein Holzmesser mit einem Thierkopfe als Griff angegeben, das vielleicht der Art hölzerner Lanzette entspricht, die man im Codex Borbonicus bei den beiden alten Aerzten, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*, sowie bei *Xipe* und bei *Itztlacoliuhqui*, abgebildet sieht. Unter der Göttin stehen in einer Schale zwei Spindeln. Der Priester hat ausserdem eine Schale mit Blumen (d. h. Blut?), die Göttin eine Schale mit Maiskolben neben sich. Und über ihnen ist endlich ein Gefäss mit einer Blutschlange und ein Topf mit zerbrochenem Boden zu sehen, gleich dem, den wir bei dem ersten, ebenfalls die Nachtstunde und ebenfalls die untere Region bezeichnenden Bilde in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 58 gezeichnet fanden, aus dem dort aber eine Blutschlange herauskam.

Merkwürdig ist noch, dass hier in allen drei Handschriften deutlich die Personen als von einander abgewandt oder sich von einander abwendend gezeichnet sind. Das kann darauf Bezug haben, dass der Priester keusch lebt, dem Verkehr mit dem Weibe entsagt. Es könnte aber auch, wie bei den auf

Abb. 183. Codex Laud 33 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben Mitte.

Abb. 184. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 36 (= Kingsborough 84) unten rechts.

Die Herren der siebenten Tagstunde und der oberen Region.

Blatt 57 des Codex Borgia einander abgewandt gezeichneten Figuren *Xochipilli*'s und der *Xochiquetzal*, ein Richtungsunterschied, das Oben und Unten, damit ausgedrückt sein.

Das vierzehnte Bild, bei dem die Ziffer **15** steht, müsste nunmehr der siebenten Tagesstunde oder dem Mittag, bezw. dem siebenten mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden, die Höhe des Aufsteigens bezeichnenden Zeitabschnitte, und zugleich der oberen Region entsprechen.

In der That sehen wir hier im Codex Borgia in der mittleren Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes **59** der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber, die wieder mit ihrem Kranze weisser Blüthen im Haare dargestellt ist und eine weisse Blüthe (*izquixochitl*) auch als Bemalung auf der Backe hat, eine mit leuchtender rother Farbe gemalte Gestalt mit Adlerhelmmaske abgebildet, die ebenfalls auf der Backe eine weisse Blüthe gemalt hat, und die nur den Krieger, den Sonnengott oder *Xochipilli* als Sonnengott bezeichnen kann. Vom Munde der Göttin geht eine Edelsteinperlenkette aus. Der Gott hält in der Linken Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze, in der Rechten den Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*). Denn die Mittagsstunde ist die Zeit, wo man dem Sonnengotte räucherte. Zwei umgestürzte Schalen (mit Mais?) scheinen, wie in einer früheren, der Himmelsrichtung des Ostens gewidmeten Abtheilung (vgl. die linke Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 58) die Gaben, die der Gott von oben sendet, zu bezeichnen. Einen Kopalbeutel hält auch der Gott des Codex Laud in der Hand (Abb. 183). Im Codex Vaticanus aber (Abb. 184) hat offenbar eine Vertauschung zwischen diesem und dem folgenden Bilde stattgefunden. Denn das, was im Vaticanus das vierzehnte Bild ist (Abb. 184), entspricht genau dem fünfzehnten Bilde (Abb. 185) des Codex Laud. Da nun das vierzehnte Bild des Codex Laud (Abb. 183) mit dem vier-

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zehnten des Codex Borgia übereinstimmt — das beweist schon der Kopalbeutel in der Hand des Gottes —, so muss der Fehler, der vorliegt, von dem Schreiber des Vaticanus begangen worden sein, es muss das fünfzehnte Bild des Vaticanus (Abb. 186) dem vierzehnten des Codex Borgia und des Codex Laud gleichgesetzt werden. In der That sehen wir auch hier der Göttin gegenüber einen mit rother Farbe gemalten Gott, der genau dem Gotte des zehnten Faches dieser Handschrift entspricht, d. h. einem Fache, wo im Codex Borgia ebenfalls ein mit der Kopfbinde des Sonnengottes geschmückter, wohl als *Xochipilli* zu bestimmender Gott abgebildet war.

Das nächste, das fünfzehnte Bild, ist das, bei dem die Ziffer 16 steht. Es muss meiner Theorie nach die achte Nachtstunde, oder die achten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, und zugleich den Osten bezeichnen.

Im Codex Laud (Abb. 185) und ebenso in dem vierzehnten Bilde des Vaticanus (Abb. 184), das, wie wir oben gesehen haben, dem fünfzehnten der anderen beiden Handschriften entspricht, sind der Gott und die Göttin jeder mit einem *cozcatl*, einem Edelsteinhalsband in der Hand abgebildet, und darüber sieht man in einer Schale einen grünen Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*) und drei Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*). Die Göttin des Vaticanus trägt in der durchbohrten Nasenscheidewand einen Stab. Das kommt bei

Abb. 185. Codex Laud 33, 34 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) obere Hälfte.

Abb. 186. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 36 (= Kingsborough 84) unten, Mitte.

Die Herren der achten Nachtstunde und des Ostens.

keiner der anderen weiblichen Figuren dieser Reihe vor. Bei dem Gotte sieht man von dem Ohre einen Kranz von Blumen über den ganzen Scheitel sich in die Höhe ziehen.

Diese Figuren sind nun allerdings mit dem Bilde unserer Handschrift, das in der rechten Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 59 steht, ziemlich schwer zu vereinen. Hier hat nämlich die Göttin die Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes, mit der sie aber den fleischlosen Unterkiefer und die freiliegenden Zähne eines Totenschädels verbindet. Das sind zwei Merkmale, die an *Itzpapalotl*, die chichimekische Göttin erinnern. Das Haar ragt über der Stirn in zwei flammenartigen Strähnen in die Höhe. Das ist, wie wir sehen werden, ein bezeichnender Zug für *Chantico*, die Feuergöttin von *Xochimilco*. Es fehlte dem Bilde der *Itzpapalotl*, die als Herrin des sechszehnten Tageszeichens auf dem Blatte 11 unserer Handschrift abgebildet war, ist aber ebenso bei der *Itzpapalotl*, die wir als Herrin des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens auf dem Blatte 66 unserer Handschrift kennen lernen werden, zu sehen. Ueber dem Haare endlich hat diese Göttin des fünfzehnten Bildes eine zusammenhängende Decke von Daunenfedern und über der Stirn eine weisse, aus Daunenfedern gemachte Rosette. Das ist wiederum ein Abzeichen, das genau so bei der *Itzpapalotl*, der chichimekischen Erdgöttin, angetroffen wird. (Vgl. die Abbildungen in der rechten Hälfte der oberen Abtheilung des Blattes 11 und in der oberen Abtheilung des Blattes 66 unserer Handschrift.) Es mag nun in der That sein, das zwischen den beiden genannten Gestalten, der *Itzpapalotl* und der *Chantico*, der Göttin des Feuers, eine Verwandtschaft besteht. Denn der Schmetterling ist ein Homologon der Blume und, gleich dieser, auch Ausdruck und Symbol des Flatternden, das ist des

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Feuers. Eine Verwandtschaft bestand ja auch zweifellos zwischen den Chichimeken von *Quauhtitlan*, die die *Itzpapalotl* verehrten, und denen von *Xochimilco*, deren Gott die Feuergöttin *Chantico* war. Vor allen Dingen aber war, wie ich in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 183 ff. nachgewiesen habe, die Göttin *Itzpapalotl*, die Vertreterin der alten Gestorbenen, die geopferte Göttin, oder die Frau, die den Kriegertod erlitten hat, — eine Gestalt, die in gewisser Weise mit der *Ciuateteô* oder *Ciuapipiltin* sich deckt. Ihr Fest war ein Totenfest. Darum hat sie aber auch all das an sich, das den *Ciuateteô* nachgesagt wurde, vor allem die Beziehung zur Sünde. Was ich früher als Flammen gedeutet habe, die aus ihrem Munde hervorkommen, das ist richtiger vielleicht als *cuitlatl*, als „Exkremente, Unrath" zu bezeichnen, den die Göttin isst. Sie wird damit als *Tlaelquani*, als „Unrathfresserin", d. h. als Sünderin, erklärt. Dasselbe beweist auch die mit Stacheln besetzte Kautschukkugel, die sie in der Hand hält, die wir wiederholt in unserer Handschrift als ein Symbol des *tetl quauitl* des „Steines und des Holzes" oder des *chichicaztli* der „Nessel", d. h. der Strafe, angetroffen haben. Im Uebrigen muss man für diese Gestalt unseres fünfzehnten Bildes festhalten, dass sie als chichimekische Göttin betrachtet wurde. Darauf deuten die in Stücke gebrochenen Knochendolche, die man über den beiden Figuren in der Schale sieht. Denn das Gebrochene scheint überall das Alte, weit Zurückliegende zu

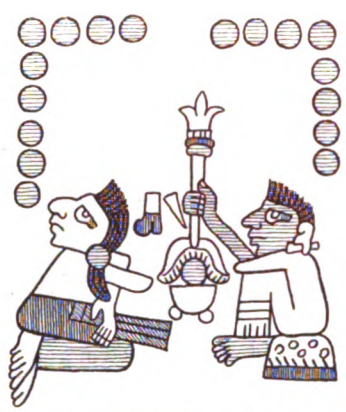

Abb. 187. Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben Mitte.

Abb. 188. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 36 (= Kingsborough 84) unten links.

Die Götter des Wachsthums. Die Herren der achten Tagstunde und des Ostens.

bezeichnen. Und weil es eben eine chichimekische Göttin ist, darum ist sie auch im Vaticanus durch den Stab in der Nase entstellt worden.

Nicht minder charakteristisch als der weibliche, ist auch der männliche Theil dieser Gruppe. Es ist wieder der von Kopf bis zu den Füssen mit schwarzer Farbe angemalte, und an der Schläfe durch einen grossen rothen Fleck ausgezeichnete Priester. Er hat aber hier einen Knochendolch über dem Ohre stecken, aus dem reichlich Blut herabfliesst, während zwei rothe Schlangen, die eine nach oben, die andere nach unten strebend, seinen Hals umschliessen. Die rothen Schlangen werden hier wohl wieder, wie wir das schon so oft getroffen haben, den Sünder bezeichnen. Es ist also der sich kasteiende Sünder, der hier dargestellt ist. Darum hat auch er wieder das Zeichen der Strafe, nämlich ein Beil, in der Hand.

Müssen wir demnach in der That eine Parallele zwischen unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde und den Abbildungen 185 und 184 des Codex Laud und des Vaticanus annehmen, so könnte diese vielleicht nur darin gefunden werden, dass das Geschmeide (*cozcatl*) auch als Sinnbild der Kasteiung, als „Kostbarkeit" — vgl. *chalchiuhatl*, das Edelsteinwasser, das Blut, — gedeutet werden könnte.

Die alte chichimekische Göttin scheint die Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne, die Morgendämmerung, anzudeuten, und deshalb hier für die Region des Ostens zu stehen.

Das sechszehnte Bild, neben dem wir die Ziffer 17 geschrieben sehen, muss dementsprechend die achte Tagesstunde, oder die achten mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte, und ebenfalls zugleich den Osten bezeichnen.

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Hier ist offenbar, und zwar in allen drei Handschriften ziemlich gleichartig, das Wachsthum (*izcalli*), das der lebengebenden Wirkung des Feuergottes zugeschrieben wurde, und in der Vorstellung der Mexikaner so recht eigentlich die Kennzeichnung des als Region der Fruchtbarkeit und des Gedeihens betrachteten Ostens war, vielleicht zugleich auch das Aufsteigen, die Erhebung, durch eine Blüthe oder einen Blüthenbaum veranschaulicht, der von den Göttern aus einer Opferschale geradezu emporgezogen wird, während die Göttin, zum Mindesten in dem Bilde unserer Handschrift, das in der linken Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 58 steht, dieselbe Idee durch die beiden emporgehobenen Arme zum Ausdruck bringt. Die Edelsteinschale, aus der der Baum emporwächst, steht im Codex Borgia ihrerseits auf einem Wege, und dieser umschliesst in einer Art Ausbuchtung oder Nische, die er bildet, eine andere Schale, aus der eine weisse, mit den Nasenhalbmonden (*yacametztli*) des Pulquegottes besteckte Flüssigkeit herausschäumt, die offenbar Pulque (*octli*) bedeutet. Hier haben wir, wie es scheint, ein Rebus vor uns. Der mit Fussspuren versehene blaue Pfad, auf dem auch die Göttin steht, werden wir als *tlalli*, „Erde", die Schale mit dem Getränke als *octli* Pulque lesen müssen. Und das gibt zusammen *tlaloc* „Pulque der Erde", eine oft versuchte Etymologie des Namens *Tlaloc* des Regengottes, der freilich eigentlich wohl ganz etwas Anderes bedeuten wird, — vermuthlich den „der aufspriessen macht", von einem Zeitwort *tlaloa* abgeleitet.

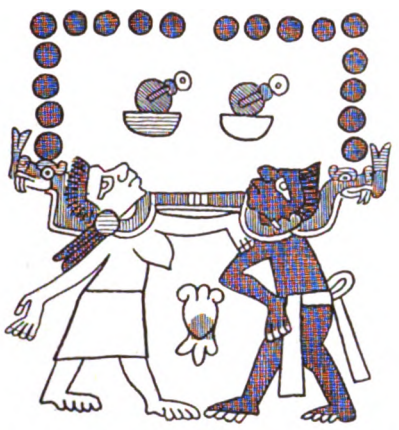

Abb. 189. Codex Laud 34 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben rechts.

Abb. 190. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 35 (= Kingsborough 83) unten rechts.

Die Herren der neunten Nachtstunde und des Nordens.

Der *tlamacazqui*, der den Baum, bezw. die Blüthe, in die Höhe zieht, trägt im Codex Borgia ein Armband von Schneckengehäusen, wie es der alte Himmelsgott zu tragen pflegt. Im Vaticanus (Abb. 188) ist er mit einem Priesterwams (*xicolli*) bekleidet und trägt auf der Brust an breitem Lederriemen das Auge, das *anauatl*, den Schmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s.

Merkwürdig ist noch, wofür ich aber keine Erklärung geben kann, dass sowohl in dem Bilde des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 188), wie in dem des Codex Laud (Abb. 187) die Göttin ihren Kopf nach rückwärts wendet, während in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde die Göttin von ihrem Gegenüber abgewendet sitzt, das Gesicht ihm aber zukehrt.

Die siebzehnte Gruppe, bei der die Ziffer 18 steht, muss, meiner Annahme nach, nunmehr die neunte Nachtstunde, oder die neunten in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, und den Norden bezeichnen. Das Bild steht in unserer Handschrift in der mittleren Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 58. Das ist das Fach, an dessen oberen Rand der Zeichner des Codex Borgia die Hieroglyphe des Mondes gesetzt hat, an Stelle des Zeichens des Abends, das die anderen, die Nachtstunden darstellenden Fächer dieser Reihe zeigen.

Hier besteht wiederum ein merkwürdiger Unterschied zwischen unserer Handschrift einerseits und dem Codex Vaticanus und dem Codex Laud andererseits. Das Bild des Vaticanus (Abb. 190) und das des Codex Laud (Abb. 189) zeigen, wie üblich, zwei Personen, eine weibliche und eine männliche, die aber hier keine besonderen Abzeichen an sich haben. Sie stehen einander gegenüber und sind durch

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eine rothe Korallenschlange, die beider Hals umwindet, mit einander verbunden. Es hat aber fast den Anschein, zum mindesten im Bilde des Codex Laud, als ob die beiden als Streitende dargestellt wären. Zwischen ihnen sieht man im Codex Laud ein Herz und über ihnen in beiden Handschriften zwei grüne Edelsteine (*chalchiuitl*), jeden auf seiner Schale.

Unsere Handschrift aber zeichnet einen, mit blauer Farbe gemalten, aber nicht mit besonderen Abzeichen ausgestatteten Gott und ihm gegenüber die *Xochiquetzal*, die zwischen den beiden aufrechten Flechten das Haar mit einem bunten Bande umwickelt hat. Sie sitzen jeder auf einem Jaguarfellsitz. Und jeder hält unter dem Arm ein Kind, die beide gegen einander gewandt gehalten werden, etwa wie man beim Hahnenkampf die unter dem Arm oder mit den Händen gehaltenen Hähne gegeneinander kehrt. Und es hat auch hier fast den Anschein, als ob in der That diese beiden Kinder einen Streit beginnend dargestellt sein sollen. Am unteren Rande des Faches aber sieht man eine rothe Korallenschlange, die in merkwürdiger Weise in zwei Knoten zusammengeknotet ist, das man fast das bekannte aus Ring und Strahl, oder Ring und Trapez, bestehende Zeichen zu erkennen vermeint, dass in der Wiener und anderen Handschriften zur Kennzeichnung der Jahresdaten dient.

Ich wage es hier nicht, eine bestimmtere Deutung zu versuchen, und bemerke nur, das trotz der anscheinenden Inkongruenz die drei Handschriften zweifellos dieselben Personen und denselben Vorgang

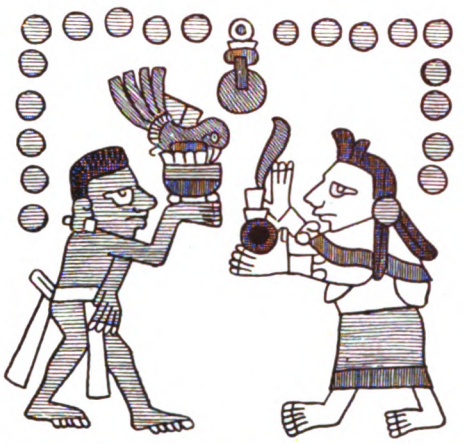

Abb. 191. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben links.

Abb. 192. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 35 (= Kingsborough 83) unten, Mitte.

Die Herren der neunten Tagstunde und des Nordens.

darstellen wollen. Die beiden Kinder, die in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde unter dem Arm gehalten werden, sind in den beiden anderen Handschriften durch die beiden *chalchiuitl* angedeutet, die über den beiden Personen, jeder auf seiner Schale, gezeichnet sind. Die Zusammenknotung der beiden Personen durch die rothe Korallenschlange aber, die uns die Bilder des Vaticanus und des Codex Laud vorführen, hat ihre Parallele in der doppelt zusammengeknoteten rothen Schlange an dem unteren Rande des Codex Borgia-Bildes.

Das achtzehnte Bild, neben das der Zeichner die Ziffer 19 geschrieben hat, muss nunmehr die neunte Tagesstunde oder die neunten mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte und ebenfalls den Norden bezeichnen.

Auch hier gehen die drei Handschriften wiederum in gewisser Weise auseinander. Das Bild des Vaticanus (Abb. 192) zeigt uns auf der linken Seite *Xochipilli*, den Gott der Blumen, wie im zehnten Fache, mit rothem Leibe und rothem Gesichte und feuerfarbenem über der Stirn in drei Locken aufzüngelndem Haare dargestellt, aber hier ausserdem noch mit einem grossen Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*)-Brustschmuck an lang herabhängender Perlkette. Er hält eine Schale in die Höhe, aus der ein Quetzalvogel trinkt. Das wird wohl kaum etwas anderes heissen können, als — „er bringt ein Blutopfer“. Ihm gegenüber steht die Göttin, *Xochiquetzal* natürlich, mit einer Kautschukkugel, der, wie gewöhnlich, eine einzelne Quetzalfeder aufgebunden ist, in der Hand. Unten sieht man noch einen Krug, dessen Mündung

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in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalt ist. Und oben eine Schale, aus der die Enagua und die Füsse einer Frau herauszuragen scheinen.

Ganz analog zeichnet der Codex Laud (Abb. 191) den Gott, der hier, wie allgemein in dieser Handschrift die männlichen Personen der die Tagstunden bezeichnenden Fächer, mit blauer Farbe gemalt ist, mit einer Schale in der erhobenen Hand, aus der ein Quetzalvogel trinkt, und ihm gegenüber die Göttin mit ihrer Kautschukkugel in der Hand. Darüber ist ein Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*) abgebildet.

In unserer Handschrift aber, wo das entsprechende Bild in der rechten Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 58 steht, ist der männliche Theil der Gruppe der Windgott (*Quetzalcouatl*), der Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agaveblattspitze (*uitztli*) in der einen, ein Bündel Halme (*çacatl, tlacotl*) in der anderen Hand und den Quetzalvogel unter dem Arme hält. Ihm gegenüber sieht man *Xochiquetzal*, diesmal wieder mit ihrem Kranze weisser Blumen im Haare, in der einen Hand ein Brennholzbündel (*tlatlatilquauhquetzalli*), in der anderen eine thönerne Räucherpfanne (*tlemaitl*) haltend.

Offenbar soll in all diesen Bildern der Norden als die Region des Messers und des Opfers vorgeführt werden. Der Codex Laud und der Codex Vaticanus begnügen sich, das männliche Gegenstück der *Xochiquetzal*, den Gott *Xochipilli*, mit der Opferblutschale in der Hand, aus der der Sonnenvogel trinkt, darzustellen. Der Codex Borgia aber ersetzt ihn durch den Gott der Kasteiung und

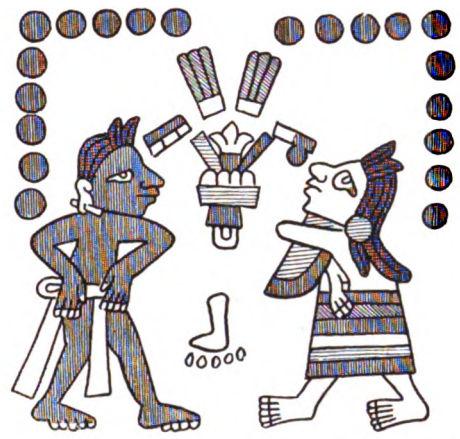

Abb. 193. Codex Laud 35 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben rechts.

Abb. 194. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 35 (= Kingsborough 83) unten links.

Die Herren der zehnten Nachtstunde und des Westens.

des Opfers, *Quetzalcouatl*, dem nunmehr, wie es scheint, anscheinend in ziemlich widersinniger Weise, der Quetzalvogel, der zum Opfer herabkommende, aus der Schale trinkende Sonnenvogel, unter den Arm gegeben ist.

Es folgt das neunzehnte Bild, bei dem die Ziffer 20 steht. Dieses muss, meiner Theorie nach, nunmehr die zehnte Nachtstunde, oder die zehnten, in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, und den Westen bezeichnen.

Hier, möchte man meinen, hat den Zeichner, oder vielmehr den, der die Ideen zu diesen Bildern gab, die Kraft der Charakterisirung verlassen. Denn dies Bild scheint annähernd das Gleiche zu besagen, wie das eben Besprochene. So wenigstens im Codex Vaticanus und in unserer Handschrift, die dies Mal näher mit einander übereinstimmen, während der Codex Laud eine etwas veränderte Darstellung hat. In unserer Handschrift steht das entsprechende Bild in der rechten Abtheilung der oberen Reihe des Blattes 58. Hier und in dem Parallelbilde des Vaticanus (Abb. 194) sehen wir wieder das Götterpaar: — Auf der einen Seite *Xochiquetzal*, die in unserer Handschrift wieder mit ihrem Kranze weisser Blumen im Haar abgebildet ist, im Vaticanus in ein kostbares *quechquemitl* und eine kostbare Enagua gekleidet ist und das Haar mit einem bunten Bande umwunden hat, auf der anderen ihren männlichen Genossen, der diesmal auch im Codex Borgia einfach ein roth gemalter Gott und als *Xochipilli* zu bezeichnen ist, während im Vaticanus ein mit gewöhnlicher Hautfarbe gemalter Gott abgebildet ist, der aber durch den

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bekannten rothen Fleck an der Schläfe als Priester bezeichnet zu sein scheint. Die Göttin hält im Codex Borgia wieder ein Brennholzbündel. Der Gott hat in beiden Handschriften ein grosses Opfermesser (*tecpatl*) in der Hand, das im Codex Borgia in einen Stiel gefasst, im Vaticanus ohne einen solchen einfach als blattförmige Klinge gezeichnet ist. Im Vaticanus sieht man zwischen den beiden Figuren eine Edelsteinschale mit einer Blüthe, d. h. also eine Opferblutschale (*quauhxicalli*), und über ihnen Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitzen. Im Codex Borgia ist unten zwischen den beiden Göttern eine Opferblutschale angegeben, in der Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze stecken, jedes der beiden Kasteiungswerkzeuge mit seiner Blüthe am Ende, die Blut bedeutet. Also einfach als Opferer scheinen die beiden Götter dieser Gruppe dargestellt zu sein, gleich denen der vorhergehenden, der achtzehnten Gruppe.

Etwas anders sieht allerdings das Bild des Codex Laud aus (Abb. 193). Die beiden Götter stehen hier einander gegenüber in einer Positur, deren eigentlichen Sinn ich nicht recht erfassen kann. Es ist diesmal die Göttin, die in Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, mit unter der Brust verschränkten Armen dargestellt ist. Die Opferblutschale, mit ihrer (das Blut bedeutenden) Blüthe, ist auch hier zwischen den beiden Figuren zu sehen. Auch hier stecken Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze in der Schale, sind aber in zwei Stücke zerbrochen. Und darüber sind noch zwei *malinalli*-Grasbüschel angegeben. Unter der Schale aber hängt ein *chalchiuitl*, ein Edelstein, herab. Und unter ihm sieht man, gerade zwischen beiden Göttern,

Abb. 195. Codex Laud 36 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben links.

Abb. 196. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 34 (= Kingsborough 82) unten rechts.

Die Herren der zehnten Tagstunde und des Westens.

eine Fussspur. Ich glaube, dass man dies doch in derselben Weise auffassen muss, wie die von oben herabkommenden Fussspuren, die bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Regentin des dreizehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes des Codex Borbonicus, zu sehen sind, d. h. dass der *chalchiuitl* und die Fussspur darüber das Herabkommen des Edelsteins bedeuten soll, nämlich das Herabkommen eines Kindes, das eben durch die Opfer, die das Bild darstellt, bewirkt wird. Dann ist dieses Bild auch eine durchaus angemessene Veranschaulichung der Region des Westens, des *ciuatlampa*, und eine wirkliche Parallele zu den Abbildungen 169, 170 (oben S 186) und dem in der rechten Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 60 unserer Handschrift dargestellten Bilde, die in dem ersten Theile der Nacht die Region des Westens bezeichneten. Die Bilder, die der Codex Borgia und unsere Handschrift geben, sind also gewissermassen unvollständige, die von dem Beschauer ihrem Sinne nach ergänzt werden müssen. Der Codex Borgia und der Vaticanus zeigen eben bloss die Opfer, die nöthig sind, damit ein Kind empfangen und geboren werden könne. Der Vorstellung, dass diese Gabe, so gut wie andere Gaben der Götter, durch Frömmigkeit, durch Bussübungen erworben werden muss, begegnen wir in den Kapiteln Sahagun's, die von der Ehe, von dem Verhalten bei der Schwangerschaft, Geburt u. s. w. handeln, auf Schritt und Tritt. Nur durch das nach oben Sehen, gewissermassen von oben Herunterholen, das der männliche Theil dieser Gruppe in unserer Handschrift durch die Haltung des Kopfes und der Hand auszudrücken scheint, ist vielleicht auch in diesem Bilde auf die eigentliche Bedeutung des Vorgangs hingewiesen.

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Das zwanzigste Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 21 angegeben ist, muss dementsprechend die zehnte Tagstunde, oder die zehnten, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte, und auch den Westen bezeichnen.

Hier zeichnet im mittleren Fache der oberen Reihe des Blattes 58 der Codex Borgia wieder einfach die *Xochiquetzal*, die mit der einen Hand ein Feueropfer, ein Brennholzbündel und eine Kautschukkugel darbringt. Ihr gegenüber den Priester (*tlamacazqui*), der am ganzen Körper und im Gesichte mit Ausnahme des rothen Flecks an der Schläfe, mit blauer Farbe gemalt ist, an der Schläfe, nahe dem Ohre, seinen Knochendolch und seine Agaveblattspitze stecken hat und in der Hand ein Büschel *malinalli*-Gras hält. Dazu kommen unten noch ein Paar Opfergaben.

Auch dies Bild werden wir indes als ein unvollständiges ansehen müssen. Denn eine viel prägnantere Darstellung zeigen uns die beiden anderen Handschriften, die augenscheinlich beide das Herausziehen einer Edelsteinkette aus der Göttin und durch den Gott vor Augen führen. Am deutlichsten ist dabei das Bild des Vaticanus (Abb. 196), wo man den Gott die Kette geradezu aus dem Munde der Göttin ziehen sieht. Das hat natürlich wieder zweifellos eine ähnliche Bedeutung, wie das Herabkommen des Edelsteins in dem vorigen Bilde. Der Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*), der Halsschmuck, die Perlkette (*cozcatl*), die Schmuckfeder (*quetzalli*), das ist immer das Kind — *nopilhtze*, *nocuzque*

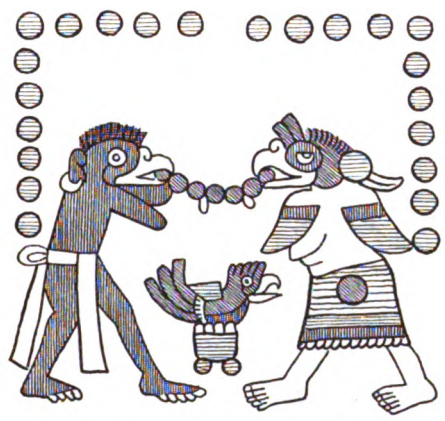

Abb. 197. Codex Laud 36 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben rechts.

Abb. 198. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 34 (= Kingsborough 82) unten Mitte.

Die tanzenden Quetzalvögel, die Herren der eilften Nachtstunde und des Südens.

noquetzale „mein Kind, meine Perlkette, meine Schmuckfeder" — wie es im Anfange der „Platica que haze el Padre al hijo, avisandole ó amonestandole que sea bueno" heisst. Der Gott, der das *cozcatl* herauszieht, ist in beiden Handschriften mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt, und hat im Vaticanus auch, wie der Priester des Codex Borgia-Bildes, die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze, an der Schläfe, nahe dem Ohre stecken. Im Vaticanus ist dieser Gott aber ausserdem nicht nur mit einem merkwürdigen strahligen Halsschmuck versehen, sondern ist auch geradezu mit den abwechselnd gelben und schwarzen Querbinden, dem *ixtlan tlatlaan*, der Gesichtsbemalung des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*, versehen. Der hiernach also gewissermassen als eine Art Geburtshelfergott, als Accoucheur, erscheinende *Tezcatlipoca* ist bekannt als Zauberer. Vielleicht hat er damit auch den Befähigungsnachweis als Arzt gebracht.

Das folgende einundzwanzigste Bild, von dem Zeichner mit der Ziffer 22 bezeichnet, muss nun, meiner Annahme nach, der eilften Nachtstunde, oder den eilften, in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitten, und der Region des Südens entsprechen.

In der ersten Hälfte der Nacht hatten wir in der Stunde, die dem Süden entspricht, — in der fünften Nachtstunde, im neunten Bilde (vgl. das Bild in der linken Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 60 und die Abbildungen 173 und 174, oben S. 188) die beiden musizirenden Götter angetroffen. Hier haben wir, und zwar gleichmässig in allen drei Handschriften, Götter des Tanzes vor uns. Denn

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die beiden als Quetzalvögel verkleideten Götter, die in dem linken Fache der obersten Reihe des Blattes 58, sowie in den Abbildungen 197 und 198 dem Beschauer vorgeführt sind, halten zwischen sich eine Perlkette, die genau ebenso, wie in dem Bilde, das wir in der mittleren Abtheilung der untersten Reihe des Blattes 59 unserer Handschrift sehen, und in den entsprechenden Bildern der anderen beiden Handschriften (Abb. 165, 166, oben S. 184) die zu einem Reigen vereinigten Tänzer veranschaulicht. Die beiden als Quetzalvögel verkleideten Götter stellen natürlich wieder *Xochiquetzal* und *Xochipilli* vor. Die erstere ist durch ihre Enagua und das Kind, dass sie im Codex Borgia-Bilde im Arme hält, der letztere durch die rothe Farbe und durch die Schambinde, mit der er umgürtet ist, gekennzeichnet. Der mit einem künstlichen Muster verzierte Stuhl, den dieser männliche Quetzalvogel in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde im Arm hält, ist vielleicht ein Zeichen königlicher Würde. Bemerkenswerth ist in dem Vaticanus-Bilde (Abb. 198) die deutliche Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, in der der weibliche Quetzalvogel dort dargestellt ist. Das erinnert, ebenso wie die nach oben gewandte Kopfstellung des männlichen Quetzals an die oben besprochenen Bilder (Abb. 193 und 194), durch die die Empfängniss ausgedrückt war. Und in der That sehen wir auch hier in unserer Handschrift zwischen den zu dem Reigen vereinigten Quetzalgöttern einen Quetzalvogel von oben herabkommen.

Abb. 199. Codex Laud 37 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben links.

Abb. 200. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 34 (= Kingsborough 82) unten links.

Die Herren der eilften Tagstunde und des Südens.

Das zweiundzwanzigste Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 23 steht, muss nun weiter die eilfte Tagstunde, oder die eilften, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte, und ebenfalls den Süden bezeichnen.

Hier sehen wir auf einmal in allen drei Handschriften Todessymbole, Schädel und gekreuzte Totengebeine angegeben. Im Codex Laud (Abb. 199) und im Vaticanus (Abb. 200) scheint auch geradezu ein gefährlicher Angriff von Seiten des Gottes auf die Göttin unternommen zu werden. Die Waffe, die der Gott gegen die Göttin kehrt, hat im Vaticanus die Form eines Schwertfischschwertes, dem an dem breiten Ende ein längerer Stachel als Spitze eingesetzt ist. Die Göttin des Codex Laud hat eine thönerne Räucherpfanne (*tlemaitl*) in der Hand. Die des Vaticanus scheint durch zwei Spindeln im Haare und einen Ohrpflock aus ungesponnener Baumwolle, sowie durch den Grasbüschel oder den Besen, den sie in der Hand hält, als *Tlaçolteotl* gekennzeichnet werden zu sollen.

Im Codex Borgia dagegen, wo das entsprechende Bild die rechte Hälfte der oberen Reihe des Blattes 59 füllt, sieht man die beiden Götter friedlich einander gegenüber sitzen. Sie sind beide als Priester kostümirt, da sie beide die Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) auf dem Rücken tragen. Sie halten beide ein blutendes Herz in der Hand. Und zwischen ihnen steht am Boden eine mit Blut gefüllte Schale, eine richtige Adlerschale (*quauhxicalli*), die dieselbe Ornamentation, die Adlerfedern am oberen Rande, aufweist, wie die Opferblutschalen (*quauhxicalli*) des Codex Borbonicus und wie die steinernen Originale, die ich seiner Zeit im Ethnologischen Notizblatte[1]) beschrieben habe. In der Schale stecken

[1]) Band II, Heft 1 (Berlin 1899) S. 14—22 und Band III, Heft 1 (Berlin 1900, S. 135 - 139.

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hier zwei Pfeilschäfte, die wohl Saugrohre bezeichnen sollen, — die Rohre, mit denen die Götter das Blut aus der Schale trinken sollen. Das Codex Borgia-Bild scheint demnach Opfertod darstellen und den Süden als die Region des Opfertodes bezeichnen zu sollen. Das war eine den Mexikanern geläufige Ideenverbindung, da es ja die Sonne ist, an die die Opfer gerichtet werden, der das Blut und die Herzen der Geopferten dargebracht werden.

Die entsprechenden Bilder der beiden anderen Handschriften möchte ich dagegen eher als Veranschaulichung des Krieges und des Kriegertodes ansehen, der ja, aus ähnlichen Gedankenverbindungen heraus, als nicht minder charakteristisch für den Süden, die Region des Sonnengottes, betrachtet werden kann. Die beiden nach oben gehenden Fussspuren, die man in dem Bilde des Codex Laud (Abb. 199) neben den gekreuzten Totenbeinen sieht, könnten geradezu den zum Himmel gehenden Toten, d. h. den geopferten Krieger bedeuten.

Das dreiundzwanzigste Bild, bei dem die Ziffer 24 angegeben ist, muss nach meiner Theorie nunmehr die zwölfte Nachtstunde, oder die zwölften, in die Nacht fallenden Zeitabschnitte, und die obere Region bezeichnen.

Abb. 201. Codex Laud 37 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben rechts.

Abb. 202. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 33 (= Kingsborough 81) unten rechts.

Die Herren der zwölften Nachtstunde und der oberen Region.

Hier treffen wir die merkwürdigen Bilder, die ich zum ersten Male in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus (Berlin 1904), S. 146, bei dem vierten Tageszeichen abgebildet habe. In unserer Handschrift, wo das entsprechende Bild die ganze linke Hälfte der obersten Reihe des Blattes 59 einnimmt, ist eine deutlich obszöne Szene vor die Augen des Beschauers gebracht. In der Mitte sehen wir den Priester (*tlamacazqui*), oder wohl *Xochipilli* als Priester, der, wie zwei Bilder vorher, am ganzen Leibe, mit Ausnahme des rothen Fleckes an der Schläfe, mit blauer Farbe gemalt ist, aber hier, statt des Endes der Schambinde, das lange Schwanzende einer rothen Korallenschlange trägt, was entweder direkt obszöne Bedeutung hat oder mit den im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 39 abgebildeten Figuren des büssenden Ehebrechers in Verbindung zu bringen ist, den wir ja dort auch von einer rothen Korallenschlange begleitet fanden. Dieser *Xochipilli-tlamacazqui* ist hier zwischen zwei Figuren der *Xochiquetzal* dargestellt, die in der Kopfbildung und in der Frisur, in dem Kranze weisser *izquixochitl*-Blumen im Haare sich vollkommen gleichen. Die eine aber zur Linken ist vollkommen, auch um die Hüften bekleidet. Sie hält einen Quetzalvogel unter dem Arme, dessen Bedeutung man wohl nach den bei der sechsten Tagstunde abgebildeten Gruppen (vgl. das Bild in der rechten Abtheilung der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 60) beurtheilen muss, und hat den *tlamacazqui* am Schopfe gepackt, d. h. sie hat ihn gefangen, oder nimmt ihn für sich in Anspruch, sie ist seine richtige Frau. Die andere *Xochiquetzal*, zur Rechten des Bildes, ist eigentlich nackt. Sie ist durch die Werkzeuge des Krieges, die neben ihr abgebildet sind, als eine der weiblichen Genossinnen der unverheiratheten Krieger, als ein Freudenmädchen, eine Hure (*auiani*,

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maqui) gekennzeichnet, und die Rolle, die sie spielt, ist durch die obszöne Handlung, die sich ihr gegenüber der *tlamacazqui* erlaubt, mit genügender Deutlichkeit veranschaulicht.

Dieses sehr verständliche Bild des Codex Borgia ist nun interessanter Weise in den anderen beiden Handschriften (siehe die Abbildungen 201 und 202) durch ein anderes ersetzt, in dem man den *tlamacazqui* nur mit einer *Xochiquetzal*, der bekleideten, die den Quetzalvogel unter dem Arme hält, zusammen sieht, wo aber dann der Zeichner die Unkeuschheit in für die damaligen Beschauer jedenfalls vollständig kenntlicher Weise durch das Bild der Eidechse (*cuetzpalin*) veranschaulicht hat, die er dem *tlamacazqui* in den Arm gegeben hat. Vergleiche hierüber das, was ich in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Berlin 1904) S. 145 und 146 und in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 95—97, bei dem vierten Tageszeichen gesagt habe. Die Beziehung zu den *maqui*, den weiblichen Genossinnen der Krieger, ist dabei in unserer Handschrift, ebenso wie im Codex Vaticanus, durch die Hieroglyphe des Krieges noch besonders zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Es sind also auch diese Bilder vollkommen klar. Nicht so klar ist mir allerdings, wieso nun gerade diese Bilder eine Illustration der oberen Region sein sollen. Wir müssen wohl annehmen, dass der Zeichner die Unkeuschheit oder den geschlechtlichen Trieb mit den Göttern der Zeugung, die im obersten Himmel wohnen, in Zusammenhang hat bringen wollen, oder dass er in dieser Reihe, die ja

Abb. 203. Codex Laud 38 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben links.

Abb 204. Codex Vaticanus 3773 Blatt 33 (= Kingsborough 81) unten Mitte.

Die Herren der zwölften Tagstunde und der unteren Region.

eigentlich ganz und gar der *Xochiquetzal* gewidmet ist, die Krieger und das Kriegerloos, d. h. das Geopfertwerden und zum Himmel gehen, — *ilhuicac yauh*, „der zum Himmel geht", heisst die Seele des geopferten Kriegers — nur durch das Bild der weiblichen Genossinnen der Krieger, der *maqui*, der in den Reigen der Krieger eintretenden, der *auiani*, der Freudenmädchen, zur Anschauung bringen konnte.

Das vierundzwanzigste Bild, neben dem die Ziffer 25 steht, muss, meiner Theorie nach, die zwölfte Tagstunde, oder die zwölften, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte, und die untere Region bezeichnen. — Wir sehen in der That in unserer Handschrift, in der rechten Abtheilung der obersten Reihe des Blattes 60 die untere Region oder die Abwärtsbewegung, die Bewegung zur Erde, durch das nahe dem unteren Rande des Faches gezeichnete Bild des Schädels, in dessen Rachen ein Mensch, kopfüber hineinstürzend, verschwindet, deutlich veranschaulicht. Der übrige Inhalt des Bildes aber zeigt eigentlich kaum etwas, das man ohne Weiteres mit der unteren Region in Zusammenhang bringen würde. Und das Gleiche muss man von dem Bilde des Codex Laud (Abb. 203) und dem des Vaticanus (Abb. 204) sagen. Das Wesentliche in diesen Bildern scheint überall ein *cozcatl*, ein Halsgeschmeide, eine Perlkette, oder überhaupt eine Kostbarkeit, ein Edelstein zu sein. Denn wir sehen im Codex Laud und im Vaticanus den Gott, der im Vaticanus als *Xochipilli* mit rother Farbe gemalt ist, ein *cozcatl* der Göttin darreichen. Und im Vaticanus ist darüber noch eine Schale mit einer Perlkette (*cozcatl*) angegeben.

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Im Codex Borgia hält die Göttin, die hier wieder als *Xochiquetzal* mit ihrem Kranze weisser *izquixochitl*-Blumen im Haare abgebildet ist, eine Kette von Blumen in der Hand. Der Gott, der *tlamacazqui*, hat allerdings nur Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze in der Hand. Aber hinter beiden Figuren sieht man ein kleines Bündel, das in der Art der Umschnürung an das Leichenbündel erinnert, das man z. B. auf dem Blatte 13 unserer Handschrift über dem offenen Erdrachen und bei dem Todesgotte sieht, das aber hier mit blauer Farbe, d. h. der Farbe des Türkises, gemalt ist, und an dessen einem Ende eine Blume, an dessen anderem zwei Edelsteinriemen gezeichnet sind.

Ich glaube, dass diese Bilder den Reichthum, die Ueppigkeit, die Fruchtbarkeit der Erde dem Beschauer vorführen sollen, als deren Repräsentantin ja so recht eigentlich die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* gelten kann, und dass hier mit der Erde die untere Region gemeint sein soll.

Es bleibt nun noch das letzte, das fünfundzwanzigste Bild, neben das der Zeichner die 2×13 Punkte, die Ziffer 26, gesetzt hat. Das ist die Einzelgruppe, die die Mitte der Welt und die dreizehnte Stunde bezw. die dreizehnten, in die Nacht fallenden und vielleicht gleichzeitig auch die dreizehnten, mit dem Tage zusammenfallenden Zeitabschnitte, bezeichnen muss.

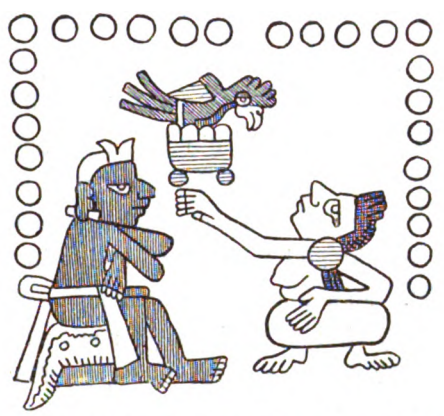

Abb. 205. Codex Laud 38 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung) oben rechts.

Abb. 206. Codex Vaticanus 3773 Blatt 33 (= Kingsborough 81) unten links.

Die Herren der dreizehnten Nachtstunde und der Mitte.

Der Zeichner des Codex Borgia hat diese Gruppe, die die linke Hälfte der obersten Reihe des Blattes 60 einnimmt, zunächst den Nachtstunden eingereiht, da er auch an ihrem oberen Rande ein allerdings in abweichender Weise aus einem hellen Sonnenbilde, dem Zeichen des Tages, und einem dunklen Sonnenbilde, dem Zeichen der Nacht, zusammengesetztes Symbol des Abends (*tlapoyaua*) angebracht hat. Dargestellt sind in diesem Fache die beiden alten Götter, mit dem weissen Reiherfederhaare, dem weissen Reiherfederbarte, dem ringförmigen Anhängsel unter der Oberlippe, das für den eingekniffenen Mundwinkel eines Greisengesichtes steht. Beide sind als Priester abgebildet, d. h. mit der Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*) auf dem Rücken, die das Abzeichen der Priester ist[1]), der Gott ausserdem noch durch den rothen Fleck an der Schläfe als Priester gekennzeichnet. Der Gott hält in der einen Hand einen Stab, dessen nach unten gekrümmtes, oberes Ende in Gestalt eines Reiherkopfes gebildet ist, den man daher als *aztatopilli* bezeichnen muss, und in der anderen Hand ein Büschel *malinalli*-Gras. Die Göttin, die im Uebrigen als *Xochiquetzal* gekleidet ist, hält in der einen Hand ein langgestieltes Auge. Der Gott ist offenbar der Figur gleich, die auf dem Blatte 24 des Codex Borgia als achtzehnter in einer Reihe von zwanzig Göttern auftritt, und dem alten Gotte, der auf dem Blatte 55 und im Codex Fejérváry (Abb. 143, oben S. 161) in Hirschgestalt abgebildet ist und als sechster in einer Reihe von sechs Göttern steht, die ich als die sechs Himmelswanderer bezeichnet und oben S. 157 ff. näher besprochen habe. Die Göttin ist der

1) Vgl. Seler „Die Bilderhandschriften Alexander von Humboldt's in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin". Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mexikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Berlin 1902, Band I, S. 186, 187. — Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum f. Völkerkunde VI, Heft 2 (Berlin 1899), S. 42—44. — Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, Berlin 1901, S. 62, 123, 160, 161, 176.

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alten Frau am Mahlsteine gleich zu erachten, die wir auf dem Blatte 9 unserer Handschrift bei der *Xochiquetzal*, der Regentin des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens abgebildet fanden. In meiner Erläuterung des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer habe ich auf diese Götter die Namen *Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Ilancueyê* angewendet, die Motolinia und Mendieta uns als die alten, in *Chicomoztoc*, den „sieben Höhlen" wohnenden Götter nennen, von denen die Geschlechter der Menschen stammen. Ebenso gut mag man diese Götter aber auch *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl* oder einfach *Ueueteotl* und *Ilamatecutli* nennen. In dem Kommentare zum Codex Fejérváry habe ich die Ansicht begründet, dass diese beiden Götter der obersten Region des Himmels, der Milchstrasse oder dem Zenithe gleich zu setzen seien. Mit demselben Rechte aber kann man sie auch mit der Erde identifiziren. Denn sie stellen offenbar der eine (der männliche Theil) den Himmel, der andere (der weibliche Theil) die Erde dar. Und die Erde, die Richtung von oben nach unten, sehen wir auch in unserem Codex Borgia-Bilde durch den in den Erdrachen (*cipactli*-Rachen) kopfüber stürzenden Menschen veranschaulicht. Da sie aber sowohl den Himmel, wie die Erde, die Richtung nach oben, wie die nach unten darstellen, so sind sie so recht eigentlich der Ausdruck der Mitte der Welt. Sie sind der *tloquê nauaquê*, „der Herr der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft", der *ilhuicauâ*, der „Herr des Himmels" und der *tlalticpaquê*, „der Herr der Erdoberfläche", darin sich mit dem alten Gotte, dem Feuergotte, deckend, mit dem sie in der That auch, ihrem Wesen nach, eins sind.

Den Reiherfederstab (*aztatopilli*) führt dieser Gott, — so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, — weil er der alte, der greise, der weisshaarige ist. Als Priester sind sie kostümirt und mit Abzeichen des Opfers, dem *malinalli*-Busche und dem Auge in der Hand sind sie dargestellt, weil die alten Götter auch die alte Zeit veranschaulichen, die Zeit der Reinheit, der Frömmigkeit, das goldene Zeitalter, wo *Quetzalcouatl* die über den neun Himmeln Wohnenden anrief und in den vier Himmelsrichtungen seine Fastenhäuschen (*neçaualcalli*) baute. Merkwürdig ist das Zeichen des Krieges, Schild und Speerbündel, das in der Mitte zwischen ihnen beiden in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde zu sehen ist. Man könnte versucht sein, es mit den Opferdarstellungen in Verbindung zu bringen. So haben wir das Symbol des Krieges ja auch zu mehreren Malen in den Bilderreihen getroffen, die das auf den ersten acht Blättern dargestellte, in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordnete *Tonalamatl* begleiteten. Der Krieg lieferte eben die Opfer, die Sonne konnte nicht geboren werden, ehe man nicht Blut und Herzen, sie zu nähren, hatte. Und das Blut und die Herzen konnte man nicht bringen, ehe nicht der Krieg, der die Opfer lieferte, in der Welt entstanden war. Man muss aber wohl auch daran denken, dass die erste, die im Kriege gefangen und geschlachtet wurde, die alte Mondgöttin war, die zugleich die Urgöttin, die Göttin der Erde ist und darum auch eine Göttin des Krieges geworden ist. Die anderen Gegenstände, die man bei diesen beiden alten Göttern im Codex Borgia noch abgebildet sieht, sind Schalen mit Edelsteinketten (*cozcatl*) und mit Quetzalfedern (*quetzalli*). Sie kennzeichnen diese beiden Götter als Herren des Reichthums, als Herren der Fülle, und vielleicht auch als Herren der anderen Vorstellung, die sich für die Mexikaner mit den Worten *cozcatl* und *quetzalli* verknüpften, d. h. als Herren der Zeugung.

Diesem ausgeführten und charakteristischen Bilde des Codex Borgia gegenüber erweisen sich die Darstellungen der beiden anderen Handschriften, des Codex Laud (Abb. 205) und die des Vaticanus (Abb. 206) als ziemlich nichtssagende. Die Göttin ist im Vaticanus vielleicht durch die Haltung als alte zu erkennen. Der Gott ist, ebenfalls im Vaticanus, durch den rothen Längsstrich unter dem Auge als *Xochipilli* deutlich bezeichnet. Die Göttin sitzt auf einem geschnitzten hölzernen Stuhle und hält mit der einen Hand eine Schale mit einer Blume (das ist eine Opferblutschale) hoch, aus der ein Quetzalvogel trinkt. Ihr gegenüber ist der Gott, auch auf seinem Stuhle sitzend und in der mehrfach beschriebenen Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, dargestellt. Die Schale mit dem Opferblut kennzeichnet diese beiden Götter als Opferer, der aus der Schale trinkende Quetzalvogel vielleicht das Herabkommen zum Opfer und möglicherweise das Herabkommen überhaupt. Mehr wird man aber aus diesen Bildern nicht herauslesen können. Erst durch den Vergleich mit dem Codex Borgia-Bilde werden sie verständlich.

Das ist die Reihe der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare, die in zweimal zwölf und eines zerfallen. Was ich, aus allgemeinen Erwägungen heraus, über die Bedeutung dieser Reihe nur zögernd anzunehmen

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wagte, das hat sich bei der Einzelbetrachtung der Bilder fast durchweg bestätigt. Auf einige Punkte muss ich aber hier zum Schlusse noch aufmerksam machen.

Ich habe diesem Abschnitte die Ueberschrift „die fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare“ gegeben. Ich hätte dafür, wie aus den obigen Untersuchungen hervorgeht, auch „die dreizehn Stunden der Nacht und die dreizehn Stunden des Tages“ setzen können. Am richtigsten aber wäre es vielleicht gewesen, das Kapitel mit „Die fünfundzwanzig Erscheinungsformen der *Xochiquetzal*“ zu überschreiben. Denn diese Göttin ist es, die in allen diesen Bildern die Hauptperson ist und den eigentlichen Gegenstand der Darstellung bildet. Diese Göttin, von der uns die eigentlich mexikanischen Quellen wenig, mehr schon die tlaxkaltekischen (Diego Muñoz Camargo und andere) zu berichten wissen, stand offenbar der Priesterschule nahe, der der Entwurf und die Ausführung dieser Bilderschriften zuzuschreiben ist. Das hat sich eigentlich auch schon in den Bildern gezeigt, die wir auf den ersten acht Blättern das in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordnete *Tonalamatl* in einer unteren und einer oberen Reihe begleiten sahen. Denn *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal* kehrten dort überall wieder. Und es ist mir nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass die Variationen, die uns die $2 \times 12 + 1$ Gruppe der eben besprochenen Reihe kennen lehrten, in Abänderungen, wie sie den vier *Tonalamatl*-Vierteln, d. h. den vier Hauptrichtungen, angemessen erscheinen, auch in jenen 4×26 Bildern wieder zu finden sein werden.

Ist aber in der That die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* für diese ganze Reihe massgebend, so können wir als gewiss annehmen, dass der eigentliche Sinn und die Bedeutung dieser Reihe nur aus dem erschlossen werden kann, was wir als das Wesen oder die eigentliche Bedeutung dieser Gottheit anzunehmen uns veranlasst sehen. Ich habe in den vorhergehenden Erläuterungen die Beziehung auf die Stunden des Tags und der Nacht vorangestellt, weil bei einzelnen dieser Bilder eine Verwandtschaft mit den Gottheiten, von denen ich seiner Zeit nachgewiesen habe, dass sie für bestimmte Tages- oder Nachtstunden massgebend sind, zu Tage trat. Es ist aber klar, dass diese Beziehung erst eine abgeleitete oder übertragene sein kann. Denn die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* hat, soweit ich die Natur dieser Göttin verstehe, mit den Tages- und Nachtstunden unmittelbar nichts zu thun. Die *Xochiquetzal* ist, worauf ich oben schon wiederholt hingewiesen habe, die junge Mondgöttin, die Schöne, die Geliebte des Sonnengottes. Mit dem Monde muss also die ganze Reihe von Bildern, die in diesem Abschnitte uns vorgeführt wird, im Zusammenhange stehen. Ist das aber wirklich der Fall, so kann ich nicht umhin, die alte Angabe Leon y Gama's und seiner Vorgänger, — der ich früher misstraute, weil sie mir den thatsächlichen Verhältnissen nicht zu entsprechen schien, — dass nämlich die Zahl 13, die im Kalender der alten Mexikaner und Mittelamerikaner neben der durch das Zahlensystem und natürliche Verhältnisse gegebenen Zwanzig Verwendung fand, aus den Erscheinungen, die der Mond uns darbietet, zu erklären sei, für eine begründete Tradition anzusehen. Leon y Gama sagt: — „Diese Abschnitte von dreizehn Tagen stellten die täglichen Bewegungen des Mondes von Osten nach Westen dar, von der Zeit an, wo er nach der Vereinigung mit der Sonne (im Neumonde) am Himmel erschien, bis wenige Tage nach Vollmond, welche Zeit, — es ist die Anzahl der Tage, während deren man bei Nacht den Mond über dem Horizonte sieht, — man *Ixtoçoliztli* oder „Wachen“ nannte; und von der Zeit, wo der Mond in der Nacht nicht mehr sichtbar zu werden begann, bis nahe an die Zeit der Konjunktion des Mondes mit der Sonne, — die Zahl der Tage, während deren man den Mond bei Tage sah — „nannte man *Cochiliztli* „Schlafen“, weil man annahm, dass sie dann bei Nacht schliefe“.[1]) —

Ich bin deshalb geneigt, die dreizehn Bilder, die in unserer Handschrift durch das Bild der Scheide von Tag und Nacht, d. h. des Abends, oder das des Mondes am oberen Rande der Fächer gekennzeichnet sind, als die Tage des *ixtoçoliztli*, wo der Mond am Abendhimmel sichtbar ist, zu erklären; die zwölf Bilder aber, die in unserer Handschrift am oberen Rande der Fächer das Zeichen der Sonne haben, und das am Anfange der Reihe zu supplirende Bild, das mit der Ziffer „eins“ versehen sein müsste, als

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1) Leon y Gama „Dos piedras“, Segunda edicion (México 1832), p. 27: — „Estas trecenas representaban los movimientos diarios de la luna, de oriente á poniente, desde que aparecia despues de la conjuncion, hasta pocos dios despues del plenilunio; á cuyo intervalo de tiempo, en que se veia de noche sobre el horizonte, llamaban *Ixtozoliztli*, ó desvelo, y desde que comenzaba á desaparecer de noche hasta cerca de la conjuncion, en que se veia de dia en el cielo nombraban *Cochiliztli*, ó sueño, por suponer que entonces dormia de noche“.

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die dreizehn Tage des *cochiliztli*, wo der Mond nur gegen Morgen oder am Tage sichtbar ist, zu deuten. Das am Anfange der Reihe zu supplirende Bild, das die Ziffer „eins" enthalten würde, müsste darnach den letzten der dreizehn Tage des *cochiliztli* bezeichnen, d. h. der Konjunktion selbst, der Vereinigung des Mondes mit der Sonne, der Unsichtbarkeit des Mondes zur Zeit des Neumondes, entsprechen. Und das ist vielleicht der natürliche Grund dafür, dass man dieses Bild nicht dargestellt, dass man es ausgelassen hat.

Ich bin mir bewusst, dass diese Erklärung ihre Schwierigkeiten hat, denn die Umlaufszeit des Mondes beträgt nicht bloss 26 Tage, sondern bis zu der Zeit, wo er denselben Fixstern wieder erreicht (wahre oder siderische Umlaufszeit), $27^1/_3$ Tage und bis zu derselben Konjunktion (synodische Umlaufszeit) sogar $29^1/_2$ Tage. Dieser Umstand hatte mich bisher auch abgehalten, der von Leon y Gama überlieferten Tradition zu trauen. Die Bilder unserer Blätter 58—60 des Codex Borgia und die Parallelstellen der anderen beiden Handschriften sind aber doch vielleicht in diesem Sinne aufzufassen. Es ist nicht undenkbar, dass der Schematismus der Himmelsrichtungen den alten Priestergelehrten, ihrer besseren Einsicht zum Trotz, diese Abgrenzung der Periode nahe legte, und dass das einmal geschaffene Schema dann, durch Alter und Ueberlieferung geheiligt, in unveränderter Form von einer Generation zur anderen sich weiter vererbte.

Eine Beziehung auf Stunden ergibt sich bei der hier entwickelten Anschauung von der Bedeutung der Bilder dieser Reihe auch. Denn der erste dieser sechsundzwanzig Tage bezeichnet den Tag, wo der Mond, der ja, wenn er am Abend am Himmel sichtbar wird, dem Horizonte schon ganz nahe ist, in der ersten Nachtstunde untergeht. Der vierzehnte Tag, das ist der Tag, wo der Mond, der jetzt voll geworden und am Abend überhaupt erst aufgegangen ist, in der dreizehnten Nachtstunde, d. h. bei Sonnenaufgang, untergeht. Am vierzehnten Tage ist der Mond bei Sonnenaufgang noch um ein Stück über dem Horizonte, er geht erst in der ersten Tagstunde unter. Und so lehrt die Ueberlegung, wenn auch nicht die unmittelbare Beobachtung, dass in der zweiten Hälfte dieser sechsundzwanzig Tage der Untergang des Mondes unter den Horizont der Reihe nach in den dreizehn Tagesstunden erfolgt. Demnach sind diese fünfundzwanzig Bilder und das am Anfange der Reihe zu supplirende sechsundzwanzigste zugleich die Veranschaulichungen der dreizehn Stunden der Nacht und der dreizehn Stunden des Tages. Ich hatte in meiner Erläuterung des Codex Vaticanus 3773 so unrecht nicht, dass ich diese gewissermassen empirisch gefundene Beziehung zu den Tag- und Nachtstunden der Besprechung dieser Bilder zu Grunde legte, und ich bin deshalb, obwohl mir inzwischen die andere, tiefere und ursprünglichere Bedeutung dieser Reihe klar geworden ist, auch in der hier gegebenen Erläuterung immer noch von den Nacht- und den Tagstunden und von der Beziehung zu den Himmelsrichtungen, die jene alten Gelehrten offenbar ebenfalls im Auge hatten, ausgegangen.

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23. Das in zwanzig dreizehntägige Abschnitte geordnete Tonalamatl.

Blatt 61—70 (= Kingsborough 54—45.)

Das in dieser Weise angeordnete *Tonalamatl* hat den Vorzug, dass die Anfangstage seiner Abschnitte alle die Zahl eins mit ihrem Zeichen verbunden haben. Es ist die Form, die in alter Zeit offenbar die für die Wahrsagebücher beliebteste war. Von ihm sind denn auch ein halb Dutzend verschiedene Rezensionon auf uns gekommen. Eine in der Art und in der Anordnung der Figuren unserer Handschrift ganz ähnliche Rezension finden wir auf den Blättern 49—68 (= Kingsborough 48—29) des Codex Vaticanus 3773. Eine etwas andere Darstellung haben der Codex Telleriano-Remensis (fol. 8—24 = Kingsborough II, 1—33) und dessen Kopie, der Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) (fol. 12 verso — 33 = Kingsborough 17—56). Und wieder etwas anders sind das *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung und das auf den Blättern 3—20 des Codex Borbonicus dargestellte. Während diese grössere Zahl von Rezensionen eine ausgedehntere Vergleichung erlaubte, war durch die Interpretationen, die im Codex Telleriano-

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Remensis und im Vaticanus A die Blätter begleiten, eine genaue Bestimmung gegeben. Und endlich war durch den von mir gelieferten Nachweis, dass die Göttergestalten, die in den einzelnen Abschnitten des in dieser Weise angeordneten *Tonalamatl*'s abgebildet sind, der Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten der Tageszeichen in der Hauptsache entsprechen, die Heranziehung von noch drei anderen Bilderschriftabschnitten zur Vergleichung ermöglicht. Wenn also irgendwo in den Bilderschriften, haben wir hier festen Boden unter uns. Von ihm bin ich auch bei den verschiedenen Untersuchungen, die sich auf die Erklärung des gesammten Inhalts der Bilderschriften richteten, auch überall ausgegangen.

Wie die alten Priestergelehrten den geheimen Sinn der einzelnen Tageszeichen, die ja jedes ein bestimmtes natürliches Objekt, zumeist ein Thier, bezeichneten, in dem Bilde einer Gottheit erkannten, deren Wesen mit der Natur des Zeichens eins gedacht wurde, so glaubte man auch das Wesen und die Kraft der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte, beziehentlich ihrer Anfangstage, in bestimmten Gottheiten verkörpert, die dann für die sämmtlichen dreizehn Tage des betreffenden Abschnittes als massgebend betrachtet wurden. Wie ich eben angegeben habe, und worauf ich oben bei den Tageszeichen schon hingewiesen habe, besteht nun die merkwürdige Thatsache, dass die Reihe der Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen mit den Gottheiten der zwanzig *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte im Wesentlichen eins ist, aber mit einer Ausnahme: — Bei der Uebertragung der Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen auf die zwanzig *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte hat man *Xochipilli*, den Regenten des eilften Tageszeichen ausgelassen, die dann folgenden Regenten des zwölften bis zwanzigsten Tageszeichens dem eilften bis neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt zugewiesen und für den zwanzigsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt eine neue Gottheit, den Feuergott, begleitet von *Xipe Totec*, hinzugefügt. Ich habe das in der folgenden Uebersicht zur Anschauung gebracht: —

Tageszeichen und ihre Gottheiten:

1. *cipactli.* — Krokodil.	*Tonacatecutli*, der Herr des Lebens.
2. *eecatl.* — Wind.	*Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott.
3. *calli.* — Haus.	*Tepeyollotli*, das Herz der Berge, der Gott der Höhlen und *Tlaçolteotl*, die Erdgöttin.
4. *cuetzpalin.* — Eidechse.	*Ueuecoyotl*, der Tanzgott.
5. *couatl.* — Schlange.	*Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers.
6. *miquiztli* — Tod.	*Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott.
7. *maçatl.* — Hirsch.	*Tlaloc*, der Regengott.
8. *tochtli.* — Kaninchen.	*Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agavepflanze.
9. *atl.* — Wasser.	*Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott.
10. *itzcuintli.* — Hund.	*Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott.
11. *oçomàtli.* — Affe.	*Xochipilli*, der Gott der Blumen.

Anfangszeichen der Tonalamatlabschnitte und ihre Gottheiten:

1. *cipactli.* —	*Tonacatecutli*, *Tonacacinatl* (*Xochiquetzal*), die Herren des Lebens.
2. *ocelotl.* — Jaguar.	*Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott.
3. *maçatl.* — Hirsch.	*Tepeyollotli*, das Herz der Berge, der Gott der Höhlen und *Tlaçolteotl*, die Erdgöttin.
4. *xochitl.* — Blume.	*Ueuecoyotl*, der Tanzgott und *Ixnextli.*
5. *acatl.* — Rohr.	*Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers.
6. *miquiztli.* — Tod.	*Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott und *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott.
7. *quiauitl.* — Regen.	*Tlaloc*, der Regengott.
8. *malinalli.* — Gedrehtes.	*Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agavepflanze.
9. *couatl.* — Schlange.	*Xiuhtecutli* der Feuergott und *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Morgenstern.
10. *tecpatl.* — Feuersteinmesser.	*Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott und *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott.

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Tageszeichen und ihre Gottheiten:		Anfangszeichen der Tonalamatlabschnitte und ihre Gottheiten:	
12. *malinalli.* — Gedrehtes.	*Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott.	11. *oçomàtli.* — Affe.	*Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott.
13. *acatl.* — Rohr.	*Tezcatlipoca - ixquimilli*, der Gott der Strafe.	12. *cuetzpalin.* — Eidechse.	*Itztlacoliuhqui*, der Gott der Strafe.
14. *ocelotl.* — Jaguar.	*Tlaçolteotl*, die Erdgöttin.	13. *olin.* — Bewegung.	*Tlaçolteotl*, die Erdgöttin.
15. *qauhtli.* — Adler.	*Xipe Totec*, unser Herr, der Geschundene.	14. *itzcuintli.* — Hund.	*Xipe Totec*, unser Herr, der Geschundene, der Erdgott.
16. *cozcaquauhtli.* — Geier.	*Itzpapalotl*, der Obsidianschmetterling.	15. *calli.* — Haus.	*Itzpapalotl*, der Obsidianschmetterling.
17. *olin.* — Bewegung.	*Xolotl*, der Gott in Hundegestalt.	16. *cozcaquauhtli.* — Geier.	*Xolotl*, der Gott in Hundegestalt.
18. *tecpatl.* — Feuersteinmesser.	*Chalchiuhtotolin*, der Truthahn.	17. *atl.* — Wasser.	*Chalchiuhtotolin*, der Truthahn.
19. *quiauitl.* — Regen.	*Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott.	18. *eecatl.* — Wind.	*Chantico*, die Feuergöttin.
20. *xochitl.* — Blume.	*Xochiquetzal*, die Göttin der Blumen.	19. *quauhtli.* — Adler.	*Xochiquetzal*, die Göttin der Blumen.
		20. *tochtli.* — Kaninchen.	*Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec*, unser Herr, der Geschundene, der Erdgott.

Es ist nun zunächst klar, dass von diesen beiden Reihen die zuerst aufgeführte, die der Tageszeichengötter, die ursprüngliche sein muss. *Eecatl* „Wind“ und *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott; *xochitl* „Blume“ und *Xochiquetzal*, die Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe, sind thatsächlich Identitäten. Und dass durchweg, auch da, wo man es am wenigsten vermuthet, eine Uebereinstimmung zwischen der Natur des Zeichens und dem Wesen der es repräsentirenden Gottheit besteht, habe ich mich oben, bei der Besprechung der Reihe der Tageszeichengötter, aufzuzeigen bemüht. Ebenso deutlich ist es aber auch, dass auch an manchen Stellen der zweiten Reihe für die alten Priestergelehrten sich Identitäten herausgestellt haben mussten. Ich erinnere, — um zunächst nur die erste Hälfte der Zeichen in Betracht zu ziehen, — an (7) *quiauitl* (Regen) und *Tlaloc*, den Regengott; an *xochitl* „Blume“ und *Ueuecoyotl*, den Tanzgott; an *tecpatl* „Feuersteinmesser“ und *Mictlantecutli*, den Todesgott, an *malinalli*, das Zeichen der Pulquegötter und *Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agavepflanze; auch an *maçatl* „Hirsch“ und *Tepeyollotli*, den Jaguar, den Herrn der Thiere. Und es mag sein, dass solche beobachtete oder gedachte Gleichheiten auch die erste Veranlassung für die Uebertragung der Reihe der Tageszeichengötter auf die *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte gaben. Zweifellos aber ist, dass entweder eine auf der Hand liegende Inkongruenz, die den alten Gelehrten zu vermeiden räthlich schien, oder eine solche beobachtete oder gedachte Uebereinstimmung zwischen der Natur des Zeichens und dem Wesen der Gottheit für die merkwürdige Verschiebung, die in der Reihe der Gottheiten der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte vorliegt, verantwortlich gemacht werden muss. Was an diesen Möglichkeiten wirklich ausschlaggebend gewesen ist, ist schwer zu sagen. Eine ärgere Inkongruenz zwischen der Natur des Zeichens und der Natur der Gottheit, wie sie an manchen Stellen der ersten Hälfte der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte vorliegt, würde sich, wie mir scheint, bei einer direkten Uebertragung der Götter der zweiten Hälfte der Tageszeichenreihe auf die zweite Hälfte der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte nicht ergeben. Dagegen ist es sicher, dass bei der Verschiebung, wie sie vorgenommen wurde, sich manche auffallende Uebereinstimmungen oder, wenn man will, geradezu Identitäten herausstellen. Ich verweise auf *olin* „Erdbeben“ und *Tlaçolteotl*, die Erdbebengöttin; auf *atl* „Wasser“ und den Truthahn

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chalchiuhtotolin, der ja in der Reihe der zwanzig Tageszeichen, wie wir gesehen haben, in der That das *chalchiuhatl*, das Blut, repräsentirt. Wie man nun auch darüber denken mag, an der Thatsache, dass unter Berücksichtigung dieser Verschiebung die beiden Götterreihen auf das Genaueste übereinstimmen, ist nicht zu zweifeln, und ich habe deshalb auch die für die *Tonalamatl*-Götterreihe vorliegenden Interpretationen direkt zur Bestimmung der Tageszeichengötter benutzen können.

Die Reihe der Regenten oder Hüter der zwanzig *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte, insbesondere die Art, wie sie in den Bilderschriften, die im engeren Sinne als mexikanische zu bezeichnen sind, dargestellt werden, habe ich seiner Zeit in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung[1]) ausführlich besprochen. Hier würde in der Hauptsache zunächst die unserer Handschrift verwandte *Tonalamatl*-Rezension des Codex Vaticanus heranzuziehen sein. Einer Bezugnahme auf die anderen Handschriften kann ich aber doch nicht ganz entrathen, da in diesen eben die Weiterentwicklung der jedenfalls ursprünglicheren Vorstellungen der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe vorliegt.

Abb. 207. *Tonacatecutli*, der alte Herr des Lebens
Regent des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cipactli* „eins Krokodil".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 49 (= Kingsborough 48).

Der Regent des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cipactli* „eins Krokodil", ist *Tonacatecutli*, der Herr des Lebens, über den ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 76 ff., eingehend gesprochen habe. Es ist hier im Codex Borgia (Blatt 61 unten) im Allgemeinen ähnlich der Figur, die bei dem ersten Tageszeichen gegeben war (Blatt 9, unten rechts), abgebildet, unterscheidet sich aber von der Figur dort durch die Stellung. Der Gott ist nämlich hier im Codex Borgia, *mamaçouhticac*, mit auseinander gespreizten Beinen, d. h., wie wir oben (vgl. Abb. 169, 170, oben S. 186) gesehen haben, in Geburtsstellung gezeichnet, offenbar, um ihn als Zeugungsgott zu bezeichnen. Die Edelsteinketten (*cozcatl*), die man unter ihm hervorkommen sieht, bedeuten deshalb vielleicht das von ihm Geborene. Er hat, sowohl auf der Backe, wie auf dem weissen Tuche, das er um die Hüften geknüpft hat, das kleine, rechteckige, verschiedenfarbige Feld gemalt, das wohl die drei oder vier Farben *Xochipilli*'s (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 133, Abb. 331) darstellt und trägt als Brustschmuck an einer aus Edelstein-(*chalchiuitl*-) Perlen zusammengefügten Halskette eine mit einer grossen *chalchiuitl*-Scheibe verzierte und mit stufen-

1) Berlin 1900, Seite 37–126.

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förmigen Füssen versehene Schatzkiste, die ihn als Herrn des Reichthums, aber vielleicht auch als Geber der Edelsteine (*chalchiuitl*) — mit der besonderen Bedeutung, an die wir gerade bei diesem Gotte immer zu denken haben, nämlich der Kinder — kennzeichnet. In der Hand hält er das übliche priesterliche Handwerkszeug — Kopalbeutel, Opfermesser, Grasbusch und Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze.

Bei dem Bilde, das der Codex Vaticanus 3773 von diesem Gotte gibt (Abb. 207), kommt man fast auf die Vermuthung, dass es durch Missverstand aus Bildern ähnlich dem unserer Codex Borgia-Abbildung entstanden sei. Denn anstatt breitbeinig (in Geburtsstellung) dastehend, ist der Gott hier mit untergeschlagenen Beinen sitzend dargestellt. Die Hüften sind in ähnlicher Weise von einem Tuche umhüllt. Aber dass darüber, an einem Bande um den Hals, eine Schatzkiste getragen werden soll, das kann man aus dem Bilde dieser Handschrift nicht mehr errathen. Die Schatzkiste ist hier einfach in ein Deckenmuster umgewandelt. Aber in diesem Deckenmuster gibt die viereckig-ringförmige Zeichnung in der Mitte offenbar die *chalchiuitl*-Scheibe in der Mitte der Schatzkiste der Figur des Codex Borgia wieder. — Im Uebrigen ist dieser *Tonacatecutli* des Vaticanus ähnlich den *Xochipilli*-Figuren gezeichnet, zeigt insbesondere auch den charakteristischen kammartigen, weissen Federschmuck dieses Gottes am Nacken.

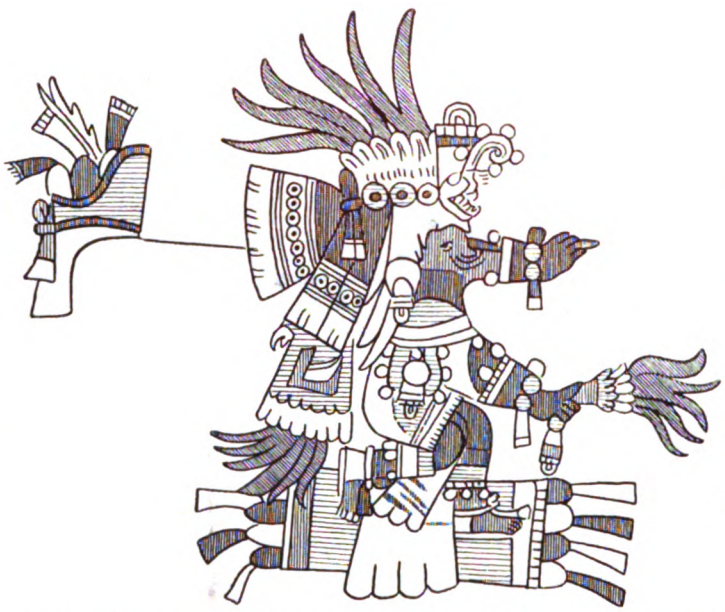

Abb. 208a. *Tonacatecutli*, der alte Herr des Lebens und der Lebensmittel, Regent des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cipactli* „eins Krokodil".
Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 12 verso (= Kingsborough 17).

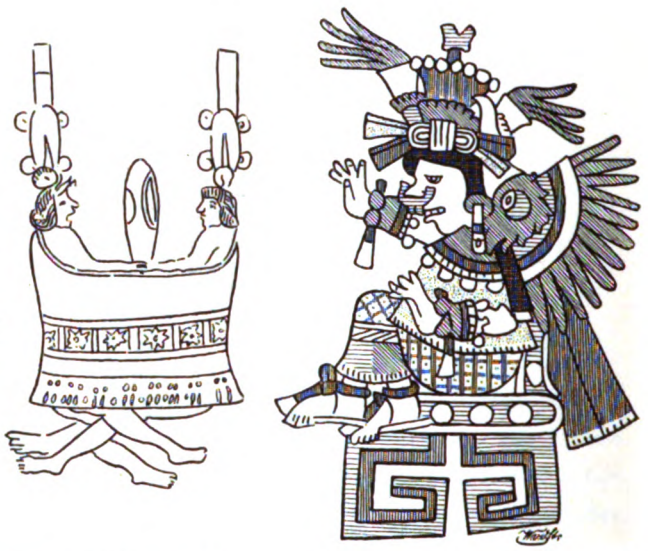

Abb. 208b. *Xochiquetzal*, Regentin des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cipactli*, eins Krokodil".
Codex Telleriano Remensis fol. 8 (= Kingsborough II, 1).

Vor dem Gotte ist in unserer Handschrift ein brennendes Haus und darüber eine rothe Schlange angegeben. Ich habe früher beide als Symbole des Feuers angesehen, bin aber jetzt geneigt, die rothe Schlange, und so auch die rothe Schlange vor dem Gotte unserer Handschrift, wie in anderen Fällen, als Sinnbild des Blutes anzusehen, indem ich dabei eine Beziehung zu der rothen Schlange annehme, die man bei der *Tlaçolteotl* und die man bei dem büssenden Ehebrecher abgebildet findet.

Endlich sieht man noch in unserer Handschrift und im Vaticanus, wie bei dem Gotte des ersten Tageszeichens, das erste Menschenpaar dargestellt. Dieses ist aber hier in anderer Weise, als dort bei dem ersten Tageszeichen zur Anschauung gebracht. Das Paar ist auch hier in querer Stellung zu der Hauptrichtung des Blattes, also liegend, gezeichnet. Aber sie sind nicht unter einer Decke verborgen, sondern es sind zwei nackte Figuren. Man sieht dabei im Vaticanus (Abb. 207) besonders deutlich, dass der Mann die Frau an sich zieht. In unserer Handschrift, im Codex Borgia, sind ausserdem die beiden Figuren durch einen Blutstrom, der von Mund zu Mund geht, verbunden, ein deutliches Symbol der Vermischung des Blutes, der Vereinigung der Lebensenergien.

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Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis fehlt die erste Hälfte dieses Abschnittes, in der der eigentliche Regent dieses Abschnittes *Tonacatecutli* dargestellt war. Das Bild ist aber durch die Kopie, die im Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) vorliegt, zu suppliren (vgl. Abb. 208a). Hier ist ebenso wie auf der Rückseite des Blattes 2 dieser Handschrift, wo derselbe Gott als der im obersten, dreizehnten Himmel, im *Omeyocan*, residirende Gott *Ometecutli* abgebildet ist, eine in lichten Farben, rosa und roth, gemalte Gestalt zu sehen, mit feuerfarbenem Haare, das von einer Edelsteinkette, wie sie der Sonnengott als Kopfbinde trägt, umschlungen ist. An der Stirnseite dieser Kette ist auch hier ein stylisirter Kopf befestigt, der dem Vogel-(Adler-)kopfe an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde des Sonnengottes der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe entsprechen wird, obwohl er mehr wie ein *xiuhcouatl*-(Feuerschlangen-)Kopf, aber mit nach vorn gewendetem Schnauzenende, aussieht. Der Gott kauert auf einer Decke, die von rothen und gelben Maiskolben gebildet wird, und sein Name, *Tonacatecutli* „Herr der Lebensmittel", ist hinter ihm hieroglyphisch durch eine mit Maiskolben (*cintli* oder *tonacayotl*) gefüllte Königskrone (*xiuhuitzolli*) zum Ausdrucke gebracht, die die auszeichnende Kopfbedeckung der *Teteuctin*, der Herrscher und der Leute aus königlichem Geblüte, bildete.

Vor diesem Gotte ist das kopulirende Menschenpaar in einer eigenthümlichen, von den anderen Handschriften abweichenden Weise dargestellt, indem man hier statt des Rasselstabes (*chicauaztli*), der in den anderen Handschriften zwischen dem Paare aufragt, zwei Pfeilschäfte, ein Symbol des *ome acatl* oder des Feuerbohrers, und ein Steinmesser (*tecpatl*), — wohl auch ein Zeichen des Scharfen, d. h. des Feuers, — die geschlechtliche Vereinigung oder das Leben, das ihr entspringt, zur Anschauung bringen sieht. —

Gegenüber *Tonacatecutli* ist nun im Codex Telleriano Remensis und im Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) als Mitregentin dieses Abschnittes seine Genossin *Tonacaciuatl*, die Herrin der Lebensmittel, und zwar in der Gestalt der *Xochiquetzal*, der jungen Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe, abgebildet (Abb. 208b). Sie ist, wie gewöhnlich, in reicher Tracht, mit der blauen, schmetterlingsförmigen Platte (*yacapapalotl*), die von dem Septum der Nase herabhängt, dargestellt, das Gesicht aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Quetzalvogels hervorsehend. Ihre Natur und ihr Name ist deutlich durch die beiden Quetzalfederbüschel (*quetzalli*), die sie auf dem Scheitel trägt, und die Blume (*xochitl*), die zwischen diesen beiden Büschen aufragt, zum Ausdrucke gebracht.

Der zweite *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce ocelotl* „eins Jaguar", steht im Codex Borgia in der unteren Hälfte von Blatt 62, im Vaticanus 3773 auf Blatt 50 (siehe Abb. 209). Sein Regent ist der Gott des zweiten Tageszeichens, *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott, über dessen Natur und dessen Erscheinung ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 82 ff., ausführlich mich ausgelassen habe. Ich habe dort hervorgehoben, dass er der Gott von *Tollan*, die „im Wasser gehende Schlange", ein Gott der Vegetation und Herr des Lebens, im Besonderen der Menschenschöpfer ist und darum erst zum Windgotte geworden ist, dass er aber erst als Sohn des Urgottespaares auftritt und in mancher Beziehung der am Osthimmel aufgehenden Sonne gleichgesetzt zu werden scheint, ja, dass er endlich geradezu als Feuergott erscheint und dass er der Priester *κατ' ἐξοχήν* ist. Es war mir aber damals noch nicht recht klar geworden, dass alle diese verschiedenen, zum Theil inkongruenten Züge ihre Erklärung darin finden, dass er eigentlich der Mond ist, der in der Binsenstadt (*Tollan*), in der Region der Wasserfülle, der Heimath der Edelsteine, in der Nacht der Zeiten, vor der Geburt der Sonne herrschte, aber, durch ein unerbittliches Verhängniss getrieben, sein Reich, das Reich der Nacht, den Westhimmel, verlässt, um nach Osten zu wandern, *teotl itzco* „der Sonne entgegen", um dort, im *Tlillan Tlapallan* angelangt, sich zu verbrennen und zu sterben, wobei sein Herz aber sich in den Morgenstern verwandelt, weil die primitive Anschauung das Verschwinden des Mondes in der Konjunktion und den in der Nähe der Sonne aufleuchtenden grossen Stern zusammenbringt. —

Abweichend von der gewöhnlichen, S. 87 ff. des I. Bandes näher beschriebenen Gestalt mit den schnabelartig vorgetriebenen Mundtheilen, die, wie es scheint, insbesondere die Natur des Windgottes veranschaulichen sollen, ist der Gott hier an unserer Stelle mit menschlichen Zügen, mit seinem Fächer aus schwarzen Raben- oder Waldhuhnfedern am Nacken, aber ohne die kegelförmige Mütze dargestellt,

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das Haar von zwei gelben Klapperschlangen umwunden, über denen man im Codex Borgia noch das von Dunkel umgebene Auge, das Symbol des dunklen Himmels oder des Sternhimmels, sieht. Eine Besonderheit des Vaticanus-Bildes (Abb. 209) ist, dass die über den Rücken fallenden Enden der Haarsträhnen mit Schneckengehäusen besetzt sind.

Vor dem Gotte sieht man in beiden Handschriften eine Art adorirender Gestalt, deren Haar hinten am Nacken mit einer grossen Blume geschmückt ist, und die vielleicht einen der *itecpoyouān*, „seiner Herolde" darstellt, von denen in den Sagen von *Quetzalcouatl* so viel die Rede ist. Zwischen beiden Figuren steht ein Haus mit dunkler Thüröffnung, und darunter sieht man im Codex Borgia eine mit dunkler Farbe gemalte, einen rothen Kern umschliessende Kugel. Im Codex Vaticanus ist dagegen die eine der Zinnen des Daches dieses Hauses durch eine schwarze Kugel ersetzt. Man könnte die letztere für Kautschuk nehmen, und dieses als das *Olman*, das Land der *Olmeca* erklären Ich glaube

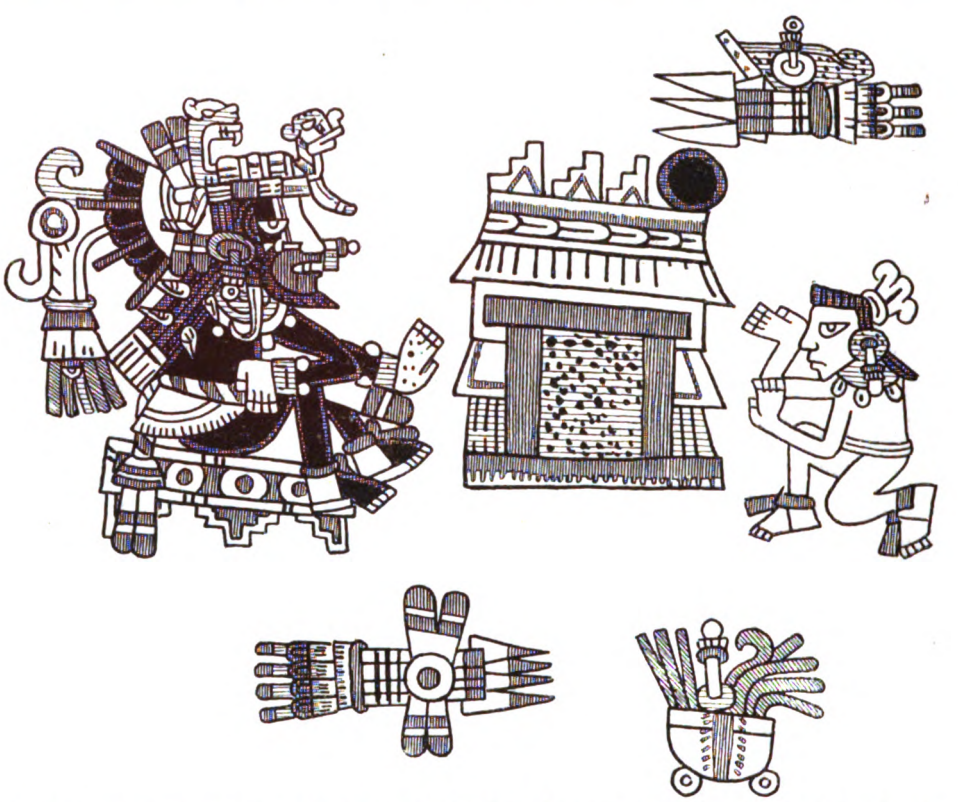

Abb. 209. *Quetzalcouatl*, der Schöpfergott, der Windgott, Regent des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce ocelotl* „eins Jaguar".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 50 (= Kingsborough 47).

aber, dass man eher an das *Tlillan* oder das *Tlillan tlapallan*, das „Land der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe", der Sagen wird denken müssen. Beide, das „Land des Kautschuks" (*Olman*) und das „Land der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe" (*Tlillan tlapallan*), bezeichnen übrigens dasselbe: — das *tonatiuh iixco*, „im Angesicht der Sonne" gelegene Land, die atlantische Golfküste, wohin *Quetzalcouatl* und seine Tolteken auswanderten, und wo *Quetzalcouatl* starb oder im Wasser verschwand.

Unter den anderen Gegenständen, die bei diesem Gotte noch angegeben sind, ist zunächst das aus einer halben Sonne und dem Zeichen der Nacht zusammengesetzte Symbol von Interesse, das man im Codex Borgia in der linken oberen Ecke des Bildes sieht. Es ist das Zeichen des Abends, das wir in dem vorhergehenden Abschnitte bei all den Bildern angegeben fanden, die die Tage bezeichnen, an denen der Mond am Abend oder in der ersten Hälfte der Nacht sichtbar ist, oder die dreizehn Stunden der Nacht, die die Zeit des Unterganges des Mondes an diesen dreizehn Tagen angeben, zur Anschauung bringen. Es ist ferner das Zeichen der Pulquegötter und kann deshalb, da diese Götter zweifellos ihrem eigentlichen Wesen nach als Mondgötter zu betrachten sind, geradezu als Zeichen des Mondes angesehen werden. Es bringt hier offenbar die unter dem Wuste der Traditionen verborgene eigent-

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liche Natur des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* zum Ausdrucke. Eben dahin möchte ich auch die Schalen mit den Edelsteinen und den Quetzalfederschmucken deuten, die man in beiden Handschriften, dem Borgia und dem Vaticanus, in dieser Abtheilung angegeben sieht. Und auch die beiden Speerbündel, die in beiden Handschriften ausserdem hier noch figuriren, deren Vorkommen nach dem, das sonst über den Gott dieser Abtheilung berichtet wird, schwer verständlich ist, findet in der alten Mondnatur dieses Gottes seine Erklärung. Denn der Mond ist ja der von der Sonne besiegte Krieger, und die Abzeichen des Kriegers haben wir typisch bei Bildern des Mondes (z. B. Blatt 43 unserer Handschrift u. a. a. St.) angegeben gefunden. Und wenn mit dem einen Speerbündel hier eine Art Schild verbunden ist, der offenbar eine Schildkrötenschale darstellt, so muss ich darauf hinweisen, dass auch die Göttin *Xochiquetzal*, die zweifellos eine Mondgöttin ist, als charakteristischen Schmuck eine Schildkrötenschale als Kreuzspiegel (*tezcacuitlapalli*) trägt (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 279, Abb. 476, 477).

Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis und im Vaticanus A ist *Quetzalcouatl* als Regent des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes in seiner gewöhnlichen Gestalt dargestellt (Abb 210a) mit den vogelschnabel- oder rüssel-

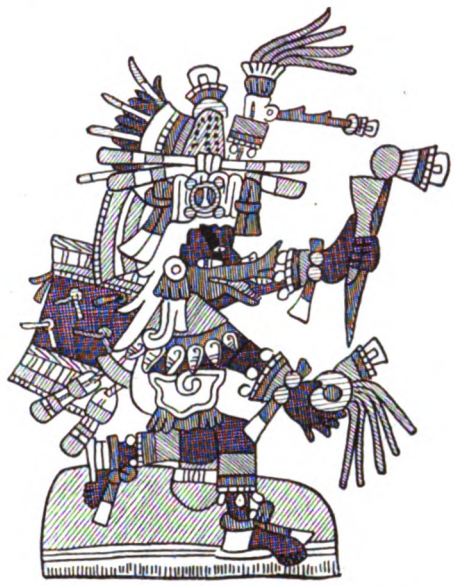

Abb. 210a. *Quetzalcouatl*, Regent des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce ocelotl* „eins Jaguar".
Codex Telleriano Remensis 8 verso (= Kingsborough II, 2).

Abb. 210b. *monenepiltequini Çacaquixtiani.*
Codex Telleriano Remensis fol. 9 (= Kingsborough II, 3).

förmig vorgeschobenen roth gemalten Mundtheilen, der mit Jaguarfell überzogenen kegelförmigen huaxtekischen Mütze (*ocelocopilli*) und der in Serpentinfalten gelegten Stirnbinde, der ein grosser Türkis aufsitzt, sowie dem gewöhnlichen aus Schneckengehäusen bestehenden oder aus Schneckengehäusen geschliffenen Ohr-, Hals- und Brustschmucke. In der einen Hand hält der Gott einen grünen Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*) und einen Quetzalfederbusch, in der anderen eine Agaveblattspitze mit dem Zeichen des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) an dem oberen Ende. *Chalchiuhujztli* (d. h. *chalchiuhuitztli* „Edelsteindorn", „Edelstein-Agaveblattspitze") hat der Kommentator daneben geschrieben, — das bedeutet „Edelstein der Kasteiung" (quiere dezir la piedra preciosa de la penitencia ò sacrifiçio). Dem Gotte gegenüber ist ein Büsser gezeichnet, der durch das lang herabfallende, mit rothem Riemen umwundene Haar als Priester gekennzeichnet ist und der sich Halme (*çacatl*) durch das Loch, das er sich in die Zunge geschnitten hat, zieht, — eine bekannte Form der priesterlichen Kasteiung, die wir in dieser Art z. B. im Motolinia bei dem grossen Feste *Camaxtli*'s in Tlaxcala beschrieben finden. In diesen Bildern des Codex Telleriano-Remensis und des Vaticanus A ist *Quetzalcouatl* also nur noch der Büsser. Von den Begleitbildern, die wir in den Parallelstellen der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe finden, die noch etwas von der alten, eigentlichen Natur des Gottes zum Ausdrucke bringen, ist hier keine Spur mehr vorhanden. Der Kommentator hat durch das Zeichen einer Hand auf den neunten Tag dieser Dreizehnheit, den Tag

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Chicunaui eecatl „neun Wind“ als den Tag hingewiesen, der der eigentliche Festtag in dieser Dreizehnheit ist. In der That ist *Chicunaui eecatl* ein bekannter Name *Quetzalcouatl*'s, unter dem er z. B. in der Wiener Handschrift und im Codex Nuttall abgebildet ist, und der uns auch in etwas entstellter Form als *Chiquinaut y Hecat* noch im fernen Nicaragua begegnet.[1])

Der dritte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch“, ist im Codex Borgia in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 63, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 211) auf Blatt 51 dargestellt.

Seine Regenten sind die beiden Götter des dritten Tageszeichens, *Tepeyollotli*, der Jaguar, der Gott der Höhlen (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 91ff.), und *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin, die alte Erdgöttin. Die letztere ist hier nicht, wie auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift (unten rechts), bloss hieroglyphisch, sondern in ganzer Figur und als Kriegerin dargestellt. Sie bringt dem Gotte den Gefangenen, den sie gemacht hat.

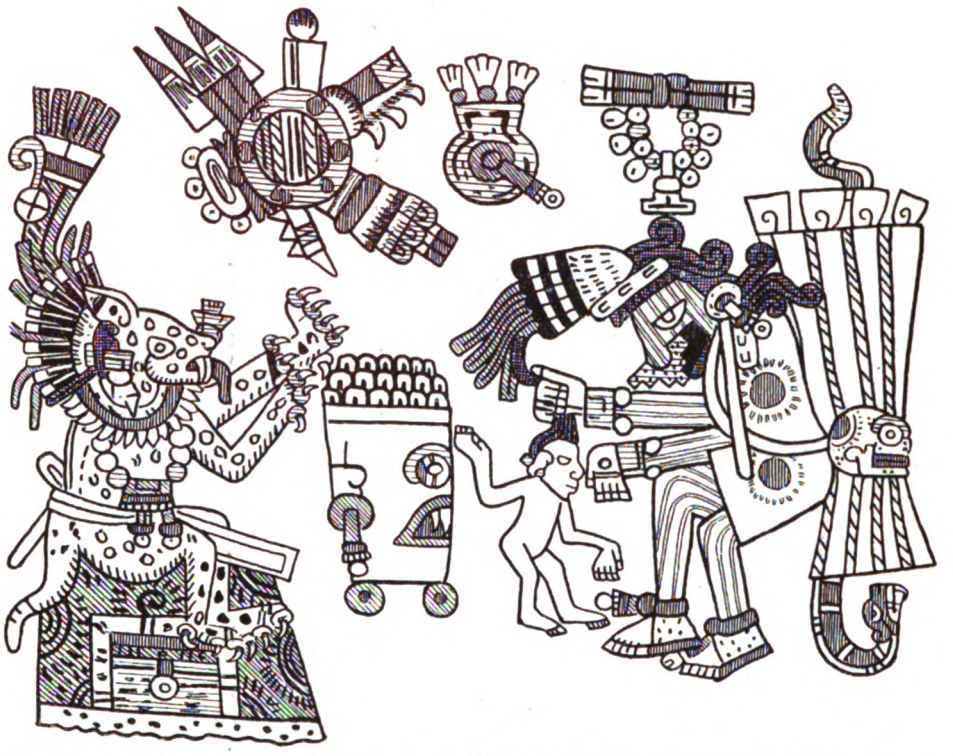

Abb. 211. *Tepeyollotli*, das „Herz der Berge“, der Gott der Höhlen, Regent des dritten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch“.
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 51 (= Kingsborough 46).

Der Gott *Tepeyollotli* selbst ist, wie beim dritten Tageszeichen, als Jaguar, und hier auch noch auf seiner Berghöhle gezeichnet. Er trägt im Vaticanus in den Nasenflügeln den *yacaxiuitl*, den Kriegertotenschmuck, in dem Ohre einen beilförmigen Pflock und darunter ein aus Trapez und Strahl, der Abbreviatur des Sonnenbildes, bestehendes Gehänge, am Nacken einen fächerartigen Schmuck aus schwarzen Federn, ähnlich dem, den wir bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gottheit des Morgensterns, antreffen werden, und um den Hals einen Riemen mit weissen Schneckengehäusen. In den betreffenden Abschriften der eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften, dem Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 212) und im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 213) ist dieser Gott, wie ich in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung näher nachgewiesen habe, als Verkleidung *Tezcatlipoca*'s und mit Abzeichen dieses Gottes dargestellt. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 213) trägt er ebenfalls den Kriegertotenschmuck, den *yacaxiuitl* in den Nasenflügeln. Als den eigentlich diesem Gotte geweihten Tag, bezw. als seinen Namen, bezeichnet die Handweisung des Kommentators den Tag *chicuei ocelotl* „acht Jaguar“. Neben dem Gotte sind in unseren beiden Handschriften, dem Borgia und dem Vaticanus B, offenbar zur Kennzeichnung

1) Oviedo, Lib. 42 cap. 3: — „Al dios del ayre llamamos *Chiquinaut y Hecat*.“

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seiner Natur die Werkzeuge des Krieges angegeben. Dabei in beiden Handschriften eine merkwürdige Schlag- und Stosswaffe, die wie ein Schwertfischschwert aussieht, dem man am Ende eine Steinspitze angefügt hat.

Die Göttin ihm gegenüber ist im Codex Borgia in der typischen Art der *Tlaçolteotl* gezeichnet, mit ihrer schwarzen Kautschukbemalung um den Mund, dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde, den Binden aus ungesponnener Baumwolle im Haare und im Ohre, der Spindel und dem Nackenschmucke aus Truthahnschwanzfedern, und der mit Halbmonden gemusterten Enagua, die aber hier nicht zweifarbig, sondern einfach blau ist. Ein Rückenbehang, ebenfalls blauer Farbe und mit Schneckengehäusen auf der Fläche und am unteren Rande besetzt, ist offenbar der Vertreter des *citlalcueitl*, des aus Riemen mit rasselnden Schneckengehäusen bestehenden Gürtelbehangs der *Couatlicue* und anderer Erdgöttinnen der eigentlich mexikanischen Region. Unter ihr ist endlich die rothe Korallenschlange angegeben, ihre ständige Begleiterin. — Ein etwas sonderbares Ansehen hat die Göttin im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 211). Die weisse (gelbgestreifte) Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe, die schwarze Kautschukbemalung um den Mund, die Binde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle im Haare und im Ohre und der Schmuck aus Wachtelfedern auf

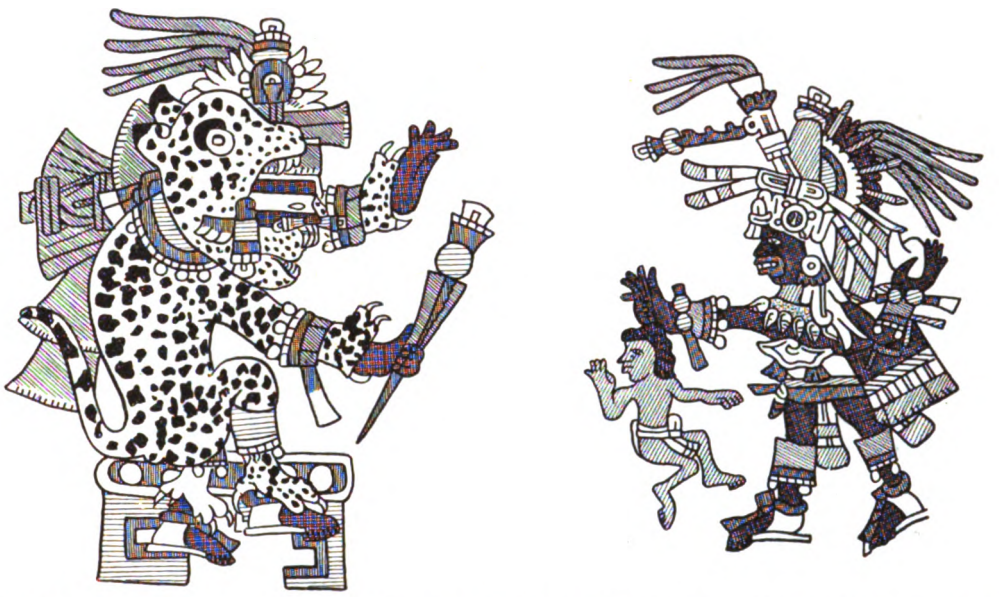

Abb. 212. *Tepeyollotli*, das „Herz der Berge“, der Gott der Höhlen, Regent des dritten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch“.
Codex Telleriano Remensis fol. 9 verso, fol. 10 (= Kingsborough II, 45).

dem Scheitel, aus dem ein Busch grosser, gelber *çoyatl*-Federn heraushängt, lassen unschwer die Göttin auch hier erkennen. Aber sie trägt, statt des goldenen Nasenhalbmondes, die blaue Nasenplatte der *Xochiquetzal* in der durchbohrten Nasenscheidewand. Ihre Pelerine (*quechquemitl*) und ihre Enagua, von weisser Farbe, sind jede mit einem grossen rothen und von ausstrahlenden Punkten umgebenen Flecke gezeichnet, wie wir solchen auf der Schambinde des Gottes des Planeten Venus in derselben Handschrift angegeben fanden (vgl. Abb. 107, oben S. 129). Am Kreuze trägt die Göttin einen Totenschädel und daran befestigt ein sonderbares Gebilde, das aber zweifellos nicht in dieser aufrechten, sondern in querer Stellung zu denken ist. Es stellt wieder das sogenannte *citlalcueitl* vor, einen Gürtelbehang aus an Stricken oder geflochtenen Riemen hängenden Schneckengehäusen, der in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften ganz regelmässig bei den Erdgöttinnen angegeben wird und in der Regel auch bei den aus dem engeren mexikanischen Gebiete stammenden Steinbildern der Erdgöttin, z. B. dem bekannten Kolossalbilde der *Couatlicue*, der sogenannten *Teoyaomiqui*, von México, zu sehen ist. Die rasselnden Schneckengehäuse sind in dem Bilde des Vaticanus gewissermassen nach oben schwingend gezeichnet. Und mit dem ganzen Gebilde ist in dieser Handschrift die Begleiterin der *Tlaçolteol*, die rothe Blutschlange, verbunden.

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Wie *Tepeyollotli* durch die Werkzeuge des Krieges, so ist *Tlaçolteotl* hier in beiden Handschriften durch ein *cozcatl*, ein Edelsteinperlen-Halsgeschmeide, das mit goldenen Schellen besetzt ist und im Vaticanus noch ein Mittelstück in Gestalt einer kleinen Goldplatte hat, gekennzeichnet. Diese Kennzeichnung erscheint auf den ersten Blick etwas auffallend bei einer Gestalt, die im Codex Borgia mit Schild und Speerbündel in der Hand dargestellt ist und einen gebundenen Gefangenen heranschleppt. Das Auffällige verschwindet aber sofort, wenn wir uns nur des besonderen Vorstellungsganges der Mexikaner und ihrer Phraseologie erinnern. Das *cozcatl*, das Halsgeschmeide, bedeutet einfach das Kind, das von der Göttin geboren wird. Und dasselbe bedeutet auch der gebundene Gefangene, und der kriegerische Apparat der Göttin bedeutet die Geburt. Denn das Gebären eines Kindes durch eine Frau

Abb. 213. *Tepeyollotli*, das „Herz der Berge", der Gott der Höhlen, Regent des dritten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch". Codex Borbonicus 3.

wurde dem Erbeuten eines Gefangenen durch den Krieger verglichen. Wenn die Geburt glücklich zu Stande gekommen ist, so stösst die Hebamme einen Kriegsruf aus — „und damit will die Hebamme sagen, dass die Patientin in tapferer Weise den Sieg davon getragen hat, und dass sie ein Kind gefangen hat".[1]) — und wenn eine Frau bei der Geburt starb, so nannte man sie *mociuaquetzqui*, „der als Frau auftretende, in der Rolle einer Frau auftretende", d. h. der Krieger in Gestalt einer Frau oder „muger valerosa", wie das in den spanischen Schriftstellern immer übersetzt wird. Die Frau, die ein Kind geboren hat, ist der Krieger, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hat; die Frau, die im Kindbett gestorben ist, ist der Krieger, der in die Hände der Feinde gefallen und auf dem Opfersteine geschlachtet worden ist. In den Leichenreden wird diese daher angeredet: — „O meine Tochter, du hast tapfer gekämpft mit Schild und Schwert, wie deine Mutter *Ciuacouatl-Quilaztli*. Erhebe dich! Schon ist

1) Sahagun 6, cap. 30.

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es Morgen geworden; gehe nach dem Hause der Sonne, wo alle die Seligen wohnen.“ [1]) — Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus ist der kriegerische Ausputz bei den Erdgöttinen überall, wenn auch nicht seinem Ursprunge nach — denn der geht vermuthlich auf die Mondnatur der Erdgöttinnen zurück —, so doch jedenfalls der allgemeinen Auffassung nach, in erster Linie zu verstehen. Er bezeichnet allgemein und bezeichnet auch hier die *Tlaçolteol* nur als die Gebärerin. Und darum ist hier das *cozcatl*, das Halsgeschmeide, neben der Göttin angegeben. Es bezeichnet den von ihr Gefangenen, d. h. das von ihr geborene Kind.

Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus erscheint auch das Verhältnis der beiden Personen, die in der Reihe der Tageszeichen und in der Reihe der *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte bei dem dritten Zeichen aufgeführt sind, in neuer Beleuchtung. Dem Gotte der Höhlen *Tepeyollotli* ist die *Tlaçolteol* gesellt, weil diese den Mutterschooss repräsentirt. Und weil dies das Verhältniss der beiden Personen ist, darum versteht man auch, dass in den im engeren Sinne mexikanischen Bilderschriften, dem Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 212), dem Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 213) und dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 214), die *Tlaçolteotl* bei diesem Zeichen durch den einen Gefangenen, oder richtiger wohl einen kleinen Menschen,

Abb. 214. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 3.

heranschleppenden Windgott *Quetzalcouatl* ersetzt ist. Statt der Gebärerin *Tlaçolteotl* haben diese Handschriften eben den Menschenschöpfer *Quetzalcouatl* gezeichnet. Und wenn diese selben Handschriften dem Gotte *Quetzalcouatl* in die andere Hand das Zeichen *cuitlatl* geben, das „Exkremente, Unrath, Schmutz, Sünde“ bedeutet, so ist das sicher weiter nichts als ein Hinweis auf die *Tlaçolteotl*, die „Göttin des Unraths“, die *Tlaelquani*, die „Dreckfresserin“. Es will sagen, dass durch die *Tlaçolteotl* oder, wenn man will, durch den *cuitlatl*, durch den obszönen Akt, das Kind zu Stande gekommen ist. Und wenn neben diesem *Quetzalcouatl* des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 213), bezw. vor dem *Tepeyollotli* der Aubin'schen Handschrift (Abb. 214), ein Meerschneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) dargestellt ist, so hat das wohl ebenso Bezug auf *Tlaçolteotl*, die Gebärerin, da — „asi como sale del hueso el caracol, asi sale el hombre del vientre de su madre“ — wie auf den durch die Meerschnecke gekennzeichneten Gott, den Mondgott, von dem *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tlaçolteotl* und schliesslich auch *Tepeyollotli* nur besondere Formen darstellen.

Zwischen den beiden Göttern des dritten Zeichens ist in unserer Handschrift wie im Vaticanus noch ein grosses Gefäss mit Mais zu sehen. Und darüber ein in den Farben des Edelsteins gemalter

1) Sahagun 6, cap. 29.

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Krug, aus dem ein braunes, mit Blüthen bestecktes Getränk herausschäumt. Wir haben vielleicht Kakao, vielleicht wohlriechendes Harz oder Räucherwerk als Sinnbild von Lebensmittelfülle anzunehmen. Es scheint, dass der Gott der Höhlen und die kindergebärende Göttin hier noch weiter durch den Mutterschooss der Erde illustrirt werden, die Lebensmittel in Fülle hervorbringt. Denn der dunkle Schooss

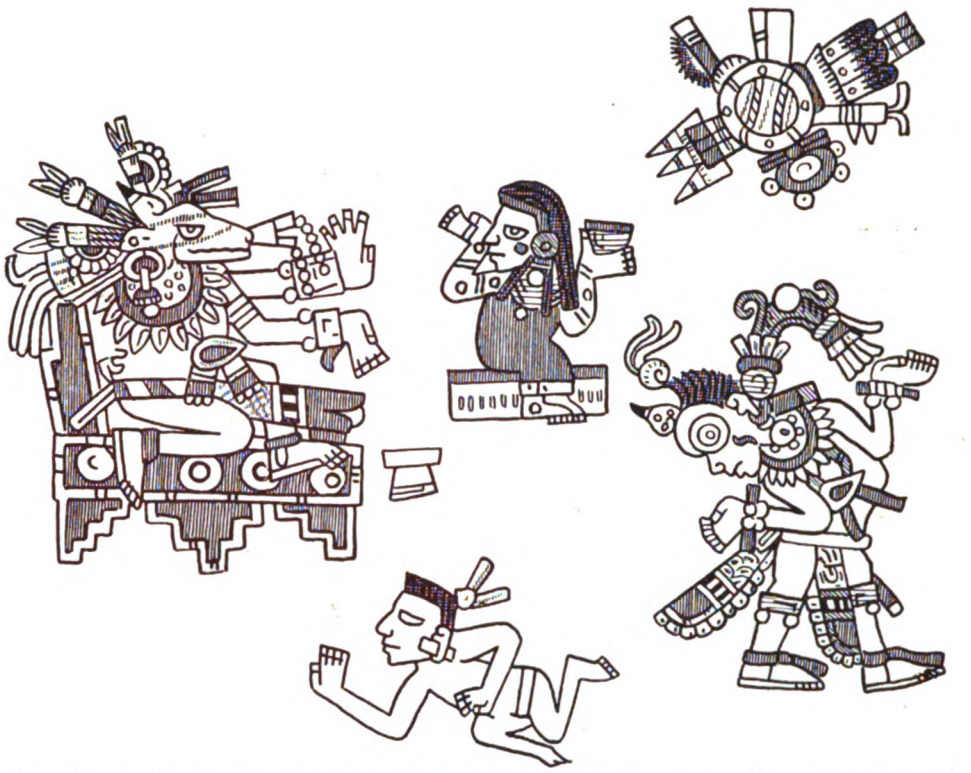

Abb. 215. *Ueuecoyotl*, der „alte Koyote", der Tanzgott, Regent des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce xochitl* „eins Blume". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 52 (= Kingsborough 45).

Abb. 216. *Ueuecoyotl*, der „alte Koyote", der Tanzgott, Regent des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce xochitl* „eins Blume".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 10 verso, 11 (= Kingsborough II, 6, 7).

der Erde, das *tlalli iyollo*, das ist es ja in der That, was das Wesen des dritten Zeichens, des Tageszeichens *calli* „Haus", das die Maya mit *akbal* „Nacht" übersetzen, ausmacht.

Der vierte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce xochitl* „eins Blume" ist in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 63 des Codex Borgia und auf Blatt 52 des Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 215) dargestellt.

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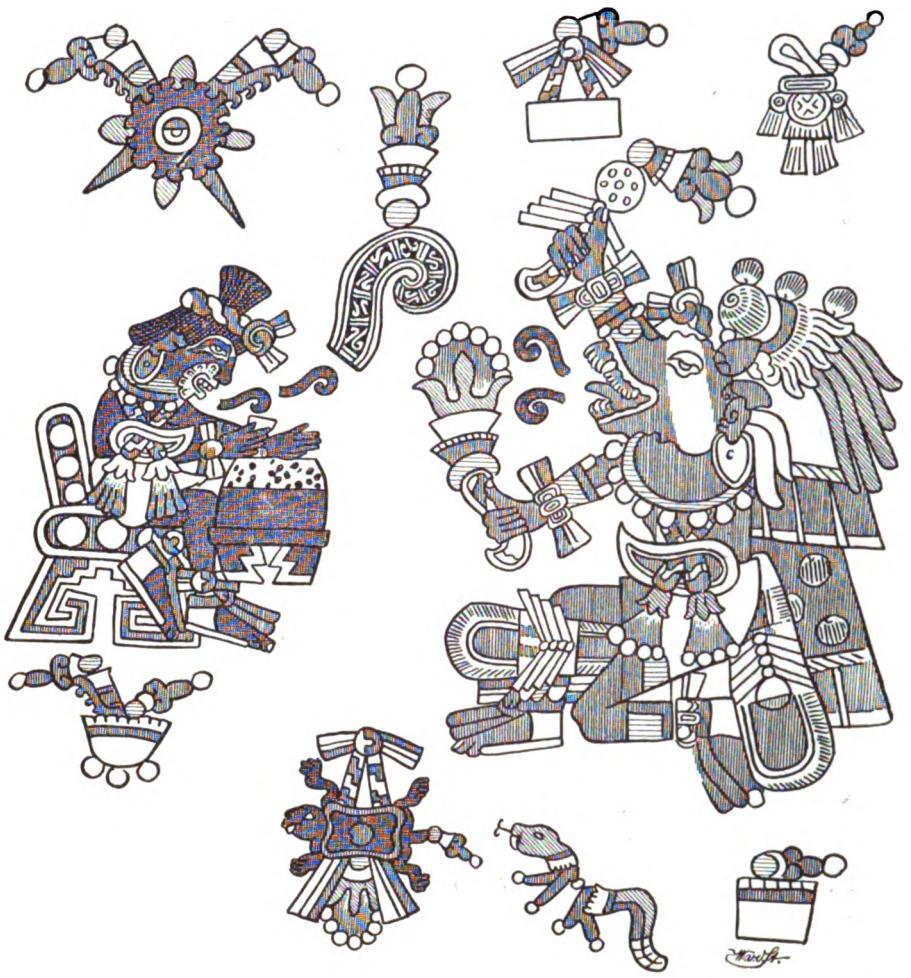

Abb. 217. *Ueuecogotl*, der „alte Koyote", der Tanzgott, Regent des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce xochitl* „eins Blume". Codex Borbonicus 4.

Abb. 218. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 4.

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Sein Regent ist der Gott des vierten Tageszeiches, *Ueuecoyotl*, der alte Koyote, der Gott des Geschlechtstriebes und der Lust, über den ich im I. Band dieser Erläuterungen, S. 95 ff., Näheres mitgetheilt habe. Er ist hier in beiden Handschriften nicht ganz als Thier, sondern nur mit einem Koyote-

Abb. 219. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Wassergöttin, Herrin des fünften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce acatl* „eins Rohr". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 53, (= Kingsborough 44).

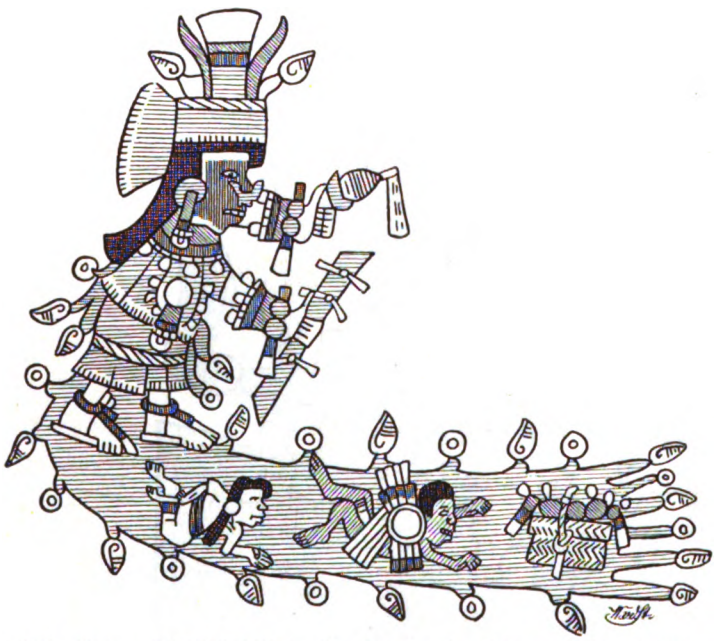

Abb. 220a. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des Wassers, Herrin des fünften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce acatl* eins Rohr".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 11 verso (= Kingsborough II, 8).

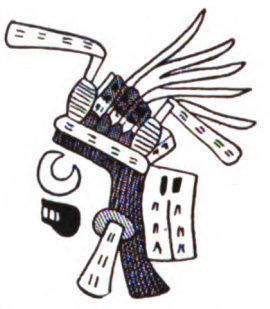

Abb. 220b. *Tlaçolteotl*, die alte Mondgöttin, die Erdgöttin.
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 12 (= Kingsborough II, 9).

kopfe abgebildet, trägt einen mit weissen Schneckengehäusen besetzten Lederhalskragen, auf der Brust an einem Riemen das ebenfalls aus einem Schneckengehäuse geschliffene Gehänge *oyoualli* und eine kostbare, an den Enden mit Adlerfedern verbrämte Schambinde, gleich der des Sonnengottes. Das Zeichen des Krieges ist bei ihm wie bei dem Gotte des vorigen Zeichens angegeben, und neben den

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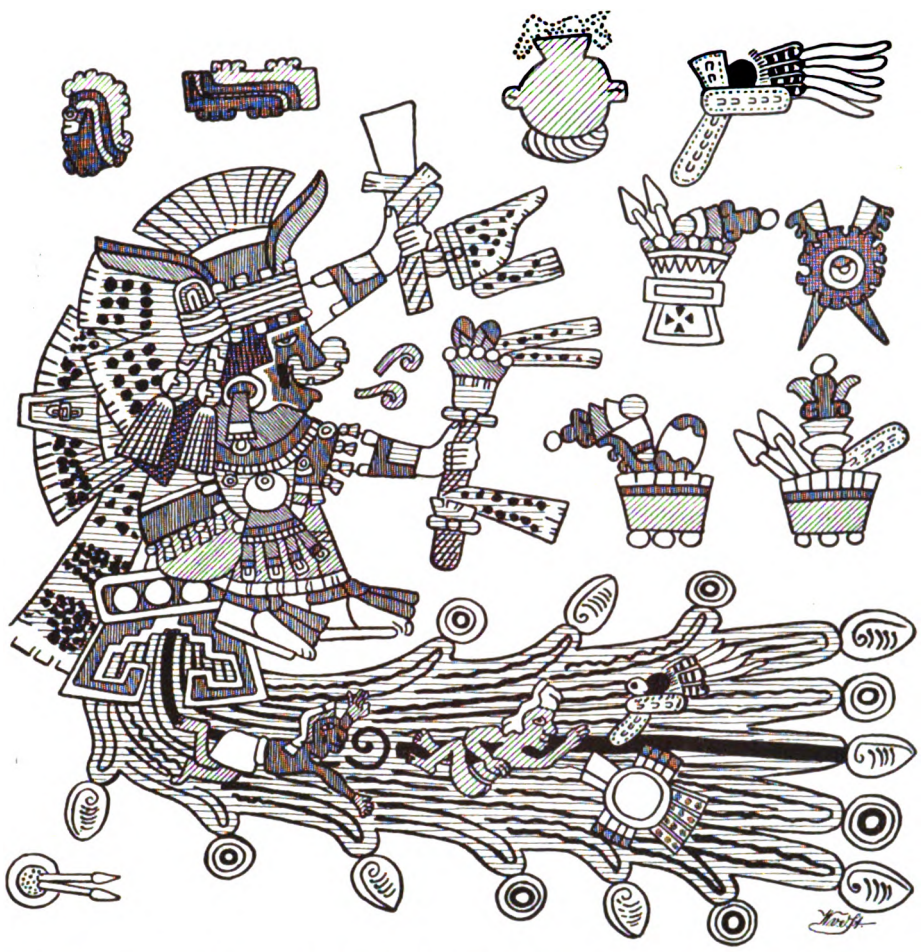

Abb. 221. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers, Regentin des fünften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce acatl* „eins Rohr". Codex Borbonicus 5.

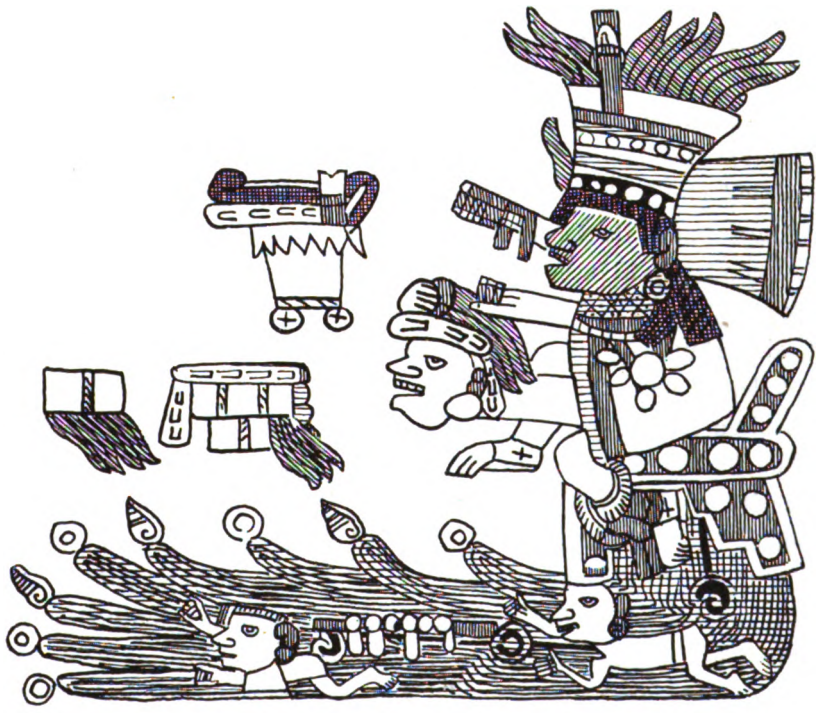

Abb. 222. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 5.

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gewöhnlichen Waffen findet sich auch hier das mit einer Steinspitze versehene zackige Schwertfischschwert, das offenbar eine Waffe fremder Tierra caliente-Stämme darstellen soll. Zu seinen Füssen sieht man, wie bei dem Gotte des vierten Tageszeichens, einen zu Boden stürzenden Menschen.

Nicht so charakteristisch, aber in verschiedener Hinsicht nicht uninteressant ist das Bild, das der Codex Telleriano-Remensis von dem alten Koyote gibt (Abb. 216). Es ist ein in der Hauptsache roth gemalter Gott, der aber auch das lange gelbe Feld um das Auge hat, wie das Thier der beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, und dessen Gesicht aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines rothen, in der Augenhöhe in einem langen, geradlinig begrenzten Felde gelb bemalten hundeartigen Thieres hervorsieht. Er hat auch das *oyoualli*-Ohrgehänge und den *oyoualli*-Brustschmuck, und auf einer Art Fahne oder Korb, den er auf dem Rücken trägt, sind die vier Kugeln oder Perlen, das *tonallo*-Emblem des Gottes *Macuilxochitl*, des Gottes der Lust, abgebildet (vgl. oben S. 94, Abb. 60, 61). In der einen Hand hält er etwas, was augenscheinlich eine Rassel (*ayacachtli*) sein soll, in der anderen einen menschlichen Unterarm (das Zeichen des Zauberers?) und ein rothes Papierbündel. Die Schambinde hat ein abgerundetes Ende und einen gefransten Saum, wie der des Tänzers, der vor dem alten Koyote des Codex Vaticanus B (Abb. 215) abgebildet ist. — Auch der *Ueuecoyotl* des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 217) ist ein rother Gott, aber mit einem Hundekopfe rother Farbe, auf dem das grosse gelbe Längsfeld in der Linie des Auges ebenfalls angegeben ist. Auch er hat das *oyoualli*-Ohrgehänge und den *oyoualli*-Brustschmuck, und die Schambinde hat dasselbe abgerundete und gefranste Ende wie die des Gottes des Codex Telleriano-Remensis.

Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 218) ist der alte Koyote geradezu als rother Hund, mit abgeschnittenen Ohren, mit dem *yacaxiuitl*, dem blauen Nasenschmucke der Toten, und mit der Halskette aus Schneckengehäusen und dem Brustschmucke *ecailacatzcozcatl* des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* dargestellt, d. h. er ist hier als *Xolotl*, als der rothe Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten geleitet, aufgefasst. Das ist wohl zweifellos als eine missverständliche Auffassung zu betrachten. — Als den diesem Gotte geweihten Tag, bezw. als seinen Namen, bezeichnet der Interpret des Codex Telleriano-Remensis den Tag *matlactli omome oçomàtli* „zwölf Affe".

Dem Gotte gegenüber ist in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe ein Tänzer dargestellt, der denselben mit weissen Schneckengehäusen besetzten Lederkragen trägt und denselben weissen Rasselschmuck *oyoualli* an einem Lederriemen auf der Brust hängen hat, wie der alte Koyote selbst, dazu an der Schläfe oder auf dem Scheitel ein Thierohr (Koyoteohr, Jaguarohr) befestigt und vor das Gesicht eine Maske gebunden hat, auf der mit weisser Erde (*tiçatl*) ein Ring um das Auge und ein nach hinten spitz verlaufendes Feld um den Mund gemalt ist, ganz wie wir das bei dem Paukenschläger angetroffen hatten in dem Gruppenbilde, das die fünfte Nachtstunde und den Süden, bezw. den fünften der Tage, an denen der Mond am Abendhimmel sichtbar ist, bezeichnet (Blatt 60 unserer Handschrift, in der untersten Reihe links). Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 217), wo der alte Koyote selbst mit der Rassel (*ayacachtli*) Musik machend abgebildet ist, während er in der anderen Hand eine Blume hält, ist der Tänzer durch einen Sänger und Paukenschläger ersetzt. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 218) sehen wir sogar zwei Figuren, die Rassel, Pauke und ein drittes nicht sicher zu bestimmendes Instrument in Thätigkeit setzen.

In unseren beiden Handschriften, dem Codex Borgia und dem Vaticanus (Abb. 215), ist endlich dem alten Koyote und dem Tänzer noch eine Figur gesellt, die im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 216) als einzige Figur dem alten Koyote gegenübersteht und auch in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung nicht fehlt, obwohl sie dort etwas anders wiedergegeben ist. Es ist eine Frau, die sowohl im Vaticanus und in unserer Handschrift, wie im Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 216), mit nach hinten gewandtem Gesichte abgebildet ist und sich mit der Hand die Thränen aus den Augen wischt, während die andere Hand eine Schale hält, in der im Codex Telleriano-Remensis wieder das Symbol *cuitlatl* „Exkremente, Unrath" angegeben ist. Die Interpreten geben für sie den Namen *Ixnextli* an, identifiziren sie mit der *Xochiquetzal* und vergleichen sie mit der biblischen Eva, die immer in dieser Weise weine und sich nach ihrem Gatten Adam umschaue. Und der Name *Ixnextli*, den sie trage, bedeute „die Augen voller Asche". Diesen Namen habe sie erst bekommen, nachdem sie gesündigt, indem sie [in dem Paradiese *Tamoanchan*

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oder *Xochitl icacan*] die Blumen gebrochen habe, und deshalb, sagten die Mexikaner, könnten sie nicht nach dem Himmel sehen und es sei eine Erinnerung an das verlorene Paradies.[1]) — Die Interpreten identifiziren diese Figur also mit der weiblichen Hälfte des ersten Menschenpaares. Es ist aber, das lehrt der Augenschein, die verlassene Eva. Die Figur hat Bezug auf eine Erzählung oder ein Märchen, von dem uns leider nichts Genaueres bekannt ist.

Der fünfte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" ist in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 65 des Codex Borgia und auf Blatt 53 des Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 219) dargestellt.

Die Gottheit dieses Abschnittes ist die Göttin des fünften Tageszeichens *Chalchiuhtlicue* „die deren Enagua aus grünen Edelsteinen besteht", die Herrin des fliessenden Wassers. Als der besondere dieser Göttin geweihte Tag, bezw. als ihr Name, ist durch die Handweisung des Kommentators im Telleriano-Remensis der Tag *Chicome quiauitl* „sieben Regen" genannt. Die äussere Erscheinung dieser Göttin, ihr Ausputz und ihre Tracht sind in unseren beiden Handschriften die gleichen wie an den anderen Stellen, wo wir ihr schon begegnet sind. Insbesondere ist sie auch hier in beiden Handschriften, dem Codex Borgia und dem Vaticanus B, mit ihrer Schlangenhelmmaske dargestellt. Ueber dieser sieht man aber im Vaticanus zwei kurze Federbüsche, von denen man nicht recht weiss, ob sie den Nüstern der Schlangen aufsitzen sollen, wie bei der Federschlange auf Blatt 27 dieser Handschrift, oder ob sie etwa den *ome quetzalli*, den beiden Quetzalfederbüschen auf dem Scheitel der *Xochiquetzal* entsprechen sollen, mit denen wir in der That die *Chalchiuhtlicue* auf Blatt 42 des Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Bd. I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 278, Abb. 474) ausgerüstet fanden. Wie in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften endlich, ist die Göttin über einem Wasserstrome dargestellt, an dessen anderem Ende ein Priester (*tlamacazqui*) steht mit einem Bündel Speere in der Hand, — eine Figur, die vielleicht das „Schiessende", die schnelle Bewegung des Wassers veranschaulichen soll. In dem Wasser sieht man im Vaticanus (Abb. 219) und in unserer Handschrift eine Frau, ein Bündel Speere und eine Edelsteinperlkette; im Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 220) eine Frau, einen Krieger mit Schild und Speerbündel und eine Schatzkiste; im Codex Borbonicus endlich (Abb. 221) eine Frau, einen Krieger mit Schild und Speerbündel und den Kopfschmuck der *Tlaçolteotl*. Das bedeutet, wie der Interpret des Telleriano-Remensis (Pedro de Rios) angibt, Verkauf in die Sklaverei, Tod im Kriege und Verlust an Hab und Gut, d. h. Armuth und Dürftigkeit. Denn das Wasser ist das bewegliche Element und das, was alles mit sich fortreisst, und somit ein Ausdruck der Vergänglichkeit des irdischen Daseins.

Eine Kiste oder ein Gefäss, aus dem Quetzalfedern herauskommen, ist in unserer Handschrift und im Vaticanus, ein Haus mit dunkler Thüröffnung und ein Bündel Speere ausserdem noch in unserer Handschrift, im Codex Borgia, angegeben.

Diese Begleitbilder, die an diejenigen erinnern, die wir in unserer Handschrift und im Vaticanus B bei dem Regenten des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes angegeben fanden, könnten hier in derselben Weise wie dort gedeutet werden, d. h. dass man die Göttin des Elementes des Wassers mit der Herrin der Kühle, des blassen Lichts, mit der Göttin, die das Wasser auch in ihrer Hieroglyphe führt, mit der Mondgöttin, identifizirte. Dafür könnte in der That als beweisend angesehen werden, dass im Codex Telleriano-Remensis sowohl (Abb. 220), wie im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 221) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 222) der Wassergöttin, der Regentin des fünften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, gegenüber die Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*, bezw. ihr Schmuck, die Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle und das *iuitemalli* aus Truthahnflügelfedern, abgebildet sind.

Der sechste *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce miquiztli* „eins Tod", ist in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 66 des Codex Borgia und auf Blatt 54 des Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 223) dargestellt.

Als Regenten des sechsten Zeichens hatten wir in der Tageszeichenreihe *Tecciztecatl*, den Mondgott, angetroffen. Derselbe ist auch hier als Regent des sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes zu sehen, aber er steht nicht allein, sondern ihm ist der Sonnengott gegenübergestellt. —

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1) Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 11 (= Kingsborough II, 7).

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Der Mondgott *Tecciztecatl* ist im Vaticanus (Abb. 223) als alter Mann mit weissem Haare und einem Stabe in der Hand dargestellt, der sich nur mit Mühe von seinem Sitze aufrichtet. Als besonderes Abzeichen

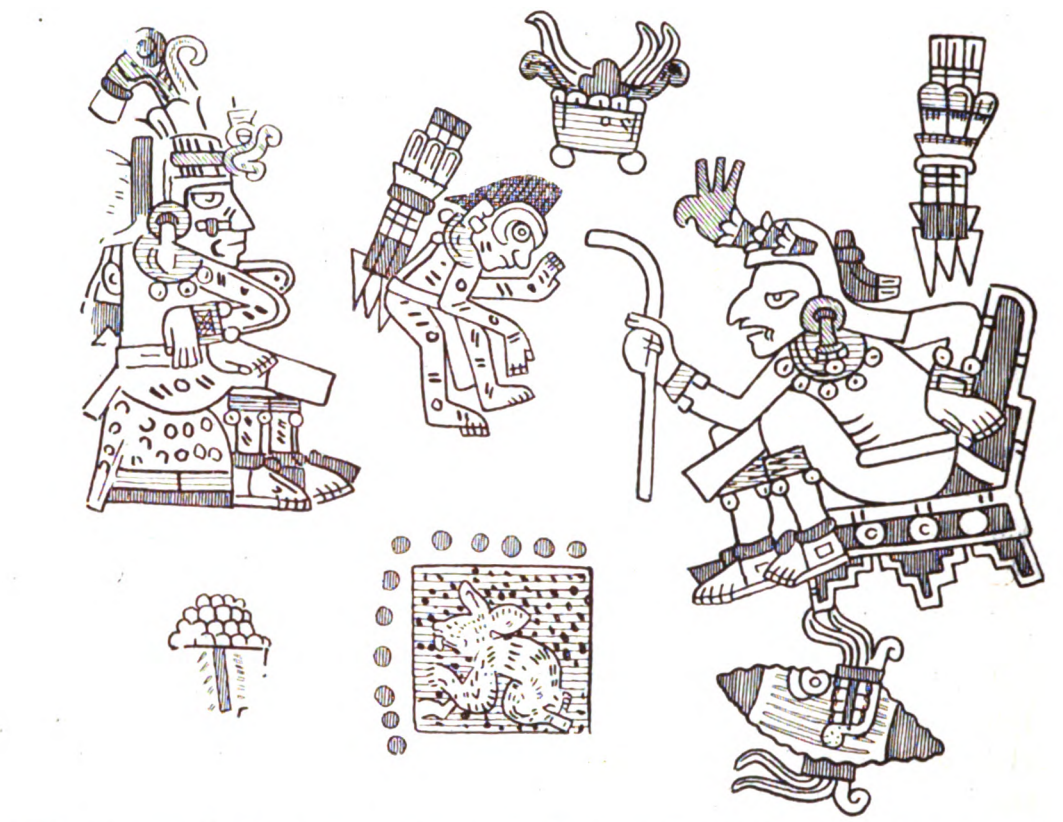

Abb. 223. *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott, und *Metztli*, der Mondgott, Herren des sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce miquiztli* „eins Tod". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 54 (= Kingsborough 43).

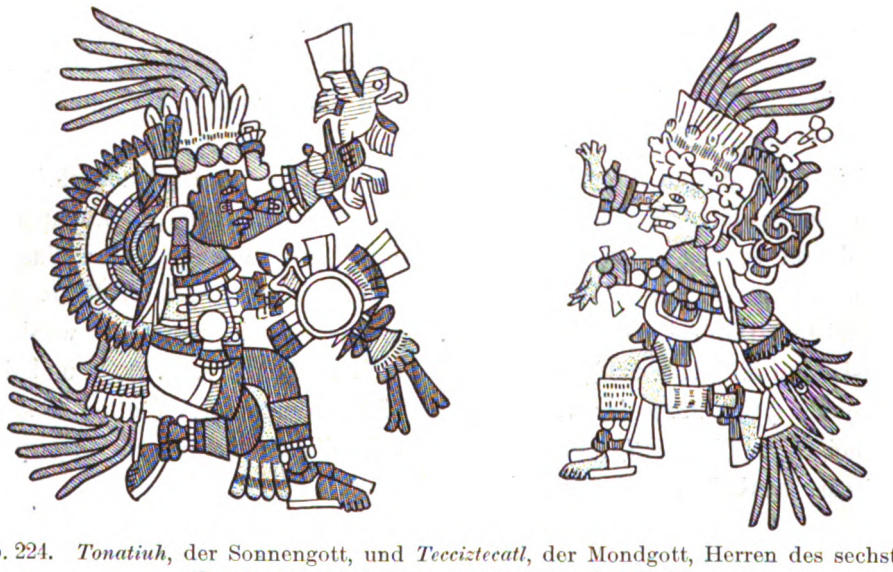

Abb. 224. *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott, und *Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott, Herren des sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce miquiztli* „eins Tod".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 12 verso, 13 (= Kingsborough II, 10, 11

oder als besonderer Schmuck ist nur ein Blumenkranz zu erwähnen, der das Haar umgibt, und dem an der Stirnseite ein Busch Quetzalfedern eingefügt ist. Ganz analog zeichnet ihn der Codex Borgia, nur dass er hier durch den rothen Fleck an der Schläfe als Priester (*tlamacazqui*) gekennzeichnet ist, dass

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Abb. 225. *Tecciztecatl*, der Mondgott, und *Tezcatlipoca*, Herren des sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce miquiztli* „eins Tod". Codex Borbonicus 6.

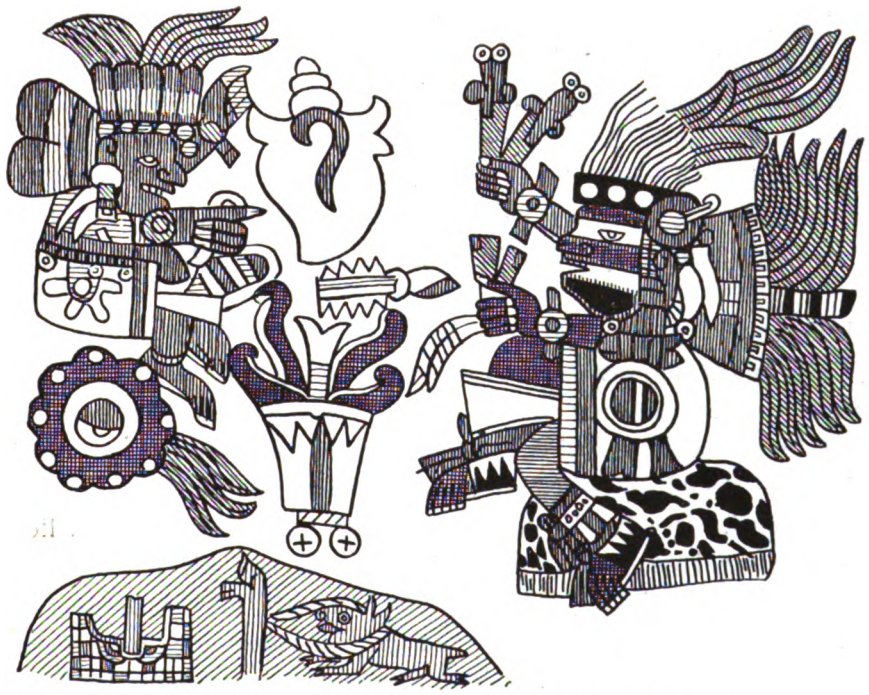

Abb. 226. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 6.

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das Haar nicht weiss, sondern schwarz ist und über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelt, und dass das alte Gesicht, wie allgemein in dieser Handschrift, durch das ringförmige Anhängsel unter der Oberlippe zum Ausdruck gebracht ist. Einen an der Spitze gekrümmten Stab hält auch er in der Hand, der aber kurz und mit blauer Farbe gemalt (mit Türkismosaik inkrustirt) ist und mehr die bumerangartige Form des weissen, mit schwarzen Querbändern gezeichneten Stabes hat, den auf dem Blatte 56 unserer Handschrift der Rücken an Rücken mit dem Todesgotte sitzende *Quetzalcouatl* in der Hand hat.

Dem Mondgotte, der auf seinem Stuhle sitzt, gegenüber ist der Sonnengott im Vaticanus (Abb. 223) in der bekannten Unterwürfigkeitsstellung mit unter der Brust verschränkten Armen, im Codex Borgia in einer, wie es scheint, Begrüssung ausdrückenden Haltung dargestellt, das linke Knie zur Erde gebeugt, und die rechte Hand, wie zum Grusse, vorgestreckt. Tracht und Ausputz sind die üblichen. Er ist in beiden Handschriften mit gelber Farbe und im Codex Borgia in der den Sonnengott kennzeichnenden Weise, mit einer kleinen rothen Scheibe auf der Backe und einem das Auge umziehenden rothen Halbringe, auf dem gelben Grunde des Gesichtes bemalt.

Als kennzeichnende Symbole sind bei dem Mondgotte ein Speerbündel und ein Steinmesser, bei dem Sonnengotte ein Priester, der ein Bündel Speere auf dem Rücken trägt, angegeben. Dass hier bei dem Mondgotte wieder das Bündel Speere angegeben ist, bestätigt mir die oben S. 214, 215 ausgesprochene Vermuthung, dass auch bei *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Herrn des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, das Speerbündel ein Ausdruck der alten Mondnatur dieses Gottes ist. In der Mitte zwischen dem Sonnen- und dem Mondgotte sehen wir eine Schale mit einem rothen Feuerschmetterling, der hier vielleicht Blut bedeuten soll, in der dem Sonnen- und Mondgotte angemessenen Form. Darunter eine Schale mit Mais. Und endlich ein Kaninchen in einem dunklen Felde, das von zwölf Punkten, die die Ziffer zwölf ergeben, umgeben ist, und daneben ein Steinmesser (*tecpatl*). In Bezug auf dieses Bild kommt man natürlich zunächst auf die Vermuthung, dass damit der Tag *matlactli omome tecpatl* „zwölf Feuersteinmesser" gemeint sei, der der zwölfte Tag des mit *ce maçatl* „eins Hirsch" beginnenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes ist, und dass von diesem Tage gesagt sei, dass er der Name des Kaninchens, d. h. des Mondes, sei. Denn das Kaninchen war den Mexikanern der Mann im Monde. Mit einem Kaninchen schlugen die Götter dem Monde in das Gesicht, um seinen ursprünglich der Sonne gleichen Glanz zu verdunkeln. Man könnte sich diese Kombination des Datums „zwölf Feuersteinmesser" mit dem Kaninchen, d. h. dem Monde, dadurch erklären, dass dieses Datum, wie der ganze *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt als der erste des dritten, dem Westen gehörigen Viertels des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, den *Ciuateteô* geweiht war, die an diesem Tage zur Erde herniederkamen, und dass diese *Ciuateteô*, ja, wie wir gesehen haben, nur als eine besondere Form der Mondgöttin, oder mit ihr in Verbindung stehend, angesehen wurden. Diese ganze Deutung ist aber deshalb nicht recht wahrscheinlich, weil in der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 223) das Steinmesser ganz abseits, unter dem Mondgotte, steht, und die zwölf Punkte, die Ziffer zwölf, unmittelbar mit dem Kaninchen verbunden sind. Wir müssen demnach wohl annehmen, dass das Steinmesser als ein Symbol oder Abzeichen des Mondgottes gemeint ist, die zwölf Kaninchen aber als die zwölf synodischen Monate, die auf einen Sonnenlauf, d. h. ein Jahr, gehen.

Die Handschriften der engeren mexikanischen Region, der Telleriano-Remensis und der Codex Borbonicus, haben einige nicht uninteressante Varianten. Der Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 224) zeichnet uns den Sonnengott als eine mit rother Farbe gemalte Gestalt, mit feuerfarbenem Haare, das von der Edelsteinkette umschlungen ist, mit der Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken und in der einen Hand das Zeichen des Krieges — Schild, Speerbündel, Handfahne und Stachelschwert, — in der anderen einen buntgefiederten Vogel haltend. Der Mondgott *Tecciztecatl* ihm gegenüber ist mit heller rother Farbe und *Tezcatlipoca*-artigen Querstreifen (*ixtlan tlatlaan*) im Gesichte und mit dem weissen, oben mit rothen Riemen umwundenen Ringe *Tezcatlipoca*'s, dem *anauatl*, dem Abbilde des Auges, dargestellt, zugleich aber auch mit einem Blumenkranze im Haare und mit dem grossen Schneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) und einer Blume am Nacken, die ihn zu gleicher Zeit als *Tecciztecatl*, als „Herrn der Meerschnecke" und als männliches Gegenstück der *Xochiquetzal* kennzeichnen. — Im Codex Borbonicus aber (Abb. 225) sehen wir an der rechten Seite eine Gestalt, die in Haltung und Ausstattung ein Spiegelbild des Sonnengottes

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des Codex Telleriano-Remensis, dabei aber nicht ein heller, lichter, sondern ein mit dunkler Farbe gemalter, im Gesichte aber halb schwarzer, halb rother und mit dem Nasenhalbmonde (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter, d. h. der Mondgötter, geschmückt ist, also den Mondgott vorstellen muss, und in der That durch das grosse Schneckengehäuse darüber als der *Tecciztecatl* bezeichnet ist. Ihm steht nun an der linken Seite, also dem Mondgotte des Telleriano-Remensis entsprechend, *Tezcatlipoca* gegenüber, in seiner reichen Kriegertracht, mit der Sternhimmelkrone auf dem Haupte, dem rauchenden Spiegel an der Schläfe und das Sklavenhalsband, *quauhcozcatl*, tragend, — das ein Sinnbild dafür ist, dass er der *moyocoyatzin*, der nach Gutdünken schaltende, d. h. der Geber und das Sinnbild der Veränderlichkeit ist, der, der die Hohen erniedrigt und den Sklaven zu Amt und Würden hilft. Dass *Tezcatlipoca* seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach nur eine der Formen der Mondgottheit ist, ist hier so klar, wie nirgends sonst, ausgesprochen. Und ebenso ist es nach diesem Codex Borbonicus-Bilde absolut klar, dass nicht, wie man denken könnte, der Sonnengott, sondern der Mondgott es ist, der als Regent dieses Kalenderabschnittes allein in Betracht kommt. — Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung endlich (Abb. 226), sehen wir einen wieder dem Sonnengotte dieser Handschrift ähnlichen, ihm auch in der Farbe gleichenden Gott, der aber durch das Schneckengesäuse (*tecciztli*) vor seinem Gesichte und das Symbol der Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*) unter ihm als *Tecciztecatl* und als Mondgott gekennzeichnet ist, und ihm gegenüber *Tezcatlipoca* in seiner gewöhnlichen Ausstattung dargestellt. — Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis sind übrigens in dieser Dreizehnheit durch die Handweisung des Interpreten zwei Tage als die besonderen, der Gottheit des Abschnittes geweihten Tage, bezw. als ihre Namen bezeichnet, das sind die Tage *Naui atl* „vier Wasser" und *Chicuei oçomàtli* „sechs Affe", die aber auch augenscheinlich beide als Namen der Mondgottheit gemeint sind.

Der siebente *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce quiauitl* „eins Regen", ist im Codex Borgia auf der unteren Hälfte von Blatt 67, im Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 227) auf Blatt 55 dargestellt.

Das ist einer der Fälle, wo das Anfangszeichen des *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes dem Gotte durchaus zu entsprechen scheint, der in Folge der Uebertragung der Götter der Tageszeichenreihe auf die *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte auf diesen *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt entfällt. Es ist der Gott des siebenten Tageszeichens, der Regengott *Tlaloc*.

Der Gott selbst ist hier in derselben charakteristischen, im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 109ff., ausführlich beschriebenen Weise, wie der Regent des siebenten Tageszeichens dargestellt. Aber neben ihm ist noch ein mächtiger Wasserstrom angegeben, in dem die Figur eines Priesters mit fortgerissen wird. Und am Ende dieses Wasserstroms ist in beiden Handschriften eine Höhle abgebildet, auf dem in der adorirenden Haltung des *tecpoyotl*'s des zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitts ein zweiter Priester kauert, der ein Grasbüschel in der einen, einen Kopalbeutel und zwei Pfeilschäfte, (das Zeichen des Feuerbohrers) in der anderen Hand hält. Vor dem Gotte selbst ist in unserer Handschrift noch eine zweite Kopaltasche (*copalxiquipilli*), Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agaveblattspitze (*uitztli*) angegeben, mit einer Blume an dem oberen Ende dieser beiden Kasteiungswerkseuge, die das abgezapfte Blut veranschaulicht. Daneben sieht man, sowohl im Codex Borgia wie im Vaticanus, einen abgerissenen Jaguarfuss, vier in einen Stab gesteckte Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli*) und am oberen Rande des Blattes eine mit der Farbe des Feuers gemalte, aber längs des ganzen Rückens eine weisse Schaumzeichnung aufweisende doppelköpfige Schlange.

Der Regengott war der Gott des grossen Fastens, das zu Beginn der Regenzeit, gegen Ende unseres Monats Mai, mit grosser Rigorosität von der gesammten Priesterschaft, die kleinsten Priesterzöglinge mit eingeschlossen, abgehalten wurde, um für die dann beginnende Zeit des Wachsthums der Saaten günstige und ausreichende Regenfälle zu erhalten. Bei diesem Fasten, das im Sahagun ausführlich beschrieben wird, wurde mit Strenge darüber gewacht, dass nicht das kleinste Versehen, nicht die kleinste Ungehörigkeit vorkam. Nicht ein Stäubchen durfte auf der Kleidung des Priesters sein, nicht der geringste Irrthum bei Ausführung der Zärimonien vorkommen, und nicht straucheln durften die Offizianten auf dem Wege zu ihren Verrichtungen. Wer in dieser Hinsicht einen Fehler begangen hatte, an dem wurde, um den Zorn des Gottes zu beschwichtigen, das gesühnt, indem man diese Verbrecher an dem Tage vor dem

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Schluss- und eigentlichen Hauptfeste an den Haaren zum Wasser führte, sie in jeder Pfütze wälzend, und schliesslich sie im Wasser so lange tauchte, dass sie nur halbtot wieder herausgezogen werden konnten. —

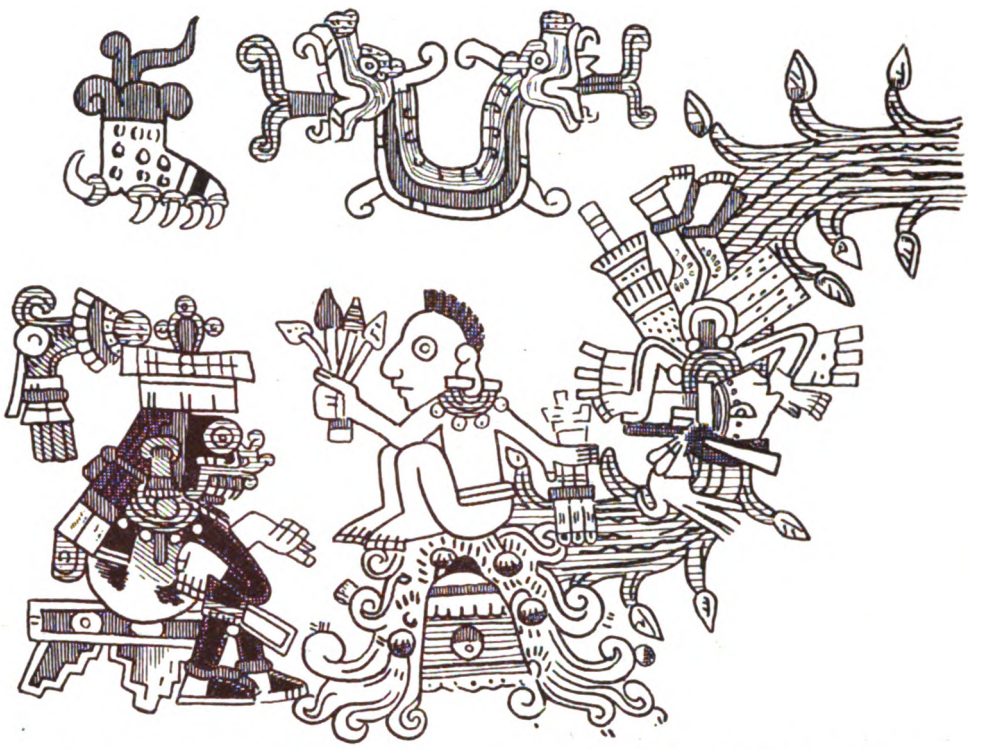

Abb. 227. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott, Regent des siebenten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quiauitl* „eins Regen“.
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 55 (= Kingsborough 42).

Abb. 228a. Der Gott *Naui eecatl* „vier Wind“, Herr des siebenten *Tonalamatl* - Abschnittes *ce quiauitl* „eins Regen“. Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 13 verso (= Kingsborough II, 12).

Abb. 228b. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott, Herr des siebenten *Tonalamatl* - Abschnittes *ce quiauitl* „eins Regen“. Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 21 [20] (= Kingsborough 28).

Dieses Fasten und die Bestrafung der Priester, die das Fasten nicht exakt ausgeführt hatten, das scheint mir auch auf unserem Blatte dargestellt zu sein. Ich wüsste wenigstens nicht, wie man sich die Gestalt

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Abb. 229. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott, und der Gott *Naui eccatl* „vier Wind“, Regenten des siebenten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quiauitl* „eins Regen“. Codex Borbonicus 7.

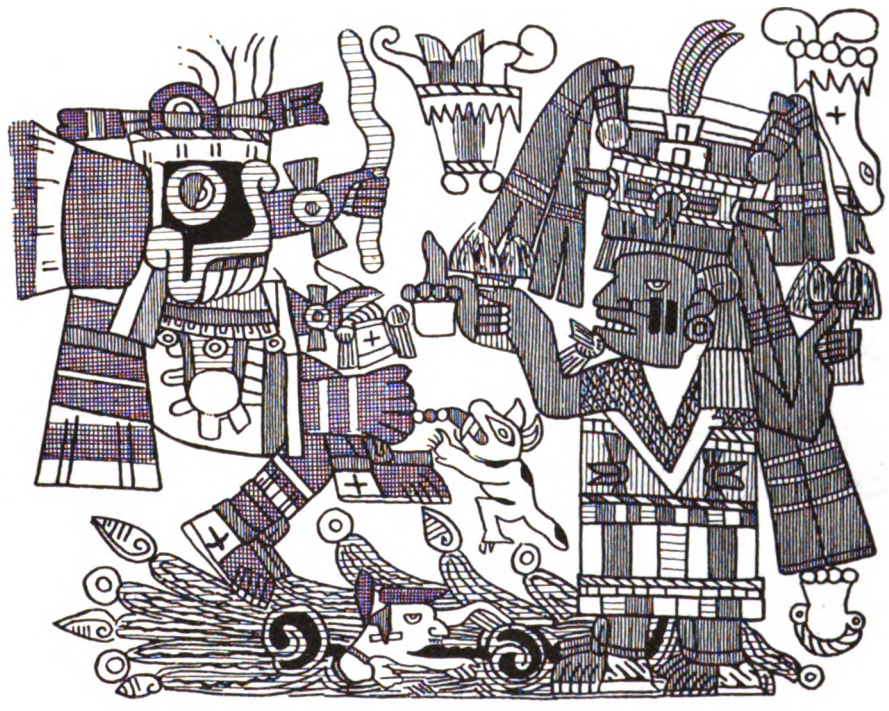

Abb. 230. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 7.

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des ins Wasser stürzenden oder vom Wasser fortgerissenen Priesters anders und besser erklären könnte. Bei der Prozession an diesem Feste trugen die Räucherpriester (*tletlenamacaque*) ihr Räucherwerk (aus

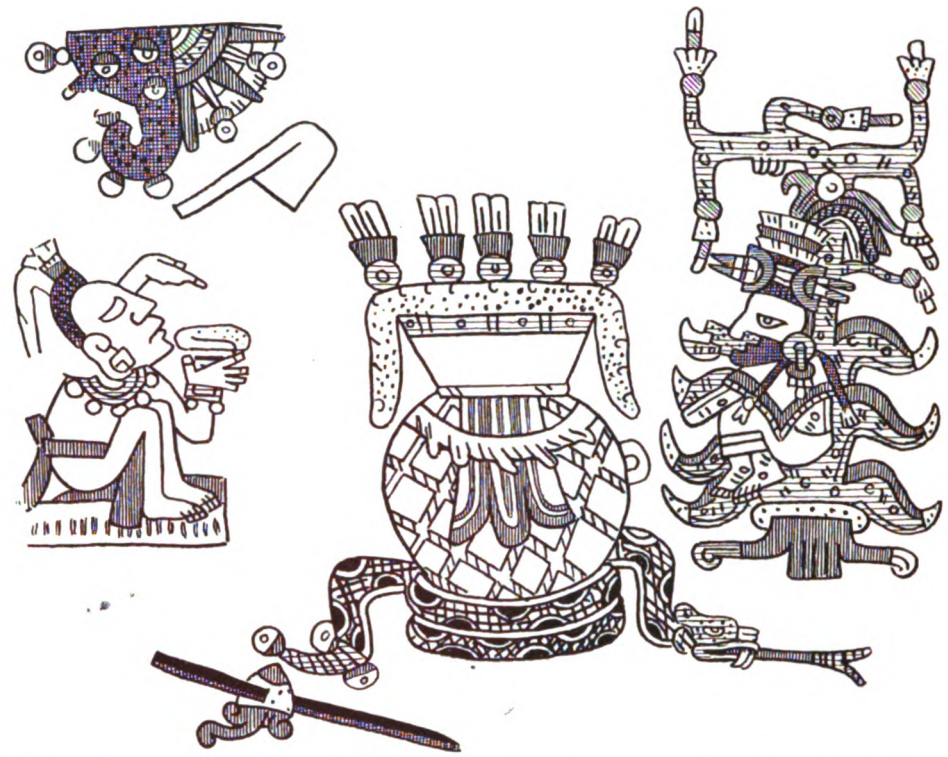

Abb. 231. *Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, Regentin des achten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce malinalli* „eins Grasstrick". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 56 (= Kingsborough 41).

Abb. 232a. *Mayauel*, die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, Regentin des achten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce malinalli* „eins Grasstrick". Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 21 [20] verso (= Kingsborough 29).

Abb. 232b. *Cinteotl*, der Maisgott. Codex Telleriano-Remensis 14 (= Kingsborough II, 13).

Weihrauchkraut gefertigte Pillen) in mit Schneckengehäusen behangenen Jaguarfelltaschen (*oceloyataztli cuechchô*), die wahrscheinlich aus der ganzen Fusshaut eines Jaguars gefertigt waren, wie wir solche Räucherwerktasche aus einer Jaguarfusshaut in der That in der Hand des alten Gottes in Hirschgestalt

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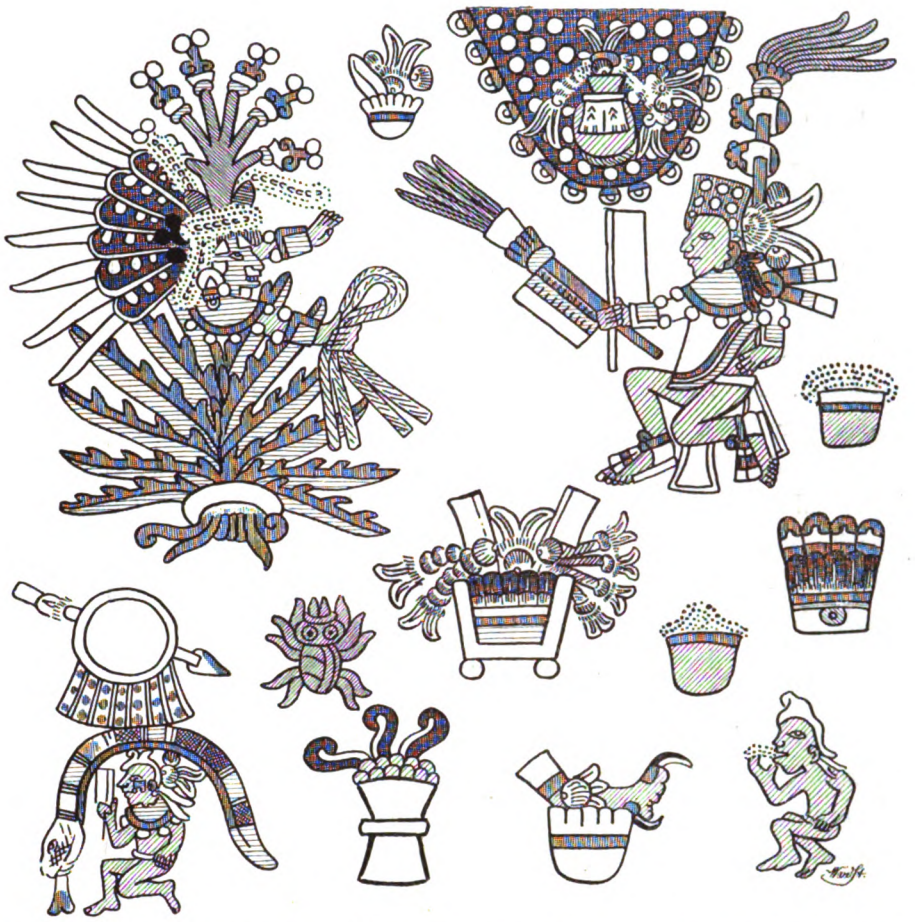

Abb. 233. *Mayauel,* die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, Regentin des achten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce malinalli* „eins Grasstrick". Codex Borbonicus 8.

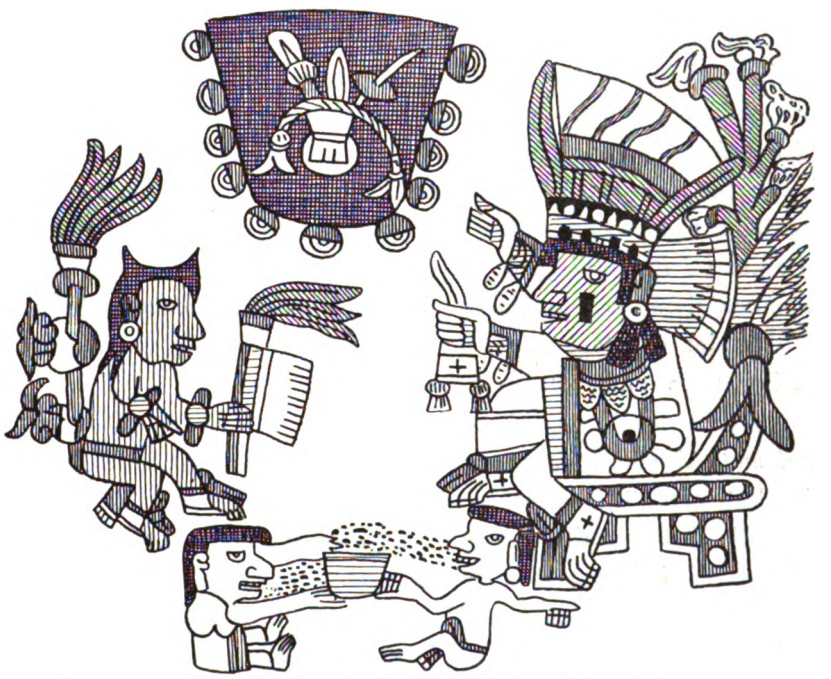

Abb. 234. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 8.

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in der linken Abtheilung der obersten Reihe des Blattes 55 in unserer Handschrift sahen. Eine solche Jaguarfelltasche für Räucherwerk soll, meine ich, durch den abgerissenen Jaguarfuss hier veranschaulicht werden. Und die in den Farben des Feuers gemalte, auf dem Rücken eine weisse Schaumkante tragende zweiköpfige Schlange bezeichnet vielleicht geradezu das Räucherwerk, das *tlapopochuilli*, *tlaauialli*, das in Mengen an diesem Feste dem Gotte gebracht wurde. Denn in der Symbolik der Mexikaner bedeutete Räucherwerk die Lebensmittelfülle. Die Jaguarfussfelltasche und die Tabakkalebasse bezeichnen die alten Götter, die Himmelsgötter, die Götter der Lebensmittel. In dem Tempel des Westens, in dem Hause des Maises und der Maisgottheit ist im Codex Borgia die Tabakkalebasse gezeichnet.

Im Codex Telleriano Remensis fehlt hier wieder die zweite Hälfte des *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes. Diese ist aber durch die Figuren der Kopie, die in dem Codex Vaticanus 3738 vorliegt, zu ergänzen (vgl. Abb. 228a und 228b). Hier ist als Hauptperson gewissermassen, auf der linken Seite der Abtheilung, ein Gott gezeichnet (Abb. 228a), der von dem Kommentator mit dem Namen des Tages bezeichnet wird, den derselbe Kommentator durch die Handweisung als den eigentlichen Festtag dieses Abschnittes nennt nämlich mit dem Namen des Tages *Naui eecatl* „vier Wind“. Das ist gewissermassen ein *Quetzalcouatl*, der die blaue Lippenschlange und den blauen Augenring des Regengottes *Tlaloc* im Gesichte hat und mit einer blauen, nach unten züngelnden Schlange in der Hand dargestellt ist. — Ihm gegenüber steht auf der rechten Seite (Abb. 228b) eine Regengott- oder *Tlaloc*-Figur in der typischen Ausstattung, mit der blauen Kopaltasche in der einen, dem Blitzzeichen in der anderen Hand, dessen Gestalt aber von einem Berge sich abhebt, aus dessen Gipfel Rauchwolken sich erheben, der also der *Popocatepetl*, der Vulkan, sein muss.

Auch das Bild des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 229) zeigt uns dem Regengotte gegenüber eine Gestalt, die in gewisser Weise Charakteristika des Windgottes und des Regengottes in sich vereinigt, da sie zwar im Allgemeinen wie ein Regengott gezeichnet ist, aber in der Kopfbinde, wie *Quetzalcouatl*, den Knochendolch und die Agaveblattspitzen, die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, stecken hat und eine nach unten züngelnde blaue Schlange, die der des *Naui eecatl* des Codex Telleriano Remensis ähnelt, in der Hand hält, die also ebenfalls einen *Naui eecatl* vorstellen muss. *Tlaloc* selbst, in der üblichen Ausstattung dargestellt, steht hier auch vor einem Berge. Aus der Höhle am Fusse des Berges kommt aber ein grosser Wasserstrom heraus, und in ihm sieht man, gewissermassen, dem Regengotte entgegenschwimmend, eine mit gelber Farbe gemalter Gestalt, die einen mächtigen, aus mit Kautschuk betropften Papiere bestehenden Schmuck, der aus Trapez und Strahl gebildet, also die Form des *xiuhcouatl*, der Feuerschlange, hat, auf dem Rücken trägt, und die ich deshalb als den Feuergott ansehen möchte. — Kopaltasche und Jaguarfuss (*oceloyataztli*) sind in gleicher Weise, wie in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, vor dem Regengotte abgebildet. Und in der Ecke unter ihm sieht man die Figur der Maisgöttin.

Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Handschrift endlich (Abb. 230) steht dem Regengotte eine grosse Figur der Maisgöttin gegenüber. Ein Wasserstrom ist hier auch angegeben und in ihm eine Menschengestalt. Als die eigentliche Entsprechung der im Wasser schwimmenden Figur des Codex Borbonicus möchte ich aber das Datum *yei itzcuintli* „drei Hund“ ansehen, das, wie wir wissen, und wie es uns die Angaben des Kommentators im zwanzigsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte lehren, das Zeichen des Feuergottes ist, und das hier vor dem Bilde des Regengottes, wie die im Wasser schwimmende Figur des Codex Borbonicus, ihm zugewandt, zu sehen ist.

Der achte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce malinalli* „eins Gedrehtes“, ist im Codex Borgia in der unteren Hälfte von Blatt 68, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 231) auf Blatt 56 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist die Gottheit des achten Tageszeichens, die Göttin der Agavepflanze, *Mayauel* genannt. Wir sehen sie, wie bei dem achten Tageszeichen, vor oder in ihrer Agavepflanze sitzen. Das Gesicht ist hier in der unteren Hälfte blau, in der oberen Hälfte gelb, wie der übrige Körper, gemalt. Die bekannte blaue Stufenplatte der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* hängt von ihrer Nasenscheidewand herunter. An dem vorderen und dem hinteren Ende ihrer Kopfbinde sind zwei Rosetten angegeben, wie bei gewissen Bildern des Regengottes, die nur hier, wie die Stirnbinde, in Querstreifen abwechselnd blau und weiss (in den Farben des Wassers) und nicht in den Farben des Regengottes gemalt sind, aber wie bei dem

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Regengotte offenbar die Andeutung eines vierkantigen Kopfschmuckes sind, an dessen Ecken, die vier Himmelsrichtungen veranschaulichend, die Rosetten angebracht sind.

Unter den Bildern der im engeren Sinne mexikanischen Handschriften ist das des Codex Vaticanus 3738 (Abb. 232a) den Bildern der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe noch ziemlich ähnlich. Wie sehen auch hier die Göttin in ihrer Agavepflanze sitzen, sie ist auch in der unteren Hälfte des Gesichtes blau, in der oberen gelb gemalt, und ihr Papierschmuck zeigt auch in Querbändern die beiden Farben weiss und blau, wie der der Figuren der Codex Borgia-Gruppe. Aber auf dem Scheitel trägt die Göttin hier eine grosse Blume. Aus der Agavepflanze wächst eine Schale mit Maiskolben heraus, das Zeichen der Fruchtbarkeit und der Lebensmittelfülle, und in der Hand hält die Göttin eine Edelsteinschale, aus der eine Blüthe heraussieht.

Die Göttin des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 233) sitzt auch in ihrer Agavepflanze. Ihr Gesicht ist blau und mit gelben Flecken gemalt. Ueber ihrem Scheitel erhebt sich ein ganzer Blüthenbaum. Aber im Uebrigen ist sie als *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin der Sünde, aufgefasst, hat deren Kopfschmuck aus ungesponnener Baumwolle (*ichcaxochitl*), die Spindeln im Haar (*mamalacaquetzalli*) und den Nackenfederschmuck aus Wachtelfedern und gelben *coyatl*-Federn und hält in der Hand den Strick (*mecatl*), das Zeichen der Strafe.

Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung endlich (Abb. 234) ist eine *Chalchiuhtlicue* gezeichnet, mit einem Kopalbeutel (*copalxiquipilli*) in der Hand, und hinter ihr eine kaum erkennbare Agavepflanze und ein Blüthenbaum.

Vor der Göttin ist in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe der Pulquetopf *octecomatl*) angegeben, in ähnlicher Weise gezeichnet und ausstaffirt, wie bei der Göttin des achten) Tageszeichens (vgl. Blatt 12 unten links). Als Ring, der das mit rundem Boden versehene bauchige Gefäss vor dem Umfallen bewahrt, dient im im Vaticanus (Abb. 231) eine schwarz gefleckte Klapperschlange. Im oberen Theile des Blattes ist das aus dem Bilde der Sonne und der Nacht zusammengesetzte Zeichen der Dämmerung oder des Abends zu sehen, — das ist die Zeit, wo die Pulquegelage stattfanden, — und zugleich auch wohl das Symbol der Veränderlichkeit, der Phasenbildung, der Erneuerung, das Zeichen des Mondes. Der Göttin gegenüber ist auf einem Stuhle sitzend der Trinker gezeichnet, der durch das auf einen Stab gespiesste Herz, das man vor, bezw. unter ihm, sieht, mit *Xochipilli* in Zusammenhang gebracht zu werden scheint, dem Gotte der Blumen, der im Sahagun-Manuskripte und in der Bilderhandschrift der Florentiner Biblioteca Nazionale, den *yollotopilli*, den Stab mit dem Herzen, führt. — Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 233) und in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 234) ist der Pulquetopf (*octecomatl*) am oberen Rande des Blattes auf einem dunklen Sternhimmelhintergrunde angegeben. Der Trinker ist durch eine Figur ersetzt, die den Stab mit dem aufgespiessten Herzen auf dem Rücken und ein Federbanner in der Hand führt, und die im Codex Borbonicus die Sternhimmelkrone (*iuitzoncalli cicitlallô*) des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca* trägt. Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 232b) steht dafür eine ebenfalls ein Federbanner in den Händen haltende, durch ein *aztaxelli* auf dem Scheitel auch als Krieger, oder als *Tezcatlipoca*, bezeichnete Gestalt, die aber keine aufgespiessten Herzen, sondern ein Bündel mit Maiskolben auf dem Rücken trägt und von den Interpreten daher als *Cinteotl* „Maisgott" bezeichnet wird.

Der neunte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce couatl* „eins Schlange", ist im Codex Borgia in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 69, im Vaticanus Nr. 3773 (Abb 235) auf Blatt 57 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist der Gott des achten Tageszeichens, *Xiuhtecutli* oder *Ixcoçauhqui*. Er ist durchaus analog der Art, wie wir ihn bei dem neunten Tageszeichen kennen gelernt haben, dargestellt, roth, mit seiner aus roth und schwarz gemischten Gesichtsbemalung, und feuerfarbenen Haares, mit dem herabfliegenden Türkisvogel (*xiuhtototl*) an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde, und den beiden, zwei Pfeilschäfte, d. h. die *ome quammamalitli*, den Feuerbohrer, markirenden Federbüschen in der Krone. Als Besonderheit ist hier nur noch in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde der in Gestalt des Kopfes eines *coxcoxtli*-Vogels gebildete Nasenschmuck, den wir schon bei dem Himmelsträger des Südens (vgl. Blatt 50, oben rechts, in unserer Handschrift) kennen gelernt haben, der aber im Vaticanus (Abb. 235), wie ganz allgemein z. B. im Codex

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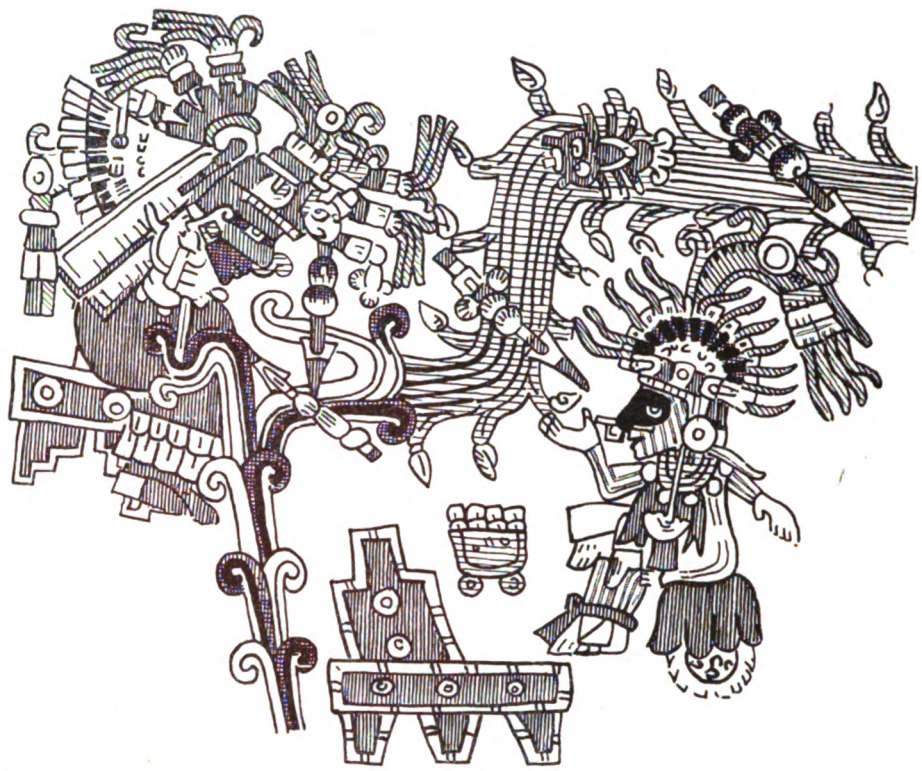

Abb. 235. *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, und *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, die Gottheit des Planeten Venus, Regenten des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce couatl* „eins Schlange". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 57 (= Kingsborough 40).

Abb. 236a. *Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, Regent des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce couatl* „eins Schlange". Codex Telleriano-Remensis, f. 14, verso (= Kingsborough II, 14).

Abb. 236 b. *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, Regent des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce couatl* „eins Schlange". Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 23 [22] (= Kingsborough 32).

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Abb. 237. *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, und *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, die Gottheit des Planeten Venus, Regenten des neunten, mit *ce couatl* „eins Schlange" beginnenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes. Codex Borbonicus 9.

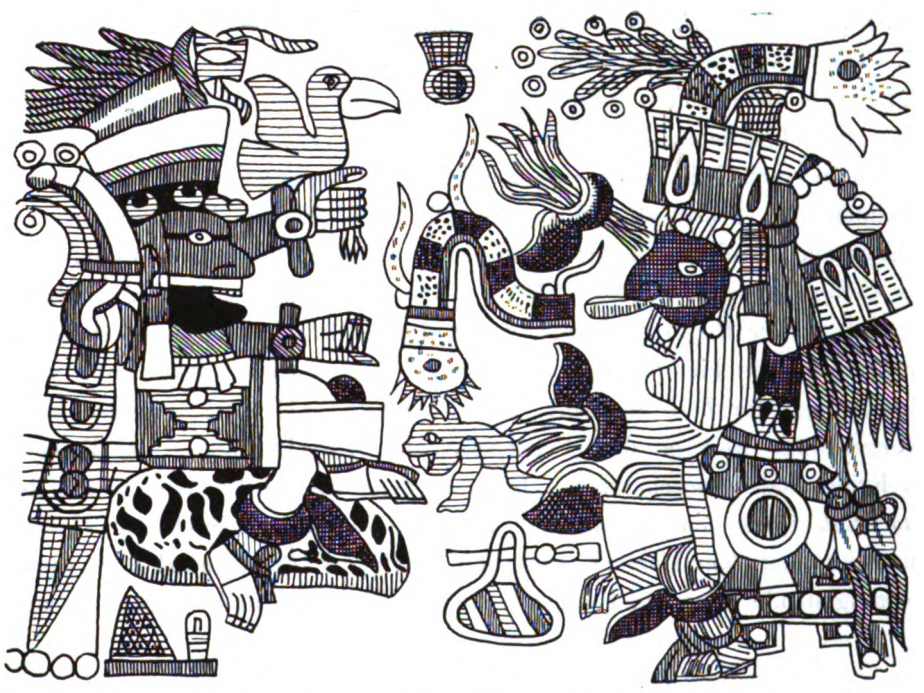

Abb. 238. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 9.

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Borbonicus, zu einer blauen Volute verkümmert ist. Eine Besonderheit ist in dem Vaticanus das an dem Nacken des Gottes angebrachte Gebilde, an dem wir einen kurzen Kamm rother Zacken, der drei Federbüsche einschliesst, erkennen können, und das vielleicht aus einer Umgestaltung des *xiuhcouatl*, der Feuerschlange, entstanden ist, die in den eigentlichen mexikanischen Handschriften (vgl. das Bild des Codex Borbonicus Abb. 237) der Feuergott als Verkleidung (*naualli*) auf dem Rücken trägt.

Wie bei dem Regenten des neunten Tageszeichens ist dann auch hier bei dem des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes in unseren beiden Handschriften, ein Skorpion (*colotl*) und das Symbol *atl-tlachinolli* oder *teoatl-tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand", die metaphorische Bezeichnung des Krieges, abgebildet. Letztere in etwas anderer Weise als bei dem Gotte des neunten Tageszeichens, indem hier das Feuer (*tlachinolli*) durch eine aufsteigende Säule heller oder jaguarfellfarben gemalter Feuer- oder dunkler schwarzer Rauchwolken; das Wasser (*atl* oder *teoatl*) durch einen mächtigen Wasserstrom bezeichnet ist, dessen besondere Natur aber durch die *cuitlatl*-Zeichen, die an den Enden der Theilströme, statt der weissen Schneckengehäuse anderer Bilder, angebracht sind, und durch die Speere, die das Wasser durchschiessen, in deutlicher Weise zum Ausdrucke gebracht ist. — Ausserdem aber sehen wir noch einen holzgeschnitzten, mit Metall beschlagenen, mit Edelsteinen eingelegten Stuhl, über den als Sitzpolster im Codex Borgia noch ein Jaguarfell geworfen worden ist, und der offenbar hier als Abzeichen königlicher Würde steht, während eine Schale mit Mais Lebensmittelfülle, d. h. Reichthum, veranschaulicht.

Endlich ist hier an unseren Stellen dem Feuergotte noch ein anderer Gott gegenübergestellt, und das ist, wie die Interpreten angeben, und wie in dem Bilde des Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 236a) durch die Hieroglyphe *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" daneben auch deutlich angezeigt ist, *Tlauizcalpantecutli* „der Herr im Hause des Hellwerdens", die Gottheit des Morgensterns, der den Namen *Ce acatl* „eins Rohr" führt, weil der Morgenstern *Ce acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcouatl* ist, weil in ihn das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s sich verwandelte, als dieser Gott im Jahre *ce acatl* „eins Rohr" in dem *Tlillan Tlapallan*, in dem Lande der schwarzen und der rothen Farbe, in dem *Tlatlayan*, dem Orte des Verbrennens, den Scheiterhaufen bestieg und sich verbrannte.[1]) Bemerkenswerth ist, dass hier in dem Codex Borgia-Bilde der Feuergott gegenüber dem Morgensterne in der wiederholt erwähnten Unterwürfigkeitshaltung mit unter der Brust verschränkten Armen dargestellt ist. Der Morgenstern ist überall mit weisser (bezw. weisser, rothgestreifter) Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe und einer von kleinen weissen Kreisen umsetzten tiefschwarzen, halbmaskenartigen das Auge umgebenden Bemalung dargestellt, die in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte auch bei anderen Göttern (*Mixcouatl*, *Painal*, *Atlauâ*) angegegeben und dort als *ixcitlalichiualli*, *mixcitlalichichiuh mixcitlalhuiticac moteneua tlayoalli*, d. h. „die Sterngesichtsbemalung, die man Finsterniss nennt", beschrieben wird. Damit verbindet der Gott eine Stirnbinde, die an den Stellen, wo bei anderen Göttern dem rothen Lederriemen blaue oder grüne (aus Türkis oder *chalchiuitl* gefertigte) Scheiben aufgesetzt sind, weisse, meist etwas längliche, spitz eiförmig werdende Verzierungen trägt, und im Codex Borgia mit vier abstehenden in einen Federbusch ausgehenden Enden verbunden ist, wie wir sie in dieser Handschrift bei dem Sonnengotte, *Ueuecoyotl* und auch bei *Xochipilli* fanden. Den Kopfputz vervollständigt eine Krone aus den schwarzen, mit einem weissen Endflecke versehenen Truthahnschwanzfedern, zwischen denen in dem Bilde des Codex Vaticanus B. (Abb. 235) einzelne, gelbe Federn lang herausragen. Auf der Brust endlich trägt der Gott in der Regel das Auge, den weissen Ring (*anauatl*) des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*.

Der Morgenstern steht hier vor dem Feuergotte, weil auch der Feuergott, wie der Morgenstern, der Zeit der Dämmerung, der Zeit angehört, wo die Sonne noch nicht geboren war. Vor allem aber steht hier der Morgenstern, weil er dem Feuergotte, dem Repräsentanten des Krieges gegenüber, die Krieger und den Kriegertod veranschaulicht. Denn in den östlichen Himmel, in die Region des Morgensterns, in das *tonatiuh ichan*, das „Haus der Sonne", kommt die Seele des geopferten oder in der Schlacht gefallenen oder auf dem Marsche gestorbenen Kriegers, des *tonatiuh iixco yauh*. Dort begrüssen diese Seligen die aufgehende Sonne und geleiten sie mit Gesängen und Tänzen bis zum Zenith, wo die

1) Anales de Quauhtitlan.

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weiblichen Gegenstücke der gefallenen Krieger, die *mociuaquetzquê*, die im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, sie in Empfang nehmen, um sie ebenfalls unter Tänzen hinab zum Westen zu führen. Den gefallenen Krieger oder den Kriegertod repräsentirt also hier diese Gottheit des Morgensterns. In den Handschriften der engeren mexikanischen Region, im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 237) und in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 238), sehen wir daher auch, — abweichend von dem, das die Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe uns zeigten, — das Zeichen *atl tlachinolli*, den metaphorischen Ausdruck des Krieges und seine Hieroglyphe, unmittelbar mit *Tlauizcalpantecutli* verbunden. Der Kriegertod ist in dem Bilde, das der Codex Borbonicus von diesem *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte gibt (Abb. 237), auch deutlich gezeigt, indem wir dort an dem unteren Rande des Blattes den Kriegertotenschmuck, so vollständig, wie ihn uns die Mumie des toten Kriegers des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 fol. 72 (Abb. 239) zeigt, abgebildet sehen, das *xiuhuitzolli*, die blaue Krone mit dem dreieckigen Stirnblatt, die beilförmigen blauen Ohrpflöcke (*xiuhnacochtli*), die blauen Nasenpflöcke (*yacaxiuitl*), die Schulterbinde aus weissem Papier (*amaneapanalli*) und das blaue Hündchen, das *xolocozcatl*, von dem ich S. 125 des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen gesprochen habe.

Abb. 239. Das Mumienbündel des toten Kriegers. Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, fol. 72.

Der zehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuersteinmesser" ist im Codex Borgia in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 70, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 240) auf Blatt 58 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist der Gott des zehnten Tageszeichens, *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott, der Herr der Unterwelt, dem aber hier, als sein Widerspiel, *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott, der Herr des Himmels, gegenübergestellt ist.

Der Todesgott ist in beiden Handschriften als ein schwarzer Gott, mit einem Schädel als Kopfe, dargestellt, und auf einem aus Blut, Knochen und *malinalli*-Gras gebildeten Stuhle sitzend. Sein Ausputz bildet im Vaticanus das Nackenschild (*cuexcochtechimalli*) und die vorn übergebogene Fahne (*pantoyaualli*); im Codex Borgia das Nackenschild (*cuexcochtechimalli*) und ein Käuzchenflügel. Vor ihm, bezw. unter ihm, ist in beiden Handschriften eine in Decken gewickelte und mit Stricken umschnürte Leiche, ein Papierfähnchen (Scheiterhaufenschmuck) und ein, wie es scheint, aus Zeugstreifen oder Papier geknüpftes Kreuz angegeben. — In den Bilderschriften der engeren mexikanischen Region im Telleriano Remensis (Abb. 241 b), im Borbonicus (Abb. 242) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 243) ist der Gott auch an der Stirne mit einer grossen Papierrosette, dem Stirnschilde (*ixquatechimalli*) geschmückt; im Telleriano Remensis (Abb. 241 b) ausserdem noch mit dem *xiuhuitzolli*, der mexikanischen Krone, wodurch er als König (*tecutli*) der Unterwelt (*Mictlan*) bezeichnet wird. Im Codex Borbonicus trägt er

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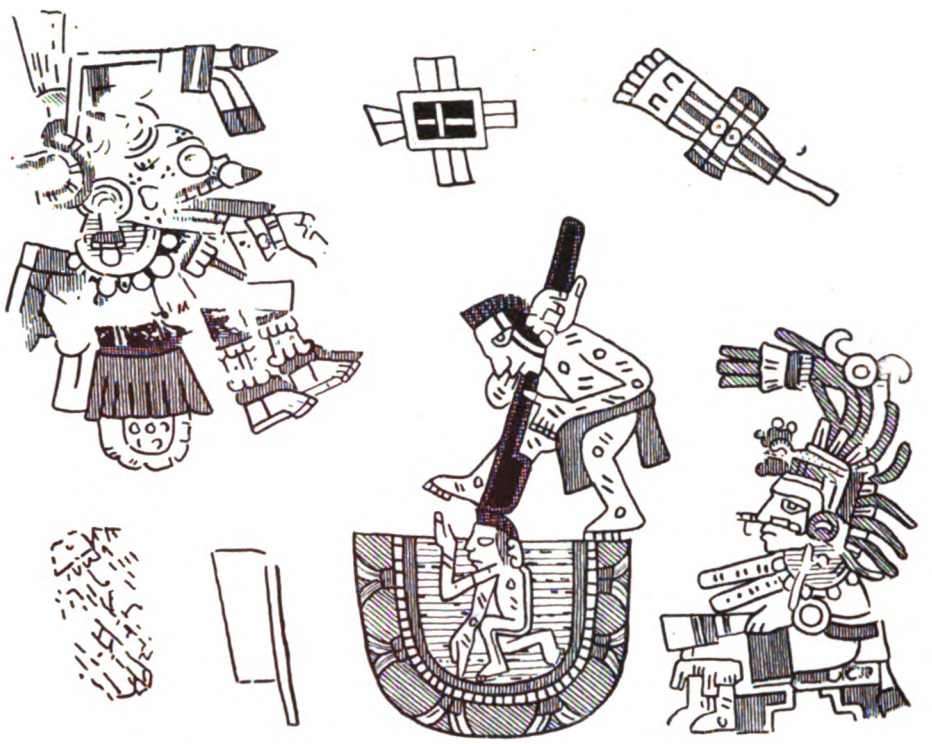

Abb. 240. *Mictlantecutli,* der Todesgott, und *Tonatiuh,* der Sonnengott, Herren des zehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuersteinmesser".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 58 (= Kingsborough 39).

Abb. 241 a. *Tonatiuh,* der Sonnengott, Herr des zehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuersteinmesser".
Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 23 [22] verso
(= Kingsborough 33).

Abb. 241 b. *Mictlantecutli,* der Todesgott, Herr des zehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuersteinmesser".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 15
(= Kingsborough II, 15).

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Abb. 242. *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott, und *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott, Herren des zehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuersteinmesser“. Codex Borbonicus 10.

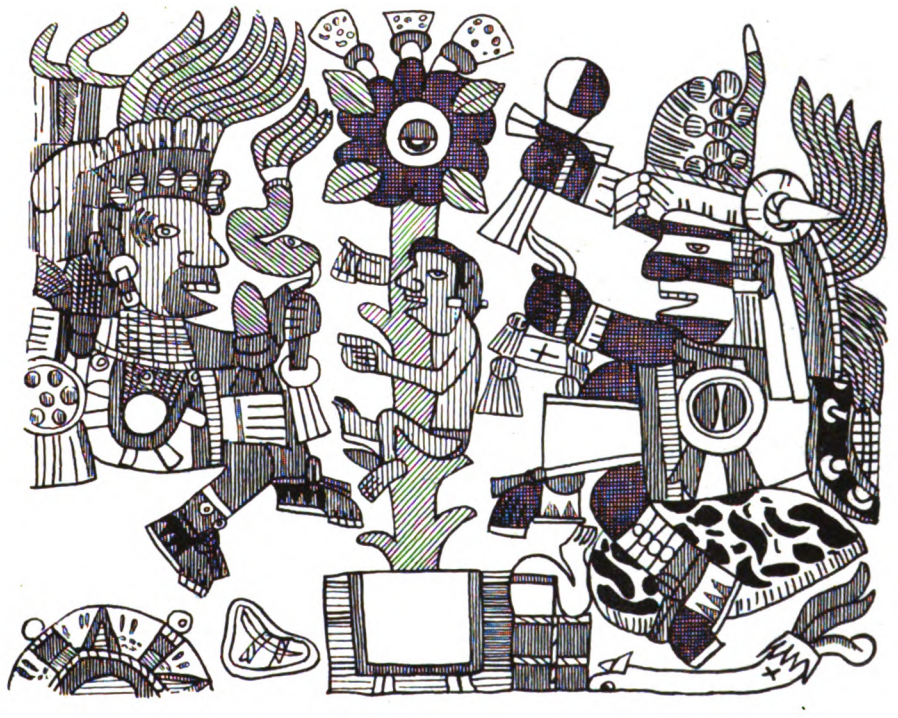

Abb. 243. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 10.

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den weissen, oben mit rothem Leder eingewickelten Ring *anauatl* des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca* und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 243) ist er geradezu als *Tezcatlipoca* gezeichnet. Er trägt die Kopaltasche in der einen, eine zur Hälfte braune, zur Hälfte schwarze Kugel (Zeichen des Steins?) in der anderen Hand.

Abb. 244. *Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott, Regent des eilften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce oçomàtli* „eins Affe". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 59 (= Kingsborough 38).

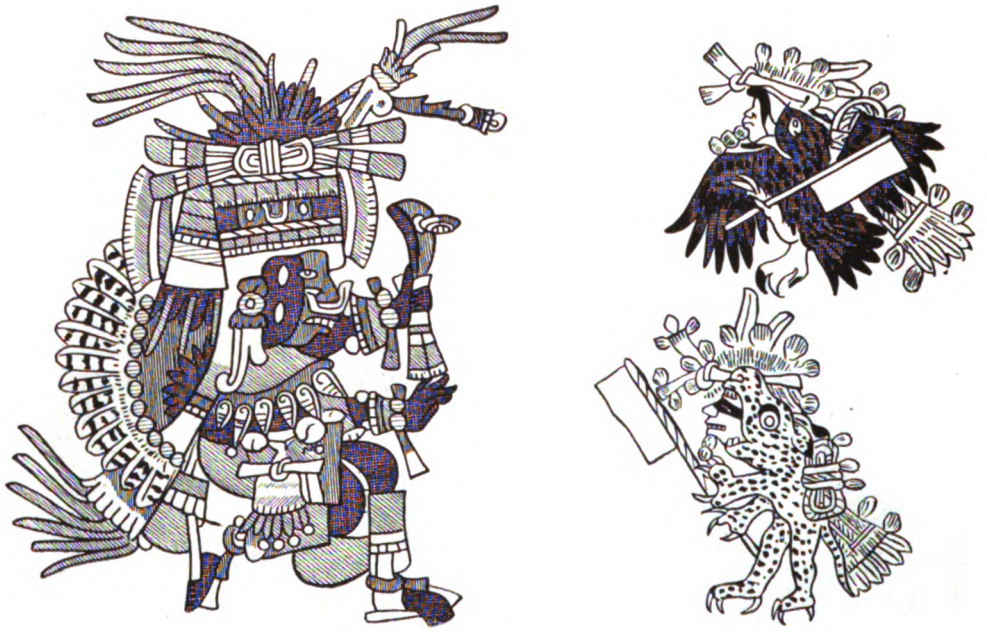

Abb. 245. *Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott, Regent des eilften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce oçomàtli* „eins Affe". Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 15 verso 16 (= Kingsborough II, 16, 17).

Der Sonnengott ist, in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe dem Todesgotte gegenüber, auf einer mit einem Jaguarfell bedeckten Estrade, in derselben, wie es scheint, Begrüssung ausdrückenden Haltung, wie in dem sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte vor dem Mondgotte, dargestellt. Farbe, Bemalung und Ausputz, auch die Gesichtsbemalung mit der rothen Scheibe auf der Backe und dem rothen, das Auge umziehenden Halbringe sind die gleichen wie bei dem Sonnengotte, der in dem sechsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte dem Mondgotte gegenübersteht. Vor dem Gotte, bezw. über ihm, sieht

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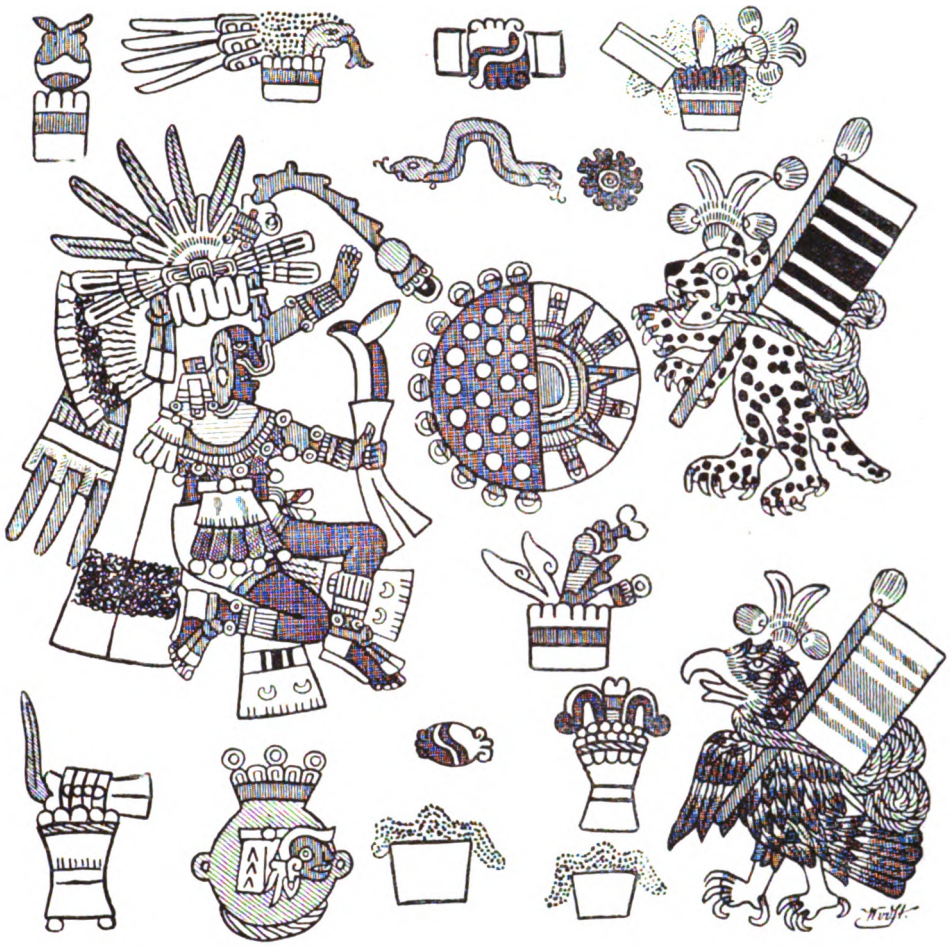

Abb. 246. *Pàtecatl,* der Pulquegott, Regent des eilften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce oçomàtli* „eins Affe".
Codex Borbonicus 11.

Abb. 247. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 11.

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man eine in einen Griff gefasste Blume, die vermuthlich eine Fackel darstellen soll. Und vor seinem Munde ist im Codex Borgia, gleichsam als der diesem entströmende Hauch, eine *cuitlatl*-artige, gelbe Rauchwolken am Ende tragende Figur gezeichnet. Eine dieser fast genau gleiche Figur wird im Codex Bologna unter den Zeichen der neun Herren, die dort die Zeichen der Tage des *Tonalamatl* begleiten als eine Hieroglyphe oder ein Symbol für den ersten der neun Herren, den Feuergott, gebraucht, bedeutet also zweifellos Feuer.

In den Bilderschriften der engeren mexikanischen Region ist der Sonnengott mit dem in Gestalt einer Schlange gebildeten Wurfbrette *xiuhatlatl* in der einen und mit Schild und Speerbündel in der anderen Hand abgebildet. Er ist mit lichter rother Farbe gemalt, trägt aber im Codex Borbornicus einen Schädel auf seinem blauen Kreuzspiegel. Der Ausputz des toten Kriegers ist im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 242) wie bei *Xiuhtecutli* und *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, so auch hier bei *Tonatiuh* und *Mictlantecutli*, und zwar bei jedem besonders, angegeben. — Im Codex Telleriano Remensis weist des Kommentators Hand auf den Tag *Chiquacen calli* „sechs Haus“ als auf den Tag des eigentlichen Regenten dieses Abschnittes und seinen Namen hin. Ich erinnere daran, dass auch bei den Maya von Yucatan der Todesgott mit den Namen *Uac mitun ahau* „der Herr der sechs Unterwelten“ bezeichnet wird.

Zwischen beiden Göttern endlich sieht man einen Menschen, der von einem anderen mit einem Stabe, der in dem Bilde des Vaticanus B die Gestalt einer Schaufel hat, in's Wasser hinabgestossen wird. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 242) und in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 243) ist dieses Bild durch einen Baum oder Pfahl ersetzt, der aus dem Wasser emporragt, und auf seiner Spitze das Zeichen der Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*) und darüber (im Codex Borbonicus) den Sternhimmel zeigt. Ein Mensch klettert an diesem Baume in die Höhe, während neben dem Wassergefässe (im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung) ein mit dem Kopfe abwärts (*tzontemoc*) in einem Mumienbündel vergrabener Mensch zu sehen ist. Beide Bilder scheinen nichts anderes als den Richtungsunterschied, den die beiden Götter dieses Faches in sich darstellen, das unten oder nach unten (*tlani*) und das oben oder nach oben (*àco*), zum Ausdruck bringen zu sollen.

Der eilfte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce oçomàtli* „eins Affe“ ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 70, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 244) auf Blatt 59 dargestellt.

Von diesem Abschnitte ab sind nicht mehr die Gottheiten des entsprechenden, sondern des in der Reihe folgenden Tageszeichens auf den *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt übertragen, da man den Gott des eilften Tageszeichens, *Xochipilli*, hat ausfallen lassen. Es ist also der Regent dieses eilften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes der Gott des zwölften Tageszeichens, *Pàtecatl*, der Pulquegott. — Dieser ist aber hier nicht als der barbarische Gott, mit der Königsbinde aus Affenfell, wie bei dem zwöften Tageszeichen, dargestellt, sondern im Ansehen und in der Tracht den andern Göttern gleichend. Im Vaticanus (Abb. 244) ist er durch seine Zweifarbigkeit (*chictlapancayotl*), die halb schwarze, halb rothe Farbe, und den goldenen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) genügend gekennzeichnet. Die Zweifarbigkeit ist aber hier merkwürdigerweise nicht in seinem Gesicht, das einfach roth ist, sondern in seinem Federschmucke, seiner Federkrone (*iuitzoncalli*) und in dem grossen fächerartigen Nackenfederschmucke, zum Ausdrucke gebracht worden.

Im Codex Borgia ist eine Frau gezeichnet, die den goldenen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter und, wie die *Tlaçolteotl*, einen Streifen ungesponnener Baumwolle in der Röhre ihres Ohrpflockes trägt, aber einfach rothes Gesicht und feuerfarbenes Haar hat, das von dem Edelsteinriemen mit dem stylisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirnseite umwunden ist. Darüber ist die Göttin mit einer Krone aus Adlerfedern (*quauhtzoncalli*) geschmückt, ähnlich der des Sonnengottes, aus der Fellstreifen, wiederum gleich denen des Federkopfschmuckes des Sonnengottes, heraushängen. Ihre Enagua ist einfach roth und mit dem Muster des goldenen Nasenhalbmondes versehen. Nach der Gesammtheit dieser Abzeichen könnte man diese Gestalt eine *Tlaçolteotl* als Sonnengott nennen.

Neben der Gottheit dieses Abschnittes sind in beiden Handschriften die Werkzeuge des Krieges abgebildet, und dabei wieder die merkwürdige, wie es scheint, aus einem Schwertfischschwerte gefertigte Schlag- und Stosswaffe, die wir bei *Tepeyollotli* und *Ueuecoyotl* und auch schon bei dem *Pàtecatl*, dem Regenten des zwölften Tageszeichens, abgebildet fanden.

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Reicher ist die Gestalt des Pulquegottes in den Bilderschriften der engeren mexikanischen Provinz ausgestattet. Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 245) ist eine Gestalt gezeichnet, die schwarz an Leib und Gliedern, im Gesichte aber zweifarbig (*chictlapanqui*), in der hinteren Hälfte schwarz mit gelben Flecken, in der vorderen Hälfte des Profilgesichtes, d. h. in der Mitte des en face-Gesichtes roth gemalt ist, den weissen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*) und eine grosse aus Papier geschnittene Krone (*amacalli*) von der Gestalt der der Berggötter, mit grosser Nackenschleife (*tlaquechpanyotl*) auf dem Haupte trägt. Diese Krone ist aber hier in den Farben *Quetzalcouatl*'s, d. h. braun und weiss, gemalt und mit einem ringsumlaufenden *chictlapanqui*, d. h. in der Mitte rothen, an den Seiten schwarzen, Bande versehen, auf dem wieder der knöcherne Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*), das Zeichen des Mondes und das Wahrzeichen der Pulquegötter, angegeben ist. Auch von den anderen Schmuckstücken sind verschiedene *Quetzalcouatl* entlehnt, das aus Muschelschale geschnittene, dornförmig gekrümmte Ohrgehänge *epcololli*, der Halskragen mit Schneckengehäusen und die in Querbinden braun und weiss gemalte Kopfschleife mit den abgerundeten Enden, sowie der Knochendolch, das Kasteiungswerkzeug, das in der Kopfbinde steckt. Auch der aus der Krone herauswachsende Busch schwarzer Federn mit den einzelnen daraus hervorragenden Ararafedern ist offenbar aus denselben Federn zusammengesetzt, wie der Schmuck, den *Quetzalcouatl* am Nacken trägt. Der Brustschmuck dagegen, der aus einem grossen Busche *malinalli*-Grases besteht, und dem, wie es scheint, der Name *chayauac cozcatl* zukommt, ist ein besonderes Abzeichen der Pulquegötter, das z. B. die Pulquegötter, die auf den Blättern 49—59 des Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, abgebildet sind, ausnahmslos tragen. Ebenso ist der grosse fächerförmige, innen aus rothen, an der Peripherie aus weissen Federn bestehende Rückenschmuck augenscheinlich ein den Pulquegöttern eigenthümliches Trachtstück. Der Gott hält das *itztopolli*, das Steinbeil, in der Hand, das auch in den Abbildungen und Beschreibungen des Sahagun-Manuskriptes als Waffe der Pulquegötter angegeben wird.

Etwas einfacher ist das Bild des Pulquegottes im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 246), aber auch hier tritt uns dieselbe Mischung von besonderen Trachtabzeichen der Pulquegötter und von Trachtstücken *Quetzalcouatl*'s entgegen. Der Gott ist auch schwarz an Leib und Gliedern und im Gesichte *chictlapanqui*, halb schwarz, halb roth gemalt. Er trägt den knöchernen Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*), das aus einem Büschel *malinalli*-Grases bestehende *chayauac cozcatl*, auch die typischen viereckigen Ohrplatten der Pulquegötter und *Tlaloc*'s und auf dem Scheitel eine Krone aus weissen Federn mit einzeln daraus herausragenden Quetzalfedern, das typische *aztatzontli*, die Reiherfederkrone *Tlaloc*'s und der Pulquegötter. Aber diese ist an der Basis von dem in Serpentinen gelegten Stirnbande *Quetzalcouatl*'s umwunden, über dem dieselbe in Querbinden braun und weiss gemalte, an den Enden abgerundete Kopfschleife *Quetzalcouatl*'s sichtbar wird, und in ihr steckt auch der Knochendolch, das Kasteiungswerkzeug *Quetzalcouatl*'s. Als Waffe führt auch hier der Gott des *itztopolli*, das Steinbeil.

Der Gott des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung endlich (Abb. 247) ist in gleicher Weise wie die beiden eben beschriebenen bemalt. Sein *yacametztli* ist von ungeheuerlicher Grösse, der aus grünem Grase bestehende Brustschmuck aber verhältnissmässig klein. Die Ohrplatte hat dieselbe viereckige Gestalt. Die Krone aus weissen Federn, aus der einzelne Ararafedern herausragen, scheint auch ein *aztatzontli* sein zu sollen. Und auch der grosse fächerartige Rückenschmuck, innen aus rothen, am äusseren Saume aus weissen Federn bestehend, scheint das besondere charakteristische Schmuckstück der Pulquegötter zu sein, das wir bei dem Pulquegotte des Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 245) kennen gelernt haben Aber die Federkrone ist auch hier von der in Serpentinen gelegten Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s umwunden, und in der Hand hält der Gott nicht das Steinbeil der Pulquegötter, sondern das *chicoacolli*, das am Ende schneckenförmig eingerollte, von Augen, d. h. von Sternen, umsäumte Wurfbrett *Quetzalcouatl*'s, und in der anderen Hand dessen Kasteiungswerkzeuge, die beiden Agave-Blattspitzen.

Die Verwandtschaft, die hier zwischen *Quetzalcouatl* und den Pulquegöttern sich zeigt, ist mir schon immer aufgefallen. Ich habe sie früher einer Gleichheit des landschaftlichen Ursprungs zugeschrieben. Aber es ist wohl klar, dass diese Verwandtschaft tiefer wurzelt. Die Uebereinstimmung in so vielen äusseren Merkmalen ist ein Ausdruck ihrer Wesensverwandtschaft. Es sind eben beides die Götter, für die das *chictlapanqui*, das Schwarze und Rothe, das sie im Gesichte haben, das *tlilli tlapalli*, das Dunkle

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und das Helle, die Verwandlung und die Veränderung, das Absterben und die Erneuerung, der Ausdruck ihres Wesens ist. Es sind beides Mondgötter.

Im Codex Borbonicus und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung ist vor dem Pulquegotte, gross und schön gezeichnet, das aus einem halben Sonnenbilde und dem Zeichen der Nacht zusammengesetzte Symbol angegeben, das für die Pulquegötter geradezu charakteristisch ist, das wir aber wiederum, wie wir gesehen haben (vgl. oben S. 214), auch bei *Quetzalcouatl* gefunden haben. Es mag ursprünglich das Zeichen des Abends gewesen sein, der Scheide von Tag und Nacht, der Zeit, in der die Pulquegelage stattfanden, aber auch die Zeit, an der der junge, der wiedererneuerte, der zunehmende und Zunahme und Wachsthum überhaupt verbürgende Mond am Himmel erscheint. Es mag aber auch auf den Wechsel von Dunkel und Licht, von Tod und Leben, auf die Veränderung und Erneuerung überhaupt bezogen werden, und ist jedenfalls ein Zeichen des Mondes, das wir bei den Mondgöttern und den Mondwesen angegeben finden.

Gegenüber oder vor dem Pulquegotte ist in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe (vgl. Abb. 244) ein schreitender Jaguar mit einer Papierfahne im Arme, dargestellt. Das ist ein Abbild des Kriegers, denn der Pulque ist das Getränk der starken Leute. In den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften sieht man, dem Pulquegotte gegenüber, nicht bloss den Jaguar, sondern den Adler und den Jaguar (Abb. 245—247). Das ist ein Ausdruck der bekannten Zusammenfassung *quauhtli-ocelotl*, womit man in México, in der gewählten Sprache der Hauptstadt, die tapferen Krieger bezeichnete. Die Papierfähnchen in den Armen dieser Thiere kennzeichnen sie, oder vielmehr die Krieger, die durch sie repräsentirt werden, als zum Opfer bestimmt. Denn es scheint in der That, als ob die Mexikaner sich einen Krieger gar nicht vorstellen konnten, ohne zugleich an das Kriegerloos, Gefangenschaft und Opfertod, zu denken.

Der zwölfte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce cuetzpalin* „eins Eidechse" ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 69, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 248) auf dem Blatte 60 dargestellt.

Regent dieses Abschnittes muss der Gott des dreizehnten Tageszeichens sein, und das ist *Tezcatlipoca-ixquimilli*, der *Tezcatlipoca* mit dem verbundenen Auge, der Gott der strafenden Gerechtigkeit. Diesen sehen wir zwar nun so, wie wir ihn beim dreizehnten Tageszeichen kennen gelernt hatten, hier nicht erscheinen. Im Codex Borgia ist in diesem *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt der Gott des dreizehnten Tageszeichens gewissermassen zerlegt, indem zwei Personen einander gegenübergestellt sind, *Tezcatlipoca* auf der einen und ein *ixquimilli*, ein Gott mit verbundenen Augen, auf der anderen Seite. Und im Vaticanus 3773, sowie in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften, ist nur der letztere abgebildet. Dieser hat aber hier eine sehr sonderbare Gestalt. Man sieht, sowohl in unserer Handschrift (Blatt 69), wie im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 248), eine Art Bündel, dem im Codex Borgia als Brustschmuck ein Paar *malinalli*-Streifen vorgebunden sind, während eine weit nach unten fallende Decke Beine und Füsse verhüllt. Als Kopf ist diesem Bündel ein mit zwei schwarzen Längsstreifen gezeichnetes Gebilde aufgesetzt, das in Augenhöhe eine Binde trägt, während nach oben — im Vaticanus direkt, im Codex Borgia über einer Haarperrücke und einer mit zwei Edelsteinen geschmückten Kopfbinde, — das Gebilde, in derselben Weise mit zwei schwarzen Längsstreifen gezeichnet, sich fortsetzt und in einer nach hinten sich krümmenden und einrollenden Spitze endet. In ähnlicher, nur etwas komplizirterer Weise ist dieser Kopf in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften gezeichnet (vgl. Abb. 249—251), doch ist die vordere Kante der hutartigen Spitze hier regelmässig mit einem Zackenkamme besetzt, und ebenso regelmässig ist dort, in dieser Spitze steckend, ein Pfeil angegeben. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 250) und im Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 249) ist dem Gesichte dieses Gebildes auch ein goldener halbmondförmiger Nasenschmuck (*yacametztli*), nach Art des der Pulquegötter und der *Tlaçolteotl*, eingefügt. Die mit diesem Kopfe versehene Figur wird von den Interpreten *Itztlacoliuhqui* „der gekrümmte scharfe Stein" genannt. Man wird in der That bei diesem, von schwarzen Längsstreifen umzogenen Gebilde an Kiesel- oder Feuerstein oder gebänderten Achat erinnert. Der Zackenkamm, mit dem dieses Gebilde in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften gezeichnet wird, wird wohl nur eine konventionelle Wiedergabe der gezähnelten Schneide des geschlagenen

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Feuersteins sein. Wir werden diese Figur also zunächst als Personifikation des harten Kiesels oder Feuersteins ansehen müssen.

Von einer solchen Gestalt ist es natürlich, dass sie weiter überhaupt zum Sinnbild alles Harten geworden, und dass deshalb auch das Hartwerden, das Gefrieren des Wassers, die Kälte überhaupt, der Wirkungssphäre dieser Gottheit zugeschrieben, dass *Itztlacoliuhqui* von den Interpreten geradezu als Gott der Kälte erklärt wird. Wir sehen in der That in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte der Biblioteca del Palacio zu Madrid den Frost, das Eis, die Kälte (*cetl*) durch ein kleines Männchen mit dem *itztlacoliuhqui*-Hute auf dem Kopfe (Abb. 252) veranschaulicht.

Auch dass diese Gestalt für den Gott mit den verbundenen Augen, für *Tezcatlipoca*, den Gott der strafenden Gerechtigkeit, eintritt, ist leicht zu verstehen. Der *tetl quauitl*, der Stein und der Knittel, sind die Strafvollzieher. Mit dem Knittel wurden die unbefugten Pulquesäufer erschlagen, mit dem Stein, d. h. durch Steinigen, die in flagranti ertappten Ehebrecher vom Leben zum Tode gebracht. So sind denn auch in sämmtlichen der eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften bei dem *Itztlacoliuhqui* die gesteinigten Ehebrecher in mehr oder minder realistischen Bildern zur Anschauung gebracht.

Räthselhaft war mir immer der Pfeil, den man in sämtlichen Bildern der Handschriften an der Stirnseite des gekrümmten Hutes *itztlacoliuhqui* stecken sieht. Aber dieses erklärt sich durch eine Legende, die in der „Historia de Culhuacan y México“ uns erhalten ist, einer mexikanisch geschriebenen Handschrift, von der verschiedene Abschriften in der Sammlung Aubin-Goupil in der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris sich befinden. Ich habe die Stelle oben S. 144, 145, wo ich die auf *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, die Gottheit des Planeten Venus, bezüglichen Traditionen behandelte, übersetzt. Die Legende besagt, dass zu der Zeit, als die eben geborene Sonne nicht weiter gehen wollte, vier Tage und vier Nächte stehen blieb, und alle Götter bestürzt und rathlos waren, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, erzürnt, seinen Pfeil auf die Sonne richtete, sie aber nicht ordentlich traf. Die Sonne ihrerseits schoss ihren mit Ararafedern befiederten Pfeil auf *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und traf ihn in die Stirn und — „warf ihn mit dem Gesichte auf den Boden an den Ort der neun Ströme, und so ist *Tlahuizcalpantecutli* der Gott der Kälte“ (*cetl*).[1]) — Im Mendieta wird dieselbe Sage erzählt, aber statt *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und statt *Cetl* „Kälte“ ist *Citli* der „Hase“ genannt, was aber offenbar ein Missverständniss ist. — Dass der Morgenstern seinen Pfeil auf die Sonne richtet, begreift man, man sieht es ja. Und dass die Sonne sich vertheidigt, auch ihrerseits Pfeile entsendet, sieht man auch. Dass aber dadurch der Stern zu Boden geworfen und in den Gott der Kälte, d. h. in Stein, verwandelt wird, ist doch ein merkwürdiger Zug, für den ich nicht ohne Weiteres eine Lösung zur Hand habe.

Die *itztlacoliuhqui*-Maske spielt endlich noch eine bedeutsame und ebenfalls ziemlich räthselhafte Rolle an dem *Ochpaniztli*, dem Besenfeste, dem Feste der grossen Göttin *Teteo innan* oder *Toci*, das das Erntefest war. *Cinteotl*, der Maisgott, der Sohn der *Teteoinnan*, wird mit dem *mexayacatl* (eigentlich *mexxayacatl*, d. i. *metzxayacatl*), der aus der Schenkelhaut der Göttin (eigentlich ihres Opfers) gefertigten Maske und dem Hute *itztlacoliuhqui* bekleidet, der in dem spanischen Texte Sahagun's ganz deutlich mit den Worten — „la punta del capillo que era larga, estaba hecha una rosca àcia atràs: tenia un lomo como cresta de gallo en la rosca“ — beschrieben, und seine Gestalt ist uns auch in dem Bilde Abb. 253 deutlich und kenntlich vorgeführt, das in dem Sahagun-Manuskripte der Academia de la Historia zu Madrid mit dem Namen *mexxacayaca tlauiztli* „Kriegerdevise Schenkel(haut)maske“ genannt ist. Der so verkleidete Maisgott nimmt weiter an den Zärimonien des Festes Theil. Die Maske wird am Schlusse des Festes von erlesenen Kriegern im Laufschritte aus der Stadt heraus und ins feindliche Gebiet gebracht.

Der Maisgott, der Sohn der alten Göttermutter, und *itztlacoliuhqui*, die Maske des Gottes des Steins und der Kälte, sind eigentlich ganz inkongruente Begriffe. Ich habe mir das früher so zurecht gelegt, dass ich annahm, der mit der *itztlacoliuhqui*-Maske bekleidete Sohn der grossen Göttin sei der hartgewordene, der reife Mais. Ich habe auch daran gedacht, dass das *mexxayacatl* und der *itztlacoliuhqui*-Hut das Sündhafte, das Unheil bedeute, das jedem Geborenen anhaftet, und das aus dem Lande gebracht werden muss, ehe man die Maisfrucht geniessen könne. Dürften wir die oben angeführte Legende so

1) *niman ic quihualixtlapacho in Chiucnauhapan yuhqui ca yehuatl in Tlahuizcalpan Teuctli in cetl.*

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verstehen, dass *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und der „Gott der Kälte“ (*Cetl*) gleich zu setzen seien, dann würde vielleicht in anderer Richtung ein Verständniss sich ergeben. Die alte Göttermutter *Teteoinnan* oder *Tlaçolteotl* ist die Erzeugerin des Wachsthums, aber sie ist recht eigentlich die Mondgöttin. Ihr Sohn ist also einerseits der Maisgott, andererseits der Morgenstern, der erscheint, wenn die Göttin sich

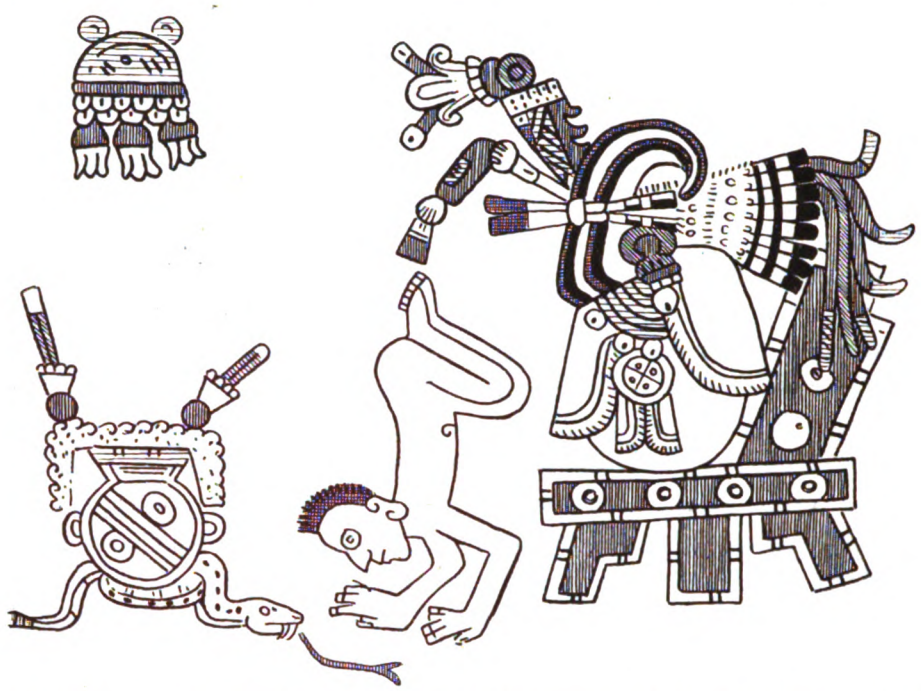

Abb. 248. *Itztlacoliuhqui — ixquimilli*, das gekrümmte Obsidianmesser, der Gott mit den verbundenen Augen, der Gott der Kälte, des Steins, Regent des zwölften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cuetzpalin* „eins Eidechse“. Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 60 (= Kingsborough 37).

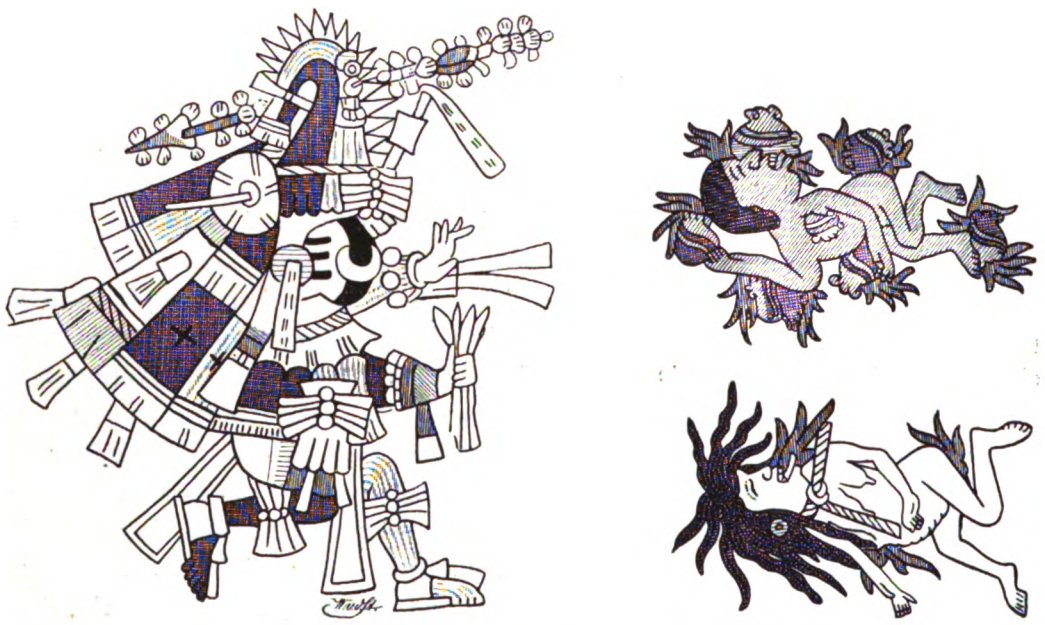

Abb. 249. *Itztlacoliuhqui — ixquimilli*, das gekrümmte Obsidianmesser, der Gott mit den verbundenen Augen, der Gott der Kälte, des Steins, Regent des zwölften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cuetzpalin* „eins Eidechse“. Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 16 verso, 17 (= Kingsborough II, 18, 19).

mit dem Gotte, der Mond mit der Sonne (im Neumonde, in der Konjunktion) vereint. Dann würde *Cinteotl-itztlacoliuhqui* der Sohn der Göttin sein, der zugleich der „Schiessende, der Pfeil“ ist. Und das Abtragen der Schenkelhautmaske auf feindliches Gebiet am Schlusse des Festes ein Kriegszauber sein, ähnlich dem viel erwähnten Gebrauche, dass man einen Pfeil auf feindlichem Gebiete in die Erde steckt.

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Abb. 250. *Itztlacoliuhqui — ixquimilli*, das gekrümmte Obsidianmesser, der Gott mit den verbundenen Augen, der Gott der Kälte, des Steins, Regent des zwölften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cuetzpalin* „eins Eidechse". Codex Borbonicus 12.

Abb. 251. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 12.

Abb. 252. *cetl* „Kälte". Sahagun Ms. Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid.

Abb. 253. Kriegerdevise *mexxayacatl*. Sahagun Ms. Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

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Eine Weiterentwickelung des Steins zu dem allgemeinen Begriff der Erde scheint es zu sein, wenn der Interpret des Telleriano-Remensis für diesen Gott noch *Cipaquetona* als anderen Namen angibt. Wenn der Gott aber ausserdem als Herr der Sünde und der Blindheit bezeichnet wird, wenn, wie der

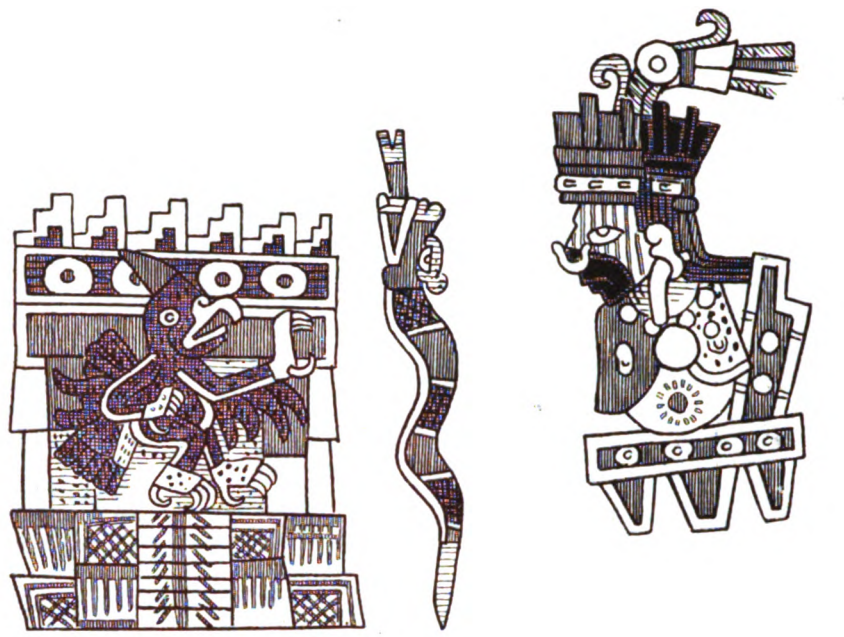

Abb. 254. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin, die alte Erdgöttin, Regentin des dreizehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce olin* „eins Bewegung". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 61 (= Kingsborough 36).

Abb. 255a. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin, die alte Erdgöttin, Regentin des dreizehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce olin* „eins Bewegung". Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 17 verso (= Kingsborough II, 20).

Abb. 255b. *Tezcatlipoca*, in Gestalt des Vogels *uactli*, des bösen Vorzeichens der Wanderer. Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738) fol. 30 [26] (= Kingsborough 42).

eine Interpret erzählt, man in den dreizehn Tagen dieses *Tonamatl*-Abschnittes sich fürchtete, irgend eine Sache vor Gericht zu bringen, weil die Richter die Augen verbunden haben und nicht sehen können würden, so sind das jedenfalls nur späte und vielleicht ziemlich unbegründete Umdeutungen auf Grund der hier vorliegenden Bilder, die uns den Gott mit verbundenen Augen und als Gott der Strafe zeigen. —

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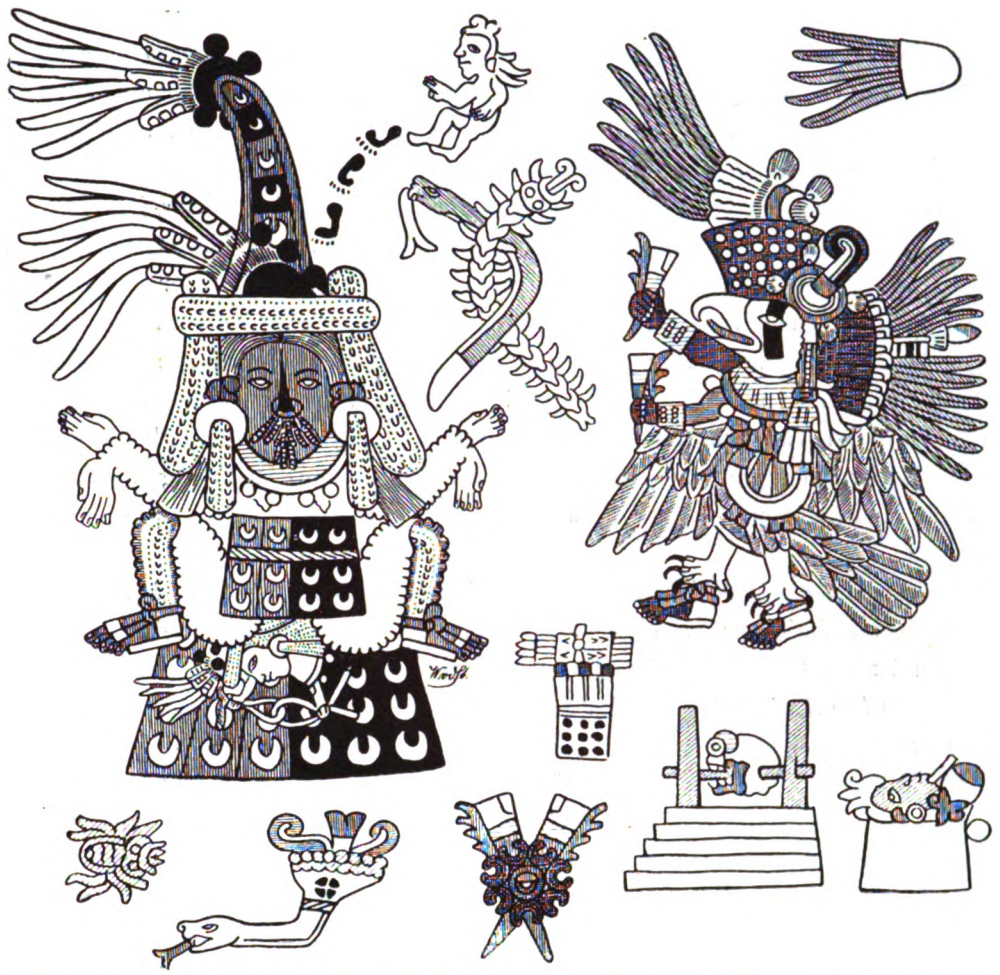

Abb. 256. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin, die alte Erdgöttin, Regentin des dreizehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce olin* „eins Bewegung“ Codex Borbonicus 13.

Abb. 257. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 13.

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Eine bekannte hieroglyphische Figur muss dieser Gott gewesen sein. Man erkannte sein Bild auch in einem Sterne am südlichen Himmel — „que fingen que va vuelta del reves y los ojos tapados“ —, dessen Erscheinen auf bevorstehende Kriege gedeutet wurde (tenianla por grande aguero para guerras).

Der Handweiser des Kommentators zeigt im Codex Telleriano-Remensis auf den Tag *naui maçatl* „vier Hirsch“ als den Tag, der von den dreizehn Tagen dieses Abschnittes im Besonderen dem Gotte *Itztlacoliuhqui* gewidmet und vielleicht sein Name sei.

Vor dem Gotte sehen wir in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe einen zu Boden stürzenden Menschen abgebildet, wie bei *Ueuecoyotl*, dem Gotte des vierten Tageszeichens und des vierten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes. Und wenn dort die Interpreten von dem Falle des ersten Menschen, von der Verschuldung Adam's sprachen, so wird man nach dem Vorkommen desselben Bildes hier, wie ich oben auch schon angegeben habe, geneigt sein müssen, ihnen Recht zu geben und das zu Boden Fallen hier, wie dort, als Verschuldung, als Sünde (*tlatlacolli*) anzusehen. Die Art der Verschuldung zeigen die anderen Bilder, die uns im Vaticanus und im Codex Borgia den Pulquetopf, im Telleriano-Remensis und im Borbonicus die Ehebrecher und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung die Ehebrecher mit der Pulqueschale in der Hand zeigen.

Der dreizehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce olin* „eins Bewegung“ ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 68, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 254) auf dem Blatte 61 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist die Göttin des vierzehnten Tageszeichens, die alte Göttermutter *Teteoinnan* oder *Toci*, die Göttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes, die im Kalender aber im Besonderen unter dem Namen *Tlaçolteotl*, „die Göttin des Unraths“ bekannt ist, die huaxtekische alte Erdgöttin, die grosse Gebärerin, die aber eigentlich und im wahrsten Sinne die Mondgöttin ist, den Pulquegöttern auf das engste verwandt, aber auch mit *Xipe Totec*, dem Frühlingsgotte, dem Gotte der Vegetation, sich nahe berührt, über die ich in dem I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen S. 152ff. eingehend gesprochen habe. — Ihre auf den vorhergehenden Seiten des Oefteren geschilderten kennzeichnenden Merkmale, insbesondere die schwarze Bemalung um den Mund und die Strähnen ungesponnener Baumwolle, die ihre Haarbinde (*ichcaxochitl*) bilden und aus dem Loche ihres Ohrpflockes heraushängen, sind auch hier in unseren beiden Handschriften, dem Codex Borgia und dem Vaticanus, deutlich. Aber mehr noch als an anderen Stellen tritt hier die nahe Verwandtschaft mit den Pulquegöttern heraus, indem die Göttin nicht nur den halbmondförmigen Schmuck (*yacametztli*) der Pulquegötter in der Nase trägt, nicht nur das Gewand, *quechquemitl* und Enagua (*cueitl*) *chictlapanqui*, in der Zweifarbigkeit der Pulquegötter, halb schwarz, halb roth, gefärbt hat, mit dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde auf der Scheidelinie, sondern auch ihre Federkrone (*iuitzoncalli*) in den beiden Farben der Pulquegötter, halb schwarz, halb roth gemalt hat, genau wie der Pulquegott, der Regent des eilften *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes im Codex Vaticanus. — Auch im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 255a) und im Borbonicus (Abb. 256) sind zum wenigsten an einzelnen Tracht- oder Schmuckstücken, besonders stark markirt im Codex Borbonicus, die zwei Farben der Pulquegötter und die Halbmonde und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 257) zum mindesten die letzteren auf dem im Uebrigen gleichmässig rothen Grunde der Gewandung angegeben. Aber die Göttin ist hier ausnahmslos zugleich auch, wie *Xipe Totec*, mit der abgezogenen Haut ihres Opfers bekleidet. Die Glieder der Göttin selbst, Arme und Beine, und zum Theil auch die Hände, sind mit Daunenfedern beklebt. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 256) ist *Tlaçolteotl* als Gebärende dargestellt. Man sieht von oben — aus dem dreizehnten Himmel, so muss man verstehen, — ein Kind herabkommen, das in ihren Leib eingehen soll, und man sieht gleichzeitig aus der Vulva der mit ausgebreiteten Beinen (*mamaçouhticac*) auf der Decke hockenden Göttin ein Abbild von ihr hervortreten, das zwei Kettenglieder in den Händen hält, augenscheinlich die Fortsetzung des Lebens damit andeutend.

Vor der Göttin sieht man in unserer Handschrift und in dem verwandten Codex Vaticanus die rothe Schlange der Göttin abgebildet, die im Codex Borgia-Bilde an den Grenzen des Leibes mit Augen besetzt ist und die Klappern des Schwanzendes in dicke Rauch- und Feuerwolken gehüllt hat. Der Göttin gegenüber ist nicht, wie bei dem Regenten des vierzehnten Tageszeichens, ein Haus mit einer Eule (*tecolotl ichan*), sondern ein Haus mit einem Geier (*cozcaquauhtli ichan*) abgebildet. Das Haus mit der

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Eule (*tecolotl ichan*) bezeichnete das dunkle Haus der Erde, als deren oder dessen Personifikation die Göttin galt. Das Haus mit dem Geier werden wir vielleicht als das Haus der alten Göttin deuten müssen. Denn an diese Beziehung wurde bei dem kahlköpfigen Vogel, dem Geier, ganz entschieden gedacht. Man muss aber auch die andere Beziehung, die in dem Bilde des *cozcaquauhtli* gegeben ist, und die insbesondere auch in der Göttin, die die Verkörperung des *cozcaquauhtli* darstellt, in der Göttin *Itzpapalotl*, deutlich zu Tage tritt (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 186, 187), im Auge haben, — die des Aasvogels, des Unrathvogels. Denn *Tlaçolteotl* ist ja, wie auch schon ihr Name sagt, die Göttin der Sünde. Während im Codex Borgia der Geier (*cozcaquauhtli*) deutlich zu erkennen ist, ist man bei der Figur des Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 254) etwas unsicher, doch scheint die hornartig aufragende, roth gemalte Partie auf dem Scheitel auch hier auf den Geier zu deuten, der immer mit einer kahlen rothen Partie (Hautwucherungen) auf der Stirn oder auf dem Scheitel abgebildet ist. In den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften ist ein ganz anderer Vogel abgebildet, der zugleich in allen drei Handschriften mehr oder minder deutlich, — besonders deutlich im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 256) — als Vogel *Tezcatlipoca*'s, mit dessen rauchendem Spiegel an der Schläfe, seiner Sternhimmelkrone und seiner charakteristischen Rückendevise abgebildet ist. Im Codex Vaticanus A (Abb. 255b) ist dieser Vogel mit dunklen, blauschwarzen Farben gemalt, und der Interpret gibt an, dass es ein Vogel sei, dessen Schrei wie Gelächter erklinge, und der, wenn er schreie, *oa oa oa* mache. Diese Beschreibung weist deutlich auf den *uactli* oder *uacton* (den kleinen *uactli*), eine kleine Raubvogelart der Tierra Caliente, hin, der von den Reisenden als böses Omen gefürchtet wurde[1]), den Sahagun mit dem *cozcaquauhtli* vergleicht[2]), den Yacinto de la Serna aber als einen Schlangen fressenden kleinen Adler beschreibt, und der wohl der *Falco cachinnans* Linné, der Lachfalke, ist.

In der Mitte zwischen den beiden Hauptfiguren des Bildes, der Göttin und diesem Vogel *Tezcatlipoca*'s, sieht man im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 256) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 257) ein sonderbares Gebilde, das aus zwei, nach Art gewisser Formen des *olin*-Zeichens miteinander verschlungenen Figuren besteht, und zwar im Codex Borbonicus aus einer Schlange und einem Skolopender, im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung aus zwei wurmartigen Leibern, deren einer einen *Quetzalcouatl*-Kopf trägt und Arme, die den Kopalbeutel der Priester und das am Ende schneckenförmig eingerollte Wurfbrett des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* halten, während dem anderen ein gewöhnlicher Menschenkopf aufgesetzt ist. Ich bin nicht im Stande, eine befriedigende Erklärung für dieses merkwürdige Symbol zu geben.

Der Handweiser des Codex Telleriano-Remensis nennt den Tag *chiquacen cipactli* „sechs Krokodil", als den Tag, der unter den dreizehn Tagen dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes im Besonderen der *Tlaçolteotl* geweiht, ein Ausdruck ihres Wesens und ihr Name sei.

Der vierzehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund", ist in unserer Handschrift in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 67 und im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 258) auf dem Blatte 62 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist der Gott des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens, und das ist *Xipe Totec* „unser Herr, der Geschundene". Ich habe über diesen merkwürdigen Gott im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 165ff., eingehend berichtet. Ich habe dem nur noch hinzuzufügen, dass dieser rothe, in den Farben des *tlauhquechol*, des rothen Löffelreihers (Platalea ajaja L.), d. h. weiss und hellkarminroth, gemalte Gott, nur deshalb der Gott der Erde und der Befruchtung der Erde, der Gott des Wachsthums, der Erneuerung der Vegetation, der Frühlingsgott, und das Gegenstück der *Teteoinnan* oder *Tlaçolteotl*, der Erntegöttin, geworden ist, weil er eigentlich, gleich dieser, ein Mondgott ist. Denn der Mond, der fortwährend stirbt und sich erneuert, ist das Prototyp, die Gewährleistung, ja die Ursache jedes Wachsthums. Der *Teteoinnan* gegenüber, der alten Göttin, der Göttin des vollen Mondes und des reifen Maises, repräsentirt *Xipe Totec* die männliche Potenz und den jungen Mond, der am Abendhimmel erscheint, und das Erstehen

1) Sahagun, Buch 5, Kap. 2.
2) Sahagun, Buch 11, Kap. 2, § 4.
3) Kap. 3, § 2 und Kap 14, § 1.

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der Vegetation. Aber gleich der alten Mond- und Erdgöttin, hat auch *Xipe* die Haut des Opfers übergezogen, die ein Ausdruck der Veränderung, der Phasenbildung, der Erneuerung ist; gleich ihr ist er, häufig wenigstens, mit dem *yacametztli*, dem Nasenhalbmonde, ausgestattet, der das Abzeichen der Pulque-

Abb. 258. *Xipe Totec*, „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Frühlingsgott, der Gott der Vegetation, Regent des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 62 (= Kingsborough 35).

Abb. 259a.

Abb. 259b.

Xipe Totec „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Frühlingsgott der Gott der Vegetation, Regent des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund".
Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738), fol. 30 [26] verso (= Kingsborough 43).

götter und der Mondwesen überhaupt ist. Und die Wachtel (*çolin*), das Thier der Erde, der gefleckte, sternhimmelartig (*cicitlallo*) bemalte Vogel ist auch sein Abbild.

Als Herr des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens war *Xipe Totec* an zwei der in Betracht kommenden Stellen nicht in seiner gewöhnlichen Gestalt abgebildet, sondern durch einen rothen (*Tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca* vertreten (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 167). Hier als Herr des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes

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Abb. 260. *Xipe Totec* „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Frühlingsgott, der Gott der Vegetation, Regent des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund". Codex Borbonicus 14.

Abb. 261. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 14.

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sehen wir ihn, wenigstens an den beiden in Betracht kommenden Stellen der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe (Blatt 67 unserer Handschrift und Abb.258), zwar auch nicht mit seiner Menschenhaut, aber sonst in durchaus typischer Weise zur Anschauung gebracht, mit rothem Körper, rothen Gliedern und rothem Gewande, vor dem Gesichte die Maske aus gelber, d. h. toter Menschenhaut, mit dem weit offenen Munde (*motenmaxaloticac*), dem schmalen Augenschlitze und dem rothen, gerade über das Auge in der ganzen Länge des Gesichtes verlaufenden Striche, der vielleicht den bei der Abhäutung gemachten Schnitt bezeichnen soll. In der Nase steckt ein Stab, dessen Platte das *yopitzontli*, die spitze Mütze *Xipe*'s, imitirt, während der Stab selbst die roth und weissen, schwalbenschwanzartig ausgeschnittenen (*maxaliuhqui*) flatternden Enden der Mütze wiedergibt. Aus dem Ohre hängen zwei Bänder, die wie alles an dem Gotte, roth und weiss, in den Farben des *tlauhquechol*, des rothen Löffelreihers gemalt sind. Das Haar ist von einem Riemen umwunden, dem im Vaticanus statt der Edelsteinscheiben zwei aus gehämmertem Golde gefertigte Verzierungen aufgesetzt sind. Denn *Xipe* ist ja bekanntlich der Gott der Goldschmiede. Ueber dem Haare wird im Codex Borgia eine zusammenhängende Daunenfederperrücke sichtbar. Und daran schliesst sich ein Federschmuck, der augenscheinlich kammartig ist, der Art, die die Mexikaner *patzactli* nannten.[1]) Im Vaticanus (Abb. 258) besteht dieser aus einem zusammenhängenden Theile, der in Federmosaik, roth und weiss, in den Farben des *tlauhquechol* gearbeitet ist, und einer (eigentlich zwei) darüber emporragenden Reihen von Quetzalfedern. Im Codex Borgia aber ist er aus einer (eigentlich zwei) Reihen rother, jedenfalls als *tlauhquechol* gedachter Federn zusammengesetzt, die mit Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl-*) Riemen und Enden von Rasselbrettern (*chicauaztli*) abwechseln. *Xipe Totec* galt als der Herr des Küstenlandes und eigentlich als Gott der Zapoteken. — *anauatl yteuc tzapoteca yn uel ynteouh catca*[2]). — Die Federschmucke *quetzalpatzactli* aber waren, wie Sahagun ausdrücklich bezeugt[3]), zapotekischer Schmuck, kamen erst nach der Besiegung der Zapoteken, die zur Zeit Königs *Auitzotl* durch die bewaffneten Expeditionen der Kaufleute erfolgte, nach México: —

auh yeh iquac centlapouh in isquich anauaca tlalli
„und erst damals wurde das Land der verschiedenen Anauaca (Küstenländer) vollständig eröffnet,

in aocac toyaouh omochiuh in tzapotecatl in anauacatl
dass es keinen Feind mehr für uns gab unter den Zapoteken, den Anauaca (den Küstenländern).

auh in quetzalpatzactli ompa malli mochiuh ayotlan
Und der kammartige Quetzalfederschmuck wurde dort in Ayotlan (in dem pazifischen Küstendistrikte) erbeutet;

ayatle catca in nican mexico. Quin iquac nez
es gab noch nichts dergleichen hier in México, sie wurden erst damals bekannt.

iye mamalo tlatilolco. conmotlatquiti in auitzotzin
Sie wurden in Tlatelolco (dem Kaufmannsquartiere) als Rückendevisen getragen, und Auitzotl nahm sie als seine Tracht an.[4]) —

Als Brustschmuck trägt der *Xipe Totec* des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes im Vaticanus (Abb. 258) eine Scheibe aus gehämmertem Golde, im Codex Borgia an einer aus einem Mosaik verschiedenfarbiger Federn gefertigten Halskette einen, wie es scheint, aus einem Schneckengehäuse geschliffenen Schmuck besonderer Form. Endlich hat er seine Schambinde (*maxtlatl*), deren Enden auch roth und weiss und schwalbenschwanzartig ausgeschnitten (*maxaliuhqui*) sind.

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1) Vgl. meine Abhandlung „Ueber altmexikanischen Federschmuck und militärische Rangabzeichen". Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 17. Januar 1891. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XXXIII. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 565, Abb. 88, 89. S. 563, 564.

2) Sahagun 1, cap. 18. Ms. Biblioteca del Palacio, (Madrid).

3) Sahagun 1, cap. 2 Ms. Biblioteca Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

4) Despues de esta conquista ha estado el campo seguro y libre parar entrar á la provincia de *Anaoac*, sin que nadie lo impida, ni los *Tzapotecas*, ni los *Anaocas*, y los *quetzales* y plumas ricas, desde entónces se usan por aca; primeramente las trajeron los mercaderes ricos del *Tlaltelolco* y las usaron, y tambien el señor de México *Auitzotzin*." (Sahagun 9, cap. 2.)

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In den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften trägt der Gott ausserdem seine Menschenhaut und, wie gewöhnlich, auch den Schurz oder Gürtel aus Zapotoblättern, das sogenannte „Weiberröckchen aus Zapoteblättern“ (*tzapocueitl*). Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 260) ist er dabei wieder halb als *Tezcatlipoca* dargestellt, mit der Gesichtsbemalung des rothen (*Tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca*, mit dem rauchenden Spiegel an der Schläfe, auch dem weissen Ringe (*anauatl*) dieses Gottes und der besonderen Form des Rückenfederschmuckes, wie sie in den *Tezcatlipoca*-Bildern dieser Handschrift zu sehen ist. Dazu aber den aus Gold gehämmerten Schmuck (statt der Edelsteinscheiben) an dem Kopfriemen, die Krone aus rothen Löffelreiherfedern (*tlauhquecholtzontli*), die schwalbenschwanzartig ausgeschnittenen (*maxaliuhqui*) Bandenden und andere zu der Tracht *Xipe*'s gehörige Stücke, die weiss und rothe Fahne mit dem Kreuze und den Schild mit den rothen Ringen (*tlauhteuilacachiuhqui chimalli*). In dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubinschen Sammlung (Abb. 261) ist der letztere längs getheilt, die rechte Hälfte mit rothen Ringen versehen, die linke in schräger Theilung in ein grösseres, jaguarfellfarbenes und ein kleineres, mit der Farbe und den Linien des Wassers bemaltes Feld getheilt. Das ist der typische *Xipe*-Schild, wie wir ihn auch in der Trophäe auf dem sogenannten *chimalli*-Steine bei Cuernavaca sehen, dem interessanten Denkmale, das dem Andenken König *Axayacatl*'s gewidmet ist.[1]) — In dem Codex Vaticanus A (Abb. 259a) ist *Xipe* gewissermassen als ein Sonnengott aufgefasst, in derselben Haltung, mit einem bunten Vogel in der einen, mit Schild und Speerbündel in der anderen Hand, genau so wie in dieser Handschrift und im Codex Telleriano-Remensis der Sonnengott dem Mondgotte gegenüber dargestellt ist. Nur dass sein Schild natürlich der *Xipe*-Schild ist und dass er dazu die anderen echten Schmuck- und Trachtstücke des Gottes *Xipe* trägt. Aber dieses Bild ist gewissermassen ein Gegenstück zu den oben S. 227 Abb. 225 und 226 wiedergegebenen Bildern des Codex Borbonicus und des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung, wo wir den Mondgott einfach als einen Sonnengott aufgefasst und dargestellt sahen.

Die Natur des Gottes ist in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe zunächst durch das Speerbündel und durch seinen rothen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) zum Ausdruck gebracht. Das erste bezeichnet ihn als Krieger, als den Gott des Sacrificio gladiatorio — „il guerreggiatore attristato“ nennt ihn der Interpret des Codex Vaticanus A (Nr. 3738). Das *chicauaztli* dagegen kennzeichnet ihn als den agrarischen Gott, den Gott der Feldbestellung, dessen Hauptfest, das „Menschenschinden“ (*tlacaxipeualiztli*), ein Fest der Vorbereitung des Ackers zur Aussaat war. Denn dieser schreckliche Kultus bedeutete den Mexikanern, wie aus dem Liede, das ihm an seinem Feste gesungen wurde, deutlich hervorgeht, die Erneuerung der Vegetation. Auch im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 260) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 261) sieht man in dem Opfergefässe, das dort vor den Figuren des Gottes abgebildet ist, ein *chicauaztli* stecken. — Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 260) sind drei Daten in merkwürdiger Weise mit dem Gotte verbunden. Vor seiner Hand oder seinem Schilde sieht man das Datum *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund“, das Anfangszeichen dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, also das Zeichen *Xipe*'s; unter seinem linken Fusse steht das Datum *naui olin* „vier Bewegung“, das Zeichen der Sonne, unter seinem rechten Fusse das Datum *yei quauhtli* „drei Adler“. Das ist der dritte Tag des *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, der mit dem Tage *ce acatl* „eins Rohr“ beginnt. Da das letztere das Zeichen und der Name des Morgensterns oder *Quetzalcouatl*'s als Morgenstern ist, so könnten — vielleicht — die drei Daten *naui olin, yei quauhtli, ce itzcuintli* die drei grossen Himmelskörper Sonne, Morgenstern und Mond nennen, die wir in dieser Gruppirung auf dem Blatte 71 unserer Handschrift, des Codex Borgia, abgebildet finden werden.

Endlich sehen wir noch, wie bei dem Regenten des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens, so auch bei diesem Regenten des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, eine Schlange von dem allgemeinen Ansehen einer Federschlange abgebildet. Aber während wir dort (vgl. Blatt 11 unserer Handschrift, oben links) in dem Rachen der Schlange ein Kaninchen erkannten, ist hier ein kopfüber in den Rachen der Schlange stürzender Mensch gezeichnet. Und der Interpret erklärt denn auch: — „para dar à entender que es la fiesta de temor, pintan este dragon que está comiendo un hombre.“ — Ein anderer nicht unwesentlicher Unterschied zeigt sich darin, dass dort die Schlange zwar im Allgemeinen wie eine Federschlange aussieht, aber an den Begrenzungslinien des Leibes mit Augen, d. h. mit Sternen,

1) Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band II, Berlin 1904, S 164, 165.

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besetzt ist und in Parallelbildern, die ich oben S. 64ff. beschrieben und S. 59 abgebildet habe, geradezu als Sternhimmelschlange in den Farben und der Bemalung *Tlauitzcalpantecutli*'s erscheint, während hier die Schlange an den verschiedenen Stellen durchaus das Ansehen einer typischen Quetzalfederschlange hat, als solche auch in unserer Handschrift und im Vaticanus durch die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche auf dem Schnauzenende, im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 260) ähnlich durch die Edelstein- (*chalchiuitl*-) Zeichnung auf der Schnauzenspitze gekennzeichnet ist. Man könnte demnach zweifeln, ob wir es in der That in beiden Fällen, bei dem Regenten des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens und dem des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, mit demselben mythischen Gebilde zu thun haben. Ich bin aber doch der Meinung, dass das in der That der Fall ist, dass wir an den einen wie an den anderen Stellen dieselbe Grundvorstellung anzunehmen haben.

Zunächst ist wohl klar, dass man bei der Schlange, und insbesondere der Federschlange, an das Wasser zu denken hat. Die Schlangenverkleidung oder die Schlangenhelmmaske ist ein ziemlich regelmässiges Ausstattungsstück der Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue*. In Kultusstätten, die dem Regengotte geweiht waren, wie z. B. der von Hermann Strebel uns erschlossenen von Pan de azúcar im Distrikte Misantla des Staates Vera Cruz, begegnen uns neben Abbildern von Kröten (der Thiere, die im Wasser leben und in der Regenzeit sich einstellen oder hören lassen) auch Schlangenbilder in Fülle. Die Feder-

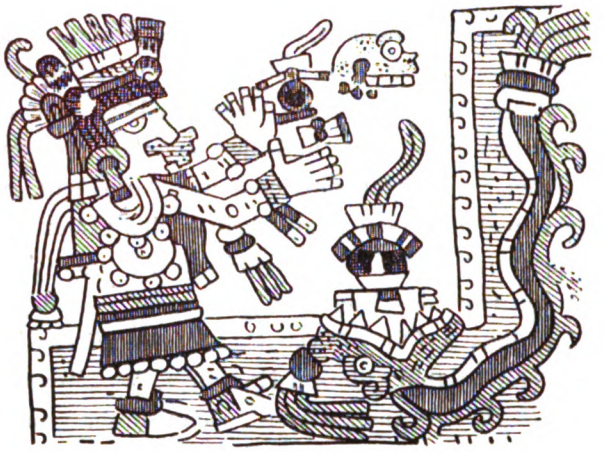

Abb. 262. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers, sechste der neun Herren. Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 21 (= Kingsborough 69).

schlange, *cuchulchan*, wird in einer von den Tzeltal des Staates Chiapas herrührenden Notiz, die der Bischof Nuñez de la Vega uns erhalten hat, als die „Schlange erklärt, die im Wasser geht" (la culebra que anda en el agua). In der That sehen wir im Codex Vaticanus 3773 (vgl. Abb. 262) vor der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, der Wassergöttin, der sechsten der neun Herren der Nacht, die Federschlange im Wasser abgebildet, an derselben Stelle, wo in der Parallelfigur des Codex Borgia ein grüner Edelstein (*chalchiuitl*) angegeben ist. Auch in den mythischen Vorstellungen anderer Stämme, z. B. der Hopi-Indianer von Arizona, ist die Federschlange die einfache Verkörperung des der Erde entquellenden Wassers. Ich habe mir daher vorgestellt, dass hier bei *Xipe* die Federschlange das Meer bezeichne, aus dem der Mond emporsteigt (nach dem einen Bilde) oder in das die Sonne sich stürzt (nach dem anderen Bilde). In der That wird ja *Xipe* der *Anauatl itecu*, der „Herr des Küstenlandes", und in einer Notiz in der alten „Relacion de las ceremonias y ritos y poblacion y gobernacion de los Indios de la Provincia de Michuacan" geradezu „dios de la mar", „Gott des Meeres", genannt.[1]) Und wenn in der oben S. 59 wiedergegebenen Gruppe statt der Federschlange eine weisse, roth gestreifte, auf den Armen *cicitlallô* „sternhimmelartig" bemalte Stern-

1) „Llegando la fiesta de Cuingo, bañaban aquellos encarcelados, dabanles á cada uno una manta blanca que se cubriesen, y otra camiseta colorada que se vistiese cada uno, y dos braceletes de cobre y unos collares de cobre que les ponian y unas guirnaldas de trebol con sus flores en la cabeza, ...y tañian sus atabales con ellos los sacerdotes del Dios de la mar llamados *Tupiecha*, y despues que los chocarreros habian peleado con ellos con sus rodelas y porras, ... los sacrificaban y se vestian sus pellejos y bailaban con ellos". (Relacion Provincia Michuacan, Edicion Morelia 1904, p. 292).

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oder Himmelsschlange eintritt, so könnte das erst recht für diese Auffassung sprechen, da ja das Meer von den Mexikanern *ilhuica-atl* „Himmelswasser" genannt wurde.

Es ist indes vielleicht noch eine andere, esoterischere Bedeutung denkbar. Nach den Vergleichen und Erwägungen, die an den angeführten Stellen oben S. 59—64 näher ausgeführt sind, haben wir das Kaninchen bezw. die Iguana, die in dem Rachen der bald als eine Sternhimmelschlange, bald mehr als Federschlange sich darstellenden Schlange erscheint, als ein Bild des Mondes anzusehen, dem in den oben S. 59 und S. 63 zusammengestellten Bildern der Adler feindlich gegenübertritt. Die Schlange selbst würde dabei nur als Verkleidung des Kaninchens, bezw. der Iguana, erscheinen, wie an der anderen Seite des oben S. 59 wiedergegebenen Gruppenbildes die Feuerschlange, der der Jaguar feindlich gegenübertritt, nur als Verkleidung des Feuergottes zu betrachten ist, der aus ihrem geöffneten Rachen hervorsieht. Und in der That, die Federschlange, in deren Rachen das Kaninchen erscheint, ist ja eigentlich eine volle Parallele zu dem Wasserstrome, der auf seiner Fläche das Bild des Kaninchens trägt, d. h. zu der üblichen hieroglyphischen Darstellung des Mondes. Somit wäre in der himmlischen Federschlange, mit dem Kaninchen im Rachen, die bei *Xipe*, dem Regenten des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens, als Begleitbild erscheint, der Mond dargestellt. Und man hätte diesem Gotte diese Begleitbild gegeben, weil eben *Xipe*, der Gott, der die neue Haut angezogen hat, der Mondgott ist. Gilt aber dies für die Schlange, die bei dem Regenten des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens abgebildet ist, so werden wir das Gleiche auch von der Federschlange annehmen müssen, die wir, einen Menschen verschlingend, *Xipe*, dem Regenten des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, gegenübergestellt sehen. Auch für sie würden wir voraussetzen müssen, dass sie nicht die Federschlange schlechtweg, sondern die himmlische Federschlange, den Mond, darstelle. Nun hat es ja allerdings bei dieser Annahme eine gewisse Schwierigkeit, eine vernünftige Erklärung dafür zu finden, weshalb man diese Schlange einen Menschen verschlingend abgebildet hat, — wenn man nicht etwa an ein Verschlingen des Mondes, an Mondfinsterniss, denken will. Ich glaube, man muss annehmen, dass der Zeichner, der dieses Bild entworfen hat, in dem Bilde geblieben ist, dass er, den Mond als eine Federschlange, eine Wasserschlange, zeichnend, die Symbolik der Wasserschlange beibehalten hat. Wie dem auch sei, dass man neben *Xipe*, dem Mondgotte, seinen Planeten, den Mond, in Gestalt einer Schlange gezeichnet hat, hat doch wohl seinen Grund darin, dass *Xipe* insbesondere die Seiten des Wesens der Mondgottheit in sich verkörpert, die ihn als Gott der Vegetation, des Wachsthums, der Erneuerung der Vegetation, als den Frühlingsgott erscheinen lassen und dass die Federschlange doch eben das Wasser, vielleicht auch das durch das Wasser hervorgebrachte Grün der Vegetation, in erster Linie veranschaulicht. Das ist ja auch in der That in der zweiten Strophe des *Xipe*-Liedes gesagt, wo der Fromme betet:

noteua chalchimamatlaco apana y temoaya
mein Gott, dein Edelsteinwasser ist herabgekommen
ay quetzallavevetl
o Quetzalfedern, der hohe Baum
ay quetzal xivicoatl
o Quetzalfedern, die Feuerschlange
nechiya yquinocauhquetl, oviya
verlassen hat sie mich (die Feuerschlange) —

was der Kommentar mit den Worten erläutert:

in tinoteuh, otemoc in mauh ovalla yn mauh
mein Gott, dein Wasser ist herabgekommen, dein Wasser ist gekommen,
ye tlaquetzalpatia ye tlaxoxovia ye xopantla
schon hat es sich in Quetzalfedern gewandelt, schon ist es grün geworden, schon ist es Sommer geworden
ca ye otechcauh yn mayanaliztli.
schon hat die Hungersnoth uns verlassen.

Hier glaube ich, auf Grund des Kommentars das *ay quetzal xivicoatl* geradezu mit „o zur Quetzalschlange hat sich die Feuerschlange gewandelt" übersetzen und zu dem folgenden *nechiya yquinocauh-*

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quetl, oviya „verlassen hat sie mich“ das Wort *xivicoatl* „Feuerschlange“ als Subjekt ergänzen zu können. Dann gibt die Erläuterung des Kommentars *ca ye otechcauh yn mayanaliztli* „schon hat uns die Hungersnoth verlassen“ einen vortrefflichen Sinn. Und für *quetzalcouatl* würden wir dann auch hier „Wasser“, oder im Besonderen „das durch das Wasser hervorgerufene Grün“, „die frisch erstandene Vegetation“, erhalten.

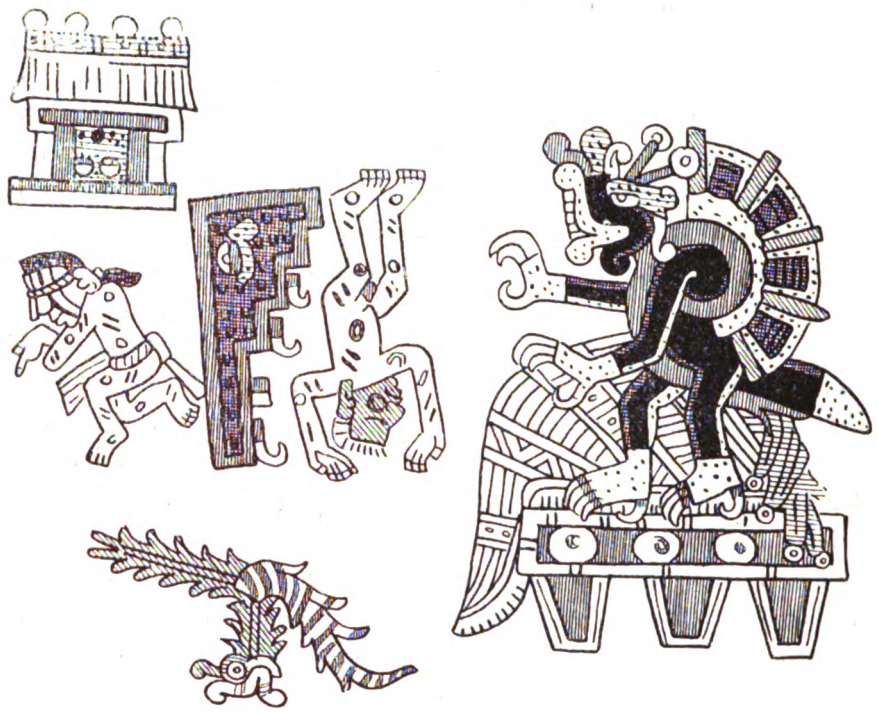

Abb. 263. *Itzpapalotl*, der Obsidianschmetterling, Regent des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce calli* „eins Haus“.
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 63 (= Kingsborough 34).

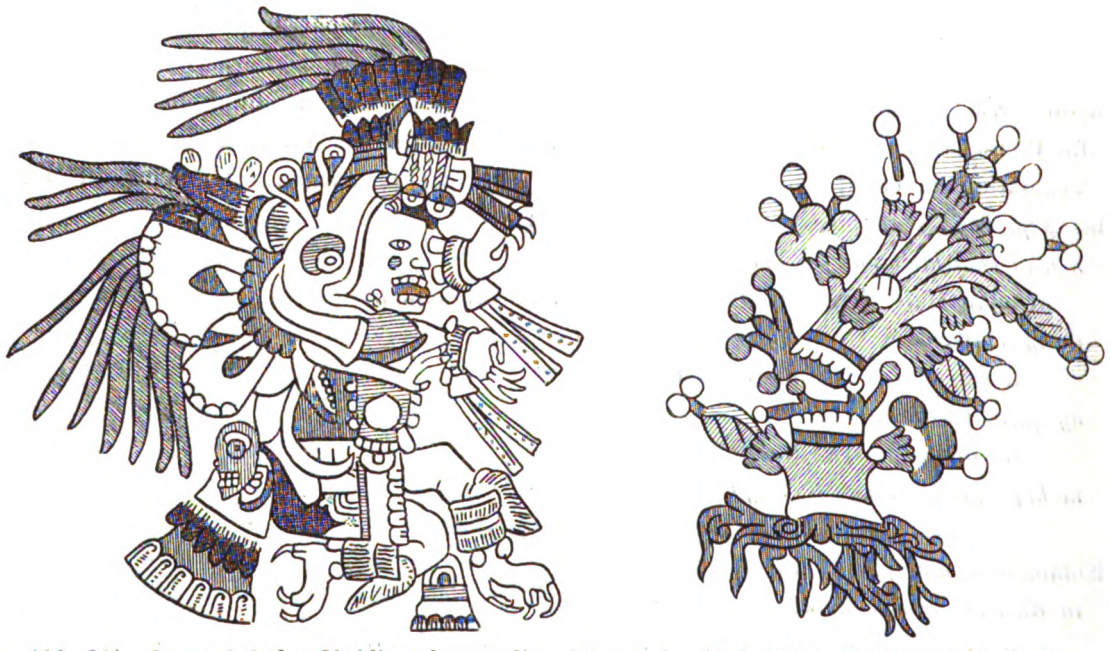

Abb. 264. *Itzpapalotl*, der Obsidianschmetterling, Regent des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce calli* „eins Haus“.
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 18 verso, 19 (= Kingsborough II, 22, 23).

Dürften wir aber in der That nicht auf die Vorstellung des Elements uns beschränken, sondern annehmen können, dass mit der Federschlange auch geradezu der Mond gemeint sei, — dessen bleicher Spiegel ja den Völkern von jeher als ein Wasserbehälter erschienen ist, — so würden wir darin auch eine Erklärung für den Namen des Gottes haben, der der berühmteste der mexikanischen Götter ist,

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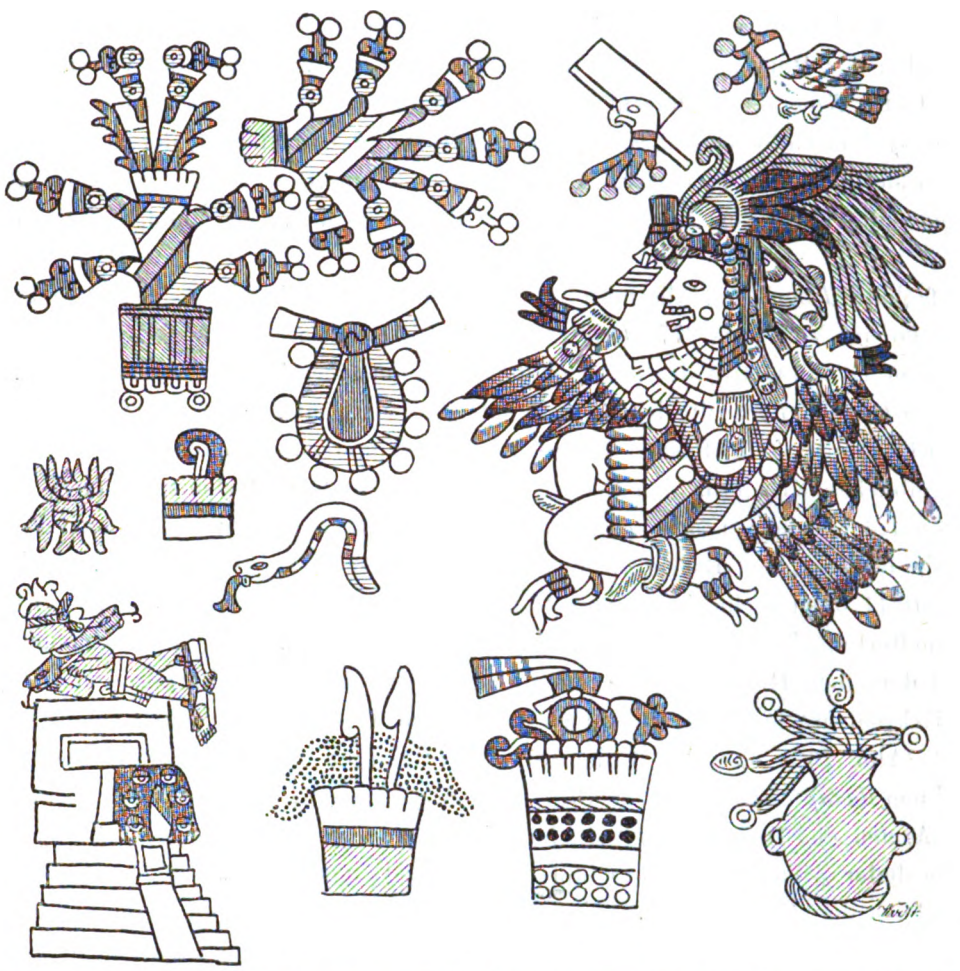

Abb. 265. *Itzpapalotl,* der Obsidianschmetterling, Regent des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce calli* „eins Haus". Codex Borbonicus 15.

Abb. 266. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 15.

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Quetzalcouatl's, von dem ich nachgewiesen[1]) und oben wiederholt hervorgehoben habe, dass er der mythische Ausdruck des am Ende jedes Monats sich neu vollziehenden Verschwindens des Mondes in den brennenden Strahlen der Morgensonne ist. In der That ist ja, wie hier im vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte dem Gotte *Xipe* die Federschlange, so in anderen Mythen (vgl. Codex Vaticanus 3738, fol. 7 verso — 9 verso) dem Gotte *Quetzalcouatl*, als sein Begleiter und Herold, der Gott *Xipe* gesellt. *Xipe* erscheint dort geradezu als der Tolteke. Und das ist er offenbar, denn seine Name *Xipe* oder *Xippe* ist sicher nur eine alte Form von *Xiuh-ĉ* „Herr des Türkises", d. h. der Mondgott, der Tolteke.

Der fünfzehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce calli* „eins Haus" ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte von Blatt 66, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 263) auf Blatt 63 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist die Göttin des sechszehnten Tageszeichens *Itzpapalotl*, der Obsidianschmetterling, die chichimekische Göttin, über die ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 180ff., einiges angegeben habe, die mit der Göttin des *Tititl*-Festes, das zur Zeit der Wintersonnenwende gefeiert wurde, und mit den *Ciuateteô*, den weiblichen Kriegern, den Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, ident ist, deren Fest demnach ein Totenerinnerungsfest, gleich dem den männlichen Toten gewidmeten Feste *Xocotl uetzi*, ist. — Die Göttin ist im Codex Borgia an dieser Stelle fast genau so, wie bei dem sechszehnten Tageszeichen (vgl. Blatt 11 oben rechts in unserer Handschrift) abgebildet. Im Vaticanus (Abb. 263) ist das Insekt, der Schmetterling, in deutlicherer und ziemlich kurioser Weise zur Anschauung gebracht, der aber, — wie in derselben Handschrift der Geier, *cozcaquauhtli*, dessen Verkörperung *Itzpapalotl* bildet — Harn oder Exkremente lassend, abgebildet ist. — Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis zeigt das entsprechende Bild (Abb. 264) eine Art Erdgöttin, gelber Körper- und Gesichtsfarbe, die mit fleischlosem Totengebisse, einem *tlaxapochtli*, einem scheiben- oder ringförmigen Pflaster, auf der Backe und mit Adlerfängen an den Armen und Beinen, also wie eine *tzitzimitl*, dargestellt ist, das *citlalcueitl* der Erdgöttinnen (den Behang rasselnder Schneckengehäuse hinten am Gürtel) und das *maxtlatl*, die Schambinde der Männer trägt, gleich den *Ciuateteô*, den weiblichen Kriegern, den Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, im Codex Vaticanus. Die Enden dieser Schambinde, wie der Saum der Enagua, sind mit Zähnen, besetzt. Das Gesicht der Göttin schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen einer Art Schmetterling heraus, dessen Flügel am Grunde mit Steinmessern besetzt sind. Ein mächtiger Adlerfedergabelschmuck, ähnlich dem, den die Göttin unserer Handschrift auf dem Scheitel trägt, ist hinter den Schmetterlingsfühlern auf dem Scheitel des Schmetterlingskopfes erkennbar. — Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 265) ist eine ähnliche Erdgöttin, auch mit fleischlosem Totengebisse und dem *tlaxapochtli* auf der Backe gezeichnet, die aber ganz als Adler gekleidet ist, vor dem Gesichte zwei als Daunenfederschnüre ausgebildete Flechten herabhängen hat und auf dem Scheitel einen mächtigen Adlerfedergabelschmuck trägt. Eine ganz ähnlich durch herabhängende Daunenfederflechten und durch riesigen Adlerfedergabelschmuck auf dem Scheitel ausgezeichnete, aber gleichzeitig mit einer Art Schmetterlingsflügel, mit Steinmessern in den Winkeln, ausgestattete, also als richtige *Itzpapalotl* bezeichnete Gestalt, die als *Tzitzimitl* oder *Tzontemoc*, als von oben herabkommend, auf der Oberseite eines Steines abgebildet ist (Abb. 267), habe ich in meiner Arbeit über die Ausgrabungen am Orte des Haupttempels in México beschrieben.[2]) — Die Gestalt des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 266) ist ziemlich charakterlos. Aber eine Art Schmetterlingsrachen ist auch hier hinter dem Kopfe der Göttin sichtbar, und Hände und Füsse sind als Adlerfänge, mit mächtiger Befiederung über ihnen an Unterarmen und Unterschenkeln, ausgebildet. Sehr bemerkenswerth ist aber, dass vor dem Gesichte dieser Göttin ein Meerschneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) angebracht ist, wie wir ein solches auf Blatt 6 dieser Handschrift (vgl. Abb. 226 oben S. 227) vor *Tecciztecatl*, dem Mondgotte, angegeben sahen, und das auch diese Göttin hier als Mondgöttin zu kennzeichnen bestimmt scheint. — Der Vogel mit abgerissenem Kopfe, — vermuthlich ist eine Wachtel (*çolin*) gemeint, die im Codex Borbonicus und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung unmittelbar

1) Seler, „Einiges über die natürlichen Grundlagen mexikanischer Mythen". Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Band XXXIX (1907), S. 1—41.

2) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Band II. Berlin 1904. S. 827–832.

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über, bzw. vor dem Kopfe, der Göttin zu sehen ist, — erinnert an das gleiche Bild, das in dem Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 260, oben S. 255) gegenüber *Xipe*, dem Regenten des vorhergehenden *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, angebracht ist. Das Webemesser *(tzotzopaztli)* endlich, die Spindel *(malacatl)* und die Baumwollflocke *(ichcatl)*, die im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 266), — allerdings nur in dieser Handschrift, — vor der *Itzpapalotl* gezeichnet sind, verknüpfen diese Göttin mit der *Xochiquetzal*, die als Regentin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes im Codex Telleriano Remensis ebenfalls ein *tzotzopatzli* in der Hand hält und überhaupt als die Vertreterin und Patronin weiblicher Industrie und Kunstfertigkeit bekannt ist, sowie mit der *Ilamatecutli*, der Göttin des *Tititl*-Festes, die im Codex Telleriano-Remensis auch mit dem Webemesser *(tzotzopaztli)* in der Hand abgebildet wird. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen der Göttin dieses fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes und der Göttin des *Tititl*-Festes bestehen, habe ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen aufgezeigt. — Der Handweiser des Interpreten zeigt im Telleriano-Remensis auf den Tag *Chicunaui oçomàtli* „neun Affe", als auf den Tag, der der besondere Festtag der Göttin dieses Abschnittes oder ihr Name sei.

Abb. 267. Stein des Herrn Aristides Martel.
Oberseite mit dem Bilde der *Itzpapalotl*, des Obsidianschmetterlings.

Wie beim sechszehnten Tageszeichen ist hier auch, in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe und ebenso in den *Tonalamatlen* der eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften, der gebrochene Baum, mit dem aus der Bruchstelle fliessenden Blute, dargestellt, der das *Tamoanchan* das „Haus des Herabsteigens", das „Haus der Geburt" oder *Xochitl icacan* den „Ort wo die Blumen stehen", die Region des mythischen Westens, die Heimath des Maises und den Sitz der Urgötter, in dem auch die wandernden Stämme sich lange aufgehalten haben, den Gelehrten bezeichnete.

Ein paar andere Symbole sind in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe bei der Regentin des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitts angegeben, die bei dem sechszehnten Tageszeichen fehlen. Das ist erstlich ein Haus mit dunkler Thüröffnung, das wohl, wie im zweiten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte, das *Tlillan*, das Haus der Dunkelheit, bezeichnen soll, das aber hier offenbar als Tempel der Erde, das dunkle Haus der Erde, der Nacht, oder der Nachtsonne, des Mondes, gemeint ist. Sodann ein *ixquimilli*.

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ein Mensch mit verbundenen Augen und endlich ein *tzontemoc*, ein kopfüber, und zwar, wie im Codex Borgia deutlich gezeichnet ist, von seinem Stuhle oder mit seinem Stuhle herabstürzender Mensch. Im Vaticanus ist aber das, was im Codex Borgia deutlich als eine Stuhllehne erkennbar ist, in eine Art Reptil- oder Erdrachen umgewandelt. Doch ist das offenbar eine aus Missverstand entstandene Zeichnung. Denn als Erdrachen müsste das Gebilde mit der Oeffnung nach oben gerichtet sein. Der Zeichner hat hier den in der That häufig geradezu als Stufenmäander ausgebildeten Erdrachen, in den man den *Tzontemoc* stürzen sieht (vgl. z. B. Blatt 53 oben rechts unserer Handschrift) auf die Stuhllehne gezeichnet.

Diesen Symbolen entsprechen im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 265) in der Ecke unten links, ein Tempel, dessen Thüröffnung von einem Bilde der Nacht ausgefüllt ist, das ein Stein- oder Opfermesser umschliesst, und der auf dem Dache dieses Tempels mit dem Gesichte auf dem Boden liegende Mensch, der auch als *ixquimilli*, mit verbundenen Augen, gezeichnet ist, zugleich aber durch das in Form des Zeichens *cuitlatl* „Exkremente, Unrath, Sünde“ gezeichnete und gemalte Haar und durch die beiden Schlangen, die um seinen Hals gelegt sind und ihn anscheinend würgen sollen, als Sünder gekennzeichnet ist. — Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 266) ist statt des *Tillan*, des Hauses mit der dunklen oder durch Nacht ausgefüllten Thüröffnung, des Tempels der Erde, oder des Tempels des Mondes eine verhältnissmässig niedrige Estrade gezeichnet, auf der ein Mensch mit abgerissenem Kopfe steht, aus dessen Halsöffnung, wie aus der des Kolossalbildes der *Couatlicue* in México, der sogenannten *Teoyaomiqui*, zwei Schlangen hervorkommen. Es ist das wohl als strikte Parallele zu *Tlillan*, dem Hause mit dunkler Thüröffnung, anzusehen. Denn der Geköpfte ist eben das Opfer, d. h. das Abbild, der Erd- und Mondgottheit. Zugleich muss diese geköpfte Figur aber auch als der *ixquimilli*, der Mensch mit verbundenen Augen, der Sünder, des Codex Borbonicus gedacht sein. Denn statt eines ganzen *ixquimilli*-Menschen sehen wir im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung nur einen menschlichen Kopf, dessen Augen mit einer schmalen, strickartigen Binde verdeckt sind, und der gerade über dem geköpften Menschen, wie als der zugehörige Kopf, gezeichnet ist.

All diese Bilder und Symbole haben ihre Erklärung und finden ihre Erklärung in der engen Verbindung, die, wie ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen nachgewiesen habe, zwischen der *Itzpapalotl*, der Göttin des sechszehnten Tageszeichens und des fünfzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, bezw. der *Ilamatecutli*, der Göttin des *Tititl*-Festes, der die Bemalung des Feuergottes tragenden Repräsentantin der alten Verstorbenen, und den *Ciuateteo*, den zu Göttinnen gewordenen weiblichen Toten, den Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen, besteht, die im Westen hausen, und die, nachdem sie ihren Dienst der Sonne geleistet, nach Sonnenuntergang zur Erde herunterkommen, — gespenstische Wesen, die Unheil stiften, die Kinder mit Epilepsie schlagen und die Männer zur Unzucht und Sünde verleiten, und die wir auf den Blättern, die im vierzehnten Kapitel dieser Erläuterungen, oben S. 75 ff., behandelt sind, in fünf besonderen Gestalten abgebildet sahen. — Es ist die Vorstellung des Westens, des Abendhimmels, an dem der neue Mond erscheint, der das Land der Geburt, die Urheimath u. s. w. ist, und zugleich das *ciuatlampa*, die Region der Weiber, mit dem sich also in der Gedankenwelt jener Stämme auch all die mächtigen Triebe, die das Weibliche in uns erweckt, das Gefallen, die Schönheit, die Hingabe und die Verschuldung, verknüpften. — Das ist es, das in der Gestalt der Herrin dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes seinen Ausdruck gefunden hat. In die Vorzeit versetzt, hat diese Vorstellung zu dem Märchen Anlass gegeben, das die Interpreten an dieser Stelle erzählen, und das so auffallend an die biblische Erzählung von der Verschuldung Adam's erinnert: — „Este lugar que se dize *tamoancha* y *xuchitlycacan* es el lugar donde fueron criados estos dioses que ellos tenian que casi es tanto como dezir El parayso terrenal y asy dizen que estando estos dioses en aquel lugar se desmandavan en cortar rosas y ramas de los arvoles y que por esto se enojo mucho el *tonacatecutli* y la muger *tonacaciuatl* y que los echo de aquel lugar y asy vinieron unos a la tera y otros al infierno y estos son los que a ellos ponen los temores.“[1]) — In der lebendigen Gegenwart fühlten das jene Stämme, wenn sie an den Tagen, die ihr Kalenderbuch ihnen als vom Westen beherrscht oder dem Westen angehörig bezeichnete, das Herabkommen jener *Tzitzimime* und Ueberhandnehmen von Unzucht und Sünde fürchteten. Und diese Vorstellung scheint eine allgemein

1) Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 19 (= Kingsborough II, 23).

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verbreitete gewesen zu sein. Denn noch in den yukatekischen Büchern des *Chilam Bilam* und für den *Katun*, d. h. die Periode, von 20 × 360 Tagen, die mit dem Tage *uuc ahau* = mexikanisch *chicome xochitl* „sieben Blume" begann, die, — da der Anfang der Zählung in *buluc ahau* = „eilf Blume" und im Osten lag, — der Himmelsrichtung des Westens angehörte, wo *Mayapan*, die Stadt der Mexikaner den Gedenkstein aufrichtete, und *Ek chuuah*, der Gott der Kaufleute, Regent war, finden wir das *nicteel uuah*, *nicteel haa yaal* „Herabrieseln der Blumen", „Blumenregen" und *ppentacech calpach* „übermässigen Ehebruch" als das Geschick dieser Zeitperiode oder das in ihr zu Erwartende angegeben. Diese Vorstellung beherrschte endlich auch die Anschauungen, die jene Stämme von dem Ende aller Dinge hatten. Die Dämonen, die am Anfange der Welt dagewesen waren, in der Zeit der Dunkelheit und der Nacht (*chi k'ekum chi a'kab*), ehe die Sonne geboren war, und die damals schon die Sünde in die Welt brachten, die sollten auch, wenn das Ende der Welt nahe war, wenn die Sonne nicht mehr schien, Mond und Sonne zusammenfielen, und die Sterne am hellen Mittag sichtbar wurden, zur Erde herniederkommen und der lebenden Generation den Garaus machen. Darum sind diese Dämonen, deren Prototyp *Itzpapalotl*, die Herrin dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes ist, gleichzeitig — los que á ellos ponen los temores.

Der sechszehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce cozcaquauhtli* „eins Geier" ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 65, im Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 268) auf dem Blatte 64 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist der Gott des siebzehnten Tageszeichens, — *Xolotl*, der vom Himmel stürzende Hund, der Eröffner der Wege in die Unterwelt, der Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten führt, gewöhnlich als Gott der Zwillinge und der Missgeburten bezeichnet und auch als Gott des Ballspiels genannt, dessen eigentliche Natur ich zum ersten Male im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 190ff., klargelegt habe. Als Herrn des siebzehnten Tageszeichens fanden wir ihn im Codex Vaticanus einfach als Hund abgebildet (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 192, Abb. 368, 369), in unserer Handschrift aber (Blatt 10, oben links) anscheinend durch eine ganz andere Gestalt ersetzt, durch den missgeschaffenen *Nanauatzin*, den syphilitischen Gott, der mit *Macuil xochitl*, dem Gotte der Lust, dem Tanzgotte, in gewisser Weise sich deckt, und der nach der alten Erzählung sich ins Feuer gestürzt, sich selbst geopfert hat, um als Sonne am Himmel empor zu steigen. In diesen Gott musste sich, wie ich an der angeführten Stelle ausgeführt habe, der Hund *Xolotl* verwandeln, weil ja die Sonne nicht dauernd in der Unterwelt bleiben, weil die Abendsonne wieder zur Morgensonne werden sollte.

Als Gott des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes ist *Xolotl* nicht einfach als Hund, sondern, — und zwar in allen Handschriften ziemlich gleichmässig, — als eine hundsköpfige, mit der Tracht und dem Schmucke des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* ausgerüstete Gestalt. Dass es ein Hund sein soll, sieht man an den gestutzten Ohren, die in unserer Handschrift einen gelben, d. h. mit der Farbe des toten Fleisches gemalten Rand haben. Aber dass es nicht ein gewöhnlicher Hund sein soll, sondern der Hund der zu den Toten hinabgeht, wird durch den *yacaxiuitl*, den blauen Pflock in den Nasenflügeln, den Kriegertotenschmuck, bewiesen, den man in dem Bilde dieses Gottes, wie es der Codex Vaticanus gibt (Abb. 268), gezeichnet finden. Wie an den früheren Stellen, wo wir diesem Gotte begegneten, ist er in schwarzer Farbe und mit Adler- oder Jaguarpranken abgebildet. Im Uebrigen ist dieser Gott hier, wie gesagt, mit lauter Attributen *Quetzalcouatl*'s ausgestattet, mit dessen aus einer Muschelschale geschliffenem dornförmig gekrümmtem Ohrgehänge (*epcololli*), mit dem aus dem Gehäuse einer grossen Meerschnecke geschliffenen Brustschmucke (*ecailacatzcozcatl*) und dem am Rande mit Schneckengehäusen besetzten Halskragen. Die Kopfbinde ist die des Windgottes, die in Querbinden weiss und braun (jaguarfellfarben) gefärbte, mit abgerundeten Enden und mit zwei grossen Edelsteinscheiben auf der Fläche (im Codex Borgia), oder die in Serpentinen gelegte, auf der eine grosse Hieroglyphe des Türkises (*xiuitl*) prangt (im Codex Borbonicus Abb. 270). Am Nacken sieht man den aus schwarzen Waldhuhnfedern und einzelnen rothen Federn gefertigten fächerartigen Schmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s, und auf dem Scheitel bald den kegelförmigen Hut *copilli* (im Codex Vaticanus, Abb. 268), bald eine Krone aus schwarzen Waldhuhnfedern und einzelnen rothen Ararafedern (im Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Abb. 269), wie sie im Codex Telleriano-Remensis der Pulquegott trägt, bald das dunkle von Nacht umgegebene Auge, das den Nachthimmel oder einen Stern bezeichnet. So im Codex Borgia, im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung

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(Abb. 271). All dieser Ausputz besagt vielleicht weiter nichts, als dass *Xolotl* der Gott der Zwillinge ist, und dass auch der Windgott *Quetzalcouatl* den Zwilling (*couatl*) in seinem Namen enthält. Es kann aber auch, wie bei *Pàtecatl*, dem Pulquegotte, der auch mit Schmuckstücken und Bestandtheilen der Tracht

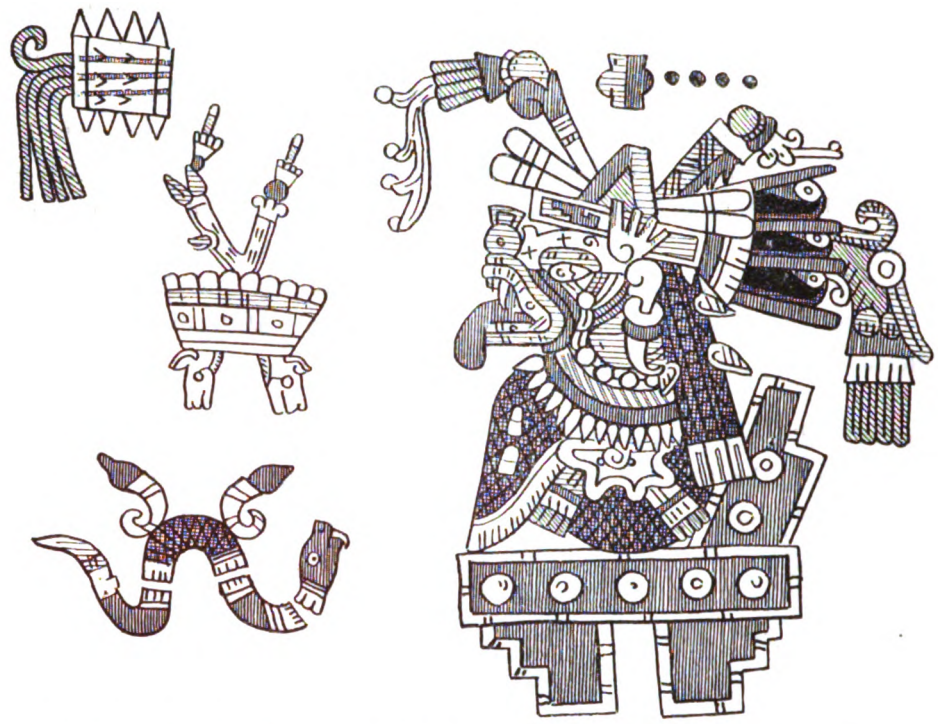

Abb. 268. *Xolotl*, der Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten führt, Regent des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cozcaquauhtli* „eins Geier".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 64 (= Kingsborough 33).

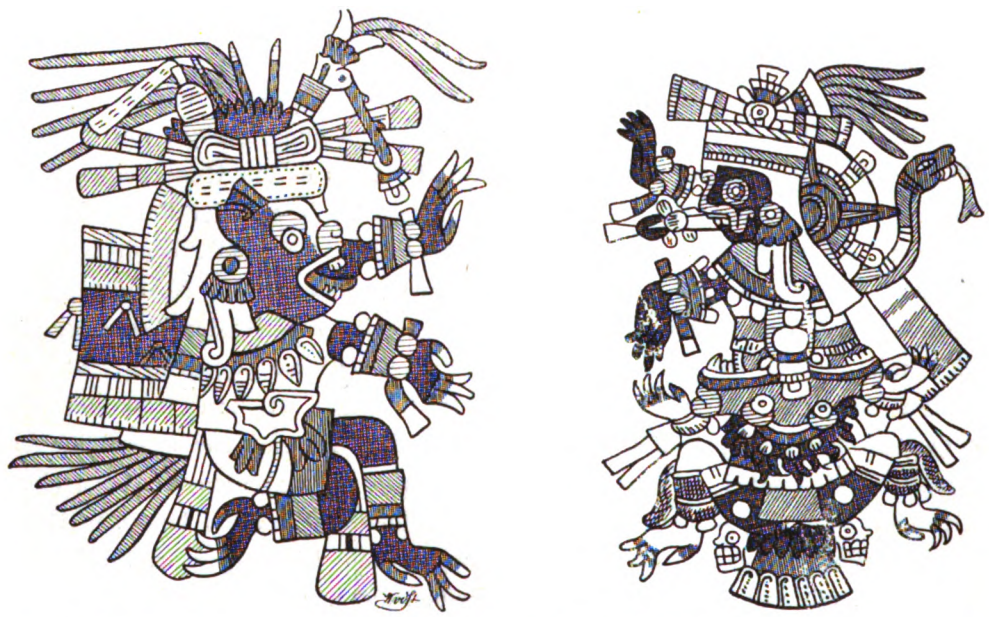

Abb. 269. *Xolotl*, der Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten führt, und *tlalchi tonatiuh*, die unten, am Horizonte, sich befindende Sonne. Regenten des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cozcaquauhtli* „eins Geier".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 19 verso, 20 (= Kingsborough II, 24, 25).

Quetzalcouatl's erscheint, seinen Grund in einer gewissen Wesensverwandtschaft dieser beiden Götter haben. In der Kopfbinde stecken bei verschiedenen dieser Figuren der Knochendolch (*omitl*) und die Agave-Blattspitzen (*uitztli*), die Kasteiungswerkzeuge *Quetzalcouatl*'s; bei der Figur des Telleriano-Remensis

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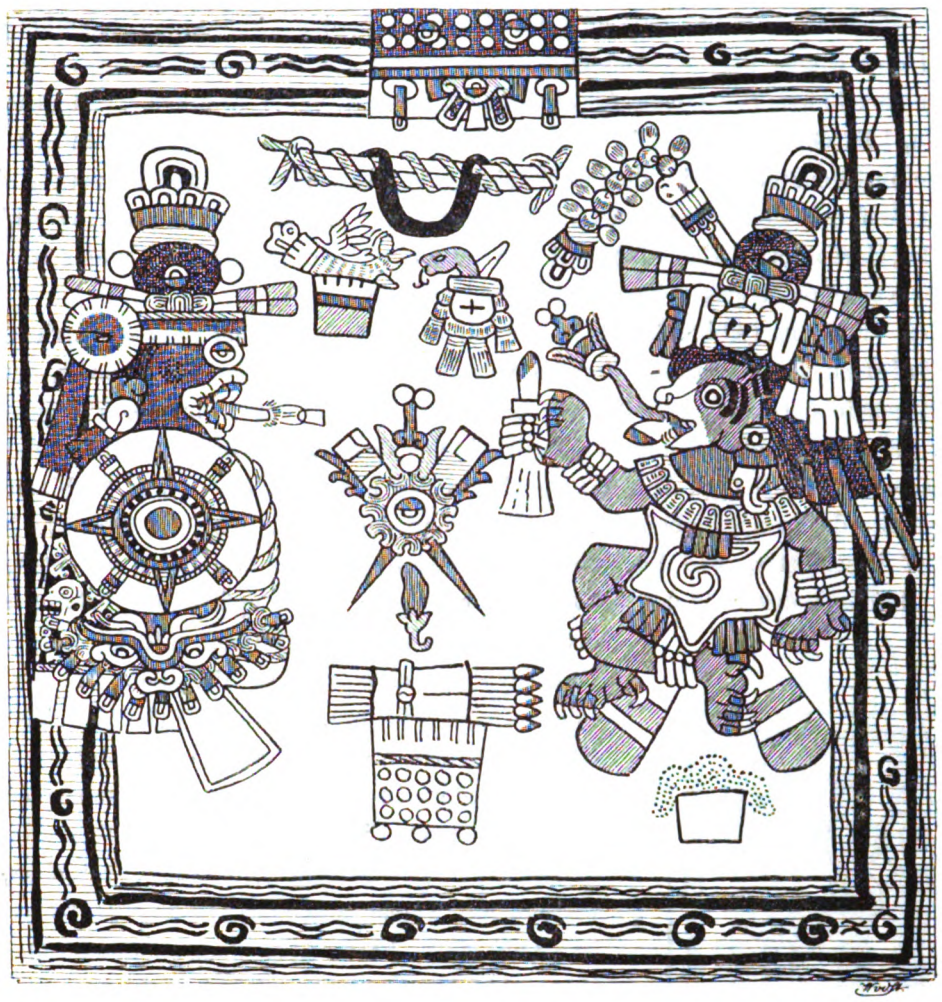

Abb 270. *Xolotl,* Regent des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce cozcaquauhtli* „eins Geier". Codex Borbonicus 16.

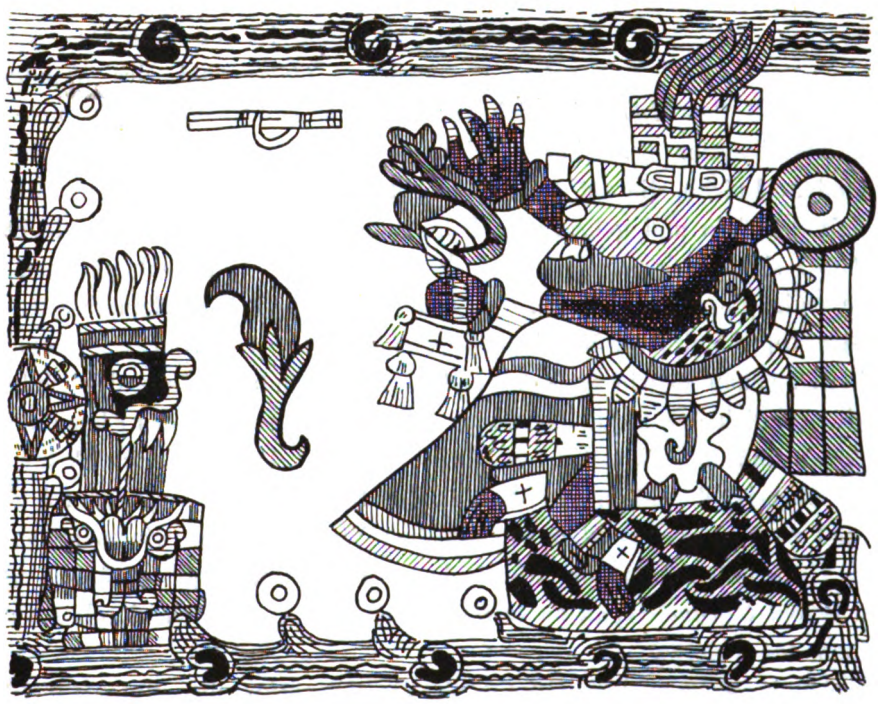

Abb. 271. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 16.

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(Abb. 269) auch die Spindel (*malacatl*) der *Tlaçolteotl*. Und aus dem Munde des Gottes gehen in der Figur des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) und des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 271) ein Steinmesser und eine Blume hervor. Dasselbe sehen wir in dieser Handschrift auch bei der *Xochiquetzal*, der Göttin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes (vgl. S. 279 unten Abb. 286). In unserer Handschrift, im Codex Borgia, hält der Gott einen in zwei Stücke gebrochenen Knochendolch in der Hand. Das hat wohl hier dieselbe Bedeutung, wie die in Stücke gebrochenen Kasteiungswerkzeuge, die wir bei der Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl* und dem alten Gotte in Hirschgestalt (vgl. oben S. 159 und 161 Abb. 131 und 143) fanden. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) hält der Gott ein Opfermesser; im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung einen Kopalbeutel, das priesterliche Handwerkzeug.

Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 268) steht über dem Gotte das Datum *naui olin* „vier Bewegung", der Tag und das Zeichen der Sonne. Dasselbe sehen wir auch in unserer Handschrift, dem Codex Borgia, gross und schön gezeichnet, vor dem Gotte angegeben. Und darunter die vier Farben (*tlapapalli*), die ein Homologen des *tonallo*- oder Sommersonnen-Emblems des Gottes *Macuil xochitl* sind, und die wir im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3 (vgl. Abb. 272) auch auf der mit den Mustern und Emblemen dieses Gottes geschmückten Schulterdecke angegeben finden. Das kann nach dem, was jetzt über die Natur des Gottes dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, wie ich glaube, festgestellt ist, nichts anderes bedeuten, als dass *Xolotl* gleichzeitig der *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust, ist, der sich im Feuer opfert und dadurch zur Sonne wird, als Morgensonne am Himmel aufgeht. Es sind also diese Hieroglyphen eine direkte Parallele zu den im Kochtopfe schmorenden Gliedern, die das Begleitbild für den *Xolotl*, den Gott des siebzehnten Tageszeichens, bilden.

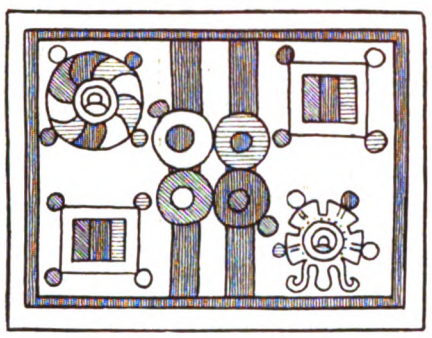

Abb. 272. „manta de çinco Rosas" (Decke *Macuilxochitl*'s, des Gottes der Lust). Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, fol. 4 verso.

Anders in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften. Dort sieht man diesem Gotte gegenüber eine merkwürdige Gruppe: — über einem geöffneten Erdrachen, der von dem wirren, mit Augen besetzten Haare des Todesgottes umrahmt ist (Abb. 270), bezw. über dem geöffneten Rachen einer Erdkröte (Abb. 269), sieht man eine Gestalt, die die Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken oder auf ihrer Fläche trägt. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 271) ist es ein roth gemaltes Bündel, das als Kopf einen richtigen, von einer Reiherfederkrone überragten *Tlaloc*-Kopf trägt. Im Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 269) ist es eine Gestalt, die die Attribute des Regengottes *Tlaloc* und des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl*, bezw. des hundsköpfigen Gottes *Xolotl*, in sich vereint, aber am Rücken noch, unter dem Sonnenbilde, eine nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichnete Schlange trägt. Im Codex Borbonicus endlich (Abb. 270) ist es eine eingebündelte Leiche, die auf ihrer Fläche das Sonnenbild trägt, vorn mit Stricken umschnürt, hinten mit einer mit Schädeln und gekreuzten Totenbeinen bemalten Decke bedeckt ist, und der als Kopf eine Art *Xolotl*-Gesicht aufgesetzt ist, mit dem Auge und dem Backenflecken (*mixchiauiticac*) des Regengottes *Tlaloc*, mit einer in den Farben *Tlaloc*'s gemalten Hinterhauptrosette (*cuexcochtechimalli*), darüber aber mit der Kopfschleife des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl* und dem grossen, vom Dunkel umgebenen Auge auf dem Scheitel, genau so wie es *Xolotl* selbst, an der anderen Seite des Bildes, auf dem Scheitel hat. Es ist also eine ähnlich der Figur des Codex Telleriano Remensis aus Elementen zweier Gottheiten, aber hier wohl *Tlaloc*'s und *Xolotl*'s selbst, gemischte Gestalt. Dabei ist im Codex Borbonicus sowohl, wie im Telleriano-Remensis, der Figur ein Pfeil in den Rachen gestossen, wodurch die Figur als getötet bezeichnet wird, und zwar augenscheinlich in derselben Weise getötet, wie man den rothen Hund, den man den Toten ins Grab mitgab, und der die Seele nach der Unterwelt zu führen, über den die Unterwelt umfliessenden Strom *Chicunauhapan* zu setzen hatte, tötete, nämlich durch Einstossen eines Vogelpfeils in den Schlund des Thieres.

Die Interpreten bezeichnen diese Gruppe als *Tlalchitonatiuh*, die „unten (am Boden) befindliche", die „erdnahe Sonne" — „propiamente, entre la luz y tinieblas, y asi le pintan el sol sovre los ombros

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y la muerte de vaxo de los pies como aqui pareçe. Dizen que es esto el escalentamiento ó calor que da el sol a la tierra. Dizen que cuando el sol se pone que va alumbrar a los muertos".[1]) —

Es ist klar, dass hier dem hundsköpfigen Gotte *Xolotl* gegenüber, der, wie ich an der angeführten Stelle des I. Bandes dieser Erläuterungen nachgewiesen habe, eigentlich das vom Himmel fallende Feuer, der Blitz ist, — in welcher Rolle wir ihn in der That auch auf den Blättern 37, 38 unserer Rolle angetroffen haben, — in seiner Funktion, als der Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten führt, dargestellt ist. Der „neunfach fliessende Strom", der *Chicunauhapan*, der die Unterwelt umfliesst, über den der Hund *Xolotl* die Sonne zu setzen hat, ist dabei im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 271) durch einen das ganze Feld umziehenden Wasserstrom zur Anschauung gebracht. Was es mit diesem Strome selbst für eine Bewandtniss hat, ist wiederum im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) auf das Klarste zur Anschauung gebracht, indem auf ihm das Bild oder die Hieroglyphe *ilhuicatl* „Himmel" angebracht, dieses Wasser also als das *ilhuica-atl*, das „Himmelswasser", d. h. als das die Erde umkreisende Meer[2]), bezeichnet ist. Denn im Meere des Westens versinkt die

Abb. 273. Auszug der Leute von *Xiuhquillan* oder *Tzitzupuan* aus der Urheimath *Chalchiuitl apazco* (der „Edelsteinschale") und Landung in *Chalchiccueyêcan*, der Küste von Vera Cruz. Lienzo de Jucutacato, 1. und 2. Bild.
(Vgl. Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde, Band III. Berlin 1906/07. S. 44 - 46.)

Sonne, über das Meer des Westens geht auch der Weg in die Unterwelt. Dass in der That das Meer es ist, über das der rothe Hund die Seelen der Toten setzt, und über das dementsprechend auch *Xolotl* die Sonne zu den Toten hinabführt, ist auch in einem interessanten Bilde ausgesprochen (Abb. 273), mit dem die Reihe der Bilder beginnt, die die Wanderung eines in Michoacan angesiedelten tolketischen oder *Nauatl*-Stammes von der Urheimath uns schildern, und die auf dem zum ersten Male von Dr. Nicolas Leon publizirten sogenannten Lienzo de Jucutácato uns erhalten sind. Hier wird, nachdem der Stamm aus dem *Chalchiuitl apazco*, der „grünen Edelsteinschale", dem Ursprungsorte der Menschen und des Stammes, hervorgekommen ist, das Meer überschritten, und der Stamm gelangt nach *Chalchiccueyêcan*, d. h. der Küste von Vera Cruz. Das Meer ist dabei an der Grenzlinie des ersten und zweiten Bildes durch eine Art Federschlange veranschaulicht, aus der ein Mensch hervorkommt. Ueber das Meer werden die Angehörigen

1) Codex Telleriano-Remensis, fol. 20 (= Kingsborough II, 25).

2) „Llamase tambien (la mar) *ylhuica-atl*, que quiere decir „agua que se juntó con el cielo" porque los antiguos habitadores de esta tierra, pensaban que el cielo se juntaba con el agua en la mar, como si fuere una casa; que el agua son las paredes, y el cielo está sobre ellas, y por esto llaman á la mar *ylhuica-atl*, como si dijesen agua que se juntó con el cielo." (Sahagun, Buch 11, Cap. 12, § 1.)

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des Stammes theils von neun Schildkröten gesetzt, theils überschreiten sie das Meer, auf einem Hunde reitend.

Die Darstellungen der im engeren Sinne mexikanischen Bilderschriften lassen demnach, wie aus den oben beschriebenen Bildern klar hervorgeht, den Gott *Xolotl* in erster Linie als den Hund, der die

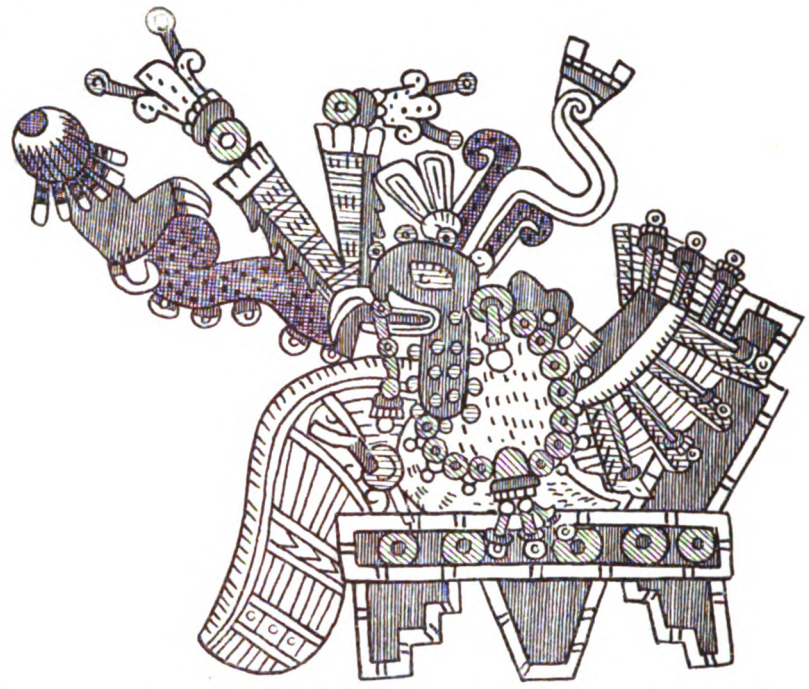

Abb. 274. *Chalchiuhtotolin*, das Edelsteinhuhn der Truthahn, Regent des siebzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce atl* „eins Wasser".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 65 (= Kingsborough 32).

Abb. 275. *Chalchiuhtotolin*, das Edelsteinhuhn, der Truthahn, Regent des siebzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce atl* „eins Wasser".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 20 verso, 21 (= Kingsborough II 26, 27).

Sonne zu den Toten führt, erscheinen. Dass aber trotzdem auch in diesen Handschriften, bezw. von den Leuten, die diese Handschriften kannten und benutzten, an die andere Beziehung oder die andere Gestalt *Xolotl*'s gedacht wurde, die in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe durch das Datum *naui olin* und das *tlapapalli*, die vier Farben, zum Ausdrucke gebracht wird, wird dadurch bewiesen, dass der

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Abb. 276. *Chalchiuhtotolin*, das Edelsteinhuhn, der Truthahn, Regent des siebzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce atl* „eins Wasser". Codex Borbonicus 17.

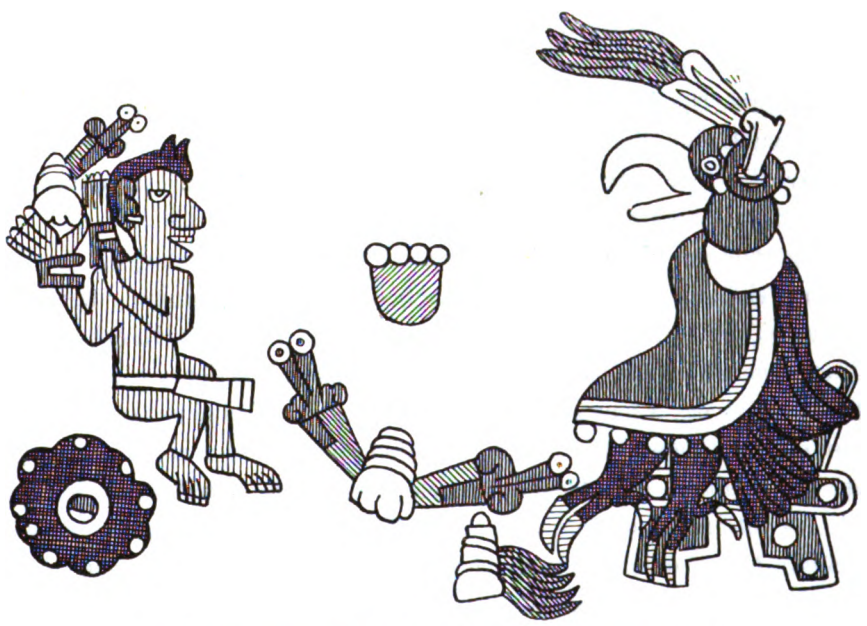

Abb. 277. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 17.

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Kommentator des Codex Telleriano-Remensis auf den Tag *Macuil xochitl* „fünf Blume", d. h. auf den Namen des *Auiatcotl*, des Gottes der Lust, hingewiesen hat, als den Tag, der als sein besonderer Tag oder als Name dem Gotte dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, *Xolotl*, zukomme. Vielleicht ist auch die Blume, die man in den Bildern des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 270) und des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 271) aus dem Munde *Xolotl*'s hervorkommen sieht, in diesem Sinne zu deuten. Ja, ich möchte die Vermuthung wagen, dass die rothe Pfefferschote (*chilli*), die man in denselben Handschriften in der Mitte des Bildes zwischen *Xolotl* und dem *Tlalchitonatiuh* abgebildet sieht, den rothen Gott und zugleich den Fastenbrecher, der wegen des Fastenbruchs von den Göttern mit Krankheiten an den Geschlechtstheilen bestraft worden ist (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 135), d. h. *Nanauatzin*, den syphilitischen Gott, bezeichnen solle.

Was die anderen noch übrigen Symbole betrifft, so mache ich darauf aufmerksam, dass die Schale mit dem Hirschfusse, die wir in den Bildern der beiden Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe bei *Xolotl* angegeben sahen (vgl. Abb. 268), auch in dem des Codex Borbonicus nicht fehlt (siehe Abb. 270). Die in Stücken gerissene Schlange, die unsere Handschrift und der Codex Vaticanus uns zeigen, ist vielleicht als Kennzeichnung des Feuers gedacht. Das Sklavenjoch (*quauhcozcatl*), das im Codex Borbonicus an dem oberen Rande des Bildes zu sehen ist, könnte, wie bei *Tezcatlipoca*, der auf Blatt 6 dieser Handschrift dem Mondgotte gegenübersteht, den *Moyocayatzin* bezeichnen, den „nach Gutdünken Handelnden", d. h. den Veränderlichen und Veränderungen Bedingenden, der den Hohen erniedrigt und den Sklaven auf den Königsstuhl erhebt.

Der siebzehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce atl* „eins Wasser" ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blatt 64, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 274) auf Blatt 65 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist der Regent des achtzehnten Tageszeichens, *Chalchiuhtotolin*, das Edelsteinhuhn oder der Truthahn. Er ist in beiden Handschriften recht charakteristisch, in einigen Einzelheiten sogar ziemlich realistisch gezeichnet. Den Zeichnern der eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften gilt er wie gewöhnlich als das Abbild *Tezcatlipoca*'s und ist deshalb mit dem rauchenden Spiegel an der Schläfe und anderen Abzeichen dieses Gottes ausgestattet. Im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 200ff., bei Besprechung der Gottheit des achtzehnten Tageszeichens, habe ich gezeigt, dass der Truthahn das Wasser, und insbesondere das *chalchiuhatl*, das Edelsteinwasser, d. h. das kostbare Nass der Kasteiung, das Blut, repräsentirt. Beim achtzehnten Tageszeichen fanden wir das durch die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuhatl* und durch den Priester, der sich das Auge ausbohrt, veranschaulicht. Hier ist, im Codex Borgia, einfacher, ein von einem Fastenstrick gebildetes Knäuel gezeichnet, in dem ein paar Agaveblattspitzen stecken, die als blutige durch die an ihnen herabrinnende, rothe Flüssigkeit und durch die Blumen an ihrem oberen Ende gekennzeichnet sind. In den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften ist der Büsser selbst, mit dem Zeichen *cuitlatl*, „Exkremente, Sünde", in der Hand abgebildet. Dasselbe Zeichen *cuitlatl* sehen wir in unseren Handschriften, dem Codex Borgia und dem Vaticanus, von einem Adlerfusse dem *Chalchiuhtotolin* dargereicht, wo offenbar die Idee vorliegt, dass der Truthahn, d. h. das kostbare Nass, das bei der Kasteiung abgezapfte Blut, den Schmutz der Sünde wegnehmen solle.

Für die Deutung anderer Figuren, insbesondere der rothen Schlange, die als Begleiterin der *Tlaçolteotl* und auch sonst vielfach, wie wir gesehen haben, in diesen Handschriften auftritt, ist es nicht ohne Interesse, dass der Truthahn der das Blut repräsentirt, hier, mit Rauch- oder Feuerwolken am Schnabel bezw. auf dem Scheitel gezeichnet ist. Diese Rauch- oder Feuerwolken werden wir als Ausdruck des heissen Blutes oder des brennenden Schmerzes bei der Kasteiung ansehen dürfen. Es beweist aber dieses Vorkommniss, dass, wenn wir z. B. an dem Schwanzende der rothen Schlange, die auf Blatt 68 des Codex Borgia vor ihrer Göttin, der *Tlaçolteotl*, steht, ebensolche Rauch- und Feuerwolken sehen, wir nicht etwa ohne Weiteres schliessen dürfen, dass diese Schlange Feuer bedeuten müsse. Es ist, wie ich oben wiederholt angeführt habe, durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass diese rothe, nach Art der Korallenotter gefärbte Schlange vielmehr das Blut bezeichnet. Und die Rauch- und Feuerwolken beweisen nichts dagegen, da wir sie, wie ich anführte, ebenso hier bei dem Truthahn sehen, bei dem eine Beziehung auf das Feuer ausgeschlossen erscheint.

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Der achtzehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce eecatl*, „eins Wind“ ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 63, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 279) auf Blatt 66 dargestellt.

Dieser Abschnitt müsste, nach der Theorie, die sich bis jetzt durchweg bestätigt hat, denselben Regenten haben, wie das neunzehnte Tageszeichen. Das ist aber hier anscheinend nicht der Fall. Der Regent des neunzehnten Tageszeichens war *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott. Hier aber ist eine weibliche Gottheit als Regent des *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes abgebildet, die, wie wir sehen werden, mit dem Sonnengotte unmittelbar nichts gemein hat. Mittelbar muss aber doch eine Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Gottheiten bestehen, da, wie wir sehen werden, die Nebendarstellungen dieselbe Idee zum Ausdruck bringen.

Die hier in dem achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte regierende Göttin wird von den Interpreten *Chantico* oder *Quaxolotl* genannt, weil sie den Schmuck *Xolotl*'s auf dem Kopfe trüge. Auch würde sie nach dem Tage ihrer Geburt [*Chicunaui itzcuintli*, d. i.] „Neun Hund“ genannt. Der Tag „Neun Hund“ gehört in der That als neunter Tag dieser achtzehnten Dreizehnheit an, und er wird auch durch die Handweisung des Interpreten als der der Göttin dieses Abschnitts eigentlich zukommende Tag und ihr Name bezeichnet. Es wird von diesem Tage ausserdem angegeben, dass an ihm die Zauberer, die sich in Thiere, in Schlangen und anderes derart verwandeln können, besondere Macht haben. Weiter erzählt der Interpret (Pedro de Rios), dass diese Göttin des achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes „Herrin des Capsicum-Pfeffers“ und „gelbe Frau“ genannt worden sei. Sie sei die erste gewesen, die, nachdem sie einen gebratenen Fisch gegessen, geopfert habe, (d. h. sie habe geopfert, ohne, wie es sich gebührt, zuvor zu fasten), und dass dieser Rauch zum Himmel gestiegen sei, und *Tonacatecutli* sei darüber erzürnt geworden und habe einen Fluch über sie ausgesprochen, sie sollte in einen Hund verwandelt werden, und so sei es geschehen. Und man nenne sie *Chantico*, soviel als *Mictlantecutli*.

Abb. 278. *Chantico*, die Feuergöttin von *Xochimilco*. Sahagun Ms. Bibl. del Palacio (Madrid).

Soweit der Interpret. Wir haben nun glücklicherweise über diese Göttin noch andere Nachrichten. Sahagun gibt von ihr an, dass sie in México einen Tempel hatte, der *Tetlanman* hiess, und Priester, die in dem *Tetlanman calmecac* wohnten, und dass es die Aufgabe dieser Priester, der *Tetlanman teoua*, gewesen sei — „de apretar las teas para hacer hachones, y tambien almagre, tinta, cótaras, unas xaquetas y caracolitos mariscos, lo cual todo era necesario para esta fiesta de la diosa del fuego“. — Diese von Sahagun also als „Feuergöttin“ bezeichnete Gottheit war auch das Hauptidol der *tlatlecque*, der Steinschneider, Steinschleifer, Juweliere, die diese Göttin unter dem Namen *Chicunaui itzcuintli*, „Neun Hund“ oder *Papaloxaual*, „Schmetterlingsbemalung“, *Tlappapalo*, „die mit dem rothen Schmetterling“ verehrten. Und Sahagun gibt dabei ausdrücklich an, dass das Fest dieser Göttin in *Xochimilco* gefeiert worden sei, denn von dort stamme die ganze Zunft der Steinschneider. Ueber diese Göttin von *Xochimilco* und ihr Fest haben wir im Duran eine ausführliche Beschreibung. Durán führt sie freilich mit einem anderen Namen an. Er nennt sie *Ciuacouatl* oder *Quilaztli*, das ist der Name der Göttin der nicht weit von *Xochimilco*, am anderen Ufer des Sees gelegenen Stadt *Colhuacan*. Ich glaube, dass Duran hier zu Unrecht den Namen der Göttin von *Colhuacan* auf die Göttin von *Xochimilco* angewendet hat. *Ciuacouatl* war eine Göttin der Erde und Patronin der Krieger. Als solche lernen wir sie in dem Liede kennen, das Sahagun uns erhalten hat. In der Göttin von *Xochimilco* aber wurde das fressende Feuer verkörpert gedacht, und daher in ganz passender Weise mit dem beissenden Thiere, dem Hunde, in Verbindung gebracht.

Dass *Chantico* eine Feuergöttin war und das fressende Feuer veranschaulichte, das lehrt schon das Steinbild von ihr, das Duran uns beschreibt, das die Göttin mit weit offenem Munde und langen, fletschenden Raubthierzähnen darstellt. Das zeigt vor Allem aber die Art ihres Festes, indem an ihm, als Unterlage für das Hauptopfer des Abbildes der Göttin, vier Gefangene lebend ins Feuer geworfen

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wurden — genau wie bei dem *Xocotl uetzi*-Feste in México — und nach diesem Opfer sich die Priester in der Weise kasteiten, dass sie das von brennenden Kopalfackeln abschmelzende Harz auf die nackte Haut der Glieder tropfen liessen.

Abb. 279. *Chantico* oder *Quaxolotl*, die Feuergöttin, Regentin des achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce eecatl* „eins Wind".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 66 (= Kingsborough 31).

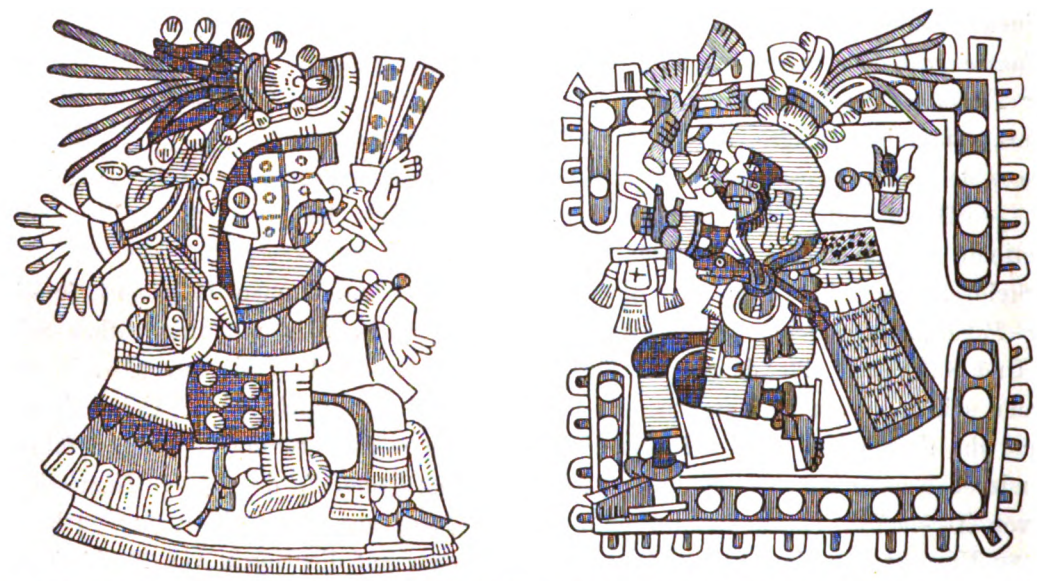

Abb. 280. *Chantico* oder *Quaxolotl*, die Feuergöttin, Regentin des achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce eecatl* „eins Wind".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 21 verso, 22 (= Kingsborough II, 28, 29).

Das Idol der Göttin wurde in dem *tlillan*, in einem lichtlosen, dunklen Hause, verschlossen gehalten. Dies, sowie der Name *Chantico*, der „im Hause" bedeutet, mag sich darauf beziehen, dass das Feuer im Innern des Hauses brennt, und dass es wohl behütet werden muss. Es kann aber auch das Erdinnere oder die Zeit der Dunkelheit oder das Totenreich bezeichnen. Denn die Feuergötter, die vor

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Abb. 281. *Chantico* oder *Quaxolotl*, die Feuergöttin, Herrin des achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce eecatl* „eins Wind". Codex Borbonicus 18.

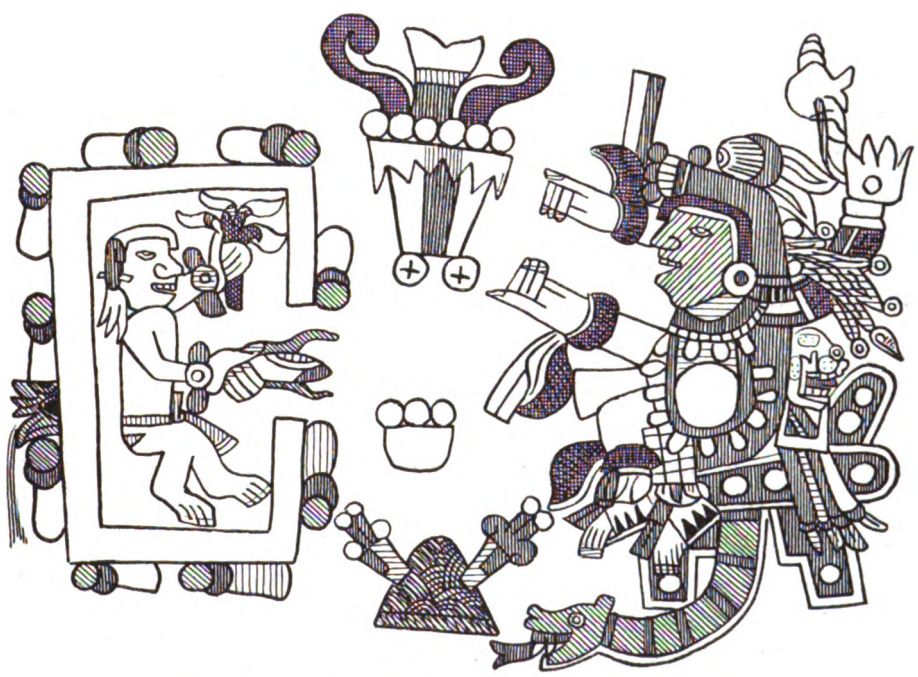

Abb. 282. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 18.

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der Geburt der Sonne da waren, sind auch die ersten Menschen, die alten Verstorbenen. Und so spielt denn auch die Göttin des Tempels *Tlillan* an dem *Tititl*-Feste, das, wie wir wissen (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 188ff.) ein Totenerinnerungsfest war, eine Rolle. Auf dem Tempel, der *Tlalxicco* „im Nabel der Erde" genannt wurde, d. h. in dem Tempel des Feuergottes, opferte der *Tlillan tlenamacac*, der ordentliche Priester des Tempels *Tlillan*, an dem Feste *Tititl* einen Gefangenen als Abbild des Gottes der Unterwelt, und entzündete Feuer und räucherte, und das geschah in der Nacht. Der andere Name der Göttin, *Quaxolotl*, der „zweiköpfig" oder „an den Spitzen sich spaltend" bedeuten wird, könnte sich auf das an den Spitzen Auseinandergehen der Flamme beziehen. Und zweifellos sind Bezeichnungen wie *Papaloxaual*, „mit dem Schmetterlinge im Gesicht bemalt", oder *Tlappapalo*, „die mit dem rothen Schmetterlinge", die von den Steinschneidern für ihre Göttin gebraucht wurden, als Namen einer Feuergöttin aufzufassen. Denn der Schmetterling ist das Abbild der Flamme, wie man in der Hieroglyphe *tlachinolli* deutlich sehen kann. Einen Schmetterling gaben die Steinschneider ihrer Göttin auch als Nasenschmuck. Und roth oder roth und weiss waren die Farben ihres Gewandes. Abbilder der Göttin *Chantico* und Symbole des Feuers waren daher ohne Zweifel auch die in der Regel in gelb und rother oder auch rother und weisser Farbe gemalten Kriegerdevisen, die in der Gestalt eines aus Federn gearbeiteten Schmetterlings auf dem Rücken getragen wurden. Sie waren Tribut der *Chinampaneca*, d. h. der Anwohner der Lagune von *Xochimilco*, und zu ihnen gehörte ein Schild, der einen Adlerfuss als Emblem trug (*quauhpachiuhqui chimalli*).

Die Göttin *Chantico* ist auch in dem Göttertrachtenkapitel Sahagun's abgebildet (Abb. 278) und ihr Putz dort beschrieben[1]). Darnach ist sie in der unteren Hälfte des Gesichtes schwarz, mit Kautschuk beschmiert, in der oberen Hälfte des Gesichts roth. Das entspricht der üblichen Bemalung des Feuergottes in den Handschriften. Sie trägt ein rothes Gewand, *axochiauipilli*, das Haar ist mit einer Binde aus zerzupftem Stoff (*tlaçolxochitl*) umwunden, und auf dem Rücken trägt sie als Devise das *meiotli*, das „Pfeilartige", „Strahlartige". In der Hand hält sie einen Federstab (*iuitopilli*), dessen Papierbekleidung *tlaitzcopintli*, d. h. mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bemalt ist, und in der anderen Hand den Schild mit dem Adlerfuss (*quauhpachiuhqui chimalli*).

Dieser wohlcharakterisirten und in ihrer Grundvorstellung durchaus klaren Gestalt entsprechen nun auch sehr gut die Bilder, die von dieser Göttin in unserer und in den anderen Handschriften gegeben sind.

Im Codex Borgia Blatt 63, oben, und im Vaticanus (Abb. 279) ist die Göttin mit gelbem Körper und gelbem Gesichte gemalt, also als „muger amarilla", hat aber im Vaticanus zwei dünne, rothe Querstreifen in der Höhe des Auges, die an den schmalen, schwarzen Streifen erinnern, den man in gleicher Höhe in dem Gesichte des Feuergottes sieht. Ihre Pelerine (*quechquemitl*) ist im Codex Borgia roth, ihre Enagua (*cueitl*) weiss, wie das Gewand der *Chantico*, der *Ciuacouatl Quilaztli* und der *Chalmecaciuatl*, der drei Göttinnen der *Chinampaneca* des Sahagun-Manuskripts. In der Nase trägt sie die stufenförmige, blaue Platte (*yacapapalotl*), und ihr Kopf ist mit einem rothen Tuche bedeckt, das ringsum mit weissen Muschelscheiben umsäumt ist. Dabei müssen wir der Angabe Sahagun's gedenken, dass der Priester der *Chantico* rothe und schwarze Farbe, Sandalen, ein Gewand und kleine Meerschnecken (caracolitos mariscos) für das Fest dieser Göttin in Bereitschaft zu halten hatte. Ueber dem Tuche trägt die Göttin ihren Federschmuck. Unter ihrem Stuhle ist im Codex Borgia ein umgestürzter, in den Farben des Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) gemalter Krug, im Vaticanus eine an einem Ball befestigte, abwärts gerichtete Blume gezeichnet.

Noch charakteristischer sind die Bilder dieser Göttin, die wir in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften sehen. Ihr Gesicht ist im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 280) gelb gemalt, und ist durch rothe Striche in eine Anzahl Felder getheilt, die alle einen rothen Ring in ihrer Mitte enthalten. Dazu zeigt sie die langen, fletschenden Raubthierzähne, die uns Duran von dem Steinbilde der Göttin von *Xochimilco* beschreibt. Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 281) ist sie mit menschlicheren Zügen dargestellt, und in der unteren Hälfte des Gesichtes schwarz, in der oberen roth, wie der Feuergott, gemalt, wie das

1) Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde. Band II, Berlin 1904, S. 501, 502.

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auch Sahagun, wie wir gesehen haben, bei dieser Göttin beschreibt und abbildet. Im Codex Borbonicus trägt sie in den Nasenflügeln den blauen Pflock *yacaxiuitl*, den wir als Kriegertotenschmuck kennen gelernt haben. In dem Bilde des Codex Telleriano-Remensis aber hat sie sowohl in der Nase, wie in den Ohren ein goldenes Gehänge, das sich aus Ring, Trapez und Strahl zusammensetzt und offenbar eine Abbreviatur des Sonnenbildes darstellt. Das ist ein Schmuck, den wir ebenso an einem Kolossalkopfe aus Stein sehen, der an dem Orte des grossen Tempels in México gefunden worden ist (Abb. 283), der wahrscheinlich die *Coyolxauhqui*, die feindliche Schwester *Uitzilopochtli*'s, darstellt. Denn wir sehen auf ihm auf beiden Backen das Zeichen Gold (*teocuitlatl*) und Schelle (*coyolli*) angegeben. Das Gesicht dieses Kopfes ist also in der That mit Schellen (*coyolli*) bemalt (*xauhqui*). Die mit diesem Namen benannte Schwester *Uitzilopochtli*'s wird wohl im Wesen der Göttin von *Xochimilco* nicht sehr fern stehen.

In allen drei, im engeren Sinne mexikanischen Handschriften endlich trägt *Chantico* über dem rothen Tuche, das auch in diesen Bildern den Scheitel und den Nacken der Göttin bedeckt, das Zeichen *atl-tlachinolli*, „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand", die symbolische Bezeichnung des Krieges, und erweist sich dadurch wiederum als das weibliche Gegenstück des Feuergottes, der ja in diesen Hand-

Abb. 283a. Steinkopf der *Coyolxauhqui*, der feindlichen Schwester *Uitzilopochtli*'s. (Aus dem grossen Tempel in México.)

Abb. 283b. Unterseite des Kopfes der *Coyolxauhqui*. (Die Seiten sind unvollständig, da hier das Relief durch die Stützpfeiler zum Theil verdeckt ist.)

schriften der Ausdruck des *atl-tlachinolli*, und sowohl beim neunten Tageszeichen wie in dem neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte mit dem Bilde des *atl-tlachinolli* verbunden ist. Unter dem Stuhle der Göttin kommt im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 281) ein Opferseil (*aztamecatl*), in dem Bilde des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 282) eine Schlange heraus. Ueber dem letzteren Bilde ist ausserdem ein Meerschneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) zu sehen, das wir anderwärts als ein Symbol des Mondgottes kennen gelernt haben. Es kann nach allem nicht der geringste Zweifel sein, dass diese Göttin eine Feuergöttin ist. — Ich mache noch darauf aufmerksam, dass auch der Kolossalkopf der *Coyolxauhqui* auf der Unterseite (vgl. Abb. 283b) das Zeichen *atl-tlachinolli* in Flachrelief ausgeführt aufweist, und dass mit diesem *atl-tlachinolli*-Zeichen auch ein Opferseil (*aztamecatl*) verschlungen ist.

Bei dem neunzehnten Tageszeichen, das den Namen *quiauitl* „Regen" führt, hatte ich darauf hingewiesen, dass der Sonnengott, der dort als Abbild und Regent dieses Zeichens steht, in der That ein passender Ausdruck dieses Zeichens ist, weil *quiauitl* „Regen" den Priestern den Feuerregen (*tlequiauitl*) oder die Zeit des Feuerregens, die dritte der vier prähistorischen oder präkosmischen Perioden veranschaulichte. Und der Sonnengott ist in der That das vom Himmel fallende Feuer. Man wird verstehen, dass unsere Göttin *Chantico*, obwohl sie ja eigentlich eine ganz anders geartete Gottheit ist, doch Ausdruck derselben Vorstellung, d. h. Sinnbild und Abbild des Feuerregens, hätte sein

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können. Ja vielleicht mit noch viel grösserem Rechte, da der Vulkanismus, die vulkanischen Gesteine also das Feuer in der Erde, in den Berichten immer mit dem Feuerregen in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Ist das aber so, so wird man es nicht weiter verwunderlich finden, dass hier bei der *Chantico*, der Göttin des achtzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, in den begleitenden Bildern dieselben Ideen zur Anschauung

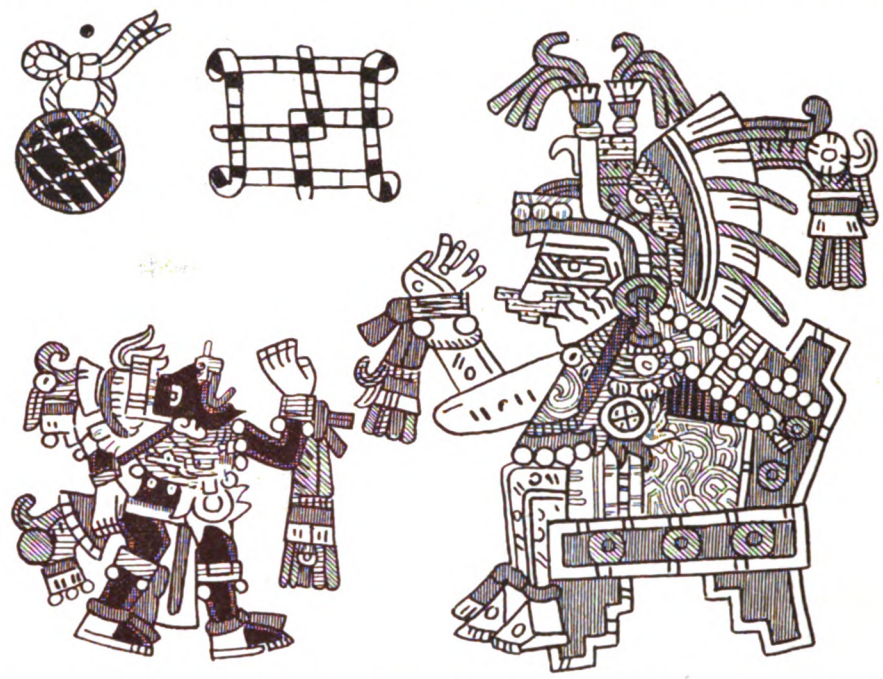

Abb. 284. *Xochiquetzal*, die junge Mondgöttin, die Göttin der Liebe, Herrin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler".
Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773) Blatt 67 (= Kingsborough II, 30, 31).

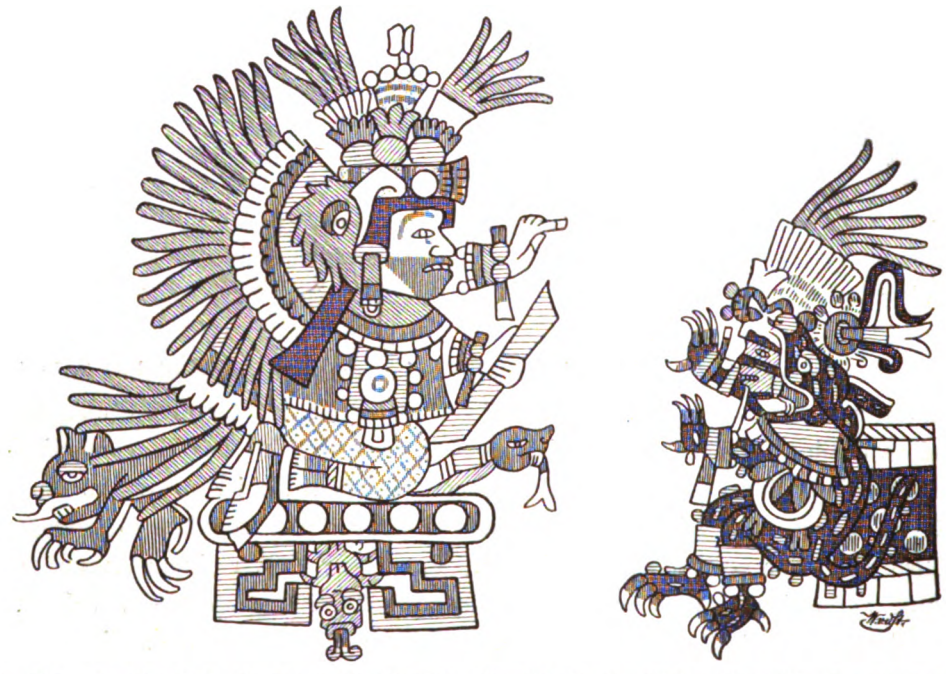

Abb. 285. *Xochiquetzal*, die junge Mondgöttin, die Göttin der Liebe, Regentin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler".
Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 22 verso, 23 (= Kingsborough II, 30, 31).

gebracht sind, wie die, die wir bei *Tonatiuh*, dem Regenten des neunzehnten Tageszeichens, dargestellt fanden. Wir sehen nämlich hier, sowohl im Codex Borgia wie in unserer Handschrift, einmal ein brennendes Haus, das heisst *tletl* „Feuer"; sodann in einem Räuchergefässe eine rothe, brennende Masse, das wird *eztli* „Blut" sein sollen; weiter ein Schneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*), das bezeichnet entweder „die im

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Abb. 286. *Xochiquetzal*, Herrin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler“.
Codex Borbonicus 19.

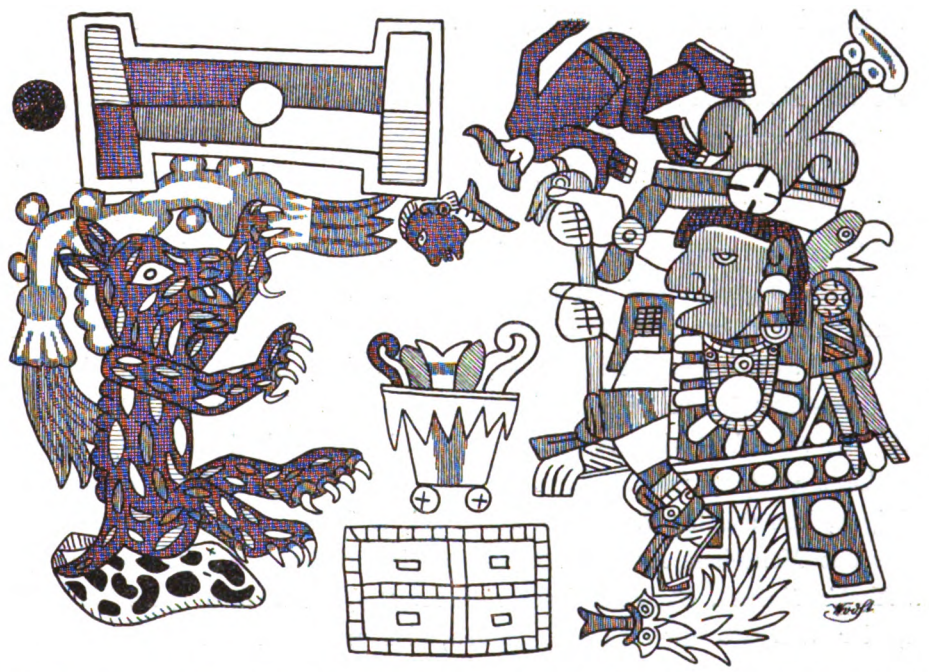

Abb. 287. *Xochiquetzal*, Herrin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler“.
Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung 19.

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Hause Verschlossene", d. i. *Chantico*, oder den aus dem Lande der Meerschnecke stammenden Gott, das ist *Tecciztecatl*. Wir sehen endlich in der Oeffnung einer Schatzkiste eine menschliche Gestalt, die in der einen Hand einen Grasbusch, in der anderen blutige Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli ezço*) hält. Dieses zunächst etwas befremdende Bild wird sofort verständlich durch die anderen, die eigentlich mexikanischen, Handschriften, die der *Chantico* gegenüber den Büsser *Quetzalcouatl* im Goldhause zeichnen. Es ist also dieses Bild ein direktes Gegenstück zu dem in der Einzäunung sitzenden Fastenden, den wir bei dem Sonnengotte, dem Regenten des neunzehnten Tageszeichens (vgl. Blatt 10 oben rechts in unserer Handschrift), abgebildet fanden.

Bei dem Sonnengotte erklärte ich mir die Vergesellschaftung mit einer Darstellung des Fastens aus der Thatsache, dass dem Sonnengotte zu jedem 203. Tage des *Tonalamatl*'s, nämlich dem Tage *naui olin*, ein grosses, allgemeines, rigoros durchgeführtes Fasten abgehalten wurde, das den Zweck hatte, den an diesem Tage drohenden Weltuntergang fern zu halten. Hier bei der *Chantico* hatte, sollen wir den Interpreten glauben, die Darstellung des Fastens bezw. des Büssers *Quetzalcouatl* einen anderen Grund. Nach den Interpreten ist *Chantico* die Göttin des Capsicum-Pfeffers. Das begreift man ebenso gut, wie man es versteht, dass der Feuergott mit dem Skorpione in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Der Capsicum-Pfeffer (*chilli*) ist das rothe, brennende Gewürz. Die Interpreten sagen aber weiter, dass *Chantico* die erste Fastenbrecherin war, die, obwohl sie vorher einen gebratenen Fisch gegessen hatte, d. h. ohne vorher zu fasten, den Göttern opferte und die deshalb von *Tonacatecutli* zur Strafe in einen Hund verwandelt wurde. Das ist eine Ideenverbindung, die die Vorstellung des Fastens bei dieser Göttin erklären würde, wenn wir nicht richtiger und einfacher anzunehmen haben, dass das Feuer und die Göttin des Feuers die Kasteiung überhaupt, den ausgedörrten leeren Magen, den brennenden Schmerz der Selbstverwundungen verkörpern solle. Dass aber die Interpreten sie als Fastenbrecherin kennzeichnen, das folgt einfach daraus, dass sie eben die Göttin des Capsicum-Pfeffers ist. Denn dieser war so sehr, und ist es noch heute, das allgemein bei jeder Mahlzeit verwandte Gewürz, dass die Enthaltung von diesem Gewürze im altem México dieselbe Bedeutung hatte, wie in der christlichen Zeit die Enthaltung von Butter und Fleischspeisen. Die ohne Capsicum-Pfeffertunke (*chilmolli*) genossenen Tortillas waren Fastenspeise. — Ich habe oben, S. 272, darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die rothe Pfefferschote, die im Codex Borbonicus und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (vgl. Abb. 270, 271) bei *Xolotl*, dem Herrn des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, angegeben ist, auch den Fastenbrecher, bezw. den für Fastenbruch Bestraften, d. h. den syphilitischen Gott *Nanauatzin*, bezeichnen könne, den man, als Gegenstück und andere Form *Xolotl*'s, bei *Xolotl* angegeben zu sehen erwarten muss.

Der neunzehnte *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt *ce quauhtli* „eins Adler" ist in unserer Handschrift in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes 62, im Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 284) auf Blatt 67 dargestellt.

Sein Regent ist die Göttin des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens *xochitl* „Blume", — *Xochiquetzal*, die junge Mondgöttin, die Göttin der Liebe, die Geliebte des Sonnengottes, von der uns Diego Muñoz Camargo in seiner „Historia de Tlaxcala" erzählt, — „dass sie über den neun Himmeln an einem sehr angenehmen und lustigen Orte wohne, begleitet und gehütet von vielem Volke, und von anderen Weibern von dem Range von Göttinnen bedient, wo es viele Ergötzlichkeiten gebe an Quellen, Bächen, Blumengärten, und ohne dass ihr irgend etwas mangelte und dass da, wo sie weilte, sie gehütet und dem Anblicke der Leute entzogen sei, und dass sie in ihrem Dienste eine grosse Menge Zwerge und Bucklige, Spassmacher und Possenreisser hätte, die sie mit Musik und Tänzen unterhielten, und die sie als ihre Vertrauten und Botschafter zu den anderen Göttern zu entsenden pflege, und dass ihre Hauptunterhaltung Spinnen und Weben von prächtigen, kunstreichen Zeugen gewesen sei, und dass man sie so schön und anmuthig gemalt habe, dass es unter den Menschen nichts Höheres gegeben habe. Der Ort aber, wo sie weilte, sei *Tamohuan ichan, Xochitl ihcacan, Chicuhnauhnepaniuhcan, Itzehecayan*, d. h. [das Haus des Herabsteigens oder der Geburt, der Ort, wo die Blumen stehen, das neunfach verkettete], der Ort der frischen und kühlen Winde genannt worden."[1]) —

1) Diego Muñoz Camargo, Historia de Tlaxcala, Buch 1, cap. 19.

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Bei dem zwanzigsten Tageszeichen fanden wir bei ihr die erste Frau, die alte Göttin am Mahlsteine, und den Skorpion, das Zeichen des Feuergottes, der der alte Gott und der erste Mensch ist, angegeben. Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis sahen wir sie als Herrin des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, als *Tonacaciuatl*, als Herrin der Lebensmittel, dem *Tonacatecutli*, dem alten Herrn der Lebensmittel und der Zeugung, dem Herrn des ersten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes und des ersten Tageszeichens, gegenüber dargestellt. Dann fanden wir sie auf dem Blatte 57 unserer Handschrift, Rücken an Rücken mit dem als Sonnengott gemalten jungen Gotte der Lebensmittel, die obere Richtung oder den Himmel veranschaulichen. Auf dem Blatte 57 unserer Handschrift begegnete sie uns als Genossin des rothen Gottes, des *Auiateotl*, des Gottes der Lust. Und auf dem Blatte 44 unserer Handschrift war sie in dem *xochicalli itzcalli*, dem Hause der Blumen und der Steinmesser, dem Hause des Südens, als Mondgöttin mit der von Muschelscheiben umsäumten Mondscheibe auf dem Bilde dargestellt, von der Fledermaus (*tzinacantli*), dem zerstückenden Thiere des Ostens, mit Blut und Herzen genährt. Auf den Blättern 58—60 endlich bildete sie, oder eine ihr verwandte Gestalt, den weiblichen Teil in einer Zahl von $2 \times 13 - 1$ Gruppen, in denen die dreizehn Tage, in denen der Mond nur am Abend, und die, wo er nur am Morgen sichtbar ist, bezw. die dreizehn Nachtstunden, die in den ersten dreizehn Tagen, und die dreizehn Tagstunden, die in den letzten dreizehn Tagen die Stunde des Monduntergange bezeichnen, zur Anschauung gebracht sind.

Hier als Herrin des neunzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes ist sie in unserer Handschrift und im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 284) wie sonst in reicher Tracht, im Gesichte mit rother Farbe in künstlichen Mustern bemalt und mit der türkisfarbenen, die ungefähre Gestalt eines Schmetterlings wiedergebenden Nasenplatte, dem *yacapapalotl*, dargestellt, aber nicht, wie die Regenten des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens, aus dem Rachen eines Quetzalvogels, sondern aus dem einer in den Farben des *chalchiuitl* gemalten Schlange hervorsehend. Das *ome quetzalli*, die beiden Quetzalfederbüschel, die auf dem Scheitel der Göttin in die Höhe stehen und ihr besonderes Kennzeichen bilden, sind hier an der Schnauzenspitze der Schlange, die ihre Helmmaske bildet, angebracht.

Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 285) ist die Göttin mit den beiden Quetzalfederbüschen auf dem Scheitel abgebildet, die aber eine Blume zwischen sich haben und so den Namen der Göttin (*Xochiquetzal*) hieroglyphisch zum Ausdrucke bringen. Im Gesichte ist sie gelb und roth gemalt. Der Kopf schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines nach Art des Quetzalvogels gezeichneten Vogels heraus. Sie hält ein Webemesser (*tzotzopaztli*) in der Hand und kniet auf einem Stuhle, von dem nach hinten ein Raubthier (oder Raubthierfell?) rother Farbe, das vielleicht einen Puma vorstellen soll, herabhängt, nach vorn eine bunte, nach Art der Korallenotter gefärbte Schlange sich hervorwindet, während unter dem Stuhle ein Skolopender herauskommt. — Die Bilder des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 286) und des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 287) sind den beschriebenen des Telleriano-Remensis offenbar nahe verwandt. Die Gesichtsbemalung der Göttin des Codex Borbonicus ist merkwürdig, indem die obere Hälfte des Gesichtes gelb (in der natürlichen Hautfarbe der Weiber), die untere Hälfte blau gemalt ist, mit einem Grenzstreifen weisser Muschelscheiben, genau wie der untere Saum ihrer Enagua, der auch blau und mit je einer Reihe weisser Muschelscheiben eingefasst ist. Das ist wohl der gelb und blauen Bemalung der *Mayauel*, der Göttin der Agave-Pflanze, zu vergleichen. Auf dem Scheitel hat die Göttin des Codex Borbonicus die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche, aber keine Blume. Das Gesicht schaut aus dem geöffneten Rachen eines Vogels heraus, der aber nicht wie ein Quetzalvogel, sondern eher wie eine Taube oder ähnlicher Vogel aussieht und vielleicht dem Vogel zu vergleichen ist, der in dem Codex Borgia die Helmmaske der Maisgottheit bildet (vgl. Blatt 51 in der Mitte der unteren Hälfte und Blatt 57 in der linken Hälfte der mittleren Reihe). Und wie bei dem *Xolotl* auf Blatt 16 dieser Handschrift, kommen aus dem Munde der Göttin ein Steinmesser und Blumen heraus. Auf dem Stuhle der Göttin sieht man auch hier ein Raubthier, das aber brauner Farbe mit langgezogenen schwarzen Flecken ist und der Göttin als Sitz dient. Unter dem Fusse der Göttin kommt eine Schlange heraus und unter dem Stuhle ein Skolopender und vier in Blüthen endende Schnüre. — In dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 287) endlich ist das Gesicht der Göttin roth gemalt. Auf dem Scheitel hat sie eine grosse Blume und keine Federbüsche. Der Vogelkopf, den man auch hier hinter dem Kopfe der Göttin sieht,

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bildet keine Helmmaske für das Gesicht der Göttin, sondern den nach hinten gewandten Kopf einer Rückendevise. Er ist aber auch hier ähnlich dem, der die Helmmaske der Maisgöttin des Codex Borgia bildet, gezeichnet. Unter dem Stuhle der Göttin soll offenbar auch hier ein Skolopender hervorkommen, der aber fast das Ansehen einer Federschlange hat.

Die Tracht und das Aussehen dieser Göttin der eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften weicht also von dem, das uns die Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe zeigen, nicht wesentlich ab. Aber eigenartig sind die Skolopender- und Schlangenfiguren, mit denen der Stuhl der Göttin garnirt ist. Wir werden wohl nicht fehl gehen, wenn wir diese mit den Schlangen und Skolopendern in Verbindung bringen, die uns in unserer Handschrift, dem Codex Borgia (Blatt 47), als die Begleiter der *Ciuateteô* begegneten (vgl. oben S. 90 und 91).

Der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber ist in beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe (vgl. Abb. 284) ein schwarzer Tänzer gezeichnet, der aber augenscheinlich nicht einen gewöhnlichen, gewerbsmässigen Tänzer vorstellt, sondern etwas Uebernatürliches, Unheimliches an sich hat, offenbar ein verkappter Gott ist, denn er hat in unserer Handschrift zwar die spitz ausgezogene weisse *tiçatl*-Bemalung um den Mund und eine in gleicher Weise gemalte Partie um das Auge, wie unsere Handschrift die Musikanten malt — man vergleiche den Tänzer vor *Ueuecoyotl* in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 64 unserer Handschrift — und den Schmuck rasselnder Schneckengehäuse und aus Schneckengehäusen geschliffener Stücke (*oyoualli*), der die gewöhnliche Ausstattung der Tänzer bildet, sondern zugleich auch feuerfarbenes, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelndes Haar, darüber die nach oben sich verbreiternde, in den Farben des Türkisvogels gemalte Krone (*xiuhtotocalli*) des Feuergottes und die beiden Adlerfederbüsche zu den Seiten des Kopfes, die wir auch bei dem Feuergotte in der unteren Hälfte des Blattes 69 unserer Handschrift sehen, und die in unserer Handschrift, wie es scheint, die Vertreter der beiden *ome quammamalitli* oder der beiden Pfeilschäfte sind, die bei diesem Gotte das *ome acatl*, d. h. das Feuerbohren, veranschaulichen. Dass diese Figur in der That nur als eine Verkleidung des Feuergottes gedacht ist, geht auch aus dem Parallelbilde des Vaticanus (Abb. 284) hervor, da hier die schwarze, tanzende Figur den Türkisvogel (*xiuhtototl*) auf der Brust trägt, wie in derselben Handschrift der Feuergott, der erste der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S 220, Abb. 390). Es ist also diese Figur zu gleicher Zeit ein dunkler Gott, ein Tänzer, ein Feuergott und ein himmlischer Gott, — das letztere wird durch die beiden Stirnlocken bewiesen. Nun, diese Kombination lässt wohl keinen Zweifel übrig, dass wir es hier wieder mit einer astronomischen Persönlichkeit zu thun haben. Es ist entweder der Mond, den wir in den oben S. 188 in Abb. 173, 174 wiedergegebenen Bildern des Codex Laud und des Vaticanus 3773 als Musikanten und Tänzer kennen gelernt haben, der hier wieder als Tänzer auftritt und als der männliche Gott des Mondes der Mondgöttin gegenüber seine Stelle erhalten hätte. Oder es sind die Sterne, die vor dem Monde tanzen.

Die Bilder, die in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften diese Figur des Codex Borgia vertreten, scheinen diese Vermuthung zu bestätigen. Denn wir sehen dort in allen drei Bilderschriften der Göttin gegenüber ein dunkelfarbiges Thier, mit länglichem, spitzem Kopfe und blauen oder geradezu bunten Flecken, das in dem Bilde des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 286) und dem des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 287) die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* auf dem Kopfe trägt, im Codex Borbonicus ausserdem auch den *yacaxiuitl*, den Kriegertotenschmuck, in den Nasenflügeln hat, im Codex Telleriano-Remensis aber als Verkleidung *Tezcatlipoca*'s erscheint, dessen in Querstreifen schwarz und gelb gemaltes Gesicht aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Thieres hervorsieht, dessen rauchenden Spiegel das Thier an der Schläfe hat, dessen weissen, oben mit rothem Leder umwickelten Ring *anauatl* das Abbild des Auges, es auf der Brust trägt. Dieses Thier, das durch die beiden Quetzalfederbüsche als wesensgleich mit der *Xochiquetzal* erklärt wird, das die Verkleidung oder die andere Gestalt des Mondgottes *Tezcatlipoca* ist, ist zweifellos das Homologon des tanzenden schwarzen Feuergottes des Codex Borgia. Was für eine mythische Auffassung liegt aber hier in der Thiergestalt vor? An was für ein Thier haben wir überhaupt zu denken? Diese Frage ist nicht so leicht zu beantworten. Es ist das nicht der einzige Fall, wo *Tezcatlipoca* mit einer Thiergestalt in Verbindung gebracht wird. An zwei Stellen des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer fanden wir bei ihm ein kleines schwarzes Thier angegeben (vgl. oben S. 163).

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Dort ist aber ebensowenig eine genauere Bestimmung möglich. Zudem hat man dort mehr den Eindruck, dass man es mit einem kleinen Gespensterthiere zu thun hat, das den abergläubischen und furchterfüllten Besuchern auf dem Kreuzwege erscheint. Ich bin geneigt, das dunkle, buntgefleckte Thier, das in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften vor *Xochiquetzal* erscheint, mit dem — allerdings in der Regel weissgefärbten — spitzschnäuzigen Thiere zu identifizieren, das in der Wiener Handschrift und im Codex Nuttall der Begleiter der geköpften Göttin, das ist dort zweifellos *Xochiquetzal*, ist (vgl. unten Abb. 290, 291) und das wir im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (vgl. Abb. 83, oben S. 111) im Tempel des Nordens thronen sahen, an der Stelle, wo die Parallelen der anderen Bilderschriften das Bild des Mondes zeichnen.

Zwischen den beiden Hauptpersonen, der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* und dem tanzenden, schwarzen Feuergotte sieht man nun in unserer Handschrift, und entsprechend in der Parallelstelle des Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 284), einen grossen, mit Stricken umschnürten Ball, der wohl eine Kautschukkugel (*oltelolotli*) vorstellen muss, und etwas, das wie ein in der Mitte durchkreuztes Faden- oder Band-

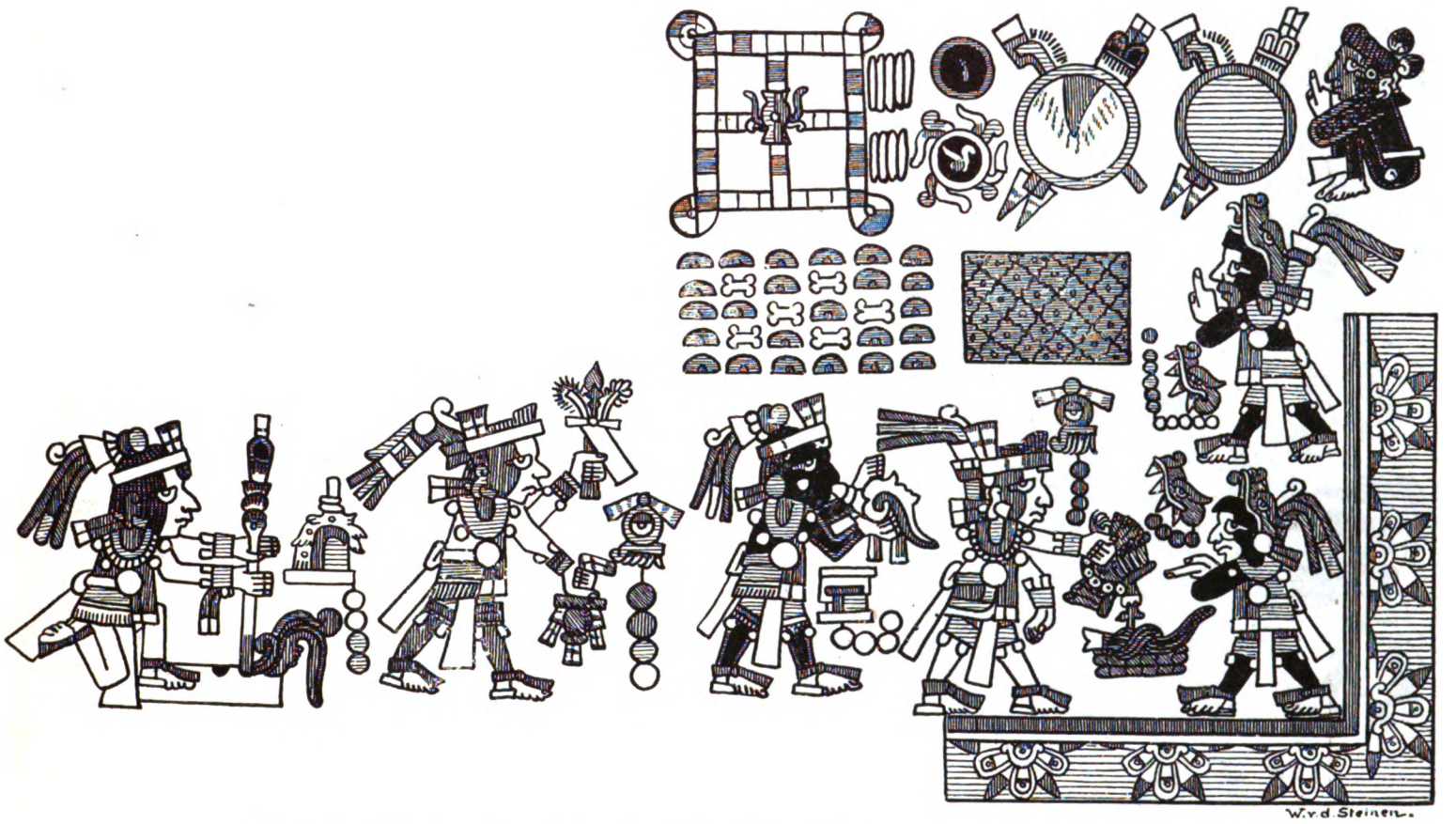

Abb. 288. Die Götter *Naui cipactli* „Vier Krokodil“ und *Matlactliozce cipactli* „Eilf Krokodil“.
Wiener Handschrift. Blatt 12, 13 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung.

viereck aussieht, wozu dann noch, in unserer Handschrift, vier halbe Augen kommen, die unterhalb des Faden- oder Bandvierecks angegeben sind. Diese beiden Gebilde haben ihre Parallele an zwei Stellen (Blatt 12—13 und 20) der Bilderhandschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien (Abb. 288, 289). Hier sehen wir nämlich einmal (Abb. 288) in einer Art Sternhimmelraum die beiden Himmelsgötter (?) *Naui cipactli* „vier Krokodil“ und *Matlactli ozce cipactli* „eilf Krokodil“, das andere Mal (Abb. 289), den vor einem Ballspielplatze (*tlachtli*) auf zwei brennenden Kautschuk- oder Kopalkugeln stehenden Gott *Naui olin* „vier Bewegung“ der aber hier, in den Handschriften der Gruppe der Wiener Handschrift, offenbar nicht den Sonnengott, sondern eine nächtige Gestalt, vielleicht den Erdbebengott, darstellt. Beide Male steht diesen Göttern eine Gruppe von Priestern gegenüber. Der vorderste bringt dem Gotte, bezw. den beiden Göttern, eine Wachtel als Opfer dar. Das Blut der Wachtel tropft, — das ist in der Wiener Handschrift eine häufige Darstellung, — auf eine abgeschnittene Haarflechte, die auf einer Unterlage von

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grünen Blättern ruht. Ueber diesen beiden Gruppen ist nun, sowohl in Abb. 288, wie in Abb. 289, dasselbe in der Mitte durchkreuzte Faden- oder Bandviereck zu sehen, das aber hier in dem Kreuzungspunkte der mittleren Kreuzung das Zeichen *olin* „Bewegung“ trägt, das an der einen Stelle (Abb. 288) als feuriges, mit aus den Seiten herausschlagenden Flammenzungen gezeichnet ist. An der einen Seite dieses Bandvierecks sieht man neun kurze Stäbe, die wie die Spielstäbe aussehen, die bei den Stämmen der Nordwestküste im Gebrauche sind, und daneben zwei Kautschukkugeln (*oltelolotli*), von denen einer wieder als brennender, feuriger gezeichnet ist. An der anderen Seite des Bandvierecks sind dieselben halben Augen zu sehen, die in dem Bilde unserer Handschrift (Blatt 62, oben) unter dem Bandviereck

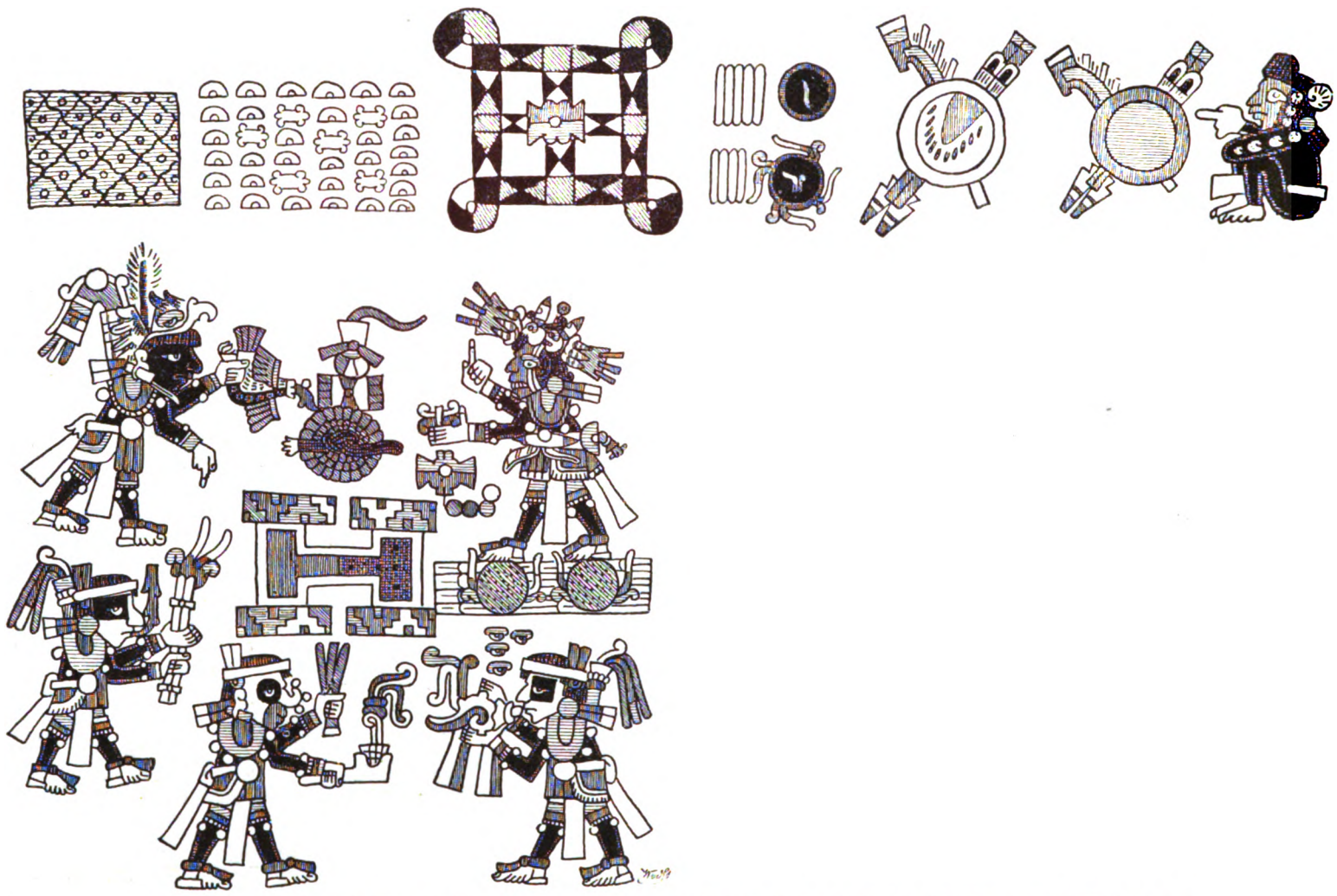

Abb. 289. Der Gott *Naui olin* „Vier Bewegung“. Wiener Handschrift. Blatt 20 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung.

angegeben sind. Nur sind es hier, in der Wiener Handschrift, nicht bloss vier, sondern sechs Säulen von je fünf bezw. sechs Gliedern, — also 30 bezw. 36. In dieser Gruppe halber Augen sind aber sechs, in symmetrischer Vertheilung zwischen den anderen stehend, durch einen Knochen ersetzt. An den äusseren Enden dieser Reihe sieht man auf der einen Seite zweimal das Zeichen des Krieges, — Schild, Speerbündel und Wurfbrett —, und daneben ein sitzendes Männchen, dessen Gesicht halb schwarz, halb roth, dessen Glieder schwarz und *cicitlallô*, mit Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde gemalt sind. Von den Schilden ist in beiden Fällen der eine blau (türkisfarben), der andere weiss mit rothem, von rothen Tropfen oder Streifen umsetztem Keilausschnitt, — eine Zeichnung, die an das Muster erinnert, das der *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Himmelsträger des Westens, des Codex Vaticanus (vgl. Abb. 107, oben S. 129), auf der Schambinde hat. An dem anderen, dem linken Ende der Reihe endlich sieht man ein viereckiges Stück, das blau bezw. schwarz gemalt ist und wie ein Stück Krokodil- oder *cipactli*-Haut aussieht. Dass

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es sich bei diesen beiden Bildern um eine Art Wettspiel handelt, wobei Points gezählt wurden, ist wohl klar. Welcher Art dieses war, wissen wir nicht. Es lässt sich aber vermuthen, dass es irgendwie mit dem Ballspiele, das wir ja in dem Zeichen *olin* verkörpert sehen dürfen, zusammenhieng oder ihm gleich erachtet wurde. Und ebenso dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass in diesem Wettspiele gewisse himmlische Vorgänge, vielleicht der Kampf der Sonne mit dem Monde, angeschaut wurde. Denn einerseits hängen diese beiden Bilder Abb. 288, 289 mit der Darstellung Abb. 290 zusammen, wo wir *Xochiquetzal*, als geköpfte Göttin, und ihr Thier mit Schalen (Pulqueschalen?) in der Hand, ferner Agave-Pflanzen, die abgeschnittene Haarflechte auf der Blattunterlage, einen Ballspielplatz und einen anderen Spielplatz (?), endlich Kautschukkugel und Spindel, das Zeichen der Mondgöttin, in einer Gruppe vereinigt sehen, — eine Darstellung, für die die Abb. 291 aus dem Codex Nuttall eine interessante Parallele bildet. Andererseits endet die ganze Reihe, der diese Bilder der Wiener Handschrift angehören, auf Blatt 23 Kingsboroughscher Zählung, in einem mit der Hieroglyphe *ce xochitl* „eins Blume“ versehenen grossen Sonnenbilde, das über einer Tempelpyramide aufsteigt.

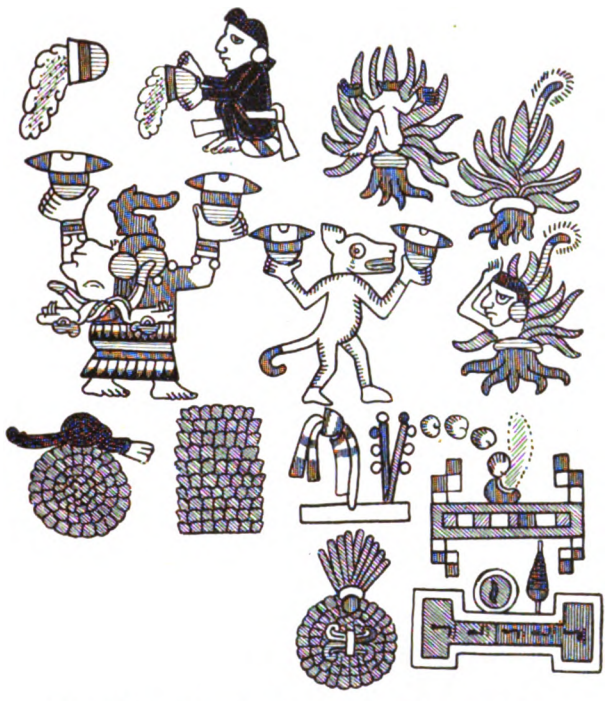

Abb. 290. Die geköpfte Göttin (*Xochiquetzal*) und die Agave-Pflanzen. Wiener Handschrift. Blatt 22 (Kingsborough'scher Zählung).

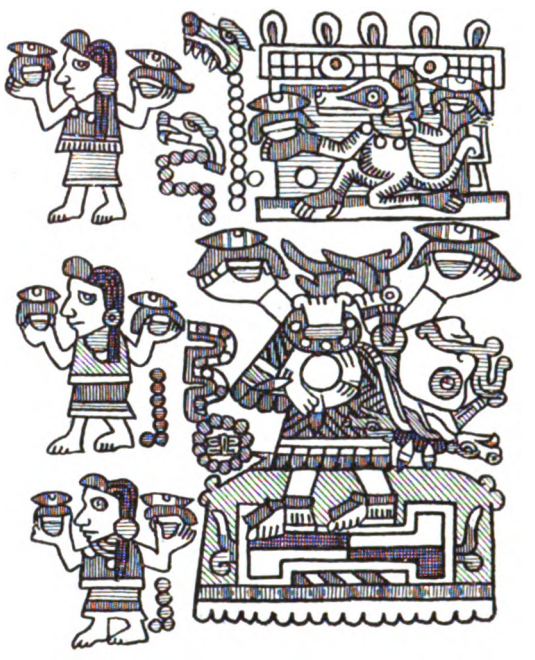

Abb. 291. *Xochiquetzal*, mit abgeschnittenem, nach hinten hängendem Kopfe. (Codex Nuttall 3.)

Die eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften scheinen nun in der That diese Vermuthung zu bestätigen. Denn dort haben wir im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 286) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 287) neben der *Xochiquetzal* und dem Thiere ihr gegenüber das in der Mitte durchkreuzte Bandviereck angegeben, daneben aber, statt der einfachen, von Stricken umschnürten Kautschukkugel, die uns die beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe zeigten, einen Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*), mit einer Kautschukkugel (*olli*), neben der im Codex Borbonicus ein Schädel und das Zeichen Wasser, die Elemente der Hieroglyphe des Mondes, gezeichnet sind. Zwischen beiden endlich ist das Bild des geköpften Sünders zu sehen, — oder der geköpften Lichtgottheit, denn das *cuitlatl*-artige Haar der betreffenden Figur im Codex Borbonicus könnten wir auch als ein Analogen der beiden (oder drei) über der Stirn aufstrebenden Haarlocken der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe ansehen. Dass aber die geköpfte Lichtgottheit, oder der geköpfte Sünder, den bei der Annäherung an die Sonne halbirten Mond bezeichnet, ist nach den verschiedenen Nachweisungen, die ich in früheren Abschnitten dieses Bandes gegeben habe, wohl klar.

Demnach ist in den so räthselhaft aussehenden Bildern unserer Handschrift, der Kautschukkugel

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und dem Bandvierecke, der Kampf der Sonne mit dem Monde, oder der Mondgottheit, zum Ausdrucke gebracht, die eben das eigentliche Wesen der Göttin dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, der *Xochiquetzal* ausmacht.

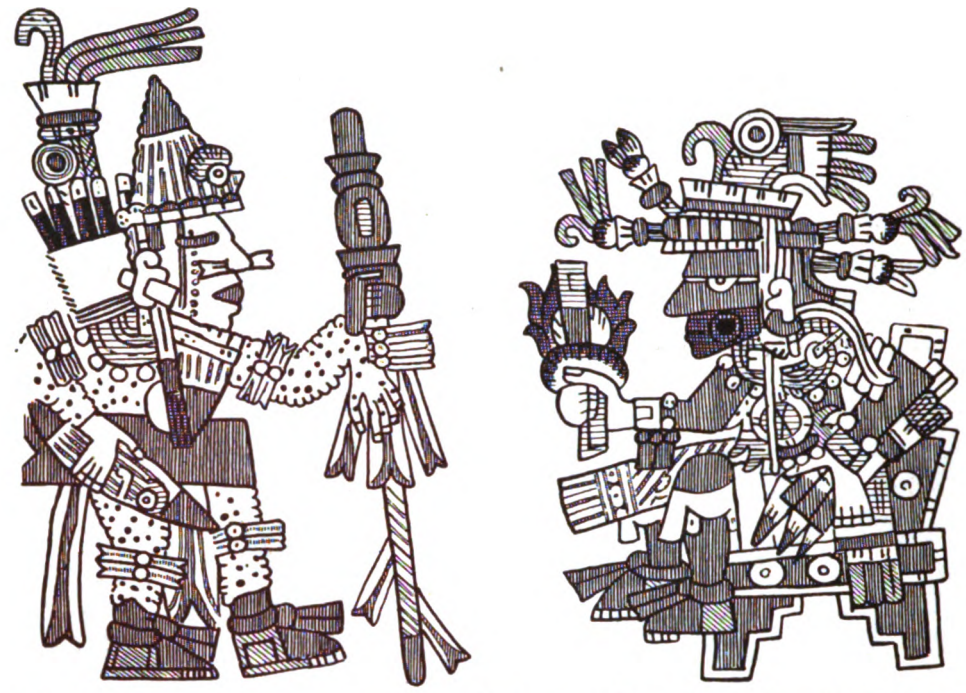

Abb. 292. *Xiuhtecutli,* der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec* „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Erdgott, der Frühlingsgott. Herr des zwanzigsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen". Codex Vaticanus B (Nr. 3773), Blatt 68 (= Kingsborough 2).

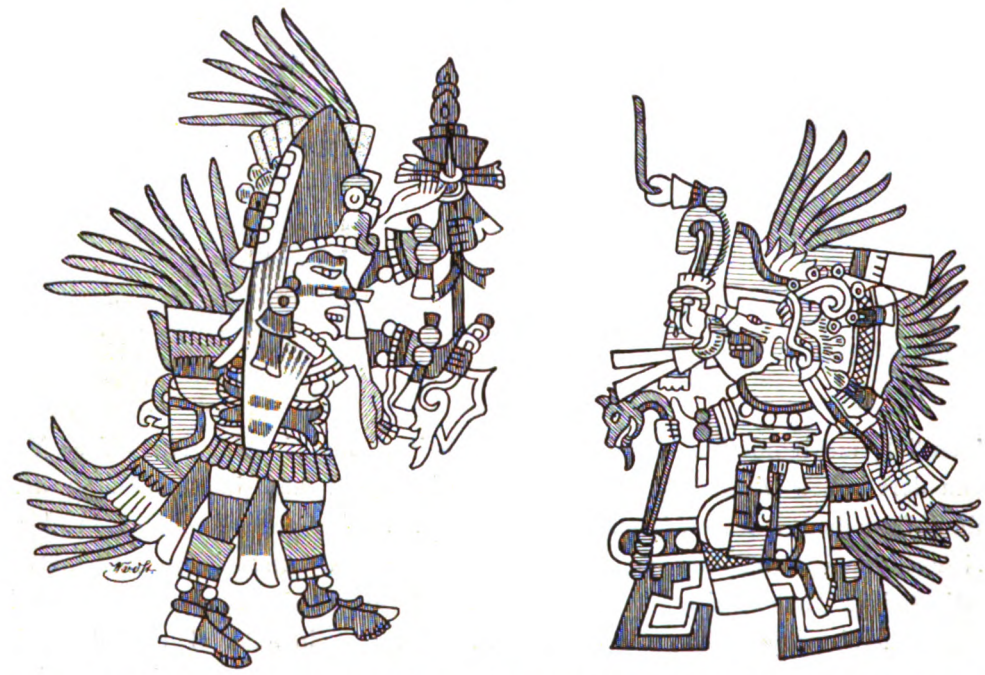

Abb. 293. *Xiuhtecutli,* der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec* „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Erdgott, der Frühlingsgott. Herren des zwanzigsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen". Codex Telleriano-Remensis fol. 23 verso, 24 (= Kingsborough II, 32, 33).

Der zwanzigste *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen", ist im Codex Borgia in der oberen Hälfte von Blatt 71, im Vaticanus (Abb. 292) auf Blatt 67 dargestellt.

Mit der *Xochiquetzal* des vorigen Abschnittes war die Reihe der Tageszeichengötter zu Ende gekommen. Es sind deshalb hier, als Regenten dieses zwanzigsten Abschnittes zwei neue Gottheiten

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Abb. 294. *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec* „unser Herr, der Geschundene", der Erdgott, der Frühlingsgott, Herren des zwanzigsten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen". Codex **Borbonicus 20.**

Abb. 295. *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung 20.

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eingeführt worden. Es sind *Xiuhtecutli* der Feuergott, und *Xipe Totec*, unser Herr der Geschundene. Sie könnten hier stehen, weil *ce tochtli* das Zeichen der Erde und *Xipe Totec* der Gott der Erde ist; und weil der dritte Tag in dieser Dreizehnheit, der Tag *yei itzcuintli* „drei Hund", der Tag und das Zeichen des Feuergottes ist, da drei die Zahl der Herdsteine (*tenamaztli*), und der Hund, das beissende Thier, das Abbild des Feuers ist.

Xipe Totec ist in den beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe in typischer Weise dargestellt, aber mit einem Steinmesser als Helmmaske, seinen rothen Rasselstab (*chicauaztli*) in der einen, ein steinernes Opfermesser in der anderen Hand haltend, und mit der abgezogenen Menschenhaut bekleidet. — In den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften ähnlich, nur dass er hier noch mit seinem Zapoteblätterröckchen (*itzapocuᵓ*) bekleidet ist, das den Bildern der Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe fehlt. Im Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Abb. 293) hält er, statt des Steinmessers, ein Meerschneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) in der Hand, das man in dem Bilde des Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 294) zwischen den beiden Göttern gezeichnet sieht, während es im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 295) vor dem Gesichte des Feuergottes angegeben ist. — Die Interpreten nennen den Gott *Xipe Totec* hier *Iztapaltotec*, d. h. „unser Herr, der flache Stein", und sie erläutern, offenbar auf seine Helmmaske Bezug nehmend: — „pedernal ó cuchillo del guerreador ó desdichado ó dolorido, mas poprio es dezir pedernal sangriento del dolorido" —, d. h. in kurzen Worten Opfermesser. Sie fügen aber dann hinzu: — „*yiztapali* propriamente es losa ó este asiento de la tierra", — d. h. sie identifiziren unseren Gott mit der Erde. Und das Vorkommen dieses Gottes hier wird dann an dieser Stelle zum Schlusse durch die Bemerkung gerechtfertigt: — „In zwei Rohr (*ome acatl*) wurde der Himmel geschaffen, und die Thiere in eins Feuerstein (*ce tecpatl*) und die Erde in eins Kaninchen (*ce tochtli*)." — Das Vorkommen des Meerschneckengehäuses in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften, weist aber darauf hin, dass man bei dem Anfangstage dieses *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes an das Kaninchen, das Abbild des Mondes, gedacht hat, denn das Meerschneckengehäuse ist das Zeichen des Mondgottes, der ja darnach geradezu *Tecciztecatl* „der aus dem Lande der Meerschnecke" heisst. Wir dürfen wohl annehmen, dass vielmehr dieser Umstand die Veranlassung war, dass man *Xipe Totec* zum Regenten dieses Abschnittes wählte. Denn *Xipe Totec* ist seinem eigentlichen Wesen nach der Mondgott. Und den Feuergott hat man ihm gegenübergestellt, weil eben in diesen Abschnitt der Tag *yei itzcuintli* fällt, der, — wie ich oben angab, — in der That das Symbol und der Name des Feuergottes und der Ausdruck seines Wesens ist, daher auch durch den Handweiser des Interpreten dieser Tag als der eigentliche Festtag dieses Abschnittes bezeichnet wird. Oder aber, weil auch der Feuergott, der in der Zeit der Dunkelheit und der Nacht, vor der Geburt der Sonne da war, der der alte Gott, der „erste Mensch" war, mit dem Monde und mit den Sternen in Verbindung steht. Für das letztere sprechen in der That gewisse Besonderheiten, die dieser Gott an dieser Stelle, zum wenigsten in unserer Handschrift, dem Codex Borgia, hat. Er ist nämlich hier nicht nur in seiner gewöhnlichen Farbe und Bemalung, mit dem feuerfarbenen Haare, der nach oben sich verbreiternden, in den Farben des Türkisvogels gemalten Krone (*xiuhtotoamacalli*) und den beiden Pfeilschäften, den *ome quammamalitli* im Haare, dargestellt — im Vaticanus (Abb. 292) auch mit dem Türkisvogel auf dem Halskragen, und im Codex Borgia mit der blauen, in Türkismosaik ausgeführten, stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Brustplatte, mit der er ganz allgemein in den eigentlich mexikanischen Handschriften ausgestattet ist, — sondern er hat auch die beiden über der Stirne aufzüngelnden Locken, die als Abzeichen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s und der Sterngötter und anderer astronomischer Gottheiten, der Mondgottheiten *Tlaçolteotl* und *Xipe Totec*, uns längst bekannt geworden sind. — Als Ohrgehänge trägt *Xiuhtecutli* hier, nur in blauer Farbe, den Strahl, den wir als den Ohrschmuck der Göttin *Chantico* des Codex Telleriano-Remensis und des Kolossalkopfes der *Coyolxauhqui* kennen gelernt haben (vgl. Abb. 280 und 283, oben S. 274 und 277).

In der Mitte zwischen den beiden Gottheiten dieses Abschnittes ist im Codex Borgia ein in den Farben des Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) gemalter Topf gezeichnet, aus dem mit Godschellen besetzte Edelsteinhalsbänder (*chalchiuhcozcatl*) hervorragen. Denn der Feuergott war der Herr des Reichthums. „El que nacia en un conejo *[ce tochtli]*" — sagt der Interpret — „seria hombre de luenga vida, y el que nacia en 5 *malinalli* seria mercader y rico".

Im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 294) und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 295) sind

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zwischen den beiden Göttern ein Feuergefäss und die Instrumente der Kasteiung und das Bild der Mitternacht, die das *tlatlapitzalizpan*, die Zeit der Kasteiung ist, angegeben. Darüber endlich sieht man im Codex Borbonicus auf der rechten Seite (über *Xipe Totec*) einen in den Zeichen des Edelsteins gemalten Behälter mit Maiskolben, denn *Xipe Totec* ist der agrarische Gott, der Lebensmittelspender. Auf der linken Seite aber, über *Xiuhtecutli*, dem Feuergotte, eine Schale mit einem Hirschfusse, ein Adlergefäss (*quauhxicalli*), ein Sklavenjoch (*quauhcozcatl*) und ein Bündel Speere, die, wie es scheint, diesen Gott als einen Gott des Krieges und der Jagd kennzeichnen sollen. Ich bemerke indes, dass wir im Codex Borbonicus dieselbe Kombination der Schale mit dem Hirschfusse, des Sklavenjochs, des Pfeilbündels, und auch das Zeichen der Mitternacht und der Kasteiung, bei *Xolotl*, dem Regenten des sechszehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes angegeben fanden.

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24. Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern, und die dreizehn Vögel (die Stunden des Tages).

(Blatt 71 = Kingsborough 44.)

Dies prächtige Blatt zeigt uns auf der linken Seite *Tonatiuh*, den Sonnengott, der hier als rother Gott gemalt ist, wie in der mittleren Reihe des Blattes 15 unserer Handschrift, auch auf der Brust nicht, wie sonst, die Goldscheibe *teocuitlacomalli*, sondern die in Türkismosaik ausgeführte viereckige Platte des Feuergottes trägt, und auf dem von der Edelsteinkette umwundenen Haare die nach oben sich verbreiternde Krone (*xiuhtotocalli*) des Feuergottes thronen hat, aus der dann aber wieder die vier Adlerfederstreifen des Sonnengottes herausragen. Der Gott sitzt gewissermassen auf einer Sonnenscheibe oder in einer Sonnenscheibe, die ihrerseits auf einer, nach Art des *teoicpalli*, aus Holz geschnitzten, mit Edelsteinen eingelegten und mit Metall beschlagenen Estrade ruht. Auf dieser Estrade ist die Scheibe eigentlich wohl in horizontaler Position zu denken, wie das Sonnenbild auf der Oberseite der grossen *quauhxicalli*-Steine. Da aber der Künstler das in der Zeichnung nicht wiedergeben konnte, und eben die volle Fläche der Sonnenscheibe zeigen musste, hat er sie aufrecht gestellt. In der Mitte ragt über dieser Sonnenscheibe ein Edelsteinband empor, das in einer grossen Blüthe endet. Um diese sind fünf Papier- oder Federfahnen geordnet, die wohl den fünf Weltgegenden oder Himmelsrichtungen entsprechen. Und darunter rinnt auf der einen Seite ein Strom gelber, mit Daunenfederballen besteckter Federn, auf der anderen ein Wasserstrom, der kleine gelbe Scheiben auf seiner Fläche trägt, herunter. Das ist eine hieroglyphische Wiedergabe der Phrase *teoatl-tlachinolli* „Wasser (Speerwerfen) und Brand“ des metaphorischen Ausdruckes für „Krieg“, wie wir das ähnlich schon auf dem Blatte 19 unserer Handschrift an der Estrade gesehen hatten, auf der *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Morgensternes kniet. Der Gott selbst hält in der einen Hand ein Bündel Speere, in der anderen das auf der Unterseite mit einem Büschel Adlerfedern verzierte blaue Wurfbrett (*xiuhatlatl*), das Instrument, mit dem die Speere geschleudert wurden, und dazu zwei Papierfähnchen (*amapamitl*), die Opferfahnen. Unter der Estrade hängen zwei Opferseile herunter, — Reiherfederseile (*aztamecatl*) genannt, weil an ihnen Daunenfederbälle und zwei Reiherfedern, die Symbole der himmlischen Höhe, des Hauses der Sonne, wohin die Geopferten gehen, eingeknüpft sind. Unter diesen Opferseilen endlich ist das Zeichen *naui olin* „vier Bewegung“ angegeben, der Tag, der in der Tradition der Mexikaner und in den Bilderschriften sowohl der engeren mexikanischen Region, wie denen der Codex Borgia-Gruppe, als Zeichen und Symbol der Sonne, d. h. der gegenwärtigen, der historischen Sonne, des *Olintonatiuh*, der „Erdbebensonne“, bekannt ist, die, — im Gegensatz zu den vier prähistorischen Sonnen, die der Reihe nach durch Dunkelheit, durch Windstürme, Feuerregen und eine grosse Sintfluth ihr Ende fanden, — durch grosses allgemeines Erdbeben unterzugehen bestimmt ist. So sind also auf diesem Blatte die verschiedenen Vorstellungen, die die Mexikaner von der Sonne hatten, zu einem Gesammtbilde vereinigt.

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Dem Sonnengotte gegenüber sieht man auf unserem Blatte eine in grünes *malinalli*-Gras gekleidete skelettköpfige Thiergestalt, die wohl eigentlich einen Affen vorstellen soll, da dieses Thier ganz allgemein in *malinalli*-Gras gekleidet dargestellt wird. Dieses Thier hat hier vor dem Sonnengotte eine Wachtel (*çolin*) in der üblichen Weise durch Abreissen des Kopfes (*tlaquechcotonaliztli*) geopfert. Den abgerissenen Kopf hält diese Thiergestalt zusammen mit einem Opferfähnchen in der einen Hand. Ein anderer abgerissener Wachtelkopf liegt auf dem Erdboden, der durch einen aufgesperrten *cipactli*-Rachen veranschaulicht ist. Den kopflosen Rumpf der Wachtel hält die skelettförmige Thiergestalt in der anderen Hand, und das der Halswunde des Vogels entströmende Blut geht geradeswegs in den Mund des Sonnengottes über. Er trinkt das Blut der Wachtel, er wird mit dem Blute der Wachtel genährt.

Ich möchte hier noch ein Paar Worte über die Wachtel und das Wachtelopfer sagen. Der natürlichen Färbung des Gefieders entsprechend, wird der Vogel in der Regel blau und mit blauem Schnabel gemalt, aber der Scheitel und der Leib, und der eigentliche Körper der Schwung- und Steuerfedern werden mit Augenflecken, mit weissen Flecken auf schwarzem Grunde, angegeben, d. h. der Vogel ist *cicitallô* „sternhimmelfarben" gemalt. Dass die Gefiederzeichnung der Wachtel in der That in dieser Weise aufgefasst wurde, dafür scheint mir gerade das Bild der Wachtel, die auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte geopfert wird, zu sprechen. Denn hier ist der Hals und der Leib nicht einfach mit weissen Kreisen, sondern mit Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde, also in der gleichen Weise *cicitallô* „sternhimmelartig" wie die Arme *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, der Gottheit des Morgensterns, gezeichnet. Es ist demnach die Wachtel, als Thier, gewissermassen das Abbild der zum Opfer Bestimmten, die auch *mixcitlalhuiticac*, mit der Sternhimmelbemalung im Gesichte, wie *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und wie *Mixcouatl*, versehen wurden, weil sie in das Haus der Sonne, zum Himmel, zum Himmel des Morgensternes, giengen, dort als Gefolge, als Diener, ja gewissermassen als Vertreter der Sonne, weiter zu leben. Wenn es also ausschliesslich Wachteln waren, die der Sonne und den verwandten grossen Göttern, *Uitzilopochtli* u. s. w. geopfert wurden, so geschah das nicht deshalb etwa, weil die Wachtel der Vogel war, der am ehesten zur Hand war, sondern weil die Wachtel das Abbild der Opfermenschen, der Seelen der geopferten Krieger, der Begleiter, Diener und Vertreter der Sonne, war.

Wenn nun aber die Wachtel in der That *cicitallô* „sternhimmelartig" bemalt ist, so sollte man vermuthen, dass sie auch in dem Ausputze des Sterngottes *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, Verwendung gefunden hätte. Das ist nun allerdings nicht der Fall. Aber vielleicht nur deshalb nicht, weil für die Zeichnung und den Schmuck dieses Gottes, (wie auch für den des verwandten Feuergottes) eine andere Art *cicitallô*-Federn, nämlich die schwarzen, mit einem weissen Endflecke versehenen Schwanzfedern des Truthahns konventionell geworden waren.

Dagegen erscheint die Wachtel oder die Wachtelfedern in dem Schmucke und dem Ausputze zweier anderer Götter, der Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl* und *Xipe Totec*'s, zweier ihrem Wesen nach eng verwandter Gestalten. In den Bildern des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (vgl. unten Abb. 297) ist die Wachtel geradezu als die Verkleidung *Xipe Totec*'s gezeichnet. Ich habe mir das früher in der Weise gedeutet, dass ich annahm, dass die Wachtel das am Boden lebende Thier, das Thier der Erde, sei und deshalb den ja in der That auch die Erde und die Erzeugnisse der Erde repräsentirenden oder hervorrufenden beiden genannten Gottheiten verwandt erachtet worden sei. Ich neige aber doch jetzt eher der Ansicht zu, dass das Sternhimmelartige der Gefiederzeichnung der Wachtel auch hier den Ausschlag gegeben hat, da ja diese beiden Gottheiten auch himmlische Gestalten sind, das grosse Gestirn der Nacht, den wachsenden und abnehmenden und wieder sich erneuernden Mond, und damit die Potenz des Wachsthums und der Erneuerung, in sich verkörpern.

Dürften wir in der That annehmen, dass die Wachtel als der sternhimmelartige Vogel das Abbild der *Tlaçolteotl* und *Xipe Totec*'s geworden sei, so erscheint die Art, wie das Wachtelopfer vollzogen wurde, das *tlaquechcotonaliztli*, das „Halsdurchschneiden", bezw. Kopfabreissen, vielleicht noch in einem besonderen Lichte. Es ist ja eigentlich an sich nicht unnatürlich, dass man Vögel opferte, indem man ihnen den Kopf abriss. Man schlachtet bei uns, zum mindesten Tauben und andere kleine Vögel, genau in der gleichen Weise. Aber andererseits müssen wir doch daran denken, dass es das Schicksal des Mondes ist, halbirt, geköpft zu werden, wenn er der Sonne näher rückt, dass deshalb die *Coyolxauhqui* von dem

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jungen *Uitzilopochtli* geköpft wurde und dass auch das Abbild der *Tlaçolteotl* an ihrem grossem Feste zur herbstlichen Erntezeit durch Abschneiden des Kopfes geopfert wurde. Es liegt gewiss nicht ganz fern anzunehmen, dass diese Vorstellung auch in dem *tlaquechcotonalitztli*, in dem Wachtelopfer, zum Ausdrucke gekommen ist. Indem nun hier auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte vor dem Sonnengotte ein Wachtelopfer dargestellt worden ist, würde darin nur eine weitere Kennzeichnung des Wesens dieser Gottheit liegen, da der Sonnengott es ist, der an dem Monde diese Dekapitirung vollzieht.

An dem oberen Rande endlich des Mittelfeldes unseres Codex Borgia-Blattes, gerade über dem die Wachtel opfernden Skelette sind die beiden anderen Himmelskörper abgebildet, deren Bewegungen neben denen der Sonne von den Mexikanern beobachtet, und deren Erscheinungsformen und Schicksale von ihnen in zahllosen Mythen erzählt und in einer Fülle von Göttergestalten, die den Hauptinhalt ihres Olympes ausmachten, angeschaut worden sind, — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Morgenstern, und *Metztli*, der Mond.

Der erstere ist hier durch das Datum *ce acatl* „eins Rohr“ bezeichnet, das das Jahr oder der Tag war, an dem *Quetzalcouatl*, der nach Osten (*teotl iixco*) wandernde Gott, d. h. der dem Morgen, der Sonne sich nähernde, abnehmende Mond, in dem *Tlillan Tlapallan*, an der Grenze zwischen dem schwarzen und dem rothen Felde, an dem von dem Nordpfeiler und dem Südpfeiler des Himmels begrenzten Thore, durch das die Sonne herauskommt, in dem *Tlatlayan*, dem „Orte des Brennens“, angelangt ist und dort den Scheiterhaufen besteigt und sich verbrennt, d. h. in den Strahlen der aufgehenden Sonne sein Ende findet, — oder nach anderen in dem Wasser, dem Meere, das dort die Erde und den Himmel begrenzt, d. h. im Osten, in räthselhafter Weise verschwindet. Während die einen Mythen nun in logischer Weise auf die Erneuerung des Mondlaufs hinweisen, indem sie den Gott seinen Jüngern verkünden lassen, dass er wiederkommen und sein Reich wieder aufrichten werde, — eine Fabel, die so viel zu dem Erfolge des Cortes und seiner dem Meere des Ostens entstiegenen Genossen beigetragen hat, — bringen andere Mythen das Verschwinden des Mondes in der Sonne des Morgens und das Sichtbarwerden des Morgensterns neben oder kurz vor dem aufgehenden Tagesgestirn in genetische Verbindung. Man erzählte, dass, als *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem Scheiterhaufen sich verbrannte, die Asche zerstäubte und sich in allerhand Vögel von glänzendem Gefieder, Kolibri und andere, sich verwandelte, — d. h. in die im Himmel des Ostens, dem Hause der Sonne (*tonatiuh ichan*) wohnenden Seelen der geopferten Krieger, — sein Herz aber als Morgenstern am Himmel emporstieg. Darum ist *Ce acatl*, das Jahr oder der Tag, an dem *Quetzalcouatl* sich verbrannte und starb, zum Namen des Morgensterns geworden, als solcher z. B. im Codex Telleriano-Remensis bei dem Bilde *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, der *Xiuhtecutli*, dem Regenten des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes, gegenüber abgebildet ist, angegeben (vgl. Abb. 236, oben S. 236). Und es ist darnach zweifellos sicher, dass das Datum *Ce acatl* „eins Rohr“, das hier auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte am oberen Rande des Mittelfeldes angegeben ist, den Morgenstern bezeichnet. Von einer gewissen Wichtigkeit ist es dabei vielleicht auch, dass das Bild des Pfeilschaftes, das den Lautwerth *acatl* „Rohr“ hat, hier mit dem Trapeze und dem Strahle, die das Abbild und das Zeichen des Jahres sind, verbunden erscheint. Es scheint damit das Datum *Ce acatl* „eins Rohr“, das die Zeit des Todes *Quetzalcouatl*'s und der Geburt des Morgensternes angibt, als ein Jahres- und nicht ein Tagesdatum bezeichnet werden zu sollen.

Wie wir nun in Bezug auf die Deutung des Datums *Ce acatl* keinen Augenblick in Zweifel sein können, so ist es auch sicher, dass das dritte Bild, das neben dem Datum des Morgensternes zu sehen ist, der aus Knochensubstanz gefertigte Nasenhalbmond, der von dem Bilde der Nacht umgeben ist und in seinem Innern mit Wasser gefüllt ist, auf dem ein weisses Kaninchen sichtbar wird, *Metztli*, den Mond, darstellt. Wir haben den Mond genau in gleicher Weise auf dem Blatte 55 unserer Handschrift bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Mondgöttin, und auf dem Blatte 10 bei dem *tlaelquani*, dem „Dreckfresser“, der hieroglyphischen Bezeichnung der *Tlaelquani* oder *Tlaçolteotl*, der Mondgöttin, abgebildet gefunden.

Warum sind nun hier diese drei Lichtkörper dem Beschauer vorgeführt worden? Offenbar nicht einfach, um sie, die grossen Lichtkörper, zu zeigen. Diese ganze Bilderschrift ist nicht ein einfaches Bilderbuch, sondern diente sehr realen und für jene Leute sehr wichtigen Zwecken. Es ist ein Kalenderbuch im engsten Sinne des Wortes und hatte vor allem die Bedeutung, die ja auch unsere Kalender

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lange Zeit gehabt haben, Geschick und Ungeschick für Personen, Zeiten und Handlungen zu bestimmen. Die drei Lichtkörper sind auf unserem Blatte aufgeführt, weil es die grossen Zeitmesser sind, deren Bewegungen den Gang der Zeit und bestimmte Zeitabschnitte und Zeitpunkte uns erkennen lassen. Dabei sind aber auf unserem Blatte der Morgenstern und der Mond augenscheinlich nur als Supplement, einem Vollständigkeitsbedürfnisse in der Darstellung zu genügen, hinzugefügt worden. Das beweist schon die untergeordnete Stelle, an der sie stehen, und die relative Kleinheit der Bilder. Die Hauptperson ist offenbar die Sonne, bezw. der gross und schön gezeichnete Sonnengott. Dass in der Hauptsache hier der Sonnengott als Kalendergott gemeint ist, und in welcher Weise, das zeigen die dreizehn Vogelgestalten, die das Blatt von drei Seiten umsäumen.

Diese dreizehn Vögel haben ihre Parallele in ebenso vielen Vögeln, die theils als einfache Vögel (im Codex Borbonicus, Abb. 296), theils als Vögel, die die Verkleidungen von Göttergestalten bilden (im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung, Abb. 297), auf sämmtlichen achtzehn, (ursprünglich zwanzig) Blättern des *Tonalamatl*'s des Codex Borbonicus und des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung neben den (eine erste Kolumne bildenden) Zeichen, bezw. Namen, der dreizehn Tage, die jeder *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitt, bezw. jedes Blatt, des *Tonalamatl*'s enthält und neben einer zweiten Kolumne, in der die Reihen der neun sogenannten „Herren der Nacht" sich wiederholen, aufgeführt sind. Die dreizehn Vögel erscheinen dabei als die Begleiter oder die Genossen einer Reihe von dreizehn Gottheiten (vgl. Abb. 298 und 299), die ebenfalls auf sämtlichen achtzehn (ursprünglich zwanzig), Blättern der genannten *Tonalamatl*, und zwar als dritte Kolumne, in unmittelbarem Anschlusse an die zweite Kolumne, in der die Reihen der neun „Herren der Nacht" sich wiederholen, abgebildet sind. Ich habe in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*s der Aubin'schen Sammlung[1]) dieses Vorkommen durch die Annahme erklärt, dass die neun „Herren der Nacht", die wir ja auch in unserer Handschrift auf dem Blatte 14 in grossen Bildern dargestellt finden, und die ich im I. Bande dieser Erläuterungen, S. 218ff., besprochen habe, die Herren der fünf Weltgegenden und zugleich die Herren der neun Stunden der Nacht, sind und deshalb auf den Blättern des in zwanzig dreizehntägige Abschnitte geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s in fortlaufenden Reihen wiederholt worden sind. Und ebenso, dass die dreizehn Gottheiten und die dreizehn Vögel, sowie die Gottheiten, deren Verkleidungen die letzteren bilden, den dreizehn Himmeln, bezw. den dreizehn Stunden des Tages, entsprechen.

Dass die dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) in der That den dreizehn Himmeln entsprechen, dafür hat sich neuerdings in dem interessanten Thévet'schen Bruchstücke, das Dr. Ed. de Jonghe in der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris aufgefunden und im Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Nouvelle Série, Tome II, Nr. 1 (1905) p. 1—41 unter dem Titel „Histoyre du Mechique" veröffentlicht hat, eine interessante Bestätigung gefunden. Es sind dort die dreizehn Himmel mit ihren Bewohnern aufgeführt, und man wird sehen, dass diese fast genau den dreizehn Göttern (Abb. 298, 299) entsprechen. Es heisst dort im 6. Kapitel (l. c. p. 22): —

„Croioyent les Mechiquiens et beaucoup de ses circunvoisins qu'il y avoyt treze cieux,

1. Au premier des quels estoyt ung dieu nomé *Rinteutli* (verbessere: *Xiuhteutli*), dieu des années.
2. Au segond, la déesse de la terre *Rontli* (verbessere: *Tlalteutli*).
3. Au troisième *Chalcintli* (verbessere *Chalchiuhtli*) que veult dire maison de una deesse.
4. Au quatriesme, *tonativ* (verbessere: *Tonatiuh*) qui est le soleill.
5. Au cinquiesme, cinc dieux chascung de diverse couleur, à cause de cela dits *tonaleque*.
6. Au sixiesme *Mitlanteutli* (verbessere: *Mictlanteutli*) qui est dieu des enfers.
7. Au septiesme *tonacateutli* (verbessere: *Tonacateutli*) et *tonacacilmatl* (verbessere: *Tonacaciuatl*) deux dieux.
8. A l'huictième *Tlalocateutli* (verbessere: *Tlalocanteutli*) dieu de la terre.
9. Au neufviesme *Calcouatl* (verbessere: *Quetzalcouatl*) ansi ung des principaulx idoles, duquel et des aultres nous parlerons après.
10. Au dixiesme *Tezcatlipuca*, aussi idole principal.

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1) Berlin 1900 S. 18ff.

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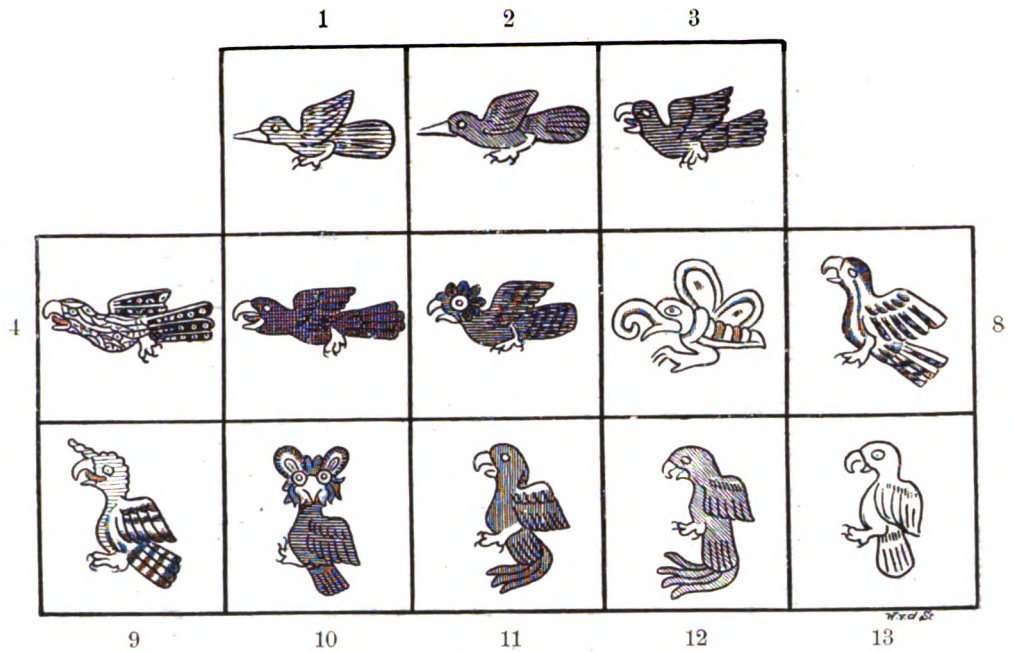

Abb. 296. Die dreizehn Vögel.
Codex Borbonicus.

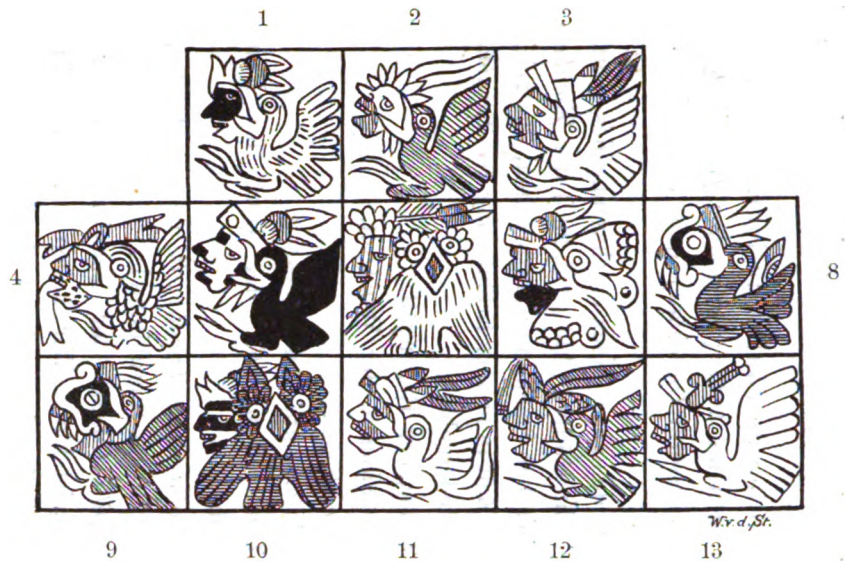

Abb 297.. Die dreizehn Vögel.
Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung.

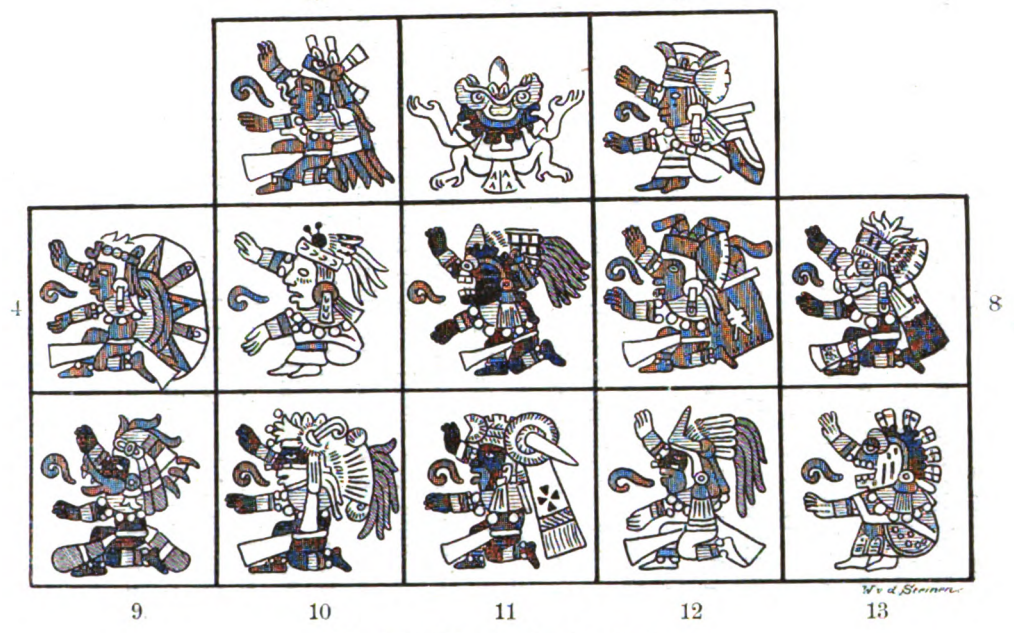

Abb. 298. Die dreizehn Götter.
Codex Borbonicus.

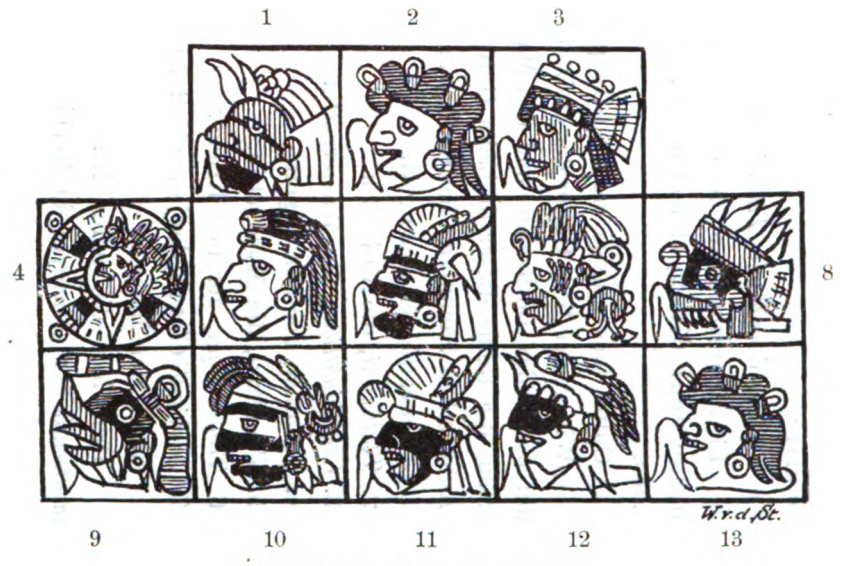

Abb. 299. Die dreizehn Götter.
Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung.

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11. A l'onziesme *Yoaltentli* (verbessere: *Youalteutli*) qui veult dire dieu de la nuict ou de l'obscurité.

12. Au douziesme *Tlahuizcalpan tehutli* qui veult dire dieu de l'aulbe du jour.

13. Au treziesme et dernier plus hault, avoyt ung dieu nomé *teotli* (verbessere: *[Ome]teutli*) que veult dire deux dieux, et une déesse, nomée *Omecinatl* (verbessere: *Omeciuatl*) que veult dire deux déesses.

Oultre tous ceux-ci croyoynt-ils qu'il y avoyt beaucoup de aultres dieux en chascung des cieux." —

Wie genau diese Götter der dreizehn Himmel den dreizehn Göttern (Abb. 298, 299) der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter des Codex Borbonicus und des Manuskripts der Aubin'schen Sammlung entsprechen, das zeigt ein Blick auf die Reihe dieser dreizehn Götter, wie ich sie seiner Zeit in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung bestimmt habe und die ich hier wiedergebe.

1. *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott.
2. *Tlaltecutli*, die Erdgöttin.
3. *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Wassergöttin.
4. *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott.
5. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin.
6. *Teoyaomiqui*, der tote Krieger.
7. *Xochipilli Cinteotl*, der junge Gott der Lebensmittel, der Maisgott.
8. *Tlaloc*, der Regengott.
9. *Quetzalcouatl*, der Windgott.
10. *Tezcatlipoca.*
11. *Mictlantecutli*, der Todesgott.
12. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus.
13. *Citlalin icue*, *Ilamatecutli*, die alte Göttin, die Göttin des Sternhimmels.

Dass hier die unter Nr. 7 genannten Götter *Xochipilli Cinteotl* der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter und *Tonacatecutli* der „Histoyre du Mechique" ident zu setzen sind, ist klar. Wir haben oft genug in den Parallelen der vorhergehenden Blätter diese beiden Götter einen für den anderen eintreten sehen. Und dass die alte Göttin *Ilamatecutli* (Nr. 13) und die Götter des obersten Himmels, die von dort die Kinder in die Welt schicken, d. h. *Ometecutli* und *Omeciuatl*, gleich zu setzen sind, ist ebenso sicher.

Ernstlicher Zweifel, ob eine Korrespondenz vorliegt, könnte nur bezüglich der fünften Gottheit der Reihe bestehen, wo auf den *Tonalamatl*-Blättern deutlich *Tlaçolteotl*, die „Göttin des Unraths", die Mondgöttin, gezeichnet ist, während die „Histoyre de Mechique" fünf Götter verschiedener Farbe nennt, die *tonaleque* genannt wurden. Aber auch dieser Zweifel schwindet sofort, wenn man erwägt, dass *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin, und die *Ciuateteô* ident zu setzen sind, die ja zu fünfen und in verschiedenen Farben erscheinen und in der That *tonalêquê* „Herren eines Tageszeichens (*tonalli*)", d. h. an bestimmte Tageszeichen gebunden sind.

Dass aber diese Liste auch den Vorstellungen entspricht, die in anderen Darstellungen der dreizehn Himmel, z. B. der bekannten Darstellung auf dem ersten Blatte des Codex Vaticanus A (No. 3738) zum Ausdrucke kommen, wird man nicht verkennen können. Man muss nur festhalten, dass auf diesem Blatte, sowohl für die Reihe der Himmel, wie für die Reihe der Unterwelten, die Erdoberfläche (*tlaticpac*) als Ausgangspunkt genommen und mitgezählt wird. Dann ist in der That der *tlalticpaquê*, der Herr der Erdoberfläche, d. h. der Feuergott, der erste in den beiden Reihen, der der dreizehn Himmel und der neun Unterwelten, wie er es in den beiden Reihen der dreizehn Götter und der neun sogenannten „Herren der Nacht" ist. Es ist dann das *Omeyocan*, der „Ort der Zweiheit", der Wohnsitz *Ometecutli*'s, der im Vaticanus als der oberste der Himmel angegeben wird, in der That der dreizehnte Himmel; das *iz mictlan opochcalocan*, das „Verschlossene", das „Totenreich", der Wohnsitz *Mictlantecutli*'s, in der That die neunte der unterirdischen Regionen. Es würde die zweite Region des Codex Vaticanus, der *ilhuicatl tlaloca y pan metztli*, der Himmel, wo der Mond und die Wolken gehen, der Erdkröte der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter; der *ilhuicatl Citlalicue* der *Chalchiuhtlicue* der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter entsprechen, und dann in der vierten Region sowohl in der Liste der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter, wie in der des Vaticanus, die Sonne (*Tonatiuh*) ihren Platz haben. Im Einzelnen wird es natürlich an Varianten, an Zusammenziehungen und Umstellungen nicht gefehlt haben, das liegt in der Natur der Sache. Aber, wie gesagt, der Thatsache, dass hier eine einheitliche Grundvorstellung vorliegt und von der Tradition festgehalten worden ist, wird man sich nicht entziehen können

Eine weitere eigentümliche Tatsache, die in der Liste der dreizehn Götter der *Tonalamatl*-Blätter

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auch schon zu erkennen ist, die aber mit besonderer Deutlichkeit erst in der Liste der dreizehn Himmel der „Histoyre de Mechique“ in die Augen springt, ist die Identität der siebenten und der dreizehnten Stelle. Für beide sind in der „Histoyre du Mechique“ *Ome tecutli* und *Ome ciuatl* die Herren der Zeugung genannt. Beide sind damit als der obersten Region angehörig bezeichnet. Das ist natürlich nur in Folge der Übertragung möglich, die ich von Anfang an bei diesen dreizehn Göttern vermuthet habe, dadurch dass man die dreizehn Himmel den dreizehn Stunden des Tages verglich oder ihnen gleichsetzte. Von den dreizehn Himmeln ist natürlich der dreizehnte der höchste. Von den dreizehn Stunden des Tages aber die in der Mitte gelegene, die siebente, die Mittagstunde, wo die Sonne den höchsten Punkt ihrer Bahn erreicht. Dass eine solche Parallesirung, eine solche Übertragung thatsächlich stattgefunden hat, ist damit erwiesen. Es werden natürlich, um sie zu Stande bringen zu können, allerhand Umdeutungskunststückchen nöthig gewesen sein. Die Erhebung der siebenten Stelle zum Range der dreizehnten ist eines davon. Und es versteht sich von selbst, dass bei dieser Übertragung nicht alles ganz glatt, nicht ohne Ausgleichung jeglichen Widerspruchs, vor sich gegangen sein wird.

Diesen die dreizehn Himmel und zugleich die dreizehn Tagesstunden bezeichnenden Göttern schliessen sich nun die dreizehn Vögel unseres Codex-Borgia-Blattes und der *Tonalamatl* Blätter an. Auch von ihnen wird sich nachweisen lassen, dass sie den dreizehn Tagesstunden entsprechen sollen.

Das will ich in den folgenden Betrachtungen zeigen:

1. Der erste der dreizehn Götter (vgl. Abb. 298, 299), *Xiuhtecutli* oder *Ixcoçauhqui*, der Feuergott, muss darnach der ersten Tagesstunde entsprechen, wo es noch dunkel ist, die Sonne noch nicht über dem Horizonte erschienen ist. Da die entsprechende Abendstunde, die letzte Tagesstunde, wie wir sehen werden, durch das Bild der Sternhimmelgöttin veranschaulicht wird, so werden wir wohl annehmen dürfen, dass der Feuergott bei dieser Uebertragung als der *Citlallatonac*, der Sternhimmelgott, aufgefasst worden ist. Als die Vogelgestalt, die dieser Tagesstunde und also auch diesem Gotte wesensverwandt ist, sehen wir auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte und im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 296) einen blauen, türkisfarben (*xiuh-palli*) gemalten, spitzschnäbligen Vogel abgebildet, der vielleicht einen Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) vorstellen soll. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (vgl. Abb. 297) ist dieser Vogel als Verkleidung (*naualli*) oder andere Form *Tlauizcalpantelicut*'s, der Gottheit des Morgensterns, dargestellt und entsprechend mit weisser Farbe gemalt. Der Feuergott und der Morgenstern sind Genossen. Wir haben sie so als Herrn des neunten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes kennen gelernt. Vielleicht dürfen wir aber auch geradezu hier, — das legt mir die Betrachtung der zweiten Tagesstunde nahe — für den Morgenstern die Seelen der geopferten Krieger setzen, die, wie erzählt wird, im Osten den Aufgang der Sonne erwarten, um sie als Diener zum Zenith zu geleiten.

2. Die zweite Tagesstunde würde darnach in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) durch das Bild der Erdkröte, die ein Steinmesser aus ihrem Rachen entlässt, im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung einfach durch einen Todesgott zur Anschauung gebracht sein. Der Vogel, der dieser Stunde entspricht, die zweite der dreizehn Vogelgestalten ist in unserer Handschrift und im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 296) in derselben Art gezeichnet, wie der der ersten Tagesstunde, aber nicht blau (türkisfarben), sondern grün, in der Farbe des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuhpalli*), gemalt. Das Bild muss daher wohl ungefähr das gleiche bedeuten, wie das, das die erste Tagesstunde kennzeichnete. Die Kröte mit dem Steinmesser im Rachen erweckt die Vorstellung eines Aufgehens, eines Aufsteigens aus der Erde. Dabei kann es sich aber wohl kaum um die Sonne selbst handeln. Denn in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung ist der zweite Vogel als Verkleidung eines Gottes dargestellt, der eine dunkle (schwarze oder grüne) obere Gesichtshälfte und rothe Mundpartie hat und eine Krone von bunten Federn trägt, aus der eine einzelne Quetzalfeder herausragt. Die entsprechende Abendstunde, die zwölfte Tagesstunde, ist, wie wir sehen werden, durch die Gottheit des Planeten Venus veranschaulicht. Da in dieser Reihe eine durchgehende Parallität zwischen Morgen- und Abendstunden besteht, so werden wir wohl annehmen dürfen, dass es sich in dieser zweiten Morgenstunde auch um den Planeten Venus, um das Aufgehn des Morgensterns handelt.

3. Die dritte Tagesstunde wäre dann in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) durch das Bild der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, der Göttin des fliessenden Wassers, veranschaulicht. Der Vogel, der dieser Tagesstunde ent-

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spricht, ist in unserer Handschrift als ein kleiner Raubvogel, mit rundem Kopfe und rings von Steinmessern umsetzt, gezeichnet. Ihm entspricht im Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 296) ein in düsteren Farben (braun) gemalter Vogel, mit gekrümmtem raubvogelartigem Schnabel, der aber hier noch weniger, als der Vogel unserer Handschrift, zoologisch zu bestimmen ist. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) ist er die Verkleidung eines als rother *(tlatlauhqui) Tezcatlipoca* gemalten, aber mit dem Scheitelfederkamme *(iquachichiquil)* des Gottes *Xochipilli* und *Macuil xochitl* versehenen Gottes, der wohl zweifelsohne *Xochipilli* oder *Macuil xochitl* selbst vorstellen soll. Und wir müssten darnach schliessen, dass dieser dritte Vogel der *quetzalcoxcoxtli* sein soll, das Waldhuhn, das in der Morgenfrühe singt, und das die bekannte Verkleidung dieser beider Götter bildet. Die entsprechende Abendstunde, die elfte Tagesstunde würde in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter durch eine Art Todesgott bezeichnet sein, der aber schwarzes Gesicht und rothe Mundpartie, also die umgekehrte Bemalung des Feuergottes hat; in der Reihe der dreizehn Vögel durch den rothen Arara, den Feuervogel, bzw. im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung durch denselben als Verkleidung *Xochipilli*'s erscheinenden Vogel, wie der, der die dritte Morgenstunde darstellt. Wir werden daher wohl schliessen dürfen, dass die dritte Morgenstunde die Morgendämmerung oder Morgenröthe, die elfte Tagesstunde die Abenddämmerung oder die Abendröthe bezeichnet.

4. Die vierte Tagesstunde, wo es nunmehr heller Tag ist, wäre dann in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter in durchaus passender Weise durch das Bild des Sonnengottes *Tonatiuh* selbst bezeichnet. Der Vogel dieser Tagesstunde ist die Wachtel *(çolin)*, die in allen drei Handschriften ziemlich kenntlich gezeichnet ist. Das ist das Thier, das den Sternhimmel auf seinem Gefieder zeigt, und ist deshalb wohl auch als Abbild des Himmelsgottes, der Sonne, betrachtet worden, wie ja es in der That das reguläre Opfer für den Sonnengott war. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung aber (Abb. 297) erscheint die Wachtel als die Verkleidung *Xipe Totec*'s. Vielleicht aus dem gleichen Grunde. Denn er, wie die auch mit Wachtelfedern bemalte *Tlaçolteotl*, sind ja ursprünglich ebenfalls himmlische Gestalten, sind die Verkörperungen des anderen grossen Himmelskörpers, des Monds.

5. Für die fünfte Tagesstunde würde dann in der Reihe der dreizehn Gottheiten (Abb. 298, 299) *Tlaçolteotl* die Göttin des Unraths, die Mondgöttin, stehn, durch ihre Baumwollkopfbinde *(ichcaxochitl)* und den mächtigen aus Wachtelfedern und gelben Federn bestehenden Scheitelschmuck gekennzeichnet. Sie muss hier offenbar in der Rolle als *quauhciuatl* als die „Kriegerin" aufgefasst sein. Denn der Vogel, der dieser Tagesstunde entspricht, ist *quauhtli*, der Adler, der auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte auch ganz deutlich, mit dem dunklen Gefieder, den sich sträubenden Kopffedern und rings mit Steinmessern umsetzt gezeichnet ist, die seine Raubvogelnatur kennzeichnen. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) ist er mit tiefschwarzer Farbe angegeben und bildet die Verkleidung einer die Krieger-Tanz-Bemalung im Gesichte tragenden, und mit dem Reiherfedergabelbusche (*aztaxelli*) der Krieger geschmückten Gestalt, d. h. eines Vertreters des Krieges.

6. Die sechste Tagesstunde wäre dann in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter im Codex Borbonicus bald durch eine die Kennzeichen des Feuergottes und des Todesgottes in sich vereinende, einen mächtigen Wachtelfederschmuck auf dem Scheitel tragende Gestalt (Abb. 298) bald durch einen Toten, eine skelettköpfige Figur, bezeichnet, die eine mit grossen Quasten versehenen Netzdecke (*ayatl*), d. h. einen Kriegermantel, über den Rücken hängen hat; im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 299) aber durch eine Gestalt, die die Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s mit Abzeichen des Todesgottes verbindet. All diese Bilder stellen den *tonatiuh ilhuicac yauh*, den geopferten Krieger, die Seele des toten Kriegers, vor. Und die sechste Tages-, d. h. die letzte Vormittagsstunde, wäre dann durch diese Bilder bezeichnet worden, weil bis zum Mittage, bis zum Zenithe, die Seelen der geopferten Krieger, die ihren Wohnsitz im Osten haben, die Sonne begleiten. Ganz entsprechend ist als Vogel dieser Tagesstunde *tecolotl*, die Eule, gezeichnet, und diese im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) als Verkleidung eines *tlauauantli*, einer weiss mit rothen Längslinien gemalten, mit Daunenfederbällen auf dem Kopfe beklebten Gestalt, d. h. eines Menschen in Opfertracht, dargestellt.

7. Die siebente Stunde ist dann die Mittagstunde. Diese würde darnach in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 299) durch den Sonnengott in Vogelverkleidung bezeichnet sein. Dabei kann man an den *Kinich kakmó* von *Itzmal* denken, den Vogel, der zur

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Mittagsstunde herabkam, um das Opfer auf dem Altare zu verbrennen, — „como baxava volando la vacamaya, con sus plumas de varias colores“.[1]) Man kann aber auch an die Vögel von buntem Gefieder denken, in die sich die Seelen der toten Krieger am Mittag wandeln, nachdem sie ihren Dienst bei der Sonne gethan (vgl. oben S. 89). Der Codex Borbonicus (Abb. 298) hat dafür einen rothen Maisgott (*Cinteotl*), auf dessen rother über den Rücken herabhängender Decke an einer Stelle wenigstens dieselben Figuren zu sehen sind, die im Codex Magliabecchiano XIII, 3, das *quemitl* des Gottes *Xochipilli* bezeichnen (vgl. Abb. 65, oben S. 94). Dass dieser *Xochipilli* mit dem Maisgotte (*Cinteotl*) dieses Codex Borbonicus-Bildes gemeint ist, scheint sicher zu sein. *Xochipilli* wird in der That in dem Liede *Yoalticatl* und *Cinteotl* genannt. Er ist der *quetzalcoxcoxtli*, der in der Morgenfrühe singt, und ursprünglich wohl die Sonne in Vogelgestalt — In der Reihe der dreizehn Vögel ist die Mittagstunde durch eine ganz abweichende Gestalt bezeichnet, nicht einen Vogel, sondern einen Schmetterling, der in unserer Handschrift als weisser, mit rother Häkchenzeichnung erfüllter und mit Daunenfederbällen besetzter, also als ein *tiça-papalotl iui-papalotl* gezeichnet ist, in den anderen beiden Handschriften eine etwas abenteuerliche, doch immerhin kenntliche Gestalt hat, und im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) als Verkleidung des Feuergottes erscheint. Dieser Schmetterling bezeichnet nun offenbar die Seelen der toten Krieger, die, nachdem sie ihren Dienst bei der Sonne gethan, sich in Blüthen saugende Kolibri oder in Schmetterlinge verwandeln — *auh njman cecenmanj, novian tlátlachichina, quichichina in nepapan xochitl* „und dann (am Mittag, wenn sie die Sonne den toten Frauen übergeben haben), zerstreuen sie sich und gehen überall den Honig der verschiedenen Blüthen saugen“.[2]) — Denn die Seelen der toten Krieger, die ihren Dienst bei der Sonne gethan — *niman ic mocuepa, tlaçototome, huitzitzilti, xochitototl, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomolo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in ompa in ononoian yoan in nican tlalticpac oalhui in quivalchichina, in ixquich nepapan xochitl, in equimitl, anoço tzompanquaxitl, xiloxochitl, tlacoxiloxochitl* — verwandeln sich in Schmuckvögel, in Kolibri, Blumenvögel, gelbe Vögel mit schwarzer Grube um die Augen (d. h. mit der Bemalung des Morgensterns), in weisse Kreideschmetterlinge, in weisse Daunenfederschmetterlinge in Schmetterlinge gross wie Trinkschalen. Sie saugen (den Honig der Blüthen) dort an ihrem Aufenthaltsorte (im Himmel) und sie kommen zur Erde hernieder, an allen Arten von Blüthen zu saugen, an Erythrina-Blüthen, an Carolinea princeps- und an Calliandra-Blüthen.“[3]) — Als Verkleidung des Feuergottes aber ist dieser Schmetterling im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung gezeichnet, weil der Feuergott der *Ueueteotl*, der alte Gott, der erste Mensch, und der Repräsentant der Vorfahren, der Alten, der Gestorbenen, der im Kriege gefallenen, der geopferten Helden ist.

Nicht ganz so klare Beziehungen liegen für die Nachmittagsstunden vor.

8. Die erste Nachmittagsstunde würde in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) durch das Bild *Tlaloc*'s, des Regengottes, bezeichnet sein und in der Reihe der dreizehn Vögel durch das Bild eines Adlers, dessen Gefieder nicht schwarz, sondern in queren Streifen braun und weiss gezeichnet, im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) ausserdem mit einer Art Determinativ, einem grossen Steinmesser versehen ist. Offenbar ist der von Sahagun und Hernandez *itzquauhtli* „Obsidianmesseradler“ genannte Vogel gemeint, der als ein Adler mit gestreiftem oder gebändertem Gefieder beschrieben wird. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) aber ist er die Verkleidung *Tlaloc*'s, d. h. also desselben Gottes, der auch in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter die achte Tagesstunde oder die erste Nachmittagsstunde bezeichnen würden. Hier hat wohl die Idee zu Grunde gelegen, dass die täglichen Regengüsse der Regenzeit in den Nachmittagsstunden einzusetzen pflegen.

9. Die neunte Tagesstunde, die zweite Nachmittagsstunde zeigt uns in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) das Bild *Quetzalcouatl*'s des Windgottes, des Gottes des Lebens, des Priestergottes. Der Vogel dieser Tagesstunde ist *uexolotl* oder *chalchiuhtotolin* der Truthahn, der vermuthlich hier für *Quetzalcouatl* eintritt, weil dieser Vogel, den wir als Herrn des achtzehnten Tageszeichens und des siebzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes kennen gelernt haben, den Mexikanern das *chalchiuhatl* das „Edelstein-

1) P. Lizana.
2) Sahagun, Buch 6, cap. 29.
3) Sahagun, Buch 3, Appendix, Kap. 3.

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wasser", d. h. das Blut, das sich die Priester bei ihren Kasteiungen entzogen, verkörperte. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung erscheint dieser Vogel auch als Verkleidung *Tlaloc*'s, des Regengottes, wie der der vorhergehenden achten Tagesstunde.

10. Die zehnte Tagesstunde, die dritte Nachmittagsstunde, wäre in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) durch das Bild *Tezcatlipoca*'s, in der Reihe der dreizehn Vögel (Abb. 296) durch *chiquàtli*, das Käuzchen, verkörpert, das in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) als Verkleidung desselben Gottes, *Tezcatlipoca*'s, dargestellt ist. Es muss dieser Gott demnach hier die dem Untergange nahe Sonne vorstellen. Das Bild ist für mich mit eine Veranlassung gewesen, dass ich mir *Tezcatlipoca* immer als die untergehende Sonne vorgestellt habe. Andere Erwägungen haben mich, wie ich oben mehrfach erwähnt habe, neuerdings dazu geführt, in *Tezcatlipoca* vielmehr den am Abendhimmel erscheinenden Mond zu erkennen. Es liegt vielleicht das gleiche Verhältniss vor, wie bei *Quetzalcouatl* und dem Morgensterne. *Quetzalcouatl*, der abnehmende, in den Strahlen der Morgensonne sterbende Mond verwandelt sich in den Morgenstern, der zu der gleichen Zeit aufgeht. *Tezcatlipoca*, die untergehende Sonne, verwandelt sich in den zum ersten Male, dem Horizonte nahe, am Abendhimmel erscheinenden Mond.

11. Die eilfte Tagesstunde wäre darnach in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 299) durch eine Art Todesgott bezeichnet. Hier ist es also schon dunkel. In der Reihe der dreizehn Vögel steht *alo*, die rothe Guacamaya oder der Arara, der Vogel des Feuergottes. Im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung ist dieser Vogel die Verkleidung desselben als rother (*tlatlauhqui*) *Tezcatlipoca* gemalten, mit einem Scheitelfederkamme versehenen Gottes, wie der der dritten Tagesstunde, d. h. *Xochipilli*'s oder *Macuil xochitl*'s, der rothen Götter, die die Sonne in Vogelgestalt, also wohl auch geradezu den Arara, oder das Feuer, vorstellen. Es ist demnach, wie es scheint, das erlöschende Feuer gemeint. Man mag sich vorstellen, wie ich oben schon angab, dass die dritte Morgenstunde, die Stunde vor Sonnenaufgang, die Morgendämmerung oder die Morgenröthe, diese zwölfte Tagesstunde, die Stunde nach Sonnenuntergang, die Abenddämmerung oder die Abendröthe bezeichnen solle.

12. In der zwölften Tagesstunde würde nunmehr in der Reihe der dreizehn Götter (Abb. 298, 293) *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus stehn. Es wäre natürlich der Abendstern, der nachdem die Sonneuntergegangen ist, am Abendhimmel sichtbar wird. Als sein Vertreter, und als Vertreter der zwölften Tagesstunde erscheint unter den Vögeln (Abb. 296) der Quetzalvogel (*quetzaltototl*), der in dem *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung (Abb. 297) als eine Verkleidung des Maisgottes (*Cinteotl*) sich darstellt.

13. Die dreizehnte Tagesstunde endlich wäre durch das Bild der Nachtgöttin, der Göttin des Sternhimmels (*Citlalicue*), bezeichnet. Als ihr Vertreter ist in der Reihe der Vögel der bunte Papagei (*cocho*) gezeichnet, der seinerseits wiederum, im *Tonalamatl* der Aubin'schen Sammlung als Verkleidung der Göttin *Xochiquetzal* erscheint, — entweder, weil diese Göttin mit *Tonacaciuatl*, der Herrin der Lebensmittel, der Herrin der Geburt, also mit den in dem obersten dreizehnten Himmel, im Sternhimmel, residirenden Gottheiten zusammenfällt, oder weil es das Gestirn der Nacht, der in vollem Glanze scheinende Mond ist, der in dieser Göttin seine Verkörperung gefunden hat.

Überblicken wir nun noch einmal diese beiden Reihen, so ist klar, dass zwar der Mittag deutlich markirt ist, der Anfang und das Ende dieser beiden Reihen aber sich in den Stunden der Dämmerung, oder geradezu der Nacht verlieren, die dem Aufgange der Sonne vorhergehen und ihrem Untergange folgen. Ich habe daher in meiner Erläuterung des *Tonalamatl*'s der Aubin'schen Sammlung die Vermuthung geäussert, dass für die Stunden des Tages ursprünglich und eigentlich auch nur neun einzusetzen seien, wie für die Stunden der Nacht, dass man aber am Morgen und am Abend zwei weitere hinzugefügt habe, die Stunden des noch nicht ganz erschienenen und des noch nicht ganz erloschenen Lichtes, um dadurch auf die Zahl Dreizehn zu kommen, die der Neunzahl gegenüber die lichten Götter und die lichte Seite des Daseins bezeichnet, die Zahl der Himmel oder der himmlischen Regionen gegenüber der Neunzahl der Unterwelten und der irdischen Regionen.

Die Sache scheint aber doch noch etwas anders zu liegen. Da wir den Sonnenaufgang am Beginn der vierten, den Sonnenuntergang am Ende der zehnten Stunde anzusetzen haben, so würden wir, falls es sich wirklich hierbei um gleichwerthige Abschnitte oder Stunden gleicher Dauer handelt, auf den astronomischen Tag, oder die Zeit von Mitternacht zu Mitternucht kommen, als die Zeit, die

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durch diese dreizehn Götter und die dreizehn Vögel veranschaulicht wäre. Und dann müsste wohl der Gegensatz zu den neun Herren der Nacht in einer anderen Richtung liegen. In Wirklichkeit sind eben doch die dreizehn Götter und die dreizehn Vögel nur analoge, nicht homologe Reihen. Die neun Götter, sind die Erdregionen (die Herren der nach vier Richtungen sich breitenden Erde), die mit dem Feuergotte, dem Herren der Mitte beginnen. Die dreizehn Götter entsprechend die dreizehn Himmel, die Herren des über der Erde sich aufbauenden Raumes, die ebenfalls mit dem Feuergotte, als dem *tlalticpaquê*, dem Herren der Erdoberfläche, beginnen. Die dreizehn Vögel aber und ihre Götter sind die Herren des astronomischen Tages, der Zeit von Mitternacht zu Mitternacht, in der nach einander die hier auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte dargestellten Lichtkörper — Mond, Morgenstern und Sonne und wiederum Abendstern und Mond, — am Firmamente erscheinen.

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25. Die vier Federschlangen.

(Blatt 72 = Kingsborough 43.)

Auf diesem Blatte, dem das Blatt 73 (= Kingsborough 24) des Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Abb. 300) entspricht, sieht man vier die Quadranten umklammernde Schlangen, die durch den Federbusch, den sie sämmtlich auf der Schnauzenspitze und dem Schwanzende haben, als Federschlangen, d. h. als Vertreter oder — genauer gesagt — als Verkörperungen oder Erzeuger des Wassers, gekennzeichnet sind Während in unserer Handschrift die Köpfe dieser Schlangen, wie gewöhnlich, in Profilansicht gezeichnet sind, sind sie im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) in merkwürdiger Weise en face genommen, so dass die obere Rachenbegrenzung fast eine der halbmondförmigen Nasenplatten, wie sie die Pulquegötter und die *Tlaçolteotl* tragen, vortäuscht. Dabei sind den Augenbrauen langgestielte Augen aufgesetzt, die fast wie Schneckenfühler aussehen und das en face-Gesicht noch merkwürdiger machen. Solche den Augenbrauen aufgesetzte Gesichter kenne ich auch bei anderen Figuren. Sie vervollständigen gewissermassen das einfache Auge zu einem zusammengesetzten dreitheiligen Strahlauge, das als Abbild oder Zeichen der Sterne in den Himmelsbildern gezeichnet wird. Das Schwanzende der Schlangen zeigt die Form der Schwanzklappern der Klapperschlange, ist aber im Vaticanus noch mit Augen besetzt, wodurch es als dunkles oder die ganzen Schlangen vielleicht als himmlische bezeichnet werden. Sowohl auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte, wie in den Bildern des Vaticanus (Abb. 300), sind die vier Federschlangen nach Art eines Hakenkreuzes angeordnet und um ein die Mitte einnehmendes *tzitzimitl*-Gesicht, das Abbild eines von oben herunterkommenden, die Richtung von oben nach unten, d. h. also die fünfte Weltgegend oder die Mitte bezeichnenden Dämons, gruppirt, müssen also selbst die vier Hauptquadranten oder die Himmelsrichtungen Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden bezeichnen. Sie umschliessen in unserer Handschrift jede eine Göttergestalt, die jede von fünf (um je vier Zeichen von einander abstehenden) Tageszeichen umsetzt ist; im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 300) aber ist in dem von der Schlange abgeschlossenen Raume nur je ein Tageszeichen zu sehen, das erste der fünf, die auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte in jedem der vier Quadranten angegeben sind. Durch diese Tageszeichen wird, als dem Anfange der Reihe, dem Osten, gehörig, in unserer Handschrift der linke untere, im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) der rechte obere Quadrant bezeichnet. Und der Fortgang geschieht dann, wie gewöhnlich, in einem der Drehung des Uhrzeigers entgegengesetzten Sinne. Vor den Göttergestalten ist endlich in unserer Handschrift noch je ein Räucher- oder Feuergefäss angegeben, in dem verschiedene der Natur oder der Himmelsrichtung des Quadranten entsprechende Symbole oder Gegenstände zu sehen sind.

Die erste Federschlange, die des Ostens, die in unserer Handschrift den linken unteren Quadranten, im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 300) den Quadranten der rechten oberen Ecke umzieht, ist in unserer Handschrift deutlich als *Quetzalcouatl*, als grüne Quetzalfederschlange, gezeichnet. Im Codex Vaticanus (Abb. 300) ist sie ebenfalls grün gemalt, aber der Kopf und die Schwanzfedern sind roth; die letzteren sind augenscheinlich als Ararafedern gedacht; der Leib endlich ist, ausser mit spärlichen grünen, sich kräuselnden Federn noch mit Steinmessern und Feuerzungen besetzt, offenbar um dadurch den Osten

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als das *Tlatlayan*, den Ort des Brennens und das Haus der Strahlenscheibe, der Sonne, zu kennzeichnen. Das Zeichen, das dieser Himmelsrichtung entspricht, ist das Anfangszeichen des Kalenders, *cipactli* „Krokodil“, und der Gott, der hier der Ausdruck dieser Himmelsrichtung ist, *Tlaloc*, der Regengott. Denn durch die vier Federschlangen soll offenbar das Wasser oder der Regen, der nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner auch nach den Himmelsrichtungen verschieden ist, bezeichnet werden. Der Regengott ist aber hier auf unserem Codex Borgia-Blatte nicht ganz in der gewöhnlichen Weise dargestellt. Er ist grün, und Füsse und Hände jaguarfellfarben gemalt; das Gesicht *Quetzalcouatl*-artig von einem langen, feuerfarbenen Barte umrahmt, und das schwarze Haar züngelt über der Stirn in drei Locken auf. Das ist eine Besonderheit, die sonst die Sterngötter oder Lichtwesen kennzeichnet, die wir aber ebenso bei *Tlaloc*, der Verkörperung des siebenten Tageszeichens *maçatl* „Hirsch“, (des Zeichens des Feuers), und bei dem *Tlaloc*, der als zweiter (dem Süden entsprechend) in der zweiten Reihe der viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden genannt ist, angetroffen haben. — Vor dem Regengotte steht in dem Ostquadranten

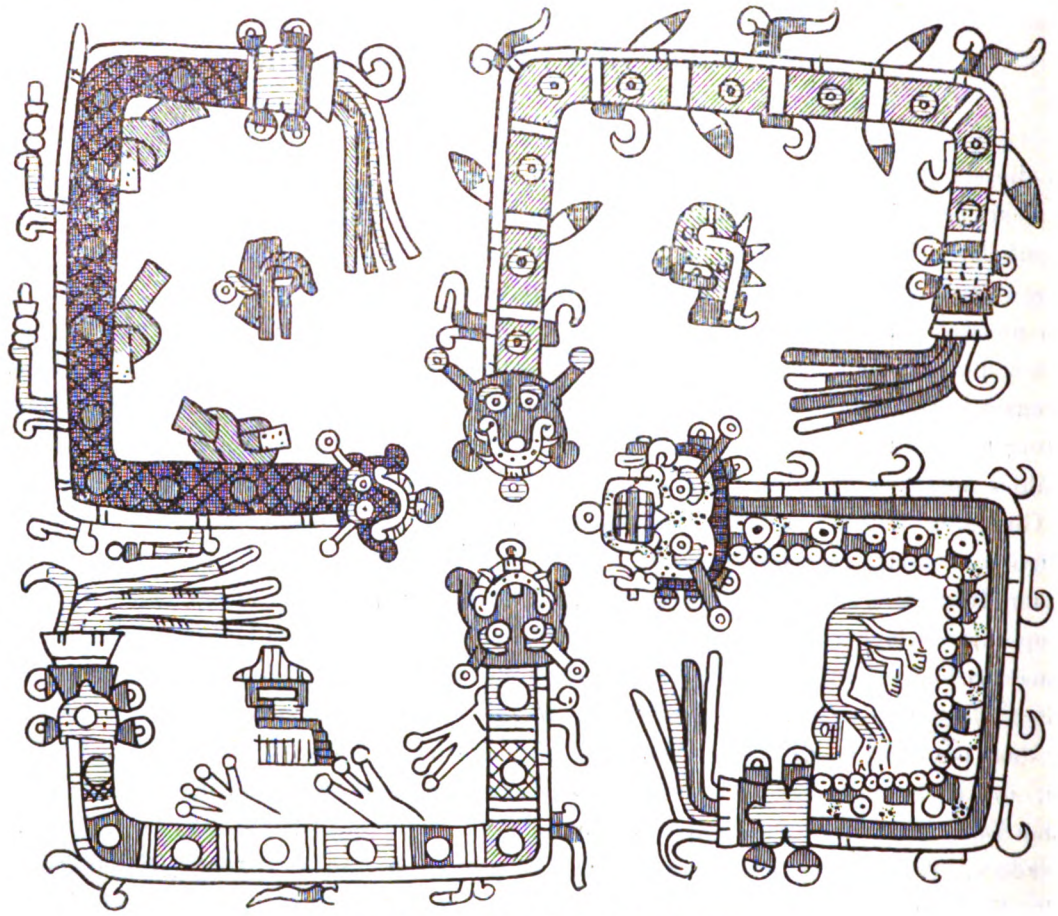

Abb. 300. Die vier Federschlangen.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 73 (= Kingsborough 24).

unseres Codex Borgia-Blattes ein Räuchergefäss, in dem nichts weiter als eine Kautschukkugel (*Oltelolotli*) mit einer einzelnen aufgebundenen Quetzalfeder — einem sogenannten *miauoyotl* — zu sehen ist. Das ist das übliche Opfer, das man den Regengöttern brachte.

Von den fünf Tageszeichen, die in unserer Handschrift die Gestalt des Regengottes umsäumen, ist das erste *cipactli* unter dem Fusse des Gottes angegeben. Das sahen wir so auch auf den Blättern 17 und 53 unserer Handschrift, wo ebenfalls Göttergestalten, von Tageszeichen umsetzt, abgebildet sind. Denn *cipactli*, der „Fisch, aus dem der *Tlaltecutli*, die Erde, gemacht“ wurde, ist eben der Boden, auf den man tritt. — Von den anderen Zeichen ist das nächste (fünfte), *couatl* „Schlange“, mit dem Ohre des Gottes verbunden, vielleicht um die Gegend zu bezeichnen, aus der man, durch Einschneiden, sich das Blut entzog, das kostbare Wasser, durch das der Schmutz der Sünde hinweggenommen wurde. Das neunte Zeichen, *atl* „Wasser“, steht an der Hand des Gottes, offenbar, weil er der Wasserspender ist. Das drei-

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zehnte Zeichen *acatl* „Rohr“ an dem Auge des Gottes, vielleicht um gleichzeitig an das Feuerbohren und das Ausbohren des Auges, das Symbol der Selbstpeinigung, zu erinnern. Das siebzehnte Zeichen endlich *olin* „Bewegung“ ist mit dem Munde *Tlaloc*'s verbunden, vielleicht weil seine Stimme der rollende Donner ist.

Die zweite Schlange, die dem Norden entspricht, ist in unserer Handschrift in dem rechten unteren Quadranten, im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) in dem linken oberen Quadranten dargestellt. Es ist in unserer Handschrift eine bunt und nach Art der Korallenotter gemalte und gezeichnete Schlange, ein *tlapalcouatl*, eine Blutschlange, und das ist auch wohl die Art, die dieser Himmelsrichtung und ihrer Gottheit entspricht. Denn diese Gottheit ist *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin des Unraths, die Mondgöttin, die wir immer mit der rothen, bezw. bunten, nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichneten Schlange verbunden angetroffen haben. Im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) scheinen aber die Schlangen der zweiten und der dritten Richtung vertauscht zu sein. Denn bei dem Norden steht dort die blaue Schlange, die, wie wir sehen werden, dem Westen angehört; und bei dem letzteren die bunte Blutschlange, die der Codex Borgia im Norden hat. Die Schwanzfedern der beiden Schlangen des Vaticanus scheinen dabei die richtige Farbe zu haben, da diese bei der (blauen) Schlange des Nordens verschiedenfarbig, bunt, bei der (bunten) Schlange des Westens einfach blau sind. — Als Göttin dieser Richtung ist in dem von der Schlange des Nordens umschlossenen Raume, wie ich schon angab, *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin des Unraths, die Mondgöttin, gezeichnet. Sie sitzt, gleich den *Ciuapipiltin*, die ihre Abbilder sind, *omaxac* auf dem Kreuzwege. Sie ist nackt, nur mit ihrer Kopfbinde (*ichcaxochitl*), einem Halskragen, ihrem Ohrpflocke und dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde (*teocuitla-yacametztli*) bekleidet und mit faltigem Bauche, der sie als die Geborenhabende kennzeichnet. In dem Räuchergefässe vor ihr sieht man Brennholz und das Schwanzende einer Blutschlange, — ein Feueropfer, das wir in der gleichen Weise in dem dritten *Tonalamatl*-Viertel auf dem Blatte 6 unserer Handschrift bei dem Tage „Sieben Rohr“ angegeben fanden.

Von den fünf Tageszeichen, die die Gestalt der Göttin umsäumen, ist das eine — das zweite Tageszeichen, *eecatl* „Wind“ — kurioser, aber verständlicher Weise mit dem Anus der Göttin in Verbindung gebracht. Das folgende, das sechste Zeichen, *miquiztli* „Tod“, mit dem Kreuzwege. Das nächste, das zehnte Zeichen, *itzcuintli* „Hund“, mit dem Munde, weil Feuer aus ihrem Munde geht. Vielleicht sind auch die scharfe Zunge, die spitzen Reden der Weiber oder unfläthige Worte gemeint. Das vierzehnte Tageszeichen, *ocelotl* „Jaguar“, ist mit dem Ohre, das achtzehnte, *tecpatl* „Feuersteinmesser“, mit dem Auge verbunden. Für beides weiss ich keinen plausiblen Grund.

Die dritte Schlange, die den Westen bezeichnet, umschliesst in unserer Handschrift den rechten oberen, im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) den linken unteren Quadranten. Die Schlange ist in unserer Handschrift mit blauer Farbe, in der Farbe des Türkises (*xiuitl*) oder des Kotinga-Vogels (*xiuhtototl*), und als Federschlange gezeichnet und längs des Rückens mit blaugemalten Wurfbrettern (*xiuhatlatl*) und Speeren (*tlacochtli, mitl*) besetzt. Offenbar, weil die blaue Farbe durch Ideenassoziation die Vorstellung des *xiuhatlatl*, des blauen Wurfbrettes, der Waffe des Feuergottes, *Uitzilopochtli*'s und auch *Quetzalcouatl*'s des Gottes von *Tollan*, erweckte, oder richtiger wohl, weil der *xiuhcouatl*, die blaue Schlange, die Feuerschlange ist, die die Verkleidung der genannten Götter und zugleich auch ihre mit dem *xiuhatlatl* identifizirte Waffe ist. — Auf dem Blatte des Vaticanus (Abb. 300) ist als Parallele dieser Schlange nicht die dort als dritte, als Schlange des Westens, stehende bunte Blutschlange, sondern die blaue Schlange anzusehen, die der Schreiber in dem zweiten Quadranten, dem des Nordens, gezeichnet hat. Der Leib dieser Schlange ist durch die gitter- oder netzartig sich kreuzende Linienzeichnung als mit Mosaik inkrustirt bezeichnet, — die übliche Art, in der die kleinen Türkisstückchen verwendet wurden. An der Aussenseite des Leibes erheben sich blaue Flammenzungen. Die Innenseite ist mit in einander geschlungenen Binsen- oder *malinalli*-Streifen besetzt. Das ist wohl ein Ausdruck des *neçaualli* oder des Fastens und ein Hinweis auf den Gott, der in unserer Handschrift in dem dritten Quadranten, dem Quadranten des Westens, angegeben ist, auf *Quetzalcouatl*, der der Windgott, der Gott des Lebens und zugleich der Priestergott, der Erfinder alles Kultus und aller Kasteiung, ist. Auf den Priestergott, den Erfinder der Kasteiung, deuten auch der Knochendolch (*omitl*) und die Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*), die man in unserer Handschrift in dem Räuchergefässe vor *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Gotte des dritten Quadranten,

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stecken sieht, sowie die Edelsteinscheiben, die an der Spitze der beiden Kasteiungswerkzeuge stehen und das ganze Räuchergefäss umsäumen und die, gleich den Blüthen, die sonst an der Spitze der Kasteiungswerkzeuge angebracht werden, das Blut, das Opfer, bezeichnen. Der Maiskolben (*cintli*) dagegen, der zwischen dem Knochendolche und der Agave-Blattspitze in dem Räuchergefässe zu sehen ist, ist eine Kennzeichnung des Westens, der das *Tamoanchan*, das Haus der Geburt, und das *Cincalco*, die Heimath des Maises, ist.

Von den fünf Tageszeichen, die in dem Umkreise der Figur *Quetzalcouatl*'s angegeben sind, ist das erste, das dritte Zeichen, *calli* „Haus", mit dem Munde des Gottes verbunden. Das nächste, das siebente Zeichen, *maçatl* „Hirsch", steht unter dem Fusse des Gottes. Das folgende, das eilfte Zeichen, *oçomàtli* „Affe", ist mit dem Herzen des Gottes verbunden, denn der Windgott und der Affe sind wesenseins. Die beiden letzten Zeichen, das fünfzehnte, *quauhtli* „Adler", und das neunzehnte, *quiauitl* „Regen", sind wieder mit den Ohren und dem Auge des Gottes verbunden.

Die vierte Schlange endlich, die den Süden repräsentirt, im Codex Borgia in dem linken oberen, im Vaticanus im rechten unteren Quadranten, ist in unserer Handschrift als Skelettwirbelsäule, zugleich aber in der grünen Farbe des *malinalli*-Grases gemalt und mit *malinalli*-Grasenden versehen, die gleichsam die Processus spinosi der Skelettwirbelsäule bilden. Im Vaticanus (Abb. 300) ist einfach eine Skelettwirbelsäule mit einem Totenschädel als Kopf gezeichnet, aber an der Aussenseite, der Bauchseite, sind auch federartig sich einrollende grüne Gebilde angegeben. Als Gott dieses Quadranten ist in unserer Handschrift der rothe *Auiateotl* des Südens, *Macuil xochitl*, der Gott „Fünf Blume", der Gott der Lust, des Spieles, der Musik und des Tanzes, gezeichnet, aber mit derselben dunklen, zwei weisse Windkreuze in sich schliessenden Haarperrücke und dem Kopfschmucke des Regen- und Blitzgottes, wie der für *Xolotl* eintretende *Auiateotl* oder *Nanauatzin* auf dem Blatte 10 unserer Handschrift. In dem Räuchergefässe vor dem Gotte sieht man Scheite Brennholz und eine Kautschukkugel mit der einzelnen aufgebundenen Quetzalfeder.

Von den fünf Tageszeichen, die auch hier im Umkreise angegeben sind, ist das erste, das vierte Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin* „Eidechse" mit dem Penis verbunden. Ich habe bei Besprechung des Regenten des vierten Tageszeichens (vgl. Band I dieser Erläuterungen, S. 95 ff.) gezeigt, dass die Eidechse den Mexikanern das Zeichen der Unkeuschheit war, und wir haben das Zeichen auch in der grossen *Tezcatlipoca*-Figur, Blatt 17 unserer Handschrift, genau in derselben Weise mit dem Penis in Verbindung gebracht gesehen. Weil dieser vierte Tag den Mexikanern das Zeichen der Unkeuschheit war, darum hat man auch in diesen vierten Quadranten des Blattes *Auiateotl*, den Gott der Lust, gesetzt. — Das folgende Tageszeichen, das achte, *tochtli* „Kaninchen", ist unter dem linken Fusse des Gottes angebracht; das zwölfte, *malinalli* „Grasstrick", an dem Ohre des Gottes. Das sechszehnte, *cozcaquauhtli* der „Geier", auf seiner Hand. Das zwanzigste endlich, *xochitl* „Blume", ist mit dem Munde des Gottes verbunden. Das ist wiederum der Natur dieses Gottes angemessen, der ja die Blume repräsentirt, und dessen Genosse *Xochipilli* mit der Zeichnung eines Schmetterlings auf dem Munde, also geradezu als Blume, auf der der Schmetterling sich wiegt, gezeichnet wird.

Was die Bedeutung der gesammten Darstellungen dieses Blattes betrifft, so müssen wir, wie ich oben schon sagte, festhalten, dass die Federschlange den Mexikanern überall zunächst das Wasser bezeichnete. Und da kommt einem in die Erinnerung, was wir über *Tlaloc*, den Berg- und Regengott, in der „Historia de los Méxicanos por sus pinturas" lesen[1]). Darnach, heisst es, hätte der Gott oben auf seinem Berge, in *Tlalocan* (im Osten von Tezcuco), eine Wohnung von vier Zimmern gehabt, und in der Mitte einen grossen Hof, wo vier grosse Fässer mit Wasser stehen. Das eine Wasser sei sehr gut, und aus dem regne es, wenn die Maiskolben und die Feldfrüchte gedeihen, und der Regen zu rechter Zeit komme. Das andere Wasser sei schlecht, wenn es regne und mit dem Regen Spinnweben (Pilzgewebe) an den Maiskolben entstehen, und sie sich schwärzen. Das dritte Wasser sei, wenn es regne, und die Maiskolben erfrieren. Das vierte, wenn es regne, und die Maiskolben kein Korn ansetzen und vertrocknen. — Diese

1) Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta. Nueva Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México. Tomo III (México 1891), pag. 230.

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Beschreibung der verschiedenen Regenwasser entspricht offenbar den Himmelsrichtungen Osten, Westen, Norden, Süden, — deren Wirkungen mit Bezug auf den Regen man versucht sein könnte, auch auf den beschriebenen Blättern der beiden Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe dargestellt zu sehen. Eine solche Erklärung für die Blätter dieser Handschrift muthet einen aber doch etwas banal an. Auch würde man dabei nicht recht begreifen können, wozu hier in unserer Handschrift die verschiedenen Göttergestalten gezeichnet sind. Wir müssten annehmen, dass sie nur zur Kennzeichnung der Himmelsrichtung stehen, wozu sie gerade nicht nöthig wären. Ich habe oben (vgl. S. 259) für die eigentliche Federschlange eine andere mögliche Bedeutung nachgewiesen, eine hieroglyphische Verwendung zur Bezeichnung des Mondes. Doch scheint auch diese hier kaum angenommen werden zu können, da gerade der Gott, neben dem die Federschlange steht, *Tlaloc*, der Regengott, schwerlich mit dem Monde in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Dagegen wird ein Vergleich mit den Abbildungen der letzten beiden Blätter unserer Handschrift, auf die ich im letzten Kapitel dieser Erläuterungen zu sprechen kommen werde, lehren, dass die vier Schlangen hier nur die Erscheinungsformen anderer Göttergestalten sind, die die vier grossen kosmischen Potenzen, Sonne, Mond, Morgenstern und Sternenwelt, in sich verkörpern.

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26. Der Gott des Lebens und der Gott des Todes in der oberen oder himmlischen Region.

(Blatt 73 = Kingsborough 42.)

Ueber dies Blatt habe ich oben im 20. Kapitel (S. 165—169) schon gesprochen.

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27. Die Götter der Wollust und ihre Zeichen.

(Blatt 74 = Kingsborough 41.)

Dies Blatt, das in dem Blatte 74 (= Kingsborough 23) des Codex Vaticanus 3773 (vgl. Abb. 302, 303) eine Parallele hat, ist leider in unserer Handschrift ziemlich zerstört. Zu Kingsborough's Zeit scheint es noch ein wenig besser erhalten gewesen zu sein. Ich habe die untere Hälfte des Blattes nach der Kingsborough'schen Zeichnung kopieren lassen und hier in Abb. 301 wiedergegeben, weil in der Kingsborough'schen Zeichnung einige wesentliche Kennzeichen der in dieser unteren Hälfte dargestellten Figur noch deutlich sind, die jetzt durch Abblätterung der Stuckschicht unrettbar verloren sind.

Wir sehen in der oberen Hälfte des Blattes *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin des Unraths, die Mondgöttin, die alte Erdgöttin, die die Göttin der Wollust und die grosse Gebärerin ist, nackt und breitbeinig, mit geöffneten Schenkeln, in einem Tempel sitzen. Das Dach des Tempels hat einen breiten First und an seiner Basis ist vorn das *tlapapalli*, die vier Farben, die wir auf der Decke *Macuil xochitl*'s (vgl. oben S. 268, Abb. 272) kennen gelernt haben und die das Zeichen der *Auiateteô*, der Göttin der Wollust, sind, angegeben. In der unteren Hälfte des Blattes sitzt in einem Tempel, dessen Dach herabgestürzt ist und der in Flammen steht, eine mit blauer Farbe gemalte männliche Gestalt, die augenscheinlich in der bekannten indianischen Unterwürfigkeitshaltung, mit nach hinten verschränkten Armen, dargestellt sein soll, und die, wenigstens in der Kingsborough'schen Zeichnung (Abb. 301), vom Mundwinkel nach hinten ziehend, die Zeichnung

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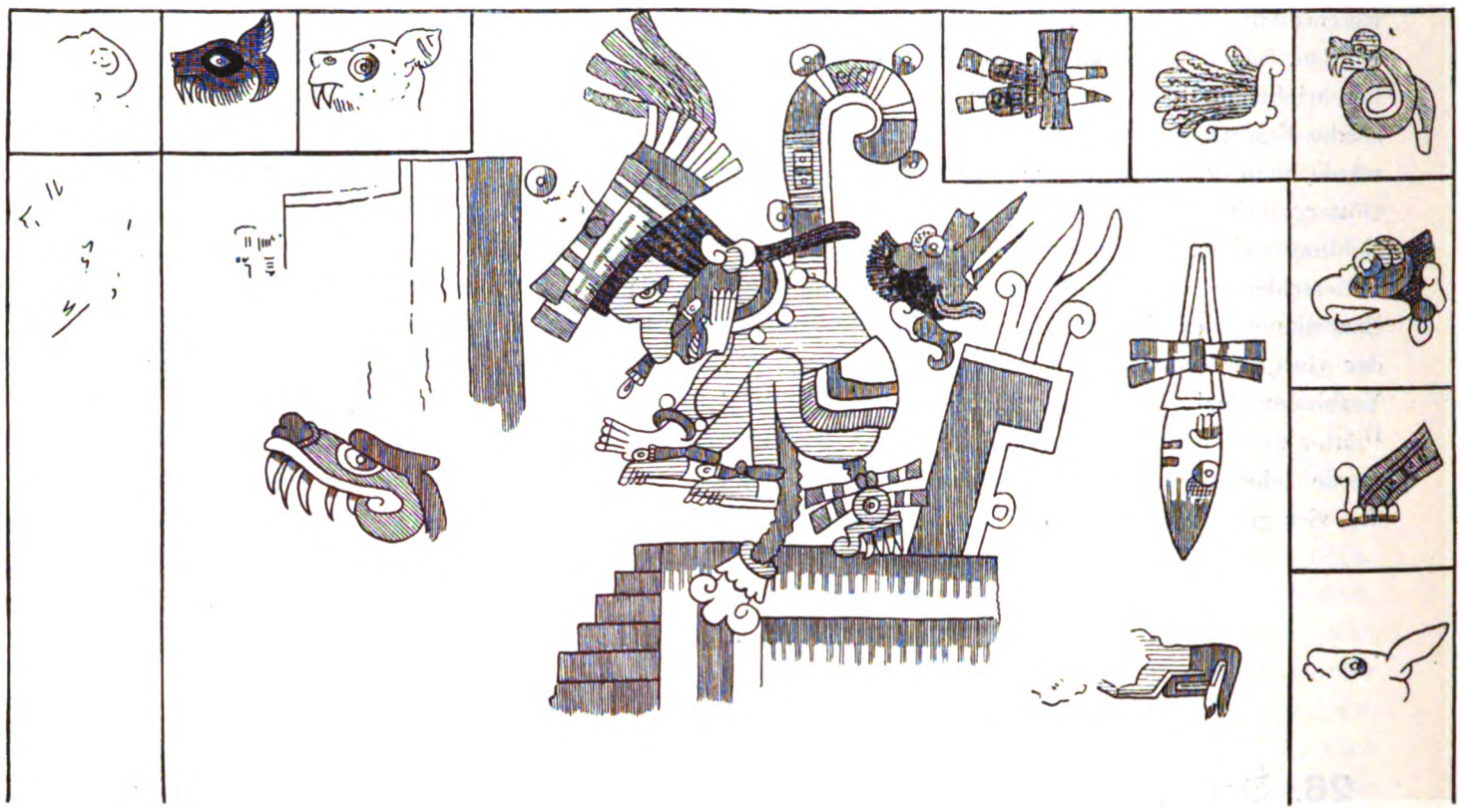

Abb. 301. *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust und seine Zeichen.
Codex Borgia 74 (= Kingsborough 41), untere Hälfte. Nach der Zeichnung im Werke Kingsborough's wiedergegeben.

Abb. 302. *Tlaçolteotl*, die Göttin des Unraths, und ihre Zeichen.
Codex Vaticanus 3773 Blatt 74 (= Kingsborough 23).

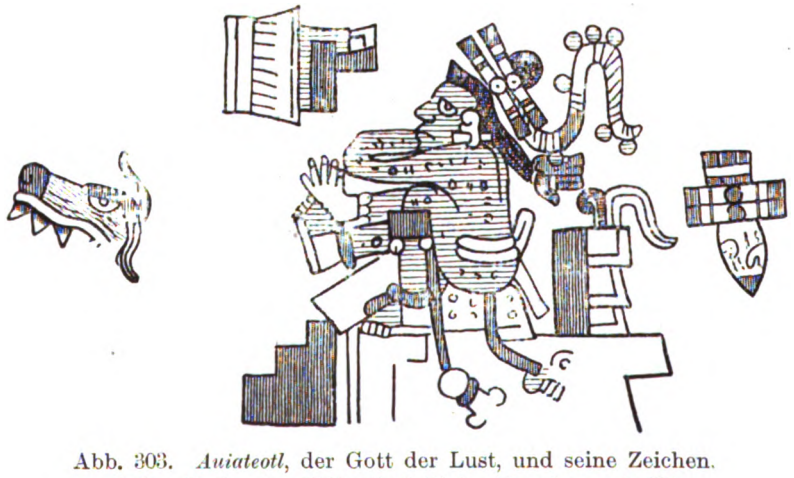

Abb. 303. *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust, und seine Zeichen.
Codex Vaticanus 3773, Blatt 74 (= Kingsborough 23).

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einer weissen Hand aufweist, also als *Auiateotl*, als Gott der Lust, gekennzeichnet ist. Das Schwanzende einer nach Art der Korallenotter gezeichneten bunten Schlange steigt hinter seinem Rücken in die Höhe, die gewissermassen dem *tlapapalli*, dem Zeichen der *Auiateteô* bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, zu vergleichen ist, da es hier das Zeichen der Sünde, das kennzeichnende Begleitbild der *Tlaçolteotl*, bei dem *Auiateotl* vorführt. — Die Parallelbilder des Vaticanus (Abb. 302, 303) zeigen im Wesentlichen die gleichen Gestalten, nur dass bei dem hier auch mit blauer Farbe gemalten *Auiateotl* keine weisse Handzeichnung am Munde zu sehen ist und dass bei ihm das Zeichen der Sünde, das Schwanzende der bunten Schlange, das in der Codex Borgia-Gruppe hinter dem Rücken gerade aufstieg, hier gewissermassen als Zopfband verwendet ist.

Die beiden Götter sind auf den Blättern beider Handschriften von den Zeichen der zwanzig Tage umgeben. Diese haben aber, wie die erklärende Tafel ohne Weiteres veranschaulicht, augenscheinlich einzig den Zweck, auf die beiden letzten Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ und *xochitl* „Blume“ hinzuführen, die in der oberen Abtheilung mit der Analöffnung und der Vulva der Göttin, in der unteren mit der Analöffnung und dem Penis des männlichen Gottes in Verbindung gesetzt sind.

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28. Die vier Lichtgötter und ihre Erscheinungsformen.

(Blatt 75, 76 = Kingsborough 40, 39.)

Die beiden letzten Blätter unserer Handschriften sind diejenigen, die am meisten unter der schlechten Behandlung, die Unverstand und Nachlässigkeit dieser schönsten aller mexikanischen Handschriften zu Theil werden liess, gelitten haben. Von den acht Bildern, die auf diesen zwei Blättern dargestellt waren, ist durch das Ansengen oder Anbrennen, für das Alexander von Humboldt die gedankenlose und nichtsnutzige Spielerei der Domestikenkinder der Familie Giustiniani verantwortlich macht, eines total und rettungslos zerstört, und von einem zweiten sind nur ein paar traurige Reste übrig, aus denen sich nicht viel entnehmen lässt. Und zwei andere Bilder haben durch die Abreibung, die naturgemäss die äusseren Blätter eines Buches stärker als andere trifft, auch beträchtlich gelitten, so dass nur die vier mittleren Bilder die Einzelheiten des Dargestellten ziemlich vollständig erkennen lassen.

Von diesen acht Darstellungen, für die noch keine Parallelen in anderen Bilderschriften nachgewiesen sind, sind durch die beigesetzten Tageszeichen, von denen die kleinere Hälfte noch deutlich zu erkennen, die übrigen mit Sicherheit zu ergänzen sind, immer je zwei einem Viertel des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*'s, und damit einer der vier Himmelsrichtungen zugeschrieben. Denn es ist immer die erste und die achte Tageszeichensäule der vier *Tonalamatl*-Viertel, die als Begleiter und Determinativ bei den vier Paaren von Darstellungen stehen.

In allen acht Abtheilungen befindet sich an der einen Seite, der Eingangsseite, das Hauptbild, — eine Gottheit auf einem *teoicpalli*, einem aus Holz geschnitzten, mit Edelsteinen eingelegten und mit Metall beschlagenen Stuhle, kniend. Auf der anderen Seite oben, dem Gotte gegenüber, sieht man die kleine Figur eines Räucherpriesters (*tlenamacac*) knien. Die eine Hand hält den Räucherlöffel (*tlemaitl*), der mit dickem schwarzem Rauche gefüllt ist, und in dem ein Edelstein, der in eine Blüthe endet, die Kostbarkeit, d. h. das Opfer, zum Ausdrucke bringt. Die Tasche für das Räucherwerk (*copalxiquipilli*) hängt an dem anderen Arme. Und die zu diesem anderen Arme gehörige Hand führt mit kräftigem Stosse ein Obsidianmesser (*itztli*) in das Ohr. Das aus der Wunde strömende Blut steigt gerade in die Höhe und geht quer über die Abtheilung fort und in den Mund der Gottheit auf der anderen Seite des Faches über. Der Gott trinkt also das Blut, das der Räucherer, der Fromme, aus der Wunde, die er sich beigebracht hat, fliessen lässt. Diese Gottheiten selbst scheinen sich in zwei Klassen zu sondern.

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Die eigentlichen Vertreter der vier Himmelsrichtungen scheinen jedes Mal die zweiten Glieder der vier Paare zu sein, zu denen die ersten Glieder nur ergänzende Gestalten bilden. Bei zwei der Himmelsrichtungen wird dieses ergänzende Glied von einer Todesgottheit gebildet, während in der ersten Himmelsrichtung, dem Osten, dafür der Regengott *Tlaloc* erscheint. Den zweiten Gliedern der vier Paare gegenüber, unter dem *tlenamacac*, scheint überall noch ein Symbol angegeben gewesen zu sein, das die Natur oder einige Seiten der Natur, der betreffenden Gottheit veranschaulicht. Und zwischen diesem Symbole und der Gottheit steht dann noch ein weisses Gefäss mit einem Feueropfer. Bei den ersten Gliedern der vier Paare ist, der Hauptfigur gegenüber, unter dem *tlenamacac* nur das weisse Gefäss mit dem Feueropfer zu sehen. Und nur das erste Glied des ersten Paares macht wieder eine Ausnahme, indem hier, dem Regengotte gegenüber, über dem Gefässe mit dem Feueropfer noch ein Edelsteingefäss mit Maiskolben gezeichnet ist, das offenbar als Charakterisirung der Natur oder der Wirkung der gegenüberstehenden Hauptfigur, des Regengottes, gedacht ist.

Die Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes, des ersten, den Osten (*tlapcopa*) bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 75 unten links) ist *Tonatiuh*, der Sonnengott. Er ist als rother Gott dargestellt, mit der Sonnenscheibe als Halskragen. Das feuerfarbene Haar ist von dem mit einer Edelsteinscheibe verzierten Riemen umwunden, der an der Stirnseite einen stylisirten Vogelkopf (Adlerkopf) trägt, während an den Seiten je zwei kurze, in Daunenfederbälle endende Edelsteinriemen hervorragen. Auf dem Scheitel hat er die Adlerfederkrone, aus der drei haarig begrenzte Streifen heraushängen, — der charakteristische Schmuck des Sonnengottes in unserer Handschrift. In der einen Hand hält der Gott das blaue Wurfbrett (*xiuhatlatl*), in der anderen Schild und Speerbündel. — Dem Gotte gegenüber, unter dem *tlenamacac*, ist ein Berg gezeichnet, der eine Blüthe auf seiner Fläche zeigt, also ein *xochitepetetl*. Auf seiner Spitze liegen Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne, die Werkzeuge des Krieges (*yaoyotl*), und Wasser rinnt auf der einen, ein Strom gelber Federn auf der anderen Seite herab, die zusammen das *atl-tlachinolli* ergeben, die metaphorische Bezeichnung und die Hieroglyphe des Krieges. — In dem weissen Feuergefässe, das zwischen diesem Berge und dem Sonnengotte am Boden steht, ist nur eine Kautschukkugel (*oltelolotli*) mit der einzelnen aufgebundenen Quetzalfeder (*miauayotl*) zu sehen.

Die Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des zweiten, den Norden (*mictlampa*) bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 76 unten links) ist *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mondgöttin. Sie ist hier mit ihrer gewöhnlichen, die Mundpartie bedeckenden schwarzen *tlaolcopintitac*-Bemalung, mit einem rothen *tlaxapochtli* auf der Backe, mit feuerfarbenem, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelndem Haare, mit ihrem *yacametztli* in der Nase, ihrer Baumwollkopfbinde (*ichcaxochitl*) und ihrem Baumwollohrpflock (*ichcanacochtli*) und dem Truthahnflügel am Nacken dargestellt, aus dem die gelben (*çoyatl*-)Federn herausragen. Sie trägt endlich den kammförmigen, blau und weiss gebänderten Brustschmuck, der ihr und den Pulquegöttern gemein ist. Aber, wie auf dem Blatte 68 unserer Handschrift, wo *Tlaçolteotl* als Regentin des vierzehnten *Tonalamatl*-Abschnittes erscheint, ist nicht nur ihr Gewand, ihre Enagua (*cueitl*), sondern auch ihre Krone, *chictlapanqui*, schwarz und roth, in der Zweifarbigkeit der Pulquegötter und mit dem goldenen Nasenhalbmonde der Pulquegötter auf der Trennungslinie des schwarzen und des rothen Feldes, gemalt. Der untere Saum ihres Gewandes ist blau (granulirt) und mit weissen Muschelscheiben besetzt. Das ist das *citlalcueitl*, die „Sternhimmel-Enagua“, der *Tlaçolteotl* und der *Ciuateteô*, das wir auf dem Blatte 38 unserer Handschrift kennen gelernt haben, der rasselnde Besatz von Muschelscheiben, die für Augen, d. h. für Sterne, stehen. In der einen Hand scheint die Göttin ein Brennholzbündel, in der anderen einen Besen (*çacatl*, *popotl*), zu halten. Vielleicht ist auch beides als diese Waffe der Göttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes, als Besen, gemeint. — Der Göttin gegenüber ist ein Berg abgebildet, auf dem man einen Kreuzweg (*omaxatl*) und auf ihm liegend einen Besen (*popotl*) gerade noch erkennen kann. — In dem Feuergefässe, das zwischen diesem Berge und der Göttin stand, scheint eine grosse Kopalmasse, oder so etwas ähnliches, gezeichnet gewesen zu sein. Das Ganze ist aber jetzt nicht mehr zu erkennen.

Die Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des dritten, den Westen (*ciuatlampa*) bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 76 oben rechts) ist *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus. Er ist, wie auf den Blättern 45 und 54 unserer Handschrift weiss und roth gestreift (*tlauauantli*), auf den Armen mit Daunenfederbällen auf schwarzem Grunde, d. h. *cicitlallô* „sternhimmelartig“, bemalt und hat einen weissen Schädel als Kopf,

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auf dem ein Quincunx weisser Flecke nicht erkennbar ist. Auf dem rothen Lederriemen, der das feuerfarbene Haar umwindet, sind die beiden weissen, an der Spitze roth gefärbten, spitz eiförmigen Platten deutlich, die die Besonderheit dieses Gottes ausmachen. Die Krone ist durch das Ansengen zerstört, aber das kurze über den Rücken hängende *quemitl* zeigt die mit weissem Endflecke versehenen schwarzen Truthahnschwanzfedern, die der Gott des Planeten Venus in seiner Krone und seinem *quemitl* trägt. Der Ohrpflock ist der weisse *amanacochtli*, der Brustschmuck der weisse Ring *anauatl*, das Abbild des Auges, der Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s. Die Schambinde (*maxtlatl*) ist weiss und mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bedruckt (*tlaitzcopintli*), wie das Gewand der *Ciuateteô* des Sahagun-Manuskriptes. Der Gott hält, gleich dem Sonnengotte in dem ersten, dem östlichen Viertel das blaue Wurfbrett (*xiuhatlatl*) in der einen, Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne in der anderen Hand. Und wie vor dem Sonnengotte des ersten östlichen Viertels steht auch vor *Tlauizcalpantecutli* ein Berg, der eine Blume auf seiner Fläche trägt, ein *xochitepetl*; auch auf ihm ruhen die Werkzeuge des Krieges, Schild, Speerbündel, Wurfbrett und Handfahne, und darunter rinnt das *atl-tlachinolli*, der Wasserstrom auf der einen, der Strom gelber Federn auf der anderen Seite herab, nur dass dieser Strom gelber Federn hier ganz wasserartig, mit gelben Scheiben an den Theilstromenden gezeichnet ist. — Das Feuergefäss, dass zwischen diesem *xochitepetl* und dem Gotte am Boden steht, enthält, wie bei dem Sonnengotte, auch nur eine einzige Kautschukkugel mit ihrer einen darauf gebundenen Quetzalfeder.

Die Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des vierten, den Süden (*uitztlampa*) bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 75, oben rechts) ist leider durch den Brand vollständig zerstört. Das ist sehr traurig. Denn da wir in dem ersten, dem östlichen Viertel den Sonnengott, im zweiten, dem nördlichen, die Mondgöttin, im dritten, dem westlichen, den Gott des Planeten Venus dargestellt gefunden haben, würden wir hier, im Süden, erwarten dürfen, den Vertreter der Fixsternwelt anzutreffen. Aus dem Edelsteinriemen, der als Muster in den Saum eines hinteren Endes der Schambinde bei dieser zerstörten Hauptfigur des Südens, eingefügt zu sein scheint, möchte man vermuthen, dass hier ein *Xochipilli* abgebildet war. Denn diese Eigenthümlichkeit der Schambinde zeigt z. B. der *Xochipilli*, der Regent des eilften Tageszeichens, auf dem Blatte 13 unserer Handschrift. Aber ich kann nicht einmal mit Sicherheit feststellen, ob hier wirklich ein hinteres Schambindenende gezeichnet ist. Und die weiss und rothe Rosette, die oben an dem linken Rande des Faches noch zu erkennen ist, kann ich überhaupt nicht durch eine Parallele belegen. So bleibt mir weiter nichts übrig, als vor der Hand auf jegliche Vermuthung zu verzichten.

Von den Figuren, die die ersten Glieder der Paare bilden, ist in der ersten, der östlichen Abtheilung (Blatt 75 unten rechts), trotz der starken Abreibung dieses Fachs, der Regengott *Tlaloc* noch deutlich zu erkennen. Er ist augenscheinlich in seiner gewöhnlichen Tracht, mit dem Trapeze und dem Strahle (*miotli*), dem Abbilde des Jahres, auf dem Scheitel dargestellt und hält, wie die *Tlaloc*-Figuren der Blätter 27 und 28 unserer Handschrift, einen Henkelkrug mit einem *Tlaloc*-Gesichte in der Hand, von dem eine Edelsteinkette und ein *chalchiuitl*-Riemen herabrinnen. Dem Gotte gegenüber sind die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) und ein grosser, in den Farben des grünen Edelsteins (*chalchiuitl*) gemalter Topf mit Maiskolben abgebildet. In dem Feuergefässe, das weiter unten am Boden steht, sieht man eine Kautschukkugel, einen Edelsteinriemen und einen Maiskolben.

Die Hauptfigur des ersten Gliedes des zweiten, den Norden bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 76 unten rechts) ist ein rother, mit gelben Flecken gezeichneter Todesgott. Er hält die Kasteiungswerkzeuge, Knochendolch (*omitl*) und Agave-Blattspitze (*uitztli*) in der einen, eine grosse Blüthe (*xochitl*), die hier offenbar das Kasteiungsblut bedeutet, in der anderen Hand. Der Stuhl, auf dem er kniet, hat nicht die gewöhnlichen, stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Füsse, sondern ruht auf gerundeten, die Gestalt eines Rippenbogens imitirenden Fussstücken. Vor diesem Todesgotte sind wie vor dem Regengotte der ersten Abtheilung noch einmal die Kasteiungswerkzeuge angegeben, sonst aber nur das weisse Feuergefäss, das ausser der Kautschukkugel hier noch ein Bündel Brennholz, eine Anzahl einzelner Scheite und einen Grasbusch enthält, während eine rothe, mit Flammenzungen besetzte Schlange an der Wand des Gefässes herabhängt.

Das erste Glied des dritten, den Westen bezeichnenden Paares, Blatt 76, oben links, ist durch

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das Anbrennen der Handschrift ganz zerstört worden. Man erkennt nur noch, dass die Hauptfigur auf einem Stuhle mit gewöhnlichen, stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Füssen kniete und dass dieser Hauptfigur gegenüber kein anderes Symbol, sondern nur das weisse Feuergefäss sich befand, dass also der Charakter der Hauptfigur in dieser ersten Abtheilung des dritten Paares dem der Hauptfigur der ersten Abtheilung der andern Paare ähnlich gewesen sein wird.

Das erste Glied des vierten, den Süden bezeichnenden Paares (Blatt 75 oben links) ist noch vollständig erhalten. Die Hauptfigur stellt sich als eine in grünes *malinalli*-Gras gekleidete und in der Farbe des *malinalli*-Grases gemalte Skelettgestalt dar, die Adlerfänge statt der Hände und Füsse hat und auf einem auf abgerundeten Rippenbogen ruhenden Stuhle kniet. Die Figur hält dieselben Gegenstände (Kasteiungswerkzeuge und Blume) in der Hand, wie der rothe, gelbgefleckte Todesgott der zweiten Abtheilung. Und dieselben Begleitgegenstände — Kasteiungswerkzeuge und Feuergefäss mit Kautschukball, Brennholzbündel, Holzscheiten, Grasbusch und an der Wand herabhängender rother Schlange — sind hier, wie bei dem rothen, gelbgefleckten Todesgott der zweiten Abtheilung, abgebildet.

Wenn wir nun nach der Bedeutung der ganzen Reihe fragen, so möchte ich zunächst hervorheben, dass mir die ersten Glieder der Paare in gewisser Weise den Schlangen auf dem Blatte 72 unserer Handschrift zu entsprechen scheinen: die *Tlaloc*-Gestalt in der ersten Abtheilung der grünen Quetzalfederschlange; der rothe gelbgefleckte Todesgott, das erste Glied des zweiten Paares der rothen (oder bunten) Blutschlange; das erste Glied des vierten Paares, das in *malinalli*-Gras gekleidete Skelett, der mit der Farbe des *malinalli*-Grases gemalten Schlange des Blattes 72. Und da mir eine solche innere Analogie zwischen dem Blatte 72 und unseren beiden Blättern 75 und 76 gegeben erscheint, so möchte ich für das zweite Glied des vierten Paares vermuthen, dass die Hauptfigur dieses Gliedes in der That — worauf ich oben schon zu rathen anfieng — *Xochipilli* oder *Macuil xochitl*, kurz den *Auiateotl*, den Gott der Lust, dargestellt habe. Und für das zerstörte erste Glied des dritten Paares möchte ich schliessen, dass eine der blauen Schlange *xiuhcouatl* verwandte Gestalt, also vielleicht *Xiuhtecutli*, der Feuergott, selbst dort auf dem geschnitzten Stuhle gekniet habe, der ja in der That mit dem Gotte des Planeten Venus, der das zweite Glied dieses Paares bildet, in der Regel vergesellschaftet ist.

Diese Analogie, an deren Vorhandensein ich nicht zweifele, scheint mir für die Erklärung beider Reihen von Werth zu sein. Es ergibt sich daraus zunächst, dass die *Auiateteô*, die Götter der Lust, die Dämonen des Südens, in der That die Sterne sind, wie ich immer vermuthet habe, — die *Centzon Uitznaua*, die „vierhundert Südlichen", mit denen *Uitzilopochtli* kämpfte. In der That, die besondere Ausstattung, mit denen die *Centzon Uitznaua* im Sahagun-Manuskripte beschrieben werden, die — *intech quitlalique in imamatlatqui in anecuyotl in tzitzicazamatl itech pipilcac tlacuilolli, ivan in coyolli in cotztitech quiiilpique inin coyolli mitouaya oyoualli, iuan in inmiuh tlatzontectli* „ihren Papierschmuck angelegt haben, das *anecuyotl*, ihre Nesselmäntel (schwarz gefärbte, mit Adlerdaunenfedern im Quincunx beklebte), an denen bemalte Papiere hängen und Schellen, die man *oyoualli* nennt, an die Waden gebunden haben und einen mit Einschnitten an der Spitze versehenen Speer führen;" — die aber *ocnen quiualoyouhtiuia, ocnen quiualoyouiaya, valmochimaluitectiuia*, die vergebens ihn mit ihren *oyoualli*-Rasseln zurückzuschrecken versuchen, (vergebens) an ihre Schilde schlagen".

Das sind offenbar die Tanzgötter, bei denen ja die *oyoualli*-Rassel, wie ich oben angegeben habe, das kennzeichnendste, ihnen ausschliesslich angehörige Ausstattungsstück bildet.

Da nun aber die *Auiateteô* und *Nanauatzin*, der syphilitische Gott, wie ich oben S. 97 nachgewiesen habe, ident sind, so ergibt sich, dass für die ganze Erzählung von der Verbrennung und Sonnenwerdung *Nanauatzin*'s die Thatsache, dass die Gestirne sich verbrennen, als natürlicher Ausgangspunkt anzunehmen ist, dass sie sich opfern müssen, damit die Sonne am Himmel erscheine, damit es Tag werde, oder, mit anderen Worten, dass die Bewegung des Fixsternhimmels auch die Sonne wieder am Firmamente emporführt.

Weiter zeigen unsere — nach Blatt 72 ergänzten — Blättern 75 und 76, dass in der Spekulation jener alten Priestergelehrten für den Sonnengott der Regen- und Gewittergott *Tlaloc* oder die Quetzalfederschlange, für die Mondgöttin das rothe, gelbgefleckte Skelett oder die rothe Blutschlange, für den Planeten Venus der Feuergott oder die blaue Schlange (*xiuhcouatl*) und für die Sterngötter oder den *Auiateotl* das

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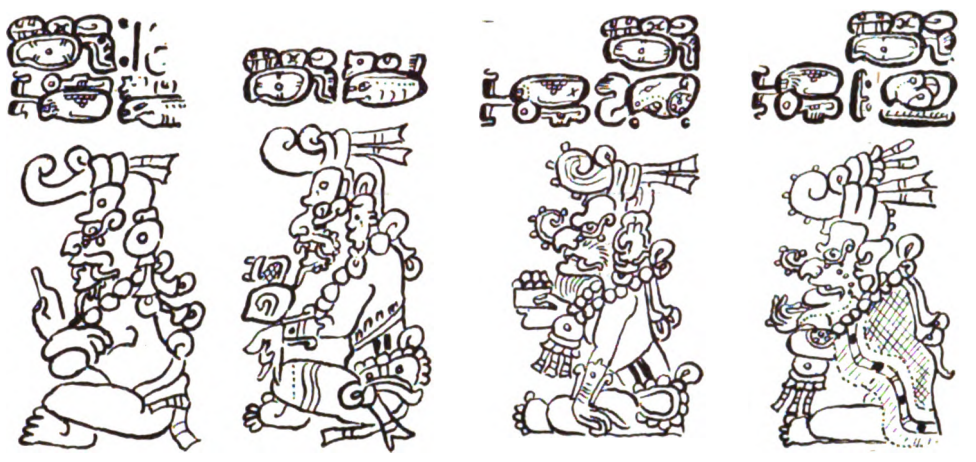
in *malinalli*-Gras gekleidete Skelett, d. h. der Affe (vgl. oben S. 290 und Band I dieser Erläuterungen S. 10), nur die Begleiter oder die andere Erscheinungsform bilden. All das ist ja in der That schon in früheren Kapiteln wiederholt zu Tage getreten. Dass der *Auiateotl* und der Affe zusammengehen, ist bekannt. Ist ja doch *Xochipilli* geradezu die Verkörperung des Tageszeichens *oçomàtli* „Affe“. Aber auch die Sterngötter und die Affen gehen zusammen. Denn die Sterngötter sind die Wesen der prähistorischen Zeit, die vor der Geburt der Sonne existirten. Die Affen aber erscheinen in den Sagen überall als die unvollkommene erste Menschenschöpfung. Ueber den Zusammenhang zwischen dem Planeten Venus und dem Feuergotte, und damit auch dem *xiuhcouatl*, der Feuerschlange, brauche ich kein Wort zu verlieren. Die beiden Götter stehen im *Tonalamatl* zusammen. Sie sind die Krieger, der Ausdruck des *atl-tlachinolli*, repräsentiren den Kriegertod.



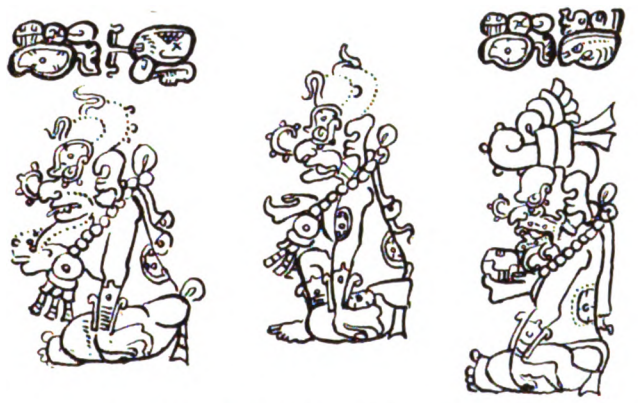


Abb. 304. *Kinch ahau*, der Sonnengott. Dresdener Maya-Handschrift.

Den rothen, gelbgefleckten Tod haben wir oben überall getroffen, wo die Zerstücklung, die Phasenbildung des Mondes dargestellt zu sein schien. Aber auch der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Sonnengotte und dem Regen- und Gewittergotte liegt klar zu Tage. Das Zeichen *quiauitl* „Regen“ verkörpert sich auf dem Blatte 9 unserer Handschrift in dem Sonnengotte, und *Tlaloc* seinerseits ist die Verkörperung des Tageszeichens *maçatl* „Hirsch“, — des Thieres, das bei den Mexikanern, so gut wie bei den anderen indianischen Stämmen, mit dem Feuer, mit der Sonne, identifizirt wurde. Auf dem Blatte 33 unserer Handschrift sehen wir das Bild des Mondes von dem Kaninchen, das Bild der Sonne von dem Hirsche getragen. Und wenn in einer Zärimonie, die Preuss bei dem Stamme der Cora beobachtete, und von der er vor Kurzem berichtete, der Morgenstern als Knabe unter dem Altar hervortritt und einen Pfeil auf den Hirsch ins Dickicht schiesst, so haben wir darin vermuthlich das Relikt der Erzählung, die ich oben (S. 145) nach der Historia de Culhuacan y México übersetzte, von dem Pfeile, den der Morgen-

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stern auf die Sonne, die nicht vorwärts gehen will, schiesst. Ich füge hier noch in Abb. 304 einige der Dresdener Handschrift entnommene Bilder des Sonnengottes der Maya-Stämme und seiner Hieroglyphen hinzu, die dieselbe Identität zum Ausdrucke bringen, da man in der ersten Hieroglyphe allerdings einfach das Bild der Sonne, vielleicht im Vereine mit dem Bilde des Feuers und der Eroberung, anzunehmen hat, die zweite Hieroglyphe aber zweifellos die Gewitterwolke, den aus ihr zuckenden Strahl und den Donnerschlag zur Anschauung bringt.

Die tiefste Weisheit in Bezug auf die himmlischen Dinge scheint daher von den alten Priestergelehrten auf diesen beiden Schlussblättern des Codex Borgia den Adepten vorgeführt zu sein. Keine Handhabe zur Ausübung wahrsagerischer Kunst, wie viele der früheren Blätter, sondern eine Zusammenstellung des Wissens von den drei grossen Himmelskörpern und ihren zahlreichen kleineren Genossen in einem übersichtlichen und verständlichen Bilde.

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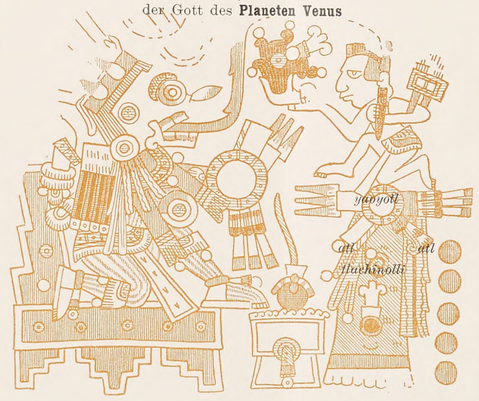
Drittes *Tonalamatl*-Viertel = **Westen** ***(ciuatlampa).*** **76.**

Viertes *Tonalamatl*-Viertel = **Süden** ***(uitztlampa).*** **75.**

[*Xiuhtecutli,* **der Feuergott**]

Tlauizcalpantecutli
der Gott des **Planeten Venus**



Das *malinalli*-Skelett, **der Affe**

[*Auiateotl,* der Gott der Lust, **der Sterngott**]

1. *maçatl* Hirsch	1. *quiauitl* Regen	1. *oçomàtli* Affe	1. *calli* Haus	1. *quauhtli* Adler	8. *ocelotl* Jaguar	8. *miquiztli* Tod	8. *tecpatl* Feuerstein	8. *itzcuintli* Hund	8. *eecatl* Wind	1. *xochitl* Blume	1. *malinalli* Grasstrick	1. *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	1. *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	1. *tochtli* Kaninchen	8. *maçatl* Hirsch	8. *quiauitl* Regen	8. *oçomàtli* Affe	8. *calli* Haus	8. *quauhtli* Adler

popotl
Besen

omaxac
Kreuzweg

tlenamacac

copal-xiquipilli

omitl

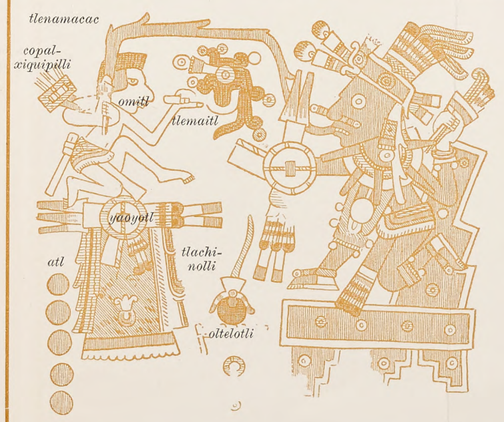
tlemaitl

yaoyotl

atl

tlachi-nolli

oltelolli



tlenamacac

8. *atl* Wasser	8. *olin* Bewegung	8. *couatl* Schlange	8. *acatl* Rohr	8. *cipactli* Krokodil	1. *eecatl* Wind	1. *itzcuintli* Hund	1. *tecpatl* Feuerstein	1. *miquiztli* Tod	1. *ocelotl* Jaguar	8. *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	8. *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	8. *malinalli* Grasstrick	8. *xochitl* Blume	8. *tochtli* Kaninchen	1. *atl* Wasser	1. *olin* Bewegung	1. *couatl* Schlange	1. *acatl* Rohr	1. *cipactli* Krokodil

Tlaçolteotl
die Mondgöttin

Das rothe Skelett
(das Abbild des Mondes)

Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott

Tlaloc
der Regen- und Gewittergott

Zweites *Tonalamatl*-Viertel = **Norden** ***(mictlampa).***

Erstes *Tonalamatl*-Viertel = **Osten** ***(tlapcopa).***

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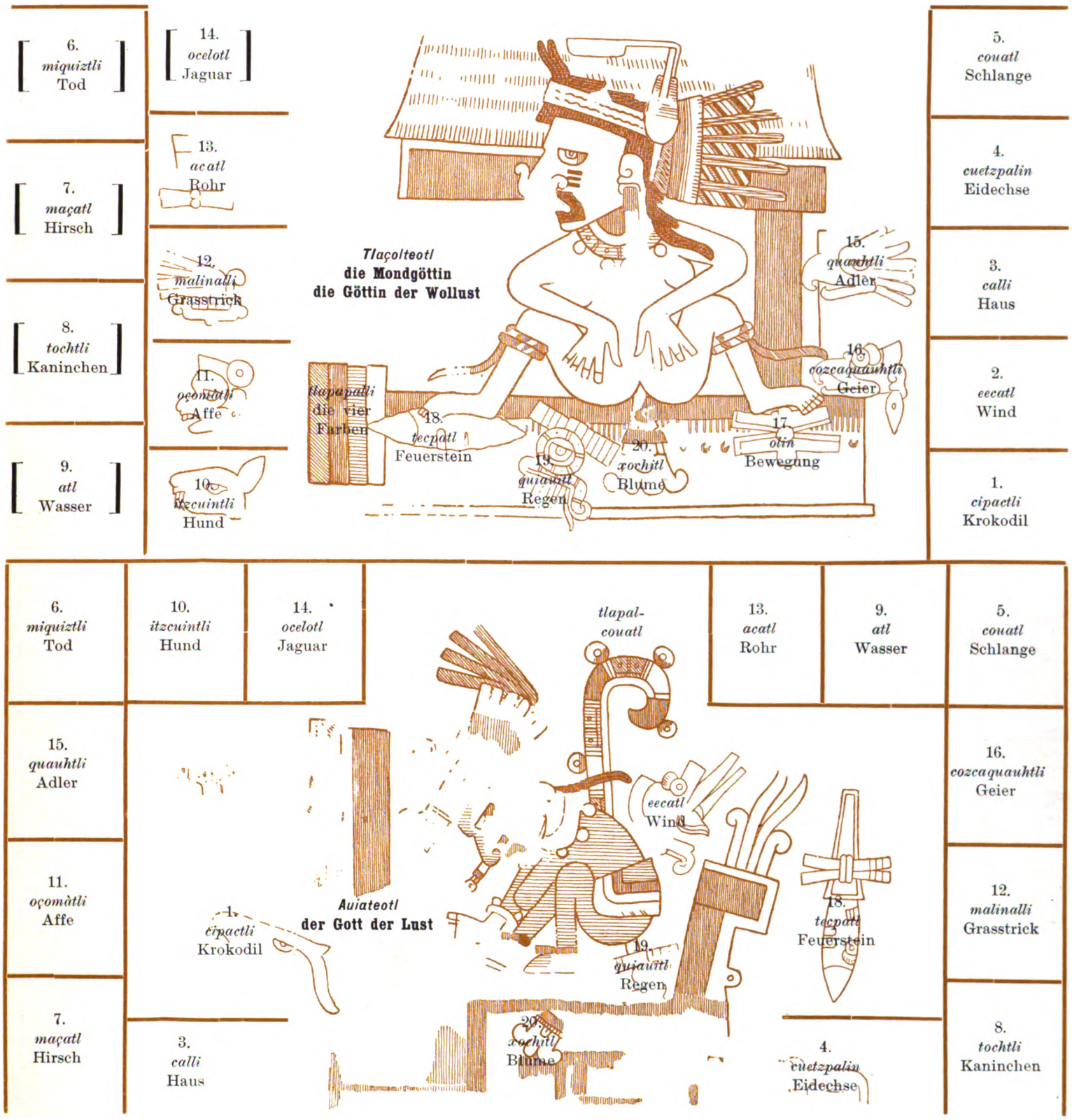
27. Die Götter der Wollust und ihre Zeichen.



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26. Der Gott des Lebens und der Gott des Todes in der himmlischen Region.

[5. XVIII] *tecpatl* Feuerstein | [4. XVII] *olin* Bewegung | [3. XVI] *cozcaquauhtli* Geier | [2. XV] *quauhtli* Adler | [1. XIV] *ocelotl* Jaguar | [13. XIII] *acatl* Rohr | [12. XII] *malinalli* Grasstrick | [11. XI] *oçomàtli* Affe | [10. X] *itzcuintli* Hund

[6. XIX] *quiauitl* Regen | [9. IX] *atl* Wasser

[7. XX] *xochitl* Blume | [8. VIII] *tochtli* Kaninchen

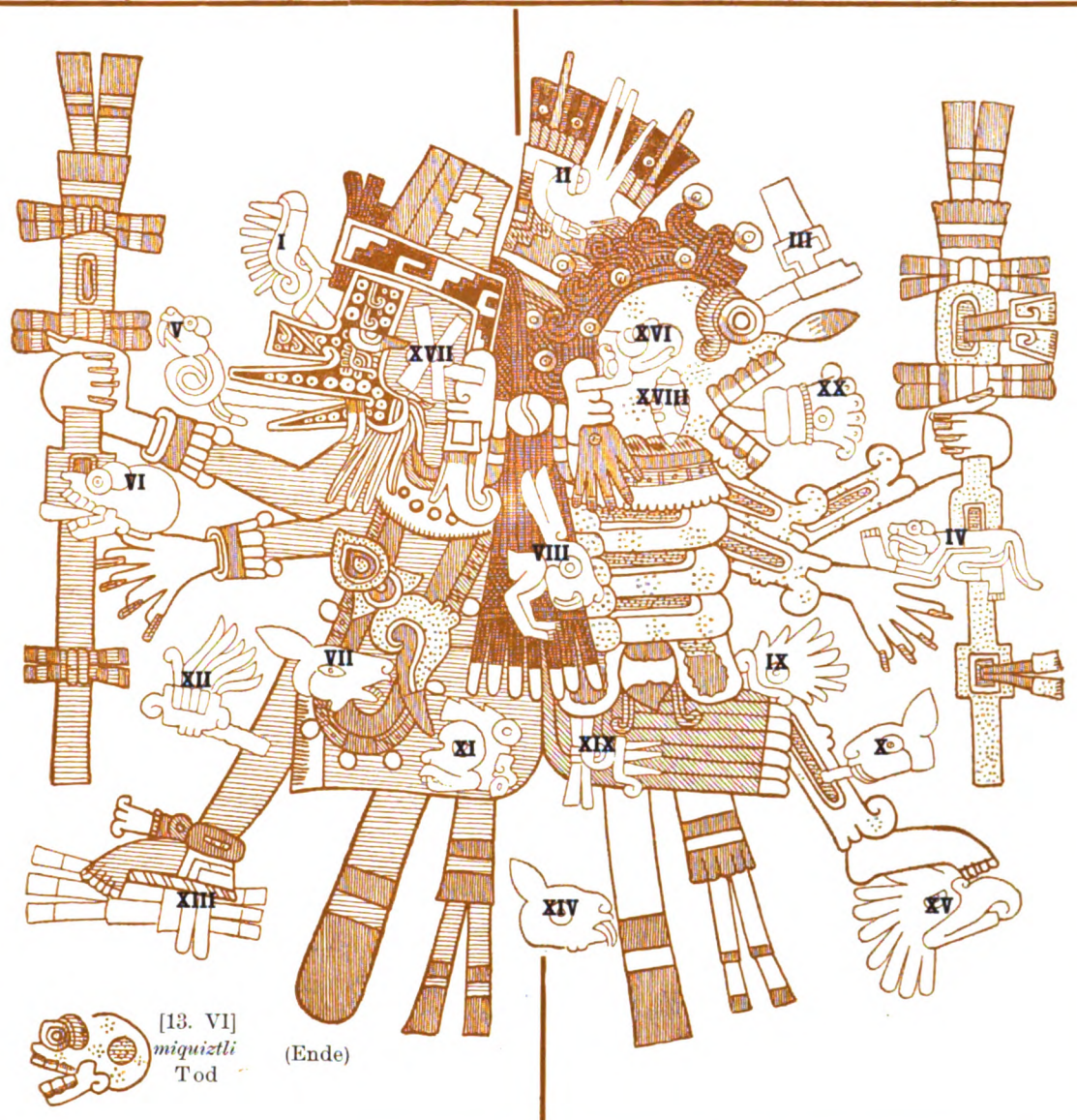
[8. I] *cipactli* Krokodil | [7. VII] *maçatl* Hirsch

[9. II] *eecatl* Wind | [6. VI] *miquiztli* Tod

[10. III] *calli* Haus

[11. IV] *cuetzpalin* Eidechse

[12. V] *couatl* Schlange



[13. VI] *miquiztli* Tod (Ende)

[1. I] *cipactli* Krokodil | [2. II] *eecatl* Wind | [3. III] *calli* Haus | [4. IV] *cuetzpalin* Eidechse | [5. V] *couatl* Schlange

(Anfang) ➡

Quetzalcouatl
der Windgott, der Schöpfergott, der Herr des Lebens

Mictlantecutli
der Todesgott

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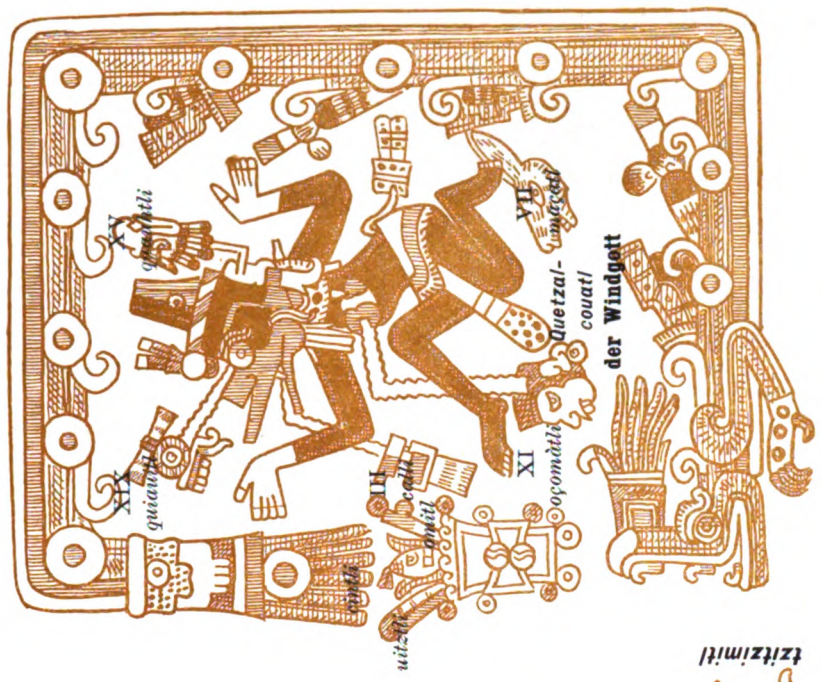
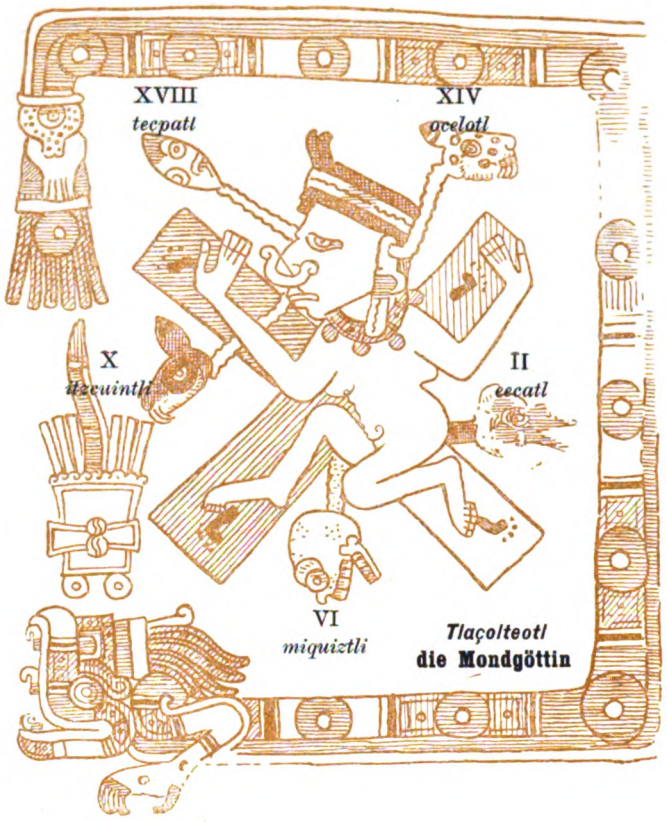
25. Die vier Federschlangen.

3. *ciuatlampa*, Westen
xiuhcouatl
die blaue (Türkisvogel-)Federschlange

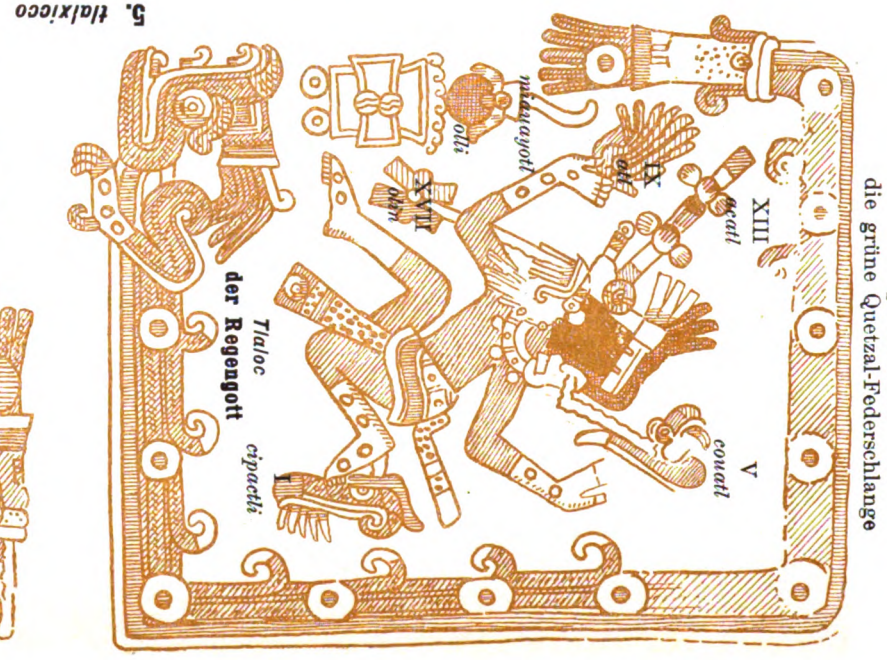


2. *mictlampa*, Norden
tlapalcouatl
die bunte Schlange

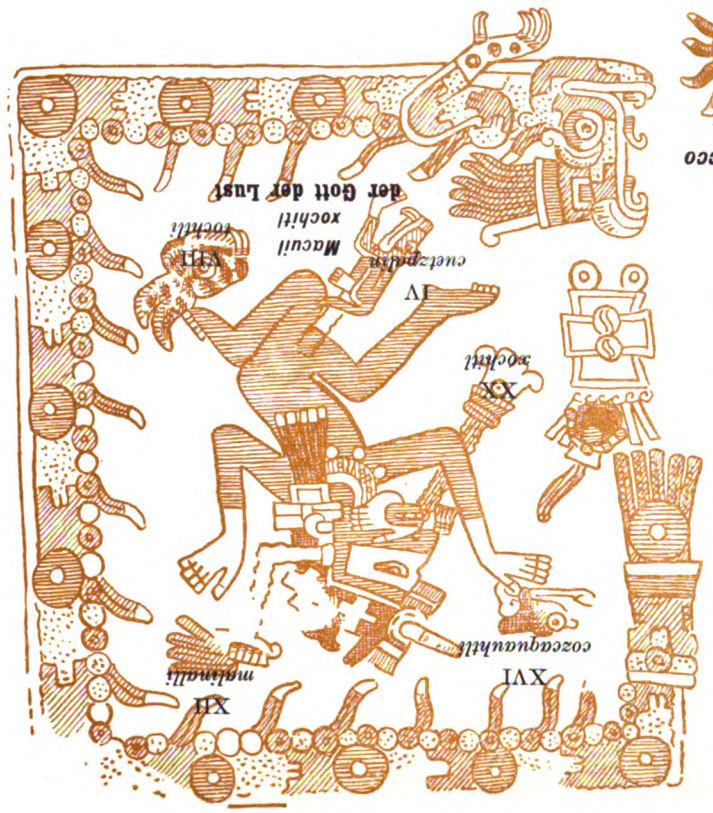


tzitzimitl

5. *tlalxicco*



1. *tlapcopa* Osten
quetzalcouatl
die grüne Quetzal-Federschlange



4. *uitztlampa*, Süden
omicouatl, malinalcouatl
die knochenfarbene Schlange
die Schlange von der Farbe des Grasstricks

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24. Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern und die dreizehn Vögel (die Stunden des Tags).

13.
cocho
Papagei

12.
quetzaltototl
Quetzalvogel

11.
alo
Arara

10.
chiquàtli
das Käuzchen

9.
uexolotl
Truthahn

Ce acatl
der Morgenstern

xiuhatlatl
das blaue
Wurfbrett

amapanitl
Opferfahne

Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott

çolin
Wachtel

Metztli
der Mond

tlaquechcotonaliztli
Wachtelopfer

aztamecatl
Opferseil

atl
Wasser

naui olin
„vier Bewegung"

tlachinolli
Brand

tlalli, Erde

8.
itzquauhtli
gestreifter
Adler

7.
tiça-papalotl
iui-papalotl
weisser
Daunen-
Schmetterling

tecolotl
die Eule

1.
xiuhuitzilin
blauer Kolibri

2.
quetzaluitzitzilin
grüner Kolibri

4
çolin
Wachtel

5
quauhtli
Adler

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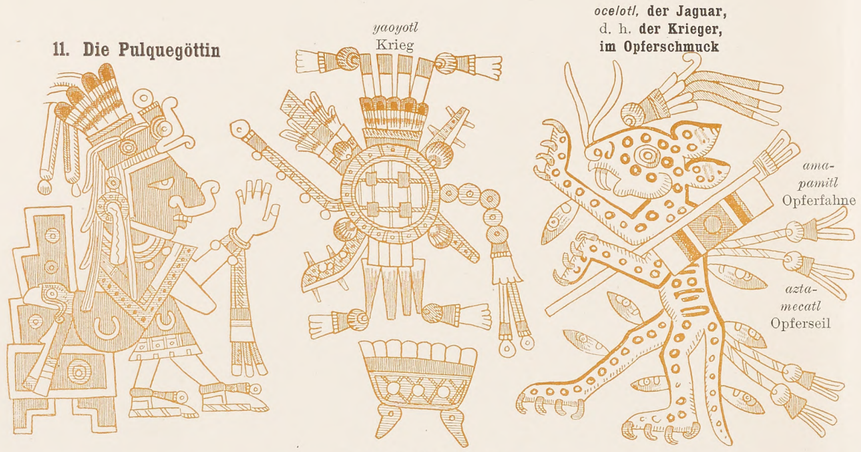
23. Das in zwanzig dreizehntägige Abschnitte geordnete *Tonalamatl*.

70.

11. Die Pulquegöttin

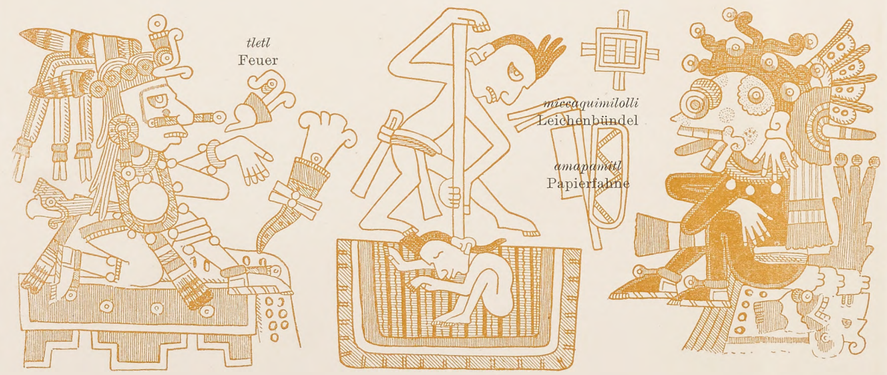


quauhxicalli, Opferschale

13 *calli* Haus	12 *eecatl* Wind	11 *cipactli* Krokodil	10 *xochitl* Blume

1 *oçomàtli* Affe	2 *malinalli* Grasstrick	3 *acatl* Rohr	4 *ocelotl* Jaguar	5 *quauhtli* Adler	6 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	7 *olin* Bewegung	8 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	9 *quiauitl* Regen

13 *itzcuintli* Hund	12 *atl* Wasser	11 *tochtli* Kaninchen	10 *maçatl* Hirsch



Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott

teoaquiliztli
Hinabstossen

10. *Mictlantecutli*
der Todesgott,
der Herr der Unterwelt

9 *miquiztli* Tod	8 *couatl* Schlange	7 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	6 *calli* Haus	5 *eecatl* Wind	4 *cipactli* Krokodil	3 *xochitl* Blume	2 *quiauitl* Regen	1 *tecpatl* Feuerstein

69.

12. *Itztlacoliuhqui ixquimilli*
der Gott des Steins, (der Kälte)
und der Strafe

Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca
der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*,
der richtende Gott

13 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	12 *quauhtli* Adler	11 *ocelotl* Jaguar	10 *acatl* Wasser

1 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	2 *couatl* Schlange	3 *miquiztli* Tod	4 *maçatl* Hirsch	5 *tochtli* Kaninchen	6 *atl* Wasser	7 *itzcuintli* Hund	8 *oçomàtli* Affe	9 *malinalli* Grasstrick

13 *olin* Bewegung	12 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	11 *quauhtli* Adler	10 *ocelotl* Jaguar

Tlauizcalpantecutli
der Gott des Planeten Venus
der Morgenstern

teo icpalli
Königsstuhl

9. *Xiuhtecutli*
der Feuergott
der Gott des Krieges

9 *acatl* Rohr	8 *malinalli* Grasstrick	7 *oçomàtli* Affe	6 *itzcuintli* Hund	5 *atl* Wasser	4 *tochtli* Kaninchen	3 *maçatl* Hirsch	2 *miquiztli* Tod	1 *couatl* Schlange

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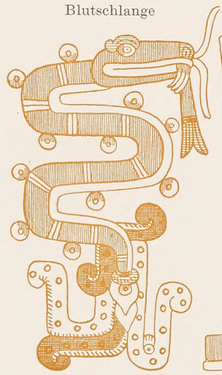
13. *Tlaçolteotl*
die Göttin des Unraths,
die Mondgöttin

Die rothe
Blutschlange



cozcaquauhtli ichan
das Haus des Geiers,
des Aasvogels

13 *atl* Wasser	12 *tochtli* Kaninchen	11 *maçatl* Hirsch	10 *miquiztli* Tod

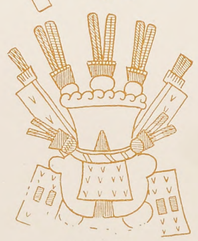
1 *olin* Bewegung	2 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	3 *quiauitl* Regen	4 *xochitl* Blume	5 *cipactli* Krokodil	6 *eecatl* Wind	7 *calli* Haus	8 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	9 *couatl* Schlange

13 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	12 *calli* Haus	11 *eecatl* Wind	10 *cipactli* Krokodil

yollotopilli
der Stab mit
dem Herzen

tlapoyaua
Dämmerung
Abend

tlauanani
Trinkender



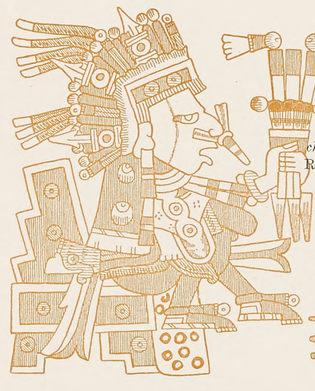
octecomatl
Pulquegefäss

metl
Agavepflanze

8. *Mayauel*
die Göttin der Agavepflanze

9 *xochitl* Blume	8 *quiauitl* Regen	7 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	6 *olin* Bewegung	5 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	4 *quauhtli* Adler	3 *ocelotl* Jaguar	2 *acatl* Rohr	1 *malinalli* Grasstrick

14. *Xipe Totec*
Unser Herr, der Geschundene,
der Erdgott



chicauaztli
Rasselstab

quetzalcouatl, die Federschlange,
das Abbild des Wassers

maçatl Hirsch

13 *eecatl* Wind	12 *cipactli* Krokodil	11 *xochitl* Blume	10 *quiauitl* Regen

1 *itzcuintli* Hund	2 *oçomàtli* Affe	3 *malinalli* Grasstrick	4 *acatl* Rohr	5 *ocelotl* Jaguar	6 *quauhtli* Adler	7 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	8 *olin* Bewegung	9 *tecpatl* Feuerstein

13 *oçomàtli* Affe	12 *itzcuintli* Hund	11 *atl* Wasser	10 *tochtli* Kaninchen

ome acatl
(Feuerbohrer)

acxoyatl

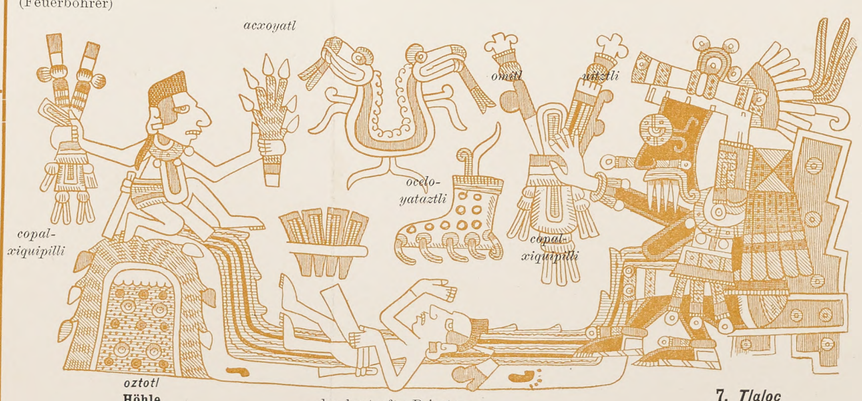
omitl

xiuitl

ocelo-
yataztli

copal-
xiquipilli

copal-
xiquipilli



oztotl
Höhle

der bestrafte Priester

7. *Tlaloc*
der Regengott

9 *maçatl* Hirsch	8 *miquiztli* Tod	7 *couatl* Schlange	6 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	5 *calli* Haus	4 *eecatl* Wind	3 *cipactli* Krokodil	2 *xochitl* Blume	1 *quiauitl* Regen

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15. *Itzpapalotl*
der Obsidianschmetterling,
die chichimekische Göttin, der *Tzitzimitl*

Tlillan
das Haus des Dunkels

ixquimilli
der Sünder

uetziliztli
Fall

Tamoanchan
das Haus des Herabsteigens
das Haus der Geburt

13 *quauhtli* Adler	12 *ocelotl* Jaguar	11 *acatl* Rohr	10 *malinalli* Grasstrick

1 *calli* Haus	2 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	3 *couatl* Schlange	4 *miquiztli* Tod	5 *maçatl* Hirsch	6 *tochtli* Kaninchen	7 *atl* Wasser	8 *itzcuintli* Hund	9 *oçomàtli* Affe

16. *Xolotl,*
der Hund, der die Sonne zu den Toten führt

naui olin
vier Bewegung
= Sonne

tlapapalli, die vier Farben
= *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Lust

13 *tochtli* Kaninchen	12 *maçatl* Hirsch	11 *miquiztli* Tod	10 *couatl* Schlange

1 *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	2 *olin* Bewegung	3 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	4 *quiauitl* Regen	5 *xochitl* Blume	6 *cipactli* Krokodil	7 *eecatl* Wind	8 *calli* Haus	9 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse

13 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	12 *olin* Bewegung	11 *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	10 *quauhtli* Adler

Feuerschmetterling
tlappapalotl

tecpatl
Feuersteinmesser

die zwölf
synodischen
Monate

6. *Tecciztecatl*
der Mondgott

Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott

13 *couatl* Schlange	12 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	11 *calli* Haus	10 *eecatl* Wind

Tlillan
Haus des Dunkels

atocoua
alles wird vom Wasser
fortgerissen

5. *Chalchiuhtlicue*
die Göttin des fliessenden Wassers,
der Quellen und der Bäche

9 *ocelotl* Jaguar	8 *acatl* Rohr	7 *malinalli* Grasstrick	6 *oçomàtli* Affe	5 *itzcuintli* Hund	4 *atl* Wasser	3 *tochtli* Kaninchen	2 *maçatl* Hirsch	1 *miquiztli* Tod

9 *cipactli* Krokodil	8 *xochitl* Blume	7 *quiauitl* Regen	6 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	5 *olin* Bewegung	4 *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	3 *quauhtli* Adler	2 *ocelotl* Jaguar	1 *acatl* Rohr

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17. *Chalchiuhtotolin*
das Edelsteinhuhn, der Truthahn, das Abbild *Tezcatlipoca's*, der Gott der Kasteiung

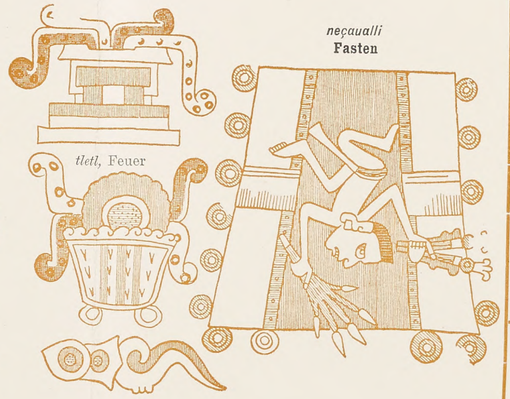
cuitlatl Exkremente, Sünde

chalchiuhatl **Edelsteinwasser, Opferblut**

13 *cipactli* Krokodil	12 *xochitl* Blume	11 *quiauitl* Regen	10 *tecpatl* Feuerstein

1 *atl* Wasser	2 *itzcuintli* Hund	3 *oçomàtli* Affe	4 *malinalli* Grasstrick	5 *acatl* Rohr	6 *ocelotl* Jaguar	7 *quauhtli* Adler	8 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	9 *olin* Bewegung

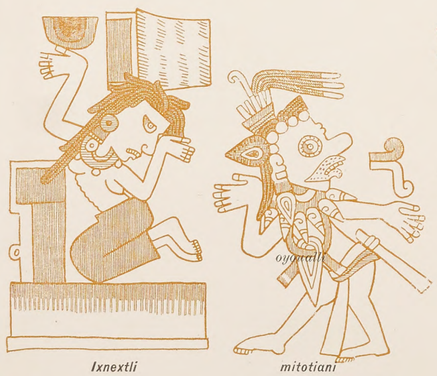
18. *Chantico* oder *Quaxolotl*
die Feuergöttin



13 *ocelotl* Jaguar	12 *acatl* Rohr	11 *malinalli* Grasstrick	10 *oçomàtli* Affe

1 *eecatl* Wind	2 *calli* Haus	3 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	4 *couatl* Schlange	5 *miquiztli* Tod	6 *maçatl* Hirsch	7 *tochtli* Kaninchen	8 *atl* Wasser	9 *itzcuintli* Hund

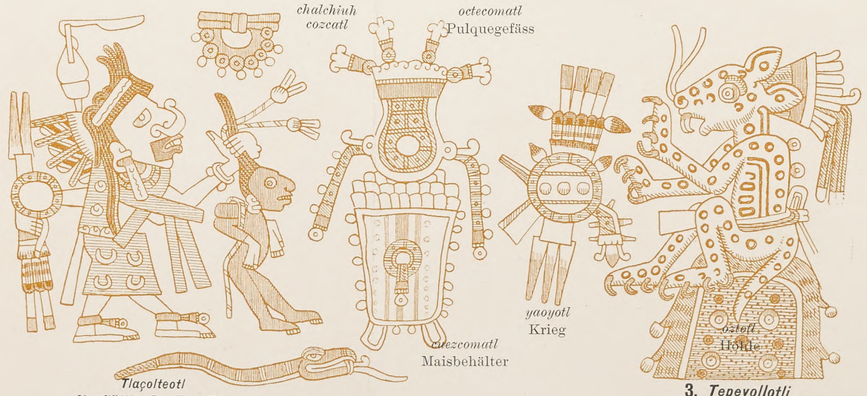
13 *quiauitl* Regen	12 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	11 *olin* Bewegung	10 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier



Ixnextli

mitotiani
maceuani
Tänzer

4. *Ueuecoyotl*
der alte Koyote, der Tanzgott



Tlaçolteotl
die Göttin des Unraths
die Mondgöttin

cuezcomatl
Maisbehälter

3. *Tepeyollotli*
das Herz der Berge, der Gott der Höhlen, der Jaguar

9 *tochtli* Kaninchen	8 *maçatl* Hirsch	7 *miquiztli* Tod	6 *couatl* Schlange	5 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	4 *calli* Haus	3 *eecatl* Wind	2 *cipactli* Krokodil	1 *xochitl* Blume

9 *quauhtli* Adler	8 *ocelotl* Jaguar	7 *acatl* Rohr	6 *malinalli* Grasstrick	5 *oçomàtli* Affe	4 *itzcuintli* Hund	3 *atl* Wasser	2 *tochtli* Kaninchen	1 *maçatl* Hirsch

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19. *Xochiquetzal*
die junge Mondgöttin,
die Göttin der Blumen und der Liebe

oltelolotli
Kautschuckball

Der tanzende
schwarze Feuergott

13 *macatl* Hirsch	12 *miquiztli* Tod	11 *couatl* Schlange	10 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse

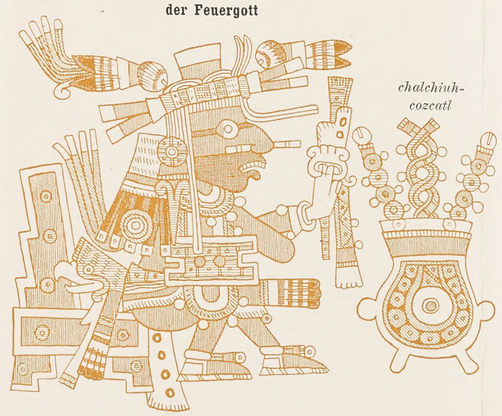
1 *quauhtli* Adler	2 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	3 *olin* Bewegung	4 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	5 *quiauitl* Regen	6 *xochitl* Blume	7 *cipactli* Krokodil	8 *eecatl* Wind	9 *calli* Haus

2. *Quetzalcouatl*
der Windgott

13 *miquiztli* Tod	12 *couatl* Schlange	11 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	10 *calli* Haus

9 *eecatl* Wind	8 *cipactli* Krokodil	7 *xochitl* Blume	6 *quiauitl* Regen	5 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	4 *olin* Bewegung	3 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	2 *quauhtli* Adler	1 *ocelotl* Jaguar

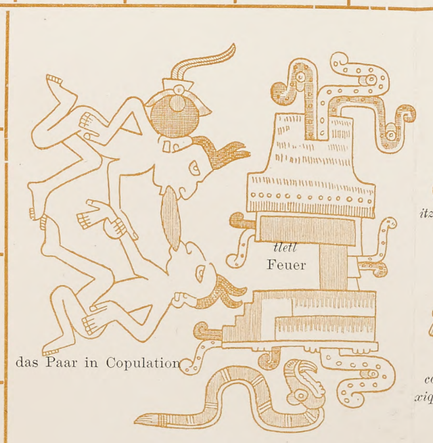
20. *Xiuhtecutli*
der Feuergott

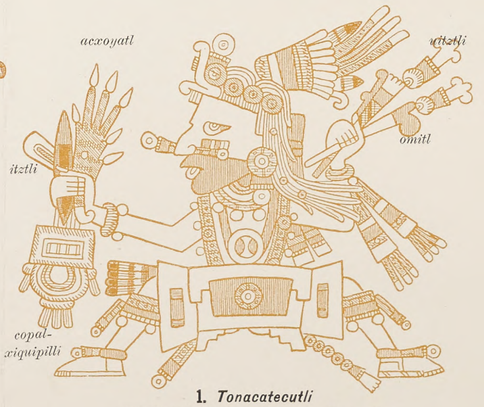


Xipe Totec
unser Herr, der Geschundene, der Erdgott

13 *xochitl* Blume	12 *quiauitl* Regen	11 *tecpatl* Feuerstein	10 *olin* Bewegung

1 *tochtli* Kaninchen	2 *atl* Wasser	3 *itzcuintli* Hund	4 *oçomàtli* Affe	5 *malinalli* Grasstrick	6 *acatl* Rohr	7 *ocelotl* Jaguar	8 *quauhtli* Adler	9 *cozcaquauhtli* Geier





1. *Tonacatecutli*
der Urgott, der alte Gott der Zeugung,
der Gott der Lebensmittel

13 *acatl* Rohr	12 *malinalli* Grasstrick	11 *oçomàtli* Affe	10 *itzcuintli* Hund

9 *atl* Wasser	8 *tochtli* Kaninchen	7 *maçatl* Hirsch	6 *miquiztli* Tod	5 *couatl* Schlange	5 *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	3 *calli* Haus	2 *eecatl* Wind	1 *cipactli* Krokodil

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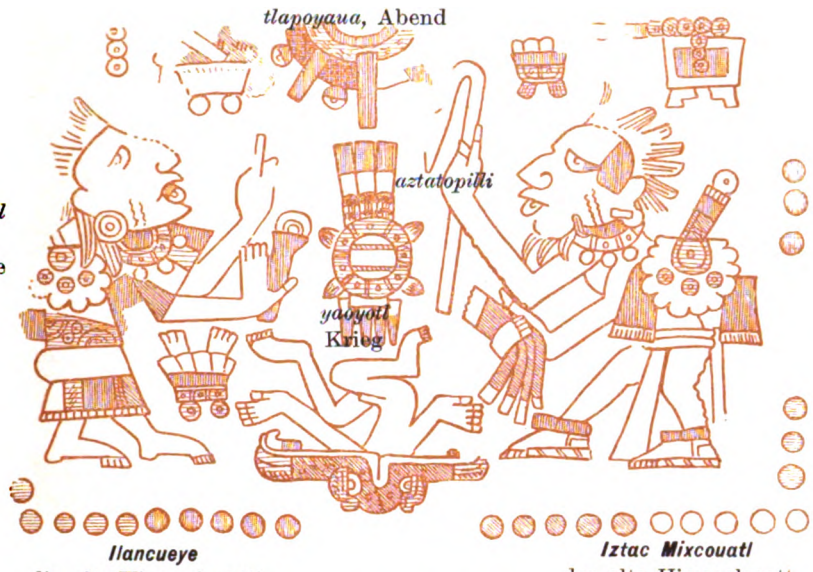
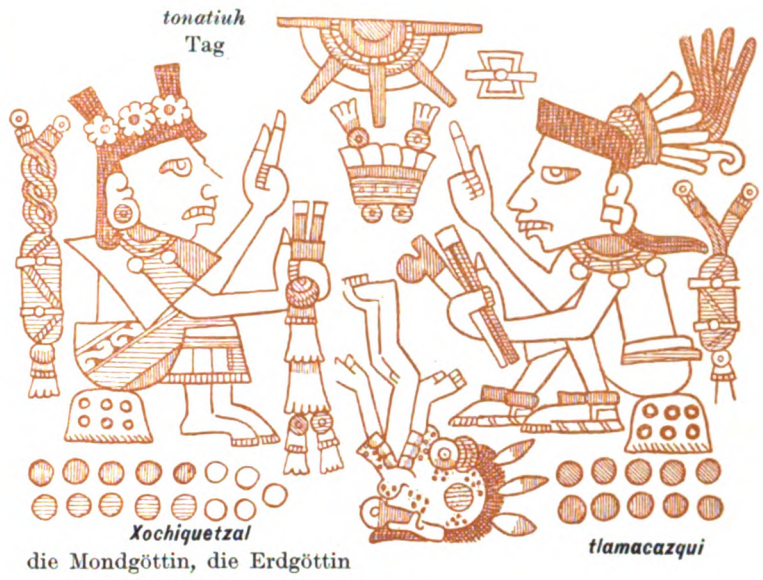
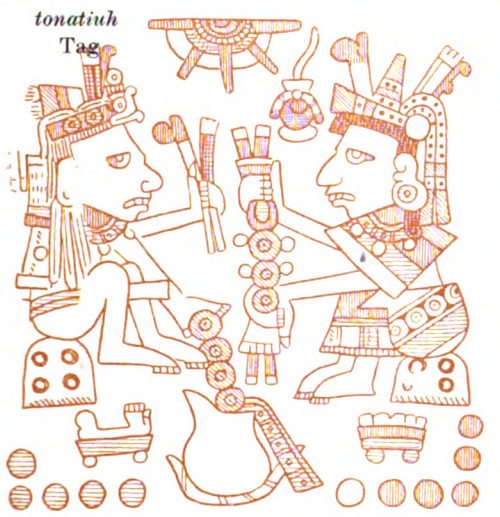


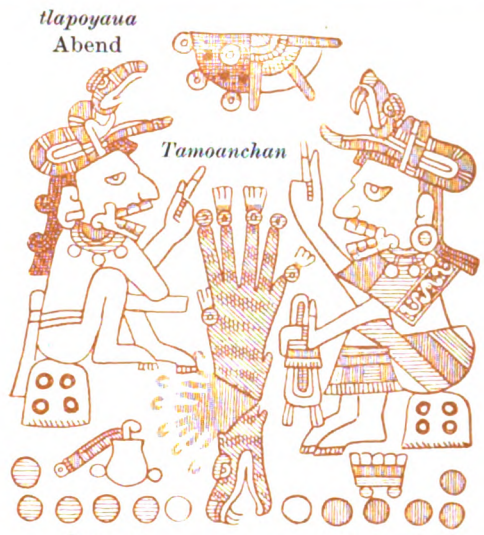
26. **Mitte**
die dreizehnte Nachtstunde, dreizehnter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint



25. **Unten**
zwölfte Tagstunde, zwölfter der Tage an denen der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint



11. **Süden**
fünfte Tagstunde, fünfter der Tage wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

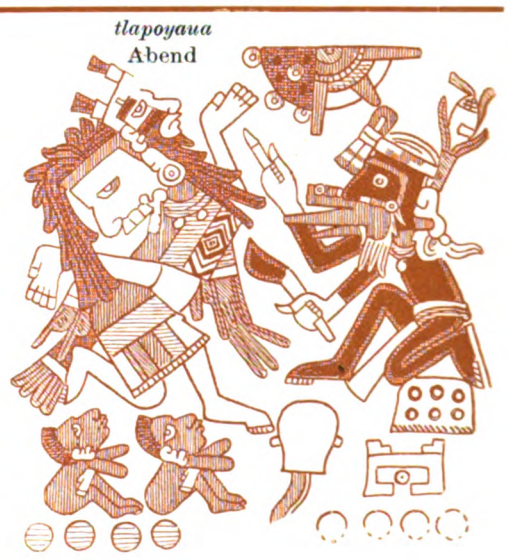


12. **Oben**
sechste Nachtstunde, sechster der Tage wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

13. **Unten**
sechste Tagstunde, sechster der Tage wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

10. **Süden**
fünfte Nachtstunde, fünfter der Tage wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

9. **Westen**
vierte Tagstunde, vierter der Tage wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint



8. **Westen**
vierte Nachtstunde, vierter der Tage wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

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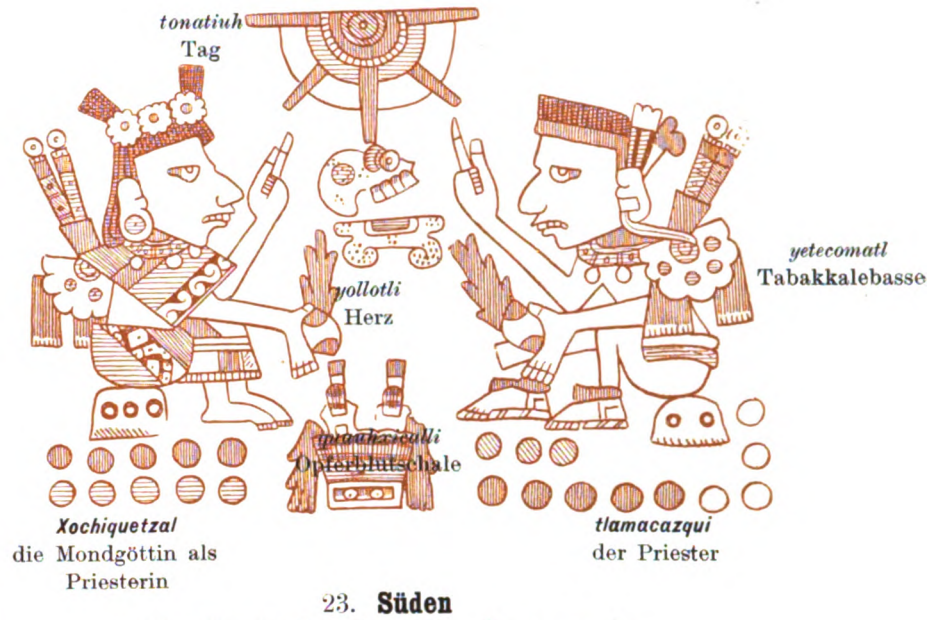
24. **Oben**
zwölfte Nachtstunde, zwölfter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint



23. **Süden**
eilfte Tagstunde, eilfter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

14. **Unten**
die siebente Nachtstunde, siebenter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

15. **Oben**
siebente Tagstunde, siebenter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

16. **Osten**
achte Nachtstunde, achter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

7. **Norden**
die dritte Tagstunde, dritter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

6. **Norden**
die dritte Nachtstunde, dritter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Abend** erscheint

5. **Osten**
die zweite Tagstunde, zweiter der Tage, wo der **Mond am Morgen** erscheint

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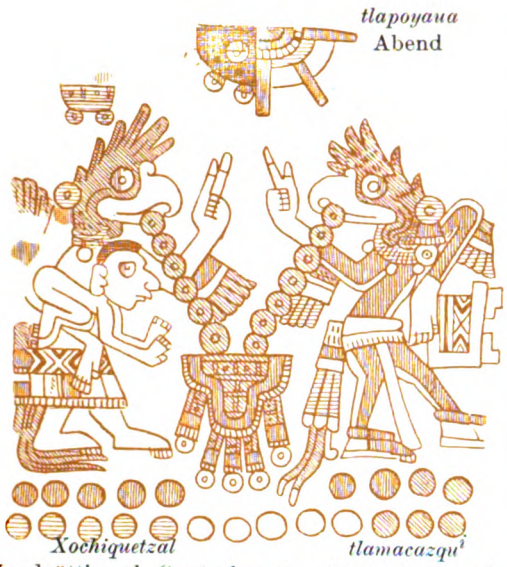
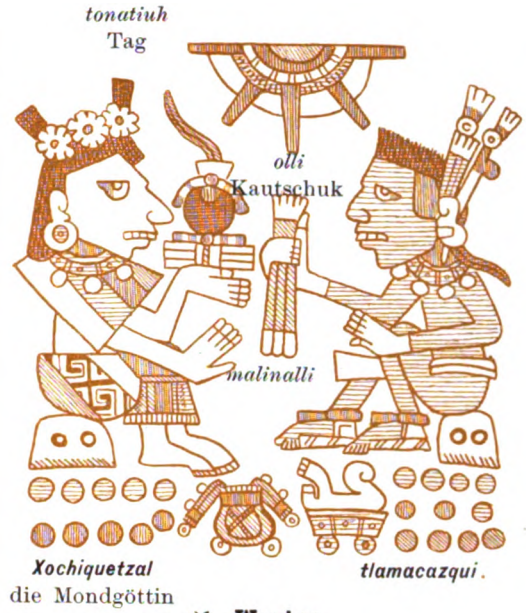
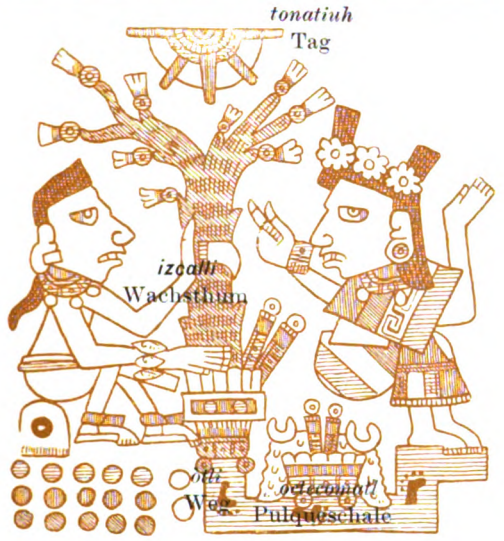


22. **Süden**
eilfte Nachtstunde
eilfter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Abend erscheint

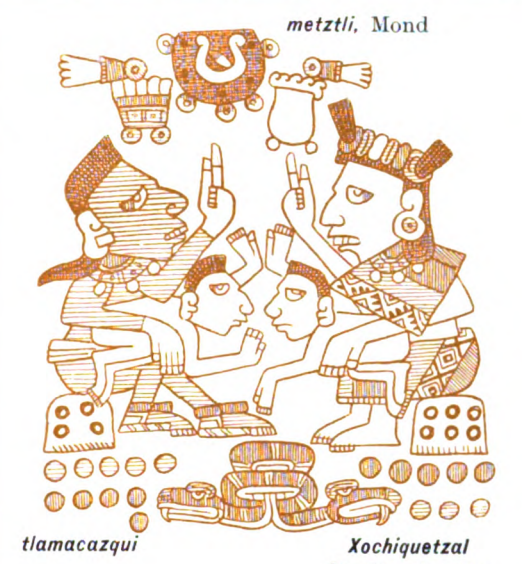


21. **Westen**
zehnte Tagstunde
zehnter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Morgen erscheint

20. **Westen**
zehnte Nachtstunde
zehnter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Abend erscheint



17. **Osten**
achte Tagstunde
achter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Morgen erscheint



18. **Norden**
neunte Nachtstunde
neunter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Abend erscheint

19. **Norden**
neunte Tagstunde
neunter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Morgen erscheint

4. **Osten**
die zweite Nachtstunde
zweiter der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Abend erscheint

3. **Oben**
die erste Tagstunde
erster der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Morgen erscheint

2. **Unten**
die erste Nachtstunde
erster der Tage, wo der **Mond**
am Abend erscheint

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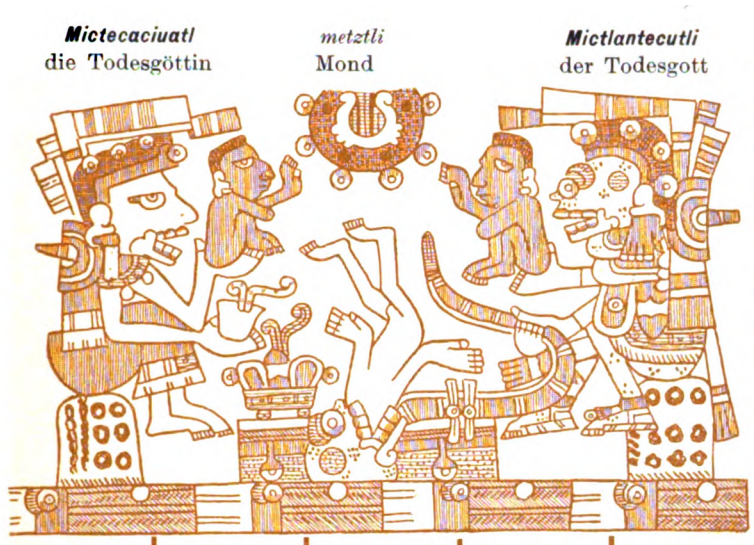
21. Die sechs Götterpaare.

(Ende)

VI
Unterwelt



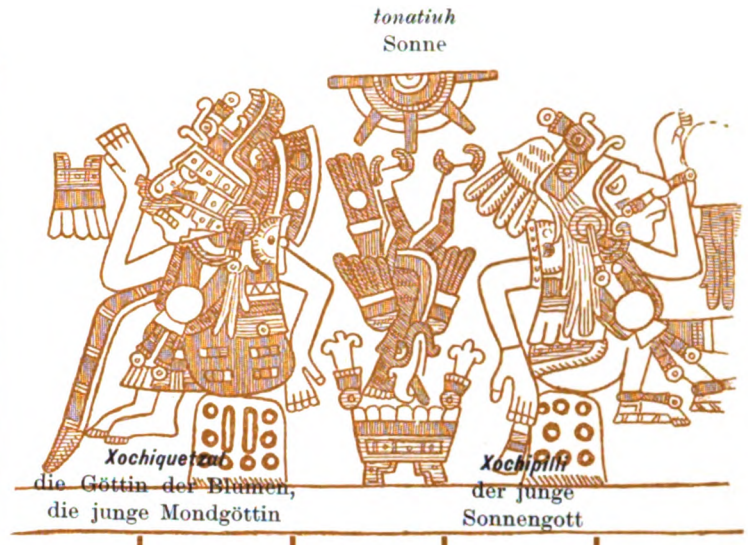
Mictecaciuatl
die Todesgöttin

metztli
Mond

Mictlantecutli
der Todesgott

5. *malinalli* Grasstrick	5. *xochitl* Blume	5. *tochtli* Kaninchen	5. *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	5. *cuetzpalin* Eidechse

V
obere Region



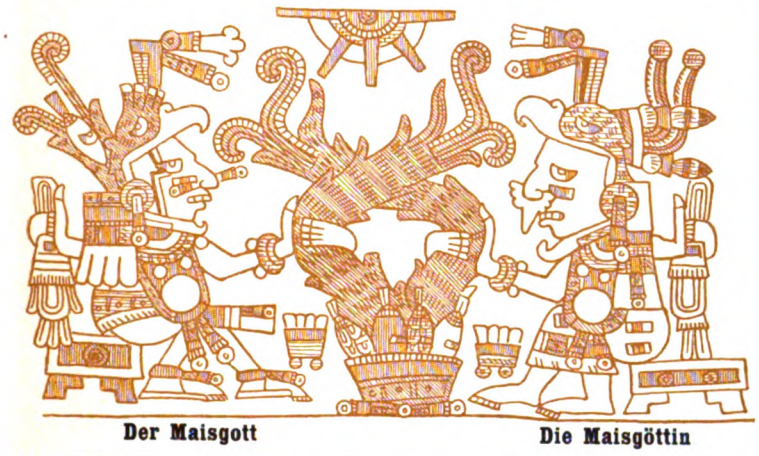
tonatiuh
Sonne

Xochiquetzal
die Göttin der Blumen,
die junge Mondgöttin

Xochipilli
der junge
Sonnengott

7. *cipactli* Krokodil	7. *atl* Wasser	7. *olin* Bewegung	7. *couatl* Schlange	7. *acatl* Rohr

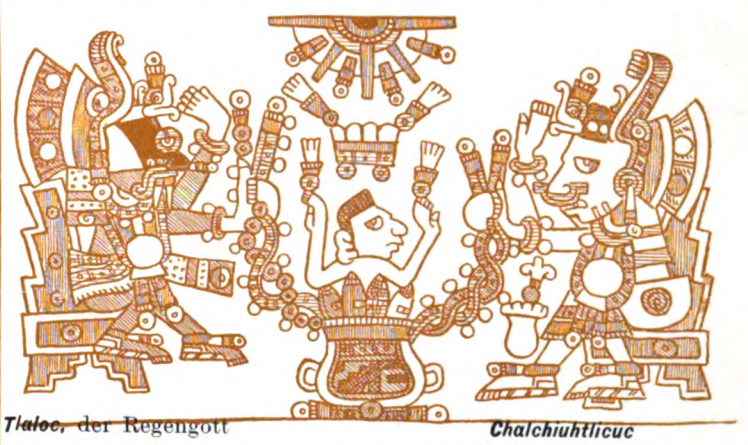
III
Westen



Der Maisgott — **Die Maisgöttin**

4. *olin* Bewegung	4. *atl* Wasser	4. *cipactli* Krokodil	4. *acatl* Rohr	4. *couatl* Schlange

IV
Süden

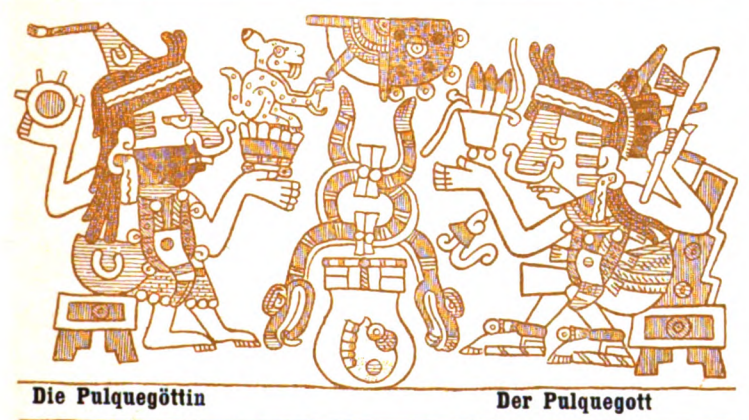


Tlaloc, der Regengott

Chalchiuhtlicue
die Wassergöttin

12. *couatl* Schlange	12. *olin* Bewegung	12. *atl* Wasser	12. *cipactli* Krokodil	12. *acatl* Rohr

II
Norden

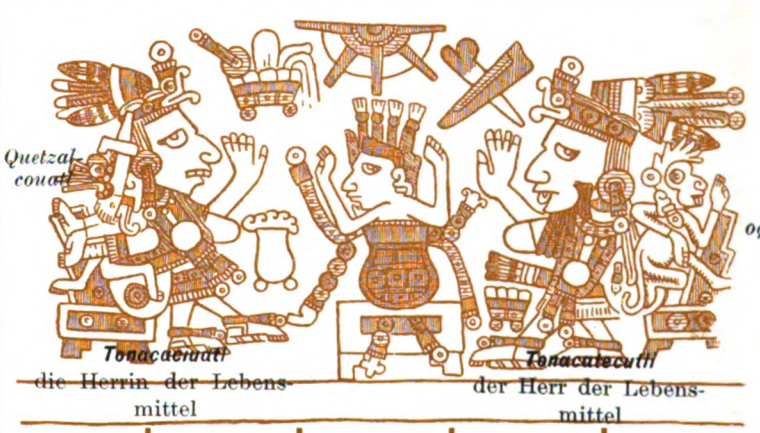


Die Pulquegöttin — **Der Pulquegott**

9. *olin* Bewegung	9. *couatl* Schlange	9. *acatl* Rohr	9. *cipactli* Krokodil	9. *atl* Wasser

(Anfang)

I
Osten



Quetzalcouatl

oçomàtli
Affe

Tonacaciuatl
die Herrin der Lebensmittel

Tonacatecutli
der Herr der Lebensmittel

1 *atl* Wasser	1. *olin* Bewegung	1. *couatl* Schlange	1. *acatl* Rohr	1. *cipactli* Krokodil

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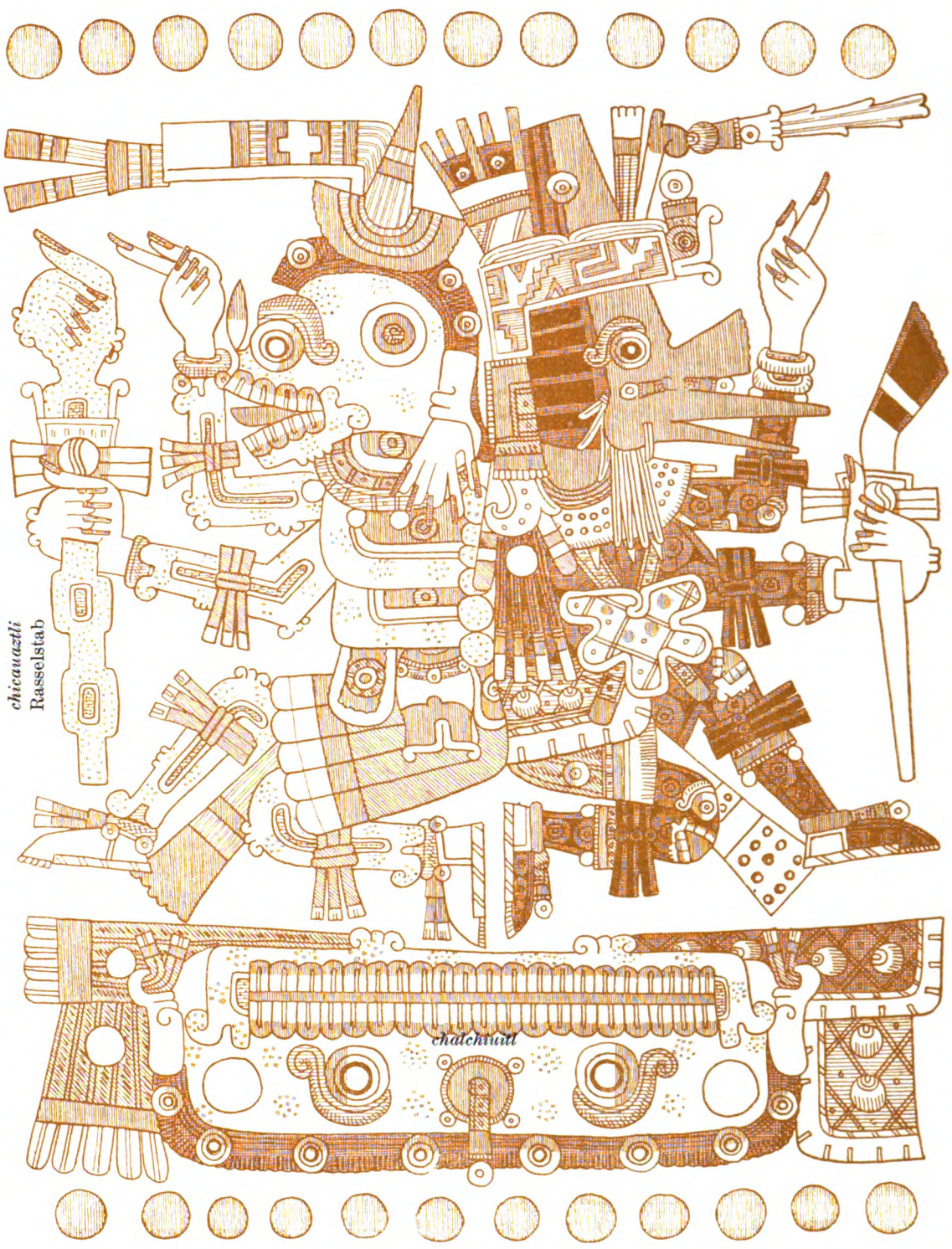
20. Der Gott des Lebens und des Todes in der irdischen Region.



Ende	(20)	[1] *tochtli* Kaninchen	[1] *quauhtli* Adler	(19)	
	(18)	[1] *eecatl* Wind	[1] *atl* Wasser	(17)	
	(16)	[1] *cozca-quauhtli* Geier	[1] *calli* Haus	(15)	
	(14)	[1] *itzcuintli* Hund	[1] *olin* Bewegung	(13)	
	(12)	[1] *cuetz-palin* Eidechse	[1] *oçomàtli* Affe	(11)	
	(10)	[1] *tecpatl* Feuerstein	[1] *couatl* Schlange	(9)	
	(8)	[1] *malinalli* Grasstrick	[1] *quiauitl* Regen	(7)	
	(6)	[1] *miquiztli* Tod	[1] *acatl* Rohr	(5)	
	(4)	[1] *xochitl* Blume	[1] *maçatl* Hirsch	(3)	
	(2)	[1] *ocelotl* Jaguar	[1] *cipactli* Krokodil	(1)	Anfang

Mictlantecutli
der Todesgott

Quetzalcouatl
der Windgott, der Schöpfergott, der Herr des Lebens

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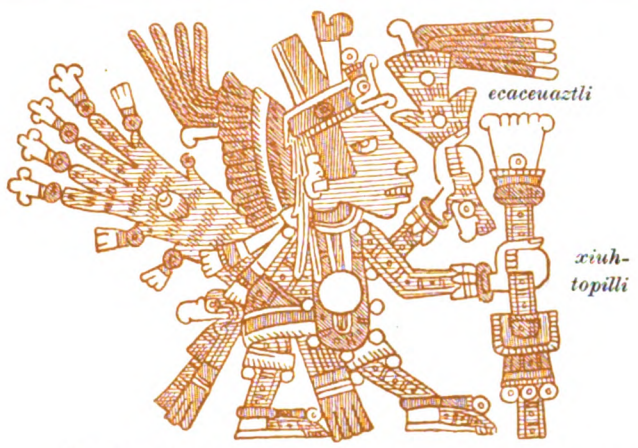
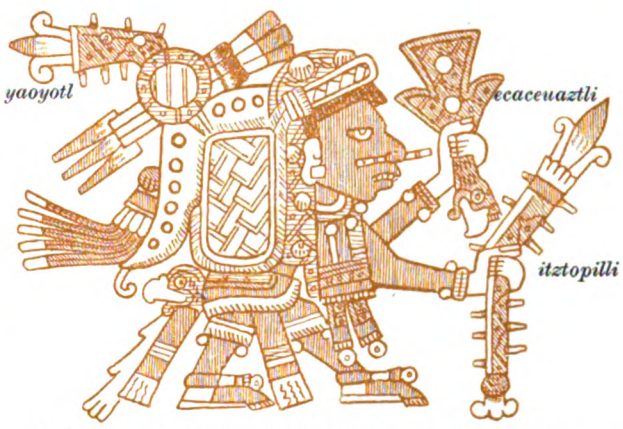
***Iztac Mixcouatl*, der alte Feuergott, der erste Mensch, als Hirsch**

der Himmelswanderer des Südens = *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*

(braunes Feld)	*xochitl* Blume	*quiauitl* Regen	*tecpatl* Feuerstein	*olin* Bewegung	*cozcaquauhtli* Geier	*quauhtli* Adler	*ocelotl* Jaguar (dunkelgrünes Feld)



***Yacatecutli*, der Gott der Reisenden und der Kaufleute**

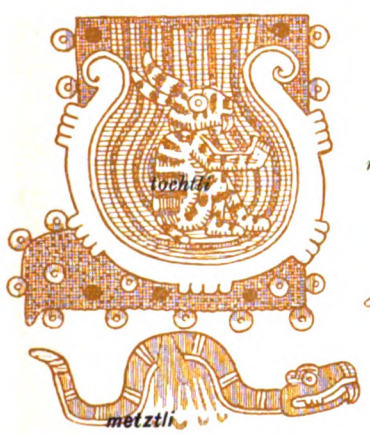


Der Himmelswanderer des Nordens = *Tezcatlipoca*

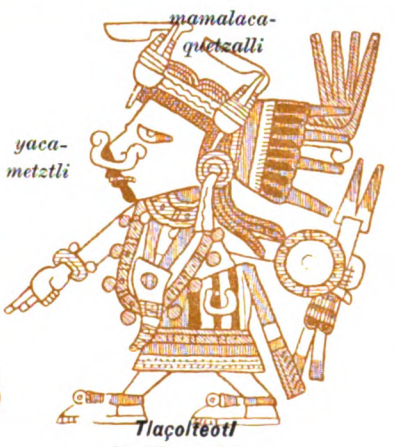
(dunkelgrünes Feld)	*miquiztli* Tod	*maçatl* Hirsch	*tochtli* Kaninchen	*atl* Wasser	*itzcuintli* Hund	*oçomàtli* Affe	*malinalli* Grasstrick	*acatl* Rohr (braunes Feld)

metztli der Mond

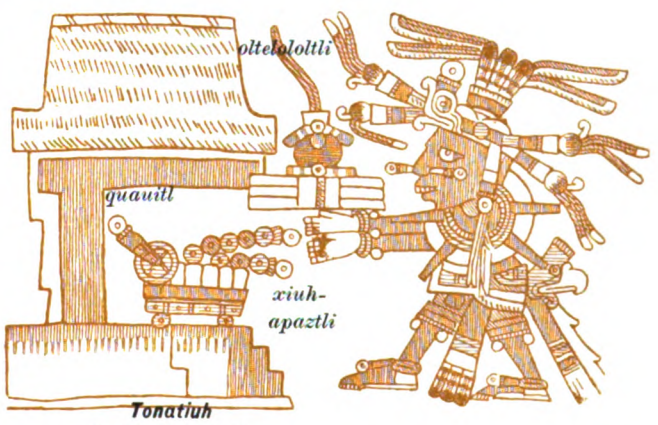
eztli Blut



der Mond



die Mondgöttin



der Sonnengott

(braunes Feld)	*couatl* Schlange	*cuetzpalin* Eidechse	*calli* Haus	*eecatl* Wind	*cipactli* Krokodil (blaues Feld)

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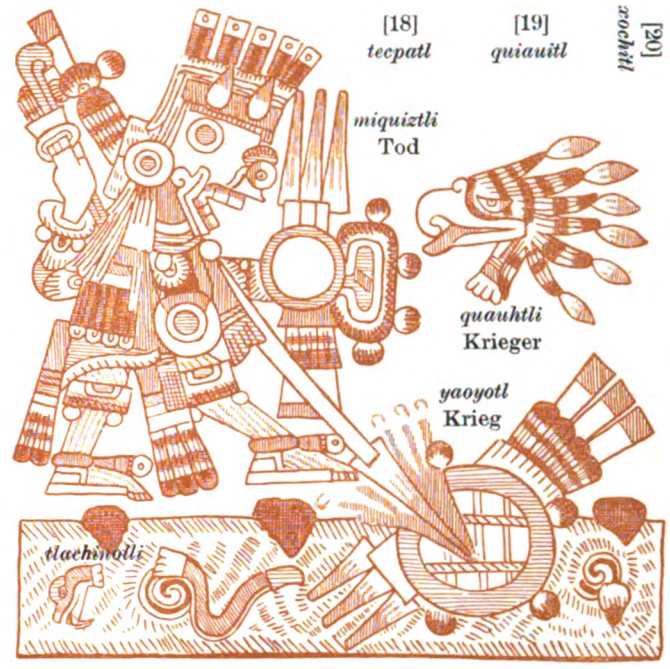
18. Die dreizehnmal fünf Venusperioden.

Vierte Venusperioden. Norden.

Tlauizcalpantecutli (als Kaninchen), **den Speer auf das Königtum *(teucyotl)* schleudernd** (die im Süden, im *xochitlalpan*, dem Reiche der Lust, wohnenden)

Fünfte Venusperioden. Mitte. Oben.

Tlauizcalpantecutli (als Todesgott), **den Speer auf die Kriegerschaft *(quauhyotl)* schleudernd** (die hier auf der Erde wohnen)



13 *acatl*	**7 *acatl***	1 *acatl*	8 *acatl*	2 *acatl*	9 *acatl*	3 *acatl*	4 *olin*	11 *olin*	5 *olin*	12 *olin*	6 *olin*	13 *olin*	7 *olin*

6 *acatl*	12 *acatl*	5 *acatl*	11 *acatl*	4 *acatl*	10 *acatl*								
2 *atl*	8 *atl*	1 *atl*	7 *atl*	13 *atl*	6 *atl*								
11 *couatl*	4 *couatl*	10 *couatl*	3 *couatl*	9 *couatl*	2 *couatl*								
10 *olin*	3 *olin*	9 *olin*	2 *olin*	8 *olin*	1 *olin*								

12 *atl*	**5 *atl***	11 *atl*	4 *atl*	10 *atl*	3 *atl*	9 *atl*	8 *couatl*	1 *couatl*	7 *couatl*	13 *couatl*	6 *couatl*	12 *couatl*	5 *couatl*

Dritte Venusperioden. Osten.

Tlauizcalpantecutli (als Hund) **den Speer auf *Cinteotl*, den Maisgott, schleudernd** (den Gott des Westens)

Zweite Venusperioden. Süden.

Tlauizcalpantecutli (als Eule) **den Speer auf *Tezcatlipoca* schleudernd** (den Gott des Nordens)

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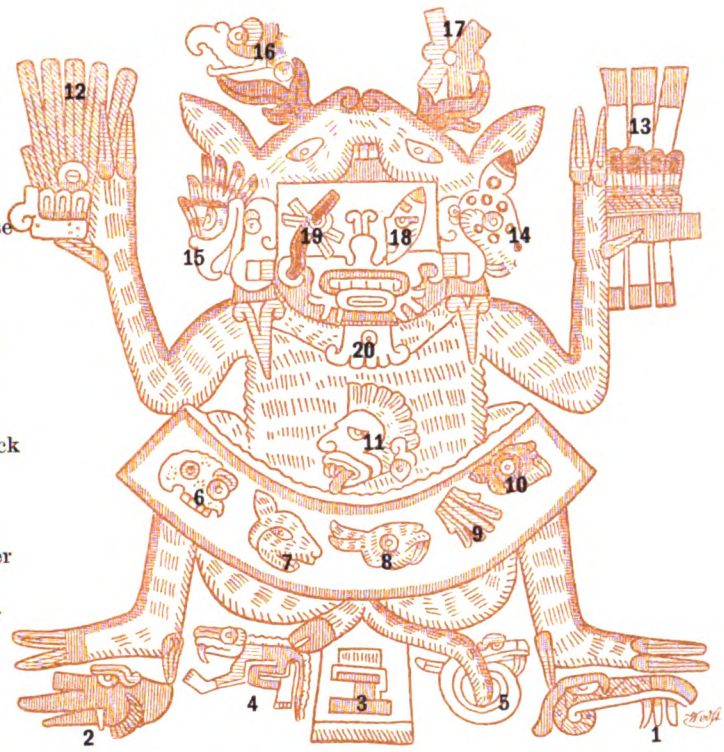
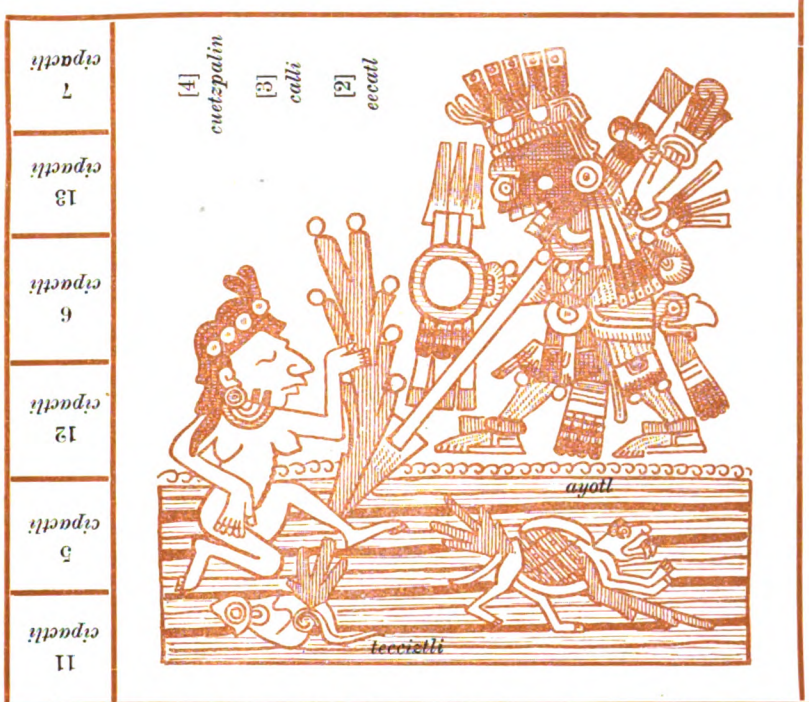
17. *Xochipilli*, der Gott der Lust.

1. *cipactli*, Krokodil
2. *eecatl*, Wind
3. *calli*, Haus
4. *cuetzpalin*, Eidechse
5. *couatl*, Schlange
6. *miquiztli*, Tod
7. *maçatl*, Hirsch
8. *tochtli*, Kaninchen
9. *atl*, Wasser
10. *itzcuintli*, Hund
11. *oçomàtli*, Affe
12. *malinalli*, Grassstrick
13. *acatl*, Rohr
14. *ocelotl*, Jaguar
15. *quauhtli*, Adler
16. *cozcaquauhtli*, Geier
17. *olin*, Bewegung
18. *tecpatl*, Feuersteinmesser
19. *quiauitl*, Regen
20. *xochitl*, Blume





4 cipactli	10 cipactli	3 cipactli	9 cipactli	2 cipactli	8 cipactli	1 cipactli		

Erste Venusperioden. Westen.

***Tlauizcalpan tecutli*, der Gott des Planeten Venus,** des Abendsterns, **den Speer auf die Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue* schleudernd** (die im Osten befindliche)

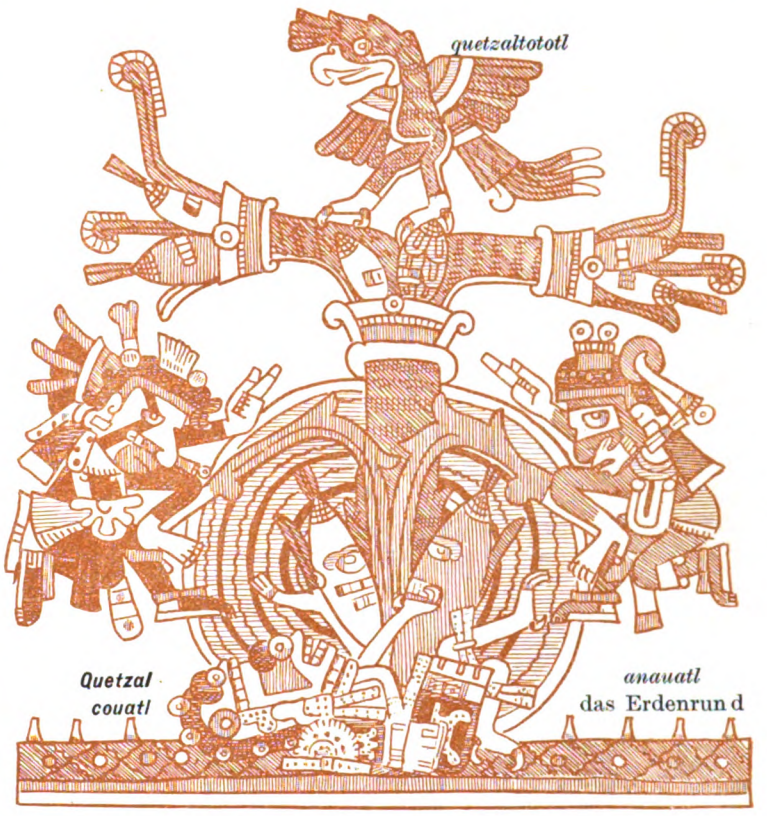
18. Die dreizehnmal fünf Venusperioden.

16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

5. **Mitte,** die Richtung von oben nach unten.

tzitzimitl oder *tzontemoc*

oçomàtli
Affe



Die Erdgöttin auf dem *cipactli*

5. **Mitte, *tlalxicco*,** der Nabel der Erde.

15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

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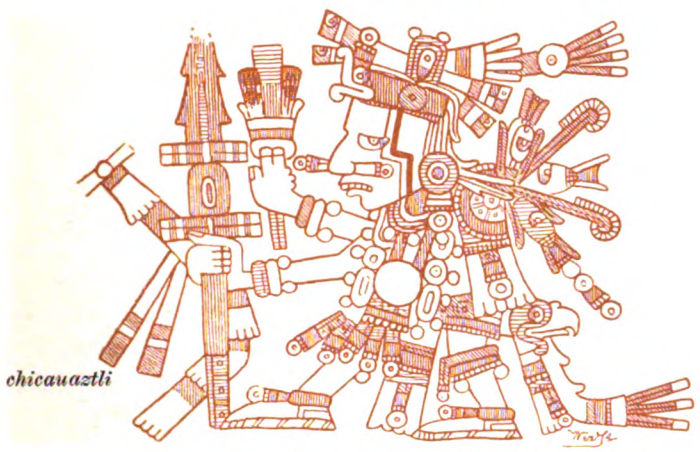
16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

2. *mictlampa* Norden.

52.

***Cinteotl*, der Maisgott**



chicauaztli

maçatl, Hirsch

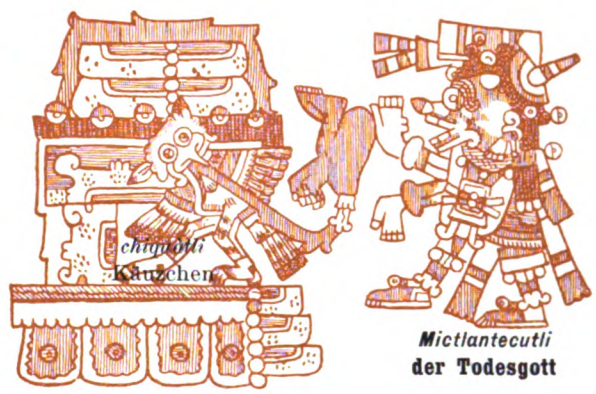
ilhuicatl
Himmel

Mictlantecutli
der Todesgott

itzcuintli Hund	*atl* Wasser	*tochtli* Kaninchen

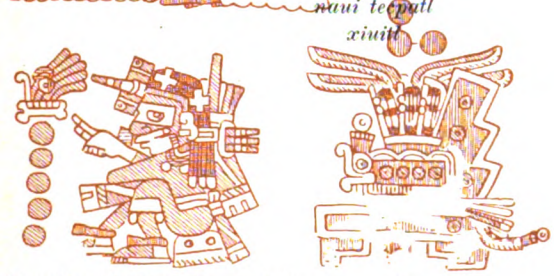
Mictlantecutli
Todesgott

Aschenpacket und Brennholz



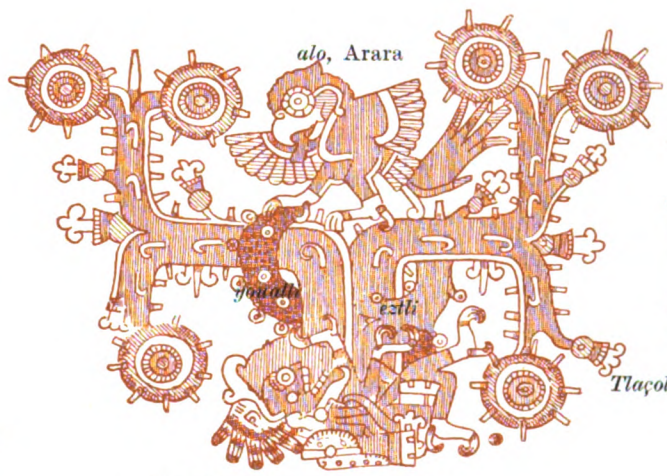
Mictlantecutli
der Todesgott

quauhtli
der Adler,
Kaninchen und
Himmels-
(Feder-)
schlange

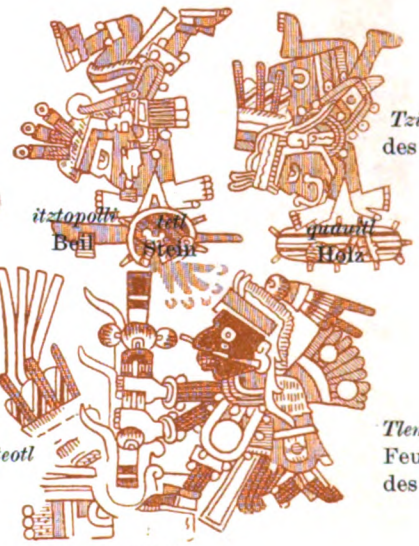


macuil malinalli Fünf Grasstrick,
der syphilitische Gott des Südens

Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott



Der Feuerbaum des Südens



Tzitzimime
des Südens

Tlemamalini
Feuerreiber
des Südens

Tlaçolteotl

yacametztli

1. *tochtli* **Kaninchen**	1. *cozcaquauhtli* Geier	1. *cuetzpalin* Eidechse	1. *malinalli* Grasstrick	1. *xochitl* Blume

4. *uitztlampa* Süden.

15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

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16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

1. *tlapcopa*, Osten.

51.

Xochipilli
der junge Gott der Blumen und der Lebensmittel

xochi-quauitl

copal xiquipilli

eecatl
Wind

ilhuicatl
Himmel

Quetzalcouatl
der Windgott

miquiztli Tod	*couatl* Schlange	*cuetzpalin* Eidechse	*calli* Haus

cipactli
Krokodil

tonatiuh

ollamani
allspieler

michin Fisch

cipactli Krokodil

Xochiquetzal

Tepeyollotli

atlatl

yeiecomatl

Cinteotl
Maisgott

Tlauizcalpan tecutli
Gott des Planeten Venus

acipactli
Schwertfisch

Tzitzimime
des Westens

ouatl
Maisblüthe

octecomatl
Pulquetopf

metl
Agave

tlemamalini
Feuerreiber des Westens

naui acatl xiuitl

macuil maçatl
der syphilitische Gott des Westens

Xiuhtecutli
der Feuergott

der Maisbaum des Westens

tlaçotli
Kostbarkeit

1. *quauhtli* Adler	1. *calli* Haus	1. *oçomàtli* Affe	1. *quiauitl* Regen	1. *maçatl* Hirsch

3. *ciuatlampa*, Westen.

15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

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16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

4. *uitztlampa*, der Süden. **50.**

Mictlan tecutli, der Todesgott

chiquàtli, Ohreule

chicauaztli
Rasselstab

olin, Bewegung

ilhuicatl
Himmel

Uitzilopochtli
der Feuergott des Südens

cipactli Krokodil	*xochitl* Blume	*quiauitl* Regen	*tecpatl* Feuerstein

ollamani
Ballspieler

chalchiuhtotolin
Truthahn

metztli
Mond

ocelotl *quauhtli*

Tlacolteotl
Mondgöttin

Auiateotl
Mondgott

itztla-coliuhqui

metztli *atlatl*

Meztli
der Mondgott

Mixcouatl, der Gott der Chichimeken, und *ocelotl*, der Jaguar

Tzitzimime
des Nordens

quauhtli
Adler

tell quauitl
Strafe

atl tlachinolli
Krieg

naui tochtli
xiuitl

youalli *eztli*

Tlemamalini
Feuerreiber
des Nordens

macuil eecatl, „Fünf Wind“, der syphilitische Gott des Nordens

Gott des Wassers

der Dornbaum des Nordens

tecpatl

atl tlachinolli

omitl
Knochen

1. *eecatl* Wind	1. *itzcuintli* Hund	1. *tecpatl* Feuerstein	1. *miquiztli* Tod	1. *ocelotl* Jaguar

2. *mictlampa* Norden.

15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

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16. Die vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde.

3. *ciuatlampa,* der Westen.

Xipe Totec
„Unser Herr, der Geschundene",
der Frühlingsgott, der Gott der Vegetation

chicauaztli
Rasselstab

malinalli
Grassstrick

ilhuicatl
Himmel

yaoyotl
Krieg

Tlauizcalpan tecutli
der Gott des Planeten Venus

cozcaquauhtli Geier	*quauhtli* Adler	*ocelotl* Jaguar	*acatl* Rohr

ollamani
Ballspieler

oçomàti
der Affe

quauhxicalli
Adlergefäss

quetzal-tototi

xiuh-tototi

atlatl

tonatiuh

Tonatiuh
der Sonnengott

tlacatzinacantli
die kopfabreissende Fledermaus

chalchiuitl

quetzaltototi

Xochiquetzal

Tonatiuh

yaoyotl
Krieg

aztamecatl
Opferseil

Tzitzimime
des Ostens

naui-calli

xiuitl

yaoyotl

tlemamalini
Feuereiber
des Ostens

macuil olin, „Fünf Bewegung"
der syphilitische Gott des Ostens

metztli
der Mond

Der Edelsteinbaum des Ostens

xiuhcouatl
Feuerschlange

1. *atl* Wasser	1. *olin* Bewegung	1. *couatl* Schlange	1. *acatl* Rohr	1. *cipactli* Krokodil

1. *tlapcopa,* der Osten.

15. Die fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten.

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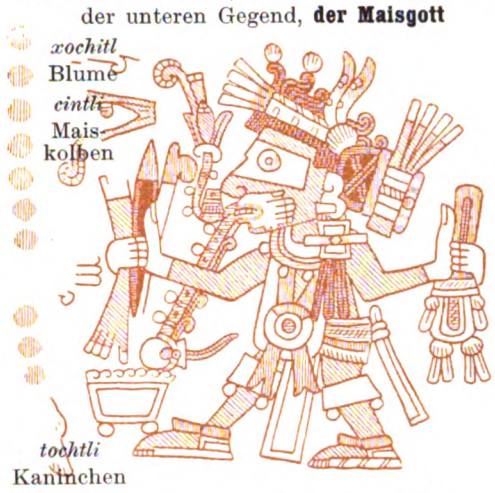
14. Die fünf *Ciuateteô*, die zu Göttinnen gewordenen Weiber, die Dämonen des Westens, und die fünf *Auiateteô*, die Götter der Lust, die Dämonen des Südens.

III
Der vierte
alamatl-Abschnitt,
der Süden.
ihe der *Auiateteô*,
· Götter der Lust

Der fünfte *Auiateotl*, der Gott der Mitte oder der unteren Gegend, **der Maisgott**



5. *Macuil malinalli*, **Fünf Grasstrick**

Der vierte *Auiateotl*, der Gott des Südens, **der Gott des Spiels**

4. *Macuil xochitl*, **Fünf Blume**

Der dritte *Auiateotl*, der Gott des Westens, **der Pulquegott**

3. *Macuil tochtli*, **Fünf Kaninchen**

II
Der dritte
alamatl-Abschnitt,
der Westen.
ihe der *Ciuateteô*,
er zu Göttinnen
wordenen Toten

5. *Ce quauhtli*, **Eins Adler**

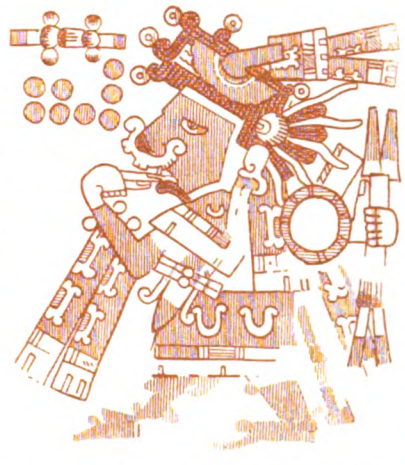
4. *Ce calli*, **Eins Haus**

3. *Ce oçomàtli*, **Eins Affe**

I
Reihe der
Mondgöttinnen

Ce quauhtli „eins Adler", die fünfte *Tlaçolteotl* (der Mitte oder der unteren Region), **die Göttin der Agave-Pflanze,** und *Tzinacantemoc* die herabkommende Fledermaus

Die Zeichen der Strafe (als Feuer), Zerstückung und Selbstopferer



Chicuei acatl „Acht Rohr", die vierte *Tlaçolteotl* (des Südens), **die alte Mondgöttin**

Beil, Gefangener und Pfeil, die Zeichen der Strafe (das Feuer), und das Wasser der Maisgöttin

Chiquacen acatl „Sechs Rohr", die dritte *Tlaçolteotl* (des Westens), **die Göttin des Wachsthums**

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14. Die fünf *Ciuateteô*, die zu Göttinnen gewordenen Weiber, die Dämonen des Westens, und die fünf *Auiateteô*, die Götter der Lust, die Dämonen des Südens.

III
Der vierte *alamatl*-Abschnitt,
der Süden.
ihe der *Auiateteô*,
Götter der Lust

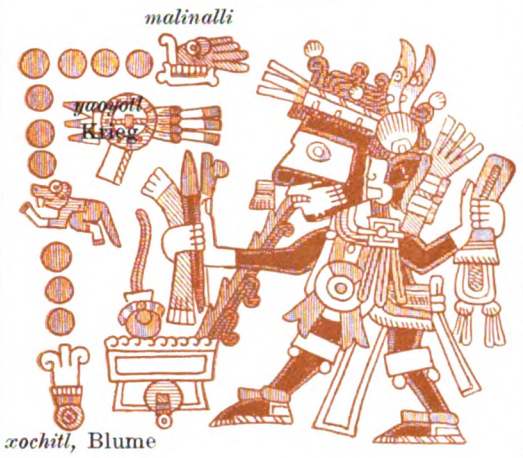
II
Der dritte
alamatl-Abschnitt,
der Westen.
ihe der *Ciuateteô*,
er zu Göttinnen
wordenen Toten

I
Reihe der
Mondgöttinnen

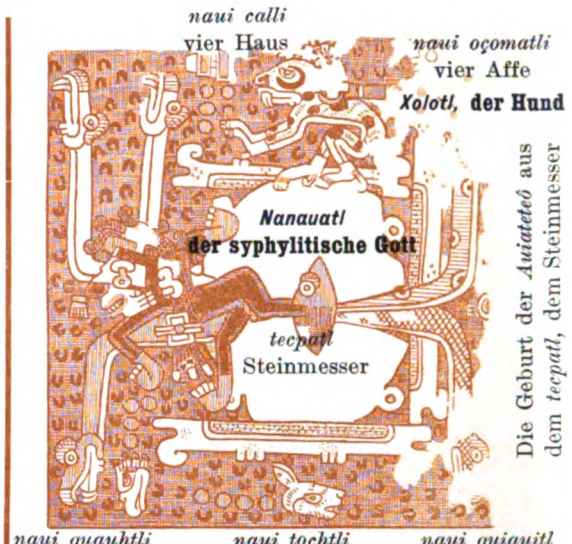
Der zweite *Auiateotl*, der Gott des Nordens,
der Gott der Strafe

2. *Macuil cozcaquauhtli*, Fünf Geier

Der erste *Auiateotl*, der Gott des Ostens,
der Kriegergott

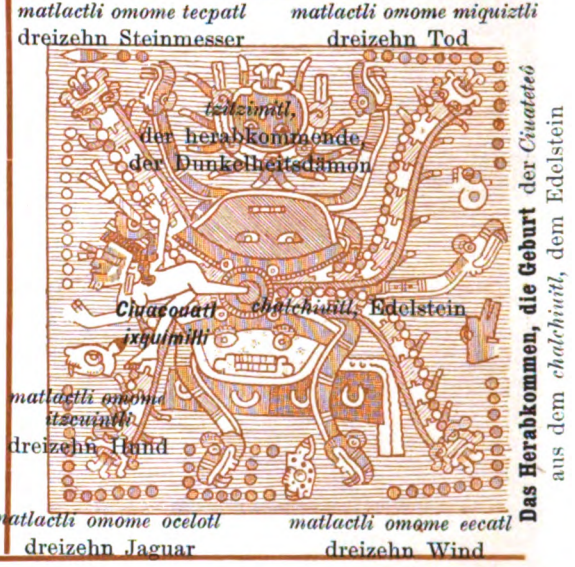


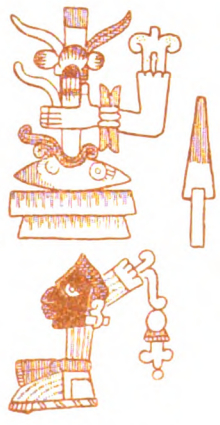
1. *Macuil cuetzpalin*, Fünf Eidechse



2. *Ce quiauitl*, Eins Regen

1. *Ce maçatl*, Eins Hirsch





Feuerbohrer und *tlauauantli*, „Gestreifter" (geopferter Krieger), Repräsentant des *aoztotl*, der Berghöhle

Naui tecpatl „vier Feuersteinmesser", die zweite *Tlaçolteotl* (des Nordens), **die junge Mondgöttin**

atl-tlachinolli, Wasser und Brand, das Zeichen des Krieges

Chicunaui acatl „Neun Rohr", Die erste *Tlaçolteotl* (des Ostens), **die Erdgöttin**

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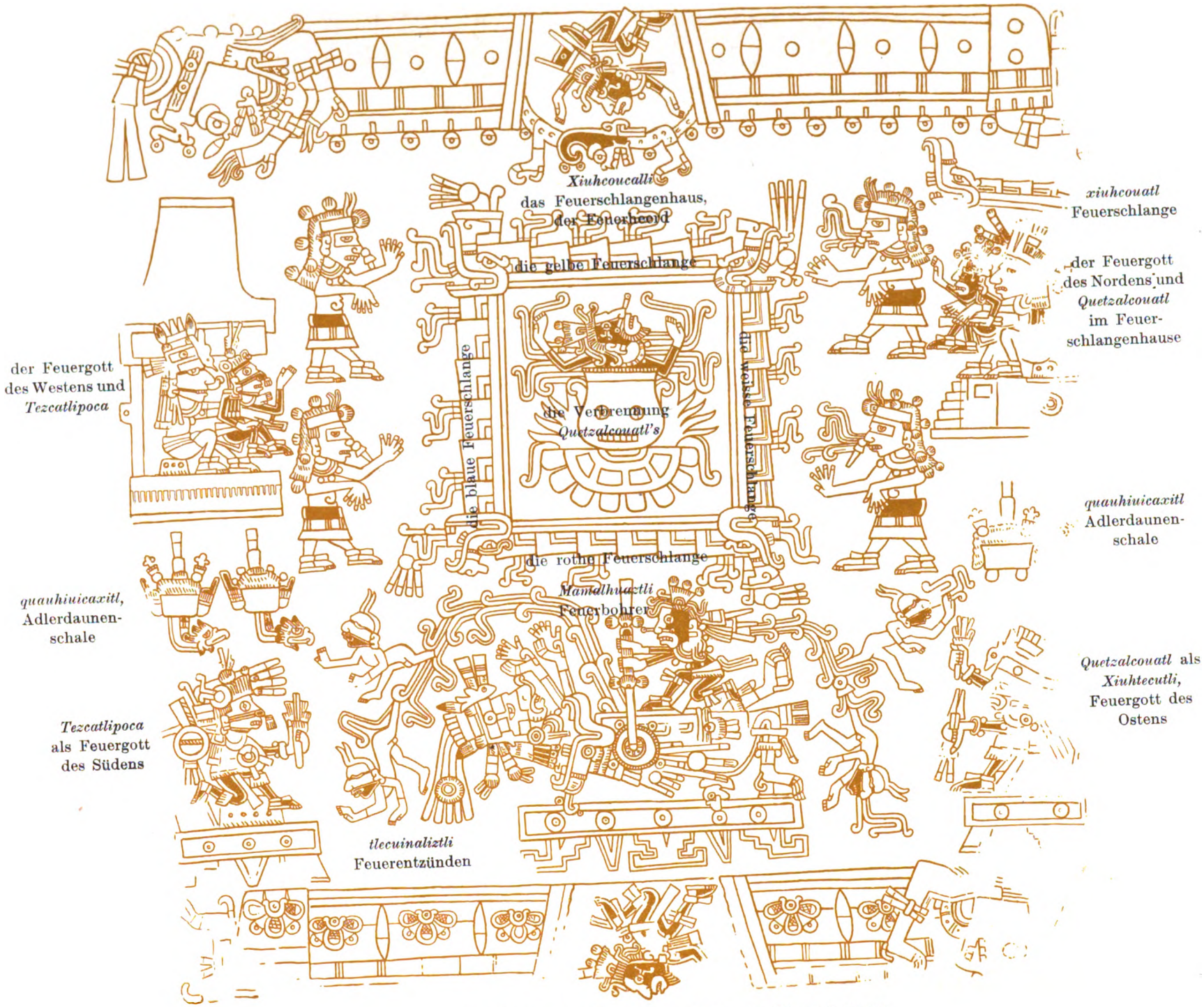

Quetzalcouatl, **als Sonnengott, steigt zum Himmel empor**

E. Das Anzünden des Feuers der Sonne im Innern der Erde.

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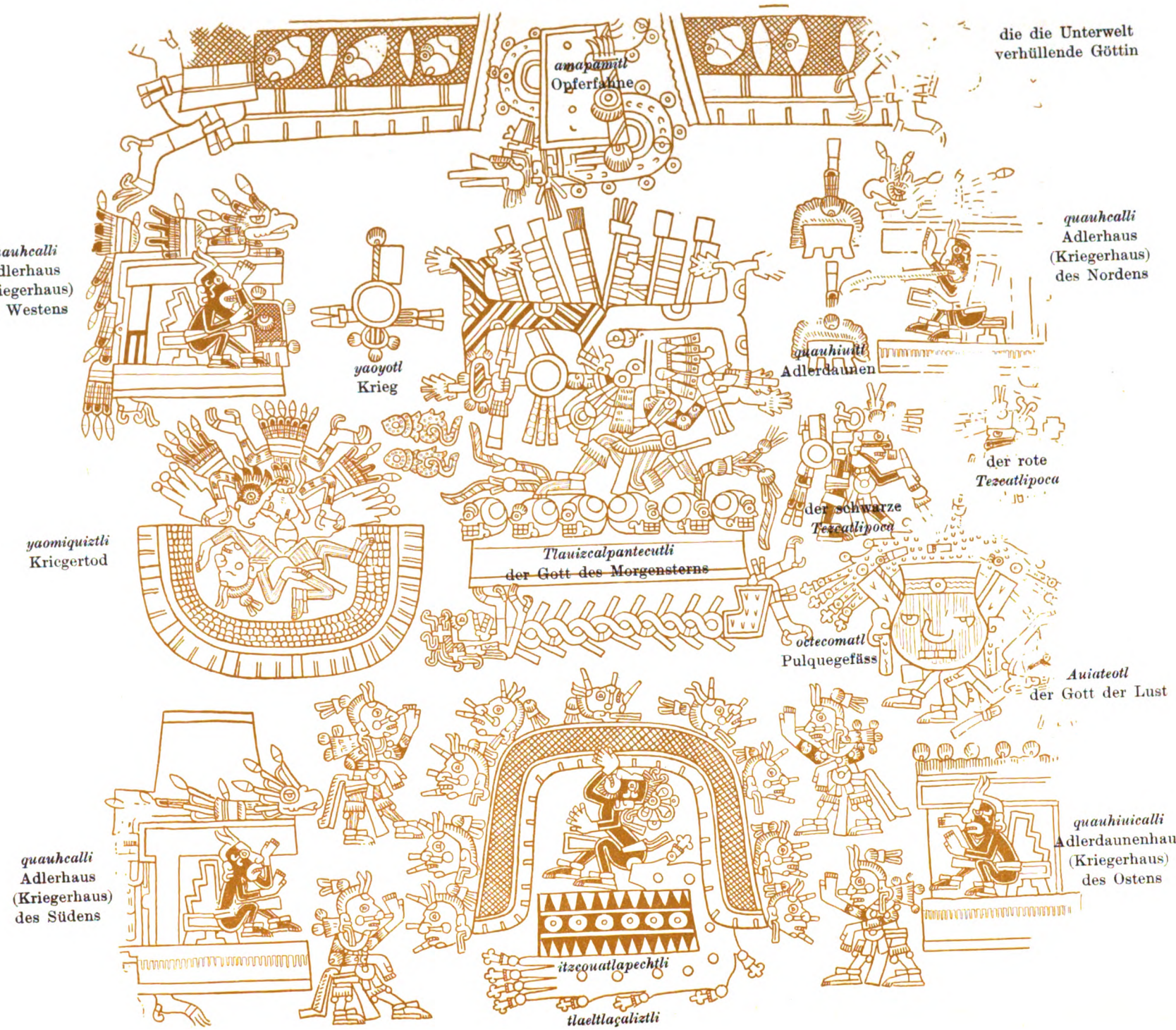
45.

Das Aufgehen des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern



D. Die obere Region, der Osthimmel, der Kriegerhimmel, an dem der Morgenstern erscheint.

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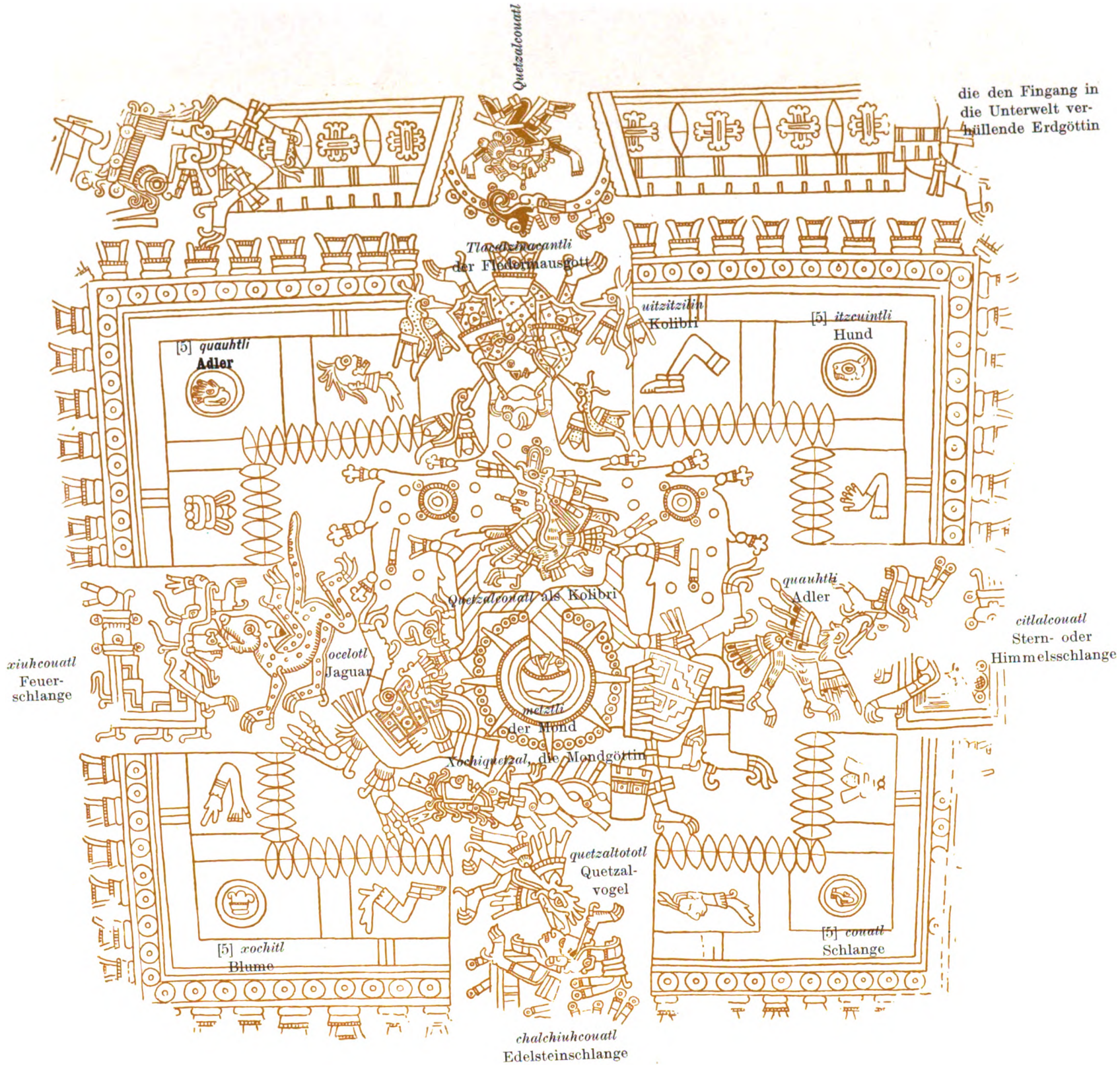
13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.



C. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen, = 12 Tage.

4. *Itzcalli, xochicalli*, das Steinmesserhaus, das Blumenhaus, der Süden der Unterwelt und die vier zerstückelnden, zerreissenden Tiere.

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13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.

C. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen, = 12 Tage.

3. *Cincalli*, das Maishaus, der Westen der Unterwelt und der Mondgott der Unterwelt.

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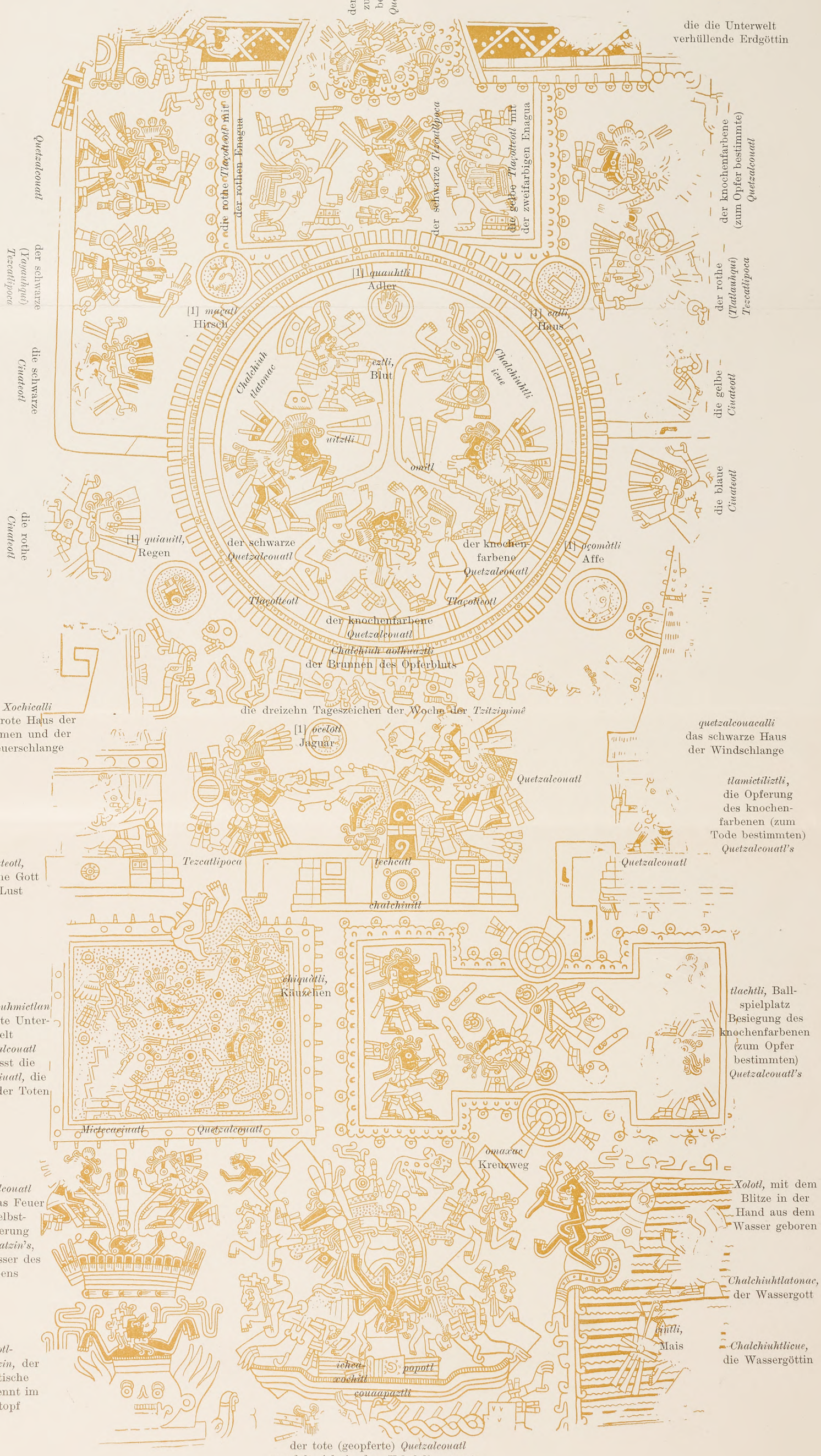
41.



42.

13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.

C. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen = 12 Tage.

2. Der Norden der Unterwelt mit dem Brunnen des *chachiuhatl*, des Edelsteinwassers, des Opferbluts; — der Tod *Quetzalcouatl's* und sein Wiederaufleben.

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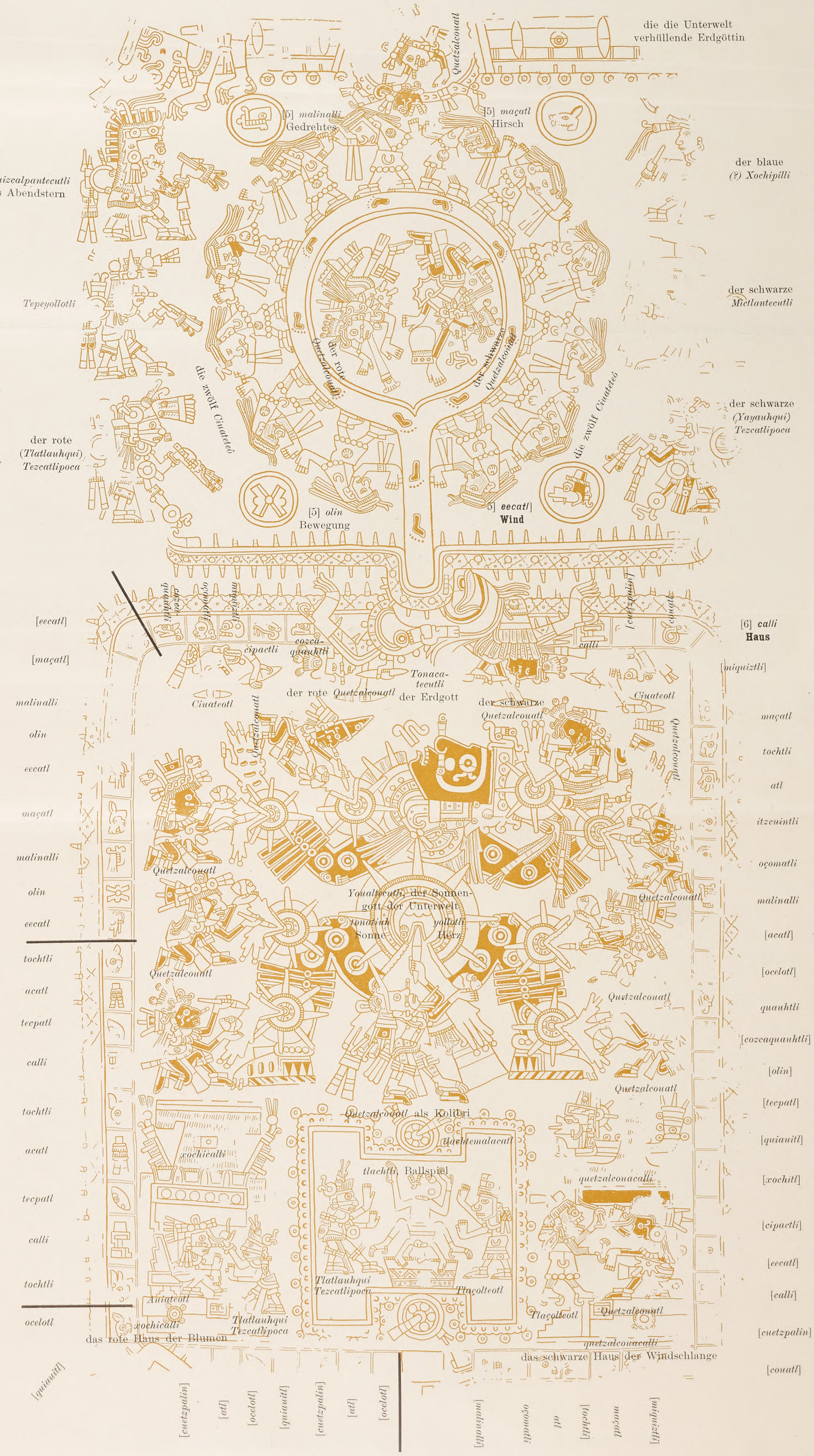
39.

Das Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern,
der Gott geht durch das Loch in dem Vorhange der Erde in die Unterwelt ein



40.

C. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen = 12 Tage.

1. Der Osten der Unterwelt und der Sonnengott der Unterwelt.

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der grosse Aschenwirbel

Schmuckplatte | *tlapapalotl*, der gelbe Feuerschmetterling | *tlapapalli*, die 4 Farben | *uitzitzilin* Kolibri | *xochitl* Blume | *tlapapalli*, die 4 Farben | Schmuckplatte

der blaue Blitzträger im gelben Felde

der gelbe Blitzträger im blauen Felde

der rothe *Auiateuctli*, Gott der Luft

chalchiuitl

Xochicalli, das Blumenhaus

ilhuicatl, Himmel

der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl*

der blaue Gott

der weisse Gott

Xochiquetzal

der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*

das Haus der Blitzschlangen

Tlaloc, der Regengott als Ballspieler

Xolotl, der hundsköpfige Dämon der Blitzgott

der duplo Weg

atl, Wasser

xiuhcouatl, Feuerschlange

der schwarze Blitzträger im rothen Felde

Xolotl, die Feuerschlange schleudernd

der rothe Blitzträger im schwarzen Felde

Quetzalcouatl aus dem Rachen *Ecatl's* der Windgottschlange hervortretend

der tote Xolotl im Wasser

Tlaloc, der Regengott

Xolotl, der herabblitzende

xiuhcouatl, die Feuerschlange

Tonacatecutli

Tonacatecutli

Tonacacihuatl

Chalchiuh tlatonac

die gelbe Schlange

die blaue Schlange

die rote Schlange

die stammartig (*tzontli*) behaarte Schlange

die Gebärmutter des Maises

atl, Wasser

tlaatequitzli, Das Ausgiessen des Wassers

Tlaloc, der Regengott

Wasser ausgiessend

B. Die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel — 252 Tage.

IV. Die Zeit der Wassersonne.

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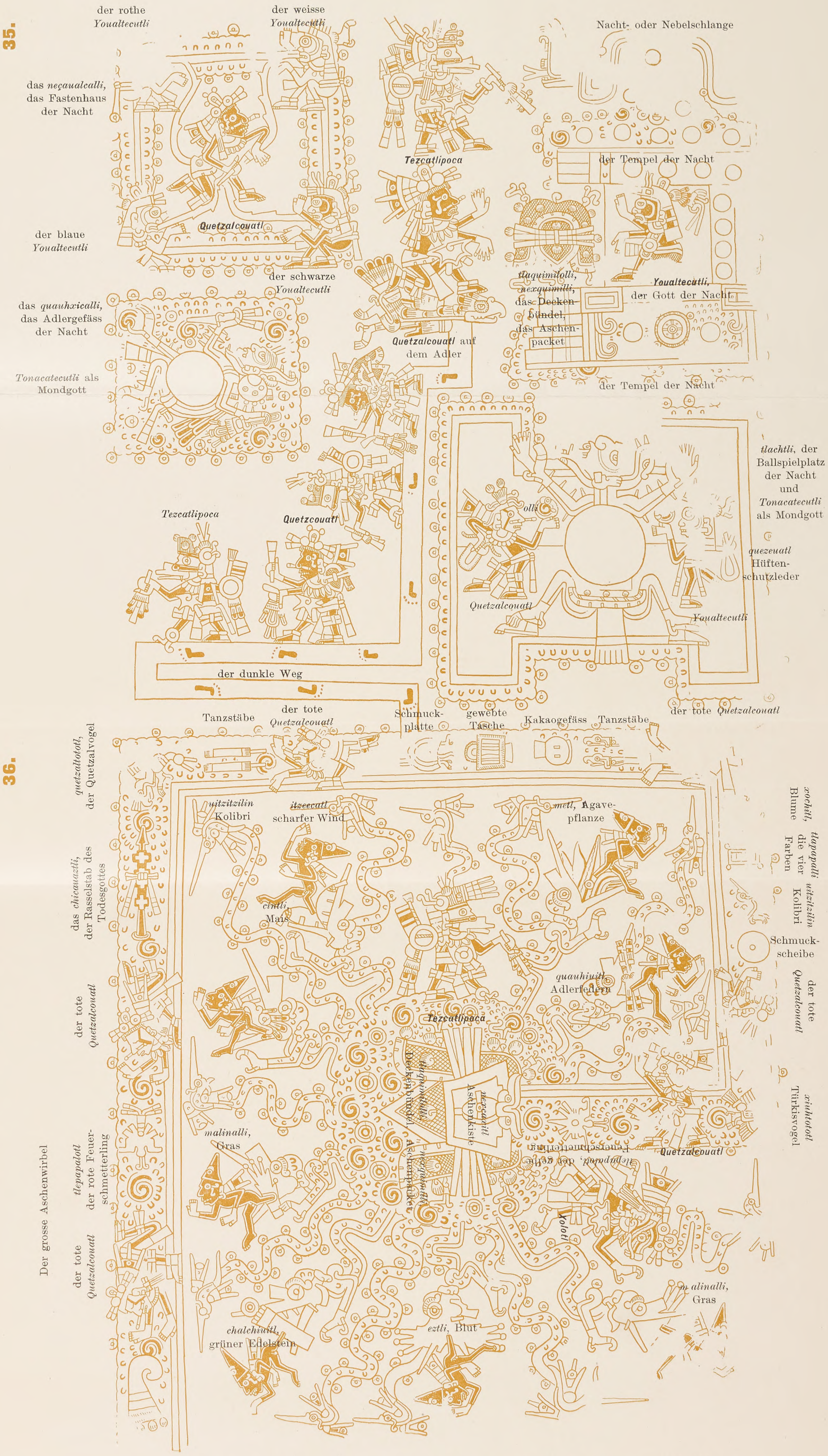
35.

B. Die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel = 252 Tage.

II. Die Zeit der Dunkelheit oder der Erdsonne.



36.

B. Die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel = 252 Tage.

III. Die Zeit der Windsonne oder des scharfen Windes (*itzeecayan*).

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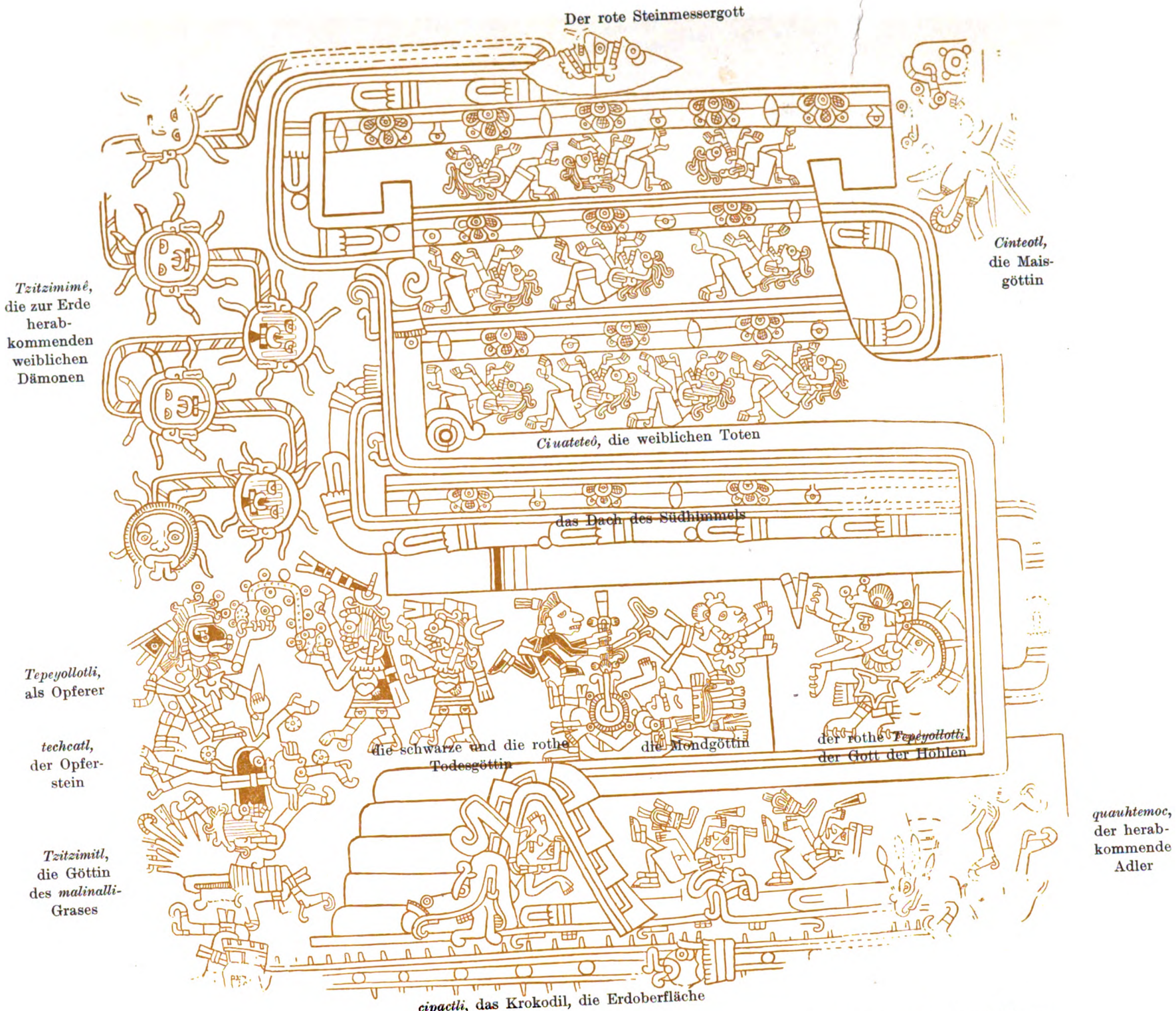
13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.



B. Die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel = 252 Tage.

I. Die Zeit der Feuersonne.

2. Das Haus der rothen Schlange, der Südpfeiler der Westregion, das Haus der weiblichen Götter des Westens und der gestorbenen Frauen.

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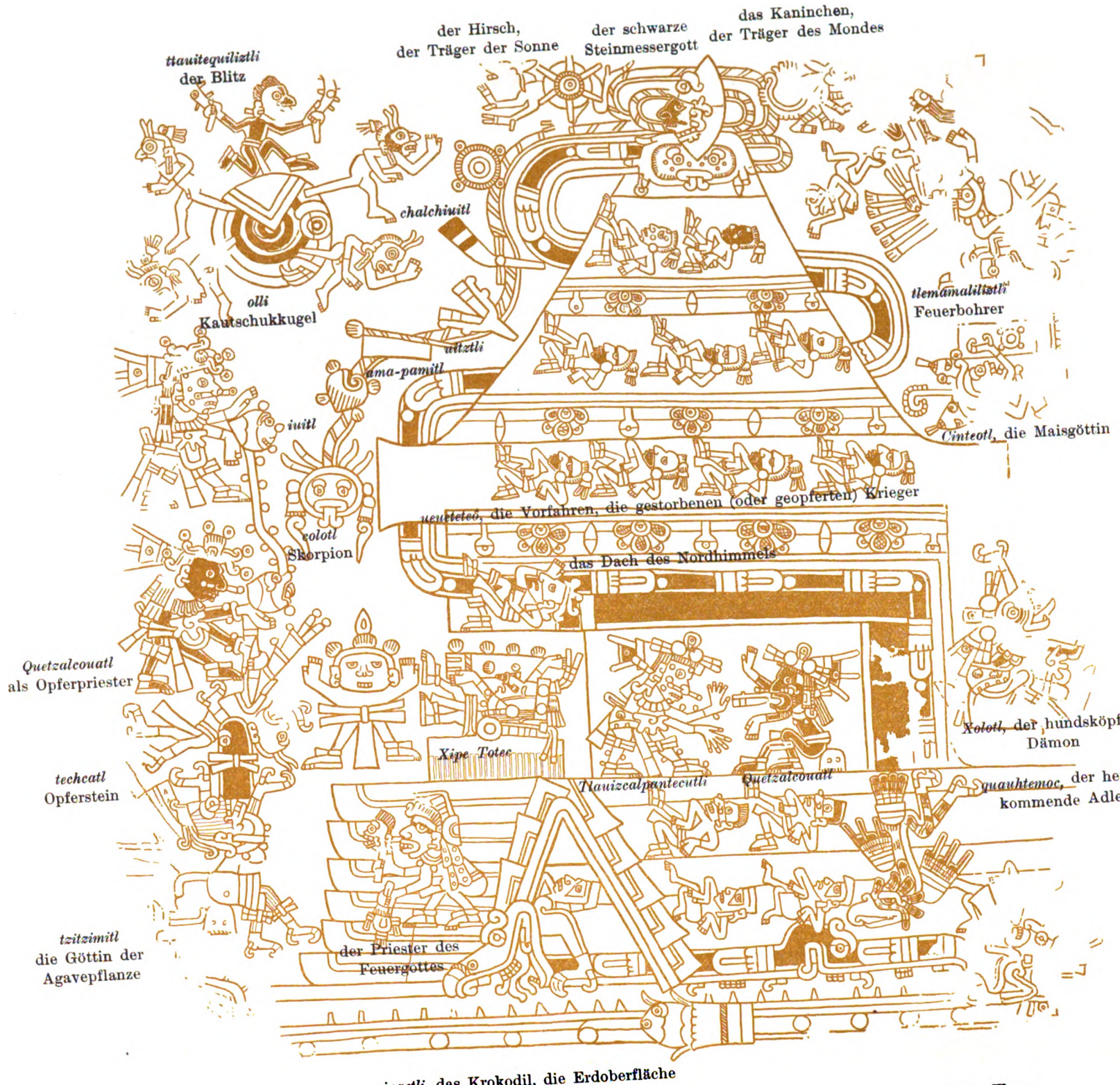

B. Die Zeit der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel = 252 Tage.

I. Die Zeit der Feuersonne.

1. Das Haus der schwarzen Schlange, der Nordpfeiler der Westregion, das Haus der männlichen Götter des Westens und der gestorbenen (geopferten) Krieger.

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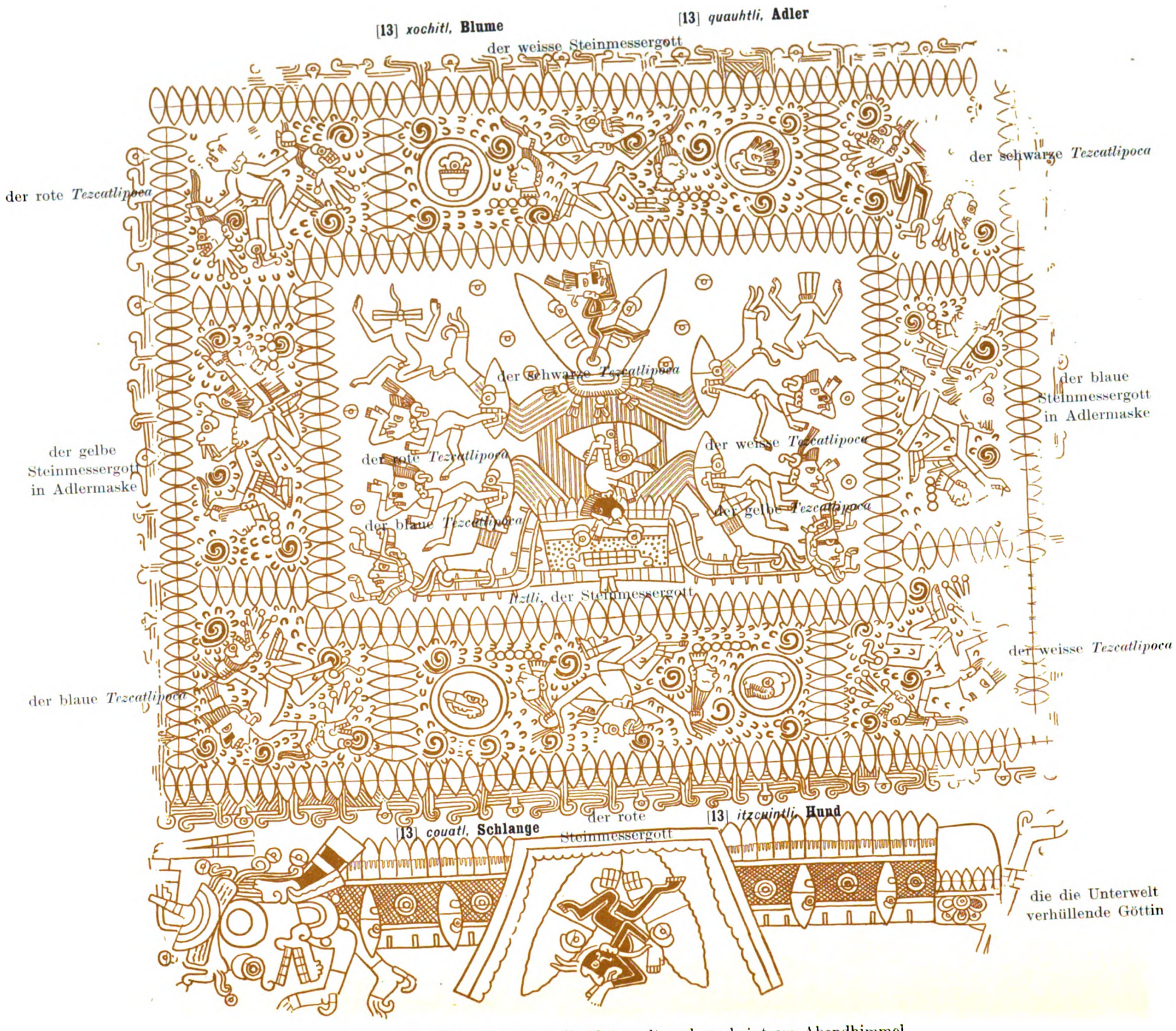
A. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen — 77 Tage.

4. *itzcalli*, das Steinmesserhaus, der Süden der Unterwelt, mit dem Bilde *Itztli*'s, des Steinmessergottes.

32.

13. Die Höllenfahrt der Venus.



Quetzalcouatl- Ce acatl verlässt die Unterwelt und erscheint am Abendhimmel

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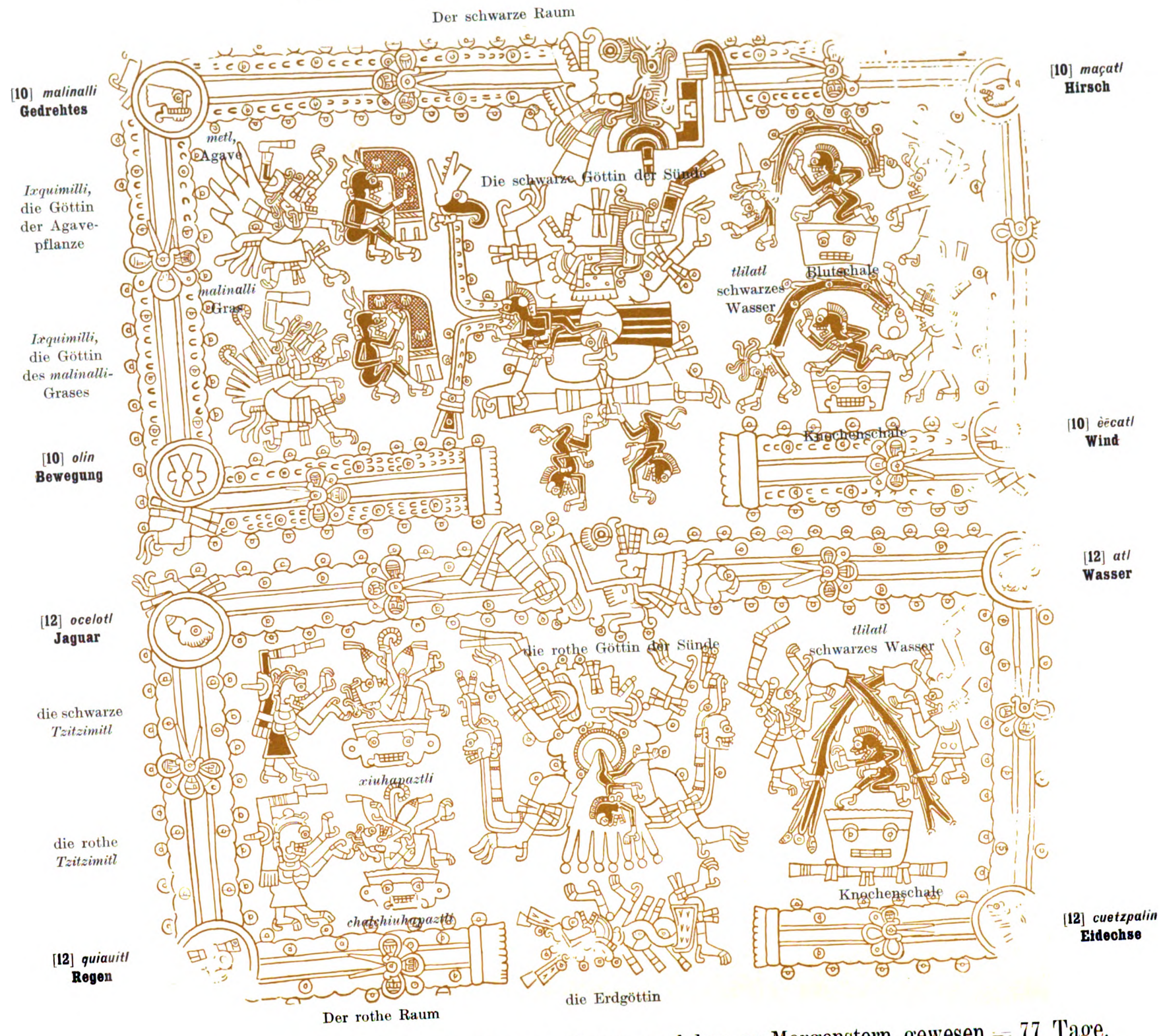
A. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen, — 77 Tage.

3. Der Westen der Unterwelt mit der Göttin der Sünde *Ixquimilli.*



A. die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen — 77 Tage.

4. Der Norden der Unterwelt mit der Göttin der Sünde *Ixquimilli.*

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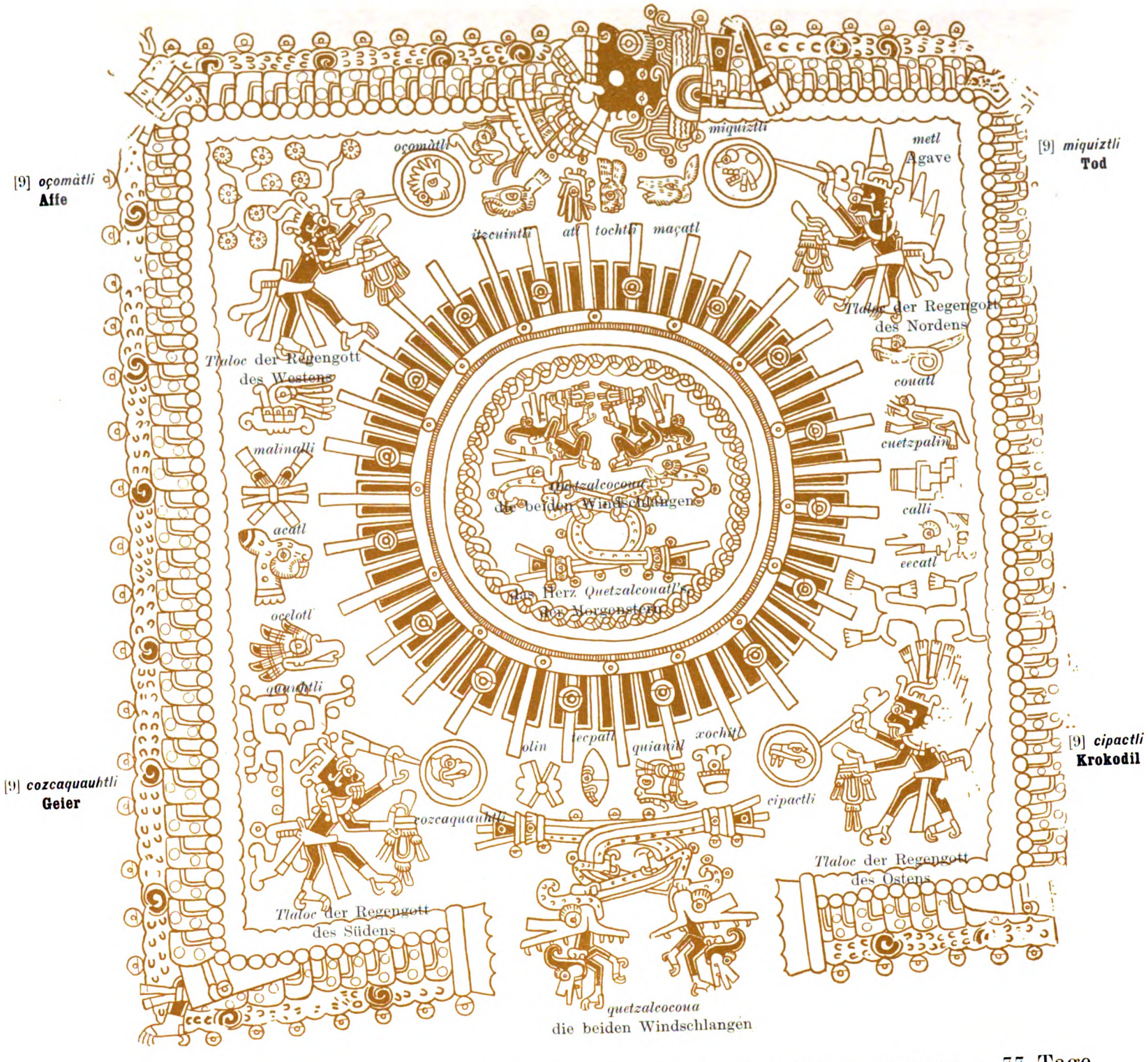
30.



A. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen — 77 Tage.

2. Der Osten der Unterwelt, mit dem Herzen *Quetzalcouatl- Ce acatl*'s, das in den Morgenstern sich verwandelt hat.

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A. Die Zeit der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus, nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen, = 77 Tage.

1. Die Mitte der Unterwelt mit der Aschenurne *Quetzalcouatl- Ce acatl*'s, aus der die Asche herausstäubt.

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Codex Borgia

Eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide

Herausgegeben auf Kosten Seiner Excellenz des Herzogs von Loubat,

Correspondirenden Mitgliedes des Institut de France

Erläutert

von

Dr. Eduard Seler

Professor für amerikanische Sprach-, Volks- und Alterthumskunde
an der Universität in Berlin

Band III

Nachtrag und Inhaltsverzeichniss.

BERLIN

MDCCCCIX

MAY 31 1909

ROYAL SOCIETY

Avec les hommages

du **Duc de Loubat**

auquel veuillez en accuser réception

53, Rue Dumont d'Urville, Paris. (France.)

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BERLIN

MDCCCCIX

An

Seine Excellenz

Herzog Joseph Florimond de Loubat.

Ew. Excellenz!

Als ich im Herbste 1906 den zweiten Band des Kommentars über den Codex Borgia Ew. Excellenz vorlegte, war ich im Begriff, von neuem über den Ozean zu gehen, um zunächst an den Kongressen jenes Jahres theilzunehmen und im Anschlusse daran ein weiteres Jahr meinen Studien in México obzuliegen. Es war mir damals nicht möglich gewesen, wie ich es sonst gethan hatte, den Band zugleich mit einem Inhaltsverzeichnisse zu publiziren. Der mühsamen Aufgabe, ein solches für die beiden veröffentlichten Bände anzufertigen, hat sich mein junger Freund Dr. Walter Lehmann unterzogen und sie mit bekannter Sorgsamkeit und Gründlichkeit — mit einer Gründlichkeit, die zu der Bedeutung des Werkes selbst fast nicht mehr in dem richtigen Verhältnisse steht, — zu Ende geführt. So ist der Index zu einem ganzen Bande angeschwollen, wobei Manches, was ich im Texte nur andeutungsweise und muthmassend geäussert habe, mit aufgenommen worden ist. Die Drucklegung und die Korrektur fielen mir wieder zu, da Dr. Lehmann seinerseits, im Herbste 1907, zu einer Forschungsreise ausgezogen ist. Wie die Anfertigung, so ist auch das Lesen eines Indexes nicht gerade eine erfreuliche Arbeit. Bei dem Umfange des Manuskripts hat mir die Korrektur Mühe genug gemacht. Da ich mit anderweitigen Arbeiten überhäuft war, hat sich die Fertigstellung lang hinausgezögert. Der Index wird aber den Studirenden helfen, das reiche Material, das in dieser schönsten aller mexikanischen Handschriften enthalten ist, schnell zum Vergleiche heranzuziehen und das, was ich zur Erläuterung sagen konnte, ohne mühsames Nachblättern sich zu Nutze zu machen. Das Ziel, das Ew. Excellenz mit der Herausgabe der Handschrift und mit dem Auftrage an mich, einen Kommentar dazu zu schreiben, sich steckten, wird damit leichter und vollständiger erreicht werden.

Berlin, April 1909.

Eduard Seler.

Nachtrag zu Kap. 21. „Die sechs Götterpaare."

Auf S. 170—178 des zweiten Bandes habe ich die sechs Götterpaare behandelt, die auf dem Blatte 57 (= Kingsborough 58) des Codex Borgia abgebildet sind und die, wie ich dort nachgewiesen habe, auch im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer auf den Blättern 35—37 (= Kingsborough 10—8) eine Parallele haben. Ich hätte noch hinzufügen sollen, und trage dies jetzt nach, dass — wenn auch keine direkte Parallele, — so doch eine gewisse Analogie in einer Reihe vorliegt, die, neben Bruchstücken anderer Handschriften, in einfacher Linienzeichnung, ohne Farbe, auf der Rückseite des zapotekischen oder kuikatekischen Codex Porfirio Diaz abgebildet ist, — einer Handschrift, die im Jahre 1891 von der Junta Colombina de México von einem Bürger der Stadt Oaxaca erworben und im Jahre 1892 in dem

Abb. 2.

Abb. 1.

grossen Werke, das diese Junta zu Ehren der vierhundertjährigen Wiederkehr des Tages, an dem der neue Erdtheil Amerika entdeckt wurde, unter dem Titel „Antigüedades Mexicanas publicadas por la Junta Colombina de México" herausgab, veröffentlicht worden ist.

Es sind hier (vgl. Abb. 1—5) nicht sechs, sondern fünf Götterpaare dargestellt, bei denen auch nicht, wie auf dem Blatte 57 des Codex Borgia, die um je acht (bezw. fünf und eilf) Zeichen von einander abstehenden Säulen des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl's angegeben sind, die ich Seite 170 des zweiten Bandes genannt habe, sondern, in augenscheinlich ganz bedeutungsloser Weise, einmal wiederholt, die zwanzig Tageszeichen in ihrer natürlichen Ordnung. Es hat eben auf dieser Rückseite des Codex Porfirio Diaz ein nicht mehr ganz Eingeweihter Stylübungen gemacht, d. h. Bilder-

schriftbruchstücke zusammengetragen, die er irgendwie kennen gelernt hatte, deren eigentliche Bedeutung er aber nicht erfasst haben konnte. In den Bildern selbst scheinen, wie gesagt, Analogien zu den sechs Götterpaaren hervorzutreten. Ich glaube, dass wir in ihnen Bruchstücke einer besonderen Rezension der sechs Götterpaare des Blattes 57 des Codex Borgia vor uns haben.

Das erste Bild (Abb. 1, Seite 1, auf der rechten Seite) zeigt uns zur Linken, auf einem Jaguarfellsitze, einen thierköpfigen Gott, der mit dem Schmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s angethan ist, und der augenscheinlich dem *Xolotl* der Handschriften (vgl. z. B. die Bilder Abb. 268—271, Seite 266, 267 des zweiten Bandes) entspricht. Die Göttin ihm gegenüber ist schwieriger zu deuten. Die beiden rechtwinklig begrenzten Streifen, die dem unteren Rande der Wange aufgesetzt sind, scheinen mir darauf hinzuweisen, dass *Chalchiuhtlicue*, die Wassergöttin, gemeint ist. Zwischen beiden Figuren sieht man ein Edelsteingefäss, zu dem von oben ein Quetzalvogel herabfliegt. Ich erinnere daran, dass im Codex Borbonicus die Abtheilung, die dem sechsten Jahresfeste der gewöhnlichen Zählung, dem Feste *Etzalqualiztli*, entspricht, — das das Fest des Regengottes ist und in anderen Handschriften einfach durch das Bild *Tlaloc*'s, des

Abb. 3.

Regengottes, veranschaulicht wird, — neben einem kleinen Bilde *Tlaloc*'s eine grosse Figur *Xolotl*'s und ihm gegenüber *Quetzalcouatl*, von tanzenden Dienern oder Priestern *Xolotl*'s umgeben, aufweist. Ich möchte deshalb diese Abb. 305, *Xolotl* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, als Parallele zu dem vierten Bilde des Blattes 57 des Codex Borgia, zu *Tlaloc* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, auffassen und die Abb. 305, gleich diesem vierten Bilde des Blattes 57, als Repräsentanten des Südens betrachten.

Das zweite Bild (Abb. 2, Seite 1 auf der linken Seite) ist eine deutliche Parallele zu dem sechsten Bilde des Blattes 57, das die sechste Region, die Unterwelt oder die Richtung nach unten, veranschaulicht. Wie dort, sehen wir hier in der Mitte zwischen den beiden Figuren einen Erdrachen und in ihm einen Schädel, in dessen geöffneten Mund, von den Zahnreihen gepackt, ein Mensch kopfüber hineinstürzt. Aber wir haben hier nicht, wie dort, den Todesgott und die Todesgöttin, sondern zwei weibliche Gottheiten dargestellt, — auf der linken Seite *Mictecacihuatl*, die Herrin der Unterwelt, auf der rechten *Tlaçolteotl*, die Mond- und Erdgöttin, die ja bekanntlich den Namen *Tlalli iyollo* „Herz (oder Inneres) der Erde“ führt. Sie ist von der rothen Schlange, die Sünde bedeutet, begleitet, und ihre Bemalung und Ausstattung entspricht durchaus dem, was ich in den beiden ersten Bänden an verschiedenen Stellen wiederholt und eingehend für diese Göttin beschrieben habe.

Das dritte Bild (Abb. 3) schliesst nun an. Es sind die beiden Götter der Blumen, *Xochipilli*, der männliche Gott, und *Xochiquetzal*, die Göttin, die wir auf dem fünften Bilde des Blattes 57 des Codex Borgia sahen, die auch hier ein Edelsteingefäss zwischen sich haben, zu dem von oben ein Quetzalvogel

herabfliegt. Nur sind die beiden Götter hier einander zugekehrt, nicht, wie auf Blatt 57 des Codex Borgia, von einander abgewendet gezeichnet. Wie dort, werden aber auch hier diese beiden Götter die fünfte Region, die himmlische Höhe, bezeichnen.

Das vierte Bild (Abb. 4) weicht anscheinend vollständig ab. Wir sehen zwei Figuren, die in ihrer Zeichnung, mit ihrem schwarzen Gesichte und der svastika-artigen Bemalung um die Augen

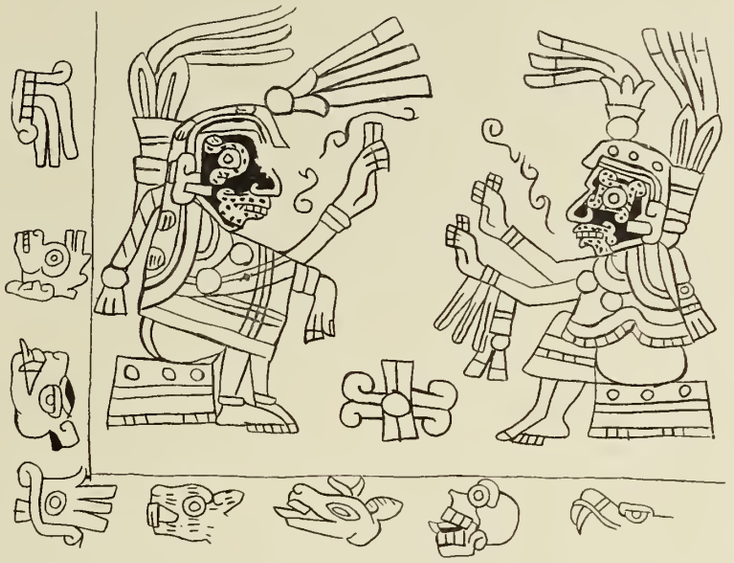

Abb. 4.

Abb. 5.

entschieden etwas Unheimliches haben. Ich glaube, dass es die beiden alten Zauberer, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*, sein sollen, die verschlungene Reden, Zaubersprüche, sprechen, und dass diese hier für die beiden Urgötter, für *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*, die auf Blatt 57 des Codex Borgia die Repräsentanten des Ostens sind, stehen sollen.

Das letzte Bild (Abb. 5) zeigt uns zur Linken einen Gott, der ganz nach Art des Sonnengottes des Tonalamatl's der Aubin'schen Sammlung gezeichnet ist, aber ein rundes Totenauge hat, und demnach, wie die sonnengottartige Figur des Blattes 6 der genannten Handschrift, den Mondgott bezeichnen muss. Ihm gegen-

über sehen wir *Tezcatlipoca*, und zwischen beiden die Netztasche (*chìtàtli*), das kennzeichnende Merkmal der Jägerstämme des Nordens. *Tezcatlipoca* ist auch ursprünglich ein Mondgott, und er wie der Mondgott im engeren Sinne, sind bekannte Vertreter des Nordens, — die hier statt der Pulquegötter stehen, die als zweites Bild des Blattes 57 des Codex Borgia den Norden bezeichneten.

Demnach hätten wir hier, auf der Rückseite des Codex Porfirio Diaz, in der regulären Folge, dem herkömmlichen sakralen Turnus entsprechend, die Himmelsrichtungen des Südens, Unten, Oben, Ostens, Nordens dargestellt. Und es fehlt nur der Westen, der auf Blatt 57 des Codex Borgia durch die beiden Maisgötter veranschaulicht war. Der Zeichner dieser Bilder des Codex Porfirio Diaz war eben, wie ich oben sagte, nur ein Stylübungen machender Schüler, der seine Aufgabe nicht gründlich begriffen und uns nur Unvollständiges zu Papier, bezw. zu Leder, gebracht hat. Denn auch der Codex Porfirio Diaz ist, gleich anderen Handschriften des südlichen und östlichen México, auf Hirschleder, das mit einer dünnen Stuckschicht bedeckt ist, geschrieben. Unvollständig, wie sie ist, ist diese Reihe doch von Werth, und gerade durch die Abweichungen, die sie gegenüber den Darstellungen des Codex Borgia und des Codex Fejérváry zeigt, da wir auch hier wiederum sehen, wie immer dieselben Ideen den so mannigfaltigen und abweichenden Darstellungen der Bilderschriften zu Grunde liegen.

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bearbeitet von Dr. **Walther Lehmann.**

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Academia de la Historia, in Madrid; dort liegt die eine Hälfte des Sahagun-Manuskripts. I 84 etc.; II 247.

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Adlerfuss, bei der *Chantico* (Cod. Borbon.). I 51; II 276 — Begleitbild im zweiten Tonalamatlviertel. I 50, 51 — im dritten. I 61, 62 — im vierten, bezeichnet Kriegertod. I 65, 66 — *quauhpachiuhqui chimalli.* — bei der Erdgöttin. I 12, 51 — s. *quauhtetepontli,* — einen *cipactli*-Kopf darreichend = Erde. I 51 — mit Maiskolben, bei der *Cinteotl* (Cod. Bologna). I 51 — Fahnenspitze der Gottes des Südens. I 339 — bildet den Griff des Räucherlöffels des Sonnengottes (*Tonatiuh*). I 285 — aus dem Federschmucke *Youaltecutli's* hervorragend. II 28 — von ihm wird der *Cuitlatl* dem *Chalchiuhtotolin* dargereicht. II 272.

Adlerfüsse, der Erdgöttin, auf deren Herzen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Mitte der Unterwelt Feuer erbohrt. II 74 — an Armen und Beinen der *Ciuateteô* des Westhimmels. I 285 — einer kopflosen *Itztli*-Figur im Süden der Unterwelt. II 9 — der Erdgöttin. II 17, 45, 104 — der *Ciuateteô.* II 19, 20 — des Opfers vor dem Hause der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21 — des hundsköpfigen *Xolotl.* II 26, 42.

Adlerhaus des Ostens, mit weissen Adlerdaunen (*quauhiuitl*) rings umsäumt. II 70.

Adlerhelmmaske, bei *Xochipilli.* II 194 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 188 — der rothen Erdgöttin beim Südbaume. II 105.

Adlerkopf, stylisirter Vogelkopf an der Stirnseite des Sonnengottes. II 122 — deutet die Krieger an *(quaquauhtin),* bei der fünften Venusperiode. II 151.

Adlermaske, des Morgensterns, im Codex Nuttall, als *matlactli omei itzcuintli.* I 255.

Adlerpranken (oder Jaguarpranken) *Xolotl's.* II 265.

Adlerschale, Opferblutschale s. *quauhxicalli.*

Adlerschnäbel, bei den Würmern des grossen Wirbels der Region des grossen Windes. II 33.

Adlermaske, Gewand, in dem der Morgenstern am Osthimmel erscheint. II. 12.

Adlerverkleidung, zwei Gestalten mit einem abgeschnittenen Kopfe in jeder Hand. II 10 — der *Itzpapalotl.* II 262

— Gott in dieser, nimmt das Herz des im *quauhxicalli* liegenden toten Kriegers in Empfang. II 71.
adorirende Haltnng der *Xochiquetzal* und ihres Gegenübers bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 181 — des Herolds bei *Quetzalcouatl*, II 214 — bei *Tlaloc*. II 229.
advocato della guerra. I 115.
Aerzte, gebrauchen das Zeichen *couatl* bei ihren Heilungen. I 280.
Affe, s. *oçomàtli*. — Thier der Lust und Kurzweil. I 58 (s. Ehebruch) 129 — gleich *malinalli*-Skelett. I 10; II 290.
Affen, unvollkommene erste Menschenschöpfung. II 309.
affenähnliche Haltung des *tlaelquani*. I 129.
Affenfell, daraus Königsbinde des *Pàtccatl*. II 244.
Affenkopf, an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde beim Pulquegott. I 143, 251 (als Todesgott). — erinnert an einen Totenschädel. I 129 — an einer Blume des Federschmuckes des rechten Armes *Xochipilli's* (im Cod. Vatic.). II 136.
Agave americana. I 113.
agaveblattfarben, blau. II 27.
Agaveblattspitze, s. *uitztli*.
Agave-Pflanze, Pulque-Agave, s. *metl*. — wilde s. *nequamctl tziuactli*; — scheidet Monate lang süssen Saft aus. I 275 — bei dem nördlichen Regengotte des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — bezeichnet Lebensmittelfülle. I 53.
Agavepflanze, Göttin der —, s. *Mayauel* — Nebenfigur bei der Göttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 8 — hält den Opferstein vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21, 42.
Agavepflanzen, bei der geköpften Göttin. II 285.
Agni (Sanskr.) ursprünglich Gott des Herdfeuers (s. *purohita*). I 119.
agrarischer Gott, *Xipe Totec*. I 304; II 257.
agrarische Götter, s. *malinalli* — s. *Xipe Totec*. (I 304).
ahau (Maya), s. *hun ahan (Hun ahpu)*. — s. *oxlahun ahau*.
ah bolon tz'acab (Maya), Gott mit der proliferirenden Nase. II 154 — entspricht in gewisser Weise dem *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 318 — andere Form des Regengottes *Chac*. I 217 — Wassergott, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der ersten Periode. I 336; II 154 — Regent der *been*-Jahre des Ostens. I 318; II 154.
ah ɔam (Maya) „Herr des Thrones". II 151 — s. *Ah pop*.
ah mut (Maya), „Herr des Tageszeichens, des Geschickes", = Waldhuhn. I 303 — s. *yaxcoc ah mut*.
Ah pucah (Maya), tötet den *Bacab*. I 322 — sein Name in *Eopuco* verdorben. I 322.
Ahne, unsere = *Toci*, Erdgöttin. I 160.
Ah pop, ah ɔam (Maya), „Herr der Matte, Herr des Thrones", Metapher für Königthum (s. *tlatocayotl*). II 151.
ah toc (Maya), der Brenner, Feuerpriester (im *Chilam Balam*). II 9.
Ah uoh puc (Maya), nimmt die Erde beim Weltuntergange *(haicabil)* in Besitz. II 156.
aiamictlan = *à-yamictlan* „Land wo man nicht stirbt", oder = *ayauh-mictlan* „Land der Nebeltoten". Beiname des Feuergottes. I 119.
akbal, (Maya), Nacht. Tageszeichen = mex. *calli*, Haus. I 91; II 158, 220 — Anfangszeichen des dritten der vier Jahre. I 342.
akbal (Maya), Element in Mayahieroglyphen. I 313.
Albinos, Abbilder der Sonne, bei Sonnenfinsternissen (s. *tonatiuh qualo*) geopfert. I 208.
Allgebärerin, die alte Mutter Erde, s. *Tlalli iyollo, Toci, Teteo innan*. I 153
Allwissend, der in der Dunkelheit leuchtende Mond, Ideenverbindung mit *Tezcatlipoca, Tlaçolteotl*. II 11, 81.
alo, der rothe Arara, der Guacamayo. Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 42 — im dritten. I 64; II 83 — auf dem Baume des Südens. II 107 — s. *Vukub cakix*. — bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* des fünften Tageszeichens *couatl* dargestellt. I 303 — ihm entspricht vielleicht ein Feuergefäss. I 304 — einer der *tlaçototome*. II 3 — Vogel des Feuergottes. II 83, 107, 130, 298 — bezeichnet die eilfte Tagstunde. II 298.
alte, Männer und Frauen, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der ersten Periode. II 148, 156.
alte Frau am Mahlstein = *Ilamatecutli*. I 37; II 206.
alte Götter, der Feuergott (s. *Ucuetcotl*). I 147. — *Tonacatecutli*. I 78—82, 104, II 102, 206 — *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308. — *Tecciztecatl*. I 104, 215; II 226 — alter kahlköpfiger Gott (Maya). I 215 — *Itzamná* (Maya). I 82, 215.
alte Götter (weibliche), *Ilamatecutli*. I 104, 118; II 206, s. *Ilancueyê*. — alte Erdgöttin. I 118, 307.
alte Göttin, s. *Ilamatecutli, Ilancueyê* — s. *Itzpapalotl*. (I 181). — bei den Maya von Yucatan als Waldhuhn gedacht (neben dem alten Gott). I 303 — beim Mattenflechten, ihre Klassenhieroglyphe, der *Chalchiuhtlicue* entsprechend. I 311 — im Codex Tro. I 324.
alte Leute, ihr Getränk der Pulque *(octli)*. I 307 — im Anfangszeichen der ersten Venusperiode *(cipactli)* von *Tlauizcalpantecutli* geschossen (Osten). II 148, 156, — s. *ueuetque ilamatque*.
alte Mondgöttin, s. *Tlaçolteotl*.
alte Priester, tragen das *yctecomatl*. II 112 — tragen das *ocelo yatatztli* (s. dort). II 164.
alte Zauberer, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* (s. dort). II 191.
alte Zeit, Zeitalter der Frömmigkeit. II 206.
Alten, die, s. *ueuetque*.
Alter, sein Symbol, der kahlköpfige Geier. I 13, 180, 185, 307 — angedeutet durch mühsames Sicherheben vom Sitze. II 226.
alter Feuergott, sein Sohn *Ch'ipi Cakulha, Raxa cakulha* (Qu'iche), der Sonnengott *Hurakan*. I 147.
alter Gott mit der Hieroglyphe Stein (tnn) auf dem Kopfe, Gottheit der Zahl Fünf auf Mayamonumenten. I 217 — s. *macuil tecpatl* — die Mitte (der Gottheiten der Abendsternreihe) in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift bezeichnend. I 341.
Alter Gott, mit *cipactli*-Helmmaske, eine Art Pulquegott, zweiter der Hüter der fünf Venusperioden der ersten Reihe. I 243 — entspricht dem Süden. I 243.
alter Himmelsgott, *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308.
alter kahlköpfiger Gott der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 215 — entspricht dem *Tecciztecatl* (Mondgott). I 215, 314, 322 — in unzüchtiger Positur. I 215, 316, 322.
alter kahlköpfiger Gott, trägt Schildkrötenschale. I 215 — sitzt in einem Schneckengehäuse. I 215, 313 — Gott in der Schale. I 313—316.
alter kahlköpfiger Gott, Mondgott. I 215, 313—316, 320, 322 — seine Züge trägt der schwarze Gott. I 320 — Herr des Katun *uuc ahau = chicome xochitl* „7 Blume" im Codex Perez. I 314.
alter *Mixcouatl,* s. *iztac Mixcouatl,* Feuerreiber. II 118 — s. *tlemamalini*.
alter Priester, s. *ome itzcuintli*.
älterer Bruder, s. *Tabatzi, Tamats*.
altes Ehepaar, *Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl*. II 41 — *Oxomoco, Cipactonal*. II 41.
altes Jahr, stirbt am *Toxcatl*-Fest. I 290.
altepetl (aus *atl-tepetl*), „Dorf, Gemeinde". I 151, 152, 155.
altepetl, Dorf, Gemeinde. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der fünften Periode. II 151, 152, 155 — bezeichnet die irdische Welt, der am Ende der fünften Venusperiode, am Ende der 13×5 Perioden, der gemeine Untergang droht. II 155.
altepetl tlachinolli = atl-tepetl tlachinolli, s. *atl tlachinolli (?)* I 125.
amacalli, Papierkrone der Regengötter, bei *Cinteotl*. I 224 — grosser viereckiger, mit Rosetten an den vier Ecken versehener Kopfputz der Maisgöttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes. I 157, 159 — Kopfbinde des Gottes des Südens. I 307 —

braun und weiss, beim Pulquegott. II 245 — Papierbinde, darin steckend *omitl-uitztli*, bei *Mictlantecutli*. I 297.
amamaxtlatl weisse Schambinde, des Gottes des Südens. I 307 — der fünf *Auiateteô* II 98 — s. *maxtlatl*.
amanacochtli, weisser Ohrpflock des Mondgottes — *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s, vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 307 — auf dem Königsstuhle des Ostens dargestellt unter der dunklen Haarperrücke. II 122.
amaneapanalli, Schulterguirlande aus Rindenpapier, Kriegertotenschmuck. II 239 — Muster auf der Rückendecke *Tlaloc*'s. I 112.
Amanteca, Federarbeiter, Tribus in Méxieo. Ihr Hauptgott *Coyotlinaual*. I 99.
amapamitl, Fahne aus Rindenpapier, Lciehenschmuek. s. Weisse Fahnen; s. *pantololli, pantoyaualli*. — Opferschmuek bei dem *quauhtli ocelotl*. I 143; II 246 — Symbol bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 257 — bei *Mixcouatl*. I 260 — bei *Mictlantecutli*. II 239 — bei dem Fledermausgotte. II 60 — bei *Xipe*. I 14, 167 — beim Pulquegotte. I 143, 144 — Opferfähnehen. I 56, 62, 66, 69, 143, 144, 167, 293, 295, ete.; II 115, 239, 289 — Zwei, bei *Tonatiuh*. II 289. damit der Baum des Nord-*tzompantli*'s besteckt. II 115 — des Süd-*tzompantli*'s. II 116 — im Haare der Todesgöttin. II 3 — vier schwarze, Rückendevise des schwarzen Todesgottes im Cod. Bologna. II 114 — auf dem Rücken der Windgottschlange, des am Osthimmel erscheinenden Morgensterns. II 70 — am Pulquetopfe *(octecomatl)*. I 307 — an der Schnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286 — am Seile des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — von der weissen *Ciuateotl* (Ost-*tzitzimitl)* herabgebracht. II 117 — mit einer Blume an der Schaftspitze, Opferemblcme des Feuerreibers des Ostens. II 119.
amapamitl tlaitzcopintli, Ciuateotl-Papierfahnen, mit spitzwinkligen Figuren bedeekt. I 199 — von der gelben *Ciuateotl* und dem gelben *Auiateotl* (mit *octecomatl)*, den West-*tzitzimimê* herabgebraeht. II 117.
amatepetl, tlaitzcopintli, Berg aus Rindenpapier, vor ihm das kopulirende Nordpaar. II 120.
amatl, „Papier", Zusammengebundene Papiere. II 39.
Amblystoma mexicanum, Larve des, = *axolotl*. I 193, 195.
Ameisen, im wirren Haare der Erdkröte. I 37.
Amerikanisten-Kongress, in Stuttgart. II 41.
Amilpan. I 211.
amilpan, „Land der bewässerten Äcker", Süden II 94 (Anm. 1).
amoxtli, Bücher. I 89.
amoxuaquê, Bücherschreiber, die mythischen Tolteken. I 89 — s. *tlamatinime*.
Anales de *Quauhtitlan*, s. Codex Chimalpopoca(tl) s. Catálogo del Museo Indiano. — Ältere Abschriften dieser Annalen in der Aubin-Goupil'schen Handschriftensammlung. II 148 — sehr verderbter Abdruck eines Theiles in den Anales del Museo Nacional de México, Bd. III. II 148 — ihr zweiter Theil, die Historia de Culhuacan y de Méxieo. II 42, 79, 144.
Analöffnung, mit dem Tageszeichen *quiauitl* bei der männliehen und weiblichen Gottheit der Wollust verbunden. II 305 — mit dem Zeichen *eecatl* bei der *Taçolteotl* verbunden. II 301.
Anauac, Küstenland, pazifische Tierra caliente. I 293 — s. *oztomecatl, pochtecatl, anauac calaquini*.
Anauaca, Bewohner der Küstenländer, Zapoteken der Gegend von Tehuantepee, zur Zeit *Auitzotl*'s besiegt. II 256.
anauac calaquini, der Kaufmann, der Expeditionen nach der Tierra caliente führt und Reichthümer von dort heimbringt. I 293, 294; II 145 — s. *oztomeca*.
Anauatl Küstentand, das Südland, durch den wandernden Kaufmann, den *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* bezeiehnet. I 292 bis 294.
anauatl, weisser Ring, an rothem Lederriemen, Abbild des Auges, Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152, 221, 222, 233, 270, 283; II 78 — *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 233 — der fünf Südgötter *(Auiateteô)*. II 98, 100 — des roten *Tezcatlipoca (= Xipe)* II 257 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. I 245, 256; II 71, 78, 129, 139, 142, 143, 238, 307 — *Mixcoatl*'s. I 266 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 245 — des Pulquegottes als Todesgott. I 251 — des Mondgottes. II 228 — *Mictlantecutli*'s. II 242 — der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens. II 78 — des Priesters bei der aehten Tagstunde. II 197 — Brustschmuek des Tieres mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282 — bedeutet symbolisch Auge, Stern. I 256, 257 — ersetzt durch das Stern- oder Strahlenauge. I 257.
anauatl, „Ring", rings vom Meer umgebene Erde. I 198 — Erdrund, als blaue Scheibe mit Wasserlinien. I 175 — (beim Baume der Mitte). II 107.
anauatl, s. *ilhuica atl*. — s. Meer des Westens.
Anauatl itecu = Xipe, „Herr des Küstenlandes". I 177; II 256, 258 — s. Dios de la mar.
Andreaskreuz, als solches die fünf Himmelsrichtungen im Cod. Fejérváry angeordnet. II 103, 106, 107 — mit vier Speichen. II 107 — rotes, auf dem Hüfttuehe der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 230 — der *ciuateteô*. I 230, 231; II 93 — schwarzes, auf der Schambinde *Xochipilli*'s. I 248. - weisses auf der schwarzen Trommel beim toten (modernden) *Xolotl*. II 42.
anecuyotl, Trachtstück. II 308.
Anfang des *Tonalamatl*'s, von ihm aus die Venusperioden gezählt. II 138.
Anfangstage, der aufeinanderfolgenden Jahre, in Méxieo: *acatl, tecpatl, calli, tochtli*. I 342, 343, 344 — in Yueatan: *been, e'tznab akbal, lamat*. I 342 — zur Zeit der Conquista in Yueatan, *kan, muluc, ix, cauac*. I 342.
Anfangszeichen, der Jahre. I 342 — abweichende in *Yucatan* I 342 — abweichende in *Cuicatlan* I 342 — der Venusperioden (s. *cipactli, couatl, atl, acatl, olin)*. I 239, 327, 337; II 137.
angeles de aire (span.). II 127.
Angreifende, beim *Xipe*fest, in Méxieo: Adler und Jaguar. I 175 — im Codex Nuttall, Codex Becker der rote und gelbe Jaguar, bzw. Gott mit Schädelmaske. I 175.
Anhänge, zackig umsäumte, an Stelle der Flughäute beim *Tlacatzinacantli* des Codex Borgia. II 61 — beim *tzinacantemoc* fehlend. II 85.
Ankömmlinge, erste, s. *Amanteca*.
Annalen der *Cakchiquel*, s. Cakchiquel-Annalen. — s. *Xahil*.
Antillen, ihre Ureinwohner hatten das Ballspiel. I 193.
Anus, s. Analöffnung.
aoztotl. Wasserspeiender Schlangenrachen, „Wasserhöhle", Begleitbild im Tonalamatl: vertreten durch *Tepeyollotli*. II 80 — Ruheort der Verstorbenen in der Unterwelt. II 80 — mit dem Sandberge (s. *iztac axalli)* in der Mitte des Wassers, unter der doppelköpfigen Schlange der Mittelgruppe der *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô* des Ms. Mex. No. 20 (Paris). II 103.
apanecayotl (s. *quetzalapanecayotl)*, Schmuck, den *Quetzalcouatl*, am Gestade des Meeres angelangt, ablegt, um sich zu verbrennen. II 14, 15.
Aphrodisiacum, verschiedene Eidechsenarten. I 96.
Aphrodite, aus dem Meere geboren, ursprünglich junge, sehöne Mondgöttin. II 79.
Apoala, in der Mixteca, Berg, auf dem der Hirschgott und die Hirschgöttin wohnten. II 164.
Apostolische Vatikanische Bibliothek, in ihr der Codex Borgia aufbewahrt. I 2.
Arara, roter, s. *alo* — Verkleidung beim *Xiuhcouatl*. II 74 — Vogel des Feuergottes. II 83, 107, 130, 298.
Ararafedern, damit der Flammenpfeil der jungen, im Osten aufgehenden Sonne befiedert. II 86 — bei dem *quetzalcouatl* des Ostens. II 299.

Araraflügel, Nackenschmuck *Ueuecoyotl*'s. I 98.
Araraflügel, Schlange damit. II 74.
Arbeitskörbchen, der Frauen, *tanatli*. II 89.
Arithmetik, in mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften den Bildern gegenüber zurücktretend, nur angedeutet, dagegen in Maya-Handschriften durch Fixirung von Daten und ihrer Abstände ausgezeichnet. II 138.
Arizona, Hopi-Indianer von —. II 258.
Arm, gekrümmter, unter Opfergaben. II 70 — bezeichnet die im Anschluss an die Opferung von Kriegsgefangenen stattfindenden Kannibalenmahlzeiten. II 70 — abgeschnittener, eines der Zeichen des Opfers. II 116, 117 — s. weiter unter: abgeschnittener Arm.
Arm, rechter, über ihn hat Herrschaft das Tageszeichen *quauhtli*. I 280 – linker, über ihn hat Herrschaft das Tageszeichen *oçomàtli*. I 280 — s. rechter, linker Arm. — s. auch Vorderfuss (des als Hirsch verkleideten *Xochipilli*).
Arm, Unterarm, menschlicher, Zeichen des Zauberers in dessen Hand. II 224.
Armband, von Schneckengehäusen, beim Priester der achten Tagstunde. II 197 — s. Schneckengehäuse.
Armbänder, aus *tlaquatzin* (Beutelratte), Handgelenkbänder-Fellstreifen der *Quaxolotl* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 186.
Arme, *cicitlallô* bei der Himmelsschlange im Süden der Unterwelt. II 65, 68 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 129, 139 — schwarz und mit Daunen besetzt bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* als Regengott des Westens. I 351.
Arme verschränkt, unterwürfige Haltung bei mexikanischen und mittelamerikanischen Indianern. II 182, 183 — Haltung des *tlamacazqui* der ersten Tagstunde II 182 bei *Xochiquetzal*, dem *tlamacazqui* der zweiten Tagstunde. II 183 — bei der Göttin der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — bei *Xochiquetzal* als Quetzalvogel (bei der eilften Nachtstunde) tanzend. II 202 — beim Sonnengotte, dem Mondgotte gegenüber. II 228 — beim Feuergotte, dem *Tlauizcalpantecutli* gegenüber. II 238 — beim blauen *Auiateotl*. II 303, 305.
Arme zum Empfange ausgebreitet, s. Empfang.
Armring, s. *machoncotl*.
Armut, s. *icnoyotl* — s. Wasserstrom *(atocoua)*.
Arzt, *Tezcatlipoca* der zehnten Tagstunde, als Geburtshelfer. II 201.
Aerzte, *(titici)*, verehren die *Teteo innan*, die Göttin der Medizinen. I 153 — die beiden alten, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*. II 194.
Asche, *Quetzalcouatl*'s verwandelt sich in *tlaçototomê*. I 87; II 3, 34, 291 — Asche seines Vaters. II 34, 35 — verwehende Asche. II 3 — wiederbelebt durch den Wind des *itzeccayan*. II 34.
Aschenkiste, *nexcaxitl*, aus ihr die dunkle Masse nebst Aschenwirbel hervorkommend. II 34 — in ihr das *chalchiuitl*-Herz eines toten Königs aufbewahrt. II 6.
Aschenpacket, s. *nexquimilli*.
Aschenwirbel, grosser. II 33, 34.
aschgraue Scheibe des Mondes des Abendhimmels. II 56.
Astralmythen. II 1.
Astronomie des Planeten Venus bei den Maya fremder, mexikanischer (?) Import. I 336; II 157 — in den Bilderschriften der Maya peinlich genau berechnet, in denen der Mexikaner (Wissen voraussetzend) nur angedeutet. II 138.
astronomische Beobachtungen. II 140.
astronomischer Tag, Zeit von Mitternacht zu Mitternacht, durch die 13 Götter und 13 Vögel veranschaulicht. II 298, 299.
atamalqualiztli Wasserkrapfenessen, alle acht Jahre gefeiertes Fest, zur Erneuerung der Lebensmittel. I 136, 176, 211 — Lied an diesem Feste. I 193; II 62 Anm.
Atempan, Name eines Tempels, vollständig vielleicht *Atempan tlachinoltempan* „Schlachtfeld". I 160.
atempan tlachinoltempan „Ort des Wassers und des Brandes — des Krieges", Schlachtfeld; bei der fünften Venusperiode angedeutet (?). II 151.
Athem, s. Leben — Wind.
atinemi tlamintinemi „sie jagen und sie schiessen", von den Chichimeken (*Tamime*) gesagt. I 263.
atl, Wasser, neuntes Tageszeichen. I 8, 37, 71, 115–125, 235, 305 — ursprünglich = Wasser des *atl-tlachinolli*, sein Regent der Feuergott. I 115ff — bei diesem Tageszeichen *Xochipilli* als Feuergott dargestellt I 305 — entsprechende Mayahieroglyphe. I 313 — Hieroglyphe durch Hinzufügung eines rothen und eines weissen gefransten Streifens in die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* verwandelt *(s. chalchiuhatl)*. I 9 — Durch Höhle *(oztotl)*, aus der Wasser hervorbricht, veranschaulicht; Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 37, 71 — *teoatl tlachinolli* andeutend. I 281.
atl, das fliessende Wasser, Symbol der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 228 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens dargestellt — s. *atl tlachinolli*.
atl, Anfangszeichen der dritten Venusperiode. I 239, 327, 337; II 137, 148 — in ihm ist allgemeine Dürre. II 148, 157 — s. *tonaquiz, tlauaqui*.
atl, als Tageszeichen mit dem Spiegel *(tezcatl) Tezcatlipoca*'s verbunden I 281 — an einem queren weissen Schilde bei *Xochipilli*. II 135 — mit der Hand *Tlaloc*'s verbunden. II 300 — bezeichnet ihn als Wasserspender II 300 — in Form einer Kette von Röhrenknochen, bildet das Gestell, auf das, vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s endend, der Ballspieler *Tlaloc* seinen Fuss setzt. II 37.
atl, Vorstellungszusammenhang von *quetzalli*, *chalchiuitl* und *atl*. II 65.
Atlacoaya, Pulquegöttin. I 140.
atlacuilolli, mit Wasser bemalt, Gewand der *Mayauel*. I 274.
atlan calaquiliztli ins Wasser tauchen, Begleitbild im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 73.
atlantische Golfküste, das *tonatiuh iixco* gelegene Land = *Olman*. II 214
atlatl, Wurfbrett, in der Hand *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. I 286; II 71, 143 ff. — *Mixcouatl*'s — des Fledermausgottes. II 61 — *Cinteotl*'s. II 134 — in der Hand des *temani*. I 71 — des Feuergottes. I 115; II 73 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 292; II 32, 71 — damit wirft *Tonatiuh* ein Herz der Sonnenscheibe in der Cella des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume) zu. II 108 — desgl. der Mondgott beim Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — desgl. *Cinteotl* beim Tempel des Westens. II 114.
atlatl und Speerbündel, in der Hand der Hüter der fünf Venusperioden. I 329 — bezeichnet *Tlauizcalpantecutli* als den „Schiessenden". II 143–157 — bezeichnet zusammen mit *chimalli* und *tlacochtli* den Krieg *yaoyotl*. I 143, 260.
Atlatonan. „Unsere Mutter am Wasser", Göttin im Tempel *Xochicalco* in México verehrt (zusammen mit *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl*). I 135 — Göttin des Küstenlandes I 135, 136.
Atlaua, Gott von *Cuitlauac*, hat Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns. I 254; II 238.
atl ayauican, Land des Wassers und des Nebels = *Tamoanchan*, Paradies des Westens (*atl yayauican*). I 157; II 62.
Atlas zu dem Geschichtswerke Duran's. I 260.
Atlixco, Tlaloc-Steinfiguren von dort. I 110.
atl-tepetl = *altepetl* „Dorf, Gemeinde", vertritt den Begriff Kriegerschaft (*quauhyotl, yaoyotl*). II 151, 152.
atl-tepetl tlachinolli s. *atl tlachinolli*. I 125
atl tlachinolli, Wasser und Brand, metaphorischer Ausdruck für Krieg, bei *Xiuhtecutli* angegeben. I 124, 125, 257; II 70, 74, 78, 238, 277, 309 — bei der Feuergöttin *Chantico*. II 277 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* I 286; II 78,

239, 307, 309 — beim Sonnengotte. II 306 — eine Anspielung darauf ist die Ausstattung der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, deren Symbol *atl* ist, mit Trachtabzeichen der Feuergöttin *Chantico*. I 228 — der Feuergott (*Xiuhtecutli*) im Wassergefässe bei derselben Göttin. I 229 — bei dem Regengotte des Nordens durch den rauchenden Spiegel *Tezcatlipoca*'s repräsentirt. I 146, 221 — Herabkommen des Krieges. I 61 — Wasser mit Feuerzungen. I 9 — dargestellt durch ein Wassergefäss und gelbe Federn bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 221 — Determinativ bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens, brennendes Haus und die nackte Figur einer Göttin im Wasser. II 78 — von der blauen *Ciuateotl* (Nord-*tzitzimitl*) herabgebracht. II 117 — Unterlage des Steinmessers (*tecpatl*), auf dem der Feuerreiber des Nordens Feuer bohrt. II 118 — mit *aztamecatl* verschlungen, auf der Unterseite des Steinkopfes der *Coyolxauhqui*. II 277 — Krieg, s. *teoatl tlachinolli* — s. *atempan tlachinoltempan*. (I 160) — *atl* in dieser Phrase bezeichnet vielleicht *altepetl* „Dorf". I 125.

atocoua, „Alles wird vom Wasser fortgerissen", Ausdruck der Vergänglichkeit bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* (s. Wasserstrom). II 225

atonatiuh Wassersonne, erste der vier präkosmischen Weltperioden. I 204; II 25 — ihr Zeichen *naui atl*. I 204.

Aubin, Tonalamatl der —'schen Sammlung; Erläuterungen dazu von Eduard Seler. I 17 etc.

Aubin-Goupil'sche Handschriftensammlung. II 4, 22, 29 (Abb.), 40, 101 (Abb.), 102, 144, 148, 152 (Anm. 1), 155, 247.

aufeinanderfolgende Tage, ihre Abstände durch Tageszeichensäulen ausgedrückt. II 14, 15.

Aufgang der Sonne im Osten (*Tlillan-Tlapallan*, *Tlatlayan*), Kern der *Nanauatzin*-Legende. II 53 — *Nanauatzin* im Kochtopfe und in der Adlerschale brennend. I 200; II 53 ff. — s. Selbstopfer.

Aufgang des Abendsterns im Westen, am Abendhimmel. II 14 — durch eine Kautschukkugel mit fünf daraus hervorkommenden Blitz-bewaffneten Figuren, und durch Feuerbohren dargestellt. II 27—28 — durch verschiedenfarbige Feuerwesen dargestellt, die aus Rauchwolken über dem Spiegel *Tonacatecutli*'s, auf dem Feuer gebohrt wird, hervorkommen. II 28.

Aufgehen des Morgensterns am Tage 1 *chicchan (ce couatl)*. I 350, 351 — in der zweiten Morgenstunde. II 295.

Aufgehen eines Gestirns am Himmel. — durch Schmoren im Topfe, Selbstopferung im Feuer, bewirkt. I 200.

aufgehende Sonne, s. Osten — s. *quauhtleuanitl* — s. *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 148 — s. *Nanauatzin*. — s. *Xochipilli*. (I 223.)

aufgesperrter Erdrachen, bezeichnet die untere Region. I 177; II 2.

Aufrichtuug des Himmels, s. Himmel.

Aufschneiden der Brust, gewöhnliche Form des Menschenopfers. I 206; II 52 — regelmässig bei *Mixcouatl*, dem Opfermenschen, dargestellt, s. *Mixcouatl*. — der Brust, beim Gotte des Bluts dargestellt. I 302 — beim Jaguar, der den *chictlapanqui* Nachthimmel emporhält. I 304 — der Brust beim *teyolloquani*. I 306.

Aufsteigen, langsames, der Sonne; Abbild davon das Opfer des *Toxcatl*-Festes, das die Stufen der Pyramide *Tlacochcalco* langsam emporsteigt. I 147.

Aufsteigen aus der Erde, durch Steinmesser im Rachen der Erdkröte ausgedrückt. II 295.

aufsteigender Adler, *quauhtleuanitl* = Sonne. I 147.

Auf- und Absteigen. II 179, 180, 207–208 — s. Unten.

Auge, in der Mitte des Zeichens *olin* = Sonne. I 14 — von Dunkel umgebenes = Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*). II 193 von Dunkel umgebenes, = Nacht- oder Stern, auf dem Scheitel *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 87, 111, 130, 131, 307; II 28, 214 — *Xolotl*'s. I 87, 111, 130, 191, 197, 307; II 265 — — auf dem Scheitel einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren II 47 — auf dem Scheitel des *Xolotl*-Gesichtes bei dem Mumienbündel mit der Sonnenscheibe. II 268 — auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl*'s. II 113, 134 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 87, 111 — *Piltzintecutli*'s. I 222 — *Youaltecutli*'s. II 28 — eines schwarzen Gottes. I 307 — *Tlaloc*'s. I 87, 111, 307, 330, 345; II 28 — in der Mitte des Hutes *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 87; II 167 — in der Hieroglyphe *malinalli*. I 12 — Symbol des Opfers I 66, 270 — durch weisses Windkreuz ersetzt· II 167 — verbundenes, s *ixquimilli*.

Auge, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, Regenten der ersten Venusperiode, im Codex Vaticanus mit blauem, der Lippenschlange *Tlaloc*'s ähnlichem Gebilde. II 141 — erinnert an einen Typus von Skulpturen der Maya-Region. II 141 — Urform des weissen Ringes, des Brustschmuckes *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152, 221, 256, 270.

Auge, ausgebohrt bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 245; II 21, 131 — Zeichen der Kasteiung. II 131 — Ausbohren des —, = Opfer. I 61, 71, 201, 239.

Auge, ausgelaufenes, hervorquellendes bei *Quetzalcouatl* (s ausgebohrtes Auge). II 21 — bei *Nanauatzin*. II 21, 26, 56, 91 — bei der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56, 91 — ausgelaufenes, herausquellendes bei *Xolotl*. I 191, 193, 194; II 52, 56, 91 — bei den *Ciuateteô* II 91 — bei der zweigesichtigen Maske des *Tititl*-Festes. I 192 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 21, 26, 91 — heraushängendes (hervorquellendes, ausgelaufenes), Ausdruck des Missgeschaffenen, Krankhaften. II 91.

Auge, geschlossenes bei *Xochipilli* als Mondgott. I 246 — bei der vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der ersten Periode getroffenen *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 149 — s. geschlossenes Auge.

Auge = Stern. I 256; II 7, 28, 47, 64, 65 — Assoziation von Auge und *tecpatl*. I 283 — bezeichnet klaffende Bruchstelle. I 296 — grosses gestieltes, Ohrpflock der *Mictecacinatl* I 277 — in der Hand der *Ilancueyê*, bei der dreizehnten Nachtstunde. II 205.

Auge, rechtes, mit dem Tageszeichen *acatl* (s. *ome acatl*) bei *Tezcatlipoca* verbunden. I 282 — mit *acatl* bei *Tlaloc* verbunden, Feuerbohren oder Ausbohren des Auges andeutend II 301 — der *Tlaçolteotl* mit *tecpatl* verbunden. II 301 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s mit *quiauitl* verbunden. II 302.

Auge, von Punkten umgeben, Ausstreuen der Maiskörner (zu Weissagungszwecken) bedeutend, beim dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 174.

Auge der Nacht, der Mond. II 86.

Augen, Dunkelheit bezeichnend. I 27, 99, 126, 127, 202, 249 — s. nächtliches Haar. — s. langgestielte —. — s. vier halbe —. — 30 bezw. 36 halbe —. II 284 — dazwischen Knochen. II 284.

Augen, an den Ohren *Xochipilli*'s s. Ohren — herausgerissene, ein Paar, Determinativ beim Todesgott, Ballspieler des Südens. II 117 — auf der Flughaut des *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60 — am Schwanzende der das Kaninchen im Rachen haltenden Schlange, der Himmelsschlange. II 64, 65, 68 — verbundene, s. *Tezcatlipoca Ixquimilli* — s. schwarze, rothe Göttin der Sünde — bei den Richtern, in den dreizehn Tagen des zwölften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 250.

Augenbemalung, weiss, ringförmig, beim Tanzgott (*Uenecoyotl*). II 188, 189.

Augenbinde, s. *ixquimilli*.

Augenbraue, ist rund beim Totenauge. II 52.

Augenbrauen, langgestielte Augen ihnen aufgesetzt bei den vier Federschlangen. II 299.

Augenfiguren, weisse, auf schwarzem Grunde — s. *tenixyo*.

Augenflecken der Wachtelfedern. II 290 — s. schwarze Federn mit weissem Endfleck.

Augenkrankheiten, s. äusserliche Krankheiten.

Augenring, aus *tiçatl*, beim Tänzer. II 224, 282 — blau, bei *Tlaloc*. I 109, 237; II 36, 234.

Augenschlitz *Xipe*'s. I 167, 178, 230, 270; II 18, 30, 256 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 230; II 18, 30.

Augenstreifen, *cicitlallô*, beim Puma, dem Thiere des Südens, neben dem linken Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 54.

Augenwinkel, um ihn herum ein oder zwei rothe Linien gezogen bei *Xochipilli*-Figuren. I 78, 101, 135, 222, 246, 353; II 175 — besonderes Abzeichen des Sonnengottes. I 135, 222, (*Piltzintecutli*'s) 246; II 47, 109, 175, 228, 242 — bei *Youaltecutli*, dem Sonnengotte im Osten der Unterwelt. II 47 — bei der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — s. Halbring, rother.

Augenwinkellinie, s. Gott mit der —.

Augenwülste, vorspringend bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 231, 233.

augurische Bedeutung der Jahre. I 345, 351 — der Bilddarstellungen der Codices. II 169.

auianimê, Freudenmädchen. I 22 — ihre Patronin *Xochiquetzal*. I 209, 288; II 79, 185, 203—204 — Insassinnen des Tanzhauses (*cuicacalli*). I 22 — s. *telpochcalli*. — s. *maqui*.

Auiateotl, Gott der Lust = *Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl*. I 39, 68, 97, 124, 271; II 41, 51, 52, 55 — natürlicher Genosse der *Ciuateotl*. II 51 — = *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 124 — der Pulquegott. I 45 — s. Zeugungsgötter, Götter der Musik, des Tanzes. (I 106.) — wesensgleich mit *Nanauatzin*. II 41, 52—55, 97, 98, 302 — gleich *Xolotl*. II 268, 272 — hält mit der Linken einen grossen Pulquekrug (verziert mit *Tlaçolteotl*-Gesicht). II 70, 71 — (= *Macuilxochitl*), bei der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 183 — steht für den sündigen *Nanauatzin*. II 183 — Sterngott, Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des vierten Paares der vier Lichtgötter. II 307, 308, 309 — s. *malinalli*-Skelett. — erscheint als Affe (s. *Xochipilli*). II 309 — s. rother —.

Auiateotl-**Bemalung,** s. *motemmacpalhuiticac* — gelber Querstreifen im Gesicht. II 183.

Auiateotl **des Ostens,** seine Farbe, die schwarze. II 98 — ist *Macuil cuetzpalin* (s. diesen). II 98.

Auiateteô, die fünf Götter der Lust, Gegenstück der fünf *Ciuateteô* (*Ixcuinanmê*). I 199, 272, 274, 299; II 93—103 — sind Tanzgötter. II 93, 100 — s. *Macuilxochitl-Auiateotl*. — s. fünf *Uitznaua*. — sind *Macuilxochitl* nah verwandt. I 272, 93 ff. — haben das viereckige gelbe Feld ums Auge. I 272; II 97 — die weisse Handmundbemalung. I 272; II 95, 97 s. *motemmacpalhuiticac* — ihre Daten sind *macuilli cuetzpalin, cozcaquauhtli, tochtli, xochitl, malinalli*. II 76, 97 — ihre Tage sind die fünften des vierten Tonalamatl- Viertels in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl; sie sind daher Vertreter des Südens (*Uitznaua*). I 272 — ihr Vogel ist der *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. I 304 — schwarz, gelb, blau, roth, grün. II 98 — davon abweichende Fa benfolge im Cod. Vatic. (schwarz und weiss und *tlauauantli*, roth, gelb, schwarz, blau). II 100 — als *Tezcatlipoca*-Gestalten, bes. im Cod. Vatic. aufgefasst. II 98, 100, 110 — sind Mondwesen. II 100, 102 — zusammen mit den *Ciuateteô* paarweise den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend als *Tzitzimimê* dargestellt. II 117—118 — ihr Abeichen das *tlapapalli* (s dort). II 303 — sind die Sterne. II 308.

Auiateteô ***(Nanauatzitzintin)***, neben den *teoicpalli* des Ostens, Nordens. Westens, Südens. I 122, 123 — ihre Daten sind *macuilli olin, cecatl, maçatl, malinalli*. II 123.

Auiatl = *Macuilxochitl*. I 274 — s. *Auiateotl*.

Aviliçapan = Orizaba. I 161 — Haupttribut von dort: Baumwollballen. I 164 — s. *Cotastla*.

Auitzotl, mexikanischer König; während seiner Regierungszeit eine grosse Sonnenfinsterniss. I 186; II 127 Anm. 4 — unter ihm bewaffnete Kaufmanns-Expeditionen nach den Küstenländern der Tzapoteken *(Anauaca)* und von *Ayotlan*. Die *quetzalpatzactli*-Schmucke nach México *(Tlatelolco)* importirt. II 256.

Ausblühungen, Weiss- und rothpunktirt, an den Maiskolben des Südens. I 346.

Ausbohren des Auges, Aktion der ersten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 239 — symbolische Bezeichnung des Selbstopfers. II 91 — s. Opfer. I 67, 71, 201 239; II 116, 301 — s. *chalchiuhatl* — s. *neçoliztli*.

Ausgebohrtes Auge, bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 245; II 21, 131 — bezeichnet diesen als Büsser. I 245 — Zeichen der Kasteiung. II 131 — eines der Zeichen des Opfers, beim Nord-Ballspieler. II 116 — s. Auge, ausgelaufenes — s. Kopf mit —.

ausgebreitet, Arme und Beine des mit den 20 Tageszeichen verbundenen Hirsches. II 135.

ausgehöhlter Leib der geköpften Mondgöttin = Mondsichel. II 11.

ausgerissenes Auge, Sinnbild der Vernichtung des Lebens in der Rechten des Todesgottes (im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer). I 229 — Ohrpflock beim Pulquegott als Todesgott. I 250 — Element in Mayahieroglyphen. I 313 — Begleithieroglyphe des Maya-Todesgottes. I 317.

Ausgerissenes Herz, Sinnbild der Vernichtung, in der Linken des Todesgottes. I 229.

ausgestreckte Zunge des Affen. I 11, 12 — der Todesgottheit. I 128.

Ausgraben der Gebeine des Vaters *Quetzalcouatl*'s durch *Quetzalcouatl*. II 34.

Ausgrabungen am Orte des Haupttempels in *México*. I 182; II 39, 132 — s. Calle de las Escalerillas — s. Feuerheerd — s. Karyatiden.

Aushauchen von Zauberkraft des Fingers oder Haars der *mociuaquetzqui*. II 89, 90.

Aussaat, ihr Fest, s *tlacaxipeualiztli* (I 160) — Gott dieses Festes, s. *Xipe-Totec*. (I 304).

Aussatz. I 211.

äusserliche Krankheiten, Krankheiten der Haut, von *Xipe* verhängt. Durch Tragen der Menschenhaut geheilt. I 170 — Strafe für unterlassene Reinigung am Fest der *Xochiquetzal*. I 211.

Ausstrahlungen, s. Türkischeiben.

Ausstreuen des Maises durch das Abbild der *Teteo innan* am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest. I 154 — von Maiskörnern zu Weissagungszwecken (auf der Oberfläche von Wasser). II 174 — von Maiskörnern aus einer Schale durch *Xochiquetzal*. II 175, 176 — s. Looswerfen.

Auswüchse, s. knotige Auswüchse. — s. knorriger Auswuchs.

axalli, s. *iztac axalli*.

Axayacatl, seinem Andenken gewidmet der *chimalli*-Stein bei Cuernavaca. II 257.

axixpan cuitlapan nemini, „in Schmutz und Unrat lebend", harnlassender und Exkremente fressender Vogel. I 102, 123, 145 — *Itzpapalotl*. I 282.

axixtli, Harn. I 128 — harnlassende *Itzpapolotl*. I 182.

axochiauipilli, rothes Gewand der *Chantico*. II 276.

axolotl, Larve von Amblystoma mexicanum. I 193, 195.

ayacachpixolo, „es wird mit der Rassel gesät", Zärimonie des *Xipe*-Festes. I 169.

ayacachtli, Kürbisrassel. I 189; II 189 — in der Hand *Uuecoyotl*'s. I 98; II 169, 244 — der Feuergöttin = Erdbebengöttin. I 45, 46 — im Tempel *Xipe*'s (*Yopico*) geschwungen I 169 — s. *ayacachpixolo*.

Ayamictlan, Name des Feuergottes. I 119.

ayatl, leichtes, netzartiges Gewebe. II 33 — Kriegermantelstoff, Leib der Erdgöttin, durch dessen Spalt der Morgenstern emporsteigt (am Osthimmel). II 70 — wölbt sich über *Quetzalcouatl* als Sterngott, besetzt mit neun verschiedenfarbigen Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensterns. II 72 — ein schwarzer und ein blauer, mit Daunenfederbällen, neben dem Skelettkopf der Erde auf der *Quetzal-*

couatl-Seite des Götterpaares. II 167 — der Gottheit der sechsten Tagstunde. II 296

ayauhmictlan, „Land der Nebeltoten“ (s. *aiamictlan*). I 119.

ayoquan, schwarzgelber Trupial, einer der *tlaçototome*. II 3.

ayotapalcatl Schildkrötenschale, Kreuzspiegel der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279 — Schild bei *Quetzalcouatl*.

ayotl, Schildkröte, Fussgestell der *Mayauel*. I 41, 113 — trägt ein Gefäss bei *Xochiquetzal*. I 41 — für das Tageszeichen *quiauitl* (Regen) eintretend. I 5, 202, 306, 313 — s. *cauac* — vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der ersten Periode (bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*) getroffen. II 149 — vier Schildkröten der Mandan, jede von ihnen vier Tage regnend. I 202 — repräsentirt das Gewitter (Donner). I 306 — grün und *olpiyauac*, musizirend, beim eilften Tageszeichen *oçomatli* als Gott der Musik dargestellt. I 306 — Musikinstrument. I 306; II 189.

Ayotlan, das paeifisehe Küstenland. II 256 — von dort kamen die *quetzalpatzactli*-Schmueke. II 256.

ayutl, „la tortuga“, für das neunzehnte Tageszeichen *quiauitl* eintretend in der Tagesliste von Guatemala. I 5 — s. *ayotl*.

ayyaquetl (*ihiyaquetl*), „der Krieger“, das Kaninehen (*tochtli*), im Lied an *Macuilxochitl* genannt. II 118.

aztamecatl, Reiherfederseil, Opferseil, bei *Xipe* angegeben. I 41, 167 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 257, 258 — bei der *Chantico* (unter dem Stuhl). II 277 — bei *Xochipilli*. I 34, 102 — beim Feuerquirler, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 43 — sonst unter den Begleitbildern. I 64 — bei einem *coyotl*-artigen Thiere. I 143 — damit der Hals des Sonnengottes, als Gott des Opfertodes, umsehlungen. I 306 — Halskragen der Steinmessergottfigur des Südens der Unterwelt. II 9 — zwisehen den Sehädeln des *tzompantli* des *Tlauizcalpantecutli* anfragend. II 71 — im Maule des *tlapalcouatl*. I 286 — im Schnabel des Sperbers. I 276 — von der weissen *Ciuateotl* (Ost-*tzitzimitl*) herabgebraeht. II 117 — Zwei, unter der Estrade *Tonatiuh*'s. II 289 — mit *atl-tlachinolli* verschlungen, auf der Unterseite des Steinkopfes der *Coyolxauhqui*. II 277.

aztapatzactli, kammförmiger Sehmuek aus Reiherfedern, bei *Xochipilli*. I 78, 101, 130, 222, 246, 248, 267; II 36, 113 — bei *Tonacatecutli*. I 78; II 212 — bei *Teeciztecatl*. I 105 — bei *Piltzintecutli*. I 222.

aztatl, „Reiher“, Thier des Regengottes. I 281.

aztatopilli, Reiherfederstab *Iztac Mixcouatl*'s. I 308; II 164, 165, 205, 206.

aztatzontli, Reiherfederkrone *Tlaloc*'s. I 236, 249, 345, 349 — der Pulquegötter. I 236; II 245 — sehäumende Oberfläche andeutend. I 236.

aztaxelli, gablig sieh theilender Schmuek aus Reiherfedern von den Kriegern getragen, bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20, 145, 167, 220, 269, 270, 281; II 32, 111, 235 — *Mixcouatl*. I 179, 181, 202, 258, 259, 265; II 149 — bei dem als *Mixcouatl* gekleideten Jaguar (*ocelotl*). II 149 — beim *Xipe*. I 179 — bei *Itzpapalotl*. I 179, 181, 182, 202, 250; II 262 — beim *Chalchiuhtotolin*. I 202 — bei der *Teteo innan*. II 18 — bei den fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — beim *Auiateotl* des Südens im Cod. Vat. II 100 — bei den *Ueueteteô*. II 19 — bei *Mictlantecutli* als dem Sonnengotte der Unterwelt. I 297 — beim *tonatiuh iixco yauh*. I 274 — bei den Kriegern. I 285; II 185 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem Himmelsträger des Westens. II 129 — auf dem Scheitel des Feuerreibers des Nordens. II 119 — auf der weissen Perrüeke des Feuergottes, auf dem *teoicpalli* des Westens II 122 — beim *tlacacozcaquauhtli* der dritten Tagstunde. II 185 — beim Adler-Krieger der fünften Tagstunde. II 296 — auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl*'s, der *Mayauel* gegenüber. II 235 — von Kindern des *Tepeilhuitl*-Festes getragen. I 209.

***aztaxelli*-Blüthen,** am Baum des Nord-*tzompantli*. II 115.

Azteken, ihre Wandersage. I 264.

Bacab (Maya) „Gott Sohn“, Sohn der Jungfrau *Chibirias* (= *Ixchebel yax*). I 322 — Wird von *Eopuco* (*Ah pucah*) getötet, steigt aber wieder gen Himmel. I 322.

Backe, linke, mit dem Tageszeichen *tecpatl* verbunden bei *xochipilli*. II 136 — rechte, mit dem Zeichen *quiauitl*. II 136 — Bemalung mit zwei Streifen bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 100; III 2. — s. *izquixochitl* — s *tlaxapochtli* — s. rother Fleek, rothe Scheibe.

Backenfleck, bei *Tlaloc*. I 111; II 268 — *mixchiauiticac*, auf dem *Xolotl*-Gesiehte des Mumienbündels mit der Sonnenscheibe. I 198; II 268

Bad, Zug in Prozession dahin um Mitternacht. II 193.

Baden, allgemeine Reinigung des Volkes am Feste der *Xochiquetzal*. I 211.

Bahre von Maisstengeln, auf ihr der *Xochipilli* des *Ueitecuilhuitl*-Festes. I 290.

balam (Maya), Jaguar, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der zweiten Periode. I 336; II 154 — in Mayahieroglyphen enthält das Element *chac* „roth“. I 311 — Abbild des Sonnengottes *kinchahau*, Regenten der *cenab*-Jahre. II 154.

balam (*Quiche*), s. *cotz balam* — s. *tucum balam* — s. *Xbalanque*.

Ball, s. *oltelolotli* — s. *olli*. — s. *çacatapayolli*.

Bälle des Ost- und Westballspielers, sind blau und grün. II 116.

Ballspiel, Ballspielplatz, s. *tlachtli* — s. *Chaculá* — s. *Xolotl* — Über ganz Mittelamerika und auf den grossen Antillen verbreitetes Spiel. I 193.

Ballspieler, s. *ollamani* — s. *quezeuatl* — s. *olli* — s. *tlachtli* — s. hinten (nach — gewendeter Kopf) — s. *Xolotl* — s. *Tezcatlipoca* — s. *Tlaloc* — s. zwei Ballspieler — s. vier Thiere, Ball spielend.

Ballspielringe, s. *tlachtemalacatl*.

Bambusrohr, daraus geflochtener Schild (*Chimalli*). II 151.

Bambusstab, mit drei Wurzelenden nach oben, die Spitze nach unten gekehrt, in der Hand des tanzenden Priesters des *Tititl*-Festes. I 192.

Bänder, Knöchel und Handgelenkbänder, mit Augen besetzt, beim Pulquegotte als Todesgotte. I 250.

Bandviereck, bei der *Xochiquetzal* des neunzehnten Tonalamatl-Absehnittes. II 283—286.

Bannen des Unheils, des Fluchs, der Sünde (Unreinigkeit), symboliseh ausgedrüekt dureh Niederlegen der Schenkelhautmaske *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste auf feindlichem Gebiete. I 160.

Banner, s. blauesBanner etc. — s. Blumenbanner (Blüthenbanner) — s. Federbanner.

Bär, grosser, Sternbild = *Tezcatlipoca*. I 149.

Bart, bei *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Windgotte. I 57, 87; II 44, 119, 131, 166 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 231; II 119 — bei *Teeciztecatl*. I 104, 246, 247 — bei *Tonacatecutli*. I 78; II 44, 187 — beim alten Gotte mit der *cipactli*-Helmmaske. I 243 — bei *Tlaloc*. I 112, 236, 294 — langer, flammenartiger, bei *Tonacatecutli*. I 78 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 90, — beim Sonnengotte. I 203 — langer, beim Gotte des Ostens. I 332 — bei einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47 — bei dem Feuerreiber des Ostens. II 119 — sehwarzer und langer, bei dem Feuerreiber des Nordens. II 119 — aus weissen Reiherfedern bei *Tonacatecutli*. I 77; II 205 — bei *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308; II 164 — federartig, bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 302 — grosser gelber Kinnbart des Regengottes des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*). I 352 — aus schwarzen Adlerfedern, bei *Tonacatecutli*, dem männlichen Theile des ersten der sechs Götterpaare (Osten). II 170, 171.

bärtig, *Auiateotl* des Westens im Cod. Vatic. II 100.

bärtiger Gott, mit dem Kopfputze des Regengottes, *Tepe-*

yollotli (?). II 46 — alter blauer Gott mit einem Schneckengehäuse an der Stirn = *Tecciztecatl.* II 189.

Bastbinde, weisse, umgiebt das Haar der *Teteoinnan.* II 18.

Bau des grossen Tempels in *México.* II 127.

Bauch, Herrschaft darüber hat das Tageszeichen *eecatl.* I 280.

Bauch der Erde, Hervorkommen daraus = Sonnenaufgang. I 92 — s. Rothkäppchen-Märchen — s. Loch der Erde.

Bauchfalten, der *Cinateteô* II 91 — der *Tlaçolteotl* II 301.

Bauchstreifen, s. schwarz und gelb, roth und gelb, blau und gelb.

Baum, des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 103, 108 — s. Ostbaum, Nordbaum, Westbaum, Südbaum.

Baum, blühender *(quauitl)* aus dem Schnabel von Windgottköpfen hervorkommend. II 3 — bei dem östlichen Regengotte des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — braun und schwarz, mit Spiegeln verziert und mit sechs Kriegerfahnen besteckt, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 71 — gebrochener, beim *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* angegeben. I 293 — bezeichnet den Wald, den der Kaufmann durchwandert. I 294 — halb grün, halb gelb, beim *tzompantli* des Westens. II 116 — jadeït- und türkisfarben, auf dem Dache des Osttempels (Cod. Bologna). II 108, 109 — mit *chalchiuitl*-Blüthen, wächst aus dem Herzen der Strahlenscheibe der *Xochiquetzal* im Süden der Unterwelt. Auf ihm kniet *Quetzalcouatl* als Kolibri *(uitzitzilin)* II 66 — mit *chalchiuitl*-Blüthen, hinter der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Chalchiuhtlicue,* in der ersten Periode (Cod. Bologna). II 149 — mit kugligen Früchten, bei dem südlichen Regengotte des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — mit weissen Blüthen, bei dem westlichen Regengotte des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — von *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* dem Vertreter des Westlandes, als Holzhauer mit der Axt bearbeitet. I 296 — zweitheiliger, braun und schwarz gemalt, mit Opferfähnchen besteckt, mit einem *tzompantli* verbunden. I 286.

Baum der Mitte, mit gelber Erdgöttin. II 105, 107 — mit einem *quetzaltototl* auf dem Wipfel. II 107.

Baum des Ostens?, für *Quetzalcouatl,* den Regenten des ersten Tonalamatl-Viertels eintretend. I 19.

Bäume, vier, bezw. fünf, Himmelsrichtungen bezeichnend. II 103, 107 — als Pfähle, die vier Pfosten des Hauses aufgefasst. II 103 — auf ihnen der Regengott *Chac* sitzend (in der Dresdener Handschrift.) II 103.

Baumstamm, über dem zerfetztem Ohre eines toten *Xolotl* im Wassergefäss emporwachsend, monströses Wachsthum andeutend. II 42, 43.

Baumwollballen, Haupttribut der Landschaften Orizaba und Cotastla. I 164.

Baumwolle, zuerst von der *Xochiquetzal* gesponnen. I 211 — aus der südlichen pacifischen Tierra caliente vom Kaufmann (s. *anauac calaquini)* heimgebracht. I 293.

Baumwollkopfbinde, der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 45, 163 — s. *ichcaxochitl.* — s. Häkchen.

Baumwollkultur und -Industrie, totonakisches und huaxtekisches Gebiet an der atlantischen Küste. I 164.

Baumwollland, seine Göttin *Tlaçolteotl.* I 164 — die atlantischen Abhänge und das vorgelagerte Küstenland, besonders das totonakische und huaxtekische Gebiet. I 164.

Baumwurzeln, durch nach unten geöffneten Schlangenrachen dargestellt. II 17.

Bauwerke. I 288.

becherartiges, weisses Gefäss, bei *Mixcouatl.* I 338.

been (Maya), Tageszeichen = mex. *acatl* (Rohr), erstes der vier Anfangszeichen der Jahre. I 342 – Jahre des Ostens, ihr Regent *Ah bolon tz'acab.* I 318; II 154.

been-i'k, (Maya) häufig vorkommende Hieroglyphengruppe. I 317 — s. *been-k'a'k.*

been-k'a'k (Maya), Hieroglyphengruppe, in der Hieroglyphe des Sonnengottes. I 317 — hat Bezug auf Krieg und Krieger. I 317.

Befruchtung der Erde, mit Blut. I 172, 175 — s. Begatten.

Begatten der Erde, *(tlatlech aci)* mit Opfern. I 172, 173 — = mit Pfeilen erschiessen. I 173.

Beginn der Regenzeit, im Anfang Mai. II 229 — grosses Fasten des Regengottes mit sehr strengen Zärimonien. II 229, 230 — Herabkommen des Edelsteinwassers. II 45 — Wiedererwachen des toten Kolibris zu neuem Leben. II 67, 106, 131 (Anm.).

Begleitende Bilder, des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl's. I 18–75 — Die einzelnen Bilder beziehen sich auf die Anfangszeichen der Tageszeichensäulen. I 75.

Begleitende Bilder der fünf Himmelsrichtungen, bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 78ff., 85, 86 — stimmen unverkennbar mit den Begleitbildern des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl's überein. II 85, 86.

Begleithieroglyphen der Mayahandschriften. I 313ff. — des *Moan,* ein Käuzchen. I 313 – des Todesgottes, das ausgerissene Auge. I 317.

Begraben, s. *tetlalaquiliztli.*

Begriffe, ihre Mehrdeutigkeit, Haupt-Mysterium. II 191.

Begrüssung, demüthige, s. *tlalqualiztli.* — dabei eingenommene Haltung. II 228, 242 — von zwei schwarzen Figuren durch *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl.* II 41.

Behang, in vier Felder getheilter. II 42.

Beichte, der Ehebrecher bei den Priestern der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 153, 161, 162, 229, 230, 231; II 11 — der Sünder bei Begegnung mit einem Jaguar. I 95 — in Yucatan. I 162

Beil, aus Kupfer, s. *tepoztli* — aus Stein, s. *itztopolli* — mit nach oben gekehrter Schneide, auf dem Königsstuhl = richterliche Gewalt, Strafe. I 40, 145 — in Form einer Feuerschlange, in der Hand der die vier Jahre bezeichnenden Regengötter. I 345.

beilförmiger Ohrpflock. I 72, 77 (bei *Tonacatecutli).* — beim Hund *(Xolotl).* I 191.

Bein, s. rechtes, linkes Bein — durch die Symplegaden abgerissenes, bei *Tezcatlipoca.* I 146; II 12 — weiss und roth gestreift *(tlauauantli),* mit schwarzer Kriegermaske, Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 80 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 71; II 80 — symbolische Bezeichnung der Vorfahren (s. *aoztotl).* II 80.

Beinhaus, *(mictlan),* der Tempel des Südens (über dem Südbaum). II 114 — Tempel des kopulierenden Südpaares II 120.

Beinhaut geschrumpfte, Zeichen des Alters bei *Iztac Mixcouatl.* I 308.

beissen, s. *ch'i* — s. Hund — s fressendes Feuer *(chantico).*

Bemalung des Feuergottes, bei der Priesterfigur des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 18 — bei einzelnen der *Ueueteteô* ebenda. II 19 — bei einem Menschengesicht einer im Boden wurzelnden Schlange. II 27 — bei Feuerwesen. II 28.

Berendt, Hermann, I 313; II 97.

Berg, *tepetl.* I 14; II 152 — im Cod. Bologna an der Spitze umgebogen und mit weissen Schuppen (Schnee!) erfüllt gezeichnet. II 152 — in eine Art Schlangenkopf transformiert, darauf Feueropfer, bei *Xiuhtecutli* dargestellt. I 219, 224 — mit gekrümmter Spitze, s. *Colhuacan.* — mit Rauchwolken = *Popocatepetl* „Vulcan" beim Regengotte angegeben. II 234 — mit Kreuzweg, bei der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 306 — mit Blume, s. *Xochitepetl.* – s. Sandberg, *iztac axalli.*

Berg der Feuerschlange, bezeichnet die Himmelsrichtung des Nordens. II 40, 73, 102.

Berg der Lebensmittel, s. *Tonacatepetl.*

Berg, gespaltener, offener Erdraehen, Eingang zur Unterwelt

(Norden). II 102, 155 — s. *Tepexic*. — Wohnstätte der alten Götter *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacacinatl*. II 102.

Berge, ihre Spitzen und Kämme sammeln die Nebel und Wolken, triefen von Feuchtigkeit. I 108 — (s. *Tlaloc*).

Berggott, s. *Tepeyollotli* — s. *Tlaloc (Tlalocan)*.

Berggötter, Fest der, s. *Tepeilhuitl* — angedeutet durch eine Schlange auf einem Berge. I 208.

Berghöhle, s. *oztotl* — bevorzugter Kultusplatz, den Göttern des Wassers, der Fruchtbarkeit, der Erde heilig I 37.

Bergregion, mittlerer Höhe = *Tlaloean* (s. dort).

Beschläge, s. Metallbeschläge.

Besen, s. *malinalli* — s *çacatl izquiztli, popotl* — blutige, in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl* und ihres Gefolges am Feste *Ochpaniztli*. I 154, 156, 159 — kämpfen mit, s. *çacàcali*

Besenfest, s. *ochpaniztli*.

Besessene, von den *Ciuateteô* ergriffen. II 90.

bestrafter Priester. II 229 - 232

Beulen der Hofleute, Syphilis *tecpilnanauatl*. II 97.

Beureria huanita, *izquixochitl*-Blumen des Kranzes der *Xochiquetzal*. II 182

Beutelratte, *tlaquatzin*; Fellstreifen davon, Handgelenkbänder der *Quaxolotl* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 186.

Bewegung, rollende, s. *olin* — von oben nach unten. I 73 (s. Weltgegend, Mitte) — über eine Fläche hin, als Durchlaufen der vier Himmelsrichtungen gedacht. II 12 — mit der Sonne, im sakralen Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen durch den Norden bezeichnet. II 13 — der Sonne entgegen, durch den Süden bezeichnet. II 13, 58, 84, 94 — der Sonne entgegen, durch *Nanauatzin* repräsentirt. II 94, 95 — entgegengesetzt der des Uhrzeigers s. Drehungssinn. — des Fixsternhimmels, führt die Sonne wieder am Firmamente empor. II 308.

Biblioteca del Palacio, in Madrid. — s. Sahagun-Manuskripte.

Biblioteca Laurenziana, in Florenz. — s. Sahagun-Manuskripte.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. II 102, 148, 247, 292 — s. Aubin-Goupil'sche Handschriftensammlung. — s. Mss. Mex. No. 20 — s. Thévet, Histoyre du Méxique (Ms.)

Bienenzüchter, Gott der —, bei den Maya, *Hobnil*. I 321.

Bilderhandschriften (mexikanische), Alexander von Humboldt's, in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. I 343.

Bilderschriften, mexikanische, im engeren Sinne. I 76.

Binde, blau (aus Türkismosaik), an der Stirnseite mit zwei Zinken, Emblem des Feuergottes. II 122 — unten gefranzt, aus weissem Rindenpapier; bei *Tlaloc*. I 111, 232 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 111, 232, 250 — Tracht der Zapoteken. I 235 — aus Rindenpapier *(amatl)*, im Haare der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 98.

Binden, schwarze, an den Extremitäten *Xolotl*'s. II 42 — schwarz und weisse, quer über den Leib der Todesgöttin. II 7.

Blasen der Muschelhörner = Ruf zur Kasteiung. I 204; II 193 — angedeutet bei *Tepeyollotli* (als Echo der Berge). I 93, 232, 233 — s. *teceiztli*.

Blasrohr. II 89 — damit *Vukub Cakix* von *Hunahpu* geschossen. I 42.

blasses Licht des Mondes, in Beziehung zum Wasser. s. Mond, seine Hieroglyphe — Ideenassoziation zwischen Wasser, *Cuetzpalin, tochtli* und Mond. II 64.

Blatt der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung, mit Darstellung der fünf *Ciuateteô* und der fünf *Uitznaua*. II 22, 40.

blau, agaveblattfarben. II 27 — Farbe des Türkises (*xiuitl*) II 8, 105, 133, 205, 301.

blau, verknüpft in der Vorstellung *xiuhcouatl* und *xiuhatlatl*. II 301.

blau, Farbe des Mondgottes. I 104, 246 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 130. 248 — des *tlamacazqui*. II 182ff. — des *Quetzalcouatl* der Höhe. II 167 — Farbe *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli*'s I 270 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 270 — *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 270 — Farbe des Regengottes des Westens und der *ealli*-Jahre. I 345 — der Nägel, Hufe, Horntheile, Geweihe und der Längsstreifen bei *Uitzilopochtli*. II 130, 131 — Farbe des dunklen, nächtigen Himmels. I 7 — blauer Ring *Tlaloc*'s. I 16 — blauer Lippenstreifen *Tlaloc*'s. I 110 — bezeichnet „blasse Farbe", den wenig leuchtenden, dunklen Mondgott. I 104 — Farbe des Himmels und der Luft (s. blauer *Quetzalcouatl*). II 167 — Farbe des Wassers. II 43 — Farbe des Nordens, der Region des Dunkels. II 79 — der Nord-*tzitzimimê*. II 117 — s. stufenförmige Nasenplatte — Trachtstücke der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 227; II 149 — Enagua *(cuéitl)* der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217 — Unterarme und Unterschenkel der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 352; II 149 — Extremitäten der in Kopulation befindlichen *Tonacacinatl (Chalchiuhtlicue)*. II 45 — Arme und Beine der Todesgöttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 8 — Arme und Beine des gelben Feuergottes im Westtempel der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — Innenraum der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 19.

blaue Cella, des Tempels der Nacht, darin *Youalteeutli* II 28.

blaue *Ciuateotl*. II 46, 49, 91, 117 — Zweite der fünf *ciuateteô*, dem Norden entsprechend II 91.

blaue Daunenfederbälle, s. blaue Perrücke.

blaue Decke, unter ihr *Tonacacinatl* des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 27.

blaue Erdgöttin, beim Nordbaum. II 104 — mit spitz nach unten und hinten ausgezogenem rothem Felde am Auge. II 104.

blaue Feuerschlange, eine der vier Feuerschlangen der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74.

blaue Mondgöttin, *Naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser", zweite der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, den Norden bezeichnend. II 79—81.

blaue Mundbemalung, des Feuergottes des Nordens der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — der Erdgöttin der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74.

blaue Nasenplatte, s, stufenförmige Nasenplatte. — gezackte, beim Maisgotte des Tempels des Westens (Codex Bologna). II 114.

blaue Nasen- und Mundpartie, des *Auiateotl* der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 183.

blaue Netzstoffumwicklung, *xiuhtlalpilli*. II 119 — des Bündels im Korbe des Feuerreibers des Ostens. II 119.

blaue Perrücke, mit rother Lederbinde und zwei Daunenfederbällen, Insignien der Wassergottheit auf dem *teoicpalli* des Nordens. II 122.

blaue Platte, in Gold gefasst und an einem Lederriemen befestigt, in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s (als Feuergott). I 302.

blaue Schale, s. *xiuhapaztli*.

blaue Scheibe, *anauatl*, Erdrund. II 107.

blaue Schlange, s. *xiuhcouatl*. — um Ober- und Unterlippe *Tlaloc*'s gelegt II 36, 234 — s. Lippenschlange — nach unten züngelnd, in der Hand *Tlaloc-Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 234 — mit schwarzem und gelbem Bauchstreifen und mit Schneckengehäusen besetzt; eine der vier Schlangen des rothen Wassergefässes. II 43.

blaue Schlange, mit trapezförmigen Absätzen des Leibes, am Tempel des Nordens der Mitte der Unterwelt; ist eine Feuerschlange. II 73.

blaue Volute, Nasenschmuck des Feuergottes im Codex Borbonicus etc., aus einem *coxcoxtli*-Kopf verkümmert. I 121; II 235, 238.

blaue Wasserscheibe. I 175.

blauer *Auiateotl*, zweiter der fünf *auiateteô*, den Norden bezeichnend, Gott der Strafe. II 98 — Nord-*tzitzimitl*. II 117 — als solcher erscheint der Mondgott, der männliche Theil des kopulierenden Nordpaares. II 120 — in Unterwürfigkeitshaltung (mit *tlapalcouatl*-Schwanzende als Zopfband). II 303, 305.

blauer Feuergott, im Tempel der Feuerschlange, im Norden der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73.
blauer Gott = *Xiuhtecutli.* I 122; II 73 — *Xiuhtecutli,* mit der Gesichtsbemalung *Quetzalcouatl's,* in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — eine der vier Ergänzungen *Xochipilli's.* II 41 — mit einer Schlangenrachen-Helmmaske, in der Dresdener Mayahandschrift. I 341 — Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46.
blauer Grossvater, *tévali yoa'wi* (Huichol), Stern im Norden. II 127.
blauer Kolibri, *xiuhuitzitzilin.* II 295.
blauer Kotinga, s. Türkisvogel, *xiuhtototl.*
blauer Kriegerseelengott. II 72.
blauer Mondgott, erster der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158. — bezeichnet mit *Xochiquetzal* die fünfte Nachtstunde. II 189.
blauer *Nanauatzin, Auiateotl* des Nordens, sein Datum *macuilli eecatl* „fünf Wind". II 123.
blauer Netzmantel *(ayatl).* II 167.
blauer *Quetzalcouatl,* erster der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158.
blauer *Quetzalcouatl,* Rücken an Rücken mit *Mictlantecutli.* II 167.
blauer Quetzalvogel, enthauptet, am Fusse des Baumes des Ost-*tzompantli's.* II 115.
blauer Raubvogel, auf dem Maisbaume des Westens. II 106 — eigentlich ein Kolibri. II 106.
blauer Ring, mit vier Speichen und einem Loche in der Mitte, unten am Holzgerüste des *Xipe*-Festes, bezeichnet die Erde. I 175.
blauer Ring, umgiebt das Auge *Tlaloc's.* I 109, 237; II 36, 234.
blauer Schild. II 284.
blauer Stab, in der Hand *Tecciztecatl's.* 228.
blauer Strahl, Ohrgehänge des aus einem Hirsche hervorsehenden *Xochipilli.* II 135 — des Feuergottes. II 288.
blauer *tlamacazqui,* in unterwürfiger Haltung (Arme verschränkt), bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 182.
blauer *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Regent der zweiten Venusperiode, mit Eulenkopf *(tecolotl);* bezeichnet den Süden II 139, 140, 143, 149.
blauer Vogel, = *xiuhtototl,* Symbol des Gottes *Xiuhtecutli.* I 122.
blauer Weg, führt von der Plattform des schwarzen Tempels abwärts und endet über einem einfachen Tempelunterbau. II 37.
blauer Weg, beim ersten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 157 — bei der achten Tagstunde. II 197.
blauer *Xochipilli,* führt Mais aus einem *quauhxicalli* zum Munde. II 57.
blauer *Xochipilli (?),* beim Baume des Westens. II 104.
blauer *Xolotl-Nanauatzin,* kommt aus dem linken Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54.
blaues Bündel, mit Blume und Edelsteinriemen, bei der zwölften Tagstunde. II 205.
blaues *copalxiquipilli,* beim Regengotte *Tlaloc.* II 234.
blaues *chicauaztli,* beim *Xipe Totec,* der Erdgottheit des Westens. II 133 — beim blauen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 167.
blaues Feld, beim ersten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 157.
blaues Hündchen, s. *Xolococzcatl.*
blaues Mosaik, am Unterbaue des Tempels der Nacht. II 28. — einer Terrasse, auf der *Xolotl* steht. II 37.
blaues *Tezcatlipoca*-**Gesicht,** hervorkommend aus dem Rachen der rechten *uitznauac*-Schlange der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt. II 10.
blaugefiederter Vogel, s. Taube (?).
blauschwarz, Federn des Lachfalken *(uactli).* II 253.
blau granulirt, unterer Saum des Gewandes der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 306.
blau mit gelben Flecken, Gesicht der *Mayauel.* II 235.
blau mit gelben Kreisflecken, Farbe *Quetzalcouatl's* des büssenden Priesters. I 302.
blau mit gelben Längslinien, Bemalung *Xochipilli's.* I 248.
blau mit weissen, schwarz punktirten Scheiben, Bemalung der Arme und Beine *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui's* im Cod. Fejérváry. I 111, 112.
blau, roth, gelb, Farbenfolge des *Xiuhtototl's* (s. auch Feuergott). I 27, 121, 266.
blau und *cicitlallô,* Bemalung der Wachtel (*çolin*). II 290.
blau und gelb, Farben *Uitzilopochtli's.* II 131 — Gesichts- und Körperbemalung der *Mayauel.* II 234, 235, 281 — bei der *Xochiquetzal.* II 281 — Menschengesicht aus dem Rachen der blauen Schlange des rothen Wassergefässes hervorschend. II 43 — Bauchstreifen der rothen Schlange des rothen Wassergefässes. II 44.
blau und gelbe Querbänder, Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca-ixquimilli's.* I 270 — *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui's.* II 111.
blau und gelb mit rothen Querbändern, Gesichtsbemalung *Mixcouatl's* im Codex Fejérváry. I 266.
blau und gestreift, Unterextremitäten *Uitzilopochtli's* (Südhimmelsträgers). II 130, 131.
blau und grün, Bälle des Ballspielers des Ostens *(oçomàtli).* II 116 — des Ballspielers des Westens *(cipactli).* II 116 — Zwei verschlungene Edelsteinbänder, Basalstück des Feuerbohrers beim Feuerreiber des Westens. II 118.
blau und roth, Bemalung des Eidechsenkörpers. I 97 — des nackten Huaxteken. I 97 — der Pulquegötter. I 97 — des Mondgottes. I 104 — Farbe *Mixcouatl's* im Codex Fejérváry. II 62 — Variante für weiss. II 62 — *copilli* des blauen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 167 — der Pulquegötter des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — Steinmesser in einer Schale beim zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173.
blau und weiss, Farbe des Wassers. II 234 — Rosetten der *Mayauel.* II 234 — Schmuck derselben Göttin. II 235 — halb und halb, Südbaum des Codex Fejérváry. II 107.
bleicher Spiegel des Mondes, ein Wasserbehälter. II 260.
Blinder, *(ixquimilli)* = Sünder, dargestellt bei der *Itzpapalotl,* Regentin des fünfzehnten Tonalamatlabschnittes. I 187.
Blitz, Begleitbild bei dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 29, 30 — s. Stab — s. *tlauitequiliztli* — s. vom Himmel fallendes Feuer — das die Erde spaltende Thier (s. Hund). I 126.
Blitz, von ihm erschlagene gelten als von *Tlaloc* getötet; ihre Seelen wohnen im *Tlalocan.* I 295.
Blitzdämon, *Xolotl.* II 37.
Blitze aussendend = leuchtend, Sternwesen. II 27.
Blitzfeuer, s. Perrücke der unterweltlichen *Tlaloc*-Figuren.
Blitzfigur, in der Hand *Tlaloc's.* I 29, 69 — des aus dem Wasser geborenen *Xolotl.* I 197 — ein ähnliches Gebilde ersetzt den Kopf der geköpften kleinen Figur in der linken Hand der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt. II 10.
Blitzgott, Regengott *(Tlaloc).* I 112, 198 — *Tlaloc-Xolotl.* I 198, 199; II 36, 37 — s. Feuerstreifen.
Blitzschlangen, hin- und hergewundene feuerfarbene Schlangen auf Spiegeln festgebunden. II 35 — am Tempel *Xolotl's.* II 35.
Blitzstrahl, s. *xiuhcouatl, xiuhatlatl.* (I 119) — aus der Wolke *(Tlaloc)* in die Erde (*cipactli*) eingehend. I 237 — s. Gewitterwolke.
Blitzthier, von oben herabstürzender Hund in den Mayahandschriften. I 126, 196 — sein Kopf in Mayahandschriften. I 311 — s. *Xolotl.*
Blitzträger, vier fackeltragende Lichtwesen, bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. II 38.
blondhaarige Leute, bei Sonnenfinsternissen geopfert. I 208.
blühende Maispflanze, auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl's.* I 225.

blühender Zweig, im *temalli*-Kopfputze *Xochipilli*'s. I 101. — s. Blüthenbaum.

Blume, s. *xochitl* — Sinnbild des Schönen, des Genusses. I 208 — vervollständigt durch den Schmetterling *(papalotl)*. II 96 — Homolog dafür der Schmetterling. I 212; II 96, 195, 196 — s. *tlepapalotl, tlexochtli.* — Symbol des Opfers. I 49, 71, 231, 249 — Ausdruck des Kasteiungsblutes *(chalchiuhatl)*. I 20, 28, 33, 56, 286, 302 etc.; II 188 — mit Punktkreis, Hieroglyphe der Gottheit des Maya-Tageszeichens *ik*. I 329 — bezeichnet Blut (?). I 326 — Blumen bestecken den herausschäumenden Pulque I 114, 307; II 71 — den Kakao. II 40, 220 — = Kostbarkeit, Kind. I 240, 249; II 188 — = Herz, zieht sich der *tlacacozcaquauhtli* aus dem Leibe. II 185 — zwischen den *ome quetzalli* der *Xochiquetzal*. II 213, 281 — auf dem Scheitel der *Mayauel*. II 235 — grosse, auf dem Scheitel der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — vor dem Munde der *Xochiquetzal* angegeben. I 213; II 268 — aus dem Munde *Tezcatlipoca*'s hervorgehend. I 283 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 136, 248 — vor dem Munde *Uenecoyotl*'s. I 98 — s. *macuil xochitl.* — aus dem Munde *Xolotl*'s hervorkommend, Andeutung des *Auiateotl (macuil xochitl)*. II 268, 272 — in der Hand des Musikanten bei *Uenecoyotl*. II 224 — in jeder Hand des Kaninchens beim Pulquetopfe *(octecomatl)*. I 307 — grosse, an dem Haarriemen der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278 — am Nacken eines der *itecpoyouan*. II 214 — am Nacken des Mondgottes, bezeichnet diesen als männliches Gegenstück der *Xochiquetzal* II 228 — vom rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in den Händen gehalten. II 46 — in eine solche endet der Stab *(xiuhtopilli) Yacatecutli*'s des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — des gelben *Tezcatlipoca*, des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163 — in einen Griff gefasst, beim Sonnengotte = Fackel. II 244 — an einem Balle befestigt, abwärts gerichtet, bei der *Chantico*. II 276 — s. Schnüre, bunte. — s. Steinmesser und Blume.

Blumen veranschaulichen Schmuck, Schönheit, Kostbarkeit I 209 — in einer Reihe auf edelgesteingeschmückter Borte, über dem oberen Thürpfosten des rothen Tempels *Xochipilli-Auiateotl*'s. II 36, 48 — beim Regengotte der Mitte *(Xochipilli)* dargestellt. I 353 — am Edelsteinfriese, Aussenrand der Quadranten des Südens der Unterwelt. II 57 — s. Edelsteinfries. — daraus geflochtener Dachfirst beim Tempel des Ostens. II 109 — am Blutstrome, der von der Fledermaus zur *Xochiquetzal* des Südens der Unterwelt übergeht. II 66 — am Blutstrome, der aus einem Loch am Hintern *Quetzalcouatl*'s herauskommt. II 72 auf Adlerdaunen, bedeuten Blut. II 74 — bezeichnen Blut. II 272 — s. *xochitl.* — an dem Federschmucke der Arme *Xochipilli*'s, in einen Affen- und einen Quetzalvogelkopf (im Cod. Vatic.) endend. II 136.

Blumenbanner, am Baume des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115. — am Baume des West-*tzompantli*'s. II 116.

Blumenguirlande, Brustschmuck *Xipe*'s. I 179.

Blumenkette, in der Hand der zweiten der fünf Formen der *Tlaçoltcotl-Xochiquetzal*. II 79 — der *Xochiquetzal* der zwölften Tagstunde. II 205 — und rothes *chicauaztli*, in der Hand *Cintcotl*'s, der Erdgottheit des Nordens. II 134.

Blumenkranz, bei *Xochipilli*. I 34, 62, 71, 72 — beim Mondgotte. I 105; II 79, 176, 226, 228 — bei der Mondgöttin *Xochiquetzal*. II 79 (s. Blumenkette). 176 — der *Xochiquetzal*, aus *izquixochitl*-Blumen (Beureria huanita) bestehend. I 288; II 182, 183, 188, 192, 194, 199, 203, 205 — nach Art eines *neapanalli*, um die Brust des weissen Hirsches des Ostens geschlungen. I 299 — auf der Kopffkappe des Feuerreibers des Ostens. II 119 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* des ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171 — des fünften dieser Paare. II 176 sonst I 40 etc. — bei dem Gotte der achten Nachtstunde (vom Ohre über den ganzen Scheitel sich hinziehend). II 195.

Blumenland, s. *Xochitlalpan.*

Blumenpflücken, unerlaubtes, Sünde der Götter im Himmel, weshalb sie herabgeworfen werden. I 186; II 264 — Sünde der *Ixnextli*. II 224, 225 — s. Sündenfall. — s. Adam. — s. *Tamoanchan, Xochitlicacan.*

Blumenregen, *nicteel haa yaal* (Maya). II 265 — s. übermässiger Ehebruch.

Blut, seine Farbe, die rothe. II 116 — s. *eztli, kiik.* — s. Feuer. (I 47) — s. *tlapalcouatl.* — s. rauchendes Blut. — s. Penisblut. — bezeichnet Lebenskraft. I 174, 175 — geschlechtliche Vereinigung. I 228 — eine grüne Edelsteinschnur, bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21 — angedeutet durch Edelsteinscheiben. II 302 — eine knöcherne Schnur, bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21 — Gott des Blutes, beim Zeichen *cecatl* dargestellt. I 302 — entsprechende Mayahieroglyphe. I 326 — im Räuchergefässe, bei der *Chantico*. II 278 — statt Rauches, bei der *Ciuateotl* des Westens und der Mitte, aus ihrem Munde, bezw. ihrer Brustwarze ausgehend. II 93 — durch Sacrifizirung des Penis *Macuilxochitl*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s gewonnen, befruchtet den Baum der Mitte. II 107 — zweier geköpfter Menschen, färbt die Decke des kopulirenden Nord- und Südpaares roth. II 120 — der geopferten Wachtel, auf eine abgeschnittene Haarflechte tropfend. II 283, 284 heisses, durch Rauchwolken am Schnabel *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s ausgedrückt, bezeichnet den brennenden Schmerz der Kasteiung. II 272 — s. Opferblut, *chalchiuhatl.* — s. Blume *(xochitl).* — s. Blüthe.

Blut trinken, s. Nähren. — der vier Lichtgötter und ihrer Erscheinungsformen. II 305.

Blut und Herzen, Brustschmuck des Todesgottes. II 177.

Blut und Opfer, Darstellungen davon bezeichnen die betr. Figuren als heilige, mit Kult und Religion in Zusammenhang stehend. I 296, 299, 301.

Blutabzapfungen, besonders am Ohrrand bewerkstelligt. I 147 — am Penis. I 175.

Blutband, Symbol geschlechtlicher Vereinigung. I 82 (s. Blutstrom).

blutspeiender Sünder. I 53, 338.

Blüthen, rothe und gelbe, an einem braunen Baume, bei der fünften Vennsperiode. II 152 — aus den Brüsten der Frau mit dem Blüthenbaume hervorkommend. II 184 — s. *aztaxelli*-Blüthen. — s. Dornblüthen. — s. vier Schnüre.

Blüthenbaum, im Kopfschmucke *Cinteotl*'s I 242 — im Kopfschmucke *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 77, 78, 82 — *Chalchiuhtlatonac*'s, Kultusstätte des Maisgottes. I 252 — vor *Cinteotl* dargestellt. I 225 — bei der *Mayauel*. II 235 — mit einem Blüthenringe = *chalchiuhatl*. I 278 — aus einer Edelsteinschale emporwachsend, daneben Blut und Herz. I 279 — und nacktes Männlein im Edelsteingefäss, beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171 — daneben zwei Steinmesser. I 280 — von Göttern aus einer Opferschale emporgezogen, bei der achten Tagstunde, bezeichnet *izcalli*, Wachsthum und Erhebung. II 197 — an Stelle eines Rasselbrettes *(chicauaztli)* in der Hand *Xochipilli*'s, der Erdgottheit des Ostens. II 127, 134 — türkisfarben, Rückendevise *Yacatecutli*'s, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — bei der zweiten Tagstunde. II 183 — s. Frau mit Blüthenbaum.

Blüthenbaum, gebrochener = Hieroglyphe *Tamoanchan, Xochitlicacan.* I 183 — *Xochitlicacan* andeutend, hinter der auf der rothen Scheibe liegenden *Teteoinnan-Tlaçolteotl.* II 19, 27, 28.

Blüthenlast, auf dem Rücken *Yacatecutli*'s, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

Blüthenring, mit einem Blüthenbaume, bezeichnet *chalchiuhatl.* I 278.

Blüthensternauge, Determinativ beim Baume des Westens. II 106.

Blüthenzweig, in der Hand *Xochipilli*'s, der Erdgottheit des Ostens. II 134.

blutige Strafe, s. *kikel che yetel tunich* (Maya).

Blutopfer, Schale, aus der ein *quetzaltototi* (s. dort) trinkt. II 198.

blutrothes *chicauaztli* bei *Mictlantecutli*, der Erdgottheit des Südens. II 134.

Blutruhr, damit straft *Curicaueri* und *Urendequa vecara* seine Feinde (s. Durchfall). II 72 — s. *tlaelli tlaellaça*. — Blutruhrsender der Morgenstern (der „Werfer, Schütze"). II 72.

Blutschlange, s. *tlapalcouatl*.

Blutstrom, am Kopfe, den *Quetzalcouatl* in der Hand hält. I 245 — von der Sonnenscheibe ausgehend, bei *Tonatiuh* im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 25 — = göttliche Gewalt. I 40, 59 — mit vom Pfeil durchbohrten Herzen. I 64 — mit zerschnittenem Ohr = Kasteiungsblut. Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 72 — Symbol der sich vereinigenden Energieen des Menschenpaares. I 82; II 212 — Symbol geschlechtlicher Vereinigung, vom Munde der *Mictecacihuatl* zum Todesgotte gehend. I 277 — nach dem Munde *Tlaloc*'s von dem oberen Rande der die Öffnung des Wassergefässes mit dem modernden *Xolotl* verschliessenden Masse gehend. II 43 — mit Blumen besetzt, und mit *chalchiuitl*-Figuren auf der Fläche, geht von der Fledermaus *(tzinacantli)* zu der *Xochiquetzal* des Südens der Unterwelt. II 66 — mit Blumen besetzt, aus einem Loche am Hintern *Quetzalcouatl*'s herauskommend. II 72 — Morgenröthe, die der Morgenstern hinter sich hat (?). II 72 — s. Blutruhr, *tlaelli* — zerstückt, in verschiedene Schlangen zertheilt, bei der *Cinateotl* des Südens. II 93 — mit Rauch verbunden bei dem *Auiateotl* des Ostens und Südens. II 98 — beim herausgerissenen Herzen in der Hand des vom Planeten Venus getroffenen Jaguars *(ocelotl)*. II 149.

Blutstropfen, durch vier, fünf, sechs weisse Kreise markirt. II 10.

Bobadilla, Francisco de, Katechisirte in *Teoca* in Nicaragua. I 4.

Boden, unter der Todesgöttin des Westens der Unterwelt, durch verschlungene *malinalli*-farbene Bänder veranschaulicht. II 7 — bei der des Nordens, durch eine liegende Todesgöttin mit gedrehtem *malinalli*-Leibe. II 7.

Boden, zu — stürzender Mensch, bei *Uenecoyotl* dargestellt. I 98, 99.

Bodley, Codices. II 121.

Bogen, s. dunkler Bogen. — s. Nebelbogen.

Bogenschützen *(tamime)*, sind die Chichimeken. I 263.

bolon imix (Maya) = mex. *chicunaui cipactli*, im Chilam Balam von Mani als Geburtstag des Regengottes *(u ziyanil chac)* angegeben. II 15,

Borgia, Cav. Camillo. I 1.

Borgia, Giovanni Paolo Cav. I 2.

Borgia, Stefano, Cardinal. I 1, 27 — gestorben 1804. I 2.

Bote der Götter, der Sperber *(tlòtli)*. II 144, 145.

Bote des Sonnengottes, der Sperber. I 147 — s. *roc*.

Boturini, schöpfte aus Jacinto de la Serna. I 218 — sein Catálogo del Museo Indiano. II 79.

Boustrophedon. (Die Zeilen abwechselnd von rechts nach links und von links nach rechts beschreiben). I 218, 219.

Brand, angedeutet durch verbranntes Feld (s. daselbst). II 151 — s. *atl-tlachinolli*.

Brasseur de Bourbourg. I 313; II 79.

braun = dunkelgelb. II 143 — Farbe des Hirsches des Nordens. I 300; II 132 — Raubthier mit langgezogenen schwarzen Flecken, Sitz der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — Farbe des Regengottes des Südens *(xiuhtecutli)*. I 352 — Farbe der Töpfe. II 98 — Menschenfarbe. II 49 — das Gesicht des lebenden *Quetzalcouatl*'s im Norden der Unterwelt. II 49.

braun mit schwarzem Längsstreifen, Gesichtsbemalung des lebenden *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 49, 55.

braun mit schwarzen Linien, Stamm des Maiskolben tragenden Baumes bei dem vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Maisgotte *(Cinteotl)* im Cod. Bologna. II 150.

braun und schwarz, Farbe der Erde. II 149 — des Ackers (s. Ackererde). II 150 — halb und halb; Zeichen des Steins (?) in der Hand *Mictlantecutli-Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 242 — Farbe des Steins. II 71, 149 — eines mit Spiegeln verzierten und mit sechs Kriegsfahnen besteckten Baumes bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 71 — des Dornbaums, der hinter dem vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Tezcatlipoca* sich erhebt. II149.

braun und weiss, Farben *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 245, 265 — Kopfbinde *Xolotl*'s. II 265 — *amacalli* des Pulquegottes. II 245 — s. weiss und jaguarfarben. — in Querstreifen, Bemalung des *itzquauhtli*. II 297.

braune Nasenplatte, gezackte bei einem Maisgotte. II 113, 150 — bei der Maisgöttin *(Cinteotl)*. II 113 — beim Feuerreiber des Westens. II 119.

braune schäumende Flüssigkeit, mit Blumen besteckt, in der Hand des Abbildes der *Xochiquetzal*. II 40.

braune schäumende Masse, in einer Schale, siedende Harzmasse. II 171, 175, 220 — oder Kakao, s. dort.

brauner *Auiateotl*, s. gelber *Auiateotl*.

brauner Baum, mit rothen und gelben Blüthen. II 152.

brauner Hirsch des Nordens. I 300; II 132.

brauner *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Regent der vierten (dem Norden entsprechenden) Venusperiode im Codex Bologna. II 143.

breitbeinig sitzend, *Tlaçolteotl*. II 303.

Brennen *Nanauatzin*'s in der Adlerschale = Sonnenaufgang. I 200; II 53 — s. Selbstopfer, Kochtopf — s. Selbstverbrennung — s. Zusammenbrennen, Zusammenkochen Zusammenfügen.

brennende Kautschukkugel = Feueropfer. I 49.

brennender Mensch, beim siebenten Tageszeichen *maçatl* dargestellt. I 304.

brennender Schmerz, Pein der Kasteiung. I 26; II 193 — s. *Tonatiuh, quiauitl.* — s. *cuitlatl* an den Scheeren des Skorpions *(colotl)*. I 123 — durch heisses Blut am Schnabel *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s bezeichnet. II 272 — durch Pfeffer *(chilli)* bei der *Chantico*. II 280.

brennender Tempel, = Feuer, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 35 — (s. *maçatl*). I 49, 55, 68, 70 — mit einer Leiche, bezeichnet Leichenbrand. I 54.

brennendes Gewürz, *chilli*, Capsicum-Pfeffer. II 280.

brennendes Haus, bezeichnet Region des Feuers, den Süden. II 103 — = *tletl* „Feuer", bei der *Chantico*. II 278 — und *tlapalcouatl*, Determinativ bei *Tonacatecutli*. II 212 — und feurige Axt und Wasserstrom s. *teoatl tlachinolli*. (I 124, 125) — s. Blitzgott.

Brenner, *ahtoc* (Maya). II 9.

Brennholzbündel, s. *tlatlatilquauhquetzalli* — s. Fackel. — in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 306.

Brennholzscheite, gelbe, ersetzen den Kopf der geköpften kleinen Figur in der rechten Hand der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt. II 10.

Brennholz und *miauayotl* im *tlecuilli* beim *Auiateotl* in der Federschlange des Südens. II 302.

Brennholz und Schwanzende einer Blutschlange, im Räuchergefässe bei der *Tlaçolteotl* in der Federschlange des Nordens. II 301.

Bringer der Jahre, in den Maya-Handschriften. I 114; II 111, 123 — s. Thier mit spitzer Schnauze. — im Codex Borgia, sind *Nanauatzin*-Figuren Namens *macuilli olin, eecatl, maçatl, malinalli*. II 123 — s. Jahresschluss-Zärimonien.

Bringer des Regenten der neuen Jahre, Parallele zwischen Cod. Borgia Bl. 49 bis 52 (vier *Nanauatzin*-Figuren, vier

Aubiateteô) und Dresdener Maya-Handschrift Bl. 25 bis 28 (oberes Drittel). II 123.

Brot, s. eingeweichtes Brot. — s. Tortillas.

Bruderschaft, nur aus Personen königlicher Abkunft bestehend; widmete der Sonne einen besonderen Kult. I 205.

Brunnen, Name des Loches des *tlachtemalacatl*, in welches Wasser gegossen wurde. I 2 — in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes, von den mythischen Mexikanern auf Geheiss *Uitzilopochtli*'s vollgeschöpft, worauf ein prähistorisches México vorgezaubert wird. II 31.

Brunnen des Opferblutes, *chalchiuhaolhuaztli*, s. *chalchiuh-a-apaztli*. II 50.

Brust, s. Aufschneiden der —.

Brustplatte, s. blaue — s. stufenförmige — s. Türkisplatte.

Brustschmuck, des Sonnengottes, Maisgottes u. s. w., s. *teocuitlacomalli* — *Xipe*'s s. *Çolin* — *Tezcatlipoca*'s, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s s. *ananatl* — *Quetzalcouatl*'s, *Xolotl*'s u. s. w. s. *ecailacatzcozcatl* — *Tlaloc*'s s. *maquizcouatl*. — des Todesgottes: Blut und Herzen. II 177 — ein *oyoualli*, beim Tanzgotte *(Ueuecoyotl)*. II 189, 222, 224 — kommaförmig oder hornartig gekrümmter bei *Pàtecatl*. I 143 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 — bei der zweiten der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 79 — bei der dritten der fünf Formen dieser Göttin. II 81 — *Tonacatecutli*'s, eine *chalchiuitl*-Schatzkiste. II 211, 212.

Brustwarze, davon Blut ausgehend bei der *Cinateotl* des Westens. II 93 — über sie hat das Tageszeichen *xochitl* Herrschaft. I 280.

Brüste, s. vierhundert Brüste. — s. *Mayauel*. — s Blüthen aus Brüsten hervorkommend.

bubas, Strafe für Fastenbruch, von *Tezcatlipoca* verhängt. I 149 — Strafe *Macuilxochitl*'s für Fastenbruch. II 97 s. Beulen der Hofleute, *tecpilnanauatl*. — damit *Nanauatzin* behaftet. I 199; II 54.

Bücher des *Ghilam Balam*, s. *Chilam Balam*.

Bucklige, Palastsklaven der Fürsten. I 193 — bei Sonnenfinsternissen geopfert. I 208 — s. Zwerge. — s. *xolotl*, *xolomê*. — im Dienste der *Xochiquetzal*. I 209; II 280.

buluc ahau (Maya) „11 Blume", Osten. II 265.

bumerang-artiges Instrument, am Seile des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — in der Klaue des modernden *Xolotl*. II 43 — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Gottes des Lebens. II 166 — blau, in der Hand *Tecciztecatl*'s II 228.

Bündel mit Opfermessern und Opferfähnchen. I 66 — das Idol bergend, *teomimilli*. II 39 — mit einem Schild unde einer Handfahne auf dem Rücken der *Tlaçolteotl*, des zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159 — aus Netzstoff, darin nimmt *Quetzalcouatl*, den Westen der Unterwelt verlassend, Maiskolben mit sich. II 57 — blaues, mit Blume und Edelsteinriemen, bei der zwölften Tagstunde. II 205 — s. Steinmesserbündel. — s. Leichen bündel. — s. Mumienbündel — Speere, in der Hand des Sonnengottes als Gott des Krieger- und Opfertodes. I 306 — s. Speerbündel. — s. Kriegswaffen.

bunter Papagei, *cocho*. II 298.

buntes Haarband. II 181, 188, 199.

buntgefleckt, Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282, 283.

bunte Schlange, umwindet die nach hinten zurückgebogene Dachspitze des *Xochicalli* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 51.

bunte Streifenmuster, in solchen gewebtes *quechquemitl*, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 181.

Buschsteppe, der Norden, Region der Chichimeken. I 260 — Ihr Miniaturabbild ist der Tempel *Mixcouatl*'s in México. I 260.

Busse, s. Kasteiung *(neçoliztli* etc.) beim Kultus des Todesgottes. I 128 — ihr Sinnbild *chalchiuhtotolin*. I 201. — s. Fasten, *neçaualli*.

büssender Ehebrecher. I 39, 91, 129, 153 — s. *tlapalcouatl*. — s. *tlaelquani*. — s. *axixpan cuitlapan nemini*. — s. *Tlaçolteotl*.

Büsser, s. *Quetzalcouatl*. — mit einer Schlange dargestellt, s. *tlapalcouatl*. — s. *neçoliztli* — im Tempel. I 20 — durchbohren sich den Penis quer, in Yucatan. I 163 — als solcher ist *Quetzalcouatl* mit ausgebohrtem Auge dargestellt. I 245 — *Quetzalcouatl* im Goldhause, gegenüber der *Chantico*. II 280 — mit einem Kopalbeutel *(copalxiquipilli)* am Arm. I 202 — bei der *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. II 196 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. II 215 — in Verbindung mit *cuitlatl* abgebildet, s. *cuitlatl*.

butic (Qui'che) — s. *xe butic*. — s. Sintflut.

caban (Maya), nach unten gebracht, Erde; Tageszeichen = mexik. *olin*. I 14, 190, 191, 307; II 108 — Die Mayahieroglyphe ist die Abbreviatur des Kopfes der Erdgöttin. I 191 — im Cod. Borgia ist beim 17. Tages-Zeichen *olin* die Erdgöttin *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. I 308 — damit angefülltes Gebilde bezeichnet in der Dresdener Mayahandschrift die fünfte Weltgegend, die Mitte. II 108 — vier *caban*, Tag der Vereinigung des Morgensterns mit dem Planeten Venus (= mex. *naui olin)*. I 351.

Cacalaca, „rasseln". I 174; II 127.

cacaxtli, Rückenkraxe, mit einem darauf hockenden *quetzaltototl* beim rothen *Tezcatlipoca* dargestellt. I 293 — beim wandernden Kaufmanne II 162.

cactli „Sandale", s. *itzcactli*

Cakchiquel-Annalen. I 83; II 93 — Annalen des Geschlechtes der *Xahil*. II 93.

calaqui, „ins Haus (der Erde) hineingehen", von der im Westen untergehenden Sonne gesagt. II 88.

Calendario azteco. I 28.

Calle de las Escalerillas, Ausgrabungen dort, am Orte des Haupttempels von *México*. I 134, 182; II 39, 138.

calli, Haus, drittes Tageszeichen. I 6, 52, 67, 91–95, 222, 302 — sein Regent *Tepeyollotli* und *Tlaelquani*. I 92 ff. — Anfangszeichen des dritten der vier Jahre. I 342–344 — Sein Begleitbild ist im Tonalamatl der wandernde Priester. I 28, 29 — eine wandernde Gestalt = Sternhimmel des Südens. I 52 — deutet *tlalli iyollo* den dunkeln Schooss der Erde an. I 220 — entspreechendes Maya-Zeichen, s. *akbal* „Nacht". — massgebendes Tageszeichen für den zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer *(Tlaçolteotl)*. II 157, 158 — bei diesem Zeichen *Quetzalcouatl* als Feuergott dargestellt. I 302–303 — die diesem entspreechende Mayahieroglyphe. I 326 — als Tageszeichen auf dem Kreuzspiegel *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben. I 281 — mit der Schambinde *Xochipilli*'s verbunden. II 135.

calli, maçatl oçomàtli, quauhtli, quiauitl mit dem Munde, dem Fusse, dem Herzen, den Ohren und dem Auge *Quetzalcouatl*'s in der Federschlange des Westens verbunden. II 302.

calli-**Jahre** (West-Jahre), Regengott des Westens, Wasserfülle. I 346; II 123 — ihr letzter Tag *macuilli maçatl*. II 123 — der *Nanauatzin* dieses Namens, Bringer der *tochtli*-Jahre. II 123.

Calliandra-Blüthen, *tlacoxiloxochitl*. II 67.

Camaras de sangre (span.), „Blutruhr". II 72.

Camargo s. Muñoz Camargo.

Camaxtli, Gott von *Uexotzinco* und *Tlaxcallan*, wird mit *Mixconatl* identifiert. I 260, 264 — steigt in den achten Himmel und schafft dort Opfer für die Sonne. I 264 — bringt 400 Chichimeken durch Aufschlagen eines Stockes auf einen Stein hervor. Dies der Ursprung der *Otomi*. I 264 — grosses Fest in *Tlaxcala*. II 215.

canil caban (Maya) = mex. *naui olin* Tag der Vereinigung der Sonne und des Morgensterns. I 351.

Canis latrans, Coyote. Präriewolf. I 97 — s. *Ueuecoyotl*.

Cantares, zu Ehren der Götter gesungen, im mexikanischen

Urtexte von Sahagun aufgezeichnet. I 81, 136, 139, 157, 168 169, 174, 180, 183, 193, 292; II 18, 19, 45, 70, 118, 119, 128.
Capsicum-Pfeffer, s. *chilli.*
Carolinea princeps, s. *xiloxochitl.* II 67.
Casa de las Monjas, Ostgebäude, Tempel der Gottheit des Planeten Venus in *Uxmal.* II 140.
Casa del adivino, Tempel der Gottheit des Planeten Venus in *Uxmal.* II 140.
Cassiopeja. II 65.
Castillo, Bauwerk in den Ruinen von *Chi ch'en itzá,* mit Schlangenpfeilern. II 17.
Catálogo del Museo Indiano del cavallero Boturini. II 79.
Catlin, Maler und Reisender. I 202.
cauac (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *quiauitl,* in Yucatan Anfangszeichen des vierten der vier Jahre. I 342 — vertritt die Schildkrötensehale s. *ayotl,* (mexik.). I 313.
Cehalcouati = *Quetzalcouatl* (bei Landa). I 83.
coa (aus *quauhacatl*), hölzernes Grabscheit, in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s, des Vertreters des Ostlandes. I 294, 295 — im schäumenden Gefässe, beim Pulquegotte *Naui couatl.* I 332. — bei der *Cinacouatl.* II 128 (s. *uictli*).
coatl u. Ableit., s. *couatl.*
Coatzacualco s. *Tlatlayan.*
cocoxqui, Kranker, beim Todesgotte dargestellt (?). I 129 — mit verkrümmten Gliedern = Syphilitiker, s. *Xolotl-Nanauatzin.*
coçauic xochitla, gelbe Blume = *Tlaçolteotl.* I 157; II 18.
cocijo (zapotekisch) = Regengott, bezeichnet die Anfänge der Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 345.
cochiliztli, „Schlafen", die dreizehn Tage, wo der Mond am Morgen sichtbar ist. II 207—208.
Cocho, grüner Papagei; einer der *tlaçototome.* II 3 — bezeichnet die dreizehnte Tagesstunde. II 298.
Codex Becker = Manuscrit du cacique. II 121.
Codex Bologna (Códice Cospiano). I 2, 17; II 108—115, 136ff. (Parallele zu den 13×5 Venusperioden).
Codex Borbonicus. I 16, 76; II 20.
Codex Borgia, das Original jetzt in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek auf bewahrt. II 44 — Geschichte und Charakter der Handschrift. I 1—3 — Herkunft aus der Tierra caliente. I 6, 8, 77 Gegend von *Teotitlan* del Camino. I 131, 135, 178 — teilweise verbrannt. I 27 — Verhältniss zu den Bilderschriften mexikanischen Stils im engeren Sinne. I 76 — das Ursprungsgebiet dieser Handschrift bildet ein Zentrum, von dem Mexikaner und Mayastämme beeinflusst werden. II 157 — — ein Kalenderbuch zur Bestimmung von Geschick und Ungeschick für Personen, Zeiten und Handlungen. II 291, 292 — Kern der Handschrift die Höllenfahrt der Venus. II 1 — bei den die Höllenfahrt *Quetzalcouatl*'s behandelnden Blättern ist für die Betrachtung die linke Seite der Blätter als Basis zu nehmen. II 35 — Turnus von Kalenderdaten beginnt meist rechts unten. II 46, 178 — Lesung der Blätter beginnt unten. II 77 — teilweis zerstörte Blätter. II 303, 305, 307.
Codex Borgia-Gruppe, Bilderschriften. I 2, 17, 146; II 24 — entstanden im Südosten, in den an der Strasse nach Oaxaca und Tabasco gelegenen Landschaften. I 135, 161 — Gegend von *Teotitlan* del camino. I 178 — stehen der Kultur der Tolteken nahe. II 131 — der Priesterschule, die die hierher gehörigen Bilderschriften verfasste, stand die Göttin *Xochiquetzal* sehr nahe. II 207 — Die Verfasser dieser Bilderschriften gehörten mexikanisch redenden Stämmen an. II 136 — Codex Bologna, Vaticanus und Annales de Quauhtitlan stehen hinsichtlich der fünf Venusperioden (deren Regenten und vom Speere getroffene Gestalten) in einem gewissen Gegensatze zum Codex Borgia und zur Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. II 157 — die 20 Tageszeichengötter in ihnen hängen mit der Reihe der 20 Gottheiten des Codex Dresdenensis zusammen. I 214, 215 — Jahresdaten sehr selten darin. II 121.
Codex Cortes. II 4.
Codex Chimalpopoca(tl). II 79, 144.
Codex Dorenberg = Códice Colombino. II 121.
Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. I 2; II 103ff. — seine besondere Stellung in der Codex Borgia-Gruppe (enge Verwandtschaft mit den Mayahandschriften). I 226 — Kommentar dazu von Eduard Seler (1901). II 170.
Codex Laud. I 2; II 81, 102, 178ff.
Codex Magliabechiano XIII 3, Bilderhandschrift der Florentiner Biblioteca Nazionale. I 74, 83, 110, 125, 132, 134, 135, 139 etc.; II 75, 239, 268.
Codex Mendoza. I 21, 205, 288, 289; II 35, 131, 162.
Codex Nuttall, Herkunft von der atlantischen Küste. I 164 — mit der Wiener Handschrift und Mss. Mex. No. 20 (Bibl. Nat. Paris) eine Gruppe bildend. II 102 — mit Cod. Vindobonensis, Códice Colombino, Cod. Becker, Bodley Códices namentlich hinsichtlich der Jahresdaten, -zeichen eine Gruppe bildend. II 121 — Vorkommen der Göttin *Tlaçolteotl* in ihm als *ce atl* und *ome cozcaquauhtli.* I 164 — Darstellung des Seiles, an dem der den Tempel herabbringende Priester vom Himmel herunterkommt. II 20 — Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange und die Feuerschlange in der von Zinnen umsetzten Scheibe. II 39, 40 — 81jährige Periode; Korrektur des Kalenders um 20 Tage. II 126.
Codex Porfirio Diaz, kuikatekische Handschrift. I 342; III 1, 3.
Codex Sanchez Solis. II 182.
Codex Telleriano-Remensis (seine Copie der Codex Vaticanus A). I 16, 76 etc.; II 79, 176 — Interpretation dazu. II 208, 209 — sein Interpret Pedro de Rios. I 186; II 225, 273.
Codex Vaticanus A. (Num. 3738) I 16 (und Codex Telleriano-Remensis.) — Interpretation dazu. II 208, 209.
Codex Vaticanus B. (Num. 3773) I 2, 76 etc.; II 178ff.
Codex Vindobonensis, als „Wiener Handschrift" citirt, bildet mit dem Codex Nuttall und Mss. Mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.) eine Gruppe. II 102.
Codex, s. Bodley Codices.
Códice Colombino = Codex Dorenberg. II 121.
Códice Cospiano, s. Codex Bologna.
Coïtusstellung, zugleich Geburtsstellung. I 156.
coleletli „Gespenst". I 89.
Colhuacan, Erdgöttin von, *Cinacouatl.* I 166; II 127, 273. — s. *Quilaztli.* — König von — s. *Coxcoxtli.* I 132 — s. *Mixcoatepetl.* I 139; II 119 — *Cinteotl* dort verehrt. I 207. — s. *Teocolhuacan.* — s. *ycoliuhqui tepetl.* — „Berg mit der gekrümmten Spitze", ist die von *Uitzilopochtli* hervorgezauberte spiegelnde Seefläche, auf die Herrschaft des Mondes zu beziehen. II 31 — s. *Tollan.*
Colhuatzincatl, Pulquegott I 140.
colotl, Skorpion, beim Feuergotte dargestellt. I 122, 123; II 193, 238 — beim rothen *Tezcatlipoca,* Regenten des zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertels. — bei *Xochipilli,* Regenten des 20. Tageszeichens, u. *Ilamatecutli.* I 123, 213; II 281 — Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 36, 37, 38. — Thier der Erde. I 37 — Relief der Uhde'schen Sammlung. II 193 — über dem *çacatapayolli,* dem Symbole der Kasteiung. I 26; II 193 — einen Knochen, der eine Zahnreihe hat, in der Armzange haltend. I 36 — am Ende der in Stücke zerrissenen Schnur bei *Tonatiuh.* I 285 — am Ende der Schnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286 — bezeichnet Kasteiung und Zeit der Kasteiung (Mitternacht). I 26 — die vier Skorpione. I 124 — s. Seil mit einem Skorpiongesichte = vom Himmel herabkommendes Feuer. I 123 — bezeichnet Region des schwarzen Hauses = Opfer, Krieg. I 124.

comitl, „Topf“. I 200 — „Meloncnkaktus“. I 264 — s. Kochtopf.

conecuitlatl, Kinderschmutz, gelbe Querstreifen im Gesichte *Tezcatlipoca*'s und *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 152, 220 — charakterisirt beide Götter als „junge Götter“. I 152, 220.

Confesion exterior, s. Durchlöchern der Zunge. (I 212.)

Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. I 2.

Conquista. II 131.

copalli, Räucherharz; s. Kopal.

copalxiquipilli, Kopalbeutel, bei *Tlaloc*. II 229 — in der Hand *Xochipilli*'s *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 30, 212 — des Gottes, der die Mittagstunde bezeichnet. II 194 — am Arme des Büssers. I 202 — der fünf Südgötter *(Auiateteô)*. II 98. — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Priesters, im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Osten). I 19 — als Repräsentant des Osthimmels. I 286 — in der Hand des toten, den Norden der Unterwelt betretenden *Quetzalcouatl*. II 49 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s, der den Westen der Unterwelt verlässt. II 57. — in der Hand kleiner Windgottfiguren. II 6 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s in *olin*-artiger Verschlingung. II 253 — der schwarzen Figur der fünften Weltgegend. II 42 — in der Hand der unterweltlichen *Tlaloc*-Figuren des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — in der Hand *Xolotl*'s. II 268 — in der Hand gewisser dienender Geister *Xolotl*'s. II 38 — von vier Ergänzungen *Xochipilli*'s. II 41 — in der Hand der acht Räucherpriester gegenüber den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen. II 305 — in der Hand *Xochipilli*'s, der Erdgottheit des Ostens. II 134 — besondere Form, in der Hand *Tonatiuh*'s. I 306 — sonst in der Hand des Sonnengottes. II 109 — in der Hand *Mictlantecutli*'s. I 297; II 242 — des Priesters des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens. II 18 — in der Hand eines Priesters bei *Tlaloc*. II 229 — in der Hand der Maisgottheiten des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — am Arme *Cinteotl*'s vor dem Tempel des Westens (Cod. Bologna). II 114 — des schwarzen Todesgottes, vor dem Tempel des Südens. II 114 — in der Hand der *Mayauel*. II 235.

Copan. I 217.

copilli, zweifarbige kegelförmige Mütze *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 19, 78, 87, 302; II 131, 162, 166, 167 — s. *ocelocopilli*. — huaxtekischer Schmuck. I 88, 158, 161, 164, 301; II 172, 173 — von *Xolotl* getragen. II 265 — von einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren getragen. II 47 — von dem *Mixcouatl* des Cod. Fejérváry. I 266 — vom Fledermausgotte. II 61 — von *Tlaloc*. I 112 (aus dem *miotli* entstanden). — von Pulquegöttern (häufig). I 142, 143; II 172, 173 — von den *icuexuan*. I 158 — von der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164; II 172, 173 — von der *Xochiquetzal* der fünften Tagstunde. II 190 — von *Yacatecutli*, dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — beim *Tlaloc* der fünften Richtung aus Trapez und Strahl entstanden zu denken. I 345.

Cora-Indianer, bei ihnen *Tabatzi* „der ältere Bruder“ = Morgenstern, der grosse Jäger. II 147 — Morgenstern (als Knabe unter dem Altar hervortretend), schiesst einen Pfeil auf den Hirsch ins Dickicht. II 309, 310.

Corazon de los pueblos s. *Uotan* (I 235).

Córdova, P. Juan de, I 194.

Cortes, D. Hernan von den Mexikanern als Gott *Quetzalcouatl* verehrt. I 85, 86 — erhält von *Motecuhçoma* vier Götterkostüme. I 85, 88; II 75 — seine Eroberung México's erleichtert durch die Fabel von der Rückkehr *Quetzalcouatl*'s aus dem Ostmeer. II 291.

cot (Qui'che), „Adler“, eines der vier zerstückelnden Thiere im *Popol Vuh*. II 69.

Cotastla s. *Cuetlaxtlan*.

cotz-balam (Qui'che), ? — Jaguar, eines der vier zerstückelnden Thiere im *Popol Vuh*. II 69.

cotzcuatl, „Kniebänder“. I 179.

Couatepetl, „Schlangenberg“, auf ihm bleibt der Kopf der *Coyolxauh* liegen. II 10.

couatl, Schlange, Symbol des Wassers I 7, 53 — Befruchtung, geschlechtlicher Vorgang. I 102 — bedeutet auch Zwilling I 198 — fünftes Tageszeichen. I 7, 32, 53, 68, 100—102, 226, 303—304 — sein Regent *Chalchiuitlicue*. I 33, 100—102 — bei diesem Tageszeichen *Chalchiuhtlicue* als *quetzalcoxcoxtli* und neben ihr der rothe Arara *(alo)* dargestellt. I 303—304 — Anfangszeichen der viergliedrigen Säule, die für den Morgenstern bedeutsam ist. II 16 (vgl. Kommentar zum Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 S. 123; vgl. II 58) — s. sich erhebende Maispflanze. (I 33) — Anfangszeichen der zweiten Venusperiode. I 239, 327, 337; II 137, 148 — in ihm schiesst *Tlauizcalpantecutli* den Regen (es wird nicht regnen). II 148, 157 — s. *Chalchiuhtlicue*. — als Tageszeichen, hat Herrschaft am Penis I 280 — auf dem vorderen Ende der Schambinde *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben. I 281 — am Schwanze des Hirsches, der Verkleidung *Xochipilli*'s. II 135 — mit dem Ohre *Tlaloc*'s verbunden (Opferblut, *Chalchiuhatl* andeutend). II 300.

couatl, Schlange, galt als das grösste üble Vorzeichen. I 280 — von den Aerzten dies Bild bei ihren Heilungen gebraucht. I 280.

couatl coçauhqui, die gelbe Schlange, Federschlange des Südens, ihr Regent *Macuilxochitl*. II 302.

couatl icamac, „im Rachen der Schlange“, Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 19, 21, 26.

Couatlicue, Erdgöttin, Mutter *Uitzilopochtli*'s, wirklicher Name der sogenannten *Teoyaomiqui*. II 184, 217 — ihr abgeschlagener Kopf durch zwei Schlangen ersetzt. II 184, 264 — trägt rasselnden Gürtelbehang (s. *citlalcueitl*). II 217.

Couatl-tequani, göttliche Plagen; Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 58, 63.

Couatzacualco, Ort an der Grenze von Tabasco, Ziel der Wanderung *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 19, 85.

Couatzin, Eigenname, in der Historia Tolteca Chichimeca. I 283.

couaxayacayo, Baumwollstoffe mit eingewebten Mustern von Schlangenmasken aus huaxtekischem und totonakischem Gebiet. I 164.

cox (Maya), fasanartiger Vogel. I 303 — Schakuhuhn. I 319 — vgl. mex. *coxolitli*.

coxcoxtli, Vogel mit hoher Federhaube, Verkleidung *Xochipilli*'s I 132, 134 *(Macuilxochitl's)*, 272; II 176, 296 — singt in der Morgendämmerung (s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli*). II 109, 176, 296, 297 — Nasenschmuck des Feuergottes. II 130, 235 — Kreuzspiegel *Xochipilli*'s u. a. Götter. I 90, 101, 130, 164 — *tezcacuitlapilli* (Kreuzspiegel) der vier Himmelsträger. II 132 — Helmmaske *Cinteotl*'s. II 173 — Helmmaske, *Macuilxochitl*'s; ihre Residua sind das *quachichiquilli* und *uitoncatl*. I 272 — s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli*.

Coxcoxtli, Name eines Königs von *Colhuacan*. I 132.

coxcoxtli-Kopf, unter den Zeichen des Reichthums, beim Ballspieler des Westens. II 116.

coxolitli, „Waldhuhn“, Schakuhuhn. I 319 — als solches verkleidet erscheint *Quetzalcouatl* beim vierten Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin*. I 303 s. — *cutz*, *cox*, *coxcoxtli*.

coxoliyo uei tepolli, s. *coxoliyo uei itepol* fächerförmiger Nackenschmuck aus Waldhuhnfedern *Quetzalcouatl*'s (s. *cueçaluitoncatl*). I 19, 78, 88, 130, 286, 302, 303; II 132, 213 — der Pulquegötter. I 142 — huaxtekischer Schmuck. I 88 *Xolotl*'s. II 265 — ähnlicher Schmuck bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 216 — Schmuck der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 307; II 217 — des Mondgottes vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — s. *cuezaluitoncatl*.

coxollamamalli s. *coxoliyo uei itepol*. I 286 — hat die Gestalt einer dunklen Sonnenscheibe. I 286.

coyolli, goldene Schelle, auf der Backe der *Coyolxauhqui*. II 277.

Coyolxauhqui, feindliche Schwester *Uitzilopochtli*'s, — Anführerin der *centzon Uitznaua*. II 10, 11 — von *Uitzilopochtli* mit dem *xiuhcouatl* zerschmettert. Ihr Kopf bleibt auf dem *Couatepetl* liegen. II 10 — ,ist der Mond. II 11 — von *Uitzilopochtli* geköpfter Mond. II 290, 291 — der *Chantico* verwandt. I 46; II 10, 11, 277 — ihr Kopfputz. I 46 — trägt Trapez und Strahl als Ohr- und Nasengehänge. II 173, 277, 288 — hat auf ihrer Backe die Hieroglyphe für Gold *(teocuitlatl)* und das Bild einer Schelle. II 277 — ihr Kolossalkopf am Orte des Haupttempels in México gefunden. II 173, 277 — hat auf der Unterseite des Steinkopfes *aztamecatl* verschlungen mit *atl-tlachinolli*. II 277.

coyotl, Canis latrans s. Koyote.

coyotl-**artiges Thier**, mit Sternhimmelbemalung *cicitlallô*, beim Pulquegotte. I 143, 144 — Thier des Ostens, der Gegend der geopferten Krieger. I 143.

Coyotl inaual, „der Gott in Koyoteverkleidung", Hauptgott der *Amanteca*. I 99.

cozcaquauhtli, Halsbandadler = Geier, Sarcoramphus papa. I 180 — sechzehntes Tageszeichen. I 13, 44, 62, 180 bis 190, 307 s. *teotl ytoual* — Sein Regent *Itzpapalotl*, die chichimekische Göttin. I 44, 181—190; II 186, 253, 262. — Harn und Exkremente lassend. II 262 — bei diesem Tageszeichen *octecomatl*, der Puiquekrug, und *tochtli* das Kaninchen dargestellt. I 307 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 317-318 — Symbol des Alten; daher Beziehung zu den alten Göttern, den Göttern der alten Zeit und zum Pulque, dem Getränke der alten Leute. I 44, 180, 185, 283, 307; II 186, 253 — s Kahlköpfigkeit. — Aasvogel, Gegenstück zur Eule. I 180, 307; II 252, 253 — trägt das *oyoualli* (s. *oçomàtli*). I 180 — Zeichen von guter und schlechter Vorbedeutung. I 180 — als Tageszeichen hat Herrschaft am rechten Ohre. I 280 — auf der Mitte des Schildes *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben I 282, 283 — mit der Hand *Macuilxochitl*'s verbunden. II 302 — als Tageszeichen mit dem rechten Geweihe des als Hirsch verkleideten *Xochipilli* verbunden. II 136 — hat Beziehung zur *Tlaçolteotl*, der alten Göttin, und zu den *Ciuateteô*. I 307; II 252, 253 — s. *tlacacozcaquauhtli*.

cozcaquauhtli-**Helmmaske**, der Götterfigur der *tochtli*-Jahre. I 344, 346.

cozcaquauhtli ichan „Haus des Geiers, des Aasvogels", bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des dreizehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 252, 253 — s. *tecolotl ichan*.

Cozcateca, „Leute von *Cozcatlan*", Musikanten, Spieler, Tänzer. I 135.

cozcatl, Halskette, Perlkette, Geschmeide, s. *chalchiuh-cozcapetlatl*. — bezeichnet Lebensmittelfülle. II 205 — Symbol des Reichthums. II 204, 205, 206 — bezeichnet ein Kind. I 31, 50 (aus dem Schneckengehäuse hervorkommend) 60; II 201, 218, 219 — bei *Tonacatecutli*, bezeichnet das von ihm Geborene. I 211 — Darreichen, des, bezeichnet Empfängniss. II 192 — Herausziehen des, bezeichnet Geburt. I 239, 240 — Verbindet die Tänzer zum Reigen. II 185, 190, 202 — mit einem *omitl* zusammengebunden, bei *Tecciztecatl* dargestellt. I 247 — mit goldenen Schellen, bei *Tlaçolteotl*. II 218 — gleich dem Edelsteine, als Sinnbild der Kasteiung zu deuten? II 196 — in eine Blüte endend, kommt mit Herz- und Blutstrom aus der aufgeschnittenen Brust des Gottes des Bluts heraus. I 302 — zwei Ketten in Blüthen endend, kommen aus der Analöffnung des weissen Hirsches des Ostens hervor. I 299 — beim ersten in geschlechtlicher Vereinigung befindlichen Menschenpaare. I 81 — ragt im *coxoliyo uei itepol*-Schmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s hervor. I 303 — vor dem Munde der *Xochipilli* der siebenten Tagstunde. II 194 — in der Hand der Gestalten der achten Nachtstunde. II 195 — zusammen mit der Maispflanze *(toctli)* in der Hand des Regengottes des Ostens. I 346 — des Westens. I 346 — bezeichnet die fruchtbare Erde, bei der zwölften Tagstunde und unteren Region. II 204, 205.

cozcatl quetzalli s. *chalchiuitl*, methaporischer Ausdruck für Kind. I 32; II 186, 201, 206 — angedeutet durch einen aus der Vulva (der *Quaxolotl)* herauskommenden Quetzalfederschmuck. II 186.

Cozcatlan, Stadt, an den Grenzen des Zapotekenlandes, von Nachkommen *Xelhua*'s bewohnt — Heimat der Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe. I 161 — Sitte, der Penisdurchbohrung. I 163 — Leute von —, heissen die Musikanten des zweiten Jahresfestes. I 135 — s. *Teotitlan*, *Teouacan*.

Cozumalhuapa, Santa Lucia; Steinskulpturen von dort. I 175.

Cristóval del Castillo, 1526—1606, aus ihm schöpfte Leon y Gama. I 218, 343 — schöpfte Sigüenza y Góngora. I 343.

Cronica Franciscana, von Guatemala, Tageszeichenliste. I 5; II 97.

Crónica mexicana Tezozomoc's. II 31.

Crux australis. II 65.

Cuchulchan (Tzeltal), Federschlange, die im Wasser geht. = *Quetzalcouatl*. I 83; II 258.

cuecuetzpalin, Leguan, der schwarze, Centosaura completa. I 95 — s. *acuecuetzpalin*, s. Leguan.

Cuecuextzin, der zum Gott gewordene männliche Tote, die Seele des verstorbenen Kriegers, ident. mit *Otontecutli*. I 190.

cueçalcujcujtzcatl, „Feuer-Schwalbe". II 87.

cueçalmamazyô mitl, „mit Ararafedern (Flammen) befiederter Pfeil", von der Sonne auf den Gegner geworfen. II 86, 145, 247.

cueçalpaxitl, „Feuer-Waldhuhn". II 87.

cueçalquechol, nepapan, „Feuerschmuckvögel, verschiedene". II 87.

Cueçaltzin, die Ararafeder, die heilige Flamme, Name des Feuergottes. I 120.

cueçal uitoncatl, fächerförmiger Nackenschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s, aus schwarzen Waldhuhnfedern mit einzelnen Ararafedern (= *coxoliyo uei tepolli)*. I 88; II 172 — von *Xolotl* getragen II 265 — von den Pulquegöttern. I 142; II 172 — von *Tonacatecutli*. I 78 — vom Fledermausgotte. II 61 — vom Pulquegotte des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare getragen. II 172.

cueitl, Enagua, Hüfttuch der mexikanischen Weiber. I 22, 30, 31, 100, 227; II 89 - mit Steinmessern besetzt, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. I 181 — mit einem Saume in den Farben der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 100, 227 — blau bei der Erdgöttin. II 17 — blau mit getranstem Saume, bei der Todesgöttin. I 297 — weiss mit rothen Flecken und ausstrahlenden Punkten bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217 — *chictlapanqui*, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 252, 306 — halb roth halb schwarz mit Halbmonden *yacametztli*, Gewand der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 275; II 158 — Dasselbe als Unterlage einer Schale mit einem Skelettgesichte, aus der Dämonen und eine *ixquimilli*-Gestalt herauskommt. II 90, 91 mit Totenknochen bemalt und einem Blutschlangensaume bei der *Mictecaciuatl*. I 277. — mit Totenknochen bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens II 81 — des Südens. II 81 — mit gekreuzten Totenknochen, bei den fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — bei der *ciuateotl* des Südens im Ms. Mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl Nat.). II 103 — mit rothem Andreaskreuze, bei gewissen *ciuateteô*. II 93 — *tlaitzcopintli*, bei der Todesgöttin. II 3 — mit Wasserlinien *(atlacuilolli)*, bei der *Mayauel*. I 274 — aus halb als Totenknochen gezeichneten Blattstreifen, bei der *Ciuateotl* der fünften Richtung (im Cod. Vatic.). II 93 — mit Zähnen am Saume, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 262 — roth, mit weissem Stufenwirbel, bei dem Abbilde der *Xochiquetzal*. II 40, 66

— mit dem Bilde des Nachthimmels, bei einer Erdgöttin. II 45 — halb aus Lichthimmelborte, halb aus Steinmessern bestehend bei der Todesgöttin im Süden der Unterwelt. II 14 — blau mit einem Saume weisser Muschelschalen, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — weiss, bei der *Chantico*. II 276 — mit zwei *tlapapalli*-Federn, bei der Maisgöttin des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173.

Cuernavaca, *chimalli*-Stein dort. II 257.

cuetlachtli, Wickelbär, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, s. *cuetlachuêuê*.

Cuetlachuêuê, „der alte Wickelbär", der Onkel des Geopferten des *Xipe*-Festes. I 174, 176.

Cuetlaxtlan = *Cotastla*. I 161 — Haupttribut von dort: Baumwollballen. I 164.

cuetzpalin, Eidechse (Leguan?) viertes Tageszeichen I 6, 7, 30, 53, 95—100, 224 — Bemalung des Körpers: halb blau, halb roth. I 97 — Symbol der Unkeuschheit. I 7, 31, 32, 53, 67, 96, 97, 281; II 64, 93, 135, 204, 302, — bezeichnet den Penis. I 96, 281; II 135, 302, 305 — bezeichnet Uterus. I 96 — sekundär: Symbol von Fruchtbarkeit und Wasserfülle. I 97, 107; II 168 — Für das Kaninchen im Rachen der Federschlange eintretend. II 64, 259 — im Rachen der Himmelsschlange, vom Adler gepackt, bedeutet den Mond. II 64—65, 68, 259 — s. *tochtli* — sein Regent *Cuecoyotl*. I 97 — diesem Tageszeichen entsprechend die Tanzgötter (s. *Auiateteô*). II 93 — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s, (im Gegensatze zu *miquiztli* in der Hand *Mictlantecutli*'s), „Leben" bezeichnend, im Cod. Vatic. II 168 — unter dem Arme des Priesters bei der zwölften Nachtstunde. II 204 — Anfang der Tonalamatlgliederung in zwei Gruppen von 9×9 und zwei Gruppen von 7×7 Tagen. I 17 — bei diesem Zeichen ist *Quetzalcouatl* als Waldhuhn *(coxolitli)* dargestellt. I 303 — als Tageszeichen, hat Herrschaft über den Uterus. I 280 — mit dem Penis *Tezcatlipoca*'s durch einen Blutstrom verbunden. I 281 — mit dem Penis *Xochipilli*'s verbunden. II 135, 136.

cuetzpalin, atl, ocelotl, quiauitl [12], Tageszeichensäule, dem Norden zugetheilt. II 15 — s. *kan*.

cuetzpalin, tochtli, malinalli, cozcaquauhtli, xochitl verbunden mit dem Penis, Fuss, Ohr, der Hand und dem Munde *Macuilxochitl*'s *(Auiateotl)*. II 302.

cuexcochtechimalli, Rosette aus Rindenpapier, Nackenschmuck des Todesgottes. I 127, 226, 302; II 60, 177, 239, — beim Fledermausgotte. II 60 — der Erdgöttin als Todesgöttin. I 297; II 2 (roth und schwarz) — der *Mictecaciuatl* der tiefsten Hölle. II 52 — des sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — roth und gelb, auf dem Dache des Beinhauses des kopulirenden Südpaares. II 120 — roth und weiss bei'm Priester des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens. II 18 — bei den Todesgöttern des sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — in den Farben *Tlaloc*'s auf dem *Xolotl*-Gesichte beim Mumienbündel mit der Sonnenscheibe. II 268.

Cuexteca, Huaxteken, Bewohner der nördlichen Vera-Cruz-Küste. I 185 — trennen sich ab in *Tamoanchan*. I 185 — tragen keine Schambinde. II 96 — ihrer Tracht wegen als unmässig und schamlos verschrieen. I 139 — die Gefangenen, *mamaltin*. I 158.

Cuextecatl, Fürst der Huaxteken, trinkt fünf Schalen Pulque *(octli)* und wirft in der Trunkenheit seine Schambinde fort. II 96.

Cuextecatl ichocayan, „Ort, wo die Huaxteken weinen", Name einer mythischen Stadt. I 172.

Cuextlan, Huaxtekenland, im Nordosten von México gelegen. I 172.

Cuezcomatl, „Maisscheuer". I 190.

cuicaamatl, Gesänge und Tänze, toltekischer Besitz. I 89.

cuicacalli, Tanzhaus, sein Herr *Tezcatlipoca*. I 146, 150 — Insassinnen die Freudenmädchen *(auianimê)*. I 22.

cuicatl tlaxotecayotl, von *Uitzilopochtli* getanzter Gesang. II 31.

Cuicatlan, Landschaft an den Grenzen der Tzapoteca; andere Anfangszeichen der Jahre. I 342 — Bilderschrift von dort, s. Codex Porfirio Diaz.

Cuingo (tarask.). Fest der *Michuaque*. II 258 Anm.

cuitlatezcatl, Kreuzspiegel. II 171 — Edelsteinfarben bei der *Xochiquetzal*, und von der Gestalt eines Schildkrötenschildes. II 171.

cuitlatl, Exkremente, Schmutz = Sünde (s. *tlaelquani*). I 39, 94, 99, 123, 128, 145 — in der Hand des Büssers und neben dem, dem Ohre entströmenden Blute I 94, 145, 202; II 272 — in der Hand der *Ixnextli* II 224 — in Form dieses Zeichens das Haar des Sünders bei der *Itzpapalotl* gezeichnet. II 264 — des Sünders bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 285 — Haar in dieser Form, Analogon der Locken (der Lichtgottheiten). II 285 — von einem Adlerfusse dem *Chalchiuhtotolin* dargebracht. II 272 — beim *Chalchiuhtotolin* angegeben II 272 — In der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Menschenschöpfers, bezeichnet *Tlaçolteotl* oder *tlaçolli*, den obscönen Akt. II 219 — weisses, Nasenschmuck der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 276 — repräsentiert durch den Geier (*cozcaquauhtli*) als Aasvogel. I 307.

cuitlatl-**artige Gebilde,** am Wasserstrome der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuhatl*, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278 — in der Hieroglyphe des Tageszeichens *atl*?. I 8—9, 229 — am Ende der Scheerenarme und des Schwanzes des Skorpions. I 9, 123, 229 — Ideenverbindung mit *tlett*. I 35, 70, 123; II 244 — mit Feuerzungen. I 61, 304, 352; II 173 — am Wasserstrome, bei der Darstellung der Metapher *atltlachinolli*. I 229; II 238.

cuitlatl-**artiges Gebilde** mit Rauchwolken vor dem Munde des Sonnengottes, bezeichnet Feuer. II 244 — am Munde der *Itzpapalotl* der achten Nachtstunde bezeichnet diese als *tlaelquani*. II 196 — am Ende des wellig begrenzten Streifens bei der *Mictecaciuatl*. I 278.

cuitlatl-**Streifen** unter dem linken Beine *Xipe*'s gezeichnet im Codex Fejérváry. I 271.

Cuitlauac, Gott der *Chinampaneca* von — ist *Atlaua*. I 251.

Cuixtli, Raubvogel; für das fünfzehnte Tageszeichen *quauhtli* eintretend in der Tageszeichenliste von *Metztitlan*. I 5.

Curicaveri (tarask.), grosser Gott der Leute von *Pátzcuaro* und *Tzintzuntzan;* schwarz; erscheint als weisser Adler; straft seine Feinde mit Durchfall (Blutruhr), Trunkenheit und Lähmung. II 72 — sein Banner besteht aus weissen Reiherfedern. II 72.

Curinguaro, (tarask.) besonderer Gott dieser Stadt ist *Urendequa vecara* II 72.

cutz (Maya), wilder Truthahn, Meleagris ocellata Cuv. I 311, in der Schlinge gefangen. I 311.

C'abauil (Qui'che) = mexik. *teotl* „Gott", das ist *Hurakan-Tezcatlipoca*. I 147.

C'abovil (Cakchiquel), = mex. *teotl* „Gott", s. *chi c'aboril* „Gegend der Gottheit, d. h. der Sonne" = Süden. II 93.

c'ama zo'tz (Qui'che), „(Kopf)abreissende Fledermaus", eines der vier zerstückelnden Thiere im *Popol Vuh*. II 69.

c'ux (Qui'che) Herz. — *u c'ux cho, u c'ux palo*, „Herz des Sees. Herz des Wassers = *K'ucumatz*. I 83, 147 — *u c'ux cah* „Herz des Himmels" = *Hurakan*. I 147.

çacàcali, mit dem Besen kämpfen, *Tlaçolteotl* und ihr Gefolge am Feste *Ochpaniztli,* bezeichnet Gebären. I 154.

çacatapayolli, Grasballen, zum Hineinstecken der mit Blut bestrichenen Agaveblattspitzen. I 26, 64 — auf einem Reliefe der Uhde'schen Sammlung. II 193.

çacatl „Besen", in einer Schale. II 54 — in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 306 — Bündel Halme, in der Hand des Priesters der ersten Tagsstunde. II 181 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s (der neunten Tagstunde). II 199 — vom kasteienden Priester durch das Loch in der Zunge gezogen. II 181, 215.

çacatl tlacotl, Halme, durch die durchlöcherte Zunge zu ziehen, in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl's*. II 199, 215.
çaçanjlli „Mährchen". II 87.
Çaçin (sanskr.), „Mond, der mit dem Hasen". I 104.
ce acatl „eins Rohr", Anfang des fünften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes, Regent *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 225 — erstes Jahr der 52jährigen Periode. I 350. — Anfang des ersten Viertels der 52jährigen Periode, den Osten bezeichnend. I 343, 345 — Jahre der Fruchtbarkeit. I 345, 346 — Tag, an dem *Topiltzin Quetzalcouatl* starb und sich in den Morgenstern verwandelte. I 238, 351; II 6, 14, 15, 16, 46, 67, 238, 291 — Hieroglyphe und Name des Planeten Venus. I 238, 244, 254, 351; II 14, 291 — Gestirn. I 238; II 238, 291 = *Tlauizcalpantecutli* (s. dort). II 238, 291 — Tag, Ausgangspunkt der Berechnungen der Phasen des Planeten Venus im Codex Borgia. II 58 — einer der *tzitzimimê*, I 186 — Datum, beim Gefangenen des *Xipe*-festes. I 175, 271.
ce acatl ce cipactli, Anfang der ersten Venusperiode im ersten Jahre der 52jährigen Periode. I 239; II 137.
ce acatl naui olin, Datum beim Regengotte des Nordens (*Tezcatlipoca*). I 349, 350, 351.
ce acatl — chicunaui cipactli eins Rohr — neun Krokodil, Abstand von acht Tagen. II 15 — auf diesen Zeitraum bezieht sich der Bericht, dass *Quetzalcouatl* vier Tage in der Unterwelt weilt und vier Tage Knochen ist. II 16.
ce acatl — matlactli omei itzcuintli „eins Rohr — dreizehn Hund", Abstand von 69 + 8 = 77 Tagen. II 15, 58.
ce atl, „eins Wasser", Anfang des 17. Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Chalchiuhtotolin*. II 272 — Name der *Tlaçolteotl* im Codex Nuttall I 164 — Anfangstag der vierten Venusperiode I 349, 350 — fällt in das fünfte Jahr (*macuil acatl*) der 52jährigen Periode. I 350.
ce calli „eins Haus", Anfang des 15. Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Itzpapalotl*. II 262–265 — Anfang des dritten Viertels der 52jährigen Periode. I 343, 346 — Jahr der Wasserfülle. I 346 — einer der Tage, an denen die *Cinateteô* zur Erde herabkommen. II 50, 76 — günstiges Zeichen für die Heimkehr der Kaufleute. II 169.
ce couatl, „eins Schlange", Anfang des neunten Tonalamatl-abschnittes. Seine Regenten *Xiuhtecutli* und *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 33; II 78, 235–239 — Zeichen der Maisgottheit, von guter Vorbedeutung. I 33 — erstes Glied der für den Morgenstern bedeutsamen viergliedrigen Reihe. I 350, 351; II 16 — Tag des ersten Aufgehens des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern. I 350, 351; II 16 — s. eins *chicchan*.
ce cozcaquauhtli „eins Geier", Anfang des 16. Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Xolotl*. II 265—272 — Anfang des vierten Viertels des gewöhnlichen Tonalamatl's, den Süden bezeichnend. I 344.
ce cuetzpalin „eins Eidechse", Anfang des zwölften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 246–252.
cecec itztic, das Kalte, Scharfe, Schneidende. I 149, 160, 268 — Region des Nordens. I 268 — s. *Itztli*, *Itztlacoliuhqui*.
ce cipactli „eins Krokodil", Anfang des ersten Tonalamatl-Viertels, den Osten bezeichnend. Sein Regent *Quetzalcouatl*. I 18, 19 — Anfang des ersten der 20 Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. Sein Regent *Tonacatecutli*. II 169, 211—213 - Anfang der ersten Venusperiode. I 239, 327, 337 — als Anfangszeichen der ersten Dreizehnheit, Zeichen *Tonacatecutli's*. II 169 — bei dem ersten der vier Jahre (*ce acatl*) angegeben. I 344 — Anfang des Tonalamatl's. I 343 — von günstiger Vorbedeutung. I 33.
ce cipactli, acatl, couatl, olin, atl, Säule des ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 170.
ce eecatl „eins Wind", Anfang des 18 Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Chantico*. II 273—280.
ceiba, s. *yaxché* (Maya).
ce itzcuintli „eins Hund", Anfang des 14. Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Xipe Totec*. II 253–262 — Zeichen des Feuers. Anfang des *tlequiauilli*. I 126 — Datum *Xipe Totec's*. II 257 — bedeutet den Mond. II 257.
ce maçatl „eins Hirsch", Anfang des dritten Tonalamatl-Viertels, den Westen bezeichnend. Sein Regent die Erdgöttin. I 22–24 — Anfang des dritten der 20 Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. Seine Regenten *Tepeyollotli* und *Tlaçolteotl*. II 216–220 — einer der Tage, an denen die *Cinateteô* zur Erde herabkommen. I 187; II 50, 76.
ce malinalli „eins Gedrehtes", Anfang des achten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Mayauel*. II 234, 235.
ce miquiztli „eins Tod", Anfang des sechsten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Seine Regenten *Tecciztecatl* und *Tonatiuh*. II 82, 225–229 — Anfang des zweiten Viertels des gewöhnlichen Tonalamatl's, den Norden bezeichnend. I 344 — Zeichen des Mondes, Zeichen *Tezcatlipoca's*. I 146, 148, 151 — Name der *Mictecacinatl*. Diesem Zeichen von den Königen und Fürsten Speiseopfer dargebracht. I 151.
cemmaitl, „Doppelmaiskolben", bei der Maisgöttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes angegeben. I 158.
Cempouallan, Ort im Staate Vera Cruz, Thonschalen von dort. I 106.
cempoualxochitl, von den Tänzern des *nematlaxo*-Tanzes in der Hand gehaltene gelbe Blüthen. I 154 — im Reiche *Tlaloc's*. I 295
çempuales, 20 tägige Abschnitte. I 4.
centla, „Maisfrucht", daraus der Menschenleib (*tonaca*) aufgebaut (s. *acxolma*). II 128.
Centzon Mimixcoua, die 400 Nordgötter, das Heer der Sterne des Nordhimmels. I 149, 183; II 13 — von *Tezcatlipoca* geschaffene Menschen. I 149 — von *Camaxtli* erschaffene chichimeca-*otomi*. I 264 — sind die Seelen der Toten, die Väter, die Dioses primogénitos. II 13 — stehen in der Schlachtordnung auf der rechten Seite. II 13 — das Heer der Sterne, von der jungen Sonne (s. *Uitzilopochtli*) besiegt. I 264 — s. *Centzon Uitznaua*.
centzon quachtli, bunte Baumwollstoffe aus huaxtekischem und totonakischem Gebiet. I 164.
centzontilmàtli, kostbare, in farbigen Mustern gewebte Baumwollstoffe aus dem huaxtekischen und totonakischen Gebiet. I 164 — s. *centzonquachtli, tlapapalquachtli, couaxayacayo, mixnextlacuilolli*.
centzon totochtin, die 400 Pulquegötter. I 113, 138 — sind Erntegötter. I 113, 138; II 10 — ihre Namen, s. unter Pulquegötter — sind Mondwesen. II 10.
Centzon Uitznaua, „die 400 Südgötter", — die feindlichen Brüder *Uitzilopochtli's*. I 84, 206; II 1, 10, 11, 131, 189 — das Heer der Sterne, das von der jungen Sonne besiegt wird. I 264; II 11, 13, 189 — ihre Trachtausstattung, solche von Tanzgötttern. II 308 — ihnen entsprechen in *Michuacan* die *virambanecha* (taraskisch). II 13 — sind das Gefolge des Mondes. II 13.
ce ocelotl „eins Jaguar", Anfang des zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertels, den Norden bezeichnend. Sein Regent *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20–22; II 52 — Anfang des zweiten der 20 Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. Sein Regent *Quetzalcouatl*. II 169, 213–216 — Zeichen des Nordens, der Region des Todes. II 169 — Datum, neben *Tezcatlipoca* am *techcatl*, im Norden der Unterwelt angegeben. II 52 — „eins Jaguar" = *Tlaçolteotl*. I 217.
ce oçomatli „eins Affe", Anfang des elften Tonalamatl-Abschnitts. Sein Regent *Pùtecatl*. II 244–246 — Anfang des dritten Viertels des gewöhnlichen Tonalamatl's, den Westen bezeichnend. I 344 — Einer der Tage, an denen die *Cinateteô* zur Erde herabkommen. II 50, 76 — von günstiger Vorbedeutung I 33.

ce olin „eins Bewegung“, Anfang des 13. Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Tlaçolteotl.* II 252—253.

ce quauhtli „eins Adler“, Anfang des neunzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Xochiquetzal.* I 208; II 79, 280—286 — Name der schlimmsten der fünf *Ciuateteô.* II 50, 85 — im Herzen des Nordens der Unterwelt dargestellt. II 50 — einer der Tage, an denen die *Ciuateteô* zur Erde herabkommen. I 43; II 50, 76, 85 — Name der *Mayauel,* der fünften der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 85.

ce quiauitl „eins Regen“, Anfang des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Sein Regent *Tlaloc.* II 229—234 — einer der Tage, an denen die *Ciuateteô* zur Erde herabkommen. II 50, 76.

cervus virginianus Gmel. I 7 — Cervus (Coassus) nemorivagus Schl. I 7—8.

ce tecpatl „eins Feuerstein“, Anfang des zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Seine Regenten *Mictlantecutli* und *Tonatiuh.* II 239—244 — Anfang des zweiten Viertels der 52 jährigen Periode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 343, 346 — Jahre der Dürre und des Heuschreckenfrasses. I 346 — an ihm die Thiere erschaffen. II 208 — Jahr, in dem *Camaxtli* im achten Himmel Opfer für die Ernährung der Sonne mit Herzen schuf. I 264.

cetl, Kälte, Frost. Hieroglyphe. II 249 Abb. 252 — Gott der, *Itztlacoliuhqui.* I 154; — Hart gewordenes Wasser. Kälte. II 247 — Gott der Kälte, ist *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 145, 247 — s. *citli.*

ce tochtli „eins Kaninchen“, Anfang des zwanzigsten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. Seine Regenten *Xiuhtecutli* und *Xipe.* II 81, 286—289 — Anfang des vierten Viertels der 52jährigen Periode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 343, 344, 346 — Jahre der Unfruchtbarkeit und des Mäusefrasses. I 346, 347 — an ihm die Erde geschaffen. I 204; II 288 — Beginn der gegenwärtigen Weltperiode in diesem Jahre erfolgt die Aufrichtung des in der Sintflut eingestürzten Himmels. II 118 — Zeichen der *Mayauel,* der Pulquegötter. I 301 — Zeichen der Erde. II 288 — die in diesem Zeichen Geborenen haben langes Leben. II 288.

ce xochitl „eins Blume“, Anfang des vierten Tonalamatl-Viertels, den Süden bezeichnend. Sein Regent *Tonatiuh* I 25 — Anfang des vierten der zwanzig Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. Sein Regent *Ueuecoyotl.* II 220—225 — Tag des Blumenfestes *(xochilhuitl),* Fest *Xochipilli's.* I 132 — = *Cinteotl,* der von der *Tlaçolteotl* im *Tamaonchan* Geborene. I 136, 157 — Zeichen und Name der Sonne. II 285 — = *Hunahpu* der Qu'iche. I 42; II 1, 50 — bei einem grossen Sonnenbilde über einer Tempelpyramide. II 285.

ci (Maya) „Honigwein“. I 142 — s. *cib.*

cib (Maya) = mex. Tageszeichen *cozcaquauhtli.* I 44, 142 — s. *ci* „Honigwein“ — *oxil cib* = mex. *yei cozcaquauhtli,* Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern. I 351.

cicitlallô, nach Art des Sternhimmels gemalt, weisse Scheiben auf schwarzem Grunde. Das Wurfbrett *Quetzalcouatl's.* I 88 — das Gesicht *Quetzalcouatl's* der Höhe. II 167 — die Federkrone *Tezcatlipoca's.* II 229 — das Gewand der *Citlalinicue.* I 31 (?) — ein Feld um die Augen eines *coyotl*-artigen Thieres, beim Pulquegotte. I 143, 144 — bei einem raubthierartigen Thiere neben *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* dargestellt. I 293 — Augenstreifen des Pumas, des Thieres des Südens, neben dem linken Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54 — = *mixcitlalhuiticac (?).* I 143 — Schlange und aus ihrem Rachen hervorsehendes Menschengesicht des rothen Wassergefässes. II 44 — eine der fünf Schlangen bei der Darstellung der Geburt der fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98 — Bemalung der Arme der Himmelsschlange. II 65, 68 — Arm einer menschlichen Figur neben dem Bandvierecke in der Wiener Handschrift. II 284 — Daunenfederbälle auf schwarzem Grunde, Bemalung der Arme *Tlauizcalpantecutli's.* II 71, 290, 306 — Arme *Tlauizcalpantecutli's,* des Himmelsträgers des Westens. II 129 — des Regenten der ersten Venusperiode. II 139, 140, 143 — des Regenten der ersten, dritten, vierten Venusperiode (im Codex Bologna). II 143 — der gefleckte Vogel, die Wachtel *(çolin),* Abbild *Xipe Totec's.* II 254, 290, 296.

Cincalco, Heimath des Maises, der Westen *(Tamoanchan).* I 184, 243; II 56, 81, 302 — eine der vier Höhlen, der vier unterirdischen Regionen. II 56 — durch Maiskolben *(cintli)* im Räuchergefässe bei der blauen Federschlange des Westens angedeutet. II 302 — Höhle bei *Tlacuyoacan* (Tacubaya). II 56.

cincalli, Maishaus = Westen. I 23 — s. *cincalco.* II 56.

Cinteotl, Maisgott. I 135, 136, 207 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 224 bis 227, 241—243 — Tracht entspricht der *Xochipilli's.* I 224ff., 241, 242; II 113 s. *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl* (*Xochipilli*) — vierter der neun Herren der Nacht. I 51, 218, 224—225, 237; II 134 — in der Reihe der neun Herren den Norden bezeichnend. I 137 — erster der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 241—243 — Erdgott des Nordens. II 134 — Gott des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173—174 — in *Tamoanchan* von der *Tlaçolteotl* geboren. I 136, 157; II 18 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens angegeben. II 81 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der dritten Periode getroffen. II 149, 152, 154, 155, 156 — gegenüber *Mayauel* dargestellt. II 235 — am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest bekleidet mit *mexxayacatl* und *itztlacoliuhqui.* I 154; II 110, 145 — von der *Teteo innan* an diesem Feste zu Füssen *Uitzlopochtli's* geboren. I 154; II 18, 134 — dargestellt durch einen Kopf der Göttin mit Maiskolben, oder durch einen Adlerfuss mit Maiskolben. I 51 (s. Adlerfuss) — am Tempel des Westens (über dem Westbaum). II 113, 114 — eine Maisgöttin mit Maiskolben im Wassergefässe, Determinativ bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens. II 81 — = *ce xochitl.* I 157 — sein Tempel s. *Pochtlan* — in *Colhuacan* verehrt, ein Sohn des Sonnengottes *Piltzintecutli's* und ident mit ihm. I 207 — bezeichnet den Westen. I 238 — vertreten durch *Tonacatecutli.* I 156 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, s. dort.

Cinteotl-itztlacoliuhqui, Maisgott, in der Maske der Gottheit des Steins, von der *Tlaçolteotl* am Feste *Ochpaniztli* geboren. I 138, 154, 157, 159, 160; II 110, 145 — ist *cetl* = *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Morgenstern als Sohn des Mondes. II 145, 247, 248.

cintli, Zeichen von Reichthum und Lebensmittelfülle. I 79, 107 — Maiskolben, im Kopfschmucke des Maisgottes (u. a.), in der Krone *Tonacatecutli's.* I 79 — bildet Kleid dieses Gottes. II 30 — bei der Erdgöttin, der Regentin des Westens (des dritten Tonalamatl-Viertels). I 22 — deutet *Cincalco, Tamoanchan* an. II 302 — weiteres s. Maiskolben.

cioatlatqujtl, „weibliche Habe“. II 89 — s. *malacatl, tzotzopaztli, tanatli.*

cipactli, Krokodil, Schwertfisch, Schlangenkopf. I 76 — erstes Zeichen des Tonalamatl's. I 18, 19, 49, 65, 215, 219 — erstes der zwanzig Tageszeichen. I 6, 76—82, 301, 302 — s. *Xochiquetzal* — sein Regent *Tonacatecutli.* I 78 — adorirender *Quetzalcouatl.* I 301 — massgebendes Tageszeichen für den ersten Himmelswanderer *(Tonatiuh).* II 157 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 319—326 — Anfangszeichen der ersten Venusperiode. I 239, 327, 337; II 137, 148 — aus ihm die Erde gemacht. I 76, 281; II 17, 30, 63, 116 — bezeichnet die Erde. I 146; II 17, 106, 158 — beim ersten Menschenpaare dargestellt. I 82 — in ihm schiesst *Tlauizcalpantecutli* die alten Leute. II 148, 156 — s. *Cintcotl, Tonacatecutli; ueuetque ilamatque.* — unter dem *Tlaloc* des Ostens die Erde bezeichnend. I 345; II 300 — im Wasser bei dem Dämon des Westens

— Zeichen des Gedeihens, der Fülle. I 19, 51 — neben dem Adlerfusse *(quauhtetepontli)*. I 50, 51 — enthauptet, beim Baume des West-*tzompantli*'s. II 116 — Ballspieler des Westens; sein Determinativ ein umgestürzter Topf und eine Schatzkiste mit herausfallenden Zeichen des Reichthums. II 116 — Zeichen der *Xochiquetzal*. I 66 — s. *imix* — hat Herrschaft über die Leber. I 280 — beim linken Fusse *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben. I 281 — *Xochipilli*'s. II 135.

cipactli, couatl, atl, acatl, olin, Anfangstage der fünf aufeinanderfolgenden Venusperioden. I 239, 327, 337; II 137, 148 — am Fusse, Ohre, an der Hand, dem Auge und dem Munde *Tlaloc*'s angegeben. II 300, 301.

cipactli, miquiztli, oçomàtli, cozcaquauhtli, Tageszeichen der ersten Säule des ersten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Osten). II 4, 6, 15.

cipactli — itzcuintli, Abstand von 69 Tagen, Zeit des als Morgenstern „gestorbenen" Planeten Venus. II 14.

cipactli-**artiges Wesen,** beisst dem Gotte des Westens ein Bein ab. I 146 — s. *Xochipilli, Tezcatlipoca* — in *malinalli* gekleidet, mit einem *eecatl*-Kopf, packt das untere Ende der in Stücke zerrissenen Schnur bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285.

cipactli-**Haut**, viereckiges Stück. II 284.

cipactli-**Hautzeichnung**. II 106.

cipactli-**Helmmaske,** der Götterfigur der *acatl*-Jahre. I 344, 345 — des zweiten Hüters der ersten Reihe der fünf Venusperioden. I 243.

cipactli-**Hülle,** *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 29.

cipactli-**Kopf,** vor den Füssen *Mictlantecutli*'s der ersten Nachtstunde. II 181.

cipactli-**Leib,** darauf das *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 151 — der Erdgöttin. II 17 — eines ein Viereck bildenden *Tonacatecutli,* in dessen *cipactli*-Rachen der schwarze und rothe *Quetzalcouatl* hineingezogen werden. II 47 — s. *cipactli*-Viereck.

cipactli-**Rachen,** weiss, bei *Tlanizcalpantecutli* (gegenüber *Quetzalcouatl)* dargestellt. I 286 — aus ihm die alte Erdgöttin hervorschauend. II 17 — in ihn der schwarze und rothe *Quetzalcouatl* hineingezogen. II 46, 47 — dem Gesichte eines weisshaarigen *Tonacatecutli* eingesetzt. II 46 — darüber erhebt sich das *Quetzalcouacalli* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 51 — nimmt den nackten Leib des die Stufen der Pyramide hinabgeworfenen geopferten knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* in der tiefsten Hölle auf. II 52 — veranschaulicht den Erdboden. II 290.

cipactli-**Stacheln,** eines grünen *Tlaloc*. II 43 — an der Stachelkeule. II 163.

cipactli-**Streifen,** stachliger, auf ihm liegt die gelbe Erdgöttin beim Baume der Mitte. II 105, 107.

cipactli-**Viereck**. II 47 — umschliesst die tiefste Hölle im Norden der Unterwelt. II 52.

cipactli-**Zeichnung,** (s. *cipactli*-Haut; s. Schildkrötenschalenzeichnung). II 109.

Cipactonal, einer der vier alten Weisen, die in *Tamoanchan* den Kalender schaffen. I 147, 185; II 169 — in *Tamoanchan*, die sechste Nachtstunde und die obere Region bezeichnend. II 191 — als Name für *Itztlacoliuhqui* angegeben II 250 — Weiterentwicklung des Begriffes Stein zum Begriffe Erde. II 250 — s. *Oxmoco*.

Cipactonal und Oxomoco, im Zyclus von 52 Jahren *Quetzalcouatl-Tezcatlipoca* gegenüber dargestellt. I 147 — für *Tonacatecutli, Tonacacinatl*, die Vertreter des Ostens eintretend. III 3.

cipaquecli = cipactli. I 146.

Cipaquetona, Name *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s s. *Cipactonal.*

citlalcouatl, „Sternschlange", dem Dämon des Südens *(quauhtli)* gegenüber, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 64, 65, 68 — s. Himmelschlange.

citlalcueitl, Gürtelbehang, mit rasselnden Schneckengehäusen, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 182; II 217, 306 — der *Itzpapalotl*. I 182; II 262 — „Stern-Enagua, Stern-Hüfttuch", aus Schneckengehäusen bestehender rasselnder Gürtelbehang der Erd-(Mond)-göttinnen. II 46, 217 — der zwölf tanzenden *Ciuateteô*. II 46 — der die Unterwelt verhüllenden Erdgöttin. II 49.

Citlalicue = Citlalinicue, Gemahlin *Citlallatonac*'s. I 186.

citlallachtli, „Sternballspielplatz", Sterne in der Nähe der Ursa mayor, = *Tezcatlipoca*. I 149, 292 — im Rachen der rothen Feuerschlange des Codex Nuttall. II 40.

Citlallatonac, Himmelsgott = *Tonacatecutli, Ometecutli*. I 55, 79 — seine Gemahlin: *Citlalicue*. I 186 — als solcher *Xiuhtecutli* aufgefasst. II 295 — die Kinder beider sind: *Quetzalcouatl, Uitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipoca, Tonacatecutli, Yonaltecutli, Tlanizcalpantecutli, Itzpapalotl*. I 186.

Citlalin icue, Himmelsgöttin = *Tonacacihuatl, Omecihuatl*. I 55; II 298 — Begleitbild im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 55. s. *Ilamatecutli*, bewohnt den dreizehnten der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 298 — bezeichnet die dreizehnte Tagstunde. II 298 — s. *Ometecutli* und *Omecihuatl* — s. *cocho*.

citlalpol, „grosser Stern", Name des Planeten Venus. II 143, 162 — s. *uei citlalin*.

citlalxonecuilli, Sternbild. I 262.

citli, „der Hase", bei Mendieta für *Tlanizcalpantecutli* gesetzt, missverstanden statt *cetl* (Gott der Kälte). II 145, 247.

ciua, „Weiber". I 154.

Ciuacouatl, Göttin von *Colhuacan*. I 166; II 127, 128, 273 — mit Totenschädel und Jaguarpranken dargestellt. I 22, 23 — Göttin der *mociuaquetzque*. I 156; II 87, 218, 219 — Lied an sie. I 174; II 127, 128 — Trachtbesonderheiten mit *Ilamatecutli* gemeinsam. I 188 — verkörpert den Mond als Widerpart der Sonne. II 86 — Repräsentantin der Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*. II 161 — *Mictlantecutli* gegenüber bei der ersten Nachtstunde. II 181 — gegenüber *Mictecaciuatl*, der dritte der fünf Hüter der vier Venusperioden. I 277, 278 — eines der Gesichter der *Quaxolotl*. II 187 — mit der Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes. I 32 — Steinidol von *Cozcatlan* (Distrikt Tehuacan). I 22 — mit rothem Gewande und Feueropfer. I 30 (s. *Chantico*) — Frau, die zuerst Zwillinge gebar. I 32 — = *Quilaztli*. I 156, 166; II 86, 218, 273 — = *Ilamatecutli*. I 188, 192 — dargestellt beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Fest. I 211 — beim *Tecuilhuitontli*-Feste auf dem *tlachtli*, den Westen vertretend. I 290 — auf dem Boden liegend, über ihr erheben sich die Bäume des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 104.

Ciuacouatl-Quilaztli, heisst bei Durán *Chantico* — (s. dort). II 273.

Ciuapilli, s. *Ciuateotl*.

Ciuapiltin, s. *Ciuateteô — otlamaxac nemini*. I 28 — *otlamaxac ciuapiltin*. II 54.

Ciuateotl, je eine schwarze und rothe, begleitet den lebenden *Quetzalcouatl* auf seinem Wege zum Hauptraum des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 49 — je eine gelbe und blaue, den toten *Quetzalcouatl* auf seinem Wege ebendahin. II 49 — Göttin des Westens, Begleitbild im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel = geopferte Frau, Seele der im Kindbett gestorbenen Frau. I 60 — s. *Macuilxochitl*, ihre Parallele — s. *Itzpapalotl, Ilamatecutli* — ihr Gegenstück der *ilhuicac yauh*. I 187, 274 — der *Xocotl, Cuecuextzin*. I 190 — = *chiquatli* „Käuzchen". I 190 — blau. II 46, 49 — gelb. II 46, 49 — roth. II 46, 49 — weiss. II 46 — schwarz II 49 — ihr natürlicher Genosse ist *Auiateotl (Xochipilli)*. II 51 — Repräsentantin der Mondgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*. II 160, 161.

Ciuateotl-**Figur,** je eine eskortiert den in den Osten der Unterwelt *(eipactli*-Viereck) eintretenden schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 47.

Ciuateteô, Götinnen des Westens. I 272; II 13, 20, 22, 87 264 — in Fünfzahl vorhanden. I 68, 187, 272, 299; II 20, 50, 85, 86 ff, 264 — Aussehen und Tracht.

II 85—93 — mit einem Gefässe am Nacken abgebildet. I 68 — Heiligthümer auf Kreuzwegen. I 39 — von weisser Körperfarbe. I 187 — haben Skelettkopf und Adlerklauen. I 285; II 19, 20, 50 — Seelen der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frauen und weibliches Gegenstück der geopferten Krieger. I 165, 186, 230, 272; II 13, 75 ff., 86 ff., 239 — die zu Göttern gewordenen weiblichen Toten. I 348. — decken sich mit den *Tzitzimimê*. II 20, 22, 50, 264 – kommen an den Anfangstagen des dritten Tonalamatl-Viertels zur Erde. I 18, 23, 186, 187, 199, 230, 231, 241, 262, 272; II 50, 75 ff., 90 — schlagen die Kinder mit Epilepsie. I 187; II 75, 90, 264 — verleiten zum Ehebruch. I 187, 199; II 75, 90, 264 — repräsentiren Sinnenlust. I 231 — hausen auf dem Kreuzwege (s. *otlamaxac*). I 27, 187, II 54, 90, 301 — kommen im Westen herab. I 184, 241, 272; II 20, 87, 264 — ihre Tage und Namen sind *ce maçatl, quiauitl, oçomatli, calli, quauhtli*. II 76 — die diesen vorhergehenden Tage, s. *matlactli omei miquiztli*. II 76 — dargestellt beim Herzen des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 50, 52, 76 — ihr Totenerinnerungsfest *Tititl*. II 262 — ihre Repräsentantin *Ilamatecutli*. I 189, 190; II 264 — Beziehung zu ihnen hat der kahlköpfige Vogel, der Geier (*cozcaquauhtli*). I 307 — Tanz der —, am *Tititl*-Feste. I 189 — zu Ehren der *Ilamatecutli*. I 190 — ihnen verwandt die *Itzpapalotl*. II 196 — ihr Gegenstück die fünf *Auiateteô*. I 199, 272, 274; II 13 (die fünf *Uitznaua*), 22, 90 — zusammen mit den *Auiateteô* paarweise den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend als *Tzitzimimê* dargestellt II 117—118 — kommen der Sonne entgegen, sie am Zenithe in Empfang zu nehmen. II 13, 87, 239 — in Tanzstellung und mit der Gebärde des in Empfangnehmens im Westhimmel dargestellt. I 285, 286 — im Hause der rothen Schlange. II 19, 20, 22 — zwölf, abwechselnd roth, blau, weiss, gelb und *chictlapanqui*, beim Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern in Tanzstellung dargestellt. II 45, 46 — wandern mit dem Monde der Sonne entgegen. II 22 — Abbilder der alten Mond- und Geburtsgöttin *Tlaçolteotl*. II 45, 50, 228, 294, 301 — (s. *tonalêquê*) — Verkörperungen des Mondes. II 87 — bezeichnet durch das *Chalchiuhtôtolin* (Gegenteil s. *quauhtli*). I 202.

ciuatlampa, Region der Weiber, = Westen. Ihm gehört das dritte Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 18, 23, 93, 94, 267 — Regent die Erdgöttin. I 23, 94 — Region der Zeugung. I 288 — Wohnort der *ciuateteô*. I 18, 23, 124, 185; II 87, 88, 264 — in der Reihe der neun Herren durch *Chalchiuhtlicue* und *Tlaçolteotl* bezeichnet. I 237 — durch *Piltzintecutl* und *Tepeyollotli*. I 238 — durch *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*. II 200 — durch die blaue Federschlange und *Quetzalcouatl*. II 301 — Region des Abendsterns. I 267 — Gegend, wo die Sonne zu den Toten hinabsteigt („Loch der Erde"). I 23, 92 — = Haus der Geburt (*Tamoanchan*). I 23, 24, 94, 264 — s. *cincalli* — Region der Zwillinge gebärenden *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal*. II 187 — ausgedrückt durch *Chalchiuhtlicue, Nanauatzin* und *Xochiquetzal*. I 288 — bezeichnet durch *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 306, 307.

ciuatlatquitl s. *cioatlatquitl*.

çolin, Wachtel, geflckter (*cicitlallô*) Vogel, Farben dieses Vogels, (blau und *cicitlallô*). II 290 — Thier der Erde. I 163 — Abbild *Xipe*'s. II 254 — Abbild himmlischer Gottheiten (des Mondes), der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Sonne. II 290, 296 — Verkleidung *Xipe Totec*'s. — II 290 Anspielung auf seine Mondnatur. II 290 — Brustschmuck *Xipe*'s. I 168, 179, 330; II 133 — an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde *Xipe*'s. I 271 — Federn im Nackenschmuck der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 (s. *çoyatemalli*). I 168, 230; II 290 — und an der Hutspitze der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 251, Abb. 256 — Scheitelschmuck aus Wachtelfedern bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217 — Wachtelfedern bilden den Nasenstab der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163 — ihr Blut dem Zeichen *ce miquiztli* (= *Tezcatlipoca*) dargebracht I 151 — am *netonatiuh çaualli* geopfert. I 204 — ihr Blut dem Sonnengotte dargebracht. I 224; II 290 — Opfer durch Kopfabreissen (s *tlaquechcotonaliztli*) *Tonatiuh* gegenüber II 290 — Opfer vor *Naui olin* (bezw. zwei Himmelsgöttern) in der Wiener Handschrift. II 283 — Vogel der vierten Tagstunde. II 296 — Abbild der zum Opfer Bestimmten, des Opfermenschen, der Seelen der geopferten Krieger. II 290 — s. abgerissener Wachtelkopf.

ço'tz (zo'tz) (Maya), Fledermaus s. *c'auua ço'tz*.

Çoyatemalli, Busch gelber Federn, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 101, Anm. 1, 164, 275; II 217, 296, 306 — bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78 — der *Mayauel*. II 235.

Chac (Maya), Regengott. I 215, 311, 321, 335 — verwandt der Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 215 — seine andere Form ist *Ah bolon tz'acab*. I 217 — rother Regengott, Gott des Feuerregens, Herr der zweiten Venusperiode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 335 — Regengötter, sind die „dioses de los panes". I 217, 335 — ihr Fest im fünfzehnten Uinal *Moan*. I 321 — sein Geburtstag, die mit der Zahl neun verbundenen vier Tage des ersten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Osten) in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam*. II 6 — s. *u ziyanil Chac* — sitzt auf vier den Himmelsrichtungen koordinirten Bäumen (im Cod. Dresd.). II 103, 107, 108

chac „roth", Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen beim Kopfe des Blitzthieres, beim Jaguar (*balam*). I 311.

Chaculá, Hacienda im Distrikte *Nenton* von Guatemala — — Ballspielplätze dort. I 193

chachanmê, die Häuser; zwei Gefangene, die am *netonatiuh-çaualli* geopfert werden. I 204.

chalchimamatlaco apanaytemoaya „dein Edelsteinwasser kam herab", es ist grün geworden. I 168; II 45, 259.

Chalchiccueyêcan, Name der Küste von Vera Cruz; dorthin gelangen nach dem Lienzo de Jucutácato die wandernden Menschen. II 269.

Chalchimmichoacan, Edelstein-Michoacan = *Tamoanchan*, der mythische Westen. I 136, 137, 157 — bei *Xochipilli* dargestellt. I 136, 137 — s. *Xochitlicacan*.

chalchiuh-a-apaztli, „Behälter des Edelsteinwassers". II 50.

chalchiuhaolhuaztli, „Brunnen des Edelsteinwassers", s. *chalchiuhapaztli*. II 50.

chalchiuhapazco, s. *chalchiuitlapazco*.

chalchiuhapaztli, grüne Schale, mit einem Totengesichte auf der Fläche. II 8 — „Edelsteinschale", Herz des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 50 — auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 48 — s. *chalchiuhaapaztli*. — s. *chalchiuitl apaztli*.

chalchiuhatl, Edelsteinwasser, auch = Blut. I 9, 16, 20, 37, 115 (*teoatl*), 201, 287, 302; II 43, 50, 66, 83 — das den Schmutz der Sünde wegnehmende Nass, Kasteiungsblut. I 278; II 300 — durch Blutschlange veranschaulicht s. *tlapalcouatl* — bei *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Büsser. I 245 — beim Büsser. I 20, 302; II 196 — durch *cozcatl* bezeichnet. II 196 — beim *chalchiuhtotolin*. I 39, 200; II 116, 210, 211 — durch den Truthahn (*chalchiuhtotolin*) repräsentirt. I 200; II 272, 297, 298 — bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 228, 229, 278 — dargestellt durch einen Blüthenring mit einem Blüthenbaume. I 278 — durch eine Edelsteinschale mit einem Blüthenbaume, daneben Blut und Herz. I 279 — durch einen Wasser umschliessenden Fastenstrick-Knäuel, in dem Agaveblattspitzen stecken, ausgedrückt. II 272 — s. Ausbohren des Auges — mit *cuitlatl*-artigen Gebilden besetzt. I 278 — bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 248 — beim Gotte des Bluts. I 302 — angedeutet durch *couatl* am Ohre *Tlaloc*'s. II 300.

chalchiuhcouatl, dem Dämon des Westens (*quetzaltototl*) gegenüber, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 68.

chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, mehrreihige Halskette aus Edelsteinperlen, bei *Xochipilli*. I 130, 248 — u. a. Göttern. I 243; II 110, 113, 162.

chalchiuhcozcatl, bei *Ueuccoyotl*. I 98 — bei *Cinteotl*. I 224 — aus der Öffnung des hohlen Opferpflocks des Sonnengottes heraushängend I 203 — Brustkette des Sonnengottes. I 285 — Rauchopfer des Sonnengottes. I 285 — in eine Blüthe endigend = *macuil xochitl* vor dem Munde *Xochipilli*'s. I 136, 248 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 20 — der *Xochiquetzal*. I 22, 247 — bei *Ueuccoyotl*. I 98 — bezeichnet Gesang, Musik und Tanz etc. I 248; II 116 — bezeichnet das Blut des Opfers bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21 — Edelsteinketten, aus der Wunde der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Sonnenscheibe (in der vierten Periode) herauskommend. II 151.

chalchiuhnacochtli, Ohrschmuck *Tlaloc*'s. I 111, 142 — der Pulquegötter. I 142; II 245 — *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s. I 202 — s. Ohrplatte, viereckige — Ohrschmuck *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 44.

chalchiuhpilli, „Herr des grünen Edelsteins", ist *Yacatecutli*, dritter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — s. *xiuhpilli*.

chalchiuhquetzaltotot, grüner Quetzalvogel, enthauptet, am Fuss des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115.

chalchiuhtepetl, „Edelsteinberg", bedeutet Opferstätte. II 50.

Chalchiuhtlatonac, Gott des fliessenden Wassers, im Cod. Vatic. für *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Regentin des fünften Tageszeichens, eintretend. I 100, 101 — Herr der Kostbarkeit = *Xochipilli*. I 101, 339 — als solcher *Tonacatecutli* in Kopulation mit *Tonacaciuatl* — *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 44—45 — und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, in der Edelsteinschale das Kasteiungsblut des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* trinkend. II 51 — im Wasser bei der Darstellung der Geburt *Xolotl*'s im Norden der Unterwelt. II 53.

Chalchiuhtlicue, die mit dem Gewand aus grünen Edelsteinen; Göttin des fliessenden Wassers. Aussehen und Tracht. I 100, 101, 227, 228 — bewohnt den dritten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 294, 295, 296 — bezeichnet die dritte Tagstunde (Morgendämmerung). II 296 — s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli* — repräsentirt den Westhimmel, *Tamoanchan*. I 287, 288 — trägt Schlangenkopf-Helmmaske. I 227, 338; II 42, 149, 225 — letztere mit Jaguarohr. I 227 — Regentin des fünften Tageszeichens *couatl*. I 100—102 — des fünften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *ce acatl*. II 225 — sechster der neun Herren der Nacht. I 218, 227—229, 237 — den Westen bezeichnend. I 237, 288 — vierter der fünf Hüter der vierten Venusperiode, den Westen bezeichnend. I 278—279 — Göttin der Abendsternreihe, den Osten bezeichnend. I 338 — entsprechende Gottheit der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 341 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der ersten Periode (Westen). II 149, 152, 154, 155, 157 — im Wassergefässe unter dem *Tlaloc* der Mitte. I 347, 348, 349 — erhält Opfer im Anfange des Jahres. I 83 — im Wassergefässe beim Regengotte des Südens (*Xiuhtecutli*). I 352 — beim Regengotte des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*). I 352 — beim Regengotte der Mitte (*Xochipilli*). I 353 — durch *Xochipilli* vertreten. I 102 — dargestellt beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste. I 211 — als *quetzalcoxcoxtli* beim fünften Tageszeichen *couatl* dargestellt. I 303, 304 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 311, 318—319 — mit Quetzalvogel-Helmmaske. II 175 — als solche *Tonacaciuatl* in Kopulation mit *Tonacatecutli*-*Chalchiuhtlatonac*. II 44—45 — und *Chalchiuhtlatonac*, in der Edelsteinschale das Kasteiungsblut des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* trinkend. II 51 — im Wasser bei der Darstellung der Geburt *Xolotl*'s, im Norden der Unterwelt. II 53 — ihr geweihter Tag *chicome quiauitl* „sieben Regen". II 225 — als Herrin der Kühle, eine Art Mondgöttin. II 225 — verwandt dem Maya-Regengott *Chac*. I 215 — ihr entspricht in der ersten Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift *Ah holon tz'acab*. II 154.

Chalchiuhtlicue* und *Tlaloc, s. *Tlaloc* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*.

Chalchiuhtlicue* und *Xolotl, Vertreter des Südens. III 2.

chalchiuhtotolin, Edelsteinhuhn, Truthahn; bezeichnet das Wasser, den Regen. I 200; II 116 — Regent des achtzehnten Tageszeichens *tecpatl*. I 200—202 — des siebzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *ce atl*. I 201, 202; II 272 — Abbild *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 39, 201, 298; II 116, 272 — Repräsentirt das *chalchiuhatl* oder Blut. I 39, 201; II 116, 210, 211, 272, 297, 298 — ist ein Dunkelheitswesen. I 202, 297 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. II 20 — bezeichnet die im Westen hausenden *Ciuatetcô* (Gegenteil s. *quauhtli*). I 202, 298 — bezeichnet Tod durch Zauberei. I 298 — Ballspieler des Nordens. II 116 — bezeichnet die neunte Tagstunde. II 297, 298 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der Geier (?). I 217.

chalchiuhtotoltemoc, herabkommender Truthahn, in *Tlillan* dargestellt. I 297 — s. *quauhtemoc*.

chalchiuhuitztli „Edelsteindorn", in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 215.

chalchiuhyacamitl, Nasenstab aus grünem Edelstein, kostbarer Nasenstab. Vom Sonnengotte getragen. I 203, 284 — von *Xochipilli*. I 101, 130, 222, 338 — von *Tonacatecutli*. I 77 — von *Piltzintecutli*. I 222 — vom Gotte des Südens (in der Abendsternreihe). I 339 — von einer nackten Frauensperson beim Regengotte des Nordens (*Tezcatlipoca*). I 351.

chalchiuihtl apaztli (s. *chalchiuitl apaztli*).

chalchiuitl, sogen. Smaragd, Jadeït u. a. grüne Halbedelsteine. — seine Farbe grün. II 8, 105, 133 — im Wasser vor der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 180 (s. *quetzalcouatl*) — am Baume des Ostens. II 105 — Spiegel *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s. I 202 — auf der Kleidung der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278 — auf Trachtstücken *Chalchiuhtlatonac*'s. I 101 — auf der Schambinde *Xochipilli*'s. I 101 — am Nacken des Sonnengottes. I 224 — Sonnenabbild. I 14 — Abbild des Maisgottes. I 224 — Unter den Opfergaben. I 50, 53; II 181—207 s. *chalchiuhatl* — Vorstellungszusammenhang von *quetzalli*, *chalchiuitl* und *atl*. II 65 — bezeichnet an der halben Sonne den vom Himmel tropfenden Regen. II 175 — in dem Blutstrome, der von der Fledermaus zur *Xochiquetzal* des Südens der Unterwelt gabelnd sich richtet II 66 — Decke der *Xochiquetzal*. I 212 — Decke *Piltzintecutli*'s. I 222 — im Kopfbande der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278 — bildet den Kelch der Hieroglyphe *Xochitl*. I 16 — Verschlucken eines *chalchiuitl* macht die *Chimalman* schwanger. I 84 — darauf anspielend der *chalchiuitl* in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal* des ersten der sechs Götterpaare, II 171 — Sinnbild des Herzens, des Lebens, der Regen- und Wassergottheit. I 85, 207; II 6, 20, 50, 66 — bezeichnet das Herz, den Fruchtansatz der jungen Maispflanze. I 169, 207 — wurde dem toten König in den Mund gesteckt und bedeutete das Herz des Toten. II 6 — = Kostbarkeit, Kind. I 240; II 198, 201 — (s. *cozcatl*, *quetzalli*) = Kostbarkeit, Opfer; s. Opfer — drückt das Opfer aus und dient daher zur Kennzeichnung von zum Opfer bestimmten oder dem Opfer dienenden Gegenständen. II 35, 108, 167 — s. *chalchiuhtepetl* — an der Stirnseite des grossen *tzontemoc*-artigen Skelettkopfes, der die Erde andeutet. II 167 — an der Terrassenwand der Opferstätte des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 52 — an den Pfosten des kopulirenden Westpaares. II 120 — auf einem Tuche über der *Tonacaciuatl*. II 27 — am Unterbaue des Tempels der Nacht. II 28 — am Unterbaue des Hauses der Blitzschlangen und des Blumenhauses. II 35 — auf der Pyramidenwand des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ost-

baume). II 108 — einen goldnen Nasenhalbmond umschliessend, an der Pyramidenwand des *xochicalli* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 51 — aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen hervorkommend. II 34 — mit den Federn des Nackenschmuckes *Quetzalcouatl*'s, bildet das Herz dieses Gottes. II 6, 7 — Herz der Todesgöttin des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 7 — Herz der *Teteoinnan* im Tempel des Hauses der rothen Schlange; darin quirlt ein Priester Feuer. II 18 — aus diesem Feuer entspringt ein rothes Abbild *Tepeyollotli*'s. II 21 — Herz der Erdgöttin, in dem *Quetzalcouatl* Feuer erbohrt. II 74 — Kern, aus dem eine nackte weibliche *ixquimilli* herauskommt, bei der Darstellung der Geburt der *Cinateteô*. II 91 — vom Erdrachen aufgenommen. I 197 — an der Schnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286 — am Seile des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — an einer Terrasse, auf der *Xolotl* steht. II 37 — am spitzen Strohdache des Tempels der Quetzalfederschlange (im Codex Nuttall). II 39 — in der Mitte des die Geburt des Maises andeutenden Wassergefässes. II 43 — im rothen Wassergefässe bezeichnet das Wasser, das den Mais hervorbringt. II 45 — Ausschnitt davon, über einem bunten Kasten vor *Xochipilli* im *xochicalli*. II 36.

chalchiuitl **und Quetzalfederbusch,** in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 215.

Chalchiuitl apazco, „in der grünen Edelsteinschale", Urheimat der Menschen im Lienzo de Jucutácato. II 269.

chalchiuitl-apaztli, „Edelsteinschale", jenseits des Ostmeers gelegene Höhle, aus der im Lienzo de Jucutácato die Stämme der Menschen hervorkommen. II 48 — auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 48.

chalchiuitl-**Baum,** Baum des Ostens. II 105, 115 — in seinem Wipfel ein *quetzaltototl*. II 105 — hinter der vom Planeten Venus getroffenen *Chalchiuhtlicue*, in der ersten Periode (Cod. Bologna). II 149.

Chalchiuitl-**Bemalung,** dunkelgrün, roth, weisser gefeldeter oder gefranster Rand und Augen; Korrelat zur Türkisvogelbemalung (blau, roth, gelb). I 28 — s. *Chalchiuhtlicue* (I 100).

chalchiuitl-**Blüthe,** im Opfergefässe, brennende Räucherharzmasse andeutend. II 109 — s. Baum mit *chalchiuitl*-Blüthen.

chalchiuitl-**Decke,** beim Sonnengotte (Tempel des Ostens). II 109.

chalchiuitl-**Kern,** in den sonnenartigen, in Stacheln ausstrahlenden Blüthen des Südbaumes. II 107.

chalchiuitl-**Kette,** s. *cozcatl*. — Kopfbinde des Sonnengottes I 203, 284 — zwischen *Uruecoyotl* und der hirschköpfigen *Xochiquetzal*. II 185 — bedeutet Verbindung der Tanzenden zu einem geschlossenen Reigen. II 185.

chalchiuitl-**Korb,** mit Maiskolben, auf dem Rücken des Maisgottes. II 114, 150.

chalchiuitl-**Krug,** mit Kakao oder Räucherwerk, bei dem dritten Tonalamatl-Abschnitt. II 220.

chalchiuitl-**Ohrgehänge** des Sonnengottes. I 284.

chalchiuitl-**Rand** der Gesichtsurne, in der die Verbrennung *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*'s stattfindet. II 53.

chalchiuitl-**Schale,** über eine knochenfarbene Schale gestülpt. II 91 — über die Rückenlast des gelben *Tezcatlipoca* (des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer) gestülpt; darauf ein *quetzaltototl*. II 163 — daraus bei den Gottheiten des dritten der sechs Götterpaare blühende Maispflanzen herauswachsend. II 173, 174.

chalchiuitl-**Schatzkiste,** Brustschmuck *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 211, 212.

chalchiuitl-**Schlange,** Verkleidung der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281.

chalchiuitl-**Schnur,** um den Ostbaum geschlungen. II 105.

chalchiuitl-**Steinbeil,** Politur durch *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung ausgedrückt. II 172.

chalchiuitl-**Streifen,** innerer Streifen der Umwallung des Westens der Unterwelt. II 56 — hängende, eines Wassergefässes, das die Geburt des Maises andeutet. II 43.

chalchiuitl-**Topf,** aus dem mit Goldschellen besetzten Edelsteinhalsbänder (*chalchiuhcozcatl*) ragen, beim Feuergotte. II 288 — mit Maiskolben, bei *Tlaloc*. II 307.

chalchiuitl-**Umwallung,** Herz des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 50.

chalmecaciuatl, eine Todesgöttin hat ein rothes *quechquemitl* und ein weisses *cueitl*. II 276.

Chamá, in der Alta Vera Paz, bemaltes Thongefäss von dort. I 315.

chamotzin, „dunkle Schmuckfeder", Anrede der Hebamme an die im Kindbette gestorbene Frau. II 87.

Champoton, über diesen Ort kehrt *Quetzalcouatl* aus *Yucatan* zurück. I 83.

Chantico = das im Hause zwischen den vier Wänden sich befindet (das Herdfeuer) = *Xiuhtecutli*. I 219, 220; II 274 — Feuergöttin. II 273, 277 — durch die Hieroglyphe *atl tlachinolli* auf ihrem Scheitel als weibliches Gegenstück des Feuergottes charakterisirt. II 277 — verkörpert das fressende Feuer. II 273 — daher in Verbindung mit dem Hunde (als beissendem Thiere) gebracht. II 273 — von *Tonacatecutli* in einen Hund verwandelt. II 280 — bei ihrem Feste vier Gefangene lebend ins Feuer geworfen (vgl. *Xocotluetzi*-Fest); Priester kasteien sich mit von Kopalfackeln abschmelzendem Harze. II 273, 274 — Göttin von *Xochimilco*, Feuergöttin. I 118 Anm. 4, 228; II 195, 196, 273–280 — Aussehen und Tracht. II 273–280 — ihr Mund weit offen, mit fletschenden Raubthierzähnen. II 273, 276 — ihr Steinbild. II 273 — ihr Geburtstag und Name *chicunaui itzcuintli* „neun Hund". II 273 — als solche von den Steinschneidern und Juwelieren *tlatecquê* verehrt. II 273 — andere Namen *Papaloxaual* „Schmetterlingsbemalung", *Tlappapalo* „die mit dem rothen Schmetterling". II 273, 276 — heisst bei Durán *Ciuacouatl-Quilaztli*. II 273. — Regentin des achtzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *ce eecatl*. II 273—280 — ihr Name „gelbe Frau". II 273 — chichimekische Göttin, Herrin des Capsicum-Pfeffers. II 273, 280 — Fastenbrecherin. II 273, 280 — = *Mictlantecutli*. II 273 — ihr Idol im *Tlillan* verschlossen gehalten. I 118 (Anm. 4); II 274, 276 — bezieht sich entweder auf das Herdfeuer, oder auf das Erdinnere (das Totenreich). II 274, 276 — Priester des *Tlillan*, s. *Tlillan tlenamacac*. — der Adlerfuss ihr Symbol, s. *quauhtetepontli*. — Begleitbild im ersten Tonamatl-Viertel. I 30 (s. *Ciuacouatl*). — ihre Trachtabzeichen trägt die *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 228 — dem Hirsche gleichgesetzt. I 107 — verwandt mit der *Itzpapalotl*. II 195, 196.

chayauac cozcatl, lang herabfallende Halskette aus *malinalli*-Gras der Pulquegötter. I 142; II 245.

Chi c'abovil (Cakchiquel), Gegend der Gottheit, d. h. der Sonne, der Süden; dort ist das vierte *Tullan (Tula)* gelegen. II 93.

Chi k'ekum chi a'kab (Quiche) „in der Zeit der Finsterniss und der Nacht". I 116; II 69, 119, 265 — durch den Mond bezeichnet. II 69.

chi (Maya), „essen", Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 316 — s. *tz'i* „Hund" — s. beissen.

Chiapas. I 232, 235; II 258 — s. Tzeltal.

Chibirias (Maya) = *Ix chebel yax*, Jungfrau, von der der *Bacab* geboren wird. I 322.

chic (Tzeltal) = mexik. *olin*, bedeutet „sich schütteln". I 190.

chicduaztli, Rasselbrett, Zeichen der Berg-, Regen- und Maisgötter. I 32, 168, 174 — *Xipe*'s. I 41, 81, 168, 170, 174, 271, 305, 330; II 127, 133, 288 — der Wassergötter, II 127 — abwechselnd mit Edelsteinriemen, im *tlauhquechol patzactli* II 256 — zwischen dem ersten Menschenpaare aufragend, Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnend. I 32, 81, 174; II 128, 213 — Sinnbild der Zeugung. I 174 — beim Priester, Be-

gleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 31, 32 — beim Himmelswanderer, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl, unten in Feuerzungen ausgehend. I 52 — Rasselbrett; Zeichen der Erdgottheiten. In der Hand der vier Hüter der Erde. I 31; II 126, 127 — der *Cinacouatl*. I 174 — *Cinteotl*'s (roth) — *Xipe*'s (roth). I 31, 41 etc.; II 257, 288 — (blau). II 133, 167 — feuer-(blut-)roth, bei *Mictlantecutli*, der Süd-Erdgottheit. II 134 — knöchern, beim Todesgott. II 166, 167, 168 — des Todesgottes, mit grossem weissem Windkreuz auf dunklem Grunde, auf dem grossen Aschenwirbel. II 34 — desselben, als Gottes des Todes in der irdischen Region, knöchern. II 166 — mit geschlossener Menschenfaust an der Spitze, bei *Mictlantecutli*. II 166 — an den Hauptgliedern mit Paaren rasselnder Schneckengehäuse, bei *Mictlantecutli* (Cod. Vatic.). II 166, 168 — zum Rasseln gebracht durch festes Aufsetzen auf die Erde. II 127 — in unmittelbarer Beziehung zur Ackerbestellung (Lied an die *Cinacouatl*). II 127, 128, 257 — Eingraben des Maiskorns damit. I 174; II 128 — im Opfergefässe bei *Xipe*. II 257.

chicauaztli-Spitze (?) über dem *tlilatl* des Krügchens beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 175.

chicchan, (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *couatl*. Erstes Glied der für den Morgenstern bedeutsamen viergliedrigen Reihe. I 350, 351; II 16 — Etymologie aus *chi* „beissen" und *chan* = *can* „Schlange", cf. mexik. *tequani coatl*. I 47 (Anm. 1). Determinativ einer der mex. Wassergöttin *Chalchiuhtlicue* entsprechenden Gottheit der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 318, 319.

chicoacolli das an einer Seite gekrümmte Wurfbrett des Windgottes. I 88; II 245, 253 — beim Pulquegotte. II 245 — s. *eca-uictli*.

Chicome couatl „sieben Schlange", ein Gott der Wiener Handschrift. I 332 — Name der Maisgottheit. I 33, 154, 157, 211, 243 — Priester der Maisgöttin ziehen die Haut der Opfer über (s. *Tototecti*). I 158 — streuen Mais unter das Volk. I 160.

chicome eecatl „sieben Wind"; Tag, an dem *Quetzalcouatl* die Menschen erschuf. I 84.

chicome maçatl, „sieben Hirsch", in diesem Zeichen ziehen die Chichimeken aus der Urheimat *Chicomoztoc*. I 206.

chicome quiauitl „sieben Regen", Tag, der *Chalchiuhtlicue* geweiht. II 225.

chicome xochitl, „sieben Blume" = *Xochilhuitl* „Blumenfest", Fest *Xochipilli*'s. I 82, 132, 213 — Fest *Macuilxochitl*'s. I 132, 213 — Name *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 78, 79, 82 — Name *Xochipilli*'s. I 79, 82, 132, 213 — dem entspricht im Codex Perez *uuc ahau*, Katun, dessen Regent der Mondgott ist. I 314 — Zeit übermässigen Ehebruches. I 322; II 265.

Chicomoztoc, Ort der sieben Höhlen, im Norden gelegene Urheimat der Stämme, Wohnort *Iztac Mixcouatl*'s. I 308; II 206 — von dort ziehen die Stämme fort. I 184 — Urheimat, die die Chichimeken im Zeichen *chicome maçatl* verlassen. I 206; II 115.

Chiconaui eecatl „neun Wind", Name des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl*. I 50 (in der Wiener Handschrift, im Codex Nuttall etc.).

Chiconaui itzcuintli, „neun Hund", Name der Feuergöttin. I 196; II 273.

Chiconaui tecuhtli „Herr der neun Richtungen", der Feuergott. I 118.

chictlapancayotl „Zweifarbigkeit", des Pulquegottes *(Pátecatl)*. II 244, 245.

chictlapanqui, zweifarbig; schwarz und roth, Farbe der Pulquegötter. I 138, 243, 250, 253; II 24, 172, 306 — Gewand und Krone der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 275; II 252, 306 — Farbe des alten Gottes mit der *cipactli*-Helmmaske. I 243 — Gesicht *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Gottes des Lebens. II 166 — Gesichtsfarbe des Gottes des Ostens, Hüters der dritten Venusperiode. I 332 — halb schwarzer, halb rother Nachthimmel, vom Jaguar mit den Vorderpranken emporgehalten. I 304 — Andeutung der halb dunklen, halb leuchtenden Mondscheibe. II 24 — Gesicht des Mondgottes. II 229 — Ausdruck des *tlilli-tlapalli*, des Dunkeln und Hellen, der Verwandlung, des Absterbens und der Erneuerung, des Wesens der Pulquegötter und *Quetzalcouatl*'s als Mondgötter. II 245, II 246 — halb schwarz, halb roth, Gesichtsbemalung des Feuerreibers des Nordens. II 119 — die spitze Mütze *Quetzalcouatl*'s. — s. *copilli*.

chicuacen s. *chiquacen*.

Chicuei acatl „acht Rohr", vierte der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, den Süden bezeichnend. II 81–84 — Name der Mondgöttin. II 82, 86.

Chicuei cipactli „acht Krokodil", so zu lesen ist die Gottheit der Zahl Acht auf Maya-Monumenten. I 217 — „acht Krokodil", Anfangstag der sechsten (auf die erste folgenden) Venusperiode. II 138.

Chicuei maçatl „acht Hirsch" — rother Jaguar, Angreifender beim *Xipe*-Fest. I 175 — = *Tepeyollotli*. I 175 — ein Gott im Codex Nuttall, mit der Gesichtsbemalung des Planeten Venus, dem sich 112 Gottheiten als Begrüssende nahen. I 258.

Chicuei ocelotl „acht Jaguar", Name *Tepeyollotli*'s, II 216.

chicuei oçomàtli „acht Affe", dem Mondgotte geweihter Tag. II 229.

chicuei tecpatl, „acht Feuersteinmesser", bezeichnet das Opfer des *Xipe*-Festes. I 175.

chicuei tecpatl, ome olin, „acht Feuerstein, zwei Bewegung", Datum neben dem das *ilhuicaatl* tragenden *Quetzalcouat*. im Cod. Vindobonensis. II 132.

chicuei tochtli = 1064 p. Chr., in diesem Jahre viele unheilvolle Vorzeichen in *Tollan* beobachtet. I 172.

Chicunauhapan, s. *Chiucnauhapan* der neunfache Strom, Strom der Unterwelt. I 125, 198; II 268, 269 — bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. I 198; II 269 — Strom der Unterwelt, das Westmeer; darein wirft der Sonnengott den *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 145, 247 Anm..

Chicunauhmictlan, „die neunfache Unterwelt", das tiefste Innere der Erde. I 128.

chicunauhnepaniuhcan, s. *chiucnauhnepaniuhcan* das neunfach verkettete, über einander geschichtete, die neun Himmel, Wohnort der *Xochiquetzal*. I 184, 209; II 191, 280 — = *Tamoanchan*. I 184, 209; II 190, 191.

Chicunaui acatl „neun Rohr", esoterischer Name der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78, 86 — die erste der fünf Formen dieser Göttin, des, Ostens. II 78, 86 — s. Mondgöttin.

chicunaui atl, cipactli, acatl, couatl, olin Säule des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 170.

chicunaui cipactli „neun Krokodil", ihm entspricht im *Chilam Balam* von *Mani* der Tag *bolon imix* (Maya), der „Geburtstag des Regengotts" *(u ziyanil Chac)*. II 15.

Chicunaui eecatl „neun Wind", Name *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 217, 332; II 215, 216 — s. *Chiquinaut y tlecat* — seine Verkörperung ein Opfermesser, im Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange. II 39 — Schluss des fünften Jahres, I 350.

Chicunaui itzcuintli „neun Hund", Name der *Chantico*. I 196; II 273 — von den Steinschneidern *tlatecquê* verehrt. II 273 — ein für Zauberer, die sich in Thiere (Schlangen etc.) verwandeln können, besonders mächtiger Tag. II 273 — s. *Papaloxanal*.

chicunaui oçomàtli „neun Affe", Tag der *Itzpapalotl*. II 263.

Chicunaui tecutli „neun Herr" (Herr der neun Richtungen) Name des Feuergottes. I 118.

Chicunauixtlauatla „die neun Steppen", im Liede an die *Itzpapalotl* genannt I 183.

Chicha, aus Maiskörnern bereitetes berauschendes Getränk. II 8 — als Parallele zum Pulque. II 8.

Chi ch'èn itzá (Maya), alte Stadt in Yucatan. Schlangenpfeiler dort. I 234; II 17 — Stirnbinde mit einem Vogel, Schmuck der Häuptlingsbilder der Relieftempel von dort. I 120, 121, 335 — Brustplatten der Relieffiguren von dort erinnern lebhaft an die Türkis-Brustplatte des Feuergottes. I 122 — grosser Ballspielplatz, genau nordsüdlich orientiert. I 289.

chichicaztli „Nessel", Symbol der Strafe II 196.

Chichimeca, Jägerstämme des Nordens, kennen die *Tlaçolteotl* nicht. I 161 — Gott der, s. *Mixcouatl* — Göttin der, s. *Itzpapalotl* — schweifen im Norden, in der Buschsteppe umher. I 260 — sind die Bogenschützen *(tamime)*. I 263 — verehren *Youalli ehecatl, ipal nemoani, teyocoyani, teimatini*. I 161 — bezeichnen die Urzeit, die Zeit *Tonacatecutli*'s *(teotlalê, matlaua, tepeua)*. I 80 — die Zeit *Mixcouatl*'s und der *Itzpapalotl*. I 183 — die „Vorfahren". II 165 — von *Totomiuacan, Quauhtinchan, Texcallan* etc. verlassen im Zeichen *chicome maçatl* die Urheimat *Chicomoztoc*. I 206; II 115 — von *Quauhtinchan*. I 283 — von *Quauhtitlan* verwandt mit denen von *Xochimilco*. II 196 — s. *Xiuhnel, Mimich*.

Chichimeca-Otomi ihr Ursprung. I 264.

Chichimeken s. *Chichimeca*.

Chichimekenherrschaft nach den Kalenderbüchern der vier alten Weisen bestimmt. I 185 — in *Nequameyocan* von *Itzpapalotl* gegründet. I 183.

chichimekische Götter, *Itzpapalotl*. I 183, 302; II 195, 196, 262—265 — *Mixcouatl*. I 260, 265, 332 — *Xochiquetzal* mit einem Hirschkopfe (gegenüber *Uenecoyotl,*) bei der dritten Nachtstunde. II 185 — *Xochiquetzal* mit einem Hirschkopfe bei der achten Naehtstunde. II 196 — *Itzpapalotl, Mixcouatl* tragen das *aztaxelli*. I 202 — Götter der alten Zeit. II 185.

chichiquàtli, Plural von *chiquàtli*. I 192.

chijlla (Zapotek.) erstes Tageszeichen = mexik. *cipactli*. I 77.

chijlla-tani (Zapotek.), Bergreihe, Kordillere. I 77 — s. *pého pichijlla pichijlla-peóo*.

Chikin (Maya) „Westen". I 311, 316, 334.

Chilam Balam (Maya), Bücher des —. I 322; II 4, 6, 9, 265 — *Chilam Balam* von *Kaua*. I 322 — von *Mani*. I 322; II 15 — von *Titzimin*. II 156 — entstanden in der zweiten Hälfte des seehzehnten Jahrhunderts. II 6.

Chile, aus den Indianersprachen dieses Landes stammt das Wort für den Agavewein, Pulque. I 113.

chilli, Capsicum-Pfeffer. Herrin des, *Chantico*. II 273, 280 — Enthaltung davon, Fastenspeise. II 280 — zwischen *Xolotl* und *Tlalchitonatiuh*; bezeichnet den rothen Gott, den Fastenbrecher, den bestraften Gott *Nanauatzin*. II 272, 280.

chilmolli, rothe Pfeffertunke. II 280.

chimalli, „Sehild". I 143, 170 etc. — s. Kriegswaffen — s. *mitl chimalli, yaoyotl* — Abzeichen des Saerifieio gladiatorio. I 167 — aus Bambusrohr geflochtener Schild, und Speer, Zeichen der Kriegerherrschaft *(quauhyotl, yaoyotl)* bei der fünften Venusperiode. II 151, 152 — s. *quauhpachiuhqui chimalli*.

chimalli-**Stein,** bei Cuernavaca, dem Andenken *Axayacatl*'s gewidmet. II 257.

Chimalman, gebiert parthenogenetiseh den Gott *Quetzalcouatl*. I 84 — ihr Name bedeutet „liegender Sehild, auf einem Schild liegend"; Beziehung dazu hat der Kreuzspiegel in Form eines Sehildkrötensehildes bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 171.

Chimalpain. II 127 (Anm. 4).

Chimalpanecatl, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

chimaluitectiui, nino, „gegen die Sehilde schlagen". II 308.

Chinampaneca, Anwohner der Lagune von *Xochimilco*. I 161; II 276 — ihre Stammesgottheiten sind *Chantico, Cinacouatl-Quilaztli, Chalmecacihuatl*. II 276 — ihr Tribut Kriegerdevisen in Schmetterlingsform (s. Kriegerdevisen). II 276 — von *Cuitlauac*, verehren *Atlaua*. I 254.

Chiquacen acatl, „seehs Rohr", Name der dritten der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, den Westen bezeichnend. II 81.

chiquacen calli, „seehs Haus", Datum beim Gefangenen des *Xipe*-Festes angegeben. I 175, 271 — Zeichen der Erde und des Westens. I 271 — Name des Todesgottes. II 244. — bezeichnet den Beginn der Unsichtbarkeit des Abendsterns. II 58.

chiquacen calli — macuilli quauhtli „seehs Haus — fünf Adler", Abstand von zwölf Tagen, Dauer der Unsichtbarkeit des Abendsterns. II 14, 15, 58.

chiquacen cipactli „seehs Krokodil", Tag, der *Tlaçolteotl* geweiht. II 253.

Chiquacen quiauitl „seehs Regen", so zu lesen ist die Gottheit der Zahl Seehs auf Mayamonumenten. I 217.

chiquatl, chiquàtli, „Känzchen". I 12, 189, 226, 227, 231; II 23, 52, 298 — = *Cinateotl*. I 190 — mit Bumskaulen (Typha spec.) oder Papierschnitzeln gefüllte Netze oder Säekchen; damit die Mädchen von den jungen Männern am *Tititl*-Fest geschlagen. I 179, 190, 192— s. *uetzi in chiquatl* — ist der Totenvogel. I 226, 227 — statt *oltelolòtli*, bei der *Cinateotl* der Mitte. II 93 — in der tiefsten Hölle dargestellt. II 52 — zusammen mit *Tezcatlipoca*, bezeichnet die zehnte Tagesstunde. II 23 — Verkleidung dieses Gottes, bezeichnet die zehnte Tagesstunde. II 298 — auf einer rothen Blutschlange *(tlapalcouatl)*, bei *Mictlantecutli*, der Erdgottheit des Südens. II 134.

Chiquinaut y Hecat, entstellter Name *Quetzalcouatl*'s *(chiquinaui ecatl* „neun Wind"), in Nicaragua. II 216.

Chiucnauhapan, s. *Chicunauhapan*.

Chiucnauhnepaniuhcan s. *chicunauhnepaniuhcan*.

Cholollan Cholula, Stadt; ihr Gott *Quetzalcouatl*. I 83, 87 — Urheimat der Leute von —, *ycoliuhqui tepetl* „der gekrümmte Berg" (vgl. *Colhuacan*). II 152.

Cholula, s. *Cholollan*.

choquizcalli, „Haus des Weinens" = *telpochcalli*. I 150.

christliche Heilige, als Feuergötter angesehen. I 116.

Chronologie, mexikanische. II 123, 126 — s. Kalender.

Ch'i (Maya), „beissen", „Hund". I 126, 196 — s. *tz'i*.

Ch'ipi Cakulha, Raxa Cakulha (Quiehe), Namen des Sonnengottes *Hurakan*, die ihn als Sohn des alten Feuergottes charakterisieren. I 147.

chuen (Maya), Tageszeichen = mex. *oçomàtli*. I 215.

chupamirtos (span.), Name der Kolibri, Seelen der toten, geopferten Krieger. II 67.

Dach, flaches Steindach beim Tempel des Nordens (über dem Nordbaume). II 109 — stürzendes; beim brennenden Tempel. I 70, 224 — des Hauses der schwarzen Sehlange. II 17 — des Hauses der Blitzsehlangen. II 35 — des Tempels der Naeht. II 28 — Dach des Tempels *Tepeyollotli*'s ist kegelförmig, hoch, spitz, aus Gras oder Palmblattstreifen geflochten. I 234 — mit *itztlacoliuhqui*-ähnliehem Fortsatz. I 234 — Dach des Tempels der Quetzalfederschlange, ist spitz und mit einem *chalchiuitl* versehen. II 39 — s. spitzes Strohdaeh — s. *Quetzalcouacalli* — Dach des *xochicalli* des Nordens der Unterwelt, hat die Gestalt des naeh hinten zurückgebogenen Sehnauzenendes der Feuerschlange. II 51 — des Tempels des Westens, seine Firstenden sind naeh unten gebogen. II 112 — des Tempels *Xolotl*'s, des *xochicalli*, ist breit ausladend. II 36, 48.

Dachfirst, eine Knoehenwirbelsäule mit Steinmessern und abgeschnittenen Mensehenhänden, am Tempel des Südens im Cod. Fejérváry. II 114, 115.

Dämmerung, Zeit, wo der *quetzalcoxcoxtli* singt (s. *yoaltica*). I 136, 148 — Zeit der —, ständiges Symbol der Pulquegötter. I 137, 348; II 85 — s. Seheide von Tag und

Nacht, *tlapoyaua* — ihre Farbe die *Mixcouatl's* (weiss, weiss und roth gestreift, blau und roth). II 62 — ihr Thier, die Fledermaus. II 85 — ihr Bild bei den sechs Götterpaaren des Cod. Borgia. II 177 — Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne, Zeit des Feuergottes und Morgensternes. II 238.

Dämmerungsfalter. I 187.

Dämon des Nordens, im Süden der Unterwelt, der Jaguar, *ocelotl.* II 62, 68 — ihm steht eine rothe Feuerschlange *(xiuhcouatl)* gegenüber. II 68.

Dämon des Ostens, im Süden der Unterwelt die Fledermaus, *tzinacantli.* II 60—62, 65—69 — ihm gegenübergestellt die *Xochiquetzal* (Mondgöttin). II 66, 69 — reisst dem Monde den Kopf ab. II 63.

Dämon des Südens, im Süden der Unterwelt, Adler, *quauhtli* und Sternhimmelschlange, *citlalcouatl.* II 64—65. 68.

Dämonen des Südens, fünf, s. fünf *Auiateteô,* insbesondere. II 93—103.

Dämon des Westens, *acipactli.* II 62—64, 68 — reisst dem Monde den Fuss ab. II 63 — im Süden der Unterwelt vertreten durch *quetzaltototl.* II 65, 68 — ihm steht eine Edelsteinschlange, *chalchiuhcouatl* gegenüber. II 68.

Dämonen des Westens, fünf, fünf *Ciuateteô,* s diese, insbesondere II 75—93.

Dämonen, s. Fall der —.

Dämonenkopf, Hauptbestandtheil der Hieroglyphe des dreizehnten Maya-Tageszeichens *cib.* I 317—318.

Danesi, Stabilimento, in Rom. I 1.

Darreichen der weiblichen Brust, Aktion der vierten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 239, 240, 241 — Ausdruck der weiblichen Thätigkeit. I 241 — nährender Mütter. I 274.

Darreichen des Abbildes = Menschenopfer. I 239; II 177 — des Abbildes, Aktion der zweiten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 239; II 177 — eines *cozcatl* bezeichnet Empfängniss. II 192 — einer Blume bezeichnet ein Kind. II 188 — eines Gefangenen durch die Erdgöttin (Skelett) bezeichnet Geburt eines Kindes. I 24.

Daten, überleitende. I 350 — von Jahren. I 349 — von Tagen. I 349; II 4 — der Anfangssäulen des in viergliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl's. II 4 — drücken den Namen von Gottheiten aus. II 8 — esoterische Namen von Gottheiten. II 86 — Monatsdaten, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350 — in den Maya-Handschriften sehr genau fixirt. II 138 — auf Maya-Monumenten und der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift haben Jahresanfänge mit den Zeichen *been, e'tznab, akbal, lamat* zur Voraussetzung. I 342, 343 — durch eine entsprechende Male wiederholte Schreibung des Zeichens veranschaulicht auf Steinskulpturen von *Cozumalhuapa,* im Cod. Becker. I 175.

Daumenkrallen an Armen und Beinen des *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60.

Daunenfedern, s. *tiçatl initl.* — Besteckung damit ist Opferschmuck. I 179 — darin gekleidet *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 46.

Daunenfederball, Zeichen der himmlischen Region. II 46 — auf dem Gewande der zwölf tanzenden *Ciuateteô.* II 46 — auf der Spitze der Opferfahne *(amapamitl)* bei der Windgottschlange. II 70 — grosser, mit Adlerfedern, am Scheitel des Gottes des Südens. I 339 — grosser, mit zwei federartig geschwungenen Steinmessern, am Hinterkopfe der fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98.

Daunenfederbälle, I 61, 67, 144, 181, 338 — damit bestecktes Haar, bei der *Itzpapalotl.* I 181 — damit besteckt vier Decken. II 42 — auf dem *quemitl Mixcouatl's.* I 338 — auf dem *tlaquimilolli nexquimilli.* II 33, 34 — s. Feld, verbranntes — auf Netzmänteln *(ayatl)* bei *Quetzalcouatl.* II 167 — auf schwarzem Grunde, besondere Art der *citcitlallô*-Bemalung, auf den Armen *Tlauizcalpantecutli's.* II 71 — blau, Insignien einer Wassergottheit; auf dem *teoicpalli* des Nordens (s. blaue Perrücke). II 122 — am Ende des gelben (Feuer-)stromes. II 152 — auf dem Kopftuche *Tezcatlipoca's.* II 163 — auf dem Halse und Leibe der Wachtel *(= citcitlallô),* II 290.

Daunenfederbusch, grosser, im wirren Haare, Frisur *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 47, 48 — bildet die Nackenrosette des Feuergottes. I 121 — im trockenen, verbrannten Grase bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* I 296 — drei, auf dem Haare des verkündenden Tempelherolds (einer grünen en-face-Figur) II 18 — an den Zweigenden des Westbaumes im Cod. Fejérváry. II 106.

Daunenfederflechten der *Itzpapalotl.* II 262.

Daunenfedern, damit die Oberarme des Gottes mit dem Thiergesicht, des Hüters der dritten Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, beklebt. I 335 — auf einer rothen Decke, unter der *Xipe Totec* liegt II 18 — damit besteckte Bänder, Zeichen des *tiçatl initl.* II 34 — aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen hervorkommend. II 34 — s. Haardecke — s. Stirnrosette — s. Haar — s. *quemitl* — mit weissen — beklebt, s. *potonqui* — damit *Tlaçolteotl* beklebt. II 252.

Daunenfederperrücke *Xipe's.* II 256 — *Mixcouatl's.* des Jaguars *(ocelotl),* vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen. II 149 — dick, bei vier schwarzen Figuren mit Totenaugen. II 42 — bei vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes. II 75.

Daunenschmetterling, s. *tiçapapalotl inipapalotl.*

Decke, s. *quemitl* — s. *chalchiuitl*-Decke — aus Türkisvogel- und Quetzalfedern, bei den kopulirenden Paaren des Ostens und Westens. II 120 — aus rothen und gelben Maiskolben, bei *Tonacatecutli.* II 213 — mit *tenixyo tilmatli*-Muster, (roth, mit weissen Augenfiguren auf schwarzem Grunde), beim kopulirenden Nordpaare. II 120 — roth, mit Zeichen des Opfers, beim kopulirenden Südpaare. II 120 — rothe, weiss gesäumt, mit Daunenfedern besteckt, unter ihr liegt *Xipe Totec.* II 18 — mit *chalchiuitl*-artiger Zeichnung, unter ihr *Tonacaciuatl,* neben den Dächern des Hauses der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 27 — verhüllt Füsse und Beine *Itztlacoliuhqui's.* II 247 — mit gekreuzten Totenbeinen und Schädeln, auf dem Mumienbündel bei *Xolotl.* II 268.

Deckelkiste, mit blutrothem Inhalt, davor knieend eine nackte Frauensperson, beim Regengotte des Nordens *(Tezcatlipoca).* I 351.

Decken und Kleidungsstücke, am Totenerinnerungsfeste verbrannt, galten als Geschenke, die der Tote für *Mictlantecutli* braucht. II 33 — vier, den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend, mit Daunenfederbällen besteckt; unter ihnen vier schwarze Figuren. II 42.

Deckenbündel, s. *tlaquimilolli.* — aus dunkelem, mit Daunenfederbällen besetzten Netzgewebe *(ayatl).* II 33, 34.

de Jonghe, Ed., s. Histoyre de Mechique. — s. Thevet. — Tonalamatl im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. II 124, 125.

Dekkan, eingeborene Stämme des —, vergraben ein Stück Menschenfleisch auf ihrem Acker. I 174, 175.

demütige Begrüssung, *tlalqualiztli* „Erdessen", symbolisch ausgedrückt durch Führen des Zeigefingers zum Munde. I 144.

Devise, s. Rückendevise, *tlamamalli.*

Diakritische Zeichen in Form einer Fussspur im Tonalamatl. I 17 (s. *cuetzpalin, kan*).

dienende Geister *Xolotl's.* II 38.

Dieseldorff, Gefäss der —'schen Sammlung, mit Darstellung des Gottes in der Schale. I 315 — s. *Chamà.*

Dios de la mar, *Xipe Totec.* II 258.

Dios Espiritu Santo, Name des Feuers. I 116.

dioses de los panes, s. *Chac.* — ein solcher ist *Tlaloc.* I 250.

Dioses primogénitos (Relacion de Michuacan) sind die *Centzon Mimixcoua*. II 13.

Donner, Stimme *Tlaloc*'s. II 301 — repräsentirt durch die Schildkröte *(ayotl)*. I 306 — durch *olin* am Munde *Tlaloc*'s bezeichnet. II 301.

Donnerkeil, in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s. I 16, 345 — s. Stab. — s. Blitz, *tlauitequiliztli*.

Donnerschlag, s. Gewitterwolke.

doppelköpfige Schlange, mit Feuer, und weisser Schaumzeichnung am Rücken, bei *Tlaloc*. II 229 — bezeichnet Räucherwerk. II 234 — Nasenschmuck der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 100, 227, 249, 338, 352; II 149 — Brustschmuck *Tlaloc*'s. I 249 — in der Mitte bei den *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô* des Ms. mex. No. 20 (Paris) dargestellt. II 103.

Doppelmaiskolben, s. *cemmaitl*. — s. *xolotl*.

Dorf, s. *altepetl*. — in Brand gesetztes s. *atl tlachinolli*. — s. gelber Strom.

Dornbaum, Baum des Nordens mit einem Adler *(quauhtli)*. II 106 — braun und schwarz, hinter dem vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Tezcatlipoca* II 149.

Dornbäume, Steppenbäume, bezeichnen den Norden. I 155.

Dornblüthen, des Baumes des Süd-*tzompantli*'s. II 116.

Dornen, lange, in den Achseln der Auswüchse des Westbaumes des Cod. Fejérváry. II 106 — Haus der —, Südtempel, s. *Uitznauac*.

Dornschlangen, bei der geköpften Göttin des Südens. *(uitznauac)*. II 10.

Dosenschildkröte, hat gelbliche strahlige Zeichnung auf dem Rücken. II 154.

Drachenarme. II 42.

Drachenkopf, mit von Henkeln eingefasstem Auge, in Maya-Handschriften, Hieroglyphe des mex. *xiuhcouatl*. I 326.

Dramatische Spiele, am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest. I 156 — Tänze am *Xipe*-Fest. I 176.

Dreckfresser, Sünder, s. *tlaelquani*.

Drehungssinn, entgegengesetzt der Bewegung des Uhrzeigers, bei der Anordnung der zwanzig Tageszeichen. I 327, 337, 343 — der 52 Jahre. I 347 — der fünf *Tlaloc*-Figuren der Jahre und Venusperioden. I 349 — gewisser Tageszeichen bei der Höllenfahrt der Venus. II 58 — der Tageszeichen bei Darstellung der fünf Himmelsrichtungen auf Bl. 1 des Cod. Fejérváry. II 106 — der vier Federschlangen. II 299.

Drei, Zahl der Herdsteine, für den Feuergott bezeichnend. I 30, 116, 124, 322 — s. *tenamaztli*. — Zahl der Steine, die das Abbild des Mayagottes *Ekchuah* darstellen. I 321 — Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten. I 217 — an den mit dieser Zahl verbundenen Zeichen *oc*, *men*, *ahau*, *chicchan*; in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam* Feuerzärimonien angegeben. II 9 — ebenso bei denselben Zeichen. Verbunden mit den Zahlen zehn, vier, eilf. II 9.

Drei Schalen Honigwein, wurden beim Feste des Mayagottes *Ekchuah* am Uinal *Moan* getrunken. I 322.

dreibeinige Schalen, zwei übereinander, mit Adlerdaunen gefüllt, mit einem Pfeilschafte darinsteckend, neben einem der vier *quauhcalli*. II 70 — in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74.

dreieckig spitz nach unten laufendes rothes Feld ums Auge, bei vier weiblichen Gestalten des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19, 24, 25 — Priesterinnen des Feuergottes. II 24, 25.

dreieckige Einfassung des *neçaualcalli* des Tempels der Nacht. II 32.

drei Götter, in je zwei Reihen, Zeugen des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl*'s in der Erde. II 46.

Dreihundertsechzig Tage, Zeitraum in Maya-Handschriften durch *tun* „Stein" ausgedrückt. I 314.

Dreihundertundfünfundsechzig Tage, Periode des Sonnenjahres. I 342; II 126 — s. Jahreslänge.

drei Querbalken, kurz und schwarz, in der Gesichtsbemalung des Feuerreibers des Nordens. II 118 — des Pulquegottes. II 119.

drei Schlangen, mit dem Gesichte eines Gottes im Rachen, vor dreien von den vier zerstückelnden Thieren im Codex Borgia dargestellt. II 68 — s. *citlalcouatl*, *chalchiuhcouatl*, *xiuhcouatl*.

dreitheilige Sternaugen. II 3, 7, 14, 28, 36 — ein solches als Rückenschmuck der Himmelschlange. II 65, 68 — Brustschmuck *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, Regenten der ersten Venusperiode. II 142 — Halskragen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. I 257 (Abb. 445); II 142 — bei den vier Federschlangen angedeutet. II 299.

Dreiundsiebenzigtägige Periode, dem Sonnenjahre und der Venusperiode gemeinsam. I 16, 350 — Grundlage der 52jährigen Periode. I 342.

Drei Venusperioden = 3 × 584 = fünf Sonnenjahren (5 × 365) weniger 73 Tagen. I 350.

Dreizehn, Erklärung dieser Zahl aus den Erscheinungen des Mondes. II 207—208 — bezeichnet die lichten Götter, die liehte Seite des Daseins (gegenüber der Neunzahl). II 298.

Dreizehn Abschnitte von je vier Jahren. I 347.

Dreizehn Götter begleiten im Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung und im Cod. Borbonicus die aufeinanderfolgenden Tage als Hüter der dreizehn Stunden des Tages. II 179, 180, 292 — s. Dreizehn Vögel — (der Maya *oxlahun ku*, Götter des Tages. II 156 — bilden eine Reihe. I 214.

Dreizehnheit, erste und zweite, des Tonalamatl's, bei *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli* in der himmlischen Region, im Cod. Vatic. II 168.

Dreizehnheiten, zwanzig, des Tonalamatl's, s. Tonalamatl — ihre Anfangstage abwechselnd links und rechts bei der Darstellung des Gottes des Lebens und Gottes des Todes in der irdischen Region. II 165, 169.

Dreizehn Himmel, ihnen entsprechen dreizehn Vögel = dreizehn Stunden des Tages (s. dort). II 292, 294 — Himmel oder Wolkenschichten bei den Maya (s. *oxlahun taz muyal*), Haupthieroglyphe des *Moan*-Vogels. I 215.

Dreizehn Himmel und ihre Bewohner, nach Thévet. II 292, 294.

dreizehn *kan* (Maya), Datum des Endes der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus. I 350.

Dreizehn *katun*, im *Chilam Balam* von *Titzimin*. II 156.

Dreizehnmal fünf Venusperioden, der grosse Cyclus. I 255, 263, 334, 350; II 136–157 — ihr Repräsentant *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 139 ff. — Tabelle ihrer wirklichen Folge. II 137 — Tabelle ihrer schematischen Aufzählung. II 138 — an ihrem Ende droht dem *altepetl* allgemeiner Weltuntergang. II 155, 156.

Dreizehnmal zwanzig Tage = Tonalamatl, s. dort.

Dreizehn Stunden des Tages. — s. Dreizehn Vögel. — s. Dreizehn Götter. — Ihre Hüter. I 218; II 179, 180, 295–299 — von ihnen ist die siebente, die Mittagstunde, zum Range der dreizehnten Stelle erhoben worden. II 295.

Dreizehn Stunden des Tages und dreizehn Stunden der Nacht, Bedeutung der 25 (2 × 12 + 1) Götterpaare. II 180.

Dreizehn Tage, wo der Mond am Abendhimmel bezw. am Morgenhimmel sichtbar ist = *ixtoçoliztli* („Wachen") und *cochiliztli* („Schlafen"). II 207.

dreizehn Tageszeichen, die die Woche *ce quauhtli* bilden, unterhalb des Herzens des Nordens der Unterwelt dargestellt. II 50.

Dreizehn Venusperioden. II 137 — s. Dreizehn mal fünf Venusperioden.

Dreizehn Vögel = dreizehn Stunden des Tages, im Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung. I 200, 218, 292 — ebenda und im Cod. Borbonicus parallel dreizehn Göttern.

II 179, 180, 292 — entsprechen den dreizehn Himmeln, bezw. den dreizehn Stunden des Tages. II 292 — des astronomischen Tages. II 298, 299 — s. *xiuhuitzitzilin, quetzaluitzitzilin, quetzalcoxcoxtli, çolin, quauhtli, tecolotl, tiçapapalotl-iuipapapalotl, itzquauhtli, nexolotl, chiquâtli, alo, quetzaltototl, cocho.* — und Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern. II 289—299.

Dreizehn Zahlen mit den zwanzig Zeichen des Tonalamatl's kombinirt. I 16, 17.

Dreizehnter Himmel, Wohnort der Zeugungsgötter, s. *Omeyocan.* — bewohnt von *Ometecutli* und *Omecinatl.* II 294 — mit der Unkeuschheit und dem geschlechtlichem Triebe in Verbindung gebracht. II 204 — aus ihm das Kind der gebärenden *Tlaçolteotl* herabkommend. II 252 — von *Citlalinicue, Ilamatecutli* bewohnt. II 294 — bei Übertragung der Gottheiten der dreizehn Himmel auf die der dreizehn Stunden des Tages wurde die siebente Stelle zum Range der dreizehnten erhoben. II 295 — Auf ihn das dreizehnte Götterpaar zu beziehen, das letzte von fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren, wenn diese als Reihen von je zwölf Paaren gerechnet werden. II 179.

dreizehntes Götterpaar, konstruirt als fünfundzwanzigstes oder letztes nach 2×12 Götterpaaren II 178—179 — mit Anspielung auf den dreizehnten Himmel. II 179 — bezeichnet die dreizehnte Nachtstunde. II 180, 205—206.

Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, Erläuterungen dazu von Förstemann. I 238.

Dritte Richtung, Mitte, Totenreich. I 337 — Mitte, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 341.

Dritte Weltgegend, s. dritte Richtung.

dritter Himmel, bewohnt von *Chalchiuhtlicue.* II 292, 294.

Dritter Tonalamatl - Abschnitt, ihm entsprechen die fünf *Ciuateteô* des Westens, s. *Ciuateteô.*

Dualität zwischen den ersten und letzten beiden Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden, die dem Westen und Osten, dem Morgen- und Abendsterne entsprechen. I 241.

Dueños de la noche, s. neun Herren der Nacht.

Duft schmelzender Harzmasse. II 182.

Dunkel, vom Himmel herabkommendes, = Schreckgespenst *(tzitzimitli),* = Stern. I 186 — Reich des — s, *Tamoanchan.* I 313 — der Westen. II 90 — Unterwelt, Norden. I 149, 341 — die Mitte. I 269 — Abwenden vom Licht. I 192, 220 — Zeitalter des Dunkels der Erde, *ocelotonatiuh.* II 25 — Gott des Dunkels, s. *Tezcatlipoca.* — Thier des Dunkels, s. *ocelotl.*

dunkel, gleichbedeutende Farbe die grüne. II 18, 21, 60, 61.

Dunkel und Hell, Ausdruck des *tlilli-tlapalli,* der Veränderung, der Mondgötter. II 245, 246.

dunkelblau mit Augen, Leib der Erdgöttin unterhalb der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur des Westens der Unterwelt. II 57.

dunkelgelb = braun. II 143.

dunkelgrün, Farbe der Quetzalfedern. II 107 — des Baumes der Mitte. II 107 — und *olpiyauac,* Farbe der Trachtstücke *Tlaloc's.* I 112 — und schwarz, Farbe der Nackenrosette *Tlaloc's.* I 294 — **und roth,** Farbe der Pulquegötter, entspricht dem schwarz und roth *(chictlapanqui).* I 243.

Dunkelheit, Region der Dunkelheit, s Norden. — dann leuchtet der Mond, Ideenverbindung mit Allwissend *(Tezcatlipoca, Tlaçolteotl).* II 11 — allgemeine, am Ende des ***ocelo tonatiuh.*** I 204 — Thier der. I 92, 94, etc., s. *ocelotl.* — Repräsentant der, s. *chiquâtli.*

Dunkelheitsdämonen, s. *Tzitzimimê.* — von *Tamoanchan* heruntergekommen. I 313.

Dunkelheitswesen ist das *chalchiuhtotolin.* I 202.

Dunkelthier, *xolotl* mit nach hinten gewandtem Gesichte. I 197.

dunkle Göttin, *Xochiquetzal* mit einem Jaguarschwanze in der Hand. II 176.

dunkle Masse, mit Todesfahnen besteckt, in Spiralen und Windgottköpfe endigend, bei der Todesgöttin. II 3 — mit Häkchen und Wirbelzeichnung erfüllt und mit Augen besetzt, beim Tempel der Nacht. II 28 — Kern des Blattes sechsunddreissig des Codex Borgia. II 33, 34 — dort aus einem *nexcaxitl* (Aschenkiste) hervorkommend, deren Mündung der Rachen eines Feuerwurms bildet. II 34 — Asche des verbrannten *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 3 — Asche des Vaters *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 34 mit Sternen besetzt und erfüllt, verschliesst den Riss des Vorhanges zum Norden der Unterwelt. II 49

dunkle und helle Hälfte der Mondscheibe. II 24 — s. *chictlapanqui.*

dunkler Bogen, durch eine Nebelfigur mit *Quetzalcouatl*-Abzeichen gebildet, verschliesst das Loch im Vorhange der Erde. II 45.

dunkler Himmel = Sternhimmel, dargestellt durch das von Dunkel umgebene Auge. I 111 — beim Sonnengotte dargestellt. I 306 — beim Regengotte. I 345, 346, 347, 348.

dunkler Nackenfederschmuck, s. Nackenschmuck, s. *coxoliyo uei itepol.*

dunkles Haus, Haus der Erde, Westen. I 91 — = *tecolotl ichan* mit einem Jaguare davor, bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 285.

Duran. I 205, 211, 212, 327, 347; II 192, 273.

Durchbohrtes, vom Pfeil, bedeutet Heiliges. I 301.

Durchfall, damit straft *Curicaveri* und *Ureudequa vecara* seine Feinde. II 72 — s. Blutruhr, camaras de sangre.

Durchlaufen der vier Himmelsrichtungen, Bewegung über eine Fläche hin. II 12.

Durchlöchern der Zunge mit Halmen oder Stäbchen als „confesion exterior", am Feste der *Xochiquetzal.* I 211, 212.

Dürre, allgemeine, herrscht im Zeichen *atl,* dem Anfangszeichen der dritten Venusperiode (Oben, Höhe). II 148, 157 — s. *tonaquiz, tlauaqui.* — ihr Symbol der Hirsch. I 23, 34 — Region der, der Norden. I 346, 348.

Dvandva-composita, s. *quauhtli-ocelotl, atl-tlachinolli, tetl-quauitl, cozcatl-quetzalli, tequani-couatl, toptli-petlacalli, mitl-chimalli, tloquê-nauaquê, youalli-eecatl, tiçatl-iuitl, petlatl-icpalli, atl-tepetl.*

ecaceuaztli, „Fächer". II 158, 162.

ecacozcatl, Geschmeide des Windgottes, sein Ohrschmuck (s. *epcololli).* I 88.

ecailacatzcozcatl, das spiralgedrehte Geschmeide des Windgottes, Brustschmuck, aus einem Schneckengehäuse geschliffen. I 88, 245, 302; II 32, 132 — von *Xolotl* getragen. II 265 — von *Tezcatlipoca* mit der Vogelschnabelmaske des Windgottes. II 32 — vom rothen Hunde, *Uenecoyotl.* II 224.

ecatonatiuh, vierte der präkosmischen Weltperioden. I 204; II 25 — ihr Zeichen ist *naui êecatl.* I 204.

ecauictli, die Hacke des Windgottes, sein an einem Ende gekrümmtes Wurfbrett. I 88 — s. *chicoacolli.* — s. *uictli.*

Echo der Berge = *Tepeyollotli.* I 92 — Berg des —, s. *Tepenenec.*

Echuac = *Ekchuah.* I 321.

Edelstein, grüner, s. *chalchiuitl.* — = Stein. I 54, 55.

Edelsteinband, in eine Perle (Auge) endend. II 43 — breites, aus der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels heraushängend. II 56 — mit einer Blume, bei *Tonatiuh.* II 289.

Edelsteinbänder, auf der Fläche des *tiçaoctli,* bezeichnen den Pulque als kostbares Getränk. II 71 — in Daunenfederbüschel endigend bei *Tonatiuh.* I 203, 285 — bei *Uenecoyotl.* I 98 — zwei verschlungene, blau und grün *(xiuitl, chalchiuitl),* Basalstück des Feuerbohrers beim Feuerreiber des Westens. II 118 — aus dem Munde *Xipe Totec's* herauskommend. II 133 — an den Händen der Menschen-

haut *(tlacacuatl)* bei *Xipe Totec*, der Erdgottheit des Westens herabfallend. II 133.

Edelstein-Behälter mit Maiskolben, bei *Xipe Totec*. II 289.

Edelstein-Brustschmuck, bei *Xochipilli*. II 198.

Edelsteindachfirst, des Tempels *Piltzintecutli*'s. I 223 — *Tepcyollotli*'s. I 234.

Edelsteindecke, unter ihr das erste Menschenpaar in geschlechtlicher Vereinigung. I 81 — Rückendecke *Xochipilli-Piltzintecutli*'s. I 222 — darauf Henkelkrug mit einer nackten Göttin, beim Regengotte des Westens. I 352.

Edelsteinfries mit Blumen, aussen an den Quadranten des Südens der Unterwelt. II 57 — mit Blumen, an der Basis des Daches des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume). II 108 — des Tempels des Westens (über dem Westbaume). II 112 — des Tempel des Nordens im Cod. Bologna. II 110.

Edelsteingefäss, mit vier Maiskolben (?) vor dem Tempel des Westens im Cod. Fejérváry. II 114 — mit nacktem Männlein und einem Blüthenbaume beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171 — mit Edelsteinschmuck, Opfergabe bei der zweiten Tagstunde. II 183 — mit Maiskolben, bei *Tlaloc*. II 306 — bei *Xolotl* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Vertretern des Südens. III 2 — bei *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzalli*, Vertretern der oberen Region. III 2.

Edelsteinkette, s. *cozcatl*.

Edelstein-Korb, mit Maiskolben und Maisblüthen, am Nacken des vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Maisgottes *(Cinteotl)*. II 150.

Edelsteinkreuzspiegel, der *Xochiquetzal* = Schildkrötenschild II 171 — s. *Chimalman*.

Edelsteinkrug, bei der neunten Tagstunde. I 198, 199.

Edelsteinperle, grosse, in der rechten Hand des Sonnengottes. I 285.

Edelsteinplatte, Brustschmuck *Tlaloc*'s. I 330 — mit drei herabhängenden Edelsteinriemen; Zeichen *Xochipilli*'s. I 78; II 134.

Edelsteinriemen, in den Saum des Schambindenendes eingefügt bei *Xochipilli (Auiateotl)*. II 307 — s. Edelsteinscheibe. — Doppelpaar, von der Kopfbinde *Cinteotl*'s ausstrahlend. II 134.

Edelsteinröhre, aus der Feuer herauskommt, neben einer Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* und zwei Blumen, am Ende des von *Xochipilli* herausgezogenen Streifens I 268 — aus der Blut herauskommt, darüber eine halbe Sonnenscheibe, beim Sonnengotte. I 269.

Edelsteinschale, mit zwei Bildern der Wassergöttin, beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347, 348 — mit Blumen an den Ecken; zu ihr ein Vogel *(quetzaltototl* oder *coxcoxtli)* herabfliegend, veranschaulicht Richtungsgegensatz und Herabkommen zum Opfer. II 175, 176 — mit einer Blüthe = Opferblutschale *(quauhxicalli)*, bei der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — mit einer Blüthe in der Hand der *Mayauel*. II 235 — mit Mais, bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 182 — mit einem Quetzalvogel, Symbol beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — s. *chalchiuitlapaztli*. — s. *xiuhcalli*, *xicalli*. — s. *xiuhapaztli*.

Edelsteinscheibe, *Macuilxochitl*'s. I 60, 65, 71, 72, 215 — Hauptthieroglyphe des Gottes Vier und Eilf der Maya-Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten. I 215 — auf dem Leibe des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. I 299 — auf dem Bauche der weissen Räuchergefässe *(tlecuilli)* I 301.

Edelsteinscheiben, am Räuchergefässe und dessen Kasteiungswerkzeugen, bezeichnen Blut. II 302 — zwei grosse auf der Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 47, 110 — einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47 — zwei grosse, auf der Kopfbinde des Mondgottes *(Itztlacoliuhqui)* vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110, 111 — auf der oberen Terrassenwand des Tempels des Ostens (Cod. Bologna). II 108 — am Strohdache des Tempels des Ostens im Cod. Fejérváry. II 109 — zwischen Zinnen *(mixxotl)*, auf dem Dachfirste des Tempels des Westens im Cod. Fejérváry. II 114.

Edelsteinschmuck und Maiskolben, in den Händen der *Quaxolotl* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 186.

Edelsteinschnüre, (blau-gelb), zwei ineinander verschlungene, Gesang oder Musik andeutend, Determinativ des Ballspielers des Ostens *(ocomàtli)*. II 116 — aus einer umgestürzten Schatzkiste herausfallend, beim Ballspieler des Ostens. II 116 — beim Ballspieler des Westens. II 116 — in Blumen endend, Zeichen des Reichthums. II 116, 171.

Edelsteinstab bei der *Xochiquetzal* als Richterin. I 54 — in der Nase *Xochipilli*'s. I 131 — s. *tetlquauitl*.

Edelsteintopf mit Maiskolben und Edelsteinperlschnüren, bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 181.

Edelstein-Verzierungen an dem *yetecomatl* („Tabakkalabasse") der alten Priester. II 112.

Edelsteinwasser, s. *chalchiuhatl* — s. *chalchimamatlaco*.

ee, (eakchiquel), Tageszeichen = mexik *malinalli*.

èecatl, „Wind"; zweites Tageszeichen. I 6, 27, 50, 66, 82, 220, 302 — sein Regent *Quetzalcouatl*. I 82—91 — Bezeichnung des Tages, an dem zum ersten Mal der Abendstern nicht mehr sichtbar ist. II 46 — bei diesem Zeichen der Gott des Bluts angegeben I 302 — entspreehende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 326 — in *Cuicatlan*, eines der Anfangszeichen der vier Jahre. I 342 — sein Begleitbild im Tonalamatl: zwei Blutschlangen. I 27 — als Tageszeichen angegeben am Himmel des Himmelsträgers des Ostens. II 126, 131 — als Tageszeichen, hat Herrschaft über den Baueh. I 280 — auf dem hinteren Ende der Schambinde *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben. I 281 — am rechten Fusse *Xochipilli*'s. II 135 — mit dem Anus der *Tlaçolteotl* verbunden, bei der Federschlange des Nordens. II 301.

eecatl, maçatl, malinalli, olin [10], Tageszeichensäule, dem Westen zugetheilt. II 15.

eecatl, miquiztli, itzcuintli, ocelotl, tecpatl mit dem Anus dem Kreuzwege, Mund, Ohr und Auge der *Tlaçolteotl* verbunden. II 301.

***Eecatl*-Kopf,** des in *malinalli* gekleideten *cipactli*-artigen Thieres bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285.

eecatonatiuh, s. *ecatonatiuh*.

Ehebrecher, s. *tetlaxinqui*. — ertappte, gesteinigt. I 145; II 90, 247 — solche bei *Itztlacoliuhqui* dargestellt. II 247, 252 — werden die an den Tagen der *Ciuateteô* Geborenen. II. 90.

Ehebruch, Sünde, Strafe; Folge der Lust, daher Beziehung zum Affen *(ocomàtli)*. I 58 — dazu verführen die *Ciuateteô* I 187, 199; II 75, 90 — s. *tetlaximaliztli*. — Zeit übermässigen — s. ist der Katun *uuc ahau* bei den Maya. I 322; II 265 — s. *ppentacech calpech*.

Ehepaar, s. altes Ehepaar.

Eheschliessung, Form der officiellen, in der Vera Paz. I 114.

Ehrle, P. F. S. J. I 1.

Eichhörnchen, Opfer für *Yaxcoc ah mut* bei den Maya von Yucatan. I 303.

Eidechse, s. *cuetzpalin*.

eilfter Himmel, bewohnt von *Yoaltecutli*. II 294 — von *Mictlantecutli*. II 294.

einbeiniger Gott, s. *Hurakan*, *Tezcatlipoca*. — s. abgerissener Fuss.

Eingang, gebildet vom Munde der Todesgöttin. II 2.

Eingang in die Unterwelt, der Norden, *mictlampa*. I 341; II 102 — durch einen offenen Erdrachen dargestellt. II 102 — s. Erdrachen. — s. aueh gespaltener Berg; Tepexie.

Eingehen in die Erde. I 15 (s *xolotl*, s. *olin*), 37, 45, 191, 192, 197, 222, 305; II 21, 23, 32, 45, 46 — in die Wassersehale. I 30.

eingekniffener Mundwinkel, Zeichen der alten Götter. I 77, 104, 213, 308; II 17, 29, 44, 187, 205, 228.

eingerollter Scheitelkamm der Windgottsehlangen. II 45

— der dunklen Bogenfigur, die das Loch im Vorhange der Erde verschliesst. II 45.

eingeweichtes Brot, damit ernährt *Xolotl* die eben geschaffenen (jungen) Menschen. II 97.

Eingraben der Maisfrucht mit dem Rasselbrette *(chicauaztli)*. I 174; II 128.

Einheit der Göttergestalten des mexikanischen Pantheons in der Auffassung des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl* zum Ausdrucke kommend. II 75.

Eins, Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten ist ein Frauenkopf, vielleicht der mexikanischen *Tlaçolteotl* entsprechend. I 217.

Einsätze, beim Ballspiele. I 290.

Einschaltungen von Tagen bei der Korrektur der Jahreslänge. I 126.

Einsturz des Himmels im *Ocelotonatiuh*. I 204 — nach der Sintflut. II 118.

einundachtzig- (81) jährige Periode, im Cod. Nuttall; Korrektur des Kalenders durch Einschaltung von zwanzig Tagen. II 126.

Einwanderung der Stämme, angeblich über die Huaxteka. I 89 — s *Quetzalcouatl*, huaxtekische Trachtabzeichen.

Einzäunungen der Unterweltsräume in Form des Leibes einer Todesgöttin. II 2. — s. auch Umwallung.

Ekchuah (Maya), Name des in Skorpiongestalt auftretenden schwarzen Gottes. I 321; II 162 — der Gott der Kakaopflanzer I 321, 334 — sein Fest im Uinal *Moan* gefeiert. I 321 — erscheint als befruchtender Gott. I 322 — Gott des Reichthums. I 322 — Gott der Kaufleute und Wanderer. I 321–324 — sein Abbild: drei kleine Steine. I 321 — ihm entspricht der mexikanische Gott *Yacatecutli*. I 324 — bei seinem Feste in Uinal *Moan* wurden drei Schalen Honigwein getrunken. I 322 — in seinem Wesen mit dem mexik. Feuergotte übereinstimmend. I 322 — Regent des *Katun*'s *uuc ahau*, das Zeitalter der Sünde bezeichnend. I 322 — s. *uuc ahau*. — Herr der ersten Venusperiode, den Westen bezeichnend, dem mexik. *Xipe* entsprechend. I 334.

ekchuh (Maya), grosser, schwarzer Skorpion. I 321 — s. *Ekchuah*.

Ekchuuah = *Ekchuah*. I 322.

ela, gueela, (zapotek.), Nacht; Tageszeichen = mexik. *calli* „Haus", I 91.

elchiquiuitl, Skelettbrustkorb. I 55.

Elongation, grösste westliche, des Planeten Venus. II 1, 11 — grösste östliche. II 2, 11 — östliche, westliche des Planeten Venus; in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift durch Abschnitte von 250 und 236 Tagen bezeichnet. I 350.

Empfängniss, durch eine von oben kommende Fussspur dargestellt. I 32, 157; II 200, 252 — durch Darreichen eines *cozcatl*. II 192 — Opfer für —. II 200 — durch einen herabkommenden Quetzalvogel angedeutet II 202.

en face-Figur, grüne, breitbeinig dastehend, die Arme emporstreckend, verkündender Tempelherold. II 18.

en face-Köpfe, der vier Federschlangen im Cod. Vaticanus. II 299 — Gestalt des Hirsches, mit den an den verschiedenen Körpertheilen angegebenen Tageszeichen. II 134, 135 — Tempel mit dem Götterpaare der entsprechenden Himmelsrichtung in Kopulation. II 115, 120.

Enagua, s. *Cueitl*.

Ende aller Dinge. II 265.

Entgegennahme des Opfers, s zur Opferblutschale herabkommender Quetzalvogel. — s. aus der Schale trinkender Quetzalvogel. I 75.

enthauptete Thiere, *xiuh-* und *chalchiuhquetzaltototl*. II 115 — *quauhtli*, *ocelotl*. II 115 — *cipactli* und Fisch. II 116 Eule und Mensch. II 116.

entkörnen, Mais, *uitequi*. II 42.

Eopuco (Maya) = *Ah pucah*, tötet den *Bacab*. I 322.

epcololli, aus Muschelschale geschliffenes hakenförmiges Ohrgehänge *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 88; II 131 — Huaxtekischer Schmuck. I 88 — von *Xolotl* getragen. II 265 — vom Pulquegotte getragen. II 245 — s. *tzicolinhqui nacochtli*.

Epilepsie, s. *Ciuateteô*.

Epileptische, von den *Ciuateteô* besessene. I 187; II 90.

equimitl tzompanquauitl, Erythrina corallioïdes-Blüthen. II 67, 297.

Erbsünde. I 101, 160.

Erdbeben, s. *tlalolini*. — s. *olin tonatiuh*

Erdbebengott, *(naui oçomàtli* „vier Affe"), im Cod. Nuttall. I 46 — *Naui olin* „vier Bewegung", im Cod. Vindobonensis. II 283

Erdbebengöttin, Feuergöttin, eine Rassel schwingend, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 45, 46 — *Tlaçolteotl*. II 210.

Erdboden, durch einen aufgesperrten *cipactli*-Rachen veranschaulicht. II 290 — Ackerfeld. I 349.

Erde, s. *tlalli*, *tlaltecutli* — aus dem *cipactli* erschaffen = *Tepeyollotli*. I 92 — ihre Weltperiode die Jaguarsonne *(ocelo tonatiuh)*. I 92, 204 — im Jahre *ce tochtli* erschaffen. I 204; II 288 — ihre Richtung, der Norden oder die untere Region. I 286 — ihre Farben gelb (braun) mit schwarzen Linien. I 41, 42 — ihre Farbe, braun und schwarz. II 149 — trocken, durstig; Zustand zur Zeit des *Tlacaxipeualiztli*-Festes. I 171 — Kräftigmachen der — durch ein Hauptopfer. I 171 — in Schollen aufgeborsten, beim *Tlaloc* des Nordens. I 346 — in Felder getheilt, Symbol dafür die winklig gebrochene schwarze Doppellinie der Gesichtsbemalung *Cinteotl*'s. II 134 — Zeitalter der —, Zeitalter des Dunkels, *ocelo tonatiuh*. II 25 — Reich der Erde, des Dunkels, Region des Nordens, *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 33 — Mutter des jungen Gottes *Uitzilopochtli*. I 264 — Repräsentantin der, *Xochiquetzal*. II 205 — vier Säulen der, und die vier Stützen des Himmels. II 126–134 — Begriff, aus der Vorstellung des Steins weiter entwickelt (s. *Cipaquetona)*. II 250 — s. fruchtbare. — s *olin, caban*. — s. *ocelotl*, *Tezcatlipoca*. — s. *tochtli*, *çolin*, *cipactli*. — s. *Toci*, *Teteoinnan*, *Tlalli iyollo*. — s. blauer Ring. — s. *chiquacen calli*. — eine Beziehung dazu wird durch das Rasselbrett angedeutet s. *chicauaztli*. — *tzontemoc*-artiger grosser Skelettkopf. II 166, 167.

Erdessen, s. *tlalqualiztli*.

Erdgott, s. *Xipe Totec*. — das Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. — s. Jaguar und Gott mit Schädelmaske. I 175 — ursprünglich Mondgott. II 33 — zornige Erdgötter = verfolgende *Xixipeme*. I 170 — befriedigte. I 176 — ein solcher hiess in Tlaxcala: *Ixcuinan*. I 173.

Erdgottheiten, s. vier Säulen der Erde. — ausgezeichnet durch ein Rasselbrett, s. *chicauaztli*.

Erdgöttin wechselnder Begriff mit Todesgöttin. — Erdgöttin geköpfte, s. *Tlaçolteotl*. — das erste Menschenopfer. I 137, 166, 175, 185 — mit Thierpranken. I 12, 22 s. Adlerklauen, Adlerfänge, Adlerfüsse, s. *quauhtetepontli*. — alte Göttin *(Ilamatecutli)*, hat Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes. I 118 — Prototyp der weiblichen Krieger. I 166, 175, 185 — hat kriegerischen Ausputz, da die Geburt als ein Kampf angesehen wird I 156 — Frauengestalt mit dem Kopfe *Tlaloc*'s. I 22, 23 — chichimekische = *Itzpapalotl*. I 184 — ihr Kopf Abbreviatur für die Maya-Hieroglyphe *caban*. I 191 — in sie *Quetzalcouatl-Xolotl* verwandelt. I 199 — mit dem Kopfputze des Feuergottes in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — nimmt die Toten in ihrem Schoss auf. I 231 – alte, auf dem Rücken liegend, aus einem *cipactli*-Rachen hervorsehend, bezeichnet die Erdoberfläche. II 17 — mit einem Skelettkopfe und Adlerklauen an Armen und Beinen, die die Unterwelt verhüllende Erdgöttin. II 45 — den Norden der Unter-

welt verhüllend. II 49 — den Westen der Unterwelt. II 55 — den Süden der Unterwelt. II 57 — die Mitte der Unterwelt. II 72 — die Unterwelt, aus der *Quetzalcouatl* als Morgenstern emporsteigt. verhüllend. II 69, 70 — mit einem *malinalli*-Schnur-Leibe, quer am Boden liegend; darüber der knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl* sich in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* verwandelnd. II 54 — auf dem Boden liegend, mit einem Sternhimmel-Leibe und Maiskolben im Umkreis, unterhalb der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57 — ihr Leib bildet den Himmelsvorhang, durch dessen Spalt *Quetzalcouatl* als Sonne am Himmel emporsteigt. II. 75 — in ihrem *chalchiuitl*-Herzen wird Feuer erbohrt, s. Herz der Erdgöttin, der *Tetoiinan*. — s. *Cinacouatl*, auf dem Boden liegend, bei den vier Bäumen. II 104, 105.

Erdgöttin von *Colhuacan*, *Cinacouatl*. — s. *Colhuacan*. — s. *Cinacouatl*.

Erdinnere, s. *Tlalli iyollo*. — s. *Tlalricco*. — s. *Tlillan*, Haus des Idols der *Chantico*. II 274, 276 — sonst. I 296–299 — hohles, Spalt im Nordbaume. II 106 — bezeichnet die sechste Himmelsrichtung, das Unten, durch *Mictlantecutli* und *Mictecaciuatl*. II 177, 178.

Erdkröte, mit dem *tlaxapochtli*. I 163 — in ihr eine die Sonne tragende Gestalt versinkend. I 197 — s. *tlalchitonatiuh, Xolotl*. — ihre Haltung *mamaçouhticac*. II 7, 47, 48, 54 — über ihrem Rachen eine eingebündelte Leiche mit der Maske eines toten *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. II 165 — mit einem Steinmesser im Rachen, bezeichnet die zweite Tagstunde. II 295.

erdnahe Sonne, s. *tlalchi tonatiuh*.

Erdoberfläche, durch eine auf dem Rücken liegende alte Erdgöttin bezeichnet. II 17 — durch einen *cipactli*-Streifen. II 107. — s. *tlalticpac*.

Erdrachen, Reptil-*(cipactli-)*Rachen bei *Mictlantecutli, Mictecaciuatl*. II 177 — offener, bezeichnet Eingang in die Unterwelt, den Norden. II 102, 103 — Stufenmäanderartig ausgebildet. II 130 (Abb. 111), 132, II 264 — unter dem Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347, 348 — mit *teteuitl*-Papieren, beim Regengotte des Südens *(Xiuhtecutli)*. I 352 — Heraustreten daraus = sich emporheben. I 33 — mit einem Schädel = *miquiztli*. I 46 — in ihm aufgenommener *chalchiuitl*. I 197 — darin versinkende, die Sonne tragende Gestalt (s. *tlalchi tonatiuh, Xolotl*). I 197; II 268 — unter der Terrasse, auf der *Xolotl* steht, klaffend; bezeichnet *Xolotl* als den hinabfahrenden, zu den Toten hinabgehenden Gott. II 37 — mit einer rothen toten menschlichen Figur, beim sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — bei der ersten Nachtstunde und der unteren Region. II 181 — bei *Tamoanchan*, bei der sechsten Nachtstunde. II 191 — heraldisch ausgebildet, in ihn stürzt der *tzontemoc*, bei der fünften Weltgegend. II 132.

Erdregionen, neun, s. Neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Erdreich, vertrocknetes, totes; beim Regengotte des Südens. I 346.

Erdrund (s. *ananatl)*, blaue Scheibe mit Wasserlinien, beim Baume der Mitte. II 107 — in der Wiener Handschrift, Abb. II 24.

Erdvogel, die Wachtel *(çolin)*. I 163 — s. *çolin*.

Erfinder des Kalenders, s. *Quetzalcouatl*. — s. Kalender, Kalendergott. — s. *tlamatinimê*. — s. *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*. — s. *Tonalamatl*.

Erfinder von Wahrsagerei und Zauberei, s. *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal*.

Erfindung des Pulque *(octli)*. II 96.

erfrierende Maiskolben. II 302.

Erheben, sich, s. sich erhebende Maispflanze. I 33, 68.

Erhebung, s. Blüthenbaum; s. *izcalli*.

Ernähren der Sonne, s. kräftig machen.

Erneuerung des Lebens, s. vier kopulirende Paare. — Prinzip der —. II 55 — aufgefasst als ein Zusammenfügen, Zusammenbrennen oder Kochen des Zerstückten, II 55 — s. Wechsel. — s. Wasser der —.

Erneuerung *Quetzalcouatl's,* des Morgensterns, veranschaulicht und erklärt durch die Geburt der Sonne (Verbrennung *Nanauatzin*'s) und die Erneuerung des Mondes. II 55, 67.

Ernte, neue. I 160 — Fest der —, s. *Ochpaniztli*.

Erntefest, s. *Ochpaniztli*.

Erntegötter, die Pulquegötter. I 36, 105, 332 — *Tlaçolteotl*. I 105.

Ernteinstrument für Maiskolben, ein Stück Hirschgeweih. I 207.

Erntesegen, reichen, bedeutet das Kaninchen. I 304 — bedeutet das *chicauaztli Xipe*'s. I 305.

Eroberung, Element der, Maya-Hieroglyphe des Sonnengottes. II 310.

Erschaffung der Erde, im Jahre *ce tochtli*. I 204; II 288.

Erschaffung der Thiere, im Jahre *ce tecpatl*. II 288.

Erschaffung des Himmels, im Jahre *ome acatl*. II 288.

Erschaffung des Menschengeschlechts, aus einem aus der Unterwelt heraufgeholten Totenknochen. II 97.

Erschaffung von Sonne und Mond in *Teotiuacan*. I 194 — durch Sprung ins Feuer. I 194.

Erschiessen mit Pfeilen, Opfer der Erdgöttin, *Itzpapalotl* durch *Mimich*. I 184 — zweite Phase des Sacrificio gladiatorio (s. *(tlacacàliliztli)*. I 172, 174.

erstarrtes Feuer = toter weisser Hirsch. I 300.

erste Fastenbrecherin, s. Fastenbrecherin.

erste Frau, *Xochiquetzal*. — am Mahlstein bei der *Xochiquetzal* dargestellt. I 213, 299; II 281 — als *Ilancueye, Ilamatecutli* dargestellt. I 213, 298, 299; II 41, 206 — die Zwillinge geboren, *Xochiquetzal (Quaxolotl)*. II 186—187.

Erste Geopferte, Seelen der Väter; ihr Land der Norden. II 13

erste Gestorbene, vorbildlich Gestorbene, die Mondgöttin. II 13 — die zehn *Ueueteteô*, die zehn *Cinateteô*. II 20.

erste Menschen, die *Ueueteteô*. II 19, 20 — ihr Repräsentant ist *Otontecutli*. II 68 — s. Vorfahren.

erste Menschenschöpfung, unvollkommene, Affen. II 309.

erster Himmel, von *Xiuhtecutli* bewohnt. II 292, 294.

erster König der Tolteken, sagenhafter *Mixcoamaçatzin*, „Wolkenschlangenhirsch". II 164.

erster Mensch, *Tonacatecutli*. I 78 — *Uotan*. I 235 — der Mond. II 13, 74 — als solcher in Beziehung zum Feuergott. II 74 — der Feuergott, der alte Gott, Repräsentant der Vorfahren. II 165, 274, 276, 281, 288, 297.

erster Tag des Tonalamatl's, Zeit des Anfangspunktes der Laufbahn des Planeten Venus.

Erstes Menschenopfer, die Erdgöttin. I 137, 166, 175, 307; II 1, 206 (Mondgöttin) — vollzogen an der *Itzpapalotl*. I 184 — die im Kriege gestorbene *Cinacouatl (Quilaztli)*. II 86 — sind *Xiuhnel, Mimich* und deren ältere Schwester. I 264.

erstes Menschenpaar, *Piltzintecutli* und *Xochiquetzal*. I 81 — im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Westen), unter der Himmelsgöttin dargestellt. I 55 — bei *Tonacatecutli*, dem Regenten des ersten Tageszeichens I 80, 81, 174, 208; II 128 — bei *Tonacatecutli*, dem Regenten des ersten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 212, 213 — bei *Xochiquetzal*. I 55, 208 — im Pulquetopfe. I 114 — weibliche Hälfte desselben mit der *Ixnextli* identificirt. II 225.

Erstlinge der Feldfrucht und Blumen, werden *Xipe* dargebracht. I 169.

Ertrunkene, gelten als von *Tlaloc* getötete, wohnen im *Tlalocan*. I 295.

Erwürger, s. *tequechmecauiani*.

erwürgter Ehebrecher. I 43.

Erythrina corallioïdes, Blüthen davon, s. *equimitl, tzompanquauitl*. II 67.

Erzeuger des Wassers, die vier Federschlangen. II 299.
escobilla (Besen) s *malinalli.*
esoterische Betrachtungsweise der altmexikanischen Priestergelehrten. II 25.
esoterische Bedeutung der Federschlange. II 259, 260 — des Determinativs *tlachinolli.* II 83 — der *Cinateteô*, erläutert durch Voranstellung der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 85.
esoterische Namen von Gottheiten, Kalenderdaten. II 86.
essender Mensch, bei *Cinteotl* dargestellt. I 225.
Estrade, mit Jaguarfell bedeckt, beim Sonnengott. II 242.
Etzalqualiztli, sechstes Jahresfest, den Regengöttern geweiht. I 83, 196 — durch *Quetzalcouatl* und *Xolotl* (im Codex Borbonicus) bezeichnet. I 83, 196 — seine Gottheiten *Xolotl* und *Quetzalcouatl.* III 2.
e'tznab (Maya), Tageszeichen = mex. *tecpatl*, Anfangszeichen des zweiten der vier Jahre. I 342 — Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen, beim Kopfe des Blitzthieres. I 311.
e'tznab-**Jahre,** ihr Regent *Kinchahau.* II 154 — bezeichnen den Norden. II 154.
euatl, Haut; abgezogene Menschenhaut (am *tlacaxipeualiztli*-Feste getragen) bedeutet Erneuerung der Vegetation. I 41, 155, 167, 330; II 18, 64 — s. *Tlaçolteotl, Ochpaniztli, Xipe*
Eule, s. *tecolotl, moan.* — Totenvogel, an Stelle des Geiers auftretend. I 13 — Gegenstück des Geiers. I 180; II 252, 253 — (?) enthauptet, beim Baume des Süd-*tzompantli*'s. II 116.
Eulenfedern, im Nackenfederschmucke des Todesgottes. I 127.
Eva, verlassene, s. *Ixnextli.*
ewig wandernde, die Sterne. II 162.
Exantheme, geschlechtliche Erkrankungen, mit der Sonne in Zusammenhang gebracht. II 54.
Expeditionen, bewaffnete, der Kaufleute nach den Küstenländern der Tzapoteken *(Anauaca)* unter König *Auitzotl.* II 256.
eztli, Blut; durch Blume veranschaulicht. I 20, 28, 33, 56, 286, 302, 326 — s *chalchiuhatl* — durch die rothe Schlange, s. *tlapalcouatl* — durch *chalchiuhtotolin* repräsentirt. I 39, 201, 298; II 116, 210, 211, 272, 297, 298 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. I 276 — bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 278 — bei der *Xochiquetzal.* I 280 — aus dem Schnabel von Windgottschlangen hervorkommend. II 34 — bezeichnet Lebenskraft. I 174, 175 — geschlechtliche Vereinigung. I 228 — eine grüne Edelsteinschnur, bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21 — angedeutet durch Edelsteinscheiben. II 302 — eine knöcherne Schnur, bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21 — Gott des Blutes, beim Zeichen *eecatl* dargestellt. I 302 — entsprechende Mayahieroglyphe. I 326 — im Räuchergefässe, bei der *Chantico.* II 278 — statt Rauches, bei der *Ciuateotl* des Westens und der Mitte, aus ihrem Munde, bezw. ihrer Brustwarze ausgehend. II 93 — durch Sacrifizirung des Penis *Macuilxochitl*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s gewonnen, befruchtet den Baum der Mitte. II 107 — zweier geköpfter Menschen, färbt die Decke des kopulirenden Nord- und Südpaares roth. II 120 — der geopferten Wachtel, auf eine abgeschnittene Haarflechte tropfend. II 283, 284 — heisses, durch Rauchwolken am Schnabel *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s ausgedrückt, bezeichnet den brennenden Schmerz der Kasteiung. II 272 — s. Opferblut, *chalchiuhatl.*
Fabrega, P. José Lino, Erläuterungen zum Codex Borgia. I 1.
Fächer, *ecaceuaztli.* II 158 — Zeichen des Wanderers. II 158, 162 — in der Hand von vieren der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161, 162 — aus Palmblatt geflochten, in der Hand der Gesandten *Motecuhçoma*'s. II 162 — in Gestalt eines Türkisvogels bei *Xochipilli* als Feuergott. I 305 — in der Hand des blauen Gottes mit den *Quetzalcouatl*-Abzeichen. I 325 — in der Hand eines blauen *Quetzalcouatl*, des ersten der sechs Himmelswanderer II 158 — aus *xiuhtototl*-Federn, bei *Yacatecutli*, dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.
fächerförmiger Nackenfederschmuck, roth (?), beim Feuerreiber des Westens. II 119.
Fackel. I 35, 144; II 38, 244, 274 — in der Hand von vier dienenden Geistern *Xolotl*'s. II 38 — s. Brennholz. — s. Kopalfackel. — Blume, in einen Griff gefasst. II 244.
Fahne, s. *pamitl, macpamitl, amapamitl, quetzalpamitl, xiuhtotopamitl.* — s. *tonallo.*
Fahne *Xipe Totec*'**s,** roth und weiss, beim Priester des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens. II 18.
Fahnen, vier, Rückendevise der den Gott *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt begleitenden *Ciuateotl*-Figuren. II 50 — fünf, bei *Tonatiuh.* II 289 — s. sechs Kriegerfahnen.
Fahnenbänder, aus Papier und mitKautschuk betropft *(olpiyauac)* am Banner in einer Schale beim Regengotte des Ostens. I 352.
Fahnenschaft, in ein Totengesicht transformirt, bei der Opferfahne *(amapamitl)* der Windgottschlange. II 70.
Fahnenspitze, ein Daunenfederball. I 339; II 70 — ein Adlerfuss. I 339.
Falco cachinnans Linné, Lachfalke, *uactli (uacton).* II 253.
Falke, s. *tlòtli.* — s. Lachfalke.
Fall der Dämonen (Sterne), Fest *Quecholli.* I 186 — am Anfange und Ende der Welt II 265.
fallender Mensch, bei *Uuecoyotl.* II 224 — bei *Itztlacoliuhqui.* II 252 — bei *Itzpapalotl.* II 264 — s. Sündenfall.
faltiger Leib, der *Ciuateteô.* II 91 — der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 301.
Fänger, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hat, der schwarze Gott als Skorpion in Maya-Handschriften. I 321.
Farbe, rothe und schwarze, s. *tlilli-tlapalli.* — weisse, s. *tiçatl.*
Farben des *tlachtli* II 22, 23 — s. vier Farben.
Farbengegensatz, schwarz und roth, Farbe der Pulquegötter. II 8, 9 s. *chictlapanqui.* — männlich-weiblich. II 17 — Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21, 22 — *tlapoyaua,* Scheide von Tag und Nacht. II 23 — Pfeiler des Nordens und Südens II 22, 23 — s. *Tlillan-Tlapallan.*
Farbenturnus, weiss, roth, blau, grün (oder schwarz) II 8 weiss, gelb, blau, roth, schwarz. II 10 — weiss, gelb, roth, blau. II 10, 12 — s. vier Farben. — gewöhnlicher. II 44.
Fasan s. Waldhuhn.
Fässer, mit Wasser, vier; im Hofe des Regengottes, im *Tlalocan.* II 302.
Fasten, s. *neçaualli.* — grosses, zu Beginn der Regenzeit (Ende Mai); Gott desselben *Tlaloc*, sehr streng beobachtete Zärimonien. II 229, 230 — strenges, am Tage *naui olin*, um den Weltuntergang fern zu halten. I 204; II 280 — s. *netonatiuhçaualli.*
Fastenbrechen, durch geschlechtlichen Verkehr = „Fasten beschmutzen". I 135, 148, 149; II 97 — Strafen dafür, s. Geschlechtskrankheiten. — *Xolotl-Nanauatzin.* II 272, 280.
Fastenbrecherin, *Chantico.* II 273, 280.
Fastender, *moçauani.* — beim Sonnengotte dargestellt. I 204; II 280.
Fastenhäuschen, s. *neçaualcalli.*
Fastenschnur, s. *neçaualli.*
Fastenspeise, die ohne Pfeffersauce *(chilmolli)* genossenen Tortillas. II 280.
Fastenstrick-Knäuel, mit Agaveblattspitzen, bezeichnet *chalchiuhatl.* II 272.
februum, Schlag mit den Bockfellstreifen bei den Luperkalien. I 190.
Feder, Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 311.
Federarbeiter, s. *Amanteca.*
Federbanner, am Baume des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115 — des West-*tzompantli*'s. II 116 — blaues s. *xiuhtotopamitl.* —

grünes s. *quetzalpamitl.* — zwei, auf dem *Xochicalli.* II 48.

Federbeklebung, *tlapotonilli,* bei der weissen *Tlaçolteotl* der Mitte der unteren Reglon. II 84.

Federdevisen, Kriegerabzeichen, *tlauiztli.* II 88.

Federgewand, *quemitl* aus blauen Federn bei der *Chalchihuhtlicue.* I 338.

Federkrone, aus Truthahnfedern, s. Truthahnfedern. — aus Reiherfedern, s. *aztatzontli.* — aus Adlerfedern, s. *quauhtzoncalli.*

Federmosaik, Helm daraus, s. *iyhuitzoncaleticac.* — *tlauhquecholpatzactli.* II 256.

Federn, schwarze, mit weissem Endfleeke, im Schmueke des Feuergottes. I 121 — der Gottheit des Planeten Venus. I 121 — Büschel halb rother und halb gelber, bei der rothen Feuerschlange (im Codex Nuttall). II 39.

Federn und Feuer, aus einem Kruge mit *Tlaloc*-Gesicht hervorkommend, in der Hand des Regengottes. II 37.

Federpose, zugespitzte, Determinativ des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer, Kasteiungsinstrument. II 163.

Federquaste aus dem Kopfputze nach hinten hängend, bei *Xochipilli.* I 248.

Federschlange, s. *quetzalcouatl* (mexik.). — s. *Cuchulchan* (Tzeltal). — s. *Kukulcan* (Maya) — s. *K'ucumatz* (Quiche). — die im Wasser geht. I 83 — himmlische, der Mond. II 259 — deutet Meer an, auf dem Lienzo de Jucutácato. II 269 — Stücke des Leibes einer solchen an blauen Mosaikfeldern des Unterbaues des Tempels der Nacht herabziehend. II 28.

Federschlangen, die vier, nach Art eines Hakenkreuzes angeordnet. II 299—303 — vier, verkörpern Sonne, Mond, Morgenstern und Sternenwelt. II 303.

Federstab, s. spitzer —. — zugespitzte Federpose. II 163 — *iuitopilli,* in der Hand der *Chantico.* II 276.

Federstäbe = Holzstäbe, Brennholz, beim Feuergotte *(Xiuhtecutli).* I 219.

fegen, s. *tlachpana.*

Feinde des jungen Sonnengotts, die Mondgöttin *Coyolxauh* und das Heer der Sterne *(Centzon Uitznaua).* II 11.

feindliche Brüder, *Uitzilopochtli's,* von ihm (der jungen aufgehenden Sonne) vertrieben. I 84, 206 — s. *Centzon Uitznaua.*

feindliche Schwester *Uitzilopochtli's* — s. *Coyolxauhqui.*

Feld, dunkles blaues und helles rothes. Grundidee des Zeichens *olin.* I 13 — = Himmel und Erde. I 14 — vielleicht den gelben und schwarzen Streifen der Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca's* parallelisirt. I 283 — helles, rechteckig begrenztes um's Auge, bei den *Aniateteô* des Codex Vatieanus. II 100 — verbranntes, mit Daunenfederbällen besetzt, darauf kniet der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffene Jaguar *(ocelotl).* II 149 — verbranntes, bei der fünften Venusperiode. II 151 — braunes, bezw. dunkelgrünes bei einzelnen der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 157 — s. rothes Feld. — s. gelbes Feld.

Felder, Symbol der in Felder getheilten Erde ist die schwarze, winklig gebrochene Doppellinie der Gesichtsbemalung des gelben *Cinteotl.* II 134 s. gelb und braun. — braun und schwarz, s. Acker. — sich verschlingend (*olin*-Hieroglyphe). I 14 — s. neun Felder. — s. vier Felder.

Felderung, rothe und gelbe, auf dem Gesichte der Erdgöttin der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — rothe, mit rothen Ringen in der Mitte, auf dem gelben Gesichte der *Chantico.* II 276.

Feldfrüchte, s. Geburt.

Feldgeist, *Xipe Totec.* I 178, 217, 330, 334 — = *milnauatl.* I 217 — seine Inkarnation die Waehtel *(çolin).* I 330.

Fell, gefleckles, bezeichnet den Jaguar. I 94 — weisses, bildet Nackenrosette des Feuergottes. I 121, 305 — des Gottes des Planeten Venus. I 256 — *Mixcouatl's.* I 259, 260, 265 — hat der Gott mit dem Thiergesichte in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift um die Hüften geschlagen. I 335.

Fellpauke, s. *tlalpanuetl.*

Fellstreifen, im Federschmucke des Sonnengottes. I 203, 223, 224, 285; II 47, 122, 158, 171, 306 — der Pulquegöttin. II 244 — ähnlich bei *Tlaloc.* I 236 — bei *Tonacatecutli.* II 171 — haarig begrenzte Streifen; vier aus der Adlerfederkrone des Sonnengottes herausragend auf dem *teoicpalli* des Südens. II 122 — bei der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels. II 56 — daraus besteht das *mecapalli* des rothen *Tezcatlipoca.* I 293 — aus Beutelrattenfell. s. *tlaquatzin.*

Fest der männlichen Jugend. s. *Xocotl uetzi.* — der weiblichen Jugend, s. *Uetzi in chiquâtli (Tititl).* — *Uitzilopochtli's,* ein Feuerfest. II 40, 131 — s. *Panquetzaliztli.* — der ***Chantico,*** Fest einer Feuergottheit. II 273, 274, 276 — durch zwei Pulqueschalen veranschaulicht bei den Tanzgöttern der dritten Nachtstunde. II 185.

Feste, Vielheit der mexikanischen —, erklärt sich aus der Uebernahme benachbarter Kulte. I 207, 208.

Festgötter, die Pulquegötter. I 139 — s. *Macuilxochitl,* Götter der Lust, von Spiel und Tanz. — *Tezcatlipoca.* I 146.

Fetisch, s *teonimilli.* II 39 — im Innern der vier Tempel (über den vier Bäumen). II 108.

Feuer, s. *tletl.* — seine Farbe gelb und roth (s. roth und gelb). II 116, 120 — gelb. II 152 — Zeichen *cuitlatl* mit Feuer- und Rauchwolken. I 9; s. *teocuitlatl.* — s. *cuitlatl*-artige Gebilde. — vom Himmel herabkommendes = Feuerregen. I 25 (s. *quiauitl, Tonatiuh*). I 118, 203, 335 — s. Seil mit Skorpiongesicht am unteren Ende. I 123 — *cuitlatl*-artiges Gebilde mit Rauchwolken vor dem Munde des Sonnengottes. II 244 — herabfallendes, verkörpert in *Tonatiuh.* I 203; II 277 — s. *quiauitl, tlequiauitl* — von ihm ausgehend Feuer, Kasteiung. I 285 — von oben herabkommendes, Abbild. s. *Xiuhcouatl.* I 25 — herabfallendes = Blitz, *Tlaloc.* I 29 — vom Himmel herabfallendes, Blitz. *Xolotl,* I 196, 197; II 35, 38, 52, 269 — in die Erde eingehend, die Erde spaltend (s. Hund, *itzcuintli, xolotl*) I 197 — sein Abbild der Hund. II 288 — s. *yei itzcuintli.* — s. brennendes Haus. (I 112). — s. brennender Tempel. I 35, 54 — s. gelbe Schlange. I 47, 106 — s. Leichenverbrennung. — Sinnbild des Feuers Büschel halb rother und halb gelber Federn bei der rothen Feuerschlange (im Codex Nuttall). II 39, 40 — Opferung ins Feuer. I 35, 115, 116, 117. 190 (s. *Xocotl uetzi*); II 1, 273, 274 — Blut und Feuer = Tod und Verderbniss. I 47 — Wasser und Feuer = Blut. I 53, 115 — Geburt des Feuers. I 69 — seine Erzeugung in der Mitte der Unterwelt auf dem Leibe der Erdgöttin durch einen Feuer bohrenden *Quetzalcouatl.* II 74 — s. christliche Heilige, Dios Espiritu Santo, *iteyacancatziu in totecuhyo.* — repräsentirt das Haus. I 116 (Ursprung des Geschlechts) — durch den Vogel des Feuergottes, den Arara, repräsentirt. II 83, 107 — Sprung in das Feuer wagt *Nanauatzin* und wird so zur Sonne. I 194. 199; II 79 — s. Feuertod. — s. Selbstverbrennung. — durch ein brennendes Haus angedeutet. II 103 — (Feuerregen) seine Region ist der Süden, daher gehören ihm *Tlaloc* und *Tepeyollotli* zu. I 238, 330, 346, 348 — s. *nitznauac.* II 9 — s. Region des Feuers. — s. Reich des Feuers. — Zeitalter des Feuers. Feuerregens. *quiyatonatiuh.* II 25 — erstarrtes = toter weisser Hirsch. I 300 — erlöschendes; Feuergott der eilften Tagstunde. II 298 — die Morgen- und Abendröthe. II 24 — s. *Tlatlayan.* — bei *Xolotl* durch eine in Stücke zerrissene Schlange angedeutet. II 272 — s. gelbe Flut. — s gelber Strom. — s. gelber Berg. — s. Weltbrand. — Symbole des Feuers, Kriegerdevisen in

Form von Schmetterlingen (gelb; roth; roth und weiss). II 276 — Strafe andeutend, als Theil der Metapher *teoatl tlachinolli*. II 81, 83, 84 — fressendes, in der *Chantico* verkörpert gedacht. II 273 — als solches mit dem Hunde in Verbindung gebracht. II 273 — s. Opfer ins Feuer. — beim *Tititl*-Feste vom *Tlillan tlenamacac* entzündet auf dem Tempel *Tlalxicco*. II 276 — der Kasteiung durch einen Skorpion veranschaulicht, reinigt den Büsser von Sünde. II 55 — s. brennender Schmerz.

Feuerbaum, Baum des Südens, auf seinem Wipfel ein rother Arara *(alo)*. II 106—107.

Feuerbohren, s. *tlemamaliliztli*. — von zwei Figuren des schwarzen Gottes mit der langen Nase ausgeübt, auf einem Wege, im Codex Tro. I 325 — s. 62jährige Periode. — s. *Panquetzaliztli*.

Feuerbohrer, s. *tlequauitl, mamalhuaztli, ome quammamalitli*. s. *ome acatl* (I 81).

feuerfarbene Schlangen, s. Blitzschlangen.

feuerfarbener Bart, des Sonnengottes. I 203, 204 — *Tlaloc*'s. II 300.

feuerfarbenes Haar. I 35, 57, 77, 80, 100, 104, 111, 114, 130, 179, 203, 223, 224, 242, 246, 249, 251, 255, 268, 285, 297, 305, 332, 338, 339, 352; II 10, 14, 16, 21, 28, 70, 74, 119, 122, 129, 130, 134, 139, 140, 143, 170, 190, 198, 213, 228, 235, 244, 282, 288, 306, 307.

Feuerfest, grosses, nach der ersten Erbohrung des in *Mixcouatl* verwandelten *Tezcatlipoca*, im Jahre *ome acatl* „zwei Rohr", gefeiert. II 118 — ein solches das Fest *Uitzilopochtli*'s. II 40, 131 — feierliches Erbohren des neuen Feuers vor Beginn einer neuen 52jährigen Periode. im Codex Borbonicus in das Fest *Panquetzaliztli* (Fest *Uitzilopochtli*'s) verlegt. II 131.

Feuerflamme, s. *Quaxolotl* (II 276).

Feuerflammen auf dem Acker des vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Cinteotl*. II 150 — s. Flammen.

Feuergefäss, s. *tlecuilli*.

Feuergott, König unter den Göttern. I 59 — Vater aller Götter. I 119 — Gott der Vegetation, sein Fest *Izcalli* „Wachsthum". I 117 — Frisur und Schmuck ähnlich beim Geier. I 13 (s. Alter). — s. *Xiuhtecutli*. — s. *Ixcoçauhqui* — s. *Ueueteotl, Uenetzin* — s. *Tota, Tonacatecutli*. — s. Mitte der Welt, *tlalxicco onoc*. — s. *tloquê nauaquê*. — s. *tlalticpaquê*. — des Südens, s. *Uitzilopochtli*. — s. *xiuhuitzolli*. — s. Perrücke, weisse. — s. *xiuhtototi*. — vertritt den Sonnengott (s. *Itzamná, Tonatiuh*). I 215 — hat Beziehungen zur Gottheit des Mondes. II 24, 288 — als *Citlallatonac* aufgefasst. II 295 — seine Farbe schwarz und roth. II 24, 276 — s. roth und schwarz — ist der *Yacatecutli* vor dem Kreuzwege, sechster der sechs Himmelswanderer, der *Iztac Mixcouatl* entspricht. II 165 — der erste Mensch, Repräsentant der Vorfahren (s. *Ueueteotl*). II 165, 274, 276, 281, 288, 297 — als solcher in Beziehung zu Mond und Sternen. II 24, 288 — hat Beziehung zum Monde und durch diesen zu *Tezcatlipoca*. II 74 — Repräsentant der geopferten Helden. II 297 — seine Verkleidung (bei der siebenten Tagstunde, dem Mittag) ist der *tiçapapalotl iuipapalotl*. II 297 — sein Tempel, s. *Tlalxicco*. — s. *Uenecoyotl*. — s. Koyote. — s. *Coyotlinaual*. — an Stelle der Repräsentantin der *auianime* im zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Norden). I 22 — auf seinem Throne; Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 29 — s. wandernder Priester. — Herr des Reichthums. I 30 (s. *Xochipilli*), 49, 64; II 238, 288 — Im Codex Bologna für ihn das Zeichen *cuitlatl* mit Feuer- und Rauchwolken eintretend. I 9 — sein Kostüm (s. *Quetzalcouatl, xiuhcouaxayacatl, xiuhatlatl*). I 86 — als solcher erscheint *Quetzalcouatl* beim Tageszeichen *calli*. I 302, 303 — seine Gemahlin, s. *Ilamatecutli*. — Erscheinungsform des Planeten Venus. II 308, 309 — im Wasserstrome dem Regengotte des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes entgegenschwimmend. II 234 — seine Insignien auf dem *teoicpalli* des Westens. II 122 — als solcher erscheint *Xochipilli* beim neunten Tageszeichen *atl*. I 305 — tanzender, schwarzer, der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber. II 282 — s. Mond, tanzende Sterne. — sein Zeichen *yei itzcuintli* „drei Hund". I 126, 196; II 9, 234, 288 — sein Zeichen *yoxil oc* (Maya). II 9 — sein Thier, der Hund *(itzcuintli)*. II 98, 288 — seine Priesterinnen, vier weibliche Gestalten mit spitz nach unten laufendem Felde ums Auge. II 19, 20, 24, 25 — vier andere seine Dienerinnen umgeben das Feuerschlangenviereck des verbrennenden *Quetzalcouatl*. II 74, 75 — sein Land, das *Tlatlayan, Tlillan Tlapallan*, Region der Morgen- und Abendröthe, der Osten und der Westen. II 24.

Feuergott des Südens, *Uitzilopochtli*. II 129 - 131.

Feuergötter, Repräsentanten des *atl-tlachinolli*. II 74 — ihr Sitz die Mitte. II 74 — die ersten Menschen, die alten Verstorbenen; existirten vor der Geburt der Sonne. II 274, 276 — s. vier Feuergötter.

Feuergöttin, s. *Chantico*. — Chichimekische, die achte Nachtstunde und den Osten bezeichnend. II 195 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 31, 45 — vertreten durch den gelben Feuervogel. I 46 — ihr Name *chiconaui itzcuintli*. I 196; II 273.

Feuerheerd, runder, von Zinnen umsetzte rothe Scheibe mit einer Feuerschlange. II 38, 39, 40 — heraldisch ausgebildeter, von Zinnen umschlossener Erdrachen, beim *tzontemoc* der fünften Weltgegend. II 132 — s. *tlequaztli*.

Feuerkultus. I 115, 116.

Feueropfer, Zeichen dafür, s. Kautschukkugel *(oltelolotli)*. s. Brennholzbündel. — bei den neun Herren der Nacht dargestellt. I 219 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 59, 69 — bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285; II 109, 158 — in schwarzer Schale, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161 — bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 199, 201 — im *tlecuilli*, bei den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen. II 306.

Feuerorakel. I 116.

Feuerperrücke, des Schädels eines schwarzen Skeletts vor der Göttin der Agavepflanze und des *malinalli*-Grases. II 8.

Feuerplatz, Mitte des Hauses (der Welt, s. Feuergott). I 67.

Feuerpriester, *ahtoc* (Maya). II 9.

Feuerquirlen, s. *tlemamaliliztli*.

Feuerquirler, s. *tlemamalini*.

Feuerregen, s. *tlequiauitl, tlequiauilli*. — Gott des —'s, dusch ein brennendes Haus, eine feurige Axt und einen Wasserstrom bezeichnet. I 112 — Zeitalter des Feuerregens, *quiyauhtonatiuh*. I 108; II 25 — vernichtet dieses. II 69 — Reich des Feuerregens, *Tlalocan*. Der Süden, eine der vier Höhlen oder der vier unterirdischen Regionen. II 56.

Feuerreiber, s. *Mixcouatl* (I 107).

Feuerschlange, gelbe Schlange. I 47, 106 — *xiuhcouatl*. I 168, 180 — von *Xolotl* geschleudert. I 197; II 35, 36, 37, 38, 41 — trägt die Sonne, in der Wiener Handschrift. Determinativ des Gottes *Naui couatl*. I 332 — in ihrer Gestalt geformtes Beil haben die die vier Jahre bezeichnenden Regengötter in der Hand. I 345 — aus einer von Zinnen umsetzten rothen Scheibe hervorkommend. II 38, 39 — künstliche, beim Feste *Uitzilopochtli*'s. II 40, 131 — in den Bilderschriften mit dem Norden verknüpft. II 40, 73, 102 — bildet die Heerdummauerung, auf dem der Kochtopf des darin brennenden *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* ruht II 53 — blaue Schlange mit trapezförmigen Absätzen. II 73, 173 — auf ihrem Rücken bohrt der Feuerreiber des Ostens Feuer. II 118 — Verkleidung *(naualli)* des Feuergottes. II 238 — auf einem Brennholzbündel, statt einer Kautschukkugel *oltelolótli*, bei der *Ciuateotl* des Südens. II 93.

Feuerschlangen, vier, s. vier Feuerschlangen. — zwei, verschlungene, über dem Gefäss zwischen den Pulquegöttern des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173.
Feuerschlangenstab, s. *xiuhcouatopilli.*
Feuerschlangenviereck, darin *Quetzalcouatl* im Kochtopfe schmorend. I 200; II 74, 75 — s. Abendstern.
Feuerschmetterling, gelbe und rothe, auf dem grossen Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33, 34.
Feuerschmuckvögel, verschiedene, *nepapan cueçalquechol* II 87.
Feuer-Schwalbe, *cueçal cujcujtzcatl.* II 87.
Feuerspeiender Hund, auf Maya-Monumenten und in Maya-Handschriften. I 196.
Feuerstein, Zähnelung des geschlagenen —'s, der Zackenkamm *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. II 246, 247.
Feuersteinmesser, s. *tecpatl.* — halb weiss, halb roth gemalt, d. h. in Blut getaucht. II 79.
Feuersteinpfeilspitze, neben dem Feuerbohrer im Steinmesser, Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 80 — Symbol der Krieger, des Morgensterns, des Morgen-(Ost-)Himmels. II 78.
Feuerstreifen, aus *Tlaloc* hervorgehend. I 236, 237 — von ihm in den Mund des Krokodils übergehend. I 237 (= Blitzstrahl aus der Wolke in die Erde eingehend?).
Feuerstrom und Rauch, bei dem *Auiateotl* des Nordens. II 98.
Feuersymbol, Trapez und Strahl (s. daselbst). II 74.
Feuerthier, mit *cicitlallô*-Bemalung ums Auge. I 293, 294 — Opferthier der Region des Südens. I 294.
Feuertod *Nanauatzin*'s bedeutet sein Emporsteigen als Sonne am Himmel. I 65, 194, 199, 206, 287; II 26, 41, 52, 268 — s. Kochtopf. — s. Selbstopfer. — *Xolotl*'s, durch *naui olin* angedeutet. II 268.
Feuervogel, gelber, Vertreter der Feuergöttin als Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 46, 49.
Feuer-Waldhuhn, *cueçalpaxitl.* II 87.
Feuerwesen, Männchen, gelber, blauer, rother Farbe, mit Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes und Stirnlocken, aus Rauchwolken über dem Spiegel *Tonacatecutli*'s, in dem Feuer gebohrt wird, hervorkommend. II 28.
Feuerwolken, an Schnauze und Schwanzende der Blutschlange. I 287 — im Wassergefässe (bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*). I 287 — jaguarfellfarben. II 238 — beim *Chalchiuhtotolin* wie bei der Blutschlange *(tlapalcouatl).* II 272.
Feuerwurm, bildet den Rachen der Aschenkiste *nexcaxitl.* II 34.
Feuerzärimonien an Tagen des vierten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Süden) in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam.* II 9.
Feuerzungen, im Wasserstrome beim Regengotte des Südens *(Xiuhtecutli).* I 352.
Feuerzünder, s. *Ome acatl, Tezcatlipoca.* I 146.
feuriges Getränk. I 114; II 173 — durch zwei verschlungene Feuerschlangen bezeichnet. II 173.
Finger einer *mociuaquetzqui,* einer im Kindbette gestorbenen Frau, von den Kriegern begehrt, um ihn als Lähmung und Entsetzen verbreitenden Zauber in ihren Schild einzusetzen. II 89.
Fisch, s. *michin.* — kaimanartiger = *cipactli.* I 82 — s. *cipactli, acipactli.* — = Erde, von *Mani* aus dem Meere mit der Angel gehoben. I 77 — fruchtbares Thier (s. *Mayauel*). I 138 — enthauptet, beim Baume des West-*tzompantli.* II 116 — gebratener, von der *Chantico* gegessen; der aufsteigende Rauch erzürnt *Tonacatecutli,* der sie in einen Hund verwandelt. II 273, 280.
Fische, Menschen des *Atonatiuh* in solche verwandelt. I 204.
Fischer, s. *michmalo.*
Fischer mit Handnetz, Begleitbild bei *Xochipilli,* Regenten des eilften Tageszeichens *oçomàtli,* bezeichnet das *Chalchimmichoacan.* I 136, 137.
Fixsternhimmel, seine Bewegung führt auch die Sonne am Firmament wieder empor. II 308.
Fixsternwelt, ihr Vertreter der *Auiateotl* (Süden). II 307.
flacher Stein, *itztapalli.* II 288.
Flamme, s. *tletl, tlexochtli, tlepapalotl.* — ihr Auseinandergehen deutet der Name *Quaxolotl* der *Chantico* an. II 276.
Flammen, schlagen aus dem *tlaquimilolli nexquimilli* (Aschenpacket) heraus auf der Plattform des Tempels der Nacht. II 33 — am spitzen Strohdach des Tempels *Xolotl*'s. II 35 — am Zeichen *olin* in dem Kreuzungspunkte des Bandviereckes. II 284 — gelbe Federn am Feuerbohrer der vier Feuerreiber. II 118 — Edelsteinbänder, beim Feuerbohrer des Feuerreibers des Nordens. II 118.
Flammenpfeil der im Osten aufgehenden Sonne, *cueçalmamazçô mitl.* II 86.
Flammenzungen der Schlange, die am *tlecuilli* des Nordens (beim rothen Skelett) herabhängt. II 307.
Fleck, Flecken, s roth, gelb, schwarz, blau. — s. schwarzgefleckt, buntgefleckt. — s. Schlangenflecke. — s. Jaguarflecken. — s Backenfleck. — s. Augenflecke. — s. schwarze Federn mit weissem Endfleck.
Fleckenkrankheit *menexualiztli.* II 97.
Fledermaus, s. *çô'tz.* — kopfabreissende. — s *c'ama çô'tz.* — s. *tzinacantli, tlacatzinacantli.* — s. Herzausreisser. — herabkommende *(tzinacantemoc),* Determinativ der *Mayauel* als der fünften der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl,* Vertreter der Mitte. II 85
Fledermausgott, spielte eine grosse Rolle in gewissen Theilen des Mayagebietes und vielleicht auch bei einigen anderen der Urstämme. II 60 — s. *Tlacatzinacantli.*
Fleisch, s. Schale mit Thierfuss. — s. *manik* (Maya).
fleischlose Knochen des Todesgottes. I 244.
fleischloser Unterkiefer, der *Itzpapalotl.* I 181; II 195 — der *Ilamatecutli (Itzpapalotl).* I 185 — des Pulquegottes als Todesgott. I 251 — des Todesgottes. I 297 — der Todesgöttin. I 297; II 2, 120, 177, 181, 187 — der *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal.* II 187 — bei *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* der sechsten Nachtstunde. II 191.
fleischloses Totengebiss der *Itzpapalotl.* I 181, 182, 185; II 262.
fliegender, *Quetzalcouatl,* II 32.
Florenz, Biblioteca Laurenziana, s. Sahagun-Manuskripte.
Flöte, vom Abbilde *Tezcatlipoca*'s geblasen. I 148.
Flughaut, zwischen den Armen ausgespannt, mit Zacken umsäumt, beim *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60 — mit Klauen besetzt. II 60 — an deren Stelle zackig umsäumte Anhänge. II 61.
flügelartige Behänge aus gelben Federn, an den Unterarmen *Xolotl*'s, II 35, 36.
Fluss der Unterwelt, s Unterweltsfluss.
Folge der Himmelsrichtungen. II 4 — s. sakraler Turnus.
Förstemann. I 238, 313, 350; II 14, 15.
Frau, im Wasserstrome bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* II 225 — am Mahlsteine. I 213 — s. erste Frau. — s. *Ilancueye,* — gelbe, s. *Chantico.* — als Kriegerin frisirt, vertritt *Tlaçolteotl,* als zweiter der sechs Himmelswanderer (s. *Cinacouatl, Ciuateotl*). II 160—161 — geopferte = *Ciuateotl.* I 60 — nackte = *Tlaçolteotl.* I 60.
Frau mit abgeschlagenem Kopfe, ist eigentlich der Mond (s. geköpfte Göttin). II 184 — Sinnbild der fruchtbaren Erde. II 184.
Frau mit Adlerfängen *(Itzpapalotl).* I 181.
Frau mit einem Blüthenbaume, an Stelle des abgeschlagenen Kopfes, bei der zweiten Tagstunde. II 183, 184.
Frau mtt Männerhaartracht in Tanzstellung = *maqui,* Genossin der unverheiratheten Krieger, bezeichnet die dritte Nachtstunde. II 185 — die zwölfte Nachtstunde. II 204.
Frau mit vierhundert Brüsten = *Mayauel.* I 113, 138, 275, 304; II 117.
Frauen, weisse, die *otlamaxac (manca) cinapipiltin.* II 91.
Frauenkopf, bezeichnet auf Maya-Monumenten die Zahl Eins (s. daselbst). I 217.

Frauenkopf mit dem *chichan*-Zeichen auf dem Scheitel, in Maya-Handschriften der mex. *Chalchiuhtlicue* entsprechend. I 318–319.

Frazer. I 240.

Fressen des eigenen Kindes, durch die *Mictecacihuatl.* I 277 — Ideenverbindung mit Maul, Höhle, hohl, Echo. I 92.

fressendes Feuer, in der *Chantico* verkörpert. II 273 — mit dem Hunde (dem beissenden Thiere) in Verbindung gebracht. II 273.

Freudenmädchen, s *maqui.* — s. *auiani (mê).* — Ihre Patronin s. *Xochiquetzal.*

Frömmmigkeit, s *omitl nitztli* (I 50) — Zeitalter der —, die alte Zeit. II 206.

Frösche, an Kultusstätten des Regengottes. I 100.

Frost, s. *cetl.* — s. *Itztlacoliuhqui.*

fruchtbare Erde, Frau mit abgeschlagenem Kopfe (s. geköpfte Göttin, s. *Couatlicue*). II 184.

fruchtbare Thiere, s. Kaninchen *(tochtli).* I 138 — s. Fisch *(michin).* I 138, 275; II 116 — s. Leguan, Eidechse *(cuetzpalin).* I 97, 107; II 168 — s. *cipactli.*

Fruchtbarkeit, veranschaulicht durch die Phallus-tragenden Begleiter der *Tlaçolteotl* am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest. I 159 — Repräsentanten *Mixcouatl, Ah bolon tz'acab* (Maya). I 318 — s. *cipactli,* Fiseh, *cuetzpalin.* — s. *acatl*-Jahre; *calli*-Jahre — s. *olpiyauac*-Banner. — s. *tlecuilli,* Räucherwerk. — s. Westen, *Tamoanchan.* — s. *Chicauaztli.* — Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit der Pulque *(octli).* II 117, 197 — Edelsteine. II 204 — Zeichen dafür, eine Schale mit Maiskolben. II 235 — s. Frau mit abgeschlagenem Kopfe (Mond). — s. Brüste mit Blüthen. II 184.

Frühjahr, *Xipe Totec*'s Fest. I 149.

Frühlingsgott, *Xipe Totec.* II 18, 132.

Frühlings Tag- und Nachtgleiche, in diese fällt das *Tecuilhuitontli*-Fest. I 290.

Fuchs, Tanzgott. I 99.

Fünf, Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten ein alter Gott mit der Hieroglyphe „Stein" auf dem Kopfe: = mex. *macuil tecpatl* (?). I 217 — diese Zahl bei *Macuilxochitl* und den fünf *Auiateteô* durch die weisse Handmundbemalung *(motemmacpalhuiticac)* ausgedrückt. I 272; II 76, 77, 96 — diese Zahl bedeutet das über das Normale (die heilige Vierzahl) hinausgehende. II 96 — s. *macuilli.* — *ma-cuilli* „die Hand genommen". II 96.

fünf *Auiateteô*. II 93–103 — s. fünf *Ciuateteô* und fünf *Auiateteô.* — ihre Geburt aus einem *tecpatl.* II 97, 98.

fünf *Ciuateteô*. I 68, 187, 272, 299; II 20, 75–93, 102, 103 — s. fünf *Tzitzimimê.*

fünf *Ciuateteô* und fünf *Auiateteô*. II 75–103 — kombinirt dargestellt in fünf Paaren auf dem Mss. Mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). II 102–103.

fünf Dreizehnheiten viergliedriger Säulen; so angeordnetes Tonalamatl. II 4, 5.

fünt Fahnen, bei *Tonatiuh.* II 289.

fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl,* fünf Mondgöttinnen. II 77–85, 91 — s. *Chicunaui acatl, Naui tecpatl, Chiquacen acatl. Chicuei acatl, Ce quauhtli.*

Fünf Gestalten vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 336, 341 — s. *Ah bolon tz'acab, balam,* Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, *aac, holcan.*

fünfgliedrige Säulen, s. Tonalamatl.

fünf Götter der Missgeburten. I 199.

fünf Götter des Ostens, der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (Bl. 24). I 309.

fünf Götter des Südens, s. *Uitznaua, Auiateteô.*

fünf Gottheiten des Planeten Venus, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift und im Codex Borgia. I 334, 334–336.

fünf Göttinnen des Westens, s. *Ciuateteô.*

fünf Himmelsrichtungen, ihr Turnus entweder Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte (bezw. Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden, Mitte) oder Osten, Norden, Mitte, Westen, Süden (bezw. Westen, Süden, Mitte, Osten, Norden). I 238 ff., 257, 337; II 4, 102, 149, 155 — ihnen entsprechend fünf Formen *Xolotl*'s. I 199; II 54 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 9, 10 — ihnen entsprechend fünf Thiere, beim knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem Kreuzwege. II 54 — ihnen entspreehend fünf merkwürdige schwarze Figuren. II 41, 42 — ihnen entsprechend sind die neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer vertheilt. I 219, 237; II 292 — ihnen entsprechend die fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 241, 327–336; II 136–157 — die viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 238–280 — dabei mit dem Westen beginnend. I 241, 329; II 140, 149 — ihnen entspreehend fünf Gestalten vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 336; II 153–155 — ihnen entsprechend die toten Götter oder die Abendsternreihe. I 337–341 — ihnen entspreehende Farben: weiss (Osten), gelb (Norden), blau (Westen), roth (Süden), schwarz (Mitte, unten). II 10 — ihnen entsprechend fünf *Ciuateteô,* fünf *Tzitzimimê.* II 20, 85 — ihnen entsprechend fünf Paare je einer *Ciuateotl* und eines *Auiateotl.* II 102–103 — ihnen entspreehend je zwei *Ueueteteô* und je zwei *Ciuateteô.* II 19, 20 — ihnen entsprechend fünf mit Blitz versehene, aus einem Kautschukball hervorkommende Figuren, den Aufgang des Planeten Venus andeutend. II 27 — ihnen entsprechend fünf Fahnen bei *Tonatiuh.* II 289 — Begleitbilder bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 78.

fünfhundertvierundachtzigtägige Periode = synodische Umlaufszeit des Planeten Venus. I 238, 239, 327, 350; II 137 — mittlere Länge 583 Tage $22^h\ 6'\ 40''$. II 136 — = $29 \times 20 + 4$. = $44 \times 13 + 12$. II 137 — diese Periode ist in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift zerlegt in Abschnitte von 90, 250, 8 und 236 Tagen.

fünf im Himmel Thronende, Gottheiten der Abendsternreihe in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 341.

fünf Jahre, aufeinander folgende. I 349 — folgen auf die Zeit der oberen Konjunktion des Planeten Venus, gerechnet vom Tage der Versehmelzung des Planeten mit der Sonne *(naui olin, 4 caban).* I 351.

fünf Kautschukkugeln, auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt, wo der knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl* besiegt wird. II 51.

fünfmal geräuchert, der Sonne als *Yoaltecutli* in der Nacht. I 224.

fünf Mondgöttinnen. II 77–85.

fünf Perioden, s. Scheibe, Trapez und Schlangenzunge — s. fünf Venusperioden.

fünf Schalen, Pulque *(octli)* trinkt der *Cuextecatl.* II 96.

fünf Schlangen, bunte und rothe, kommen aus dem Spalte zwischen der knochenfarbenen und der *chalchiuitl*-Schale bei Darstellung der Geburt der *Ciuateteô* heraus. II 91 — versehiedenfarbige (*cicitlalló,* blau, gelb, roth, grün) bei der Darstellung der Geburt der fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98.

fünf schwarze Figuren, aus einem *xiuhcouatl* herausgetreten. II 41, 42 — vom alten Ehepaare begrüsst. II 41.

fünf Sonnenjahre. I 350.

fünf Tage vor Beginn des neuen Jahres, Zärimonien an ihnen bei den Maya von Yucatan zu Ehren *Yaxcoc ah mut*'s. I 303 — letzte des Jahres, s. *nemontemi.* — s. *xma kaba kin* (Maya). — s. Jahresschluss-Zärimonien.

fünf *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren (schwarz, weiss, gelb, roth, blau). II 9, 10.

fünf Thfere, beim knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem Kreuzwege. II 54.

fünf *Tlaçolteotl-(Ciuateotl-)*Gesichter, am Seile des Hauses der rothen Schlange, sind *Tzitzimimê.* II 20.

fünf *Tlaloc*-Figuren, bezeichnen die fünf Richtungen. II 344

bis 348 — bei den vier Jahren und vier Tonalamatl-Abschnitten. I 341—348 — bei den Jahren und Venusperioden. I 349—353 — sind Verkörperungen *Tezcatlipoca's* (Norden), *Tlauizcalpantecutli's* (Westen), *Xiuhtecutli's* (Süden), *Quetzalcouatl's* (Osten), *Xochipilli's* (Mitte). I 351—353.

fünf *Tonalamatl*-Abschnitte, entsprechen dem Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Mitte. II 4, 5.

fünf *Tzitzimimê,* am Seile des Hauses des Südens. II 20 — s. fünf *Ciuateteô.*

fünf *Uitznaua,* die fünf Südlichen, Gegenstück der fünf *Ciuateteô.* II 13 — s. *Auiateteô.*

fünf Venusperioden. I 327—336; II 137 — (im Cod. Vatic.) durch fünf Gebilde aus Scheibe, Trapez und Schlangenzunge (s. *yacaxiuitl*) bezeichnet. II 138.

fünf Weltgegenden, s. fünf Himmelsrichtungen.

fünf Weltgegenden und ihre Gottheiten. II 103—126.

fünfte Richtung, Richtung nach unten. — s. oben—unten. — s. Feuergott. — s. Mitte. — durch den Pulquegott repräsentirt. I 251 — s. oben.

fünfte Venusperiode, an ihrem Ende droht dem *altepetl* allgemeiner Weltuntergang. II 155, 156.

fünfter *Tlaloc.* I 347, 348.

fünfte Weltgegend, Land des Reichthums. II 107 — Mitte, durch *Xiuhtecutli* repräsentirt. I 73, 79, 118 — durch *Iztac Mixcouatl.* — durch *Tonacatecutli.* I 79 — durch *Mictlantecutli.* I 238, 241, 244, 250 — durch *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli* repräsentirt. I 269 — Mitte, durch die fünfte Venusperiode repräsentirt, mit dem Anfangstage *matlactli olin.* I 329, 333, 335 — durch eine *Tlaloc*-Figur dargestellt. I 345, 347. 348 — durch eine schwarze Figur mit grossem Daunenfederball auf dem Kopfe und *tlachieloni*-artiger Scheibe am Halse dargestellt. II 42 — durch *Mayauel,* fünfte der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. II 84, 85 — Mitte = Erdinneres, *Tlillan.* I 296—299 — schwarzes Loch der Erde. II 3 — Mitte der Unterwelt, Reich des Feuers. II 72, 72—75 — der Himmel, der Wohnort der toten Krieger. I 348 — durch die (zu ergänzende) Tageszeichensäule *acatl, tecpatl, calli, tochtli* bezeichnet. II 15 — durch den *tzontemoc* oder *tzitzimitl,* d. h. einen Stern repräsentirt. II 132 — ein *tzitzimitl*-Gesicht (bei den vier Federschlangen). II 299 — s. Baum der Mitte. — Mitte, Unten-Oben. II 4 — Mitte, s. *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Regenten der fünften Venusperiode. II 139 ff., 155 — Mitte, durch *Yacatecutli* vor dem Kreuzwege repräsentirt = Feuergott. II 165 — durch das *altepetl* repräsentirt (bei der fünften Venusperiode). II 155 — in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, durch ein mit *caban* erfülltes Gebilde bezeichnet. II 108 — s. Oben.

fünfte Weltperiode *Olintonatiuh* „Erdbebensonne". I 204 — ihr Zeichen ist *naui olin.* I 204.

fünfter Baum, s. Baum der Mitte.

fünfter Himmel, bewohnt von fünf Göttern *(tonaleque).* II 292 von der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 294.

fünfundzwanzig Erscheinungsformen der *Xochiquetzal,* in den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren. II 207.

fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare, die —. II 178—208 — stehen in Beziehung zu den sechs Götterpaaren. II 177, 178 — ihre Bedeutung dreizehn Stunden des Tages und dreizehn Stunden der Nacht. II 180, 207 — dreizehn Tage, wo der Mond am Abend- bezw. Morgenhimmel sichtbar ist. II 207—208.

fünfundzwanzigstes Götterpaar, als dreizehntes konstruirt mit Anspielung auf den dreizehnten Himmel *Tonacatecutli's* und *Tonacaciuatl's.* II 178, 179 — bezeichnet die dreizehnte Tag- und Nachtstunde. II 180.

fünf Venusperioden, ihre Hüter. — die 4 mal 5. — die 13 mal 5.

fünf Weltgegenden, durch neun Herren der Nacht repräsentirt. I 237, 238 — den fünf Venusperioden entsprechend. I 241, 327—329; II 137 ff.

Fuss, durch den Kopf einer rothen Blutschlange *(tlapalcouatl)* ersetzt, bei der *Tlaçolteotl,* dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer (im Cod. Fejérváry). II 159 — durch einen Schlangenkopf ersetzt. beim fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer (*Tezcatlipoca* des Südens) im Cod. Fejérváry. II 163 — s. abgerissener Füss, *Tezcatlipoca's, Xochipilli's, Tlauizcalpantecutli's.*

Fuss abgerissener, *Acxomocuil,* Name eines der Genossen *Yacatecutli's*; ihm entspricht *Hurakan* (Qui'che) und *Tezcatlipoca.* II 128 Anm. 2.

Fuss, linker, über ihn hat das Tageszeichen *ocelotl* Herrschaft I 280 — unter ihm das Tageszeichen *cipactli* bei *Tezcatlipoca* angegeben. I 281 — bei *Xochipilli.* II 135 — *Macuilxochitl's,* mit dem Tageszeichen *tochtli* verbunden. II 302 — *Quetzalcouatl's* mit dem Tageszeichen *maçatl* verbunden. II 302.

Fuss, rechter, *Tezcatlipoca's,* mit dem Tageszeichen *ocelotl* verbunden. I 282 — *Xochipilli's,* mit *eecatl* verbunden. II 135 — *Tlaloc's* des Ostens, mit dem Tageszeichen *cipactli* verbunden. II 300.

Fuss der Feinde, gelähmt von der *mociuaquetzqui.* II 90.

Füsse, verkrümmt, bei der fünften der fünf *Ciuateteô.* II 91, 93 — bei *Xolotl-Nanauatzin.* I 191.

fussloser Mond = *Tezcatlipoca.* II 12.

Fussspur, bezeichnet den Weg (*òtli*). I 292; II 197 — auf dem Gewande der Erdgöttin. Tafel 5, oben — auf der Backe der Erdgöttin. Tafel 47, unten rechts. — herabkommende = Empfängniss. I 32; II 200 — gelbe. auf dem von einer menschlichen Hand gepackten Schwanze der Blutschlange, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 229 — zwei = Geburt von Zwillingen. I 31, 32 — diakritisches Zeichen. I 17 (s. *cuetzpalin,* s. *kan*).

Fussspuren, s. zwei —.

Fusswaschen der Götter, s. *mocxipacaya yn omitotique teteu.*

Gang der Zeit, s. Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern. II 292.

Garcia, Fray Gregorio, Verfasser des Werkes „Origen de los Indios". II 164.

gebänderter Achat. II 246.

Gebären = im Kriege einen Gefangenen machen. I 24, 156, 158, 166; II 48, 49, 218 — s. *Çacacàli.* — s. Fussspur. — s. *tlamani temani*

Gebärende *Tlaçolteotl.* I 157; II 219 — *Xochiquetzal.* II 186.

Gebet des Kaufmanns an den Feuergott. I 118 — des Wanderers bei den Maya an *Ekchuah.* I 321, 322 — an *Tezcatlipoca.* II 169 — der Hebamme. I 101 — eines Maya-Indianers von *Xcanchakan.* I 313.

Geboren habend, s. Bauchfalten.

gebrochene Doppellinie, schwarze, in der Gesichtsbemalung *Cinteotl's* (s. winklig gebrochener Streifen) ist ein Symbol der in Felder getheilten Erde. II 134.

Geburt, dargestellt bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des dreizehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (im Codex Borbonicus). II 252 — angedeutet bei der *Xochiquetzal.* II 186 — = Erbeuten eines Gefangenen. I 24, 156; II 49, 87, 218 — = Kampf. I 156; II 218 — erleichtert durch *tlaquatzin,* s. dort. — bei der Geburt Gestorbene, s. *mociuaquetzqui, mociuaquetzqui* — Symbol der Geburt, s. *tecciztli.* (I 49) — des Kindes, Herausziehen einer Kostbarkeit aus dem Leibe. I 240 — s. Blume, *cozcatl.* — verursacht durch den Mond. I 50 — des Priesters. I 49, 50, 69 — des Gottes der Jagd und des Krieges (?). I 69 — des Feuers. I 69 — aus dem Wasser, bei *Nanauatzin* = Entstehung aus dem Blitzgott *Xolotl.* I 197, 200; II 36, 52, 53 — des Menschenlebens und Geburt der Feldfrüchte, in einander gehende Begriffe. I 207; II 42 — s. *tlamanimê, temani* — s. Hebamme. — s. Haus der Geburt. — s. *Tamoanchan.* — s. Westen.

Geburt der Sonne, Erzählung davon. II 144, 145 — über

dem Meere des Ostens, auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Ostens der Unterwelt, durch ein rothes Skelett dargestellt, aus dessen Vulva eine mit gelber Farbe gemalte Figur herauskommt. II 48 — Verbrennung *Nanauatzin*'s, schildert und erklärt, wie die Geburt des Mondes, das Wiederlebendigwerden des Morgensterns. II 55, 67 — Zeit vor der , s. *chi k'ekum chi a'kab.*

Geburt der toten Sonne, durch *Youaltecutli* veranschaulicht. II 49.

Geburt des Blitzes, d. h. *Xolotl*'s, aus der Wolke. II 53.

Geburt des Maises, Ihre Darstellung. II 43, 45.

Geburt der fünf *Auiateteô*, aus einem *tecpatl*. II 97, 98.

Geburt der fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 90, 91.

Geburt *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, durch zwei weiss und roth punktirte Meerschneckengehäuse angedeutet. II 71.

Geburterleichterungsmittel, s *tlaquatzin* (Beutelratte). — Fellstreifen. II 186.

Geburtsgöttin, Patronin des Schwitzbades. II 13.

Geburtsgöttinnen, die fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 50.

Geburtshelfergott, *Tezcatlipoca* der zehnten Tagstunde. II 201.

Geburtsstellung, *(mamaçouhticac)*, *Tlaçolteotl*. I 154, 156, 276, 303 — *Xochiquetzal*. II 186 — *Tonacatecutli*. II 28, 29, 211 — zugleich Coïtusstellung. I 156 — s. *maana, moteteuana, mamaçoua.*

Geburtstag des Regengottes *(Chac)*, die mit der Zahl neun verbundenen vier Tage des ersten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Osten), in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam*. II 6, 15 — s. *bolon imix*.

Gedärme, Herrschaft über sie hat das Tageszeichen *malinalli*. I 250 — gedeihende Maiskolben. II 302.

Gedrehtes, charakteristisch im Schmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s (des Windgottes). I 88.

Gefäss, mit einer Schale zugedeckt. I 68 (s. Schlangenzauberer). — schwarzes, mit rothem Mündungsrande, an einem Ende aufgebogen. I 68 — schwarzes, für Totendarbringungen. I 74, 231 — s. Edelsteingefäss.

Gefangene *(mamaltin)* = Huaxteken *(Cuexteca)*. I 158, 175 — sind die Männer der *Ixcuinamê*. I 159, 173, 175.

Gefangener, gebundener = Sklaverei. — Erbeuten eines, s. *temani*. — am Baum gebunden, Begleitbild zum dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 64 — Darbringen eines Gefangenen durch die Erdgöttin = Geburt eines Kindes. I 24; II 213 gefesselter, beim Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens. II 81.

Gefäss der Dieseldorff'schen Sammlung mit Darstellung des Gottes in der Schale. I 315 — s. *Chamá* — mit dem Gesichte des Regengottes. I 109 — in der Hand der die vier Jahre bezeichnenden Regengötter. I 345 — der die Jahre und Venusperioden begleitenden Regengötter. I 349 — mit Blumen und Knochendolch (Opferblutschale), bei der sechsten Tagstunde. II 192 — mit dem verbrannten Gotte *Quetzalcouatl* und seiner verwehenden Asche. II 3 — mit einem Skelettgesichte, bei der Todesgöttin. II 3 — mit einem Totengesichte auf der Fläche. II 8 — weiss. roth. II 8 — mit zwei rechteckigen Streifen auf der Fläche (Kakaogefäss), auf dem Aschenwirbel. II 33, 34 — schwarzes, mit einem Brennholzbündel und einem *malinalli*-Busche, am Nacken der *Ciuateteô*, II 93 — der *Auiateteô*. II 98 — **mit Mais,** zwischen *Tepeyollotli* und *Tlaçolteotl*. II 219 — für Mais oder Speisen neben dem *teoicpalli*, bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150 — mit einer Blutschlange, bei der siebenten Nachtstunde II 194 — mit einem Thierfusse, beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 172.

Gefässe, mit Adlerdaunen gefüllt und einem Pfeilschafte darin, in die Gestalt eines *quauhtemoc* verwandelt. II 74 — mit Determinativen von Schmuck oder Kostbarkeit auf dem Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33, 34.

gefleckt, s. schwarz gefleckt. — s. Fleck, Flecken.

gefleckte Schoten = Kakaoschoten. I 319 — in einer Schale auf dem Kopfe des schwarzen Gottes der Maya-Handschriften. I 319.

gefleckter Hund, beim Feste des Gottes der Kakaopflanzer *(Ekchuah)* von den Maya geopfert. I 321 — s. weiss und schwarz gefleckt.

gefleckter Vogel, die Wachtel *(çolin)*, Abbild *Xipe Totec*'s. II 254.

Gegensatz, s. Farbengegensatz.

gegensätzliche Götter, *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*. II 73.

gegensätzliche Stellung des Mondes zur Sonne. II 90.

Gegensätzlichkeit der Richtungen. I 284 285; II 73 (Osten und Norden — Westen und Süden). — bei der Darstellung der Freuden und Leiden des Kriegers. II 70–71 — der Himmelsrichtungen, ausgedrückt durch die Darstellungen auf Bl. 49–53 des Codex Borgia oben und unten. II 127 — der Richtungen, s. Osten und Westen, Sonne und Mond als *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*, fünftes der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — der Richtungen, s. Richtungsgegensatz. — von *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, Haus der schwarzen und der rothen Schlange. II 21, 22 — schwarzer und rother Streifen beim Nordbaume. II 106 — beim Südbaume. II 107 — der Darstellungen auf der linken und rechten Seite der Blätter Codex Borgia 49—52: zerstörende und wieder produzirende Mächte. II 119, 120 — der Gott des Planeten Venus schleudert seinen Speer in den fünf Perioden immer auf die in der entgegengesetzten Himmelsrichtung mächtige Gestalt. II 155.

gehämmertes Gold, s. *tlacanaualli*. — Daraus Brustschmuk *Xipe*'s. II 256.

Geheul des Jaguars, in den Bergen, unheilvolles Vorzeichen. I 93 — = *Tepeyollotli*. I 93.

Geier, s. *cozcaquauhtli*. — kahlköpfiger Vogel. I 307 — entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift dem mexikanischen *Chalchiuhtotolin* in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter. I 217 — als Aasvogel, Schmutz oder Sünde repräsentirend. I 307 — entspricht dem alten Gotte mit der Hieroglyphe Stein auf dem Kopfe, der Gottheit der Zahl Fünf, auf Maya-Monumenten. I 217 — s. *cozcaquauhtli*.

Geiermensch, s. *tlacacozcaquauhtli*.

geköpfte Göttin, Abbild der *Teteo innan* oder *Tlaçolteotl*. II 10, 11 — ist der Mond. II 11, 63, 184, 283, 290, 291 — s. *Coyolxauhqui*. — ihr Begleiter im Codex Vindobonensis und Codex Nuttall das Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 283 — = *Xochiquetzal*. II 283, 286 — weiss und roth gestreift, *mamaçouhticac*, mit Steinmessern besetzt; beim Süden der Unterwelt dargestellt, aus ihr fünf kleine *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren hervorkommend. II 9, 10.

geköpfte kleine Figuren, in den Klauen der Hände der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt. II 10.

geköpfte Menschen, s. Zwei —.

geköpfter Mond. II 11, 12 (in der zweiten Hälfte des Monats) — s. geköpfte Göttin. — *Coyolxauhqui* von *Uitzilopochtli*. II 290, 291.

geköpfter Sünder. II 285 — = Mond bei Annäherung an die Sonne halbirt II 285.

gekreuzt, s. schwarze Strichzeichnung.

gekreuzte Totenbeine und Schädel, auf der Decke des Mumienbündels bei *Xolotl*. II 268.

gekreuzte Totenknochen, s. Kreuz. — auf dem *cueitl* der fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — der *Ciuateotl* des Südens (Mss. Mex. No. 20, Paris). II 103 — bei der eilften Tagstunde. II 202.

gekrümmt, Hut *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s, s. *itztlacoliuhqui*. — schwarze Waffe *Tlaloc*'s, s. *tlauitequiliztli*, Donnerkeil. — S-förmig gekrümmt, s. *xonecuilli*. — s. kommaförmig gekrümmter Brustschmuck. — Berg mit gekrümmter Spitze, s. *Colhuacan*. — s. *ycoliuhqui tepetl*.

gelappte Zeichnung um den Mund *Xochipilli*'s, konventionelle Zeichnung des weissen Schmetterlings (s. *papalotl*). II 176.

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gelbe Flecken, blau mit solchen, Gesichtsbemalung der *Mayauel.* II 235.

gelbe Flut, im *quauhxicalli* = Feuer des verbrannten *Xolotl-Nanauatzin,* Lebenswasser der Erneuerung für *Quetzalcouatl.* II 55.

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Gott in der Schale, alter kahlköpfiger Gott der Maya-Handschriften. I 313–316 — dargestellt auf dem Gefässe von Chamá der Dieseldorff'schen Sammlung. I 315.
Gott mit dem Brandstreifen im Gesicht. I 215 — reibt auf dem Zeichen *manik* Feuer. I 215 — im Kampfe mit dem schwarzen Gotte. I 324.
Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen, der junge, der Maisgott in den Maya-Handschriften. I 82, 215, 224, 319, 324, 336; II 154 — s. Gott mit dem winklig gebrochenen Streifen. — entspricht *Tonacatecutli.* I 215 — entspricht *Cinteotl.* I 215; II 154 — ihm entspricht beim mex. Tageszeichen *xochitl* die Maisstaude mit der Blutschlange. I 319 — sein Kopfschmuck bei dem schwarzen Gotte. I 319 — beim rothen *Chac.* I 335 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der dritten Periode. I 336; II 154 — Abbild *Itzamná's*, des Regenten der *akbal*-Jahre und des Westens. II 154.
Gott mit dem Thiergesichte, Herr der dritten Venusperiode, den Osten bezeichnend, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — entspricht dem Gotte des Ostens des Codex Borgia. I 335.
Gott mit dem *tun*-Zeichen, in den Maya-Handschriften. I 313, 314, 341.

Gott mit dem Vogel auf dem Rücken und der Schlange in der Hand, im Codex Dresdensis, entspricht *Uuecoyotl.* I 215 — seine Haupt-Hieroglyphe gleich der des Gottes des Tageszeichens *chuen.* I 215.

Gott mit dem von Schlangenwindungen gebildeten Gesichte, entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der *Mayauel.* I 215 — ist Assistent des Regengottes im Codex Tro. I 215.

Gott mit dem winklig gebrochenen Streifen im Gesicht, s. *Cinteotl.* I 224 — Maisgott der Maya-Handschriften, s. Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen. I 224; II 154.

Gott mit dem Zeichen *imix,* schwarzer, entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift dem mexikanischen schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca.* I 216.

Gott mit der Augenwinkellinie und ausgebohrtem Auge, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift = Opfergott, Steinmessergott. I 215, 216.

Gott mit der proliferirden Nase, *Ah bolon tz'acab* (s. dort). II 154.

Gott mit der Schlangenrachen-Helmmaske, blauer, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, Gott der Abendsternreihe, den Osten bezeichnend und *Chalchiuhtlicue* entsprechend. I 341.

Gott mit schnabelartig vorgezogenen Mundtheilen, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift zusammen mit *Chac* dargestellt. I 311.

Gott mit Todessymbolen, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift entspricht dem mexikanischen *Pàtecatl.* I 216 — s. *Uac mitun ahau.*

Gott mit verbundenen Augen, entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der *Xochiquetzal* in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter. I 217 — Herr der fünften Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — entspricht dem mexik. *Itztlacoliuhqui.* I 335, 336.

Gott Vater, Sohn und heiliger Geist, bei den Maya, *Içona, Bacab, Echuac.* I 322.

Götter, zu solchen werden die zur Sonne gehenden toten Könige und Krieger (s. *teoti*). I 205 — die toten, oder die Abendsternreihe. I 337—341 — s. Dreizehn Götter.

Götter der alten Zeit, chichimekische. II 185.

Götter der himmlischen Höhe, junge Sonne *(Xochipilli)* und neuer Mond *(Xochiquetzal).* II 176.

Götter der Lust, s. *Auiateteô, Macuilxochitl Xochipilli, Utznaua.* — ihr Vogel der *quetzalcoxcoxtli.* I 304.

Götter der Musik, s. *Auiateteô,* Mondgott. — ihre Region der Süden (*xochitlalpan* „Blumenland"). II 189.

Götter des folgenden Jahres, Parallele zwischen Codex Borgia Bl. 49—52 (*teoicpalli* mit Emblemen der Gottheiten der folgenden Richtung) und Dresdener Maya-Handschrift Bl. 25—28 (unteres Drittel). I 123.

Götter des Gedeihens, des Reichthums, des Lebens, *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl* (s. diese). II 171.

Götter des Nordens, die *Mimixcoua,* die Chichimeken. I 264.

Götter des Südens, s. *Utznaua,* fünf *Auiateteô.* — s. Götter der Musik, der Lustbarkeit.

Götter des Tanzes, mit den Sternen verbunden *(Centzon uitznaua).* II 189 — zwei Quetzalvögel, bei der eilften Nachtstunde. II 201—202.

Götter des Westens, *Tzitzimime* (s. Spinnenfiguren), als solche durch Herabkommen vom Himmel gekennzeichnet. II 20.

Götter der Wollust und ihre Zeichen. II 303—305.

Götterbote, der Sperber *(tlòtli).* II 144, 145.

Götterpaare, s. vier —. — s. fünfundzwanzig —. — s. sechs —.

Götterversammlung in *Teotiuacan.* I 194; II 145.

Gottheit der Erde, verschiedene Formen von ihr sind der Maisgott und der Todesgott, deren Region der Norden ist. I 238.

Gottheiten, ihre Namen durch Kalenderdaten ausgedrückt. II 78, 123 — Reihe von zwanzig. I 301—326 — s. Hundertundzwölf —.

Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen, der zwanzig Tonalamatl-Abschnitte; zwischen den beiden Reihen besteht eine Uebereinstimmung bis auf eine Ausnahme (s. Verschiebung). I 76.

Gottheiten der fünf Weltgegenden. II 103—126.

Gottheiten der sechs Weltgegenden, *Xochitlachpan, Tecpaxoch, Izcuin, Huey tecpatl, Tentemic, Nauacatl tzatzin.* I 137 — andere Liste. I 284—299 — Parallele zu dieser im Codex Fejérváry. II 125.

Gottheiten des Wassers, s. *Tlaloc, Matlalcueye, Xochiquetzal, Chalchiuhtlicue, Ah bolon tz'acab.*

Gottheiten der Zahlen I—X, auf Maya-Monumenten, durch Köpfe von Göttern der Tageszeichenreihe ausgedrückt. I 214, 216, 217.

Gottheiten des Mondes, die Pulquegötter (s. *Centzon totochtin*) II 24 — die Erdgöttin (s. *Tlaçolteotl, Teteoinnan*). II 24.

Gottheiten des Wassers, s. *Chalchiuhtlicue* und *Chalchiuhtlatonac.*

Göttin, s. geköpfte Göttin.

Göttin auf der rothen Scheibe, *Teteoinnan.* II 18, 28, 30 — Mondgöttin. II 30 — s. *Tonacatecutli.*

Göttin der Agavepflanze, Nebenfigur bei der Todesgöttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 8 — hält den Opferstein vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21, 42 — s. Göttin des *malinalli*-Grases.

Göttin der Ernte, der Feldfrüchte, des Ackerbaues, *Tlaçolteotl* (ursprünglich Mondgöttin). II 10.

Göttin der Generation, der Liebe, *Tlaçolteotl* II 55.

Göttin der Medizinen, *Teteoinnan.* I 153.

Göttin der Sünde, s. *Tlaçolteotl, Itzpapalotl, Ciuateotl.* — s. Göttin der Agavepflanze. — s. Göttin des *Malinalli*-Grases. — s. Todesgöttin des Westens und Nordens der Unterwelt (II 8).

Göttin der Wollust, s. *Tlaçolteotl, Teteoinnan.*

Göttin des *malinalli*-Grases, Nebenfigur bei der Göttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 8 — hält den Opferstein vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21, 42.

Göttin des Nordens, zweite der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl,* den Norden bezeichnend. II 79—81.

Göttin des reifen Maises, *Tlaçolteotl.* II 253.

Göttin des vollen Mondes, *Teteo innan, Toci, Tlaçolteotl.* II 18, 253.

Göttin des Westens, die Maisgöttin. II 81.

Göttin, dunkle, s. dunkle Göttin.

Göttinnen der *Chinampaceca, Chantico Cinacouatl-Quilaztli, Chalmeeaciuatl.* II 276.

Göttinnen der Geburt, die fünf *Ciuateteo.* II 50.

Göttliche (königliche) **Gewalt,** Sonnenbild mit herabrinnendem Blutstrom. I 40.

Göttliches *(teo-),* dieser Begriff abgeleitet aus dem des Uralten. I 299 — s. Heiliges.

Goupil, s. Aubin-Goupil'sche Handschriftensammlung.

Grab, s. *tetlalaquiliztli.*

Grabbeigaben, zerbrochen. I 298 — rother Hund. II 298.

graben, s. *tlatataquiliztli.*

Grabwerkzeug, s. Coa. — s. *uictli.*

Gras, trockenes, verbranntes, mit Daunenfederbüscheln besteckt, bezeichnet die Bodenvegetation der bewaldeten Bergabhänge. I 296.

Grenzstreifen weisser Muschelscheiben bei der blau und gelben Grsichtsbemalung der *Xochiquetzal.* II 281.

grosser Stern, s. *uei citlalin.* — s. *citlalpol.* — am Sternhimmel, bei *Yacatecutli,* dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

grosses Meer, in ihm versinkt die Sonne des Abends. II 62 — s. Meer des Westens.

grosses Thier, Sagen davon. I 92.

grösster Glanz des Planeten Venus, zu dieser Zeit als Sichel erscheinend. II 11.
Grossvater, südlicher; blauer. — s. *tévali šeliá kawi; tévali yoáwi* (Huichol).
grün, *malinalli*-Grasfarben. I 27 — Farbe des Jadeïtes *(chalchiuitl).* II 8, 105, 133 — als Farbe gleichbedeutend mit dunkel, s dunkel. — das Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 20, 21 — Farbe des Regengottes *(Tlaloc).* I 110 — durch ein aufgesetztes Auge als dunkle Farbe bei *Tlaloc* bezeichnet. I 243 — Farbe des Fledermausgottes (Codex Fejérváry). II 60 — des *tzinacantemoc.* II 85.
grüne Blätter, Unterlage der Haarflechte (in der Wiener Handschrift). II 284.
grüne Decke, unter ihr *Tonacacuatl* des Hauses der rothen Schlange. I 27.
grüne Edelsteinschnur, Blut des Opfers vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21.
grüne en-face-Figur, verkündender Tempelherold. II 18.
grüne (dunkle) Mundbemalung der *Teteoinnan.* II 18.
grüne Schale, s. *chalchihuhapaztli.*
grüne Schlange. I 15; II 43 — in Windungen unter der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56.
grüne Vogelhelmmaske, des vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Maisgottes. II 150.
grüner *Auiateotl,* fünfter der fünf *Auiateteô,* die Mitte bezeichnend, Maisgott. II 98.
grüner Kolibri, *quetzaluitzitzilin.* II 295.
grüner Papagei, *cocho.* II 3.
grüner Quetzalvogel, enthauptet, am Fusse des Baumes des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115.
grüner Schlangenrachen, aus ihm *Tlaloc* hervorsehend. II 43.
grüner *Tepeyollotli,* führt Mais aus einem *quauhxicalli* zum Munde. II 57.
grüner *Tlaloc,* aus dem Rachen einer grünen Schlange hervorsehend, mit *cipactli*-Stacheln besetzt. II 43 — in der Federschlange des Ostens. II 300.
grüner (dunkler) *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Priester des Todesgottes, nimmt das Herz des vom schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* geopferten männlichen Wesens in Empfang. II 21 — von einem schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Cella des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange bewillkommnet. II 21 — Regent der dem Osten entsprechenden dritten Venusperiode im Codex Bologna. II 143.
grüner *Xolotl-Nanauatzin,* kommt aus dem rechten Arme des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54.
grün-gelb, halb und halb, Baum des *tzompantli*'s des Westens. II 116.
grün mit gelbem Saum, Körperfarbe der Schildkröte *(ayotl).* I 305, 306.
grün und Kautschuk betropft *(olpiyauac),* Gewand und Putz des Regengottes. I 112, 191, 232, 235, 249, 306, 330 — *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 232 — viereckige Stirnplatte *Xolotl*'s. I 191 — Farbe der Trachtstücke der Schildkröte *(ayotl).* I 306 — Farbe der Regen- und Berggötter. I 306 — von Trachtstücken des Gottes des Südens. I 307.
grün und roth, Kopfbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 245.
grün und schwarz, Gesichtsbemalung der Pulquegötter. I 141 — des Pulquegottes als Todesgott. I 251.
grün und weiss und roth gestreift, Farben des *malinalli*-Krautes. II 2.
grün werden, s. *tlaquetzalpatia.* — s. *chalchimamatlaco.* — s. Beginn der Regenzeit.
Grundreihe von zehn Gottheiten. I 214, 318.
Grünsteinidol des Stuttgarter Museums. II 41.
Gruppe der Wiener Handschrift und des Codex Nuttall, dazu gehörig ein Blatt der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung, Mss. Mex. No. 20 (Bibl. Nat. Paris). II 102.
Guacamayo, s. *alo.* — = vacamaya. II 176.
Guatemala, Zug der wandernden Stämme dahin. I 185 — s. Volcan del Fuego. I 319 — dort übliche Beichte. I 163 — Nasenschmuck der Stämme der pazifischen Küste ein Knopf. I 231.
gueela, ela (zapotek.), Nacht; Tageszeichen = mexik. *calli* „Haus". I 91.
Güija, Lagune von; in der Landschaft *Mitla,* von *Pipil* bewohnt. I 83.
Gürtel, aus Blut, beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250 — eine Skelettwirbelsäule, bei der *Cihuateotl* der fünften Richtung (im Cod. Vatic.). II 93 — mit *maxaliuhqui*-Bändern bei *Xipe Totec.* II 133.
Gürtelbehang, rasselnder, aus Schneckengehäusen bestehend, s. *citlalcuëitl.* — in eine Art Blume endigend, bei dem Gotte der fünften Venusperiode der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335.
Gürtelschmuck von Schädeln gebildet bei der *Cihuateotl* und dem *Auiateotl* des Südens im Mss. Mex. No. 20 (Bibl. Nat. Paris). II 103.

Haar, wirres, nächtliches der Erdkröte. I 37 — des Todesgottes. I 126, 251; II 18, 42, 60 — der Todesgöttin. I 297; II 2 — s. feuerfarbenes. — s. Sternhaar. — dunkles, mit Augen besetzt, Zeichen des Todesgottes. II 60 — beim *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60 — dunkles, wirres, mit Augen besetzt, Frisur der *Mayauel.* I 274; II 78 — der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 78 — wirres, dunkles, bei *Xolotl,* modernd im Wassergefäss II 42 — mit Daunenfederbällchen, bei den fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98 — wirres, bei vier schwarzen Gestalten mit rundem Totenauge. II 42 — wirres, mit einem Daunenfederbusch darin, Frisur *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 47, 48 — wirres, des Priesters des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens. II 18 — des Todesgottes, am Tempel des Südens. II 114 — gelb (feuerfarben) beim Sonnengott. II 122 — roth gefärbt, wirr, bei einer männlichen Figur, am oberen Thürbalken des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — bei *Tepeyollotli* in der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 21 — roth, bei einer Todesgöttin, die das Herz des Opfers vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange in Empfang nimmt. II 21 — weiss, s. Reiherfederhaar. — beim Mondgotte. II 226 — roth, beim Feuerreiber des Westens II 119 — auf einer Seite aufgebürstetes = Kriegerfrisur (s. *tzotzocolueyac*). I 152 — s. Zopf, s. *Tezcatlipoca.* — in zwei besonders umwickelten Strähnen auf dem Scheitel *Tepeyollotli*'s zusammengenommen. I 232 — Besteckung desselben mit Adlerfederdaunen *(quauhtlachcayotl)* bezeichnet Schmuck des siegreichen Kriegers. I 282 — zum Opfer bestimmtes. II 119 — *Mixcouatl*'s. II 119 — mit Daunenfedern besteckt, mit zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnden Locken, bei *Xipe.* I 179, 270 — bei *Mixcouatl.* I 259, 338 — beim Feuerreiber des Nordens. II 119 — beim toten Krieger. II 71 — lang herabfallend, bei den Priestern, s. Priester. — lang herabfallendes. Tanzschmuck. I 281 — lang herabfallend und mit einem Bande am Nacken umwickelt, Tracht der Priester und *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 302 — lang herabfallend, bei der nackten Person auf dem *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150 — in *cuitlatl*-Form beim Sünder, bei der *Itzpapalotl.* II 264 — beim Sünder bei der *Xochiquetzal.* II 285 — mit weissem Rindenpapier umwickelt beim Mondgotte *Itztlacoliuhqui* vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — einer *mociuaquetzqui* von den Kriegern begehrt, um es in ihren Schild einzusetzen. II 89 — aus Reiherfedern bei *Tonacatecutli-Iztac Mixcouatl.* II 205.
Haarbinde, aus zerzupftem Stoff *(tlaçoixochitl),* bei der *Chantico.* I 164; II 276.

Haardecke von Daunenfedern. Abzeichen der *Itzpapalotl*. II 195.

Haarflechte, auf sie Blut des Wachtelopfers tropfend. II 283, 284 — abgeschnittene, auf einer Blattunterlage. II 285 — lange, bis zum Boden reichende bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 232, 233.

Haarflechten, s. zwei —. — s. Haartracht mexikanischer Weiber.

haarloser Hund, s. *Xoloitzcuintli* (mexik.) — s. *bil* (Maya).

Haarperrücke, dunkle, mit zwei Stirnlocken auf dem Königsstuhle des Ostens; darauf quer das *yopitzontli* des *Xipe Totec*. II 121 — bei *Itztlacolinhqui*. II 246.

Haarsträhne, *Tepeyollotli*'s durch einen Ring (eine Scheibe) gezogen. I 233 — Tracht des Zapotekenlandes. I 235.

Haarsträhnen, zwei auf dem Scheitel in die Höhe ragend, charakteristisch für *Tepeyollotli*. I 232 — kennzeichnen ihn als Berggott. I 232 — lange, umrahmen das Gesicht der *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal*. II 187 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s, mit Schneckengehäusen besetzt. II 214.

Haartracht, mexikanischer Weiber, zwei hornartig aufragende Haarflechten. II 181, 182, 187 — zapotekischer Weiber. Tlacoyales. II 181 — s. *Tzapoteca*.

Haarwulst, s. gelber —.

Haarwülste, s. zwei —.

Hab und Gut, Verlust dessen, durch einen Wasserstrom angedeutet (s. *atocoua*). II 225.

Habe des Toten, Deckelkiste und Kleiderbündel (?). I 58, 59.

Hacke, s. *nictli*.

Hackenkappen gewisser Gottheiten, mit „Obsidianschlangenbemalung" *tlaitzcouaicuilolli*. I 152; II 72.

haicabil (Maya), „Weltuntergang". II 156.

Haifischartiges Wesen, s. *cipactli*. I 146, 345.

Hakenkreuz, als solches die vier Federschlangen angeordnet. II 299 ff.

Häkchenzeichnung, Andeutung einer lockeren Beschaffenheit. I 13 — bei der Kopfbinde der *Tlaçolteotl*, bezeichnet diese als die Göttin des Baumwolllandes, oder als die Spinnende. I 163, 164 — des Tempels der Nacht. II 28 — des grauen Feldes bei der Darstellung der Geburt der *Aniateteô* aus dem Steinmesser. II 98 — rothe, des weissen Schmetterlings der siebenten Tagstunde. II 297.

hakenförmige Ohrgehänge, s. *epcololli*. — s. *tzicolinhqui nacochtli*.

Hakenkreuz, in dieser Form die Jahre der 52jährigen Periode gezeichnet. I 347.

halbe Sonne, beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare (Osten). II 171, 177 — beim dritten der sechs Götterpaare (Westen). II 174 — bei einem Theile der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare des Codex Borgia (dem 3., 5., 7., 11., 13., 15., 17., 19., 21., 23., 25.). II 178 — s. zwölf Götterpaare. — mit *chalchiuitl* = vom Himmel tropfender Regen, beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare II 175.

halbe Sonnenscheibe, s. Sonnenscheibe. — s. *tlapoyaua*. — s. Scheide von Tag und Nacht. — = Mond, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 159, 160, 161.

Halbiren der Mondscheibe. II 11, 58.

Halbmond des Planeten Venus, zur Zeit seiner grössten östlichen oder westlichen Elongation. II 11.

Halbring aus Knochen (Totengebein), eigentliches Kennzeichen der Mond-Hieroglyphe. I 103 — rother, umzieht den hinteren Augenwinkel beim Sonnengotte. II 21, 242 — beim Mondgotte. II 21 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 21 — rother, bei *Youalteeutli*. II 28 — bei *Tonacatecutli*. II 29 — rother, ist der Gesichtsbemalung des Sonnengottes entlehnt (s. Augenwinkel). II 29.

halbunterirdischer Bau, in der Calle de las Escalerillas der Hauptstadt México aufgedeckt; Feuerherd (?). II 39, 40.

Halme, durch das Loch der Zunge gezogen als „confesion exterior". I 211, 212 — die blutigen im Tempel verbrannt. I 212.

Halsband aus Thierklauen, s. *Xopilcozcatl*.

Halskragen der Todesgöttin. II 2 — in Gestalt eines *aztamecatl* bei der kopflosen Steinmessergott-Figur des Südens der Unterwelt. II 9 — in Form einer Sonnenscheibe, beim Sonnengotte. I 203 — einer Strahlenscheibe, bei *Youalteeutli*. II 47 — in Form eines dreitheiligen Strahlenauges, bei *Tlauizcalpanteeutli* (Codex Fejérváry). I 257 (Abb. 445); II 142.

Halskragen mit Schneckengehäusen, s. *acuechcozcatl*.

Haltestrick aus Baumwolle. I 125.

Haltung, s. adorirende —. — der Begrüssung; linkes Knie zur Erde gebeugt, rechte Hand zum Grusse vorgestreckt. II 228, 242 — mühsames Sicherheben vom Sitz, Zeichen des alten Mondgottes. II 226 — s. Geburtsstellung (*mamaçoa, mamaçouhticac* etc.). - s. Tanzstellung. — unterwürfige, verschränkte Arme. II 182 — knieende, Ruhestellung mexikanischer Weiber. II 182 — affenähnliche, des *tlaelquani*. I 129 — des Nachobensehens und Herunterholens, des Priesters bei der zehnten Nachtstunde, Anspielung auf das Herabkommen des Kindes durch Opfer und Bussübungen II 200 — alter Götter II 206 — der Ballspieler. — s. hinten, nach hinten gewandter Kopf. — der Erdkröte, s. *mamaçouhticac*. — liegend, das erste Menschenpaar. II 212.

Hand, menschliche, hält das Schwanzende einer Blutschlange gepackt, auf der eine gelbe Fussspur gemalt ist; bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 229 — menschliche, Ohrpflock des Todesgottes. I 127, 244; II 177 — weisse Zeichnung am Munde, s. *motemmacpalhuiticac*. — Hieroglyphe für fünf, s. *macuilli*. — rechte, mit Blut gefärbt beim Kultus des Todesgottes. I 128 — als Zeichen, verweist im Codex Telleriano-Remensis auf diejenigen Tage der Dreizehnheit, die zu der Gottheit der Dreizehnheit in besonderer Beziehung stehen. II 215.

Hand mit knorrigem Auswuchse, Hand *Nanauatzin*'s. II 102 — Schildenblem des schwarzen *Auiateotl* des Ostens. II 102.

Hände, abgeschnitte, am Dachfirste des Tempels des Südens. II 115 — mit knotigen Auswüchsen, krankhaft, missgestaltet bei *Youalteeutli*, dem Sonnengotte in der Unterwelt. II 47 — beim Monde des Abendhimmels im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56.

Handfahne, s. *macpamitl*.

Handgelenkbänder, mit Augen besetzt beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250 — mit Schneckengehäusen bei *Yacatecutli*. II 162 — mit vier Perlen, Abzeichen *Xochipilli*'s. I 78, 131, 248, 267 — mit Oliva-Schneckengehäusen, beim Gott des Südens. I 207 — bei *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308.

Handmundbemalung, weisse, der Götter der *Macuilxochitl*-Reihe. I 30, 133, 191, 271, 272; II 76, 77 — *Xolotl*'s. I 191 — s. *motemacpalhuiticac*.

Handstäbe, s. Tanzstäbe.

Handwalze, s. *metlapilli*.

Harn, s. *axixtli*. —-lassender *Itzpapalotl*. I 282; II 262 —-lassender Hund (*Xolotl*). I 191 —-lassender *Mixcouatl*. I 266 — *cozcaquauhtli*. II 262.

harpunenartige Spitze, des Rasselbrettes (*chicauaztli*). II 166.

Hart, Symbol alles Harten *Itztlacolinhqui*. I 25; II 247 — = reif (Mais). I 169, 335, s. *tlaquauaya*.

hart gewordenes Wasser, gefrorenes, Kälte, *cetl* (*Itztlacolinhqui*) II 247 — s *cetl*.

Harz, Abtropfenlassen auf die Haut, Kasteiung der Priester beim Feste der *Chantico*. II 274.

Harzmasse, braune, siedende. II 171, 220 — Symbol von Lebensmittelfülle. II 220.

Hase, s. *citli*.

Hauch = Atem, Leben; Grundbegriff des Zeichens *ècatl*.

I 84 — in einen Maiskolben endigend bei dem Kopfe, den *Cinteotl* in der Hand hält. I 242 — des Sonnengottes, Feuer. II 244.

Hauchwolken vor dem Munde, bezeichnen Rede und deshalb den König *(tlatouani)*. II 151.

Haupthieroglyphen, in Maya-Handschriften. I 311 — der fünf Gottheiten der Abendsternreihe. I 341 — des Hundes *(pek)*. I 311 — des *moan*-Vogels. I 313 — des alten kahlköpfigen Gottes. I 313 — des schwarzen Gottes mit der langen Nase. I 322, 324, 334 — des Sonnengottes *Kinch ahau*. I 316; II 310 — des Wassergottes *Ah bolon tz'acab* I 318 — des rothen *Chac*. I 335 — des Gottes mit dem Thiergesichte. I 335 — des schwarzen Gottes. I 319, 320, 334.

Hauptpriester, s. *teteouatzitzin*.

Haupttempel von México, Ausgrabungen in der Calle de las Escalerillas. I 134, 182; II 39, 132 — *quauhxicalli* vor dem Treppenaufgang. II 40 — daher stammt der grosse Steinkopf der *Coyolxauhqui*. II 173, 277.

Haupttreifer im Ballspiel, Werfen des Balles durch die Oeffnung des *tlachtemalacatl*. I 289.

Haus, s. *calli, akbal, notan, ela, gueela*.

Haus, brennendes, bezeichnet Region des Feuers, den Süden. II 103 – Feuer, bei der *Chantico*. II 278 — Mitte des Hauses das Heerdfeuer. II 74 — Arbeitsplatz des Weibes. II 74.

Haus der alten Göttin, *cozcaquauhtli ichan*. II 253.

Haus der Blitzschlangen, Tempel des hundsköpfigen *Xolotl*'s. II 35.

Haus der Erde, s. *tecolotl ichan, cozcaquauhtli ichan*. — vom Skolopender umwunden. I 15 — s. dunkles Haus = Westen. I 91.

Haus der Geburt = Westen (*Tamoanchan*). I 23 — (s. Maishaus, *cincalli*). II 18, 62.

Haus der Mond- und Erdgöttin. II 19.

Haus der rothen Schlange. I 123 — II 17–22 — Südpfeiler der Westregion, Haus der *Ciuateteô* und der weiblichen Götter des Westens. II 17–22, 22 — Haus des Südens. II 22 — seine Form hat der Tempel des Westens (*xochicalli*). II 112.

Haus der schwarzen Schlange. I 123; II 17, 18, 19 ff. bis 22 — Nordpfeiler der Westregion, Haus der männlichen Götter des Westens und der gestorbenen (geopferten) Krieger. II 17 bis 22, 21, 22 — Haus des Nordens. II 22.

Haus der Sonne, s. *tonatiuh ichan*.

Haus des Himmels, von einer Schlange umwunden. I 15.

Haus des Nordens, Haus der schwarzen Schlange, Nordpfeiler der Westregion. II 22.

Haus des Südens, Haus der rothen Schlange, Südpfeiler der Westregion. II 22.

Haus mit dunkler Thüröffnung, mit einer dunklen Kugel, bezeichnet *Olman, Tlillan-Tlapallan*. II 214 — ohne solche, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 225 — = *Tlillan*, bei der *Itzpapalotl* als Tempel der Erde. II 263, 264.

Hausbau, in der Tierra caliente; auf dem Hoehlande. I 6, 234 — s. Jacales.

Hausthiere, s. Hund *(itzcuintli)*. I 125.

Haut, neue = neues Kleid, verjüngte Vegetation in *Xipe Totec* verkörpert. I 149, 155, 168, 169; II 18, 254 — bezeichnet Phasenbildung des Mondes. II 254, s. *euatl teocuitlaquemitl*. — menschliche, s. *ienayo tlacatl*.

Hautfarbe, der Weiber, s. gelb.

Hautkrankheiten, von *Xipe* verhängt. I 170 — s. äusserliche Krankheiten.

Hautwucherungen, auf der Stirn des Geiers *(cozcaquauhtli)* sind roth. II 253.

häutiges Nasenblatt des *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60, 61 — sein Homologon, ein stielartiges, geschwungenes Gebilde. II 61.

Hebamme, hält die Rede an das neugeborene Kind bei der Taufe. I 101 — an die im Kindbette gestorbene Frau. II 87 — stösst einen Kriegsruf aus bei der glücklichen Geburt eines Kindes. I 156; II 218.

Hebammen, verehren *Tlaçolteotl*. I 153.

Heer der Sterne, die *Centzon Mimixcoua* und die *Centzon Uitznaua*, werden von der jungen aufgehenden Sonne in die Flucht geschlagen. I 264; II 11 — ihre Anführerin, s. *Coyolxauh*. II 10, 11 — des Südhimmels, durch den wanderden rothen *Tezcatlipoca* bezeichnet. I 293.

Heer der Sterne des Nordens, durch den rothen *Tezcatlipoca*, den vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer veransehaulieht. II 164.

Heer der Sterne des Südens, durch den gelben *Tezcatlipoca*, den fünften der seehs Himmelswanderer veranschaulieht. II 164.

heilige Dinge, Darstellung von Figuren oder Symbolen als ersehossen oder tot, als geknickt und gebrochen und mit blutenden Bruchstellen. I 91, 301 — s. Darstellungen von Blut und Opfer.

heilige Maiskörner dem übrigen Saatkorn beigemengt I 211.

heilige Vierzahl. II 96.

Heilmittel gegen Syphilis, der Kolibri *(uitzitzilin)*. II 67.

heisses Blut, bezeiehnet brennenden Schmerz der Kasteiung. II 272.

hellgelb, Farbe des Kaninehens im Codex Borgia. II 52 — Aequivalent für Weiss. II 143.

hellrosa-roth, Farben des *tlauhquechol*, bezeichnend für Traehtstüeke (Sehambinde) *Xipe Totec*'s. I 167.

Helm aus Federmosaik, s. *iyhuitzoncaleticac*.

Helmmaske, ein Obsidianmesser (*itztli*), bei den kleinen sehwarzen *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren, herauskommend aus einer dunklen Masse. II 34 — ein Steinmesser *(tecpatl)* bei der blauen Erdgöttin des Nordbaumes. II 104 — ein Steinmesser, bei der gelben Todesgöttin des kopulirenden Paares des Südens. II 120 — bei *Xipe Totec*. II 288 — ein Steinmesserschmetterling, s. *Itzpapalotl*. — ein Totenkopf bei der bunten Sehlange der Todesgöttin des Nordens. II 7 — ein Totensehädel, bei der gelben Erdgöttin am Baume der Mitte. II 105, 107 — ein hundeartiges Thier mit gelbem Felde ums Auge, bei *Uenecoyotl*. II 224 — ein Adler bei der *Xochiquetzal* der vierten Tagstunde. II 188 — ein Quetzalvogel bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 212, 279; II 186, 213 — bei *Cinteotl*. II 173 — ein *cipactli*, bei einem alten Gotte. I 243 — ein *quetzalcoxcoxtli*-Vogel bei *Macuilxochitl* und *Xochipilli*. I 132, 272; II 95 — beim Sonnengotte. II 109 — ein Quetzalvogel bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* des vierten der seehs Götterpaare. II 175 — ein blaugefiederter Vogel (Taube?), bei der Maisgottheit. II 113, 150, 173, 281 — ein grüner Vogelkopf, bei dem vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Cinteotl* (im Codex Bologna). II 150 — eine Art Taube, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — ein Jaguar (*ocelotl*) bei der gelben Erdgöttin des Westbaumes. II 105 — eine *chalchiuitl*-Sehlange, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 181 — ein Schlangenraehen mit dazu gehörigem *patzactli*-Schmueke bei *Tonacatecutli-Chalchiuhtlatonac*. II 44 — ein Schlangenrachen (-Kopf) bei der *Tonacaciuatl* als *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 227, 338; II 42, 149, 225 — ein Sehlangenrachen, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 227, 338; II 42, 149 — ein Schlangenrachen bei der *Xochiquetzal* des fünften der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — ein Sehlangenraehen, bei der *Cinacouatl* der ersten Nachtstunde. II 181 — eine Art Federschlange, bei einem alten Gotte. I 243 — ein die Bemalung des Feuergottes tragendes Mensehengesieht. II 27 — die Hieroglyphe *tun* des alten kahlköpfigen Gottes in Maya-Handschriften. I 314 — der vier Götterfiguren der vier auf einander folgenden Jahre, Masken der Zeichen der

Tonalamatl-Viertel-Anfänge (*cipactli, miquiztli, oçomàtli, cozcaquaubtli*). I 344–348.

Helmmaske des Feuergottes, bei der gelben Erdgöttin des Ostbaumes. II 104.

Henkelkrug, mit einer nackten *Xochiquetzal* beim Regengotte des Westens, I 352 — zwischen *Tlaloc* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 352 — mit *Tlaloc*-Gesicht, in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s. II 307 — mit einem nackten Männlein, mit Edelsteinketten und vier Arten von Mais, bezeichnet das Wachsthum der Maisfrucht. II 174, 175.

Henkeltopf, mit Stricken umschnürt, mit rundem Boden, in einem Strohkranze aufgestellt; bei *Uitzilopochtli* (Süd-Himmelsträger) dargestellt. II 131 — bezeichnet im Codex Mendoza Tribut von Honig. II 131.

Herabfallen ins Wasser, vier Männer und eine Frau, die *Camaxtli* im achten Himmel als Opfer für die Sonne geschaffen. I 264.

Herabfallende Dämonen, s. *Tzitzimimê*.

Herabfallendes Feuer, vom Himmel = Blitz, *Tlaloc*. I 29.

herabfliegender Türkisvogel, an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde, besonderes Kennzeichen des Feuergottes (*Xiubtecutli*). I 122, 123; II 73 — s. *xiuhtototi*.

herabkletternde Gestalt, auf dem gebrochenen Baume (*Tamoanchan*) beim zehnten Tageszeichen *itzcuintli* dargestellt. I 305 — bezeichnet *Tamoanchan*. I 305.

Herabkommen, diese Vorstellung verbindet die Regengötter mit den *Cinateteô*, den Göttern des *xochilhuitl* und mit *Mixcouatl*. I 262 — ein Sinnbild dafür ist das *Xonecuilli*. I 262 — an einem Seil. II 20 — an einem Spinnenfaden. II 20 — vom Himmel, durch Spinnenfiguren (s. daselbst) angedeutet, bezeichnet Götter als solche des Westens. II 20 — der *Cinateteô*, im Westen. I 184, 262 — des Kindes. I 32 (s. Fusspur), 157; II 200 — s *temo, tlacati*. — s. Schädelaugen. — der *Tzitzimimê* zur Zeit der Sonnenfinsterniss. I 186 — im Westen. I 184 — der *Tzitzimimê* Fest *Mixcouatl*'s, das vierzehnte Jahresfest *Quecholli*. I 261, 262 — des Feuers vom Himmel, s. Feuer. — = Seil mit einem Skorpiongesicht unten. I 123 — des Krieges. I 61 — des Regens Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 53.

Herabkommen zum Opfer, s. *quetzaltototl*.

herabkommender Quetzalvogel s *quetzaltototl*.

Herabkommendes Dunkel = *tzitzimitl*, Stern. I 186.

Herabkommender Pfeil = Krieg. I 61.

Herabkommende Schlange, vom Himmel = *couatl-tequani*. I 58

Herabrieseln der Blumen, s. *nicteel uah* (Maya).

Herabstürzen, s. *uetziliztli, tzontemoc*. — in einem Skelettrachen. I 47 (= *miquiztli*), 58 — in den Erdrachen. I 71 — in ein Wassergefäss. I 73 — in ein schwarzes Gefäss. I 74 — von oben, s. Blitzthier, Hund; s. *Xolotl*.

heraldisch ausgebildeter Erdrachen beim *tzontemoc*, der fünften Weltgegend. II 132.

Heranbringen des gebundenen Skeletts, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 63, 67.

herausquellendes Auge, bei *Xolotl*. I 191, 193, 194; II 52, 56 — bei der zweigesichtigen Maske des *Titil*-Festes. I 192 — bei den *Cinateteô*.

Herausschneiden des Herzens = Herausbrechen des Maiskolbens. I 207.

Herausziehen einer Blume aus dem Leibe einer kleinen, vor *Xochipilli* kauernden Menschengestalt; bezeichnet den Gott als den jungen Gott des Lebens. I 249, 267 — bezeichnet Herausschneiden des Herzens. II 185 — aus dem eigenen Leibe beim *tlacacozcaquaubtli* der dritten Tagstunde. II 185, 186.

Herausziehen einer Kostbarkeit mittels des gelben, wellig begrenzten Streifens aus dem Leibe einer menschlichen Figur, Aktion der dritten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 239 — bedeutet Geburt des Kindes. I 240, 270; II 201.

Herdfeuer, Gott des —'s, der Feuergott. I 115, 116, 219, 220, 237 — s. *Chantico*. I 219, 220; II 274 — brennt in der Mitte des Hauses. II 74 — Arbeitsstätte des Weibes. II 74.

Herdopfer. I 115.

Herdsteine, s. *tenamaztli*. — sind Schädel beim Kochtopfe *Xolotl*'s. I 200.

Herdummauerung in Form einer Feuerschlange. II 53.

Hernandez, Dr. I 95, 96; II 297 — Priester. I 321, 322.

Herold, s *tecpoyotl*. — s. Tempelherold. — s. *itecpoyouan*. — *Quetzalcouatl*'s, *Xipe*. II 262.

Herr der Holzpauke, *Uotan*. I 235.

Herr der Kostbarkeit, *Chalchiuhtlatonac* = *Xochipilli*. I 101.

Herr der Mitte = Feuergott. I 117.

Herr der Thiere, *Tepeyollotli*.

Herr der Zeugung, s. Zeugung. — s *Tonacatecutli*. — erster der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158.

Herr des Todes, sein Kultus. I 128.

Herren der Nacht, die neun. — s. Neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Herrera, Antonio de, Chronist. I 177.

Herrschaft des Feuers, des Dunkels (Erde), des Windes, des Wassers. — vier Reiche des Abendhimmels. II 25, 35.

Herz, Sinnbild des Lebens. II 66 — von einer Agaveblattspitze (*uitztli*) durchbohrt, Determinativ des Pulquegottes als Todesgott. I 251, 253 — s. *uitzyecoa*. — und Agavedorn, Determinativ der *Mictecaciuatl*. I 277 — auf einen Stab gespiesst, s. *yollotopilli*. — von einem Pfeile durchbohrt = richterliche Strafe. I 40, 59, 64; II 72 — bei *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 229, s. Beil. — Sinnbild des Herzens der grüne Edelstein *chalchiuitl*. I 85, 169, 207; II 6, 20 — rauchendes mit dem Aortenende nach unten gekehrt. I 219, 224, 231, 237 — rauchendes, Brustschmuck der Todesgöttin II 2, 7 — ausgerissenes, mit zwei grünen Federn geschmückt, in der Hand des Gottes des Blutes. I 302 — ausgerissenes, in der Hand *Tlacatzinacantli*'s. II 61 — ausgerissenes, Determinativ beim Idole in der Cella des Tempels des Südens. II 115 — herausgerissenes, in der Hand des vom Planeten Venus getroffenen Jaguars (*ocelotl*) II 149 — blutendes, in der Hand *Xochiquetzal*'s und des Priesters, bei der eilften Tagstunde. II 202 — Kern der grossen Sonnenscheibe, die *Youaltecutli* auf dem Rücken trägt. II 47 — Kern der Mond-Strahlenscheibe der *Xochiquetzal* im Süden der Unterwelt. Daraus herauswachsender Baum, auf dessen Wipfel *Quetzalcouatl* als Kolibri kniet. II 66 — des geopferten Menschen vom Priester weihend emporgehalten (s. *oniyaua*). I 206 — ist der Maiskolben. I 207 — mit Blut in einer Schale, von der *Chalchiuhtlicue* in der Hand gehalten. I 287 — im Blutstrome zwischen *Mictecaciuatl* und dem Todesgotte. I 277 — bezeichnet das Opferblut, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 279 — bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 66 — von *Tonatiuh* vor dem Tempel des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume) geopfert. II 108 — vom Mondgotte vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — vom Maisgotte (*Cinteotl*) vor dem Tempel des Westens geopfert. II 114 — s. *Uotan* (I 235).

Herz der Erdgöttin, bezeichnet das Loch der Erde (im Westen und Osten). II 17 — ein *chalchiuitl*, in ihm von *Quetzalcouatl* Feuer erbohrt. II 74 — ein *chalchiuitl*, in dem ein Priester Feuer quirlt. II 18.

Herz des Himmels = *Hurakan-Tezcatlipoca*. I 147.

Herz des Sees und Meeres = *K'ucumatz-Quetzalcouatl*. I 147.

Herz des toten Königs, ein *chalchiuitl*. II 6.

Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s, verwandelt sich in den Morgenstern (s. *ce acatl*). I 87, 244, 286, 353; II 7, 16, 67, 213, 238, 291 — im Cod. Borgia (Bl. 30) als grosser *chalchiuitl* dargestellt. II 6, 7, 16.

Herz *Tonacatecutli*'s, ein Spiegel (*tezcatl*), darauf Feuer gebohrt. II 28.

Herzen, herausgerissene, im Kerne der Spiegel (*tezcatl*) an den Pfosten der Cella des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume). II 108 — ausgerissene, s. Steinmesser und ausgerissene Herzen. — zwei auf einen Stock gespiesst, Sinnbild der Strafe. I 269 — zwei, vom Pfeile durchbohrt, in dem *quauhxicalli* des Baumes des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115.

Heuschrecken-ähnliche Wesen fressen die Maiskolben der *tecpatl*-Jahre beim *Tlaloc* des Nordens. I 346.

Hieroglyphe des Jahres, Trapez und Strahl (bei *Tlaloc*). I 345.

Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus, in mexikanischen Handschriften *ce acatl*. I 238, 244 — in Maya-Handschriften: ein Quincunx. I 255 — an einer Perlkette, Schmuck des rothen *Chac*, des Herrn der zweiten Venusperiode. I 335.

Hieroglyphe des Sonnengottes, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. II 310.

Hieroglyphen, der zwanzig Gottheiten der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (Bl. 46–50). I 309, 311, 311–326 — verglichen mit den Gottheiten des Codex Borgia (Bl. 22 - 24). I 309, 311–326 - Elemente derselben in den Maya-Handschriften. I 311 ff.

Hieroglyphische Elemente, ausgerissenes Auge. I 313, 317 — Kopf mit ausgebohrtem Auge. I 335 – Rachen. Gesicht oder Mensch. I 311 — *Kin* „Sonne", in der Hieroglyphe *Kinch ahau*'s. I 316 — in Himmelschildern I 317 – auf der Schildkrötenschale. I 313 — *Kin* „Sonne", in der Haupthieroglyphe des Kriegsgottes. I 335 — *chac* „roth". I 311, 335 — *e'tznab* „Feuerstein". I 311 — *akbal* „Nacht" I 313, 317 - Käuzchen (in der Hieroglyphe des *Moan* Vogels) I 313 — *chi* „essen". I 316 — *imix*. I 319, 322 334 – der Hieroglyphe *yax*. I 316 — *tun* „Stein". I 313, 326 — Thier oder lebendes Wesen. I 317 — Vogel oder Feder. I 311 — s. Klassenhieroglyphe: Hocken eines Vogels auf einer Frauengestalt — *canac*. I 326 — der Hieroglyphe der alten Göttin (beim Mattenflechten) in Maya-Handschriften. I 311 — in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 311 ff. — *been-ik, ben-kak*. I 317 — der Hieroglyphe des Mondes. II 285.

Himmel, sein Zeichen, das weisse Windkreuz. II 167 — s. *ilhuicatl*. — s. *Bacab*. — s. Tageshimmel. — s. Nachthimmel — als Paar gedacht, s. *Citlalinicue* u. *Citlallatonac*, *Ometecutli* u. *Omecinatl*, *Tonacatecùtli* u. *Tonacaciuatl*. I 55 — oberster dreizehnter, s. *Omeyocan*. — neunfach verketteter, s. *chiucnauhnepaniuhcan*. — dreizehn Himmel- oder Wolkenschichten, s. *oxlahun taz mugal*. — im Jahre *ome acatl* erschaffen. II 288 — Einsturz im *Ocelotonatiuh* I 204 — nach der Sintflut II 118 — Aufrichtung durch *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*. I 84, 150 — nach der Sintflut, im Jahre *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen" II 118 — von ihm herabgefallene Götter. I 186 — herabfallendes Feuer, s. *Tonatiuh*, *quiauitl*, *tlequiauitl*, *Xolotl*. — von ihm herab = von der Höhe des Tempels. II 40 — der Nordregion. I 292 — dunkler, nächtiger, bei *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — beim Sonnengotte. I 306 - mit dem Bilde des Mondes. I 297 — dunkel, regenwolkenreich beim *Tlaloc* des Ostens. I 345 — des Westens. I 346 — strahlender, beim *Tlaloc* des Nordens. I 346 — des Südens I 346 — Nacht- oder Sternhimmel mit zwei Steinmessern und dem Symbole der Scheide von Tag und Nacht, beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung, I 347 — fünfte Weltgegend, durch den Regengott repräsentirt. I 348 — oberer, durch das fünfte der sechs Götterpaare (*Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*) bezeichnet II 175–176, 178 — Wohnsitz der Geopferten, Ideenverbindung zwischen dem achtzehnten Tageszeichen *tecpatl* und *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308 — Wohnort der Seligen. I 348 — Aufenthalt der Seligen, sein Abbild bei den Maya die Ceiba *(yax chè)*. I 316 — der in der Schlacht gefallenen und geopferten Krieger *(holcan)*. I 336 — dreizehn, über einander sich aufbauend; ihnen entsprechend die dreizehn Götter. II 299 — Wolkenbedeckung des Himmels bezeichnet der mythische *moan*-Vogel. I 313 — seine Wurzeln durch den nach unten geöffneten Rachen einer schwarzen und rothen Schlange dargestellt. II 17 — vier Stützen des —'s und die vier Säulen der Erde. II 126–134.

Himmel des Westens, durch das Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange dargestellt. II 19.

Himmelsborte, umsäumt die oberen Thürbalken und das Dach des Hauses der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 19.

Himmelsgebäude, auf einem nach unten geöffneten Schlangenrachen ruhend: besteht aus Stufenpyramide mit Treppenaufgang, Tempelgemach auf der Plattform und hochragendem Strohdache nebst einer Schlange als Treppenwange. II 17.

Himmelsgott, alter, *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308.

Himmelsgötter, *Tezcatlipoca, Uitzilopochtli, Xochipilli*. — *Naui cipactli* und *Matlactli ozce cipactli* „vier" und „eilf Krokodil". II 283.

Himmelsgöttin, s. *Xochiquetzal*, s. *Tonacaciuatl*. — über die Erde sich wölbend. I 55.

Himmelskarte der *Huichol*-Indianer. II 127.

Himmelskörper, Phasenbildung als eine Zerstücklung aufgefasst. II 10 ff, 58.

Himmelsrichtungen, s. vier, fünf, sechs Himmelsrichtungen. — ihre Bedeutung. — durch den Regengott repräsentirt. I 344 ff — veränderter Anfang. I 241, 267, 329, 337, 339, 341; II 126, 140, 143, 149 — veränderter Anfang, s. auch Turnus, sakraler; Abweichung davon. — ihr gewöhnlicher Turnus (O., N., W., S., M.) I 257, 337; II 4, 102, 149 abweichender Turnus (O., N., M., W., S.). I 238 ff.; II 4, 102, 149, 155 — ihnen entsprechend fünf Formen *Xolotl*'s. I 199 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 9, 19 — s. Herr der neun Himmelsrichtungen *Chiconaui Tecuhtli* = Feuergott. I 118 — ihr Schematismus. II 208.

Himmelsschilder, mit astronomischen Zeichen bedeckte Bretter in den Maya-Handschriften. I 14, 317, 341.

Himmelsschlange, mit Augen am Schwanzende besetzt, hält das Kaninchen (Mond) im Rachen. II 64, 65, 68 — ist weiss und roth gestreift und *cicitlallò*. II 65, 68, 258, 259 — als solche besonders angedeutet durch ein aus ihrem Rachen hervorsehendes Menschengesicht mit Quincunx-Bemalung. II 65 — vielleicht die Milchstrasse. II 65.

Himmelsträger, die vier, entsprechen dem Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden. II 126 — Sterngötter, *Tzitzimimè*. II 127 — ihre Bilder, die steinernen Karyatiden.

Himmelsvorhang. II 75.

Himmelswanderer, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 52 — sechs. I 302, 308; II 157 - 165 — einer derselben *Quetzalcouatl*, der büssende Priester = Morgenstern. I 302 — sechster, s. *Iztac Mixcouatl* — dritter, s. *Yacatecutli* I 325.

Himmel und Erde, Leben und Tod. I 115 — Osten und Westen. I 124, s. *olin*; s, Felder. (I 14) — s. *olin*-artige Verschlingung. (I 15) — s. *Quetzalcouatl-Mictlantecutli*. — als Eltern der neugeborenen Sonne vorgeführt. II 48 — an den vier Enden der Welt, die vier Rasselstabträger und die vier Himmelsträger. II 129 — brennen beim Weltuntergange (*elom caan, elom luum*, Maya). II 156 — = *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*. II 206.

himmlische Federschlange, der Mond. II 259.

himmlische Höhe, fünfte Himmelsrichtung, das fünfte der sechs Götterpaare bezeichnend. II 175 — durch *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal* vertreten. III 2, 3.

himmlische Region, ihr Zeichen, der Daunenfederball. II 46.

himmlische Regionen, den irdischen gegenüber gestellt. I 298.

himmlischer Krieger, der Adler *(quauhtli)*, die Sonne. I 165, 166.

Hinabgehen, zu den Toten, s. *Xolotl*.

hinten, nach hinten gewendeter Kopf *Xolotl*'s. I 191, 197; II 37 — *Chalchiuhtotolin*'s. I 202 — Bewegung nach hinten beim tanzenden Priester des *Titîtl*-Festes. I 192 - nach hinten gewendeter Kopf *Tlaloc*'s. II 37 — nach hinten gewendeter Kopf des auf dem rothen *tlachtli* im Norden der Unterwelt besiegten knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 51 — nach hinten gewendeter Kopf der *Xochiquetzal* der achten Tagstunde II 197 — nach hinten gewendeter Kopf der Ballspieler. II 32, 37, 51 — des gebundenen *Xochipilli*. I 219, 220 — Emporheben der Füsse nach hinten, beim tanzenden Priester des *Titîtl*-Festes. I 192 — nach hinten, zum Munde zurückgebogene Hand, bezeichnet *tlalqualiztli*, die demüthige Begrüssung. I 307 — nach hinten gestreckte linke Hand *Xolotl*'s. II 37 — nach hinten gestreckte Hände von vier schwarzen Gestalten. II 42 — nach hinten zurückgebogenes Schnauzende der Feuerschlange. II 51 — nach hinten eingerollter Hut, s. *Itztlacoliuhqui*. — s. *quacoltic*. — an der Mondscheibe. II 12, 32, 63, 184.

Hintere, mit ihm der Ball beim Ballspiel fortgeschleudert. I 288; II 32 — um ihn gebundenes kurzes Tuch (s. *motzinilpiticac*). II 250.

Hinterhauptsrosette, Hinterhauptsschild, s. *cuexcochtechimalli*.

Hinterhauptschleife, s. *tlaquechpanyotl*.

Hirsch, s. *maçatl*. — des Ostens und des Nordens. I 299 bis 301 — toter, weisser = Räucherwerk, Lebensmittelfülle. I 301 — auf ihn ins Dickicht, schiesst der Morgenstern einen Pfeil. II 309, 310 — Urgott, als Repräsentant der Sonne, des Feuers. II 164 — seine Farben im Codex Borgia gelbbraun. II 52 — sein Fell haarig, braun. II 134 — als solcher *Tabatzi* (Cora), der Morgenstern; grosser Jäger; von den Jägern für Jagdglück angerufen. II 147.

Hirschfuss, in einer Schale, bei *Xolotl*. II 272, 289 — beim Feuergotte II 289.

Hirschgeweih, Schlägel für Schildkrötenpauke. II 189 — doppeltes, auf dem Blatte *Xolotl*'s. — Ernteinstrument für Maiskolben. I 207; II 134.

Hirschgott und Hirschgöttin, wohnten nach der mixtekischen Sage auf dem Berge bei *Apoala* (Mixteca). II 164.

Hirschgöttin, s. *maçateotl*.

Hirschherzen, *(maçatl yyollo)*. Nahrung der *Itzpapalotl* in den neun Steppen. I 183.

Hirschklauen, paarige. II 134.

Hirschkopf, *Iztac Mixcouatl*'s, des sechsten der sechs Himmelswanderer im Codex Fejérváry. II 165.

hirschköpfige *Xochiquetzal* (chichimekische Göttin), bezeichnet zusammen mit *Ueuecoyotl* die dritte Nachtstunde. II 185 — zusammen mit dem Priester *Tlaltecutli*'s; die siebente Nachtstunde bezeichnend. II 193–194.

Hirschleder, auf ihm die Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe geschrieben. I 2.

Hirschverkleidung *Mixcouatl*'s. I 107; II 164 — *Tabatzi*'s (Cora). II 147 — der Urgötter. II 164.

Historia de *Culhuácan* y de *México*, zweiter Theil der sogen. Anales de *Quauhtitlan*. II 42, 79, 86, 97, 142–146, 247, 309, 310.

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Historia Tolteca Chichimeca der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung (Mss. mexicains, Paris, Bibl. Nat., No. 54–58). I 206, 283; II 29 (Abb.), 32, 115, 152.

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h-ix (Maya), Name des vierzehnten Tageszeichens *(ocelotl)* in Chiapas. I 306.

Hobnil, (Maya), Gott der Bienenzüchter. I 321 — sein Fest zusammen mit *Chac* und *Ekchuah* im Uinal *Moan*. I 321.

Hochzeitsgebräuche, imitirt in der Opferzärimonie des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes. I 156.

Hocken eines Vogels auf einer Frauengestalt, Maya-Klassenhieroglyphe. I 311.

Hockohuhn, auf dem Kopfe des schwarzen Gottes in Maya-Handschriften. I 319.

Hofleute, Beulen der — = Syphilis, *tecpilnanauatl,* II 97.

Höhe des Tempels, von ihr herab = vom Himmel. II 40.

Höhle, s. *oztotl, aoztotl.* — s. *chicomoztoc.* — Gott der, s. *Tepeyollotli.* — s. Mutterschooss der Nacht. — s. Nachthöhle. — jenseits des Ostmeeres gelegen, aus ihr kommen die Stämme der Menschen (im Lienzo de Jucutácato) hervor. II 48 — s *Chalchiuihtlapaztli.* — aus Totenknochen gebildet, darin zwei Schalen, eine über die andere gestülpt. II 98 — g. *Cincalco* — s. vier Höhlen.

Höhlentempel, bei *Tepeyollotli.* I 234 — *Uotan*'s im *Huehuetan* (Soconusco). I 235 — die Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange *(Couatl icamac).* II 19.

holcan (Maya), Krieger, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der fünften Periode den Himmel bezeichnend. I 336; II 154.

Holen des Feuers, s. *u ch'a kak ahtoc.*

Hölle, tiefste, in ihr der geopferte knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl* der *Mictecacinatl* gegenüber, im Norden der Unterwelt. II 52 — tiefste, innerste, vom *Chicunauhapan* umflossen. I 198.

Höllenfahrt *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 200; II 1.

Höllenfahrt der Venus. II 1—75.

Holz, durch Trockenheit geplatzt, beim Baume des Nordens des Codex Fejérváry. II 106 — daraus geschnitzte Puppen, s. *poy aham ché* (Qui'che).

Holzgestell, *tlapechtli,* mit Edelsteinschale und Schale mit Maiskörnern und zwei Agaveblattspitzen, Opfergabe bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 182.

Holzhauer, als solcher *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Vertreter des Westlandes, dargestellt. I 296.

Holzknittel, *quauitl,* damit die unbefugten Pulquesäufer erschlagen. I 140; II 247.

Holzmesser mit einem Thierkopfe als Griff, hölzerne Lanzette (?). II 194.

Holzstösse flammten Nachts auf allen Tempeln im alten *México* und wurden von jungen Kriegern des *telpochcalli* unterhalten. I 219.

hölzerne Lanzette, Holzmesser mit Thierkopf als Griff, beim Priester *Tlaltecutli*'s. II 194 – bei *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal, Xipe* und *Itztlacoliuhqui.* II 194.

Honig, Tribut in Henkeltöpfen, im Codex Mendoza. II 131.

Honig saugen, s. *tlachichina.* I 62; II 67, 89, 96.

Honigtopf, beim Feuergotte des Südens. II 131.

Honigwein, drei Schalen davon beim Feste des Mayagottes *Ekchuah* im Uinal *Moan* getrunken. I 322.

Honigweinkrüge, in Maya-Handschriften mit Abbreviatur des Nasenhalbmondes. I 142.

Hopi, s. Pueblo-Indianer. — s. *Moqui.* — s. *Katšina.* — s. Koyoteschwanz. — verehren den Truthahn als Regenvogel. I 200, 201 — bei ihnen Federschlange Verkörperung des der Erde entquellenden Wassers. II 258.

hornartig aufragende Haarflechten, zwei, Tracht der mexikanischen Weiber. II 181, 182, 187 — im Codex Laud, Codex Vindobonensis, Codex Sanchez Solis. II 182.

hozqua qhungari (Tarask.), „der Stern, der Krieger" — Name des Morgensterns bei den *Tarasca* von *Michoacan.* II 70 — s. *Urendequa vecara.*

Huaxteka, Gott *Quetzalcouatl* dort ursprünglich heimisch. I 88, 89 — ebenda die Göttin *Tlaçolteotl* (s. *icuexuan*). I 161 — von dort kommen die vier Formen der *Tlaçolteotl,* die *Ixcuinanmê.* I 172 — s. Baumwollland, Baumwollkultur

Huaxteken, Völkerschaft, s. *Cuexteca.* — Diener der *Tlaçolteotl*, s. *icuexuan.* — ihre Trachtstücke im Kostüm des Windgottes.

Huaxtekische Tracht. I 266 — s. *epcololli, ocelocopilli, coxoliyo rei tepolli, copilli, coztic* und *iztac teocuitlacopilli,* — röhrenförmiges Nasenstäbchen mit je einer Feder am Ende, *teocuitlaçoyatl, yacanicolli.* — bei *Mixcouatl.* I 266 — beim Windgotte (*Quetzalcouatl*). — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* (s. *copilli*). II 172.

Hügel, halb schwarz und halb roth, mit Augen besetzt, oben mit einem grünen Busche, Determinativ beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250 — ähnlich. I 251.

Huehuetan in Soconusco, daselbst hat *Votan*, der erste Mensch, seine Wohnung. I 235.

Hueytecpatl, Gott der Landschaft *Metztitlan.* I 137.

Huey Tonantzin, „unsere grosse Mutter", Göttermutter; Gottheit der Landschaft *Metztitlan.* I 137.

Huichol, Indianer des Staates Jalisco. II 127 — Bewohner der Sierra Madre. II 147 — haben Vorstellung von vier Sternen als Himmelshütern. II 127 — s. Morgenstern. — s. *raivà, raviàmi.* — s. *Tamats.*

Huitzilopochtli, s. *Vitzilopochtli.*

Huitzuco, im Staate Guerrero (México); Steinpfeiler von dort. I 91, 92, 184.

von Humboldt (Alexander). I 1, 27, 343 — über die Beschädigung des Codex Borgia. II 305.

Hun ahau (Maya), mexik. = *ce xochitl*, Name des Sonnengottes, s. *Hun ahpu.*

Hun ahpu (Qui'che), mexik. = *ce xochitl*, Sonnenheros. I 42; II 1, 50 — s. *Vukub cakix.* — s. *Xbalanque.* — und *Xbalanque*, jüngere Generation (im Popol Vuh) die Mächte der Finsterniss besiegend, lassen *Hun hunahpu* und *Vukub hunahpu* am Himmel emporsteigen. II 50.

Hun batz (Qui'che), mexik. = *ce oçomàtli*; Flötenspieler, Sänger, Künstler; wird in einen Affen verwandelt. I 129.

hun chicchan (Maya), mexik. = *ce couatl*; Anfang der Sichtbarkeit der Venus als Morgenstern.

Hun chouen (Qui'che), mexik. = *ce oçomàtli*; Flötenspieler, Sänger, Künster, in einen Affen verwandelt. I 129.

Hund, s. *itzcuintli, xolotl.* — s. *ch'i, tz'i* (Maya). — haarloser, s. *Xoloïtzcuintli, bil.* — Maya-Hieroglyphe zeigt als Haupttheil die Abbreviatur eines Skelettes. I 125 — Maya-Hieroglyphe zeigt ein abgeschnittenes Ohr. I 10 — seine Ohren sind abgeschnitten und mit gelbem Rande gezeichnet. I 10; II 265 — in einen solchen die *Chantico* von *Tonacatecutli* verwandelt. II 273, 280 — beissendes Thier (s. *ch'i*); als solcher wird mit ihm die *Chantico*, die das fressende Feuer verkörpert, in Verbindung gebracht. II 273, 280 — *Xiuhtecutli* (s. *yei itzcuintli*). II 288 — Abbild *Xolotl*'s. I 305; II 41, 97, 98 — Thier des Feuergottes. II 98, 288 — s. *yei itzcuintli.* — vom Himmel stürzender, s. *Xolotl.* — mit Adlerfängen an Armen und Beinen, Trachtabzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s = *Xolotl.* I 191 — Begleiter der Toten (der toten Menschen). I 125, 126, 194, 197, 198, 305; II 41, 267 — s. *Xolotl*, s. Eingehen in die Erde. — setzt die Seele des Toten über den Strom der Unterwelt (*Chicunauhapan*), über das Meer. I 125, 198; II 268 — auf ihm reitend, überschreitet ein Theil der Wandernden des Lienzo de Jucutácato das Meer. II 270 — hat die Aufgabe, die Sonne zu den Toten hinabzuführen und dafür zu sorgen, dass sie wieder aufgeht. Deshalb verwandelt sich *Xolotl* in den *Nanauatzin.* II 41, 52, 265 — entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der mexikanischen *Tlaçolteotl.* I 217 — wie eine reife Kakaoschote gefleckter, beim fünfzehnten Uinal *Moan*, dem Feste *Ekchuah*'s, von den Maya geopfert. I 321 — Bilder von Hunden mit Mais auf dem Rücken, halten die Weiber am Feste für *Yaxcoc ah mut* bei den Maya von Yucatan in der Hand. I 303 — jungfräulicher und mit schwarzem Rücken für *Yaxcoc ah mut* bei den Maya von Yucatan geopfert. I 303 — ist weiss und schwarz gefleckt. I 10; II 98 — rother, *Uenecoyotl.* II 224 — rother, Grabbeigabe der Toten. II 268.

Hündchen, blaues, s. *Xolococzcatl.*

Hundehelmmaske, *Uenecoyotl*'s. II 224.

Hundekopf, s. *Xolotl* (I 57) — des Pulquegottes als Todesgott. I 250 — Feuer speiend, auf Maya-Monumenten und -Handschriften. I 196 — Kopf des rothen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Regenten der dritten Venusperiode. II 139.

Hundert und zwölf Gottheiten, als Begrüssende dem Gotte *Chicuei Maçatl* „aeht Hirsch" gegenüber dargestellt. I 258.

Hungersnoth, vierjährige, in *Tollan.* I 95 — s. *mayanaliztli.* — s. *xiuhcouatl.*

Hun hau, s. *Hun ahau.*

Hun hunahpu (Qui'che), und *Vukub hunahpu*, ältere Generation, die im Popol Vuh) den Mächten der Unterwelt erliegt. II 50.

hun pes kin (Maya), „die in einem Tage [tötet]" Krustenechse; mex. *acaltetepontli.* I 96.

Hurakan (Qu'iche) = *Tezcatlipoca*, in den Sagen des Popol Vuh. I 147; II 128 (Anm. 2), s. *Acxomocuil.* — *u c'ux cah* „das Herz des Himmels. I 147 — s *c'abauil.* — heisst *Ch'ipi cakulha, Raxa cakulha,* ist Sohn des alten Feuergottes. I 147.

Hure, s *auianimê.*

Hut, s. *copilli.* — s. *itztlacoliuhqui.* — s. *itztli.* — mit scharfer Schneide, nach hinten eingerollt, von *Itztlacoliuhqui* getragen. II 110.

Hüter der dreizehn Stunden des Tages. I 218 — die dreizehn Götter, ihnen parallel die dreizehn Vögel. II 179, 180.

Hüter der neun Stunden der Nacht. I 218.

Hüter der Welt, bei den *Huichol* (s. *tévali šeliákawi*; s. *tévali yoáwi*). II 127.

iaomicque, „die im Kriege Gestorbenen", (s. *quauhtin ocelo*). II 87.

iaomicque cioa „die im Kriege gestorbenen Frauen" = *mociuaquetzque.* II 88.

iaqui telpochiaqui, „der Krieger, der vorangeht", ist der Morgenstern. II 70 — s. *Urendequa cecara* (tarask.).

ic micquj ijti, „an ihrem Bauche (dem darin Befindlichen) gestorben", im Kindbette gestorben (s. *mociuaquetzqui*). II 87.

icnoyotl, Armuth: durch das Wasser (das veränderliche Element) angezeigt. II 225 — durch ein Beil (*tepoztli*) bezeichnet — von *Tezcatlipoca* verhängt. I 151.

icpalli, Stuhl; bezeichnet *tlàtocayotl*, Königthum. II 151 — s. *petlatl icpalli.* — s. *teo icpalli.*

icpaomixicuilli, aus Zwirnsfäden gefertigtes Knochenleibchen *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 89 — s. *xiuhtlalpilli.*

¡cuexuan, „ihre Huaxteken", Begleiter der *Tlaçolteotl* am Feste *Ochpaniztli.* I 154, 158, 159 — tragen Phallus. I 158 — tragen spitze Mütze (*copilli*). I 158 — s. *mocuexyecoaya.* — veranschaulichen Fruchtbarkeit. I 159.

cxitl „Fuss". II 128 (Anm. 2) — s. *acxotl (acx-yotl).* — s. *acxolma.* — s. *Acxomocuil.*

i'co k'ih (Qui'che), „er sucht die Sonne", Name des Planeten Venus. II 2.

Içona (Maya) = *Itzamná* („Gott Vater"), Schöpfer der Menschen und aller Dinge. I 322.

ichcanacochtli, Ohrpflock aus ungesponnener Baumwolle. Von der *Tlaçolteotl* getragen. II 120, 306 — s. *ichcatl.*

ichcatl, ungesponnene Baumwolle. Ohrpflock der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 163, 226, 230, 245, 274; II 71, 120, 172, 202, 252, 306 — der *Cinateteô.* II 93 — des Todesgottes. I 226, 245 — *Pàtecatl*'s (des Pulquegottes). II 172 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 245 — Devisen daraus von den *icuexuan* getragen. I 159 — Halsband des den Toten begleitenden Hundes. I 125 — Baumwollflocke, bei der *Itzpapalotl.* II 263.

ichcaxochitl, Kopfbinde aus ungesponnener Baumwolle der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 158, 164, 199, 230, 275; II 71, 90, 91, 120, 158, 172, 192, 217, 225, 252, 296, 301, 306 — der *Cinateteô* II 93 — der *Mayauel*. I 274; II 235 — des *Quetzalcouatl* der Höhe. — bei der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Chalchiuhtlicue* II 149 — der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 77 — des Pulquegottes des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 172 — in einer Schale. II 54.

ichpopochtin „Jungfrauen", Repräsentanten *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 156, 157 — s. *telpopochtin*.

Idol, s. *teomimilli* II 39.

ietecomatl, s. *yetecomatl*.

ieuayo tlacatl, abgezogene Menschenhaut *Xipe Totec*'s. I 178.

Iguana. I 6.

i'k (Maya), Wind; Tageszeichen = mex. *eecatl*.

ilamatecuhchololoya „Hüpfen" der alten Göttin, Zärimonie des *Tititl*-Festes. I 189.

Ilamatecùtli, die „alte Göttin". I 32, 37, 104, 118 (u. Anm. 4), 183, 184, 188, 191, 192, 211, 299 — Mutter der jungen Götter, der grossen Kriegsgötter. I 161 — Gemahlin des Feuergottes. I 118, 123, 161 — hat bei sich den Skorpion (*colotl*). I 123, 213 — durch den Skorpion mit *Veueteotl*, dem Feuergotte, in Verbindung gebracht. I 213 — eine Schale und einen Spiegel (Brustschmuck) darbringend. II 41, 42 — Göttin des *Tititl*-Festes. I 161, 184, 188, 191, 192; II 263, 264 — ihr zu Ehren ein Tanz in der Maske des *Cinateteô* am *Tititl*-Feste. I 189, 190 — bei ihrem Feste leitet der die Göttin spielende Priester mit dem abgeschnittenen Kopfe des Opfers in der Hand den Tanz. I 156, 192 (mit Bewegungen nach hinten) — = *Cinateotl*. I 190 — = *Cinacouatl*. I 188, 192 — alte Göttin, der bei den Maya von Yucatan eine als Waldhuhn gedachte Göttin entsprochen zu haben scheint. I 303 — — mit *Iztac Mixcouatl* die Mitte und die dreizehnte Tag- und Nachtstunde bezeichnend. II 206 — am Mahlsteine, bei der *Xochiquetzal* dargestellt. I 104, 213, 298, 299 — ihre Söhne: *Uitzilopochtli*, *Tezcatlipoca*, *Quetzalcouatl*. I 161 — in enger Beziehung zur *Itzpapalotl* stehend. I 185 ff.; II 264.

Ilancueyê, s. *Ilamatecutli*. — s. erste Frau. — s. *Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Ilancueye*.

ilhuicaati „Meer (Himmelswasser)". II 259 — darin versinkt die Sonne Abends. I 198; II 269 — Stelle, wo die Erde sich mit dem Himmel berührt. II 22 — s. *anauatl*. — bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. I 198; II 269 — s. Meer des Westens. — Träger des Meeres, *Quetzalcouatl* im Codex Vindobonensis (Bl. 47); daneben die Daten *ome quiauitl*, *matlactli calli* und *ome olin*, *chicuei tecpatl* angegeben. II 132.

ilhuicaciuâ „im Himmel wohnende Frauen" = *Cinateteô*. II 86, 89, 91 — *injeltioatzitzinoan in cioapipiltin*. II 87.

ilhuicac yauh, der zum Himmel geht, die Seele des toten Kriegers. I 187, 200, 263, 274; II 238 — Gegenstück zur *Cinateotl*. I 187 — zu den *mociuaquetzque*. I 274 — für *Macuilxochitl*, den fünften der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode eintretend. I 273—274 — s. *tonatiuh iixco yauh*. — s. *tlaçototomê*. — s. *tonatiuh ichan*. — = *maqui*, das Freudenmädchen, die zwölfte Nachtstunde und die obere Region bezeichnend. II 203–204.

ilhuicatitlan Säule mit dem Bilde des Morgensternes.

ilhuicatl, Himmel, Sitz der Zeugungsgötter. I 55 — der obere Himmel, die obere Region, durch den Sonnengott ausgedrückt. I 284–286.

ilhuicatl citlalicue, dritter der dreizehn Himmel. II 294.

ilhuicatl tlaloca ypan metztli, „Himmel, wo der Mond und die Wolken gehen", zweiter der dreizehn Himmel. II 294.

Ilhuicatzitzquique, *Tzitzimimê* sostenedores del cielo (Tezozomoc). II 127.

ilhuicauâ „Herr des Himmels", Name des Feuergottes. I 118, 119 — *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 206.

ilhuitl, Fest; Muster auf dem Mantel *Xochipilli*'s und *Macuilxochitl*'s. I 135.

imamalacayo Spindeln in der Kopfbinde der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 230.

imix (Maya), entspricht dem mexikanischen Tageszeichen *cipactli*. I 215, 216, 322, 334 — s. Gott mit dem Zeichen *imix*. — in der Haupthieroglyphe des schwarzen Gottes. I 319, 322, 334.

imix, *cimi*, *chuen*, *cib*, Tageszeichen der ersten Säule des ersten Tonalamatl-Fünftels; in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam*; bei den mit der Zahl „Neun" verbundenen Tagen dieser ersten Serie steht die Notiz: *u ziyanil chac* „der Geburtstag des Regengottes". II 6, 15 — s. *bolon imix*.

inaual inecuepaliz, „seine Verkleidung, seine Verwandlung", Spukgestalten *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 146.

indianisches Orchester. II 188, 189 — s. *tlalpan ueuetl*, *ayacachtli*, *ayotl*.

Indiktion. II 137.

Infusorienerde, weisse, *tiçatl*. II 91.

Innenraum der Cella des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange ist roth. II 19 — der rothen Schlange, ist blau. II 19.

innere Planeten, Venus. II 11.

insektenartige Gestalten, vier, mit Kolibrischnäbeln und -Flügeln, s. vier insektenartige Gestalten.

Insektenleib der Windflieger. II 33.

Interpretationen des Codex Telleriano-Remensis und Vaticanus A. II 208, 209.

ipalnemoani „durch dessen Kraft alle Welt lebt", Name eines von den *Chichimeca* verehrten Gottes. II 161 — s. *Youalli eecatl*.

irdische Regionen, den himmlischen gegenüber gestellt. I 298.

irdische Welt, *altepetl* (bei der fünften Venusperiode). II 155 — ihr droht allgemeiner Untergang. II 155, 156.

irdisches Paradies, s. *Tlalocan*, *Tamoanchan*.

irdische und himmlische Liebe, Bild Tizian's. I 97.

itecpoyouan „seine Herolde", Herolde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 214. — bildlich angedeutet. II 214.

iteyacancatzin in totecuhyo, „Vorläufer des Herrn", (Johannes der Täufer), Name des Feuers. I 116.

itianquiz quiçça, Besuch des Marktes; Abschied des Opfers beim *Ochpaniztli*-Feste. I 154.

itlachiaya, s. *tlachicloni*.

itlan, „sein Zahn", für das zwölfte Tageszeichen *malinalli* eintretend in der Tagesliste von *Metztitlan*. I 5.

Itzamná (Maya), alter Gott, mit einem blühenden Baume auf dem Scheitel. I 82 — ihm entspricht in der Reihe der zwanzig Tageszeichen-Götter mexikanisch *Tonatiuh*. I 215, 217 — sein Fest, im Monat März, *tupp kak*. I 215 — Jahresregent. I 303 — Regent der *ak'bal*-Jahre des Westens. II 154 — sein Vertreter und Genosse der Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen. II 154 — Schöpfer der Menschen und aller Dinge, Gott Vater *(Içona)*. I 322 — im Codex Tro. I 324.

itzcactli, „Obsidiansandale", mit schwarzem Zickzackbande gemustert, bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 152 — s. *tlaitzcouaicuilolli*. — „Steinmesserhaus", der Süden (der Unterwelt). II 57, 59, 65.

itzcalli-xochicalli, bezeichnet den Süden der Unterwelt. II 57, 59, 65, 66, 69 — ähnliche Vorstellung im *Popol Vuh*. II 69.

itzcouatl, mythische Obsidianspitzenschlange. I 152 — als ihr Abbild gilt ein schwarzes Zickzackband. I 152; II 71, 72 — so z. B. auf der Hackenkappe der Sandale *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152 (s. *itzcactli*). — s. *tlaitzcouaicuilolli*.

Itzcouatl, einer der vier Götter, die den Himmel wieder aufrichten helfen. I 150.

itzcouatlapechtli, Estrade, weiss mit schwarzen Zackenlinien. II 71, 72.

Itzcuêyê, Göttin der *Pipil*. I 83.

itzcuintli, der einheimische mexikanische Hund. — Schlacht- und Opferthier. I 10, 125 — dem Toten ins Grab mit

gegeben. I 125 — Thier der Unterwelt. I 39, 57, 125 — das beissende Thier, bezeichnet das Feuer. I 126, 196, 197, 291 — zehntes Tageszeichen. I 10, 38, 57, 71, 125 bis 129, 195, 196, 215, 305 — sein Regent *Mictlantecutli*. I 57, 126—129, 215 — in seiner Gestalt erscheint *Xolotl*. I 57, 125 — maassgebendes Tageszeichen für den vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer, *Tezcatlipoca*. II 157, 163 — bei diesem Tageszeichen *Tamoanchan* dargestellt. I 305 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 313 — die Feuergöttin *Chantico* in ihn verwandelt, s. *Chantico*. — beim rothen *Tezcatlipoca* (Vertreter *Xipe*'s), dem Repräsentanten der Trockenzeit, gezeichnet (Opferthier, Feuerthier). I 293, 294 — in seiner Maske der Planet Venus in der dritten Periode. II 139, 140 — ein Gott von *Meztitlan*, s. *Izcuin*. — Begleitbild des Fastens (*neçaualli*) im Tonalamatl. I 38 — s. Blitzthier — s. Feuerthier — s. Opferthier.

itzcuintli, quauhtli, xochitl couatl [13], Tageszeichensäule, dem Süden zugetheilt. II 15, 46 — Tag, an dem der Planet Venus als Abendstern am Himmel sichtbar wird. II 46.

itzeecayan, der Ort der frischen Winde; der Himmel, Wohnort der *Xochiquetzal*. I 184, 209; II 34, 191, 280 — eine der Unterweltstationen. II 34 — s. *Tamoanchan*, s. *Chicunauhnepaniuhcan*. — s. spitzer Schnabel (der Windflieger).

Itzmal (Maya), Gott von —, *kinich-kakmó*; kam zur Mittagsstunde herab, um das Opfer auf dem Altar zu verbrennen. II 176, 296, 297.

Itzmalin, einer der vier Götter, die den Himmel wieder aufrichten helfen. I 150.

itzompan „seine Schädelstätte", des *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 71 — s. *tzompantli*.

Itzpapalotl Obsidianschmetterling, chichimekische Göttin mit der Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes. I 181—190; II 195, 262—265 — setzt in *Nequameyocan* die älteste Chichimekenherrschaft ein. I 183 — von *Mimich* durch Erschiessen geopfert. I 184 — Regent des sechszehnten Tageszeichens *cozcaquauhtli*. I 181—190; II 186, 190, 253 — Regent des fünfzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce calli*). I 181, 182, 187; II 190, 262—265 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 181 ff.; II 262—265 — als Insekt gezeichnet, dunklen Rauch aus dem Anus entlassend. I 182; II 195 — Harn lassend. I 182; II 262 — Anspielung auf Sünde. I 187 — in Adlerverkleidung, II 262 — trägt auf der Enagua ein grosses Steinmesser. I 181, 185 — ein grosses Herz. I 181, 185 — mit dem gebrochenen Baume = *Tamoanchan* abgebildet. I 44, 183; II 190, 263—265 — mit dem *tlaxapochtli*. I 163, 181, 182; II 262 — trägt die Schambinde (*maxtlatl*) der Männer. I 182; II 262 — mit einem Meerschneckengehäuse (*tecciztli*) vor dem Gesichte. II 262 — bei ihr der Tempel des Mondes (*Tlillan*) abgebildet. II 263 — vor ihr *tzotzopaztli*, *malacatl* und *ichcatl* (s. diese) angegeben. II 263 — als *Tzitzimitl* oder *Tzontemoc* dargestellt (auf der Oberseite des Steines des Aristides Martel). I 182, 185; II 262 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186; II 20 — zusammen mit *Mixcouatl* genannt. I 183 — ist das Gegenstück *Mixcouatl*'s. I 259 — ist eine *Ciuateotl*. I 185, 186, 287; II 196 — s. *matlactli omome tecpatl*. — daher Bilder der Sünde bei ihr angegeben. I 187; II 196 — als *tlaelquani* („Dreckesserin"). II 196 — bei ihr das Symbol der Strafe (*tetlquanitl*). II 196 — Vertreterin der alten Gestorbenen, geopferte Göttin. II 196 — hat Trachtbesonderheiten mit der *Ilamatecutli*, *Ciuacouatl* gemeinsam. I 188 — steht in enger Beziehung zu dieser Göttin. II 264 — ihr Fest ein Totenfest. II 196, 262 — Sie und ein *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnen die achte Nachtstunde und den Osten. II 195 bis 196 — verwandt mit *Chantico*, der Feuergöttin von *Xochimilco*. II 195, 196 — ihr Tag *chicunaui oçomàtli* „neun Affe". II 263 — ihr entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift eine Skelettgestalt. I 217.

Itzquauhtli „Obsidianmesseradler", bezeichnet die achte Tagesstunde. II 297.

Itztapaltotec-*Xipe*, s. *Iztapaltotec*.

itztic cecec, s. *cecec itztic*.

Itzlacoliuhqui, das gekrümmte Obsidianmesser, Gott des harten Steines. I 25; II 110 — der Kälte. I 25, 270, 335; II 110 — der strafenden Gerechtigkeit. I 270, 335 — Regent des zwölften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*cc cuetzpalin*). I 270; II 246-252 — Maske *Cinteotl*'s, des am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste von der *Tlaçolteotl* geborenen Maisgottes. I 154; II 145, 247, 248 — Sternbild am südlichen Himmel. II 252 — seine Gestalt zeigt die Spitze des Daches des Höhlentempels *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 234 — sein Hut, nach hinten eingerollt, schwarz und weiss. II 110, 111, 145, 146 — die Mondsichel. II 110 — trägt einen Pfeil im Hute. I 114; II 111, 145, 146, 247 — sein Hut *quacoltic*, *tzitziquiltic*. I 154 — = *cetl* „Frost". I 154, 160; II 145, 247 — Gott der Strafe. I 160; II 247 — seine zwei schwarzen Längsstreifen erinnern an Kiesel- oder Feuerstein, oder gebänderten Achat. II 246 — Gott des Steines, der Kälte, der Verblendung, Sünde; seine Region der Norden. II 8, 110, 247, 250 — mit seinen Attributen der Mondgott vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — bei ihm gesteinigte Ehebrecher dargestellt. II 247, 252 — seine Bemalung schwarz und weiss. II 43, 110 — die Maske (*mexxayacatl*) bedeutet das Unheil, den Fluch, der gebannt werden muss. I 160 — Sohn der *Teteo innan*, am *Ochpaniztli* mit dem *mexxayacatl* bekleidet, (s. *Cinteotl*). I 154; II 110 145, 247 — ein Sohn des Mondes. II 145, 247, 248 — ihm ident *Tlauizcalpantecutli* (s. *cetl, citli*). II 145, 146 — heisst auch *Cipaqnetona*. II 250 — sein Tag und Name *naui maçatl* „vier Hirsch". II 252 — s. *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui*. — ihm entspricht der Gott mit verbundenen Augen, Hüter der fünften Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335, 336.

itztli, „Obsidian", Sinnbild des Opfers. I 187 — Obsidianmesser, Kasteiungsinstrument wie *omitl-uiztli*. — von den acht Räucherpriestern gebraucht (den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen gegenüber). II 305 — zerbrochen dargestellt bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285 — Obsidianmesser, in der Hand der fünf *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô*. II 93, 98 — Helmmaske oder Hut kleiner schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 34 — veranschaulicht das *itzcecayan*. II 34 — Maske von vier schwarzen Figuren mit dem Nasenschmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s und dem Zeichen der Gemination (*Xolotl*'s). II 38 — Maske einer der

Itztli, Steinmessergott, Ausdruck einer Seite *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 149, 150, 351 — Steinmessergott; zweiter der neun Herren der Nacht. I 218, 220—222; II 163 — den Osten bezeichnend. I 237, 238 — den Norden. I 238, 268.

Itztolli, Chichimekenfürst, von den aus *Chicomoztoc* ausziehenden Stämmen in *Maçatepec* zurückgelassen. I 184 — s. *Xiuhnel*.

Itztopilli, Stachelkeule, in der Hand des *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*, des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163.

Itztopolli, Steinbeil. — Waffe des Pulquegottes. I 140; II 172, 245 — bei *Tonatiuh*. I 25 — Sinnbild richterlicher Gewalt. I 25, 54, 55, 56 — Waffe *Tlaloc*'s. I 25, 26, 237, 297, 329, 345 — bei der Feuer- und Erdbebengöttin. I 45, 46 — im *Tlillan* bei *Mictlantecutli* angegeben, als Andeutung der vom Richter verhängten Todesstrafe. I 297 — beim herabstürzenden Sünder. I 338 — in der Hand des *tonatiuh iixco yauh*. I 284 — des büssenden Sünders. II 196 — in einer Schale, Sinnbild der Strafe. I 269 — mit einem Strick, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 276, 277 — und Stachelkugel bringt der blaue *Auiateotl* (Nord-*tzitzimitl*)

herab. II 117 — bringt der rothe *Auiateotl* (Süd-*tztzimitl*) herab. II 118 — und zerbrochener Knochendolch, beim blauen *Auiateotl* (des Nordens), dem Gotte der Strafe. II 98 — und Gefangener und Pfeil, Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens, *teoatl-tlachinolli* andeutend. II 81.

jvetzian in icalaquijan tonatiuh, in, „da wo die Sonne hinabgeht, wo sie in das Haus eingeht", der Westen (*ciuatlampa*), die Region der im Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen. II 88.

iuipapalotl, s. *tiçapapalotl*.

iuitelolotli Federball, ihn verschluckt die Mutter *Uitzilopochtli*'s und wird davon schwanger. I 84 — auf dem blauen Netzgewebe (*xiuhtlalipilli*) *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 89.

iuitemalli, „Federbusch" bei der *Mayauel*. I 114 — Scheitelfederschmuck des *Piltzintecutli*. I 223 (s. *quauhtemalli*). — Nackenfederschmuck aus dunklen Federn und langen gelben Federn, bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 77, 78 — *Tlaloc*'s (mit haarigen Fellstreifen). I 236 — sonst bei *Tlaloc*. II 250 — aus Truthahnfedern, Schmuck der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 225 — vgl. *coxoliyo uei itepol*. — des *tlamacazqui* der ersten Tagstunde. II 181.

iuitl, Daunenfederball, an der Schnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286.

iuitopilli, Federstab der *Chantico* ist *tlaitzcopintli*. II 276.

iuitzoncalli, *Chictlapanqui* bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 252.

iuitzoncalli cicitlallô, mit Sternhimmel bemalte Federkrone *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 229 — die gegenüber der *Mayauel* (an Stelle des Trinkers) angegebene Figur trägt diese Krone. II 285.

ix (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *ocelotl*; in Yucatan Anfangszeichen des dritten der vier Jahre, I 306, 342 — s. *yiz, h-ix*.

Ix balam chac (Maya), die rothe Göttin, neben dem schwarzen Gotte dargestellt im Codex Dresdensis. I 320.

Ix chebel yax (Maya), Jungfrau, von der *Bacab* geboren wird. I 322 — ihr Name in *Chibirias* verdorben. I 322.

Ixcoçauhqui, der Gelbgesichtige, Name des Feuergottes. I 42, 120; II 73, 235 — trägt die Tabakkalebasse (*yetecomatl*). I 28 — Gott der Könige und Richter. I 42 — s. *Cueçaltzin*.

Ixcuinan, Name eines zornig umherlaufenden Abbildes *Xipe*'s. in Tlaxcala. I 173 — Name der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78.

Ixcuinanmê, vier getrennte Gestalten, Vervielfältigungen der Göttin *Tlaçolteotl*. I 152, 153, 158, 159, 172, 173, 175, 199 — ihre Männer sind die huaxtekischen Gefangenen. I 159, 173, 175 — kommen aus der Huexteka. I 172 — ihr Gegenstück die fünf *Auiateteô*. I 199.

ixcitlalichinualli, Sterngesichtsbemalung des Morgensternes = *mixcitlalhuiticac*. II 238 — kommt ferner noch vor bei *Mixcouatl*, *Painal*, *Atlauá*. II 238.

ixmichauê, weiss und punktirt gezeichnet, Pflästerchen bei *Tlaloc*. I 111.

Ixnextli, die verlassene Eva, dem Gotte *Ueuecoyotl* gegenüber dargestellt. II 185, 224, 225 — mit *Xochiquetzal* identifizirt. II 224.

xquatechimalli, grosse Papierrosette, Stirnschild des Todesgottes. II 239.

ixquimilli, mit verbundenen Augen; s. *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli*. — s. *Itztlacoliuhqui*. — bei *Itzpapalotl* im fünfzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte dargestellt. I 187; II 263, 264 — *Tezcatlipoca* gegenüber gestellt. II 246 — *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui* vor dem Tempel des Nordens (Codex Bologna). II 111 — im Codex Fejérváry. II 111, 112 — s. schwarze, rothe Göttin der Sünde. II 8 — Göttin der Agavepflanze. II 8 — des *malinalli*-Grases. II 8 — nackte weibliche Figur aus einem *chalchiuitl* hervorkommend, bei Darstellung der Geburt der *Ciuateteô*. II 91.

***ixquimilli*-Kopf**. II 264.

ixquitl, gerösteter, geplatzter Mais. Opfer für die *Ciuateteô*, s. *izquitl*.

ixtlan tlatlaan, quere Streifen in gelber Farbe, Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s, I 20, 21, 25, 152, 220, 274, 351; II 32, 201 — *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 231 — beim *tonatiuh iixco yauh*. I 274 — des Regengottes des Nordens. I 351 — beim Mondgotte. II 228.

Ixtlilton, das kleine Schwarzgesicht; Tanzgott. I 161, 211, 290 — beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste dargestellt. I 211 — mit *tonallo*-Emblemen. II 93, 94 (Abb.), 136 — beim *Tecuilhuitontli*-Fest den Norden vertretend. I 290 — Form *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 292.

ixtoçoliztli, „Wachen", dreizehn Tage, wo der Mond am Abendhimmel sichtbar ist. II 207—208.

iyauhtli, „Weihrauchkraut". I 216 — s. *Uac mitun ahau*.

iyhuitzoncaleticac, in Federmosaik gearbeiteter Helm, Merkmal *Macuilxochitl*'s und *Macuiltochtli*'s. II 95.

Izcalli, „Wachsthum", achtzehntes Jahresfest der Mexikaner. I 117 — Tag, an dem das *tlacacaliliztli* zum ersten Male gefeiert wurde (in *Tollan*). I 173 — s. *Mac*, s. *pillauno*, s. *texcalceuilo*. — Wachsthum; in der achten, dem Osten zugehörigen Tagstunde dargestellt. II 197 — bezeichnet auch das Aufsteigen, die Erhebung. II 197 — durch ein nacktes, aufstrebendes Männlein im Edelstein-Henkelkruge beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare dargestellt. II 175.

Izcuin, Gott der Landschaft *Metztitlan*. I 137.

Izquitecatl, Pulquegott. I 140.

izquitl, „geplatzter (blendend weisser) Mais"; Opfergabe an die *Ciuateteô*. I 187; II 91.

izquixochitl, weisse Blüthen (Beureria huanita); Kranz der *Xochiquetzal*. II 182, 183, 188, 194, 203, 205 — auf der Backe *Xochipilli*'s und der *Xochiquetzal*, in der siebenten Tagstunde (Mittag), die der oberen Region gehört. II 194.

izquiztli, Besen, Abzeichen der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 154—231.

iztac axalli, „Sandberg, Sanddüne", bezeichnet zusammen mit Wasser den Westen. II 103.

Iztac ciuatl, Schneeberg. I 83, 108.

Iztac Mixcouatl, weisse Wolkenschlange; Urgott. Himmelsgott, Stammvater der Nationen, in *Chicomoztoc* wohnend. I 308; II 206 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 308 — trägt die Tabakkalebasse der Priester. I 28, 308; II 164, 205 — die Mitte und die dreizehnte Nacht- und Tagstunde bezeichnend. II 205—206 — hat den in zwei Stücke gebrochenen Knochen. I 30 — beim achtzehnten Tageszeichen *tecpatl* dargestellt. I 308 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 318 — Urgott in Hirschgestalt. I 107; II 164, 205 — sechster der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 164—165, 205 — mit Hirschkopf. II 165.

Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Ilancueye = *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl* (*Ometecutli* — *omeciuatl*), dreizehntes Götterpaar, im dreizehnten Himmel wohnend. II 179 — bezeichnet die Mitte und die dreizehnte Nachtstunde (s. *Citlalin icue*. II 180). II 205—206.

iztac xochitla, weisse Blüthe, Name der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 157.

iztapalli, flacher Stein = Erde. II 288.

Iztapaltotec, „unser Herr, der flache Stein" = *Xipe Totec*. II 288.

Jacales, Häuser der atlantischen Tierra caliente. I 234.

Jacinto de la Serna. I 116, 218; II 253.

Jadeït, s. *chalchiuitl*.

Jagdglück, für solches *Tabatzi* von den *Cora* angerufen. II 147 — s. *Tamats*.

Jagdgott, s. *Mixcouatl*. — seine Geburt. I 69 — der Feuergott. II 189 — s. Morgenstern, *Tabatzi* (Cora).

Jagdpfeile, von *Tabatzi* (Cora) erfunden. II 147.

Jagdtasche, in der Hand *Mixcouatl*'s. I 259, Abb. 447; I 260, Abb. 448, 449 — *Camaxtli*'s. I 259, Abb. 446 — in der linken Hand *Xolotl*'s. II 36.

Jäger, der Morgenstern. II 146, 147 — s. *Mixcouatl*. — s. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. — s. *Tabatzi* (Cora).

Jaguar, Name der Erde. I 282 — ist das beissende Thier, das die Sonne, den Heros, verschlingt. I 182 — s. *ocelotl*; s. *balam*. — s. *tequani*. — s. Fressen. — s. *Tepeyollotli*. — s. *Tezcatlipoca*. — s. *tonatiuh qualo* — mit Steinmessern umsetzt. I 165 — vor dem *tecolotl ichan* bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 285 — seine Gestalt nehmen die Zauberer an. I 306 — Rächer begangener Sünden. I 95 — s. Beichte. — gelber und rother; Angreifende beim *Xipe*-Feste. I 175 — s. *Chicuei maçatl*. — *Tepeyollotli*, Gott des Westens. II 21 — seine Farbe im Codex Borgia gelbbraun. II 52 — Thier des Nordens, neben dem rechten Arme des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 54 — s. Schale mit Jaguar. — entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift dem mexikanischen *Xolotl* in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter. I 217.

Jaguare, vernichten die Weltperiode des Dunkels oder der Erde, s. *ocelotonatiuh*. II 69.

Jaguarfell, auf dem Königsthron. I 77, 130, 144; II 238, 242 — Rosette am Nacken der *Xochiquetzal*. I 212 — darin *omitl, tecpatl* und *uitztli*, daneben ein Blutring. I 280 — bildet den Lederschurz *(quezeuatl)* des rothen und schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca*. I 288 — *ocelocuatl*, Polster des *teoicpalli* des *Tezcatlipoca* im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57 — auf der Estrade des Sonnengottes. II 242 — s. *tequaneuatl*. — hat der Kriegsgott (des Nordens) in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift um die Hüften geschlagen. I 335.

jaguarfellfarben, Feuerwolken bei *Xiuhtecutli* zur Bezeichnung von *tlachinolli* (der Metapher *atl tlachinolli*). II 238 — Füsse und Hände des Regengottes in der Federschlange des Ostens. II 300 — Skorpiongesicht, an der Spitze des Strohdaches des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19.

jaguarfellfarbenes und blaues Feld mit Wasserlinien, Schild *Xipe's*. II 257.

Jaguarfellstreifen, umsäumt den Brustschmuck (runden Spiegel) des Kriegsgottes in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335.

Jaguarfellzeichnung, am Munde *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui's*. II 111 — am Munde *Tepeyollotli's*. I 231, 232 — an der Fusshaut des Adlers. I 12 — bei der *Itzpapalotl* I 181 — an Händen und Füssen *Youaltecutli's*. II 47 — auf dem Halstheil gewisser Gefässe. II 33 — an den Extremitäten der Mondfigur des Westens der Unterwelt. II 56.

Jaguarflecken, der den Mund umgebenden Gesichtsparthie *Tonacatecutli's*. II 44.

Jaguarfuss, bei *Tlaloc = ocelogataztli* (Tasche für Räucherwerk). II 229, 232, 234.

Jaguarfusshauttasche, s. *ocelogataztli*.

Jaguargott, s. *Tlacaocelotl*. — s. *Tepeyollotli*. — der zapotekischen Stämme. I 235.

Jaguarhelmmaske, der gelben Erdgöttin des Westbaumes. II 105.

Jaguarohr, an der Schlangenkopf-Helmmaske der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 227, 243, 319 — eines alten Gottes. I 243 — an der Maya-Hieroglyphe der Gottheit des Tageszeichens *cauac*. I 318, 319.

Jaguarpranken, bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 21 — des in Kopulation mit *Tonacacinatl* befindlichen *Tonacatecutli*. II 44, 45.

Jaguarrachen, bei *Tepeyollotli* (?). II 21 — in das Gesicht der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels eingesetzt, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56.

Jaguarschwanz, in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal*, des fünften der sechs Götterpaare (im Codex Fejérváry). II 176.

Jaguarstuhl, auf ihm *Yacatecutli*, dritter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

Jahr, Hieroglyphe (Ring und Strahl, Trapez und Strahl). I 345 — auf dem Scheitel *Tlaloc's*. I 345 — s. Regenten des Jahres. — s. Götter des folgendes Jahres. — s. Bringer des Regenten der neuen Jahre (Bringer der Jahre).

Jahre, in historischen mexikanischen Bilderschriften durch Türkisscheiben und Ausstrahlungen bezeichnet. II 138 — fünf auf einander folgende. I 349 — haben den Wert von Ordinalzahlen, bezeichnen das 1., 2., 3., 4., 5. Jahr. I 350 — s. zweiundvierzig (42) —.

Jahre und Venusperioden, die —. I 349—353.

Jahresanfang bei den Mexikanern. I 342, 344 — landschaftliche Differenzen. I 342 — s. Neujahr, s. *Toxcatl*.

Jahresbringer, s. Bringer der Jahre.

Jahresdaten, ihr Symbol eine Verschlingung einer Trapezfigur (eines Ringes) und eines Strahles. I 349; II 121 — im Codex Borgia auf Bl. 49–52. II 121—126 — bedeuten eine nach 42 Jahren vorzunehmende Regulirung der Jahreslänge. II 126.

Jahresfeste, durch zwei Hauptmarksteine in zwei gleiche Theile zerlegt, durch das zweite Fest *(tlacaxipeualiztli)* und das eilfte *(Ochpaniztli)*. I 160 — s. Totenfeste (I 68), s. *Uei miccailhuitl* — s. *Tlacaxipeualiztli*. — s. *Ochpaniztli*. — s. *Tititl* (*Uetzi in chiquatli*). — s. *Izcalli, Mac.* — s. *Tepeilhuitl*. — s. *Tecuilhuitontli*. — s. *Uei tecuilhuitl*. — s. *Uei toçoztli* — s. *Toxcatl* (Neujahrsfest). — s. *Teotl eco*. — eine Verschiebung durch Kalendereinschaltungen verhütet. II 126

Jahreslänge. I 342; II 126 — s. Kalender, Chronologie — des mexikanischen Jahres von 365 Tagen macht nach 42 Jahren eine Korrektur von zehn Tagen (genau 10 Tagen 4 h 9′ 15″) nothwendig. II 126 — wirkliche, 365 Tage 5 h 48′ 47½″. II 126.

Jahreslauf der Sonne, Abbild und Parallele für ihren täglichen Lauf. I 207.

Jahresschluss, letzte Tage der *acatl-, tecpatl-, calli-, tochtli*-Jahre sind die Tageszeichen *olin, eecatl maçatl, malinalli*. II 123.

Jahresschluss-Zärimonien, in Yucatan I 303 — auf Bl. 25 bis 28 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift dargestellt. II 123

Jahressymbol, Trapez und Strahl (s. daselbst). II 74.

Jalisco, Staat der Republik *México*, in ihm wohnen die *Huichol*-Indianer. II 127.

Januskopf, der *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal*, einerseits Kopf einer *Ciuacouatl*, anderseits Kopf *Tepeyollotli's*. II 187.

Johannes der Täufer, Vorläufer des Herrn, Name des Feuers. I 116.

de Jonghe. II 124, 125, 292 — s. Histoyre de Mexique, Thevet.

Jucutácato, s. Lienzo de Jucutácato.

juego de pelota, Ballspiel *(tlachtli)*. I 193.

Jugend, s. Fest der männlichen, der weiblichen —.

Julianischer Kalender. I 313.

junge Götter, in Assoziation mit den alten Göttern. I 82 — s. *Xochipilli, Xochiquetzal*. — s. *Uitzilopochtli*. — *Tezcatlipoca, Uitzilopochtli*. I 245, 152, 206 — s. *conecuitlatl, pilnechiualli*.

junge Liebesgöttin, *Xochiquetzal*, Mondgöttin. II 32, 66, 79, 84 — s. blaue Mondgöttin.

junge Menschen, eben erschaffene, von *Xolotl* mit eingeweichtem Brote genährt. II 97.

junge Mondgöttin, s. *Xochiquetzal*. — s. Aphrodite.

junge Sonne, ihr Aufgang im Osten *(Tlillan-Tlapallan, Tlatlayan)* Kern des Naturmythus der *Nanauatzin*-Legende. II 53 — am Himmel aufgehende = *Tezcatlipoca-Telpochtli*. I 206 — *Uitzilopochtli*. I 264 — s. *pilnechiualli*. — *Xochipilli*. II 175, 176.

junger Gott, ihm wird von dem Dämon des Westens, dem *acipactli*, ein Fuss abgerissen. II 63, 64 — s. *Telpochtli-Tezcatlipoca*.

junger Krieger, junger Mond, *Tezcatlipoca* (s. *telpochtli*) und *Xipe Totec*. II 57 — s. *ocelotl-quauhtli*. — die im Osten aufgehende Sonne. II 86.

junger Maisgott, auf den Hüften der Maisgöttin und Wassergöttin hockend, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57.

junger Maiskolben, in Blüthenform endend. II 43.
junger Mond. II 31, 57, 63 — ist der junge Krieger *(Tezcatlipoca, Xipe Totec).* II 57, 66, 253 — am Abendhimmel sichtbar werdend, fehlt ihm der hintere Theil seiner Scheibe, d. h. sein Fuss. II 63 — am Abendhimmel erscheinend *Tezcatlipoca.* II 32, 33, 63.
junger Sonnengott, *Uitzilopochtli*; seine Feinde die Mondgöttin *Coyolxauh* und die Sterne *(Centzon uitznahua).* II 11 — *Nanauatzin*; Sonne, die durch Selbstverbrennung sich von ihren Schwären befreit hat. II 55.
Junggesellenhaus, s. *telpochcalli.*
Jüngling, s. *telpochtli.*
Jünglinge und Jungfrauen, im Anfangszeichen der fünften Venusperiode *(olin)* von *Tlauizcalpantecutli* geschossen (Süden). II 148, 157 — s. *quauhyotl.*
Junta Colombina. I 342.
Juweliere, s. *tlatecquê.*

Kahlköpfiger Gott, s. alter kahlköpfiger Gott.
Kahlköpfiger Vogel, der Geier (*cozcaquauhtli*). I 307; II 253.
Kahlköpfigkeit, des Geyers. I 13 (Symbol des Alters), 44, 180, 185, 307; II 253.
Kak u pacat, „Feuer ist sein Blick", Name des Kriegsgottes der Maya von Yucatan. I 282.
Kakao, s. Schale mit überschäumender brauner Masse (II 171, 182 etc.). II 220 — vom wandernden Kaufmanne aus der südlichen pazifischen Tierra caliente heimgebracht, I 293 — Haupthandelsobjekt. I 222 — Geldsurrogat. I 332.
Kakaofrucht. II 107.
Kakaogefäss, s. Gefäss mit zwei rechteckigen Streifen.
Kakaohändler, ihr Gott *Ekchuah* (Maya). I 334.
Kakaopflanzer, Gott der, *Ekchuah.* I 321, 334 — der schwarze Gott der Maya, in Skorpiongestalt auftretend (s. *ekchuh*). I 321.
Kakaoschote, nach Art einer reifen — gefleckter Hund, beim fünfzehnten Uinal *Moan* von der Maya geopfert. I 321 — damit die Priester im Uinal *Moan,* dem Feste des Gottes der Kakaopflanzer *(Ekchuah),* entlohnt. I 321 — am Baume des Südens. II 107 — in einer Schale auf dem Kopfe des schwarzen Gottes in den Maya-Handschriften. I 319.
Kalebassen, ihre Bemalung. II 42.
Kalender, s. *Tonalamatl,* s. *xippoalli, xiuhamatl.* — s. zwei und fünfzig jährige Periode, Zyklus. — s. *Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcouatl* — s. *Oxomoco, Cipactonal.* — erfunden von *Quetzalcouatl* (s. Mond, s. Kalendergott). I 85; II 169 — s. Erfinder des Kalenders. — der Mexikaner; Autoren, die über ihn handeln. I 218, 327, 343, 344; II 124—126, 207 — s. dreizehn. — Konkordanzen zwischen mexikanischer und europäischer Zeitrechnung. I 344 — der Bücher des *Chilam Balam.* II 4, 9 — s. Jahreslänge. — s. Korrektur des Kalenders.
Kalenderbuch, ein solches der Codex Borgia. II 291, 292.
Kalenderdaten, ihr Turnus im Codex Borgia beginnt meist rechts unten. II 46.
Kalendereinschaltungen. II 126.
Kalendergott, *Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcouatl.* I 147; II 169 — s. Mond. — der Sonnengott. II 292.
Kalendergötter, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal,* Erfinder des Kalenders. I 147, 185; II 169.
Kalendername der *Teteo innan* ist *Tlaçolteotl.* II 252.
Kalenderrad. I 327.
Kalenderstein von Méxieo. I 204.
Kalenderwissenschaft in *Tollan* erfunden. II 1.
Kalk, gebrannter und gemahlener; dient zur Tortillabereitung; von Händlerinnen am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste getragen, die den Zug begleiten. I 159.
Kälte, s. *cetl.* — s. hart gewordenes Wasser. — Gott der, s. *Itztlacolinhqui.* — Reich der, = Norden. I 155 — Region der Sünde. II 8.
kammartiger Schmuck, s. *patzactli.* — aus schwarzen Federn mit dazwischen eingestreuten gestielten Augen bei *Xochipilli* als Mondgott. I 246 — ähnlich so beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 251.
Kampf der Sonne mit dem Monde. II 285, 286.
kämpfen = gebären, s. *çacàcali.* — ferner II 218.
Kampflauf, nächtlicher, mit blutbespritzten Besen, beim *Ochpaniztli*-Feste. I 154, 156, 159 — veranschaulicht Geburtswehen. I 159 — s. *moçacaicalia.*
Kampfspiel, viertägiges, der Medicinweiber und Hebammen am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste. I 154.
kan (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *cuetzpalin.* I 17, 97, 215, 308 — bezeichnet Mais. I 97 — in Yucatan Anfangszeichen des ersten der vier Jahre. I 342 — Beginn der Reihe der zwanzig Tageszeichen. I 215, 308, 311 — 13 *kan,* Ende der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus. I 350 — Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen = Maisgott, = *Tonacatecutli.* I 82, 215.
***kan*-Zeichen,** Gott mit dem; Maisgott, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der dritten Periode (Westen).
Kaninchen, s. *tochtli.* — Kaninchenkopf, unter den Begleitbildern des Anfangszeichens der 45. Kolumne (*conatl*) des Tonalamatl's im Codex Bologna. I 69 — seine Farbe im Codex Borgia hellgelb. II 52.
Kaninchenkopf, Kopf des gelben (rothgestreiften) *Tlauizcalpantecutli,* Regenten der vierten Venusperiode. II 139.
Kannibalenmahlzeiten, fanden im Anschlusse an die Opferung Kriegsgefangener statt. II 70 — durch einen gekrümmten Arm bezeichnet. II 70.
Kannibalismus, s. *tlacatlaolli.*
Kardinalpunkte, vier. I 237; II 4, 96.
Karte, s. Himmelskarte.
Karyatiden, *Quetzalcouatl*'s, bei Ausgrabungen am Orte des Haupttempels in *México* gefunden. II 132.
Kasteiung, s. *neçoliztli, nete tequizpan, nete tequiliztli.* — ihre Sinnbilder bezeichnen den Süden. I 92 — ihr Erfinder *Quetzalcouatl* (s. diesen). — ihr Zeichen ein ausgebohrtes Auge (bei *Quetzalcouatl*). I 245; II 21, 131 — Determinativ dafür ein Ohr mit Einschnitten und Rauchwolken. II 163 — Sinnbilder der Kasteiung bei *Xochiquetzal,* der Göttin der Lust und Sünde. I 248 — bei *Xochipilli.* I 248 — = Feuer, vom Sonnengotte ausgehend. I 285 — Abtropfenlassen abschmelzenden Harzes von Kopalfackeln auf die nackte Haut, beim Feste der *Chantico.* II 274 — Feuer der Kasteiung durch einen Skorpion veranschaulicht. II 55 — befreit den Büsser von der Sünde. II 55 — Zeit der Kasteiung die Mitternacht *(youalnepantla).* II 193.
Kasteiung und Opfer, bedeuten die Aktionen der ersten beiden Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 241 — ihr Gott, s. *Quetzalcouatl.*
Kasteiungsblut, s. *chalchiutlatl.* — s. *xochitl.* — s. *tlapalcouatl* (I 27) — an den Blüthen, die das Blut bedeuten, spitzschnäblige Kolibris hängend (bei *Quetzalcouatl*). II 96.
Kasteiungswerkzeuge, s. *omitl-uitztli,* s. *uitztli.* — in der Hand der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 229 — zerbrochen, bei *Tonatiuh.* I 285 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 160 — zerbrochen, bei *Iztac Mixcouatl,* dem sechsten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 165 — zugespitzter Federstab (Federpose). II 161, 163 — s. Schale mit Feueropfer und —. — in der Hand der vier Parallelen *Xochipilli*'s. II 41 — in der Hand der *Ciuateteô.* II 93 — nebst *malinalli*-Busch in der Rechten der fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98 — Knochendolch und spitzer Federstab (in der Hand des kugelrollenden Priesters, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer). II 161 — s. *çacatl.* — s. *tlacotl.* — s. priesterliches Handwerkzeug.

Kasten, bunt bemalter mit einem *chalchiuitl* darüber, vor *Xochipilli-Xuiateotl* im *Xochicalli.* II 36.
Katšina, Tanzgötter der *Hopi.*
Katun (Maya), Zeitraum von 20×360 Tagen. I 322; II 156 — Regent *Ekchuah* = Zeitalter der Sünde. I 322 — dreizehn im *Chilam Balam* von *Titzimin.* II 156.
Katun uuc ahau (Maya) = mex. *chicome xochitl* „sieben Blume", sein Herr der alte kahlköpfige Gott, der Mondgott. I 314 — Zeit unmässigen Ehebruches. II 265.
Kaua (Maya), Bücher des *Chilam Balam* von —. I 322.
Kaufleute, günstige Zeichen für ihre Reisen. I 33, 115 — für ihre Heimkehr, *ce calli* II 169 — Gebet an den Feuergott. I 118 — Zärimonien vor Antritt einer Reise. I 322 — ihr Gott bei den Maya der schwarze Gott (mit der grossen Nase) *Ekchuah.* I 321—324; II 162 — bei den Mexikanern der Feuergott. I 322 — Gott der —, bei den Mexikanern *Yacatecutli.* I 324, 326; II 162 — mexikanische, von fremden, feindlichen Stämmen überfallen. I 162 — gehen nach den Küstenländern, der Tierra caliente (s. *Oztomeca ananac calaquini*). II 145 — bewaffnete Expeditionen zur Zeit Königs *Auitzotl.* II 256 — für sie ist das Lachen des Lachfalken *(uactli)* ein böses Omen. I 294, 305; II 253 — werden die im Zeichen *macuilli malinalli* Geborenen. II 288.
Kaufmann, wandernder = *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca,* Vertreter des Südlandes *(Anauatl).* I 293 — Mayagott *Ekchuah.* I 321.
Kaufmannsquartier, *Tlatelolco.* II 256 — s. *Pochtlan.* — s. *Oztomecatl.*
Kautschuk, s. *olli.*
Kautschukball, s. *oltelolòtli.* — s. *olli.*
Kautschukball als *tetl* „Stein" aufgefasst. II 51 — dem gegenüber gewisse Stäbe als *quauitl* „Holz". II 51.
Kautschukbemalung, s. *motenolcopinticac.*
Kautschukkugel, s. *oltelolòtli,* s. *olli.* — mit rundem Totenauge und langen Raffzähnen dargestellt. II 21, 27 — mit aufgebundener Quetzalfeder, s. *mianauatl.* — aus ihr fünf verschiedenfarbige, mit dem Blitze bewaffnete Figuren herauskommend, oben neben dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange, bezeichnen Aufgang des Planeten Venus am Abendhimmel. II 27.
Kautschukkugeln, s. zwei brennende —.
Kautschukpflaster auf der Backe, s. *tlaxapochtli.*
Käuzchen, s. *chiquàtli.* — Begleithieroglyphe des *Moan*-Vogels in Maya-Handschriften. I 313.
Käuzchenflügel beim *Mictlantecutli,* Himmelsträger des Nordens. II 132 — Regenten des zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 239.
Kêb (Aegypt.), grüner Erdgott, Gatte der *Nut.* I 84.
kegelförmiger Hut, s. *copilli.*
Kehren des Weges, *Ochpana,* symbolische Handlung für Abwenden des Fluches, Bannen der Sünde. I 160.
Kettenglieder, s. zwei —.
Keuschheit des Priesters. II 194.
Kieselstein. II 246.
kiik (Maya), Blut = Kautschuk.
kiik haban (Maya), „erloschenes Blut" = Kautschuk.
kikel che yetel tunich (Maya), „blutige Strafe" (Holz und Stein), kommt beim Weltuntergange herab. II 156 — s. *tetl quauitl.*
Kin (Maya), „Sonne". I 317.
Kinch ahau (Maya), Sonnengott, ihm entspricht in der Reihe der zwanzig Tageszeichen mexikanisch *Xiuhtecutli.* I 215 — *Tonatiuh.* I 316.
Kinchahau (Maya), Regent der *e'tznab*-Jahre, der Jahre des Nordens. II 154 — sein Abbild der Jaguar *(balam).* II 154.
Kind, s. *cozcatl-quetzalli.* — s. *chalchiuitl.* — durch *cozcatl* bezeichnet. I 31; II 201, 218 — durch *quetzalli.* I 32; II 201 — durch Kostbarkeit (Edelstein, Blume). I 240; II 198, 201 — Empfangen eines, durch herabkommende Fussspuren. I 32; II 200, 252 — durch die *chalchiuitl*-Schatzkiste, Brustschmuck *Tonacatecutli's* angedeutet. I 211, 212 — durch Darreichen einer Blume. II 188 — von jedem der zwei Personen bei der neunten Nachtstunde unter dem Arme gehalten (wie der Hahn beim Hahnenkampfe). II 198 — s. streitend. — Opfer für die Geburt eines solchen. II 200 — bezeichnet den einen der beiden tanzenden Quetzalvögel der elften Nachtstunde als *Xochiquetzal.* II 202 — Empfängniss und Geburt eines solchen gleichzeitig bei *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. II 252.
Kindbett, darin gestorbene Frau, s. *mociuaquetzqui.*
Kindbetterin. I 43.
Kinder, betrinken sich mit Pulque und verüben Unzucht am *Tepeilhuitl*-Fest. I 139 — s. *pillauna.* — dürfen an den fünf Tagen der *Cinateteô* nicht aus dem Hause gehen. II 90 — durch die *Cinatêteô* mit Epilepsie geschlagen, s. *Cinateteô.*
Kindergesichtsbemalung, s. *pilnechiualli.*
Kinderopfer, für die Regengötter. I 207 — für die Gottheiten des Wassers, besonders bei *Tlaxcalteca.* I 208 — s. *tlacatecuhmictiliztli.*
Kinderschmutz, s. *conecuitlatl.*
Kingsborough, Lord. I 2, 27; II 26, 27, 35, 303.
Kinich-kakmó (Maya), Gott von *Itzmal;* kam zur Mittagsstunde herab, um das Opfer auf dem Altar zu verbrennen. II 176, 296, 297.
Kiste davor ein Kaninchen *(tochtli).* II 181 — s. Schatzkiste. — s. Aschenkiste.
klaffende Bruchstelle, durch ein Auge angedeutet. I 296.
klaffende Mäuler, an den Knie- und Ellbogengelenken der Erdkröte. II 47, 56 — *Youaltecutli's,* des Sonnengottes, im Osten der Unterwelt. II 47 — des Mondes im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — s. Gelenk.
Klapperschlange, schwarz gefleckt, Ring des Pulquekruges bei der *Mayauel.* II 235.
Klapperschlangen, gelbe, zwei, im Haare *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 214.
Klassen von Leuten, verschiedene, vom Strahle (Pfeile) des Planeten Venus getroffen. I 329; II 148.
Klassenhieroglyphen, in Maya-Handschriften. I 311 ff.
Klassenhieroglyphe, Hocken eines Vogels auf einer weiblichen Gestalt. I 311 — der alten Göttin beim Mattenflechten. I 311.
Klauen, an der Flughaut des rothen *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60.
Kleiderbündel. I 59.
Klettern, s. Pfahl (daran emporkletternder Mensch). — s. Priester, herabkletternd.
Klotz, mit einem Totenauge und einer Mundöffnung und Stachelkugel, *tetl-quauitl* andeutend. II 110 — s. Stäbe.
Knie, linkes, bei der Begrüssung zur Erde gebeugt. II 228.
Kniebänder, s. *cotzcuatl.*
knieende Haltung, Ruhestellung mexikanischer Weiber. II 182 — der *Xochiquetzal.* II 281
knieende Haltung *Tlauizcalpantecutli's* vor dem *tzompantli.* I 286.
knieende weibliche Gestalt, Himmelsgöttin *Xochiquetzal.* I 55.
Knittel, s. Holzknittel.
Knöchelbänder, mit Augen besetzt, beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250.
Knochen, seine Farbe weiss (mit gelben Flecken, oder roth punktirt). I 127, 226, 346, 352; II 8, 9, 21, 49, 150 — s. knochige Beschaffenheit. — unter den halben Augen, neben dem Bandvierecke. II 284 — daraus besteht das *yacametztli.* I 141; II 77 — daraus der Stuhl des Todesgottes. II 239 — vier Tage ist *Quetzalcouatl* Knochen *(momiti).* II 16.
Knochen mit Zahnreihe, Idee des Brennenden, Beissenden: in den Armzangen des Skorpions. I 36.

Knochendolch, s. *omitl.*
knochenfarbene Schale, mit einem Skelettgesichte, bei der Darstellung der Geburt der *Cinateteô.* II 91.
knochenfarbener *Quetzalcouatl,* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 49, 51 — auf einem rothen *tlachtli* besiegt. II 51 — auf einem *techcatl* geopfert. II 51, 52 — sein Blut trinkt *yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* II 52 — die Stufen der Pyramide hinabgeworfen, verschwindet er im *cipactli*-Rachen, um in der tiefsten Hölle die *Mictecacinatl* zu begrüssen. II 52 — *mamaçouhticac* auf einem Kreuzwege sich in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* verwandelnd. II 54, 55 — neben seinen Extremitäten und Herzen fünf Thiere, den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend dargestellt. II 54.
Knochenflöte, ihr Symbol ein menschlicher Unterarm, bei *Tezcatlipoca.* I 167.
Knochenmännchen, Rauchwolken beim schwarzen Todesgotte (Codex Bologna). II 114.
Knochenmuster auf der Schambinde *Tezcatlipoca's.* I 152.
Knochenwirbelsäule, Dachfirst des Tempels des Südens. II 115.
knöcherne Schnur, weiss, roth punktirt, Blut des Opfers vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21.
knöcherner Nasenhalbmond, Hieroglyphe des Mondes, s. *yacametztli.*
knöchernes *chicauaztli,* in der Hand *Mictlantecutli's* II 166, 167, 168.
knöchernes Herz, bei dem Opfer vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21.
knochige Beschaffenheit, durch schwarze Zeichnung aus Strichen und Punkten angedeutet. I 277 — im Cod. Vatic. durch eine schwarze Zeichnung auf gelbem Grunde angedeutet. II 106 — durch knorrige Auswüchse angedeutet II 106.
Knopf, in den Nasenflügeln, bei *Tepeyollotli* und den Stämmen der pazifischen Region. I 231, 232, 233, 234.
Knorren, an der Nasenwurzel des blauen Feuergottes im Tempel der Feuerschlange, im Norden der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73.
knorrige Auswüchse, des Nordbaumes (des Cod. Vatic.) deuten auf knochige Beschaffenheit. II 106 — der Hand *Nanauatzin's.* II 102 — letztere bildet das Schildenblem des schwarzen *Auiateotl* des Ostens. II 102.
Knospen (?), runde, an den Zweigenden des Westbaumes im Cod. Vatic. II 106.
knotige Auswüchse der Hände des Sonnengottes im Osten der Unterwelt *(Youaltecutli).* II 47 — des Mondes im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — hinten an den Füssen der *Cinateteô,* krankhafte Bildungen. II 93.
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Kochtopf, von Feuer umsetzt, mit menschlichen Gliedern, Sinnbild *Xolotl's.* I 57, 58, 65, 195, 200 — bedeutet die Verzehrung *Xolotl-Nanauatzin's* im Feuer, um als Sonne emporzusteigen. I 199, 200, 287, 304; II 53 — hieroglyphische Parallelen dazu. II 268 — auf feuerspeienden Schädeln als Heerdsteinen ruhend. I 200; II 53 — auf einer von einer Feuerschlange gebildeten Herdummauerung. II 53 — an seiner Basis zerbrochen. I 200 — sein Inhalt: Blut. I 200 — *chalchiuitl*-farben, in ihm verbrennt *Quetzalcouatl,* in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 75.
Koffer. II 34.
Kohlen (?), gelbe und schwarze Kugeln in einer Schale. I 69.
Kolibri, s. *uitzitzilin.* — s. *xiuhuitzitzilin.* — s. *quetzaluitzitzilin.* — s. weisser Kolibri
Kolibrischnabel, und Kolibriflügel, von vier insektenartigen Gestalten neben *Quetzalcouatl* als *uitzitzilin* auf dem Baume im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66.
kommaartig gekrümmter Brustschmuck des Pulquegottes. I 143; II 172 — der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 143, 164; II 158, 172 — charakteristisch für den Codex Borgia. II 158 — Stücke einer Spindel eines grossen Schneckengehäuses (?). II 172.
Kommentar, zum Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, von Eduard Seler (1901). II 170.
Könige, Königthum, s. *tlàtouani, tlàtocayotl, icpalli.* — s. Richter. — tote, werden zu Göttern *(teoti).* I 205 — s. Seele des toten Königs. — im Anfangszeichen der vierten Venusperiode *(acatl)* von *Tlauizcalpantecutli* geschossen (Norden). II 148, 157 — s. *tlatocayotl.* — Land der —, der Osten. II 105 — Land der —, Sonnenland, Süden. II 155.
königliche Leiche, auf dem *teoicpalli* aufgebahrt. I 74.
königliche Würde, durch ein *teoicpalli* im Arme *Xochipilli's.* angedeutet. II 202 — durch ein Jaguarfell auf dem Throne. I 77, 130, 144; II 238 — s. *tlatocayotl.* — s. *xiuhuitzolli.*
Königsbinde, aus Affenfell, bei *Pàtecatl.* II 244.
Königskrone, bei *Tonacatecùtli.* I 78; II 213 — s. *xiuhuitzolli.*
Königsstuhl, *teo icpalli* (s. daselbst). II 121.
Königsstühle, vier, s. vier Königsstühle.
Königsthum, *tlatocayotl.* II 150, 151, 152, 155, 157.
Konjunktion obere und untere, des Planeten Venus; in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift durch Abschnitte von 90 und 8 Tagen bezeichnet. I 350; II 15 — im Codex Borgia 77 und 12 Tage. II 16 — s. Mond.
Konkordanzen zwischen mexikanischer und europäischer Zeitrechnung. I 344.
Kontinuation des Lebens, s. zwei in einander gefügte Kettenglieder. I 157; II 252.
Konventionelle Zeichnung der weissen Schmetterlingsmundbemalung *Xochipilli's.* II 176
Kopal (mexik. *copalli*), im Feuergefässe. I 59 — für den Mayagott *Ekchuah* auf drei flachen Steinen verbrannt. I 321.
Kopalfackel, davon abschmelzendes Harz lassen sich die Priester beim Feste der *Chantico* auf die nackte Haut tropfen. II 274.
Kopalharz-Knorren, in einzelnen der weissen Räuchergefässe der fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98.
Kopalkugeln, s. zwei brennende Kautschukkugeln.
Kopf, s. abgeschnittener Kopf. — s. Abschlagen des Kopfes. — wird dem grossen Krokodile des Landes des Tropfens (*noh ytzam cab ain,* Maya) beim Weltuntergange abgeschlagen. II 156.
Kopf der *Coyolxauh,* bleibt auf dem *Couatepetl* liegen. II 10.
Kopf des Blitzthieres, in Maya-Handschriften entspricht dem Jaguar *(ocelotl).* I 311 — enthält die Elemente *e'tznab, chac.* I 311.
Kopf mit ausgebohrtem Auge, Maya-Zahlhieroglyphe für zwanzig. I 317 — in der Hieroglyphe der Gottheit des zwölften Maya-Tageszeichens *men.* I 317 — an Maya-Himmelsschildern. I 347.
Kopf mit zwei Schlangen umwunden, bei einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47.
Kopfabreissen, (Wachtelopfer) *tlaquechcotonaliztli.* II 290, 291 — Anspielung auf den geköpften Mond. II 291.
Kopfabreissende Fledermaus s. *c'ama z'otz* (Qui'che).
Kopfabschneiden. II 9, 10.
Kopfbinde des Regengottes, trägt der aus dem Wasser geborene *Xolotl* mit dem Blitze in der Hand. II 52 — *Quetzalcouatl's,* darin stecken *omitl-uitztli.* I 19, 88, 302; II 131, 162 — mit Stufenmäandermuster, s. Stufenmäander. — s. auch Stirnbinde. — mit *omitl* darin, bei *Yacatecutli,* dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — türkisfarbene, des blauen Feuergottes im Tempel der Feuerschlange, im Norden der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73, 122 — s. *xiuhuitzolli.*
Köpfe von Abbildern des Morgensterns, s. neun Köpfe.
Kopffedern des Adlers *(quauhtli)* gesträubt. II 106.

Kopfkappe mit Blumenkranz, beim Feuerreiber des Ostens. II 119 — weiss mit rothen Flecken, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* Himmelsträger des Westens. II 129.
Kopflos, s. geköpft.
Kopflose *Itztli*-Figur. II 9 — s. geköpfte Göttin.
Kopfriemen *Quetzalcouatl*'s, im Codex Borgia mit schwarzen Stufenmäandern oder eckigen Winkeln auf weissem Grunde. I 87.
Kopftuch, kappenartig, beim *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* II 100 — beim *Auiateotl* des Ostens und der Mitte. II 100 — — mit Daunenfederbällen besteckt, bei *Tezcatlipoca.* II 163 roth mit weissen Muschelscheiben umsäumt, bei der *Chantico.* II 276, 277 — roth, bei der *Xochiquetzal* der sechsten Nachtstunde. II 191.
Kopulation, verschränkte Stellung, bei *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacacinatl.* II 45.
Kopulirende Paare, vier. I 155; II 120 — schaffen wieder Leben. I 120, 122 — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Südpaar.
Korallenotter, s. Blutschlange.
Korb, aus Adlerfedern, darin ein Bündel mit blauer Netzstoffumwicklung *(xiuhtlalpilli)* — *chalchiuitl*-farben, mit Maiskolben, auf dem Rücken des Maisgottes des Westens (Cod. Bologna). II 114 — s Edelsteinkorb. II 150.
Körpertheile und Tageszeichen. I 280 283; II 136, 168.
Korrektur der Jahreslänge, alle 42 Jahre zehn Tage einzuschalten. II 126
Korrektur des Kalenders um zehn Tage (im Codex Borgia) alle 42 Jahre. II 126 — um zwanzig Tage, alle 81 Jahre (im Codex Nuttall). II 126.
Korrektur verdorbener Textstellen der „Anales de Quauhtitlan". II 148.
Kosmogonie. I 264.
Kostbarer Zwilling, s. *Quetzalcouatl.*
Kostbarkeit, s. Edelstein, Blume. — Herausziehen einer solchen aus dem Leibe einer menschlichen Figur mittels eines gelbig, wellig begrenzten Streifens. I 239, 240 — bedeutet Geburt des Kindes. I 240 — ist das Opfer. II 50 — ist der zerriebene Mais. II 57 — ist der Pulque. II 71 — s. Schmuck — s. Land, Region der Kostbarkeit.
Kostüme der in den vier Himmelsrichtungen mächtigen Gottheiten, von *Motecuhçoma* an Cortes-*Quetzalcouatl* gesandt. I 85, 86.
Kotinga, blauer, s. Türkisvogel, *xiuhtototl.*
Koyote, der alte, Tanzgott. I 97, s. *Uenecoyotl.* — Andeutung des Feuers. I 35 (?) — eine Form des alten Feuergottes. I 98, 99 — Tanzgott der *Otomi.* I 99 — Sonnengott der nördlichen Indianerstämme. I 99.
Koyotekopf, *Uenecoyotl*'s. II 222.
Koyoteohr, an der Schläfe des Tanzgottes *Uenecoyotl.* II 185, 189 — des Tänzers bei diesem Gotte. II 224.
Koyoteschwanz, von den Tanzgöttern der *Hopi* getragen.
Kraft, belebende, des Wassers. I 211.
Kräftig machen der Erde, durch das Hauptopfer am *Tlacaxipeualiztli*-Fest. I 171, 174, 175, 330 — der Sonne durch Kasteiungsopfer. I 204, 207.
Kräftig machen, „womit etwas kräftig gemacht wird" = *chicauaztli* „Rasselbrett". II 128 — s. *chicauaztli.*
Kraftübertragung, der Gottheit. I 156.
kranke Sonne, Sonne der Unterwelt, von *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* vom Westen nach Osten begleitet. II 94, 95 — s. *Youaltecutli*, knotige Auswüchse.
Kranker, s. *Cocoxqui.* — s. *Xolotl-Nanauatziu.*
krankhaft gebildete Hände, s. Hände mit knotigen Auswüchsen.
Krankhaftes, ausgedrückt durch ausgelaufenes Auge. II 91 — durch knotige Auswüchse, s. daselbst.
Krankheiten, als Strafen *Curicaueri*'s über dessen Feinde verhängt. II 72 — s. Geschlechtskrankheiten.
Krankheitsbeschwörer, der Wahrsager. I 280.
Kranz, weisser Muschelscheiben, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 100, 287, 347, 352; II 149 — s. *malinalli*-Kranz. — s. Blumenkranz. — s. Blüthenkranz.
Kreideschmetterling, s. *tiçapapalotl.*
Kreise, vier, s. *tonallo.*
Kreuz, s. *macpamitl Xipe*'s. — aus gekreuzten Totenbeinen entstanden; Todessymbol. I 227 — s. weisse Kreuze (I 191), Abbilder der vier Himmelsrichtungen. — aus Totenknochen, auf dem Gewande der Erdgöttin im Süden der Unterwelt. II 57 — s. gekreuzte Totenknochen. — aus Zeugstreifen oder Papier geknüpft, bei *Mictlantecutli.* II 239 — s. weisses Windkreuz. — s. Andreaskreuz. — Weisses auf dem *pantoyaualli* der Todesgöttin. II 2 — aus gekreuzten Totenbeinen, beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347, 348 — s. St. Jakobs-Kreuz, südliches Kreuz, *xonecuilli* (I 261) — s. Crux australis. — s. Hakenkreuz.
kreuzend, s. Wasserströme, sich kreuzende.
kreuzförmige Durchbrechung der Wandung des *tlalpanuetl* (der Fellpauke). I 306.
Kreuzigung Christi. I 322.
Kreuzspiegel, *tezcacuitlapilli cuitlatezcatl*, Rosette am Hüfttuch. — in Form eines *coxcoxtli*-Vogelkopfes bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 90 — edelsteinfarben bei der *Xochiquetzal*, einem Schildkrötenschilde entsprechend. II 171 (s. I 212).
Kreuzweg, s. *òtlamaxac.*
Krieg, s. *yaoyotl.* — methaphorische Bezeichnung, s. *atl tlachinolli.* — muss Opfer schaffen. I 206, 207 — s. herabkommender Pfeil. I 61 — sein Symbol s. Schild, Speerbündel und Handfahne. — insbesondere angegeben über der Quetzalfederschale bei *Xipe.* I 180 — seine Embleme Adlerkopf, *tiçatl inâtl*, Blut (s. diese). II 34 — sein Zeichen, Schild, Speerbündel, Netztasche für Steinspitzen und Papierfähnchen. II 57, 70 — seine Werkzeuge beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347 — eine Institution zur Herbeischaffung von Opfern für die Ernährung der Sonne. I 206, 207, 264; II 206 — seine Region, der Norden. II 50 — als bevorstehend gedeutet, beim Erscheinen des Sternes *Itztlacoliuhqui* am südlichen Himmel. II 252 — s. *been-ik, ben-kak.*
Krieger, s. *ayyaquetl.* — s. *yaotl*, s. *quauhtli, quauhtli-ocelotl*, s. *holcan.* — geopferter, s. *tonatiuh ïxco yauh, illuicac yauh*; s. *tiçapapalotl, iuipapalotl.* — zum Opfertode bestimmt I 143, 166 — geopferter, angedeutet durch zwei nach oben gehende Fussspuren über gekreuzten Totenknochen, bei der eilften Tagstunde (Süden). II 203. — geopferter, sein Repräsentant *Xochipilli.* I 339 — *Mixcouatl* s. Opfermensch. — Morgenstern. II 238, 239 — geopferter = Adler mit geöffneter Brust. I 258 — Repräsentanten der Adler und Jaguar. I 12 — Repräsentant *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 21, 61 — toter Krieger = Kopf *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 59, 61 — toter; Seele desselben; s. Vogel an Blüthen saugend, s. *tlaçototome.* I 62 — Prototyp der weiblichen, die Erdgöttin. I 166, 175 — der männlichen, der Sonnengott. I 166, 175 — s. *Xipe Totec.* — von der Sonne besiegt = Mond. II 215 — geben der Sonne zu trinken und dem *Tlaltecutli* zu essen. I 207 — begehren Finger oder Haar einer *mociuaquetzqui*, um es in ihren Schild einzusetzen. II 89 — des Abendhimmels, der Abendstern. II 34, 35 — in Tanzstellung, im Osthimmel, gegenüber den *Ciuateteô* in Tanzstellung im Westhimmel. I 285, 286 — besiegte = Sterne. I 265 — die Sonne *(Tonatiuh, Xochipilli).* I 247, 268; II 86 — s. junger Krieger. — im Wasserstrome bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* II 225 — sein Loos, sein Leben und Sterben. II 70, 71, 204 — nur sie zählen in der Gemeinde *(altepetl).* II 151, 152 — unverheirathete, s. *telpochcalli.* — s. *auianimê maqui.* — weiblicher —, s. *mociuaquetzqui.* — auf dem Marsche gestorbener. II 238 — s. Seele des toten Kriegers.

Krieger (Plural), s. *quaquauhtin.*
Krieger in Tanztracht, schwarz mit *aztaxelli*, bei der dritten Nachtstunde. II 185.
Kriegerdevisen, Schmetterlinge, aus Federn gearbeitet (gelb; roth; roth und weiss), Symbole des Feuers. II 276 — Tribut der *Chinampaneca.* II 276 — s. *quauhpachiuhqui chimalli.*
Kriegerfahnen, s. sechs Kriegerfahnen.
Kriegerfrisur, s. *tzotzocolli, tzotzocolueyac.* — bei der *Xochiquetzal.* I 209 — bei einer die *Tlaçolteotl* vertretenden Frau. II 160, 161 — bei der Frau *(Xochiquetzal)* der zweiten Tagstunde. II 184.
Kriegerhimmel, obere Region. II 70 — als solche gekennzeichnet durch vier Adlerhäuser *(quauhcalli).* II 70 — sein Symbol: Feuerstein-Pfeilspitzen. II 78.
Kriegerin, *Tlaçolteotl*, den zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer vertretend. II 160, 161.
Kriegerinnen, die fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 78, 81 — die fünf *Cinateteô.* II 93 — s. vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes.
kriegerischer Ausputz der Erdgöttinnen. I 156, 157.
Kriegermantelstoff, ein Netzgewebe, *ayatl.* II 70, 72.
Kriegermäntel, mexikanische, roth, mit *tenixyo*-Muster (weisse Augen auf dunklem Grunde). — s. Decke mit *tenixyo tilmàtli*-Muster.
Kriegermaske, s. schwarze —.
Kriegerschaft, *yaoyotl quauhyotl*; ausgedrückt durch *chimalli* (Schild) und *tlacochtli* (Speer), bei der fünften Venusperiode. II 151, 152 — s. *altepetl (atl-tepetl).*
Kriegerseelengötter, vier (schwarz, gelb, blau, roth). II 72.
Krieger-Siegerschmuck, s. *quauhtlachcayotl.*
Kriegerstern, Bezeichnung des Sterns des Abendhimmels bei den *Michuaquê.* II 35 — des Morgensterns, *hozqua qhuangari* „der Krieger, der Stern". II 70.
Kriegertanz, *necocololo.* II 71.
Kriegertanzkopfschmuck, s. *aztaxalli.*
Kriegerthiere, *quauhtli-ocelotl* (s. daselbst). II 115.
Kriegertod, Opfertod. I 12, 61, 166 — sein Symbol *yacaxiuitl.* I 338 — bezeichnet den Norden. II 102 — s. *quauhtli-ocelotl*, enthauptet. — durch den Feuergott und den Planeten Venus respräsentirt. II 309 — seine Repräsentanten, s. Opfermensch, s. *Mixcouatl.* — *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 238, 239.
Kriegertotenschmuck bei *Xiuhtecutli* und *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 239 — bei *Tonatiuh* und *Mictlantecutli.* II 244 — s. *xiuhuitzolli.* — s. *xiuhnacochtli.* — s. *yacaxiuitl.* — s. *xolocozcatl.* — s. *amaneapanalli.*
Kriegsabzeichen, Federdevisen, *tlaviztli.* II 88.
Kriegsgott, schwarzer *Auiateotl* (des Ostens). II 98 — der Maya von Yucatan, sein Name *kak u pacat.* I 282 — Herr der vierten Venusperiode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 335 — *Mixcouatl* entsprechend. I 335 — die Gesichtsbemalung des letzeren erinnert an die des Feuergottes oder *Tezcatlipoca*'s der Mexikaner. I 335.
Kriegsruf, s. Hebamme.
Kriegswaffen, Schild, Handfahne, Speerbündel, Stachelkeule. II 78, 163 — in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens. II 78 — in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159 — auf der Rückenlast *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*'s, des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163 — beim schwarzen *Auiateotl* (des Ostens). II 98 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, deuten Geburt an. II 218 — bei *Ueuecoyotl.* II 224 — bringt der schwarze *Auiateotl* (Ost-*tzitzimitl*) herab. II 117 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* (als dem Schiessenden) dargestellt. II 129 — bei *Tepeyollotli.* — bei der dreizehnten Nachtstunde Opfer andeutend. II 206 — in der Hand des Sonnengottes. II 228, 244 — auf dem *Xochitepetl* beim Sonnengott. II 306 — zweimal neben dem Bandviereck (in der Wiener Handschrift). II 284.
Kriegszauber, Niederlegen der Schenkelhautmaske *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s auf feindlichem Gebiete. I 160; II 247, 248 — — Pfeil auf feindlichem Gebiete in die Erde gesteckt. II 248.
Krokodil, s. *cipactli.* — s. *noh ytzam cab ain.*
Krone, des (blauen) Feuergottes, s. *xiuhuitzolli.*
Kröte, s. Erdkröte.
Kröten, Abbilder, massenhaft in Pilon de azùcac ausgegraben. II 258.
Krug, s. Topf, s. Gefäss, s. Henkelkrug. — Regengötter giessen aus Krügen den Regen auf die Erde. I 295 — mit einem Gesichte des Regengottes. I 109, 345; II 37 — daraus schüttet *Tlaloc* Wasser *(tlaatequiliztli)*, bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. II 37 — daraus von *Xochipilli* Wasser auf die Erde geschüttet. II 175, 176 — s. zweihenkliger — s. Edelsteinkrug.
Krug mit Maispflanze, von *Tonacatecutli* dargebracht. II 41.
Krug und Edelsteinkette beim *Xochipilli* der fünften Tagstunde. II 190.
Krügchen mit *tlilatl* nebst der Spitze eines *chicauaztli (?)*, bei dem vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 175.
Krustenechse, Heloderma, s. *acaltetepontli.* I 96.
ku (Maya), „Gott", s. *oxlahun ku.* — s. *bolon ku.*
Kugel, halb braun, halb schwarz, in der Hand *Mictlantecutli-Tezcatlipoca*'s; Zeichen des Steins(?). II 242.
Kugeln, vier, damit Ball spielend *(ollamani)* vier Thiere. II 115, 116 — s. Bälle.
kugelrollender Priester, der zweite der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161.
K'ucumatz (Qui'che) = *Quetzalcouatl.* I 83, 84, 147 — im Wasser lebendiges Prinzip. I 83, 147 — s. *Tepeu K'ucumatz.* I 84.
Kukulcan (Maya) = *Quetzalcouatl.* I 83.
Kult des Feuergottes, sehr im Vordergrunde bei den mexikanischen Kaufleuten stehend. I 322.
Kultur der Tolteken, hat reale geschichtliche Bedeutung, ihre Erben die *Mexica.* II 131 — ihr stehen die Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe näher als die geschichtliche Civilisation der Mexikaner. II 131.
Kultus, darauf bezügliche Figuren durch Darstellungen von Blut und Opfer hervorgehoben. I 301.
Kultusstätte *Tlaloc*'s, Pilon de azúcar, im Distrikt Misantla (Staat Vera Cruz). II 258.
Kunst, Kunstfertigkeit, dazu steht der Affe in Beziehung. I 129.
Kunsthandwerker, Maler, Spieler, Sänger, Tänzer verehren *Macuilxochitl* und *Xochipilli.* I 134.
künstliche Feuerschlange, beim Feste *Utzilopochtli*'s. II 40 — verzehrt die auf dem Opfersteine aufgehäuften Opferpapiere. II 40.
Kupferbeil, s. *tepoztli.*
Kupferschellen, Handgelenkschmuck. II 162.
Kürbissrassel, s. *ayacachtli.*
Küste von Vera Cruz, heisst *Chalchiccueyêcan.* II 269.
Küstenland, s. *Anauac, Anauatl.* — s. *Ayotlan, Xicalanco.* — s. *oztomeca anauac calaquini.* — Göttin des —'s *Atlatonan* (I 135, 136). — Gott des —'s, s. *Xipe Totec.* I 177; II 256.
Küstenländer, s. *Anauaca.* — s. Osten.

laa (zapotek.) „Feuer" = mex. *eecatl* (Wind).
Lachen des Vogels *uactli (uacton),* galt den wandernden Kaufleuten als übles Vorzeichen. I 294, 305; II 253 — Vogel *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 253 — s. Lachfalke.
Lachfalke, Falco cachinnans Linné, *uactli (uacton)*; Raubvogelart der Tierra caliente. I 294; II 253.
Lagune von *Güija.* I 83
Lagune von México. I 211.
Lagune von *Xochimilco,* s. *Xochimilco.* — s. *Chinampaneca.*
Lähmung, *mociuaquetzqui* lähmt den Fuss der Feinde der Krieger. II 90 — eine der Strafen *Curicaveri*'s. II 72.

lamat (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *tochtli*. — Anfangszeichen des vierten der vier Jahre. I 342.

Lancette?, bei *Oxomoco, Cipactonal*. — bei dem Priester in der Zeit der Mitternacht.

Land der Blumen, *Xochitlalpan*, der Süden. II 94.

Land der Geburt, der Westen (s. daselbst). II 13. — I 99; II 81, 264 — s. *Tamoanchan*. — s. Westen; *cuatlampa*.

Land der Meerschnecke, daher stammt der Mondgott (s. *Tecciztecatl*). II 280, 288.

Land der Toten, der Norden. II 13.

Land der Sonne und der Könige, der Osten. II 105 — der Süden. II 155.

Land der Vorfahren, der Toten. der Norden. II 79 — der Westen, *Tamoanchan*. II 20, 25, 81. — *Colhuacan*. II 20 — Region des Abendhimmels (s. *Ueueteteô*). II 25.

Land des Feuergottes, das *Tlatlayan, Tlillan, Tlapallan,* der Osten und Westen (Gegend der Morgen- und Abendröthe. II 24.

Land des Reichthums, der Vegetationsfülle = *Tlalocan*, das Ostland. I 295 — der Osten. II 105, 115.

Land des Reichthums, die fünfte Weltgegend (Mitte, Region des Feuergottes). II 107 — Region *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 206.

Landa, Bisehof. I 162.

Langes Leben, haben die im Zeichen *ce tochtli* Geborenen. II 288.

langgestielte Augen, am Tempel des Südens. II 114, 115 — auf der rothen Decke des kopulirenden Süd-Paares. II 120.

Lanzette, s. hölzerne —.

Lapilli, s. *teciuitl*.

Last, in Matten verpackt und versehnürt, an einem über die Stirn gehenden Bande befestigt und auf dem Rüeken getragen. II 162, 163, s. *mecapalli*. — in ein Thierfell gehüllt, darin ein Pfeilsehaft steekend, bei dem vierten der seehs Himmelswanderer (Cod. Fejérváry). II 163.

Lastträger, s. *mecapalli*, Tragband der Lastträger.

Lava, blasige, s. *teçontli*.

Leben = Haueh, Athem = Wind. I 84 — sein Sinnbild *chalchiuitl*. I 85, 207; II 6 — = Wärme. I 116 — sein Sinnbild das Herz. II 66 — in Sonne, Lieht und Tag verkörpert. I 205 — Kontinuation, Erneuerung des Lebens. I 157; II 252 — von neuem geschaffen durch die Thätigkeit der vier kopulirenden Paare. II 122 — durch eine Eideehse *(cuetzpalin)* in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s angedeutet. II 168 — langes, haben die im Zeichen *ce tochtli* Geborenen. II 288 — s. Gott des Lebens.

lebende Wesen, spraehlich dureh besondere Pluralform hervorgehoben (s. *nitzitzilti*). II 67.

lebender *Quetzalcouatl,* auf dem einen zum Hauptraume des Nordens der Unterwelt führenden Wege wandernd, begleitet vom sehwarzen *Tezcatlipoca* und je einer schwarzen und rothen *Cinateotl*. II 49, 51 — vollzieht das Opfer am knoehenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem *techcatl* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 52.

Lebendig werden *Quetzalcouatl*'s (Morgenstern) erklärt und geschildert durch die Geburt der Sonne, bezw. des Mondes. II 55, 67.

Lebensenergieen, sieh vereinigend, s. Blutstrom.

Lebensgeschichte *Quetzalcouatl*'s, s. Höllenfahrt der Venus. II 26.

Lebenskraft, verkörpert im Blute. I 174, 175.

Lebensmittel, s. *tonacayotl*. — Herr der — s. *Tonacatecutli*. — der Sonnengott. II 158 — Gott der —, *Xipe*. I 169 — Erneuerung der —, s. *Atamalqualiztli*. — s. Tempel der —.

Lebensmittelfülle, Region der — = Osten. I 295 *(Tlalocan)*. — Zeit der — = Jahre des Ostens. — dureh Räucherwerk und Räucherwerktasehen bezeichnet. I 301; II 173 (s. *yetecomatl*), 220, 234 — Zeichen dafür, Schale mit Maiskolben. II 235, 238 — dureh Opfergaben dargestellt als Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 44, 49, 68, 70, 301, 304 — durch Pulque. I 53 — bei den Pulquegöttern. I 138, 301 — ihr Symbol eine in den Farben des *Xiuhtototl*'s gearbeitete Opferschale *(xicalli)*. I 338 — dramatisch dureh einen Maskentanz am *Xipe*-Feste veranschaulieht. I 176 — Land der — = *Tamoanchan*. I 185, 186.

Lebensmittelseil, s. *tonacamecatl*.

Lebensspender, Sonne und fruchtbare Erde. II 116 — *Xipe Totec*. II 289.

Lebenswasser, s. Wasser der Erneuerung.

Leben und Tod, vom Pulquegotte repräsentirt. I 251 — s. Gott des Lebens; Gott des Todes; in der irdischen Region II 165 — 169 — durch *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli* repräsentirt, Rüeken an Rüeken, mit *cuetzpalin*, bezw. *miquiztli* in der Hand. I 115; II 168 — ihre Herren in irdischer und himmlischer Region. II 169 — verkörpert der Mond (Zeitmesser). II 169.

Leguan, s. *cuecuetzpalin, acuecuetzpalin*. — über die Erde kriechend, erzeugt Fruehtbarkeit. I 95, 97 — unter den Opfergaben im Codex Dresdensis stets dem Westen zugetheilt. I 97 — Opfer für den Gott der Kakaopflanzer *Ekchuah*, für *Chac* und *Hobnil* am 15. Uinal *Moan* bei den Maya. I 321.

Lehmann, Walter, Kopie des Ms. mexikain No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). II 102 — Kopie der Historia de los reinos de Culhuacan y de Mexico. II 79, 144.

Leib, ausgehöhlter der Mondgöttin ist die Mondsichel. II 11.

Leib, faltig, bei den fünf *Cinateteô*. II 91.

Leib der Todesgöttin, Einzäunungen bildend. II 2, 3, 6, 7 — s. *malinalli*-Leib.

Leib der Erdgöttin, von einer breit ausgespannten Enagua, mit einem Loehe in der Mitte gebildet, durch welches *Quetzalcouatl* in die Unterwelt eingeht. II 45, 49, 55, 57.

Leiche, s *micca quimilolli*.

Leichen der Geopferten wurden die Stufen der Pyramide hinunter auf den Boden geworfen. II 52.

Leichenbündel bei *Mictlantecutli*. II 239 — mit Maske eines toten *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* über dem Raehen einer Erdkröte. II 165 — s. Bündel, blaues.

Leichenköpfe, mit Stirnlocken II 10, 11, 12, 58 — bezeichnen den Morgenstern (oder die Sterne). II 11—12, 58 — in der Hand von Steinmesserfiguren. II 10, 12.

Leichenreden. I 156; II 218, 219.

Leichenschmuck, s. *pantoyaualli* (*pantololli*).

Leichenverbrennung, s. *tetlatiliztli*. — s. *teteuitl*. — ihr Zeichen das Brennholzbündel. I 46 — Leiehe im brennenden Tempel. I 54 — ihr Gott *Mictlantecutli*. I 227.

Leistengeschwüre, *quexiliuiliztli*. II 97.

Leon, Nieolas. II 269.

Leon y Gama, I 218; II 207 — schöpfte aus Cristóval del Castillo. I 218, 343 — seine Kopie des Ms. Mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). II 103.

letzte fünf Tage des Jahres, s. *nemontemi*. — s. *xma kaba kin* (Maya). — s. Jahresschluss-Zärimonien.

letzte Tage der auf einander folgenden Jahre sind die Zeichen *olin, eecatl, maçatl, malinalli*. II 123.

Leuchte der Nacht, *Youaltecutli*. II 28.

leuchten (eines Sterns) = Blitze aussenden. II 27.

libro de tributos. I 288, 289; II 35, 131.

Lichtgötter, Mond- und Sterngötter. II 18 — die vier —, und ihre Erscheinungsformen. II 305—310.

Lichthimmelborte, blauer Streifen mit grossen dreitheiligen Stern- oder Strahlenaugen. II 14.

Lichtkörper, zwischen dem dunklen Nordpfeiler und dem hellen Südpfeiler auf- und hinabsteigend; durch ein Auge an der Grenzlinie der sehwarzen und rothen Hälfte der kegelfhrmigsn Mütz *Quetzalcouatl*'s angedeutet; durch ein weisses Windkreuz ersetzt. I 87; II 167.

Lichtwesen, durch zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnde lange Locken bezeichnet. · II 12, 21, 28, 43, 58 — werden im Westen getötet, gehen in die Erde ein. II 21 — ein solches ist *Youaltecutli.* II 28 — Götter des Wachsthums (*Tonacatecutli* als Mondgott). II 30.

Liebe und Zeugung, Zusammenhang darin zwischen Mond und *Tlaçolteotl.* II 11.

Liebesgöttin, s. *Xochiquetzal.*

liegend, das erste Menschenpaar. II 212.

Lienzo de Jucutácato. II 48, 269, 270.

likin (Maya), „Osten". I 311.

linke Backe, s. Backe.

linker Arm einer *mociuaquetzqui* hat Zauberkraft (für Spitzbuben). II 90 — des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* daneben eine Ratte (?). II 54.

linker Fuss, s. Fuss.

linkes Bein, des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* daneben ein Puma mit *cicitlallô*-Augenstreifen. II 54.

linkes Geweih, s Geweih.

linkes Knie, bei der Begrüssung zur Erde gebeugt. II 228.

linkes Ohr, s. Ohr.

links, s. *opochcopa.* — stehen die *Centzon Uitznahua.* II 13 — nach — gewendet sitzende Figuren. II 41.

Lippenschlange *Tlaloc*'s; ähnliches Gebilde am unteren Augenrande *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, des Regenten der ersten Venusperiode im Codex Vatic. II 140, 141 — *Tlaloc*'s, bei *Quetzalcouatl (naui eecatl* „vier Wind"), Regent des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 234.

Lippenstreifen, blau, bei *Tlaloc.* I 110; II 36 — seine ornamentale Fortsetzung. I 110, 236, 237, 250, 330, 345 — s. Lippenschlange.

Lizana, P. II 176.

Loch, s. Brunnen in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes (*tlachtli*). — s. zerrissen. — am Hintern *Quetzalcouatl*'s, aus ihm ein Blutstrom kommend. II 72.

Loch der Erde = Westen (*ciuatlampa*). I 23, 91 — Hervorkommen der Menschen daraus. I 92 — tiefschwarz, Mitte der unterirdischen Räume. II 3. — befindet sich im Westen wie im Osten; durch das Herz der Erdgöttin bezeichnet. II 17.

Loch des *tlachtemalacatl,* der durch dieses geworfene Ball ist der beste Wurf. I 289 — Wasser in dieses gegossen (s. Brunnen). I 290.

Loch in der Mitte des Ballspielplatzes, eine rothe Scheibe, die den Leib *Tonacatecutli*'s bildet. II 30, 31.

Loch in der Mitte eines runden Feuerheerdes im Codex Nuttall. II 39, 40.

Loch in der Zunge, durch das der sich kasteiende Priester Halme (*çacatl*) zieht. II 181.

Locken, zwei oder drei, über der Stirn aufzüngelnd; Zeichen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. I 179. 244, 255, 258; II 12, 16, 129, 139, 140, 143 — des Windgottes. I 180 — *Xipe*'s. I 179, 270, 271 — des Feuergottes. I 44, 180; II 282, 288 — *Mictlantecutli*'s. I 244, 297 — *Tlaloc*'s. I 111, 249; II 300 — *Mixcouatl*'s. I 259, 338 — des als *Mixcouatl* gekleideten, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen Jaguars. (*ocelotl*). II 149 — bei neun Abbildern des Morgensterns (*tonatiuh iixco yaque*). II 72 — beim *tonatiuh iixco yauh.* I 274; II 70, 71, 72 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 276; II 172, 306 — bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 279, 287 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* der fünften Tagstunde. II 190 — bei *Xochipilli.* II 190, 198 — bei der *Itzpapalotl* der achten Nachtstunde. II 195 — bei der *Chantico,* Feuergöttin von *Xochimilco.* II 195 — bei den fünf *Ciuateteô.* II 93 — bei den Pulquegöttern des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 172 — beim Gotte des Südens, in der Abendsternreihe. I 339 — bei Leichenköpfen in der Hand von Dämonen in der Region des Südens, den Morgenstern oder Sterne bezeichnend. II 10, 12 — bei Leichenköpfen im Süden der Unterwelt. II 58 — beim schwarzen Skelette unter dem schwarzen Tuche. II 8 — beim Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21 — bei der *Teteoinnan* im Tempel des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 18 — bei vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 75 — bei Feuerwesen über dem Spiegel *Tonacatecutli*'s, auf dem Feuer gebohrt wird. II 28 — bei *Youaltecutli,* II 28 — bei vier Blitzträgern neben *Xolotl.* II 38 — bei einer nackten kleinen Menschenfigur, die aus einem in einem Wassergefässe befindlichen grossen *chalchiuitl* herauskommt. II 43 — eines abgerissenen menschlichen Kopfes, beim Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 82, 84 — bei vier aus Rauchwolken in der Mitte der Unterwelt entspringenden nackten Feuergöttern. II 74 — beim Feuerreiber des Nordens. II 119 — beim *tzontemoc (tzitzimitl)* der fünften Weltgegend. II 132 — bei *Xochipilli,* der Erdgottheit des Ostens. II 134 — beim blauen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 167 — bei *Tecciztecatl.* II 228 — Analogon dafür *cuitlatl*-förmiges Haar. II 285.

Löffelreiher, s. *tlauhquechol.* — s. Platalea ajaja L.

Loos des Kriegers. II 70, 71, 204, 246 — Pulquegelage und Kriegertanz, Opfertod. II 71, 246.

Looswerfen, s. *Xochiquetzal.* — s. Ausstreuen von Maiskörnern.

Löschen des Feuers, s. *u tup kak ahtoc.*

Loubat, Herzog von, Joseph Florimond. I 1, 86; Vorrede zu Band II.

Luft, Zeitalter der Luft, des Windes, *eecatonatiuh.* II 25 — Luftgott = *Quetzalcouatl,* Sohn des Urgötterpaares (Himmel und Erde). I 84 — s. Aufrichtung des Himmels. — in ihr wandeln die *Tlaloc*-Figuren der vier aufeinander folgenden Jahre. I 345 — ihre Farbe, blau. II 167.

Luftgott, s. *Quetzalcouatl.* — s. blauer *Quetzalcouatl.*

Lumholtz. II 127.

Luperkalien. I 190 — s. Februum.

Lust, Götter der, s. *Auiatl, Auiateteô, Auiateotl, Macuilxochitl, Xochipilli, Tlaçolteotl.* — ihre Zeichen *oçomatli, xochitl.* — Geschlechtstrieb, Wollust. — Gott der —, *Nanauatzin.* II 41.

Lustseuche, *Xochiciuiztli.* II 97.

maana, „sie macht sich breit", Geburtsstellung der Göttin am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste zu Füssen *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 154 — beim Erschiessen des Opfers des *Tlacaxipeualiztli*-Festes. I 173 — s. *motetenana, mamaçoa.*

Mäander, s. Stufenmäander.

Maassgeber, der Mond, Zeitmesser. II 169.

Mac (Maya), Jahresfest, entspricht dem mexikanischen Feste *Izcalli.* I 117.

macpamitl, Handfahne. I 281 — bezeichnet Krieger- und Opfertod. I 281 — *Xipe*'s roth und weiss. I 330; II 257 — mit grossem Kreuze. II 71, 257 — bei *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* II 71 — mit *tezcatl* bei *Tezcatlipoca.* I 288 — im Bündel auf dem Rücken der *Tlaçolteotl,* dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159.

macquauitl, Obsidianschwert. I 170, 173.

Macuexi **und** *Micuexi,* Vertreter dieser toten Helden schiessen gewisse Pflanzen und ernähren mit dem Blute die Sonne. I 206.

macuil acatl, fünftes Jahr der 52jährigen Periode. I 350.

macuil cozcaquauhtli, „fünf Geier", der zweite der fünf Südgötter, den Norden bezeichnend, Gott der Strafe. II 98.

macuil cuetzpalin „fünf Eidechse", der erste der fünf Südgötter, den Osten bezeichnend. II 98 (s. Kriegsgott). — Banner- und Fackelträger vor dem Sakrarium *Uitzilopochtli*'s, mit *tonallo*-Emblemen. II 93, 94 (Abb.) — von schwarzer Leibesfarbe. I 30.

Macuil eecatl „fünf Wind“, seine Trachtausstattung entspricht der *Xolotl*'s. I 191.

Macuil maçatl „fünf Hirsch“, seine Trachtausstattung entspricht der *Xolotl*'s. I 191.

Macuil malinalli „fünf Gedrehtes“, fünfter der fünf Südgötter, die untere Region bezeichnend. II 98 — Maisgott. II 98 — seine Trachtausstattung entspricht der *Xolotl*'s. I 191.

macuil octli, die fünfte Pulqueschale, bezeichnet das unmässige, schamlose. I 139; II 96 — die Sünde. I 140.

macuil olin „fünf Bewegung“ Trachtausstattung entspricht der *Xolotl*'s. I 191.

macuil tecpatl „fünf Feuerstein“, so ist vielleicht die Gottheit der Zahl Fünf auf Maya-Monumenten zu lesen. I 217.

macuil tochtli „fünf Kaninchen“, der dritte der fünf Südgötter, den Westen bezeicnend. II 76, 77, 95, 98 — Pulquegott. II 98.

macuilli, „die genommene Hand“ = fünf. Durch Zeichnung einer Hand hieroglyphisch dargestellt. II 96 — s. *motemmacpalhuiticac.* — bezeichnet das Unmässige, Schamlose, Sündige. I 139, 140; II 96.

macuilli acatl ce atl, Datum beim Regengotte der Mitte (*Xochipilli*). I 349.

macuilli acatl matlactli omey maçatl, Datum beim Regengotte der Mitte (*Xochipilli*). I 349.

macuilli cozcaquauhtli, „fünf Geier“, eines der Daten der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 76, 97.

macuilli cuetzpalin „fünf Eidechse“, eines der Daten der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 76, 97 — *cozcaquauhtli, tochtli, xochitl, malinalli*, Säule des sechsten der Götterpaare. II 170.

macuilli ẽẽcatl „fünf Wind“, Hauptdatum des Blattes 39 des Codex Borgia, das Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern bezeichnend. II 46, 58 — steht 252 Tage ab von 13 *itzcuintli*. II 46, 58. — *Nanauatzin* des Nordblattes (s Jahresdatum *naui tochtli*). II 123 — letzter Tag der Nord- (*tecpatl-*) Jahre. II 123 — Bringer der West- (*calli-*) Jahre. II 123.

macuilli maçatl „fünf Hirsch“, *Nanauatzin* des Westblattes (s. Jahresdatum *naui acatl*, II 123) — letzter Tag der West- *(calli-)* Jahre. II 123 — Bringer der Süd- *(tochtli-)* Jahre. II 123.

macuilli malinalli „fünf Gras“, eines der Daten der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 76, 97 — „fünf Gedrehtes“, *Nanauatzin* des Südblattes (s. Jahresdatum *naui tecpatl*). II 123 — letzter Tag der Süd- *(tochtli-)* Jahre. II 123 — Bringer der Ost- *(acatl-)* Jahre. II 123 — die in diesem Zeichen Geborenen werden Kaufleute und reich. II 288.

macuilli omome acatl, couatl, olin, atl, cipactli, Säule des fünften der sechs Götterpaare. II 170.

matlactli omome couatl, olin, atl, cipactli, acatl, Säule des vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 170.

macuilli olin „fünf Bewegung“, *Nanauatzin* des Ostblattes (s. Jahresdatum *naui calli*). II 123 — letzter Tag der Ost- *(acatl-)* Jahre. II 123 — Bringer der Nord- *(tecpatl-)* Jahre. II 123.

macuilli quauhtli „fünf Adler“, Tag, das Ende der Unsichtbarkeit des Abendsterns bezeichnend. II 58 — s. *chicuacen calli — macuilli quauhtli.*

macuilli tochtli „fünf Kaninchen“, eines der Daten der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 76, 97.

macuilli xochitl, „fünf Blume“, eines der Daten der fünf *Auiateteô*. II 76, 97. — Kalendertag *Xolotl*'s, II 272.

Macuilxochime, fünf, mit Gefäss am Nacken. I 68.

macuil xochitl, in eine Blüthe endende Edelsteinkette, bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20, 21 — bei der Repräsentantin der *auianimê*. I 22 (*Xochiquetzal*). — bei *Xochiquetzal*. I 247 — bei *Veuecoyotl*. I 98 — bei *Xochipilli*. I 136, 248 —

Macuil xochitl, Sonnengott einer besonderen (mexikanischen) Landschaft. I 148 — ist nur eine andere Form des Sonnengottes. I 205 — *Auiateotl* des Westens, roth gemalt, mit *yacameztli-* und *tonallo*-Emblem im Kopfschmucke; Pulquegott. II 103. — der vierte der fünf Südgötter, den Süden bezeichnend, der rothe Gott, der Gott der Lust und des Spiels. I 132 - 135, 148; II 76, 77, 93, 95, 98 — dem Würfelspiele (*patolli*) präsidirend. I 132, 134, 139, 270; II 77 — Steinbilder auf dem Ballspielplatze. I 11, 134 — Aussehen und Tracht (s. *Xochipilli*). I 230 bis 137, 271 - 272 — durch Zeichnung weissen Hand am Munde ausgezeichnet. I 30, 134, 191, 199, 271, 272; II 52, 76, 77. — sein besonderes Abzeichen *tlapopalli* (s. disses). II 34 — *tonallo*-Emblem, s. *tonallo.* — der fünfte der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 270—274 — in der gelben Federschlange, den Süden bezeichnend. II 302 — mit *Xochipilli* zusammen verehrt. I 132, 148 — Feuerquirler? — Sternbild? — im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel für *Ciuateotl* eintretend. I 60 — Begleitbild im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 65, 68, 74 — seine Gesichtsbemalung bei *Xolotl*. I 31, 191, 195, 199; II 52 — seine Edelsteinscheibe beim Affen. I 11 — ident mit *Nanauatzin* als *Auiateotl*. II 41, 52 ff. — Beziehung zu *Xolotl*. I 65, 191, 195, 199; II 41, 52 — Gott der Sinnenlust. I 65, 124 (s. *Auiateotl*), 199, 270; II 41, 52, 97 — straft mit Geschlechtskrankheiten. I 148, 199; II 97 — entspricht dem *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 124, 148, 150 — hat Beziehung zum *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. II 100 — andere Form des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20, 21 — nahe verwandt mit *Xochipilli*. I 134, 148 — ist der *tecpantzinca inteouh*. I 134 — Lied an ihn. I 139, II 118, 119 — in Jaguarmaske = *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, im Codex Nuttall. I 256, 258.

Macuilxochitl und Quetzalcouatl, den Penis sakrifizirend, beim Baume der Mitte. I 175; II 107.

Maçateca, Priester einer besonderen Landschaft, von wo das *Atamalqualiztli*-Fest importirt worden ist. I 211 — würgen Wasserthiere lebend hinunter. I 211.

Maçateotl, Xochiquetzal mit einem Hirschkopfe auf dem Kopfe, dem Tanzgotte gegenüber die dritte Nachtstunde und den Norden bezeichnend. II 185 — dem tierköpfigen Priester gegenüber, die siebente Nachtstunde, die Mitternacht und die untere Region bezeichnend. II 194.

Maçatepec, Niederlassung der aus *Chicomoztoc* auswandernden Chichimeken. I 184 — s. *Itztolli, Xiuhnel.*

maçatl, Hirsch; siebentes Tageszeichen. I 7—8, 34, 69, 106 bis 112, 229, 304; II 165 — sein Regent *Tlaloc*. I 23, 107—112, 215, 281; II 165, 309 — in *Cuicatlan*, Anfangszeichen eines der vier Jahre. I 342 — Zeichen der Dürre. I 23, 34, 69, 107 — Bild des Feuers, der Flamme, der Dürre. I 23, 35 (brennender Tempel), 69, 107, 281, 300, 301, 304; II 164, 309 — Zeichen des Nordens. — bei dem Himmelsträger des Nordens dargestellt. II 132 — = der Göttin des Feuers, Göttin von *Xochimilco*. I 107 — Rückendevise *Mixcouatl*'s, des Feuerreibers. I 107 — Hirschverkleidung *Mixcouatl*'s. I 107; II 164 — der Urgötter (s. *Tabatzi*). II 154 — ist die Sonne. I 107 (Sonne von einem Hirsche getragen). I 107; II 20, 164, 309 — bei diesem Tageszeichen ein kopfüber in das Feuerbecken *(tlecuilli)* stürzender Mensch dargestellt. I 304 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 311 — als Tageszeichen angegeben am Himmel des Himmelsträgers des Nordens. II 126, 132 — s. Hirsch; weisser toter Hirsch des Ostens, Hirsch des Nordens, *tlecuilli*. — vom Speere getroffeu, bei *Mictlantecutli*, Himmelsträger des Nordens, dargestellt. II 132 — mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen (an den Körpertheilen) verbunden. II 135—136 — Verkleidung *Xochipilli*'s. II 135, 136.

maçatl, malinalli, olin, eccatl, Tageszeichen der ersten Säule des dritten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Westen). II 4.

maçatl yyollo „Hirschherzen“. I 173 — s. *Itzpapalotl.*

maceualli, in ixquich —, „gewöhnliches Volk". I 154.
machoncotl, Oberarmring, ein ähnlicher Schmuck am Oberarme *Mixcouatl*'s. I 266 — mit einem Feuersteinmesser, beim Gotte des Ostens. I 332.
Mächte, zerstörende, wieder produzirende; ihre Gegensätzlichkeit auf Bl. 49—52 des Codex Borgia dargestellt. II 119, 120, 122.
Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio, s. Sahagun-Manuskripte.
Magen, durch Kasteiung ausgedörrter, leerer. II 280.
Maguey, Agavepflanze, s. *metl.* — beim *Izcalli*-Feste beschnitten. I 117.
Mahlstein, s. *metlatl, metlapilli.* — s. erste Frau.
Mährchen der verlassenen Eva *(Ixnextli)*, nicht genauer bekannt. II 225 — *çaçanjlli.* II 87.
Mais, Blüthe, s. *miauatl.* — Kolben, s. *cintli, Chicomollotzin.* — Staude, s. *toctli, ouatl.* — s. *tonacayotl.* — s. *kan.* — seine Farbe, s. gelb und grün. — reifgewordener, s. *itztlacoliuhqui (Cinteotl).* — geplatzter (gerösteter), blendend weisser, s. *izquitl.* — Gott des hart gewordenen, reifen, der rothe *Chac* in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — der Gott des Südens der Abendsternreihe. I 341 — reifer. seineGöttin *Tlaçolteotl.* II 253 — schwarzer gegen den Berg angeschüttet, weisser nach den Ebenen zu, gelber, in der Richtung nach der Lagune (von México), rother, nach dem *Amilpan,* von den Abbildern der *Xochiquetzal* am *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste. I 211 — seine Heimath, der Westen. *Tamoanchan.* II 56, 57, 81, 106, 155, 190, 263, 302 — s. *Tamoanchan, cincalco, cincalli*, Land der Geburt. — in *Tamoanchan* von den Thieren gezeigt, bildet die Nahrung der erschaffenen Menschen. II 97 — seine Geburt durch eine kleine nackte aus einem *Chalchiuitl* im Wassergefässe herauskommende Menschenfigur und einen jungen Maiskolben dargestellt. II 43.
Mais entkörnen, schlagen, *uitequi.* II 42 — s *Xolotl, Nanauatl.*
Maisarten, s. vier Arten von Mais.
Maisbaum, Baum des Westens, auf ihm ein blauer Raubvogel. II 106.
Maisblüthen, am Baume des Westens. II 106.
maisfarben, gelb. II 116, 119.
Maisfeld, (*milli*), bei *Tlaloc* dargestellt. I 295.
Maisfrucht, s. *centla* (= *cintli*).
Maisgott, s. *Cinteotl*; s. Gott mit dem *kan*-Zeichen; s. *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl*; s. *Xochipilli*; s. *Ce xochitl*; s. *Macuil malinalli.* — geht in den Sonnengott über. I 207 — in der Codex Borgia-Gruppe in der Regel männlich. II 150 — seine Gesichtsbemalung (s. daselbst) veranschaulicht Ackererde *(milli).* II 106 — Er und eine Art Todesgott, veranschaulichen in der Abendsternreihe in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift den Süden. I 341 — meist auf den Westen bezogen. II 155, 177 — s. *Tamoanchan, Cincalco.*
Maisgott und Maisgöttin, das dritte der sechs Götterpaare, den Westen bezeichnend. II 173—175, 177.
Maisgöttin, s. *Chicome couatl, Chicomollotzin. Cinteotl.* — Kopfputz, gross, viereckig, mit Rosetten an den vier Ecken, s. *amacalli.* — hat zwei Maiskolben in der Hand. I 209 — unter den dienenden Geistern *Xolotl*'s dargestellt II 38 — Göttin des Westens. II 81 — beim Regengotte des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes dargestellt. II 234.
Maisgöttin und Wassergöttin, jede mit ihrem Kinde, dem jungen Maisgotte, im Westen der Unterwelt am Mahlstein Mais mahlend. II 57.
Maisgöttinnen, vier, entsprechend den Himmelsrichtungen. I 158.
Maishaus, s. *cincalli.*
Maiskolben, gedeihend, sich schwärzend, erfrierend, vertrocknend (kein Korn ansetzend) bei den vier Arten Regen. II 302, 303 — *Cintli.* I 308 — beim *Tlaloc* der fruchtbaren *acatl*-Jahre des Ostens. I 345 — angefressen (von Heuschrecken) beim Regengotte der *tecpatl*-Jahre. I 346 — mit weiss und roth punktirten Ausblühungen, beim Regengotte des Südens. I 346 — vom Wasser ersäuft. I 346 — = Herz. I 207 — Herausbrechen desselben = Herausschneiden des Herzens. I 207 — geerntet durch Herausbrechen mittels des pixcador. I 207 — in der Kopfbinde *Cinteotl*'s. I 224, 241 - im *xiuhuitzolli* des *Tonacatecutli.* I 79; II 213 — auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl*'s. II 150 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s bei der vierten Nachtstunde. II 187 (s. *xolotl*). — doppelter, s. *xolotl.* — **zwei,** im Haare der *Tonacaciuatl.* II 27 — bezeichnet *Xochiquetzal* der sechsten Nachtstunde als *Tonacaciuatl.* II 191 — auf dem Hauche, bei *Cinteotl.* I 242 — über dem Abbilde *Tlaloc*'s I 250 — aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen einer dunklen Kernmasse hervorkommend. II 34 — junger, in Blüthenform endend. II 43 — neben einer kleinen nackten, aus einem *chalchiuitl* hervorkommenden Menschenfigur. II 43, 45 — im Umkreise des Leibes einer Erdgöttin unterhalb der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur des Westens der Unterwelt. II 57 — in einem *quauhxicalli*; davon essen ein grüner *Tepeyollotli*, ein weisser *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, ein blauer *Xochipilli*, ein schwarzer *Mictlantecutli.* II 57 — nimmt der den Westen der Unterwelt verlassende *Quetzalcouatl* mit sich in einem Bündel aus Netzstoff. II 57 — darin endet die aus dem Munde des grünen *Auiateotl*'s der Mitte herauskommende Türkiskette. II 98 — am Baume der Mitte. II 107 — an dem braun mit schwarzen Linien gezeichneten Baume hinter dem vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Cinteotl* (im Codex Bologna). II 150 — im *chalchiuitl*-Korbe, auf dem Rücken des Maisgottes. II 114 — im Edelsteingefässe, bei *Tlaloc.* II 306 — im *chalchiuitl*-Topfe, bei *Tlaloc.* II 307 — rothe und gelbe, daraus Decke bei *Tonacatecutli.* II 213 — vier, buntgemalt, in einem Edelsteingefässe, vor dem Tempel des Westens, im Codex Fejérváry. II 114 — zusammen mit einer Maisblüthe, über dem Edelsteinfriese des Daches des Tempel der kopulirenden Westpaares. II 120 — in vier Farben, in einer Schale, auf dem Kopfe des rothen *Chac* in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — im Edelsteinbehälter, bei *Xipe Totec.* II 289.
Maiskolben und Edelsteinschmuck, in der linken und rechten Hand der *Quaxolotl* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 186.
Maiskolben und Sonnenstrahlen, abwechselnd an dem gelben Randstreifen der Umwallung des Westens der Unterwelt. II 56.
Maiskolbenbündel im Wasser, bezeichnet Regen (Wasser, das den Mais wachsen lässt). II 53.
Maiskorn, Eingraben des Kornes mit dem Rasselbrette *(chicauaztli).* I 174; II 128 — s *chicauaztli.*
Maiskörner, heilige, dem übrigen Saatkorne beigemengt. I 211 — zuerst von der *Ilamatecutli* zu Tortillas verarbeitet. I 299 — zu Weissagungszwecken (auf der Oberfläche von Wasser) ausgestreut. II 174 — in einer Schüssel in der Hand des Abbildes der *Xochiquetzal.* II 40 — von *Xochiquetzal* aus einer Schale ausgestreut. II 175, 176 — bezeichnet sie als Loos werfend, als Prophetin, Zauberin. II 176 — daraus Chicha bereitet. II 8 — geröstete, geplatzte. — s. *izquitl.*
Maismasse, zermahlene, weiss und roth punktirt. II 57.
Maispflanze, sich erhebende = Erwachen der Vegetation. I 33 — beim Zeichen Schlange. I 68 — blühende, auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl*'s. I 225 — auf dem Maisfelde bei *Tlaloc.* I 295 — vom Blitze getroffen. I 295 — in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s. I 345 — in einem Kruge, von *Tonacatecutli* dargebracht. II 41 — am Nacken *Cinteotl*'s, des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — blühende, aus einer Edelsteinschale emporwachsend, von den Maisgottheiten des dritten der sechs Götterpaare mit der Hand gepackt

gehalten. II 173, 174 — blühende, auf dem Scheitel *Cinteotl*'s. II 174 — s. *toctli*.

Maisscheuer *(cuezcomatl)*, verbrannt am *Tititl*-Feste. I 190.

Maisseil, s. *tonacamecatl*.

Maisstaude, s. Maispflanze *(toctli)*.

Maisstengel, Bahre daraus; auf ihr *Xochipilli*. I 290.

Maistragende Erde, auf dem ersten Blatte der Westregion.

malacatl, „Spindel", von den *mociuaquetzque* gesucht. II 89 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217 — s. zwei Spindeln. — bei der *Itzpapalotl* angegeben. II 263 — in der Kopfbinde *Xolotl*'s. II 268.

malinalcouatl s. *omicouatl*.

malinalla, „Grasbusch (Besen)", in der Hand der *Ciuacouatl* (Lied an sie). II 128 — = *uictli* „Coa". II 128.

malinalli, gedrehtes Gras, Besen; zwölftes Tageszeichen, I 12, 40, 58, 74, 137—144, 306, s. *itlan*. — sein Regent *Pàtecatl*. I 137 - 144 — in *Cuicatlan* eines der Anfangszeichen der vier Jahre. I 342 — bei diesem Tageszeichen ist *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 306 — mit nach oben gewandtem Gesichte. I 306 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 316 — Prototyp der Vergänglichkeit, der Wiedererneuerung. I 12, 40, 74, 129, 137; II 2 — sein Abbild die Pulque-, Ernte-, agrarischen Götter. I 40 — s. Strafe. — s. Affe. — in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78 — der *Ciuacouatl*. II 128 — der fünf *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — der fünf Südgötter. II 98 — des Kranken. I 128 — des Sünders. I 94, 128 — bildet den Ohrpflock des Todesgottes. I 226, 302; II 115 — das Röckchen des Todesgottes. I 94, 127, 226, 250; II 167 — der *Ciuateotl* der unteren Region. II 93 — Röckchen *Tezcatlipoca*'s, II 111 — das *chayauac cozcatl* der Pulquegötter. I 142 — der Brustschmuck *Xolotl*'s. I 191 — *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. II 246 — Kleidung des Affen im Codex Borgia und Codex Bologna. I 10, 94, 129; II 116, 290 — Schnur daraus bildet die Einzäunung des Fastenden. I 38 — beim Zeichen richterlicher Strafe. I 40 — Kleidung eines *cipactli*-artigen Thieres mit *eecatl*-Kopf, bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285 — einer skelettköpfigen Thiergestalt *Tonatiuh* gegenüber. II 290 — im Arme der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 303, 304 — auf einem schwarz-rothen Hügel beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250, 251 — Zeichen von böser Bedeutung, daher die Hieroglyphe mit Totenschädel oder Totenunterkiefer kombinirt. I 137 — als Tageszeichen, angegeben am Himmel des Himmelsträgers des Westens. II 126, 129 — von *Macuexi* und *Micuexi* geschossen. I 206 — damit das Mumienbündel der toten Götter der Abendsternreihe behängt. I 338 — umhüllt das Aschenpacket *(nexquimilli)* auf dem Baume des Süd-*tzompantli*. II 116 — Farben des Krautes sind grün und weiss- und rothgestreift. II 2 — Kernstreifen des Leibes der Todesgöttin. II 2.

malinalli-**Blattstreifen,** halb als Totenknochen gezeichnet, bildet das *cuitl* der *Ciuateotl* der fünften Richtung (im Codex Vaticanus). II 93.

malinalli-**Busch.** I 69 — Sinnbild des Todes. I 94, 129, 244 — beim Mondgotte. I 106 — in der Hand der *tlaelquani*. I 128 — des Gottes des Blutes. I 302 — in der Hand *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 205 — auf dem Räuchergefässe bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 160 — Ohrschmuck *Mictlantecutli*'s I 226, 302; II 177 — Determinativ desselben Gottes. I 244 — verschliesst das *tecolotl ichan*. I 165 — auf dem Brennholzbündel bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 231 — und Brennholzbündel im schwarzen Gefässe Nacken der *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — der *Auiateteô*. II 98 — in der Hand der *Ciuateteô*. II 93 — in der Hand *Xochiquetzal*'s und des Priesters bei der zweiten Tagstunde. II 183 — zwei, bei den Gestalten der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — in der Hand des Priesters der zehnten Tagstunde. II 201 — auf ihm sitzt *Tlaçolteotl*. I 276.

malinalli-**farbene Bänder,** bilden den Boden bei der Todesgöttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 7 — Unterlage der Schale bei der *Itztli*-Figur des Südens der Unterwelt. II 9.

malinalli-**Gras,** aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen einer dunklen Kernmasse hervorkommend. II 34 — Göttin des —, Nebenfigur bei der Todesgöttin des Westens der Unterwelt. II 8 — hält den Opferstein vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21, 42 — in der Hand gewisser der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78, 79, 81 — der *Ciuateteô*. II 78 — der *Auiateteô*. II 78.

malinalli-**grasfarben,** grün. II 27.

malinalli-**Grasröckchen,** Hüfttuch *Mictlantecutli*'s, und neben dem Erd-Skeletkopfe auf den Seiten desselben Gottes dargestellt. II 167.

malinalli-**Gras und Schädelstücke,** abwechselnd, bilden den Fussboden bei den Todesgöttern des sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177.

malinalli-**Kranz,** der auf dem *teoicpalli* knieenden nackten Figur bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150.

malinalli-**Leib,** einer am Boden liegenden Todesgöttin beim Norden der Unterwelt. II 7 — beim Osthimmel. II 71 — einer am Boden unter der *Xochiquetzal* liegenden Erdgöttin. II 66.

malinalli-**Schnur,** daraus besteht der Leib der Todes- oder Erdgöttin. II 2, 3, 54 — im Innern des grossen *chalchiuitl*, der das Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s bildet. II 6.

malinalli-**Skelet,** Hauptfigur des ersten Gliedes des vierten Paares der vier Lichtgötter. II 308 — = Affe, Erscheinungsform *Auiateotl*'s, des Vertreters der Sterne. II 308, 309.

malinalli-**Streifen,** bedeuten „Fasten" *(neçaualli)*. I 201 — ineinander geschlungen, bei der blauen Federschlange; *neçaualli* andeutend. II 301.

Malpantlaca, verlassen im Zeichen *chicome maçatl* die Urheimat *Chicomoztoc*. I 206.

mamaçoa, Geburtstellung. I 154, 173 — s. *maana, moteteuana*.

mamaçouhticac, Geburtsstellung, mit ausgebreiteten Armen und Beinen; Haltung der Erdkröte. II 7, 47, 48, 54 — des kopflosen *Itztli*. II 9 — des *Youaltecutli*, des Sonnengottes im Osten der Unterwelt. II 47, 49 — s. *mamaçoa*. — der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 157; II 252, 303 — s. breitbeinig. — eines rothen Skelets, das eine gelbe Figur gebiert, auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 48 — *Tonacatecutli* in *cipactli*-Hülle neben dem Tempel der Nacht. II 28, 29 — *Tonacatecutli*, Regent des eilften Tonalamatl - Abschnittes. II 211 — knochenfarbener *Quetzalcouatl* auf einem Kreuzwege sich in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* verwandelnd. II 54 — Gestalt des Mondes des Abendhimmels im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — Stellung der *Xochiquetzal* (*Quaxolotl*), die Zwillinge geboren hat. II 186—187.

mamalacaquetzalli, aufrecht eingesteckte Spindeln im Haare der *Mayauel*. II 235.

mamalacaquetzallo, mit aufrecht gesteckten Spindeln; Spindeln in der Kopfbinde (s. *ichca xochitl*) der *Tlaçolteotl* und der *icuexuan*. I 158, 163, 275; II 158 — s. *imamalacayo* (I 230).

mamalhuaztli, Feuerbohrer, durch zwei Pfeilschäfte veranschaulicht (beim Feuergotte). I 121 — s. *ome acatl*. — Sinnbild der Zeugung. I 81, 82, 174; II 128 — Feuerbohrer, ein dicker, weiss und schwarz gebändert gemalter Pfeilschaft, mit Daunenfederbällen und Adlerfedern, bei den vier Feuerbohrern. II 118.

mamaltin, die Gefangenen = Huaxteken (s. *Cuexteca, icuexuan*). I 158 — sind die Männer der *Ixcuinanmè*. I 159.

Mandan, vier Schildkröten, von denen jede vier Tage regnete. I 202 — s. *ayotl*.

Mani (Maya), *Chilam Balam* von —. I 322; II 15.

manik (Maya), bedeutet „essen“, Hieroglyphe für das Wort „Hirsch“. I 36, 316 — auf diesem Zeichen bohrt der Gott mit dem Brandstreifen im Gesichte Feuer. I 215.
Mann im Monde, s. Kaninchen (*tochtli*). I 104, 140.
Mannhardt, Wilhelm. I 178, 240.
Männlein, nacktes, im Edelsteingefässe beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare dargestellt. II 171 — im Edelstein-Henkelkruge beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 174, 175.
männlich-weiblich, Farbengegensatz schwarz—roth. II 17.
männliche Götter, durch Schambinde (*maxtlatl*) charakterisirt. II 27.
männliche Tote, die zehn *Ueueteteô*. II 20.
männlicher Gott des Westens, *Xipe Totec*. II 18 — *Tonacatecutli*. II 27, 28.
männliches Haus des Westens, Haus der schwarzen Schlange. II 17, 18.
manuscrit de Velcetri = Codex Borgia. I 1.
Manuscrit du cacique = Codex Becker. II 121.
Manuscrits mexicains No. 20, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Blatt der Aubin-Goupil'schen Sammlung. II 4, 22, 40, 101 (Abb.), 102, 155 — Kopie von Walter Lehmann. II 102 — von Leon y Gama. II 103.
Manuscrits mexicains No. 54—58, Bibl. Nat. Paris = Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca. II 152 (Anm. 1).
maqui, „die in die Reihe eintretende.“ — Freudenmädchen, Genossin der Krieger. Ihre Patronin *Xochiquetzal* I 209, 210; II 185; 204 — Tänzerin, die dritte Nachtstunde und den Norden bezeichnend. II 185 — als *ilhuicac yauh* die zwölfte Nachtstunde und die obere Region bezeichnend. II 204.
maquizcouatl, zweiköpfige Schlange, Brustschmuck des Regengottes. I 249 — des rothen Regengottes des Südens. — Nasenschmuck der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 100, 277, 347 — das Räucherwerk bezeichnend.
Markirung der Points beim Ballspiele (*tlachtli*), auf Spielstäben. II 51 — s. Points, s. Spielstäbe.
Marsch, auf dem — gestorbener Krieger; seine Seele kommt in den Himmel (*tonatiuh ichan*). II 238.
Martel, Aristides, Stein des. I 182; II 262.
Maske aus Türkismosaik und mit Quetzalfedern, beim Feste des Feuergottes. I 117 — aus Korallen und schwarzem Spiegelsteine mit Ararafedern, beim Feste des Feuergottes. I 117 — aus der Schenkelhaut des Opfers der *Teteo innan*, s. *mexayacatl*. I 154 — auf feindlichem Gebiete, dem Berge *Popotl temi* niedergelegt. I 160 — damit wird symbolisch das Unheil, der Fluch gebannt. I 160 — s. Kriegszauber. — s. Sonnenmaske. — s. Helmmaske. — s. Schlangenmaske. — s. Steinmessermaske, s. *itztli*. — s. Vogelschnabelmaske. — s. schwarze Kriegermaske. — der Götterfiguren der vier Himmelsrichtungen, je *cipactli*-, *miquiztli*-, *oçomàtli*-, *cozcaquahtli*-Maske. I 344 — eines toten *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. II 165 — mit *tiçatl*-Ring ums Auge und spitzem Mundfelde beim Tänzer. II 224 — s. Schlangenhelmmaske. — s. Quetzalvogelfedermaske. — s. überhaupt Helmmaske. — s. *itztlacoliuhqui*-Maske.
Maske aus Menschenhaut, von *Xipe* getragen. I 167.
Maske mit zwei Gesichtern *occampan tlachia*), beim tanzenden Priester des *Titîtl*-Festes. I 192.
Maskentanz, am *Xipe*-Feste. I 176 — beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste, allerhand Thiere des Feldes und Wassers. I 211.
Mastbaum mit dem Idole *Xocotl*'s am Feste *Xocotl uetzi*. I 190.
matacaxtli, Tasche für Feuersteinspitzen. I 143.
matlactli calli „zehn Haus“, so zu lesen ist die Gottheit der Zahl Zehn auf Maya-Monumenten. I 217 — „zehn Haus“, Jahr, in dem die von *Camaxtli* geschaffenen vier Männer und eine Frau vom achten Himmel herniederkommen und sich auf Bäumen niederlassen. I 264.
matlactli calli, ome quiauitl „zehn Haus, zwei Regen“, Datum neben dem des *ilhuicaatl* tragenden *Quetzalcouatl* im Codex Vindobonensis. II 132.
matlactli itzcuintli „zehn Hund“, zehnter Tag des ersten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. — Name des Gefangenen des *Xipe*-Festes. I 175.
matlactli malinalli „zehn Grasstrick“, alter Priester im Codex Nuttall. II 112 (Abb.).
matlactli olin „zehn Bewegung“, Anfangstag der fünften Venusperiode. I 327, 333, 335.
matlactli omei acatl „dreizehn Rohr“, Geburtsjahr der Sonne. I 204.
matlactli omey cuetzpalin „dreizehn Eidechse“ entspr. Maya-Datum, s. dreizehn *kan*. I 350.
matlactli omei eecatl „dreizehn Wind“. II 76.
matlactli omei itzcuintli „dreizehn Hund“ = *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Morgenstern in Adlermaske. I 255 — „dreizehn Hund“, leitendes Datum auf Blatt 32 des Codex Borgia. II 15, 46, 58 — von diesem Datum um 252 Tage weiter gerechnet, führt auf das Tageszeichen 5 *écatl*. II 46,58 — „dreizehn Hund“. II 76.
matlactli omei miquiztli, tecpatl, itzcuintli, eecatl, ocelotl „dreizehn Tod, Feuerstein, Hund, Wind, Jaguar“, Tageszeichen, die denen der fünf *Ciuateteô* vorhergehen. II 76, 90.
matlactli omei ocelotl „dreizehn Jaguar“. II 76.
matlactli omei tecpatl „dreizehn Feuerstein“. II 76.
mallactli omei xochitl „dreizehn Blume“, letzter Tag der 13 × 5 Venusperioden, an ihm droht der Weltuntergang. II 156 — s. *oxlahun ahau:*
matlactli omome oçomàtli „zwölf Affe“, *Ueuecoyotl* geweihter Tag. II 224.
matlactli omome tecpatl „zwölf Feuersteinmesser“, zwölfter Tag des dritten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce maçatl*), bezeichnet *Itzpapalotl* als *Ciuateotl*. I 186, 187.
matlactli ozce cipactli „eilf Krokodil“, Himmelsgott des Codex Vindobonensis. II 283.
matlactli quiauitl „zehn Regen“, alter Priester im Codex Nuttall. II 112 (Abb.).
matlactli tochtli „zehn Kaninchen“ = 1478 p. C.; in diesem Jahre fand eine Sonnenfinsterniss statt. II 127 (Anm. 4).
matlalac tozpalac „im blauen, im gelben Wasser“, Name des Taufwassers. I 101.
Matlalcueyê „die mit dem blauen Gewande“, Name eines Berges im Gebiete von *Tlaxcala*. I 109 — Wassergöttin. I 208 — Patronin der Zauberer, zweite Gemahlin *Tlaloc*'s. I 209 — im Wassergefässe unter dem Regengotte der Mitte dargestellt. I 347.
matlauâ, „Herr der Netze“, Name *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 78, 80, 136.
Matte, s. *petlatl*. — s. *pop* (Maya). — darauf *Xochiquetzal* sitzend. II 182.
Maui, Held der neuseeländischen Sage. I 77.
Mäuler, s. klaffende Mäuler.
Maus, *quimichin*, Thier der Erde, nächtiges Thier. Determinativ bei *Tezcatlipoca*, dem vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer (im Codex Fejérváry). II 163.
Mäuse, an den Maiskolben des Südens. I 346, 347.
maxaliuhcatectli „schwalbenschwanzartig ausgeschnitten“, Enden der Bänder *Xipe*'s. I 179; II 18, 121, 133.
maxaliuhqui, am Ende schwalbenschwanzartig ausgeschnitten; die Schambinde *Xipe*'s. I 167, 178, 230; II 256 — andere Trachtstücke *Xipe*'s. I 179; II 256, 257 — der Nasenstab *Xipe*'s. I 167, 230; II 256 — der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 230 — die nach aussen geschweiften Treppenstufen der Stufenpyramide des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 18. — Hervorgegangen aus dem *motenmaxaloticac*, dem offnen sperrenden Munde der Menschenhautmaske. I 179.
maxtlatl, charakterisirt männliche Götter. II 27, 202 —

männliches Kleidungsstück. II 151 — Schambinde der Männer, von den *Ciuateteô* getragen. I 227; II 93 — von der *Mictecaciuatl* getragen. I 277 — von der *Tlaçolteotl* getragen. I 164 — von der *Itzpapalotl*. I 182; II 262 — mit Zähnen am Saume, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 262 — *Xipe Totec*'s hellrosa-roth. I 167 (s. *maxaliuhqui*). — des Todesgottes weiss und roth. I 224 — bei *Cinteotl* weiss und roth. I 224 — bei *Quetzalcouatl* weiss und roth. I 302 — schwarz und roth, bei dem Mumienbündel mit dem schwarzen Skeletkopfe *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 3 — bei *Cinteotl* gelb und grün. I 225 — grün und *olpiyauac* bei *Tlaloc*. I 112, 191, 232 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 232 — Ende mit Edelsteinriemen, bei *Xochipilli* (*Auiateotl*). II 307 — grün und *olpiyauac* bei der Schildkröte *(ayotl)*. I 306 — gelb beim braunen Regengotte des Südens *(Xiuhtecutli)*. I 352 — schwarz und weiss bei *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli*. I 269 — weiss und *olpiyauac*-grün beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250 — weiss und blau beim *Tepeyollotli* des Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. I 233 — mit gelben Längsstreifen bei *Xochipilli*. I 248 — weiss und jaguarfarben, bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 245 — mit einem grossen rothen von rothen Punkten umgebenen Flecke bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem West-Himmelsträger. II 129 — weiss und roth beim *tzontemoc* der fünften Weltgegend. II 132 — rein weiss, beim Gotte des Planeten Venus. I 256, 258 — bei *Mixcouatl*. I 259 — bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 152 — bei *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 167 - rein weiss bei *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — beim Gotte des Südens. I 307 — bei *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308 — weiss, bei den fünf *Auiateteô* (s. *amamaxtlatl*). II 98 — weiss und *tlaitzcopintli*, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 307 — abgerundet bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 88, 233, 302 — bei *Xolotl*. — abgerundet bei *Tepeyollotli* im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. I 233 — abgerundet beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott (im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer). I 251 — beim Pulquegotte des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare (ebenda). I 173 — bei *Mixcouatl*. I 265 — abgerundet mit gefranztem Saume, bei *Uuecoyotl*. II 224 — mit *coxolitli*-Federn am Ende bei dem als Waldhuhn verkleideten *Quetzalcouatl*. I 303 — mit Vorstoss von Adlerfedern, s. *quauhiuiyacamaxtlatl*. — mit einer Schambinde ist der *tlamacazqui*, gegenüber der *Xochiquetzal* der ersten Tagstunde bekleidet. II 181 — bei *Xochipilli* als Priester bei der zwölften Nachtstunde durch das Schwanzende einer *tlapalcouatl* ersetzt. II 203 — keine Schambinde tragen die *Cuexteca*. II 96 — s. *amamaxtlatl*.

Maya, verehrten den Fledermausgott (s. *Ç'otz*, *Tlacatzinacantli*) II 60.

Maya-Handschriften, durch Arithmetik, Fixirung von Daten und ihrer Abstände ausgezeichnet. II 138 — halten Kenntnisse fest oder übermitteln sie. II 138.

Maya-Hieroglyphen, s. Hieroglyphische Elemente. — s. Hauptheroglyphen. — s. Begleithieroglyphen.

Maya-Skulpturen. II 141.

Maya-Stämme, verbanden mit dem Planeten Venus im Wesentlichen dieselben Vorstellungen wie die Mexikaner. II 137 — Mythologie und Wissenschaft der Venusperioden bei ihnen mexikanischer Import. I 336; II 157 — ihre Priesterwissenschaft durch die des Ursprungsgebietes des Codex Borgia beeinflusst. II 157.

mayanaliztli, Hungersnoth durch *xiuhcouatl* symbolisirt, im Liede an *Xipe*. I 168, 180; II 260.

Mayapan, Name einer berühmten Stadt in Yucatan. I 322 — Stadt der Mexikaner, richtete den Gedenkstein im *katun uuc ahau* (s. dort) auf. II 265.

Mayauel, Göttin der Agavepflanze, Erfinderin der Pulquebereitung. I 41 — Pulquegöttin. I 113 ff., 140, 274—275, 301 — im zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertel für das Pulquegefäss eintretend. I 53 — Regentin des achten Tageszeichens *tochtli*. I 113 - 115, 274 — des achten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *(ce malinalli)*. I 269; II 234 - 235 — der erste der fünf Hüter der vier Venusperioden den Osten bezeichnend. I 274—275 — die fünfte der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, die untere Region bezeichnend. II 84, 85 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 114, 115, 274—275 — über einer Schildkröte sitzend. I 41, 113 — s. *michin*. — hat das Aussehen der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 274, 275; II 235 — säugt ein Kind. I 274 — säugt einen Fisch. I 274, 275 — Frau mit vierhundert Brüsten. I 113, 275, 304; II 117 — eine der *Tzitzimimê*. II 20 — ihr entspricht der Gott mit dem von den Windungen einer Schlange gebildeten Gesichte in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 215.

mayeccopa, rechts = Norden, dort stehen die *Centzon Mimixcoua*. II 13.

mecamaxtlatl, „Schambinde aus Schnüren", Trachtstück der *icuexuan*. I 158.

mecapalli, über die Stirn gehendes Tragband für Rückenlasten, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 287 — beim *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 293 — beim schwarzen Gotte mit der langen Nase, in den Maya-Handschriften. I 324 — beim Himmelswanderer des Nordens und Südens *(Tezcatlipoca)*. II 162, 163 .— bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* als Holzhauer. I 296.

mecatl, Seil, Strick. I 55, 62; II 235 — Zeichen der Strafe, in der Hand der *Mayauel*. II 235.

Mechoacan, s. *Michuacan*.

medaillonartige Umkreisung von Tageszeichen. II 4, 6.

Medizinweiber. I 154, 155, 159.

Meer, *ilhuicaatl*, „Himelswasser", darin versinkt die Sonne Abends. I 198; II 269 — s. *anauatl*. — s. *Chicunauhapan*. — über das die wandernden Menschen auf dem Lienzo de Jucutácato kommen, angedeutet durch eine Art, Federschlange, aus der ein Mensch hervorkommt. II 269.

Meer des Ostens, s. Ostmeer.

Meer des Westens, verdeckt den Eingang in das Haus der Erde im Westen. I 165 — darin versinkt die Sonne des Abends. I 198; II 62, 269 — über dieses geht der Weg in die Unterwelt. II 269 — s. *ilhuica atl*. — s. *anauatl*. *Chicunauapan*, darein wirft der Sonnengott den *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 145.

Meerschnecken, hält der Priester der *Chantico* bei ihrem Feste bereit. II 276.

Meerschneckengehäuse, s. *tecciztli*. — zwei, weiss und roth punktirt, Geburt *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s andeutend (?). II 71.

Mehrdeutigkeit der Begriffe bildet die Hauptweisheit, das Hauptmysterium. II 191.

Meleagris ocellata Cuv. wilder Truthahn, *cutz* (Maya). I 311.

Melonen, Opfergaben für *Quetzalcouatl*. I 88.

Melonenkaktus, s. *teocomitl* (I 183).

men (Maya), Tageszeichen = mex. *quauhtli*; drittes Glied der für den Morgenstern bedeutsamen Reihe. II 9.

Mendieta. II 20, 42, 145, 206.

menexualiztli, Fleckenkrankheit. II 97.

Mensch mit verbundenen Augen, s. *ixquimilli*. — brennender, beim siebenten Tageszeichen *maçatl* dargestellt. I 304 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe die des Todesgottes. I 311 — enthauptet beim Baume des Süd-*tzompantli*. II 116 — herabstürzender (kopfüber), s. *tzontemoc*. — zu Boden stürzend, bei *Uuecoyotl*. II 224 — bei *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 252 — bei *Itzpapalotl*. II 264 — kopfüber in den Rachen der Federschlange (*Quetzalcouatl*) bei *Xipe Totec*. II 257 — ins Wasser hinabgestossen mit einem Stabe (Schaufel), Determinativ beim zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. II 244 — mit einem Grasbusche und mit Blut bestrichenen Agaveblattspitzen (*uitztli ezço*) in der Oeffnung einer Schatzkiste = Fasten (s. *neçaualli*) bei der *Chantico*. II 280 — als Hirsch verkleidet, mit *tonallo*-Emblem auf schwarzem Stirnfelde; mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbunden, im Codex Vaticanus. II 136 — aus einer Art

Federschlange, die das Meer andeutet, hervorkommend, bei der Darstellung der wandernden Menschen auf dem Lienzo de Jucutácato II 269 — Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 311.

Menschen, s, Stämme der Menschen. — s. erste Menschen. — stammen ab von den im *Chicomoztoc* wohnenden Göttern *Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Ilancueye*. II 206 — s. zwei geköpfte —.

Menschenfarbe, braun. II 49 — das Gesicht des lebenden *Quetzalcouatl* auf seinem Wege zum Hauptraume des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 49.

Menschenfaust, an der Spitze des Rasselbrettes (*chicauaztli*) des Todesgottes (*Mictlantecutli*). II 166.

Menschenfigur, klein, nackt, aus dem Schlitze eines grossen *chalchiuitl* hervorkommend: neben ihm je ein junger Maiskolben; im Wassergefässe, die Geburt des Maises andeutend. II 43.

Menschenfleisch, das Opfer des *Tlacaxipeualiztli*-Festes, von Verwandten und Freunden des Herrn des Gefangenen verzehrt. I 170 — Vergraben von —, bei eingeborenen Stämmen des Dekkan, bei der Ackerbestellung. I 174, 175.

Menschenfresserei, s. *tlacatlaolli*.

Menschengeschlecht aus dem aus der Unterwelt heraufgeholten Totenknochen erschaffen. II 97.

Menschengesicht mit dem Element *akbal* und ausgerissenem Auge davor, in Maya-Handschriften, *Xochipilli* als Feuergott entsprechend. I 313.

Menschengestalt, kleine, am Boden liegend, zwischen *Uenecoyotl* und der hirschköpfigen *Xochiquetzal*. II 185 — bei *Uenecoyotl*, dem Regenten des vierten Tageszeichens und vierten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 185.

Menschenhaut, s. *tlacauatl*.

Menschenhautmaske *Xipe*'s. I 270, 330 — s. *mex-xayacatl*.

Menschenherz, rauchendes, Brustschmuck der Todesgöttin. II 2.

Menschenopfer, s. *tlacamictiliztli*. — s. Opferbringer. — gewöhnliche Form: Aufschneiden der Brust und Herausreissen des Herzens. I 206, 304 — als eine Opferung des Maisgottes gedacht. I 207 — als Tötung des Dämons gedacht, dessen Wiederbelebung in einem lebenden Abbild vorgeführt wird. I 240 — bestanden nicht zur Zeit *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 207 — erst zu Zeiten *Uemac*'s eingeführt. I 207 — so ist die die Zeugung versinnbildlichende Handlung Handlung bei *Xochipilli*, dem ersten der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden der zweiten Reihe, aufzufassen. I 249.

Menschenpaar, s. erstes —.

Menschenschinden, s. *tlacaxipeualiztli*.

Menschenschöpfer, s. *Quetzalcouatl*.

Menschenschöpfung, unvollkommene, in der Zeit der Finsterniss und der Nacht; vorzeitliche (s. *poy aham ché*) identifizirt mit dem Moude. durch vier zerstückelnde Thiere vernichtet (im *Popol Vuh*). II 69.

menschliche Glieder, im Kochtopfe brennend. — s. *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*. — s. Kochtopf.

mensis, Mond, Zeitmesser. II 169.

Menstruation, Beziehung zwischen Mond und Weibern. I 105; II 11, 90 — s. Mondgott.

Metaphern, bei Olmos. I 105 — s. Dvandva-Composita.

Metallbeschläge des Stuhles (*teoicpalli*). II 121, 150, 289, 305.

Metalle, edle, vom wandernden Kaufmann aus der südlichen, pazifischen Tierra caliente mitgebracht. I 293.

metl, Agavepflanze, liefert den Pulque (*octli*). I 53, 54, 113, 275 — ihre Göttin *Mayauel*. I 53, 113, 274-275; II 85, 234 — für *Mayauel* eintretend. I 53, 275 — s. *michin*. — aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen einer dunklen Masse hervorkommend. II 34 — bringt die gelbe *Ciuateotl* (West-*tzitzimitl*) herab. II 117 — s. Göttin der Agavepflanze.

metlapilli, Handwalze für den Mahlstein. I 213; II 57 — zerbrochen, bedeutet die alte Zeit: bei der ersten Frau am Mahlsteine. I 213.

metlatl, Mahlstein. — an ihm die alte Göttin, die erste Frau. Mais reibend. I 213; II 206, 281 — die Maisgöttin und Wassergöttin, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57.

Metztitlan, Landschaft an den Grenzen der Huaxteca. Tageszeichenliste. I 4, 5 — Gottheiten. I 137 — bedeutet „Mondland", wo die Mondgottheit verehrt wird. I 140.

metztli, Mond, seine Hieroglyphe. I 94, 103, 104; II 64, 109, 115, 158, 177, 178, 185, 193, 197, 291 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* angegeben. I 94; II 158-161 — bei den Nachtstunden des Nordens. II 185, 193, 197 — bei dem sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — bei einzelnen der 25 Götterpaare des Codex Borgia (dem 6., 18.). II 178, 193, 197 — in Verbindung mit *cuitlatl tlaelli*. I 94 — im Wasserstrome, in der Cella des Tempels des Nordens. II 109 — sein Gott, s. *Tecciztecatl*. — sein Zeichen, s. *ce miquiztli*. — Geburt nach der der Sonne. I 104; II 79 — sechs Phasen. — seine Perioden. — Abbild am *netonatiuhçaualli* geopfert. II 204.

Metztli, der Mondgott, springt *Nanauatl* nach ins Feuer, aus dem dieser als Sonne, jener als Mond hervorgeht. Name des Mondgottes ist *Naui tecpatl* „vier Feuerstein". II 79.

mexayacatl = *metz-xayacatl* „Schenkelhautmaske", aus der Schenkelhaut des Opfers der *Teteo innan* gemacht und dem Maisgotte aufgesetzt. I 154, 159; II 110, 247, 248 s. *teumechaue*. s. Kriegszauber.

Mexica, letzte Einwanderer. I 185 — Erben einer alten Kultur, der der Tolteken. II 131 — ihre politische Macht zur Zeit der Conquista. II 131 — ihr Stammgott *Uitzilopochtli*, in Kolibriverkleidung (s. *uitzitzilin*). II 67, 131.

Mexikaner, s. *Naua, Nauatlaca*.

Mexikaner, hauptsächlich Ackerbauer. I 140 — ihr Einfluss in den Qu'iche-Sagen des *Popol Vuh*. I 147 — verbanden mit dem Planeten Venus, im Wesentlichen dieselben Vorstellungen wie die Maya-Stämme. II 137 — ihre Stadt (in Yucatan) *Mayapan*. II 265 — mythische. II 31.

mexikanisch redende Stämme, ihnen gehörten die Verfasser der Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe an. II 136.

mexikanische Bilderchriften, im engeren Sinne, s. Codex Vaticanus B., Codex Borbonicus, Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Tonalamatl der Aubin'schen Sammlung. II 211, 219 — in ihnen (im Gegensatze zu den Maya-Handschriften) eine Arithmetik nur angedeutet und hinter den Bildern zurücktretend. II 138 — bringen Bekanntes dem Wissenden in Erinnerung. II 138.

mexikanische Chronologie. II 123, 126 — s. Kalender.

mexikanische Herrschaft, nach den Kalenderbüchern der vier alten Weisen bestimmt. I 185.

mexikanische Könige, ausgezeichnet durch die Krone *xiuhuitzolli* (s. dort). II 239.

mexikanische Kriegsmäntel, s. *tenixyo tilmàtli*.

mexikanische Priesterwissenschaft, in enger Beziehung zu der der Maya-Priester stehend. II 15 — abweichend aber die Berechnung der Venusperioden-Abschnitte, die bei den Mexikanern genauer angegeben werden. II 15 bis 16 — der Venus-Zeitperioden auf dem Gebiete mexikanisch redender Stämme entstanden und von ihnen den Maya-Völkern überbracht. I 336; II 157 — durch die des Ursprungsgebietes des Codex Borgia beeinflusst. II 157.

mexikanische Stämme des Hochlandes. II 164.

mexikanische Weiber, ihre Haartracht, zwei hornartig aufragende Haarflechten. II 181, 182, 187 — ihre Ruhestellung, knieende Haltung. II 182.

mexikanische Zeitrechnung, Konkordanzen mit europäischer 344.

México, Haupttempel von —, s. unter Haupttempel. — prähistorisches, von *Uitzilopochtli* den mythischen Mexikanern vorgezaubert. II 31 — *Quetzalcouatl*, Gott eines Stadtquartiers dieser Stadt. I 83 — Belagerung und Fall der Stadt. I 344 — Bau des grossen Tempels. II 127 — dieser genau nach Süden orientirt. I 289; II 131 — prähispanische Chichabercitung (?). II 8 — dort im Jahre 1770 p. Chr. das Kolossalbild der *Couatlicue* (s. *Teoyaomiqui*) ausgegraben. I 22 — nahe dem Orte des Haupttempels der Kolossalkopf der *Coyolxauhqui* gefunden. II 173, 277.

mexolotl, doppelte Agavepflanze. I 193, 195.

mexxayacatl, Schenkelhautmaske, von *Cinteotl itztlacoliuhqui* am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste getragen. I 154, 159; II 110 — auf feindlichem Gebiete (s. *Popotl temi*) niedergelegt. I 160 — der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 230 — s. Augenschlitz.

mexxayacatlauiliztli, Kriegerdevise.

meyotli, Rosette; mit drei Spitzen am Kopfschmucke *Tlaloc*'s. I 112 — Rückendevise der *Chantico*. II 276 — s. auch *miotli*.

miauatl, Maisblüthe. Schmuck der Erdgöttin, Regentin des Westens (drittes Tonalamatl-Viertel). I 22 — im Kopfschmucke des Maisgottes. I 225 — an den Zweigenden des Baumes des Westens. II 106 — an der Maispflanze beim 20. Tageszeichen *xochitl*. I 308.

miauayotl, Kautschukkugel mit aufgebundener Quetzalfeder, Opfer für die Regengötter. II 300 — ein *tlecuilli* bei *Tonatiuh*. II 306.

Miccailhuitzintli, kleines Totenfest; neuntes Jahresfest. I 68.

miccaquimilolli, eingebündelte Leiche, beim Todesgotte dargestellt. I 125 — falsches für den toten Krieger. I 125, 191, 194.

Mictecaciuatl, Herrin des Totenlandes, Regentin des zehnten Tageszeichens *(itzcuintli)*. I 126, 128 — der dritte der fünf Hüter der vierten Venusperiode, die Mitte oder das Unten bezeichnend. I 277—278 — gegenüber *Mictlantecutli*, die erste Nachtstunde und die untere Region bezeichnend. II 181 — frisst ihr eigenes Kind. I 277 — in der tiefsten Hölle, im Norden der Unterwelt; ihr gegenüber der geopferte knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl*. II 52.

mictlampa, Gegend des Totenlandes, Norden. Ihm gehört das zweite Tonalamatl-Viertel, sein Regent *Tezcatlipoca*. I 21 — durch *Tlaçolteotl* und *Mictlantecutli*. I 238 — in der Reihe der neun Herren durch *Cinteotl* und *Mictlantecutli*. I 237 — durch *Mixcouatl*. II 62 — durch den braunen Hirsch. I 300 — durch die rothe Blutschlange und *Tlaçolteotl*. II 301 — durch *Tlaçolteotl* (Mondgöttin) bezeichnet. II 306 — Region der Dürre. I 346 — ist die rechte Seite der Welt. II 131 — durch Mitternacht dargestellt. I 92 — Eingang zur Unterwelt, der Norden. I 341 — s. Norden der Unterwelt.

Mictlan Wohnort der Toten, Reich des Dunkels, Erdinneres. I 67, 149 — eigentlich im Erdinnern, unten gedacht. I 149 — Unterwelt. II 239 — = *opochcalocan* „das Verschlossene". II 294 — Norden, eine der vier Höhlen, der vier unterirdischen Regionen. II 56.

Mictlantecutli Herr des Totenreiches, Todesgott. Aussehen und Tracht. I 126 ff. — der fünfte der neun Herren der Nacht. I 68, 218, 226-227, 237; II 107 — Herr des zehnten Tageszeichens *(itzcuintli)*. I 126—129 — des zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce tecpatl*). II 239-244 — bewohnt den sechsten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292 — bewohnt den eilften der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 298 — s. *Youaltecutli*. — s. *Teoyaomiqui*; s. *tonatiuhilhuicac yauh*; s. *tecolotl*. — s. *alo*. — der dritte der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, die Mitte bezeichnend. I 243—244 — den Norden bezeichnend. I 237 — die Mitte. I 238, 243, 244, 250, 297 — Himmelsträger des Nordens. II 132 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. II 20 — Erdgott des Südens. II 133, 134 — für die Unterwelt stehend. — mit *Xochiquetzal (Ciuacouatl)* im Codex Vaticanus die erste Nachtstunde und die untere Region bezeichnend. II 181 — und *Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet das Unten, die erste Nachtstunde, den ersten der Tage, wo der Mond am Abend erscheint. II 180—181 — ein Opfer verschlingend, bei der ersten Nachtstunde und unteren Region. II 181 — Rücken an Rücken mit *Quetzalcouatl* die untere Region und den Tod bezeichnend. II 165—169 303 — Kultus ihm geweiht. I 128 — auf Kreuzwegen. I 226 — sein Name *chiquacen calli* „sechs Haus". II 244 — s. *Uac mitun ahau* (Maya). — sein Skeletkopf kommt aus einem ganz mit Zähnen besetzten Schlangenrachen hervor. I 226 — ist in der Reihe der dreizehn Herren der Stunden des Tages der Sonnenuntergang. I 145, 146 — als Krieger und Sonnengott der Unterwelt im *Tlillan*, dem Erdinnern, I 297 — Geschenke des Toten an ihn beim Eintritte in die Unterwelt (s. Decken). II 33 — Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46 — führt Mais aus einem *quauhxicalli* zum Munde. II 57 — Figur mit Skeletkopf, roth mit gelben Scheiben, Ballspieler des Südens; sein Determinativ ein Paar herausgerissener Augen, umgestürzte Schalen mit Zeichen des Opfers. II 116, 117 — als *Tezcatlipoca* gezeichnet. II 242 — = *Chantico*. II 273 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der Opfergott oder Steinmessergott. I 215, 216.

Mictlantecutli* und *Mictecaciuatl, das sechste der sechs Götterpaare, das Unten bezeichnend. II 177.

mictlan tlaca, mictlan chaneque „Bewohner des Totenlandes". II 88.

Micuexi, s. *Macuexi*.

michin, Fisch, von *Mayauel* gesäugt. I 274 — hängt an der Scheitelwölbung der Höhlung der Agavepflanze. I 54; 275 — im Wasser bei *Tlaloc*. I 237.

michmalo, Fischfang; bei *Xochipilli* dargestellt. I 136 — s. *Chalchimmichuacan*.

Michoacan, Landschaft im Westen von México. I 137 — Verehrung der *Tlaçolteotl* dort steht nicht fest. I 161 — Wanderung eines dort angesiedelten toltekischen oder *Nauatl*-Stammes. II 269, 270.

Michuacan, Relacion de —. II 13, 72.

Michuaquê, Bewohner der westlich von México gelegenen Landschaft, Wandersage. I 185 — kennen die *Tlaçolteotl* nicht. I 171 — nennen den Stern des Abendhimmels *hozqua qhuangari* „der Stern, der Krieger". II 35, 70 — nennen den Morgenstern *Urendequa vecara* „der vorangeht". II 70, 72 — ihre Götter der schwarze *Curicaveri* und *Urendequa vecara* „die zusammen erzeugt werden". II 72 Anm.

Milchstrasse, s. *Tonacatecutli*. — s. Via di San Giacomo. — s. Weg. — s. Himmelsschlange. — zieht von Norden nach Süden, vom Sternbilde der Crux australis nach beiden Seiten der Cassiopeja. II 65.

milli, Ackererde, durch gelbe und braune Felder mit abwechselnd gestellten breiten und schmalen schwarzen Streifen veranschaulicht. II 106.

milnauatl „Feldgeist", ist *Xipe*, der Gott der Vegetation. I 217.

Mimich, Chichimeke; opfert *Itzpapalotl* durch Erschiessen. I 184 — in alten Sagen erwähnt. I 264 — s. *Xiuhnel*.

mjmjqujztin (Plural von *miquiztli*), sind die Bewohner des Totenlandes, die *mictlan tlaca, mictlan chaneque*. II 88.

Mimixcoua die Chichimeken, die Götter des Nordens, sind die im Kriege besiegten, die Opfermenschen. I 264, 265.

mimixcoua intlalpan, „Land der Wolkenschlangen" = Norden. I 149, 260.

miotli, Abstractum von *mitl* „Pfeil", Terminus technicus für Strahl. II 143 — s. *tonamiotli, tonameyotli*. — s. *miyotia*. Trapez mit Strahl, Zeichen des Jahres. I 112, 236, 250,

345, 349 — bei *Tcteo innan* im Kopfputze. I 158 — bei der Maisgöttin. I 236 — bei *Tlaloc*. I 112, 236, 249, 250, 345, 349; II 307.

***miotli*-Krone** (am Rücken) des Regengottes. I 191, 235, 236, 345, 349 — *Xolotl*'s. I 191, 199.

miquiztli, Hieroglyphe dafür ein Skelett. I 127, 128 — Tod; das sechste Tageszeichen. I 7, 34, 54, 68, 102—106, 227, 304 — s. *tzontecomatl* — sein Regent *Tecciztecatl (meztli)*. I 102 ff. — Mondgöttin. II 12, 84 — Erdrachen mit Schädel. I 46 — Herabstürzen in einen Skeletrachen. I 47 — maassgebendes Tageszeichen für *Yacatecutli*, als den dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — als Tageszeichen vom Gotte des Todes (im Gegensatze zum *cuetzpalin* in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s) dargereicht im Codex Vaticanus. II 168 — Tod = Geopferter, I 73 — verbunden mit dem Kreuzwege bei der *Tlaçolteotl* in der Federschlange des Nordens. II 301.

***miquiztli*-Helmmaske** der Götterfigur der *tecpatl*-Jahre. I 344, 346.

Misantla, Distrikt, in ihm Pilon de azúcar gelegen. II 258.

Missethäter, fürchten Entdeckung ihrer Sünden, besonders während der zehn Tage vor dem Feste *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 151.

Missgeburt, Zwilling (s. *Xolotl*). I 193.

Mistequilla „kleine *Mixteca*", Landschaft im Süden des heutigen Hafenortes Vera Cruz, von *Mixteca-Olmeca*, bewohnt I 161.

mitl „Pfeil" = Sonnenstrahl. I 119 — s. *Miyotl*. — s. *miotli* „Strahl". — s. *cueçalmamazyô mitl*.

mitl-chimalli, Schild und Speer; Zeichen des Krieges; im Tempel des Feuergottes. I 219 — vor *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem Himmelsträger des Westens. II 129 — bei *Mixcouatl*. I 260, 266 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 217 — bei *Ucuecoyotl*. II 222 — beim rothen und schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca*. I 292.

Mitla, Landschaft, an die Lagune von *Güija* grenzend, von *Pipil* bewohnt. I 83.

mitotiani, maceuani, Tänzer: bei der *Xochiquetzal* dargestellt. II 282 — in der dritten Nachtstunde, dem Norden. II 184, 185 — in der fünften Nachtstunde, dem Süden. II 189, 190 — s. Tanzgötter, s. *Ucuecoyotl*.

Mittag, s. *nepantlatonatiuh*. — Mittag und Mitternacht = Obere und Untere Region. II 193, 194.

Mittagstunde, durch den Sonnengott in Vogelmaske und durch einen Schmetterling veranschaulicht, durch den in Schmetterlingsverkleidung erscheinenden Feuergott; Zeit der herabkommenden Seelen der toten Krieger. II 89 — Verbrennen des Opfers auf dem Altar um diese Zeit, s. *Kinich-Kakmó*. — um diese Zeit dem Sonnengotte geräuchert. II 194 — die siebente der dreizehn Stunden des Tages, ist zum Range der dreizehnten Stelle erhoben worden. II 295.

Mitte, fünfte Weltgegend (s. auch dort). I 237; II 4, 15 — durch *Mictlantecutli* bezeichnet (im Codex Borgia). I 238, 244, 250 — durch den Pulquegott. I 251 — durch *Mictecacihuatl*. I 277 — durch eine Erd- oder Todesgöttin auf dem schwarzen Loche der Erde. II 3 — durch *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli* repräsentirt. I 269 — durch die fünfte Venusperiode und den Anfangstag *matlactli olin*. I 329, 333, 335 — durch eine alte Gottheit mit der Hieroglyphe *tun* im Kopfputze, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, bezeichnet. I 341 — fünfte Weltgegend, durch den Feuergott repräsentirt. I 73, 117, 237; II 165 — siebente Weltgegend, durch *Iztac Mixcouatl, Ilancueyé* repräsentirt. — s. Bewegung von oben nach unten. — durch die schwarze, die fünfte der fünf *Ciuateteô* repräsentirt. II 91 — als das „Unten" gedacht. I 269, 277 — s. *tloquê nauaquê*. I 79 — dritte Weltgegend, dritte Richtung. I 337, 339, 341 — ihre entsprechende Farbe, schwarz. II 3, 10.

Mitte der Unterwelt, Reich des Feuers. II 72—75.

Mitte der Welt, Mitte des Hauses. I 117 — Feuerplatz. I 67 — die dreizehnte Nachtstunde. II 205.

Mitte des Hauses, das Heerdfeuer. I 115; II 74.

Mittellinie, muss beim Ballspiele vom Balle passirt werden. I 289.

Mitternacht, s. *youalnepantla*. — Zeit von Mitternacht zu Mitternacht = astronomischer Tag; seine Herren die dreizehn Vögel und ihre Götter. II 298, 299.

Mitternacht und untere Region, durch die hirschköpfige *Xochiquetzal* und den Priester *Tlaltecutli*'s bezeichnet. II 193—194.

mittlere Länge der synodischen Umlaufszeit des Planeten Venus 583 Tage 22 h 6' 40", von den mittelamerikanischen Priestern zu 584 Tagen angenommen. II 137.

mitzontli, tlacochtzontli, Speerperrücke des Feuergottes. I 119, 120.

Mixcoamaçatzin, „Wolkenschlangenhirsch", Name des sagenhaften ersten Toltekenkönigs, der die Herrschaft in *Tollan* begründete. II 165.

Mixcoatepetl Colhuacan, auf dem Berge *Mixcouatl*'s in *Colhuacan*, wird das Feuer neu erbohrt. I 139; II 119.

Mixcouatl „Wolkenschlange", Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd. I 183, 209 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 259—266 — Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns. I 254, 259 — trägt Hirsch als Rückendevise. I 107 — seinen Opfern am *Quecholli*-Feste werden die Glieder wie bei einem erlegten Wilde zusammengebunden. I 263 — Feuerquirler. I 43, 107 (in Hirschverkleidung); II 68, 118 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — die zweite der vier Formen der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, den Norden bezeichnend, in der Abendsternreihe. I 339 — entsprechende Maya-Gottheit. I 341 — Hüter der vierten Venusperiode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 327, 332 — ihm entspricht der Kriegsgott in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — der fünfte der fünf Hüter der zweiten Venusperiode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 259—266 — in seiner Tracht der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffene Jaguar *(ocelotl)*. II 149 — am Baume des Nordens. II 104 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 80 — Glieder weiss mit gelbem oder rothem Streifen. I 43, 181 (s. *Itzpapalotl*), 259 — Prototyp des Opfermenschen. I 179, 264, 265, 286, 289, 296; II 68 — auf dem Ballspielplatze der beiden *Tezcatlipoca*, als Opfermensch. I 289 — seine Verwandschaft mit *Tlauizcalpantecutli* beruht darauf, dass beide „schiessende Götter" sind und Beziehung zu Krieg und Menschenopfer haben. I 263, 264 — zusammen mit *Itzpapalotl* genannt. I 183 — Gegenstück der *Itzpapalotl*. I 259 — wird mit *Camaxtli* identifizirt. I 260, 264 — erscheint in huaxtekischer Tracht. I 266 — erscheint (wie die Urgötter) in Hirschgestalt (s. *maçatl*). I 107; II 164 — sein Fest das vierzehnte Jahresfest *Quecholli*. I 260, 261 — sein Tempel in México, ein Miniaturabbild der Buschsteppe, heisst *Teotlalpan*. I 260 — eigentlich ein Sterngott. I 261, 262 — daher Repräsentant des Nordens. I 262 — einer der Häupter der *Tzitzimimê*. I 262 — sein Determinativ ein becherartiges weisses Gefäss mit weisser Flüssigkeit, einem Obsidianmesser und einem Pfeilschafte. I 338 — den Jaguar (*ocelotl*) angreifend; ist seinem Wesen nach dem Jaguar verwandt. II 62, 68 — erscheint nackt und zweifarbig (weiss). II 62 — ihm entspricht in Maya-Handschriften *Ah bolon tz'acab*. I 318.

Mixcouatl xonequitl = *Mixcouatl xonecuilli*. I 261 — s. *xonecuilli*.

mixcitlalhuiticac, Sterngesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns. I 143, 254; II 238 — bei *Mixcouatl*. I 254, 259, 265, 266, 338; II 238 — bei *Painal* und *Uitzilopochtli*. I 254; II 238 — bei *Atlauâ*. II 238 — = *tlayoalli* „Finsterniss". II 238 — s. *cicitlallô*. — s. *mixcitlalichichiuh*.

mixcitlalichichiuh, s. *ixcitlalichiualli*. II 238.

mixchiauiticac, weiss und punktirt gezeichnetes Pflästerchen bei *Tlaloc*. I 111; II 268 — bei *Xolotl*. II 268.

mixchictlapanticac, zweifarbige, schwarze und rothe Gesichtsbemalung der Pulquegötter. I 141, 142.

mixnextlacuilolli, Baumwollstoffe mit eingewebten Mustern von Wolkenbildern aus huaxtekischem und totonakischem Gebiete. I 164.

mixoyotl, Zinne; Abbild der Wolke. — s. *mixxotl*.

Mixteca, Berg in der —, s. *Apoala*. — an der Grenze der, *Mixteca* liegt *Teotitlan*. I 177.

Mixteca, in der Bezeichnung Sahagun's = *Olmeca*. I 161 — verehrten besonders die *Tlaçolteotl*. I 161.

mixtekische Sage, von einem Hirschgotte und einer Hirchgöttin. II 164.

mixtequacuilli, Abbilder der Wolken = Zinnen. I 119 — s. *mixxotl*.

mixtetlilcomolo, schwarze Grube um die Augen (s. *totocoztli*); Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns. I 62, 254; II 67, 297 — *Mixcouatl's*. I 259, 264, 266, 338.

mixxotl, Zinne; Abbild der Wolke. I 110, 119, 219 — s. *mixtequacuilli*. — Umrandung des Daches des Osttempels (Codex Bologna). II 108 — am Dache des Tempels des kopulirenden Westpaares. II 120.

mixxotl **und Edelsteinscheiben**, auf dem Dachfirste des Tempels des Westens im Codex Fejérváry. II 114.

miyotl, „der Jemandem eigentümlich zukommende Pfeil", technische Bezeichnung für Strahl der Sonne, des Feuers u. s. w. I 119.

miyotia „mit dem Pfeile (Strahle) treffen". I 329; II 148 — s. *miotli* — mit Strahlen treffen, vom Morgensterne gesagt. I 329.

mizcitlalichiuh, Sterngesichtsbemalung des Morgensterns. s. *mixcitlalhuiticac*.

Mizquic, Stadt; ihr Gott *Quetzalcouatl*. I 83.

Moan (Maya), Name des fünfzehnten Uinal. I 313 — Fest der Kakaopflanzer für *Ekchuah*, *Chac* und *Hobnil*. I 321 — seine Hieroglyphe. I 313.

moan, Schopfadler, Spitzaëtus tyrannus. I 313.

moan-kin (Maya), „trüber, regnerischer Tag". I 313 — s. *muyal*.

Moan-Vogel (Maya), Wolkendämon. I 313 — hat in seiner Hauptthieroglyphe die dreizehn Himmel *(oxlahun taz muyal)*. I 215, 313 — ist *Quetzalcouatl* verwandt. I 215 — ihm entspricht das Sinnbild des *Tamoanchan*. I 313.

moçauani, Fastender, beim Sonnengotte dargestellt. I 204; II 280.

moçacaicalia, Kampflauf beim *Ochpaniztli*-Feste. I 158.

mocuexyecoaya, „sie lässt sich von den Huaxteken begatten", Phase im *Ochpaniztli*-Feste der Erdgöttin *Tlaçolteotl* nach Sonnenuntergang. I 158.

mociuaquetzquê, im Kindbette gestorbene Frauen. I 274; II 86, 87, 88 ff., 239 — s. *Ciuateteô*. — s. *iaomicque cioa*. — Verkörperungen des Mondes. II 87.

mociuaquetzqui, „der als Frau Auftretende", „der Krieger", die im Kindbette gestorbene Frau. I 156, 185, 298; II 49, 218 — s. *Itzpapalotl*, *Ciuatlampa*. — lähmt den Fuss der Feinde der Krieger. II 90 — ihre Finger oder ihr Haar von den Kriegern begehrt, um es in ihren Schild einzusetzen. II 89. — ihr Unterarm gilt als mächtiger — Zauber. I 298 — hat der *Chalchiuhtotoltemoc* im Schnabel. I 297, 298 — s. *ic micquj ijti*. — s. Leichenreden.

mocxipacayo yn omitotique teteu, „Fusswaschen der Götter, die getanzt haben", Zärimonie des *Tititl*-Festes. I 189

modernder *Xolotl*. II 41, 43.

momoztli, Erdpyramide; Kultusstätte *Tezcatlipoca's*, auf Wegen und Kreuzwegen (*ôtlamaxac*). I 148, 222.

Monate zwölf, im sechsten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte dargestellt zwischen Mond- und Sonnengott. II 228.

Monatsdaten der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350.

Mond, sein Gang am Himmel und seine Phasen beeinflussten die Vorstellungswelt des primitiven Menschen nach zwei Hauptrichtungen: als den Wechselnden (Prototyp des Wachsthums) und als den Nächtigen. II 86 — zwei Hauptreihen von Gottheiten entwickelnd: solche des Wachsthums, der Erneuerung (Pulquegötter, *Xipe Totec*, *Teteo innan*, *Quetzalcouatl*, *Xochiquetzal*), solche der Nacht, des Dunkels *(Tezcatlipoca)*. II 86 — Widerpart der Sonne, sehr primitive Auffassung. II 86 — verkörpert in der *Ciuacouatl (Quilaztli)*, in den *Ciuateteô*. II 86 — im Gegensatze zur Sonne weiblich gedacht, ist die von der Sonne zerschnittene, getötete *Ciuacouatl*, die am Westhimmel wieder erscheint. Ihr Gefolge bilden die *mociuaquetzque*. II 86, 87 — von einem Kaninchen getragen. I 107; II 20, 164, 309 — Kaninchen = Mann im Monde. I 140; II 10 — s. *metztli*; s. *tochtli*. — s. *ce miquiztli*. — s. Strahlenscheibe. — hat Beziehung zu den Weibern, zur Generation. I 94, 105; II 11, 64, 90 — zu den Pulquegöttern. I 140; II 10, 214 — Sonne der Nacht, tote Sonne. I 102, 151 — seine Kennzeichen sind die rothe Farbe, die Schneckengehäuse, die rothe und weisse Farbe. II 66 — *tochtli* bezw. *cuetzpalin*, im Rachen der Himmelsschlange, vom Adler gepackt. II 64, 65 — Seine Personifikationen die Pulquegötter (s. Mondwesen). II 172 — ein Sohn *Tlaloc's* verwandelt sich in den Mond. I 104 — erster Mensch. II 13, 74 — Repräsentant der Vorfahren, als solcher in Beziehung zum Feuergotte. II 74 — seine Region der Norden (s. Land der Vorfahren). II 116 — er ist der ewig Veränderliche. I 151; II 1, 11, 24, 31, 86, 246, 253 ff. — verkörpert Leben und Tod, ist der Zeitmesser (mensis). II 169 — verliert und gewinnt im Ballspiele. II 31 — sein Zunehmen Vorbild für das Wachsen, sein Absterben und Wiedererscheinen Vorbild des Absterbens und Wiedererwachens der Vegetation. II 11, 86, 184, 253 — s. Wechsel. — s. geköpfte Göttin. — Wachen und Schlafen des Mondes (s. *ixtoçoliztli*, *cochiliztli*) = dreizehn Tage, wo der Mond am Abend- bezw. Morgenhimmel sichtbar ist. Bedeutung der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare. II 207–208 — seine Konjunktion. II 208, 213 — seine siderische Umlaufszeit $27^1/_3$ Tage, synodische $29^1/_2$ Tage. II 208 — s. Monate. — seine Umlaufszeit schematisch = 26 Tage. II 208 — sein schrittweises Heranrücken an die Sonne. II 13 — Zeit seiner Annäherung an die Sonne der Süden. II 58 — von der Sonne besiegter Krieger. II 215 — bei der Annäherung an die Sonne halbirt = geköpfter Sünder. II 285 — vom Sonnengotte geköpft. II 291 — s. Kampf der Sonne mit dem Monde. II 285, 286 — seine Zerstücklung Motiv der *Uitzilopochtli*-Sage. II 1, 10–11, 86, 290, 291 — auf dem dunkeln nächtigen Himmel bei *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — sein Abbild ist der Nasenhalbmond in dunklem Felde, Symbol der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 275; II 10 — Beziehungen zu Liebe und Zeugung (*Tlaçolteotl*). II 11, 55 — ist die geköpfte Göttin. II 11, 63, 184, 283, 290, 291 — dieser ist Sinnbild der fruchtbaren Erde. II 184 — ist *Coyolxauh* des *Uitzilopochtli*-Mythus. II 11, 86, 290, 291 — sein Gefolge die *Centzon Uitznaua*. II 13 — seine Phasenbildung durch das rothe, gelbgefleckte Skelet (s. dort) angedeutet. II 309 — bleibt nur einen Tag wirklich verborgen. II 2 — stirbt nur einmal (am Morgenhimmel stehend). II 13 — sein bleicher Spiegel ein Wasserbehälter. II 260 — nachdem er ganz zerstückt, verbrennt er sich im Osten in der Sonne, um darnach (am Abendhimmel) als neuer Mond zu erscheinen. II 55 — *Quetzalcouatl* von *Tollan* ist eine mythische Ausgestaltung dieser Naturanschauung. II 55, 67, 110, 169, 213, 214.

260, 262, 291, 298 — ist eigentlich der nach Osten wandernde und sich daselbst verbrennende *Quetzalcouatl*. II 67, 78, 86, 110, 169 — sterbender; sein Zusammentreffen mit dem Erscheinen des Morgensterns am Himmel. II 2, 298 — hat als sterbender (abnehmender) Verbindung mit dem Tode. II 12 — sterbender, s. abnehmender Mond. — zunehmender, am Abendhimmel = *Tezcatlipoca*. II 12, 23, 32, 33, 35, 63, 298 — s. *Telpochtli*. — Urverwandtschaft zwischen ihm und *Tezcatlipoca* lässt letzteren in der Reihe der Feuergötter erscheinen. II 74 — junger, junger Krieger, *Tezcatlipoca* (s. *telpochtli*) und *Xipe Totec*. II 57, 66 — junger, zunehmender, s. junge Liebesgöttin, *Xochiquetzal*. II 32, 66 — bezeichnet durch gelbe Skeletköpfe in der Hand von Dämonen. II 11—12 — sein Zeichen *tlapoyaua* (s. dort). II 235, 246 — in der Dunkelheit leuchtend = alles sehend. II 11 — „Auge der Nacht". II 86 — *Youaltecutli (?)*. II 28 — vom Sonnengott getötet; in der zweiten Hälfte des Monats halbirt, geköpft. II 11 — mit ihm geht der sakrale Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen vom Westen über Süden nach Osten. II 22 — ihm wird der Kopf vom Dämon des Ostens (*Tlacatzinacantli*) abgerissen, der Fuss vom Dämon des Westens (*acipactli*). II 63 — sein blasses Licht hat Beziehung zum Wasser, zum *cuetzpalin*. II 64 — zur *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 225 — in esoterischer Auffassung Federschlange mit *tochtli* oder *cuetzpalin* im Rachen. II 259 — die himmlische Federschlange. II 259 — bezeichnet die Zeit der Finsterniss und Nacht. II 69, 86 — neu gewordener und seine Göttin *(Xochiquetzal)* schildern und erklären die Erneuerung *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Morgensterns. II 67 — auf seine Herrschaft bezieht sich *Colhuacan* (oder *Tollan*). II 31 — durch eine Ohreule und eine sternenbesetzte Nachtwolke, repräsentirt in der Cella des Tempels des Nordens, im Codex Bologna. II 110 — durch das Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze (?) repräsentirt. II 111 — Tötung und Zerstücklung des Mondes durch die Sonne. II 145 — sein Sohn der Morgenstern, der von der *Teteoinnan* am *Ochpaniztli* im *Pochtlan* gesucht wird. II 145 — sein Antlitz (*u uich v*, Maya) fällt auf sein Gesicht, beim Weltuntergange. II 156 — sein Glanz verdunkelt durch Schlagen mit einem Kaninchen in sein Gesicht. II 228 — = halbe Sonnenscheibe, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159, 160, 161 — am Rande beim sechsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — Datum *ce itzcuintli* „eins Hund", bei *Xipe*. II 257 — aus dem Meere emporsteigend, *quetzalcouatl* bei *Xipe*. II 258 — als Tänzer (oder Sterne vor dem Monde tanzend), der tanzende dunkle himmlische Feuergott, bei der *Xochiquetzal*, II 282 — Tempel des Mondes (*Tlillan*), bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 263.

Mond des Abendhimmels, Mond mit aschgrauer Scheibe und schmaler glänzender Sichel, beim Westen der Unterwelt dargestellt. II 56, 57 — s. *Tezcatlipoca*.

Mond im Rachen der Schlange, Determinativ bei *Xipe Totec* und sonst. II 64, 65, 259 — s. *tochtli*.

Mondfinsterniss. II 259.

Mondgott, besondere Formen: — *Quetzalcouatl*, *Tlaçolteotl*, *Tepeyollotli*. II 219 — s. *Tecciztecatl*; s. oben kahlköpfiger Gott, Gott mit dem *tun*-Zeichen. — Wasserträger. I 104 — ein Zeugungsgott. I 105 — als solcher erscheint *Xochipilli*. I 246, 247; II 64 — erscheint vielfach als Gott der Musik. I 315, 316; II 100, 102, 189 — in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift in obscönen Stellungen dargestellt. I 215, 216 — im Codex Perez als Herr des *Katun uuc ahau* = mex. *Chicome xochitl* „sieben Blume". I 314 — herrscht über die Weiber. I 316; II 90, 100 — s. Mond. — s. Menstruation. — trägt seinen abgeschnittenen Skeletkopf in der Hand. II 12 — als Herr des Wachsthums wird er zum agrarischen Gott (s. *Xipe Totec*). II 64, 290 — *Xipe*, Anspielungen auf seine Mondnatur s. unter *Xipe*. — ist überall zum Erdgotte geworden, II 33 — als solcher ist er *Xipe Totec*. II 18, 57, 64, 66, 253 ff., 259 ff., 290 — s. *tochtli* im Rachen der Federschlange, Determinativ *Xipe*'s. — s. *Telpochtli*. — Herr der Geburt, der Lebensmittel, *Tonacatecutli*. II 28, 30, 100 — Beziehungen zwischen ihm, dem ersten Menschen, dem Repräsentanten der Vorfahren und dem Feuergotte. II 74 — springt *Nanauatl* nach ins Feuer und wird zum Monde. Sein Name *Naui tecpatl*. II 79 — trägt Blumenkranz. I 105; II 79, 119, 176 — halb blauer *Auiateotl*, halb Pulquegott; in Kopulation mit der Mondgöttin *(Tlaçolteotl)*. II 120 — s. Nordpaar. — *motemmacpalhuiticac*. II 110 — vor dem Tempel des Nordens, setzt sich aus vier Elementen (*Tezcatlipoca-Auiateotl*, Pulquegöttern *(Tlaçolteotl) Quetzalcouatl*, *Itztlacoliuhqui)* zusammen. II 110 — blauer, der erste der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158 — bezeichnet die fünfte Nachtstunde. II 189 — s. *Tezcatlipoca*. — seine Symbole, Speerbündel und Steinmesser. II 228 — das Steinmesser (s. *naui tecpatl*). II 228 — ihm geweihte Tage, *naui atl* „vier Wasser". I 104; II 229 — *chicuei oçomàtli* „acht Affe". II 229 — sein Name *naui tecpatl* „vier Feuersteinmesser". II 79.

Mondgott *Tezcatlipoca,* seine Verkleidung das Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282, 283.

Mondgötter, die Pulquegötter. II 10, 24, 110, 172—173, 177, 214 — *Xipe Totec* und *Quetzalcouatl*. II 262 — *Tlaçolteotl* und *Xipe*, ihr Abbild die Wachtel (*çolin*). II 290, 291, 296.

Mondgott und Mondgöttin, kopulirendes Paar des Nordens. II 130.

Mondgöttin, ursprünglich die *Tlaçolteotl*, die später zu einer Göttin der Ernte, der Feldfrüchte, des Ackerbaues wurde. II 10, 11, 24, 45, 48, 52, 54, 55, 63, 64, 78 ff., 86, 120, 158 bis 161, 192, 216, 219, 225, 248, 252, 294, 301, 306 — Göttin des vollen Mondes. II 18 — ihr Abbild der Nasenhalbmond *(yacametztli)*. II 51, 64 — (*Tlaçolteotl*), der zweite der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158—161 — ihr Gegenstück ist der Erd- und Frühlingsgott *Xipe Totec* (s. dort). II 253 — alte, s. Göttin auf der rothen Scheibe. — s. geköpfte Göttin. — Patronin des Schwitzbades. II 13 — erste, vorbildlich Gestorbene. II 13 — ihr Tod im Neumonde. II 13 — Verkörperung des Tageszeichens *miquiztli*. II 12, 86 — Göttin des Krieges. II 206 — schöne, die junge Göttin der Liebe, *Xochiquetzal*. II 32, 66, 79, 84, 175, 176, 207 — ihr Determinativ (im *Tonalamatl*) der Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*). II 32. — Parallelen, Homologa, Gegenstücke, drei Schlangen mit dem Gesichte eines Gottes im Rachen, *Mixcouatl*, *Xochipilli*, Kaninchen (*tochtli*) dem Rachen der Schlange entsteigend. II 68. — die Herrin der Kühle, *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 225 — als solche *Itzpapalotl* durch *tecciztli* vor dem Gesichte gekennzeichnet. II 262 — ihre Erscheinungsform, das rothe, gelbgefleckte Skelet (Blutschlange). II 308 — s. *Chicuei acatl*.

Mondgöttinnen tragen das *citlalcuëitl*. II 46 — fünf, fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 77—85.

Mondhieroglyphe, ihre Elemente. II 285 — s. Halbring. — s. *metztli*, Hieroglyphe. — auf dem Baume des Nord-*tzompantli*. II 115.

Mondköpfe, abgeschnittene, in der Hand *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 12.

Mondmythen, Sage von *Quetzalcouatl*. II 1, 2 — Sage von *Uitzilopochtli*. II 1, 10—11, 13.

Mondphasen, s. Phasen.

Mondscheibe, ihr hinterer Theil fehlt dem neu am Himmel erscheinenden Monde. Daher *Tezcatlipoca* nur mit einem Beine dargestellt. II 12, 32 — vordere, bei der Annäherung des Mondes an die Sonne abgeschnitten (geköpfter Mond). II 11, 12 — halb dunkel, halb leuchtend; dieses deutet das *chictlapanqui* der Pulquegötter an.

II 24 — s. Farbengegensatz. — grosse rothe Scheibe, den Körper *Tonacatecutli*'s bildend. II 30.

Mondsichel, ausgehöhlter Leib der geköpften Mondgöttin. II 11 — des Mondes des Abendhimmels. II 56, 57 — Hut *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. II 110.

Mondtempel, Tempel des Nordens (über dem Nordbaume). II 110.

Mond und Abendstern, am nächtlichen Himmel wandelnd. II 32 — *Tezcatlipoca* und schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*. II 32.

Mond und Morgenstern. II 2, 4, 33, 213 — gehen zusammen, sind mythologisch einer aus dem anderen entstanden. II 67, 68 — s. Verwandlung des Mondes in den Morgenstern.

Mond und Sonne, schwarzer und rother *Quetzalcouatl* bezw. *Quetzalcouatl* und *Macuilxochitl*, auf einer rothen Scheibe von zwölf *Ciuateteô* umtanzt. II 46 — als Eltern der neugeborenen Sonne vorgeführt. II 48 — gegensätzliche Stellung beider. II 90 — Konjunktion des Mondes. II 208 — fallen zusammen am Weltende. II 265.

Mond und Sterne, ihre Repräsentanten, s. *Tlillan Tlapallan*, — in Beziehung zu ihnen der Feuergott (s. erster Mensch). II 288.

Mondwesen, sind die *centzon totochtin*. II 10 — die *Tezcatlipoca* verwandten *Auiateteô*. II 100, 102. — ihr Abzeichen ist das *yacametztli*. II 254.

monotheistische Ahnung, in der Person des Gottes *Quetzalcouatl*. II 75.

monströses Wachsthum, bei *Xolotl* angedeutet. II 42, 43 — s. Baumstamm.

Moqui, s. *Hopi*.

Morgendämmerung, um diese Zeit singt der *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. I 148 — der *coxcoxtli*. II 109, 176, 296, 297.

Morgenhimmel, Region der *tonatiuh ilhuicac yaquê*. I 263 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, I 263; II 78 — sein Symbol Feuerstein-Pfeilspitzen. II 78.

Morgenröthe, s. *tlauizcalli*. — die dritte Morgenstunde. II 296 — hat der Morgenstern hinter sich, angedeutet durch blutscheissenden *Quetzalcouatl(?)*. II 72.

Morgensonne. II 265, 268.

Morgenstern, vor der Sonne aufgehend, mythische Entstehung aus dem in den Strahlen der Sonne verschwindenden Monde. II 33 — Periode seiner Sichtbarkeit. I 350 — bei den *Huichol*. — = *Quetzalcouatl*. I 85, 238, 302; II 1, 238 — s. *ce acatl*. — ist *Ce acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcouatl*. II 238, 291 — Tag seiner Vereinigung mit der Sonne 4 *caban* (Maya) = mex. *naui olin*. I 351 — verschwindet in den Strahlen der Sonne. II 2 — durch Leichenköpfe mit Stirnlocken in der Hand von Dämonen bezeichnet. II 11—12 — seine Perioden auf die Konstruktion des Tonalamatl's von Einfluss. I 85 — einer der sechs Himmelswanderer. I 302 — sein Mythus in Parallelität mit dem Mondmythus (*Quetzalcouatl*'s) gesetzt. II 1, 2, 67, 68 — bewegt sich der Sonne entgegen. II 1, 2 — erscheint am Osthimmel in Adlermaske. II 12 — sein Aufgehen in der zweiten Morgenstunde. II 295 — s. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. — s. neun Köpfe. — er ist der *iaqui telpochiaqui* „der Krieger, der voran geht". II 70 — Repräsentant der Krieger und des Kriegertodes. II 238, 239 — heisst bei den *Michuaquê* (Tarasca): *Urendequa recara* „der voran geht", *hozqua qhuangari* „der Stern, der Krieger". II 70 — ist der „Werfer", „Schütze", als solcher auch der Blutruhrsender(?) II 72 — s. schiessende Götter. — als schiessender Gott, wird er der Schütze, der Jäger, zum *Mixcouatl*. II 146 — s. *Tabatzi Tamats*. — schiesst einen Pfeil auf den Hirsch ins Dickicht, bei den Cora. II 309, 310 — Sohn des Mondes (s. dort). II 145, 248 — Datum *yei quauhtli* „drei Adler", bei *Xipe*. II 257.

Morgen- und Abendröthe. II 24.

Morgen- und Abendsonne, in Annäherung an beide „stirbt" der Planet zweimal. II 13.

Morgen- und Abendstern, ihre Tötung und Zerstücklung durch die Sonne. I 233, 241, 257, 332, 337, 350; II 145 — durch Figuren als Träger abgeschnittener Leichenköpfe in Adler- und Steinmesserverkleidung veranschaulicht. II 13 — s. Dualität, s. rother, schwarzer Adler.

Morgen- und Abendstunden, Parallelität beider Reihen. II 295.

Mosaik, s. Türkismosaik. — s. blaues Mosaik. — s. Federmosaik. — Halskette aus verschiedenfarbigem Federmosaik. II 256.

Motecuhçoma sendet an Cortés die Kostüme der vier Götter. I 85, 86, 88; II 75 — seine Palastsklaven (*xolomê*). I 193 — seine Gesandten durch Stab und Fächer ausgezeichnet. II 162 — trug sich nach der Ankunft der Spanier mit Selbstmordgedanken. II 56.

motemacpalitotique, die mit einer menschlichen Hand tanzen, Zaubererspitzbuben. II 90 — s. *mociuaquetzqui*. — s. Zauberkraft.

motemmacpalhuiticac, Zeichnung einer weissen Hand am Munde *Macuilxochitl*'s und der fünf Götter des Südens. I 30, 31, 133, 191, 199, 227, 272; II 76, 77, 95 — bei *Xolotl*. I 30, 31, 191, 199; II 52, 97 — bei den fünf *Auiateteô*. I 272; II 76, 77, 95, 97 — bei dem *Auiateotl* des Nordens des Codex Vaticanus. II 100, 110 — beim Mondgotte des Tempels des Nordens. II 110 — bei *Nanauatzin*. II 97 — s. *Xolotl*. — beim blauen *Auiateotl*. II 305 — ist der Ausdruck der Zahl Fünf. I 272; II 76, 77, 96 — damit wechselt die Bemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s (*ixtlan tlatlaan*). II 110.

motemmaxaloticac, offener Mund *Xipe*'s. I 178, 270; II 256.

motenolcopinticac, schwarze Kautschukbemalung um den Mund des Feuergottes (*Ixcoçauhqui*). I 120, 219 — der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163, 230, 275; II 81, 158, 172, 192, 217, 252, 306 — der *Mayauel*. I 274 — bei der vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 149 — der fünf Formen der *Tlaçoltcotl*. II 77 — s. *tlaolcopintli*. — bezeichnet *Tlaçolteotl* insbesondere als *tlaelquani* „Dreckfresserin". II 81, 82.

moteteuana „sie macht sich breit", Geburtsstellung. I 154, 173 — s. *maana*.

motlauhoçac, rothe Körperbemalung des Feuergottes. I 219.

Motólinia. I 163, 327; II 206, 215.

motzinilpiticac, um die Hüften geschlungenes Netztuch *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 90 — bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 281 — kurzes, um den Hintern gebundenes Tuch. II 150.

moyavaloaya in teucali, „Umzug um den Tempel", Zärimonien des *Tititl*-Festes. I 189, 190.

Moyocoyatzin, der nach Willkür Handelnde, Name *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 150; II 229, 272 — durch ein Sklavenhalsband *quauhcozcatl* angedeutet. II 229.

Muan (Maya), s. *Moan*.

muger amarilla (span.), „gelbe Frau", die Feuergöttin *Chantico*. II 273, 276.

muger valerosa (span.) = *mociuaquetzqui*. I 156; II 218.

muluc (Maya), Tageszeichen = mex. *atl* (Wasser), in Yucatan Anfangszeichen des zweiten der vier Jahre. I 342.

Mumienbündel, falsches, für den toten Krieger. I 125, 191, 194, 273; II 19, 33, 239 — Begraben des Mumienbündels. I 129 — mit einer Sonnenscheibe. I 198; II 268 — mit Papierfahnen geschmückt. I 227, 231 — mit dem *yacaxiuitl*. II 19 — s. *yacaxiuitl*. — der toten Götter der Abendsternreihe. I 338 — schwarzes, mit dem Skeletkopfe *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 3 — in ihm ein *tzontemoc* vergraben. II 244 — s. Leichenbündel.

Mund zum Schreien geöffnet, bei *Tepeyollotli*. I 231, 232, 233 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 276 — s. offener Mund. — weit offen, mit fletschenden Raubthierzähnen, bei der *Chantico*. II 273 — Hauchwolken davor, Zeichen der Rede, des Königs (*tlatouani*). II 151 — bei *Tezcatlipoca* mit dem Tageszeichen *Xochitl* verbunden. I 283 — bei

Xochipilli. II 136 — *Macuilxochitl's* verbunden mit *xochitl.* II 302 — *Quetzalcouatl's* verbunden mit *calli.* II 302 — *Tlaloc's* mit *olin* verbunden, bezeichnet die rollende Stimme — den Donner. II 301 — der *Tlaçolteotl* mit *itzcuintli* verbunden, da Feuer aus ihrem Munde geht. II 301.

Mund der Erde, in ihn tritt *Tezcatlipoca.* I 150.

Mund der Idole, mit dem Blute des Opfer genetzt. I 170.

Mundbemalung, blau, bei der Erdgöttin der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — beim *Auiateotl* der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 183 — grüne (dunkle), der *Teteoinnan.* II 18 — roth, bei *Quetzalcouatl.* II 73 — bei *Xiuhtecutli.* II 73 — beim Maisgotte (*Cintcotl*). II 150 — spitz nach hinten verlaufend, beim Tanzgotte *(Ueuecoyotl).* II 189, 281 — beim Tänzer. II 224, 282 — weisse, bei *Youaltecutli.* II 28 — s. *motemmacpalhuiticac.* — s. *papalotl.* — s. *motenolcopinticac.* — s. Jaguarfellzeichnung.

Mundwinkel, eingekniffener, alter Leute, alter Götter. I 77 — Darstellung durch ein ringförmiges Anhängsel am Munde. I 77; II 44 — s. eingekniffener Mundwinkel.

Muñoz Camargo, Diego, tlaxkaltekischer Geschichtsschreiber. I 208.

Muschelhorn, s. *tecciztli.* — Blasen des — ruft zur Kasteiung. I 204 — um Mitternacht *(youalnepantla)* geblasen. I 204; II 193.

Muschelscheibe, weiss, spitz eiförmig zugeschliffen, auf dem Haare des verkündenden Tempelherolds. II 18 — auf der Stirnbinde *Tlauizcalpantecutli's.* I 255 etc.; II 64, 71, 129, 139, 143, 238, 307. — weisse, auf dem Kopfriemen der *Chalchiuhtlicue* aufgenäht. I 100, 287, 347, 352; II 149 — s. Kranz weisser Muschelscheiben. — s weisse —.

Museo Borgiano. I 2.

Museo Etnografico Borgiano. I 2.

Museo Indiano, Catálogo del —. II 79.

Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin). II 193.

Musik, Gott der, der alte kahlköpfige Gott in der Schale, der Mondgott. I 315, 316 — die Schildkröte. I 306, 316 — Götter der —, *Auiateteô.* II 100 — der Mondgott. II 100, 102, 189 — s. Mondgott, *Tecciztecatl.* — Götter der Musik in der fünften Nachtstunde, dem Süden. II 188—189 — s. Tempelsänger. — Determinativ berm Ost-Ballspieler, s. Gesang.

Musikant, Sänger und Paukenschläger, ersetzt den Tänzer bei *Ueuecoyotl.* II 224.

Musikanten, Bewohner der Landschaft *Cozcatlan,* s. *Cozcateca.* I 135 — *Xochiquetzal* und *Ueuecoyotl* (bezw. *Tecciztecatl*), bei der fünften Nachtstunde. II 188, 189.

Musikinstrumente en miniature, am Orte des Haupttempels in *México* ausgegraben. I 134 — s. Flöte, Knochenflöte. — s. *teponaztli, uehuetl, tlalpanuecuetl,* Schildkrötenschale (*ayotl*). Kürbissrassel (*ayacachtli*).

Muster auf Mänteln. I 134, 135.

Mutter, Vater, Name des Feuers. I 116.

Mutter Erde, Allgebärerin *Teteo innan, Tlalli iyollo, Toci.* I 153.

Mutterleib, s. Schneckengehäuse *(tecciztli).*

Mutterschooss, bezeichnet die *Tlaçolteotl.* II 219.

Mutterschooss der Erde, *tlalli iyollo,* bei *Tepeyollotli* und *Tlaçolteotl* angedeutet. II 220.

Mutterschooss der Nacht, I 106.

mühsames Sichaufrichten, beim alten Mondgotte. II 226.

Mütze, kegelförmige, *Quetzalcouatl's,* s. *copilli.*

muyal (Maya) „Wolke" von derselben Wurzel wie *moan* abgeleitet. I 313 — s. *oxlahun taz muyal.*

Mythen, astrale. II 1 — s. Mondmythus. — s. Naturmythus.

mythenbildende Phantasie. II 110.

mythisch-figurative Darstellungen und Vorstellungen, ihre weite Verbreitung. II 103.

mythische Bedeutung des Ballspielplatzes. II 31.

mythische Mexikaner. II 31.

mythischer Westen, s *Tamoanchan, Xochitlicacan, Chalchimmichoacan.*

Nabel, reissen am —, um die *Xixipeme* zornig zu machen. I 170.

Nabel der Erde, darin wohnt der Feuergott. I 29, 67 — s. *tlalxicco onoc.* — in ihn tritt *Quetzalcouatl.* I 150.

Nabel *Tonacatecutli's* ein Spiegel *(tezcatl).* II 28.

nabelartige Figur, am *Xochicalli* bei der *Mictecaciuatl.* I 277.

Nabelschnur, in den Krallen des Quetzalvogels beim Mondgotte dargestellt(?) I 106 — wird vergraben. I 106, 148.

Nachmittagsstunden, in ihnen setzen die täglichen Regengüsse der Regenzeit ein. II 297.

Nacht verkörpert den Tod. I 205 — beim Mondgotte dargestellt. I 106.

Nacht, neun Herren der —, s. neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Nacht, Tempel der —. II 28.

Nachtfalter. I 187.

Nachtgott = Sonne, die Abends von der Erde verschlungen wird, *Tezcatlipoca.* I 146.

Nachthimmel, durch Augen und Steinmesser auf dunklem Grunde dargestellt. II 35 — blau. I 7 — an ihm die *Tzitzimimê* Adler und Truthahn. I 298 — beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347 — bildet den Leib der Todesgöttin im Westen und Norden der Unterwelt. II 7 — halb schwarz, halb roth, vom Jaguar mit den Vorderpranken emporgehalten. I 304.

Nachthimmel-Enagua, einer Erdgöttin. II 45.

Nachthöhle. I 106.

nächtiges Thier, die Maus, *quimichin.* II 163.

nächtlicher Pulquetrinker = *Youallauana, Xipe Totec.* I 170; II 18.

nächtliches Haar, der Todesgötter. I 126.

Nachtsonne, s. Mond. (I 102).

Nachtstunden, durch das Bild des Abends (*tlapoyaua*) und des Mondes *(metztli)* bezeichnet bei den 25 Götterpaaren. II 180 — beginnen mit der unteren Region. II 179, 193.

Nachttrinker, Beiname *Xipe's,* s. *yoalli tlauana.*

Nacht und Wind, s. *youalli eecatl.*

Nachtvogel, Abbild *Tezcatlipoca's.* II 253.

Nachtwolke, sternbesetzt, mit Stachelkugel und Klotz *(tctl-quauitl?),* beim Repräsentanten des Mondes, der Ohreule *(tecolotl),* am Tempel des Nordens (Codex Bologna). II 110. — beim herabstürzenden Sünder Tafel 26 I 338.

Nackenfederschmuck, dunkler, beim *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 61 — *iuitemalli,* der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 77, 78 — weisser, s. *aztapatzactli.* — fächerförmig, aus Waldhuhnfedern, Abzeichen *Quetzalcouatl's* s. *coxoliyo uei itepol.* — aus Truthahnfedern, Charakteristikum *Tlauizcalpantecutli's,* s. schwarze Federn mit weissem Endfleck. — s. Truthahnfedern. — s. fächerförmiger.

nackt, der herabstürzende Sünder. I 338 — das erste Menschenpaar. II 212 — weibliche *ixquimilli*-Figur, aus einem *chalchiuitl* hervorkommend, bei Darstellung der Geburt der *Ciuateteô.* II 91 — Figur einer Göttin in dem Determinativ *atl tlachinolli,* bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens. II 78 — knieende Frauensperson, mit Steinmessern besetzt, Gesicht roth und gelb quergestreift; beim Regengotte des Nordens (*Tezcatlipoca*). I 351 — Frauensperson mit *yacapapalotl* und *tlapapalli* im Henkelkruge beim Regengotte des Westens. I 352 — gelbe Todesgöttin des kopulirenden Südpaares. II 120 — kleine aus einem *chalchiuitl* hervorkommende Menschenfigur, die Geburt des Maises andeutend. II 43, 45 — vier Feuergötter, aus Rauchwolken in der Mitte der Unterwelt entspringend. II 74 — zwei *Tlaçolteotl*-Figuren, die dem knochenfarbenen

Quetzalcouatl unter dem Taufwasser assistiren. II 51 — die weisse, die fünfte der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl (= Mayauel)*. II 84, 85 — menschliche Figur auf dem *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150 — ein Männlein neben einem Blüthenbaume im Edelsteingefässe auf der Schatzkiste zwischen *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacacinatl*, dem ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171 — im Edelsteinhenkelkrug beim vierten dieser Paare. II 174, 175 — rothe menschliche Gestalt, die sich die Todesgötter des sechsten der sechs Götterpaare darreichen. II 177.

nackte Götter, *Xochiquetzal.* I 288, 352 — *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 352, 353; II 149 — *Mixcouatl* (s. Penis, unverhüllter). II 62 — *Tlaçolteotl.* I 164, 230, 275; II 301, 303 — *Mictecacinatl.* I 277 — Todesgöttin. I 297; II 7, 8 — *Tezcatlipoca*, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, II 150 — *Cinteotl*, vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen. II 150.

Nacktheit = Schamlosigkeit. I 35, 70 — des büssenden Ehebrechers. I 39, 71 — des Sünders. I 94, 128, 129 — der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 39, 60, 70, 164, 230 — der Eidechse, daher Beziehung zur Sünde. I 96 — bezeichnet Sünde. II 84.

nacochtli, Ohrpflock, blauer, s. *xiuhnacochtli.* — beilförmiger. I 72 — beilförmiger, weisser. I 302 — weisser, s. *amanacochtli.*

Nagethier, mit einer Opferfahne zusammen mit einem *xolotl*-artigen Thiere bei *Tlaloc* angegeben. I 295.

Nähren der Sonne, der Erde, der Götter durch das Blut der Opfer. I 148, 155, 268 — durch Herzen. I 264 — durch Wachtelblut. II 290.

nährende Mütter, Darreichen der Brust, Aktion der vierten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 274.

Nahrung für die geschaffenen Menschen ist der Mais, der in *Tamoanchan* von den Thieren gezeigt wird. II 97.

Namen von Gottheiten, durch Daten (des Kalenders) ausgedrückt. II 78 — esoterische II 86.

nanaualtin, Zauberer (Plural). I 27, 306 (die Wehrwölfe). — s. *naualli.*

Nanauatl (Xolotl), — zerschlägt auf Geheiss der Götter den Berg der Lebensmittel *(Tonacatepetl).* II 42, 97 — Anspielung auf den Blitz. II 42 — springt ins Feuer und wird zur Sonne. II 79, 94, 97.

Nanauatzin, repräsentirt die Bewegung dem gewöhnlichen Laufe der Sonne entgegen (von W. nach O.). II 94, 95 — der syphilitische Gott, wird Sonne. I 65, 194, 199, 206, 287; II 26, 41, 52, 54, 55, 67, 94, 97, 123, 183, 265, 308 — s. *Xolotl*, s. *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*, s Sprung ins Feuer, s. *Teotihuacan.* — in ihn verwandelt sich *Xolotl.* I 198, 199, 205; II 41, 52–55, 97 — seine Hieroglyphe der Topf (Kochtopf) vom Feuer umlodert, darin schmorende menschliche Glieder. I 287 — hat ein herausquellendes (ausgelaufenes) Auge. II 21, 26, 91, 97 — sein Gegenstück *Xolotl.* II 26 — Gott der Lust, der Sünde, der Liebe = *Macuilxochitl-Aniateotl.* II 41, 52–55, 97, 265 — für ihn steht *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*, bezw. *Aniateotl (Macuilxochitl)* bei der zweiten Nachtstunde und dem Osten. II 183 — die fünf *Aniateteô* mit ihm verwandt. II 97, 98 — als Repräsentant der fünf *Aniateteô* bei der Geburt dieser aus dem *tecpatl* herauskommend dargestellt. II 97, 98 — in seiner Gestalt die vier *Aniateteô* neben dem *teoicpalli* des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens II 122, 123. — die Bringer der Jahre. II 123 — seine Farbe die schwarze. II 98, 122 — seine Hand, mit knorrigem Auswuchse. II 102 — diese das Schildemblem des schwarzen *Aniateotl* des Ostens. II 102 — Fastenbrecher; als solcher durch die rothe Pfefferschote *chilli* bezeichnet. II 272.

***Nanauatzin*-Legende,** Naturmythus, der besagt, dass im Osten *(Tlillan-Tlapallan, Tlatlayan)* die junge Sonne aufgeht. II 53, 55 — erklärt das Wiederlebendigwerden *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Morgensterns. II 67.

Nappatecutli, Pulquegott (s. den Titel des Pulquepriesters *Ome tochtli Nappatecutli*). I 140.

Nase, schwarzer Gott mit der langen Nase, bei den Maya, Gott der wandernden Kaufleute. I 322 ff ; II 162 — ihm entspricht mex. *Yacatecutli.* I 322; II 162 — lange, nach unten gebogene des Regengottes *Chac.* I 335 — des rothen *Chac*, Gottes des Feuerregens, Herrn der zweiten Venusperiode. I 335 — Gott mit der proliferirenden, s. *Ah bolon tz'acab* (Maya).

Nasenblatt, aufgerichtet und häutig beim *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60 — sein Homologon, ein stielartiges geschwungenes Gebilde. II 61.

Nasenhalbmond, s. *yacametztli.* — zwei in einander verschlungene knöcherne, weiss und roth punktirt; Gebilde beim Regengotte des Westens (*Tlauizcalpantecutli*). I 352.

Nasenplatte, türkisfarben, in Voluten ausladend, bei der *Xochiquetzal.* II 66 — s. *yacapapalotl.* — blau, s. stufenförmige Nasenplatte. — braun, gezackt, bei der Maisgottheit. II 113, 150 — beim Feuerreiber des Westens. II 119 — blau, gezackt, beim Maisgotte des Tempels des Westens (Cod. Bologna). II 114 — gezackt (theilweise) bei der Maisgöttin des dritten der sechs Götterpaare II 173.

Nasenschmuck, türkisfarbenes Trapez mit Strahl, bei vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — ein *coxcoxtli*-Vogelkopf beim Feuergotte. II 130, 235 — zu einer blauen Volute verkümmert. II 235, 238 — ein Stab, bei der Göttin der achten Nachtstunde (im Cod. Vatic.). II 195 — goldener; Trapez und Strahl bei der *Chantico* und *Coyolxauhqui.* II 277 — zwei Knochendolche (*omitl*) bei der auf dem *teoicpalli* sitzenden Figur der vierten Venusperiode. II 150 — ein Schmetterling *(papolotl)* bei der Göttin der *tlatecquê (Chantico).* II 276.

Nasenstab, in *chalchiuitl*-Farben bei *Tonacatecùtli* I 77, 78 — bei *Tonatiuh.* I 284 — aus Wachtelfedern bei der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 163 — weiss mit plattenförmigem Gehänge bei *Tezcatlipoca*, I 181 — bei der *Itzpapalotl.* I 181; II 195, 196 — mit einer Rosette bei *Tepeyollotli.* I 233 — röhrenförmig, mit je einer Feder am Ende, bei *Mixcouatl*; ist huaxtekische Tracht. I 266 — mit *yopitzontli*-Platte bei *Xipe.* I 167, 179; II 256.

Nasen- und Mundpartie, blau, beim *Aniateotl* der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 183.

Naturmythus, s. *Nanauatzin*-Legende, s. *Quetzalcouatl*-Mythus.

Naua (Nauatlaca), verehrten die Gottheit, *Youalli-ecatl* „Nacht und Wind". II 168, 169.

***Naua*-Stämme,** Nachbarn der Huaxteken, mit besonderem Kulte der Pulquegötter. I 88.

Nauacatl tzatzin, Gott der Landschaft *Metztitlan.* I 137.

nauallachco „auf dem Zauberballspielplatze" I 193.

naualli, Zauberer = Jaguar, s. *nanaualtin.* — Verkleidung. I 42, 131, 146, 313; II 238 — *Tezcatlipoca.* I 148, 222 — vom Speere getroffener Jaguar (s. Wehrwolf). I 222.

Naualpilli, einer der vier Götter der Steinschneider von *Xochimilco*, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

***Nauatl*-Stamm,** in *Michoacan* angesiedelt; seine Wanderung II 269, 270.

Nauatlaca, Nauastämme; ziehen als Kaufleute, Eroberer und Kolonisten bis nach Centralamerika. I 83 — verbreiten den Namen *Quetzalcouatl*'s (s. *Volcnat Quitzolcouat*). I 83 Wandersage. I 185.

nauhtlamantli nemiliztli „vier Klassen von Menschenaltern oder Weltaltern". II 25.

nauhtlamantli tlaca „vier Klassen von Menschen". II 25.

nauhyo tecutli, Herr der vier Richtungen, der Feuergott. I 118.

naui acatl „vier Rohr", Jahresdatum des Westblattes. II, 122, 123 — s. *macuilli maçatl.*

naui atl „vier Wasser", Zeichen des *Atonatiuh.* I 204 — dem Mondgotte geweihter Tag. I 104; II 229.

naui calli „vier Haus“, Jahresdatum des Ostblattes. II 122, 123 — vom Jahre *ce acatl* „eins Rohr“ um zweiundvierzig Jahre entfernt. II 124. — s. *macuilli olin.*

naui calli, quauhtli, maçatl, quiauitl, oçomàtli, „vier Haus, Adler, Hirsch, Regen, Affe“, Tageszeichen, die *macuilli cuetzpalin, cozcaquauhtli, tochtli, xochitl, malinalli* vorhergehen. II 76.

Naui couatl „vier Schlange“, Gott der Wiener Handschrift. I 332 — sein Determinativ, die die Sonne tragende Feuerschlange. I 332 — s. *Chicome couatl.* — s. Gott des Ostens. — gekennzeichnet als Pulquegott, durch eine Coa in einem schäumenden Gefässe. I 332 — der die Sonne bringende Feuergott, der Morgenstern, verwandt mit dem rothen Adler. I 332.

naui cuetzpalin „vier Eidechse“, Anfang der Tonamatl-Zertheilung in zwei Gruppen von 9×9 und zwei Gruppen von 7×7 Tagen.

Naui cipactli „vier Krokodil“, Himmelsgott des Codex Vindobonensis. II 283.

Naui eecatl „vier Wind“, Zeichen des *Ecátonatiuh.* I 204 — Name eines *Quetzalcouatl*-artigen *Tlaloc*'s, Regenten des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 234.

naui maçatl „vier Hirsch“. II 76 — Tag und Name *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. II 252.

naui ocelotl „vier Jaguar“, Zeichen des *Ocelotonatiuh.* I 204.

naui oçomàtli „vier Affe“, Vulkan- und Erdbebengott im Codex Nuttall. I 46 — „vier Affe“. II 76.

naui olin „vier Bewegung“, Tag des Verschwindens des Morgensternes in den Strahlen der Sonne. I 351 — Zeichen der Sonne. I 204, 217, 351; II 52, 257, 268, 270, 289 — Zeichen des *Olintonatiuh*, der gegenwärtigen Weltperiode. I 15, 204 — Anfangstag einer Venusperiode. I 349 — Tag, wo der Morgenstern in den Strahlen verschwindet, von ihm als von der oberen Konjunktion des Planeten Venus die Reihe von fünf Jahren gezählt. I 351, 353 — besondere Opfer an diesem Tage der Sonne dargebracht. I 204, 208; II 280 — Zeichen des Opfers. II 52 — Tag des *netonatiuhçaualli.* I 204; II 280 — bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. II 268, 270 — bei *Xipe.* II 257 — Gott der Wiener Handschrift (Erdbebengott). II 283 — s. *olin*, siebzehntes Tageszeichen. — s. *tecpilanauatl.*

naui olin, atl, cipactli, acatl, couatl, Säule des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 170.

naui quauhtli „vier Adler“. II 76, 85.

naui quiauitl „vier Regen“, Zeichen des *Quiauhtonatiuh.* I 204 — „vier Regen“. II 76.

naui tecpatl, „vier Feuersteinmesser“, die zweite der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, den Norden bezeichnend; *Xochiquetzal*, die Mondgöttin. II 79, 86 — Name des Mondes. II 79 — Jahresdatum des Südblattes. II 122, 123 — s. *macuilli malinalli.*

naui tochtli, das vierte Jahr der zweiundfünfzigjährigen Periode. I 350 — „vier Kaninchen“, Jahresdatum des Nordblattes. II 122, 123 — s. *macuilli eecatl.*

naui tochtli [chiquacen] couatl, Datum beim Regengotte des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*). I 349.

naui tochtli [yei] atl, Datum beim Regengotte des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*). I 349.

neapanalli „Guirlande“. I 299. — s. auch *amaneapanalli.*

Nebel, Land des Nebels, der Wasserfülle, s. *atl ayauican.* — Eindringen *Quetzalcouatl*'s in ihn = Verschwinden in der Erde. II 45, 49.

Nebelbogen, schliesst den Eingang zum Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — zum Süden der Unterwelt. II 57 — verschliesst die Mitte der Unterwelt. II 72.

Nebelfigur, mit *Quetzalcouatl*-Abzeichen, verschliesst als dunkler Bogen das Loch im Vorhange der Erde. II 45.

necocololo, Kriegertanz. II 71 — zu solchem treten *yayauhqui* und *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* an. II 71.

neçaualcalli, Fastenhäuschen *Quetzalcouatl*'s, in den vier Himmelsrichtungen gebaut. II 206 — „Fastenhäuschen“, des Tempels der Nacht. II 28, 32.

Neçaualcoyotl, König von *Tetzcoco.* I 201.

neçaualli, Fasten. — bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 204; II 280 — bei *Chantico.* II 280 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 38 — durch *malinalli*-Streifen ausgedrückt. I 201 — bei der blauen Federschlange durch in einander geschlungene *malinalli*-Streifen angedeutet. II 301.

neçaualli-**Kranz.** I 201, 202 — Fastenschnur, bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 245 — bei *Xochiquetzal.* I 248 — bei *Xochipilli.* I 248.

Neçaualpilli, König von *Tetzcoco.* I 201.

neçoliztli, Kasteiung, Blutentziehung zu Ehren der Götter. I 128 — bei *Chalchiuhtotolin* dargestellt. I 201 — durch Skorpion veranschaulicht II 193. — s. *omitl-uitztli çacatapayolli.*

nematlaxo „Hin- und Herbewegen der Hände“, Anfangstanz der Krieger beim Feste der *Teteo innan.* I 154.

nemiliztli „Menschenalter, Weltalter“. II 25.

nenonotzalli „Tradition“. II 87.

Nenton, Distrikt an den Grenzen von Chiapas und Guatemala; knopfförmige Nasenpflöcke aus Thon. I 231, 232.

nepantla tonatiuh, Mittag (Zeit der Räucherungen), bis dahin begleiten die *iaomicque* die Sonne. II 88 — s. Mittag.

Nephrit-Steinbeil. II 172.

Nequameyocan, erster Königssitz der Chichimeken von *Quauhtitlan*, von *Itzpapalotl* eingesetzt. I 183.

Nessel, s. *chichicaztli.*

Nesselmantel, s. *tzitzicazamatl.*

netetequiliztli, Selbstopferung, Kasteiung; Begleitbild im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Süden). I 24 — im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 34 — im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 64.

netetequizpan, Zeit, wo man sich zerschneidet, sich kasteit = Mitternacht (*„youal nepontla).* II 193.

netonatiuhçaualli, Fasten zu Ehren der Sonne, zum Tage *naui olin.* I 204; II 280.

Netzgewebe, *ayatl.* II 33 — von Kriegern getragen. II 33 — weisses, bei *Quetzalcouatl* die Rückendecke und das Hüftentuch. I 245 — bildet den Körper einer Todesgöttin beim Süden der Unterwelt. II 13 — der Unterwelt, die der Morgenstern bei seinem Erscheinen am Osthimmel verlässt. II 70 — s. *ayatl.*

Netzstoff, Bündel daraus; in ihm nimmt *Quetzalcouatl*, den Westen der Unterwelt verlassend, Maiskolben mit sich. II 57.

Netzstoffumwicklung, blaue, s. *xiuhtlalpilli.*

Netztasche für Steinspitzen, eines der Zeichen des Krieges. II 57, 70, 129 — in der Hand *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 71 — bei diesem Gotte dargestellt. II 129.

Neujahrsfest, s. *Toxcatl*, das Fest *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 147, 290.

neuer Mond, zunehmender, *Xipe Totec.* II 18.

Neumond = abnehmender, toter Mond. I 140 — sein Absterben Vorbild für das der Vegetation. II 11 — in ihm stirbt die Mondgöttin. II 13 — Unsichtbarkeit des Mondes. II 208 — Konjunktion von Mond und Sonne und Erscheinen des Morgensternes. II 248.

Neun, Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Mayamonumenten ist *chicunaui eecatl* „neun Wind“ zu lesen, entspricht *Quetzalcouatl.* I 217.

neun Felder, einer *tlachieloni*-artigen Halsscheibe. II 42.

neun Götter (der Nacht), *Bolon ti ku* (Maya). II 156.

neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, vier Götterpaare um den Feuergott geordnet. II 107 — I 218—238; II 107, 179 — im Tonalamatl des Codex Bologna. I 17, 218 — sonstiges Vorkommen. I 218; II 292 — begleiten die 20×13 Tage des Tonalamatl's. I 218; II 292 — in der Codex Borgia-Gruppe in ganzer Figur dargestellt. I 218; II 292 — ihre Zählung im Codex Borgia beginnt in der untersten der drei Reihen von rechts in Boustrophedon. I 218, 219

— sind von den Bildern der ersten neun Tageszeichen begleitet. I 219 — nach den fünf Himmelsrichtungen vertheilt (im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer). I 219, 237, 238; II 292 — sind als „Hüter der Nacht“ durch ein Brennholzbündel *(tlatlatilquauhquetzalli)* und eine Kautschukkugel *(oltelolòtli)* gekennzeichnet. I 219 — weichen im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer von den Darstellungen des Codex Borgia und Codex Vaticanus ab. I 219 — sind die Erdregionen. II 298, 299.

neun *imix, cimi, chuen, cib,* Geburtstag des Regengottes (*u Ziyanil Chac),* in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam.* II 6.

neun Köpfe, von Abbildern des Morgensternes, abwechselnd schwarz, gelb, blau, roth, an einer Netzdeeke *(ayatl),* die sich über *Quetzalcouatl* als Sterngott wölbt. II 72.

neun *Quetzalcouatl*-**Figuren,** s. *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren, neun.

Neun Richtungen, s. Feuergott *(Chiconaui Tecuhtli).* I 118.

neun Schildkröten, auf ihnen setzen die einwandernden Stämme über das Meer (nach dem Lienzo de Jucutácato). II 269, 270.

neun „Señores de la noche“, s. neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

neun Stäbe, neben dem Bandvierecke. II 284.

Neun Stunden der Nacht, s. Neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

neun Stunden des Tages, ursprünglich anzusetzen. II 298.

neun Unterwelten. II 294, 298 — s. *Chicunauhapan.*

neunte Unterwelt, *mictlan opochcalocan.* II 294

neunter Himmel, von *Quetzalcouatl* bewohnt. II 292, 294.

neun und sechzig Tage, Abstand zwischen dem Tageszeichen *cipactli* und *itzcuintli.* II 14, 15.

Neunzahl, Zahl der Unterwelten, der irdischen Regionen. II 298.

neunzigtägiger Abschnitt der Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350; II 15, 153 — bezeichnet Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus während der oberen Konjunktion. I 350; II 15.

nexcaxitl „Aschenkiste“. II 34.

nexquimilli, Aschenpacket, auf der Plattform des Tempels der Nacht. II 33, 34 — enthält die Asche des Vaters *Quetzalcouatl*'s, des Gottes des Abendsternes. II 34 — erhält *Quetzalcouatl* von *Youaltecutli* und zieht damit weiter. II 34 — von *malinalli*-Gras umhüllt, auf dem Baume des Südtzompantli. II 116.

nican tlaltipac „hier auf der Welt“, Reich der Freuden. I 73.

Nicaragua, Bericht von Fr. de Bobadilla (in *Teoca*). I 4 — Name *Quetzalcouatl*'s dort *Chiquinaut y Hecat = chicunaui eecatl* „neun Wind“. II 216.

nicteel uah, nictel haa yaal (Maya) „Herabrieseln der Blumen, Blumenregen“. II 265.

Nochpalli icue „die mit dem karminfarbenen Hüfttuch“, Vertreterin des *Tlillan-Tlapallan.* II 145 — s. *Yapalli icue.*

noh (guatem.) „gross, gewaltig“ = mex. Tageszeichen *olin.* I 190 — s. *xoo.*

noh haicabil (Maya) „der grosse Weltuntergang“. II 156.

noh ytzam cab ain (Maya) „grosses Krokodil des Landes des Tropfens“; ihm wird beim Weltuntergange der Kopf abgeschlagen. II 156.

nohol (Maya) „Süden“. I 311.

nopalli, Feigen-Kaktus, Stauden am *Izcalli*-Fest beschnitten. I 117 — von *Macuexi* und *Micuexi* geschossen. I 206.

Nord-Ballspieler, ein *chalchiuhtotolin.* II 116.

Nordbaum, mit *Mixcouatl* (Cod. Vatic.). II 104 — Dornbaum mit einem Adler. II 105, 106 — bei dem *Mictlantecutli,* dem fünften der neun Herren der Nacht (im Cod. Vatic.) dargestellt. II 107, 108 (Abb.).

Nord-*tzitzimimê,* blaue *Ciuateotl,* blauer *Auiateotl.* II 117 — bringen *atl-tlachinolli; itztopolli* und *tetl-quauitl* herab. II 117.

Norden, Region der Gottheit der Erde (Maisgott, Todesgott). I 238 — im Codex Borgia durch *Itztli* und *Tlaçolteotl* bezeichnet. I 238 — s. *mictlampa, xaman.* — Baum des, s. *quauhquauitl.* — Region *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 21, 149; II 33, 50 — Region des Krieges. I 247; II 50 — s. Dornbaum, Dornbäume. — s. *mimixcoua intlalpan.* — Reich des Dunkels, der Erde, Region *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 33, 50, 106, 155 — Eingang zur Unterwelt. I 341; II 102 (s. offener Erdrachen) — gespaltener Berg *(Tepexic).* II 155 — durch *Mixcouatl* repräsentirt. I 259, 332 — Region der Chichimeken. I 260 — Regengott des Nordens und der *tecpatl*-Jahre, hat gelbe Farbe. I 345, 348 — Region der Schärfe *(itztic ceeee).* I 268; II 50, 106 — Region der Sünde (s. *Itztlacoliuhqui).* II 8 — Steinmesserregion. Region des Krieges, des Opfers, der Kostbarkeit. II 50, 199 — des Kriegertodes. II 102, 116 — des Todes (s. *ce ocelotl).* II 169 — Land der Toten, der Seelen der Väter, der ersten Geopferten. II 13, 22, 79 — Region der *Ueueteôtl.* II 22 — auf dem gespaltenen Berge Wohnstätte der alten Götter *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacacinatl* II 102 — Land der Vorfahren. II 79, 116 — Region des Mondes (der Pulquegötter). II 116, 177 — brauner Hirsch des Nordens. I 300 — vom Pfeile durchbohrt. I 300, 301 — mit der Feuerschlange verknüpft. II 40, 73, 102. — bezeichnet im sakralen Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen die Bewegung mit der Sonne. II 13 — s. Süden.

Norden der Unterwelt, vom unsichtbaren Morgensterne durchwandert. II 7—9 — vom unsichtbaren Abendsterne. II 49 ff.

Norden und Süden, Homologie zwischen beiden. II 115.

Nord-Erdgottheit, *Cinteotl.* II 134.

Nord-Feuerreiber, hat Attribute des Pulquegottes und *Mixcouatl*'s II 119.

Nordgott, *tlacochcalcatl = Tezcatlipoca.* I 290 — s. *Uitznauacatl,* Südgott.

Nord-Himmelsträger, *Mictlantecutli.* II 132 — erscheint als *tlacatecolotl.* II 132.

Nord-Jahre, s. *tecpatl*-Jahre.

Nord-*Nanauatzin,* blau, sein Datum *macuilli eecatl* „fünf Wind“. II 123.

Nordpaar, kopulirend, Mondgott (blauer *Auiateotl*) und Mondgöttin *(Tlaçolteotl)* unter einer Decke mit *tenixyo tilmâtli*-Muster und blutroth. II 120.

Nordpfeiler der Nordregion. II 51.

Nordpfeiler der Ostregion. II 48, 291 — durch schwarze Hälfte des Hutes *(copilli) Quetzalcouatl*'s angedeutet. II 167 — s. Lichtkörper — s. *Tlillan Tlapallan.*

Nordpfeiler der Westregion, Haus der schwarzen Schlange. II 22, 48, 51.

nordsüdliche Orientirung der Ballspielplätze in vielen Ruinenplätzen. I 289; II 23 — des Ballspielplatzes vor dem Tempel *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 289.

Nord-Südpfeiler, s. Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. — s. *Tlillan-Tlapallan.* — s. *tlapoyaua.* Scheide von Tag und Nacht.

Nordtempel, *Tlacochcalco* „im Speerhause“, Tempel *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 290 — *Quetzalcouacalli.* II 48, 51 — Tempel der (blauen) Feuerschlange. II 73.

Nord-*teoicpalli,* mit den Insignien einer Gottheit des Wassers (des Westblattes). II 122.

Nord-*tzompantli, tlauauantli*-Dornbaum mit *aztaxelli*-Blüthen, *amapamitl,* der Hieroglyphe des Mondes im Wipfel, enthauptetem Adler und Jaguar zur Seite. II 115, 116

Nordwestküste, Stämme, bei ihnen Spielstäbe im Gebrauche. II 284.

Normales, bezeichnet die heilige Vierzahl. II 96.

nueve acompanados, — señores, — dueños de la noche, s. Neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Nuñez de la Vega. II 258.

Nut (Aegypt.), Himmelsgöttin der Aegypter. I 55, 84.

Nutzpflanzen, perennirende. I 117.

Oa oa oa, Schrei des Lachfalken (*uactli*). II 253.
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Oben-unten (s. Bewegung). I 73 — die fünfte Himmelsrichtung, bezeichnet den Feuergott. I 118, 119 — durch den Pulquegott repräsentirt. I 251 — durch die Gottheit der fünften Venusperiode. I 333, 335, 336 — durch den *Tlaloc* der fünften Richtung. I 348 — *tlani-àco*, Richtungsunterschied; durch einen aus dem Wasser emporragenden Pfahl ausgedrückt; an ihm ein Mensch emporkletternd; darüber das Zeichen Mitternacht (*youalnepantla*). II 244 — s. *Mictlantecutli.*
obere Region, s. *illuicatl.* — Region des Kriegerhimmels. II 70.
oberste Region, der dreizehnte Himmel (s. dort, s. *Omeyocan*). II 295.
obscöner Akt, durch *cuitlatl* (s. dort) veranschaulicht. II 219.
Obsidian, s. *itztli.*
Obsidianklinge, blattförmig, schwarz, bei dem Pulquegotte. I 143.
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Obsidianschlangenbemalung, s. *tlaitzcouaicuilolli.*
Obsidianschmetterling, s. *Itzpapalotl.* (I 182).
Obsidianschwert, s. *macquauitl.*
Obsidianspitzenschlange, s. *itzcouatl.*
oc (Maya), Tageszeichen = mexik. *itzcuintli*, das zweite Glied der für den Morgenstern bedeutsamen viergliederigen Reihe. — (Maya), s. *yoxil oc.*
occampan tlachia, zweigesichtige Maske des *Tititl*-Festes. I 192.
ocoquauitl, Kieferknittel, Waffe der unerschrockenen Krieger. I 170, 174.
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octecomatl, Pulquegefäss; Begleitbild im zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 53 — bei *Mayauel* dargestellt. I 114; II 235 — bei *Itztlacoliuhqui.* — Form, s. *ometochtli tlauiztli.* — Hieroglyphe für *octli.* I 53 — für *Mayauel, metl* eintretend. I 53 — beim Pulquegotte. I 70 — zusammen mit einem Kaninchen (*tochtli*) beim sechszehnten Tageszeichen *cozcaquauhtli* dargestellt. I 307 — vom Pfeile durchbohrt. I 307 — mit *Tlaçolteotl*-Gesicht, von einem *Auiateotl* in der Linken gehalten. II 70, 71 — mit einem Schädel und zwei Feuerschlangen, zwischen den Pulquegöttern des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — beim gelben *Auiateotl* (des Westens). II 98 — mit spitzwinkligen Zeichen bemalten Papierfahnen (*amapamitl tlaitzcopintli*) besetzt, bringt der gelbe *Auiateotl* (West-*tzitzimitl*) herab. II 117.
octli, Pulque; berauschendes Getränk aus dem Safte der Agave. I 113 – Hieroglyphe. II 197 – Getränk der starken Leute, der Krieger. I 251 — der alten Leute. I 307 — scharfes Getränk. I 113, 114, 253 — scharfes Getränk, s. *omitl* — beim Feuerorakel benutzt. I 116 — feuriges, todbringendes Getränk. I 114; II 173 — Beziehung zum Zeichen *cozcaquauhtli.* I 307 — Erfindung des Pulques und Gelage bei dieser Gelegenheit, wobei der Fürst der Huaxteken (*Cuextecatl*) fünf Schalen trinkt und in der Trunkenheit seine Schambinde fortwirft. II 96 – in Verbindung mit einem Wege, Anspielung auf *Tlaloc (tlalli + octli)*, bei der achten Tagstunde. II 197 — mit Nasenhalbmonden *(yacametztli)* auf der Oberfläche. II 197.
ocelocopilli, mit Jaguarfell überzogene kegelförmige Mütze *Quetzalcouatl's.* I 87; II 215.
oceloeuatl, Jaguarfell, auf dem Königsstuhle. I 144 — s. Jaguarfell. — s. *teoicpalli.*
oceloicpalli, Jaguarfellsitz. I 20; II 181, 183, 198.
oceloquauitl, Baum des Südens. II 107.
ocelotetepontli, Jaguarfuss. I 66.
ocelotl, Jaguar; Verehrung bei den Indianern der Alta Vera Paz. — Geheul in den Bergen, unheilheilvolles Vorzeichen. I 93 — das Thier, das die Sonne frisst, Sinnbild des Dunkels. I 71, 92, 152 — bezeichnet die Erde, Nacht. I 152 — in diesem Sinne s. auch unter *Tezcatlipoca.* — für die Höhle eintretend. I 71, 92 — = *Tepeyollotli*, Gott der Höhlen. I 71, 92 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der zweiten oder fünften Periode (Süden). II 149, 152, 154, 155, 157 — auf dem Baume des Südens. II 107 — bei dem Pulquegotte dargestellt, die Krieger bezeichnend. II 246 — das vierzehnte Tageszeichen. I 12, 60, 152–165, 306 — sein Regent *Tlaçolteotl.* I 152–165, 217 — bei diesem Tageszeichen *teyolloquani*, d. h. der Zauberer, dargestellt. I 306 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 317 — hält mit den Vorderpranken den halb schwarzen, halb rothen Nachthimmel empor (beim sechsten Tageszeichen *miquiztli*). I 304 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 311 — Name der Erde. I 282 — massgebendes Tageszeichen für den fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer, *tlalauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* II 157, 163 — Dämon des Nordens, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 62 — von *Mixcouatl*, der ihm wesensverwandt, angegriffen. II 62, 68 — s. *tequani.* — s. *teyollocuani.* — s *Ocelotonatiuh.* — s. *Tezcatlipoca.* — s. Echo. — s. Fressen. — s. *ix.* — s. Jaguarhelmmaske.
ocelotl-quauhtli, durch *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca* veranschaulicht auf je einem *teoicpalli*, gepolstert mit einem Adlerbalg und Jaguarfell, bezeichnet den jungen Krieger, den Mond II 57 — beim Pulquegotte dargestellt. II 246.
ocelotl, quiauitl, cuetzpalin, atl, Tageszeichen der ersten Säule des zweiten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Norden). II 4.
ocelotonatiuh, Jaguarsonne, die erste (bezw. die zweite) der vier präkosmischen Weltperioden, Weltalter der Erde. I 92, 93, 204; II 25 — s. *Tezcatlipoca* (I 21). — ihr Zeichen ist *naui ocelotl.* I 204.
oceloyataztli, Jaguarfelltasche für Räucherwerk, in der Hand *Iztac Mixcouatl's.* II 164, 232, 234 — bei *Tlaloc* abgebildet, Lebensmittelfülle bedeutend (s. *tonacayo*). II 173, 229, 232, 234 — Abzeichen der Priester (wie *yetecomatl*). II 164.
oceloyataztli cuechchô, mit Schneckengehäusen behangene Jaguarfelltaschen, von Räucherpriestern getragen. II 232.
oçomàtli, Affe; in *malinalli* gekleidet. I 129; II 290 — bedeutet Tanz, Spiel, Kunst (vgl. Blume, *xochitl*). I 129, 135 — = *malinalli*-Skelett. II 309 — mit seinen Zügen der Kranke dargestellt. — das eilfte Tageszeichen. I 10—12, 39, 58, 72, 129—137, 213, 305, 306 — sein Regent *Xochipilli.* I 132–137, 213; II 136 — Verkörperung *Xochipilli's.* II 136 — *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 302 — bei diesem Tageszeichen die Schildkröte *(ayotl)* als Gott der Musik dargestellt. I 305 306 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe I 313–316 — als Tageszeichen angegeben beim *tzontemoc* der fünften Himmelsrichtung. II, 126 — s. *oyoualli* (I 13) — bezeichnet *tlaelquani.* I 129 (beim Todesgotte), s. affenähnliche Haltung. — in *malinalli*-Gras gekleidet, Ballspieler des Ostens; sein Determinativ zwei mit einander verschlungene Edelsteinschnüre (blau-gelb), Musik oder Gesang andeutend. II 116 — Rückenlast *Tonacatecutli's.* II 171.
oçomàtli-**Helmmaske** der Götterfigur der *calli*-Jahre. I 344, 346.
ochpaniztli „Wegfegen, Besenfest", Fest der *Tlaçolteotl*, im Herbste gefeiert. I 153, 157 ff., 211, 231; II 10, 18, 247 — Fest des reifen Maises. I 138, 157; II 110, 145, 247 — an diesem

Feste wird von der *Tetcoinnan*, dem Monde, der Morgenstern (*cetl-Itztlacoliuhqui-Tlauizcalpantecutli*) geboren. II 145 — Fest im Tempel *Xochicalco* in México zu Ehren der *Atlatonan* und des *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl*. I 135 — Erntefest. I 135 — symbolische Phasen des Festes: Brautzug (Tragen des Opfers auf dem Rücken), Begattung (*mocuexyecoaya*), Geburtswehen (*moçacacaicalia*), Geburt (*mamaçoua, motetevana*). I 159 — dem Abbilde der *Tetcoinnan* wird der Kopf abgeschlagen. I 154, 155; II 10.

offener Erdrachen, Eingang ins Totenreich (Norden). II 102, 103.

offener Mund *Xipe*'s. I 178, 270; II 256 — s. *motenmaxaloticac.* — der *Chantico*. II 273.

Oeffnung des Leibes der Todesgöttin gegenüber dem Eingange, zerrissen dargestellt. II 3 — in der Mitte zerrissener Zeugstreifen einer Todesgöttin. II 14 — im Vorhange der Erde, durch einen dunklen Bogen geschlossen. II 45 — in der Umwallung des Westens der Unterwelt. II 56 — des Südens der Unterwelt deren vier. II 57 — durch die am Abend die Sonne unter die Erde taucht; vom Pfeiler des Hauses der schwarzen und rothen Schlange umrahmt. II 21, 22.

offener Mund *Xipe*'s, s. *motemmaxaloticac.* — mit herausgestreckter Zunge, beim Todesgotte, bedeutet, dass er nie Nein sagt (bei Opfern). I 128.

Ohr des Hundes, gestutzt und mit gelbem Rande. II 265 — zerfetzt, bei *Xolotl* (Hund). II 42, 43 — mit Einschnitten am oberen Rande Kasteiung andeutend, Determinativ beim fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer (*Tezcatlipoca* des Südens). II 163 — s. Koyoteohr. s. Jaguarohr.

Ohren mit Augen versehen, in ein Gesicht transformirt, bei dem als Hirsch verkleideten und mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbundenen *Xochipilli*. II 135.

Ohreule, bezeichnet, zusammen mit *Tezcatlipoca*, die zehnte Tagesstunde. II 23 — s. *tecolotl*.

Ohrgehänge *Quetzalcouatl*'s s. *epcololli*. — s. *Xolotl*. — der Tanzgötter s. *oyoualli*. — des Affen. I 11 — in Form eines Strahles der Sonnenscheibe, bei *Xiuhtecutli*. I 299 — bei *Uevecoyotl*. II 135, 216 — beim weissen Hirsche des Ostens. I 299; II 135 — ein blauer Strahl s. blauer Strahl.

Ohrpflock, s. *nacochtli, xiuhnacochtli, xiulcoyolnacochtli*. — s. beilförmiger. — besteht aus einer menschlichen Hand beim Todesgotte. I 127, 244; II 177 — aus *malinalli*-Gras, beim Todesgotte. I 226, 302; II 115 — weiss, bei *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 71, 139, 142 — weiss und blau, bei dem aus einem Hirsche hervorsehenden *Xochipilli*. II 135.

Ohrplatte, viereckige, mit diagonalen Furchen bei *Tlaloc*. I 112 — bei den Pulquegöttern. I 142; II 245 — bei *Tepeyollotli*. — viereckige, s. *chalchiuhnacochtli*.

Ohrrand, für Blutabzapfungen bevorzugt. I 147.

Ohrschopf, des eulenköpfigen Menschen gegenüber der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 319.

ol, Stamm, der „etwas rundes" (Kautschukball) bedeutet im Mexikanischen und Maya. I 190, 191, 193.

olcopinticac. II 81 — s. *motenolcopinticac.*

olin, Bewegung; das siebzehnte Tageszeichen. I 13–15, 45, 63, 190–200, 307, 308 — s. *naui olin*. — s. *tecpilanauatl*. — sein Regent *Xolotl*. I 191–200; II 97, 167 — Anfangszeichen der fünften Venusperiode. I 239, 327, 333, 335, 337; II 137, 148 — Zeichen der zu den Toten hinabgehenden Sonne. II 167 — in ihm schiesst *Tlauizcalpantecutli* die Jünglinge und Jungfrauen. II 148, 157 — s. *ocelotl, telpopochtin, ichpopochtin*. — bei diesem Tageszeichen *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. I 307–308 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 318 — entsprechendes Maya-Zeichen, *caban*. II 108 — als Tageszeichen, angegeben am Himmel des Himmelsträgers des Südens. II 126, 129 — ein Symbol der Erde. I 14, 190; II 108 (s. *tlalticpac, caban*). — an Stelle des *chalchiuitl* an der Stirnseite des grossen *tzontemoc*-artigen Skelettkopfes, der die Erde bezeichnet (Cod. Vatic.). II 167 — bezeichnet die Sonnenbahn. I 200 — ist eigentlich die Sonne. I 200 — s. *xoo* (tzapot.), *chic* (Zo'tzil), *noh* (guatem.), *caban* (Maya). — in *Cuicatlan* Anfangszeichen eines der vier Jahre. I 342 — in dem Kreuzungspunkte des Bandviereckes. II 284.

***olin*-artige Verschlingung**, von Schlange und Skolopender, eines wurmartigen *Quetzalcouatl* mit einem wurmartigen Menschen. I 15; II 253.

olini, rollende Bewegung (auch von Menschenmassen), insbesondere vom Erdbeben. I 15, 190 — s. *tlalolini*.

olintonatiuh, Erdbebensonne, gegenwärtige (fünfte) Weltperiode. I 200, 204; II 289.

Oliva, Gattung von Schnecken, deren Gehäuse das Handgelenkband des Gottes des Südens zieren. I 307 — *Iztac Mixcouatl*'s. I 308.

ollama „Ball spielen". I 193.

ollamani „Ballspieler", *Xolotl*. I 193 – *yayauhqui* und *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 288 — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Süd-Ballspieler.

ollamanalli, Opfergabe von Kautschuk.

Olli, Kautschuk; daraus Bälle für das Ballspiel gefertigt. I 63, 190, 193; II 32 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* dargestellt. II 199, 285 – in der Hand *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 288 — in einer Blutlache zusammen mit einer rothen Schlange. I 289 — zusammen mit einem Beile, beim rothen *Auiateotl* des Südens (*Macuil xochitl*). II 98 — mit einem Schädel und einem Wasserstrome vereint, auf dem Ballspielplatze neben der *Xochiquetzal*. II 285 — s. auch *oltelolótli*.

Olman, Land der *Olmeca*. II 214 — Tempel des Feuergottes (*s. Tzonmolco*). I 73 — s. *Tlillan-Tlapallan*. — bezeichnet das *tonatiuh ixco* gelegene Land, die atlantische Golfküste. II 214.

Olmeca (*Uixtotin*), Bewohner der südlichen Vera Cruz-Küste. I 161, 185 — verehren die *Tlaçolteotl*. I 161 — bei Sahagun = *Mixteca*, s. diese. — s. Mistequilla. — trennen sich in *Tamoanchan* von den übrigen Stämmen. I 185.

olpiyauac, weiss und mit Kautschuk betropft; Gewand und Schmuck des Regengottes. I 112, 191, 232, 235 — viereckige Stirnplatte *Xolotl*'s. I 191 — Trapez und Strahl. Rückenschmuck des Feuergottes im Wasserstrome beim *Tlaloc* des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 234.

***olpiyauac*-Banner,** in einer Edelsteinschale beim Regengotte des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*), bezeichnet Fruchtbarkeit. I 352, 353

oltelolòtli, Kautschukball; Opfergabe. I 36, 37, 48, 50, 53, 58, 63, 64, 69, 74, 75, 106, 285, 307, 308, 339 etc.; II 158, 199 — auf dem Brennholzbündel bei den neun Herren der Nacht. I 219 — Spielball bei *Macuilxochitl* angegeben. — bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 283, 285 — Feueropfer bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 285; II 109, 158 — bei *Tezcatlipoca*. II 111 — bei *Xochipilli*. II 114 — bei *Mictlantecutli*. II 115 — mit einem Knochen bei *Xochipilli* als Feuergott. I 305 — besonderes Symbol des alten Gottes mit der *cipactli*-Helmmaske. I 243 — darin Adlerfuss (*quauhtetepontli*) steckend. I 50, 51 — Sinnbild des Regens, s. *chalchiuitl-otlelolòtli*. I 53 — Darbringen eines Kautschukballes. I 64 — in dem Räuchergefässe der *Ciuateotl* des Ostens (im Codex Vaticanus). II 93 — in einzelnen der weissen Räuchergefässe bei den fünf *Auiateteô*. II 98 — mit einer einzeln aufgebundenen Quetzalfeder, in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal* (der neunten Tagstunde). II 198, 199.

ômaxac s. *òtlamaxac*.

Omaxac Ciuapipiltin, s. *Otlamaxac Ciuapipiltin*.

omaxac chaneque „die auf dem Kreuzwege hausenden", die *Ciuapipiltin, Ciuateteô*. II 90.

omaxatl, Kreuzweg, auf einem Berge bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 306.

ome acatl „zwei Rohr"; in ihm der Himmel geschaffen. II 288 — den Feuerbohrer bezeichnend, beim ersten Menschenpaare. I 81, 82; II 128, 213 — Abzeichen des Feuergottes. I 121, 146; II 282 — s. *ome quammamalitli*. — in diesem Jahre verwandelte sich *Tezcatlipoca* in *Mixcouatl* und erbohrte zum ersten Male Feuer; danach wurde das grosse Feuerfest gefeiert. II 118 — bezeichnet Feuerbohrer, Feuer, am rechten Auge (Stirn) *Tezcatlipoca*'s angegeben. I 282 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. I 231 — in der Hand des auf der Höhle sitzenden *tecpoyotl*'s bei *Tlaloc*. II 229 — = *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 256.

ome calli „zwei Haus", Jahr, in dem *Camaxtli* vier Männer und eine Frau als Opfer für die Sonne, sowie 400 Chichimeca-*Otomi* ersehafft. I 264.

ome cozcaquauhtli „zwei Geier", Name der *Tlaçolteotl* im Codex Nuttall. I 164.

Omeciuatl, Göttin der Zeugung; s. *Ometecutli*.

ome itzcuintli „zwei Hund", alter Gott der Wiener Handschrift trägt die Tabakkalebasse der Priester. I 28; II 112, 164 — s. *ocelopataztli*.

ome olin s. *chicuei tecpatl, ome olin*.

ome quammamalitli, zwei hölzerne Bohrer; der Feuerbohrer, im Kopfschmucke des Feuergottes. I 121, 219, 235, 282, 288 - der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 228 – vertreten durch zwei Adlerfederbüsche beim Feuergotte. II 282.

ome quetzalli, zwei Federbüsche; auf dem Scheitel der *Xochiquetzal*. I 209, 212, 247, 352; II 40, 66, 183, 187, 213, 281 — der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278; II 225 — bedeutet zwei Kinder(?). II 187 — auf dem Kopfe des Thieres mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282.

ome quiauitl s. *matlactli calli, ome quiauitl*.

ome quipillo, zwei Kautschuktropfen; auf der Backe der *Tzapotlan tenan*. I 100.

ome tecpatl, zweites Jahr der 52jährigen Periode. I 350.

ome tecpatl macuilli cipactli, Datum beim Regengotte des Westens *(Tlauizcalpantecutli)*. I 349.

ome tecpatl matlactli quiauitl, Datum beim Regengotte des Westens *(Tlauizcalpantecutli)*. I 349.

Ometecutli, Omeciuatl, Zeugungsgötter, im dreizehnten Himmel wohnend. I 32, 55, 79, 80, 116, 117, 157, 207; II 179, 213, 294 — Herren der Lebensmittel. I 207 — bewohnen den dreizehnten der dreizehn Himmel. II 294 — s *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*. — s. *Citlalinicue, Ilamatecutli*.

ometochcueitl, zweifarbige Enagua der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164.

ometochchimalli, Schild der Pulquegötter. I 142.

ometochteteuitl, Opferpapier mit Nasenhalbmonden, bei der Erdgöttin. I 199.

ometochtilmàtli, Mantel mit dem Muster der Pulquegötter. I 142.

ometochtlauiztli, Devise der Pulquegötter, Kriegerabzeichen. I 142.

ome tochtli, „zwei Kaninchen", Name des Pulquegottes. I 137, 138, 139, 140 — Gott von *Metztitlan*, von *Tezcatlipoca* getötet, aber wieder erwachend. I 137, 138 — Gott des *patolli*-Spieles. I 139.

Ome tochtli Nappatecutli, ein Pulquepriester. I 139.

Ome tochtli Papaztac, ein Pulquepriester. I 139.

Ome tochtli Tomixauh, ein Pulquepriester. I 139.

Ometochtzin, Hauptpriester des Pulquegottes. I 139 — Haupt der Tempelsänger. I 139.

ome uitztli, beim Gotte des Südens, in der Abendsternreihe. I 339 — „zwei Agaveblattspitzen" in der Hand *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 30 — bei den Göttern der vierten Tagstunde. II 188.

ome xochitonal „das Zeichen zwei Blume" für das zwanzigste Tageszeichen *xochitl* eintretend in der Tagesliste von *Metztitlan*. I 5.

Omeyocan, Ort der Zweiheit, Sitz der Zeugungsgötter, oberster Himmel. I 32, 55, 79; II 20, 179, 191, 213, 294 — s. *Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl*. — s. *Tamoanchan*. — s. dreizehnter Himmel.

omicouatl malinalcouatl, Skelettwirbelsäulenschlange mit Grasenden; Federschlange des Südens, *Macuilxochitl (Aniateotl)* umschliessend. II 302.

omitia, nino „Knochen sein", von *Quetzalcouatl* gesagt, der vier Tage lang Knochen war. II 16.

omitl, Knochendolch, Werkzeug der Kasteiung des Priesters. I 201 — als Pflock in den Nasenflügeln. II 150 — über dem Pulquekruge, weist auf die scharfen Eigenschaften des Pulque. I 53, 70 — in der Kopfbinde *Yacatecutli*'s, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — des Pulquegottes. II 245 — damit sacrifizirt sich der *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui* das Ohr. II 111 — damit sacrifizirt sich der schwarze Todesgott das Ohr (Codex Bologna). II 114 — in der Hand *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 232 — beim Büsser. I 252 — im Haare neben dem Ohre, bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 286 — bei *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308 — über dem Ohre des büssenden Priesters der achten Nachtstunde. II 196 — mit einer Edelsteinscheibe und einer Blüthe, im Haare des Feuerreibers des Westens. II 119 — mit einer Blüthe und gelben Federn, bei *Quetzalcouatl* als Feuergott. I 302.

omitl-uitztli, Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitzen; Werkzeuge der Kasteiung, im Kopfschmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 19, 88, 302; II 131 — *Xolotl*'s. II 266 — des Fledermausgottes. II 61 — im Kopfschmucke *Quetzalcouatl-Tlaloc*'s *(nani eecatl* „vier Wind"). II 234 — im Kopfschmucke *Xochipilli*'s (als Sonnengott) und der *Xochiquetzal* (mit *copilli*), bei der fünften Tagstunde. II 190 — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 88, 286, 302; II 199 — *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 212 — der *Cinateteô* und der fünf Götter des Südens. II 93, 98 — bei *Tlaloc* angegeben. II 229, 307 — in der Hand des rothen Skelettes. II 307 — des *malinalli*-Skelettes. II 308 — in der Papierbinde des *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — in der Hand desselben Gottes. I 297 — in der Hand der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 229 — in der Augenbraue und dem Schnauzenende des die Höhle bezeichnenden Schlangenrachens bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 302 — den Süden bezeichnend. I 238 — beim Büsser im Tempel. I 20 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 245 — bei *Tonatiuh*. I 25, 285 — in der Hand *Tonatiuh*'s. I 306 — sonst: I 36, 37, 50, 64, 71, 74 — in dem Räuchergefässe beim Gotte des Südens. I 339 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 301 — bei *Tonacatecutli* des ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171 — beim dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 174 — bei den Göttern der vierten Nachtstunde. II 188 — bei der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — an der Schläfe des Priesters (der zehnten Tagstunde). II 201 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s derselben Stunde. II 201.

omitl-xochitl bei *Xochiquetzal*. I 248; II 188 — bei *Xochipilli*. I 249, 305 (als Feuergott).

oni(y)aua (*c*—) „weihend zur Sonne emporheben" (Herzen des Opfers). I 206 — Haltung der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. I 219.

oonteut „sie wurde zum Gotte", von der im Kindbette gestorbenen Frau *(mocinaquetzqui, ic micquj ijti)* gesagt. II 87 — s. *teoti*.

Opfer ins Feuer, vier Gefangene ins Feuer geworfen beim Feste der *Chantico*. II 273, 274.

Opfer, s Blutopfer. — s. Feueropfer. — für die Regengötter, *miauoyotl*, Kautschukkugel mit aufgebundener Quetzalfeder. II 300 — durch eine in eine Blüthe endigende Edelsteinschnur bezeichnet. I 71 — verbürgen Maisfülle. I 158 — ist eine Kostbarkeit, der grosse Edelstein; daher der Norden der Unterwelt durch *chalchiuitl*-Umwallung dargestellt. II 50 — für die Geburt eines Kindes. II 200 — in Form eines Kampfes, s. Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 171

bis 173 — s. Herabkommen zum —. — Symbol des Opfers = Blume. I 49 — Sinnbild des Opfers, s. *itztli, tecpatl* (I 187) — s. Steinmesserregion. — Zeichen des Opfers *naui olin*. II 52 — seine Zeichen: abgeschnittener Arm, Herz, ausgebohrtes Auge. II 116 — Weinen der zum Opfer bestimmten Kinder ist ein gutes Vorzeichen beim Opfer an die Regengötter. I 154 — Erheiterung der Opfer am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste. I 154, 155 — vor dem Hause der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 20, 21 — des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* auf einem *techcatl* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 51, 52. — s. *Colin*. — s. Wachtelopfer.

Opfer der Götter, durch *Xolotl* in *Teotiuacan* vollzogen. I 206, 299; II 145.

Opfer für die *otlamaxac ciuapipiltin: tlamatzoualli, papalo-tlaxcalli, xonecuilli, izquitl*. II 91.

Opfer verbrannt auf dem Altar zur Mittagsstunde, s. *kinich-kakmó*,

Opferblut = „Edelsteinwasser", s. *chalchiuatl*.

Opferblutschale, s. *quauhxicalli*. — s. *xicaa pitáo mani* (zapot.). — Schale (Gefässe) mit Blume und *omitl*, z. B. II 192.

Opferbringer = *Xochipilli*. I 34, 39.

Opferembleme, Korb aus Adlerfedern, *Xiuhtlalpilli*-Bündel, Papierfahnen (*amapamitl*) mit einer Blume an der Schaftspitze, entsprechend dem Osten. II 119.

Opferer. II 200, 206.

Opferfahne, s. *amapamitl*. — bei der Hieroglyphe *malinalli*. I 12.

Opfergaben, s. *tlamanalli*.

Opfergefäss mit einer *chalchiuitl*-Blüthe (= brennender Räucherharzmasse), vor dem Tempel des Ostens (Codex Bologna). II 109 — mit einem *chicauaztli*, bei *Xipe*. II 257.

Opfergegenstände, als solche durch die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* gekennzeichnet. II 35, 108, 167.

Opfergott, vertritt in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift den mexikanischen *Mictlantecutli*. I 215, 216 — s. Steinmessergott.

Opfermensch, sein Prototyp ist *Mixcouatl*. I 179, 265, 289 296; II 68 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 286, 296 — auf dem Ballspielplatze der beiden *Tezcatlipoca*. I 289 — von oben herabstürzend und sich selbst opfernd, bei *Mictlantecutli*, Vertreter des *Tlillan*, dargestellt. I 297 — sein Abbild die Wachtel (s. *Colin*). II 290.

Opfermenschen, sind die *Mimixcoua*. I 264, 265, 348 — sind roth und weiss gestreift. I 348.

Opfermesser, s. *tecpatl*. — in der Hand *Xolotl*'s. II 268 — Verkörperung des Gottes *Chicunaui ecatl*, im Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange. II 39.

Opferpapiere, auf dem Opfersteine aufgehäuft, verschlingt die künstliche Feuerschlange des *Uitzilopochtli*-Festes. II 40.

Opferpriester, s. *tlenamacac*, s. *temictiani*.

Opferpriester, schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*. II 21.

Opferschale. I 28, 34 etc. — s. *quauhxicalli, xicalli*.

Opferschmuck, s. Daunenfedern (I 179).

Opferseil, s. *aztamecatl*.

Opferstätte = „Edelsteinberg", *Chalchiuhtepetl*. II 50, 52, 167.

Opferstein, s. *techcatl*.

Opferthier, hundeartiges Thier mit *cicitlalló*-Bemalung um das Auge und einer Opferfahne in der Hand. I 293, 294.

Opferthiere, s. Hund, Wachtel, *Xolotl* (I 295), ein Nagethier.

Opfertod, angedeutet bei den Vertretern der Mitte, der unteren Region des Todes. I 270 — durch das *macpamitl* angedeutet. I 281 — in der unteren Reihe des vierten Tonalamatl-Viertels, gegenüber *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. — = Tod. I 71 — s. Krieger. — der Götter in *Teotiuacan* von *Quetzalcouatl* vollzogen. I 194 — Kriegertod; sein Gott ist der Sonnengott. I 306 — Region des Feuers und Opfertodes, der Süden. II 103.

Opferung ins Feuer, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 35, sonst 115, 116, 117, 190; II 1.

Opferung, Selbstopferung der Götter in *Teotiuacan*. I 194.

Opferverzierung, wellig begrenzte, schräg rothe und gelbe Linien. II 108.

Opferzärimonie am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste ist eine Anlehnung an die Hochzeitsgebräuche. I 156.

opochcalocan „das Verschlossene", das Totenreich (*Mictlan*). II 294 — die neunte der neun Unterwelten. II 294.

opochcopa, links = Süden. II 131 — stehen die *Centzon Uitznaua*. II 13.

Opochtli, der Linke, d. h. der Südgott (*Uitzilopochtli*). II 131.

Orakel. I 116.

Orchester, indianisches. II 188, 189 — s. *tlalpan ueuetl, ayacachtli, ayotl*.

Ordinalzahlwerth der zwanzig Tageszeichen, I 76, 301 — der fünf aufeinanderfolgenden Jahre in Verbindung mit Daten der Venusperiode. I 350.

Ordnung der Dinge, von den Alten begründet. II 88 — s. *Uenetque*.

orejas acuchilladas. I 72.

Oreophasis derbianus, Schakuhuhnartiger Vogel, mit einem Horne auf der Stirn, aus den Urwäldern am Volcan del Fuego in Guatemala bekannt. I 319, 324 — mit dem Truthahne kämpfend. I 324.

Origen de los Indios, Werk Fray Gregorio Garcia's. II 164.

Orizaba, s. *Aviliçapan*.

Ost-Ballspieler, in *malinalli*-Gras gekleideter Affe (*ocomàtli*). II 116.

Ostbaum mit dem Sonnen- oder dem Feuergotte (Codex Vaticanus). II 103, 104 — ein *chalchiuitl*-Baum mit einem *quetzaltototl*. II 105.

Ostbaum, bei ihm *Tonatiuh-Piltzintecutli*, der dritte der neun Herren der Nacht (im Codex Vaticanus) dargestellt. II 107, 108 (Abb.).

Osten, Land des Reichthums. II 105, 115 — Ort der Lebensmittelfülle, der Fruchtbarkeit II 177 — s. *Tlalocan*. — s. *tlapcopa, tonatiuh iixco, likin*. — Baum des, s. *quetzalquauitl*. — = Länder der Küste; dorthin sollen die Tolteken ausgewandert sein. I 83 — Gegend der Sonne (s. *Itztli* und *Piltzintecutli*). I 238 — im Codex Borgia bezeichnet durch *Xiuhtecutli* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 238 — Gegend der Seele des toten Kriegers. I 92, 124, 241 — ihm entspricht die Aktion der ersten beiden Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden (Kasteiung und Opfer). I 241 — verkörpert die männliche Natur. I 267 — Gegend der Morgendämmerung, des Morgensterns. I 241, 267 — nach Osten wandert *Quetzalcouatl*, s. *Tlapallan*. II 16, 132 — s. *tonatiuh iixco yaqui*. — Region des Feuers (s. *Tlatlayan*). II 53, 102 — weisser Hirsch des —'s. I 299 — Stern des —'s, verkörpert in *Quetzalcouatl*. I 353 — Region der Fruchtbarkeit. I 295, 301, 345, 353; II 6, 196 — s. *Tlalocan*, — Region des Wachsthums (s. *izcalli*). II 197 — Gott des —'s, Hüter der dritten Venusperiode. I 329, 332 — Regengott des —'s und der *acatl*-Jahre, hat schwarze Farbe. I 345, 348 — s. fünf Götter des Ostens.

Osten der Unterwelt, vom unsichtbaren Morgensterne durchwandert. II 1, 6 — vom unsichtbaren Abendsterne durchwandert. II 47—49.

Osten und Norden, im Gegensatze zu Westen und Süden. II 73.

Osten und Westen, Homologie zwischen beiden. II 115 — junge Sonne — neuer Mond, *Xochipilli* — *Xochiquetzal*, das fünfte der sechs Götterpaare (s. Richtungsgegensatz). II 175.

Ost-Erdgottheit, *Xochipilli* (mit einem Blüthenbaume statt eines *chicauaztli*). II 134.

Ost-Feuerreiber, der Mondgott. II 119.

Osthimmel, Krieger dort in Tanzstellung. I 285, 286 — im

Gegensatze dazu die *Ciuateteô* des Westhimmels. I 285, 286 — Region des Morgensternes und *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 286 — Verkleidung des dort erscheinenden Morgensternes ist die Adlermaske. II 12 — das Haus der Sonne (s. *tonatiuh ichan*), Aufenthaltsort der Seelen der geopferten Krieger. II 70 — Nordpfeiler — Südpfeiler (s. *Tlillan, Tlapallan*). II 48, 291.

Ost-Himmelsträger, *Quetzalcouatl.* II 131—132.

Ost-Jahre, s *acatl*-Jahre.

Ostland, Land des Reichthums, der Vegetationsfülle = *Tlalocan.* I 295.

Ostmeer, in ihm verschwindet *Quetzalcouatl.* I 19, 85; II 1 — aus ihm emporsteigende Figur *(Xolotl)* = aufgehende Sonne. I 58 — jenseits des Ostmeers liegt die Höhle, aus der die Stämme der Menschen hervorkommen (im Lienzo de Jucutácato). II 48 — s. *Chalchiuihtlapaztli.*

Ostpaar, kopulirend, Sonnengott und Sonnengöttin unter einer Decke aus Türkisvogel- und Quetzalfedern. I 120.

Ostpunkt, eigentlicher, des Ostens der Unterwelt ein rother Ballspielplatz mit den Göttern *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* und *Tlaçolteotl.* II 48.

Ostregion, irdische = *Tlalocan.* I 295.

Ost-*teoicpalli* mit den Insignien des Mondgottes (des Nordblattes). II 121, 122.

Ost-*tzitzimimê*, weisse *Ciuateotl*, schwarzer *Auiateotl.* II 117 — bringen ein *aztamecatl* und *amapamitl*; die Waffen des Krieges herab. II 117.

Ost-*tzompantli*, mit einem dem Ostbaume entsprechenden Baume (*chalchiuitl*-Baum) mit Federn- und Blumenbannern besteckt; auf ihm ein *quauhxicalli*, neben ihm enthaupteter *xiuh-* und *chalchiuh quetzaltototl.* II 115.

ostwestliche Bewegung, scheinbare der Sonne und des Firmaments. II 12.

Ostwind, Passatwind, *tlalocayotl.* I 295; II 6 — s. Regenwind.

òtlamaxac, Kreuzung, Kultusstätte des Todesgottes. I 226, 227, 231 — *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 27, 148, 222, 231 — der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 27, 199, 231; II 54, 301 — der *Ciuateteô.* I 27; II 54, 90, 301 — an ihm hockende Maus (*quimichin*), Determinativ beim *Itztli-Tezcatlipoca* (dem zweiten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht). II 163 — die Mitte andeutend bei *Yacatecutli*, dem sechsten der sechs Himmelswanderer (= Feuergott). II 165 — s. *òtlamaxac ciapipiltin.* — vor der *Ciuateotl* des Nordens dargestellt. II 93 — Tummelplatz der Zauberer. I 27 — mit *miquiztli* verbunden, bei der *Tlaçolteotl* in der Federschlange des Nordens. II 301.

otlamaxac manca Ciuapipiltin, Seelen der in dem Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen, die auf dem Kreuzwege ihr Wesen treiben. II 54, 90, 91, 301 — Opfer, ihnen dargebrachte. II 91.

otlatopilli, Wanderstab. II 162 — s. *topilli.*

òtli „Weg", die Erde bezeichnend. II 197 — auf der Backe der Erdgöttin Tafel 47, rechts unten, vgl. II 78 — auf dem Gewande der Erdgöttin, Tafel 5, Reihe 31 oben — der Weg des wandernden rothen *Tezcatlipoca*, durch Fussspuren angedeutet. I 293 — blauer Weg, beim herabstürzenden *Xolotl* dargestellt. II 37 — weiteres s. unter Weg.

otlimaxac, s. *òtlamaxac.*

Otomí, Volk. I 185 — ihr Gott *Ueuecoyotl.* I 99 — *Xolotl*, I 190 — Wandersage. I 185 — Ursprung. I 264.

Otontecuhtli „Fürst der *Otomí*", Gott des grossen Totenfestes *Uei miccailhuitl.* I 190; II 68, 73, 74 — s. *Xocotl, cuecuextzin.* — Seele des toten Kriegers, Repräsentant der Vorfahren. II 68 — seine Gesichtsbemalung s. *ixtlan tlatlaan.*

ouatl „junge aufschiessende Maisstaude", Reverentialform im Liede an *Xipe: yoatzin.* I 168, 169, 207 *(ouatzin).* — Maisstaude, durch den geopferten Krieger repräsentirt. I 169.

oxitl, Terpentinsalbe (von der *Tzapotlan tenan* erfunden). I 100, 116.

oxlahun ahau (Maya) = mexikanisch *matlactli omei xochitl* „dreizehn Blume", an ihm droht Weltuntergang. II 156.

oxlahun ku (Maya) „die dreizehn Götter" (des Tages). II 156.

oxlahun taz muyal (Maya), „die dreizehn Himmel", Haupthieroglyphe des *Moan*-Vogels. I 215, 313.

Oxomoco, s. *cipactonal.* — einer der vier alten Weisen, Erfinder des Kalenders in *Tamoanchan.* I 185.

Oxomoco* und *cipactonal, die beiden Alten, Erfinder des Kalenders. I 147; II 191 — Kalendergötter. I 147; II 169 — die beiden alten Aerzte. II 194 — die alten Weisen, die sechste Nachtstunde und die obere Region bezeichnend. II 190—192 — altes Ehepaar. II 41.

oyoualli, spitzer, rasselnder Ring aus Muschelschale, Brustschmuck und Ohrgehänge der Tanzgötter. I 105 — des Affen. I 11, 180 — *Ueuecoyotl*'s. II 189, 222, 224 — *Tecciztecatl*'s. I 105 — beim Geier. I 13, 180 — des Gottes mit dem Thiergesichte, Hüters der dritten Venusperiode, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — beim tanzenden schwarzen Feuergotte. II 282 — an die Waden gebunden. II 308 — damit zurückschrecken, s. (*nal*) *oyouhtiui, oyouia*, II 308.

oztomeca anauac calaquini, Kaufleute, die Expeditionen in die Tierrà caliente machen; ihr Tempel *Pochtlan.* II 145.

oztomecatl „Kaufmann". I 293, 294 — s. *pochtecatl.*

oztotl, „Höhle", hieroglyphische Darstellung. I 92 — durch *Tepeyollotli* vertreten. I 71 — s. *Chicomoztoc.* — Ungeheuerrachen, aus dem Wasser hervorströmt, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 37, 71 — bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 301 — zusammengerollte Figur mit Jaguarflecken und Schlangenauge. I 71 — darauf kauernder *tecpoyotl*, am Wasserstrome beim *Tlaloc* des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 229.

Paar, s. erstes Menschenpaar.

Paare, vier — von *Tzitzimimê.* II 117, 118 — vier kopulirende. II 120.

***pachtli*-Bälle,** beim viertägigen Kampfspiele der Medicinweiber und Hebammen. I 154.

Paginirung des Codex Borgia. I 3.

Painal, der eilige; Vorläufer *Uitzilopochtli*'s, trägt die Gesichtsbemalung des Morgensternes. I 254; II 238.

Palastsklaven. I 193 — s. Bucklige, s. Zwerge. — s. *Xolotl.*

Palazzo Altemps. I 1, 2.

Palme, Südbaum im Codex Vaticanus. II 107.

Palmbaum, s. *quauhcoyolli.*

Palmblatt, daraus geflochtene Fächer, in der Hand des Gesandten *Motecuhçoma*'s. II 162.

Pandorabüchse. II 91.

panouaya „wo man über das Wasser geht". I 89 — s. *Pánuco.*

Panquetzaliztli, Fest *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 281; II 131 — Idol des Festes trägt das *teomimilli.* II 291 — in dieses Fest wird im Codex Borbonicus das grosse Feuerfest des Feuerbohrens vor Beginn einer neuen 52jährigen Periode verlegt. II 131.

Pantitlan, Strudel in der Lagune von México; Opferstätte *Tlaloc*'s. I 237.

Pantla oder ***Panutla*** = Land der Huaxteken. I 89.

pantoyaualli, s, *pantololli*, geknickte Fahne, Abzeichen des Todesgottes. I 251, 259, 302 — der Todesgötttin. I 297 — geknickte Papierfahne; Leichenschmuck, am Nacken *Mictlantecutli*'s. I 226, 244; II 177, 239 — roth und schwarz mit weissem Kreuze bei der Todesgöttin. II 2 — roth und gelb, auf dem Dache des Beinhauses des kopulirenden Südpaares. II 120.

Pánuco. in der Huaxteca. I 89, 185 — s. *Panutla, Pantla.* — = *panouaya* „wo man über das Wasser setzt". I 89.

Panutla s. *Pantla.*

Papagei, gelber, s. *toznene.* — grüner, s. *cocho.* — rother (Arara), s. *alo.*

papalotilmàtli, Mäntel mit eingewebtem Schmetterlingsmuster. I 154.

papalotl, Schmetterling; Homologon der Blume. I 212; II 96, 195 — bezeichnet Feuer. II 195, 196, 276 — auf dem Mantel *Macuilxochitl's.* I 135 — weisse Zeichnung auf dem Munde *Xochipilli's.* I 130, 132, 338, 353; II 36, 95, 96, 135, 136, 176, 302 — sitzt Honig saugend auf der geöffneten Blüthe. II 96 — an den Federbüschen des Scheitelschmuckes der *Xochiquetzal.* I 212 — Abbild der Flamme (s. *tlepapalotl*). — Nasenschmuck der *Chantico.* II 276 — sonst s. *yacapapalotl.*

papalotlaxcalli, Tortilla in Schmetterlingsform; Opfer für die *Cinateteô.* I 187; II 91.

Papaloxaual „mit einem Schmetterlinge bemalt"; Name der *Chantico,* als Feuergöttin. II 273, 276.

Papaztac, ein Pulquegott. I 139, 140 — sein Priester *Oue tochtli Papaztac.* I 139.

Papier, *amatl.* — s. *tetenàtl.*

Papierfahne, s. *amapanàtl.*

Papierfähnchen, eines der Zeichen des Krieges. II 57 — Scheiterhaufenschmuck. II 239.

Papierrolle(?). I 68.

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Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, dort die Aubin-Goupilsche Handschriftensammlung, s. diese. — das Mss. Mex. No. 20. II 102 — die Historia de Colhuacan y de México (s. dort). — die Historia Tolteco-Chichimeca (s. dort).

Parthenogenese, *Quetzalcouatl's.* I 84 — *Uitzilopochtli's.* I 84.

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Pàtecatl, Pulquegott. — Erfinder der Pulquewürze (*ocpàtli*). I 140, 141 — Regent des zwölften Tageszeichens *malinalli.* I 142, 251; II 244 — des eilften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce ocpoàtli*). I 141; II 244–246 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift ein Gott mit Todessymbolen, mit Weihrauchkraut in der Hand. I 216 — s. *Uac mitun ahau.*

Pàtecatl-Quetzalcouatl, Vermischung der Trachtabzeichen beider als Mondgötter wesensverwandter Gottheiten. I 245, 246.

Pàtecatl **und** *Tlaçolteotl,* das zweite der sechs Götterpaare, den Norden bezeichnend. II 172–173.

patolli, Würfelspiel; sein Gott *Macuilxochitl.* I 132, 134, 271; II 77 — *Oue tochtli.* I 139.

patzactli, kammartiger Federschmuck, s. *quetzalpatzactli.* — aus weissen Federn, s. *aztapatzactli.* — aus schwarzen Federn beim Mondgotte. I 246 — aus schwarzen Federn mit weissem Endflecke, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* I 255, 256; II 64, 141, 142, 143 — aus grünen Federn bei dem *Tonacatecutli* der Wiener Handschrift. II 44 — bei *Tonacatecutli* als *Chalchiuhtlatonac.* II 44, 45 — aus *tlauhquechol*-Federn bei *Xipe Totec.* II 256.

Pátzcuaro, Gott der Leute von —, s. *Cueicaceri* (Tarask).

Pauke s. *tlalpan uenetl.* – Schildkrötenpanzer. I 306.

peco-xolo (zapotek.), haarloser Hund. I 193 — s. *xoloitzcuintli.*

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pek (Maya), Hund. I 311 — Hauptthieroglyphe in den Maya-Handschriften. I 311 — diese besteht aus zwei Elementen. I 311 — s. abgeschnittene Ohren (Hund).

Pelzwerk, weisses, Mantel des Pulquegottes. I 143.

Penelope (Lotham), Gattung von Schakuhühnern. I 319 — s. *coxolitli, cox.*

Penis, Zeichen dafür die Eidechse (*cuetzpalin*). I 281 — (bei *Tezcatlipoca*). II 135 — (bei *Xochipilli*). — durchbohrt und unter der Haut ein fingerdickes Seil von 10–20 Ellen Länge durchgezogen (in *Teouacan, Teotitlan, Cozcatlan*). I 163 — ähnliche Sitte in Yucatan. I 167 — unverhüllter, Zeichen der wilden Stämme. I 265 — bei *Mixcouatl* (dem Vertreter der Jägerstämme des Nordens, der Chichimeken). I 265, 266 — *Macuilxochitl's* verbunden mit *Cuetzpalin.* II 302 — des Gottes der Wollust, mit dem Tageszeichen *Xochitl* verbunden. II 305 — bei *Cinteotl* durch einen weiss und roth punktirten Streifen mit einem skelettköpfigen Wurme verbunden. II 150 — Ursprung der Leiden. I 280 — mit *nitztli* sacrificirt, *Quetzalcouatl.* II 32 — Vereiterung des Penis s. *tlapalanaltiliztli.*

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Perrücke, weisse des *cozcaquauhtli* und des alten Feuergottes. I 44, 180 — aus Blitzfeuer, bei den unterweltlichen *Tlaloc*-Figuren des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6 — weisse, über einem gelben Felde von breiter Türkismosaik-Binde umgeben (an der Stirnseite mit zwei Zinken); Emblem des Feuergottes, auf dem West-*teoicpalli.* II 122 — dunkel, mit Augen besetzt bei *Mictlantecutli* und *Mictecacihuatl,* bedeutetet Nacht. II 177 — s. Haarperrücke. — s. blaue Perrücke (Wasserperrücke). — s. Daunenfederperrücke.

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petlacalli, Deckelkiste. I 58.

Petlacotzitzquique, „tenedores del tapete de caña" (Tezozomoc). II 127.

petlatl, aus Rohr geflochtene Matte. II 151 — darin die Lasten verschnürt. II 162, 163.

petlatl-icpalli, „Matte und Thron", metaphorischer Ausdruck für Königthum (*ah pop, ah Ixiu*). II 151 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der vierten Periode getroffen. II 151.

Pfahl, im Wasser; an der Spitze Zeichen der Mitternacht; an dem Pfahle ein Mensch emporkletternd; bezeichnet Richtungsunterschied (oben–unten). II 244.

Pfeffer, rother, s. *chilli.* — sich enthalten davon, s. Fasten. — s. *Chantico.*

Pfeil, s. *màtl,* s. *tlacochtli.* — = Sonnenstrahl. I 119 — bezeichnet richterliche Gewalt. I 144 — Strafe. I 152 — Erschiessen damit (s. *tlacacàliliztli*) bedeutet Begattung. I 173 — damit erschossen der braune Hirsch des Nordens. I 300, 301 — in den Pulquetopf (*octecomatl*) hineingestossen. I 307 — damit durchbohrtes bedeutet „Heiliges". I 301 — davon der Hut *Itztlacoliuhqui's* durchbohrt. I 114; II 111, 247 — in den Rachen des *Xolotl*-Gesichtes auf dem Mumienbündel mit der Sonnenscheibe) gestossen. I 198; II 268 — in den Hals des rothen Hundes gestossen, der dem Toten mitgegeben wird. II 268 — auf feindlichem Gebiete in die Erde gesteckt; Kriegszauber. II 248.

Pfeiler, s. Schlangenpfeiler.

Pfeiler der Westregion, des Abendhimmels. — das Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21, 22.

pfeilerartige Gestalt des Opfersteines *(techcatl).* II 52.

Pfeilschaft, zwei oder ein Bündel als Hieroglyphe *acatl.* I 12, 144 — je einer über den Personen des ersten Menschenpaares. I 81, 82 (s. *oue acatl*). — im gelben Wasser der Erneuerung, bedeutet Saugrohr *(piaztli)* II 55 — in zwei mit Adlerdaunen gefüllten dreibeinigen Schalen. II 70 — in einer solchen Schale der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — steckt in dem Thierfell, das die Last des vierten

der sechs Himmelswanderer (im Codex Fejérváry) einhüllt. II 163.

Pfeilschäfte, zwei, im *quauhxicalli* (bei der eilften Tagstunde) = *piaztli*. II 202, 203.

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piaztli, Saugrohr für die Opferblutschale. I 206 — s. *tonacapiaztli*. — im gelben Wasser der Erneuerung, durch einen Pfeilschaft angedeutet. II 55 — zwei (als Pfeilschäfte) im *quauhxicalli* bei der eilften Tagstunde steckend. II 202, 203.

pichijlla peôo (zapot.), Krokodil. I 77.

pillauana, man gibt den Kindern Pulque zu trinken, lässt sie sich betrinken; Zärimonie, die jedes vierte Jahr beim *Izcalli*-Feste des Feuergottes begangen wurde. I 117 — beim *Tepeilhuitl*-Feste. I 139.

Pillen, aus Weihrauchkraut gefertigt, Räucherwerk der Räucherpriester *(tlenamacac)* im *oceloyataztli cuechchô* getragen. II 232.

pilnechiualli, Kindergesichtsbemalung, gelbe Querstreifen, *Tezcatlipoca's* und *Uitzilopochtli's*. I 152, 206 — bezeichnet die junge am Himmel aufgehende Sonne oder den jungen Mond. I 206 — s. *ixtlan tlatlaan*.

Pilon de azúcar, im Distr. *Misantla*, Kultusstätte des Regengottes. I 100.

Piltzintecutli, erster Mensch; Geliebter der *Xochiquetzal*. I 81, 208, 232 — = *Xochipilli*. I 222, 223 — Sonnengott, der dritte der neun Herren der Nacht. I 81, 218, 222 - 224, 237 — bezeichnet den Osten. I 237, 238 — sonst I 207 Vater *Cinteotl's*. I 207.

Pilzgewebe, in einer der vier Arten Regenwasser. II 302.

Pipil, mexikanische Stämme von Guatemala und San Salvador; ihre Götter *Quetzalcouatl* und *Itzcuēyê*. I 83.

pitào, (zapotek), der Grosse, Gott. Bezeichnung der Anfangstage der Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 345.

pixca, „ernten". I 207.

pixcador, Ernteinstrument aus Knochen- oder Hirschgeweih, zum Herausbrechen der Maiskolben. I 207.

Plagen, göttliche, s. *couatl-tequani*.

Planet Venus, Tempel der Gottheit dieses Planeten in *Uxmal*, haben ihre Front dem Westen zugekehrt. II 140 — s. Casa del adivino, Casa de las Monjas.

Planeten, s. Venus. — s. innere Planeten.

Platalea ajaja L., der rothe Löffelreiher, *tlauhquechol*. II 253.

Plattform des Tempels. II 18

Pluralform, bezeichnet ausdrücklich lebende Wesen (s. *uitzitzilti*). II 67.

pochtecatl, „Kaufmann". I 293, 294 — s. *oztomecatl*.

Pochtlan, Quartier, in dem *Cinteotl* seinen Tempel hatte. I 154, 159, 160 — dort sucht die *Teteoinnan* am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste den *Cinteotl*. II 145 — Quartier der Kaufleute, Tempel der *oztomeca anauac calaquini* der Kaufleute, die Expeditionen nach der Tierra caliente machen. II 145.

Points, auf Spielstäben beim Ballspiele (*tlachtli*) markirt; dargestellt beim rothen *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 51 — Wettspiel, mit —. II 284, 285.

Pol, ihm benachbarte Sterne, s. *citlallachtli* — Gott der Polarregion s. *Mixcouatl*.

Politur des (Nephrit-) Steinbeiles durch *chalchiuitl*-Zeichnung ausgedrückt. II 172.

Polster des *teoicpalli*, s. Adlerbalg, s Jaguarfell. II 57 — s. *tequaneuatl*.

Polythëismus der Mexikaner, Vorstellung von einer Einheit seiner zahlreichen Göttergestalten. II 75

pop (Maya), „Matte". II 151 — s. *Ah pop*. — s. *petlatl*.

Popoca tepetl, der rauchende Berg, der Vulkan. I 83, 108; II 234.

Popol Vuh (Qui'che), Sagenbuch der *Qui'che*. I 42, 83, 84, 129, 147; II 1, 49, 69, 128 (Anm. 2) — besonders in den Anfangskapiteln durch mexikanische Denkweise beeinflusst. I 147 — verbesserte Lesarten. II 69.

popotl, Besen; Abzeichen der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 158, 160, 199, 231; II 118, 306 — mit ihm am *Ochpaniztli*-Feste gekämpft (s. *çacàcali*). I 154 — bedeutet „Bannen der Sünde". I 160, 231 — in einer Schale. II 54 — neben dem *yacametztli*, Basalstück des Feuerbohrers des Feuerreiber des Südens. II 118.

Popotl temi „die Besen werden niedergelegt", Name eines Berges an der feindlichen Grenze, wo die Schenkelhautmaske des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes niedergelegt wird. I 160.

Possenreisser im Dienste der *Xochiquetzal*. I 209; II 280.

Potenzen, männliche — weibliche. II 20 — männliche, *Xipe Totec*; weibliche, *Teteoinnan* (*Tlaçolteotl*, *Toci*). II 253 — die vier grossen Kosmischen, Sonne, Mond, Morgenstern und Sternenwelt, verkörpert durch die vier Federschlangen. II 303.

potonqui, „mit weissen Daunenfedern beklebt". II 91 — Sandalen der *otlamaxac ciuapipiltin*. II 91.

poy aham ché (Qui'che), „die aus Holz geschnitzten Puppen", unvollkommene, vorzeitliche Menschenschöpfung, in der Zeit der Finsterniss von vier zerstückelnden Thieren vernichtet. II 69.

Poyauhtlan, eig. Volcan de Orizaba, aber auch = *Tlalocan*, Berg zwischen *Tetzcoco* und *Uexotzinco*. I 108.

ppentacech calpech (Maya), „Zeit übermässigen Ehebruchs", ist der Katun *Ekchuah's*, der Katun *uuc ahau*. I 322; II 265 — s. *nicteel uuah*.

präkosmische Sonnen, s. vier —.

Priester, s. *tlamacazqui*, *quacuilli*, s. *teccizquacuilli*. — Räucherpriester, s. *tlenamacac*. — Hauptpriester, s. *teteouatzitzin*. — mit dem Kochtopfe, Sinnbild *Xolotl's*, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 57 — durch rothen Schläfenfleck gekennzeichnet. I 28, 302, 305, 307, 308; II 21, 43, 193, 196, 200, 201, 203, 205, 226 — tragen Haar lang herabfallend und am Nacken mit einem Bande umwickelt. I 302; II 18, 215 — haben schwarze Körperfarbe. II 193, 196 — tragen die Tabakkalebasse *(yetecomatl)* auf dem Rücken. I 28, 154, 201, 301, 308; II 30, 41, 112, 202, 205 — die Jaguarfusshauttasche, s. *oceloyataztli*. (II 164) — leben keusch. II 194 — das Menschenopfer vollziehend; Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 66 — ziehen um Mitternacht in Prozession zum Bade. II 193 — im Wasserstrome, beim *Tlaloc* des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes, ist der bestrafte Priester. II 229 bis 232 — des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens (*Xipe Totec*), des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 18 — auf dem *chalchiuitl*-Herzen der *Teteoinnan* des Tempels des Hauses der rothen Schlange Feuer quirlend. II 18 — seine Geburt. I 49, 50, 69 — herabkletternder, bezeichnet *Tamoanchan*. I 305 — den Tempel herunterbringend, kommt an einem Seile (im Codex Nuttall) herunter. II 20 — mit Speerbündel auf

dem Rücken, Determinativ beim Sonnengotte. II 228 — s. alte Priester. — kugelrollender, der zweite der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161 — feuerbohrender. II 18, 21, 28 — sich das Auge ausbohrend, Symbol für *chalchiuhatl.* II 272 — die sich in Thiere (Schlangen etc.) verwandeln können; für sie ist *chicunaui itzcuintli* „neun Hund" ein besonders mächtiger Tag. II 273 — der *Chantico*, wohnen im *Tetlanman calmecac.* II 273 — heissen *Tetlanman teoua.* II 273 — der *Chantico* hat für ihr Fest in Bereitschaft zu halten: rothe und schwarze Farbe, Sandalen, ein Gewand, kleine Meerschnecken. II 276 — s. *Tlillan tlenamacac.* — kasteien sich am Feste der *Chantico* durch Tropfenlassen herabschmelzenden Harzes von Kopalfackeln auf die nackte Haut. II 274 — im Uinal *Moan* mit Kakaoschoten entlohnt, bei den Maya. I 321.

Priesteramt, seine Abzeichen Knochendolch und Agaveblattspitze. II 271.

Priester der alten Zeit, s. *Iztac Mixcouatl* (I 30).

Priester des Erdgottes mit dem Kopfe des Thieres mit der spitzen Schnauze, bezeichnet zusammen mit der *Xochiquetzal* die siebente Tagstunde. II 194.

Priester des Todesgottes, schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl.* II 21 — grüner (dunkler) *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 21 — *Tepeyollotli*, vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21.

Priestergelehrte, esoterisch. II 25 — ihr Schematismus. II 55, 208 — ihr Conventionalismus. II 67, 68.

Priestergelehrter, s. *Quetzalcouatl.* I 85.

Priestergott, I 27, 66, 302; II 297, 301, s. *Quetzalcouatl.*

Priesterinnen des Feuergottes, vier weibliche Figuren mit rothem, spitz nach unten gezogenem Felde ums Auge. II 19, 20, 24, 25.

Priesterprozession. II 232.

Priesterschaft, gesammte, ist am grossen Fasten zu Beginn der Regenszeit beteiligt. II 229, 230.

Priesterschulen. II 26, 207.

Priesterwams, *xicolli.* I 20, 154; II 197.

Priesterwissenschaft in *Tollan* erfunden. II 1 — mexikanische, in enger Beziehung zu der der Maya-Priester stehend. II 15 — der Venusperioden, mexikanischen Ursprungs. I 336; II 157.

Priesterzöglinge, am grossen Fasten, zu Beginn der Regenzeit beteiligt. II 229.

priesterliches Handwerkzeug, *omitl-uitztli, copalxiquipilli.* I 297; II 6, 19 — bei *Tonacatecutli.* II 212 — bezeichnet Segensfülle (des Ostens). II 6 — *teomimilli, tlequauitl, amatl, tecpatl.* II 39.

Prinzip der Erneuerung. II 55 — vertreten durch *Nanauatzin* und durch den Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*). II 67.

Processus spinosi der Skelettwirbelsäulenschlange aus *malinalli*-Grasenden. II 302.

Prophetin, *Xochiquetzal*, Maiskörner ausstreuend. II 176.

Prozession der Priester, beim grossen Feste zu Beginn der Regenzeit. II 232.

Pueblo-Indianer, s. *Zuñi, Hopi* oder *Moqui.* — betrachten den Truthahn als Regenvogel. I 200, 201.

Pulque, den Indiancrsprachen Chile's entnommenes Wort. I 113 — berauschendes Getränk aus dem Safte der Agavepflanze, s. *octli.* — Getränk der alten Leute. I 44 — Getränk der Starken. I 143; II 246 — seine Erfindung und erstes Pulquegelage. I 139, 140 — Trinken nur bei Kultus-Gelegenheiten gestattet. I 140 — Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit. II 117.

Pulquebringer, die West-*tzitzimimê.* II 117.

Pulquegefäss, s. *octecomatl.*

Pulquegelage, ihre Zeit die Dämmerung. I 348; II 85, 235 — Freuden des Kriegers. II 71.

Pulquegott, s. *Pàtecatl.* — s. Tempel des Pulquegottes. — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 70 (s. *Xochipilli*), 72 — Regent des zwölften Tageszeichens *malinalli.* I 137—144 — als totbringende Gottheit. I 72 — s. *tequechmecauiani, teatlauiani, temictiani.* — von *Tezcatlipoca* getötet nach der Sage von *Metztitlan.* I 137, 138.

Pulquegott als Todesgott, dritter der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden der zweiten Reihe, die Mitte bezeichnend. I 250 bis 253 — Gott des Ostens, Hüter der dritten Venusperiode, den Osten bezeichnend. I 332 — als solcher erscheint der Mondgott des kopulirenden Nordpaares II 120.

Pulquegott und Pulquegöttin, das zweite der sechs Götterpaare, den Norden bezeichnend. II 172–173, 177 — Mondgötter. II 177.

Pulquegötter, in Beziehung zu *Tlaloc* und *Quetzalcouatl.* I 111 — *Tepoztecatl, Papaztac, Yauhtecatl, Toltecatl, Pàtecatl, Tezcatzoncatl, Tlaltecayoua, Colhuatzincatl, Totoltecatl, Tlilhua, Acolhua, Izquitecatl, Chimalpanecatl, Tomixauh, Quatlapanqui, Nappatecutli, Naualpilli.* I 140 — s. Gott des Ostens, *Naui couatl, Chicome couatl.* — s. gelber *Auiateotl* (des Westens). — s. *Macuilxochitl*, rother *Auiateotl* des Westens — s. *Centzon totochtin, Pàtecatl, Ometochtli, Macuiltochtli.* — als Todesgott, dritter der fünf Hüter der zweiten Venusperiode, die Mitte bezeichnend. I 250—253 — Erntegötter. I 36, 138, 332 — Götter der Fülle. I 138, 332 — Götter des Uebermasses. I 139 — ihr Hauptfest s. *Tepeilhuitl.* — Festgötter, berühren sich so mit *Macuilxochitl.* I 139 — ein Sinnbild des Sterbens und Wiedererwachens. I 138, 140, 332 — daher kosmologische Beziehungen zum Monde: s. *Metztitlan, yacametzli, tochtli.* I 140, 142 — Mondwesen. II 10 — Personifikationen des Mondes. II 172, 177. — sind Mondgötter. II 214, 245, 246 — daher in Beziehung zu *Quetzalcouatl (chictlapanqui).* II 245, 246 — Hauptabzeichen der Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*). I 140, s. *yacametztli.* — doppelfarbige Gesichtsbemalung, s. *chictlapanqui.* — ihre Tracht. I 141–143; II 244 ff. — ihr Symbol: der von einer Schlange umwundene Topf. I 215.

Pulquegöttin, Regentin des eilften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *(ce oçomàtli).* II 244 — *Xochiquetzal*, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 40, 70, 72.

Pulquegöttinnen, *Mayauel, Atlacoaya.* I 140.

Pulquekrug, s. *octecomatl* (I 53).

Pulquepriester, *Tezcatzoncatl, Ome tochtli, Ome tochtli Tomixauh, Tlilhua ome tochtli, Ome tochtli Nappatecutli.* I 139 *Ome tochtli Papaztac.* I 139 — *Ome tochtzin*, Hauptpriester des Pulquegottes, Haupt der Tempelsänger. I 139.

Pulquesäufer, mit dem Knittel erschlagen. I 140; II 247.

Pulqueschalen, zwei, veranschaulichen bei den Tanzgöttern der dritten Nachtstunde das Fest. II 185 — beim Thiere mit der spitzen Schnauze, Begleiter der geköpften Göttin. II 285.

Pulquetopf, s. *octecomatl.* — ist Maya-Form des Tageszeichens *cozcaquauhtli.* I 307.

Pulquetrinken, unterlag strengen Einschränkungen, galt als Sünde (s. unter „Sünde"). I 269 — verderbliche Folgen. II 8.

Pulquetrinker, *Xipe*, s. *Youalli tlauana.* I 170 — gegenüber der *Mayauel* (im achten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte) dargestellt. I 269.

Puma mit *cicitlallô*-Augenstreifen, Thier des Südens, neben dem linken Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54.

Pumafell, auf dem Stuhle der *Xochiquetzal.* II 281.

Punkte, bezeichnen dazwischen liegende Tageszeichen. I 239, 284, 289 — s. Auge, von Punkten umgeben.

Puppen, aus Holz geschnitzt, s. *poy aham ché* (Qui'che).

purohita (sanskr.), „der Vorangestellte", Name *Agni*'s. I 119.

Pyramide *tzaqualli.* II 32 — des Himmelsgebäudes. II 17.

Pyramiden von Sonne und Mond, in *Teotiuacan.* I 205 — wallartig, begrenzen seitlich den Ballspielplatz. I 288.

quacoltic „an der Spitze gekrümmt“, Hut *Cinteotl Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. I 154 — beim Mondgotte *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 110
quacuilli s. *tecizquacuilli*.
qachichiquilli, Scheitelfederkamm *Macuilxochitl*'s und der verwandten Götter. I 272; II 95, 296.
Quadranten des Südens der Unterwelt, innen mit Steinmessern besetzt, aussen mit Edelsteinscheibenfries und mit Blumen (*itzcalli*, *xochicalli*). II 57.
quaquauhtin „die Adler-Krieger“, durch Adlerkopf bei der fünften Venusperiode angedeutet. II 151.
Quatlapanqui, Pulquegott. I 140.
quauh, Radikal „Baum“ und „Adler“. II 152.
quauhacatl, hölzernes Grabscheit. I 295 — s. *uictli*, *coa*.
quauhcalli, „Adlerhaus“, vier, kennzeichnen die obere Region, den Kriegerhimmel. II 70.
quauhcoyolli, Palme; Baum des Südens. II 107.
quauhcozcatl, „Sklavenhalsband“, von *Tzcatlipoca* getragen; bezeichnet ihn als *moyocoyatzin* (s. dort). II 229, 272 — bei *Xolotl*. II 282, 289 — beim Feuergotte. II 289.
quauhciuatl, Adlerweibchen oder *Yaociuatl*, Kriegerin = *Ciuacouatl*. I 66, 166 — = *Tonacaciuatl* gegenüber *Tlacaocelotl*, die vierte Tagstunde und den Westen bezeichnend. — *Tlaçolteotl* der fünften Tagstunde. II 296.
quauheuatl „Adlerbalg“, umsäumt die Adlerhäuser des Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 70.
quauhiuicalli, Adlerhaus des Ostens. II 70.
quauhiuitemalli, Adlerfederschmuck *Mixcouatl*'s. I 338.
quauhiuitl, Adlerfedern, Kriegerschmuck. I 166; II 70 — umsäumen das Adlerhaus (*quauhcalli*) des Ostens. II 70 — s. *tiçatl iuitl*. — in dreibeinigen Schalen. II 70, 74.
quauhiuitl yc moxaua, „mit Adlerdaunen beklebt er sich“, der Krieger, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hat. II 70.
quauhiuiyacamaxtlatl, Schambinde *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 77, 121, 203 — des Feuergottes. I 121, 203 — des Sonnengottes. I 121, 203, 268, 269, 285 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 130 — des Gottes des Planeten Venus. I 256; II 139 — *Ueuecoyotl*'s. II 222.
Quauhnauac, Ortschaft; König von —, s. *Teueueltzin*. I 282, 283.
quauhnochtli, Adler-Kaktusfeige; Herz des Geopferten. I 166.
quauhpachiuhqui, *chimalli*, Schild mit dem Adlerfusse, gehört zum *tlapapalotlauiztli*. II 276 — Von der *Chantico* und den anderen Göttinnen der *Chinampaneca* getragen. II 276
quauhpetlatl ocelopetlatl, ein von einer Person von Kriegerrang bekleidetes Amt. I 165.
quauhpilli, Person von Kriegerrang. I 165.
quauhquauitl, Baum des Nordens. II 105, 106.
quauhtemalli, Busch aus Adlerfedern, auf dem Scheitel des Sonnengottes. I 203, 223 (*Piltzintecutli*). — des *Quetzalcouatl* von *Tollan*. — der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279 — des Gottes des Ostens. I 332.
quauhtemoc, herabkommender Adler, mit einem Steinmesser im Schnabel, im *Tlillan* dargestellt. I 297 — beim schwarzen und rothen Hause, das den Abendhimmel (Westen) kennzeichnet. II 17 — bezeichnet den Westen II 27.
quauhtemoc-förmige Gefässe, mit Adlerdaunen gefüllt. II 74.
quauhtetepontli, abgeschnittener Adlerfuss, Abzeichen der Erdgöttinnen. Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 50, 51, 62, 66 — als Griff für das Opfermesser. I 62.
quauhtin ocelo, *tiacaoan iaomicque*, „die Adler und Jaguare, die Häuptlinge, die im Kriege Gestorbenen“, gehen in das Haus der Sonne, leben im Osten. II 87.
Quauhtinchan, s. Chichimeken. — erwähnt in der Historia Tolteca chichimeca. I 283; II 115, 152 — Leute von —, ihre Urheimat *ycoliuhqui tepetl* „der gekrümmte Berg“ (cf. *Colhuacan*). II 152.
Quauhtitlan, s. Anales de *Quauhtitlan*. — Chichimeken von — verwandt mit denen von *Xochimilco*. II 198 — verehrten die *Itzpapalotl*. II 196.
quauhtlachcayotl, Adlerdaunen; Kriegerschmuck. I 166, 282 — s. *quauhiuitl*.
quauhtlàtô, Militärkommandant. I 165.
quauhtleuanitl, aufsteigender Adler = Sonne. I 147, 166, 224.
quauhtli, Adler, fünfzehntes Tageszeichen. I 12, 43, 60, 165—180, 306—307 — s. *cuixtli*. — Sein Regent: *Xipe Totec*. I 143, 167—180 — *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 166 ff. — bei diesem Tageszeichen der schwarze Gott des Südens dargestellt. I 306—307 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 317 — Adler, mit Steinmessern umsetzt gezeichnet. I 12, 165; II 106, 296 — Blut und Herz fressend = Sonne. I 66 — bezeichnet den Krieger. I 66, 165, 175 — auf dem Baume des Nordens. II 106 — bezeichnet den geopferten Krieger (Gegentheil s. *Chalchiuhtotolin*, *Ciuateteô*). I 202 — aus dem Schnabel der Windgottschlangen hervorkommend. II 34 — packt ein Kaninchen (*tochtli*) oder eine Iguana, das im Rachen einer Schlange erscheint; — Mond und Sternhimmel (Milchstrasse?) II 64—65, 68 — Vogel der fünften Tagstunde. II 296.
quauhtli ocelotl, Adler und Jaguar; Bezeichnung des Kriegers. I 60, 143, 165, 281, 295; II 246 — Beim Pulquegotte des eilften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes dargestellt. I 143, 295; II 246 — des zwölften Tageszeichens. I 281 — durch Adlerbalg und Jaguarfell auf dem *teoicpalli* angedeutet. II 57 — durch Adler- und Jaguarmaske bei den Gestalten der vierten Tagstunde. II 188 — enthauptet, beim Norden der Gruppen der *Ciuateteô* und *Auiateteô*, Ms. mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). II 102 — bezeichnen Region des Kriegertodes. II 102 — enthauptet, neben dem Baume des Nord-*tzompantli*. II 115.
quauhtli **und** *citlalcouatl*, Dämon des Südens, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 64—65.
quauhtzoncalli, Adlerfederkrone; von der Pulquegöttin getragen. II 244 — bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285; II 47, 122, 158, 306 — bei *Youaltecutli*, dem Sonnengotte in der Unterwelt. II 47 — bei der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels. II 56.
quauhxicalco, Fastenhaus des Königs am *netonatiuhçaualli*. I 204.
quauhxicalli, Opferblutschale. I 28 (s. Schale mit Blüthen), 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 56, 61, 64, 66, 74, 75, 200, 206 etc. — deren Füsse in Vogelköpfe endigend. I 53 — mit Totenfähnchen. I 59 — ist das „vaso del sol“. I 166; II 115 — ist mit dem Bilde der Sonne geschmückt. I 206 — steinerne. II 202 — beim Feuergotte. II 289 — dcz Tempels der Nacht. II 28, 29—30, 32 — durch Federn und Flügel des Adlers veranschaulicht; darin *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* im Feuer. II 55 — mit Adlerfeder-Zeichnung, bei der eilften Tagstunde. II 202 — in Form eines Adlers, auf dem Baume des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115 — mit Maiskolben, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57 — mit Wasser und weisser schuppiger Substanz; darin ein toter Krieger. II 71 — Schale mit Blume, bei der dritten Tagstunde. II 185 — bei der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — bei der dreizehnten Nachtstunde. II 206 — in dem Haupttempel in México, vor dem Treppenaufgange zur Hauptpyramide auf einem terrassenartigen Unterbau. II 40.
quauhxicalli-**Stein**, König *Tiçoc*'s. I 146 — hat auf der Oberfläche das Bild der Sonne. II 289.
quauhyotl, Kriegerschaft; vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der fünften Periode. II 151—152, 154, 155, 157 — durch *chimalli* und *tlacochtli* bezeichnet. II 151.
quauitl, Holzknittel, damit die unbefugten Pulquesäufer erschlagen. I 140; II 247 — s. *tetl*. — „Stachelholz“. II 118 — s. *tetl-quauitl*.
Quaxolotl, „an den Spitzen sich spaltend“, Name der *Chantico*, bezeichnet das Auseinandergehen der Flamme. II 276 — zweiköpfige Göttin; Name der *Chantico*. II 273, 276

— = *Xochiquetzal*, die Zwillinge geboren hat. II 186, 187 — s. *Tepeyollotli*, s. Januskopf. — und *Quetzalcouatl*, bezeichnet den Westen und die vierte Nachtstunde. II 186—187.

Quecholli, bei den *Tlaxcalteca*, Fest der *Xochiquetzal* und des *Xochitecatl*. I 209, 210 — s. *tlauhquechol*. — Fest *Mixcouatl*'s. I 186, 260—261, 262—263 — im Spätherbste gefeiert. I 211 — s. *Tepeilhuitl*. — s. *temixcouatlatlauitecoaya*.

quechquemitl, Pellerine. I 30, 100, 212, 227, 274, 275, 277; II 78, 276 — in Gestalt eines mit Steinmessern besetzten Schmetterlingflügels, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. I 181 — roth, bei der *Chantico*. II 276 — in der Farbe und den Linien des Wassers, bei der *Mayauel*. II 274 — pulquefarben (weiss-gelbgestreift mit *chalchiuitl*-Saume) bei der *Mayauel*. I 275 — in Farben des *chalchiuitl* bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 278 — blau bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279 — kostbares, bei derselben Göttin. II 199 — in bunten Streifenmustern gewebt, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 181, 186 — *chictlapanqui* bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 252 — weiss mit rothen Flecken und ausstrahlenden Punkten bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217.

quemitl, deckenartiges Gewand. I 101, 338 — in Farben der Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* bei *Xochipilli*. I 101 — schürzenartige Decke *Mixcouatl*'s. I 338 — des Gottes des Südens. I 339 — auf dem Rücken des Feuergottes (*Uitzilopochtli*'s, des Südhimmelsträgers) endet in Ararafedern. II 130 — aus weissen (Daunen-) Federn, beim Feuergotte. II 119 — beim Feuerreiber des Nordens. II 119 — aus Truthahnfedern, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 139.

Querbalken, s. drei —, kurz und schwarz.

Querstreifen der Gesichtsbemalung, s. *ixtlan tlatlaan*. — s. schwarze Querstreifen. — gelber, im Gesichte, *Auiateotl*-Bemalung. II 183.

Querteilung des *tlachtli*. II 23.

quetzalapanecayotl, Federkopfschmuck *Quetzalcouatl*'s, eigentlich des Feuergottes. I 86, 87; II 14 *(apanccayotl)*.

quetzalcomitl, Quetzalfedertopf; Rückendevise *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152, 212, 221 — ähnlich bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 212.

Quetzalcouacalli, von einer Windgottschlange umwundener Tempel mit spitzem Strohdache, im Osten der Unterwelt. II 48 — im Norden der Unterwelt. II 51.

quetzalcouatl, Federschlange; im Wasser vor der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 229; II 258 — Symbol des Wassers. II 258, 299, 302 — Schlange, die im Wasser geht. I 83; II 258 — gegenüber *Xipe Totec* dargestellt, die Erneuerung der Vegetation bezeichnend. I 180, II 257, 262 — bei *Xipe*, bezeichnet das Meer, aus dem der Mond emporsteigt, oder in das die Sonne sich stürtzt. II 258 — mit dem Bilde eines Kaninchens oder einer Eidechse, esoterische Auffassung des Mondes. II 259 — in ihren Rachen mit dem Kopfe voran ein Mensch hineinstürzend. *Xipe* gegenüber abgebildet. I 180; II 257 ff. — „die frisch erstandene Vegetation." II 260 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, dem Gotte des Westlandes. I 296 — oder *Tlaloc*, Erscheinungsform des Sonnengottes. II 308 — die Figur *Tlaloc*'s umschliessend, den Osten bezeichnend. II 299, 300, 302, 308 — den Priester *Tlaloc*'s vertretend im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Osten). I 20 — „Zwilling". I 198 — s. *Xolotl*. — „Kostbarer Zwilling". I 198; II 187.

Quetzalcouatl, der Windgott. I 83 ff. — s. *chiconaui eecatl* I 50 — Bahnfeger des Regengottes. I 85 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 87 ff. — sein Kostüm. I 86 — mit huaxtekischen Trachtstücken gekleidet. I 88, 89 — s. *epcololli, ocelocopilli* etc. — Herr von *Tollan*. I 83; II 1, 55, 213, 301 — parthenogenetisch von der *Chimalman* geboren. I 84 — Sohn der *Chimalman*. II 171 — Sohn des Urgötterpaares (Himmel und Erde) = Luft, Luftgott. I 84; II 167, 213 — als Sohn *Tonacatecutli*'s und der *Tonacacinatl* aufzufassen. II 171 — der Kaufmann, der Tolteke, s. *Yacatecutli*. II 162 — Gott von *Cholollan*. I 83 — der *Pipil*. I 83 — der Mayaländer. I 83 — kam vom Westen. I 83 — Stammgott der Stadt *Mizquic*. I 83 — Gott eines Stadtquartiers von México. I 83 — Herr der ältesten Bewohner des Landes, der ersten Einwanderer. I 89 — Zauberer, Priestergelehrter, Erfinder des Tonalamatl's. I 85; II 169 — zusammen mit *Tezcatlipoca* als Zeitkalendergott im Zentrum des 52jährigen Zyklus. I 147; II 169 — als Büsser im Goldhause gegenüber der *Chantico*. II 280 — der Beter, Büsser, Priester, Erfinder der Kasteiungen. I 19, 27, 85, 245, 302; II 199, 215, 280, 297, 301 — zu seiner Zeit gab es keine Menschenopfer. I 207; II 1 — nur Schlangen, Vögel und Schmetterlinge geopfert. I 207 — verschwindet im Osten. I 85, 185; II 1, 23, 67, 213, 291 — s. *tonatiuh iixco yaqui*. — s. *teotl iixco*. — — stirbt durch Verbrennung in *Tlillan, Tlapallan* (s. *Tlatlayan*) im Jahre oder am Tage. I 85, 89; II 6, 67, 213, 214, 291 — *ce acatl* (s. dort). — nach Osten wandernd, ist eigentlich der Mond. II 67, 86, 110, 169, 213, 291 — abnehmender, sterbender Mond verwandelt sich in den Morgenstern (in den Strahlen der Morgensonne sterbend). I 85, 87, 238, 244, 286, 351; II 6, 14, 15, 16, 46, 67, 213, 238, 291; II 298 — sein Herold *Xipe*; beides Mondgötter. II 262 — bei ihm das *tlapoyaua* angegeben. II 23, 214 — seine Rückkehr aus dem Ostmeere wurde mit Bestimmtheit erwartet. II 1, 291 — diese Fabel kam Cortes bei der Eroberung Méxicos zu Gute. II 291 — das *ilhuicaatl* (Meer) tragend; daneben die Daten *matlactli calli — ome quiauitl* und *chicuci tecpatl-ome olin* im Codex Vindobonensis. II 132 — Gott des Wassers, Herr des Lebens, Menschenschöpfer. I 79, 82, 84; II 213, 219 — richtet zusammen mit *Tezcatlipoca* den Himmel wieder auf. I 84, 104, 145, 150 — ein Sohn von ihm verwandelt sich in die Sonne. I 104 — in ihm vier Gottheiten verkörpert gedacht (s. Kostüme). I 85, 86; II 75 — in ihm eine monotheistische Auffassung der zahlreichen Göttergestalten des mexikanischen Pantheons zum Ausdruck kommend. II 75 — Rücken an Rücken mit dem Todesgotte dargestellt. I 115; II 165—169 — für *Tlaçolteotl* (die Gebärerin) eintretend. II 219 — mit *Tlaloc* identificirt (in Chiapas). I 83 — tritt als Regenzauberer an Stelle des Regengottes. I 85 — erhält Opfer im Anfange des Jahres. I 83 (s. *Tlaloquê*). — s. *Etzalqualiztli*. — seine Abzeichen bei *Tlaloc-Xolotl*. I 198 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — Regent des ersten Tonalamatl-Viertels, der Region des Ostens. I 18, 19 — bewohnt den neunten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 294, 297, 298 — bezeichnet die zweite Nachmittagsstunde. II 297 — s. *ucxolotl (chalchiuhtotolin)*. — Himmelsträger des Ostens. II 131—132 — seine Karyatide in der Stadt *México* gefunden. II 132 — Regent des zweiten Tageszeichens *éécatl*. I 27, 50, 51, 82—91 — des zweiten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *(ce ocelotl)*. II 213—216 — der vierte der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, den Osten bezeichnend. I 244—245 — und *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet die vierte Nachtstunde. II 187 — und *Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet den Norden und die neunte Tagstunde. II 198—199 — blauer Priester als Büsser auf einer Berghöhle, beim Zeichen *cipactli* dargestellt. I 301, 302 — blauer, mit Fächer, der erste der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158 — in der blauen Federschlange des Westens. II 301, 302 — Regengott des Ostens. I 352, 353 — beim *Tecuilhuitontli*-Feste auf dem *tlachtli* dargestellt, den Osten vertretend. I 290 — s. auch *K'ukulcan, Chuchulchan, K'ucumatz*; s. Tolteken, *Tollan, Cholollan*; s. *Xolotl*; s. *cc acatl, Topiltzin, Tlamacazqui*. — seinen Schmuck trägt *Xolotl* (Gott der Zwillinge). I 57; II 265 — mit Maiskolben an der Schläfe = *Xolotl*. II 187.

Quetzalcouatl* von *Tollan, ist der Morgenstern *Ce acatl* „eins Rohr". I 238; II 14, 15, 67, 213, 291 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 7, 32, 67, 291 — Verkörperung des Sternes des Ostens. I 353 — und *Tlauizcalpantecutli* bezeichnen den Osthimmel *(tonatiuh ichan)*. I 286 — als *chicunaui eecatl*,

verwandt mit dem schwarzen Adler und gleich dem Abendsterne. I 332 — der Morgenstern wird im fünften Jahre *(macuil acatl)* zum Sonnengotte (am Tage *naui olin*). I 351, 353 — junger, gräbt die Gebeine seines Vaters aus und setzt sie in *Quilazteopan* bei. II 34 — sein Vater sein Vorgänger. II 34 — an einem Seile (in der Wiener Handschrift) herunterkommend. II 20 — seine Höllenfahrt. I 200; II 1–75 — weilt vier Tage in der Unterwelt und ist vier weitere Tage Knochen, Bedeutung dieser Zeit (s. acht Tage). II 16 — erscheint als schwarzes Skelet. II 16 — hervorkommend aus dem *tecpatl*-Brustschmuck der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt; roth gefärbt. II 10 — aus einem Steinmesserpaare in der Oeffnung der Mitte des Zeugstreifens der Todesgöttin im Süden der Unterwelt. II 14, 16 — schwarzer, als Priester frisirt, vollzieht das Opfer vor dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 21, 26 — sich den Penis sacrificirend im *neçaualcalli* des Tempels der Nacht II 32 — neben *Macuilxochitl*, am Baume der Mitte. I 175; II 107 — *Quetzalcouatl* und *Youaltecutli*, als Ballspieler auf dem *tlachtli* des Tempels der Nacht. II 32. — hervorkommend aus einem grossen Windgottkopfe am Ende der dunklen Masse der Region des grossen Windes. II 33 — erhält das *nexquimilli* der Asche seines Vaters vom *Youaltecutli* und zieht damit weiter. II 34 — sein Genosse *Tezcatlipoca*. II 32 — weiterwandernder, trägt das *tlaquimilolli nexquimilli* auf dem Rücken. II 33 — bezeugt der Asche seines Vaters seine Reverenz. II 35 — tritt durch das Loch in dem Vorhange der Erde (Nachthimmel-Enagua einer Erdgöttin) in die Unterwelt ein. II 45 — von *Tezcatlipoca* geführt, betritt den Norden der Unterwelt. II 49 — den Norden der Unterwelt durchwandernd, erscheint gespalten in einen zum Leben und einen zum Tode bestimmten Gott. II 49, 50, 51 — knochenfarbener (s. diesen) verwandelt sich im Norden der Unterwelt nach seiner Opferung auf dem *techcatl* in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*. II 54, 55, 69 — seine Erneuerung als Morgenstern geschildert und erklärt durch die Geburt der Sonne (Verbrennung *Nanauatzin*'s) und die Erneuerung des Mondes. II 55, 67 — als Kolibri *(uitzitzilin)* kniet auf dem Wipfel des Baumes, der aus dem Herz der Mondstrahlenscheibe der *Xochiquetzal* im Süden der Unterwelt herausgewachsen ist. II 66, 69 — verjüngt sich mit dem Monde (*Xochiquetzal*) im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66, 69 — als Sterngott mit grossem Strahlauge auf dem Scheitel, unter einem *ayatl*, das mit neun Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensternes besetzt ist; aus einem Loche an seinem Hintern kommt ein grosser Blutstrom heraus (s. Blutruhr). II 72 — bohrt Feuer auf dem Leibe der Erdgöttin, in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — verjüngt sich durch Verbrennung in dem durch vier Feuerschlangen umschlossenen Raume der Mitte der Unterwelt und wird so befähigt am Himmel emporzusteigen. II 74–75 — als Sonnengott am Himmel emporsteigend. II 74, 75, 213 — berührt sich mit *Xiuhtecutli* in gewissen Trachtstücken. I 86; II 213 — erscheint als Feuergott beim Tageszeichen *calli*. I 302, 303 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe I 326 — s. Seele *Quetzalcouatl*'s, Herz *Quetzalcouatl*'s. — ihm verwandt ist der *Moan*-Vogel. I 215 — ihm entspricht auf Maya-Monumenten die Gottheit der Zahl Neun, die *chicunaui eecatl* „neun Wind" zu lesen ist. II 217 — als Waldhuhn *(coxolitli)* verkleidet beim vierten Tageszeichen *(cuetzpalin)* dargestellt. I 303 — dem entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 311.

***Quetzalcouatl*-Figur,** hält der blaue Feuergott im Tempel der Feuerschlange, Norden der Mitte der Unterwelt, auf dem Schoosse. II 73 — als Weib gekleidet, auf dem Rücken der *Tonacaciuatl*. II 171.

***Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren,** tote, auf dem grossen Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33, 34 — kleine schwarze mit *itztli* als Hut oder Helmmaske. II 34 — neun, verschieden kostümirt, nehmen das Herz der Sonnenscheiben an den Extremitäten *Youaltecutli*'s mit einem Opfermesser heraus. II 47, 56 — zwei, schlürfen das Lebenswasser der Erneuerung, die gelbe Fluth, das Feuer des verbrannten *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* aus dem *quauhxicalli*. II 55.

***Quetzalcouatl*-Maske,** trägt die nackte Frauensperson beim Regengotte des Nordens (*Tezcatlipoca*). I 351.

***Quetzalcouatl*-Mythus,** ein Mondmythus. II 1, 2, 55, 67, 78, 86 — in Parallelität mit dem Morgensterne. II 1, 2 — s. Mond und Morgenstern.

Quetzalcouatl-Pàtecatl, Mischung von Trachtabzeichen und Bemalungen beider als Mondgötter wesensverwandter Gottheiten. II 245, 246.

***Quetzalcouatl*-Sagen,** II 2.

Quetzalcouatl-Tlaloc, sein Tag und Name *naui-eecatl* „vier Wind", Regent des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 234. — Kopf auf dem Mumienbündel bei *Tlaloc*. II 268.

Quetzalcouatl-Xolotl, in die Erdgöttin verwandelt, aus ihr fünf Götter der Missgeburt hervorkommend. I 179.

Quetzalcouatl* und *Macuilxochitl, Mond und Sonne. II 46.

quetzalcoxcoxtli, Vogel mit Scheitelfederkamm. I 303; II 95. — Art Waldhuhn der Tierra caliente II 95 — s. *coxcoxtli*. — als solcher verkleidet *Chalchiuhtlicue*, beim fünften Tageszeichen *couatl*. I 303, 304 — Verkleidung *Xochipilli*'s, *Macuilxochitl*'s, der Sonnen- und Feuergötter, der Götter der Zeugung und der Lebensmittel, der Götter der Lust. I 304; II 95, 109, 296, 297 — Vogel der dritten Tagstunde. II 296 — mit Edelsteinbändern, in der Cella des Tempels des Ostens (Codex Bologna). II 109 — des Tempels des Westens. II 114 — s. Helmmaske, — Vogel der Götter der Lust. I 304.

Quetzalfeder, auf einer Kautschukkugel, bei der *Xochiquetzal* (der neunten Tagstunde). II 198, 199 — s. *miauayotl*.

Quetzalfederbüsche veranschaulichen Schmuck, Schönheit, Kostbarkeit. I 209 — zwei charakteristisch für *Xochiquetzal*. I 209, 212, 247.

Quetzalfedern, ihre Farbe, dunkelgrün. II 107 — s. *Xiuhtototl*-federn und Quetzalfedern.

Quetzalfederschlange, s. *quetzalcouatl*. — Tempel der —. II 39.

Quetzalfederschmuck, Sinnbild von *cozcatl-quetzalli*, kommt aus der Vulva der *Xochiquetzal (Quaxolotl)* der vierten Nachtstunde heraus. II 186.

Qutzalfedertragbahre, auf ihr tragen die *mociuaquetzque* die Sonne vom Zenith herab nach Westen. II 88.

quetzalli, Schwanzfeder des *quetzaltototl*. I 83 — bezeichnet Kostbarkeit (s. *cozcatl*). I 180, 209 — bezeichnet Wasserfülle und Vegetation. I 83, 180 — s. *tlaquetzalpatia*. — Vorstellungszusammenhang mit *chalchiuitl* und *atl*. II 65 — am Ende des Streifens, den *Xochipilli* aus der vor ihm liegenden Menschenfigur herauszieht. I 267 — bezeichnet ein Kind. I 31 (s. *cozcatl quetzalli*), 209.

quetzalmanalli, fächerartiger Federschmuck, von den *Cuexteca* an den Seiten des Kopfes getragen.

quetzalmiauayo, aufgesteckte Quetzalfeder. I 243.

quetzalpamitl, grünes Quetzalfederbanner *Xochipilli*'s. I 339.

quetzalpatzactli, kammartiger Schmuck aus Quetzalfedern, der *Anauaca Tzapoteca*, der Bewohner der pazifischen Küste (*Ayotlan*), unter *Auitzotl* nach México gekommen. II 256 — Schmuck *Xipe*'s. II 256 — Schmuck *Yacatecutli*'s, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

quetzalquauitl, Baum des Ostens. II 105.

quetzaltemalli, Quetzalfederbusch auf dem Scheitel *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*'s, bei der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 182.

quetzaltototl, Pharomacrus mocinno, Vogel mit glänzend grünen langen Schwanzfedern. Auf dem Baume des Ostens. II 105 — Helmmaske der *Xochiquetzal*. I 212, 279; II 186, 213 — für *Xochipilli*, die dritte der vier

Formen der Gottheit des Planeten Venus eintretend. — aus der Schale trinkend, s. Herabkommen zum Opfer (I 28). I 36, 38, 48, 59, 74, 75, 158; II 176, 189, 206 — bezeichnet den Sonnenvogel, den Süden. I 28; II 189 — aus einer Schale trinkend, bei *Xochipilli* der neunten Tagstunde. II 198, 199 — bei der Göttin der dreizehnten Nachtstunde. II 206 — aus der Schale trinkend, s. Sage von dem Gott von *Itzmal*, *Kinich-Kakmó*. II 176 — aus dargebotener Schale trinkend, Symbol geschlechtlicher Vereinigung. II 192 — Tanzende, die eilfte Nachtstunde und den Süden bezeichnend. II 201–202 — über dem Scheitel *Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli*'s. I 145 — bezeichnet den Gott als Krieger(?). I 145 — auf dem *cacaxtli* des rothen *Tezcatlipoca*. I 293 — auf dem Baume der Mitte. II 107 — auf dem Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33 — auf einer über die Rückenlast des gelben *Tezcatlipoca* (des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer) gestülpten *chalchiuitl*-Schale. II 163 — unter dem Arme der *Xochiquetzal*, der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 182 — der zwölften Nachtstunde. II 204 — unter dem Arme der *Xochiquetzal*, Zeichen des Genusses. II 183 — auf dem Scheitel der *Xochiquetzal*. II 189 — unter dem Arme *Quetzalcouatl*'s, bei der neunten Tagstunde. II 199 — von oben herabkommend, zwischen den beiden Tänzern der eilften Nachtstunde, Empfängnis andeutend. II 202 — eines der vier zerstückelnden Thiere, *acipactli* vertretend. II 65, 68 — bezeichnet die zwölfte Tagestunde. II 298.

quetzalueixoch, „grosse Quetzalfederblume", Baum, in den sich *Quetzalcouatl* verwandelt. I 150.

quetzaluitoncatl, Quetzalvogelflügel, Rückendevise des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. I 299.

quetzaluitzitzilin, grüner Kolibri, bezeichnet die zweite Tagstunde. II 295.

Quetzalvogelfedermaske, s. *quetzaltototl*, Helmmaske.

Quetzalvogelflügel und -Schwanz, an den Armen der *Quaxolotl-Xochiquetzal* der vierten Nachtstunde herabhängend. II 186.

Quetzalvogelkopf, an einer Blume des Federschmuckes des linken Armes *Xochipilli*'s (im Codex Vaticanus). II 136.

quexiliviliztli, Leistengeschwüre. II 97.

quezeuatl, „Hüftenleder", Lederschurz der Ballspieler. I 288; II 32.

quiauhtonatiuh, Feuerregensonne, die dritte der vier präkosmischen Weltperioden. I 25 (s. *Tonatiuh*, s. *quiauitl*), 107, 126, 203, 204, 330; II 25, 164, 165 — Gott der Regensonne" *Tlaloc*. I 23, 107, 108 — ihr Zeichen ist *naui quiauitl*. I 204.

quiauitl, Regen; durch Schlangen bezeichnet, s. Federschlange. — die vier Arten. II 302, 303 — neunzehntes Tageszeichen. I 16 (s. *ayotl*), 48, 64, 202–208, 215, 308 — bedeutet Feuerregen. I 25, 49, 107; II 164, 165, 277 — sein Regent *Tonatiuh*. I 25, 203–208, 215; II 165, 277, 309 — bei diesem Tageszeichen ist *Chalchiuhtlicue* und der *tlacatecolotl* dargestellt. I 308 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 318–319 — das Tageszeichen hieroglyphisch durch einen Kopf *Tlaloc*'s ausgedrückt. I 202, 283 — massgebendes Tageszeichen für den sechsten der sechs Himmelswanderer *(Iztac Mixcouatl)*. II 157, 164 — als Tageszeichen mit der Analöffnung des weiblichen und männlichen Gottes der Wollust verbunden. II 305 — s. *quiauhtonatiuh*.

Quie-ngola, Ruinenplätze (mit Ballspielplätzen) I 289.

Quilazteopan, „Tempel der *Quilaztli*", darin setzt der junge *Quetzalcouatl* die Asche seines Vaters bei. II 34.

Quilaztli, s. *Ciuacouatl*.

quimichin, „Maus", Thier der Erde, nächtiges Thier, Determinativ *Tezcatlipoca*'s, des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer (im Codex Féjerváry). II 163 — am Kreuzwege hockend, als Determinativ für *Itztli-Tezcatlipoca* (den zweiten der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht). II 163.

Quincunx, Hieroglyphe der Venus in Maya-Handschriften. I 255 — Gesichtsbemalung der Gottheit des Planeten Venus. I 255, 258, 286, 296, 352; II 1, 21, 44, 64, 68, 71, 129, 139, 140 — bei einzelnen der *Ueueteteô* des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — bei neun Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensterns. II 72 — Bemalung des Menschengesichts, das aus dem Rachen der Himmelsschlange hervorsieht. II 65, 68 — s. Sterngott. — Gesichtsbemalung der Sterngötter. II 68 — Bemalung des toten Kriegers im *quauhxicalli*. II 71 — s. *cicitlallô*.

Quiriguá. I 217.

Quirlen, des Feuers, s. Feuer bohren. — s. *tlemamali*.

quittani in teiollo, „der das Herz der Leute kennt", *Tezcatlipoca*. II 81.

Qu'iche, Mayastamm in Guatemala, s. *Popol Vuh*.

Rauchwolken, s. *cuitlatl*-artige Gebilde.

Rachen, s Schlange, s. *cipactli*. — s. Nacht. — s. Höhle. I 106 — s. Steinmesserrachen. — s. Wurzelende. — Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 311.

Rad, s. Kalenderrad. — s. Hakenkreuz.

radförmiger Kopfschmuck aus *tlauhquechol*-Federn und fächerartig angeordneten Stäben, bei *Xipe Totec*. I 271.

Raffzähne. II 21, 66.

Randlinie, gelb, bei Darstellungen von Thierrachen. I 106.

Rang und Reichthum, mit der Sonne in Zusammenhang gebracht. II 54.

Rangtitel, s. *Tlacochcalcatl*, *Uitznauacatl*.

Rassel, s. *ayacachtli*.

Rasselbrett, s. *chicauaztli*.

rasseln, s. *cacalaca*.

Rasselnde Gehänge, s. *oyoualli*, s. *citlalcueitl*.

Ratte (?), schwarz gemaltes Thier des Westens, neben dem linken Arm des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 54.

Raubthierzähne der *Chantico*. II 273, 276.

Rauch, dunkler, aus dem Anus der *Itzpapalotl* kommend. I 182 — vom Räuchergefäss aufsteigend bei der *Cuateotl* des Ostens. II 93 — bei den fünf *Auiateteô*. II 98.

Rauchender Spiegel, an der Schläfe und dem abgerissenen Fusse *Tezcatlipoca*'s, bezeichnet Blut. I 146, 220.

Rauchendes Blut, am Beinstumpfe *Tezcatlipoca*'s, daraus hat sich der rauchende Spiegel entwickelt. I 146.

Rauchendes Herz. I 219.

Räuchergefäss mit Blut, bei der *Chantico*. II 278.

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Räucherlöffel, s. *tlemaitl*.

Räuchern um die Mittagsstunde, dem Sonnengotte. II 194.

Räucheropfer, s. *tlapopochuilli*.

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Räucherwerk, s. *tlapopochuilli*, *tlaauialli*. — s. siedende Harzmasse (braune). — Pillen aus Weihrauchkraut. II 232 — bei *Tlaloc* bezeichnet durch doppelköpfige Schlange mit Feuer und weisser Schaumzeichnung auf dem Rücken. II 229, 234 — bezeichnet Lebensmittelfülle. I 301; II 234.

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Rauchwolken in Edelsteinbänder endigend, beim *tlemaitl* des Sonnengottes. II 109 — *Cinteotl*'s. II 114 — als Knochenmännchen gezeichnet, beim schwarzen Todesgotte vor dem Tempel des Südens (Codex Bologna). II 114 — des auf dem Leibe der Mondgöttin gequirlten Feuers; daraus entspringt ein rothes Abbild des *Tepeyollotli*. II 21 — und Feuerwolken am Schwanzende der *tlapalcouatl* bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 252 — gegeneinander gekehrt, bilden einen stilisirten Rachen; Darstellung der Nacht beim Mondgotte. I 106 — beim Räuchergefässe vor dem Tempel des Nordens.

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Regengott, s. *Tlaloc.* — s. *Chac.* — s. *cocijo.* — s. Gott mit dem von Schlangenwindungen gebildeten Gesichte. — im Feuer herabfahrender, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 68 — sein Geburtstag s. *u ziyanil Chac, bolon imix.* — ist in den vier Himmelsrichtungen zu Hause. I 345 — ihm schiebt sich der Regenzauberer *(Quetzalcouatl)* unter. I 85.
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Scheibe mit Edelsteinriemen, bezeichnet *Xochipilli* als den Herrn der Kostbarkeit, I 101 — charakteristisch für *Macuilxochitl* und dessen Entsprechung auf Maya-Monumenten. I 215.

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Scheitelfederkamm, s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. — s. *coxcoxtli*-Helmmaske. — s. *quachichiquilli*. — s. *uitoncatl*. — meist in der Form von Quetzalfedern gezeichnet. I 304 — aus Edelsteinstreifen, bei *Macuilxochitl*. I 272, 304 — bei *Chalchiutlicue*. I 304.

Scheitelhaar, den Opfergefangenen um Mitternacht vor dem Herde abgeschnitten. I 115.

Scheitelkamm, aus *chalchiuitl*-Streifen, beim Sonnengotte. I 284 — eingerollter, der Windgottschlangen. II 45 — der dunklen Bogenfigur, die das Loch im Vorhange der Erde verschliesst. II 45.

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Schildkrötenschale, bildet den *tezcacuitlapilli* des *Xochiquetzal.* I 212; II 171 215, — auf dem Rücken des alten kahlköpfigen Gottes der Dresdener Handschrift. II 215, 313 am Speerbündel bei *Quetzalcouatl* II 215 — meist mit einem Sonnenbilde gezeichnet in Maya-Handschriften. I 313; II 154 — s. Dosenschildkröte. — vertreten durch Schneckengehäuse. I 313 — durch *eauac.* I 313 — vertreten durch das Element *tun.* I 313 — Musikinstrument. I 306; II 189 — s. *ayotl.*
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schwarz mit weissen Flecken, *cicitlallô*-Bemalung. II 44, 65, 68, 98.

schwarz mit weissen Kreuzen, Schale für das Feueropfer beim Todesgott. I 227.

schwarz mit zwei tiefschwarzen Bändern und weissem Quincunx, Gesichtsbemalung des Gottes des Planeten Venus. I 255.

schwarz und braun, s. braun und schwarz.

schwarz und gelb, Gesichtsbemalung *Tlaloc*'s. I 110, 111, 236, 249 — *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 44 — Gefieder der Trupiale *ayoquan*. II 3 — halb und halb (gelb mit gekreuzter schwarzer Strichzeichnung), Gesichtsbemalung des Feuergottes des Südens (*Uitzilopochtli*). II 131 — Bauchstreifen der blauen Schlange des rothen Wassergefässes. II 43 — der gelben Schlange des rothen Wassergefässes (?). II 44.

schwarze und gelbe Streifen, Gesichtsbemalung *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 283, 351 — s. *ixtlan tlatlaan*.

schwarze und rothe Todesgöttin, beim Westen und Norden der Unterwelt dargestellt. II 7, 8, 9.

schwarzer und rother *Quetzalcouatl,* Mond und Sonne. II 46 — in einen *cipactli*-Rachen hineingezogen. II 46, 47 — in ein *cipactli*-Viereck, den Osten der Unterwelt, eintretend. II 47.

schwarzer und rother Streifen, *youalli* — *eztli* (Nacht — Blut), beim Nordbaume. II 106 — beim Südbaume. II 107.

schwarzer und rother *Tezcatlipoca,* zum Kriegertanz (*necocololo*) antretend. II 71.

schwarzer und rother *tlachtli*. II 23.

schwarz und knochenfarben, halb und halb, Gesicht des toten *Quetzalcouatl*'s im Norden der Unterwelt. II 49.

schwarz und *olpiyauac*-grün, Farben *Tlaloc*'s. I 236.

schwarz und *olpiyauac,* Trachtstücke *Tlaloc*'s, des Regengottes des Ostens. I 352.

schwarz und roth, Farbe der Pulquegötter und der *Tlaçolteotl*. s. *chictlapanqui*. — (*chictlapanqui*), im Federschmuck *Pàtecatl*'s ausgedrückte Zweifarbigkeit. II 244 — Farben des *tlachtli* in der Wiener Handschrift und im Codex Nuttall. II 23 — Farbe des Feuergottes. II 24, 276 — s. Gesichtsbemalung. — s. roth und schwarz. — Gesichtsbemalung der Feuergöttin *Chantico*. II 276 — Gesicht der menschlichen Figur neben dem Bandvierecke in der Wiener Handschrift. II 284 — Nackentuch *Youaltecutli*'s. II 28 — Enagua der *Tlaçolteotl*, s. *cueitl*. — s. Farbengegensatz. — s. *Tlillan Tlapallan*. — s. Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange; schwarzer Pfeiler des Nordens, rother Pfeiler des Südens. — s. *tlapoyaua*, Scheide von Tag und Nacht.

schwarz und roth mit gelben Flecken, Gesichtsbemalung des Pulquegottes. II 245.

schwarz und weiss, Bemalung *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. II 43 — seines Hutes. II 110 — gemustert, Schambinde *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli*'s. I 269 — *tlachieloni*-artige Scheibe. II 42 — bumerang-artiges Instrument. II 20, 43.

schwarz-weisse Wand, trennt *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*, das fünfte der sechs Götterpaare (im Codex Féjerváry). II 176.

Schwertfisch = *cipactli*. I 76 — = *acipactli*. II 62, 63.

Schwertfisch-Schwert, Schnauzenspitze *cipactli*'s. I 76 — zu einer Waffe verwendet bei *Tepeyollotli*. II 217 — bei *Ueuecoyotl*. II 224 — bei den Pulquegöttern. I 143; II 244 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 78 — beim Regengotte der fünften Richtung. I 347 — bei der elften Tagstunde. II 202 — Waffe (den Mexikanern) fremder Tierra caliente-Stämme. II 224 — der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens (s. Stachelkeule). II 78.

Schwester, feindliche, *Uitzilopochtli*, s. *Coyolxauhqui*.

Schwestern, vier, der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 86.

Schwitzbad, *temazcalli*, s. *Temazcalteci*, *temazcaleque*. — seine Patronin die Mond- und Geburtsgöttin. II 13 — an ihm opfert die Göttin *virambanecha* (taraskisch). II 13.

Sechs, Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten ist der alte Himmelsgott, ist *chiquacen quiauitl* zu lesen. I 217.

sechs Götterpaare, die, II 170—178 — den sechs Himmelsrichtungen (Osten, Norden, Süden, Westen, Oben, Unten) entsprechend. II 170 — mit den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren in Verbindung gebracht. II 177, 178, 179.

sechs Himmelsrichtungen, s. sechs Richtungen. — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden, Oben, Unten. II 170, 179 — ihnen entsprechend sechs Götterpaare. II 170–178 — den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren zu Grunde liegend. II 179 — ihr Turnus bei den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren. II 180.

sechs Himmelswanderer. I 302, 308; II 157–165.

sechs Kriegerfahnen, an einem braun und schwarzen Baume, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 71.

sechs Regengötter, folgen im Codex Vaticanus auf die sechs Götterpaare. II 179.

sechs Richtungen, Götter der. I 137 — andere Liste. II 284 bis 299 — Parallele im Codex Féjerváry. II 125 — den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren zu Grunde liegend. II 179 — s. sechs Himmelsrichtungen.

sechs Schädel, auf dem *tzompantli* des *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 71 — ihnen entsprechend sechs Kriegerfahnen an einem braun und schwarzen Baume. II 71.

sechs Windgottfigürchen, bezeichnen die verwehende Asche des verbrannten *Quetzalcouatl.* II 3.

sechste Himmelsrichtung, die Unterwelt, das Erdinnere, ausgedrückt durch das sechste der sechs Götterpaare. II 177, 178 — das Unten. II 179.

sechster Himmel, von *Mictlantecutli* bewohnt. II 292 — vom toten Krieger (*Teoyaomiqui*). II 294.

sechsundzwanzig (26), Ziffer, mit der die fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare schliessen. II 178.

sechsundzwanzig Tage, schematische Umlaufszeit des Mondes. II 208.

sechs Unterwelten, Herr der —, *Uac mitun ahau* (Maya). I 216; II 244 — s. *Chiquacen calli.*

Seelandschaft, von *Uitzilopochtli* hervorgezaubert. II 31.

Seele des geopferten Kriegers, s. *ilhuiac yauh, tonatiuh iixco yauh* ihr Abbild die Wachtel (s. *çolin*). II 290.

Seele des Toten, vom Hunde über den Fluss der Unterwelt *(Chicunauhapan)* gesetzt, über das Meer. I 125, 198; II 268.

Seele des toten Königs, auf einem *teoicpalli* knieend, bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150—151 — durch Kolibri (im Codex Bologna) veranschaulicht. II 151.

Seele des toten Kriegers, s. Vogel an Blüthen saugend (*tlachichina*). I 62; II 67 — s. Vogel. (I 145) — s. *Xocotl.* I 118, 119, 190; II 68 — s. *tlaçototome.* — s. *tiçapapalotl iuipapalotl.* — s. *ilhuicac yauh, tonatiuh iixco yauh, holcan.* — s. Osten. (I 92) — s. Himmel. — s. Zenith. — s. *Cuecuextzin, Otontecuhtli.* — begleitet die Sonne bis zum Zenith. I 274; II 13, 87, 88, 238, 239 — Verkörperung der Sonne. II 87 — ihr Wohnort der Osthimmel (s. *tonatiuh ichan*). II 70, 87–88, 295 — kommen zur Erde als Schmuckvögel, als Schmetterlinge, den Honig der Blüthen zu saugen. II 89 — in vier Adlerhäusern (*quauhcalli*) auf dem *teoicpalli, Quetzalcouatl*-artig bemalt. II 70.

Seele *Quetzalcouatl*'s, aus der Asche wieder lebendig geworden. II 3, 4, 6, 7, 8.

Seelen der Väter, ihr Land der Norden. II 13 — sind die *Centzon Mimixcoua.* II 13.

Segen von oben, durch umgestülpte Schale mit herausfallenden Maiskörnern bezeichnet. II 182, 194.

Seil, s. Strick, *mecatl.* — mit einem Skorpiongesichte am untern Ende = vom Himmel herabkommendes Feuer. I 123 — mit einem rothen und gelben Skorpiongesicht herabhängend vom Mumienbündel mit dem Skelettkopfe *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 3 — in ein Skorpiongesicht endigend bei dem Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — in ein Spinnengesicht, im Hause der rothen Schlange. II 20 — an ihm kommt *Quetzalcouatl* herunter (Wiener Handschrift, Bl. 48). II 20 — an ihm der den Tempel herabbringende Priester (Codex Nuttall, Bl. 18). II 20 — s. Spinnenfaden.

Selbstopfer, symbolische Bezeichnung dafür das Ausbohren des Auges. II 91 — *Nanauatzin*'s (in *Teotiuacan*). I 194, 199, 200, 206 etc.; II 97 — s. Selbstverbrennung. — s. Sprung ins Feuer. — sämmtlicher Götter. I 206 — des herabstürzenden Opfermenschen, bei *Mictlantecutli* dargestellt. I 297 — des Sonnengottes. I 306 — der Götter *Titlacahuan, Uitzilopochtli, Xochiquetzal, Yopalli icue, Nochpalli icue,* d. h. der Kriegsgötter, der Vertreter des *Tlillan-Tlapallan,* Repräsentanten des Mondes und der Sterne, der alten Gestorbenen. II 145.

Selbstopferung, s. *netetequiliztli.* I 24, 34.

Selbstverbrennung der verkappten Sonne, d. h. *Nanauatzin*'s, befreit diese von ihren Schwären. Aus *Nanauatzin* wird der junge Sonnengott. II 55 — der Gestirne, notwendig, damit die Sonne wieder erscheint. II 308.

Selbstverbrennung des Mondes. II 78 — s. abnehmender Mond.

Senores de la Noche, s. neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Sichel des Mondes, s. Mondsichel.

Sichel des Planeten Venus, zur Zeit des grössten Glanzes erscheinend. II 11.

Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern. I 350, 351.

Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern, ihr Ende. II 45 ff. — ihre Dauer: 252 Tage. II 15, 16, 46, 58.

siderische Umlaufszeit des Mondes $27^1/_3$ Tage. II 208.

Sieben, Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten ist *Chicome xochitl* zu lesen, entspricht *Xochiquetzal.* I 217.

sieben Sterne, die umbiegen, Sternbild des südlichen Kreuzes, *xonecuilli.* I 261.

sieben und siebenzig Tage = 69 + 8, Dauer der Unsichtbarkeit des als Morgenstern „gestorbenen" Planeten Venus. II 14, 15, 16, 58 — Abstand von *ce acatl* bis *matlactli omei itzcuintli.* II 15, 58.

Sieben Weltgegenden, durch die fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare bezeichnet.

siebenter Himmel, bewohnt von *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl.* II 292 — von *Xochipilli-Cintcotl.* II 294.

siedende Harzmasse. II 171, 182.

Sieger im Ballspiel, s. *tetlaxinqui.* (I 289) — ihm wird ein übler Tod prophezeit. I 289.

Siegerschmuck, s. *quauhtlachcayotl.*

Sierra Madre des Westens, ihre Bewohner der Stamm *Huichol.* II 147.

Sigüenza y Góngora, Autor, der aus Cristóval de Castillo schöpfte. I 343.

Sintflut, endet das *atonatiuh.* I 204; II 69 — aus der Zeit stammt *Tepeyollotli.* I 92 — s. *xe butic* (Qui'che). — nach ihr wird der eingestürzte Himmel im Jahre *ce tochtli* „eins Kaninchen" wieder aufgerichtet. II 118.

Sitzpolster, *Chalchiuitl*-Farben, am Fussende der vier Bäume des Codex Vaticanus. II 103, 104.

Skelett, s. *Mictlantecutli.* — mit seinem Gefangenen (s. *temani*). I 23, 24; — mit feuerfarbenem Haar, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 35 — statt *oltelolótli,* bei der *Ciuateotl* des Westens. II 93 — rothes, s. rothes Skelett. — roth mit gelben Flecken; diesem reisst *Tzinacantli* das Herz aus der Brust. II 61, 66 — schwarzes. II 7 — zwei schwarze Skelette. II 7, 8 — bildet den Haupttheil der Maya-Hieroglyphe für Hund. I 125.

Skelettbrustkorb des als Skorpion travestirten schwarzen Gottes der Maya-Handschriften. I 321 — *Mictlantecutli*'s. II 177.

Skelettbrustkörbe, am Tempel des Südens (über dem Südbaume). II 114.

Skelettfigur, vor dem Tempel des Südens einen *tzontemoc*

opfernd. II 114 — Idol in der Cella des Tempels des Südens. II 115.

Skelettgestalt, bezeichnet *Mictlantecutli* (s. diesen). — entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter der mexikanischen *Itzpapalotl.* I 217.

Skelettkopf, Gottheit der Zahl Zehn auf Maya-Monumenten, entspricht dem mexikanischen *Tepeyollotli.* I 217 — schwarzer, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 3 — abgeschnittener, in jeder Hand von vier *Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren. II 10, 12 — rother und gelber, bezeichnen den Mond. II 11—12, 58 — abgeschnittener, in der Hand des Priesters des Hauses des männlichen Gottes des Westens (getöteter Mond). II 18 — des Todesgottes, des Süd-Ballspielers. II 116 — grosser, *tzontemoc*-artig, die Erde bezeichnend; über ihm *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli* Rücken an Rücken. II 166, 167.

skelettköpfige *Ciuapipiltin,* begleiten *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 50.

skelettköpfige Gestalt, den Norden in der Abendsternreihe bezeichnend, in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 341 — ihr entspricht *Mixcouatl.* I 338, 341.

skelettköpfige Tiergestalt, vollzieht dem Sonnengott gegenüber das Wachtelopfer. II 290.

skelettköpfige Würmer, fressen an Maiskolben auf dem Acker des vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *Cinteotl*'s. II 150.

Skelettwirbelsäule, bei vier Skolopendern. II 91 — der Federschlange des Südens (s. *omicouatl malinalcouatl*). II 302 — Gürtel der *Ciuateotl* der fünften Richtung (im Codex Vaticanus). II 93.

Skink, Aphrodisiacum. I 96.

Sklaven. I 150, 151 — als Söhne *Tezcatlipoca*'s am Tage vor Eintritt des Zeichens *ce miquiztli* bewirthet. I 151 — vom wandernden Kaufmann aus der südlichen, pacifischen Tierra caliente mitgebracht. I 293 — s. Palastsklaven.

Sklavenhalsband, am Tage vor Eintritt des Zeichens *ce miquiztli* den Sklaven abgenommen. I 151 — von *Tezcatlipoca* getragen (s. *quauhcozcatl*). II 229.

Sklaverei, Verkauf in die — s. *tlanamictiliztli.* II 225.

Skolopender, s. *olin*-artige Verschlingung. — im wirren Haare der Erdkröte. I 37 — vier, mit Skelettwirbelsäule. II 91 — unter dem Stuhle der *Xochiquetzal* herauskommend. II 281, 282 — statt Rauches, zum Kreuzwege heruntergehend, bei der *Ciuateotl* des Nordens. II 93 — s. Schlangen und Skolopender.

Skorpion. I 21 (bei *Tezcatlipoca?*). — s. *colotl, zinan, ekchuh.* — s. *cuitlatl*-artige Gebilde. — Fänger, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hat; als solcher erscheint der schwarze Gott der Maya-Handschriften. I 321.

Skorpiongesicht, rothes und gelbes, am Seile beim Mumienbündel mit dem Skelettkopfe *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 3 — jaguarfellfarbenes, an der Spitze des Strohdaches des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 19 — darin wurzelt ein Steinmesser. II 19.

Skorpionschwanz mit einer Zange am Ende, in Maya-Handschriften. I 321.

Soconusco, Nasenschmuck der Stämme dieser Gegend ist ein Knopf in den Nasenflügeln. I 231.

Sommer, beständiger, herrscht im Reiche *Tlaloc*'s. I 295.

Sommer und Winter, s. Sonnengott und Todesgott. (I 205).

Sommersonnenwendfest, s. *Xocotl uetzi.*

Sonne, Erschaffung in *Teotiuacan.* I 194 — = *Nanauatzin,* der ins Feuer springt. I 194; II 26 — s. *Nanauatzin.* — geht im Westen und Osten, zwischen dem schwarzen Pfeiler des Nordens und dem rothen Pfeiler des Südens in die Erde hinein und hervor. II 22, 51 — ihre Bahn, durch *olin* bezeichnet. I 200 (s. *nauin olin*). — ihre Erschaffung, erhält durch Opfer Leben. I 194, 204, 206, 207 — höchster Punkt ihrer Bahn, s. Zenith. — s. Mittag, Mittagsstunde. — durch die Bewegung des Fixsternhimmels am Firmament wieder emporgeführt. II 308 — ihr Abbild des *quauhxicalli.* II 115 (s. *quauhxicalli*) — besondere Opfer für sie am Tage *naui olin.* I 208; II 52 — bei Sonnenfinsternissen (s. Blonde, Albinos, Zwerge, Bucklige). I 194, 208 — ihr geben die Krieger zu trinken. I 207 — sie ist Repräsentant des Krieges und der Krieger. I 247 — ihr Geburtsjahr *matlactli omei acatl.* I 204 — = *olin.* I 200, s. *olin tonatiuh* — bleibt vier Tage am Himmel stehen. I 206; II 115, 144, 249 — wirft den Morgenstern zu Boden. II 145, 247 — = Hirsch (s. *maçatl*); wird von einem Hirsch getragen. I 107; II 20, 164; s. Adler *(quauhtli), quauhtleuanitl,* s. *tonatiuh, tonametl, xiuhpilli* — als Lebensspenderin, ist das *tonacapiaztli* „Saugrohr der Lebensmittel". II 115, 116 — wird von der Feuerschlange getragen, Determinativ des *Naui couatl.* I 332 — Aufsteigen der, = Feuertod *Nanauatzin*'s. I 65, 199, 200, 206, 287; II 26, 41, 52, 308, s. *Nanauatzin* — aufgehende. I 85, 148, untergehende, s. *tlalchitonatiuh, Xolotl,* ein Sohn *Quetzalcouatl*'s, verwandelt sich in die —. I 104 — aufgehende, ist der junge Krieger, der mit dem *xiuhcouatl* (der flammenden Fackel) die feindliche Mondgöttin zerteilt (s. *Uitzilopochtli*-Mythus). II 86 — ihre Geburt, über dem Meere des Ostens. II 48 — das Feuer, mit dem sie leuchtet, ist schon unter der Erde entzündet worden. II 72 — ihr Aufgang im Osten (s. *Tlillan-Tlapallan, Tlatlayan*), Kern der *Nanauatzin*-Legende. II 53 — in Zusammenhang gebracht mit Exanthemen geschlechtlicher Erkrankungen, Rang und Reichtum, unbeschränktem Genuss, Sünde. II 54 — lädt während ihres abwärts gerichteten Laufs Schuld auf sich und erscheint in der Zeit der Nacht als *Nanauatzin.* II 54, 55 — verkappte, = *Nanauatzin.* II 54, 55 — wird durch Selbstverbrennung ihrer Gebrechen ledig; so wird *Nanauatzin* zum jungen Sonnengott. II 55 — in der Unterwelt (s. auch *Youaltecutli*), kranke, missgeschaffene Sonne, von *Xolotl-Nanauatzin* (dem missgestalteten Syphilitiker) von Westen nach Osten (über Süden) begleitet. II 94, 95 — untergehende, *Tezcatlipoca.* II 12, 23, 32 — s. Symplegaden, *tepetl imonamiquian* — zu den Toten hinabgehende, hundsköpfiger *Xolotl* II 35 — ihr Stand über México im Zenith, im Fest *Toxcatl.* I 150. 205 — Verschiebung ihrer Stellung im Laufe eines Jahres von Süden nach Norden, mystische Bedeutung des Ballspieles (s. *tlachtli*). I 290 — wie Licht und Tag, verkörpern das Leben. I 205 — bringt alle Dinge hervor (s. *tonacayotl*). I 205, 207 — tote, ihr Begleiter *Xolotl.* I 197; junge, s. aufgehende, s. *pilnechiualli, Telpochtli, Tezcatlipoca* — junge, aufsteigende = *Uitzilopochtli,* vertreibt das Heer der Sterne. I 264 — ihr Abbild das Opfer *Tezcatlipoca*'s am *Toxcatl*-Fest. I 207 — vom Jaguar verschlungen. I 282 — s. Selbstopfer, s. Selbstverbrennung — mit ihr geht der sakrale Turnus der Himmelsrichtungen von Osten über Norden nach Westen. II 13, 22 — ihr entgegen die Bewegung über Süden nach Osten. II 13, 58, 84 — in der Unterwelt, s. *Tezcatlipoca,* ist *Youaltecutli.* I 224; II 28 — ihre Unterweltsfahrt in der Quiche-Mythe. II 1.

Sonne in Vogelgestalt, *Xochipilli* als *quetzalcoxcoxtli.* II 297.

Sonne, Mond, Morgenstern und Sternenwelt, die vier grossen kosmischen Potenzen; verkörpern sich in den 4 Federschlangen. II 303.

Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern, s. die drei mit *Xipe*'s Schild verbundenen Daten: *naui olin, ce itzcuintli, yei quauhtli.* II 257.

Sonne, Mond und Morgenstern und die 13 Vögel (die Stunden des Tages). II 289—299.

Sonne und Erde, in *Tezcatlipoca* zusammenfallend. I 148 — Lebensspender. II 116.

Sonne und Mond, ihre Abbilder am *netonatiuhçaualli* ge-

opfert. I 204 — Pyramiden von Sonne und Mond in *Teotiuacan*. I 205 — an der Sehnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286 — Sonnenscheibe, durch den Mond verfinstert (?). I 297 — ihr Verschwinden in der Erde und Aufgehen am Himmel, im *Popol Vuh* behandelt. II 49, 50 — s. *Hun hunahpu* und *Vukub hunahpu*. — Sonne sucht den Mond, die *Xochiquetzal*, die junge Göttin der Liebe II 66, 84 — junge Sonne und neuer Mond, *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*, fünftes der seehs Götterpaare, abgewendet sitzend (s. dort). II 175 — in Konjunktion. II 248 — Kampf beider in einem Wettspiel. II 285, 286 — s. Mond und Sonne (II 46).

Sonnen, vier, s. vier präkosmische Sonnen.

Sonnenabbild, das Auge, bezw. *chalchiuitl*. I 14; Opfer des *Toxcatl*-Festes. I 147.

Sonnenanbeter. I 205 — Ort der —, s. *Teotiuacan*.

Sonnenartige Blüten, mit *chalchiuitl*-Kern, in Stacheln (Dornen) ausstrahlend, beim Baume des Südens. II 107.

Sonnenaufgang, s. Aufgang; Land des —s, s. *Tlapallan* — am Beginn der zehnten Stunde. II 298.

Sonnenauge, der *anauatl*-Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca*'s (?). I 152.

Sonnenball, sein Repräsentant der *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. II 109.

Sonnenbild, mit herabrinnendem Blutstrome = göttliche Gewalt. I 40 — richterliche Strafe. II 82, 83, 84; bezeichnet das Radikal *teo-* in Städtehieroglyphen. I 205 — seine Abbreviatur das Feuer- und Jahressymbol: Trapez und Strahl. II 74 — halbes mit einem Bilde der Nacht, bezeichnet Scheide von Tag und Nacht; Symbol der Pulquegötter. I 251 — auf der Schildkrötensehale in Maya-Handschriften. I 313; II 154 — s. Dosenschildkröte. — grosses, mit der Hieroglyphe *ce xochitl* „eins Blume", über einer Tempelpyramide. II 285 — auf dem grossen *quauhxicalli*-Stein. II 289 — nebst Bildern des Feuers und der Eroberung, Maya-Hieroglyphe des Sonnengottes. II 310.

Sonnenblumen, an den beiden oberen Zweigenden des Blütenbaums vor *Cinteotl*. I 225.

Sonnenembleme, s. Opferembleme — s. *tlapapalli* — s. *tonallo*.

Sonnenfest, s. *Toxcatl* (I 205).

Sonnenfinsterniss, s. *tonatiuh qualo*. — vom Jahre 1478 p. c. (Chimalpain, VII Relacion). II 127, Anm. 4.

Sonnengott, s. *tonatiuh*, s. *teotl*, s. *cabauil, Kinch ahau*, = vom Himmel herabkommendes Feuer (s. *quiauitl*). I 25, die Sonne als *Tlaloc*. I 26 — s. Koyote. — junger, *Uitzilopochtli* (s. diesen); seine Feinde: die Mondgöttin *Coyolxauh* und die Sterne *centzon uitznaua*. II 11, 86 — mit ihm berührt sich *Xochipilli* als Himmelsgott. I 135, 353; *Macuilxochitl*. I 148 — s. *Tezcatlipoca* (I 145), 147, 148 — s. *Hurakan*. — junger Gott, Krieger, als *Xochipilli* I 223, 246, 249, 267, 353; II 176, 190, 194 — s. *quauhtleuanitl*. I 147 — s. *Uitzilopochtli* (I 147) — s. *Tezcatlipoca-Telpochtli*. — s. *Macuilxochitl*. — ist Zeugungsgott. I 205 — Herr der Lebensmittel. II 158 — berührt sich als solcher mit dem Maisgotte *(Xochipilli)*. I 207 — spielt bei den Mexikanern als Stamm- und Lokalgott eine unbedeutende Rolle. I 147, 205 — da er im Mythus und Kultus andere Formen und Namen angenommen hat. I 206 — ihm wird um die Mittagsstunde geräuchert. II 194 — Gott des Krieger- und Opfertodes. I 306 — als soleher sieh selbst mit dem *tecpatl* opfernd. I 306 — sein Hauch Feuer. II 244 — er wirft den *Tlauizcalpantecutli* in das Westmeer *(chiuenauhapan)*. II 145 — in ihn verwandelt sich *Quetzalcouatl* (der Morgenstern) im fünften Jahre *(macuil acatl)*. I 351, 353 — s. *naui olin*. — *Quetzalcouatl*. II 74, 75 — seine Erscheinungsform der Regen- und Gewittergott *Tlaloc* (die Quetzalfederschlange). II 308, 309 — als soleher *Xipe* aufgefasst. II 257 — genährt mit Wachtelblut. II 290 — köpft den Mond. II 291 — Kalendergott. II 292 — seine Insignien auf dem *teoicpalli* des Südens. II 122 — sein Haar gelb. II 122 (s. Feuerfarben) — seine Farbe gelb, roth, s gelb, s. roth. — seine Hieroglyphen und Bilder in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. II 309, 310 — sein Kopf bezeichnet auf Maya-Monumenten die Zahl Vier. I 217.

Sonnengott in Vogelmaske, und der Schmetterling, bezeichnen die Zeit der herabkommenden Seelen der toten Krieger, die Mittagsstunde. II 89.

Sonnengott der Unterwelt, *Mictlantecutli* als Krieger. I 296.

Sonnengott in der Unterwelt, *Youaltecutli*, im Osten der vom unsichtbaren Abendstern durchwanderten Unterwelt. II 47–49.

Sonnengott in Vogelverkleidung, bezeichnet die siebente Tagstunde, den Mittag. II 296, 297.

Sonnengott und Sonnengöttin, kopulierendes Paar des Ostens. II 120.

Sonnengott und Todesgott, = Sommer und Winter. I 205.

Sonnengöttin, gelb, in Kopulation mit dem Sonnengotte. II 120 — s. Ostpaar.

Sonnenheros, s. *Hun ahpu* (I 42).

Sonnenjahr, seine Länge. I 16, 342 — Kombination mit der Venusperiode führte zum *tonalamatl*. I 16, 239 — 8 Sonnenjahre = 5 Venusperioden. I 176, 239 — 5 Sonnenjahre weniger 73 Tagen = 3 Venusperioden. I 350 — fünf auf die Zeit der oberen Konjunktion des Planeten Venus folgende, vom Tage *naui olin* an gerechnet. I 351.

Sonnenkultbruderschaft, nur aus Personen königlicher Abkunft bestehend. I 205

Sonnenkultus, in México ausgegangen von einem Totenkultus (?). I 206 — Wachtel- und Rauchopfer. I 224.

Sonnenland, Land der Könige, der Süden. II 155.

Sonnenmaske. I 68.

Sonnenscheibe, Halskragen des Sonnengottes. I 203 — an seinem Nacken. I 268, 285; II 109 — ihre Farben (dunkelgrün, rot, weissgefranster Augenrand). I 28 — umrahmt ganz das Gesicht *Tonatiuh*'s. I 306 — auf dem Rücken dieses Gottes. II 228 — halbe, über der Edelsteinröhre am Ende des vom Sonnengotte herausgezogenen Streifens. I 269 — halbe, beim ersten der seehs Götterpaare. II 171, beim dritten der seehs Götterpaare. II 174 — halbe, = Mond. II 159, 160, 161 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 159, 160, 161 — eine grosse auf dem Rücken, kleinere an den Extremitäten *Youaltecutli*'s. II 47, 56 — einer eingebündelten Leiche mit den Abzeichen *Tlaloc*-*Xolotl*'s aufsitzend. I 198; II 268 — aus gelben Federn, bildet den Halskragen des den Blitz repräsentierenden *Xolotl*. II 36 — auf dem Rücken *Tepeyollotli*'s, in der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 21, 26 — Fetisch (Idol) in der Cella des Tempels des Ostens, *xochicalli*, über dem Ostbaume. II 108 — s. Tempel mit der Sonnenscheibe, auf oder in ihr sitzend der Sonnengott. II 289 — blasse, mit weissem knöchernen Nasenhalbmonde = Mond. I 297 — dunkle, Form des *coxolio uei itepol*. I 286 — schwarze, bei *Mictlantecutli*, bezeichnet ihn als Sonnengott der Unterwelt. I 297 — Strahl der Sonnenscheibe, bildet Ohrgehänge *Xiuhtecutli*'s. I 299 — des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. I 299 — mit herabrinnendem Blute, neben dem Tempel des Ostens. II 109 — ihr Abbild der kreisrunde rote Fleck auf der Wange des Sonnengottes. II 109 — auf dem Baume des Westtzompantli. II 116 — auf dem *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 151.

Sonnenscheiben, acht kleine, auf den Gliedern *Youaltecutli*'s im Osten der Unterwelt. II 56

Sonnenstrahl, = *mitl* „Pfeil" (s. *miyotl*) I 119; II 143.

Sonnenstrahlen und Maiskolben, abwechselnd an dem gelben Randstreifen der Umwallung des Westens der Unterwelt. II 56.

Sonnenthier, die Schildkröte (Dosenschildkröte). II 154.

Sonnenträger, *Tlaloc* I 197 — *Tlaloc-Xolotl*. I 198 — Begleitbild

des seehszehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. I 197, 198 — rother, *Tepeyollotli*. II 21, 32.

Sonnenuntergang, = *Mictlantecutli*. I 145, 146 — = *teotl āc*. I 205 — s. Westen, s. *tlalchitonatiuh*. — am Beginn der vierten Stunde. II 298.

Sonnenvogel, zum Opfer herabkommender Quetzalvogel. I 28; II 189.

Sonnenwärme, *tonalli*, Gegend der —, der Süden. II 93 — s. *chi c'aboril (calch.)*.

Sonnenwende, Sommer- und Winter-, s. *Tititl*-Fest, s. *Xocotl uetzi*. I 190.

sostenedores del cielo (span.), *Tzitzimimê Ilhuicatzitzquique, Tetlacotzitzquique*. II 127 — s. Himmelsträger.

Spalt, im Berge des Nordens, s. gespaltener Berg. — im Nordbaume, bezeichnet hohles Erdinnere. II 106.

Spassmacher, im Dienste der *Xochiquetzal*. II 280.

Speer, s. *tlacochtli*. — des Planeten Venus, trifft verschiedene Klassen von Leuten. Mexikanische Handschriften. I 329, 330; II 148 — Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. II 153ff. — an der Spitze mit Einschnitten, *tlatzontectli*. II 308.

Speerbündel, bei *Xipe*, bezeichnet diesen als Gott des Saerificio gladiatorio. II 257 — und *atlatl*, in der Hand der Hüter der fünf Venusperioden. I 329 — bezeichnet *Tlauizcalpantecutli* als den „Schiessenden". II 143–157 — Zeichen des Krieges; s. *yaoyotl* — in der Hand des Sonnengottes. I 306 — *Xiuhtecutli*'s. II 73 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*, bezeichnen diesen als den von der Sonne besiegten Krieger, d. h. den Mond. II 215, 228 — bei *Xiuhtecutli*. II 289 — auf dem Rücken eines Priesters, Determinativ beim Sonnengott. II 228.

Speerbündel und Steinmesser, Symbole des Mondgottes. II 228.

Speerbündel und *mitl-chimalli*, in der Hand *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 32.

Speere, im Wasser, bei Darstellung der Metapher *atl-tlachinolli*, bezeichnen das besondere Wasser, *teoatl*. II 238.

Speerhaus, Tempel *Tezcatlipoca*'s, Nordtempel; s. *Tlacochcalco*.

Speichen, s. vier Speichen.

Sperber, Bote des Sonnengottes an die Menschen. I 147 — s. *voc*. — mit dem Opferseile, *aztamecatl*, im Schnabel, auf dem von *Tlauizcalpantecutli* gefällten Baume. I 296.

Sphären, verschiedene zwischen Himmel und Erde. I 84.

Spiegel, s. *tezcatl* — Art runden Spiegels bildet Brustschmuck des Kriegsgottes der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — s. bleicher —.

spiegelnde Seefläche, durch *Uitzilopochtli* hervorgezaubert, bedeutet *Colhuacan* oder *Tollan*. II 31.

Spiel, Thier des —s, s. Affe (I 129) — s. *patolli* — s. Gott des Spiels.

Spielstäbe, zur Markirung der Points beim Ballspiel; deren vier auf dem roten *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt neben dem besiegten knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 51, 284.

Spiess des schwarzen Gottes. I 320, 325.

Spindel, *malacatl*. II 89 — s. zwei Spindeln. — Determinativ vor der *Tlaçolteotl* angegeben im Codex Nuttall. I 164 — eines grossen Schneekengehäuses, Stück davon der kommaartig gekrümmte Brustschmuck des Pulquegottes und der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 172 — Kautschukkugel und Spielplatz. II 285.

Spindeln, zwei, in einer Schale, unter der *Xochiquetzal* der siebenten Nachtstunde. II 194 — im Haare der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163, 275; II 202.

Spinne, s. *tocatl* — s. *Tezcatlipoca* — im wirren Haare der Erdkröte. I 37 — fünf Spinnengesichter mit dem halbmondförmigen Nasenschmueke *yacametztli*, am Seile. I 123, 287; II 20 — *tzitzimitl*. II 20.

Spinnen, das, von der *Xochiquetzal* erfunden. I 211.

spinnende Göttin, *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 — s. *mamalacaquetzallo*.

Spinnenfaden, an ihm liess sich *Tezcatlipoca* herab. II 20 — s. Seil.

Spinnenfiguren, bezeichnen im Codex Borbonicus *Tlauizcalpantecutli, Mictlantecutli, Tepeyollotl, Chalchiuhtotolin, Mayauel, Tlaçolteotl, Itzpapalotl, Xochiquetzal* als *Tzitzimimê*, als vom Himmel herabkommend, als Götter des Westens. II 20.

Spinnengesicht, darin endigt das Seil des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 20 — über der Gruppe, die die Darstellung der Geburt der *Cihuateô* behandelt. II 91.

Spinnweben, in einer der vier Arten Regenwasser. II 302.

Spiralen, frei oder in *Quetzalcouatl*-Köpfe endigend bei der dunklen Masse des Skelettgefässes. II 3.

Spiralgedrehter Schmuck, *eca-ilacatz-cozcatl* charakteristisch für *Quetzalcouatl*. I 88.

Spitzbuben, suchen sich den linken Arm einer *mociuaquetzqui* zu verschaffen. II 90 — s. *motemacpalitotique*.

spitz eiförmig, s. Muschelscheibe, weiss.

spitze Schnauze, s. Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze.

Spitzen, zwei, über dem Gesichte von neun Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensterns emporragend. II 72.

spitze Reden der Weiber, durch ein Steinmesser am Munde der *Tlaçolteotl* der Federschlange des Nordens angedeutet. II 301.

spitzer Federstab, in der Hand des kugelrollenden Priesters, des zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161, Kasteiungsinstrument. II 163.

spitzer Muschelschalenring, rasselnder Behang = *oyoualli*. I 11, 105, 180; II 189.

spitzer Schnabel der Windflieger, veranschaulicht das *itzcecayan*. II 34 — der Kolibri-Vögel. II 66, 96, 131, 163.

spitzes Strohdach, s. Strohdach.

spitz nach hinten verlaufende Mundbemalung, beim Tanzgotte als Paukenschläger *(Ueuecoyotl)*. II 188, 189 — beim Tänzer II 224, 282.

spitzwinklige Figuren, damit bemalt, s. *tlaitzcopintli*.

Spizaëtus tyrannus, Schopfadler, *moan* (Maya). I 313.

Sprung ins Feuer, dadurch wird *Nanauatzin* zur Sonne. I 194, 199 usw., s. Feuertod, Selbstverbrennung; II 79, 94, 97, 265 — s. *Teotiuacan*, s. *Nanauatl*. — dadurch wird der Mondgott zum Monde *(Metztli, Nauitecpatl)*. II 79.

St. Jakobs-Kreuz, südliches Kreuz = *xonecuilli*. I 261.

Stab, schwarzer, gekrümmter, mit Stacheln besetzt beim Regengotte *Tlaloc* = Blitz, Donnerkeil. I 16 — in einen Thierkopf endigend bei *Ueuecoyotl*. I 99 — in der Hand des alten Mondgottes. II 226 — in der Hand der Gesandten *Motecuhçoma*'s. II 162 — spindelförmig, geschlängelt, schwarz, an der Seite mit sehmalem, gelbem Saume, Hieroglyphe *Tlaloc*'s, des neunten der neun Herren im Codex Bologna. I 345 — in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s. I 345 — blau, mit Türkismosaik bedeckt, gekrümmt, bei *Tecciztecatl*. II 228 — s. *topilli, otlatopilli* — s. *xiuhtopilli* — s. *aztatopilli* — s. Wanderstab — s. *xiuhcouatopilli* — s. *iuitopilli*. — mit Herzen, darangespiesst, s. *yollotopilli*. — weisser, bumerang-artig gekrümmter, s. bumerang-artiges Instrument.

Stab mit Stachelspitze, in der Hand des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer (im Codex Féjerváry). II 163.

Stäbe, Brennholzbündel, s. *quauhtlaquetzalli* — s. schwarzer Vogel. – s. Spielstäbe — s. Tanzstäbe. — mit Todtenauge und Mundöffnung versehen; deren vier auf dem *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 51 — s. Klotz, s. *tetl-quauitl*. — neun kurze, neben dem Bandviereek. II 284.

Stachelholz, *quauitl*, bringt die rothe *ciuateotl* (Süd-*tzitzimitl*) herab. II 118.

Stachelkeule, Schwertfischschwert, in der Hand der *Tlaçolteotl* des Ostens. II 78 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 129 — (*itztopolli*) in der Hand *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*'s, des vierten der sechs Himmelwanderer. II 163.

Stachelkugel, *tetl*, aus dem Schnabel von Windgottköpfen hervorkommend. II 3 — auf der Naehtwolke beim Repräsentanten des Mondes, der Ohreule (*tecolotl*). II 110 — und *itztopolli*, bringt der blaue *Auiateotl* (Nord-*tzitzimitl*)

herab. II 117 — = *tetl* „Stein", bringt der rothe *Auiateotl* (Süd-*tzitzimitl*) herab. II 118 — in der Hand der Pulquegöttin *Tlaçolteotl*. II 172 — der *Itzpapalotl (tlaelquani)* der achten Nachtstunde. II 196 — s. *tetl-quauitl*.

Stachelkugeln, einen Stein enthaltend, sieben; über ihnen *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui* vor dem Tempel des Nordens (Codex Bologna). II 110.

Stachelspitze, s. Stab mit —.

stachlig, das *acipactli*. II 63 — Dornbaum des Nordens. III 106 — der Feuerbaum des Südens. II 106, 107.

stachliger *cipactli*-Streifen, auf ihm liegt die gelbe Erdgöttin beim Baume der Mitte. II 105.

Städtehieroglyphen. I 205, 288, 289; II 35.

Stämme der Menschen, kommen aus einer jenseits des Ostmeers gelegenen Höhle hervor. II 48 — s. *chalchiuihtl apaztli*, vgl. *chicomoztoc*.

Stammgott der Mexikaner, s. *Uitzilopochtli*.

Staubstürme, I 85.

Stäubchen, kein solches darf auf der Kleidung der Priester beim grossen Fasten zu Beginn der Regenzeit sein. II 229.

Stehenbleiben der Sonne am Himmel (vier Tage lang). I 206.

Stein, s. *tetl, iztapalli, itztlacoliuhqui* — seine Farbe ist braun und schwarz. II 71 — sein Zeichen, s. Kugel, halb braun, halb schwarz. II 242 — zum Begriffe Erde weiter entwickelt. II 250 — s. *cipaquetona*. — s. Stachelkugel. — s. *tetl-quauitl*. — flacher, s. *iztapalli*.

Steinbeil, s. *itztopolli*, Zeichen des Erschlagens. I 67 — Stiel, keulenöfmig verdickt. II 172.

Steinbild der *Chantico*. II 273, der *Couatlicue*, s. dort — der *Coyolxauhqui*, s dort.

steinernes *quauhxicalli*. II 202.

Steinigung der Ehebrecher. I 145; II 90, 247.

Steinkopf der *Coyolxauhqui*. II 173.

Steinmesser, s. *itztli*, s. *tecpatl*, s. Opfermesser — am Dachfirste des Hauses. I 6 — beim Adler und Jaguar. I 12 — s. Helmmaske. — im stilisirten Vogelkopfe an der Stirn des Gottes des Ostens. I 332 — an der Nasenspitze des *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60 — auf dem rothen Vorhange, der die Mitte der Unterwelt (das Reich des Feuers) abschliesst. II 72 — Feuerbohren darin, Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 79 — in einer Fassung befestigt, Brustschmuck der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 81 — Brustschmuck des *Auiateotl* des Nordens im Codex Vaticanus. II 100 — Symbol und Abzeichen des Mondgottes *(naui tecpatl)*. II 228 — im Hause mit der dunklen Thüröffnung. II 246.

Steinmesser im Rachen der Erdkröte, bezeichnet Aufsteigen aus der Erde. II 295.

Steinmesser und ausgerissene Herzen, auf dem Vorhange, durch den *Quetzalcouatl* die Unterwelt verlässt. II 70.

Steinmesser und Blume, aus dem Munde *Xolotl*'s hervorgehend. II 268, 281 — der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281.

Steinmesser und Feuerzungen an der Federschlange des Ostens. II 299, 300.

Steinmesser und gekreuzte Totenbeine, damit der Vorhang bemalt, der den Leib der Erdgöttin im Süden der Unterwelt bildet. II 57.

Steinmesser und Lichtaugen auf dem Vorhange, der die Thür zum Himmel bildet. II 75.

Steinmesserbündel, s. *tecpatl*-Bündel.

Steinmessergott, sich kasteiender. I 26 — s. *xiuhcouatl*. — s. *Itztli*. — s. *Tezcatlipoca*. — s. Opfergott.

Steinmesser-Helmmaske, s. Helmmaske.

Steinmesserkette, umwindet den gelben Haarwulst beim *Auiacotl* der zweiten Nachtstunde. II 183.

Steinmesserkopf. II 12

Steinmesserlinien der neun Abtheilungen des grossen Feldes mit der Darstellung des Südens der Unterwelt. II 9.

Steinmessermaske. I 220.

Steinmesserpaar, an Stelle des Kopfes bei der Steinmessergott-Figur des Südens der Unterwelt; daraus ein schwarzer *Tezcatlipoca* hervorkommend. II 9, 14 — in der Oeffnung des in der Mitte zerrissenen Zeugstreifens der Todesgöttin des Südens der Unterwelt; daraus *Quetzalcouatl* hervorkommend. II 14, 16.

Steinmesserrachen, geöffneter, des Gottes *Itztli*. I 220.

Steinmesserrand einer Schale. II 9.

Steinmesserregion, der Norden. II 50.

Steinmessersaum des Netzgewebes einer Todesgöttin beim Süden der Unterwelt. II 13 — des Innenrandes der Quadranten des Südens der Unterwelt. II 57.

Steinmesserverkleidung, zwei Gestalten, mit einem abgeschnittenen Kopfe in jeder Hand. II 10, 12 — sind Sterngottfiguren. II 12 — insbesondere den Abendstern andeutend. II 13.

Steinschleifer, s *tlatecquê*.

Steinschneider, s. *tlatecquê*.

Steinsitz der Uhde'schen Sammlung, mit Relief. II 193.

Steinspitzen, Netztasche dafür. II 57, 105, 129 — Speere mit solchen (s. *tlacochtli*). II 151.

Stelzentanz, der alten Weiber, am Feste des *Yaxcoc ah mut*, bei den Maya von Yucatan getanzt. I 303.

Stengel, beblättert, in eine Art Grasblüthe endend, wächst aus der Nase des im Wasser modernden *Xolotl* heraus. II 43.

Steppe, s. die neun Steppen, *chicunauixtlauatla*.

sterbender Mond, sein Zusammentreffen mit dem Erscheinen des Morgensterns am Himmel. II 1, 298 — mit dem Tode in Verbindung gebracht. II 12 — s. abnehmender Mond.

Stern, grosser, s. *citlalpol*. — s. *uei citlalin*. — am Südhimmel. I 293 — sein Leuchten = Blitze aussenden. II 27 — = Brennen, Feuerbohren. II 28.

Stern des Ostens, seine Verkörperung *Quetzalcouatl*. I 353.

Stern am Südhimmel, *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 252.

Stern im Norden, *tévali yoáwi* (Huichol), „der blaue Grossvater", einer der Hüter der Welt. II 127.

Stern im Osten, *tonóami* (Huichol), „der Sänger", der Morgenstern. II 127.

Stern im Süden, *tévali seliákawi* (Huichol), „der südliche Grossvater", einer der Hüter der Welt. II 127.

Stern im Westen, *rawá, rawámi* (Huichol). II 127.

Sternauge, s. Auge (von Dunkel umgebenes), Association von Auge und *tecpatl*. I 283 — bezeichnet dunkles. I 112, 198 — ersetzt das *anauatl*. I 257, 258 — Brustschmuck des weissen Adlers. I 258 — s Strahlange. — sein Kern durch einen Todtenschädel ersetzt. I 258 — dreitheiliges, auf dem Dache des Tempels der Nacht. II 28 — Rückenschmuck der Himmelsschlange. II 65, 68 — dreitheiliges, Brustschmuck bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* (Regenten der Venusperioden). II 142 — in Blüthen transformirt als Determinativ beim Westbaume. II 106.

Sternaugen, dreitheilige. II 3, 7, 14, 28, 36.

Sternbilder, s. *xonecuilli*. — s. *citlallachtli*. — s. *Tezcatlipoca*. — s. *Itztlacoliuhqui*.

Sterne, sind vom Himmel gefallene Dämonen I 186; II 22 (s. *tzitzimimê*) — sind besiegte Krieger. I 265 — am Himmel aufziehende, die *Uuetetêô*. II 19 — von der aufgehenden Sonne verjagt (s *Centzon Uitznaua*). II 11, 12 — vor dem Monde tanzend. II 282 — *(tzitzimimê)* sind die *Cinateteô* und die *Uitznaua*. II 22 — ihr Sichtbarwerden am Mittag, am Weltende. II 265 — durch Leichenköpfe mit Stirnlocken bezeichnet in der Hand von Dämonen. II 11—12 — sind die *Auiateteô*. II 308 — ewig wandernde. II 162 — s vier Sterne.

Sterngesichtsbemalung, s. *mixcitlalhuiticac*. — s. *tlayoalli*.

Sterngott, *Xochipilli* I 249 — s. *Tlauizcalpantecutli (Quetzalcouatl — ce Acatl)*. — *Mixcouatl* I 260, 261 — *Auiateotl*. II 307 — trägt seinen abgeschnittenen Kopf in der Hand

II 12 — hat feuerfarbenes Haar und zwei über der Stirn aufzüngelnde Locken. II 16 — sein abgerissener Kopf, im Süden der Unterwelt II 58, 65 — sein Abzeichen der Quincunx weisser Flecke. II 19, 68 — im Rachen der Himmelsschlange. II 65, 68 — als solcher *Quetzalcouatl* mit grossem Strahlauge unter einem mit neun Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensterns besetzten *ayatl*. II 72 — besondere Auffassung des Planeten Venus, als *Yacatecutli* von den Kaufleuten verehrt. II 162.

Sterngötter, s. *Centzon Uitznaua*. — s. *Centzon Mimixcoua*. — s. Quincunx. — s. Locken. — Wesen der prähistorischen Zeit (Affen). II 309.

Sterngötter in der fünften Richtung, decken sich mit dem Feuergotte, dem ersten Menschen, den Chichimeken und den Vorfahren. II 165.

Sterngottfiguren, theils in Steinmesser-, theils in Adlermaskenverkleidung. II 10, 12.

Sterngottheiten, s. *Tzitzimimê*.

Sternhaar, feuerfarben, über der Stirn in zwei Locken aufzüngelnd. II 12, 14, 16, 300 — s. feuerfarbenes Haar. — s. Locken.

Sternhimmel. I 33, 111, 254, 257, 258 — des Südens = wandernde Gestalt I 52 — s. *cicitlallô*. — s. *mixcitlalhuiticac*. — mit grossem Sterne, bei *Yacatecutli*, dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

Sternhimmelkrone, trägt eine Figur (an Stelle des Trinkers) der *Mayauel* gegenüber. II 235 — von *Tezcatlipoca* getragen. II 229 — von dessen Vogel, dem Lachfalken *uactli*. II 253 — s *initzoncalli cicitlallô*.

Sternhimmelleib der Erdgöttin, unterhalb der Strahlenscheibe der Mondfigur des Westens der Unterwelt. II 57.

Sternhimmelschlange bei *Xipe Totec*, dem Regenten des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens. II 257, 258.

Stiel des Opfermessers (*teepatl*). II 200 — des Steinbeiles *(itztopolli)* beim Pulquegotte, oben keulenförmig verdickt. II 172 — wie bei den Indianern im Quellgebiete des Xingú. II 172.

Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 215, 245, 265 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 238 — *Xolotl*'s. II 265.

Stirnfeld mit *tonallo*-Emblem, s. schwarzes Stirnfeld.

Stirnrosette aus Daunenfedern, weiss, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 195.

Stirnschild, s. *ixquatechimalli*.

Stirntragband, s. *mecapalli*.

Strafe. I 26, 40, 53, 56, 58, 59, 114, 140, 145, 148, 149, 151, 160, 202, 231, 269, 276, 297, 338; II 11, 72, 81, 110, 117, 118, 156, 172, 196, 247 — s. Sünde. — s. *Itztlacoliuhqui*. — s. richterliche Strafe. — s. Pfeil. — s. Strick. — s. Topf vom Pfeile durchbohrt. — s. *tetl-quauitl* (I 55; II 51, 110). — Gott der Strafe, s. *Tezcatlipoca-Ixquimilli*. — Ihre Sinnbilder, zwei auf einen Stock gespiesste Herzen. I 269, 270 — Beil in einer Schale. I 269 — Ring mit rother Masse und Blume, Schnur und Pfeil. I 276 — als Feuer aufgefasst, als Theil der Metapher *teoatl tlachinolli*. II 81 — s. blutige Strafe. — s. *chichicaztli*. — Werkzeuge der —, von den *tzitzimimê* des Nordens und Südens herabgebracht. II 117, 118 — s. Krankheiten. — s. Gott der Strafe.

Strafen für Priester, die beim Fasten zu Beginn der Regenzeit ein Versehen begiengen. II 229, 230.

Straferlass, bewirkt das grosse, alle vier Jahre gefeierte Fest des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*. I 151, 152 — durch Beichte des Ehebrechers bei den Priestern des *Tlaçolteotl*. I 153.

Straflosigkeit, s. Straferlass.

Strahl, terminus technicus dafür *miotli* (Abstraktum von *mitl* „Pfeil"), *tonamiotli*, *tonameyotl*. II 143 — blauer, Ohrgehänge des aus einem Hirsche hervorsehenden *Xochipilli*. II 135 — des Feuergottes. II 288 — der Sonnenscheibe, bildet Ohrgehänge des *Xiuhtecutli*. I 299 — *Ueuecoyotl*'s. II 135 — des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. I 299; II 135.

Strahlauge, Brustschmuck *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. I 257 — des weissen Adlers. I 258 — ersetzt das *ananatl*. I 257 — auf dem Scheitel *Quetzalcouatl*'s, unter dem, mit neun Köpfen von Abbildern des Morgensterns besetzten Ayate kauernd. II 72 — s. auch dreitheiliges Sternauge.

Strahlen, ihr Abbild sind Steinmesser. II 75 — Pfeile (*mitl*). II 143 — mit Strahlen treffen *miyotia*. I 329 — des Morgensterns galten als unheilvoll und schädlich. I 330 — der Sonne, des Feuers, des Lichts, sind Pfeile *(mitl)*. II 143 — s. *miotli, tonamiotli*.

Strahlenscheibe, bildet den Halskragen *Youalteecutli*'s. II 47 — mit *ehalchiuitl*-Kern und peripherischem aus mit Augen umsäumtem Dunkel gebildeten Ring, auf dem Rücken der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 56 — ähnlich, aber mit rothem peripherischem Ring und einem Saume von weissen Muschelschalen, bei der *Xochiquetzal* (Mondgöttin) im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66.

Strahlenwerfer, der Planet Venus, schiessender Gott. II 143 ff.

strahlige Zeichnung, gelbe, auf dem Rücken der Dosenschildkröte. II 154.

Straucheln der Offizianten, beim grossen Fasten zu Beginn der Regenzeit, wird bestraft. II 229, 230.

Strebel, Hermann. II 258.

Streifen, s. zwei Streifen. — s. schwarze Streifen — s. rother Streifen. — des die Einzäunungen bildenden Leibes der Todesgöttin. II 2, 3 — der Einfassung des *neçaualcalli* des Tempels der Nacht. II 32 — weiss und roth punktirt, vom Penis *Cinteotl*'s ausgehend. II 150 — aus weissen Muschelscheiben gebildet, Grenze der blau und gelben Gesichtsbemalung der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281.

Streifenmuster, buntes; darin gewebtes *quechquemitl*, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 181.

streitend, zwei Personen der neunten Nachtstunde (?). II 198 — Kinder der Gestalten bei der neunten Nachtstunde. II 198.

Strick, Gras-, Fastenstrick aus *malinalli*. I 12, 38 — damit die Strafe am Sünder (Ehebrecher) vollzogen. I 53 — = Opferseil. I 274 — damit umschnürt, Honigtopf im Codex Mendoza und im Libro de tributos. II 131 — beim Feuergott des Südens II 131.

Strohdach, hoch aufragendes, des Himmelsgebäudes. II 17 — des Hauses der Blitzschlangen. II 35 — hoch, mit breitem nach unten gebogenem Firste; beim Tempel des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume). II 108 — spitz, beim Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange. II 39 — des *Quetzalcouacalli*. II 48, 51, 73 — hoch, mit breitem Firste, beim Westtempel der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — hoch aufragend, mit rother Scheibe, beim Tempel des Nordens im Codex Bologna. II 110.

Strohkranz Untersatz für einen Henkeltopf. II 131.

Strom der Unterwelt, s. Unterweltsstrom. — s. *Chiuunauhapan*.

Strom von Adlerdaunen geht aus einer Schaale zum Munde einer in einem *quauhcalli* sitzenden Figur der Seele des toten Kriegers. II 70.

Strom von Blut, s. Blutstrom. — Strom von Feuer, s. Feuerstrom; s. gelber Strom. — Strom von Wasser, s. Wasserströme.

Stuckschicht, auf ihr die Malereien des Codex Borgia. I 3, 21, 349; II 26, 27, 43, 46, 52, 53, 85, 303.

Stufen der Pyramide, sie hinunter wurden die Leichen der Geopferten geworfen. II 52.

stufenförmig, Füsse der Schatzkiste, Brustschmuck *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 211, 212 — aufsteigend Kopfbinde des Kriegsgottes der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — ausgeschnitten, Zinnen *(mixxotl)*. II 114 — Füsse des *tlalpan ueuetl* (der Fellpauke). II 189.

stufenförmige Brustplatte des Feuergottes. I 121, 122; II 288 — der Relieffiguren von *Chich'enitzá*. I 122 — aus der

Figur eines Vogels entwickelt. I 122 — trägt *Mixcouatl*. I 259 — s. blaue Platte.

stufenförmige Nasenplatte, blau, bei der *Mayauel*. I 114; II 234 — bei der *Tlaçoltcotl*. II 217 — bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 114, 228, 247, 279; II 40, 45, 171, 186 — bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 227, 228; II 149 — aus der doppelköpfigen Schlange entwickelt. I 227; II 149 — s. auch *yacapapalotl*. — s. doppelköpfige Schlange. — blau bei der *Tonacaciuatl* als *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 45 — gelb bei der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279 — bei der *Chantico*. I 228.

Stufenmäander, *Xicalcoliuhqui*-Muster. II 174 — auf der Kopfbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 87, 245, 286; II 131, 166, 167 — Umrisslinie des Erdrachens. II 130, 132 — roth auf weissem Grunde (weiss auf rothem Grunde) auf dem *cuëitl* der *Xochiquetzal*. II 40, 66 — auf der Kopfbinde einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47 — auf einem zweihenkligen Kruge (s. dort). II 174 — als soleher häufig der Erdrachen ausgebildet. II 264.

Stufenmuster auf einem türkisfarbenen Streifen, an der Rückenlehne des *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 151.

Stufenpyramide des Himmelsgebäudes. II 17 — des Hauses der schwarzen Sehlange ist weiss und roth. II 18

Stufenwirbel, weisser, auf dem rothen *cuëitl* des Abbildes der *Xochiquetzal*. II 40.

Stuhl, s. *teoicpalli* — mit Edelsteinlehne. I 52 — mit einem Raubthierfell, der rothen Blutsehlange und einem Skolopender, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — aus Blut, Knochen und *malinalli*-Gras, bei *Mictlantecutli*. II 239 — mit Schlangen und Skolopendern garnirt, bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 282 — von ihm riehtet sich der alte Mondgott nur mit Mühe auf. II 226 — darauf die königliche Leiche aufgebahrt. I 74 — das Mumienbündel der todten Götter der Abendsternreihe. I 338 — von oder mit ihm fallender Mensch, bei der *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. II 264 — auf Rippenbogen ähnlichen Fussstücken ruhend. II 307, 308.

Stunden der Nacht, neun, s. neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht.

Stunden, dreizehn des Tages = dreizehn Vögel. I 200, 218; II 179, 180 — s. Dreizehn Götter.

Stunden des Tages, ursprünglich nur neun. II 298.

Stunden, s fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare. — abgeleitet aus der schematisehen Umlaufszeit des Mondes von sechsundzwanzig Tagen. II 208.

Stuttgart, Amerikanistenkongress. II 41 — Museum, Grünsteinidol. I 141.

Stützen des Himmels, vier, und die vier Säulen der Erde. II 126–134.

stylisirter Vogelkopf, an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde des Sonnengottes, des Maisgottes, *Xochipilli*'s, *Quetzacouatll*'s, *Tonacatecutli*'s, *Quetzalcouatl*'s von *Tollan*, *Tlaloc*'s, der Pulquegötter, der *Mayauel* s. Kopfbinde.

Subterraneen, damit sind Tempel *Tepeyollotli*'s verbunden zu denken. I 234.

Süd-Ballspieler, *Mictlantecutli* (roth mit gelben Flecken). II 116, 117.

Südbaum, mit *Tezcatlipoca* (Cod. Vatie.). II 104 — Feuerbaum mit rothem Arara *(alo)*. II 106–107 — bei ihm *Tlaloc*, der neunte der neun Herren der Nacht (im Cod. Vatic.) dargestellt. II 107, 108 (Abb.). — im Cod. Vatie. eine Palme mit einem Jaguar (Begriff der Tierra caliente). II 107.

Süden, s. *uitztlampa, nohol*, Baum des, s. *quauhcoyolli, ocelo-quauitl, cochoquauitl, aloquauitl*. — s. fünf Götter des Südens *(Auiateteô)*. — s. *opochcopa*. — Synonyma dafür, *Uitztlan, Uitznauatlalpan, amilpan, Xochitlalpan*. II 94 (Anm. 1) 189 — Region der Götter der Musik und des Tanzes, der Götter der Lustbarkeit und des Spiels *(Macuilxochitl, Auiateteô* etc.). II 189 — *Uitznauacatlalpan*. II 131 — Region zur Linken (s. *opochcopa*). II 131 — Region des Feuers und des Feuerregens (s. *Tlaloc* und *Tepeyollotli*). I 238, 335, 346, 348 — durch *Cinteotl* und *Tlaloc* bezeichnet. I 238 — Region des Feuers, der Sonnenwärme. II 93 — s. *chi c'aboril* (Cakchiquel). — Region des Feuers und des Blutes. II 107 — Region des Feuers und des Opfertodes. II 103, 118, 203 — *Tlalocan*, Reich des Feuerregens. II 56 — Region der Regengötter. II 177, 178 — durch abgeschnittene Köpfe bezeichnet. II 4, 58 — durch geköpfte Göttin. II 9ff. - Region der Zerstücklung. II 58, 59, 65, 69, 84, 93 — s. vier zerstüekelnde Tiere. — s. zerstüekt, Blutstrom. — bezeichnet in dem sakralen Turnus der Himmelsriehtungen die Bewegung nach Osten, der Sonne entgegen, die Zeit der Annäherung des Mondes an die Sonne. II 13, 58, 84 — als *itzcalli xochicalli* dargestellt. II 57, 59, 65, 69 — Regengott des —s und der *tochtli*-Jahre, hat rothe Farbe. I 345, 348 — als irdische Region durch den Weg *(ôtli)* des wandernden Kaufmannes angedeutet. I 292 — Sternhimmel des Südens = wandernde Gestalt. I 52 — s. Gott des Südens.

Süden der Unterwelt, vom unsichtbaren Morgensterne durchwandert. II 9–14 — vom unsiehtbaren Abendsterne. II 57 ff.

Süd-Erdgottheit, *Mictlantecutli*. II 133, 134.

Süd-Feuerreiber, ein Feuergott. II 119.

Südgott, *Uitznauacatl-Tezcatlipoca* I 290 — s. *Tlacochcalcatl*, Nordgott. — *Opochtli*, ist der *Uitzilopochtli*. II 131.

Südhimmel, Heer der Sterne des Südens. I 293 — Stern an ihm. I 293.

Südhimmelsträger, *Uitzilopochtli* (Feuergott des Südens). II 129–131.

Südjahre, s. *tochtli*-Jahre.

Südland, s. *Anauatl*.

südliches Kreuz, = St. Jakobs-Kreuz, *xonecuilli*. I 261.

Süd-*Nanauatzin*, roth, sein Datum *macuilli malinalli* „fünf Gedrehtes". II 123

Südpaar, kopulierend, Todesgott und Todesgöttin unter einer Decke mit Zeichen des Opfers und blutroth. II 120.

Südpfeiler, durch rothe Hälfte des Hutes *(copilli)* *Quetzalcouatl*'s angedeutet. II 167 — s. Liehtkörper.

Südpfeiler der Nordregion, II 51.

Südpfeiler der Ostregion. II 48, 291 — s. *Tlillan Tlapallan*.

Südpfeiler der Westregion, Haus der rothen Schlange. II 22, 48, 51.

Südtempel, Haus der Dornen, *Uitznauac*, Tempel *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 292 — s. *Uitznauac yaotl*. — *Xochicalli*. II 36, 48, 51.

Süd-*teoicpalli*, mit den Insignien des Sonnengottes (des Ostblattes). II 122.

Süd-*tzitzimimê*, rothe *Cinateotl*, rother *Auiateotl*. II 117, 118 — bringen herab: *quauitl; itztopolli (tctl)*. II 118.

Süd-*tzompantli,* Baum des Südens mit Aschenpacket *(nexquimilli)* und Brennholzbündeln, enthauptetem Raubvogel und Mensehen. II 116.

Sünde, *tlatlacolli*. II 252 — s. *tlapalcouatl*. — s. *cuitlatl, tlaelli, axixtli*. — s. Beichte, s. Jaguar, s. *oçomàtli*. — s. Kehren des Weges. — s. Strafe, s. *ixquimilli*, s. Naektheit. — gesehleehtliehe. I 99, 129, 135, 163; II 54, 252 — infolge der Sünde verfällt man dem Tode. I 128, 231 — Ideenverbindung mit der Sonne, mit Rang und Reichthum, rüeksiehtslosem Genuss. II 54 — Ideenverbindung mit dem Westen, mit Geburt, Zeugung und gesehlechtlichem Verkehr; mit dem Norden, mit Stein und Kälte *(Itzlacoliuhqui)*. II 8, 247–252 — in Folge Pulquegenusses. I 140, 269, 307; II 8, 252 — Entdeckung von den Missethätern besonders vor Beginn des Festes *Tezcatlipoca*'s gefürchtet. I 151 — Unerlaubtes Blumenpflücken, Strafe dafür Herabstürzen der Götter vom Himmel (Sterne). I 186, 243; II 264 — Hinweis darauf *tecpaxoch*. I 242, 243 — unerlaubtes Blumenpflücken der *Ixnextli*. II 224, 225 — s. Sündenfall (ins-

besondere II 252). — durch die Dämonen (des Anfanges der Welt) in die Welt gebracht. II 265 — Göttin der, s. *Tlaçolteotl, Itzpapalotl, cinateotl* — s. *Xochiquetzal*, Göttin der Agavepflanze, des *malinalli*-Grases. — Götter der, s. Götter der Lust. — Gott der —, *Nanauatzin* = *Macuilxochitl-Aniateotl*. II 41 — durch den Geier *(cozcaquauhtli)* als Aasvogel repräsentirt. I 307 — Region der —, Westen und Norden. II 8 — s. harnlassende *Itzpapalotl*. s. harnlassender Hund (*Xolotl*). — Behaftung *Nanauatzin's* damit. I 200 — bedingt Strafe. I 269, 338 — fortgenommen durch das Kasteiungsblut (*chalchiuhatl*). I 278 Zeitalter der —, *Katun* des *Ekchuah* bei den Maya. I 322 s. *unc ahau*.

Sünden, gebeichtete, in Yucatan. I 162 — in Guatemala. I 163.

Sündenfall, bei *Cenecoyotl*. I 99; II 224 — bei *Itztlacoliuhqui*. bei *Itzpapalotl*. I 180, 186; II 196, 264 — s. *Tamoanchan* (I 186). — s. *tecpaxoch*. — s. Blumenpflücken, unerlaubtes.

Sünder, s. *tlaelquani*. — Wasser und Feuer = Blut speiend. I 53 — herabstürzend. I 71 — zu Boden stürzend. I 98, 99; II 224, 252, 264 — s. *tzontemoc*. — s. schwarzer Vogel (I 99). — geköpfter. II 285 — herabstürzend, nackt, Blut speiend. Nachtwolken aus dem Hintern entlassend. I 338 — herabstürzend, mit *cuitlatl, ixquimilli*, zwei Schlangen um den Hals. II 264.

Sünderin, nackte *Xochiquetzal*, *Nanauatzin* gegenüber dargestellt. I 288.

Sündhaftes, dessen Farbe schwarz und roth. II 8, 9.

Symplegaden. II 12, 32 — s. *tepetl imonamiquian*.

synodische Umlaufszeit des Mondes, 29½ Tage. II 208 — der Venus von 584 Tagen den amerikanischen Priestergelehrten bekannt. I 238, 239, 327, 350; II 136, 137.

Syphilis, s. syphilitischer Gott, *Nanauatzin* = *Xolotl*. — Strafe für unterlassene Reinigung am Feste der *Xochiquetzal*. I 211 — für Fastenbruch etc. I 135, 148, 199; II 97 — Heilmittel und Prophylacticum dagegen der Kolibri *(uitzitzilin)*. II 67 — „Beulen der Hofleute", *tecpilnanauatl*. II 97 — s. Lustseuche, *xochicuiztli*.

Syphilitiker, *Nanauatzin*. I 288 etc.

Tabakkalebasse, s. *Yetecomatl*. — s. *yataztli (ocelоyataztli)*. — bezeichnet die alten Götter, Himmelsgötter, Götter der Lebensmittel. II 234.

Tabakspeise, s. *yequalli, yaqualli*.

Tabaktäschchen, s. *yequachtli*.

Tabasco. I 135.

Tabatzi (Cora), „älterer Bruder", Morgenstern; grosser Jäger; lehrte zuerst die Götter. Jagdpfeile zu schnitzen; erschien als Hirsch. II 147 — s. *Tamats*.

Tabelle der wirklichen Folge der 13×5 Venusperioden. II 137 — ihrer schematischen Aufzählung. II 138.

Tag, Bestimmung eines solchen durch den Wahrsager zur Vornahme einer Kur. I 280 — s. Dreizehn Stunden des Tages (dreizehn Vögel, dreizehn Götter). — s. astronomischer.

Tage, letzte der mit den Zeichen *acatl, tecpatl, calli, tochtli* beginnenden Jahre, sind die Zeichen *olin, eecatl, maçatl, malinalli*. II 123.

Tagesdaten. I 349; II 123.

Tageszeichen, die zwanzig, ihre Namen. I 4—16 — ihre Gottheiten. I 75—217 — und Körperteile. I 280—283; II 136, 168 — bei einer anderen Reihe von zwanzig Gottheiten. I 301—326 — ihr geheimer Sinn im Bilde einer Gottheit verkörpert gedacht. II 209, 210 — vertauschte. II 168 — fünf (um je vier von einander abstehende) bei jeder der vier Federschlangen. II 299 — s. zwanzig Tageszeichen. — s. *tonalli*. — dreizehn, der Woche *ce quauhtli*, unterhalb des Herzens des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 50 — Raum füllend, in das *cipactli*-Viereck des Bl. 40 des Codex Borgia eingeschrieben, in eigenthümlicher Anordnung. II 47.

Tageszeichensäulen, nicht die Himmelsrichtungen Osten Westen, Norden, Süden bezeichnend, sondern gewisse Abstände aufeinander folgender Tage. II 14, 124, 174.

Taghimmel, roth. I 7 — von ihm Krieg herabkommend. I 66

Tagstunden, dreizehn. — durch das Bild der Sonne bezeichnet bei den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren. II 180 — beginnen mit der oberen Region. II 179, 193.

Tag- und Nachtgleiche, s. Frühlings —.

tägliche Regengüsse, setzen in der Regenzeit in den Nachmittagsstunden ein. II 297.

Tamats (Huichol), „älterer Bruder", der Morgenstern; grosser Jäger. II 147 — s *Tabatzi*.

Tamime, dialektisch für *tlamin-mê*, „Bogenschützen", Name der Chichimeken. I 263.

tamiyoan ichani = *Tamoanchan*. I 157.

Tamoanchan, Haus des Herabsteigens; mythischer Westen, Heimat der *Tlaçolteotl*, Geburtsland des Maisgottes. I 136, 137, 184, 225, 243; II 18, 190 — Land der Geburt. I 99, 185, 262; II 18, 20, 62 — Urheimat der Stämme. I 89, 184, 185, 213, 225, 243, 299; II 25, 81, 190, 263 — Paradies des Sündenfalls. I 99, 186, 262 — s. *Xochitlicacan*. II 224, 225 — s. Mais, seine Heimat. — Sitz der Urgötter. II 263 — Heimath der Götter des *Xochilhuitl (Macuilxochitl, Xochipilli, Xochiquetzal)*. I 262 — Paradies des Westens I 184, 225, 243, 288; II263, 264 — Himmel, von dem man herabsteigt, Himmel der *Xochiquetzal*. I 184, 209; II 34, 191 — Ort, wo die Götter geboren werden. I 185 — bei *Cinteotl*. dargestellt. I 225, 243. Abbreviatur dafür *tecpaxoch*. I 243 — durch *Tonacaciuatl* angedeutet. II 27 — durch *quauhtemoc*. II 17, 27 — Land der Geburt, Westen, durch *Nanauatzin* und *Xochiquetzal* ausgedrückt. I 288 — bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. I 298 — dort der Mais als Nahrung für die geschaffenen Menschen von den Thieren gezeigt. II 97 — den dort gefundenen Mais präparirt *Xolotl (Nanauatl)* für die Menschen. II 42, 97 — s. *uitequi*. mit einem herabkletternden Priester, dargestellt beim zehnten Tageszeichen *itzcuintli*. I 305 — ihm entspricht in den Maya-Handschriften der *Moan*-Vogel. I 313 — bei der *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. I 44, 183, 298; II 190, 263—265, = *Chiucnauhnepaniuhcan*, Wohnort der *Xochiquetzal*. I 184, 209; II 34, 191, 280 — bezeichnet die sechste Nachtstunde und die obere Region. II 190—192 — Herrin von, die Erdgöttin. I 94 — Synonyma für *Tamoanchan: Xochitlicacan, Atlayanican* (I 137), *Tlacapillachivaloya, Chalchimichoacon*. — *Chiucnauhnepaniuhcan, Itzehecayan*. I 184, 209; II 191, 280 — = *Teocolhuacan*. I 299 — *Colhuacan*. II 20 — Hieroglyphe dafür Reptilrachen mit einem in ihm verschwindenden Menschen. II 191 s *itzeecayan*. — ist der Abendhimmel. II 20, 25 — Region des zunehmenden, wachsenden Mondes II 18 — Heimath des Maises. II 56, 57, 81, 106, 155 — s. Zerbrochenes, zerbrochener Blüthenbaum — durch den herabkletternden Priester dargestellt. I 305 — Reich des Dunkels, von wo die Dunkelheitsdämonen auf die Erde herunter gekommen sind. I 313.

Tamoуan ichan = *Tamoanchan*. I 184, 209; II 34, 280 — s. *itzeecayan*.

tanɜtli, „Arbeitskörbchen", von den *mociuaquetzque* gesucht II 89.

Tanz der zwölf *Ciuateteô* um den schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 46 — Thier des Tanzes s. Affe (I 129).

tanzend, Sterne vor dem Mond. II 282 — der Mond. II 282.

tanzender schwarzer Feuergott, der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber. II 282.

Tänzer, s. *mitotiani, maceuani* — s. *temacpalitotique*.

Tanzgötter, Aussehen und Tracht s. *Auiateteô, Macuilxochitl* usw. — den Süden bezeichnend. II 93, 201—202 — *Cenecoyotl*. II 93 — Gesichtsbemalung des Affen. I 11 — ihre Tracht haben die *Centzon Uitznaua*. II 308.

Tanzhaus, s. *cuicacalli.*

Tanzschmuck, lang herabfallendes Haar (bei *Tezcatlipoca*). I 281.

Tanzstäbe, Handstäbe, mit rothem, weissgefranstem Zeuge umwickelt, auf dem Aschenwirbel. II 34.

Tanzstellung der Krieger im Osthimmel. I 285 — der *Uenetéo* im Hause der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — der *Ciuatéteô* im Westhimmel. I 285, 286 — im Hause der rothen Schlange. II 19 — des Kriegers bei der dritten Nachtstunde. II 185 — der mit einer Perlenschnur verbundenen beiden Gestalten bei der fünften Tagstunde. II 190.

Tänzer, mit den Abzeichen *Uenecoyotl*'s, bei diesem dargestellt II 224 — s. Mundbemalung, spitz nach hinten verlaufend, und Augenring. — durch Edelsteinkette verbunden. II 185, 190, 202.

Tapire, hat *Uotan* in *Huehuetan* eingestellt. I 235.

Tarasca, Name der Bewohner von *Michoacan*. II 70 — s. *Michuaquê*.

Tasche, für Steinpfeilspitzen. II 57, 105

Taschen, buntgestreifte, auf dem Aschenwirbel. II 34.

Tatacoada, Gott der *Otomí* = *Uenecoyotl*. I 99.

Taube (?), Helmmaske der Maisgottheit. II 113, 150, 173, 281 — der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — Rückendevise der *Xochiquetzal*. II 282.

Tauchen in Sünde, II 8.

Taufe, Rede der Hebamme. I 101 — Waschen und Reinigen des Neugeborenen. I 160 — s. Erbsünde.

Taufwasser, für den knochenfarbenen, d h. zum Tode bestimmten *Quetzalcouatl*. II 51 — s. *matlalac tozpalac.*

Tausendfussgesichter, fünf, am Seile, s. Spinne (I 123).

teatlauiani, der Ersäufer; der Pulquegott. I 72, 140, 251.

Tecciztecatl, „der aus dem Lande der Meerschnecke stammende Gott — Mondgott". II 280 — der in der Meerschnecke; Mondgott. I 50, 105. Nach der Sonne erschaffen. — alter Gott. I 104, 246, 247, 313–316; II 189, 226 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 104 ff., 246–247 — Regent des sechsten Tageszeichens *miquiztli*. I 102–106 — des sechsten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *(ce miquiztli)*. II 225–229 — fünfter der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode (für *Xochipilli* als Sonnengott eintretend), den Norden bezeichnend. I 245–247 — Musikant, die fünfte Nachtstunde und den Süden bezeichnend. II 189, 282 — Mondgott, Gott der Musik. I 315, 316; II 189, 282 — *Xolotl* gegenüber im Osten. — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 50 — Wasserträger (s. *nauí atl*). I 104 — Mond hat Beziehung zum Tode (s. *tecpatl*). I 104 — ist ein Zeugungsgott. I 105 — als *Xochipilli* dargestellt. I 104, 105 — hat Beziehung zur *Tlaçolteotl* und zu den Pulquegöttern. I 105 — s. *Tlaçolteotl*, s. Pulquegötter — ist Gott des Tanzes und der Musik. I 106 — folgt *Nanauatzin* in *Teotiuacan* beim Sprunge ins Feuer und wird zum Mond. I 194 — hat Herrschaft über die Weiber. I 105, 316, 322 — entspricht dem alten, kahlköpfigen Gotte der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 215 — dem sechsten in der Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten. I 215, 313–316, 322 — ist ein Zeugungsgott. I 322 — s. Gott mit dem *tun*-Zeichen.

tecciztli, Meerschneekengehäuse; blasen die Priester, Weckruf zur Kasteiung, s. *tlatlapitzalizpan*, bläst der Fastende. I 204 — bei *Tepeyollotli* (das Echo bezeichnend). I 93, 232, 233 — in der Hieroglyphe des Mondes. I 104 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*, dem Menschenschöpfer, den Mutterschoss bezeichnend. II 219 — Zeichen der Menschengeburt, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 49, 50 — im Wasser, mit herauskommendem *Xolotl*, deutet seine Geburt aus dem Wasser an. II 52, 53 — s. Geburt aus dem Wasser. — s. *Xolotl*. — bezeichnet den Mutterleib. I 105, 316; II 53, 219 — bläst die Schildkröte (*ayotl*) als Gott der Musik. I 306 — beim Mondgotte dargestellt. II 229 — in der Hand *Xipe*'s. II 288 — bei der *Chantico* dargestellt. II 277, 278 — bezeichnet die „im Hause Verschlossene" oder *Tecciztecatl*. II 280 — vor dem Gesichte der *Itzpapalotl*. II 262 — an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde des Mondgottes I 105, 247; II 189 — am Nacken des Mondgottes. II 228 — darin sitzt der alte, kahlköpfige Gott der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 215 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der ersten Periode (bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*) getroffen. II 149.

tecollaquenqui yeztlaquenqui, sich in Kohle, in Blut kleidend; Epitheta *Tonacatecutli*'s und der *Tonacaciuatl*. I 80.

tecolotl, Eule; im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel dargestellt, Todessymbol. I 68 — im Hause der Dürre. — Eulenkopf, Kopf des blauen *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Regenten der zweiten Venusperiode. II 139, 140 — Ohreule, Repräsentant des Mondes (im Tempel des Nordens, Codex Bologna). II 110 — für das 16. Tageszeichen *cozcaquauhtli* eintretend in der Tagesliste von Guatemala. I 5, 13 — Fetisch im Tempel des Südens. II 114 — Vogel der sechsten Tagstunde. II 296.

tecolotl ichan, Haus der Eule; das dunkle Haus der Erde, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 165; II 252, 253 — s. *cozcaquauhtli ichan*. — Tempel bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt, das dunkle Haus der Erde gegensätzlich bezeichnend. I 285.

tecomapiloloya, „wo man die Kalebassen umgehängt hat", Fest der *Teteoinnan* (s. *Ochpaniztli*). I 154, 160 — s. *teponaztli.*

tecpacalli, Tempel des Nordens (über dem Nordbaume). II 109.

tecpantzinca inteouh, Gott der Palastleute, *Xochipilli* und *Macuilxochitl*. I 134.

tecpatl, Feuersteinmesser, Opfermesser, in der Hand *Tonacatecutli*'s. — Zwischen dem ersten Menschenpaare, an Stelle des *chicauaztli*. I 81; II 128, 213 — achtzehntes Tageszeichen. I 15, 16, 46, 64, 200–202, 308 — sein Regent *Chalchiuhtotolin*. I 200–202 — Anfangszeichen des zweiten der vier Jahre. I 342–344 — bei diesem Tageszeichen ist *Iztac Mixcouatl* dargestellt. I 308 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 318 — bezeichnet das eigentliche Wesen *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 136 — Brustschmuck der geköpften Göttin des Südens der Unterwelt. II 10 — der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 81 — daraus *Quetzalcouatl* hervorkommend. II 10 — beim Regengotte des Nordens (*Tezcatlipoca*) mehrfach dargestellt. I 351 — in der Hand *Xochipilli*'s, des ersten der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode. I 267 — in der Hand *Tonatiuh*'s. I 268 — in der Hand *Xipe Totec*'s. II 288 — in den Händen der Todesgöttin. I 297 — Assoziation von Schärfe, Auge, Stern oder Strahlauge. I 283 — aus dem Munde eines Skeletts herniedergehend. I 36 — die Blutschlange zerschneidend, im Himmel angebracht; Symbol der Verderblichkeit. I 47 — im Schnabel des herabkommenden Adlers (*quauhtemoc*) im *Tlillan*. I 297 — Griff dazu der Adlerfuss (*quauh-tetepontli*). I 62 — in einen Stiel gefasst, bei der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — ersetzt das weisse Kaninchen (s. *tochtli*) in der Hieroglyphe des Mondes. I 104, 297; II 81, 109 — Abzeichen des Mondgottes. II 228 — Opfermesser, Sinnbild des Opfers. I 187, 202 — daraus die fünf *Auiateteô* geboren. II 97, 98 — aufrechtes in einem jaguarfellfarbenen Skorpiongesicht wurzelnd, auf der Spitze des Strohdaches des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, aus ihm ein schwarzes Menschengesicht hervorschend. II 19 — liegendes, krönt den breiten, an den Seiten sich herunterbiegenden Dachfirst des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 19 — aus ihm ein rothes *Tezcatlipoca*-Gesicht hervorsehend. II 19 — damit die Ränder des Daches des Tempels des Nordens gekrönt. II 109 — auf dem Gewande der zweiten der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 79 — damit der Adler *(quauhtli)* besetzt, s. *quauhtli*. — auf

einem Röhrenknochen *(omitl)* liegend über dem Zeichen *atl-tlachinolli* darauf bohrt der Nord-Feuerreiber Feuer. II 118.

tecpatl-**Bündel,** Im Codex Vaticanus vor dem Munde der fünf Südgötter (an Stelle der Zeichnung der weissen Hand). II 100 — vor dem Munde *Tlaloc*'s. I 236 — vor dem Munde des Gottes des Ostens, des Hüters der dritten Venusperiode. I 332 — vor dem Munde des Gottes *Naui couatl*. I 332 — *Chicome couatl*. I 332 — Brustschmuck des Gottes des Ostens. I 332.

tecpatl-**Jahre** (Nord-Jahre), Jahre des Heuschreckenfrasses für den Mais. I 346; II 123 — ihr letzter Tag *macuilli eecatl*. II 123 — der *Nanauatzin* dieses Namens Bringer der *calli*-Jahre. II 123.

Tecpaxoch, Göttin von *Metztitlan*. I 137 — aus einem Steinmesser hervorkommende Blume, besonderes Determinativ *Cinteotl*'s. I 242 — Hinweis auf den Sündenfall (Blumenbrechen). I 243 — Abbreviatur für den gebrochenen Blüthenbaum = *Tamoanchan*. I 243.

tecpilanauatl „el temple", für das siebzehnte Tageszeichen *olin*, *nauiolin* eintretend in der Tagesliste von Guatemala. I 5 — s. *tecpilnanauatl*. II 97.

tecpilnanauatl, „Beulen der Hofleute, Syphilis", richtige Lesart statt *tecpilanauatl*. II 97.

tecpoyotl, „Herold", adorirende Haltung (bei *Tlaloc*). II 229 — s. *itecpoyouan*. — s. Tempelherold.

tecuhtli, *tecutli*, Fürst, König; hieroglyphisch durch das *xiuhuitzolli* bezeichnet. I 79; II 239.

tecuilhuicuicatl, „Gesang des Herrenfestes", von *Uitzilopochtli* getanzt. II 31.

Tecuilhuitontli, siebentes Jahresfest, Vorfest des *Ueitecuilhuitl*. I 290 — fällt in die Frühlings-Tag- und Nachtgleiche. I 290 — Fest der Göttin der Salzsieder. I 290 — durch *Xochipilli* als Maisgott und den Ballspielplatz bezeichnet. I 290

teciuitl, Steinhagel, Lapilli. Im *quiauhtonatiuh* entstanden. I 108, 204.

tecizquacuilli, grosser und starker Priester, zieht die Haut des Opfers der *Teteoinnan* am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest über. I 154 — trägt das Opfer, wie ein Bräutigam die Braut, auf dem Rücken. I 156 — mit der Haut des Opfers bekleideter Priester, *Tlaçolteotl* repräsentirend. I 154, 155.

teçontli, blasige Lava; im *quiauhtonatiuh* entstanden. I 108, 204; II 277 — Gegenstände daraus gearbeitet. I 134.

techcatl, auf ihm der knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt geopfert. II 52 — Opferstein; bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 268 — auf ihm lassen die zum Opfertod Bestimmten, die Krieger, ihr Leben. I 143 — bei Figuren der dritten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 240 — schwarzer, mit Blut, Herz und Opfermesser bei *Xochipilli*, in der Abendsternreihe (Westen) dargestellt. I 339 — grosser, schwarzer, vor dem Hause der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21 — hat pfeilerartige, oben abgerundete Gestalt. II 52.

techichi, gewöhnliche Hunderasse.

Tehuacan, s. *Teouacan*.

Tehuantepec = *Tequantepec*. I 92 — Nasenschmuck der Stämme dieser Gegend ist ein Knopf. I 231.

Teicu, „die jüngere", eine der vier Schwestern der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 86.

Teigrollen, daraus das Idol *Uitzilopochtli*'s aufgebaut. I 281.

teimatini, „der die Leute kennt", *Tezcatlipoca*. II 81.

telpochcalli, Junggesellenhaus. I 22, 150, 209 — Sein Herr *Tezcatlipoca*. I 150 — Synonyma: *tlamaceualizcalli*, *choquizcalli*, *iiaocalli*. I 150 — die jungen Krieger des —, hatten die Aufgabe, das Feuer Nachts auf den Tempeln in Méxieo zu unterhalten (s Holzstösse). I 219, 296.

telpochiaqui, s. *iaqui telpochiaqui*. II 70.

telpochtli, Junggesellen, junge Krieger. Vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der fünften Periode. II 148, 156, 157 — = *Tezcatlipoca*. I 145, 147; II 32, 63, 156, 157 — junger, am Abendhimmel erscheinender Mond. II 32, 63.

telpopochtin, „Jünglinge" (Plural von *telpochtli*), Repräsentanten *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 156, 157 — s. *ichpopochtin*

temacpal, abgesehnittener Unterarm, im Sehnabel des *Chalchiuhtotoltemoc*. I 297.

temalacatl, runder Stein, des Saerificio gladiatorio. I 172 — erinnert an das *tlaxapochtli* der Erdgöttin. I 173.

temalli, buschartiger Federschmuck. I 101, 305, 307, 335, 338.

temani, der einen Gefangenen gemacht hat; durch ein Skelett, das einen Kopf gepackt hält, dargestellt. Begleitbilder in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 33, 43, 44, 63, 67, 71, 72 — als solche *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. II 216, 218 — bedeutet Geburt. II 218.

temazcaleque, Inhaber der Schwitzbäder, verehren die Göttin *Teteoinnan*. I 153.

Temazcalteci, Grossmutter des Schwitzbades = *Teteo innan*. I 153 — Mond- und Geburtsgöttin. II 13.

temicamatl, Traumbuch; von den alten Weisen in *Tamoanchan* geschaffen. I 185.

temictiani, der die Leute tötet, als Opfer schlachtet; Pulquegott. I 72, 140, 251.

temictiliztli, Mensehenopfer; s. *tlacamictiliztli*.

temixcouatlatlauitecoaya, „wenn Menschen für *Mixcouatl* mit dem Blitze bearbeitet werden", Zärimonie am *Quecholli*-Fest. I 262, 263.

temmacpalê, Zeichnung einer Hand am Munde, s. *motemmacpalhuiticac*.

temo, „herabsteigen, herabkommen", Homologon von *tlacati* „geboren werden". I 184.

Tempel, dazu gehören 1. die Pyramide (*tzaqualli*), 2. der Ballspielplatz (*tlachtli*), 3 die Opferblutsehale (*quauhxicalli*), 4. das Fastenhäuschen (*neçaualcalli*). II 32 — diesen herabbringender Priester kommt (im Codex Nuttall) an einem Seil herunter. II 20 — vier, und die ihnen opfernden Götter. II 108–115 — Bau des grossen Tempels in Méxieo. II 127 — s. Ausgrabungen in der Calle de las Esealerillas — vor dem Sonnengotte, dem ersten der seehs Himmelswanderer. II 158 — vor dem Mondgotte. II 158 — s. Höhe des Tempels. — s. enface-Tempel.

Tempel der *Chantico*, s. *Tetlanman*. — s. *Tlillan*.

Tempel der Erde, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 263 — s. *Tlillan*.

Tempel der Feuerschlange, im Norden der Mitte der Unterwelt, mit einem (blauen) Feuergotte darin. II 73.

Tempel der Gottheit des Planeten Venus, in *Uxmal*, hat seine Front dem Westen zugekehrt. II 140 — s. Casa del adivino, Casa de las Monjas.

Tempel der Kostbarkeit, *xochicalli*. II 108, 109.

Tempel der Lebensmittel, s. *tonacacalli*.

Tempel der Nacht, II 28.

Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange, im Codex Nuttall. II 39 — vgl. *Quetzalcouacalli*.

Tempel des Feuergottes, *Tlalxicco*. II 276 — s *Olman*, *Tzonmolco*. I 73.

Tempel des Glanzes und Feuers. II 35.

Tempel des kopulirenden Ostpaares, mit Goldscheiben und Blumen. II 120.

Tempel des kopulirenden Südpaares, ein Beinhaus, mit dem nächtigen Haare, dem *cuexcochtechimalli* und dem *pantoyaualli* des Todesgottes am Dache. II 120.

Tempel des kopulirenden Westpaares, seine Pfosten sind mit *chalchiuitl* verziert, das Dach mit Edelsteinfries, mit Zinnen (*mixxotl*), einem Maiskolben und einer Maisblüte. II 120.

Tempel des Mondes, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 263 — s. *Tlillan*.

Tempel des Nordens, über dem Nordbaume. II 109–112 —

ein *tecpacalli*. II 109 — Mondtempel. II 110 — mit dem Bilde des Mondes. II 109—112 — s. Nordtempel.

Tempel des Ostens, neben ihm *Xolotl*. I 196. — über dem Ostbaume II 108—109 — ein *Xochicalli* (Tempel der Kostbarkeit). II 108 — mit dem Bilde der Sonne. II 108 bis 109.

Tempel des Osthimmels, mit tanzenden Kriegern. I 285.

Tempel des Pulquegottes, I 45.

Tempel des rothen Gottes, s. *Xochicalli*.

Tempel des schwarzen Gottes, s. *Quetzalcouacalli*.

Tempel des Südens, über dem Südbaume. II 111—115 — ein Beinhaus (*Mictlan*). II 114 — s. Südtempel. *Xochicalli*.

Tempel des Westens, über dem Westbaume. II 112—114 — ein *xochicalli*. II 112 — ein *tonacacalli*. II 113 — s. Westtempel.

Tempel des Westhimmels, mit tanzenden *Cihuateô*. I 285, 286.

Tempel mit einer Sonnenscheibe, bezeichnet den Osten, bei den vier Bäumen des Codex Fejérvary. II 103.

Tempel *Quetzalcouatl*'s rund. I 88.

Tempel *Xochipilli-Auiateotl*'s, rotes *Xochicalli*. II 36, 48, 51.

Tempel *Xolotl*'s, schwarzes Haus mit Blitzschlangen an einem hohen spitzen Strohdache. II 35, 43.

Tempeldach, mit in verschiedenen Etagen übereinander sich aufbauenden Himmeln. I 285 — hochaufragend, aus Stroh, bei dem Himmelsgebäude dargestellt. II 17 — beim Hause der Blitzschlangen (Tempel *Xolotl*'s). II 35 — hoch, aus Stroh, mit breitem First; der Westtempel der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73.

Tempelfeuerheerde, mit Zinnen gekrönt. II 39.

Tempelgemach (*cella*), auf der Plattform der Stufenpyramide des Himmelsgebäudes. II 17 — des Hauses der schwarzen und roten Schlange. II 19, 21.

Tempelherold, verkündet von der Höhe des Tempels das *teotl eco* „der Gott ist erschienen". II 18 — dargestellt als grüne en-face-Figur. II 18.

Tempel mit stürzendem Dache, s. Dach.

Tempel ohne Dach, mit *malinalli*-Busch und Käuzchen in der Thüröffnung. I 231.

Tempelplattform, mit einem Schädelgerüste, davor kniet adorirend *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 286.

Tempelsänger, Haupt der —. I 139.

Tempelunterbau, Terrasse, auf ihr ein herabgestürzter *Xolotl*. II 37.

Tempelwandungen, von einer Quetzalfederschlange gebildet. II 39.

tenamaz-tin, „Drillinge". I 30.

tenamaztli, Herdsteine, in der Dreizahl vorhanden. I 30 — (s. Feuergott). I 116, 124, 322 — aus Schädeln gebildet (beim Kochtopf). I 65 — s. *Ekchuah*.

tenan teta, „Mutter und Vater", Name des Feuergottes, der Könige, des Richters. I 119.

Tenesuchi (= *Tepexochitl?*), einer der vier Götter, die den Himmel wieder aufrichten helfen. I 150.

tenixyo tilmatli, mexikanische Kriegsmäntel; rot mit weissen Augenfiguren auf schwarzem Grunde. II 120.

Tentetemic, ein Gott von *Metztitlan*. I 137.

teo-, Radikal von *teo-tl* „Gott", in Städtehieroglyphen durch ein Sonnenbild ausgedrückt. I 205 — Begriff des Heiligen, Göttlichen, abgeleitet aus dem des Uralten. I 299.

teoapan ylhuicaatenco, „am Gotteswasser, am Rande des Meeres", dort verbrennt und verschwindet *Quetzalcouatl*. II 14, 15.

teoatl, Blut; Wasser als Bestandteil der Hieroglyphe *teoatl tlachinolli*. I 9, 115 — beim Regengotte des Nordens — Wasser mit Feuerzungen. I 124 — als Wasser mit Speeren dargestellt. II 238.

teoatl tlachinolli, bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 81 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Westens. II 81 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 82—84 — Strom gelber Federn und Wasserstrom mit kleinen gelben Scheiben, bei *Tonatiuh*. II 289 — s. *atl tlachinolli*. I 9, 71, 112 (bei *Tlaloc?*), 115, 264, 281; II 81, 238, 289.

Teoca, in Nicaragua; Tageszeichenliste. I 4, 5.

Teocolhuacan, bezeichnet den Westen, die Urheimat. I 92, 184, 299 — bezeichnet *Tamoanchan*. I 299.

teocomitl, „Melonenkaktus", auf ihn setzt sich *Itzpapalotl*. I 183 — s. *comitl*. I 264.

teocuitla - acuech - cozcatl, Halsband aus spiralgedrehten Schneckengehäusen. I 88 (bei *Quetzalcouatl*).

teocuitla-anauatl, Brustschmuck *Tezcatlipoca (Itztli)*'s. I 221.

teocuitlacomalli, Goldscheibe. Brustschmuck des Sonnengottes. I 222, 268, 285; II 289 — des Maisgottes. I 224 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 130, 222 (*Piltzintecutli*), 224, 248; II 36 — der *Chalchihuhtlicue*. I 227, 228 — *Xipe*'s. II 256 — *Tonacatecùtli*'s. I 77 — *Tlaloc*'s. I 112 — eines alten Gottes mit *cipactli*-Helmmaske. I 243 — des Gottes des Südens. I 307 — des Mondgottes *Itztlacoliuhqui* vor dem Tempel des Nordens. II 110 — des Maisgottes des Tempels des Westens. II 113.

teocuitlacopilli, coztic-, iztac-, importirte Devisen der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 161.

teocuitlaçoyatl. „goldene Palmblatt(rolle)", huaxtekische Tracht. I 266.

teocuitlaepcololli, goldener eingerollter Schmuck aus Muschelschale (bei *Quetzalcouatl*). I 88.

teocuitlaquemitl, „das goldene Gewand", Metapher für die Menschenhaut *Xipe*'s, bedeutet Erneuerung der Vegetation. I 168, 169 — s. Haut.

teocuitlatl, Gold; Hieroglyphe (auf der Backe der *Coyolxauhqui*). II 277 — Ausschwitzung des Sonnengottes. I 9 — Exkremente der Sonne. I 35 — bezeichnet gelb, reifgeworden (Mais). I 169.

teocuitlayacametztli, von der *Tlaçolteotl* getragen. II 301 — s. *yacametztli*.

Teochichimeca, echte Chichimeken, die *Tlaxcalteca*. I 185 — Wandersage. I 185.

teoicpalli, Königsstuhl: Zeichen richterlicher Gewalt. I 141, 145 — Stuhl. I 20, 31, 38, 52, 74, 77, 130, 308, 338; II 57, 70, 73, 74, 121, 122 — darauf *Chalchihuhtlicue*. I 308 — bei *Tonatiuh*. II 289 — darauf sitzen die vier Lichtgötter und ihre Erscheinungsformen. II 305 — mit Adlerbalg und Jaguarfell gepolstert; darauf kniet der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57 — im Arm des als Quetzalvogel tanzenden *Xochipilli* der eilften Nachtstunde, bezeichnet die königliche Würde. II 202 — mit Jaguarfell, beim Feuergott, *Nahuiecatl*. II 238 — mit Jaguarfell (*tequauhcuatl*), vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen in der fünften Periode. II 150, 151 — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Süd-*teoicpalli*.

teomechchauê, mit der Schenkelhaut bemalte Gottheit = *Tlaçolteotl*. I 157.

teomilli, „Acker des Gottes". I 174 — Maisfeld bei *Tlaloc*. I 295.

teomimilli, Bündel, das das Idol oder den Fetisch trägt. II 39 — „die Rolle des Gottes", 20 Ellen langer, 1 Elle breiter Rindenpapierstreifen, eingerollte Schambinde des *Uitzilopochtli*-Idols an den Festen *Toxcatl* und *Panquetzaliztli*. I 281 — anderer Name dafür: *reyac tlacuelpacholli*, „das lange Zusammengerollte". I 281.

teonacochtli, türkisfarbige Scheibe mit einem in ein Auge ausgehenden Edelsteinriemen bei *Tonacatecùtli*. I 80.

teoquauhtla. Waldregion, Westland. I 296.

teoti, „zu Gott werden", bezeichnet die toten Könige und Krieger, die zur Sonne gehen. I 205 — s. *oonteut*.

Teotitlan del camino, Ort an den Grenzen des Zapotekenlandes, von der Deszendenz *Nelhua*'s bewohnt. — Verehrer des Morgensterns. I 178 — Bemaltes Tonbild *Xochipilli*'s. I 131, 272.

Teotitlan, Heimat der *Tlaçolteotl*, der Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe. I 161 — Penis durchbohrt. I 163 s. *Cozcatlan*, *Teonacan*. — *Xipe*-Kult. I 177, 178.

Teotiuacan, prähistorisches Kulturzentrum. I 205 — Götterversammlung. I 194; II 145 — dort wird *Nanauatzin* durch Sprung ins Feuer zur Sonne. I 194, 199 — Pyramiden der Sonne und des Mondes. I 205 — Etymologie: Ort, wo die toten Könige zu Göttern werden. I 205 — Ort der Sonnenanbeter. I 205.

teotl, „Gott", im engeren Sinne = *Tezcatlipoca* (s. *c'abauil*, *Hurakan*). I 147, 149 — ist der Sonnengott. I 147, 205; II 93 — s. *teotläc*, s. *chi c'aboril*.

Teotl ac, „der Gott (die Sonne) ist in die Erde eingegangen" = Sonnenuntergang. I 205.

Teotl eco, zwölftes Fest am Ende der Regenzeit, *Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca* gefeiert. I 149 — „der Gott ist erschienen", Ruf vom Herolde von der Höhe des Tempels herab verkündet. II 18.

teotl iixco = *tonatiuh iixco*, „im Angesichte der Sonne — der Osten". II 1, 213, 291 — Bewegung des Morgensterns. II 1, 2.

teotl ytonal, „das Zeichen des Gottes"; für das sechszehnte Tageszeichen *cozcaquauhtli* eintretend in der Tagesliste von *Metztitlan*. I 5.

teotlachtli, zum Tempel gehöriger Ballspielplatz. II 115 — angedeutet durch mit vier Kugeln Ball spielende (*ollamani*) Thiere. II 115—117 — Ballspielplatz des Gottes (*Tezcatlipoca*), als solcher angedeutet durch Darstellungen von Blut und Opfer. I 292.

teotlalê, Herr der Steppe, Name *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 78, 80.

Teotlalpan, der heilige Bezirk des Gottes *Mixcouatl* in der Stadt México, ein Miniaturabbild der Buschsteppe. I 260.

teoua, „Priester". II 273 — s. z. B. *Tetlanman teoua*.

Teouacan (heute *Tehuacan* gesprochen), Ort an den Grenzen des Zapotekenlandes, von den Nachkommen *Xelhua*'s bewohnt, Verehrer des Morgensterns. — Steinidol, in der zu diesem Distrikte gehörigen Stadt *Cozcatlan* gefunden, die Göttin *Cihuacouatl* darstellend. I 22 — Penis durchbohrt. I 163.

teoxochitl, Blume vom Priester im Wettlaufe von der Höhe des Tempels am *Tititl*-Fest heruntergeholt. I 190.

Teoyaomiqui, sogenannte in México, Kolossalbild der *Couatlicue*; in México 1790 ausgegraben. I 22; II 184 — zwei Schlangen aus den Aorten hervorkommend. I 90; II 181 — mit dem *citlalcueitl* bekleidet. II 217 — der tote Krieger, bewohnt den sechsten der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 296 — bezeichnet die sechste Tagstunde. II 296 — s. *tonatiuh illhuicac yauh*. — s. *tecolotl*.

Tepanekenherrschaft, nach den Kalenderbüchern der vier alten Weisen bestimmt. I 185.

Tepeilhuitl, Fest der Berggötter, von den *Tlalhuica* der *Xochiquetzal* gefeiert. I 117, 139, 208, 209, 210 — Hauptfest der Pulquegötter. I 138, 139, 211.

Tepenenec, „Berg des Echos", auf ihm *Itzpapalotl* geopfert. I 184.

Tepeopulco, Dorf, in dem Sahagun die älteren Materialien zu seinem Werke sammelte. I 154.

tepetl, „Berg". I 14; II 152 — s. *ycolinhqui tepetl*.

tepetl imonamiquian, „Ort, wo die Berge zusammenschlagen" — Symplegaden. II 12, 32 — eine der Unterweltsstationen. II 12, 32.

tepeuâ, Herr der Berge, Name *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 78.

Tepeu K'ucumatz (Quiche), „der Herr *Quetzalcouatl*", im Popol Vuh. — Schöpfergott = *Quetzalcouatl*. I 84.

Tepexic, gespaltener Berg. II 149 — darauf sitzend der vom Speere des blauen, eulenköpfigen *Tlauizcalpantecutli* getroffene schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*. II 149 — bezeichnet den Norden. II 155.

Tepeyollotli, Herz der Berge, in Jaguargestalt erscheinend. I 92; II 216 — Abbild *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 146, 147; II 216 — Gott der Höhlen. I 37, 92; II 21, 80, 216 — für die Hieroglyphe Höhle eintretend. I 37, 92; II 80 — sein Name *chicuei ocelotl* „acht Jaguar". II 216 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 231—233; II 216—220 — mit der Gewandfarbe und Ohrplatte des Regengottes. I 232 — achter der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. I 37, 218, 231 bis 235, 237, 296; II 120 — den Süden bezeichnend. I 237 — Regent des dritten Tageszeichens (*calli*). I 92 ff., 231 — des dritten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce maçatl*). I 92, 231; II 216—220 — eines der Gesichter des Januskopfes *Quaxolotl*. II 187 — ein Waldgott, als solcher = *Tlauizcalpantecutli* des Westlandes (*teoquauhtla*). I 296 — einer der *Tzitzimime*. II 20 — als Berggott gekennzeichnet. I 232 — sein Tempel, s. Dach des Tempels *Tepeyollotli*'s. — ist der Jaguargott der zapotekischen Stämme der pacifischen Küste. I 235 — daher auch als *Tlaloc* kostumirt. I 235 — ihm entspricht der chiapanekische *Votan* „corazon de los pueblos". I 235 — Priester des Todesgottes, vollzieht das Opfer vor dem Hause der rothen Schlange. II 21 — mit einer grossen Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken, in der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 21, 26 — rothes Abbild desselben, ebenda. II 21, 26 — mit der Sonnenscheibe auf dem Rücken und hervorquellendem Auge erinnert an *Nanauatzin*. II 26 — seine Gesichtsbemalung beim Feuerreiber des Ostens. II 119 — in Kopulation mit der *Xochiquetzal* (s. West-Paar). II 120 — ist dem Totengotte der Maya verwandt. II 215 — (?), Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46 — grüner, führt Mais aus einem *quauhxicalli* zum Munde. II 57 — an Stelle von *aoztotl*, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. II 80 — in Beziehung zum bärtigen *Aniateotl* des Westens im Codex Vaticanus. II 100 — eine Form des Mondgottes. II 219 — ihm entspricht auf Maya-Monumenten die Gottheit der Zahl Zehn (s. *matlactli calli*), ein Skelettkopf. I 217 — s. Echo. — s. *tecciztli*. — s. Jaguar. — s. *chicuei maçatl*.

***Tepeyollotli*-Köpfe**, tragen auch die Zweiheit, die Zwillingsbildung in den zwei auf dem Scheitel aufragenden Haarwülsten an sich. II 187.

teponaztli, „Holzpauke". I 235 — ihr Herr *Votan*. I 235 — mit nur einer Zunge und einem Kürbiss als Resonanzboden beim *Ochpaniztli*-Feste gebraucht. I 160.

Tepoztecatl, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

tepoztli, Kupferbeil, in der Hand des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli*'s. I 270 — *Tlaloc*'s. I 347.

tequaneuatl, Jaguarfell, Polster des vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffenen *teoicpalli*. II 150, 151.

tequani, „der die Leute frisst", der Jaguar. I 92, 294 — der Hund, das beissende Thier. I 281.

tequani coatl, Dvandva-Compositum, entsprechend Maya *chicchan*. I 17 (Anm. 1), 58 (s. *conatl-tequani*).

tequechmecauiani, der Erwürger; Pulquegott. I 72, 140, 251 Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 72.

tequiua, Kriegshäuptling, Frisur; s. *tzotzocolueyac*.

tequiuaque, Kriegshäuptlinge. I 154.

tequixquitl, Sodaerde, in das Feuer gethan, um ein Orakel zu erhalten. I 116.

Terrasse, s. Tempelunterbau — als Opferstätte (des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*) durch die Hieroglyphe *chalchiuitl* gekennzeichnet. II 51, 52.

tetecuhtin, „die Grossen". I 154.

Teteoinnan, ihr Kalendername *Tlaçolteotl*. II 252 — Mutter der Götter = *Tlaçolteotl*, I 153, 157, 276; II 10, 52, 74, 145, 252 — Göttin der Medicinen, der Aerzte und Hebammen. I 153 — Maisgöttin, roth, in rothem Gewand. I 158 —

Tracht. I 158 — Lied an sie. I 183 — Göttin des vollen Mondes, im Tempel des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 18 — Mondgöttin. II 10, 21 — Mond, ihr Sohn der Morgenstern (*Cetl-Itztlacoliuhqui*). II 145, 217, 248 — ihr Abbild geköpfte Göttin. II 10.

teteu innan teteu inta „Mutter und Vater der Götter" = Feuergott. I 30, 116.

teteouatzitzin, die Hauptpriester. I 154.

tetepexiuiya, „er stürzt die Leute vom Felsen", der Pulquegott. I 140, 251.

teteuctin, Herrscher, Leute aus königlichem Geblüte tragen die Krone, *xiuhuitzolli*. II 213.

teteuitl, mit Kautschuk betropfte Papiere, am Pulquetopfe. I 114 — gehören zum Ausputze der *cuapipiltin*. I 114 — verwendet bei den zur Verbrennung bestimmten Leichenbündeln. I 114 — bei einem *coyotl*-artigen Thiere. I 143 — am Pulquetopfe (*octecomatl*). I 307 — s. *tlaitzcopintli* — im Erdrachen beim Regengotte des Südens (*Xiuhtecutli*). I 352.

tetl, Stein; Zeichen der Unfruchtbarkeit Hieroglyphe. I 14 — mit Steinen, die ertappten Ehebrecher zu Tode gebracht. II 247.

tetl-quauitl, Dvandva-Compositum „Stein und Holz", Ausdruck für Strafe. I 55; II 110, 117, 172, 196, 247 — s. Kautschukball und Stäbe. II 51 — s. Stachelkugel und Klotz — ihm entspricht im *Chilam Balam* von *Titzimin* der Ausdruck: *Kikel che yetel tunich* (Maya) „blutige Strafe" II 156 — s. Stachelkugel.

tetlalaquiliztli, Begraben. Begleitbild im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel — beim Todesgotte. I 129.

Tetlanman, Tempel der *Chantico* in México. II 273.

Tetlanman calmecac, darin wohnen die Priester der *Chantico*. II 273.

Tetlanman teoua, Priester der *Chantico*, wohnen im *Tetlanman calmecac*. It 273.

tetlatiliztli, Leichenverbrennung. Beim Todesgotte dargestellt. I 129 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 54 (bei *miquiztli*).

tetlaxmaliztli, „Ehebruch", Wirkungskreis der *Cuateteô*. I 187.

tetlaxinqui, Ehebrecher; gehen zu den Priestern der *Tlaçolteotl* beichten. I 153, 161, 162, 229, 230 — ertappte, gesteinigt. I 145; II 90 — Tage der *Cuateteô* ihre Zeichen. II 90 — büssender, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 37, 53 — erwürgter, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 43 — wird der Sieger im Ballspiel genannt. I 289.

tetloc tenauac, unmittelbar uns umgebende Welt. I 73.

tetzauitl, unheilvolles Vorzeichen. I 93.

Tetzcoco, Bild *Tezcatlipoca*'s dort hat vier Pfeile in der Hand. I 151.

teucuitlacuzcatl, „goldene Perle". I 240.

teuelli, Schild der *Cuacouauitl-Quiauitzli*. II 87.

teueuelli, Name des Schildes *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 283 — bezeichnet einfach „Schild" an einer Stelle der Historia Tolteca Chichimeca. I 283 — findet sich im Namen des Königs *Teueueltzin* von *Quauhnauac*. I 282, 283.

Teueueltzin, ein König von *Quauhnauac*. I 282, 283.

Teufel, weibliche, s. *tlacatecolotl* (I 173).

teumechaue, mit der Schenkelhaut der Göttin im Gesichte bemalt. II 18 — s. *teomechaue*.

tèvali ʒeliàkawi (Huichol), „südlicher Grossvater"; Stern, Welthüter des Südens. II 127.

tèvali yoàwi (Huichol), „der blaue Grossvater"; Stern, Welthüter des Nordens. II 127.

texcalceuilo, „Auslöschen des Ofens", Name des Pulquegelages, mit dem das Feuerfest schliesst. I 117.

Texcallan s. Chichimeken.

texolotl, an den beiden Enden kuglig geformter steinerner Stössel. I 193.

teyocoyani, teimatini, von den *Chichimeca* verehrter unsichtbarer Gott (s. *Youalli ecatl*). I 161.

Tezcacoatl, fürstliches Haus; zwei Mädchen aus ihm werden am *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste geopfert. I 211.

teyollocuani, „der das Herz Jemandes frisst" (el hechizero) für das vierzehnte Tageszeichen *ocelotl* eintretend in der Tagesliste von Guatemala. I 5 (s. *tequani*) — dargestellt bei dem vierzehnten Tageszeichen. I 306 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 317 — s. *teyollocuani*.

tezcacuitlapilli, Rosette am Kreuz, dem Gürtel hinten aufsitzend, bei männlichen Gottheiten, bei *Quetzalcouatl, Xochipilli, Pàtecatl, Tezcatlipoca* ein Vogelkopf, ferner auch bei *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 — ein *coxcoxtli*-Kopf bei den vier Himmelsträgern. II 132 — Kreuzspiegel; hat die Gestalt eines *coxcoxtli*, bei *Xochipilli*. I 90, 101, 130 — bei *Chalchiuhtlatonac*, bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 90 — in Gestalt einer Schildkrötenschale bei *Xochiquetzal*. I 212, 213, 279 (s. *ayotapalcatl*. II 171, 215 — grosses gestieltes Auge beim Pulquegotte als Todesgott. I 250 — ein Totenschädel, beim (rothen) *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60, 61 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 217 — blau, mit einem Totenschädel, beim Sonnengotte. II 244.

tezcaquauitl, Spiegelbaum, in ihm verwandelt sich *Tezcatlipoca*. I 150.

tezcatl, bildet Herz (Leib oder Nabel) *Tonacatecutli*'s, darauf Feuer gequirlt. II 28 — auf dem Baumstamme bei *Xolotl* im Wassergefässe. II 42 — (Brustschmuck?) von der *Ilamatecutli (Ilancueyê)* dargebracht. II 41, 42 — „Spiegel", Hieroglyphe im Codex Mendoza. I 21; II 35 — auf der Handfahne (*macpamitl*) *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 288 — auf dem braun und schwarzen Baume bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 71 — an den Pfosten der Cella des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume). II 108 — ersetzt den abgerissenen Fuss *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 9.

tezcatl ipoca, „rauchender Spiegel". Symbol des Gottes *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20, 146, 220; II 32, 111, 229, 257 — auf dem Scheitel des *Auiateotl* des Südens im Codex Vaticanus. II 100 — an der Schläfe des *nactli* (Lachfalken). II 253 — des *chalchihtotolin*. II 272 — an der Schläfe des Tieres mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282.

Tezcatlipoca, hat Beziehung zum Reiche der Toten, zum Norden. Daher tritt er als *Itztli* und Opfergott auf. I 119, 150, 351 — der junge Gott (s. *Telpochtli*). I 145, 147, 206, 220; II 32, 63, 156, 157 — der aufsteigende Adler (*quauhtleuanîtl*). I 147 — Gott der zehnten Tagstunde, bezeichnet die dem Untergang nahe Sonne. II 298 — ursprünglich der Sonnengott, der Abends von der Erde verschlungen wird. I 116, 148, 151, 238; II 12, 23, 32 — zu den Toten (s. *Mictlan*) hinabgehende Sonne. I 149 — wandelt am Himmel, auf der Erde und in der Unterwelt. I 146 — junger, am Abendhimmel erscheinender Mond. II 32, 33, 63, 298 — bewohnt den zehnten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 291, 298 — bezeichnet die dritte Nachmittagsstunde. II 298 — s. *chiquâtli*. — sein Hauptcharakteristikum ist der abgerissene Fuss und der an die Stelle tretende rauchende Spiegel. I 146, 220, 221, 282; II 63, 159 — auch sein zweiter Fuss fehlt und ist durch ein Steinmesser ersetzt. I 221 — vgl. den Namen eines der Genossen *Yacatecutli*'s: *Acxomocuil*, „dem der Fuss weggenommen ist". II 128 Anm. 2 — seinem abgerissenen Fuss vergleichbar ist der rothe Blutschlangenkopf an Stelle des linken Fusses der *Tlaçolteotl*, des zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159 — ein Schlangenkopf ersetzt den Fuss des fünften der Himmelswanderer im Codex Fejérváry. II 163 — als rother (*tlatlauhqui*) und schwarzer (*yayauhqui*) erscheinend. I 148; II 23 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 146—152, 288 bis 294, 351 — Kostüm des Gottes. I 86 — trägt die Sternhimmelfederkrone. II 229 — Gott des *Toxcatl*-Festes. I 21, 147, 150, 207, 290 — Menschenopfer an ihm. I 240 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — Feuerquirler. I 43, 146; II 118 — der Sehende, Allwissende. I 148, 151, 152, 221;

II 11, 81, 86 — s. *tlachieloni*. — Zauberer. I 146, 148 — liess sich an einem Spinnenfaden (als *Tzitzimitl*) herab. II 20 — der Krieger im Nordhause und der Krieger im Südhause. I 149, 290; II 23 — s. *tlacochcalcatl, nitznauacatl*. — am Baume des Südens. II 101 — mit *Uitzilopochtli* die obere Region oder den Himmel bezeichnend. — seine Formen sind *Ixtlilton* und der rothe *Xochipilli*. I 292 — mit der Erde identifizirt (s. *Tepeyollotli*). I 148 — ist der Unsichtbare, Schattenhafte, wie Nacht und Wind (s. *Youalli eecatl*). I 148, 151; II 169 — s. *tloquê nauaquê*. — ist der Dunkle, Nächtige, die Verkleidung jeder Spukgestalt. I 146, 148, 151, 222; II 12, 81, 86, 149 — s. *ocelotl*. — ist der Jaguar. I 21, 146; II 149 — Gott des *ocelotonatiuh*. I 21 — seine Region der Norden, das Reich des Dunkels, der Erde. I 21, 149; II 33, 49, 50, 155, 163 — als solcher erscheint *Mictlantecutli*. II 242 — seine Kultusstätten sind die Kreuzwege *(ômaxac)*. I 222 — entführt die *Xochiquetzal*. I 209 — bezeichnet in der Reihe der dreizehn Herren der Stunden des Tages als der zehnte die Abendstunden. I 145; II 23 (zusammen mit *chiquâtli*). — sein Abbild *Tepeyollotli*. I 146 — sein Abbild *Chalchiuhtotolin*. I 201; II 116, 272 — sein Abbild der Geier (?). — für *Xochiquetzal* eintretend. I 52 — mit einem Pfeile im Auge. I 61 — Regent des zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertels, der Region des Nordens. I 20—22 — = *Itztli*, zweiter der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, im Osten. I 220—212; II 163 — gegenüber *Itztlacoliuhqui*, dem Regenten des zwölften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *(ce cuetzpalin)*. II 246—252 — mit verbundenen Augen *(ixquimilli)*, dritter der fünf Hüter der drei Venusperioden, die Mitte bezeichnend. I 269-270 — mit verbundenen Augen, Gott der strafenden Gerechtigkeit, Regent des dreizehnten Tageszeichens *acatl*. I 145—152; II 81, 246 — Kopf *Tezcatlipoca*'s unter dem Symbole der richterlichen Strafe. I 59 — mit dem herabkommenden Pfeile = (geopferter) Krieger. I 61 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der zweiten Periode (Süden). II 148, 152, 154, 155, 157 — tötet *Ometochtli*. I 137, 138 — mit der Maske des Windgottes, Begleiter *Quetzalcouatl*'s in der Unterwelt. II 49 ff. — Geburtshelfer (bei der zehnten Tagstunde). II 201 — (s. *tlatlauhqui* —, gelber —), vierter und fünfter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162—164 — verwandt mit *Macuilxochitl*. I 20, 21, 146, 206 — durch den Krieger *(yaotl)* repräsentirt. I 21, 145, 147 — *Tezcatlipoca*-Kopf, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl, = Abbild des toten Kriegers. I 59 — richtet mit *Quetzalcouatl* den Himmel wieder auf. I 84, 104, 145, 150 — verwandelt sich in den Spiegelbaum *tezcaquauitl*. I 150 — Gott der Feste, Patron des *Cuicacalli*. I 146 — als Gemahl der *Xochiquetzal* gedacht. I 211 — mit *Quetzalcouatl* als Zeit- und Kalendergott im Zentrum des zweiundfünfzigjährigen Zyclus. I 147 — Erfinder und Vertreter des Schmuckes der Rede, des Gesanges, des Tanzes. I 283 — bedeutet „Gott" (?), s. *Xipe tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 149 — s. *tloquê nauaquê, youalli eecatl*. (II 169) — ist der souveräne Herr über Alle, s. *Moyocoyatzin, Titlacahuan*. I 150, 151; II 86, 229 — unbeständiger Gott, seine Gaben gehen vom einen auf den andern über. I 151; II 229 — Gebet an ihn. II 169 — sein Bild in *Tetzcoco* hatte vier Pfeile in der Hand als Zeichen der strafenden Gewalt des Gottes. I 151 — Gott des solaren Neujahrsfestes *Toxcatl*. I 147, 150, 290 — seine Figur mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbunden. I 280—283 — Regengott des Nordens. I 351 — seine Verkleidung, Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. II 282 — identifizirt mit Ursa mayor (s. *citlallachtli*), den Sternen in der Nähe des Nordpoles. I 21, 149, 292 — als untergehende Sonne, verwandelt sich in den Mond. II 298 — Gott des Abends. II 12, 23, 32 — am Abendhimmel erscheinender Mond. II 23, 32, 33, 63, 298 — junger Mond. II 32, 35, 57 — mit Trachtabzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s, Begleiter dieses Gottes, als vor dem Stern des Abends Dahinwandelnder. II 32 — auf dem Aschenhaufen. II 35 — eine der vier Ergänzungen *Xochipilli*'s. II 41 — Mond, dem ein Bein fehlt, dem an der Scheibe ein Stück hinten abgeschnitten ist; zunehmender Mond des Abendhimmels. II 12, 23, 32 — neben dem Mondgott erscheinend im sechsten Tonalamatl-Abschnitt. II 229 — als Krieger, geleitet *Quetzalcouatl* zum Norden der Unterwelt. II 49 — kniet auf einem mit Jaguarfell gepolsterten *teoicpalli* und geniesst den Mais, im Westen der Unterwelt. II 57 — als Feuergott des Südens, auf dem *teoicpalli* knieend, in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift ein schwarzer Gott mit dem Zeichen *imix* an der Stirn. I 216.

***Tezcatlipoca*-Figur,** hält der Feuergott des Westtempels, in der Mitte der Unterwelt, auf seinem Schoosse. II 73, 74.

***Tezcatlipoca*-Figuren,** fünf (schwarz, weiss, gelb, roth, blau), hervorkommend aus Steinmessern einer geköpften Göttin im Süden der Unterwelt. II 9 — vier (weiss, gelb, roth, blau) in den vier Eckabtheilungen des breiten, dunklen Aussenrandes von Bl. 32 des Codex Borgia. II 10, 12.

***Tezcatlipoca*-Gesicht,** blaues, gelbes. II 10 — rothes, krönt den First des Hauses der rothen Schlange, II 19, 21.

***Tezcatlipoca*-Gesichtsbemalung,** bei zwei männlichen Figuren am oberen Stufenpyramidenabsatz des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — wechselnd mit der *Auiateotl*-Bemalung *(motemmacpalhuiticac)*. II 110.

***Tezcatlipoca*-Gestalten,** einzelne der *Auiateteô*. II 98, 100.

Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui, vor dem Tempel des Nordens (Codex Bologna). II 110, 111 — im Codex Féjerváry. II 111, 112.

Tezcatzoncatl, ein Pulquegott, Pulquepriester. I 139, 140 — s. *Tezcatzonco*.

Tezcatzonco, „im Tempel des Pulquegottes". I 139; II 118.

Tezozomoc, Verfasser der Crónica mexicana. I 144 etc.; II 127.

Thales von Milet. I 83.

Thévet, Verfasser der Histoyre du Mechique. II 42, 97, 292, 294, 295 — s. de Jonghe.

Thomas, Cyrus. II 123.

Thron, s. *teoicpalli*. — s. *petlatl-icpalli*. — s. *sam* (Maya).

Thürbalken, schwarze, beim Tempelgemache des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — rothe, bei dem entsprechenden der rothen Schlange. II 19.

Tiacapan, „die ältere", eine der vier Schwestern der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 86.

Tiara, nach oben sich verbreiternd in den Farben des Türkisvogels, beim Feuergotte. I 121, 219 — s. *xiuhtotoamaealli*.

tiçaoctli, weisser Pulque, vom Pulquepriester *Ume tochtli Papaztac* am Feste *Toçoztli* bereitet. I 139 — im *octecomatl*, das der rothe *Auiateotl* in seiner Linken hält. II 71.

tiçapan çacapan, auf Sitzen von weisser Kreide und von Gras; darauf stellen sich die *xixipeme* in Reihen auf. I 170.

tiçapapalotl iuipapalotl, „weisse Kreide- und Daunenschmetterlinge" = Seelen der geopferten männlichen Krieger. I 187; II 67, 297 — Gegenstück dazu: *Itzpapalotl (?)*. I 187 — bezeichnet den Mittag, die siebente Tagstunde. II 297.

tiçatl, weisse Erde; Bemalung des Tanzgottes. II 188, 189 — des Tänzers. II 224, 282 — kreidefarbene Bemalung des Thürpfostens des *quauhiuicalli*, des Adlerhauses des Ostens. II 70 — s. Augenring. — damit das Gesicht der *otlamaxac ciuapipiltin* gemalt. II 91.

tiçatl-iuitl, Kreide und Daunenfedern, Opferschmuck. I 160, 187, 348; II 20, 34 — am Seile des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — s. *tiçapapalotl iuipapalotl.*

Tiçoc, mexikanischer König, liess den grossen *quauhxicalli*-Stein anfertigen. I 146.

tiefste Hölle des Nordens der Unterwelt, in ihr der geopferte knochenfarbene *Quetzalcouatl* dargestellt. II 52.

Thier der Dämmerung, die Fledermaus. II 85.

Thier der Erde, s. *tachtli.* — s. *çolin.* — s. Wurm (I 37) — s. *colotl* (I 37) — s. *cipactli* (I 146) — s. *quimichin* „Maus" (II 163).

Thier der Mitte, beim Herzen des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* die Schlange. II 54.

Thier des Nordens, beim rechten Arme des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* der Jaguar. II 54.

Thier des Ostens, beim rechten Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* ein helles Thier mit Insektenfühlern. II 54.

Thier des Südens, beim linken Beine des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* der Puma mit *cicitlallo*-Augenstreifen. II 54.

Thier des Westens, beim linken Arme des knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl,* die Ratte (?). II 54.

Thiere, s. vier Thiere. — s. fruchtbare Thiere. — s. zerstückelnde Thiere. — s. Ball spielende Thiere. — s. Kriegerthiere.

Thierklauen, Halsband daraus, s. *xopilcozcatl.*

Thierkopf mit kleinen, spitzen Zähnen, beim *Tlacatzinacantli.* II 60.

Thierköpfiger Priester. I 114; II 111, 123 — s. Thier mit spitzer Schnauze. — s. Bringer des Regenten der neuen Jahre.

Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze, (= Beutelratte?) Gott der unteren Region. I 114; II 193 — bei der geköpften Erdgöttin abgebildet. II 283 — beim schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui* im Nordtempel. II 111, 283 — seine Maske trägt der Priester, der die siebente Nachtstunde (Mitternacht) und die untere Region bezeichnet. I 114; II 193, 194 — bei der *Mayauel* Musik machend. I 114, 115 — der Bringer der Jahre in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 114; II 111, 123 — Repräsentant des Mondes (?). II 111, 282 bis 283 — Verkleidung *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 282 — wesensgleich der *Xochiquetzal.* II 282, 283 — mit Pulqueschalen, bei der geköpften Göttin. II 285.

Thier mit Insektenfühlern, s. Thier des Ostens.

Thiere, im Jahre *ce tecpatl* „eins Feuerstein" geschaffen, II 288 — s. enthauptete —. — mit vier Kugeln Ball spielend, neben dem *tzampantli* des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 115 — s. Ballspieler des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 116, 117 — zerstückelnde, s. zerstückelnde Thiere.

Thiere des Wassers, s. Wasserthiere.

Thierfell, die Last des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer einhüllend. II 163.

Thierfuss, abgeschnittener, in einer Schüssel in der Hand des Abbildes der *Xochiquetzal.* II 40 — Gefäss mit einem Thierfusse beim ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 172 — rother, auf einer Schale; Opfergabe, beim dritten der Götterpaare. II 174 — s. Schale mit —.

Tierra caliente, durch den Blitz *(tlauitequiliztli)* angedeutet. I 294 — durch eine Palme mit einem Jaguar *(ocelotl)* angedeutet beim Südbaum. II 107 — Schakuhuhn *(coxolitli)* daher. I 303 — daher eine Art Waldhuhn, *quetzalcoxcoxtli.* II 95 — ein Raubvogel, *uactli* (Lachsfalke). II 253 — Stämme der Tierra caliente haben Schwertfischschwert mit einer Steinspitze als Waffe. II 224 — s. *Ananac.* — s. *ananac calaquini, oztomeca ananac calaquini.*

Thierrachen, in ein Menschengesicht eingesetzt, bei *Tepeyollotli.* II 21.

tilmàtli, „Mantel", s. *tenixyo tilmàtli.*

titici, s. Aerzte.

Tititl, Fest in México. I 104. 118 Anm. 4, 191, 192; II 262, 276 — Göttin des Festes: *Itamatecutli, Cinacouatl, Couatlicue.* I 161, 188, 189; II 263, 264 — Opfer der *Itamatecutli* auf der Pyramide *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 191, 192 — anderer Name des Festes ist *Uetzi in chiquàtli.* I 189, 190 — um die Wintersonnenwende gefeiert. I 190; II 262 — Fest der weiblichen Jugend. I 190 — an diesem Feste opfert der *Tlillan tlenamacac* auf dem Tempel des Feuergottes, *Tlalxicco,* einen Gefangenen, entzündet Feuer und räuchert (in der Nacht). II 276 — Totenerinnerungsfest. II 262, 276 — s. Maske mit zwei Gesichtern. — s. Bambusstab.

Titlacauan, „Dessen Sklaven wir sind", Name *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 150, 151; II 169 — sein Selbstopfer. II 145.

Titzimin (Maya), *Chilam Balam* von —. II 156.

tlaatequiliztli, Ausschütten des Wassers, bei *Tlaloc* dargestellt (s. Krug). II 37.

tlaauialli, s. *tlapopochuilli,* Räucherwerk. II 234.

tlacacàliliztli, „das Kämpfen mit dem Manne", das Erschiessen mit Pfeilen, bedeutet Begattung. I 173, 207 — zweite Phase des Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 172, 173, 207.

tlacacozcaquauhtli, Geiermensch, bezeichnet die dritte Tagstunde und den Norden. II 185—186.

tlacaeuatl, Menschenhaut: von *Xipe* als Wams getragen. I 41, 167, 330; II 133, 256, 257, 288 — von der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 252 — bezeichnet Phasenbildung des Mondes. II 254 — s. Abhäutungsschnitt. — an den Händen mit herabfallenden Edelsteinbändern bei *Xipe Totec,* der Erdgottheit des Westens. II 133.

tlacamictiliztli, Menschenopfer; Sage von *Metztitlan.* I 137.

tlacanaualli, gehämmertes Gold; bildet die Brustscheibe *Xipe*'s. II 256 — an der Kopfbinde *Xipe*'s. II 256.

Tlacaoceotl, Gott in Jaguargestalt (mit Jaguarhelmmaske) = *Tonacatecutli;* bezeichnet die vierte Tagstunde und den Westen. II 188 — die sechste Nachtstunde und die obere Region. II 191 — vertritt *Tonacatecutli.* II 191.

tlacapillachiualoya, wo die Kinder der Menschen gemacht werden = *Tamoanchan.* I 136. 157.

tlacatecolotl, Zauberer, weiblicher Teufel, d. i. eine der vier *Ixcuinauhê.* I 173 — neben der *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 308 — *Mictlantecutli,* Himmelsträger des Nordens, mit Käuzchenflügeln. II 132.

tlacateteuhmictiliztli, „Kinderopfer" für die Regengötter. I 207.

tlacati „geboren werden", s. *teuu.*

tlacatlaolli, Menschenfleischmaisgericht: im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel von dem *quacuilli* gebracht. I 57 — im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel dargestellt bei *Xolotl.* I 57 (s. Kochtopf).

Tlacatzinacantli, Fledermausgott. I 233 — Fledermausgott der Maya-Stämme. II 60—62 — Aussehen und Tracht. II 60—62 — als *Quetzalcouatl* kostümirt. II 61 — den Osten bezeichnend. II 60 — im *xochicalli,* das den Süden der Unterwelt bezeichnet. II 60—62 — herabkommender, bei der *Mayauel,* der fünften der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl,* die untere Region bezeichnend. — grüner, rother. II 60, 61 — reisst (als Dämon des Ostens) dem Monde den Kopf ab. II 63.

tlacaxipeualiztli, Menschenschinden, Fest *Xipe*'s. I 41, 57, 154, 155, 207, 330 — Fest der Aussaat, der Erneuerung der Vegetation dienend I 154. 155, 160, 170 ff.; II 257 — s. *Cozcateca* (I 135) — vgl. *Ochpaniztli* — drei Hauptphasen des Festes: 1. Opfer von Gefangenen, 2. das Sacrificio gladiatorio, 3. Erschiessen des Opfers mit Pfeilen. I 170—173 — das Fest fällt zwei bis drei Monate vor Beginn der Regenzeit. I 171.

Tlaco, „die mittlere", eine der vier Schwestern der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 86.

Tlacochcalcatl, Name *Tezcatlipoca*'s, ein Rangtitel. I 149 — der Nordgott⁸. I 290; II 23 — s. *Uitznauacatl*.

Tlacochcalco, kleine am Wege nach *Chalco* gelegene Pyramide, an der das Abbild *Tezcatlipoca*'s am *Toxcatl*-Fest langsam emporsteigt. I 147.

tlacochcalco yaotl, der Krieger im Speerhause, im Nordtempel = *Tezcatlipoca*. I 149, 290; II 23 — ist der *yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. II 23 — beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste dargestellt. I 211.

tlacochtli, Pfeil, Speer; an der blauen Federschlange neben dem blauen Wurfbrette gezeichnet. II 301 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, ihn als schiessenden Gott bezeichnend. II 143–157 — bezeichnet zusammen mit *chimalli* und *atlatl* den Krieg (*yaoyotl*). I 143 — die Kriegerschaft (*quauhyotl*, *yaoyotl*). II 151, 152 — durchbohrt den Pulquetopf. I 114 — im Hute *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. I 114; II 111. 145, 146 — davon der Hirsch (*maçatl*) getroffen bei *Mictlantecutli*, dem Himmelsträger des Nordens. II 132 — s. brauner Hirsch.

tlacotl, Bündel Halme (s. *çacatl*). II 199.

tlacotl tlaneluatl, Stengel und Wurzeln, dienen zur Pulquebereitung, von *Pàtecatl* gefunden. I 140, 141 — = *oc-pàtli* I 141.

tlacoxiloxochitl, Calliandra-Blüthen. II 67, 297.

Tlacoyales, Haartracht zapotekischer Weiber II 181.

tlacuelpacholli s. *ueyac tlacuelpacholli*.

tlacuilolli, Bilderschriften; toltekischer Kulturbesitz. I 89.

Tlacuyoacan, Ort bei *Chapultepec*, dort der Eingang zum *Cincalco*. II 56.

Tlaçolteotl, Göttin des Unrates; die Erdgöttin. I 94, 145, 152, 161, 199, 211, 217, 229, 230, 275–277, 307; II 10, 78 ff., 192, 252, 253 — andere Namen: *Tlaelquani*, *Toci*, *Teteoinnan*, *Ixcuinan*, *Tlalliiyollo*, an der atlantischen Küste heimisch. I 161 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 163–165, 275–277 — s. Baumwollkopfbinde — mit Trachtstücken *Xipe*'s ausgerüstet. I 230; II 252 — mit *Xipe* im Kult eng verknüpft. I 156, 173, 230 — ihr Tempel, s. *Tocititlan* — ihr Kopfschmuck im Wasserstrom bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 225 — Repräsentantin der Weiber und der Sinnenlust, schützt die Ehebrecher. I 39, 153, 199, 229, 230; II 192 — als Göttin der Wollust. II 303, 305 — sündigt und bannt die Sünde (s. Besen). I 160 — ihr Fest s. *ochpaniztli* — Gebärende. I 94, 157, 158 (schwanger?), 165, 275; II 219, 252 — gebiert in *Tamoanchan* den Maisgott. I 105, 157; II 18 — ist heimisch im Westen (*Tamoanchan*, *Xochitl icacan*). I 94, 157; II 18, 19 — bezeichnet den Mutterschooss. II 219 — das Innere der Erde bezeichnend s. *tlalli iyollo* — Erntegöttin. I 105, 160, 164; II 10 — ihr Abbild geschunden. I 154, 157, 158; II 252 — mit der abgezogenen Haut des Opfers. II 252 — Kriegerin (da sie ein Kind geboren). I 156, 157, 165; II 18, 159, 216 — gebiert am *Ochpaniztli* Fest den *Cinteotl itztlacoliuhqui*. I 105, 154; 157, 160; II 110, 145, 247 — durch *Quetzalcouatl*, den Menschenschöpfer, vertreten. II 219 — Patronin der Medicin. I 153, 154 — den Westen bezeichnend. I 94, 237 — in der Reihe der neun Herren, im Westen stehend. I 27, 237; II 107 — siebenter der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. I 218, 229–231, 237 — in der rothen Federschlange (Blutschlange) den Norden bezeichnend. II 301 (s. *tlapalcouatl*) — die sechste Tagstunde und die untere Region bezeichnend. II 192 — Regentin des vierzehnten Tageszeichens (*ocelotl*). I 152–165, 217 — bei der eilften Tagstunde dargestellt. II 202 — Regent des dreizehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce olin*). II 210, 252–253 — *Tepeyollotli*, dem Regenten des dritten Zeichens, gegenübergestellt. I 94, 145; II 216–219 — demselben, dem Regenten des dritten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes, gegenüber. I 94 — erster der fünf Hüter der vierten Venusperiode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 275–277 — heisst in den „Cantares" *coçauic xochitla*, *iztac xochitla*, *tonana teumechaue*. I 157; II 18 — ihre Attribute: der Besen. I 158, 199; II 54, 202, 306 — zwei Spindeln. I 163, 275; II 202 — eine Spindel. I 164 — *ometochteteuitl*. I 199 — von den *Mixteca*, *Olmeca* und den *Cuexteca* verehrt. I 161 — Heimat der Göttin an den der Landschaft *Teotitlan*, *Cozcatlan* benachbarten atlantischen Gebirgsabhängen und im vorgelagerten Küstenlande. I 161 — huaxtekische Erdgöttin. II 252 — erscheint in México nur am *Ochpaniztli*-Fest und an den Festen *Uitzolopochtli*'s und der alten Erdgöttin in der Reihe der übrigen Götter. I 161 — ihr Kult, importirt aus der Huaxteca und den Landschaften von Orizaba und Cotastla. I 161; II 252 — letztere Gebiete galten als Land der Vegetationsfülle. I 161 — s. Baumwollland. — Vorkommen im Codex Nuttall als *ce atl* und *ome cozcaquauhtli*. I 161 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. II 20 — als Pulquegöttin zusammen mit dem Pulquegotte, zweites der sechs Götterpaare. II 172–173 — Regentin des eilften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 244 — ihr geweihter Tag *chiquacen cipactli* „sechs Krokodil⁴". II 253 — hat auffallende Beziehungen zu den Pulquegöttern (s. *yacametztli*, *copilli*, *chirtlapanqui*). I 164; II 10, 244, 252 — zum Monde. I 164; II 10, 11 — ursprünglich eine Mondgöttin. II 10, 11, 21, 15, 48, 52, 54, 55, 63, 64, 78 ff., 86, 158, 192, 219, 248, 291, 301 — Göttin des vollen Mondes (im Tempel des Hauses der rothen Schlange). II 18, 253 — Mondgöttin in Kopulation mit dem Mondgotte (s. Nordpaar). II 120 — als Mondgöttin ist ihr Gegenstück der Erd- und Frühlingsgott *Xipe Totec*. II 253 ff., 290, 291 — Mondgöttin, zweiter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158 bis 161 — bewohnt den fünften der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 296 — bezeichnet die fünfte Tagstunde. II 296 — s. *tonalequc*. — s. *quauhtli*. — ihre fünf Formen bilden eine Reihe von fünf Mondgöttinnen. II 77 85 — ihre Schwestern *Tiacapan*, *Teicu*, *Tlaco* und *Xocotzin*. II 86 — ihr verwandt die fünf *Cuateteô*. — s. diese — ihre fünf Verkörperungen s. *tonalêquê*. II 292, 294 — als alte Erdgöttin hat Beziehungen zum kahlköpfigen Vogel, dem Geier (*cozcaquauhtli*). I 307 — beim siebzehnten Tageszeichen *olin* dargestellt. I 307 bis 308, 318 — als Abbild des *tlalli iyollo*. I 307, 318; II 118 — diese Auffassung erinnert an das Maya-Zeichen *caban*. I 306 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 318 — ihr Abbild der Mond. I 275 — ihre Abzeichen (*çacatl*, *ichcaxochitl*, *yacametztli*, *tlaitzcopintli* Nackentuch) in einer Schale unterhalb der Darstellung der Verwandlung des knochenfarbenen geopferten *Quetzalcouatl* in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*. II 54 — Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des zweiten Paares der vier Lichtgötter (Norden). II 306 — s. rothe *Tlaçolteotl*. — s. gelbe *Tlaçolteotl*. — ihr entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der Hund. I 217.

***Tlaçolteotl* als Sonnengott**, Regentin des eilften Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 244.

***Tlaçolteotl*-Gesicht**, auf einem *octecomatl* (einem Pulquekruge), den ein rother *Auiateotl* in der Linken hält. II 70, 71.

tlaçolxochitl, Kopfbinde aus zerzupftem Stoff der *Chantico*. I 164; II 276 — s. Häkchenzeichnung. I 13, 163, 164.

tlaçopilli, Prinz aus königlichem Geblüth, Name *Xochipilli*'s. I 132, 165; II 95.

tlaçotome, Schmuckfedervögel (*uitzitzilti*, *xochitototl* etc.), in sie verwandelt sich nach vier Jahren die Seele des toten Kriegers. I 62; II 67, 89, 297 — die Asche *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 87; II 3, 34, 291 — s. *tlauhquechol*, *xiuhtototl*, *tzinitzcan*, *ayoquan*, *toznene*, *alo*, *cocho*.

tlaçototomê, die Asche des Vaters *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 34.

tlach, Radical von *tlachtli* in Städte-Hieroglyphen. I 288.

tlachichina, Honig saugen; Quetzalvogel an den Blüthen des Gottes mit dem Blumenkranz. I 62 — Kolibrivögel

(Schmuckvögel). I 62; II 67, 297 — s. *uitzitzilti*. — die in Schmuckvögel, Schmetterlinge verwandelten Seelen der toten Krieger saugen den Honig der Blüthen. II 89.

tlachieloni, Schwerkzeug *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152, 221 — des Feuergottes. I 152 — Ersatz für den *anauatl*-Brustschmuck des Gottes. I 152, 221.

tlachieloni-**artige Scheibe**, in neun Felder getheilt, bei einer (die fünfte Weltgegend andeutenden) schwarzen Figur. II 42.

tlachinolli, s. *atl tlachinolli*. — s. *teoatl tlachinolli*. — durch jaguarfellfarbene Feuerwolken bezeichnet bei *Xiuhtecutli*. II 238.

tlachiquiliztli, Pulquefabrikation, von der *Mayauel* erfunden. I 113.

tlachmatl, mit glattem Stuck überzogene Wand des Ballspielplatzes. I 288, 289.

tlachpana, „den Boden fegen", von der *Cinacouatl* gesagt. II 128.

tlachtemalacatl, Ringsteine, aus den Seitenwänden des Ballspielplatzes vorspringend. I 289 — Spielregeln. I 289 — s. Brunnen. — in der Mitte der Seitenwandungen des rothen *tlachtli* des Ostens der Unterwelt; aus der Oeffnung kommt ein roth-weisses Band heraus. II 48 — fehlen beim *tlachtli* des Tempels der Nacht. II 28, und auch sonst manchmal. II 31.

tlachtli, seine mythische Bedeutung. II 31 — im Ballspiele verliert und gewinnt abwechselnd der Mond. II 31 — im Tonalamatl, Determinativ bei *Xochiquetzal*, der schönen Mondgöttin. II 32 — genau nordsüdlich orientirt. I 289; II 23 — Spielrichtung Norden-Süden (Süden-Norden). II 12 — stehen mit Tempeln in Verbindung. I 290; II 51, 115 (s. *teotlachtli*). — Markirung der Points beim Spiel auf Spielstäben. II 51 — mit einem Kautschukballe abgebildet bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 285 — Farbenfelder. II 13, 22, 23, 28 — roth-schwarz (Wiener Handschrift, Codex Nuttall). II 23 — einer schwarz, einer roth dargestellt. II 23 — rother, von Dunkel mit Augen gebildet. II 18, 51 — mit einem Loche in der Mitte II 30, 31 — beim siebenten Jahresfeste *Tecuilhuitontli* dargestellt. I 290 — auf seiner einen Seite sind *Quetzalcouatl* und *Cinacouatl*, auf der anderen *Ixtlilton* und *Xochipilli* dargestellt. I 290 — Ballspiel und Ballspielplatz, sein Gott *Xolotl*. I 193 — *Macuilxochitl*. I 195 — himmlisches, mit der Figur *Tonacatecutli*'s. — bei *Yayauhqui* und *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 288 — s. *citlallachtli* — des Tempels der Nacht. II 28 — darauf der Erdbebengott *Naui olin* (in der Wiener Handschrift). II 283.

tlaellaça, „das Innerste auswerfen, Blutruhr haben". II 72.

tlaelli, Dreck, Unrath = Sünde. I 91 — s. *cuitlatl*, *tlaelquani*, *Tlaçolteotl*, Büsser, Ehebrecher. — „Blutruhr". II 72.

tlaelli quitlaça, „Blutruhr haben", s. *tlaellaça*. II 72.

tlaelquani, Dreckfresser = Sünder. I 35, 39, 94, 95 — bei *Tezcatlipoca ixquimilli* dargestellt. I 145 — Name und Hieroglyphe der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 94, 152; II 18, 55, 78 — der *Itzpapalotl*. II 196 — durch *cuitlatl* in der Hand des Menschenschöpfers *Quetzalcouatl* angedeutet. II 219 — s. *axixpan cuitlapan nemini*. (I 102).

tlaitzcopeualli, s. *tlaitzcopintli*. — s. *teteuitl*.

tlaitzcopintli, mit spitzwinkligen Papieren bemalt, die Opferpapiere. I 111, 199, 307 - der Stab der *Chantico* (s. *iuitopilli*). II 276 — *cueitl* der Todesgöttin. II 3 — s. *teteuitl*. — Gewand der *otlamaxac ciuapipiltin*. II 91 — Nackentuch der *Tlaçolteotl*, mit goldenem *yacametztli*, in einer Schale. II 54 — s. *amapamitl* —. — s. *amatepetl*.

tlaitzcouaicuilolli, „mit der Obsidianspitzenschlange gemusterte" Sandale *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 152 — s. *itzcuitli*. — „Obsidianschlangenbemalung". II 72 — s. *itzcouatl*, *itzcuauatlapechtli*.

tlalchi tonatiuh, die erdnahe Sonne; bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. I 197; II 268, 269 — erdnahe, bodenständige Sonne. I 14, 15, 191, 197; II 268, 269 — s. *olin*.

Tlalhuica, Bewohner der Tierra caliente, Volk im Süden des Hochthals von Mexico. I 208 — Fest der *Xochiquetzal*. I 117. 208, 209, 210 — Schändlichkeiten, am *Tepeilhuitl*-Feste von Kindern begangen. I 139, 209.

tlallamacac tlalichcatl, Epitheta *Tonacatecutli*'s und *Tonacacuauatl*'s. I 80.

tlalli, Erde; durch einen Reptilrachen dargestellt, s. Erdrachen. — durch einen Weg bezeichnet (s. *òtli*). II 197 — ihre Gottheit, s. *Tlaçolteotl*. — durch die vier Farben bezeichnet. — mit *octli* (Pulque), Anspielung auf *Tlaloc*. II 197.

Tlalli iyollo, Herz der Erde: Name der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 15, 94, 118, 153; II 118, 192, 220 — als Abbild dessen beim siebzehnten Tageszeichen *olin* dargestellt. I 307, 318.

tlaloa, als Verbum reflexivum = „aufspriessen". I 108; II 197 — davon abgeleitet *Tlaloc*, s. dort.

Tlaloc, „der da aufspriessen macht" (s. *tlaloa*). I 108; II 197 — versuchte Ethymologie *Tlal-oc* (*tlalli* „Erde", *octli* „Pulque"). II 197 — Gott des *quiauhtonatiuh*, des Feuerregens. I 23 (s. *tequiauitl*). — auf Bergen mittlerer Höhe hausend. I 109 – Steinbild auf dem Berge *Tlalocan*. I 109 — im Osten heimisch. I 295 — Berg dieses Namens, s. *Tlalocan*. — Regengott, seine erste Gemahlin *Xochiquetzal*, seine zweite *Matlalcueye*. I 209 — sein Abbild ist roth und hält Feuer in der Hand. I 250 — sein Kopf bildet die Hieroglyphe des Tageszeichens *quiauitl*. I 202 — bildet den Stamm des Blüthenbaumes vor *Cinteotl*. I 225 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 109–112, 294–295 — sein Kostüm. I 86 — sein Gesicht aus zwei Schlangen gebildet. I 109 — trägt die Hieroglyphe des Jahres auf dem Scheitel. I 345 — der Truthahn seine Verkleidung. I 200 — mit seinem Kopfe die Erdgöttin abgebildet. — seine Farben trägt *Tepeyollotli*. — die vier Richtungen bezeichnend. I 344 bis 348; II 178, 302 — Wohnung in vier Zimmern. II 302 — neunter der neun Herren, im Süden stehend. I 218, 235–237, 345; II 107 — Regent des siebenten Tageszeichens (*maçatl*) (s. Dürre). I 23, 107–112, 215 — des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce quiauitl*). II 229–234 — Repräsentant des Feuerregens (s. *quiauitl*, *tlequiauitl*), den Süden bezeichnend. II 177 — zweiter der fünf Hüter der zweiten Vennsperiode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 249–250 — Hüter der zweiten Venusperiode, den Süden bezeichnend. I 329, 330–332 — in der grünen Federschlange, den Osten bezeichnend. II 300, 302, 308 — sein Bild, mit der Helmmaske der vier Richtungen, bezeichnet die vier Jahre. I 344 ff.; II 178 — sein Kopf bezeichnet das Tageszeichen *quiauitl*. I 16 — Erdgöttin mit seinem Kopfe im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Westen). I 22, 23 — mit grossem viereckigen Kopfputze als Maisgott gekennzeichnet. I 236 — als Ackerbauer dargestellt. I 294, 295 — beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste dargestellt. I 211 — Gott des grossen Fastens bei Beginn der Regenzeit (Anfang Mai). II 229, 230 — in seiner Einfassung, auf einem Manuskriptblatte der Aubin'schen Sammlung s. Appendix zum Geschichtswerke des P. Duran. II 38 — repräsentirt das Ostland. I 295 — erhält Kinderopfer (*tlacatetenhmictiztli*). I 207, 208 — sein Priester vertritt *Quetzalcouatl* (den Büsser) im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel (Osten). I 20 — s. (gekrümmter) Stab, Donnerkeil, Blitzfigur, s. *itztopolli*. — Hauptfigur des ersten Gliedes des zweiten Paares der Lichtgötter. II 307 — vom Himmel herabfallender, Gewittergott mit Blitzfigur. I 29, 198; II 36 — im Feuer herabfahrend, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 68 — Geburt des Feuers, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 69 — zu ihm hat *Xolotl*, das Blitzthier, Beziehungen. I 196, 197, 198

— *Xolotl* ist sein natürlicher Genosse. II 36, 37 — als Ballspieler vor dem Tempel *Xolotl*'s. II 36, 43 — giesst Wasser aus einem *Tlaloc*-Kruge (s. Krug), *tlaatequiliztli*, bei *Xolotl* dargestellt. II 37, 43 — grüner, an den Extremitäten mit *cipactli*-Stacheln besetzt, nimmt den im Wasser modernden *Xolotl* in Empfang. II 43 — mit Abzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s = *Tlaloc-Xolotl*. I 198 — = *nani ecatl* „vier Wind", Regent des siebenten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 234 — dem Hirsche (*maçatl*) zugesellt. I 107 — Seelen der von ihm Getöteten (vom Blitz Erschlagene, im Wasser Ertrunkene) wohnen im *Tlalocan*. I 295 — ein Sohn —'s, verwandelt sich in den Mond. I 104 — s. Stab, Donnerkeil, Blitz. — eine Kultusstätte von ihm war Pilon de azúcar (s. dort). II 258 — Erscheinungsform des Sonnengottes. II 308, 309 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift der Gott mit dem Brandstreifen, der auf dem Zeichen *manik* Feuer reibt. I 215 — s. auch unter Regengott.

Tlalocan, Reich des Regengottes, die mittleren Höhen der Berge. I 108. 295 — der Osten. I 295 — ein Berg zwischen *Tetzcoco* und *Uexotzinco* mit einem Bilde des Gottes aus weissem Stein. I 108 — im Osten von *Tezcuco*, Wohnung von vier Zimmern; Reich des Regengottes. II 302 — Heimat der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 161 (s. Huaxteca, Orizaba, Cotastla). — Süden, Reich des Feuerregens; eine der vier Höhlen, vier unterirdischen Regionen. II 56.

Tlalocantecutli, bewohnt den achten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 294 (*Tlaloc*), 297 — bezeichnet die erste Nachmittagsstunde. II 297 — s. *itzquauhtli*.

tlalocayotl, Ostwind, Passatwind. I 295.

***Tlaloc*-Figuren**, unterweltliche, im Osten der Unterwelt dargestellt. II 6 — nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen differenzirt. II 6.

***Tlaloc*-Kopf**, auf dem Mumienbündel bei *Xolotl*. II 268.

***Tlaloc*-Krug**, s. Krug.

Tlaloc-Quetzalcouatl, Kopf auf dem Mumienbündel bei *Xolotl*. II 268 — der Regengott in der Federschlange des Ostens. II 300.

Tlaloc* und *Chalchiuhtlicue, viertes der sechs Götterpaare, den Süden bezeichnend. II 175.

Tlaloc-Xolotl, Vermischung beider Gestalten. II 268.

***Tlaloc*-Zähne**, Schädel mit solchen. I 73 — Kautschukkugel mit solchen. II 27.

tlalolin, Erdbeben. I 190.

Tlaloquê, Regengötter; erhalten die Opfer im Anfange des Jahres. I 83 — giessen den Regen aus Krügen auf die Erde. I 295.

tlalpan quitilquetza, „fest auf Erde setzen", vom Rasselbrette *(chicauaztli)* gesagt, das so zum Rasseln *(cacalaca)* gebracht wird. I 174; II 127.

tlalpan ueuetl, „Fellpauke", schlägt die Schildkröte *(ayotl)* als Gott der Musik. I 306. — ihre Wandung kreuzförmig durchbrochen. I 306 — mit stufenförmig ausgeschnittenen Füssen. II 189 — zwischen den Füssen gehalten. II 189 — s. schwarze Trommel.

tlalqualiztli, „Erdessen", demütige Form der Begrüssung, symbolisch durch Führen des Zeigefingers zum Munde ausgedrückt. I 144 — beim Gotte des Südens. I 307.

Tlaltecayoua, Pulquegott. I 140.

Tlaltecli, s. *Tlaltecutli*.

Tlaltecutli, der Gott der Erde; aus dem *cipactli* erschaffen. I 146; II 30 — s. Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze. — Name der *Itzpapalotl*. I 183 — bewohnt den zweiten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 294, 295 — bezeichnet die zweite Tagstunde. II 295 — s. Erdkröte. — s. *quetzalnôtzitzilin*. — ihm geben die Krieger zu essen. I 207.

Tlaltetecuin, einer der vier alten Weisen, die in *Tamoanchan* den Kalender schaffen. I 185 — s. *Oxomoco, Cipactonal*.

tlalticpac, „auf der Erde", die Erde, die Mitte (s. *caban, olin*). II 108, 294.

tlalicpaquê, Herr der Erdoberfläche; der Feuergott. I 118 119; II 169, 294, 299 — *Tonacatecutli*. I 78, 79; II 206.

Tlalxicco, „im Nabel der Erde", Tempel des Feuers; auf ihm opfert der *Tlillan tlenamacac* am *Tititl*-Fest einen Gefangenen, entzündet Feuer und räuchert (in der Nacht). II 276.

Tlalxictenticae, „der du im Nabel der Erde deine Stelle hast", Name des Feuergottes. I 118.

tlalxicco onoc, „im Nabel der Erde wohnt" = Feuergott. I 29. 67. 117, 118 — s. Feuergott. — s. *Tlalxictenticae*.

tlamacazque, gewöhnliche Priester. I 154.

tlamacazqui, Priester; schwarz, mit rothem Flecke an der Schläfe, s. unter Priester. — in der Fasteneinzäunung sich kasteiend. II 280 — die siebente Nachtstunde und die untere Region bezeichnend. II 193—194 — und *Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet den Osten und die achte Tagstunde. II 196—197 — und *Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet den Norden und die neunte Nachtstunde. II 197—198 — gegenüber der chichimekischen Göttin *(Itzpapalotl)*, die achte Nachtstunde und den Osten bezeichnend. II 195—196 — bestrafter, beim Regengotte. II 229—232 — des Regengottes, für *Quetzalcouatl*, den Regenten des ersten Tonalamatl-Viertels eintretend. I 19 — = *Piltzintecutli* oder *Xochipilli*, in der Reihe der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare. II 184 ff.

tlamaceualizcalli, „Haus des Gottesdienstes" = *tolpochcalli*. I 150.

tlamamaliliztli, das Feuerbohren, jedes Opferfest einleitende Zärimonie. I 139.

tlamamalli, Rückenlast, Reisebündel; der wandernden Götter. II 162 ff. — Rückendevise. I 77, 179, 203, 212, 221 — bei *Xipe*: Zwei roth-weiss quergestreifte Fahnen. I 179 — beim Sonnengotte in den Farben des Edelsteins. I 203 — bei *Tezcatlipoca*, s. *quetzalcomitl*. — bei der *Xochiquetzal*, s. *quetzalcomitl*. — bei *Mictlantecutli* eine schwarze Sonnenscheibe. I 297 — Zeichen der Nacht *(youalli)*, beim Gotte des Südens. I 339 — beim weissen Hirsche des Ostens ein *quetzalnitoncatl*. I 299 — türkisfarbener Blüthenbaum bei *Yacatecutli*. II 162 — vier Fahnen, bei den *Quetzalcouatl* im Norden der Unterwelt begleitenden *Cuateotl*-Figuren. II 50 — der Himmelsschlange *(cîtlalcouatl)* ein dreitheiliges Sternauge. II 65, 68 — *Tonacatecutli*'s und der *Tonacaciuatl*, ein Affe *(oçomâtli)* und eine weiblich gekleidete *Quetzalcouatl*-Figur. II 171 — eine Art Taube bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 282 — Kriegerdevisen, in Schmetterlingsgestalt, Tribut der *Chinampaneca*. II 276.

tlamanalli, Opfergaben; Begleitbilder in in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 36, 44, 48, 49; II 50 — gekrümmter Arm. II 70 — s. Thierfuss. — ihr Abbild eine Schale mit einem Thierfusse (s. dort). II 176.

tlamani, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 38.

tlamanimê, Krieger, Sieger im Kampfe. I 158 — „Gefangene machend", *Tlaçolteotl* den schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl, Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* den *Xochipilli*; bezeichnet „Geburt". II 48, 49.

tlamatiliztli, Wissenschaft; toltekischer Kulturbesitz. I 89.

tlamatinimê amoxuaquê, die Weisen, die Bücherinhaber; die mythischen Tolteken. I 89, 185.

tlamatzoualli, grosse Tortillas, Opfer den *otlamaxac cinapipiltin* gebracht. II 91.

tlanamictiliztli, Verkauf in die Sklaverei; bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Zeichen der Veränderlichkeit, des Wassers, ihres Elementes. II 225.

tlani, unten; fünfte Weltgegend, Mitte. I 269 — Reich des Dunkels. I 269.

tlani-aco, unten-oben; im zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnitt bei *Mictlantecutli-Tonatiuh* angegeben. II 244.

tlaolcopintli, mit flüssigem Kautschuk gemachte Bemalung um den Mund, bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 77 — s. *motenolcopinticae*.

tlaolli, Mais (entkörnter). I 207 — s. *tlacatlaolli*.

tlapalanaltiliztli, Vereiterung des Penis. II 97.

tlapalcouatl, rothe Korallenschlange, bedeutet Blut. I 27, 90, 276, 287; II 272 — Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 27, und sonst I 47, 59 (hinteres Schwanzende der Schlange). — beim Büsser angegeben. I 40, 91, 230; II 175 — beim Priester, mit dem Knochendolche am Ohr. II 197 — nach vorn vom Stuhle der *Xochiquetzal* sich hervorwindend. II 281 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. I 27, 90, 301 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 40, 91; II 175, 252, 272 — bei der *Cinateotl* des Südens. — die Federschlange des Nordens bildend. II 301 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, bedeutet geschlechtliche Vereinigung. I 60, 276, 277; II 175, 217, 252 — vor *Tonacatecutli*. I 91 — bei *Venecoyotl*. I 99 — beim Mondgott.e. I 106 — Erscheinungsform der Mondgöttin. II 308 — die *Tlaçolteol* umschliessend. I 230, 231; II 301 — bei *Tonacatecutli*. II 212 — im Munde *Venecoyotl*'s. I 99 — unter dem rechten Arme der *Xochiquetzal* des fünften der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — Schwanzende, beim blauen *Auiateotl*. II 305 — aus dem Munde *Xochipilli-Auiateotl*'s hervorkommend. II 36 — bei den beiden *Tezcatlipoca* auf dem Ballspielplatze. I 289 — beim *Tlauizcalpantecutli* des Westlandes. I 296 — bei *Xiuhtecutli*. I 219 — auf der Maispflanze *(toctli)* beim zwanzigsten Tageszeichen *xochitl*, als Abbilder *Xochipilli*'s dargestellt. I 308 — um den Hals des Kindes, das vor der *Tlaçolteotl* hockt, geschlungen. I 276 — mit dem Opferseile *aztamecatl* im Maul. I 286 — in Stücke zerrissen. I 286, 287, 289 — im grossen Blutgefässe bei *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 287 — ebenda auch mit Feuerwolken. I 287 — Unterlage der Agavepflanze bei *Mayauel*. I 111 — bei der Todesgöttin des Westens und Nordens der Unterwelt. II 7, 8 — vom *Mictlantecutli* des sechsten der sechs Götterpaare gepackt gehalten. II 177 — darauf ein Käuzchen (*chiquâtli*) sitzend, bei *Mictlantecutli*, der Erdgottheit des Südens. II 134 — unter der Hieroglyphe des Mondes beim zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158 — auf einem Räuchergefässe bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 160 — verbindet am Halse zwei Personen, bei der neunten Nachtstunde. II 197, 198 — unter den Personen der neunten Nachtstunde. II 198 — ihr Kopf ersetzt den linken Fuss der *Tlaçolteotl*, des zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 159 — an einem sich nach oben wendenden Wege, bei *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 161 — aus dem Topfe mit zerbrochenem Boden hervorkommend. II 181 — ihr Schwanzende und Brennholz im Räuchergefässe bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 301 — um den Hals des rothen *Tezcatlipoca* der zweiten Nachtstunde gewickelt. II 182 — des *Auiateotl* derselben Stunde. II 183 — um den Hals des Gottes der zweiten Nachtstunde gewunden, bezeichnet Sünde. II 183 — umwindet das Haar bei *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* der sechsten Nachtstunde. II 191 — ihr Schwanzende ersetzt die Schambinde *Xochipilli*'s als Priester bei der zwölften Nachtstunde. II 203 — und brennendes Haus, Determinativ bei *Tonacatecutli*. II 212 — s. fünf Schlangen.

Tlapallan, „Rothland", Land des Sonnenaufgangs, der Osten. Dorthin zieht *Quetzalcouatl* mit den Tolteken. II 1, 16 — s. *Tlillan Tlapallan*.

tlapapalli, verschiedenfarbiges rechteckiges Feld, Gesichtsbemalung *Tonacatecutli*'s und *Xochipilli*'s. II 113, 119 — der Maisgötter. II 119, 150, 173 — des Maisgottes beim Tempel des Westens. II 113 — des West-Feuerreibers. II 119 — Abzeichen des Gottes der Tänze und Gesänge (*Macuilxochitl*). II 34 — auf dem Dachfirste des Tempels der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 303 — die vier Farben, auf dem Mantel *Macuilxochitl*'s. I 133–135 — auf dem Gesichte und dem Hüfttuche des Sonnengottes. I 222 — auf der Backe *Xochipilli*'s. I 130 — auf dem Gesichte und der Schatzkiste *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 211, 212 — auf der Backe der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 — bei *Xolotl*, die vier Richtungen, d. h. die Erde, bezeichnend. II 268 — auf der Backe des Affen. I 10, 11 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 130, 222 — auf der Backe des Fischers (*Xochipilli*). I 136 — auf dem Lätzchen *Xochipilli*'s als Feuergott. I 305 — auf dem Gesichte und (zweimal) auf der Enagua der Maisgöttin des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — einer *Xochiquetzal*-Figur im Henkelkruge beim Regengotte des Westens. I 352 — Mantelmuster. I 135 — vgl. viereckiges gelbes Feld. — auf dem Aschenwirbel. II 34 — Homologon des *tonallo-* oder Sonnenemblems (*Macuilxochitl*'s). II 268, 270 — s. *naui olin*.

tlapapalquachtli, bunte Baumwollstoffe aus huaxtekischem und totonakischem Gebiet. I 164.

tlapcopa, Gegend des Hellwerdens, Osten; durch *Tonatiuh* bezeichnet. II 108, 109 — durch *Itztli* und *Tonatiuh* I 237 — durch *Xiuhtecutli* und *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 238 — durch den Priester *Quetzalcouatl*. I 19 — durch den Fledermausgott. II 60. — durch die grüne Federschlange und *Tlaloc*. II 299, 300, 302 — durch den weissen Hirsch. I 299 — seine Jahre fruchtbare. I 345 — Gegend der Fülle. I 19 — Gegend der Seele des toten Kriegers. I 92.

tlapechtli, Holzgestell. Opfergabe bei der ersten Tagstunde. II 182.

tlapiani, „Hüter". I 235.

tlapitzalli, Flöte. Musik, toltekischer Kulturbesitz. I 89.

tlapopochuilli, Räucherwerk, dem Sonnengotte dargebracht. I 224 — durch die zweiköpfige Schlange veranschaulicht. II 229, 234 — Räucherwerk, das Feuer desselben bezeichnet der weisse Hirsch des Ostens. I 300, 301 — bezeichnet Lebensmittelfülle. I 301; II 234 — braune schäumende Masse, in einer Schale, beim ersten der Götterpaare (Osten). II 171.

tlapotonilli, „Federbeklebung" der weissen *Tlaçolteotl* der Mitte. II 84.

tlapoyaua, Abenddunkel, durch eine halbe Sonnenscheibe und das Bild der Nacht veranschaulicht; bezeichnet die Nachtstunde. I 251, 348; II 23, 178 ff., 205 — bei *Iztac Mixcouatl* angegeben. II 205 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. II 23, 214, 246 — bei *Xochipilli* und dem Dämon des Westens. II 64 — bei *Mayauel*. II 235 — bei den Pulquegöttern. I 251, 348; II 23, 85, 173, 214, 246 — bei einzelnen der 25 Götterpaare im Codex Borgia (dem 2., 8., 10., 12., 14., 20., 22., 24., 26.). II 178 — s. zwölf Götterpaare. — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. II 214, 246 — auf mexikanischen Monumenten. II 23 — ist das *Tlillan-Tlapallan*, der Nord-Südpfeiler des Abendhimmels. II 23 — Zeichen des Mondes. II 173, 235, 246 — s. Scheide von Tag und Nacht.

Tlappaneca, „Rotleute" = *Yopi*. I 167, 177 — s. *Totec Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*.

Tlappapalo, „die mit dem rothen Schmetterling"; Name der *Chantico* als Feuergöttin. II 273, 276.

tlaquatzin, Beutelratte; erleichtert die Geburt. II 186 — Fellstreifen an den Handgelenkbändern der *Quaxolotl*, die Zwillinge geboren hat. II 186 — s. Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze.

tlaquauaya, „es ist hart (reif) geworden", der Mais; Ausdruck im Liede an *Xipe*. I 169.

tlaquechcotonaliztli, Opfer (einer Wachtel, s. *çolin*) durch Abreissen des Kopfes. II 290, 291 — Anspielung auf den „geköpften" Mond. II 290, 291.

tlaquechpanyotl, Hinterhauptsschleife der Regengötter, bei *Cintcotl* angegeben. I 224, 242 — beim Pulquegotte. II 245.

tlaquetzalpatia, „es hat sich in Quetzalfedern gewandelt, ist grün geworden", Metapher im Liede an *Xipe*. I 168, 180; II 259.

tlaquimilolli nexquimilli, „das Deckenbündel (s *ayatl*), das Aschenpacket", auf der Plattform des Tempels der Nacht zwischen *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*. II 33 - 34 — vom weiter wandernden *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem Rücken getragen. II 33.

tlatataquiliztli, Graben; die *Cuiacouatl* mit *chicauaztli*, *uitztli*, *malinalli* auf dem *teomilli*. II 128.

tlatecquê, Steinschneider, Juwelicre; aus *Xochimilco* stammend; ihre Göttin *Chantico*, *Chicunaui itzcuintli*, *Papaloxaual*, II 273 — ihr Gott *Naualpilli*. I 140; II 273.

Tlatelolco, Schwesterstadt von México, Kaufleute erschliessen *Ayotlan*, die pazifische Küste und bringen von dort das *quetzalpatzactli*. II 256 — reisende Kaufleute und Karawanenführer von dort verehren besonders *Yacatecutli*. I 334.

tlatepotzca, die hinter (den Bergen), *Tlaxcalteca*, *Choloteca* und Nachbarn; verehren *Quetzalcouatl*. I 83

tlatlacolli, Sünde, Verschuldung. II 252.

tlatlapitzalizpan, Zeit, wo man die Muschelhörner bläst = Mitternacht *(youalnepantla)*. II 193, 289.

tlatlatiliztli, Verbrennung; Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel beim Zeichen *maçatl*. I 34, 35 — im zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertel beim Zeichen *miquiztli*. I 54 — bei *Mictlantecùtli* und dem Zeichen *itzcuintli* dargestellt. I 129.

tlatlatilquauhquetzalli, Brennholzbündel; Feueropfer bei den neun Herren der Nacht. I 219 — bei dem Götterpaare, das die neunte Tagstunde und den Norden bezeichnet. II 199 — Zeichen der Leichenverbrennung. I 46 — sonstiges Vorkommen: I 35, 36, 46, 64, 68, 69, 73, 106, 129 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* der zehnten Tagstunde. II 200 — der zehnten Tagstunde. II 201.

tlatlatlaqualiztli, Nähren der Götter mit Blut, durch säugende Göttinnen veranschaulicht. ? s. I 240, 241.

Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl, „der rothe Maisgott", in México im Tempel *Xochicalco* zusammen mit der *Atlatonan* verehrt. I 135, 136 — = *Xochipilli*. I 135, 136, 292; II 297.

tlatlauhqui Tepeyollotli. II 21, 26.

Tlatlauhqui tezcatl, „der rothe Spiegel", rother Gott der *Yopi* = *Xipe Totec*. I 148.

Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca. I 21 — = Gott der Wollust, *Macuilxochitl*, *Auiateotl*. I 124 — die aufgehende Sonne (s. *Macuilxochitl*, *Xochipilli*). I 148 — gegenüber dem schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca*, als wandernder Kaufmann, bezeichnet das Südland *Anauatl*. I 292—294 — der rothe *Tezcatlipoca*, dem schwarzen gegenüber auf dem Ballspielplatze, dem Nordhimmel. I 288 - 292 — für den schwarzen *Tezcatlipoca* als Regent des zweiten Tonalamatl-Viertels eintretend. I 21 — der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber, die zweite Nachtstunde und den Osten bezeichnend. II 182—183 — den rothen Erdgott *Xipe Totec* und den Gott der *Yopi* darstellend. I 43, 167, 177, 180; II 254, 257 — als solcher das fünfzehnte Tageszeichen *quauhtli*. I 43, 166, 167, 180 — und den vierzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnitt *(ce itzcuintli)* regierend. II 253—257 — ist der *Uitznauac yaotl*, der *uitznauacatl* „der Krieger im Süden". II 23 — Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46 — Zeuge der Geburt der Sonne über dem Ostmeere. II 48 — begleitet den auf dem anderen Wege wandernden toten *Quetzalcouatl* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 49 — mit dem *yayauhqui T.* zum Kriegertanz *(necocololo)* antretend. II 71 — vierter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163 — veranschaulicht das Heer der Sterne des Südens. II 164 — toter; seine Maske auf einem Leichenbündel über dem Rachen einer Erdkröte. II 165.

Tlatlayan, Ort des Verbrennens; Ort, wo *Quetzalcouatl* den Scheiterhaufen besteigt. I 85; II 1, 6, 14, 15, 238, 291 — = *Coatzacualco*. I 85 — Synonym dafür *Tlillan Tlapallan* (s. dieses). II 24, 238, 291 — Reich der Morgen- und Abendröthe, Reich des Feuergottes. II 24 — Osten, wo die junge Sonne aufgeht. Dies bildet den Kern der *Nanauatzin*-Legende als Naturmythus. II 53 — Osten, Region des Sonnenaufganges. II 102 — angedeutet durch Steinmesser und Feuerzungen. II 299, 300.

tlàtocayotl, Königthum; durch *teoicpalli* veranschaulicht, beim Feuergotte dargestellt. II 238 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen in der vierten Periode, dem Norden. II 150—151, 152, 154, 155, 157.

tlatocayotl, bei der vierten Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift durch das Sonnentier (Schildkröte) bezeichnet. II 154 — s. *petlatl-icpalli*. — s. *ah pop*, *ah cam*.

tlatoque, „Fürsten". I 154.

tlàtouani, „der Sprecher", König eines Landes. I 165. — durch zwei Hauchwolken vor dem Munde angedeutet, die Zeichen der Rede; bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 151.

tlatzontectli, Speer, an der Spitze mit Einschnitten. II 308.

tlauanani, der Trinker; bei der *Mayauel* dargestellt. II 235.

tlauauanaliztli, „das Streifen", erste Phase des Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 171, 172, 174 — Nachbildung der Ackerbestellung. I 174.

tlauauantli, Mensch in Opfertracht, bezeichnet die sechste Tagstunde. II 296 — weiss und roth gestreift, Farbe des Steins auf der Plattform des Tempels des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange; darauf liegt *Xipe Totec*. II 18.

tlauhquechol, rother Löffelreiher Platalea ajaja L.; liefert die Federn für den Schmuck *Xipe*'s. I 167, 179, 271 — einer der *tlaçototome*. II 3 — s. hellrosa-roth. — seine Farben weiss und roth. 253, 256.

tlauhquecholpatzactli, kammartiger Schmuck bei *Xipe Totec*. II 256.

tlauhquecholtzontli, Federkrone *Xipe*'s. I 271, 330; II 257.

tlauhteuilacachiuhqui chimalli, Schild mit rothen Ringen, Schild *Xipe*'s. II 257.

tlauitequiliztli, „Blitz". I 187 — Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 29, 30 — in der Hand des aus dem Wasser geborenen *Xolotl*. I 197; II 52, 53 — in der Hand *Tlaloc*'s. I 16, 345, 349; II 37 — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s (als Feuergott). I 303 — Form des Blitzes haben die *xonecuilli*-Brote, die Opfer für die Regen- und Berggötter. II 262 — beim *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* dargestellt. I 293 — deutet die gewitterreiche Tierra caliente an. I 294 — verbrennt die Maispflanzen auf dem Felde bei *Tlaloc*. I 295 — in der Hand fünf verschiedenfarbiger Figuren, die aus einem Kautschukballe hervorkommen; den Aufgang des Planeten Venus andeutend. II 27.

tlauitequini, „der Schlagende", ist *Xolotl (Nanauatl)*, der Blitz. II 42.

tlauizcalli, „Haus der Röthe". I 245 (Morgen). — die Morgenröthe. II 87.

Tlauizcalpantecùtli, der Herr in dem Hause des Hellwerdens; Gott des Planeten Venus, des Abend- und Morgensterns. Aussehen und Tracht. I 245, 253—259 — zwei verschiedene Gesichtsbemalungen; als Morgenstern. I 254, 255 — Gesichtsbemalung: schwarze Grube um die Augen, s. *mixtetlil-comolo*. I 62 — die Sterngesichtsbemalung, s. *mixcitlalluiticac*. — s. *tlayoalli*. — diese trägt auch *Mixcouatl*, der Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd. I 254; II 146 — und als Abendstern, mit dem Quincunx, der Hieroglyphe des Planeten Venus. I 255, 286, 296, 352; II 1, 21, 44, 64 — schiessender Gott. I 263, 329; II 143—157 (besonders 148) — wirft in den fünf Venusperioden seinen Speer immer auf die in der entgegengesetzten Himmelsrichtung mächtige Gestalt (im Codex Borgia). II 155 — mit einem Schädel. I 255, 286; II 71, 139 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186; II 20 — Himmels-

träger des Westens. II 129 — für *Xochipilli* eintretend, gegenüber dem Dämon des Westens. II 64 — ihm wird ein Bein vom *acipactli* abgerissen, entsprechend *Xochipilli*. II 64 — vierter der fünf Hüter der zweiten Venusperiode, dem Osten entsprechend. I 253 bis 259 — Repräsentant der 13 × 5 Venusperioden. I 255, 263; II 139–157 — als Holzhauer, bezeichnet das Westland. I 296 — als solcher = *Tepeyollotli*. I 296 oder = *Xipe Totec*. I 296 — gegenüber *Xiuhtecutli*, dem Regenten des neunten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce cuatl*) I 254, 257, 263, 264; II 70, 238–239 — gegenüber *Quetzalcouatl*, auf einer Tempelplattform vor einem *tzompantli* adorirend. I 286 — grüner (dunkler), Priester des Todesgottes. II 21 — in der Cella des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 21 — bezeichnet die Region des Morgensterns, den Osthimmel. I 286 — als solcher erscheint der Regengott des Westens. I 351, 352 — einer der sechs Himmelswanderer. I 302 — schiessender Gott. I 329; II 129, 143–157 — seine Strahlen galten als unheilvoll und schädlich. I 330 — wird vom Sonnengotte in das Meer des Westens geworfen. II 145 — in den Gott der Kälte verwandelt. II 247 — ist der Gott der Kälte, *Cetl* (s. *citli*). II 145, 247 — ident mit *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 145, 247 — Sohn der *Tetcoinnan*, des Mondes. II 145 — Name *Quetzalcouatl's*. II 7, 238, 291 — als Abendstern, Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46 — führt Mais aus einem *quauhxicalli* zum Munde. II 57 — Repräsentant der Krieger und des Kriegertodes. II 238, 239 — bewohnt den zwölften der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 298 — bezeichnet die zwölfte Tagstunde. II 298 — s. *quetzaltototl*. — seine Verkleidung ein weisser Kolibri, Vogel der ersten Tagstunde. II 295 — Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des dritten Paares der vier Lichtgötter (Westen). II 306, 307 — s. *matlactli omei itzcuintli*. — s. *ome acatl*. — s. *Macuilxochitl* in Jaguarmaske. — s. *Tabatzi* (Cora). — s. *ce acatl*.

tlauiztli, „Kriegerabzeichen, Federdevisen". II 88.

tlaxapochtli, Pflaster, runde Scheibe aus Kautschuk, auf der Backe der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163, 173 — auf der des Sonnengottes (rothe Scheibe). II 47, 109, 131 — der *Xochiquetzal*. I 40, 279 — *Vitzilopochtli's*, des Himmelsträgers des Südens. II 130, 131 — grün bei *Tlaloc*. I 111 — Symbol der Weiblichkeit. I 48, 55, 163, 173 — s. *tzoaztli*. — bei *Itzpapalotl*. I 163, 181, 182; II 262 — bei der Erdkröte. I 163 — erinnert an den *temalacatl* des Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 173 — weiss, auf der Wange der die Einzäunung bildenden Todesgöttin. II 2.

Tlaxcallan, Landschaft; Geschichtsschreiber von —, s. Camargo. — zornig umher laufendes *Xipe*-Abbild, s. *Ixcuinan*. — Gott von —, ist *Camaxtli* (= *Mixcouatl*). I 260; II 215 — s. *Uexotzinco*.

Tlaxcalteca = *Teochichimeca*. I 185 — bei ihnen besonders Kinderopfer. I 208 — ihr Fest *Quecholli*. I 209, 210.

tlayoalli, „Finsterniss", Name der Sterngesichtsbemalung *Tlahuizcalpantecutli's*, *Mixcouatl's*, *Painal's*, *Atlaua's*. II 238.

tlecuilixquac, „vor dem Herde". I 115.

tlecuilli, Feuer-Räuchergefäss; unbemalte Zackengefässe. I 223, 224, 234, 285, 301 — Begleitbild im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 59; im vierten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 74 — im Tempel des Sonnengottes. I 223, 224 — bei den vier Federschlangen. II 299–303 — mit Brennholz und *mianayotl* beim *Amateotl* in der Federschlange des Südens. II 302 — mit *mianayotl* beim Sonnengotte. II 306 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 307 — mit einem Feueropfer; an ihr herabhängend eine mit Flammenzungen besetzte Schlange; beim rothen Skelette des Nordens. II 307 — mit einem Feueropfer, *malinalli*-Busch und an der Wand herabhängender rother Schlange, beim *malinalli*-Skelette. II 308 — vor dem Tempel des Westens. II 111 — vor dem Sonnengotte. I 285 — zwischen *Xipe Totec* und *Xiuhtecutli*. II 289 — s. *tlequaztli*. — im *Tlillan* bei *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — weisse, Dekoration am Thürpfosten der Cella des Tempels des Westens. II 112 — vor *Mictlantecutli*, Nordhimmelträger. II 132 — im Tempel *Tepeyollotli's*. I 234 — vor der *Chautico*. — vor den fünf *Cinateteô* und den fünf Südgöttern. II 93, 98 — bei dem Mondgotte dargestellt. I 106 — vierkantig, weiss, mit einer Schaumkante, zusammen mit *oltelolotli*, *omitl-uitztli* und *acxoyatl*, beim Gotte des Südens. I 339 — haben häufig eine Edelsteinscheibe mit Edelsteinband auf dem „Bauche". I 301 — bezeichnen Lebensmittelfülle. I 301 — bei den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen. II 306 — kopfüber in dieses stürzender Mensch, beim siebenten Tageszeichen *maçatl* dargestellt. I 304 — ihm entspricht vielleicht ein rother Arara *(alo)*. I 304 — tiefschwarz, mit weisser Schaumkante zusammen mit *oltelolotli*, bei der *Tlaçolteotl* dargestellt. I 307 — mit *oltelolotli*, Determinativ des Gottes des Südens. I 307 — vor dem Tempel des Nordens (Codex Bologna). II 110 — vor dem Tempel des Südens im Codex Bologna. II 114 — mit *omitluitztli*, beim Gotte des Südens. I 339 — bei *Quetzalcouatl*. II 301.

tlemaitl, Räucherlöffel, in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal*. II 199 des Sonnengottes *Tonatiuh*. I 285; II 109 — in der Hand der acht Räucherpriester gegenüber den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen. II 305 — in der Hand der Göttin bei der eilften Tagstunde. II 202 — in der Hand *Tezcatlipoca-itztlacoliuhqui's*. II 111 — *Cinteotl's*. II 111 — in der Hand des schwarzen Todesgottes (Codex Bologna). II 111.

tlemamali, „Feuer bohren, quirlen". — s. *tlemamaliliztli*, *tlemamalini*.

tlemamaliliztli, „Feuerbohren", im Steinmesser, Determinativ der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens. II 79 — durch vier Feuerreiber dargestellt. II 118–120.

tlemamalini, Feuerquirler, für *Xiuhtecutli* eintretend. I 43 — *Tezcatlipoca*. I 43, 146; II 118 — Feuerquirlender Priester, am Herzen (*chalchiuitl*) der *Tetcoinnan*. II 18, 21 — am Herzen *(tezcatl)* *Tonacatecutli's*. II 28 — am Herzen der Erdgöttin in der Mitte der Unterwelt, *Quetzalcouatl*. II 74 — *Mixcouatl* (Gott des Nordens). I 43, 107; II 68, 118 — s. vier Feuerbohrer. — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Süd-Feuerreiber.

tlemamacac, der Räucherpriester unter den Göttern, der Gott des Südens. I 339 — den vier Lichtgöttern und ihren Erscheinungsformen gegenüber. II 305 - Räucherpriester; trägt die Räuchertasche *ocelogataztli cucchchô*, aus Jaguarfussfell. II 232 — s. *Tlillan tlemamacac*.

tlepapalotl, Feuerschmetterling, Flamme, Feuer. I 43, 106 II 195, 196, 276 — am Ende des *tlachinolli*-Symbols, s. *atl-tlachinolli*. — bei *Tecciztecatl* und *Tonatiuh*. I 106; II 228 — s. *tlexochtli* (I 43).

tlepapalotlauiztli, Kriegerdevise, Tribut der *Chinampaneca*. II 276 — s. Kriegerdevisen.

tlequauitl, Feuerbohrer; für *Xiuhtecutli* eintretend. I 43 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Nordens angegeben. II 79, 80 — im Tempel der Quetzalfederschlange. II 39.

tlequaztli, „Feuerherd", roth, von einem Feuerschlangenviereck gebildet, darin *Quetzalcouatl* im Kochtopfe verbrennend. II 74, 75.

tlequiauilli = *quiauhtonatiuh*. I 126.

tlequiauitl, Feuerregen, endet die Zeit des *quiauhtonatiuh*. I 23, 203 — durch *Tlaloc* veranschaulicht. I 23, 107, 111, 249, 250, 330 — durch *Tonatiuh*. I 203; II 277 — s. *quiauitl* — s. *teçoutli*, *xaltetl*. — Gott des Feuerregens, der rothe *Chac* der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335.

tletl, Feuer, Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen ge-

ordneten Tonalamatl. I 34, 35 — durch einem Hirschkopf veranschaulicht. I 35 — durch einen Hund. I 35 — bei *Tlaloc* angegeben. I 112 — bei *Tonacatecutli*. II 212 — Ideenverbindung mit *cuitlatl*. I 35 — s. *cuitlatl*. — durch ein brennendes Haus ausgedrückt, s. brennendes Haus.

tlexochtli, Flamme, vor dem Munde des Sonnengottes. II 244 — Synonym für *tlepapalotl*. I 43; II 195, 196

tlilatl, Flüssigkeit mit Augen besetzt, in einem Krügchen beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — s. schwarze Flüssigkeit.

Tlilhua, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

Tlillan, Haus der Dunkelheit, das Erdinnere. I 296 299; II 274, 276 — Haus der *Chantico*. I 118 Anm. 4; II 274, 276 — Haus des Dunkels, Erde, Nacht, uralte Zeit. I 220 — Tempel des Mondes, bei der *Itzpapalotl*. II 263.

Tlillan tlapallan, Land der schwarzen und rothen Farbe; Land der Schrift; das im Osten gelegene Land, wohin die Tolteken wandern und wo *Quetzalcouatl* stirbt. I 85, 89; II 1, 6, 14, 213, 214, 238, 291 — Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 21 — Nord-Südpfeiler des Abendhimmels. II 22, 23 — *tlapoyaua*. II 23 — Nordpfeiler-Südpfeiler des Osthimmels II 48, 291 — Gegensätzlichkeit der Nord- und Südregion (schwarzer und rother Streifen). II 106, 107 — bezeichnet den Westen, den Abendhimmel. II 24 — Synonym dafür *Tlatlayan* (s. dieses). II 24, 238, 291 — der Osten, wo die junge Sonne aufgeht. Dies bildet den Kern der *Nanauatzin*-Legende als Naturmythus. II 53 — Vertreter des — sind die sich (für die Sonne) opfernden Götter *Titlacahuan*, *Uitzilopochtli*, *Xochiquetzal*, *Yapalli icue* — *Nochpalli icue*. II 145.

Tlillan tlenamacac, Räucherpriester des Tempels *Tlillan*, opfert am *Tititl*-Fest einen Gefangenen auf dem Tempel *Tlalxicco* (s. dort). II 276

tlilli tlapalli, schwarze und rothe Farbe, die Schrift. I 89.

tloquê nauaquê, Herr des An und des Bei, der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft, der Mitte; der Feuergott. I 118; II 169 - *Tonacatecutli*. I 78, 79; II 206 — *Iztac Mixcouatl*. II 206 — so *Tezcatlipoca* im Gebet angerufen. II 169.

tlòtli, Falke, Sperber. I 12 — Götterbote. II 144, 145.

tocatl, Spinne; bezeichnet die Richtung nach unten. II 20 — bezeichnet die Gegend des rothen *Tezcatlipoca*. I 124 — s. Spinne.

toctli, Maisstaude; vor dem Maisgotte. II 173 — vor dem Regengotte des Ostens und Nordens. I 345, 346 — in der Hand der *Tlaloc*-Figuren, die die Himmelsrichtungen bezeichnen. I 345–348 — Maispflanze, mit der rothen Schlange Abbilder *Xochipilli*'s, bei dem zwanzigsten Tageszeichen *xochitl* dargestellt. I 308.

Toci, unsere Grossmutter; Name der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 153, 154; II 18, 52, 78 — Göttin des vollen Mondes. II 18 — ihr Sohn *Cinteotl*. I 154.

Toçititlan, Tempel der *Tlaçolteotl*, nur aus einem Balkengerüste bestehend. I 160 — befand sich ausserhalb des Weichbildes der Stadt México. I 162.

Toçolotlan, früherer Name der Vera Paz. I 95.

toçouani, der Wachende = sich erhebende Maispflanze. I 33.

toçoztli, „das Erwachen" der Saat, Fest der Aussaat. I 139.

toçoztontli, ueitoçoztli, das kleine und das grosse Wachen, das Fest der Maisgöttin. I 33.

tochtli, Kaninchen; Thier der Erde; bezeichnet die Erde, Feldarbeit. I 36, 37, 113, 138, 304 — die Pulquegötter, s. *Centzontotochtin*. I 36, 44, 113, 304 — im Rachen der Federschlange, bei *Xipe*. I 180, 296; II 64 — beim Pulquetopfe (*octecomatl*) dargestellt. I 307 — glückliches Zeichen, bedeutet Ueberfluss an Lebensmitteln. I 138 — fruchtbares Thier. I 138 — im Rachen der Himmelsschlange, vom Adler gepackt, bedeutet den Mond. II 64—65, 68, 259 — s. *cuetzpalin*. — damit schlugen die Götter dem Monde ins Gesicht, um seinen ursprünglich der Sonne gleichen Glanz zu verdunkeln. II 228 — in dunklem Felde, von zwölf Zahlkreisen umgeben, zwischen *Teccisztecatl* und *Tonatiuh*, bezeichnet die zwölf synodischen Monate eines Jahres. II 228 — = Mann im Monde (s. *metztli*). I 94, 104, 140; II 64, 228, 291 — trägt den Mond. I 107; II 20, 164, 309 — achtes Tageszeichen. I 8, 36, 55, 70, 113–115, 231, 304 — seine Regentin *Mayauel*. I 113—115, 304 — bei diesem Tageszeichen *Xipe Totec* dargestellt. I 304, 305 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 311, 313 — Anfangszeichen des vierten der vier Jahre. I 342 bis 344 — in seiner Maske der Planet Venus, in der vierten Periode. II 139, 140 — vor einer Kiste, bei der ersten Nachtstunde und unteren Region. II 181.

***tochtli*-Jahre** (Süd-Jahre), Regengott des Südens, Jahre, wo der Mais krank ist und von Mäusen gefressen wird. I 346, 347; II 123 — ihr letzter Tag *macuilli malinalli*. II 123 — der *Nanauatzin* dieses Namens Bringer der *acatl*-Jahre. II 123.

Tod, s. *miquiztli*. — in der Nacht verkörpert. I 205 — Strafe für die Sünde. I 231, 238 — gewaltsamer, Tod im Kriege, auf dem Opfersteine. I 297, 298 — durch Zauberei, durch den Truthahn (*chalchiuhtotolin*) bezeichnet. I 298.

Tod des Pulquegottes = Schlaf. I 138.

Todesfahnen, weisse Papierfahnen. II 3.

Todesgott, s. *Mictlantecutli*. — s. Gott des Bluts. — der Maya-Handschriften. I 226 — Maya-Hieroglyphe: Schädel mit Steinmesser an der Nase. I 311, 318 — der Maya-Handschriften, ihm entspricht beim Tageszeichen *caban* (mex. *olin*) die *Tlaçolteotl*. I 318 — Maya-Begleithieroglyphe ein ausgerissenes Auge. I 317 — sein Priester s. schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*. — s. grüner (dunkler) *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. — s. *Tepeyollotli*. — s. schwarzer Todesgott. — roth mit gelben Flecken, männlicher Theil des kopulirenden Südpaares. II 120 — Opfergaben darbringend vor dem Tempel des Südens. II 115.

Todesgöttin, begrifflich mit der Erdgöttin zusammengehend; ihr Leib bildet Einzäunungen. II 2 — ihr Mund bildet den Eingang in die Erde. II 2 — schwarze und rothe, mit zwei Maiskolben und einer Maisblüthe, in Schalen liegend, Chicha andeutend. II 8 — s. *Mictecaciuatl*. — mit Steinmesserhelmmaske, nackt und gelb, weiblicher Theil des kopulierenden Südpaares. II 120.

Todesstrafe, vom Richter verhängte Strafe, durch das Beil (*itztopolli*) angedeutet. I 297.

Todessymbole, s. dunkles mit Augen besetztes Haupthaar, *Cuexcochtechimalli*, Papierfähnchen mit flatternden Bändern. (II 60).

Tod im Kriege, s. *yaomiquiztli*.

Todgeburt (Tod) = Heranbringen eines gebundenen Skelets. I 63.

Tollan, prähistorisches Kulturzentrum; Karyatiden von dort. I 85, 185 — s. *Tolteca*, *Quetzalcouatl*. — Sage einer vierjährigen Hungersnoth dort. I 95 — dort angerufene Götter, die Götter der Geburt, die Ur- und Zeugungsgötter. II 1 — „Binsenstadt", Reich des Segens und der Kultur. II 1, 213 — die von *Uitzilopochtli* hervorgezauberte spiegelnde Seefläche. II 31 — s. *Colhuacan*. — viele unheilvolle Vorzeichen dort im Jahre *chicuey tochtli* (= 1064 p. Chr.) beobachtet. I 172 — Herrschaft dort nach Geburt der gegenwärtigen Sonne von *Mixcoamaçatzin* begründet. II 164 — s. *Tullan*.

Tolteca, mythisches Kulturvolk. I 83, 85 — mythische = *tlamatinimê amoxuaquê*. I 185 — s. *tlamatinimê amoxuaquê*. — ihr Gott *Quetzalcouatl*. I 83, 85 — historische; Bewohner von *Xocotitlan* und *Tollan*. I 185 — ihre Kultur hat reale geschichtliche Bedeutung. Erben derselben die *Mexica*. II 131 — ihr nahestehend die Bilderschriften der Codex

Borgia-Gruppe. II 131 — wandern nach Osten aus (*tonatiuh iixco*), nach der atlantischen Golfküste (s. *Olman, Tlillan tlapallan*). II 214.

Toltecatl, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

Tolteke, als solcher erscheint *Xipe* (*xipilê*), der Mondgott. II 262.

Tolteken, s. *Tolteca.*

Toltekenherrschaft, nach den Kalenderbüchern der vier alten Weisen bestimmt. I 185 — von *Mixcoamaçatzin* nach Geburt der gegenwärtigen Sonne in *Tollan* begründet. II 164.

toltekischer Stamm, in *Michoacan* angesiedelt: seine Wanderung. II 269, 270.

Tomixauh, Pulquegott. I 140 — s. *Ome tochtli Tomixauh.*

tonaca („unser Fleisch"), in Hieroglyphen = Mais (*cintli*) I 79.

tonacacalli, „Haus der Lebensmittel" (s. *tonacayo tlalpan*). — Tempel des Westens. II 113.

Tonacaciuatl, Gemahlin *Tonacatecutli*'s = *Xochiquetzal* (die erste Tagstunde und die obere Region bezeichnend). I 208 — entspricht der *Xochiquetzal*. I 81, 208; II 171. 182, 187, 188, 191, 213, 281, 298 — = *Omeciuatl*. I 55; II 179 — unter einer blauen, bezw. grünen Decke rechts neben den Dächern des Hauses der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 27 — bezeichnet das *Tamoanchan*. II 27.

tonacamecatl, „Lebensmittel- oder Maisseil" beim Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 172, 173.

tonacapiaztli, „Lebensmittelrohr". I 206; II 115, 116 — ist die Sonne. II 115, 116.

Tonacatecutli, „Herr unseres Fleisches"; Schöpfergott, Herr der Zeugung, Gott der Lebensmittel; erster Mensch; Gott der Urzeit. I 77–82, 207 — eine besondere Form des Feuergottes. I 116, 117 — im obersten Himmel wohnend *Citlallatonac, Ometecutli*. I 55, 79; II 20, 179, 191 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 77—78 — Regent des ersten Tageszeichens *cipactli*. I 77 — des ersten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*cc cipactli*). II 169, 211–213 — die vierte Tagstunde und den Westen bezeichnend. II 187–188 — = Milchstrasse. I 79 — Erzeugniss philosophischer Spekulation. I 80 — von *Quetzalcouatl* verehrt. I 80 — Gott der Urzeit. I 80 — = *Xochipilli*. I 82, 98 — Vater von *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*, die den Himmel wieder aufrichten. I 150 — Herr der Geburt, Mondgott. II 28 — als *Chalchiuhtlatonac* gedacht in Kopulation mit *Tonacaciuatl* als *Chalchiuhtlicue*. II 44 bis 45 — männlicher Gott des Westens; auf ihm Feuer gebohrt, neben der Dachspitze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 27, 28 — in *cipactli*-Hülle und *mamaçoulticac* neben dem Tempel der Nacht, bedeutet dessen *qauhxicalli*. II 28—30 — weisshaariger, im Gesichte mit eingesetztem *cipactli*-Rachen. II 46 — mit grosser rother Scheibe, Mondgott. II 30 — = Gott mit dem *kau*-Zeichen. I 215 — vertritt den Maisgott *Cintcotl*. II 156 — vertreten durch den Sonnengott, dem ersten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158 — durch *Tlacaocelotl*. II 191 — sein Symbol das *Yetecomatl* im Tempel des Westens. II 113, 114 — verwandelt die *Chantico* in einen Hund. II 273 280.

Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl, altes Ehepaar. II 41 — ihre Wohnstätte im Norden auf dem gespaltenen Berge (Eingang zur Unterwelt). II 102 — erstes der sechs Götterpaare, den Osten bezeichnend. II 170—172, 177 — Erzeuger des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl*. II 171 — s. *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*. — = *Iztac Mixcouatl* und *Itancuèyê* (*Ometecutli-Omeciuatl*), dreizehntes Götterpaar, im dreizehnten Himmel (s. dort) wohnend. II 179, 206 — bewohnen den siebenten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292 — s. *Xochipilli-Cintcotl*. — s. Sonne in Vogelgestalt (*quetzalcoxcoxtli*). — bezeichnet den Westen und die vierte Tagstunde. II 187—188 — = Himmel und Erde. II 206.

Tonacatepetl, „Berg der Lebensmittel", von *Nanauatl* zerschlagen. II 97.

tonacayo, „Mais", Symbol dafür die Tabakkalebasse (s. *yetecomatl*). II 173.

tonacayo tlalpan, s. *tonacacalli.*

tonacayotl, „unser Fleisch, Leib", Lebensmittel, Mais. I 207; II 191 — daraus das Fleisch des Menschen geschaffen. I 79 — ist von der Sonne erzeugt. I 205, 207.

Tonalamatl, Kalender der Mexikaner, Schicksalsbuch, Wahrsagebuch; seine Grösse und Ursprung. I 2, 4, 16, 17, 153, 341, 342 — von den vier alten Weisen in *Tamoanchan* geschaffen. I 185 — von *Quetzalcouatl* erfunden. I 85 — beliebteste Form. II 208 — erhaltene Rezensionen. II 208 — das in zwanzig dreizehntägige Abschnitte geordnete und seine Gottheiten. I 16; II 208–289 — das in fünfgliedrige Säulen nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen geordnete und seine Begleitbilder. I 4—75 (s. besonders S. 17, 18), 343; II 50, 76, 85, 103 — fünfgliedriges; je einem Viertel desselben entsprechend die vier Lichtgötter und ihre Erscheinungsformen. II 305—310 — von seinem Anfange aus die Venusperioden gezählt. II 138 — als erster Tag wurde zu irgend einer Zeit einmal der Tag, wo der Planet Venus die Stellung einnahm, die man als den Anfangspunkt seiner Laufbahn beobachtete, gewählt. II 138 — seine Konstruktion durch die Venusperiode bedingt. I 17, 239, 341; II 138, 139 — das in viergliedrige Säulen nach den fünf Weltgegenden geordnete. I 17 — Sonderung in zwei Gruppen von 7×7 und zwei Gruppen von 9×9 Tagen. I 17 — in acht fünfgliedrige Säulen und $6 \times 4 + 2 \times 4$ die Lücken füllende farbige Kreise zerlegt. II 125 — in viergliedrige Säulen angeordnetes. II 4, 5, 46, 47, 57 — $6 \times 7 + 2 \times 5 = 52$, Zahl der der Columnen des in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl's, auf diesen Raum acht Bilder (der sechs Weltgegenden) vertheilt. I 281 — eigenartig zerlegt angegeben bei den sechs Götterpaaren. II 170 — der Aubin'schen Sammlung. I 3, 16, 76 etc; II 208.

Tonalamatl-**Abschnitte,** zwanzig, ihre Anfangstage in bestimmten Gottheiten verkörpert, deren Reihe bis auf eine Stelle der Reihe der zwanzig Tageszeichen-Götter entspricht. II 209–210.

tonaleque, fünf Götter, bewohnen den fünften der dreizehn Himmel. II 292 — vgl. *Tlaçolteotl.* — s. *quaubtli.*

tonalêquê, „die Herren eines Tageszeichens" (*tonalli*) = fünf *Ciuateteô*, Verkörperungen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 294.

tonalli, Sonnenwärme, bezeichnet den Süden. II 93 — s. *chi c'aboxil* (Cakch.) — „Tageszeichen". II 291 — s. *tonalêque.*

tonallo, Sonnenzeichen auf dem Mantel *Macuil xochitl*'s. I 135; II 268 — auf seinem Schild und seiner Fahne. I 135, 272; II 93, 136 — Embleme im Kopfschmucke des rothen *Auiateotl* (*Macuil xochitl*) des Westens im Ms. Mex. No. 20 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). II 103 — auf dem Schilde und der Rückenfahne *Irtlilton*'s und *Macuil cuetzpalin*'s. II 93, 91 (s. Abb. dort), 136 — auf der Rückenfahne *Venecoyotl*'s. II 224 — auf einem schwarzen Stirnfelde; bezeichnet den mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbundenen Menschen (im Codex Vaticanus) als *Xochipilli*. II 136 — ihm entspricht das *tlapapalli*-Zeichen. II 268.

tonallopamitl, Fahne *Macuil xochitl*'s. I 272.

tonalpouhqui, „der die Tageszeichen zählt" = Wahrsager. I 75.

tonametl, der Brennende, Heisse = *tonatiuh*, Sonne. I 166, 224.

tona-meyotl, s. *tonamiotli.*

tona-miotli, (*tona-meyotl*) „Strahl". II 143 — s. *mitl* „Pfeil" (s. *miotli*).

Tonan, „unsere Mutter", s. *Tei tonantzin.*

tonan tota tonatiuh, „unsere Mutter, unser Vater, die Sonne". II 87.

tonan teomechchauê, unsere Mutter, die Göttin mit der Schenkelhautbemalung; = *Tlaçolteotl*. I 157 — s. *tonana teumechaue*.

tonana teumechaue = *Tonan teomechchauê*. I 157.

tonatiuh, Sonne, Sonnengott. I 166 — bezeichnet die Tagstunden. II 180 — Begleitbild im Tonalamatl. I 25, 28 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens angegeben. II 83 — Anssehen und Tracht. I 25, 203 ff. — Repräsentant des Krieges und der Krieger. I 247, 268 — s. auch *Xochipilli*. — seine Gesichtsbemalung bei dem *Xochipilli* des Südens. I 246 — Regent des vierten Tonalamatl-Viertels (*ce xochitl*), der Region des Südens. I 25 — Verkörperung des vom Himmel fallenden Feuers. I 203; II 277, 278 — bei ihm als Regent des neunzehnten Tageszeichens dieselben Begleitbilder wie bei der Feuergöttin *Chantico*, der Regentin des achtzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes. II 278 — dritter der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht, im Osten stehend (s. *Xochipilli-Piltzintecutli*). I 222–221, 237; II 107 — Regent des neunzehnten Tageszeichens *quiauitl*. I 25, 203–208, 212, 277 — gegenüber *Tecciztecatl* im sechsten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte dargestellt. II 225–229 — gegenüber *Mictlantecutli* im zehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. I 205; II 239–244 — fünfter der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, den Norden bezeichnend. I 217 — zweiter der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode. I 268—269 — erster der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 157—158 — bewohnt den vierten der dreizehn Himmel. II 292, 294, 296 — bezeichnet die vierte Tagstunde. II 296 — s. *çolin*. — opfert ein menschliches Herz, mit einem Wurfbrett (*atlatl*) es der Sonnenscheibe in der Cella des Tempels des Ostens (über dem Ostbaume) zuwerfend. II 108 — Brennholzbündel und Kautschukkugel vor dem Sonnengottidol im Tempel des Ostens als Opfer darbringend. II 109 — den Osten bezeichnend. I 237 — die obere Region bezeichnend. I 284–286 — im Jahre dreizehn *acatl* geboren. I 204 — ihr Zeichen der Tag *naui olin*, s. dort — ihr Abbild an diesem Tage geopfert. Abbild der Sonne: Quetzalvogel (?). I 28 — ist der Adler. I 165, 166 — s. Adlerhelmmaske. — s. *quauhtleuanitl*. — zusammen mit dem Monde, dem Morgensterne und den dreizehn Vögeln. II 289 ff. — in einer Sonnenscheibe auf dem *teoicpalli* sitzend. II 289 — Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des ersten Paares der vier Lichtgötter (Osten). II 306 — Abbild der Sonne, die Wachtel (*çolin*). II 295 — s. *Tonan tota*. — s. Sonnengott. — ihm entspricht im Codex Dresdensis *Itzamnà*. I 215, 217.

tonatiuh ichan, „Haus der Sonne"; der Himmel, wohin die geopferten Krieger und die im Kindbett gestorbenen Frauen kommen, s. *ilhuicac yauh* und *mocinaquetzqui* I 156, 200; II 70, 87, 155, 219, 238, 239, 289, 290, 291 — Osten; eine der vier Höhlen der vier unterirdischen Regionen. II 56.

tonatiuh iixco, im Angesichte der Sonne; Richtung nach Osten; Ziel der Tolteken-Wanderung (s. *Quetzalcouatl*). I 85, 185; II 1, 23, 132 — s. *teotl iixco*.

tonatiuh iixco yaquê = Tolteken. — Seelen der im Kriege gefallenen, der auf dem Opfersteine geschlachteten Krieger. I 286; II 71 — neun Abbilder als Abbilder des Morgensterns. II 72.

tonatiuh iixco yaqui, nach Osten wandernd, *Quetzalcouatl*. II 132.

tonatiuh iixco yauh, s. *ilhuicac yauh*. — geopferter Krieger durch zwei nach oben gehende Fussspuren über gekreuzten Totenknochen angedeutet, bei der eilften Tagstunde (Süden). II 203.

tonatiuh ilhuicac yaquê, Seelen der geopferten Krieger. I 263, 348; II 86.

tonatiuh ilhuicac yauh, bezeichnet die sechste Tagstunde. II 296 — s. *tecolotl*. — s. *Teoyaomiqui*.

tonatiuh qualo, Sonnenfinsterniss = vom Jaguar gefressen worden. I 92, 186, 208 — in ihr erscheinen die *Tzitzimimê*. I 186; II 22, 117, 127 — der Sonne Zwerge geopfert. I 194, 208 — der Sonne Blonde, Albinos, Bucklige geopfert. I 208.

tonòami (Huichol), „der Sänger", der Morgenstern, Stern im Osten. II 127.

Tonsur, auf dem Scheitel. I 177.

Topf, mit schäumendem Getränke. I 36, 38, 114 — mit zerbrochenem Boden und herauskommendem Blute, von der *Chalchiuhtlicue* getragen. I 287 — mit zerbrochenem Boden und herauskommendem Wasser, Rückendevise des Kriegers. I 287 — mit zerbrochenem Boden und herauskommendem Blute und schnorenden menschlichen Gliedern, auf der Schaumlinie des Wassergefässes bei *Chalchiuhtlicue*, Hieroglyphe *Nanauatzin*'s. I 287 — vom schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* in den Händen gehalten. II 46 — vom Pfeile durchbohrt. I 111 — von einer Schlange umwunden = Symbol der Pulquegötter. I 215 — s. Kochtopf. — s. Henkeltopf. — s. Honigtopf. — s. Pulquetopf *(octecomatl)* — s. *comitl*. — für Pulque oder Cacao neben dem *teoicpalli*, bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150, 151 — umgestürzter, mit herausfallenden Edelsteinschnüren, beim Ballspieler des Ostens. II 116 — beim Ballspieler des Westens. II 116 — s. Schatzkiste. — mit zerbrochenem Boden und *tlapalcouatl* bei der ersten Nachtstunde und der unteren Region. II 181 — bei der siebenten Nachtstunde. II 194.

Töpfe, braun, mit Henkeln; einer über den andern gestülpt; aus dem Spalte dazwischen kommen fünf Schlangen und ein Steinmesser hervor. II 98.

topilli, „Wanderstab". I 162 — s. *otlatopilli*. — türkisfarben und mit *chalchiuitl* geschmückt bei *Yacatecutli*, dem dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — s. *xiuhtopilli*.

Topiltzin „unser Herr", Name *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 238.

toptli-petlacalli, Kästchen, unter den Opfergaben als Begleitbild im Tonalamatl I 50.

Torquemada. II 115.

Tortillas, zuerst von der *Ilamatecutli* aus Maiskörnern hergestellt. I 299 — ohne *chilmolli* genossen, Fastenspeise. II 280 — grosse, s. *tlamatzoualli*.

tot, tote Menschen, ihr Begleiter der Hund. I 197 — toter Gott (Sonne), sein Begleiter *Xolotl*. I 197 — toter weisser Hirsch. I 300 — = kostbares, erstarrtes Feuer. I 300 — *Xochipilli* als Mondgott. I 246 — durch ein geschlossenes Auge dargestellt, s. geschlossenes Auge. — durch einen weiss und roth punktirten Streifen am Penis *Cinteotl*'s bezeichnet. II 150.

Tota, unser Vater; Name des Feuergottes. I 116 — Name der Sonne. I 206; II 87 (s. *Tonan tota*), 115.

Tote, ihr Land der Norden. II 13 — verbleiben in der tiefsten Unterwelt *(chicunauhapan)*. I 198 — ihr Begleiter der Hund s. Hund, *xolotl*. — Geschenke von ihnen *Mictlantecutli* beim Eintritte in die Unterwelt gebracht. II 33.

Totec, „unser Herr", Beiname *Xipe*'s, s. *Xipe*.

Totec tzontecon titlan, „Schädelstätte *Totec*'s". I 170.

Totec tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca, von den *Yopi* verehrter Gott. I 149, 167, 177 — = *Xipe*, s. diesen.

tote Götter, Repräsentanten des nach Sonnenuntergang am Westhimmel leuchtenden Abendsterns. I 339.

Totenauge, rund. I 297; II 2, 21, 27, 42, 56, 71 — auf vier Spielstäben des rothen *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 51 — am schwarzen Opfersteine *(techcatl)* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 52 — hat runde Braue. II 52 — bei der *Xochiquetzal* des Südens der Unterwelt. II 66.

Totendecken, weisse. I 339 — mit dem Toten verbrannt. II 33.

Totenerinnerungsfest, *Tititl*, Fest der *Itzpapalotl*, der *Ciuateteô*. II 262, 276 — s. *Chantico*, *Tlalxicco*.

Totenfest, Fest der *Itzpapalotl.* II 196, 262 — s. *Tititl.*
Totenfeste, s. *Miccailhuitzintli, Uei miccailhuitl* — s. *Xocotl uetzi.*
Totengebiss, fleischloses, bei der *Itzpapalotl.* I 181, 182, 185; II 262.
Totengott der Maya, dem *Tepeyollotli* verwandt. I 215.
toten Götter, die, oder die Abendsternreihe I 337—341.
Totenklage, des *Cuetlachnênê* beim *Xipe*-Feste. I 176.
Totenknochen, Symbol des Todesgottes I 277 — auf dem Gewande der dritten der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, des Westens. II 81 — auf Trachten der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 81 — gekreuzte, auf dem *Cuëitl* der fünf *Cinateteô.* II 93 — der *Cinateotl* des Nordens (Ms. mex. No. 20, Paris). II 103 — gekreuzte, s. Kreuz. — eine Höhle bildend. II 98 — bilden den Tempel des Südens (über dem Südbaume). II 114 — in der tiefsten Hölle dargestellt. II 52 — aus der Unterwelt heraufgeholt; daraus das Menschengeschlecht erschaffen. II 97.
Totenkopfhelmmaske, der bunten Schlange der Todesgöttin des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 7.
Totenkult, dem toten Könige wird ein *chalchiuitl* in den Mund gelegt; dieser nach dem Verbrennen der Leiche in einer Aschenkiste aufbewahrt. II 8 — Totenerinnerungsfeier. I 59, 128; II 33 — Totendarbringungen I 68 — s. schwarzes Gefäss. — Totenopfer. I 74 — s. Hund (*itzcuintli, xolotl*). I 125 — aus ihm hat sich in México vielleicht der Sonnenkult entwickelt. I 206.
Totenschädel, weiss, knochenfarben, Helmmaske der gelben Erdgöttin beim Baume der Mitte. II 105, 107 — s. auch Schädel (*tzontecomatl*). — und ein Totenknochen vor dem *tevolotl ichan* bei *Tonatiuh* dargestellt. I 285 — als *tezcacuitlapilli* des *Tlacatzinacantli* II 60, 61.
Totenunterkiefer, an einer *malinalli*-Halsschnur, Brustschmuck *Xolotl's.* I 191, 272 — *Macuilxochitl's.* I 272.
Totenvogel, s. Eule.
totepeuh, „unser Herr", Name der Sonne. II 115 — s *tota.*
tote *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren, auf dem grossen Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33, 34.
toter Kolibri, der Kolibri ist in der Trockenzeit tot. II 67.
toter König, seine Seele. II 150—151 — durch einen Kolibri (im Codex Bologna) veranschaulicht. II 151.
toter *Quetzalcouatl,* zum Opfer bestimmt, betritt den Norden der Unterwelt. II 49 — wird auf dem rothen *tlachtli* besiegt und auf dem *tlachtli* geopfert, s. knochenfarbener *Quetzalcouatl.* — auf dem anderen zum Hauptraume des Nordens der Unterwelt führenden Wege wandernd, begleitet vom rothen *Tezcatlipoca* und je einer gelben und blauen *Cinateotl.* II 49 — der geopferte knochenfarbene verwandelt sich in *Xolotl-Nanauatzin.* II 52—55.
toter *Xolotl.* II 42.
tote Sonne, ihr Begleiter *Xolotl.* I 197; II 26, 35, 41 — von einem Pfeile erschossen. I 196 — ihre Geburt, d. h. die Ostregion der Unterwelt, veranschaulicht *Yoaltecutli.* II 49 — in der Unterwelt aufgehende Sonne, *Yoaltecutli.* II 47—49.
totocoztli, gelber Vogel; Seele des toten Kriegers. I 62; II 67, 297 — s. *mixtetlilcomolo.*
Tochtin, „Kaninchen", Pulquegötter, Mondwesen. II 10 — die *Tlaçolteotl* ihnen nahe verwandt. II 10, 11 — s. *centzon totochtin.*
Totoltecatl, ein Pulquegott. I 140.
Totomiuacan, s. Chichimeken.
Totonaque, Bewohner der atlantischen Golfküste, Nachbarn der *Cuexteca*; altes Zentrum der Baumwollkultur. I 164.
Tototecti, Xipe-Bilder, Priester der *Chicomeconatl* mit der Haut der geschundenen Opfer bekleidet. I 158, 160, 170 — s. *Xixipeme.*
Toxcatl, fünftes Jahresfest, Fest *Tezcatlipoca's,* Neujahrsfest. I 147, 150, 290 — ist ein Sonnenfest. I 205, 207, 290 — das Opfer *Tezcatlipoca's* an diesem Feste ist ein Abbild der sich verjüngenden Sonne. I 207 — das Idol *Uitzilopochtli's* an diesem Feste trägt das *teomimilli.* I 281.
toznene, gelber Papagei, einer der *tlaçototome.* II 3.
Tradition, *nenonotzalli.* II 87 — ihre Verschiedenheit. I 257.
Tragbahre *Xochipilli's* aus Maisstauden. I 132 (Abb.) — der Sonne aus grünen Quetzalfedern. II 88.
Tragband, s. *mecapalli.*
Trapez, s. Scheibe, Trapez und Schlangenzunge. — eckig gewordener Ring, bei *Tlaloc* dargestellt. I 345.
Trapez und Strahl, Abbreviatur des Sonnenbildes. I 112, 236; II 74, 173 — Ohrgehänge des Feuergottes. I 13, 98 — *Tepeyollotli's.* II 135, 216 — *Veueyoyotl's.* I 98 — der *Chantiro* und der *Coyolxauhqui.* I 13, 98; II 277 — Ohrgehänge der Pulquegötter des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — Ohrgehänge des grossen, aus dem Haupttempel von México stammenden Steinkopfes der *Coyolxauhqui.* II 173 — Feuer- und Jahressymbol. II 71 — Zeichen des Jahres beim Morgenstern (*ce acatl*). II 291 — Rückenschmuck des Feuergottes. II 234 — Zeichen des Jahres, im Kopfputze der *Teteoinnan.* I 158 — der Maisgöttin. I 236 — *Tlaloc's.* I 236, 249, 345; II 36, 307 — s. *meyotli, miotli.* — Ohrschmuck des Geiers. I 13 — spitze Mütze *Tlaloc's.* I 112 — Zeichen des Jahres, auf dem Scheitel *Tlaloc's* I 345 — s. *copilli.* — bezeichnet Daten als Jahresdaten. I 349; II 121 — türkisfarbener Nasenschmuck der vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 74.
trapezförmige Absätze des Leibes der blauen Feuerschlange am Tempel des Nordens der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73, 173.
trapezförmiges Schwanzende einer *xiuhcouatl.* II 43.
Traumbuch, s *temicamatl.*
Treppe, eines Tempels. II 108.
Treppenaufgang der Stufenpyramide des Himmelsgebäudes. II 17.
Treppenstufen des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, sind nach aussen geschweift, so dass zwei von ihnen *maxaliuhqui* sind. II 18 — sie sind weiss und roth. II 18 — roth, beim Hause der rothen Schlange. II 18.
Treppenwange, aus dem Leibe und dem Kopfe einer rothen (fusslosen) Schlange gebildet, bei dem Himmelsgebäude (vgl. *Chich'en itzá*). II 17.
Tribut der *Chinampaneca,* Kriegerdevisen (in Schmetterlingsform etc.). II 276.
Tribut für den König, neben dem *teoicpalli* bei der vierten Venusperiode. II 150, 151.
Tributliste, s. libro de tributos.
Trinker, s. *tlauanani.* — s. nächtlicher Pulquetrinker (*yonalhuanani*).
trockene Zeit = Winter. I 149 — in ihr ist der Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) tot. II 67, 106, 131 (Anm.).
Trommel, schwarz, mit weissem Andreaskreuze, auf dem Kopfe des toten (modernden) *Xolotl.* II 42.
Trompete (span. bocina), Sternbild dieses Namens: Sterne in ihrer Mündung = *xonecuilli.* I 261 — = ι, η, ζ, ξ, β, γ Draconis und ι Herculis. I 262.
Tropfen, s. Blutstropfen.
Trunkenheit (Betäubung), eine der Strafen *Curicaueri's.* II 72.
Trupial, s. *çaquan.*
Truthahn, s. *uexolotl, Chalchihuhtotolin.* — ist der Vogel *Tlaloc's.* I 200 — wilder, *cutz* (Maya) = Meleagris ocellata Cuv. I 311 — im Kampfe mit dem Schakuhuhn in Maya-Handschriften. I 324.
Truthahnfedern, schwarz mit weissem Endfleck; bilden das *patzactli* des *Tlauizcalpantecutli* sowie seine Federkrone. I 255, 256, 293; II 64, 71, 129, 139, 141, 142, 143, 238, 290, 307.

Truthahnflügel, mit einem Busche langer gelber Federn, beim *yacametztli*, Basalstück des Feuerbohrers des Feuerreibers des Südens. II 118.

tucum balam (Qui'che), eine Art Jaguar, eines der vier zerstückelnden Thiere im *Popol Vuh*. II 69.

Tuch, kurzes, in den Bilderschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe und sonst, um den Hintern gebunden *(motzinilpiticac)*. II 150.

Tullan (Cakchiquel), viertes *Tullan*, im Süden gelegen (*chi c'aboril*). II 93.

tun (Maya), Edelstein, Stein. I 55 — in Maya-Handschriften, Element, für Schildkrötenschale oder Schneckengehäuse eintretend. I 313 — in der Kopfbinde eines alten Gottes der Maya-Handschriften = *Teccistecatl*. I 313, 314 — der die Mitte bezeichnenden Gottheit der Abendsternreihe. I 341 — bezeichnet den Zeitraum von dreihundertundsechzig Tagen. I 314.

Tupiecha (tarask.), sacerdotes del Dios de la mar (*Xipe Totec*). II 258 Anm.

tupp kak (Maya), „Auslöschen des Feuers" Fest, im Monate März dem alten Gotte *Itzamná* gefeiert. I 215.

Türkis, s. *xiuitl*.

Türkisband und Rauch, bei dem *Aniateotl* des Westens und der Mitte. II 98.

Türkiskette, in Maiskolben und Maisblüthe endend, aus dem Munde des grünen *Aniateotl* der Mitte hervorkommend. II 98.

Türkismaske, *xiuhxuyacatl*, von *Quetzalcouatl* getragen. II 14.

Türkismosaik, Maske des Feuergottes daraus, beim Feste *Izcalli*. I 117 — Haarriemen des Feuergottes damit inkrustirt. I 120 — Binde mit zwei Zinken an der Stirnseite, Emblem des Feuergottes. II 122 — s. *xiuhuitzolli*. — damit der Stab *Tezcatlipoca*'s inkrustirt. II 228 — die blaue Federschlange. II 301.

Türkisplatte, Brustschmuck des Feuergottes. I 121, 122; — II 73, 130, 131 — *Uitzilopochtli*'s, des Himmelsträgers des Südens. II 130, 131 — *Tonatiuh*'s. II 289.

Türkisplatten, bilden die Unterlage des Kochtopfes, in dem *Quetzalcouatl* in der Mitte der Unterwelt verbrennt. II 75.

Türkisscheiben und Ausstrahlungen, bezeichnen in historischen mexikanischen Bilderschriften die Jahre. II 138.

Türkisvogel, s. *xiuhtototl*.

Türkisvogel-Bemalung, Korrelat zur Edelsteinbemalung. I 28. s. *xiuhtototl*. — s. *chalchiuitl*.

Turnus, sakraler, der vier Himmelsrichtungen: von Osten über Norden nach Westen, von Westen über Süden nach Osten. II 13, 14, 22 58, 95, 139, 140, 143, 149 — Abweichung davon. II 14 — Abweichung davon s. Himmelsrichtungen, veränderter Anfang. — der sechs Himmelsrichtungen bei den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren, mit dem Unten beginnend. II 179, 180 s. Bewegung mit der Sonne, Bewegung entgegen der Sonne.

Thürpfosten und Thürbalken der vier Adlerhäuser (*quauhcalli*), weiss, gelb, weiss, roth. II 70.

Tuxpam, s. *Tochpan*.

Typha spec. I 192.

tzapocueitl, Röckchen *Xipe*'s aus Zapoteblättern. I 179; II 133, 257, 288.

Tzapoteca (*Ananaca*), Volk der pazifischen Küste, ihr Gott *Xipe*. I 177; II 256 — zur Zeit *Auitzotl*'s besiegt. II 256 — von ihnen die *quetzalpatzactli*-Schmucke importirt. II 256.

Tzapoteca, tragen das Haar lang und durch einen Ring gezogen. I 235 — haben die Stirn mit einer Binde aus Rindenpapier umschlungen. I 235 — zu ihnen gehören die Bewohner von *Cuicatlan*, deren Jahresanfänge eine Verschiebung aufweisen. I 342.

Tzapotlan, Stadt an der Lagune von *Xochimilco*. I 100.

Tzapotlan tenan, Mutter von *Tzapotlan*, Göttin. I 100 — s. *ome quipillo*.

tzaqualli, „Pyramide". II 32.

Tzeltal s. *Tzental*, Bewohner der Provinz Chiapas. I 235; II 258.

tz'i, ch'i (Guatemala-Sprachen), Hund. I 126, 196.

tzicoliuhqui nacochtli, das dornig gekrümmte Ohrgehänge *Quetzalcouatl*'s (= *epcololli*). I 88 — *Youaltecutli*'s. II 47.

Tzinacantemoc, „herabkommende Fledermaus", Determinativ der *Mayauel*, der fünften der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 85 — Dämon des Ostens, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 60 62, 65, 67, 68.

tzinacantli, „Fledermaus". — Herzausreisser. II 61 — Herzbringer. II 66.

tzinitzcan, Vogel mit dunkelgrünem Gefieder, einer der *tlaçototome*. II 3.

tzitzicazamatl, Nesselmantel. II 308.

Tzitzimimê, Himmelsträger, Sterngottheiten, Dämonen der Finsterniss, herabgefallene Dämonen. I 186, 261, 262; II 20, 22, 117, 127, 132, 264, 265 — kommen im Westen herab. I 184; II 20, 264 — am vierzehnten Jahresfeste *Quecholli*. I 261 — s. *Yacatecutli*, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, *Ce acatl*, *Quetzalcouatl*, *Achitometl*, *Xacupancalqui*, *Mixcouatl*, *Tezcatlipoca*, *Tzontemoctli*. (I 186) — fünf mit Trachtstücken der *Tlaçolteotl* ausgestattete Spinnengesichter, an der Schnur des Tempels des Westhimmels. I 286 — des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 20 — sind die *Cinateteô*. I 262; II 20, 22, 50, 91, 117, 264 — fünf *Tlaçolteotl-(Cinateotl-)* Gesichter am Seile des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 20 — s. *Itzpapalotl*, *Quetzalcouatl*, *Uitzilopochtli*, *Tezcatlipoca*, *Tonacatecutli*, *Youaltecutli*, *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 186 — sind (im Codex Borbonicus) *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, *Mictlantecutl*, *Tepeyollotli*, *Chalchiuhtotolin*, *Mayauel*, *Tlaçolteotl*, *Itzpapalotl*, *Xochiquetzal*. II 20 — s. *Chalchiuhtotoltemoc*. — s. *quauhtemoc*. I 197; II 17 werden bei Sonnenfinsternissen am hellen Tage sichtbar. I 186; II 22, 117, 127 (auch Anm. 4), 265 — am Anfange und Ende der Welt herabkommend. II 265 — vier Paare von je einer *Cinateotl* und einem *Aniateotl*, über den Feuerreibern den Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend dargestellt. II 117—118 — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Süd-*tzitzimimê*. — „Dioses, signos y planetas" auf die Höhe des Tempels gebracht und um das Idol *Uitzilopochtli*'s herum aufgestellt. II 127 — s. Himmelsträger.

Tzitzimimê Ilhuicatzitzquique, „angeles de aire, sostenedores del cielo"; heissen auch *Petlacotzitzquique*, von Tezozomoc beim Baue des grossen Tempels in México erwähnt. II 127.

tzitzimitl, einer der *Tzitzimimê*, etwas Ungeheures, Schreckliches. I 33, 186, 237, 262 — den Westen (die untergehende Sonne) bezeichnend. I 124 (s. Spinne), 237 — die Mitte, die Richtung nach unten bezeichnend. II 299 — als solche erscheinen die *mocuaquetzque* (s. auch *coleletli*). II 89 — erscheint *Itzpapalotl*. II 262 — rothe und schwarze Todesgöttin, Nebenfiguren bei der Todesgöttin des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 8 — veranschaulicht durch Blau und Roth (Scheide von Tag und Nacht). I 266.

tzitzimitl-**Augen,** bedeuten Herabkommen. I 66.

tzitzimitl-**Figur** und Nasenhalbmond (*yacametztli*), den Westen der vier Bäume im Codex Fejérváry bezeichnend. II 103

tzitzimitl-**Gesicht,** bezeichnet bei den vier Federschlangen die fünfte Weltgegend. II 299.

tzitziquiltic, „mit Zackenkamm versehener" Hut *Cinteotl Itztlacoliuhqui*'s. I 154.

Tzintzuntzan, Gott der Leute von —, s. *Curicaueri* (Tarask.).

tziuacmitl, Hieroglyphe. I 6.

Tziuactepetl, mythischer Ort. — Hieroglyphe. I 6.

tziuactli (s. *cipactli*), Stachelpflanze. I 6.

tzoaztli tlaxapochtli, „Schlinge und Fallgrube" = Verhängniss I 48.

tzompanquauitl, s. *equimitl*.
tzompantli, Schädelgerüst. I 7, 126, 127, 160, 170; II 71 — auf einer Tempelplattform, davor *Tlauizcalpantecutli* adorirend. I 286 — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s II 71 — s. *itzompan*. — des Ostens, Nordens, Westens, Südens. II 115–116 — s. Ost-*tzompantli* etc.
Tzonmolco, Tempel des Feuergottes (s. *Olman*). I 73.
tzontecomatl, Schädel = *miquiztli* „Tod"; sechstes Tageszeichen. I 5 — Maske des Planeten Venus, in der fünften, die untere Region bezeichnenden Periode. II 151.
tzontemoc, der abwärts Stürzende. Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten *Tonalamatl*. I 35, 48, 71 — bei der *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. II 264 — die fünfte Himmelsrichtung (Bewegung nach unten) bezeichnend. II 132 — von einer Skeletfigur (*Mictlantecutli*) am Tempel des Südens geopfert. II 114 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — einer der vier Götter, die den Himmel wieder aufrichten helfen. I 150 — als *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. I 182; II 262 — das Spinnengesicht bei der Darstellung der Geburt der *Cinateteô*. II 91 — von einem Schädel verschluckt beim seehsten der sechs Götterpaare. II 177 — bei der zwölften Tagstunde. II 204 — in einem Mumienbündel vergraben, den Richtungsunterschied (oben-unten) veranschaulichend. II 244 — s. *tzinacan tzontemoc*.
tzontemoc-**artiger** grosser Skeletkopf, deutet die Erde an. II 166, 167.
tzotzocolli, s. *tzotzocolueyac*.
tzotzocolueyac (s. *tzotzocolli*, Kriegerfrisur, bei *Tezcatlipoca*. I 20, 152, 220, 269, 281; II 32, 182 — beim Sonnengotte. I 222 — bei der *Cinateotl* des Ostens. II 93.
tzotzopaztli, „das Webeholz", in der Hand des Abbildes der *Ilamatecutli* des *Tititl*-Festes. I 191, 192; II 263 — vor der *Itzpapalotl* dargestellt. II 263 — in der Hand der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — „Webehölzer", von den *mociuaquetzque* gesucht. II 89.
Ɔam (Maya), „Thron". II 151 — s. *ah Ɔam*. — s. *teoicpalli*.
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u (Maya), „Mond". II 156.
Uac mitun ahau (Maya), „Herr der seehs Unterwelten", seine Hauptthieroglyphe ist gleich der des zwölften Gottes in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (s. *Pùtecatl*). I 216 — Todesgott, ihm entspricht mexikanisch *chiquacen calli* „sechs Haus". II 244.
uactli, Raubvogelart der Tierra caliente; Lachfalke (Falco cachinnans); Vogel *Tezcatlipoca*'s. II 253 — Schlangensperber, beim *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* angegeben. I 293, 294 — Verkleidung *Quetzalcoatl-ce acatl*'s. I 293 — sein Schwanz bildet das Mäntelchen *Xochipilli*'s als Feuergott. I 305.
Uacton (s. *uactli*), Vogel, dessen gelächterartiges Geschrei als sehr übles Vorzeichen galt. I 294, 305; II 253.
uauantli, gestreifter, im Sacrificio gladiatorio geopferter Krieger. I 71.
Uebel, Mannigfaltigkeit derselben und ihre Abwehr. I 26.
Ueberfluss, Herr dessen, s. *Tonacatecutli*. I 78; II 206.
überleitende Daten. I 350; II 138.
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Uebernahme benaehbarter Kulte in Méxieo. I 207, 208.
Uebertragung der Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen auf die der zwanzig Tonalamatl-Abschnitte (mit Auslassung an eilfter Stelle). II 209, 210 — der Gottheiten der dreizehn Himmel auf die dreizehn Stunden des Tages, wobei die siebente Stelle zum Range der dreizehnten erhoben wurde. II 295.
u ch'a kak ahtoc (Maya), „der Brenner holt das Feuer", Zärimonie bei den Zeichen drei *oc*, *men*, *ahau*, *chicchan*. II 9.
uei citlalin (= *huey citlalli*) „der grosse Stern", *Quetzalcoatl* Planet Venus. II 16, 143, 162 — s. *citlalpol*.
Uuei miccailhuitl, grosses Totenfest; zehntes Jahresfest. I 68, 190; II 68 — s. *Otontecuhtli*, *Xocotl*
Uei tecuilhuitl, das grosse Herrenfest; achtes Jahresfest der Mexikaner, Fest *Xochipilli*'s. I 132, 290; II 95 — fällt zusammen mit der Verschiebung der Stellung der Sonne im Zenith von Süden nach Norden. I 290 — veranschaulicht durch das Bild eines Häuptlings in Tanztracht. I 290 — durch *Xilonen*. I 290 — durch *Xochipilli*. I 290.
Uei toçoztli, das grosse Wachen; viertes Jahresfest, Fest der jungen Maisgöttin. I 33.
Uei tonantzin, unsere grosse Mutter; Göttin der Landschaft *Metztitlan*. I 137 — erstes Menschenopfer. I 137, 166.
Uemac, zu seiner Zeit sollen die Menschenopfer eingeführt worden sein. I 207.
vetzi in chiquatli, „Das Käuzchen fällt zur Erde (wird geboren)", Name des *Tititl*-Festes. I 189 — Seitenstück zum *Xocotl uetzi*. I 190.
uetziliztli, der Fall; bei *Ueuecoyotl* angegeben. I 98, 99; II 224 — bei *Itztlacoliuhqui*. II 252.
Ueuecoyotl, der alte Koyote. I 97 — Tanzgott; Gott der *Otomí*; Regent des vierten Tageszeichens *Cuetzpalin*. I 97 bis 100, 215; II 73, 93 — des vierten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce xochitl*). I 98, 100; II 220–225 — = Tanzgott, gegenüber der Hirschgöttin, die die dritte Nachtstunde und den Norden bezeichnet. II 184–185 — Gott des Geschlechtstriebes. II 222 — mit Koyote-Kopf. II 222 — als rother Hund mit dem *ecailacatzcozcatl* = *Xolotl*, Totenbegleiter. II 224 — ihm geweihter Tag *matlactli omome oçomàtli* „zwölf Affe". II 224 — gegenüber der *Xochiquetzal*, als Musikant, bezeichnet die fünfte Nachtstunde. II 188, 189 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift ein alter Gott mit einem Vogel auf dem Rücken und einer Schlange in der Hand, dessen Haupthieroglyphe gleich der des eilften Gottes in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter ist. I 215, 216.
Ueueteotl, der alte Gott; der Feuergott. I 13 (ähnliche Frisur und Schmuck, s. kahlköpfiger Geier), 32, 116, 119; II 165, 297 — s. *Tonacatecutli*, *Tota*, s. *Xiuhtecutli*. — s. erster Mensch, Vorfahren.
Ueueteotl, hat neben sich den Skorpion (*colotl*). I 122, 123, 213 — daher Beziehung zur *Ilamatecutli*. I 213.
Ueueteotl **und** *Ilamatecutli* = *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacaciuatl*. II 206.
Ueueteteô, an den Himmelsborten des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange, mit der Bemalung bald des Feuergottes, bald des Sterngottes, bezeichnen die ersten Menschen, die als Sterne am Himmel aufziehen. II 19, 22 — in Tanzstellung. II 19 — ihre Region der Norden. II 22.
ueueloa „zerstören, zerstückeln". I 283 — vgl. *teueuelli*.
ueuetl, tlalpan ueuetl, Fellpauke. — Trommel. I 160.
ueuetque „die Alten"; sie haben die Ordnung der Dinge begründet (*tlatlalitiri qujtocaiotique*). II 88.
ueuetque ilamatque, alte Leute, im Anfangszeichen der ersten Venusperiode (*cipactli*) vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen (Osten). II 148, 156.
ueuetzin „alter Herr", Name des Feuers. I 115, 116.
ueue Xolotl. I 193.
Uexolotemoc, s. *chalchiuhtotoltemoc*.
uexolotl, Truthahn; Vogel *Tlaloc*'s, bezeichnet das Wasser. I 200; II 116 – oder *chalchiuhtotolin*, bezeichnet die neunte Tagstunde. II 297, 298.
Uexotzinco. Gott von —, ist *Camaxtli* (= *Mixcouatl*). I 260 — s. *Tlaxcallan*.
ueyac tlacuelpacholli = *teomimilli*. I 281.
Uhde'sche Sammlung, im Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. II 193.

u hoppol u kak ahtoc (Maya), „das Feuer des Brenners beginnt", Zärimonie bei den Zeichen zehn *oc, men, ahau, chicchan*. II 9.

uictli, Hacke zur Bodenbearbeitung. I 295, 332; II 128 — s. *ecauictli*, s. *quauhacatl, coa*. — in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s bei der vierten Nachtstunde. II 187.

uilouayan „wohin alle gehen", der Ort der Toten. I 184.

Uinal (Maya), Zeitraum von zwanzig Tagen. I 313.

uipilli „Weiberhemden". II 89.

uitequi „schlagen, Mais entkörnen". II 42, 97 — Anspielung auf *tlauitequi*, s. *tlauitequini, Nanauatl*.

uitoncatl, Flügel (?), Nackenschmuck *Macuilxochitl*'s, Residuum der *coxcoxtli*-Helmmaske. I 272 — s. *quetzaluitoncatl*. — s. *cueçaluitoncatl*.

Uitzilopochtli, hatte eine über die eines Lokalfetisches hinausgehende Bedeutung. II 131 — Stammgott der Mexikaner. II 67, 131 — seine Verkleidung ein Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*). II 67 — seine Farben blau und gelb. II 131 — Himmelsträger des Südens. II 129–131 — Feuergott. II 131 — Feuergott des Südens. II 131 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — junge Ostsonne. I 84, 206, 264 — seine feindliche Schwester, s. *Coyolxauhqui*. — seine feindlichen Brüder *Centzon-Uitznaua*. — versehmilzt mit dem Sonnengotte. I 85, 147, 206 — besiegt das Heer der Sterne. I 264; II 11, 131, 189 — zaubert den mythischen Mexikanern ein prähistorisches México, das *Colhuacan* oder *Tollan* vor. II 31 — tanzt den *cuicatl tlaxotecayotl* und den *tecuilhuicuicatl*. II 31 — verwandt mit *Tezcatlipoca*, als Sonnengott. I 147, 206 (als junger Gott); II 131 — der Priester der *Teteoinnan*, wendet sich am *Oehpaniztli*-Feste seinem Tempel zu. I 154 — auf seiner Pyramide Opferung der Gefangenen am *tlacaxipeualiztli*-Feste. I 170 — Opfer der *Ilamatecutli* am *Tititl*-Feste. I 191, 192 — bei seinem Feste kam eine künstliche Feuerschlange zur Opferblutschale (*quauhxicalli*) herab. II 40, 131 — wurde dann verbrannt (s. Feuerfest). II 131 — grosser Ballspielplatz vor seinem Tempel in der Hauptstadt México, genau nordsüdlich orientirt. I 289; II 131 — ein Appendix seines Heiligthums ist das Tempelchen der *Xochiquetzal*. I 209 — um sein Idol herum die *Tzitzimimê* „Dioses, signos y planetas" (Tezozomoc) aufgestellt. II 127 — s. Himmelsträger. — trägt die Sterngesichtsbemalung (*mixcitlalhuiticac*). I 254 — s. *Painal*. — sein Fest, s. *Toxcatl, Panquetzaliztli*. — sein Teigidol trägt das *teomimilli* oder *ueyac tlacuelpacholli*. I 281 — Name seines Schildes ist *teueuelli*. I 283 — opfert sich. II 145.

Uitzilopochtli-**Mythus**, Zerstücklung des Mondes. II 1, 10–11, 86, 290, 291 — s. *Coyolxauhqui*.

uitzitzilin, Kolibri, Heilmittel und Prophylacticum gegen Syphilis. II 67 — zerstört gleichzeitig aber die Zeugungskraft. II 67 — ist in der Trockenzeit tot. II 67, 131 (Anm. 1) — Verkörperung der wieder erwachenden Vegetation. II 106 — in der Regenzeit erscheinend. II 67, 106, 131 (Anm.) — auf dem Baume des Westens. II 106 — hängt mit seinem spitzen Schnabel an den Blüthen des Kasteiungsblutes *Quetzalcouatl*'s (im Codex Magliabecchiano). II 96 — mit seinem spitzen Schnabel am Wanderstabe des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer (*Tezcatlipoca* des Südens) hängend. II 163 — Verkleidung *Uitzilopochtli*'s. II 77, 131 — bezeichnet den Süden (*uitznauac*). II 131 — Verkleidung *Quetzalcouatl*'s auf dem Baume der aus dem Herzen der Mondstrahlenscheibe der *Xochiquetzal* im Süden der Unterwelt hervorgewachsen ist. II 66, 67 — Kolibri, Maske einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47 — (pl. *uitzitziltin*), Seele des toten Kriegers. I 62; II 67, 89, 297 — kommen am Mittag herab. II 89, 297 — veranschaulicht Seele des toten Königs in der vierten Venusperiode. II 151.

uitzitzilti, „die Kolibrivögel", Plural von *uitzitzilin*. I 62; II 67, 297.

Uitznaua, fünf, Repräsentanten des vierten Tonalamatl-Viertels (Süden), Genossen *Macuilxochitl*'s (s. *Auiateteô*). II 13 — Begleiter der fünf *Cinateteô*. II 13, 22 — sind Sterne (*tzitzimimê*). II 22.

uitznauac „an den Dornen", Bezeichnung der Himmelsrichtung des Südens. II 9, 10 — Region des Feuers. II 9.

uitznauac-**Schlangen**, mit Dornen besetzte Schlangen, zwischen den Beinen der Göttin des Südens (*uitznauac*) der Unterwelt hervorkommend. II 10.

uitznauac yaotl, Krieger im Südhause, *Tezcatlipoca*. I 149, 292; II 23 — ist *tlatauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. II 23 — s. *Uitznauacatl*.

Uitznauacatl = *Uitznauatl*, Name *Tezcatlipoca*'s und ein Rangtitel. I 149 — der „Südgott". I 290; II 23.

uitznauacatlalpan „Land der *Uitznaua*", der Süden. II 131.

uitzolli, Kopfbinde, mit dreieckig aufragendem Stirnblatt, s. *xiuhuitzolli* — aus Affenfell, mit Affenkopf bei *Pûtecatl*. II 143.

uitztla „Agaveblattspitze", in der Hand der *Cinacouatl* (Lied an sie). II 128.

uitztlampa, Region der Dornen, Süden; ihm gehört das vierte Tonalamatl-Viertel, sein Regent *Tonatiuh*. I 24–26 — durch die gelbe Knochenschlange, die *Macuilxochitl* einschliesst, repräsentirt. II 302 — in der Reihe der neun Herren durch *Tepeyollotli* und *Tlaloc* vertreten. I 237, 238 — durch *Cinteotl* und *Tlaloc*. I 238 — seine Jahre bedeuten Unfruchtbarkeit und Mäusefrass. I 346 — bezeichnet die linke Seite der Welt (s. *opochcopa*). — dargestellt durch Sinnbilder der Kasteiung. I 92, 238; II 163, 164.

uitztli, Dorn, Agaveblattspitze, die bei der Kasteiung mit Blut beschmiert wird; s. *omitl uitztli*. — im Grasballen steckend, s. *çacatapayolli*. — an der Schnur des Tempels des Osthimmels. I 286 — am Seile des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 20 — am Munde des schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl*. II 21 — in der Hand des toten, den Norden der Unterwelt betretenden *Quetzalcouatl*. II 49 — in der Hand *Cinteotl*'s. II 114 — oben gespalten, vor *Tepeyollotli*, in der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 21 — mit einer Blume und einem Edelsteinbande am Scheitel der Maisgottheiten des dritten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173 — mit einem *chalchiuitl*, in der Hand *Quetzalcouatl*'s (*chalchiuhuitztli*). II 215 — vier in einen Stab gesteckt, bei *Tlaloc*. II 229 — im Fastenstrickknäuel, bezeichnen *chalchiuhatl*, beim *Chalchiuhtotolin*. II 272.

uitztli ezçô, blutige Agaveblattspitze. I 30, 143, 219; II 280.

uitzyecoa (*uitzyecoltia, nino*), „den Dorn kosten, das scharfe Getränk probiren — hacer la fiesta del vino". I 253 — s. Herz vom Agaveblattdorn durchbohrt.

Uixtotin, s. *Olmeca*.

Umfassungsmauern, von Zinnen gekrönt. II 38, 39, 40.

umgestürzter *chalchiuitl*-Krug, unter dem Stuhle der *Chantico*. II 276.

Umlaufszeit des Planeten Venus, s. synodische Umlaufszeit. — s. Venusperiode. — s. Mond. — s. siderische —.

Umwallung des Westens der Unterwelt, besteht aus einem inneren *chalchiuitl*-Streifen und einem breiten gelben Randstreifen mit abwechselnden Sonnenstrahlen und Maiskolben. II 56.

Umwallungen der Unterweltsräume, s. auch Einzäunung.

Umwicklnng des Feueropfers, schwarz bei *Itztli*. I 221 — gezackt bei *Cinteotl*. I 225.

Umzug um den Tempel (*moyaraloaya in teucalli*), Zärimonie des *Tititl*-Festes. I 190.

unbeschränkter Genuss, mit der Sonne in Zusammenhang gebracht. II 54 — s. Sünde. — mit der Zahl fünf (s.

dort) verbundene Vorstellung. II 96, 97 — mit *Macuilxochitl*, den fünf *Aniateteô*. II 97.

Unbeständigkeit irdischer Güter, die vom einen auf den anderen übergehen (s. *Tezcatlipoca*). I 151.

unblutige Opfer in *Tollan*. I 88, 207; II 1.

Unbrauchbares, unbrauchbar Gemachtes, für die Toten Bestimmtes, das Uralte. I 298, 339 — s. Zerbrochenes.

Unfruchtbarkeit, Zeichen der —, der Stein (*tetl*). I 107.

Ungeheuerrachen, mit schwarzer Farbe gemalt, nach unten sich öffnend, beim *Tlaloc* des Nordens. I 346.

ungesponnene Baumwolle, s. *ichcatl*.

Unheil, s. Bannen des Unheils.

Unrath, s. *tlaelli, tlaelquani, Tlaçolteotl*.

Unrathvogel, s. Aasvogel. — *cozcaquauhtli*. II 253.

Unrath essen, s. *tlaelquani* — produziren, s *axixpan cuitlapan nemini*. I 145.

Unsichtbarer Gott, s. *Tezcatlipoca, Youalli ecatl, ipalnemoani, teyocoyani teimatini*. — s. *tloquê nauaquê; Titlacauan*.

Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus in oberer und unterer Konjunktion. I 350 — Dauer 90 und 8 Tage. I 350 — des als Morgenstern „gestorbenen" Planeten Venus 77–80 Tage II 14 — im Codex Borgia 69 + 8 Tage. II 14, 15 — nachdem er Morgenstern gewesen, ein Durchwandern der unterirdischen Räume in den vier Richtungen. II 3–17 — nachdem er Abendstern gewesen, ein Durchwandern unterirdischer Räume nach den vier Richtungen (Codex Borgia Bl. 40–44). II 47 ff. — Beginn der Unsichtbarkeit des Planeten. II 58 — Venus, nachdem er Abendstern gewesen, zwölf Tage dauernd (von *chicuacen calli* bis *macuilli quauhtli*). II 16, 58.

unten, s. Richtung, s. *tlani*. — Unterwelt. I 149 — das Erdinnere, *Tlillan*. I 296–299 — sechste Himmelsrichtung. II 177, 178, 179 — mit ihr beginnt der Turnus der sechs Himmelsrichtungen bei den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren. II 179 — am Anfange und Ende der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare, erweckt die Vorstellung des Auf- und Absteigens. II 179, 180 — s. Schale mit der Mündung nach unten.

Unten — Oben. I 298.

Unterarm, menschlicher; für *Tezcatlipoca* charakteristisch, ein Symbol der Knochenflöte. I 167 — abgeschnittener, *temacpal*, im Schnabel des *Chalchiuh totoltemoc*. I 297 — der einer *mocuaquetzqui*. I 298 — gilt als mächtiger Zauber. I 298.

Untere Region, die Erde, dem Sonnengotte gegenübergestellt. I 286 — bei der zwölften Tagstunde. II 205 — s. fünfte Weltgegend, Mitte der Unterwelt, Reich des Feuers. — s. Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze.

Untergang der Welt, s. Weltuntergang.

untergehende Sonne, *Tezcatlipoca*. II 12, 298.

unterirdische Räume, vom Planeten Venus durchwandert, nachdem er Morgenstern und nachdem er Abendstern gewesen. II 3–17, 46, 47

Unterkiefer, bei der Hieroglyphe *malinalli*. I 12 — s. auch Totenunterkiefer.

Unterlippe, herabhängend und verlängert beim schwarzen Gotte der Maya-Handschriften, dem Gotte der wandernden Kaufleute. I 322 ff.

Untertauchen unter Wasser, Strafe für Priester. II 230.

Unterwelt, s. *Mictlan, itzcuintli, Xolotl*. — Fluss der, s. *chicunauhapan*. — s. Dunkel, s. Norden. — Weg in die, geht über das Meer des Westens. II 269 — Eingang in die, der Norden. I 341; II 102 — s. auch gespaltener Berg, *Tepexic*. — Sonnengott, *Mictlantecutli*. I 297 — Mächte der, in der Qu'iche-Sage durch Sonne (*Hun alpu* und *Xbalanque*) besiegt. II 1 — Vorraum zum Norden der Unterwelt. II 49 — in ihr weilt *Quetzalcouatl* vier Tage und vier weitere Tage ist er Knochen. II 16 — zum Hauptraume des Nordens der Unterwelt führen zwei Wege, auf denen je ein zum Leben und ein zum Tode bestimmter *Quetzalcouatl* wandert. II 49, 50.

Unterwelten, s. sechs —.

Unterweltsfahrt der Venus. II 1–75 — erste Wanderung. II 3–17, zweite. II 45–75.

Unterweltsfahrt der Sonne in der Qu'iche-Sage. II 1.

Unterweltsstationen, s. *tepetl imonamiquian*. II 12, 32 — s. *itzeecayan*. II 34.

Unterweltsstrom, im Westen gelegen; über ihn müssen die Seelen der Toten setzen, um an ihren Ruheort zu gelangen. II 62.

unterwürfige Haltung, verschränkte Arme. II 182, 183, 200, 202, 228, 238, 303.

Uotan (Tzeltal), Herz, Innerstes; Tageszeichen = mexik. *calli*, Haus. I 91 — entspricht dem mexikanischen Gotte *Tepeyollotli*. I 235 — „Herz". I 235 — Herr der Holzpauke. I 235 — erster Mensch. I 235 — sein Schatz, der in einem Höhlentempel war, wurde 1691 auf dem Dorfplatze in *Huehuetan* verbrannt. I 235.

Uraltes, s. Unbrauchbares, Zerbrochenes. — weiter entwickelt zum Begriff des Heiligen, Göttlichen (*teo*). I 299.

Urendequa vecara (tarask.), „der vorangeht", Name des Morgensterns bei den *Tarasca* von *Michoacan*. II 70, 72 — s. *hozqua qhuangari*. — besonderer Gott der Stadt *Curinguaro*. II 72.

Urgott, *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 308; II 164.

Urgötter, in Hirschgestalt erscheinend. II 164 — s. *maçatl*, s. Hirschverkleidung. — s. *Tabatzi* (Cora), *Mixcouatl*. — ihr Sitz *Tamoanchan*. II 263.

Urgötterpaar = Himmel und Erde; ihr Sohn die Luft (*Quetzalcouatl*, Luftgott). I 81.

Urheimat der Stämme, s. *Chicomoztoc*. — s. *Tamoanchan*. — s. Norden. — s. Westen, *Teocolhuacan*. — s. *Colhuacan*. — s. *ycoliuhqui tepetl*. — s. *Chalchiuitl apazco*.

Ursa maior = *Tezcatlipoca*. I 149 — s. *citlallachtli*.

Ursprung der Chichimeken — *Otomi*. I 264.

Ursprung des Geschlechts, repräsentirt das Feuer. I 116 — s. *Tota*.

Urzeit, Zeit der Frömmigkeit, s. Chichimeken. I 80 — Gott dieser Zeit *Tonacatecutli*. I 80 — s. auch *Itzpapalotl, Tamoanchan*. — Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne (s. *Tlillan*). I 220.

Usàta (Hopi), Truthahn, bei den Pueblo-Indianern Regenvogel. I 201. Anm. 1.

Uterus, Herrschaft über ihn hat das Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin*. I 280.

utlamaxac nemini, s. *ciuapipiltin*.

u tup kak ahtoc (Maya), „der Brenner löscht das Feuer", Zärimonie bei den Zeichen eilf *oc, men, ahau, chicchan*. II 9.

uuc ahau (Maya) = mex. *chicome xochitl* „sieben Blume"; *Katun*, dessen Herr der Mondgott. I 311 — *Ekchuah*. I 322.

uuc ahau, dieser *Katun* ist eine „Zeit des Blumenregens, übermässigen Ehebruches. I 322; II 265.

Uxmal, Ruinenstätte. I 289 — Tempel der Gottheit des Planeten Venus dort (s. Casa del adivino, — de las Monjas) haben ihre Front dem Westen zugekehrt. II 140.

u ziyanil Chac (Maya), „Geburtstag des *Chac*", in den Büchern des *Chilam Balam* die mit der Zahl neun verbundenen vier Tage des ersten Tonalamatl-Fünftels. II 6 — *bolon imix* = mex. *chicunaui cipactli*. II 15.

Vater *Quetzalcouatl*'s, der Vorgänger des letzteren, des Gottes des Abendsternes; seine Asche im *Quilazteopan* beigesetzt. II 34 — dieser Asche bezeugt *Quetzalcouatl* seine Reverenz. II 35.

Vatikanische Bibliothek, dort das Original des Codex Borgia aufbewahrt. II 44.

Vegetation, Gott der, der Feuergott. I 117 (s. *Izcalli*). — s. *Xipe*. — Erneuerung der, s. Haut *(euatl)*. I 155; II 18, 254 — s. *teocuitlaquemitl*. I 169 — s. Wechsel. — Erneuerung der, ausgedrückt durch eine Federschlange mit einem Kaninchen (*tochtli*) im Rachen. I 180, 296; II 259, 260 — s. *tlaquetzalpatia*. — Vorbild für ihr Wachsen ist der zunehmende Mond. II 11 — Absterben und Wiedererwachen derselben. II 11 — Verkörperung der wiedererwachenden ist der Kolibri *(uitzitzilin)*. II 106.

Velletri. I 2 — s. manuscrit de Velletri.

Venus, Planet; von den Leuten von *Tehuacan, Cozcatlan, Teotitlan* (del Camino) verehrt. I 178 — Mythologie und Wissenschaft dieser Zeitperioden bei den Maya fremder Import. I 336 — seine Sichtbarkeit als Morgenstern. I 238 (s. *ce acatl*), 350 — seine Mythologie. II 1—75 — seine Höllenfahrt. II 1—75 — Planet; seine Phasen (Konjunktion und Elongation). I 238, 350; II 1, 2, 11, 14–16 — synodische Umlaufszeit beträgt 584 Tage. I 238, 239, 327 — innerer Planet. II 11 — Veränderung der Lichtgestalt dieses Planeten mit unbewaffnetem Auge in México wahrnehmbar. II 11, 12—13 — zunehmend beim Erscheinen am Morgenhimmel, abnehmend beim leuchtenden Abendstern (umgekehrt wie beim Monde). II 12 — stirbt zweimal, je einmal bei Annäherung an die Morgen- und Abendsonne. II 13 — als Morgen- und Abendstern angedeutet durch je zwei Gestalten als Träger abgeschnittener Leichenköpfe in Adler- und Steinmesserverkleidung. II 13 — zunehmender Glanz bei Verkleinerung der Lichtgestalt des Planeten infolge Annäherung an die Erde. II 12, 13 — mit dem Gotte *Quetzalcouatl* identifizirt. II 1, 2 — seine Gottheit, s. *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. — seine Hieroglyphe, nach den fünf Weltgegenden geordnete Fünf, der Quincunx. I 255, 257 — die zwei verschiedenen Formen des Gottes dieses Planeten beruhen auf einer Verschiedenheit der Tradition oder des Ursprunges. I 257 — Anfangspunkt seiner Laufbahn ist der erste Tag des Tonalamatl's geworden. II 138 — sein Abbild ein dreitheiliges Strahlenauge am Brustschmucke (*anauatl*) *Tlauizcalpantecutli's*. II 142 — seine Erscheinungsform der Feuergott oder die blaue Schlange (*xiuhcouatl*). II 308, 309 — die Tempel der Gottheit dieses Planeten haben in *Uxmal* ihre Front dem Westen zugekehrt. II 140 — hat Beziehung zu *Xipe*. I 176 — galt als schiessender Gott. I 329, 330; II 143–157 — die fünf Gottheiten dieses Planeten in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (Bl. 46—50) entsprechen den Hütern der fünf Venusperioden des Codex Borgia (Bl. 25). I 334 bis 336, 341 – von seinem Speere fünf Gestalten in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift getroffen. I 336; II 153 bis 155 — Name des Planeten im Qui'che ist *i'co k'ih* „er sucht die Sonne". II 2 — im mexikanischen *uei citlalin* „grosser Stern" genannt. II 16 — *citlapol* „grosser Stern". II 143, 162 — als „grosser Stern" besonders in *Yacatecutli* (von den Kaufleuten) verehrt. II 162, 164.

Venusperiode, die synodische Umlaufszeit des Planeten; in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift und in den Handschriften der Codex Borgia-Gruppe dargestellt. I 238, 239, 327, 350; II 136 — ihre Länge bei der Konstruktion des Tonalamatl's massgebend gewesen. I 17, 239, 341 — synodische Umlaufszeit 584 Tage. I 238, 239, 327, 350; II 137 — mittlere Länge 583 Tage 22 Std. 6 Min. 40 Sek. II 137 — Anfänge der fünf auf einander folgenden, s. *cipactli, couatl, atl, acatl, olin*. I 239, 327, 337; II 137 — überleitende Daten. I 349, 350; II 138 — fünf auf einander folgende Perioden durch fünf aus Scheibe, Trapez und Art Schlangenzunge bestehende Gebilde bezeichnet (im Codex Vaticanus). II 138 — s. *yacaxiuitl*. — fünfte, ihr Anfangstag *matlactli olin*. I 327 — fünfte, an ihrem Ende droht dem *altepetl* allgemeiner Weltuntergang. II 155, 156 — ihr Anfang für den Anfang des Tonalamatl's *(ce cipactli)* bedeutsam. I 239 — die fünf Perioden und ihre Hüter. I 327–336; II 153, 154 — die 4 × 5 Hüter der Perioden. I 238 bis 280 — der grosse Zyklus von 13 × 5 Perioden. I 255, 263, 334, 350; II 136—157 — auf Blatt 46—50 der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 311, 333, 334 ff., 350; II 15, 153, 154 — zerfällt dort in Abschnitte von 90, 250, 8 und 236 Tagen. I 350; II 15, 153 — zerfällt im Codex Borgia in 243, 77, 252 und 12 Tage. II 14–16, 16.

Venusperioden, fünf davon = acht Sonnenjahren. I 176, 239 — dem Regenten der ersten, zweiten, dritten, vierten, fünften des Codex Borgia entspricht der zweite, fünfte, erste, vierte, dritte des Codex Bologna und Codex Vaticanus. II 143, 149 — ihre fünf Hüter bilden vier Reihen in entsprechenden verschiedenen Aktionen; Ausbohren des Auges, Darreichen ihres Abbildes, Herausziehen eines welligen Streifens aus dem Leibe einer menschlichen Figur, Darreichen der Brust. I 239 — die fünf —. I 327—336 — Gott des Planeten Venus schleudert seinen Speer in den fünf Perioden immer auf die in der entgegengesetzten Himmelsrichtung mächtige Gestalt. II 155 — mit der Zählung der Tage des Tonalamatl's in Übereinstimmung gebracht. II 138 — dreizehnmal fünf. I 255, 263, 334; II 136—157 — Venusperioden und Sonnenjahre. I 349–353 — ihre Mythologie und Wissenschaft auf dem Gebiete mexikanisch redender Stämme entstanden und von diesen den Maya-Völkern überbracht. I 336; II 157.

Venusphasen, im Codex Borgia: Tod des Morgensterns (Bl. 29). II 3—4 — Wanderung durch die Unterwelt nach Westen (Bl. 30–32). II 4–17, 46 — Aufgehen im Westen (Bl. 32, Ende). II 13, 14 — Wanderung am Abendhimmel der Sonne nach (Bl. 33–38). II 17—46 — Eingehen in die Erde im Westen (Bl. 39 u. 40). II 47–50 — Rückwanderung durch die unterirdischen Regionen (Bl. 40–44). II 50—69 — Wiedererscheinen des Planeten und Aufgehen der Sonne am östlichen Himmel (Bl. 45 u. 46). II 69–75.

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Vera Paz, Gebiet in Guatemala; hiess früher *Toçolotlan* „tierra de guerra". I 95.

Veränderlichkeit des Daseins, durch das Element des Wassers veranschaulicht. II 225 — durch den Mond (s. *ce miquiztli*), durch *Tezcatlipoca*. I 151; II 229.

verbranntes Feld, s. Feld, verbranntes.

Verbreitung, weite, der gleichen mythisch-figurativen Darstellungen und Vorstellungen. II 103.

Verbrennen des Opfers auf dem Altare zur Mittagsstunde, s. *Kinich-Kakmó*.

Verbrennung, s. *tetlatiliztli* — des *xiuhcouatl* am Feste *Panquetzaliztli*. II 131 — der Toten. I 126 — s. auch Selbstverbrennung.

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Verhängniss, s. *tzoaztli tlaxapochtli*.

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vier Felder des Ballspielplatzes. II 13, 28 — darin getheilter Behang. II 42.

vier Fellstreifen, in der Adlerfederkrone *(quauhtzoncalli)* des Sonnengottes, auf dem *teoicpalli* des Südens. II 122.

vier Feuergötter (weiss, roth, blau, gelb), entspringen nackt den Rauchwolken, die durch das Feuerbohren *Quetzalcouatl*'s im *chalchiuitl*-Herzen der Erdgöttin der Mitte der Unterwelt verursacht werden. II 74.

vier Feuerreiber. II 118–120.

vier Gefangene werden am Tage *naui olin* geopfert (zwei *chachanmê* und je ein Abbild von Sonne und Mond). I 204 — lebend ins Feuer geworfen, beim Feste der *Chantico*. II 273, 274.

vier Gestalten der *Tlaçolteotl*, s. *Ixcuinanmê*. I 152, 153, 172, 173 — je zwei in Adler-, je zwei in Steinmesserverkleidung, mit abgeschnittenem, blutstropfendem Kopfe in jeder Hand. II 10 — bedeuten Morgen- und Abendstern. II 13.

viergliedrige Säulen, so angeordnetes Tonalamatl. II 4, 5, 46 — im Codex Cortes. II 4.

vier Götter helfen den eingestürzten Himmel wieder aufrichten; s. *Tzontemoc*, *Itzcouatl*, *Itzmalin*, *Tepexochitl* (*Tenesuchi*). I 150 — auf dem Zeichen *manik* „Hirsch" Feuer bohrend, im Cod. Dresd. I 215.

vier Götterpaare, und der Feuergott, ergeben die neun „Señores de la noche". II 107.

vier grosse kosmische Potenzen, Sonne, Mond, Morgenstern und Sternenwelt, verkörpert in den vier Federschlangen. II 303.

vier halbe Augen, unterhalb des Bandvierecks bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 283, 284.

vier Himmelsrichtungen. I 18, 26, 107, 112, 139, 155, 158, 175, 191, 235, 248, 290, 327, 343, 344, 347; II 4, 13, 14, 26, 33, 41, 42, 45, 56, 70, 72, 103, 108, 206 — s. *olin*. I 13, 14 — s. weisse Kreuze. — s. Andreaskreuz, schwarzes. — in ihnen mächtige Gottheiten in *Quetzalcouatl* verkörpert. I 85, 86 — Herr der = Feuergott *(Nauhyoteoctli)*. I 118 durch den viereckigen Kopfputz *Tlaloc*'s (s. dort) veranschaulicht II 235 — des Ballspielplatzes *(tlachtli)*, beim *Tecuilhuitontli*-Feste, vertreten durch *Quetzalcouatl* (Osten), *Cuacouatl* (Westen), *Ixtlilton* (Norden), *Xochipilli* (Süden). I 290 — vier Felder des Ballspielplatzes. II 13 — ihnen entsprechend die 52jährige Periode und das Tonalamatl angeordnet. I 343, 344 — ihnen entsprechend vier Ergänzungen *Xochipilli*'s. II 41 — ihnen entsprechend vier Schlangen, die das nach den vier Gegenden differenzirte Wasser bezeichnen. II 43–45 — ihnen entsprechend vier zerstückelnde Thiere (s. diese). II 59–69 — ihnen entsprechend vier *quauhcalli*. II 70 — ihnen entsprechend neun Köpfe von Abbildern des Morgensterns, abwechselnd schwarz, gelb, blau, roth. II 72 — ihnen entsprechend vier Federschlangen. II 299 — Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden; entsprechende Farben: sehwarz, gelb, blau, roth. I 345; II 72 — weiss, gelb, roth, blau. II 12 — s. Farbenturnus. — Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden. I 241, 267, 329, 337, 339, 341; II 126 — durch bestimmte Tageszeichensäulen bezeichnet. II 4, 14 — aber in dem abweichenden Turnus: Osten, Westen, Norden, Süden. II 14 — ihr sakraler Turnus II 13 — Durchlaufen der vier Himmelsrichtungen = Bewegung über eine Fläche hin. II 13 — in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift bei den Hieroglyphen der Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten. I 309, 311.

vier Himmelsträger. II 126 ff. — entsprechen dem Westen, Süden, Osten, Norden. II 126.

vier Höhlen, wo es in die Erde hineingeht, *Mictlan, tonatiuh ichan, Tlalocan, cincalco*. II 56.

Vierhundert, Kaninchen, s. *centzontotochtin*. — Südliche, s. *centzon uitznaua*. — Wolkenschlangen, s. *Mimixcoua*. — s. Frau mit vierhundert Brüsten *(Mayauel)*. (I 113) — Chichimeken, von *Camaxtli* geschaffen, Urväter der *Otomi*. I 264 — s. *Centzon Mimixcoua*.

vier insektenartige Gestalten, mit Kolibrischnäbeln und -flügeln, neben *Quetzalcouatl* als *uitzitzilin* im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66.

vier Jahre. I 112, 341–349 — vierjährige Hungersnoth, in *Tollan*. I 95 — alle vier Jahre werden bei den Mexikanern die grossen Feste der Gemeinde feierlich begangen. I 347 — nach dieser Zeit verwandeln sich die Seelen der toten, geopferten Krieger in verschiedene Schmuckvögel *(tlaçototome)*. I 62; II 67.

vier Jahre und vier Tonalamatl-Abschnitte. I 341–348.

vier Kardinalpunkte. I 235; II 4.

vier Klassen von Menschen *(nauhtlamantli tlaca)*, gab es, als Erde und Himmel gelegt wurden. II 25.

vier Klassen von Menschenaltern *(nauhtlamantl nemiliztli)*, vier Weltalter. II 25.

vier Königsstühle. II 121, 122 — s. Ost-, Nord-, West-, Süd-*teoicpalli*.

vier kopulirende Paare. I 155; II 120 — repräsentiren die produzirenden Mächte. II 120.

vier Kreise, s. *tonallo*.

vier Kriegerseelengötter, um die neun Köpfe von Abbildern des Morgensterns vertheilt. II 72.

vier Kugeln (Perlen), s. *tonallo*. I 135; II 224 — damit Ball spielende Thiere. II 115, 116, 117.

vier Lichtgötter und ihre Erscheinungsformen. II 305–310.

vier Maisgöttinnen. I 158.

viermal fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 238–280.

viermal Geburtsstellung der Göttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes zu Füssen *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 154, 173.

viermal geräuchert, am Tage der Sonne. I 224.

vier mal sechsundzwanzig Bilder. II 207.

vier Männer und eine Frau, werden von *Camaxtli* im achten Himmel als Opfer für die Sonne geschaffen. Sie fallen ins Wasser und kehren dann wieder in den achten Himmel zurück. I 264 — und eine Frau, kommen vom achten Himmel auf Bäume herab, werden von Adlern genährt und töten alle Chichimeken bis auf *Xiuhnel*, *Mimich* und *Camaxtli*. I 264.

vier Menschengesichter, aus den Rachen von vier Schlangen des rothen Wassergefässes hervorsehend. II 43.

vier Oeffnungen der Umwallung des Südens der Unterwelt. II 57.

vier Paare von *Tzitzimimê*, je eine *Cuateotl* und ein *Auiateotl*. II 117, 118.

vier Parallelen *Xochipilli*'s. II 41.

vier Perlen, s. *tonallo*.

vier Pfähle des Hauses. II 103.

vier Pfeile in der Hand des Bildes *Tezcatlipoca*'s in *Tetzcoco*. I 151.

vier präkosmische Sonnen. I 92, 107, 204; II 25, 69, 159, 160, 289 — s. *atonatiuh, quiauhtonatiuh, ecatonatiuh, ocelotonatiuh*. — s. vier Weltalter.

vier *quauhcalli,* deuten die obere Region, den Kriegerhimmel, an. II 70.

vier Reiche des Abendhimmels. II 25, 35 — den vier Himmelsrichtungen parallelisirt. II 33.

vier Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden, in vier verschiedenen Aktionen. I 239
vier Rosetten, am Kopfschmucke *Tlaloc*'s.
vier Sänlen der Erde und die vier Stützen des Himmels. II 126—134.
vier Schildkröten, jede von ihnen regnete vier Tage, bei den Mandau. II 202.
vier Schlangen in dem rothen Wassergefässe, das die Geburt des Maises durch andere Darstellungen andeutet II 43, 44 — bezeichnen das nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen differenzirte Wasser. II 45.
vier Schnüre, in Blüthen endend, (zusammen mit einer Schlange und einen Skolopender) unter dem Stuhl der *Xochiquetzal* hervorkommend. II 281.
vier schwarze *amapamitl*, Rückendevise des schwarzen Todesgottes im Codex Bologna. II 114.
vier schwarze Figuren, unter daunenfederballbesetzten Decken, mit Abzeichen *Xolotl*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s, haben Bezug zu den Pulquegöttern (?). II 42.
vier schwarze *itztli*-**Figuren.** II 38.
vier Schwestern der *Tlaçolteotl* (*Tlacapan, Teicu, Tlaco, Xocotzin*). II 86.
vier Skolopender, mit Skeletwirbelsäule. II 91.
vier Skorpione. I 124.
vier Speichen des Andreaskreuzes, darin (im Cod. Fejérváry) vier Bäume. II 107.
vier Spielstäbe, zur Markirung der Points, auf dem rothen *tlachtli* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 51.
vier Steinperlen, im Kreuz gestellt, bilden den Handgelenkschmuck *Xochipilli*'s. I 131, 248, 267.
vier Sterne, an den vier Enden des Himmels, als Hüter (Halter) desselben. II 127 — dieselbe Vorstellung bei den heutigen Huichol-Indianern. II 127 — s. Stern im Osten, Norden, Westen, Süden.
Vierstrahligkeit, Abbild der vier Richtungen, s. *olin*. I 13, 14.
vier Stützen des Himmels und die vier Säulen der Erde. II 126—134.
vier Tage weilt *Quetzalcouatl* in der Unterwelt und ist vier weitere Tage Knochen; Bedeutung dieser Zeit (s. acht Tage). II 16.
viertägiger Regen, der vier Schildkröten, nach der Sage der Mandan. I 202.
viertägiges Kampfspiel der Medizinweiber und Hebammen. I 154 — Fasten (*netonatiuhçauallí*). I 204 — Stehenbleiben der Sonne am Himmel. I 206; II 115, 144, 247.
Viertel, s. Tonalamatl. — ihre Anfänge zu den vier Himmelsrichtungen in Beziehung gesetzt. I 344.
vier Tempel, ihnen bringen die Götter der betreffenden Region Opfer dar. II 108—115.
vier *Tezcatlipoca*-**Figuren** (weiss, gelb, roth, blau), mit abgeschnittenem blutendem Skeletkopf in jeder Hand. II 10.
vier Thiere, Ball spielend *(ollamani)*. II 115, 116, 117 — s. *oçomàtli, chalchiuhtotolin, cipactli, Mictlantecutli*.
vier *Tlaloc*-**Figuren,** bezeichnen die vier Himmelsrichtungen. I 344-348 — des Ostens der Unterwelt. II 6.
vier *Tonalamatl*-**Abschnitte.** I 341—348.
vier *tzompantli*. II 115, 116 — s. Ost-*tzompantli*, Nord-*tzompantli* etc.
vier *uitztli*, in einen Stab gesteckt, bei *Tlaloc*. II 229.
vier unterirdische Regionen, s. vier Höhlen.
vier Varianten des Sonnengottes, sind die ersten vier der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht im Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. I 229.
vier Viertel der 52jährigen Periode, ihre Anfangstage. I 343 — des Tonalamatl's, ihre Anfangstage. I 343.
vier Vögel, entsprechend auf vier Bäumen sitzend. II 103 ff.
vier Wände, von ihnen der Feuergott eingeschlossen. I 117.
vier Wege nach dem Mittelpunkte der Erde. I 150.
vier weibliche Gestalten, mit dreieckig spitz nach unten laufendem rothem Felde ums Auge, am unteren Stufenpyramidenabsatze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — des Hauses der rothen Schlange. II 19, 20 — s. vier Dienerinnen des Feuergottes. — sind Priesterinnen des Feuergottes. II 24, 25.
vier Weltalter, *nauhtlamantli nemiliztli*. II 25 — s. vier präkosmische Sonnen.
vier *Youaltetecutin*, nehmen vier Blutströme aus dem Penis des sich sakrifizirenden *Quetzalcouatl* auf. II 32.
vier Zeichen der aufeinander folgenden Jahre. I 342 — in México, *acatl, tecpatl, calli, tochtli*. I 342—345.
vier zerstückelnde Thiere, im Süden der Unterwelt und ihre Entsprechungen im Codex Vaticanus B und Codex Fejérváry. II 59—65 — s. *tzinacantli, ocelotl, acipactli, quauhtli;* bezw. *tzinacantli, ocelotl, quetzaltototl, quauhtli*. — im Codex Borgia. II 67—69, 117 — im *Popol Vuh (cot, c'ama zo'tz, cotz balam, tucum balam)*. II 69 — stellen den von ihnen zerstückten Himmelskörper wieder leuchtend her. II 69.
vier Zimmer, Wohnung *Tlaloc*'s. II 302.
vierter Himmel, bewohnt von *Tonatiuh*. II 292, 294.
vierter *Tonalamatl*-**Abschnitt,** ihm entsprechend die fünf *Auiateteô* des Südens, s. *Auiateteô, Uitznaua*.
viertes *Tollan*, im Süden gelegen (s. *chi c'aboril*, Cakch.). II 93.
Vierzahl, bedeutet das Heilige, Normale. II 96.
vinak (Qu'iche), Mensch; = Name der Zahl 20.
virambanecha (taraskisch), die *Centzon Uitznaua* der mexikanischen Sage; stehen in der Schlachtordnung zur Linken, ihnen opfert die Göttin an dem Schwitzbade. II 13.
visionäre Zustände, durch Genuss von *yequalli* hervorgerufen. I 201, Anm. 2.
voc (Qu'iche), „Sperber". Bote des Sonnengottes zu den Menschen. I 147.
Vogel, buntgefiedert, in der Hand des Sonnengottes. II 228 — der Götter der Lust, s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. (I 304) — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, s. *nactli*. I 305 — *Xipe*'s, s. *çolin tlauh quechol*. — *Tonatiuh*'s, s. *quetzaltototl*. — *Xiuhtecutli*'s, s. *xiuhtototl*; s. *alo*. — *Tlaloc*'s, der Truthahn (*uexolotl, chalchiuhtotolin*). I 200; II 116, 298 — des Todesgottes, die Ohreule, das Käuzchen, s. *chiquàtli, tecolotl*. — *Tezcatlipoca*'s, das *chalchiuhtotolin*. I 39, 201; II 116, 272 — der Lachfalke (*uactli, uacton*). II 253 — *Uitzilopochtli*'s der Kolibri, s. *uitzitzilin*. — *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s, s. Waldhuhn. — an den Blüthen saugend = Seele des toten Kriegers. I 62 — in ihn die Seele des toten Kriegers verwandelt. I 145 — s. *tlaçototomé*. — bildet Ohrpflock des Kriegsgottes, des Herren der vierten Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — an der Stirnbinde, herabschwebend, beim Feuergotte *(Xiuhtecutli)*. I 120 — Schmuck der Häuptlingsbilder der Reliefs von *Chich'en itza*. I 120, 121, 335 — Schmuck des Kriegsgottes, des Hüters der vierten Venusperiode in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 335 — Element in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 311 — Hocken eines -s; Klassenhieroglyphe in Maya-Handschriften. I 311.
Vogel der Regenzeit, der Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*). II 106.
Vogel mit Scheitelfederkamm, s. *coxolitli*, s. *coxcoxtli, quetzalcoxcoxtli*. — mit Federschopf in Maya-Handschriften. I 311.
Vogelflügel, bunter, als Nackenrosette von *Mixcouatl* getragen. I 259.
Vogelkopf, stylisirter, vorn am Kopfriemen *Tlaloc*'s. I 112, 237, 250 — an der Stirnseite der *Mayauel*. I 114 — des Sonnengottes. I 203, 223, 224, 268, 284; II 47, 122, 158, 306 — an der Stirnseite *Youaltecutli*'s. II 47 — der Mond-

figur des Abendhimmels (im Westen der Unterwelt). II 56 — an der Stirnseite des Thieres mit der spitzen Schnauze (im Tempel des Nordens). II 111 — an der Stirnseite *Tonacatecutli*'s. I 77, 78, 80 — *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 87, 245; II 213 — *Xochipilli*'s. I 101, 130, 223, 224, 225, 246, 338; II 190 — *Cinteotl*'s. I 224, 225, 242; II 134 — am Haarriemen des Feuergottes. I 120, 121, 305 — der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279 — der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 244 — an der Stirn des Gottes des Ostens. I 332 — an der Stirnseite des rothen *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 61 — ein Adlerkopf. II 122 — s. Volute, blaue Volute.

Vogelkopf, bildet die Kreuzrosette (*tezcacuitlapilli*) bei *Quetzalcouatl*, *Xochipilli*, *Pàtecatl*, *Tezcatlipoca*, und ist ein *coxcoxtli*. I 164 — bei der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 164 — am Hinterkopfe mit dem Element *e'tznab*, in Maya-Handschriften, entspricht *Xipe Totec*. I 311, 312.

Vogelmaske des Sonnengottes. II 89.

Vogelpfeil, in den Schlund des rothen Hundes (Grabbeigabe) gestossen. II 268.

Vogelschnabelmaske *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 245, 286, 302, 303; II 16, 32, 35, 131, 166, 167, 215 — bildet den Kopf eines *cipactli*-artigen Thieres, bei *Tonatiuh*. I 285 — bei einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47 — bei *Tezcatlipoca*. II 32, 35.

Vogelverkleidung, Sonnengott in —, bezeichnet die siebente Tagstunde, den Mittag. II 296, 297.

Vögel, s. Dreizehn Vögel. — vier, s. vier Vögel.

Volcan del Fuego, in Guatemala; in den Urwäldern dort lebt Orcophasis derbianus. I 319.

Volksaberglauben, vor Konstruktion des Tonalamatl's bestehend. II 86.

voller Mond, I 140; II 208 — (grosse) rothe Scheibe. II 30. seine Göttin: *Teteo innan*, *Tlaçolteotl*, *Toci*. II 18, 253.

Vollmondverzierung, rothe Scheiben am Tempel der Nacht. II 30

Volute, Verkümmerung aus dem stylisirten Vogelkopfe des Stirnriemens (beim Feuergotte). I 121; II 235, 238.

vorangehender Krieger, *iaqui telpochiaqui*, *Urendequa vecara* (tarask.), ist der Morgenstern. II 70.

Vorderfuss, s. rechter, linker —.

Vorfahren, die *Chichimeca*. II 165 — die Verstorbenen, Alten, toten Krieger. I 62; II 297 — vergöttlichter Vorfahr, *Uitzilopochtli*, mit dem Sonnengotte verschmolzen. I 84, 85 — im Kriege gefallener, Vorbild des *Xocotl uetzi*-Festes. I 190 — ihr Repräsentant ist *Otontecutli*. II 68 — ist *Mixcouatl*. II 68 — ist der Feuergott. II 165, 297 — ihr Repräsentant, der Mond. II 74 — s. erster Mensch. — ihr Wohnort, *Colhuacan*. II 20 — der Norden. II 79, 116 — s. *Teocolhuacan*, *Tamoanchan*. II 20, 25, 81 — symbolische Bezeichnung für sie: *tlauauantli*-Bein mit Kriegermaske. II 80 — s. *aoztlotl*. — am Abendhimmel aufziehend, die zehn *Ueueteteô* und zehn *Cinateteô*. II 20.

Vorgänger *Quetzalcouatl*'s, s. Vater *Quetzalcouatl*'s

Vorhang der Erde, der Leib der Erdgöttin, roth und mit Steinmessern gemustert, verschliesst die Mitte der Unterwelt. II 72 — durch ein Loch darin tritt *Quetzalcouatl* in die Unterwelt und deren verschiedene Himmelsrichtungen ein. II 45, 49, 55, 57 — durch einen Spalt darin verlässt *Quetzalcouatl* die Unterwelt. II 69, 70.

Vorhang zum Himmel, ihn bildet der Leib einer Erdgöttin, mit Symbolen des Himmels (Steinmesser, Lichtaugen). II 75.

Vorraum zum Norden der Unterwelt, vom Dunkel umwallt. II 49.

Vorstoss von Adlerfedern, an der Schambinde, s. *quauhiuiyacamaxtlatl*.

Vorzeit, ein Bild von ihr ist *Tamoanchan*. I 62 — s. Chichimeken, *Itzpapalotl*, *cozcaquauhtli*.

Vukub cakix (Qu'iche), „sieben Arara", Dämon im Popol Vuh. I 42 — s. *alo*.

Vukub hunahpuh (Qu'iche), s. *Hun hunahpuh*. — Heros des Mondes. II 49, 50.

Vulkan, Abbild des Erdbebengottes *naui oçomàtli*. I 46 — beim Regengotte dargestellt. II 234 — s. *Popocatepetl*.

Vulkangott, s. Erdbebengott.

vulkanische Asche, s. *xaltetl*.

Vulkanismus, vulkanische Steine (Feuer in der Erde) mit dem Feuerregen (s. *tlequiauitl*, *quiauhtonatiuh*, *teçontli*) in Zusammenhang gebracht. II 278.

Vulva, blutige, bei der Todesgottheit. I 127 — aus ihr das Kind der *Tlaçolteotl*, die neue *Tlaçolteotl*, hervorkommend. I 157; II 252 — der Gottheit der Wollust mit dem Tageszeichen *xochitl* verbunden. II 305 — eines rothen Skeletts, daraus eine gelbe Figur hervorkommend, Geburt der Sonne über dem Ostmeere andeutend. II 48 — (?), daraus hervorkommende bunte Schlange. II 7 — aus ihr kommt ein Quetzalfederschmuck heraus bei der *Xochiquetzal* (*Quaxolotl*) der vierten Nachtstunde. II 186 — damit in Verbindung das neugeborene Kind der Göttin *Yei tecpatl*. I 240.

Wachen, hieroglyphische Darstellung. — s. *ixtoçoliztli*.

Wachs, Herzen daraus als Ersatz für Thierherzen in Yukatan beim Feste *Mac* geopfert. I 117.

Wachsthum, s. *izcalli*. — Vorbild für das Wachsthum der Vegetation ist der zunehmende Mond. II 11, 64, 86, 184 — s. *Xipe Totec*, s. geköpfte Göttin.

Wachsthum, monströses, bei *Xolotl* angedeutet. II 42, 43.

Wachtel, s. *çolin*. — Wachtelschmuck, bei der Maisgöttin des *Ochpaniztli*-Festes. I 158 — s. *çolin*. — -Federn im Schmucke der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163; II 217, 296 — s. *Xipe*.

Wachtelblut, damit der Sonnengott genährt. II 290.

Wachtelfederschmuck, auf dem Scheitel der *Tlaçolteotl*. I 163; II 217, 296 — Nackenschmuck der *Mayauel*. II 235.

Wachtelschmuck, Zeichen der Mondgötter (*Tlaçolteotl*, *Xipe Totec*). II 290.

Wachtelopfer. II 283, 290 — s. *tlaquechcotonaliztli*.

Waden, daran Schellen gebunden. II 308.

Wahrsagebücher, s. *tonalamatl*. — enthalten die Geschicke der Neugeborenen. I 153 — ihre Form in alter Zeit. II 208.

Wahrsagen, s. Ausstreuen von Maiskörnern.

Wahrsager, s. *tonalpouhqui*. — zugleich Krankheitsbeschwörer. I 280

Wahrsagerei, von *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* (s. dort) erfunden. II 191.

Wahrsagerin, s. Prophetin (*Xochiquetzal*).

Wald, den der Kaufmann durchwandert. I 294 — sein Herr ist *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. I 296.

Waldhuhn, s. *coxolitli*, s. *cox*, s. *ah mut*, *yaxcoc ah mut*. — als alte Göttin bei den Maya von Yukatan gedacht. I 303 — der Tierra caliente, eine Art dieser Gattung der *quetzalcoxcoxtli*. II 95.

Waldhuhnfedern, im Nackenschmucke *Quetzalcouatl*'s, s. *coxoliyo uei itepol*. — Krone daraus, bei *Xolotl*. II 265.

Waldregion, *teoquauhtla*, Westland. I 296.

Wand, schwarz-weisse, trennt *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*, das fünfte der sechs Götterpaare. II 176.

Wanderer. I 92, 93.

wandern nach Osten, s. Osten; s *tonatiuh iixco yaqui;* s. *Quetzalcouatl;* s. Tolteken.

Wandernde, ewig —, die Sterne. II 162.

wandernde Gestalt, Begleitbild im Tonalamatl = Sternhimmel des Südens. I 52.

wandernde Götter, der rothe *Tezcatlipoca*. I 292, 293 — der blaue Gott mit Trachtabzeichen *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 325.

Wandernder, sein Zeichen der Fächer (*ecacenaztli*). II 158.

wandernder Kaufmann, *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* I 293 — *pochtecatl, oztomecatl, anauac ealaquini,* Kaufmann, der aus der pazifischen Tierra caliente heimkehrt. I 293.
wandernder Priester. I 28, 29 (= Feuergott), 45.
Wandersage eines in *Michoacan* angesiedelten toltekischen oder *Nauatl*-Stammes, auf dem Lienzo de Jucutácato. II 269, 270.
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weisse Besatzstücke, an der Kopfbinde *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s.

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weisse Muschelscheiben, Saum der Strahlenscheibe der *Xochiquetzal* (Mondgöttin) im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66 — Grenzstreifen der blau und gelben Gesichtsbemalung der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — am unteren Saume der blauen Enagua (*cuēitl*) der *Xochiquetzal*. II 281 — s. Kranz —.

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weisse Reiherfedern, s. *aztatl*, *aztatzontli*, *aztapatzactli*. — daraus besteht das Banner *Curicaueri*'s (tarask.). II 72.

weisse ringförmige Augenbemalung, aus *tiçatl*, beim Tanzgotte (*Uenecoyotl*). II 188, 189.

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weisser Schädel, bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, Regenten der fünften Venusperiode. II 139, 140, 151, 155 — der Hauptfigur des zweiten Gliedes des dritten Paares der vier Lichtgötter. II 306, 307.

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weisser Schmetterling, Mundbemalung *Xochipilli*'s. II 95, 96 — s. *papalotl*.

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weisses Räuchergefäss, Dekoration des Thürpfostens der Cella des Tempels des Westens. II 112 — mit einer Kautschukkugel, vor *Mictlantecutli*, dem Himmelsträger des Nordens. II 132.

weisses Schultertuch *Iztac Mixcouatl's*. I 308.

weisses *tlaxapochtli* auf der Wange der die Einzäunung bildenden Todesgöttin. II 2.

weisses Windkreuz, s. Windkreuz.

weisshaariger *Tonacatecutli,* ihm ist ein *cipactli*-Rachen im Gesichte eingesetzt. II 46.

wellig begrenzte, schräg rothe und gelbe Linien, Opferverzierung. II 108.

wellige Zeichnung = Falten der übergezogenen Menschenhaut *Xipe's*. I 41, 240 — des herausgezogenen gelben Streifens bei den menschlichen Figuren der dritten Reihe der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 239, 240 — bedeutet Geburt eines Kindes. I 240 — des Streifens, der vom Herzen in der Hand des *teyolloquani* nach dessen Munde geht. I 306.

Welt, irdische, s. *altepetl.*

Weltalter, vier, s. *nauhtlamantli nemiliztli.* — s. vier präkosmische Sonnen.

Weltbrand, droht am Ende der fünften Venusperiode dem *altepetl*, das daher mit dem Bilde des Feuers verbunden ist. II 155 — Himmel und Erde brennen beim Weltuntergange (Maya). II 156.

Weltende, Zusammenfallen von Mond und Sonne, Sichtbarwerden der Sterne am hellen Mittag. II 265.

Weltgegend, 1. s. Osten. — 2. s. Norden. — 3. s. Westen, Mitte (oben-unten). — 4. s. Süden. — 5. s. Mitte (Oben-Unten).

Weltgegenden, die sechs. I 284—299 — Parallele dazu im Codex Fejérváry. II 125.

Welthüter, s. Hüter der Welt.

Weltperioden, s. *Atonatiuh, Ocelotonatiuh, Quiauhtonatiuh, Ecatonatiuh, Olintonatiuh.*

Weltuntergang, am Tage *naui olin* als möglich angenommen. I 204; II 280 — durch Erdbeben, s. *Olintonatiuh.* — durch Fasten am Tage *naui olin* fernzuhalten gesucht. I 204; II 280 — droht am Ende der fünften Venusperiode dem *altepetl.* II 155, 156 — s. *matlactli omei xochitl.* — s. *oxlahun ahau.* — s. *noh haicabil.*

Werkzeuge der Kasteiung, s. Kasteiungs —. — der Strafe, s. Strafe.

West-Ballspieler, ein *cipactli.* II 116.

Westbaum mit blauem *Xochipilli (?)* im Codex Vaticanus. II 104 — Maisbaum mit einem blauen Raubvogel. II 106 — bei ihm *Tlaçolteotl*, der siebente der neun Herren der Nacht, dargestellt (im Codex Vaticanus). II 107, 108 (Abb.).

Westen, s. *cuatlampa, chikin.* — Baum des, s. *uitzitzilquauitl.* — s. dunkles Haus der Erde. — s. Urheimath, *Teocolhuacan.* — s. Leguan. — s. Meer des Westens. — verkörpert die weibliche Natur. I 267 — Region der Geburt, Zeugung, des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs. I 184—186 — der Sünde. I 187; II 8 — s. *Tamoanchan.* — s. *cincalco.* — durch *Chalchiuhtlicue* und *Tlaçolteotl* bezeichnet. I 237 — durch *Piltzintecutli* und *Tepeyollotli.* I 238 — durch *Tepeyollotli* bezeichnet. I 296 — durch *Xipe Totec.* I 296, 330 — durch *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* I 296 — durch *quauhtemoc.* II 17 — dort findet das Wiedererscheinen des Mondes (Vorbild für das Wiedererwachen der Vegetation) statt. II 11 — ihm entspricht die Aktion der letzten beiden Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden (Zeugung und Nähren). I 241 — der Regengott des Westens und der *calli*-Jahre, hat blaue Farbe. I 345, 348 — Region der Maisgötter. II 155, 177 — Geburtsland des Maises. I 352; II 4, 56, 57, 81, 106 — s. *Tamoanchan, cincalli.* — durch einen Henkelkrug mit einer *Xochiquetzal*-Figur bezeichnet. I 352 — durch den Sandberg (s. *iztac axalli)* und durch Wasser bezeichnet. II 103 — Region der Wasserfülle. I 346, 348; II 62 — s. *Tlaloc* der *calli*-Jahre; s. *atl ayauican.* — Region des Dunkels. II 90 — Region der Fruchtbarkeit. II 116 — s. Fruchtbarkeit. — nach dieser Himmelsrichtung ist die Front der Tempel der Gottheit des Planeten Venus in *Uxmal* gerichtet. II 140 — s. Himmelsrichtungen, veränderter Anfang.

Westen der Unterwelt, vom unsichtbaren Morgenstern durchwandert. II 7—9 — vom unsichtbaren Abendstern durchwandert. II 55—57.

Westen und Süden, im Gegensatze zu Osten und Norden. II 73, 74.

West-Erdgottheit *Xipe Totec.* II 132—133.

West-Feuerreiber, Gott der Lebensmittel (Maisgott). II 119.

West-Himmelsträger, *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 129.

West-Jahre, s. *calli*-Jahre.

Westland, Waldregion, *teoquauhtla*, sein Vertreter ist *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* I 296.

Westmeer, s. Meer des Westens. — s. *chiucnauhapan.*

West-*Nanauatzin*, gelb, sein Datum *macuilli maçatl* „fünf Hirsch". II 123.

Westpaar, kopulirend, *Xochiquetzal* und *Tepeyollotli* (oder *Iztac Mixcouatl?*), unter einer Decke aus Türkisvogel- und Quetzalfedern. II 120.

Westregion, ihr Nord- und Südpfeiler, das Haus der schwarzen und rothen Schlange. II 22.

Westtempel, in der Mitte der Unterwelt II 73.

West-*teoicpalli*, mit den Insignien des Feuer-(Todes-)gottes (des Südblattes). II 122.

West-*tzitzimimê,* gelbe *Ciuateotl*, gelber *Auiateotl.* II 117 — bringen herab: *metl* und *tlaitzcopintli amapamitl; octecomatl* und *tlaitzcopintli amapamitl.* II 117.

West-*tzompantli*, mit einer Sonnenscheibe und einem enthaupteten *cipactli* und einem Fische. II 116.e

Wettspiel mit Zählung von Points. II 284, 285.

Wickelbär, der „Onkel des Gefangenen" des Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 174 — s. *cuetlachtli.*

Widerpart der Sonne, primitive Auffassung des Mondes. II 87.

Wiedererneuerung, s. *malinalli.* — der Vegetation, mit geschlechtlichen Vorgängen in Verbindung gebracht (s. Pulquegötter, *Tepeilhuitl*-Fest). I 139 — Gott der —, *Xipe Totec.* I 149.

Wiedergeburt, durch den Kolibri (*uitzitzilin*) repräsentirt. II 67 — s. Prinzip der Erneuerung.

Wiedererscheinen des Mondes im Westen, Vorbild für das Wiedererwachen der Vegetation. II 11.

Wiedererscheinen *Quetzalcouatl's*, von Osten erwartet. II 1.

Wiederlebendigwerden aus der Asche. II 3 — *Quetzalcouatl's.* II 55, 67.

Wiener Handschrift, s. Codex Vindobonensis.

wilde Stämme, tragen den Penis unverhüllt. I 265.

wilder Mann, *Mixcouatl,* Gott der Chichimeken und der Jagd, naekt dargestellt. II 62.

wilder Truthahn, *cutz* (Maya). I 311 — s. Meleagris ocellata Cuv.

Wind, s. *èëcatl.* — = Hauch, Athem = Leben. I 84 — des *itzeecayan,* Asche wiederlebend. II 34 — Zeitalter des Windes, der Luft, *eecatonatiuh.* II 25.

Windfiguren, kleine, an den Wasserströmen des Regengottes des Ostens (*Quetzalcouatl*). I 352.

Windflieger, aus der dunklen Masse der Region des grossen Windes hervorkommend. II 33 — auf dem Wirbel dieser Region. II 33.

Windgott, s. *Quetzalcouatl.* — ein Gott der alten Zeit. I 180.

Windfigürchen, schneckenartig eingerollt. II 3 — sechs, weiss, roth, gelb, blau und schwarz gemalt. II 3 — aus dem Rachen zweier in einander verschlungener Windgottschlangen hervortretend. II 3, 4.

Windgottkopf, an Spiralen der dunklen Masse des Skelettgefässes. II 3 — am Ende der dunklen Masse der Region des grossen Windes. II 33.

Windgottschlange, als solche kommt *Quetzalcouatl* (Morgenstern) aus der Unterwelt heraus. II 70.

Windgottschlangen, aus der dunklen Masse der Region des grossen Windes sich hervorringelnd. II 33 — zwei, in einander verschlungen. II 3, 4, 6, 7.

Windgottschnabel, bei *Quetzalcouatl* und *Tezcatlipoca*, s. Vogelschnabelmaske.

Windkreuz, weisses, auf dem *chicauaztli* des Todesgottes, auf dem Aschenwirbel. II 34 — Kreuz *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*'s. II 34, 52, 97, 302 — weisses, Zeichen des Himmels, auf dem *copilli Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 167 — in Maya-Hieroglyphen. I 326.

Windstürme, machen dem *Ecatonatiuh* ein Ende. II 69.

Windwirbel. II 33, 34 — s. Aschenwirbel.

Winkellinie, rothe, im Gesichte der *Cinacouatl*. I 277 — der *Xochiquetzal*. I 279; II 182, 183 — schwarz, die Länge des Gesichtes der Schildkröte *(ayotl)* als Gott der Musik durchziehend. I 305.

winklig gebrochener Streifen im Gesichte bei dem Maisgotte (*Cinteotl*), Ackerfeldbemalung. I 224, 241; II 106, 134, 150 — bei *Xochipilli*. I 243, 249 — beim Maisgotte der Maya-Handschriften. I 224.

Winter, trockene Zeit, Zeit der dunkleren Sonne, durch das Fest *Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca*'s, *Teotl eco* eingeleitet. I 149 — sein Uebergang zum Frühling vollzieht sich in den Tropen glatt. I 170.

Wintersonnenwendfest, s. *Titil*-Fest *(uetzi in chiquatl)*.

Wirbel, s. *Quetzalcouatl*. I 87 — dunkler Masse, mit grossem Windkopfe endigend, bezeichnet den Abendhimmel als Region des grossen Windes. II 33.

Wirbelzeichnung, des Tempels der Nacht. II 28.

Wirkungen des Wassers. II 42.

Wissenschaft, s Priesterwissenschaft.

Wohlfahrt der Menschen, geschildert bei den vier Jahren. I 345 — abhängig vom Regengotte. I 345.

wohlschmeckendes Getränk, der Pulque, als solcher durch Blumen auf seiner Fläche gekennzeichnet. II 71.

Wolke *(mixtli)*, Determinativ *Tlaloc*'s. I 250 — aus ihr der Blitz *(Xolotl)* geboren. II 53.

Wolken; ihre Abbilder die Zinnen (s. *mixrotl, mixoyotl.*) — die Zackenkrone *Tlaloc*'s.

Wolkenbedeckung des Himmels, bezeichnet durch den mythischen *moan*-Vogel. I 313.

Wolkenbildungen, baumartige. II 103.

Wolkenhaus, des Himmels, s. Haus des Regens.

Wolkenhimmel, in den Jahren des Ostens und Westens. I 345, 346 — beim Regengotte der Mitte *(Xochpillii)*. I 353.

Wolkenschichten, dreizehn, s. *oxlahun taz muyal.*

Wolkenschlange, s. *Mixcouatl.* — s. *Ah bolon tz'acab.* — Repräsentant der Fruchtbarkeit und Fülle. I 318.

Wollust, die Götter der, und ihre Zeichen. II 303–305 — s. *Auiateotl, Macuilxochitl.* — s. *oçomàtli.* — s. *Tlaçolteotl, Ciuateteô.* — s. Sünde.

Wurfbrett, s. *atlatl.*

Würfelspiel, s. *patolli.*

Würgen, durch zwei Schlangen am Halse des Sünders bei der *Itzpapalotl* veranschaulicht. II 264.

Wurm, das Thier der Erde. I 37.

wurmartige Figur = Erde, in *olin*-artiger Verschlingung mit *Quetzalcouatl*-köpfiger Gestalt. I 15; II 253.

Würmer mit Adlerschnäbeln, auf dem grossen Wirbel der Region des grossen Windes. II 33 — s. skelettköpfige.

Wurzelende als Reptilrachen dargestellt. I 225; II 27 — als Gefäss für das Feueropfer *Cinteotl*'s. I 225.

Wurzeln von Bäumen, des Himmels, durch nach unten sich öffnenden Schlangenrachen dargestellt. II 17, 104.

Xahil (Cakch.), Geschlecht der *Cakchiquel*, ihre Annalen. II 93.

Xaman (Maya) „Norden". I 311.

Xacvpancalqui, einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186.

xaltetl, vulkanische Asche, im *quiauhtonatiuh* entstanden. I 108, 204.

xaua, nino, „sich das Gesicht bemalen", s. *quauiuätl yc moxaua.* II 70.

xauhqui „im Gesichte bemalt". II 277 — s. *Coyolxauhqui.*

Xbalanque (Qu'iche), Zwillingsbruder *Hun ahpu*'s, der Mond. II 1, 50.

Xcanchakan-Hacienda, Gebet von dort. I 313.

xe butic (Qu'iche) „sie fanden in einer Ueberschwemmung ein Ende", Vernichtung der ersten unvollkommenen Menschenschöpfung. II 69.

xicaa pitào mani (zapotek.), das Thier der Opferblutschale, die rothe Schlange; Thier des Sonnengefässes, der Adlerschale. I 91.

***xicalcoluihqui*-Muster,** Stufenmäander (s. zweihenkliger Krug). II 174.

xicalli „Schale", aus *xic-calli, xiuh-calli* entstanden. I 28, 36, 267, 269 — bei *Tlaloc*. I 112 — mit *oltelolotli*, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 308 — türkisvogelfarben, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 338 — mit Edelsteinen gefüllt, im Tempel vor *Tonatiuh*, dem ersten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 158.

xicalteconpapalotl, Trinkschalen-Schmetterlinge, Seele des toten Kriegers. II 67, 297.

xicaltetl, cierto barniz de piedra blanca sobre que pintan, ó doran, ó yeso. II 67, Anm. 4.

xicolli, Priesterwams. I 20, 154; II 197.

Xilonen, Göttin des jungen Maises, ihr Fest fällt mit der Verschiebung der Stellung der Sonne von Norden nach Süden (im Zenith) zusammen. I 290.

xilotl, junger Maiskolben, für das vierte Tageszeichen *cuetzpalin* eintretend in der Tagesliste von *Metztlan*. I 5 — krönt das nach unten gekehrte Herz unter den Bestandtheilen des Feueropfers bei *Tlaloc*. I 237.

xiloxochitl, Carolinea princeps. II 67, 297.

Xingú, Waldindianer im Quellgebiete dieses Flusses, haben keulenförmige Stiele an ihren Steinbeilen. II 172.

Xipe Totec „unser Herr, der Geschundene"; Gott der Zapoteken. I 41, 149, 167–180; II 132–133, 253–262 — der *Yopi*. I 149, 167 — Herr des Küstenlandes. I 177 — der Goldschmiede. II 256 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 42, 167 ff., 270–271 — sein Abbild der gefleckte *(cicitlallô)* Vogel, die Wachtel *çolin* (s. dort). II 254 — trägt das *tzapocueitl*. I 179; II 133, 288 — aus seinem Munde kommen zwei verschlungene Edelstein- (Türkis- und Jadeït-) Bänder heraus. II 133 — an seinem Feste (*tlacaxipeualiztli*) die Opfer geschunden. I 154, 168 ff. — sein Fest fällt ins Frühjahr. I 149, 154, 160, 167 — Gott des Sacrificio gladiatorio. I 167, 171–175; II 257 — Regent des fünfzehnten Tageszeichens *quauhtli*. I 43, 165–180 — als *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* erscheinend. I 43, 149, 166, 167; II 254, 257 — Erdgott. I 41, 149, 168, 175, 270, 296, 334; II 127, 132, 253, 288 — der *Tlaçolteotl* verwandt. I 160, 168, 173, 177, 230; II 253 ff. (als Mondgott) — erhält die Erstlinge des Feldes. I 169, 175 — der draussen auf dem Felde sich aufhaltende Feldgeist. I 178, 217, 330, 334 — der *milnauatl*. I 217 — Erdgott des Westens. II 132–133 — des vierzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce itzcuintli*). II 253–262 — mit dem Feuergotte, Regent des zwanzigsten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce tochtli*). II 81, 286–289 — = *Iztapaltotec* „Herr des flachen Steines". II 288 — Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 41, 42 — Repräsentant der Vegetation, der Verjüngung der Natur. I 32, 41, 149, 160, 171, 175, 180, 217, 296, 330; II 132, 253 ff. — der in der neuen

Haut erscheinende, der neue, der zunehmende, am Abendhimmel zuerst sichtbare Mond. II 253, 254 — Gott des Wachsthums, der Vegetation, Gott der Erde, Frühlingsgott. II 18, 64, 66, 253 ff. — seine Haut (s. *tlacaeuatl*) bezeichnet die Phasenbildung des Mondes. II 254 — s. junger Mond. — junger Mond (junger Krieger). II 57, 253 — seine Mondnatur verräth das *yacametztli*, das er trägt. I 179; II 64, 254 — die himmlische Federschlange (= Mond). II 259 — seine Verkleidung die Wachtel (*çolin*). II 290 — Anspielung auf seine Mondnatur. II 290 — hält ein Meerschneckengehäuse *(tecciztli)* in der Hand. II 288 — sein Determinativ ist die Federschlange mit einem Kaninchen im Rachen (s. *quetzalcouatl*). I 180, 296; II 64 — den Mond andeutend (esoterisch). II 257—262 — erscheint als Tolteke. II 262 — alte Form von *Xiuh-ê* „Herr des Türkises", d. h. der Mondgott, der Tolteke. II 262 — Begleiter und Herold *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 262 — „Dios de la mar" (Michuacan). II 258 — s. *Anauatl itecu*. — mit seinem Schilde die Daten *ce itzcuintli*, *naui olin* und *yei quauhtli* verbunden. II 257 — bedeutet Mond, Sonne und Morgenstern. II 257 — männlicher Gott des Westens. II 18 — liegt auf einem roth und weiss gestreiften Steine auf der Plattform des Tempels der schwarzen Schlange. II 18 — vierter der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode. I 270–271 — Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, den Westen bezeichnend. I 329, 329 bis 330 — ihm entspricht unter den Maya-Göttern der Venusperioden *Ekchuah*. I 334 — sein Opfer in *Teotitlan*. I 240 — Prototyp der Krieger. I 175 — als Sonnengott aufgefasst. II 257 — Gott der Zeugung. I 174, 175 — s. *chicauaztli*. — s. *matlactli itzcuintli*. — sein Kult in Beziehung zu dem des Planeten Venus (s. *ce acatl*). I 175, 176, 296, 334 — eine Form von ihm ist vielleicht *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, der Gott des Westlandes (*teoquauhtla*). I 296 — seine Heimath die atlantischen Abhänge México's. I 177 — mit blauer Farbe gemalt. I 12, 334 — sein Vogel die Wachtel *(çolin)*. I 179, 330 — Gesang an ihn. I 168–169; II 45, 257, 259, 260 — Thonfigürchen des Gottes aus dem Valle de México, tragen das *yacametztli*. I 179 — ihm entspricht in der Reihe der zwanzig Maya-Götter *Ah bolon tz'acab*. I 217.

Xipilli, s. *Xippilli*, *Xiuhpilli*.

Xippilli, der Türkisprinz; der junge Feuergott; Name der Sonne. — s. *Xiuhpilli*.

xippoualli, Jahrzählung, 52jährige Periode (Cyclus), von den vier alten Weisen in *Tamoanchan* geschaffen.

xiuhamatl = *xippoualli*.

xiuhapaztli, blaue Schale mit einem Totengesichte auf der Fläche. II 8 — mit *chalchiuitl*, Goldschmuck, Quetzalfedern neben der *Tonacacinatl* des ersten der sechs Götterpaare. II 171, 174 — beim vierten der sechs Götterpaare. II 175.

xiuhatlatl, das blaue Wurfbrett, das mit Türkismosaik inkrustirte, in der Hand des Feuergottes. I 115, 119, 283 — zum Kostüme *Quetzalcouatl*'s, eigentlich des Feuergottes, gehörig. I 86; II 301 — Waffe *Tezcatlipoca*'s, *Uitzilopochtli*'s und des Feuergottes. I 283; II 301 — des Sonnengottes. II 244, 289, 306 — in der Hand *Tlauizcalpantecutli*'s. II 307 — an der blauen Federschlange des Westens angebracht. II 301.

xiuhcalli, s. *xicalli*.

Xiuhcouanaualli, die Feuerschlangenverkleidung, vom Feuergotte, *Uitzilopochtli* und *Tezcatlipoca* getragen. II 131.

xiuhcouatl, bezeichnet den Norden. II 40, 68, 73, 102 — die blaue Federschlange, Federschlange des Westens, *Quetzalcouatl* einschliesend. II 301, 302 — die blaue Schlange, die Türkisschlange, die Feuerschlange, Helmmaske oder Verkleidung des Feuergottes, *Uitzilopochtli*'s und *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 42, 283; II 131 — Verkleidung *Uitzilopochtli*'s und *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 301 — auf ihr quirlt *Xiuhtecutli* Feuer. I 42 — am Feste *Uitzilopochtli*'s verbrannt. II 40, 131 — bedeutet Hungersnoth *(mayanalizlli)*. I 168, 180; II 260 — Abbild des von oben herabkommenden Feuers. I 26 — Verkleidung *(naualli)* des Feuergottes. II 238 — Erscheinungsform des Planeten Venus. II 308 — die blaue Schlange des Feuergottes hat auf den Blitzstrahl Bezug (vgl. *xiuhatlatl*). I 119 — von *Xolotl* geschleudert. I 197; II 35, 36, 37, 38, 41 — bei *Tezcatlipoca* mit dem Tageszeichen *quiauitl* verbunden. I 283 — damit zerschmettert *Uitzilopochtli* die *Coyolxauh*. II 10, 86 — rothe, dem Dämon des Nordens *(ocelotl)* gegenüber, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 68 — aus ihrem Rachen eine Gruppe von fünf Gestalten hervortretend. II 41, 42 — hat trapezförmiges Schwanzende. II 43, 234 — ihr Schwanzende nach hinten zurückgebogen. II 51 — s. Trapez und Strahl. — Maya-Hieroglyphe dafür. I 326.

xiuhcouatopilli, „Feuerschlangenstab", in der Hand *Iztac Mixcouatl*'s, des sechsten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 164.

xiuhcouaxayacatl, Türkisschlangenmaske, zum Kostüme *Quetzalcouatl*'s, eigentlich des Feuergottes gehörig. I 86, 87.

xiuhcoyolnacochtli, röhrenförmiger Ohrpflock, mit breitem, mit Türkismosaik inkrustirtem Saume. Von *Xochipilli* getragen. I 130, 338 — von *Mixcouatl*. I 259.

Xiuh-ê „Herr des Türkises", = *Xipe*; der Mondgott, der Tolteke. II 262.

xiuhnacochtli, beilförmiger blauer Ohrpflock, Kriegertotenschmuck, von *Chalchiuhtlicue* getragen. I 100 — von *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 167 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und *Xiuhtecutli*. I 264; II 239 — beim Hirsche des Ostens. I 299.

Xiuhnel, Chichimeke, in alten Sagen zusammen mit *Mimich* und *Camaxtli* genannt. I 264 — sind das erste Opfer. I 264 — Chichimekenfürst (s. *Mimich*), bleibt in *Maçatepec*. I 184 — s. *Itztolli*.

Xiuhpilli, Türkisprinz; der junge Feuergott, Name des Sonnengottes. I 166, 224 — s. *Xiuhpiltontli*. — „Herr des Türkises", *Yacatecutli*, dritter der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — s. *Chalchiuhpilli*.

Xiuhpiltontli = *Xiuhpilli*, Name des Sonnengottes. I 224.

xiuhquetzaltototl, blauer Quetzalvogel, enthauptet, am Fusse des Baumes des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115.

Xiuhtecutli, Feuergott. I 42, 115–125 — andere Namen s. *Tota*, *Teteu innan*, *Ueueteotl*, *Ixcoçauhqui*. — Aussehen und Tracht. I 120—125; II 73 — trägt die Tabakkalebasse der Priester. I 28 — seine Gesichtsbemalung, bei der *Chantico*. I 118 — erster der neun Herren der Nacht, der Herr der Mitte. I 218, 219, 220, 237 — Regent des neunten Tageszeichens *atl*. I 115—125, 215 — des neunten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce couatl*). II 70, 78, 235—239, 295 — zusammen mit *Xipe Totec*, Regent des zwanzigsten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce tochtli*). II 81, 286—289 — der Tag *yei itzcuintli* „drei Hund" ist sein besonderes Zeichen. I 126, 196; II 9, 234, 288 — Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 28–30, 42 — bildet neben den vier Götterpaaren die Mitte und mit diesen die Reihe der neun Herren der Stunden der Nacht. II 107, 294 — bewohnt den ersten der dreizehn Himmel (Thévet). II 292, 294, 295 — bezeichnet die erste Tagstunde. II 295 — s. *xiuhuitzitzilin*. — Repräsentant der Richter und Könige. I 30, 119; II 81 — die Mutter und der Vater der Götter (*Teteu innan*, *Teteu inta*). I 30, 117, 119 — s. Zahl drei *(yei calli*, *yei itzcuintli)*. — s. Herdsteine *(tenamaztli)*. — vermuthlich erstes Glied des dritten Paares der vier Lichtgötter. II 308 — Erscheinungsform des Planeten Venus. II 308 — berührt sich darin mit dem Mayagotte *Ekchuah*. II 321, 322 — kriegerische Natur (s. *atl tlachinolli*). I 119, 219 — mit *Tlauizcalpantecutli*, im neunten

Tonalamatl-Abschnitte dargestellt. I 119 — beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste dargestellt. I 211 — im Wassergefässe, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 229 — deutet *atl tlachinolli* an. I 229 — als solcher erscheint der Regengott des Südens. I 352 — einige seiner Trachtstücke hat *Quetzalcouatl*. I 86 — als soleher erscheint *Quetzalcouatl* beim dritten Tageszeichen *calli*. I 303 — mit der Bemalung *Quetzalcouatl's*. II 73 — auf dem *teoicpalli* knieend, in der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — Gott des Ostens der Mitte der Unterwelt. II 73 — beim Baume des Ostens. II 104 — entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift dem Sonnengotte *Kinch ahau*. II 215.

xiuhtetzaqualli, türkisfarbene Steinpyramide. I 29, 119.

xiuhtlalpilli, blaues Netzgewebe, Rückendevise *Quetzalcouatl's*. I 89 — s. *icpaomixicuilli*. — „blaue Netzstoffumwicklung" des Bündels im Korbe auf dem Rücken des Feuerreibers des Ostens. II 119.

xiuhtotoamacalli, Tiara des Feuergottes. I 121, 219; II 288 — des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. II 299.

xiuhtotoatl, türkisvogelfarbenes Wasser. I 29, 122.

xiuhtotocalli, Türkisvogelkrone des Feuergottes. II 282 — *Tonatiuh's*. II 289.

xiuhtotopamitl, aus blauen Federn gearbeitetes Federbanner, bei der *Chalchiuhtlicue* dargestellt. I 338.

xiuhtopilli, in der Hand *Yacatecutli's*, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162 — in eine Blume endend, in der Hand des gelben *Tezcatlipoca*, des fünften der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163.

xiuhtototl, Türkisvogel; der blaue Kotinga; an der Stirnbinde des Feuergottes. I 80, 120, 219, 229, 271; II 73, 129, 130, 235 — *Uitzilopochtli's*, des Süd-Himmelsträgers. II 130 — seine Farbenfolge: blau roth, gelb. I 27, 28 (s. Feuergott, *chalchiuitl*), 121, 266 — auf der Brust des Feuergottes. II 282 — am Kragen des Feuergottes. I 122, 219; II 130, 131, 288 — als Fächer in der Hand *Xochipilli's* als Feuergott. I 305 — einer der *tlaçototome*. II 3.

***xiuhtototl*-Federn** und Quetzalfedern, bilden die Decke der kopulirenden Paare des Ostens und Westens. II 120 — daraus der Fächer *Yacatecutli's*, des dritten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 162.

xiuhuitzitzilin, türkisfarbener Kolibri, Vogel der ersten Tagstunde. II 295.

xiuhuitzolli, Kopfbinde aus Türkismosaik mit dreieckigem Stirnblatte, Königskrone. Hieroglyphe für *tecùtli*. I 79; II 239 — Kriegertotenschmuck. I 264; II 239 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 239 — bei *Xiuhtecutli*. I 119, 264; II 122 — beim Pulquegotte. I 143 — mit Maiskolben gefüllt, Hieroglyphe *Tonacatecutli's*. I 79; II 213.

xiuhxayacatl, Türkismaske *Quetzalcouatl's*. II 14.

xiuhyacamitl, Nasenstab *Tezcatlipoca's*. I 221.

xiuicoatl „Feuerschlange", Metapher für „Hungersnoth", im Liede an *Xipe*; verwandelt sich in die *quetzal*-Federschlange. I 168, 180, 259, 260.

xiuitl, Türkis, seine Farbe blau. II 8, 105, 133 — auf der Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl's*. II 215 — *Xolotl's*. II 265.

***xiuitl*-Schnur**, um den Ostbaum geschlungen. II 105.

xixipeme, Abbilder *Xipe's* mit übergezogener Menschenhaut. I 170, 176, 205 — Verfolgung durch die —. I 170, 171, s. *Tototecti*. — in *Teotitlan*. I 177.

xma kaba kin (Maya), die „namenlosen Tage", die letzten fünf Tage des Jahres. I 317 — Zärimonien an ihnen. I 347.

xocoichtlamatzoualli, eine aus Maismasse hergestellte Speise, Opfergabe für die *Cuatetcô*. I 187.

Xocotitlan, Stadt der Tolteken (der historischen). I 185.

Xocotl ist die Seele des toten Kriegers. I 118, 119; II 68 — s. *cuecuextzin*. — ist ident mit *Otontecuhtli*. I 190; II 68, 73, 74.

Xocotl uetzi, das Herabkommen *Xocotl's*; zehntes Jahresfest der Mexikaner. I 190 — um die Sommersonnenwende gefeiert. I 190 — Seitenstück dazu ist das *Uetzi in chiquatli* = *Tititl*-Fest. I 190; II 262 — Fest der männlichen Jugend mit Opferung von Kriegsgefangenen ins Feuer. I 190; II 273, 274 — vgl. *Tititl*.

Xocotzin „die Jüngste", eine der vier Schwestern der *Tlaçolteotl*. II 86.

Xochicalco „das Blumenhaus", Tempel *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl's* und der *Atlatonan* in Mexico. I 135.

xochicalli, Blumenhaus; Mitte der Region des Abendsternes. I 277 — metaphorischer Ausdruck für „Herz". I 25 (s. *xochitl*). — Tempel der Kostbarkeit (des Ostens). II 108, 109 — des Westens. II 112 — rother Tempel *Xochipilli-Auiateotl's*. II 36, 48, 51, 108 — Süden (der Unterwelt). II 57, 59, 65 — s. *itzcalli*.

Xochicauacan, einer der vier alten Weisen, die in *Tamoanchan* den Kalender schaffen. I 185 — s. *Oxomoco*, *Cipactonal*, *Tlaltetecuin*.

xochiciuiztli, Lustseuche. II 97.

xochilhuitl, Blumenfest; Fest *Xochipilli's* und der *Xochiquetzal*. I 132, 213, 262; II 95 — am Tage *chicome xochitl* „sieben Blume" gefeiert. I 213 — Opfer sind S-förmig gekrümmte Brote (*xonecuilli*). I 262.

Xochimilco, am Ufer der Süsswasserlagune, Stadt der *Chinampaneca*, Heimath der Steinschneider, Stadt der Feuergöttin *Chantico*. I 30, 51, 118 Anm. 4, 228; II 195, 196, 273, 276 — Chichimeken von — verwandt mit denen von *Quauhtitlan*. II 196.

Xochipilli, Blumenprinz; Gott der Blumen und Lebensmittel, Gegenstück zu *Xochiquetzal*. I 79, 135; II 36, 171, 175 bis 176 — Gott des Blumenfestes (*xochilhuitl*). I 132, 262; II 95 — des grossen Herrenfestes (*uei tecuilhuitl*), des achten Jahresfestes der Mexikaner. I 132, 290; II 95 — beim *Tecuilhuitontli*-Feste auf dem *tlachtli* dargestellt, den Süden vertretend. I 290 — ist der junge Herr des Lebens, der Gott des Morgens (die aufgehende Sonne), Sonnengott. I 223, 246, 249, 267, 353; II 176, 190 — als soleher in Adlermaske. II 194 — ident mit dem in der Morgenfrühe singenden *coxcoxtli*-Vogel (s. dort). II 109, 176, 296, 297 — Sonnengott, s. Sonnengott. — s. *Tlaçopilli*. — heisst im Liede *Yoalticatl*. II 297 — in Liedern als *Cinteotl* angerufen. I 135, 136; II 297 — im Codex Fejérváry mit dem echten *Cinteotl* verwechselt. I 242, 243, 249 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 100, 101, 130—132, 242, 248—249; II 36 — s. *Cinteotl*. — in der *coxcoxtli*-Helmmaske erscheinend. I 132, 272 — bemaltes Thonbild aus *Teotitlan* (del Camino). I 131, 272 — Steinbild in Mexico. I 132 — Regent des eilften Tageszeichens *ocomàtli*. I 39, 129—137; II 73 — im Codex Vaticanus für *Xochiquetzal*, die Regentin des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens *xochitl*, eintretend. I 213 — Erdgott des Ostens. II 134 — den Baum des Westens umklammernd. II 104 — dritter der vier toten Götter, den Westen bezeichnend. I 338, 339 — entsprechende Maya-Gottheit. I 341 — erster der fünf Hüter der dritten Venusperiode, dem Osten entsprechend. I 267—268 — (der gelbe), fünfter der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, dem Norden entsprechend. I 245—247 — (mit der Gesichtsbemalung des Sonnengottes), fünfter der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode, dem Norden entsprechend. I 246 — als Mondgott, fünfter der fünf Hüter der ersten Venusperiode im Codex Vaticanus B. I 246, 247 — als Sterngott, Himmelsgott, erster der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden der zweiten Reihe. I 249 — junger Gott, dem vom Dämone des Westens (*acipactli*) ein Bein abgerissen wird, ist ursprünglich ein Mondgott. II 64, 68 — ihm entspricht eine *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 64 — als Adler und *Xochiquetzal*, bezeichnet die obere Region und die siebente Tagstunde. II 194—195 — der *Xochiquetzal* gegenüber, in

der Reihe der fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare, bezeichnet den Süden und die fünfte Tagstunde. 189—190 — Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl. I 34, 38, 39, 52, 54, 60 — ebenda als Pulquegott. I 60, 71 — = *Piltzintecutli*. I 222, 223 — berührt sich mit dem Feuergotte als Herr des Reichthums und der Lebensmittel. I 30 — als Richter. I 52 — *Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl = Auiateotl*. I 39, 148; II 41 — berührt sich nahe mit *Nanauatzin*. II 41 — gebunden und mit nach hinten gewandtem Kopfe im viereckigen, geschlossenen Raume, bei *Xiuhtecutli* dargestellt; bezeichnet *Chantico*, *Tlillan*. I 219, 220 — Gott der Lust, mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbunden, als Hirsch verkleidet. II 134 bis 136 — ihm entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift ein junger Gott mit derselben Haupthieroglyphe wie der Gott Vier in der Reihe der zwanzig Götter. I 216 — = *Tlatlauhqui Cinteotl*. I 135 — ist der Maisgott *(Cinteotl)*, der Herr des Reichthums = *Ce xochitl*. I 136, 292; II 176 — der Gott des jungen Maises. I 207 — tritt ein für *Tonacatecutli*. I 135; II 171 — *Chalchiuhtlicue*. I 135 — in engster Beziehung zu *Tecciztecatl*. I 135 — vier Parallelen oder Ergänzungen dieses Gottes. II 41 — erscheint als rother Regengott der Mitte. I 353 — rother, eine Form *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 292 — bei der sechsten Tagstunde. II 192 — bei der neunten Tagstunde. II 198 — bei der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 199 — Zeugungsgott, Himmelsgott. I 135, 290, 308; II 176 — Gott des Westens, als solcher wird ihm von einem *cipactli*-artigen Wesen ein Bein abgebissen. I 146; II 63—64 — schüttet aus einem Kruge Wasser auf die Erde. II 175, 176 — seine Zeichen, s. *Chicome xochitl*. — seine Abbilder (beim zwanzigsten Tageszeichen *xochitl*) sind die Maispflanze *(toctli)* nebst *tlapalcouatl*. I 308 — in der Cella des Tempels des Westens, im Codex Fejérváry. II 114 — Opfergaben darbringend vor dem Tempel des Westens, im Codex Fejérváry. II 114 — s. Mensch mit *tonallo*-Emblem auf der Stirn; mit den zwanzig Tageszeichen verbunden im Codex Vaticanus. II 136.

Xochipilli-Auiateotl, sein Tempel ein rothes *Xochicalli*. II 36, 41, 48 — berührt sich nahe mit *Nanauatzin*. II 41.

Xochipilli-Cinteotl, bewohnt den siebenten der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 296, 297 — bezeichnet die Mittagstunde, die siebente Tagstunde). II 296, 297 — s. *Tonacatecutli* und *Tonacacihuatl*. — s. *quetzalcoxcoxtli; tiçapapalotl-iuipapalotl*.

Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl dargestellt beim *Atamalqualiztli*-Feste. I 211.

Xochipilli-tlamacazqui, zwischen zwei *Xochiquetzal*-Figuren in obszöner Stellung bei der zwölften Nachtstunde. II 203 bis 204.

Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal, erstes der sechs Götterpaare im Codex Fejérváry. II 171 — fünftes der sechs Götterpaare, das Oben bezeichnend. II 175–176, 178 — s. Sonne und Mond. — s. Richtungsgegensatz. — Rücken an Rücken, getrennt durch eine schwarz-weisse Wand (im Codex Fejérváry), fünftes der sechs Götterpaare. II 176.

Xochiquetzal, Göttin der Blumen und der Kunstfertigkeit, Fürstin, im neunten Himmel, in *Tamoanchan* wohnend. I 209, 210, 211; II 34, 280 — ursprünglich Wassergöttin, Gemahlin *Tlaloc*'s, aber von *Tezcatlipoca* geraubt und zur Liebesgöttin gemacht. I 209 — Göttin der Sünde. I 211 — ihr Fest erinnert an das der *Tlaçolteotl;* Opfer geschunden. I 211 — Göttin der Liebe, Gegenstück zu *Nanauatzin*, dem Syphilitiker. I 288 — mit *tlapalcouatl* unter dem rechten Arm, beim fünften der sechs Götterpaare. II 175 — Gottheit eines Berges, von dem Leben spendendes Wasser auf die Felder herabrieselt. I 208, 211 — hat Spinnen und Weben erfunden. I 211 — ist ihre Hauptunterhaltung. II 280 — von den *Tlalhuica* am *Tepeilhuitl*, von den *Tlaxcalteca* am *Quecholli*, in México am *Xochilhuitl* gefeiert. I 208 — Regentin des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens *xochitl*. I 135, 208–213, 281 — Gemahlin des Sonnengottes. I 279 — Göttin der Liebe, Patronin der Freudenmädchen, bezeichnet das *Tepeilhuitl*-Fest. I 139, 209, 288; II 79, 185, 203—204 — Aussehen und Tracht. I 212, 213, 247—249, 279—280 — trägt die stufenförmige blaue Nasenplatte. I 80, 81, 114, 212 — Repräsentantin der Erde. II 205 — Mitregentin des ersten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce cipactli*). II 213, 281 — des neunzehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes (*ce quauhtli*). I 208; II 79, 175, 280–286 — erster der fünf Hüter der zweiten Reihe der Venusperioden, dem Westen entsprechend. I 247–249 — fünfter der fünf Hüter der vierten. — Geliebte des Sonnengottes, erste Frau. I 208; II 66, 84 — mit der *Tonacacihuatl* identifizirt. I 81, 208; II 171, 182, 187, 188, 191, 213, 281, 298 — als Himmelsgöttin dargestellt. I 55 — s. erstes Menschenpaar. — Venusperioden, dem Süden entsprechend. I 279–280 — ihr Heiligthum ein Appendix des Sakrariums *Uitzilopochtli*'s. I 209 (als Genossin der Krieger). — s. *auianimê, telpochcalli*. — trägt die Haarfrisur der Krieger. I 209 — Göttin, die Zwillinge gebiert. I 31, 209 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet das Oben, die erste Tagstunde, den ersten Tag, wo der Mond am Morgen erscheint. II 181—182 — und unterwürfiger Diener, bezeichnet die erste Tagstunde und obere Region im Codex Vaticanus. II 182 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet den Osten, die zweite Tagstunde, zweiter der Tage, wo der Mond am Morgen erscheint. II 183–184 — und *cozcaquauhtli*, bezeichnet den Norden und die dritte Tagstunde. II 185—186 — und *Ueuecoyotl* (s. *Tecciztecatl*), bezeichnet den Süden und die fünfte Nachtstunde. II 188—189 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet den Westen und die zehnte Nachtstunde. II 199—200 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet den Westen und die zehnte Tagstunde. II 201 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet den Süden und die eilfte Nachtstunde. II 201–202 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet den Süden und die eilfte Tagstunde. II 202—203 — und *auiani*, bezeichnet die obere Region und die zwölfte Nachtstunde. II 203—204 — und *tlamacazqui*, bezeichnet die untere Region und die zwölfte Tagstunde. II 204—205 — in Adlerhelmmaske, bei der vierten Tagstunde. I 188 — ihre Erscheinungsformen in den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren. II 207, 281 — Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl (als Pulquegöttin). I 40, 51, 52 55 (als Himmelsgöttin). — für *Macuilxochitl* eintretend. — für *Xochipilli* als „Richterin“ (Begleitbild im Tonalamatl) eintretend. I 52, 54, 70 — als Regentin des zwanzigsten Tageszeichens von *Xochipilli* vertreten. I 213 — ihr Zeichen *cipactli*. I 66 — kleine Thonbilder der Göttin haben zwei Quetzalfederbüsche auf dem Scheitel. I 209, 212 — ausgezeichnet durch *ome quetzalli*, s. dort. — ihre Abbilder, zwei Mädchen aus dem fürstlichen Hause *Tezcacoatl*, geopfert; spenden schwarzen, weissen, gelben und rothen Mais. I 211 — ihr Himmel *Tamoanchan*. I 184, 209 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. II 20 — als *tzitzimitl* dargestellt im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66 — ihr Abbild bei *Xochipilli* neben dem *Xochicalli* dargestellt. II 40 — in Kopulation mit *Tepeyollotli* (s. West-Paar). II 120.

***Xochiquetzal*-artige** Figur mit Attributen der Maisgöttin, nackt in einem Henkelkruge knieend, bei dem Regengotte des Westens. I 352.

Xochiquetzal in der Mitte des Südens der Unterwelt mit der Mondscheibe auf dem Leibe. II 66 — als *Ciuateotl*, *Tzitzimitl* oder *Itzpapalotl*, im Süden der Unterwelt. II 66 — nimmt von der Fledermaus ein Menschenherz in

Empfang II 66, 281 — junge Göttin, Mondgöttin. II 32, 66, 79, 84, 175, 176, 207 — strahlender Mond. II 298 — s. *naui tecpatl.* — = geköpfte Göttin. II 283, 285 — ihr männliches Gegenstück der Mondgott mit einer Blume im Nacken. II 228 — aus einer Schale Maiskörner ausstreuend. II 175, 176 — mit Maiskörnern Loos werfend, Prophetin, Zauberin. II 176 — zweite der fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl*, den Norden (blau) bezeichnend. II 79 — opfert sich selbst. II 145 — mit *Ixnextli* identifizirt. II 224 — ihr wesensgleich das Thier mit der spitzen Schnauze (das Opossum). II 282, 283 — bei ihr Wettspiel (Kampf von Sonne und Mond) veranschaulicht. II 285, 286 — ihr entspricht in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift ein Gott mit verbundenen Augen. I 217 — ihr entspricht auf Maya-Monumenten die Gottheit der Zahl Sieben, die *Chicome xochitl* zu lesen ist. I 217.

Xochiquetzal* und *Xochipilli, s. *Xochipilli* und *Xochiquetzal*.

Xochitecatl, neben der *Xochiquetzal*, an dem im *Quecholli* von den *Tlaxtalteca* gefeierten Feste. I 209 — für das erste Tageszeichen *cipactli* eintretend in der Tagesliste von *Metztitlan*. I 4.

Xochitepetl beim Sonnengotte. II 306 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli*. II 307.

Xochitl, Blume, Mantelmuster. I 135 — bildet die Nackenrosette des weissen Hirsches des Ostens. I 299 — „Blume", zwanzigstes Tageszeichen. I 16 (s. *omexochitonal*, 49, 208 bis 213, 308 — sein Regent *Xochiquetzal*. I 208 213 — *Xochipilli*. I 213 — in der Bedeutung mit dem Zeichen *oçomàtli* „Affe" übereinstimmend. I 129, 135, 213 — bei diesem Tageszeichen sind *toctli*, die Maispflanze, und *tlapalcouatl*, Abbilder *Xochipilli*'s, dargestellt. I 308 — entsprechende Maya-Hieroglyphe. I 319 — symbolische Bezeichnung des Blutes. I 24 (s. Blüthe), 25 etc.; II 307 — in der Hand des Tanzgottes. I 98 — Symbol des Schmuckes der Rede, des Gesanges, des Tanzes. I 283 — aus dem Munde *Tezcatlipoca*'s hervorgehend. I 283 — Kette von zwei Blumen, aus dem Munde *Tezcatlipoca*'s hervorkommend. I 283 — als Tageszeichen im Munde *Xochipilli*'s. II 136 — verbunden mit dem Munde *Macuilxochitl*'s. II 302 — als Tageszeichen mit der Vulva bezw. mit dem Penis der Gottheit der Wollust verbunden. II 305 — auf der Oberfläche des schäumenden Pulque. I 114, 307.

Xochitlachpan, eine Göttin der Landschaft *Metztitlan*. I 137.

xochitlalpan „im Lande der Blumen" = Süden. II 94, 189.

Xochitlan. Stadt in der pacifischen Küstenebene. Die Hieroglyphe zeigt eineFigur mit einem Knopfe in der Nase. I 231.

xochitl couatl, itzcuintli, quauhtli, Tageszeichen der ersten Säule des vierten Tonalamatl-Fünftels (Süden). II 4, 9 — beim Süden der Unterwelt angegeben. II 57, 58.

xochitl icacan „wo die Blumen stehen" = *Tamoanchan*, das Paradies des Westens I 99, 136, 137, 157, 183, 184, 186, 209; II 19, 28, 190, 225, 263, 264, 280.

Xochitototl, Blumenvogel; Seele des toten Kriegers. I 62; II 67, 297.

xolo, „Palastsklave, Diener". I 193.

xolococzcatl, Bild eines blauen Hundes, dem Mumienbündel des toten Kriegers umgehangen. I 57, 125, 194, 200, 264; II 239 — ist der Hund *Xolotl* in effigie. I 200 — führt die Seele des toten Kriegers zum Hause der Sonne *(tonatiuh ichan)*. I 200 — s. *Xolotl*.

xoloitzcuintli, haarloser Hund. I 193, 196 — Hausthier in México. I 196 — bei Regenmangel geopfert im *Xoloteopan*. I 196 — s. *peco-xòlo*.

xolomê, Begleiter und Wächter des zum Opfer bestimmten Abbildes *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 148 — Palastsklaven der Fürsten. I 193 — s. Bucklige, Zwerge.

Xoloteopan, „Tempel *Xolotl*'s, dort bei Regenmangel haarlose Hunde *(xoloitzcuintli)* geopfert. I 196.

xolotl „doppelte Maispflanze". I 193 — in eine solche verwandelt sich *Xolotl*. I 194 — doppelter Maiskolben, angedeutet durch Maiskolben im Haare *Quetzalcouatl*'s bei der *Quaxolotl* der vierten Nachtstunde. II 187.

Xolotl, ist der Opferer der alten Zeit (s. *Tamoanchan*). I 299 — verkörpert in seinem Wesen die Gemination (s. daselbst). II 37 — als Gott der Missgeburten ist eine Ausmalung dieser Seite seines Wesens die Auffassung des Verwesens im Wasser, des monströsen Wachstums. II 42, 43 — im Wasser vergraben, modernd. II 42, 43 — als Skelett dargestellt. II 42 — Gott der Zwillinge. II 266 — Zwilling, Missgeburt, Palastsklave. I 125, 193, 198. 199; II 37, 42 — Gott des Ballspieles, der Zwillinge und der Missgeburten. I 31, 57, 191—200; II 37, 265 — mit der Gesichtsbemalung *Macuilxochitl*'s dargestellt. I 31, 191, 195, 199; II 52, 54, 305 (s. *motemmacpalhuiticac*). — als Hund dargestellt. I 57, 191; II 26, 35, 265 — Regent des siebzehnten Tageszeichens *olin*. I 30, 57, 65, 191—200; II 97, 122 — des sechszehnten Tonalamatl-Abschnittes *ce cozcaquauhtli*. I 30, 197, 198, 298; II 265 bis 272 — mit Adler- oder Jaguarpranken. II 265 — Zwillingsbruder *Quetzalcouatl*'s. I 58, 193 — trägt Tracht und Schmuck des Windgottes *Quetzalcouatl*. II 265 — dem Mondgotte gegenüber, den Osten bezeichnend, Begleitbild im ersten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 30, 31; im dritten Tonalamatl-Viertel. I 57 — typisches Begleitbild die Wasserschale. I 30, 57 — syphilitischer Gott = *Nanauatzin*. I 31, 58, 65, 194, 195, 199; II 41, 52 bis 55, 94, 97 — Begleitbild bei *itzcuintli* „Hund". I 57 — sein Sinnbild der Kochtopf (s. dort). I 57, 65. 66, 195, 197, 287; II 268 — im Kochtopfe. I 197; II 53 — s. *Xolotl-Nanauatzin*. — verwandelt sich in *Nanauatzin*. I 198, 199, 205; II 41, 52 ff., 265 — mit Attributen *Macuilxochitl*'s = *Nanauatzin*. I 65, 191, 195, 199; II 52, 54, 265 als solcher ident mit *Macuilxochitl-Auiateotl*. II 41, 52, 268, 303, 305 — sein Kalendertag *macuil-xochitl* (s. *Auiateotl*) „fünf Blume". II 272 — als Fastenbrecher und bestrafter Gott (*Nanauatzin*) durch die rothe Pfefferschote *chilli* bezeichnet. II 272 — fünf Formen (gelb, grün, roth, blau, schwarz) desselben entsprechend den fünf Weltgegenden. I 199; II 54 — seine Trachtausstattung entspricht der der Götter *Macuil olin, Macuil eecatl, Macuil maçatl, Macuil malinalli*. I 191 — seine Farbe die schwarze. II 98, 265 — bei ihm das Zeichen der Sonne *naui olin*. II 268, 270 — bezeichnet seinen Feuertod. II 268 — Gott, der zu den Toten hinabführt, durch die Unterwelt geleitet und aus ihr herausführt. I 57, 194, 197; II 37, 40, 265 — s. Hund; s. *yacaxiuitl*. — Begleiter des toten Gottes, der Sonne. I 197; II 26, 35, 41, 94, 95, 269, 270 — Begleiter der Sonne zu den Toten (als rother Hund = *Uenecoyotl*). II 224, 269 — hundsköpfiger, ist die zu den Toten hinabgehende Sonne. II 35 — zu ihm in Beziehung stehend vielleicht der schwarze *Quetzalcouatl* des Nordhauses. II 26 — hundsköpfig, auf dem Kerne des Aschenhaufens. II 35 — Gegenstück zu *Nanauatzin*. II 26, 52-55 — will sich nicht in *Teotiuacan* opfern lassen. I 194, 195 — wird mit Gewalt geopfert. I 206 — geopfert, um der Sonne Leben zu geben. I 195, 200, 206. 299 — opfert sämmtliche Götter. I 206, 299; II 145 — ist der Schlagende (Blitz), *tlauitequini*; der Maisentkörner (s. *uitequi*). II 42, 97 — s. *Nanauatl*. — herabstürzender Hund, Blitzthier. I 196, 197, 295; II 35, 36, 37, 40, 52, 53, 55, 265, 269 — nährt die eben geschaffenen (jungen) Menschen mit eingeweichtem Brote. II 97 — präparirt den in *Tamoanchan* aufgefundenen Mais für die Menschen. II 42 — den Blitz repräsentirend, sieht aus dem Rachen einer gelben Schlange hervor und trägt gelben Federschmuck. II 35, 36 — herabstürzender, über einem Tempelunterbau dargestellt. II 37 — hat Beziehungen

zu *Tlaloc* (Gewittergott). I 196, 197, 198; II 36, 37, 52 trägt dessen Kopfbinde. II 52, 268 — s. *xiuhcouatl.* — die Feuerschlange *(xiuhcouatl)*, d. h. Blitze schleudernd. I 197; II 35, 36, 37, 38, 41 — in Schlangenhelmmaske, die Feuerschlange *(xiuhcouatl)* schleudernd. I 196, 197 — aus dem Wasser geboren, mit dem Blitze in der Hand. I 197; II 36, 52, 53 — (als Blitz) aus der Wolke geboren. II 53 — dienende Geister desselben. II 38 — neben dem Tempel des Osthimmels dargestellt. I 196 — neben dem Tempel der schwarzen Schlange, bereit, die von oben herabkommende Sonne in Empfang zu nehmen. II 26 — im Hause der pfeifenden Winde. I 196 — mit zwei Kugeln oder Perlen. I 31, 58 — mit dem Zeichen *Tamoanchan.* I 298 – ihm entspricht in der Reihe der zwanzig Maya-Götter der Jaguar. I 217.

Xolotl-Gesicht, auf einem Mumienbündel mit einer Sonnenscheibe. II 268.

Xolotl-Nanauatzin, Regent des siebzehnten Tageszeichens *olin* „Bewegung". II 122 — s. *olin*; s. *Xolotl.* — in ihn verwandelt sich der im Norden der Unterwelt geopferte knochenfarbene (tote) *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54, 55, 69 — brennend in der Edelstein-Gesichtsurne, im Norden der Unterwelt. II 53, 75 — s. Verjüngungszauber. — fünf Formen desselben aus den Extremitäten und dem Herzen des auf dem Kreuzwege liegenden geopferten knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl* hervorkommend. II 54 — verbrennt im *quauhxicalli.* Sein Feuer, eine gelbe Fluth, ist das Lebenswasser der Erneuerung für *Quetzalcouatl.* II 55 — sein Determinativ der Hund. II 97.

Xolotl-Tlaloc, Vermischung beider Gestalten. II 268.

xonecuilli „das gekrümmte Bein", Name des Sternbildes des St. Jakobs-Kreuzes, des südlichen Kreuzes. I 261 — Sterne in der Mündung der „Trompete". I 261, 262 — ein Sinnbild des Herabkommens. I 262 — S-förmig gekrümmte Brote, Abbilder des Blitzes *(xonecuillaxcalli).* I 176, 262 — Opfer für die *Cinateteô.* I 187, 262; II 91 — für die Götter des *Xochilhuätl.* I 262 — für die Regen- und Berggötter. I 262.

xonequitl = *xonecuilli.* I 261.

Xoo (zapotek.), gewaltig, Erdbeben; Tageszeichen = mexik. *olin.* I 190.

[Xopan calqui]? = *Xacupan calqui*, einer der *Tzitzimimê.* I 186.

Xopilcozcatl, Halsgehänge, Strick mit eingeknüpften Thierklauen, bei dem *tonatiuh iixco yauh.* I 274 — beim *Auiateotl* der Mitte im Codex Vaticanus. II 100.

yacametztli, halbmondförmige Nasenplatte der Pulquegötter. I 103, 140, 142, 163; II 24, 120, 172, 173, 229, 244, 245 von *Macuil tochtli* getragen. II 98 (als Schilddevise). — von der *Mayauel.* I 274, 275 — von *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 100 — von *Macuilxochitl*, dem *Auiateotl* des Westens. II 103 — von der *Tlaçolteotl* getragen. I 103, 123, 142, 163, 229, 231, 274, 275; II 24, 46, 51, 71, 120, 158, 172, 173, 192, 217, 252, 301, 306 — von der Erdgöttin, der Regentin des dritten Tonalamatl-Viertels. I 22 — von den *Cinateteô.* II 46, 93 — von *Itztlacoliuhqui* (Mondgott). II 110, 111, 246 — auf dem *ometoch chimalli, ometoch tilmàtli, ometoch tlauiztli.* I 142 — auf dem Gewande der *Tlaçolteotl.* I 275; II 24, 81, 158, 172, 192, 217, 244, 306 — auf dem *copilli* der *Tlaçolteotl.* II 172 — knöcherner, bei den fünf Formen der *Tlaçolteotl* II 77 — bei der *tzitzimitl*-Figur des Westens der vier Bäume im Codex Fejérváry. II 103 — bei *Xipe*, dem Gotte der Goldarbeiter. I 179; II 64, 254 — bei den fünf Spinnen- oder Tausendfussgesichtern. I 123, 289; II 20 — Hieroglyphe des Mondes (knöcherner Nasenhalbmond). I 142; II 51, 81, 109, 172, 177, 291 — Abbild der Mondgöttin. II 51 Abzeichen der Mondwesen überhaupt. II 254 — auf der Oberfläche des Pulque *(octli).* II 197 — auf Trachtstücken der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 81 — auf dem Schilde *Macuil tochtli*'s. II 98 — auf dem *tlaitzcopintli*-Nackentuch der *Tlaçolteotl*, in einer Schale. II 54 — bildet den Mund des Inneren der Agavepflanze. I 275 — goldener, im *chalchiuitl* an der Pyramidenwand des *Xochicalli* im Norden der Unterwelt. II 51 — von dem mexikanischen Bilde des Nasenhalbmondes ist in Maya-Handschriften nur die Einrollung des einen Endes übrig geblieben. I 142 — s. *Cib, ci.* — umgeben vom Besen *popotl* und Truthahnflügel (der *Tlaçolteotl*), Basalstück des Feuerbohrers des Süd-Feuerreibers. II 118 — auf dem Königsstuhle des Ostens dargestellt unter der dunklen Haarperrücke. II 121, 122.

yacapapalotl, blaue Nasenplatte der *Xochiquetzal*, stufenförmig oder schmetterlingsartig. I 212, 279, 352; II 66, 213, 281 — von der *Mayauel* getragen. — von der *Chantico.* II 276.

yacapilolli mitl mochiua, Nasenstab mit dem über den Mund fallenden viereckigen Plättchen, *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 20.

Yacatecutli, der besondere Gott der reisenden Kaufleute, der Karawanenführer von *Tlatelolco* 1334 — einer der *Tzitzimimê.* I 186; II 162 — sein Urbild der schwarze Gott mit der langen Nase in Maya-Handschriften. I 324; II 162 — Sterngott, besondere Auffassung des Planeten Venus, von den Kaufleuten verehrt. II 162, 164 — mit der Ost- und Westregion in Verbindung zu bringen. II 164 — hat Trachtstücke *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 162 — sein Abbild mit Opferpapieren beklebter Wanderstab. I 324 — dritter der sechs Himmelswanderer. I 325; II 162 — sechster der sechs Himmelswanderer, vor einem Kreuzwege; als Gott der Mitte = Feuergott. II 165 — einer seiner Genossen ist *Acxomocuil.* II 128 Anm. 2.

yacauicolli „Nasenhenkel", Huaxtekische Tracht. I 266.

yacaxiuitl, blauer Knopf in den Nasenflügeln, Kriegertotenschmuck. I 191, 194, 249, 273; II 19, 37, 239 — Symbol des Kriegertodes. I 338; II 19, 239 — von *Xolotl* getragen. I 191, 194; II 37, 265 — von *Tepeyollotli*, dem Abbilde *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 338; II 216 — bei *Tonatiuh.* I 274 — bei *Mictlantecutli.* I 274 — bei *Xochipilli.* I 338 — beim Thiere mit der spitzen Schnauze (dem Opossum). II 282 — beim rothen Hunde, *Ueuecoyotl.* II 224 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli.* II 239 — bei *Tlauizcalpantecutli* und *Xiuhtecutli.* I 264, 273, 274 — bei dem *tonatiuh iixco yauh*, dem fünften der fünf Hüter der drei Venusperioden. I 273, 274 — bei den fünf *Auiateteô.* II 98 — bei zwei männlichen Figuren mit *Tezcatlipoca*-Gesichtsbemalung am oberen Stufenpyramidenabsatze des Hauses der schwarzen Schlange. II 19 — bei der *Chantico.* II 277 - ein ähnlicher Schmuck an der Stirnseite der Kopfbinde *Xochipilli*'s. I 249 — ähnliches Zeichen veranschaulicht die 5 × 13 Venusperioden im Codex Vaticanus B. I 249; II 138 — im Besonderen ein Zeichen des im Osten mit der Sonne emporsteigenden Morgensternes. I 338.

yal kaba ahtoc (Maya'), Zärimonie bei den Zeichen vier *oc, men, ahau, chiccchan.* II 9.

yaocalli (*iiaocalli*) „Haus der Krieger" = *telpochcalli.* I 150.

Yaociuatl, die Kriegerin. I 66 — Name der *Cihuacouatl (Quilaztli).* I 166.

yaomicquê, s. *iaomicque.*

yaomiquiztli, Tod im Kriege, bei dem Wasser dargestellt. II 225.

Yaotl „Krieger", Name *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 145, 147 — s. *quauhtli ocelotl.*

yaoyotl, Krieg; liefert die Opfer für die Sonne. II 206 — durch Schild und Speerbündel dargestellt (s. *mitl, chimalli*). — s Zeichen des Krieges. — metaphorisch durch Wasser und Feuer dargestellt, s. *atl tlachinolli.* — Begleitbild in dem in fünfgliedrige Säulen geordneten Tonalamatl.

I 32, 57, 58, 69 — bei *Pàtecatl*, dem Regenten des zwölften Tageszeichens. I 143 — bei *Xiuhtecutli*. I 219 — Determinativ beim Baume des Ostens. II 105 — „Kriegerschaft", bezeichnet durch *mitl chimalli*, s. dort. — durch *chimalli-tlacochtli*. II 151 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus in der fünften Periode getroffen. II 151, 152, 154, 155, 157 — s. *quauhyotl*. — sein Zeichen (s. Kriegswaffen) auf der Rückenlast des *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*, des vierten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 163.

Yapalli icue „die mit dem weihrauchkrautfarbenen, schwarzen Hüfttuche", Vertreterin des *Tlillan-Tlapallan*. II 145 — s. *Nochpalli icue*.

yaqualli „Tabakspeise"; Behälter dafür s. *yetecomatl, ocelo-yataztli*. II 164.

yaquê, die Ausgewanderten; die nach Osten Gezogenen, die Tolteken. I 89 — s. *yaqui vinak* (Qui'che).

yaqui vinak (Qui'che), der Mexikaner, der Tolteke. II 83, 89.

yataztli, s. *ocelo yataztli*.

Yauhtecatl, ein Pulquegott. I 140.

yautlatoaquetl = *yaotlatò*, Kriegshäuptling = hart, reif gewordener Mais, im Liede an *Xipe*. I 169.

yax (Maya) „grün", Hieroglyphe. I 316.

Yaxcoc ah mut (Maya), waldhuhnartiges Wesen, dem in den fünf Tagen vor Beginn der *muluc*-Jahre Opfer (Eichhörnchen, Hund etc.) dargebracht wurden. I 303.

Yaxché (Maya) „grüner Baum", *Ceiba*, Abbild des Himmels. Aufenthalt der Seligen. I 316.

yayauhqui Auiateotl, schwarzer Gott der Lust. II 110 — s. schwarzer *Auiateotl*.

yayauhqui Quetzalcouatl. II 21, 26, 32, 41 — s. schwarzer *Quetzalcouatl*.

yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca, der schwarze *Tezcatlipoca*, der echte (s. *Tezcatlipoca*, die im Westen untergehende Sonne). I 148, 167 — dem rothen *Tezcatlipoca* gegenüber auf dem Ballspielplatze, dem Nordhimmel. I 288—292 — grösser als der rothe *Tezcatlipoca* gezeichnet. I 292 — für *Itztli*, den Steinmessergott, den zweiten der neun Herren der Nacht, eintretend. I 220 — im Codex Vaticanus für den vierten der fünf Götter des Südens, *Macuil xochitl*, den echten Südgott, eintretend. Verwechslung mit dem Gotte des Nordens? II 100 — sein Hauptfest im *Teotl eco*, am Ende der Regenzeit. I 149 — ist der *Tlacochcalco yaotl*, der *tlacochcalcatl* „der Krieger im Hause des Nordens". II 23 — Zeuge des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde. II 46 — begleitet den auf dem einen Wege wandernden lebenden *Quetzalcouatl* des Nordens der Unterwelt. II 49 — trinkt das Blut des vom schwarzen *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem *techcatl* des Nordens der Unterwelt geopferten knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 52 — mit dem *tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca* zum Kriegertanze (*necocololo*) antretend. II 71 — ihm entspricht der *yayauhqui Auiateotl*. II 110 — vom Speere des Planeten Venus getroffen, in der zweiten Vennsperiode (Süden). II 148, 152, 154, 155, 157 — (s. *ocelotl*).

ycoliuhqui tepetl, Berg mit Schneebedeckung, gekrümmter Berg; Urheimath der Leute von *Cholula* und *Quauhtinchan*, in der Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca. II 152.

yeco „ankommen". I 157.

yècoa „hacerlo à el ó à ella" (Molina) „rem turpem cum aliqua vel eum aliquo habere". I 159 — s. *mocuc-yecoaya*.

yei calli „drei Haus", Zeichen des Feuergottes. I 30, 124 (s *tenamaztli*). — drittes Jahr der 52jährigen Periode. I 350.

yei calli chiconaui atl, Datum beim Regengotte des Südens (*Xiuhtecutli*). I 349.

yei calli [macuilli] couatl, Datum beim Regengotte des Südens (*Xiuhtecutli*). I 349.

yei cozcaquauhtli, entspr. Maya-Datum drei *cib*, Ende der Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus. I 351.

yei itzcuintli „drei Hund", Zeichen und Name des Feuergottes. I 126, 196; II 9, 234, 288 — Tag im vierten Tonalamatl-Fünftel (Süden). II 9.

yei quauhtli „drei Adler", Datum *Xipe*'s. II 257.

Yei tecpatl „drei Feuerstein", Göttin des Codex Nuttall, gebiert den Gott *Yei tecpatl*. I 240 — ihr Gemahl *Macuil xochitl* in Jaguarmaske. I 258.

yequachtli „Tabaktäschchen". I 201, Anm. 2.

yequalli „Tabakspeise" der Priester, gebraucht, um sich in visionäre Zustände zu versetzen. I 201; II 164.

yetecomatl, Tabakkalebasse, Abzeichen der Priester. I 28, 154, 201, 301, 308; II 30, 41, 112, 164, 202, 205 — von dem sich Kasteienden getragen. I 201 — von *Iztac Mixcouatl*. I 28, 308; II 164, 205 — vom Feuergotte. I 28 — von dem alten Gotte der Wiener Handschrift *Ome itzcuintli* getragen. I 28; II 112 — von *Tonacatecutli*. II 30, 41 — Fetisch in der Cella des Tempels des Westens, mit *chalchiuitl*-Verzierungen. II 112, 234 — im Codex Vindobonensis, Codex Nuttall von den alten Priestern getragen. II 112 — bezeichnet Lebensmittelfülle. I 28, 29, 301; II 112, 113, 173, 234 — ein Symbol *Tonacatecutli*'s. II 113, 114 — Symbol der alten, der Himmelsgötter. II 234 (s. *ocelogyotaztli*, s. Räucherwerk).

yiz (Maya), Name des vierzehnten Tageszeichens (*ocelotl*) in Guatemala. I 306

yoalli tlavana „Nachttrinker", Name *Xipe*'s in einem an ihn gerichteten Hymnus. I 168, 170 — zusammengezogen in *Youallauana*. I 170.

yoaltica „in der Dämmerung", Zeit, wo der *quetzalcoxcoxtli* singt. I 136.

Yoalticatl, Name *Xochipilli*'s im Liede. II 297.

yoatzin „junge aufschiessende Maispflanze", Reverentialform von *ouatl*. I 169.

yolcayotl „Schnecke, principio de la generacion". I 105.

Yolcouat Quitzalcouat = *Yolcouatl (?) Quetzalcouatl* bei den Qui'che. I 83.

yollo topilli, Stab mit dem Herzen: Abzeichen *Xochipilli*'s und *Macuil xochitl*'s. I 134; II 235 — bei dem Trinker, gegenüber *Mayauel* angegeben. II 235.

Yopi = *Tlappaneca*. I 167 — den Zapoteken verwandtes Volk; verehren *Totec tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca*. I 149, 167 — s. *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatl*.

Yopìco, Tempel *Xipe*'s in México. I 167, 169, 177.

yopitzontli, spitze Mütze *Xipe*'s. I 12, 167, 177, 178; II 118 — ihre Form hat die Nasenplatte *Xipe*'s. I 167, 179; II 256 — bei den Zapoteken des pacifischen Küstenlandes I 177 — quer auf der dunklen Haarperrücke, auf dem Königsstuhle des Ostens. II 121.

Youallauana = *Youalli tlauana* „der in der Nacht trinkt", Name *Xipe*'s. I 170; II 18.

youalli „Nacht", Rückendevise des Gottes des Südens I 339.

youalli eecatl „Nacht und Wind", bezeichnet die unsichtbare, schattenhafte Natur *Tezcatlipoca*'s. I 148; II 169 — Name der Gottheit. II 168 — von den *Chichimeca* verehrt (s. *ipalnemoani*). I 161 — bildlich dargestellt durch *Quetzalcouatl* und *Mictlantecutli* (Leben und Tod) Rücken an Rücken. II 168, 169.

youalli-eztli, s. schwarzer und rother Streifen.

youalnepantla, Mitternacht, durch ein von Dunkel umgebenes Auge bezeichnet. II 193 — durch einen Skorpion bezeichnet. II 193 — Hieroglyphe, vor dem Büsser dargestellt. I 39 — Zeit der Kasteiung (s. *tlatlapitzalizpan-nenetequizpan*), II 193, 289 — bezeichnet die siebente Nachtstunde und die untere Region; ausgedrückt durch hirschköpfige *Xochiquetzal* und den Priester *Tlaltecutlis*'s II 193—194 — an der Spitze des Pfahles, der den

Richtungsunterschied (oben-unten) ausdrückt. II 244 — bezeichnet den Norden. I 92 — den Mondgott. II 229 — zwischen *Xipe Totec* und *Xiuhtecutli*. II 289.

Youaltecùtli, Herr der Nacht; der Sonnengott in der Nacht. I 224; II 28 — ihm fünfmal Nachts geräuchert. I 224 — einer der *Tzitzimimê*. I 186 — im blauen Tempelgemache des Tempels der Nacht. II 28 — Leuchte der Nacht (der Mond?). II 28 — bewohnt den eilften der dreizehn Himmel. II 294, 298 — bezeichnet die eilfte Tagstunde (die Abenddämmerung). II 298 — s. *Mictlantecutli*. — s. *alo*. — zusammen mit *Quetzalcouatl* auf dem *tlachtli* des Tempels der Nacht als Ballspieler. II 32 — gibt das *nexquimilli* der Asche des Vaters *Quetzalcouatl*'s an *Quetzalcouatl*. II 34. — Sonnengott der Unterwelt, im Osten der vom unsichtbaren Abendstern durchwanderten Unterwelt. II 47—49, 49, 56 — bringt die Geburt der toten Sonne zur Anschauung. II 49.

Youaltetecutin, vier. II 32.

yoxil oc (Maya) „drei Hund" = mexik. *yei itzcuintli*, Anfangstag einer Reihe von Zeichen des vierten Tonalamatl-Fünftels, bei denen Feuerzärimonien angegeben werden. II 9.

Yucatan, andere Anfangszeichen der Jahre. I 342 — dort übliche Beichte. I 162 — Penis durchbohrt. I 163.

Zacate del carbonero, Grasart, zu Strohseilen und Säcken geflochten = *malinalli*.

Zacken der Flughaut des *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60.

Zackengefäss, mit einer Blutschlange darauf, bei der *Tlaçolteotl*, dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer. II 160.

Zackengefässe, Räuchergefässe. I 223, 224, 234, 237, 285, 301, 307; II 160 — eins über das andere gestülpt im Tempel *Tepeyollotli*'s. I 234 — bildeten den „Schatz *Uotan*'s" in einem Höhlentempel, der 1691 in *Huehuetan* verbrannt wurde. I 235.

Zackenhalskragen beim Hunde *(Xolotl)*. I 191.

Zackenkamm, auf dem Hute *Itztlacoliuhqui*'s (bezeichnet die Zähnelung des geschlagenen Steines). II 246, 247.

Zackenkrone *Tlaloc*'s, grün und *olpiyauac*. I 330 — der Regengötter = Zinnen, Abbilder der Wolken (s. *mixoyotl*). I 110, 250 — *amacalli*, beim *Cinteotl*. I 224 — mit roth und weiss gemalten Querstreifen, bei *Xipe Totec*. I 304.

Zackenlinien, schwarze, auf Hackenkappen gewisser Gottheiten (s. *tlaitzcouaicuilolli*). II 72 — auf dem *itzcouatlapechtli*. II 71, 72.

Zahlen, s. Gottheiten der Zahlen I—X. — Bildung der Zahlen 14—19 auf Maya-Monumenten durch Kombination von Köpfen der Zahlen 4—9 mit dem Kopfe der Zahl 10. I 214.

Zahlsystem, vigesimales, der Mexikaner. I 4, 16, 17.

Zahlentheorie des Venusumlaufes. I 341.

Zähne des Regengottes. I 110 — klein und spitz beim *Tlacatzinacantli*. II 60. — damit die Schambinde und die Enagua der *Itzpapalotl* am Saume besetzt. II 262.

zahnloser Mund, Charakteristikum der alten Götter. II 44 — s. eingekniffener Mundwinkel.

Zange am Schwanzende des Skorpions in Maya-Handschriften. I 321, 324.

Zapoteken, s. *Tzapoteca*.

zapotekische Weiber, Haartracht, s. *tlacoyales*.

Zauber, mächtiger, Unterarm einer *mociuaquetzqui*. I 298 — der nöthig ist, damit die Sonne im Osten wieder aufgeht, s. Verwandlung *Xolotl*'s in *Nanauatzin*. (II 52. bis 55) — s. Kriegszauber. — s. Regenzauber.

Zauberei, erfunden von *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* (s. dort) II 191 — Tod durch —, bezeichnet durch den Truthahn (*chalchiuhtotolin*). I 298.

Zauberer, *teyolloquani* (*teyollocuani*). I 5, 306 — s. *naualli, ix*. — tanzender bei der *Xochiquetzal*. II 282 — *xar' ἐξοχήν, Tezcatlipoca*. I 148 — nehmen besonders die Gestalt von Jaguaren an. I 306 — sein Zeichen, ein menschlicher Unterarm. II 224 — weiblicher, s. *tlacatecolotl, Ixcuinanmê*. I 173 — die beiden alten, *Oxomoco* und *Cipactonal* (s. dort). II 191 — als solche durch das Blutschlangen-Haarband bezeichnet. II 191.

Zauberin, *Xochiquetzal*, mit Maiskörnern Loos werfend. II 176 — s. Ausstreuen von Maiskörnern.

Zauberkraft, des Fingers oder Haares der *mociuaquetzqui*. II 89, 90 — ihres linken Armes. II 90.

Zehn, Kopf der Zahl —, auf Maya-Monumenten zur Bildung der Zahlen vierzehn bis neunzehn verwendet. II 214 — Gottheit dieser Zahl auf Maya-Monumenten ist *Matlactli calli* „zehn (Haus)" zu lesen und entspricht sowohl *Tepeyollotli* als dem Skelettkopfe. II 217.

zehn Gottheiten, bilden eine Grundreihe und liegen der Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten der zwanzig Tageszeichen zu Grunde. I 213-214ff. — bei den Maya. I 214, 318 — der Zahlen eins bis zehn auf Maya-Monumenten. I 215, 216.

zehn Grad, in weniger als 10° Entfernung von der Sonne ist der Planet Venus 77 Tage unsichtbar in oberer Konjunktion II 14, 15, 16.

zehn Tage, Grösse der Korrektur der mexikanischen Jahreslänge nach 42 Jahren. II 126.

zehnte Tagstunde, durch *chiquàtli* und *Tezcatlipoca* bezeichnet. II 23.

zehnter Himmel, von *Tezcatlipoca* bewohnt. II 292, 294.

zehn *Ueueteteô*. II 19, 20 — zehn *Ciuateteô*. II 19, 20.

Zeichen der Gemination, s. Gemination. — s. *Xolotl*.

Zeichen der Rede, Hauchwolken vor dem Munde; bezeichnen den König (*tlatouani*). II 151.

Zeichen des Jahres, s. Trapez und Strahl.

Zeichen des Krieges, s. Schild, Speerbündel, Wurfbrett, Netztasche für Steinspitzen, Papierfähnchen. — s. Kriegswaffen. — zweimal, über der Mondfigur des Westens der Unterwelt. II 57.

Zeichen des Opfers, abgeschnittener menschlicher Arm, Herz, langgestieltes (ausgebohrtes) Auge, aus umgestürzten Schalen herausfallend beim Ballspieler des Nordens. II 116 — ähnliche, beim Ballspieler des Südens. II 117 — Blut, Herzen, gestielte Augen, auf der rothen Decke des kopulirenden Süd-Paares. II 120.

Zeichen des Reichthums, Edelsteinschnüre (in Blumen endend), ein *coxcoxtli*-Kopf. II 116 — Edelsteintopf mit Edelsteinschnüren. II 288 — Schale mit Mais. II 238.

Zeigefinger, Führen des Fingers zum Munde = *tlalqualiztli* „Erdessen", demüthige Begrüssung. I 144 — Geberde der *Tlaçolteotl* des Südens. II 81.

Zeit der Annäherung des Mondes an die Sonne, der Süden. II 58.

Zeit der Dämmerung, Farbe *Mixcouatl*'s (weiss, weiss und roth gestreift, blau und roth). II 62.

Zeit der Finsterniss, der Nacht, bezeichnet der Mond. II 69 — s. *chi k'ekum, chi a'kab* (Qui'che).

Zeit der Kasteiung, s. *youalnepantla*. — s. *tlatlapitzalizpan* — s. *netetequizpan*.

Zeit des Dunkels, der Erde, s. *ocelotonatiuh*.

Zeit des Feuers, s. *quiauhtonatiuh*.

Zeit des Wassers, s. *atonatiuh*.

Zeit des Windes, s *eecatonatiuh*.

Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne, s. *chi k'ekum, chi a'kab* (Qui'che). — Zeit der halben Sonne, die nur schwach leuchtete. II 159, 160 — angedeutet durch Zerbrochenes. II 160 — Zeit der Dämmerung, des Feuergottes und des Morgensternes. II 238.

Zeitalter, s. vier präkosmische Sonnen. — s. Weltalter. — den vier Himmelsrichtungen entsprechend. II 122.

Zeitalter der Reinheit, der Frömmigkeit, die alte Zeit. II 206.

Zeitalter der Sünde, der *Katun* des Gottes *Ekchuah* bei den Maya. I 322 — Zeit des Blumenregens, übermässigen Ehebruches. I 322 — s. *uuc ahau.*

Zeitgott, *Tezcatlipoca.* I 147.

Zeitmesser, der Mond (s. Leben und Tod). II 169 — Sonne Mond, Morgenstern. II 292.

Zenith *(nepantla tonatiuh).* I 150, 205, 207, 274 290; II 13 — die Sonne bis dahin von den Seelen der toten Krieger begleitet. I 274; II 13, 87, 88, 238, 295, 296 — s. *Toxcatl.*

Zerbrochenes, Grabbeigaben. I 298 — bezeichnet das „Unbrauchbare". I 298 — das Alte, Uralte. I 298 — in zwei Stücke gebrochener Knochen *Iztac Mixcouatl's.* I 30; II 165 — bei *Xolotl.* I 30; II 268 — bei *Itzpapalotl.* II 196 — *tecpatl* und *omitl,* zerbrochen, deuten die Zeit vor der Geburt der Sonne bei der *Tlaçolteotl,* dem zweiten der sechs Himmelswanderer, an. II 160 — bezeichnet das Mythische, Heilige, Göttliche (*teo-*). I 299 — Mahlstein-Handwalze (*metlapilli*) bei der alten Göttin, der ersten Frau. I 213, 298, 299 — die Werkzeuge der Kasteiung (*omitl, uitztli, itztli*) bei *Tonatiuh.* I 285 — bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 286 — bei den Gestalten der zehnten Nachtstunde. II 200 — *omitl,* bei der zweiten Tagstunde. II 184 — Grabscheit *uictli,* bei *Tlaloc* dargestellt. I 295 — Topf, von der *Chalchiuhtlicue* im *mecapalli* getragen. I 287 — s. Blüthenbaum, zerbrochener = *Tamoanchan,* Urheimath der Stämme. — Baum bei *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* I 293 — *omitl, uitztli* und *acxoyatl* beim Gotte des Südens. I 339 — vergl. auch: Zerrissenes, in Stücke.

zerfetztes Ohr *Xolotl's.* II 42, 43.

zerrissen, Leib der die Einzäunungen bildenden Todesgöttin; bedeutet Oeffnung. II 3 — der den Leib einer Todesgöttin bildende Zeugstreifen in seiner Mitte in einer breiten Oeffnung zerrissen. II 14 — die Mitte der Enagua der Erdgöttin, durch welche *Quetzalcouatl* tritt. II 45 — Vorhang, der den Leib der die Unterwelt verhüllenden Erdgöttin bildet. II 49, 56, 57 — Leib der Erdgöttin, die die Unterwelt verhüllt, aus der *Quetzalcouatl* (Morgenstern) als Windgottschlange am Ost-Kriegerhimmel erscheint. II 69, 70 — Vorhang, der die Mitte der Unterwelt abschliesst. II 72 — Himmelsvorhang, aus dem *Quetzalcouatl* am Himmel als Sonne emporsteigt. II 75 — in Stücke, Schlange bei *Xolotl;* Sinnbild des Feuers. II 272.

Zerrissenes, in Stücke, Schnur, bei *Tonatiuh.* I 285 — *tlapalcouatl,* bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 286 — bei *Chalchiuhtlicue.* I 287 — bei den beiden *Tezcatlipoca* auf dem Ballspielplatze. I 289.

Zerschlagen des *Tonacatepetl* durch *Nanauatl* auf Geheiss der Götter. II 97.

zerstörende Mächte, nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen vorgeführt in den vier zerstückelnden Thieren. II 117, 119.

Zerstückeln. II 9, 11 — bezieht sich auf die Mondscheibe. II 11.

zerstückelnde Thiere, vier, im Süden der Unterwelt dargestellt und ihre Entsprechungen in anderen Handschriften. II 59–65 — s. *tzinacantli, ocelotl, acipactli, quauhtli* und *tochtli* (*cuetzpalin*) im Rachen der Schlange. — reissen den grossen Himmelskörpern Theile ihres Leibes ab und verursachen so Phasenbildungen (besonders des Mondes). II 65 – vier, im Codex Borgia, *tzinacantli, ocelotl, quetzaltototl, quauhtli.* II 65, 67, 68, 117 — vier, im *Popol Vuh, cot, c'ama zo'tz, cotz balam* und *tucum balam.* II 69.

zerstückelter Mond, von der Sonne zerschnitten, getötet, = *Cinacouatl (Quilaztli).* II 86, 87.

Zerstückelung des Mondes bei seinem Näherrücken an die Sonne, Mythus von *Uitzilopochtli* und den *Centzonuitznaua.* II 1, 10–11, 11, 12, 13 — des menschlichen Leibes, bezieht sich auf Phasenbildungen von Himmelskörpern (besonders Mond). II 58, 63, 64 — durch das rothe, gelbgefleckte Skelet (s. dort) ausgedrückt. II 309 — des Mondes, findet beim Entgegenrücken des Mondes an die Sonne, im Süden, statt. II 13, 58, 145 — endet mit dem Tode der Mondgöttin im Neumonde. II 13 — des Morgen- und Abendsternes durch die Sonne. II 145 — der *Coyolxauh* durch *Uitzilopochtli.* II 10, 86 — des Planeten Venus. II 11 — ihre Region, der Süden. II 58, 59 — durch den Jaguar bezeichnet. I 94.

zerstückt, Blutstrom, bei der *Cinateotl* des Südens (in verschiedene Schlangen zertheilt). II 93.

zerstückte Gliedmassen im Kochtopfe, s. Kochtopf — s. *Xolotl* — s. *Xolotl-Nanauatzin.* — in Feldern der Quadranten des Südens der Unterwelt. II 58.

zerstückter Mond. II 55.

Zerstücktes, Geköpftes, Idee ausgedrückt beim Süden der Unterwelt. II 9, 10.

Zerstücktes, Zusammenbrennen oder -kochen des Zerstückten bedeutet jede Art der Erneuerung. II 55.

zerzupfter Stoff, s. *tlaçolxochitl.*

Zeugen der Geburt der Sonne über dem Ostmeere, *Tlaçolteotl* und *Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.* II 48 — des Verschwindens des schwarzen und rothen *Quetzalcouatl* in der Erde sind drei Götter in je zwei Reihen. II 46.

Zeugung, Sinnbild der, *chicauaztli.* I 174; II 128 — s. *mamalhuaztli.* — s. Zeugungsgötter. — s. *Tonacatecutli.*

Zeugung und Nähren bedeuten die zweiten beiden Reihen der fünf Hüter der Venusperioden. I 241.

Zeugungsgötter, s. *Tonacatecùtli, Tonacaciuatl, Ometecùtli, Omeciuatl.* — s. *Quetzalcouatl.* — s. Mondgott *(Tecciztecatl).* — s. *Xochipilli.* — s. *Uenecoyotl.* — s. *Ometecùtli, Tonacatecùtli.* — s. *Quetzalcouatl.* — s. *Uenteotl, in teteu innan, in teteu inta.* — s. *Xipe Totec.* — s. Sonnengott. — sind zugleich Götter der Lebensmittel (s. diese). I 207 — in *Tollan* angerufen. II 1.

Zeugungskraft, s. *cuetzpalin.* I 7 — zerstört durch das Heilmittel und Prophilaktikum gegen Syphilis, den Kolibri *(uitzitzilin).* II 67.

Zickzackband, schwarzes, Abbild der *itzcouatl.* I 152 — auf der Hackenkappe der Sandale *Tezcatlipoca's.* I 152.

Ziffern, bei den fünfundzwanzig Götterpaaren angegeben. II 178 — schreiten von zwei bis sechsundzwanzig fort. II 178 — Erklärung hierfür. II 178–179.

Zifferreihen in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350.

Zinan (Maya), Skorpion. I 321.

Zinnen *(mixoyotl, mixrotl),* Abbilder der Wolken. I 29 — an einer rothen Scheibe, aus der eine Feuerschlange hervorkommt; s. runder Feuerheerd. II 38, 39, 40 — davon umgebener Hof, auf einer doppelköpfigen Schlange ruhend. II 103.

Zopf, langer; auf Priester deutend. I 68 — Haar der Krieger in Zöpfe geflochten. I 154 — Tracht der Zapoteken. I 235.

Zopfband, ein *tlapalcouatl*-Schwanzende, beim blauen *Auiateotl.* II 305.

zornige Erdgötter = verfolgende *Xiripeme.* I 170 — versöhnt durch ein Hauptopfer. I 171 — ein solcher, zornig umherlaufend, hiess in Tlaxcala: *Ixcuinan.* I 173.

Zo'tzil der Provinz Chiapas. I 235.

zugespitzter Federstab (s. Federpose), Kasteiungsinstrument. II 161, 163.

zunehmender (wachsender) **Mond.** I 140 — Vorbild für das Wachsen der Vegetation. II 10 — *Xipe Totec* (Gott in der neuen Haut). II 18 — am Abendhimmel = *Tezcatlipoca.* II 12, 23, 32, 35, 63, 298 — junge Göttin, *Xochiquetzal.* II 32, 66.

Zunft der Steinschneider (s. *tlatecquê*), stammt aus *Xochimilco.* II 273 — s. *Chantico.*

Zunge, von *Tepeyollotli,* in der Cella des Hauses der rothen Schlange weit hervorgestreckt. II 21 — lang herunter

hängend, in dem Jaguarrachen, der dem Gesichte der Mondfigur des Abendhimmels eingesetzt ist. II 56 — Durchlöchern der Zunge mit Halmen oder Stäben als „confesion exterior". I 211, 212; II 181, 199, 215 — Loch in der —. — s. *cacatl.*

Zuñi, Pueblo-Indianer; bei ihnen der Truthahn Regenvogel. I 200, 201.

Zurückbleiben hinter der Sonne, beim Monde. II I, 2 — beim Planeten Venus. II 2.

Zurückwenden des Kopfes beim Hunde *(Xolotl).* I 191.

Zusammenfügen, Zusammenbrennen, Zusammenkochen — bedeutet jede Erneuerung. II 55.

zusammenschlagende Felsen. II 12.

Zwanzig, Grundlage des mexikanischen Zahlensystems. I 4, 16, 17; II 207 — Maya-Zahlhieroglyphe, Kopf mit dem ausgebohrten Auge. I 317.

zwanzig Abschnitte, dreizehntägige, des Tonalamatl's, ihre Gottheiten I 76; II 208—289.

zwanzig Dreizehnheiten, abwechselnd rechts und links bei der Darstellung des Gottes des Lebens und des Gottes des Todes in der irdischen Region. II 165, 169.

zwanzig Gottheiten, bilden eine sakrale Reihe. I 76; II 209 bis 210 — setzen eine Grundreihe von zehn Gottheiten voraus. I 214, 308, 318 — haben Beziehung zur Reihe der zwanzig Gottheiten der Dresdener Handschrift. I 214, 215, 308, 309 — fangen in letzterer mit der vierten Gottheit der Codex Borgia-Gruppe an. I 214, 215, 308 — eine andere Reihe, im Codex Borgia. I 301—326 — verglichen mit den zwanzig Göttern der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift (Bl. 46—50) und den fünf Göttern des Ostens (Bl. 24) I 309, 310—326 — zweite Reihe in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift, in Hieroglyphen angegeben (Bl. 46—50). I 309, 310—326 — hat Beziehung zur Venusperiode. I 311 — der Codex Borgia-Gruppe parallelisirt mit der Reihe des Codex Dresdensis. I 215—218, 308.

zwanzig mal dreihundertundsechzig Tage, bei den Maya *Katun* genannter Zeitraum. I 322.

zwanzig Tage, Grösse der Korrektur des Kalenders bei einer einundachtzigjährigen Periode im Codex Nuttall. II 126.

zwanzig Tageszeichen, in zwei parallele Reihen von je zehn geordnet. I 213, 214, 308; II 209—210 — bei einer anderen Reihe von zwanzig Gottheiten im Codex Borgia. I 301 bis 326 — haben theilweise Beziehung zu den entsprechenden Maya-Formen. I 308 — ihre Namen. I 5, 5—16 — mit dreizehn Zahlen zum Tonalamatl kombinirt. I 4, 16, 17, 76 — ihre Gottheiten. I 75—217; II 209—210 — erstes der Tageszeichen (mexik.) s. *cipactli,* s. *cuetzpalin;* (Maya) s. *kan.* — Ursprung. I 75 — haben Ordinalzahlwerth. I 76, 301 — mit der Figur *Tezcatlipoca*'s verbunden. I 280 — mit *Xochipilli,* dem Gotte der Lust, verbunden. II 134—136 — bei den Göttern der Wollust dargestellt. II 305 — mit einem Menschen mit *tonallo*-Emblem auf schwarzem Stirnfelde *(Xochipilli)* verbunden. II 136 — bei den toten Göttern oder der Abendsternreihe. I 337 — bei den vier Stützen des Himmels und den vier Säulen der Erde angegeben. II 126 — mit einem Hirsche verbunden (an den Körpertheilen). II 135 — mit Körpertheilen *Quetzalcouatl*'s und *Mictlantecutli*'s (in der himmlischen Region), im Codex Vaticanus verbunden. II 168 — ihre Reihe beginnt in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift mit dem vierten Tageszeichen *kan* (mexik. *cuetzpalin*). I 215, 308 — sonstiges Vorkommen. II 4 — in eigenthümlicher Anordnung bei den fünf Venusperioden und ihren Hütern angegeben. I 327—336 — fünf davon entfallen auf die Anfangstage der auf einander folgenden Venusperioden. I 239, 327; II 137 — vier davon entfallen auf die Anfangstage der auf einander folgenden Sonnenjahre. I 342—345 — bei den sechs Himmelswanderern; maassgebend für diese sind *cipactli, calli, miquiztli, itzcuintli, ocelotl, quiauitl.* II 157.

Zwei, Ziffer, mit der die fünfundzwanzig Götterpaare beginnen. II 178 — Gottheit dieser Zahl ist auf Maya-Monumenten noch unbekannt. I 217.

zwei Adlerfederbüsche, vertreten *ome quammamalitli* beim Feuergotte. II 282.

zwei ausgerissene Augen, Determinativ des Todesgottes, des Ballspieler des Südens. II 117.

zwei Ballspieler. II 32.

zwei Ballspielplätze, einer schwarz, einer roth. II 23 — s. *yayauhqui, tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca.*

zwei Bänder (Blumen?), mit einer Schleife zusammengebunden, in der linken Hand *Xolotl*'s (als Zeichen der Gemination). II 37 — in der Hand von vier schwarzen *itztli*-Figuren. II 38 — in der Hand von zwei weiblichen Figuren. II 38.

zwei Blutschlangen, das aus den beiden Aorten hervorschiessende Blut bei der Kolossalfigur der sogenannten *Teoyaomiqui* bezeichnend. I 90.

zwei brennende Kautschukkugeln, oder Kopalkugeln, auf ihnen steht der Erdbebengott *Naui olin* der Wiener Handschrift. I 283.

zwei *chalchiuitl* = zwei Kinder, bei der neunten Nachtstunde. II 198.

Zweideutigkeit der Vorstellungen. I 95.

zwei Edelsteinscheiben, des auf dem Kreuzwege liegenden knochenfarbenen *Quetzalcouatl.* II 54 — auf der Stirnbinde *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 47 — einer der neun *Quetzalcouatl*-Figuren. II 47.

zwei Edelsteinschnüre, in einander verschlungen, blau-gelb, Musik oder Gesang andeutend, Determinativ beim Ost-Ballspieler. II 116 — ähnlich aus dem Munde *Xipe Totec*'s herauskommend. II 133.

zweifarbige Bemalung, s. *chictlapanqui,* der Pulquegötter. I 7 (Symbol von Tag und Nacht), I 45, 111, 141 — des Gesichtes bei *Quetzalcouatl.* I 20, 111, 141 — s. blau-roth. der Trachtstücke *Tlaloc*'s. I 112, 141 — der spitzen Mütze *Quetzalcouatl*'s. — s. *copilli.*

Zweifarbigkeit, *chictlapancayotl,* des Pulquegottes *(Pàtecatl).* II 244, 245.

zwei Federbanner, auf dem *Xochicalli.* II 48.

zwei Federbüsche, auf dem Scheitel der *Xochiquetzal,* s. *ome quetzalli.*

zwei Feuerschlangen, verschlungen, über dem Pulquegefässe zwischen den Göttern des zweiten der sechs Götterpaare. II 173.

zwei Formen des den Norden der Unterwelt durchwandernden *Quetzalcouatl,* s. lebender (schwarzer) *Quetzalcouatl*; s. knochenfarbener *Quetzalcouatl.* II 49, 51.

zwei Fussspuren, Geburt von Zwillingen andeutend. I 31 — nach oben gehend, über gekreuzten Totenknochen, bei der eilften Tagstunde (Süden), bezeichnen den geopferten Krieger. II 203.

zwei geköpfte Menschen, ihr Blut färbt die Decke des kopulirenden Nord- und Südpaares roth. II 120.

zwei gelbe Klapperschlangen, im Haare *Quetzalcouatl*'s. II 214.

zwei Generationen, im *Popol Vuh* angenommen, um das Problem des Verschwindens und Aufgehens von Sonne und Mond zu lösen: ältere Generation, *Hun hunahpu* und *Vukub hunahpu*; jüngere, *Hunahpu* und *Xbalanque.* II 50.

zwei Gesichter, Maske damit, beim *Tititl*-Feste. I 192.

zwei Geweihe trägt der Hirsch, auf dem *Xolotl*-Blatte.

zwei Haarflechten, auf dem Scheitel aufragend, bei *Tepeyollotli.* I 232; II 187 — am Scheitel aufragend, bei *Xochiquetzal.* II 192 — hornartig aufragend, Tracht der mexikanischen Weiber. II 181, 182, 187.

zwei Haarwülste, auf dem Scheitel der *Tepeyollotli*-Köpfe bedeuten Zwillingsbildung. II 187.
Zweiheit, Zwillingsbildung durch zwei auf dem Scheitel aufragende Haarwülste bei *Tepeyollotli*-Köpfen angedeutet. II 187.
zweihenkliger Krug, mit Stufenmäander, Edelsteinketten und vier Arten von Mais und einem nackten Männlein, bezeichnet Wachsthum *(izcalli)* der Maisfrucht. II 174, 175.
zwei Herzen, vom Pfeile durchbohrt, im *quauhxicalli* des Ost-*tzompantli*'s. II 115.
zweihundertdreiundvierzigtägiger Abschnitt der Venusperiode, bezeichnet Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Morgenstern im Codex Borgia. II 16.
zweihundertsechsunddreissigtägiger Abschnitt der Venusperiode, bezeichnet Sichtbarkeit des Planeten in westlicher Elongation als Morgenstern in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350; II 15, 153.
zweihundertundfunfzigtägiger Abschnitt der Venusperiode, bezeichnet das Erscheinen des Planeten in östlicher Elongation als Abendstern in der Dresdener Maya-Handschrift. I 350; II 15, 153.
zweihundertundsechszigtägige Periode, s. *tonalamatl.*
zweihundertundzweiundfunfzigtägiger Abschnitt der Venusperiode, bezeichnet die Sichtbarkeit des Planeten Venus als Abendstern im Codex Borgia. II 16, 46, 58 — s. *matlactli omei itzcuintli.* — s. *macuilli eecatl.*
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zwei (in einander gefügte) **Kettenglieder,** bei dem aus der Vulva der *Tlaçolteotl* heraustretenden Kinde, bedeuten Kombination, Erneuerung des Lebens. I 157; II 252.
zwei Knochendolche, Nasenflügelschmuck. II 150.
zweiköpfige Göttin, s. *Quaxolotl* (*Xochiquetzal*). — s. *Chantico.*
zweiköpfige Schlange, s. *maquizcouatl.* — s. doppelköpfige Schlange.
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zwei Locken, über der Stirn lang aufzüngelnd, Zeichen des Morgensternes, der Gestirne, von Lichtwesen. II 12 — s. Locken.
zwei Maiskolben, charakteristische Beigabe in der Hand der Maisgöttin. I 209 — bei der *Tonacacinatl* dargestellt. II 27.
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zweimaliges Sterben des Planeten Venus, bei Annäherung an Morgen- und Abendsonne. II 13 — durch Figuren als Träger abgeschnittener Köpfe veranschaulicht, theils in Adlermaske (Morgenstern), theils in Steinmesserverkleidung (Abendstern). II 13.
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The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel
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The Book of Chilam of Chumayel by Ralph L. Roys was published in 1933. The Books of Chilam Balam are the sacred books of the Maya of Yucatan and were named after their last and greatest prophet. Chilam, or chilan, was his title, meaning he was the mouthpiece or interpreter of the gods. Balam means jaguar, but it is also a common family name in Yucatan, so the title of the present work could well be translated as the Book of the Prophet Balam. During a large part of the colonial period, and even down into the Nineteenth Century, many of the towns and villages of northern Yucatan possessed Books of Chilam Balam, and this designation was supplemented by the name of the town to which the book belonged. Dowload the free ebook here:

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What is The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel about?
The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is one of the surviving texts from the Maya civilisation in present-day Mexico, primarily written during the late Postclassic period of Maya history (circa 1300-1697). The "Books of Chilam Balam" are a collection of nine related manuscripts, with the Chumayel being one of the most studied and notable.

Yucatec Maya authors wrote the Chilam Balam texts after the Spanish Conquest, and they contain a mix of mythology, prophecy, history, and herbal medicine. The name "Chilam Balam" translates to "Jaguar Shaman" or "Priest," and is associated with the ancient tradition of prophecy among the Maya.

Here are key elements that the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, like others in the series, typically encompasses:

Historical Chronicles: These sections often relate the history of the Maya people from their early migrations to the Yucatan up to the times during and after the Spanish Conquest. It reflects the turmoil and changes that came with colonization, including the introduction of Christianity.
Prophecies: The books are perhaps best known for their prophetic aspects. The Chilam Balam texts include predictions about the Maya people's future and the Spaniards' coming, often written in a symbolic and poetic style. These prophecies, sometimes written as if made before the events occurred, often merge pre-Columbian religious beliefs with Christian elements.
Rituals and Ceremonies: Detailed descriptions of certain Maya rituals and religious practices are also included. These give insight into the post-conquest fusion of Christian and traditional Maya religious practices.
Astronomical and Astrological Texts: The Maya were accomplished astronomers, and the Chilam Balam books continue this tradition by including various charts and tables, often of an astrological nature, predicting the fate of the community based on the movements of celestial bodies.
Medicinal Recipes and Folk Remedies: The texts include a variety of medical knowledge, listing herbal remedies, and traditional practices for treating various ailments.
Transliteration of European Events and Practices: Some parts of the texts involve transliterations of Spanish or Christian terms, events (such as Christian religious stories), and calendars, reflecting the

complex cultural synthesis that occurred in the centuries following the conquest.
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CategoriesAncient Religions
TagsBalam, Chilam, Chilam Balam, Chilan, Chumayel, Jaguar, Maya, Ralph L Roys, Yacatan
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The Book of Chilam of Chumayel by Ralph L. Roys was published in 1933. The Books of Chilam Balam are the sacred books of the Maya of Yucatan and were named after their last and greatest prophet. Chilam, or chilan, was his title, meaning he was the mouthpiece or interpreter of the gods. Balam means jaguar, but it is also a common family name in Yucatan, so the title of the present work could well be translated as the Book of the Prophet Balam. During a large part of the colonial period, and even down into the Nineteenth Century, many of the towns and villages of northern Yucatan possessed Books of Chilam Balam, and this designation was supplemented by the name of the town to which the book belonged. Dowload the free ebook here:

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What is The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel about?
The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is one of the surviving texts from the Maya civilisation in present-day Mexico, primarily written during the late Postclassic period of Maya history (circa 1300-1697). The "Books of Chilam Balam" are a collection of nine related manuscripts, with the Chumayel being one of the most studied and notable.

Yucatec Maya authors wrote the Chilam Balam texts after the Spanish Conquest, and they contain a mix of mythology, prophecy, history, and herbal medicine. The name "Chilam Balam" translates to "Jaguar Shaman" or "Priest," and is associated with the ancient tradition of prophecy among the Maya.

Here are key elements that the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, like others in the series, typically encompasses:

Historical Chronicles: These sections often relate the history of the Maya people from their early migrations to the Yucatan up to the times during and after the Spanish Conquest. It reflects the turmoil and changes that came with colonization, including the introduction of Christianity.
Prophecies: The books are perhaps best known for their prophetic aspects. The Chilam Balam texts include predictions about the Maya people's future and the Spaniards' coming, often written in a symbolic and poetic style. These prophecies, sometimes written as if made before the events occurred, often merge pre-Columbian religious beliefs with Christian elements.
Rituals and Ceremonies: Detailed descriptions of certain Maya rituals and religious practices are also included. These give insight into the post-conquest fusion of Christian and traditional Maya religious practices.
Astronomical and Astrological Texts: The Maya were accomplished astronomers, and the Chilam Balam books continue this tradition by including various charts and tables, often of an astrological nature, predicting the fate of the community based on the movements of celestial bodies.
Medicinal Recipes and Folk Remedies: The texts include a variety of medical knowledge, listing herbal remedies, and traditional practices for treating various ailments.
Transliteration of European Events and Practices: Some parts of the texts involve transliterations of Spanish or Christian terms, events (such as Christian religious stories), and calendars, reflecting the

complex cultural synthesis that occurred in the centuries following the conquest.
The original text is in Yucatec Maya, written using the Latin script taught by Spanish missionaries. The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, like the other books of Chilam Balam, represents a critical source for understanding pre-Columbian Americas, offering a unique perspective on the synthesis of Spanish and Maya cultures and the resilience of Maya civilization and thought despite the profound disruptions of the colonial period.

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A manuscript illustration of brown and green fish with wings amidst a swirling turquoise water backdrop.

An Encyclopedia of 16th-Century Indigenous Mexico

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The Digital Florentine Codex gives access to a singular manuscript created by Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún and a group of Nahua elders, authors, and artists. Written in parallel columns of Nahuatl and Spanish texts and hand painted with nearly 2,500 images, the encyclopedic codex is widely regarded as the most reliable source of information about Mexica culture, the Aztec Empire, and the conquest of Mexico. Upon completion in 1577 at the Imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco (today Mexico City), the manuscript was sent to Europe where it entered the Medici family's library in Florence—thus, the Florentine Codex. This digital edition unlocks the manuscript's content by making the texts and images searchable.

Books

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Gods

Illustration of Calendar and FestivalsBook 2

Calendar and Festivals

Illustration of Origin of the GodsBook 3

Origin of the Gods

Illustration of Judicial Astrology or Divinatory ArtsBook 4

Judicial Astrology or Divinatory Arts

Illustration of Omens and PrognosticationsBook 5

Omens and Prognostications

Illustration of Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, and TheologyBook 6

Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, and Theology

Illustration of Astrology and Natural PhilosophyBook 7

Astrology and Natural Philosophy

Illustration of Kings and LordsBook 8

Kings and Lords

Illustration of MerchantsBook 9

Merchants

Illustration of PeopleBook 10

People

Illustration of Forest, Garden, OrchardBook 11

Forest, Garden, Orchard

Illustration of Conquest of MexicoBook 12

Conquest of Mexico

Deities

Huitzilopochtli

Tlaloc

Quetzalcoatl

Tlazolteotl

Chalchiuhtlicue

Coatlicue

Occupations

Illustration of Warrior

Warrior

Illustration of Trumpeter

Trumpeter

Illustration of Farmer

Farmer

Illustration of Drummer

Drummer

Illustration of Feather Worker

Feather Worker

Illustration of Carpenter

Carpenter

Illustration of Seller

Seller

Illustration of Fisherman

Fisherman

Illustration of Archer

Archer

Illustration of Weaver

Weaver

Illustration of Hunter

Hunter

Illustration of Midwife/Healer (ticitl)

Midwife/Healer (ticitl)

Everyday Nahuatl

Illustration of Tamale

Tamale

Illustration of Quetzal

Quetzal

Illustration of Metate

Metate

Illustration of Cacao

Cacao

Illustration of Ocelot

Ocelot

Illustration of Coyote

Coyote

Illustration of Chili

Chili

Illustration of Tortilla

Tortilla

Illustration of Axolotl

Axolotl

Illustration of Chapulin

Chapulin

Illustration of Tomato

Tomato

Illustration of Elote

Elote

Individuals

Illustration of Ahuitzotl

Ahuitzotl

Illustration of Cuauhtemoc

Cuauhtemoc

Illustration of Moteuczoma Xocoyotzin

Moteuczoma Xocoyotzin

Illustration of Malintzin

Malintzin

Illustration of Hernan Cortes

Hernan Cortes

Illustration of Tzilacatzin

Tzilacatzin

Animals

Illustration of Dogs

Dogs

Illustration of Birds

Birds

Illustration of Fish

Fish

Illustration of Serpents

Serpents

Illustration of Butterflies

Butterflies

Illustration of Horses

Horses

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Left Column: Spanish
Select texts

Spanish Transcription
(López Austin & García Quintana 2000)

Libro primero en que se trata de los dioses que adoraban los naturales desta tierra que es la Nueva España
Capítulo I que habla del principal dios que adoraban y a quien sacrificaban los mexicanos, llamado Huitzilopuchtli
Este dios llamado Huiztilopuchtli fue otro Hércules, el cual fue robustísimo, de grandes fuerzas y muy belicoso, gran destruidor de pueblos y matador de gentes. En las guerras era como fuego vivo, muy temeroso a sus contrarios, y así la devisa que traía era una cabeza de dragón muy espantable que echaba fuego por la boca. También éste era nigromántico o embaidor, que se transformaba en figura de diversas aves y bestias.

A este hombre por su fortaleza y destreza en la guerra le tuvieron en mucho los mexicanos cuando vivía, después que murió le honraron como a Dios y le ofrecían esclavos, sacrificándolos en su presencia. Buscaban que estos esclavos fuesen muy regalados y muy bien ataviados con aquellos aderezos que ellos usaban de orejeras y barbotes. Esto hacían por más honrarle.

Otro semejante a éste hubo en las partes de Tlaxcalla, que se llamaba Camaxtle.

Capítulo II que trata del dios llamado Páinal, el cual, siendo hombre, era adorado por dios
Este dios llamado Páinal era como sota capitán del arriba dicho, porque el arriba dicho, como mayor capitán, dictaba cuándo se había de hacer guer[ra]

Spanish-to-English Translation
(García Garagarza 2023)

First book, which deals with the gods that the natives of this land, which is the New Spain, worshiped
First chapter, which tells of the main god, named Huitzilopochtli, whom the Mexicans worshiped and to whom they offered sacrifices
This god named Huiztilopochtli was another Hercules who was extraordinarily robust, of great strength, and very bellicose, a great destroyer of towns and slayer of peoples. In war, he was like a living fire, very frightful to his opponents; thus, the emblem that he carried was a very frightening dragon's head that spewed fire through its mouth. He was also a sorcerer or trickster, who transformed himself into the shapes of various birds and beasts.

Because of his fortitude and skill in warfare, the Mexicans held this man in high esteem while he was alive, and after he died, they worshiped him as a god and offered slaves to him, whom they sacrificed in his presence. They took care that these slaves should receive many gifts and be very well attired, with those ear pendants and lip-plug adornments that they used [to wear]. They did this to pay him the highest honors.

There was another [god] similar to this one in the area of Tlaxcala, whose name was Camaxtle.

Second chapter, which tells of the god named Painal, who, although he was a man, was worshiped as a god
This god named Painal was like the subcaptain of the one mentioned above, because that one, as the main captain, dictated the time when war was to be launched

Right Column: Nahuatl
Select texts

Nahuatl Transcription
(Anderson & Dibble 1953–1982)

Nahuatl-to-English Translation
(Anderson & Dibble 1953–1982)

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THE FLORENTINE CODEX

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NAHUA WORLD IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO

EDITED BY

Jeanette Favrot Peterson
and Kevin Terraciano

THE

FLORENTINE CODEX

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An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico

EDITED BY
JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON
AND KEVIN TERRACIANO

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS AUSTIN

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Preface and Acknowledgments

JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON AND KEVIN TERRACIANO

The Florentine Codex has inspired and catalyzed interdisciplinary scholarship over many decades. It has been scrutinized from multiple perspectives—as an incipient ethnography, a literary work, a dictionary, a historical record, and a theological reflection—and found to be all of these and more. Created by the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún and his indigenous collaborators, the document records two languages, features over two thousand images, and engages a broad range of fundamental questions, including those of authorship, literacy (both verbal and visual), intercultural dialogue, and historical memory. The Florentine Codex occupies a prominent nexus between the pre-Hispanic past and the New Spanish colonial present and, as such, opens up a fertile space to investigate the various epistemic systems that met, intermingled, and clashed in sixteenth-century Mexico. Until recently, studies of the manuscript focused on the very important task of translating and comprehending the bilingual texts. We acknowledge our collective debt to the illustrious scholars who have gone before us and share our appreciation for this magnificent illuminated manuscript. Breaking new ground, the authors in this collection of essays direct their critical analyses to the images of the Florentine Codex: their pictorial sources, their material components, and their correspondence with the accompanying narratives. In resituating the paintings within their textual matrix and a Nahua-Christian context, this volume as a whole complicates a Eurocentric understanding of the images and foregrounds the roles and agency of their indigenous makers.

The impetus for this volume began with a two-day conference, "Visual and Textual Dialogues in Colonial Mexico and Europe: The Florentine Codex," held in 2015 at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Getty Center. The meeting convened a group of scholars from Mexico, Europe, and the United States to examine the interrelation of the manuscript's three "texts": the Nahuatl and Spanish alphabetic texts and the hand-painted images. Taken together, both words and pictures offer a rich body of evidence for interdisciplinary investigation, as well as a springboard for larger questions. The conference was followed six months later by an informal workshop held at the Getty Research Institute. The dialogue generated by this workshop highlighted the need for a publication dedicated to our new interpretative perspective on the Florentine Codex. We are grateful for the participation of the invited scholars, whose thought-provoking papers were subsequently expanded and refined into the essays found in this volume. Additionally, we acknowledge the contributions of the discussants at the 2015 conference, Kim Richter, Cecelia F. Klein, and Daniela Bleichmar.

For so generously hosting and facilitating these meetings, the editors would like to express their special thanks to Barbara Fuchs, then director of the Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the UCLA William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, and to Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Kim Richter, then director and associate director of the Getty Research Institute at the Getty Center. We also acknowledge the assistance of Sue Kang, Nathaniel Deines, Sally McKay, Lisa Cam-

bier, and Mahsa Hatam at the Getty, and Jeanette LaVere, Kathy Sanchez, and Erich Bollman at UCLA. We are grateful to other research centers at UCLA that cosponsored the conference: the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the Center for Mexican Studies, and the Latin American Institute.

We owe a great debt to the warm reception and cooperation of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, where the Florentine Codex is housed. Ida Giovanna Rao, the director of the library until December of 2017, made the original three-volume Florentine Codex accessible for research and waived the costs of publishing its images. Our thanks also to Anna Rita Fantoni, the Laurenziana's current director, for supporting this generous arrangement, and to the Getty Research Institute for allowing us to incorporate into this volume both images and related text from their superb digital copy of the Florentine Codex.

We thank Christopher DiMatteo for his expert translation of Italian in chapter 2, and Rebecca Dufendach for collating and editing our bibliography. We are grateful to Helen Deutsch, current director of the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Clark Library, for cosponsoring this publication with a generous subvention, and to the UCLA Latin American Institute for the same. We are especially grateful to Kerry E. Webb, senior acquisitions editor, and the staff at the University of Texas Press.

Note to readers: The editors acknowledge that the alphabetic spelling of some Nahuatl words can vary from one scholar and one chapter to the next. As one example, the name of the Aztec ruler at the time of the conquest can be spelled Moctezuma, Moteuczoma, or Motecuhzoma. Recognizing the complexity of the cultural terms "Aztec" and "Nahua," in this volume the name Aztec is generally applied to precontact peoples who flourished in central Mexico and, by conquest or negotiation, received tribute from many communities of Mesoamerica. Specifically, those who lived in the island cities on Lake Texcoco, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and Tlatelolco, were also referred to as the Mexica. More current is our use of the term Nahuas for those peoples who spoke, and continue to speak, the language of Nahuatl. On the pagination of the Florentine Codex, we have followed throughout the folio numbers internally sequential within each book, found in the upper right-hand corner (recto and verso). The exception to this practice is in the pagination of the first twelve folios of Book 1, in which the only page numbers are those for volume 1 found in the lower right-hand corner of each folio (recto and verso).

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FIGURE 1.1. *Victims of the first smallpox outbreak in 1520. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 53v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Introduction

An Encyclopedia of Nahua Culture: Context and Content

KEVIN TERRACIANO

It is difficult to imagine the sense of urgency that fray Bernardino de Sahagún and his team of indigenous writers and artists felt as they struggled to complete the final draft of their encyclopedia of Nahua culture and language known today as the Florentine Codex. They worked inside the cloistered walls of the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Santiago Tlatelolco while family, friends, and some of their own group succumbed to disease. Writing during the virulent epidemic of 1576, Sahagún recalled an earlier plague of 1545, when he claimed to have buried more than ten thousand corpses before he himself fell ill and nearly died. "There is hardly anyone still in the college," he lamented. "Dead and sick, almost all are gone."[1] Sahagún blamed the two epidemics for the decline of the *colegio*.

The Franciscan *colegio* in Tlatelolco, a Mexica community just north of neighboring Tenochtitlan and on the same island in the lake of the Basin of Mexico, was the first European college in the Americas. The Holy Cross College was founded on January 6, 1536, to educate Nahua youth, primarily but not exclusively the sons of Nahua elites. The Franciscans offered a basic humanities curriculum, teaching the neophytes how to read and write in Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin; the trivium and the quadrivium; and elements of the Christian doctrine. The college possessed an extensive library to support these endeavors. By the second half of the sixteenth century, Tlatelolco had become a center of Franciscan learning and humanist education in New Spain.

But by the 1570s, Sahagún had seen the "whole land . . . depleted of people" with his very own eyes.[2] He feared that the Indians were destined for extinction, to be replaced forever by Spaniards and their descendants.[3] A striking image in Book 12 of the Florentine Codex depicts victims of the first outbreak of smallpox, after the Spaniards were expelled from Tenochtitlan in 1520 (fig. I.1). A woman attends to the sick, who lie suffering on *petates*, or reed mats. The Nahuatl text says that the epidemic lasted a full sixty days before it moved toward the south, and "the Mexica warriors were greatly weakened by it."[4]

The epidemic of 1576 struck in August; Sahagún penned the prologues and interpolations in November of that year. To describe the devastation wrought by war and disease on the indigenous peoples of New Spain, he recalled the words of an Old Testament prophecy. In the prologue to Book 1 he compares the war of 1520–1521 to

> the curse which Jeremiah, in the name of God, thundered upon Judea and Jerusalem in the fifth chapter, saying: "I will cause to come upon you, I will bring against you a people from afar, a very vigorous and brave people, a very ancient people skilled in battle, a people whose language you will not understand, . . . all powerful and courageous people, lusting to kill. This people will destroy you and your women and children and everything you possess, and will destroy all your villages and buildings." This has literally happened to these Indians by way of the Spaniards.[5]

The Florentine Codex took shape amid the chaos of conquest, disease, and consolidation of imperial power in Mexico, the culmination of decades of meticulous gathering and recording of knowledge about Nahua culture. As soon as the bilingual manuscript was completed, the final version in a series of works collectively referred to as the *Historia general* (or *universal*), it was whisked away to Spain. In March 1578, Sahagún wrote a letter to the Spanish king, humbly inquiring whether his majesty had seen the books that had taken three decades to complete.[6] By this time, fray Bernardino was approaching eighty years of age and wrote with a trembling hand. He would never know of the work's final destination or fate. Table I.1 provides a timeline for the manuscript's production.

THE MANUSCRIPT

This volume presents studies generated by our 2015 conference on the Florentine Codex that address issues raised by the internal dynamics of the manuscript, its "three texts," and their external implications. The questions we initially explored, and herein pursue in writing, we hope will promote greater understanding of the relationship of the bilingual texts to the relevant imagery, with an emphasis on the methods, potential models, and intent of its multiple authors. This introductory chapter locates the production of the Florentine Codex in its historical, literary, and artistic framework and summarizes the thirteen substantive contributions to this volume.

At the outset I should clarify the several titles conferred on the Florentine Codex and their inconsistent usage. The "Florentine Codex" is the title that the pioneering historians Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble, and other prominent scholars have given the manuscript that now exists in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, Italy (Med. Palat. 218, 219, and 220). The twelve books of the manuscript were originally bound in four volumes;[7] today the manuscript consists of 1,223 folios (2,446 pages) and is rebound in three volumes.

Ironically, historians do not know the original title of the work; it is unclear what title Sahagún chose. The manuscript preserves only a small fragment of the title page, which was probably removed when it was bound a second time. It is also called the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* and the *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España*, based on the titles of a working draft and a copy of the Spanish text, the Palacio Real and Tolosa manuscripts, respectively, both in Madrid.[8] Many scholars have also adopted the *Historia general* title, including Carlos María de Bustamante, Paso y Troncoso, and Anderson and Dibble, both for Sahagún's larger project (1558–1577) and explicitly for the final edition. In 1829–1830, Bustamante published the Spanish translation of the codex as the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. It is based on the Tolosa manuscript, which in general is a faithful copy of the Florentine's Spanish text.[9] In the prologues to each of the twelve books, Sahagún seems to avoid a title, referring to the work numerous times as the *libros* (books) or the *doze libros* (twelve books) or the *obra* (work). He also uses the title *historia* more than once, in the prologues to Books 9 and 10 and in his letter to the king in 1578, mentioned before. The broader meaning of the word *historia* in the early modern period did not refer exclusively to an account of past events; the term was often modified with other descriptive terms, such as *natural* (i.e., flora and fauna) or *moral* (mores) to indicate broader studies of nature or customs.[10] The qualifying term *general* implies the treatment of a wide range of subjects, and *universal* suggests an attempt to insert the Nahuas into a universal Christian history. Jesús Bustamante García observes that the archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, referred to the work as Sahagún's "Historia universal de las Yndias" in his letter to the king, dated December 16, 1578.[11] Victoria Ríos Castaño provides evidence that *universal* was the term recognized by King Philip II and the Council of the Indies. She also points out that the choice of twelve books conforms to the symbolic import of the number twelve to the friars and to Christian ideology in general.[12] Sahagún also refers to having written "twelve books of the divine, or rather idolatrous, human, and natural things of this New Spain."[13] Thus he refers to his entire encyclopedic project with many of the key words that were later applied to it: "Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España."

THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVE

Despite many dramatic postconquest changes, the Nahuatl-speaking peoples who lived around Lake Texcoco in the Basin of Mexico continued to live and work in hundreds of separate, semiautonomous *altepetl* (communities) that survived in altered but recognizable forms.[14] Even the two *altepetl* at the center of the Mexica capital,

TABLE I.1. *Chronology of the* Historia General [Universal] de las Cosas de Nueva España

DATE	PRODUCTION STAGES
1547	Sahagún first records *huehuetlatolli* in Nahuatl (later, Bk. 6) in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, Santiago Tlatelolco.
1555	First Nahuatl composition of the conquest narrative (later, Bk. 12), Tlatelolco.
1558	Francisco de Toral, Franciscan provincial, requests Sahagún compile and expand his work on the Nahuatl language and cultural data. Sahagún prepares an outline, or *minuta*, of planned texts.
1558–1565	**Códices Matritenses** or **Madrid Codices** (Tepepulco and Tlatelolco) A collection of Sahagún's Nahuatl writings, bound in two volumes, that reside in two libraries in Madrid, the Real Academia de la Historia and the Palacio Real. These include: 1. ***Primeros memoriales*** (1559–1561, Tepepulco) Four sections on gods, heaven and underworld, lordship, human things. Recorded in Nahuatl with images. 2. **"Manuscrito de Tlatelolco"** (1561–1565, Tlatelolco) a. *Segundos memoriales* (1561–1562) b. *Memoriales en tres columnas* (1563–1565) c. *Memoriales con escolios* (ca. 1565)
1565–1570	San Francisco, Mexico: Sahagún reorders, amends, and annotates texts.
1569	**"Manuscrito de 1569"**: "clean copy" of twelve books in Nahuatl of *Historia general*, now lost.
1570–1575	Sahagún's writings impounded and scattered (Tlatelolco).
August 4, 1575	Arrival of Rodrigo de Sequera with orders from Juan de Ovando (d. Aug. 8, 1575), president of Council of the Indies, Seville, to commission Sahagún to produce a bilingual, illustrated copy of his encyclopedic Nahuatl manuscript.
fall 1575–spring 1577	**Florentine Codex** (Tlatelolco) Production of the final edition of the *Historia general* commonly known as the Florentine Codex (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence).
April 22, 1577	Royal order (*real cédula*) to Viceroy Martín Enríquez to seize Sahagún's works.
October 28, 1577	Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras writes to Philip II to confirm that Sahagún's works have been sequestered and will be sent to the king. On December 16, 1578, the archbishop confirms the shipment, as does Sahagún in an earlier letter of March 26, 1578.
1580	Florentine Codex has reached Spain by this time, brought by fray Rodrigo de Sequera. It is taken shortly thereafter to Rome, perhaps as a diplomatic gift for Cardinal Ferdinando I de' Medici (1563–1588).
1578–1588	**Tolosa manuscript** (ms. 9-4812, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid) First copy of Spanish text in the Florentine Codex, made in Mexico or Spain.
1587 or 1588	Florentine Codex in Medici collection moved to Florence when Ferdinando I de' Medici made grand duke of Tuscany.
1783	First recorded entry of the Florentine Codex in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Med. Palat. 218–220).

Note: *All documents were initiated and overseen by Sahagún but were multiauthored, with indigenous Nahua scholars and painters transcribing the information from oral Nahuatl to alphabetic script, creating the accompanying images, and often revising texts.*
Sources: *Anderson 1982; Dibble 1982a; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 215v; Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 46–47, 51; D'Olwer and Cline 1973, 188–203; Baudot 1995, 496–502; Marchetti 1983, 22; Bustamante García 1990, 307–308, 327–346, 451; León-Portilla 2002a, 115–224; Rao 2011, 38–39; Ríos Castaño 2014, 99–109.*

Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, which bore the brunt of the Spanish-led invasion in 1520–1521, managed to regroup and reassert their identities within the new colonial order. Nonetheless, their leaders and inhabitants were forced to come to terms with new political and religious authorities who spoke a foreign language, introduced another legal system, and promoted a rapidly changing economy in which the competition for natural and human resources, especially at the center of this "New Spain," intensified with each generation.

At the same time, the Crown sought to impose its sovereignty on the distant land. Carlos V brought the chaotic early period of Cortés, and his successor, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, president of the first *audiencia*, or high court, to a close by appointing a second *audiencia* of judges loyal to the Crown and a new viceroy, don Antonio de Mendoza, who governed from 1535 to 1550. Viceroy Mendoza consolidated the Crown's authority and supported the efforts of the mendicant orders to establish the Church.[15] In this early period of violent *entradas* (expeditions) and Indian slaving, fray Bartolomé de las Casas and other critics of empire exposed the hypocrisy of the concept of "just war" and lamented the rapidly declining native population. The New Laws of 1542 represented the Crown's attempt to assert its authority throughout Spanish America by reigning in conquistadores, outlawing indigenous slavery in so-called pacified areas, and abolishing the *encomienda* (royal grant of indigenous labor and tribute to a Spaniard). Although the New Laws were not carried out fully anywhere, rebellious movements and the discovery of rich silver deposits in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru stiffened the Crown's resolve to assert control over the Indies, as the Holy Roman Empire continued to expand.

The Florentine Codex is unique in its scope and reliance on Nahua collaborators, but it nevertheless falls within the parameters of the early modern European quest for collecting information on newly conquered territories and their people. Spain's overseas ventures generated a staggering amount of information, contributing to the creation of an imperial archive. Leaders of expeditions were among the first to report, using the genre of the *relación*, or account. Hernando Cortés wrote the first *cartas de relación* from Mexico, sending his letters directly to the king beginning in 1519. Early *relaciones* and *crónicas* (chronicles), written by both secular and ecclesiastical officials, brimmed with cultural detail about the people of the new lands, the *indios*. The first royal chronicler of the Indies, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, stationed on the island of Española, in Santo Domingo, interviewed Spaniards returning to Spain for the first part of his lengthy history, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, published in Seville in 1535.

Fray Toribio de Benavente, one of the original twelve Franciscans to arrive in New Spain in 1524, who adopted the name Motolinía (Nahuatl for "he is poor, afflicted"), completed his *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* in 1541, within two decades of his arrival, but it was not published until the nineteenth century.[16] Motolinía consulted many Nahuas and was one of the first Spaniards to realize how Nahuas kept written records of their histories, using a pictorial system that he compared to Egyptian hieroglyphs. Francisco López de Gómara, author of the first history of the conquest of Mexico (after Cortés's letters), published in 1552, copied entire sections of Motolinía's manuscript on indigenous customs into his own work.[17]

Native artists in the early postconquest period contributed directly to many manuscripts by providing information and producing images. Nahua *tlacuiloque* (plural of *tlacuilo*, writer/painter) learned how to write their languages with the Roman alphabet; many culture groups in Mesoamerica had developed traditions of writing on stone, fig-bark paper (*amatl*), deerskin, and cloth with natural pigments long before the Spaniards arrived. The eleventh book of the Florentine Codex features twelve pages on colors or pigments used for writing/painting. Figure I.2 is a folio from chapter 11, which shows two *tlacuiloque* working while assistants prepare pigments of different colors. Ironically, the images in this second part of Book 11 contain no colors; the artists seem to have run out of pigments by this latter part of the project, after painting hundreds of images throughout most of the manuscript.

One of the first compilations to feature indigenous images and Spanish text was the Codex Mendoza. Produced during Viceroy Mendoza's term of office (1535–1550), little is known about the origins of this manuscript, for it contains no title page or prologue. One potential scenario is that an indigenous group in Mexico City, perhaps in collaboration with friars, created a pictorial manuscript that portrays Tenochtitlan and Mexica society in a positive light and then approached Spanish authorities to have it translated and sent to the king. The Codex Mendoza consists of three parts: (1) a history of Mexica dynastic leaders and their conquests; (2) a long list of tribute that *altepetl* subject to the Mexica empire sent to Tenochtitlan;

FIGURE 1.2. *Assistants prepare pigments for* tlacuiloque *(writers/artists). Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 221v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

and (3) a series of scenes describing the birth, life, and death of Nahua people. The *tlacuiloque* designed and executed seventy-two pages of finely painted images. The artists then explained the meaning of the images to a translator, who wrote explanatory Spanish glosses alongside the paintings. The resulting narrative juxtaposes images, language, and a wealth of information on Mexica culture.[18] But it is unclear whether Viceroy Mendoza commissioned or even saw the manuscript.

More certain is Mendoza's sponsorship of the 1541 *Relación de Michoacán*, a book that was written by a Franciscan based on interviews with indigenous informants and illustrated by indigenous artists. Its tripartite structure resembles the Codex Mendoza, but its purpose was to help resolve territorial disputes in and around Tzintzuntzan.[19] By the 1540s, indigenous writers throughout highland Mesoamerica were producing many different types of pictorial manuscripts to support claims within the Spanish justice system, attempting to show proof of possession and hereditary authority for judges in the form of maps and lists of rulers. In fact, Viceroy Mendoza had ruled in favor of allowing pictorial claims as evidence in lawsuits.[20] Indigenous artists used images to document everything from land claims to abuses of authority. The Codex Tepetlaoztoc (or Kingsborough) and the Codex Osuna, for example, were produced for legal disputes in the 1550s and 1560s.

In this early postconquest period, Franciscans played a leading role among the mendicant orders in working closely with indigenous men to record their languages for evangelical purposes, creating *vocabularios* (translation dictionaries), *artes* (grammar texts), *doctrinas* (doctrinal texts explaining Christian concepts), and *confesionarios* (confessional manuals)—all in native languages, with or without Spanish translations. Many of these works were among the first books published in the Americas. Fray Alonso de Molina, who worked and taught alongside Sahagún in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, published the first Spanish-to-Nahuatl *vocabulario* in 1555, and then added a Nahuatl-to-Spanish complement in 1571, creating the first two-way dictionary of an indigenous language of the Americas. Obviously, Molina could not have done this without the assistance of many Nahuas who were fluent in Spanish. In spite of the indispensable contribution of bilingual indigenous scholars, the title pages of these works consistently refer to the friars as the sole authors, even when indigenous contributions are acknowledged in the prologues to the works. In the making of the Florentine Codex, Bernardino de Sahagún shared these collaborative working practices, but to his credit he included the names of some of his Nahua coauthors in his prologues and interpolations.

A UNIQUE COLLABORATIVE PROJECT

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún was born around 1499 or 1500 in the ancient town of Sahagún, in the kingdom of León. He took his vows and assumed the habit of the Franciscan order in Salamanca, where he likely also attended the University of Salamanca.[21] He arrived in New Spain in 1529 and established a reputation for learning Nahuatl.[22] By the 1540s, he embarked on a series of projects that stand out for their originality and sheer ambition, summarized in table I.1. For example, he collected dozens of Nahuatl speeches in 1547 and recorded a Nahuatl version of the conquest of Mexico in 1555. In 1558, the Franciscan provincial, fray Francisco de Toral, commissioned Sahagún to compile a study of indigenous culture that would be useful to the religious who sought to indoctrinate neophytes in the Christian faith. To this end, Sahagún took four Nahua scholars whom he had taught at the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco to the Franciscan convent in Tepepulco, an *altepetl* located about eighty kilometers northeast of Mexico City and the probable source of the Nahuatl speeches that he had collected earlier. The four scholars were Antonio Valeriano of Azcapotzalco, Martín Jacobita of Tlatelolco, and Pedro de San Buenaventura and Alonso Vegerano of Cuauhtitlan. In Tepepulco Sahagún and his team consulted with elders and leaders, who used images as mnemonic devices to elicit oral recitations and responses, in the manner that preconquest-style codices were used to guide a narrative. The Nahuatl scholars wrote down the responses prompted by the images. Sahagún also compiled word lists for various topics that were explained later, focusing on the lexicon associated with each topic.[23]

By 1561, Sahagún and his team produced a manuscript known today as the *Primeros memoriales*, considered a precursor to the Florentine Codex in its thematic structure and its reliance on a strong pictorial component. Its four chapters consist of eighty-eight folios, or 176 pages; more than half of the pages contain illustrations. The *Primeros memoriales* follows a pattern detected in other encyclopedic manuscripts that organize their material from the celestial to the more earthbound realms, discussed more

fully later. The first chapter, titled "Teteo," addresses the deities and their associated rituals; the second, "Ilhuicayotl iuan Mictlancayotl," treats matters related to the heavens and the place of the dead; the third, "Tlatocayotl," deals with rulers; and the fourth chapter, "Tlacayotl," considers a variety of human affairs.[24] Images serve a primary function in the *Primeros memoriales*, as in the Codex Mendoza, guiding the content of the alphabetic text. Unlike the Mendoza glosses, which are in Spanish, in the *Primeros memoriales* Nahuas wrote explanations or transmitted information in Nahuatl.

In 1561 Sahagún returned to the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Santiago Tlatelolco, where he applied the methods he had developed in Tepepulco, meeting with leaders there to request support for his grander project. In the prologue to Book 2 of the Florentine Codex, Sahagún recounts how in Tlatelolco "[t]he governor with his councilmen assigned me as many as eight or ten leaders, selected from among all, very capable in their language, and in their ancient customs."[25] These men, and four or five of his most able trilingual students from the Colegio de Santa Cruz, "amended, explained, and expanded" what was collected in Tepepulco. The resulting drafts from this period are known as the "Manuscrito de Tlatelolco." In 1565 Sahagún returned to the convent of San Francisco in Mexico City to work alone for three years, where he "examined and reexamined" all his writings. He writes in the prologue to Book 2 that he "divided them into books, into twelve books, and some books by chapters and paragraphs." He included material already gathered on rhetoric (1547) and the conquest (1555), which became Books 6 and 12 of the Florentine Codex, respectively. The Franciscan completed this Nahuatl "Manuscrito de 1569" in Mexico City. Nahua students "added and amended many things to the twelve books when they made a clear copy." However, at this time only the Nahuatl text of the bilingual project was complete.[26]

In 1570, the merits of Sahagún's project were discussed at the provincial order chapter meeting in Mexico City. Some members voiced concern with the project, Sahagún recalls, that "it was contrary to the vows of poverty to spend monies in recording those writings."[27] It is likely that the matter involved more than economic considerations. At issue was a heated debate over the role of knowledge about indigenous cultures within the missionary program. Franciscans were divided. Did recognizing and recording indigenous culture, including sacred beliefs and practices, advance or undermine their goals of converting the native inhabitants to Christianity? In any case, Sahagún was instructed to dismiss his scribes and complete the work alone, despite the "trembling" of his hand in old age. Even worse, the provincial, fray Alonso de Escalona, confiscated and scattered the books by sending them to friars throughout the province for their perusal.

The tide turned five years later, however, and Sahagún eventually retrieved the books with the assistance of the commissary fray Miguel Navarro. In 1575, the commissary general fray Rodrigo de Sequera ordered the Nahuatl manuscript to be translated into Spanish, authorizing the project's continuation. Sequera intended to send it to the president of the Council of the Indies, don Juan de Ovando.[28] Ovando had become president in 1571, advising the king on policy regarding the Indies and building a corpus of data for the imperial archive.[29] His interests ranged from geography and natural resources to the customs and history of indigenous peoples. Ovando began to develop questionnaires to be circulated throughout the Spanish empire, ultimately the basis of the *Relaciones geográficas* that were sent to New Spain in 1576. In 1573 King Philip II issued a decree to compile a *historia*, a book of *descripciones*, a type of encyclopedia on the history of the Indies and its people, the type of manuscript on which Sahagún and his team had been working.[30] Ovando created the position of *cosmógrafo-cronista* to write the official history and geography of the Indies, and he sent out scientific expeditions, including that of Francisco Hernández, the *protomédico* who collected a vast array of botanical and medicinal information in Mexico. When Ovando heard of Sahagún's work he asked to see the books, and Sequera intended to send them to him, but Ovando died in 1575. In 1576, the archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, entered the conversation, urging Sequera to have the books translated into Spanish and to send them to the king.[31]

Meanwhile, Sahagún prepared Spanish summaries of the Nahuatl text in what would become the final edition of the *Historia general*, or the Florentine Codex. He focused on translating the manuscript and writing the prologues in 1576 and 1577. The prologues refer to current events of that period, including the epidemic of 1576, discussed before. Artists also added the hundreds of images in these two years, most painted in polychrome tones. Only the images in the second half of Book 11 and in Books 6 and 12 lack color (with a few exceptions), suggesting that these

were the final books being illustrated when the color pigments ran out; or that their preparation could not keep up with the scribes' hurried pace to complete the manuscript; or that the epidemic of 1576–1577 affected the availability of pigments and manpower to complete its production, or some combination of these factors.[32]

Everyone was forced to work faster to meet a new deadline when the Crown altered its position on manuscripts involving indigenous history and religion and issued royal cedulas ordering the confiscation of all manuscripts on the topic. In April of 1577, King Philip II issued a decree that concludes:

> We order that, as soon as you receive this, our decree, with great care and diligence you take measures to get these books without there remaining the originals or copies of them, and to send them well guarded at once to our Council of the Indies, that they may there be examined. And you will be advised not to permit anyone, for any reason, in any language, to write concerning the superstitions and way of life these Indians had.[33]

The decree suggests a shift in policy from encouraging the collection of information on indigenous culture and history to prohibiting writing on those topics. Moreover, the decree authorized the confiscation of all manuscripts and related materials on these controversial topics. The Council of Trent's decrees (1545–1563) to condemn false doctrines and idolatries and the presence of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, established in New Spain in 1571, might have influenced the Crown's decision. This cedula and its enforcement expedited Sahagún's plan to send the books to Spain. Sahagún wrote a letter to Philip II in March 1578, averring that he had sent a copy of the *Historia general* to the king but had heard nothing of its reception, and that he would copy the manuscript and send it again if it had not reached him (unwittingly suggesting that he had defied the order by keeping a copy of the manuscript). Another reference to this manuscript appears in Sahagún's 1585 version of Book 12, where he claims he gave a first copy to the outgoing viceroy, don Martín Enríquez, and then later gave a second copy to fray Rodrigo de Sequera.[34]

Since a first so-called Enríquez copy is no longer extant, and it is difficult to believe that Sahagún and his team could produce two major manuscripts within a couple of years, the only certainty is that Sahagún entrusted a complete version with images to Sequera, who departed Mexico for Spain in 1580.[35] This "Sequera manuscript," dedicated to the supportive commissary general, is the Florentine Codex. Sahagún called the books of this copy "muy historiados" (profusely illustrated).[36]

Although the fate of the Sequera manuscript once it reached Spain is equally unclear, it likely arrived in Rome, where Ferdinando I de' Medici acquired the manuscript, by gift or purchase, from Sequera.[37] Giovanna Rao provides new evidence indicating that Ferdinando possessed the manuscript before he became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1588. She concludes that Sequera probably thought that the codex was more likely to survive if it were entrusted to the grand duke, who sought to augment the collection of international manuscripts begun by Cosimo the Elder. One fascinating piece of evidence that the codex had reached Florence by 1588–1589 comes from the depiction of Mexica warriors on the ceiling of the former Armeria (room 21) of the Uffizi Gallery, originally a Medici palace. The greatest affinity between the Florentine Codex and the Uffizi murals is found in the portrayal of a heroic Mexica warrior, Tzilacatzin, who is featured in Book 12 (fol. 60v).[38] The artist must have seen the codex before he painted his stylized narrative of the conquest of the Americas. After 1587–1589, the preservation and location of the codex was unknown to all those outside a few people within the Medici circle until 1793, when the bibliographer Angelo Maria Bandini published a catalogue in Latin of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, designed by Michelangelo. Still, the work was not studied until it was cited again by fray Marcelino de Civezza in 1879, a full three centuries after its journey across the Atlantic Ocean to Tuscany.[39]

This discussion of the evolution and survival of the Florentine Codex sheds light on the unique qualities of the manuscript. Sahagún deliberates on why and how the work was produced, referring to the obstacles that beset the project and suggesting that he knew the books would continue to attract scrutiny: "[T]his work has been examined and verified by many over many years. It has suffered many travails and misfortunes until it has been put into the form it is now in."[40] Sahagún's prologues abound with such defensive remarks about the nature of the work, beginning with his opening statement in the first prologue, in which he compares a doctor's remedy to the extirpation of idolatry. Just as a doctor needs to know the symptoms of a sickness in order to apply a cure to the patient, he reasoned, the religious of New Spain needed to be able

to identify idolatry in its many forms in order to destroy it completely. Saving people, whether from disease of the body or the soul, required knowledge.

Considering that Sahagún wrote these prologues last, in 1576 and 1577, in the midst of an epidemic, it is no coincidence that he chose to compare the work of priests with doctors. Many friars, in fact, believed that God was punishing the Indians with disease because of their idolatries. And yet this religious justification was only one aspect of the work. If fray Francisco de Toral commissioned Sahagún to compile a study of indigenous culture that would be useful to the mendicants who sought to indoctrinate them in the Christian faith, Sahagún and his team of Nahua writers and artists went far beyond this objective, creating a massive compilation of language and culture that resembles a humanist encyclopedia more than a handbook for extirpation. Indeed, no other manuscript in the Americas can match the Florentine Codex for its wide-ranging coverage of numerous topics (some controversial at the time), its hundreds of carefully painted illustrations, and its record of the indigenous language.

"A TREASURY FOR THE KNOWLEDGE OF MANY THINGS": MODELS FOR THE MANUSCRIPT

In referring to the type of work that he and his colleagues had sought to produce, Sahagún remarks that many who knew of his project would ask about the *calepino*, in reference to the demonstrative vocabulary of Latin that Ambrosio Calepino (1440–1510/1511) had created.[41] Although Sahagún concluded that it would be impossible to create a *calepino*, considering that there were very few Nahuatl (alphabetic) writings at this time, he thought his project might lay the groundwork for such a work. He interrogated his Nahua colleagues for "all manners of speech and all the words that this language uses, as well verified and certain as that which Virgil, Cicero, and other authors wrote in the Latin language." Sahagún was certain that the compendium would be "a treasury for the knowledge of many things worthy of being known," and a "thing of much value in New and Old Spain."[42] If recording "all manners of speech and all the words" of the language was one of Sahagún's main concerns, organizing and preserving knowledge on a wide variety of topics regarding Nahua culture was another. Aside from the *calepino*, several other works seem to have influenced the objective and method of the Florentine Codex, including classical and medieval encyclopedias, *historias* (*general*, *universal*, *natural*, *moral*), Christian treatises, and the many books on sermons and confessions that filled the shelves of the Colegio de Santa Cruz library.

The Florentine Codex is clearly "encyclopedic" in that it attempts to encapsulate the sum of what was then known about the Nahua world in a concrete, pictorialized book form. Sahagún's monumental endeavor fulfills the very definition of the encyclopedia, from the Greek for "general knowledge" (*enkyklios paideia*).[43] It is also a work that "encapsulates a total or universal body of knowledge organizing it in order to preserve it and make it accessible."[44] The manuscript's format and its sequence of twelve books conform to the hierarchical organization of classical and medieval compendia, progressing from the realms of the divine ("Gods" and "Ceremonies") to the human ("The People") and the natural realms ("Earthly Things"). Only Book 6, "Rhetoric," and Book 12, "The Conquest," break with this sequence (for a summary of the organization of the twelve books, see table I.2).

For its overarching structural organization, as well as in some cases specific data, three well-known encyclopedias have been suggested as models (see table I.3): Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*, found in the Tlatelolco library; the seventh-century *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (580–636); and the thirteenth-century *De proprietatibus rerum* (On the nature of things, 1220–1240) by Bartholomeus Anglicus.[45] Isidore was the first Christian writer to compile a summa of universal knowledge in the *Etymologiae*, also known as *Origines*. The twenty-volume compilation assembled parts of many books from antiquity. Two of these well-known encyclopedists, Pliny and Isidore, also devote considerable attention to language and rhetoric.[46] Sahagún seems to imitate Pliny in describing his *Historia general* project as a thesaurus, a treasury (*tesoro*), and a coffer (*recamara*) or storehouse.[47] Anglicus's influence on Book 6 and especially Book 10 of the Florentine Codex, in its description of the vices and virtues of various Nahua types, is well documented.[48]

Several Christian texts influenced Sahagún's model and the content of the Florentine Codex. Saint Augustine, for one, wrote on the conversion of non-Christian populations and the taxonomy of "pagan" gods. Augustine wrote *De civitate dei* (City of God) to defend Christianity after the sack of Rome by a Gothic army in 410. By the sixteenth century, the work was firmly established in

TABLE 1.2. *Organization of the Florentine Codex*

BOOK	SHORT TITLE	
	Divine	
1	Gods	"De los dioses . . ."
2	Ceremonies; Calendar	"Del calendario, fiestas y ceremonias . . ."
3	Origin of Gods	"Del principio que tuvieron los dioses . . ."
4	Astrology; Divination	"De la astrología . . . o arte adivinatoria Indiana"
5	Omens	"De los agueros y prenósticos . . ."
6	Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy	"De la rethorica y philosophia moral"
7	Sun, Moon, Stars	"De la astrología y philosophia natural"
	Human	
8	Kings, Lords, Governance	"De los reyes y señores . . . el govierno . . ."
9	Merchants; Artisans	"De los mercaderes, oficiales de oro y piedras . . ."
10	The People; Anatomy	"De los vicios y virtudes desta gente Indiana"
	Nature	
11	Earthly Things	"De las cosas naturales; animales . . ."
	History	
12	The Conquest	"De la conquista de la Nueva España"

Sources: *Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 46; Bk. 9, 71; D'Olwer and Cline 1973, 192, table 2; Bustamante García 1990, 308–327, 452–453.*

the canon of Christian texts. Augustine's intent to compile knowledge on pagan religions in order to expose their false and sinful nature resonates with Sahagún's objective for compiling the first five books of the Florentine Codex.[49] Elizabeth Boone and Guilhem Olivier refer to the influence of Augustine in this volume. Ríos Castaño demonstrates the importance of Augustine and shows that several collections of sermons, manuals of confessional practices, and texts on biblical exegesis had a decisive influence on Sahagún's model and inquisitorial method of collecting information.[50]

Book 11 of the Florentine Codex on the flora and fauna, minerology, and topography of New Spain anticipates other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century studies of natural history. These include the works of Andrea Cesalpino (*De plantis libri XVI*, published in 1583), Ulisse Androvandi (*De reliquis animalibus* [. . .], 1605), and Francisco Hernández (*Cuatro libros de la naturaleza* [. . .] *de la Nueva España*, 1615), which feature legends and proverbs, superstitions, and symbols associated with specific animals and plants.[51] In fact, Hernández consulted Sahagún's manuscript in Tlatelolco.

The range of potential models for the Florentine Codex continues to expand as intriguing new sources are identified, some described in this volume. For example, Boone refers to the work of Albricus, a philosopher who wrote a thirteenth-century treatise (*Liber ymaginum deorum*), as well as new manuals published in the sixteenth century on the description and mythology of the classical gods, which helped frame questionnaires regarding Nahua deities and also impacted the rendering of the gods' iconography in the Florentine Codex. The Franciscan Johann Boemus published in 1520 a work on peoples and their customs (*Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus*). Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo observes that Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1565) and Johann von Cube's *Hortus sanitatis* (1536) served as models for several illustrations in the Florentine Codex. Likewise, in her recent study on

TABLE 1.3. *Five Potential Classical and Medieval Encyclopedic Models for the Florentine Codex*

SAHAGÚN, FLORENTINE CODEX	PLINY, *NATURALIS HISTORIA*	ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *ETYMOLOGIAE*	BARTHOLOMEUS ANGLICUS, *DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM*	AUGUSTINE, *DE CIVITATE DEI*	ALFONSO X, *GENERAL ESTORIA*
Book 1: Gods	*	*	*	*	*
Book 2: Ceremonies, Calendar		*	*	*	*
Book 3: Origin of Gods		*		*	*
Book 4: Astrology		*	*		*
Book 5: Omens		*			
Book 6: Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy		*	*	*	
Book 7: Celestial Bodies	*	*	*		
Book 8: Kings, Lords		*		*	*
Book 9: Merchants, Artisans		*			
Book 10: The People	*	*	*		*
Book 11: Earthly Things	*	*	*	*	*
Book 12: Conquest		*		*	*

Note: * *indicates overlap with subject matter of Florentine Codex books.*
Sources: *Pliny the Elder 2004; Isidore 2006; Hernández de León-Portilla 2002; Ríos Castaño 2014, 111–149, 260–274, app. 2; Robertson 1966, 627; Garibay K. 1953–1954, 2:68–88; Alfonso el Sabio 1930, 1958.*

the conquest of Mexico, Diana Magaloni Kerpel reveals a panorama of Christian images that informed the artists of Book 12.[52]

One medieval Iberian work that is never cited but might also have influenced Sahagún's ambitious project, including its title, is the *General estoria* of the Spanish court of the learned monarch Alfonso X. It was the first great "historia general" produced in Castile. Written not in Latin but in Castilian, the *General estoria* was intended as a world history from the time of creation to the reign of Alfonso el Sabio, king of Castile and León (1252–1284). The unfinished work intertwines the Old Testament, Greek and Roman mythology, and extrabiblical information on the people and empires of the extended Mediterranean world and ends with the birth of Christ.[53] The *General estoria* relied on a wide array of sources in Latin (especially Pliny), Arabic, Castilian, French, and English; like Sahagún's *Historia*, it treats the histories of deities, kings, and earthly things. The manuscripts' euhemeristic interpretation of legends, in which gods and goddesses are treated as old kings, queens, and heroes who were worshipped as deities after their deaths, resembles the Florentine Codex's treatment of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, for example, who lived in Toltec times and were later worshipped as gods. In the prologue to Book 8 Sahagún compares the legend of Quetzalcoatl to that of King Arthur, whose exploits are discussed at length in the *General estoria*, based on a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth.[54] Sahagún likens the people and *altepetl* of central Mexico to those of the Mediterranean world, comparing Cholula to Rome, Tlaxcala to Carthage, Tula to Troy, and Mexico to Venice.[55] Like the ancient Romans, the people left impressive antiquities and structures strewn across the land, in places like Tula and Xochicalco. Sahagún's attempt to make sense of Mesoamerica by comparison with the Mediterranean pagan world is part of his *Historia general* project.

There is no doubt that Sahagún planned a work that is based to some degree on the hierarchy and categorization visible in classical, medieval, and Renaissance models. But ultimately the Florentine Codex is singular in that the end product relied on the constant participation of Nahua scholars who took the various prototypes presented by

Sahagún and adapted them to their own ways of gathering and presenting knowledge, filtered through their own choices of what to document and preserve. At the same time, the scholars were exposed to Hispanic values and were well versed in Christian beliefs. The dynamic process of exchange and interaction between Sahagún and his team of Nahuas created new forms of expression and knowledge. The manuscript's artwork makes apparent this adaptation. In many respects, the art style of the images is neither European nor Mesoamerican but an entirely new colonial creation. Thus the final product is truly unique, even compared with manuscripts produced in New Spain in the same century.[56]

THE PRESENT VOLUME

Much has been written on the Florentine Codex; we are indebted to those who recognized the great value of the manuscript and spent much of their careers plumbing its rich commentary. We pay homage to such *luminosos* as Arthur Anderson, Charles Dibble, Ángel María Garibay Kintana, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Miguel León-Portilla, James Lockhart, Alfredo López Austin, H. B. Nicholson, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Donald Robertson—to name only a few. Many of their groundbreaking works on the Florentine Codex appear in the bibliography and throughout the many notes of this volume. This chapter draws from many previous introductory studies, especially the essays by Anderson and Dibble in the introductory volume to their English translation of the Nahuatl, which set a high standard for their clear and concise prose.[57] The introduction by Ángel María Garibay Kintana in the 1953–1954 edition of the *Historia general* is another invaluable source. Excellent studies of the Florentine Codex and related manuscripts include those compiled by Munro Edmonson (1974); J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber (1988); Quiñones Keber (2002); John Frederick Schwaller (2003); and Gerhard Wolf and Joseph Connors (2011). The list of contributors to these volumes reads like a who's who of Florentine Codex scholars. The *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, edited by Robert Wauchope, especially volume 13, part 2 (1973), contains several seminal essays on the Florentine Codex and manuscripts associated with Sahagún. The flagship research journal published by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, founded in 1959, deserves recognition for publishing hundreds of articles on the Florentine. The journal's longtime editor and contributing author, Miguel León-Portilla, has published many pieces related to the Florentine Codex in *Estudios* and is spearheading a multiauthored project to translate sections of Nahuatl text in the Florentine Codex into Spanish. A facsimile edition of the Florentine Codex, produced in 1979 by Giunti Barbera in Florence and the Secretaría de Gobernación in Mexico, spurred on studies of the codex. A facsimile edition and translation of the *Primeros memoriales*, translated by Thelma Sullivan and edited by Nicholson et al. (1993, 1997), represents another breakthrough. Jesús Bustamante García (1990) provides a useful, detailed examination of the composition of Sahagún's manuscripts. Most recently, Victoria Ríos Castaño (2014) has examined the methods and models of the *Historia universal* and Sahagún's mission of translation and conversion.

Yet the Florentine Codex remains an understudied work, considering its depth and breadth of content. Sahagún's primary interest was collecting and preserving the Nahuatl texts. His Spanish translation seems like a secondary consideration, an obligation frequently requested by his superiors and completed, for the most part, only in the final years of the project. The Spanish ranges from translating the Nahuatl text verbatim, to summarizing or ignoring it. And yet the Spanish data has been used more often by scholars. The very first publication of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, in 1829–1830, by Carlos María de Bustamante, was based on the Tolosa manuscript version of the Spanish translation. Many subsequent editions were based on this same version. The monumental translation project of Anderson and Dibble (Sahagún, 1950–1982), and James Lockhart's translation of both the Nahuatl and the Spanish of Book 12 (1993), have enabled more recent studies of the Nahuatl, understood through English translation. Likewise, Ángel María Garibay Kintana and Miguel León-Portilla offer sections of the Nahuatl text of Book 12 in Spanish, in *Visión de los vencidos* (1959). Despite these excellent works, systematic analyses of the Florentine based on the original Nahuatl text are few.

The images of the Florentine were created last but clearly play a prominent role in the manuscript, judging by their number, quality, and color. Our 2015 conference was, to our knowledge, the first dedicated specifically to the interrelation of the three "texts"—the Nahuatl, the Spanish translation, and the images[58]—and was certainly

the first to focus on how the images and their meanings differ from textual exegesis. The painstaking labor and commitment required to create so many detailed, colored paintings suggest that Nahuas insisted on including them, as discussed by Jeanette Peterson in chapter 1.

One important observation to emerge from the conference, and more fully underscored in the chapters of this volume, is that one cannot call the manuscript "Sahagún's Florentine Codex." In reality, Sahagún was more coordinator, compiler, editor, and translator than author. Garibay and León-Portilla advanced this idea as early as the 1950s.[59] But scholars are still coming to terms with how Nahua authors and artists contributed the essential content of the work. Sahagún assumed responsibility for the Spanish translation, and there is no doubt that he wrote the prologues and Spanish interpolations, but those parts constitute less than half of the total work and are not the primary contributions. Although Sahagún contributed to this notion by calling himself the "author" in the text, he also refers to himself as a compiler, and he credits many (but not all) of the Nahuas who played a pivotal role in the project.[60] In addition to those trilingual four already mentioned and on whom Sahagún relied the most—Antonio Valeriano, Martín Jacobita, Pedro de San Buenaventura, and Alonso Vegerano—other scribes included Diego de Grado and Bonifacio Maximiliano of Tlatelolco, and Mateo Severino of Xochimilco.[61] Still others who came from different communities around the great lake of Texcoco contributed to the manuscript. For example, in Book 11 we find a list of Nahua *tiçitl*, or physicians, from barrios and parishes of Tlatelolco, who contributed their knowledge to the section on medical cures and herbs in folios 139v to 181. The experienced elders include Gaspar Matías and Pedro de Raquena of Concepción; Pedro Santiago and Miguel Motolinía of Santa Inés; Francisco Simón, Miguel Damián, and Miguel García of Santo Toribio; and Felipe Hernández of Santa Ana. In Book 10, another eight *médicos mexicanos* are listed as providing information for the preceding section (fols. 97–113v) on illnesses of the body: Juan Pérez, Pedro Pérez, Pedro Hernández, José Hernández, Miguel García, Francisco de la Cruz, Baltasar Juárez, and Antonio Martínez.[62] Even those talented Nahuas who remain unnamed were not simply his "informants" or his "aides." They were Sahagún's sources of information: the multilingual writers of the Nahuatl text, the part of the work that was produced first; and the artists who "illuminated" the manuscript, the part that was done last.

Finally, it is important to consider what the manuscript means for Mexico and for the Americas in general. There is no doubt that the Florentine Codex is the most remarkable and most important intellectual product of the exchange between indigenous and European cultures in the early modern Atlantic world. Such a work could have been produced only in Mesoamerica, where the introduction of the Roman alphabet and European art style made sense to people who had been writing and painting with ink and natural colors for centuries. It is among the rare first manuscripts to represent indigenous cultures that involved indigenous people. It is the richest resource for the study of "classical" Nahuatl.

As a collaborative, multivoiced enterprise, the Florentine Codex embodies various modes of interpretation and transformation, processes that may be characterized as distorting or betraying the original while simultaneously, in the "creative destruction" that defines all translation, also being perceived as processes of "invention and renewal."[63] The Nahua scribes and artists actively constructed versions of their cultural identity through their choice of vocabulary, as well as by means of syntactical and pictorial choices. Sahagún, on the other hand, seems to reconcile his inherited intellectual traditions and orthodox religiosity with his desire to bear witness to the differences, as well as the similarities, that marked the Americas. These dual objectives were not without tension, as manifest in Sahagún's outlook as well as our modern assessment of his achievements. Scholars have tended to characterize the friar in rather polarized terms, as a learned scholar who sought to record indigenous language and knowledge, or as a physician of souls who employed inquisitorial methods of collecting information for pragmatic missionary purposes. Rather than regarding Sahagún primarily as a pioneer ethnographer (and something of an anachronism), or conversely as firmly rooted in a sixteenth-century Euro-Christian framework, the Franciscan seems to be caught between a medieval and modern mindset: the former defined knowledge as revealed by the grace of God, whereas the ideas of modernity credited the human intellect with the capability of producing knowledge, as Walden Browne argues.[64]

In his task as cultural translator, collating and permanently inscribing the language and culture of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples, Sahagún adopted a Western book form and hierarchical organization of topics. Anthony Grafton critically notes that the vast quantity of incoming informa-

tion was shoehorned into existing schemata; in his words, Sahagún bent "the New World to the old systems."[65] Nonetheless, while recognizing the European influences on the content and organization of the work, many of the authors in this volume discern indigenous or Nahua modes of categorizing knowledge, underscoring the discretionary power of the *tlacuiloque* over their sources and interpretative strategies. In other words, Sahagún had confidence in those who had trained with him, even if his trust in the Nahua population eventually dissipated into a darker suspicion, as censorship, age, disease, and the growing decline of the regular orders grew ever more debilitating in the later years. In the end, nothing went exactly according to plan in New Spain. Spanish intentions were seldom fully achieved and were always tempered and compromised by local actors and negotiations. This was true of Sahagún's *Historia general*, as well. Sahagún clearly had his models, but the final manuscript reflects the profound input and subjectivity of the Nahua artists and writers on whom he depended to complete the project, as the chapters of this volume hope to show.

While keeping in mind the intellectual coherence of this volume and the complementary overlap between essays, we have subdivided the chapters loosely into four thematic sections: "The Art of Translation," "Lords: Royal and Sacred," "Ordering the Cosmos," and "Social Discourse and Deviance." We recognize that in doing so we, too, are guilty of imposing our academic need to classify knowledge.

THE ART OF TRANSLATION

The philological objective of Sahagún, that is, his aim to produce a sweeping and inclusive dictionary of the Nahuatl language, is laudable in a time period when the indigenous languages of the Americas were increasingly under siege. For Spanish officials, particularly ecclesiastical authorities, words in native tongues were inherently suspect and images potentially idolatrous; translation itself might camouflage heretical ideas and harbor dangerous political meanings. The first section, "The Art of Translation," encompasses four chapters that directly and indirectly confront the textual and pictorial facets of the translational process within the contested social, political, and counterreformational milieu of late sixteenth-century Spain and New Spain. The slippage inherent in these acts of translation is understood as a process that generates new meanings.[66]

Jeanette Favrot Peterson addresses not only the nature and motives behind the plethora of images in the Florentine Codex but also the historiographic factors that promoted textual exegesis of the manuscript while hindering serious scholarship of its paintings. While acknowledging the pervasive stylistic and iconographic Europeanizations visible in the imagery, Peterson also locates meaningful signs reflective of an indigenous worldview and long-standing pictographic tradition. As indices of intercultural dynamics, the images reinforce the appeal of the Florentine Codex to dual audiences and betray the Nahua painters' roles as vital participants in the creation of the manuscript.

Ida Giovanna Rao's remarkable discovery of the earliest translation into Italian of the first five books of the Florentine Codex (with Lia Markey) underscores the almost immediate recognition of the illuminated manuscript's significance. Notwithstanding Ferdinando I de' Medici's own Catholic fervor and his belief in a universal Christendom, his humanist education made him open to the value of the newly discovered Americas. Through a selection of excerpts published for the first time, herein also in English, Rao demonstrates the care with which the professional (if anonymous) translator worked literally, rather than liberally, making changes primarily in the abbreviation of some passages.

Nowhere are the partisan motivations of translators more apparent than in the competing Nahua-Spanish dialogues on the conquest in Book 12. Kevin Terraciano deconstructs the Mexica (Nahua) narrative, one of the earliest accounts (1555) from an indigenous perspective. He identifies significant differences between the Nahuatl text and the Spanish translation, which is much shorter than the original, and considers reasons for the discrepancies. The paintings of Book 12 operate somewhat independently, both adhering to the narrative and veering off to depict other memories not articulated in the alphabetic texts. Terraciano connects the conspicuous, exaggerated display of feathers in the headgear of both indigenous and European protagonists with Nahua concepts of *tonalli* and *teotl*, extreme force and power. A close analysis of all three "texts" enriches our understanding of this invaluable indigenous account of the encounter and war.

The appropriation and translation of a wide array of pictorial prototypes by the Florentine's painters is the theme of Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo's chapter. Given the wealth of humanist publications in monastic libraries from

which the *tlacuiloque* drew inspiration, Escalante Gonzalbo points to the influence of emblem books and published pharmacopeia of nature,[67] as well as of the 1565 edition of *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, by the bishop Olaus Magnus. The author explores the formal analogies with these sources, and analyzes their content and meaning to reveal linked messaging that is not neutral but imbued with political and moralizing commentary.

LORDS: ROYAL AND SACRED

Given the attention to elite history, governance, and cosmology in the extant precontact records of Mesoamerica and coeval colonial accounts, it is not surprising that several books in the Florentine Codex are devoted to the lordly class in Aztec society, as well as to the priesthood, divine beings, and the rituals held to honor them. Paradoxically, while Sahagún's mission was obsessed with eradicating idolatry, in the encyclopedic project he preserves those same "idols," methodically, but not always objectively, documenting the indigenous Mesoamerican pantheon in order to create a kind of missionaries' guidebook to the Aztec supernatural world. Sahagún intended the Florentine Codex to serve as one of several "weapons" to fight the devil, under whose dominion idolatry was practiced.[68] The three chapters in the section "Lords: Royal and Sacred" interrogate the transformations that occurred between the indigenous and the European prototypes of gods and kings and their depictions in Sahagún's manuscripts. These authors suggest varied motives for the Aztec deities assuming more humanlike representations, while addressing the core issue of the gods' ontology, or how divinity (the complex Nahuatl term *teotl*) was understood, even when filtered through a Christian perspective.

Eloise Quiñones Keber undertakes a comparative study of the representation of Aztec deities and their calendrical festivals as they evolved from the *Primeros memoriales* to the Florentine Codex twenty years later. In the weaving together of memory, oral testimony, and the mnemonic prompts provided by the "ancient paintings," Sahagún's team gathered information about the attire worn by each of the deities, their perceived powers, and their ritual roles. Quiñones Keber reconstructs how and why the descriptions of the gods expanded to their more fulsome treatment in the Florentine Codex, focusing on the evolution of the earth and corn goddess Chicomecoatl (Seven Serpent). The author also analyzes the increased extravagance and complexity of the *veintena*, or twenty-day festival, as practiced in the martial ceremonies of the Mexica capital.

In exploring the disparity between the Aztec kings and the supernaturals in the illustrated manuscripts attributed to Sahagún, Elizabeth Hill Boone traces the continuities and ruptures with the antecedents available to the Franciscan and his team. Royal lords easily migrated almost verbatim from the flat, ideoplastic images of precontact annals histories to the folios produced by Sahagún's team of Nahua artists. In contrast, the representations of Aztec gods required scribes and artists to innovate from bicultural models. Sixteenth-century publications on the pagan gods offered appropriate templates for the textual information on their taxonomy, appearance, and physical attributes, referring to both pictorial models from indigenous codices and manuals of classical deities. In the transfer to the European mimetic canon, Boone concludes that Aztec deities were severed from their divinatory preconquest meaning, yielding "simple visual representations of anthropomorphic beings."

The anthropomorphism of the godly images is further explored by Guilhem Olivier, who probes the delicate semantic and conceptual overlap between the humanity of the gods and the divinization of mortals as manifest in the Florentine Codex. In the search for an antecedent, Olivier points to the theory of euhemerism, from the Greek Euhemerus of the fourth century BCE. As Quiñones Keber and Boone also recognize, the equivalency of Aztec deities to their classical counterparts was intended not only to enhance the reader's familiarity with a known European entity but also to diminish the divinity of the indigenous gods. Although perhaps a successful reductive strategy, this process was never one of complete erasure, as Olivier demonstrates with his painstaking analysis of the multivalent term *teotl* (plural *teteo*), often translated as "god." *Teotl* had a wide semantic range, referring to something marvelous or one imbued with solar energy (*tonalli*), a significance that allowed for the assimilation of the European newcomers at contact to be perceived as *teteo*, connecting with observations made by Terraciano in chapter 3.[69]

ORDERING THE COSMOS

The chapters in this next section rest on a fundamental tenet of the Nahua worldview, that of cosmic order. One of the awesome responsibilities of the Nahua governing class was to maintain an equilibrium between the human

and the supernatural realms, a balance that ensured a predictable rotation of the universe and dependable provisions for life. An order-disorder dialectic framed Nahua cognitive structures, social interactions, ritual behavior, morality, and even the animacy with which painted images were endowed.

Order in the Nahua world was menaced routinely by the ecological challenges of the lacustrine environs of Mexico City–Tenochtitlan. Water, both an essential life-giving entity yet a deadly force, had to be properly managed. Barbara E. Mundy links the relationship of such natural threats as floods to the authority of Mexica leaders, who were perceived as appropriate custodians of water management. The author highlights the propitiatory offerings and sacrifices to petition and control water-related threats that occurred at the ceremonial site of Pantitlan, an anomalous whirlpool-spring in Lake Texcoco. Mundy also investigates a second aberrant phenomenon, the furry aquatic creature known as *acuitlachtli* (water bear), a type of nutria that was equally transgressive in its hybridity, habitat, and the danger it posed to the city's water supply. Both the ritual site and the animal occupied liminal zones, representing the kind of eruption that indigenous leaders were charged to eliminate or minimize in their efforts to sustain a precarious cosmos.

Molly H. Bassett similarly erases the Western boundary between the natural and the supernatural in the Nahua lifeworld. In a bold proposal, she argues that "nature" provided a template for a Nahua way of clustering knowledge: literally and figuratively conceived of as a *quimilli*, or bundle (a unit of twenty). Bassett explores one of the sacred bundles, the *tlaquimilolli*, conceptualized as a temple-mountain, not only as biologically and socially essential, but also as an embodiment of divine forces. Another example, the *ocelotl* bundle, is more hypothetical, but the author provides evidence for the potency of the spotted jaguar pelage as an organizing principle and a sign of sacred and political power. Bassett's project resonates with Olivier's contention that although the structural clustering of the Aztec deities in the Florentine Codex conforms to an overarching Roman pantheon, we need to investigate alternative autochthonous taxonomies.[70]

The permeable membrane between the interlocking human and sacred spheres is also a foundational idea in Diana Magaloni Kerpel's essay on the expressive carriers of Nahua knowledge from the "other side," crossing time, space, and degrees of animacy. The author explores spoken word and painted image in the Florentine Codex as creative acts, divinely generated and in some cases displaying a "living presence."[71] Images could be embodiments of the sacred, thus becoming more than just a representation.[72] To reveal the layered meanings of ritual discourse, as well as in the Florentine's imagistic sign system, she uses the Tzeltal Maya metaphor of a flower's "unfolding" with all of its sensory implications, as recorded by Pedro Pitarch. Magaloni Kerpel also applies her understanding of the pigments used in the Florentine Codex to support the tenacity with which the *tlacuiloque* continued to perceive images as signifying vehicles with their own palette and material makeup.

SOCIAL DISCOURSE AND DEVIANCE

The spoken word, and its power to communicate knowledge in a culture that valued orality above all, was also crucial to maintaining stability in an inherently disorderly world. In this final section, "Social Discourse and Deviance," words are shown to exert so much weight that they bear authority over the Nahua body politic. These chapters also underscore the composite, often contested, nature of pictorial representation when caught between two discrete cultural and religious systems. Whereas pictures in other encyclopedic manuscripts, such as the Codex Mendoza, discussed before, juxtapose indigenous pictorial models with Spanish alphabetic script,[73] the images in the Florentine more commonly conflate diverse systems of representation to create new syntheses within competing prescriptive norms in a multiethnic society.

If the elite played a central role in maintaining cosmic order, as Mundy makes clear in the previous section, they manifested this fundamental responsibility in their cultivated mastery over rhetoric and the esoteric knowledge it encapsulated. Jeanette Favrot Peterson explores the most formal of the discourses, known as the *huehuetlatolli* (speech of the elders), that transmitted Nahua values and beliefs to the next generation. Sahagún recognized the metaphorical elegance of these orations as well as their didactic utility early in his career. Although the Nahuatl texts constitute some of the most authentic material in the Florentine Codex, paradoxically, the *huehuetlatolli* and prayers were regularly appropriated for the mendicants' sermons. Christian scenes were similarly integrated into

the mixed syntax of the black-and-white images in Book 6, ironically sacralizing Nahua rhetoric.

Similarly, Lisa Sousa reveals the variety of strategies in Book 10 deployed by the indigenous authors and artists to retain Nahua values while adhering in part to new Christian prescriptions of good and evil in the sections on social deviants. The Nahuatl text articulates traditional ideals of what constituted morality, employing verbal metaphors of speech and flowers. The more hybrid images adopt certain European style traits and figural forms that either condemn or condone certain behaviors, while signaling speech and flower metaphors or adding new information featuring Nahua glyphic elements. The figures of the so-called prostitute (*ahuiani*) and adulteress (*tetzauhcioatl*), for example, are shown standing precariously on, or holding, water (the *atl* glyph). The water glyphs operate phonetically as well as symbolically, reinforcing the censorious Nahua attitude toward women whose deviant behavior was considered fluid, irresponsible, and ultimately a threat to the social, economic, and political order.

There is no more dramatic disjunction between the Spanish and Nahuatl texts in the Florentine Codex than those found in chapter 27 of Book 10. Ellen T. Baird compares Sahagún's Spanish lament at the status of mendicant affairs regarding their indigenous charges with the parallel Nahuatl texts that steadily enumerate anatomical parts. Although the two textual narratives reveal a kind of split agenda, the images manage to bridge or comment on both texts. The visualization of severed body parts mirrors Sahagún's cognizance of the increasing dissolution of the Nahua body politic in the face of colonial threats and natural disasters. Baird parses, in both the written and pictorial elements of the Florentine, the order-disorder dialectic as it played out within a New Spain reeling from the impact of recurrent, deadly plagues.

The contributors to this volume share a genuine and deep respect for the authors and artists of the Florentine Codex, who compiled such a monumental encyclopedia of Nahua culture in a time of crisis. Not only are all thirteen chapter the product of collegial exchanges within our community of scholars; in addition, they acknowledge the work and insights that preceded our own. We hope that our present volume will encourage others to appreciate the "treasure" that we now call the Florentine Codex.

NOTES

I thank Jeanette Peterson for her many contributions to this introduction and for the extensive comments, suggestions, edits, and additions she has made to multiple drafts. She also deserves credit for creating first drafts of the tables. I am fortunate to have worked closely with Jeanette on this project, since we began to plan our conference at UCLA and the Getty in 2014. Her consummate professional manner, enthusiasm, friendship, and good humor are most appreciated. I also thank Eloise Quiñones Keber, Barbara Mundy, and Lisa Sousa for their valuable comments on a draft of the introduction.

1. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 10, 84. There were three major epidemics in New Spain in the sixteenth century, but the first occurred in 1520, before Sahagún's arrival.
2. Sahagún 1950–1982, prologue to Bk. 11, 99.
3. Sahagún 1950–1982, prologue to Bk. 11, 94, 99. See also Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.
4. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fol. 53v.
5. Sahagún 1979, prologue to Bk. 1, 47.
6. A. Anderson 1982, 37.
7. According to Sahagún's description in the prologue to Book 9. See also Dibble 1982a, 19.
8. On the manuscripts' titles, also see Bustamante García 1992, 248–249, 328–334.
9. Dibble 1982a, 22.
10. In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, published in 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias defines *historia* as "cualquiera narración que se cuente . . . se llama historia, como historia de los animales . . . de las plantas, etc." (Covarrubias Orozco 1995, 639). On the overarching definition of *historia*, see also León-Portilla 2002a, 260–261.
11. Bustamante García 1990, 339.
12. Ríos Castaño 2014, 113–116.
13. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 46.
14. On Tenochtitlan in the early colonial period, see Caso 1956; Kellogg 1995; Connell 2011; Mundy 2015. On the Nahua *altepetl* after the conquest, see Lockhart 1992.
15. Ruiz Medrano 2010, 15.
16. Motolinía 1969.
17. Chapters 200–248 of López de Gómara's *Historia* are from Motolinía's manuscript *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*.
18. Bleichmar 2015.
19. Afanador-Pujol 2015, 3n11.
20. Ruiz Medrano 2010, 33–35.
21. On Sahagún's early education in Spain, see Bustamante García 1992, 257; León-Portilla 2002a, 26–70; Ríos Castaño 2014, 37–62; Peterson, chapter 1 of this volume.
22. A. Anderson 1982, 30–31.
23. Dibble 1982a, 10–11.
24. Dibble 1982a, 12–13; Sahagún 1979. See also the facsimile edition, Sahagún 1993b.
25. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 53–58.
26. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55.
27. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55.
28. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55–56.
29. See Poole 2004 on Ovando's career.
30. A. Anderson 1982, 35.
31. A. Anderson 1982, 36.
32. Magaloni Kerpel 2014.

33. A. Anderson 1982, 37n47; quoted from Códice Franciscano.

34. Sahagún 1989b, 141.

35. On the murky issue of whether one or two manuscripts were produced as "final" bilingual copies, see León-Portilla 2002a, 214–222; Ríos Castaño 2014, 109. Some scholars have suggested that the "first" Enríquez manuscript was in fact the "Manuscrito de 1569"; however, it was only in Nahuatl and is now lost. Others conflate the two, as does Bustamante García (1990, 341–344), who also suggests that Enríquez might have possessed the two drafts, the Códices Matritenses, that are now in the libraries of the Palacio Real and the Real Academia. On the date of Sequera's 1580 departure to Spain, see Dibble 1982a, 19.

36. A. Anderson 1982, 37n50.

37. Markey 2011, 198–213.

38. On Ludovico Buti's frescoes and the influence of the Florentine Codex, see Heikamp 1982, 132–136; and Markey 2011, 199–201, 216–217.

39. Rao 2011, 39–43; chapter 2 of this volume. The Florentine Codex was transferred to the Laurentian Library in Florence in 1783, along with 248 other manuscripts from the Medici collection, but it was not described fully until an inventory of 1793.

40. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 56.

41. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 50. Calepino's popular Latin-Greek dictionary was first published in 1502 and inspired other polyglot vocabularies.

42. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 51.

43. Carey 2003, 17.

44. Quoted from Anna Sigrídur Arnar ("Encyclopedism," 1990) in Murphy 2004, 11.

45. Garibay K. 1953–1954, 2:70–71; Robertson 1966, 617–628; Mignolo 1995, 194–201; Hernández de León-Portilla 2002, 41–59; Ríos Castaño 2014, 118–129. Thomas of Cantimpré, a thirteenth-century Dominican who wrote *De natura rerum* (1224–1228), has also been suggested as influential.

46. Isidore of Seville relied heavily on Pliny's work and others; his compendium of ancient and Arabic learning was printed in ten editions between 1470 and 1520 (Isidore 2006). Other works attributed to Isidore include *On the Nature of Things*, a book of astronomy and natural history, and *Chronica majora*, a "universal history."

47. In his prologues to the books of the Florentine Codex, Sahagún speaks of his work as a treasury or coffer (*tesoro*; *recamara*) and "a treasury for the knowledge of many things worthy of being known." Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 51, and Bk. 11, 87–88. Similarly, Pliny, in his preface 17 of *Natural History*, speaks of his work as a "treasury" and a "storehouse." See Carey 2003, 75, 138.

48. Robertson 1966, 623–626; Ríos Castaño 2014, 120–129.

49. On Augustine as a model for the Florentine, see Bustamante García 1992, 355–364.

50. Ríos Castaño 2014, 111–149.

51. Escalante Gonzalbo 1999.

52. Magaloni Kerpel 2016.

53. Most of the extant (lengthy but incomplete) manuscripts are in the Biblioteca de El Escorial or the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

54. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 8, 69.

55. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 48.

56. For comparative purposes, Diego Durán's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas y tierra firme*, completed in 1579, deserves mention. The Dominican conducted interviews with elders and consulted pictorial texts, especially in Tetzcoco. Nahua artists added dozens of illustrations to the manuscript, which was not published until the late nineteenth century (1867–1880).

57. See Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol.

58. See Terraciano 2010 on the idea of the three texts.

59. Sahagún 1956, vol. 1, 10–12; León-Portilla 1958, 18. Cited in Bustamante García 1990, 237–238.

60. Lockhart 1993, 28. Sahagún claims to be the author in the prologue to Book 2, and then his interpolation in the Spanish column of chapter 39, Book 12, bears the heading "author." In this same prologue he refers to the vital role that Nahuas played, and again in chapter 27 of Book 10 he attests to the abilities and potential of native scholars. He refers to "compiling" the manuscript in the prologue to Book 10.

61. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55.

62. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fols. 180v–181, and Bk. 10, fol. 113v; López Austin 1988, 1:42; Dufendach 2017, 220. It is possible that the same Miguel García is listed in both groups, although it is a common name and could represent two different men.

63. Cronin 2003, 38.

64. On the tension between the medieval and modern mindset, see Browne 2000, esp. 9, 72; for a counterargument, León-Portilla (2002a, 9–11, 258–267) maintains Sahagún's title as a "pioneer of anthropology."

65. Grafton 1992, 116–117. Grafton is severe in his condemnation, claiming that Sahagún "freeze-dried the multiple, protean ingredients of their [the Nahuas'] cultural tradition" (1992, 146).

66. Wouk 2017, 1–3, 8–9.

67. Escalante Gonzalbo 1999.

68. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 3, 59.

69. Bassett 2015.

70. Olivier 2016.

71. Other Mesoamerican traditions that endowed animacy or a living essence to their glyphic signs include the Maya, the Mixtec, and the Cotzumalhuapan cultures. On this see Chinchilla Mazariegos 2011, 59–66.

72. Alonso de Molina (1977, pt. 2, fol. 95v) defines *teixiptla* as "image of someone, substitute, or delegate" ("imagen de alguno, sustituto, o delegado").

73. Bleichmar 2015, 686–689.

PART I

THE ART OF TRANSLATION

FIGURE 1.1. *Fernando Gallego,* El Cielo de Salamanca. *Mural, ca. 1485. Vault frescoes, Escuelas Menores, University of Salamanca. Photograph by Kirk L. Peterson.*

CHAPTER 1

Images in Translation

A Codex "Muy Historiado"

JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON

Before taking his vows and venturing to the "New World" in 1529, it is likely that a young Bernardino de Sahagún studied in the library of the University of Salamanca beneath a spectacular vault of the night sky. Painted by Fernando Gallego between 1483 and 1486, the extant portion of the original dome is populated with a zodiacal mix of fantastic creatures and accurately plotted constellations (fig. 1.1).[1] The celestial signs in what has popularly come to be called the *Cielo de Salamanca* can be traced to Islamic and classical models that Gallego creatively combined from multiple sources.[2] Among his prototypes are the medieval ink drawings of the constellations based on Islamic iconography that were used to teach astronomy at Salamanca, as well as the traditional globes illustrating the Islamic signs of the zodiac, so popular in fifteenth-century Spain.[3] Additional models have been traced to Italian and Northern European graphics, such as the woodcuts from Hygin's *Poeticon astronomicon* of 1482 and various editions of the *Triumphs* of Petrarch.[4] No single source, however, can adequately account for all of Gallego's inventive, even inverted, variations. Gallego's artistic independence, quite as freewheeling as the airborne constellations that spin across the picture plane, can be productively compared with the creativity displayed by the indigenous painters of the Florentine Codex.

What also might have caught Sahagún's eye as he gazed upward to Gallego's mural is the Latin inscription that frames the circumference of this star map. The inscription marks the limits, both physical and conceptual, of the celestial scene. The biblical text quotes Psalm 8: "When I look up at the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars set in their place by thee."[5] The order imposed by the linear-reading pattern of the quotation, as much as its message, suggests to the viewer that the firmament, even the passage of time itself, is in the hands of a divine sovereign. An audience from Sahagún's time would have appreciated the differences between the word-signs and the picture-signs, whether or not they were fully legible; at the very least, the lofty location of the mural evoked an appropriately heavenly scene and echoed the learned ambiance of the academic library, considered to be a "temple of knowledge." To the educated, Latinate spectator, both systems of communication would have been recognizable.

Just as in this ceiling mural, in which Gallego deftly reconciles several epistemological systems within the scaffolding of Christian tenets, so the Florentine Codex's scribes and artists negotiate between several semantic and representational systems. This feat was not unusual for individuals immersed in the social, religious, intellectual, and aesthetic crosscurrents of early modern Spain and New Spain. For both the Spanish painter and the Florentine Codex team, their projects were an exercise in transmission and translation on several levels, adapting and recombining old and contemporary, classical and Renaissance, pagan and Christian, alphabetic text and pictorial imagery. The dialectics of reading and viewing conflated word and image and mixed the profane with the sacred. In this and other ways developed in this chapter, the Gallego

fresco acts as an apt metaphor for the formidable task confronted by Sahagún and offers us an entry point into the issues of translatability that Sahagún and his indigenous team of collaborators undertook in producing the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, terminating in the Florentine Codex.

The conjecture that Sahagún passed a portion of his student days at the University of Salamanca is based on an offhand remark by Gerónimo de Mendieta and on the close academic ties between the Franciscan monastery in Salamanca, where Sahagún took his vows, and the famed university.[6] His broad education in the liberal arts and theology illuminates his objectives and the manner in which he packaged his information in the *Historia general*. Like Gallego, Sahagún was nurtured in a cosmopolitan university city and a multicultural milieu that profoundly shaped his worldview.[7] Moreover, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries witnessed a flood of new publications. By 1500, Spain had multiple printing presses (Salamanca alone had eleven registered printers) that in two decades produced over 1,307 books.[8] Sahagún had access to much of the world in print.

In this same time period, the advent of printing accelerated acts of translation, acts that could be heard and seen almost everywhere in Castile. The university encouraged philological studies in languages from Aramaic to Greek; the production of dictionaries and polyglot bibles was being actively pursued; and the visual landscape of Spain continued to be a heterodox combination of artistic traditions, from North African tiles and *mudéjar* wooden-inlay ceilings to the Italianate facades that increasingly graced palaces and civic buildings. As Salamanca was situated on one of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela, the community participated in the string of art fairs in which imported books, prints, paintings, and decorative arts were sold duty-free.[9] Sahagún could not have been immune to this intoxicating mix of the foreign and the familiar, a potent brew of intercultural expressions that must have rendered the friar more receptive to the alterity of the New World.

The diverse modes of translation, indeed the very translatability of the Florentine Codex, underpin this chapter. Both Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators encountered the challenges of translation while trying to bridge their discrete worldviews. As do other of the volume chapters, I attend to the interface of the Florentine texts and pictures and probe questions raised by the almost 2,500 images in books that Sahagún called "muy historiados," or lavishly illustrated.[10] I argue that the Florentine is as much a pictorial as a textual compendium. This essay also explores the rationale for including the plethora of images as well as their sources and function, issues that require historiographic hindsight. With the surfeit of scholarship on the textual content of the Florentine Codex, when did the Florentine's images begin to be analyzed seriously, why have they been sidelined as mere illustrations, and how do they function as carriers of meaning? Are the associated paintings complementary to the text, contradictory, or are they entirely new creations quite independent of their textual matrix?

THE DIALECTICS OF TRANSLATION

Translation always entails movement as texts and images are transposed through time, space, and the pen or brush of the human mediator, promoting, in every case, changes and innovations both overt and subtle. These shifts are foregrounded throughout the production of the *Historia general*, as the transmission of indigenous knowledge was passed from oral testimony to an alphabetic record; from Nahuatl speakers to bi- or trilingual scribes conversant in Spanish and Latin; from painted pre-Hispanic scroll or flat cloth (*lienzo*) to a Westernized book format; from machine-printed models to hand-crafted pictures. In transit across language, media, and cultural dimensions, expressive modalities were displaced, reconfigured, and recontextualized, thus acquiring new signification.

Given these translational shifts, to what degree can scholars today fully appreciate the sixteenth-century meaning and intent of the Florentine's texts and images? This question touches on the fundamental concern of cultural incommensurability, particularly when separated by some four and a half centuries. Said another way, can a modern-day historian overcome the challenges of decoding a colonial document and its claims to record memories of a preconquest past?[11] Alessandra Russo's use of the term "untranslatable image" is applicable to this inquiry, not to imply that cultural and linguistic differences are irreconcilable, but rather to emphasize the ongoing and dynamic process of translation: the discovery of the "infinite possibilities at play during the passages from one artistic world to another."[12] There is no presumption here that we can entirely untangle the indigenous and Hispanic worldviews embedded in the Florentine Codex, but we can situate the

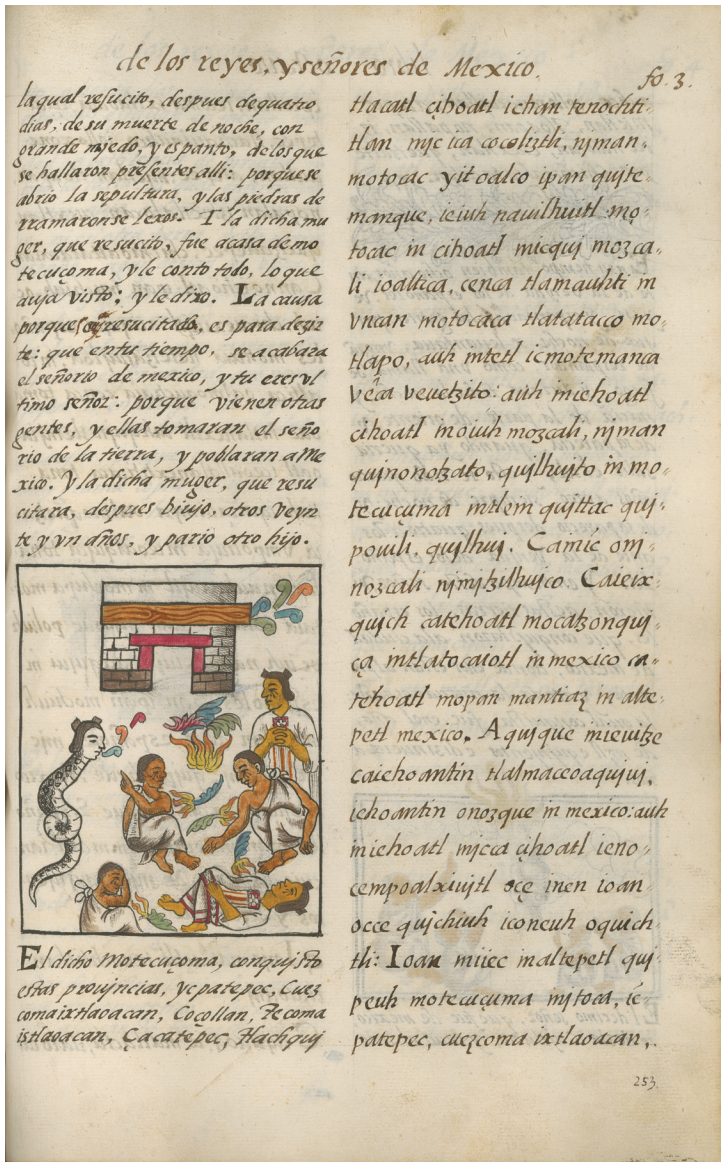


FIGURE 1.2. *Omens in Tenochtitlan presaging conquest. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 3r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

manuscript and its makers more securely at the nexus of an intense Nahua and European interchange in New Spain.

To one degree or another, all the volume authors probe the intertextual relationships and ask how the images are related to the accompanying language texts, as well as how the imagery may signify differently. Although its bilingual words and pictures are sometimes referred to as three "texts," one needs to recognize the multivalence of the image, or the "suggestive intricacies" of the pictorial component, as Nicholas Thomas puts it.[13] Both texts and images can breed ambiguous readings, and both entail the acts of "reading" and seeing, but images are more evocative in their sensory capacity, and they possess wider interpretative latitude, somewhat analogous to Gallego's painted constellations in his Salamanca sky. The celestial signs in Gallego's mural provoke wonder in their delicate hues and curvilinear posturing; they also incorporate multiple cultural and stylistic traditions in contrast with the enframing ribbon of Latin text that anchors the scene to a single biblical source. Similarly, in the Florentine Codex the images betray layered spatial and temporal dimensions, readily sliding across and combining formal and iconographic conventions.

A majority of the narrative or "primary" pictures (ca. 1,860) in the Florentine Codex occupy rectangular, black-framed enclosures that set them off spatially from the double columns of alphabetic lettering, a format that mimics the typography of a printed book (fig. 1.2). The formal

isolation of the pictures in the page layout, as well as the mimetic and illusionistic nature of many of the images, speaks to their resonance with European traditions. The indigenous painter-writers called *tlacuiloque* (singular *tlacuilo*) adapted the newly imported writing and artistic canons in inventive ways. Nonetheless, a noteworthy portion of the Florentine Codex imagery also displays a mixed graphic system, incorporating elements of the precontact Mexican pictorial script, whether of syntax, style, or linguistic signs.[14] In spite of the radical changes that ensued in modes of visual communication after the conquest, certain Nahua iconic and glyphic elements endured. Indeed, it is the images that betray the most striking intermingling of the indigenous and the European ways of knowing and seeing.

With only one slight reference to the opulent illuminations ("muy historiados"), Sahagún is surprisingly mute on his rationale for leaving open the spaces they fill. Whereas in places Sahagún's Spanish translation abbreviates or eliminates the Nahua text, thus leaving lacunae in the left-hand vertical column that the images could occupy, the layout alone does not explain the expense and training allocated to having a phalanx of painters on his collaborative team.[15] Additionally perplexing, the Franciscan says virtually nothing about the painting skills of his indigenous assistants or their education, sources, and agency—in part, perhaps, because the scribal and painting arts were traditionally conjoined in the profession of *tlacuilo*; we cannot now know who in the Tlatelolco scriptorium brandished the paintbrush and who wielded the quill. However, Sahagún does explicitly name the seven multilingual grammarians and scribes who assisted with the text.[16] This volume takes a significant step toward filling some of these gaps in our knowledge, providing logical source material for the Florentine's images, both indigenous and imported, and helping to build a more compelling argument for the artists' broad humanist and artistic education, as well as their relatively independent status.

A PROFUSION OF IMAGES: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND RATIONALE

Despite the expertise devoted to transcribing and translating the Nahuatl and Spanish-language texts,[17] comparatively little attention has been paid to the Florentine Codex images and even less to their critical evaluation. Attending to three broad, interrelated factors, I first address this historiographical lapse: why has the study of images lagged behind the veritable mountain of textual exegesis? Were there physical limitations or disciplinary barriers that interfered with a close analysis of the images? As important, when examining the history of Sahaguntine scholarship, at what point was the imagery assumed to be a meaningful "third text," as mentioned before?

Second, why did the Franciscan expend so much time, energy, and coinage, funds that he and his order could ill afford, to ensure that his cherished *Historia general* would perform as an aesthetic object and not merely as a textual document of a native culture and its language? Were these editorial decisions exclusively Sahagún's, considering the multiauthored, collaborative nature of the Florentine Codex's production? To what degree was input from the indigenous artists working in the *tlacuilo* tradition also a major factor?

Third, to begin to answer the more challenging question of the Nahua painters' role in determining the nature of the imagery, I explore the merits and limitations of tracking the potential artistic sources. In order to gain insight into the creative process as well as the problematic issue of authorial control, one fruitful avenue is to locate the painters' models, both indigenous and European. While many of the studies in this volume ferret out new connections with an ever-widening source of pictorial models at the artists' disposal, scholars are only beginning to grasp the implications of the artists' selections. In delineating the processes of translation, with concomitant misunderstandings and inversions of meaning, scholars are in a better position to grasp the complexity of the Florentine Codex paintings.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF IMAGE SCHOLARSHIP

To begin with the historiographical issue, the comparative paucity of scholarship on the Florentine Codex images can be attributed in part to the afterlife of the codex, that is, to its delayed publication record and the inferior quality of reproductions in these publications, as well as to disciplinary biases that relegated visual culture to a secondary, even second-class, role in academia. Soon after the arrival of the Florentine Codex in Italy (ca. 1587–1588), its first five books were translated into Italian, attesting to the immediate recognition of the manuscript's significance. For some three centuries thereafter, however, the codex re-

sided essentially hidden in its Medici repository.[18] The last two decades in the nineteenth century finally witnessed a concerted scholarly effort to compile and translate Sahaguntine material, including the Madrid Codices (Códices Matritenses) and the Florentine Codex. Two of the most prominent scholars who led this effort, Eduard Seler and Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, placed a value on preserving and studying the images as well as the Nahuatl texts. Eduard Seler, an ardent Americanist, applied his prodigious talents as a comparative linguist, archaeologist, and ethnographer to the task of translating and interpreting many Middle American pictorial manuscripts and, in 1888, was one of the first to publish facets of Sahagún's illustrated works.[19] Seler's synthetic commentaries have remained fundamental to the study of Mesoamerican indigenous cultures, particularly in religious and calendrical observations, as well as in deity recognition and costume paraphernalia. Seler's erudition and keen eye prompted him to apply a comparative technique, making astute, sometimes overly determined analogies between the signs of indigenous writing systems and the images found in Sahagún. They provide evidence that Sahagún's painters remained conversant with traditional Nahua knowledge, even if imperfectly preserved and understood.

Seler would encounter his only obstruction to an otherwise prolific publishing record when confronted with the mandate of Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, an historian of equal talent and perseverance. As director of the national museum of Mexico and a representative of the Mexican government, Paso y Troncoso was able to impose an embargo on Seler's access to Sahaguntine material.[20] A second ironic twist in this intertwined history of competing agendas is that the Mexican scholar's grand plan—to systematically locate, edit, and publish all of Sahagún's writings—was stymied by Paso y Troncoso's own obsession with meticulous note-taking; only a fragment of the many archival documents he copied and annotated was ever published, and many only posthumously.[21] Although his zeal and ambitious goals exceeded his funding and the constraints of one lifetime, Paso y Troncoso's publications (1905–1907, 1926) did eventually bring to light a large portion of the images.[22] Like Seler, the Mexican scholar recognized the cultural significance of the illustrations in Sahagún's writings.

Paso y Troncoso's images created a template for reproductions that persists in most publications on Aztec or colonial Mexico. His efforts established the value of the Sahaguntine images but also, paradoxically, have impeded our ability to assess accurately the original paintings and their context. Volume 5 of his envisioned fifteen volumes incorporates the loose folios of Sahaguntine plates, including the images from the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex (fig. 1.3). Paso y Troncoso commissioned Alejandro Ruffoni to produce chromolithographs in Italy after drawings made from the original in Florence, from 1893 to 1895, by the Mexican artist Genaro López. As precise as were the manual copies by López, they introduced slight and unintended alterations. Ruffoni's lithographs were subsequently printed and replicated ad infinitum, undergoing an additional transformation when they were widely circulated as black-and-white photographic reproductions in Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble's invaluable transcription and translation of the Florentine's Nahuatl texts.[23] Even after the 1979 facsimile of the Florentine Codex appeared, limited in its circulation, the interested public continued to rely primarily on the third-generation black-and-white photographs—of the lithographs—of the ink and wash drawings by a late nineteenth-century draftsman.

Just as Paso y Troncoso gathered the Florentine's images for publication under separate cover, so Anderson and Dibble grouped the pictures in discrete, central sections within each of the twelve books in their series of the Florentine Codex (fig. 1.4). The clustered images are thus physically prohibited from having any dialogue with the relevant texts, a separation that greatly reduces, and even forecloses, their signifying capability. Like taxonomic specimens, each image is bounded within a black frame, numbered and keyed to a caption below that also provides an approximate location in the narrative of the Florentine Codex, generally a chapter. The reader is not only left to guess where precisely the Nahua painter intended to locate his image but also required to undertake the cumbersome mechanics of flipping back and forth between the corresponding image section and relevant text. The discrepancy between the original hand-painted images and their reproduced monochromatic copies also introduces formal inaccuracies: scale is standardized, and a heavier, undifferentiated outline of each pictorial element does not adequately convey the fluid grace of the manuscript's ink lines, to say nothing of omitting altogether the translucent washes and vivid colors of the originals.

A portion of what is lost in the images' signifying capacity can be assessed through one comparative example

FIGURE 1.3. *Rulers of Tenochtitlan and two omens in Book 8.* Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España *(1926 [1905]), ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, vol. 5, pl. XLVI. Lithograph. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (91-B18105 [v.5]).*

FIGURE 1.4. *Rulers of Tenochtitlan and two omens from Book 8.* Florentine Codex *(1950–1982), ed. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Lithograph. Courtesy of University of Utah Press.*

taken from Book 8, "The Kings." Both the Paso y Troncoso and its duplicate plate in black and white from Anderson and Dibble condense the images of twelve folios (1r–6v) to a single plate (compare figs. 1.3 and 1.4). Twenty-five rulers from Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco are shown on one composite folio, the rulers rendered in profile and seated on their woven-mat thrones with their name glyphs hovering behind them. These codified depictions remain faithful to the traditional indigenous conventions known to the Nahua *tlacuiloque*, as Elizabeth Boone argues (see chapter 6 of this volume). The royal figures are consigned to a cellular grid, bracketed off from each other as well as from the explanatory texts. Conversely, in the Florentine Codex, the rulers float unbounded but proximal to the relevant commentaries on their reigns (see fig. 6.4, p. 100).

The importance of studying the Florentine Codex images in concert with the written story line and their original color scheme is confirmed in a close examination of the center rectangular panel (no. 10 on the composite plate) of this folio on Aztec kings (see figs. 1.3 and 1.4). A large scene encapsulates three omens that presage the fall of Tenochtitlan during the reign of the ninth Aztec ruler, Motecuhzoma II.[24] Only when inserted back into the original text of the Florentine Codex can we fully comprehend the meaning of the omens depicted (see fig. 1.2). By resituating the image within the Nahuatl narrative we can interpret the three foreboding signs, visually read in a counterclockwise movement from the top (fig. 1.5). This circular pattern follows the order of the text that describes the omens as, first (top and center), a strange "singing"

FIGURE 1.5. *Omens presaging conquest: House of Song sings and Cihuacoatl (Serpent Woman) appears. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 3r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

building; second (middle left), the nocturnal appearance of the Serpent Woman (Cihuacoatl); and, third (lower right), a woman lying on her back. The prone figure likely represents the woman who is said to have died of a sickness but was then resuscitated, at which time she confronts Motecuhzoma II with predictions of the end of his reign. Four other indigenous participants (three male and one female) in this complex drama tearfully respond to these apocalyptic omens.

Using traditional song scrolls, the artist carefully delineates the relevant Nahuatl description of the strange intonations emanating from the dislodged wooden beam of the song house (*cuicacalli*) and the wailing of the hybrid Serpent Woman, who prophesizes abandonment and defeat. The sound scrolls are communicated through vivid orange, blue, and blue-green volutes that curl away from the architectural beam and the Serpent Woman, vocal inflections that in their brilliant coloration move beyond ordinary speech. Absent the varied color scheme, the monochromatic Anderson and Dibble plate (see fig. 1.4) cannot convey the rich implications of the original image. I will return to further explicate this image for its stylistic hybridity and the painter's inventive use of glyphic signs, an indigenous strategy that relied on the images to communicate certain concepts.

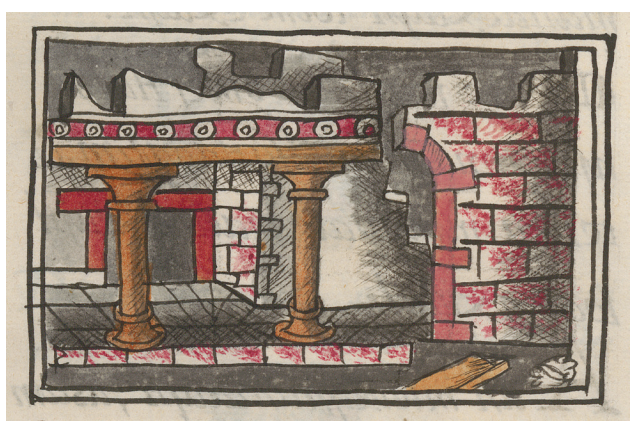
Given the limitations imposed by Paso y Troncoso's composite reproductions, and their recycled monochromatic appearance in the Anderson and Dibble editions, it is perhaps not surprising that there was a time lag before the images of the Florentine Codex were themselves the object of sustained research.[25] Not until 1959 did Donald Robertson, an art historian, pioneer one of the first studies on colonial manuscript painting with a chapter on the images in Sahagún's manuscripts.[26] Although

still dependent on the Paso y Troncoso lithographs in black and white, he analyzed them for the first time using the tools of formal analysis specific to the discipline of art history. To name only a few of the traits Robertson discusses, they include spatial relationships, scale, quality of line, and figural realism or abstraction; by necessity, his consideration of color in the images is largely missing. Robertson uses these stylistic criteria to construct "patterns of classification" in order to distinguish between pre- and postconquest schools, making the useful distinction between native painting styles that are conservative and more "conceptual" in nature, and the "perceptual" painting styles in pictorial manuscripts that demonstrate a greater degree of Europeanization and three-dimensional illusionism.[27] Robertson recognized that some of the Florentine's images, in spite of their acculturation, still performed their indigenous roles as stand-alone bearers of information. Those images with a visible "dual legacy" of native and imported elements, on the other hand, such as many of the architectural representations in book 11, he found "confusing."[28] At this preliminary stage of image analysis, Robertson grapples with how to characterize the intermingling of two artistic idioms, reluctant to render a positive assessment of the in-between-ness of most colonial visual culture. Robertson's legacy has been profound and multigenerational.[29]

With the publication of the 1979 facsimile of the Florentine Codex, a companion study of the codex by the Mexican historian José Luis Martínez underscores the "documentary value" of the images.[30] Curiously, rather than featuring the vibrant polychrome facsimile images, Martínez incorporates many of the lithographs from Paso y Troncoso's edition, but in black-and-white copies. Martínez points out what he terms the "mestizo," or mixed art, evident in the enduring presence of pre-Hispanic glyphic elements alongside Western artistic traits. The author concludes that the presence of these dual features exhibits the artists' "confusion" when the *tlacuiloque* negotiate "between two worlds."[31] In his discussion of the image of the venerable Toltec capital of Tula, in Book 8, Martínez attributes the artist's combination of classical colonnade with an indigenous frieze of concentric circles to a misunderstanding (fig. 1.6). By attributing "confusion" as a motivation to painters who combined and reworked the Florentine Codex images, both Martínez and Robertson (who uses the same term) suggest a certain haphazard, even arbitrary process of constructing the images. Alternatively, and more positively, one can interpret the painter's quotation, indeed an appropriation, of classical ruins as a complex reenvisioning of Tula, the near-mythological Toltec center of arts and civilization, as a fount of Aztec culture and their own Greco-Roman past. By intentionally juxtaposing the classical ruins with the frieze of disks that characterized high-status Aztec buildings, the Florentine's painter is not "confused," but rather conflates two discrete architectural vocabularies and their cultural referents. The *tlacuilo* here, as elsewhere in the Florentine Codex, selectively draws from traditional and European sources to glorify his artistic reputation as an heir to Toltec excellence (referred to broadly as possessing *toltecayotl*, or artisanship) and to buttress his status in the colonial present.[32]

From the decade of the late 1980s forward, the work in integrating, analyzing, and theorizing the meaning and function of the Florentine Codex images accelerated. This scholarship has coincided with two important developments, the recognition in academia of both pre- and postcontact cultures in the Americas as legitimate fields of study, as well as the acknowledgment of the place of visual culture across the humanities. Images or visual sign systems, from popular to fine arts, are no longer peripheral or merely illustrative to text-based exegesis but play an evidentiary role in their own right in illuminating history and cultural identity. Given this visual turn, two anthologies on the works of Bernardino de Sahagún include chapters that focus squarely on the Florentine Codex images. A section in a 1988 anthology is allocated to illustrations,

FIGURE 1.6. *Tollan or Tula. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 10v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.



with two of the essays providing preliminary overviews of the nature and possible models of the imagery, and three dedicated to the iconography of deity representations.[33] From these foundational studies, scholars began to explore the hybridity of the imagery in greater depth. Four of the five chapters in a second, 2003 anthology, *Sahagún at 500*, track the stylistic and iconographic sources of the Florentine's images to dual legacies, labeling the mixtures as bivisual, the Nahua-Christian dialogue, and a mediation between "two worlds."[34] Additionally, Ellen T. Baird and Eloise Quiñones Keber have contributed valuable insights comparing the Florentine Codex and Sahagún's earlier illustrated manuscript, the *Primeros memoriales*, the latter published in facsimile format in 1993.[35] In Mexico and Spain, scholarship on the Florentine Codex has been primarily text-based and somewhat skeptical of the value of its paintings; exceptions include the work of Guilhem Olivier, Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, and Diana Magaloni Kerpel, all of whom fully exploit imagery as primary sources of data.[36]

In addition to the advances in stylistic and iconographic analysis, a very important recent breakthrough has been the scrupulous examination of the Florentine Codex as a material object, not just a cultural artifact. In particular, Magaloni Kerpel led a team of conservators to conduct a chemical analysis of the pigments utilized by the painters and scribes.[37] Their fascinating study concludes that both indigenous and European pigments were deployed, and were done so purposefully. In other words, the same conscious selection that is evident in the choice of subject matter is supported by the very materials used to represent them: in one case, pigments made of flowers render the translucent tones of the celestial spheres, and mineral-based pigments represent the darker and heavier terrestrial realm.[38]

While science for Magaloni Kerpel's investigation helps elucidate the symbolic meaning of the images through a chemical probe into the pigments, in Molly Bassett's study (chapter 9 of this volume), Western notions of scientific classification need to be put aside in order to facilitate a better understanding of the organizing principles within Nahua epistemologies. Recognizing the value and limitations of our own scholarly apparatus allows us to come closer to the original impulses in the making of the Florentine Codex as a multiauthored project, with indigenous scribe-painters contributing in ways both conscious and self-reflexive. While this brief trajectory of the Florentine Codex scholarship has revealed the increasing weight being given indigenous authorship, in exploring images with relevant texts, scholars are only beginning to see and hear the Nahua voices as they express their own cultural heritage and identity.

"WORTHY OF A KING"

Turning from the evolving scholarship and historical reception of the Florentine Codex's imagery, I now ask what might have motivated Sahagún to plan for such a profusion of illustrations, as well as whether the decision was the Franciscan's alone. By the 1560s printed books were the norm in New Spain, and graphic illustrations provided the most prolific and accessible artistic models. These models were available to Sahagún and his indigenous team in the well-stocked libraries both in the Colegio de Santa Cruz as well as the monastery of Santiago Tlatelolco and other Franciscan libraries.[39] Only a few of the illustrated volumes with lavish woodcuts or engravings were not sold off or stolen from the Tlatelolco collection before the late nineteenth century; however, among the 372 books that remain are some with engravings and a substantial number that feature handsome frontispieces and historiated initials.[40] The "fill-in" floral vignettes and grotesque embellishments visible in the Florentine Codex mimic graphic counterparts, as do the primary or narrative images set apart within single or double black frames.[41] It is possible that the codex was intended to represent an initial step on its way to ultimate publication. Yet the Florentine Codex is also witness to the continuing value of the richly ornamented illuminated manuscript in an age of print. In its retrograde move from machine print to hand-crafted script and with such extravagant expenditures of space and talent lavished on its images, was not the aim to produce a work of art as alluring to the eye as to the reader's mind?

Sahagún's loftiest dream for the Florentine Codex was its imperial destination: to have it travel overseas to the Spanish court. In 1577, the final production year of the codex, Sahagún dedicated Book 6 to fray Rodrigo de Sequera, the Franciscan provincial who fiercely advocated for the completion of the Florentine Codex. In his Latin inscription to Sequera, Sahagún writes: "You have here, observant father, a work worthy of being contemplated by a king."[42] The worthiness of the work lay not just in the accumulation, organization, and annotation of its data, but also in its aesthetic presentation. Just as the native author

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala enhanced his document of Andean culture with 399 lively pen and ink drawings, as his *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1616) was intended for Philip III, so too Sahagún aspired to royal approbation, envisioning his manuscript as beautifully illustrated and thus "worthy of being contemplated by" the Spanish monarch, Philip II.

THE RHETORICAL POWER OF IMAGES

To explain the sheer quantity of the Florentine's images one also needs to consider the crucial role of visual culture in the mendicant effort to instruct and convert the indigenous populations. In the sixteenth century, images overcame language and ideological barriers; they served pedagogical, devotional, and inspirational functions and, as such, were ubiquitous in the early colonial world, emblazoned on banners, walls, prints, and large painted cloths. Sahagún, like Pedro de Gante, Diego Valadés, Gerónimo de Mendieta, and other fellow Franciscans, was keenly aware of the rhetorical power of visual aids as mnemonic devices and persuasive, didactic tools. Valadés, who was working with large indigenous populations in the primary Franciscan monastery in Mexico City, summed up the need for images in one concise statement, "Since the Indians are lacking in letters, it was necessary to teach them by means of some illustrations," a policy he famously asserted the Franciscans invented and thus patented.[43] Sahagún's goals for the Florentine Codex were not just to amass linguistic data and record ethnographic information about Aztec life and culture, but also to "reap the Harvest of Souls," an evangelistic mission furthered by images.[44]

This is not to say that there were not inherent dangers to deploying images among a neophyte population still fragile in its transition from "pagan" to Christian beliefs and practices. During the Reformist movement, a period when images were increasingly suspect as potentially idolatrous, why was Sahagún not more skeptical, or at least cautious, in allowing so many images to inhabit the folios of his manuscript? The tension between the Tridentine edicts' endorsement of decorous images in Catholic sanctuaries and the potential for idol worship in the Americas is palpable in one of Sahagún's interpolations in Book 1, "Gods." In these passages, Sahagún rails against idolatry, emphasizing the materiality of false gods that are only "carvings of stone, carvings of wood, representations [*in teixiptla*], images."[45]

This tension can be felt in Book 1, where the *tlacuilo* creates two sequential episodes (fig. 1.7). The upper image shows the cutting down of a tree from which a woodcarver on the right can fashion a male effigy using mallet and chisel; this sculpture is referred to as *teixiptla*, a deity representation or surrogate, in the companion Nahuatl text. However, the designation of *teixiptla* shifts to "his god" (*iteouh*, from *teotl*) when the wooden figure is attired in some of the emblems that define the deity Yiacatecuhtli (Lord of the Nose, or Lord of the Vanguard) of the *pochteca*, or long-distance merchants. In the lower image, the now more animated deity is being ritually honored, and three devotees on the right are shown bringing baskets of food, comparable in the postures to the Three Magi.[46] There are opposing interpretations at play here. From one perspective the artist's insertion of the biblical kings verges on the sacrilegious, subverting the original Christian intent. From another, the artist has cleverly introduced a Christian motif that elevates the veneration of a pre-Christian god to a more acceptable level. It is interesting that the native painter took care to *visually* identify the deity as Yiacatecuhtli, most importantly with his characteristic "stout cane staff" or traveling stave, with black pyrite and white facial striations, and with his precious breechclout.[47] The adjacent texts, however, neither mention the deity's name nor allude to any of these recognizable insignia. The degree of specificity in the image, then, speaks to indigenous, not European, knowledge, anchoring the deity representation within a Nahua pantheon.

While both Latin and Nahuatl texts in this passage in Book 1 castigate the "wretched idolater" who is petitioning and worshiping the completed "idol," the imagery is both more ambiguous and viscerally expressive, opening up alternate interpretations that simultaneously condemn and condone the depicted behavior. It is in this sense that mimetic representations, figurative images in particular, were considered to be deceitful (*desengaño*). The dangers posed by the blurring of lines between nature and artifice, between the real and the fictive, was sounded by the ancients, including Pliny the Elder.[48] In his *Natural History*, Pliny critiques (although he privileges) naturalism for the way illusionistic tactics can play tricks on the eye.[49] Sahagún was well aware of the perils associated with producing image-idols, such as the human effigy of the Nahua deity in figure 1.7. To counter this perfidy, the Franciscan attaches the generic label of *teotl* (god or divinity) to homogenize indigenous deities and deploys anthropomor-

FIGURE 1.7. Top: *woodcarver making* teixiptla *(deity representation);* bottom: *Yiacatecuhtli (a* teotl*, or deity) being venerated. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 26r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

phism as a way to strip away claims of the gods' powers and emphasize their humanity.[50]

THE *TLACUILO* TRADITION

My arguments for the plethora of images found in the Florentine Codex have thus far revolved around the assumption that authorial control was vested in Sahagún and that the Florentine Codex was created for a European viewership. As I have mentioned, the Latin interpolations and the Spanish translations can be primarily attributed to the Franciscan. However, it is clear that the well-educated collaborator-grammarians (*gramáticos*) who worked from both oral testimony and pictorial manuscripts helped to shape the Nahuatl narrative. Sahagún himself states that "[t]he Mexicans amended and added many things to the twelve books when they made a clear copy."[51] Among the many voices audible in the codex, were not the indigenous *tlacuiloque* also relatively free agents, participants in the creative process, rather than mere copyists?

That the painters were readily able to appropriate the pictorial ingredients needed in order to convey their message adequately has already been demonstrated (see figs. 1.6 and 1.7). A striking example is also found in Book 8 (see figs. 1.2 and 1.5), discussed in part earlier. To return to this complex image, the *tlacuilo* depicts the three fearsome omens associated with the rule of Motecuhzoma II, whose reign coincided with the demise of the Aztec empire as foretold by the woman who returned from the dead. Stylistically, the image displays indigenous pictographic and, to a lesser degree, European illusionistic traditions. The extraordinary events are splayed across a flat plane and in a centrifugal syntax that rejects spatial illusionism and a linear reading order. Yet traditional motifs, including the song scrolls and the post-and-lintel house, are combined with three-dimensional traits, such as the figures' dynamic poses and the hatching that shadows the folds of their clothing.

Color, too, provides a hermeneutic assist; the brilliant orange and blue-green hues of the speech scrolls convert mere "speech" into wailing from the Serpent Woman's mouth and singing from the building's beam. Similarly, color helps interpret several other puzzling glyphic elements. Six stylized green and blue leaves tumble haphazardly in the interstices between the figures; the free-floating placement of the leaves as well as their prominent ochre roots (or flames) suggest uprooted (and burning?) plants.

The companion Nahuatl text and its Spanish translation provide a crucial context as they tell us that these omens occurred after two or three years of drought, causing a great famine in central Mexico, perhaps the reason for the female seer's sickness and death.[52] This information is keyed to our interpretation of the fire represented in the center of figure 1.5. The painter has rendered an image of four yellow-and-orange flames that curl upward and threaten to burn the two leaves positioned horizontally above them.[53] In the Nahuatl language and pictorial lexicon, the implications of dry or burnt fields went beyond the devastation of a drought, as the "act of burning the fields" (*tlachinoliztli*) is linked to the concept of warfare.[54] The idea of war or conquest in Aztec pictography was often represented by paired words, *atl tlachinolli* (water-fire) or *teoatl tlachinolli* (sacred or divine liquid-fire), referencing the sacrificial blood and destruction of warfare.[55] Among the several Nahuatl references to *atl tlachinolli* in the Florentine Codex, the metaphor "teuatl, tlachinolli" is defined as "[t]he Sea, the Conflagration: This saying was said when there befell a great war, or a *great pestilence*" (*uei cocoliztli*; emphasis mine).[56] *Huey cocoliztli* surely refers, in this context, to the deadly epidemic that was decimating the indigenous population at that moment.[57] In other words, the hazardous aftermath of conquest extended beyond defeat on the battlefield to the devastation of famine and disease. Ritualized warfare in the cosmological scheme of the Aztec empire was also associated with earth and fire goddesses, in which case the presence of Cihuacoatl, a martial deity, in this omen is conceptually linked and appropriate.[58] While the burning leaves in figure 1.5 do not resemble the stylized glyphs on Aztec monuments for *atl tlachinolli*, they retain an independent signifying capacity; they also reveal the breadth of the *tlacuilo*'s knowledge in inserting both metonymic and metaphoric signs of uprooted and burning vegetation and his inventiveness in simultaneously evoking drought and the scorched-earth policies of battle. The *tlacuilo* locates the three omens within a perilous time period, a preface to the violence and suffering of the imminent conquest predicted by the omens.

The Nahua pictographic tradition and its practitioners persisted in every aspect of colonial life, in spite of the overwhelming impact of European culture, the medium

of print, and alphabetized writing.[59] Indeed, the professionals working in the *tlacuilo* tradition continued to paint on many types of surfaces, from paper documents to monumental stuccoed walls.[60] Without denying that Sahagún appreciated and exploited the didactic power of images, the Franciscan was not the sole impetus for his manuscript's profuse illustrations. The drive to incorporate images must have also emanated from the native artists' priorities.

Evidence for the creative intervention of the indigenous painters can be found in the meaningful manner in which semantic information is incorporated into images that illumine the Nahuatl text. Lisa Sousa's reading of this interplay has uncovered the use of indigenous modes, such as speech and flowers, to express concepts of deviance in Book 10.[61] Moreover, these uniquely Nahua symbols retain some phonetic value. In this sense, a select number of Florentine Codex images exhibit traits of Nahua pictography, a semasiographic system that was basically iconic (resembling what the pictures denote) and with embedded glyphs, some of which were sound based.[62] Kevin Terraciano (in chapter 3 of this volume) has revealed how feathers served a similar role as cultural symbols, but also to designate the elegance and persuasiveness of certain speeches, an addition that only a Nahuatl-speaking audience would have understood.

In tailoring images for a bicultural audience, I suggest, the artists kept a native readership in mind. Max Harris notes that in the very act of laying hand to paper, of transcribing text or selectively hybridizing images, the ultimate product becomes an "inherently dialogical gamble," a document recording a plurality of voices.[63] The highly ritualized acts of writing and painting are foregrounded by Diana Magaloni Kerpel (chapter 10 of this volume), who traces the transmission of knowledge to a divine source, powers she asserts the Florentine's *tlacuiloque* continued to exert.

At the same time, it is also true that the meaning formerly intrinsic to a traditional imagistic sign system was slowly dissipating in the wake of the increasing dominance of the imported alphabetic writing. Elizabeth Boone has remarked on the evolving "dual graphic code" after the conquest, arguing that colonial texts, the Florentine Codex in particular, "completed the bifurcation; it has split and transformed itself into the dual graphic codes of alphabetic script and figural illustration."[64] While acknowledging that the Florentine Codex is no longer a pristine record of precontact Nahua culture, nor that the pictographic script survived intact, a number of the chapters in this volume counter the notion that the acculturative process was so overwhelming as to erase all traces of the Nahua systems of communication. The highly visible Europeanizations cannot be assumed to be evidence of a capitulation to the Spanish presence.

Ellen Baird (chapter 13 of this volume) also notes how expertly the images can mediate between the two alphabetic texts. Baird deconstructs the fragmented body parts in chapter 27 of Book 10 that resonate with both the lexicon found in the Nahuatl passages and concurrently comment on the tragedy unfolding within the eroding body politic (*república*). This facility underscores the sensitivity of the indigenous *tlacuiloque* to the explicit and implicit meanings of the texts. Performing acts of self-representation, Nahua artists created these dynamic images as a way to preserve the past and to position themselves within a new world order. Moreover, as Barbara Mundy reminds us (chapter 8 of this volume), none of these decisions were made in a vacuum; local circumstances, natural, economic, and political, affected both the indigenous and the European elite who inhabited an often hostile, lacustrine environment. Mundy elucidates the striking images in the Florentine Codex that reveal how the Nahua leadership coped with the ecological challenges and retained an orderly cosmos through their manipulation of water-related rituals.

DOUBLE VISION: TRANSLATING THE SOURCES

In identifying the eclectic sources that inspired the Florentine *tlacuiloque* and how they reworked them, a range of responses can be detected, from direct visual quotes to partial, fragmented paraphrasing. The Florentine's images can be particularly quixotic in their appropriation of varied systems of representation. When their artistic models can be found to be thematically appropriate, we can assume the resemblances were intentional: their meaning can be reasonably linked to their form. Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo demonstrates how artists carefully chose and recast European images that were adapted to the subject matter in dynamic ways.[65] Although seldom selected at random, images in the Florentine Codex can also appear to be untethered from their sources, as fragments of larger icono-

graphic programs that when reassembled serve purposes that do not immediately reveal their logic.

In Book 6, on rhetoric, and Book 12, on the conquest, there is a seemingly uncomfortable disconnect between some of the earliest Nahua material collected and recorded and the highly Europeanized images that accompany the texts. One plausible explanation points to the chronology of the publication process and its condensed time frame. Books 6 and 12 were two of the last books to be illustrated (almost the entirety of the imagery in these books is only in black and white), and the artists who survived the epidemic of 1576 might have been younger, with greater training in the European canon and less familiarity with the traditional *tlacuilo* vocabulary. Moreover, because the epidemic, in its severity, felled a large percentage of the indigenous population and disrupted the social and economic life of the colony, painters had less recourse to the pigments they needed. Additionally, the subject matter of Books 6 and 12 had no indigenous precedents, and artists were forced to rely on imported sources. In illustrating the *huehuetlatolli* (speech of ancients) in Book 6, the *tlacuiloque* adopted, then refashioned, their images to combine familiar Christian iconography with representations of Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror), the supreme Aztec deity. References to familiar biblical compositions, such as the worshipful crowd below the assumptions of either Jesus or Mary, allowed the artist to sacralize his own past while reimagining the colonial present.[66]

The Florentine Codex forces its modern audience to engage with the coexistence of an indigenous and a European vision, even if the native point of view is notoriously difficult to reconstruct. The critical appraisal of its texts and images requires a "double vision" to appreciate the "combination of connection and separateness" between several perspectives.[67] The images bridge at least two representational systems, ultimately forging new pictorial statements that adhere to neither one nor the other.[68] Although the push-pull so evident in the Florentine Codex has been given a variety of names over time—bicultural or bivisual, the product of two cognitive systems; between two worlds; and Indo-Christian or Christian-indigenous—scholars may wish to rethink the utility of these binaries. Instead, it may be more useful to stress the coming together of seemingly discordant elements to convey what the original authors and painters perceived as a coherent perspective from their vantage point in the second half of the sixteenth century in Mexico.[69] The conceptual and representational boundaries between systems of knowledge are so interlocked that it is often difficult to tease out where one begins and the other leaves off; rather, epistemologies overlap and collapse into one another. The authors in this volume have taken steps to further deconstruct the three "texts" of this masterful document without, of course, presuming any degree of completeness.

NOTES

I extend my heartfelt thanks to Kevin Terraciano, coeditor and colleague, whose historical insights and linguistic skills (including many assists to my nascent Nahuatl) immeasurably enhanced this anthology. His even-keeled perspective and good cheer leavened the lengthy process of bringing the volume to publication.

1. Fernando Gallego (ca. 1440–1507), one of Castile's best-known Hispano-Flemish artists, was likely born in Salamanca. The mural, generally dated to ca. 1485, was described in travel accounts in 1493 and by the German humanist Hieronymous Münzer in 1494–1495. See Martínez Frías 2006, 8–9; B. Anderson 2008, 93, 105.

2. The remnants of Gallego's fresco (about one third of the original murals) have since been relocated to the Escuelas Menores at the University of Salamanca.

3. On the relationship of the astrological elements in the mural with contemporary science, clocks, and the teaching of astronomy at the university, see Martínez Frías 2006, 12–20, 27–32; B. Anderson 2008, 106–107.

4. On the iconographic sources, see Garcia Avilés 1994, 48–53. See the work of Julius Hyginus (or Higino; 64 BCE–17 CE) first published by Erhard Ratdolt in 1482 as *Poeticon astronomicon*, with engravings by the Florentine Maso Finiguerra (1426–1464).

5. "Videbo celos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum lunam et stellas que tu fundasti" (Psalm 8:3). Also translated as, "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained."

6. Among the many lacunae in our knowledge of the young Sahagún is his original name prior to taking his Franciscan vows, possibly Bernardino de Rivera. For biographical data on Sahagún between the years 1500 and 1529, see León-Portilla 2002a, 26–70; Bustamante García, 1990, 14–24. The Franciscan historian Gerónimo de Mendieta (1945, 4:114) mentions that Sahagún was a student at the university ("siendo estudiante en Salamanca"). Unfortunately, the University of Salamanca does not have any archival records that predate 1530, and San Francisco de Salamanca was almost totally destroyed by the Napoleonic invasions in the first decade of the nineteenth century. See Bustamante García 1990, 16–17, 20.

7. On Sahagún's early education, see León-Portilla 2002b, 37–43; Ríos Castaño 2014, 37–62.

8. On the output of printing presses in over twenty-five Spanish towns, or what Kagan calls the "coming of the book," see Kagan 1974, 35; Dotseth 2008, 119–121.

9. Medina del Campo, geographically near to Salamanca, was one of the busiest of these duty-free art fairs. See Dotseth 2008, 119–120.

10. This comment of Sahagún's is in his 1585 revised Book 12, in A. Anderson 1982, 37. The count of the Florentine Codex images varies, ranging from a total of 2,463 (1,862 primary and 601 ornamental or border figures; see Peterson 1988, 274) to 2,686 total images (with 1,855

primary or narrative images; in Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 47). There are three calendrical graphs that may account for some of the discrepancy.

11. Lezra (2015) explores the contingency of translation, both as a practice and as a self-aware form of historiography. On the trustworthiness of recollections of the pre-Hispanic past in a colonial pictorial manuscript, see Leibsohn 2009, 3–4, 93–104.

12. Russo 2014, 7, 32, 223.

13. Thomas 1999, 1. On the fluid, not oppositional, relationship between "text" and "image," see Elkins 1999, 82–85.

14. Boone 2011b, 197–225.

15. I have suggested that between four and nine artists worked on any one book in the Florentine Codex (Peterson 1988, 274). Magaloni Kerpel (2011b, 52) cites as many as twenty-two artists total. It may be that among a core of seven experienced linguists and scribes/artists, three or four acted as the masters and oversaw the work of other "hands" in what was clearly a very diverse team in both ability and training.

16. On Sahagún's four named trilingual scholars (*gramáticos*) and three scribes, see Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 54–55. See also Terraciano, introduction to this volume. On the debate surrounding the alleged artist of the Florentine Codex identified as Agustin de la Fuente, see Peterson 2003, 231n21.

17. Including Wigberto Jiménez-Moreno, Miguel León-Portilla, Alfredo López Austin, Charles Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, and James Lockhart, among others.

18. From 1587 until mentioned briefly by bibliographers in 1783, 1793, and again in 1879. The history of the *Historia general* is summarized in Rao 2011, 27–45; Terraciano, introduction to this volume, table I.1. For a comprehensive historical treatment, see Dibble 1982a, 9–23; Bustamante García 1990. See also Rao, chapter 2 of this volume.

19. Eduard Georg Seler (1849–1922) was director of the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin (Museum für Völkerkunde) from 1904 to 1922. For Seler's biography and bibliography, see Nicholson 1973a, 348–368.

20. This "embargo" lasted for the duration of Paso y Troncoso's European stay, from 1893 to 1916. Nicholson 1973a, 354.

21. On Paso y Troncoso (1842–1916), see Cline 1973, 391–403, 410.

22. Sahagún 1905–1907.

23. Sahagún 1950–1982.

24. There is partial overlap of these three omens with the eight omens (*tetzauitl*) described in more detail in Book 8 (fols. 11–13) and Book 12 (fols. 1–3). For a reading of this sixth prophecy as both the end of the Mexica era (the fifth sun) and an apocalyptic event in Christian teleology, see Magaloni Kerpel 2016, 221–228.

25. See also Quiñones Keber 1988b, 200–202, 209–210.

26. Robertson 1959, 167–178.

27. Robertson 1959, 3, 23.

28. Robertson 1959, 34; 1974, 161.

29. Ellen Taylor Baird wrote her dissertation under Robertson on Sahagún's *Primeros memoriales* (Baird 1993). Elizabeth Hill Boone has extended Robertson's interest in Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts and mentored a new generation of scholars.

30. Martínez 1982, section 2, 31–89, is dedicated to the illustrations.

31. Martínez 1982, 55–57, 62, 89.

32. On this image of Tula and its classical models, see Peterson 2003, 246–248. On *toltecayotl*, or artisanship, see León-Portilla 1980; Peterson, forthcoming.

33. See essays by Quiñones Keber, Peterson, and Nicholson, in Klor de Alva, Nicholson, and Quiñones Keber 1988.

34. The relevant chapters in Schwaller 2003 include those by Baird, Boone, Escalante Gonzalbo, Magaloni Kerpel, and Peterson.

35. See, among others, Baird 1988, 1993; Quiñones Keber 1988b, 199–210.

36. For example, in the anthology edited by León-Portilla (2002b), no studies are dedicated to the images. However, see Olivier 2007a; Escalante Gonzalbo 1999, 2003, 2014.

37. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 47–76.

38. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 73–75.

39. The extant Tlatelolco collection of books originally in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, Santiago Tlatelolco, are now housed in the Sutro Library (so named for the bibliophile Adolph Sutro, who purchased the collection in 1889) at San Francisco State University. See Mathes 1985.

40. For a discussion of similarities between the illustrated volumes in the Sutro collection and the Florentine Codex images, see Peterson 2017.

41. On the relationship of the Florentine Codex to the layout of printed books, see Garone Gravier 2011, 156–197.

42. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, preface, facing fol. 1: "Habes hic admodum obseruande pater, opus regio conspectu dignuum."

43. Valadés 1989, 477.

44. "[H]arían grandissimo fruto en las animas"; in Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 10, 76.

45. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 57, fol. 26. These texts, in an appendix in Book 1, include the Latin from the Book of Wisdom (rather than the Spanish) and a parallel Nahuatl text in the right column.

46. See also Escalante Gonzalbo 2003, 178, fig. 8. In some instances the motif of the Three Magi is used appropriately to visualize the bringing of gifts to a mother and child (for example, in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 62v).

47. This image of Yiacatecuhtli is, however, missing several key identifying insignia, such as his columnar hairdo tied with quetzal feathers, bells on his legs, a knotted turquoise cape, and a shield with the stepped fret design, the latter replaced by a fan in figure 1.7. For complete descriptions of Yiacatecuhtli, see Sahagún 1993b, fol. 262r; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fols. unpaginated, 17, 39v; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 41–44, 74.

48. Carey 2003, 106–113.

49. Pliny's *Natural History* is listed in the 1572 inventory in the Tlatelolco library. Mathes 1985, 30.

50. See Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

51. This statement refers to the 1569 "clean" copy of all twelve books of the *Historia general* known as the "Manuscrito de 1569," whose whereabouts is unknown. Between 1565 and 1568, Sahagún claimed that he alone "examined and reexamined" all his writings. In Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 14, and the prologue to Bk. 2, 55.

52. There were years during which it did not rain and there was "great suffering," including *maianaliztli* (*hambre general*, or famine). Sahagún 1979, Bk. 8, fols. 2v–3, 11–13; and 1950–1982, Bk. 8, 17–19.

53. Identical treatment of the tongues of fire are depicted by the same artist in other omens of Book 8 (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 8, fols. 3v, 11v, and 12). Magaloni Kerpel (2016, 227) posits an alternative explanation, interpreting the "tongues of fire" as a celebration of Pentecost, a biblical event that presaged the apocalyptic end.

54. From the root *tlachinolli*, or burnt thing (Molina 1970, pt. 2, 117v).

55. For an analysis of this paired linguistic and visual metaphor, or *difrasismo*, see Quiñones Keber 1989.

56. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 244.

57. For a discussion of the sixteenth-century epidemics in Mexico, variously identified with smallpox, typhus, hemorrhagic fever, and, most recently, salmonella, see Marr and Kiracofe 2000, table 1; Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.

58. On the use of *atl tlachinolli* embedded in the eight Aztec prophecies

as alternating cycles of solar and earthly forces, see Magaloni Kerpel 2016, 82–82, 113–115.

59. On *tlacuiloque*, see Lockhart 1992, 326–331; Boone 2000, 24–27.

60. On *tlacuiloque* as colonial muralists, see Peterson 1993, 46–50. Eloise Quiñones Keber (1988b, 209) posits that Sahagún recognized the major "role images played in communicating and preserving Aztec culture"; see also chapter 5 of this volume.

61. Lisa Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume.

62. Boone 2011a, 384–386. On semasiographic systems as the triadic interlocking of writing, pictures, and notation, see Elkins 1999, 85–87, 90, 120–142, 143–163. Elkins consigns Aztec sign systems to the status of "pseudowriting," both limited and defective in recording ideas.

63. Harris 1993, 13–14; Peterson 2003, 224.

64. Boone 2008, 273–274; see also Boone 2011b, 202–206.

65. See Escalante Gonzalbo, chapter 4 of this volume.

66. See fig. 12.7 in this volume, p. 195.

67. Thomas 1999, 5–6.

68. Russo (2014, 244–245, 247) rightly points to the "panoply of referents" in what she labels "mestizo art."

69. See Leibsohn (2009, 97) on recording the past as an endeavor that is never a "single, crystalline narrative." I do not suggest that the Florentine's account of the past is a seamless one, but suturing disparate cultural elements was a way of life for an indigenous individual negotiating a colonial present.

CHAPTER 2

On the Reception of the Florentine Codex

The First Italian Translation

IDA GIOVANNA RAO

FROM "NUEVA ESPAÑA" TO FLORENCE

This chapter presents the first analysis of a little-known and unedited sixteenth-century translation, from Spanish to Italian, of the first volume (Books 1–5) of Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*.[1] The translation dates to the 1580s (ca. 1580–1587) and was likely copied somewhere in or near the city of Rome. From the beginning of the twentieth century it has been preserved at the Hispanic Society of America in New York, as MS B1479.[2]

Here I offer only a few excerpts from the text, attempting to show the method used by the unknown scribe who wrote this manuscript, MS B1479. Based on my examination, it seems that the translator unquestionably relied on the *varietas* method, creating a translation that tends to be literal. However, the translator also altered the text when necessary to make it more comprehensible in Italian, or adapted it to the more specific objectives of Sahagún's work. Thus, we are looking at a "fourth text," considering that the Florentine Codex consists of three original texts: the Nahuatl and Spanish-language texts, and the approximately 2,500 illustrations that embellish its folios, with all their unique cultural implications. The overall meaning of the translation, however, only occasionally changes the substance of the one expressed in the original Mediceo Palatino 218, which is specifically religious in nature. Cardinal Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609) commissioned a translation of the manuscript after he obtained it, when he was in Rome, and before he became grand duke on October 19, 1587, at the age of thirty-eight.

Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's objective in commissioning this first Italian translation was to learn about the manuscript and to circulate its content, translated into Italian. The cardinal clearly endorsed the mission of Sahagún's innovative scholarship. He commissioned its translation while in office, before his dynastic marriage in 1589 to Maria Christina of Lorraine (1565–1637). In fact, Ferdinando, protector of Spanish affairs from 1583, was known to favor the religious orders.[3] He was protector of the Friars Minor Observant from 1580.[4] He was also a patron of the Stamperia Orientale Medicea, established in Rome in 1584 under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) to evangelize Muslims and reunite the Eastern Christian churches with the Church of Rome.[5] For these reasons, I believe that the Italian text of MS B1479 can be considered part of the cardinal's sweeping political agenda for global evangelization. Indubitably, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the spirit of the Counter-Reformation influenced the cardinal's objectives, but personal motives and a deep intellectual curiosity also encouraged Ferdinando to learn about the customs and religious rituals of an unknown population from the New World.

In this period, the Catholic Church sought to restore and promote a more intense, sincere, and disciplined religious life, made urgent by the spread of the Protestant Reformation. Church leaders sought not only to reform doctrine but also to influence political and military affairs in the global struggle against heresy. Ferdinando became a cardinal in 1563 at the age of thirteen and then went to live in Rome in January of 1569, when the city was steeped in

the cultural climate of the Counter-Reformation. By necessity, the cardinal absorbed the movement's main tenets and went on to distinguish himself for his strict observance of devotional practices. Ferdinando did not enjoy a brilliant career in the papal court; however, he turned out to be a shrewd and sharp observer of international events and of papal politics, an arena in which he acted with remarkable ability but always in the interests of the Medici dynasty. Clear examples of this acumen include his acquisition in Rome of the imposing Villa Medici in 1567, his sponsorship of an expedition to the Amazon, his early curiosity about agricultural development, his superb collection of statues from antiquity (now in the Uffizi Palace), and his collection of books about history and universal and political geography.[6] He did all this while keeping an eye on innovations of the time, which was why he acquired Sahagún's *Historia general* (General history) on Mexico and the volume *Della descrittione de Paesi Bassi*, or Description of the Netherlands (Antwerp: G. Silvio, 1567), by Lodovico Guicciardini (1521–1589), an excellent primary source for the political history of Belgium and Holland that he acquired in 1583.[7]

The Florentine Codex probably reached Spain through the commissary general of the Franciscan order for Mexico, fray Rodrigo de Sequera (fl. 1575–1585), who left New Spain at the end of January 1580,[8] taking the work that had been dedicated to him by Sahagún.[9] Sequera reached Rome by the end of 1587 and from there traveled to Florence as part of the retinue of Ferdinando I de' Medici. The best evidence for this scenario comes from a work titled "Index eorum librorum qui privatim regalibus in aedibus Ferdinandi Medicaei S. R. E. Cardinalis et Magni Ducis Etruriae tertii asservantur," compiled by the librarian Domenico Mellini (fl. 1565–1606) in 1588.[10] I recently found an entry in this work that refers to a codex, which is defined as "De costumi de' Mexicani libri 5," and includes the crucial addition "È traduzzione" (it is a translation).[11] It is listed among the "Libri volgari scritti in penna" (handwritten books in the vernacular) as no. 1138. At almost the same time, Lia Markey,[12] unaware of Mellini's index, discovered a manuscript at the Hispanic Society of America Library in New York, catalogued as MS B1479, entirely bound in red Moroccan leather with the Medici coat of arms and the cardinal's insignia on the front plate. It contained the very text referred to in the index of 1588, a vernacular (Italian) translation of the Spanish text of the first five books of Sahagún's work. This translation could have been commissioned only by Ferdinando I de' Medici, who might also have envisaged a translation of the entire Florentine Codex, which was either never completed or is now lost. It is telling that Ferdinando considered the Florentine Codex significant enough to authorize its translation immediately into Italian. The first volume of the work treats religious and cosmological beliefs. Cardinal Ferdinando would have been especially interested in these topics, and no doubt other Church leaders in Rome shared his interest. An earlier translation project resulting in the Codex Vaticanus A (3738), which had been brought to Rome by the mid-1560s, also describes ancient Mexican sacred beliefs and practices in the Italian language.[13]

From these two independent archival discoveries in Mellini's index and the Hispanic Society of America Library, it is reasonable to deduce that the Franciscan Rodrigo de Sequera, or someone in his stead, donated Sahagún's work to the Medici ruler who, as already mentioned, had close ties to the conventual orders. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that Sequera wanted to prevent the codex from being confiscated by the Spanish king, Philip II.[14] In 1577, Philip II ordered the confiscation of all writings related to the Indies and Indians, demanding that they be sent to Madrid. Writings describing sacred practices and beliefs, and containing images of the same, ran the risk of being accused of preserving information on "idolatries." The decree reinforced the dictates of the Spanish Inquisition (1478–1834) and the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1559–1966) of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, one of the most important emanations of the Council of Trent. Sequera must have been aware that he was offering the manuscript, instead, to someone who would certainly preserve it and appreciate its highly innovative cultural content. In fact, Ferdinando was so enthusiastic and interested in the manuscript that he immediately ordered the translation of at least the first five books, probably in Rome.[15] Listed in the inventory of his library, this Italian translation somehow ended up in the United States by mysterious means. As a precaution, however, he decided to preserve the three-volume original Florentine Codex elsewhere.[16] The latter is listed neither in Mellini's index nor in the subsequent "Inventario della biblioteca granducale," dated to around 1610.[17]

The *Historia general* was inventoried briefly for the first

time in the "Catalogo ragionato e istorico de' manoscritti della biblioteca imperiale Medicea Lotaringia Palatina", by the underlibrarian Gaspero Menabuoni, dated 1763–1765, as no. 711.[18] The codex was transferred to the Reale Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana on June 21, 1783, by the sovereign order of Peter Leopold of Lorraine (1765–1790). It was not until 1793, in the *Catalogus* of Angelo Maria Bandini,[19] prefect since 1757 of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, that we find a printed description of the manuscript, defined as "Historia mexicana libri XII lingua hispanica et mexicana exaratis, tribus voluminibus comprehensa, et innumeris figuris, rudi penicillo, in singulis ferme paginis delineatis exornata, quae ad mores, vivendi rationem, religionem, artes, naturae foetus illarum regionum attinet."[20] Although the Florentine Codex was essentially hidden from public view for yet another century, this earliest of translations into Italian testifies to the high value of its contents for the early guardians of its safekeeping.

A COMPARISON OF THE TWO TEXTS

I present here five excerpts that compare the original Spanish text of the Med. Palat. 218 in the left-hand column with the Italian translation of MS B1479 in the right-hand column.[21] Each text is followed by an English translation in the corresponding column.

Excerpt 1

Folio 1r
Prologo

El medico no puede acertadamente aplicar las medeçinas al enfermo que primero conozca: de que humor, o de que causa proçede la enfermedad, de manera que el buen medico conviene sea docto en el conoçimiento de las medeçinas y en el de las enfermedades para aplicar conveniblemente a cada enfermedad la medeçina contraria.

Prologue

A physician cannot properly administer medicines to the patient without first knowing of which humor or from which cause the illness derives. Thus the good physician should be expert in the knowledge of medicines and illnesses to administer appropriately the different medicine for each illness.

Folio 1r
Proemio

Il medico non può sicuramente applicar le medicine all'infermo senza conoscer prima da che humore o da che causa procede l'infirmità, di maniera che conviene che sia dotto nel conoscimento delle medicine e del male per applicar convenientemente a ciascuno il suo remedio.

Prologue

A physician cannot prescribe with certainty medicine to the patient without first knowing what humor or what cause produces the illness, and so he should be educated in the knowledge of medicines and illnesses to administer appropriately to each its own remedy.

This passage reveals that the translation follows the text word for word, but with the addition of a few changes intended mainly to improve or modify form or style without affecting content or substance. In fact, the translator uses *proemio* rather than *prologo* in reference to the prologue, because *prologo* in Italian was used normally to introduce more theatrical texts, whereas *proemio* most often precedes a variety of works, such as orations and treatises.[22] The translator eliminates *buen medico* to avoid repetition because the subject is clear. The translator also replaces *enfermedades* with the more generic Italian term *male*, again to avoid repetition. Lastly, he reformulates the Spanish phrase "a cada enfermedad la medicina contraria," which in Italian becomes less colorful but more incisive with "a ciascuno il suo remedio"—to each its own remedy—underscoring the metonymy *ciascuno* for *enfermedad*.

Excerpt 2

Folio 13r
Libro I. De los dioses

Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios: que adoravan y a quien sacrificavan los Mexicanos llamado *Vitzilubuchtli*.

Este dios, llamado *Vitzilubuchtli*, fue otro hercules: el qual fue robustissimo, de grandes fuerças, y muy belicoso: gran destruydor de pueblos, y matador de gentes: en las guerras, era como fuego bivo, muy temeroso a sus contrarios: y assi la devisa que traya, era una cabeça de dragon, muy espantable: que echava fuego, por la boca.

Book 1. Of the gods

First chapter, which speaks of the principal god that the Mexicans worshipped and to whom they sacrificed, called Huitzilopochtli.

This god, called Huitzilopochtli, was another Hercules, he was very strong, of great strength, and very bellicose. [He was] a great destroyer of villages and killer of peoples. In war he was like a flaming fire, very terrifying to his enemies. And thus the device that he wore was the very frightening head of a dragon, which cast fire from the mouth.

Folio 19r
Libro primo. Delli dei

Capitolo primo, che parla del principal Dio che adoravano et al quale sacrificavano i Mexicani chiamato *Vitzilubuchtli*.

Questo dio, chiamato *Vitzilubuchtli*, fue un altro Hercole, robustissimo, di gran forze, e molto bellicoso, gran destruttore de' popoli et homicida delle genti. Nelle guerre era come fuoco vivo, tremendo à suoi nemici, però l'impresa che portava era una testa di drago di gran spavento, che buttava fuoco per bocca.

First Book. About gods

First chapter, which discusses the principal god that the Mexicans worshipped and to whom they made sacrifices, called Huitzilopochtli.

This god, called Huitzilopochtli, was another Hercules, very robust, of great strength and very bellicose, a great destroyer of peoples and a killer of persons. In war he was like a hot fire, terrifying to his enemies, and thus the costume he wore was a frightening dragon's head, which cast fire from the mouth.

In this passage the text is translated almost literally; only the repetitive *el qual fue* is eliminated, and *matador*, or killer, is rendered with the pregnant term *homicida*, or murderer, referring specifically to a killer of human beings, although human beings are the objects of both verbs. Whereas the Spanish *pueblos* (literally "peoples") most likely refers to villages in the Mexican context, a term adopted in the Americas to refer to communities (especially indigenous *pueblos*), it has no such connotation in the Italian and comes across simply as *popoli*, the plural of people.

Excerpt 3

Folio 66r
Libro segundo, de las fiestas fixas [*sic*]

Capi. 19
De las fiestas movibles
La primera fiesta movible se celebrava a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama *ce ocelutl*, en la quarta casa que se llama *naolin*:

Folio 72r
Libro secondo, delle feste mobili

Capitolo decimonono
Delle feste mobili
La prima festa mobile si celebrava a honor del sole nel segno chiamato *Ce Ocelutl*, nella quarta casa detta *Naolin*.

En esta fiesta ofrecían a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensavan: y en el medio matavan captivos delante della a honrra del sol.
En este mesmo dia se sangravan todos de las orejas, chicos y grandes, a honrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

Second book, of fixed feasts [*sic*]

Chapter 19
Of movable feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign called *ce ocelutl*, in the fourth house which is called Naolin.
In this feast they offered quails to the image of the sun and they burned incense. And in the middle [of the ceremony] they killed captives before it [the image] in honor of the sun.
On this same day everyone, young and old, bled themselves from the ears in honor of the sun, and they offered it [the image] that blood.

Offerivano in questa solennità coturnici all'immagine del sole e la incensavano ammazzando nel mezzo della festa schiavi dinanzi a essa a honor del sole.
In questo medesimo dì ogn'uno, vecchi et giovani, si cavavano sangue dell'orecchie offerendolo al sole.

Second book, of movable feasts

Nineteenth chapter
Of movable feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun in the sign called *ce ocelutl*, in the fourth house, called Naolin.
In these solemn ceremonies they offered quails to the image of the sun and they burned incense; in the middle of the feast they killed slaves in front of it in honor of the sun.
On this same day, all of them, old and young, bled themselves from the ears in honor of the sun, offering it to the sun.

Here, as well, we can observe only two changes to the original, first by placing *offerivano* (they offered) at the beginning of the sentence and then the postposition of "si cavavano sangue," or "they bled themselves."

Excerpt 4

Folios 71v–72r
Libro 2

Capitulo 21, de las cerimonias, y sacrificios, que hazian en el segundo mes que se llamava *Tlacaxipeoaliztli*

En esta fiesta, matavan todos los captivos, hombres y mugeres, y niños: antes que los matasen, hazían muchas cerimonias: son las siguientes.

La vigilia de la fiesta, despues de medio dia, començavan, muy solemne areyto: y velavan por toda la noche, los que avían de morir, en la casa que llamavan *calpulco*: aquí los arrancavan los cabellos del medio de la corona de la cabeça: junto al fuego hazían esta cerimonia, esto hazían, a la media noche, quando solían sacar sangre de las orejas, para ofrecer a los dioses: lo qual siempre hazían, a la media noche.

Folio 81r
Libro secondo

Il capitolo 21 tratta delle cerimonie et sacrifitii del secondo mese *Tlacaxipeoaliztli*

In questa festa ammazzavano tutti i captivi, huomini e donne et fanciulli, et prima che li sacrificassero facevano le seguenti cerimonie.

La vigilia della festa, doppo mezzo dì, cominciavano un solenne ballo, vegliando tutta la notte con quelli che dovevano morire nella casa chiamata *Calpulco*, dove li sbarbavano i capelli di mezzo il capo, facendo ciò vicino al fuoco, alla mezza notte, quando solevano cavar sangue dell'orecchie per offerirlo alli dei.

Al alva de la mañana, llevavan los, adonde avían de morir, que era al templo de *Vitzilobuchtli*: allí los matavan, los ministros del templo, de la manera que arriba queda dicho,[23] y a todos los desollavan, y por esto llamavan la fiesta *Tlacaxipeoaliztli*, que quiere dezir, desollamiento de hombres.

La mattina all'alba li conducevano dove havevano da morire, che era il tempio di *Vitzilobuctli*. Quivi li ministri del tempio gl'ammazzavano nel modo detto di sopra et li scorticavano, et però la festa si chiamava *Tlacaxipeoalizztli*, che vuol dire scorticamento d'huomini.

Book 2

Chapter 21, of the ceremonies and sacrifices that they performed in the second month that was called Tlacaxipeoaliztli

On this feast day they killed all the captives, men and women and children. Before they would kill them, they performed many ceremonies. They are the following:

The day before the feast, after midday, they began a very solemn dance. And all night they kept vigil over those who were going to die, in the house that they called *calpulco*. Here they tore out the hair from the middle of the crown of the head. They performed this ceremony next to the fire; this they did at midnight, when they would draw blood from their ears to offer to the gods, which they always did at midnight.
At dawn in the morning they brought them to where they were to die, which was the temple of Huitzilopochtli. There the priests of the temple killed them, as mentioned above, and they skinned all of them. And thus they called the feast Tlacaxipeoaliztli, which means "skinning of men."

Second book

Chapter 21, treats the ceremonies and sacrifices of the second month, Tlacaxipeoaliztli

On this feast day they killed all the captives, men and women and children, and before they would sacrifice them they made the following ceremonies.

The day before the feast, after midday, they began a solemn dance, staying awake all night with the ones who were to die, in a house called *calpulco*, where they removed the hair from the middle of the head, doing that nearby the fire, at midnight, when they would draw blood from their ears which they offered to the gods.
In the morning at dawn they brought them to the place where they were to die, which was the temple of Huitzilopochtli. There the ministers of the temple killed them as described above, and they skinned them, and thus they called the feast Tlacaxipeoaliztli which means "skinning of men."

Here, too, the translator intervenes only to delete what he felt was not needed to comprehend the passage, which was clear without the added details of the Spanish text. For example, "las cerimonias y sacrificios que hazían en el segundo mes que se llamava Tlacaxipeoaliztli" (the ceremonies and sacrifices that they performed in the second month that was called Tlacaxipeoaliztli) becomes "cerimonie et sacrifitii del secondo mese Tlacaxipeoaliztli" (ceremonies and sacrifices of the second month, Tlacaxipeoaliztli). The passage "hazían muchas cerimonias: son las siguientes" (they performed many ceremonies, they are the following) is simplified to "facevano le seguenti cerimonie" (they performed the following ceremonies), and "junto al fuego; hazían esta cerimonia, esto hazían a la media noche" (they performed this ceremony next to the fire; this they did at midnight) is translated as "facendo ciò vicino al fuoco, alla mezza notte" (doing that nearby the fire, at midnight), thereby eliminating the repetition "lo qual siempre hazían a la media noche." The Italian translator knew Spanish well enough to recognize the word *areyto* (translated as *ballo*), a Taino term borrowed in the Caribbean and used in reference to indigenous dances throughout the Americas in general.

Excerpt 5

Folio 202r
Libro 3. Del principio de los dioses

Capitulo primero, del principio que tuvieron los dioses

Del principio de los dioses, no ay clara, ni verdadera relacion: ni aun se sabe nada, mas lo que dizen es: que ay un lugar, que se dize *Teutioacan*, y assí, de tiempo inmemorial: todos los dioses, se juntaron y se hablaron diziendo. Quien ha de governar y regir el mundo? Quien a de ser sol (y esto ya es platicado, en otra parte).[24] y al tiempo que nascio, y salió el sol: todos los dioses murieron, y ninguno quedo dellos; como adelante se dira, en el libro septimo, en el capitulo segundo.

Book 3. Of the beginning of the gods

First chapter, of the beginning that the gods had

As to the beginning of the gods, there is not a clear or true account, nor is anything known beyond what they say: that there is a place called Teutioacan, and that in time immemorial all the gods gathered and spoke, saying, "Who is to govern and rule the world? Who is to be the sun?" (and this is already discussed in another part). And at the time when the sun was born and rose, all the gods died, and none of them remained, as it is told ahead in the seventh book, in the second chapter.

Folio 149r
Libro terzo. Dell'origine delli dei

Capitolo primo, del principio ch'hebbero li Dei

Dell'origine degl'idoli non c'è vera relatione, né si sa altro se non quello che per tra(dizion)e degl'antichi si dice qui, cioè ch'in un luogo chiamato *Teutioacan* si adunarono tutti gli dei et la fine di questo loro concilio fu chi di loro havesse a governare il mondo et, come si racconta in altra parte, quando uscì fuora 'l sole ad alluminare 'l mondo, moriron tutti questi dei, come si dice più inanzi nel 7° libro al 2° capitolo.

Third book. On the origin of the gods

First chapter, on the beginning that the gods had

Of the origin of the idols there is no real account, nor is anything known but what is told by ancient tradition, which is: there is a place called Teutioacan all of the gods assembled and the purpose of this council of theirs was to determine who was to govern the world and, as it is told elsewhere. When the sun came out to light the world, all these gods died, as it is told further ahead in the 7th book at the 2nd chapter.

Here we see another example of revision, albeit a modest one: the Spanish phrase "ni aun se sabe nada, mas lo que dizen es que ay un lugar" (nor is anything known beyond what they say: that there is a place) is changed to "né si sa altro se non quello che per tra[dizion]e degl'antichi si dice qui, cioè ch'in un luogo" (nor is anything known but what is told by ancient tradition, which is: there is a place). Immediately after this phrase, however, the translator returns to his usual concise and conservative approach; this method is evident in the shift from direct discourse—in which the gods wonder, "Quien ha de governar y regir el mundo? Quien a de ser sol?" (Who is to govern and rule the world? Who will be the sun?)—to paraphrasing, whereby he simply reports their words but somewhat arbitrarily reduces two questions to one: "chi di loro havesse a governare il mondo" (who was to govern the world?). Although it is tempting to think that the use of *idoli* (idols) to translate the Spanish *dioses* (gods) suggests a conscious censoring of the manuscript, denying the application of the term *dei* to pagan gods, it is most likely that the choice of words was to avoid repetition, as the term *dei* was used above in the chapter title and elsewhere in the manuscript. Furthermore, the terms *dei* and *idoli* were more or less synonymous for Italian-speaking Catholics in this period.

In conclusion, I think it is quite clear that even these few examples, as noted in my opening lines, reveal that the translator, who was fluent in Spanish and Italian, was always very faithful to the text, simply seeking to improve

its style without altering its content. This was the principal characteristic of a successful Italian translation in this period. And we can also surmise that the translator, commissioned by Cardinal Ferdinando I de' Medici, was a highly educated writer. The translation is distinguished by the prevalence of hypotaxis (the subordination of one clause to another), over the parataxis (the placing of clauses or phrases one after another, without words to indicate coordination or subordination) of the Spanish text, often accompanied by a synthesis that takes some of the color from the immediacy and genuine tone of Sahagún's more popular prose, but that gives the slightly more elaborate Italian translation a stylistic level that verges on artistic prose. Could the sixteenth-century Italian translator and his patron have forseen that their work would be only the first in a lengthy and ongoing process of scholarly efforts to unravel the multiple texts within the Florentine Codex?

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF):
Guardaroba Medicea 237ter

Archivio Storico della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (ASBL):
MS Pluteo 92 sup. 227b

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (BML):
Mediceo Palatino 218–220

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF):
MS II. II. 309

Hispanic Society of America (HAS):
MS B1479

NOTES

1. The Florentine Codex, Mediceo Palatino 218, 219, and 220 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Books 1–5 are in Med. Palat. 218: Mexico, 16th cent. (1576–1577), paper, folios IV, 353, III', 309 × 215 mm. Selected references: Bandini 1791–1793, coll. 454–456; Paso y Troncoso 1896; Sahagún 1950–1982; Sahagún 1979; Sahagún 1989b; Cacho 2001, 2:403–405; Wolf and Connors 2011; Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 2014; Markey 2011; Rao 2011 (also for analytic description, codex history, and bibliography).

2. New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS B1479: central Italy (Rome?), 16th cent. (1580–1588), paper, 230 fols., 309 × 215 mm. According to direct information from the HSA, the codex was purchased by an art patron and enthusiast of Hispanic studies, Archer Milton Huntington (1870–1955), who founded the HSA in New York in 1904. Huntington bought it in the 1920s from a London bookshop, G. Michelmore & Co. The work was listed as no. 96 in the bookseller's catalogue, *Choice and Rare Old Books*, now unavailable on the market and also at the HSA, as I have been told. The manuscript contains the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* without author and title identifiers:

> Inc. Proemio. Il medico non può sicuramente applicar le medicine . . . (fol. 1r)
> Expl. . . . che il diligente predicatore e confessore anderà investigando per eradicarle (fol. 227v)

See Cline 1973, 453; Markey 2011, 206–210; Rao 2011, 41–42.

3. See Pieraccini 1986, 2:285.

4. See also Markey 2011, 212.

5. For more recent studies of Medicean typography, see Borbone 2012, 19–42; Farina 2012, 43–72; Fani 2012, 73–84.

6. Hale 1986, 151–152.

7. See Perini 1980, 2:582. It refers to a *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini patritio fiorentino di tutti i paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore. Con più carte di geographia del paese & col ritratto naturale di più terre* (Antwerp: Guglielmo Silvio, 1567).

8. See Rao 2011, 40n41.

9. Med. Palat. 219, fol. 3v.

10. BNCF, MS II. II. 309 (before Magl. X. 13), fols. 1r–41v.

11. BNCF, MS II. II. 309, fols. 30r–33r: 31v. The title is also recorded in "Inventario della biblioteca granducale," stored in ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 237ter, fols. 1r–41v, published in Perini 1980, 2:653.

12. See Markey 2011, 206–210.

13. Anders and Jansen 1996, 29.

14. Regarding the adventurous phases of the work's compilation, sometimes supported and at other times impeded by the religious and political authorities in charge of it, see Dibble 1982a, 9–23; Corsi 1982, 80–86; Spagnesi 1993, 7–24.

15. See also Markey 2011, 208.

16. See note 1.

17. See Perini 1980, 2:588–667.

18. ASBL, Pluteo 92 sup. 227b, fol. 121r.

19. Bandini 1791–1793, coll. 454–6.

20. Bandini 1791–1793, coll. 454. The title *Historia mexicana* was reproduced in Cacho 2001, 2:403–405.

21. The presence of individual witnesses does not pose any problems regarding the choices to be made about the form of the text, which is essentially unchanged. Therefore, my work has been limited to resolving nearly all of the evident abbreviations without using parentheses; placing ambiguous or uncertain abbreviations or letters in parentheses; adding the drafter's interventions in brackets; transcribing the *j* with an *i*, except where it is used for the semivowel sound; distinguishing between *u* and *v*, using the vowel and semivowel sound for the former and the consonant sound for the latter; maintaining the *y* with the value of the simple *i*; and using capitals, small letters, and punctuation according to modern criteria.

22. See also Tommaseo and Bellini 1865–1879, 3:1871, 1254, 1267.

23. See Book 2, chapter 2.

24. See also Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 3, 1n2.

CHAPTER 3

Reading between the Lines of Book 12

KEVIN TERRACIANO

The twelfth and final book of the Florentine Codex claims that an unprovoked Spanish massacre of unarmed men and women in the ceremonial plaza of Mexico-Tenochtitlan started a war that destroyed the city. A Nahua artist sketched an image of the violence at the very beginning of the first chapter (fig. 3.1), even though the event does not occur in the narrative until chapter 20, in the middle of Book 12.[1] The Nahuatl text reports that Spaniards ordered Mexica leaders to celebrate the feast day of Toxcatl, and then slaughtered the participants during a ritual dance ceremony, beginning with the drummers. Nahua writers and artists remembered the act as a premeditated mass murder that belied any pretext of a "just war."

In this chapter, I examine how the most extensive indigenous account of the Spanish-led war on Mexico, and the most extended narrative of any event in the Florentine Codex, reveals very different Spanish and Nahua perspectives of the war, by elaborating on the idea that the manuscript consists of three separate texts: the two alphabetic texts and the images. The three texts—Nahuatl, Spanish, and pictorial—were produced by several men at various stages of the project, begun in the 1550s and completed in the late 1570s. Nahua scholars generated the original Nahuatl text, divided into forty-one chapters, and fray Bernardino de Sahagún was responsible for its translation into Spanish. The expression in this chapter's title, "reading between the lines," refers to the act of looking for or discovering meaning that is hidden or implied rather than explicitly stated. Here I read between the lines of Book 12 to consider how and why the Nahuatl and Spanish texts differ, and especially how content in the Nahuatl has been altered or omitted in the Spanish. In comparing the parallel columns of prose, reading one against the other, I examine the multivalent nature of this rare manuscript and the colonial context in which it was produced.[2]

In the second part of the chapter, I show how certain images add meaningful content to the narrative that is not articulated in the Nahuatl or Spanish—that is, how the images function as a third text.[3] The images are not simply illustrations; they offer evidence that can complement, amplify, contradict, or transcend the alphabetic text, as Diana Magaloni Kerpel has demonstrated.[4] Although the manuscript betrays the influence of European art style and models, Mesoamerican writing conventions abound.[5] For example, the *tlacuiloque* (plural of *tlacuilo*, writer/painter) employed "speech scrolls" and hand gestures to indicate conversation, sketched footprints to depict movement from one place to another, and drew toponymic glyphs to refer to places.

The chapter concludes by considering how the Nahuatl narrative contradicts many Spanish accounts of the so-called conquest and how, in retrospect, the authors and artists of Book 12 clearly understood the treacherous nature of the war and its momentous consequences.

FIGURE 3.1. *Image of Toxcatl massacre, beneath the title of Book 12. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 1r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND NAHUATL TEXTS

First, it is important to consider the probable order of the manuscript's composition and the interrelation of its parallel columns of Nahuatl and Spanish texts and images.[6] The Nahuatl is primary in that it was produced first, although it appears in the right-hand column. Many Church-sponsored texts, such as *doctrinas* and *vocabularios*, are organized in this manner, designed primarily for a Spanish-speaking audience, so that the Spanish appears first as one reads the page from left to right. The Nahuatl seems to be based squarely on oral tradition, as some narratives are prefaced with expressions like "they say that" and "according to what is said."[7] Considering that Book 12 was first written down in 1555, thirty-four years after the war ended, the men who participated would have remembered much of what they saw and relied on the local oral tradition to fill in what they had not seen. In his prologue to Book 12, Sahagún called it an "account of the very Indians who took part in the conquest."[8] The Nahua authors do not refer to having used any previous writings, including pictorial manuscripts, although it is possible that they did so.

The Nahuatl text never refers to the corresponding Spanish, whereas the Spanish sometimes alludes to the Nahuatl. For example, at the end of chapter 19, when the narrative describes the amaranth-dough image of Huitzilopochtli that was made for the feast of Toxcatl, the translation breaks off and concludes, "which are explained in the [Nahuatl] text, as well as other ceremonies that are included throughout this whole chapter."[9] Finally, neither text refers to the images, which were added last by Nahua artists.

James Lockhart concluded in *We People Here* that Sahagún was responsible for the translation but that Nahuas copied the final version. Sahagún said as much in the prologue to Book 2, where he describes how the Franciscan commissary general fray Rodrigo de Sequera "was very pleased with them [the books of the manuscript] and ordered said author [Sahagún] to translate them [from Nahuatl to Spanish]."[10] Sahagún mentioned three Nahua scribes in particular who copied the entire manuscript: Diego de Grado and Bonifacio Maximiliano of Tlatelolco, and Mateo Severino of Xochimilco.[11] Lockhart did not think that the Nahuas who participated in the project "did much direct translation of the Nahuatl" and concluded: "I have little reason to doubt that the Spanish text faithfully represents Sahagún's intentions and views, and even for the most part his phrasing."[12] Since there are so many differences between the Spanish and Nahuatl texts, it is important to analyze the choices that Sahagún made when translating—namely, his "intentions and views." In this first part of the chapter I examine several significant differences between the original Nahuatl and its translation before considering some likely reasons for those differences.

Most apparent is the fact that the translation is much shorter in length than the Nahuatl text. There are 1,330 more lines in the Nahuatl column than in the Spanish. The Nahuatl comprises 4,646 lines of text, whereas the Spanish translation has 3,316 lines—approximately 30 percent less.[13] All but three of the 160 images in Book 12 are located in the Spanish column, where the translation shares space with or is displaced by images and thus fails to translate all the Nahuatl.

The translation presents information that clearly came from Spanish sources, independent of the Nahuatl origi-

nal. In chapter 2, for example, the translation twice mentions Juan de Grijalva's ship, referring to a previous Spanish expedition to the mainland, but the Nahuatl does not mention Grijalva. In chapter 27, when the Spaniards retreat to Tlaxcala, the translation begins to describe what happened with the phrase, "According to reports of the Spaniards who were there."[14] The Nahuatl text, instead, makes detailed references to the *veintenas*, or twenty-day periods of the Mesoamerican solar calendar. The Spanish concludes: "Captain don Hernando Cortés and those who were with him, having escaped from the war, took courage to outfit themselves again and conquer Mexico back." In contrast, the Nahuatl states that the Mexica hoped that the Spaniards were gone for good and would never return.[15] Here the two texts diverge entirely; the translation provides information that comes from Spanish sources.[16]

Similarly, the translation relates many events from a decidedly Spanish perspective. The very title of the book highlights this difference: whereas the Nahuatl refers to "how war was waged here in the *altepetl* [local Nahua community or state] of Mexico," the Spanish refers to "the conquest of New Spain, which is the city of Mexico," striking a victorious tone.[17] In chapter 10, the Spanish relates that "Moteuczoma, considering what he had heard about the Spaniards, as well as the prophesies that had been made in ancient and modern times, that the Spaniards were to rule in this land, left the royal palace and went to his house [where he had lived] before he was king or emperor." The corresponding Nahuatl passage does not refer to prophecy or to Spanish rule; it merely says, "Then Moteuczoma abandoned his patrimonial home, the great palace, and came back to his personal home."[18] Another example of divergent perspectives appears in the following chapter, when the Nahuatl states that the Tlaxcalan lords "gave them [the Spaniards] their daughters," presumably in the hope of making marriage alliances; the Spanish reads, "[T]hey gave them their maiden daughters and they [the Spaniards] received them and *used* them as their women" (my emphasis).[19] The difference in word choice suggests that the Spaniards used them (*usaron dellas*) for labor or sex or both, which is neither stated nor implied in the Nahuatl.

The translation omits information that Sahagún apparently did not consider important.[20] In chapter 8, when the Nahuatl text enumerates twenty-five different types of fruits and vegetables that were offered to the Spaniards, the translation refers only to *frutas*. In chapter 15, which treats the appearance of the Spaniards and their auxiliaries as they march toward Mexico, the translation does not attempt to keep up with the Nahuatl and concludes: "In all the rest of this chapter, nothing is said except the order of the Spaniards and the Indian friends kept when they entered Mexico."[21] Likewise, in chapter 19, the translation concludes abruptly: "In all this subsequent text, nothing else is said except the way they made the statue of Huitzilopochtli from the dough of various vegetables, how they painted it, how they arranged it, and how afterward they offered many things before it."[22] This one sentence refers to nearly five columns (pages) of Nahuatl text. The reference to "nothing else is said" indicates that it was deemed irrelevant, or at least not worthy of translation.

Conversely, the translation is occasionally longer than the corresponding Nahuatl, when it adds detailed information that does not exist in the Nahuatl, as if Sahagún used material that was collected elsewhere. Apparently, he felt a need to add information, although the reason for the need is not always clear. One place where the translation presents information not included in the Nahuatl is the description in chapter 4 of the appurtenances of Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Tlaloc that the Mexica emissaries gave to Cortés. This information is very detailed; the Spanish, for example, refers to "a gold medallion that they call a[n] *ecacozcatl*" as one of the ornaments associated with Quetzalcoatl's appurtenances.[23] This particular Nahuatl term does not appear even in the Nahuatl text. The Spanish descriptions of the appurtenances of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca are approximately twice as long as the original Nahuatl descriptions. Whereas Sahagún decided not to describe the Nahuas' first impressions of the Spaniards on their march to Tenochtitlan, discussed earlier, because a Spanish reader would have known how the Spaniards appeared, perhaps he chose to describe the gods' attire in detail because Spanish readers would not have known this information, and because this type of information fulfilled Sahagún's expressed intent to document idolatrous practices and paraphernalia so that they could be identified and destroyed.[24] In reference to the legend of Quetzalcoatl, Sahagún alludes to material in other parts of the manuscript; the translation mentions the belief that Quetzalcoatl would return from the east, where he departed, "as appears in the history of this god," likely referring to the appendix to Book 1 and various chapters in Book 3.[25]

The Spanish text refers to a transformed urban landscape after the war. Many Nahua place-names are not

translated; instead spaces are identified by new churches or structures, such as a place that is "close to the church called Santa Lucía," or "next to the church of Concepción," or "where the houses of Alvarado are today."[26] When Moteuczoma and Cortés meet for the first time, the Nahuatl says that the meeting took place in Huitzillan, which is translated as "the place they call Huitzillan, near the Hospital of La Concepción." Later Huitzillan is referred to as near the church of San Pablo.[27] Thus the Spanish frequently qualifies or substitutes references to sites with the names of new churches or houses that were built on those sites.

Near the end of the book, at the end of chapter 39, when Quauhtemoc went in a boat to surrender to the Spaniards, Sahagún inserted a paragraph in the Spanish column that is not based on the Nahuatl. Calling out this section with the heading "Author," Sahagún commented that Captain don Hernando Cortés could have destroyed the Mexica many times over, but always showed mercy and gave them as many chances to make peace as possible, so that they would not be completely destroyed. Likewise, the translation before this intervention makes repeated references to Cortés's efforts to convince Quauhtemoc to surrender, whereas the Nahuatl speaks of how various Mexica rulers gathered to decide how to surrender and how much tribute should be given to the Spaniards. Unlike the Nahua authors, Sahagún sought to protect Cortés from appearing too cruel, despite the violent tenor of the narrative. Sahagún made many interpolations throughout the Florentine Codex, but this one stands out as an obvious attempt to protect Cortés from accusations of brutality.

Finally, a fundamental difference between the Spanish and the Nahuatl is that the translation often tones down Nahuatl passages that present the Spaniards as treacherous, evil, or greedy and tends to omit entire sections of the narrative that might have offended a Spanish audience. For example, when the Nahuatl describes the Spaniards as greedy for gold, they are likened to pigs and monkeys. The passage reads: "And when they had given the things to them, they seemed to smile, to rejoice and be very happy. Like monkeys they grabbed the gold. It was as though their hearts were put to rest, brightened, freshened. For gold was what they greatly thirsted for; they were gluttonous for it, starved for it, piggishly wanting it." In contrast, the translation reduces this part as follows: "and according to the external signs that the Indians saw in the Spaniards, it seemed to them that they were pleased and greatly rejoiced over the gold, for they held it in great esteem."[28] Similarly, Nahuatl and Spanish versions of how Moteuczoma's treasury was sacked reflect very different points of view. In chapter 18, when the Spaniards go to Moteuczoma's personal home, the Nahuatl calls them "covetous and greedy," whereas the translation calls them "joyful."[29]

The Nahuatl frequently employs a form of the word *poyotl*, "treachery" or "something evil," to modify the verb "kill."[30] The Nahua writers use this term in reference to the unprovoked massacre in Cholula, where the Tlaxcalans have a hand in the treachery but the Spaniards clearly lead the slaughter.[31] The translation of this episode is actually longer than the Nahuatl text; it acknowledges the attack on unarmed Cholulans but attributes the violence in part to the insulting treatment of the Spaniards, who were not greeted in peace and thus suspected the Cholulans of "treason." The Spanish concludes: "The Cholulans bore neither offensive or defensive weapons, but went unarmed, thinking that what was done would not be done, so that they died a bad death." Nothing in this cited passage appears in the Nahuatl.

The Nahua writers employ the word *poyotl*, or evil, again in reference to a massacre on the feast day of Toxcatl, when Spaniards attacked unarmed men and women in the ceremonial precinct of Tenochtitlan, when the blood of warriors "ran like water," when the ground became "slippery with blood."[32] This episode receives very little attention in the Spanish column. Dozens of lines of graphic Nahuatl text detailing the ceremony and subsequent violence go untranslated. Instead, there are numerous (large) images in this section that dominate the Spanish column. Chapters 19 and 20, which document preparations for the Toxcatl feast and the subsequent massacre, contain only a few lines of Spanish. The omission is glaring.

There are many reasons why the Spanish translation might diverge from the original Nahuatl. Sahagún clearly thought that certain passages in the Nahuatl were irrelevant to Spanish readers. He seemed more interested in recording the original Nahuatl language, eliciting as many different words and expressions as possible, than in translating every word and phrase. In the prologue to Book 1, Sahagún explains that his main intention was to lay the foundation for a dictionary of usage, like Ambrosio Calepino had done for Latin; he sought to provide Nahuatl texts akin to those of Virgil and Cicero.[33] He clearly intended to leave space in the Spanish column for images.

Perhaps most important, Sahagún and his team were under pressure to complete the manuscript and probably had to paraphrase and summarize many chapters. Many blank columns on the left-hand side of the page, toward the end of Book 12, where translations or images were to be added, suggest that Sahagún and his colleagues ran out of time to complete this part of the work. Finally, the epidemic of 1576 interrupted the project. Sahagún comments on the devastating effects of disease in Book 11. Writing in Tlatelolco on November 8, 1576, he complained of the plague that continued to rage since August of that year. He lamented the decline of the indigenous population and even feared its extinction.[34] Since the images were added last, when Sahagún was translating the Nahuatl text, it is possible that the artists simply ran out of time. We can see that the artists ran out of colors midway through Book 11; only a few images in Book 12 are painted.[35]

Despite many possible reasons for a divergent or deficient Spanish translation, a close comparison of the two texts suggests that Sahagún made conscious, careful choices about what to include and what to omit in the translation, considering the tone and the content of the Nahuatl and anticipating who might read the Spanish version. He appears to have been concerned with how a Spanish audience would respond to the original text. In the prologue to Book 12, Sahagún attempts to disarm skeptical or suspicious Spanish readers who might object to a Nahua version of the war by claiming that he decided to record a narrative "in the Mexican language, not so much to derive certain truths from the account of the very Indians who took part in the Conquest, as to record the language of warfare and the weapons which the natives used in it, in order that the terms and proper modes of expression for speaking on this subject in the Mexican language can be derived from it."[36] His principal interest in language seems to have tempered any inclination to intervene or change the original Nahuatl text. However, judging by his prologues, his notes to the reader, and his subsequent revision of Book 12 in 1585, Sahagún seems to have realized the controversial potential of the account that he had compiled and preserved.

I will return to the question of Sahagún's selective translation in this chapter's conclusion. Now let us examine how the images present a visual, episodic narrative of events, and how they correspond to the alphabetic texts.

IMAGES AS A THIRD TEXT

Most of the images appear to correspond to the Nahuatl text. However, the fact that the Nahuatl of Book 12 was written down first, around 1555, and that the illustrations were drawn about two decades later, most likely by different men, suggests the potential for differences between the alphabetic text and the images.[37] At times the *tlacuiloque* added content and meaning to the narrative that are not articulated or emphasized in the Nahuatl or Spanish. For example, one or more of the artists remembered or imagined the Spaniards wearing large feathers on their heads.[38] The Nahuatl text refers once to the fact that they wore feathers; a detailed description of Spaniards on the march to Mexico recalls that "plumes stood up, parting and spreading" on the Spaniards' heads.[39] These lush plumes are not the long, straight, tapering quetzal feathers and other types of feathers that the Nahuas wear; they are ostrich feathers from Europe. The artists might have seen ostrich feathers being worn in Mexico, illustrated in books of the Colegio de Santa Cruz library, or depicted in the crests of Spanish coats of arms. In the medieval and early modern European tradition, as in Mesoamerica, wearing feathers on the head signified elite status and military rank. In Book 12, the artists tended to exaggerate the size of the feathers and seem to have attributed special meaning to them. For example, four frames in chapter 20 depict strangely attired, armed Spaniards who wear prominent feathers (figs. 3.2 and 3.3).

I have argued that feathers symbolized power and prestige in Nahua and Mixtec iconographies.[40] Nahuas associated precious feathers with rulers and warriors.[41] Chapters on the rulers' dress in Book 8 of the Florentine Codex refer to numerous types of feathers. The most detailed references appear in chapter 12, describing the feathers from the red spoonbill, the quetzal, the blue cotinga, the parrot, the troupial, and the heron that the rulers wore when they went to war. This brief chapter mentions feathers more than sixty times in reference to different articles of clothing and accoutrements associated with the rulers' warrior outfits. In his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, the Dominican chronicler Diego Durán reported that feathers distinguished "men of [elite] lineage" (*hombres de linaje*) from "low [ranking] men" (*hombres bajos*) in battle. Accomplished warriors of the hereditary nobility wore feathers "from head to foot," whereas commoners who had distinguished themselves in battle wore animal skins. He concluded that feathers were

FIGURE 3.2. *Feathered Spaniards attack Mexica drummers. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 33r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

reserved mainly for rulers, nobles, and warriors.[42] Durán also observes how sending feathers to an enemy signified a declaration of war. He reports how a Tenochca delegation brought feathers to the ruler of Tepeaca so that he might "feather his head" in preparation for war. Likewise, Tlacaelel brought feathers to Azcapotzalco, announcing an impending attack.[43] Barbara Mundy examined the significance of feathers for rulers in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, who wore exotic colors from distant conquered provinces and who adorned themselves with the feathers and clothing of specific deities.[44]

Jill Furst links feathers and precious stones to the Nahua concept of *tonalli*, the life-giving solar essence, the vitality attributed to humans at birth. All living things receive their *tonalli* from the heat and light of *tonatiuh*, the sun. Nahuas associated feathers with the auspicious destinies, or *tonalli*, of rulers and nobles. Furst found that feathers, gems, and military outfits "carried or outwardly manifested" a warrior's *tonalli*, which was transferred from captive to captor before the act of sacrifice, and Alessandra Russo elaborates on the connection between feathers, *tonalli*, and Mexica rituals of sacrifice.[45] Patrick Hajovsky extends the analysis to consider images and objects and ritual acts endowed with *tonalli*, from speech and name glyphs to feathers and divine rulership.[46]

Mexica warriors in Book 12 wear feathers, usually quetzal feathers, on the head or attached to the back, and they bear feathered shields (fig. 3.4). One of the outfits worn by a courageous Mexica warrior, Tzilacatzin, featured a "feather hairpiece or wig, with eagle feathers tied at the back of the neck."[47] When Quauhtemoctzin exacts revenge on the Xochimilca for attacking Tenochtitlan, he wears a conspicuous feather headdress.[48] Another brave young warrior wears a *quetzaltecolotl* (quetzal-owl) costume that belonged to Quauhtemoc's father, Ahuitzotl. He "looked very frightening and splendid," and when the Spaniards saw him "it was as though a mountain had fallen."[49] The feathered warrior penetrated enemy territory in his shimmering outfit, snatched precious feathers and gold from the Spaniards, took prisoners, and eluded capture. The second half of Book 12 is filled with the exploits of Nahua heroes who fought bravely against the enemy.

Feathers mark ethnicity in Book 12 in that only Spaniards wear ostrich feathers and only Nahuas wear quetzal feathers. The Spaniards receive quetzal feathers as gifts, but they do not wear them. In chapter 26 the people of Teocalhueyacan offer bundles of precious quetzal feathers as a form of tribute to Cortés, who is seated, holding a lance, wearing plumes of ostrich feathers on his head. In contrast, those who make the offerings are featherless, representing their subordinate status.

In fact, it is likely that Cortés *did* wear feathers when he arrived in Mexico. Bernal Díaz del Castillo remarked that Cortés began to wear a *penacho de plumas* (headdress of feathers) and other signs of distinction after he was chosen by the governor of Cuba to lead an expedition to the mainland, and that he looked like a "gallant and coura-

FIGURE 3.3. *Feathered Spaniards in the sacred courtyard of Tenochtitlan, the Teoithualco. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 33v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

geous captain."[50] Other sixteenth-century sources depict Cortés wearing feathers.[51] The appearance of Cortés and other Spaniards wearing strange feathers on their caps and helmets would have made a distinct impression on the Mexica, considering that they "interpreted everything about the newcomers as some familiar aspect of their own culture," as Lockhart observed.[52]

Unlike Europeans, however, the Nahuas also associated precious feathers with a *teotl*—a being or force that possessed awesome power, extreme *tonalli*. Nearly all of the *teteo* (plural of *teotl*) in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex, titled "The Gods," wear prominent feather headdresses and possess feather regalia. The Mexica gave Cortés elaborate outfits with feathers because they thought of him as a *teotl*. Book 12 clearly states that the Mexica greeted Cortés as a *teotl* and attempted to dress him accordingly. In chapter 4, Moteuczoma sent a leader with the title of *teohua* (*teotl* custodian) to greet Cortés and to give him the regalia of four deities, each consisting of many feathers, presenting alternatives for the specific *teotl* that he would embody.[53] The *teohua*, a specialist learned in the ritual calendar and sacred offerings, brought the *teutlatquitl* (*teotl* properties), or dress and accoutrements of Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and Tlaloc.[54] Two of the four

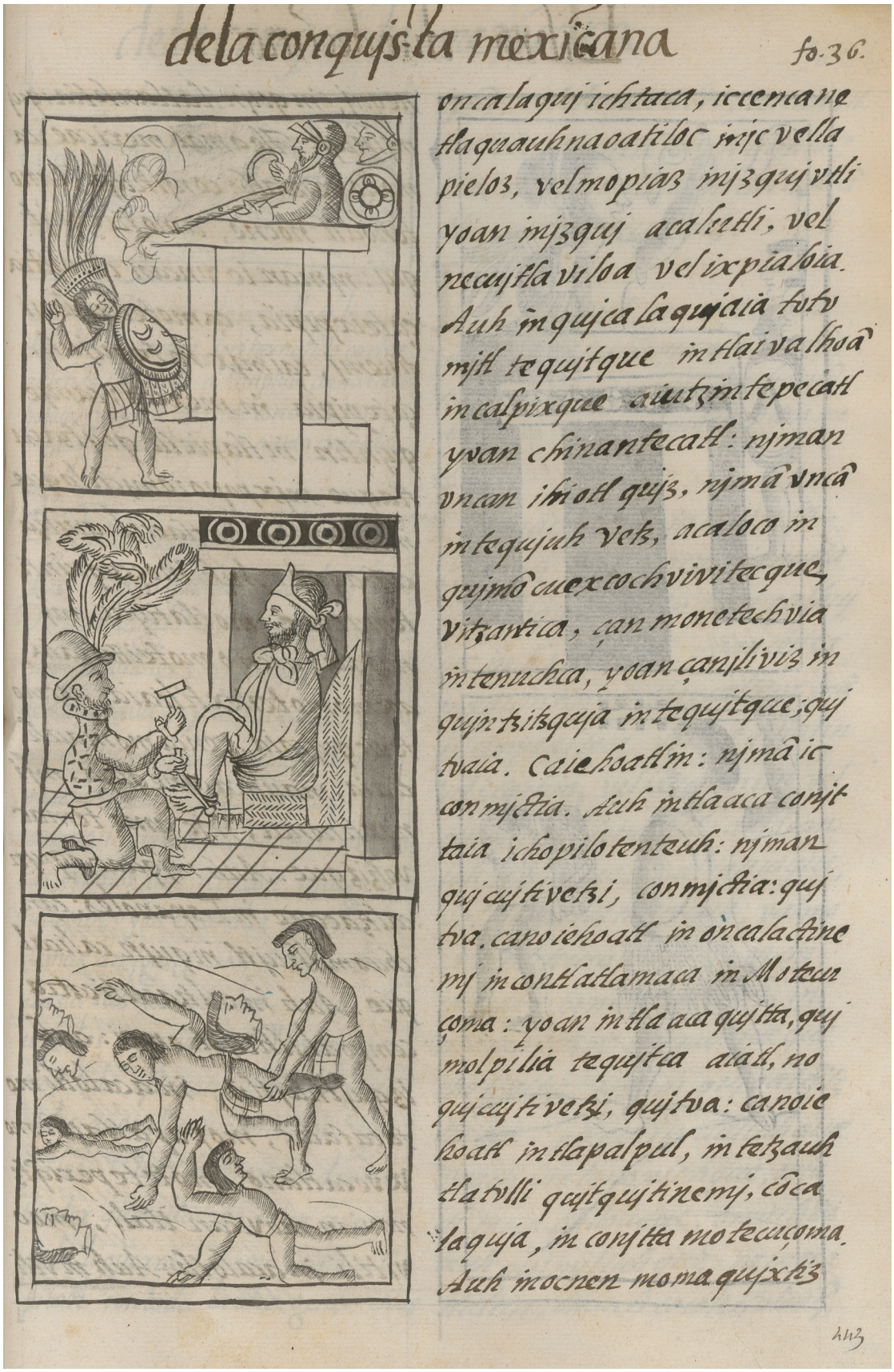


FIGURE 3.4. Top frame: *Mexica warrior wearing quetzal feathers. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 36r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

outfits belonged to two different manifestations of Quetzalcoatl. Twice, in chapters 2 and 3, the Nahuatl text associates the Spaniards' appearance with the return of the legendary *teotl* Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. In the next chapter the messengers attempt to dress up Cortés in the first outfit, and they lay the other three before him (fig. 3.5).[55] Cortés appears to wear some of the items in the corresponding image, but he continues to sport a European-style cap and ostrich feathers—not the quetzal-feather headdress associated with Quetzalcoatl, despite the fact that the Nahuatl text states the following: "They put on him the turquoise serpent mask attached to the quetzal-feather head fan, to which were fixed, from which hung the green-stone serpent earplugs."[56] Nahua sacred practices included deity "impersonators" called *teixiptla*, who would assume the attributes and *tonalli* of a *teotl* when they wore the regalia and accoutrements associated with that *teotl*, embodying and personifying—not simply impersonating—the specific deity. Often the *teixiptla* was offered ritually to the *teotl* as a sacrifice. Bassett considers the act of dressing Cortés in the garb of a *teotl* as a Mexica attempt to prepare him as a *teixiptla* for sacrifice.[57]

The Nahuatl text of Book 12 makes repeated, unambiguous references to Cortés as a *teotl*. Cortés is called "the *teotl*, the captain" (*in teutl in capitan*) and "our lord, the *teotl*" (*in totecuio in teutl*), and Spaniards in general are "the *teteo*, the Spaniards" (*in teteu in españoles*).[58] The Nahuatl text refers to individual Spaniards or the Spaniards as a group *seventeen* times with the word *teotl* or its plural form.[59] The term occurs throughout the book, including the last chapters. The Spanish column translates each reference as "god" or "gods" but only refers to "god" when *teotl* appears in the original Nahuatl. When Spaniards speak in the dialogue of the Nahuatl narrative, they never refer to themselves as *teotl* or gods or associate themselves with Quetzalcoatl's return.

As I have argued elsewhere, it is difficult to believe that Nahua men who remembered the war invented or imagined such specific references.[60] Some of the "elders" who contributed to Book 12 in 1555, who remembered the war, would have been old enough in 1520–1521 to have fought the Spaniards. Sahagún averred in the prologue to Book 12 that this history "was written at a time when those who took part in the very conquest were alive."[61] Sahagún refers twice in his brief prologue to the fact that the account is informed by witnesses to the war. Thus the claim that indigenous accounts of the war in Tenochtitlan were recorded several generations after the events, described by men who did not witness the events, does not apply to Book 12.[62]

FIGURE 3.5. *Mexica emissaries offer gifts to Cortés on his ship. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 8v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

The Nahua authors of the Nahuatl text of Book 12 used the same term, *teotl*, for deities to whom sacrificial victims were offered during the war: *in teouan catca*, "their former deities," suggesting that the authors no longer believed in those gods or that it was no longer acceptable

to speak of them in the present tense.[63] But the text does not refer to any Nahua person, even the highest-ranking lord, as *teotl*. The term used in reference to the Spaniards is attested in other contemporary Nahuatl sources, such as the Annals of Tlatelolco and the List of Rulers of Tlatelolco. The latter narrative refers to Cortés and the king of Spain as *teotl* and Spaniards as *teteo* thirteen times.[64] The Annals of Tlatelolco, which dates to the 1540s, employs the term twice in reference to Cortés as "teutl capitan" (*teotl* captain).[65] The same text also refers to native deities, such as Huitzilopochtli, and images of deities, as *teotl*. In the Codex Aubin, another mid-sixteenth-century Nahuatl source, Moteuczoma refers to Cortés in dialogue as *teotl* and uses the same word in the passage to refer to Huitzilopochtli.[66]

In his study of Book 12 and other Nahua accounts of the conquest, Lockhart concluded that "we are still far from an understanding of the semantic range of the Nahuatl word *teotl*."[67] The seminal works of Arild Hvidtfeldt and Richard Townsend, recent books by Molly Bassett and James Maffie, and Guilhem Olivier's chapter in this volume, to name only a few studies, bring us closer to comprehending the expansive semantic field of the concept, ranging from a sense of the fearsome and transformative to the venerable and divine.[68] Bassett argues convincingly why and how the concepts of *teotl* and *teixiptla* ("local embodiment") might have been applied to Cortés and the Spaniards.[69] A recognition of how frequently Nahua writers applied the word *teotl* to Spaniards in sixteenth-century texts and a systematic analysis of the concept have altered the terms of a debate as to whether Nahuas thought of Spaniards as "gods" in the initial contact period.[70]

In many ways Cortés lives up to Nahua expectations of a fearsome and powerful *teotl* in the narrative of Book 12. In the beginning, in his first encounter with the Mexica, he appears angry and volatile. He is disappointed with the symbolic gifts that the Mexica emissaries offer him. "Is this everything you have by way of greeting?" he asks.[71] Then he frightens the Mexica messengers by tying them up and firing the ship's cannon, forcing them to lose consciousness—to lose their *tonalli*. He then challenges the messengers to hand-to-hand combat. When they seek to avoid confrontation, Cortés insists that they must fight. He orders his men to feed the messengers so that they will be ready for combat. Cortés appears as a capricious and terrifying *teotl*. But then the fickle *teotl* changes his mind and sets them free, apparently, as there is no report of a fight, and the messengers hurry back to Tenochtitlan. Throughout the Nahuatl narrative, Cortés seems unrelenting in his thirst for power and wealth. In the very end, when Cortés and his forces have destroyed the city, he is not at all satisfied with the spoils of victory.

This vicious, fearsome side of Cortés and his men sheds light on a passage in another sixteenth-century Nahuatl source, the Annals of Quauhtitlan, which says that people regarded the Spaniards as *teteo* when they saw them because they thought that they were *tlatlacatecollo*, literally "owl-people," employing a term adopted by the friars for the devil, based on a Nahuatl term for a malevolent creature of the night.[72] In other words, they called the Spaniards *teteo* because they thought they were devils. The writer then referred to Quetzalcoatl as an example of a devil, making a clear connection between the Spaniards as *teteo* and Nahua deities such as Quetzalcoatl. Finally, the writer recounted, "[L]ater they called them Christians."

Book 12 contains another detailed description of feathers, also in reference to a *teotl*. In chapter 19, the Mexica create an image of Huitzilopochtli made of corn-amaranth dough for the Toxcatl feast. After shaping the dough into a *teixiptla*, or image of the deity in the form of a person, they place feather down and a hummingbird totem on the head, a feather arrangement called *anecuiutl*, a ball of parrot feathers at the back of his neck, a cloak feathered with eagle down, and a shield feathered with eagle down.[73] Huitzilopochtli was associated with the sun, *tonatiuh*, the source of *tonalli*.[74] Men and women who danced during the feast of Toxcatl wore brightly colored feathers on their arms and legs.[75]

In Book 12, Spaniards wear ostentatious ostrich feathers on their heads, especially when they begin to take control of Mexico, when they seize Moteuczoma and massacre people in the Teoithualco, "the sacred courtyard" in the ceremonial center of the *altepetl*, during the Toxcatl festival (see figs. 3.2 and 3.3). It is highly symbolic that the *teotl*-strangers dominate the Teoithualco. The Spaniard who claps leg irons on Moteuczoma after the outbreak of total war wears a billowing plume of feathers on his head that appears almost as long as his body.[76] As *tonalli* is associated with the head and hair, giant feathers worn on the head symbolize the heightened expression of one's *tonalli*.[77] This conspicuous display of feathers is not described in the alphabetic text (fig. 3.6).

The Florentine Codex artists employed images to con-

FIGURE 3.6. *Moteuczoma is bound in leg-irons by a feathered Spaniard. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 36r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 3.7. *First appearance of "Ironman" in the visual narrative, seizing Moteuczoma. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 26v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

vey some ideas that are not articulated in the alphabetic texts. One *tlacuilo* created an armored man wearing a helmet and an iron grid mask who is not described in either the Nahuatl or Spanish. He holds a lance and wears conspicuous feathers. Often, the feathers on his head crowd the top of the bounded frame in which he is drawn. I will call him "Ironman." Ironman appears for the first time in the visual narrative at a key moment: escorting Moteuczoma to his house arrest (fig. 3.7).[78] Ironman oversees the stripping of gold from shields and other feathered devices belonging to Moteuczoma's patrimony, which were taken from the sacred temple part of the palace named Teocalco ("place of the god house"), and then destroys those devices (fig. 3.8). After desecrating the Teocalco, he directs the melting of all the gold, called *teocuitlatl* in Nahuatl, literally "sacred/god excrement."[79] Ironman appears front and center when the Mexica lords are ordered to celebrate the Toxcatl festival, and then plays a leading role in the massacre (see fig. 3.3, middle frame). [80] At one point Ironman falls in battle and appears to have lost his lance *and* his feathers, if not his *tonalli*.[81] Furst observes that staggering and falling are signs of *tonalli* loss.[82] As Ironman falls, a Mexica warrior attacks the enemy with a spear or lance, perhaps Ironman's lance (fig. 3.9). This is one of the few colored images in the book, and, appropriately, the warrior wears large feathers that are painted a fiery yellow orange. But Ironman soon reappears on a horse, girding himself for war.[83] Next, Ironman and a feathered Spaniard throw the corpses of Moteuczoma and Itzquauhtzin, the ruler of Tlatelolco, into the waters of the lake (fig. 3.10).[84] Thus, Ironman presides over the seizure and death of Moteuczoma and the Toxcatl massacre. And he appears in subsequent images, lancing and killing people during the Spaniards' retreat from Tenochtitlan.[85]

The Nahuatl text alludes earlier in the narrative to the fact that the Spaniards wore iron, how some of them "came wearing iron all over, turned into iron beings, gleaming, so that they aroused great fear and were seen with fear and dread."[86] The Spaniards' shining armor must have astonished the Nahuas. The depiction of Ironman might refer to a particular Spaniard, or he might represent one artist's invention of a prototype that personifies the cold, steely side of the invaders. The Nahuatl text introduces a striking phrase soon after Ironman's first appearance, in reference to the fear and chaos that prevailed among the Mexica when they found out that the Spaniards had looted the palace complex and had seized Moteuczoma: "It was as though a beast were loose, as though it were the deep of night" (ça iuhquin tequani unca, ça iuhquin tlalli mictoc).[87] The "beast" in this Nahuatl phrase is *tequani*, literally "people-eater," but more accurately a wild beast or

FIGURE 3.8. *Ironman oversees the melting of gold from Moteuczoma's Teocalco. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 28. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

a cruel, malicious person.[88] It is the term used in Book 10 to describe the thief who beats and murders people treacherously.[89] Ironman personifies that deathly beast. He is the only person whose face is covered by a twisted iron mask. He is a scary, faceless, feathered, armored beast who is implicated in the Toxcatl massacre and the assassination of Mexica rulers.

One feathered image in Book 12 stands out as especially symbolic. Chapter 19 relates how Pedro de Alvarado ordered the Mexica to hold the Toxcatl ceremony.[90] The Spaniard who gives the order, presumably Alvarado, wears large feathers in his hat and bears a lance in a bellicose stance, his forefinger pointed to those whom he commands (fig. 3.11). His speech scroll is attached to a *feather*. What does the feathered speech scroll signify? The armed Spaniard appears to order three Mexica men to do something, and they respond by moving in the opposite direction. The subject of the order is revealed in the following frame, when Moteuczoma instructs people to organize the Toxcatl feast, flanked by Ironman and another lance-bearing Spaniard (fig. 3.12).[91] It seems likely that the artist constructed a homonym or logogram based on a Nahuatl word for feather, *ihuitl*, and feast, *ilhuitl*.[92] The artist drew a subtle sign that perhaps only Nahua eyes would have detected: that the Spaniards instructed the Mexica to celebrate the Toxcatl festival and then ambushed and massacred them. It was an unprovoked act of aggression, *the* cause of the war. Perhaps the feathered speech scroll also signifies a declaration of war, recalling the symbolic Mexica gesture of sending feathers to enemies whom they intended to attack, recorded by Durán. In any case, the text and images indicate that Spaniards ordered the

FIGURE 3.9. *Ironman falls, loses his feathers, and is overtaken by a Mexica warrior. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 34. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Mexica to celebrate the feast day, and that the Mexica did not request Alvarado's permission to stage the ceremony as a pretext for rebellion, as many Spanish writers claimed.

UNMISTAKABLE DIFFERENCES

The Nahuatl text and the images in Book 12 diverge in many significant ways from most Spanish accounts of the war. Francisco López de Gómara's history, for example, published in the same decade that the Nahuatl of Book 12 was first recorded, presents a very different view of the Toxcatl massacre and of many other events.[93] One significant difference involves the claim that Mexica rebels killed Moteuczoma. When the Spaniards were besieged in Tenochtitlan after the Toxcatl massacre, Cortés commanded Moteuczoma to pacify his people; the Mexica *tlatoani* and the ruler of Tlatelolco, Itzquauhtzin, addressed a mob from the roof of the palace. The Nahuatl text of Book 12 states that the rulers were protected and not injured when warriors threw stones and arrows at them. The translation repeats this claim, contradicting many Spanish histories that the rebels mortally wounded Moteuczoma. In the very next chapter, Spaniards throw the corpses of Moteuczoma and Itzquauhtzin into the lake (see fig. 3.10). The translation of this episode is terse. If the Nahua authors did not or could not explicitly say that Spaniards killed their leaders, they claimed instead that the rulers were unharmed and then died suddenly in their captors' custody. Whereas most Spanish writers attributed the war to rebels who committed treason by killing Moteuczoma and thereby rejecting the king of Spain, whose sovereignty the Mexica ruler had accepted, the Nahua authors insist that the Toxcatl massacre was the cause of the war and imply that Spaniards assassinated their leaders soon after the fighting began.

Diana Magaloni Kerpel noted a shift in the chapters dedicated to the war, in which the images are transformed from "clean line drawings" to "shadowy representations."[94] Toward the end of the manuscript, at least one different artist took over to depict the final battle scenes. The perspective is often aerial and distant; most of the characters are small and nondescript. The last five chapters (fols. 70–87) contain no images.

Almost all the images appear in the Spanish-language column. Lockhart's observation that the images "make up for the difference in length between the Spanish and Nahuatl versions" is especially true for the second half of the book.[95] Several pages in chapter 20, on the Toxcatl massacre, feature illustrations that are so large that they seem designed to plug gaping holes in the translation, filling up the entire Spanish column (see fig. 3.3, for example, one of many pages in Book 12 with no Spanish translation). Most of the images in Book 12 are in the second half of the work, after the pivotal encounter between Cortés and Moteuczoma in chapter 16. Of the 160 images in chapters 1–36, 116 appear in chapters 16–36. Images seem to substitute for translation when the narrative turns violent in chapter 16, when the Spaniards seize Moteuczoma. The last five chapters (37–41) contain many blank spaces in the Spanish column, including entire pages left blank on the left-hand side, indicating that more images were to be added. Sahagún and his team might have run out of time,

FIGURE 3.10. *Ironman and another feathered Spaniard dump Mexica leaders into the lake. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 40v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

under pressure to complete the manuscript. King Philip II issued a decree in 1577 prohibiting further writings on native history and religion and demanding that all manuscripts on the subject be sent immediately to Madrid.[96] However, I contend that the content of the narrative is another reason why the Spanish column contains so many blank spaces, lacking translation or image. In the end the Nahuatl prose paints a bleak picture. The desperate Mexica leaders surrender, dressed in ragged, dirty clothes. The Christians brand slaves on the face, carry women off, and sack the city as they search everywhere for gold. The smell of death and destruction fills the air.

The last chapter documents Cortés's insatiable thirst for gold, the Nahua leaders' exasperated reply, and a veiled Mexica plea for the Spaniards to leave Mexico now that they have conquered the city. When Cortés demands more gold, the Mexica lords suggest that the Spaniards already took everything. After some confusion, the *cihuacoatl* Tlacotzin responds in paradoxical terms, suggesting that maybe a commoner took it, or maybe a woman hid it under her skirt, and makes half-hearted promises that it will be found someday.[97] Finally, a leader named Ahuelitoctzin closes the chapter by describing how subject towns used to pay tribute to the Mexica. The last Nahuatl passage of Book 12 reads as follows:

> May the lord our lord, the Captain, pay heed. When Moteuczoma was still alive, when there was a conquest

FIGURE 3.11. *Spaniard orders Mexica to celebrate the Toxcatl festival, with a feathered speech scroll. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 29v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 3.12. *Ironman guards Moteuczoma, who commands people to comply with the Spaniards' order to celebrate the Toxcatl festival, before the massacre. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 30r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

> somewhere, the Mexica, the Tlatelolca, the Tepaneca, and the Acolhuaque all went together. All of us . . . moved together when we went to conquer, but when the [conquered] *altepetl* fell, then everyone came back, each one heading for his own *altepetl*. And afterward came the people of that *altepetl*, the ones conquered, bringing their tribute; they brought green-stone, gold, precious feathers, and other precious stones, turquoise, cotinga and spoonbill feathers, and they came and gave it to Moteuczoma. It arrived all together, all the tribute and gold arrived together in Tenochtitlan.[98]

Ahuelitoctzin seeks to explain how Mexica customs of war and tribute allowed each state time to deliver tribute and to maintain relative autonomy after surrender. His speech implies that the Spaniards violate these customs by demanding large quantities of gold on the spot, and by occupying the conquered city and using it as their new base of operations instead of returning to their own land. The Spanish translation of this passage conveys the thrust of Ahuelitoctzin's statement, but only the most astute Spanish reader would have comprehended its implications. Conversely, any Nahua who could remember the way things were before the war would have understood Ahuelitoctzin's statement. There was no mistaking the new for the old in this matter. Although the Mexica must have expected to pay tribute to the Spaniards after their defeat, according to their own custom, they could not have anticipated the new terms of payment, or that the Spaniards would occupy their *altepetl* and make it their capital. Ahuelitoctzin's speech suggests that Cortés and his men should leave, and that the Mexica will deliver the tribute to them, as was done in times past. But of course the Spaniards did not leave Mexico, and Book 12 ends abruptly and awkwardly, as if there were little more to say. By the time this account was written down in the mid-sixteenth cen-

tury, the consequences of the war were all too clear. Many things were not like they had been "when Moteuczoma was still alive."

Although the Spanish translation does not always follow or faithfully reproduce the Nahuatl text of Book 12, especially in the second part of the book, it cannot conceal the violence of the war. Most of the narrative of the Toxcatl massacre is not translated, but its vicious nature is apparent to the Spanish reader nonetheless. Unlike many Spanish histories that interpret the massacre as a preemptive strike to thwart a surreptitious rebellion, the translation of Book 12 simply repeats the Nahuatl assertion that the Spaniards "killed the leaders and warriors treacherously."[99] Sahagún himself acknowledges this fact. In the prologue to Book 9, the first book of the third and final volume of the manuscript, he wrote: "In Book 12 the wars when this land was conquered are dealt with as a thing horrible and contrary to human nature."[100] And in the prologue to Book 1, he compared the war to "the curse that Jeremiah, in the name of God, thundered upon Judea and Jerusalem."[101]

If Sahagún did little to alter the Nahuatl text of Book 12, however, he attempted to create another, entirely different version in 1585. He claimed that this later account was designed to correct "certain errors that were made" in the first version.[102] He cast the war in a Christian light and praised Cortés as an instrument of God's will. This version ends not with Cortés demanding gold, but with the good news of the coming of Jesus Christ. Whereas the Nahuatl text of Book 12 makes no mention of priests, saints, the Christian God, or Christianity in general, Sahagun's 1585 version abounds with Christian references. Apparently, Sahagún came to realize the problematic nature of the account that he had compiled, or he succumbed to pressure from peers and superiors who might have had access to versions of the manuscript. Sarah Cline concludes that Sahagún's second version responded to criticisms and debates within his own Franciscan order.[103]

The predictable nature of the 1585 version, written to defend Cortés and Christians from accusations of vice and violence, reinforces the unique value of Book 12. A select group of Nahua men used two graphic systems to record collective memories of the encounter and the war that did not seek favor from the king with claims of service and obedience, as did many other Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous accounts that were crafted to gain some advantage or relief in the colonial system.[104] Reading between the lines of Book 12 reveals how Nahua writers and artists succeeded in telling their side of the story in their own words and images.

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 1.

2. Miguel León-Portilla and Ángel María Garibay were the first to recognize the value of the original text, in *Visión de los vencidos* (León-Portilla 1959). This famous work has been reprinted dozens of times in multiple languages. The first English edition, titled *Broken Spears*, was published in 1962.

3. On the idea of the three texts, see Terraciano 2010. On the relation between image and text see Mitchell 1986, 1994. See Boone and Cummins 2012 for a discussion of "text" as a multivalent term applied to Mesoamerican and Andean alphabetic writings, visual images, and objects (esp. 158–159, 449–459). See Peterson 2017 for the application of the term to sixteenth-century Mexican murals.

4. For the most comprehensive study of the images in Book 12, see Magaloni Kerpel 2016.

5. See Magaloni Kerpel 2016, 32; and Peterson 1988, 279–280.

6. Arthur Anderson, Charles Dibble, and James Lockhart have made this study possible by transcribing and translating the Nahuatl text of Book 12 into English. Anderson and Dibble published their translation in 1975, as one of thirteen volumes (Sahagún 1950–1982), and again in 1978. In 1993, Lockhart published transcriptions and translations of both the Nahuatl and the Spanish texts in a volume on Nahuatl accounts of the conquest (Lockhart 1993). Lockhart's translation of both the Spanish and the Nahuatl texts brought my attention to the many differences between the two. When citing passages from Book 12 in this chapter, I refer to Lockhart's translation of the alphabetic texts, but I cite a facsimile of the original manuscript (Sahagún 1979) when referring to images and details related to the original manuscript.

7. Lockhart 1993, 82, 128.

8. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 12, 101.

9. Lockhart 1993, 133.

10. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:56.

11. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:55.

12. Lockhart 1993, 37.

13. I counted any new line in the Spanish and Nahuatl columns as a line, even if it contains only one word (or a partial word). I think that the Spanish is comparable to the Nahuatl text in terms of the length required to translate the original. When the translation follows the Nahuatl closely, the length of the two columns is more or less equivalent.

14. Lockhart 1993, 175.

15. Lockhart 1993, 175–176.

16. This is not the only place in the Florentine where the two texts differ entirely in content. Another prominent example of interpolation can be found in Book 11, chapter 13, where the first two sections on maize are replaced with a Spanish discourse on how the animals and foods of New Spain are different from those in Spain and a consideration of whether the Gospel had ever been preached in these regions. These columns neglect to translate two lengthy passages of Nahuatl text. See Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:96–99.

17. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 50–51.

18. Lockhart 1993, 90–91.

19. Lockhart 1993, 92–93.

20. Again, this is true for other books of the Florentine as well. In

Book 9, for example, large sections of the Spanish translation are omitted and were considered unnecessary, as many of the crafts described could still be observed in New Spain, according to Sahagún.

21. Lockhart 1993, 109.

22. Lockhart 1993, 127.

23. Lockhart 1993, 69.

24. At the same time, the detailed description of Huitzilopochtli's amaranth image in chapter 19 is left untranslated.

25. Lockhart 1993, 59; Sahagún 1950–1982, 2:69, and chapters 3, 4, and 12–14 of Book 3.

26. Lockhart 1993, 213, 187.

27. Lockhart 1993, 191.

28. Lockhart 1993, 96–99.

29. Lockhart 1993, 122–123.

30. Karttunen 1992, 204. Often written as *popoyotl*.

31. Lockhart 1993, 94. The term appears in the verb *tlaixpopoiomictilti*, "they were treacherously killed," employing a reduplicative form of the verb *poyo* or *poio*.

32. Lockhart 1993, 134. On p. 140, in the verb *quinpoiomictique*, "they killed them treacherously."

33. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:50.

34. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:94–95, 98–99.

35. See Magaloni Kerpel 2014 for a discussion of the elaborate process and skilled labor required to produce paints that were used in the manuscript, and how the epidemic that began in 1576 must have disrupted that labor-intensive process.

36. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 12, 101.

37. Magaloni Kerpel concluded that the images in Book 12 "have a visual structure that works independently from the text" (2004, 22).

38. For examples of Spaniards wearing large feathers, see Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fols. 23v, 26v, 28, 30, 33, 33v, 36, 39, 40v, 47v.

39. Lockhart 1993, 110.

40. Terraciano 2001, 36, 312; 2011, 60.

41. On the significance of feathers for the Aztecs, see Hajovsky 2015, 81–82.

42. Durán 1967, 1: chap. 11, para. 22, 116. Cited in Russo 2002, 231.

43. Durán 1994, 152, 76.

44. Mundy 2015, 53–56.

45. Furst 1995, 72–73, 137; Russo 2002, 230, 233. See the many excellent chapters on Mexican feathers in Russo, Wolf, and Fane 2015, especially Magaloni Kerpel's essay in that volume (pp. 364–377) on the divine essence of feathers. See also Caplan 2014 for an examination of philological and aesthetic associations between *tonalli* and feathers and gold, as shimmering and luminous media.

46. Hajovsky 2015.

47. Lockhart 1993, 200; Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 60v.

48. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 63.

49. Lockhart 1993, 238, 240.

50. Díaz del Castillo 1955, Bk. 2, chap. 20, p. 33.

51. Durán 1579, fols. 202, 207, 208v, 216v, 219v. Cortés appears to be the only Spaniard who wears feathers in these illustrations.

52. Lockhart 1993, 5.

53. Lockhart 1993, 62. See Bassett 2015, 30–39, on the symbolic importance of the gifts given to Cortés, including feathers; see also Russo 2002, 231–234, on the significance of feathers as gifts in the context of the encounter.

54. Lockhart 1993, 68, 72. In the Annals of Tlatelolco, toward the end of the war, leaders seek advice from the *teohua* of Huitzilopochtli, described as a keeper of the ritual calendar and "learned with papers, cutter of papers" (Lockhart 1993, 269). The reference to cutting papers likely refers to cutting paper images of natural deities, or *tlatecmeh*, a practice continued in the Huasteca today. See Sandstrom 1991, 260–279; Bassett 2015, 23–24; Bassett, chapter 9 of this volume.

55. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 8v.

56. Lockhart 1993, 72.

57. Bassett 2015, 43.

58. Lockhart 1993, 252, 244.

59. Lockhart 1993, 60, 68, 70, 78, 82, 86, 158, 166, 244, 252.

60. Terraciano 2010, 2014.

61. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 12, 101.

62. Some historians consider indigenous accounts of the war, written decades after the event, to be influenced by legend formation or myths, especially regarding how the Mexica initially viewed the Spaniards. Many scholars have not understood the timing of the writing of Book 12, however. Matthew Restall (2003, 96), for example, claims that Book 12 was "written down several generations after the events described."

63. Lockhart 1993, 214.

64. Terraciano 2014.

65. Lockhart 1993, 264, 268.

66. Lockhart 1993, 274–275.

67. Lockhart 1993, 20.

68. Hvidtfeldt 1958; R. Townsend 1979; Maffie 2014; Bassett 2015.

69. Bassett 2015, 27–88.

70. C. Townsend (2003, 659–687) and Restall (2003, 108–120), for example, reject the idea that the Nahuas thought of the Spaniards initially as "gods."

71. Lockhart 1993, 72.

72. Lockhart 1993, 281.

73. Lockhart 1993, 128; Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 31.

74. According to Durán, Huitzilopochtli was "el numen solar." Durán 1967, 2:580.

75. Durán 1967, 1: sec. 2, chap. 8, para. 9, 257.

76. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 36.

77. Furst 1995, 110, 126–128.

78. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 26v.

79. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 28.

80. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fols. 30, 33v.

81. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 34.

82. Furst 1995, 112.

83. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 38.

84. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 40v.

85. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 45v.

86. Lockhart 1993, 96.

87. Lockhart 1993, 124–126.

88. Molina 1977, fol. 104v (2nd num.). "Tequani. bestia fiera, o ponçoñosa, o persona brana y cruel."

89. Sahagún 1950–1982, 11:38–39.

90. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 29v. Actually, the Spanish text says Alvarado ordered the Mexica to perform the ceremony, whereas the Nahuatl text does not specify which Spaniard gave the order.

91. Sahagún 1979, 3: Bk. 12, fol. 30.

92. Molina's *Vocabulario* defines "pluma de ave" as *yhuitl* (Molina 1977, 96v, 1st num.) and "fiesta de guardar" as *ylhuitl* (fol. 62v, 1st num.). A single consonant (*l*) distinguishes the two words. On the Nahuatl side (2nd num.) *ilhuitl* is defined as "fiesta de guardar o qualquier dia dela semana" (fol. 37v) and *iuitl* is "pluma menuda" (fol. 44). The term for "feast" was also the general term for "day," as it is today in Huastecan Nahuatl. I thank Bas van Doesburg for suggesting this association between the two words.

93. López de Gómara 1997.

94. Magaloni Kerpel 2004, 243.
95. Lockhart 1993, 11.
96. Brading 1991, 120–121.
97. Lockhart 1993, 254.
98. Lockhart 1993, 254–255.
99. Lockhart 1993, 141.
100. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:71–72.
101. Sahagún 1950–1982, 1:47.
102. Sahagún 1989a, 25. In her introduction to the translation of this work Sarah Cline observed that the 1585 version advanced Spanish (and Tlaxcalan) perspectives that were not included in the original Book 12.
103. S. L. Cline in Sahagún 1989a, introduction.
104. See Wood 2003; Sousa and Terraciano 2002; and Matthew and Oudijk 2007 for examples of indigenous accounts that emphasize victory and alliance over defeat.

CHAPTER 4

The Art of War, the Working Class, and Snowfall

Reflections on the Assimilation of Western Aesthetics

PABLO ESCALANTE GONZALBO

European books and prints were in circulation and used as models throughout the sixteenth century in New Spain.[1] For the writers and artists who produced the Florentine Codex, the use of European printed sources was methodical, comprehensive, and exhaustive. The scholars working with Bernardino de Sahagún were highly educated; they had access to many books in the monastic libraries and also conducted library research in order to structure and enrich the contents of what became the Florentine Codex.[2] This practice was not the result of mere academic interest, but rather it was an essential part of the education and intercultural dialogue initiated by the friars in the Colegio de Tlatelolco, in the art and crafts schools, and, in general, in the monastic milieu, where Europeans and Indians mutually familiarized each other with their respective cultures.

Previously, I have pointed out the presence of several textual passages, in Spanish and Nahuatl, and among the images in the Florentine Codex, that were inspired by specific printed sources. Sometimes entire books were used as models, and their contents were influential in the construction of complete chapters in the codex; they offered solutions for dozens of illustrations and helped to structure the text.[3]

Such was the case of the book *Hortus sanitatis*, by Johann von Cube, which was used for the section on the animals in Book 11.[4] The reliance on such an encyclopedic European work also provided the Nahua contributors to the Florentine project with explanations and points of view from other authors whose work was quoted by Johann von Cube, such as Aisopos (Aesop), Aristoteles (Aristotle), Plinius (Pliny), San Epifanio, San Isidoro, Avicena, and Albertus Magnus. For example, when the Nahua writers of the Florentine Codex claim that the pelage taken from the forehead, nose, chest, and tail of the *ocelotl* strengthened the men who wore it,[5] they are most likely following the text in the *Hortus sanitatis*: "leonum virtus est in pectore, firmitas in capite et audaci in caudam" (the power of the lion is on his chest, his strength on the head, and boldness in his tail).[6] However, it should be kept in mind that even if native informants were following a passage in a European text, the notion that a jaguar (*ocelotl*) had special powers, and that it was possible to acquire those powers by wearing its skin, was also clearly present in Mesoamerican thought. Kings and priests used to wear such garments, and jaguar skins were used to cover royal thrones.[7] The confluence of meanings of both native and European concepts usually favored the acceptance of European symbols and narratives, seen as familiar and compatible. In fact, compatibility was the first condition in order to develop the syncretic project, which friars set up to link both cultures in contact. Such compatibility has been observed in the analysis of postconquest religion, as well as in art.[8] The association of themes and images of both traditions is produced on the basis of structural, functional, or symbolic resemblances that might not always be evident.[9]

Likewise, the information in the Florentine Codex about the *ocelotl* who dies with its eyes open[10] must come from Cube, who, speaking of the lion, says, "[D]ormiens apertos habet oculos" (when asleep his eyes are open).[11]

FIGURE 4.1A. *Decoration of altars with plants for the Aztec feast of Teotleco (Arrival of the Gods). Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 73r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 4.1B. *Hermes teaching Odysseus the secret of the moly plant. After an engraving from Andrea Alciato,* Emblems *(Guillielmo Rovillio, 1549). Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

This analogy between the lion and the *ocelotl* resembles those applied to the case of the rooster, the hen, and the turkey, when illustrated in the codex, following the *Hortus sanitatis*.[12] It makes sense that the turkey and the rooster, as poultry, were seen as equivalent. Two engravings of the *Hortus* represent something like everyday "life scenes" of the chicken family.[13] One of them is a scene of courtship, in which hen and rooster stand face to face; the other depicts a hen surrounded by her chicks. The artist of the Florentine Codex who illustrated this section made an exact reproduction of the European composition, replacing the chickens with turkeys.[14] As for the text, it is in the Spanish section where the expression "gallinas de esta tierra" (chickens of this land) was written, while the Nahuatl text uses the original name for turkey hen, *totollin*.[15]

Another European work that likely also influenced the contents of the Florentine manuscript was Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*.[16] We see traces of this book of emblems in the chapter dedicated to proverbs, in Book 6 of the Florentine Codex, as well as in several images with an allegorical and moral content. For example, in the chapter dedicated to the feast of Teotleco (Arrival of the Gods) in Book 2, in the preparation for the ritual, the altars were decorated with *acxóyatl*, clusters of bound branches (in clusters of three, either fir or reed, according to the Nahuatl), in order to receive the gods (fig. 4.1a).[17] The artist who illustrated this ceremonial episode must have been instructed by one of the Nahua scholars to use an illustration from Alciato's book, the one in which the god Hermes comes to Earth into the presence of Odysseus and teaches him the secret of the moly plant (fig. 4.1b).[18] In this comparison, the visual parallels include the waving cape, the joyful movement of bodies, and the figures' light feet that scarcely touch the ground. The encounter seems like a dance. The Nahua artist adopted the gestural language of the original image.[19]

Both episodes, the beginning of the Teotleco feast and the arrival of Hermes in the presence of Odysseus, treat the same basic theme: the descent of gods into the human world. The moly plant seems less relevant, since there is no direct connection between the meaning of the plant

boughs in both narratives: moly is a magic plant, provided with flowers, that was supposed to protect Odysseus from Circe, while *acxóyatl* was a display of branches to be placed as an offering. The breadth of intercultural communication that involves the transfer of classical culture, its rhetoric, and its mental images, has never been sufficiently insisted upon. The Florentine Codex demonstrates, better than any sixteenth-century artwork, how the Christianization of New Spain became a complex process of occidentalization that included the traditions of antiquity and those of the rich medieval and early Renaissance Spanish cultures. Gruzinski also addresses the traumatic nature of this process, the delicate problem of psychic breakdown in indigenous society.[20]

ORDINARY PEOPLE, WORKERS

The representation of ordinary things, everyday life and labor, became a new subject for native artists in sixteenth-century New Spain. For several Renaissance painters, such as Albrecht Dürer or Pieter Brueghel the Elder, the depiction of working processes, peasants, and ordinary events had been a matter of much interest. But it was probably the publications on various technologies that favored the presence of labor and working people as models for artists in the New World.[21]

Northern European artists of the sixteenth century, such as Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543) and Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550), developed almost a genre of representing peasants (fig. 4.2a). Even biblical scenes by Holbein emphasize aspects of technology and labor, including some compositions that seem to have influenced the Florentine Codex. For example, from the book of Ruth, the image of the young widow who gleaned what barley harvesters had left behind and Boaz (the landowner and future husband of Ruth) was certainly within the grasp of Sahagún's team of painters when they represented harvest scenes. The character kneeling in the scene designed by Hans Holbein is reminiscent of a farmer in Book 4 of the Florentine Codex.[22] But it is the figure of Ruth carrying freshly cut barley that shows a greater resemblance to a peasant of the same Book 4. The Nahua peasant in the Florentine embraces a bundle of amaranth.[23]

The majority of scenes of labor in Northern European prints evoke collectivities and cooperation. The joyful scenes of monthly feasts in engravings by Beham portray a humble community starving for distraction and

FIGURE 4.2A. *Peasant couple. After an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham. Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

FIGURE 4.2B. *"The Year's End." After an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham. Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

catharsis. With steps that appear to be part of a dance, Beham represents peasants in his allegorical treatments of the months of the year (fig. 4.2b).[24] Some illustrations in Books 1 through 4 of the Florentine Codex suggest familiarity with Beham's festive compositions. One of them in Book 1 portrays a group of fishermen arriving in the presence of their "patron" god, Opochtli.[25] The way in which all the men walk, almost prance, in a compact festive group rather than in a solemn procession strongly evokes the peasants by Beham, especially those in the fifth plate of the series.[26]

This similarity between festive village scenes by Beham and images in the Florentine Codex is further reinforced in an analysis of representations of a frightened man and a drunkard in the Florentine Codex. The image of a terrified man is part of the explanation of the fortune of the third day sign, *ce mázatl*, or One Deer, in the third chapter of Book 4 (fig. 4.3).[27] According to both the Spanish and the Nahuatl texts, *ce mázatl* was a good, propitious sign. However, people born under this sign could be easily frightened, and their constant fears could bring them other calamities; they were vulnerable to thunder and could drown easily when they bathed in water, when their eyes and fingernails could be torn out.[28] The Florentine Codex painting in figure 4.3 represents both the state of fear and the risk of drowning in water. The male figure is half submerged in water, and his upper body's pose and gestural language strongly resemble Beham's representation of some peasants, with the man's mouth wide open and his hand emphatically raised (see fig. 4.2a).[29]

FIGURE 4.3. *The fate of someone born on the day* ce mázatl, *or One Deer. Florentine Codex, Bk. 4, fol. 8v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

In the fifth chapter of Book 4, the same painter depicted a drunkard when representing the destiny of those born on the day sign *ome tochtli*, Two Rabbit (fig. 4.4).[30] In Nahuatl thought, the rabbit was associated with the moon and with the alcoholic beverage called pulque (*octli* in Nahuatl, fermented maguey juice). The day sign *ome tochtli* was disastrous, for they thought that on this date many drunkards were born. Spanish and Nahuatl texts in chapters 4 and 5 of Book 4 describe in detail the behavior of drunkards, who were considered transgressors and were subject to serious punishments, at least among Tezcocan, Mexica, and other Nahua peoples. In the illustration, the artist managed an interesting conflation of sources. Although the Nahua artist borrows the outfit of Dionysus,[31] a garland draped around his body and a lovely flowered crown on his head, for the gestural language he seems to have followed a composition very close to the representation of peasant festivals by Beham.[32] Notice the similarities between the drunkard in the Florentine Codex and the extroverted man in Beham's representation of December festivities (see figs. 4.2b and 4.4).

Some additional elements in the illustration in Book 4 correspond to the written description and some Nahua conceptions and ways of graphically depicting drunkards, like the falling flower, probably referring to the fact that drunkards are prone to shout and sing lustily or are associated with lewd or deviant behavior.[33] Also in figure 4.4, on either side of the drunkard, the open bowl and the jar with the overflowing beverage painted blue, the artist uses glyphic signs for water or liquid that are additional pictorial elements related to the ingestion of pulque in sixteenth-century paintings and codices.[34] Whether the patterns of gestural and social interaction that emerge from hundreds of European illustrations are in any way influential on the actual processes of transformation of labor and sociability is a question worthy of further examination.

I will discuss another possible influence of a Beham composition in the Florentine Codex, one that arrived indirectly and rather surprisingly as an illustration in a book on the ethnography of Scandinavia. But before addressing that case, I would like to examine the affinities in Book

FIGURE 4.4. *Representation of a man born on the day* ome tochtli, *or Two Rabbit. Florentine Codex, Bk. 4, fol. 11v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

12 from the Florentine Codex and some European works that might have served as formal and iconographic models.

THE CONQUEST

Book 12 is cosmopolitan and rich in many ways, including its diverse sources. Traces of other books, travel narratives, and histories of warfare can be seen in many of its pages. Some pictorial compositions, such as the lyrical image that adorns the frontispiece (fig. 4.5), seem to integrate elements from different sources. The fleet that passes through the rainbow to arrive at the shore was most probably derived from the popular atlas of the cities of the world known as *Civitates orbis terrarum* (fig. 4.6a).[35] Scenes of disembarkation were common in early modern paintings and prints. I have found striking similarities between Book 12's frontispiece and an illustration of a history of the war of Troy, circa 1440, attributed to Konrad von Würzburg (fig. 4.6b).[36] In the latter composition, notice the following analogous items: a man wearing a hat who organizes the disembarkation from the ship's deck, the unloading of bundles from the boat, a trunk and a chest (one with a rounded lid and the other flat and angled) already on the shore, and the image of a pig in the lower left corner. However, when one notices similarities with a manuscript whose presence in America is not likely, one has to assume that there were some copies and engravings that ultimately allowed for the diffusion of a specific composition. It is possible that some images of merchants who are trading goods while sitting next to bundles and piles of grain were also the source for aspects of Book 12's frontispiece. These would include the conversation of an indigenous messenger with doña Marina, the group of sitting Spaniards (one of whom is writing—a letter or inventory?), and especially the small hillock behind them.[37]

In trying to understand the multiple steps in the artistic process, scholars are still grappling with how and why native artists combined various elements to create the Florentine Codex compositions. Certain war scenes and allegories represented in Book 12 demonstrate the complexity of this creative process.

Several potential models include artworks and prints that were made in the middle of the sixteenth century to celebrate the victories of Emperor Charles against the alliance of Lutheran princes known as the Schmalkaldic League, and more specifically to record the Battle of Mühlberg (1547). An outstanding example is the print by the Italian artist Enea Vico celebrating the crossing of the river Elbe, first printed in Mantua in 1551.[38] The group of fusiliers in the Florentine Codex, drawn to represent the display of force made by Cortés before his entry into Tenochtitlan, is notably similar to that of Vico's print.[39]

Many other passages of that war were drawn and printed in subsequent years. The official chronicle of the war is the *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania hecha por Carlos V, máximo Emperador Romano, Rey de España, en el año de 1546–1547,* written by Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga and printed with many illustrations that seem to be related to the Florentine's Book 12 in several ways.[40] It is worth noting that scholars and painters of the Florentine Codex were familiar with a wide variety of allegorical and emblematic compositions, and they were also well aware of the exaltation of the Spanish monarch Charles as Holy Roman emperor, king of Jerusalem, and victor of the war against the Protestant league.[41]

We do not know which printed version of a copy of the famous 1548 painting by Titian, of Charles V after the Battle of Mühlberg, could have been seen by Mexican painters who developed the composition depicting the entrance of Hernando Cortés into Tenochtitlan (figs. 4.7 and 4.8). But it is difficult to believe that they did not have that royal image in mind when they portrayed Cortés as conqueror in a manner distinct from other representa-

FIGURE 4.5. *Frontispiece for Book 12, "The Conquest." Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, unpaginated. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

tions in the codex; notable parallels are his prancing horse and the brilliant helmet as well as Cortés's elegant beard. Beyond the similarities with Titian's composition, it is also striking to notice the allegorical implications of this image. In the Florentine Codex, Charles/Cortés enters Jerusalem/Tenochtitlan, with the crossed, juxtaposed spears creating the powerful Chi-Rho symbol, the labarum of Constantine (☧).[42] One of the many implications of this association is that Hernando Cortés was an alter ego of the king of Spain and an emulator of Constantine. The identification of Tenochtitlan with Jerusalem helped to reconcile pre-Columbian history with the biblical past, an intellectual maneuver frequently used by native Christians of New Spain who were actively involved in the culture of evangelization. The identification of Tenochtitlan with Jerusalem also established a parallel between the triumph of the Christian empire over the pagan Amerindians, and the desired triumph over the Turks in order to establish a Christian domain in the holy city of Palestine.

Battle scenes in Book 12 are influenced by different sources, such as the 1550 *Comentario* by Ávila y Zúñiga, on the Catholic war against the Schmalkaldic League, mentioned before. Prints and treatises on military strategy, which were abundant in early modern Europe and might have traveled to New Spain, might also have inspired some of the Florentine Codex images. Indeed, part of the *Comentario* is a graphic and written examination of warfare strategies. Such literature on the art of war appears both in books dedicated to that specific matter and in chapters of books of a more general nature.

I turn next to an unusual source that served as an inspiration for the Florentine Codex authors and artists—the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, written by Olaus Magnus, bishop of Uppsala, Sweden. Two editions were available to Franciscans in Mexico City, one in Latin, printed in 1555 in Rome, and a second edition in Italian, printed in 1565.[43] This history of the Scandinavian peoples by Olaus Magnus contains one of the composi-

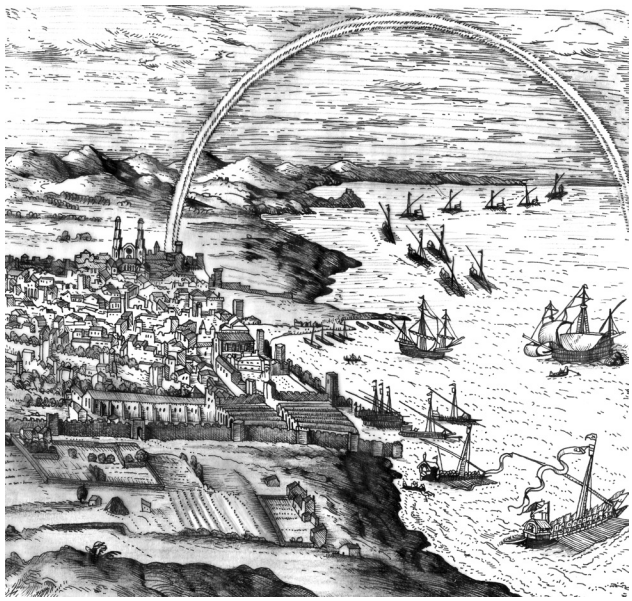


FIGURE 4.6A. *Scene of Barcelona. After an engraving in* Civitates orbis terrarum *(Cologne, 1572). Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

FIGURE 4.6B. *Loading ships. From a German manuscript on the history of the war of Troy by Konrad von Würzburg, ca. 1440. Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

FIGURE 4.7. *Entrance of Hernan Cortés into Tenochtitlan. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 54r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 4.8. *Anonymous. Lithograph of 1754, after Titian,* Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg, *1548. Oil on canvas (335 × 283 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid.*

tions by Hans Sebald Beham mentioned previously, that of Ruth in the harvest at the land of Boaz. The image was copied in Europe, taken out of its biblical context, and used to illustrate the subject of the variety of harvests in Scandinavia within an extensive ethnographical survey of the Northern European peoples. It is likely that the friars brought this treatise, on a culture that was seen as primitive and marginal, as a tool or a model (among many other books), with the express purpose of using it to study and write about the customs of Amerindian peoples. In Europe the work of Olaus Magnus had become an important source for writers and artists trying to represent the "other," whether human or beast. Certain images taken from the section on war strategy from the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* seem to have inspired compositions in Book 12 of the Florentine Codex.[44] These influences include the representation of cannons, the illustration of a city under siege by encircling it with scenes of warfare, or images of attacks carried out on water, with cannons supported by large rafts.[45]

In the first pages of Book 12 on the conquest, there is a somewhat bizarre representation of a group of Spaniards seated at a table, allegedly recounting their arrival in Veracruz in 1519 before they traveled to the central highlands (fig. 4.9).[46] They are receiving food and drink sent to them by the Aztec ruler, Moctezuma II. The composition of the scene, with interior and exterior sections, the table and the architectural setting, the curious hats of the Spaniards, provoke the question of not only what inspired the scholars and painters but also what could have been their ultimate intent when they decided to present this scene.

The Nahuatl narratives that accompany this illustration relate it as follows:[47] Moctezuma sent Cortés and his entourage a complex embassy of captains, all kinds of priests and sorcerers, slaves and servants. These messengers of the Mexica emperor presented some food to the Spaniards: turkey meat, eggs, and white tortillas. In front of the conquerors, the native priests sacrificed the slaves, dropping their blood over the food until everything was well soaked in blood. They did all this in order to determine whether the Spaniards were gods. According to the Nahuatl text, Moctezuma thought they were gods, took them for gods, and wanted to worship them as such. Accordingly, they were called *teteu ilhujcac vitze*, or "gods who arrived from heaven." The narrative ends by stating that after the shocking sacrificial episode, the Spaniards dined on white tortillas and other food, but without blood. Before going back to Mexico, the sorcerers tried to bewitch the conquerors, with no success.

There is a comparable image in the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* in which four men eat and drink at a table inside a room (fig. 4.10). The interior setting and their European dress and hats are similar to the Florentine's image of Cortés and his companions at the table in Veracruz. The fact that the Florentine Codex painters decided to retain the hats instead of switching them for helmets or other headdresses is probably related to the use of the hat as a mark of rank, which was an attribute of Spanish authorities frequently registered in native-style pictorial manuscripts of the sixteenth century.

It is important to note that the event discussed and depicted in the *Historia de gentibus* passage was directed at the quality of wine in Scandinavia, considered so inferior that they needed to import it from other countries.[48] In my experience, a print that is chosen as the model for a colonial composition is never used arbitrarily, ignoring its context and original meaning. Quite the opposite, the interest in analogizing Nahua and European cultures was

FIGURE 4.9. *Spaniards receive food sent by Moctezuma, consisting of tortillas covered with human blood. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 12v (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 4.10. *"On the poor quality of wine in Scandinavia and the need to import it." After a woodcut in* Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, *by Olaf Magnus (Venice, 1565). Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

part of the syncretic process in which indigenous artists and authors carefully considered the contexts and meanings of images that they used as models.

This is how I would explain the use of the print about Scandinavian wine from the *Historia de gentibus* by the Nahua artists of Book 12. The engraving offers an appropriate composition for the theme in a broad sense: a group of European people seated at a table. On the left-hand side of the image, beyond the doorway, a boat is moored at a dock, with a ramp for the unloading of merchandise. It seems that the European engraver tried to divide the composition into two different scenes: the importation of foreign wine, on the left, and its consumption, on the right; but these thematic and chronological divisions might be confused as spatial divisions, as the inside and outside of the same place, which seems to be the way in which Florentine Codex artists interpreted it. In point of fact, the whole episode of the Nahua-Spanish interchange took place by the seashore, in Veracruz. The emphasis in Olaus Magnus's narrative on the fact that Scandinavian wine was distasteful could have served as a point of comparison with the reaction of the conquistadores to the disgusting meal that was offered to them, bathed in sacrificial blood. Furthermore, it is possible that the neophytes who worked on the Florentine Codex might have associated blood with wine, as in the Eucharist. The Eucharist refers to the Christian ceremony commemorating the Last Supper of Christ, in which bread and wine are consecrated and consumed. The bread and wine are referred to as the body and the blood of Christ. The native scholars working with Sahagún spent many years figuring out the best ways to translate into Nahuatl and communicate to their fellow indigenous Christians concepts such as transubstantiation. For example, one liturgical verse reads, "[I]n tlascalli teunacatl omuchiuh: auh in vino, teueztli omuchiuh" (tortillas became divine flesh and wine became sacred blood), as recorded in Sahagún's *Psalmodia christiana* in the Nahuatl language.[49]

I have proposed several images from the work of Olaus Magnus that might have served as models for the development of the Florentine Codex. One was the scene alluding to Scandinavian crops (itself based on a biblical engraving by Beham), which seems to have informed Sahagun's artists in their making of the image of the harvest of amaranth, and perhaps other images in Book 4. Another example, from Book 12, is the representation of rafts and cannons, from a chapter on Scandinavian war strategy with instructions to lay siege to a city surrounded by water, which influenced some drawings of the siege of the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan. It also seems likely that the scene of the sacrificial feast offered to the Spaniards in Veracruz and also found in Book 12 was influenced by an engraving of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*.

I conclude by referring to another example of the reliance on and adaptation of European printed illustrations by the Florentine Codex painters. This example is especially compelling in that the peculiar composition makes it difficult to think of an alternative source: it is an illustration related to the representation of snow.

SNOWFALL

In the year of *chicome acatl* (Seven Reed), or 1447, there was so much snow that men in the Mexican central highlands died. This disaster is hard to imagine, considering the generally temperate weather in the area, but blizzard conditions are not impossible. Actually, the date perfectly matches one of the first dramatic decreases of temperature in the beginning of the "Little Ice Age." To represent snow and snowfall, conventions did exist in the pictographic language of Mixteca-Puebla codices, and in conservative or indigenous-style pictorial manuscripts of the 1540s, such as the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, where snow is represented by tiny dots that fill the pictorial field.[50] And there are even some representations of snow-covered

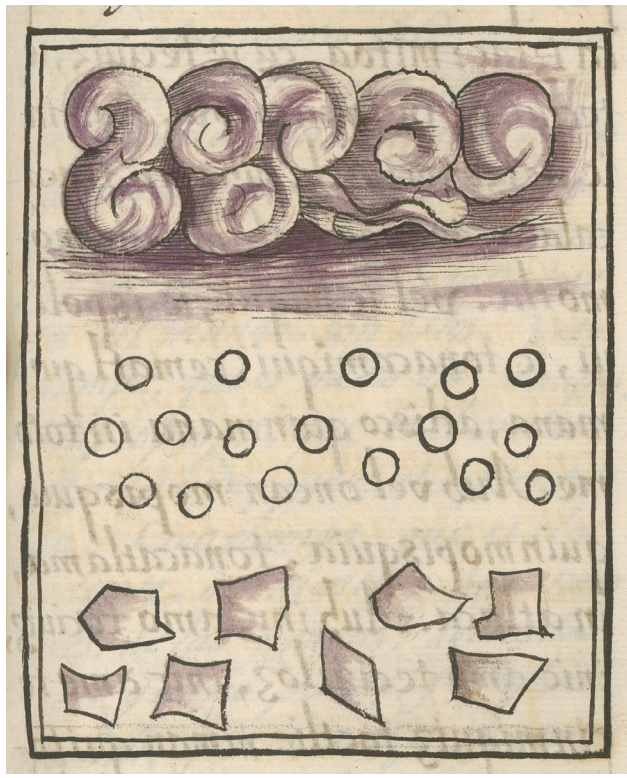


FIGURE 4.11A. *Representation of a cloud and snowflakes. Florentine Codex, Bk. 7, fol. 13r (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

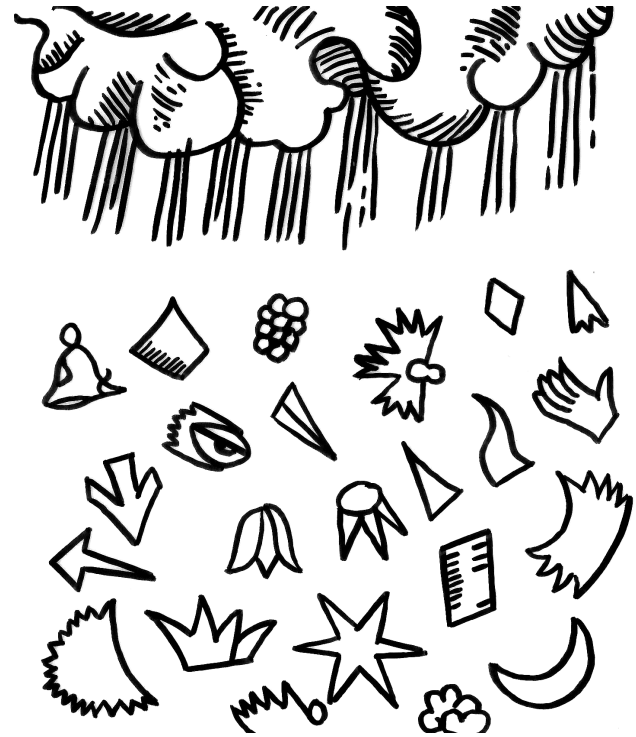


FIGURE 4.11B. *"A cloud and various forms of snowflakes." After a woodcut from* Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus, *by Olaf Magnus (Venice, 1565). Line drawing by Aban Flores.*

mountains in pre-Columbian manuscripts, such as the Codex Nuttall.[51]

In Book 7 of the Florentine Codex, dedicated to "astrology and natural philosophy," there is a section on ice, snow, and hail. A picture represents the clouds with the color purple, snowdrops underneath, and a group of irregular, almost geometrical shapes that are intended to represent configurations assumed to be snowflakes (fig. 4.11a).[52] The clouds, the snowfall, and the capricious, geometric shapes of snowflakes in the Florentine manuscript closely resemble those in the illustration used by the editor of Olaus Magnus to represent snowfall, within a long chapter on the harsh weather of Scandinavia (fig. 4.11b).[53] Illustrations in Book 7 are characterized by their departure from native visual traditions, since they follow European conventions for representing the sun, the moon, winds, clouds, and stars. Consistent with this pattern, the representation of snowfall moves away from native pictographic formulas as seen in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis and instead follows the European printed model. In doing so, the Florentine's illustration offers a detailed depiction of snowflakes that has no equivalent in the written text. A few Nahuatl sentences describe the snow as a servant of Cetl, the god of frost, and establish that snowfall was a prelude to good harvests. The Spanish text does not elaborate further on the issue.

CONCLUSIONS

The Florentine Codex is a bound book, written in two columns, with numbered pages. It is a type of research book, descriptive and analytical. Hence it belongs to the great bibliographical tradition of the West; it is related to the medieval encyclopedias and to the Renaissance treatises. In addition, the Florentine Codex exhibits detailed knowledge of various European texts. As other scholars have demonstrated, its illustrations show the use of several books printed in Europe between the late fifteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries. *Emblemata*, by Andrea Alciato, and Johan von Cube's *Hortus sanitatis* are two works whose influence I uncovered some years ago, both on the texts and

on the images of the Florentine Codex. One can also detect the influence of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* by Olaus Magnus, based on the evidence in this chapter.

But the Florentine Codex is also a Mexican "códice," a manuscript produced within the indigenous tradition in which traces of countless compositions, formulas, and symbols of the ancient pictographic repertoire can still be noted. Additionally, the Nahua authors' descriptions and written accounts often come from the indigenous oral tradition, and they are frequently mixed with European sources. For example, Mesoamerican narratives about animals, with all their mythological connotations, coexist with Aesop's fables in the sixteenth century.

The construction of the visual language of the manuscript is marked by this double identity. Columns, frames, and friezes correspond to the design of medieval illuminated manuscripts and some printed books of the modern era. At the same time, most of the images still show traces of indigenous pictographic conventions and color and design preferences. The presence of the ancient Mesoamerican tradition in the Florentine Codex manuscript and its images is due not only to their makers' memory but also to the use of various codices that were models and reference sources.[54] These sources would have included calendrical codices for divination, known as *tonalpohualli* (count of days), screenfolds and long strips of paper recording historical data, tribute records, and genres of which we have only indirect references, such as pictographs for the interpretation of dreams and storage inventories.

The Florentine Codex is a book that contains within itself many other books. In this masterpiece, we can see the interaction of two ancestral traditions. In particular, the images of the Florentine Codex provide a unique field to explore the oscillations of native artists between Western canons of representation and pre-Columbian ways.[55] We can appreciate the juxtapositions, analogies, and experimental syntheses that constituted the very core of dialogic culture in the first six decades of the colonial era.[56]

NOTES

1. Victoria 1986; Niedermeier 2002, 95–121; Escalante Gonzalbo 1998, 235–257; 2010.

2. Escalante Gonzalbo 2003.

3. Escalante Gonzalbo 1999, 2008, 2014.

4. There is evidence of Johann von Cube's book, *Hortus sanitatis* (Strasbourg: Mathias Apiarius, 1536), in the monastic libraries of Mexico. See Yhmoff Cabrera 1996, 1:458.

5. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 3v.

6. Cube 1536, fol. 24v.

7. Bassett, chapter 9 of this volume.

8. Gruzinski 1991, 234; Lupo 1996, 16–18.

9. Escalante Gonzalbo 2012, 312.

10. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 3v.

11. Cube 1536, fol. 25r.

12. Escalante Gonzalbo 1999, 57.

13. Cube 1536, fols. 43v, 44r.

14. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fols. 56v, 57r.

15. *Totollin* is translated as *gallina* in Molina (1970, fol. 150v).

16. While the only edition, which is kept in the National Library (UNAM, Mexico City), was published in 1591 by the Plantin Press in Antwerp, we have evidence of the presence of the book in 1559 in the school of San José de los Naturales, in the Franciscan monastery of Mexico City. Yhmoff Cabrera 1996, 51–52.

17. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 2, fol. 73r; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 127–128.

18. Alciato 1975 (1549), 215.

19. Escalante Gonzalbo 2014, 163–165.

20. Gruzinski 2002, 45–51, 62–63.

21. Among the books in which workers are represented: Biringucci 1990; Agricola 1950; and Amman 1970. On the influence of Jost Amman's publication on Florentine Codex artists, see Peterson 2003, 223–253.

22. Holbein 1538. For a single-sheet print, see Hans Holbein, *Boaz ontmoet Ruth bij de oogst van gerst* (1538, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 72r.

23. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 72v.

24. *The Peasants' Feast; Twelve Months* (1546–1547, Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

25. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, appendix, fol. 39r.

26. Beham, *The Peasants' Feast; Twelve Months*, fifth plate, "Egidivs Herbstmon and Simon Weinmon."

27. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 8v.

28. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 8r. It was said that the *ahuítzotl* (a malicious dog that lived in the water) removed the eyes and nails of those who drowned in his domains (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 71r).

29. Engraving, "Peasant Couple Walking to the Left" (ca. 1537), from *Procession of the Newlyweds* of Hans Sebald Beham, in Koch 1978, 100.

30. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 11v.

31. As can be seen in several artworks. In figure 4.4, the artist used a sixteenth-century engraving, commented on and reproduced in a recent edition of Diepenbeeck and Picart Le Romain (1990).

32. Engraving, "The Year's End" (ca. 1546), from *The Country Wedding* of Hans Sebald Beham, in Koch 1978, 93.

33. See Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume.

34. On iconographic parallels between this Florentine Codex image, the Codex Mendoza, and a moralizing mural on drunkeness in the sixteenth-century *visita* chapel of Santa María Xoxoteco, see Peterson 1995, 14–35.

35. This wonderful rainbow scene is a view of the port of Barcelona in the 1572 edition of the *Civitates orbis terrarum* project. Braun and Hogenberg 2008 (1572).

36. Cardini 1989, 86.

37. See images of traders from German and Italian sources in Cardini 1989, 87.

38. There is an original print at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *The Army of Charles V Crossing the Elbe River*.

39. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fol. 23r.

40. Ávila y Zúñiga 1550.

41. Indigenous people knew about the prestige of Charles V as Christian emperor and his participation in battles. The earliest information we have refers to the theatrical representation or "auto" of the conquest of Jerusalem, held in Tlaxcala in 1538; during the re-creation of the battle, the banner of Charles V was placed on top of a building that represented Jerusalem. This *auto-de-fé* was staged many times throughout the sixteenth century. Escalante Gonzalbo 2001, 82–83. The victorious image of Charles V was also exalted in the obsequies (1554), a project and performance in which native artists and authorities of central Mexico were involved, especially those of the workshop of San José de los Naturales. Native authorities of at least Mexico, Tlaxcala, and Tetzcoco were present. Escalante Gonzalbo 2008, 16–17.

42. The emblem of Constantine is composed of an X-shaped character (chi) and a superimposed P-shaped character (rho). Its appearance came at night, before the last battle of Constantine against the army of Maxentius. Lactantius says that "Constantine was warned in a dream to engrave the celestial sign of God on the shield. He put into practice what he had been ordered and, by rotating the letter X with its upper end bent in a circle, he recorded the name of Christ in the shields." Lactantius 1982, 189–190. See also Cesarea 1994, 28–29. From that time, the emblem of Constantine became the banner of the triumph of the Catholic religion over paganism. Soler Frost 2013, 93.

43. Editors' note: The Latin 1555 edition was in the Tlatelolco library (currently in the Sutro Library), and the Italian copy published in Venice made its way to the primary Franciscan monastery in Mexico City (San Francisco de México). Both editions have copious images, with some discrepancies between the woodcuts.

44. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fol. 56r.

45. Magnus 1565, fol. 112v.

46. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fol. 12v.

47. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fols. 12r–13r.

48. Magnus 1565, fol. 159r.

49. Sahagún, "Corpus Christi, Third Psalm," in Sahagún 1993a, 172–173.

50. Quiñones Keber 1995, fol. 32r.

51. Anders, Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez 1992, fol. 11r.

52. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, fol. 13r.

53. Magnus 1565, fol. 13v.

54. Boone, chapter 6 of this volume; Quiñones Keber, chapter 5 of this volume.

55. Escalante Gonzalbo 2006, 341.

56. An interesting issue that I will address in the future is the fact that many of the "naturalistic" representations in the Florentine Codex, such as those of battles and the court, are ultimately representations of the inexistent, as expressed by Theodor Adorno (2004, 22, 30) in reference to Mannerist art. Thus, the forces of oscillation occur within that "interior territory" where reality expresses itself sublimated.

PART II

LORDS ROYAL AND SACRED

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CHAPTER 5

Surviving Conquest

Depicting Aztec Deities in Sahagún's Historia

ELOISE QUIÑONES KEBER

The developmental stages of the encyclopedic compilation of contact-period Nahua culture, early if variously cited as the *Historia general [universal] de las cosas de Nueva España*,[1] remarkably survive in voluminous drafts and revisions. Among these are two illustrated manuscripts that can be regarded as final clean copies produced about twenty years apart, titled in more recent times the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex. In Bernardino de Sahagún's narrative of the origin and trajectory of the overall *Historia* project,[2] written in Spanish in the prologues that precede each book of the Florentine Codex, modifications and informational gaps are apparent.[3] These observations have drawn attention to the project's evolving contents, successive reorganizations, and excision of previously planned sections. Also pertinent to this study is Sahagún's failure to mention any painters involved in the production of the *Historia*'s final manuscripts or the planning of any images for them.

My subject focuses on a particular facet of these changes: the shifting delineation of Aztec deities in the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex.[4] I begin by examining the prologues to bring to the fore the reworking of the *Historia* material in relation to indigenous images. Next, I analyze the differing representations of the deities as they appear in the images and texts of the two manuscripts to assess the alterations that occurred from one to the other.[5] I also speculate on why the Florentine Codex contained such a profusion of images, who might have painted them, and why. I conclude with a proposal about the impact of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan–Mexico City on the final iteration of the *Historia* project and its images and artists.

Indigenous religion, with its numerous deities and their associated rituals, understandably drew the attention of missionaries because of their evangelical mission to eradicate idolatry in New Spain. Pursuing information about such subjects at the very time that deity images were being destroyed as idolatrous was a risky undertaking that calls for an explanation today as it did in the sixteenth century. This contentious subject continues to attract the attention of present-day scholars who probe the various aspects of indigenous religion and its manifold connections with the salient aspects of Nahua culture.[6]

A brief comparison of those sections devoted to indigenous religion reveals the expansion of material from the *Primeros memoriales* to the Florentine Codex.[7] "Rituals and Gods" is the title of the first of the four chapters of the *Primeros memoriales*, which contrasts with Books 1 ("The Gods"), 2 ("The Ceremonies"), 3 ("The Origin of the Gods"), and 4 and 5 ("The Soothsayers and the Omens") that comprise the first five of the twelve books of the Florentine Codex.[8] Moreover, as Guilhem Olivier points out,[9] the gods also appear throughout the other books, a ubiquity that no doubt corresponded to their pivotal roles in the everyday life of the inhabitants of Aztec Mexico.

WHAT DO THE PROLOGUES REVEAL ABOUT THE *HISTORIA* PROJECT AND NATIVE PICTORIAL SOURCES?

The prologues to the first two books of the Florentine Codex emerge as the foremost sources for learning about the *Historia* project. It is here that Sahagún articulates his rationale for undertaking the venture, based on his dismay that idolatry persisted in Mexico after decades of evangelization. He believed that it could not be effectively eradicated and durably replaced by Christianity unless his fellow missionaries could recognize the extent of its religious expressions.[10] At the same time, as a missionary dedicated to the extirpation of idolatrous practices, Sahagún was obliged to deal with these matters judiciously, for such a perilous project demanded forceful oversight. At times it drew censure in royal, pontifical, and ecclesiastical pronouncements from the Vatican, Spain, and New Spain, and closer to home from fellow Franciscans.

As has long been recognized, the prologues provide critical details about the innovative research procedures Sahagún inaugurated in the town of Tepepulco with the indispensable assistance of his team of indigenous collaborators.[11] First among them were named Acolhua elders and leaders, who undoubtedly had received an intensive education in the local pre-Hispanic *calmecac*, the school that had educated elite males. These survivors of the conquest preserved an unparalleled knowledge about their culture, a deep familiarity with the pictorial and oral traditions that encoded it, and a unique store of personal experiences and memories that straddled critical years from the ancient preconquest order through the turmoil of the conquest to a negotiated postconquest existence under foreign domination.

Their partners in processing the data collected were highly educated and multilingual former students, again identified, of the *colegio* that adjoined the Franciscan *convento* of Santiago Tlatelolco.[12] As scholars and denizens of two worlds, these collegians served as bicultural intermediaries by recording the information the elders supplied in pictures and in added verbal explanations, thus preserving their knowledge in the transliterated form of written Nahuatl. Scribes, also named, wrote the final texts for the clean copy of this research, now called the *Primeros memoriales*.[13] It is thus surprising that neither painters nor the included images are mentioned,[14] yet this manuscript contains an already sizable 545 images, while the later Florentine Codex would boast an extraordinary 1,855.[15]

Thus, while the prologues offer a starting point for probing the question of what use was made of native pictorial materials, nothing is said about how the elicited pictorial sources were preserved in the final form of either manuscript. This omission challenges us to search out a rationale for the overwhelming number of images that ultimately appeared in the two clean copies and the possible identities of the anonymous artists who painted them.

Prologue to Book 1, "The Gods"

In the prologue to Book 1, Sahagún relates that in 1569 a "clean copy" of twelve books included only a completed Nahuatl column and a completed grammar and vocabulary that were part of an appendix that was later discarded in the subsequent Florentine Codex.[16] Two planned columns, a Spanish translation of the Nahuatl text and a scholia (glossary) were also omitted and would never be produced.[17] The contents of this now lost "clean copy" were thus still in flux, with no indication of an intent to include images. About a decade later, a bilingual version called the Enríquez manuscript, sent to Spain in 1578 and now lost, also lacked any reference to images.[18] A brief mention of images appears only retrospectively in 1585 in Sahagún's reference to a well-illustrated manuscript sent to Spain in 1580, generally considered to be the Florentine Codex.[19]

A rare passage in this prologue does, however, report the survival of "ancient paintings" that told of the fabled city of Tula.[20] This pre-Hispanic manuscript might have been a local relic, for Tula and Tepepulco are located in the same vicinity. What Sahagún's statement indicates is that not only were preconquest manuscript paintings still in existence about 1560, but the friar recognized their value as historical sources.

One of Sahagún's interpolations, this one negatively referring to native pictography, appears in an appendix to Book 1. Directly addressing native peoples, he deplores the confusion and idolatry found in their ancient picture writings and in images of the gods made of stone, wood, and gold. Even as he praises the indigenous painters' "marvelous" representations, he expresses regret that they, too, led to the worship of idols.[21]

Prologue to Book 2, "The Ceremonies"

A well-known passage in the prologue to Book 2 supplies additional information about the way the Tepepulco elders conveyed their knowledge, for here Sahagún specifies that

all topics were obtained from "pictures" because that was "the writing" used in ancient times.[22] The *colegio*-trained assistants then placed the elders' additional verbal explanations below the paintings.[23] His words indicate that the "pictures" were likely native manuscripts, parts of them, or copies thereof. It is also possible that the assistants themselves drew images based on verbal descriptions supplied by the elders. This valuable passage indicates that a combination of ancient paintings, oral tradition, and the recall of trained memories produced the information obtained in Tepepulco, but it does not specify how it was pictorially incorporated into the final manuscript.

Prologue to Book 3, "The Origin of the Gods"

In the short prologues to Books 3 through 5, Sahagún changes his focus to their contents. Ambitiously titled "The Origin of the Gods," Book 3 treats only three male gods, Huitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipoca, and Quetzalcoatl, and the birth of only the first, with information likely deriving from the narratives of mythic or legendary tales that had been preserved in oral tradition.[24] Because passages in Book 3 shed some light on the use of pictorial sources, they are also briefly considered here.

Chapter 1 tells the story of Huitzilopochtli, accompanied by four narrative scenes. Three vignettes depict him in his full traditional attire and one in abbreviated array; two relate to his mythical birth, while two others show what appears to be an *ixiptla* (a deity's human embodiment or "impersonator") or a priest of his cult. Here Huitzilopochtli's figure is based on his image in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex with slight modifications, which itself was copied from the *Primeros memoriales* with modifications. A short chapter 2 relates episodes from the story of Tezcatlipoca (called here Titlacaun, among other names), with only one vignette showing an *ixiptla* of the god being honored, which bears no resemblance to his image in Book 1. The remaining chapters of Book 3 provide a lengthy narrative about Quetzalcoatl that likely stemmed from the same "ancient paintings" about the Toltecs of Tula mentioned in the first prologue. They feature eleven scenes, three showing Quetzalcoatl in the attire of the god in Book 1, a modified copy of his *Primeros memoriales* image.

The pictorial vignettes that first appear in chapter 2 of the *Primeros memoriales* (as discussed later in this chapter) represent postconquest inventions of the Florentine Codex artists, since this type of depiction does not occur in preconquest Aztec pictography. Stylistically, they also reflect compositional adaptations derived from European sources, such as readily available paintings and prints in New Spain, or, as noted, they might also have been based on verbal descriptions.

The saga of Quetzalcoatl appears again in the prologue to Book 8, "Kings and Lords," and Book 10, "The People."[25] The Quetzalcoatl-related Tula paintings thus present a rare and remarkable example of how a single pictorial source was likely used for both images and texts in several books of the Florentine Codex. They provide evidence that a type of manuscript dealing with episodes in the myth or legend of a personage, here Quetzalcoatl, existed in pre-Hispanic times and would have been utilized as mnemonic springboards for recitations or dramatizations of his exploits, or practices related to his cult. López Austin additionally proposes that other sources for the three gods might have been based on song, stories, or other literary forms that the elders would have learned in the *calmecac*.[26]

Prologue to Book 4, "The Soothsayers"

In the prologue to Book 4, Sahagún condemns the astrology of ancient Mexico as "a necromantic craft or a pact and invention of the devil."[27] He avoids using the term *tonalamatl* (book of days), although Book 4's contents clearly derived from a native *tonalamatl*, a pictorial arrangement of the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli* (count of days) that in central Mexico took the form of twenty thirteen-day periods (*trecenas* in Spanish).[28] Considered a diviner's almanac or handbook, its purpose was to align an individual's activities with the will of the gods by determining the most favorable day on which to undertake a particular action (e.g., birth, marriage, travel, war, agriculture). Each *trecena* panel contained numerous images that embodied potent divinatory forces for that period. These included thirteen numbered day signs, whose combination reflected their dual mantic energy; one or two deity "patrons," whose large size in each panel reflected the immense divinatory power they exerted over that period; thirteen rotating "day lords"; nine rotating "night lords"; and a rotating series of flying creatures with their own influence. Since the twenty day signs changed with each *trecena*, so did the pictorial components of each of the following days.

The diviner's challenging task of calculating a final prognostication for a particular day therefore consisted of weighing the changing mantic charges of that day's multiple images. Since depicting ancient deities and other

supernaturals as part of a divinatory practice would have placed the *tonalamatl* in the realm of idolatry, Sahagún chose to treat this perilous subject in Books 4 and 5 very cautiously. By obliterating the *tonalamatl*'s many visual divinatory components, Sahagún avoided dealing with the thorny subject of soothsaying. Instead, he drastically shrank the myriad individual images to only one type, a calendrical day sign, using it to foretell a newborn's attributes, with its destiny based on the day and hour of its birth, and its name. These were bestowed as part of a cleansing and naming ritual painted in newly composed vignettes.[29] He thus reconceived the native ceremony as one that resembled Christian baptism and could be utilized for evangelical purposes. In the appendix of Book 4 this radically reductive view appears in two charts that display only the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli*.[30] As the *tonalamatl* was the only type of pre-Hispanic manuscript to feature a systematic array of fully attired deities, avoidance of its images also eliminated the only available pre-Hispanic pictorial source for depicting a sizable group of Aztec deities in the postconquest period.[31]

COMPARING DEPICTIONS OF AZTEC DEITIES IN THE *PRIMEROS MEMORIALES* AND THE FLORENTINE CODEX

Primeros Memoriales, *Chapter 1, "Rituals and Gods"*

Chapter 1 of the *Primeros memoriales*, "Rituals and Gods," contains the manuscript's most concentrated treatment of these subjects in two well-illustrated paragraphs. Paragraph 2A, on festivities of the gods, correlates with the Florentine Codex's Book 2, "The Ceremonies"; and paragraph 5A, detailing how the gods were arrayed, correlates with the Florentine's Book 1, "The Gods." The *Primeros memoriales* thus prioritizes ritual, which occupies most of the fourteen paragraphs of the first chapter. This arrangement indicates that the gathering of information commenced by first considering the overall structure of the intricately organized Aztec ceremonial system within which the deities played a prescribed part. Their ceremonial roles appear in paragraph 2A (paragraph 1 is missing), in the annual cycle of eighteen lavish public ceremonies of twenty days each (*veintenas* in Spanish) that involved a broad spectrum of activities throughout the year, with each one dedicated to specific deities. Because treating all the deities involved would encompass a volume of its own, for comparative purposes I focus on only one, the preeminent maize goddess Chicomecoatl (Seven Serpent).

Primeros Memoriales, *the Feast of Hueytozoztli, and the Maize Gods*

The standardized format used for the eighteen festivities of the gods economically shows two quasi columns that pair a Nahuatl description with a selection of the many activities that took place during each period. Figure 5.1 shows one of the three folios that display the *veintenas*, with the uppermost framed scene on the right pictorializing and the text on the left describing the major events of Hueytozoztli (the Great Vigil) that honored the maize gods. At the top left of the framed image, a quadrangular enclosure represents a maize field, within which a seated figure holding a maize stalk and a rubber-spattered banner typical of rain gods faces three *tlaloque* (minor rain god figures), here abbreviated to only heads. Below are two small temples, one containing food offerings. At the top right, four females join hands in a celebratory dance, while below them, two other females walk toward a large temple festooned at the top with a maize stalk and several cobs. One female bears a maize stalk on her back, while the other, an *ixiptla* of a female maize goddess, with face, arms, and legs painted red, holds double maize cobs. To their right, two priests, their bodies painted black and one holding a sacrificial knife, also approach the temple, where the repeated image of the *ixiptla* of the maize deity meets her sacrificial fate, as indicated by a blood-smeared costume.

The short Nahuatl text describes Hueytozoztli as a celebration of the maize plant that was also called the "Taking of the God of Maize."[32] It relates that in maize fields everywhere people took stalks of maize home to make offerings. On the following day, maidens carried the maize cobs on their backs and deposited them in the temple of Chicomecoatl, also called the place of Centeotl (Maize Cob Lord), a male maize deity.

From the viewpoint of the elders of Tepepulco who described this feast, this *veintena* celebrated the maize cycle of this basic staple as critical to the sustenance of the community, with three maize gods associated with different developmental stages of the plant. The corner field recalls the beneficent effect of the rain god Tlaloc and his assistants on the ripening maize. The populace then participated by detaching tender green stalks and honoring them in their homes. Maize cobs deposited in the temple

FIGURE 5.1. *Festivities of the gods.* Top, *ceremony of Hueytozoztli.* Primeros memoriales, *fol. 250v.* *Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid.* © *Patrimonio Nacional, España.*

of Chicomecoatl were placed under the efficacious care of the male maize god Centeotl, who oversaw the drying out of the kernels that would in turn become seeds to be resown in the maize field. The two female *ixiptla* figures likely represent the young maize goddess Xilonen (from *xilotl*, or tender ear of green maize), who is the first sacrificed, while Chicomecoatl, the goddess of the mature maize plant, awaits her own sacrifice at the appropriate time. Jiménez Moreno viewed the event primarily as a celebration of the green stalk of the tender maize, which culminated in the sacrifice of Xilonen.[33]

If, as some scholars hold, depictions of the *veintena* cycle were not painted in native manuscripts but were a postconquest invention, the gathering of information from the memories of the Tepepulco elders would have played a significant role in the novel depictions created for the *Primeros memoriales*. In their youth the elders would likely have observed or even participated in the many events, and would have retained vivid memories from which they drew their verbal descriptions. The *Primeros memoriales* artists would thus have devised a new type of ritual depiction to match the narrated events, the aforementioned vignettes, and the collegians for their part would have recalled European sources that featured complex multifigural compositions arranged within a framed pictorial stage.

Primeros Memoriales, *Paragraph 2B, The Feast of Atamalcualiztli*

This following paragraph represents another type of ceremony, the exuberant feast of Atamalcualiztli (Eating of Water Tamales) (fig. 5.2), which also informs us about the depiction of deities. It commemorates the completion of an eight-year Venus cycle and shows a rare example of an assembly of deity impersonators costumed in the attire of several gods, among them Chicomecoatl. It occupies one of only two full-page paintings in the manuscript, accompanied by a long, detailed description. The pictorial and textual attention to the feast no doubt reflects its importance to the Tepepulco community and the abundant information provided verbally by the elders. Atamalcualiztli included dancing, processions, and food offerings, highlighted by the consumption of maize in a variety of differently seasoned tamales. The religious context of the lively celebration is emphasized by items shown along the central axis of the scene: a temple pyramid at the top; below it, a stepped platform in a temple courtyard; and beneath that, a large flowering maize plant. The costumes of the gods scattered across the picture plane later reappear in the individual deity depictions of paragraph 5A. Chicomecoatl, at the lower right, can be recognized by the two red maize cobs she carries and the red facial coloration typical of fertility deities. In contrast, the populace appears in inventive costumes of birds, flying insects, and other picturesque disguises. This festive scene is also significant for informing us that individuals who ritually impersonated the gods wore accurate replicas of their attire on ceremonial occasions, as further indicated in the next section.

Primeros Memoriales, *Paragraph 4, Those Who Served in the Temples*

This paragraph is important for the light it sheds on the multiple duties carried out by priests of various gods, such as the teaching and performing of songs. It is especially informative about the costume items, ritual objects, component events, and materials (paint, food, drink, offerings, birds, flowers) that the priests had to obtain and prepare. The detailed itemization of ceremonial props indicates the exhaustive arrangements that preceded any ritual performance. While Chicomecoatl's priest is not mentioned, that of Centeotl/Xilonen is, with responsibilities "to see to, to order that there be gathered together the papers, copal, rubber, and powdered sweet-scented marigold that were required at the time of the festival to Xilonen."[34] Like the itemization of deity outfits in the Atamalcualiztli feast discussed in paragraph 2B, this paragraph demonstrates how lists of ritual items committed to memory could be readily recalled. It is likely that the Tepepulco elders relied on such memorized lists in answering queries about deities, their attire, and their rituals, and it was this type of verbal information that aided the *Primeros memoriales* artists in fashioning their depictions.

Primeros Memoriales, *Paragraph 5A, How Each of the Gods Was Arrayed*

Like paragraph 2B, paragraph 5A presents a similarly well-organized and consistently maintained format for the appearance of individual gods, with a focus on their characteristic attire and accoutrements (fig. 5.3). The layout of images on the right with corresponding texts on the left again reflects the way the information was obtained from the elders. Here, the deity figures, twenty-four male and twelve female, in addition to small molded-dough figures of the five *tepictoton* mountain gods associated with the rain god Tlaloc, are carefully delineated in a some-

FIGURE 5.2. *Feast of Atamalcualiztli.* Lower right, *Chicomecoatl.* Primeros memoriales, *fol. 254r. Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.*

what rustic indigenous style with unwavering attention to their visual appearance.[35] Painted deity figures did not appear as isolated figures in preconquest native manuscripts. Their detached forms in the *Primeros memoriales* thus give little hint of the active roles they played in indigenous religion and ritual and appear to be another innovation of the manuscript's artists. It may also reflect the influence of Christian depictions of individual sacred figures, such as saints who could be identified by their attire and traditional symbols, as seen in imported printed books and the sculptures and paintings displayed in churches.[36]

Primeros Memoriales, *Chicomecoatl in the Images and Texts of Paragraph 5A*

In figure 5.3 (top), Chicomecoatl's placement as the first of the female deities signifies her importance in Tepepulco as the major deity of the Mesoamerican staple of maize. She is doubly identified by the alphabetic gloss of her written name inserted above her as well as by the maize cobs she holds aloft that already serve as markers of her identity and role in maintaining human sustenance and survival, as already noted in the Atamalcualiztli painting (see fig. 5.2). The color red predominates in her face painting, attire, and insignia, as it does for Xilonen. Often associated with fertility deities, red alludes to the ritual sacrifice undergone by female maize deities who symbolically made it

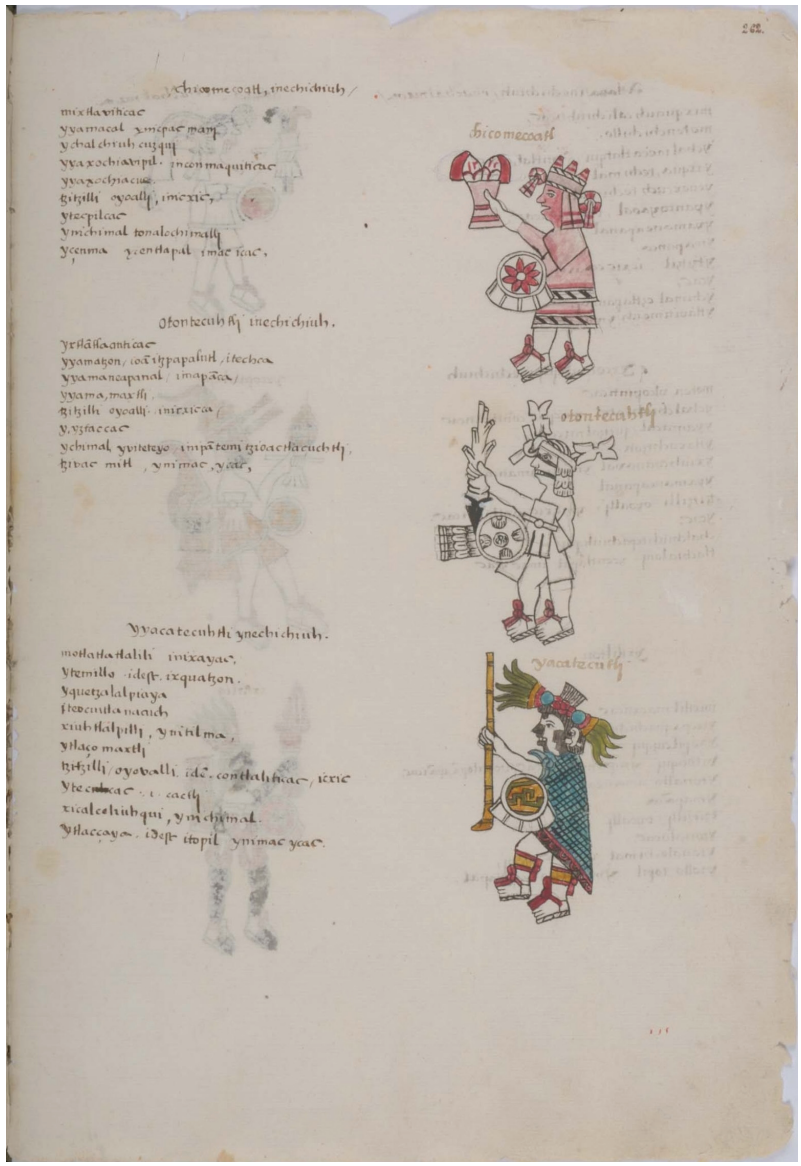


FIGURE 5.3. *How the gods were attired.* Top right, *Chicomecoatl.* Primeros memoriales, *fol. 262r. Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.*

possible for the maize plant and other cultigens to be agriculturally reborn.

The text to Chicomecoatl's left is precisely rendered in Nahuatl script, and her name appears again in the title of the text, which reads in English translation:

> THE ARRAY OF CHICOMECOATL
> Her face is painted ochre red.
> Her paper crown is on her head.
> Her green stone necklace.
> She is wearing her shift with the evening primrose design, [and] her skirt with the evening primrose design.
> On her legs are small bells, pear-shaped bells.
> Her lordly sandals.
> Her shield is the shield with the sun symbol design.
> Her double maize ears are in her other hand.[37]

Essentially, the text is a formulaic listing of the individual components of Chicomecoatl's accoutrements, from top to bottom, with one line allotted to each item, although the greenstone necklace and small bells are missing in the painting. This pairing demonstrates the closely maintained relationship between image and text here and in the manuscript as a whole. But while the mention of maize ears alludes to the goddess's sphere of influence, the limited text gives little indication of her significance in religious ideology, mythic narrative, or the sacrificial ritual in

which her *ixiptla* played a major role in guaranteeing the reappearance of a new maize crop.

The fact that the Tepepulco elders provided local pictorial sources or copies of them, or that the drawings might have been based on verbal descriptions, may account for the somewhat rustic and static delineations of the deity. López Austin also suggests that the rigidity of the language in the Nahuatl itemization may indicate that the Tlatelolco informants were repeating phrases learned by rote in the *calmecac*.[38]

Primeros Memoriales, *Paragraph 10, Things Attributed to the Gods*

This paragraph also details characteristics of twenty-three of the thirty-six gods depicted in paragraph 5A. For Chicomecoatl, it relates that she is the one who makes things sprout, makes things green, and preserves them, and thus extends her godly domain in the human sphere to providing sustenance in general, beyond that of maize.[39]

Primeros Memoriales, *Paragraph 14, Songs of the Gods*

The twenty sacred hymns to the gods further contribute to their characterizations as expressed in oral tradition and ritual practice. The "Song of Chicomecoatl" invokes her as Chicomollotzin, or "Seven Ears of Maize," personifies her as "our mother," and, by addressing her as "you who are the maize," associates her with the maize plant. Even more, it exhorts her to "arise, wake up," and "sprout up" on the earth,[40] identifying Chicomecoatl not only as a goddess of maize but as maize itself. The song is notable for its plaintive personal plea to her to awaken from her seasonal slumber and sprout anew, so as to prevent leaving her children on earth bereft.

Florentine Codex, Book 1, "The Gods"

The expansion of material on the gods in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex is immediately apparent by contrasting its thirty-five folios with the seven of paragraph 5A in the *Primeros memoriales*. This increase was no doubt based on the vast amount of material gathered in Tlatelolco during the second research round of the *Historia* project. Despite this expansion, only twenty-one deities and five *tepictoton* appear in Book 1, with a first section of five gods identified as "major" deities, a second section of seven "major" goddesses, a third section of nine additional "minor" gods, followed by the five *tepictoton*. The designations of "major" and "minor" had not been previously used to categorize indigenous deities. This compares to the thirty-six deities and five *tepictoton* that appear in paragraph 5A of the *Primeros memoriales*. Even the titles of the corresponding sections reveal the Florentine's expansion. "How Each of the Gods Was Arrayed" in the *Primeros memoriales* signals a narrow focus on the visual appearance of the deities, whereas "The Gods" of the Florentine Codex announces an open-ended consideration. These changes also highlight the Florentine's shift in the relationship between image and text, as well as a greater Europeanization of the deity depictions, features that exemplify the later manuscript's varying omissions, modifications, and innovations.

Florentine Codex, Book 1, Format 1: Chicomecoatl

The Florentine's deities are further presented in two formats, each differing from the consistent columnar pairing of image and text in the *Primeros memoriales*. The first format divides the folio into quadrants enclosing large individual figures (fig. 5.4), with five *tepictoton* unevenly occupying the last three quadrants. Less indigenous in bodily and facial character, their more elongated proportions, active poses, and sure-footed stances contrast with the stocky, floating figures in the *Primeros memoriales* (fig. 5.5). Gender differences are also manifest in the attire, as males are garbed in abbreviated clothing so that their bodily contours are more evident, whereas females are conservatively dressed in a long skirt and loosely fitted native *huipil* (tunic) or *quechquemitl* (triangular upper garment). The greater adherence to European anatomical conventions no doubt reflects the Florentine Codex artists' greater exposure to imported European standards of representation available at the *colegio* and in the viceregal capital of Mexico City.

As noted earlier, no central Mexican pictorial source displays the gods as a coherent group, as they are displayed in format 1 (see fig. 5.4), which attempts to show an entire pantheon in a few sequential folios. Their large size and clearly delineated forms may indicate that they were designed to facilitate the rapid recognition of individual native gods to provide missionaries with a ready reference. Making the Florentine's gods look more realistically human also relates to Sahagún's refrain in the appendix of Book 1, where he repeatedly emphasizes that what native people believed to be gods were in fact only human beings.

Although Chicomecoatl's image is stylistically different, it is iconographically similar to the *Primeros memo-*

FIGURE 5.4. *The gods.* Top right, *Chicomecoatl. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 10v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

riales goddess (see fig. 5.5), revealing here the Florentine Codex artists' dependence on the earlier manuscript, or a draft or copy of it, albeit with modifications. Nahuatl names of the gods appear in an alphabetic script above their heads, adding for some the names of related gods of antiquity. Chicomecoatl's gloss thus identifies her as a goddess of maize and equates her with the Roman goddess of grain, Ceres ("es otra diosa ceres"). The familiar names of ancient pagan gods might have been intended to make the character of the Mexican gods easier to grasp and remember. López Austin points out that in the Códices Matritenses (Madrid Codices) the names of the Roman gods were added in Sahagún's own hand.[41] Doing so placed the Mexican gods in the category of an obsolete ancient pantheon that no longer had an active religious role or cult after having been replaced by the Christian god, an erasure that the Spanish missionary fervently sought to duplicate. In a further departure, the grouped deity images are separated from their intended related texts. Lacking folio numbers for Book 1, they thus appear to be a later insertion, with a gloss below the deities' feet directing the reader to a preexisting text, further severing the close connection seen between image and text found in the *Primeros memoriales*.

In contrast to the earlier manuscript's strict line-by-line itemization of Chicomecoatl's array, the Florentine Codex provides a brief discursive description of her, beginning with her name and its meaning, then portraying her as the representative of maize and sustenance. It repeats the earlier manuscript's array of the goddess from top to

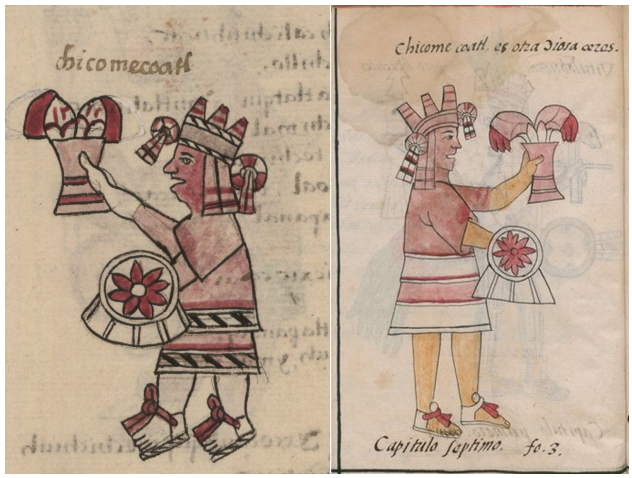


FIGURE 5.5. *Chicomecoatl compared.* Left, Primeros memoriales, *fol. 262r. Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.* Right, *Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 10v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 5.6. *The gods.* Left to right, *Tzapotlantenan, Chalchiuhtlicue, and Chicomecoatl. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 6v (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

bottom, from her ochre-red face painting and misnamed "headdress" to her shield with a sun design, though it fails to mention the proprietary maize cobs she holds aloft.[42] Another short description in the Spanish text follows the Nahuatl text, identifying Chicomecoatl as the goddess of sustenance, food, or drink, but it lacks any mention of maize, misidentifies the maize cobs as a vase, and erroneously calls her the first to make bread or cooked foods.[43]

Florentine Codex, Book 1, Format 2: Chicomecoatl

The second format used in Book 1 takes the form of seven added vignettes, a continuation of the novel narrative scenes introduced in the *veintena* rituals of the *Primeros memoriales*. These go beyond the bare description of the deities' attributes and array and venture into ritual roles, a province that properly belongs to Book 2, "The Ceremonies." The vignettes mainly refer to water deities, reflecting the importance of their cults in the island locations of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan–Mexico City.[44] The elders of these urban cities had no doubt witnessed ornately staged deity rituals in contrast to the simpler versions celebrated in the inland town of Tepepulco, north of the Basin of Mexico, a reminder that while general features of religion and ritual were widely observed, local considerations were also accommodated.

Chicomecoatl appears at the end of chapter 1 in a passage dedicated to the water goddess Chalchiuhtlicue (Jade Skirt), in yet another type of narrative scene that displays her in an unusual composite grouping of fertility deities (fig. 5.6). The two standing deities are based on those in the *Primeros memoriales*: at the far left, Tzapotlantenan, a female goddess whose name is connected to the medicinal uses of turpentine; in the center, Chalchiuhtlicue; and at the right, a striking image of Chicomecoatl, here displayed frontally like a statue and drawn in a different style. Aside from the red paper crown, the twin maize cobs, and the shield already noted as emblems, hers is a distinctively indigenous delineation not found in the *Primeros memoriales*. She appears in a stately seated position wearing a red *quechquemitl* atop a red skirt with a diamond decoration related to rattlesnake markings. Most surprising are the seven live serpents spread out beneath her that, along with the skirt markings, visualize her name, Seven Serpent. These details ally her to earth fertility deities who also display symbolic serpentine features and were greatly honored in the Basin of Mexico.[45]

Both the additional Spanish and Nahuatl chapter titles and the texts of Book 1 focus on the water goddess

Chalchiuhtlicue, with Chicomecoatl and Huixtocihuatl only briefly mentioned at the end of the text, when the three are jointly cited for their beneficence to humankind. These long texts report that on Chalchiuhtlicue's feast day the other deities honored were "the image of the maize," that is, Chicomecoatl, and the goddess of salt, Huixtocihuatl,[46] who is, however, replaced by Tzapotlantenan in the vignette.

Florentine Codex, Book 2, "The Ceremonies"

Ritual matters occupy most of chapter 1 in the *Primeros memoriales*, and Book 2 similarly constitutes one of the longest books of the Florentine Codex. In the earlier manuscript various aspects of Nahua ritual were deconstructed into fourteen paragraphs. The Florentine Codex ceremonies, however, emerge as a complex synthetic project that integrates separate aspects of the *Primeros memoriales* rituals and adds an extraordinary amount of material. As the prologues reveal, what preceded the final Florentine Codex was written, revised, copied, abandoned, again pursued, and again copied, resulting in the discarded folios of the interim Códices Matritenses and sundry other related writings known to have been produced and subsequently lost.

The abundance of information about the Florentine's *veintenas* was due to various reasons. Those who answered Sahagún's questions about native religion certainly faced a challenge in attempting to explain to an outsider the complexities of a religious tradition whose myriad rituals had suffused their entire lives. Another reason is that each *veintena* occupied twenty days, nearly an entire year to complete an extremely complex ceremonial cycle. Commandeering not only the stunning architectural setting and expansive spaces of the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan, the ceremonies involved the entire community and included an array of activities, such as processions, offerings of various kinds, dances, songs, fasting, and feasting, as well as numerous items and materials, fauna and flora, and often culminated in sanguinary ritual sacrifices. Some activities extended into the surrounding city and beyond to distant lakes and mountains and other natural earthly features. The meticulous preparations mentioned for these events in Tepepulco are just a brief rendering of what these extravagant and laborious ceremonial productions must have demanded in the Aztec capital. In addition, other rituals, titled "movable feasts," were guided by the 260-day *tonalpohualli* rather than the 360-plus-5-day year count, or *xiuhpohualli*, that determined the *veintena* cycle. Yet other ceremonies observed life's personal milestones, like birth, marriage, and death.

Florentine Codex, Book 2, Hueytozoztli and Chicomecoatl

Compositional disparities between the two manuscripts are apparent as well. While the *veintenas* of the *Primeros memoriales* present an equal number of images and related texts, those of the Florentine Codex are accompanied by forty-nine illustrations, which are inconsistently allotted to the deities. Only eleven *veintenas* include images, with the greatest number being twelve for the spectacular ceremony of Tlacaxipehualiztli (Flaying of Men) dedicated to the male fertility god Xipe Totec (Flayed Our Lord). Others receive fewer illustrations, or none at all. Thus, unlike paragraph 2A, Book 2 abandons an organizational consistency, a regular format, and a close correlation between image and text. As with the gods of Book 1, the later *veintena* scenes are more Europeanized in style, consisting of animated narratives filled with figures who sometimes interact with each other or the architectural or landscape backgrounds in a European rather than indigenous mode.

Chapter 23 of the Florentine offers a long and detailed version of the feast of Hueytozoztli (Great Vigil) that honored Chicomecoatl as well as Centeotl, the male maize god.[47] Two scenes show devotees honoring the goddess with maize and other food offerings (fig. 5.7). In the first (bottom left), standing males offer maize stalks at the temple of Chicomecoatl while seated females render maize cobs and bowls of atole, a maize gruel. They are portrayed at close range in the manuscript's more Europeanized figural style, though the devotees remain clothed in traditional garb. Their ample size gives them greater visual impact, facilitating an easy reading of the scene, a device also employed with the deity figures of Book 1.

An unusual second scene shows a large seated image of Chicomecoatl (bottom right), similar to that in figure 5.6. She appears on a larger scale than her smaller devotees, who deposit proportionally large baskets overflowing with food offerings at her feet. The painting emphasizes the appearance of the goddess, whether as a statue or an *ixiptla*, as does the detailed text of the ceremony: "They formed her image as a woman," she who was their sustenance and made all their food. The text goes on to enumerate the various colors and forms of maize, as well as those of beans, amaranth, and chia.[48] When it was her feast day they gave

FIGURE 5.7. *Hueytozoztli compared.* Top, Primeros memoriales, *fol. 250v (detail). Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.* Bottom left, *Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 28r (detail);* bottom right, *Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 29v (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

her human form, and her arms, legs, face, paper crown, embroidered shift and skirt, and shield were "anointed all in red . . . completely red," and she carried a double maize ear in either hand.[49] The description expands on many of the features first mentioned in the *Primeros memoriales* and enhances the activities of the feast by consolidating the additional traits that appeared in separate paragraphs of the *Primeros memoriales*, where she was honored as "our sustenance," "our flesh," "our livelihood," and "our strength." It also includes new details about her cult, such as relating that the old men in charge of the *calpulli* (wards) sang and beheaded quail for her.[50] The shorter versions of Hueytozoztli in the Florentine Codex and the Spanish text also reprise the many activities typical of her feast, including the making of her image with *tzoalli*, a dough of maize and amaranth, in the patio of her temple, thus intensifying her identification with the maize plant itself.[51] Despite the differing pictorial styles (see fig. 5.7), there is a strong correspondence, textual if not visual, between the characterization of Hueytozoztli in the two manuscripts.

The extended textual treatments of Hueytozoztli in the Florentine Codex thus contrast with the abbreviated account in the *Primeros memoriales*, as befit the more expansive staging of the *veintenas* in Tenochtitlan. It introduces a four-day fast, then repeats episodes from the *Primeros memoriales*, with variations that highlight the more public roles of males, such as the setting up of sedge plants everywhere while at night women made atole. It amplifies the young men's skirmishes with priests as they walk the roads to the fields to get stalks of green maize to carry to their homes to honor the maize gods. They also leave offerings at the temple of Chicomecoatl, where yet other skirmishes follow. Also repeated is the young men's taunting of young girls who carry dried maize cobs to the temple, where they are made into "hearts," that is, the hearts of the grain that became seeds to be planted the following year.

There is a marked difference between the simplicity of the events described in Tepepulco and the Florentine's increased activities, abundant food offerings, and strained social relations. The Tepepulco ceremony, where the community as a whole, and young women in particular, played a central role, contrasts with the aggressive young males who dominate the antagonistic activities described in the Florentine Codex. Class antagonisms are expressed in skirmishes between them and the priests, reflecting discord between the elite *calmecac* students and those of the commoners' *telpochcalli* (house of youth), as well as among themselves. Gender tension is also apparent in the banter exchanged between them and the young females. This competitive spirit might have stemmed from the crowded urban location and more militaristic ethos of Tenochtitlan, where the bold actions of warriors had been admired and rewarded.

Chicomecoatl also acquires more roles in the Florentine Codex. Beyond her major participation in Hueytozoztli, she also appears in the *veintenas* of Tlaxochimaco (Bestowing of Flowers), dedicated to Huitzilopochtli; Ochpaniztli (Sweeping of Roads), which honored the earth fertility goddess Toci; and Atemoztli (Descent of Water), where the *tepictoton* were honored, one of which was made in the form of Chicomecoatl. Her repeated appearances in other *veintenas* thus considerably expanded at a time when Aztec hegemony and tribute requisitioned throughout Mesoamerica were also significantly escalating. It was also fueled by carrying out the ceremonies in the largest and most populated urban center of its time in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, with the ritual showcase of the Templo Mayor providing an unparalleled outdoor setting for numerous events. In short, the *veintena* ceremonies in the Aztec capital of Tenochtitan were more elaborately staged than in the distant regional center of Tepepulco, as would be expected, and hence were more spectacularly presented in the Florentine's images.

In addition, most of the material for the Florentine Codex was amassed and recorded over a period of about twenty years, far beyond the two years when the *Primeros memoriales* data was gathered and finalized. This partially accounts for the tremendous increase of data from the 88 folios of the *Primeros memoriales* to the approximately 1,200 folios of the Florentine Codex. The vast accumulation of pictorial and textual material that had to be organized, as well as the increasing pressure to conclude the project, coincided with Sahagún's advanced years at a time when opposition to his project had reached a peak and the epidemic of the late 1570s devastated Mexico and the *colegio*.[52]

HOW DID TLATELOLCO AND TENOCHTITLAN–MEXICO CITY IMPACT THE MAKING OF THE FLORENTINE CODEX AND ITS IMAGES?

Having examined in the prologues Sahagún's plan for the *Historia* and his use (or not) of native pictorial sources, and having analyzed disparities between the deity depictions in the images and texts in the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex, I now consider the question of how the metropolitan centers of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan–Mexico City further impacted the completion of the *Historia* project and its images. Why was such an extraordinary number of images painted for the manuscript? And which group of artists could have accomplished this titanic task without any mention of a plan for their inclusion?

Let us briefly turn back to the early postconquest period, when the gifted Franciscan lay brother Pedro de Gante arrived in Tenochtitlan–Mexico City in 1523 with two companions, and a few years later founded the Chapel of San José de los Naturales. Intended for the education and conversion of indigenous youths, it adjoined the then humble church and *convento* of San Francisco. The friar taught his students Christian doctrine as well as music and singing to better participate in the Christian liturgy. He not only explored new uses for native Mexican arts that allowed trained indigenous artists to pass on their expertise to subsequent generations but also introduced students to a wide spectrum of European art, crafts, and skills, in which they excelled.[53]

The *colegio*, established about ten years later in Tlatelolco, represented a major step in further educating the sons of indigenous lords and leaders by giving them a humanistic Renaissance education.[54] Mendieta reports that the most able boys were selected to attend the *colegio*, and this group surely included Gante's students, who had already been exceptionally well educated and trained in the arts, both traditional and imported.[55] The ambitious academic program of the *colegio* was further enhanced by the establishment of a library that boasted numerous European volumes from which students could not only learn about their subjects but also see how books were constructed and embellished with frontispieces and Renaissance-style illus-

FIGURE 5.8. *Tlatelolco,* caja de agua, *north wall.* Bottom, *fresco with water scenes;* above, *drawing of water scene detail. Photograph and drawing by Arqlgo. Salvador Guilliem Arroyo, director of Proyecto Tlatelolco, 1987–2018, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Reproduced with permission.*

trations.[56] In addition, a printing house was established in Mexico City as early as 1539, making more books available as scholarly sources and pictorial models.

The educational pursuits of the *colegio* provided a lively intellectual and artistic environment, encouraging projects that made use of the knowledge and talents of those selected to attend. The number of students in residence, and possibly former students as well, were available to assist in creative enterprises, such as collaborating with Sahagún on the *Historia*, as well as the projects of other friars. Certainly, too, the number of artists available in the urban hub far surpassed those in other areas. Related to the *colegio*'s ambiance and accomplishments is the fact that manuscript scholars have attributed to Tlatelolco the Badianus, Tlatelolco, and Cozcatzin manuscripts, and the Uppsala and Santa Cruz maps, an indication that experienced artists were available there. Indeed, no other location in New Spain has been credited with producing so many major manuscripts in different genres.[57] And, like the Florentine Codex, these projects bridged native and European epistemologies.

Additionally, excavations following the discovery in 2002 of a *caja de agua* (water tank) for the Tlatelolco *convento* have unearthed the remains of sixteenth-century polychrome water scenes painted on three of the four surrounding walls of the water box (fig. 5.8). The style of the frescoes has been compared to images painted in the Florentine Codex, further revealing that artists affiliated with the *colegio*, which adjoined the *convento*, were involved with other ambitious artistic projects.[58] Many years

FIGURE 5.9. *Scriptorium of Tlatelolco imagined. From* National Geographic *158, no. 6 (December 1980): 733. Felipe Dávalos/National Geographic Creative. Used with permission.*

ago Donald Robertson called attention to the achievements of the scriptorium of Tlatelolco, and the Florentine Codex as an exemplar of what he labeled the School of Tlatelolco.[59] Connecting the activities of the *colegio* to pre-Hispanic antecedents, Miguel León-Portilla has further compared the scriptorium to a *tlahcuiloyan*, a place of writing and painting that had flourished before the conquest.[60]

THE TLATELOLCO PAINTING WORKSHOP IMAGINED

Turning to the question of the copious images produced for the Florentine Codex and the artists who might have made them, I propose that those artists trained in the arts in Tenochtitlan–Mexico City and Tlatelolco be credited with playing a critical role in the production of the Florentine's voluminous illustrations. Looking back to the 1560s and 1570s, when he was unable to work on the *Historia* for a variety of reasons, including his advanced age and infirmities, Sahagún, ever resourceful, might have called upon his former students and collaborators, and others affiliated with the scriptorium, to carry on the work of producing the images of the Florentine Codex to complete the *Historia* project (fig. 5.9). Since Sahagún never mentions artists or images as being an integral part of the *Historia* project, possibly to forestall even further criticism of

it, the experienced artists of the Tlatelolco scriptorium, abetted by those from San José de los Naturales, who had worked under the guidance of Pedro de Gante until his death in 1572, might have taken the initiative to plan and produce the myriad paintings of the Florentine Codex. In some cases, they modified images based on those of the *Primeros memoriales*, created vignettes that combined ancient and European features, and devised others to match the existing texts. As has been shown, they even found ways to modify deity images to retain their necessary inclusion. Only with this concerted effort would the Florentine Codex, as we know it, have been completed in time for it to be personally carried by fray Rodrigo Sequera from Mexico to Spain in early 1580.[61]

Finally, why was the Florentine Codex illustrated with such an abundance of images? As the Tepepulco and Tlatelolco collaborators knew, and Sahagún himself realized, it was the way knowledge had been recorded, and it preserved Nahua culture in proprietary pictorial and linguistic (Nahuatl) modes of expression, thus perpetuating a besieged heritage. And since the intended three columns of text in the 1569 "clean copy" were in the end reduced to only two, and much of the planned Spanish translation of the Nahuatl texts was replaced by a shorter paraphrase, the images played a practical role in filling the leftover spaces of the manuscript.

Painted in a Mexico that was in the process of being reconfigured from afar as a New Spain, the bicultural illustrations of the Florentine Codex and its bilingual texts recall a preconquest past that was being reimagined in a rapidly evolving postconquest present. By bridging the two eras and bringing the ancient Nahua past into their own time and place, the anonymous Tlatelolco artists made the Florentine Codex their own.

NOTES

1. The title *Historia general* broadly characterizes the project as one treating the "things of New Spain." On the various titles offered for the *Historia*, see Dibble 1982a, 15–16; Terraciano, introduction to this volume.

2. For a review of the origin and history of the *Historia* project, see Dibble 1982a, 9–23.

3. On Sahagún's Spanish prologues, see Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 45–101.

4. Aztec, an anachronistic term, here refers to Nahua culture in the pre-Hispanic period.

5. Transferring the Spanish terms *dios* or *diosa*, as well as those from other languages, to native gods raises the question of the meaning of the Nahuatl term *teotl*. See Bassett 2015; and Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

6. See also in this volume chapters 6 (Boone), 7 (Olivier), 9 (Bassett), and 10 (Magaloni Kerpel).

7. On distinctions between the contents of the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex, see Nicholson 1973b, 207–218; 1997, 3–14.

8. English titles for the *Primeros memoriales* are from Sahagún 1997, and for the Florentine Codex, from Sahagún 1950–1982.

9. Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

10. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 53.

11. On Tepepulco as the first site of Sahagún's *Historia* research, see Nicholson 1974, 145–154.

12. On the *colegio* of Tlatelolco and its collegians, curriculum, and accomplishments, see SilverMoon 2007.

13. Sahagún's references to scribes in the prologues apply to those who wrote the alphabetic texts, which gives the term a European connotation, for although dealing with an indigenous culture, the *Historia* manuscripts are Europeanized documents in format, alphabetic texts, and many materials. The scribes and artists thus performed a function closer to that of European scribes and manuscript painters than the native *tlacuiloque* who painted native pictorial manuscripts. Producing the Florentine's lengthy texts (approximately 1,200 folios, or 2,500 pages) would have required a dedicated team of scribes proficient in writing in Spanish and written Nahuatl.

14. On the artists of the *Historia*, see Quiñones Keber 1988a, 1988b; and Boone, chapter 6 of this volume. On the artists of the Florentine Codex, see Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 27–34; and Peterson 1988, 273–293. On the artists of the *Primeros memoriales*, see Baird 1993; and Quiñones Keber 1997.

15. The number of images varies, consisting of figures and multifigural scenes, as well as numerous decorative tailpiece designs that are not tallied in the total.

16. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 46, 51.

17. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 48. The first publication of the Spanish paraphrase of the Florentine Codex by López Austin and García Quintana appears in Sahagún 1989.

18. Dibble (1982a, 15) cites a letter published in Baudot.

19. Dibble 1982a, 19; based on a suggestion by García Icazbalceta.

20. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 48.

21. Sahagún 1950–1982, app. to Bk. 1, 55, 59.

22. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 54. See also López Austin 1974a, 116–117.

23. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 3, 59.

24. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 3, 59–60.

25. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 48–50, and Books 8 and 10.

26. López Austin (1974a, 129) discusses possible sources for Book 3 in oral tradition, while Escalante Gonzalbo (2008) calls attention to European models on folios 18r, 19v, and 22r of the Florentine Codex.

27. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 61.

28. On the *tonalamatl*, see Boone 2007.

29. On what was made of the *tonalamatl* in the Florentine Codex, see Quiñones Keber 2002a.

30. The omens of Book 5 were also associated with soothsaying, and their interpretation derived from oral lore rather than a pictorial source like the *tonalamatl*.

31. Preconquest screenfolds depicting various permutations of the 260-day *tonalpohualli* were utilized in other areas of central Mexico, the best known of which are the Codex Borgia Group painted in an Aztec-

related but distinctive Mixteca-Puebla style and iconography. The Codex Borbonicus is the closest example from the Basin of Mexico of what a preconquest ritual manuscript from that area might have looked like. See Anders, Jansen, and Reyes García 1991.

32. Sahagún 1997, 98.

33. Sahagún 1974, 28–30.

34. Sahagún 1997, 83.

35. For the significance of the array of the gods, see Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 9–13.

36. On other possible sources for imaging the Florentine's gods, see Boone, chapter 6 of this volume; for the conception of indigenous gods, see Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

37. Sahagún 1997, 98.

38. López Austin 1974a, 123.

39. Sahagún 1993b, 121–122.

40. Sahagún 1993b, 148.

41. López Austin 1974a, 124–125.

42. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 13.

43. Sahagún 1989b, 40.

44. Chalchiuhtlicue appears in two additional scenes and is included in a third; the *tepictoton* have two scenes; and a Tlaloc-related god, Nappatecuhtli, has one.

45. On the visual overlap between Chicomecoatl and Coatlicue, another earth fertility deity, see Lois Martin, "The 'Coatlicues' as the Chicomecoatls: Rattlesnakes, Corn, and Aztec Science" (paper presented at the Pre-Columbian Society of New York, Institute of Fine Arts, New York, March 2016).

46. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 21–22.

47. On Hueytozoztli, see Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 7–8 (short version), and Bk. 2, 61–65. While the *Primeros memoriales* depicts Chicomecoatl and Xilonen in this ceremony, only Chicomecoatl appears in one of two related vignettes in the Florentine Codex.

48. Sahagún 1982, Bk. 2, 64–65.

49. Sahagún 1982, Bk. 2, 65.

50. Sahagún 1982, Bk. 2, 65.

51. Sahagún 1982, Bk. 2, 7.

52. Sahagún was a victim of the devastating plague of 1545–1548. The epidemics (*pestilencia* in Sahagún's words, *cocoliztli* in Nahuatl) in those years and in 1576–1578 killed up to 80 percent of the population in the first epidemic and about 50 percent of the remaining population in the second. See Acuña-Soto, Stahle, Cleaveland, and Therrell 2002; see also Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.

53. Mendieta 1971, 407–408.

54. Mendieta 1971, 414–418.

55. Mendieta 1971, 414.

56. Mathes 1985.

57. Although famed for its production of native-based arts, such as featherwork, and the adaptation of European architectural construction, San José de los Naturales has not yet been directly associated with the production of manuscripts, but further research and manuscript studies may yet reveal a connection.

58. Salvador Guilliem Arroyo (2013) has drawn attention to a detail of the water box in the Uppsala Map (ca. 1550) and correspondences to other Tlatelolco manuscripts, such as the Codex Cozcatzin (ca. 1572).

59. Robertson 1959, 155–178.

60. León-Portilla 2003, 104.

61. Dibble 1982a, 10–15. For alternative dates for the making of the Florentine Codex, see Terraciano, introduction to this volume.

CHAPTER 6

Fashioning Conceptual Categories in the Florentine Codex

Old-World and Indigenous Foundations for the Rulers and the Gods

ELIZABETH HILL BOONE

This chapter explores two aspects of Sahagún's ethnographic project: the old-world sources (many ancient) that helped him conceptualize the cultural categories that would guide his investigation, and the indigenous images that were the foundation for the data that brought life to his ethnography. To do this I put into dialogue Sahagún's and his assistants' treatment of the Aztec kings with their treatment of the Aztec gods. One can see that the Aztec kings easily migrated from their preconquest frame to the pages of the *Primeros memoriales* and then to the Florentine Codex, but the Aztec gods had to be constructed from an array of discursive practices, both European and indigenous.

It is clear that Sahagún and his indigenous colleagues from the Colegio de Santa Cruz were deeply influenced by the writings of the ancients—classical and medieval authors who likewise gathered and organized broad-ranging data on the spiritual and secular world.[1] These possible intellectual influences include Pliny the Elder's *Naturalus historia*, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, and the popular thirteenth-century encyclopedia *De proprietatibus rerum* by the Franciscan friar Bartholomeus Anglicus.[2] Donald Robertson proposed Anglicus as a model, as its organization proceeds, like the Florentine Codex, from the divine, to the heavens, to humankind, and finally to mundane earthly things.[3]

For more specific topics, Garibay has also proposed Theophrastus's study of moral characters for "The People" (Book 10), Flavius Josefus's history of the Jews for customs, and Pliny's natural history for Book 11.[4] To this list can be added the newer studies of foreign peoples that began to be written in the thirteenth century and were published in the sixteenth. Ellen T. Baird has mentioned the thirteenth-century ethnographies of the Mongols by the Franciscans John de Plano Caprini and William Rubruck. I propose also that Sahagún was probably influenced by a broadly popular collection of customs, the *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* of 1520, gathered and arranged by Johann Boemus, another Franciscan, whose own study was influenced by Caprini and Rubruck. Also relevant is Polydore Vergil's *De inventoribus rerum*, published in 1499, whose first book begins with the origin of the gods.[5] European models that specifically describe foreign gods are considered in greater detail later in this chapter. Sahagún's encyclopedic project was an extraordinary undertaking, but it necessarily relied on the efforts of earlier compilers who helped to chart a path.

The indigenous image was the other dominating model. For some realms of knowledge, Sahagún and the grammarians, as well as other friar ethnographers, relied more closely on the indigenous tradition of pictorial expression and on indigenous literary genres than on European literary collections and encyclopedias. Such decisions were likely determined by which native genres the indigenous informants thought most appropriate. In particular, the native calendar, divination, and historical accounts as they appear in the early colonial cultural encyclopedias derive from indigenous prototypes; indeed, two of the most im-

portant preconquest literary genres were the books of fate based on the divinatory calendar and the annals histories of community kingdoms.

This differential reliance on native or European models is especially clear in a comparison of Sahagún's treatments of the Aztec kings and the Aztec gods. The descriptions of the kings in both the *Primeros memoriales* (1559–1561) and the Florentine Codex (1575–1577) follow no European model but instead track closely to preconquest precedents as these can be reconstructed from surviving annals histories. There being no indigenous model for a structured and focused description of multiple Aztec supernaturals, as appears in the *Primeros memoriales* and Book 1 of the Florentine Codex, Sahagún and the grammarians looked to classical, medieval, and early-modern encyclopedias that list and describe the gods of foreign religions, notably the pagan gods of antiquity. The painted figures that served to help distinguish these gods, however, were derived—much altered and repurposed—from the indigenous image.

LORDS

A very many paintings in the Florentine Codex are highly Europeanized, characterized by a three-dimensional pictorial illusionism that yields a window onto an observed subject. The images of the rulers stand out, however, for their orthodoxy in adhering to the canons of Mexican pictography.[6] They are even more conservatively treated in the earlier *Primeros memoriales*, where the sequent rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Huexotla are stacked top to bottom on the right side of the page (fig. 6.1).[7]

In the *Primeros memoriales* each image adheres stylistically to its preconquest source—for it is a pictogram: a symbolic statement rather than a likeness of the ruler. The figures are flat and ideoplastic, in being composed of forms that are canonically known rather than observed with the eye. They are simply constructed of a profile head, selective body parts (lower back, rump, toes, and lower feet), and signifying attributes: cloak, headdress, nose bar (or absence thereof), distinctive seat, and name sign. Within the royal line of Mexico-Tenochtitlan the pictographer distinguishes the first three Mexica rulers (Acamapichtli through Chimalpopoca) from the others by means of the circular fan device of yellow parrot feathers (*cozoyahualolli*) on their heads, the leather cloak, and the simple seat of reeds (*tolicpalli*) that signal their preimperial, Chichimec-derived status. But beginning with Itzcoatl, the imperial rulers wear the pointed turquoise diadem (*xihuitzolli*), the turquoise nose bar, and the royal turquoise blue cape with star border, and they sit on the high-backed woven-reed throne (*tepotzoicpalli*).[8] These *Primeros memoriales* images retain much of the flavor of preconquest originals.

Glosses just to the left of the images name each attribute in a monotonous litany of symbolic elements: name sign written in red, and in black from top to bottom, headdress, cape, and seat. Beginning with Itzcoatl the scribe also names the nose bar, the turquoise cape, and its star-eye border. The viewer senses the requirement that each attribute be labeled, as if each were also meant to be individually recognized and voiced. Before the conquest a viewer of such images would have automatically appreciated the signifying force of each element as an attribute of rule and could well have read these attributes aloud for his listeners, but the early colonial drive to translate native discourse into alphabetic script called for the addition of the individual glosses here, repetitive though they are.

These same attributes are listed for each ruler through Cuauhtemoc, but not thereafter. The subsequent, colonial governors of Mexico-Tenochtitlan lack the indigenous attributes of rule—the headdress, the nose bar, and the turquoise cloak—and although they sit on high-backed thrones, which had come to signify authority more broadly, they are identified by name only.[9] The texts that run down the left side of each page are equally repetitive, naming the sequential rulers, the number of years they ruled, and sometimes one or two of their major conquests and the events that were especially noteworthy (such as the conquest of the Tepaneca and the famine of the year One Rabbit). It is clear that this section of the *Primeros memoriales*—in its union of ruler, reign length, and events—is derived from fairly standard preconquest annals histories.

Although annals histories have survived only in early colonial copies, many of the copies retain fundamental features of their prototypes. The Codex Mexicanus, for example, records the identity of the rulers and the memorable events of each reign—such as natural and climatic phenomena, conquests, and other events of general import to the polity (fig. 6.2).[10] In this annals the sequent rulers are crowned, seated, enthroned, and named much as they are in the *Primeros memoriales*. A prototype for the ruler presentation in the *Primeros memoriales* might

FIGURE 6.1. *The lords of Mexico-Tenochtitlan.* Primeros memoriales, *fols. 51r and 51v. Códice Matritense. © Real Academia de Historia, España.*

also have been something like the ruler list in the first part of the Codex Mendoza, where history is segmented according to the rulers and their conquests: each ruler and his conquests are recorded together on a page (fig. 6.3). The Mendoza rulers canonically wear the *xihuitzolli* (diadem), have a speech scroll that signifies the title of *tlatoani* (speaker), are seated on a woven mat, and are glyphically named. In a column on the left side of the page are the sequent years of his reign, and the conquests are arranged in rows to the right. A related presentation of rulers, but without the conquests, is found in the back of the Codex Aubin, where, on each page, the ruler is identified—with name sign, crown, blue cloak, speech scroll, and high-backed throne; although it does not specify the individual years, it does give the quantities of years. Thus, from what we know of preconquest pictorial annals, ruler images were part of a historical discourse that also included reign lengths, conquests, and other events. Thus, when the ruler images were extracted from the annals histories and transferred first to the *Primeros memoriales* and then via this or another draft to the Florentine Codex, they brought with them as attributes some of the events associated with the rulers in the original sources.

The rulers section in the *Primeros memoriales* distills the major features of these annals (see fig. 6.1). Like them, it emphasizes the unbroken sequence of rulership, a canonical presentation of the rulers' form and costume, and the length of their reigns. But because its subject is the rulers themselves and not Aztec history per se, only some of the historical material is retained, not to be pictured but to be included in the explanatory texts. The text accompanying the image of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina, for example, says: "And when Itzcoatzin died, Motechuzomatzin the elder, Ilhuicamina, was installed, and he ruled thirty-five years. In this time occurred what was called being one-rabbited

FIGURE 6.2. *Annals history of the Codex Mexicanus, p. 71, showing events of the years Four Reed to Nine Reed, including at Seven Rabbit the accession of Ahuitzotl. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.*

[*necetochhuiloc*], that is, in this time there was a famine in the one year sign One Rabbit."[11] This is just the kind of information included in the annals.

The Florentine Codex continues both the traditional form of representation and the historical content in the texts. Its texts are more detailed, they especially include more conquests, and they also correct mistakes in the *Primeros memoriales* (e.g., the reign length of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina). The Spanish version follows the Nahuatl closely. Thus, for Moctezuma, the Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex says:

> The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
> Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnahuac and on all who were subject to Quauhnahuac; and on Maçauacan. And in his reign there came a great famine which spread over the land for four years. Hence it was said that all were affected by the year One Rabbit [Necetochuiloc]. All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].[12]

In the same way, the painter of the rulers in the Florentine Codex followed the precedent set in the *Primeros memoriales* but adjusted it. He seated both the preconquest rulers and the colonial rulers on the high-backed throne, assigned them all turquoise diadems, and named them glyphically (fig. 6.4). He ignored the distinction in clothing that usually characterizes the first three, preimperial rulers and instead standardized all the preconquest kings with signifiers of imperial rule: the turquoise diadem, turquoise cloak, and high-backed throne. The painter marked even the postconquest rulers with the diadem and throne. His message is a simpler one than that in the *Primeros memoriales*: to wit, all the preconquest rulers were equal in their status, and the colonial ones continued in their tradition. His success in stressing continuity from the preconquest past into the colonial present reinforced the authority of contemporaneous indigenous elites, who often asserted claims to privileges based on their descent from royalty. It also satisfied a desideratum for indigenous polities seeking cabecera (chief town) status, which was an unbroken history of direct *tlatoani* rule.[13] The Florentine Codex artist did, however, reserve the royal-blue cloak for

FIGURE 6.3. *Annals history of the Codex Mendoza, fol. 13r, showing conquests of Ahuitzotl during his sixteen-year reign. MS. Arch. Selden A. 1, fol. 13r. Photograph, Bodleian Libraries.*

the royal kings, by dressing the nonroyal colonial rulers and governors in simpler capes.

It is abundantly clear that the preconquest canon was to signify rulers in profile, seated, enthroned, appropriately accoutered, and glyphically named. One almost never sees rulers posed in other positions in the traditional annals.[14] Jeanette Peterson points out that Old Testament kings were often rendered in high-backed thrones,[15] which might have reinforced this indigenous convention.

This preference for the seated ruler is not limited to Sahagún but extends even to the paintings of Diego Durán's *Historia* (1581), which are laden with European Mannerist embellishments and pictorial illusionism and are so visually descriptive and representational. Occasionally the Durán artists present the Aztec kings standing or fighting within the three-dimensional space of a narrative scene,[16] but more often the kings hew to the canon of the seated ruler, with turquoise cape and diadem, seated on a high-backed throne (fig. 6.5).[17] This holds true even when the indigenous throne is transformed into a Mannerist construction of scrollwork and arabesques; despite the Europeanization of the image, the painter has also retained the preconquest discursive custom of the death of one ruler (Axayacatl) followed by the seating of the next (Tizoc).[18] One of Durán's painters extended the convention of the seated and specially dressed ruler to Hernando Cortés, who was thereby conceptualized as a ruler himself. When the image of Cortés is first introduced in Durán's history (fig. 6.6), after the episode of his landing in Veracruz, the painter rendered the conqueror seated on the X-shaped, folding hip chair of European imperial authority, which serves the same semiotic function as the native high-backed throne. He also clothed Cortés in a cloak of deep black (the luxury of princes) with a tan (perhaps fur) collar and wearing a large, black, feathered hat: all symbols of elevated status and power.[19]

Sahagún's painters developed their pictorial lists of the Aztec rulers simply by extracting the ruler images from the annals histories and transferring them to the ethnographic manuscripts. The images maintained the customary preconquest poses and costumes, which relocated easily to the new genre, and the rulers' images brought with them as attributes some of the information associated with them in the originals—such as reign lengths and events. Although the painters themselves did not reproduce this historical data, it is clear that knowledge of it and its importance was retained, because the scribes in both the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex included it in the alphabetic texts, and in the Florentine it was included in both the Nahuatl and the Spanish versions.[20] The treatment of the Aztec lords is one of the most conservatively indigenous parts of the Florentine Codex.

GODS

The Aztec gods were vastly more difficult to capture, however. At the time of the conquest, no book existed of the indigenous supernaturals, so it was not simply a matter of copying an existing genre.[21] The gods were visually known by means of cult images housed inside temples, which were inaccessible to many, and by means of deity impersonators who publically enacted their rituals. Almost invisible to European eyes were the aniconic bundles, *tlaquimilolli*, that functioned as the most sacred embodiments

FIGURE 6.4. *The lords of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8; fol. 1r presents the first four rulers, and fol. 4v presents the four rulers after the death of Cuauhtemoc. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

of the divine, as Bassett and Olivier explain.[22] Images of the gods also appeared in divinatory manuals, where their role was adjectival: they served as patrons of the calendrical units (e.g., day signs and *trecenas*) or participated in actions that characterized the augural influences of units of time. Preconquest Aztec intellectuals seem not to have been interested in listing, naming, and describing the supernatural forces as an exercise in and of itself, so there was no indigenous template per se for such a study.

Neither were there acceptable European models for recording and explaining a host of supernaturals that Europeans recognized as devils; such a study would easily and quickly have been condemned as heretical. The principal deity of Calicut in southern India, for example, was described and pictured in 1515 as a generic horned devil with hairy arms and avian feet in Ludovico Varthema's popular account of his travels to the east.[23] Acceptable models did exist, however, for considering the pagan gods of antiquity, and in the broad humanist climate of early-modern Europe, scholars and educated people were open to such. Since studies of pagan gods were fodder for humanist thought across Europe, they became the safest model for treating the Aztec gods, who then could be conceptualized along similar lines.

The *Primeros memoriales* and Florentine Codex differ in their approach to the gods. The *Primeros memoriales* presents only the gods' images—thirty-six in number plus five *tepictoton* (small effigies of mountain rain supernaturals) grouped on thirteen pages—and an itemization of their physical attributes (fig. 6.7); the title of this section

FIGURE 6.5. *The accession of Tizoc following the death of Axayacatl. Diego Durán,* Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de la tierra firma, *fol. 111r. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.*

FIGURE 6.6. *Doña Marina, Hernando Cortés, and Tlillancalqui, lord of Cuextlaxtlan, shortly after Cortés disembarked in Veracruz. Diego Durán,* Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de la tierra firma, *fol. 202r. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.*

specifies that it tells "how each of the gods was arrayed."[24] The Florentine Codex is more holistic, for although it likewise details costume elements, it also describes the gods' characteristics, realms, and feasts. Quiñones Keber illustrates this well in her comparison of the presentations of Chicomecoatl.[25] Book 1 of the Florentine Codex opens with six pages that picture most of the same gods included in the *Primeros memoriales* but framed four to a page, ending also with *tepictoton*; glosses name them and sometimes link them to Roman counterparts (e.g., Huitzilopochtli as another Hercules, Tezcatlipoca as another Jupiter) (fig. 6.8).[26]

The Nahuatl and Spanish texts that immediately follow these six pages of illustrations describe the gods' attributes, noting the gods' principal and variant names, their relation (if any) to other deities, their realms and influences, the rituals for them, and their physical attributes, clothing, and accoutrements. The Nahuatl texts, closer to the texts in the *Primeros memoriales*, focus more on the deities' costume elements, itemizing them in detail. The Spanish texts are slightly longer; they cover the gods' association, realms, and ceremonies more fully but ignore the costume elements and accoutrements for several of the gods, including Huitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipoca, and Tlaloc.[27] Within these texts, seven paintings illustrate offerings and ceremonies.

The Florentine Codex divides the deities into major gods, major goddesses, and lesser gods, which Guilhem Olivier and Andrew Laird note follows the taxonomy used by Saint Augustine and derived ultimately from Roman authors.[28] I propose also that for Sahagún's overall presentation of the gods—and for the idea of a descriptive genre that treated the gods—he and the grammarians looked beyond the encyclopedias of Pliny, Isidore, and Bartholomeus Anglicus to the descriptive collections of pagan gods that appeared in Europe in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries and flourished especially in the mid-sixteenth century.[29]

European studies of pagan gods can be traced back to the early thirteenth-century treatise *Liber ymaginum deorum*, by an author known simply as "Albricus philosopher."[30] Albricus gathered information from a variety of earlier authors, but his contribution was to organize it as an encyclopedia. He devoted a chapter to each of almost twenty gods, describing for each the god's appearance and physical attributes, realms of influence, associated meanings, and relation to other gods, just the kind of information that Sahagún and the grammarians would eventually include in the Florentine Codex. For example, Albricus's first chapter on Saturn begins thusly:

> Saturn.
> 1. The first god was Saturn: they say that he was old, sad, white haired, his head covered in a blue grey cloak, that he devoured his own sons, carrying a sickle, and in his right hand a fire-vomiting snake that devours its own tail.
> 2. History maintains that Saturn's father and Jove, his son, had obtained a kingdom in Crete.

Albricus then continues in this vein with details about Saturn's offspring, actions, and astronomical associations.[31]

FIGURE 6.7. *The first six Aztec gods.* Primeros memoriales, *fols. 261r and 261v. Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.*

Albricus's treatise, with its emphasis on visual appearance, would exert "a profound and lasting influence on the iconography of the gods."[32] It affected Petrarch's commentary on the Olympian gods, which likewise described their poses, costuming, and attributes.[33] It also influenced Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (1360), the best known and most authoritative of the fourteenth-century encyclopedias of ancient gods.[34] Boccaccio sought to regularize the intricate genealogies of the classical gods, and although he focused on the gods' genealogical ties, he also interpreted their material attributes. For Minerva, for example, he explained that her elaborately embroidered floral peplum was intended as a directive that wise speeches should be ornate, florid, and witty.[35]

Boccaccio's *Genealogia* remained the principal source for the imagery and mythology of the classical gods until the mid-sixteenth century, when it was replaced by a cluster of new manuals published between 1532 and 1556. These include Georg Pictor's *Theologia mythologica* of 1532, which, in the tradition of Albricus and Boccaccio, focused on the names, appearance, and allegory of over twenty gods, including mention of those of Egypt and Assyria.[36] There followed Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *De deis gentium* of 1548, Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* of 1551, and, the best known, Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gliantichi* of 1556.[37] Cartari emphasized the iconography of the gods' statues and representations with a view to providing pictorial subjects for painters and sculptors, and the third edition (1571) of his manual was illustrated with vivid woodcuts that led to its outstanding popularity.[38] Such studies, or the idea of such studies, probably helped Sahagún frame what questions he would ask of his informants, what information the team would ultimately include, and how it would be organized. The Franciscan and his team might also have had in mind that

FIGURE 6.8. *The first four Aztec gods. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 10r (pagination in lower right). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Christian saints were visually recognized by their attire and symbols, as Quiñones Keber points out in chapter 5 of this volume.

The Mexicans' decision to illustrate each god separately also had precedents in Europe, for by the sixteenth century a few of the printed editions of the studies of pagan gods were being illustrated with woodcuts of each god. The European illustrations differ from the Mexican ones, however, because they typically locate the gods in scenic space, engaging in activities specific to them and surrounded with images of their attributes that are described in the texts they accompany. Examples are two French editions of Boccaccio's *Genealogia* (1498–1499, 1531) illustrated with woodcuts, including, for example, a large scene of Saturn eating his son, holding a sickle and the snake that devours its own tail, and surrounded by figures that signify other of his aspects, including the birth of his daughter Venus from sea-foam.[39] Simpler woodcuts in two midcentury German studies—Johannes Herold's 1554 *Heydenweldt und ihrer Götter* and Pictor's 1558 *Apotheseos tam exterarvm gentivm qvam Romanorvm deorvm libri tres* (a republication of his *Theologia mythologica*), which repurposed Herold's illustrations—also embed the gods in scenic space and show them holding or surrounded by an

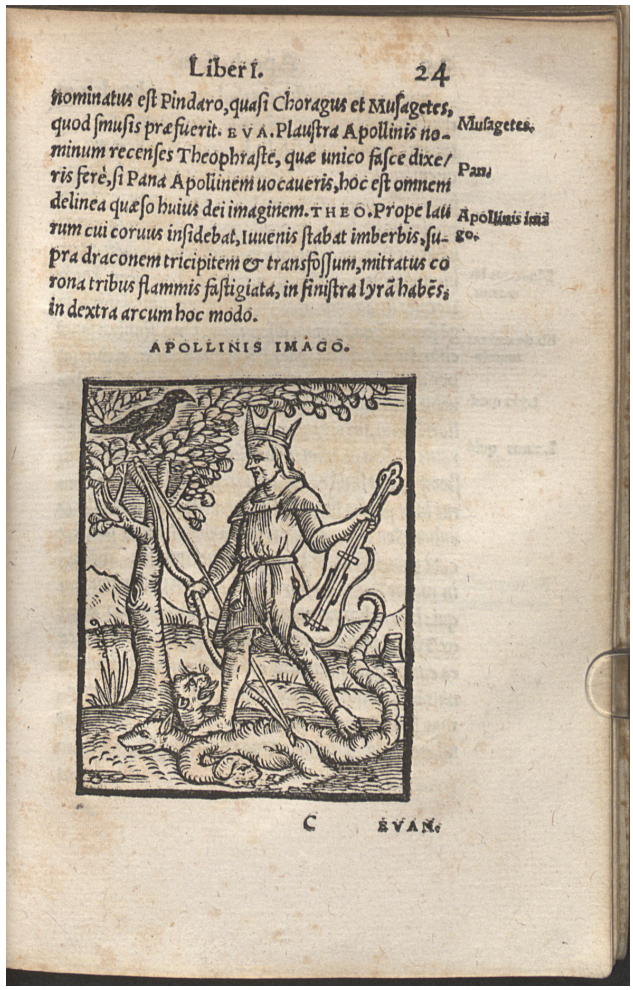


FIGURE 6.9. *Apollo. Georg Pictor,* Apotheseos tam exterarvm gentivm qvam Romanorvm deorvm libri tres *(Basel: Nikolas Brylinger, 1558), fol. 24. Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Munich, Exeg. 475#Beibd.3, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00029735-1.*

FIGURE 6.10. *Major gods of the Goths: Frigg, Thor, and Odin. Olaus Magnus,* Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus *(Rome: De Viottis, 1555), 100. Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Munich, 2 Gs 533, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11197030-2.*

array of attributes (fig. 6.9).[40] The engravings in the 1571 edition of Cartari, which isolated the gods more fully and greatly influenced later print cycles, came too late to be a model for Sahagún's overall project.

One exception to this layering of attributes is the pair of woodcuts of the major and minor gods of the Goths in Olaus Magnus's 1555 *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, a copy of which was held in the Colegio de Santa Cruz library.[41] Escalante Gonzalbo proposes that Magnus's publication might have served as a model for several descriptions and images in the Florentine.[42] It might have influenced the presentation of the gods as well. Magnus's illustrator united the three major gods—a seated Thor flanked by Frigg and Odin—in a single woodcut but kept them conceptually isolated (fig. 6.10). He gave them all a decidedly classical pagan look to reflect Magnus's text, which identified the female Frigg as another Venus and the warrior Odin as Mars.

It is hard to say how much, if at all, these European deity images might have influenced the visual form and presentational style of the Aztec gods in Sahagún's project and the other Mexican encyclopedias. The prints in Magnus's *Historia* are closer to the Aztec paintings in the Florentine Codex, because they situate the gods in undefined space and focus only on their dress, here Romanized to fit the classical analogy Magnus proposed. But the Mexican paintings stand out because they or their antecedents are foundational to the descriptive texts, which derive partially from them, rather than being descriptively illustrative of the texts. They also innovate in focusing on the gods' indigenous costume elements rather than simply dressing the gods in classical, medieval, or early-modern fashion. This focus on specific elements of costume, especially in the *Primeros memoriales*, which labels them all, and in the Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex, which itemizes them, reflects the indigenous understanding that the *teotl* (sacrality) of the gods was manifest in the items that came together to form their *teixiptla* (localized embodiment): for example, the capes, headdresses, back panels, pectorals, and other ornaments that are glossed in the *Primeros memoriales*.[43]

The visual sources for the gods' insignia in Sahagún's actual images are found within indigenous pictography.

FIGURE 6.11. *Tlaloc as patron of the seventh* trecena *(beginning with One Rain). Codex Borbonicus, 5. Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale Français, Y.120.*

Alfredo López Austin suggested they came from original paintings the elders copied or drew from memory, and H. B. Nicholson suggested that these memories were of deity impersonators, such as those depicted in the second (*veintena*) section of the Codex Borbonicus.[44] It is also probable that images were pulled from surviving preconquest divinatory codices.[45] When the Tepepulco elders were called upon to produce the images of their former gods in the 1550s, they might well have turned to the divinatory codices—ones similar to the *tonalamatl* (book of days) in the Aztec Codex Borbonicus and the manuscripts of the Borgia Group—which contained images of the gods in abundance. The elders might have brought the books themselves, which many of them might have owned, or intermediary paintings representing the individual supernaturals.

In the *Primeros memoriales* the Aztec gods are presented, much like the Aztec lords, as ideoplastic, two-dimensional entities in the preconquest tradition. In a similar way, glosses name both the gods and the items of their attire but do not otherwise describe them. Beyond this, the commonalities the gods share with the rulers end. Almost all the *Primeros memoriales* gods are upright, with their legs positioned one in front of the other, knees somewhat bent, and feet seeming to dangle.[46] It is not quite a standing pose, but close to it.

One finds distant models for these figures in the Aztec and Borgia Group divinatory manuscripts, where the gods appear as patrons of the day signs, the *trecenas*, and other units of time. The Codex Borbonicus and Tonalamatl Aubin invariably pose these supernaturals with arms outstretched in front, at an angle, and their legs positioned in a pinwheel, one leg up and one leg back (fig. 6.11).[47] This is the standard pose (with a few exceptions) of the male *trecena* patrons and the male lords of the night in Aztec *tonalamatl*; the females have their knees together beneath their skirts. Both have their arms outstretched, in a distinctive pose that may signify their control over the temporal units.

When the friars asked for images of the gods, the in-

digenous collaborators might well have turned to *tonalamatl* as the only relevant graphic sources at hand. In extracting the images and repurposing them for the cultural encyclopedias, they enacted two fundamental changes. First, they reconceptualized the images ontologically, and then they transformed them visually. By reproducing them individually, the indigenous painters tore them from their divinatory and sacred contexts and discarded all their meaningful associations and roles there. Unlike the ruler images, which transferred to the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex with their associated historical data, the divinatory association of the deities was suppressed. The transfer also reduced what had formerly been signifying signs, to yield images that were simple visual representations of anthropomorphic beings. What had been a complex visual statement within a rich network of meaning became an illustration of the figure and costume of deities for a postconquest viewership.

Colonial ethnographies from the mid-sixteenth century, such as the Codices Magliabechiano, Tudela, and Telleriano-Remensis, consistently employ images of individual supernaturals to signify the *veintena* celebrations (fig. 6.12);[48] Nicholson has called them *veintena* "logos."[49] These figural renderings were isolated on the page of European paper, framed by pristine space that invited inspection and the addition of textual exegesis. Descriptive annotations were then written opposite or below. As the first mark put on each page, the deity figure commanded an extravagant amount of paper, where it waited for discussions and words to complete it and articulate its meaning. The image remained the foundation for the unit of information and the source from which the discursive text sprang, but neither the text nor the image could adequately inform without the other.

This process of reconceptualizing the deity images also transformed their formal properties. In the Codex Magliabechiano especially, the painter made the figures full and fleshy, with curved lines to suggest a new three-dimensionality and a more organically coherent human form (fig. 6.13). Since the distinct pose of the augural patron no longer carried its preconquest divinatory meaning, the artists allowed the pose to degenerate. Arms are still usually outstretched and holding attributes, but often one arm was simply omitted. The leg position, while retaining the basic pinwheel, has become less distinct, so the figures appear in awkward half-seated, half-standing, or crouching poses. The Magliabechiano painter, recognizing

FIGURE 6.12. *Mixcoatl as the deity celebrated on the* veintena *feast of Quecholli. Codex Telleriano-Remensis, fol. 4v. Manuscrit Mexicain 385. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.*

FIGURE 6.13. *Tlaloc as the deity celebrated on the* veintena *feast of Atemoztli. Codex Magliabechiano, fols. 43v–44r. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, CL. XIII. 3 (B. R. 232).*

this awkwardness, even added a low stool to give his posed deity something to sit on. The image has changed conceptually from an element in pictography to a mimetic replication of a deity's anthropomorphized figure, a *teixiptla*.

The painters of the *Primeros memoriales* (see fig. 6.7) kept the indigenous ideoplastic form, but, like the Ma-

gliabechiano and Telleriano-Remensis painters, they discarded the original context in order to create visual representations that are intended to educate a new audience, one that expected a pictorial likeness. The old pinwheel pose, having lost its meaning, was further reduced to two bent legs, one in front of the other, with dangling feet. Only some costume elements were retained and became the basis for the alphabetic annotations.

The transformation of the Aztec pictographic image into a European mimetic one is carried further in the Florentine Codex, where the figures are even more corporeal than those in the Magliabechiano. Their proportions more closely approximate those of the human body, most are rendered with their upper torsos turned to a three-quarter view, and many stand firmly on an implied ground. As Quiñones Keber points out in this volume, this visual humanization parallels Sahagún's statements in the appendix to Book 1 that these figures are not actually gods but only humans.[50] Olivier also explores Sahagún's efforts to render the Aztec supernaturals as ordinary people.[51]

Conceptually, also, the images have been gathered into a set, and sets, by nature, establish parity between members of the assemblage and relate them to each other as entities that belong to the same class of thing. Sahagún's team provided what they considered a canonical set of the Aztec pantheon. And this idea of gathering together all the gods in a set probably came from the model of European collections of pagan gods: Albricus and those that followed. The texts in the Florentine Codex are telling, for, like the godly descriptions in Albricus, they present the gods' names and titles, their powers, their ceremonies, and their attire. The Nahuatl and Spanish texts overlap in this respect, but the Spanish texts cover the ideological aspects more thoroughly, while the Nahuatl texts focus more on the attire. Ultimately, only the attire derives from the ancient indigenous image, and then much reduced iconographically and transformed pictorially.

Sahagún's treatments of the Aztec kings and the Aztec gods differ largely because they differentially relied on indigenous and European models. For the rulers, there were precedents in the preexisting annals histories, and perhaps even in special-purpose ones somewhat like that in the Codex Mendoza, which concentrates on the sequence of rulers, the reign lengths, and the conquests. Data from the annals easily made the transfer into the European conceptual category of "rulers," such that the figures themselves retained their pictographic character, and historical events from the annals provided substance for the texts in both the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex. Sahagún's pictorial and textual descriptions of the Aztec kings, then, remain fairly local.

The structured presentation of the gods, however, was more of a challenge, for there was no preconquest antecedent. Moreover, as Olivier explains in the following chapter in this volume, the indigenous supernatural was a contentious concept that was at the heart of the mendicant efforts to extirpate idolatry. The Aztec gods—whether considered *teotl*, *diablome*, or manifest as *teixiptla*—comprised a contested and potentially dangerous realm that called for careful handling, in a way the rulers did not. The gods are omnipresent in the first three books of the Florentine Codex, and Book 1 focuses squarely on them as a set.

Sahagún and his colleagues found a satisfactory conceptual model for this set in the descriptive collections of the pagan gods of antiquity, which had become so popular among European humanists in the sixteenth century. Such collections were ideal templates for presenting foreign gods from a neutral, impartial position. Thus, although the appendix to Sahagún's book of the gods decried the ancient supernaturals as devils and refuted "the idolatry described above,"[52] the descriptive texts that preceded this appendix and that actually explain the gods' realms, attributes, and features were more objective and aligned several with the gods of Roman antiquity.

Sahagún's artists, for their part, might have found models for separating and distinguishing individual gods by noticing this system in woodcuts that illustrated some studies of pagan gods, but their own efforts otherwise stayed closer to indigenous sensitivities. They rendered the gods' distinctive costume elements rather than their realms and mythological aspects and set the figures in undefined, flat space, according to the tradition of indigenous pictography. As Magaloni Kerpel points out, they also organized the figures in rectangular cells that fully fill the page, as in preconquest divinatory almanacs.[53] It was likely from these books of fate that the iconography originally came.

The painted images of the gods in the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex clearly look back to preconquest paintings and practice, but they had been changed in their pictorial essence. The conceptual divide between pictographs of supernatural patrons in the con-

text of a preconquest almanac and the pictorial and descriptive listing of Aztec gods that Sahagún ultimately desired meant that the original preconquest images had to be fundamentally transformed: they had to be stripped of their prognosticatory associations, reconceptualized as painted replicas of three-dimensional physical entities, and subsumed within an encyclopedic effort modeled after European goals.

European encyclopedic models helped Sahagún and his indigenous collaborators construct, or reconstruct, what we would now call ethnographic knowledge about native peoples. The raw data of this knowledge, however, remained grounded in indigenous practice and in the figures and paintings of Mexican pictography. In Mexico, the European model joined the native image to create cultural encyclopedias that are uniquely pictorial. No other culture colonized by Europeans in the early modern period was documented in paintings to the extent that the Aztecs of Mexico were. The prominence of the paintings in these cultural encyclopedias remains a legacy of the indigenous tradition of Mexican pictography.

NOTES

1. On the Greco-Roman sources, see Hernández de León-Portilla 2002, 41–59.

2. In the introduction to this volume, Terraciano cites several other sources. See also Garibay K. 1953–1954, 2:66–71; Anderson in Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 34; Pliny the Elder 2004.

3. Robertson 1959, 169–172; 1966. For Bartholomeus, see Seymour et al. 1992.

4. Garibay K. 1953–1954, 2:66–71. The Pliny connection has since been further developed by Palmeri Capesciotti (2011) and Escalante Gonzalbo (1999).

5. Baird 1993, 17–18; Beazley 1903; Boemus 1520; Boemus 1970; Vergil 2002. These early ethnologists are discussed by Hodgen (1953; 1964, 91; 1966). See also Vogel 1995, 19–20; and Boone 2010, 372–388.

6. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 8, fols. 1–10r (2:251r–260r).

7. Sahagún 1993, RAH (Real Academia de la Historia) 51r–53v; 1997, 185–196.

8. For analyses of the blue cape, see Anawalt 1990; 1993, 30–36; 1996, 187–206.

9. Most of the rulers of Texcoco and Huexotla are differently dressed, but all lose the turquoise diadem and turquoise cape at the point of the conquest.

10. Mengin 1952, 387–498. For the Codex Mendoza, see Berdan and Anawalt 1992. Similar features are characteristic of the annals in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis; see Quinoñes Keber 1995. For the Codex Aubin, see Lehmann and Kutscher 1981. For a synthetic study of the pictorial histories, see Boone 2000.

11. Sahagún 1997, 186.

12. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 8, 1–2.

13. Gibson 1964, 44; Smith and Parmenter 1991, 20, 32.

14. Exceptions are the Codex Mexicanus (atlas, plates 69–70; see Mengin 1952), where the annalist twice includes a figure in combat, presumed to be Axayacatl but glyphically unnamed; and the Codex Boturini (Huitzilihuitl brought before Cocoxtli; see Corona Núñez 1964–1967, 2:20, plate 20).

15. Peterson in personal communication with the author.

16. Durán 1579, fol. 41v. Published in Durán 1967, 2: plate 14; and 1994, plate 14.

17. Durán 1579, fol. 25r.

18. Durán 1579, fol. 111r; see also fol. 176v.

19. Durán 1579, fol. 202r. For the folding hip chair as an icon of rule, see Diel 2005, 307–317. See Pastoureau 2008, 100–103, for black clothing as "the luxury of princes," especially championed by the Habsburgs.

20. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 8, 1–14.

21. Botta (2010, 411–432) has explored the idea that the Aztec "pantheon" was a Franciscan invention.

22. Bassett, chapter 9 of this volume; Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

23. Varthema 1515.

24. See also figure 5.2 in this volume, p. 83. Sahagún 1993b, 261r–267r; 1997, 93.

25. Quiñones Keber, chapter 5 of this volume.

26. See also figure 5.4 in this volume, p. 84. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, three folios paginated in the lower right, 10–12, and fols. 1r–23r; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 1–51. Quiñones Keber (1988a, 255–272; and chap. 5 of this volume) has compared the images and texts in the *Primeros memoriales* with those in the Florentine Codex. Among those who have discussed Sahagún's correlation of the Aztec gods with the Roman gods of antiquity are Olivier (2010, 389–410; 2015, 189–214), Umberger (2015, 83–112), and Laird (2015, 167–187). See also Pohl and Lyons 2010.

27. See Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 1–51, for the Nahuatl, and Sahagún 1974, 29–76. The Spanish texts for Huitzilopochtli, Paynal, Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, Tzapotlantenan, and Ixtlilton ignore the gods' array (Bk. 1, chaps. 1–4, 9, 16).

28. Olivier 2010, 401–402; Olivier 2015, 202–203; Laird 2015, 172.

29. This interest began as early as the seventh century, when Isidore of Seville included a chapter on the pagan gods in his *Etymologiae*. See Isidore 2006.

30. Discussed more extensively in Boone 2010, 372–388. See Seznec 1981 for the Renaissance interest in the pagan gods.

31. Based on the edition of Bode 1834, 153; translated from Latin by Eva Struhal.

32. Seznec 1981, 170; see pp. 170–183 for the features and importance of Albricus's work.

33. Wilkins 1957, 511, 513.

34. Seznec 1981, 225. For Boccaccio, see also Coulter 1923, 317–341; Osgood 1956.

35. Boccaccio 2011, 195. For more on the connection between flowers and eloquent words, see Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume; and Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

36. Seznec 1981, 228–229. Albricus philosophus et al. 1976.

37. Giraldi 1548; Conti 2006; Cartari 1556; Cartari 2012. For a review of the mid-sixteenth-century manuals, see Seznec 1981, 229–256.

38. Cartari 1571; Seznec 1981, 251. The 1647 edition of Cartari's study additionally includes Mexican deity images derived from the Codex Ríos, which has been in the Vatican Library since the late sixteenth century; Anders and Jansen 1996, 377–388.

39. Boccaccio 1489–1499; 1531, fol. 1v. See also a similarly complex

illustration of Saturn in the 1484 French translation of the popular *Ovidius moralizatus*, a moralization of Ovid, by a follower of Albricus; Ovid 1484, fol. 1r.

40. Herold 1554, 330, for Saturn; Pictor 1558, 77, for Saturn. Hyginus 1535, 109–113, illustrates seven planetary gods in their chariots; the other major mythographies before 1560 are scarcely illustrated.

41. Magnus 1555, 100; Mathes 1982, 60.

42. Escalante Gonzalbo, chapter 4 of this volume.

43. Boone 1986, 2, 9; Bassett 2015.

44. López Austin 1974a, 122–123; Nicholson 1988, 229–230.

45. The sequences for the deities in the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex, which differ between themselves, still remain a puzzle, for they are specific to Sahagún's manuscripts and are not reflected in preconquest or other early-colonial codices. Thomas Barthel, Rudolf van Zantwijk, and Ellen Baird have explored, from different perspectives, the notion that Sahagún's listing correlates with the sequence of gods in the divinatory codices. See Barthel 1964; Zantwijk 1982; Baird 1979, 179–222; 1993, 155–157, figs. 59–61.

46. Baird (1993, 117–138) describes the drawing and painting style of the *Primeros memoriales* at length. See also Quiñones Keber 1997, 33–37.

47. Nowotny and Durand-Forest 1974; Seler 1900–1901.

48. Nowotny and Durand-Forest 1974; Anders 1970; Tudela de la Orden 1980; Quiñones Keber 1995.

49. Nicholson 1988, 243.

50. Quiñones Keber, chapter 5 of this volume.

51. Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

52. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 55.

53. Magaloni Kerpel, chapter 10 of this volume.

CHAPTER 7

Teotl and *Diablo*

Indigenous and Christian Conceptions of Gods and Devils in the Florentine Codex

GUILHEM OLIVIER

We cannot deny that in some basic elements there is often a surprising uniformity between Old World and New World art. I recall the step meanders and the running dog who play no less significant a role in ancient Peruvian and ancient Mexican decoration than in the ancient Grecian. Likewise, we acknowledge that single words in Indian languages often bear a remarkable resemblance in sound to those of the languages with which we are familiar, for instance teotl, the Mexican word for "god."

EDUARD SELER, "ON THE ORIGIN OF CENTRAL AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONS"

Without a doubt, among the many subjects addressed by Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators in his sweeping and encyclopedic work, the gods stirred the friar's greatest interest and were the topic to which he devoted the most space.[1] This chapter analyzes how the deities were named and represented in Sahagún's work, taking into account the context in which they appear and the views that are expressed about them, both by the Franciscan and by his Nahua team of scribes and artists. The use of the term "devil," even in the Nahuatl text, along with depictions of diabolic figures in vignettes of the Florentine Codex, reveal some of the ways that Sahagún and his collaborators understood Nahua religion. In particular, by examining how the Franciscan debated the meaning of *teotl*—a Nahuatl term commonly translated as "god"—it may be possible to uncover the diverse and even contradictory strategies that he adopted to combat indigenous beliefs. Despite the "filters" that determined Sahagún's outlook and the fact that his collaborators were professed Christians, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the Nahua concept of *teotl*. Above all, I evaluate Sahagún's deployment of *teotl* in a broader semantic field based on a critical and contextual study of the Nahuatl and Spanish texts in his work. In doing so, I introduce new arguments concerning the discussion of the "divinization" of the Spaniards, who were referred to as *teteo* (plural of *teotl*) in Nahua sources.

Let us begin with the place assigned to the gods in Sahagún's work. Although specific books in the Florentine Codex are devoted to them, pre-Hispanic deities are omnipresent in both the Spanish and Nahuatl columns of text, as well as in the illustrations. In fact, the first three books of the Florentine Codex are dedicated to the description of the gods and their insignia, the feast days when they were venerated, and the origin of the gods, which we might call their myths. The next two books deal with the divinatory calendar and the divine influences that make themselves manifest on specific day signs of the 260-day *tonalpohualli* and the "omens and evils" that characterize the intervention of the gods under special circumstances. Moreover, Book 6, on rhetoric and moral philosophy, begins with prayers addressed to Tezcatlipoca and Tlaloc,[2] and the seventh contains the renowned myth of the origin of the sun and the moon. Whereas the eighth, ninth, and tenth books address more mundane matters related to Nahua society, they nevertheless include important data on the gods of the *pochteca*, or merchants, as well as on the deities venerated by various ethnic groups. Even Book 11, "Earthly Things," contains a number of allusions to the native gods in addition to images of supernatural beings, such as a peculiar representation of Huitzilopochtli (fig. 7.1).[3] Finally, the indigenous version of the conquest in the celebrated twelfth book contains valuable accounts of rituals, such as those carried out during the twenty-day *veintena* of Toxcatl, and a remarkable description of the appearance of Tezcatlipoca, "Lord of the Smoking Mirror," revealing to Motecuhzoma's terrified envoys the apocalyptic vision of their capital city of Tenochtitlan in flames.[4]

The omnipresence of gods in Sahagún's oeuvre repre-

sents two complementary realities: on the one hand, the Franciscan's supreme interest in extirpating native idolatry, and on the other, an interest in identifying the role played by gods in the indigenous world, gods that permeated all aspects of life.[5] As is widely known, the purpose of Sahagún's work was to make known to "preachers and confessors, physicians of the souls . . . the spiritual ailments . . . [such as] the sins of idolatry, idolatrous rituals, idolatrous superstitions, auguries, abuses, and idolatrous ceremonies [that] are not yet completely lost."[6] To carry out this purpose it was necessary to have a command of the Nahuatl language, as fray Bernardino points out in the prologue to the *Historia general*: "This work is like a dragnet to bring to light all the words of this language with their exact and metaphorical meanings, and all the ways of speaking, and most of their ancient practices, the good and evil."[7]

Sahagún's mission to exhaustively record the Nahuatl language naturally extended to the numerous members of the Nahua pantheon. Although certain gods—such as Huitzilopochtli, Tlaloc, Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and so forth—were well known through other textual sources, other deities would have remained completely unknown were it not for the Franciscan's work. For example, it would appear that the only extant reference to Xiuhtlati and Xilo, the goddesses of feather artisans (or *amanteca*), comes from the Florentine Codex.[8] Similarly, Sahagún's collaborators—some of whom were most likely linked to the merchant guild—provide a long list of the numina that they venerated.[9] Furthermore, Nahuatl texts—prayers, for example—present the rich divine nomenclature associated with one deity or another. Tezcatlipoca is presented under the names of Titlacahuan, Yaotl, Necoc Yaotl, Telpochtli, Yohualli Ehecatl, Ce Miquiztli, and Ome Acatl, as well as his names linked to the supreme deity, Monenequi, Moyocoyani, Tloque Nahuaque, Ipalnemoani, and others.[10]

In addition to discovering the countless visages concealing the devil, Sahagún attempted to prevent indigenous people from adopting these pagan names. Indeed, by speaking of four aspects of the goddess Tlazolteotl, Sahagún explains: "Of these four goddesses they took and still take their names for Mexican women, which are Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlacu, Xuco. It is better to remove them."[11] At the same time, after listing the twelve pulque gods, the friar states, "Until today these diabolical names endured among the noble men."[12]

Yet names, as well as divine representations and their associated rituals, were captured in Sahagún's work; lists of attire recorded in Nahuatl and in a rich iconography have been the subject of considerable study. Even though they were influenced by a Western anthropomorphic tradition, the representations of the gods in the *Primeros memoriales* and the Florentine Codex adhere to the ancient pictographic tradition through their identifying insignia.[13] Other images illustrate the appearance of deities, at times under the guise of their animal doubles, and their performances during myths, such as the birth of Huitzilopochtli or Quetzalcoatl's heroic deeds in Tollan. The *tlacuiloque* (scribes/artists, plural of *tlacuilo*) painted acts of devotion and offerings, as well as the unfolding of feast days that featured the participation of the *ixiptla* (impersonator or image), a slave or war captive who personified the gods.

Noteworthy is the fact that even when showing the production of statues or the veneration to which they were dedicated, the divine representations are always depicted as living persons.[14] Although some of the painted figures are *ixiptlahuan*, or god surrogates, in other cases this systematic anthropomorphism seems to respond to a strategy that consisted of stripping divinity from the pre-Hispanic gods, in other words, in presenting them as ordinary men.[15] I will show that this iconographic strategy also has its parallels in the text with Sahagún's usage of the theory of the Greek Euhemerus.[16]

FIGURE 7.1. *Huitzilopochtli with a falcon. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 47v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 7.2. *Representation of Tlaloc as a devil. Florentine Codex, Bk. 6, fol. 28r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

The diabolical figures that Sahagún's collaborators called *diablome* and even *diablosme*, using the Spanish term with a Nahuatl plural, should be added to this corpus of "divine" representations. Ever pessimistic and always suspicious, the Franciscan warned readers, "I know of a certainty that neither does the devil sleep nor is the reverence these natives render him forgotten; and that he is awaiting an opportunity, that he may return to the dominion he has held. And it will then be an easy matter for him to awaken all things pertaining to idolatry that are said to be forgotten. And for that time it is good that we have weapons on hand to meet with him."[17] Despite this warning, it is significant that there are relatively few images of devil-like creatures in the Florentine Codex. Furthermore, and somewhat paradoxically, although Sahagún's Nahua collaborators used the terms *diablome* or *diablosme* to describe the native gods in the first books of the Florentine Codex, it is not until Book 6 that we find the presence of a European devil in the illustrated vignettes. In this case, we see a devil with horns taking the place of Tlaloc to receive offerings in times of drought (fig. 7.2).[18] In Book 7, to illustrate the ritual of the end of the fifty-two-year century, which consisted of renewing domestic utensils, a vignette shows an angry man tossing out pieces of ceramics and stone, as well as a smiling European devil.[19] A similar devil appears as a statue or a sacred bundle borne by a priest.[20] A devil with a serpent tail witnesses a human sacrifice, while another appears behind the procuress who tries to tempt a woman to become a prostitute (fig. 7.3).[21] And in Book 11, a devil with a bird's head and clawed hands and feet perches atop a hallucinogenic mushroom, while an analogous figure, with a bird head and talons but with a human body and loincloth, stands before a large stone that is a type of jet (fig. 7.4).[22]

The Nahuatl names for both this mushroom (*teonanacatl*, or divine mushroom) and the jet stone (*teotetl*, or divine stone)—names that included the prefix *teo-* from *teotl*—might explain the presence of the devils in these vignettes; that is, the image of the devil served to express the word *teotl*. However, another interpretation is possible of the "devil" figure as Huitzilopochtli,[23] who is similarly represented on folio 47v of the same Book 11 (see fig. 7.1). Therefore, in both the name of the stone, *teotetl*,[24] and that of *teonanacatl*, Huitzilopochtli might represent the word *teotl*, perhaps given his identification with the sun. On the one hand, the solar identification of Huitzilopochtli is explicitly expressed in the text accompanying his depiction on folio 47v;[25] on the other hand, Sahagún states, "they called the sun *teotl* because of its beauty," which is confirmed by his Nahua collaborators when they describe the celestial orb: "The sun: the soaring eagle, the turquoise prince, the god" (Tonatiuh, quauhtleoanitl, xippilli, teutl).[26] Moreover, the solar disk expresses the word *teotl* in Nahua pictographs.[27] Even if Huitzilopochtli as the sun served as the referent for the word *teotl* in these glyphic compounds, his representation in these cases remains an image that could be called "diabolical," quite unlike its pre-Hispanic and early colonial antecedents.[28]

One final image of devils in the Florentine Codex includes two creatures, one with unruly hair and one a goat, both diabolical animals inside twin temples (fig. 7.5).[29] The pyramid is probably a representation of the Templo Mayor (Great Temple) of Tenochtitlan, with the devils—described by Sahagún's Nahua collaborators as "in tzitzimitl, in coleletli, Diablo"[30]—replacing the images of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc in their respective temples.[31]

More needs to be done to identify the European sources used by the Florentine Codex *tlacuiloque* to render these devils, as well as comparisons with devil iconography in the visual culture of New Spain. As a preliminary observation, the devils in the Florentine Codex lack the accoutrements characteristic of pre-Hispanic deities, unlike the diabolical figures in the Atlas de Durán or in the illustrations accompanying the *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala*.[32] In fact, in these works we find European

FIGURE 7.3. *A devil behind a procuress. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 41r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 7.4. *A devil or Huitzilopochtli before a jet stone* (teotetl). *Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 209v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

devils with headdresses, nose plugs, or masks and serpentine staffs that identify them with specific pre-Hispanic deities. None of this can be found in the Florentine Codex, except perhaps in the case of the hummingbird-headed Huitzilopochtli mentioned earlier.[33] I would like to highlight the scene in the Florentine Codex of the devil that appears behind the procuress, which resembles two sixteenth-century wall paintings in the *visita* chapel of Santa María Xoxoteco, Hidalgo (fig. 7.6).[34] In fact, in these murals each of the women is shadowed by a devil speaking and gesturing to her. In one case, the woman is drinking pulque alongside a man—also with a devil behind him—who is handed a gourd by a third individual.

To return to Book 11 and the chapter dedicated to different types of buildings, we find the sole representation of Christ in the entire Florentine Codex, in an image of a shrine called Totecujo Ichan, or House of Our Lord (fig. 7.7)[35] Several authors have noted the influence of Chris-

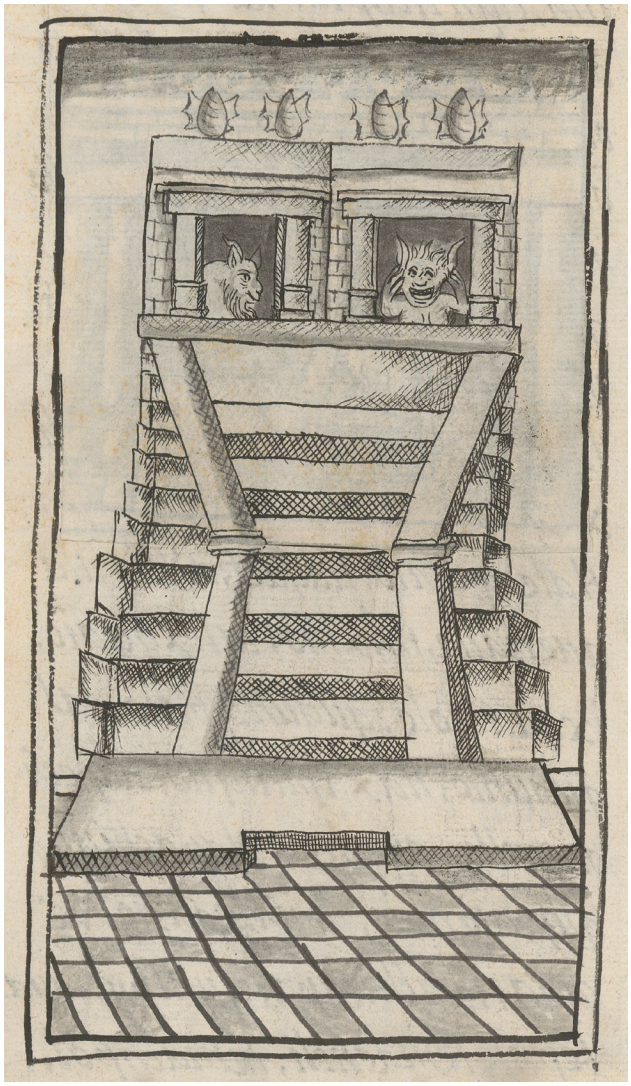


FIGURE 7.5. *Templo Mayor with devils. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 240v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 7.6. *Temptation scene with devils. Mural, Santa María Xoxoteco, Hidalgo. From fig. 54, Juan B. Artigas,* La piel de la arquitectura *(1979). Drawing courtesy of Elbis Domínguez.*

FIGURE 7.7. *Crucifixion scene in the House of Our Lord. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 243r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

tian iconographic models on the *tlacuiloque* who painted the vignettes in the Florentine Codex. Thus, it is clear that Christian models have been used to depict the representatives (*ixiptlahuan*) of the fire god Ixcozauhqui—in this case the figure of ecce homo—and of Tezcatlipoca,[36] as well as for a curing scene, in which the *tlacuiloque* used a model of a pietà, or "lamentation" (fig. 7.8).[37]

Given the host of native gods and faced with the ample semantic field of the word *teotl*, Sahagún not only set about the task of refuting the divine character of members of the Nahua pantheon but also attempted to define and censure the indigenous concept of *teotl*. Thus, when speaking of the sea, *teoatl*, the Franciscan clarifies this term "does not mean 'god of water' or 'goddess of water,' instead it means 'water wondrous in depth and grandeur.'"[38] Sahagún explains that the indigenous people thought the sky and the water met in the sea—expressed by the term *ilhuicaatl* (sky water)—but that "now that the faith has arrived, and they now know that the sky does not meet the water or the land, and therefore they call the sea *hueiatl*, which means 'great and fearsome and raging water.'" In the Nahuatl section, the Franciscan's prudent collaborators return to the same interpretation: "It is called *teuatl*, not that it is a god; it only means wonderful, a great marvel."[39] The indigenous authors also cite and explain the name *ilhuicaatl* to refer to the sea, and they conclude: "But now, because of

the true Faith, it is only called 'uei atl' [great water]."[40] The reader might have noted that the "rational" explanation of the change in the nomenclature of the sea employed by Sahagún—that the indigenous people realized their error in thinking the sea met the sky—vanished in the Nahuatl text. Indeed, his collaborators attributed the change from *teoatl* to *uei atl* solely to the imposition of the new faith.[41]

Another significant example of the use of words with the *teotl* prefix appears in the Nahuatl text of Book 11, where the Nahua authors describe gold, *coztic teocuitlatl*, as follows:

> They named it "the excrement of the sun"; it was very yellow, very wonderful, resting like an ember, like molten gold. So it appears that [the name] gold is taken from this. It is not from God. It is said that this is the sun, for the only God, the true God, was not yet known; for many gods were worshipped. And "sun" was really the name of a god. It was said, "The god comes up; the god is in the middle; here is the god; the god leans on his side; the god enters." *Teotlac* is still said today; it means "the god [the sun] has entered, has set."[42]

It is not known why Sahagún did not deem it necessary to translate or comment in Spanish on this Nahuatl passage describing gold as a divine substance. The fact is that in the left parallel column, facing the Nahuatl text cited above, after briefly stating that gold is found in mines and streams, the Franciscan shifts his attention to describing the uses of sticky materials such as *chapopotli* (tar) and *ulli* (rubber).[43] Be that as it may—despite the friar's shame over his people's greed—the Nahua testimony on gold reinforces the same meaning they attribute to the word *teoatl*, although they offer additional details to support their argument. Essentially, they explain how the name *teocuitlatl* is not related to the concept of deity—which they name *ipalnemoani*, "He for whom everyone lives"—but instead to the sun, *tonatiuh*, while the sole god, the true god, "in jcel teutl, in nelli teutl," was not yet known and many gods (*mjequjntin teteu*) were venerated. In addition to assuming—as I will show—that the term *ipalnemoani* was applied to the Christian God, the Nahua collaborators divest the use of the word *teotl* applied to the sun god of any sacred significance. In fact, they conclude, "*Teotlac* is still said today; it means 'the god [the sun] has entered, has set'" (teutlac noma mjtoa in axcan, qujtoznequj onac, oncalac in teutl); in other words, they present this appellation for the sun as a simple lexical phenomenon deprived of any sacred connotations.

Sahagún persisted in his efforts to limit the semantic field of the word *teotl* and its manifold meanings. In the prologue to Book 11, the Franciscan warns in more general terms:

> This work will also be timely to inform the natives of the meaning of created things, that they not attribute divinity to them, because whatsoever creature they see as being eminent in good or in evil they called *teotl*, which means god. So they called the sun *teotl* because of its beauty; likewise the ocean because of its grandeur, its fury; and also they called many of the animals by this name because of their frightening aspect and ferocity. From this it is inferred that this name, *teotl*, is taken as good and as evil. And this is much better recognized when [the term] is in a compound: as in the name *teopiltzintli*, a very handsome child; *teopiltontli*, very mischievous or bad boy. Many other words are compounded in this same manner, from the meaning of which it can be conjectured that this word *teotl* means a thing consummate in good or in evil.[44]

The compound example that Sahagún chose to illustrate the ambivalent meanings of the word *teotl* is surprising. In effect, it would seem that the difference in meanings between *teopiltzintli* (handsome child) and *teopiltontli* (bad

FIGURE 7.8. *Curing scene modeled after the pietà. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 166r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

boy) may be attributed more to the positive and negative connotations of the suffixes used, *-tzintli* and *-tontli* in these cases, than to the supposed semantic valence of the prefix *teo-*.[45]

Nevertheless, in another part of his work Sahagún criticizes the way that the natives have attributed divinity to the dead, especially to their deceased rulers: "And when one of them died, they used to say of him that he was now *téutl*, which means that he was now dead to be a god spirit. And the ancients believed, deceiving themselves, that the lords, when they died, became gods, which they used to say because the lords that ruled them were obeyed and feared."[46] In other words, just as the devils tricked men into venerating them, the pre-Hispanic rulers sought deification so their subjects would fear and obey them.

The phenomenon that consisted of deifying mortals—which Sahagún condemned—also gave rise to the warning of the first twelve Franciscans when they spoke with the *tlamatinime*, the Nahua wise men, in the famed *Coloquios de los doce* (1564): "we are also people, we are like you, in no way are we gods" (no titlaca in anjuhque amehoantin, amomã titeteu).[47] Later in the same work, emphasis is also placed on the humanity of the pope in Rome, described as "also mortal, transitory" (no miqujnj, poliujnj).[48]

On the subject of the divinization of mortals, it is important to introduce Sahagún's use of an interpretative scheme that came from Euhemerus, a Greek writer born around 316 BCE. In his work entitled *Hiera anagraphē* (Sacred history)—one of the first books translated into Latin—Euhemerus describes a journey of initiation to the island of Panachea. There a golden column was found bearing an inscription that associated the feats of several individuals with the names and origins of deities. According to this inscription, Zeus had been a wise king, Aphrodite a courtesan of the king of Cyprus, Athena a warrior queen, Saturn a king of Latium, and so forth. All the Greek gods were in fact outstanding historical figures who were later deified. Euhemerus's work met with great success in antiquity, but above all at the beginning of the Christian era. In fact, apologists and later fathers of the Church—Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Tertullian, Saint Augustine, and others—used Euhemerus against the pagans to demonstrate the falsity of their gods.[49]

Elsewhere I have emphasized Sahagún's use of Euhemerus's theory, above all in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex, to disparage the native gods with claims of their mortality.[50] For example, the Franciscan claimed that the god Paynal was merely "he who, being a man, was worshipped as a God"; similarly, Opochtli was included among the gods known as *tlaloque*, "even though they knew that he was completely human"; as for Quetzalcoatl, "even though he was a man, they regarded him as a god."[51] In the same way, Sahagún identified Huitzilopochtli and Quetzalcoatl with the deified hero Hercules as another means of highlighting their human origins.[52] Additionally, Sahagún compares the priestly ruler Quetzalcoatl of Tula to "King Arthur among the English."[53] In his further appropriation of Euhemerus's theory, Sahagún notes the case, which he regards as extreme, of the "goddesses called *cihuapipiltin* [that] were all the women who died in their first childbirth and who were canonized as goddesses." And the Franciscan exclaims, not without a touch of misogyny: "This adoration of women is something worthy of mockery and laughter, so there is no need to speak of the confutation of the Holy Scripture by the authorities."[54]

It is equally significant that Sahagún, as well as other friars, appropriated the term *teotl* to refer to the Christian god.[55] Thus, Sahagún refutes idolatry of the natives in the appendix to Book 1, using the term "yn izel teutl ipalnemoanj dios," or "the only god, He for whom everyone lives, God," joining the Spanish word *Dios*, or God, with the terms *teotl* and *ipalnemoani*, the latter of which is employed to refer to the supreme deity and on occasion to Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl.[56] After this explication of the Christian God, Sahagún enumerates the Nahua deities, specifying for each one *ca amo teotl* or *amo teotl*, which means "he is not a god." Similarly, he dismisses the sacred nature of the celestial bodies, such as the sun and moon, the stars, and the earth, as well as the sea.[57]

In another work, the *Coloquios de los doce* (1564), Sahagún goes further in this appropriation by explaining, ostensibly in the words of the twelve Franciscans who first confronted the amazed Nahua priests, that the indigenous people did not know Ipalnemoani, Tloque Nahuaque, the true God, the *nelli teotl*: "In truth all of them whom you have held as gods, none of them is God [*teutl*], none is He for whom everyone lives [*ypalnemoanj*], because all of them are devils [*Diablome*]."[58] Using the same nomenclature that is applied to the supreme deity, the friars established that the god of the conquerors "is truly God, Tloque Nahuaque" (Ca nel dios tloque navaque).[59] As Berenice Alcántara Rojas explains, "By making these terms [*teotl*, Tloque Nahuaque, Ipalnemoani] their own, the authors of the *Coloquios* wanted to disassociate the native words

from their ancient recipients and to reconnect them to the Christian divinity, as had occurred in other times with the word *deus*."[60]

The European schema followed by Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators to describe the ancient gods was also expressed in the order they chose to present them, especially in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex. I have proposed that the division of the pantheon adopted by the Nahua collaborators into major gods, major goddesses, and minor deities corresponds more closely to a Western scheme than to an indigenous classification.[61] A tripartite division is also applied to the deities of the Roman pantheon in the sixteenth-century works of Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan de Torquemada, both authors explicitly citing Saint Augustine's *City of God* as the source for this model. Far from corresponding to an indigenous way of classifying the gods, the taxonomy in Sahagún's work also follows a model inspired by Saint Augustine's *City of God*, a model that has been reproduced by most of the contemporary scholars without questioning its Western origins. To understand the autochthonous divine taxonomies, it is necessary to clarify the diverse ways of ordering the gods in pre-Hispanic religious codices—as patrons of days, of the *trecenas*, lords of the days or thirteen gods, of the night or nine gods, and so forth.[62]

Nonetheless, indigenous conceptions concerning the gods are clearly reflected in certain Nahuatl materials compiled by Sahagún, such as the sacred hymns (that the Franciscan certainly did not translate), prayers, and diverse fragments. It is unfortunate that a short section in the *Primeros memoriales*, "in which are named what were attributed to the gods,"[63] was not developed further in the Florentine Codex. It contains extremely brief definitions applied to the deities; for example, the section on Huitzilopochtli reads, "He nourishes people. He makes people rich. He makes people wealthy. He makes people rulers. He is wrathful with people. He kills people."[64] This description corresponds well with the dual, simultaneously positive-negative vision that the ancient Mexicans had of their gods. For other numina, simple phrases appear, such as in the case of Tlaloc: "He rains. He thunders. He strikes [with lightning]." Other gods are described with a single word: blood (*eztlj*) for Atlahua, adultery (*tetlaximaliztlj*) for the *cihuateteo*, fire (*tletl*) for Ixcozauhqui-Xiuhtecuhtli, pulque (*octli*) for eight different gods of this inebriating brew, and the list goes on. This brief enumeration of attributes in some way defined the essence or the most outstanding features that the Nahuas attributed to these deities.

Book 1 of the Florentine Codex also includes other interesting descriptions: for example, Tezcatlipoca "was considered a true god" (ynin vel teutl ipan machoia); and of Chalchiuhtlicue, Tlaloc, and Xiuhtecuhtli, it is said of each one that "He [or She] was considered a god" (Teutl ipan machoia).[65] For reasons that would be worth pursuing in a more in-depth study, other deities do not merit these identifying traits of divinity.

In the first place, Huitzilopochtli is defined as "only a common man, just a man" (çan maceoalli, çan tlacatl catca); Cihuacoatl, "a savage beast and an evil omen . . . like a court lady" (tequanj yoan tetzaujtl . . . tecpan cioatl); and the *cihuapipiltin*, "These were five devils, whose images were of stone" (*Diablome* catca y, macujltin, teme yn jmixiptlaoan).[66] Other comments more closely approach indigenous conceptions, such as the identification of deities as natural elements defined as the essence of their own bodies: water for Chalchiuhtlicue, corn for Chicomecoatl, turpentine for Tzapotlan Tenan.[67] Deities were also associated with specific towns or social groups: Macuilxochitl and Xochipilli, "gods of the palace folk"; Opochtli, "the god of the waterfolk"; Xipe Totec, "god of the seashore people, the proper god of the Zapotecs"; Yacatecuhtli, "god of the merchants."[68]

A fragment from the *Coloquios de los doce* reveals a discourse in which the *tlamatinime* (wise ones) explain the principal characteristics of the gods they venerate:

> The gods are for whom one lives, they were worthy of us . . . they give us our sustenance, our food, everything that we drink, eat, what is our flesh, corn, beans, amaranth, chia. They are whom we ask for water, rain, from which things are produced on the land. They themselves are rich, they are happy, they have things, they are owners of them. . . . They also give people courage, authority, taking captives in war, the ornament for lips, that which is tied, loincloths, capes, flowers, tobacco, jade, quetzal feathers, gold. . . . Because in this way in our heart [we understand] who is the giver of life, who is the giver of birth, who is the giver of growth, who is the giver of development. That is why [the gods] are invoked, they are supplicated.[69]

In addition to the origin of life, sustenance, and the power of growth, the *tlamatinime* attributed to the gods the ori-

gin of their social customs, from political power and social hierarchy to warfare and sacrificial practices. The wise men also emphasized the "riches" and "happiness" of their gods, as well as the necessary reciprocal homage of the human devotees.

These reflections lead us to the polemic surrounding the possible divinization of the Spaniards, who in Book 12 of the Florentine Codex, as well as in other sources in Nahuatl, are called *teteo*, or gods.[70] No doubt the Spaniards thought they could benefit from this opinion, as revealed by fray Toribio de Benavente, or Motolinía:

> The Spaniards were called *tetehuv*, which means gods, and the Spaniards corrupting the word used to say *teules*, the name that was used for them for three years, until it became clear to the indigenous people that there was no more than one God and that the Spaniards were called Christians, to which some headstrong Spaniards took offense and complained, and indignant against us they said that we robbed them of their name.[71]

From the work of Francisco Clavijero, some scholars have argued that the name of "teules" given to the Spaniards was equivalent to *teuctli* or *tecuhtli*, "noble."[72] It is true that the words *teotl* and *tecuhtli* seem to be interchangeable in names of deities such as Ometeotl, Ometecuhtli, Tlalteotl, Tlaltecuhtli, Meteotl, Cinteotl, Cihuateteo, Mictlantecuhtli, and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, among others. Nevertheless, this identification of the conquerors with deities is documented among other groups of diverse languages, both in Mesoamerica and in other parts of the American continent.[73] For example, when the Spaniards led by Pedro de Alvarado reached Iximche, the Kaqchikel capital, they were seen as gods: "Thus it was when the Spanish people arrived long ago, you my sons! In truth, it was frightening when they arrived; their faces were not known. The lords perceived them as divine beings. We, your fathers, perceived them thus, we who truly saw their arrival at Iximche."[74]

Instead of judging the process of deification of their conquerors as degrading for indigenous people,[75] it seems more appropriate to follow James Lockhart's hypothesis that regards it "as another attempt to include the intruders within the existing framework and bypass (thus implicitly denying or obscuring) the notion of radical distinctness."[76] In point of fact, the semantic field of the word *teotl* was sufficiently broad for the Nahuas to be able to apply it to the Spaniards. Moreover, and this seems to be essential, the native perception of their gods was highly distinct from Christian conceptions. It is worth noting that in Mesoamerica it was customary to negotiate with the gods, to beseech them and give them offerings, as well as to threaten, trick, or insult them.[77] It was also possible to confront a divine apparition, fight with it, and even defeat it. In Book 4 of the Florentine Codex the almighty Tezcatlipoca could be the recipient of insults on the part of penitents or warriors who accused him of causing their diseases, or of having allowed a captive to escape.[78] Similarly, in Book 5 the Lord of the Smoking Mirror appeared on a mountain as a giant or a decapitated man with his chest cut open. Although some fled, terrified by this apparition, other brave warriors or priests confronted it and were able to firmly grasp the giant or the heart of the decapitated figure. After forcing the apparition to speak, the valiant one was rewarded by Tezcatlipoca with a gift of four agave spines, symbolizing the prisoners that he would capture on the battlefield.[79]

As these examples suggest, describing the Spaniards as *teteo* did not imply an attitude of submission or defeat. Supporting this interpretation, Molly Bassett observes that by donning the divine attire sent by Motecuhzoma, Cortés became an *ixiptla* (god surrogate), a status that implied "the possibility that he could be revered and/or sacrificed" (fig. 7.9).[80] A similar explanation can be applied to why the *cazonci*, or king, of the Purépechas in Michoacán "had the Spaniards adorned, as they adorned their gods: with gold garlands and they put their gold bucklers on the neck and each one was given an offering of wine, in large cups, and offerings of amaranth bread and fruit. The *cazonci* would then say: These are gods from the sky."[81] Right before dressing the newcomers as gods, the Purépechas threatened them as follows: "the *cazonci* sent all his men, their skin blackened, to hunt, a considerably large number of people, to frighten the Spaniards and with many bows and arrows and they took many deer and gave the Spaniards five deer."[82] This demonstration of power deployed by the *cazonci*—in which one should remember that the act of hunting is equivalent to an act of war[83]—clearly demonstrates the absence of any attitude of submission on the *cazonci*'s part, even though he identified the Spaniards as divine beings. Kevin Terraciano proposes that the Nahuas perceived Cortés as a "furious and terri-

FIGURE 7.9. *Cortés and divine attire sent by Motecuhzoma. Florentine Codex, Bk. 12, fol. 8v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

fying *teotl*," which supports the preceding hypothesis.[84] In fact, were not Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca also deceitful and bloody warrior gods?

Significantly, we can add the fact that the conquerors came from the sea, *teoatl*, "divine water," used beards like the sun god (*teotl*), wore strange attire, and brought with them ships, horses, and weapons, which made the Spaniards exceptional beings that fit perfectly into the broad category of *teteo*.[85] At the same time the application of the term *teotl* to the conquerors might be related to their identification as envoys or followers of Quetzalcoatl.[86] For instance, according to Alonso de Zorita's chronicle, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards the indigenous people "would say that their god Queçaocouatl [Quetzalcoatl] was soon to come and that he would bring *teucalles* by sea, but when they disembarked they [the natives] said there were many gods, this was said of the Spaniards and in their language they called them *miequeteteuth* [many gods]."[87] Returning to the Florentine Codex, one finds that the Toltecs claimed, "There is only one god; [he is] named Quetzalcoatl."[88] In addition, if one hypothesizes that the Spaniards were somehow regarded as Toltec followers of Quetzalcoatl, it would be necessary to take that into account when the Toltecs were among them: "They addressed one as 'the god, my elder brother; the god, my younger brother.'"[89]

These observations contributed to a debate over the concept of "deity" among the ancient Nahuas.[90] Bassett details the number of Nahuatl terms associated with the word *teotl* in the Florentine Codex:

> According to *teotl*'s use in the *Florentine Codex*—both in overtly religious contexts and seemingly nonreligious ones—*teotl* does indeed mean "god," but the older Nahuatl concept of *teotl*-as-god conveys a culturally specific set of criteria and meanings. *Teotl* is never the monotheistic God, the polytheistic gods, nor simply god. Instead, (1) a *teotl* has *axcaitl* (possessions, property); (2) a *teotl* has a *tonalli* (heat; day sign; fate, fortune, privilege, prerogative); (3) a *teotl* has a *neixcahuilli* (an exclusive thing, occupation, business, pursuit); (4) a *teotl* is *mahuiztic* (something marvelous, awesome, worthy of esteem); and (5) a *teotl* is *tlazohca* (valuable, beloved). Translation of *teotl* as "god" or "deity" should invoke these five properties (*axcaitl*, *tonalli*, *neixcahuilli*, *mahuiztic*, and *tlazohca*).[91]

In addition to these terms that nuance the meaning of the word *teotl*—to which Bassett adds, following the example of Arild Hvidtfeldt, that of *teixiptla*—other Nahuatl terms should also be analyzed, such as *yohualli ehecatl*, "night wind," which is linked to the invisibility of the gods,[92] and *tetzahuitl*, "omen," which often describes deities such as Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca and forms part of the name of a numen, Tetzauhteotl.[93] Additionally, López Austin has made the following provocative observation: "[T]here are vestiges of the relationship between blackness and divinity. . . . The Nahuatl word *teotl*, which means 'god,' seems to have the value of 'blackness' in some compounds."[94] According to Karen Dakin's recent etymological proposal, "the word *teutl* comes from the proto-Uto-Aztecan root **tura*, associated with darkness and the supernatural realm," which invites one to explore the complex world of the gods of Mesoamerica.[95]

At this stage of research on the term *teotl* in Sahagún's corpus, it is time to offer a preliminary assessment. First, I have reviewed the abundant nomenclature for the divine that stems from Sahagún's zeal in exploring the many faces of the pagan gods to prevent natives from adopting

and retaining their names. Although human impersonators of the gods (*ixiptlahuan*) were rendered in vignettes in the Florentine Codex, the systematic process of anthropomorphizing deities visible in the images might be related to the adoption of the Greek theory of euhemerism in order to identify the indigenous numina with deified men. A complementary aspect of this process of identifying Aztec deities with the pagan gods—making them more comprehensible and perhaps less threatening to Europeans[96]—was their assimilation with the multifaceted *diablo* (devil), present both in Nahuatl texts and images of the Florentine Codex. Thus, what is striking is the use of a "demonized" Huitzilopochtli to signify the word *teotl* in glyphic compounds. In the same way, Sahagún's commentaries on the term *teotl* reveal the missionary's double-edged strategy: to deny the divine character of members of the Mexica pantheon, while also appropriating Nahua terms to define the Christian deity. The Nahua collaborators accepted in part the semantic delimitation of the term *teotl* and even added subtle nuances to its divine connotations for certain words, such as those associated with the sun. At the same time, the collaborators assigned to *teotl* the meaning of "god" in the framework of Nahua concepts, as well as the richness of its semantic field.

These linguistic elements, in addition to a few texts specifically dedicated to characterizing the Nahua deities, shed light on the "nature" of the gods, which permits a more complex interpretation of the application of the term *teteo* to the Spaniards. Far from implying a "superstitious" attitude of submission and defeat, it reveals instead a process of integration into Nahua, and other Mesoamerican, cognitive structures. This integrative attitude coincides with one of the principal characteristics that Claude Lévi-Strauss assigned to Amerindian mythological systems, that of containing "a gap" or "a void" (*en creux*), the place of the other, which enabled them to easily assimilate it into their myths.[97] Inspired by this brilliant proposal, I have analyzed how Mesoamerican accounts adopted and integrated the arrival of the Spaniards into their mythical models and temporal cycles.[98] Identifying the newcomers as *teteo* fully exemplifies this system of thought.

As a final testimony on indigenous strategies of integration, I return to the subject of the appropriation of a foreign word to name the gods, a phenomenon that I have examined with the Franciscan use of Nahuatl terminology to define the Christian deity.[99] To the best of my knowledge, scholars have not noticed the existence of an equivalent phenomenon in reverse by Sahagún's Nahua collaborators. In fact, in looking for occurrences of the word *Dios*, or God, in the Nahuatl part of the Florentine Codex—in addition to its use in the appendix of Book 1, in which Sahagún refutes in Nahuatl the divine character of the native numina[100]—it turns out that the Nahua authors used the Spanish word *Dios* on only one significant occasion: to refer to none other than Tezcatlipoca (fig. 7.10). And so one reads with a degree of amazement: "Second Chapter, which telleth how they considered one named Titlacauan or Tezcatlipoca to be a god [*Dios*]; even as an only god [*ce dios*] they believed in him."[101] In this way the indigenous collaborators appropriated the Spanish divine term par excellence—under the very nose of the Franciscan—to define, in their own language, the "Lord of the Smoking Mirror" as their principal divinity.

FIGURE 7.10. *Tezcatlipoca, supreme god of the Nahua pantheon. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 10r (detail). Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

NOTES

1. Translation to English from Spanish by Debra Nagao; English from Nahuatl passages in Florentine Codex, in Sahagún 1950–1982.

2. Sahagún expresses his admiration for the texts in Book 6 and even describes the prayers dedicated to the pagan gods as "very elegant, very moral phrases. And even those that touch upon the gods and their ceremonies can be said to be very theological." Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 9, 71.

3. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 47v.

4. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 12, fol. 18v.

5. Olivier 2002.

6. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 45.

7. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 47.

8. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 9, fol. 58r. See also López Austin and García Quintana (in Sahagún 2000, 1346).

9. Yiacatecuhtli (Nose Lord), Cocochimetl (Soporific[?], Dream Agave[?]), Yacapitzauac (Thin Nose), Chiconquiauitl (Seven Rain), Chalmecaciuatl (Chalma Woman), Acxomocuil (From Whom a Foot Is Taken[?]), Nacxitl (Four Foot), Ce Coatl Utli Melaoac (One Serpent Straight Path), Tlacotzontli (Stick Hair), Çacatzontli (Straw Hair). Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fols. 64, 74; and Bk. 9, fols. 9–10; Olivier 1999.

10. Titlacahuan (We, Our Men; or We, Our People), Yaotl (Enemy), Necoc Yaotl (Enemy of Both Sides), Telpochtli (Young Man), Yohualli Ehecatl (Night Wind), Ce Miquiztli (One Death), Ome Acatl (Two Reed), Monenequi (Capricious One), Moyocoyani (Maker of Oneself), Tloque Nahuaque (Owner of the Near and Far), Ipalnemoani (He for Whom Everyone Lives). Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fol. 5; Bk. 4, fols. 33, 56; Bk. 6, fols. 1–28; Olivier 2003, 11–44. Other examples can be found in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fol. 29; Bk. 4, fols. 87–88; López Austin 1987.

11. Sahagún 2000, 72. The correct names of these goddesses appear in the Nahuatl section of the Florentine Codex (Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 23).

12. Sahagún 2000, 74.

13. Nicholson 1988; Quiñones Keber 1988. See also Quiñones Keber, chapter 5 of this volume; and Boone, chapter 6 of this volume.

14. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fols. 6v, 26r, 35r; Bk. 2, fols. 29v, 60v, 135r; Bk. 3, fols. 4r, 6r, 8v. For a Florentine Codex image depicting the fashioning, then worshipping, of a lifelike wooden deity image, see figure 1.7 in this volume, p. 31.

15. See also Boone, chapter 6 of this volume. Quiñones Keber (chapter 5 of this volume) suggests a Christian source, such as saints identified by their attire and traditional symbols.

16. López Austin 2002; Olivier 2016, 176–179.

17. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 3, 59.

18. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 28r.

19. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 7, fol. 21r. Some scholars have interpreted this devil as an image of an "idol" or effigy of an indigenous god.

20. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 8, fol. 34r.

21. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 7, fol. 34v; Bk. 10, fol. 41r. On the latter image of the devil near the procuress, see Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume.

22. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fols. 142r, 209v.

23. Thouvenot 1982b, 67–68.

24. This stone, *teotetl*, was also used to create divine insignia (Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 161).

25. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 87; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 44.

26. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 7, 1; see Bk. 1, 82; and Bk. 11, 233.

27. Berdan and Anawalt 1992, fols. 10r, 16r, 33r, 42r, 46r, 49r, 51r; Seler 1963, 1:153.

28. Boone 1989.

29. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 240v.

30. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 269. Defined by Molina (1970, fol. 153r) as "name of the devil," the term *tzitzimitl* refers to female skeletal supernatural beings that would descend to the earth to devour men at the end of the Fifth Sun. *Coleletli*, "Certain Devil," according to Molina (1970, fol. 24r), is another term applied to the *tzitzimime* and sometimes to Huitzilopochtli.

31. Boone 1989, 70.

32. Durán 1995, 1: plate 30; Muñoz Camargo 1981, fol. 239v.

33. Some of the devils rendered in the Florentine Codex might be compared, for example, with a diabolical face that appears as the image of a *tzitzimitl* in the Codex Aubin (Lehmann and Kutscher 1981, fol. 40r). The word *tzitzimitl* is used by Sahagún to describe "devils" venerated by the natives: "*Omnes dij gentium demonja*: that is to say, all whom the idolaters worship, all are devils, *tzitzimime*, *culeletin*" (Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 64).

34. Artigas 1979, 53–55, 64–66.

35. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 243r.

36. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 2, fols. 30v–31r, 103r. See also Escalante Gonzalbo 2003; Klein 2015.

37. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 166r; Peterson 1988, 291–292. On the parallels between the representation of the dead ruler Motecuhzoma II and Christ's deposition, see Magaloni Kerpel 2003, 38–39.

38. Sahagún 2000, 1134.

39. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 247.

40. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 247.

41. It is worth noting the word *teoatl* is part of an important *difrasismo*, *teoatl tlachinolli* (sea or divine water, conflagration), which means "war," an expression employed repeatedly in the Florentine Codex and in other indigenous sources (Alvarado Tezozómoc 2001, 285). Other interpretations of the *difrasismo* silence its religious and sacrificial dimension or, conversely, refer to the *teoatl* as sacrificial blood (Seler 1963, 1:14, 90; Garibay K. 1953–1954, 1:101, 2:409; Quiñones Keber 1989; and Wright Carr 2012).

42. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 233.

43. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 213v.

44. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 11, 87.

45. Garibay K. 1978, 54–55; Sullivan 1992, 38–41. According to Garibay (1978, 55), *piltzintli* means "venerable hijito," and *piltontli*, "hijuelo, hijillo."

46. Sahagún 2000, 974–975. Motolinía (1971, 39) confirms that "they called all their dead *teutlh* [*teotl*] so and so, which means god or saint." As for the ancient Mixtecs, fray Antonio de los Reyes (1890, 19) states, "For the dead they also have a different designation, which is: *ñu Andres, ñu Domingo*, the dead Andres, Domingo." Although the friar claimed that the word *ñuhu* means "earth," Maarten Jansen (1982, 308) proposes it can also be translated as "god," which would suggest a "divinization" of the dead, similar to what is mentioned in Nahua sources. Mixtec is a tonal language in which the same "word," when written in the Roman alphabet, can actually refer to very different (and unrelated) words differentiated by tone (Kevin Terraciano, personal communication, June 27, 2016).

47. Sahagún 1986, 102–103.

48. Sahagún 1986, 108–109.

49. Augustine 1994, 1:83, 88, 94, 270, 305, 333, 365–367; Alphandéry 1934; Seznec 1993, 22.

50. Olivier 2016, 176–179; see also López Austin 2002.

51. Sahagún 2000, 70, 73, 97.

52. Sahagún 2000, 308; 1906, fol. 34r; 1979, Bk. 1, fol. 10r.

53. Sahagún 2000, 719.

54. Sahagún 2000, 78–79, 122.

55. Burkhart 1988; Alcántara Rojas 2007, 146; 2008, 179–183. As far as I know, the first to use the term *teotl* for this purpose was fray Pedro de Gante (in Morales 2011, 61). In a 1529 letter, he bade farewell to his Franciscan brothers with this Nahuatl expression: "Ca ye ixquich ma moteneoa in toteh in totlatocauh in Jesu Christo" (Otherwise I have nothing more to say, may Our Lord and his blessed Son Jesus Christ be praised). A similar phenomenon arose among the colonial-period Mayas, who roughly equated *Dios* and *ku* used in reference to non-Christian divinities as well as the Christian god (Hanks 2010, 357).

56. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 63.

57. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 67–76.

58. Sahagún 1986, 175.

59. Sahagún 1986, 164–165.

60. Alcántara Rojas 2007, 147.

61. Olivier 2016, 182–184; Boone, chapter 6 of this volume.

62. On the organization of Maya gods in pre-Hispanic codices, see Vail 2000.

63. Sahagún 1993b, fols. 270v–271r; Sahagún 1997, 121.

64. For this and the following deity descriptions, see Sahagún 1997, 121–122.

65. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 5, 21, 29; Bk. 7, 17.

66. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 1, 11, 19.

67. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 13, 17, 21.

68. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 31, 37, 39, 41.

69. Sahagún 1986, 150–153.

70. Some scholars claim that the sources in which the Spaniards are called "gods" (*teteo*) are "late," and probably were manipulated by the conquistadores. Yet there are mid-sixteenth-century sources, such as the Anales de Tlatelolco (Klaus 1999, 39, 41, 43, 45, 141, 143; Terraciano, chapter 3 of this volume). Moreover, in an Inquisition court case dated 1539, a witness confessed, "[T]he gods had to arrive, this is how they referred to the *xpianos* [Spaniards]" (González Obregón 1912, 183).

71. Motolinía 1971, 171.

72. Clavijero 1987, 303n14. Guzmán in Cortés 1958, 146–147; Pastrana Flores 2004, 113–117. In Peru the Spaniards were called "Viracochas"—the name of an Inca deity identified with the Christian God (Duviols in Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1993, 30, 53; Itier 2013). In fact, "[a]lready, by 1560, the equation of Spanish and the god Viracocha was so generally accepted that Domingo de Santo Tomas, in the first Quechua dictionary, translated *viracocha* as 'Christian'" (Harris 1995, 13). On the continuing usage of *wiraquča* in many Quechua dialects to mean "gentleman, sir from a high social class," see Itier 2013, 35.

73. Wachtel 1971, 49–51. Describing the arrival of Pedro Álvares Cabral on the coast of Brazil in 1500, fray Vicente do Salvador (1889, 5) commented, "[T]he weapons were not necessary, because just from seeing clothed men with shoes, white, and with beards (all of which they lack), they took them as divine and more than men, and in this way, calling them 'caraíba,' which means divine thing in their idiom, they came peacefully to our men."

74. Maxwell and Hill 2006, 260. Matthew Restall (2003, 115) rejects the idea that the indigenous people regarded the Spaniards as gods, saying rather that the original Kaqchikel phrase suggests a figurative meaning. I beg to differ. In any case, the Kaqchikels used the word *k'ab'owil*, which fray Tomás de Coto (1983, 168) lists in his seventeenth-century dictionary under the following entry: "Divine, thing: . . . In ancient times they used to say: *qabovilal*, from *qabovil*, name of the god they venerated."

75. For example, Townsend (2003). This author, along with Restall (2003, 120)—who claims that "[t]he Spaniards-as-gods myth makes sense only if natives are assumed to be 'primitive,' childlike, or half-witted"—does not take into account indigenous conceptions concerning the notion of divinity (see also Terraciano, chapter 3 of this volume) and their capacity to integrate "the other" into their models of explaining the world.

76. Lockhart 1993, 20.

77. Monaghan 1995, 215.

78. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 4, 35; Bk. 5, 163; Garza 1983, 1:286.

79. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 5, 157–159, 175.

80. Bassett 2012, 432.

81. Alcalá 1988, 301.

82. Alcalá 1988, 301.

83. Olivier 2015.

84. Terraciano 2014, 231; and chapter 3 of this volume.

85. Graulich 2014, 309–310.

86. As H. B. Nicholson (2001) and Michel Graulich (2014) argue.

87. Zorita 1999, 1:203.

88. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 10, 169.

89. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 10, pp. 169–170.

90. See León-Portilla 1979; Hvidtfeldt 1958; López Austin 1990a; and Maffie 2014.

91. Bassett 2015, 127.

92. Olivier 2003, 20–24.

93. López Austin 1990a, 161; Vabre 2004.

94. López Austin 1990a, 203.

95. Quoted in Alcántara Rojas 2008, 181. Black light (*nûr-e siyâh*), called Oneness, also connotes the perfection of divine union in Sufi mysticism (Roberto Sánchez Valencia, personal comunication, September 25, 2015).

96. Kevin Terraciano, personal communication, June 28, 2016; and introduction to this volume.

97. Lévi-Strauss 1991.

98. Olivier 2010.

99. See also Baudot 1979.

100. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 55–75. The only other occurrence of the term *Dios* (God) in the Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex is in the title of the appendix to Book 5: "Here are told the different things, which God's [*Dios*] creatures, the idolaters, wrongly believed" (Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 5, 183).

101. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 3, 11.

PART III

ORDERING THE COSMOS

FIGURE 8.1. *Map of the Basin of Mexico. Olga Vanegas.*

CHAPTER 8

Ecology and Leadership

Pantitlan and Other Erratic Phenomena

BARBARA E. MUNDY

The environment of the Basin of Mexico (fig. 8.1) was as life giving as it was lethal. Situated in the temperate highlands of Mexico, the basin yielded bounties of maize, amaranth, chilies, and squash, but lacking a natural outlet for its abundant waters, its summer rains were both needed and dangerous. A great flood engulfed the island cities of Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco in 1499; by the end of the 1530s, drought would grip the basin, followed by yet another flood in 1555. Bernardino de Sahagún and his collaborators in the creation of the Florentine Codex, island residents all, were keen observers of this environment, and as a result they left us a natural history of the world around them of unparalleled richness in Book 11. But the Nahua men who gathered around the Franciscan scholar were more than observers. They were elites and governors as well, and thus the Florentine Codex also registers Nahua ideas on the proper role of leaders.

Environment and rulership were not separate domains, as Nahua rulers not only were leaders of people but also were charged with keeping the relationship to the natural world in balance. Most famously reported in Book 12, when the *huei tlatoani* Moteuczoma learned of the surprising appearance of comets, lightning, and flood, he responded with the appropriate ritual action to set an unbalanced world back to rights. That his actions failed to prevent his own assassination and the invasion of the island by hostile (and largely indigenous) armies under the lead of Hernando Cortés did not mean that two generations later, as Nahua elites gathered to discuss Sahagún's queries, the special linkage between the ruler and the natural world had been severed. Instead the Florentine Codex presents us abundant evidence that its Nahua collaborators were still puzzling out the ceaseless and unfolding pattern of environmental threat and ritual reaction. In this chapter, I focus on two moments of environmental aberration recorded in the Florentine Codex that document cycles of threat and reaction, to argue that the Nahua fascination with the environmentally aberrant—an unsurprising interest given the temperamental environment—continued to be linked to ritual intervention and the need to appease potentially destructive forces. These moments are to be found in Books 1 and 11: the first, an account of the great whirlpool/drain of Pantitlan that lay in the eastern lake of Texcoco, and the second, the abnormal behavior of the *acuitlachtli* (water bear), a small furry animal with an aquatic habitat. These episodes are particularly notable for the images that accompanied them, images that are more than mere illustrations of the text, as is argued throughout this volume, and are equally rich sources of information provided by the book's creators.

Diving into the watery microenvironment in and around the island cities of Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco allows a better purchase on the actual conditions of the book's genesis. More important, it accompanies a shift of our frame of interpretation to *emplacement*, by which I mean a focus on the immediate, physical context of the work's creation. This interpretative frame attempts to move beyond the polarities that structured an earlier body of scholarship, as seen in the next section. So obvious as to be largely

unmentioned, Sahagún and his informants were all residents of the same place, the Basin of Mexico; by the time that they compiled the *Primeros memoriales*, Sahagún had spent more of his life in New Spain than anywhere else, and likely more time in the company of his Nahua collaborators than his Franciscan brothers. Ellen Baird captures some of the social dimensions of emplacement in describing their late-life intimacy—both intellectual and physical—as they found shelter from the plague, from old age, from threatened obscurity, within Tlatelolco's sturdy walls.[1] Certainly in creating the Florentine Codex they all were "navigating the terrain between cultural traditions" (in Peterson's phrase),[2] but that terrain was not a terra incognita. It was home.

INTELLECTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE FLORENTINE CODEX

Authorial control of the text has been of major concern to past scholars.[3] How much of the book is the work of Sahagún? How much is the work of the Nahua informants? In the past, scholars have tended to argue along binaries, pitting ethnicity (Spanish/Nahua) or temporalities (pre-Hispanic/modern Europe) against each other, setting different parts of the text along a spectrum, one end deriving from the purely Nahua (meaning oral and/or pictorial and pre-Hispanic) and the other from the purely Spanish (meaning alphabetic and contemporary European). At one end are set relatively unmediated Nahua orations like the *huehuetlatolli* of Book 6. Thelma Sullivan, a major scholar of Nahuatl, claimed that no other part of the Florentine "is as rich in language or as revealing of the pre-Hispanic Indian mind and thought as [these] rhetorical orations."[4] Set at the middle of the spectrum are the texts "where the informants answered under pressure of a [written] questionnaire" that Sahagún used to elicit responses, whose formats Alfredo López Austin elucidated in a 1974 article.[5] At the other end of the spectrum are set the Spanish-only texts authored by Sahagún alone, which are often found as prologues or "*confutaciones*" in the text. Scholars pursuing the nature of the Florentine's sources have mapped them along complementary binaries: Do pre-Hispanic models predominate? Do imported European ones?

This volume offers abundant evidence that the Florentine is the result of a close collaboration between Sahagún and the Nahua men he gathered around him, rather than a product of one individual author, a category itself made considerably more capacious by poststructuralists. But polarities continue to color scholarship (Spanish Sahagún / European source / modern alphabetic text versus Nahua informants / indigenous source / pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript or oral account). They have the danger of obscuring how much of the Florentine Codex was the product of mutual interests and shared habitus of the Nahuatl-speaking, Spanish-born intellectual and his Spanish-speaking Nahua counterparts; they also tend to constrict an understanding of the breadth of the currents that colored intellectual discourse on both sides of the Atlantic in the sixteenth century, currents in which those men sitting together in convent libraries were eager to participate. To parcel out the content of images along the same binaries also tends to obscure their innovative nature and the shared emplacement of the work's creators. Both innovation and emplacement are seen in the ways the authors (by which I mean Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators) registered responses to local and immediate phenomena.

Rather than tracing the ideas to either expressly "Nahua" or expressly "European" beliefs, heuristic categories in themselves, I see them as localized expressions of relevant ideas that were shaped by habitus. Sahagún and his collaborators all lived within the same city and were responding to the same changes in the local environment. They had access to the same libraries and would have shared in the same confessional practices. And the material that was included in the Florentine Codex had to have been of interest to all of them: while Nahua collaborators were directed by the standardized format of the questionnaire that Sahagún used, at many junctures they expounded freely, expositions that Sahagún included in the final text. The same is true of disruptions to the prescribed format of the page that dictated both the bilingual columns as well as the sizes of the images. Just as with the texts, a moment in which the otherwise even format of the page is ruptured by the image is where the unique and extraordinary phenomenon finds expression. These moments of rupture were ones particularly important to the text's creators, who saw fit to include them.[6]

There is no better place to explore emplacement than in the authors' collective preoccupation with the surrounding environment, evidenced in their decision to include a natural history and in the depth and complexity of the text and its images of Book 11. In doing so, they set "las cosas

de Nueva España" into a format suggested by the books of the ancients. (And who is to say that don Antonio Valeriano, fluent in Latin, steeped in classical texts, could not claim Pliny as a *tlamatini*?) An analysis centered on the images reveals which environmental phenomena preoccupied these elite authors at late century; the images' iconographic content and composition allows me to show the ways that elites underscored their roles as environmental custodians, key intermediaries between the populace and the fickle environmental conditions that the basin subjected them to. Nahua elites had played this intermediary role before the conquest, and the ones gathered within the great Franciscan monastery of Tlatelolco were actively reframing their roles to respond to new environmental challenges and to resonate within Christian parameters, the latter best seen in the artists' use of color.

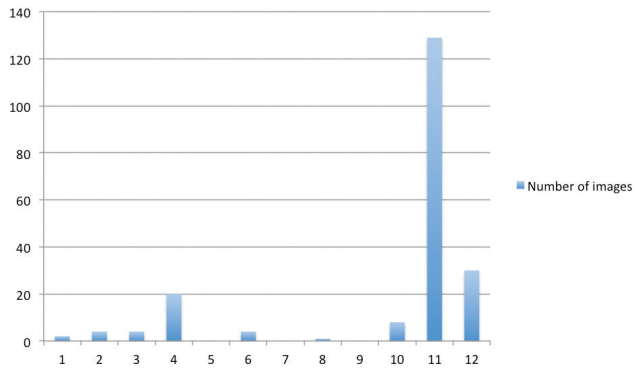


FIGURE 8.2. *Number of images showing water in each of the twelve books of the Florentine Codex.*

ELITES AND THE SHAPING OF THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT

As can be seen in the map in figure 8.1, Tlatelolco and its sister city of Tenochtitlan sat on an island in the middle of a system of lakes, which through careful engineering projects carried out under Mexica rulers during the fifteenth century, and by other *altepetl* in the basin, had been transformed into a veritable paradise. On the map, which reconstructs the system as it existed from 1500 to 1519, one can see a dike and causeway stretching across the bottleneck formed by the skirt of the hill of Huixachtlan (known today as Cerro de la Estrella) near Culhuacan, which resulted in a careful corralling of fresh water in the southern lakes. This dike, as well as ones built to the north and south of the island of Mexico, where Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco were situated, allowed for the buildup of a massive system of chinampa agriculture to provision the basin's burgeoning population, estimated at some quarter of a million people in 1500. The Nezahualcoyotl dike, to the east of the island, further protected the system from flooding coming from the salty Lake Texcoco. While the important sixteenth-century historical sources from the basin have always underscored the unpredictable, and sometimes violent, nature of the city's surrounding waters in the fifteenth century and onward, modern archeological data has further confirmed the extensive manipulation of the lacustrine environment, the engineering marvels of the basin's indigenous peoples. The Florentine Codex was clearly inflected by these local conditions: imagery recording water in some fashion accounts for 204 images, about a quarter of the book's total, and more than half of these appear within Book 11, as the table in figure 8.2 shows.

Through the fifteenth century, as histories of the basin underscore, pre-Hispanic Mexica rulers positioned themselves as custodians of the surrounding basin environment.[7] In particular, they made the island habitable and increased lands for cultivation by sponsoring two kinds of infrastructure projects to deal with the city's waters: huge dikes and causeways were constructed in the lake bed around the city, both to connect the city to neighboring communities and, more importantly, to control the ebb and flow of water during the rainy and dry seasons; in addition, aqueducts were built to provision city residents with fresh water, as scholars such as Ángel Palerm and Luis Gonzalez Aparicio have established.[8] During the rainy season, the waters flooding into Lake Xaltocan, Lake Zumpango, and the salty Lake Texcoco threatened to engulf the city in salt water; during the dry season, enough water needed to enter the system to keep open vital canal routes to provision the city. Solid causeways planked out across the lakes to the mainland to connect neighboring *altepetl*, parceling the lake up into smaller and more manageable sections, and openings in the causeways allowed regulation of the water flow between sections. Such massive infrastructure projects were often connected to ruling elites. Notably, two of the most important projects bore the names of sponsoring rulers: the great dike of Nezahualcoyotl, which was the main bulwark against saltwater flooding from Lake Texcoco, was named for ruler of the *altepetl* of Texcoco (r. 1431–1472); the dike of Ahuitzotl, which further protected the eastern flank of the island of

Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco, took the name of its Mexica *huei tlatoani* (r. 1486–1502).

After the conquest, the crucial role of elites did not come to an end; they were the ones who possessed the technical know-how as well as the ability to manage the huge labor gangs necessary for water-management projects. Two examples will suffice to make the point. During the siege of the city in 1521, the conquistador Cortés broke the pipes from the springs at Chapultepec, starving the city into submission;[9] in the aftermath of the war, it was the Mexica nobility who stepped in to rebuild the city, including, in all likelihood, provisioning it with water.[10] In 1555, a catastrophic flood engulfed the city. Thousands of workers were marshaled to reinforce dikes that the Mexica had carefully engineered but that the Spanish-run government of the city had neglected. The viceroy, don Luis de Velasco, called in indigenous leaders to help him confront the crisis, and an indigenous account in the Codex Osuna underscores the crucial role that the indigenous labor force, organized by indigenous elites, played in rebuilding the dikes.[11] These are but two examples of the continuing role native elites played in maintaining the water infrastructure.

These roles were not only practical; they were also ideologically charged, in that human communities were conceived of as continuous with the environment. Such continuity is indicated by the Nahuatl term *altepetl*, combining words for "water" and "hill." Hills and mountains were conceived of as the containers of water, and water was crucial for agriculture and human survival. Mountains not only were biologically and socially essential but also were perceived of as animate embodiments of divine beings.[12] An *altepetl*'s *tlatoani*, including the Mexica *huei tlatoani*, was conceived of as the protector of his *altepetl*, charged with maintaining the balance between the human community and the forces of nature, such forces conceived of as deities. Thus the *tlatoani* was not only a political leader but also a head priest. Indeed, he was conceived of as a great tree sheltering his people. Such an idea was expressed by the Dominican Diego Durán, who recorded an oration that Nezahualcoyotl was believed to have delivered to Moteuczoma I, the Mexica ruler (r. 1440–1469): "You well know, great prince, that all your subjects, nobles as well as the common people, are under your shade for you have been planted here like a great juniper tree [*sabina*] under which men wish to rest in order to take pleasure in the freshness of your friendship and love."[13] By *sabina* (*Juniperus* sect. *Sabina*), Durán probably meant the native *ahuehuetl*, or cypress, which is an enormous, long-lived, water-loving tree that often grows near springs or other sources of fresh water.[14] It is described in the Florentine in terms similar to Durán's quoted oration: "It is large, high, thick, shady, shadowy. There is constant entering into its shade; under it one is shaded."[15] Metaphoric couplets in Book 6 where rulership is "*pochotl* [silk cotton], *ahuehuetl*," make a similar point, as does that book's comparison between forefathers and trees that provide shade and water.[16]

That the ruler should be thought of as a water-loving tree corresponds to his responsibility to supply the *altepetl* residents with fresh water, evidence of which is found in surviving remains of aqueducts and expansions of chinampa agriculture—all of them almost certainly public works projects—built around the basin to serve its peoples.[17] But to talk of "human community" and "nature," and to set these terms in opposition, is to rely on heuristic devices that reflect a Western idea of the cosmos: in all likelihood, the Nahua did not see the two as opposed entities, but rather as a more integrated whole. But the more salient point is this: when water supplies dried up during periods of drought, it was the Nahua ruler's responsibility to rebalance the relationships with the forces of the divine, and to restore the normal supply of life-giving water. Such responsibility of rulers did not end when the Spanish assumed political control of the basin. In 1539, when the basin was gripped by a major drought, the peoples of Huexotzinco made desperate appeals at mountaintop Tlaloc shrines for the rains to return, appeals that were condoned, if not led, by basin elites.[18] These appeals to the ancient god to end the drought came to light in Bishop Zumárraga's investigations of idolatry among the Texcocan elite, an investigation that quickly led to accusations against the Texcocan lord don Carlos Ometochtli, among them of idolatry, and he was burned at the stake in Mexico's main plaza in November of 1539. While it is usually the tragic figure of don Carlos that commands attention, as well as the interfamilial battles that caused him to fall, the case also underscores the traditional role of elites in maintaining relationships with the protective water deities who lived in surrounding mountains, as most recently argued by León García Garagarza.

Having established the ongoing role of Mexica elites in water management, both "practical" and "religious" (the distinction deriving from modern secular Western categories, not Nahua or Catholic ones), I turn to the Florentine Codex, and to the collaborator that Sahagún described

as "the leader, and wisest," don Antonio Valeriano, to further emphasize that the role of environmental custodian continued during the sixteenth century. Valeriano was also a member of the high Mexica elite, involved in a number of water infrastructure projects. Born around 1522 in Azcapotzalco, Valeriano was a great-grandson of Axayacatl, as María Castañeda de la Paz has demonstrated.[19] After the death of Mexico City's indigenous governor, don Luis Cipac, in 1565, and an interregnum of almost a decade, Valeriano was seated as *juez-gobernador* (judge and governor) of the indigenous city in 1573, a position of both judicial and executive authority. When Valeriano was in his fifties and serving as governor, he would spearhead a project to bring more potable water from Chapultepec to the city, particularly to its thousands of indigenous residents, whose own access to fresh water had been curtailed by the city's Spanish-led households.[20] This aqueduct-building project of 1575 to 1582 overlapped with the final drafting of the Florentine.

PANTITLAN

Valeriano's manipulations of the environment were echoed in the work of his fellow Nahua who helped create the Florentine, a work that reveals them to have been highly sensitive observers of their unique lacustrine local environment as well as its flora and fauna.[21] Despite the interest they expressed through texts, most of the illustrations that capture landscapes are fairly generic ones, hard to pin to unique places in the Basin of Mexico. A singular exception is the image of Pantitlan, a kind of whirlpool that existed in the eastern lake, about a mile off the dike that protected the eastern edge of Tenochtitlan and near Tepetzinco (see figure 8.1). The image breaks out of the neat formatting that guides most of the book: unlike other illustrations in the codex that are typically one column wide and about a quarter of a page high, this one occupies more than half the left-hand column of the page (fig. 8.3). In the upper two thirds of the image, the artist offers a bird's-eye view of a portion of the lake, the horizontal wavy lines and swirls conveying water. A brownish ring dominates this upper part, the stipples across its surface identifying it as earth that rises like a berm above the water level. Set into the earthen ring are white flags. In this context, these flags also function as a place-name. *Pamitl* (which combines as *pan-*) means "banner," *-ti-* is a ligature, and *-tlan* means "place of," so that Pantitlan means "Place of the Banners." Since the Florentine Codex shows similar white flags in the hands of victims to be sacrificed, Pantitlan can also be interpreted to mean "Place of Sacrifice." At the center of the earthen ring is a square construction with four sets of stairs on each flank ascending to a water-filled middle or cistern.

In the lower quarter of the image, the artist shifts perspective, and here we see three canoes as if viewed from the surface of the lake. Their three oarsmen all engage with the circular precinct. The one at left seems to have just thrown one of the green objects into the water in the center; the one at center holds up a box made of woven reeds; and the one at right holds a ceramic pitcher aloft, its form similar to the pitchers that are visible in the water, as if it, too, is destined to be an offering. At the top of the image, the lake fades into mudflats, and three waterbirds are visible, the one at the left foraging in the soft muck.

The colors are unusual: typically, in sixteenth-century maps from the basin, the artists opt for a standard palette of cochineal red, ochre yellow (for earth), and the brilliant turquoise we know as Maya blue (for water). In this image, the color register is shifted from red / yellow / turquoise blue to orange / green / blue violet; instead of Maya blue for the water, the artist uses a deep blue-violet pigment. It contrasts with the vivid green used for some of the offerings and on the large vessel in the canoe at right. The pigment used for both the men and their canoes is quite orange, more so than the flesh color used in other parts of the manuscript, and offers yet another dramatic contrast to the violet. In a manuscript where color was used sparingly, this blue violet, a transparent organic pigment almost certainly derived from indigo, has dramatic visual impact.[22]

The larger size of the image of Pantitlan is also dramatic but not especially called for by the accompanying text, a long chapter describing the worship of the *tlaloque*, a complex of water and related mountain deities.[23] The last sentence of the Spanish text simply states that at the end of the main festival in their honor, all the adornments and vessels used for that feast were taken up and pitched into the *sumidero*, or drain, of Pantitlan. The Nahuatl text pays more attention to the kind of stuff that was disposed of: "And when day broke, thereupon took place the disposal of the remains . . . all their adornment—the paper garlands worn over one shoulder . . . their staves of round thick reeds, and their flame sticks, their cloud-bundles; and the jade cups and their little sauce bowls with which [the celebrants] ate, the little wooden bowls and the clay

FIGURE 8.3. *Pantitlan. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 23r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

bowls, all these they left at Tepetzinco, they threw them into the water, off shore, at a place called Pantitlan."[24]

But as we know from other studies of the images of the Florentine, the images are never merely illustrations to the text, and the large size of the Pantitlan image likely corresponds to its ritual importance, made clear in a number of other sections of the Florentine and in other sources. On the feast of Tlaloc, Atlcahualo, the Florentine Codex reports that child sacrifices were made at Tepetzinco and Pantitlan to the rain deity, Tlaloc, in return for abundant rains, stating, "There was the payment of the debt at Tepetzinco or there in the middle of the lake at a place called Pantitlan."[25] These annual child sacrifices had a commemorative function: the *Leyenda de los soles*, a cosmogony written in Nahuatl, perhaps by one of the members of the circle of indigenous intellectuals who helped make the Florentine, recounts the ancient sacrifice at Pantitlan of a young Mexica girl, Quetzalxochitzin, in order to bring the end to a drought, and which resulted in the gift of maize from the rain deities.[26] Recall that the name Pantitlan can be understood as "Place of the Banners," or "Place of Sacrifice." And as Anthony Aveni has demonstrated, Pantitlan was one of a circuit of sites around the basin, threaded together in pre-Hispanic rituals of child sacrifice on Atlcahualo.[27] Aveni has shown that the rituals were carried out at seven sacred sites around the basin, three of them clustering together to form a node on the eastern lake: Pantitlan, the small hill of Tepetzinco (known today as Peñol de los Baños), and Poyauhtlan (at Tepetzinco's foot).[28] Pantitlan was also the site of offerings during the feast of Etzalcualiztli, which was held a few months after Atlcahualo, during the rainy season, when captives in the likenesses of rain gods were sacrificed and their hearts offered at Pantitlan; "cloud vessels" (*mixcomitl*) containing the sacrificial hearts were tossed into the waters, as if to propitiate the water deities.[29] Thus, these sources show three kinds of rituals associated with Pantitlan: the interment of objects used in ritual, the commemorative child sacrifices to bring rain, and the offerings of sacrificial hearts to propitiate the rain deities.

The last two of the rituals taking place at Pantitlan centered on maintaining a steady supply of water, held during the anxious moments before the fall of the rain (Atlcahualo) and upon its arrival (Etzacualiztli), because Pantitlan itself was an environmental index to those changes, a bellwether to the larger conditions that obtained in the lake. The caching of the ritual objects seemed to occur at the beginning of the cycle when the lake levels were low: while the Florentine image of Pantitlan shows canoes approaching the site, the far side shows mudflats at the edge of the lake, corresponding to the conditions one would find in the dry season. In contrast, the written description of Pantitlan during the festival of Etzalcualiztli, which occurred when lake levels were higher, describes a quite different scenario, telling us that when the cloud vessels holding sacrificial hearts were cast into the water, "the water foamed, kept surging, roared, crackled continually, crackled as it surged. Bits of foam were formed."[30]

But any site on the lake could have been chosen if the Mexica were just interested in the rise and fall of water levels. Instead, Pantitlan was understood to be a conduit to a vast system of underground waters that originated in the mountains—these waters could either flow out from Pantitlan or be sucked into it. Like the Florentine's creators, the Dominican chronicler and Mexico City resident Diego Durán also shared a fascination with Pantitlan, and he called it a *sumidero*—that is, a great drain, which, if unplugged, would suck all the water out of the lake. At the same time, he also described it as a place where enormous waves could engulf a boat, even on a windless day.[31] This phenomenon suggests the opposite of a drain, that is, a spring, a place where water could surge upward.

To resolve the dueling natures of Pantitlan as drain/spring, the archeologists Margarita Carballal Staedtler and María Flores Hernández attempted to locate Pantitlan as well as to identify the precise geology that could create such variable effects.[32] While unable to pinpoint the spot, they were able to determine the general region and derive from core samples of the stratigraphy some explanations for the phenomena observed there.[33] Pantitlan sits on a highly seismically active site, at the juncture of plates, and some of the lake's erratic movements might have been produced by frequent seismic microquakes at the site. There also seems to have been underground springs lying beneath the lake bed; during the dry season, pressure from the water in the lake on the tightly packed clay strata beneath might have led to liquefaction of these layers, causing the "drain" effect; seismic activity could do the same. During the rainy season, underground flows of water from the surrounding mountains into the strata below the lake bed might have caused water to explode upward from the lake floor, causing dramatic waves on windless days, as well as the foaming and surging that the Florentine describes.

In the Florentine's image, the outer ring with its ban-

ners shows Pantitlan as protected by a man-made earthen barrier anchored with wooden pilings. This barrier appears similar to the way that the dikes were constructed, where archeologists have shown them to have had retaining walls created by driving tree trunks down into the lake bed for vertical support and then weaving them together with strong saplings to hold the inner fill.[34] Durán tells us that these were the remains of great tree trunks, again objects left over at the end of ceremonies, that were brought to the site at the close of a ritual and driven into the lake bed. He offered eyewitness testimony to these pilings when he reported seeing "great hoary trunks rising from the water" when he passed the site by boat.[35] He does not mention the inner construction, but in my reading, the Pantitlan image captures a dry moment, and the radial four-sided pyramid with a central cache at the center of Pantitlan would have likely been visible only when lake levels were low. When it *was* visible, the architecture served as a kind of alarm clock to signal that the time for ritual had arrived; and given the history of radial pyramids throughout Mesoamerica, it was an appropriate marker for period-ending rites.[36] Unfortunately, the slim opportunity of archeology in the current area (near Mexico City's international airport) has made further exploration of these features nearly impossible, and thus this image may offer a singular piece of evidence about the perceived relationship between Mexica ritual and the watery environment, beyond the more abundant information on mountain ceremonies.

While the image comes in a section of the book concerned with rituals of the pre-Hispanic past, Pantitlan and its waters still posed a very real threat to the Florentine's writers in the 1560s and 1570s. The reasons for the great flood of 1555 were many and various. Incessant Spanish campaigns to build the city using huge amounts of wood as pilings in the swampy lake bed and as roofing materials meant that the surrounding mountains had been denuded of trees; deprived of its natural anchors, the topsoil bled into the lake, and the naked hills became unable to absorb runoff. In addition, the Spanish leaders of the city neglected the elaborate system of dikes that the Mexica had constructed to maintain water levels in the basin, instead choosing to use native work gangs to build their houses and civic and religious buildings, such as the cathedral. Historical evidence suggests that the floodwaters of the 1555 inundation came from the east of the city, that is, from the area around Pantitlan, because in response to the flood, Viceroy Velasco ordered the reconstruction of a dike to protect the east littoral, which would have been the flank of the city closest to Pantitlan.[37] We do not know the role that Valeriano played in the reconstruction of this dike, but we do know that Velasco called on Nahua elites from basin cities to offer advice on how to deal with the catastrophe, and if Valeriano was not among them, members of his family were.[38]

Thus, both Valeriano and Sahagún were living in a moment of terrible aberrations in the normal patterns of the city's lacustrine environment—a sixteenth-century version of climate change, with documented droughts in the late 1530s and terrible flooding in the mid-1550s. These were not the only natural catastrophes. When the Florentine's authors hurriedly worked to finish the last books of the volume, they shut the monastery's doors against the plague that raged outside, a plague that might have killed a quarter of the city's indigenous population.

The image of Pantitlan shows that the Florentine's creators possessed keen awareness of the surrounding environs, as do other parts of the work, particularly Book 11. But it also includes human figures interacting with their environment, and it is important to pay close attention to what they are doing. As the three men bring their boats close to the defined precinct, they throw ceramic vessels, jade objects, including one in the form of a human, and things contained by a woven reed box into the cistern. The great vertical banners may be more of this refuse that remained at the end of a ceremony. The Mexica and other Nahuatl-speaking peoples typically engaged in breakage and cleansing rituals at the end of chronological cycles; in the New Fire ceremony that occurred every fifty-two years, households broke household objects and threw them out. As Byron E. Hamann has noted, "The destruction of household contents reenacted on a homely scale the cosmic devastations that destroyed previous ages of creation."[39] In the case of the festival to the rain deities depicted in the Florentine's image of Pantitlan, the dumping of used-up ritual costumes and vessels and the vertical caching of tree trunks at the site of a radial pyramid was the small-scale equivalent of the wide-scale cleansing of households at New Fire, "in which a new age could be symbolically brought into being."[40] The hillside adjacent to Pantitlan, Tepetzinco, served a similar function. The Codex Chimalpahin, a history of the Mexica written in Nahuatl at the beginning of the seventeenth century, tells us that upon the defeat of the evil sorcerer

Copil, "[Huitzilopochtli] cut off his head and cut open his breast. When he had cut open his breast he took his heart from him. And he placed his head on top of Tepetzintli [or Tepetzinco], a place now named Acopilco, [for] there Copil's head died."[41] Following this sacrifice, the city of Tenochtitlan was founded. Thus, Pantitlan and Tepetzinco are marked as sites where disruptive "refuse" (like the head of the enemy Copil) was interred. In the Florentine's image of Pantitlan, the foreground figures engage in actions that symbolically cleansed and renewed the world while simultaneously ensuring the orderly continuation of their universe.

THE *ACUITLACHTLI*

While Book 1 deals with the world of past ritual, Book 11 is set in the present. Not only does it discuss the sources of water in its chapter 12, but many of the texts and images also deal with plants and animals with aquatic habitats, and thus Book 11 has a great deal to say and show about water. More than half of the 204 images in the Florentine Codex that deal with water appear within Book 11, as the table in figure 8.2 shows. The water-associated animals included in Book 11 were certainly of interest because of their utilitarian value and were often divided into "edible" and "inedible" kinds. But more importantly, their normal behaviors were connected to the overall stability of the environment. This stability is thrown into relief by another aberrant or abnormal episode, in this case the behavior of an animal. Within chapter 2 of Book 11, a chapter devoted to waterbirds, on folios 33v–34v, we are treated to a much longer narrative about the *acuitlachtli*, a name that translates to "water bear." Many names of waterbirds in this section begin with *a*, the root stem of the word *atl*, or water, but in this case *a* is combined with *cuitlachi*, or bear, to describe an animal that is not a bird at all, but instead likely a type of nutria. The name captures the anomalous nature of the animal, a hybrid between a ferocious land mammal and a water creature. According to the text, the animal's normal behavior was to hide under the water, to remain invisible, and to cause the water to boil—a small-scale version of the behavior of Pantitlan.

The opening image to the section on this beast shows the *acuitlachtli* in his watery home of the lake, surrounded by fish and serpents (fig. 8.4). His profile pose, however, is noteworthy, as he sits on his haunches and holds out his clawed hands in front of his body, so they appear horizontal, thus striking the same pose that Mictlantecuhtli, the deity of the underworld, adopts in the Codex Magliabechiano (fig. 8.5). On this page of a manuscript picturing the "idolatrous" rituals of the pre-Hispanic period, Mictlantecuhtli sits atop the stepped temple platform at the right. He is identifiable by his skeletal lower jaw and five small banners composing his fan-shaped headdress. His clawed hands stretch out in front, toward the six penitents at left. In this pose, the *acuitlachtli* of the Florentine is thus visually associated not with the regenerative watery underworld of Tlaloc, the rain deity, but with the realm of the dead.

While it is the normal behavior of most animals that the Florentine's text describes, it is the abnormal behavior of the *acuitlachtli* that catches the authors' attention. Both the Spanish and the Nahuatl texts mention the recent appearance of an *acuitlachtli* in waters from Santa Cruz Cuauhcalco, "which is the spring that flows to Tlatelolco" (*in ompa catqui ameyalli, in huallaticac Sanctiago*).[42] Other sources tell us that water from a spring (known as Xancopinca), which was situated near Cuauhcalco, a site on the lakeshore, was carried by an aqueduct into the center of the urban nucleus of Tlatelolco.[43] The second image of the *acuitlachtli* appearing on relevant folios shows us this episode: the beast, seated with his forelegs on the ground like a dog, appears in a water fountain, defined by a low hexagonal base (fig. 8.6). By its shape and the description in the text, this is likely a freshwater fountain that the indigenous leaders of Tlatelolco had built in the 1550s to capture the Xancopinca waters and serve the urban populace. The construction of this elegant stone fountain was registered in the Codex Tlatelolco, a manuscript of uncertain date that records events of the 1550s and 1560s (fig. 8.7). In this indigenous codex, the fountain is shown with an octagonal base, filled with a blue pigment to signify fresh water; at its center rises the fountain's spigot in the shape of a bird, with streams of water coming out of pipes emerging from its mouth and its chest. This fountain would have been well known to the Florentine's creators, in that it was placed in Tlatelolco's main plaza, just steps from the monastery where the Florentine was being created.

Freshwater sources, like the fountain of Tlatelolco at the center of the island city, had both practical and symbolic importance. A freshwater source was essential for the health and survival of an urban population, and supplying the residents with fresh water was one of the key responsibilities of Nahua rulers both before and after the

FIGURE 8.4. *The* acuitlachtli *(water bear). Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 33v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 8.5. *Mictlantecuhtli, from the Codex Magliabechiano, fol. 79r (late sixteenth century). Ministerio dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Banco Rari 232 (già Magl. XIII, 3).*

FIGURE 8.6. *The* acuitlachtli *in the fountain at Santiago Tlatelolco. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 34r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 8.7. *Fountain at Tlatelolco from the Codex Tlatelolco, section 6 (ca. 1565). Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Reproduced with permission from the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.*

FIGURE 8.8. *Death of the* acuitlachtli. *Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 34v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

conquest, as discussed earlier, and connected to the native concept of *altepetl*.[44] Their interest was shared with that of the Franciscans who engineered water in and around their establishments, evoking the streams of Jerusalem.[45] The entry of such an animal into the city's freshwater source would have been quite threatening, as its dirty and disruptive habits would have fouled the precious liquid that sustained the urban community. The text does not tell us what caused the *acuitlachtli* to end up in the fountain, but contemporary science offers abundant evidence that animals often leave their normal habitats because of some environmental disruption, in the way that rising temperatures in Alaska and the northern Yukon are causing changes in the caribou migrations. Given what we know of the dramatic changes during the sixteenth century in the Basin of Mexico, which was whipsawed between drought and floods, the dramatic changes in lake levels is the most likely cause for the *acuitlachtli*'s aberrant behavior.

The fate of the aberrant *acuitlachtli* would be an unhappy one, but the role of human actors can be understood as an attempt to set the world back in balance. The third and final image of the animal that the Florentine offers shows us the *acuitlachtli* being hunted down by two men with spears, who stand with their feet in shallow water (fig. 8.8). Between them is the shaggy beast, who suffers a spear thrust to its proper right side, the mortal wound emitting a corona of blood. The wounded *acuitlachtli* thus resembles both the human sacrificial victims frequently depicted on the pages of the Florentine as well as the crucified Christ, with a lance piercing his right side. And the text also relates that when one was captured and brought to the ruler of Tlatelolco in the 1530s, "he was so terrified by it that he had it buried in Tepetzinco," that is, on the outcropping of land adjacent to Pantitlan. The burial of the *acuitlachtli*, an animal that strikes the pose of the underworld deity, at the same site as the head of the evil sorcerer Copil, who conspired against the Mexica, was hardly insignificant. The ruler's decision to bury the animal at this spot reasserts an initial ordering act that, at another moment in time, resulted in the foundation of the city in the aftermath of propitiatory sacrifice.

These two cases, then, present a landscape feature, Pantitlan, that was, by its nature, aberrant in its alternations between fountain and drain, and an animal that was also liminal, both furry mammal and aquatic creature (as was

another important transgressive animal, the feathered serpent), and on one notable occasion exhibited aberrant behavior. In both cases, the Florentine's creators make clear that human beings are not powerless, as the codex carefully registers responses as well as the initial phenomena. In the image of Pantitlan, the men in boats consign the refuse from the rain deity feast at the site, thereby paving the way for world renewal. In the image of the *acuitlachtli*, the beast is sacrificed by a thrust of the spear to the chest, as were human victims whose own deaths were necessary to keep the natural (and therefore divine) order of the world in balance. These images ultimately show us the importance of human action in keeping the world in balance, a key principle of Nahua belief.

The form of the spatial representation of Pantitlan is worth underscoring. While we know little of what Pantitlan looked like, the Florentine's artists show it following a recognizable template: a square construction, almost certainly a radial pyramid, surrounded by a ring of water, then by a ring of earth and another ring of water. This is an amplification of the basic template of Aztlan, the mythical place of origin of many of the *altepetl* of the basin. Consider the *Tira de la peregrinación*, page 1 (fig. 8.9). Here, the oval form at left is an island within which a temple, a seated male-female couple, and six small houses appear. The couple faces to the right, as if to watch a solitary oarsman cross the surrounding lake. This oval island, ringed by lake, is the idyllic homeland of Aztlan. The template found its fullest realization in Tenochtitlan itself, which was an island ringed by a lake, which was in turn surrounded by the land of central Mexico, which was then surrounded, or so it once seemed, by the vast seas that stretched out to the east and west forever. Thus Pantitlan, the most dangerous part of the lake, a threat to the order of the world, is here translated into an idealized model, itself a visual synecdoche for the larger achievement of the Mexica in taming the water that surrounded the city. In sum, in these responses to local environmental anomalies, the creators of the Florentine drew on a worldview within which environmental disorder could be set right by a human response, and they cared enough about it to devote pictures and pages of their magnum opus to underscore the point.

FIGURE 8.9. *Departure from Aztlan.* Tira de la peregrinación, *1 (mid-sixteenth century). Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Reproduced with permission from the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.*

COLOR

What can color add to our understanding of this work? Diana Magaloni Kerpel has argued that the application of colored pigment in the images of the deities in Book 1 was meant to emphasize their status as *teixiptla*, or localized embodiments of deities.[46] So now, any consideration of water in the Florentine would seem to be incomplete without discussion of its color.[47] The colors used for water in the Florentine Codex can be basically broken down to four, used in various concentrations—gray, tan, violet, and Maya blue. When one looks at patterns of color used across the manuscript, one pattern is striking—and that is the availability of color. Beginning around folio 179 in Book 11, color disappears almost entirely, likely because the trade networks that supplied urban markets were shut down by the plague that began in 1576. In addition, if we understand that the manuscript, from beginning to end, represents various temporal sequences (Jesús Bustamante García has shown that the trajectory from Book 1 to Book 12 was not an uninterrupted sequence),[48] we can see that in some of the sequences, like the time when artists were at work on Book 11 between folios 48 and 66, Maya blue was abundant. But interestingly, it is not Maya blue that is the favored color for water of the surrounding lakes, but rather a rich violet purple, found as both a concentrated pigment as well as a pale, almost gray wash.

In the case of colors used for water, the Florentine itself is aberrant. In cartographic manuscripts from the same time and place, artists uniformly use turquoise pigment, most likely derived from Maya blue, to show flowing water. As for the Florentine, it is not just that artists would have opted for Maya blue if they had been able to

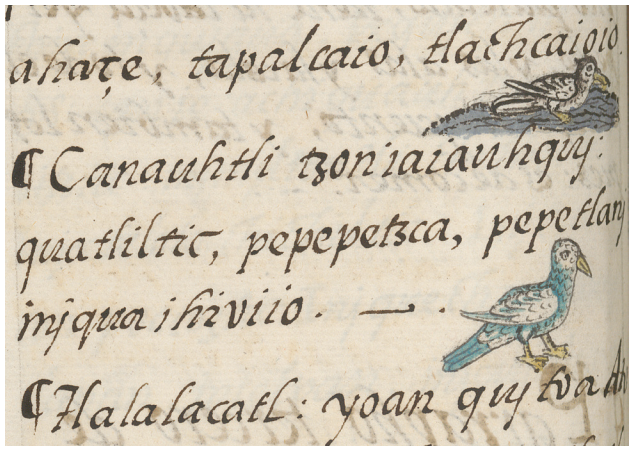


FIGURE 8.10. *Violet* (top) *and Maya blue* (bottom) *pigments were available and used on the same page. Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 26v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

acquire the pigment. In Book 11, chapter 2, folio 26v, the artist working on the page had access to both, but used violet for the water in the figure above and turquoise for the bird below (fig. 8.10). So why the anomalous use of this violet pigment for so much of the water in the Florentine Codex?

Turning to the way water appears in Book 2 offers an interpretive path. This part of the manuscript deals with pre-Hispanic rites, and water is frequently shown in rituals of the washing of infants. Ritual washing, also done during rites of royal consecration, was a way that the Nahua moved from one life state to another. In the case of infants, they moved from the ungendered and unordered neonatal state into a world of gender roles and fixed responsibilities, which were described to them in the orations of the elders. But for those gathered in Tlatelolco, these past ritual washings in water had their present-day correlation in baptism, the first Christian sacrament that brought to their souls the possibility of salvation. In a featherwork now in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato showing Christ as Salvator Mundi, which was perhaps produced in Mexico City, his resplendent cloak is made of purple-hued feathers, the work linking the extraordinary color to Christian salvation.

The water used to effect such passages in the Florentine is almost always violet or violet tinged. And the waters of Pantitlan are also violet tinged. Since this pigment almost never, that I can think of, appears on quotidian maps showing water, the use might be a convention particular to the Florentine. In the books dealing with pre-Hispanic rites, the painters show us water marked by a different level of animation and sacrality than ordinary water, like the waters that ushered the neonate into the local human community. When the Florentine was created, this community was a Christian one, and some of their present-day water, captured in Book 11, shared this color and perhaps its meaning as well.

CONCLUSION

The conquest unleashed terrible environmental changes in the Basin of Mexico, and sixteenth-century residents of the region were well aware that they lived in an era of ecological (particularly hydraulic) turmoil, a time of climate change not unlike our own. In writing about and picturing the surrounding lakes, the minds and imaginations of the intellectuals who worked on the Florentine Codex were snagged on the aberrant behavior of water and of animals. At least one of the scholars, don Antonio Valeriano, was also a ruler and thus, like the long line of rulers that preceded him, bore some responsibility for water management for the community he led. This chapter has barely mentioned the long Franciscan theological tradition dealing with the natural world,[49] but certainly Valeriano's sense of responsibility was deepened by the education he received at the Colegio de Santa Cruz, as was his conviction that propitiatory sacrifice can save the world. By shifting from a Nahua/European binary to *emplacement* as the site of analysis, and in focusing on certain environmental phenomena, I have hoped to show that the creators' innovative responses were not those of "pre-Hispanic" minds, but to suggest that all the Florentine Codex creators were grappling with inherited beliefs and Christian notions as they faced the ever new challenges that their surrounding environment posed. If one accepts that it is these intellectuals' responses that are registered in text and image, one can see how the Florentine underscores the human role in righting ecological disorder, whether it was the carefully tendered offerings at Pantitlan that were carried out before the conquest, or the sacrifice and interment of the *acuitlachtli* at the nearby site of Tepetzinco that was done in the 1530s. At the same time, the Florentine's creators sought ways to make these roles compatible within a Christian framework of baptism and salvation. Despite the tragic cast of their age, these intellectuals still had ac-

cess to a world where human action could set the cosmos right: in the violet waters that ushered the neonate into the human community came both a promise and a responsibility.

NOTES

1. See Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.

2. Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

3. Jiménez Moreno (1938) set the frame by crediting Sahagún with the conception, if not the actual execution, writing that "[l]a concepción—tan grandiose por sí sola—le pertenece a Sahagún de un modo exclusivo." For a summary of the authorship debate up to the early 1970s, see López Austin 1974a, 111–149, esp. p. 112. A more recent summary of this debate is encapsulated in Olivier 2007a.

4. Sullivan 1974, 79.

5. López Austin 1974a, 122.

6. "Sahagún realized the value of the spontaneous information he was receiving, so he let them expound freely, answering questions in the order they wished and narrating digressions that occupy whole chapters" (López Austin 1974a, 131).

7. Mundy 2015, 25–51.

8. González Aparicio 1973; Palerm 1973.

9. Cortés 1969, 111.

10. Mundy 2015, 77–84.

11. Mundy 2015, 199–200; Pérez-Rocha 1996; Rojas Rabiela 1981, 98–115; Cortés Alonso 1973.

12. See Bassett, chapter 9 of this volume.

13. Durán 1994, 125. The Spanish original reads: "Has de saber, señor, que todos aquellos tus vasallos, así principales como gente común, se someten debajo de tu sombra, pues estás puesto por árbol de gran sombra, como la sabina debajo del cual se quieren meter y amparar para gozar del frescor de tu amistad y de tu amor" (Durán 1990, 1:70).

14. While there are many types of juniper native to Mexico, none of them were well known enough to the creators of the Florentine Codex to be listed in Book 11.

15. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 108.

16. Thanks to Jeanette Peterson for this information in Book 6. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 58, 73, 137.

17. Sanders, Parsons, and Santley 1979, 260–281.

18. García Garagarza 2012, 193–214.

19. Castañeda de la Paz 2013, 167, 275–279, 461.

20. Mundy 2015, 190–208.

21. Espinosa Pineda 1996.

22. Diana Magaloni Kerpel, personal communication, 2015.

23. Broda 1971.

24. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, 24. I have changed their translation of *chalchiuhxical* from "turquoise cup" to the more appropriate "jade cup."

25. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 42.

26. Tena 2002, 170, 197.

27. Aveni 1999, 58–73.

28. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 43. The Spanish text identifies Poyauhtlan as at the foot of Mt. Tepetzinco in Tlaxcala, but I suspect that this is an error and Poyauhtlan is at the foot of Tepetzinco in the basin.

29. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, p. 89.

30. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, p. 89.

31. Spanish: Durán 1990, 2:393–400; English: Durán 1971, 164–169.

32. Carballal Staedtler and Flores Hernández 1989a, 8–101.

33. Carballal Staedtler and Flores Hernández 1989a, 258–264.

34. Carballal Staedtler and Flores Hernández 1989b, 71–80.

35. Spanish: Durán 1990, 2:393–400; English: Durán 1971, 165.

36. Tozzer 1957. Thanks to Mary E. Miller for bringing Tozzer's comparison of Pantitlan to the cenote at Chichen Itza to my attention.

37. Pérez-Rocha 1996.

38. Pérez-Rocha 1996.

39. Hamann 2008, 806; Elson and Smith 2001, 157–174.

40. Hamann 2008, 806.

41. Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin 1997, 1:87.

42. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 33. Spanish text: "que es la fuente que viene al Tlatelolco."

43. Castañeda de la Paz 2013, 87, including notes 138 and 139.

44. Mundy 2014.

45. Lara 2004.

46. Magaloni Kerpel 2014; and chapter 10 of this volume. The term "localized embodiments of deities" comes from Bassett 2015.

47. Wolf and Connors 2011; Magaloni Kerpel 2014.

48. Bustamante García 1990, 305–328.

49. Sorrell 1988.

CHAPTER 9

Bundling Natural History

Tlaquimilolli, *Folk Biology*, and Book 11

MOLLY H. BASSETT

Book 11, "Earthly Things," is the lengthiest and most illustrated volume of the Florentine Codex, and given the Church's directive to fray Bernardino de Sahagún—to create an aid in the extirpation of idolatry—its subject, natural history, may seem at odds with the overall project. Attending to the details of "the little insects called fireflies," "the mushrooms," or "the nature of the soils" looks, at least at first glance, irrelevant to the identification and eradication of indigenous religion. However, Aztecs—like many indigenous peoples—did not distinguish nature from culture in the way that moderns did (and do).[1] Neither did they associate nature with God as sixteenth-century Catholics did. In his prologue to Book 11, Sahagún remarked pointedly on natives' confusion about the origin of the natural world, its features and creatures: "This work will also be timely to inform the natives of the meaning of created things, that they not attribute divinity to them."[2] As is clear from the resources he devoted to Book 11, Sahagún valued it as a resource for understanding Nahuatl and for the insight it provided into how Aztecs perceived their environment.

In the following, I argue that Book 11 is crucial to understanding Aztec religion because it showcases some aspects of the folk-biological knowledge essential to the religion's ritual activities. In their introduction to *Folkbiology*, Douglas L. Medin and Scott Atran take the position that "people's actions on the natural world are surely conditioned in part by their ways of knowing and modeling it."[3] Folk biology "reflects rich direct and indirect experience with biological kinds in the indigenous culture," and folk-biological knowledge depends upon intimate contact and social interactions with the local environment and its populations.[4] These are culturally constructed relationships; folk biology is a relational observation of "nature."

Book 11 is essential for understanding Aztec religion in that it reveals connections Aztecs saw between nature and gods and provides specific information about many of the plants, animals, and stones they engaged with in rituals. For example, priests drew on folk biology to wrap *tlaquimilolli* (sacred bundles) that included stones, osseous materials, animal pelts, and other naturally occurring and human-made objects. The bundles' physical construction and material composition were fundamental to their (re)presentation of a *teotl* (god). The surface appearance of objects in bundles signaled a host of associations each carried so that a bundle wrapped in a jaguar pelt incorporated characteristics of the feline. In fact, the multicolored coat of a jaguar pelt and the characteristic blue green of turquoise contributed essential aspects of the animal and the stone to the material composition of the god-body so that nature was bound up in the (re)creation of the divine. The structures of bundles, temples, and mountains suggest that Aztecs highly valued physical rituals, such as layering, wrapping, and clothing, in the production of animate entities and that they saw similar structures as equivalent. Sacred bundles recreated god-bodies, and given their materiality, they also (re)collected folk-biological knowledge. Thus, they represent a mode of engaging the world that incorporates nature and god.

FIGURE 9.1. *Lovely cotinga* (Cotinga amabilis). *Courtesy of William Orellana, Beaks and Peaks.*

COLORING THE SURFACE OF THINGS

My curiosity about surfaces and appearances increased as I noticed mentions of *teotl* in Book 11's descriptions of objects belonging to the natural world, like turquoise. Among the many kinds of jadeite Aztecs knew, they identified three distinct types of *xihuitl*, "turquoise." In addition to *xihuitl* (ordinary "turquoise"), two others—*teoxihuitl* and *tlapalteoxihuitl*—stand out because they contain the prefix *teo-* from *teotl*.[5] The Nahuatl text explains their etymology: *teoxihuitl* "is the property, the lot, of the god; and it means that it is much esteemed, because it does not appear anywhere very often. . . . And when it appears some distance away, it is quite pale, like the lovely cotinga, verily as if smoking" (fig. 9.1).[6] As Guilhem Olivier argues in chapter 7 of this volume, Sahagún's efforts to understand Aztec religion and prepare a guide for its extirpation involved attempts to clarify religious language while also limiting religion's significance. By contrast to the descriptions of *teoatl* (ocean) or *teocuitlatl* (gold), in which Sahagún downplays associations with the gods, *teoxihuitl* seems to have escaped his editorial eye. In fact, the descriptions of *teoxihuitl* and *tlapalteoxihuitl* not only make turquoise's connection with *teotl* clear but also expand the terms' significance by drawing a comparison to the lovely cotinga, a small bird prized for its blue-green feathers.

The *xiuhtototl*, the lovely cotinga (*Cotinga amabilis*), is a beautiful blue bird, "a dweller in Anahuac. . . . Its breast is purple, its back a really light blue, a very light blue, its wings pale, and its tail mixed, part blue-green, part black."[7] Two images of the lovely cotinga's entire body appear alongside bunches of blue, green, and red feathers in Codex Mendoza tribute lists for the province of Xoconochco.[8] Located on the Pacific coast in present-day Chiapas, Xoconochco was home to the bird.[9] Feathers collected there made their way to Tenochtitlan, where feather workers wove them into precious goods, such as the deity clothing listed as belonging to Huitzilopochtli and Teteoinnan in the *Primeros memoriales*.[10] According to the description of Huitzilopochtli in the *Primeros memoriales*, several other blue-green elements adorned the god, including the *xiuhtlapalli* (knotted turquoise cloth), blue stripes on his legs, and his *xiuhcoatl* (turquoise serpent staff).[11]

Turquoise and the lovely cotinga share a single significant attribute: their blue-green color. Color mattered in every sphere of Aztec culture, and the value Aztecs attributed to blue green cannot be overstated. In his study of mining and turquoise in Mesoamerica, Phil Weigand writes, "Turquoise became an extravagantly valuable possession and status marker, laden with so much symbolism that it is difficult for us to comprehend. Turquoise appears at almost every explanatory and symbolic juncture within the Mesoamerican ideological system."[12] Indeed, as Elizabeth Benson notes in *Birds and Beasts of Ancient Latin America*, "The colors of feathers may often have been more significant than the birds they came from."[13] The symbolism that inheres in everything blue green illustrates the significance of color and surface in Aztec culture.[14] Drawing on scientific analyses of pigments in the Florentine Codex, Diana Magaloni Kerpel suggests in this volume and elsewhere that color vivified images.[15]

Given the value and prominence of green stones in Aztec luxury goods and Nahuatl rhetoric, turquoise may appear to have an "essence" that connoted and denoted specific associations.[16] Indeed, the ideas of essences, energies, and forces of the gods have a long history in the study of Aztec religion. Other scholars have argued that Aztec deity images functioned as containers that housed the energy, force, or essence of the god.[17] The interplay be-

tween interiority and exteriority in Aztec understandings of objects in the natural world deserves more attention than I can give it here. For the purposes of this chapter, I contend that Aztecs were acutely aware of and concerned with surfaces, appearances, and color, and their use of equivalences illustrates the importance of the physical forms and materials they employed in ritual activity.

EQUIVALENCES

In the case of the Aztecs, language, image, and matter converged in ritual activities that recognized and produced animate entities and sacred structures in the natural environment and human-made world. Put differently, Aztecs "admitted no ontological distinction between human and nonhuman creation (i.e., ritual/"nature"). . . . Nature was ritualized just as ritual was naturalized."[18] Instead, Aztecs identified specific equivalences and like characteristics in significant objects, entities, and structures. Elsewhere, I argue that the etymology of *teixiptla*, literally "something characterized by a flayed surface," as well as its function in ritual apotheosis, depended on materiality, physicality, and appearance. Aztec mythology and ritual abound in examples of men, women, and things that became gods by taking on the physical appearance and comport of a particular *teotl*. What looked like mounds of amaranth dough were the *tepictoton*, the little mountain gods.[19] What seemed to be a bundle of cloths and blankets was Tezcatlipoca. The *teixiptla* (god-body) is the most striking equivalence in the Aztec cosmovision, but other examples—and some of them quite curious—abound.[20]

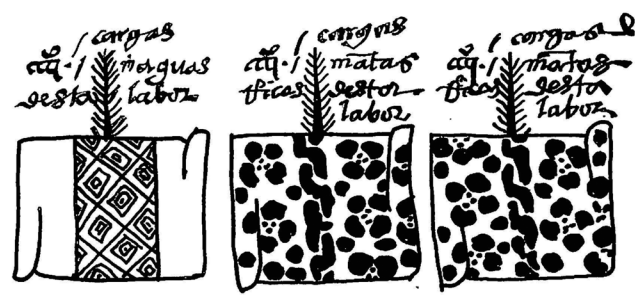
For instance, "the heart-shaped fruit from the [nopal] cactus also served in sacrifice, not because it stood for, or replaced, the human heart but because it was equivalent, one more manifestation of nourishing food."[21] As this example illustrates, Aztec understandings of their local environment operated according to assumptions about animacy and modes of engagement that did not (and, for Nahuas, do not) align with Western conceptions of flora, fauna, and landscape. Importantly, in the equivalence Aztecs made between hearts and *tunas* (nopal fruits), the juicy red *tuna* became the bloody heart just as a *teixiptla* became the god. Processes of ritual manufacture made some things acquire other ways of being, and these ontological transformations facilitated ceremonial activities, including the heart sacrifice of living (formerly human) deity embodiments. The *tuna* was both fruit and flesh, ordinary and extraordinary. A physical and ritual paradigm emerges through the examination of equivalences, and an established equivalence—that of temples and mountains—may be extended to include bundles.

WHY THE BUNDLE IS BETTER

The *quimilli* (bundle), and the related *tlaquimilolli* (sacred bundle), are two of several ways in which Aztecs quantified and, in the case of *tlaquimilolli*, qualified things. Speakers of older Nahuatl routinely used what linguists call classifiers or quantifiers. *Quimilli*, "bundle of cloths or blankets," is the nominalized form of *quimiloa*, "to wrap someone or something in a blanket, to enshroud."[22] Danièle Dehouve identifies *quimilli* as a kind of classifier that quantified groups of twenty beings or things and referred specifically to a wrapped package of twenty capes, cloths, or blankets.[23] Dehouve underscores the significance of the bundle's physical form, its shape: "It must be understood that capes were tied in bundles and not, as in the case of *ipilli* [another class of quantifier], placed one over the other in layers."[24]

The Florentine Codex and other texts from postcontact central Mexico, including the Codex Mendoza, attest to the use of *quimilli* and the Spanish equivalent *carga* in reference to bundles of (twenty) capes or *mantas* (cloths) (fig. 9.2). During the festival of Panquetzaliztli, for example, merchants purchased sacrificial victims in the marketplace. An explanation of the costs associated with purchasing the would-be victims illustrates *quimilli* as a quantifier: "In amo cenca mihmati ic mitotia in ipatiuh cenquimilli ommatlactli. Auh in cualli ic mihtotia in chipahuac inacayo in ipatiuh onquimilli in cuachtli" (If he were not highly skilled as a dancer, his price was thirty

FIGURE 9.2. Mantas *(cloths) in bundles. From the Codex Mendoza, fol. 31r. Drawing by the author.*



large capes. But if he danced well, if he were clean of body, his price was forty large capes).[25] These examples demonstrate how Nahuatl speakers increased the quantity of bundles of capes from twenty to thirty and forty. The unskilled dancer cost *cenquimilli ommactlactli*, one bundle (of twenty) and ten (20 + [2 × 5] = 30), whereas the skilled dancer cost *onquimilli*, two bundles (2 × 20 = 40). This example illustrates how Aztecs used *quimilli* in their marketplace exchanges, and it draws attention to the significance of twenty.

To the Aztecs, bundles represented complete and whole things, and part of *quimilli*'s ability to represent wholeness derives from its association with the number twenty. Like other Mesoamericans, the Aztecs conceived of *cempohualli*, "twenty; one full count," the foundation of their vigesimal numerical system, in relation to entirety and totality.[26] *Cempohualli* is a compound word. *Cem*, "one," attaches to the necessarily bound *-pohualli*, "a unit of twenty in the vigesimal counting system," which comes from the verb *pohua*, "to count something, to read something, to recount, relate, or give account of something, to assign something."[27] The way in which Nahuatl names numbers reflects their close relationship to the human body:

> The basic numbers are given from one to four (*ce*, *ome*, *ei*, *nahui*); number five signifies "what the hand takes" (*macuilli*), numbers six, seven, eight, and nine mean "the incomplete plus one," "plus two," "plus three," and "plus four" (*chicuace*, *chicome*, *chicuei*, *chicnahui*). Ten returns etymologically to hands, as extremities of the upper part of the body (*matlactli*), to distinguish the first two series of five numbers from the following two, which all together made "a count": twenty.[28]

The definition of *cempohualli*/twenty arises from human activity: counting, reading, and relating. That *quimilli* contained twenty cloths or capes brings to the bundle the sense of completeness resulting from the human activities that *cempohualli* connotes.

The significance of *quimilli* in Aztec culture can be extended far beyond its ability to count and quantify. As examples from the Florentine Codex illustrate, the process of wrapping bound things together and into a whole was like wrapping a broken bone that facilitates healing:

> [I]ntla aca mocxipoztequi: yehuatl ic pati, in acocotli, inelhuayo, monamictia, in inelhuayo nopalli moteci, onca onmotema, in oncan omocxipuztec: auh in onmotecac, zatepan lienzotica moquimiloa. . . . auh cempohualihuitica in motomoa. . . . auh in omototoni, zatepan motema: iquac in ye chicahuac, in ye quihuelmati, iicxi.
>
> If someone breaks a leg, it is cured in this way. Acococtli root is added to nopal root, [and] they are ground. They are placed there where the leg is broken. And when they are placed on, then [the leg] is wrapped with a cloth bandage. . . . And after twenty days it is untied. . . . And when the poultice has been applied, then when his leg [is] strong, when it becomes whole, a hot bath is taken.[29]

FIGURE 9.3. *Setting a broken bone. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 238. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Quimilli and *quimiloa* occur in contexts where curing and healing take place through wrapping (fig. 9.3).[30] A "bundle" was more than just a bunch of cloth; it was a physical means of (re)creating wholeness.

The sense of completeness bound up in *quimilli*'s numerical significance, and in wrapping's ability to actively (re)construct the body, contributed to its role in marking temporal and political transitions. The importance of wrapping in ceremonies of establishment and renewal can be seen throughout Amerindian cultures, including those of Mesoamericans.[31] Studies of both *k'altun* (stone binding), a feature of some Maya monumental architecture, and political rhetoric, concerning the roles of bundles and burdens during the transfer of power from one ruler to the next, highlight bundles' connections to bodies, time, and space.

As David Stuart explains, binding, sometimes accompanied by bloodletting, marked critical times of transition, including the end of cosmic eras. Based on stelae in Copán's Tomb 1, Stuart argues, "From what we know of the importance of cloth wrappings and bundles in Mesoamerican ritual, it is reasonable to suppose that the purpose of the *k'altun* ritual was to protect and contain the divine essence held within the stones that embodied time and its movement."[32] The Maya also constructed cloth bundles to transfer power during times of transition, and *ch'ulel*, the divine essence present in stelae like those bearing "stone bindings," imbued rulers. Brian Stross explains that in Maya rulers' inauguration ceremonies, the outgoing ruler passed a knotted bundle, the *i-ka-tz(i)*, or "burden," of office, to his successor.[33]

Similarly, Aztecs spoke of the responsibilities of rulership as a *tlamamalli*, a "burden," and of the transfer of power from one ruler to another as being borne in *quimilli* or on *cacaxtli*, "carrying frames." In the many prayers offered after a ruler's installation, the language of bundles and burdens appears frequently: "O master, O ruler . . . . Now, in truth, thy progenitors, thy great-grandfathers, have departed, have gone on to reside. . . . For they departed placing, they departed leaving the bundle [*quimilli*], the carrying frame [*cacaxtli*], the governed [*in tlaconi in tlamamaloni*]—heavy, intolerable, insupportable."[34] It may be impossible to know the contents of the bundles like those depicted on Yaxchilan Lintels 1 and 2. However, the idea that Maya bundles and their counterparts in Aztec rhetoric contained symbols that transferred the "burden" of office indicates that they were more than inert containers or passive quantifiers.

In addition to ordinary *quimilli*, Aztecs recognized a special category of bundle: the *tlaquimilolli* (sacred bundle). From cloth exteriors to ash, bone, and *chalchihuitl* (greenstone) "heart" interiors, the composite materials of *tlaquimilolli* both constituted the god-body and made it recognizable. Sacred bundles bound together deity relics, but they were more than a simple collection of things. *Tlaquimilolli* were deity manifestations, and according to Andrés de Olmos, sacred bundles were "the main idols held in great reverence, and they did not hold in as much reverence those creatures that adorned buildings or the figures they made from sticks or stones."[35] Elsewhere, Olivier states matter-of-factly that "first and foremost, the tlaquimilolli served to establish a direct communication with the god head . . . the sacred bundle of Tezcatlipoca, which consisted of a wrapped mirror, guided the forefathers of the Tetzcocans, 'talking to them in a human voice [hablando con ellos este espejo en voz humana].'"[36] Given Tezcatlipoca's prominence, biography, and iconography, his *tlaquimilolli* provides an excellent example of how these extraordinary bundles (re)presented gods.

Regardless of the fact that *tlaquimilolli* were neither anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic, devotees identified the gods they embodied by virtue of a bundle's (re)collection of a given god's constitutive qualities.[37] According to Pomar's *Relación de Texcoco* in the *Relaciones geográficas*, Tezcatlipoca's *tlaquimilolli* contained "a polished mirror, the size and measure of half of a large orange, set in a crude black stone. With it were many loose fine stones, including greenstones, emeralds, turquoises, and many other kinds. And the cloth that was closest to the mirror and stones, it was painted with a human skeleton."[38] Bartolomé de Las Casas, a second source, reports that Tezcatlipoca "left his devotees 'el hueso de su muslo' [the bone of his thigh] and a mirror."[39] These reports indicate that people believed Tezcatlipoca's bundle contained a mirror and osseous symbols or remains.

The idea that Tezcatlipoca's *tlaquimilolli* contained a mirror comes as no surprise given the god's many connections to smoking mirrors, in particular, and to obsidian generally.[40] Tezcatlipoca's name means Mirror Smoking, his lower leg/foot is a smoking mirror, and his *tlaquimilolli* contained a smoking mirror bound with a leg bone. Tezcatlipoca both is (Lord of) the Smoking Mirror and is identified by the visual or material smoking mirror. As I argue elsewhere, this makes it difficult (for us) to distinguish the eponym from its embodiment.[41] It also calls attention to the closeness Nahuas experienced in language, representation, and materiality: the thing, its name, and their depiction lacked significant distinction (or, conversely, they overlapped significantly). The bundle was the god, the (re) assembled god-body, and an image of the god, none apart from the other.

Visual evidence of the close connection between *tlaquimilolli* and the burdensome bundle of rule transferred during accession ceremonies appears in two illustrations from Book 8, "Kings and Lords" (figs. 9.4 and 9.5). Both the Nahuatl and Spanish texts surrounding these images indicate that the ruler-elect and his entourage made offerings of incense and blood to Huitzilopochtli in the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan. While the Spanish text stresses that the offerings were made to "la estatua [de Huitzilo-

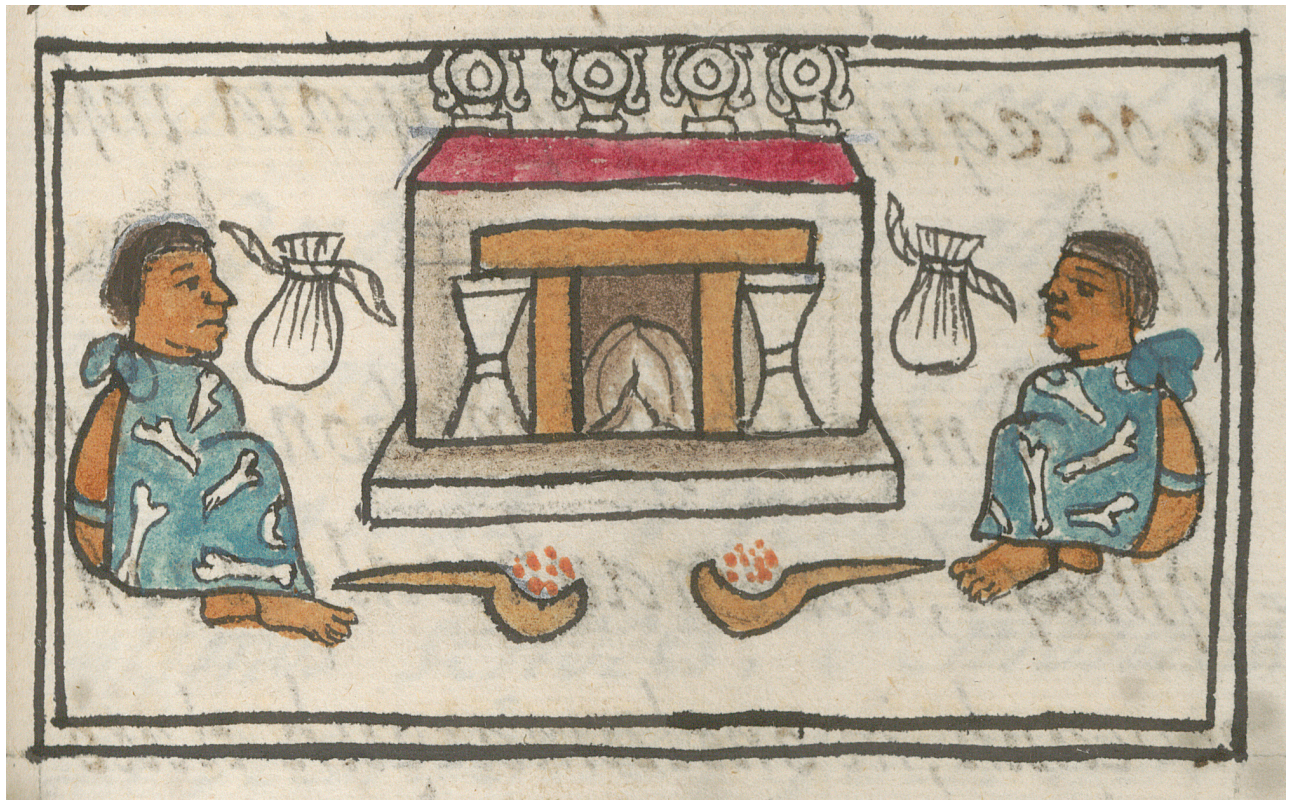


FIGURE 9.4. *Huitzilopochtli's* tlaquimilolli. *Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 46r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

pochtli]," neither the Nahuatl text nor the accompanying images indicate that Huitzilopochtli appeared in iconic form.[42] Each image depicts a *tlaquimilolli*, sacred bundle, in the temple, and the Nahuatl refers simply to Huitzilopochtli: "Auh in yehuantin, papahuaque teopixque: caantiuh in tlatoani in quitlecauja ixpan Huitzilopochtli" (And these long-haired ones, keepers of the gods, went to the ruler, making him go up before [the image of] Huitzilopochtli).[43] By contrast, the Spanish text repeatedly refers to the god's figurative form. This suggests that the three texts' authors/artists registered Huitzilopochtli's appearance differently. By contrast to a statue of Huitzilopochtli, the god's *tlaquimilolli* would have appeared unremarkable in form, if recognizable (to outsiders) at all.

In his examination of Aztec *tlaquimilolli*, Olivier notes that "their study is difficult, partly because of the secret character of the rituals devoted to them."[44] In addition to their rituals being secret, bundles were esoteric objects. The process of their physical manufacture—wrapping—both created and occluded the sources of their powers, the relics around which the cloths and skins wound. Mountains and temples share structural and functional similarities with sacred bundles insofar as both house sacred elements, objects, and entities.

A MOUNTAIN WAS A TEMPLE WAS A BUNDLE

Decades ago Eduardo Matos Moctezuma pointed out that the right side of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan recreates Coatepec.[45] The Templo Mayor's symbolism—its serpent statues and archaeologists' recovery of multiple Coyolxauhqui stones—indicates that the Aztecs recreated the site of their patron god's birth in the heart of their capital's ceremonial center. In the myth of Huitzilopochtli's birth, Coatlicue became pregnant while sweeping the temple/Coatepec, and the Templo Mayor/Coatepec set a ritual stage for the state's reenactment of Huitzilopochtli's triumph over formerly powerful polities. The idea that a temple could be a mountain and that a mountain could be a temple is well established. I am proposing that mountains and temples were also bundles insofar as they shared functional and structural similarities.

FIGURE 9.5. *Huitzilopochtli's* tlaquimilolli. *Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 46v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 9.6. *Chicomexochitl (Seven Flower). Clothed paper effigies constructed during an annual ritual of the same name. Nahua community near Chicontepec, Veracruz, August 2010. Photograph by the author.*

Tlaquimilolli, temples, and mountains were god-bodies (or, in the case of *teocalli*, "temples," god-houses) by virtue of the fact that they contained *teotl*-stuff, god-stuff. As we have already seen, *tlaquimilolli* embodied gods by re-collecting a deity's bioarchaeological remains (Tezcatlipoca's femur), possessions (his mirror), and clothes (animal hide and cloth wrappings). Temples protected *tlaquimilolli* and housed other forms of deity embodiments. An incredible number and variety of god-bodies resided in the many *teocalli* (temples) of the Aztec empire. As figures 9.4 and 9.5 demonstrate, both *tlaquimilolli* and *teocalli* contained gods; *tlaquimilolli* embodied gods, and *teocalli* protected a variety of god-bodies. What, then, about mountains?

Altepetl, literally "water mountain," means "town" or "pueblo," and each Nahua town has its own *tepetl*, mountain. People identify with their *altepetl*, and they identify it with local deities. In the community where I have worked in Veracruz, the *altepetl* is home to the Chicomexochitl (Seven Flower), the "holy" family seen in figure 9.6. The community treats these paper god-bodies as living beings. Indeed, at great expense they orchestrate an elaborate ritual sequence that shapes each figure, dresses it, and endows it with vitality.[46] At the close of the ritual, these gods reside in a family's home for a year, but they also live in/on the community mountain. Like the gods, the mountain is a living, breathing being. As one of the women with whom

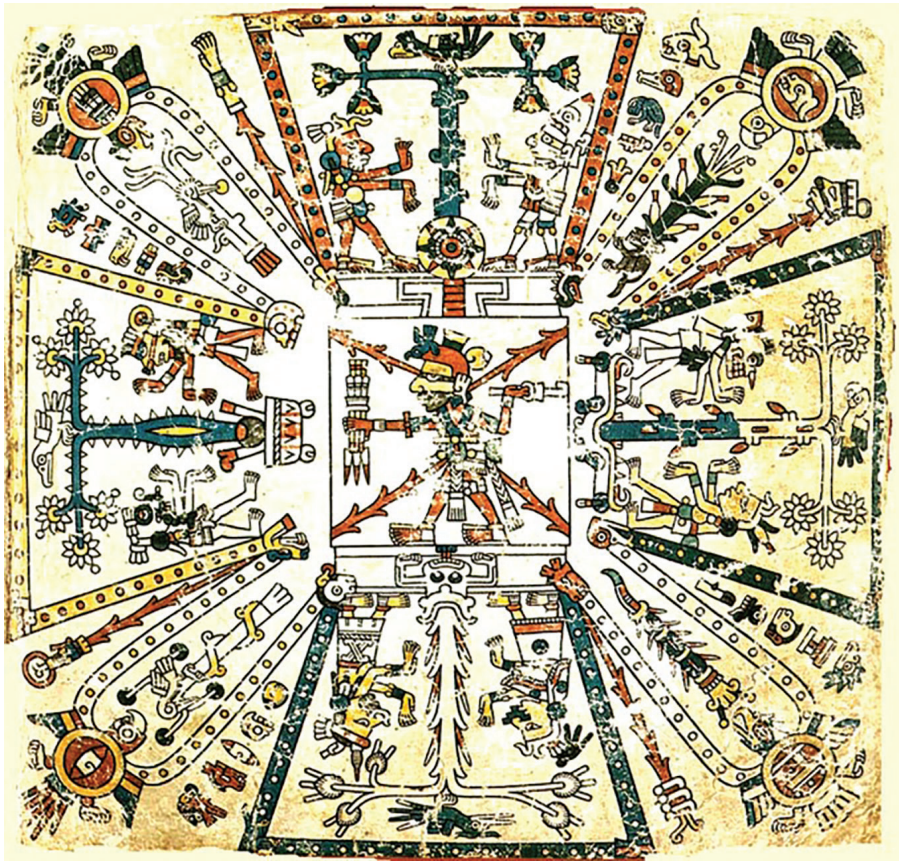


FIGURE 9.7. *Aztec cosmogram. Frontispiece, Codex Fejérváry-Mayer. Courtesy of the National Museum, Liverpool, England.*

I spoke in the Huasteca told me, "Yes [the mountain] is alive." You can tell it is alive, she explained to me, because it needs food, and it talks: "Quemman tlatomoniz ne piltepetzin no como tlanquilia. No tlatomoni quehuac. Ne quennopa ne piltepetzin" (When it thunders, it is as if the hill also answers. It also responds. That's the way the hill is).[47] In Mesoamerica, mountains are alive, and they relate to and participate in a community's social life: they feel hunger; they talk; they house spirits; they embody deities; and they shape identities.

Aztecs and their contemporaries perceived mountains' animacy too. Mountains and volcanoes were active features of the imperial landscape. Aztecs delivered water from the springs of Chapultepec hill, they watched water vapor rise from the smoking mountains that surrounded them, and they compared fog rising from caves to mountains' respiration. Myths recorded in the sixteenth century explain that mountains contained water or corn, the sustaining elements of life. Matos Moctezuma emphasizes the importance of recognizing that "Tlaloc's side [of the Templo Mayor] is the mountain of sustenance, or Tonacatepetl, also mentioned in myth—in particular the one in which Quetzalcoatl must enter the mountain to steal the corn stored there to be given to men."[48] Mountains are temples are bundles insofar as each holds vital sustenance: water, corn, life, and gods.

Mountains are temples are bundles because they share a common structure too. An image of Xiuhtecuhtli, Turquoise or Year Lord, from the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer demonstrates this point (fig. 9.7). Scholars frequently read this image as a bird's-eye view of Xiuhtecuhtli atop a temple. He appears in the center of an image of the Aztec cosmovision with the calendar, cardinal directions, and other deities surrounding him. A three-dimensional reconstruction of the frontispiece shows Xiuhtecuhtli standing on the summit of a mountain/temple (fig. 9.8). In the subsequent image, the sides of the mountain/temple enclose the god as if he rests inside a bundle (fig. 9.9). This mountain is a temple is a bundle, and from either vantage point—on the mountain/temple or within the bundle—Xiuhtecuhtli is (in) the center of the cosmovision. From either location he can see the entire cosmovision and is central to it.

FIGURE 9.8. *Copy of Aztec cosmogram from the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer folded like a temple. Photograph by the author.*

FIGURE 9.9. *Copy of Aztec cosmogram from the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer folded in a bundle. Photograph by the author.*

The Templo Mayor's layered structure reveals it as another temple/mountain that is a bundle. Layers of new temples wrap, bind, and enclose the earlier structures. In between the masonry layers, priests and rulers buried offerings, caches, and stone replicas of standard bearers within the rubble fill. Indeed, some of those caches might have functioned as *tlaquimilolli*, containing deities and/or deity relics.[49] Prior to contact, the Templo Mayor housed *tlaquimilolli* and other deity embodiments in its active shrines while caches and other artifacts lay buried below. Given its bundle-like layers and multiple mountain significations, the Templo Mayor was the ultimate mountain-temple-bundle in the Aztec world. That a mountain was a temple was a bundle demonstrates that elements of natural, supernatural, and built environments were not confined to bounded or discrete lives in those worlds. The animacy of mountains, temples, and bundles depended on relationships established by the people who created and maintained them. These same people recognized the mountains, temples, and bundles as life-giving and sustaining, and they represented this recognition by layering meaning upon meaning in the construction of ceremonial structures and god-bodies, including *tlaquimilolli*. In the following, I explore how folk-biological knowledge related to one key animal, the *ocelotl* (jaguar; ocelot), illustrating the importance of appearance and surface in Aztec cosmology and in the manufacture of god-bodies.

SPOTTING THE JAGUAR

Even though European manuscripts influenced the organization of Book 11, the *ocelotl* held an indisputable place of importance in Aztec culture, as it had throughout Mesoamerica. Often identified as *Panthera onca*, or jaguar, the older Nahuatl word *ocelotl* referred to more than one creature. *Ocelotl* referred to the jaguar (*Panthera onca*) and the animal known as the ocelot (*Leopardus pardalis*), a smaller and similarly marked cat.[50]

Ocelotl is the first subject of Book 11, which includes four Nahuatl entries for these felids (fig. 9.10). The primary entry emphasizes the animal's appearance and attributes:

> It is long: long bodied, straight, round like a pillar;
> squat, not tall, thick, corpulent; hard-fleshed, very hard-fleshed; long-tailed; of gopher-like paws, very thick;

FIGURE 9.10. Ocelotl *(jaguar or ocelot). Florentine Codex, Bk. 11, fol. 1v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

> wide-padded—of very wide pads; thick, fat of neck; of pot-like head, very pot-headed, great-headed; of droplet-shaped ears; of thick, stubby, spongy, soft muzzle with a fatty, oily nose; of wide face with eyes like live coals; toothy, with small, pointed front teeth, with molars like pestles; wide-mouthed, open-mouthed; clawed, with sharp, curved claws, with dewclaws.[51]

Following the listing of its physical features, the text turns toward the *ocelotl*'s coloring, the animal's identifying characteristic:

> It is varicolored [*cuicuiltic*], quite varicolored [*cuicuilpatic*], spotted with black, blotched with black; white chested, smooth, sleek. Like ocelots [*ocelotic*], it becomes varicolored [*cuicuilihui*]; it is variously colored [*mocuicuiloa*], variously marked [*cuicuiltic*]; it becomes varicolored [*cuicuiltia*], it is variously colored, like an ocelot [*mocelocuicuiloa*]. Claws emerge. They grasp, they clutch. Teeth, molars, canines, emerge. It bares its teeth, gnaws, bites, tears. It growls, snarls, howls, roars like the blowing of trumpets.[52]

The second sentence emphasizes the significance of the *ocelotl*'s coloring. *Cuihcuiltic*, defined by Karttunen as "something painted," also carries the connotation of being multicolored.[53] As Marc Thouvenot observes, *cuicuiltic*, the adjectival form of *icuiloa* (paint; write; imprint), reflects "a very broad and varied universe that encompasses not only human works and artifacts, but also nature in general."[54] Hear its repetition in the Florentine Codex: "ocelotic, cuicuilihui, mocuicuiloa, cuicuiltic, cuicuiltia, mocelocuicuiloa." This sentence begins and ends with *ocelotl*, but in between, the indigenous writer named the cat's multicolored coat five times. Repetition like this typifies the Nahuatl text in the Florentine Codex, but here it also works to establish the primary characteristics of a keystone animal in the Aztec world.

Indeed, the jaguar's skin was its defining characteristic, and it is key to the word's appearance elsewhere. *Ocelotl* occurs in the names of animals and plants that were varicolored. In *oceloxochitl* and *ocelomichtli*, the *ocelotl* modifier refers to the spotted surface of this flower and fish. In the case of *oceloxochitl*, glossed as "tiger lily," the text notes, "it is called *oceloxochitl* for the reason that the yellow ones are sprinkled with red, the chili-red ones are sprinkled with yellow."[55] In both *oceloxochitl* and *ocelomichtli*, *ocelotl* carries the signification "varicolored," but in other terms, including those that refer to *ocelotl* warriors and to the *ocelotl* paraphernalia of gods and rulers—their *ocelotl* clothing, footwear, mats, and cushions—the term carried connotations of bravery, dexterity, and humility. Aztec hunters witnessed these characteristics in the jaguars they encountered in the wild.

To native speakers of older Nahuatl (and to Nahuas today), wild animals—especially sizeable ones—were *tecuanimeh*, "people eaters," a word that describes one crucial relationship Nahuas had to jaguars. Again and again the Florentine Codex identifies ocelots and jaguars as "wild" and groups them with other wild animals, such as the bobcat, the serpent, the spider, the rabbit, and the deer. Perception and perspective are key in understanding Nahua folk biology.[56] As Leon García Garagarza confirmed to me, "the Nahua taxonomy was not as linear as ours—both the small ocelot [*Leopardus pardalis*] and the larger jaguar [*Panthera onca*] would have been called Ocelot in antiquity—they are both felines, morphologically related carnivor[es]—and hence dangerous, 'Man-eaters' [*tecuanimeh*] animals. Spotted felines, essentially."[57] Given that the felines were *tecuanimeh*, it is worth considering that Aztecs called these animals by the same name because they looked and acted alike from a human perspective, that is from the perspective of someone about to be eaten.

The physical description of *ocelotl* in Book 11 stresses the significance of the interchangeable perspectives of hunter and prey between the human and the jaguar. The jaguar's hunting prowess became a source of inspiration in elite Aztec military and divinatory cultures.[58] An account of how humans hunted these cats appears near the end of the entry on *ocelotl*, and it concludes by explaining the unskilled archer's fate:

> And the hunters have their reckoning (as well as their custom) that they shoot only four times. If he shoots four [arrows], the hunter is [as good as] dead. There upon the ocelot prepares itself; it stretches, it yawns, it stirs, it shakes itself; it cleans itself, it licks itself. Then indeed it crouches, springs, flies through the air. Whether the hunter stands ten spans—even fifteen spans—away, there it goes to seize him. Only once does it leap—fly—swish—bristling, its hair ruffled. There dies the hunter; there he is eaten.[59]

This passage portrays the *ocelotl* as a confident hunter practically bored by the task before him: the people-eater yawns, licks his paws, and pounces. The *ocelotl* imparted these same characteristics—patience, ferocity, accuracy, and deadliness—to Aztec warriors in the *ocelopetlatl*, the Order of the Ocelotl.

The *ocelotl* figured prominently in the language and imagery of the Aztec military and in its ritual culture. One of the Aztecs' most prestigious military schools, the Order of the Ocelotl, took its name from these animals, and both the "*ocelopetlatl* and *oceloyotl* were considered appropriate terms to refer to particularly brave warriors."[60] Aztecs associated the *ocelotl* day sign with bravery and fierceness, and according to its various uses in the Florentine Codex, the word also connoted nobility, humility, dexterity, command, and glory.[61] Aztec deities and rulers wore *ocelotl* capes, breechcloths, caps, skirts, and sandals. They sat on *ocelotl* mats and cushions. *Ocelotl* skins and goods were the properties of rulers, warriors, and diviners.[62]

Following their description of hunting, the scribes add a note about the *ocelotl*'s relationship to diviners:

> The conjurers went about carrying its hide—the hide of its forehead and of its chest, and its tail, its nose, and its claws, and its heart, and its fangs, and its snout. It is said that they went about their tasks with them—that they did daring deeds, that because of them they were feared; that with them they were daring. Truly they went about restored. The names of these are conjurers [*nonotzaleque*], guardians of traditions [*pixeque*], debasers of people [*teyolpachoani*].[63]

Elsewhere the Florentine Codex describes a pouch priests carried: "[the] incense bags of the offering priests were made only of paper painted like ocelot skin [*tlaoceloicuilolli*], painted to look like ocelot skin [*oceloicuiliuhqui*]."[64] Notably, a painted paper bag served as a useful substitute for a real pelt pouch because the two appeared alike. Carrying an *ocelotl* skin—even a paper facsimile—imparted to diviners some of the same qualities these fierce cats gave warriors and rulers: courage, ferocity, and daring.

Jaguars and their skins clearly held prestigious places in the Aztec world. Mesoamericans physically bundled precious goods (green stones and bioarchaeological materials) in *tlaquimilolli* wrapped with *ocelotl* skins.[65] Olivier notes that "Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl described a *tlaquimilolli* of Quetzalcoatl that was made after his death and cremation with his ashes wrapped in a jaguar skin," and in the Mixtec Codex Bodley, "4 Wind appears in front of a *tlaquimilolli* wrapped in jaguar skin."[66] These examples, alongside the overall importance of the jaguar in Mesoamerican cultures—and in Aztec notions of military, political, and religious power—strongly suggest that some god-bodies were wrapped in *ocelotl* skins.

Jaguars and the concept of *ocelotl* functioned together

in *tlaquimilolli* and, likely, in other ritual scenarios. Jaguar pelts were grouped in bundles in trade and tribute, and they physically wrapped some sacred bundles. They draped the bodies of rulers, warriors, diviners, and gods. Jaguars' physical characteristics, their behaviors, and their pelages made them a cultural keystone species among the Aztecs.[67] In order to bundle potent talismans, diviners, hunters, and other specialists developed a working knowledge of the powers available to them in nature. This kind of knowledge—an intimate understanding of animals' characteristics, behaviors, and associations—was critical in Aztec rituals that wrapped *tlaquimilolli* or clothed other deity bodies in capes, cloaks, and pelts. Priests not only knew the lists of ornaments for each deity reported in the *Primeros memoriales* and depicted throughout the Florentine Codex but also understood what each element evoked because of their knowledge of folk biology.

TYING IT TOGETHER: SURFACES, COLOR, AND EQUIVALENCES

The inclusion of so many elements of the natural world in *tlaquimilolli*, likely the most important god-body in Aztec religion, strongly suggests that Aztec priests had a highly specialized knowledge of folk biology in addition to ritual expertise. The texts in Book 11 that describe precious stones, like turquoise, precious birds, like the lovely cotinga, or highly prized animals, like jaguars, attend to the appearance and characteristics of the objects and creatures. The accompanying illustrations often highlight these features. Taking into account appearance, material composition, and associated characteristics or behaviors, Aztecs recognized equivalences among some objects and entities that they explored and exploited in ritual activities like bundling.

Further, the descriptions of fireflies, mushrooms, and soils alongside long passages on beautiful birds, fascinating felines, and precious stones offer insight into the ways Aztecs perceived nature. The inclusion of highly valued objects from the natural world (or handmade substitutes) within *tlaquimilolli* suggests that Aztecs associated the appearance of some objects with specific characteristics, which, in particular combinations, embodied gods. Bound together, obsidian, greenstone, and bone were more than a collection of relics; they were a god. Unpacking the *tlaquimilolli* means taking each element on its own and recognizing that in some contexts, obsidian, stones, and bones may be more than they first appeared to be.

The notion of unpacking a *tlaquimilolli* highlights a tension between the significance of exteriority and the importance of interiority in god-bodies. The obsidian, bone, stones, pelts, and textiles that embodied Tezcatlipoca in his *tlaquimilolli*, for example, were mostly hidden from the eye. It seems (to us) as if only the outermost artifact, a textile or pelt, would have been visible, and that the many other critical components of the bundle would have been hidden, if not completely undetectable. If, as I argue elsewhere, ritual manufacture was key to animating god-bodies, then perhaps *tlaquimilolli* did not occlude their contents.[68] It seems possible that by being ritually wrapped, the ordinary objects became extraordinary so that their "appearance" in the bundle was as clear to an onlooker as an iconic image of Tezcatlipoca would have been. This interplay between ordinary objects and extraordinary god-bodies offers a rich avenue for understanding the role folk biology played in Aztec religion.

NOTES

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1. Ingold 2000, 40–43.
2. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., 87.
3. Medin and Atran 1999, 1.
4. Hatano and Inagaki 1999, 321. Different folk biologies recognize and prioritize various characteristics of flora, fauna, and landscape based on a number of factors. For instance, people who live in heavily forested jungles may recognize birds by their songs rather than their appearances, because the density of jungle plant life prevents them from seeing birds closely or often.
5. *Xihuitl* also means "grass" and "year." Karttunen (1992, 324) notes that in his 1645 *Arte de la lengua mexicana con la declaración de los adverbios della*, Horacio Carochi states that *xihuitl* meaning "year" and *xihuitl* meaning "grass; green stone; turquoise" differ in that the latter "forms the abstract derivation xiuhyō-tl . . . [while the former] is associated with the abstract form -xiuhcayō-tl (which is always prefixed with a number)."
6. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 224.
7. The Cornell Lab of Ornithology's online neotropical birds repository describes the lovely cotinga's current population status in Mexico. See Rodríguez-Flores et al. 2013.

8. Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 3:47r.

9. Berdan and Anawalt 1997, 118.

10. Sahagún 1997, 93–94, 102–103, 264, 265.

11. Sahagún 1997, 94.

12. Weigand 1994, 22.

13. Benson 1997, 75.

14. See Bassett and Peterson 2012, 59–61.

15. Magaloni Kerpel, chapter 10 of this volume. See also Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 20–21.

16. In "How Biological is Essentialism?," Susan A. Gelman and Lawrence A. Hirschfeld explain folk-biological notions of essence by citing the butterfly as an example: essence demonstrates that "a caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly are in a crucial sense the same animal." Gelman and Hirschfeld go on to say that this centuries-old concept has no basis in biology: "[B]iologists insist that biological species do not truly have essences, and certainly other essentialized categories such as race lack biological coherence. Still, despite the fact that essentialism may yield little insight about the nature of the world, it promises to yield insights on how the human mind constructs reality." See Gelman and Hirschfeld 1999, 403–405.

17. See, for example, López Austin 1990b, 139; Carrasco 1990, 89–90; 1999, 131–132.

18. Taylor 2005, 38.

19. Durán 1994, 40.

20. For a detailed explanation of *teixiptla*, see Bassett 2015, 130–136; and Olivier, chapter 7 of this volume.

21. Taylor 2005, 106–107.

22. Karttunen 1992, 211.

23. Dehouve (2011, 42–43) explains that *quimilli* belonged to a group of digital quantifiers that classified groups of twenty objects or entities according to their forms or shapes. *Quimilli*, she explains, "designates 'twenty pieces of fabric.'" See also Bassett 2015, 165–166.

24. Dehouve 2011, 42–43.

25. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 9, 48.

26. Karttunen 1992, 29.

27. Karttunen 1992, 29, 201, 202.

28. López Austin 1988, 1:163.

29. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 10, 161.

30. See Bassett 2015, 165–172.

31. See Stenzel 1968, 347–352.

32. Stuart 1996, 156–157. Similarly, evidence from Yaxchilan suggests that stones identified as column altars were wrapped in cloth before rulers ritually bled on them. Lintels from Yaxchilan depict *tuns*, stones—likely these column altars—bound in cloth receiving the ruler's autosacrifice during *k'altun*, period-ending/stone-binding rituals.

33. Stross 1988, 118.

34. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 48.

35. Quoted in Mendieta 1971, 79–80; my translation.

36. Olivier 2006, 206. He quotes Juan Bautista de Pomar.

37. Bassett 2015, 165.

38. "Estaba un espejo de alinde, del tamaño y compás de una media naranja grande, engastada en una piedra negra tosca. Estaban con ella, muchas piedras ricas sueltas, como eran chalchihuites, esmeraldas, turquesas, y de otros muchos géneros. Y la manta que estaba más cercana del espejo y piedras, era pintada de osmenta humana." In Pomar 1986, 59.

39. Las Casas 1967, 1:643; Pomar 1986, 59.

40. I make this argument in more detail in Bassett 2015, 183–187.

41. See also Bassett 2014, 389–398.

42. Sahagún 1979, fol. 45r.

43. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 8, 62. See also Olko 2014b, 317–318.

44. Olivier 2006, 199.

45. See Matos Moctezuma 1980, 7–19.

46. See Bassett 2015, 192–201.

47. Author interview with ritual participant, August 2010.

48. Matos Moctezuma 2009, 437.

49. David Stuart raised the possibility that stone boxes like the caches found at the Templo Mayor could have functioned as *tlaquimilolli* after I presented a version of this paper at the University of Texas in February of 2016.

50. Dibble and Anderson (Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 11) identify *ocelotl* as *Panthera onca*, as does Nicholas Saunders (perhaps not independently of Anderson and Dibble). In their first footnote to Book 11, Dibble and Anderson explain that their identification of mammals derives from two sources: Rafael Martín del Campo's 1941 study of animals from Book 11 and Bernardo Villa R.'s "Mamíferos silvestres del Valle de México" from 1952. They note that Stephen Durrant, a zoologist at the University of Utah, assisted in their identifications.

51. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 11.

52. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 11–12.

53. Karttunen 1992, 72.

54. Thouvenot 2010, 167, 169.

55. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 212.

56. Viveiros de Castro (2004, 463–484) examines "perspectivalism" in Amazonian cultures, and he explains that Amazonian understandings of perspective emerge from the lack of differentiation among "selves" at the time of creation.

57. Leon García Garagarza, personal communication, March 1, 2015.

58. See Benson 1997, 46–47; 1998, 53–60.

59. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 12–13.

60. Saunders 2005, 25.

61. On the day sign, see Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 4, 5. On qualities associated with the *ocelotl*, see Bk. 6, 71, and Bk. 8, 73 (nobility); Bk. 6, 11, 84, 126 (humility); Bk. 6, 73, and Bk. 8, 88 (dexterity); Bk. 6, 110, 116, and Bk. 8, 57 (command); and Bk. 6, 38 (glory).

62. Benson 1998, 62–65.

63. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 11, 13.

64. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 87.

65. See Benson 1998, 63–64.

66. See Olivier 2007, 296, 300n244. In addition to Olivier's examples, David Stuart indicated in a personal communication that a bundle wrapped in a jaguar skin appears in an unpublished portion of the murals at the preclassic Maya site San Bartolo.

67. Biologists identify the jaguar, North America's largest felid, as a keystone species. See Nogueira 2009; and Seymour 1989, 1–9.

68. Bassett 2015, 130–136. The vital nature of surfaces is embodied most exquisitely in (the) *teixiptla*, a word whose meaning—"one characterized by a flayed surface"—depends on appearance, physicality, and exteriority. Linguistically, *teixiptla* is inherently possessed, so the god-body is always someone's body. In the case of human god-bodies, the person not only looked like the god but also learned to speak, act, and be the god. Clearly interiority mattered.

CHAPTER 10

Powerful Words and Eloquent Images

DIANA MAGALONI KERPEL

The *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, known as the Florentine Codex (1575–1577) in its final edition, is a bilingual encyclopedia that encompasses many aspects of the Nahua culture and people of central Mexico before and after the conquest.[1] The Florentine Codex was handwritten and painted by a team of Nahua scholars and artists collaborating with fray Bernardino de Sahagún at the Colegio de Santa Cruz Tlatelolco—the first higher education institution in the Americas.[2] Sahagún in the prologue to Book 2 mentions by name four of the Nahua "wise men," or *tlamatinime*, whom he calls *gramáticos principales* (principal grammarians), who assisted him in writing the twelve books: Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Martín Jacovita, and Pedro de San Buenaventura.[3] Through their characteristic style of draftsmanship, I have identified twenty-two Nahua artists, or *tlacuiloque* (plural of *tlacuilo*), who participated in the creation of the images. Four of them were deemed "master painters" for the conceptual sophistication of their paintings and their excellent draftsmanship.[4] These four master painters could very well be the four grammarians mentioned by Sahagún. The close relationship between written text and image in the Florentine Codex may shed some light onto the nature of their practice as intellectual leaders of the project, for if they were considered *tlamatinime* (singular *tlamatini*, "he who knows something"), keepers and creators of knowledge, they would have mastered the ancient way of writing through images.[5]

In this chapter, I review some significant ways in which the bicultural creators of the Florentine Codex (the *tlamatinime* and *tlacuiloque*) connected the handwritten alphabetic texts (a form of recording knowledge that is of European origin) with the images (which are related to the ancient Mesoamerican tradition of writing through painting). I focus on two fundamental categories of Nahua culture: the concept of "words of the ancient ones," *huehuetlahtolli*,[6] linked to what we refer to as the transmission of knowledge through "oral tradition," and the practice of painting as a creative action linked to the primeval time when the gods gave form to the world, called *in tlilli in tlapalli*, "black ink, red ink."[7] I also focus on how some images become *ixiptla*, a Nahua concept that has been translated as "substitute," or "impersonator."[8] I propose that the concept of *ixiptla* or *teixiptla* can also be understood as "living image," or "image/presence," and that the materiality of the paintings themselves was motivated by this ontological concept.[9] I focus on the first and second books, which concern the gods and their festivities, for, as Guilhem Olivier notes, in describing the religious festivities in these books, the artists painted acts of devotion and offerings that were presented to sculptures representing the gods, but these sculptures were actually depicted as living persons.[10] In this regard, these late sixteenth-century Nahua paintings of the gods would have been made as performative agents that guided the relationship between text and image.[11]

TLAHTOLLI, "THE ANCIENT/ POWERFUL WORDS"

Tlahtolli, a Nahuatl word translated as language, discourse, or speech, has a particular reference to the narratives that keep cultural memory alive. In most Mesoamerican traditions, and specifically for the ancient Nahua, these "powerful words" were recorded as "paintings" in books made with bark paper or deer hide folded in an accordion fashion.[12] These images were decoded by the initiated reader *tlamatini*, who uttered *tlahtolli* preserved as oral tradition.[13] John Monaghan and Mark King have both shown how in the ancient Mixtec traditions sacred texts, which were also composed of images, contained what they have referred to as the script for the performance of histories. Images thus served as notation of a larger performative narrative that could be danced, sang, or recited, and as such, images had the agency of reactualizing memory, history, myth, and ritual.[14] Furthermore, as King posits, painted books are termed *tacu* ("to paint," "to hear," "to listen") in Mixtec, a word that implies both representation and recitation, and were also referred to as *tutu* ("page," "design," "to whistle"), a word related to *toto* ("to sing"). Thus, books connected metaphorically meaning, performance, sound, and painting.[15] The performative nature of these powerful words is made evident in the sixteenth-century Nahua manuscript known as *Cantares mexicanos*. Although the manuscript is rendered in alphabetic writing, the songs themselves reveal a unique, distinctive tradition where the singing itself becomes palpable, materializing an ulterior world formed by music and precious materials such as jade, flowers, and feathers, and thus relating *tlahtolli* with these meaningful materials.[16]

Pedro Pitarch explains that for the Tzeltal Maya peoples of Chiapas, as for other Amerindian cultures today, the "ancient words," as opposed to the quotidian language or "new words," refer to the primeval narratives of origins (legends), the ritual dialogues, the shamanic chants, and certain songs and music.[17] These "ancient words" do not exist in the ordinary solar world but on the "other side," a sacred realm that has a different ontological status and that can be accessed only through ritual and dreams. There in that other place, sometimes called the "underworld" by Mesoamerican scholars, the ancient words, and the images that help to represent them, reside. Pitarch calls these images "cuerpo-presencia" (body-presence); in Tzeltal Maya, *winikel*, from *win*, "to appear," "to show itself."[18] This idea is similar to the concept of *ixiptla* in Nahuatl.[19] It is through a specialized process that both the words and the images are brought from the "other side" into our time and place. The ritual specialists who do this are "wise men," *tlamatinime*, keepers of their tradition. I want to propose here that the paintings in the Florentine Codex help to transform the Nahuatl and Spanish texts into ritual discourse, song, or performance that carries on *tlahtolli*. That is, without the images the alphabetic texts would not reflect the power of the "ancient words," the *tlahtolli* of the Nahua. The images serve to add a necessary layer of meaning—a ritual or supernatural meaning. In this sense, the images enable the books of the Florentine Codex to become *tlahtolli*. Reading both images and texts in the proper manner would be equivalent to Nahuatl song, expressed by the metaphorical couplet *in xochitl in cuicatl*, "the flower, the song," the correct enunciation of *tlahtolli*—as performative action that is different from merely reading the texts.[20] Moreover, as León-Portilla has remarked, the *tlamatinime* were the keepers of knowledge, for "*in tlilli in tlapalli* [the black ink, the red ink] belonged to them, to them belonged the codices."[21] Without these images painted with a black outline filled with many colors (*tlapalli* in the couplet can also be translated as "all the colors") there was no knowledge, no *tlahtolli* to be recited. As King has observed, there are multicolored scrolls in the Mixtec Codex Vienna that evoke sacred, living energy emanating from the smoke of copal offerings, from the first rising of the sun in mythic times, from music, and from the speech of historic characters. These multicolored scrolls, King concludes, are a representation of "song" as "a spiritually heated offering that rises skyward."[22]

As Pedro Pitarch has proposed in his translation of the shamanic chants and prayers of the Tzeltal Maya of the Altos de Chiapas, the action of pronouncing songs (the powerful, sacred words) is conceived by the Tzeltal as an "unfolding," as when flowers open to release their scent. The words of the sacred chants come from "the other side" into this solar world through dreams. The words, and the visions (the images), are thought to live on the other side in an ancient book. The Tzeltal dreamer keeps the words and images of the book in his or her heart. The sacred words, Pitarch further explains, come into this world folded, inverted, closed in a wrapper; the songs sung in the ritual throughout the night help the shaman to "unfold them, to open them as flowers, and it is then when these words

can perform their power."[23] This same concept is an essential part of Nahua song, for as Tomilson explains, referring to the *Cantares mexicanos*, these songs routinely feature flowers that reveal the "sacred immanence of fragile earthy things." Flowers, as human lives, fade quickly, but the singing evokes their substance, and "song and flower undergo the sacred transformation of the material here-and-now."[24] The Nahua contributors to the Florentine Codex refer to the same ideas about the supernatural origins of art and song, whereby the "good artist," the *toltecatl*, is described as someone who knows how to dialogue with his own heart (where the book of knowledge is kept), who has the presence of the sacred in his heart, and who knows how to compose chants, music, and song.[25] If the images in the Florentine Codex transform the handwritten texts into "ancient words," or *tlahtolli*, the process of painting can be understood as an unfolding—in a similar manner to the unfolding and vocalizing of the shamanic chants; that is, the *tlacuiloque*, the painters, "unfold" the images from the otherworld and bring them into the solar world, the present, through the process of painting. In fact, the Nahua song "In Your Painting Place" clearly describes this process and the role of the painters as cocreators with the gods:

> You paint with flowers, with songs, Life Giver. You color the ones who will live on earth, you recite them in colors, and so you are hatching eagles, jaguars, in your painting place. You are here on earth!
> (xochitica oo / totlatlacuilohuan ipalnemohuani cuicatica oo
> toco tlapalaquiya tocotlapalpohua y nemitz i tlalticpacco yc
> tictlatlapana cuauhyotl oçeloyotl y motlacuilolpani ça tiyanemim ye nican i tpacca ohuaya ohuaya)
>
> And so you are giving outline to these comrades, these companions, these nobles. In colors you recite the ones who will live on earth, and so you are hatching eagles, jaguars, in your painting place. You are here on earth!
> (yc tictlilania cohuayotl / a yn icniuhyotl a y tecpilotl huiya
> tocotlapalpuhua y nemitzi y tlalticpaco yc tictlatlapana cuayotl
> oçeloyotl y motlacuilolpani çā tiya nemi ye nican i tpaca ohuaya ohuaya.)[26]

This song is actually describing the power of paintings to create the world. Life as we know it in this solar time is the unfolding of words and images of the otherworld. Paintings, reliefs, sculptures, and monuments, such as the pyramids, were the flesh and the bones of the created world—a layered visualization of the ancient primeval world of myth. Through these works the ancient peoples kept memories of mythical time, of creation that was recreated each time through the poetic reading of paintings, *tlahtolli*.[27]

In the following section I will focus on the way images and texts work together as *tlahtolli* in the first two books of the Florentine Codex, which deal with gods, rituals, and religious festivities. However, I precede my analysis of these two first books by describing the process of painting as meaningful, using the concept of "unfolding" presented by Pitarch. As the "correct" enunciation of the shamanic chants unfolds the power of the words, the correct process of painting allows for the "unfolding" of visions into the creation of living images, or *ixiptla*.

MEANINGFUL PAINTING MATERIALS

In the book *Colors of the New World* I employ scientific and art historical methods to explain the process of painting the Florentine Codex as a practice imbued with meaning.[28] Chapter 11 in Book 11 of the Florentine Codex is devoted to "the making of all the colors." Calling that chapter a "Nahua Treatise on Painting," I describe how the *tlacuiloque*, by employing two different resources—painting and writing—document the natural sources for the pigments, how the colors were produced, and how the artists painted with them. The *tlacuiloque* conceived of the colors as a system of binary oppositions or complementary polarities—the same polarities that constitute the living world. They distinguish two realms from which colors are obtained: those made with flowers and insects, living matter that depends on the energy of the sun; and those made with minerals found beneath the ground, which do not need the sun to exist, and actually represent the deep, humid, and dark energy of the earth and the underworld. The Nahua believed that the world itself was created by these complementary oppositions: the deities that belonged to the underworld, where only moonlight existed, were akin to colors made with minerals; the divine forces that belonged to the realm of the sun were akin to the colors made out of flowers and insects. In this manner painting was a creative act in which the materials mimicked the forces of nature. Thus, the making of a painting, its sheer materiality, sup-

ports the idea of imagining the images as "living presences" and *ixiptla* that resulted from the "unfolding" of a vision brought from the otherworld into the present.

The power of the materials of "song" (*in cuicatl in xochitl*)—that is, feathers, flowers, and jade—to bring forth the power of the otherworld into the present is clearly demonstrated by the proceedings against Nuño de Guzmán, the conquistador of Nueva Galicia, made in Huejotzingo in 1529 and analyzed by Alessandra Russo. Guzmán was accused of requesting that the chief of the town give him "an image of St. Mary made with gold, to take it with him to war." The council of elders of the town, however, decided that the image was not powerful enough to go into war and decided to commission an image of Mary made in gold and feathers. In order to accomplish this the council traded twenty slaves for "three gold ingots and nine green plumages." The proceedings from Huejotzingo describe in detail the length, color, and appearance of the plumages, explaining that these "precious feathers" were meant to protect the image. As Russo further notes, the witnesses in the document explain that the feathers had to be used as the enclosure or frame for the image of Mary, and that without them "the image simply would not have had the power needed."[29] The act of painting with the correct materials resembles the act of chanting described by Pitarch for the Tzeltal shamans—a process that has to be correctly performed to be effective, for painting, as well as enunciating the ancient words, is connected to the actions of the gods themselves when they created the world.[30]

BOOK 1, OF THE GODS

Book 1 of the Florentine Codex begins with six folios in which the paintings cover the entire surface. Each folio is divided into four rectangles that are occupied by the image of a particular deity; this presentation is of Mesoamerican origin (fig. 10.1). In the section "twenty deities and eighty days" from the Codex Borgia, the same strategy is used in the composition; the only difference is that the outline in the Codex Borgia is red, whereas in the Florentine Codex it is black.[31] This seemingly simple difference in color can have some significance. In the study of the pigments used in the Florentine Codex, the team of Italian scientists led by Dr. Piero Baglioni and me identified through X-ray fluorescence (XRF) that these frame lines were made with a charcoal-based black ink, the same pigment that was used to paint the outline of all the figures and to write the glosses inside the rectangles.[32] The glosses in Nahuatl and Spanish indicate three things: the original name of the deity in Nahuatl; the name in Spanish of a god from the Greek and Roman classical past that could be associated with the Mesoamerican god; and, finally, instructions that refer the reader to a section inside the first chapter of Book 1 explaining the attributes of the deity and the festivities in which the deity participated. The explanatory texts in the first chapter follow the format of the whole work, parallel columns in Nahuatl and Spanish written with iron gall ink, also identified with XRF. This ink, used only for the written parallel columns in Nahuatl and Spanish, has a distinctive dark-brown hue very different from the black charcoal pigment used in the glosses, the perimeter lines of the grid, and the outline of the figures (fig. 10.2).

The difference in the material nature of both inks (one being gall ink, the other carbon-based ink), and in the tonality of their color (the first being brownish, the second very black), helps to set aside these two groups of written texts: the first are the handwritten bilingual columns made with a gall-based ink; the second group is comprised by the glosses and the contour drawing lines of the figures and frames. The difference between the material nature and color of these two groups is a matter of importance: they establish different relationships between texts and images. The written glosses (regardless of the language in which they were written), the contour of the figures, and the rectangular containers seem to be grouped together, and it is likely they are related to a Mesoamerican tradition, for the carbon-black ink was known in the indigenous painting tradition long before the Spaniards arrived. The handwritten texts (regardless of the language) are different in their materiality and belong to the world of European writing; gall ink is European in origin and had never been used in the Americas. What is most significant about this finding is that it seems that the *tlacuiloque* were consciously creating a written and painted work that differentiates the handwritten texts in Nahuatl and Spanish from the images, relating the former to the European world and the latter to their indigenous tradition of painting. On the other hand, by grouping together the handwritten glosses, the frames, and the contour lines of the figures through the materiality of the ink used to make them, the *tlacuiloque* were also equating the text of the glosses to the images of the gods. The script written in carbon-black ink inside the rectangular frames where the gods live seems to have transformed writing into an image.

FIGURE 10.1. *The gods in the Florentine Codex. Bk. 1, fols. 11v and 12. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Pedro Pitarch has called attention to the fact that writing is the act of creating an image; that is, inscribing black lines onto a surface is considered a powerful act by the Tzeltal in Chiapas today not because of the meaning that the writing conveys but merely because of the way that writing creates different shapes with color over a surface. For the Tzeltal, writing is an emblem of power that comes from the "other side," just as the spots on the jaguars' coats and on the skin of powerful snakes—both are considered writing. Similarly, the Tzeltal Maya consider Europeans powerful because they had writing. As Pitarch observes, in the indigenous world it is always the powerful "others" who possess writing: the Europeans, the otherworld deities and powerful beings that could cause sickness. Disease, Pitarch further explains, is visualized as black and red spots—the combination of colors that Mesoamericans used to describe writing, *in tlilli in tlapalli*, "black ink, red ink," as a powerful text.

Thus the old Mesoamerican gods in Book 1 of the Florentine Codex acquired the newly discovered form of alphabetic writing as a sign of their power in the new world. However, the artists who created them placed black ink glosses inside the rectangular frames that contained the images of the gods and used writing as a mark of their power. Through these glosses, writing helped the traditional deities acquire the power of those ancient Greek and Roman gods with whom they were equated by the friars who oversaw the conversion of the indigenous *tlacuiloque*. Through the figurative texts of the glosses made in carbon-black ink, the *tlacuiloque* appropriated European writing and history. The gods in Book 1 are actually different from their old Mesoamerican counterparts; these gods are also European and bear writing as a proof of this new identity. The artists of the Florentine Codex created yet another layer of meaning between texts and images: there is a striking difference in the way that the Spanish and the Nahuatl explanatory texts relate to the paintings of

FIGURE 10.2. *Paynal. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 10r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

the gods in Book 1. I will focus on the image of one single deity, but what I am going to present is valid for all of the gods in Book 1.[33]

The figure of Paynal (see fig. 10.2), the avatar of Huitzilopochtli, the Mexica patron deity, is richly dressed in a cape and feather headdress; he is in a seated position and in profile. The Spanish explanatory text of this image narrates the story of his festivity in which priests, dressed as Paynal, ran quickly through the city to exemplify the speed that warriors needed to achieve when facing the enemy.[34] The static image of Paynal in the first folio has nothing to do with the actions described in the Spanish description; thus the figure serves simply as a reference to the reader. However, the parallel Nahuatl narrative is closely tied to the painting, for the text focuses on the attributes of the costumes that define the god and describes them in detail, making the representation very close to the description in Nahuatl:

> He was dressed in this manner: He wore the costly cape made entirely of precious feathers. He also wore a feather headdress. His face was painted with stripes and with the symbols of stars. He wore on his nose a turquoise device. He was dressed as a hummingbird. He had a shield made with turquoise mosaic and wore a mirror on his chest.[35]

We learn that in Nahuatl what defines the deity is not his actions in the festivities but strictly what he wears. Paynal is his attributes. Among these attributes, the most important ones are the royal blue cape (*xiuhtlapalli tilmahtli*), made with the precious blue-green feathers of hummingbirds and turquoise appliques, and the turquoise shield (*xiuhtlapalli chimalli*). Interestingly, neither of them is painted with the blue pigment that would have embodied the preciousness of those materials, the pigment we know as Maya blue, called *texotli* by the Nahua painters of the Florentine Codex. Maya blue is used in the Florentine Codex extensively to symbolize all that is beautiful and precious; the painters are able to differentiate this turquoise blue from all other blues, attaching a precise meaning to the turquoise tonality as precious (fig. 10.3).[36] Why was the royal cape and turquoise shield of Paynal painted gray instead of Maya blue in Book 1? The painters used a grayish blue instead of Maya blue to represent the different "energetic" quality of Paynal's power. In this image his cape has lost its luster, its brilliance, ultimately its solar energy and character.

In his study of the production of yarn paintings in Huichol art in Mexico today, Johannes Neurath comments that the famous author Juan Ríos Martínez "suffered the wrath of the gods depicted in his paintings" because "the characters that according to the logic of Western art were simply represented in the works of yarn, do not stop 'being gods.'" The images in Huichol art, he says, "are powerful beings and thus need to be worshipped." In fact, Juan Ríos Martínez decided not to create any more of what he considered "high art." Instead he concentrated on simple formulas that could be sold as handicrafts to tourists because the latter do not have the power of vision embodied by his great works.[37] The phenomenon experienced by Ríos Martínez may explain the subdued colors used to paint the gods of the Aztec pantheon in Book I of the

FIGURE 10.3. *Maya blue pigment in an illustration of Moctezuma. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 2v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 10.4. *Band of flowers. Florentine Codex, Bk. 1, fol. 4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Florentine Codex. The *tlacuiloque* did not want to create the powerful images of the past. In the sixteenth century they could no longer revere them as they used to; that is why they did not paint the gods in their original powerful colors, particularly with Maya blue. Paynal, like the other gods featured in Book 1, as a sixteenth-century Nahua-Christian representation, has acquired a new powerful attribute: the alphabetic writing of the glosses.

The last important characteristic of Book 1 on which I want to focus, which is also valid for Book 2, is the constant presence of flower bands in the beginning and end of each chapter (fig. 10.4). Of the fifty-four folios that describe the gods in Book 1, only fourteen have figurative vignettes; the remaining folios have floral branches replacing the images. That is to say, only one quarter of the entire book presents drawings of the gods in the chapters that explain their attributes. Flower bands replace the descriptive images in the rest of the book. Are these flowers merely ornamental or do they bear meaning?

In Nahua culture and language, flowers signify preciousness, among many other things; in Book 1 they represent the precious, powerful words of ritual discourse, or *tlahtolli*. As mentioned before, for the shamanic tradition of the Tzeltal, the sacred words pronounced in the chants by the shamans are seen as flowers that unfold and open; sacred, powerful words are said to have a distinct aroma, just as real flowers do when they open. Also, according to Berenice Alcántara Rojas, flowers possess the energy of the deities, their *tonalli*, or characteristic "solar heat."[38] In the *Cantares mexicanos*, the most complete work of Nahua songs and ritual, flowers are mentioned as the jewels of the otherworld; flowers come from "inside the mountains," and they are described as "worthy, scented, fragrant, dressed in dew with the glow of the rainbow."[39] Thus flowers come from the "other side," to use Pitarch's terms, and their colors and scents are intrinsic to their otherworldly power. As León-Portilla has argued, the term *in cuicatl in xochitl*, "the song, the flower," is used in Nahua thought to express what is considered "truthful on earth," what is worthy.[40]

I think that the borders of flowers in Books 1 and 2 represent the worthiness and truthfulness of what is expressed in the written texts; thus they are there to qualify those words about the ancient gods as *tlahtolli*, like the *in cuicatl in xochitl* of Nahua song. The flowers are in fact a substitute image of the deities; they are their essence, they are the *tonalli* of the gods.

BOOK 2, THE CALENDARS, HOLIDAYS, AND CEREMONIES

Book 2 presents the rituals practiced during each of the eighteen *veintenas* (twenty-day Nahua months), which is how the solar year, called *xiuhpohualli*, was divided. Each *veintena*, or *metztli*, had particular deities who were

FIGURE 10.5. *The festival of Tlacaxipehualiztli. Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 73v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

honored through such ritual practices as sacrifices, dances, food offerings, and pilgrimages. How themes were represented in this book likely required special attention because many of the practices described, in particular human sacrifice in its many variants, were considered inhuman, savage, and inconceivable by Europeans. However, for the Nahua, human sacrifice was a fundamental part of their ceremonial and communal life. It should be noted that not all the festivities are illustrated, and those that are painted seem to follow the same ritual process in their making, emphasizing the transformative power of sacrifice and the ability of representations to capture this power.

The paintings in the second and fifth *veintenas*, Tlacaxipehualiztli and Toxcatl, respectively, are very significant. Several folios are dedicated to both, where the series of images take up the entire space of the Spanish column. Significantly, the order followed by the vignettes is different from the chronological order established in the texts. Both festivities begin with the most prominent image that captures the result of all the ritual actions, the apparition of a deity to whom the festival is dedicated, called the *ixiptla* (impersonator of the deity) in the Nahuatl text. The second festival, Tlacaxipehualiztli, is represented by a series of vignettes (figs. 10.5 and 10.6). The first two frames on folio 73v show the sacrifice of a captive: four men hold the limbs of the victim, and at the center a man appears to

FIGURE 10.6. *The festival of Tlacaxipehualiztli. Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 74r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

be skinning the captive; in the frame below, the executor wearing the sacrificial victim's skin presents himself as the *ixiptla* of the god Xipe Totec (Flayed God). Because he has been transformed into a god through the ritual process described in the first vignette, he is presented in full attire and in a frontal-facing position (see fig. 10.5, lower image). The following folio has three frames describing the festivities that took place during Tlacaxipehualiztli, before the sacrifice and skinning of the captive (see fig. 10.6), whereas the last two frames on folio 74v reiterate the coming to life of the *ixiptla*. Thus, the sequences of the images do not relate strictly to the chronological order of the text, but reiterate the significance of the *ixiptla*'s living embodiment of Xipe Totec, who begins and ends the ritual sequence.

The images of the fifth festivity, Toxcatl, follow a similar strategy. A vertical column of three framed images in folio 84v replaces the Spanish text in the left column (fig. 10.7). The first (upper) image in the series of paintings is the *ixiptla* of the god Tezcatlipoca (Smoking Mirror), who is forward facing, dressed in full regalia. This image is actually the culmination of a long and rigorous ritual process, a festival that according to the texts began a year earlier. In the next folio, the three vignettes illustrate this previous ritual process (fig. 10.8). First, we see a captive youth

FIGURE 10.7. *The festival of Toxcatl. Florentine Codex, Bk. 3, fol. 84v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

leaving the house where he was kept for a year. The following (middle) frame shows the young man playing the flute in the streets. This same flute will be ritually broken in the Templo Mayor before the captive's sacrifice (as shown in the third or lowest frame of the previous vignette in folio 84v). The third frame shows the participants attending to the *ixiptla* of Tezcatlipoca. The *ixiptla* of the god is the first and last representation of the series of framed paintings. In the two mentioned *veintenas*, Tlacaxipehualiztli and Toxcatl, images and text relate to each other, but the syntax of ritual dictates the manner in which images are presented, whereas the texts follow a linear narrative order. That is, the paintings of the *veintenas* actually serve a ritual purpose while also being illustrations. In other words, the images elaborate on the text and do not merely complement it. This example suggests that the painters were preserving aspects of their own pictographic traditions in spite of the strong European, Christian influences on their work.

Probably the best example of how the *tlacuiloque* created images according to notions and traditions that have nothing to do with concepts of Western representation is the image of the festivity of Panquetzaliztli (fig. 10.9). During this festival young people from different neighbor-

FIGURE 10.8. *The festival of Toxcatl. Florentine Codex, Bk. 3, fol. 85r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

hoods, or *calpolli*, fought in a skirmish or allegorical battle with young warriors who were trained at the *calmecac*, the official state school. It is also said that on the fourth day of the festival slaves who had been ritually sacrificed would appear on the earth while the mock battle was taking place. The sequence of paintings illustrating this ritual is very particular. In the first frame we see two youths facing each other and a larger man in the middle who has tangled hair and a heart hanging from his neck. These youths dressed in cotton capes represent the groups that fought each other, the youths of the *calpolli* and the ones of the *calmecac*. They can be seen fighting with wooden sticks in the frame below. Again, the sacrificial victim, transformed into the *ixiptla* of a powerful being, appears in the first frame. In addition to being depicted facing forward, the *ixiptla* is larger in size than the youth, reinforcing its supernatural character. If we look attentively at this image we discover that it was drawn by a group of three different artists and that each one painted one of the figures. The young warrior on the left was crafted with a small head, straight hair, and a small nose. In contrast, the warrior on the right has a large head and a prominent nose. In my work identifying the artists of the Florentine Codex, I managed to determine that the distinct features seen here are the work of three different artists.[41]

The fact that different artists painted the figures is an

FIGURE 10.9. *The festival of Panquetzaliztli. Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, fol. 143v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

act that gives each figure a sense of individuality. This dual authorship suggests that the act of painting them was part of the ritual itself, for each figure represents a different contingent, the *calpolli* people and the *calmecac* youths. Another artist who also worked on Books 2 and 4, to whom I refer as "the painter of complex skin colors," painted the captive-*ixiptla* who appears facing forward.[42] His style is similar to European engravings, as he uses shading to create the illusion of volume. The painter used an intense pink hue to color the skin of the sacrificial victim, and thus differentiates him from the two young contending warriors created by the other two artists.

Book 2 uses visual strategies that might have remained hidden to any observer outside the indigenous tradition of painting. These strategies follow a ritual logic that not only conveys the sacredness of the appearance of the *ixiptla* in the festivities but also signifies that the paintings continued to be imbued with a ritual reality. The *ixiptla* are presented frontally, they are greater in size than humans, and they are always at the beginning and the end of a series of images, the alpha and the omega, as the creator gods of the Aztecs. These *ixiptla* can be compared to one of the greatest *ixiptla* of all time, who was at the beginning and the end of life: Coatlicue, the mother of creation. All of the *ixiptla* represent the culmination of a complex and long ritual, and all of them are an expression of a moment in

time when the actions of sacrifice summon the powerful "other" that creates and destroys life. Coatlicue and the *ixiptla* in Book 2 of the Florentine Codex were made in accordance with a ritual and artistic tradition that reveals images as powerful because they unfold in their making a ritual world and its actions.

We should continue to investigate the power of writing and painting as indigenous arts related to ritual. In the Florentine Codex, as I have shown, alphabetic texts contain the power of the other, the European, whereas images possess the power of the otherworld where deities live. Together they form the unique world that the Nahua artist-writers were able to evoke—or rather to unfold—before our very eyes.

NOTES

1. The three-volume facsimile: Sahagún 1979; and a twelve-volume English translation of the Nahuatl: Sahagún 1950–1982.

2. Burkhart 1996, 55.

3. Sahagún, 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55.

4. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 47–76.

5. Boone 2000; Stuart 1988, 1–25.

6. Molina lists *huehuetlahtolli* as "[v]euetlatolli. historia antigua, o dichos de viejos" (Molina 1992, fol. 157, 2nd num.). See also Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

7. Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 16–18.

8. Molina 1992, fol. 95v (2nd num.). Molina records this word as "[t]eixiptla. imagen de alguno, sustituto, o delegado." He also gives "[t]laixiptlayotl. imagen pintada [painted image]" on fol. 122v.

9. Elsewhere I have discussed the possibility of applying the concept of *ixiptla* to the paintings in the Florentine Codex, based on the ideas of the following authors (see Magaloni Kerpel 2014). First, the *Anales de Juan Bautista*, a collective book by indigenous painters (1564–1569), records the sacred images of the Virgin, Jesus, and the saints in oil paintings, cornstalk sculpture, silver bas-relief, and mural painting as *ixiptlatzin*, in which the suffix *-tzin* is reverential (see Reyes García, 2001, 150, 296, 300). Arild Hvidtfeldt (1958, 80–89) considers the *ixiptla* as the living presence of the gods and extends the concept to plants and objects. Alfredo López Austin (1973, 118–121) analyzes *ixiptla* as "a wrapping, clothing, or envelope" infused with sacred, creative heat. In his view, the key of this concept is the morpheme *-xip*, which is derived from *xipehua*, "to flay," "to peel the skin," thus indexing skin as a powerful, symbolic envelope. Serge Gruzinski (2001, 50–51) reflects on the differences between the Western concept of "image" and that of *ixiptla*, stressing that the Nahua notion of representation did not trace the reality of the senses but referred to the envelope, the skin enclosing a divine force. Finally, Salvador Reyes Equiguas (2006, 89–91) posits that *ixiptla* were always the product of human creation: sculptures in stone, wood, and edible dough or live slaves wearing costume. He specifically states that they could be paintings on hide, paper, or stucco, any human creation that would have "eyes" and "mouth" to become alive.

10. See Guilhem Olivier's discussion on Nahua deities in chapter 7 of this volume.

11. Monaghan, 1994, 87–100.

12. Boone 2000, 20.

13. León-Portilla, 1980, 58–60; Gruzinski 1982, 15.

14. Monaghan, 1994, 86–89; King 1994, 101–103.

15. King 1994, 106.

16. Lockhart 1992, 578–580; Tomilson 2015, 261–268; León-Portilla 2011, 269–280, 286–288.

17. Pitarch 2013b, 13–27.

18. Pitarch 2013a, 42–46.

19. See Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 9–13.

20. León-Portilla and Shorris 2001, 25–31; Monaghan 1994, 87–100; King 1994, 209–217.

21. León-Portilla 2001, 64–65.

22. King 1994, 217.

23. Pedro Pitarch, Postgraduate Course in Mesoamerican Studies (UNAM, August 27, 2013); and Pitarch, 2013b, 14.

24. Tomilson 2015, 261.

25. León-Portilla 2001, 260–261, 267; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 10, 25.

26. Bierhorst 2009, 148–149. For an alternative translation of this ballad, see León-Portilla and Shorris 2001, 148.

27. The myths of creation for the Nahua people of central México are recorded in prose in the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the *Histoyre due Mechique*, the Codex Chimalpopoca, and the Florentine Codex, among the most important sources. Painted images with glosses are preserved in some books: Codex Vaticanus A or 3738, Codex Telleriano-Remensis, and Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca. For the Maya myths of creation the most important source is the Popol Vuh, but the Books of Chilam Balam are also important sources.

28. Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 19–26.

29. Russo 2015, 26.

30. Russo 2015, 34–52.

31. In the Codex Borgia (Diaz and Rogers 1993, 62–69).

32. Baglioni et al. 2011, 79–105; Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 47–76.

33. This same example is presented in Magaloni Kerpel 2014.

34. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, fols. 2–3.

35. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 1, fol. 3.

36. Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 40–46.

37. Neurath 2010, 104–105.

38. Alcántara Rojas 2011, 107–132.

39. Taube 2004, 69–97; León-Portilla 2011, 2:17.

40. León-Portilla 2001, 143.

41. Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 46–58.

42. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 57.

PART IV

SOCIAL DISCOURSE AND DEVIANCE

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CHAPTER 11

Rhetoric as Acculturation

The Anomalous Book 6

JEANETTE FAVROT PETERSON

Among the twelve books of Bernardino de Sahagún's encyclopedic Florentine Codex, the sixth is prominent and anomalous. Book 6 is inserted at the nexus of the Franciscan friar's vast project, between the texts dedicated to the sacred realm and those of the human and earthly domains. The book compiles oral discourses known in Nahuatl as *huehuetlatolli* (speech of the elders) that are at once lofty in tone, replete with metaphorical language, and pragmatic in their social and political implications. To reinforce this rich legacy of Nahuatl, a collection of adages and proverbs is appended at the end. Book 6 tells us that oration was held in high esteem in Aztec culture and was cultivated as an art by officials of the state as well as those who guided behavior and values at the local and family level. Rhetoric in this chapter is narrowly constructed in the classical sense as verbal persuasion intended to shape and validate communal values. Given the prestige that rhetoric also held in the educational programs of early-modern Europe, the acculturative power of oration was mutually appreciated after the conquest, when language from Nahua elite speech was harnessed to serve the Christianizing program of the mendicants.[1]

Reserving the highest praise for this book, Sahagún singles it out in his Latin inscription as "the greatest of them all, as much for its length as for what it expresses."[2] Indeed, Book 6 constitutes the second longest book (215 folios) and was first bound as a separate volume (in a series of four). Moreover, in a singular gesture, Sahagún dedicates it to fray Rodrigo de Sequera, the commissioner general of the Franciscan order and, with his 1575 arrival in Mexico, the catalyst for the creation of the Florentine Codex. Sahagún also lauds the book's "very elegant, very moral prayers," as well as the "esteem in which the rhetoricians and orators were held" by the Nahuas.[3]

The *huehuetlatolli* recorded in Book 6 comprise Sahagún's earliest material, gathered in 1547 and partially penned in the *Primeros memoriales* of 1558 to 1561.[4] Thus, the famed Aztec prayers and speeches are among the most authentically Nahua in language and concept. While Sahagún's collaboration with his intercultural Nahua brokers necessarily accommodated indigenous epistemologies throughout the Florentine Codex, Book 6, "de la rethorica y philosophia moral y theologia," exists in uneasy tension with its contents.[5] On the one hand, its texts capture the Aztec worldview and social mores. On the other, the book's contents betray conflicting views on the power of indigenous speech, on the utility of the *huehuetlatolli* in constructing Christian discourse, and on the composite, often contested nature of visual representation in sixteenth-century New Spain. As in Book 12, on the conquest, Book 6 reveals the paradoxical relationship between the indigenous nature of the text and its "Europeanized" imagery in style and iconography.

The movement from precontact orality to the colonial hegemony of alphabetic writing is everywhere apparent in the Florentine Codex, mediated by shifts in the textual translations and the figurative content of the imagery, including an inventive range of speech glyphs.[6] Evidence of this transition is revealed in the inescapable limitations of

FIGURE 11.1. *Ruler exhorts youths: sons* (top) *and daughters* (bottom). *Florentine Codex, Bk. 6, fol. 70r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

letters and pictures to capture the rhythms, to say nothing of the nuanced poetic intent, of the Nahua spoken word. In contrast to the syntactical and conceptual linearity of European rhetoric, Nahua spoken communication was more free-form, metaphorical, and repetitive.[7]

The Nahua scribe-painters, the *tlacuiloque*, were faced with even more daunting translational challenges: consistently navigating the terrain between cultural traditions and appropriating elements that drew on both indigenous and imported sources to construct their images.[8] Within a Euro-Christian framework, the artists continued to be inspired by an older pictographic tradition; in the process, they foregrounded, and in some cases endorsed, their own values and practices.[9] The creative interchange between discrete ways of speaking, writing, and seeing that generate knowledge are revealed in a comparative analysis of the bilingual texts and images. In this chapter, I also attend to the relevant pictorial element, generally neglected or omitted altogether from the more ample scholarship directed toward translating the *huehuetlatolli* or discourses themselves (fig. 11.1). While the uniformly black-and-white images of Book 6 cannot be uncoupled from the accompanying textual narratives, their

monochromatic nature and mixed iconographic and visual syntax raise questions about the book's models, its intended viewership, and its completion in 1577, the final year of the Florentine's production.

RHETORIC AND THE ENCYCLOPEDIC TRADITION

Understanding the use of rhetoric as a technique to transmit knowledge and regulate behavior requires a brief foray into Bernardino de Sahagún's humanist education.[10] At the University of Salamanca, knowledge was imparted not only through traditional lecture-style discourses on the latest intellectual trends but also through access to a burgeoning scholarly world in print. Sahagún's student days coincided with the increased literacy that came with the printing press and the university's curricular expansion.[11] Antonio de Nebrija (1444–1522), famed classicist and grammarian, occupied chairs of Latin and rhetoric at the University of Salamanca. Nebrija was among a group of scholars who introduced the study of sacred texts in their original languages, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldean (or Aramaic), and elevated the status of vernacular Spanish by publishing its first grammar.[12] As professors themselves, Nebrija's students further innovated the approaches adopted to understand classical texts.[13] At this propitious moment, impressionable scholars like Sahagún were exposed to the philological avenues that opened up cross-cultural inquiry and were made aware of the drive to fix and order knowledge in print.[14]

Nonetheless, in addition to his education in theological matters and honing his homiletic skills, Sahagún pursued a traditional program based on the seven liberal arts, among which rhetoric was considered one of the higher expressions of intellect. Rhetoric, grammar, and logic (the trivium) were taught along with the mathematically based studies of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy (the quadrivium). Printed handbooks transmitted the *ars rhetorica* of Aristotle and ancient Rome, dispersed throughout Europe and overseas, including to the mission libraries of the Americas. Classical rhetoric was systemized and made dependent on the written word. Early-modern European emblems of rhetoric, for example, include an accompanying book or scroll with the allegorical female figure as *rhetorica*, thus pairing orality and textual literacy, as seen in an engraving by Diego Valadés, Sahagún's fellow Franciscan (fig. 11.2).[15]

In New Spain by 1529, Sahagún possessed the necessary intellectual framework to embark on a comprehensive project of Aztec civilization, initiated by his interest in words and rhetoric.[16] The rationale for labeling the Florentine Codex "encyclopedic" rests on the many structural parallels between several classical and medieval prototypes and the Florentine Codex, schemata moving from the celestial to the earthly realms that also appear in the diagrams of Diego de Valadés's *Rhetorica christiana* of 1579.[17] Suffice it to say, over several decades, Sahagún and his Nahua collaborators had diligently collected information on all aspects of preconquest Aztec life, collating and revising his notes in various monastic venues.[18] The friar and his indigenous team produced the Florentine Codex in the Colegio de Santa Cruz at the Franciscan *convento* of Santiago Tlatelolco, where they exploited the contents of its library. Although heavy in theological tracts and commentaries on the Bible, the Tlatelolco collection still contains surprising breadth in the humanities, from Alciati's emblem book to Ptolemy's *Geographia* and treatises on rhetoric (Cicero and Quintilian, for example, were represented).[19] Also found on the library's shelves were several encyclopedic compendia, including two well-known works that devote considerable attention to rheto-

FIGURE 11.2. *Emblem of rhetoric. Detail of engraving, "The Seven Liberal Arts," in Diego Valadés,* Rhetorica christiana, *fol. 17. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2860-179).*

ric: Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and the seventh-century *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (580–636).[20] Sahagún and Pliny share certain literary tropes when they describe their works as a "treasury" (*tesoro*), and both reflect the same desire to contain and preserve the treasured memory of things through words. For Isidore of Seville, the origins of words additionally enabled him to extract the meaning of all things. Moreover, according to Isidore's *Etymologiae*, eloquent rhetoric was a civilizing force "designed to persuade people to the just and the good."[21]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, classical rhetoric spread rapidly in Europe, meeting the needs of both humanists and Christian scholars, as well as leaders of the new nation-states looking for educational tracts on statesmanship.[22] Projecting these goals onto the Aztecs, Sahagún states that it was their "wise, superior and effective rhetoricians" who "ruled the states, led the armies and presided in the temples" and allowed them to assume imperial dominion.[23] Sahagún underscores, as does Pliny, the place of language and rhetoric as the divide between the civilized and the barbarian, and a necessity in ensuring strong leadership and effective governance. Diego Valadés further invokes the role of rhetoric as a major tool in the pacification of the New World "savage."[24]

The goals of rhetoric were "to teach, to convince, and to rouse," as stipulated in the educational treatise of the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540).[25] Persuasive speech in a well-educated individual was indicative of a person's judgment, moderate behavior, and clarity of thinking. Christian theologians and thinkers articulated a more expansive role for oratory; Saint Augustine, for example, drew on it to "move the hearts of the audience" and to promulgate Christian precepts.[26] It is clear that there was a shared recognition regarding the power of rhetoric and a great curiosity, certainly on the part of Sahagún and other Franciscans, on its presence and practice in New Spain.

IN CENCA QUALLI TLATOLLI (A VERY GOOD DISCOURSE)

Book 6 contains a collection of Nahua *huehuetlatolli*,[27] from *huehue*, or very old, and *tlatolli*, a term that can mean "word" but more expansively encompassed speech, statement, or language. Molina defines *veuetlatolli* as "ancient history" or "sayings of the elders" (historia antigua; dichos de viejos); I will use the term to refer to the "speech of the elders," emphasizing the oral transmission of knowledge or wisdom from one generation to the next.[28] Like a Greek chorus, the forefathers or progenitors were always "present" (as embodied in the elders) to comment on Aztec society and thus provide guidance in navigating life's major events. Although we find abundant use of *tlatolli* and *tlatoliztli* (the act of speaking) in Book 6, as well as the phrase "words of the old men" (*intlatol vevetque*), curiously, the precise term *huehuetlatolli* occurs only once.[29]

The essential orality of Nahua culture is acknowledged at the beginning of every chapter in Book 6 with the statement, "Here are told the words which truly issued from their hearts when they spoke."[30] As an animistic center, the heart generated comprehension and memory, as well as having a profound affective role.[31] The enduring strength of an ancient oral tradition is given concrete expression throughout the Florentine's imagery where speech scrolls are ubiquitous, varied in form, and, in some cases, continue to fulfill similar functions as those found in Aztec pictographic script, as described later. More broadly referred to as "sound scrolls" in the study of ancient Mesoamerica, they represented visually the emanations related to breath, vitality, smoke, speech, and song, crossing sensate boundaries.[32] As one of the bodily exhalations, speech scrolls were associated with life (the breath-soul), a linkage that remains remarkably intact in the Florentine, particularly in describing a ruler's vocalization.

In some of the earliest creation myths, the ability to communicate verbally set humanity apart and defined its relationship with the gods. Proximity to the divine, of course, was a prerogative of the upper classes, especially the royalty, as were their more refined sensory responses. In Mesoamerica's hierarchical cultures, mastery of speech demarcated social rank; conversely, those of the highest status were expected to retain and recite long passages with verve and fluidity. Incantations, songs, and admonitions were characteristic of rulers, noblemen, ritual specialists, and the wise ones (*tlamatinime*), in short, all those in vital positions of authority. Special terms identify these elevated forms of speech in Book 6, such as *tecpillatolli* (noble or courtly utterances), *tecutlatolli* (lordly speech), or *tlatocatlatolli* (ruler's speech).[33] With proper upbringing, Aztec elites were not only "noble of heart" but also "gentle of words."[34] The power of the tongue was embodied in the Aztec ruler, called the *huey tlatoani* (or *huei tlahtoani*: great speaker), a speech scroll emanating from his mouth, as much a signifier of his office as his royal diadem (*xihuitzo-*

lli), nose plug (*yacaxihuitl*), and high-backed, woven-reed throne (*in petlatl in icpalli*).[35] Within Motecuhzoma II's (r. 1502–1520) composite name glyph, carved and painted on Aztec monuments, the addition of a speech scroll connoted the inalienable prerogatives and heightened presence of divine kingship, as analyzed by Patrick Hajovsky.[36]

The energy involved in speech as an extension of an emoting, thinking individual is captured in the paired phrase "his breath, his word" (*inijo, itlatol*).[37] This was a life force (*tonalli*) magnified in the Aztec supreme leader, who was conceived of as the deity's mouth, jaw, and "flute," as well as his "godly sheddings" (teeth, fingernails). Royal orations articulated the commands of the supreme god, Tezcatlipoca, through whom the ruler governed; conversely, an ungoverned city was mute, dark, and without direction.[38]

Scholars disagree on the parameters, and thus on the count, of *huehuetlatolli*. Estimates range from a strict classification of only seven intergenerational discourses to a more inclusive definition of over one hundred *huehuetlatolli* that recognizes the fluid boundaries between Nahua verse and prose and incorporates both the longer formal admonitions and the dispersed remnants of these discourses.[39] In Book 6, the *huehuetlatolli* encompass prayers to the gods, courtly discourses, judges' admonitions, congratulatory orations, and professional advice, both practical and ethical. By Thelma Sullivan's count, among the forty-nine *huehuetlatolli* in Book 6, there are eight prayer-like invocations to two prominent deities, Tezcatlipoca (seven) and Tlaloc (one), followed by seven recitations delivered at critical moments in the life of the state by the ruler or his lordly subjects at the time of his election. Next in order are thirty-four speeches given by elders, merchants, matchmakers, and midwives that mark significant rites of passage, such as marriage, birth, entry into school, and death.[40]

In Aristotelian terms, the majority of the *huehuetlatolli* fall into the category of civic speeches that are epideictic, setting societal standards through techniques of praise or blame and thus conditioning honorable behavior.[41] Drawing from the vast store of Nahua oral literature at the popular level, the final three chapters of Book 6 incorporate adages, riddles, and metaphors. The internal order of Book 6 mirrors the hierarchical organization of the entire manuscript, moving from the divine sphere to more human concerns, and may help explain why this book acts as a pivot in the sequence of the codex. However, its significance primarily lies in the elevated nature of indigenous rhetoric that Sahagún rightly claims is the "greatest of them all for what it expresses." The Franciscan appreciated these Nahua orations not only for their aesthetics and abundant vocabulary but also as a key to understanding the precontact worldview. As a code of Aztec civic and moral conduct, the *huehuetlatolli* rehearse how to live one's life wisely, in moderation, and on the straight and narrow.[42] As important, they reinforced Sahagún's conviction in the intellectual and spiritual potential of Nahua society and the eventual creation of a successful Christian *república*.

FIGURE 11.3. *Priest teaching the art of singing in the* calmecac. *Florentine Codex, Bk. 2, app., fol. 128r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

Like the discipline of rhetoric in Europe, the teaching of oratory played an essential role in an Aztec boy's upbringing. In both Aztec educational institutions, the *telpochcalli* and the *calmecac*, but most especially in the latter, priests instructed boys in the craft of oral recitation: "Very carefully they were taught good discourse. If one spoke not well . . . then they drew blood from him." Speaking was regulated; to shout, to "murmur," or to "squeak" betrayed ill breeding.[43] The pupils in the *calmecac* were also carefully "taught the songs which they called the gods' songs [*teucuicatl*]. They were inscribed in the Books."[44] Figure 11.3 features the priest before his pupils, vocalizing the lilting "gods' songs" with a flowerlike flourish. Song texts were often described as flowers (*xochitl/cuicatl*), intimately allied with their sensory power, and performed within the context of dance and religious theater.[45] Of equal interest in the Florentine Codex text cited above is the reference to inscribing the songs in "the Books" (*cuicamatl*), that is, in having some kind of pictographic-mnemonic record.

It is possible the *huehuetlatolli* were similarly transcribed, as suggested by the sixteenth-century lawyer-chronicler Alonso de Zorita. In his description of parental counsel given by fathers to their children, Zorita states that the nobility (*indios principales*) still (ca. 1570) retained these speeches by memory, but he also acknowledges that the speeches could be "derived from their paintings which was like writing."[46] Although pictographic script might have encoded a mnemonic prompt for the long formal speeches, Sullivan concludes that the sage words of the elders were committed only to memory in order to perpetuate "the traditions of a people whose form of picture writing was inadequate for this task."[47] Indeed, Book 6 repeatedly refers to the crucial need to memorize, to guard, and to inscribe in one's heart the ancient words.[48] It is precisely in the effectiveness of this retentive capacity and bodily inscription that Book 6 testifies to the agency of the Florentine's writers and their fidelity to an enduring legacy.[49] Whatever the method of capturing the spoken or sung word in the precontact period, the potency and tenacity of words themselves were never in question. Book 6 reveals that the verbal art of these exempla inculcated the mores of the Aztec state and subsequently could be harnessed to help promulgate Christian values or, more darkly, endanger orthodoxy.

The shared tradition of rhetorical training converged in the sixteenth-century mendicant schools, as seen in several well-known engravings by Diego Valadés in his *Rhetorica christiana*. As the multitasking friars are shown going about their duties, a number are preaching, articulating the articles of the Christian faith, the biblical narrative of the origins of the world, and the need for penitence.[50] Although the monastic orders used oral communication in concert with didactic images as part of their multimedia arsenal deployed to transfer the new doctrine to the neophytes, the familiar cadences and vivid metaphors of the *huehuetlatolli* provided a ready-made resource for composing sermons and pedagogical material.[51] Sahagún encourages preachers to emulate the Nahua orations of royal parents to their daughters when he states, in Book 6: "Because of their language and style, these two speeches if given from the pulpit mutatis mutandis would be of more use than the many sermons for young men and women."[52]

However admiring of the eloquence of Nahua speech, the friars were also fully aware of its dangerous potential to undermine the missionizing efforts. The dance songs mentioned before were perceived as a way to draw natives to Christianity but also continued to be highly suspect by the Catholic Church.[53] Sahagún not only distrusts the subtexts of the "obscure" (the Spanish reads *cerrado*, or closed) verses but also fears the propagandistic fervor of the songs. The ancient songs continued unabated, he claims, only superficially "cleansed," as those that "deal with the things of God and His Saints, they are enveloped in many errors and heresies."[54] In addition to his underlying anxiety about the intransigence of the indigenous population, Sahagún is guilty of editorializing, with an occasional slippage into Christian phrasing. For example, Tezcatlipoca's omnipresence over "the heavens and the earth" made him ripe to co-opt as the Christian God, Señor Dios. On the other hand, he could also be demonized, as when after "el dios Tezcatlipoca" Sahagún inserted, "o por mejor dezir, Diablo."[55]

FROM PAINTED WORD TO ACCULTURATED IMAGE

Just as the range and quality of oration is amply described in the Nahuatl texts, from language that is lyrical to a vocabulary considered loud and obdurate (as "words of stone, words which are clubs"),[56] many of the Florentine's images display an expressive array of speech-scroll glyphs. As visual analogues of the textual descriptors, speech scrolls are surprisingly consistent in their basic carved or painted configuration, a comma-like form that issues from the speaker's mouth and curls away as a single or double volute. The earliest example we have in the Sahaguntine material is found in the first of two *huehuetlatolli* in the *Primeros memoriales* (1558–1561).[57] In the image, four judges are seated on woven-reed seats above an assembly of four men and four women who are a mixture of nobles, warriors, and commoners (fig. 11.4). The judges are admonishing them for failing to carry out their responsibilities and for indulging in behavior ranging from lax to dissolute, thus breaking with Aztec social conventions. The judges' harsh indictments for disobedience and disorderly conduct prompt tears from all but two of the listeners. Throughout, the judicial utterances are said to emanate "from the mat, the seat" (*in petlatl in icpalli*), a conjunctive metaphor for their elevated civil office as embodied in their woven-reed thrones. The value of this formal rhetoric is also conveyed through the description of the judges' words as "green stones, like turquoises, green, round, circular."[58] The application of jade or greenstone as a meto-

FIGURE 11.4. Huehuetlatolli, *judicial oration.* Primeros memoriales, *fol. 61v, upper section. Códices Matritense. © Real Academia de Historia, España.*

nym for good discourse connotes a "pure life"; being wise and "pure in heart" go hand in hand.[59] The geometric perfection and rarity of the gemstones are the Mesoamerican counterparts to the proverbial pearl associated with edifying sayings in Western axioms.

Only one of the judges is depicted with an open mouth; however, in each case speech scrolls roll out from their mouths, simulating sound waves. The spatial directionality of their discourse is underscored, in the cases of two judges, with deixis, a rigidly pointed index finger that dramatizes the force of the pronouncement and the prerogative of the speaker.[60] The association of the emphatically pointed index finger and the standard speech glyph that is visible in Sahagún's *Primeros memoriales* is also evident throughout the Florentine Codex (as in fig. 11.1). In the Florentine, however, speech scrolls can also be elaborated with additive elements that qualify the manner or mode of speech with the use of several colors or a variety of affixes. For Nahuas, words were inherently powerful; they could convince, assail, and cajole, with the speaker's tonal inflection and bodily posture indexing these different intentions.[61]

To express the lustrous, refined value of the well-chosen, expertly crafted words of a ruler, nobleman, or judge, the most common Nahua metaphor invoked the "precious greenstone, precious turquoise," (uel chalchiuhtic, uel teuxiuhtic),[62] as noted before. In general, the inherited wisdom handed down by the elders, the "white-haired ones," was so valued, it was also equated with "a precious greenstone . . . a turquoise . . . perfectly cylindrical" (vel chalchiuhtic, vel teuxiuhtic, vel acatic, vel ololiuhqui), the same metaphors (*machiotlatolli*) for new life that were applied to newborns and to tender, young plant life, as well as to other cherished qualities or persons.[63] The gems shared the color green, connoting life-sustaining elements such as water and vegetation, like the highly coveted quetzal feather that was "deep green, a precious feather" (in uel xopalcoac quetzalli).[64] These metaphors materialize when attached to speech glyphs as circular beads (for jade) and concentric rings (for preciousness).[65]

Aztec and Mixtec representations also affix a stylized flower to speech scrolls to signify flowery speech, ritual song, or prayers.[66] In the Florentine, such floral adornments designate the harmonious chirping coming out of the beaks of songbirds,[67] the priestly instruction of song in figure 11.3, or the marketplace chant of an Aztec seller of cloaks.[68] In figure 11.5, a floral affix must evoke both eloquent and persuasive speech, as shown in a representation of a war conference where plans to besiege a city (in the upper right) are being debated. Three seated figures include two rulers with precious or royal diadems (*xiuhuitzolli*) over their heads. A third individual is a warrior of high rank who points to the map of the city laid out between them. His impassioned address is represented as a florid vocalization of his conviction in the viability of the military strategy. In this image, too, we find the enduring presence of the linguistic roles of speech scrolls that Boone has identified in precontact sources.[69] The two rulers with their crowns also have nominal speech scrolls that stand in for rulership and are differentiated from the warrior's speech scroll by a different color. The military leader's speech scroll, on the other hand, has an adjectival component, qualified with a prominent flower and coupled with his emphatically pointed finger. Finally, all three speech scrolls have a verbal function, identifying the protagonists

FIGURE 11.5. *Making war plans to attack a city. Aztec war captain addresses two rulers. Florentine Codex, Bk. 8, fol. 33v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

in the narrative, activating the pictorial space between them, and denoting impending action.

THE ANOMALOUS IMAGES IN BOOK 6

Given the impressive range of images throughout the Florentine Codex that reify the Nahuatl texts on the prestige and inventive vocalizations inherent in speech and song, the notable absence of these elaborated scrolls in Book 6 is all the more curious. Why would the painters of a book dedicated to the *huehuetlatolli*, the highest form of Aztec rhetoric, ignore the greenstone beads, floral attachments, and symbols of preciousness that we find in the other books? Instead, unadorned, black-and-white speech scrolls are standardized (see fig. 11.1) and executed hastily in some cases. The answer to this question lies in the nature of the subject matter and the timing of the images of Book 6 at the terminal stage of the Florentine's production in 1577.

While some of the foremost scholars and Nahuatlatos have analyzed the texts of Book 6, its pictorial record is understudied and anomalous in some features. For its length (215 folios), it has proportionally fewer primary images (52), a disproportionate number of ornamentals (88), and a surfeit of spaces left blank for missing images. There are likely several determining factors by way of explanation. As mentioned, Sahagún greatly admired the content, elevated tone, and lyricism of the *huehuetlatolli*, of which, he claimed, "there is not a living man who could invent the language."[70] Both out of respect for the poetic refinement of the original *huehuetlatolli*, as well as for the utility of their moralizing character, the Franciscan's Spanish translation is more literal;[71] ultimately his intent, like that of the friar Andrés de Olmos, was to recycle these orations, with Christian emendations, for use as sermons. This resulted in a robust column of Spanish text, leaving less room for images.

In addition, to understand the uniform black-and-whiteness of the illustrations, it must be remembered that the book and its images were among the ultimate sections completed. On the last folio of Book 6, and in the same paragraph in which Sahagún touts his authorship by including his name (although clearly not his signature), the Franciscan states that the original Nahuatl (*la lengua mexicana*) was first recorded some thirty years earlier (in 1547), and he adds the current year of 1577.[72] Given that the images were the last of the ingredients to be added to the Florentine's bilingual texts, these pictures were the painters' final contributions and, as such, are strikingly uneven in workmanship.[73] Although their monochromatic nature has been attributed to a reliance on black-and-white sources, printed illustrations were the most common models for the lion's share of all the Florentine Codex images. Moreover, the thesis that black-and-white prints were more "authoritative"[74] is not borne out, since color was applied to the majority of European graphics from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The monochromatic nature of the images in Book 6 can be linked to the dire consequences of the 1576 epidemic on the indigenous population, a pestilence that swept away many of Sahagún's creative team at the very height of their labors. Thus, by 1577, at the finale of his monumental project, time, skilled labor, and access to color pigments had run out.[75] The painters of Book 6, like those of the last folios of Book 11, and almost the entirety of Book 12, were forced to rely exclusively on grisaille, shades of gray and black. It is also true that without specific indigenous models, the painters might have struggled to pictorialize the more conceptual orations of Book 6 and, in their haste to meet an impending deadline, added more decorative "fillers" and grotesques.

The *tlacuiloque*, here as elsewhere, drew their inspiration from a range of sources and repurposed them in in-

FIGURE 11.6. *Prayer to Tezcatlipoca. Florentine Codex, Bk. 6, fol. 1r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

ventive new ways. I focus on several of the unconventional and clearly bipartisan artistic solutions that are evident in the first seven chapters that contain the prayers to Tezcatlipoca, Lord of the Smoking Mirror and supreme deity.[76] Each of the orations invokes a litany of names for Tezcatlipoca, beginning with "Our Lord of the near, of the nigh [Tloque Nahuaque], the great Lord, invisible as the night, impalpable as the wind."[77] His appellation as the Night Wind (Yohualli Ehecatl; iooale, ehecatle) emphasizes his invisibility and omniscience. The very act of enunciating his titles and names "conferred a power," according to Guilhem Olivier, and activated the presence of the divinity (*teotl*).[78]

In four puzzling images of Tezcatlipoca that accompany the prayers (figs. 11.6, 11.7, and 11.8 depict three of these images), a disembodied head representing the numen floats in a nocturnal sky above a desolate landscape. A single devotee, clearly indigenous (barefoot and wearing a loincloth in figure 11.6) stands below the zoomorphic head. All of the devotees also assume the native posture of humility described in Nahuatl as one that required a bowed head and "arms folded" across the chest. This latter submissive gesture is included in an admonition of father to son to avoid pride and vanity before the omniscient deity: "Just conduct thyself; especially be thy head bowed, *thy arms folded*" (emphasis mine).[79] Examined more closely, the floating heads have an extended proboscis, a serpent's tongue that is sometimes bifurcated, and feather-like extensions, reminiscent of the dragons and griffins that populate medieval books.[80] These images clearly depart from the renderings of Tezcatlipoca as a male figure with his identifiable emblems. Instead, the composite reptilian heads respond to the god's title as the wind, *ehecatl*, who in the Nahua lexicon had a buccal mask or duckbill extension.

Although still reliant on indigenous precedents, the strange airborne heads are composites in that they refer visually to more than one Aztec deity. The addition of feathers, a serpent's tongue, as well as a symbol for preciousness (a concentric ring) surmounting the disembodied head in figure 11.7 evokes Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent) rather than Tezcatlipoca. As Olivier has shown, Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl were often paired, both deities associated with the Night Wind, sorcery, and creation myths.[81] The composition of Tezcatlipoca as a free-floating head above a standing supplicant also replicates images that feature calendrical signs, both pre- and post-contact; among these, for example, are images of Quetzalcoatl in the Florentine Codex that feature the day sign "one wind" hovering above the deity (fig. 11.9). Although the images in Book 6 have resonance with the "ancient paintings" to which Sahagún and his team had access, they are selectively filtered from the precontact sign system, then fragmented and reassembled. But for all the degrees of separation, this visual transposition reveals that artists strategically, if artificially, gestured to their Nahua heritage, promoting a more indigenous way of telling, of showing.

Despite their resemblance to Aztec iconographic conventions, the fragmented depictions of Tezcatlipoca that I have been analyzing may also reflect the increasing pressure to relinquish traditional belief systems and instead to align Nahua beliefs with Christian conceptions of a more disembodied, abstract God.[82] Euro-Christian illustrations were also pilfered as pictorial sources, with a concomitant migration of meaning.[83] Two coupled images juxtapose depictions of Tezcatlipoca as the Night Wind with scenes that recall Christian narratives. In one of the paired images of Tezcatlipoca just examined, an additional scene is appended below featuring nine kneeling devotees (see fig. 11.7). Only a single line separates the two compartments, as opposed to the double line that frames the entire composite image, indicating that the dual images should be read as one. In the bottom register, a cluster of kneeling figures peers skyward—most with hands clasped together in the Christian gesture of prayer—but two individuals adopt the more indigenous pose, with "arms folded" across

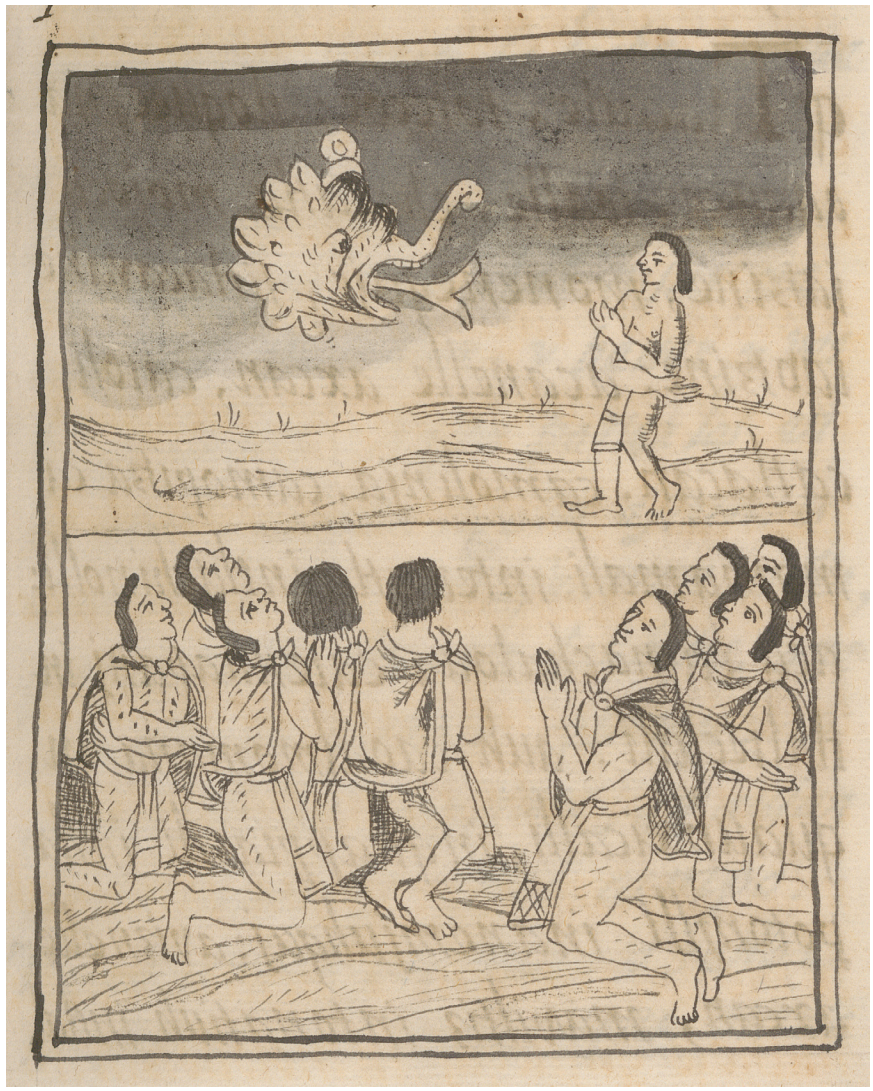


FIGURE 11.7. *Prayer to Tezcatlipoca. Florentine Codex, Bk. 6, fol. 8r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

their chests, as does the single devotee above them. The composition of the worshippers mirrors any number of vignettes of the Ascension of Christ, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, or the descent of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost), with a faithful throng below gazing heavenward.[84] While both European and Nahua viewers likely would have made this familiar visual association, the handiwork of the Nahua artist dignifies a pre-Christian prayer to a non-Christian deity by transposing it into a Christian colonial context.

A second juxtaposed image sets up a similar "oscillation of elements that display antagonisms and complementaries," to borrow Serge Gruzinski's words,[85] that is, a composite image that includes a priest hearing confession above the scene of Tezcatlipoca with his native devotee (see fig. 11.8). Nahuas declared their lapses to Tezcatlipoca, as nothing was hidden from him: the god could "see into men's hearts."[86] The Aztec practice of confession called for an annual ritual when a penitent would verbalize his transgressions to the deity's priest, as the kneeling couple is doing in figure 11.10. In spite of the European figural proportions and the Christian posture of kneeling in this image, the painter records rather faithfully the ritual accoutrements of the priest (or the god's surrogate) and his smoking pipe, flowers, and flute during Tezcatlipoca's primary ceremony of Toxcatl.[87] Once an Aztec confessed, the priest meted out punishments, including drawing blood (autosacrifice), making offerings, sweeping, or fasting—all thought to have been purification rituals.[88] Catholic and Nahua moral codes were similar; dissolute

FIGURE 11.8. *Confession* (top) *and prayer to Tezcatlipoca* (bottom). *Florentine Codex, Bk. 6, fol. 21v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

behavior that was considered punishable included adultery, drunkenness, lying, or sloth, infractions that could result in physical illness. Concepts of morality and sin, however, diverged dramatically, as Louise Burkhart has shown.[89] Those who broke Aztec proscriptions were wayward, aimless persons, or were described as dirty or having a rotten stench. To be dishonored or defiled was to live in "dust, garbage" (*in teuhtli tlaçulli*).[90] Nahuas were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order.

In figure 11.8, however, the painter has modeled the confession scene from Book 6 after imported images of exorcism from Northern Europe and merged them with traditional Aztec practices. In the upper half of the image,

FIGURE 11.9. *Quetzalcoatl (Feathered Serpent), with day sign One Wind. Florentine Codex, Bk. 4, fol. 59r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 11.10. *Tezcatlipoca hearing confession. Florentine Codex, Bk. 3, fol. 8v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

the indigenous priest is elevated on a high-backed reed seat and extends his clay *incensario* with burning copal. The priest faces a kneeling penitent who disgorges his sins in a venomous stream of snake, toad, and scorpion. Similar vermin depict sins in a Valadés engraving of the sacrament of confession and penitence, where they spew forth from the mouths of natives in the upper tiers of a multilayered composition, between the devil in the uppermost register and the punitive fires of hell below (fig. 11.11).[91] As the ultimate manifestation of evil, serpents writhe in Satan's Medusa-like hair and emerge from his mouth. According to medieval iconography, these reptilian creatures are graphic embodiments of vices such as avarice, lust, and demonic forces. Although notoriously ephemeral, similar prints of confessional scenes must have circulated in the Americas, as a copperplate engraving from the Andean region (ca. 1612–1620) depicts an Inka lord kneeling before a seated Jesuit priest, flanked by an angel and the devil, both anxious to claim the confessant's soul. As the native acknowledges his sins verbally, a snake emerges from his mouth; other snakes, lizards, spiders, and frogs crawl around below him.[92]

These are the vices enumerated by Valadés as the seven cardinal sins introduced by the devil; he summarizes them by stating that the devil places "evil thoughts in the heart, false words in the mouth and also wicked actions in our limbs."[93] In his explication of the engraving, Valadés points to the worship of the devil, shown in the upper tier as the recipient of obeisance and offerings, as the most "heinous cause of all evil." He then links the Indian to this type of devil worship (presumably idolatry) and the "arts of black magic," among which words themselves are singled out, impugned as harmful, insolent, and blasphemous.[94] The Manichean struggle between good and evil is clearly cast as a war between satanic and angelic forces, as fluttering angels seek to assist the native penitents.

The confessional image in Book 6 (see fig. 11.8) featuring a "sinful" indigenous male is particularly poignant as the Florentine's production coincided with the 1576 plague, one of the most devastating in Mexico's history. At the outset of the Florentine Codex, Sahagún self-identifies as

FIGURE 11.11. *Sacrament of confession. Detail of engraving from Diego Valadés,* Rhetorica christiana, *fol. 216. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2860-179).*

one of the "physicians of the souls" (*médicos de las animas*) who makes a diagnosis by studying his patient in order to root out his "illnesses," such as idolatry and drunkenness.[95] The figurative parallel between the medical doctor and the recognition of sins is instructive. Amara Solari has traced the conflation of the "rhetoric of disease" and idolatry, broadly defined, to long-standing medieval practices that censored the unchristian behavior practiced by Jewish, Muslim, and Amerindian peoples.[96] When assessing the shortcomings of the mendicant program, Sahagún explicitly links sickness to the Indians' weaknesses, licentiousness, and "evil works," which were so "odious to God" as "to [even] cause them great sicknesses."[97] Disease, in other words, strikes humans in retribution for their sins. With their lack of immunity, the indigenous population was the most vulnerable and, by implication, the most culpable.

But is it possible that the Florentine Codex artist of the confession scene in Book 6 is not capitulating wholesale to a Euro-Christian interpretation? One intriguing preconquest parallel for the penitent's disgorging of reptiles in figure 11.8 occurred during the Aztec ceremony of Atamalqualiztli (Eating of the Water Tamales), when priests engaged in the ritual act of eating snakes and frogs. Held every eight years, Atamalqualiztli was celebrated to give thanks for the earth's bounty; the *maçateca*, or priests, who ate and swallowed live frogs and snakes ("they just chewed them up") were rewarded with gifts, and all participants danced in costume and feasted on tamales.[98] In a detail from the image describing Atamalqualiztli in Sahagún's *Primeros memoriales* (fig. 11.12), the three priests, whose blackened bodies mark them as sacred, are positioned diagonally from lower left to upper right toward a pond, each with a snake emerging from his mouth. This festi-

FIGURE 11.12. *Feast of Atamalqualiztli.* Lower left to upper right: *three blackened priests eating snakes.* Primeros memoriales, *fol. 254r (detail). Códice Matritense del Palacio Real de Madrid. © Patrimonio Nacional, España.*

val honored Tlaloc (Earth Lord), the storm and vegetation deity, and these aquatic creatures, in particular the serpents, did not symbolize evil but embodied fertility and regeneration. Might a Nahua viewer have read the Florentine Codex image of confession in figure 11.8 not as abhorrent or as a rebuke, but with a more equivocal response? In other words, there may be visual homology here, but dissonance of reception.

RHETORIC AS ACCULTURATION

The phrase "rhetoric as acculturation," derived from Thomas Habinek's work on the role of classical rhetoric in educating the young males of ancient Greece and Rome, suggests a useful paradigm because of the author's emphasis on rhetoric as "social practice" and acculturation as "social replication."[99] Through the memorization of traditional orations by students moving from childhood into adulthood, they were initiated into the larger corporate culture, a process Habinek describes as cross-cultural and transformational in the Roman Empire. "Because this transformation often entailed a permanent migration from one culture to another (e.g., Egyptian to Greek, Spanish or Gallic to Roman), and because it encompassed attitudes, practices and beliefs, indeed the student's very sense of self, it is helpful to regard rhetorical training not just as acquisition of knowledge, but more generally as a process of acculturation."[100] There are instructive parallels in how the teaching of rhetoric in Aztec Mexico, and subsequently in sixteenth-century monastic schools, ingrained a respect for traditional social, political, and moral values to create a shared sense of community. And in the polyglot, multiethnic environments of both the pre- and the postcontact periods, the need for a lingua franca and a cohesive cultural foundation was essential in promoting civic order and governance. However, as powerful an ideological tool as oratory could be, Habinek also recognizes that traditions could constitute the raw material out of which a new social order was fashioned; in other words, the very traditions inculcated via rhetorical strategies were being constantly reevaluated and adapted. Rather than characterizing Sahagún's Nahua authors and painters as being transformed, or as "migrating" from one culture to another, the Florentine Codex demonstrates their creativity in amalgamating the visual and textual languages available to them.

The ways in which rhetoric could be appropriated for divergent purposes and discrete audiences is demonstrated in the textual discrepancy of the Nahua metaphor in Book 6 for good discourse: "as the light, the torch, the sign, the measure, the wide mirror" (in tlavilli, in ocotl, in machiotl, in octacatl, in coiaoac tezcatl). In the accompanying image, the pine torch and circular black (obsidian) mirror are centered between the "speaking" male adult in the woven-reed seat on the left and his attentive audience of younger boys on the right.[101] For the Nahua, the sage words of their forefathers and leaders were illuminating models and reflective exempla: "From it [the good discourse] you are to take yourself a model, to take an example, in order to live well or in order to speak well." The Spanish text however, redirects the audience from their elders to the new Catholic intermediaries: to hearken to the wisdom of the preacher's sermon ("el sermón que el predicador predica").[102]

While Book 6 contains some of the most uniquely Nahua ways of expressing and transmitting knowledge found in Sahagún's masterful project, paradoxically its

images and the Spanish interpolations betray the entanglements of a multiethnic authorship and the larger colonizing agenda. In a two-way acculturative process, rhetoric played an essential role in promulgating a different moral and social order and, indeed, in creating a "world anew."[103]

NOTES

1. Oration was the major form of rhetoric in sixteenth-century Europe. See Abbott 1996, 6–15.

2. The Latin dedication includes the phrase, "Hic sextus omnium maior, cum corpore tum vi: grandi tripudio"; translated in León-Portilla 2002a, 223.

3. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 9, 71.

4. Perhaps inspired by Andrés de Olmos, Sahagún's fellow Franciscan and linguist who early on (1533–1539) recorded at least twenty-nine Nahua speeches. His *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua nahuatl*, recorded in 1547 but not published until 1600–1601 by Viseo, includes seventeen *huehuetlatolli*. On Olmos, see León-Portilla and Silva Galeana 1991, 7–45; Ruiz Bañuls 2009, 48–51, 113–116, 126–127.

5. On the difficulties in translating Book 6, see Roa-de-la-Carrera 2010b, 70–87.

6. On the evolution of the pictographic tradition in postconquest central Mexico, see Boone 2008, 253–286.

7. On a discussion of Nahua songs and European poetry, see Lockhart 1992, 393–398.

8. Peterson 1988, 273–293.

9. That Aztec-style iconography was available to imitate is alluded to in the Florentine; a reference to "ancient paintings" occurs in Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 48; and author's account or "Relación," Bk. 10, 82. On the self-representation of the *tlacuilo*, see Peterson 2003, 223–253. On the bicultural sources for the Florentine Codex, see Escalante Gonzalbo 2003, 167–191; and Boone 2003, 137–166.

10. On the young Sahagún at the University of Salamanca in the 1520s, see Terraciano, introduction to this volume; and Peterson, chapter 1 of this volume.

11. On the glut of book publishing, see Kagan 1974, 35.

12. In addition to writing the first Spanish *gramática*, Nebrija also published a handbook on rhetoric (*Artis rhetoricae compendiasa*) in 1515. See Abbott 1996, 8; Ríos Castaño 2014, 41–42.

13. Hernando Alonso de Herrera was such a student, becoming a professor of rhetoric at the University of Alcalá de Henares, then at the University of Salamanca in 1513. See Morocho Gayo 2000, 186–187.

14. Kagan 1974, 162, 231–232. On Sahagún as a humanist aware of cultural relativism, see Browne 2000, 75, 81, 85; León-Portilla 2002a, 43.

15. Valadés 1989, image between pp. 16–18 (79–83). Hereafter, page numbers from the Latin facsimile in the *Rhetorica christiana* precede the Palomera Spanish translation of the Valadés, shown in parentheses.

16. On the Florentine Codex's production, see Bustamante García 1990; León-Portilla 2002a; and Terraciano, introduction to this volume.

17. The schematic ordering of things, also apparent in the diagrams of the *Rhetórica* of Valadés, drew from widely circulating sources, such as those of Ramon Llull (1232–1315). See Báez Rubí 2005.

18. See table I.1 in the introduction to this volume.

19. Volumes by Cicero and Quintilian were inventoried in the Tlatelolco library on July 31, 1572. On the Tlatelolco collection, see Mathes 1985, 30; and Peterson, chapter 1 of this volume.

20. Isidore of Seville's compendium of ancient and Arabic learning was printed in ten editions from 1470 to 1520. On rhetoric, see Isidore (2006, thirty-one chapters in Bk. 2); and six volumes in Pliny (Carey 2003).

21. Isidore 2006, Bk. 2, chap. 1, 69.

22. Habinek 2005, 90.

23. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 6, 65. Pliny underscores "the sharing of a common language" in order "to bestow civilization on mankind" (*Historia naturalis*, 3:39; as quoted in Carey 2003, 35).

24. Valadés 1989, preface, 27–29.

25. Vives 1971, 181. *De tradendis disciplinis* of Juan Luis Vives (1531) includes a chapter on rhetoric that relies on Aristotle, Pliny, Cicero, and Quintilian. The goals cited by Vives echo those of the classical handbooks on rhetoric, "to teach, to move, to persuade," as in Habinek 2005, 47.

26. Luis de Granada (1504–1588) was the first to develop and adapt "evangelical rhetoric" for the non-Christians of the New World; see Abbott 1996, 9–17; also Habinek 2005, 88–90.

27. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fols. 128v, 204.

28. Molina 1977, pt. 2, 141, 157; Karttunen 1992, 267; Lockhart 1992, 406, 412. Librado Silva Galeana uses the literal translation, "la antigua palabra," rather than underscoring the transmitters of the word (Silva Galeana 2002, 117). Thelma Sullivan amplifies *huehuetlatolli* to incorporate both "sayings of the ancients" and "of the elders"; see Sullivan 1974, 80–84; León-Portilla (2002a, 175) uses the phrase "testimonies of the ancient word." For a good review of the definitions and parameters of the *huehuetlatolli*, see Ruiz Bañuls 2009, 62–67.

29. In Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 93v; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 113, 215. However, it is used elsewhere in the Florentine, as *in ueuetlatolli* that occurs in a merchant-elder's speech admonishing returning merchants to lead austere, humble lives (see Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 9, 42); also in Sullivan 1974, 92–94.

30. "[V]uncan mijtoa: in tlatolli in vel injollo intech qujçaia"; in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fols. 1, 4v, 8v, 12.

31. On Nahua beliefs regarding the heart (*yollotl*), see López Austin 1988, 1:190–191, 2:212–223. When conjoined with *toltecayotl* (artisanship), the multivalent heart fuses the mastering of crafts, including painting, with intellect, passion, and dexterity. See Leon-Portilla 1980; 1990, 166–176; Peterson, forthcoming.

32. Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006, 153–163, 227–251. Sound and speech scrolls appear very early in Mesoamerican civilizations.

33. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 63, 83, 99. Molina 1977, 93–93v, 141, 140v. *Tecpillatolli* is also written *texpilatlolli*; and *tecutlatolli* as *teuctlatolli*.

34. Whereas lack of training was reflected in poor speech; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 11v.

35. As shown in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 241v. The right, indeed necessity, of forceful speech is also reflected in the Maya term for lord, or *ajaw* (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006, 153).

36. On this composite royal icon and the significance of speech scrolls in defining rulership, see Hajovsky 2015, 1–11, 38–39, 58–78.

37. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 63, 246; Sahagún 1979, fol. 203v; see also Bk. 6, 99: "the spirit, the words of the lord [in ihijotzin, in itlatoltzin]." On the "bodily exhalations," or breath-soul, see Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006, 142–143.

38. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 47–48.

39. Anywhere from sixty-one to around one hundred of the orations have been attributed to Sahagún alone, dispersed throughout the Florentine Codex and beyond. Díaz Cíntora (1995, 5–15) identifies only seven *huehuetlatolli* in Book 6 of the Florentine Codex (chaps. 17–22, 40) based on parental or intergenerational orations; Ruiz Bañuls (2009, 62–67) counts thirty-nine ancient speeches in Book 6. Sullivan analyzes

eighty-nine *huehuetlatolli* and classifies them according to genre (Sullivan 1974, 86–98, 100–107, tables 9–14). See also García Quintana 1976, 61–71.

40. Sullivan 1974, 86–94, 100–102.

41. In his treatise, Aristotle identifies epideictic speech as one of three types of rhetoric; see Aristotle 2007, 7, 15–16. On European and Nahua rhetoric, see Abbott 1996, 32–37.

42. What Abbott (1996, 30) calls the "rhetoric of behavior" that ensured social stability.

43. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 122; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fols. 100–101.

44. Sahagún 1950–1982, app. to Bk. 3, 65. While the text on the instruction of songs in the *calmecac* is in Book 3 (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 3, fol. 39), the image is in Book 2, fol. 128 (see fig. 11.3).

45. John Bierhorst (2009, 25–30) translated and transcribed thirty-six Nahuatl song texts (*netotliliztli*), describing them not only as highly ritualistic but also as having a coercive and militant power.

46. Alonso de Zorita observes that Andrés de Olmos, or his informants, relied on pictorial sources for the collecting of the Nahua orations: "y los sacaron de sus pinturas que son como escritura e se entienden muy bien por ellas"; see Zorita 1992, 100–101. See also León-Portilla 1991, 12–13; Silva Galeana 2002, 118–119.

47. Sullivan 1974, 99. Lockhart (1993, 9) similarly claims that there were no indigenous pictorial records for these "elaborate set speeches."

48. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 91, 99.

49. Roa-de-la-Carrera 2010b.

50. As described in the ideal monastic atrium, in Valadés 1989, 108(473), 219(493), 221(501), and 222(503).

51. Baudot (1982, 125–145) and Ruiz Bañuls (2009, 159–211) deconstruct the *huehuetlatolli* for their Christian adaptation and application.

52. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 80v; see also Ríos Castaño 2014, 91n77.

53. As evident in Sahagun's *Psalmodia christiana* (circulating by 1564 but published in 1583), where he is still concerned that the indigenous converts are backsliding; that "they use other canticles to persuade the population to do what they want, or about war or other matters that are not good" (Sahagún 1993a, prologue, 7). The provincial Church councils in Mexico City (1555, 1585) ordered the "cleansing" of indigenous texts for superstitious or heathen subject matter.

54. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 10, 81.

55. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 3, fols. 11–12, Bk. 6, chap. 43, fol. 210v; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 254. See also Olivier (chapter 7 of this volume) on the use of "diablo."

56. "[I]n tlatoltetl, in tlatolquavitl"; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 63.

57. Sahagún 1997, 229–245; Sahagún 1993b, fols. 61v–64v. This court oration (para. 15 in the section on rulership) is followed by an Aztec ruler's shorter discourse.

58. Sahagún 1997, 241: "chalchiuitl. yn iuhq' yeuxiuitl, in xictic yn olloliuhqui in teuilacachiuhqui."

59. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 79–81, 113–114.

60. On finger-pointing as a pre-Hispanic gesture, see Olko 2014a, 167–175.

61. On the potency of words, see Ruiz Bañuls 2009, 96–97. The topic is discussed as well in chapters 3 (Terraciano), 10 (Magaloni Kerpel), and 12 (Sousa) of this volume.

62. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 248.

63. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 248; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 205v.

64. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 252, 99.

65. On concentric rings as affixes for preciousness or value on speech scrolls, see Sahagún 1979, Bk. 2, fols. 104v, 143v; Bk. 5, fol. 1; Bk. 10, fol. 47; Bk. 11, fol. 55v. Kevin Terraciano (chapter 3 of this volume) elaborates on the feather affix.

66. Boone 2016, 38–39.

67. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 55.

68. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 45.

69. See Boone 2016, 35–37.

70. Sahagún 1979, prologue to Bk. 6, unpaginated; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 65.

71. Kevin Terraciano (personal communication).

72. "Fue traduzido en lengua española por el dicho padre Fray bernardino de sahagun: depues de treynta años, que se escriujo en la lengua mexicana: este año de mjll y qujnjentos y setēta y siete" (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 215v).

73. Speech scrolls were not even added to the first sixteen images of Book 6 (until folio 53).

74. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 72–73; Dackerman 2003, 11–15. Susan Dackerman also argues that the stated preference for Dürer's black-and-white graphics by Erasmus was primarily to establish printmaking as an independent medium.

75. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 50–51; Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.

76. Although Tezcatlipoca was a shape-shifting supernatural, as several of his names indicate, in most colonial representations, the deity, or his priestly representative (*teixiptla*), is rendered as human. See Olivier 2003, 44, 247–249, 252.

77. Sullivan 1994, 127.

78. Olivier 2003, 13.

79. "[C]an ximonemjti, cenca ic in motolol, in momalcoch." Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 92v; Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 111.

80. Dragon-like grotesque ornaments are found in several volumes in the Tlatelolco library, including a 1543 edition of the *Vita Christi Cartuxano* by Ludolph of Saxony (Ludolfo de Sajonia).

81. Olivier 2003, 22–24.

82. My thanks to Lisa Sousa for this observation.

83. Escalante Gonzalbo 2003; and chapter 4 of this volume.

84. Peterson 2017.

85. Gruzinski (2002, 145; see also 31, 128–130) differentiates this blending of elements as mestizo or mélange in the postconquest Americas distinct from hybridization, the mixtures that occur both within and between cultures over time.

86. Olivier 2003, 24–25. The Spanish text uses words such as "sinner" (*pecador*) and "penitent" (*penitente*): Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 21v.

87. Tezcatlipoca's representative (*teixiptla*) during Toxcatl carried with him his flute, flowers, and smoking tube: Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 68.

88. The entire Aztec confessional rite is contained in Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 29–34. The Nahua word *neyolmelahualiztli* (literally "straightening one's heart") was an approximation of "confession" borrowed by the mendicants, but the Nahua idea was to be truthful or honest. On this see Burkhart 1989, 82; Lara 2008, 98–116.

89. The Nahuatl word is *tlatlacolli* when used to convey "sin"; it meant something that was damaged or broken and is related to *tlazolli*, or filth, disorder. See Burkhart 1989, 87–129.

90. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 209, 215; see also p. 32: "in excrement, in filth" (in cuitlatitlan, in tlaçultitlan).

91. In Valadés 1989, between the Latin texts on pp. 215–218. For the description of this image by Valadés, see 218(491).

92. Cummins 2011, 222–223.

93. Valadés cites as sins *gula* (gluttony), *lujuria* (lust), *pereza* (sloth), *inedia* (*evidia*[?]: envy), *avaricia* (avarice), *ira* (anger), and *soberbia* (pride); Valadés 1989, 216(487).

94. Valadés 1989, 218(491).

95. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 45.

96. Amara Solari (2016, 485) concludes that "idolatry and disease comprised a mutually informing conceptual space."

97. Sahagún 1979, prologue to Bk. 10, unpaginated; Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 75; and see Baird, chapter 13 of this volume. On the differences between the Nahua and the Christian link between disease and morality versus sin, see Burkhart 1989, 170–183.

98. On Atamalqualiztli, see Sahagún 1997, 67–69; 1993b, fol. 254r; 1950–1982, Bk. 2, 177–178. These parallels are also noted by Solari (2016, 495–496). For a full image of Atamalqualiztli, see figure 5.2 in this volume, p. 83.

99. Habinek 2005, 60–78.

100. Habinek 2005, 61.

101. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 6, 246–247. This metaphor is used elsewhere in Bk. 6, as on p. 107; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 204.

102. The full Spanish text: "Esta letra quiere decir: lumbre y hacha encendida y dechado y modelo y espejo ancho. Por metafora quiere decir, Rasonamiento que los principales hablan a los macehuales: y el sermón que el predicador predica y el buen ejemplo de Buena vida que alguno da." Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 204.

103. Habinek 2005, 61, 82–83, 91.

CHAPTER 12

Flowers and Speech in Discourses on Deviance in Book 10

LISA SOUSA

In Book 10 of the Florentine Codex, a Nahua author described the procuress's ability to lure clients using speeches, incantations, and spells: "She is a charmer [lip-flower], a smooth-talker [mouth-flower], a sweet-talker [mouth-flower-sweet-water]; she is of pleasing, agreeable speech. She is soft-spoken. Her words are flowers, sweet, pleasing. She is an artful, skilled speaker, a master of discourse."[1] The Nahua writer drew upon two symbols of seduction—speech and flowers—to convey the procuress's ability to tempt others and to promote illicit sex.[2] The Nahuatl warning is just one of three distinct commentaries on the subject of how a procuress leads people astray. The accompanying Spanish translation and the illustration can be considered separate texts that express related concepts and concerns, but that vary significantly in their presentation of the procuress.[3] Similarities and discrepancies in the descriptions and images of procurers, prostitutes, thieves, and murderers, among other social deviants, shed light on the Nahua-Christian dialogue on immorality in the sixteenth century. A close reading of these selected texts against one another also elucidates the active role of Nahuas in the conceptualization of Book 10 and the intended bicultural audience of the manuscript.

Previous scholarship has revealed the complex process in which indigenous concepts of morality informed local Christian beliefs in New Spain. Research based on the study of native-language Church texts has shown how the friars' reliance on native languages to evangelize promoted the incorporation of indigenous moral concepts into Christianity, giving rise to unique regional forms of Catholicism.[4] Pioneering studies of images, material objects, and colonial texts have considered moral attitudes related to the body and gender ambiguity.[5] Several works have examined European influences on some of the images and texts in Book 10 concerning prostitutes, the intersexual, and the homosexual.[6] This chapter contributes to the scholarship on morality, gender, and sexuality by analyzing a range of texts and images in the Florentine Codex, and especially Book 10, to shed light on Nahua symbols of moral transgression and to reveal the persistence of these concepts in Nahua verbal and visual expression after the conquest.

In this chapter I examine how discourses on deviance feature speech and flowers as metaphors for illicit sexuality and for immorality, more generally. These symbols appear in both the Nahuatl texts and the images of social deviants in Book 10 but are obscured or eliminated in the Spanish translation. The images betray significant European influence, reflecting the bivisual world of sixteenth-century Mexico, while retaining an underlying coherence in Nahua ideology.[7] In some cases, Nahua artists attempted to innovate Mesoamerican writing conventions by including phonetic elements that went beyond expressing place-names and personal names. A comparison of the Nahuatl texts, Spanish translations, and images reveals how multiple understandings of immorality operated in the early colonial period and how writers and artists employed a variety of strategies to convey moral danger.

BOOK 10

Book 10 of the Florentine Codex covers several interrelated themes, including kinship, age, and occupations; parts of the human body; illnesses and medicines; and brief descriptions of some of the ethnic groups that inhabited New Spain.[8] Nahuas wrote the first draft of the Nahuatl text between 1558 and 1565, based on interviews with elders and nobles in Tepepulco and Tlatelolco, when Sahagún's educated and Christianized Nahua coauthors asked them to describe different social groups and the traits associated with them. The text was later expanded with additional information from Tenochtitlan and revised in subsequent editions as Sahagún and the Nahua scholars made corrections.[9] Sahagún reorganized the material into books and chapters and added the Spanish translation, likely between 1575 and 1577; the images were painted last.[10] Book 10 of the latest version of the manuscript, known today as the Florentine Codex, describes roughly 204 categories of people based on age, kinship, status, and occupation. In the first twenty chapters, each with multiple entries, the text provides the characteristics and qualities of a good person and a bad person in each category.[11] From the beginning, there was some redefinition of pre-Hispanic social types to fit a Christian moral framework. The imposition of good/bad distinctions, following European concepts of virtues and vices, or good and evil, reveals Christian influence in the organization of the book. At the same time, the division of the material into chapters on men and women of differing status and occupations follows Nahua social conventions and Mesoamerican conceptualizations of society, the natural world, and cosmology in terms of complementary pairs, suggesting that Nahua scholars influenced the structure of the book and its chapters.[12] This framework also corresponds to Spanish distinctions based on gender and status.

Of the more than two hundred categories, there are sixteen social types that did not elicit positive associations and apparently were considered social deviants, at least in the context of the emerging Nahua-Christian morality of mid-sixteenth-century New Spain (see table 12.1). These classifications include groups who committed or promoted sexual transgressions or those who defied gender boundaries. Others who were defined in strictly negative terms were associated with violence, robbery, and trickery. By examining the texts and images of all social deviants as a corpus, rather than focusing strictly on one type or another, central tropes of Nahua moral ideology emerge.

In creating the list of social types for the interviews, Sahagún and the Nahua scholars must have discussed which kinds of people would be identified as deviants, and they must have determined the labels to assign to these groups. However, some categories that include positive and negative evaluations reveal slippage between indigenous and Christian ideologies, suggesting that Nahua authors played a significant role in determining the categories and deciding which groups would be described in both positive and negative terms.[13] For example, the description of the *nahualli* (shape-shifting ritual specialist), which the friars associated with the devil, includes good and bad types. While Catholic priests were quick to condemn the *nahualli*, whom they believed engaged in the dark arts as a "bruxo" (witch, sorcerer), Nahuas continued to admire (and fear) such figures' power.[14] Similarly, there were good and bad *tlapouhque* (calendar readers, prognosticators). In his prologue to Book 4, on divination, Sahagún denounced the calendar readers, for, in his opinion, "[t]his trick of reckoning is either a necromantic craft or a pact and invention of the devil, which should be uprooted with all diligence."[15] Given Sahagún's support for the elimination of traditional rituals that used the calendar, it is clear that the Nahua writers decided to include the positive description, not Sahagún. Nahua authors also ascribed positive traits to the *tlaquetzqui* (storyteller), although Sahagún overlooked this when he placed the storyteller description in the chapter that dealt with "the vicious people."[16]

While the characterization of certain criminals, such as thieves and murderers, in strictly negative terms seems fairly straightforward, for other groups it is less obvious. Nahuas seem to have had more nuanced views of transgender men and women, homosexuals, and ambiguously gendered individuals than the Florentine suggests, and these groups had roles in certain ritual contexts that are not acknowledged in the texts or images of Book 10.[17] Book 10 also distorts the importance of the *ahuiani*, "one who indulges in pleasure," by portraying her as a "prostitute" and failing to acknowledge her part in spiritual life as a temple dancer or a caretaker of deity impersonators.

The perspectives of the project's participants and the timing of the collection of materials in part explain Book 10's biases. Sahagún's coauthors were Christianized men who had been raised and educated in the Church. From the time of the conquest, and especially after the arrival of the first Franciscans in 1524, all indigenous people

TABLE 12.1. *Social Types with No Redeeming Qualities*

NAHUATL TERM	TRANSLATION OF NAHUATL TO ENGLISH	SPANISH TRANSLATION OF NAHUATL	TRANSLATION OF SPANISH TO ENGLISH
Tlacatecolotl	Owl person	El hombre que tiene pacto con el demonio	The man who has a pact with the devil
Iolpoliuhqui	Person with a destroyed heart	El hombre perdido	The vicious man
Telpuchtlaueliloc	Wicked youth	El moço desparatado	The terrible youth
Ueuetlaueliloc	Wicked old man	El viejo putañero	The old whoremaster
Tetlanochiliani	Procurer/procuress	El alcaguete	The procurer
Xochihua/suchioa	Possessor of flowers	El enbaucador / la enbaucadora	The deceiver (masc./fem.)
Cuiloni	Homosexual ("one who receives")	El sodométicо	The sodomite
Iautl	Enemy	El homiciano	The murderer
Necoc iautl	Enemy everywhere	El traydor	The traitor
Ichtequi	Thief	El ladró[n]	The thief
Temacpalitoti	One who enchants	El ladrón que encantava para hurtar	The thief who enchants in order to rob
Teichtacamicti	Assaulter who kills	El salteador	The assaulter
Ahuiani	One who indulges in pleasure	La puta	The whore
Tetzauhcioatl	Scandalous woman	La adultera	The adulteress
Patlache	Intersexual (Molina: "lesbian")	La muger que tiene dos sexos	The woman who has two sexes
Tetlanochili	Procurer/Procuress	La alcagueta	The procuress

Sources: *Sahagún 1996, Bk. 10; Molina 1992.*

came under increasing pressure to accept Christian marriage and sexual morality. In addition, in the 1530s and 1540s the friars waged an intense campaign to extirpate idolatries and eliminate polygyny.[18] Sahagún himself and other Franciscans served as interpreters in these apostolic inquisition trials, which often targeted nobles for crimes against the faith. Memories of the persecution of nobles who had challenged Christian doctrine must have been fresh in the minds of many Nahuas when Sahagún undertook his ambitious project of information gathering. Those nobles who agreed to participate in the project might have been more open to the evangelizing mission of the friars, or they might have offered responses that they believed did not challenge Christian teachings, for fear of reprisal. The Christianized Nahua authors of the Florentine might have omitted any positive comments that participants offered about certain social types, such as the *ahuiani*, that they believed would have been controversial. Sahagún also might have eliminated any information that he considered offensive when he compiled drafts of the manuscript.

These perspectives and editorial practices have distorted to some extent the indigenous discourse on deviance in Book 10, especially in terms of gender ambiguity and sexuality. Nevertheless, Nahuas continued to draw upon traditional metaphors and beliefs to describe and depict the nefarious behavior of the groups described solely in terms of their deviance.

SPEECH AND FLOWERS IN THE NAHUATL TEXT

One of the hallmarks of Mesoamerican culture groups was their development of elaborate and eloquent speech and song genres used, for example, in rituals and healing. Mesoamericans invested speaking with considerable

political and social power, and the Nahua ruler, or *tlatoani*, was "one who speaks." Mesoamerican nobles distinguished themselves from commoners by speaking a reverential, metaphorical language that conveyed their high status and refinement.[19] Elders and nobles gave moralizing speeches at life-cycle rituals and other public events to instill a strong ethical code among their families and communities. Numerous examples of the speech of elders, the *huehuetlahtolli*, collected in Book 6 emphasize moderation, humility, responsibility to others, sexual fidelity, and respect for elders as principal virtues in Nahua culture.[20]

Colonial sources reveal that, in addition to formal rhetoric, Nahuas possessed a highly developed genre of speech related to intimacy and courtship. In some texts the act of speaking represented sexual intercourse. In a moralizing speech in Book 6, a Nahua father cautioned his son that indulging in sex as a young man would destroy his virility later in life, warning that the time would come "when you are no longer able to say anything, no longer able to do anything to your spouse."[21] In another example, Nahuas described the wicked youth (*telpuchtlaueliloc*) as a womanizer and a smooth talker: "he has mistresses, he is a talker; he lives with concubines."[22] The placement of the statement "he is a talker" between the phrases "he has mistresses" and "he lives with concubines" conflates his talking with sex.

Book 10 discusses how men or women could change their identities by adopting speech patterns of the opposite gender. The text explains, "[T]he *xochihua* [possessor of flowers] has feminine speech, has a feminine way of talking, [and if a woman] has masculine speech, has a masculine way of talking."[23] (Of the more than two hundred categories, this is the only one that addresses both men and women in the same entry, and the only place in which a description of a certain type of woman appears in the section on men.) The Nahua writer reiterates a link between speech and sexuality when he describes the passive homosexual (*cuiloni*) as one who "speaks like a woman, he pretends to be a woman."[24] The parallel phrase "he speaks like a woman, he pretends to be a woman" suggests that his mode of speech is used to deceive others. If we read the reference to speaking as a metaphor for sex, the construction further suggests that he takes the part of the woman in sex. Nahua authors used a similar format in the description of the *patlache* (intersexual). The *patlache* befriends lots of women and "speaks like a man, goes about as a man."[25] Because the text states that the *patlache* has a penis, the paired phrase that he/she "speaks like a man, goes about like a man" may be a play on words that intimate that he/she "has sex like a man."[26]

Nahuatl descriptions of the procurer and the procuress (*tetlanochiliani*, *tetlanochili*,) emphasize their abilities to deliver arousing discourses. According to the Nahua authors of Book 10, it was principally through speech that the procurer led clients astray: "The procurer is a mouse, a charmer, a windbag, an enticer, a possessor of flowers, one who seduces people with flowery words, one who flatters people with pleasing words, one who poisons people. He entices, he poisons people; he stretches out long-winded speeches; he summons people with spells, he lays ambushes for people."[27] The tempting speeches of the *tetlanochili* stand in stark contrast to the *huehuetlahtolli*. Whereas the edifying counsel of the elders set people on the right path, the procurer's words corrupted and destroyed unsuspecting people. The *tetlanochili* lured, enticed, and poisoned his victims with flattery and cunning. Similarly, the Nahuatl description of the procuress associates her command of provocative speech with her ability to encourage moral breaches:

> She is a charmer, a sweet-talker, a smooth-talker; she is of pleasing, agreeable speech, soft-spoken. Her words are flowers, sweet, pleasing. She is an artful, skilled speaker, a master of discourse. She is one who flatters, tricks and induces people with pleasing words; she is one who entices, entrances, and lulls people with incantations. She is a cajoler, one who summons people with spells, one who destroys people with sorcery, one who places obstacles so that others will stumble. She stretches out long-winded speeches; she converses deceitfully; she tricks people with pleasing words; she lulls one with words. She perverts, provokes, confuses, corrupts people; she fools people; she induces people, she induces people with spells; she lulls people with incantations; she entrances people.[28]

The text concerning the procuress uses twenty-two terms to convey her skills at entrapping and confusing others with her incessant talking. She made eloquent speeches, but she also knew the forbidden words of incantations and spells. The repetition in the text emphasizes the seductive nature of speech and the power that procurers and procuresses wielded through their command of language.

The descriptions of the murderer, the traitor, and the

thief who uses incantations further reveal Nahua concerns over deceptive words. The murderer "brings false testimony against people; he accuses people; he hates people; he slanders, lies, and makes up stories about people."[29] Not only did the murderer commit acts of violence, he destroyed his victims with falsehoods. Similarly, the traitor posed a threat to social and political stability by creating animosities and stirring up trouble. "He comes between people, he stirs people up, he agitates people. His lies make people bow their heads. He spits in people's mouths. Words are his food. He incites rebellion, he causes riots, he stirs things up."[30] Whereas the procurer and procuress aroused sexual passions that threatened the moral order, the traitor provoked controversies that led to chaos and challenged the political order. The thief who uses incantations (*temacpalitoti*) knew spells and songs, two other powerful verbal genres: "he possesses words, he possesses songs. He is one who robs people by enchanting them to put them to sleep, one who enchants in order to deceive people, he is a thief."[31] The descriptions of both the thief and the procuress use the terms *tecochtlaçani* (one who enchants in order to put people to sleep to rob them) and *tecochteca* (one who enchants to deceive people); whereas procurers and procuresses caused moral lapses, the thief who uses incantations caused a mental lapse, making people lose consciousness with his spells. Thus descriptions of deviants reveal a complex of immorality that includes concepts of the corrupting use of spoken word, song, and incantations to promote illicit sex, violence, and social discord.

Many of the entries in Book 10 also express moral concerns using flowers as symbols of temptation, seduction, and sexual excess. In Mesoamerican ideology, flowers conveyed a broad range of concepts and meanings, from potency, fertility, and (re)production to destructive aspects of illicit sexuality.[32] Nahuatl expressions recorded in the Florentine Codex suggest the negative connotations of flowers, as for example, in the Nahuatl phrase "I caress one with flowers" (*nictexochitzotzona*), meaning, "I seduce him/her."[33] Similarly, the expression "I destroy one with flowers" (*nitexochipoloa*) meant, "to entice one with drink, with food, with flowers, with tobacco, with capes, with gold."[34] In both cases, flowers represent temptation and forbidden pleasures. The term *xochihuia*, based upon *xochitl*, or "flower," in fray Alonso de Molina's Nahuatl dictionary, means "to enchant, to seduce the woman with pleasing words in order to take her to another place, or to bewitch her."[35] Nahuas associated sexual diseases with certain flowers, including the white amaryllis and the poinsettia, revealing their perception of flowers as potentially harmful.[36]

Nahua contributors to the section on the procurer employed three terms based on *xochitl*, describing him as a "possessor of flowers, one who seduces people with flowery words, one who flatters people with flowery words."[37] Similarly, the procuress's "words are flowers,"[38] and the prostitute "appears like a flower."[39] Flowers convey sexual transgression in the Nahuatl term *xochihua* (literally "possessor of flowers") used in Book 10 for a transgender person and for a procurer.[40]

Nahua writers also drew upon traditional concepts in their discussions of immorality in Book 10 by attributing malicious behavior to indigenous supernaturals. The murderer was "a *tzitzimitl*, a *coleletli*," terrifying beings who descended from the sky to torment people. A single reference to the Christian devil in the description of the procuress shows how Nahuas also began to associate immorality with the devil's corrupting influences. Even then, however, the devil appears only as one of several malevolent deities: "The procuress, one who procures: The procuress is truly a *tlacatecolotl*, [the *tlacatecolotl*] truly lives within her, truly hides within her. She is truly the *nahualli* of the *tzitzimitl*, the *coleletli*. The deceiver is truly the eyes, the ears, the messenger of the devil, the *tzitzimitl*."[41] As though writing for an indigenous audience, the writer sensed a need to elaborate on the European devil by defining him as a type of Nahua malevolent deity. In doing so, however, the threat seems to come more from ancient supernaturals, including *tlacatecolotl*, *nahualli*, *tzitzimitl*, and *coleletli*, than from the devil.

The critical statements concerning homosexuals (*cuiloni*), and the conclusion that they deserved to be burned, reveal some of the strongest evidence of Christian influence in Book 10.[42] Friars denounced homosexuality as the nefarious sin in sermons and confessionals.[43] And on occasion, Spanish officials in New Spain burned homosexuals at the stake in the public spectacle of an *auto-de-fé*.[44] By contrast, sources on indigenous justice do not refer to the execution of homosexuals, and there is no evidence that burning was a form of punishment for social deviance in preconquest times. Therefore, it seems likely that the Nahua authors adopted this view from their Spanish mentors. It is not clear whether this strong condemnation of homosexuality was intended to reassure Spanish

readers of the text, to provide language that friars could use in their sermons on sexual morality, or to serve as a didactic statement to Nahua readers.

SPANISH TRANSLATIONS

Some Nahua social categories did not fit European conceptual frameworks, and one encounters the same difficulty in translating these terms into English. Table 12.1 shows the discrepancy between Nahuatl and Spanish categories and sheds light on some of the difficulties of evaluating, discussing, and translating moral concepts and ideology. For example, *ahuiani*, "one who indulges in pleasure," was a term for a woman who lived and danced in the temple in preconquest times. The friars adopted this term for the Spanish "puta," or whore, clearly demoting a woman who participated in sacred rituals to a prostitute who sold her body. In his refutation of idolatry, Sahagún also used the term *ahuiani* when he denounced Nahua "goddesses of filth," or deities of sexuality, especially Tlaçolteotl, "who is like the goddess Venus," denigrating them as nothing more than "harlots" and demanding that Nahuas cease worshipping them.[45] "Prostitute" in English perpetuates a distorted meaning of the original term, while expressing the intent of the colonial text. Similarly, the Nahua authors assigned the label *xochihua*, or "possessor of flowers," to men and women described as transgender individuals, although in the description of the procurer this term is used more generally for a person who promotes or engages in illicit sex. It is not entirely clear whether *xochihua* was an actual social category, or whether transgender men and women were simply considered members of the gender with which they identified (i.e., a biologically sexed male who adopted the speech, work, and dress of a woman or became a woman).[46] Sahagún translates *xochihua* as *enbaucador* or *enbaucadora*, "deceiver," which fails to represent the metaphorical meaning of *xochihua* or to convey gender fluidity. The term *patlache* also poses certain difficulties. The description of the *patlache* refers to a person who has the attributes of an intersexual individual and has sex with women. Sahagún translates the term as a "woman who has two sexes" ("mujer que tiene dos sexos"). Although according to the description, the *patlache* had a penis and performed some aspects of gender as a male, both in terms of speech and dress, Sahagún assigned the label "woman" and put this entry in the section on women, trying to force a person who was biologically and socially complex into a binary gender framework.[47] Molina provides the term *patlachuia*, "for a woman to have sex with another woman," suggesting the term lesbian.[48] Because of a lack of corroborating sources that use many of these terms, it is difficult to discern precisely what type of person the Nahua authors had in mind in their descriptions.

In some sections, Sahagún did not reproduce much of the rich Nahuatl vocabulary that drove home the point of the text. For example, whereas the Nahua author used more than twenty terms to describe the procuress's ability to lead others astray with her enticing words, Sahagún summarizes her command of speech in a single statement: "[She is] very rhetorical in her speech; using delightful words in order to deceive, she goes about offering women like roses, and in this way she brings [them] with her sweet words to stupefied and entranced men."[49] The twenty-two lines of Nahuatl that describe the procuress are reduced to twelve lines of Spanish. Similarly, the Spanish text downplays the power of the procurer to bring harm; there is no mention of his ability to "poison" or "ambush" people. Whereas the translation does allude to the procurer's ability to seduce women, Sahagún streamlined the more elaborate Nahuatl description, stating succinctly, "[H]e deceives women with beautiful speech."[50] The four Nahuatl terms that refer to flowers (*tensuchitl*, *suchioa*, *tetensuchiuiani*, *tetensuchitzotzonani*) in the description of the procurer's speech are summarized as "[the procurer uses] deceits and falsehoods . . . that are like roses that please men with their beauty and good scent."[51] The translation fails to tap into the metaphorical power of speech and flowers as tropes for seduction and illicit sexuality. Sahagún also renders the Nahuatl term for flower (*xochitl*) as "rose" when he states that "the prostitute appears like a rose."[52] For a Spanish reader, references to roses might have evoked the practice of love magic and the belief that those who had been rejected could attract lovers by casting spells on roses.[53]

At times, Sahagún introduced concepts that would have resonated with a Spanish audience but that are not included in the Nahuatl text. For example, in the description of the prostitute, the Nahua writer discusses how the *ahuiani* had the custom of wandering around and chewing chicle to freshen her breath. In Sahagún's translation of this section he adds that "when they chew, their teeth sound like castanets."[54] He repeats this in the description of the chicle chewer: "the public women, without any shame whatsoever, walk around chewing chicle

in all places, in the streets, in the markets, clacking their teeth like castanets."[55] His commentary seems to express greater concern with manners than with morality. Sahagún's translation of the text on the *tlacatecolotl* (owl person) provides another example of his attempt to explain indigenous concepts to a Spanish reader by adding details that are not in the Nahuatl. Sahagún defined the *tlacatecolotl* as "the man who has a pact with the demon," although Nahua authors do not mention the devil.[56] This example also demonstrates how the Spanish translation obfuscates Nahua beliefs, shoehorning this complex concept of a ritual specialist who had the ability to cast spells on others and to shape-shift into a Christian framework. Finally, Sahagún omitted references to the *tzitzimitl* and *coleletli* from his translations, which Nahua authors used to characterize the procuress and the murderer.

Sahagún did not feel the need to comment on morality in these sections of the manuscript, even though this would have been an ideal place to do so. He reserved his commentary for the prologue to the book, where he lamented the decline in Nahua morality due to increasing drunkenness among the native population and the collapse of institutions that reinforced traditional hierarchies and enforced discipline.[57] Thus, although he often summarized the Nahuatl, Sahagún did not veer entirely away from the original text, except in a very few places. While Nahuas might have expressed their discourses on deviance using their own concepts and language, in this final version of the manuscript, at least, they did not directly challenge Christian morality in any way that would have required Sahagún's intervention.

THE IMAGES

The images that accompany social types in Book 10 reflect the negotiation of Christian and indigenous worldviews in sixteenth-century Mexico. The depictions are more like illustrations from a European book than Nahua pictorial writings in that they are entirely removed from the rich context of Mesoamerican codices.[58] Some of the images show individuals who float in open space, and others are confined to bordered spaces. Nevertheless, they retain many familiar symbols and conventions of the postclassic writing system. All of the illustrations of social deviants correspond to the Nahuatl text, and some of them introduce distinct information and concepts. Several of the depictions include phonetic glyphs and markers that conveyed specific words or syllables. As a corpus, the iconography of deviance in Book 10 further highlights speech and flowers as moral signifiers, but the images also rely on other fundamental concepts, including the distinction between center and periphery, to convey ethical and criminal violations.

Nahua *tlacuiloque* of the Florentine Codex placed social interaction in specific settings to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate behaviors and positive and negative influences. To convey the proper moral and social order, Florentine Codex artists depicted parents, nobles, or elders making speeches in the household or temple complex. They rendered hierarchy and harmony through seating arrangements of adults and children, elders and youth, men and women, nobles and commoners. In Nahua society, the household was a moral unit, and members of a household socialized and raised children together.[59] The adults of the household monitored each other's behavior to ensure that moral transgressions would not threaten the stability and health of the family. The image of a Nahua ruler making a speech to his sons (top frame) and to his daughters (lower frame) is set in the patio of a *tecpan* (palace), indicated by the circular disc motif at the top of the image, an architectural detail of central Mexican palaces (see fig. 11.1, p. 168).[60] The noble father sits on a reed-mat throne, which conveys his authority as *tlatoani*, and his children are gathered on the floor at his feet, looking obediently at him and listening attentively to his counsel. The artist emphasized the importance of the father's oration by drawing a prominent speech scroll in front of his mouth (also a standard glyph to identify him as the *tlatoani*) and by showing him gesturing with his hand.[61]

On the other hand, Nahua artists of Book 10 depicted all sixteen scenes of deviant behavior in a generic countryside setting, far from the watchful eyes of the community and household members. In locating certain activities outside of the community, Nahua *tlacuiloque* drew upon associations of the periphery with moral danger that were not directly expressed in the text.[62] For example, a depiction of a prostitute and a client places their meeting in a rural setting (fig. 12.1). Peterson noted the prominence of the road in the image, which corresponds to the description of the prostitute as one who "wanders shamefully along the road."[63] More specifically, the scene is placed at a crossroads (*otlamaxalli*, "crotch of the road"), a location associated with illicit sexuality, sorcery, and the underworld, as

FIGURE 12.1. *Prostitute with client. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 70r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

well as with the *cihuateteo* (deified women who had died in childbirth).[64]

In addition to depicting social deviants in the periphery, the artists showed them standing, suggesting that they were itinerant vagrants. There are a few exceptions: a man who propositions a prostitute sits on a little seat (emphasizing her deviance by showing her standing; see fig. 12.1), and the traitor is lying down (fig. 12.2). Victims of deviants, however, are often shown seated according to Mesoamerican pictorial conventions, which convey gender and moral order (see, for example, figs. 12.1 and 12.2).[65] Another fascinating exception to the standing position of deviants is the *xochihua* couple who sit facing one another in the traditional manner of a married couple (fig. 12.3, left frame). The "woman" wears the traditional hairstyle of an adult Nahua woman, and the hair of the "man" is cropped with bangs in the European fashion of the time. The artist used pictorial conventions of hairstyle, dress, and seating position to gender one of the figures as male and the other as female. If not for the text that indicates that one or both of the people is cross-gendered, it would be difficult to distinguish, for there is no visual ambiguity. The harmonious image suggests that as long as a cross-gendered person fully adopted the roles, dress, and behavior associated with his or her chosen gender and formed a relationship with a person of complementary gender, then the couple would conform to a Nahua moral framework of acceptable, even desirable, behavior. The rendering of the *xochihua* couple using iconography that conveys morality reveals a discrepancy between the image and the alphabetic texts; whereas the image shows a harmonious couple, the written text concerning the *xochihua* focuses especially on female sexual deviance and, like the description of the *cuiloni* that immediately follows, seems to show significant European influence in the negative assessment of these types of individuals.

Although the images do not illustrate every detail discussed in the corresponding Nahuatl, many of the depictions of social deviants reinforce the fundamental importance of speech and flowers in Nahua moral discourse. In figure 12.1, the artist placed a speech scroll emerging from the mouth of the man, who propositions the pros-

FIGURE 12.2. *The traitor. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 25v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 12.3. Left: *the* suchioa (xochihua)*, "possessor of flowers"*; right: *punishment of the* cuiloni*, homosexual. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 25v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

titute with pleasing words and money. Likewise, artists used speech scrolls to convey the idea that it is through the power of speech that delinquents confuse and deceive others. To emphasize the traitor's duplicitous nature, the artist drew two strings of speech scrolls going in different directions and reaching separate groups of men to show that he speaks out of both sides of his mouth (see fig. 12.2). Even when the Nahua artist did not include speech scrolls, he indicated communication, negotiation, and speech by showing people making hand gestures and looking directly at one another. In the depiction of the wicked youth (*telpuchtlaueliloc*), a man stands between a woman and another man who holds a cup and a pitcher (fig. 12.4).

FIGURE 12.4. *The* telpuchtlaueliloc*, wicked youth. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 24v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

The man in the center points at the other man, as though facilitating their liaison, and both men look at the woman. In a very similar format, the illustration of the procurer shows him standing between a man and a woman, gesturing and looking at the woman (fig. 12.5, right frame), and the procuress stands between the devil and a woman, pointing her finger and looking at the woman (fig. 12.6).

In their studies of Florentine Codex images, Margaret Arvey and Jeanette Peterson have pointed out European influences in the depiction of prostitutes. Arvey identified the poses, hand gestures, and flowing hair as evidence that Nahua *tlacuiloque* drew from European models (fig. 12.7). Peterson also noted the harlot's red shoes and golden goblet, which were symbols of dissolute women in European paintings and texts (see fig. 12.1). While I agree with these observations, I also consider how native artists invoked Nahua symbols and moral concepts to convey immorality and deviance in these and other images from Book 10. Several depictions of social deviants in Book 10 incorporate flowers to represent promiscuity. Arvey considered the abundant flowers in these illustrations as additional evidence of Christian influence. I argue, however, that as multivalent symbols, the flowers were used by the *tlacuiloque* to convey concerns with seduction, temptation, and illicit sex. The *tlacuiloque* might even have used flowers as phonetic indicators to suggest certain terms that contain the root of the word for "flower" (*xochitl*) that appear in the alphabetic text. Nahua artists show prostitutes hold-

FIGURE 12.5. Left: *the* ueuetlaueliloc, *wicked old man;* right: *the* tetlanochiliani, *procurer. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 24v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

ing flowers as symbols of sexual impropriety (see fig. 12.7).[66] Although flowered clothing could be worn by indigenous men and women without any inherently negative connotations, in the Florentine it conveys seduction and sexual excess when worn by the *ahuiani* (see fig. 12.7, top frame) and the wicked old man (*ueuetlaueliloc*) (see fig. 12.5, left frame).

Some illustrations use both speech scrolls and flowers to emphasize moral danger and sexual transgression.[67] The Nahua artist drew upon the traditional repertoire of gender markers when he depicted the intersexual wearing a married woman's hairstyle and a man's cape to convey gender ambiguity and bisexuality (fig. 12.8).[68] The elaborate speech scroll calls particular attention to the phrase in the Nahuatl text "she speaks like a man," and the figure is shown in conversation with a seated woman who has a flower speech scroll emerging from her mouth. The image of a *xochihua*, or transgender person (or couple), shows two seated individuals with speech scrolls in front of their mouths, and a flower (*xochitl*) between them is a phonetic indicator that they are *xochihuaque* (possessors of flowers) (see fig. 12.3, left frame).[69]

Some of the European influences in the Nahuatl text are also conveyed in the images. For example, an illustration showing the execution of a homosexual by burning corresponds to the statement that sanctions this punishment for same-sex relations (see fig. 12.3, right frame). The image might also have been intended to show a person burning in hell, and might have been influenced by European paintings and woodcuts showing such horrific scenes. The depiction of the devil in an illustration showing a procuress complements the description in the Nahuatl and Spanish texts of the procuress as "the eyes, the ears, the messenger of the devil, the *tzitzimitl*" (see fig. 12.6). However, whereas the original Nahuatl described the devil as one of many Nahua supernaturals, the illustration only shows the European devil, painted following European conventions as a goatlike creature with horns,

FIGURE 12.6. *The* tetlanochili, *procuress. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 41r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

clawed feet, and a tail. Perhaps by the time the image was produced, Nahuas were familiar enough with the European devil that he alone would do, or it might have been that the friars would not tolerate the depiction of other gods and powerful supernaturals in this context. Although the Nahua *tlacuilo* modeled the image on European examples, he posed the devil with his body facing one direction and his head turning the other way. According to Nahua pictorial conventions, this twisted position signified gender ambiguity, sexual excess, and immorality.[70] Thus the Nahua painter took the European image of the devil but reconfigured him in a way that conveyed Nahua moral ideology.

Several images suggest that the Florentine's artists drew inspiration more from the Nahuatl text than from the Spanish translation. For example, when Sahagún defined the *tlacatecolotl* as a man who has made a pact with the devil, a detail that is not in the original Nahuatl text, the Nahua artist did not depict the devil; he depicted him as a *nahualli* instead, showing a man with the head of a beast (perhaps a dog) to convey his ability to transform into different animals, as discussed in the alphabetic text (fig. 12.9).[71] The use of the Nahuatl text as the primary source of information for the images explains the somewhat puzzling illustration of the traitor, who lies on the ground between two groups of men (see fig. 12.2). The *tlacuilo* literally depicted the term "moteca" (he lies down), which appears in the string of phrases "among people, in the middle of people, he lies down," meaning that "he comes between people."[72]

In addition to incorporating European images and styles, Nahua *tlacuiloque* of Book 10 innovated with pictorial writing, extending traditional techniques and sym-

FIGURE 12.7. *The* ahuiani, *prostitute. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 39v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

bols of postclassic Mesoamerican writing systems. The flower elements on clothing or bouquets held by figures who were prone to sexual excess express specific words and sounds in the pictorials of the Florentine Codex. The *tlacuilo* also depicted several of the nouns that describe the procurer, adapting the practice of writing calendrical and personal names, even placing them near the head of the figure. Specifically, a flower conveys that the procurer is "a possessor of flowers," and the mouse expresses that "he is a mouse," corresponding to statements in the Nahuatl text (see fig. 12.5, right frame).[73] There are elaborations on speech scrolls, as, for example, when the *tlacuilo* adds wispy flourishes to the scroll in the depiction of the *patlache* and a flower on the scroll of the woman who converses with him/her (see fig. 12.8). The depiction of the murderer with a dog's head reflects the Nahua belief that emotions are conveyed on the face and expresses the Nahuatl statement that "he is a dog at heart, a real dog" (fig. 12.10).[74] Illustrations of the *ahuiani* and the adulteress (*tetzauhcioatl*) show them holding a water (*atl*) glyph and standing on a stream of water. The *atl* glyph conveys the sound of the first syllable of *ahuiani* and of the term *auilli* used in the description of the adulteress. The significance of the stream of water is less clear. The

FIGURE 12.8. *The* patlache, *intersexual or lesbian. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 40v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 12.9. *The* tlacatecolotl, *"owl person." Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 21r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 12.10. *The* iautl, *murderer. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 25v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

water is reminiscent of a depiction in the Codex Borbonicus of the goddess Chalchiuhtlicue, a water deity, with a birth stream emerging from beneath her throne. Thus the Florentine's image may represent the overt sexuality and fertility of the *ahuiani* or may refer to her wandering through Mexico City on the canals. Finally, the depiction of the adulteress (*tetzauhcioatl*) includes glyphs that conform more to the traditional writing system in that each element conveys the phonetic sound of one of the syllables of a word (fig. 12.11). On the left side of the image there appear a mouth, a spindle whorl, and a woman's head.[75] Together the glyphs express the components of the word *tetzauhcioatl*: *te-* from *tentli*, "lips," shown on the mouth; *tzaua-*, "spin," indicated by a spindle whorl; and *cioatl*, "woman," expressed by the head of a woman. The inclusion of glyphs in Book 10 images reveals the creative expression of Nahua *tlacuiloque* who continued to find elements of their traditional writing system viable and useful, even as they incorporated European influences into their images.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nahuatl texts and images on social deviants reveal the persistence of a moral complex that shaped understandings of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Speech and flowers were just two of the many symbols that constituted this expansive moral framework. While Christian beliefs began to seep into Nahua ideology, they did not replace traditional values, concepts, and attitudes entirely. A close reading of the Nahuatl texts, Spanish translations, and Nahua images reveals a rich intellectual and cultural exchange of ideas, concepts, and symbols in sixteenth-century Mexico.

In these sections of Book 10, Sahagún rather faithfully translated the Nahuatl, yet he omitted some of the symbolism in terms for seduction and immoral behavior, and he often eliminated the repetition of certain phrases in the Nahuatl text that emphasized dangerous behavior. It is paradoxical that Sahagún condensed the Nahuatl text, considering that his objective was to collect language and document beliefs that would help the friars uproot idolatry.[76] He seemed satisfied to collect Nahuatl language, but he did not feel the need to translate every term word for word. He surely understood that the repetition added emphasis to a point and reflected the speaker's mastery of

FIGURE 12.11. *The* tetzauhcioatl, *adulteress. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 40r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

rhetorical speech and that this was lost in his more abbreviated translation. Sahagún might have rushed to complete his translation, and he might have felt that the repetition did not substantially change the meaning of the text. Given the mounting controversy surrounding the project by the 1570s, Sahagún might have also simplified or glossed over gender, social, and religious concepts that did not fit neatly into Spanish Christian morality.[77] Only rarely did he elaborate on the original Nahuatl text by adding descriptions that would make sense of foreign concepts to Spanish readers.

The reliance on problematic categories that were intended to conform to Christian morality misrepresented or oversimplified certain aspects of Nahua gender, sexual, and religious ideology. The characterization of social deviants, for example, often relied on Nahuatl terms that did not possess inherently negative connotations in preconquest times or that did not fit neatly into the gender-binary framework of the book. Although Sahagún is often credited for the organization and content of the text, a close reading of the Nahuatl and Spanish sections against one another reveals the Nahua scholars' authorial voice.

The images negotiate between Spanish and Nahua worldviews, but they are more directly tied to the Nahuatl text. Nahua painters incorporated some European stylistic elements and techniques into their illustrations in Book 10. European books and paintings also surely served as models for some of the images (as shown, for example, by Escalante Gonzalbo in chapter 4 of this volume), but they were reconfigured with Nahua characters. However, the *tlacuiloque* also innovated with postclassic pictorial

and phonetic writing conventions to express Nahua moral concepts and language.

Perhaps what is most surprising is what is not discussed in the book of vices and virtues. There is only one mention of the devil in the Nahuatl commentaries on deviance, one illustration of the devil, and two references to him in Sahagún's translation. One might anticipate a much greater emphasis on the devil's pernicious influences, considering that Nahua authors and painters were living among Franciscans and that sermons, confessional manuals, and plays often blamed moral corruption on the devil. It is also surprising that there is not a single reference to sin (*tlatlacolli*) in the descriptions of social deviants in either the Nahuatl or the Spanish texts. And where are the polygynists? Polygynists were a primary target of early evangelization efforts, and yet they were not even mentioned as a particular type of moral deviant (although Sahagún does denounce polygyny in the Spanish interpolation that comes in between the sections in Book 10 on social and occupational categories and on parts of the body, as discussed by Baird in chapter 13 of this volume).[78]

While European influence on the style and content of Book 10 is clear, underlying indigenous concepts and metaphors permeate Nahua verbal and visual expression in the Florentine Codex. Nahuas very selectively incorporated aspects of Christianity into their own views of ethical and unethical behavior. For colonial Nahuas, words continued to have great power to hurt and harm. Flowers, too.

NOTES

1. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 41. All translations from Nahuatl and Spanish are my own.

2. For an analysis of flowers and speech as metaphors that express Nahua sexual attitudes in formal texts and archival documents, see Sousa 2017, chapters 5 and 6.

3. Terraciano's careful study of Book 12 of the Florentine Codex reveals the discrepancies between the Nahuatl alphabetic text, the Spanish translation, and the images drawn by Nahua artists in accounts of the conquest of Mexico. He concludes that differences are significant enough to consider them three separate texts in one manuscript (Terraciano 2010). Ellen Baird also argues that "the choices of form and style with which the pictures were created, the prototypes used as models, and the context in which the pictures were created provide parallel texts which are often as important as the subject matter itself" (2003, 117). See also Edmonson 1974a, 7.

4. Burkhart 1986, 1989; Sell and Burkhart 2004; Sell, Burkhart, and Poole 2006; Alva 1999; Christensen 2013; and Terraciano 2001.

5. Klein 1990–1991, 2001; Sigal 2000, 2011.

6. Arvey 1988; Peterson 1988; Sigal 2003, 2007, 2011; and Olivier 2004.

7. See especially: Boone 2003; Escalante Gonzalbo 2003; Peterson 2003; and Magaloni Kerpel 2003.

8. For a discussion of the methodology that Sahagún used to compile the information in Book 10, see López Austin 1974a, 141–144.

9. For an overview of the various manuscripts related to the Florentine Codex, see Munro 1974a, 1–15.

10. Dibble 1982a, 19–20; and see Terraciano, introduction to this volume.

11. Chapters 21–26 of Book 10 do not follow the same format of providing the qualities of a good and a bad example, suggesting that perhaps a different questionnaire was the source of information for this section.

12. Nahuatl texts and archival documents often organize references to men and to women or material pertaining to men and to women into distinct groups. Lists of men or material on men are usually discussed first. For example, last wills and testaments list the male testators first and the female testators second (see Cline and León-Portilla 1984). This convention is used to organize the coming-of-age speeches in Book 6 of the Florentine Codex, in which the father's speeches to the sons appear first, followed by the father's speeches to his daughter. The mother's speech to the daughter follows the father's speech; a mother's speech to her son is missing (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fols. 70–106).

13. López Austin notes that the metaphorical terms and degrees of kinship that follow Nahua kinship systems indicate that Nahuas must have determined the kinship categories in Book 10 (1974a, 141).

14. See, for example, Olmos 1990, 40–41, 56–59.

15. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, title page verso.

16. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 24.

17. Klein 2001; and Sigal 2011.

18. Greenleaf 1969; Don 2010; Tavárez 2011; and Sousa 2017.

19. Terraciano 2001, 77–81. For examples of Nahuatl speech, see Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6; Karttunen and Lockhart 1987; and Silva Galeana 2011. For examples of Nahuatl song, see Bierhorst 1985.

20. See Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

21. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 97v. The meaning of the phrase "aoc cuelle tiquilvia" remains open to various interpretations. The Spanish translation in the original takes the position that it means, "the man says to the woman that he can do no more."

22. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 24v.

23. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

24. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25v.

25. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 40v.

26. On the difficulty of trying to sort out Nahua attitudes toward the *patlache*, see Sigal 2007.

27. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 24v–25.

28. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 40v–41.

29. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25v.

30. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25v.

31. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 26v.

32. Flowers were also associated with concepts of paradise and the afterlife. See Burkhart 1992; Hill 1992; Taube 2004; and Schwaller 2006.

33. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 215.

34. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 11, fol. 215.

35. Molina 1970, fol. 161v.

36. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 5, fols. 15r–v.

37. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

38. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 41.

39. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 40.

40. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

41. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 40v.

42. I agree with Sigal (2007, 23–24) on this point.

43. See, for example, Córdova 1970.

44. See Trexler 1995.

45. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 1, fols. 37–37v. The Nahuatl in this section is not a direct translation of Sahagún's Latin and Spanish text. The reference to Venus is not included in the Nahuatl. Sahagún also makes an error when he refers to three sisters, instead of four (Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlaco, and Xocotzin), who were part of this complex. (Sahagún condemned the Nahua practice of giving these names to daughters.) Sigal (2007) discusses how Sahagún describes Tetzcatlipoca as a *puto*. Apparently, describing Nahua gods and goddesses as sexual deviants was part of the strategy to defame and denounce preconquest deities, and indigenous religious beliefs more generally.

46. For a related discussion of the challenges of determining gender in some Mesoamerican depictions and the ways in which scholars' assumptions have shaped gender attribution of deities, see Mandell's 2015 article on the "Great Goddess" in the Tepantitla mural at Teotihuacan.

47. The Nahua tendency to see male and female as complementary pairs might have also promoted this binary gender framework. The assignment of the *patlache* to the category of women seems to be based on affiliation, since according to the text the *patlache* befriended women.

48. Molina 1970, fol. 80 (Nahuatl-Spanish).

49. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 40v–41.

50. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

51. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

52. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25.

53. This practice is discussed in an Inquisition document that is translated and published in Chuchiak 2012. Bristol and Restall (2009) also document the use of roses and other flowers in the love-magic rituals of Afro-Mexicans in colonial central Mexico and Yucatán. Interestingly, red roses were associated with the Virgin Mary in Spanish culture (Jeanette Peterson, personal communication, May 9, 2016).

54. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 39v.

55. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 65.

56. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 21.

57. For further discussion of Sahagún's despair over his belief that immorality was on the rise, see Baird, chapter 13 of this volume.

58. For another example of colonial depictions of immorality, see the Codex Mendoza, fol. 70r, which shows the punishment of thieves, adulterers, and drunkards (Berdan and Anawalt 1992). Like the Florentine Codex images, the depictions in the Mendoza are out of context and float in space on the page. For further analysis of the Mendoza images, see Sousa 2017, chapters 5 and 6.

59. See Sousa 2017, chapter 8.

60. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 6, fol. 70. Note that the artist incorporated European architectural features, including columns, arches, and tiled floors to convey the grandeur of the ruler's home.

61. For a discussion of the function of speech scrolls in pictorial writing, see Boone 2016.

62. Burkhart 1989, chapter 3. Many of the images of social types in Book 10 appear in the countryside, not only the images of social deviants. This may reflect influence of European models, or it may be the result of the pressure under which the artists worked to complete the manuscript. Nevertheless, the placement of deviant behavior outside of the community center or outside of a household setting corresponded to Nahua ideology and stands in contrast to depictions of ethical behavior in other books of the Florentine Codex.

63. Peterson 1988, 290.

64. Burkhart 1989, 63–64.

65. Nahua pictorial manuscripts show men seated with their knees drawn to the chest and women with their legs folded behind them.

66. Arvey 1988.

67. Sigal (2007) also notes some discrepancy between the Nahuatl text and the image of the *patlache*.

68. For a discussion of clothing as a metaphor for the body, see Sousa 2017, chapter 5.

69. The image may show a man dressed as a woman and a woman dressed as a man to indicate that each uses the speech convention of the opposite sex; however, the text does not refer explicitly to cross-dressing.

70. To convey disorder, Nahua painters would show the body in a twisted position, either seated or standing (Klein 2001, 206–211; and Sousa 2017, 114–116).

71. Note that the artist did not depict the *tlacatecolotl* (owl person) with an owl head. The head of the beast may also be meant to convey the man's inherent character and emotions.

72. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25v. Note that accompanying the text concerning the *tlaueliloc tentzontli* (wicked man) there is a similar image in Book 10 on fol. 12 showing a man lying down between two seated men. All three have speech scrolls. The alphabetic text of this entry also uses the term *moteca*.

73. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 24v–25.

74. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 25v. For another example, see the depiction of the "mature woman," *quauhcioatl* (literally "eagle woman"), which has an eagle head on a woman's body (Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 36–36v).

75. Arvey (1988, 187) suggested that the symbols of the spindle whorl and the woman's head referred to motherhood.

76. Given the complexity of the Nahuatl, it seems that only a very few highly trained friars could have ever used the Florentine Codex as a source unless they could consult an educated Nahua or Sahagún himself about the range of meanings of some of the terms.

77. See Terraciano's introduction to this volume for the historical context surrounding the project. On the oversimplification of gender concepts, see Overmyer-Velázquez 2005; Sigal 2007.

78. For a discussion of the friars' efforts to eliminate polygyny and the persecution of polygynists, see Sousa 2017, 50–63.

CHAPTER 13

Parts of the Body

Order and Disorder

ELLEN T. BAIRD

Chapter 27, "Parts of the Body," of Book 10 of the Florentine Codex (1575–1577) is an intriguing anomaly in that the two alphabetic texts are very different.[1] The Spanish text in the left column, "Relación del autor digna de ser notada" (Account of the author worthy of being noted), initially continues the theme of virtues and vices begun in the preceding chapters of Book 10, but from a postconquest perspective as fray Bernardino de Sahagún retrospectively and selectively addresses sixteenth-century Franciscan missionary history in Mexico. The Nahuatl text in the right column is an extensive (and important) lexicon of body parts and related words.[2] The pictorial text consists of six drawings of body parts placed in the left, Spanish column, usually above or below Spanish paragraph headings for body parts. The drawings, executed by indigenous artists, are placed close to or immediately adjacent to the Nahuatl word (in the right column) that names the part represented in the left column.[3]

Both alphabetic texts have been used extensively in scholarly work, as they provide significant historical and linguistic information. In sharp contrast, the six drawings in chapter 27 have been dismissed as "unimportant" and "poor and badly drawn."[4]

This study analyzes the three texts (Spanish, Nahuatl, and pictorial) and their relationships to one another relative to the theme of the body considered from several new perspectives. These include the abstract lexical body, the corporeal indigenous body, conversion, social organization, and disease. Although the Spanish "Relación" is clearly not a translation, summary, or commentary on the Nahuatl terms for body parts, the two texts are linked by the contrast and tension between the empirical, static list of Nahuatl words for the body in the right column and the often impassioned Spanish prose text to the left, which describes the dynamic, mutable situation of the indigenous body in the here and now: bodies afflicted by extreme punishments, drunkenness, disease, and altered by education. The body of Christ (the Church, although not explicitly mentioned) underlies much of the text, as does the body politic (*república*), both integral to the discussion. Although few in number and directly related to the Nahuatl text, several of the drawings play a significant role in augmenting and complementing the Spanish text and thus mediating between the two alphabetic texts. The drawings exist in the space between the two alphabetic texts, both literally and figuratively, and speak to the artists' autonomous authority.

SAHAGÚN IN 1576

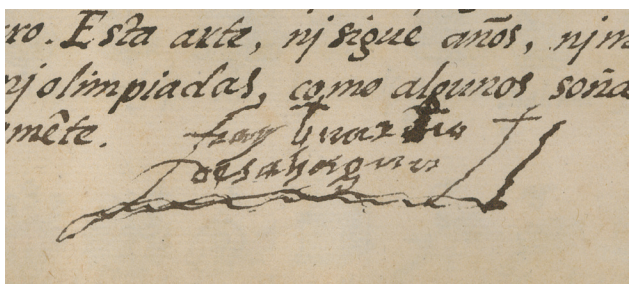
Fray Bernardino de Sahagún was clearly dispirited and pessimistic in 1576, as he dictated the "Relación del autor digna de ser notada" to his scribe in the scriptorium of the Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco.[5] All was not well. Covert indigenous religious practices persisted, new policies of Church and state undermined the friars' authority, and the return of a deadly disease decimated the indigenous population. The utopic Indian Church instituted by the "Apostolic Twelve" Franciscans was changing

rapidly as the first wave of missionaries died or returned to Spain and the number of Franciscan friars greatly diminished.[6] Their influence further waned when the Crown issued the Real Patronazgo (1574), which diminished the Franciscans' authority by placing them (and all ecclesiastical matters) under the king's authority and favoring the secular clergy over the friars.[7] There were also internal conflicts within the Franciscan order between those who stressed education in conversion, such as Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga, Sahagún, and his fellow friars at the Colegio de Santa Cruz, and those who stressed piety and mysticism, such as fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía) and other members of the Twelve.[8] In 1572, Sahagún denounced Motolinía before the Mexican Inquisition for having dangerously confused two preconquest indigenous calendars: the 260-day divinatory calendar (the *tonalpohualli*) with the 365-day solar calendar.[9] In the appendix to Book 4 of the Florentine Codex (and obliquely referring to Motolinía without naming him), Sahagún again condemned the confusion between the two calendars, describing the *tonalpohualli* "as very dangerous, superstitious and idolatrous."[10] As testimony to the veracity of his account and the depth of his convictions, he appended his spidery signature (fig. 13.1), with its characteristic three crosses, the only place where his signature appears in the Florentine Codex.

By 1569, when Sahagún had completed the Nahuatl version of the twelve books that formed his *Historia*, the financial support for his work had been withdrawn and his scribes were dismissed.[11] Five years later, through the efforts of the newly appointed Franciscan general commissary, fray Rodrigo de Sequera, Sahagún regained possession of his manuscripts and was allocated funds to employ scribes and artists.[12] By 1575, Sahagún and his indigenous collaborators were in residence at Tlatelolco completing the final version of the twelve-book manuscript with a Spanish text and paintings. A year later, a disastrous fourth epidemic of *cocoliztli* (a hemorrhagic fever endemic to Mexico) began, one of many diseases in sixteenth-century New Spain that decimated the vulnerable native population, malnourished, overworked, and weakened by previous waves of epidemic disease.[13] During the first *cocoliztli* plague (1545), approximately 80 percent of the indigenes had died; Sahagún himself had been stricken and almost died after having "buried more than ten thousand bodies," according to his own account.[14] The return of the disease in 1576 was catastrophic; roughly 50 percent of the remaining indigenous people died.[15]

The immediacy and the devastating effects of the 1576 *huey* (great) *cocoliztli* epidemic shape and inflect the "Relación" in Book 10. Multiple factors might have led to Sahagún's somewhat abrupt decision to abandon the intended Spanish translation of the Nahuatl body parts text in favor of an unrelated narrative.[16] The primary reason, I suggest, was that he felt compelled to memorialize his evangelization mission in New Spain as he confronted what he perceived to be its imminent failure caused by the astronomical mortality rate of indigenous people (and consequent depopulation), which he discusses at length in chapter 27, and in an interpolated Spanish text in Book 11.[17]

FIGURE 13.1. *Sahagún's signature. Florentine Codex, Bk. 4, fol. 81r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.



THE TEXTS OF CHAPTER 27: PAGE ORGANIZATION AND GENERAL VISUAL ASPECTS

Chapter 27 begins with Spanish and Nahuatl chapter titles at the foot of folio 70r that continue to the top of folio 70v (see table 13.1 for chapter organization). They are very similar: The Spanish (translated) reads, "Chapter twenty-seven of all the external and internal members [of the body] of man as well as woman"; the Nahuatl says, "Chapter twenty-seven. It discusses the intestines and everything inside man, and all that is on the surface, [and] the joints, [and] what belongs to males and to women."[18] The Nahuatl title is followed by the first paragraph heading for body parts (which treats the domain of the skin), "Inice parrapho . . . ," followed below by a paragraph mark and the first word, "Eoatl" (skin) (fig. 13.2). The first drawing (fig. 13.3) follows the Spanish title in the left column. Immediately below the drawing are three heavily inked

TABLE 13.1. *Organizational Outline of Chapter 27, Book 10, of the Florentine Codex*

FOLIO	CHAPTER OR PARAGRAPH	LEFT-HAND COLUMN: SPANISH CHAPTER TITLE, "RELACIÓN" TITLE AND TEXT, "GHOST" PARAGRAPH HEADINGS (PARTS OF THE BODY), AND DRAWINGS	RIGHT-HAND COLUMN: NAHUATL PARTS OF THE BODY TEXT AND PARAGRAPH HEADINGS
70r	Chapter 27	"Chapter twenty-seven of all the external and internal members [of the body] of man as well as woman"	"Chapter twenty-seven. It discusses the intestines and everything inside man, and all that is on the surface, [and] the joints, [and] what belongs to males and to women."
70v	Paragraph 1 of "Relación"	Drawing 1: dismembered body (figs. 13.2 and 13.3) "+ Rela + cion del + autor digna de ser notada" Paragraph begins, "Despues . . ."	"First paragraph. It speaks about our flesh, the skin of us men and women." First word: *eoatl* (skin)
72v	Paragraph 2	"Second paragraph of the head and of its parts"	"Second paragraph. It discusses the head and all that is in it." First word: *tzontecomatl* (head)
74v	Paragraph 3	Continuous Spanish text; no paragraph mark or title	"Paragraph three. It speaks of the eyes and all that pertains to them, and about our nose and all that concerns it." First word: *ixtelolotli* (eye)
76r	Paragraph 4	"Fourth paragraph of the face with all its parts/attachments"	"Paragraph four. It speaks about the face and all that pertains to it." First word: *camatapalli* (palate)
77v	Paragraph 5	"Fifth paragraph of the teeth, and molars, and eyeteeth" Drawing 2: tooth (fig. 13.4)	"Paragraph five. It speaks of teeth, molars, and our eyeteeth." First word: *tlantli* (tooth)
78v	Paragraph 6	"Sixth paragraph of the lips with their circumstances"	"Paragraph six. It speaks about our lips and what pertains to them." First word: *totexipaliamanca* (external part of the lips)
79v	Paragraph 2 of "Relación"	Paragraph begins, "Hemos recibido . . ."	
80v	Paragraph 7	"Seventh paragraph, of the neck with its circumstances" Drawing 3: neck (fig. 13.5)	"Paragraph seven. It speaks of the neck and all that pertains to it." First term: *quechtli* (neck)

TABLE 13.1. *Continued*

FOLIO	CHAPTER OR PARAGRAPH	LEFT-HAND COLUMN: SPANISH CHAPTER TITLE, "RELACIÓN" TITLE AND TEXT, "GHOST" PARAGRAPH HEADINGS (PARTS OF THE BODY), AND DRAWINGS	RIGHT-HAND COLUMN: NAHUATL PARTS OF THE BODY TEXT AND PARAGRAPH HEADINGS
81r	Paragraph 8	"Eighth paragraph, of the shoulders, arms, and fingers"	"Paragraph eight. It discusses the shoulder, the forearm, and the fingers."
82r	Paragraph 3 of "Relación"	Paragraph begins, "Aya mas de quarenta anos . . ."	
83r	End of paragraph 8	Drawing 4: hairy armpit (fig. 13.7, upper frame)	Last word of paragraph: *ciacatzontli* (armpit hair)
83r	Paragraph 9	"Ninth paragraph, of the body with its attached parts"	"Paragraph nine. It talks about our trunk and what is on it."
		Drawing 5: torso (fig. 13.7, lower frame)	First term: *tlactli* (torso)
84r	End of "Relación" text	Drawing 6: kneeling man (figs. 13.8 and 13.9)	Last primary words of paragraph: *elchiquiuitl* (chest), *omicicuilli* (rib), *eltepicicitli* (sternum)
84v–97r	Paragraphs 9 to 27	Left column blank	Right column text continues through paragraph 27

Sources: *Translations of Spanish are the author's. Translations of Nahuatl are from López Austin 1988, 2:77, 81, 85, 88, 91, 93, 98, 102.*

Greek crosses with a second Spanish title for the chapter written between the crosses: "+ Rela + cion del + autor" (first line), "+ digna + de ser no + tada" (second line). These words are in Sahagún's distinctive hand, which signifies not only the Christian context but also that the subsequent text is his voice, although penned in the hand of the principal indigenous Spanish-text scribe, who was trilingual (in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin).[19]

Written in a slanted, cursive hand in sentence form with a variety of punctuation marks, the Spanish prose text flows down the left column from folio 70v to the end of folio 84r, periodically punctuated by seven vestigial headings. These are the Spanish paragraph headings that are parallel to the Nahuatl paragraph headings (all beginning with "Inic," the Nahuatl for "By means of" or Idem).[20] Although both headings name the domain of the body part or parts to be treated in that section, the Spanish text bears no relation to the Nahuatl content. In addition, the Spanish "Relación" has its own internal set of paragraph marks that divide the text into three sections; the text continues above and below the Spanish vestigial, "ghost" paragraph headings as though they were invisible, ghostly reminders of the original intent to translate, summarize, or comment on the Nahuatl text.[21] Clearly, Sahagún decided to write his "Relación" after some of the Spanish body part paragraph headings had already been put in place. The multiple systems at work in the Spanish column are readily visible in the published facsimile and the online digitized manuscript.[22]

In the parallel right column of chapter 27, the dispassionate list of Nahuatl terms for the parts of the body and their attributes stands in sharp visual contrast to the Spanish prose on the left (see fig. 13.2). The Nahuatl text is a list of words, each separated by commas, for the parts of the body followed by descriptive words related to each part. Heavily inked paragraph marks and bold capitalized initial letters mark the initiation of subparagraphs. The repetition of paragraph marks and capital letters at the left edge of the right column and the lists of words coupled with letters that are larger, usually printed separate from one another and more vertical than those in the Spanish text, give the appearance of greater regularity and create a visual staccato effect on the pages with many subsections. The stylistic difference in the parallel texts is quite striking and visually expresses the disjunction between the subject matter and tone of the two texts, as well as the hands of different scribes and the chronological disparity of the texts; while the Nahuatl text was completed in 1569 and

FIGURE 13.2. *First page of chapter 27. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 70v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

copied in 1575, the Spanish text was written and the drawings executed from 1576 to 1577.

The drawings are placed in the spaces left available above or below the paragraph headings, with the exception of the last drawing at the end of the text. The first drawing (by Artist 1; see figs. 13.2 and 13.3) occupies a much larger space than the other drawings, and its placement after the chapter title and the first paragraph heading and before the "Relación" title and three crosses suggests it was probably made before the alphabetic text. The subsequent images appear to be by a different artist (Artist 2) and to have been drawn after the text was written.

NAHUATL DOMAINS OF THE BODY AND THEIR PARTS

Sahagún's first list of Nahuatl names for body parts appears in the *Primeros memoriales* manuscript (1558–1561). Without drawings, the two-paragraph lexicon organizes the body into two domains: first, the exterior parts of the body (fifty-one terms), and second, the interior parts (seventeen terms).[23] Some of the terms in both paragraphs are accompanied by words that tell the parts' functions, purpose, or attributes.[24] Subsequently, Sahagún continued to collect words for the lexicon that ultimately comprised chapter 27 of Book 10. Fourteen paragraphs

FIGURE 13.3. *Dismembered body. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 70v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

(fols. 70r–97r) organize the body into fourteen domains, with over three hundred names of body parts and fluids with accompanying "adjectives attributed to these parts, the verbs related to them, adverbs in which the names form component parts, or ordinary expressions that derive semantically from them."[25] López Austin suggests that Sahagún's informants were encouraged to spontaneously associate words related to the named body parts in order to elicit as much information, words, and word forms related to the body parts as possible.[26] As organized by Sahagún and his indigenous collaborators, the body part domains follow a format that corresponds to their physical relationship to one another in the body. The list begins with the outer part of the body, the skin, followed by the visible parts of the body: the head; eyes and nose; face; teeth; lips and other parts of the face; neck (cervix); shoulder and the parts attached to it; torso; legs; and bones; and the interior parts of the body: organs within the body; very small organs; bodily excretions and secretions (excrement, perspiration, saliva, mucus, among others).[27]

López Austin observes that

> there are five things worth noting [about chapter 27]. First, the thirteenth paragraph included some body marks and defects. Second, there is a list of locatives that have parts of the human body as elements in their composition. Third, the testicles are not mentioned, and the names of kidneys take their place. Fourth, in the last part of the chapter, there is an attempt to relate an organ to its function by means of paired-off sentences.[28]

The Nahuatl text of chapter 27 is a taxonomical lexicon, an enumerative litany of body domains and their parts, ordered, abstract, and dispassionate.

INDIGENOUS BODIES: THE SPANISH TEXT AND THE DRAWINGS OF BODY PARTS

The Spanish text of chapter 27 begins with the chapter title ("Chapter twenty-seven of all the external and internal members [of the body] of man as well as woman") and a large drawing of body parts by Artist 1, clearly reflecting the original plan for the Spanish text and image to parallel the Nahuatl text.

In the drawing (see fig. 13.3), a male torso is at the center of the scene, with the untethered parts of his dismembered body suspended above a gently rolling, green landscape. Unlike other nude torsos in the Florentine Codex, this image lacks the indications of human anatomy—ribs, nipples, pectoral muscles, and so forth—found elsewhere. The central part of this unique torso is defined by two vertical wavy lines, which are repeated in the upper stubs of arms, perhaps to reflect the wrinkled desiccation of the skin after death. The headless neck and the legless bottom of the torso are marked by vibrant red strokes that denote blood; the triangular space between the stumps of the two missing legs is notable for its lack of genitalia.[29] A left foot hovers above the groundscape on the left, followed above by a lower leg; a wrinkled knee (?); a shoulder; a profile view of a short, straight, black-haired male bob; a flat, masklike face (with eyes closed, indicating death); and a right hand seen from the back. Edged with strokes of red, the parts appear freshly severed and are similar to body parts found in scenes of sacrifice in the manuscript, although with less blood.[30] The parts float in space, disassembled and incomplete, the full complement of body parts missing (most notably genitals, thighs, and arms; bones are also absent).[31] In the Florentine Codex, only one nude body (an infant) has male genitals (Bk. 4, fol. 19r).[32] As public nudity was prohibited by both the Catholic Church and the Nahua, the depiction of male genitalia would have transgressed both Church and indigenous societal norms and morality.

"RELACIÓN DEL AUTOR DIGNA DE SER NOTADA"

As noted before, the primary Spanish title of chapter 27, "Relación del autor digna de ser notada," is written in Sahagún's own hand and marked with three heavily inked crosses. Catholic in context, the three crosses signal that the sign of the cross is to be made and the Trinity invoked ("In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit") and recall Sahagún's incorporation of three crosses in his signature (see fig. 13.1).[33] In sixteenth-century Mexico, "indigenous people were required to understand and make use of [the concept of the Trinity]: the everyday exercise of crossing oneself (*persignum crucis*), and the momentous occasion of opening one's testament with an invocation of the Trinity."[34] The prominent use of the sign of the cross coupled with his handwritten title of the "Relación" suggest that Sahagún was also invoking the Trinity to bless, authenticate, and mark the veracity of his testimony that follows.[35]

Although the "Relación" is Sahagún's history of evangelization, the images in the left, Spanish column continue to be directly linked to the body part terms in the adjacent Nahuatl text. Accordingly, they appear disconnected and visually disruptive to the Spanish "Relación" text in which Sahagún speaks of intact, living human bodies rather than the disarticulated parts of bodies in the six drawings. Analysis of the images in the context of the Spanish text, however, provides insight into Artist 2's inventive development of a nuanced pictorial text that both responds to and augments the alphabetic texts and reveals his agency and authority. Embedded in the left, Spanish column, the disjointed body parts reinforce Sahagún's narrative of societal disorder and fragmentation with the advent of epidemic disease and imminent death. I have located my discussion of each drawing at the juncture where it appears on the page relative to the Spanish text to emphasize this interrelationship. Although this creates a sense of disjuncture (for me at least), it often provides insight into the artist's decisions about what to draw and how and why to draw it.

Sahagún constructs his narrative in terms of order and disorder, employing what Louise Burkhart defines as "the Mesoamerican dialectic of order and chaos, structure and anti-structure" that the friars used to express Christian concepts of good and evil. For example, "For sin they substituted *tlatlacolli* [something damaged]; . . . Thus native concepts were carried over into the most fundamental aspects of Christian moral teaching," in essence Nahuatizing what the friars were trying to say.[36]

Paragraph 1: Folios 70v–79v

Sahagún begins paragraph 1 by describing an ordered preconquest, indigenous world of talented and capable Mexican people under the administration of an ancient republic that governed according to the needs of the people. He describes at length their aptitude for learning not only the mechanical and musical arts but also "the knowledge of [Latin] grammar, of logic, of rhetoric, of astrology, of theology. . . . There is no art they do not have the capacity to learn and practice."[37]

He also praises the ancient [Mexican] republic for governing

> in conformity with natural and moral philosophy, because the mildness and abundance of this land and the climates [*constelaciones*] which prevail in it considerably aided human nature to be licentious and idle and much given to sensual vices. And moral philosophy taught these natives through experience that, to live morally and virtuously, rigor, austerity, and continuous concern for things beneficial to the state [*republica*] was [*sic*] necessary.[38]

In doing so, Sahagún voices the prevailing Hippocratic "theory of 'climate,' or environment as it applies to politics," that a people's temperament was governed by climate and the stars and that a "Republic should be adapted to the natural aptitudes of its people."[39]

He praises the "prudent and wise old [indigenous] men" who employed constructive measures to counter the deleterious effects of the climate, but in contrast, "*we* [Spaniards] *drift with our evil tendencies*" (my emphasis),[40] and "if they are not very careful, become different [*se hazen otros*] a few years after reaching this land, and I think the clime or climates [*constelaciones*] of this land bring [the difference] about."[41]

Principally concerned with implanting the Catholic faith, Sahagún criticizes the government put in place by the Spaniards as not appropriate to the temperament of the Mexican people and lacking the rigor and austerity necessary to maintain moral and physical health and thus introducing disorder. He notes that the Spanish concept of an ordered society ("policia") had detrimental disordering effects on the indigenous people, as seen in the vices (and impediments to conversion) that resulted or continued: idolatry, drunkenness (which led to murder and abuse), deceit, polygyny, excessive sensuality, and lascivi-

ousness.[42] Drunkenness was the principal cause for the evils and disorder of indigenous society, which included drunken feasts, murder, and abuse caused by inebriation, as well as "great dissension in the state [*republica*]," especially since "that olden rigor of punishing drunken feasts with the death sentence has ceased." Neither lesser punishments nor sermons "nor the threats of hell [are] enough to restrain them."[43]

He extolls the virtues of the ancient republic even as he disparages its idolatrous nature:

> And, *if this manner of administration had not been so corrupted by idolatrous rites and superstitions, it seems to me it was very good*. And, if cleansed of all idolatry which it possessed and made completely Christian, it were introduced in this Indian and Spanish state [*republica indiana y española*], it would be the means of freeing the one state as well as the other of great ills and the rulers of great hardships.[44]

Idolatry and the unsuccessful missionary attempts to extirpate it become the dominant themes of disorder in the remainder of paragraph 1.[45] This theme echoes Sahagún's statements in the first paragraph of his prologue to Book 1 of the Florentine Codex in which he links the "physicians of the souls," the preachers and confessors, to "the curing of spiritual ailments." He further notes in the prologue that "[t]he sins of idolatry, idolatrous rituals, idolatrous superstitions, auguries and abuses and idolatrous ceremonies are not yet completely lost."[46] In the "Relación," paragraph 1, Sahagún describes the need to destroy everything idolatrous (things, buildings, rites, and ceremonies associated with the state [*republica*] and governance)

> and place [the Indians] in another kind of established order [*policia*] which in no way smacked of idolatry.
>
> But now, seeing that this kind of established order [*policia*] produces very licentious people of very evil tendencies and very evil works which make them odious to God and to men, and *even* cause them great sicknesses and a short life, it will be necessary to remedy it.[47]

Sahagún's statement indicates that, broadly conceived, idolatry incorporates both evil tendencies and evil works and is directly related to causing "illness and a short life."[48] As Amara Solari has noted, "the definition of idolatry was expanded to include all religious crimes. . . . The result was the conceptual conflation of two of the defining characteristics of early colonial experience: epidemic disease and ongoing idolatries."[49]

Sahagún employs the "disease metaphor" of idolatry in noting that young married couples were separated from their parents and settled in separate villages where there were monastic establishments to "free them of the *infection of idolatry* and other evil practices that they could contract through association with their parents." However, their evangelization was not successful, and this effort was again rewarded with deceit, "idolatry and drunkenness and many evil practices."[50]

Sahagún's frequent references to the "state" (*republica*) reflect a concern for not only the development of an ordered society of individual bodies but also the establishment of a utopic Christian republic (the body politic).[51] To this end, the friars emulated indigenous child-rearing practices in which children were reared "through the efforts of the state" (*potencia de la republica*) and not by their parents. However, the friars' efforts to rear indigenous children apart from their parents were not successful and created disorder and evil practices; "they [the children] began to feel a strong sensuality and to practice lascivious things."[52]

In the monastery schools, the friars organized and led their students on expeditions to demolish pyramid-temples. The boys became more aggressive and banded together in groups of sixty to one hundred; with one or two friars, they "secretly fell upon those who held some affair . . . idolatry, orgy, or feast. And they seized all of them, bound them and led them to the monastery, where they punished them, [made them] do Christian penance, and taught them the Christian doctrine."[53]

The people were so fearful of the boys that, to avoid punishment, they continued their idolatrous practices in secret. However, "some of the boys, who were reared in our houses at the beginning, told us of the idolatrous things their parents did, having been baptized, and because we punished them therefore, their parents killed them and others punished [their boys] severely."[54] The society he describes is not only one of individuals in disarray and disorder but a communal body that has turned on itself and torn itself apart.

The narrative is disrupted (disordered) by a drawing (fig. 13.4) followed by a "ghost" paragraph title, "Fifth paragraph of the teeth, and molars and eyeteeth," that parallels the Nahuatl paragraph title. The two terms to the right of

FIGURE 13.4. *Tooth. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 77v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

the image are "tooth" (*tlantli*) and "molar" (*tlancochtli*). The setting (another rolling, green landscape, this time with tall grasses along the groundline) is similar to that in the first scene of the dismembered body. However, this and subsequent drawings are the work of a second artist, as the contours of the land are marked by black outlines rather than the prominent cross-hatching seen earlier. Here, three giant, eye-catching, stylized molars with thin gums rest on the low groundline. The molars are primarily white with areas of gray at the top to suggest cusps. The red band probably reflects the practice of using cochineal (prized for its intense red color) in tooth cleaning, as described in Book 10, chapter 28, folio 102v.

To the right, a man with short, wavy hair, dressed in a European-derived tunic with puffed sleeves, sits on a reed box. With his oversized right hand (which draws attention to his actions), he nonchalantly cleans his prominently displayed teeth with a small stick. The actions of this figure are drawn from a paragraph on tooth infections in Book 10, chapter 28, folio 102r, which is accompanied by a drawing of a seated man who holds his hand to his cheek, suggesting his discomfort. Three all-white molars with an attached water glyph float beside him and presumably signify washing the infected teeth with water, the text's recommended preventative treatment. The alphabetic texts of this paragraph also describe other precautionary measures to avoid infected teeth and emphasize the importance of removing meat from the teeth. The Spanish text includes the additional instruction "to remove the meat . . . with a little stick" (quitarse la carne . . . con un palito), as the man in figure 13.4 is doing. The incorporation of these elements from chapter 28 into the drawing suggests that Artist 2 has chosen to cross-textually select relevant material from a subsequent chapter.

In Nahua pictorial manuscripts, glyphic teeth (*tlantli*, usually incisors) often serve as homonymous phonetic qualifiers to signify "below" (*tlani* or *tlanipa*) or "near," to indicate a spatial relation or render a place-name.[55] However, in the tooth drawing in chapter 27, the three giant glyphic molars didactically announce that this picture is about teeth (and dental hygiene) and draw attention to the tooth-cleaning activities of the seated man. The artist demonstrates his versatility and facility in choosing to depict two modes of representation (European and indigenous): corporeal teeth (in the young man) and large glyphic teeth. In doing so, he moves the drawing into a figurative space between the two alphabetic texts that combines the naturalistic and the semasiographic.[56] The artist also demonstrates his inventiveness in creating an image that both "illuminates" and is more expansive than the Nahuatl text.

Paragraph 2: Folios 79v–82r

In the second paragraph of his "Relación," Sahagún turns more specifically to his personal involvement in evangelization, the education of indigenous youth, the teaching of language, and the reciprocity of knowledge. He begins by describing the ancient Mexican books as

> painted with figures and representations in such a way that they knew and had records of the things their ancestors had done and had left in their annals more than a thousand years ago. . . . Most of these books and writings were burned. . . . But many remained hidden, for we have seen them . . . [and] through them we have understood their ancient customs.[57]

Had the artist of the tooth (see fig. 13.4) read this text? Was he responding to it by drawing on his knowledge of a traditional indigenous glyphic referent (the molars), as found in the preconquest books ("figures and representations") Sahagún describes? Was the artist devising an image that responded to both the Nahuatl and the Spanish texts?

Sahagún turns from indigenous books to discuss the establishment of the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Santiago de Tlatelolco, where "the most capable boys, best able to read and write" were brought to live in the monastery school, where they were taught reading, writing, sing-

FIGURE 13.5. *Neck. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 80v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

FIGURE 13.6. *Night Axe. Florentine Codex, Bk. 5, fol. 6v. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

ing, and grammar. Initially, Spaniards and other clergy mocked Sahagún and the other founders of the college for attempting to teach indigenous boys ("so incapable a people") grammar, but after two or three years, the students "came to understand all the subjects of the grammar book and to speak Latin, and understand it, and to write Latin, and even to compose hexametric verse."[58]

On folio 80v, the image of a neck fills the space remaining at the end of and below the "ghost" paragraph title, "Seventh paragraph, of the neck with its circumstances," clearly indicating that the drawing was executed after the title (fig. 13.5). Artist 2 repeats the familiar landscape setting, and the image again correlates to the Nahuatl term opposite (*quechtli*, or neck). A spectral, deathly pale, gray-green headless upper torso and neck outlined in black looms ominously on the horizon, appearing to emerge from behind a hill. The trachea and esophagus, also outlined in black and colored red, project upward from the neck, making the figure even more phantasmagorical.[59] The text below reads, "When the Spanish laity and clergy saw this [the indigenous students' knowledge of grammar and proficiency in Latin] they marveled [*espantanronse*] much that [it] could be done."[60] Was the artist responding not only to the Nahuatl term for "neck" in his drawing but also to the Spanish word *espantaronse*, which can mean "frightened," as one might be on encountering a walking, dead, headless torso with bloody appendages protruding from its neck? Was he incorporating his knowledge of another frightening headless creature, the menacing and ominous "Night Axe" (fig. 13.6), an apparition that accosted indigenous men in the night?[61] Was the artist again acknowledging both the Nahuatl and the Spanish texts in constructing his drawing, as he would have done in other Florentine Codex chapters where both texts treat the same topic? Was he also drawing on his own knowledge of a headless being like the Night Axe or, cross-textually, referring to that of Book 5?

The Spanish laity and clergy were indeed afraid of the indigenous people in general and specifically those educated at the *colegio*, and they had good reason. The graduates of the *colegio* were trilingual (in Latin, Spanish, and Nahuatl) and, as Burkhart notes,

> had been taught to reason according to Western as well as Nahua logical principles and to construct arguments according to Western as well as Nahua rhetorical arts. Who could be better equipped to compare and evaluate both cultures, to challenge Spanish authority on its own grounds, to subvert its paradigms through subtle manipulations and restatements? . . . Anomalies among the native people, the collegians were an affront to Spanish colonists aiming to make of the Nahuas a class of servile laborers.[62]

Continuing his narrative of education of indigenous youth at the *colegio*, Sahagún changes from "we" to "I" to give a firsthand, eyewitness account to buttress his testimony:

> I was the one who worked with them the first four years and gave them understanding in all subjects. . . . Because I was a witness to all these things, for I lectured to the Indians of the college on [Latin] grammar, I can accu-

> rately tell the objections they [the laity and clergy] raised and the answers they were given.[63]

Objections were raised to the indigenous boys learning Latin grammar to translate scripture into Nahuatl at a time when the Counter-Reformation Council of Trent had mounted vigorous opposition to vernacular scripture.[64] Having direct, unmediated access to scripture, the students might read of the polygynous patriarchs of the Old Testament (for example), which "would place them in danger of becoming heretics."[65] Sahagún responds to these objections with an ardent defense of the production of scripture in the vernacular and of the grammarians (his former students), with unqualified praise for them and their work, and the importance of translation for conversion in the third and final paragraph of the "Relación."[66]

Paragraph 3: Folios 82r–84r

Sahagún lauds the *colegio*'s exemplary, faultless students and their essential linguistic role in the implantation of the Catholic faith through the production of vernacular texts:

> This college has persisted for over forty years and its collegians have transgressed in nothing, neither against God, nor the Church, nor the king, nor against his state [*republica*]. Rather they have helped and still help in many things in the implanting and maintaining of our Holy Catholic Faith, for if sermons, *Apostillas*, and catechisms have been produced in the Indian language, which can appear and may be free of all heresy, they are those which were written with them. And they, being knowledgeable in the Latin language, inform us to the properties of the words, the properties of their manner of speech. And they correct for us the incongruities we express in the sermons or write in the catechisms. And whatever is to be rendered in their language, if it is not examined by them, if it is not written congruently in the Latin language, in Spanish, and in their language, cannot be free of defect.[67]

However successful the Franciscans' collaboration with and education of indigenous young men, their program was not immune from falling into disorder, through disease (the 1545 *cocoliztli* plague), insufficient oversight, and mismanagement of the *colegio* in the following twenty years. In the early 1570s, Sahagún was present when the school was reorganized and new ordinances created "so that the college might progress." After noting the "great blow" the 1545 plague gave the *colegio*, Sahagún then turns to the immediacy of "this plague, of this year of 1576 . . . for there is hardly anyone still in the college. Dead and sick, almost all are gone."[68]

This text is followed by a drawing of a hairy armpit that accompanies the word for armpit hair (*ciacatzontli*) at the end of the "ghost" paragraph title "Eighth paragraph, of the shoulders, arms, and fingers" (fig. 13.7, upper frame). Represented in dynamic motion, the armpit strides over the landscape, with its thickly luxuriant underarm hair flowing as though on a breezy day. The armpit (and the following torso drawing) has bones projecting out of the flesh at both ends in an anatomically incorrect manner, as the joint is in the armpit itself. It possible that the artist might have depicted the strolling armpit both to represent *ciacatzontli* as well as to convey the sense of departure in the Spanish text immediately above it: "[T]here is hardly anyone still in the college. Dead and sick, almost all are gone."[69]

A torso floats above the landscape in the space immediately below the "ghost" Spanish title "Ninth paragraph, of the body with its attached parts" and to the left of the Nahuatl term *tlactli* (torso) (see fig. 13.7, lower frame). Yellow beige in color and headless, the torso has markings on the chest that depict fourteen ribs (humans have twenty-four) and a long central element that resembles a spine rather than the much shorter sternum to which ribs are attached. Anatomically, the human shoulder has a socket joint in the scapula (the shoulder blade) instead of the double-knobbed bones depicted, but the image does fulfill, however inaccurately, the idea of a torso. The torso and the hairy armpit both reflect the artist's ability to read the Nahuatl text, his artistic inventiveness, and his apparent lack of firsthand knowledge of human anatomy.

Sahagún's concerns for the Colegio de Santa Cruz continue following the two drawings. He laments the current *cocoliztli* plague deaths (and those of 1545) and the lack of medical care, which could have been provided by indigenous doctors educated in the *colegio* (had it been properly supported). He also expresses his fear that the annihilation of the Mexican people is imminent.

The "Relación" and the "Ninth paragraph, of the body [trunk] with its attached parts" end at the foot of folio 84r next to the Nahuatl words *omicicuilli* (rib) and *eltepicicitli* (sternum) with the final drawing: a poignant and evocative image of a solitary young man with short, curly hair kneeling in an empty landscape (figs. 13.8 and 13.9). His

FIGURE 13.7. Upper image: *hairy armpit*; lower image: *torso. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 83r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

head and gaze turn downward, and he appears resigned and contemplative as, in a rather inscrutable gesture, he stretches out his right hand to the ground in front of him. His left hand rests by the front of his thigh. He wears a garment, rolled down at the waist, that covers his legs and envelops his feet (each separately wrapped in fabric), his bare chest frontally oriented to the viewer.[70]

A double-scalloped line defines his pectorals, and his nipples are defined by small irregular circles.[71] Irregular black dots interspersed on his chest depict the petechial eruptions of hemorrhaging documented as occurring with *cocoliztli*, a prelude to imminent death.[72] Curiously, the young man kneels with his buttocks resting on his heels, the only male figure in the Florentine Codex depicted in this pose, the "Aztec woman's pose." Men are commonly shown kneeling in both preconquest and colonial images with one knee on the ground and the other knee raised with the foot on the ground. In the colonial period, both men and women kneel with their thighs and upper torsos erect, often with hands clasped in front of their chests in attitudes of prayer, adoration, or obeisance. Is the young man's "collapsed" pose, with his buttocks on his heels, an indication of resignation to his fate? A mural of the sacrifice of Isaac in the cloister of the sixteenth-century Augustinian convent of Metztitlán (Hidalgo) depicts Isaac in the same submissive, kneeling pose in front of his father, Abraham.[73] Is this pose, when used by a man, associated with sacrifice, submission to the word of God, or trust in God's providence?[74]

Sahagún's words immediately above the young kneeling man, "y ansi se mueren por no tener remedio, nj socorro" (and so they die having neither remedy nor aid),[75] form a haunting lament for the dead and dying. The young man's solitary location in the landscape, his pensive downward gaze, and his hand gesture toward the earth are immensely touching and express the futility of the moment,

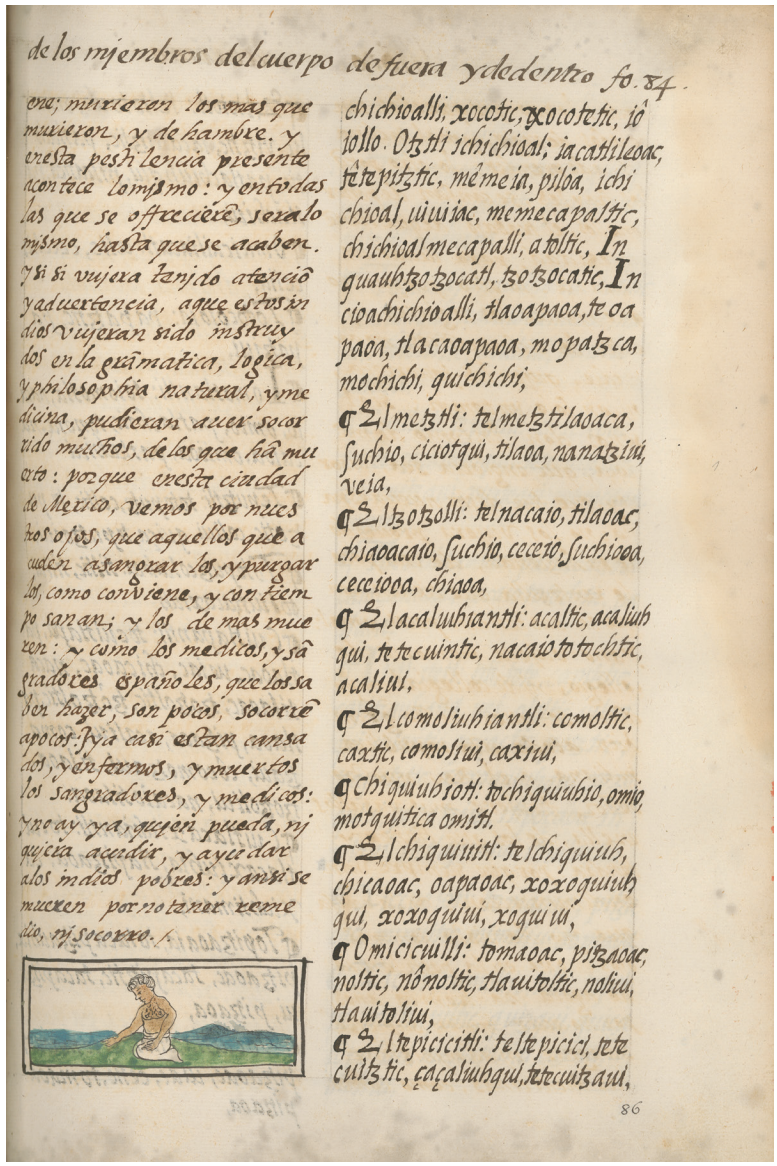


FIGURE 13.8. *Final page of Sahagún's "Relación," chapter 27. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 84r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

reinforced by the heart-wrenching Spanish text immediately above him. This final image fully mediates between the Spanish and Nahuatl texts and ends the "Relación" on a tragic note. The left columns of the last twenty-five and a half pages of chapter 27 are devoid of words or images.

CONCLUSIONS

The seven Spanish "ghost" paragraph headings make it clear that Sahagún originally intended for the chapter 27 Spanish text to address the Nahuatl list of body parts. I suggest that the devastating effects of the 1576 *huey cocoliztli* epidemic caused him to abandon the intended translation of the Nahuatl terms for body parts and to write instead his elegiac testament of the incomplete, even failed efforts to convert the indigenous people to the Church (the body of Christ) in the face of their imminent decimation. The text is also a paean to the intelligence, diligence, and impeccable character of his indigenous collaborators (his former students) of the Colegio de Santa Cruz and a lament for the lack of support for the college, which, had it been adequately financed, would have educated more doctors to minister to and save the indigenous victims of the plague.

Charged with creating drawings to accompany two disparate texts, Artist 2 responded imaginatively and authoritatively to the challenge. Making images that represented the adjacent Nahuatl words, reflected the Spanish "ghost"

FIGURE 13.9. *Kneeling man. Florentine Codex, Bk. 10, fol. 84r. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Palat. 218–220. Courtesy of* MIBACT.

headings, and occasionally acknowledged the Spanish text suggests that Artist 2 was literate in Nahuatl and Spanish and able to read both texts. Scribe 1, in whose identifiable handwriting the "Relación" is written, was himself trilingual (in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin).[76] In the second drawing, "Tooth," Artist 2 used a somewhat didactic visual approach to explain *tlantli*: corporeal, as teeth in a human mouth, and semasiographical, as a glyphic referent. Was the artist incorporating both Sahagún's subsequent reference to the indigenous use of "figures and representations" and his own knowledge and facility with traditional glyphs and of dental hygiene in chapter 28 to further instruct the viewer?[77] For the third drawing, "Neck," the artist might have responded to the Spanish text's *espantaronse* as "frightening" rather than "marvel at," in addition to referencing the ominous indigenous apparition, the Night Axe from Book 5. The fourth drawing, "Hairy Armpit," is quite inventive and imaginative, although anatomically inaccurate. Its strolling appearance may again be the artist's response to the text above the image, "casi todos son salidos" (almost all are gone),[78] and conveys boldness in the face of approaching death. The fifth drawing, "Torso," appropriately responds to the paragraph headings in Spanish and Nahuatl, as well as to the Nahuatl word for "torso," *tlactli*, and is again anatomically inaccurate. In the sixth and final drawing, "Kneeling Man," the artist skillfully links the Nahuatl and the Spanish texts, captures both Sahagún's deep despair and his own, and poignantly represents the very present, tragic moment in which the drawing and the "Relación" were created. The (mostly) empty, rolling green landscapes with body parts and the tragic figure of the kneeling man reflect the desolation and indigenous depopulation caused by disease and disorder even as trenches were being dug for the bodies of the plague victims in the plaza outside the scriptorium of the Colegio de Santa Cruz, Tlatelolco.[79] As Sahagún and his collaborators worked, despair and the smell of death hung in the air.

NOTES

1. "Book 10 of the vices and virtues of the Indian people and of all the internal and external parts of the body and of the diseases and indicated medicines and of the people who have come to inhabit this land" (my translation). A translation of the Spanish text of Book 10, chapter 27, is in Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 74–85. Related anomalous interpolated Spanish texts that treat Christian themes unrelated to the Nahuatl text are in Book 11, chapter 12, paragraphs 6, 7, 8, and 9, and chapter 13, paragraphs 1 and 2 (Sahagún, 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 11, 89–99). Dibble (1982a, 20) provides an overview of textual anomalies in Sahagún's *Historia*. See also Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume.

2. See López Austin 1988.

3. Magaloni Kerpel 2011b, 47–55; chapter 10 of this volume.

4. López Austin 1974b, 212; 1988, 1:44.

5. Burkhart (1996, 55–65) provides an overview of the Colegio de Santa Cruz, Tlatelolco.

6. Phelan 1956, 42.

7. Turley 2016, 128–131.

8. Bustamante García (1992, 294–310) discusses the two groups of Franciscans in New Spain.

9. Baudot 1990, 13–17.

10. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 4, app., fol. 78r.

11. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 2, 55.

12. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 46–47. See also Baudot 1988, 119–134.

13. Acuña-Soto, Stahle, Therrell, Griffin, and Cleaveland 2004. Drawing on colonial descriptions of the disease and twentieth-century scientific analytical methods, medical historians and scientists have determined that *cocoliztli* was a hemorrhagic disease endemic to Mexico and without known European or African precedents. Four major outbreaks occurred in Mexico in 1545, 1576, 1736, and 1813, with ten lesser outbreaks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Marr and Kiracofe (2000, 344, table 1) provide a summary of epidemics occurring in Mexico from 1520–1616 by year. See also Acuña-Soto, Calderon Romero, and Maguire 2000, 733–739; Acuña-Soto, Stahle, Cleaveland, and Therrell 2002, 360–362; and Somolinos D'Ardois 1982, 369–381.

14. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 11, chap. 12, para. 8, 94.

15. Acuña-Soto et al. 2004, 1–3.

16. For other reasons some Florentine Codex Nahuatl texts were untranslated; see Dibble 1982a, 20; Peterson 2003, 239, 243–244. López Austin (1988, 1:44) thinks the terms were not translated because "Sahagún considered this part of his book to be a rich source for the lexicon of his dictionary but thought it absurd to translate what was only a list of words."

17. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 11, chap. 12, para. 8, 93–99.

18. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 70r–70v. All translations of the Spanish paragraph headings are my own. All translations of the Nahuatl paragraph headings are from López Austin 1988, 2:77, unless noted otherwise.

19. Garone Gravier 2011, 185–187; see p. 187, fig. 6, Scribe 1.

20. Nine Nahuatl paragraph headings share folios with the "Relación." The Spanish text has seven parallel titles (paragraphs 2, 4–9). The first is missing because it was supplanted by Sahagún's title for the "Relación"; the third was not written.

21. Occasionally a word is broken before the heading, and the second half of the word continues after it as though the body part heading did not exist; Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 72v, para. 2: "re" before the title and "gia" below it (*regia*, or govern). Other examples in Book 10 can be found on folios 76r and 78v.

22. Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 70r–84r.

23. See Boone, chapter 6 of this volume, for a comparable listing of deities' accoutrements in the *Primeros memoriales*.

24. López Austin 1988, 2:1–3 (in Nahuatl) and 2:67–69 (English translation).

25. López Austin 1988, 1:18.

26. López Austin 1988, 1:170.

27. López Austin 1988, 2:13–66 (in Nahuatl) and 2:77–129 (English translation).

28. López Austin 1988, 1:44–45.

29. As López Austin noted (1988, 1:44–45), the Nahuatl word for testicles was omitted from the body part lexicon in chapter 27.

30. Sacrificial and battle scenes in the Florentine Codex often depict bodies being dismembered, chests opened, and hearts extracted, which provide comparable images of body parts that are lacking here.

31. "The ancient Nahuas believed that part of an individual's vital forces resided in his bones. The femur of a sacrificed individual was kept in the house of the warrior who had captured him in combat. . . . The name for the femur of a sacrificial victim gives some idea of its sacred nature: it was a *malteutl*, 'the captive god'" (López Austin 1988, 1:166).

32. In sixteenth-century European painting, the infant Christ is often shown nude with genitals in an expression of his humanity, of God Incarnate, and, as Leo Steinberg (1983, 6) noted, "very man, very God." The sixteenth-century Mexican Codex Mendoza includes a recumbent nude male with genitals in the place-name of Miquiyetlan (Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 4: fol. 10v).

33. Thomas Bestul first alerted me to the significance of the three crosses (personal communication, February 8, 2016). Church historian Herbert Thurston notes that the sign of the cross is used in exorcisms, "to commence the liturgy of the Mass, before the reading of the gospel invoking the word of God, at other points of the Mass, and generally with the sacraments and sacramentals of the Church. It . . . [invokes] the presence of the Trinity" (Thurston 1912).

34. Tavárez 2000, 25.

35. Jaime Lara noted that "the sign of the cross was used when someone had to solemnly swear to something," suggesting that Sahagún might be swearing to the veracity of his statement (personal communication, March 24, 2016).

36. Burkhart 1989, 28, 39.

37. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 74. See Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

38. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 75. *Republica* is translated as "state" in Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 74–85. I have retained the original spelling from Sahagún's Spanish text.

39. Tooley 1953, 64. According to Tooley, "The astrological system of the world was . . . universally accepted in the later Middle Ages, and expounded in literature at all levels of scholarship" (64). She identifies Ptolemy, Aristotle, Galen, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Albert Magnus, and Duns Scotus, among others, as sources for the sixteenth-century French jurist and political philosopher Jean Bodin's ideas on the formation of a republic appropriate to the natural aptitudes of its people (64–65). Cristián Roa-de-la-Carrera (2010a, 84) points out that the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas in his *Apologética historia sumaria* similarly applied the theory of climate and the stars to the indigenous people of the Americas drawn from Hippocrates's treatise *De aere, acquis et locis* (Air, water, places), published in a sixteenth-century edition of Galen's works. See also Solari 2016, 486–487.

40. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 75.

41. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 77.

42. According to Kagan (2000, 28), "in the sixteenth century . . . *policía* . . . implied all of the benefits that accrued from urban life: law, order, morality, and religion."

43. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 75–76. Gibson (1964, 150) attributes drunkenness to "the deep-seated distress of the native society, from which intoxication offered a relief." Burkhart (1989, 29) points out that "[t]he most frequently mentioned *tlatlacolli* are sexual excesses, intoxication, and theft."

44. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 77; my emphasis. The terms *república de indios* and *república de españoles* refer to indigenous and Spanish people in sixteenth-century Mexico as separate and segregated entities, socially and legally. On this, see also Tavárez 1997, 1255.

45. Sahagún uses "idolatry," "idolater," and "idolatrous" twenty-two times in paragraph 1.

46. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., prologue to Bk. 1, 45.

47. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 75; my emphasis.

48. See Peterson, chapter 11 of this volume.

49. Solari 2016, 481, 483n10: "This linkage between disease and idolatry can be traced . . . back to [the Christian theologian] Tertullian's usage of the 'contagion of idolatry' . . . in the second century."

50. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 78–79; my emphasis. This passage refers to the sixteenth-century practice of creating a separate indigenous town (*congregación*) to provide a framework for administrative efficiency, political control, and Christian indoctrination (see Gibson 1964, 282; Baird 2005, 295–296).

51. Bustamante García (1992, 288–289) notes that Sahagún had "a utopic state in mind" and drew on a vast utopian literature and widespread ideas of utopian republics that were in circulation in the sixteenth century. Bustamante points to such authors as Plato (*Republic*), Saint Augustine (*The City of God against the Pagans*), and Sahagún's contemporary Thomas More (*De optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* [On the best state of a commonwealth and on the new island of Utopia], completed in 1516); and he persuasively argues that Saint Augustine's *City of God* served as the model that defined the contents of the Florentine Codex (Bustamante García 1992, 355–364).

52. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 77–78. Burkhart (1996, 60) notes that "attributing excessive sensuality and carnality to colonized peoples was widely used as a mode of asserting and legitimizing European domination."

53. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 79–80. On the use of corporal punishment and imprisonment in Franciscan conversion practices, see Tavárez (2011, 17); Turley (2016, 93, 98).

54. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 81.

55. Two incisors are commonly depicted in "tlan" glyphs, but three teeth are not uncommon, and sometimes four are depicted in the place glyphs of the Codex Mendoza. See Berdan and Anawalt 1992, vol. 4; Boone 2000, 32–33, 36–37. Peterson (2003, 242, fig. 8) notes the use of the tooth glyph in the Florentine Codex.

56. On this, see also Sousa, chapter 12 of this volume.

57. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 82.

58. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 82.

59. "Trachea" (*cocotl*) and "esophagus" (*tlatlhoatztli*) are also in the Nahuatl text. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 10, 108.

60. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 82.

61. Sahagún 1950–1982, Bk. 5, 157–158.

62. Burkhart 1996, 59.

63. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 82–83.

64. The Counter-Reformation Council of Trent prohibited the translation of the scriptures into the vernacular (1564), and in May 1576, the general council of the Spanish Inquisition banned Nahuatl scriptural editions. See Nesvig 2013, 165–201.

65. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 83.

66. Bustamante García (1992, 355–358) points to Saint Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, as the model for Sahagún's emphasis on language and translation in the conversion of pagans.

67. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 83–84.

68. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 84.

69. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 84.

70. Shrouded figures' feet are individually wrapped in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 5, fol. 13v, and Bk. 8, fol. 27v; in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, fol. 46v, the shrouded ruler's feet are also wrapped individually (Quiñones Keber 1995, 96).

71. Other male figures with pectoral muscles defined by a line with two downward curves are found in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fols. 109v and 111r, and Bk. 11, fol. 34v.

72. León 1982, 383–397; cited as one of the characteristics of *cocoliztli* in Marr and Kiracoffe 2000, table 2, 352. Lung hemorrhage was noted in some of the autopsies performed (Acuña-Soto et al. 2004, 2). See "Petechia," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Petechia&oldid=722407791 (accessed May 30, 2016), for an excellent photograph.

73. Lara 2008, 232–234, fig. 9.4.

74. The deity Xiuhtecuhtli kneels with his buttocks resting on his legs in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, ninth *trecena*, fol. 24r, glossed 1563 (Quiñones Keber 1995, 51). Quiñones Keber (1995, 190) suggests that this *trecena* might have been consulted for rituals associated with the sacrificial death of a warrior.

75. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 85.

76. Garone Gravier 2011, 186–187.

77. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 82. The tooth drawing is in Sahagún 1979, Bk. 10, fol. 77v; the reference to the books is on fol. 79v.

78. Sahagún 1950–1982, introductory vol., Bk. 10, 77.

79. Torquemada 1986, Bk. 5, chap. 22, 642. See also Mundy 2015, 203.

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y mayna runa cunapas tucoy ni llan as vanuan
suyac carcan chay mi ña chay man chaya mup tinca
ancha say cos cam amun ñispa as vavan yanca
y chaspa runa sauapas pacha pipas chay llac satam
bo man yai cumu na poneo llapi y na ychac carcan
paicuna vra manta amue cunam as lla ay chata
paicunap puy ñon pa simin saua churapue carca
cay taña pucho caspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runa cuna pam papi tiay cospa ayño ñis cataquicta
ña callarircan cay cunam canan. chanco/ sutioc
chay mantam ña chancup tinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamue cay chancup mitampis ysquicaya ñisca
chay yan cap/ huasinpi hue sachachos o/ y mach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñis canchic mantalli yaco sapa vrma
rayan chay cunactas canan pay cona ~~can~~ chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca alli pucoy mi canca
ñispa ñir cancu/ mana tamya nampaesi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoy mi canca ñispa ñic carca

Capitulo 12 y manam cay paria cacap churincuna tucoy yunca cunacta atijta ña callarircan

v ñam ari cay chun campi capitº pi rimar canchic
cay paria cacap churin cunapat tis can ~~cunacta~~ simicta
y ~~nas~~ naspa villar canchic tac mi ari y manam tu
coy y nantin llacta cuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta canan mi/ cay. chuc paico. chancharuna
huariruma. vt co chuco tutay quire. sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñis canchic cunacta rimason y manam
paicuna puric carcaneo chay chay cunacta cay
cuna ñis canchic cunas ñaupa pacha tucoy hin

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

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To our kids
Abraham, Malka, Susanna

tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic
we are all of one birth

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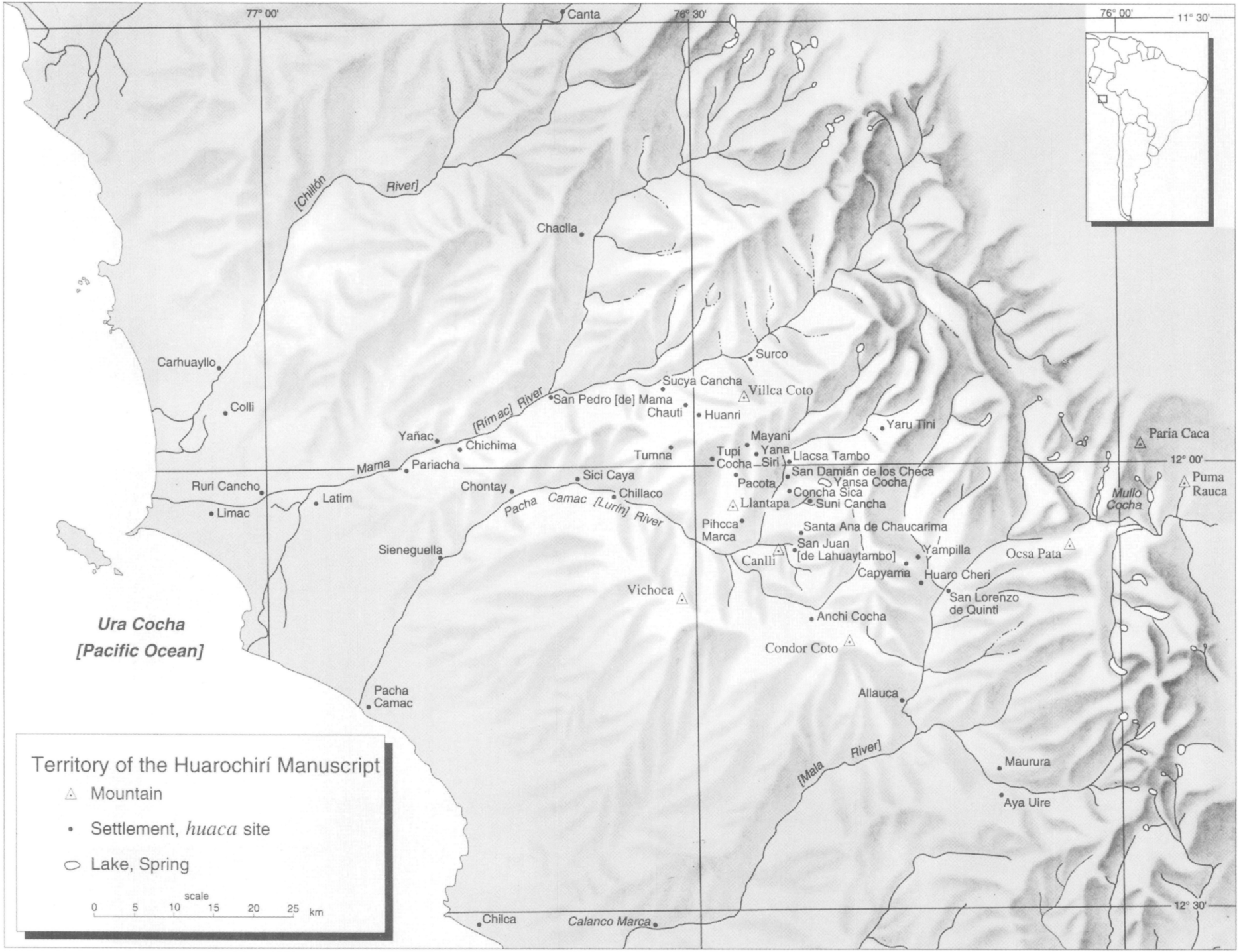
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Canta
[Chillón River]
Chaclla
Carhuayllo
Colli
[Rímac] River
San Pedro [de] Mama
Chauti
Huanri
Surco
Sucya Cancha
Villca Coto
Yaru Tini
Paria Caca
Yañac
Chichima
Mayani
Yana
Tupi
Cocha
Siri
Llacsa Tambo
Tumna
Mama
Pariacha
San Damián de los Checa
Yansa Cocha
Pacota
Concha Sica
Suni Cancha
Llantapa
Sici Caya
Chontay
Chillaco
Ruri Cancho
Latim
Limac
Pacha Camac [Lurín] River
Pihcca Marca
Santa Ana de Chaucarima
San Juan [de Lahuaytambo]
Canlli
Yampilla
Capyama
Huaro Cheri
Ocsa Pata
Mullo Cocha
Puma Rauca
Sieneguella
Vichoca
San Lorenzo de Quinti
Anchi Cocha
Condor Coto
Ura Cocha
[Pacific Ocean]
Pacha Camac
Allauca
[Mala River]
Maurura
Aya Uire
Chilca
Calanco Marca
Territory of the Huarochirí Manuscript
Mountain
Settlement, huaca site
Lake, Spring
scale
0 5 10 15 20 25 km

Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript

Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huacas*. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods* . . . (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huacas*.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huacas* had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yancas*) to locate the historically diverse *huacas* and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huacas* (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huacas*, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huacas*.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huacas* is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huacas*—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huacas* amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huacas* succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huacas*, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.
> Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huacas* to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huacas*

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huacas* as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two pervading generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huacas* who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which González Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object'*; huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huacas*. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huacas* by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huacas* never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huacas* reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huacas*' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huacas*. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huacas* considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllus*, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huacas*. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huacas* beforehand:

> . . . these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huacas* had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

Huacas also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yanca*s seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huaca*s in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curaca*s or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curaca*s by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huaca*s or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huaca*s (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

*Huaca*s had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one [*huaca*] called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huacas* were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllus*. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllus*: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllus*.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllus*: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllus*, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllus* practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllus* that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huacas* among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huacas* might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huacas*. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huacas*, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huaca*s on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huaca*s.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huaca*s Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huacas* and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huacas* whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huacas* and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila* [*¡1598!*].

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis . . .* Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí.* Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle.* Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII.* Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huacas* and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila.* Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres).* 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . . ' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huacas* in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna*, *ynaspa*, and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capi°* is rendered *capi(tul)o.*

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

[Preface][1]

If the ancestors of the people called Indians[2] had known writing[3] in earlier times,[4] then the lives they lived would not have faded from view[5] until now.[6]

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas[7] is visible[8] until now, so, too, would theirs be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,

2 I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather:[9]

1. The whole preface has witness validation, suggesting that it expresses the native editor/redactor's own convictions. Quechua grammatical validation is discussed in the introduction, in the section on the character of the present translation (see especially the section on the problem of validation). The opening lines have a sharp rhetorical structure. They start with a matched pair of contrafactual sentences (*-man . . . -man*), continue with a matched comparison (*hina . . . hina*), and link the two pairs by a pointed contrast between their respective conclusions (*. . . manam . . . hinacho canman/ . . . hinatacmi canman*, which might be rendered 'it wouldn't be so/ . . . it would be exactly so').

2. *runa yn(di)o ñiscap* 'of the people called Indians': suggests a shade of authorial distance from the term "Indian," perhaps because it lumps together the many distinct peoples whose differences and relations form the axis of the text. The phrase recurs at the very end of the text (supp. II, sec. 485).

3. *quillcacta* 'writing': more literally, 'writer(s)'; derives from a verb whose prehispanic sense appears to have been 'to paint' or 'to ornament' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 301).

4. *ñaupa pacha* 'earlier [or former] times': although other translators give 'ancient', this passage could also refer to an earlier moment of the colonial era.

5. *chincaycuc hinacho canman* 'would not have faded from view': more literally, 'would not be like something getting lost'; that is, if Andean tradition partook more of literacy, colonial conditions would not have led to its recent erosion.

6. The four repetitions of *canancama* 'until now' give a feeling of arrested motion, released at last in the final sentence of section 2. Similarly, the sentence verbs of section 1 form a series of three contrafactuals (with conditional suffix *-man*) that yields in section 2 to three finite verbs, in past, present, and future tenses, respectively. The tone shifts from speculation toward concreteness and dynamism. One feels the engines of narration gripping, moving forward.

7. The original contains only *vira cochappas* 'the Vira Cochas', a colonial and modern Quechua usage that employs the name of a principal deity (salient in chapters 2 and 14) to refer to the Spanish. The Spanish erupt onto the Andean scene under this name in chapter 18 (sec. 223). Modern Cuzco Quechua still uses the expression. We have supplied 'the Spanish' to avoid confusion between the deity and the nationality.

8. The verb *ricurin* 'be visible' seemingly emphasizes the *visibility* of the new Spanish mnemotechnology, writing, as opposed to the *audibility* of the endangered oral tradition.

9. *huc yayayuc . . . machoncunap* 'ancestors . . . from one forefather': more literally, 'of the old ones . . . possessors of one father'. The manuscript repeatedly expresses diachrony in terms of patrilineal ancestry. The point in this passage is that, despite their diversity, the social units that are protagonists of the following chapters unite at the apex in a single male progenitor, namely, Paria Caca.

What faith[10] they held,[11] how they live up until now,[12] those things and more;

Village by village it will be written down:[13] how they lived from their dawning age onward.

10. *yma ffeenioccha* 'what faith' uses a Spanish term, *fe* 'faith', to denominate non-Christian religious practice. In Christian context this categorizes the *huaca* cults as members of the same class of phenomena as the "true" faith (and therefore subject to graver penalty than mere "superstition"). Quechua had no term similar to *fe*. But the suffix *-yoc*, usually translated 'possessor of', is usually used in the manuscript to signify a non-Christian worshiper's bond to the *huaca*. It signifies not so much belief as a social connection in which the worshiper owes service and the deity protection.

11. The original *ffeenioccha* has a conjectural validator *-cha*: overliterally, 'what faith they may have held'. One common usage of *-cha* is to convey the degree of doubt appropriate to guesses about what is in another person's mind (secs. 133, 247, 279). Here *-cha* suggests that the author regards knowledge of the ancient religion (based on the reportively validated data that make up most of the manuscript) as a conjectural construct, in effect an ethnographically derived model intended to explain "idolatrous" practices of the present.

12. In addition to the reconstructed faith of the past, the maker of the manuscript will also set down ethnographic observations on current mores. Most of this material appears with witness validation in subsequent parts.

13. In fact, the manuscript does not proceed village by village. It expresses primarily the viewpoint of one group, the Checa of San Damián village, and secondarily those of perhaps three other groups (the inhabitants of Mama in chap. 13, the Allauca in chap. 30, and the Concha of Concha Sica in chap. 31) filtered through some Checa interference. In spatial terms its mythology centers on the Checa ceremonial center, Llacsa Tambo, near the colonial village of San Damián.

CHAPTER I

3 # How the Idols of Old Were, and How They Warred among Themselves, and How the Natives Existed at That Time[14]

In very ancient times,[15] there were *huacas*[16] named Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca.[17]

Later on another *huaca* named Huallallo Caruincho defeated them.

After he defeated them, he ordered the people to bear two children and no more.[18]

He would eat one of them himself.

The parents would raise the other, whichever one was loved best.[19]

4 Although people did die in those times, they came back to life on the fifth day exactly.[20]

And as for their foodstuffs, they ripened exactly five days after being planted.

These villages and all the others like them were full of Yunca.[21]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [full of Yunca]

5 When a great number of people had filled the land, they lived really miserably,[22] scratching and

14. Like all of the first six chapters, this one bears a Spanish title in the original: *Como fue anteguamente los ydolos y como guerreo entre ellos y como auia en aquel tiempo los naturales*. In the original the Spanish titles appear to be insertions *ex post facto*. Their awkwardness often derives from specific Quechua interferences: for example (in this case), discrepancies between Quechua and Spanish rules about pluralization and number agreement (*fue . . . los ydolos*, etc.). Quechua's trivocalic sound system influences *anteguamente* via hypercorrection. The composer of the titles has also chosen an unidiomatic translation for *tiay* 'to dwell, to exist'. Such facts make it more than likely that Spanish was not his or her first language.

15. This formula regularly introduces a passage with reportive validation.

16. As detailed in the introduction, *huaca* is a broad term designating all physical objects taken to embody superhuman and sacred persons. Many mountains, springs, river junctions, mummies, and manmade objects as well were *huaca*.

17. The untranslated term *Ñamca* seems to designate a class of *huacas* associated with coastal peoples and the remote past. It also appears as a component of names of persons favored by *huacas*. In Quechua *Yana* means 'black' and *Tuta* 'night', so these might well be the powers extant before the present, solar world began.

18. *yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan* could also mean 'he ordered people to give birth only by twos'. But when Francisco de Avila, who presumably knew the context, composed his *Tratado* using the same or a similar source, he chose this meaning ([1608] 1966: 200).

19. *huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta* 'whichever one was loved best' is ambiguous as to whether it means the one that the parents loved best or that Huallallo Caruincho loved best (because the *-n* third person possessive marker on *cuyascan* could refer either to the parents or to Huallallo).

20. Chapter 27 elaborates on this.

21. *yunca*, a common term in the manuscript, has a triple sense. It refers to the warm valley regions of the Pacific littoral; to the ecology, landscape, and biota typical of such regions; and (capitalized in translation) to the peoples who dwelled there. The Checa and other highlanders thought of Yunca people as aboriginal, in opposition to the invading peoples with whom at least some of the narrators identified.

22. The motif of an overfertile ancient humanity in Malthusian crisis reappears in chapter 27; it is analyzed by Fernando Fuenzalida (1979). The idea seems to be that by excessive human sacrifice to Huallallo they won excessive vitality. The argument implies that immortality is incompatible with human life: even if fertility were curbed to the extreme of allowing each immortal couple only one live (immortal) child, an overpopulation fatal to well-being would eventually ensue. Death is indispensable.

digging the rock faces and ledges to make terraced fields.

These fields, some small, others large, are still visible today on all the rocky heights.

And all the birds of that age were perfectly beautiful, parrots and toucans[23] all yellow and red.

6 Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca[24] appeared, these beings and all their works were cast out to the hot Anti lands[25] by Paria Caca's actions.

Further on we'll speak of Paria Caca's emergence and of his victories.

7 Also, as we know,[26] there was another *huaca* named Cuni Raya.[27]

Regarding him, we're not sure whether he existed before Paria Caca or maybe after him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out whether he[28] says that it isn't known if he was before or after Caruincho or Paria Caca.]

However, Cuni Raya's essential nature[29] almost

23. *caquipas*: 'toucan' is a guesswork translation. Although the color suggests 'macaw', other references (chap. 9, sec. 131; chap. 24, secs. 331, 333) show that different words refer to macaws. Chapter 16 (sec. 207) says *caqui* is a parrotlike bird. Taylor (1987b: 47) points out an Ayacucho usage of *caqui* meaning a large parrot and an Aymara reference saying that *caqui* has long red, blue, and yellow feathers. Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 6) chose *periquito* 'parakeet'.

24. This is the first mention of the dominant deity in the manuscript. Paria Caca is surely a sacred mountain, but which one? Bonavia et al. (1984: 5–7) offer a detailed identification: "Pariacaca Mountain has a distinctive shape, two twin snowcapped peaks with a saddle-shaped depression separating them. The low point between them is 75° 59′ 24″ longitude west and 11° 59′ 20″ latitude south (Department of Junín, Province of Jauja, District of Canchayllo, Peru)." Bonavia and his co-authors point out that because Paria Caca was close to the royal road from Lima to Cuzco, it was well known by sixteenth-century authors, including Dávila Brizeño (who drew it as a twin peak on his map; Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) and Avila. Avila's own 1611 description of Paria Caca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257) is compatible with Bonavia's identification. Modern villagers in Huarochirí readily identify a twin-peaked snowcap on the eastern horizon as Paria Caca.

The literal sense of Paria Caca's name is unclear. *Caca* means 'cliff' or 'crag' in ancient and modern Quechua. Arriaga's *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Perú* ([1621] 1968: 45; Keating's translation) suggests that Paria might be 'vermilion': "*Paria* are powders of a vermilion color, brought from the mines of Huancavelica and made from the metal from which mercury is derived, though its appearance is more like that of lead oxide."

Several common modern verbs with the root *pariy* express the idea of heat radiating from a solid object; there may be a connection with chapter 8 (sec. 103), where Paria Caca creates his shrine by quenching a huge fire.

But Urioste's suggestion (personal communication) that *Paria* is cognate to modern Cochabamba Quechua *pari* meaning 'split' (as in, for example, a harelip) is also tempting because of the mountain's cleft appearance.

25. *antiman*: more literally, 'toward the Anti'. The Incas termed the eastern slopes of the Andes and the western fringes of Amazonia *Anti Suyu*. *Andes* in Spanish usage c. 1600 usually meant the same region. These lands stand in most Andean mythology for savagery and the precultural life, a setting in which Huallallo might have been thought to belong. But it may also be that the Huarochirí narrators used *anti* in a more general way to mean warm lowlands, including the seaward valleys of the west Andean slope. When Francisco de Avila paraphrased a source similar or perhaps identical to this one, he said that the natives call hot lands "*yunca* or *andes*" and wrote of evil aborigines in "these Andes" (*estos andes*) whom Paria Caca expelled to "other Andes" (*otros andes*; *Tratado* [1608] 1966: 200; see also 216). The two *andes* areas are perhaps the Pacific lowlands and Amazonia, respectively. Because the term may be generic (a type of land) and not toponymic, we have avoided glossing *anti* as 'Amazonia'.

26. 'As we know' added to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

27. The predominantly coastal *huaca* Cuni Raya has been identified as a water deity, creator of irrigation (Rostworowski 1977). The Incas thought the ability to create rivers and springs was the unique sign of his power (Betanzos [1551] 1987: 264). Chapters 2, 14, and 31 (secs. 409ff.) belong to Cuni Raya's mythology.

28. The marginal note is ambiguous in original. The subject of 'says' could be 'he' or 'she' or 'it' (i.e., a manuscript).

29. *cascanracmi* . . . *cascanman* 'his essential nature . . . Vira Cocha's': *cascan* is a past participial form of the Quechua verb meaning 'to be' and might more literally be rendered 'what he was'. For this reason we have used 'essential', also derived from a verb meaning 'to be'. *Cascan* is, however, less abstract in tone than 'essence'; hence 'nature'. Taylor's renders *cascan* as 'his cult' (*su culto*; 1987b: 28, 51), taking the point to be 'what he was in human practice'. But there are reasons for thinking *cascan* refers to 'what he was in himself'. In both colonial and modern Quechua this form often implies action previous to the speaker's cognition and/or surprise at discovering it (Cusihuamán 1976: 170–171; Urioste 1973: 96). We might read *cascan* as 'what he was all along (without our knowing it)'. This motif emerges more clearly in chapter 14 (sec. 190 and note 374), where Vira Cocha inveigles the Inca by promising to reveal *ñoca cascayta*, 'my *casca*'—'what I was all along'.

matches Vira Cocha's.[30] For when people worshiped this *huaca*, they would invoke him, saying,

"Cuni Raya Vira Cocha,

You who animate mankind,
Who charge the world with being,[31]
All things are yours!
Yours the fields and yours the people."

8 And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves to the ground,[32] talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,

"Help me remember how,
Help me work it out,
Cuni Raya Vira Cocha!"

And the master weaver[33] would worship and call on him whenever it was hard for him[34] to weave.

For that reason, we'll write first about this *huaca* and about his life, and later on[35] about Paria Caca.

30. Because of his alleged importance as a supreme deity, comparable to the Christian God, Vira Cocha has become the subject of a large and frequently misleading literature. Many Andean sources about him are handily compiled in *Wiracocha y Ayar* (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

Here, however, this deity's role has little to do with the Christian concept of God and a lot in common with the pan–New World concept of a Trickster, whose buffoonery is at the same time a force making and remaking the world. In suggesting that Cuni Raya's nature "almost matches" Vira Cocha's, the teller seems to be taking note of a popular tendency, exemplified by the invocation that follows, to equate a Trickster-like deity associated with the hydraulic transformation of landforms (Cuni Raya) with a south highland, Inca-promoted deity (Vira Cocha). Chapter 14 emphasizes the latter component.

Szemiński and Mejía Xesspe before him have suggested that *cunirayap cascanracmi ñahca viracochap cascanman tincon* might mean the two deities' existences 'almost coincide' chronologically rather than qualitatively. This makes sense if one reads the statement as a reply to the chronological question just raised, rather than a comment on what follows. If one takes *viracocha* in this passage to refer to the Spanish, still other readings result (Szemiński 1989: 8–9).

31. *runa camac pacha camac* 'who animate mankind, who charge the world with being': the two lofty epithets employ the key verb *camay*, discussed in the introduction under "Into the world of the *huacas*." *Camay* has no clear equivalent in Spanish or English and is translated in the present work as 'to charge' or 'charge with being', 'to make', 'to give form and force', or 'to animate'.

32. That is, to sacrifice or perhaps to take an augury.

33. *compi camayuc* 'master weaver': both *compi* 'luxury-grade textile' and *camayuc* 'specialist' are Inca-style bureaucratic terms. *Camayuc* means more literally 'possessor of a specific force or energy [*camay*]', in this case the specific virtue of weaving.

34. Or 'for her'.

35. The manuscript contains cross-references that refer backward to earlier chapters by number, but the forward-pointing cross-references only use vague terms like 'later'. This suggests that the text, while it may be a fair copy, has not undergone a final editing.

CHAPTER 2

9

How Cuni Raya Vira Cocha Acted in His Own Age. The Life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[36] How Caui Llaca Gave Birth to His Child, and What Followed

<**margin**, crossed out, in Spanish:> [Note that it isn't known whether this was before or after Caruincho.]

A long, long time ago,[37] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha used to go around posing as a miserably poor and friendless[38] man, with his cloak and tunic all ripped and tattered. Some people who didn't recognize him for who he was yelled, "You poor lousy[39] wretch!"

Yet it was this man who fashioned all the villages. Just by speaking he made[40] the fields, and finished the terraces with walls of fine masonry. As for the irrigation canals, he channeled them out from their sources just by tossing down the flower of a reed called *pupuna*.[41]

After that, he went around performing all kinds of wonders, putting some of the local *huacas*[42] to shame[43] with his cleverness.

10 Once there was a female *huaca* named Caui Llaca.

Caui Llaca had always remained a virgin.

Since she was very beautiful, every one of the *huacas* and *villcas*[44] longed for her. "I've got to sleep with her!" they thought.

But she never consented.

11 Once this woman, who had never allowed any male to fondle[45] her, was weaving beneath a *lúcuma*[46] tree.

36. 'The life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' is in Quechua and seems not to be part of the inserted Spanish title.

37. A formula introducing a passage with reportive validation.

38. *huaccha* 'poor and friendless': literally, 'orphan'. Throughout the manuscript and in modern Quechua, *huaccha* means 'poor' not so much in the sense of lacking property, as in the sense of lacking social ties that enable one to be productive. It is also translated here as 'wretch', 'powerless', or 'a nobody'.

39. Lice have a peculiar double meaning; Marie-France Souffez (1986), relying partly on findings by Christopher Donnan and María Rostworowski, notes that in Mochica imagery of shamanism the lice growing on a shaman's body emblematize the many people her or his power can sustain. Latent wealth hidden in apparent squalor is a common attribute of Huarochirí protagonists.

40. 'Made' supplied.

41. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201) Avila identifies the object as "a hollow reed of the sort we call 'Castillian reed'." The *pupuna* is described in a marginal note to supplement I (sec. 454) as a pole with a noose for catching parrots.

42. *llacta huacacunactapas*: the phrase contrasts Cuni, a wandering nonlocal deity, with rooted local deities. Cults and toponyms with names reminiscent of Cuni's (Kon, Concón, etc.), appear to have been farflung over the coast (Rostworowski 1977).

43. *allcuchaspa*: literally, 'making dogs of them'. 'Dog' is consistently a term of abuse in the manuscript.

44. The exact sense of *villca* in the manuscript is uncertain but perhaps related to a contemporaneous Aymara word meaning both 'sun' and 'shrine' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 386). Internal evidence (chap. 31, sec. 417) suggests that in the Huarochirí context it means a person who has entered into the society of *huacas* by achievement or marriage. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209), the word *villca* is translated 'a very important *cacique*' (*cacique muy principal*; see also Zuidema 1973: 19). In Huánchor village in 1621, the founding hero Huánchor was mummified and housed underneath a *huaca* called Huanchorvilca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 264). Overall, the implication seems to be that a *villca* is a human being who partakes of a *huaca*'s status.

45. *chancaycochicuspa* 'fondle': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 94) glosses related verbs as meaning 'to stroke or touch lightly'. Similar verbs in modern Quechua usually sound sexually piquant.

46. "*Lucuma bifera*, an evergreen tree, eight to ten meters high, has spreading branches with entire, elliptic-ovate leaves. The globose to ovate fruits, seven to ten cm. in diameter, are green in color and have a bright orange to yellow, dry, mealy pulp. . . . This species is a native of Peru

Cuni Raya, in his cleverness,[47] turned himself into a bird and climbed into the *lúcuma*.

He put his semen into a fruit that had ripened there and dropped it next to the woman.

12 The woman swallowed it down delightedly.

Thus she got pregnant even though she remained untouched by man.

In her ninth month, virgin though she was, she gave birth just as other women give birth.

And so, too, for one year she nursed her child at her breast, wondering, "Whose child could this be?"

13 In the fullness of the year, when the youngster was crawling around on all fours, she summoned all the *huacas* and *villcas* to find out who was the child's father.

When the *huacas* heard the message, they were overjoyed, and they all came dressed in their best clothes, each saying to himself, "It's me!" "It's me she'll love!"

14 This gathering took place at Anchi Cocha,[48] where the woman lived.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The gathering was in Anchi Cocha.]

When all the *huacas* and *villcas* had taken their seats there, that woman addressed them:

"Behold, gentlemen and lords. Acknowledge this child. Which of you made me pregnant?"[49] One by one she asked each of them:

"Was it you?"

"Was it you?"

But nobody answered, "The child is mine."

15 The one called Cuni Raya Vira Cocha had taken his seat at the edge of the gathering. Since he looked like a friendless beggar sitting there, and since so many handsome men were present, she spurned him and didn't question him. She thought, "How could my baby possibly be the child of that beggar?"

Since no one had said, "The child is mine," she first warned the *huacas*, "If the baby is yours, it'll crawl up to you," and then addressed the child:

"Go, identify your father yourself!"

16 The child began at one end of the group and crawled along on all fours without climbing up on anyone, until reaching the other end, where its father sat.

On reaching him the baby instantly brightened up and climbed onto its father's knee.

When its mother saw this, she got all indignant: "Atatay, what a disgrace! How could I have given birth to the child of a beggar like that?" she said. And taking along only her child, she headed straight for the ocean.

17 And then, while all the local *huacas* stood in awe, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, "She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me."

"Sister Caui Llaca!" he called after her. "Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!" he said, and he stood there making his garment glitter.[50]

18 Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him.

"Because I've given birth to the child of such a ruffian, such a mangy beggar,[51] I'll just disappear into the ocean," she said. She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac,[52] out there

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and is cultivated for its edible fruit. . . . Specimens of whole and halved fruits of this species . . . are among the most common plant remains found in archaeological sites on the Peruvian coast. . . . *Lucumas* were an important part of the diet of the ancient Peruvians, and halved fruits are frequently found in *petacas* [pouches, hampers] with remains of other food plants. . . . The fruit is also a familiar motif in pre-Columbian art" (Towle 1961: 76–77).

47. *amauta cayninpi* 'in his cleverness': *amauta* is the term Garcilaso Inca popularized as the Inca title of learned men or counselors, but in connection with Cuni Raya it connotes an earthy or practical kind of cleverness.

48. Avila characterized Anchi Cocha as "a terribly cold and bad place halfway between Huarochirí and Chorillo" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201). Today, Anchicocha is the name of a bleak settlement, plateau, and peak 17 km southwest of Huarochirí, 3,700 m above sea level (IGM 1954). But in chapter 5 Anchi Cocha is the luxurious tropical home of a Yunca lord. *Anchini* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 27) meant 'to live amid delights, to spend splendidly on food, drink, clothing and gifts'. Perhaps the sense is that Anchi Cocha, a Lake of Earthly Delights in the pre-invasion age when all the land was warm and belonged to Yunca people, has (like other places mentioned in chap. 8) been transfigured by the power of later *huacas* from the cold heights.

49. *yumahuarcanquichic* 'made me pregnant': The root is *yumay* 'sperm'. The literal sense is 'inseminated me'.

50. If Cuni Raya is indeed a water deity, as Rostworowski (1977) persuasively argues, his glittering garment may be a metaphor for water sparkling in sunlight.

51. *cachcaçapap* 'of . . . such a mangy beggar': Avila glosses *cachca* as *sarna* (i.e., scabies or mange) in his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 202).

52. Pacha Camac, whose name means something like 'animator of space and time', was a coastal deity whose colossal shrine complex south of Lima (still visible at the

where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand.[53]

And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone.

19 Yet Cuni Raya Vira Cocha thought, "She'll see me anyway, she'll come to look at me!" He followed her at a distance, shouting and calling out to her over and over.

First, he met up with a condor.[54]

"Brother, where did you run into that woman?" he asked him.

"Right near here. Soon you'll find her," replied the condor.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[55] spoke to him and said,[56]

"You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos[57] and vicuñas,[58] of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too."

20 Farther on, he met up with a skunk.[59]

"Sister, where did you meet that woman?" he asked.

"You'll never find her now. She's gone way far away," replied the skunk.

When she said this, he cursed her very hatefully, saying,

"As for you, because of what you've just told me, you'll never go around in the daytime. You'll only walk at night, stinking disgustingly. People will be revolted by you."

21 Next he met up with a puma.[60]

"She just passed this way. She's still nearby. You'll soon reach her," the puma told him.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[61] spoke to him, saying,

"You'll be well beloved. You'll eat llamas, especially the llamas of people who bear guilt. Although people may kill you, they'll wear you on their heads during a great festival and set you to dancing.[62] And then when they bring you out annually they'll sacrifice a llama first and then set you to dancing."

22 Then he met up with a fox.[63]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," that fox told him.

When the fox said this, he replied,

"As for you, even when you skulk around keeping your distance, people will thoroughly despise you and say, 'That fox is a sneak thief.' When they kill you, they'll just carelessly throw you away and your skin, too."

<A **marginal** addition in Quechua begins here:>

23 Likewise he met up with a falcon.[64]

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mouth of the Lurín valley, next to the modern village of Pachacámac) attracted worship from remote prehistory and from regions far up the Pacific littoral. His cult is prominent in chapters 20, 22, and 23; see Patterson (1984[?]).

53. The two guano-whitened offshore islands visible from the Inca pyramid at Pachacámac. This landmark and Caui Llaca's lithification complete the trajectory of a story that follows the course of the Lurín River from its high headwaters (Anchicocha) to the Pacific. Cuni Raya's fertilizing action on Caui Llaca seems a mythic image of the river's life-giving effect on its valley.

54. "*Andean condor, Vultur gryphus* (*Cóndor*). Twice the size of a vulture. Black, head bare and yellowish-red, white collar, wing coverts whitish. Male with a flesh caruncle on the bill. Juvenile dusky brown without the collar and white wing patches. Seen flying high it differs from the turkey vulture only in its size and the diagnostic fingering of the feathers of the wingtips. Feeds principally on dead animals. Nests in the Andes; comes down regularly to the sea beaches and coastal hills with fog vegetation" (Koepcke 1970: 38).

55. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

56. Cuni Raya's speeches to the animals have witness validation, which is consistently used in performative (world-changing rather than world-describing) speech.

57. *Lama guanicoe*, a large wild camelid ranging from the Andes into lower semiarid lands (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 257).

58. *Lama vicugna*, a small wild camelid of the heights, prized for its excellent wool (Gade 1977: 113).

59. "*Zorrino chileno, Conepatus chinga* . . . its Quichua name used in Peru is *añas*" (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 153).

60. *Puma concolor* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 167–172).

61. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

62. *taquechisonque* 'they'll . . . set you to dancing': more literally, 'they will make you dance'; here as elsewhere in the manuscript, this means celebrants carry or wear the sacred preserved skin as they perform. In his *Tratado* Avila explained that the dancer placed the animal's preserved head over his own and let the attached skin fall over his body like a cape (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 203).

63. Probably the Peruvian fox, *Pseudalopex inca* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 125).

64. The region of the myth has seven species of hawks, harriers, and kites, and three of falcon. *Huaman* may refer to a species that, like some other birds prominent in the mythology (the condor and the swift), nests on the Andean heights but sometimes flies to the coast and thereby parallels the axis of movement in these myths. "*Aplomado falcon, Falco femoralis pichinchae* (*Halcón perdi-*

"She's just passed this way. You'll soon find her," said the falcon.

He replied,

"You're greatly blessed. When you eat, you'll eat the hummingbird first, then all the other birds. When people kill you, the man who has slain you will have you mourned with the sacrifice of a llama. And when they dance, they'll put you on their heads so you can sit there shining with beauty."

24 And then he met up with some parakeets.[65]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," the parakeets told him.

"As for you, you'll travel around shrieking raucously," replied Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[66] "Although you may say, 'I'll spoil your crops!' when people hear your screaming they'll chase you away at once. You'll live in great misery amidst the hatred of humans."

<The **marginal** addition ends here.>

And so he traveled on. Whenever he met anyone who gave him good news, he conferred on him a good fortune. But he went along viciously cursing those who gave him bad news.

25 When he reached the seashore,

<crossed out in original MS:> [he went straight over it. Today people say, "He was headed for Castile," but in the old days people said, "He went to another land."][67]

he turned back toward Pacha Camac.

He arrived at the place where Pacha Camac's two daughters lived, guarded by a snake.

Just before this, the two girls' mother had gone into the deep sea to visit Caui Llaca. Her name was Urpay Huachac.

While Urpay Huachac was away, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduced[68] one girl, her older daughter.

When he sought to sleep with the other sister, she turned into a dove[69] and darted away.

That's why her mother's name means 'Gives Birth to Doves'.

26 At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.

Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.[70]

It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean, saying, "For what did she go off and visit Caui Llaca the woman of the ocean depths?"

Ever since then, fish have filled the sea.

27 Then Cuni Raya Vira Cocha fled along the seashore.

When Urpay Huachac's daughters told her how he'd seduced them, she got furious and chased him.

As she followed him, calling him again and again, he waited for her and said, "Yes?"

"Cuni, I'm just going to remove your lice," she said, and she picked them off.

28 While she picked his lice, she caused a huge abyss

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guero). Larger than the Kestrel, with a longer tail. Lead-colored above, superciliary line cinnamon; below buffy cinnamon, tail and flanks blackish with horizontal white stripes. Generally seen in our region above 2000 m., but occasionally it comes down to the coastal area. Feeds largely on birds to the size of a tinamou" (Koepcke 1970: 42). The hummingbird allotted to the falcon as food below might represent any or all of the six Lima Department hummingbird species (Koepcke 1970: 79–80).

65. *horitocunahuan* 'with some parakeets': *horito* in chapter 16 (sec. 207) is equated to the poorly identified bird *caqui* (toucan?), but in chapter 1 (sec. 5) it is distinguished from it. Here it clearly refers to a crop pest. The likeliest identification is

> Mountain parakeet, *Bolborhynchus a. aurifrons* (*Psilopsiagon a. aurifrons*) (*Perico cordillerano*). The only native wild parakeet of our coastal region. Small, with a very long tail; F. and J. completely green; M. with the forehead, face, and underparts yellowish. Common on the steppes and shrubby places of the coast and Andean slopes; also gathers in cultivated fields, tree plantations, gardens, and parks of Lima. During the winter it is abundant on the coastal hills and in wooded and shrubby places with fog vegetation, especially at Lachay.

It could also be Andean parakeet, *Bolborhynchus andinicolus* (*B. orbygnesius*) (*Perico Andino*), found only above 1500 m., or (less probably, because of its rarity) the Scarlet-fronted parakeet, *Aratinga wagleri frontata* (*Cotorra de Wagler*; Koepcke 1970: 74).

66. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

67. *huc pachamansi* could also be read 'another world'. The crossed-out version matches Vira Cocha myths circulated in the highlands and better known among Spaniards (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

68. Or perhaps raped her; *puñochircan*, more literally, 'he made her sleep', could mean either. We chose 'seduce' because it is Gonçález Holguín's preferred gloss ([1608] 1952: 296) and because deception, not violence, is Cuni Raya's consistent mode of action.

69. Of nine species of doves known in the region, three are common near the seashore: the white-winged dove (*Zenaida asiatica meloda*), the eared dove (*Zenaidura auriculata hypoleuca*), and the croaking ground dove (*Columbina cruziana*) (Koepcke 1970: 69–71).

70. Probably an allusion to pisciculture, perhaps in excavated tanks (Espinoza Soriano 1974: 19; Rostworowski 1981: 30–31).

to open up next to him, thinking to herself, "I'll knock Cuni Raya down into it."

But Cuni Raya in his cleverness realized this; just by saying, "Sister, I've got to go off for a moment to relieve myself,"[71] he made his getaway to these villages.

He traveled around this area for a long, long time, tricking lots of local *huacas* and people, too. <**marginal note**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b. This *huaca*'s end will be told below.]

71. The verb in the original, from the root *ysmay*, is merely plainspoken. But the plain translation 'to shit' sounds jarringly obscene.

CHAPTER 3

29

What Happened to the Indians in Ancient Times When the Ocean Overflowed

Now we'll return to what is said of very early people.

The story goes like this.[72]

In ancient times, this world wanted to come to an end.[73]

A llama buck, aware[74] that the ocean was about to overflow, was behaving like somebody who's deep in sadness. Even though its <crossed out:> [father] owner let it rest in a patch of excellent pasture, it cried and said, "In, in," and wouldn't eat.

30 The llama's <crossed out:> [father] owner got really angry, and he threw the cob from some maize he had just eaten at the llama.

"Eat, dog! This is some fine grass I'm letting you rest in!" he said.

Then that llama began speaking like a human being.

"You simpleton, whatever could you be thinking about? Soon, in five days, the ocean will overflow. It's a certainty. And the whole world will come to an end," it said.

31 The man got good and scared. "What's going to happen to us? Where can we go to save ourselves?" he said.

The llama replied, "Let's go to Villca Coto mountain.[75]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is a mountain that is between Huanri[76] and Surco.][77]

There we'll be saved. Take along five days' food for yourself."

So the man went out from there in a great hurry, and himself carried both the llama buck and its load.

32 When they arrived at Villca Coto mountain, all sorts of animals had already filled it up: pumas, foxes, guanacos, condors, all kinds of animals in great numbers.

And as soon as that man had arrived there, the ocean overflowed.

They stayed there huddling tightly together.

33 The waters covered all those mountains and it was only Villca Coto mountain, or rather its very peak, that was not covered by the water.

Water soaked the fox's tail.

That's how it turned black.

Five days later, the waters descended and began to dry up.

34 The drying waters caused the ocean to retreat all the way down again and exterminate all the people.

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72. Text shifts at this point from witness to reportive validation.

73. *cay pachas puchocayta munarcan* 'this world wanted to come to an end': *puchocay* means the ending of something that has an intrinsic conclusion (as, for example, the finishing of a task), not a truncation or accidental end (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 293).

74. The prescience of llamas: see chapter 18 (secs. 221–222), on llama divination, where the animal's body is credited with containing signs of the future.

75. A mountain today called by this name exists 12 km northwest of San Damián, between modern Huanre and Surco (Treacy 1984: 18). Villca Coto may be the same *huaca* mentioned in chapter 23 (sec. 301), the most beautiful one at the Inca court in Cuzco.

76. Modern Huanre is 5 km south of San Bartolomé (IGM 1970–1971).

77. The modern (former *reducción*) town of San Gerónimo de Surco is 17 km north-northwest of San Damián at 2,300 m above sea level, sheltered in the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Afterward, that man began to multiply once more.

That's the reason there are people until today.

Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the Flood.[78]

But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them.

78. This sentence has *-mi* eyewitness validation.

CHAPTER 4

35

How the Sun Disappeared for Five Days. In What Follows We Shall Tell a Story about the Death of the Sun

In ancient times[79] the sun died.[80]
Because of his death it was night for five days.
Rocks banged against each other.
Mortars and grinding stones began to eat people.
Buck llamas started to drive men.[81]
Here's what we Christians think about it:[82] We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.[83]
Maybe that's what it was.

79. This formula introduces a passage with reportive validation.

80. Like various New World mythologies, Andean myths both ancient and modern include a motif of successive deaths and replacements of suns. Juan Ossio believes this chapter and Guaman Poma's scheme of "ages" are related to Montesinos' mid-seventeenth-century account of an Andean myth about successive suns equated to millennia (Ossio 1973: 188). Many modern Andeans interpret precolumbian structures as the houses of people who lived before the current sun arose.

81. The myth of the revolt of the objects, of which this appears to be a summary, also appears in a fuller Mayan version that, like this one, follows on a flood incident (Tedlock 1985: 84–86). Hocquenghem (1987: 142–143) and Jeffrey Quilter (personal communication) point out analogues in Mochica ceramic imagery from the Peruvian north coast.

82. This sentence has witness validation.

83. Luke 23: 44–45: "It was now about the sixth hour and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour, for the sun stopped shining."

CHAPTER 5

How in Ancient Times Paria Caca Appeared on a Mountain Named Condor Coto in the Form of[84] Five Eggs, and What Followed. Here Will Begin the Account of Paria Caca's Emergence[85]

In the four preceding chapters we have already recounted the lives lived in ancient times.

Nevertheless, we don't know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged[86] from.

37 These people, the ones who lived in that era, used to spend their lives warring on each other and conquering each other. For their leaders, they recognized only the strong and the rich.[87]

We speak of them as the Purum Runa, 'people of desolation'.[88]

38 It was at this time that the one called Paria Caca was born in the form of five eggs on Condor Coto mountain.[89]

A certain man, and a poor friendless one at that, was the first to see and know the fact of his birth; he was called Huatya Curi, but was also known as Paria Caca's son.

Now we'll speak of this discovery of his, and of the many wonders[90] he performed.[91]

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84. 'In the Form of' supplied.

85. The last part of the title here is in Quechua and does not form part of the Spanish insertion.

86. *pacarimuscancunactam* 'the origins' and *pacarimurcan* 'they emerged' both derive from a single root meaning literally 'to dawn' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 266–267; see also preface, sec. 2). An Andean group's 'dawning' or emergence from inside earth to outer daylight is its origin myth and primordial title to a place on the landscape that engendered it.

87. *rico* 'rich': the Spanish word is sometimes used in this chapter (secs. 46, 60) as the opposite of *huaccha* 'friendless, poor'. *Rico* seemingly implies wealth in possessions (chap. 19, sec. 235) rather than the rich social and superhuman connectedness suggested by Quechua *capac* (opposite of *huaccha* in sec. 49). Its use here may reflect the ascendancy of economic concepts connected with the Spanish market system.

88. The age here mythologized seems to be the Late Intermediate period of the archaeologists, that is, the centuries preceding Inca unification and characterized by a multitude of warring polities. *Purum* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 297) covers a spectrum of meanings from the agricultural ('sterile lands, lands abandoned from cultivation') to the political ('unconquered people, enemies'). 'Desolation' is chosen to evoke the linkage between warfare and infertility.

The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also gave the name "Purun Runa" to an ancient age of warfare ([1615] 1980: 1:47–50).

89. Condor Coto may be the peak called Condorcoto today, only 14 km southwest of Huarochirí, that is, nowhere near Paria Caca mountain but close to Anchi Cocha (IGM 1970–1971). The fact that Paria Caca's emergence takes place within what was seen as old Yunca country may suggest that the myth-tellers saw themselves as a foreign minority group enclaved and formerly oppressed in Yunca country.

Condor Coto would mean 'Condor mountain' in Aymara (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 53) or Quechua (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 70).

90. *ahca misterio* 'many wonders': in Spanish, a *misterio*, according to Cobarruvias ([1611] n.d.: 807) meant any sacred thing that was to be kept hidden from profane view. Basic Christian doctrines were called *misterios* in the Quechua sermon books from which the clergy were required to teach natives (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 363–458). The usage of *misterio* implicitly compares the secret meaning of Paria Caca's action, revealed to Huatya Curi, to the meanings of Christian revelation.

91. End of an introductory passage with witness vali-

39 They say[92] that fellow called Huatya Curi subsisted at the time just by baking potatoes in earth pits,[93] eating the way a poor man does,[94] and people named him the "Baked Potato Gleaner."

At that time there was another man named Tamta Ñamca,[95] a very rich and powerful lord.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b. Tamta Ñamca]

Both his own house and all his other houses[96] looked like *cassa* and *cancho* feather-weavings, for they were thatched with wings of birds.[97] His llamas were yellow llamas, red and blue llamas; he owned llamas of every hue.
<**margin**:> [Tamta Ñamca]

40 Seeing that this man lived so well, people who came from all the villages paid him homage and worshiped him.

For his part, he pretended to be very wise and spent his life deceiving a whole lot of people with the little that he really knew.

Then this man called Tamta Ñamca, who pretended to be so wise, even to be a god,[98] contracted a really horrible disease.

41 His illness went on for a great many years, and in time people talked. "How can a man who knows so much, who's so powerful, be so sick?" they said.

Just like the Spaniards who, on such occasions, summon experts and doctors, Tamta Ñamca, hoping to recover, summoned all sorts of shamans and wise men.[99]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The wise men gathered.]

But no one at all could diagnose that disease of his.

42 Just then Huatya Curi was coming from the vicinity of Ura Cocha,[100] and he went to sleep on the mountain by which we descend to Sieneguella.[101]

(Today this mountain is called Latab Zaco.)

While he was sleeping, a fox who'd come from down below and one who'd come from up above[102] met face to face[103] there. One fox asked the other, "Brother, how are things in Upper Villca?"

43 "What's good is good. But a lord in Anchi Cocha,

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dation. The editor/redactor is not always explicitly skeptical of the content of traditional narration.

92. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

93. *huatya*, potatoes baked in an earth pit, were and are characteristic food of high-altitude peasants who cook outdoor meals while harvesting tubers on the high slopes.

94. 'The way a poor man does': Avila in his *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 208–209) adds a comment that eating *huatya* (earth-baked potatoes) was a mark of poverty. Avila may, however, have missed part of the name's meaning, namely, the part connected with its second element *Curi*. It may come from "*ccorini* to gather and collect small or scattered things." A derived verb means 'to glean through the harvested fields or pick up spilled or abandoned things' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 69). A person reduced to picking through other people's abandoned barbecue pits is dispossessed in the highest degree, lacking even subsistence rights and in this sense eats 'the way a poor man does'.

95. This man's name contains the word *tamta* 'feather ruff' (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation). Featherwork is the symbol of his wealth and glory; his house is thatched with feathers. Andean featherwork found in tombs is made from tropical birds and probably symbolizes the biotic plenty of warm *yunca* lands.

96. That is, the houses for his wives, servitors, and so forth.

97. The image seems to be that of a house thatched with the brilliantly colored feather-weavings sometimes found in prehispanic elite burials. Avila says in his *Tratado* that the roof was of yellow and red feathers (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

98. *dios*: the Spanish word 'god', perhaps used in a Greco-Roman rather than Christian sense.

99. *amautacunacta doctorcunacta . . . yachaccunacta sauiocunacta* 'experts and doctors . . . shamans and wise men': the teller draws an implicit contrast between two pairs of terms, each consisting of a Quechua and a Spanish word: *amauta : doctor :: yachac : sauio*. The suggestion seems to be that a doctor, a bureaucratically licensed expert, can be compared with an *amauta*, and a *sauio* or wise man with a *yachac*. *Yachac* (literally, 'knower') today means a shaman.

100. *ura cochañicmanta* 'from the vicinity of Ura Cocha' is more literally 'from someplace around [the?] lower lake'. The 'lower lake' is probably the Pacific Ocean (called *mama cocha* 'Mother Lake' today). This term recurs in chapter 8 (sec. 103) and chapter 22 (sec. 278).

101. Modern Cieneguilla is in the low end of the Lurín valley 62 km west of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971), close to the ocean and to Lima.

102. In his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 209) Avila explains that this means one fox came down from Anchi Cocha and the other up from the Pacific.

103. *chaypi pactalla tincuspas* 'face to face' understates the Quechua's emphasis on symmetry. A fuller though ungainly gloss would be 'symmetrically opposing each other there in an exact fit'. The verb *tincuy* carries a complex set of associations with the idea of opposed parts forming a complementary totality (Platt [1978] 1986).

a *villca* as a matter of fact, one who claims to know a whole lot, to be a god himself, is terribly ill. All the wise men who found their way to him are wondering, 'Why's he so ill?' No one can identify his sickness. But his disease is this: while his wife was toasting maize, a grain of *muro*[104] maize popped from the griddle and got into her private part.[105]

44 "She picked it out and served it to a man to eat. Because of having served it, she became a sinner in relation to the man who ate it." (Nowadays they reckon that act tantamount to being an adulteress.)[106]

"As a result of this fault," he told the fox who'd come from down below, "a snake[107] has made its dwelling on top of that magnificent house and is eating them up. What's more, a toad, a two-headed one, lives under their grinding stone. And nobody is aware of these devouring animals."

45 Then he asked, "And how are people doing in Lower Villca, brother?"

The other fox answered similarly, saying, "There's a woman, the offspring of a great lord and a *villca*, who almost died because of a penis."[108]

(But the story leading up to the woman's recovery is very long.[109] Later on we'll write about it. For now, we'll return to the first story.)

46 As the foxes were telling each other these tidings, the man called Huatya Curi heard that the great lord who pretended to be a god was ill.

This great man had two daughters.

He had joined the elder daughter to a fellow *ayllu* member[110] who was very rich.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [He married her.][111]

The poor man called Huatya Curi came to that lord while he was still ill.

47 When he arrived, he went around asking surreptitiously, "Isn't someone sick in this town?"

"It's my father who's sick," replied the younger daughter.

Huatya Curi answered, "Let's get together. For your sake I'll cure your father."

<crossed out:>(We don't know this young woman's name.)[112]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [But later on they called her Chaupi Ñamca.][113]

The young woman didn't agree right away.

48 She told her father, "Father, there's a poor man here. He came and said to me, 'I'll cure your father.'"

All the wise men who were sitting there burst into laughter when they heard these words, and said, "If we ourselves can't cure him, how can this nobody make him well?"

But that lord wanted a cure so badly that he called for Huatya Curi. "Let him come, never mind what sort of man he is," he said.

49 When the great lord summoned him, Huatya Curi entered and said, "Father, if you want to get well, I'll make you well. But you have to give me your daughter."

Overjoyed, Tamta Ñamca replied, "Very well then!"

But when his older daughter's husband heard this proposition he flew into a rage. "How dare he join her, the sister-in-law of such a powerful[114] man as me, to a nobody like that?"

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104. *muro*: could mean 'particolored, spotted' (the generic meaning of *muro*) but may also be a local form of the term *muruchu* 'maize of the coastal flatlands, very hard' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 252).

105. *pincayninmanmi*: literally, 'into her shame'. Shame-oriented terms from Quechua lexicon but reflecting Christian mentality are common in most but not all the sexually colored passages and are sometimes written in over scratched-out plainspoken Quechua terms.

106. The speaker adds this remark as if aware that his listeners would find the classification of the mistake as adultery puzzling. Perhaps the word *huachuc* 'adulterer' formerly covered a gamut of sexual transgressions besides adultery proper. Avila deviates from this version in saying the woman actually committed adultery with the man (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

107. *huc machachuay* 'a snake': in sec. 50 the snakes are clearly said to be two, but the discrepancy may only be apparent since the phrase with *huc* could mean 'some snakes'.

108. This alludes to a myth that would be the symmetrical counterpart (*tinkuy*; see chap. 5, sec. 43) of the first fox's story: a false nobleman ill from a vagina; a true noblewoman ill from a penis. Taylor (1987b: 92) detects an interlineation translatable as 'daughter of that great lord' (i.e., of Tamta Ñamca). If so, the woman made ill by a penis might be Chaupi Ñamca.

109. Chapter 10 (sec. 146) may be a truncated version of this myth. This aside has the witness validation typical of the editor or redactor's comments.

110. *ayllonhuantac* 'to a fellow *ayllu* member': *ayllu* endogamy is common in Andean societies.

111. *casarachircan* 'he married her': the verb root is a Spanish one, clarifying the perhaps unfamiliar sense of *tinquichircan* 'he joined [her]' in body of text.

112. This aside has witness validation.

113. I.e., in chapter 10 (sec. 142).

114. 'Powerful' is a weak rendering of *camac*, agentive

50 Later on we'll tell about this angry man's struggle with Huatya Curi.

But for now we'll return to the cure the poor man called Huatya Curi effected.

Huatya Curi began his cure by saying, "Father, your wife is an adulteress. Because she's an adulteress, a sinner, she's made you ill. As for what's eating you,[115] it's the two snakes that dwell on top of this magnificent house of yours. And there's a toad, too, a two-headed one, that lives under your grinding stone.

51 "Now we'll kill them all. Then you'll get well. After you recover, you must worship my father above all things. He'll be born tomorrow or the day after. And as for you, you're not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn't be sick."

The rich man was astonished when Huatya Curi said this.

52 And when Huatya Curi said, "Now I'll take apart this gorgeous house of his," he became distraught.

And his wife started yelling, "This nobody, this crook, is slandering me! I'm no adulteress!"

53 Nonetheless the sick man wanted his health back very badly, and he let his house be dismantled.

Then Huatya Curi removed the two snakes and killed them. Next he clearly explained the facts to the rich man's wife: just how a grain of *muro* maize had popped out and gotten in her private part, and how she, after picking it out, had served it to a man.

After that, the woman confessed everything. "It's all true," she said.

54 Next he had the grinding stone lifted.

A toad, a two-headed one, came out from under it and fled to Anchi Cocha ravine.

It exists in a spring there to this day.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask the name of this spring and where it is.]

When people come to that spring, it either makes them disappear or else drives them crazy.

55 Once Huatya Curi finished all these deeds <crossed out in original:> [her[116] father] the ailing man got well.

After Tamta Ñamca's recovery, on the day that had been foretold, Huatya Curi went for the first time to Condor Coto mountain.

It was there that the one called Paria Caca dwelled in the form of five eggs.[117]

All around him a wind rose up and began to blow.

In earlier times no wind had been observed.

56 Just before he went there on the appointed day, the man who'd recovered his health gave him his unmarried daughter.

While the two of them were traveling in the vicinity of that mountain they sinned together.[118]

57 As soon as that elder brother-in-law heard they'd sinned together he set out to compete against Huatya Curi.

"I'll bring deep shame on that beggarman," he muttered.

And so one day that man challenged him, saying, "Brother, let's have it out in a contest, whatever kind. How dare a nobody like you marry the sister-in-law of a powerful man like me?"

That poor man agreed, and went to inform his father Paria Caca,

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, <he went> to one of the above-mentioned eggs that this man had for a father.]

and said, "This is how he spoke to me."

"Very well then. Whatever he tells you, come to me right away," his father replied.

58 The contest between them was like this.

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form of the key verb *camay* discussed in the introduction and note 31 in chapter 1 (sec. 7). A *camac* man would be one who can impart his own power to others and impose his will.

115. *camta micucri* 'as for what's eating you': the illness may be leishmaniasis, an infectious disease often pictured in Mochica ceramics, which eats away at the soft tissues of the nose and lip.

116. *yayanca* 'her [or his] father' is the crossed-out word; it might refer to the father of Huatya Curi's young woman or of her sister (i.e., to Tamta Ñamca).

117. *runto* 'egg': can also mean 'hailstone' (Gonçalez Holguín [1608] 1952: 321), a relevant association because Paria Caca regularly acts in the form of a storm.

118. *hochallicorcan* 'they sinned together': *hochalliy*, like *pincay* 'private part' (literally, 'shame'), is a shame-oriented term of Quechua lexicon and Christian mentality. The verb root employed seems to have meant a ceremonial debt or obligation (it is still used in this sense), but Christian missionaries chose it as the translation for 'sin'.

One day the challenger said, "Let's have a drinking and dancing contest."

So that poor man Huatya Curi went to inform his father.

His father Paria Caca advised him, "Go to that mountain over there. There you'll pretend to be a guanaco and lie down as if dead. Early in the morning a fox with his skunk wife will come there to see me.

59 "They'll bring their maize beer in a small long-necked jar[119] and they'll also bring along their drum. When they spot you, a dead guanaco, they'll set their things on the ground, and as soon as the fox puts down his panpipes, they'll start to eat you. Then turn back into a man, scream so loud it hurts their ears, and run away. When they scamper off forgetting their possessions, you'll take them and go to the contest."

60 The poor man did as he was told.

The rich man was the first to dance in the contest.

His wives, who numbered almost two hundred, danced along with him, and after they were done the poor man entered by himself, with only his wife, just the two of them.

As they entered through the doorway, as they danced to the skunk's drum he'd brought along, the earth of that whole region quaked.[120]

With this, he beat them all.

61 Next, they began drinking.

Huatya Curi went with just his wife to sit at the head of the group,[121] exactly as guests do until today.

And all of those people who were sitting there served him drink after drink without giving him a break.

Even though he drank every bit of it he sat there with no problem.

62 Then it was his turn. He began to serve the maize beer he'd brought in that little long-necked jar, and everybody ridiculed him. "How could he possibly fill so many people from such a tiny jar?" they said.

But when he began to serve, starting from the head of the gathering, they dropped down drunk in no time, one after another.

63 The next day, since Huatya Curi had won, the other man wanted a different contest.

This contest was all about outdoing each other in splendid costumes decorated with the exquisite feather-weavings called *cassa* and *cancho*.[122]

So Huatya Curi again went to his father.

His father gave him a snow garment. <**margin**:> [or *riti*][123]

In that garment he dazzled[124] all the people's eyes and won the contest.

64 Then the challenger said, "Let's compete in putting on puma skins."

That man wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had.[125]

The poor man, following his father's advice, went to a spring early in the morning and brought back a red puma skin.

He danced. And while he was dancing in that red puma, a rainbow appeared in the sky, like the rainbow that appears in the sky today.

65 Next the rich man wanted to compete at housebuilding.

Since that man had access to many people, he almost finished a large house in a single day.

The poor man just laid down the foundations and then strolled around all day long with his wife.

That night all kinds of birds, snakes, and other animals of the land walled the house.

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119. *huchoylla porongo* 'small long-necked jar' sounds like the aryballoid form jars made in various sizes for carrying maize beer. They have been found in virtually all Inca-influenced archaeological sites.

120. Avila spells out the point in his *Tratado*: not just the people but "the whole earth danced to the beat of its sound" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 211).

121. The seating of ceremonial guests in rank order, recurrent in many parts of the text, can be seen today in various parts of the Andes. Sponsors of the ceremony sit on stools at the head places, while guests sit in descending order of prestige and strangers or mendicants at the opposite extreme.

122. That is, the same feather-weavings that adorned Tamta Ñamca's roof (chap. 5, sec. 39).

123. *riti*: another Quechua word for snow.

124. *rupachispa* 'dazzled': the word is derived from a root meaning 'to burn' and may mean that his snow garment dazzled them with snowblindness. It is different from *tutayachic* 'which . . . dazzles' (chap. 20, sec. 250). The latter literally means 'benights'.

125. See note 62. In chapter 10 (sec. 150) we learn that owners of llama herds symbolized their prosperity by wearing puma skins; like pumas, they lived off llamas. Since the challenger is said to be rich, he presumably had many herds and therefore many puma skins. Zuidema (1985: 225) suggests that wearing puma skins in ceremony signified sovereignty over a body politic.

The next day, seeing it already finished, the challenger was awestruck.

66 Likewise Huatya Curi won at roofing the house. All the guanacos and vicuñas brought his thatching straw.

As for the other man, while his materials were being transported on llamas, Huatya Curi availed himself[126] of a bobcat's[127] help. He lay in ambush for them by a cliff, stampeded them, and destroyed them by making them fall over it.

By this trick[128] he won again.

67 After winning all these contests, the poor man spoke just as his father had advised: "Brother, we've competed so many times now, always agreeing to your rules. Now you agree to my rules."

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

Huatya Curi said, "Now, with blue tunics! And let our breechclouts be of white cotton! That's how we'll dance!"

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

68 The rich man, since he'd danced first from the beginning <crossed out in original:> [danced], went ahead and danced first.

As he was dancing, Huatya Curi charged down on him from outside screaming. That man panicked, turned into a brocket deer,[129] and ran away.

And his wife followed him, saying, "I'll die with my own old man!"[130]

69 Then that poor man flew into a rage: "Go, idiot! You two have victimized me so much, I'll kill you!" he said, and he chased after them.

Chasing them, he caught the wife on the road to Anchi Cocha and stood her upside down on her head. "People coming from up above and those coming from down below will gape at your private parts as they pass by," he said.

And right then and there she turned to stone[131] instantly.

70 This stone, just like a woman's legs with thighs and a vagina,[132] stands there until today.

Even now people put coca on top of it when they undertake something.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask why they put this coca.]

But the man who'd turned into a brocket deer climbed up a mountain and disappeared.

71 (Now, in ancient times, brocket deer used to eat human beings.[133]

Later on, when brocket deer were very numerous, they danced, ritually chanting, "How shall we eat people?"

Then one of their little fawns made a mistake and said, "How shall people eat us?"

When the brocket deer heard this they scattered.

From then on brocket deer became food for humans.)

72 After Huatya Curi finished all these deeds, Paria Caca flew forth from the five eggs in the shape of five falcons.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [The birth of Paria Caca.]

These five falcons turned into humans and they began to roam around.

And at that time, hearing all about the things people had done, about how that man called Tamta Ñamca had said, "I am a god," and about how the man had himself worshiped, Paria Caca went into a rage over all these sins of theirs. Rising up as rain, he flushed them all away to the ocean, together

126. *mincaspa* 'availed himself': more literally, he 'contracted' the bobcat's help (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 240). While his brother-in-law had access to the labor of many people and domesticated animals (llamas), Huatya Curi has access, thanks to Paria Caca's help, to creatures of the wild (skunk, fox, guanaco, bobcat, etc.).

127. *oscullo* 'bobcat': a cat of the genus *Oncifelis*, possibly *Oncifelis geoffroyi* or *Oncifelis salinarum* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 161).

128. 'Trick' supplied.

129. *lloychu* 'brocket deer': *Mazama simplicicornis*. A small species widespread in the southern half of South America, up to 65 cm tall, found especially in "savannas with trees and forest edges on the flatlands, as well as on the heights" (Renard-Casevitz: 1979: 24–25).

130. *cosallayhuantac* 'with my own old man': to convey the affectionate tone that *-lla* imparts to *cosa* 'husband'.

131. Mythic figures commonly lithify (i.e., become local *huacas* consisting of geological features) when they complete their role in the mythic drama.

132. *racayoc* 'with a vagina': unlike many sexual words in the manuscript, this is a plain Andean one without Christian-style euphemism.

133. Interpolated myth-within-a-myth: how brocket deer became human food. The myth echoes a theme of chapters 1 and 27: the way overpopulation caused hunger in ancient times. The brocket deer, like ancient people, overreproduced until getting food became a problem. The conditions of their life had to be reversed. They became subject to individual death so that they could have collective life. The same happens to humans in chapter 27.

with all their houses and their llamas, sparing not a single one.

73 At that time, too, there was something called the Pullao, which bridged like an arch Llantapa mountain[134] and another mountain called Vichoca.[135]

That thing called the Pullao was a gigantic tree.

Monkeys, toucans, and birds of all colors used to live on it.

These animals, too, all of their kind, he swept to the sea.

After he finished these feats, Paria Caca ascended to the place that's known today as Upper Paria Caca.

In the next chapter we'll speak about his ascension.[136]

134. Llantapa mountain today is 14 km southwest of Llacsa Tambo (if the latter is modern Llaquistambo) (IGM 1970–1971).

135. Modern Guichuca peak, 4,000 m above sea level, 14 km southwest of Llantapa (IGM 1970–1971). This colossal bridge over the Lurín river canyon must have been the mythic portal of the middle and lower *yunca* lands.

136. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 6

74 # How Paria Caca Was Born as Five Falcons and Then Turned into Persons, and How, Already Victorious over All the Yunca of Anchi Cocha, He Began to Walk toward Paria Caca Mountain, and What Happened along the Way

Once Paria Caca had become human and was full grown, he began to search for his enemy.

His enemy's name was Huallallo Caruincho, the Man Eater, the Man Drinker.[137]

Later on we'll describe him together with his battles.[138]

In fact we already did talk in the first chapter about Huallallo Caruincho's life, how he ate people, and all his deeds.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the first chapter]

75 Now we'll tell about the things he did in Huaro Cheri and all around there.

The story goes like this.

When Paria Caca was already a full-grown person, he went to Huallallo Caruincho's dwelling, to the place called Upper Paria Caca.

76 In the valley that lies below Huaro Cheri there once was a village named Huauqui Usa, a village of the Yunca.

On that occasion the villagers[139] were celebrating an important festival. They drank, and drank hard.

While they were drinking, Paria Caca arrived at the village. He sat down at the end of the banquet as he arrived, just like a friendless stranger.

77 Not a single one of the villagers offered him a drink while he sat there. He was there all day long. Finally a woman, who was also a native of that village, exclaimed,

"Oh, no! How come no one is offering this poor fellow a drink?"

She brought over some maize beer in a large white gourd and gave it to him.

78 "Sister," Paria Caca said to that woman, "it's a lucky thing for you that you offered me this beer. Five days from now, you'll see something awful happen in this village. So take care not to be in the village that day. Back off far away. Otherwise I might kill both you and your children by mistake. These people have made me damn mad!"

And he added, "As for these people, don't let them hear even a single word about it. If you let them hear anything, I might kill you, too."

79 Five days later the woman, together with her children and her brothers, did go away from that village.

But the people of the village went right on drinking without a care.

Then Paria Caca climbed the mountain that overlooks Huaro Cheri.

(That mountain is called Matao Coto now.

Farther down there's another mountain called Puypu Huana, the one we descend on our way from here to Huaro Cheri. These are the names of those mountains.)[140]

80 On the mountain Paria Caca started a torrential rainstorm.

137. The chapter opens with two sentences in reportive validation.

138. This and the following three sentences form an explanatory aside with witness validation.

139. *llactayoc runacunaca* 'villagers', more literally, 'the village-owning people' (i.e., the aborigines who lived in union with the place and its deities before Paria Caca and his devotees overran them).

140. The whole parenthesis has witness validation.

Rising up as yellow hail and red hail,[141] he washed all those people away to the ocean and didn't spare a single one.

At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide[142] and shaped the high slopes and the valleys of Huaro Cheri.

When Paria Caca finished all these things, he didn't explain them to the rest of the aboriginal Yunca people, who'd <crossed out:> [quite clearly] seen it all happen without knowing or understanding what it meant, but instead headed to the fields of the Cupara, which are across the river. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.]

81 The native people of Cupara village survived just by channeling some water from a spring to their fields, and they were suffering greatly for lack of water at that time.

(This spring flowed from a tall mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.[143]

This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)

At that time, they say,[144] it was just a big lake.

They used to irrigate their fields by channeling the water downhill to fill some small reservoirs.

82 In those days there was a native woman of that village named Chuqui Suso, a really beautiful woman.

This woman was weeping while she irrigated her maize plants because they were drying out so badly, and because her water supply was so very scarce.

When Paria Caca saw this, he obstructed the mouth of her little pond[145] with his cloak.

83 The woman started to cry even more bitterly when she saw him do that.

"Sister, why are you crying so hard?" Paria Caca asked her.

"Sir, this little maize field of mine is drying up on me for lack of water!" she replied.

"Don't worry about it," Paria Caca said to her. "I'll make water flow from this pond of yours, plenty of water. But first, let me sleep with you."

84 "Get the water flowing first," she retorted. "When my field is watered, then by all means let's sleep together."

"Fine!" said Paria Caca, and released an ample amount of water.

Overjoyed, the woman thoroughly watered all her fields.

After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, "Let's sleep together."

"Not right now," she replied. "Let's sleep together tomorrow or the day after."

Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, "I wish I could sleep with her right now!" and promised her all kinds of things.

"I'll fix this field of yours up with a water source direct from the river,"[146] he said.

85 "Do that first, and then we'll sleep together," the woman replied.

"All right," Paria Caca said. He widened an irrigation canal that had belonged to the Yunca people, a little ditch that descended long ago from the ravine called Coco Challa to the small hill overlooking San Lorenzo. He extended this canal down as far as the fields of Lower Cupara.[147]

86 Pumas, foxes, snakes, and all kinds of birds cleaned and fixed that canal.

Pumas, jaguars, and all kinds of animals[148] vied with each other to improve it, saying, "Who'll be the leader when we lay out the watercourse?"[149]

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141. In the *Tratado* Avila mentions that Huarochirí people interpreted a local geological formation, seemingly a steep alluvial fan of yellowish-white stones, as the remnant of Paria Caca's hail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 215).

142. *yaco lloclla purispas* 'waters gushed down in a mudslide': a typical west Andean disaster then and now. Repeatedly in the manuscript the rainy power of the heights destroys the dry Yunca people by washing them out. The topography of western Peru, cut by many water-eroded canyons, was read as the record of such mythic cataclysms.

143. Modern San Lorenzo de Quinti, 2 km east of Huarochirí at 2,550 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). This and the following sentence form an aside with witness validation.

144. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation.

145. *cochap siminta* 'the mouth of her . . . pond': a literal translation, probably meaning the sluice through which water passed from the reservoir to the irrigation canal.

146. *mayomanta yacuyuctam* 'with a water source direct from the river' (i.e., not reliant on the spring or the reservoir system).

147. The teller is at pains to relate the extant pattern of canals with *huacas* and thereby express the teller's group's claims to water rights. In this myth a non-Yunca group (Checa?) seems to be holding that the neighboring Cupara (seemingly of Yunca origin) owe their water to the invaders and not to the ancient Yunca builders.

148. 'Animals' supplied.

149. This sentence has witness validation; since it

"Me first! Me first!" exclaimed this one and that one.

The fox won, saying, "I'm the chief, the *curaca*,[150] so I'll lead the way first."

And so he, the fox, went on ahead.

87 While the fox was leading the way,
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [leading the way,]
after he'd laid the watercourse out halfway up the mountain over San Lorenzo, a tinamou[151] suddenly darted up, whistling "Pisc pisc!"

Startled, the fox yelped "Huac!" and fell down the slope.

Then those animals got indignant and had the snake direct the way.

If the fox hadn't fallen, that canal of theirs would've run at a higher level.

But now it runs somewhat lower.

The spot from which the fox fell is clearly visible to this day. In fact the water flows down the course the fox's fall opened.[152]

88 When in fact[153] he'd finished all this, Paria Caca said to Chuqui Suso, "Let's sleep together!"

"Let's climb to a high ledge. There we'll sleep together," she <crossed out:> [enticed him] answered him.

(Today, this ledge is called Yana Caca.)[154]

There the two of them did sleep together.

Once she'd slept with him, that woman said, "Let's just the two of us go off someplace."

"Let's go!" he replied and led her to the mouth of the canal called Coco Challa.

89 When they got there the woman named Chuqui Suso said, "Right in this canal of mine, that's where I'll stay!" And she froze stock still, and turned to stone.

Paria Caca left her there and went on climbing upward.

We'll tell about that next.[155]

90 Someone congealed into stone does in fact stand today at the mouth of the canal named Coco Challa. It's the woman called Chuqui Suso.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Cuni Raya's dwelling is near Chuqui Suso.]

Cuni Raya, also frozen to stone, dwells today above this place in a different canal, at the spot that was named Vincompa at that time.

It was there that Cuni Raya came to his end.[156]

But we'll tell about the various things he did in some later chapters.

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overlaps the preceding reportive sentence in content, one suspects an imperfect joining of two sources.

150. *curaca* means "the lord or ruler (*señor*) of the community (*pueblo*)" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 57); it derives from a root denoting priority in rank (especially birth order), not sovereignty. Under Spanish colonial influence, *curaca* roles were modified toward Spanish ideas of nobility and estate-based privilege.

151. *yutu* 'tinamou': *yutu* is the bird Peruvians call *perdiz* 'partridge' in Spanish. Its shape and behavior resemble those of a partridge, but it is in fact a tinamou. Three species inhabit Lima Province. Of these, the likeliest (because it inhabits the middle altitudes that are the scene of this myth) is: "*Andean Tinamou, Nothoprocta pentlandii oustaleti* (*Perdiz serrana*). A tinamou the size of a small chicken; upper parts brownish, finely marked with cinnamon and black, with longitudinal buffy white streaks; underparts buffy, breast gray with small light spots. Lives in the steppes of the Andean slopes up to an altitude of 3500 m., also on the coastal hills. A terrestrial bird, it flushes with noisy wingbeats . . ." (Koepcke 1970: 16).

152. This interpolated myth is an etiological story explaining a conspicuous quirk of Quinti village's water system: why does a certain canal deviate downward from a higher and seemingly optimal course?

153. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence has witness validation.

154. This parenthesis has witness validation.

155. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation, hence 'in fact' supplied in the next sentence.

156. The speaker insists with peculiar emphasis on the spot where Cuni Raya's course ended, perhaps because this version clashes with the better-known myth of his disappearance over the sea. This latter version is itself acknowledged, but crossed out, in chapter 2 (sec. 25).

CHAPTER 7

91

How Those Cupara People Revere the One Called Chuqui Suso Even to This Day

All the Cupara people, as we know,[157] make up a single *ayllu* called Cupara.

These people now live in San Lorenzo, where they remain forcibly relocated[158] right up to now.

There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage[159] that bears the name Chauincho.

Chuqui Suso was <crossed out:> [a woman[160] of] a member of the Chauincho *ayllu*.

In the old days, in the month of May when the canal had to be cleaned (as is done today, too),[161] all these people went to the woman Chuqui Suso's dwelling; they went with their maize beer, *ticti*,[162] guinea pigs,[163] and llamas to worship that demon woman.[164]

92 In worshiping her, they built a *quishuar*[165] enclosure and stayed inside it for five days without ever letting people walk outside.

It's said that[166] when they finished that, and accomplished everything else including their canal-cleaning, the people came home dancing and sing-

157. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to predominate, with three interruptions, throughout the chapter. Because this chapter consists primarily of what appears to be a witness testimony by the editor/redactor, the three *-si* reportive passages are signaled in translation.

158. *reduzisca* 'forcibly relocated' (i.e., in San Lorenzo de Quinti). The Cupara are one of the *ayllus* that colonial authorities had relocated (probably in the 1580s) in Spanish-style parishes (*reducciones*). Among places mentioned in the manuscript, San Pedro Mama, San Francisco de Chaclla, San Damián de Checa, San Francisco de Siçicaya, and Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí were also Toledan *reducciones* rather than prehispanic *llactas* (Spalding 1984: flyleaf).

159. As noted in the introduction, the term *yumay* (literally, 'sperm') signifies a patrilineal group or corporation. See also chapter 31 (sec. 445).

160. Or 'a wife'.

161. In modern Andean villages the canal-cleaning festival, *yarq'a hasp'iy*, continues to be a ritual climax. A full account from the Huarochirí region is given by Paul Gelles (1984: 115–130 and *passim*).

162. *ticti*: a food-offering for *huacas* made from the thick maize residue left as a by-product of maize beer brewing.

163. The guinea pig, *Cavia porcellus* (also called *Cavia cobayo*), is native to the Andes and is raised in most rural Andean kitchens for festive or sacrificial food.

164. *supay huarmicta* 'demon woman': clergymen consistently used *supay* to translate the Christian concept 'demon', and in the manuscript *supay* sometimes seems to be used in this sense. But the word may retain a nuance of its older Andean sense, which is the shade or light, volatile part of a living being (Duviols 1978).

165. *quishuar*: a small tree whose wood was prominently used in ritual context. "*Buddleia sp. Quishuar* and its variants. . . . The plants of this genus are shrubs or occasionally herbs, with opposite lanceolate leaves and four-lobed white, violet to purple flowers borne in heads, panicles, or spikes . . . grown in the temperate regions as ornamentals and for their wood, which is used in tool-making and cabinet work . . . the wood of *Buddleia incana* had symbolic meaning and was used ceremonially by the Incas . . . a pre-Columbian temple at Cuzco [was] known as Quishuar-Cancha, in which was kept a gold idol the size of a ten-year-old boy, . . . idols burned at the festivals of R'aimi [*sic*] were also made of the wood of *Buddleia longifolia*. A number of small branches . . . were found in a grave of the Classic Maranga Period at Vista Alegre . . . " (Towle 1961: 75–76).

166. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 92.

ing. They'd lead one woman along in their midst, reverencing her as they did the *huaca*[167] and saying,

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

93 As this woman arrived at their village, we'd see[168] some people awaiting her, laying out maize beer and other things and greeting her:

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

On that occasion they say[169] people celebrated a major festival, dancing and drinking all night long.

In fact that's why, when the late lord[170] Don Sebastián[171] was still alive, during Corpus Christi and the other major Christian holy days, a woman used to proclaim,

"I am Chuqui Suso!"

and give maize beer from a large gold or silver jar with a large gourd[172] to everyone in rank order, saying,

"This is our mother's beer!"

Then she would also hand out toasted maize from a large hollow gourd.

94 When they'd finished cleaning the canal, they reportedly[173] used to invite a tremendous lot of people and give them maize, beans, and other things.

Since they always used to give things away like that, people from Huaro Cheri and from all the other communities used to go there. "They've cleaned Chuqui Suso's canal. Come on, let's go have a look!" they'd say.

95 In fact[174] today people who are in the know[175] about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde*[176] nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"

On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."

As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.

True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.[177]

But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.

167. 'The *huaca*' supplied. Original has *payta yna* 'as her'.

168. 'We'd see' supplied to convey the witness validation of this sentence.

169. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

170. *apo* 'lord': while Spanish speakers commonly knew this honorific, it did not belong to the legal jargon of colonial authority (which typically used the titles *curaca* or *cacique*). It is more suggestive of traditional legitimacy and connotes both religious and political authority.

171. Possibly the same Sebastián mentioned in chapter 19 (sec. 230) as an earlier *curaca*. Both passages could refer to Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca. He was the son of the man who had ruled Huarochirí before the Spanish conquest under the name Ninavilca and continued to rule after it as Don Antonio. Sebastián enjoyed Spanish favor, helped Dávila Brizeño organize forced resettlement of natives, and supported the Jesuit missions of the 1570s. He was rewarded in the 1580s with an office as a high native magistrate (Spalding 1984: 222). Here we are told (perhaps with malice) that despite such activities he also favored the *huacas*.

172. *poto* 'gourd': conjectural translation. In some regions of the Andes today, women serve maize beer ritually by doling out liquid from a large pail with a smaller gourd cup.

173. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues throughout section 94.

174. 'In fact' supplied to indicate resumption of witness validation, which continues through the end of the chapter.

175. *musiasca* 'in the know' (also translated 'privy to'): this locution is used in several parts of the manuscript to designate those involved in Andean worship. Taylor (1987b: 143) gives a different reading: 'confounded (by the demon)', based on the fact that this verb often denoted foreknowledge such as that gained by magical means.

176. *alcalde*: *alcaldías* were Spanish magistracies, of which certain ranks were assigned to natives for purposes of indirect rule. Higher-ranking native *alcaldes mayores* had province-level administrative duties (Espinoza Soriano 1960). But the ones alluded to here, in chapter 13 (sec. 173) and in supplement II (sec. 481), are probably village-level *alcaldes* of the sort appointed under Toledan ordinances of resettlement (Spalding 1984: 216–217). The Toledan viceroyalty intentionally gave them powers overlapping those of the *curaca* or native lord, encouraging them to prohibit traditional rites (like this one) that the native lord might be tempted to permit.

177. This politically prudent afterthought may reflect awareness that Father Avila would scrutinize the text.

CHAPTER 8

96 # How Paria Caca Ascended. How One Man Came Back with His Child by Following Paria Caca's Commands, and, Finally, How He Struggled with Huallallo Caruincho

We've already told about Huallallo Caruincho's life.

But we didn't speak about his dwelling place, the place he made his shrine and community.[178]

In ancient times, they say,[179] Huallallo Caruincho dwelled in the area of Upper Paria Caca.

We don't know for certain that dwelling's original name. We do know[180] that it's called Mullo Cocha lake[181] today because, when Paria Caca defeated Huallallo, who was a burning fire, he turned the place into a lake to extinguish him.

97 It was on the location of Mullo Cocha lake that they say[182] Huallallo's dwelling place stood.

At that time the whole region was completely Yunca.[183] When he lived there huge snakes, toucans, and all sorts of animals filled the land.

In fact things were just as we described in the first chapter,[184]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [1st chapter]
when we told how he ate people.

98 They say that[185] when Paria Caca set out to defeat Huallallo Caruincho, the five persons who composed him[186] whirled hunting *bolas*[187] at Ocsa Pata.[188]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ocsa Pata is next to Paria Caca.]

While they swung their *bolas*, that region got intensely cold, and hail fell upon the ground where he played.

178. The first two sentences have witness validation.

179. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

180. 'We do know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues throughout section 96.

181. The lake whose modern name is Mullucocha is 30 km by air east-northeast of Huarochirí in the barren heights, at 4,300 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Mullo Cocha means 'Lake of Thorny Oyster Shell'. Sections 99–104 show why. Because the lake's name is well known in this form, we have deviated from the practice of presenting terms like *cocha* 'lake' or *urcu* 'mountain' in translation only.

182. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next sentence.

183. *yuncasapa* 'completely Yunca' or 'full of Yunca': from the following sentence, which tells us that subtropical animals of the coast then inhabited the extreme heights, we learn that this means ecologically as well as culturally *yunca*.

184. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The reference is to chapter 1 (sec. 4).

185. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

186. *pihcantin*: 'five' plus the suffix *-ntin*, which denotes the combination of intrinsically related or fitted parts: 'the five of him together'. The best-known instance of *-ntin* is the Inca name for the Inca Empire, *Tauantin Suyo*, meaning 'the Fourfold Domain' (see chap. 17, secs. 213, 215; chap. 22, sec. 280; chap. 23, sec. 288).

187. *riuicorcan* 'whirled . . . *bolas*': the *riwi* is a native South American hunting weapon made by tying round stones together and hurling them at the legs of prey so that the thongs entangle and fell it.

188. The toponym *ocsa pata* means 'grassy ledge' and evokes the windswept panorama of the high grasslands. It may signify a place on modern Cerro Ocsa. "Ocsa Mountain might be the modern Ocsha Mountain, which is found to the southwest of Lake Piticocha, which is also found in the area of the deeds [i.e., of Paria Caca], although somewhat farther away" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 12). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a plateau and a ravine called Ocsha 10 km southwest of Mullucocha.

99 At that moment a man[189] came along weeping <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Tell the part about the snake.]
and carrying one of his children.[190] He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell,[191] coca, and balls of *ticti*, meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering.

"Son, where are you going crying like that?" one of the Paria Cacas asked him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out the names of these 5 brothers.
The names of these five brothers are

Paria Caca
Churapa
Puncho
Paria Carco

We don't know the name of one of these five.][192]

"Father," he replied, "I'm taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo."

"Son," replied the Paria Caca, "don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back.

100 "In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruincho," Paria Caca said. "If I overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me,

'Our father's beating him!'

But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me,

'The fighting's over!' "

The man got scared when Paria Caca said this, and said, "Father, won't that Huallallo Caruincho be enraged at me?"

101 "Let him get angry! He won't be able to do a thing to you. And what's more I will bring people into being, males under the care of Ami and Llata,[193] <**margin**, in Spanish:>

[Sons

Curaca or Ancacha the 1st
Chauca the 2d
Llunco the 3d
Sullca the 4th
Llata the 5th
Ami the 6th

Daughters

Paltacha or Cochucha the 1st
Cobapacha the 2d
Ampuche the 3d
Sullcacha the 4th
Ecancha the 5th
Anacha Añasi the 6th]

and females under that of Añasi; one as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live,"[194] replied Paria Caca. And while he was speak-

189. Here there is an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note that Taylor (1987b: 146) renders 'This man was Quinti'. If correct, the interpretation is important because it shows that the Quinti, a group associated with the lineages of Paria Caca, were alleged to have ancestors who worshiped a Yunca deity.

190. *huc churinta* 'one of his children': see chapter 1 (sec. 1), about how Huallallo ate one of every two babies born. The weeping man was going to make his sacrifice.

191. *mullo*, the shell of the thorny oyster, *Spondylus princeps*, or powders and beads made from it, was among the commonest offerings to Andean deities and a major cargo in prehispanic deepwater seafaring (see Marcos 1980; Murra 1975b; Paulsen 1974).

192. In section 101 there is a birth-order list that may give general words meaning 'firstborn', 'secondborn', etc., rather than the personal names of Paria Caca's incarnations or offspring. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chapter 12 (sec. 166) there appear separate lists of the apparently human sons of Paria Caca.

193. *Ami* and *Llata*: these poorly understood persons reappear in chapter 11 (sec. 157). The phrasing *amiyoc ... llatayoc ... añasiyoc* 'possessors of Ami ... possessors of Llata ... possessors of Añasi' suggests that these persons are prototypes of a group that held Ami, Llata, and Añasi as their *huacas* and protectors. While this detail has not been resolved, the gist can be partly clarified.

This foretelling allusion, addressed to a prototypical man of the group whose origin chapter 11 relates, seems to mean, 'You are afraid now because you are powerless, but I later will supply a kind of people to be subordinate to you. The man will have *Ami* and *Llata* as his *huacas* and the woman will have *Añasi*'. The prophecy comes true in chapter 11, where the lastborn persona of Paria Caca relieves the equally lastborn Checa of their powerlessness by forcing some of the Yunca aborigines to subordinate themselves as the "little Amis and Llatas" of the Checa.

Ami means sick from overeating; *llata*, 'naked' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 24, 212). *Añasi* may relate to *añas* 'skunk'. If they are Quechua, which is uncertain, the names seem to suggest lowly attributes of babies: nakedness, nausea, smelliness. Babyhood may symbolize junior genealogical rank.

194. *hucta cari hucta huarmicta ynam camasac* 'one

ing, his breath came out of his mouth like bluish smoke.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [It was a clear blue.]
When the man saw this, he got scared and handed over everything he'd brought.
The five men ate the thorny oyster shell, making it crunch with a "Cap cap" sound, and all the other offerings.
Then the man went back, carrying his child.

102 Five days later, he did return just as Paria Caca had told him to, thinking, "I'll go and witness it!"
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's victory]
And five days after his prophecy, Paria Caca did begin fighting Huallallo Caruincho.
The story is like this.
Paria Caca, since he was five persons, began to rain down from five directions.
That rain was yellow and red rain.
Then, flashing as lightning, he blazed out from five directions.

103 From early in the morning to the setting of the sun,[195] Huallallo Caruincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished.
And[196] the waters, the rains of Paria Caca, rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake.[197]
Since it wouldn't have fit in,[198] one of Paria Caca's five selves, the one called Llacsa Churapa, knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters from below.

104 Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake.
(Nowadays this lake is called Mullo Cocha.)[199]
As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire.
And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest.
Finally Huallallo Caruincho fled toward the low country, the Antis.[200]

105 Another of Paria Caca's offspring
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out if these are brothers since it's said that they came out of the eggs, or if they're the Paria Caca's children.—They were brothers.]
chased after him.
He stays at the pass down to the lowlands, the Antis, until today, "Lest Huallallo Caruincho return," as he says.
His name was <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Paria Carco.[201]

106 During Paria Caca's victory, a certain woman named Mana Ñamca[202] appeared, a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho.[203]
This woman lived below Mama,[204] somewhere down there.
It was to conquer her that Paria Caca came to her.
Mana Ñamca also burned in the form of a fire.

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as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live': may mean that the Ami/Llata and Añasi groups, respectively, have male and female identity with regard to each other.

195. *ña hora pachacama* 'to the setting of the sun': an alternative translation would be 'to lower Pacha Camac'. Both possibilities are problematic, but 'Pacha Camac' more so since it is normally spelled with final *c* in the manuscript.

196. There is a crossed-out phrase, *paria cacap huquinca*, of uncertain meaning.

197. *hura cochañicman*: 'lower lake' or alternatively 'Pacific Ocean'; accepting the 'Pacha Camac' reading would warrant the latter.

198. *manatac yaycuptin* 'since it wouldn't have fit in': a problematic passage. It may mean that in order to prevent the ocean from overspilling its shores (see chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375), Llacsa Churapa built a reservoir for Paria Caca's water. 'Paria Caca's five selves' supplied.

199. Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) thought this story represented a combat between a volcano (*sierra del fuego*) and a snowcap, with Mullo Cocha the caldera left by the volcano's collapse. (It does not appear geologically to be a caldera.) This parenthesis has witness validation.

200. Taylor (1987b: 154) at this point refers to a Quechua marginal note that means, 'He didn't just flee instantly. We'll tell about it later on'.

201. This sentence has witness validation.

202. Mana Ñamca figures again in chapter 10 (sec. 143), where she is equated to Chaupi Ñamca, who in turn is equated to the daughter of Tamta Ñamca (chap. 5, sec. 47). This cluster of three female names seems associated with Yunca aborigines and with the remote past.

203. *caruinchouan cac supay* 'a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho': more literally, 'who was with Caruincho'. This could mean Mana Ñamca was with him as sibling, or spouse, or ally. A marginal note to a later passage (chap. 10, sec. 143) interprets her as Chaupi Ñamca, perhaps meaning Mana Ñamca was a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca once matched to Huallallo as Chaupi Ñamca herself was later fraternally matched to Paria Caca.

204. Probably San Pedro de Mama (modern Ricardo Palma), 52 km northwest of Huarochirí, close to Lima in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Making an entry down through Tumna,[205] Paria Caca attacked her.

She shot[206] from below and hit the foot of one of Paria Caca's offspring, the one named Chuqui Huampo.[207]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out what condition this one is in.]

Nonetheless, it was Paria Caca who won and expelled her into the ocean.[208]

107 After he defeated them, he went back to his child Chuqui Huampo, who sat there lame with a broken foot.

"I can't go back. I'll keep watch over that woman Mana Ñamca from right here, just in case she comes back," Chuqui Huampo said to him.

His father said, "Very well then," and made provisions to supply him with all his food.

108 He gave his command: "All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its ear-tips[209] and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten."

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This place where <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Chuqui Huampo is is below Tumna between Sisi Caya and Sucya. I have to see it and find out what it's called.][210]

109 People respected these sacred edicts, and in accordance with them all the coca producers from

Saci Caya,[211]
Chontay,[212]
Chichima,[213]
Mama,
Huayo Calla,
and Sucya Cancha[214]

would bring coca to Chuqui Huampo first before all others.

They carry on the custom secretly to this day.

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205. Modern Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián de Checa at 2,902 m above sea level, a long way downvalley from Mullo Cocha. It occupies the heights over the Rímac's left bank.

206. *chucamurcan* 'she shot': the verb more literally means 'she hurled' and is elsewhere used in connection with lance-throwing. Perhaps the idea here is that she hurled fire (Taylor 1987b: 157), but the injury she inflicted is a broken (*paquisca*) rather than burned foot, so some more solid weapon seems indicated. To avoid the problem we choose a less specific verb.

207. Taylor (1987b: 156) gives a Quechua marginal note meaning, 'He'll be the one with the disabled leg'.

208. *cochañicman*: 'ocean' or possibly 'lake'.

209. *rinrin chillpiscacta* 'ear tips': today herders slit small notches in the ears of llamas at *señalasqa* festivals, as signs of ownership (Aranguren Paz 1975: 117). Perhaps a fragment of ear would then be the sacrifice mentioned.

210. Taylor (1987b: 158) interprets an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note at this point as saying, 'We will speak of Capcahuanca later'. Capac Huanca is mentioned in chapter 25 (sec. 346).

211. Modern Sisicaya is about halfway up the Lurín valley from Pachacámac to San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). See chapter 11 (sec. 156).

212. Modern Chontay is in the Lurín valley slightly downriver from Sisicaya (IGM 1970–1971).

213. Modern Santa Inés de Chichima is near Chaclacayo in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

214. On basis of Sucya Villca identification (see chap. 20, sec. 242), possibly San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí in the lower Rímac valley between Mama and Surco (IGM 1970–1971).

CHAPTER 9

How Paria Caca, Having Accomplished All This, Began to Ordain His Own Cult

110

Now indeed we've finished telling all these victories of his.

But we haven't spoken about how Huallallo Caruincho later lived under Paria Caca's sentence.[215]

After Paria Caca's victory, and after Huallallo had fled to the lowlands, the Antis,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out how this Caruincho exists in the Andes now.]

Paria Caca passed sentence on Huallallo: "Because he fed on people, let him now eat dogs; and let the Huanca[216] people worship him."

111 When the Huanca worshiped him,[217] they'd propitiate him with dogs. And since he, their god, fed on dogs, they also ate them.

As a matter of fact, we speak of them as "dog-eating Huanca" to this day.[218]

112 Just as we indicated in the first chapter and in subsequent ones, where we said that all those villages were full of Yunca,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chapter 1]
all the inhabitants of Huaro Cheri Province and of the provinces of Chaclla[219] and Mama and of all the other villages were once full of Yunca.

Paria Caca,[220] as we know,[221] drove these Yunca and all such Yunca groups down to the lowlands. "It will be my children who'll live in this region," he ordained.

113 All those who took part in conquering these groups are individually called Paria Caca's children.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's children]

"Each one of them is his child," people say.

Others deny it. In accord with their belief these say, "They were born from the seed of a wild plant."[222]

The victors' names are these, starting from the oldest one:

215. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

216. The Huanca were a large ethnic group inhabiting the upper Mantaro valley in the central Peruvian highlands. The Huarochirí myth-tellers' belief that their *huaca* Huallallo once tyrannized west Andean peoples seems to indicate a further belief that Paria Caca and his people reversed an earlier Huanca penetration of the seaward valleys. There is an implied claim to have liberated the Yunca from the "dog-eating Huanca" and from the burden of human sacrifice. Recent works on the Huanca include D'Altroy (1987) and Espinoza Soriano (1971).

217. Julio C. Tello (1923: 510–549) observed what he thought to be a modern tradition maintaining Huallallo's mythology and cult.

218. The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also expresses disdain for the "dog-eating Guancas" and their dog-eating deity Huallallo ([1615] 1980: 1:241, 271). 'As a matter of fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

219. Modern San Antonio de Chaclla is 63 km northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). Spalding's map (1984: endpaper) shows San Francisco de Chaclla, a resettlement village of the 1580s, at a similar location. Taylor (1987b: 39) equates Chaclla with modern Santa Eulalia, adjacent to Mama.

220. 'Paria Caca' supplied.

221. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 116. Taylor (1987b: 163) takes the *quinua* origin story to be typical of invading groups that had individually grafted their focal ancestors onto the descent of the pre-invasion *huaca*, Paria Caca, and thereby provided themselves with an alternative and discrepant origin story.

222. Allusion to an alternative myth of origin, developed in chapter 24 (secs. 302–303) and chapter 31 (sec. 389).

Choc Payco,
Chancha Runa,
Huari Runa,
Utco Chuco,
and Tutay Quiri with his brother Sasin Mari.

All these conquered the Yunca peoples.

114 According to them, one other child of Paria Caca likewise emerged from the earth.

His name was Pacha Chuyru.

We forgot this one's conquests in all the preceding chapters.

We'll set forth these matters in a later part.[223] <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we shall set forth Pacha Chuyru's victory.]

These whom we have mentioned defeated and drove out all the Yunca peoples.

115 These Yunca groups, all the Yunca, once they forgot their former god, began to worship Paria Caca.

The tradition about the Yunca is like this.

In this community of Checa[224] lived the ones called Colli,[225] building their settlements[226] all over the communal territory. To relate all the Yunca settlements in the whole area would be very laborious.

So in what follows we shall choose only a few of them for our consideration, compiling all their customs, because all the Yunca shared one single way of life.

116 Paria Caca then established his dwelling on the heights, on the same territory where he had conquered, and began to lay down the rules[227] for his worship.

His law was one and the same law in all the villages.

The law we speak of was this: "We are all of one birth."[228] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is taken to mean of one family.]

117 They say[229] he gave a command to one particular person in each village: "Once every year you are to hold a paschal celebration reenacting my life."

He said, "As for their titles, the title of these people will be *huacasa* or *huacsa*.

"The *huacsa* will dance three times each year, bringing coca in enormous leather bags."

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223. But the manuscript does not in fact contain the promised account.

224. San Damián de Checa, a village formed by forced resettlement (*reducción*) during the 1580s, appears to be the residence of one or more of the text's informants. Modern San Damián is 22 km northwest of Huarochirí at 3,235 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

225. Here and at other points the myths of the Checa tell of expelling Yunca and at the same time of Yunca groups' becoming integrated with the Checa (Rostworowski 1978: 31–44). The kindred organized around Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca expresses the purported resulting unity. This theme becomes particularly explicit in chapter 24.

226. *tiascancunacta* 'their settlements': the possessive marker is ambiguous; could mean settlements of the Colli or Checa.

227. *hunancharcan* 'lay down the rules': this word as well as 'law' (*hunanchasca*) in the following sentences is derived from a verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 355) glosses 'to make signals, to understand, to consider, to design or plan out'.

228. *huc yuric canchic* 'We are all of one birth' (i.e., sibling group).

The word *yuric*, which we take to mean 'birth group' does not mean the same as *yumay* 'patrilineage', or *ayllu* 'localized kindred'. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 372) gives "yurini to be born, to come into being, for something to come forth with something or someone as its author . . . yurini . . . for a man or animal to be born." *Yuric* is an agentive form. See the section on *yuriy/yumay* in the introduction.

The point of Paria Caca's great judgment, the cornerstone of the ideological order expounded in subsequent chapters, is that:

(1) The dominant patrilineages of the region will be the descent groups self-identified as protégés of Paria Caca's selves and children.

(2) Yunca descent groups (of what sort remains unclear), once liberated from Huallallo, will be incorporated in the role of wives and wife-givers, and their major *huacas* as 'sisters' or 'wives' of male *huacas* from the Paria Caca kindred. They will be considered globally the progeny of Paria Caca's "sister" Chaupi Ñamca.

(3) Insofar as all the people of the region are "born" of unions between descendants of a brother and a sister, all are siblings at the apical level of kinship and religious reckoning.

Taylor and Urioste read the passage differently. Taylor in an early working took it to mean that "each of our communities is composed of a certain number of families" (1980: 77). He later translated it as "we all belong to different lineages" (1987b: 167). Urioste (1983: 63) reads it as alluding to a single lineage. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 65) give "all of us, who are as one single son."

229. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

118 To first become a *huacsa*, people in fact[230] perform a certain ritual.

It's like this: a man of the Caca Sica *ayllu* functions as officiant for these ceremonies. From early times these officiants were only one or two people, and, as for their title, it was *yanca*.[231]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The master is called *yanca*.]

The same title is used in all the villages.

This man observes the course of the sun
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the shadow that the wall casts in the sun.]
from a wall constructed with perfect alignment.

When the rays of the sun touch this calibrated wall, he <crossed out:> [proclaimed] to the people, "Now we must go"; or if they don't, he'd say, "Tomorrow is the time."[232]

119 Following this command, people go to Paria Caca in order to worship.

In the old times they used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself.

But now they go from Checa to a mountain called Ynca Caya
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The snowcap of Paria Caca is visible from this mountain.]
to worship from there.

(This mountain rises over the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi and abuts on another mountain called Huallquiri.

It's on this mountain that all sorts of people, men and women alike, go to worship.)[233]

120 People run a race on their way to this mountain, in accordance with the *yanca*'s instructions, driving their llama bucks. The strongest ones even shoulder small llamas.[234] They scramble upward, each thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Which is where <Paria Caca> can be seen from.]

121 The first llama to arrive at the mountain top was much loved by Paria Caca.

In the old days Paria Caca himself used to give a name to this llama buck, proclaiming, "Let its name be thus!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [different names each time, of one sort or another, such as Yauri or Yllaca]
And as for the first little llama to arrive, the *yanca* would display it and praise it before all eyes, announcing, "The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him."

122 This time of worship, as we know,[235] is called the Auquisna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Auquisna 'for our father' or 'creator'][236]

Similarly the worship of Chaupi Ñamca is called the Chaycasna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chaycasna 'for our mother'][237]

But we'll explain the Chaycasna later.

Nowadays the Auquisna season <crossed out:> [falls] comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to <crossed out:> [Corpus Christi] the great pasch[238] or actually coincides with it.

All the *huacsa*s, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.

This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated.[239]

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230. 'In fact' supplied to convey witness validation, which continues through the next four sentences.

231. That is, the *yanca*, as priest entitled by heredity to supervise the rituals, establishes the new *huacsa*'s relation with the *huaca* he (or she?) is to embody.

232. That is, he observed a gnomon to determine the correct date. R. T. Zuidema has studied the use of gnomons in Incaic Cuzco (1981: 319–322). The past tense verb *villarca* 'he proclaimed' is inconsistent in tense with the adjacent verbs. Taylor's transcription (1987b: 170) gives *villancu*, in present tense and third person plural, which is more consistent.

233. This parenthesis has witness validation.

234. *ancha sinche runacuna huchoylla llamanhuanpas* 'the strongest ones even shoulder small llamas': 'shoulder' is supplied to make the more literal sense—'the strongest people with small llamas'—intelligible.

235. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 122.

236. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

237. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

238. Because Corpus roughly coincides with the dry-season climax of the Andean ritual calendar, it has consistently become in Andean eyes the "great" festival of Catholicism and an occasion for performing nominally forbidden Andean rites. But a 1609 Jesuit report studied in Taylor's article "Cultos y fiestas de la comunidad de San Damián" (1987a) gives April as the Auquisna season. In accord with this report we interpret the teller's editing out Corpus and substituting *aton pascua* 'the great pasch' as meaning that he thought Auquisna close to Easter, which usually falls in April.

239. *cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan* 'This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated': problematic translation. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 96) gives "thing appropriated" for *chapasca*. Perhaps this means that *huacsas*' right to dance, unlike other dancing privileges, was not among the rights seized

<**margin**, in Spanish>: [Find out about this sort of song and write it down for me on paper in the Quechua language, from what they say.]

123 The *huacsa*s reportedly[240] perform this dance with absolutely no interruption.

If someone who stops dancing ever happens to die, people comment about him, "He died because of the fault he committed."

For that reason, they make little children or any other kind of people carry on the dance.[241] The people from Surco especially prefer to call on the Huayllas to dance in their stead.

124 If a Huayllas man is married to a native Surco village woman and performs these rituals, the members of that community don't take away his fields or anything else of his, even though he's an outsider. On the contrary, they respect him and help him.

What's more, when Huayllas people who live in Surco come to Sucya Cancha to trade coca, regardless of their standing they bargain, saying, "Give me a little extra, ma'am; I'm a *huacsa*."[242]

125 Nowadays, as we know,[243] people perform this pasch by making it coincide with any of the major Christian paschal rites, and the people from Surco still excel over all the other communities.

On account of this dance, the Catholic priests in their villages exact collections[244] of chickens, maize, and all sorts of other things. The people hand these things over more than cheerfully.

126 The *huacsa*s dance likewise during Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

This paschal festival sometimes comes close to Corpus Christi, and sometimes actually coincides with it.

In another chapter
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [We'll set forth Chaupi Ñamca's life in a different chapter later on.]
we'll record Chaupi Ñamca's life, where she lived, and how people worshiped her.[245] But now let's return to Paria Caca's story and to all the things people did during the season of his paschal festival.

127 The story that explains these events is like this.

On the eve of the day when they were to arrive at Paria Caca for worship, people whose kin, whether men or women, had died in the course of that year would wail all night long,[246] saying, "Tomorrow we'll go and see our dead by Paria Caca's side!"[247]

128 They said regarding their deceased of the year, "Tomorrow is the day when we'll deliver them there."[248]

They offered the dead food and even fed them that night, and spread out the ingredients for their rituals.[249] They said,

> "Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever.
> They will never come back any more!"

And they worshiped with the sacrifice of a small llama, or, if they had no llamas, they'd bring coca in large skin bags.

129 As we know,[250] they'd examine this llama's in-

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by invading ancestors from aborigines. Taylor follows another line, reading (1980: 79) *yayancuna* as "their *encomenderos*" (i.e., colonial Spanish tribute lords). The same translator gives "without their owners' being aware" in a later working (1987b: 175). Arguedas (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 65) has "without vigilance by the [Catholic] priests."

240. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

241. Apparently, in order to keep the dance going when a dancer is exhausted.

242. This sentence has witness validation.

243. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the narrative formula at the beginning of section 127.

244. *aguelando* 'collections': probably a variant of Spanish *agüinaldo*, meaning a holiday contribution or gift (traditionally, at Christmas or Epiphany). In colonial Peru the practice was expanded illegally into a form of tribute *de facto*.

245. The teller (or editor?) is at pains to remind the reader that the Chaupi Ñamca cult (chap. 10) and Paria Caca cult are inherently complementary, separated only for expository reasons.

246. A 1609 Jesuit report discussed by Taylor (1987a) explains that, on this occasion, the mourners would take their mummified dead to a certain cave, Chutinhuaque, dressed in gala clothes and carried on llama back. Mourners kept vigil weeping in the cave until the morning sacrifices.

247. This probably alludes to the custom of visiting the mummified ancestors; see chapter 28.

248. This may allude to the delivery of recently made mummies to their permanent shrine sites.

249. *ruranancunactapas* 'the ingredients for their rituals': *-na* suffix denotes potential and not preterite action. *Rurana* means 'to make or do', so the word means more literally 'their things to be done'.

250. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of section 129.

nards. If the signs were favorable, the *yanca* would prophesy, "Everything is well." If not, he'd say, "It's bad. You've incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well."

130 After completing these rituals, the *yanca*s carried off the heads and loins of those llamas for themselves, no matter how many thousands there might be, declaring, "This is our fee!"

131 The *huacsa*s, who'd dance on three occasions in any given year, would finish their term on that day.[251] In order to enter a new cycle, when the old dance round was about to come to an end, all the people came to the center in Llacsa Tambo,[252] and the Concha were in the plaza, too,[253] carrying a macaw-wing display or the sort of thing known as *puypu*.[254]

They'd lay these items in the center, on the rock called Llacsa Tambo.

After they deposited these things, they stayed there all night long, in the place where a cross now stands, wondering, "Will I be well this year?"

132 The next day they went to all the villages, including Macacho hill, Chaucalla, and Quimquilla, and remained there until five days were up.

At the end of the fifth day, all the *huacsa*s who'd collected coca in bags would dance.

At daybreak on the same day, in Llacsa Tambo, they used to worship the demon with their llamas or other possessions.

133 Those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages.

Nowadays, it's true, some have forgotten these practices.

But since it's just a few years[255] since they've had Doctor Francisco de Avila, a good counselor and teacher, it may be that in their hearts they don't really believe. If they had another priest they might return to the old ways.

134 Some people, although they've become Christians, have done so only out of fear. "I'm afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I've been," they think.[256]

Although they say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty *illa* amulet[257] everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.
<**margin**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b.]

135 As we said earlier, the Concha, too, worship during Paria Caca's season from that other mountain called Huaycho. Their *huacsa*s do just the same as the Checa's own do, that is, they dance.

Likewise, the Suni Cancha also worship in the same manner during Paria Caca's season from that mountain called
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
< >.[258]

136 The residents of Santa Ana,[259] those who live in

251. This sentence has witness validation, which continues up to 'they dance' in section 135.

252. This is the first passage about Llacsa Tambo, the ceremonial center of the Checa and reference point for much of the text. Llacsa Tambo was probably at or near modern Llaquistambo, a hamlet with numerous prehispanic structures 3 km northeast of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). Its name (if Quechua) is partly intelligible. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 45) gives the gloss: "*Llacsa* is a green color in the form of either powder or stone, like copper oxide." *Tambo* means a way-station. Alternatively, the name may allude to a verb *llacsay*, which Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 207) translates as 'to freeze the blood' with fear.

253. *conchacunapas pampampi* 'and the Concha were in the plaza, too': the point of this slightly awkward insertion seems to be that the Concha, although a separate village (functioning as the Checa's opposite in the *reducción* village), were seated in the Checa's ceremony.

254. *puypu* is explained in chapter 24 (sec. 333) as synonymous with *huacamaypac ricran* 'a macaw's wing'.

255. *cay pisi huatallarac* 'just a few years': an ambiguity in this phrase adds to the difficulty of dating the manuscript. If read 'scarcely one year' it would support the 1598 date that Arguedas and Duviols favored (1966: 235). But it could just as well mean 'these few years', allowing a later date and with it the chronologies c. 1608 that Urioste and Taylor both favor (Acosta 1987b: 596; Taylor 1987b: 15–16; see the section on the possible genesis of the text in the introduction).

256. *ñispas*: the common verb *ñiy* or *niy* can mean either 'say' or 'think, intend'.

257. *Illa*s are small sacred objects, often figurines, that are felt to contain the fecundating essence of the good they represent. Archaeological examples are common. Ethnographic examples are discussed by Jorge Flores Ochoa (1977).

258. A space for the mountain's name was never filled in. Modern Sunicancha stands across a canyon from Conchasica, both close to San Damián.

259. Modern Santa Ana de Chaucarima is 18 km west-northwest of Huarochirí at 3,492 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

San Juan,[260] and all the ones called Chauca Ricma, during Paria Caca's season, reportedly[261] worship from the mountain called Acu Sica, the one we descend on our way to the Apar Huayqui River.[262]

In fact[263] they'd never let anything stop them from performing[264] these rituals.

Some people make this festival coincide with the great pasch, Easter; others set it close to Pentecost <crossed out:> [and Corpus].

When it comes to celebrating it, the people in this village would be delighted if the priest were absent from town or went to Limac.[265]

This is a completely true account.

137 Regarding all these places on mountains for worship of Paria Caca, it was only later on, when the Spaniards had emerged and came to look into it, that they were established.

138 But, in the old times, they say[266] all these people used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself. All the Yunca people[267] from

Colli,
Carhuayllo,[268]
Ruri Cancho,[269]
Latim,[270]
Huancho Huaylla,[271]
Pariacha,[272]
Yañac,[273]
Chichima,[274]
Mama,[275]

and all the other Yunca from that river valley;

Also the Saci Caya,[276] who, together with the Pacha Camac come from another river valley,[277] and the Caringa and Chilca,[278] and those people who live along the river that flows down from Huaro Cheri,[279] namely, the Caranco[280] and other Yunca groups who inhabit that river region, used to arrive at Mount Paria Caca itself, coming with their *ticti*, their coca, and other ritual gear.

139 When those who'd come to worship returned from Paria Caca, people in their villages, aware of their impending arrival, used to await them in a gathering to ask, "How is our father Paria Caca?"

"Is he still well?"

"Isn't he angry?"

Then they'd dance full of happiness until the end of the fifth day, or however many days was their custom.

140 Regarding this worship, it may be that the Yunca don't practice it anymore, or that not all the Yunca do. But they do perform it away from their own places.

When they don't do it people speculate, saying,

260. San Juan de Lahuaytambo, seat of the 'Thousand' of Chaucarima (Taylor 1987b: 187). See note 457.

261. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

262. Apar Huayqui River: possibly the Mala or its tributary the Canchahuara, associated with a mountain named Ayarhuaque at its source (IGM 1970–1971).

263. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 137.

264. *ruraypacca manam ancochanmancho* 'they'd never let anything stop them from performing': more literally, 'they'd not rest from doing it'. The phrase might allude to the people's tenacity in retaining pre-Christian rites, or might alternatively be taken to mean they are rigorous about the rule requiring continual dancing (chap. 9, sec. 123).

265. The name of the city of Lima is uniformly Limac in the manuscript.

266. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

267. The following locales making up this category are listed in groups. The first list covers the Rímac valley from the Pacific shore eastward into the highlands. Lurín and Mala valley villages follow.

268. Modern Carabayllo is north of the Chillón River within greater Lima (IGM 1970–1971).

269. Lurigancho, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

270. Ate, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

271. Huanchihuaylla, a neighborhood of Ate according to Taylor (1987b: 191).

272. Modern Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Taylor (1987b: 191) mentions an estate called Pariache.

273. Possibly Ñaña, a village in the lower Rímac valley slightly outside Lima.

274. Santa Rosa de Chichima (Taylor 1987b: 191) or the more prominent colonial village of Santa Inés de Chichima, both in the lower Rímac valley.

275. San Pedro de Mama, the modern town of Ricardo Palma.

276. Probably Sisicaya in the Lurín valley.

277. That is, the Lurín.

278. Probably the same groups mentioned in chapter 12 (sec. 171), inhabitants of the lower Mala. Modern Chilca is a coastal town slightly north of the mouth of the Mala River.

279. That is, the Mala River.

280. Caranco may have been at or near modern Calango, on the lower Mala River, 305 m above sea level. See also chapter 12 (secs. 170–171) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

"It's because of that fault of theirs that the Yunca are becoming extinct."

281. *sallcacuna* 'the highlanders': no English word ('mountaineer', 'hillbilly', 'mountain man') catches the exact flavor of *sallcacuna*. *Sallca* means the *puna*, the seasonally rainy but generally dry and (at night) cold lands that cover huge expanses around 4,000 m above sea level. The word evokes the roughness of llama herders' lives up on these treeless slopes.

And the Yunca, speaking for themselves, say, "The highlanders[281] are getting along all right. It's because they carry on our old way of life that their people flourish so."[282]

282. This discussion probably concerns people's ideas, c. 1600, about the fact that the post-invasion epidemics had devastated the coastal native peoples much more than the highlanders (see Cook 1981: 253–254; Denevan 1976: 41).

CHAPTER 10

Who Chaupi Ñamca Was, Where She Dwells, and How She Arranged Her Cult

141 Now we've finished telling Paria Caca's life.

And now we'll tell who those children of his (the ones we mentioned in the ninth chapter) were, and then tell the things that each one did individually as well as how they collectively beat the Yunca out of these villages.

<**marginal note** in Quechua:> [After this we'll set forth the victories of Paria Caca's children.]

Next we'll write about who Chaupi Ñamca was.[283]

142 They say[284] that the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca, and that she was the wife of the poor man named Huatya Curi.

In fact[285] we told this story in the fifth chapter.

143 This woman had five sisters.

The first woman, Chaupi Ñamca, went to dwell in Lower Mama in accord with Paria Caca's instructions.

The woman known as Mana Ñamca[286] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Her name is Chaupi Ñamca or Mama Ñamca.] went around saying, "I am a maker of people."[287]

Some people say about Chaupi Ñamca, "She was Paria Caca's sister."

And she herself used to say, "Paria Caca is my brother."

144 Chaupi Ñamca was frozen into a stone with five arms.[288] In worshiping her, people would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca, racing along driving their llamas and other things.

They'd lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca.

Later on, when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Ñamca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest's stable.

She's there to this day, inside the earth.

145 All the people called Chaupi Ñamca "Mother" when they spoke to her.

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283. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

284. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

285. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

286. The next passages tell us that Mana Ñamca, who was earlier described as accompanying the defeated Huanca(?) deity Huallallo Caruincho (chap. 8, sec. 106), is now equated with Chaupi Ñamca. Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163), is pictured as Paria Caca's sister and female counterpart. Thus the apex of divine kinship is structured as a fraternal union between an ancient Yunca pantheon and a newly appeared male of the highlands, establishing a society that is 'one family' (chap. 9, sec. 116). This motif is expressed in human terms in chapter 5 (sec. 48), where Huatya Curi marries a Yunca woman who is also equated to Chaupi Ñamca.

287. More than one *huaca* has the epithet *runa camac*, here rendered loosely as 'maker of people' (Cuni Raya Vira Cocha in chap. 1, sec. 7; Chaupi Ñamca in chap. 13, sec. 172; Mira Huato and Llacsa Huato in chap. 13, sec. 179; Llocllay Huancupa in chap. 21, sec. 268). The premise is that different human groups receive their life-energy and specific powers from different *huacas*. The fuller meanings of *camac* are explored in the introduction.

288. Or 'wings'.

(That's why San Pedro is also called Mama now.)[289]

In the old days this woman used to travel around in human form and used to sin with[290] the other *huacas*.

But she never used to praise any male by saying, "He's good!"

146 There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a *huaca* named Rucana Coto.[291]

Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, "It'll get big."

One time he and his big cock satisfied Chaupi Ñamca deliciously.

Therefore she said, "Only this man, alone among all the other *huacas*, is a real man. I'll stay with this one forever." So she turned into stone and stayed forever in Mama.

147 Now we'll tell about the sisters of Chaupi Ñamca whom we mentioned.[292]

Chaupi Ñamca was the oldest of them all.

Her next sister was Llacsa Huato.

Her next-born sibling was Mira Huato.

The next one was called Urpay Huachac.

We don't know about the other one.[293]

In all they were five.

When people sought Chaupi Ñamca's advice on any matter, she'd respond, saying, "I'll go and talk it over with my sisters first."[294]

148 We know[295] people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.

When the *yanca*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [*yanca*]
had made calculations from his solar observatory, people said, "They'll take place in so many days."

149 We already spoke in chapter nine about the *huacsas'* annual dances.

However, regarding this dancing, we didn't clarify what kinds of dances they performed on the three occasions in a given year.

They celebrated Paria Caca's paschal festival on the first day of the period called Auquisna.

Next, they likewise danced during Chaupi Ñamca's time.

Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés,[296] they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.

Further on we'll describe this dance fully.[297]

150 But now we'll return to Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

During her paschal festival the *huacsas* would dance for five days carrying coca bags.

Other people, if they had llamas, would dance wearing puma skins; those who had no llamas danced just as they were.

About those who wore puma skins people said, "They're the prosperous ones."

This dance is called Huantay Cocha.

They also performed another dance named Ayñu.

151 They performed still another one called Casa Yaco.

They say that[298] when they danced the Casa Yaco, Chaupi Ñamca rejoiced immensely, because in their dancing, they performed naked, some wearing only their jewelry, hiding their private parts with just a cotton breechclout.

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow.[299]

These are the rituals they performed during her paschal festival.[300]

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289. The reference is to the resettlement village of San Pedro. This sentence has witness validation.

290. *vchallicuc carcan* 'sinned with': a Christian-style euphemism. Chaupi Ñamca's mighty sexual appetite is not seen as sinful in the context of the myth that immediately follows, or in that of the sexy Casa Yaco dance (sec. 151) that honored her. A pervasive though never explicit metaphor seems to liken the ardent genitalia of the female *huacas* with the warm fertile valleys, much as the water-giving heights of the mountains are likened to males who fertilize them.

291. *Rucana Coto* 'Finger-shaped mountain' (Quechua and Aymara).

292. This sentence has witness validation.

293. Taylor (1987b: 198) signals a marginal note in Quechua, meaning, 'The other one was called Lluncuhuachac'.

294. This suggests that the five *huacas'* priests or priestesses deliberated collectively.

295. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 151.

296. St. Andrew's Day is November 30.

297. The Chanco is the subject of chapter 11.

298. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

299. This is probably the sort of festival Catholic priests had in mind when they complained that Andean rites included "carnal excesses."

300. Concluding sentence with witness validation.

CHAPTER 11

152

How People Danced the Chanco Dance. In Speaking of These Matters, We Shall Also Tell Who Tutay Quiri, the Child of Paria Caca, Was. The Story Is Like This

In the ninth chapter, we referred to Paria Caca's children by name.

But we didn't say anything about their individual lives.

Here and in what follows we'll tell about them together with the victories of one from among them: Tutay Quiri.[301]

We mentioned that the ceremonial dancing in his season was the Chanco.

153 Tutay Quiri was Paria Caca's son. This is a fact.[302]

In early times, they say,[303] the Checa were Quinti, the younger brothers of the Quinti.

The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last.[304]

154 One day, Tutay Quiri spoke to them, saying,

"Don't be sad, children, no matter what they say. Let them scorn you; in spite of it you, the Checa, will in future times have the title of *villca*. And as for those who belittle you, people will speak scornfully to them, saying,

'Little Quintis,
little bugs!' "

155 A few days later, after the brothers had talked it over among themselves, Tutay Quiri set out from Llacsa Tambo[305] to conquer the Yunca.

When they heard this news the Yunca were scared stiff and immediately began to flee to the village known as Lower Colli.[306]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Colli without a forceful pronunciation][307]

(The Colli are neighbors of the Carhuayllo.

It's a fact that[308] to this day their dead are laid in the same house of the dead, in the old highland village.)[309]

301. A report dated 1611 tells how Fabián de Ayala destroyed the mummies of a sacred cave in Santiago de Tumna. Among the "ancient captains and valiant soldiers," he found "one called Tarayquiri [*sic*], who, although he died over 600 years ago, remains so intact in body, that it is amazing" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 252). This suggests that some of the *huacas* called children of Paria Caca were ancestor mummies.

302. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

303. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

304. Apparently segments of the patrilineages called *yumay* at any given level of inclusiveness were ranked according to the birth order of their respective apical ancestors. This is one of several narratives concerning how Tutay Quiri relieved the Checa of their lowly status as 'juniors' to the Quinti.

305. *llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta* could also mean 'the Yunca from Llacsa Tambo'.

306. Concerning the Yunca of Colli (i.e., Collique, near Lima), see chapter 9 (secs. 115, 138).

307. 'Forceful pronunciation': because in Quechua the vowel *o* only occurs adjacent to postvelar consonants, the reader might take the written *o* in *Colli* to imply that the value of *c* is postvelar ('forceful'). The note warns the reader that this is not so. Perhaps the word *Colli* is of non-Quechua derivation.

308. 'It's a fact that' added to indicate that this whole parenthesis has witness validation.

309. *aya vasipe* 'in the . . . house of the dead': a 1609 Jesuit report said the houses where mummified ancestors dwelled were "little towers, always square, (each) with a

156 Tutay Quiri descended down Sici Caya[310] ravine and also down the ravine of the Mama river,[311] moving in the form of yellow rain and red rain.

The people, some of them,[312] waited for him in their own lands and villages in order to pay him homage.

He didn't humiliate these worshipers.

On the contrary, he said to them, "Stay here; you shall come to recognize my father. Living henceforth, address the Checa as 'brothers' and say, 'We're their brothers, the youngest ones.'"

157 And in fact[313] to this day, just as he said, people who live in San Pedro Mama address the Checa, saying, "I'm your little Ami, your little Llata."

So, both the *allauca*[314] moiety and the *vichoc* moiety lived as brothers of the Checa.[315]

158 Every year, in the month of November, the Checa (that is, all the males) would go out from this village on a giant surround hunt, saying,

"We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
We go in the path of his power."

159 On that occasion they used to ask for rain. People said, "Now, in the Chanco season, the heavens will rain."

And following Tutay Quiri's track, all the *huacsa*s and the non-*huacsa*s alike left from here to conduct the hunt; they used to go and spend the night in a place called Mayani,[316] up above Tupi Cocha.[317]

160 On that day, they would trap some guanacos, brocket deer, or other animals. Regardless of who did the actual catching, if the successful hunter happened to have a *huacsa* in his own *ayllu*, he'd give the animal to him first, so that he might perform the Ayñu dance displaying its tail. Those who didn't capture anything would likewise dance but performed only the Chanco.

161 On the next day, they used to leave Mayani for Tumna.

People, men and women alike, would gather together and wait for them in the place called Huasuc Tambo, saying, "Here comes Tutay Quiri!"

This Huasuc Tambo is where a few rocks stand in the center of the plaza of Tumna itself.

In the old days, they say, people used to go there and worship on that spot.[318]

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door to the east" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247). Ruins of this form, looted but full of human bones, are visible in the San Damián and Huarochirí areas. In this passage the narrator points out that Tutay Quiri's action explains why Yunca people who live on the outskirts of Lima have ancestors enshrined in the remote mountains.

310. This is very likely to be the same toponym as Saci Caya (chap. 8, sec. 109; chap. 9, sec. 138; chap. 13, sec. 176), equivalent to modern Sisicaya. The ravine is the entrenched course of the Lurín River.

311. That is, he moved down both the Lurín (Pacha Camac) and Rímac (Mama) valleys, which form two separate courses toward the Pacific.

312. *runacunapas huaquenca* 'the people, some of them': presumably meaning a remnant of Yunca stayed there and submitted to Tutay Quiri. Chapter 24 extensively explains these people's role. By incorporating them as his worshipers, Tutay Quiri supplied the Checa, the former *sullca* (junior) group relative to the Quinti, with a group that is junior to the Checa. This sentence and the first of section 157 fulfill a prophecy of Paria Caca in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

313. 'And in fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. This begins a witness-validated passage, continuing with one interruption to the end of section 164.

314. *Allauca*, the name of a certain village, can also mean 'right-bank moiety'. Hernández Príncipe uses the term in this sense and it is mentioned in the Cajatambo idolatry trials studied by Duviols (1986: 494). The reason for supposing it functions here as a moiety title is the juxtaposition with *vichoc*, which may be related to *ichoc*, 'left-bank', the customary moiety complement. Occasionally present in Huarochirí (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 27, 89, 98), *allauca/ichoc* oppositions are common in the northern part of Lima Department and in Ancash. The name of the location today called Alloca and called Allauca in the manuscript, 16 km south of Huarochirí in the Mala–San Lorenzo valley, 1,750 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971; see chap. 30), probably is not a moiety term. Allauca *ayllus* seem to exist in various settlements, and in the Huarochirí manuscript, too, *allauca* groups are often mentioned without moiety counterparts (chap. 20, sec. 240; chap. 22, sec. 282; chap. 24, secs. 304, 316–317, 323, 325, 332, 336; chap. 26, sec. 356; chap. 30, sec. 379, 385). In those cases the term seems to be an *ayllu* or *llacta*, not moiety, title.

315. This vaguely suggests, but does not explain, that these conquered Yunca became peacefully integrated as a pair of moieties jointly treated as fraternal to the Checa.

316. Mayani is the modern name of a high plateau 8 km west of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?) at 4,200 m above sea level.

317. Modern Tupicocha village is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

318. This sentence and the following one are validated with reportive *-si*, which is indicated with supplied 'they say', but the narration then returns to witness validation.

There, too, the Chauti[319] and the Huanri would likewise go to worship with their maize beer.

162 We know that[320] on the next day, if they caught anything, no matter how few or many animals, the *huacsa*s who'd captured them gladly proclaimed, "Now we'll have *maca*[321] tubers!" and returned rejoicing to spend the night, this time in Pacota.[322]

163 On the following day, they used to arrive back at Llacsa Tambo.

When the hunters were about to return, everyone who'd remained in the village, the old men and old women, and other people as well, would gather all together to await them with maize beer.

As they were arriving there, the waiting people would say, "They're coming in exhausted!" and pour maize beer all over the place,[323] over the people and onto the ground.

They'd pour it out right at the very entrance gate of Llacsa Tambo.

164 The hunters who'd come up from the lowlands would in turn place chunks of meat on the mouths of their hosts' jugs.[324]

After finishing this, the whole crowd sat on the open ground and they began the dance called Ayñu.

These events are called the Chanco.

When they danced the Chanco, the sky would say, "Now!" and the rain would pour down.

165 They say that[325] at the house of the *yanca* called Ysqui Caya, there was a bush or something of the sort, and from that bush flowed abundant water during the Chanco festival.

If people saw this happen, they said, "This year will give a good harvest."

If a drought were coming the bush would be dry.

In that case, people used to say, "There'll be terrible suffering."

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319. A place named Chaute today exists 5 km south of San Bartolomé at 2,600 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

320. 'We know that' supplied to indicate return to witness validation.

321. *maca*: *Lepidium*, of which various species are mentioned in botanical sources; a plant of the freezing heights, whose green parts are used medicinally. "The root is edible and is customarily cultivated in some parts of the high plateau; it is medicinal too" (Soukup 1970: 186). "*Maka* (K). *Lepidium meyenii* Desv. A species cultivated in some regions of the high plateau (3900 m.) . . . tubers: fresh, boiled, and mashed . . . are eaten by sterile women who want to become fertile" (Girault 1984: 218–219). In this context, too, it is apparently a symbol of fertility.

322. Modern Pacota is 7 km west-southwest of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?; IGM 1970–1971).

323. *yanca* 'all over the place': assuming this is the common adverb *yanca* whose range of meanings includes 'freely', 'carelessly', 'without serious intent' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 364). If it is the homonym meaning a class of priests, the sentence can also be read to mean that the priest did the pouring.

324. The hunters had finished a circuit from the heights of Mayani down to lower-lying Tumna and now back to their ceremonial center. The ceremony seems to symbolize the plenitude of varied Andean subsistence (Murra 1975a: 243–254). As well as uniting ecological levels it juxtaposes wild food—hunted meat—with beer, the cultivated and processed nourishment par excellence. The interrelationship of hunters and farmers is also highly elaborated in the dialectic of *huari* and *llacuaz*, a complex common in the Lima area, which envisions societies as antagonistic symbioses between two culturally different sorts of people (see Duviols 1973).

325. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive *-si* validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 12

How Paria Caca's Children Undertook the Conquest of All the Yunca People

166

In the tenth chapter [*sic*], we already told the story about the victories of Paria Caca's children.

Likewise we mentioned that all those villages were once full of Yunca.

Now we'll speak about them[326] as earlier mentioned:

Choc Payco
Chancha Runa
Huari Runa
Utco Chuco
Tutay Quiri
Sasin Mari
Pacha Chuyru[327]—

how they used to behave, and things like that.[328]

167 In ancient times these people we just mentioned, since they were all brothers to each other, traveled into battle together as one.

Because he was the oldest of them all, the one called Choc Payco traveled in high honor on a litter.

But Tutay Quiri was the strongest, excelling beyond the others.

Because of his strength, he was the one who first conquered the two river valleys mentioned above[329] by setting his golden staff on a black mountain at the border of Pariacha[330] called Unca Tupi.

168 Planting his staff as a curse on the Yunca, and saying, as if in disrespect for them, "The Yunca will extend to this district,"[331] he set it in place.

(That mountain where he set his staff is now called Unca Tupi Capari Caya.)[332]

169 His other brothers went ahead, climbing up on the old road by which we go from Tupi Cocha (that is, the one called the Quisqui Tambo road; the other is called Tumnacha). When they heard somebody say, "Tutay Quiri has already finished conquering everything," they turned back, from the spot from which we can see to the outskirts of Limac.[333]

326. 'Them': Paria Caca's offspring, not the Yunca.

327. Compare with the similar but not identical list in chapter 9 (sec. 113).

328. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

329. See chapter 8 (sec. 108) and chapter 9 (sec. 138).

330. Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level, far down the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971). So this is probably not the same Capari Caya mentioned in chapter 31 (sec. 398).

331. Tutay Quiri's point being that, after the seaward advance of the children of Paria Caca, the new and smaller limit of Yunca country would be Unca Tupi. This passage is difficult. Taylor (1987b: 219) gives "[Tutay Quiri] said, 'if anyone, as if to curse the Yuncas, knocks down this staff and shows disrespect, the Yuncas will conquer this territory.' "

332. This parenthesis has witness validation.

333. Modern Tupicocha is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Santiago de Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián at 2,902 m above sea level, and Tumnacha ('little Tumna') might be close to it. The syntax is confusing, and it is not certain whether the place-names Tumnacha and Quisqui Tambo refer to the routes or to the places from which the discouraged heroes turned back. The apparent meaning of this passage is that when the other brothers learned how far Tutay Quiri had advanced in the Rímac valley, they decided instead to advance down the Mala valley. The next lines seem to excuse the lesser advance achieved in the Mala lands, down toward "Caranco," by saying that although Tutay Quiri also led that campaign, he let a mid-altitude agricultural *huaca* similar to Chuqui Suso seduce him and detain the

They feared Tutay Quiri a lot because he was really powerful.

170 So they descended through the Huaro Cheri district toward the vicinity of Lower Caranco.[334]

Once more it was Tutay Quiri who led the way on the descent.

One of Chuqui Suso's sisters waited for him in her field thinking to beguile him by showing off her <crossed out:> [vagina] private parts[335] and her breasts.

"Rest a while, sir; have a little sip of this maize beer and a taste of this *ticti*," she said.

171 At that moment, in that way, he fell behind.

When they saw him do that, his other brothers likewise stayed behind, carrying the conquest only as far as the place called Pacha Marca in Lower Allauca.

If this woman hadn't beguiled them, the Huaro Cheri and Quinti fields would now reach as far as Lower Caranco and Chilca.

Further on we'll write about their individual feats and everything they did.[336]
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we'll write about their individual feats.]

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whole movement well short of "Caranco" and the coastal Chilca area.

334. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

335. *<racanta> pincaynintapas* '<crossed out:> [vagina] private parts': a plainspoken Quechua word has been replaced with a Quechua euphemism meaning more literally 'her shame'.

336. This concluding sentence and the marginal note have witness validation. At this point Taylor (1987b: 220) transcribes a marginal note in Spanish meaning, 'Here we cease writing the lives of each of Pariacaca's children and what happened and we start on Chaupiñamca'.

CHAPTER 13

172

Mama[337]

When the people of Mama are questioned today about the *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, they tell a different story.

The story told by them is like this.[338]

They say that in very early times, there was a *huaca* called Hanan Maclla.[339]

Her husband was the Sun.

Their children were Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca.

Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men.[340]

173 Accordingly they, the Mama people, in order to celebrate her festival on the eve of Corpus Christi, used to bathe Chaupi Ñamca in a little maize beer.

Additionally, some of them laid out all sorts of offerings for her, and worshiped her with guinea pigs or other such things; and all the people gathered together, both men and women, their *curaca* and their *alcalde.*

174 They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn. <Crossed out in original:> [On the next day, Corpus Christi, saying, "It's our mother's festival!" their *curaca*, in full regalia,[341] and all the rest of the people][342]

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!"

175 If somebody says, "How did you worship before the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared?" we know how[343] they reply:

"People used to drink for five days in the month of June wearing their most splendid clothes. Later, for fear of the Spaniards, they worshiped on Corpus eve."

Chaupi Ñamca's sister (the second one, Chaupi Ñamca being the oldest) was named Casa Llacsa.

337. At this point the manuscript leaps to another area, centered on a lower and more seaward village than San Damián de Checa. Mama, modern Ricardo Palma, lies in the lower Rímac valley, where desert hills hem in a narrow irrigable belt. It appears to belong to the old Yunca heartland, and this may help explain the discrepancies between its cults and those of the Checa and Concha. Mama's prominence in the manuscript may be connected to the fact that a *curaca* from Mama, Hernando Paucar, was among Avila's most important early informants and victims (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69), and also to the fact that Huarochirí-area highlanders sought to integrate some of its warm fields into their economy.

338. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

339. *hanan maclla* 'high' or 'upper Maclla' suggests a celestial deity, as does her marriage to the sun.

340. Gender parallelism in religious institutions, as suggested by these phrases, is considered a major theme of pre-Incaic organization by Irene Silverblatt (1987: 20–39).

341. This phrase is an uncertain rendering of *callañayoc* 'in possession of *callaña*', based on the dubious assumption that this is the same word as *collana* occurring in chapter 14 (sec. 194) and chapter 31 (sec. 409), where it refers to majestic garments or appearances. But if used in its wider sense, the phrase might mean 'with the leading people'.

342. Sentence fragment thus in original.

343. 'We know how' supplied to indicate witness validation, present in this sentence but not in the ensuing two sentences.

People also bathed her that evening, as well as her other sisters Urpay Huachac[344] and Vichi Maclla.[345]

176 "Chaupi Ñamca was said to be made up of five persons,"[346] the Checa say.[347]

Of these the eldest was Chaupi Ñamca, also called Cotacha or Paltacha.

Her second sister was named Llacsa Huato, the one we call Copacha.

They say[348] Llacsa Huato dwells in Chillaco.

(Not long ago, when Don Diego Chauca Huaman, the *curaca* of Saci Caya, was still alive, and until Don Martín's arrival,[349] people from Chillaco together with some other people supposedly used to celebrate her festival.

About this festival, we aren't sure in what month it took place.)[350]

177 Next, there was the one called Mira Huato, whom we call Ampuche or Ampuxi.[351]

Concerning this Mira Huato, we aren't sure where she lived. But people say, "She lives with her sister Llacsa Huato."

178 They say that[352] if people from this region, or Huaro Cheri people, or any other sort of people had a son or a daughter, a brother, a father, or any other relative who was ill, they'd go to these *huacas*' shrine to consult them.

(Their priestess as of sixty years ago is still remembered; she was named Chumpi Ticlla. And not so long ago, when Don Diego[353] was still alive, a woman named Luzía, a very elderly woman, was their priestess, a tough[354] old lady. <crossed out:> [And maybe she's still alive.])

179 When people invoked these two *huacas*, they used to pray, saying,

"Oh Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?[355]
For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?"

180 This being the case, people concluded, "No doubt they dwell as two sisters together."[356]

People came to honor these *huacas* all the more for the fact that Chaupi Ñamca wasn't straight; she'd tell people any sort of stuff. Actually, she was a liar.

So people used to visit them, saying, "Let's go and listen to our mothers Llacsa Huato and Mira

344. Urpay Huachac also appears in chapter 2 (sec. 25) as the mother of the girl *huaca* whom Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduces.

345. Likely to be a complement to or relative of (or another name for?) Hanan Maclla (sec. 172). *Vichay* means 'uphill, upslope' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 351).

346. Compare the ensuing list with the similar one in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

347. The sentence is witness-validated with *-mi* but the material in quotation marks is reportive, with *-si* ('said to be' supplied).

348. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this and the next sentence are reportive with *-si* in a context where witness validation predominates.

349. A 1588 *revisita* (tribute quota inspection; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires ms., 13-17-5-1) shows that Don Diego Chauca Huaman still held the office twenty years before the making of the manuscript. This helps date the period that the manscript's authors considered the heyday of pro-*huaca* colonial lords. "Don Martín" is probably his son, Martín Chauca Huaman, born in 1575 (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 3:1024). The aspiration of an anti-*huaca* scion to the office of a father who had protected *huacas* is a motif of chapter 20 (secs. 247–249). 'Supposedly' supplied to indicate reportive *-si* validation.

350. This sentence has witness validation.

351. One of the forms given in the original, *Ampuxi*, would probably have sounded like 'Ampushi' in English orthography if, as Cerrón Palomino holds, Spanish *x* retained the *sh* value at the time of writing (1976b: 207). But the data are not conclusive according to Urioste. This sentence and the following have witness validation.

352. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 181.

353. That is, the same Don Diego Chauca Huaman mentioned in section 176.

354. *tacyasca* 'tough': derived from a verb whose main meanings are 'to be firm, constant'. But since the speaker is unsure if the priestess is still alive, it is also possible that he is thinking of a less-than-robust person. A derivative of *tacyay* denotes a different kind of inflexibility: it means 'to stiffen from illness' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335–336).

355. *ymamantam huncuchicuni* 'what have I done to make them ill?': might also be read 'to make myself ill'.

356. *yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha* 'no doubt . . . as two sisters together': the suffix *-huan* 'with' is redundant for this reading, because *-ntin* alone signifies the union of parts. This fact leads Taylor (1987b: 231) to interpret the sentence as meaning that something else—the desired cure—is 'with' the sisters.

Huato. Whatever they advise about our faults, we'll carry it out exactly."

181 However, we know that even though people did worship them, they didn't celebrate their feast each year as they do[357] Chaupi Ñamca's festival.

And although they did honor them, they in fact went mainly to have their presence noticed,[358] saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim.

182 Next we'll talk about the *huaca* named Lluncho Huachac, the one we call Sullcacha or Sullca Paya.

She was the fourth sister.

This *huaca* reportedly[359] lived in the Canta[360] area. But we don't really know. Maybe the Canta people worship her, or even those farther on past Canta.

183 Finally, the one we call Añasi or Aña Paya lived in the ocean.

(In fact some people say, "She's the one who was Caui Llaca."[361]

Others say, "This is a different *huaca*. She lives on the seashore.")

Aña Paya[362] lives inside a cliff.

So she doesn't have a priest.

When people sought the advice of the *huaca* Urpay Huachac, they'd think it over carefully beforehand. For in speaking with her, they spoke face to face because the *huaca* had no *huacsa* priest.

When they came back from visiting her, they said, "I've gone and spoken with her," and they used to fast for a whole year, abstaining from sinning with their wives.[363]

184 All of these *huacas* we've mentioned were named Ñamca, each one of them individually and also the sisters as a group.

When people who were worried about anything approached any one of them, in explaining their trouble to her they'd address her, saying, "Oh five Ñamcas!"

185 This is all we know about Chaupi Ñamca, Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, Lluncho Huachac, and Urpay Huachac.[364]

In the old days, they say,[365] these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi,[366] your father, or your elders?"

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357. Tense in original can be read as present, perhaps emphasizing continued colonial vitality of the Chaupi Ñamca cult. The fact that this sentence is witness-validated ('we know that' supplied) suggests either present or a not-too-remote past. Witness validation continues through the second sentence of section 182.

358. *musiachicuyllapacmi* 'to have their presence noticed': Taylor (1987b: 232) has *munachicuyllapacmi* 'when they felt like it', noting *musia-* as alternative reading. Witness validation is glossed 'in fact'.

359. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 183.

360. Canta, an important colonial town, was in the upper Chillón valley at 2,837 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

361. See chapter 2 (sec. 10). The point in question is whether Añasi was the same as Caui Llaca, who entered the sea and became lithified as an island, or a separate *huaca* who 'lives on the seashore'. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('in fact' supplied).

362. 'Aña Paya' supplied.

363. *mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa* 'abstaining from sinning with their wives': since sex under these conditions would only be sinful by the tenets of *huaca* worship, this instance of *huchalliy* may not be euphemistic or specifically colonial. This also applies to section 186.

364. This sentence has witness validation. The fact that this sentence contains an ending formula, while the chapter continues, suggests a transition to a different testimony at this point.

365. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

366. What is Con Churi? See supplement I (sec. 462). Avila explains in the *Prefación* to his bilingual sermon book:

> In all the said villages there were greater and lesser idols, and there is not an Indian family, even if but a single person remains of it, which lacks its particular *penate* god in the house, in such manner that, if they came from one, eight, or ten persons, these have an idol left to them by the person who preceded them. The most important person of each family guards this and he is the person who has the right of succession to the goods and the rest, in such a way, that to guard this idol is like having right of *patronazgo* [hereditary patronage] among us, passing with the inheritance, and when, by law of blood kinship, there is no one to whom it may be transmitted, the one who possesses it usually entrusts it to the person who seems to him most appropriate by reason of affinity, or his best friend, and when he has no one to leave it to, he takes it with him, if he can, to where his progenitor is buried, which would usually be in a cave, because he was

To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." And so people went back.

186 Only after this was done first would they answer their concerns:

"You have angered that person."

"You have crossed this one."

"You are an adulteress."

"You have sinned with a woman on the feast of Paria Caca."

They gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:

"You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."

"You must sacrifice one of your llamas."

a prehispanic mummy, and there he leaves the said idol, and if he cannot take it there, he buries it in his house. This sort of idol has the general name of *cun churi* or *chanca*. (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255)

People were more than happy to obey their dicta.

Some of them recovered completely, while others died no matter how fully they'd complied.

187 Now we've heard what Chaupi Ñamca and her other sisters were like.

But the fact is that[367] in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions, and different names, too. People from Mama say one thing and the Checa say another.

188 Some call Chaupi Ñamca Paria Caca's sister.

Others say, "She was Tamta Ñamca's daughter."

(We spoke earlier about Tamta Ñamca in the fifth chapter.)

Still others say, "She was the Sun's daughter."

So it's impossible to decide.

367. 'The fact is that' supplied to indicate that sections 187–188 have witness validation.

CHAPTER 14

189

<margin, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
In the first chapter we made some remarks about whether Cuni Raya's existence came before or after Paria Caca's.[368]

They say[369] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha did exist from very ancient times. Paria Caca and all the other *huaca*s used to revere him exceedingly.

In fact,[370] some people even say, "Paria Caca is Cuni Raya's son."

Next we'll speak about one of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's feats.[371]

190 Just before the appearance of the Spaniards, it's said,[372] Cuni Raya headed toward Cuzco.

There he conversed with the Inca Huayna Capac:[373] "Come, son, let's go to Titi Caca. There I will reveal to you who I am,"[374] he said.

191 And there he told him, "Inca, mobilize your people, so that we may send magicians and all sorts of shamans to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."[375] As soon as he said this, the Inca promptly gave the order.

"I am a condor shaman!"[376] some men answered.

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368. This sentence is written in large letters in the original, like the chapter titles. Its witness validation could make it a title, but it seems to function as an introductory remark.

369. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

370. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the next have witness validation, except for the material in quotation marks, which has reportive ('called').

371. *puchucascanta* 'feats' is derived from a verb that implies reaching of an intrinsic completion: the completion of a task, payment of a debt, end of a cycle, and so forth (see chap. 3, sec. 29, where it refers to the ending of the world). So there is a suggestion that the events to come represent the unfolding of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's purpose or will.

372. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 197.

373. Huayna Capac, the last leader of the Inca Empire before it was riven by dynastic warfare and then the Spanish invasion, ruled over an immense state at the height of its power. In various ways, most of the Quechua-speaking writers c. 1600 saw him as touched by premonitions of the impending calamity. A myth told by the "Indian chronicler" Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, seemingly related to this one, tells how a mortal illness in the form of butterflies or moths in a box felled him on the eve of Spanish invasion ([1613] 1968: 311).

374. *ñocap cascayta* 'who I am': more literally, 'my past-being (direct object)'. The perfective *-sca* suggests *ex post facto* knowledge: that is, 'what I was all along without your knowing it'. This appears to allude to chapter 1 (sec. 7), and to purported Inca prayers, which often address Vira Cocha with petitions for knowledge of where and who he is. Pachacuti Yamqui affords an example ([1613] 1968: 287–288). A recent translation from a rectified text gives the sense as:

> Oh Viracocha, . . .
>
> Where are you?
> May I not see you?
> Are you above, are you below,
> Is your throne nearby?
> Please show yourself to me . . .
>
> We your servants
> With our eyes of light and shadow turned toward you,
> We wish to see you . . . (Itier 1988: 571–572)

(For a different rendering, see Szemiński 1985b: 249.)

375. *hura ticsiman*: González Holguín glosses *ticçi* ([1608] 1952: 340) as "origin, beginning, fundament, foundation, cause." Its sense here is not obvious. The 'lower foundations' may mean the underside of the world. Taylor (1980: 111) interprets it, with equal plausibility, as "lowlands."

376. *ñocam condorpac camasca canim* 'I am a condor

"I am a falcon shaman!" said others.

"I am one who flies[377] in the form of a swift!"[378] replied still others.

192 He[379] instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, 'Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.' "[380]

The man who was the swift's shaman, together with the other shamans, set out intending to return within five days.

193 The swift's shaman was the first to arrive there.

When he arrived and delivered his message, he was given something in a small chest and warned, "You mustn't open this. Lord Huayna Capac himself must be the first to open it."

While the man was bringing it, when he'd almost delivered it to Cuzco, he thought, "No! I'll take a look inside. What could it be?" And he opened it.

194 Inside it there appeared a very stately and beautiful lady. Her hair was like curly gold and she wore a majestic[381] costume, and in her whole aspect she looked very tiny.

The moment he saw her, the lady disappeared.

195 And so, deeply abashed, he arrived at the place called Titi Caca in Cuzco.

Huayna Capac said, "If it weren't for your being the swift's shaman, I'd have you executed right this instant! Get out! Go back by yourself!"

The swift's shaman returned and brought the woman back. When he was bringing her back along the road, dying for something to eat and drink, he had only to speak and a set table would instantly be there. It was just the same when he needed to sleep.

196 He delivered her exactly on the fifth day.

When he handed her over to them, Cuni Raya and the Inca received her overjoyed.

But before opening the chest, Cuni Raya said, "Inca! Let's draw a line across this world.[382] I'll go into this space and you go into this other space with my sister."

"You and I mustn't see each other anymore!" he said as he divided the world.

And he began to open the box. At the moment he opened it, the world lit up with lightning.

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shaman': more literally, 'I am the *camasca* of the condor', and so forth. The sense of *camasca* may be understood as the inverse of *camaque* (chap. 29, sec. 372): the latter means a power giving form and force to a specific class of beings, and the former the beings so favored. In context, the sense appears to be that the shaman acquires the species powers of his superhuman familiar.

377. The implication is that these shamans engage in magical flight, a common motif of South American shamanism.

378. The Lima area has three swift species. Of these, the likeliest is the Andean swift, because it is a sierran species that sometimes flies down to the coast like the shaman in the story. All swifts are fast fliers. "*Andean swift, Aeronautes andecolus* (*Vencejo andino*). Distinguished from the preceding species [i.e., the Chimney Swift, *Chaetura pelagica*] by its longer wings, forked tail, and lighter color; with the collar, belly and rump white. Abundant in the sierra and Andean slopes, coming down from time to time on the coast" (Koepcke 1970: 78).

379. While the grammatical subject of this sentence is ambiguous (Inca? or Cuni Raya Vira Cocha?), the fact that the 'sister' mentioned is later clarified as being the latter's suggests that the subject is more likely to be Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.

380. *huc panantas* 'one of his sisters': the original is ambiguous as to whether this means Cuni's or Inca's sister, but this is cleared up later (sec. 196) when Cuni Raya Vira Cocha calls her 'my sister'.

381. The little lady's clothes were *collana*, a term used in social organization to label high-ranking descent groups of Cuzco and elsewhere (Zuidema 1964: 100–103). It implies majesty and political eminence. But 'lady' translates a Spanish word in the manuscript: *señora*. This word, like her blondness, suggests that she is an image foreshadowing the Spanish. In Inca-era politics, acceptance of a gift bride signified political subjection to the giver. So the story may be a mythic comment on the loss of Inca sovereignty. Contrast with chapter 23 (sec. 300), where Maca Uisa conserves his autonomy by refusing gift brides.

382. *cay pachacta sequison* 'Let's draw a line across this world': *ceqque* has the practical sense 'line, boundary, limit' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 81) but was often used to mean a schematic line in ideal space. Rowe (1985) and Zuidema (1964) analyze what is known of the "lines" along which the Inca capital's *huacas* were arranged.

The line that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha impels the Inca to draw may allude to the moiety line of Cuzco, but more likely alludes to the alleged division of the Inca Empire into two at Huayna Capac's death. Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 210) relays an Inca tradition equating the former with the latter. This division is mentioned by many chroniclers as the cause of the Inca civil war, and indirectly of Pizarro's easy victory over Cuzco.

The translation of this passage depends greatly on interpretation of *pacha*. The most concrete reading would make it 'ground, earth', in which case the passage seems to concern something as local and earthly as a line drawn in the dirt. But it can just as well mean 'time and space', or 'world', which gives the passage a feeling of the vastest mythic scale.

197 The Inca Huayna Capac said, "I'll never again return from here. I'll stay right here with my princess, with my queen." To one man, a kinsman of his, he said, "You go in my stead.[383] Return to Cuzco and say, 'I'm Huayna Capac!' "

At that very moment, then and there, the Inca disappeared forever with that lady of his, and Cuni Raya did the same.

Later on, after Huayna Capac had died, people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others,

"Me first!"

"Me first!"

It was while they were carrying on this way that the Spanish Vira Cochas[384] appeared in Caxa Marca.

198 Even up to the present we know[385] many stories about Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's life.

We haven't yet finished writing down the other things he did while he was roaming through this area.

We'll treat these matters later on.[386]

383. *ñocap rantij* 'in my stead' alludes to the well-attested Inca institution of naming a 'second person' to act in lieu of the Inca.

384. *vira cochacunapas*: in this passage and certain later ones, as well as in the preface (sec. 1), 'Spanish' has been supplied to avoid confusion with the same name as applied to the deity. The use of this term to denominate the Spanish and privileged Spanish speakers survives in rural Cuzco Quechua to the present.

385. Original contains both *yachanchic* 'we know' and *-mi* witness validator. Witness validation continues to the end of the chapter.

386. Taylor (1987b: 250) shows a Spanish marginal note meaning, 'what chapter back?'

CHAPTER 15

199

Next We Shall Write about What Was Mentioned in the Second Chapter, Namely, Whether Cuni Raya Existed before or after Caruincho

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha is said to have[387] existed from very ancient times. Before he was, there was nothing at all in this world. It was he who first gave shape and force to the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and all sorts of animals, and to the fields for humankind's subsistence as well.

It's for this reason that people in fact[388] say of Cuni Raya, "He's called Paria Caca's father."[389]

"It was he who made and empowered Paria Caca."

200 "If Paria Caca weren't his son, he probably would have humbled him," all the people say.

And it's said that[390] he did thoroughly humble some villages with his cleverness, playing all sorts of tricks on them.

We'll include these matters[391] later.[392]

387. 'Is said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

388. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that the verb 'say' here and in the first sentence of section 200 has witness validation. The material in quotes has reportive validation ('called' supplied).

389. This short chapter implicitly addresses the question of whether Vira Cocha partakes (as early missionaries speculated, and later native writers affirmed) of the "true God" as seen through pagan intuition. If so, he would be prior to all *huacas*, especially the archaic one par excellence, Huallallo Caruincho. The evidence that this chapter cites, however, is not actually relevant to that question. The chapter alludes only to testimony that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha preceded Paria Caca.

390. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

391. Cuni Raya returns (not as Vira Cocha) in chapter 31 (sec. 409).

392. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 16

201 # Here We Shall Write on Whether Paria Caca, Born from Five Eggs, Was Composed of Brothers or Whether Paria Caca Was Their Father, Things of This Kind

In chapter eight we already speculated on such matters as whether Paria Caca, when he was born from five eggs, was made up of brothers, or whether the others were Paria Caca's sons.

Now we'll write about them individually and by name.

202 As we suggested in the fourteenth chapter when we said they were sons of Cuni Raya, the Paria Cacas born from five eggs were brothers to each other.

These are their names, starting from the first:

Paria Caca
then Churapa
then Puncho
then Paria Carco

We don't know the other one.

We leave a blank space here in order to write it once we ascertain it.

Sullca Yllapa.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [n.b. His name was Sullca Yllapa.][393]

203 They say[394] Paria Carco dwells to this day at a pass into the Anti lowlands, saying, "Huallallo may return!"

In fact, we already pointed this out.[395]

But this Huallallo Caruincho isn't supposed to have[396] just escaped all at once.

When Churapa, one of the Paria Cacas, penetrated the place we called Mullo Cocha[397] and turned it into a lake, Huallallo flew away like a bird.

204 Then he entered a mountain, a mountain called Caqui Yoca.[398]

This <crossed out:> [cliff] mountain was a gigantic rocky escarpment.

Huallallo Caruincho got inside the cliff and hid there.

Paria Caca, in the form of lightning, blasted it again and again; he and his five brothers shot lightning bolts so violently they almost demolished that

393. The introductory passage that ends here is witness-validated with *-mi*, but the marginal note is reportive with *-si*.

394. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

395. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. The reference is to chapter 8 (sec. 105).

396. 'Supposed to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 209.

397. Mullo Cocha is the place where Paria Caca dislodged Huallallo (chap. 8, secs. 96–97, 104; chap. 16, sec. 203); it lies along the probable pilgrimage route to Paria Caca's great shrine on the icy heights. With its many mentions of geological formations in the environs of Mullo Cocha and the mythic events they embody, this chapter and chapter 17 (secs. 210–212) give the impression of being a pilgrim's reminiscence or guide to the sights of the Paria Caca pilgrimage route. The geological landmarks are taken as a series of three tropical monsters loosed by Huallallo and killed by Paria Caca.

398. This name and that of the canyon Caqui Yoca Huayqui (sec. 207) allude to the bird *caqui* (toucan?) that acts later in the myth (sec. 207; see note 401). Taylor (1987b: 259) suggests that both derive via "Aru deformation" from *caquiyoc* 'having a *caqui*', perhaps in reference to the shape of a geological formation.

rocky mountain, and from there they once again forced Huallallo Caruincho to flee.

205 Then Huallallo Caruincho turned loose a huge snake called the Amaru,[399] a two-headed snake, thinking, "This'll bring misfortune on Paria Caca!"

When he saw it, Paria Caca furiously stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff.

At that very moment, the snake froze stiff. It turned into stone.

206 This petrified snake, the Amaru, remains clearly visible to this day on the road named Upper Caqui Yoca.

People from Cuzco, and everyone else who knows about it, strike it with a rock and carry along the fallen chips as medicine, thinking, "Now I won't catch any disease."

207 As soon as Huallallo Caruincho fled from the cliff of Caqui Yoca, he entered a canyon called Caqui Yoca Huayqui.

Then, clambering up a mountain called Puma Rauca,[400] Huallallo thought, "From here I'll fence Paria Caca in so he can't pass through." He set against him a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan[401] and made it brandish its wing points.[402]

But Paria Caca effortlessly broke one of its wings, turned the toucan into stone, and climbed right over it.

Once Paria Caca stepped over it Huallallo Caruincho had no power left, so he fled toward the Anti lowlands.

208 But Paria Caca, with all the rest of his brothers, chased after him.

After Huallallo entered the Anti lowlands, Paria Caca left one of his brothers, the one named Paria Carco, at the pass into the tropical Antis. "Watch out lest he return!" he said.

209 Paria Carco
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Carco]
remains there today in the form of a heavily snow-capped peak.

Who worships Huallallo is something we don't know.[403]

But in the ninth chapter[404] we already mentioned that Paria Caca declared, "Since he once ate people, let him now eat dogs. And let the Huanca people feed them to him."

399. *amarocta* 'Amaru' (direct object): Amaru is the great mythic water serpent, virtually omnipresent in Andean myths, and usually symbolic of disorder erupting in the transition to a new order. It may have been visualized as resembling the boa constrictor (*Constrictor constrictor*) or anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). This particular Amaru, Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 201) tells us, was a vein or stratum of white marble. The belief that certain white minerals are prophylactic medicine is widespread in the modern Andes.

400. "Pumarauca mountain, where Huallallo Carhuincho took refuge, still exists . . . and is located exactly in the zone adjacent [to Paria Caca] when one leaves from the great ravine of the Steps [i.e., the 'Steps of Paria Caca', an ancient roadway], en route to Jauja, which is also the direction toward the jungle" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 13). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a Pumarauca Mountain 2 km north of Mullucocha, with its peak 4,950 m above sea level.

401. *huc orito caque ñiscacta* 'a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan' (direct object): as noted in chapter 1 (sec. 5), the exact meaning of *caqui* is uncertain and 'toucan' is a guess. We leave the word *caqui* visible in the translation here to reveal the salience of this bird's name throughout the passage. Whatever its species, the *caqui* is a tropical bird that in reality would never be seen on the icy heights, which symbolizes the vanished power of the Yunca deity Huallallo.

402. *chuquirichispa* 'made it brandish': appears to derive from the verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 122) gives as "*Chuquini* . . . to spear or strike spear blows." The image here seems to be that of a bird with its wing feathers fanned out and bristling like lances. The episode seemingly comments on a jagged mountain wall taken to resemble a broken wing.

403. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

404. Sections 110–111.

CHAPTER 17

210

Now we'll explain how Paria Caca returned after he left his brother Paria Carco at the pass into the Anti lowlands.[405]

The story is like this.

We've already spoken about some of the words that Paria Caca said, and also about what he instituted to establish his own cult.

But there's one story we forgot.

211 After he finished the conquest, they say,[406] he returned with his other brothers to Paria Caca mountain.

There's another snowcapped peak there, unclimbable, the mountain called Huama Yaco.[407]

(In fact, some people say about this mountain, "That's the one, Paria Caca."

Later, too, after the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared on the scene, when people saw that mountain's snowy peak from the place we call Ynca Caya, they said, "That's Paria Caca.")[408]

212 But they say Paria Caca himself lived a little farther down, inside a cliff.[409]

Paria Caca and his brothers entered this crag and made it their home,[410] saying, "Here I shall dwell. From this place you must worship me."

We mentioned the other mountain, the one called Huama Yaco, by way of saying that it was a heavily snowcapped peak, and that it was atop this mountain that the Paria Cacas rested on their way back from the Anti lowlands.

213 From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tauantin Suyo.[411]

Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsa* institution for his own worship.

Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his *huacsa*s and held him in great honor.

We call the fashion in which they gathered at that time Tauantin Suyo.[412]

214 At that time, Huallallo Caruincho, never forget-

405. All of section 210 has witness validation. It seems to contain not one but two introductory passages, the first framing the second. It may be that the first is by the redactor/editor, and the second is the informant's own introduction; the fifth sentence of section 219 may be the informant's closing formula. Chapters 17, 18, and 19 lack titles.

406. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which predominates through the fourth sentence of section 219.

407. Perhaps identifiable with the modern peak Huamalla Lapu (IGM 1954), a mountain 48 km east-southeast of Huarochirí, 5,290 m above sea level. But its location may be too distant to fit the context.

408. This whole parenthesis has witness validation.

409. Duccio Bonavia has identified a rock shelter close to Mullo Cocha, painted with llama petroglyphs, which might have been where Paria Caca dwelled 'inside a cliff' (personal communication). The fact that this sentence is validated reportively suggests that the teller may not have experienced the actual pilgrimage to this site.

410. In modern Andean myth, *apu*s or mountain deities are often spoken of as dwelling "inside" mountain peaks.

411. *Tauantin Suyo* 'fourfold domain' was the Inca name of the Inca Empire. Perhaps this passage claims for Paria Caca priority over the Incas in creating an all-Andean collectivity; but it is also possible that to the teller *tauantin suyo* had a less political sense analogous to English 'the four corners of the earth'.

412. If we take *ninchic* to be out of normal word order, between dashes so to speak, the sentence could read 'In that age when—as we said—the people of Tauantin Suyu . . . ' (Taylor 1987b: 271).

ful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *hugi*[413] to appear on the same mountain where he lived.[414] "This'll bring grief to Paria Caca!" he thought.

The moment it appeared, the *hugi* escaped into the countryside.

215 Had that *hugi* lived, it would have taken Paria Caca's life or something.

For that reason, Paria Caca commanded the people of Tauantin Suyo, "Go capture that animal called *hugi*!"

Once he gave this command,

All the people chased after it,
and yet it never fell prey.

Paria Caca flashed and stormed,
and yet it never died.[415]

216 But way far away, a man of the Checa, of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, did capture it.

Then a Quinti man spoke to him: "Brother, you've actually caught it! You're a lucky man! Just go right home displaying its tail as a sign of victory. As for the carcass, I'll take it away."

"All right," the man replied.

217 After this exchange, the Quinti man went back by a different route, and told Paria Caca, "Father, I'm the one who caught it."

Paria Caca rejoiced exultantly and praised him.

(That Quinti man's name was Choc Payco.)[416]

Later on, when the other man delivered the tail, Paria Caca upbraided Choc Payco in scathing language:

"For lying to me,
go fight with the Quinti;

They'll call you a stinker,
and your offspring, too."

218 But about the Caca Sica *ayllu* and about Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha, Paria Caca himself said,

"Because you are the one who captured it,
you have become *yanca*.[417]

I will listen to you alone,
and to everything you may tell me.

If other people have something to tell me,
they must let you hear it first."[418]

Paria Caca bestowed a name on him, too, saying, "He shall be a Ñamca, Ñamca Pariya."

219 From that time on, they, too, were *yanca*s. As for the Concha, their *yanca*'s name, too, was one bestowed by Paria Caca himself. It was Huatusi.

And similarly in all the villages the *yanca* were given names by Paria Caca.

Of what we'd forgotten about Paria Caca's life, this is as much as we remember now.[419]

413. Unidentified, and an anomalous word in the graphophonemic system of the manuscript: the combination *gi* appears elsewhere only in borrowings (*regina* [chap. 20, sec. 256], *virgin* [chap. 20, sec. 258]). This is the third and last of the monsters Huallallo Caruincho loosed against Paria Caca.

414. The place where the *hugi* appeared is unknown, but a toponym Puente Piedra Huqui ('Huqui Stone Bridge') is recorded 6 km northwest of San Lorenzo de Quinti (Guillén Araoz 1953: 230). Since stone usually represents the end of a *huaca*'s trajectory, this may be the distant point where the *hugi* was caught (sec. 216).

415. *tucoy ynantin runacona catirircan/manatacsi apichicorcancho/panas paria cacaca yllaparca tamyarcan/manatacsi huañorcancho*: the parallel structure of this passage (marked here with supplied /) suggests it may be a fragment or an altered rendering of a versified telling, hence the verse presentation in translation.

416. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chap. 12 (secs. 166–167), Choc Payco is named as the most senior and privileged of Paria Caca's offspring. This sentence has witness validation.

417. Caca Sica's eminence as *yanca* priests is mentioned in chapter 9 (sec. 118). In chapter 18 (sec. 224) a Caca Sica priest is credited with being the savior of a great *huaca*'s cult. The tendency to elevate Caca Sica suggests that within Checa this *ayllu* may have had a disproportionate share in the testimonies.

418. The curse on the Quinti and the blessing on the Caca Sica do not have an exact verse form, but they show a similarity of sequence (the accusation, the sentence, and the people's comment) and some syntactic resemblance (*-scayquimanta . . . -sonqui*). They seem to be presented as a contrasted set and are perhaps verses blurred in translation or editing.

419. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 18

220

We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa.*[420]

It's said that[421] he, the Inca himself, decreed, "Let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos[422] serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles."[423]

In obedience to that command, thirty men served him in shifts of fifteen days,[424] offering him food and feeding him.

221 One day they sacrificed one of his llamas, a llama named Yauri Huanaca.

When those thirty people examined the heart and entrails[425] of the llama, one of the thirty, a fellow called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man,[426] spoke up and said, "Alas, brothers, the world[427] is

420. This sentence has witness validation. It refers to chapter 17 (sec. 213).

421. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 223.

422. That is, from the two Inca-style moieties (visible on the Dávila Brizeño map; Rostworowski 1988 insert) of the larger region within which this mythology occurs. The division does not necessarily coincide with any locally defined duality.

423. *purapi quillapi* 'full and waning lunar cycles': Urioste (1983: 147) and Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 105) take *pura* to be the name of a month following a weakly attested datum from Juan de Betanzos and Diego Fernández de Palencia.

A better clue is Gonçález Holguín's ([1608] 1952: 296) "*pura quilla* the full moon and the waning," which Taylor (1987b: 277) follows. The 'full moon' meaning of *pura quilla* comes clearer from Urton's ethnographic account of lunar phases in modern Quechua culture (1981: 82–85). There are said to be two moons, a bright one called *pura* and a dark one called *huañu*. They rotate around each other, successively obscuring and revealing the bright (*pura*) one.

Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 16) seized on another attested sense of *pura*, 'amongst themselves one with the other', to produce a different reading: "He, the Inka, ordered the Indians of Anan Yauya [*sic*] and Rurin Yauyo to take turns monthly among themselves thirty by thirty in order to serve Pariakaka." This reading harmonizes with the next sentence, but its persuasiveness is vitiated by the case of *pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi* in chapter 19 (sec. 234), which clearly puts *pura* in opposition to *quilla* 'moon'.

424. *chunca pihccayoc punchaumantacama* 'shifts of fifteen days': the marking of *punchau*, 'day', with suffixes *-manta* and *-cama*, meaning 'from' and 'up to', respectively, occurs nowhere else in the manuscript and 'shift' is a guess at its sense. Taylor (1987b: 277) reads "from the fifteenth day [of the month]."

425. "Idolatry" trials of the period succeeding the manuscript give information on the reading of llama entrails. In one technique a ritualist would inflate the lungs of the sacrificial llama and read the sentiments of the dead, as well as presages for the future, from the air pockets in the lungs.

426. *llacuas quita pariasca sutioc* 'called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man': *llacuas* in both colonial and modern Quechua means a herdsman dwelling on the cold heights; it carries connotations of primitivism and coarseness. The antithesis between *llacuas* herders and purportedly more sophisticated valley agriculturalists was richly elaborated in many Lima-region cultures (Duviols 1973).

Llacuas here is likely to be an epithet, not part of the man's name, because, first, in section 222 he is called by name, without the word *llacuas*; and, second, in section 223, he is called *llacuas* without his name, as an insult. *Llacuas* has no English equivalent; 'mountain man' in a usage from the western United States is chosen to convey the idea of a rustic figure from the heights.

Quita, which does seem to be part of the name, means "wild (as of runaway livestock), skittish" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 310; cf. the epithet *quita yauyo* in chap. 24, sec. 306), translated 'Yauyo wildmen'.

427. As in most instances, *pacha* leaves room for in-

not good! In coming times our father Paria Caca will be abandoned."

222 "No," the others retorted, "you're talking nonsense!"

"It's a good augury!"

"What do you know?"

One of them called out, "Hey, Quita Pariasca![428] What makes you think that? In these llama innards our father Paria Caca is foretelling something wonderful!"

But at the time he said that, the mountaineer hadn't even approached the llama to inspect its innards. He had prophesied so just by watching from afar.[429]

223 The mountaineer[430] spoke out and rebuked them: "It's Paria Caca himself who says it, brothers."

Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:

"That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"

"Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo.[431] Could such a power ever fall desolate?"

"What does a guy like that know?"

They talked in great anger.

But just a very few days after the day when he'd said these things, they heard someone say, "Vira Cochas[432] have appeared in Caxa Marca!"

224 A certain man who was also from Checa, named Tama Lliuya Casa Lliuya, a member of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, is known to have[433] dwelt as one of Paria Caca's retainers.

At that time, they say,[434] there were thirty priests at Paria Caca and this Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya was the eldest of them all.

225 When the Vira Cochas, the Spaniards,[435] arrived there, they kept asking insistently, "What about this *huaca*'s silver and garments?"[436]

But the thirty refused to reveal anything.

Because they did, the Spanish Vira Cochas got furious, and, ordering some straw piled up, they burned Casa Lliuya.

When half the straw had burned, the wind began to blow it away.[437]

And so although this man suffered horribly, he did survive.

But by that time the others had handed the clothing and the rest of the things over to the Spaniards.

226 It was then that all the men said, "Very truly indeed were we warned by this mountain man Quita Pariasca!"

"Brothers, let's go away, let's disband."

"The world is no longer good," they said. And so they dispersed, each going back to his own village.

227 When the burned man from Checa healed up, he arrived at a village called Limca[438] in the territory

terpretation; alternatives would be 'earth', 'place', 'time', 'situation'.

428. *say quita pariasca*: Trimborn (1939: 48) took this to be a person's name, Sayquita, but in the absence of *sutioc* or any other name-indicating formula, and given the likelihood that *Quita* is part of the man's name, 'Hey, Quita!' seems likelier.

429. This seems to suggest that the augurers in their pedantry had failed to see what a humble man's broad commonsense could see. Perhaps this is how peasants c. 1600 felt about their wise men's failure to foresee the disastrous consequences of the Spanish invasion.

430. 'The mountaineer' supplied.

431. *chinchay suyo*: the northern and most prestigious quarter of the Inca state included most of highland Peru, all of highland Ecuador, and a fringe of southernmost Colombia.

432. That is, the Spanish. *Vira cocha* is left unglossed in the translation to conserve the sense of mystery that the original seems to convey.

433. 'Is known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

434. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 227.

435. *vira cocha chayman chayaspaca*: we supply 'the Spaniards' because at this point they are coming into focus as humans.

436. *cay huacap collquin pachan* 'this *huaca*'s silver and garments': a sentence fragment forming a direct quote, perhaps to suggest brusque formless speech (of strangers who do not know Quechua properly?).

437. *pucorimorcan*: translocative *-mo-*, 'began to blow [burning straw] away'. Taylor (1980: 127) thought the wind blew the straw fire out, but this seems unlikely because straw burns violently in wind.

438. The location of Limca is not known, but (by analogy with alternations like *Ñamca/Ñamuc*), Limca/[Limac] might be the pre-*reducción* village of "Lima" (not to be confused with the city of Lima), which Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) mentions as a former Yunca outpost in the highlands.

of the Quinti,[439] carrying along a child of Paria Caca named Maca Uisa.

<margin:> [Maca Uisa]

We'll describe these things in the next chapter.[440]

439. *quintip llantanpi limca sutioc llactapi*: *llanta* is problematic; it is treated here as a variant of *llacta* 'village' as in Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 208). *Llanta* recurs in chapter 19 (sec. 235).

440. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 19

228

When the former Inca[441] lived, they say,[442] this Maca Uisa, a child of Paria Caca, was taken along to help him in warfare.[443] The provinces of Amaya and Xiuaya had not yet yielded to conquest.

Because of their resistance, the Inca asked Paria Caca for one of his children, to subdue[444] those Amaya and Xiuaya people.

229 Paria Caca gave him the one named Maca Uisa.

Carrying him along, the Inca defeated them in no time at all.

From then on, the Incas revered Paria Caca even more. They bestowed gold and ample amounts of their clothing on him, and every year they made people give maize, coca, and other goods from their villages to provide for Paria Caca's thirty retainers.

230 While it was so, the Spanish Vira Cochas came over, as we said, and took everything Maca Uisa[445] had away from him.

(Subsequently, the late Don Sebastián[446] had all that was left of his things burned.)

231 And so, as we just said, Casa Lliuya resided for many years in the village of Limca, highly honored because he was the upholder of Maca Uisa.

After many years, when the Checa heard how the Quinti had done so well, the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma, who was then *curaca*, sent for Casa Lliuya, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa over here."[447]

Then Casa Lliuya, the old man who'd been burned, father of six children, came here with his children.[448]

232 When they arrived here (I mean at Llacsa Tambo)[449] they asked, "Father Maca Uisa, will you not keep careful guard over the Checa in this village?" Casa Lliuya revealed the answer by sacrific-

441. *ñaupa ynga* 'former Inca' could be read as 'first' or 'early Incas' but this appears less likely since the manuscript generally treats late Incas (naming only Tupay Ynga Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, the last two who ruled before the period of dynastic war and Spanish invasion).

442. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation. This chapter lacks introductory material and may be a continuation of the testimony interrupted by the last sentence of section 227, namely, the story of Maca Uisa.

443. Avila wrote that he met a young woman, disabled in her legs, married to a blue stone that stood for Maca Uisa in the absence of an original golden image that the Inca had taken to Cuzco ([1645] 1918: 67, 69, 71).

444. *atipai* 'to subdue': word appears truncated (*atipaipac*?) but no other reading is evident.

445. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

446. That is, Don Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca, *curaca* of Huarochirí village and province. See chapter 7 (sec. 93).

447. *huañoc* 'the late' is interlineated. On May 9, 1608, a Checa *cacique* signed his name "don juan Puipotacma" to a statement at Father Avila's trial (Archivo Arzobispal, Lima, Capítulos, Leg. 1, Exp. 9, f.91r). If this was the same Don Juan mentioned here, the episode of Maca Uisa's retrieval could refer to times as late as the early seventeenth century. On the same assumption, if this man died before the manuscript's last editing, the last editing must postdate May 9, 1608.

448. *sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamurcancu*: or perhaps as Taylor has it (1987b: 287), "came here with (a group of) six men each accompanied by his respective child(ren?)."

449. This is the only point at which the text tells where myths were collected. Llacsa Tambo is almost certainly modern Llaquistambo, an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa.

ing a llama; and it was just the same as in Huauya Cancha, where the mountain man Quita Pariasca had observed the augury.

233 When Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya's children had already perished and he himself was about to die, he spoke and said, "That's how things were when I arrived here." For he had said on arriving, "The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation[450] or disease[451] anymore."[452]

234 It was from that time onward that they upheld Maca Uisa in this village, and all the Checa served him, *ayllu* by *ayllu*, according to the full and waning cycles of the moon.[453]

On a certain night, all of them, men and women alike, would keep vigil together till dawn.

At daybreak, we know,[454] they offered guinea pigs and other things from each person individually, saying,

"Please help us and this village;
You are the one who guards it.
From each and every illness
You are the one who heals us."

235 After that,[455] dwelling in the village of Limca, Maca Uisa[456] enjoyed ample service. A whole thousand[457] of Quinti people reportedly[458] cultivated the fields of Yamlaca in order to provide Maca Uisa's drinks.

And the people who lived there got very rich[459] indeed, with all kinds of possessions in any quantity.

The Checa envied them[460] all this, and so it was that the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma dispatched some people to Casa Lliuya, who was a member of his *ayllu*, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa here. Why should he keep such a fine *huaca* in those people's[461] village?"

From that time onward, he lived here.

This is as much as we know about Maca Uisa.[462]

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450. *huaticay* 'temptation': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 187–188) gives many variants of this term, most of them Christian-influenced and emphasizing diabolical temptation. In this passage it may refer to sorcery, or perhaps to the temptations of conversion against which the saving of Maca Uisa was a bulwark.

451. *oncoypas* 'disease': in the wake of the epidemics that lashed postconquest Indian societies, the teller(s) appear deeply preoccupied with health and illness. See section 234 below.

452. *pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho* 'The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation or disease anymore': this prophecy answers Quita Pariasca's earlier prophecy saying the world was no longer good (chap. 18, sec. 221) and his discouraged fellow-worshipers' assent to it (chap. 18, sec. 226). 'Really' is added to convey the combined force of *ancha* and eyewitness validator *-mi*. The idea seems to be that on dying he sees in the well-being of his neighbors the vindication of the prophecy he had made on arriving. But the meanings of this and the preceding section are far from certain.

453. See chapter 18 (sec. 220) and note 423.

454. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

455. *chaymantam* 'after that': carries witness validation, but the main clause has *-si* reportive. This anomaly is fairly common and makes validation of some sentences less than clear.

456. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

457. *tucoy huc huaranca* 'a whole thousand': 'thousand' is an Inca bureaucratic term signaling a major demographic unit; such decimal terms remained in use in colonial Huarochirí (Spalding 1984: 54). Its use in this colonial (i.e., post-Inca) reorganization of Andean religion suggests (as do the events of chap. 20) that Inca manipulation had a substantial effect on local cultic organization.

458. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

459. *rico* 'rich', using the Spanish expression as in chapter 5 (secs. 37, 46, 60).

460. A resurgence of a pervasive theme, the Checa rivalry with the more senior Quinti (see, for example, chap. 17, secs. 214ff.). This is apparently the same incident mentioned in section 231.

461. *ymapacmi runap llantanpi* presents two translation problems. First, *runap* 'of people' does not specify what group is concerned; to minimize supplied elements, 'those' is furnished. Taylor (1987b: 291) speculates that it is a pejorative colonial usage of *runa*, which, like modern *indio*, implies baseness. Second, *llantan* is taken as a variant for *llactan*; see chapter 18 (sec. 227). Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) notes that villages and *ayllu*s regularly stole each other's *huaca*s.

462. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 20

Here Begins the Life of Llocllay Huancupa. In What Follows, We Shall Also Write about Its End

236 They say[463] the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa[464] was Pacha Camac's child.

A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form[465] while she was cultivating a field.

As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.[466]

237 But, while she was digging another time,[467] she found once again the same thing she'd found before.

"This might be some kind of *huaca*!"[468] she thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my *ayllu*," she brought it back.

238 At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampo another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay,[469] an emissary of the Inca.[470]

Cati Quillay was a *yanca*,[471] one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak.

Saying, "Who are you?

"What is your name?

"What have you come for?"

he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk.

Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, World Maker and World Shaker.

"My name is Llocllay Huancupa.[472]

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463. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 240.

464. *llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic* means 'Llocllay Huancupa, whom we mentioned above'. But in fact this is the first mention of Llocllay. Perhaps there were other testimonies that have not been included.

465. *ricurimuscantas . . . tarircan* 'she found [Llocllay's] visible form': this could mean a likeness, perhaps a precolumbian artifact (such objects were and still are sometimes taken as signs of the superhuman), but it might also mean some nonfigurative object.

466. *pachallampitac*: since *pacha* means both a location and a moment, could also mean 'immediately'.

467. *huc pachacta* 'another time': again, since *pacha* signifies both time and space, this might also mean 'at another place'. If so, its sense might be that Lanti Chumpi recognized the find's importance by its ability to move underground. Whether one reads two times or two places, the point seems to be that the *huaca* insists on being found by Lanti Chumpi.

468. A *huaca* that belonged to an extinct *ayllu* and had been lost among "roads and crossroads and wildernesses" was called a *purun huaca*, meaning a 'wild' or 'desolate' one. "When they found these . . . they considered themselves lucky and blessed, and they began to ennoble their lineages and their descent" (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 184). Hence Lanti Chumpi's excitement. All of chapter 20 through section 243 is the biography of a rediscovered *purum huaca* and the story of its cultic "ennoblement" up to and including cooptation by the Inca state.

469. Possibly identifiable with Catequilla or Catachillay, the Southern Cross (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 51) as interpreted by Gary Urton (1981: 130–131).

470. *yngap cachan* 'an emissary of the Inca' employs the Inca term for a plenipotentiary and not a mere messenger.

471. Seems to suggest that one *huaca* (presumably via its priest) could act as *yanca* of another. Taylor (1987b: 295) gives "effortlessly," reading *yanca* as the homonymous adverb.

472. Llocllay Huancupa's name signals his association with rain: Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 215) tells us *llocclla* meant "river in spate, flood." The Jesuit *carta annua* of 1609 (Taylor 1987a: 85–96) tells that *huancupa*,

"It was my father who sent me here, saying, 'Go and protect that Checa village!' "[473]

239 The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us." And since the enclosed courtyard[474] at the house of the woman who'd discovered the *huaca* was a small one, they enlarged it, and all the Checa, along with the Chauti and Huanri people, adorned her house and courtyard with great reverence.

240 They made arrangements among themselves, saying, "We'll enter in to do his service according to the full and waning moon,[475] *ayllu* by *ayllu*, with the Allauca taking the lead"; and they gave him some of their llamas.

(At the full moon they in fact[476] say,
"It's time for his arrival,"
they say,
"It's he who's arriving!")

At the Arrival festival, in the old times, people used to dance wearing the *chumprucu*[477] and the *huaychao* weavings,[478] just the same way as they wore the *chumprucu* and the *huaychao* weavings during Paria Caca's festival season.

241 They served him for many years in the way we have described.

At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared.

When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid.[479]

242 But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac.

So by worshiping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return.

People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders.[480]

They pastured these llamas in the place called Sucya Villca,[481] declaring, "These are llamas of Pacha Camac." The Inca also ratified this practice.[482]

243 They arrived to worship one *ayllu* after another,[483] and in this fashion they served the *huaca*

whose meaning in this context is unclear, formed part of the name of a specific rain *huaca* Tamiahuancupa in Checa. Llocllay Huancupa is there said to be a child of Pacha Camac, the greatest maritime *huaca*, and to be a nephew of Paria Caca, the great embodiment of the stormy heights. Rivers in spate are the connections from the latter to the former. Thus Llocllay's appearance appears a promise that these violent waters would flow to the Checa's benefit and perhaps refrain from creating the washouts and mudslides that often damage villages like the Checa's.

473. Considering that this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huacas* afforded a safer course than fostering *huacas* of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance.

474. *cancha* 'courtyard': for description of the enclosed Andean residential compound, see Gasparini and Margolies (1980: 181–193).

475. See note 423.

476. This whole parenthesis has witness validation and differs from the surrounding material in tense; it appears to place a contemporary custom in the remembered context of the narrative.

477. Taylor (1987b: 297) suggests a plausible derivation from words meaning 'belt' and 'headdress', hence 'turban'. Turbans are abundantly visible in coastal ceramic portrait vases and are found in prehistoric burials.

478. *huaychao ahua* '*huaychao* weavings' is an uncertain translation because the expected form would be *ahuasca*.

479. *husnocta pircaspa*: literally, 'walling an *usnu*'; the term *usnu* could mean a stone-faced step-pyramid, perhaps like the one still visible at Vilcashuamán. But in R. T. Zuidema's explication (1980) the concept expands to signify any *axis mundi*–like vertical conduit. The early "extirpator" Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 202) describes *usnu*-type shrines as 'towers' built around an axis or shaft at which worship was celebrated. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentions *usnus* ([1615] 1980: 1:236, 239, 2:357, 413).

480. That is, like many other superhumans, he was assigned an endowment of capital goods whose products would support his cult and be distributed at his feasts.

481. Identified by Rostworowski (1978: 43) as a plateau above San Bartolomé.

482. That is, when they felt forced to increase the endowment of this Inca-endorsed *huaca*, they arranged for the Inca state to bear part of the additional cost by contributing use of Inca herding facilities at Sucya Villca. This was appropriate because Llocllay's cult was an extension of the Inca-sponsored Pacha Camac cult, and Pacha Camac's animals were herded at Sucya Villca (chap. 22, sec. 277).

483. Taylor (1987b: 299) interprets *ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan* to mean that each *ayllu* celebrated the "Arrival" rite in turn.

for a great many years. If diseases of any kind came upon them, they would tell him and implore him for well-being. Whenever any affliction or sorrow befell, or when enemies came, or there was an earthquake, people would fear him greatly and say, "His father[484] is angry!" As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries,[485] to provide for his drinks.

244 Later on, at the time when a certain Father Cristóbal de Castilla was in this *reducción* and when Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman was the *curaca*,[486] people stopped worshiping, because both of them hated such practices.

But when the first great plague of measles[487] came, people began to worship him again in all sorts of ways. As if he were thinking, "Llocllay's sending the plague," the *curaca* ceased scolding those people any longer when they drank in the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi.

At that same time, the *huaca*'s house caught fire all by itself,[488] because that was God's will.

245 Now it's a fact that[489] after Don Gerónimo died, Don Juan Sacsa Lliuya succeeded to the office of *curaca*,[490] and, since this chief was at the same time a *huacsa* himself, everybody began to live as they'd lived in earlier times; they'd visit both Llocllay Huancupa and Maca Uisa, and they kept vigil the whole night there drinking until dawn.

246 Nowadays, due to the preachings of Doctor Avila, some people have converted back to God and forbidden all these practices. But if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huaca*s as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long time.[491]

We'll let you hear this story in what follows.

247 There was a man named Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, whose father was the late Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman whom we mentioned before. This man lived a good life from his childhood onward, because his father bitterly scorned all these *huaca*s.

But when he was about to die, Don Gerónimo was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into this same sin. Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits,[492]

484. I.e., Pacha Camac.

485. *yngap çaranta sapçicunamantas* 'maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries': again emphasizes that Llocllay's cult was Inca-subsidized. The suggestion would be that, where maize is concerned, the Inca enabled them to toast Llocllay at Inca, not local, expense.

486. A 1588–1590 lawsuit over the major *cacicazgo* of the Rímac valley contains testimony by Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman, *curaca* of the Checa. Fron it we learn that he was four or five years old when the Spanish invaded Peru; he was forty years old when Jesuits taught literacy at Huarochirí missions and never learned to write. From childhood onward he attended meetings of chiefs that the Ninavilca (Huarochirí village) lords convoked at Mama and elsewhere (Murra 1980: xviii–xix). His position as a member of the generation that first managed the transition to colonial religious and political forms helps one to understand his ambivalence toward Christianity (see sec. 247; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 9-45-5-15, ff. 105v–112r; Espinoza Soriano 1983–1984).

487. Cook (1981: 60) says the first measles epidemic was perhaps in 1531–1532, with a question mark, and notes another without a question mark for 1558–1559. It seems likely that the teller means the 1558–1559 epidemic. Perhaps the resurgence of Llocllay's cult following it is a phenomenon resembling the Taki Onqoy nativist movement that arose at that time in the south-central highlands. In order to credit this interpretation one must assume that Gerónimo Cancho Huaman's rule lasted thirty-odd years.

If the date is not 1558 but later, the reference might be to the Moro Onqoy period described by Curatola (1978).

488. *paicama* 'all by itself' could also mean 'according to him' (the chief?). Either reading suggests that the fire was taken as the Spanish deity's attack on the native *huaca*.

489. 'Now it's a fact that' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 247.

490. Since Don Gerónimo was still *curaca* in 1590 according to the source mentioned in note 486, the events that follow can be dated 1590–1608.

491. A nakedly political passage setting up the witness, Cristóbal Choque Casa, as a hero. Choque Casa was Avila's close political ally. Missionary Quechua predominates in the rhetoric of the pure heart and the verbal renunciation of *huaca*s as *supay* ('demons', in missionary lexicon). 'The *huaca*s' supplied. Original has *caycunacta* 'these'.

492. The passage may have a double meaning, reflecting the double Andean and missionary senses of the word *supay*. An Andean person faced with death could well be concerned with ancient spirits, not in the European understanding of false deities, but in the autochthonous sense of deified ancestors or *huaca*s worshiped by ancestors, whose mobile parts (*supay*) could contact the living. The speaker would not have specified *mana alli* unless he supposed that a *supay* could also be good.

he confessed himself just before dying.[493]

As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now![494]

248 The deceased man's son, that is, the same Don Cristóbal we spoke of, is still alive.

It was he who once saw the demon Llocllay Huancupa with his own eyes, when he was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death.

The story is like this.

To tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross."[495]

249 Don Cristóbal said that one night[496] he went to Llocllay Huancupa's house while his lover[497] was there. Cristóbal had abandoned the worship of this *huaca*, and hardly thought of him anymore.

When he arrived at the dwelling he went into a little shed in the corral[498] to urinate.

250 From inside that place, the spot where they've put a cross, that demon appeared before his eyes like a silver plate that, mirroring[499] the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight.

When he saw this he almost fell to the ground.

Reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, he fled toward the little lodging, the woman's dwelling.

251 When he'd walked halfway there, the demon flashed three times again. When he arrived at the room it flashed[500] another three times, and the first time it had flashed[501] three times also.

So, all in all, it flashed nine times.

Seeing that demon flash so many times, and becoming thoroughly terrified, Don Cristóbal reached the place where the woman slept and woke her up abruptly.

252 Two children were also asleep there.

He was panting[502] so hard, the children got scared and said, "It's our father who's doing that!"

(These children and the young woman, too, were the offspring of the demon's priest.)[503]

493. *ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullaycuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi* 'Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits he confessed himself just before dying': an ambiguous sentence. It could mean, as we indicate, that although Don Gerónimo relapsed into *huaca* worship in old age, his conscience at the last impelled him to confess in Catholic fashion. Or it could mean that he made his last confession to a *huaca* priest. The latter reading presupposes that the Spanish-derived verb *confesacoy* could denominate a non-Christian rite (much as *saçerdote* could mean *huaca* priest).

494. *chaytaca dios aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas* 'As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!': perhaps with a shade of satirical intent, or perhaps said in pity; since the old man was so indecisive in religious matters, who can say whether he is now in Hell or Heaven?

495. Cristóbal's testimony begins with not one but two narrative formulas: first, *cay simire cay ynam* 'the story is like this', a common one throughout the manuscript and perhaps an Andean phrase; then, *cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don christobal juramentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa* 'to tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross," ' an emphatic touch of mission culture.

496. *huc tutas don x(christob)al* 'Don Cristóbal said that one night': more literally, taking reportive validation into account, 'One night Don Cristóbal, it's said'. But the fact that we know it was Don Cristóbal himself who swore before telling the story that begins here justifies 'Don Cristóbal said that'. Since Don Cristóbal would presumably have talked in first person, the passage shows that *-si* reportive passages are likely to be paraphrases of testimony, not transcripts, and therefore unreliable as to exact properties of discourse including, for example, versification. (An alternative hypothesis would be that Don Cristóbal himself wrote the passage, trumping up the oath and third person diction.)

497. *sipasnin* 'his lover': the referent of the third person possessive marker *-n* is ambiguous (Cristóbal's lover or Llocllay's?) and the translation reflects this. The former, however, seems likelier; why, otherwise, would Cristóbal, a Christian, go to Llocllay's house? And why at night?

498. *racay huasillaman* 'into a little shed in the corral': Taylor (1987b: 305) has "into a little house in ruins (which had been the *huaca*'s sanctuary[?])." The discrepancy arises from readings of *racay*, which can mean either 'corral' or (in the form *racay racay*) 'depopulated town' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 311).

499. *tincochisca* 'mirroring': more literally, 'caused to match' (i.e., angled so as to reflect) the mid-day sun. The phrase *runap ñauinta tutayachic* reads more literally 'as what benights a man's eyes' and alludes to the darkening of vision caused by gazing at a too-bright light.

500. 'It flashed' supplied.

501. 'It had flashed' supplied.

502. *siuyaptinsi* 'he was panting': original is ambiguous as to whether Llocllay or (more probably) Don Cristóbal is the subject of this verb.

503. I.e., of Astu Huaman, who appears in chapter 21 (secs. 265, 267).

Then, just as a man entering a doorway at dusk darkens the room even more,[504] so it was also that night as the demon went in and out. The demon wanted to overpower Don Cristóbal, making his ears ring with a "Chuy!" sound, as if he were about to demolish the house, too.

253 Cristóbal invoked God, shouting out at the top of his voice all the prayers he knew, <crossed out:> [knowing] saying the *doctrina*[505] from beginning to end over and over again.

As midnight passed, the demon was overpowering him. He thought that nothing could save him, the demon was making him sweat so. Then he invoked our mother Saint Mary, saying:

254 "Oh mother, you are my only mother.
Shall this evil demon overpower me?

You, who are my mother, please help me
Even though I am a great sinner;

I myself served this very demon;
Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,

That he is not God,
That he could never do anything good.

255 You, my only queen,[506]
You alone will rescue me from this danger!

Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.
Let him rescue me right now

From this sin of mine,
And from the hand of this wicked demon."

Thus weeping and sweating[507] he invoked our mother the Virgin, our one and only queen.

256 After finishing this, he prayed saying the *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ* in Latin.

While he was reciting it, just as he was in the middle of reciting it, that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl.[508]

At that exact moment, the place became like dawn.[509] There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving a room.

257 From then on, Cristóbal worshiped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always.

In the morning he addressed all the people:

"Brothers and fathers, that Llocllay Huancupa whom we feared has turned out to be a demonic barn owl.

258 "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house. If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the *padre*. Consider carefully[510] what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.

259 Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon.

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504. The simile likens the alternating glare and gloom of Llocllay's presence to the interior of an Andean house—normally windowless—that is thrown into darkness when a person enters its doorway and brightens when he steps out.

505. *doctrina*: the elementary religious lessons that Indian neophytes were required to learn.

506. *coyallaytacmi*, 'my only queen', using the word for an Inca queen, that is, a sister-wife of the Inca.

507. When Jesuits campaigned in Huarochirí in 1571, they encouraged people to "pour out tears and sobs" while renouncing the *huacas*, and intentionally "drew the business out so that [converts] would feel greater anguish." The 1571 campaign produced behavior something like Cristóbal's: the missionaries proudly reported that one convert "passed three hours weeping bitterly and conversing with Our Lord" before turning himself in to become a servitor of Catholic priests (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 241–244). These precedents suggest that chapters 20 and 21 render the subjective content of what had perhaps become by 1600 a fairly standardized cultural performance.

508. *chusic* 'barn owl': this bird's appearance echoes the image of the flashing disk. "*Barn owl, Tyto alba contempta* (*Lechuza de los campanarios*). A large owl, buffy-white below speckled with black, pearl gray to buff above, finely spotted. The feathers about the eyes form a white disk in the shape of a heart. Recognized by its light color and characteristic hoarse screech. Nocturnal, withdrawing during the day into caves, holes in trees, towers of churches, etc. In nearly all parts of our region, but never common; also in Lima. A species of world-wide distribution" (Koepcke 1970: 76). The barn owl, a nocturnal predator, seems an appropriate likeness of the nocturnal *huaca* Llocllay (his rites are celebrated at night).

509. *pachaca pacaric yna carcan*: could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning'.

510. *alli yachacoy* 'consider carefully': might also be read 'good thought'. Taylor (1987b: 311) detects a possible calque to *evangelio*, which (via a Greek etymology) means 'good news'.

From that time forward, they definitely did refrain from going there.[511]

511. *chayaita samarcancu* might also mean "they desisted from performing the Arrival ritual" (Taylor 1987b: 313).

But that night, while Don Cristóbal was asleep in his house, Llocllay Huancupa appeared to him again in a dream.

Next we'll write about this.[512]

512. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 21

260

Although a Dream Is Not Valid,[513] We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him

We've already heard that Llocllay Huancupa was an evil demon and that Don Cristóbal defeated him.[514]

But Don Cristóbal said[515] the evil demon also wanted to overpower him in a dream.

And so on the night of the very next day, the demon summoned Don Cristóbal from his house by sending a man. He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa."[516] Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on.[517]

261 He got scared and approached an old lady, a Yunca woman,[518] who lived there in that same patio.

This old lady was a Yunca woman.

"Son," she said to him, "Why is it that you don't honor Llocllay Huancupa, child of Pacha Cuyuchic the Earth Shaker? It's to find out about this that he's summoned you now."[519]

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513. *mana muscoy yupai captinpas* 'Although a Dream Is Not Valid': the original reads 'although a dream is not *yupai*'. A root sense of *yupay* is 'account'. Derivatives include 'to give account of something received, or to enumerate, to evaluate, to esteem, or to assign a price'; "*yupay* honor or esteem" and "*mana yupay* what is null or invalid or worthless or commanding no price" are further derivatives (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 371–372).

Why does the writer of the title feel a need to disclaim the value or validity of dreams? Mannheim (1987: 137) points out that the Third Council of Lima, laying down the doctrine that Avila enforced, had explicitly attacked the idea that dreams are *yupai*. Mannheim translates the council's strictures from Quechua:

> Don't be keeping [*Ama . . .yupaychanquichicchu*]
> dreams
> "I dreamt this or that,
> why did I dream it?"
> Don't ask:
> dreams are just worthless and
> not to be kept [*mana yupaychaypacchu*].

"Extirpators" energetically attacked belief in dreams and dream interpreters (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 35; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 192, [1622] 1923: 25–49).

514. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

515. 'Don Cristóbal said' supplied to indicated reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 272. Don Cristóbal may be taken as the speaker because in section 248 he is named as the source.

516. *manas paiman rine nircancho* 'He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa" ': Llocllay's name supplied as referent of *pai*. Taylor (1987b: 315) reads this differently: "He didn't say to him if he meant to go or not." The discrepancy arises from two points: first, whether one takes the messenger or Don Cristóbal to be the speaker; Taylor seems to accept the latter. Second, whether one understands the quotation to begin before or after *paiman* 'to him'; Taylor accepts the latter.

517. *ña huasinman yaicusparacsi musyacorcan* 'Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on': Don Cristóbal, supplied subject. Taylor (1987b: 315) has: "At the moment when he was about to enter his house, [Don Cristóbal] had a presentiment [of something unlucky]." This reading is justified with an explication of *musyay* suggesting it means 'enter into a trance', with connotations of precognition. Our translation is influenced by another usage of *musyasca* to mean 'in the know, aware'.

518. *huc yunga huarmi chacuas* 'an old lady, a Yunca woman': *chacuas* is a modern Quechua I word meaning 'old lady'. The alternative translation would be to take this as her personal name.

519. Presumably the old lady's speech is a reply to Don Cristóbal's invective against Llocllay on the previous day.

262 When she said that, he replied, "Ma'am, he's an evil demon. Why should I honor him?"

Don Cristóbal was gripping a silver coin of four *reales*[520] in his hand.

He dropped it[521] on the ground.

While he was searching for it, Francisco Trompetero called him from outside: "Hey, what're you doing in there?[522] Your father's really angry! He's calling you and he says, 'He'd better come in a hurry!' "

263 As soon as he said this, Cristóbal replied, "Wait a moment, brother, I'm coming right away" and rummaged for his silver coin in frantic haste.

At the moment when he found it, when he was about to leave, the demon, just as he'd scared Cristóbal before with a silvery flash[523] against his face, flashed out once again from inside the place where the cross was put.

264 Realizing that he couldn't save himself now, Cristóbal suddenly got frightened. Someone called him from inside the room, saying, "It's our father[524] who calls you!"

Saying, "All right," but deeply angry in his heart, he went inside. On entering he sat down close by the door.

265 Right then, Astu Huaman was offering drinks and feeding the *huaca*, saying,

> "Father Llocllay Huancupa, you are Pacha Cuyuchic's child,
> It is you who gave force and form to people."

As he spoke he fed him with deep veneration.

The demon, unable to speak, repeated "Hu, hu"[525] over and over again.

And when Astu Huaman offered him some coca, the demon made it crackle "Chac, chac" just as a coca-chewer does.

266 While he was doing that, a long time, Don Cristóbal saw from inside the house something that looked like a painting encircling it completely in two patterned bands. It looked as a Roman-style mural painting might if it went on two levels.[526]

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520. A four-*real* coin is half a *peso de ocho*, very commonly circulated c. 1600. The coin Don Cristóbal held was almost certainly of a design showing the quartered arms of Castile and León on one side and the arms of the Hapsburgs (probably the version obtaining during the reigns of Felipe II [1556–1598] or Felipe III [1598–1621]) on the other. The arms of Castile and León are contained within the upper left quadrant of the Hapsburg arms. The quartered space—reminiscent of Peruvian ideas of the Inca world as a 'fourfold domain'—may have figured in Don Cristóbal's dream thinking (Dasi 1950: 60, 66; Grünthal and Sellschopp 1978: 49, 60; Rodríguez Lorente 1965: 129, 153).

521. *ormachircan* 'he dropped it': ambiguous as to whether he dropped it by accident or let it fall on purpose, but the former seems more plausible since he at once tries to recover it.

522. Francisco Trompetero's surname or nickname means 'trumpeter' in Spanish and suggests a military or church musician. His question sounds rhetorical; he would have known very well why an Andean person carries a coin when visiting a *huaca*: "In some places silver is offered up in the form of *reales*. In Libia Cancharco fifteen silver *duros* [i.e., whole pesos] were found, together with some small pieces of ordinary silver. In the town of Recuay Dr. Ramírez found two hundred *duros* in a *huaca*. They generally hammer the coins or chew them in such a way that you can hardly see the royal arms. Coins are also found around *huacas*, looking as if stained with blood or *chicha* [i.e., maize beer]. On other occasions, the priests of the *huacas* keep the silver that is collected as offerings to be spent for their festivals" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 43; Keating's translation).

523. *collqui ñiscanchichuan* 'with a silvery flash': Taylor (1987b: 317–318) thinks the silvery object might be a silver disk hung in Llocllay Huancupa's shrine and thinks it unlikely to be the silver coin just mentioned, which he considers "a superfluous detail." In dream imagery however, the two might be conflated.

524. *yayanchic* 'our father': inclusive first person plural, conveying the speaker's assumption that the 'father' in question is also the father of the person he addresses, namely Cristóbal.

525. *chaysi chay supaica mana rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan*: if one takes *hu hu ñicacharcan* to derive from *huñiy* 'to agree' then the sense is that Llocllay here expresses his approval of the offering. But, since Llocllay appears an inarticulate *huaca*, it seems likelier that *hu hu* represents his inarticulate speech. Or perhaps *hu hu* represents an owl's cry, since Llocllay took an owl's form in chapter 20 (sec. 256).

526. *don christobalca chay huasin hucomanta tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai patarapi rinman chay hynacta*: more literally, 'Don Cristóbal saw from inside that house all on two places [levels, bands, or sides] something like a surrounding [rotating?] painted [object? pattern?], the way a Roman painted [object? pattern?] would go on two bands, like that'.

Translators differ in their efforts to visualize this difficult passage.

The wide divergences all turn on the meaning of the Spanish word *rromano*. Trimborn (1939: 114) and Urioste

On one band of the painting was a tiny demon, very black, his eyes just like silver,[527] who gripped in his hand a wooden stick with a hook. On top of him was a llama head. Above that was again the little demon and above that again the llama head.

In this way it encircled the whole house in a twofold pattern.

267 It really scared Don Cristóbal that he kept seeing all these things, and he tried to recall just what he'd meant to say.

Meanwhile, since the demon had finished eating, Astu Huaman made the fire blaze up again to burn all the things he'd offered.

268 After this was done, and when everything was quiet, Don Cristóbal began to speak:[528]

"Listen, Llocllay Huancupa! They address you[529] as the animator of humanity and as the World Shaker. People say 'He is the very one who makes everything!' and all mankind fears you. So why have you summoned me now?[530] For my part, I say,

'Is not Jesus Christ the son of God?[531]
Shall I not revere this one, the true God?
Shall I not revere his word forever?'[532]

This is what I say.

269 "Or am I mistaken? Then tell me now! Say,

'He is not the true God;
I am the maker of everything!'

so that from that moment on I may worship you."

So Cristóbal spoke, but the demon stayed mute. He didn't say anything at all.

270 At that moment Don Cristóbal defied him, crying good and loud:

"Look!
Are you not a demon?
Could you defeat my Lord Jesus Christ,
In whom I believe?

Look!
This house of yours!
Yes, you dwell surrounded by demons[533]—
Should I believe in you?"

271 At that moment somebody threw what we call[534] a *llaullaya*[535] at him.

Regarding this thing, Don Cristóbal didn't know whether that demon threw it or whether it was from God's side. For, defending himself with the *llaullaya* alone, he fled from that house all the way to the corner of the count's house,[536] always moving sideways and protecting himself with it.

Then he woke up.

(1983: 169) rendered it as concerning a Roman painting, and Taylor earlier accepted a related gloss, seeing it as a retable or mural in the style of a Roman church, but folded double (*yscay patarapi*). Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 123) judged that *rromano* refers to a scale called *romana*, that is, a steelyard scale, which could be said to 'move on two levels', and Taylor later (1987b: 319) accepted this view (see Hartmann and Holm 1985). Teresa Gisbert, the leading specialist in Andean visual arts for this period, endorses 'Roman-style painting' (personal communication). Ferrell (n.d.) considers relevant to a "banded" appearance the 1737 *Diccionario de autoridades* gloss of *romano* as 'a gray and black striped cat' (1976: 3:635).

527. Taylor (1987b: 321) has *monedas de plata* 'silver coins', which apparently echoes the coin theme starting in section 262.

528. Cristóbal now answers Llocllay's summons in section 261 by explaining why he does not respect him.

529. *ñispa ñisonqui* 'they address you': subject unspecified. The implied subject could be people in general, or Llocllay's priest Astu Huaman.

530. The point apparently being, if Llocllay really has these powers and privileges, why should Don Cristóbal's irreverence bother him?

531. Contrasting Jesus' claim to being the son of *dios* with Llocllay's claim of being the son of Pacha Camac.

532. These sentences repeat the suffix sequence *-tac-cha*, which in turn derives from two others that bespeak, respectively, forceful contrast (*-tac*) and a conjectural tone (*-cha*); the overall import is something like, but not quite like, a rhetorical question (Urioste 1973: 40–42, 51).

533. *supaipac yntupayascanmi ari tianqui* 'you dwell surrounded by demons': refers to the apparition of the checkered frieze or mural all around Llocllay's dwelling, covered with images Don Cristóbal thought demonic (sec. 266).

534. *ñiycum* 'what we call': exclusive first person plural form, implying that 'we' tellers, as opposed to the person addressed, call the object *llaullaya*. The source senses a cultural or linguistic difference between himself and the addressee.

535. Untranslated; may be an agricultural implement or a garment.

536. *condep huasincama* 'all the way to . . . the count's house': *conde* could mean a person from the *Kunti* quarter of the empire (*Kuntisuyu* in Inca terms), or a person called count (*conde*) in Spanish.

272 From that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, "They're demons!"

This is all we know about this evil demon's existence and about Don Cristóbal's victory.[537]

273 On this matter: it's said that[538] in performing Llocllay's Arrival festival in the old days, the people who celebrated used to dance first until sundown.[539]

Toward dusk, the *huaca*'s priest would say, "Now our father is drunk; Let him dance!" And he would perform a dance "as if in his stead," as they used to say.

Saying, "It's our father who invites you!" he'd bring maize beer in one small wooden beaker, and put another one inside the shrine in a pot, saying, "It's he who drinks this."[540]

274 Regarding this drinking: the priest, we know,[541] would offer drinks starting from the elders, all the way down to the end of the assembly.[542]

<A **marginal addition** in Quechua begins here:>

When they finished the round of drinking, they say,[543] the priest[544] would bring the gourd from which the demon had drunk outside, to where the guests were, so they could worship that gourd.

<**Marginal addition** ends.>

The following day he'd have them carry the leftovers and edible remains to Sucya Villca.

275 In the old days, the people who'd come to celebrate Llocllay Huancupa's Arrival reportedly[545] brought the food to Sucya Villca himself.

However, we know that[546] later on,[547] after finishing Llocllay Huancupa's feeding, people also fed Sucya Villca right at that spot.

In what follows, we'll write about these food offerings to Sucya Villca, and why they fed him, and also about who Pacha Camac was.

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537. This sentence has witness validation.

538. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 273.

539. *hura pachacama* 'until sundown': see chapter 8 (sec. 103), where the same locution occurs. Other possible readings are 'at the lowlands' and 'Pacha Camac'. The latter is problematic; if Pacha Camac were intended, one would expect final *c* and a locative suffix.

540. This is a description of drinking with paired vessels, one for the deity and one for the worshiper, a gesture of religious reciprocity pictured by Felipe Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:80).

541. 'We know' supplied to indicate that this passage, to the end of the chapter, has witness validation. The marginal note has reportive *-si*.

542. 'Of the assembly' supplied.

543. 'They say' supplied to indicate that the marginal note has reportive validation.

544. 'The priest' supplied.

545. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

546. 'We know that' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

547. Possibly meaning after the Spanish conquest.

CHAPTER 22

276

We don't in fact[548] know much about the Incas' great reverence for Pacha Camac.[549]

But we do know a few things. In the highlands, they say,[550] the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"

From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"[551]

277 The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.

The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca.[552]

278 Here's how we interpret this.

The Inca probably thought, "The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac.[553] It looks like there is no village

548. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates through the end of section 279. Some of the exceptions are conjectural *-cha* validations, translated with 'probably', 'it looks like', 'possibly', and 'no doubt'. It appears as though the source of these comments is giving his/her own understanding of Inca thought rather than relaying an informant's.

549. *yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascantaca manam allicho yachanchic*: Taylor (1987b: 329) has: "We do not know very well whether the Incas held Pachacamac in high esteem." But this seems the less likely of two possible readings, since the next few sections show that the speaker clearly knows the Incas did esteem him highly; in fact that is the point the chapter seeks to explain.

550. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence; however, the next sentence, which complements it, has witness validation.

551. *hanac ticsipi muchanantas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispatac mucharcancu* 'In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" ': this passage opposes Titi Caca to Pacha Camac as respectively the world's 'upper' and 'lower foundations' (*hanac/hura ticsi*). While its specific sense is uncertain, it appears to report an imperial vision of place-shrines on the highest scale, namely, place-shrines categorizing the whole world as one place. The ritual duality expresses the wholeness of the world in the image of centrifugal imperial expansion: from the world's highland center to its maritime edge.

552. Sucya Villca was a lake; see chapter 21 (secs. 274, 275) and chapter 22 (secs. 281–282, 284). From chapter 21 (sec. 275) we see that in the teller's mind Sucya Villca and Pacha Camac are closely linked. María Rostworowski (1978: 43) says Sucya Villca was a plateau above San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí, and that Sucya Cancha was there, too.

The complex of Sucya Villca and Sucya Cancha figures in the manuscript as the *coca* place par excellence. In chapter 8 (sec. 109), Sucya Cancha is a place of coca fields; in chapter 9 (sec. 124), it is the place where people went to 'trade' (*rantiy*) coca.

553. *cay ñiscanchic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñiscancunallapich pacha puchocan* 'The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac': a difficult passage. The teller perhaps thinks the Inca is reconciling two images of the edge of the

beyond these points, possibly nothing at all."[554]

279 It was no doubt with such thoughts in mind that the Incas worshiped these two *huacas* more than the other *huacas*, and even placed the sun next to the lowland *huaca* Pacha Camac.

The place where they set it is called Punchau Cancha,[555] the Sun Court, to this very day.

280 Reportedly they gave Pacha Camac each year[556] what's called a Capac Hucha,[557] namely, human beings[558] both female and male, from Tauantin Suyo, the four quarters of the world.

Arriving at Pacha Camac, and saying to Pacha,[559] "Here they are. We offer them to you, father!" they'd bury the Capac Hucha alive, along with gold and silver. And according to the cycles of the full and waning moon, they fed him llamas and served him drinks without pause.

281 At any time when it failed to rain in the Checa villages, the Yunca, giving their yearly offering of gold and silver according to the Inca's orders, would send it to Sucya Villca <crossed out:> [mountain] with their maize beer and *ticti*.[560]

They reportedly[561] offered all this to Sucya Villca, saying,

"Father, it is Pacha Camac who sends us here.
And you are the one who rains on the land.

When no water flows from this lake,
We humans suffer from drought.

Therefore send down rain!
This is what we have come for."[562]

282 In such years, the Yunca, too, used to bury the silver and gold that they brought next to Sucya Villca lake.

Sucya Villca's retainers were from the Yasapa *ayllu* and his llama herder from the Allauca.

(Later on, when the Spaniards were already here, a certain Yasapa man called Payco Casa saw them bury some gold and silver there.)

283 And likewise the Inca would have offerings of his gold and silver given according to his *quipu* account, to all the *huacas*, to the well-known *huacas*, to all the *huacas*. He used to have them give gold *auquis* and silver *auquis* (when we say *choqui* we mean gold), and also gold *urpus* and silver *urpus*, and gold *tipsis* and silver *tipsis*; all this exactly according to *quipu* counts.[563]

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world: the one associated with their origin myth, in which the ocean is imagined as the deep reservoir from which Titi Caca's high-lying waters are lifted, and a coastal one, which identifies the ocean with the great seaside *huaca* Pacha Camac. The attempt to collate southern highland (especially Inca) understandings of Pacha Camac with more local west Andean ones appears analogous to the attempt to coordinate Cuni Raya of the coastal peoples with Vira Cocha of the highlanders. The phrase 'the place *they* call Pacha Camac' may be a clue; Rostworowski (1977: 198) notes that local usage called the place and its polity Ychma and only the *huaca* proper Pacha Camac.

554. The section has a marked predominance of dubitative validators, imparting a speculative tone.

555. The allusion is probably to the huge Inca temple still visible at Pachacámac.

556. In most other sources about *capac hucha*, the rite is described not as annual but as a crisis rite called on such occasions as plague, royal succession, or defeat (Duviols 1976). 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 280.

557. Capac Hucha 'opulent prestation': an all-empire sacrificial and redistributive cycle, in which offerings from all the empire's peoples were collected at Cuzco and then redistributed outward to all the empire's shrines and borders. It heavily emphasized burial of human sacrifices, which became new Inca-sponsored shrines (Duviols 1976; Zuidema 1973).

558. Hernández Príncipe tells us that they were spotless children ([1622] 1923: 60), and Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 142) that they were "married" and buried in pairs together.

559. *pachaman* 'to Pacha': alternative translations, none certain, are 'to the earth', 'to the world', or 'to Pacha' (i.e., the first part of the *huaca*'s name).

560. The validation of this sentence is unclear, both *-mi* and *-si* being present.

561. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 282.

562. These six utterances are not in semantic couplets, but their briefness and tight logical linkage gives them the aspect of an oral set-piece.

563. *choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc urpo collc horpo choc tipsi collc tipsi ñiscacunactas cochic carcan quipollamanta*: if one were to reproduce the truncated words as such, it would read: 'gol *auqui* and silver *auqui* (in saying *choqui* we mean gold) and things called gol *urpo* and silv *horpo*, gol *tipsi* and silv *tipsi*, are what they used to have given just according to the *quipu*'.

Choque is the word for gold in the Aymara-related languages; that it needs to be explained suggests a discrepancy of dialect or local culture between the teller and one or more of his audiences: scribe, translator (if there was one), compiler, or expected reader. The reason for

Of these major *huacas*, not a single one went unattended.

284 Following the same criterion, the Inca, when arriving[564] at the shrine of Llocllay Huancupa, would have them feed Sucya Villca the following morning; for there was fear of his father.[565]

This much we know about Pacha Camac, the World Maker.[566]

Regarding Pacha Cuyuchic, the World Shaker, this is what people said:[567]

"When he gets angry, earth trembles.
When he turns his face sideways it quakes.

Lest that happen he holds his face still.
The world would end if he ever rolled over."

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truncation is unknown.

Auqui may be "*auquicuna* the nobles, the *hidalgos*, lords" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 38), meaning Inca princes. Ferrell (n.d.: 5–6) offers "gold miners and silver miners," using a gloss of *auqui* from Perroud and Chouvenc's dictionary (1970?: 14).

Urpo might be 'beer vessel' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 357).

Tipsi remains unknown. Ferrell (n.d.: 7–8) interprets it as meaning *chaquira*, that is, 'small beads', because of likeness to a Junín-Huanca Quechua I term meaning a pinch or nip of something (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a: 133).

The list clearly forms a sixfold (two-sided, three-leveled) ranking of something. Of what? Despite the syntactical fact that *ñiscacunacta* suggests the six items are the things given (*-cta* is a direct object marker), the next sentence strongly suggests the point of the list is to tell the brackets of *huacas* to whom the *quipu* dictated they be given.

Zuidema (personal communication) thinks it is a classification of shrines and their respective priesthoods, citing Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:253). Guaman Poma explains that the Inca state subsidized three levels of *huaca* priests (with Paria Caca being served by the highest). The gold/silver opposition may express moiety or gender dualism.

A *quipu* is a set of cords knotted to make an abacus-like mnemonic record (Ascher and Ascher 1981).

564. *chayaspapas* 'when arriving': or perhaps 'celebrating the Arrival festival' (see chap. 20, sec. 240).

565. *yayanpa manchascan captin*: that is, fear of Llocllay's father, Pacha Camac. But it might also mean 'for he [Llocllay Huancupa] was feared by his [Inca's] father'; that is, that the Incas accepted his cult as a hereditary obligation.

566. This sentence has witness validation.

567. Narrative returns to reportive validation and chapter ends without closing comment.

CHAPTER 23

We Shall Write Here about the Inca's Summons to All the *Huacas*. We Shall Also Speak Here of Maca Uisa's Victory

When Tupay Ynga Yupanqui was king, they say,[568] he first conquered all the provinces and then happily rested for many years.

But then enemy rebellions arose from some provinces:[569] those called Alancu Marca, Calanco Marca,[570] and Chaque Marca.

These peoples didn't want to be peoples of the Inca.

286 The Inca[571] mobilized many thousands of men and battled them for a period of about twelve years.

They exterminated all the people he sent, and so the Inca, grieving deeply, said, "What'll become of us?" He became very downhearted.

287 One day he thought to himself, "Why do I serve all these *huacas* with my gold and my silver, with my clothing and my food, with everything I have? Enough! I'll call them to help me against my enemies."

He summoned them: "From every single village, let all those who have received gold and silver come here!"

288 The *huacas* responded, "Yes!" and went to him. Even Pacha Camac went, riding in a litter, and so did the local *huacas* from the whole of Tauantin Suyo all in their own litters.

When all the village *huacas* had arrived at Aucay Pata,[572] Paria Caca hadn't yet arrived. He was still grumbling, "Should I go or not?"

Finally Paria Caca sent his child Maca Uisa, saying, "Go and find out about it."

289 Maca Uisa arrived and sat at the end of the gathering on his litter called *chicsi rampa*.[573]

Then the Inca began to speak: "Fathers, *huacas* and *villcas*, you already know how wholeheartedly I serve you with my gold and my silver. Since I do so, being at your service as I am, won't you come to my aid now that I'm losing so many thousands of my people? It's for this reason that I've had you called together."[574]

But after he said this not a single one spoke up. Instead they sat there mute.

290 The Inca then said, "Yao! Speak up! Shall the people you've made and fostered perish in this way, savaging one another? If you refuse to help me, I'll have all of you burned immediately!

291 "Why should I serve you and adorn you with my

568. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter lacks the usual introductory passage and starts in reportive *-si* validation. Since the previous chapter lacks concluding comments, this may be the direct continuation of an informant's narrative.

569. *Ilactacunamanta*: *llacta*, usually translated 'village', can carry such expanded meanings as 'province', 'country'.

570. The lower-valley village seen as the outer limit of Tutay Quiri's conquests. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 12 (secs. 170–171).

571. 'The Inca' supplied. The unspecified third person subject might also be the rebel peoples.

572. A plaza in the heart of Incaic Cuzco.

573. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:313) shows a "second person" or alter ego of the Inca riding in his *chicchi ranpa* or 'gray litter'. The suggestion in section 289 seems to be that the litter embodies Paria Caca's authority and Maca Uisa is his "second person." The teller of this chapter knew the Inca usage; see section 294.

574. This passage and Inca speeches in the following sections appear to afford examples of the teller's idea of how Inca political rhetoric sounded, alternately exalted and brutally threatening.

gold, with my silver, with basketfuls of my food and drinks, with my llamas and everything else I have? Now that you've heard the greatness of my grief, won't you come to my aid? If you do refuse, you'll burn immediately!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [from the hand and pen of Thomás][575]

292 Then Pacha Camac spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! As for me, I didn't reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn't be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent."

293 As the other *huacas* sat mute, Maca Uisa then spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! I'll go there. You must remain right here, instructing[576] your people and making plans. I'll go and subdue them for you, right away, once and for all!"

While Maca Uisa spoke, a bright greenish-blue color blew from his mouth like smoke.

294 At that very moment he put on[577] his golden panpipe (his flute was likewise of gold) and he wrapped the *chumprucu*[578] around his head. His *pusuca*[579] was of gold, too, and as for his tunic, it was black.

For Maca Uisa's journey the Inca gave him a litter, called the *chicsi rampa*,[580] made for the travels of an Inca in person.

The people called Calla Uaya[581] were chosen by the Inca because they were all very strong.

These people could carry him, in a few days, a journey of many days.

They were the ones who carried Maca Uisa and bore his litter to the battlefront.

295 As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.

The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.

296 When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. Striking with lightning bolts, he exterminated the great *curacas* and all the other strongmen. Only a few of the common people[582] were spared. If he had wanted to, he could have exterminated them all. When he had overpowered them completely, he drove some of the people back to Cuzco.

297 From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more, and gave him fifty of his retainers.

The Inca said, "Father Maca Uisa, what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint."

"I don't want anything," Maca Uisa replied, "except that you should serve as *huacsa* the way our children[583] from the Yauyo do."

298 The Inca was deeply afraid when he said this,

575. The identity of the scribe(?) Thomás is not known.

576. *carpacuspa* 'instructing': Szemiński (personal communication) suggests that the modern verb *karpay* 'to instruct, to train in mysticism' (Lira [1941] n.d.: 103), although not attested in colonial dictionaries, is a more plausible gloss than one based on *carpani*, that is, 'making your tent'(González Holguín [1608] 1952: 50).

577. *antaricorcan* 'he put on': the verb is not attested in any relevant sense in Quechua dictionaries. Urioste (1983: 183) draws on likeness to *anta* 'copper' to translate as 'he forged'. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 133) have 'he raised'. Taylor (1980: 157) has 'he played' and (1987b) 'he carried'. We draw on the possibility of an Aru borrowing related to Aymara *hanttacutha* 'to put on' (e.g., a frontlet; Bertonio [1612] 1956: 119).

578. *chumprucu*, probably 'turban'. See chapter 20 (sec. 240).

579. *pusucanri*: untranslated. Possibly related to Aymara *phuscanca* 'thigh or rump' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 281), suggesting a lower-body garment, or to *phuska* (modern Quechua) 'spindle with whorl'.

580. Like the *chicsi rampa* litter already mentioned (sec. 289), which Paria Caca presumably assigned to Maca Uisa.

581. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:305) also pictures the *calla uaya* (Kallawaya) as the Inca's fleet-footed litter-bearers. Today a people of this name is still known for wide travels and enjoys special prestige for healing abilities (Bastien 1987; Girault 1984; Saignes 1983). But Callauaya was also the name of an agricultural satellite village of Huarochirí in 1594, according to a petition preserved in the Archbishopric of Lima (Papeles Importantes 3). Whether the two names are related is unknown. See note 604.

582. *atun runacunallas*: *atun runa* 'common people' is more literally 'big man' (or 'person'). This was the Inca bureaucratic term for an able-bodied tribute-paying adult.

583. *ñocaycup churijcuna* 'our children': exclusive first person plural (i.e., children of Maca Uisa and his kin, and not of the Inca). The plural form may express Maca Uisa's self-concept as part of the plural Paria Caca persona.

and answered, "Very well then, father!" He was willing to offer Maca Uisa anything at all, for he thought to himself, "He could destroy me, too!"

299 The Inca then said, "Father, eat!" and had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand:

"I am not in the habit of eating stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells!"

As soon as the Inca gave him thorny oyster shells, Maca Uisa ate them all at once, making them crunch with a "Cap cap" sound.

300 Since Maca Uisa didn't want anything else to eat, the Inca ordered some of his Inca ladies of the nobility assigned to him; but he didn't agree to that either.

So Maca Uisa went back home to inform his father Paria Caca.

From then on, and for a long time afterward, the Inca acted as *huacsa* in Xauxa and danced ceremonially, holding Maca Uisa in great honor.

301 They gathered in Cuzco at Aucay Pata square as we mentioned, the *huacas*, all of them.[584]

Among these *huacas* seated there, as we said before,[585] it was Siua Caña Villca Coto who was the most beautiful of all. None of the other *huacas* could match this one in beauty.

This much we know about them.[586]

584. This sentence appears to have witness validation, but a slight lack of clarity in sentence boundaries makes it difficult to evaluate.

585. Not in fact mentioned before under the name Siua Caña. This allusion may mean that the lovely *huaca* embodying Villca Coto, the mountain that saved humanity (chap. 3), was represented in the Inca pantheon under a personal name Siua Caña.

586. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 24

Next We Shall Write about the Customs of the Checa, the Machua Yunca Festival and Its Dances, and, Finally, about the Origin of the People

302 When we talked in a different chapter about the children of Paria Caca, we already said a few things about their birth.

The story of their birth and their origin is like this.

Some people say[587] that there was a wild *quinua*[588] plant in the vicinity of Upper Paria Caca—the same one that's called *quinua* until today—and that humans emerged from its fruit there.

303 Other people say that blood once fell from the high heavens.[589]

It hit the ground at the spot called Vichi Cancha, in the area of that same *quinua*.

304 There the founders[590] established their villages:

Coña Sancha, founder of the Allauca,
Yuri Naya, founder of the Sat Pasca,
Chupa Yacu, founder of the Sulc Pahca,

587. Up to this point, including the verb *rimancu* 'say', the passage has witness validation, but it now shifts to *-si* reportive.

588. *quinua*: *Chenopodium quinoa*. "The nutritious seeds of this plant furnish a staple food for a large segment of the native population of Peru, replacing maize in the higher altitudes of the Andes. The red, white, or black seeds are used whole to thicken soup, to make chicha, or to be ground into flour. The ashes of the stalks may be combined with the leaves of coca, a combination that is said to increase the flavor of the latter" (Towle 1961: 36).

589. Chapter 24 owes its complexity to an antiphonal structure. It intertwines two strains of mythology (Yunca and Yauyo) and details a ritual regimen expressing the two groups' coexistence. Section 302 alludes to the origin myth of ancient Yunca *ayllu*-founders seen as the aboriginal precursors of Checa society. In ancient times, when the heights were all under Yunca power, these were born of the high-altitude *quinua* plant. Section 303 alludes to the origin of the blood-born invader groups who would impose themselves by conquest and inmarriage. In the rest of chapter 24 we learn that the blood-born groups from Vichi Cancha, who invaded Checa lands and defined the genealogy of Paria Caca so as to exalt their own mummified heroes (especially Tutay Quiri; chap. 12, sec. 167), nonetheless retained the mummies of the ancient *quinua*-born Yunca founders (sec. 341; chap. 9, sec. 115) and were concerned to claim linkage with them as a sign of legitimacy. Yunca privileges appear to be a continuing source of anxiety for Tutay Quiri's descendants and Paria Caca is made to chasten the haughty Yunca *ayllu* of Caca Sica for slighting their Yauyo in-laws (secs. 305–314). The invader groups putatively descended from Tutay Quiri claimed to have taken over and preserved the Yunca founders' names, rights, and *huacas* wholesale (sec. 316). *Quinua*-born *ayllus* like Caca Sica, which were permanently considered Yunca (perhaps because they contained Yunca people or perhaps only because they had obtained the old Yunca titles), enjoyed priestly privileges and danced the role of Yuncas in the Machua Yunca rites (secs. 327–340) as well as taking prominent part in Paria Caca's ceremonies; other rites (secs. 316–326) celebrated the invader-heroes. The unifying theme of this chapter is the ritual arrangement that in Checa joined the Yunca inheritance, symbolizing legitimacy, to the power-oriented ritual of blood-born *huacas* affiliated (perhaps only after the remembered invasions) with Paria Caca.

590. 'The founders' supplied; subject of *llactachacorcan* 'they founded' unspecified. An important fragmentary note by Avila, accidentally included in his trial record and interpreted by Taylor (1987b: 353), clearly identifies three of these (Chupa Yacu, Yuri Naya, and Chauca Chimpita) as founding heroes of San Damián–area *ayllus*. They were described as "grandfathers" ceremonially fêted and clothed, that is, mummies. They were still extant c. 1608.

Paco Masa, founder of the Yasapa,
Chauca Chimpita, founder of the Muxica,
and, as founders of Caca Sica, those Yunca[591] we have called Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha.

All these, the actual founders of the village, were Yunca people.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Huari Cancha Llichic Cancha were Yunca.]

305 The others, the Morales of Caca Sica and also the forefathers of the Cancha Paycu, were Yauyo.[592]
<**margin**:> [Morales Yauyo]
Their place of origin is called Maurura,[593] in the Aya Uire[594] area.
These people, who used to roam around as wild[595] nomads, married the sisters of Huar Cancha. "We and our in-laws will work things out among ourselves within the community," they said, and they settled down in this village.

306 When these people went to worship Paria Caca, their in-laws and all the Checa insulted them, calling them "Yauyo wildmen," so they used to go last, lagging way behind.
Since they suffered miserably when these people insulted them like that, they tagged along in the rear for a great many years.
"Father," they told Paria Caca on one occasion, "here's how it is: these people,[596] they and the Checa, insult us all the time. And we're your own creatures, even if we're Yauyo people!" They cried bitterly as they told this.

307 Then and there Paria Caca gave his command: "Children, don't grieve. Take with you this, my golden headdress. You must dance holding it up in Llacsa Tambo, at the place called Poco Caya. Then they'll say, awestruck, 'What people are these? They're the beloved of Paria Caca!' From that time on they won't insult you so."

308 And so when the Yauyos arrived in the rear of the Checa, carrying that golden headdress of Paria Caca's, jubilant, the other people were seized with fear.
The next day, the Yauyos danced and sang holding up the golden headdress while everybody in that place stood awestruck.

309 Some others say this:[597] in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*.
Even though at that time they deeply scorned the ones called "wild Yauyos," they said, "Let them carry offerings,[598] too."
The Yauyos did take them but they arrived at Paria Caca when the sun was already rising.

310 Because they were grieving bitterly, Paria Caca said, "Why are you so distressed, O Anta Capsi?" (Their old name had been Pacuyri.)
Then and there Paria Caca bestowed on them his gift, saying, "Take along this golden headdress. When people see it they'll no longer scorn you."

311 On one occasion they went to worship Paria Caca, carrying along the golden headdress.
But while they were crossing the river called Pari Ayri they dropped it.
They searched for it like anything, all the way upstream and downstream. But it didn't turn up, so they went to Paria Caca without it.

312 When they arrived on the morrow, the golden headdress stood there right at Paria Caca's side.
Although they begged for it in tears, he refused. Rebuking them harshly, Paria Caca said, "You didn't win it in victorious warfare, that you should go around showing it off everywhere so boastfully, and even bringing it here, thinking, 'We'll show it to the one who gives us power, to our maker.' "

591. Original has *yañcacuna*; since these groups are elsewhere said to be *yancas* (chap. 17, sec. 218), the translation '*yanca*' would be tenable here. But the next marginal note indicates the meaning here as Yunca.

592. The point being that the Caca Sica *ayllu* (chap. 9, sec. 118; chap. 17, sec. 216), although of ancient Yunca origin, had within it a Yauyo group called Morales. Recently in-married and of foreign stock, they were scorned, as succeeding sections tell.

593. Maurura may be Malleuran, a hamlet north of Ayaviri, 3,346 m above sea level in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

594. A modern town called Ayaviri is 29 km south-southeast of Huarochiri in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

595. As in the name of Quita Pariasca (chap. 18, sec. 221), the word *quita* 'wild' alludes to the qualities of untamed or skittish animals.

596. Meaning: the Yauyos' immediate in-laws?

597. Witness validation up to the colon, then *-si* reportive.

598. 'Offerings' supplied.

313 "Father, are we to be humiliated so?" they cried bitterly. "Please, return it to us or give us something else instead."

"Children," replied Paria Caca, "go back. I'll give you something during my sister Chaupi Ñamca's festival. Wait until then."

And so back they went.

314 And as he'd foretold, on Chaupi Ñamca's festival, in the courtyard called Yauri Callinca, on top of the wall, a very beautifully spotted wildcat appeared.

When they saw it, they exclaimed joyfully, "This is what Paria Caca meant!" and they held up its skin as they danced and sang with it.

(Hernando Cancho Uillca, who used to live in Tumna, was in charge of it.

But by now it's probably gone all rotten.)[599]

315 We've already spoken about the origin of the people.[600]

Those whom we mentioned are said to be Tutay Quiri's children; the others are known to have come forth from the fruit of a tree.[601]

As for Tutay Quiri, they say he was born in Vichi Cancha.[602]

Later on, he came and overpowered all the villages of this area, saying, "My children will live here!"

316 As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children[603] had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations.[604] Their names, by *ayllu*, were:

Allauca
Sat Pasca
Pasa Quine
Muxica
Caca Sica
Sulc Pahca
Yasapa.[605]

When we say Yasapa we mean silversmiths. They were silversmiths.

And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllus*.[606]

317 Then, after sharing the villages out among themselves, they received their *huacas*, ranking them from Allauca downward:

The Allauca received Maca Calla.

The Sat Pasca, we know,[607] received Quimquilla.

This Quimquilla was considered to be[608] a *curaca* among *huacas*, and for this reason was esteemed more than any other.

318 Next, the Sulc Pahca and the Yasapa received the *huaca* called Ricra Huanca.

The Muxica received Quira Raya.[609]

The Caca Sica received the *huaca* named Llucma Suni.

The Huanri and the Chauti were in fact[610] the actual natives of the village from early times.

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599. The first sentence of the parenthesis has witness validation and the second *-si* reportive.

600. This sentence has witness validation. A different version of how invaders took over the system created by the *quinua*-born founders begins here. This version centers on cults of mummified or preserved heroes of invasion: Tutay Quiri (see note 601), Ñan Sapa (secs. 319–323), and Chuta Cara (secs. 324–326).

601. That is, the above-mentioned Yauyos are Tutay Quiri's children, while those who scorned them were of the *quinua*-born Yunca founding *ayllus* (sec. 302). 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which immediately gives way to witness validation ('are known to have').

602. That is, Tutay Quiri is of the blood-born (sec. 303).'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 317.

603. 'Tutay Quiri's children' supplied.

604. That is, the conquerors not only seized the wealth of the vanquished, but even organized themselves according to the pattern and terminology of preexisting autochthonous society. A lawsuit of 1594 explains that *ayllu* Callaguaya of Huarochirí (see chap. 23, sec. 294) took on this name by displacing a Yunca group of the same name (Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima, Papeles Importantes 3, f. 10r). See note 581.

605. This list of captured categories differs in order but not in content from the list associating these groups with their respective ancestral Yuncas in section 304.

606. *chaypac sutintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin ayllocunapas* 'And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllus*': may mean that the other captured names, like Yasapa, imply specializations.

607. This sentence has witness validation.

608. 'Considered to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

609. This sentence has witness validation.

610. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following sentence.

In a different chapter we already told how they worshiped Tutay Quiri.[611]

319 So, as we've said, as soon as Tutay Quiri finished his conquests, his children came here and danced their dance of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha.[612] They danced and sang, calling the rite Masoma. The one called Ñan Sapa was a human being.[613]

Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.[614]

But they made another one to be his proxy.

This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.[615]

320 They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri*[616] in his ears and bore the *canah yauri*[617] scepter in his hands.

In ancient times, these were made of pure gold.

The Inca carried off that gold.

His staff was named Engraved Rod.[618]

And the seashell named *cori cacya* came with it.

321 Saying, "He is our origin; it was he who first came to this village and took charge of it," people flayed his face[619] and made it dance as if in his own persona.

If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying, "This is our valor!"

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, "Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first."[620]

322 Obeying this, they'd offer food and drinks to the other *huayos*, saying, "This day you shall dance with me on the plaza."

They actually[621] used to bring out the *huayos* and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with their maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings.

323 About this hanging of *huayos*, people remarked,[622] "The *huayos* will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha,[623] carrying these things along with them."

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611. See chapter 11 (sec. 161). Though not of invader stock and not resident in Checa, these groups take part in many Checa rites (see chap. 20, sec. 239), including those of Tutay Quiri. The next four sentences have reportive validation.

612. Vichi Cancha: where blood fell and invader groups originated (sec. 303).

613. Possibly meaning that this *huaca* consisted of a human mummy, that of a key ancestor. His cult is apparently one component of the "dances of origin" by which invader lineages commemorated their ties to the mummified founders (sec. 304).

614. This may refer to the Inca custom of removing important local *huacas* for inclusion in the Cuzco pantheon, which is the theme of chapter 23. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

615. The removal of the original *huaca* by the Inca is validated with reportive but the removal of its substitute by Avila is witness-validated ('we know').

616. *rinri* 'ear' indicates this was a specific type of earspool. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 322.

617. *yauri* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347) means 'scepter' or possibly 'lance'.

618. *quillcas caxo* 'Engraved Rod': a marginal note (supp. II, sec. 480) tells us that *caxo* meant a stick; *quillcas* means 'painted', 'inlaid', or 'engraved'. Avila himself described this object as "a copper spear engraved with various designs" that functioned as a *huaca* in its own right ([1645] 1918: 67).

619. *oyanta cochuspa* 'flayed his face': that is, made a sacred mask that would conserve the persona of the fallen or sacrificially killed hero (and not as torture of the living). *Huayo* in the next passage means, as a 1609 Jesuit report (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247) explains, a human face prepared as a mask "with its actual skin and bone." When the preserved face was displayed in a dance, it received offerings of llama fat in return for sharing its vital powers.

620. The point appears to be that when a captive faced sacrifice, he asked that, both immediately before his death and ever afterward when transformed into a facemask, he always be duly fêted before entering into his conquerors' ceremonies.

621. 'Actually' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

622. This sentence and the next have reportive validation.

623. Uma Pacha, we learn in section 324, was apparently a *huaca* who came from Vichi Cancha, and represented the origin of a group that saw itself as derived from the blood fallen at Vichi Cancha (sec. 303). In chapter 31 (sec. 403), the invaders' union with the Yunca autochthones of Checa is cemented when the surviving Yunca boy Yasali becomes priest of Uma Pacha and serves the blood-born groups derived from Vichi Cancha.

But Uma Pacha is probably a generic category of *sacra* (from the Jaqi word *uma* 'water'), associated with high lakes and seemingly imagined as sources at which bio-

They would speak with a different pronunciation when they addressed one another, twisting their mouths to one side.[624]

During Ñan Sapa's festival, we know they carried on dancing for five days, and the Allauca did the same.[625]

324 In another place, there was said to be someone called Chuta Cara, also known as Uma Pacha.[626] <**margin**:> [Masoma Chuta Cara]

He himself had come from Vichi Cancha along with the others.

He existed as a man and congealed into stone.

He still held the sling he'd used as a human being, and his *visa*[627] was decorated with likenesses of birds.

325 And then there was the *huana paya*, a conch trumpet; when he blew it, the local *huacas*[628] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Means 'idol'.] would divide up the llama herds.

He emerged with that very object.

It was because of the llamas that some people conserved *huana paya* conch trumpets.

We know people from Allauca used to perform these rites at the festival of Chuta Cara.[629] As llama owners, the Checa and the Concha and whatever other people also display those conch trumpets.

326 And it's known that[630] they danced these same rites for two years, just one time per year.

Therefore, since the ritual cycle lasted two years, they performed the dance only twice in all.

After that, they danced the dance named Machua for two years.[631]

327 The people who, as we said before, had Yunca names[632] were the ones who danced for two years in Machua festival season.

Braiding[633] some straw called *chupa*, as they say,[634] and tying together a lot of wooden slats,

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logical vitality is renewed. The mostly Yunca-oriented Machua rite also addresses it (sec. 335). The ethnographers Valderrama and Escalante (1988: 187–189) suggest that the shrine today called Umahala in the Colca valley belongs to the same class as ancient *oma pacha*.

624. In modern Quechua folk ritual, people performing as mythic personages often speak in unnatural ways (especially falsetto). But another reading is possible. Since Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 304) gives "*simicta qquencuchini* to twist one's words toward another matter, or not to say plainly and truthfully what one has heard," *chaysi rimacospapas huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochispa rimac carcan* might be read 'when speaking of this, they used to give a different version, distorting their testimony'. The point would then be that, prior to Avila's research, natives dissembled about the tradition of rites involving human trophies. Or, less probably, the sentence might simply mean that other people recount other versions.

625. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied).

626. The narrative now turns to a third formerly human *huaca* who led the invaders from Vichi Cancha. 'Was said to be' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

627. *visa* untranslated. 'Shield'?

628. *llactacuna* in original appears to mean 'villages' or 'settlements'. But, as the marginal note clarifies, it is used here to designate the local deities who were understood as the patrons of human settlements.

629. Could also mean the rites were performed in order from Allauca downward (sec. 317). 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

630. 'It's known that' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following three sentences, which form a passage about the calendric organization of dances.

631. The succession described appears to be an alternation of two-year cycles:

	year 1 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE A	
	year 2 Second *mita* of Chuta Cara
	year 3 First *mita* of Machua
CYCLE B	
	year 4 Second *mita* of Machua
	year 5 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE A	
	(and so forth).

632. That is, the groups that in section 316 were said to have received the names of pre-existing Yunca groups and taken over their *huacas*. The overall sense is that the Checa community, which was formed by conquest and intermarriage between blood-born invaders from Vichi Cancha and *quinua*-born Yunca aborigines, alternated between two-year periods in which it celebrated Vichi Cancha origins (e.g., in the Masoma rites honoring Ñan Sapa and Chuta Cara as just described) and two-year periods for the rites now to be described, which are rich in Yunca symbolism.

633. *pirtaspas* 'braiding': Taylor (1987b: 381) originated this reading, still conjectural but warranted by *piltay* 'to braid' in modern Tarma and Ancash Quechua.

634. 'As they say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 328.

they'd bind[635] two effigy bundles around with the straw.

The height of these bundles was seven and a half armlengths.

Their girth was about what we could hold in a two-armed embrace. On these effigies' heads they'd put some wild straw named *casira*.[636] It has bright red roots. "It's their hair," they'd say.

328 Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.

The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.[637]

After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*,[638] and they'd begin to let fly at the targets.[639] Their spear was called *vihco*.[640]

329 We know that on the day before this spear-throwing everybody used to go to the *caullamas*.[641] They brought their llamas along adorned with bells and earrings, just as they did on their way to Paria Caca.

All the people would reportedly[642] go to Chaucalla and to the mountain of Tambo Sica, named Curri, each going to his respective *caullama*.[643]

As they traveled to their *caullamas*, they'd go along blowing the conch trumpet, making it resound again and again.

It was in fact[644] for this purpose that each of these people and some who just chanced on them[645] would carry and display these conch shells.

330

<**margin**:> [*chuta*]

As soon as they'd erected the two *chutas* they began to throw the spears.

They say that[646] while the people threw spears, while they entered into competition hurling spears *ayllu* by *ayllu*, the women would dance without drums and chant these words:

"Receive your poor forlorn children!"

And to the Huasca effigy, they'd likewise say,

"Receive, too, your poor forlorn children!"[647]

331 If these spear throwers hit the *chuta*'s hair, then whichever person was in charge[648] advanced them into the top rank ahead of all the other *ayllu* members.

Then he'd[649] bring a macaw wing or any such thing and give it to the *yanca*.

332 [The *yanca* of the Checa afterward is known to

635. *pilluic carcan* 'they'd bind': on the assumption that *pilluic* is an agentive form, erroneously or irregularly written, of *pilluy* 'to bind', and not related to *pilluini* 'to swim' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 285).

636. Unidentified.

637. Taylor (1980: 171) has observed that the terms *yomca* and *huasca* may be interpretable in the light of "Aymara-type transformations which characterize the text." If affected by the same metathesis that causes *ñamca* to appear at times as *ñamoc*, *yomca* might be *yumac* 'inseminator' (i.e., patrilineal progenitor). Adducing an additional southern Quechua shift, Taylor suggests *Huasca* might be interpreted *huachac* 'one who gives birth' (perhaps implying 'matrilineal ancestress').

638. *tamta* 'feather ruff': same word occurring in chapter 5 in the name of the opulent Tamta Ñamca (see Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation).

639. 'At the targets' supplied. The sentence has witness validation.

640. *vihco*: an otherwise unattested word, perhaps related to modern *wikch'uy* 'to throw'. 'Their spear' supplied.

641. *caullama*: Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 29; Keating's translation) says a *caullama* was a household deity guaranteeing fertility of livestock. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('We know that' supplied).

642. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this and the next sentence.

643. Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) says rights in each *caullama* were inherited as a *mayorazgo* (i.e., a privilege descending in primogeniture).

644. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this and the next sentence.

645. *taricnincunaca* 'who just chanced on them': more literally, 'their finders'; it is not clear whether this means finders of conch shells or those who happened to meet people on the procession.

646. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 331.

647. In the invocations to both the male-engendering and the female-bearing effigies, the word for 'child' is *churi*, 'child of a male'. In ordinary speech the child of a female is called *huahua* and not *churi*. It sounds as though both effigies are being addressed as fathers. One possible explanation of the anomaly would be to take *churi* as the "unmarked" term, including all forms of parentage not specified as uterine mother-child tie and therefore including figurative or symbolic motherhood. Alternatively, one might take the two effigies as being in fact both male, one the father of males and the other of females.

648. 'Was in charge' supplied.

649. Or 'she'd'. Whether an officiant or the successful lancer brought it is not explicit. The implication may be that the macaw wing was given to a *yanca* representing the victorious *ayllu*.

have been[650] Martín Misa Yauri, and the late Juan Chumpi Yauri was that of the Allauca.)

333 After one *ayllu* finished throwing, the *yanca* would reportedly[651] shin up the *chuta* effigy carrying the macaw wing called *puypu*.

He'd pull out the *vihco* spear and stick the macaw wing in where it had hit, to mark the spot.[652]

Then another *ayllu* would compete, and then still another, and so forth.

334 Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,

"She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"

and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,

"He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods,[653] and all kinds of animals!"

335 When they'd finished throwing spears at both *chuta* effigies, the contestants who'd hit the hair or the part called the "eye" would present one of their llamas to the *yanca* and say, "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha."

Regarding this small llama, the llama-owner wouldn't take away much of it.[654] No matter how many llamas there might be, it was only those who'd been ordained *yanca* who could take them away and eat them.

336 Very early the next morning, we know,[655] all the people would go to Quimquilla.

They say[656] this *huaca* called Quimquilla owned a whole lot of llamas and all sorts of other possessions.

"He'll favor me with some of that wealth!" thought all the people, including the Allauca, as they went along. "I'll ask for some llamas for myself there."

337 On their way there, they used to carry a small amount of their *ticti*, maize beer, and coca leaf, and they made the *huana paya* conch trumpet resound over and over.

On the first day, those of the *vichoc* moiety[657]—that is, all the Sat Pasca, the Sulc Pahca, and Yasapa—would dance at Quimquilla shrine itself, chanting,

"We flourish!"

as they slaughtered their llamas.

338 Then, as we know,[658] they went down to the flat land that lies above the place where Quira Raya was located.[659]

(This plateau is called Huara Caya.)

Then, just as they'd erected Yomca and Huasca effigies in Llacsa Tambo, so also they set up *chuta* effigies the same way here, this time for llamas.

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650. 'Is known to have been' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

651. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 335.

652. The figure of Tamta Ñamca, whom Huatya Curi cured in chapter 5 when all the land was Yunca, shares some of the symbolism of this section and its motif of Yunca-derived ceremony. His name Tamta alludes to the ceremonial garment *tamta* (sec. 328), and his roof decorated with macaw wings resembles the straw effigy similarly decorated here. Contests played for ceremonial rank form the climax of his story as of this rite. A 1609 Jesuit report describes a different ritual game of skill employing feather decorations and Yunca costumes (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247).

653. *chauaracta* 'agave fiber goods': based on "*chhahuar* cabuya" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 92). *Cabuya* or agave fiber is widely used to make rope, coarse sandals, harnesses, and so forth. Taylor (1987b: 386) explains the discrepancy between *-racta* and the expected *-rta* as an "Aru [i.e., Jaqi] influence."

654. *anchantaca* 'much of it': given the information in the next sentence, it is tempting to read *anchantaca* as an error for *aychantaca*, 'its meat'.

655. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

656. Return to reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 337.

657. *vichuc maricuna* 'those of the *vichoc* moiety': *ichoc* is the usual term complementary to *allauca*. Chapter 11 (sec. 157) has *allaucam ari vichocam ari*, which we translate as 'both the *allauca* moiety and the *vichoc* moiety'. If this is emended to *allaucamari . . . vichocamari* (as in Taylor 1980: 94), *vichuc maricuna* here becomes clearly intelligible in moiety terms. Referring back to sections 304 and 316 would yield a system under which *vichoc* Checa includes the three *ayllus* named here, and *allauca* Checa includes Allauca, Muxica, and Caca Sica.

There are other possibilities: *vichuc mari* might be the name of an otherwise unattested group comparable with Sat Pasca and the others. Or *vichuc* might be an agentive form of a verb derived from *vihco*, the ceremonial spear (sec. 328). None of these account for the otherwise unknown word or morpheme *mari* (which seems also to occur in the name of Paria Caca's last or next to last "son" Sasin Mari; see chap. 9, sec. 113; chap. 12, sec. 166).

658. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 340.

659. Quira Raya may be the name of a settlement destroyed by *reducción*, the forced resettlement of the 1580s, or of a *huaca*.

They threw their spears for llamas, both males and females.

339 At the end of the spear throwing, they used to give their llamas to the *yanca* just as they had in Llacsa Tambo, saying, "Worship on my behalf and I shall be well."

On their way back here, they'd travel all in a group, just as when they went away to Quimquilla; they came back hauling their llamas adorned with bells.

340 They call this journey the Carco Caya.

About the way they traveled, with a slow and undulating motion,[660] people said, "We're rounding the Huaroca."[661]

As they rounded the Huaroca, they'd go along blowing the *huana paya* conch trumpet over and over again.

This is all we know, all we know about the Machua festival.[662]

341 About these Yunca populations in Llacsa Tambo, some people say, "They were reputedly Muta Caya people."

"They were Colli," others say.[663] Just so. But the ones we referred to as Colli resided in Yaru Tini.[664]

In what follows we'll write about this group's life.

660. *coyoi coyoilla* 'with a slow and undulating motion': might also be read 'just barely moving'.

661. Untranslated; the verb *tumani* denotes circular motion so it may be the name of a round monolith or hill. Or if Huaroca is not a proper noun but a variant of the similar word meaning 'sling', the phrase might be a metaphor for a swinging motion like that of a sling.

662. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

663. The issue is whether the Yunca people resident in Checa lands were members of the Yunca polity of Collique (near Lima) or of the (otherwise unknown) Muta Caya. Both contrasting opinions are expressed with reportive validation ('reputedly'); that is, the people cited contrary traditions.

664. Yaru Tini may be modern Yelutina, 15 km northwest of San Damián (IGM 1954), a high location far from the coast.

CHAPTER 25

342

Here We Shall Write How the Wind Blew the Colli People from Yaru Tini Down to the Lower Yunca[665]

The native people whom we call Colli are said to have[666] resided in Yaru Tini.

One day Paria Caca arrived in Yaru Tini, their village, while the Colli were drinking.

Taking a seat at the far end of the banquet, Paria Caca sat there like a poor miserable stranger.

343 Not a single person was willing to offer him a drink.

Only one man finally invited him to drink.

"Give me some more, brother," said Paria Caca to the one who'd offered him the drink.

The man gave him more.

Paria Caca then asked, "Please give me a quid of your coca leaf."

The man[667] gave it to him.

344 Paria Caca said to him, "Brother, when I come back here, you'd better hold on tight to this tree. Don't tell these people anything. Let them have their fun." Then he went away.

345 Five days later, a violent wind rose up.

This wind whirled every single person of the Colli head over heels two or three times and whisked them off into the far distance.

When it swept them off, some of them wandered around disoriented and died.

Others the wind brought alive to a mountain in the vicinity of Carhuayllo.

This mountain is called Colli mountain up to today. The people of the mountain, however, have perished. Not one of them is left.

346 But that one man who'd given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he'd been told, and was spared.

When Paria Caca was finished sweeping everything away, he said to him, "Brother, now you're alone by yourself. You must stay here forever. Later, when my children come to worship me from this spot, a quartet of guest *huacsas*[668] (that means four)[669] will provide coca leaf for you to chew in perpetuity.

"As for your name," he added, "you shall be

665. This myth appears related to chapter 11 (sec. 155), which alludes to the expulsion of some Colli Yunca to lands bordering Carhuayllo.

666. 'Said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 346.

667. 'The man' supplied.

668. *corpaya huacçacuna* 'guest *huacsas*': the sense is uncertain; *corpaya* may be derived from "*ccorpa* guest" or (less probably) "*ccorppa* clod or clump of turf" (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 69); *-ya* remains unexplained. That they number four is also odd. This myth does not seem relevant to Incaic fourfold (*tahuantin*) organization, while five and its multiples usually signify plenitude in Paria Caca's mythology.

669. *chusco quiere dezir cuatro* 'a quartet . . . (that means four)': this Spanish explanatory parenthesis indicates that someone—teller, translator, scribe, or editor—expected the audience to be unfamiliar with *chusco* 'four', a word common in the Andean north but different from the usual south Andean word *tahua*. The translation uses the Latinate word 'quartet' to contrast with more familiar 'four' and thereby suggest the feeling of lexical discrepancy.

called Capac Huanca."[670] And he froze the man[671] into stone.

347 When Señor Doctor Avila came to the very spot where Capac Huanca dwelled, he in fact[672] broke the *huaca*[673] with some other people's help.

After he broke it, he heaved it downhill.

This much we know about the people called Colli.

And so, exactly according to Paria Caca's command, the *huacsa*s yearly provided that *huaca* with coca to chew forever.

670. *Huanca*s were and are *huaca*s in the shape of monoliths; *capac*, the opposite of *huaccha* 'poor and friendless', means 'rich and influential'. Like chapter 24, this story explains in mythic terms how the conquest of the Yunca who once occupied the heights resulted in retention of Yunca *huaca*s.

671. 'The man' supplied.

672. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence and the remainder of the chapter.

673. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

CHAPTER 26

348

How Paria Caca Defeated Maca Calla. How He Established His Children after His Victory[674]

We know[675] that Maca Calla lived on a mountain overlooking the village of San Damián.

It was on this Maca Calla mountain that the aboriginal people of that village reputedly[676] lived, the ones called Pihcca Marca.

The ones called the Sutica are known to have[677] lived there, too.

One day while these villagers were drinking, they say,[678] Paria Caca arrived in the village.

Arriving, he sat down at the far end of the banquet.

349 As he was sitting there, not a single person offered him a drink.

Paria Caca got angry, and so, five days later, he rose up as red rain and yellow rain and exterminated that village.

350 Some people tell another story.[679]

They say[680] some of the aboriginal villagers in Maca Calla were playing with the hunting *bolas*. Others were drinking.

Meanwhile, a little puff of fog[681] appeared out of the high mountain called Canlli.

And then, little by little, some rain, a red rain, started to fall.

Then lightning began to flash.

351 Everybody got scared when these things happened. "What's this?" they wondered, never having seen anything like it.

Some said, "It's the enemy!" and took a defensive stand.

Others ran away.

352 One was a man called Armicu.

He had lots of children, and rousing them, he cried, "Come on, let's go, let's go and die on our own field!" They ran away to their field.

When they arrived at their field, he[682] froze them and turned them into stone.

That man who turned to stone stands there still, like a man with his children. Even today people call them the Armicu.

353 Some people tried to escape, but wherever they fled the red rain caught up with them. Right on the spot they turned to stone.

The rest of the people back in Maca Calla also froze into stone the same way.

354 Weeping bitterly, one man of the Sutica *ayllu*

674. This chapter expands on how the Allauca 'received' Maca Calla (chap. 24, sec. 317).

675. San Damián de Checa is a *reducción* village on the Lurín headwaters at 3,235 m above sea level 22 km west-northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). This sentence has witness validation.

676. 'Reputedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

677. 'Are known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The remainder of sections 348 and 349 have reportive validation ('they say').

678. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 349.

679. This sentence has witness validation.

680. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the fourth sentence of section 357.

681. *aslla pucutay* 'a little puff of fog': 'fog' supplied; *-tay* unexplained.

682. Reference unclear; could be Paria Caca or Armicu.

said, "Maca Calla, my only father, will it be my lot to up and leave you, just like that? I have to get away right now. There's no more force left in me to overcome this miracle."[683] While he wept, Maca Calla's head fell down right before him.

He picked the head up where it fell, and made it fly away instantly transformed into a falcon.

This man was imbued with a mighty shamanic power!

355 Maca Calla was just like a man, with a head, feet, and hands.

So, after he made the head escape, the man settled again on five mountains in Llantapa[684] and multiplied.

We call the mountains where he settled, where he built the villages, Pihcca Marca.[685]

356 Maca Calla's head exists in Pihcca Marca until today.

The people there say, "Here, we have Maca Calla's protection," and they call their firstborn children Canricha. Likewise the Allauca, who are also members of a community affiliated with Maca Calla, call them Canricha just as the Pihcca Marca do.[686]

357 Later, Tutay Quiri went and conquered them.

During that time, the *ayllu*s called Sutica returned to this area. "We'll go and settle amid our fields and our land, amid our villages. We'll fear and revere Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri," they said, and they came back.

In the village of San Damián the Sutica are now completely extinct.[687] Their survivors are in Sucsa Cancha, in Tumna.

683. *milagrocta* 'miracle': usage of the Spanish term 'miracle' to signify a disastrous supernatural retribution is characteristic of Andean writing in this period. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980) consistently assimilated it to the Andean idea *pachacuti* 'world-changing disaster'.

684. Perhaps the suggestion is that the five members just mentioned—head, feet, and hands—reconstituted themselves as the five parts of Pihcca Marca. Llantapa mountain was one end of the mythic bridge over the Lurín valley (chap. 5, sec. 73).

685. Pihcca Marca means 'Five Settlements'. This may refer to a five-peaked mountain called Cerro Cinco Cerros ('Five Hills Hill'), visible from San Damián and identified locally as the site of an extinct community.

686. See chapter 24 (sec. 317).

687. Like the genealogical part of chapter 31 (secs. 443–446) this passage apparently alludes to the extinction of whole named corporate groups in the course of the European-introduced epidemics. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 27

How in Former Times, on the Fifth Day after Their Death, People Said, "I'm Back!"[688] We Shall Write about These Things

358

In very ancient times, they say,[689] when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.

The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"[690]

When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."

359 Some people say, "At that time Paria Caca didn't exist yet, so the souls flew up high to Yauri Llancha."

<**margin,** in Quechua:> [Before Paria Caca or Caruincho appeared, people emerged at Yauri Llancha and at the place called Vichi Cancha.][691]

360 The dead used to come back[692] after five days.

When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoice immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.

They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"

361 And so, at that time, people swiftly increased in number. They lived in great suffering, miserably gathering their food, terracing both cliffs and ledges for their fields.

362 When things were like that, a certain man died. After his death his elders, his brothers, and his wife waited for him on the fifth day, when he was due to arrive back.

But the man didn't arrive. It was on the next day, that is, on the sixth day, that he arrived.

So his elders, brothers, and wife were feeling furious as they waited for him.

When he arrived, his wife was enraged, and she gave him a terrible bawling out: "Why are you so damn lazy? Other people never let us down by failing to come. But you, yesterday you made us wait for you, and all for nothing!"

363 In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.

The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.

Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.

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688. This myth evidently belongs to the body of belief about primordial times, because section 359 says major *huacas* had yet to appear and because the content is prefigured in chapter 1 (sec. 4).

689. Except for the title, this chapter is entirely in reportive validation and contains no evidently editorial insertions.

690. *animanri huc chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan* 'The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!" ': the Spanish and Latin term *anima* may be an attempt to render the sense of terms like *upani* (Duviols 1978), referring to a light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person. A fly, which is a light, dry, flying form of life that emerges from the dead body, may be a metaphor for, or the actual body of, this Andean 'anima' (see chap. 28, sec. 367).

691. Yauri Llancha is the place from which the conquerors of Concha (chap. 31, secs. 389, 394, 446) are said to have originated. Vichi Cancha is the place from which the conquerors of Checa originated (chap. 24, secs. 303, 315, 319, 324; chap. 31, sec. 389). The selection of Yauri Llancha as the *pacarina* or origin shrine to which the dead return suggests that this chapter has a Concha source.

692. That is, presumably, came back as flies and then recovered their full human bodies. Otherwise the next passage would not make sense.

CHAPTER 28

364

How People Used to Feed the Spirits of the Dead[693] during Paria Caca's Festival and How They Thought about All Saints' Day in Former Times[694]

In another chapter[695] we have already told how, when people traveled to worship Paria Caca, they used to cry for their dead and feed them.

Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn't yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have[696] said, "The Spaniards also give food to their dead,[697] to their bones, on All Saints' Day,[698] they do feed them. So let's go to church. Let's feed our own dead."[699]

365 In former times people took along all sorts of foods cooked to perfection.

And when a person died, remembering how things used to be long ago, people used to wait, saying, "Our dead will return in five days. Let's wait for him."

They used to keep nightly vigil until the dawn of the fifth day after his death.

366 On the fifth day, a <crossed out:> [person] woman would put on her fine clothing[700] and go to Yaru Tini, saying, "I'll bring him back from there," or "I'll wait for him and then come back."

Then, they say,[701] that woman would go there carrying different foods and maize beer.

367 At Yaru Tini, as the sun was rising, the dead spirit would arrive.

In the old times, two or three big flies—people

693. *animacunacta* 'spirits': the same word is used in chapter 27 (sec. 358) to signify the escaping remnant of the deceased. In the body of this chapter, however, the dead who are fed are not called *animas* but *huañoc*, 'die-ers' (that is, existing though not living persons; see Urioste 1981). The Andean dead were felt to have personal existence as long as any part of their bodies, or even clothing or an effigy, was conserved.

694. *ñaupa pacha* 'former times': this instance of the common phrase is important because it tells us that the makers of the manuscript thought of earlier parts of the colonial era within the category *ñaupa pacha*.

695. That is, chapter 9 (secs. 127–128), the explanation of Auquisna and its rites for the dead.

696. 'Are known to have' added to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 366.

697. *ayanta* 'their dead': *aya* seems to mean a person already established as a deceased member of society (formerly through mummification) as opposed to a person in transition to this status (*huañoc*). *Aya*, not *huañoc*, lived in the 'house of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155). The term *mallki* 'mummy' does not appear in the manuscript although at least one *huaca* (Nan Sapa, chap. 24, secs. 319, 320, 323) seems to have been a mummy.

698. That is, on November 1. Olivia Harris (1982: 56–57) has suggested that the modern Laymi Aymara ritual for this day, which resembles the one described here, achieves "the socialization of the graveyard" and the initiation of a wet-season regimen bringing the living and dead close together. It ends at Carnival.

699. Andean tradition required careful conservation of the dead in caves or 'houses of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155) where they were regularly visited and fêted. Andean people considered Christian burial, which Spanish clerics forced upon them, an affliction because it precluded feeding and clothing one's departed kin. Ancestors buried in Christian graveyards were imagined as starving and suffering while they decayed. Many natives were punished for rescuing their kin from graves. The ritual described here seems to be an attempt to mitigate anguish about burial.

700. *pachanta* 'her . . . clothing': third person possession marker *-n-* ambiguous in reference; can also be read as clothing of the deceased.

701. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 369.

call them *llacsa anapalla*[702]—would light on the garment she brought.

368 She'd sit there for a long while. As soon as those maggots called *huancoy*[703] worms left the corpse, the woman would say, "Come on, let's go to the village." And as if to say, "This is him," she'd pick up a small pebble and come back.

When the woman arrived, and when the dead person's home had been hurriedly swept clean, they started feeding him.

After the food, they offered the deceased drinks. Once the deceased had eaten, they also ate.

369 At <crossed out:> [deep] dusk, all his *ayllu* kinspeople danced five times, wailing.

When they'd finished dancing and wailing five times, they threw the pebble the woman had brought out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet."[704]

370 On that day we know[705] they divined with a spider,[706] asking, "Why did this man go and die on us?"

The diviner[707] would reply, saying of the *huacas*, "Because this one was angry" or "Because that one was angry"; if he mentioned Paria Caca or any such *huaca*, people fulfilled the command by sacrificing a guinea pig or any other thing they had.

This is as much as we know about those who've died.

371 In Huaro Cheri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints' Day, "Let's leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church" and they cook up some potatoes and pieces of jerky[708] well seasoned with red pepper, and put it out, just as if it were food for people to eat, and also toasted maize and boiled meat, as well as a small pitcher of maize beer for each of the dead.

They lay out all the things we've mentioned, because they think, "It's likely that the dead do eat." Maybe this is what they have in mind when they offer them plentiful hot dishes of all sorts.

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702. Unidentified. *Llacsa* 'blue-green ritual powder' suggests the brilliant color of a bluebottle fly. *Anapalla* may be related to *ayapaura*, the name of "a big fly that dirties the flesh," mentioned in a trial of "idolators" in Otuco in 1656 (Duviols 1986: 64–65). The mourners waited for this fly to appear on the deceased's clothes because they thought it was the returning soul. This idea is also explicit in chapter 27 (sec. 358).

703. Taylor (1987b: 419–420) shows that the word *huancoy curo* used here may be an error conflating *huancuyro* 'bee' with *curu* 'worm' (specifically glossed by Gonçález Holguín as a kind that infests "bodies"; [1608] 1952: 56). Taylor gives 'bee' in his translation with the caveat that it appears really to refer to the above-mentioned flies. But perhaps *huancoy curo* is used in the correct sense of *curu* 'worm', meaning a larva or maggot infesting the dead body, and not the sense 'bee'. The point would then be that the cadaver must be left long enough to breed worms so its *anima* can emerge and escape in the form of flies.

704. In the later "idolatry" trials, which often prosecuted Andean mortuary ritual, rites of this sort are described as taking place one year after the death. At that time the lingering 'person' here symbolized by the stone was dispatched from his household. The final farewell to the dead, called *kacharpariy* or 'sendoff', has survived into modern Quechua culture.

705. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

706. The spider is here called by the Spanish-derived word *arañu* (also in supp. I, sec. 450). Spider divining is described by Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 32) and in various "idolatry" documents. Spiders were subjected to torture and then inspected to see which feet were injured or missing. A 1613 Jesuit report says killing the appropriate type of spiders other than sacrificially was prohibited by *huaca* priests (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 188, 194).

707. 'The diviner' supplied.

708. *charquincunactari* 'pieces of jerky': the English term is derived from the Quechua name (*charqui*) of this Andean invention.

CHAPTER 29

372

How Something Called the Yacana Comes Down from the Sky to Drink Water. We Shall Also Speak about the Other Stars and Their Names

They say[709] the Yacana, which is the animator[710] of llamas, moves through the middle of the sky. We native people[711] can see it standing out as a black spot.[712]

The Yacana moves inside the Milky Way.[713] It's big, really big. It becomes blacker as it approaches through the sky, with two eyes and a very large neck.

This, we know,[714] is what native people call the Yacana.

373 They say[715] if a man was in luck and fortunate, the Yacana would fall right on top of him while it drank water from some spring.

As its woolly bulk pressed down upon him, someone else would pluck out some of its wool.

374 That apparition would occur at night.

In the morning, at daybreak, the man would look at the wool he'd plucked out. Examining it he'd see the wool to be blue, white, black, and brown, of every hue, thickly matted together.

If he had no llamas, he'd worship at the place where he had seen the apparition and plucked the wool, and trade for some llamas right away. After worshiping he'd trade for a female and a male llama.

Just from the two he'd bought, two or three thousand llamas would soon come.

In old times the Yacana[716] revealed itself this way to a whole lot of people all over this province.

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709. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins with reportive validation.

710. *camaquin* 'animator': Juan Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 3–5) said, "in general [the Incas] believed that all the animals and birds on the earth had their likeness in the sky, in whose responsibility was their procreation and augmentation" and went on to describe a celestial herd prototype much like this one. Bernabé Cobo's *Historia* ([1653] 1964: 2:159) has more details on this astrologylike complex.

Polo seems to be referring to the concept *camay*, of which this sentence is a *locus classicus*. Taylor (1974–1976: 234) suggests imagining *camac* as an entity that (1) is above and outside terrestrial reality; (2) is a prototype of earthly instantiations; and (3) functions to vitalize earthly instantiations by charging them with their specific essence and energy. *Camaquin* employs an agentive suffix and is probably a near synonym to *camac*.

A similar example is *chuchucollor*, two stars considered as creators of twins (Huertas Vallejos 1981: 88).

711. *ñocanchic runacunapas* 'We native people': some Andean constellations are reckoned negatively (consisting of dark spots within the Milky Way) and thus are not easy for non-natives to see. Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:119; Livermore's translation) mentions the Yacana as one that native people tried unsuccessfully to make him see. But *ñocanchic* is inclusive first person plural, indicating that the person speaking included his audience among those who see constellations this way, namely, *runa*. This suggests that the testimony was gathered in a dialogue among *runa* people and not with any Spanish person.

712. The *yacana* is one of the 'dark cloud constellations' discussed by Gary Urton (1981: 169–170, 185–188).

713. *mayo* 'Milky Way', literally, 'river': the Milky Way was interpreted as a cosmic river through which water, having run down to the sea, circulates back up into the atmosphere. Urton (1981: 54–69) discusses related modern ideas.

714. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this sentence only.

715. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 375.

716. 'The Yacana' supplied.

375 In the middle of the night, when nobody is aware of it, the Yacana drinks all the water out of the ocean.[717] If the Yacana failed to drink it, the waters would quickly drown the whole world.[718]

376 A small dark spot goes before the Yacana, and, as we know, people call it the Tinamou.[719]

This Yacana, they say, has a calf. It looks just as if the calf were suckling.[720]

Also, we know[721] there are three stars in a straight line.[722]

They call these the Condor, the Vulture,[723] and the Falcon.

377 Next are the ones we call the Pleiades;[724] if they come out <crossed out:> [very] at their biggest people say, "This year we'll have plenty." But if they come out at their smallest people say, "We're in for a very hard time."[725]

They call another constellation, which stands out as a perfect ring,[726] the Pihca Conqui.[727]

378 Certain other stars always appear very large.

People give them the names Poco Huarac, Villca Huarac, and Cancho Huarac.

In the old times, people, or at least some few of them, reportedly[728] used to worship them, saying, "These are the animators, the makers." The rest still worshiped these stars as they were rising,[729] spending the appropriate nights in sleepless vigil, but said, "We'll hold the other *huacas* in higher honor."[730]

This is all we know.[731]

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717. That is, the Yacana, descending from the center of the sky, sucks up water from the waters surrounding earth. (This may refer to the period during the dry season when the llama and other dark cloud constellations remain below the horizon.) The cosmological metaphor links the way llamas descend from the high slopes to drink at lower-lying waterholes with the way the atmosphere "drinks" water from the ocean.

718. That is, if the Yacana failed to suck water up from the ocean into the atmosphere, the ocean would rise and drown humanity. Compare with chapter 3 (secs. 29–34), where a llama warned a man that the world was about to flood; perhaps the llama knew that Yacana, the master llama, was going to omit drinking.

719. The bird commonly and misleadingly called "partridge" in the Andes; see chapter 6 (sec. 87); see also Urton (1981: 171, 181–185). 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

720. Taylor (1987b: 429) has: "When it suckles, the Yacana wakes up." This reading rests on the double sense of *rihcan* 'appears'/'awakens'. 'They say' added to indicate reportive validation.

721. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 378.

722. Perhaps Orion's belt.

723. *suyuntuytapas* 'Vulture': black vulture, *Coragyps atratus*, or turkey vulture, *Cathartus aura jota* (Koepcke 1970: 38).

724. Here the Pleiades are called by their Spanish name, *cabrillas*. A common Andean name for the Pleiades is *onqoy*. The Pleiades cult was the astronomical part of the Corpus-tide (summer solstice and preharvest or harvest-time) peak of the ceremonial year. "Confessions are made during the solemn festivals, of which there are three each year. The most important of these is close to Corpus Christi. It is called Oncoy Mitta, which is when the constellation called Oncoy appears. They do homage to this constellation to keep their corn from drying up" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 49; Keating's translation).

725. Urton (1981: 118–120) discusses their salience in agricultural forecasting; today they are often called *collca* 'the storehouse'.

726. *muyo muyolla hamucta* 'stands out as a perfect ring': could mean either that they move in a circular path or that they are arranged in a ring.

727. Urton (1981: 100–101) identifies a constellation *pisqa coyllur* 'the five stars', probably the Hyades, which might be the same as *pihca conqui*. Alternatively, *pihca conqui* might be the curved tail of Scorpio, which Urton identifies as one of the two *collcas* or constellations of crop augury.

728. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

729. *sicamuptin* 'rising': probably heliacal rise, not nightly rise. Heliacal rise is the first day on which the star is visible in the east before dawn.

730. The meaning of the sentence varies slightly depending whether one takes *yallichisac* to mean 'set in higher position' or 'advance one's fortunes'. Taylor (1987b: 431) has: "The other people used to say, concerning these *huacas*, that according to tradition the fact of worshiping them would make them prosper. And so they worshipped these stars staying awake without sleeping during the night they appeared." Either reading squares with Cobo's understanding of star cults as devotions through which a person might win the *camay* force proper to his or her status or identity ([1653] 1964: 2:160).

731. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 30

379

How Two *Huacas*, a Male and a Female, Dwell in the Lake of the Allauca in Purui. We Shall Write about Their Lives

In very ancient times, so they tell,[732] there was a man called Anchi Cara.

This Anchi Cara came to dwell[733] by the water at a spring named Purui, to ensure that water would come to the fields of the Allauca.

While he was there, a woman from the Surco[734] area, a Picoy[735] woman, came over to him.

The woman's name was Huayllama.[736]

380 "Brother," this Huayllama said as soon as she arrived at Purui Spring, "very little water comes to my field. Are you the only one who draws water here? What are the rest of us supposed to live on?" And she sat down right inside the spring.

381 Since she was a fine and beautiful woman Anchi Cara fell suddenly in love[737] with her, and he greeted her with gentle words.

Then the woman refused to let the water flow in this direction.

When she did that he addressed her in polite language, saying, "Sister, please don't do this. What'll my children live on?"

382 At this point, Anchi Cara's children came over and sloshed[738] the water out toward Lliuya lake.

(Just below that spring there are two small ponds, which we already mentioned, called Lliuya and Tuta lakes.)[739]

Three or four small elongated rocks stand inside Lliuya lake.

These are said to be Anchi Cara's children.

383 If his kids hadn't come and sloshed that water out all the time, very little indeed would flow down here.

(Even so, we know, only a small amount flows down.)[740]

384 Once they'd finished arguing about the water, the two of them, Anchi Cara and his woman Huayllama, sinned together.[741]

"I'll stay here forever!" each one said after they'd sinned together, and they froze into stone.

These stones are there until today. His children likewise dwell in Lliuya lake.

This is all we know about them.[742]

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732. 'So they tell' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins in *-si* reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 382.

733. *tiamun* 'came to dwell': not in the unambiguously past *-rca-* tense, as the subsequent sentences are.

734. San Gerónimo de Surco (see chap. 3, sec. 31), in warm valley lands of the lower Rímac. The story seemingly allegorizes a rivalry over a high lake coveted by the Allauca of Checa and by Surco.

735. Picoy is mentioned by Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 163), as San Jerónimo de Picoi, a forced resettlement village close to Surco.

736. This sentence has witness validation.

737. *enamoraspa* 'fell in love': using a Spanish-derived expression.

738. *vischomorcan* 'sloshed . . . out': more literally, 'threw', this word might be a technical term meaning 'diverted'. But, given the sometimes comic tone of sex/irrigation myths, the image here might rather be that of children playfully sloshing the water out of the spring.

739. This sentence has witness validation. These lakes have not been mentioned previously in the manuscript; presumably the phrase refers to material edited out.

740. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied). A crossed-out Spanish phrase meaning 'even so' is replaced with the equivalent Quechua.

741. *huchallicorcancu* 'sinned together': using a shame-oriented colonial term.

742. This sentence has witness validation.

385 Later on, at the time when they were settling into this area, the *huacsa*s of the Allauca *ayllu* used to go to Purui in order to clean the canal at the end of the rainy season.

As they arrived, the *huacsa*s, however many there were, would walk around Lliuya lake[743] blowing on their panpipes.

386 After walking around the lake, the *huacsa*s would go to greet Anchi Cara, who stood over the water.

With just a few words, they'd throw in a little of their coca, and then return to the lakeshore.

On the lakeshore they worshiped Anchi Cara first, then his children, and finally Lliuya and Tuta lakes themselves.

387 In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don't have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have.

After finishing this worship, all the people began to dredge out the canal.

This is as far as the story goes.[744] The account of their existence ends here.

743. Compare with the Concha *huacsas'* circuit at Yansa lake (chap. 31, secs. 437, 440). Honorific ritual visits to water sources are still common elements of rural Andean religion today.

744. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 31

388 # As in the Previous Chapter We Spoke about the Existence of a Certain Lake, Likewise We Shall Now Tell about the Lake of the Concha Ayllu, the One Called Yansa. The Story Is Like This

<margin:> [Concha]

We've already explained in other chapters how things were in early times, how these villages were full of Yunca people, and other such things.[745]

So, too, they say, the Yunca resided in Concha village.[746]

389 About the people living there, as we indicated in other chapters, some say they're from Yauri Llancha or from Vichi Cancha, while others say they came from the *quinua* plant. Likewise the Concha people were born from out of the earth's interior, at Yauri Llancha, as five persons.[747]

390 Their names we know;[748] starting from the first one, they were

Llacsa Misa and his sister Cuno Cuyo who came along with him.

Then there was Pauquir Buxi.

Then Llama Tanya.

These three men together were the first ones to conquer this village.

<margin:>

[Llacsa Misa
Pauquir Buxi
Llama Tanya
Hualla
Calla]

There were also two other men who were their brothers, one called Hualla, and the other Calla.

391 They say that[749] as their other brothers went on ahead, these two fell somewhat behind.

So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country,[750] thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."

A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back.

392 (The descendants of Hualla are the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi lineage.)[751]

745. This sentence has witness validation.

746. Concha village probably corresponds to Concha Sica, today an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa (IGM 1970–1971). It was first Christianized as San Cristóbal de Concha and then, like Llacsa Tambo, "reduced" into nearby San Damián (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, ms. B-1483, f. 63r). This chapter forms a rough counterpart in scale, argument, and level of detail to chapter 24, which focuses on the other component of San Damián, namely, Llacsa Tambo and the Checa. Both may be examples or reworkings of a common genre, a long "charter" running from origins through mythic genealogy to entitlements and rites that express them. This sentence has reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 389.

747. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with myths and laws relevant to the five local lineages named here. Material about a privileged lineage, the Llacsa Misa lineage specialized in water priesthood, makes up the bulk of it, but sections 443–446 return to the other four.

748. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation throughout section 390.

749. 'They say that' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

750. Yauyos Province adjoins Huarochirí to the south and is another mountainous region.

751. 'Lineage' supplied. The grounds are that section 444 uses Lázaro Puypu Rocçi's name as the name of a corporate group and not an individual and that in section 445 three groups belonging to the same set that contains

When Llacsa Misa, the oldest child, was about to die, he addressed Casa Chauca, Lázaro's grandfather, who was also Llacsa Misa's nephew, and said to him regarding the lake called Yansa:[752] "This will enter into my legacy.[753] As for me, I'm already near death." And he left it to him.

From then on Yansa lake was his domain.

Here we leave Hualla.[754]

393 Now we will tell about those three men's approach and arrival.

As we explained earlier, people say[755] the natives were Yunca.

At that time, people there lived quite happily, drawing water from Yansa lake, for there was plenty of water and even an excess such that their water[756] reached all the way to the base of Llantapa[757] mountain.

394 While people lived in this manner, the three men we mentioned before—the oldest being named Llacsa Misa—were born from the earth in the locality called Yauri Llancha.

When they were born, they were born with a stone helmet.[758]

(The helmet was called the *llacsa yacolla*.)[759]

These three people came here carrying the *llacsa yacolla*.

395 They arrived in the area above Yansa lake at a place called Yana Pucyo.

There they sat down and drank.

The Yunca people heard somebody say, "Three fearsome-looking men are sitting over there!" and some went to see them.

396 When they were looking him over like that, Llacsa Misa showed those people his helmet, the one called the *llacsa yacolla*.

The moment they saw it, they all died instantly.

When the remaining Yunca saw that anyone who approached died, they panicked. "Come on!" they said. "Let's get out of here! If those three men find us they'll destroy us all!" And they abandoned their village and their fields just like that, and fled.[760]

397 At the time of their flight, there was a Yunca man there—we don't know his name—and while this man was escaping by night, he left one of his children behind at Concha Sica, the one named Yasali.

398 Yasali's father fled, carrying only an orphan boy whom he'd raised.

When he got across to Capari Caya,[761] almost to Yana Siri[762] up on the heights, dawn was breaking and the man recognized the boy.

There he was: just his adopted orphan son.

The man wept bitterly, but, knowing there was no way back, he finally left just as he was.

399 Meanwhile, the abandoned boy Yasali was scared to death, being just a child, and he hid inside the place where a cross now stands in Concha Sica.

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the Llacsa Misa, and of which the Hualla are another subset, are called *yumay* 'patrilineages'. In this sentence witness validation was crossed out and replaced with reportive.

752. Modern Yanascocha is probably the same as Yansa; it is a small spring-fed lake on the high *puna* 5 km east of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971) and feeds the irrigation system of modern Conchasica.

753. *cay coscajman yaiconca* 'This will enter into my legacy': Taylor's transcription (1987b: 442–443) reads *cascayman*, which means 'into what I was' rather than 'into what I gave'. Accordingly he translates: "This [i.e., Cassa Chauca] is who will inherit my role."

754. This sentence and the next have witness validation.

755. 'People say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 394.

756. I.e., their irrigation canal.

757. Where the great mythic bridge Pullao once stood (chap. 5, sec. 73) and where Maca Calla's people, expelled by those of Tutay Quiri, resettled (chap. 26, sec. 355).

758. *chucuyoc*: 'with a . . . helmet': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 118) has "*chucu* bonnet or ancient-style hat." But the same page clearly indicates that *chucu*, if made of hard material (leather, metal), means a helmet and not a hat. The passage can also be read to mean that a stone with a helmet was born along with, but separately from, the men.

759. This sentence has witness validation.

760. These Yunca-expelling heroes from Yauri Llancha play a role in Concha myth parallel to the role of the Yunca-expelling heroes from Vichi Cancha in Checa myth (chap. 24, secs. 315–326).

761. Probably not the same Unca Tupi also called Capari Caya in chapter 12 (secs. 167–168), because that reference is to a locale near the Pacific shore while modern Yanaciri is on the high puna across the Lurín valley from Conchasica.

762. Modern Yanaciri (IGM 1970–1971) is 4 km west-northwest of San Damián, a high plateau on the far side of a deep river ravine, from which one can look back toward San Damián and Conchasica.

At the same time those three men arrived at the village.

As they arrived they shared out the houses and all the rest among themselves, and it was then that Llacsa Misa found the boy.

400 "Son, don't worry," Llacsa Misa told him. "You'll stay with me. If my other brothers say to me, 'Let's kill him,' I'll defend you. But in return, you'll herd my llamas."

When the other brothers saw the child, they bitterly scorned him, and they did say, "This kid should die, because sooner or later he'll tell us, 'These fields are mine; this land belongs to me!'"

401 "No, why should we kill him?" Llacsa Misa replied. "Better to let him live. He'll show us all their customs, their fields, and everything."[763]

402 But the others still refused, saying, "Let him die anyway."

Llacsa Misa got angry and said, "My brothers, I've told you plenty of times. Watch out or your bones might wind up in the lake.[764] I say, let him live!"

Only then did the others finally fall silent.

403 So Llacsa Misa let the boy live, and made him herd his llamas.

<**margin**:> [Cuno Cuyo]

While Yasali was tending the llamas, he married Llacsa Misa's sister Cuno Cuyo, who'd come with him from Yauri Llancha.

Later, when he'd become a mature man, he even became the *yanca* for Uma Pacha, who had come from Yauri Llancha.

(This boy named Yasali was Cristóbal Chauca Huaman's grandfather.)[765]

404 And where the Uma Pacha festival we mentioned[766] is concerned, just as the Checa put on *huayo* masks made of trophy heads and danced for a period of five days, so the Concha,[767] too, danced the same way. They, too, threw spears at the *chuta* target effigies erected for the sake of sons and daughters, and then did the same for llamas.[768]

405 There were likewise *huacsa*s in Concha Sica. They drank to both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca in their respective seasons, and on one certain day they drank together with the Checas as peers.[769]

This is as much as we know about their customs.[770]

406 Now we'll tell about Yansa lake.

When Llacsa Misa arrived at Concha in the company of his other brothers, it's said that[771] they acquired all sorts of subsistence resources, and from among them Llacsa Misa got Yansa lake.

Pauquir Buxi received Huaycho Coto.

Llama Tanya received the house called Uyu Sana.

407 After they received all these properties, we know,[772] each one of them began to provide for his own living.

So Llacsa Misa for his part started to propitiate[773] Yansa lake.

In Yansa lake, they say,[774] there was a *huaca* named Collquiri.

<**margin**:> [Collquiri]

Since Llacsa Misa propitiated these *huaca*s for many years, all the Concha worked hard growing maize for him to eat.

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763. As in chapter 24 (sec. 316), the invaders intentionally take on the organizational scheme and attributes of the vanquished Yunca natives, but (as in sec. 306) feel anxious about their resulting position of indebtedness.

764. *cochañicman* 'in the lake': or 'ocean'?

765. 'Grandfather': the kinship term used is a Spanish one, *aguelo* (i.e., *abuelo*). If taken literally, it puts a surprisingly short generational distance between the hero and his descendant who lived to be baptized. But the speaker may have used *aguelo* to mean one's direct patrilineal ancestor at any generational remove.

766. See chapter 24 (secs. 324ff).

767. 'The Concha' supplied.

768. That is, they performed the same rites already described in detail in chapter 24 (secs. 321–339). Conchasica and Checa today still regard their respective rituals as in some senses mirroring and rivaling each other.

769. *pactalla* 'as peers': normally the Checa despised the Concha as juniors in descent from Paria Caca (sec. 441). But in this one context the solidarity of common birth (*yuric*; see chap. 9, sec. 116) was made to override. The exact occasion is unspecified.

770. This and the next sentence have witness validation.

771. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next-to-last sentence of section 406.

772. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation.

773. *siruiita callarircan* '[he] started to propitiate': the Spanish-derived root *sirui-* means 'to serve'.

774. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 432.

408 At that time the *huaca* Collquiri wanted a woman[775] really badly.

He wanted one so much he searched all over the place, even as far as the Yauyo country and Chaclla.

As hard as he searched, he just couldn't find one.

409 One day, Cuni Raya said to him, "Hey, she's right here, right nearby, your woman!"[776]

So he set out, full of joy.

From the mountain that overlooks Yampilla,[777] he gazed out toward Yampilla itself.

As he gazed, he saw a woman dancing very majestically.

That woman's name was Capyama.

410 As soon as he saw how lovely she was, he immediately felt in his heart, "This is the one who'll be my wife."

He sent one of his serving boys, saying, "Go son, go tell that lady, 'Your llama has given birth to a <crossed out:> [female] male calf.' That's all. She'll come right away."

411 As soon as he sent him, the youth went off.

When he arrived, he told the woman, "Ma'am, one of your llamas has given birth just up there on the mountain." She was thoroughly delighted, and rushed straight to her house.

There she hung her golden drum at her midriff,[778] hid two small coca bags in her bosom,[779] took a long-necked jar of her maize beer, and came in a big hurry.

(The Concha call this jar *lataca*.)

412 When he saw her coming the *huaca* Collquiri was overjoyed and sped right back to Yansa.

Meanwhile, his servant boy led the woman along, and as he guided her, he lied to her, saying, "We're almost there now. It's right around here."

413 Then Collquiri turned himself into a *callcallo*[780] and waited for her on the mountain overlooking <crossed out:> [Yansa] Yampilla.

"I think I'll catch that *callcallo*," the woman said as she arrived there.

Each time she thought she'd grab it, the *callcallo* darted hither and yon and wouldn't let itself be caught.

414 Finally she did catch it. The moment she grabbed it, she stuck it inside her dress.

As she was grabbing it, she spilled her maize beer from the *rataca*[781] jar.

Even as she spilled it, the spot where she spilled it immediately turned into a spring.

This spring is called Ratac Tupi[782] until today.

415 The *callcallo* she had put inside her dress grew large inside her belly and made it ache terribly.

"What could this be?" she said when it hurt her. She looked, and there, on the ground where he'd fallen,[783] appeared a man, a fine handsome youth.

He immediately greeted her in his sweetest way, saying, "Sister, I'm the one you stuck in your dress. What can we do about it now? It was I who sent for you."

416 The woman for her part immediately fell in love[784] with him.

Since she felt that way, they slept together.

After they slept together, he took her to his home, Yansa lake.

Meanwhile, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all her relatives went searching for her all in tears. "But where did she go?" they said.

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775. All the irrigation myths (chap. 6, secs. 81–90; chaps. 7, 30, 31) link maize-bearing land to female *huacas* and water to male ones, with a sexual episode representing the origin of irrigation and consequent fertility. Dumézil and Duviols explore this motif in "Sumaq T'ika" (1974–1976).

776. Although Cuni Raya is less salient here than in chapters 2 or 14, the Collquiri myth bears resemblances to these major Cuni Raya myths. As in the story of the bride in the box (chap. 14, secs. 192–197), where Cuni inveigles the Inca by offering a woman, Cuni here brings about a male's downfall by manipulating his sexual desire. In the story of Caui Llaca (chap. 2, secs. 9–26), Cuni Raya caused a woman to give birth by tricking her into taking hidden sperm into her body, and here his dupe Collquiri does something similar (secs. 414–415).

777. Modern Llambía, a hamlet 3 km north of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971).

778. *chaopipi* 'at her midriff': Taylor (1987b: 459) has "center of [the house]."

779. *hucllayninman* 'in her bosom': Ricardo [1586] 1951: 65.

780. Unidentified; possibly a grasshopper.

781. *rataca* thus in original, discrepant from *lataca* in section 411; *r/l* is a common Quechua variation.

782. Perhaps a wordplay on *lataca*, the name of her beer jar in local language.

783. *hurmascampica*: the third person marker *-m-* could also mean 'where she'd fallen'.

784. *enamorarcan* 'fell in love': a Spanish-derived word.

417 When they'd been searching for a long, long time, a man from Yampilla called Llucaua told them, "Your daughter has turned into a high priestess.[785] She has a husband with all kinds and amounts of possessions." And so they came at once.

"Why did you come to steal our daughter, our sister from us?" they said to Collquiri when they found her. "Are you the one who forced us to search for her through all these villages until we were exhausted?" In high dudgeon they said, "Now we'll make her go back home!"

418 "Fathers, brothers, you have every reason to rebuke me, because I did fail to tell you ahead of time," Collquiri replied. And he inveigled them by saying, "What may I give you as restitution? A house, a field, llamas, people, agave fiber goods,[786] gold or silver? What about it, what do you want?"

419 Despite his enticements they agreed to nothing.

"I'll take their sister back," Capyama's father[787] said, repudiating the offer.

"All the same," Capyama[788] replied when he said this, "I wouldn't go back. It was with all my heart that I took him for my husband!"

420 "Father, please, I hope you won't take my wife away from me," said the man called Collquiri. "I've already told you that I'll give you anything, whatever you like, as much as you want. Or maybe I should give you the Goesunder?"[789]

A man who'd come in and sat down last in the gathering of that woman's brothers spoke up when Collquiri said this: "Father, say yes."

And the brothers[790] deliberated in low voices: "What could it be, that Goesunder?"

421 Their old man came and said, "It's a deal, son. Marry my daughter. And make good on what you promised." So he said, and they returned home.

"We'll see each other in five days, father, in your village!" said Collquiri.

422 Five days later Collquiri, as good as his word, did go under. Underground he headed[791] toward Yampilla.

After he'd traveled a long stretch, he thought to himself, "I wonder how far I've come?" for he wanted to come out on the opposite side of the Apar Huayqui river.

Right where he got his head out, water squirted upward like a fountain.

423 He plugged the hole with some copper and went back underground.

He went on traveling underground until finally he emerged up above the high side of Yampilla.

The spring where he surfaced bears that woman's name, Capyama,[792] until today.

424 An enormous amount of water surged from Capyama spring and threatened to wash away all the fields of the Yampilla.

It actually did carry away all their *oca*[793] that was drying and all their *quinua* that was spread out in the sunshine, and lots of other things.

The Yampilla people got good and mad. "Why did you ever go and say yes to Collquiri?"

"Send him back immediately!"

"We were already used to getting along with just a little water!" they all said.

425 As they were complaining, Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:

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785. *ancham villcayam* 'has turned into a high priestess': more literally, 'has greatly become *villca*'. This passage suggests that the senses of *villca* can include a person wedded to a *huaca*.

786. *chauaractacho* 'agave fiber goods': as in chapter 24 (sec. 334) and problematic for the same reasons.

787. 'Capyama's father' supplied.

788. 'Capyama' supplied.

789. The literal sense of *huco ric* 'the Goesunder' is clear enough; it means 'what goes under or inside'. But its sense in context is enigmatic, and Capyama's kinsmen let their curiosity about the *huco ric* get the better of them in the unmistakably comic episode that follows.

790. 'The brothers' supplied.

791. *hucota cama rircan* '[he] did go under': at this moment we understand the answer to the *huco ric* puzzle. Collquiri himself was the *huco ric*—the thing that goes under or inside—in the double sense of going under or inside Capyama's dress and of burrowing through the earth.

792. Modern Llambía draws its irrigation water still from Capyama spring. The love of Capyama and Collquiri (now renamed Pedro Batán, and imagined as a romantic lover rather than a clownish suitor) is prominent in modern folklore.

793. *oca*: *Oxalis tuberosa*, a potatolike plant with slender edible roots, widely cultivated through the Andes "on terraces in the *quebradas* of the cold sierras and in the altiplano zone to an altitude of 3,800 to 4,000 meters." Because they contain calcium oxalate crystals, *oca* tubers must be cured in the sun before cooking (Towle 1961: 56–57).

"Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"

"Shut it off!"

"Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.

426 With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket[794] and other stuff.

But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.

Meanwhile, the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:

"PLUG IT UP!!"

Finally Collquiri jumped in himself, put in his cloak, and sat down in the middle of the water.

427 When he sat down there, the water at last dried up somewhat.

Nowadays, water flows out of that spring passing through Collquiri's cloak as if through a sieve.

Whenever he plugged this waterhole, water flowed from many other springs here and there all over the district. Before, there weren't any.

428 Since their water supply was dried up as a result of all this, the inhabitants of Concha village started to get mad, too:[795] "Why has he given our water away?"

"What about us, what are we supposed to live on?" they said.

All the Concha together spoke to Llacsa Misa, who was in charge of the water: "Listen, Llacsa Misa, why did you go and let that water dry up?"

"What are people supposed to live on?" they said, and threw him into the lake.

429 When the *huaca* Collquiri saw what had happened he thought, "They're right. How are they going to live?" So at once he gave orders to one of his servants, a youngster called Rapacha:

"Dump some dirt and rocks from the shores down into the lake. There we'll measure out what's for the sustenance of the Concha people."[796]

430 So that boy Rapacha breached the lake's bank a little. As soon as it was opened, Collquiri instantly dammed the water up from below by building a great wall there.[797]

This wall, built without mortar, stands as the lake's mouth[798] until today.

431 Collquiri had the man called Llacsa Misa mark this wall carefully in five different places.[799] He said, "When the waters reach this point, you must close the mouth of the lake. After that, at the correct times you will direct the waters to the lower fields. At sunrise, you will release the water. They will water the *añay*[800] maize five times only. It is for this that I ordain you." Carefully he familiarized Llacsa Misa[801] with the marking stones.

432 From the time he made this known up to today, all of Llacsa Misa's descendants followed each other in the exact same custom and continue it even now.

People in fact[802] refer to these markers as "lake measures" and call the stick Turca Caya.

It[803] is said to be[804] accurately aligned over the stoneworks to serve its function; if we went there we might see it[805] by taking a careful look.[806]

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794. *titahuanpas* 'with a blanket': in supplement II (sec. 478), *huc fresadacta o titactapas* 'a blanket or cover' clarifies this otherwise unattested word. But *tita* might be an error for *titi* 'lead', as other translators suppose.

795. They got mad, that is, because their *huaca* Collquiri had diverted their water to Capyama Spring and Yampilla village just to satisfy his yen for Capyama.

796. Apparently this means Collquiri had the boy Rapacha dump earth and rocks in the lake so as to reduce its capacity and breach its banks, thereby making water spill out; he then apportioned this water to the Concha.

797. That is, once Rapacha had forced water to breach the lake's bank, Collquiri built a dam in the resulting channel and thereby turned the lake into a controllable reservoir.

798. *cochap simin* 'lake's mouth': a literal translation; the phrase apparently (from context) means the lake's outlet. The stone dam still existed much as described in section 431 as of 1990.

799. That is, the dam was to have five separate sluice gates (now seven). They were to be opened in sequence, from shallowest to deepest, as the lake level fell. When asked why a single sluice gate at the lowest level would not suffice, modern San Damián residents say high water pressure when the lake is full is the reason: using the ancient stone-and-sod technology (with which they are still familiar), a single gate at the lowest level would, at the beginning of the irrigation period, release water with too much force for human musclepower to control.

800. Untranslated. *Añi* is the modern local name of a multicolored maize that needs relatively little irrigation.

801. 'Llacsa Misa' supplied.

802. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

803. 'It': perhaps the measuring stick *turca caya*. A tentative translation.

804. 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation. The clauses following the semicolon have *-cha* conjectural validation.

805. 'It': the object of *ricohhuan* 'we might see' is unstated in original.

806. *chayasparaccha alli ñauinchichuan ricohhuan*

433 During the month of March the Concha go out to close the lake's mouth,[807] all of them, both men and women.

As for the water measurement mentioned above, Llacsa Misa would decide, "It'll be at so and so a time" or determined some other thing. All the Concha went along, following his exact words.

434 Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.[808]

When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word.

435 If the lake ever spilled out in the middle of the night, people dragged Llacsa Misa's descendants to the scene from wherever they happened to be, saying, "Go, it's your responsibility!"[809]

Because this was their special care both by day and by night, because they thought only of minding the lake, other people worked hard on their maize fields for them and revered them, saying, "It's because they're numerous that we stay alive."

436 Llacsa Misa, and his descendants, watched over the lake very carefully, saying, "Beware the water doesn't spill out of this lake."

If the lake ever spilled out and the waters of Yansa rushed into the river, a breach would immediately open in the dam. Whenever it did flow into the river, it cracked the dam.

For this reason they watched it with great care.[810]

437 As we said before, the *huacsa*s went to Yansa lake both to impound and to release the waters.

To impound the water all the people went out, too. As soon as they arrived, the women deposited their coca, each one in her own right, and likewise their maize beer each in her own right.[811]

438 These offerings were for Yansa lake, but it was in fact[812] the *yanca* who received them all.

They'd also take one llama, they say.[813] They likewise took guinea pigs, *ticti*, and all the other sacrificial offerings.

Once they finished collecting things, they took a *quipu* account of all the people who were absent and began to worship Yansa lake.

439 They worshiped, saying,

"Father Collquiri, the lake is yours and yours are the waters;
This year, give plentiful water to us."

After they finished worshiping, they drank their maize beer and chewed their coca.

After that the men and women together began to impound the lake.[814]

'if we went there we might see it by taking a careful look': an uncertain translation. *Alli ñauinchichuan*, more literally, 'with our good eye', could perhaps mean 'with our practiced eyes', or 'clearly see with our eyes'; *ñauinchichuan* has inclusive first person plural marking, indicating that the speaker regards the addressee as also having the native's 'good eye' for such matters.

807. The modern lake-closing ritual, called the lake's "anniversary," is practiced on February 3.

808. The position of this priest as irrigation authority affords an important clue to the economic component of priestly power. Chapter 24 (sec. 335) comments on another example of priests' economic privilege. While the Llacsa Misa water priests enjoy a subsidy in agricultural form, the priest sacrificers mentioned in chapter 24 are privileged in consuming animals.

809. *suyoiquim* 'your responsibility': more literally, 'your domain'.

810. The water priests' concern was practical, not magical. Testimony in a 1648 lawsuit between the Concha and their Suni Cancha neighbors (chap. 9, sec. 135) over control of Yansa's waters tells us that the hydraulic system sometimes did in fact suffer damage from overflows: "Last year in a great flash flood that came from the lake of Yanascocha and its streambed, the canal inlet was swept away leaving it [turned] into a washed-out gully, beyond repair" (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, B-1483, f. 174r).

811. *sapampitac* 'each in her own right': seemingly, asserting a household-level right of access to water. The female ritual role as receiver of water rights parallels the female role of earth as water-receiving *huaca*s in the myths.

812. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

813. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 440.

814. In 1990 the *comuneros* of Conchasica conducted "anniversary" rituals for Yanascocha Lake in a fashion closely recalling sections 438–439. The *alcaldes*, holders of rotating magistracies that ritually govern irrigation, officiated in place of the *yanca*s. The officiants first collected and announced offerings of coca, tobacco, and liquor at lakeside, then dedicated them to the lake's "owners" while loading them in a small raft or "boat" made of dry sod. The sail of the raft was a modern analogue of the *quipu*, a legalized list of irrigators handwritten on paper. While launching the raft, officiants made speeches similar to those recorded c. 1608 but using the

440 When it was time to release the water, people always went five times accompanied by two or three *huacsa*s.

Just before this, a man and a woman would enter a fairly large field and bring maize beer there in a big jug, and guinea pigs, two or three of them, and coca leaf.

Having worshiped with these offerings, they'd release the water.

These are as many stories as we know about Yansa lake.

441 Now, we know[815] that the Concha were the very last of Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them.

For this reason, Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri[816] gave them only a very little of their territories and very few of their fields.

442 The *huacsa*s we mentioned dance the Chanco during the festival seasons of Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca just as the Checa dance them.

We already talked about all that in other chapters.

443 Now we'll learn about the children of the three men we mentioned.

They say[817] all the offspring of Llacsa Misa became extinct. When Llacsa Misa was about to die, his nephews, namely, Cuno Cuyo's and Yasali's children, married Hualla's descendants, who'd returned after a long time from the Yauyo region.[818]

These descendants of Hualla are in fact the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred.

444<**margin**, in Quechua:>
[Hualla's descendants are of the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred. They entered into the Llacsa Misas' position, so the people called Huallas don't exist any more. Only one woman is still living, and this one is childless; she's Anya Ruri's wife.][819]

445 Pauquir Buxi's descendants are in fact[820] still alive today and they're the Ñau Paico, those people.

The descendants of Llama Tanya are now the Ruri Cancha, the Casin Chauca, and the Tacya Cancha.

These three patrilineages are the reported[821] descendants of Llama Tanya.

446 As for the Hualla, we already mentioned the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi.

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modern names of the "owners": María Capyama and Pedro Batán. The climactic event was the sailing of the boat and tense observation of its course as lake water gradually saturated it. When it sank, the officiants said the "owners" had expressed their approval by pulling the boat down through the center of the lake.

Yanascocha now has a modern dam with a steel sluice gate, so men and women carry out the closing of Collquiri's dam only in what they call "simulacrum" (a ritualized token of the whole job). The traditional technique of closing the dam is called *champería*, that is, sod-laying. *Champero*s were designated by the officiant to cut fresh sod blocks from a nearby marsh, carry them to the dam, and stack them against the ancient dam so as to prevent lake water from passing through it.

815. *yachanchic* 'we know': introduces a passage with witness validation, continuing through the first sentence of section 443.

816. 'Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri' supplied.

817. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 444.

818. In Taylor's reading (1987b: 485) it is Hualla's children who are called nephews of Llacsa Misa. Since both Cuno Cuyo and Hualla are siblings of Llacsa Misa, the offspring of either could be called his nephews. (The term in question is the Spanish *sobrino*, which, at least in Spanish context, does not distinguish between relationships through male and female siblings.) Therefore, the translation discrepancy does not imply any discrepancy about local principles of genealogical reckoning.

819. Secs. 443–444 are difficult. Assuming that all the named corporate descent groups are *yumay* 'patrilineages' like the three groups so described in section 445, one reading might be as follows:

Llacsa Misa's direct lineage became extinct at an unspecified time. When some collateral descendants through his brother Hualla took over the role to which the direct descendants would have been entitled (see sec. 446), namely, primacy in the water priesthood, they ceased to function in the lineage bearing Hualla's name. This transferred group or sublineage was called the Lázaro Puyo Rocçi. At the time of writing only one member of an untransferred Hualla sublineage remained. Since this was a woman (Anya Ruri's wife) and childless besides, the Hualla patrilineage as such no longer existed.

Descent groups throughout this passage are named after their apical ancestors. The fact that in this case the corporate name includes a baptismal name suggests that the transfer of the Lázaro Puypo Rocçi sublineage to the Llacsa Misa role was recent (an effect of post-invasion epidemics?).

820. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues with one interruption to the end of the chapter.

821. 'Reported' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence. *yumay* 'patrilineages': more literally, 'sperm'.

Calla's descendants are today the Gonzalo[822] Paucar Casa and the Lazaca Canya, those people.

All these people have multiplied from the five men who came from Yauri Llancha.

Only Llacsa Misa's descendants are now completely extinct.

The Lázaro, Hualla's children, have inherited their office because they're Llacsa Misa's kin, and they say, "We're the Llacsa Misa."

This much is all we know about the life of the Concha.

The end.[823]

822. Reading the abbreviated baptismal name as *jº* rather than *gº*, Taylor (1987b: 487) gives "Juan."

823. *fin* 'the end': in Spanish.

447

[Supplement I][824]

In what follows, we shall explain case by case what we know[825] happened in all these villages in the old days, and still does up to now, when a person gives birth to two babies in just one birth, whether they are a boy and a girl, or both boys, or both girls.

We call[826] those who are born this way *curi*.[827]

448 When babies were born like this, even if they were born unexpectedly in some other village, people would bring them to their home village that very night.

For example, in the old days, if twins were born in Sucya Cancha or Tumna, people would bring them right away to the Checa village called Llacsa Tambo.[828]

449 When carrying them they would by no means carry them during the daytime, for they used to say, "Be careful, <crossed out, in Spanish:> [it freezes] the earth might freeze!"

Maybe those who are privy to such practice follow it all over the region.

When *curi* were born, as soon as it got completely dark the man and woman—that is, the twins' father and mother—would start living fenced in inside a house, and both man and wife would lie there motionless
<**margin**, in Quechua with partly Spanish gloss:>
[lying, that is, on one side][829]
until the fifth day.

450 On the fifth day, they'd turn over onto their other side.

On that same day, all the father's male in-laws[830] would gather in the *curi*'s house and dance while beating their drum themselves.

(At that time, contrary to modern practice, it was the men who beat the drum and not the women.)

824. A cross-shaped symbol (*crismón*) appears at the top of the page.

825. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates throughout the two supplements except where otherwise indicated.

826. *ñinchin* 'we call': an unusual form, perhaps a slip of the tongue or pen due to indecision between *ñinchic* (inclusive first person plural) and *ñin* (third person).

827. The persecutors of "idolatry" from Avila onward attacked twin cults. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 20–21, 53; Keating's translation) mentions that "bodies of *chuchus*" were commonly venerated and kept in houses. *Chuchu* means a body of a twin or also a double or multiple fruit. He notes: "Human twins are called *curi*, which means two born of one womb, and if they die young, they keep them in jars in the house as a sacred object. One of them, they say, is the son of the lightning. They have many superstitions regarding the birth of twins, . . . each of which implies some form of penance, since they must expiate the sin of having been born together. . . . they do not baptize either *chuchus* or *chacpas* [breech birth babies]" ([1621] 1968: 31; Keating's translation).

828. The example of Sucya Cancha suggests that the teller is thinking of trips downslope to trade or produce coca at the Checa's outposts in the lower Rímac valley.

829. The couple would be required to lie on a bean or grain, and only allowed to turn over when their body warmth and humidity had germinated it. It is as if their bodies themselves were to counteract the danger of earth's freezing (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation).

830. *tucoy masancuna* 'all [his (or their)] male in-laws': the wide extension of this term is made clear by Diego Gonçález Holguín: "*massani* brother-in-law of a male; the married man calls his wife's brothers and her male cousins *massaniy*" ([1607] 1842: 215; see also [1608] 1952: 221). *Massani* and *massaniy* are the root *massa* with "empty morph" *-ni-* and first person singular possessive marker *-y* (i.e., 'my *massa*'). Earlier dictionaries include some of the husband's own male consanguineals ("*massa* brother-in-law, brother of the husband"; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 319).

Before beginning to dance these rites, they used to consult the demon,[831] using a spider[832] and the object called *pana charapi*,[833] concerning which of his in-laws should lead them by dancing first.

451 Following the demon's word, they'd choose and appoint five of the in-laws who were sitting there.

And these people, from the very moment they got the word, would search for coca day and night, never resting, bartering whatever they had for it.

The other in-laws, thinking only to outdo each other, all joined together no matter how many there were.

452 We mentioned above how the parents turned over on their other side.[834]

From that time on, the dancers[835] never rested from dancing every single night until the fifth day had arrived.

On the day before it did arrive, the in-laws used to show one another a leather bag as if to say, "Tomorrow I'll bring coca in this bag." They'd dance shaking the leather bags[836] still empty of coca.

Meanwhile, another five days would have elapsed since the time the parents had turned over on their other side.

So it was ten days in all.

453 On that occasion, beforehand, the five in-laws would catch and bring back a brocket deer, or a *taruca* deer,[837] or any other animals that live on the wild upper slopes. As the leader of those men carried it, the *curi* would emerge onto the open plaza.[838]

454 And some people would go around blowing the conch trumpet called *paya*.

And some would go around carrying a *pupuna*, <**margin**, in Spanish:> [It is the staff with the thong for catching parrots but not with such a long thong.][839]

And some others went around carrying *sacaya*.

(This material called *sacaya* was a little maize ground up with some *ticti*.)

Different people carried this stuff.

As for the people who carried these items, it wasn't the *curi*'s in-laws who carried them. It was rather their close blood relatives who carried them.

The brocket deer was the only thing the leader of the in-laws carried.

455 As soon as people had seized the brocket deer, they would force it to step around with its hooves, starting from the dwelling place where the *curi* were fenced in, saying,

"This is the one who has confused you,
Who has outraged you!"[840]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [And then they took it out and killed it.]

And all the people would eat its meat immediately, leaving absolutely nothing over as remnants.

831. *supayta* 'the demon': while to Christian ears *supay* meant a devil, this sentence may reflect the word's older sense 'a spirit' or volatile *ánima*. Since the twin ritual is concerned with the propagation of families, its divinations may have called on ancestral shades.

832. See chapter 28 (sec. 370).

833. Untranslated.

834. To begin germinating the second seed of their penance. 'Parents' supplied.

835. 'Dancers' supplied.

836. *hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic carcanccu*: could also mean 'thus they made [the in-laws] who had no coca bags dance'. 'Shake' is an attempt to render the effect of *huayacallactas taquichic*, more literally, 'making the bags [without coca] dance'. *Taquichiy* is the verb used in all instances where celebrants dance displaying animal skins or human trophies. In chapter 9 (sec. 128) a skin bag full of coca is taken as a sacrifice in lieu of an animal. These data suggest a close symmetry between the coca hunt and the deer hunt in section 453.

837. *tarucactapas* '*taruca* deer': *Hippocamelus antisiensis*, a deer larger than the brocket deer, found at altitudes over 3,000 m in the southern Andes and at higher ones in the north (Renard-Casevitz 1979: 21–22; see also Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 271–272).

838. *pampa* 'open plaza': *pampa* means any flat place, but since the context is the *curi* parents' return to their home ceremonial center, the scene is likely to be a plaza.

839. The *pupuna* is also the reed with which Cuni Raya opened the waterways in chapter 2 (sec. 9).

840. *tacurisonqui apllasonqui* 'has confused you, [who] has outraged you': tentative translation of a difficult passage. *Tacuri-* is thought to be from the verb "*ttakuini o ttacuni o chacruni* to mix or interpose one thing with another" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335). The derivatives concern confusion, such as turning a house upside down looking for something. *Aplla-* is likely to be *haplla* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 150) as, for example, in *haplla sonco* ('*haplla*-hearted') meaning 'the person who is in the habit of wrath and quarreling and who is overly rude'. Its derivatives concern words of anger or losing one's temper. Perhaps the point is that the deer is taken as a scapegoat for what has confused the parents' reproductive process. But alternatively the parents themselves could also be subjects of these verbs.

456 Then, as we just said, on the tenth day, they went out onto the open plaza. Afterward, the *curi* went wrapped in a large piece of cloth, shrouded from view, while some people, namely, the in-laws in groups of two or three,[841] would pull them along wailing and dancing.

Those who pulled them would also pull the *curi*'s *ayllu* relatives. They used to pull them along, and as they pulled they said, "We'll give you a field or something like that, we'll give you a llama."

457 When arriving at the open plaza, the in-laws used to carry the brocket deer's skin
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the pelt and the head stuffed with straw, because the flesh had already been eaten as was mentioned.]
with great ostentation, just as we do today when we carry the base of the cross at the head of a procession.[842]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the base of the cross]
Those who carried *pupunas* went brandishing them like spears as if to say, "I'll throw!" and striking combative poses over and over again. The one who came first among them struck threatening poses at the *curi* who came along in the rear.

458 When the people who were carrying the brocket deer's skin arrived at the plaza, a man and a woman who were *ayllu* kin to the *curi* offered them a llama or a field. As they did, they would say, "Rest with these gifts"[843] and put them at their ease. Then the *curi* went to their ordained[844] seats and the couple would sit there richly honored, both the husband and the wife together.

459 On that day, all the in-laws would compete in giving away their coca, and they'd dance and drink all day long.

In the evening they'd go back home and return to the same place where they'd dwelt before.

They remained there for another five days.

When those five days were complete, people used to accompany[845] them back to the[846] <crossed out:> [seat] sealed lodging.[847]

460 Right after this, their in-laws brought firewood and built a big bonfire,[848] as at the beginning, right on the next day after the *curi* were born—we forgot to tell this in our earlier account
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [What has to go with this is at the beginning.<?>]
—when they collected firewood every night, and, saying, "It will burn until dawn, lest some temptation befall," they lingered there[849] all night.[850]

So that fire never died until after the rituals,[851] not even for a single night.

461 Afterward, once they finished all these rituals, they led the *curi*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [and also their parents]
to a certain demon of theirs and asked, "Where shall we wash them clean of their fault?" They'd take them to Yansa lake,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that is, where the Conchas' water comes from]
in due order,[852] following the demon's command.

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841. *masacunapas yscay quimça* 'the in-laws in groups of two or three': could also be read 'their in-laws, two or three of them', but this makes it difficult to see how they could pull the many people mentioned in the next sentence.

842. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation) mentions that the deer was made into a canopy under which the penitent parents passed.

843. 'Gifts' supplied.

844. *unanchascaman* 'to . . . ordained': may mean the place had been chosen by a priestly divination.

845. *asuchic* 'accompany': not attested in old sources; Lira's modern Cuzco dictionary ([1941] n.d.: 22) has an apparently related verb *assuy* meaning 'to approach, to come close, to make one thing closer to another'.

846. Or 'to another'.

847. *aposentoman* 'to the sealed lodging': the following excerpt from a 1656 "idolatry" trial shows that this Spanish word served to designate the specially enclosed house in which (sec. 449) parents of twins were sequestered: "When two are born from one belly, which they call *chuchus*, the wizards [i.e., *huaca* priests] require their parents to fast five days, during each one of which they eat only one row of grains from one maize cob, and during these five days no one may see them, and when they bring food to the said fasting person, who is enclosed in an *aposento*, they cover their eyes so as not to see them . . ." (Duviols 1986: 164). The Huarochirí manuscript original has a crossed-out word *tiana*, which *aposento* replaces. *Tiana* means a dwelling, and sometimes a ceremonial stool or seat.

848. *collo camacta* 'bonfire': conjectural translation.

849. *cayta (ca)corcan* 'they lingered there': from *cay* 'to be' with reflexive *-cu-*; *cayta* 'around here or toward here' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 53).

850. The sense seems to be that, warming themselves by the fire, they stayed near the ritual house all night so the *curi* parents would not be tempted to lapse from their special discipline.

851. 'The rituals' supplied here and in the next sentence.

852. 'In due order': problematic translation. The origi-

462 There a man with the title of Con Churi,[853] who was that demon's priest, used to ask the earth about them.

They say[854] he would ask,

"Why were they born as *curi*?
For what faults of theirs, and how many?"

About those born *curi* people reportedly said, "They're born so in exchange for someone's death."[855] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is the opinion of the common people and not the answer.]

463 Then, saying,

"It's for this offense,"

or

"It's for that offense,"

people would wash both parents. They also bathed the two babies, washing them over and over again, even to the point where they were almost dying from cold, until at last it was said, "That's enough for the seriousness of their fault."

464 Once they'd finished all this, they used to cut the male's hair. They clipped just a little of the female's hair, but, as for the male,[856] they sheared his off as we do[857] with sinners.[858]

Then, it's said,[859] they returned with the *huachay ruco*.[860]

People put on them a necklace with black and white intertwined strands, which was the sign of a *curi*.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [somewhat like a golden chain]

465 Then they admonished them,

"You must fast for one whole year.
Neither you nor you may sin sexually[861] with anyone.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [not with each other either]

If you do, you'll be doing a very bad thing.
You'll have fatigued our in-laws[862] in vain."

So they advised them.

466 When half the year was over, the priest and a lot <**margin**, in Quechua:> [a lot]

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nal text is an abbreviation, *hord^{a}m^{da}*, for which we suggest the expansion *hordenadamende* 'in due order' or alternatively *hordinariamende* 'normally', 'usually'. Other translations provide the reading 'heretically' (*hereticamente*). Our reading is partly suggested by the fact that *hordenamy^{o}* meaning *hordenamyento* 'ordinance' and *hordin^{o}* meaning *hordinario* 'ordinary' are common abbreviations of the period (Cavallini de Araúz 1986: 59; Rostworowski 1988: 294). The various derivatives of *herejia* 'heresy' are rarely if ever abbreviated. Moreover, *hereticamente* in this context would be surprising since the manuscript does not concern heresies (which at that time typically meant Protestant teachings) but "idolatries" or "gentile" practices. Nor does the visit to Yansa lake seem any more "heretical" than the rest of the ritual.

853. See chapter 13 (sec. 185). The fact that a *con churi* priest, who is specifically a lineage authority, officiated in this ceremony suggests once more that *supay* in the context of twin ritual denotes an ancestral shade.

854. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this sentence has reportive validation, as do several others up to the end of section 467. The validation shifts do not mark transitions as sharp as those in the numbered chapters and are hard to interpret, but the first sentence of section 468 seems to suggest that this part is an interpolated portion of testimony after which the author returns to writing with witness validation.

855. *huañuynin* 'someone's death': attempts to render the ambiguity of the third person possessive *-n*. Whose death is not clear in this passage. But Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 188) explains that the birth of an extra baby via twinning was understood as restitution given by the deity of lightning to a family one of whose ancestors had been struck or killed by lightning.

856. *huarmictaca . . . carictaca* 'the female . . . the male': the terms denote gender alone. *Huarmi* can mean 'wife', but *cari* is not a synonym of *cosa* 'husband'. So this sentence leaves doubt about whether the parents or the twins are shorn.

857. *rutunchic* 'as we [inclusive, i.e., addressee as well as speaker] do': this implies the speaker identifies with this common practice of "extirpators of idolatry." Taylor (1987b: 502–503) reads *rutunqui* 'you cut', in which case 'you' could mean Avila or another cleric or church officer.

858. 'As we do with sinners' is witness-validated.

859. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues to predominate through the end of section 467.

860. *huachay ruco* may mean 'birth headdress' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 168; Taylor 1987b: 503).

861. *hochalliconqui* 'sin sexually': using the word with which the church translated 'to sin'. But since in this case sex would violate an Andean, not Catholic, norm the usage may not be colonial: that is, the sin inheres not in sex, but in having sex at the wrong moment.

862. *masanchiccunacta* 'our in-laws' with inclusive first person plural possessive marker: implying that the persons in question are in-laws of both addressee and speaker.

of other people would ask their demon, "Have the twins' parents[863] lived right?"

If it turned out all right, they'd be delighted. But <crossed out:> [If it wasn't good,] if he said, "They did sleep together,"

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that they had sexual intercourse]

then people would give them a good tongue-lashing.

467 The in-laws would get really mad and berate them: "How dare you wear us out with this burden all for nothing?"

They used to go after them like that until the end of the year.

Only then would they cut their necklace.

In this way, they say,[864] they finished the thing.

468 Now we'll complete[865] what we have just said.

If the twins were born both males or both females, people would say, "Times aren't going to be good."

"There'll be times of terrible hardship."

But if they were born male and female, people interpreted it as a good sign.

469 And as for today's in-laws, on one hand, they're pleased that they don't have to spend as much as they did in the old times.

On the other hand, they may regret it, too, when they think, "We don't do it like that anymore." In some villages, because of the demon's deceptions, they may not have forgotten these practices.

470 At night, or at any other time, when twin llamas are born, they used to ask the demon for their names one by one, inquiring,

"What twin person will he be?"

The names that the demon bestowed were Curi Ñaupa, Curi Yauri, Curi Huaman, Ticlla Curi,[866] or any other name that says *curi*.

It was done[867] that way for each one, whether male or female.

471 Any number of people who are now wealthy in silver used to put all their effort into trading away everything they had for coca during Paria Caca's feast or any other festival, because they didn't yet understand the word of the good God. It was the only thing they'd raise money for, even if they'd had only three or four years to recover from the last festival.

As for the poor, every year they worried, wondering,

"Where'll I find coca?"

"Will I be humiliated this way?"

They searched for it, bartering away their fields and clothing for coca, wandering hither and yon, going up to the guanaco pastures and searching for brocket deer while they themselves went hungry.

472 For the sake of this duty, those who were mindful of such practices used to go to enormous trouble and, fasting rigorously, asked their demon first of all,

"Where'll I find coca?"[868]

"Trading a guanaco for it?"

"Or should I trade off[869] one of my fields, or my clothing?"

"What'll happen to me?"

473 Nowadays, because they have another attitude and don't think so much about this custom,[870] and also because they no longer have to trade off any of their things on account of it, people feel well contented.

On the other hand, they also do cry about it a lot, saying, "Why is it that we don't do these things now?"

474 The time for this rite was at night or at any other

863. 'The twins' parents' supplied.

864. 'They say' supplied to indicate the end of a passage in which reportive validation predominates.

865. *tincuchison* 'we'll complete': the verb implies symmetry and suggests that what follows will not just add to, but will complement or match what went before. The phrase may mean that the teller will now make good on a promise to deal 'case by case' with mixed-sex, two-boy, and two-girl births (sec. 447). Or it may mean that in the next passage, which returns to witness validation, he or she will complement the data given by the source whose words are reported in sections 462–467.

866. The meanings of these names are: Curi Ñaupa 'Twin Leader', Curi Yauri 'Twin Scepter' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347), Curi Huaman 'Twin Falcon', and Ticlla Curi 'Two-colored Twin'.

867. 'It was done' supplied.

868. 'Coca' supplied.

869. *huacllichisac* 'should I trade off': this verb means "to damage one's capital or leave it just barely begun or a small amount already spent, or to damage in departing, or to go away damaging something" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 170). The concept seems to be that of spending off productive assets and thereby damaging one's own livelihood.

870. 'Custom' supplied.

time that Macoy Llenco designated by declaring, "It'll be on so-and-so a date." At such times people used to cheer up and become merry; the old men and lots of old ladies would go carrying their *ticti* and their other things, for there'd be drinks at the old house[871] or maybe even right here.

475 Right in this village people probably abstain from this practice, more or less, even though they may do it at night. We think that in other villages outside of here people do practice it, and we hear as much, too.

871. *ñaupa huasipi* 'at the old house': *ñaupa* is more strictly 'former'. The phrase may refer to dwellings from before the forced resettlements (c. 1580 onward in this area) or to prehispanic buildings.

[Supplement II][872]
JHS[873]

When we speak of an *ata*, we mean a child born with a reverse whorl[874] in its hair.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [their hair<?> goes backward][875]

About a person who's born like this:

When the baby turns three years old, its elders get together in the house or in the courtyard. Starting at broad daylight,[876] they first inform the father's[877] brothers-in-law or his fathers-in-law,[878] saying, "On that day we'll cut the hair of this *ata* and *illa*[879] of Paria Caca."[880] (When we speak of an *illa*, we mean just the same thing as an *ata*.)

872. A cross appears at the top of the page. In combination with the monogram JHS that appears below it, this forms the conventional symbol called *lábaro*.

873. The abbreviation *JHS* is a latinization of the Greek monogram *IHΣ* 'Jesus'. *JHS* and its equivalent *IHS* were popularly interpreted *Jesus Hominum Salvator* 'Jesus, savior of men' or *In Hoc Signo* 'in this sign' (i.e., *In Hoc Signo Vinces* 'in this sign shall you conquer'). But its characteristically Jesuit interpretation may be more relevant, given the early Jesuit penetration of the region and given Father Avila's own Jesuit education. This reading is *Jesum Habemus Socium* 'we have Jesus as a companion' (Cross 1957: 678). *Socium* might also resonate with the Andean ideal of social obligation between humans and sacred beings.

874. *parca* 'reverse whorl': a tentative translation. *Parca* can mean a plural whorl (Albornoz [1583?] 1984: 196) or a six-fingered birth (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 279). Perhaps its sense was generic, 'a bodily anomaly'. 'Reverse' derives from Urioste's transcription of the barely legible marginal note. Taylor's reading also seems to refer to hair but does not mention reversal.

875. Taylor (1987b: 512) reads the obscure marginal note as "on some it tangles and others not" (*a alg(un)os se les /maraña y a otros/no*).

876. *pacsac punchaomanta* 'Starting at broad daylight': based on Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 271) "*pacsa* 'resplendent'." Taylor (1987b: 512) reads *pusac* 'eight', that is, eight days ahead of time.

877. 'The father's' supplied, on basis that *massa* (see note 830) and *caca* are terms explicated with reference to a male ego in the colonial Quechua dictionaries and grammars.

878. *cacancunacta* 'fathers-in-law': an inadequate translation, because no English term corresponds to the same set of relatives as *caca*. Quechuists contemporary with the manuscript said *caca* could mean maternal uncle: "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42). But the same author's grammar treatise gives additional senses:

> *Caca*, the son-in-law's father-in-law, namely his wife's father; both the son-in-law and his first cousins call both the father-in-law and his father "my *caca*."
>
> The married man and his brothers as well also address those of their male in-laws who are brothers of his (the married man's) mother-in-law as "my *caca*." (Gonçález Holguín [1607] 1842: 214–215)

Ricardo ([1586] 1951: 98) gives usages of *caca* including father and brother of male ego's wife. Zuidema (1977: 20) suggests that the term groups together those male consanguines of male ego's son who do not partake of the patrilineal bond between ego and son. It is to the *massa* (see notes 830, 877) and *caca* (Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 240, 319) categories that parents of *parca* owe restitution for the disturbance of procreation that irregular births represent.

879. "*ylla* the large bezoar stone, a notable one as big as an egg or bigger, which they carry with them as a charm to become rich and lucky" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 366), and more broadly, any sort of amulet stone or effigy (see chap. 9, sec. 134); the term is associated with the cult of lightning. Irregular births, too, were attributed to lightning (see note 827).

880. An infant's first haircutting is still a common *rite de passage* in the Andes (Zamalloa González 1972: 28–29) and follows approximately the same pattern described here. The parents place the baby on a blanket

477 So they let everyone know about it, and begin to brew maize beer. When people hear someone say, "They're brewing half a *fanega*[881] of maize, maybe a whole one!" they ask one another, "What could that maize beer be for?"

Once they find out what day the fiesta will take place, all the people gather together on that day.

478 The *ata*'s father[882] sits with his brothers-in-law and all the men who rank as his fathers-in-law,[883] but down by the low end, and he begins to dance and serve them drinks.

When they get good and drunk, they spread out a blanket or a cover[884] and make the baby go to its center and sit there, and they make this speech:

"Fathers and brothers,
Today we'll cut the hair of this *ata*, this *illa*;

For he's Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's *ata* and *illa*,
And it's they who have sent him to me to be born so."

479 On that occasion, the baby's nearest maternal uncle[885] if he was a boy, or her nearest paternal aunt if she was a girl, or alternatively the baby's grandfather or grandmother,[886] would stand up and put on the blanket a token representing a llama or a field, and approach the *ata* with a pair of scissors.[887]

(The llama's token is an object called *cot huato*, one with which they had led a llama to Paria Caca.) <**margin**, in Spanish:> [*cot huato* is llama harness]

480 They would also put a token for a field there, called *caxo*.

(This *caxo* was just a stick, a digging tool for women.)

Then the *ata*'s close blood relatives would stand up, one at a time, and make offerings of cloaks and tunics, of sheep[888] or wool, according to their relationship.[889]

481 Once the close blood relatives had finished, the *curaca* or the *alcalde* would get up, starting from the leading positions, and put in one or two *reales* of money.

Thinking, "These people will get even drunker by the time they finish, and the drunker they get the surer it is that they won't hold back on anything," the parents[890] would make them drink hard until nightfall.[891]

482 Once they all finished clipping the hair, it was[892] the *ata*'s father who'd shear it all off the child, for the others would barely have snipped at it. As soon as he finished, he'd immediately start the dancing, calling out his ancestors' names:

"Father Anchi Puma!"
or
"Carhua Chachapa!"
or any other name. They danced and took their ease, saying,

---

with kin and guests around it. The guests, in return for each snip of the baby's hair, give or promise gifts for its future welfare. They bind themselves to the child by accepting drinks from the hosts. The rite is generally called a form of godparentage (*compadrazgo*) today.

881. 'half a *fanega*': Spanish bulk measure; about 0.8 bushel or 29 liters.

882. *atayuc runaca* 'the *ata*'s father': could also mean 'the person(s) who has (have) the *ata*', that is, both parents. We choose 'father' because this person is said to have *caca* and *massa*, terms used relative to a male ego.

883. *cacancunahuampas* 'the men who rank as his fathers-in-law': for reasons given in note 878 to section 476.

884. *titacta* 'cover': see note 794 to chapter 31 (sec. 426).

885. *cacan* '[*ata*'s] maternal uncle': "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42) seems the more applicable sense of *caca* when referring to a child ego since the other usages apply to married males; *ypan* 'paternal aunt' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 369; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 301)

886. Assuming the immediately preceding glosses of *cacan* and *ypan* are right, these words probably imply maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother, respectively.

887. Scissors are a European tool, suggesting that the narrative concerns post-1532 times.

888. *ouejahuanpas* 'of a sheep': using the Spanish word for the Old World animal. Throughout the manuscript sacrificial goods are consistently of Andean provenience, and it is true that c. 1600 *oveja de la tierra* 'native sheep' could still mean 'llama'. But this gift, offered to the child's estate and not for sacrifice, might really be a Spanish sheep. Spanish sheep were herded through many parts of the Andes well before 1600.

889. *cascancama* 'according to their relationship': or 'according to what they had'.

890. Subject is an unspecified third person: the parents? the *alcalde*? The former makes sense since it was in their interest to maximize the gifts.

891. *pacha huraycuscancama*: more literally, 'until *pacha* descends'; translation uses an unattested but plausible meaning for *pacha*.

892. Or 'is'; many of the verbs in this supplement are ambiguous between agentive present and habitual past tenses because auxiliary verbs (forms of *cay* 'to be') are omitted.

"This is your *ata*, your *illa*,
And now we have finished his rites.

Henceforth may Paria Caca send us no other;
We will do right and be well."[893]

483 When people mention an *ata* or *illa*, they reportedly[894] comment, "This is Paria Caca's messenger."

On the evening of the day before the haircutting ritual,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the night before the said day.]
people used to worship Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri with guinea pigs, *ticti*, and other things of theirs, showing deep respect, and saying,

"Put us truly at peace with this *ata*,
Tomorrow we'll truly be happy."

484 "This is the sign of a *curi*," people say. "He has sent this *ata* to foretell the coming of a *curi*. People haven't minded their debts to Paria Caca properly, and for this, *curi* will be born in exchange for someone's death."[895]

"They're born in exchange for their death," they say about those born *curi*.

This is what we know about the people known as the San Damián Checa.[896]

485 Who knows what people say in other villages?

However, when an *ata* is born, everything is the same. Everybody reveres them all over this whole *corregimiento* and in the whole region: the Huanca, the Yauyo, the Huaman Tanca, all the kinds of people called Indians.[897]

486 And it's the same in Limac; when someone's child is an *ata* lots of people gather, from the most distinguished to the servants.

And we also know such things about the ones who are mestizos, some of them.

When they saw these rituals, certain people fell into the same sin, thinking, "Maybe this is a good custom!"

We said the same thing: "They should be shorn after they're three years old."

People perform this rite earlier or later, according to their customs.

All of this is a true testimony.

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893. These two formulas and the one following do not appear to be strict couplets, but they do have a common form consisting of a pairing between a sentence of which the addressed deity is subject and one in which the supplicant speaks of his own conduct.

894. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate beginning of a passage in which *-si* reportive predominates, continuing up to the fourth sentence of section 484.

895. *huañonan* 'someone's death': whose death, as in supplement I (sec. 462), remains unclear.

896. This sentence and the remainder of the supplement have witness validation.

897. *runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca* 'people called Indians': a reprise of the phrase that begins the manuscript (preface, sec. 1). The effect is as though "zooming out" back to the wider colonial context by naming three farflung ethnic groups whose territories reach far beyond that of the manuscript.

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Transcription of the Huarochirí Manuscript

George L. Urioste

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F 64 R

[1] runa yn(di)o ñiscap machoncuna ñaupa
pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca
hinantin causascancunapas manam cananca
mapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam
vira cochappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin
hinatacmi canman [2] chay hina captinpas canan
cama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani
cay huc yayayuc guaro cheri ñiscap machoncu
nap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan y
ma yñah canancamapas causan chay chay
cunacta chayri sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca
hima hina causascampas pacariscanmanta
[3] CAPITULO 1 COMO FUE ANTEGUAM(EN)TE LOS YDOLOS Y COMO GUERREO EN
TRE ELLOS Y COMO AUIA EN AQUEL TIEMPO LOS NATURALES
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc huaca ñiscas yana ñamca tuta
ñamca sutioc carcan cay huacacunactas quipanpi huc huaca
tac huallallo caruincho sutioc<carcan>atircan ña atispas canan
runacta yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan huctas quiquin
micorcan huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta causachicorcan yayan
maman [4] chaymantas chay pachaca huañuspapas pihcca punchao
llapitac causarimpuc carcan ynaspa micuyninri tarpuscanmanta
pihcca punchaollapitacsi pocorcan cay llactacunari tucoy hinantin
llactas yuncasapa carcan [5] chaysi ancha ahca runacuna huntaspas — yuncaçapa
ancha millayta causarca chacranpacpas cacactapas patactapas yanca
aspispa allallaspa chay chacracunas canancamapas tucoy hinantin
cacacunapi huchoyllapas atunpas ricurin hinaspari chay pacha pis
cocunaca ancha çumaccamas carcan huritupas caquipas tucoy quellosapa
pucasapa [6] chaycunas quipanpi ña may pacham huc huacatac paria
caca sutioc ricurimurcan chay pachas ynantin rurascanhuan antiman
carcoy tucorcan chay atiscancunacta cay quipampim paria cacap pa
carimuscantauan rimason [7] chaymantam canan huc huacatac cuni — saber si dize q(ue) no se
raya sutioc carca<n> caytam mana allicho yachanchic paria cacaman — sabe si fue antes
tapas hichapas ñaupacnin carcan o quipanpas ychaca cay cunirayap — o despues de carvin
cho o de paria caca

F 64 V

cascanracmi ñahca vira cochap cascanman tincon porque caytam
runacuna ña muchaspapas coni raya vira cocha runa camac pacha camac
yma aycayuc cammi canqui campam chacraiqui campac runayqui
ñispa muchac carcan [8] yma ayca saça ruranacta callarijpacpas pai
taracmi machocuna cocanta pachaman vischuspa cayta yuyachiuai
amutachiuai cuni raya vira cocha ñispa mana vira cuchactaca ricus
patac ancha ñaupa rimac muchac carcanco yallin astauanrac
compi camayucri compinampac sasa captin muchac cayac carcan chay
raycom caytarac ñaupacninpi causascanta quillcasson chaysauam
paria cacacta
[9] CAPITULO 2 COMO SUÇEDIO CUNI RAYA VIRA COCHA EN
SU TIEMPO cuni raya vira cochap causascan Y COMO CAUI LLA
CA PARIO SU HIJO Y LO QUE PASSO

notase q(ue) no se sabe si fue este antes o despues de carvincho

cay cuni raya vira cochas ancha ñaupa huc runa ancha huaccha tucospalla
purircan yacollanpas cosmanpas lliqui lliquesapa runacunapas huaquin
mana ricsicnincunaca huaccha huçasapa ñispas cayar<>can cay runas
canan tucoy llactacunacta camarcan chacractapas rimaspallas pata
patactapas allin pircascacta tucochircan rarcactas canan llocsimu
nanmanta huc pupuna sutioc cañavelarpa sisayninhuan chucas
pallas yachacuchirca chaymantari yma aycactapas ruraspas purir
can huaquinin llacta huacacunactapas yachascanhuan allcuchaspa [10] chay
si huc mitaca huc huarmi<tac> huacatac caui llaca sutioc carcan cay
caui llacas canan viñay donzella carcan panas ancha sumac cap
tin pi maycan huaca villcacunapas puñosac ñispa munapayar
can chaysi manatac hu ñircancho [11] chaymantas canan quepanpi chay
huarmica chayhina mana pi caritapas chancaycochicuspa huc yura
rucmap siquinpi ahuacorcan chaysi chay cuni rayaca amauta
cayninpi huc pisco tucospa chay yura rucmaman vichayrirca chay
si chaypi huc rucma chayasca captin chayman yumayninta chu
raspa hormachimurca chay huarmi cayllaman [12] chaysi chay huarmica
ancha cusicuspa millpuycorcan chaysi hinalla chichu tucorcan ma
na carip chayascan escon quellanpi himanam huarmicunapas hua
chacon hina huachamurcan yna donzellatac chaysi quiquillantac
huc huata chica ñoñonhuan causachircan pip churinh cayca ñispa
[13] chaysi ña huc huataman huntaptinca taua chaqui ña chay huamra
puriptinca tucoy hinanin huaca villcacunacta cayachircan

F 65 R

yayanta ricsiconcampac chaysi cay simicta huacacuna huyarispa
ancha cusicuspa tucoynin alli pachanta cama pachallispa ñocactapas
ñocactapas munahuanca ñispa hamurcancu [14] chaysi cay tantanacoy
ri anchi cuchapi carcan maypim chay huarmi tiarcan chayman hinaspas la congreçion fue en
ña tucoynin hinantin huacacuna villcacuna tiaycuptinsi chay huar anchi cocha
mica ñispa nircan ri<>coy caricuna apucona ricsicoy cay huahuac
ta mayquenniquechicme yumahuarcanquichic camcho camcho ñispas
sapanpi taporcan chaysi manatac pillapas ñocapmi nircancho [15] chaysi
chay ñiscanchic cuni raya vira cochaca manyallapi tiacuspas ancha
huacchalla yna tiacuptinsi chay huacchap churincho canman ñispas
paytaca millaspa mana tapurcancho chica sumac cama caricunaca
tiaptin chaysi mana pillapas ñocap churimi ñispa ñiptinsi chay
huamracta ñispa nircan ri cam quiquique yayaiquicta ricsicoy
ñispa ñircan huacacunactapas churique caspaca camsahuam lluca
musonque ñispa ñaupactac villaspa [16] chaysi chay huamraca man
yanmanta callarimuspas tahua chaquilla purispa hasta<>chay huc
manyan yayan tiascanman chayascancama mana pillamanpas
llocarcancho chaysi ña chayaspaca tuyllapuni ancha cusicuspa yayanpa
chancanman llocaycorca chaysi mamanca chayta ricuspas ancha
piñacuspa hatatay chay hina huacchap churintachum ñocaca hua
chayman ñispas chay huahuallanta apáricuspa cochaman chi
cacharcan [17] chaysi chay cuni raya vira cochaca tuylla munahuanca ñispa
cori pachanta pachallispa tucoy llacta huacacunapas manchariptin
catita ña callarircan ñispa pana caue llaca cayman cahuaycumu
ay ancha sumac ñam cani ñispas pachactapas hillarichispa sayar
can [18] chaysi chay caue llacaca mana huyantapas payman ticrari
chispa cochaman hinallam chincasac chica millay runap cachcaçapap
churinta huachascaymanta ñispa chicacharcan maypim cananpas chay
pacha camac huco cochapi cananpas sutilla escay rumi runa hina
tiacon chayman chaysi chay canan tiascanpis chayaspalla rumi tu
corcan [19] chaymantas cay cuni raya vira cochaca pana ricurimunca
cahuaycumuanca ñispa caparispa cayapayaspa carollapi catircan
chaysi ñaupac huc condorhuan tincorcan chaysi huauqui maypim
chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñiptinsi cayllapim ñahcam tarinque ñip
tinsi ñispa ñircan camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sall
cacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca

F 65 V

cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi
sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan
[20] chaymantas chaysaua añashuan tincorcan chaysi pana may
pim chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñispa tapuptinsi payca ñispa
ñircan mana ñam tarinquecho ancha caructam rin ñiptinssi
camca chay villahuascayquimanta manam punchaopas purinque
cho tutallam runapas chicniptin ancha millayta asnaspa purin
que ñispa ancha millaypi ñacarcan
[21] chaysauam pumahuan tincorcan chaymi payca cayllactaracmi rin
caylla ñam sihcpayconque ñiptinmi paytaca camca ancha cuyas
cam canqui llamactapas huchayucpa llamantaracmi micopunque
camta huaño<chi>chispapas aton fiestapiracmi homansaua<chu>
churaspa taquechisonque chaymanta huatanpi camta llocsi
chispare huc llamanta nacasparac(mi) taquechisonque ñispa ñircan
[22] chaymantam ñatac huc atochuan tincorcan chaymi chay atoc
ca ancha caructa ñam rin mana ñam tarinquicho ñispa ñiptin
mi camtaca carupi puricuptiquitacmi runacunapas chay hatoc a
coylla ñispa ancha chicnisonque huañochispari yancam camtaca
carayquictapas husuchisonque ñispa ñircan

[23] hinatacsi huc huaman
huan tincorcan chaysi chay
guamanca cayllata
racmi rin ñah cam tarinq(ui)
ñiptinsi camca ancha
cusiocmi canqui micuspa
pas ñaupacracmi quin
ticta armuçaconque chay
mantari piscocunacta
huañuchispari camta
huañuchic runam huc
llamanhuan huacachi
sonqui ynaspari taquis
papas homampim chura
sonqui chaypi sumaspa tian
cayquipac
[24] chaysahuam cay horitocu
nahuan tincorcan chaysi
chay horituca ancha caructa
ñam rin mana ñam tarin
quicho ñiptinsi camca an
cha caparispam porinq(ui)
micoyniquicta husuchisac
ñiptiquipas chay caparij
niquita huyarispa ancha
vtcalla carcosonqui chay
mi ancha ñacarispa cau
sanq(ui) runapas chicniptin

[24cont.] chaymantari pi maycan alli villacochuan tincospaca allicta çapa
camaycospas rircan mana allicta villacnintare millaypi cama
ñacaspas rircan [25] chaysi cocha pa(tapi chayaspaca)<hinalla cochaman yaycuspa
chicacharcan chaytam canan runacunaca castillamanmi chicachar
ca ñispa ñincu ñaupa pachapas huc pachamansi rin ñispaca ñircan>
pacha camacñicman cutimurcan chaysi chaypica pacha camacpac
iscay sipas churin machachuaypa huacaychascan tiacman chaya
murcan chaysi cay yscay sipaspa mamanca ñaupacllantac co
cha hucoman chay caue llaca ñiscacta visitac yaycurcan sutin
pas hurpay huacha<y>c sutioc cay hillaptinsi chay cuni raya vira co
chaca chay sipasta yuyacninta puñochircan chaysi huquen ñañan
tauan puñoyta munaptinsi chayca huc urpai tucospa pauarirca
chaymantas mamanpas hurpai huachac (sutioc) carca [26] chaysi chay pachaca
cochapi manas huc challuallapas carcancho chay hurpai huachac
niscallas huasinpi huc huchuylla cochallapi huyhuacuc carca
chaytas chay cuni rayaca piñaspa ymapacmi chay caue llaca ñis
ca huarmicta cocha ocumanta visitac rin ñispalla tucoyninta <cocha>

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haton cochaman vischorapurcan chaymantaracsi cananca chall
huacunapas cochapi huntan [27] chaymantas chay cuniraya vira co
cha ñiscaca miticamurca cocha patañicta chaysi chay hurpai
huachac ñisca huarmica huahuancuna ynam <yuma>(puñu)huan ñispa
villaptinsi ancha piñaspa catimurcan chaysi cayapayaspa catip
tinsi ho ñispa suyarcan chaysi husallayquicta husascayque
cuni ñispas husarcan [28] chaysi ña husaspa pay cayllapi huc aton
cacacta viñarichircan chayta cuni rayacta hurmachisac ñispa
chaysi payca hamauta cayninpi musyacuspa aslla ysmayco
cumusac pana ñispalla cay llactacunaman ñatac miticamur
can chaysi cay quitipi ancha hunay puricorcan ancha ahca llac
tacunacta runactapas llollachispa <el fin q(ue) tuuo esta huaca se dira abajo ojo>
[29] CAPIT(UL)O 3 COMO PASSO ANTEGUAMENTE LOS Y(NDI)OS QUANDO REUENTO LA MAR
CAYPIM ÑATAC ANCHA ÑAUPA RUNA
CONAP RIMACUSCANMAN ÑATAC
CUTISON
chay simire caymi ñaupa pachas cay pacha puchocayta munarcan
chaysi mama cochap pahcyamunanta yachaspas huc orco llamaca
ancha allin queuayucpi <yayan>(chay llamayoc) çamachiptintac mana micuspa
ancha llaquecuc yna carca yn yn ñispa huacaspa [30] chaysi<yayan>(chay llamayuc)
ca ancha piñaspa sarap curumtayninhuan chucllo micuscampi
chucarca micoy allco chica quehuapim çamachijque ñispa chay
si chay llamaca runa yna rimarimuspa ñispa ñircan hutic ymac
tam cam yuyanquiman cananmi pihcca punchaumanta cocha
pahyamunca chaymi hinantin pacha pochocanca ñispa rima
rirca [31] chaysi chay runaca ancha mancharispa himanam cason
mayman rispam quispison ñispa ñiptinsi haco villca coto este es un cerro q(ue) esta
hurcoman chaypim quispison pihcca punchaupac micuynij entre huanri y surco
quicta apacoy ñispa ñircan chaysi chaymantaca chay orco
llamantapas vinaynintapas quequen apaspa ancha hutcaspa
rircan [32] chaysi ña villca coto hurcoman chayaptinca tucoy ani
malcuna ña huntasca pomapas hatucpas huanacopas con
dorpas yma ayca animalcunapas chaysi chay runa chayap
tin pachalla cochaca pahcyamurca chaysi chaypi ancha
quihcquinacuspa tiarca [33] tucoy hinantin hor(co)cunactapas tu
coy pampaptinsi chay villca coto hurcolla aslla puntallan

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mana yacup chayascan carca chaysi hatucpac chupantaca
yaco hucocharcan chaysi chay yanamanpas tucorcan chay
si pihcca punchaomantaca ñatac yacuca huraycurcan
chaquerirca [34] chay chaquerispas cochactapas asta hurayman
anchurichircan runacunactari tucoy hinantin runacta collo
chispa chaymantas chay runaca ñatac mirarimurca chay
cacsi canancama runacuna tian cay simictam canan
xp.^(christia)nocuna hunanchanchic chay tiempo dellobioctah paycuna
ca hina villca cutucta quispiscanta hunanchacon

[35] CAPIT(UL)O 4 COMO EL SOL SE DESPARECIO CINCO DIAS — CHAYMANTAM HUC SIMICTATAC VILLASON PUNCHAO HUAÑUSCANTA

ñaupa pachas <punchao> (ynte) huañorcan chaysi chay huañuscan
(manta) pihca punchao tutayarcan chayssi rumicunaca paypura
huactanacurcan chaymantas cay mortero muhcacunari
chaymanta cay maraycunapas runacta micuyta callarir
can llama horcocunare ynatac runacta ña catirircan
caytam canan ñocanchic xp.^ono(christiano)cuna hunanchanchic
jesuxp.^to(jesuchristo) apunchicpac huañuscanpi tutayascantah caycuna
ca riman ñispa hunanchanchic ychach ari chay

[36] CAPIT(UL)O 5 COMO ANTEGUA M(ENT)E PARECIO PARIA CACA EN VN CERRO LLAMADO CONDOR COTO CIN CO HUEUOS Y LO QUE SUCEDIO — CAYMANTAM ÑATAC PARIA CACAP PACARIMUSCAN CALLARINCA

ñam hari cay ñaupac tahua capitulopi ñaupa pacha causas
cancunacta villanchic hichaca cay runacunap <> chay pacha
pacarimuscancunactam mana yachanchiccho maymantah
pacarimurcan [37] chaymanta cay runacuna chay pacha causaccuna
ca paypura aucanacuspa atinacuspalla<s>m causac carcan(cu) cura
canpacpas sinchicunallacta rricocunallacta<s> ricsicorcan cay
cunactam purom runa ñispa ñihchic [38] cay pachapim chay
paria caca ñisca condor cotopi pihcca runto yurimurcan cay yu
riscantam huc runa huacchallatac huatya cori sutioc
paria cacap churin ñiscatac ñaupaclla ricumorca yachamurca
cay yachascantari ahca misterio rurascantahuanmi rimason

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[39] chay pacha cay huatya curi ñisca huacchalla micuspapas huatya
cuspalla causaptinsi sutiachircan huatya curim ñispa
chay pachas huc runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha capac atun apo — ojo tamta ñamca
carcan huasimpas tucoy hinantin huassim cassa cancho ñisca
ricchaccuna piscocunap ricranhuan catascas carcan llamanpas
quillo llama puca asol llama yma ayca ricchaccama llama
yocsi carcan [40] chaysi cay runacta chica alli causascanta ricuspas
tucoy hinantin llactacunamanta hamuspa yupaicharcan mu
charcan chaysi payri ancha yachac tucospa pissi yachascanhuan
ancha ahca runa<cta>conacta llollaspa causarcan chay pachas yna
amauta tucoc dios tucoc caspatac chay runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha mi — tamta ñamca
llay huncoyta tarircan [41] chaysi ancha ahca huata honcoptinsi hima
hinam chica yachac camac caspatac honcon ñispa runacunapas
chay pacha rimarcancu chaysi chay runaca alliyasac ñispa y
manam vira cochacunapas amautacunacta doctorcunacta caya
chin chay hina tucoy yachaccunacta sauiocunacta cayachircan — juntaronse los sauios
chaysi manatac pillapas yacharcancho chay honcoscanta [42] chay
si cay hatya curica chay pacha ura cochañicmanta hamuspa
may pacham sieneguellaman huraycomunchic chay horcucta chay
pis poñomusca chay horcom canan latab zaco sutioc chaypi poñop
tinsi huc hatocca vramanta amusca hocri hanacmanta amusca
tac chaysi chaypi pactalla tincuspas huauque hima ynallam
hanac villcapi ñispa tapurcan [43] chaysi allica allem ychaca
huc apom anchi cochapi villca checa yachac tucoc dios tococmi
ancha huncon chaymi tucoy amautacuna taripan pachacta
ymamantam chica huncon ñispa chaymi manatac pillapas
yachancho honcoscanta chaymi chay honcoscanca huarminpa
pincayninmanmi camchacuptin huc muro sara callanamanta
pahyamuspa chayaicurcan [44] chaytam ñatac pallaspa huc ru
naman caracurca chay carascanmantam chay runa micoc
huan hochallicoc ña tucon chaytam canan pachaca huachuc
ta ña yupan chaymantam cay hochamanta huc machac
huay chay chica sumac huasinsaua pay(cuna)cta micoc tian huc
ampaturi yscay vmayoc maraynin hocopi tian(tac) cay<cuna>
micucnintam (cana) mana pillapas musyancho ñispas villarcan
chay hatoc horamanta amucta [45] chaysi ñatac paytari

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huauqui chayca hura villcapi hima hinallam runacuna ñis
pa tapurcan chaysi payri hinatac villarcan huc huarmim
aton apo villcap churinmi hullomanta ñahca huañun ñispa
(cay simin canan ancha ahca chay huarmi alliyascancama
chaytaca quepampiracmi quillcason cananri ñaupacman
cutison)[46]cay caycunacta villanacuptinsi chay huatya curi ñisca huyarcan
chay chica aton apo dios tucospa huncos<canta> cay runas
yscay churiyoc carcan chaysi huc yuyacnintaca huc
casarachircan ayllonhuantac ancha rricohuan tinquichircan chaysi cay
huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca chay pacha honcoptin chay apoman
chayarcan [47] chaysi chayaspas<huaqui> huaticayllapi tapuyca
charcan manacho cay llactapi pillapas honcon ñispa chaysi
chay quipan sipas chorinca yayaimi honcon ñispa villar
ychaca caytas que can chaysi ñocahuan cason camrayco yayaiquicta alliya
pampi chaupi ñamcacta chisac ñispa villarcan (cay huarmip sutintam mana yachanchiccho)
ña sutiachircan chaysi chay huarmica mana tuy
llaca hu ñircancho [48] chaysi yayantaca yaya caypim huc huac
cha yayaiquicta alliyachisac ñimuan ñispa villarcan chay
si cay simicta hoyarispas chay sauiocuna tiacca asicor
can ñocacunapas alliyachipticho chay huaccharac alliya
chinman ñispa chaysi chay apoca alliyaininta ancha mu
naspas hamuchontac yma yna runallapas ñispa cayachircan
[49] chaysi cayachiptin cay huatya curi ñiscaca yaicuspa ñispa ñirca
yaya alliyaita munaptiquica alliyachiscayqui hechaca chu
riquictam co<uay>anqui ñiptinsi paica ancha cusicuspa alli
tacmi ñispa ñircan chaysi chay ñaupac churinpa cosanca
cay simicta huyarispas ancha piñarcan himapacmi chay huc
huacchahuan tinquichisac ñispa ñin ñoca chica capacpac co
ñaday<ni>ta ñispa [50] cay runa piñacucpa huatya curihuan
aucanacuscantam caysa(ua) villason cananca chay huaccha
huatya curi ñiscap ampiscanman ñatac cotison
chaysi cay huatya curica ampijta ña callarircan yaya huarmiquim
huachuc ñispa chay hina huachoc hochayoc captinmi camta
honcochisonqui camta micucri cay chica collanan huasique
sahuam yscay machachuay tian chaymantam ampatori
yscay homayoctac maray hucopi tian [51] caycunactam canan
tucoyninta huañoshison chaymi alliyanqui chayman

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tam ña alliyaspam tucoy hima aycacta yallispa ñocap yayai
ta muchanqui caya minchallam yurimunca camca manam
ari camac runacho canqui camac runa caspaca manam
ari honconquimancho ñispa ñiptinsi ancha mancharirca
[52] chaysi ña chay huasinta chica sumacta pascasac ñiptinsi
ancha llaquicorcan huarminsi hinatac yancam cay huac
cha acoylla ñihuan manam huachuccho cani ñispa capa
rircan [53] chaysi chay runa honcucca alliyaininta ancha
munaspas huasinta pascachircantac chaymantas yscay
machachuayta surcorcan ynaspa huañochircan huarmintari
hinatac suti villarcan ymanam chay huc muro sara pah
yamuspa pincayninman chayaicorcan ynaspa ñatac pallas
pa runacta cararcan chaycunacta chaysi chay huarmi
pas quipampica ancha chicanmi ñispa tucoyta villacorcan
[54] chaymantas ñatac marayninta atarichircan chaysi chay
hucomantaca huc ampato yscay homayoc llocsimuspa
chay anchi cucha huaycomanh pahuarircan chaypis
canancama tiacon huc pucyupi chay pucyus canan chay — preguntar como se dize
pi runacuna chayaptinca ña ñispa chincachin ña ñis — este pucyu y en q(ue) p(ar)te esta
pa locotapas ruran [55] cay tucoy ñiscanchiccunacta ña
puchocaptinsi <yayanca> chay huncuc runaca alliyarcan
ña alliyapuptinsi chay huatya curi ñiscaca ponchao
ninpi huc mita condor cotoman rircan chaypis chay pari
a caca ñisca huacaca pihca runto tiacorcan chay cayllampis
canan huayrapas pucorircan chaysi ñaupa pachaca manas
huayra ricurircancho [56] chayman rinan captinca punchao
ninpis chay alliyac runaca sipas churinta corcan chay
si yscaynillan chay horco quiticta porispa hochallicorcan
[57] cay hochallicoscanta ña chay huc ñaupac masan hoya
rispa<m>s ancha pincayta rurasac chay huacchacta ñispa
yallinacoyta ña callarirca chaysi huc ponchao chay ru
naca huauqui camhuan yallinacuson ymahuanpas cam
huacchcaraccho chica capacpa coñada<ni>yta huarmiyan
quiman ñispas ñircan chaysi chay huacchaca alli — + esto es uno de los hu(eu)os
tacmi ñispas yaianman + cayhinam ñihuan ñispa villa — dichos a quien este tenia
coc rircan chaysi payca allitacmi ymata ñiptin — por p(adr)e

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pas<tu> tuyllam ñocaman hamuanque ñispa ñircan [58] cay ya
llinacoysi cay hina carcan
huc ponchaosi vpyaihuan ynaspa taquihuan yallinacuson
ñispa ñircan chaysi cay huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca ya
yanman villacoc rircan chaysi ri chay huc horcoman
chaypim huanaco tucospa huañusca siriconqui chaymi tu
tallamantam ñocacta ricoque huc atoc añas huarminhuan
hamunca [59] chaymi huc huchoylla porongollapi ashuanta apa
munca ynaspa tinyantapas apamuncatac chaytam canan
camta huañusca huanacucta ricuspam chaycunantapas
pachapi churaspa atucri antaranta churaspatac micoyta
ña callarisonqui chaymi camca runa tucospa ancha na
nacta caparispa pauarimunqui chaymi paicunaca chay
nintapas mana yuyaspa miticaptinmi chayta apaspa
yallinacoypac rinqui ñispas yaian paria caca villarcan
[60] chaysi cay huacchaca ñiscancama rurarcan
chaysi ña yallinacospaca ñaupacñinsi chay runa rrico ñisca
taquircan chaysi huarmicunapas ñahca yscay pachac chica
taquipuptinsi ña pai pochocaptin chay huacchaca
yaycorcan sapallan huarmillanhuan yscaynillan chay
si ponconta yaicospatacsi chay añaspa huancarninta
apamus(can)<chay>huan taquiptin<si> tucoy chay pachapas cuyurcan
ynaspas chayhuanpas tucoyta yallircan [61] chaysi ñatac vpyai
ta callarircan chaysi ymanam canampas corpacuna anac
manta tiamun chay hinas çapallam huarmillanhuan tia
murcan chaysi chay runacunaca tucoy hinantin tiaccuna
ancosamurcan mana samachispa chaysi paica tucoyta
vpyaspapas mana llaquispa tiacorcan [62] chaysi ñatac pairi
chay huchoylla poroncollapi ashuan apamuscanhuan ancusay
ta ña callarircan runacunapas chica ochuyllapicho chica
runacta sacsachinman ñispa<s> asipayaptin chaysi paica
manyanmanta ancosamuspa sapampi tuylla tuylla hur
machircan [63] chaysi cayantin ñatac huc yallinacoyta atipap
tin munarcan cay yallinacoysi hualliparicoy carcan an
cha allin cassa ñiscanhuan cancho ñiscanhuan chaysi cay
huatya curi ñiscaca ñatac yayanman rirca chaysi huc

F 69 R

razo pachacta yayanca cumurcan chayhuansi tucoy runacunac o riti
tapas ñauinta rupachispa atiparcan [64] chaymantas ñatac
pomacta aparispa yallinacoson ñispa ñircan chaysi cay
runaca pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan chaysi
chay huacchaca yayan villaptin tutallamanta huc pucyo
manta puca pomacta apamurcan chay puca pomahuansi ca
nan taquiptin ymanam canan huc arco sielofiicpi llocsin
chay hina llocsiptin taquircan [65] chaymantas canan ñatac hua
si pircacoyhuan yallinacoyta munarcan chaysi chay runaca an
cha ahca runayoc caspa huc poncha(u)lla atun huasicta ñahca
tucochircan chaysi <pay> cay huacchaca ticsillanta churaspa
tucoy punchao huarmillanhuan poricorcan chay tutas canan
tucoy piscocuna chaymanta machachuaycuna yma ayca
pachapi caccunas pircarcan chaysi cayaca ña tucoscacta
ricuspa ancha mancharircan [66] chaymanta catanampipas
hinatacsi yallircan ocsantapas tucoy huanacocuna
vicoñaconas astamurcan chay runaptari llamanhuan
chacnacumuptinsi oscullocta mincaspa huc cacallapi
suyaspa mancharichispa tucoyta destruyrca hurmachir
can chayhuanpas hinatac yallircan [67] cay tucoyta yallina
cuspas quipampica cay huaccha ñiscaca ñispa ñircan
yayanpa simincama huauqui ñam chica ahca mita
campa simiquicta ho ñispa yallinaconchic cananca ño
cap simiitapas ho ñihuaytac ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi
ñispa ho ñircan chaysi ñispa ñircan cananca ancas cusma
yoc chaymanta huaranchicri yurac hutco cachon hina
lla taquison ñispas ñiptinsi allitacmi ñircan [68] chaysi chay
runaca ñaupacmantapas payrac <taquic> ñaupac taquic
caspas taquircan ña taquiptinsi chay hatya curi ñis
caca hahuamanta caparispa callparimuptinsi chay runa
ca mancharispa huc lloycho tucospa miticarcan chay
si huarminpas cosallayhuantac huañosac ñispa catirir
can [69] chaysi chay huaccha ñiscaca ancha piñaspa ri hutic
cammi chica huatuycahuarcanquichic ñispa camtaca
huañochiscayquim ñispas catirircantac chaysi catispa
huarmintaca anchi cocha ñanpi apispas caypim ynantin

F 69 V

runa hanacmanta huramanta hamuc pincaynijque
ta ricupayasonqui ñispas huray çinca humanmanta sa
yachircan chaysi tuylla pachampitac rumi tucorcan [70] chay
rumis canancamapas himanam runap chancan hina
nota chancayoc racayoc tian chaytas ymancampach ari
preguntar para q(ue) cocacta chaysaua churapon (canancamapas) chaymantas chay lloycho
se pone esta coca tucoc runaca hinallatac chay hurcucta sicaspa chin
carcan [71] chay lloychos canan ñaupa pachaca runa micoc
carcan quipampis canan ña ahca lloycho caspas yma
ynam runacta micosonchic ñispa cahchuacorcan chay
si huc huahuallanca hima ynam runa micohuason
ñispa pantarcan chayta hoyarispas lloychoconaca
chiquirircan chaymantas lloychopas runap miconan
carcan [72] cay ñisca<y>(nchic)cunacta ña puchocaptinsi paria caca
paria cacap yuri ñiscaca pihca runtomanta pihca huaman pahyamur
muscan can chay pihca huamansi ñatac runaman tucuspa
purirircan chay pachas ancha chaycunap rurascancunac
ta vyarispa ymanam chay runapas sutioc dios
me cani ñispa muchachicorcan chay chay huchancuna
mantas piñaspa tamya hatarispa mama cochaman<>
tucoy hinantin huasintahuan llamantahuan aparcan
mana huchlactapas quispichispa [73] chaymanta chay pa
chatacsi cay llantapa hurcomanta huc pullao sutioc
chay huc urco vichoca ñiscahuan apinacorca arcohina
chay pullao ñiscas ancha aton sacha carca chaysauas cusi
llupas caquipas yma ayca ricchaccuna piscocunapas
tiacoc carcan chaycunactahuansi tucoy hinantinta cocha
man aparcan caycunactas ña pochocaspa ñatac pari
a caca hanac canan paria caca ñinchic chayman vichay
corca chay vichaycoscantam canan quipan capitulo
pi rimason
[74] CAPIT(UL)O 6 COMO PARIA CACA NAÇIO ÇINCO ALCONES
Y DESPUES TORNO EN PER(SON)AS Y COMO ESTANDO YA
VENÇIDOR DE TODOS LOS YUNGAS DE ANCHI COCHA
EMPEÇO A CAMINAR AL D(ICH)O PARIA CACA Y LO QUE
SUÇEDIO POR LOS CAMINOS

F 70 R

ña paria caca runaman tucuspas aton ña caspa enemigon
ta mascayta ña callarircan chaysi chay enemigonpa sutinri
<ri>huallallo carvincho carcan runacta micoc hupyac cay<mi>
tam cay quipampi churason atinacuscantahuan ñam hari chay
huallallo carvinchup causascantaca runa micuscanta(huan)pas yma
ayca rurascantauanpas ñaupac capitulopi rimarcanchic el capit(ul)o primero
[75] canami rimason huaro cheripi chay chay quitipi rurascancunac
ta chay simire caymi ña paria caca haton runa caspas hanac
paria caca ñiscaman huallallo caruinchup tiascanman rir
can [76] chaysi huaro cheri chay hura huaycupica huc llacta huau
qui husa sutioc yuncap llactan carca chaysi chay llactayoc ru
nacunaca chay pacha haton fiestacta rucraspa haton vpiayta
vpyarcancu chay hina vpyacuptinsi paria caca ñiscaca
chay llactapi chayarcan chayaspas payca runacunap manyallan
manta tiaicorcan huaccha ynalla [77] chay hina tiaptinsi chay llac
tayoc runacunaca mana huclapas ancosarcancho tucoy punchao
chay yna captinsi huc huarmica chay llactayuctac añañi yma
ynam chay huacchallactaca mana ancosayconcho ñispas huc
haton yurac potohuan ashuacta apamuspa corcan [78] chaysi
payca pani ancha cosiocmi canqui cay ashuacta comuaspa
canan punchaomanta pihccantin punchaoninpi himactahc
cay llactapi riconqui chayrayco chay ponchaoca amatac cay
lla(c)tapi tianquicho carollamantac anchorinque pactah cam
tauan huahuayquictauan pantaspa huañochiquiman an
cham cay runacuna ñocacta piñachihuan ñispas chay huar
micta ñircan chaymantari cay runacunactari amatac
huc simillactapas hoyarichicho oyarichiptiquica camtahuan
mi huañochiquiman ñispas ñircan [79] chaysi chay huar
mica huahuancunahuan turancunahuan chay pihca pon
chaomanta chay llactamanta anchoricorcan chaysi chay
llactayoc runacunaca mana llaquispa vpiacorcancu
chay pachas paria caca ñiscaca guaro cheri hanacnin
horcuman vichaycorcan chay horcom canan matao
coto sutioc chay huraynin huc horcom puypu huana
sutioc maytam caymanta rispa huaro cheriman hu
rayconchic chaycunam cay hina sutioc [80] chay orcopis

F 70 V

canan chay paria cacaca haton tamyayta ña callarircan
chaysi quillo runto puca runto hatarispas chay runacu
nactaca tucoyninta mama cochaman aparcan mana
huchlactapas perdonaspa chay pacha chica yaco lloclla
purispas chay huaro cheri anacnincuna huaycucunac
tapas rurarcan chaymantas canan ña chay(cuna)cta pucho
caspas chay llactayoc huaquinin yuncacunactaca mana
paria caca chimparcan rimapayaspa paycunari<ancha alli> chayta ricuspapas
cuparap llactanman mana musyaptin yachaptinsi chay chimpañic cuparap
chacrancunaman ripurcan [81] chaypis canan chay llactayoc
cupara runacuna ancha yaconmanta ñacarispa pucyo
llamanta chacranmanpas posaspa causarcan <> cay puc
yum canan s(a)n lorenço hanacnin aton orcomanta llocsir
can chay orcum canan suna caca sutioc chaypis canan ha
ton cochalla carcan chaymanta huray pusamuspas ña
tac huchuilla cochacunaman hontachispa chacrancunac
ta parco(cuc) carcan [82] chay pachas chay llactayoc huc huarmi
chuqui suso sutioc carcan ancha sumac huarmi chaysi cay
huarmica sarancuna ancha chaquiptin huacacospa
parcocorcan yacon ancha pisi captin chaysi chay paria caca
ca chayta ricuspa chay huchoylla cochanta yacollanhuan
chay cochap siminta quirpaicoporcan [83] chaysi chay huarmica
ñatac ancha nanacta huacacorcan chay hinacta ricuspa
chaysi chay paria cacaca pani ymac(tam) <> chica huacanque
ñispa taporcan chaysi payca cay sara(llay)mi yacumanta cha
quipuan yaya<ñiptinsi> ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca
ama llaquicho ñocam yacuctaca cay cochayquimanta
ancha ahca yacucta llocsichimusac hichaca camhuan
<> ñaupac(rac) puñuson ñispa ñircan [84] ñiptinsi canan pay
ca ñirca ñaupacrac cay yacocta llocsichemuy <> chac
ray parcusca captinca allitacmi puñoson ñispas ñircan chay
si allitacmi ñispa yacoctaca ancha ahcacta llocsichimurcan
chaysi chay huarmipas ancha cusicospa tucoy chacrancunac
ta parcocorcan chaysi ña parcoyta puchoca<spari>ptinca puño
son ñispa ñircan chaysi manam <cay> cananca caya mincharac
poñoson ñiptinsi paria cacaca ancha chay huarmicta munaspa

F 71 R

puñoymanrac ñispas yma aycactapas chay huarmiman pro
metircan cay chacraiquicta mayomanta yacuyuctam rura
puscayque ñispa [85] chaysi chay huarmica chaytarac ñaupac ruray
chayrac puñuson ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca allitacmi ñispas
coco challa sutioc huaycumantas s(a)n lorenço anacnin huchullla
hurco chay camaca ñaupamantapas yuncacunap rarcansi ha
murcan ancha huchuylla rarcalla chaytas canan paria cacaca
astauanri hatonyachispa chay hura cuparap chacrancama
rarcacta chayachircan [86] chay rarcactas canan pumacuna
hatuccuna machachuaycuna yma ayca piscocuna picharcan
allicharcan cayta ña allichaypacmi cay pumacuna oturungo
pas yma aycapas pim ñaupac siqueson ñispa camachinacor
can chaysi hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñocarac ñispa ñircancu
chaysi hatoctac atiparcan ñocam curaca cane ñocarac
ñaupasac ñispa chaysi pay atoc ñaupamurcan [87] yna ña
upamuspa ña chaupicta s(a)n lorenço hanacnin hurcucta seque ñaupamuspa ña
mup<>tinsi concayllapi huc yutuca pisc pisc ñispa pahua
rimurcan chaysi chay hatocca huac ñispa muspaspa hura
man hurmamurcan chaysi chaymanta chaycunaca ñatac
ancha piñaspa machachuayta sequechimurcan chaysi ma
na chay hurmamuptinca astahuan hanacnintas chay rarca
nin rinman carca chaysi cunanca as huranta rin cay atoc
pa hormamuscanmi canancamapas sutilla ricurin yacu
pas huraycumuntac (chay atocpa vrmascanta) [88] cay tucoyta puchocaspam ñatac paria
cacaca puñoson ñispa ñircan chaysi <> ñatac haco anac cacaman
chaypirac poñoson ñispa <llollachircan> (ñircan) chay cacam canan
yana caca sutioc chaypis huaque puñorcan ña puñospas canan
chay huarmica haco yscayninchictac maytapas rison ñiptinsi pai
ca aco ñispa chay coco challa ñisca rarcap llocsimuscanman pu
sarcan [89] chaysi chaypi chayaspaca chay huarmi chuqui suso ñis
ca sutiocca cay <ray>rarcaypitac tiasac ñispas chaypi rumi tu
cuspa chira<hua>yarca chaysi chay paria cacaca chaymanta sa
quispa hanacman vichaycorcan chaytaca cay quipanpin villason
[90] cay coco challa ñisca rarcap siminpim canan rumi chirahuas cunirayap tiascan
ca tian chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmi ynaspam chay hanac chuqui susop cayllan
nin huc rarcapi<m>tacmi chay pachapas vincompa sutiocpim pi

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canan ñatac cuni ra(ya) chirahuasca(tac) tian chaypim canan cuni
raya pochocarcan ychaca yma ayca rurascantaca cay
huaquin quepanpi capitulocunapim villason
[91] CAPITULO 7 YMANAM CHAY CUPARACUNA
CHAY CHUQUI SUSO ÑISCACTA CANANCAMAPAS
YUYPAYCHAN
cay cuparacunam huc ayllo cupara ñisca ayllo sutioc cay
cunam canan s(a)n lorençopi reduzisca canancamapas causan
cay ayllomantam canan huc yumay chauincho sutioc cay
chauincho <huarmin>(ayllom) carcan chay chuqui suso ñisca chaymi
caycunaca ñaupa pacha ña may pacham rarca pichana carca
mayo quielapi canancamapas chay pacham tucoy hinantin ru
nacuna chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmip tiascan<huan>man rircancu
<>ashuanhuan tictinhuan cuynhuan llamanhuan [92] chaypi
chay supay huarmicta muchaypac chaymi ña chayta muchaspari
pihca ponchaosi chaypi quishuaruan quenchaspa runacunacta
pas mana purichispa chaypi tiapayarcan chaysi ña chayta pu
chucaspa rarca pichaynintahuanpas tucoyta ña puchocaspas chay
manta taquispa runacuna hamurcan huc huarmictare cay
mi chuqui suso ñispa payta yna alli manchaspa chaopipe
pusamurcancu [93] chaymi ña llactanpi chay huarmi chayaptinri
caymi chuqui suso ñispa huaquin ashuahuan ymauan churapus
pa suyarcan chaypi tucoy huinantin tuta taquispa vpiaspa
runacuna ancha aton fiestacta rurarcancu chaymantam
ñaupa don sebastian apo causaptinpas corpus xp.^(christi)pi aton
pascuacunapipas huc huarmi chuqui susom cani ñispa haton
aquellahuan aton potohuanpas ashuacta manyanmanta
cumuc carcan caymi mamanchicpac ashuan ñispa chay
mantari saractapas camchascacta aton matihuantac cu
muc carcan [94] ña cay rarcacta pichayta puchocamuspari ru
nacunacta anchapunis combidac carcan saracta purotucta
yma aycacta(pas) cuspa cay yna vinaycoc captinsi runa
cunapas ñam chuqui susup rarcanta pichan haco ricumu
son ñispa huaro cherimantapas tucoy llactacunamantapas ric

F 72 R

carcan [95] chaytam canan ña rarcacta pichaspaca musiasca yna
tac ruran muchan runacunari yma yna ruracuptinpas
alcaldepas yma ayca runacunapas manam ymaraycom
chay hina ruranque ñiispa amachanmancho canancamapas
porque yallinracmi payhuan taquen vpyan machas
cancama p(adr)ectari rarcactam pichamuni p(adr)e taquecusac v
piacusac ñiispam llollachen caytaca tucoy hinantin
runacunam ruraytaca ruran ychaca huaquinca ma
na ñam rurancho alli p(adre)oc caspa huaquenri pacallapica
ynatac canancamapas causanco
[96] CAPIT(UL)O 8 YMANAM PARIA CA
CA VICHAYCORCAN YMANAM
HUC RUNA CHURINUAN PARIA CACAP
SIMENCAMA CUTIMURCAN CHAYMAN
TARI YMANAM ATINACORCAN
HUALLALLO CARUINCHOUAN
ñam ari huallallo caruinchop causascantaca villarcanchic
ychaca caypa tiascantam llactachacuscantam mana ri
marcanchiccho chaysi cayca<huallallo caruincho> ñaupa pacha
hanac pariacañicpi tiarcan chay tiascampas sutintam ma
na allicho yachanchic cananca mullo cocha sutioc ña captin
porque paria cacam payta atispa chay huallalloca nina rupap
tin chayta huañochipac cochaman ña tucochircan [97] chay
mullo cocha ñiscanchic pachapis chay huallallop tiascan car
ca chay pachas canan tucoy hinantin pacha yuncasapa car
can aton <> (ma)chachuaypas caquepas yma ayca animal
cunapas hontaptinsi tiarcan ymanam ñaupac capi(tul)o — 1 capi(tul)o
pi runa micuscanta villanchic chay hina [98] chaymantas
ocsa pata — paria cacaca cay huallallo caruinchocta atipac rispas <hucsa>ocsa
es junto a — patapi pihcantin riuicorcan chay hina riuicoptinsi chay — pihca
paria caca — pachapas ancha chirircan runtopas hormamurcantac paypac
pucllascanpi [99] chaysi chay pacha huc runaca huaca

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DEZIR LO DE LA CULEBRA

saber los n(ombr)es de estos
5 her(man)os

los n(ombr)es de estos cinco
her(man)os son paria caca
churapa, puncho, pari
a carcu no sauemos
el n(ombr)e de vno de estos
çinco

#azul claro era

hijos
curaca o ancacha el 1°
chauca el 2°
lluncu el 3°
sullca el 4°
llata el 5°
ami el 6° -ys-
hijas
paltacha o cochucha la 1ª
coba pacha la 2ª
ampuche la 3ª
sullcacha la 4ª
ecancha la 5ª
anacha anasi

paria cacap atiscan

cuspa hamurcan huc churinta apaspa chaymanta mullon
tapas cocantapas tictincunactapas huallallocta vpiachi
musac ñispa apaspa chaysi chay paria cacap cap huc
nin(ca) churi maymanmi yna huacacuspa rinque ñis
pa taporcan chaysi payca yaya cay cuyascay churi
llaytam canan apani huallallocta caramuc ñiptinsi
churi ama apa<y>nquicho llactayquiman cutichicoy chay
mantam chay mulloyquitaca cocayquitaca tictiquita
ca ñocacta coay chaymanta churiquitaca cutichicoy
ñispa ñircan [100] chaymantari pihcantin ponchaopim cay
man cotimunqui ñocacta atinacocta ricoypac ancha ya
cuhuan atipaptica yayanchicmi atipan ñispan ñihuan
qui ynaspa anchatac ninahuan atipahuanca chay
ca atipay tucontacmi ñispatac ñihuanqui ñiptinsi
chay runaca mancharispa yaya manacho chayca hua
llallo caruincho ñocapac pinaconca ñi<ptinsi>spa ñirca
[101] ñiptinsi piña(co)chonpas manam yma nasonquecho yallin
racmi ñocaca runacta camasac amiyocta llatayoc
ta huarmictari añasiyocta hucta cari hucta huar
micta ynam camasac ñispa rimaptinsi siminman
ta samaynin huc humo <asol> (ancas) # yna llocsimorcan chaysi
chay runaca chayta ricuspa mancharispa tucoy apamuscan
ta co<po>rcan chaysi chay pihca runaca chay mullocta
cap cap ñichispa micorcan tucoy hinantin coscantahuan
chaymantas chay runaca cutimorcan churinta apacospa
[102] ynaspas ñatac pihcantin ponchaomanta ñatac chay pa
ria cacap simincama cotircan ricu<>musac ñispa
chaymantas ña paria caca pihca ponchao ñiscanmanta
chay huallallo caruinchocta atita ña callarircan chay simi
ri cay hinam paria caca pihca runa caspas pihca pacha
manta tamyaita ña callarirca chay tamyas canan
quello puca tamya carcan chaymantas yllapaspa
ri pihca pachamantatac yllaparcan [103] chaysi tuta
llamanta ña hora pachacama chay huallallo caruin
choca <nina> ancha aton nina ñahca sieloñicmanpas
chayaspa ruparca mana huañochichicospa chaysi

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chay yacocu<paria cacap huquinca>naca paria cacap tamyascancunaca hura
cochañicman tucoy hinantin yacucona rircan chaysi chay yna <ma>
manatac yaycuptin<si> huquenca (llacsa churapa sutioc) hurañicmanta yacucta huc hor
cucta ormachispa arcamorcan [104] ña arcaycomuptinsi chay yacuca
cocha ña tucomurca cay cocham cananca mullo cocha sutioc chay
yna chay cochapi ña yaco hontamup(tinsi)<> chay nina rupacta(ca) ñah
ca pamparca chaysi chay paria cacari chaymanta yllapapayarca — sauer si estos son her(man)os
mana samachispa ynallas chay huallallo caruinchoca anti — pues se dize q(ue) salieron de
ñicman miticarcan [105] chaysi huquenca paria cacap churin catir — los hu(eu)os o si son hijos
can chaysi chay antip yaicunampi pactah cutimunman — del paria caca<>
ñispa canancamapas chaypi tian caypac sutinmi <sullca ylla> — her(man)os eran
<pa> (paria carco) [106] chaymantas ña atisptin<> mana ñamca sutioc huc huar
mi carcan cay huallallo caruinchohuan cac supay cay huarmis
canan mama oraynin chay chaypi tiarcan cayta atipacsi ña
tac payman amorcan chaysi chay mana ñamca<ca> ñiscaca nina
tac ruparcan chaysi cay tumna huranta yaycuspa paria ca
caca <ati> aucanacorca chaysi huc paria cacap churinta chu
qui huampo sutiocta chaquinpi huramanta chucamuspa — sauer como esta este
chayachimurcan chaysi yna captin(pas) paria cacatac atiparcan
cochañicman carcospa [107] ña caycunacta atipaspas
chay churin chuqui huampo sutioc anca chaquen paquisca tia
cucman cotimurcan chaysi chayca amatac cotisaccho cay
llamanta chay huarmi mana ñamcacta huacaychasac pac
tah cutimunman ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi ñispa yayanca
tucoy miconampac camachiporcan [108] chaysi ñispa ñircan cay escay
huaycocunamantam tucoy runacuna camtarac ñaupac cocacta
comusonque manarac pillapas acuspa ña cam acoptiiqueracmi
chaymanta runacunapas acoconca cocanta mallquiscanmanta
chaymantam llamactari viñay<> (vrua mana huachacoc) cactaracmi naca
pusonque ynaspa rinrin chillpiscacta cay caycunactaracmi
camca viñaypas miconque ñispas camachirca [109] chaysi — este lugar donde
runacunaca chay camachiscan simicta yupaychaspa chay — esta<sullca yllapa>chuqui huampo esta
cama saci cayamanta chontaymanta chichimamanta mama — abajo de tumna entre sici
manta huayo callamanta sucya canchamanta tucoy coca — caya y sucya he de uerlo
yoccuna ñaupacnintaca paymanrac apamoc carcan — sauer como se llama
canancamapas pacallapica ynatacsi causancu

F 73 V

[110] CAPITULO 9 YMANAM PARIA CACA ÑA
TUCOYTA POCHOCASPA PAYTA MUCHACHI
COYPAC HONANCHARCA CALLARIRCAN
ñam hari tucoy hinantin atiscancunacta pochocan
chic ychaca cay huallallo caruinchop quepanpi paria ca
cap sentenciascancama causascantam mana rimanchiccho
suer como esta ahora — ña atispas huallallo caruincho antiman ñan miticoptin
este caruincho en — chay huallallocta runa micoscanmanta cunanca all
los andes — cucta micochon chaytari huancacuna muchachon ñis
pa sentenciarcan [111] chaysi canan huancacunaca payta
muchaspa allcucunahuan muchac carcan payri dios
nin allcocta micuptin allcuctatac micorcancu canan
camapas huanca allco micuc ñispa ñinchic
capit(ul)o 1° — [112] chaymantas canan ymanam ñaupac capitulopi quepan
pipas tucoy llactacunam yuncaçapa carcan ñispa ñinchic
chay hinam cay tucoy hinantin llactacunapi guaro cheri pro
uinciapi chaclla mama prouinciapipas tucoy hinantin
llactacunapipas yuncaçapas carcan cay yuncacunactam
tucoy hinantin yuncacunacta hurañicman anchurichir
paria cacap churin cuna — can churijcuna cay q(ui)tipi tianca ñispa honanchaspa [113] caycu
nacta aticcunapas sapampi paria cacap churincuna sutioc
sapam hucmi churin ñin huaquenmni manas paycamas sachap
ruruyninmanta yurimurcan ñispa rimanco caycunap su
tinri caymi mayorninmanta chuc paico chancha runa
huari runa vtco chuco tutay quiri huauquinri sasen male cay
chicam chay yuncacunacta atircancu [114] chaymantam huc
paria cacap churinsi pachamanta paycama llocsimurcan cay
quepanpi churason pacha chuyrop atiscan ta — pac sutinmi pacha chuyru sutioc (carcan) caypac huc atiscantapas
hanac tucoynin capitulocunapipas concanchicmi chaytaca
cay quipanpiracmi churason cay ñiscanchiccunam tucoy
hinantin yuncacunacta atircan anchorichircan [115] chaymi
cay yuncacunapas ñaupa diosnintaca ña concaspa pari
a cacacta ña muchayta callarirca tucoy yuncacuna chay yun

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cacunari caymi cay checap llactanpica colli ñiscam tiar
can tucoy llactampi tiascancunacta<m> ruraspaca ancha
sasam canman chayraicom huaquenintaca hunanchan
canchicpac cay quepampi rurason tucoy causascantahuan
porque yuncacunaca huc causayniocllam tucoynin(pas) carcan
[116] chaymantam cay paria caca ñiscanchicca hanac <pay> maypim
atircan chay pachallanpi tiayta ña callarircan muchachicon
campacri hunancharcan cay hunanchascanmi tucoy hinan
tin llactacunapipas huc vnanchayllam cay honanchay ñis
canchicri cay ynam tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic [117] chay — esto se entiende de
cunamantas sapampi huquenta camachircan cammi huatam — vna familia
pi ñocap causascayta catispa pascuacunacta ruranque
ñispa caycunap sutinmi huacasa (o huacsa) sutioc canca cay hua
casmi canan huatampi quimça mita taquenca ancha hatun cara
huayacapi cocacta apamuspa [118] caytam ña ñaupac cay huacasa
man tucoypac<ri> huc vnanchaytatac runacuna rurancu chay — el maestro se llama
ri cay ynam huc runam caca sica ayllo(manta) cay causaycuna — yañca
pac maestron ancha ñaupamanta caycunam huquen o yscaypas — esto es la s(om)bra q(ue)
maestron caspa sutinri yañca sutioc cay sutillatacmi ynan — ua haziendo la pared
tin llactacunapipas cay runas huc pircamanta allin ya — con el sol
chacochisca pircascamanta ricon <punchaupa> (yntip) poriscanta chaysi
may pachach chay hunanchasca pircanman chayan chayca ca
nanmi(mana ñispari)cayam ñispapas(risun ñin) runacunacta <villarca>[119] chayta catis
pas runacunapas paria cacaman muchaypac rincu ñaupa
pachaca quequinmansi ric carcan cananca cay checamantaca
huc orco ynca caya sutiocmansi rinco chaymanta muchancan — este cerro se parece
pac chay <pacham> orcom canan ñaupa purom huasimanta ha — la nieue de paria caca
nacnin horco hoc orco huallqueri sutiochuan quellinacon
cay orco ñiscapim canan runacuna tucoy ynantin runa
cuna cari huarmi rispa(muchancu) [120] ña chay orcoman sichpaypac(ri) chay
yañcap simincamas ñocaracpas ñaupac(umanman)chayaiman ñispa ya — q(ue) es de donde se parece
llinacon llama orcontapas catispa ancha sinche runacuna
huchoylla llamanhuanpas (ancha otcaspas) [121] cay ñaupac chay orcoman chayac
llamas paria cacap ancha munascan cay orcoctas ñaupa pacha — nombres diferentes cada
quequen paria cacaca yma sutillactapas suti(a)chec carcan — vez de vna man(er)a y otra
cay sutiocmi canca ñispa huchoylla llama chayactari — de otra como yauri o y
llaca

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chay yañca ñisca cay llamayocmi ancha cusioc paria ca
cam coyaijcun ñispa allin sutinchac ñavinchac carcan
auquisna [122] cay muchacuy pacham auquisna sutioc ynatacmi chavpi ñam
para n(uest)ro padre o criador ca muchacoypas chaycasna sutioc caytan cay quepanpim villason
chaycasna cay avquisna sutioc pacham canan junio quella chay chay
para n(uest)ra m(adr)e pachapi <ormamun> (chayamun) ña ñispa ñahca<corpus xptimanpas>
(aton pascuapipas tincon)
<tincon> ña ñispari tinconpas cay pachapim cay huacasa
ñiscanchic chunca caspapas yscay chunca caspapas taquinco
saber este genero cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan [123] huacsa
de canto y ponermelo caytaca manapuni ancochaspas taquinco cayta ancochac
en vn papel en lengua taca huañuptinpas chay hochanmantam huañon ñispas
de chechhua de ñincu chayraycos ochuillac(ta)pas yma yna runallac
lo q(ue) dizen tapas taquichin yallinrac surco runacunaca huay
llascunactapas chay ranti taquichen [124] chay llactayoc
huarmihuan casarasca captinca caycunacta rurap
tinsi manatac chay llactayocpas chacranta yman
tapas quechoncho forastero captinpas yallinrac yupai
chan yanapan chay huayllascunam(canan) mayquin runa
caspapas surcopi tiaccunaca suquia canchaman cocacta
rantic hamuspapas huacasmi cani mama yapahuay
ñispa rantinco[125]cay pascuactam canan yma aton xp.^(christia)nop
pascuancunaman chayachispa taquinco yallin tucoy
llactacunactapas yallispa surcopi runacunaca cay ta
quiscanmantam llactampi padrenpas aguelandocta
mañan huallpacta saracta yma aycactapas caytam
runacunari ancha cusicospa concu
[126] ynatacmi chavpi ñamcap pascuanpipas cay huacsacuna
chaupi ñamcap cas ñisca taquencu cay pascuam canan ñahcca corpus xpi^(chris)ti
cantaca huc quipan man tincon ña ñispari tincompas caypac cascantaca may
pi capit(ul)opim churason pi tiascantapas runacunap muchascantahuanpas quipan
pim huc capitulopi churason
ñatac paria cacap cascanman cutison yma ymactach ru
nacuna chay pacha pascuanpi rurar<n>can [127] chay chaycunacta
villaypac chay simire cay ymam ña caya paria caca
man <chayaypacsi> muchaypac chayaipacsi chay huata
huañocnioc runacuna caripas huarmipas captin tucoy

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chay tuta huacac carcan cayam paria cacap cayllanpi
huañocninchicta ricomuson ñispa [128] chay huata huañoc
nincunactari cayallatacmi chaypi chasquechimu
son ñispa chay tuta caraspa micochispa yma ayca rura
nancunactapas chaypi churapuspa cananmi viñaypac
paria cacaman pusani <ñispa> mana ñam cutimunca
cho viñaypas ñispam huchoylla llamanhuan mana
llama captinri haton cara huayacapi cocacta huallquis
pa mucharcanco [129] cay llamactam canan sonconmanta
ricorcan alli captinpas allim ñispa mana alli captin
ri manam allicho ochayocmi canqui paria cacactam
huañocnique(pas) piñachircan cay ochacta perdonta ma
ñay(tac) pacta camman chay ocha anchorimunman ñis
pa chay yamca ñisca ñircanco [130] chaymanta ña chay
chaycunacta puchocaspari chay llamap vmanta hua
santauansi chay yañcacuna ayca huaranga captin
pas apacuc carcan cayca ñocap chanimi ñispa
[131] chaymantam canan cay huacasa ñiscanchic huc huatapi
quimca mita taquispam cay hina ponchaopitac puchocarcan
huc musoc yaicoypacri quepa ña taquicoyta poncho
caypac captinmi tucoynin llacsa tampopi ynatac
conchacunapas pampampi <> chaupiman yaicoc
carcan huc huayta<> huacamaypac ricranta o ymanta
pas puypu ñiscacta apaspa chaytam canan chaupi
pi llacsa tambo ñisca rumipi churac carcancu chayta
ña churaspam tucoynin maypim canan cruz churas
ca chaypi tucoy tuta tiarcancu allicho casac canan hua
ta ñispa [132] chaymantam cayantinri tucoy llactacu
naman rispa macacho orcomanpas chaucallaman
pas quemquellamanpas asta pihcca ponchao on
tascancama ña pihca ponchao ontaptinmi tucoy
huacasacuna cocacta huallquispa taquic carcan
chay ponchaotacmi ancha tutamanta llacsa tambo
pi supayta muchac carcancu llamanhuan yman
huan [133] ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llac
tacunapipas rurancu ychaca cananca ña concan

F 75 V

cay pisi huatallarac cay doctor fran(cis)co de auila alli cunaqui
yoc yachachiquiyoc caspa chaypas manataccha soncocama
ca y ñinmancho ñatac hoc padreyoc caspaca ynamantac
cha cutinman [134] huaquin runacunaca christiano tucos
papas manchaspallam pactach padrepas pipas yacha
huanman mana alli cascayta ñispallam xp.^(christia)no tucon
rrosariocta resaspapas sumac hillantam apaycachan
mana quequen cay muchanacunacta muchaspapas
<ojo> huaquen machocunacta mincaspa paypac rantin mu
chachispa achica runam yna causanco
[135] cay ñiscanchic ynalla<m>tacmi conchaconapas cay pa
ria cacap mitampi chay hoc vrco huaycho sutiocmanta
muchancu huacasa ñiscanri quequin checacunapas
ojo ruran ynallatacsi ruran taquen
chaymanta suni canchari chay huc vrco sutioc
manta ynallatac muchancu paria cacap mitanpi
[136] chaymanta santa anacuna s(a)n ju(a)npi cacpas tucoynin chauca
ricma ñiscari chay apar huayqui mayoman hurayconchic
acu sica sutioc vrcocta chaymantatacsi muchanco pari
a cacap mitanpi caycunacta ruraypacca manam ancochan
mancho huaquen aton pascuapi huaquenri ñachca esperi
tu santoman tincochen<corpusmanpas> cayta ruraypacri
ancham cusiconman cay llactapi p(adr)e yllaptin limac
manpas riptin cayca ancha checan simin
[137] cay tucoy ñiscanchic<cuna> vrcocunapi paria caca
muchanacunactaca cay quepanpi vira cochacuna pa
carimurcan ricurimurcan chaymantaracmi yacha
cochircan [138] ychaca ñaupa pachaca quiquin pariacaman
si tucoy ynantin runacuna ric carcan tucoy yunca
cunapas colli ñiscamanta caruayllomanta ruri can
chomanta latimmanta huancho huaillamanta pa
riachamanta yañacmanta chichimamanta mama
manta tucoy ynantin yuncacuna chay huc mayo ñis
camanta chaymantari ynatac caçi cayacuna
pas tucoy ynantin huc mayo ñisca pacha camac
cunapas chaymanta caringa chilcacunapas

F 76 R

chaymanta huaro cheri huray mayopi cac runacunari
tucoy carancocuna yma ayca yuncacunapas tucoy
ynantin chay mayo ñisca yuncacunas tectinhuan
cocanhuan yma ayca muchanancunahuan a
muspas quequin paria cacapi chayac carcanco [139] cay
hamuccuna ña paria cacamanta cutiptinsi llactam
pi runacunapas chayananta yachaspa tocoy runacu
na hoñolla suyac carcan tapucoypac ymanam yayan
chic paria caca alliraccho manacho piñacon ñispa
chaymantas ancha cosicospa taquic carcan asta pocho
cascancama pichca ponchaopas ayca ponchaocha causa
nan carca yna [140] cay muchaycoytaca yuncacuna
ca mana ñach rurancho tucoy yuncacunapas ycha
ca pachallanmantaca ruran cayta mana ruraptin
si chay hochanmantam yuncacuna collon ñispa
rimancu paycona yuncacunari rimacuspa sall
cacunaca allim causan ñaupa causananchicta
chay yna causaspam runapas miran ñincu
[141] CAPITULLO 10 YMANAM CHA
UPI ÑAMCA CARCAN MAYPIM
TIAN YMANAM MUCHACHICORCAN
ñam ari paria cacap causascantaca villacoyta pu
chucarcanchic ychaca chay churincunap cay iscon
nin capitulopi vnanchasca cactaca cay quepampi
racmi sapampi rurascantahuan villason yunca
cuna ñiscanchic cay llactacunamanta atiscancu
nactauanpas chaymantam canan quillcason chaupi ñam
cap cascanta [142] cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi
cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan chay huc huac
cha huatya curi ñiscap huarmin cay simictam ari pichcan
tin capitulopipas rimarcanchic [143] cay huarmis pichca ñaña
yoc carcan chaysi cay ñaupac huarmi chaupi ñamucaca

paria cacap churin
cunap atiscancunac
tam cay quepanpi chu
rason

F 76 V

llamase chavpi nanca
o mama nanca

paria cacap simincama hura mama ñiscapi tiaypac rir
can cay mana ñamca ñisca huarmis ñocam runacu
nacta camac cani ñispa purircan huaquem runacunam
canan chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi carca ñispa
ñinco pay quiquin rimacuspapas paria cacam tu
ray ñispas ñircan [144] cay chaupi ñamcas canan pichca
ricra rumi carcan chirayasca payta muchaypacri yma
nam paria cacaman yallinacuspa rircan ynallatacsi
ña chayaipac yallinacuc carcan llamanta ymantapas
catispa chay llama paria cacaman ric quiquillan(ta)tacsi
chaymanpas pusac carcan (ynaspa) cay chaupi ñamca pichca ric
ra rumictas canan quepanpi vira cochacuna ricurimup
tin chay mamapi padrep huasen cauallo huasi chay chaypi
pacha vcupi pacaycorcan chaypis canancamapas tian pa
cha vcupi [145] cay chaupi ñamcactas canan tucoy ynantin runa
cuna mama ñispa ñircancu chaymantam canan s(a)n pedro
pas mama ñisca cay huarmis canan ñaupa pacha
runa purispa ynantin huacacunahuan vchallicuc
carcan chaysi manatac pi carillactapas cayca allim
ñispa yupaychaccho carcan [146] chaysi huc carica canan
mama hanacnin vrcopi huacatac rucana cuto sutioc
cay rucana coto sutioctas runacunapas vchoylla ollo
yoc caspaca aton canca ñispa mañac carcancu cayssi
huc mita chaupi ñamcacta ancha allinta aton ollo
caspa sacsachircan chayraycos cay carillam alli cari
tucoy huacacunamantapas cayhuantac viñay ti
asac ñispa chay mama ñiscapi tiaycorcan rumi
man tucospa
[147] chaymantam canan cay chaupi ñamcap ñañancuna<c>
<ta> ñiscanchicta villason cay chaupi ñamcas tucoynin
manta mayornin carcan chaysaua ñañansi llacsa hua
to carcan chaysaua yoricsi mira uato carcan chaysauas
vrpay huachac sutioc carcan cay hoquentam mana yachan
chiccho tucoyninca pichcas carcan chaysi ymallata
runacuna yuyachicuptinpas ña ñispaca ñañay
cunahuanrac villanacomusac ñispa ñic carcan

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[148] cay chaupi ñamca muchacoytam runacuna junio quella
pi ñahca corpus xp.^(chris)timan chayaicochin chay yañca yañca
ñiscanchic ynte ricunanmanta ricuptintacmi runacu
napas chay chica ponchaupim canca ñispa ñircancu
[149] chaymantari ñam ari yscoynin capitulopi huc huatanpi
huacsacunap taquiscanta rimarcanchic ychaca chay taquiscantam
mana sutinchanchiccho yma ymactach quimça mita huatan
pi taquin chaycunacta caymi ñaupac auquisna ñis
ca ponchaupi paria cacap pascuanta rurac cancu chayman
tam ñatac chaupi ñamcap mitampi ynatac taquircan
chaymantam ñatac nobiembre quillapi ñachca san andres
pa fiestanman tincuchispa huc taquitatac taquic carcan
chanco ñisca taquicta cay taquictam canan cay quipan
pi allinta villason [150] cananca ñatac chaupi ñamcap
pascuanman cutison chaypac pascuanpim canan chay
huacsa ñiscanchiccuna cocacta huallquispa pichca pon
chao taquircancu huaquin runacuna llaman captin
pumacta aparispa taquircan mana llamayocri ynalla
chaymantam cay puma apariccunactam canan pay
mi pocon ñispa ñircancu chay taquim canan huantay
cocha sutioc huaquin taquictam canan ayño ñiscacta
pas taquircantac [151] huctam canan casa yaco sutiocta
taquic carcanco cay cassa yacocta taquiptinsi chaupi ñam
ca ancha cusicoc carcan porque cayta taquispaca
llatansi huaquillan huallparicunanta churaspallas
taquic carcan pincaynintari huc huara vtco pachalla
huan pacaycospa chaymantaca llatanlla caytam
runacuna taquispa chaupi ñamca <ollon>(pincaynin)<chicta>chicta ricus
pam ancha cusicon ñic carcan cayta taquiptintac
si ancha pucoy pachapas carcan caycunactam
canan chay pascuanpi rurarcancu
[152] CAPITULO 11 YMANAM CHANCO
ÑISCA TAQUICTA TAQUIRCANCU
CAYTA RIMASPACA TUTAY QUIREP

F 77 V

PARIA CACAP CHURINPA CASCANHUAN
MI VILLASON CAY SIMIRE
CAY YNAM

ñam ari ysconnin capitulopi paria cacap churin
cunacta sutinpi rimarcanchic ychaca sapampi ca
usascantam manarac rimarcanchiccho caypim
hoquin tutay quirip atiscancunactauan cay quipam
pi villason caypac mitampi taquiscactam chanco
ñispa ñinchic [153] cay tutay quirim paria cacap chu
rin carcan chaymi ñaupa pachaca cay checaconapas
quintes carcan quintecunap sullca huauquen chay
si chay quintecunaca anchatac cay checacunacta
chicnircan quipam yuric captin [154] chaysi hoc punchaoca
tutay quireca ñispa ñircan ama llaquicho churi yma ñip
tinpas chicnicochonpas yallenmi quepanpica checa
villca sutioc canquichic cay chicnicniquitari quinticha
huanhuacha ñispam runacunapas menospreciaspa
ñinca ñispas ñircan [155] chaysi cay tutay quirica chay pisi
ponchaomantatac huaquinin huauquincunahuan
villanacospa cay llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta
atimuyta callarimurcan chaysi cay yuncacuna ñis
canchicca cay simicta vyarispa ancha mancharispa
ayquijta ña callarircan vra colli ñisca llactaman
cay colli ñiscam canan carhuayllocunahuan quellina
con caycunap ayancunam canancamapas anac
ñaupa llactapi yna churarayan aya vasipe [156] cay tutay
quiris cay sici caya huaycucta mama huaycoctauan
vraycospa<n>s quello tamya puca tamya purispa
chaysi runacunaca huaquenca pachan llactanpi su
yarcan muchancampac chae muchaccunactas canan
manatac paipas allcocharcancho yallinrac tiacoy
ychaca yayaitam ricsinquitac chaymanta cay
checacunactam canan huauque ñispatac causanq(ui)

colli sin pronuncia
cion q(u)e haga fuer
ça

F 106 R

paycunap sullca huauquinmi cani ñispa [157] cay ñis
can simicamam chay sant p(edr)o mamapi cac runacu
napas amichayq(ui) llatachayquin cani ñispa canan
camapas ñincu (ña> cay checacunapri allaucam
ari vichocam ari ñisca huauquiyoctac causar
cancu [158] caytam canan cay checacunaca cay tutay
quirip puriscanta paypac callpanta purini ñispa hua
tancunapi cay llactamanta tucoy ynantin caricuna
chacocta ruraypac llocsic carca cay nobiembre quellapim
[159] chay pachatacmi tamyata mañac carcancu runacunapas
canan chancop mitampim pacha tamyanca ñispa ñircancu
cay tutay quirip callpan ñiscanchictam chacocta ruraspa cay
manta tucoy huacsacuna mana huacsapas llocsispa tupi
cocha hanacnin mayani ñiscapi puñoypac ric carcancu
[160] chay ponchaori huanacucta apispa lloychuctapas yma
aycactapas apispa chay apicmi canan ayllonpi may
quen apispapas ayllon huacsa captinca payman<rac> coc
carcan chaypac chupanta huaytallispa ayño ñisca
taquicta ayñoncampac mana apicri ynatacmi
chancollacta chancuspa taquircan [161] cayantinmi na
tac chay mayani ñiscamanta llocsic carcan tumna
man chaypim canan ynantin runacuna caripas huar
mipas huasuc tambo ñiscapi tucoy hoñolla suyac
carcan tutay quirim ña samon ñispa chay hua
suc tambo ñiscanchicri chay quiquen tumna la
plaçap chaupimpim aslla rumicuna churarayan
chaypis canan ñaupa pachaca ña chaypi chayaspa
muchac carcancu chaypitacsi chauti huanricuna
pas muchaypac asvancunauan chayamuc carcan
[162] ynaspam ñatac cayantinri yma chicacta apis
papas chay apiccuna huacsa ñiscanchic ancha cusi
cuspa cananca macayocmi canchic ñispa cusicus
pa cotimurcancu ñatac pacotapi puñomuypac
[163] cayantinmi ñatac llacsa tamboman chayamuc
carcan chaypi chayamunan captinmi tucoy chay
llactapi quiparic runacuna machopa payapas

F 106 V

yma yna runacunapas tucoynillan asvanuan
suyac carcan chaymi ña chayman chayamuptinca
ancha saycoscam amun ñispa asvavan yanca
ychaspa runasauapas pachapipas chay llacsa tam
boman yalcumuna poncollapi yna ychac carcan
[164] paicuna vramanta amuccunam asllа aychata
paicunap puyñonpa siminsaua churapuc carcan
cayta ña puchocaspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runacuna pampapi tiaycospa ayño ñisca taquicta
ña callarircan caycunam canan chanco sutioc
chaymantam ña chancuptinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamuc [165] cay chancup mitampis ysqui caya ñisca
chay yañcap huasinpi huc sachachos o ymach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñiscanchic(manta) yacosapa vrma
raya<n>c chaycunactas canan paycona<can> chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca allin pucoymi canca
ñispa ñircancu mana tamyanampacsi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoymi canca ñispa ñic carcan<cu>
[166] CAPITULO 12 YMANAM CAY
PARIA CACAP CHURINCUNA TUCOY
YUNCACUNACTA ATIJTA ÑA
CALLARIRCAN
ñam ari cay chuncampi capit(ul)opi rimarcanchic
cay paria cacap churincunap atiscan<cunacta> simicta
y<nas>naspa villarcanchictacmi ari ymanam tu
coy ynantin llactacuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta cananmi cay chuc paico chancha runa
huari ruma vtco chuco tutay quire sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñiscanchiccunacta rimason ymanam
paicuna puric carcanco chay chaycunacta [167] cay
cuna ñiscanchiccunas ñaupa pacha tucoynin

F 107 R

huauquiyoc sapa caspa ña atijpac tucoynillantac pu
ric carcan chaysi cay chuc paico ñiscaca tucoynin
manta mayornin caspa huc huandopi ancha yupai
chasca puric carcan chaymantas tutay quirire tucoy
nintapas yallispa ancha sinche carcan cay yna sinche
cayninpis cay yscay mayo ñiscanchictapas paitac
ñaupac atircan chay vnca tupi ñiisca pariachap fronte
rumpi huc yana vrco chaypi huc curi taunanta
pas churamuspa [168] cay taunactas canan <ña> yunca
cunacta ñacac yna cayta pampachaspam ma
na yupaichac ynam cay quitita yuncacuna yalli
munca ñispas chaypi churarcan chay churascam
hurcom canan vnca tupi capari caya sutioc
[169] chaysi cay huaquennin huauquincunaca rispa
pas chay tupi cochamanta vichaycuspa ñaupa ñanta
rinchic chaymi quisqui tambo sutioc hucmi <tam>tumnacha
sutioc maymantam limacñictapas riconchic chay
mantas ñan tutay quirica tucoyta atita ña puchocan
nicta oyarispa cotimurcancu chaysi tutay quiri
ta anchapuni mancharcanco paicunapas ancha sin
che captin [170] ynatacsi chay huaro cherinictapas <>vra
carancoñicman vraycorcancu chayta vraycus
pari paytacsi ñaupac rircan chaysi chay chu
qui suso ñiscanchicpac huc ñañanca chay
chacranpi suyarcan paita llollachipac <racanta> (pincayninta)
pas ñoñontapas ricorichispa yaya aslla sa
mayrac cay ashuallacta tictillacta vpiay
coyrac ñispa [171] chay pachas paica ynalla ña quipa
rircan chaysi huaquinnin huauquincunapas chay
ynacta ricuspa ynallatac quiparircan chay
hura alloca pacha marca ñiscacamalla atispa
si mana chay<cama> huarmi llollachinman carca
chayca canancamapas hora carangocama chil
cacamas huaro cherip quintippas chacran canman sapampi ruras
carcan caycunap sapampi rurascantaca cay cantaca cay qui
quipanpim quillcason yma ayca rurascantahuan pampim quellcason

F 78 R

[172] MAMA CAPI(TUL)O 13
mama runa<cta>cunacta tapuscam canan chay huaca chau
pi ñamuca huacapac huctatac rimancu chay rimascan
siminri cay hinam ancha ñaupa pachas huc huaca hanan
maclla sutiyoc carcan caypac cosansi ynti carcan caycunap
churinsi paria caca chaupi ñamuca cay chaupi ñamucas ancha
runa camac carcan huarmipac caripacri paria caca [173] yna
captinsi pay mama runacunaca chaypac fiestanta ruray
pac corpus christip vispirampi chay chaupi ñamcacta aslla
asuahuan armachic carcan chaymantari huaquinincuna
yma ayca sacreficioncunacta churapuspa coynhuan yman
huanpas muchaspas tucoy hinantin runacuna huñonacuc caripas
huarmipas curacanpas y alcaldenpas [174] chaysi <caya punchao>
chay tuta pacarispa upiaspa machaspa tucoy tuta tiaccu <cayan
tin corpus punchaopis ynatac mamanchicpa fiestanmi ñispas
curacan callañayoc tucoy ynantin runacuna> aylliua ñisca<>
taquicta taquiypac anchapuni cusicuspa hupyaspa machaspa
chay tuta hasta pacariscancamas taquicuc chaymantas
ña pampaman llocsispas chayca mana ña ymactapas rurac
cho vpiaylla machaylla machac mamanchicpa fiestanmi
ñispatac [175] chaymantam manarac vira cocha ricurimuptinca
yma ynam mucharcanqui ñiscaca ñiincum pihcca punchao
si alli huallparicuspa junio quillapitac hupyac carcancu chay
mantaca vira cochacunacta manchaspas corpuspa visperanpi mu
chancu chaymantari chaupi ñamcap ñañansi <prima y segunda>
<ñisca>pay mayornin captin huctas segunda ñañan<si> cassa llacsa
sutioc carcan caytas chay vispirapitac armachic carcan ynatac huc
ñañancunactapas vrpay huachac vichi maclla ñiscactapas
[176] checacunam ñiincu chaupi ñamcacta pihcas car
can ñispa caycunap mayorninmi cotacha o pal
ta(cha) sutioc chaupi ñamuca huc segunda ñañan
mi copacha <sutioc> ñiscanchic llacsa huato sutioc cay
llasa huatus chillacopi tian caypac fiestantas canin
pa don diego chauca guaman çaçi caya curaca causaptinpas
chellaco runacuna huaquinin runacunahuampas
rurac carcancu hasta q(ue) don m(art)yn chayascancama
cay fiestactaca manam allicho yachanchic yma

F 78 V

yma quellapih carcan
[177] chaymantam ampuche o ampuxi ñiscanchicri
mira huato sutioc carcan cay mira huato ñiscac
taca manam allichu yachanchic maypi tiascan
tapas ychaca ñiispam ñincu llacsa huato ña
ñanhuantacsi tian ñispa [178] caycunactas runa
cuna cay quitimanta o guaro cherimantapas
o mayquen runacunapas churinta o huau
quinta o yayanta o ymantaps huncochecus
pa chayman ric carcancu tapucuypac chay
huacacunap saçerdotinsi canan sucta chunca
huatamanta yuyariscaca chumpi ticlla sutioc(si) car
can ancha chaillas caninpa don diego ñiscanchic
captinsi luzia sutioc carcan (ña tacyasca huarmi) <ychaca chayca cau
san chay> [179] cay huacacunactas ña muchaspa a llac
sa huato mira uato cammi runa camac canque camtac
mi huchayta chaupi namucactapas yallispa ya
chanqui villallahuay ymamantam hun
cuchicuni yma huchaymantam ñacarispa cau
sani ñispas muchac carcancu [180] chay yna captin
ssi yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha tian ñis
pa hunanchancu chaymantari cay huaca
cunactatac<mi>(ssi) astauan runacuna yupaychac
carcancu porque chaupi ñamucaca manas chica
chu ymactapas runacunacta villac carcan ya
llinpas llullactacssi carcan chayssi haco llac
sa huato mira huato mamanchicta huyarimu
son yma ñincah vchanchicpac chaycama
tac puchucason ñispas runacuna ric carcan
cu [181] ychaca yna muchaspapas manam chau
pi ñamcap fiestanta huatancunapi ymanam
ruran ynachu rurarcancu chaytaca muchaspa
pas musiachicuyllapacmi ric carcancu risac ñis
papas o ama ñispapas munascancama
[182] chaymantam canan sullcacha o xullca paya ñis
canchicta lluncho huachaca sutioc huacacta rimason

F 79 R

caymi ari 4 ñañan cay huacaca cantañicpis
manam yachanchicchu ychapas cantacuna
yupaychan cantamantapas as carullanpiracsi
[183] chaymantas <> añassi o aña paya ñiscanchic<si>
cocha hucopi tian huaquininmi chaymi caue llaca
carca ñispa ñincu huaquininmi huctacmi cocha
patapim tian ñispa ñincu cayssi caca huco
pi tian chaysi manatac saçerdotin canchu
cay hurpay huachac huacacta rimachijpac ris
pas alli hunanchacusparac ric carcancu por
que cayhuan rimaspaca cara a caras rima
nacuc carcan mana huasscayuc captin chay
si chaymanta cutimuspapas payhuanmi rima
muni ñispas <mana> huc huata saçic carcan
mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa
[184] cay ñiscanchiccunas sapampipas ñam
ca sutioc sapa carcan ynaspa ñañayoc
cama hucninta mayquinnintapas chayai
cuspaca a pichca ñamca ñispas villacuc
carcan ymallacta llaquispapas [185] cay chica
llactam cay chaupi ñamca llacsa huatu mira
huatu lluncu huachac hurpay huachac ñis
cap cascanta yachanchic chaymantas cay
ñiscanchiccuna ñau pachaca chayman ric
runacunacta con churiquip yayaiquip ma
chuyquip simincamachu hamunqui ñispas
ñic carcan chaysi manam ñictaca ri cuti
con choriiquictarac huyarichimuy ñiptin
cotimuc carcan [186] chayracsi ymallactapas
chaytam piñachinqui caytam piñachin
que o huachucmi canqui o paria cacap
fiestanpim huarmihuan huchallicurcan
qui ñispa yma aycactapas rimaspa cunac
carcan tincuc mayopim armanqui llamay
quictam nacapunqui ñispapas caycuna ñis
cantas runacunaca ancha cusicuspa puchucapuc car
can huaquininsi canan alliyatamuc huaquinri huañuctac
yma yna puchucaptinpas

F 79 V

[187] ñam ari chaupi ñamcap huaquinin ñañan
cunap cascancunactapas huyarinchic
ychaca runacuna llactancunapipas ayllo
ayllonpi hucta camatacmi rimancu sutin
tapas ymanam mama runacunapas huc
tatac rimancu checari huctatac [188] huquinmi
chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi ñincu
hucmi tamta ñamcap churinsi carca ñincu
cay tamta ñamca ñiscanchictam ari ñau
pacnin pichcantin capitulopi rimarcanchic
huaquinmi canan yntip churinsi ñincu chay
ynam mana hunanchaypaccho
[189] CAPI(TUL)O 14
ojo ÑAUPACNIN CAPITULOPIM ARI HU
NANCHARCANCHIC CUNI RAYAP CASCANTA
PARIA CACAMANTA ÑAUPACNINCHUS
O QUEPANCHUS CARCAN CHAYTA
cuni raya vira cocha ñiscanchicca ancha ñaupa
mantatacsi carcan paria cacapas yma ayca
huacacunapas paytaca astahuantacsi yupai
chac carcan huaquinincunaca paria cacapas
cuni rayap churinsi nispam ñincu chayman
tam canan cuni raya vira cochap puchucas
canta rimason [190] cuni rayas ñahca vira co
chacuna ricurimuncampac cuzcoñicman
rircan chaysi chaypi huayna capac yngahuan
rimanacorcan ñispa haco churi titi cacaman
chaypi ñocap cascayta villascayqui ñispa [191] chay
pis ñispa ñircan ynga runayquicta camachi
bruxocunacta yma ayca yachaccunactapas
hura ticsiman canchancanchicpac ñiptinsi
yngaca tuylla camachircan chaysi huaqui
nin runacuna ñocam condorpac camasca canim

F 80 R

ñispa ñircancu huaquinsi ñocam guamanpa
camasca cani ñircan huaquinmi canan ño
cam huayanay piscu pahuac cani ñispa ñircan
[192] chaysi cay ñiscanchiccunacta richic hura ticsi
man chayman(tam) ñocap yayaita churiquim ca
chamuan huc panantas apachihuanqui ñispa
villanqui ñispas conarcan chaysi chay runa
huayanaypac camasca runaca huaquinin ca
mascacunahuan pihca punchaullapi cutimuy
pac rircancu [193] chaysi huayanaypac camasca ru
natac ñaupac chayarcan yna chayaptinsi cu
nascanta villaptin huc huchuylla pitaquillapi
aman caytaca quecharinquichu quiquin huay
na capac apuracmi quicharinca ñispas cuna
murcan chaysi chay runaca ña apamuspa
ñahca cuzcoman chayachispa ma ricuycu
sac ymahc cayca ñispa quicharircan [194] chaysi
chay hucopica huc señora ancha collan sumac
ricurircan chucchanpas crispo cori yna chica
collanan pachayuc ricchayninri ancha huchuy
llas carcan chay ynacta ricuptin pachallas chay
s(eño)raca chincaripurcan [195] chaysi ancha llaquicuspa
cuzcopi titi caca ñiscampi chayarcan chaysi mana
chay yna huayanaypa camasca canquiman chayca
canallanmi huanochichiquiman ri quiquillay
quitac cutij ñispas cacharcan chaysi cutispa
ñatac apamurcan apamuspas ñanpi micuyman
ta<> vpyaymanta huañuptinpas rimaptin
pachallas mesapas mantasca carcan puñonam
pacri ynatac [196] chaysi pihca punchaollapitac
chayachircan ña chayachiptinsi cuni rayaca ynga
huan ancha cusicuspa chasquircan chaysi manarac
quicharispatac cuni raya<>ca ñispa ñirca ynga cay
pachacta sequison ñocari cay huc pachacta yaicusac
camri cay huc pachactatac panayhuan yaicoy ama ñam

F 80 V

campas ñocapas ricunacosoncho ñispas pachacta
sequispa cayarcan ynaspas chay cofrectaca
quecharircan quechariptin pachallas chaycan
pachapas yllarircan [197] chayssi chay ynga huay
na capac ñiscaca mana ñam caymanta cuti
saccho cayllapitacmi cay ñustayhuan coyayhuan
tiasac ñispas huc runacta aylluntatac cam rij
ñocap rantij huayna capacmi cane ñispa cuzco
man cuti ñispas ñircan chay pachallatacsi chay
señoranhuan chincatamurcan cuni rayari yna
llatac chaymantas ña chay huayna capac ñiscan
chic huañuptin hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñinacospa
apu cayninpac tacuirircan ynaptintacsi vira co
chacunapas caxa marcapi ricurimurcan [198] canancama
pas checa simillactam yachanchic cuni raya vira co
chap cascanta huaquinin cay quitipi purispa rurascan
cunactaca manaracmi quillcacuyta puchucanchiccho
chay chaycunactaca cay quipampim rurason
ojo [199] CAP(ITUL)0 15
CAYMANTAM YSCAYNIN CAPI(TUL)OPI (RIMASCANCHICTA) CUNI RA
YAP CARUINCHUMANTA ÑAUPAC CAS
CANTAPAS O QUIPAN CASCANTAPAS
QUILLCASON
cuni raya vira cochaca ancha ñaupacmanta
tacsi carcan manarac pay captinca manas
cay pachapi ymallapas carcanchu payracssi or
cocunactapas sachactapas mayoctapas yma ay
ca animalconactapas camarcan chacracunac
tapas runap causancampac chayraycutacmi
cay cuni rayacta paria cacap yayansi ñincu
paytacsi paria cacactapas camarca ñispa [200] mana
paypa churin captinca allcochanmancha carca

F 81 R

nispam tucoy runacunapas ñincu huaquinin
llactacunactaca anchas amauta cayninpi allco
charcan yma aycactapas ruraspa caycunactaca
quipampim rurason
[201] CAPI(TUL)O 16
CAYPIM QUILLCASON PARIACA PICHCA RUNTO
MANTA YURIC HUAUQUIYOCCHUS CARCAN
CAYRI PARIA CACACHO PAYCU
NAP YAYAN
CHAY CHAYTA
ñam ari pusacnin capitulopi hunancharcanchic
paria caca pihca runtamanta yurimuspa huauqui
yuc camachos carcan cayri huaquinincunaca pari
a cacap churinchus carcan chaycunacta chayman
tari paycunap sapampi sutintari quillcasontacmi
[202] cay pihcca runtomanta yuric paria caca ñiscanchic
ca ymanam 14 capi(tul)opipas rimarcanchic cuni rayap
churinsi ñispa ynatacsi paycunaca huauquiyoc ca
ma carcan caycunap sutinmi ñaupacninman
ta paria caca chaymantam churapa chaymantam
puncho chaymantam paria carco huquintam
mana yachanchiccho caypi quiparin blancopi ya
chaspam churancanchicpac /sullca yllapa/ [203] chaymanta ojo sullca yllapa
cay paria ca<rco> ñiscanchicsi canan antiman yaicu sutiocsi carcan
napi huallallo caruinchoh cutimunman ñispas ca
nancamapas tian chaytahuanpas hunancharcan
chicmi ari cay huallallo caruinchuri manatacsi
tuyllaca miticarcancho may pacham chay mullo
cocha ñiscanchicta churapa paria cacap huquin
yaicuspa cochaman tucochircan chay pachas chay
manta huallalloca pisco yna pahuamurca [204] chaysi

F 81 V

huc orco caqui yoca sutioc orcoman yaicorcan cay <cacas>
orcos ancha atun caca cay cacaman yaicuspas hua
llallo caruincho pacacorcan chaymantas canan paria
cacaca yllapapayaspa huaquinnin pihcca huauquin
cunahuan ancha nanacta yllapaspa ñahcca cacacta
pas tunichispa ñatac chaymanta miticachirca [205] chay
ssi chay huallallo caruinchoca huc atun machachuay a
maru sutiocta paria cacacta tapianca ñispa yscay homayoc
amarocta llocsichimurcan chayssi paria cacaca chay
ta ricospa huc cori taunanhuan ancha piñaspa cha
upi huasampi tucsircan chay pachallatacsi chay
amaroca chirayarca rumiman ña tucorcan
[206] chay chirayasca amaros canancamapas anac caqui
yuca sutioc ñanpi-sutilla ricurin chay amaroc
tas cuzco runacuna mayquin runacunapas yachac
ninca ampipac rumihuan tacaspa hurmacninta
apacon mana oncoyman chayasac ñispa
[207] chaymantas chay huallallo caruincho ña caqui yo
ca cacamanta miticuspa huc huayco caqui yoca
huayqui ñisca huaycoman yaicorcan chaysi hoc
orco puma rauca sutiocta chay huallallo sicaspa
caymanta cay paria cacacta quinchasac mana cay
ta pasamuncanpac ñispas huc orito caque
ñiscacta ricrantapas chuquiri<spa>chispa saya
chircan chaysi chaytapas paria cacaca huc ricran
ta yanca paquerispa chay caquectari rumiman
na cherayachispa yallircantac ña yalliptinsi
huallallo caruinchoca mana ña yma callpallan
pas captinsi antiñicman miticarcan [208] chaysi
paria cacaca huaquinin huauquincunahuan
tucoynin catircan ña antiman yaicuptinsi
paria carco huc huauquintaca paria carco sutiocta chay
antip punconpi saquimurcan pahtahc cotimun
man ñispa [209] chay paria carcos canan huc orcotac
ancha rra<ç>zosapa tian cayta pihc muchan chaytaca

F 82 R

manam yachanchiccho ychaca ñam ari ysconnin
capitulopi rimarcanchic allcocta cananca micochon
runa micuscanrayco caytari huancacuna carachon
ñiscanta<>
[210] CAPI(TUL)O 17
cananmi rimason ña huauquinta paria carco su
tiocta saquimuspa antip ponconpi ymanam ña
tac paria caca cotimurcan chayta cay simire cay
ynam ñam ari huaquinin simi rimascanta
ca muchachicuypac callariscanta<pas>huanpas ri
marcanchic ychacaca huc simictatacmi concar
canchic [211] ña aticuyta puchocamuspas huaquinin huau
quincunahuan cutimurca cay paria caca ñiscanchic
orcoman chaypis huc horcotac razosapa mana
llocaypac huama yaco sutioc orco cay orcoctam
huaquinin runacunaca chaymi paria caca ñincu
ñispatacmi quipampi vira cochacuna ricurimuptin
pas cay ynca caya ñiscanchicmantapas chay or
co razocta ricuspa chaymi paria caca ñispa ñir
cancu [212] quiquin paria caca ñiscaca huranic huc
cacapitacsi tian chaypitacsi huaquinin huauquincu
napas chay caca ñiscanchicman yascuspas caypim
tiasac caymantam muchahuanqui ñispa chay caca
pi llactachacorcan chaymantam ñircanchic huc
orco<> huama yaco sutioc orcocta razosapas
ñispa chaysauas ña antimanta cutimuspa
samamurcan [213] chaymantas canan tucoy tauan
tin suyo runacunacta cayachirca manarac yn
gapas yurimuptin ancha ñaupatac chay yna
ña runacuna tucoynin huñonacomuptinsi
payta muchancanpac huacsata camachircan
cayta oyarispas ña ynga ricurimuspapas paipas
huacsa tiarcan ancha yupaichaspa chay pacha yma
nam huñonacorcan ninchic tauantin suyocta
[214] chay pachas huallallo caruinchuca mana traycionninta

F 82 V

concaspa huc animalta hugi sutiocta chay qui
quin horco tiascanpi ricorichircan cay pari
a cacacta tapianca ñispa chaysi chay hugi ñis
canchicca tuylla ricurispa pachaman miti
camurcan [215] chaysi chay hugi causaspaca ymac
tapas paria cacap causayninta quichunman
tacsi carcan chayraycos tauantin suyo runa
cunacta chay hugi ñiscacta apimuy ñispa ca
machircan yna camachiptinsi tucoy ynan
tin runacona catirircan manatacsi api
chicorcancho panas paria cacaca yllaparca
tamyarcan manatacsi huañorcancho [216] chay
si ancha caropirac huc runa cay checamanta
caca sica ayllo apircan chaysi huc quinti runa
ca huauqui ñam apinqui ancha cusiocmi can
qui camca cay chupallanta huaytallispa
ri cay aychantaca ñoca apasac ñiptinsi allim
ñircan [217] ñispatacsi chay quinti runaca huc
ñanta rispa ñocam yaya apimoni ñispa
villarcan chaysi ancha cusicuspa yupaichar
can cay quinti runap sutinmi chuc paico sutioc
carcan chaysi quipanpi ña chupanta chaya
chiptinca chuc paicocta camca chay llollahuascay
quimanta quintihuanca macanacoy asnayoc
ñisonquim churiquicunactapas ñispa mi
llaypi anyarcan [218] chay pachas cay caca sica ay
llomanta huar cancha llichic canchaman
ta quiquin paria caca cammi chay apiscay
quimanta yancamusca canqui camllactam
yma villahuascayquictapas vyariscayq(ui)
huaquinin runacunapas camtaracmi ñocacta
villaypacpas huyarichisonqui ñispas sutinta
pas ñamca canca ñamca parya ñispa sutiya
chimurcan [219] chaymantas paycunapas yanca car
can conchacunari ynatac yañcampa sutin
quiquin paria cacap sutichascan huatusi sutioc carcan

F 83 R

ynatacsi tucoy llactancunapi yañcacunaca
paria cacap sutichascan cay chicactam concas
canchicta yuyarinchic paria cacap cascanta
[220] CAPI(TUL)O 18
ñam ari yngap paria cacacta yupaychascanta
huacsa tiascantauanpas rimarcanchic pay yn
gatacsi camachircan anan yauyo rurin ya
uyomanta quinça chunca paria cacacta pura
pi quillapi siruichon ñispa chaysi chaycama
quimsa chunca runa siruircan<cu> chunca pihc
cayoc punchaumantacama caraspa micochispa
[221] chaysi huc punchaoca huc llamanhuan yauri hua
naca sutioc llamahuan mucharcancu chayssi
chay quimca chuncamanta oquen llacuas
quita<par yasca> pariasca sutioc runaca may pa
cham chay quinça chunca runacuna ñatinta
sunconta llamapmanta ricorcan chay pacha ñis
pa ñircan a atac manam allicho pacha
huauqui quipampica cay paria caca yayan
chic puromancatacmi ñispas rimarcan [222] chay
si chay huaquinin runacunaca manam ca
sim<> rimanqui allim ymactam cam yachan
qui ñispas ñircancu chaysi hucninca say
quita pariasca ymamantam cam hunanchan
qui cay sonconpica ancha allictam paria ca
ca yayanchic riman ñispa ñiptinsi payca
manas sonco<>cta ricoypacpas cayllaycorcancho
carollamanta cauaspatacsi yna amutarcan
[223] chaysi rimaspapas quiquin paria cacam ñin
huauqui ñispa chaycunactapas ayñircan
chaysi millaypicama chay quita pariascactaca
ñircan llacuas asnac runa ymactam chay ya
chan yayanchic paria caca chinchay suyo ñisca
maycama runayocmi tiacon chaycho puromanman

F 83 V

ymactam chaycan runaca yachan ñispas
ancha piñaspa cama ñircancu cay ñiscan
manta ancha pisi ponchaomantatacsi ñam
vira cocha caxa marcapi ricorimon ñicta oya
rircancu [224] chaymantam cay checamanta
pas tama lliuya caxa lliuya (sutioc) caca sica ayllotac
chay paria cacap yanan tiasca chay pachas
paria cacapi quimça chunca saçerdotecona
tiaspa cay caxa lliuya tama lliuya sutioc tu
coyninmanta yuyacnin carcan [225] chaysi vi
ra cocha chayman chayaspaca cay huacap
collquin pachan maymi ñispas taporcan
chaysi payconaca manatac villacoyta mu
narcancho yna captinsi vira cochaca piña
rispa hocsacta taucarichispa caxa lliuyac
ta rupachircan chaysi ña patmanta oc
sa rupaptinsi huayraca pucorimurcan chay
si ancha ñacarisparac chay runapas cau
sarircan chay pacharacsi chay pacha nac
nacta yman aycantapas vira cochaman
corcancu [226] chay pachas tucoynin runacuna
ancha chicantatacmi ñihuasca canchic chay
llacuas quita pariasca huauqui aco cheque
risontac mana ñam allicho pacha ñispas
tucoynin llactancama chiquerimurcan
[227] chaysi cay checamanta rupasca runapas ña alli
maca viça yaspa huc paria cacap churinta maca uisa
sutiocta aparispa quintip llantanpi limca
sutioc llactapi chayamurca caycunactam
cay quipam capi(tul)opi rimason
[228] CAPI(TUL)O 19
cay maca visa paria cacap churinsi ñaupa yn
ga captin aucaman yanapancampac apai
tucorcan amaya xiuaya sutioc llacta
cunas manatac atichicorcancho chaysi

F 84 R

yngaca mana atichicoptin paria cacacta
chorinta mañarcan chay amaya xiuaya
runacunacta atipai [229] chaysi chay maca visa
sutiocta corcan cayta apaspas tuyllapuni
atimurcan chaymantas yngacunaca asta
uanrac paria cacacta yupaicharcan corictapas
yma ayca pachancunactapas cospa huatampi
chay quimça chunca yanancunapacpas sarac
ta cocacta yma aycactapas llactancunaman
ta cochispas causarcan [230] chay yna captinsi
ñaca ñinchic yna vira cochacuna chaya
muspa tucoy yman cactapas tucoy quecho
porcan huaquinin pochocnincunactas
quipampi huañoc don sebastian tucoyta ru
pachichircan [231] chaymantas ymanam ña
ca ñinchic chay sina chay caxa lliuyaca
li<>mca llactapi tiaspa chay maca uisa ñiscac
ta atallispa ancha yupaychasca ahca huata
tiarcan ña ahca huatamantam canan cay che
cacuna chay yna alli causascanta huyarispa
cayman chay maca uisacta apamuchon ñispa
cacharcan don ju(a)n puypu tacma (huañoc) curaca caspa chay
pachas chay caxa lliuya macho rupasca cayman
sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamur
cancu [232] chay pachas caypi digo llacsa tampopi
chayamuspa ñatac yaya maca uisa alli
cho cay llactapi checa runacta huacaychanqui
ñispa huc llamahuan villaptinsi ymanam
huauya cancha ñisca maypim chay llacuas
pas quita pariasca ñisca ricorcan chay ynalla
tacsi carcan [233] chaytapas chay caxa lliuya tama
lliuya ñisca ña chorincunapas colloptinracsi
quiquinpas ña huañuypac caspas chay ynam
chayamuptillay carcan ñispa rimarcan porq(ue)
chayamuspa pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam
ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho ñispas ñircan

F 84 V

[234] chay pachamantaracsi cay maca uisacta cay llacta
pi atallircancu pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi
tucoy checacuna ayllompi ayllompi seruispa
huc tutallaca tucoynin cari huarmi hoñolla paca
ricoc carcan ña pacariptinmi canan coynhuan
ymanhuanpas sapa runamanta cococ car
carcan yanapahuay cay llactacta cammi
huacaychanqui yma ayca oncoyconacta
pas cammi alliyachihuanqui ñispa
[235] chaymantam canan limca ñiscanchic llac
tapica anchapuni seruiscas tiarcan yam
laca sutioc chacractas tucoy huc huaran
ca quinti ñisca callpaporcan chay maca
uisa opiancampac chaysi chaypi cac runa
cunari anchaponitac rico tucorcan yman
huanpas aycanhuanpas chayta embidias
pas cay checacuna huañoc don ju(a)n puypu tacma
cassa lliuya ayllon runan captin cayman
apamuchon ymapacmi runap llantanpi
chay chica alli huacacta atallin ñispa cachar
can chay pachamantaracsi caypi tia<n>rcan
checallactam cay maca uisapta yachanchic
[236] CAPI(TUL)0 20
CAYMANTAM LLOCLLAY HUAN
CUPAP CAUSAYNIN CALLARIN
CANAN Q(UE)PAMPI POCHOCASCAN
TAUANMI QUELLCASSON
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacas pacha
camacpac churin carcan cay huaca ricurimus
cantas huc huarmi lanti chumpi sutioc alay satpa

F 85 R

ayllo tarircan chacracta oryacospa chaysi huc
mita ñaupac aspispaca ymah cayca ñispas pacha
llampitac vischorcan [237] chaysi ñatac huc pachacta aspis
paca chay quiquin ñaupac tariscantatac tarircan
chaysi cayca ychapas yma huaca ñispas yayaicunac
ta ricuchimusac aylloycunactapas ñispas apamorcan
[238] chaysi chay pacha huc huacatac yngap cachan cati qui
llay sutioc chay llactapi llacsa tampo ñiscapi carcan
cay<ssi> cati quillay ñiscanchicsi yanca yma ayca
huaca mana rimactapas rimachic carcan chaysi
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacatata rima
richircan ñispa <pip> pim canqui yman sutique
ymamanmi hamunqui ñispa chaysi ñocaca pacha
cuyochic pacha camacpac churinmi cani sutipas lloc
llay huancupam yayaimi cay checa llactacta<ca>
huacaychamuy ñispa cachamuan ñispas ñircan
[239] chaysi runacunaca ancha cosicuspa allim cay
llactapi tiachon ñocaycocta huacaychahuaspa ñis
pas chay quiquin tarimucpa huasimpi huchoylla can
chan captinpas astahuan atunyachispa tucoy checacuna
huanri chauticunahuanpas tucoynin ancha man
chaspa chaypi huasinta canchanta allicharcancu
[240] payta seruiipacri pura quilla<pi> ñiscapi ayllo ayllo
manta allauca collanamuptin yaicuson ñispas
camachinacorcan llamantapas cospa cay pura que
lla ñiscanchictam paycuna ñam chayana ñincu
paymi chayan ñincu cay chayai ñiscanchicpis ñaupa
pachaca chu(m)p ruco huaychau ahua ñiscacunacta
churacuspa taquic carcancu ymanam paria cacap
mitanpipas churacuc carcan chay chump ruco huay
chao ahua ñiscacta chay yna [241] cay ñiscanchic chay
ynas ahcca huata seruircancu chaysi chay llocllay
huancupaca huc mita mana alli seruiptintaccha
pacha camac yaya<i>nman cutircan chincarispa chay
si chay ynacta ricuspa runacunaca ancha llaquispa
chay may pacham ñaupaclla tarirca lanti chumpi ñiscanchic

F 85 V

chaytapas allichaspa huc husnocta pircaspa mascar
cancu [242] chaysi ñatac mana tarispa pacha camac
man tucoy yuyac runacuna llamantapas coyn
tapas yma ayca vestidontapas camaripuspa
rircancu chaysi yayanta ñatac muchaspa cotichi
morcan chaysi astauanrac rrenouaspa muchar
cancu llama camayocnintapas camachipuspa
cay llamactas sucya villca ñiscapi michircan
cu pacha camacpac llamanmi ñispa ynga
pas cayta camachircantacsi [243] chaymantas yma
nam ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan chay
yna cay huacacta vinay huata seruircancu
yma ayca honcoycuna amuptinri paita vya
richispa alli cayta mañaspa yma ayca llaqui
cuy puticoy captinpas auca amuptinpas pa
cha cuyomuptinpas yayanmi piñan ñispas
runacuna ancha mancharcan saractari yn
gap çaranta sapçicunamantas corcan
hupyancampac [244] chaymantas ñatac huc
p(adre)e X(christoba)l de castilla captin (cay rreducionpi caspa) curacari don geronimo
cancho guaman caspa ancha chaycunacta chic
ñiptin mana ña mucharcanchu chaysi ña
tac ñaupa haton çarampion hamuptin yma
ayca muchacoytapas callarircancu curaca
ñiscanchicri paymanta cachan ñic yna ma
na ña rimapayarcancho purun huasipi
opyaptin chay pachatacsi cay huacap huasinpas
ruparcan paicama dios munaptin [245] chayman
tam canan don g(eroni)mo huañoptin chay pacha
don ju(a)n sacsa lliuya <yai> curacaman yaicuptin
ca quiquin curacapas huacça captin tucoy runa
cuna ymanam ñaupa pacha causarcan chay
yna causayta<> (ña callarircancu) llocllay huancupacta chayman
ta maca uiçactapas chayaspa chaypi pacarispa
opiaspa [246] cananmi s(eñ)or doctor auila paypac predi
caçionnimpi huaquinin runacuna diosman
cuti

F 86 R

cutirispa chaicunacta amacharcancu mana huc
runa diosman checa sonco cutirispa caycunacta su
paimi ñispa ñiptinca ychapas hunayrac chay yna
causanman carca cay simictam cay quipampi
huyarichison [247] huc runam don x(christob)al choque cassa
sutioc yayanri ña ñiscanchic don ge(roni)mo cancho guaman
huañuc cay runam huchuillanmantaca alli cau
sacuc carcan yayanpas chay huacacunacta ancha
chicñiptin ychaca cay mana alli supaipac llullay
cuscan huañonampica cay huchaman hurmar
canmi ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullay
cuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi chaytaca dios
aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas [248] cay huañuc
ñiscanchicpac churinmi ari don x(christob)al ñiscanchic canan
causan caymi huc mita cay supay llucllay huancupa
ñiscanchicta ricurcan ñavinuan paipas yayan
huañuscanmantaca ña ñiscanchic mana alli supai
machocunap llollaycuscan caspa cay simire cay y
nam cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don x(christob)al jura
mentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa [249] huc tutas don
x(christob)al chay llocllay huancupap huasinman rircan chaypi
sipasnin captin chay huacactaca ña haquispa mana ña
asllapas chaytaca yuyaspa chaysi ña chay huassi
pi chayaspa yspacuypac chay huchoylla racay huasilla
man yaicorcan [250] chaysi canan maypim chrusta
churarcan chay hucomantas huc collque plato
ponchao yntiman tincochisca runap ñauinta tuta
yachic ynas ñaulnman chay supai ricurichimur
can cayta ricuspas ñahcca pachamanpas hormarcan
chaysi padre nuestro aue mariacta resaspa chay
huchuilla aposentoman huarmip tiascanman
miticamurcan [251] chaysi ñatac quimça mita cha
upicta purimuptin chay ynatac yllarichimurcan
ña aposentoman chayaptinri ñatac quimça mita
ñaupacninri quimça mitatac chaymi tucoyninca
yscon mita (yna) yllarechircan cay chica mita cay

F 86 V

yllarichic supaita ricuspa anchapuni manhharispa
chay huarmip puñoscanman chayarcan paitari
tuylla atarichispa [252] yscay huamrari chaypitac po
ñusca cay huamracunapas ancha siuyaptinsi
yayanchicmi ynan ñispa mancharircancu
cay huamracunari chay sipaspas cay supaipac sa
çerdotinpa churinsi carcan chaysi chay tuta
ymanam tutayacman runa yaicuc astauan tu
tayachispa chay ynas ahuamanpas llocçic
yaicuc ynas carcan rinrintapas chuy ñichispa
chay huasictapas ña tunichic ynas cay don x(christob)al
ta atipaita munarcan [253] chaysi oraçion yachas
cancunacta ancha nanacta huacyarispa dios
aponchicta mucharcan doctrinactari ñatac ña
tac<yachaspa> callarispa pochocascancama
cay yna mana y<lla>mallahuanpas quis
pinanta hunanchaspas ña chaopi tutacta
pas yalliptin suapaica ynatac ompichic captin
<si> mamanchic santa m(ari)acta huacyarcan
ñispa [254] a mamay cammi sapai mamay canqui
ynataccho cay mana alli suapaica atipahuanca
cam mamaytac yanapallahuay pana yna
huchaçapactapas ñocatacmi cay quiquin çu
paita siruircani cananca ñan ricsini supai
cascanta manam cayca dios(cho) manatacmi cay
ca ymactapas allintaca ruranmancho
[255] cam çapai coyallaytacmi cay peligroman
ta quispichihuanq(ui) huahuayq(ui) jesusnita villapu
llahuaytac canallanca cay huchaymanta
quispichihuachuntac cay mana alli supai
pa maquinmanta ñispas huacaspa om
pispa mamanchic virgen sapai coyanchic
ta huacyarcan [256] cay<ña>ta ña pochucaspas
latinpi salue regina mater misericordia
ñispa rresarcan cayta rimaptinsi na chao
pita rimaptin chay hacoy mana alli supaica

F 87 R

chay huasictapas coyorichispa ancha racupi
chuss ñispa chusic llucsircan chay pachalla
tacsi pachaca pacaric yna carcan mana ñas
yma manchachicuypas runa yna llucsic yai
cumucpas carcanchu [257] chaymantas astahuan
rac diosta mucharcan virgen s(an)ta mariactapas
viñay yanapancampac cayantillantacsi tucoy
runacunacta ñispa villarcan huauquicuna yayacuna
chaycan manchascanchic llucllay huancupa ñis
caca chusic supaimi cascą [258] cunam tutam
virgin s(an)ta maria mamanchicpac yanapainin
huan atiparcomuni amatac cananmantaca
pillapas chay huasiman yaicunquichiccho yai
cucta chayacta ricuspaca padremanpas villay
manmi porque alli yachay cay ñiscayta tucoy
soncoyquipitac chasquicuychic ñispas tucoy
runacunacta villarcan [259] chaysi huaquin
ca ychapas ya ñispa huaquinri chay supai
ta manchach caspa hupalla tiarcancu chay
pachamantaracsi checanpunica chayaita
samarcancu chaymantas chay tutari ña
tac don x(christob)al huasimpi puñocuptin muscoypi
ricuchicorcan caytam caysaua quillcasson
[260] CAP(ITUL)O 21
CAYMANTAM MANA MUSCOY
YUPAI CAPTINPAS CHAY MA
NA ALLI SUPAYPA MANCHA
CHISCANTA RIMASON YMA
NAM DON X(CHRISTOB)AL ATIPARCAN CHAYTA
HUANPAS

F 87 V

ñam ari llucllay huancupa mana alli supai
cascanta don x(christob)al atipascantauanpas oyarir
canchic ychaca chay mana alli supai muscoy
pipas atipaitatacsi munarcan chaysi cayan
tin tutallatac huasinmanta don x(christob)alta caya
chircan huc runahuan manas paiman rine
nircancho ña huasinman yaicusparacsi
musyacorcan [261] chaysi ancha mancharispa chay
huc yunga huarmi chacuas tiacocman chay qui
quiquin patiopitac cayllaycorcan cay chac
uassi yunga huarmi carcan chaysi huahua
ymapacmi llucllay huancupa pacha cuyo
chicpa churinta mana manchanquicho
cananmi chayta yachaypac cayachimu
sonqui ñispas rimarcan [262] ñiptinsi canan
paica chayca mana alli supaimi mamay
ymapacmi chayta manchayman ñispas
ñircan chaysi maquinpiri taua rreal
collquicta atallircan chaytas don x(christob)al pa
chaman ormachircan chayta mascaptin
si franc(isc)o trompeteroca hahuallamanta yao
yma conquim chaypin yayaiquica ancha piñas
pa hutca amuchon ñispa cayamusonqui ñispas
huacyamurcan [263] ñiptin pachallas suyallahuai
rac huauqui ñam amuni ñispa collquenta
ancha vtcaspa mascarcan chay pacha ña
tarispas rijpac captinsi ñatac ymanam
oyanpi quiquinta chay collqui ñiscanchichuan
manchachircan chay yna ynamurcan chay
cruzpa tiascan ocumanta(tac) [264] chayssi tuylla
mancharispa mana ña quispinampas yacha
cuptin chay hucumantaca cayamurcan
yayanchicmi cayasonqui ñispa chaysi
paica allim ñispas sonconpica ancha piñaspa
yaicorcan yaicuspas poncollampi tiay<coy>
corcan [265] chaysi chay pachaca cay astu guamanca

F 88 R

opiachich carcan carahc carcan chay huacacta
ñispa yaya llucllay huancupa cammi pacha
cuyochicpac churin canqui camtacmi runactapas
camarcanqui ñispas chaypi ancha manchas
pa cararcan chaysi chay supaica mana
rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan
chaymantari cocacta caraptinri acoc ynas
chac chac ñichircan [266] caycunacta hunayrac
ruraptinsi don x(christob)alca chay huasin hucomanta
tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta
ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai
patarapi rinman chay hynacta chay pin
tasca ñiscanchicsi hucpi huc huchuylla supai
ancha yana ñauinpas collqui yna chaymanta
maquinpiri huc caspi garauato<>yucta atallir
can chaisauas llamap human carcan chay
sauas ñatac chay huchuilla supai carcan chay sa
uari ñatac llamap human chay ynas tu
cuy huasinta yscay patarapi muyorcan [267] cay
cunacta ricuspas don x(christob)alca ancha mancharircan
rimanallanta camarispas chayssi ña cay su
pai micoyta puchocaptinsi ñatac ninacta
raurarichircan chay astu guaman chayman
yma ayca carascantapas rupachipac [268] cay
ta puchocaptinsi ña casilla ymapas captin
don x(christob)alca rimayta callarircan ñispa yao lluc
llay huancupa camtam ari runa camac pacha
cuyochic ñispa ñisonqui <ñocaca ñinim> pai
tacmi yma ayca rurac ñispam ari tucoy
runacunapas manchasonqui ymapacmi
canan cayachimuarcanqui ñocaca ñinim
jesu xp(christ)o diospac churin caytaccha checan
dios paipac simintataccha viñaypas yupay
chasac ñispam ñine [269] cayri pantanicho cam
canan villahuay chayca manam dioscho
ñocam yma ayca rurac cani ñispa chay pacha

F 88 V

camta manchancaypac ñispa ñiptinsi chay
supaica hopayarcan mana ña ymactapas
rimarcancho [270] chay pachas don x(christob)alca ricoy ma
nacho supai canqui ñocap y ñiscay jesuxp(christ)o
apuytacho camca atipanquiman ricoy cay
huasiquipas supaipac yntupayascanmi ari
tianqui camtacho ñoca y ñiquiman ñispas an
cha caparispa ayñircan [271] chay pachas huc llau
llaya (ñiycum) chayta vischomurcan caytas ma
na don x(christob)al yacharcancho ycha chay supai ycha
pas diospac partenmanta vischomurca por
qui chay llaullaya ñiscanchicllahuan har
cacuspas chay huasimanta huc ysquina
condep huasincama huacta<manta>ñic
manta chayllahuan arcacuspa mitica
murcan chay pachas riccharircan [272] chayman
ta pachas canan<ca>cama huaquinin huaca
cunactapas atipaspa yna moscoyllapipas
ancha ahcca mitatacsi paria cacactapas chaopi
ñamucactapas atiparcan runacunactari
tucoytapas villapayaspa caycunaca supai
mi ñispa cay chicactam cay mana alli su
paipac cas(can)ta yachanchic don x(christob)alpac atispascantahuanpas
[273] chaymantari ña chayaspa ñaupa pachaca
chayac runacunaracsi taquic carcan ña
hura pachacama chaysi ña chesiñicmanca
yayanchic cananca ñan machan taquichon
ñispas chay saçerdoten paipac rantin yna ñis
ca taquicta taquic carcan yayanchicmi an
cusasonqui ñispatac huc huchoylla quirullapi
cay ancusayta puchocaspas apamuc huctas canan ocupi huc manca
chay supaipac upyascan mantac churac paimi opian ñispa [274] cay opia
maticta ahuaman chay chicoytam yuyacnicmanta callarispa man
ancusascanman apa yancama opiachicoc carcan ynaspam cayan
muc carcan chay matic tinri ñatac chay puchuscancunacta micoycu
ta muchancampac

F 89 R

nacta sucya villca ñiscaman apachic carcan
[275] ñaupa pachaca chay chayac runacunas quiquin
sucya villcaman apac carcan cay quipampim
canan pachallampitac sucya villcactapas
llucllay huancupacta caracuyta puchocaspa
carac carcan cay sucya villca caracoytaca
ymaraicum cararcan chaytaca cay quipampim
quillcason pacha camacpac cascantahuan<pas>
[276] CAPI(TUL)O 22
yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascan
taca manam allichu yachanchic ychaca huaqui
nillantam yachanchic hanac ticsipi muchanan
tas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngac
ta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan
pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca
ñispatac mucharcancu [277] cay yscaynin huacacuna
ñiscallanchictas astahuanca tucoy yma aycactapas
yallispa mucharcan collquinhuan corinhuanpas
astauanrac yallichispa allichaspa yanancunactari
ahcca pachac runacta churaspa llamantari tucoy
ynantin llactacunapi churapuspa cay pacha camac
ñiscanchicpac llamancunami ari sucya villca
ñiscanchicpipas cay checa runamanta sayarcan
[278] caytam hunanchanchic yngaca cay ñiscan
chic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñis
cancunalla<>pich pacha puchocan mana ñah chay
mantaca huc llactapas canchu manataccha yma
llapas cancho ñispach ari hunancharcan [279] cay
ta yuyaspataccha yscaynin ñiscanchic hua
cacta astauanrac huaquinin huacacunaman
tapas yallispa mucharcancu hura pacha camac
pa cayllanpiri <ponchao digo> yntictapas sayachispa
chay sayachiscanmi ari canancamapas ponchao

F 89 V

cancha sutioc [280] chaymantas canan tauantin
suyo runacunacta capac hucha ñiscactapas
huarmicta caricta huatanpi corcan cay ca
pac hucha ñiscanchictas ña pacha camacman
chayaptinsi yna causacllacta pachaman cay
mi coyqui yaya ñispa pampac carcan ynatac coric
tapas collquictapas llamacunactari purapi
quillapi mana ancochaspa opiachircan mi
cochircan [281] chaymantam ña may pacham
cay checap llactancunacta mana tam
yarcanchu chay pachas yngap simincama
tac yuncacuna ashuanhuan tictinhuan
cori collqui ñiscactari huatanpi cuspa suc
ya villca ñisca<horcom>man cachamurcan
chaysi sucya villcacta yaya pacha camacmi
cachamuan cammi pachacta tamyachinqui
mana cay cochamanta yaco riptintacmi
runacunapas yacomanta muchuyco tam
yaicuytac caypacmi amuycu ñispas ofre
cicoc carcan [282] yuncacunapas chaymantas coll
qui cori apascantari chay sucya villca cocha
cayllapi huatancunapipas pampac carcan
chaypac yanancu(na)pas yaçapa ayllomantas<>
carcan llama michicninri allaucamanta
cay yaçapa ñiscanchicsi huc runa paico casa sutioc
quipampi ña vira cochacuna captinpas coricta
collquicta pampacta ricorcan [283] ynatacsi ynga
cunari tucoy ynantin huacacunaman alli
ricsisca huacamanca corinta collquinta qui
pollamanta tucoy ynantin huacacta cochic
carcan choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca
corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc vrpo collc<>
horpo choc tipsi collc tip<>si ñiscacunactas
cochic carcan quipollamanta cay hatunin hua
cacunaca manatacsi huquillanpas pasuccho
[284] cayta hunanchaspatacsi llocllai huancupa

F 90 R

ñiscanchicman chayaspapas cayantin sucya
villcacta carachic carcan yayanpa man
chascan captin cay chicactam yachanchic cay
pacha camacmanta pacha coyochi ñiscanta
ri pai piñaptinsi yna coyon ña ñispari
hucman hoyanta ticrachiptinsi coyomun
manatacsi paica huyanta asllapas coyochincho
tucoy <cuerpon> (cuerpon)ta ticrachiptinca ynallas pacha
puchocanman ñispam runacuna ñircancu
[285] CAPI(TUL)O 23
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YNGAP
TUCOY YNANTIN HUACACUNAC
TA CAYACHISCANTA CAYPITAC
MI MACA UISA ÑISCANCHICPA
ATI<N>SCANTAPAS RIMASSON
<ynga>tupay ynga yupanqui ñisca apo caspas
ña tucoy ynantin llactacunacta conquistaspas
ahca huata samarcan ancha cusicuspa chaysi huc
llactacunamanta auca atarircan alancu marca
calanco marca chaque marca ñiscas cay cay
runa(cunas) mana yngap runan cayta munarcancho
[286] chaysi chaycunahuan ahcca huaranga runancunacta
quiuicuspa aucanacorcan doze año chica
cama chaysi tucoy cachascancunactapas collo
chimuptin ancha llaquispa ymanam casson
ñispas yngaca ancha puticorcan [287] chaysi huc
ponchaoca yuyacorcan ymaraycoh cay
huacacunacta siruine corihuan collquihuan

F 90 V

pachayhuan micunayhuan yma aycayhuanpas ma
cayachisac tucoyta cay aucacunata yanapa
huancampac ñispas tucoy ynantin llactacu
namanta cori collqui chasquiccuna amuchon
ñispas cayachircan [288] chaysi ari ñispa rircancu
pacha camacpas rircantac huc huantuhuan
ynatac tucoy llactacunapas huantuhuan
cama tucoy ynantin tauantin suyo ñiscaman
ta chaysi ña aucay patapi tucoy llactacuna
chayaptinsi paria cacaca manarac chayarcan
cho manachos risac risacchos ñic ynas aynicachar
can chay pachas paria cacaca maca uisa churin
ta cacharcan ri cam oyarimuy ñispa [289] chaysi
chayaspa manyallamanta tiaycorcan chicsi
rampa sutioc andasuan chay pachas ynga
ca rimarircan ñispa yayacuna huaca
villcacuna ñam ari yachanqui ymanam
ñoca camcunacta tucoy suncoyhuan
corihuan collquihuan seruiqui chayta ynas
pa camcunaca yna ñoca seruiptica ma
nacho yanapallahuanquimantac checa ahc
ca huaranca runayta perdipti chayraicum
camcunacta cayachimuyquichic ñispa rimap
tinsi manatac huchapas ay ñircanchu ya
llinrac hupayaspa tiarcancu [290] chay pachas ña
tac yngaca yao rimarichic ynatacchum
campac casmascayqui rurascayqui runacuna
aucanacospa collonca mana yanapahuaita
munaptiquica canallanmi tucoyniquichicta
rupachichiscayqui [291] chayca ymaraicum ñoca
ca corihuan collquiuan huantarcunapi mi
coycunahuanpas opiayhuanpas llamayhuan
pas yma aycayhuanpas seruiqui allichayque
chayca manacho cay checa llaquicoscayta
huyarispa yanapahuanquiman manam
ñiptiquica canallantacmi rupanqui

F 91 R

ñispas ñircan [292] chay pachas pacha camacca ri	D
marimurcan ynga yntiya ñocaca tucoy cam	E
tauanpas ynantin pachacta cuyochic caspatacmi	
mana rimarinicho manam ari chay aucallata	L
chu ñocaca collochiman tucoy camtahuampas	A
ynantin pachactahuanpas puchocaymanmi	
chayraicutacmi opalla tiacuni ñispas rimarcan	M
[293] chaymantas canan huaquinin huacacunaca	A
opalla tiaptin maca uisa ñiscanchicca rimarir	N
can ynga yntiya ñoca chayman risac ychaca	O
campas cayllapi alli carpacuspa hunanchacuspa	
tiay ñocam chaytaca tuy checallapi atipamus	Y
cayqui ñispas ñircan chaysi maca uisa ri	
mariptinca seminmantapas llacça llacça pu	P
corimurcan cosni llocsic yna [294] chay pachalla	L
tacsi cori antaranta antaricorcan curitac	U
pincullonpas carcan humanpiri chump rucoc	M
ta pillorispa pusucanri curitac cusmanri	A
yana chay pachas maca uisa rinampac huc qui	
quin yngap rinan chicsi rampa sutioc ram	D
pacta corcan chaysi calla uaya runa ñisca	E
ancha sinchi cama yngap acllascan carcan cay ru	
nas ahcca ponchao ñantapas pisi ponchaollapis	T
chayachic carcan caycunas maca uisacta aparir	H
can huanturircan chay aucaman [295] chaysi huc or	O
collapi chayachiptinsi chay maca visa paria cacap churin	M
ca allimantarac(si) tamyaita callarircan ynaspas	A
chay llactayoc runacunaca ymah cayca ñispa ca	S
marico<>rcanrac [296] ynaptintacsi yllapaspa asta	
uan tamyaitapas yapaspa tucoy llactancunac	
ta huaycu huaycucta ruraspa lloclla aparcan	
atunnin curaca cactari sinchicunactauanpas	
yllapaspas collochircan atun runacu<na>nallas	
huaquillan quispircan munaspaca tucoytapas	
collochinmansi carcan ynallas huaquinin	
runacunactaca tucoyninta atispa cuzcoman	

F 91 V

catimurcan [297] chay pachamantaracsi paria cacac
ta astauan yngapas yupaicharcan yanancu
nactapas pihcca chuncacta cuspa ynaspas yaya
maca uisa ymactam coscayqui ymallactapas
munascayquicta mañahuay manam micha
cusaccho ñiptinsi manam ñocaca ymac
tapas munanicho ychaca huacçaca tianqui
tacmi ymanam ñocaycup churijcuna yauyo
ñiscamanta rurancu [298] chaytaca ñiptinsi
allitacmi yaya ñiispas ancha mancha
rispa pactah cayca ñocactapas collochihuan
man ñiispas yma aycantapas ofrecicoyta mu
narcan [299] chaysi micoy yaya ñiispa carachiptin
ca manam ñocaca cay ynacta micoccho cani
mullocta apamuy ñiispas mañarcan chay
si mullocta coptinca cap cap ñichispa tui
lla micorcan [300] chaysi mana ymactapas mu
naptintac yñaca ñustancunactaca cama
chiporcan chaytapas mana ho ñiptintac y
naspas ñatac maca uisa paria caca yayanta
villaypac cotimurcan chaymantas canan
yngacunapas ancha quipapipas xauxapi huac
çapas tiarcan y taquircan ancha yapaichaspa
[301] chaymantam canan cay cuzcopi aucay pata
ñiscapi tantanacorcan ñinchic chaypis cay
huacacuna tucoy ynantin ñaca ñircanchic
chay yna tiaspa tucoyninmanta sumacnin
si siua caña villca coto ñisca tiarcan manas
cayhuanca sumacninpica ynantin huaca
cunapas pactar cancho cay chicactam caycu
napta yachanchic
[302] CAPI(TUL)O 24
CAYMANTAM CAY CHECACUNAP
CAUSASCANCUNACTA QUILLCA

F 92 R

SON MACUA YUNCA ÑISCACTA
TAQUISCANCUNACTAPAS CHAY
MANTARI RUNAP PACA
RIMUSCANTAHUANPAS
ñan mari huaquinin capitulopi paria cacap chu
rincunacta rimaspa asllacta yurimuscanta
pas rimarcanchic ychaca cay yurimuscan pacari
muscan simiri cay ynam huaquinmi canan rimancu
hanac paria caca ñiscanchic quitipis huc sacha quiñhua
sutioc canancamapas quinhua sutioctac chaypis çachap
ruruyninmanta runacuna pacarimurcan [303] huaquin
mi runacuna ñincu hanac pachamantas yahuar hor
mamurca chaysi vichi cancha sutioc pachapi chay quiñ
hua ñiscanchic quitipitac<si> chayarcan [304] chaypis canan
llactachacorcan allaocamanta coña sancha cutioc sat
pascamanta yuri naya sulic pahcamanta chupa yacu
yaça(pa)mantam paco masa muxicamantam chauca chim
pita caca sicamantam canan huar cancha llichic cancha
ñiscanchicca yañcacuna cay caycunaca quiquin llactayoc
yuncacunas [305] huaquinin caca sica moralespac chaymanta
cancha paicup yayancunas yauyo carcan caycunap paca
rimuscansi maurura sutioc aya uireñicpi caycunaca
quita puricucsi huar canchap paninhuan caçaraspas cacay
hucopitac camachinacusac ñispas paicunaca cay llacta
pi tiaycorcancu [306] chaysi ña paria cacaman muchaypac ris
pas cacancuna tucoy checacunapas quita yauyo ñispa
chicniptin quipallarac ancha carollapi ric carcan
chaysi anchapuni llaquicuspa caycunaca ynas chicnep
tin ahca huata quipalla cama ric carcancu chaysi
huc mitaca paria cacacta villarcan ñispa yaya cayca
caycunapas checacunapas ancham checnihuan campa
camascayquitacmi pana yauyo runapas caycu ñispas

huarcancha lli
chic cancha eran
yungas

morales yauyo

F 92 V

ancha huacaspa villarcan [307] chay pachas paria caca chu
ri ama llaquicho cay curri chuncullayta apacoy cay
ta atallispa llacça tampopi poco caya ñiscapi ta
quinqui chay pacham yma runam cayca chica pa
ria cacap cuyascan ñispam anchapuni mancha
rinca chaymantaca mana ñam anchacho chicnison
qui ñispas camachimurcan [308] chaymantas cay ya
uyo ñiscanchiccunaca tucoy checacunamantapas
quipampirac chayamuspas chay chuqui chuncullan
ta apaspas ancha cusicuspa runacunapas man
chariptin chayamurcan cayantin ponchaopis pam
papi tucoy ynantin runacunapas mancharip chay
curri chuncullacta atallispa taquircan [309] huaquin
mi canan ñincu tutas ñaupa pacha pariacaman
llamahuan ymahuanpas villac carcancu chaysi ay
llo ayllompi mitanacospa ric cancancu chay pachas
chay quita yauyo ñiscanchicta apachon paipas
ñispa ancha chicñispatac ñircan pay apaspas
canan ña ynti sicamuptin paria cacaman chayarcan
[310] chaysi anchatac llaquicuptin paria cacaca ymapacmi
chica llaquicunqui yao anta capsi ñispas ñircan ñaupa
sutinca pacuyris carcan chay pachas cay cori chuncollac
ta apacoy cayta ricuspam runacuna mana ña chicni
sonquicho ñispas comurcan [311] cay cori chuncullac
tas canan huc mita ñatac paria cacaman muchaypac
rispa chayta apaspa rircan chaysi huc mayo pari ayri
sutioc mayocta chimpaspas chaypi hurmachircan chay
si panatac yma ynapas tucoy hanacman huraman
mascarcan manatac ricuriptinsi ynallatac paria
cacaman rircan [312] chaysi cayantin chayaptinca quiquin
paria cacap cayllampi chay corri chunculla ñiscanchicca
sayacorcan chaysi ñatac huacaspa mañaptin mana ña
ho ñircanchu ñispa manam aucamantacho atispa
apamurcanqui chay yna sumachispa apaycacha<>(n)ayqui
pac caymanri camacnita ruracnita ricuchimusac
ñispa apamuncayquipac ñispam anchapuni anyarca

F 93 R

[313] chaysi yaya ynataccho pincay casac cotichillahuaytac cay
ri ymallactapas chaypac rantinta collahuay ñispa ñip
tinsi ancha huacaptin churi cutij ñocap panay
pac chaupi ñamcap mitampim coscayqui chay pacha
pac suyai ñispas ñimurcan chaysi ynallatac cuti
morcan [314] chaysi ñatac ñiscan yna chaupi ñamcap mi
tampi yauri callinca sutioc canchanpi pircasaua
huc gato montes ancha sumac pintascacama ricurir
can chaysi chayta ricuspa caymi paria cacap ñiscam
ñispas cusicuspa chayta atallircancu taquichispa
tac caytam canan tumnapi cac her(nan)do cancho uillca
huacaycharcan ychaca ñas tucoy ysmurcan
[315] ñam ari runacunap pacarimuscanta rimarcanchic
ychaca caycuna ñiscanchiccunaca tutay quirep churin
si huaquinmi canan çachap ruruyninmanta llocsic
cay tutay quiri ñiscanchictacsi vichi cancha ñiscan
chicpi yurimurcan chaymantam paytac cay llacta
cunactapas atimurcan churijcuna caypi tianca
ñispa [316] chaysi ymanam huaquinin capitulopipas
rimarcanchic yunca çapas carcan ñispa chay ynas
chay yuncacunactaca ña carcospa ayllo ayllompi
cunacoyta callarircancu chacrantapas huasintapas
llactantapas ayllonpi sutintapas paycunap ayllom
pi sutinsi allauca sat pasca passa quine muxica caca
sica sulc pahca yaçapapas carcan yaçapa ñispaca plate
roctam yaçapa ñinchic plateros carcan chaypac su
tintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin
ayllocunapas [317] chaymantas canan llacta ñiscan
chicta conacuspari allaucamanta collanaspa
chasquircan cay allaucas maca callacta< >
<ta> chasquircan chaymantam sat pasca ñiscanchic
cunam quimqui llacta chasquircan cay quimquillas
curaca huaca ñisca tucoymantapas astauan yupaisi
carcan [318] chaymantas canan chasquircan sulc pahca yaça
pa ñiscanchic ricra huanca ñisca huacacta chayman
tam muxicacuna chasquircan quira rayacta

F 93 V

caca çicacunam llucma suni huacacta chasquircan
huanricuna chauticunam canan paicunaca quiquin
llactayoc ñaupamanta ñam ari ymanam tutay
quiricta mucharcan chaytapas huaquinin capitulo
pipas rimarcanchicmi ari
[319] cay yna ña ñiscanchic yna tutay quiri aticoyta
pochucaptinsi churincunari cayman hamuspas
pacariscan taquicta ymanam vichi cancha
pi taquircan chayta masoma ñispa taquircan
cu <ñam ari> ñam çapa ñiscanchicri runas car
can cay quiquintaca yngas quipampi aparcan chay
pac teniententas ñatac hucta rurarcancu chay
tam s(eñ)or doctor ña aparcan [320] cay ñam cçapa ñiscan
chic<>si runa caspa quisay rinri ñiscacta rinrim
pi churac carcan <cayta> chaymanta maquinpiri
canah yauricta caycunas ñaupa pachaca cori sapa
carcan cay corictaca yngatacsi aparcan chay
mantas cay quillcas caxo ñiscanchicsi tau
nan carca chaymanta chay cori cacya sutioc
caracolsi palhuan amuctas [321] caytas palmi
pacarinchic caymi ñaupac cay llactaman hamuc
chapac ñispas quiquinta oyanta cochuspa ta
quichircan chaymantas aucapi apimuspari hu
yantatac cochuspa caymi sinchi cascay ñispa
taquichircan cay aucapi ña apiptinsi qui
quin chay runa huauqui ñam ari huano
chihuanqui ancha camasca runatacmi
carcani huayotatac rurahuanqui ño
cactari ña pampaman llocçipac capti alli
carahuanqui opiachihuanqui ñispas ñic
carcan [322] cayta oyarispatacsi cay <huc> huaqui
nin huayocunacta carac opiachic carcan
canan ponchaomi pampapi taquinqui ñocahuan
ñispa chaymantam cay huayocta aparispa
tac yscay ponchao huantunacoc carcan
cayantin ponchaomi çarahuanpas papa

F 94 R

huanpas yma ayca cascanhuanpas huarcunacuc
carcan [323] cay huarcunacoytas caycunacta apa
cuspa oma pacha ñisca yurimuscanman cutin
ca ñispa hunancharcancu chaysi rimacospapas
huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochis
pa rimac carcan chaypac fiestanpi cay taqui
cuytam pihca ponchaopi puchocarcan allauca
cunari ynatac [324] hucpi cay chuta caras oma pacha — masoma
ñiscatac cay quiquintacsi vichi canchamanta — chuta cara
huaquinincunahuan hamurcancu chaysi
runa caspatac rumiman chirayarca chay ru
na caspa huaracacuscansi chay huaracampas
chaymanta chay pisco yna ricchaccunas paipac
visan [325] chaymanta chay huana payas canan chay
ta pucoptin llamacunacta llactacuna raquimuc — significa ydolo
cayhuantacsi pacarimurcanpas chay llamarai
cutacsi huaquinin huana payacunactapas
huacaycharcancu cay caytam allaucamanta
chuta carap fiestanta rurac carcancu checa
cunapas conchapas mayquin runapas chay
caracoltaca atallintacmi llamayoccuna
[326] chaymantam canan cay quiquin ñiscanchiccu
nacta yscay huata taquircan huatampi huc
mitalla chaymi yscay huata captinpas yscay
mitallatac taquircan chaymantam canan
yscay huatatac machua sutioc taquicta ta
quircan [327] cay ñaupa ñiscanchicca yunca
sutiocmi cay machua ñiscanchicpac mitam
pim canan yscay huatatac taquircan huc
chupa ñisca ychucta pirtaspas ancha quero
cunacta chacnaspa chayman pilluic carcan
yscayta caymi suninman canchis ricra chic
tayoc chaymantam atunninmanmi yscay
<>braço alli macallanchic yna humampim
canan caçira sutioc hocsatac caypa sapinmi
puca pucalla caytas churac carcan caymi

F 94 V

acchan ñispa [328] chaymantas ña tucoyta allichas
pa hucta yomca ñispa carip hunanchay
ninta churarcan huctari huasca sutiocta
huarmip onanchayninta churarcan ña
churaspam canan tucoy runacuna alli pachan
ta tamta ñiscantapas churacuspa sitayta
ña callarircancu cay si(ta)na<>m vihco suti
oc [329] cayta sitaipac ña<>upacnin ponchaopitac
mi tucoy ynantin caullamacunaman ric car
cancu llamantapas ymanam paria caca
man campanillayocta chaymanta sarçillo
yucta aparcan chay yna chaysi tucoynin
runacuna chaucallamanpas curri ñisca tambo
sica orcomanpas ric carcancu çapampi caulla
mancunamanpas chay pacha cay caullama
cunaman rispas chay caracol ñiscanchic
ta huacachispa pucupayaspa ric carcancu chay
pacmi çapampi runacunapas huaquinin
taricnincunaca cay caracol ñiscanchicta
atallircancu [330] chaymantam canan cay
chuta chuta ñiscanchicta ña yscayninta sayachis
pa sitayta callarircan cayta sitaptinsi huar
micunaca ayllo ayllo yaicuspa sitaptin ma
na huancarayoc huarmicunapas taquipuc
carcan cay simicta rimaspa huaccha churi
quicta chasquipuy ñispa huasca ñiscanchictari
huaccha churiquicta chasquipuytac ñispatac
[331] chaysi cay sitaccuna chay chutap chucchanpi
chayachiptinca cayri maycancha tucoy huc ayllo
cunamanta hanacnin manyanpi chayachircan
chaysi huc huacamaypac ricranta o ymallanta
pas apaspa yañcacta coc carcan [332] cay yañcan
checamanta quipampas m(art)yn misa yauri carcan
allaucamantam ju(a)n chumpi yauri huañuc [333] cay
yañca ñiscanchicsi ña huc ayllo ñiscan
chic pochocaptin chay chutaman llocarcan

F 95 R

chay puypu ñisca huacamayap ricranta apas
pa <chaysi> chaysi may pihc chayachircan chay
ta sorcuspa chaypi chay puypu ñiscahuan
hunanchamurcan chaysi ñatac hoc ayllo yai
cuspapas ynatac hocri ynatac <n> [334] chaymantas
ñatac huasca ñiscanta huarmipac sitar
ca churita yma ayca micunallaytapas coanca
ñispa chaymanta yomca ñiscanchictari
cari churita chauaracta yma ayca causaycu
nacta coanca ñispa [335] ña may pacham yscay
nin chutacunacta sitayta puchocarcan chay
pachas chay ñaui ñiscapi chucchapi chayachic
cuna yañcaman llamanta cayhuan cay
homa pacha ñiscacta villapuay ñispa coc
carcan chaysi cay huchuylla llamactaca
chay llamayoc manatac anchantaca apacoc
cho yañcamusca ñiscallanchictacsi ayca
llama captinpas apacoc micococ
[336] chaymantam canan ñatac cayantin pon
chao ancha tutamanta quimquillaman tucoy
runacuna ric carcancu chay quimquilla ñis
canchic huacas ancha llamayoc yma ay
cayoc chayta coyaicuanca ñispas tucoy
runacuna allaucapas ric carcan chaypi
llamayta mañamusac ñispa [337] chayman
rijpacsi aslla tictinta ashuanta cocanta
apac carcan chay huana paya ñiscanchic
tari huacachipayaspa chaymantas ñaupac
nin ponchaopitacsi vichuc maricuna cay
mi tucoy sat pasca sulc pahca yaçapacuna
chay quiquin quimquillapitac taquic car
can llamantapas nacaspa poconim ñis
pa [338] chaymantam ñatac huraycumor
can maypim quira raya tiarcan chay anac
nin pampaman cay pampam huara ca
ya sutioc caypim ñatac ymanam llac

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sa tampopi yomca huascacta sayachircan
chuta ñiscacta chay ynallatac sayachir
can llamapac cay llamapacmi horcopac
chinapac ynatac sitarcancu [339] cay sitayta
puchucaspam canan ymanam llacsa tam
pupi carcan ynallatac llamanta yañcaman
coc carcan cayhuan muchapuay allitac
casac ñispa chaymantam canan cayman
cutimuspa ymanam quimquillaman
pas hoño hoñolla ric carcan llaman
tapas campanayocta aysaspa ynallatac
cutimorcancu [340] caytam carco caya ñin
cu ymanam allimanta coyoi coyoilla
rihuan yna caycuna puricoytas huaro
cactam tumani ñispa ñircancu cay hua
roca ñiscanchicta tumaspas chay hua
na paya ñiscanchictapas pocopayaspa
ric carcancu cay chicallactam yachanchic
cay machua ñiscacta yachanchic [341] chayman
tam canan cay llacça tampopi yunca ñiscan
chicta huaquinin muta caya runas carcan
ñincu huaquinmi canan collis carcan
nincu ynam ychaca cay colli ñiscanchicca
yaru tinepis tiarcan caypac cascantam can
cay quipampi quillcasson
[342] CAPI(TUL)O 25
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YMANAM
COLLI RUNACUNACTA YARU TI
NI ÑISCAMANTA HORA YUNGA
MAN HUAYRA APARCAN
CHAYTA

F 96 R

cay colli ñiscanchic llactayocsi yarutini ñis
capi tiarcancu chaysi huc ponchaoca paria caca
chay yaru tini ñiscanchic llactampi collicuna vp
yaptin chayarcan chaysi manyallamanta pa
ria cacaca tiaycuspa ancha huacchalla yna tiar
can [343] chaysi manatac pillapas vpiachita munar
canchu chaysi huc runalla ancusaycorcan cay
acusacnintas yapaicuay huauqui nispa ñircan
chaysi yaparcantac chaymantas cocallayquicta
acuchihuay ñispa ñatac mañarcan chaysi cor
cantac [344] chay pachas huauqui cay sachactam a
piconqui ñoca may pacham cayman amusac
chayca cay runacunactari ama villaycho yna
cusicochon ñispas riporcan [345] chaysi pihca pon
chaomantaca ancha huayra atarimurcan
cay huayratacsi cay colli runacunactaca çapam
pi yscay quimça mita tumaycochispa huayra
ancha caroñicpi aparimurcan chaysi huaqui
ninca yna apariptintac muspaspa huañorcan
huaquintas canan causacllacta caruaylloñic
orcopi chayachircan cay orcom canancamapas
colli ñisca <> orco runacunaca collorcansi mana
tacsi huchapas canchu [346] chaymantas cay huc ru
na yaru tinipi paria cacacta vpiachicca ñiscan
yna huc çachacta apicuspa yna quispircan ña tu
coyta apaita puchocaspas ñircan huauqui çapallai
quim canqui caypim viñay tianqui caymantam ño
cap churicuna ñocacta muchaypac hamuspa chusco
quiere dezir quatro corpaya huacçacuna cocacta
viñaylla acochisonqui ñispas sutiyquipas capac
huanca ñiscam canqui ñispas rumiman chiraya
chircan [347] caytam s(eñ)or doctor auila chay quiquin <> tias
campi chayaspa huaquin runacunahuan paquir
can ña paquispam hurañicman vischurcan
cay chicactam cay colli ñiscacunamanta
yachanchic yna ñiscancamatacmi huacçacunari acochircancu
viñay huata

F 96 V

[348] CAPI(TUL)O 26 YMANAM
MACA CALLACTA PA(RI)A CACA
ATIRCAN YMANAM
ÑA ATISPA CHURARCAN
CHURINCUNACTA
ñan mari maca calla ñiscanchicta yachan
chic s(a)n damian llactamanta hanacnin
orcupi cascanta cay maca calla ñiscanchic
orcopis chay llactayoc runa carcan pihcca
marca ñisca chaymantam sutca ñiscapas car
cantac caycuna llactayoc huc punchao vp
yacuptinsi paria caca chay llactaman cha
yarcan yna chayaspas manyallamantatac
tiaycorcan [349] yna tiaycuptinsi manatac pilla
pas ancusaycorcanchu chaymanta piñaspas
pihccantin punchaonimpi chay llactacta collo
chircan puca tamya quello tamya atari
muspa [350] huaquim runacunam canan huc
simictatac rimancu ñispa cay maca callapi
llactayuc runacunas huc punchaosi huaquinin
runacuna riuihuan pocllacorcan huaquinin ru
nacunas vpyacorcan chay yna captinsi hanac
orco canlli ñiscamantaca aslla pucutay ricuri
morcan chaymantari tamyari puca tamya orma
murcan as asllarac chaymantas ñatac yllapa
murcan [351] cay yna captinsi runacunaca tucoy
nin mancharircan ymam cayca ñispa mana
cay ynacta ricuc caspa chayssi huaquininca aucam
ñispa sayaicorcan huaquinsi miticarcan [352] huc runas
armicu sutioc carcan cayssi ahcca churicoy caspa
churinta catirespa aco rison chay chacranchic

F 97 R

huauapitac huañomuson ñispas chacranman miti
carcan cay chacra ñiscampi chayaptinsi chaymanta
tucoyninta chirayachircan rumi tucochircan cay
rumi tucucsi canancamapas runa ynalla churin
cunahuan tiancu canancamapas runacunapas ar
micu ñincu [353] chaymantas huaquinin runacuna
ayquispapas mayta ayquictahc puca tamya apircan
pachallampitacsi rumi tucorcan ynatacsi maca
callapi huaquinin runacunapas rumiman cama
chirayarcan [354] huc runas canan cay sutca ñiscanchic
ayllomanta ancha huacaspa ynallataccho saquiscay
qui yayallacta maca calla ñam ripac cani ma
natacmi yma callpallaypas canchu cay milagrocta
atipancaypac ñispa huacaptinsi maca callap
vmanca paycamalla vrmamurcan chay yna vr
mamuptinsi chayta sucarispa tuylla mitica
chircan huaman yna cay runatacsi ancha ca
masca carcan [355] chaymantas cay maca callari y
manam runa ynas vmayoc chaquiyoc maqui
yoc carcan chaysi cay vmanta chay yna mi
ticachispa ñatac runa miramuspa llantapapi
pihcca orcupi tiaycorcan cay orco tiaycuscantam
llactachacuscan captin pihcca marca ñinchic [356] chay
pihcca marca ñiscanchicpis maca callap humanca
canancamapas tian chaysi chaypi caypi maca calla
yocmi canchic ñispa churincunactapas ñaupac
yuricta canricha ñincu allaucacunari maca calla
llactayoc caspas canricha ñintac ynatac pihcca
marcacunapas [357] chaymantas ña tutay quire con
quistamurcan chay pachaca chay sutica ñisca
ayllocunaca cay quitiman cutimurcan chacray
allpai hucopitac llactay vcupitac tiamusac pa
ria caca tutay quiricta manchaspa yupaychaspa
ñispas cutimurcancu chay sutica ñiscanchicmi ca
nan cay llacta s(a)n damianpica tucoy collorcan causac
nincunapas sucsa canchapi tumnapi chayllay

F97 V

[358] CAPI(TUL)O 27 YMANAM RUNACUNA
ÑAUPA PACHA HUAÑUSPA PICHCA PUNCHAO
PIM CUTIMONI ÑISPA RIMARCANCU
CHAY CHAYCUNACTAM QUELLCASON
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc runa huañuptin ayan
taca yna<cta>llas churarayachircan pichca pon
chao cascancama chaysi animanri huc
chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan
cay ña pahuaptinsi ñam rin paria caca
camacnicchic ruracninchicta ricumuypac
ñispas ñircancu [359] huaquinmi canan ma
nas chay pachaca paria caca carcancho ynallas
hanacñicman pahuarcan (yauri llanchaman) [360] chaymantas ca
nan pi<c>hca ponchaomanta ñatac cutimuc
carcan chay ña cutimuptinsi micuycunacta
vpyaitapas camarispas suyac carcan chaysi
ña chayamuspaca ñam cutimuni ñispalla
yayancunahuanpas huauquincunahuanpas an
cha cusicuc carcan mana ñam cananca vi
ñaypas huañosaccho ñispa [361] chay pachas canan
runacuna ancha mirarcan micunampacpas
ñacayta rispa cacactapas patactapas chacran
pac allichaspa ancha ñacarispa causarcancu
[362] chay yna captinsi chay pacha vc runa hua
ñurcan ña huañuptinsi chay runap yayan
cuna huauquincunapas huarminpas suyarcan
ña chayamunan captin pihcca ponchaonimpi chay
si cay runaca manatac chayamurcanchu cayantin
ponchaopis soctantin ponchaopi(rac) chayamurcan chay
si yayanpas huauquinpas huarminpas ancha piñas
pa suyarcancu ña chayamuptinsi huarminca
piñaspa ymanam chica quella canqui huaquinin
runacunaca mana pisipaspam chayacumon
camcho cayna yanca suyachicuhuanqui ñispas
ancha

manarac paria ca
capas caruinchupas
ricuriptintacsi yauri
llanchapi vichi cancha
ñiscapipas runacuna
ca pacarimurcan

F 98 R

ancha piñapayarcan [363] chay hina piñaspas huar
minca huc curumtayhuan chay anima chayamuc
ta chocarcan hina chucaptinsi tuylla sio ñispa
cutircan chaymantas canan mana ña pi runa
huañuptinpas cutimuccho carcan
[364] CAPI(TUL)O 28 YMANAM PARIA CACAP
MITAMPI ANIMACUNACTA CARAC
CARCAN CHAYMANTA TODOS SAN
TOSPACRI YMA YNAM ÑAU
PA PACHA HUNANCHARCAN
ñam ari huaquinin capitulopi paria caca<p fiestan>cta
<ta> muchaypac rispa ymanam runacuna huañoc
nincunacta huacac carcan (caracpas carcan) chay chaycunacta rimar
canchic chay carascancunacta yuyarispam canan
runacuna manarac alli xp(christia)noman tucospa rimar
cancu cay todos santopac ynatacmi vira cochacuna
pas ayanta tullunta caran micochin ñispa <ygle>
aco ygleciaman huañucninchiccunacta caramu
son ñispa [365] ñaupa pachaca yma ayca micoycu
nactapas alli chayascacamata apac carcan
chaymantam canan huc runa huañuptinpas an
cha ñaupac cascanta yuyarispa huañucninchicca
pihcca ponchaomantam cutimunca suyasuntac
ñispa suyac carcancu cay pi<>ch<>(ca) ponchao ñiscanchic
camam huañuscanmanta tutancuna pacaric <car>
carcan [366] ña pihcantin ponchaonimpin yarutiniman
huc<runa> huarmi alli pachanta churaspa ric carcan
chaymanta pusamusac ñispa o suyamusac ñispapas
chaysi chay huarmi ñiscanchicri ashuanhuan micoy
cunactari apaspa ric carcan [367] chaysi yaru tini ñiscan
chicpi ña ynti sicamuptin chay anima chayac carcan
chaysi ñaupa pachaca yscay quimça atun chuspi

F 98 V

runacunaca llacsa anapalla ñispam ñincu chaysi
chay pachan apascansaua tiaycoc carcan [368] chaysi
hunaycama tiaspa ña huaquinin huancoy curo
ñiscanchic ripuptin haco rison llactaman ñispas
huc huchoylla rumillacta cay(mi) pai ñic <h>yna aparis
pa amuc carcan chaysi cay huarmi ña chayamup
tin tuylla huasimpas alli pichasca <> captin caray
ta ña callarircan ña caracoyta puchocaspas ña
tac vpyachircan paycunari ayan micuptin
micorcantac [369] ña <ancha> chisiñicpis pihca mita
taquircan huacaspa tucoy aylloncuna canan
ña may pacham pihca mita taquicoyta huaca
cuytapas puchocarcan chay pachas chay rumi apa
muscanta calliman vischuc carcan cananca
cuti amaña ñocaycoca huañosaccho ñispa [370] chay
ponchaotacmi arañuhuan huaticacoc carcan y
mamantam cay runa huañopuan ñispa chaymi
pay piñaptinmi chay piñaptinmi ñispapas ñip
tin chaycunacta paria cacacta ñiptinpas o may
quintac ñiptinpas chaycama coynhuan yma yman
huanpas puchocac carcan cay chicactam cay hua
ñuc runacunamanta yachanchic
[371] chaymantam canan guaro cheripi o quintipipas
cay todos santos ñiscanchicpi ygleçiapi coñicllac
ta churapuson ñispa papactapas yanospa chayman
ta charquincunactari alli huchoyucta runap mi
concampac yna churapuncu camchacta aycha
yanuscactapas chaymantari çapa runanpi huc
cantarillo ashuantauan caycuna ñiscanchic
ta churaspaca paicuna vnamchaptinca ayan
cunahc micon chayta yuyaspataccha coñic
llata cama ymactapas aycactapas churaponcu
[372] CAPI(TUL)O 29 YMANAM HUC
YACANA SUTIOC HANAC PACHA
MANTA HURAYCUMON YACOCTA
HUP

F 99 R

HUPYAIPAC CHAYMANTARI
HUAQUININ COYLLORCUNACTA
HUANMI RIMASON YMA SU
TINTAHUANPAS
cay yacana ñiscanchicsi llamap camaquin çi
eloñicta chaupicta purimon ñocanchic runacuna
pas riconchicmi ari yanalla hamocta chaymanta
chay yacana ñiscanchicsi mayo hucocta purimon
ancha atunmi ari yanayaspa çieloñicta yscay
ñauiyoc concanpas ancha hatun captin hamun
caytam runacuna yacana ñincu [373] cay yacana
ñiscanchicsi ña huc runap cussinpi venturan cap
tin paysaua hurmamuspa mayquin pucyollaman
tapas yacucta vpyac chaysi chay runa ancha mill
huasapa ñitimuptin chay millhuanta huaquinin
runaca tirac [374] cay ricachicuysi tuta cac ynaspas cayan
ti pacha pacarimuptinca chay millhua tirascanta ricuc
ricuptinsi chay millhuaca ancaspas yuracpas yana
pas chumpipas yma ymana ricchaccuna millhuas ta
cu tacu cac caytas canan mana llamayoc caspapas
tuylla ranticuspa pachan ricuscanpi tirascanpi mu
chac carcan ña muchaspas huc china llamacta
horcontauan ranticoc chay rantiscallanmantas
ñahca yscay quimça huaranca llamamanpas chayac
cay ñiscanchictaca ancha ahca runactas ñaupa pa
cha cay tucoy proui(nci)api yna ricachicurcan [375] cay ya
ca ñiscanchictacsi chaupi tuta mana pipas yachaptin
mama cochamanta tucoy yacocta vpyan mana
vpyaptinca hutcallas tucoy ynantin mundocta
pampahuahhuan [376] cay yanaca ñiscanchicpi aslla
yanalla ñaupac rin chaytam yutum ñincu
chaymantari cay yacanatacsi huahuayoc hua
huanpas ñoñocuptinsi rihcan chaymantam
quimça coyllor checalla rin chaytam condormi

F 99 V

ñincu ytatacmi suyuntuytapas guamantapas
[377] chaymantam chay cabrillas ñinchic chaytam
<ancha> atuchac cama hamuptinca canan hua
ta pocoymi cason ñincu huchochac cama amuptin
ri ancha muchoymi cason ñincu huaquinin coy
llor muyo muyolla hamuctam pihca conqui ñispa
ñincu [378] huaquin coyllormi ari ancha atuchac
ca(ma) amon chaytam canan poco huarac villca
huarac cancho huarac ñispa sutiachinco cay
caycunactas ñaupa pacha cayca camacmi
ruracmi ñispa runacuna huaquinillan
muchac carcan huaquininric cay ñiscanchic
huacacunacta caymantas astauan yalli
chisac ñispas cay coyllorcunacta muchac carcan
ña sicamuptin chay<> tutari mana aslla
pas puñospa cay chicallactam yachanchic
[379] CAPI(TUL)O 30 YMANAM ALLAUCAP
COCHAMPI YSCAY HUACA CARI HUAR
MI TIAN PORUIPI CAYCUNAP CAS
CANTAM QUILLCASSON
ancha ñaupa pachas huc runa anchi cara sutioc
carcan cay anchi cara ñiscanchicsi <> huc pucyo
purui sutiocpi yacucta tiamun cay allaucacu
nap chacranman hamuncampac cay hina
tiaptinsi huc huarmica surcoñicmanta picoy
huarmi hamurcan cay huarmip sutinmi
huayllama [380] cay huayllama ñiscanchicsi chay
purui ñiscanchicpi chayaspa <> tura ñocap
chacraymanca ancha pisim yaco hamun cam
llacho caypi yacocta pusanqui ñocaycoca
ymahuanmi causayman ñispas chay

F 100 R

quiquin pucyo hucopi tiaycorcan [381] chaysi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchic<p>ca alli sumac huarmi cap
tin tuylla enamoraspa alli simipitac napai
corcan chaysi chay huarmica manatac chay
yacocta cayman cacharijta munarcancho y
na captinsi panatac ama pani hinaycho yma
huanmi ñocap churicunaca causanca ñispas alli
simipi <huan>tac napaicorcan [382] yna captinsi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchicpa churincunaca hamuspa
chay yacocta cay<cocha> lliuya cocha ñiscaman vischo
morcan chay quiquin pucyo hurayllapitacmi yscay
huchuylla cocha ña ñiscanchic lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñisca cay lliuya cocha hucupim quimça taua
huchuylla suytucama rumicuna sayancu chaymi
anchi carap churincuna ñisca [383] mana cay churin
cuna yna ñatac ñatac rispa yacocta vischu
munman chayca ancha pisitacsi caymanca lluc
simunman carca <con todo esso> yna captinpas
ancha pisitacmi llucsimun [384] chay pachas cay ñis
canchic anchi cara huarminri huayllama
ña cay yna yacupacri manacoyta pochucaspas
yscaynin huchallicorcancu ña huchallicuspallas
caypitacmi ñocaca viñaypas tiasac ñispas
rumiman chirayarcan cay rumin canancama
pas yna tiancu churin(cuna)pas lliuya cocha vcu
pitac tiancu cay chicallactam caycunamanta
yachanchic [385] ychaca cay quipampi ña cay llacta
pi yachaycuspas huacçacuna allauca ayllomanta
chay purui ñiscanchicman ña tamya mita pucho
captin ric carcancu rarca pichaypac chay pachas
chay huacçacuna ayca runa caspapas ña chayas
pa chay lliuya cocha ñiscanchicta antarintapas
pucuspa chay cocha sauacta tumaycoc [386] ña tumay
cuspas anchi cara yaco tiamucta napaycoc riccu
chaysi simillahuan aslla cocallanta vischupus
pa ñatac cocha sahuaman cutimuc chay cocha

F 100 V

sauas ñatac anchi caracta chaymanta churincu
nactapas chay quiquin lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñiscanchictapas muchaccu [387] ñaupa pachaca lla
manhuan canan quipanri mana llamayoc
caspa coyllanhuan tictillanhuan ymallan
huanpas cay muchacoyta puchocamuspas rarca
allayta callarimurcancu tucoy runacuna cay
chica simillam caycunap cascan pochucan

CONCHA

[388] CAPI(TUL)O 31 YMANAM CAY HANACNIN
CAPITULOPI COCHAP CASCANTA RIMAR
CANCHIC CHAY YNALLATACMI CAY
MANTA CAY CONCHA AYLLOMANTA
YANÇA ÑISCA COCHACTA RIMASON
CAY SIMIRE CAY HINAM
ñaupa pacha cascantaca ymanam cay llactacu
napi yunga runa çapa carcan chay chaycunacta
ca ñam ari huaquinin capitulocunapipas ri
marcanchic cay yna yuncatacsi cay conchap llan
tanpipas tiarcancu [389] yna tiaptinsi ymanam hua
quinin capitulocunapipas rimarcanchic yauri llan
chamantas vichi canchamanta huaquinmi canan
quiñhuamantas ñispa rimancu ynatacssi
cay conchacunapas yauri llancha ñiscanchic
manta pihcca runa yurimurcan (pacha vcumanta) [390] caycunap su
tinmi canan ñaupacninmanta llacsa misa panin

llacxa misa
pauquir buxi
llama tanya
hualla
calla

ri cuno cuyo sutiocsi paihuan hamurcan chay sauam
pauquir buxi chay sahuam llama tanya cay quim
cantim runam ñaupaclla cay llactacta atimur
can chaymantam yscay runatac huauquincu
na hualla sutioc hucri calla sutioc [391] cay yscayninsi
huaquinin huauquincunaca ñaupamuptin

F 101 R

aslla quiparimurcan yna quiparimuspas ñanta
pantaspa yauyoñicman rircancu chaymancha
huauquicuna rincu ñispa chaysi ña hunaymanta
rac cay quimça huauquincunaca chacractapas y
mactapas ña tucoy raquinacoyta puchocaptinrac
cutimurcancu [392] cay hualla ñiscanchicpac churincu
na<m>s cay lazaro puypu rocçi chaymantas chay ñaupac
churi llacxa misa ñisca ña colloypac caspas cay la
zarop aguelon cassa chauca sutioc pai llacxa misap
sobrinon captin yansa ñisca cochacta caytacmi
cay coscajman yalconca ñocaca ñam ari collo
ni ñispas haquiporcan chaymantaracsi paipac
yança cochapas suyon carcan caypim cay hua
lla ñiscanchicta saquinchic [393] cananmi chay quim
ca runa hamuscanta chayamuscantauanpas rima
son yma ñam ñaca ñircanchic yuncacunas car
can ñispa chay ynas chay pachaca cay yansa
cochamanta yaconta pusamuspa ancha ya
conpas sobra captin chay llantapa horcup si
quincama yaconpas chayaptinsi ancha cusicus
pa causarcancu [394] yna causaptinsi cay quimça
runa ñiscanchic chay yuyacnin llacxa misa
ñisca ña may pacham yauri llancha ñiscapi
pachamanta yurimurcan chay pachas huc ru
mi chucuyoc yurimurcan caypac sutinmi llacsa
yacolla carcan cay llacça yacolla ñiscanchicta
apacuspas chay quimça runa ñiscanchic hamurcan
[395] chaysi chay yança hanacninpis yana pucyo sitioc
chaypi chayamurcan chaysi paicunaca chayllapi
tiacorcancu vpiacuspa chaysi cay yunca runa
cunaca chaypim quimça runa tiacon ancha man
chaypac ñicta vyarispas huaquinin runacuna
ricoc rircancu [396] yna ricuptinsi chay llacxa misa
ñiscanchicca chay chucon llacxa yacolla ñiscan
ta ricochircan chay runaman chayta ricuspa
llas chaycunaca tucoynin tuylla huañurcan

F 101 V

yna huañocta ricuspas huaquinin runacu
na pi ricpas ynatac huañomuptinsi chay yun
cacuna ñiscanchicca hacochic risontac
caymanta chay 3 runacuna tarihuahchuan
chayca tucoytam collochihuahchuan ñispas
mancharispa llactantapas chacrantapas yna
lla saquispa miticarcancu [397] cay yna miticas
pas huc yunca runaca manam sutintaca yachan
chiccho cay runas huc churinta tuta miticaspa
concha sicapi saquircan yaçali sutiocta [398] huc huac
cha vyhuascallanta aparispas <y>cay yaçali
ñiscanchicpa yayanca miticarcan chaysi
ña chay(chimpa) capari caya ñahca yana siriman vichay
cunapi pacha pacariptin ricsircan chaysi chay
ca chay huaccha vyhuascallan carcan chaysi
ancha huacaspa manatac cutinampas ya
chacuptin ynallatac ripurcan [399] chay pachas
cay saquisca huamra yaçali ñiscanchicca
chay concha sica cruz sayan chay oculla
pi pacacorcan huamra caspa ancha mancha
rispa chay pachas cay quimça runa ñis
canchicca chay llactaman chayarcancu
ña chayaspas huasinta ymantapas cona
cuspas chay pacha llacxa misaca chay huamrata
tarimorcan [400] chaysi churi ama llaquicho ñoca
huanmi tianqui chay huaquinin huauquicuna
huañochison ñispa ñihuaptinpas ñocam
amachascayqui ychaca ñocap llamaytam
michinqui ñispas ñircan chaysi cay huamrac
ta chay huaquinin huauquincunaca ricuspa
huañochontac cay huamraca porqui caymi
caya mincha ñocap chacraymi pachaymi ñis
pa ñihuahhuan ñispas ancha chicnispa ñir
cancu [401] chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchicca
manam ymapacmi hañochison yallin ca
usacochon caymi yma ayca causascantapas
chac

F 102 R

chacrantapas ymantaps aycantapas ricuchihua
sson ñispas ñircan [402] chaysi chaycunaca mana
tac munarcancho huañochuntac ñispa chaysi
chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca piñarispa hua
uqui ñam chica mita ñiqui pactah tulloyquipas
cochañicman rinman ñocam causachon ñini
ñispas ñircan chayracsi huaquinincunapas vpa
llarcan [403] chaysi chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca chay huam
racta llamanta michichispa causachircan yna michis
pas chay yauri llanchamanta cuno cuyo llaxsa misap cuno cuyo
panin hamuchuan tinquinacorcan yna captinsi
quipampi ña yuyac tucospaca oma pacha ñisca
yauri llanchamanta hamucpacpas yañca carcan
cay yaçali huamra ñiscanchicsi x(Christob)al chauca guamanpac
aguelon carcan [404] chaymantam canan cay oma
pacha ñiscanchictaca ymanam checacunapas hua
yo ñiscacta churaspa pihcca ponchao taquircan
ynallacsi paicunapas taquircan chaymanta
chuta ñiscacta vihcohuan sitaspapas caripac
huarmipac sayachispa chaymantari llamapac
ri hinatac [405] chaymanta huacçacunari yna
tacsi concha sica ñiscanchicpi tiarcancu mitampi pa
ria cacacta chaupi ñamucacta vpiaspapas huc pon
chaollatacsi checacunahuampas pactalla vpiar
cancu cay chicactam caycunap causascanta ya
chanchic
[406] chaymantam canan yança cocha ñiscanchicta
rimason cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicsi ña may pacham
huaquinin huauquincunahuan conchaman chaya
murcan chay pachas yma ayca causaycunacta chas
quispa yança cochacta chasquircan llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chaymantas pauquir buxi ñiscanchic huaychu coto
ñiscacta chasquircan chaymantam llama tanya
ñiscanchicri huyo sana huasicta chasquircan [407] chay
yna caycunacta chasquispam canan causanampac

F 102 V

çapampi callarircancu chaymantam cay llac
xa misa ñiscanchicri yança cocha ñiscacta siruii
ta callarircan chay yança ñiscanchicpis huc hua
collquiri ca collquiri sutioc carcan caycunacta siruiptinsi
cay tucoy conchacunaca miconcampac çaracta call
paporcan viñay huata [408] chay pachas chay collquiri
ñiscanchic huacaca <huc> huarmicta ancha munar
can yna munaspas yauyocamapas chacllacama
pas tucoy ynantin pachacta mascarcan chay yna
mascaspas manatac tarircanchu [409] chaysi huc
ponchaoca cuni raya ñiscanchicca yao caylla
pim sispallapi huarmiquica ñispas ñircan chaysi an
cha cosicuspa rircan chaysi yampilla hana<>(c)nin hur
cumanta chay yampilla ñiscanchicman cahuay
corcan yna cauarispas huc huarmicta ancha
collananta taquicocta ricorcan cay huarmip su
tinsi capyama carcan<can> [410] chaysi cay hina chi
ca sumacta ricuspa tuylla soncompi caytacmi
huarmi canca ñispa yuyacorcan ynaspas huc
muchachontaca rij churi chay huarmicta villamuy
llamayquim huc <china> orco llamallacta huachan
ñispa villayconqui chaymi payca tuylla ha
munca ñispas cacharcan [411] yna cachaptinsi chay
runaca rircan ña chayaspas mamay llamay
quim hanac orcullapi huachan ñispa villaptin
si ancha cosicuspa tuylla huasinman chica
cacharcan chaypis <huan> curi huancarantapas
chaopipi churaycuspa yscay huchuylla coca hua
yacallanta huchlayninman choraycucuspa
chaymantari huc purongo ashuallanta aparispa
ancha vtcaspa hamurcan cay purongo ñiscanchictam
conchaconaca lataca ñincu [412] chaysi cay huaca
collquiri ñiscanchicca yna amucta ricuspa an
cha cusicuspa tuylla cay yança ñiscaman cu
timurcan chaysi chay chay muchachon ñiscanchicca

F 103 R

chay huarmicta pusamuspa ñahcam chayanchic
cayllapim ñispas llullaspa pusamurcan [413] chaysi
cay collquiri ñiscanchicca huc callcallo tucuspa chay
<yança> yampilla hanacnin hurcupi suyarcan chay
si ña chayaspa cay huarmica chay callcallucta api
sac ñircan yna apisac ñiptinsi chayman cayman
as asilla pauarispa mana apichicorcancho [414] ynaspas
quipampica apircantac apispas micllaricurcan cayta
apispas chay rataca ñiscanmanta ashuanta sichay
corcan cayta sichaycuptinsi tuylla chay sichascanpi
pu<y>cyo ña tucorcan chay pucyos canancamapas
ratac tupi sutioc [415] chaysi chay callcallo hucllaycus
canca chay huarmip vicsan hucopi hatun tucomur
can ancha vicsantapas nanachispa yna captinsi
cayca ymah ñispa ricuptinsi chay pachaman hur
mascampica huc cari alli sumac huamralla ricurir
can chaysi tuylla pana ñocactam hucllaycoarcanq(ui)
ymanasonmi ñocam cayachimurcayqui ñispas
ancha misqui siminhuan napaicorcan [416] chaysi huarmi
ri ynatac tuylla enamorarcan payhuan yna caspas
puñorcancu ña puñospas canan cay yança cocha llactan
man pusamurcan chaymantas canan yayanca ma
manca turancunapas ayllonpas maymanmi rircan
ñispa huacaspa cama mascarcancu [417] yna mascaspas
ancha hunaymantarac huc yampilla runa llucaua
sutioc churiquica ancham villcayan ymanpas aycan
pas cosayucmi ñispa villaptinsi tuylla hamurcan
chaysi ña tarispa ymapacmi churita panita suhua
muarcanqui camcho tucoy ynantin llactacunacta
saycuspa mascachihuanqui ñispas ancha piñaspa
cananmi cutichisac ñispa ñircan [418] yna ñiptinsi
yaya huauqui ancha chicantatacmi mana cam yayai
ta villascaymanta anyahuanqui ymactam cos
cayqui huasictacho cayri chacractacho llamactacho
runactacho chauaractacho corictacho collquictacho

F 103 V

yma ymactam munanqui ñispas munachircan [419] y
na munachiptinsi manatac ymallactapas vñir
canchu chaymantas mana vñispa<s> panantaca
cotichisactacmi ñispa ñircan ñiptinsi panan
ca manam cutimancho ñocapas tucoy soncoyhuan
mi cosayacorcani ñispa ñiptinsi [420] chay collquiri
ñiscanchic carica yaya manatacmi huarmita
quichohuanquimancho ñam ari tucoy yma ay
cactapas coscayqui ñispa ñircayqui manacho
huco ricta coyquiman ñiptinsi chay huarmip
turancuna tiascanpi huc runa quipalla tiamuc
rimarican yaya hu ñijtac ymahc chay huco
ric ñispas allimanta rimanacorcancu [421] chayssi
yuyacnin rimarimuspa allitacmi churi ynatac chu
rita huarmayai chay ñiscayquicta pochocanquitac
ñispallas cotircan [422] chaysi pihcantin ponchaopim
ñatac riconacoson llactayquipi yaya ñispa ñircan
chaysi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca simincama pihc
cantin ponchaopi hucota cama rircan yampillañic
man chaysi ña carota rispa maytah ña rini
ñispas hahuaman llucsita munarcan apar
huayqui chay chimpapi chaysi ñahcca ahuaman
vman quispictintacsi yacoca hahuañicman
fuente yna pacchamorcan [423] chaysi ñatac aslla
antallahuan llutaycuspa hucoñicmantac
cutircan yna hucotacama rispas yampilla
hanacnin sauapi llucsircan chay llucsiscan
pucyos canancamapas chay huarmip sutin
ta capyama ñiscacta apan [424] chay capyama
ñiscanchicmantas ancha ahca yaco llucsispa
tucoy yampillacunap chacranta apayta mu
narcan yma ayca ocan chaquictapas quinhuan
maçarayactapas ymallantapas tucoysi apapurcan
chaysi chay yampillacunaca ancha piñaspa
ymapacmi chay ynacta hu ñimurcanquiya

F 104 R

tuylla cutichicoy ña yachascam canchic yna pisi
yacoyucpas ñispas tucoy runacuna rimarcancu
[425] yna rimaptinsi chay capyamap yayancuna
ca chay quiquin <pucyo> (llactan)manta cayar(can) maça tu
coy runacunam piñapayahuan amatac chica
yacocta cachamuycho vihcay, yao collquiri
chay yacocta vihcaytac ñispas cayarcancu [426] y
na cayaptinsi collquirica titahuanpas yma
huanpas vihcarcan yna vihcaptinsi ñatac
ñatac tunimurcan yaco atipamuspa yna cap
tinsi chay huramantaca vihcay ñispa caya
payamuptinsi ñatac quiquin collquiri
yaicuspa yacollantapas chuquirispa chaopi
pi tiaycorcan [427] yna tiaycuptinracsi asllapas
chaquirircan chay pucyos canan chay collqui
rip yacollanta passamuspa suysusca yna ya
copas llucsimon cayta quirpaicoptinsi hua
quinin pucyocunamantapas chay chay qui
tipica llucsircan ñaupacca manas carcancho
[428] chaymantas canan cay concha llactayoc runa
cunaca yacon chaquiptin ñatac piñayta ca
llarircancu ymapacmi cay yaconchicta cocon
ñocanchicca ymahuanmi causason ñispa
chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchic yaco camayoc
taca yao llacxa misa ymapacmi cay yacocta
chaquichimunqui runaconaca ymahuanmi
causanca ñispas cochaman vischorcan tucoy
conchacona [429] chay pachas collquiri ñiscanchic
huacaca chay ynacta ricuspa chicantacmi pai
cunaca ymahuanmi causanca ñispas ña
tac huc huamranta rapacha sutiocta cama
chircan ñispa cay cochacta aslla chay man
yanmanta vcupi huraman allpacunacta
rumicunactapas vrmachi chaypi hunancha
son cay concha runacunap causancampac
ñispas ñircan [430] chaysi chay rapacha ñiscanchicca

F 104 V

chay cochacta aslla pascaycorcan ña pascasca
captinsi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca tuylla
pircaycorcan hurañicmanta atun pircacta
ruraspa chay pircas canan mana allpayoc
canancamapas cay cochap siminsi [431] pihca pacha
caytas cay llacxa misa ñisca runacta alli hunan
chachircan cayman yaco chayaptinmi cochap
siminta quirpanqui chaymantari cay chica
pachapim ñatac cay yacocta hura chacraman
pusanqui ña ynti sicamuptinmi cay yacoc
ta cacharinqui canan pihca mitallam par
conca añay saracta caypacmi camta cama
chiqui ñispas chay vnanchan rumicunacta
allin ricsichircan [432] yna ricsichictinsi canan
camapas paypac paypac churincunapas tucoy
nin catinacuspa chay costumbrellatac canan
camapas catincu chay cocha tupunan ñincum
runacuna caspictari turca caya ñincutacmi chay
si chay rumisaua yma yna ruranampacpas alli
yachacochisca chayta chayasparaccha alli ñauinchic
huan ricohhuan [433] chaymantas canan conchaco
na ña março quilla chay chaypi chay cochap
siminta vihcaypac llucsin tucoy cari huarmi
cay tupucoy ñiscampacsi cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chica pacham canca ñispa yma ñispapas
hunancharcan paypac simillantas tucoy concha
cunapas y ñispa rircancu [434] caypac yañca cap
tinsi ña mitampica paipac simincamalla
yma ayca camachicoypas carcan ña par
coypacri cananmi canca chica ponchaomi canca
ñispas pailla chayta camachicorcan conchari
simincamallatac tucoypas rurarcancu [435] canan
cocha chaupi tuta pahyamuptinpas ri cam
pac suyoiquim ñispas cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicpac churincunacta mayquin tiaptinpas
carcoc carcan chaylla oficion captinsi pon

F 105 R

chaopas tutapas paicunapas chayllacta cama yu
yarcancu sarampacpas callpaptin runacuna
pas ancha pai captinmi causanchic ñispa man
chaptin [436] chaymantari cay llacxa misa ñis
canchicsi pana churincunapas pactah cay ya
co cochamanta pahyamunman ñispas an
cha cuydadouan huacaycharcan ña ñispa
pachyamuptinsi yansapi cac yaco mayo
man yaicuptinca tuylla caça ataric
yna yaicuptinca caçarcantacsi cayrai
cus alli cuydadohuan huacaycharcan
[437] chaymantari cay ña ñiscanchic yna chay yança
cochacta quirpaipacpas ña yacocta cachamuypac
pas hua(c)çacunaca rircantacsi ychaca cay ña quir
paipacca tucoy ynantin runas llucsircan huarmi
cunari ña chayaspas cocanta çapampi churac
carcan ashuantari çapampitac [438] caycuna churas
cantam cay yança ñiscanchicpas yañacan tu
coyta chasquircan huc llamactari ynatacsi
apac carcan coyconactari tictictapas yma
ayca muchanancunactapas tucoytas aparcan
chaysi ña tucoyta juntayta pochucaspas yllacnin
cunactari tucoytatac quipuspa, chay yancac
ta muchayta callarircan [439] yaya collquiri cam
pam cochayqui<pacta> campactacmi yacoyqui
canan huata allitac yacocta coay ñispas mu
charcan ña muchayta puchocaspas ashuanta vp
yac cocantapas acoc carcan chaymantas cari huar
mi chay cochacta quirpaita callarircan [440] chaymantam
canan ña yaco cachamuna captinri yscay quim
ca huacçacunahuansi viñaylla pihcca mitapas
ric carcan cay ñaupaclas huc runa huarmipas
as atun chacraman yaicocsi ashuacta aton puyño
uan apac carcan coyntari huc yscayllacta cocan
tauan cayconahuan muchaspas yacocta cacha
muc carcan cay chica simictam cay yança ñiscan

F 105 V

chicmanta yachanchic [441] chaymantam canan
yachanchic cay conchaconaca paria caca tutay qui
rip ancha sullca pisi yupai churillansi chaysi cay
pachancunactapas chacrantapas ancha pisillata
tac corcan [442] huacça ñiscanchic paria cacap
chaupi ñamucap mitampipas chancu ñiscacta
pas ymanam checacuna ruran yna
llatacmi paiconapas rurancu chaytaca ñam
ari tucoytapas huaquinin capitulocunapi ri
marcanchic
[443] chaymantam canan yachason cay quimca runa ñis
canchicpac churincunacta chay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicca tucoysi collorcan ña colluypac captinsi
ñaca ñircanchic hina paipac sobrinoncuna
cuno (co)yo ñiscanchicpac huahuancuna yayanri
yaçali sutiocpa churincunactas huarmayarca hua
lla ñiscap churincuna yaoyoñicmanta cotimuspa
[444] cay hualla ñiscan ancha quiparac cay hualla ñiscap churincuna
chicpac churincu m ari lazaro puypu rocçi- [445] chaymantam ca
na lazaro puypu nan pauquir buxi ñiscanchicpac churincuna
roçi chay llacxa mi canan ñau paico chay chaycuna causan, chay
ssa ñiscanchicman mantam canan llama tanya ñiscanchicpac
yaicuptinca mana churincunam canan <casin chauca> ruri cancha casin
ñas hualla ñisca chauca tacya cancha cay quimça yumay ñiscas
ca cancho huc huar cay llama tanya ñiscanchicpac churincuna
millas chaypas ma [446] chaymantari chay hualla ñiscanchictaca ñam
na huachacoc cau ari rimarcanchic lazaro puypu rocçicta chayman
san anya rurip tam calla ñiscanchicpac churincunam
huarmin canan g(onzal)o paucar cassa lazaca canya chay chay
cuna cay chica runam ari miramun pihca runa
<h>yauri llanchamanta amucpac churincuna
cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicpac churincuna
llam ari tucoy collosca cay llacxa misam cani
ñispam ari cay lazaro huallap churincuna
cay oficiocta heredan sanin cascanrayco
cay chicallactam cay conchap cascancunacta ya
chanchic---- FIN

F 108 R

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[447] ñaupa pacha canancamapas tucoy hinantin llactacunapi
may pacham huc runa huc yoriillapi yscayta huachachin
pana cari huarmicta mana ñispari cari puracta mana ñispari
huarmi puracta(pas) caytaca sapampi quipampiracmi villason cay
hina ñisca yuriccunactam curi ñinchin [448] cay hina yurip
tin(mi) may llactapi concayllamanta yuriptinpas chay tutalla
tac llactanman chayachimuc carcan ymanam sucya canchapi
tumnapipas yurinman chayca ñaupa pachaca tuyllatacmi
llacxa tambo ñisca checap llactanman apamuc carcan [449] cayta apa
muspari manatacmi ponchaoca apamuccho carcan pactach<hilan>
pacha casanman ñispa ynataccha tucoy quitipipas musyasca rurancu
chaymantari ña may pacham curi ñisca yurircan chay pacha
llatacmi huc huasi ocupi quimchasca ancha tutayacpi tiayta
huc manyanmanta callarircancu(yayan maman) caripas huarmipas mana cuyurispa asta
esto es de un lado ci pihcca ponchaocama [450] chay pihcca ponchaopim hucman ña ticrac
rispa carcan chay ponchaopitacmi tucoy masancuna chay curip
huasinpi huñonacoc carcan taquispa huancarnintapas
quiquin huactaspa manam canan hinacho huarmicuna
huactac carcan sino caricunam manarac caycunacta
pas taquijta callarispatacmi supayta tapuc carcan(cu)
arañohuampas pana charapi ñiscahuanpas cay masan
cunamanta maycanmi ñaupac taquispa pusarinca [451] < chay>
huaquin chaypi (tiac masan)cunacta chaymi paypac simincama pihcca runacta
hacllaspa señalac carcan(cu) caycunari ña may pacham
huyarircan chay pachallatacmi tutauan punchaohuan
mana samaspa yma aycanta rantichispapas cocacta
mascac carcan<>cu ynatac huaquinin masacunapas
yallinacoyllata yuyaspa ayca runa caspapas tucoynin
huñonacoc carcancu [452] ynaspa ymanam anacpipas hucman
ticrar(can) ñinchic chay punchaomantam tucoy tutancuna ña taquij
ta mana samarcancho asta pihca ponchao chayascancama
manarac chayaptin cayantin ponchaopim masacuna (cara) hua
yacanta ricuchinacuc carcan cayhuanmi caya cocacta apa
risac ñic hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic
carcan(cu) chaymi ña may pacham chay hucman ticrarcan
chaymanta canan huc pihcca ponchaoman huntaycon chay
mi ari chunca ponchao [453] chay pacham ñaupacnintac huc
lluychucta tarucactapas yma ayca animalcunacta
pas

F 108 V

sallcapi cactaca apimuspa chaytam chay pihca runa ñiscanchic
masacuna chaycunap ñaupaquin apaptin pampaman chay cu
ri llocsic carcan [454] hucmi chay caracol (paya) ñiscacta pucospa ric car
es la uara con el la — cancu hucmi pupunacta apaspa ric carcan hucmi sacaya
zo q(ue) coje papaga — ñiscacta apaspatac rircan cay sacaya ñiscaca aslla sara
yos pero co(n) lazo — cutascam carcan aslla tictihuan caytam huc runatac aparcan cay
ni tan largo — cunacta apaccunaca manam masacunacho aparcan sino chay
curip sispa aylloncunam aparcan ychaca chay lloychullactam
masap ña ñisca ñaupaquin aparcan [455] cay lloychucta apimuspa chay
pachallatacmi chay curip qu(e)mchasca huasipi tiascanmanta cha
quinhuan saruchic carcan caymi ña tacurisonqui apllasonq(ui)
y luego lo sacauan — ñispa ynaspam aychantaca tuyllatac tucoy hinantin runa
y matauan — cuna micoc carcancu mana asllactapas puchuspa
[456] chaymantam (canan) ymanam ñacapas ñinchic chay hina ña chon
ca ponchaopi pampaman llocsic carcan quipampi chay curi
cuna huc atun yma pachahuanpas pintusca mana ricurispa
riptinmi runacunaca pana masacunapas yscay quimça aysa
nacuspa huacaspa taquispa ric carcancu cay aysacri chay
curip aylloncunactam aysac carcan aysaspari huc chacrac
ta ymactapas llamactapas cuscayqui ñispam aysanacuc
carcan [457] chaymi pampapi ña chayaspa ymanam canan
la manga de la + — pas mangacta ñaupac proçeçionta rispa apanchic yna
tacmi chay lluychoctapas ancha sumachispa apac carcan
esto es el pellejo — pupunactam canan lansacta yna chayhuan chucasac ñic
y cabeça embutida — yna camaycuspa camaycuspa apac carcan tucoymantapas ñau
de paja porq(ue) ya — pacnin chay camaycuspari curictam quipa amuptin camaycor
la carne era co — can [458] chaymantam canan ña may pacham chay lluycho apac chay
mida como se ha — pi pampapi chayarcan chaymi huc runa huarmipas chay curip
d(ic)ho — aylloncuna huc llamacta pana chacracta cuspapas sama
chic carcan cayhuan samay ñispa ynaspam chay curiri pay
pa tianan vnanchascaman chayaspa yscaynin cosantin
huarmintin tiac carcan ancha alli yupaychasca [459] chay pun
chaupim tucoy hinantin masancuna cocahuan yallinacus
pa taquic opiac carcancu tucoy ponchao chaymi ña chisimanta
ñatac huasinman cutimuspam ñatac chay quiquin tiascanmantac
cutic carcan chaymantam canan ñatac pihca ponchao tiarcan
ña pihcca ponchao huntaycoptinmi ñatac <huc tiana> (aposento)man
asuchic carcan [460] chaymantam ñatac chay quipampi masa
cuna yamtacta ancha atun collo camacta apamuc car

can

F 109 R

ynatac ñaupacninpas may pacham curi yurircan chay
cayantillan caytam ñaupac simipi concarcanchic cay
las yamtacunactari tucoy tutancuna cayta masaspa
q(ue) con esto pacarinca pactach yma huatica ymanpas chayanman
q(ue) ha de estar ñispam cayta (ca)corcan hinatac quipancamapas mana
al principio tacmi huc tutallapas nina huañurcancho [461] cay tucoyta
ña puchucaspam quipampi ñatac chay curicunacta
yayancunactapas chay supayninta tapuspa maypim armachimusac
<ñispa> huchanmanta ñispam pusarcan paypac simin
esto es de donde viene cama yansa cochamantacsi hord(enad)am(en)(de) pusac carcan[462]chay
el agua de los conchas pis canan chay huc runa con churi sutioc supaypa saçer
dotin pachacta tapuc carcan ymamantam curi
yurircan yma ayca huchanmantan ñispas tapor
esto es la opinion del can cay curi yuric runactaca huañuynin rantim
vulgo no la respu yurin ñispas runacuna ñircancu [463] <chaysi> chayssi chayman
esta tam caymantam ñispa yscayninta armachic car
canco ynatac chay yscay huahuacunactapas
ñatac ñatac armachispa asta qui chicallam
huchan ñiscancama yma yna chiripi huañuna
yaptinpas [464] ña caycunacta puchucaspa carictaca
chucchanta rutuc carcan huarmictaca asllacta
carictaca ymanam huchayoccunacta rutunqui
yna chayssi huachay rucoyuc ña cutimuc carcancu
chaymantari huc huallcacta yana yurachuan cay
a manera de cadena chuscactas huallcarichircan curip hunanchaynin
de oro ta [465] cunaspari huc huata enterom sasinque a
matac campas campas pillahuanpas huchallicon
qui huchallicuspaca ancha mana allictam ruran
ni entre ellos quiman casem masanchiccunacta saycuchinqui
man ñispas conaycuc carcan [466] chaymantas ña
patman huata caspa ñatac allichus tian ñis
achcan pa chay saçerdote runatac huaquinin a<n>chca runa
cunahuan tapuc carcan supayninta chaysi alli
captinca ancha cosicorcan <mana alli captinsi>ynaspa pu
q(ue) tuieron coito ñiorcantacmi ñiptinsi canan allinta anyac
carcan [467] chay masacunapas anchapuni piñacus
pa ymaraycum ñiocanchictaca cassi saycochihuanchic

F 109 V

ñispas anchapuni piñacuc carcancu
chaymantam canan ñatac <huc huata captinca>chay huatap huntascancama yna
tac huaticac carcan chay pacharacsi chay huallcan
taca cuchupuc carcan ynallas puchucarcan
[468] chaymantam ñatac ñaca ñiscanchicta tincuchison
cari pura yuriptinca pana huarmi pura yuriptin
pas manam alli pachacho canca ancha muchoy
pacham canca ñispam ñic carcancu chayman
ta cari huarmi yuriptinmi allipac hunan
charcancu
[469] chaymantari yma chicam canan masacuna
huc pachamantaca cusicon mana ñaupa pa
cha yna chicacta gastaspa huc pachamanta
ri llaquiconcha mana chay hina ruranicho
ñispa supaypac llullayninhuan huaquin llac
tacunapica manataccha concancho [470] tutapas
yma yna pachapas ynatac llama yuriptinpas
sutintari sapamanta yma curim canca ñis
pas supayta tapuc carcan chay supaypa
sutichascanmi curi ñaupapas curi yauripas
curi guamanpas ticlla curipas yma ayca su
ti cacpas curihuan rimaricca yna sapatacssi
caripas huarmipas--[471] chaymantari yma chi
cam runacuna collquiyoc (cananca) ñaupa mana
rac cay alli diospac siminta hunanchaspa
paria cacap mitanpi pana yma aycap
mitanpipas tucoy callpanhuan yma ayca
cascallantapas cocarayco rantichispa collqui
llantari chayraycollatac mascaspa canan
ca pa(na) quimça tahua huata(lla) samaptinpas huac
chacunari tucoy hinantin huatancunapi lla
quicuspa maymantah cocacta tarisac ñispa
ynataccho pincay casac ñispa chacrantapas

F 110 R

pachantapas rantichispa mascarcan chayta
cayta purispa huanacumanpas rispa lloy
chuctapas sasispa mascaspa [472] chayraycu
llatac ynaspa tucoy hinantin yuyascan
tapas supaynintaracmi ñaupac alli sasis
pa maymantam tarisac huanacuancho
cayri chacraytacho pachaytacho huacllichi
sac ymanam casac ñispa tapuspam an
chapuni musyasca trauajopi puric car
canco [473] cananca huc yuyaymanta mana
chicacta yuyaspa manatac ymallanta
pas chayrayco rantichispa anchapunihc
cusicon huc pachamantah chayca ancha
huacan ymaraycohc mana chayta rura
nicho ñispa [474] chaypa mitanpica tutapas y
ma yna pachapas may pachah macoy llen
co chay pacham canca ñispa ñircan chay
pachallatacmi runacuna ancha cusi
cuspa cochocuspa ari machucu(na)pas an
cha chachuaspas tictinta ymantapas apas
pa ric carcancu ñaupa huasipi oplanan
captinpas pana caypi cancanpacpas
[475] chaymanta cay llactallapitaccha chaytapas tu
ta ruraspa(pas) aslla huananman hahua llactacuna
pica hinataccha ruran(cu) ñispam yuyanchic
oyarinchicpas

F 112 R

[476] JHS

ata ñispaca huamrap chucchampi parca
yurictam ata ñinchic cay hina yuric
(pel)os se les — tam canan chay huamrap yayancuna
ua pa atras — ña quimça huata captin huñonacoc
huasimpi o canchampi pacsac punchao
manta ñaupac paypac cacancunac
ta o masancunactapas huyarichispa
chay punchaupim cay paria cacap <>
atanta yllanta rutuson ñispa
ylla ñispaca ata ñiscallantatacmi
hunanchanchic [477] chay hina ña tucoy
ta huyarichicuspam ashuacuyta ca
llarincu ashuaconmi media saracta
o huc hanigacta<pas> ñicta huyaris
paca quiquin runacunallatacmi
tapunacuc ymapacmi ashuan ñispa
ña yachaspam canan yma punchao
pich fiesta canca chay punchao tucoy
hinantin runacuna huñonacumuc
[478] ynaspam canan chay <h>atayuc ru
naca masancunahuan tucoy cacan

F 112 V

cunahuampas hu<y>rañicmanta tiaspa
taquicuyta opiachicuyta callaric chay
mi ña may pacham ancha machanco
chay pacham huc fresadacta o titacta
pas mantapuspa chay huamracta cha
upiman yaycuchispa tiachic cay simic
ta rimaspa yayacuna huauquicuna
cay ata yllacta canan punchautac ru
tuson paria cacap chaymanta tutay
quirip atan yllanmi ari paytacmi ari
ñocaman cachamuarca cay hina yu
rincampac ñispam rimaric [479] chay pa
cham chay huamrap<a> sispa cacan cari
captin huarmi captinri paypac ypan
mana ñispari aguelo o aguelanpas sa
yarispa huc llamahuan o chacrahuan
pas huc señalllanta churaspa chay a
tacta tejerahuan camaycuc chay
llama ñiscanchicpac hunanchay

cothuato
es cabresto
de llama

ninmi canan huc cothuato ñisca
ymahuammi llamacta paria cacaman
pusarca chayhuan [480] chacrap huna<y>nchaynin
tam canan huc caxo ñisca<huan>cta chu
rapuc carcan cay caxo ñiscaca huc cas
pillam huarmip allacunallan chay
mantam huaquinin sispa yahuar ma
sincunam yacullahuanpas cusmahuan(pas)

F 113 R

ouejahuanpas o millhuahuanpas
cascancama ofrecicuc sapampi
sayarispa [481] chaymantam ña may
pachah sispa yahuar masin puchu
can chay pacham curaca o alcal
de culla(na)mantapas sayarispa ys
cay<> rreal o huc rrealtapas chu
raspa sayarimuc hasta puchucas
cancama caycuna astahuan ma
chanca machaspari manam ari y
mallantapas michacuncacho ñispam
ancha hupyachic ña pacha huraycus
cancama [482] chay pacham canan ña
tucoy<> rutucoyta puchocaptin ya
yan chay churinta tucoy rutuc porq(ue)
runacunaca llamcayllam llamcac
ña puchocaspari tuyllam taquicuy
ta callaric machoncunap sutinta
rimarispa yaya anchi puma o carhua
chachapa o yma yma ñispapas cam
pa atayquim yllayquim canan
ca ñam puchocarcani cananman
taca ama ñatac paria caca cacha
muchoncho allitac casac ñispam
taquicuc haucacuc

F 113 V

[483] cay ata ñispaca ylla ñispapas
paria cacap cachanmi ñispas
esto es runacuna hunanchancu cay
la noche antes ta rutuypacri cayantin chisis an
de el dia d(ic)ho cha manchaspa coynhuan tictin
huan ymanhuampas pari cacacta
tutay quiricta muchac allichahuay
tac cay atahuan caya puncahuri an
cha cusiyuctac casac ñispa [484] paycuna
hunanchaptinca curip señalninsi
curi hamuypacsi cay atacta cacha
mun mana alli paria cacaman hu
chanta yuyaycuptin huañonan ran
ti curi yurinca ñispa curi yuricta
ca huañonan rantin yurin ñicmi
ari cay checallatam cay san damian
checa ñiscamanta yachanchic
[485] chaymantari huaquinin llactacuna
piri yma ñispah rimancu ycha
ca ata yuriptinca ynallatac
mi tucoypas cay tucoy corregemiento
pica yupaychancu tucoy may quitipi
pas huancapas yauyopas huaman
tancapas yma runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca

F 114 R

chaymantari ahcca runa ancha co
llanan yanacuna cacpas [486] ynatacmi
limacpi pip churin ata captinpas
huñonacuc chaymanta mestiço
cactapas yachanchictacmi huaqui
nincunacta caytaca ychapas chay
yna alli causana ñispatacmi hua
quinin runacunapas huchaman
chayaycurcancu - chaycunacta ricus
pa ynaspari cay quimça huata
mantam rutuna ñispa ñircanchic
chaytaca yachacuscancamam ñau
pacpas o quipampas rurarcancu
cay chicallam checa simica

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Glossary of Untranslated Words

The following entries correspond to the non-English words italicized in the translation. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Definitions are given where feasible.

alcalde (Spanish): colonial village official (95, 173, 481)
allauca: group name, possibly implying righthand part (moiety?) of a village (157)
añay: a kind of maize (431)
ata: baby with abnormal hair, taken to be a messenger of Paria Caca (476, 478–480, 482–486)
auqui: in this context, untranslated; possibly a ritual ornament or vessel (283)
ayllu: social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies (46, 91, 118, 160, 187, 216, 218, 224, 234–237, 240, 243, 282, 309, 316, 330, 331, 333, 354, 357, 369, 385, 388 [title])
bolas (Spanish): hunting weapon made of stones connected by thongs, which entangle prey's legs when thrown (98, 350)
callcallo: untranslated; grasshopper? (413, 415)
canah yauri: lance? belonging to a mummy-*huaca* (320)
cancho: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caqui: toucan? (207)
casira: unidentified type of straw (327)
cassa: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caullama: class of *huacas* guaranteeing fertility of livestock (329)
caxo: women's digging tool (480)
chicsi rampa: litter belonging to Inca (289, 294)
choqui (Jaqi): gold (283)
chumprucu: turban for ritual wear (240, 294)
chupa: a kind of straw (327)
chuta: large target effigy at which lancers threw spears in the Machua festival rites (330, 331, 333, 335, 338, 404)
cori cacya: seashell-shaped insignia of a mummy-*huaca* (320)
corregimiento (Spanish): administrative district of a *corregidor* or Spanish governor of natives (485)
cot huato: llama harness (479)
curaca: a native political lord or noble (86, 101, 173, 174, 176, 231, 244, 245, 296, 317, 481)
curi: twins, considered messengers from Paria Caca (447, 449, 450, 453–462, 464, 470, 484)
doctrina (Spanish): elementary text of Christian doctrine, to be memorized by Indians; also, a parish of Indians (253)
fanega (Spanish): bulk measure equaling about 1.6 bushels or 58 liters (477)
huaca: a superhuman person; any place, object, image (etc.) embodying a superhuman person (3, 6–8, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 28, 92, 145, 146, 172, 178–180, 182, 183–185, 189, 225, 235–239, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 265, 272, 273, 277, 279, 283, 285 [title], 287–289, 293, 301, 317, 318, 319, 325, 336, 347, 370, 378, 379, 407, 408, 412, 429)
huachay ruco: ceremonial garment probably associated with birth; possible synonym of *huaychao* (464)
huacsa: person appointed to a term of priestly duties that included dancing a reenactment of a *huaca*'s life (117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 126, 131, 132, 135, 149, 150, 159, 160, 162, 183, 213, 220, 245, 297, 300, 346, 347, 385, 386, 405, 437, 440, 442)
huana paya: conch trumpet for use in ceremony; possible synonym of *paya* (325, 337, 340)
huancoy: worm or larva; maggot? (368)
huaychao: a ceremonial garment (240)
huayo: human trophy mask made from flayed face (321, 322, 323, 404)
hugi: untranslated; a dangerous animal that Huallallo Caruincho turned loose to afflict Paria Caca (214, 215)
illa: amulet (or) magical person, such as twins (134, 476, 478, 482, 483)
JHS (Latinized Greek): monogram containing the first three Greek letters of the name Jesus, variously interpreted (476)
lataca: a kind of jar associated with the Concha (411)
llacsa anapalla: fly, perhaps bluebottle (367)
llacsa yacolla: stone helmet (394, 396)
llaullaya: untranslated; agricultural tool? garment? (271)
lúcuma: *Lucuma bifera*, a fruit tree (11)
maca: an edible tuber, probably *Lepidium meyenii* (162)
muro: colored, possibly hard and/or spotted maize (43, 53)

oca: an edible tuber, *Oxalis tuberosa* (424)
padre (Spanish): father; Catholic priest (95, 258)
pana charapi: untranslated; object used in divining with spiders (450)
paya: conch trumpet used in ceremony; *see also* huana paya (454)
pupuna: a device for catching birds, made of a reed or cane with a loop or thong (9, 454, 457)
pusuca: untranslated; an insignia of Maca Uisa (294)
puypu: macaw-wing ornament (131, 333)
quinua: edible grain, *Chenopodium quinua* (302, 303, 389, 424)
quipu: mnemonic device made of knotted cords (283, 438)
quisay rinri: ornamental earspool(?) worn by a mummy-*huaca* (320)
quishuar: a tree, *Buddleia*, used to make ritual enclosures (92)
real (Spanish): Spanish coin, one-eighth of a common *peso* (262, 481)
reducción (Spanish): Spanish-style village into which natives were forcibly resettled, especially c. 1570–1590 (244)
riti: snow (63)
sacaya: sacrifice for *huaca*s made of ground maize mixed with *ticti* or thick maize beer (454)
Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ (Latin): Catholic prayer to Saint Mary (256)
tamta: feather ruff (328)
taruca: a deer, *Hippocamelus antisiensis* (453)
ticti: sacrificial food made of thick maize beer residue (91, 99, 138, 170, 281, 337, 387, 438, 454, 474, 483)
tipsi: ? (283)
urpu: ? (283)
vichoc: left-hand part (moiety?) of a village (157, 337)
vihco: spear(?) used in the rite of spearing *chuta* effigies (328)
villca: high-ranking *huaca* or *huaca* priest (10, 13, 14, 43, 45, 154, 289)
visa: untranslated (shield?); insignia of Chuta Cara (324)
yanca: *huaca* priest by hereditary title (118, 120, 121, 129, 130, 148, 165, 218, 219, 238, 331–333, 335, 339, 403, 434, 438)

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Index

***Note*: This is an index to the translation of the manuscript and does not cover the notes or introduction. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Alphabetization is by English rules. *Ñ* is treated as *n*. *Ch*, *ll*, and *rr* are treated as two characters each and not as single digraph characters as in Spanish.**

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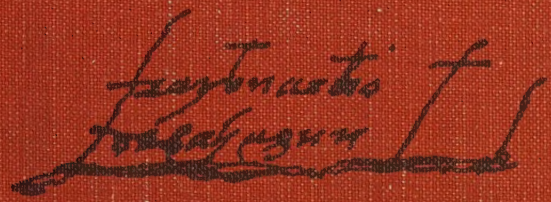

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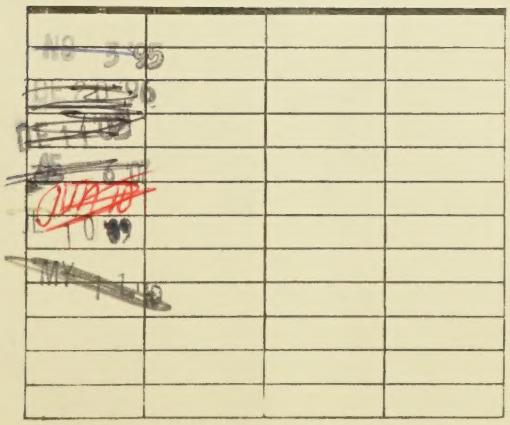

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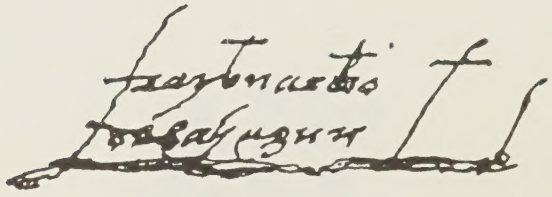

Book 2–The Ceremonies

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations
(Second edition, revised)

By

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON
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BOOK TWO–THE CEREMONIES

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calendario, fiestas, y ceri
monjas, sacrificios, y so
lenjdades: que estos na
turales, desta nue
ua españa, hazi
an: a honrra
de sus dioses.

Ponese al cabo, deste libro, por via de
apendiz: los edificios, officios
y serujcios: y officia
les, que auja
en el templo
mexicano.

De las Cerimonjas

SECOND BOOK, WHICH TREATETH OF THE FEASTS AND SACRIFICES BY WHICH THESE NATIVES HONORED THEIR GODS IN THEIR STATE OF INFIDELITY.

LIBRO SEGUNDO QUE TRATA DE LAS FIESTAS, Y SACRIFICIOS: CON QUE ESTOS NATURALES, HONRRAUAN A SUS DIOSES, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU INFIDELIDAD.

First Chapter, concerning the calendar and the feasts of fixed date, the first of which is the one which followeth.[1]

The first month of the year was called, among the Mexicans, Atl caualo, and in other parts Quauitl eua. This month began upon the second day of February, when we celebrate the Purification of Our Lady. On the first day of this month, they celebrated a feast in honor—according to some—of the Tlaloc gods, whom they held to be gods of rain; [or]—according to others—of their sister, the goddess of water, Chalchiuhtli icue; [or]—according to [still] others—in honor of the great priest or god of the winds, Quetzalcoatl. And we may say that [they celebrated the feast] in honor of all of these. This month and all the rest, which are eighteen [in number], each have twenty days.

Capitulo primero, del canlendario, de las fiestas fixas, la primera de las quales es lo que se sigue.

El primero mes, del año se llamaua entre los mexicanos Atl caoalo: y en otras partes quavitl eoa. Este mes començaua en el segundo dia del mes de Hebrero quando nosotros celebramos, la purificacion, de nuestra señora. En el primero dia deste mes: celebrauan vna fiesta a honrra (segun algunos) de los dioses tlaloques, que los tenjan por dioses de la pluuja: y segun otros de su hermana, la diosa del agua, chalchiuhtli ycue: y segun otros a honrra del gran sacerdote, o dios de los vientos quetzalcoatl: y podemos dezir, que a hõrra de todos estos. Este mes, con todos los de mas, que son deziocho tienen a cada veynte dias.

Atl caualo or Quauitl eua

In this month they slew many children; they sacrificed them in many places upon the mountain tops, tearing from them their hearts, in honor of the gods of water, so that these might give them water or rain.

The children whom they slew they decked in rich finery to take them to be killed; and they carried them in litters upon their shoulders. And the litter went adorned with feathers and flowers. [The

5^2	*d*	KL	**Atl caoalo, o quavitl eoa**	*d*	1^3
1	*e*		En este mes matauan muchos njños	*e*	*2*
2	*f*		sacrificavanlos, en muchos lugares en	*f*	*3*
3	*g*		las cumbres de los montes: sacandoles	*g*	*4*
4	*A*		los coraçones a hõrra de los dioses del	*A*	*5*
5	*b*		agua, para que les diessẽ agua o llujia.	*b*	*6*
6	*c*		A los njños, que matauan: com-	*c*	*7*
7	*d*		ponjanlos con ricos ataujos para lleuar-	*d*	*8*
8	*e*		los a matar, y lleuauanlos, en vnas	*e*	*9*
9	*f*		literas, sobre los hõbros: y las literas,	*f*	*10*

1. The first nineteen chapters, largely a digest of more expanded material in Chapters 20–38, are presented unannotated; most of the translators' notes will be found in this later section. For these nineteen chapters the original has no corresponding Nahuatl text.

2. Marginal notation: *Cuẽta deste calendario.*

3. Marginal notation: *Cuenta del calẽdario romano.*

priests] proceeded playing [musical instruments], singing, and dancing before them.

When they took the children to be slain, if they wept and shed many tears, those who carried them rejoiced, for they took [it] as an omen that they would have much rain that year.

Also in this month they slew many captives in honor of these same gods of the water. They slashed them first, [with their swords,] fighting them as they were tied upon a stone like a mill wheel; and when they threw them down, wounded, they carried them off to tear their hearts from them in the temple which was called Yopico.

When they slew these captives, their owners—they who had taken them—went gloriously arrayed in feathers, dancing before them and showing their valor. This continued through all the days of this month. In this feast were enacted many other ceremonies, which are set down at length in its telling (*fol.* 15).

yuan adornadas con plumajes, y con flores: yuan tañendo, cantando, y baylando delante dellos

Quando lleuauan a los njños a matar: si llorauan, y echauan muchas lagrimas, alegrauanse los, que los lleuauan: porque tomauan pronostico, de que aujan de tener, muchas aguas esse año.

Tambien en este mes: matauan muchos catiuos, a honrra de los mjsmos dioses del agua: acuchillauanlos primero peleando cõ ellos, atados sobre vna piedra, como muela de molino, y desque los derrocauan acuchillados: lleuauanlos a sacar el coraçon al templo, que se llamaua, iopico.

Quando matauan a estos captiuos: los dueños dellos, que los aujan captiuado, yvan gloriosamente ataujados cõ plumajes, y baylando delante dellos, mostrando su valentia. Esto pasaua por todos los dias, deste mes. Otras muchas cerjmonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la larga, en su historja. fo. 15.

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the *calpulco* before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,[1] or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quaquacuiltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their *calpulco*, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

Cap. 2.

1 d **KL** **Tlacaxipeoaliztli** *d 22*[2]
2 e A los captiuos que matauan: arran- *e 23*
3 f cauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y *f 24*
4 g guardauanlos, los mjsmos amos, como *g 25*
5 A por reliqujas: esto hazian en el calpul *A 26*
6 b delante del fuego. *b 27*
7 c Quando lleuauan los señores de los *c 28*
8 d catiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde *d 1*[3]
9 e los aujan de matar, lleuanuanlos por *e 2*
10 f los cabellos: y quando los subian, por *f 3*
11 g las gradas del cu, algunos de los cap- *g 4*
12 A tiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los *A 5*
13 b subian arrastrando por los cabellos, *b 6*
14 c hasta el taxon donde aujan de morir. *c 7*
15 d Llegandolos al taxon: que era vna *d 8*
16 e piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco *e 9*
17 f mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos *f 10*
18 g sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos *g 11*
19 A cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por *A 12*
20 b los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja *b 13*[4]
luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mjsmo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rrodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, yua a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quaquacujlti, y le lleuauã a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

1. Actually a *palmo*, according to the *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the Real Academia Española, is equal to one-quarter of a *vara*; divided into twelve equal parts (*dedos* or fingers), it is the equivalent of about 21 cm or about eight and one-quarter inches.
2. Marginal notation: *Cathedra sancti petri.*
3. Marginal notation: *Martius habet dies xxxj.*
4. Marginal notation: *leandri archiepi et conf.*

Before they dismembered the captives, they flayed them; and others put on the skins, and, [wearing them,] fought mock fights with other youths, as if it were a war. And those [of one band] took captive [those of] the other [band].

After what hath been set forth above, they slew other captives, battling with them—these being tied, by the waist, with a rope which passed through the socket of a round stone, as of a mill; and [the rope] was long enough so that [the captive] might walk about the complete circumference of the stone. And they gave him arms with which he might do battle; and four warriors came against him with swords and shields, and one by one they exchanged sword blows with him until they vanquished him. Etc.

Antes que hiziessen pedaços a los catiuos: los desollauan, y otros vestian sus pellejos, y escaramuçauan con ellos, con otros mancebos, como cosa de guerra: y se prendian los vnos a los otros.

Despues de lo arriba dicho: matauan otros captiuos, peleando con ellos: y estando ellos atados por medio del cuerpo, con vna soga, que salia por el ojo de vna muela, como de molino, y era tan larga, que podia a andar por toda la circũferencia de la piedra, y dauanle sus armas, con que peleasse: y venjan contra el quatro, con espadas, y rodelas, y vno a vno se acuchillauan con el, hasta que le vencian. Etc.

The third month they called Toçoztontli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the god named Tlaloc, who is the god of rain. On this feast they slew many children upon the mountains. They offered them as sacrifices to this god and to his companions, so that they would give them water.

Al tercero mes, llamavan toçoztontli: en el primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. En esta fiesta, matauã muchos njños, sobre los montes: ofrecianlos en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, para que los diessen agua.

Chapter 3
Toçoztontli

On this feast they offered the first fruits of the flowers which had bloomed earliest that year, on the pyramid named Yopico. And before they had offered them, none dared smell a flower.

Those in charge of the flowers, who are called *xochimanque,* celebrated a feast to their goddess, named Coatl icue, or by another name Coatlan tonan.

Likewise in this month, those who had worn the skins of the dead [sacrificial victims] whom they had flayed the previous month, took [them] off. They went to cast them into a cave in the pyramid which they called Yopico; they went in procession to do this, and [performed] many ceremonies. They went stinking like dead dogs. And after they had left them [in the cave], they washed themselves, [performing] many ceremonies. A number of the sick made vows to attend this procession, in order to recover from their sickness, and they say that some [of them] recovered.

The masters of the [sacrificed and flayed] captives, with all those of their households, did penance for twenty days: neither did they bathe nor wash their heads until the skins of the dead captives were deposited in the cave mentioned above. They said that they did penance for their captives.

After they had ended the penance, they bathed and washed themselves, and summoned all their kin and friends, and gave them food. And they performed many ceremonies with the bones of the dead captives.

Cap. 3.

1 c **KL** **Toçoztontli.** *c 14*
2 d En esta fiesta: ofrecian las prjmicias *d 15*
3 e de las flores, que aquel año primero *e 16*
4 f nacian en el cu, llamado iopico: y *f 17*
5 g antes que las ofreciessen, nadie osaua *g 18*
6 A oler flor. *A 19*
7 b Los officiales de las flores, que se *b 20*
8 c llaman sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a *c 21*
9 d su diosa llamada Coatl ycue, y por otro *d 22*
10 e nombre coatlã tona. *e 23*
11 f Tambien en este mes: se desnu- *f 24*
12 g dauan, los q̃ trayan vestidos, los *g 25*
13 A pellejos de los muertos, q̃ aujan des- *A 26*
14 b ollado el mes pasado: yuanlos a echar *b 27*
15 c en vna cueua, en el cu, que llamauan *c 28*
16 d iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con pro- *d 29*
17 e cesion: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan *e 30*
18 f hediendo, como perros muertos: y *f 31*
19 g despues que los aujan dexado: se *g* 1[1]
20 A lauauan, con muchas cerjmonjas: *A* 2[2]

Algunos emfermos hazian voto, de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que algunos sanauan.

Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: hasta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.

Despues que aujan acabado la penjtencia: bañauanse, y lauauanse, y combidauan a todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

1. Marginal notation: *Aprilis habet dies xxx.*
2. Marginal notation: *Mariae egiptiaca.*

During all of these twenty days, until the coming of the next month, they practised singing in the houses which they called *cuicacalli*. They did not dance; rather, remaining seated, they sang canticles in praise of their gods. Many other rites were performed in this feast which are set forth at length in the accounting of them, *fol.* 27.

Todos estos veynte dias, hasta llegar al mes que viene: se exercitauan en cantar en las casas, que llamauan cujcacali, no baylauã, sino estando sentados: cantauan cantares a loor de sus dioses. Otras muchas cerjmonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta: las quales, estan escriptas, a la larga en su historia. fol. 27.

The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: haziã fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chía.* For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

Cap. 4.

1 b KL **Vey toçoztli** *b 3*

2 c En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a *c 4*
3 d las puertas de las casas ensangrenta- *d 5*
4 e uanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de *e 6*
5 f las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, *f 7*
6 g de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan *g 8*
7 A sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman *A 9*
8 b acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus *b 10*
9 c dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada *c 11*
10 d vno tenja en su casa. *d 12*
11 e Despues desto, yuan por los ma- *e 13*
12 f hizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que *f 14*
13 g aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas *g 15*
14 A con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de *A 16*
15 b sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan *b 17*
16 c calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda *c 18*
17 d delante dellos. *d 19*
18 e Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: *e 20*
19 f yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan *f 21*
20 g chicome coatl: y alli delante della *g* 22[1]
hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las troxes, por estar bendito.

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

1. Marginal notation: *Sanctorum soteris et baii pontif.*

According to the accounts of some, they assembled the children whom they slew in the first month, buying them from their mothers. And they went on killing them in all the feasts which followed, until the rains really began. And thus they slew some in the first month, named Quauitl eua; and some in the second, named Tlacaxipeualiztli; and some in the third, named Toçoztontli; and others in the fourth, named Uei toçoztli: so that until the rains began in abundance, in all the feasts they sacrificed children. Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast. Etc.

Segun relacion de algunos, los njños que matauan, juntauanlos en el primero mes, comprandolos, a sus madres: y yuanlos matando, en todas las fiestas, sigujentes, hasta que las aguas començavan de veras: y ansi matauan algunos, en el primero mes llamado quaujtl eoa: y otros en el segundo, llamado tlacaxipeoaliztli: y otros en el tercero llamado toçoztontli; y otros en el quarto llamado vey toçoztli: De manera que hasta que començauan las aguas abundosamente, en todas las fiestas sacrificauan njños. Otras muchas cerjmonjas, se hazian en esta fiesta. Etc.

The fifth month they called Toxcatl. On the first day of this month they celebrated a great feast in honor of the god named Titlacauan, and for another name, Tezcatlipoca. This one they held to be god of the gods. In his honor, they slew, in this feast, a chosen youth who might have no blemishes upon his body, [who was] reared in all luxuries for the space of a year, [and] trained in the playing [of musical instruments], and in singing, and in speaking.

Al quinto mes llamauan Toxcatl: el primero dia deste mes: hazian gran fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Titlacaoa, y por otro nombre Tezcatlibuca: a este tenjan por dios de los dioses: a su honrra matauan en esta fiesta vn mancebo escogido, q̃ ninguna tacha tuujesse en su cuerpo: criado en todos deleytes, por espacio de vn año, instruto en tañer, y en cantar, y en hablar.

Chapter 5
Toxcatl

This feast was the most important of all the feasts. It was like Easter, and fell near Easter Sunday—a few days after. This youth, reared as hath been said, was very comely, and chosen from many. He had long hair—down to the waist.

When, on this feast, they slew the young man who had been reared for [the rôle], they at once produced another, who was to die after one year. He walked everywhere in the town finely arrayed with flowers in his hand, and with people who accompanied him. He greeted with good grace those whom he met. All knew that this one was the likeness of Tezcatlipoca, and they bowed before him and worshiped him whenever they met him.

Twenty days before this feast came, they gave this young man four comely young women reared for [the part], with whom for all the twenty days, he had carnal relations. And they changed his array when they gave him these young women: [they] clipped his hair like a war captain and gave him more finery [even] braver [than what he had had].

Five days before he was to die, they celebrated feasts for him and banquets, in cool and pleasant places. Many of the leading men accompanied him. On the arrival of the day he was to die, they took him to a pyramid or sanctuary which they called

Cap. 5.

1	*A*	**KL**	**Toxcatl**	*A*	*23*
2	*b*	Esta fiesta, era la principal de todas		*b*	*24*
3	*c*	las fiestas, era como pascua, y caya		*c*	*25*
4	*d*	cerca de la pascua de resurrection		*d*	*26*
5	*e*	pocos dias despues: este mancebo		*e*	*27*
6	*f*	criado, como esta dicho era muy bien		*f*	*28*
7	*g*	dispuesto, y escogido entre muchos:		*g*	*29*
8	*A*	tenja los cabellos largos hasta la cinta.		*A*	*30*
9	*b*	Quando en esta fiesta matauã al		*b*	*1*[1]
10	*c*	mãcebo que estaua criado para esto:		*c*	*2*
11	*d*	luego sacauan otro: el qual auja de		*d*	*3*
12	*e*	morir dẽde a vn año, andaua por todo		*e*	*4*
13	*f*	el pueblo muy ataujado con flores en		*f*	*5*
14	*g*	la mano, y con personas que le acõpa-		*g*	*6*
15	*A*	ñauan saludaua a los que topaua graci-		*A*	*7*
16	*b*	osamẽte: todos sabian que era aquel		*b*	*8*
17	*c*	la ymagẽ de Tezcatlipuca: y se pros-		*c*	*9*
18	*d*	trauã delante del, y le adorauan donde		*d*	*10*
19	*e*	qujera que le topauan.		*e*	*11*
20	*f*	Viente dias antes que llegasse esta		*f*	*12*[2]

fiesta: dauã a este mancebo quatro moças, biẽ dispuestas y criadas para esto: con las quales todos los veinte dias tenja cõuersaciõ carnal: y mudauanle el traje, quando le dauã estas moças, cortauale los cabellos como capitã y dauãle otros ataujos mas galanes.

Cinco dias antes que muriesse: hazianle fiestas y vanquetes en lugares frescos y amenos: acompañauanle muchos principales: llegado el dia donde auja de morir: lleuauanle a un cu, o oratorio que llamauã tlacuchcalco: y ante que llegasse alli en vn lugar que

1. Marginal notation: *Maius hz dies xxxj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Nerei, Achilei atqz Pan.*

Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapitzauayan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapitzaoaiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegãdo al lugar, donde le aujã de matar: el mjsmo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el taxõ sacauanle el corcaçõ, tornauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se haziã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Cap. 6.

1 g **KL** **Etzalqualiztli.** *g 13*
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los *A 14*
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, *b 15*
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se *c 16*
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en *d 17*
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli *e 18*
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los *f 19*
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie *g 20*
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- *A 21*
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con *b 22*
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto *c 23*
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se *d 24*
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera *e 25*
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque *f 26*
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se *g 27*
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena *A 28*
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de *b 29*
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer *c 30*
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- *d 31*
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian *e 1*[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

1. Marginal notation: *Junjus hz dies xxx.*

other slaves, arrayed in the ornaments of these gods named Tlalocs, in whose honor they slew them on their own pyramid. The hearts of those whom they killed they went to cast into the whirlpool or drain of the Lake of Mexico, which at that time was clearly to be seen. Many other ceremonies were performed. Etc.

esclauos, compuestos con los ornamentos destos dioses llamados tlaloques: por cuya honrra, los matauan en su mjsmo cu, los coraçones destos que matauã yvanlos a echar en el remolino a sumjdero de la laguna de Mexico, que entonces se via claramente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian. Etc.

The seventh month they named Tecuilhuitontli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the goddess of salt, whom they called Uixtociuatl. They said that she was elder sister of the Tlaloc gods. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman decked in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al septimo mes llamauan Tecujlhujtontli: En el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a la diosa de la sal que llamauan Vixtocioatl: deziã que era hermana mayor, de los dioses tlaloques: matauan a honrra desta diosa vna muger compuesta con los ornamẽtos que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 7
Tecuilhuitontli

On the eve of this feast, all the old women sang and danced, as well as the young women and girls. They went held by some short cords which they carried in their hands, one [taking] one end, another the other [end]. These cords they named *xochimecatl*. They all wore garlands of wormwood [flowers] of this land, which are called *iztauhiatl*. A number of old men led them and ordered the singing. Among them went the woman who was the likeness of this goddess and who was to die arrayed in rich ornaments.

On the night before the feast, the women, with the same one who was to die, kept vigil; and they sang and danced all night long. At break of day, all the priests arrayed themselves and performed a very solemn dance. And all who were present at the dance held in their hands those flowers which are called *cempoalxochitl*. Thus dancing, they took many captives to the Pyramid of Tlaloc, and, with them, the woman who was to die, who was the likeness of the goddess Uixtociuatl. There they slew first the captives and then her.

Many other ceremonies were performed during this feast; and also [there was] great drunkenness, all of which is set forth at length in the account of this feast, *fol.* 76.

Cap. 7
Tecujlhujtontli.

1	*f*	**KL**	*f*	*2*[1]
2	*g*	La vigilia desta fiesta cantauan y	*g*	*3*
3	*A*	dançauan todas las mugeres, viejas, y	*A*	*4*
4	*b*	moças y muchachas yvan asidas de	*b*	*5*
5	*c*	vnas cuerdas cortas que lleuauan en las	*c*	*6*
6	*d*	manos, la vna por el vn cabo, y la otra	*d*	*7*
7	*e*	por el otro: a estas cuerdas llamauan	*e*	*8*
8	*f*	sochimecatl: lleuauan todas gujrnaldas	*f*	*9*
9	*g*	de axenxos desta tierra que se llama	*g*	*10*
10	*A*	iztauhiatl: gujaualas vnos viejos, y	*A*	*11*
11	*b*	regian al canto en medio dellas yva la	*b*	*12*
12	*c*	muger que era la ymagen desta diosa,	*c*	*13*
13	*d*	y que avia de morir adereçada con	*d*	*14*
14	*e*	ricos ornamentos.	*e*	*15*
15	*f*	La noche antes de la fiesta: velauan	*f*	*16*
16	*g*	las mugeres con la mjsma que auja de	*g*	*17*
17	*A*	morir, y cantauan, y dançauan toda la	*A*	*18*
18	*b*	noche: venjda la mañana: adereça-	*b*	*19*
19	*c*	uanse todos los satrapas, y hazian vn	*c*	*20*
20	*d*	areyto muy solemne: y todos los que	*d*	*21*

estauan presẽtes al areyto, tenjan en la mano aquellas flores que se llaman cempoalsochitl: assi baylando lleuauan muchos catiuos al cu, de Tlaloc: y con ellos a la muger que auja de morir que era imagen de la diosa Vixtocioatl: alli matauan primero a los captiuos, y despues a ella.

Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, y tambien gran borracheria: todo lo qual esta a la larga puesto en la historia desta fiesta. fo. 76.

1. Marginal notation: *Marcellinj, petri, atqz Eras.*

The eighth month they called Uei tecuilhuitl. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the goddess named Xilonen (goddess of the tender maize). On this feast they gave food to all the poor men and women—old men, old women, boys, girls—in honor of the goddess. They slew a woman, on the tenth day of this month, arrayed in the ornaments with which they represented the same goddess.

Al octauo mes llamauã Vei tecujlhujtl: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta a la diosa llamada Xilonen (diosa de los xilotes) en esta fiesta dauã de comer a todos los pobres hombres y mugeres, viejos y viejas, njños y njñas, a honrra desta diosa: matauã a vna muger a diez dias deste mes, compuesta cõ los ornamẽtos con que pintauã a la mjsma diosa.

Chapter 8
Uei tecuilhuitl

For eight uninterrupted days before the feast, they fed men and women, young and old. Then, very early in the morning they gave them to drink a kind of gruel which they call *chienpinolli*. Each one drank as much as he wished. And at noon they placed all in order, seated in their rows, and they gave them tamales. He who gave them [out], gave each one as many as he could hold in one hand. And if one of them exceeded the bounds of custom so much as to take [tamales] twice, they mishandled him and took from him those which he had, and he went with nothing. This [feasting] the lords brought about in order to give comfort to the poor; for at this time, ordinarily, there is a want of the necessities of life.

All these eight days they danced and moved in rhythm, men and women together performing the ceremonious movement, all heavily adorned with rich vestments and jewels. The women wore their hair unbound; they went with hair down, dancing and singing with the men. This dance began at sundown, and they continued in it until nine o'clock. They carried many lights (like great torches) of resinous wood, and there were many braziers or bonfires which burned in the same courtyard in which they danced. In this dance or solemn movement they went with hands joined [to those of other dancers], or embraced—the arm of one grasping the body of another as in an embrace, and the other likewise [holding still] another, men and women [alike].

Cap. 8.

1	*e*	KL	**Vei tecujlhujtl**	*e*	*22*[1]
2	*f*		Dauan de comer a hombres y mu-	*f*	*23*
3	*g*		geres chicos y grãdes ocho dias con-	*g*	*24*
4	*A*		tinos, antes de la fiesta luego muy de	*A*	*25*
5	*b*		mañana dauãles a beuer vna manera	*b*	*26*
6	*c*		de maçamorra que llamã chienpinolli:	*c*	*27*
7	*d*		cada vno bueja quãto queria: y al	*d*	*28*
8	*e*		medio dia ponjãlos todos por orden	*e*	*29*
9	*f*		en sus rencleras sentados, y dauanlos	*f*	*30*
10	*g*		tamales: el que los daua, daua a cada	*g*	*1*[2]
11	A		vno quãtos podia abarcar con vna	*A*	*2*
12	*b*		mano: y si alguno se desmãdaua a	*b*	*3*
13	*c*		tomar dos vezes maltratauanle, y to-	*c*	*4*
14	*d*		mauanle los que tenja, y yvase sin	*d*	*5*
15	*e*		nada. Esto hazian los señores por con-	*e*	*6*
16	*f*		solar a los pobres: porque en este	*f*	*7*
17	*g*		tiempo ordinariamente ay falta de	*g*	*8*
18	*A*		mãtenjmjentos.	*A*	*9*
19	*b*		Todos estos ocho dias baylauan, y	*b*	*10*
20	*c*		dançauã: haziendo areyto hombres y	*c*	*11*[3]

mugeres todos juntos todos muy ataujados con ricas vestiduras y joyas: las mugeres trayan los cabellos sueltos, andauan en cabello baylando y cantando cõ los hombres començaua este areyto en ponjendose el sol, y perseuerauan en el, hasta ora de las nueue: trayã muchas lumbreras (como grãdes hachas) de tea, y aujan muchos braseros o hogueras, que ardian en el mjsmo patio dõde baylauan. En este bayle o areyto andauã trauados de las manos, o abraçados, el braço del vno asido del cuerpo como abraçado, y el otro asimjsmo del otro hombres y mugeres.

1. Marginal notation: *Sancti paulinj Epi et conf.*
2. Marginal notation: *Julius hz dies xxxj.*
3. Marginal notation: *Pij papae et Mart.*

One day before they slew the woman who was to die in honor of the goddess Xilonen, the women who served on the pyramid (who were called *ciuatlamacazque*) performed a dance in the courtyard of this same pyramid, and sang the [hymns of] praise and the canticles of this goddess. They all went surrounding her who was to die [and] who went bedight in the ornaments of this goddess. In this way, singing and dancing, they kept watch all night before the day when she was to die.

And at dawn all the nobles and warriors performed a dance in this same courtyard, and with them also danced the woman who was to die, with many other women arrayed like her. The men went dancing in front, by themselves, and the women went behind them.

As soon as all, thus dancing, arrived at the pyramid where that woman was to die, they made her go above, up the steps. When she reached the top, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder; and in this position, they struck off her head and then tore out her heart and offered it to the sun. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast. Etc.

Vn dia antes que matassen a la muger que auja de morir: a honrra de la diosa xilonẽ: las mugeres que serujã en el cu (que se llamauã cioatlamacazque) haziã areyto en el patio del mjsmo cu, y cantauan los loores y cantares desta diosa, yvan todas rodeadas de la que avia de morir, que yva compuesta con los ornamẽtos desta diosa. Desta manera cantando y baylando: velauan toda la noche precediẽte el dia en que avia de morir.

Y en amaneciendo todos los nobles y hõbres de guerra: hazian areyto en el mjsmo patio, y con ellos baylaua tambiẽ la muger que auja de morir, con otras muchas mugeres adereçadas como ella: los hombres yvan por si baylãdo delante y las mugeres yvan tras ellos.

Desque todos assi baylando: llegauã al cu donde auja de morir aquella muger, subiãla por las gradas arriba: llegada arriba tomauãla vno a cuestas espaldas cõ espaldas: y estãdo assi, la cortauan la cabeça y luego la sacauã el coraçon y le ofreciã al sol: Otras muchas cerimonjas se haziã en esta fiesta. Etc.

The ninth month they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making tamales and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the *calpulcos* and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlasochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlasochimaco

1 d **KL** *d 12*
2 e La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa- *e 13*
3 f uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros *f 14*
4 g para comer, en hazer tamales y otras *g 15*
5 A cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego *A 16*
6 b de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los *b 17*
7 c satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ *c 18*
8 d muchas flores a Vitzilobuchtli, y des- *d 19*
9 e pues de compuesta la estatua deste *e 20*
10 f dios: componjan las estatuas de los *f 21*
11 g otros dioses con gujrnaldas y sartales *g 22*
12 A y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan *A 23*
13 b todas las otras estatuas de los calpules, *b 24*
14 c y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal- *c 25*
15 d pisques y principales y maceguales, *d 26*
16 e todos componjan las estatuas que ten- *e 27*
17 f jan en sus casas con flores. *f 28*
18 g Compuestas las estatuas todos los *g 29*
19 A dioses: luego començauan a comer *A 30*
20 b aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas *b 31*
de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Duraua este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos reziamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

The tenth month they named Xocotl uetzi. On the first day of this month, they observed a feast to the god of fire, named Xiuhtecutli or Ixcoçauhqui. On this feast they cast into the fire, alive, many slaves, bound hand and foot, and before they had quite died, they took them forth, dragging [them] out of the fire, in order to tear out their hearts before the image of this god.

Al decimo mes llamauan Xocotl vetzi: En el primero dia deste mes, haziã fiesta al dios del fuego llamado xiuhtecutli o Jzcoçauhquj: en esta fiesta echauã en el fuego viuos muchos esclauos, atados de pies y manos, y antes que acabasen de morir, los sacauã arrastrando del fuego para sacar el coraçon delante la ymagen deste dios.

Chapter 10
Xocotl uetzi

During the feast of Tlaxochimaco, they went forth into the forest [and] cut a tree of twenty-five fathoms' height and brought it, dragging it, to the courtyard of this god. There they pruned off all its branches and raised it upright, and it remained thus standing until the eve of the feast. Then they again laid it upon the earth with much caution and [using] many devices that it might not bump [the ground]. On the day before this feast, early in the morning, many carpenters came with their tools, and they trimmed it and made it very smooth. After having trimmed it and decorated it with many kinds of papers, they tied ropes and other cords to it and raised it up with much shouting and din, and they made it firm.

As soon as the beam or tree was raised and adorned with all of its finery, then those who had slaves to cast alive into the flames adorned themselves with their plumage and rich ornaments, and they stained their bodies yellow, which was the livery of fire; and, taking their captives with them, they performed a dance all that day, until nightfall.

After the captives had kept vigil all that night on the pyramid, and after having performed many ceremonies with them, they cast into their faces some powder which they call *yiauhtli,* that they might lose their sense of feeling and not suffer so greatly [the

Cap. 10.
Xocotl vetzi

1 c KL
2 d Durante la fiesta de tlasochimaco:
3 e yvã al monte cortauan vn arbol de al-
4 f tura de veinte y cinco braças y trayanle
5 g arrastrando hasta el patio deste dios:
6 A alli le escamondauan todo, y le leuan-
7 b tauan enhiesto y estaua assi enhiesto
8 c hasta la vigilia vigilie de la fiesta en-
9 d tonce le tornauã a echar en tierra cõ
10 e mucho tiẽto y cõ muchos pertrechos
11 f para que no diesse golpe: la vigilia
12 g desta fiesta, bien de mañana venjan
13 A muchos carpinteros con sus herrami-
14 b ẽtas y mondauãle y hazianle muy liso.
15 c Despues de mondado y de auerle com-
16 d puesto cõ muchas maneras de papeles:
17 e atauanle sogas y otros mecates y leuan-
18 f tauanle con muchas bozes y muchos
19 g estruendos y afixauanle muy bien.
20 A Desque la viga o arbol estaua leuã-

c *1*[1]
d *2*[2]
e *3*
f *4*
g *5*
A *6*
b *7*
c *8*
d *9*
e *10*
f *11*
g *12*
A *13*
b *14*
c *15*
d *16*
e *17*
f *18*
g *19*
A *20*[3]

tada y adornada cõ todos sus aparejos: luego los que tenjã esclauos para echar en el fuego viuos adereçauãse con sus plumajes y ataujos ricos: y tiñjanse el cuerpo de amarillo que era la librea del fuego y lleuando sus captiuos consigo: hazian areyto todo aquel dia hasta la noche.

Despues de auer velado toda aquella noche los captiuos en el cu, y despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas con ellos, enpoluorizauanlos las caras con vnos poluos que llamã yiauhtli: para que perdiessen el sentido, y no sintiessẽ tanto la muerte, atauanlos

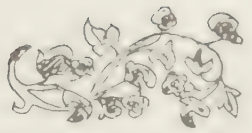
1. Marginal notation: *Augustus hz dies xxxj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Petri ad vincula.*
3. Marginal notation: *Bernardi abbatis.*

pains of] their death. They tied them hand and foot, and, thus bound, they slung them over their shoulders, and walked with them as if performing a dance about the edge of a great fire and tall mound of live coals. Thus proceeding, they went casting them upon the mound of coals—now one, and, after a little, another. And him whom they had cast they let burn for a good while; and, still alive and tossing, they took him forth, dragging him out with something like a hook, and cast him upon the sacrificial stone. And, having opened his breast, they tore out his heart. In this manner suffered all those unhappy captives.

The tree was made fast by many ropes from the top, as the rigging of a ship hangeth from the topsail. On the top of this stood upright the statue of that god, made of a dough which they call *tzoalli*. When the aforesaid sacrifice had been offered, all the young men assailed [the statue] with great vigor. Many other ceremonies were enacted, as hath been written at length below, in this feast.

los pies y las manos, y assi atados ponjãlos sobre los hombros, y andauã con ellos como haziẽdo areyto en rrededor de vn grã fuego y grã mõton de brasa, ansi andando yvãlos arrojando sobre el monton de brasas: agora vno y desde a vn poco otro: y el que avian arrojado, dexauanle quemar vn buen interualo, y avn quando biuo y barqueando sacauanle fuera arrastrando con qual que garauato, y echauãle sobre el taxõ: y abierto el pecho sacauanle el coraçon: desta manera padecian todos aquellos tristes catiuos.

Estaua el arbol atado con muchas sogas de lo alto, como la jarcia de la nao: esta pendiente de la gabia en lo alto del, estaua en pie la ymagen de aquel dios: hecha de masa que llaman tzoalli: acabado el sacrificio ya dicho, arremetian con gran impetu todos los mancebos. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian segun a la larga esta escripto adelante en esta fiesta.



The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

Cap. 11.

1 b **KL** **Ochpanjztli.** *b 21*
2 c Cinco dias antes que començasse este *c 22*
3 d mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozi- *d 23*
4 e jos del mes pasado entrando este mes, *e 24*
5 f baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin *f 25*
6 g teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la *g 26*
7 A muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃ *A 27*
8 b llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los *b 28*
9 c ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la *c 29*
10 d mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de *d 30*
11 e mugeres con ella: especialmente las *e 31*
12 f medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos *f 1*[1]
13 g vandos y peleauan apedreandose con *g 2*
14 A pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas *A 3*
15 b y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa- *b 4*
16 c dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal- *c 5*
17 d sochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro *d 6*
18 e dias. *e 7*
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras *f 8*
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella *g 9*

muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, ataujauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

1. Marginal notation: *September hz dies xxx.*

nity, and, escorted by many captives to the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, here this same one, before Uitzilopochtli, tore out the hearts of four captives. The rest he left, that the priest might slay them.

In this month the lord drew up a parade of all the warriors and of the young men who had never gone to war. These he gave arms and insignia, and they became soldiers; so that from then on they could go to war. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in its account.

dole de muchos catiuos al cu de Vitzilobuchtli: alli este mesmo delante de Vitzilobuchtli, sacaua el coraçon a quatro catiuos: y los de mas dexaualos para que los matasse el satrapa.

En este mes hazia alarde el señor de toda la gente de guerra: y de los mancebos que nũca aujan ydo a la guerra: a estos daua armas y diujsas, y asentauan por soldados: para que de alli adelante fuessen a la guerra. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

The twelfth month they named Teotl eco, which meaneth "The Arrival of the Gods." They celebrated this feast in honor of all the gods; for they said that they had gone to a number of places. They observed a great feast on the last day of this month because their gods had arrived.

Al dozeno mes llamauan Teutl eco, que qujere dezir la llegada le los dioses celebrauan esta fiesta, a honrra de todos los dioses, porque dezian que aujan ydo a algunas partes, hazian gran fiesta el postrero dia deste mes, porque sus dioses aujan llegado.

Chapter 12
Teotl eco

On the fifteenth day of this month the young men and boys strewed boughs on all the altars and shrines of the gods, both those which were in the houses and those which were along the roads and crossroads. And for this activity which they performed they gave them maize; [to some they] gave a large basket full of maize, and to others two or three ears.

On the eighteenth day arrived the god (who is always a young man whom they called Tlamatzincatl; that is, Titlacauan). They said that, because he was young and strong, he traveled better and arrived first. They then set forth food on his pyramid, and that night they ate and drank, and all made merry, especially the old men and the old women, who drank wine because of the arrival of the god. And they said that with this rejoicing they washed his feet for him.

On the last day of this month was the great feast; for they said that all the gods then arrived. On the eve of this day, at night, they made, on a mat, a very closely packed small cake of cornmeal, in the shape of a cheese. Upon this small cake the gods impressed the print of a foot as a sign that they had come. All night long the principal priest watched, and came and went many times to see when he would descry the print.

Seeing the mark of a footprint, the priest then cried out, saying "Our lord hath come!" Then the priests of the pyramid began to sound horns, and conch shells, and trumpets, and other instruments of those

Cap. 12
Teutl eco

1 A **KL** *A 10*
2 b A los qujnze dias deste mes: los *b 11*
3 c moços y muchachos, enrramauan *c 12*
4 d todos los altares y oratorios de los *d 13*
5 e dioses: assi los que estauan dentro de *e 14*
6 f las casas como por los camjnos y en- *f 15*
7 g cruzijadas, y por esta diligencia que *g 16*
8 A hazian dauãlos mahiz, algunos dauan *A 17*
9 b vn chiqujvitl lleno de mahiz, y a otros *b 18*
10 c dos o tres maçorcas. *c 19*
11 d A los deziocho dias: llegaua el dios *d 20*
12 e (que siempre es mancebo que le *e 21*
13 f llamauã tlamatzincatl: este es titla- *f 22*
14 g cauã) deziã que por ser mancebo y *g 23*
15 A rezio, camjnaua mejor, y llegaua pri- *A 24*
16 b mero: luego ofreciã comjda en su cu, *b 25*
17 c y aquella noche comjan y beujan y *c 26*
18 d regozijauãse todos: especialmente los *d 27*
19 e viejos, y viejos que beujan vino, por la *e 28*
20 f llegada del dios: y dezian que lo *f* 29[1]
lauauã los pies con este regozijo.

El postrero dia deste mes era la gran fiesta: porque dizen que todos los dioses llegauan entonce: la vigilia deste dia, a la noche hazian encima de vn petate de harina de mahiz vn mõtonzillo muy tupido de la forma de vn queso: en este montonzillo imprimjan los dioses la pisada de vn pie en señal que avian llegado: toda la noche el principal satrapa velaua y yva y venja muchas vezes a mjrar quando veria la pisada.

En vinjendo el satrapa la señal de la pisada luego daua bozes diziendo, llegado a nuestro señor: luego comenzauan los mjnjstros del cu, a tañer cornetas, y caracoles, y trompetas y otros instrumentos de los

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio sancti Michael.*

which they then used. As soon as the instruments were heard, all the people hastened to offer food at all the pyramids and shrines. Again there was merry making, washing the feet of their gods, as is told above.

On the next day they said that the old gods arrived, after all [the rest]—because they moved more slowly, being old. On this day they had many captives to burn alive; and, a great mound of coals having been piled up, certain young men went dancing about the edge of the fire, disguised as monsters. And, thus dancing, they proceeded casting into the fire these miserable captives in the manner which is told above. Many other ceremonies were performed, as will be related below in this feast.

que ellos entonce vsauã: luego que se oyan los instrumẽtos, acudia toda la gente a ofrecer comjda en todos los cues, y oratorios: otra vez se regozijauã lauando los pies de sus dioses, como arriba esta dicho.

El dia sigujente: dezian que llegauã los dioses viejos a la postre de todos: porque andauan menos por ser viejos. Este dia tenjã muchos catiuos para quemar biuos: y hecho grã monton de brasa, andauan baylando al rededor del fuego ciertos mancebos, disfraçados como monstros, y ansi baylando, yvan arrojando en el fuego estos tristes captiuos, de la manera que arriba esta dicho. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian segũ se dira adelante en esta fiesta.

The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli,* and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de lo montes emjnẽtes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã ñublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them tamales and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

Cap. 13.

1	*g*	**KL**	**Tepeilhujtl.**	*g*	*30*
2	*A*		Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas	*A*	*1*[1]
3	*b*	culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles,		*b*	*2*
4	*c*	y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra:		*c*	*3*
5	*d*	haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo gru-		*d*	*4*
6	*e*	esos como la muñeca largos llamauan-		*e*	*5*
7	*f*	los Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las		*f*	*6*
8	*g*	culebras los investian cõ aquella masa		*g*	*7*
9	*A*	que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los in-		*A*	*8*
10	*b*	vestian a manera de montes, arriba les		*b*	*9*
11	*c*	ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de per-		*c*	*10*
12	*d*	sona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes,		*d*	*11*
13	*e*	en memoria de aquellos que se aujan		*e*	*12*
14	*f*	ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de		*f*	*13*
15	*g*	tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino		*g*	*14*
16	*A*	que los enterrauan.		*A*	*15*
17	*b*		Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas,	*b*	*16*
18	*c*	aujan puesto en sus altares a las yma-		*c*	*17*
19	*d*	genes dichas: ofrecianles tambien ta-		*d*	*18*
20	*e*	males y otras comjdas: y tambien los		*e*	*19*

dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnaoatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy ataujadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

1. Marginal notation: *October hz dies xxxj.*

After they had slain them and torn out their hearts, they took them away gently, rolling them down the steps. When they had reached the bottom, they cut off their heads and inserted a rod through them, and they carried the bodies to the houses which they called *calpulco,* where they divided them up in order to eat them. The papers with which they arrayed the images of the mountains, after they had broken them to pieces in order to eat them, they hung in the *calpulco.* Many other ceremonies were performed in this feast, which are set down at length in its account.

Despues que las oujeron muerto, y sacados los coraçones: lleuauanlas pasito rodando por las gradas abaxo: llegadas abaxo cortauanlas las cabeças, y espetauanlas en vn palo, y los cuerpos lleuauanlos a las casas que llamauan Calpul: donde los repartian para comer: los papeles con que adereçauan las ymagenes de los montes despues de averlas desbaratado para comer, colgauanlos en el Calpul. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta fiesta, que estan a la larga puestas en su historia.

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two tamales. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

Cap. 14

1 f **KL** **Quecholli.** *f 20*
2 g Quando hazian las saetas por espa- *g 21*
3 A cio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan *A 22*
4 b de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan *b 23*
5 c dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas si- *c 24*
6 d enes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias *d 25*
7 e para yr a caçar venados: los que no se *e 26*
8 f sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en *f 27*
9 g pena: njngun hombre se echaua con *g 28*
10 A su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni *A 29*
11 b viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian *b 30*
12 c penjtencia. *c 31*
13 d Acabados los quatro dias en que ha- *d 1*[1]
14 e zian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas *e 2*
15 f saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro *f 3*
16 g en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi *g 4*
17 A hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, *A 5*
18 b y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas so- *b 6*
19 c bre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- *c 7*
20 d jan tambien juntamente con las saetas *d 8*
y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, cieruos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

1. Marginal notation: *November hz dies xxx.*

The hunt ended, they slew captives and slaves on a pyramid which they call Tlamatzinco. They bound them hand and foot, and carried them up the steps of the pyramid (as one carrieth a deer by the hind and forelegs to slaughter). They slew with great ceremony the man and the woman who were the likeness[es] of the god Mixcoatl and of his consort. They slew them on another pyramid which was called Mixcoateopan. Many other ceremonies [were performed]. Etc.

Acabada la caça: matauan captiuos y esclauos en vn cu, que llaman tlamatzinco ataualos de pies y manos, y lleuauãlos por las gradas del cu arriba (como qujen lleua vn cieruo por los pies y por las manos a matar) matauanlos con gran cerimonja: al hombre y a la muger que erã ymagẽ del dios Miscoatl y de su muger matauãlos en otro cu, que se llamaua Miscoateupan. Otras muchas cerimonjas. Etc.

The fifteenth month they named Panquetzaliztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of war, Uitzilopochtli. Before this feast, the priests of the idols fasted for forty days and performed other severe penances, like going naked at midnight to carry branches to the mountains. Etc.

Al quinzeno mes llamauan Panquetzaliztli: En este mes haziã fiesta al dios de la guerra Vitzilobuchtli: antes desta fiesta los satrapas de los ydolos ayunauan quarenta dias y hazian otras penjtencias asperas como era yr a la media noche desnudos a lleuar ramos a los montes. Etc.

Chapter 15
Panquetzaliztli

On the second day of this month all began to perform a dance and to sing the canticles of Uitzilopochtli in the the courtyard of his pyramid. Men and women danced, all together. They began these canticles in the afternoon, and they ended at nearly ten o'clock. These dances and songs lasted twenty days.

On the ninth day of this month, they adorned, with great ceremonies, those whom they were to slay. They painted them in various colors; they decked them in many papers. Finally they performed a dance with them, in which went a woman paired with a man, singing and dancing.

On the sixteenth day of this month, the owners of the slaves began a fast; and on the nineteenth day, they began to perform a number of dances in which all, men and women, went grasping hands, and they danced winding back and forth in the courtyard of the aforementioned pyramid. A number of old men sang, and played [instruments] while the others danced.

After those who were to die had performed many ceremonies, there came down from the pyramid of Uitzilopochtli one attired in the ornaments of the god Paynal, and he slew four of those slaves in the ball court which was found in the courtyard which they called Teotlachtli. From there he departed and circled all the city, running; and in certain places he slew, in each one, a slave. And from that point [onward], two factions began a mock battle. Some died in the skirmishing.

Cap. 15.

1 *e* **KL** **Panquetzaliztli.** *e* *9*[1]
2 *f* El segundo dia deste mes començauã *f* *10*
3 *g* todos a hazer areyto, y a cantar los can- *g* *11*
4 *A* tares de Vitzilobuchtli, en el patio de *A* *12*
5 *b* su cu, baylauan hombres y mugeres to- *b* *13*
6 *c* dos juntos: comẽçauan estos cantares *c* *14*
7 *d* a la tarde, y acabauan cerca de las diez: *d* *15*
8 *e* durauan estos bayles y cantos veinte *e* *16*
9 *f* dias. *f* *17*
10 *g* A los nueue dias deste mes: apare- *g* *18*
11 *A* jauã cõ grandes cerimonjas a los que *A* *19*
12 *b* aujan de matar pjntauanlos de diuersas *b* *20*
13 *c* colores, componjãlos con muchos pa- *c* *21*
14 *d* peles: al fin hazian vn areyte con ellos, *d* *22*
15 *e* en el qual vyan vna muger y vn hom- *e* *23*
16 *f* bre pareados cantando y baylãdo. *f* *24*
17 *g* A los deziseys dias deste mes: co- *g* *25*
18 *A* mençauã a ayunar los dueños de los *A* *26*
19 *b* esclauos y a los dezinueue dias, comen- *b* *27*
20 *c* çauan a hazer vnas dançaas en que yvan *c* *28*

todos asidos de las manos hombres y mugeres, y dançauan culebreãdo en el patio del dicho cu, cantauã y tañjan vnos viejos entre tanto que los otros dancauan.

Despues de auer hecho muchas cerimonjas los que avian de morir decendian del cu de Vitzilobuchtli, vno vestido con los ornamẽtos del dios Paynal, y mataua quatro de aquellos esclauos en el juego de pelota que estaua en el patio que llamauã teutlachtli: de alli yva y cercaua toda la ciudad corriendo, y en ciertas partes mataua en cada vno vn esclauo: y de alli començauan a escaramuçar dos partialidades, murian algunos en la escaramuça.

1. Marginal notation: *Dedicatio Basilice saluat.*

After many ceremonies, at last they slew captives on the Pyramid of Uitzilopochtli, and also many slaves. And, having slain one, they sounded musical instruments. And on finishing [with one], they seized another, to slay him. And, on killing him, they again sounded [musical instruments]. Thus they did to each one until finishing them [all]. On ceasing to slay these unhappy ones, they started to dance and to sing, to eat and to drink, and thus the feast ended.

Despues de muchas cerimonjas: finalmente matauan captiuos, en el cu, de Vitzilobuchtli, y tambien muchos esclauos y en matando a vno tocauan los instrumẽtos musicales, y en cessando tomauan otro para matarle, y en matandole tocauã otravez; ansi hazian a cada vno, hasta acabarlos: acabando de matar estos tristes, començauan a baylar, y a cantar, a comer y a beuer, y ansi se acabaua la fiesta.

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjesse el agua.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli,* because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli.* They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli.* And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli,* which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete;* and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.

1 d **KL** **Atemuztli.** *d* *29*[1]
2 e Quando començaua a tronar: los *e* *30*
3 f satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran *f* *1*[2]
4 g diligencia offrecian copal y otros per- *g* *2*
5 A fumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas *A* *3*
6 b dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para *b* *4*
7 c dar agua: y los populares hazian votos *c* *5*
8 d de hazer las ymagines de los montes *d* *6*
9 e que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedi- *e* *7*
10 f cadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los *f* *8*
11 g deziseis dias deste mes, todos los popu- *g* *9*
12 A lares aparejauan offrendas para offre- *A* *10*
13 b cer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian *b* *11*
14 c penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres *c* *12*
15 d de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los *d* *13*
16 e hombres. *e* *14*
17 f Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan *f* *15*
18 g el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras *g* *16*
19 A de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales *A* *17*
20 b desde abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauan- *b* *18*[3]

los en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los diẽtes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los ofrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre si,

1. Marginal notation: *Saturninj martj.*
2. Marginal notation: *December hz dies xxxj.*
3. Marginal notation: *Expectatio beate Marie V.*

they had arrayed them, they burned in the courtyards of their houses.

This done, they carried all these ashes and the ornaments with which they had provided them to the shrines which they call *aiauhcalco*. And then they began to eat and drink, and to make merry. And thus ended the feast. Many other ceremonies remain to be related, which are [set down] at length in the account of this feast.

comjanselo, y otros ornamẽtos con que los tenjan aparejados quemauanlos en los patios de sus casas.

Hecho esto: lleuauan todas esta cenjzas, y los aparejos con que aujan serujdo a los oratorios que llamã Aiauhcalco: y luego començauan a comer y a beuer, y a regozijarse. Y ansi concluyan la fiesta. Otras muchas cerimonjas se quedan por dezir que estan a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, and by [still] another name, Cozcamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes haziã fiesta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cozcamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le aviã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante lleuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Tonan, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled those

Cap. 17.
Tititl.

1 c KL *c 19*
2 d A esta muger que matauan en esta *d 20*
3 e fiesta: componjanla con los ataujos de *e 21*
4 f aquella diosa cuya ymagen tenja que *f 22*
5 g se llama Jlamatecutli y por otro nom- *g 23*
6 A bre Tona qujere dezir nuestra madre *A 24*
7 b esta muger ansi compuesta con los *b 25*
8 c ataujos estan puestos en la historia, *c 26*
9 d baylaua sola: hazianla el son vnos vie- *d 27*
10 e jos, y baylando suspiraua y lloraua, *e 28*
11 f acordandose que luego auja de morir: *f 29*
12 g pasando el medio dia, componjanse los *g 30*
13 A satrapas con los ornamentos de todos *A 31*
14 b los dioses, y yvan delante della, y su- *b 1*[1]
15 c bianla al cu, donde auja de morir: *c 2*
16 d echada sobre el taxon de piedra, sa- *d 3*
17 e cauanla el coraçon, y cortauanla la ca- *e 4*
18 f beça, tomaua luego vno de aquellos *f 5*[2]
19 g que yva adornado como dios, y delan- *g 6*
20 A tero de todos y lleuandola por los ca- *A 7*

bellos: hazian areyto cõ ella gujaua el que la lleuaua en la mano derecha y hazia sus ademanes de bayle con ella.

El mesmo dia que matauã esta muger los mjnjstros de los ydolos, haziã ciertas escaramuças y regozijos: corriendo vnos tras otros el cu, arriba y el cu abaxo haziendo ciertas cerimonjas.

El dia sigujente todos los populares hazian vnas talegas como bolsas, con vnos cordeles atadas tan largos como vn braço: hinchian aquellas talegas de

1. Marginal notation: *Januarius hz dies xxxj.*
2. Marginal notation: *Epiphanjs domjnj.*

sacks with soft things, like wool, and they carried them hidden under their capes, and they struck, with the bags, all the women whom they might meet in the streets. This game reached such lengths that the boys also made bags and with them mauled the girls so much that they made them weep. Many other ceremonies were performed in this celebration, which are set forth at length in the account of this feast.

cosas blandas como lana y llegauanlas ascondidas debaxo de las mantas, y a todas las mugeres que topauan por la calle, dauanlas de talegazos: llegaua a tanto este juego, que tambiẽ los muchachos hazian las talegas y aporreauan con ellas a las muchachas tãto que las hazian llorar. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian esta fiesta q̃ estan a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Ixcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhtecutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõrra de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de fuego de si: y de quatro en quatro años en esta mesma fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: y agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños que aujan nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y madrinas.

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a tamal made with amaranth, which they called *uauhquiltamalli,* which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.

1 b **KL** **Izcalli** *b 8*

2 c A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã *c 9*
3 d fuego nueuo a la media noche delante *d 10*
4 e la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosa- *e 11*
5 f mente ataujada: y encendidos fuegos, *f 12*
6 g luego en amaneciendo venjan los man- *g 13*
7 A cebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos *A 14*
8 b anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez *b 15*
9 c dias pasados vnos de agua, y otros de *c 16*
10 d tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que *d 17*
11 e tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y *e 18*
12 f ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aque- *f 19*
13 g llos anjmales para que se asassen: y *g 20*
14 A dauan a cada vno destos moços y mu- *A 21*
15 b chachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que *b 22*
16 c ellos llamauã Vauhqujltamalli: los *c 23*
17 d quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, *d 24*
18 e y todos comjan dellos por honrra de *e 25*
19 f la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y *f 26*
20 g beujan y regozijauanse. *g 27*

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisexto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchos y preciosos y curiosos ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jscoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica-

the emperor himself were decked and arrayed very richly in costly adornments, and they began a dance of great solemnity and gravity which they called *netecuitotiliztli,* which meaneth "Dance of the Lords." This was performed only every four years, during this feast. On this same day, very early in the morning, before dawn, they began to pierce the ears of the boys and girls, and they applied to their heads a wig of parrot feathers, pasted on with *ocotzotl,* which is pine resin. Etc.

mente con ricos adereços todos los principales y señores y personas yllustres, y el mesmo Emperador: y començauan vn areyto de gran solemnjdad y grauedad: al qual llamauan Netecujtotiliztli, qujere dezir: areyto de los señores: Este solamente se hazia de quatro en quatro años en esta fiesta. Este mesmo dia muy de mañana ante que amaneciesse començauã a agujerar las orejas a los njños y njñas: y echauãlos vn casquete en la cabeça de pluma de papagayos, pegado con ocutzotl que es resina de pino. Etc.

The five remaining days of the year, which are the four last of January and the first of February, they named Nemontemi, which meaneth barren days. And they regarded them as unlucky and of evil fortune. There is conjecture that when they pierced the boys' and girls' ears, which was every four years, they set aside six days of Nemontemi, and it is the same as the bissextile which we observe every four years.

A los cinco dias restantes del año que son los quatro vltimos de Enero y el primero de hebrero llamauan Nemontemi, que qujere dezir dias valdios: y tenjanlos por aziagos y de mala fortuna: ay conjectura que quando agujerauan las orejas a los njños y njñas que era de quatro en quatro años, echauan seys dias de Nenontemj y es lo mjsmo del bisexto que nostoros hazemos de quatro en quatro años.

Chapter 19

These five days they held as of evil fortune and unlucky. They said that those who were born in them had evil outcomes in all their affairs, and were poor and wretched. They named them Nemo. If they were men, they named them Nemoquich; if it was a woman, they named her Nenciuatl. They dared do nothing in these days, because they were unlucky. Especially did they abstain from quarreling, because they said that those who quarreled in these days always remained with that custom. They held as a bad omen stumbling in these days.

These aforementioned feasts were fixed, and were always observed within the month, or a day or two ahead. Other feasts they had [which were] movable, which were celebrated during the course of the twenty signs, which made a round in two hundred and sixty days. And hence these movable feasts, in a year, fell one in one month, and another in another, and always varied.

Capi. 19.

1 A Estos cinco dias tenjan por malafor- *A 28*
2 b tunados y aziagos: dezian que los que *b 29*
3 c en ellos nacian tenjan malos successos *c 30*
4 d en todas sus cosas, y eran pobres y mj- *d 31*

seros llamauanlos Nemo, si eran hombres llamauanlos Nenoqujch, y si era muger llamauala Nencioatl, no osauan hazer nada en estos dias por ser malafortunados: especialmente se abstenjan de reñjr: porque dezian que los que reñjan en estos dias se quedauã siempre con aquella costumbre tenjan por mal aguero tropeçar en estos dias.

Estas fiestas dichas eran fixas que siempre se haziã dentro del mes o vn dia o dos adelante: Otras fiestas tenjan moujbles que se hazian por el curso de los veinte signos: los quales hazian vn circulo en dozientos y sesenta dias: y por tanto estas fiestas moujbles vn año cayan en vn mes y otro en otro y siempre variauan.

Of the Movable Feasts

The first movable feast was celebrated in honor of the sun, in the sign which is named ce ocelotl, in the fourth house, which is named naui ollin. On this feast they offered, to the image of the sun, quail, and they offered incense. And at noon they slew captives before it in honor of the sun. On this same day, all drew blood from their ears—children and those who were grown—in honor of the sun, and they offered it that blood.

De las fiestas moujbles.

La primera fiesta moujble se celebraua a honrra del sol en el signo que se llama ce ocelutl, en la quarta casa que se llama naolin: en esta fiesta ofrecian a la ymagen del sol codornjzes y incensauan: y en el medio matauã capituos delante della a honrra del sol. En este mesmo dia se sangrauan todos de las orejas chicos y grãdes a hõrra del sol y le ofrecian aquella sangre.

The Second Movable Feast

In this same sign, in the seventh house, all the painters and the seamstresses celebrated a feast. They

La segunda fiesta moujble.

En este mjsmo signo en la septima casa haziã fiesta todos los pintores, y las labrãderas ayunauã quarẽta

fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Ciuapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called *calmecac,* which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

dias, otros veinte por alcançar ventura para pintar bien y para texer bien labores, offrecian a este proposito codornizes y encienso, y haziã otras cerimonjas los hombres al dios Chicome sochitl y las mugeres a la diosa Sochiquetzal.

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, ataujauã a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yzqujtecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantauan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el maguey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta moujble

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoatl dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los satrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the *calpulcos* and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli,* or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amateteuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcoatl.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjqujztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gẽte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujaujtl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauã fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles.

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujaujtl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viessen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to-

they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce oçomatli they said that the goddesses called Ciuapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Ciuapipilti] had caused it; that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus assientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mjsmo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien gujsadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre si, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Oçumatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrassen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus electiones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli.*

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Desque los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

age to marry, they spoke to him of their wish to seek a wife for him. And he replied, thanking them for this solicitude which they showed in marrying him. Then they addressed the leading man who had charge of all the young men, whom they called *telpochtlato,* and they told him that they wished their son to marry, since [the son] held doing so to be good. For this they held a great feast for him and for all the young men whom he had in his care; and for this they held conversation with him, after having given food and drink to him and to all those whom he had in his charge. And at the beginning of the conversation they laid before him an axe for cutting lumber or firewood. This axe was a sign that that young man took his leave, now, of the company of the other young men; for they wished him to marry. And thus the *telpochtlato* departed content. After this the relatives decided, among themselves, upon the woman whom they were to give [to the son], and summoned the marriage-makers, who were some old, honored women, that they might go to speak with the parents of the young woman. [The marriage-makers] went two or three times, and spoke, and returned with the reply. During this time, the relatives of the young woman spoke among themselves, and, having decided to give her to him, they gave their consent to the marriage-makers. After this they sought a day of good fortune, of a sign of good disposition [among] which were acatl, oçomatli, cipactli, quauhtli. Having chosen one of these signs, the parents of the young man made known to the parents of the young woman the day on which the marriage should be performed, and then began to prepare the necessary articles for the wedding—[those] to eat and to drink, as well as such [things] as capes, smoke tubes, and flowers. This done, they summoned the leading men and all the other people whom they wanted for the wedding. After the feast and [after] many speeches and ceremonies, those acting for the young man came at about nightfall to take the young woman. They carried her, with great solemnity, upon the back of a matron, and with many pine torches burning in two rows before her. Many people surrounded her, behind and ahead, until they brought her to the house of the parents of the young man. Having brought her to the house of the young man, they set them both by the hearth, which they always had in the middle of a hall, full of fire. And the woman was at the left hand of the man. Then the mother of the young man

casarse, hablauanle en que le querian buscar su muger: y el respondia, haziendoles gracias, por aquel cuydado, que tomauan de casarle: luego hablauan al principal que tenja cargo de todos los mancebos, que ellos llamauan Telpuchtlato: y dezianle como querian casar su hijo, que lo tuujesse por bueno: y para esto hazianle vn combite a el, y a todos los mancebos, que tenja a su cargo, y para esto le hazian vna platica, despues de auerle dado de comer, y de beuer a el y a todos los que tenja a su cargo: y en principio de la platica, ponjanle delante vna hacha de cortar madera o leña. Esta hacha era señal que aquel mancebo se despedia ya de la companja de los otros mancebos: porque le querian casar, y ansi el telpuchtlato yua contento. Despues desto determjnauan entre si los parientes la muger, que le aujan de dar, y llamauan a las casamenteras, que eran vnas viejas honrradas, para que fuessen a hablar a los padres de la moça, yuan dos, o tres vezes, y hablauan, y bolujan con la respuesta. En este tiempo los parientes de la moça se hablauan, y concertandose de darsela, dauan el si, a las casamenteras. Despues desto buscauan vn dia bien afortunado, de algun signo, bien acondicionado, quales eran acatl, oçumatli, cipactli, quauhtli, aujendo escogido alguno destos signos: los padres del moço hazian saber a los padres de la moça el dia en que auja de hazerse el matrimonjo, y luego començauan a aperejar las cosas necessarias, para las bodas, assi de comer como de beuer, como de mantas, y cañas de humo, y flores. Esto hecho conbidauan a los principales, y toda la otra gente, que ellos querian para las bodas. Despues del combite, y de muchas platicas, y cerimonjas: venjan los de la parte del moço a lleuar a la moça de par de noche, lleuauanla con gran solennjdad, a cuestas de vna matrona, y con muchas hachas de teas encẽdidas, en dos rencles delante della, yua rodeada della mucha gente, detras y delante, hasta que la llegauan a la casa de los padres del moço: llegada a la casa del moço, ponjanlos ambos, junto al hogar, que siempre le tenjan, en medio de vna sala, lleno de fuego, y la muger estaua, a la mano izqujerda del varon: luego la madre del mancebo, vestia vn vipil muy galano a su nuera, y ponjale junto a sus pies vnas naoas muy labradas: y la madre de la moça, cubria cõ vna manta, muy galana a su yerno, y atauasela sobre el hombro, y ponjale vn maxtli, muy labrado, a los pies. Hecho esto, vnas viejas, que se llaman titici, atauan la esqujna de la manta del moço con la falda del vipil de la moça. Assi se concluya el

placed a very fine shift upon her daughter-in-law, and put for her, by her feet, a richly embroidered skirt. And the mother of the young woman covered her son-in-law with a very fine cape, and tied it over his shoulder, and laid a very richly embroidered breech clout at his feet. This done, a number of old women, who are called *titici*, tied the corner of the young man's cape to the lower part of the young woman's shift. In this way was concluded the marriage, with many other ceremonies, and dinings, and drinking, and dances, which were given thereafter, as is contained in the account of the marriages.

matrimonjo, con otras muchas cerimonjas, y comeres, y beueres, y bayles, que despues se hazian, como se contiene, en la historia del matrimonjo.

They observed two other feasts which in part were fixed and in part were movable. They were movable because they were celebrated in interpolated years. One was observed every four years, and the other every eight years. They were fixed because they had year, month, and day assigned. In the one which was celebrated every four years, they pierced the ears of the boys and the girls, and they performed for them ceremonies for good growth, and they purified them over the fire. In the one which they celebrated every eight years, they fasted before it for eight days on bread and water, and enacted a dance in which they assumed the forms or characters of various birds and animals. And they said that they sought good fortune, as is set forth in the appendix of the Second Book.

Otras dos fiestas tenjan, que en parte eran fixas, y en parte eran moujbles: eran moujbles, porque se hazian por años interpolados. La vna se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, y la otra de ocho en ocho años: eran fixas porque tenjan año, mes, y dia señalados. En la que se hazia, de quatro en quatro años, horadauan las orejas a los njños o njñas: y hazianlos, las cerimonjas, de crezca para bien, y lustrauanlos por el fuego. En la que hazian, de ocho en ocho años: ayunauan antes della, ocho dias a pan y agua, y hazian vn areyto, en que tomauan figuras, o personajes, de diuersas aues y anjmales: y dezian que buscauan ventura, como esta escrito, en el apendiz del segundo libro.

These movable feasts, in some years, displace the feasts of the calendar, as also happeneth in our calendar.

Estas fiestas mouibles en algunos años echan de su lugar a las fiestas del kalendario: como tambien acontece, en nuestro kalendario.

Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the feast day and the debt-payment which they celebrated during all the days[1] of the month, which they named, which they said was Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.[2]

It was [the month of] Quauitl eua [when] this feast day came, and when it took place, then the feast day was celebrated for the Tlalocs.

There was the paying of the debt[3] [to the Tlalocs] everywhere on the mountain tops, and sacrificial banners were hung. There was the payment of the debt at Tepetzinco or there in the very middle of the lake at a place called Pantitlan.

There they would leave the rubber-spotted paper streamers[4] and there they would set up poles called *cuenmantli*, which were very long. Only on them [still] went their greenness, their sprouts, their shoots.

And there they left children known as "human paper streamers,"[5] those who had two cowlicks of hair, whose day signs were favorable. They were sought everywhere; they were paid for. It was said: "They are indeed most precious debt-payments. [The Tlalocs] gladly receive them; they want them. Thus they are well content; thus there is indeed content-

Jnic 20. capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in quichioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhuitl metztli; in qujtocaiotiaia, in qujtoaia atl caoalo, anoço quauitl eoa.

Quauitl eoa, ynin ilhuitl quiçaia: auh yn iquac y, vncan ilhujqujxtililoia in tlaloque:

nextlaoaloia, in noujan tepeticpac, yoã neteteuhtiloia, onnextlaoaloia, in tepetzinco, anoço vmpa in vel aytic, ytocaiocan pantitla:

vmpa concaoaia in teteujtl, yoan vmpa conquetzaia quaujtl, moteneoa cuenmantli, viujtlatztic, çan itech ieetiuh yn icelica, yn itzmolinca, yzcallo.

Yoan vmpa qujmoncaoaia pipiltzitzinti, in moteneoaia tlacateteuhti: iehoãtin in vntecuezcomeque, in qualli intonal: noujan temoloia, patiiotiloia: mitoaia, ca iehoantin vellaçonextlaoalti, vel qujnpaccacelia qujnnequj, ic vellamati, ic vellamachtilo, ynjc inca qujiauhtlatlanjoa, quiiauhtlatlano.

1. *cemilhuitl*: the term is usually translated as "one day," "all day," or "all the days." Angel María Garibay K., in "Relación breve de las fiestas de los dioses, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 4 (1948), p. 291, renders it "the first day." Rémi Siméon in *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), in an extended discussion admits a meaning of "the first day," or "all the days." In the corresponding Spanish text Sahagún consistently uses the phrase "*en las kalendas*."

2. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, observes that Quauitl eua is the term used by the Mexicans. Cf. Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México*, 4 vols. (Mexico: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880), Vol. II, p. 36: "Xilomanaliztli, — Atlacahualco, — Cuahuitlehua, — Cihuailhuitl. *Xilomanaliztli, ofrenda de xilotl ó jilotes; nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. Cuahuitlehua, quemazon de los árboles; nombre perteneciente á lugares fuera de México. Atlcahualco ó Atlacahualco, nombre admitido por los mexicanos; segun el P. Leon, detencion de las aguas, y es la interpretación de todas que más nos satisface. Cihuailhuitl, fiesta de la mujer. El símbolo religioso es la imágen de Tlaloc y un árbol reverdeciendo, con el agua entre las raices.*" Cf. also Francisco J. Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México*, 4 vols. (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1945) Vol. II, pp. 401–402: "*. . . el primer mes, cuyo nombre Acahualco o Atlacahualco, significa la cesación del agua, pues en el mes de marzo cesan las lluvias del invierno en los países septentrionales, en donde tuvo origen el calendario mexicano o tolteca. Lo llamaban también Quahuetlehua, lo que significa la vegetación de los árboles, que se verifica en este tiempo en los países fríos. Los tlaxcaltecas llamaban a este mes Xilomaniliztli, esto es, oblación de las mazorcas de maíz, porque en él ofrecían a sus dioses las del año corrido, para ayudar la siembra que por este tiempo comenzaban a hacer en los lugares altos.*"

Garibay, in "Relación breve," p. 291, translates *cuahuitl ehua* as *palo se alza*; Eduard Seler, in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt*, ed. Caecilie Seler–Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 54, translates the name as *die Bäume erheben sich (machen sich auf den Weg)*.

3. *nextlaoaloia*. Cf. *ixtlaua* in Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana*, ed. Julio Platzmann (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880), and in Siméon, *Dictionnaire*. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach-und Altertumskunde*, 5 vols. (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1903–23), Vol. II, p. 983, says: "*Die Kinderopfer an die Regengötter wurden geradezu* nextlaualli *'die bezahlte Schuld'* genannt."

4. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 292) translates *teteuitl* as *tiras sagradas*.

5. In *ibid*., Garibay renders *tlacateteuhme* as *tiras humanas* and makes it clear (Nahuatl sentence No. 4) that the term refers to the children who died. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 54, refers to them as *Menschen–Opferstreifen (Opferpapiere in Menschengestalt)*. They may actually have been paper streamers surmounted by a representation of a human head, and have symbolized the children who died. See illustration from *Biblioteca del Palacio MS* in Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, *"Primeros memoriales" de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Consejo de Historia, Colección Científica, No. 16, 1974), Lámina I.

ment." Thus with them the rains were sought, rain was asked.

And everywhere in the houses, in each home, and in each young men's house, in each *calpulco*,[6] everywhere they set up long, thin poles, poles coming to a point, on each of which they placed paper streamers with liquid rubber, spattered with rubber, splashed with rubber.[7]

Auh yn novian calpan, in techachan: yoan in tetelpuchcalco, in cacalpulco, noujian qujquetzaia, matlaquauhpitzaoac, tzonioquaujtl, itech qujtlatlaliaia amateteujtl, vltica tlaulchipinilli, tlavlchachapatztli.

And they left [the children] in many [different] places.

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

[First was] at Quauhtepetl.[8] And its same name, Quauhtepetl, went with the one who died there. His paper vestments were dark green.[9]

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl. Its same name, Yoaltecatl,[10] went with the "human paper streamer." His vestments were black striped with chili red.

Jnic vccã miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, in tlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tliltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

The third place was at Tepetzinco.[11] There died a girl called Quetzalxoch, [a name] which they took from Tepetzintli, which they [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was light blue.

Injc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[12] just at the foot, just in front, of the mountain, at Tepetzintli. Its name, Poyauhtecatl, went with the one who died [there]. Thus he went adorned: he was painted with liquid rubber; he was touched with liquid rubber.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlã, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiiaoac, tlaulujtectli.

The fifth place, there in the middle of the lake, was a place called Pantitlan. The one who died there went with his name, Epcoatl. His vestments, which he went wearing, were set with pearls.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epnepanjuhquj.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was to the top of [the hill of] Cocotl; he also went with its name, Cocotl.[13] His array was varicolored, part chili-red, part dark green.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

The seventh place was the top of Yiauhqueme; likewise the "human paper streamer" went with its

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca

6. *calpulco*: in the Spanish text, Sahagún consistently uses the term *calpulco* when he refers to the principal temple of the *calpulli*. Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Angel María Garibay K., 4 vols. (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1956; hereafter referred to as Sahagún, Garibay ed.), Vol. I, p. 263: "calpulco *o parroquia de su barrio*"; p. 345: "calpulco, *que era la iglesia de aquel barrio*." On the *calpulli*, the fundamental territorial-economic-social-political-religious-lineage unit, see William T. Sanders, "Settlement Patterns in Central Mexico," in Gordon F. Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal, eds., *Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica*, Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 10, Robert Wauchope, gen. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 13–15.

7. See n. 5. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to "*vnos papeles, llenos de gotas de vlli: a los quales papeles llamauan amateteujtl.*" For *tlavlchachapatztli*, cf. *chachapani* in Molina, *Vocabulario*.

8. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place names is at times confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es vna sierra emjnente que esta cerca del tlatelulco.*"

9. *yiapaltic*: cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book XI, Earthly Things* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1963; hereafter referred to as Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*), p. 244.

10. The Spanish text explains: "*es vna sierra emjnente, que esta cabe guadalope.*"

11. *Ibid.*: "*es aquel montezillo, que esta dentro desta laguna, frontero del tlatelulco.*"

12. *Ibid.*: "*es vn monte, que esta en los termjnos de tlaxcalla, y alli cabe tepetzinco.*"

13. *Ibid.*: "*es vn monte que esta cabe chalco atenco.*"

name, Yiauhqueme. As to the clothing which he had with him, he was all dressed in dark green.

These were all the places where the debt-payments, the "human paper streamers," died.

And all went with their head-bands.[14] They were crammed with precious feathers; they had sprays of precious feathers. Their green stone necklaces went with them; they went provided with bracelets — they went provided with green stone bracelets. They had their faces liquid rubber-painted; their faces were painted with liquid rubber; their faces were spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And there were their rubber sandals; their rubber sandals went with them. They all went honored; they were adorned, they were ornamented with all valuable things which went with them. They gave them paper wings,[15] they were of paper; they each had paper wings. In litters were they carried; they went housed in precious feathers, there where each of them customarily went. They went sounding flutes for them.

There was much compassion. They made one weep; they loosed one's weeping; they made one sad for them; there was sighing for them.

And when they were brought to the place of vigil, in the Mist House,[16] there all night was to be spent in vigil. The offering priests and the *quaquacuiltin*,[17] those who were old offering priests, made them keep the vigil. And if any of the offering priests avoided them, they would call them "the abandoned ones." No longer did one join others in singing; nowhere was he wanted; nowhere was he respected.[18]

And if the children went crying, if their tears kept flowing, if their tears kept falling, it was said, it was stated: "It will surely rain." Their tears signified rain. Therefore there was contentment; therefore one's heart was at rest. Thus they said: "Verily, already the rains will set in; verily, already we shall be rained on."

And if one who was dropsical was somewhere, they said: "There is no rain for us."

And when the rains were already to pass, when

ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miqujia nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: inchalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujzçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl, amaamatlapaleque: tlapechtica in vicoia, quetzalcallotiuja, yn vncã momantiujia, qujntlapichilitiuja:

cenca tlatlaocultiaia, techoctiaia, techoquizvitomaia, teicnotlamachtiaia, ynca elciciooaia.

Auh yn oaxitiloque toçocan, aiauhcalco, vncan ceiooal toçaujlo, qujntoçaviia tlamacazque: yoan in quaquacujlti, iehoan in ie veuetque tlamacazque. Auh in tlamacazque, yn o ceme ontetlalcaujque, motocaiotiaia mocauhque: aocmo tecujcananamiquj, aoccan onmonequj, aoccan onpoalo.

Auh in pipiltzitzinti, intla chocatiuj, intla imixaio totocatiuh, intla imixaio pipilcatiuh, mitoaia, moteneoaia, ca qujiauiz: yn imixaio qujnezcaiotiaia, in qujiaujtl, ic papacoaia, ic teiollo motlaliaia: iuh qujtoa, ca ie moquetzaz in qujiaujtl, ca ie tiqujiaujlozque.

Auh intla cana ca, ytixiuhquj, q'toaia, amo techqujiaujlotla.

Auh yn ie qujçaz qujiaujtl, yn ie tlamiz yn ie

14. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 57, reads *ymaxtlatzon*, which he translates as *ihre eigentümliche Frisur*.

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjanlos vnas alas de papel como angeles.*"

16. *Ibid.*: *aiauhcalco* is described as "*un oratorio que estaua iunto a tepetzinco de la parte del occidente.*"

17. *quaquacuilti* (sing., *quacuilli*): in Seler's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 987, it is suggested that the meaning of the term is probably "*der zum Haupte gewählt ist.*" In Sahagún's *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, trans. D. Jourdanet and Rémi Siméon (Paris: G. Masson, Editeur, 1880; hereafter referred to as Sahagún, Jourdanet-Siméon ed.), p. 110, n. 2, the translators render the term *preneur de têtes*.

18. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún explains in greater detail: "*Si alguno de los mjnistros del templo, y otros q̃ llamauan quaquacujlti, y los viejos se boluian a sus casas, y no llegauan a donde aujan de matar, los njños: tenjanlos por infames, y indignos de njngun oficio publico: de ay adelante llamauanlos mocauhque, que qujere dezir dexados.*"

they were already to end, when already they were at their close, thereupon the curve-billed thrasher[19] sang; it was the sign that continuous rains would set in. Then came the Franklin gulls.[20] And also came the falcons;[21] they came crying out. They were the sign that ice was to come; already it would freeze.

itzonco: njman ie ic tlatoa in cujtlacochi, ynezca, ynic ujtz, inic moquetzaz tlapaqujiaujtl: njman oalhuj, pipixcãme: no yoã oalhuj necujlicti, tletlecton, tzatzitinemj, ynezca ie uitz in cetl, ie ceuetziz.

And at the time called Quauitl eua, then on the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice there appeared, there came into view those to be striped. And of those who were only to die, it was stated: "They raise poles for the striped ones."[22] They were brought there to Yopico, [Xipe] totec's temple.[23] There they intimated to them how they were to die; they tore out their hearts; yet they were only putting them to the test. It was with the use of tortillas of ground corn which had not been softened in lime,[24] or "Yopi"-tortillas, that they tore their hearts from them.

Auh ynic mjtoaia quaujtl eoa: vncan necia, vncan onjxnecia, yn izqujntin oaoanozque temalacac: yoan in quexqujch çan miquiz, moteneoaia qujnquavitleoaltiaia yn oaoanti: vmpa ovico yiopico, yn iteupan Totec: vmpa qujntlaieecalviaia, in quenjn miquizque, qujmeltequja: çan oc qujntlaiecultiaia: iotlaxcalli, anoço iopitlaxcalli, ynic qujmelelteqüja.

And four times they appeared before the people; they were brought out before them; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known to them. They gave each of them things; they gave each of them their paper vestments.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujxtilo, teittitilo, teiximachtilo, qujntlamamaca, qujnmamaca yn jmamanechichioal:

The first time they were given [things] with which they were adorned, they were red. They went red. They were red. Their paper vestments were red.

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

The second time their paper adornment was white.

Jnic vppa iztac, yn jmamanechichioal.

The third time they went with vestments which were red.

Jnic expa, oc cepa iehoatl yn intlatquj, ietiuh, tlauhio.

The fourth time they were white.

Jnic nappa, iztac,

Finally they adorned them, finally they gave them, finally [the victims] wore that in which their task would end, in which [the sacrificer] would put them to death, in which [the victims] would breathe their last, in which they would be striped. For this last time they took their red garments.

iccen qujnchichioaia, iccen qujnmacaia, iccen qujtquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic qujntlatlatizque, ynjc ihjiotl quiçaz ynic oaoanozque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

No more did they change [garments]: no longer did they keep changing them. And with liquid rubber they ornamented [the victims] with stripes.

aocmo quipatla, aocmo qujpapatla: yoan vltica qujnoahoanchichioa.

And the captors, those who had captured men, who had captives, who had taken men, also anointed themselves with ochre; they covered themselves with

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in teacinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi iztac totoliujtica.

19. *cujtlacochi: Toxostoma curvirostre* (Swainson) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 51.

20. *pipixcame* (sing., *pipixcan*): *Larus pipixcan Wagler* in *ibid.*, p. 43.

21. *necuiljctli, tletlecton: Falco columbarius* in *ibid.*, p. 45.

22. *oaoanozque, oaoanti*: Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," p. 23, notes: "*Es el verbo* uauana, *que significa 'rayar.' Debe entenderse — según el Dr. Alfonso Caso — que sobre el embijado de tiza (yeso), les pintaban rayas rojas longitudinales. También podría ser que les sajasen la piel y de las sajaduras brotase sangre.*" For the act of striping and a discussion of agricultural connotations of the ceremony, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 719, 1000, 1073. See also Appendix to this volume, pp. 203–4.

23. Yopico. For location of the temple and its reference to Xipe Totec, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 772, 781.

24. *yotlaxcalli:* Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 60, refers to them as "*panes ácimos que ellos llamaban* yotlaxcalli."

feather down; they covered their arms, their legs with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly devices; these were not given for always. It was only at the time that one warmed them in the sun; it was only at the time that one danced the captives' dance. One only appeared with them; one only was seen with them; one only vaunted himself with them; one was with them only at the time it was a feast day; with them one only made known to men that his captive was a striped one.

And his shield went with him; it went resting on his arm. With it he went bending his knees. And his rattle stick went with him; he went rattling his rattle stick. He went planting the rattle stick forcefully [on the ground]; it rattled; it jingled.

And all were thus ornamented, all who had captives, who were takers of captives, whose captives would be striped when the feast day of Tlacaxipeualiztli arrived.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitotiaia: çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlattitia, ynjc oaoano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoaçotiuh, qujtilquetztiuh in chicaoaztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn ixqujchtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanozque, yn iquac oacic ilhujtl tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the honors and the debt-payment which they used to render at the time of the entire second month, which was called Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

Tlacaxipeualiztli. This feast day came and was thus celebrated: it was the time when all the captives died, all those taken, all who were made captive, the men, the women, all the children.[2]

Those who had captives, when, on the morrow, their captives were to die, then began to dance the captives' dance, when the sun had passed noon. And all night one held a vigil for his captive there in his *calpulco.* And there he took hair from the crown of [the captive's] head [and] placed it before the hearth[3] when the night divided in half, when it was time to fast.

And when it dawned, then they made [the captive] leave, that he might go to die, he who would die on this very feast day. And during the whole day they flayed all of them. They were flayed; hence [the feast day] was called The Flaying of Men.

And the captives were given the names *xipeme* and *tototecti.*[4] Those who slew them were the offering priests. Those who had captives did not slay them; they no more than left them, they no more than left them in the hands of [the priests],[5] who went seizing them, pulling them by their heads; they went taking them by [the hair of] their heads; they went taking them by [the hair of] the tops of their heads. Thus they made them climb to the top of the temple.

Jnic cempoali oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tlamauiztililiztli, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan vel ic vntetl metztli, in mjtoaia, tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Tlacaxipeoaliztli: ynin ilhuitl qujçaia: auh inic muchioaia, iquac miquja, yn ixqujch malli, yn ixqujch tlaaxitl, yn ixqujch haxioac: yn oquichtli, in cioatl, yn ixqujch piltzintli.

Jn maleque, in ie iuh muztla miqujzque inmalhoan, iquac peoa, in momalitotia, in ie onmotzcaloa tonatiuh: auh ceiooal qujtoçauja yn jmal, in vncan icalpulco: yoan vncan qujtzoncuj, iquaiolloco, tlecuilixquac qujtlalia, iquac in ioalli xeliuj, neçaoalizpan.

Auh in ooallatujc, vncan coneoaltia, inic mjqujtiuh: in miquja vel ipan in jlhujtl: auh vel iuh cemjlhujtl muchinti qujnxipeoaia, xipeoaloia: ic mjtoaia tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in mamalti motocaiotiaia xipeme, yoan tototecti: in temictiaia, iehoantin in tlamacazque: amo iehoanti qujnmictiaia in maleque, çan tequjtl qujmoncaoaia, çan tequjtl temac qujmoncaoaia, qujnquatemotzultzitzqujtiuj, inquatla qujmantiuj, ymjcpac qujmantiuj, ynjc qujntlecauja teucalticpac.

1. This most spectacular of ceremonies — the flaying of men — was said by Fray Diego de Durán to have been invented by Moctezuma I's general Tlacaelel. See *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y las islas de Tierra Firme*, ed. José F. Ramírez, 2 vols. (Mexico: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1867–80; hereafter referred to as Durán, *Historia*), Vol. I, p. 174. Miguel Acosta Saignes, in *Tlacaxipeualiztli, un complejo mesoamericano entre los caribes* (Caracas: Universidad Central, 1950), *passim*, argues that it is an ancient complex and in various aspects very widespread.

In Mexico, its place as a spring festival, celebrated when the soil was prepared for planting, is well recognized. Those who wore the human skins represented the renewal of vegetation. See Alfonso Caso, *The Aztecs, People of the Sun* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 49–51, where, besides, origin of the ceremony in Guerrero or Oaxaca is suggested.

2. Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. II, p. 149, adds that "*algunas de estas victimas solian ser los ladrones de oro y plata que eran condenados por la ley del reino a semejante sacrificio.*"

3. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 62, translates thus: "*legen es*" — the hair — "*vor dem Feuerherde nieder*"; Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, says: "*Junto al fuego hazian esta ceremonia.*"

4. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a ellos los llamauan xipeme, y por otro nombre tototecti, lo primero, quiere dezir, desollados, lo segundo, quiere dezir, los muertos a honrra del dios totec.*"

Besides being worn as described, the skins are said by Juan de Tovar to have been used to forecast a wet or a dry year, and the chiefs directed agricultural work accordingly — George Kubler and Charles Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p. 22.

5. In the Spanish text, Sahagún definitely states that the captive was delivered to the priest by the captor.

And when some captive lost his strength, fainted, only went continually throwing himself on the ground, they just dragged him.

But when one made an effort, he did not act like a woman; he became strong like a man, he bore himself like a man, he went speaking like a man, he went exerting himself, he went strong of heart, he went shouting. He did not go downcast; he did not go spiritless; he went extolling, he went exalting[6] his city.

He went with firm heart; he went saying: "Already here I go: You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And things being so, they were made to arrive at the top [of the pyramid], before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon one at a time they stretched them out on the sacrificial stone. Then they delivered them into the hands of six offering priests; they stretched them out upon their backs; they cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[7]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They raised them in dedication to the sun, Xippilli, Quauhtleuanitl.[8] They offered it to him; they nourished him.

And when [the heart] had become an offering, they placed it in the eagle vessel.[9] And these captives who had died they called eagle men.[10]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down. They came breaking to pieces; they came head over heels; they each came headfirst; they came turning over and over. Thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[11]

And from here they removed them.

And they were in the hands of the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the *calpulli*. They took

Auh yn aca malli, vel çotlaoa, iolmiquj, ça chachapantiuh, ça qujvilana:

auh yn aca vel muchicaoa, amo mocioatlamachtia, moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoatiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzatzilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlateniotitiuh, qujiauhcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo qujmattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjtozque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oaxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujaia, qujmaquetztiteca, qujmeltetequj, yca ixquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quizcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecueptiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in vevētzitzin quaquacujlti, calpul-

6. Read *quitauhcayotitiuh*.

7. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 63, specifies a "*dicken breiten Feuersteinmesser.*" Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, defines *ixquauac* as "*Couteau pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, 2 vols. (Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858–66), Vol. I, p. 40, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un navajon como hierro de lanza, no mucho agudo porque . . . no se puede hacer muy aguda. . . .*"

8. *quatleuanjtl*: in Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1905–07; hereafter referred to as *Real Palacio MS* Vols. VII and VI), Vol. VII, the text reads *quauhtlevanitl*, but it is possible that the *uh* has been crossed out.

9. Seler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf. *Einige Kapitel*, p. 64). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 704–11, he breaks the word down into *quauitl* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauh* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels seem actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently than Seler, uses the term *xicara de madero*.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Despues sacados los coraçones, los llamauan quauhteca.*" Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 704, translates *quauhtecatl* as "*der aus dem Adlerlande.*" He adds (p. 709): "*Und zur Sonne, in das Haus der Sonne, nach dem Osthimmel, als ihr Diener, als* quauhtecatl, *gieng auch die Seele des Geopferten.*"

11. *Apetlatl* is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway (cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. III, p. 54).

them there to their *calpulco*, where the taker of the captive had made his undertaking, had said his say, had made his vow.

From there they removed him in order to take him to the house of [the captor], in order to eat him. There they portioned him out; they cut him to pieces; they distributed him. First of all, they made an offering of one of his thighs to Moctezuma. They set forth to take it to him.

And as for the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And he gathered together his blood relatives; the captor assembled them in order to go to eat at his home.

There they made each one an offering of a bowl of stew of dried maize, called *tlacatlaolli*. They gave it to each one. On each went a piece of the flesh of the captive.

They named [the captor] "sun," "chalk," "feather," because he was as one whitened with chalk, decked with feathers.

The captor's being pasted with feathers was done because he had not died there in war or else [because] he would yet go to die, would go to pay the debt [in war or by sacrifice]. Hence his blood relations greeted him with tears; they encouraged him.

And on the morrow there was the striping.[12] Until early morning, when it was to dawn, they held vigil for them all night until night ended. Thus the captives, the striped ones, spent all night until the time it dawned.

From those whom they were to stripe, once more they took hair [from the crowns of their heads] at midnight.

Hence it was said: "The eagle man is taken upwards," because indeed he who died in war went, went looking, sat resting in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the place of the dead.

And therefore he who took hair [from the crown of a captive's head] kept his hair safely.

Because thus he merited honor, flowers, tobacco, capes.

Thus his valor would not in vain perish; it was as if thus he took renown from the captive.

And he who took the captive was adorned, there at [the Temple of] Tecanman, in Tenochtitlan, with white turkey down; he was pasted with feathers as is set forth in [the Feast of] Quauitl eua.

vevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonetolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujxexeloa, qujtetequj, qujueueloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan qujtlauhtia: auh yn joaniolque qujntlalhuja, qujcentlalia, ynic tlaquatiuj ichan tlamanj:

vmpa qujntotonaltia cecen molcaxitl in tlaolpaoaxtli, q'nmamanjliaia, itoca tlacatlaolli, ypan ieietiuh cecen tlatectli yn jnacaio malli:

quitocaiotia tonatiuh, tiçatl, hiujtl: ipampa iuhqujn ytiçaio, yujio.

ypotonjloca omochiuh in tlamanj, ynic amo vmpa omjc iaopan, yn anoçe oc miqujtiuh, qujxtlaoatiuh, ic qujchoquiztlapaloa, quellaquaoa yn joaiolque.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, tlaoaoano: yn jioatzinioc, in ie oallatuiz qujntoçauja, iuh ceioal, iuh tlami ioalli, iuh contlaça in ceiooal, iuh ipan tlatuj, in mamalti, in oaoanti:

in qujnoaoanazque, oc no cepa qujntzoncuj, ioalnepantla:

ic mitoaia onacoqujxtilo in quauhtecatl, iehica ca iaomjquj, ixco iauh, ixcopa itztiuh, ixco monoltitoc in tonatiuh, qujtoznequj, amo mictlan iauh:

yoan ipampa in qujtzoncuja, qujmopialtiaia yn itzon:

iehica ca ic oqujmomaceuj, in mavizçotl, in xuchitl yn ietl, in tilmatli:

ynjc amo çan nenpoliuiz itiiacauhio: iuhqujnma ic contleiocujliaia malli.

Auh in tlamanj vmpa muchichioa in tecanma, tenochtitla, iztac totolihujtl, ynjc mopotonja, in iuh omoteneuh ipan quaujtl eoa.

12. See Chap. 20, n. 22.

And in the place where the *tototecti* waited,[13] they were in order, they were in rows upon white earth or upon grass, for there was white earth in the place where they waited.[14]

And wherever in the city grass was shaken out, upon it they placed, set up, exhibited, before all, the *xipeme* who had put on the skins of men.

And any who had become drunk, unruly like warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, kept provoking them, menaced them, kept starting a fight, provoked them to battle.

And to arouse their wrath completely, verily to move them, verily in order to bring out their rage, their anger, they would snatch at their navels. They snatched at their navels; they pinched their navels.

Then the *xipeme* went in pursuit. Behind them, at their backs, marched a Totec, named the Youallauan; he followed them; he went menacing them. All the *tototecti* then set upon [the warriors]; they took after them; they went fighting them; they went capturing them; they went taking them in their hands. It was as if they were on the heels of their interceptors.

And [the others] went turning back, went circling back; with pine staves they went threatening them.

And if some of the interceptors were taken, the *xipeme* beat them repeatedly with the rattle sticks. They trampled them; they made them angry.

And they took one to Yopico. Not for nothing did he come out; not for nothing was he let free. Something was exacted for it, something was taken for it, perhaps a turkey hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered one, etc.

As was said in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards they visited, they entertained, they amused the *tototecti*, the *xipeme*.

Then began the gladiatorial sacrifice.[15] The captives were placed in order; the captors remained accompanying each one, remained bringing each one. Then also the striped ones came forth. An ocelot warrior swiftly led; he swiftly led them; he swiftly

Auh in vncan momanaia tototecti, tecpantimanj vipantimanj tiçapan, anoço çacapan: ipampa ca tiçatl antoca in vncan momanaia.

Auh in cana altepetl ipan, çacatl motzetzeloa, yn ipan qujnoalmana, qujnoalquetza, qujnoalteittitia: tlaixco qujnoalmana in xipeme, yn onmaqujaia tlacaeoatl.

Auh yn aqujque, mihivintia iautlaueliloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan ixmauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipopoanj yn jntiiacauhio moqujchnenequj, qujmonpepeoaltia, qujmontlaehecalhuja, oiaiaopeoa, qujnmoiaiaopeoaltia.

Auh inic vel qujntlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel qujmolinjaia, ynic vel intlauel, inqualan qujcuja, qujmonxiccuja, qujmõxiccuj, qujmonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapaynaltiaia ymjcampa inteputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca iooallaoan, qujntoca qujntlaiehecalhujtiuh, in muchintin tototecti: ic njman intech ietiqujça, qujntlalochtoca, qujniaochiuhtiuj, qujmaacitiuj, qujnmamacujtiuj iuhq'n incotztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocueptiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoquauhtica quinoallaheecalhujtiuj.

Auh intla ceme anoia, in teçaloanj, qujnujujtequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, qujxixilia, vel qujncocoltia.

Auh iopico conujcaia, amo çan nen oalqujçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moqujxtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachtli qujtemacaia. Et.a

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlatollo xippe, çan ie no iuh mochioaia: çatepan, in ontetotocaque, yn onteaujeltique, yn ontlapactique tototecti, xipeme:

njman ic peoa in tlaoaoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, qujnnanamjctimani, qujujujcatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalqujça in tlaoaoanque, yiacatiujtz, qujiacatitiujtz, in teiacantiujtz ocelutl ipan quiztiujtz,

13. Although in the following paragraphs the Nahuatl text refers to the *tototecti* and the *xipeme*, both names refer to the same persons. See n. 4.

14. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún states: "*ponjanse todos sentados, sobre vnos lechos de heno, o de tiçatl, o greda estando alli sentados.*" See also Appendix in this volume, p. 204.

15. A less detailed description of this same ceremony appears in the *Real Academia MS* as the latter part of its Chap. 17 (the *Florentine Codex, Book VIII*, Chap. 20). The similarity of the two accounts may explain why the *Real Academia MS* version was deleted when *Book VIII* of the *Florentine Codex* was prepared. See Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, *Florentine Codex, Book VIII, Kings and Lords* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1954), pp. 83–86.

guided them. He swiftly encountered them. He displayed his shield, his obsidian-bladed club; he raised them in dedication to the sun.[16]

Then once again he turned back; he retreated, he turned to the rear; once again he went back.

When this was done, there then followed him, there came second after him an eagle warrior; he came second. Similarly he raised his shield, his obsidian-bladed club in dedication to the sun.

Once again there emerged another ocelot warrior; he came out as third. He came quickly after one as third. He did the same. He swiftly entered.

Yet again an eagle warrior came forth; he did everything in the same way. All four came forth fighting; they raised their shields, their obsidian-bladed clubs in dedication to the sun.

No longer did they delay. As they were turning to the rear, at once they were coming forth. They came dancing; they each went turning about. They each went as if stretched on the ground; they each went on the ground; they each went stretched flat; they went looking from side to side; they each went leaping upwards; they each went fighting.

And when this was done, then the Youallauan came forth; he came forth quickly as Totec; he only followed them; he came quite last; he hung on quite behind them; he came quite last of all after all four of the great ocelot [and] eagle warriors. They only extended their arms; they only stretched out their arms; they raised their shields, their obsidian-bladed clubs in dedication to the sun.

Thereupon came forth, arrived, were ranged in order all the impersonators, the proxies of all the gods.[17] They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the impersonators.

In just the same way they went. They went in order; they went together. Thus they came down; they started from there at Yopico, from the very top of the Temple of Yopitli.

And when they had come to arrive down below, on the ground, on the earth, they encircled the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. When they had encircled it, they seated themselves. They were in order upon large backed seats called roseate spoonbill feather seats.

And as they were extended, as they were extended in order, so the Youallauan[18] was leading; again he

conjttitia, conjaujlia yn ichimal, yn imaquauh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnenemj, tziniloti: oc cepa ycujtlaujc iauh:

in ie iuhquj njman qujoaltoquilia, qujoaloncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjaujlia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn imacquauh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelutl, oallaecaiotitiuh, teecaiotitiujtz, çan no iuh qujchioaia calactiuetzi.

Oc no cepa centetl oalqujça, in quauhtli, çan ie much iuj in qujchioaia, oallaehecooaia in naujxti: conjaujliaia yn jnchimal, yn jnmacquauh in tonatiuh:

aocmo oaluecaoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan njman ic oalquiztimanca, mitotitiujtze, momamantiuj: iuhquin tlalli ixco motetecatiuj, iuhqujn tlaltitech õujujh, mocacanauhtiuj, nanacaztlachixtiuj, haacocholotiuj, tlatlaieecotiuj.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman oalqujça, yiooallaoan, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoqujlia, ça oallatzacujtiuh, ça oallacujtlapilooa, ça quinoalcentzacujtiuh in naujntin, veueinti in quaquauhti, yn oocelo, ça oalmaçoa, oalmaana, conjaujlia yn inchimal yn jmaquauh in tonatiuh:

njman ie ic oalqujça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn ixqujchtin teixiptlaoan, yn jnpatilooan in ixqujchtin teteu: motocaiotiaia tepatiuhti, tepatillooan, teixiptlati:

çan ie no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oaltemo: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teucalli iopitli.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltitech: njman qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn oconiaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, itoca quecholicpalli.

Auh ynjc onoque, ynjc tecpantoque, ene teiacantica, ie no cuele teiacantica, tlaiacatitica, in iooallaoa:

16. Sahagún's Spanish has: "*leuantaban la rodela, y la espada hazia el sol, como demandando esfuerço al sol.*" Cf. also Pl. 5.

17. Durán, in *Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 176 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Toci, Yopi, Totec, and Itzpapalotl.

18. Corresponding Spanish text specifies "*el principal sacerdote, de aquella fiesta, que se llamaua ioallaoa.*"

was first; he was in the lead; because it was his office, his personal privilege that he sacrifice to the gods, that he slay one; at his hands would perish, at his hands would be hacked open all the eagle men.

When this was done, then musical instruments were blown; conch shells, large seashells were blown; there was whistling with fingers placed in the mouth, and there was singing. With singing, with blowing of trumpets, [the Cozcateca] arrived. The Cozcateca placed themselves in order; their shoulders each went decked with heron feather flags. They encircled the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, went holding him by the head in order to bring him to the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice.

When they had brought him, they gave him pulque; and the captive raised the pulque four times in dedication,[19] and afterwards drank it with a long hollow cane.

Then still another man, [a priest], came; he beheaded a quail for the captive, the striped one. When he had beheaded the quail, he raised the captive's shield [to the sun], and he cast the quail away behind him.

When this was done, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice; and when they had set him up on the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice, a man, the bear [priest], confronted him. He represented the one called "Old Bear." [20] It was as if he were the uncle of the striped one.

Then he took the "sustenance" rope, which reached to the center [of the stone and] which was fastened [to it]. Then he tied it about the waist of the captive.[21] And he gave him a war club decked with feathers, not set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles to throw at one,[22] to defend himself with. And the captor, when he had gone to leave his captive on the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice, thereupon went away; he stopped where he had been standing before; he stood dancing; from where he

iehica ca itequjuh, yneixcaujl catca, in tlamictiz, in tetlatlatiz, ymac polioaz, ymac xamanizq̃ yn ixqujch quauhtecatl:

in ie iuhquj njman tlapitzalo, tecciztli mopitza, qujqujztli, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cozcateca, qujquequechpanotiuj aztapanjtl, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl.

Ce cantiqujça in malli, icpac cantiuh in tlamanj, in male, ynic qujujca temalacac:

yn ocaxitique, qujmaca vctli: auh yn vctli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piaztica:

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin qujcotonjlia, in malli, in oaoantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachtli ipan qujça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhqujn intla catca in oaoanti:

njman conana, in tonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquaujtl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj, yn oconcaoato ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixqujchcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

19. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 69, says that the captor raised the pulque; Sahagún says the prisoner.

20. "*venja vno de los sacerdotes, o mjnistros del templo, vestido con vn cuero de osso*" — corresponding Spanish text. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 5. Seler translates *cuetlachtli* as kinkajou, in *Einige Kapitel*, pp. 69, 73.

21. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 177.

22. In *ibid.*, and later (p. 284), descriptions respectively specify "*quatro pelotas, hechas de palo de tea,*" and "*quatro troços de palo de tea.*"

was he stood watching; he stood looking at his captive.

Then they fought each other; they kept menacing each other; they threatened each other. They looked at each other well [to see] where they would smite each other, would cut each other in a dangerous place, perchance in the calf of the leg, or in the thigh, or on the head, or in the middle.

And if some captive was valiant, courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met all four of the ocelot [and] eagle warriors; he fought them. And if they could not weaken him, then there went one who was left-handed. Then this one wounded his arms; he felled him; he felled him flat. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the striped one already faltered, already weakened, also he quite acquitted himself as a man; he still acquitted himself as a man.

And when one only went faltering, only went on all fours, went fainting, only went undone, only vainly, only impotently, they snatched his war club. Thus the one who striped him, the striper, confronted him.

And on the other hand there was the one who no longer did anything, no longer used his arms, no longer defended himself with them, no longer attended to it, no longer took the trouble, no longer spoke. At once he faltered, he fainted, he fell on the surface, he threw himself down as if dead, he wished that breath might end, that he might endure it, that he might perish, that he might cast off the burden of death.

And then they quickly grabbed him, quickly seized him, held him thrown down, held him stretched out on the edge of the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice.

And then at that time the Youallauan went [forth]; he came in the guise of Totec. He gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, raised it in dedication to the sun. The offering priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And another man, an offering priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane,[23] set it standing in the captive's breast [cavity] there where the heart had been, stained it with blood, indeed submerged it in the blood. Then he also raised [the blood] in dedication to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

And the captor thereupon took the blood of his

njman ic mopeoaltia, motlatlaiehecalhuja, motlaehecalhuja, vel qujnmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, qujmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in metzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiian.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin qujnnamjquj, qujnmaiztlacoa, yn oocelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel qujhiiocaoaltia, njman oiauh, opuchmaie, qujn iehoatl qujmamimictia, qujmaiauj, qujtentimaiauj: injn ipan mixeoaia in opuchtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaoa, intlanel ie ihiiocaoa, no çan oaloqujcheoa: noma oqujcheoa, in oaoantli.

Auh in aca ça çotlaoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, iolmictiuh, ça tlapolotiuh: ça nenpanca, ça nenpictli in qujcujtiuetzi, yn imaquauh: ic qujoalnamjquj, in qujoaoana, in tlaoaoanquj.

Auh in neh aca, aoctle conchioa, aoctle onmaitia, aoctle ic oalmomapatla, aoctle conmochichioaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzoa, aocmo oalnaoati, çan njman iolmjquj, çotlaoa, chapantiuetzi, momiccatlaça: qujnequj, macuelieh yhiiotl onqujça, macuelieh conjhiiouj, macuelieh ompoliuj, macuelieh conmotlaxili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh niman ic qujcuitiuetzi, câ antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, câ quetztiteca, itenco in temalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iooallaoan, totec ipan quiztiuitz conelteteqUj, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacazque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacazquj, conitqui, quappiaztli, ielpan contilquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conezçotia, vel eztitlan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj[24] yn iezço ymal,

23. "*vn cañuto, de caña hueca*" (corresponding Spanish text).

24. Read *cōcuj* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*

captive in a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests poured it in for him there. In it went standing the hollow cane, also feathered. And then the captor departed to nourish the demons. He went everywhere; he went every place; he omitted no place; nowhere did he forget in the *calmecacs*, in the *calpulcos*. On the lips of the stone images, on each one, he placed the blood of his captive. He made them taste it with the hollow cane. He went with his warrior's insignia.[25]

And when he had gone everywhere, when he had gone to reach everywhere, then he left the insignia at the palace, and he caused [the body of] his captive to be taken to the *calpulco* where they had passed the night in vigil for him. There they flayed him. Then [the captor] had [the flayed body] taken to his home, where they cut it up, so that it would be eaten, so that it would be [other] people's lot. And it was said that they would be considered gods.[26] As it is told elsewhere, so likewise was it done.

But the captor could not eat the flesh of his captive. He said. "Shall I perchance eat my very self?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said: "He is my beloved father." But yet on someone else's account he might eat of one's captive.

And the captor kept [the captive's] skin for himself; he went lending it to others. For twenty days there was begging in it; it was passed from one to another; it was worn all day. He who wore it customarily gave the captor all that was given [him], all that he gathered. Afterwards [the captor] divided up, distributed [the gifts] among [all of] them. Thus he made use of his skin.

And when this was done, when they had finished with the striped ones, then they danced, they went in procession about the round stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. All the impersonators [of the gods and] those who had done the striping went in their array. Thus did they who did the slaying go ending [the ceremony]. All severally took with them the head of a captive, of a striped one; with them they danced. It was said: "They dance with the severed heads."

And the old bear man pulled up the "sustenance" rope; he raised it in dedication to the four directions. He went weeping, he went howling like one be-

xoxoujc xicalli, tlatenpotonilli, vncan qujoaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncã eoa in qujntlatlaqualia diablome, noujian nemj, izqujcan qujça acan qujmocauja, acan qujxcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in teme teixiptlaoan, intenco qujmontlatlalilia yn jezço malli, piaztica qujmonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aacito, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan qujoalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oqujtoçaujque ceiooal: vncan qujxipeoa, çatepan concaujliaia yn ichan vmpa qujtetequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetonaltiloz: yoan mjtoaia teteuhtiloz, yn oiuh mito cecnj, çan ie no iuh muchioaia.

Auh in male, amo uel qujquaia, yn jnacaio imal, qujtoaia, cujx çan no ne njnoquaz: ca yn iquac caci, qujtoa, ca iuhquj nopiltzin: Auh in malli, qujtoa ca notatzin: auh tel tepal qujquaia intemal.

Auh yn ieoaio qujmopialtiaia in tlamanj, qujtetlaneuhtitinemj, cempoalilhujtl ipan tlatlaeoalo, nepapatlalo, yn onneaqujlo cemjlhujtl: yn aqujn onmaquja in quexqujch maco, in quexqujch qujnechicoa conmacatimanj in tlamanj, çatepan qujtexexelhuja, tetlatlamachia: ic qujtlaiecultia yn ieoauh.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn ontlanque oaoanti, njman ic mjtotia, qujiaoaloa in temalacatl, yn ixqujchtin teixiptlati, yn otlaoaoanque, mocencauhtiuj, çan iuh tlantiuj yn oiuh tetlatlatique: muchintin cecentetl intlan ca ana, yn jntzontecon mamalti, in oaoanti, ic mjtotiuj: mjtoa, motzontecomaitotia.

Auh in cujtlachueue, contilinja in tonacamecatl, nauhcampa conjiaoa, chocatinemj, tehcoiouhtinemj,

25. "*yua conpuesto con sus plumages, y cõ todas sus ioyas*" (*ibid.*).

26. *teteuhtiloz*: Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 72, n. 1, holds, of *teteuhtiloz*, that it is derived from *teotia*, equivalent to *tonaltia*; *teotl* is equivalent to *tonatiuh* or *tonalli*. Hence the meaning, to apportion as a favor.

reaved; he wept for those who had suffered, who had died.

And also from cities which were his enemies, from beyond [the mountains] those with which there was war, Moctezuma secretly summoned, secretly admitted as his guests the Nonoalca, the Cozcateca, the Cempoallans, the Mecateca. There was witnessing, there was wonder; then consequently there was breaking up, there was dispersal.[27]

iuhqujn mjccaoati, qujnchoqujlia yn otlacotique, yn onmicque.

Auh no iehoanti, yn iiaooan altepetl, tlateputzca, ynjn ca manca teuatl, tlachinolli, qujmonnotzaia ichtaca, oalichtacacalaquja, yn jcooaoan motecuçuma: yn nonooalca, cozcateca, cempoalteca, mecateca, tlattitiloia, tlamaujçoltiloia: njman ic xitinooa, necacaoalo.

And when there was the striping, at that same time were eaten tortillas of uncooked maize.[28] The onlookers took tortillas of uncooked maize there; they went as their refreshments; they sat eating them there.

Auh yn jquac tlaoaoano, çan no iquac qualo, viloc-palli: in tlatlattaque vmpa conjtquj yn jnvilocpal, ymjttac ietiuh, vmpa qujquaquatoque.

And on the next day, the third day, then each began the bringing out of persons. It was very late at night that it was begun there at the great palace. The Tlatelolca began it; they ended it at the time of eating. Then the offering priests replaced them. They adorned themselves, they danced in quite mixed things, quite various arrays: butterfly nets, fish banners, clusters of ears of maize, coyote heads made of a paste of amaranth seeds, S-shaped tortillas, thick rolls[29] covered with a dough of amaranth seeds which they covered on top with toasted maize, and red amaranth (only it was red feathers), and maize stalks with ears of green or tender maize.

Auh yn imuztlaioc, in ie ic eilhujtl: njman pepeoa in teq'qujxtilo, cenca oc hueca iooan in peoalo, in peoa, in vmpa vey tecpa: qujpeoaltiaia in tlatelulca, tlaqualizpan qujoalcaoaia: njman qujmonpatla tlamacazque, ynic muchichioaia, ynic mjhtotiaia, çan tlanenel, çan nepapã tlatqujtl, papalomatlatl, michpanjtl, ocholli, tzôcoiotl, tzoalli, tlachichioalli, xonecujllaxcalli, teumjmjlli, çan no tzoalli ic qujpepechooaia, qujmomochiotiaia panj: yoan oauhchichilli, çan tlapaliujtl catca, yoan cintopilli, eloio, anoço xiloio.

After midday the offering priests rested. Thereupon the Tenochca [and] the Tlatelolca joined, paired. The Tenochca formed two rows; also the Tlatelolca formed two rows. They went facing each other. Very slow was the dancing; very much in harmony went the dancing. Then there was emerging through the palace entrance; there was stopping. Moctezuma brought them forth; he went dancing. Two great rulers, Neçaualpilli of Texcoco [and] Totoquiuaztli, ruler of Tepaneca land, came each following him, went facing him. Great solemnity reigned while there was dancing.

Yn omotzcalo tonatiuh, moceuja in tlamacazque, njman ie ic monepanuja, montlamanuja, in tenuchca in tlatilulca, vmpanti in tenuchca, no vmpanti in tlatilulca, mixnamjctiuj, cenca çan yujian, yn netotilo, cenca vel cooamantiuh in netotiliztli: njman oalqujxoa in tecpaqujiaoac, oalnemanalo, oalteujca in motecuçoma, oalmjtotitiuh, qujtzatzacutiuitze, qujoalitzcatitiuj, vmentin veueintin tlatoque Neçaoalpilli tetzcuco, totoqujoaztli, tepanecapan tlatoanj: vel mauiztli oonoc in nehtotiloia.

And when night fell, when it was going dark, there was dispersal; then began the singing and

Auh ie tlapoiaoa, ie tlaixcuecuetziuj in necacaoalo, njman ic peoa, in cujcoanolo, mjtotiaia in telpuchte-

27. Durán (*Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 175–80) says that Moctezuma I invited "*los señores de toda la redonda*" — Texcoco, Tlacopan, Chalco, Xochimilco, Couixco, Matlatzinco, the Maçahuaques, and as many more as possible. "*Los señores de las prouincias y ciudades*," he continues, "*admirados y asombrados de semejante sacrificio, partiéronse para sus prouincias y pueblos llenos de temor y espanto . . . dexó espantados á los forasteros. . . . Desde entonces todos los de las prouincias y ciudades comarcanas dexaron de tratar reueliones ni contiendas con los mexicanos, viendo quán adelante estauan y cómo tratauan á sus enemigos.*"

28. *uilocpalli*: "*tortillas, como empanadillas, que hazian de mahiz, sin cozer*," according to Sahagún's Spanish text. In Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 71, n. 1) this is defined as the equivalent of *macuextlaxcalli* — "*das 'Brot in Gestalt eines Armbandes.' . . . Es war ein Gebäck in Ringform, das aus eingekochten, in trockenem Zustande zermahlenen Maiskörnern, also aus Maismehl, nicht aus Maismasse, hergestellt wurde.*"

29. *teumjmjlli*: a description in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 61, reads, "*Hacían de masa una figura de un hueso grueso, redondo y largo como un codo.*" Possibly these resembled the wrapped femur in Pl. 12.

dancing [with interlocked hands]. There danced the rulers of the youths, the leaders of the youths, who had gone to take four or more captives, as well as those who had gone to take one [or] two. And also these were called leading youths. And also the rulers danced. And also women danced with them (they were called mothers), only of their own accord;[30] they were not made to. And likewise pleasure girls, who amused themselves.

And the time that there was cessation was when already midnight came hurrying, at the time of the blowing of the trumpets. For twenty days such was the custom; such used to be customary. Then arrived the time when it was the Feast of Toçoztontli.

qujoaque, teachcaoa, in nauj cacitinemj, yn anoce oc quezqujnti ymalhoan: yoã in ce, vme, cacitinemj. Auh no motocaiotiaia hy, telpuchiiaque: no yoan in tlatoque mitotia. Auh no tehoan in cioa mjtotia: mjtoa tenaoan, çan illotlama, amo tequjuhtiloia: auh çan no iehoãtin yn aujianjme, in maaujltia.

Auh iquac necaoaloia, in ie hiciuhtiuh, ioalnepantla tlatlapitzalizpa: cempoalilhujtl, yn iuh tlamanca, yn juh tlamanja: vmpa onaci yn ipan toçoztontli.

30. Read *yyollotlama* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*

Twenty-second Chapter, in which are described the feast day and the debt-paying which they celebrated in the second month, called, known as Tlacaxipeualiztli.[1]

And when it was this [time], the rattle boards were sown[2] there at Yopico. And only they, the old men of the *calpulli* at Yopico,[3] sat singing, sat rattling their rattle boards until the day was done. Thus they sat passing all day, thus they sat celebrating the day, thus they sat displaying the day; they sat making the day wear away; they sat wearing the day away. Thus they continued to pass the day.

And flowers were offered. Hence was it said: "Flowers are offered." For all the various flowers which for the first time blossomed, the flowers which came [out] first, the flowers which came [out] ahead, were then given as offerings. No one first smelled them unless he would first make an offering, would give them as gifts, would lay them out as offerings. They were whatever small flowers they saw which spread out blossoming, spread out bursting, spread out popping into bloom — the flowers of spring. Small, little, tiny, minute ones, no matter how many, no matter how little, no matter how small, no matter how tiny, they bound them each together at the ends; they bound them up.

And in order to look for the flowers, they all went together to the fields to bring them in, although some of the field people sold them here.

And when this was done, they ate tamales of wild amaranth seeds.[4]

Especially the Coateca, they who belonged to the *calpulli* of Coatlan, venerated [this feast day]. They made offerings to their deity called Coatl icue or Coatlan tonan.

They placed their trust in her; she was their hope; they depended upon her; she was their support. To her they lifted their voices.

Jnic cempoali omume capitulo, vnca moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli in quichioaia in ipan ic vme metztli: in mitoaia, in moteneoaia, Tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Auh in iquac y, aiacachpixolo vmpa iopico: auh ça iehoanti, in calpulueuetque, vmpa pouhque iopico, cujcatoque, aiacachotoque, yc ouetzi cemilhujtl, ic tlacemilhuitiltitoque, ic tlalhujqujxtitoque, ic tlalhujnextitoque, tlalhuiçultitoque, ihujçulotoque, ic ueuetzi cemilhujtl:

yoã xochimanalo ynic mjtoa xochimanalo, ca in ixqujch nepapan xochitl, in iancujcan cueponj, yiacatiuitz: yn iiacac vitz xochitl ic tlamanalo, aiac achto qujnecuj, intlacamo achto ic tlamanaz, qujuenchioaz, qujuẽmanaz, in çaço tlein xochitotõti qujttaia, cuecuepontoc, cuecuepocatoc, tlatlatzcatoc, in tonalxuchitl, hacquj, aqujtoton, hacqujpipil, hacqujtetoton, çan quecizquj, çan quezqujtoton, çan quecizquipipil, çan quezqujquauhtoton qujcujcujtlalpia, qujilpia.

Auh ynjc xuchitetemoaia, qujcenpanocujtivj in milli, tel cequj qujoalnamacaia, in millaca:

auh yn iquac y, qujquaia tzatzapaltamalli:

oc cenca iehoanti qujmauiztiliaia in coateca, in coatlan calpulli itech pouja: qujtlamanjlia yn inteouh, itoca coatl ycue, coatlan tona:

yn jtech tlaquauhtlamati, yn jnnetemachil, yn jtech moquauhiotia, yn inquauhio, yn jtech motzatzilia.

1. The corresponding Spanish text specifies: "... *que hazian en el postrero dia, del segundo mes, que se dezia tlacaxipeoaliztli.*" In Chapter 3, this month is correctly named Toçoztontli.

2. *ioan moteneva ayacachpixollo* — "*Y se dice 'se siembran sonajas'*" (Garibay, "Relación breve," p. 294). Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 77, has, for *aiacachpixolo*, "*findet statt das Ausstreuen mit der Rassel.*"

3. "*los vezinos de aquel barrio,*" according to Sahagún's Spanish text.

4. Cf. Sahagún, Jourdanet–Siméon ed., p. 92, n. 3: *tzatzapaltamalli* — "*Peut-être pour* tzatzapatamalli, *de* tzatzapatli, *épine ou herbe piquante, et* atamalli, *sorte de tamal.*"

And at that same time were hidden away the skins;[5] the human skins were placed aside, left there at Yopico.

Any of the youths who had wished to, to whom it had been pleasing, who had wanted to, who had been drunk, had gone wearing [the skins].

And some had made vows to hide away the skins because perchance they were covered with sores, perchance had a scabby skin, or had maladies of the eyes. Though for some this was successful [and] thus they recovered, some did not recover.

Each one of the captors came forth from this home; they left; they went wearing the [captive's] skin. Paper streamers went upon their shoulders and upon the calves of their legs.

And as they went, they went jumping, they went stinking; they went in a group. So did they stink [that the stench] verily wounded the head. It could not be endured. There was holding of the nose when they were met, when they went among people.

And the skins were in pieces; they crackled; they were hard. And some just carried them in their arms in baskets, those which were completely dried hard, those which were decayed, those which were as stiff as a board.

And the captors came in lead of the *tototecti*. They went with their incense ladles, each with his incense ladle. They went with their gifts tied up in bundles: capes perchance painted with designs, or else brown ones[6] or crimson ones, or in two colors diagonally divided, or with the border striped with feathers. They had feathers striping the edge; they had feathers surrounding the edge.

And when there had been arriving at the place where the skins were hidden away, on the top of the Temple of Yopitli, Yopitli's temple, one dedicated [incense] to the four directions; the captors offered incense; they raised their incense ladles [to the sky]; they shook them.

And those who stood wearing the skins then took them off, stood divested [of them]. And when they had drawn off the skins, they cast them down, they threw them into a cave. And the captor went down to the bottom [of the temple pyramid]; he quickly left, he quickly deposited the coals in the fire basin.

And those who had gone to dispose of the skins which they had gone about wearing washed their

Auh çan no iquac eoatlatilo, onmotlatia, onmocacaoa, yn jmeoaio tlaca, vmpa iopico

onaactiuj: in çaço aqujn connequja, conmonectiaia, ontlaeleujaia in mihivintia telpopochti.

Auh cequjntin ic monetoltia, yn eoatlatizque: ipampa aço papalanja, aço çaçaoati, anoço ixcocoia: tel in aca, ipanti, ie pati, in aca amo pati:

ceceiaca inchan in tlamanjme oalpeoa, oaleoa conmaqujtiuj in eoatl, amateteujtl, ymacolpan mamãtiuh, yoan in tlanitzco.

Auh ynic vih, chocholotiuj, hiaxtiuj, centlalli mantiuh, ynjc yiaque, vel tetzonujtec, aisnamjquiztli: çan neiacapacholo ynjc namjco, ynic tetla qujça.

Auh yn eoatl, ocototzauh, ocacalachoac, oquaoac: auh in cequj ça chiqujuhtica qujnapaloa, yn oueltepioac, yn oquelochauh, oquappitzoac.

Auh in tlamanjme, qujniacantiuj in tototecti, intletlema, intletlema ietiuh: qujmoolpilitiuj yn innetlauhtil, tilmatli, aço tlacujlolli, anoço camopalli, anoço nochpalli, anoço nacazminquj, anoço teniujoaoanquj, yhujtenoaoanquj, yhujtentlaiaoalo.

Auh yn oaxioac, yn eoatlatiloian, yn icpac teucalli iopitli, iopiteucalli: nauhcampa ceceiaca ontlaiiaoaia, in tlamanjme ontlenamacaia, conjiaoa yn jntlema, conujujxoa.

Auh yn onacticac eoatl, njman mototoma, mototonticac: yn oqujoalcopin eoatl, contlaça ica onmaiauj yn oztoc. Auh in tlamanj, oaltemo tlatzītla, qujoalcauhtiqujça, qujoaltentiqujça, tlehquazco in tecolli.

Auh yn oqujcaoato eoatl, yn onmaqujtiuja, amo

5. *eoatlatilo*: Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 78, uses the term *das Vergraben*; Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 295) has, for *yoan mitoaya hevatlatillo*, "*y se llamaba, 'se ocultan las pieles'*"; the corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads, "*escondian en alguna cueua.*"

6. *camopalli*: cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 244.

faces not with water but rubbed their faces with flour, with cornmeal. They each scrubbed their faces; they used flour on their faces.

They left to be bathed there at the temple in their bathing place. They did not scrub each of them; they just struck them, they slapped them. [The sound] was like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus did the grease diminish; thus it could come to an end. And also it was when there was washing of the hair. The captor washed out the dirt; he used *amolli* [soap].[7]

For while they had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed themselves. They had soiled themselves as the twenty days had passed, together with those of their household who had never bathed themselves. They washed the heads of all; they soaped themselves. Hence it was said: "There is the washing of the hair," or, "There is the washing away of the filth," so had they soiled themselves.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up, put in place in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball[8] on three feet; it had little feet. On it he placed each of the paper adornments with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[9]

And from here he took out a man pleasing to look upon, acceptable, strong. Once again he was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man kept vexing them. He ran; he went sheltering himself under his shield; he went rattling his rattle board. They cried out at him; they chased him, stoning him; they pelted him with stones; they attacked him with stones.

He frightened everyone. When they dispersed, they said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his hair." [10]

And if he captured someone, if he quickly seized someone, he despoiled him, he ran off with his cape. However many capes he took from people, he carried them to the captor's house. In the courtyard on the ground he kept beating the capes.

Thereupon the captor set up his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

And also, when he had done this, he suspended

mixamja atica, çan iotextli, tlaoltextli, inic onmixxaxaqualooa, ynic onmjxmamatiloa, mixiotexuja:

vncã oneoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, yn innealtiaia, amo qujnmamatilooaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel qujça in chiaoaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja:

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec.

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl tlaqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ie ic muchichioaia, ipan tetotoca, tececenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoaz qujcaoatztiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, qujtecicali:

muchi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macauj: qujtoa, Ie uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quezquj qujtecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujujujtequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacaxipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic qujnextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli.

Auh yoan yn iquac y, tlaacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc

7. *amolli*: *ibid.*, p. 133.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vn globo redondo, hecho de petate.*"

9. *Ibid.*: "*ponia todos los papeles, con que se auia adereçado, el captiuo quando murio.*"

10. Cf. Sahagún, Jourdanet–Siméon ed., p. 93, n. 1: *tetzompacqui* — "*C'est-à-dire que réjouit* (paqui) *le seigneur, le maître* (tzontli, *en composition* tetzon, *que s'emploie métaphoriquement pour dire: noble d'une haute famille*)." This would imply a double entendre.

[from it his trophy]; but its [remaining] flesh he first removed from the captive's thigh bone,[11] and from it he hung the sleeveless knotted cord jacket [and] a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone thoroughly in paper; he provided it a mask; and this was called the god-captive.[12]

And when he had hung it up, he summoned [his friends and his kin] to a feast. There was eating; there was drinking. The old men [and] the old women became intoxicated.

And also a man decked himself in the captor's insignia. There was much contentment; he leapt about. Reeds were laid out. The old men of the *calpulli* gathered to sing for him.

And he offered white pulque in various gourds. He kept menacing it.

Afterwards it was as if he shot it. Then he drank it.

And when he had drunk it, then he also had it taken elsewhere. He did similarly in a third place; similarly in a fourth place.

Here they finished when he had done similarly in all places. It was done in no more than one day.

But song did not end in the song house until they went ending when it was [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

conchololtiaia, yn iqueztepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, aztapatlactontli itech pilcac.

Auh in queztepolli, amatica qujqujqujmiloaia, qujxaiacatiaia: auh ynjn motocaiotiaia, malteutl.

Auh yn jquac tlaacopiloa, tecoanotzaia, tlatlaqualo, atlioa, in ueuetque, ylamatzitzin, tlaoana.

Auh no ce tlacatl ic muchichioa, yn jtlauiz tlamanj haauja, chocholoa. motelimana, qujcujcatitoque calpulueuetque.

Auh izqujatecontica qujmana tiçavctli, contlatlaiehecalhuja:

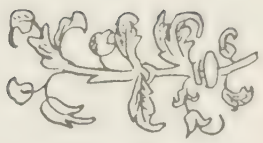
çatepan iuhqujnma conmjna, njman ic conj:

auh yn oconjc, ie no cecnj coniquanjlia, çan no iuh conchioa, çan ie no iuh qujchioa, ynjc excan, çan no yuj, ynic nauhcan:

vncan ontlamj içа ieh no iuh qujchioaia yn izqujtlamantli: ça uel cemilhujtl, in muchioaia.

Auh in cujcatl, amo mocaoaia in cujcacali, ixqujchica tlamjtiuh, yn ipan vey Toçoztli.

11. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was thus suspended. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 81, has "trophy."
12. *Gefangenenfetisch*, in *ibid.*



Twenty-third Chapter, which telleth of the feast day and of the honors which they performed during all the days of the fourth month, which was known as Uey toçoztli.[1]

This [feast of] Uey toçoztli was thus celebrated: to begin with, for four days there was fasting in each person's home. [There] the young men set up the sedges, covered with blood, bloodied, sprinkled with blood, everywhere [in the houses].

They arranged them all in rows in each one's house. They offered the sedges,[2] erected them, set them up carefully before their gods. They injured the [white] bases, they bruised them, they cut the bases; there they rubbed in the blood.[3]

And any young man, quite of his own will, drew blood from his shanks or from his ears.

And where there were riches, where there was prosperity, in the houses of the lords, the leaders, the constables, the merchants, [the youths] laid out a bed of fir branches[4] for the sedge. There were balls of grass with designs, with the edges interlaced. In the middle of these they placed maguey thorns;[5] these they set [on the balls of grass]. They also were bloodied, sprinkled with blood. It was at eventide, when still a little sun [shone], when the sun had not yet entered his house, that they made their offerings.

And at night the women made *atole*, perchance a thick, white *atole*,[6] or an *atole* made of a dough of maize softened with lime, or a fruit *atole*. This *atole* was known as *aquetzalli*.

Thereupon they each swept their *calpulcos*. And when they had swept, then they poured the *atole* into various gourd vessels.

Indeed it spread shining,[7] it spread scintillating; it

Jnic cẽpoualli omei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl: yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in qujchioaia, yn jpan ic cemilhujtl, yc nauj metztli: in mitoaia vey toçoztli.

Inin vey toçoztli, ynic muchioaia, oc achtopa naujlhujtl neçaoalo, in techachan: qujquequetza telpopochti tolpactli, tlaehezujlli, heezço, tlaezçotilli noujã:

qujcentzacutimanca, in techacha, ymixpan qujmamanaia, qujquequetzaia, qujtitilquetzaia, yn jnteuoan in tolpactli, qujtzinichpeloa qujtacaloa, qujtzinixcoloa, vncan conalaoa in eztli.

Auh in eztli, çan teiollotlama, yn aqujn telpuchtli, itech qujqujxtiaia, ytlanitzco, anoço ynacaztitech.

Auh in necujltonoloia, in netlacamachoia: yn aço tetecuti, teiacanque, achcacauhti, puchteca, yn inchachan cacxoiatema, in tolpatlactli, çacatapaiolli, tlatenvimololli, tlatenxinepanolli: tlanepantla qujtlalia: vitztli, itech qujmamana no tlaezujlli, tlaezçotilli teutlacpa, oc achiton tonatiuh, iquac yn aiamo vncalaquj tonatiuh, in qujmamanaia.

Auh in ioaltica, yn oqujchiuhque cioa atolli: aço quauhnexatolli, anoço nextamalatolli, anoço xocoatolli: injn atolli moteneoa, aquetzalli:

njman ie ic tlatlachpana yn jncalpulco. Auh yn otlachpanque njmã ie ic qujteteca in atolli, izqujatecomac,

vel pepeiontimanj, pepetlantimanj, totontlapeztic,

1. Great Vigil (*Gran Velada*), according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 296). Durán (*Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 273, 276) refers to Uey toçoztli as *gran punzada* and to Toçoztontli as "*punzadurilla pequeña . . . cosilla pasada con alguna cosa de una parte á otra.*"

2. In the *Real Palacio MS* the text reads *tolpatlactli*. For a description see Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 195, where it is identified as *Cyperus* sp.

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ensangrentada, la parte de abaxo, donde tiene la blãcura, con sangre de las orejas, o de las piernas.*"

4. *cacxoiatema* (der. *acxoyatl* and *tema*): Garibay equates *acxoyatl* with *oyametl* in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 320. See the description of *oyametl* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 107, where it is identified as *Abies religiosa* (H. B. K.) Schlecht and Cham. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún gives: "*vnos ramos que se llaman acxoiatl.*"

5. Sahagún consistently translates *vitztli* as "*punta de maguey.*" *Metl* (maguey) is the "generic term for agaves and other plants of similar appearance"; *Agave atrovirens* Karw. is the most important species (Robert L. Dressler, "The Pre-Columbian Cultivated Plants of Mexico," *Botanical Museum Leaflets*, Harvard University, Vol. 16, No. 6, 1953, p. 120).

6. *quauhnexatolli*: Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 307: "quauhnexatolli, *que es hecho con harina muy espesa y muy blanca, hecho con* tequixquitl." Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 84, specifies that the grains of maize were "*mit Pottasche gekochten.*"

7. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *pepexõtymani* — it spread filled to the brim.

was gleaming with heat; its vapor diffused. And when it had cooled, when it was cold, when it had thickened, when it lay in place, it spread contracting, it spread quivering.

And when day broke, the young men [and] the priests walked everywhere; they walked to all places; they went from one dwelling to another; they went taking all the roads to the houses. Also the priests recognized only their own offering-places. One might not join in, when the gifts were made, when they asked alms.

But if they met one another, if they joined in, there was ill-feeling over it, there was dislike because of it, there was continued wrangling over it.

The youths took [their gifts] to the young men's house; there they sampled them.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the *calmecacs*.

Then they departed to their fields,[8] to get Cinteotl. In as many places as lay their fields, from each field, from each they went to take a stalk of green maize.[9]

And from the cleared fields they took only large maguey roots.[10] They carried them hence to their homes.

They decked their maize gods with flowers; they set them up in each *calpulco*. Then they arrayed them; they laid offerings for them.

And before them they laid out five fast foods; they laid them in a basket. And upon it went standing a hard-baked frog — hard, stiff,[11] its face painted blue, a woman's skirt about its hind quarters. And they laid down a basket of pinole with beans [and] toasted maize.

And they cut a section of reed; there they filled it, they crammed it with everything [which] lay before Cinteotl. They took a very little, a small amount, a tiny bit from everywhere. They let the frog carry it on its back.[12]

And when this was done, it was called *calonoac*, "there hath been resting in the houses," because it was only in the houses, only in each person's house, that honors were paid the maize gods.

And after sundown they left each of [the foods] there at Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl.

hypotoc quiztimanj: auh yn oceuh, yn oitztix, yn otetzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzotzoliuhtimanj, ioiolcatimanj.

Auh yn otlathujc, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, cencol nemj, tecalpanoa, qujcenocujtiuj in calli, no iehoantin yn tlamacazque: çan intlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlaeujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:

in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa qujpaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac qujtquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izqujcan manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlaxinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, qujoalitquj, yn inchachan:

qujnxoxochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco qujquetza: vncan qujntlaquentia, qujntlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan qujmanaia macujltetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujiatlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappitztic, tlaixtexoujlli. qujtzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan eeio izqujtl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli qujtequj acatl vncan qujtemjtia, qujtentiquetza, yn izqujtlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepizcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa qujcuj, qujmamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, moteneoa calonooac, cali onooac: iehica ca çan cali çan techachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa qujmoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa qujnamoc, ic neaujl-

8. *ompepeva* in *Real Palacio MS.*

9. "*cañas de mahiz*" in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 296) translates the term as *mata de maiz*; Molina, *Vocabulario*, as "*porreta o mata de mayz antes de q̃ espigue.*"

10. "*otras yeruas, que llamauan mecoatl*" in corresponding Spanish text. Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, Vol. I, p. 330, referring to the maguey, says: "*Las raices gruesas* mecoatl, *servían de jabon.*"

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjan comjda delante del, desta ymagen, cinco chiqujujtes, con sus tortillas: y encima de cada chiqujujtl, vna rana asada, de cierta manera guisada.*"

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjan aquel cañuto sobre las espaldas de la rana, como que le lleuaua a cuestas.*"

There they pilfered them. There was merry-making over it; there was the taking of a belligerent attitude by each one; there was striking, there was whacking.[13] It was said: "There is the scattering of people like seeds."

tilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. They had young girls carry it on their backs. Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one side,[14] some had long hair, some already had hair wound about the head.[15] They bound the cobs of maize in groups of seven; these were the clusters [of cobs of maize]. They wrapped them in paper which was reddened; they painted them with liquid rubber; and they sprinkled on them drops of liquid rubber.

Auh no yoan, in cintli, xinachtli iez: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, qujnmamaltia ichpupuchti:

yn aca atzotzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca ie omaxtlauh: chichicoomolotl in qujilpia, iehoatl yn ocholli catca, camaquentia, tlauhio, colxaoa: yoan conolchichipitza.

And they pasted the young girls' arms and legs with red feathers, and they painted their faces; on each they stuck two [circles] of tar, which were flecked with iron pyrites.[16] On both sides, on their cheeks, they had iron pyrites.

Auh in ichpopuchti, tlapaliujtica qujnpotonja, in inmac, ymicxic, yoã qujnxaoaia, ovme qujnpilhuja chapopotli apetztzo, tlaapetzujlli, tlaapetziotilli: necoccampa incamatepa.

Thereupon they accompanied the young girls as they carried on their backs the dried maize, also called Cinteotl. They went going before them; they went scattering them; they went surrounding them. All faces were toward them. [But] no one might look at them, look at any one of them; no one joked with them.

Niman ie ic qujnujca yn ichpopuchti, qujmamatiuj in cintli, no cinteutl motocaiotiaia: ymixpã hicatiuj, qujntepeuitiuj, qujmololhujtiuj, cemixtli invic: aiac in maca qujmjtta, qujncecemjtta, aiac qujncamanalhuja.

And if someone joked with one of them, they chid him. One said to him:

Auh intla aca tecamanalhuja, qujoalaoa qujoalilhuja:

"He with the occipital tuft of hair can speak! Canst thou talk? Be thou already concerned over how thy tuft of hair will fall off, thou with the little tuft of hair.[17] It is an evil-smelling tuft of hair, it is a stinking tuft of hair. Art thou not just a woman like me? Nowhere hath thy excrement been burned!" [18]

no uellatoa in cuexpalle, vel teh titlatoa? ma ie ic xitlaocuia, quen uetziz in mocuexpal, cuexpaltone? cuexpaliiac, cuexpalpoto, amo çan tinocioapo? acan motlachinauja mocujtl.

Some turned on her; they said:

"It is well. I am just going. I know. It is not true; it is not like that. Thou hast conferred a favor. So also wilt thou be. Anoint thy stomach with mud;

Cequjntin quioalcuepaia, qujtoaia

ca ie qualli, ça onjia, ie nehoatl, nicmati, haçanelli, haçayuj, otitlacneli ca no te tiez: xonmitiçoqujuj, xonmjtichichiquj, ximocximalina, tlalli ic ximoujte-

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*alli andauan a la rebatina con ello, y lo comjan todo.*"

14. "*Atzotzocolli, vel ahamoxtli. cabello largo que dexan a vn lado de la cabeça a las moças quando las tresquilan.*" Molina, *Vocabulario.*

15. *omaxtlauh* (der. *axtlaualli*): in *ibid.* (Spanish–Nahuatl section), "*Cabellos compuestos y rodeados a la cabeça de la muger.*"

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjanlas en la cara pez derretida que ellos llaman chapopotli, salpicada con marcaxita.*"

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*piensa en como hagas, alguna azaña, para que te quiten la bedija de los cabellos, que traes en el cocote, en señal de cobarde, y de hombre para poco, cobarde bisoño.*" For a detailed explanation of the meaning of *cuexpalle* see Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 188, and Vol. II, pp. 330, 331.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "*tan muger eres como yo, nunca has salido detras del huego.*" Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 87, n. 2, suggests that this may refer to a puberty ceremony.

scratch thy stomach; twist one leg about the other; [fall] striking thyself on the ground; fall stinking on the ground. There is a stone, a hard stone; strike thy face with the stone, strike thy face with it; make the blood spurt forth. Scratch thy nose with the stone, or bore a hole with a fire drill into thy windpipe; thou wilt spit [through] there. Just go away; just be an old maid."

But although the words of us men were like this, they were verily only vain, they were verily only weak words. For verily thus the women could torment [young men] into war; thus they moved them; thus the women could prod them into battle.

Indeed we men said:

"Bloody, painful are the words of the women; bloody, penetrating are women's words. Indeed we have gone; we have said that we shall not live. Perhaps we shall merit something, O our friend."

And when [the young girls] went carrying upon their backs the maize gods, as they took them to the Temple of Chicome coatl, [the ears of maize] were made hearts. They became their granary hearts. They laid them in the granary.[19]

And when the seed was sown, when it was the time for planting, this they sowed. They made seed of it; they scattered it as seed.

And they established, they celebrated this feast for Chicome coatl.

They formed her image as a woman. They said: "Yea, verily, this one is our sustenance"; that is to say, indeed truly she is our flesh, our livelihood; through her we live; she is our strength. If she were not, we should indeed die of hunger.

For he who eateth no tortillas indeed then fainteth; he falleth down: he droppeth quickly; there is a twittering as of birds in his ears; darkness descendeth upon him.

And, it was said, it was indeed this Chicome coatl who made all our food — white maize, yellow maize, green maize shoots,[20] black maize, black and brown mixed, variously hued; large and wide; round and ball-like; slender maize, thin; long maize; speckled red and white maize as if striped with blood, painted with blood — then the coarse, brown maize (its appearance is as if tawny); popcorn; the after-fruit; double ears; rough ears; and maturing green maize; the small ears of maize beside the main ear; the ripened green maize.

quj, tlalli xiqujpototztiuetzi: vmpa ca tetlhon, techachalli, ic xonmixtetzotzona, ic xonmjxtzotzona, eztli tiqualaacuchoz: ximoiacatechichiquj, noce xonmococotlecoionj, vmpa tioalchichichaz, çan xinemj, ça tiuhquj xinemj.

Auh maciuj yn iuhquj hin intlatol muchioaia toqujchti, ca ça nenpanca, ca ça in toneuhcatlatol: ca uel ic qujmontzintopeoaia in cioa iaoc, ic teioltoneoa, ic teioleoa, ic teiollo tzicujnia in cioa, in iaoc.

Ca qujttoa, in toqujchti

eço tecoco, yn jntlatol cioa, eço teitic acic in cioatlatolli, ca otiiaque, ça otiqujtoque, yn ahtinemizque: aço itla tomaceoal tocnjuhtze.

Auh in qujmamatiuj in cicinteteuh, yn oqujtquja iteupan chicome coatl, tlaiollotl muchioa: incuezcomaiollo muchioa, cuezcomac contema.

Auh yn iquac totoco, in ie toquizpã iehoatl qujtocaia qujxinachioaia, qujxinachioa.

Auh injn qujlhujtlaltia, qujlhujchiujlia in chicome coatl:

iuhqujn cioatl qujtlaliaia ixiptla. Qujtoaia, ca uel iehoatl in tonacaiutl: iuhq'nma qujtoznequj, ca nel tonacaio, tonenca, ic tiioltinemj, tooapaoaca: intlacamo iehoatl, ca tapizmiquizque.

Ca yn aqujn, atle qujqua tlaxcalli, ca njman çotlaoa, vetzi, meciuhtiuetzi, ynacaz, yicaoaca, tlaioalli ipã momana:

yoan mjtoa, ca in iehoatl chicome coatl, ca qujchioa yn ixqujch tonacaiutl: in iztac tlaolli, in coztic tlaolli, in xiuhtoctli, yiaujtl, yiauhnenel, iauhcacalquj, tlaolpatlachtli, in totolontic, in tlaolpicilli, tlaolpitzaoac: in xochicintli, ynjn iuhqujn ezoaoanquj, ezcujcujltic: njman iee in quappachcintli: iuhqujn quappachtli, itlachieliz, momochicintli, in molqujtl, cinmaitl, cintzatzapalli: yoan in xilotl, in cacamatl, in elotl:

19. Corresponding Spanish text: "*echauanlos, en el hondon, de la troxe dezian: que era el coraçon de la troxe.*"

20. For a description of the varieties of maize, beans, amaranth, and chía listed, see Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, pp. 279–87.

Then the beans — white beans, yellow beans, red beans, quail-colored beans, black beans, flesh-colored beans, fat red beans, wild beans; amaranth, the variety of amaranth called *cocotl*, fine red amaranth seed, [common] red amaranth, black amaranth, bright red or chili-red amaranth, fish amaranth [*michiuauhtli* or *chicalotl*], brilliant black amaranth seed; the bird-seed called *petzicatl*.

njman iehoatl in etl, yn iztac etl, ecoztli, echichilli, çoletl, tliletl, aqujletl, aiecotli, quavecoc, oauhtli, cocotl, tlapalhoauhtli, xochioauhtli, tliloauhtli, teuoauhtli, anoço chichiloauhtli, mjchioauhtli, chicalotl, tezcaoauhtli, petzicatl:

And also chía — white chía, black chía, wrinkled chía.

no yoan in chien, iztac chien, tliltic chien, chiantzotzol.

All these things, so they say, all of them they offered to [the goddess]. When it was her feast day they gave her human form; they laid all before her. The old men, those in charge of the *calpulli*, sang for her; they beheaded quail for her.

Jn ixqujch y, iuh qujtoa, ca moch iehoatl, qujtemaca: in iquac ilhujuh, qujtlacatilia, muchi ixpan qujmanaia, qujcujcatia in veuetque, calpuleque: qujtlacotonjlia.

And her adornment [was thus]: she was anointed all in red — completely red on her arms, her legs, her face. All her paper crown was covered completely with red ochre; her embroidered shift also was red; her skirt was a bed covering. The ruler's shield was painted with designs, embellished in red. She was carrying her double ear of maize in either hand.

Auh yn jnechichioal motlaoçaia, muchi tlauhio, centlauhio, yn jmac, yn icxic, yn jxco: muchi tlacemaqujlli, tlaujtl yn jamacal yn ivipil tlamachio, no tlauhio, yn icue cacamoliuhquj, tlatolchimali cujlolli, tlauhpoiaoac, ycinma nenecoccampa qujtqujtica.

Thus ended [the festival of] Uey toçoztli, and thus ended, thus passed the vigil songs. And this was the time that there began the winding dance, the dance with song. It ended there at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl.

ic ontlamj, in vey toçoztli: yoan ic vntlamj ic qujça, in toçozcujcatl. Auh iquac vmpeoa in nececololo, cujcoanolo: vmpa vntlami, yn ipan toxcatl.

Sixth [Twenty-fourth] Chapter, which relateth the feast and the debt-paying which was celebrated during all the days of the fifth month, which was called Toxcatl.[1]

In the time of Toxcatl there was Tezcatlipoca's great festival. At that time he was given human form; at that time he was set up. Wherefore died his impersonator, who for one year had lived [as Tezcatlipoca].

And at that time was appointed his [new] impersonator, who would again live [as Tezcatlipoca] for a year.

For many impersonators were living, whom stewards in various places guarded; whom they maintained. About ten [so] lived. These were indeed selected captives; they were selected when captives were taken. There one was chosen if he was seen to be suitable, if he was fair of body. Then he was taken. They entrusted these to stewards. But one destined to be a slave, him the captor slew.

Indeed he who was thus chosen was of fair countenance, of good understanding, quick, of clean body, slender, reed-like, long and thin, like a stout cane, like a stone column all over, not of overfed body, not corpulent, nor very small, nor exceedingly tall.

Indeed it became his defect if someone were exceedingly tall. The women said to him "Tall fellow; tree-shaker; star-gatherer." He who was chosen as impersonator was without defects.

He was like something smoothed, like a tomato, like a pebble, as if sculptured in wood; he was not curly-haired, curly-headed; his hair was indeed straight, his hair was long. He was not rough of

Jnic chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia, yn ipan ic cemjlhujtl ic macujlli metztli, in mitoaia, Toxcatl.

In ipan in toxcatl, vel yueiilhujuh catca in tezcatlipuca: vncan tlacatia, vncan moquetzaia: ipampa ca vncan miquja, yn jxiptla in cexiuhtica onen.

Yoan iquac njman noce vncan mixquetzaia yxiptla, yn oc no cexiuhtica nemiz:

ca miequjntin in nemja, teixiptlaoan in quinpia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpixque: aço quẽ matlactli in nemj: y iehoantin y, ca mamalti tlaqujxtilti qujxtiloia, yn iquac oalaxitiloia mamalti, vncan pepenaloia, intla aca ce oqualittoc, in qualli ynacaio: njman onano, qujmonpialtiaia in calpixque: auh iece ipan qujoalixquetzaia tlacotli, iehoatl qujmictia in tlamanj:

ca iehoatl ic pepenalo, in qualli itlachieliz, in mjmatquj, in mjmatinj, in chipaoac ynacaio, cujllotic, acatic, piaztic, iuhqujn otlatl, ipanoca temjmjltic, amo tlacaçolnacaio, amo tomaoac, amo no tetepiton amo no cenca quauhtic:

ca yiaioca muchioa, yn aqujn cenca quauhtic, qujlhuja in cioa: quauhtitin, quauhchachalan, citlalmaololo: yn aqujn pepenaloia, in teixiptla, atle yiaioca:

iuhqujn tlachictli, iuhqujn tomatl, iuhqujn telolotli, iuhqujn, quaujtl tlaxixintli, amo quacocototztic, quacolochtic, vel tzõmelaoac, tzompiaztic, amo ixquachachaquachtic, amo ixquatotomonquj, amo ix-

1. Of this name, Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, Vol. II, p. 37, writes: "Toxcatl, Tepopochuiliztli. *De todas las interpretaciones dadas á la palabra* toxcatl, *la más genuina, á nuestro entender, es la dada por Gama, tomada del P. Acosta: 'una soga gruesa torcida de sartales de maíz tostado.'* "

Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, p. 402, explains that "*La figura del mes quinto es la de una cabeza humana con una cadena debajo, para representar aquellas sartas de maíz tostado que se ponían al cuello, y con las cuales adornaban también al ídolo de Tezcatlipoca, por lo que el mes tomó el nombre Toxcatl*"; and (p. 152) "*unos sacerdotes teñidos de negro y vestidos del traje del ídolo, lo bajaban en unas andas bien aderezadas al pie de la escalera. Los mancebos y vírgenes del templo rodeaban las andas de una cuerda gruesa compuesta de sartas de maíz tostado y ponían al ídolo una sarta al cuello y una guirnalda en la cabeza. A esta cuerda por ser de granos secos y símbolo de la sequedad que pretendían evitar con sus plegarias, llamaron* toxcatl, *el cual nombre se dió por esta ceremonia al mes quinto de que hablamos.*"

Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 298) also suggests as a translation for the name "our dryness, our drought" — "*nuestra secura.*"

Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales,*" p. 31, notes: "*Precisamente se llevaban collares de maíz tostado (de allí quizá la idea de 'cosa seca') en esta fiesta* Tózcatl, *pues podría aquí significar lo mismo que* cózcatl *(collar). Pero, siendo ésta fiesta de* Tezcatlipoca *no es improbable que se tenga* Tózcatl *como posible forma arcáica de* Tézcatl *('espejo' y en ocasiones 'laguna'). En el castellano de México, un espejo se llama también 'luna' y no debe olvidarse que* Tezcatlipoca *era un dios lunar.*"

forehead; he had no pimples on his forehead; he did not have a forehead like a tomato; he did not have a baglike forehead. He was not long-headed; the back of his head was not pointed; his head was not like a carrying net; his head was not bumpy; he was not broad-headed; he was not rectangular-headed; he was not bald; he was not of rounded forehead; he was not of swollen eyelids; he was not of enlarged eyelids; he was not swollen-cheeked; he was not of injured eyes; he was not of injured cheeks; he was not bulging of eye; he was not cloven-chinned; he was not gross-faced; he was not of downcast face; he was not flat-nosed; he did not have a nose with wide nostrils; he was not Roman-nosed; he was not concave-nosed; he was not twisted-nosed, not bent-nosed, not crooked-nosed; but his nose was averagely placed; he was straight-nosed. He was not thick-lipped, he was not gross-lipped, he was not big-lipped,[2] he was not bowl-lipped, he was not large-lipped; he was not a stutterer, he was not ring-tongued, he was not rough-tongued;[3] he did not speak a barbarous language; he did not lisp, he did not speak with a lisp, he was not dumb. He was not buck-toothed, he was not large-toothed, he was not fang-toothed, he was not yellow-toothed, he was not ugly-toothed, he was not rotten-toothed; his teeth were [like] seashells; they lay well; they lay in order; he was not bowl-toothed. Nor was he scarred of eye; he was not poor of vision; he was not small-eyed; he was not scarified of eye; he was not blinded; he was not little-eyed; he was not tiny-eyed; he was not yellow-eyed; he was not hollow-eyed, not sunken-eyed; he was not cup-eyed; he was not round-eyed; he was not tomato-eyed; he was not of pierced eye; he was not of perforated eye; he was not of bruised eyes. He was not scarred of neck; he was not [as if] of choked neck; he was not of lacerated neck, of double chin, of swollen neck. Nor was he large-eared, nor was he long-eared. He was not stiff-necked; he was not twisted-necked; he was not rigid-necked; he was not long-necked; he was not very long-necked; he was not wry-necked; he was not crook-necked. He was not long-handed; he was not one-handed; he was not handless; he was not fat-fingered. He was not emaciated; he was not fat; he was not big-bellied; he was not of protruding navel; he was not of hatchet-shaped navel; he was not of quaxitontic, amo ixquaxiqujpiltic, amo quametlapiltic, amo cuexcochujtztic, amo quachitatic, amo quapatztic, amo quapatlachtic, amo quaoacaltic, amo quaxoxomalacquj, amo ixquamamalacachtic, amo ixquatolpopoçactic, amo ixquatolmemetlapiltic, amo campoponaztic, amo ixujujlaxtic, amo canujujlaxtic, amo ixpopotztic, amo no camachaloacaltic, amo ixmetlapiltic, amo ixpechtic, amo iacapatztic, amo iacacocoiactic, amo iacaxaxacaltic, amo iacacaxtic, amo iacachittoltic, amo iacaujttoltic, amo iacanecujltic, çan vel icac yn ijac, iacapiaztic, amo tenxipaltotomaoac, amo texipaltotomac, texipaltotomactic, amo tencaxtic, amono tenmetlapiltic: amono eltzatzacquj, amo nenepilchanpuchtic, amo nenepilchacaiultic, amo popoloc, amo tentzitzipi, amo tentzitzipitlatoa, amo tenmjmjcquj, amo tlanpantic, amo tlancujcujtztic, amo coatlane, amo tlancocoztic, amo tlanxoiauhquj, amo tlanpalanquj: iuhqujn tecciztli itlan, vel onoc vipantoc, amo tlancaxtic, amo no ixtitiqujltic, amo ixnacatic, amo ixujtzaltic, amo itztzitziqujltic, amo ixpopoiontic, amo ixpipiltic, ixpipicilltic, ixcocoçaltic, amo ixcocomoltic, amo ixatlacomoltic, amo ixcacaxtic, amo ixtotolontic, amo ixtotomatic, amo itztzatzapitztic, amo itztzatzamoltic, amo ixtacaltic, amo quechtitiqujltic, quechmotzoltic, quetztzitziqujltic, quechnacatic quechxixiqujpiltic, amo no nacazpatlactic, amo no nacazvilaxtic, amo quechtiltic, amo quechtepotzotic, amo quechacquj, amo quechujiac, amo quechujtlatztic, amo quechnecujltic, amo quechnenetic: amo maviujtlatztic, amo matzicoltic, amo macuecuetzin, amo mapiltotomactic, amo itiujlaxtic, amo cujtlatoltic, amo cujtlapetztic, amo xicquizquj, amo xictopoltic, amo xiccueio, amo ittitzotzoltic, amo cujtlapechtic, amo tzintopoltic, amo tzincuecuexactic, tzintamalcuecuexac.

2. Read *tēxipaltotomac, tēxipaltotomactic* as in the *Real Palacio MS*.

3. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *popolactic*.

wrinkled stomach; he was not of shrunken stomach. He was not cringing; he was not of hatchet-shaped buttocks; he was not of flabby buttocks; he was not of flabby thighs.

For him who was thus, who had no flaw, who had no [bodily] defects, who had no blemish, who had no mark, who had on him no wart, [no such] small tumor, there was taken the greatest care that he be taught to blow the flute, that he be able to play his whistle; and that at the same time he hold all his flowers and his smoking tube.[4] At the same time he would go playing the flute, he would go sucking [the smoking tube], he would go smelling [the flowers].

So [his flute], his flowers, his smoking tube went together when he followed the road.

And while yet he lived, while yet he was being trained in the home of the steward, before he appeared [in the presence of the people], very great care was taken that he should be very circumspect in his discourse, that he talk graciously, that he greet people agreeably on the road if he met anyone.

For he was indeed much honored when he appeared, when already he was an impersonator. Since he impersonated Titlacauan, he was indeed regarded as our lord. There was the assigning of lordship; he was importuned; he was sighed for; there was bowing before him; the commoners performed the earth-eating ceremony before him.

And if they saw that already his body fattened a little, they made him take brine; with it they thinned him; they thinned him with salt. Thus he became thin; he became firm; his body became hard.

And for one year he [thus] lived; at the time of Toxcatl he appeared [before the people], and at that time died the man who had been impersonator for one year, who had been led along the road, who had waited for one year, who had [thus] passed one year. Just then he went being substituted; one was set in his place [from among] all whom the various stewards were guarding, were maintaining, at the time that [the first impersonator] appeared [before the people].

Thereupon he began his office. He went about playing the flute. By day and by night he followed whatever way he wished.

His eight servitors went following him. Four [of them] had fasted for a year. Their hair was shorn

Jn aqujn iuhquj y, atle itlacauhca, atle yiaioca, atle ytlaciuhca, atle ytlaciuizço, atle ytech ca etzotzocatl, xitomaciuiztli: njmã cenca necujtlaujlo, inic vel momachtiz, yn tlapitzaz: ynic vel qujpitzaz, yujlacapitz: yoan inic vel muchi ipan qujtzitzquiz yxochiuh, yoan yieuh, ipan tlapitztiaz, tlachichintiaz, tlanecutiaz:

iuhqujn centlalli mantiuh yn ixochiuh, yn jyieuh, yn iquac vtli qujtocaia.

Auh in çan oc nemj, in çan oc oapaoalo, yn ichan calpixquj, yn aiamo ixneci, cenca vel necujtlaujloia, ynic vel mjmatiz, ica itlatol, vellatoz, vel tenotza, vel tetlapaloz in vtlica, intla aca qujnamiquiz:

ipampa ca cenca mauiztililoia yn iquac oixnez, in ie teixiptla: ynic ixiptlati Titlacaoan, ca totecujo ipan machoia, netecuiotilo, tlatlauhtilo, yca elciciooa, ixpan nepechteco, ixpan ontlalqua in maceoaltzintli.

Auh intla ie qujtta, in ie achi tomaoa ynacaio, iztaiotl qujltequjtiaia, ic qujquaoatzaia, quiztaioquaoatza, ynic pipinja, tepitzauj, tlalichauj yn jnacaio.

Auh cexiujtl in nemja ipan toxcatl, yn ixnecia: auh iquac miquj ce tlacatl yn oteixiptlatic ce xiujtl, in ce xiujtl, ooallaotlatoctic, in ce xiujtl oqujtlaz, in ce xiujtl ooallaujcac: ça çan ic mopatlatiuja yn ixquetzaloia, yn ixqujchtin qujnpiaia, in qujnnemjtiaia cacalpisque, yn iquac oixnez:

njman ic compeoaltia, yn itequjuh, in tlapitztinemj: cemilhujtl, yoan ceniooal: çan connequja in campa ieh vtli qujtocaz:

qujtocatinemj yn iachoan chicueintin: navin mocexiuhçauhque, moquatexoloxima, moquateçonoa,

4. "*Caña o cañuto de çahumerio, acaietl*," in Molina, *Vocabulario*; "*cañas de humo*" in Sahagún's corresponding Spanish.

as if they were one's pages; their hair was cut; their hair was clipped; they were not clipped smooth like a gourd; they were not clipped bald like a gourd; their heads were not smooth like pots; they did not stick [hair] to the head.

motlatetecilhuja, amo maiochiquj, amo maioichiquj, amo moquacoconaloa, amo moquatetzicoa

And also there were four constables, masters of youths. They cut their hair similarly; their hair arrangement was similar. It was arranged upright for them on their foreheads.

Auh no naujntin, teachcaoan, tetiachcaoan, çan ie yujn moxima yn iuhca innexin, motlaeoatimanjlia, yn jmjxquac.

At this time Moctezuma adorned [the impersonator]; he repeatedly adorned him; he gave him gifts; he arrayed him; he arrayed him with great pomp. He had all costly things placed on him, for verily he took him to be his beloved god. [The impersonator] fasted; hence it was said: "He fasteth in black," [for] he went with his face smoke-black. His head was pasted with feathers, with eagle down. They only covered his hair for him; it fell to his loins.

Jquac vel qujcencaoa, qujcecencaoa in Motecuçuma, qujtlamamaca, qujchichioa, qujieiecquetza: muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jtech qujtlalilia: ipampa canel ic ytlaçoteouh ipan qujmati, moçaoa, ic mjtoa motlilçaoa, mixtlilpopotztinenca, moquapotonjaia, quauhtlachcaiotica: çan q'ujaqujliaia yn itzon, ycujtlacaxiuhian vetzia.

And when he was attired, he went about with popcorn flowers[5] laid upon his head; they were his crown of flowers. And he was dressed in these same on both sides; they drew them out to his armpits. This was called "the flowery stole."

Auh yn omocencauh izqujxochitl in icpac contecatinemj, icpacxochiuh: yoan çan ie no ieh in necoccampa ic mapanaia, yciiacacpa qujqujxtiaia: in moteneoa suchineapãtli.

And from his ears on both sides went hanging curved golden shell pendants.[6] And they fitted [his ears with] ear plugs made of turquoise, turquoise mosaic. And a shell necklace was his necklace. Moreover, his breast ornament was of white seashells.

Auh yn jnacaztitech nenecoc pipilcatiujia teucujtlaepcololli: yoan conaqujaia icoiolnacoch, teuxiujtl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhçalolli: yoan chipolcuzcatl, yn jcuzquj, oc cepa yielpancuzquj iztac cilin.

And then his lip pendant, his slender lip pendant, was of snail shell. And down his back went hanging what was like a cord bag called *icpatoxin*.[7]

Auh njman ie yteçacauh, iteçacapiaz tecciztli: auh ycujtlapan pilcatiuh itoca Jcpatoxi, iuhqujn icpaxiqujpilli:

Then on both sides, on his upper arms, he placed golden bracelets, and on both sides, on his wrists, he went placing turquoise bracelets taking up almost all his forearms. And he went putting on only his net cape like a fish net of wide mesh with a fringe of brown cotton thread.[8] And his costly breechclout reached to the calves of his legs.

njman ie nenecoc teucujtlamatemecatl contlatlalitiuh in jacolpã, yoan in nenecoc imaquechtlan, xinmaquiztli in contetecatiuh, achi vel qujtlatlamja yn jmatzotzopaz: auh çan ycuechin in qujquentiuh, iuhqujn xoujlmatlatl ic cocoiaoac, tochiacatl ynic tentlaiaoalo: yoan ytlaçomaxtli qujmetztopeoa:

And then he went placing his bells on both sides, on his legs. All gold were the bells, called *oyoalli*.[9] These [he wore] because they went jingling, because they went ringing; so did they resound. And his

auh njman ie ycoiol nenecoc, icxic in contlalitiuh, muchi teucujtlatl in coiolli, mjtoa oiooalli: iehoatl inic xaxamacatiuh, ynic tzitzilicatiuh, ynic caquizti:

5. *Beureria huanita* Hemsley, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 97, n. 1. Cf. also Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 202.

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*como çerçillos de oro.*"

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*lleuaua a las espaldas, un ornamento como bolsa, de vn palmo en quadro de lienço blanco, con sus borlas y flocadura.*"

8. Cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 311. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún refers to *tochomjtl* (rabbit fur), we think mistakenly. *Tochiacatl* (or *tochacatl*), it would appear, is string or thread, while *tochomitl* is a thong of rabbit skin.

9. *oyoalli (oyoualli)* can be translated as bell or shell rattle. It is also the name of a shell neck pendant worn by the gods of dance. We follow the corresponding Spanish in our translation.

obsidian sandals had ocelot skin ears. Thus was arrayed he who died after one year.

When Toxcatl went drawing near, when it approached him, when already it went reaching him, first he married; he looked upon a woman; he was married at the time of Uey toçoztli.

And he shed, he put in various places, he abandoned what had been his ornaments in which he had walked about fasting in black. His hair was shorn; he was provided a tuft of hair upon his forehead, like that of a seasoned warrior. They bound it; they wound it round and round. They bound it with [brown cotton thread] called *tochyacatl*; it was tied with a slipknot. And his forked heron feather ornament with a quetzal feather spray they bound to his warrior's hairdressing.[10]

It was for only twenty days that he lived lying with the women, that he lived married to them. The four women in whose company he lived had also lived for a year guarded in the steward's establishment.

The name of the first one was Xochiquetzal; the second was Xilonen; the third was Atlatonan; the fourth was Uixtociuatl.

And when it was already the eve of [the feast of] Toxcatl, still five [days] from it, on the fifth day [from it], five days before the feast of Toxcatl would pass, they began each to sing [and dance].

At this time, in all these days, one knew nothing more of Moctezuma. They who yet had been his companions provided people with food, provided people with favors.[11]

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day it was in the place where was guarded the image of Titlacauan, in the home of him who was the steward who guarded it. On the third day it was at Tepetzinco, in the middle of the lagoon. The fourth time it was at Tepepulco, which is also quite near Tepetzinco.

When they had sung [and danced], thereupon he embarked in a boat. The women went, going with him. They went consoling him; they went encouraging him. The boat proceeded to a place called Acayoan itzcac ocelunacace: yujn in muchichioaia, in iehoatl miquja ce xiujtl:

yn iquac ie oalacitiuh toxcatl, in ie itech ompachiuhtiuh, yn ie itech onacitiuh, achtopa tlapaliuhcatia, cihoatl qujttaia, mocioaoatiaia ipan vey toçoztli.

Auh qujtepeoaia, qujtlatlaliaia, quicaoa, yn jnechichioal ocatca, yn ipan omotlilçauhtinenca, moxima, mjxquatzontia, iuhqujnma iautequjoa, ontlalpia, ontlacuja: ynic ontlalpia, itoca tochiacatl, xittomonjlpitica: yoan yaztaxel, quetzalmjiaoaio, itzotzocol itech qujlpia:

çan cempoalilhujtl in oncioacuchtinemi, yn oncioaoatinemj: naujntin in cioa q'nujcatinenca, no cexiuhtica in pialoia calpixcan:

y ce itoca xochiquetzal, ynjc vme xilone, ynjc ey Atlatona, ynjc nauj, vixtocioatl.

Auh in ie itentla Toxcatl, oc macujltica, tlamacujlti, oqujuh macujlilhujtl qujçaz yn ilhujtl Toxcatl, in peoa cujcujca:

yn iquac y, yn izquilhujtl y, aocmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycenujc catca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhujtl cujcujca, itocaiocan tecanma: ynjc omjhujtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aqujn calpixquj, yn oqujpiaia: ynic eilhujtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn oncujcujcac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, qujiollalitiuj, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnqujça, vmpa onatenqujça, vmpa qujmonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaqujlpan, anoçe caoaltepec:

10. *tzotzocolli:* this warrior's hairdress protrudes over the forehead.
Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, p. 208, states: "*Bei der andern Frisur wurde das Haar über der Stirn hoch in die Höhe gezaust und vom Scheitel ab lang herabfallen gelassen und dort am Nacken mit einem Riemen umwickelt, in den bei festlichen Gelegenheiten ein Federschmuck eingesteckt wurde.*" In Vol. II, p. 521, Seler adds that this hairstyle is adopted by the young warrior after his first military exploit.

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "*el señor se quedaua solo en su casa, y todos los de la corte, les seguian, y se hazian solemnes banquetes, y areytos, con muy ricos ataujos.*"

quilpan or Caualtepec; there it proceeded to the shore; there it landed them.

For here they were left, rather near Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned. And only they who for the time had become [and] were his servitors went following him while yet he lived.

Thus was it said: when he arrived where [the impersonators of Titlacauan] used to die, [where] a small temple called Tlacochcalco stood, he ascended by himself, he went up of his own free will, to where he was to die. As he was taken up a step, as he passed one [step], there he broke, he shattered his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had risen to the summit, then the offering priests seized him. They threw him upon his back on the sacrificial stone; then [one of them] cut open his breast; he took his heart from him; he also raised it in dedication to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives slain. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull rack. Thus he was brought to an end in the adornment in which he died. Thus his life there ended; there they terminated his life when he went to die there at Tlapitzauayan.

And this betokened our life on earth. For he who rejoiced, who possessed riches, who sought, who esteemed our lord's sweetness, his fragrance — richness, prosperity — thus ended in great misery. Indeed it was said: "No one on earth went exhausting happiness, riches, wealth."[12]

And here in Mexico, at the time of Toxcatl, there was made, there was made in human form, [a figure of] Uitzilopochtli here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in its *calpulco*. They set it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood as if of serpents. Four lay supported by their tails; their heads were on the four sides.[13]

They kept covering [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood members with fish amaranth dough; his figure was indeed always hewn[14] of mesquite wood, which they covered.

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça iehoã inmatian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oqujtocatinenca in iq̃c oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in vncan mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan inoma in tleco, çan monomatlecauja, in vmpa mjqujz: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan qujxamanja, qujpuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oqujpantlaz, yn izquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman qujcujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic quelletequj, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jtlac amo qujoalmjmjlooaia, çan qujoaltemoujaia, qujnauhcaujaia:

auh yn jtzontencõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjqujto Tlapitzaoaian.

Auh ynjn ca qujnezcaiotia, in tlalticpac tonemjliz: ca in aqujn paquj, motlamachtia, in qujtta in qujmaujçoa in itzopelica, yn jaujiaca in totecujo, in necujltonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonqujça vey netolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, aiac qujtlamitiuh in tlalticpac, paqujliztli, necujltonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan in vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque:

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. Cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book VI, Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1969; hereafter referred to as Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*), pp. 7–10.

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hazian para ponerla un tablado, los maderos del, eran labrados, como culebras, y tenjan las cabeças, a todas quatro partes, del tablado contrapuestas, las vnas a las otras de manera que a todas quatro partes auja colas y cabeças.*"

14. *tlaxintli: tlaxixintli* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

Thereupon they gave him his various articles of raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket painted with representations of human limbs.

And over that they covered it,[15] over that they clothed it in a cape of nettles. It was like a netted cape.

And they fitted on him his paper headdress, made with feathers, called *anecuyotl.* Above his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it blood-colored.

Then they dressed him in a godly cape. It was costly; it was all made, embellished, designed with precious feathers; it was provided with the red-eye border; its edge was quite all of roseate spoonbill [feathers]. And in its center lay a large golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They were called *teomimilli.* They laid each one before him; they lay reaching high; they were hip-high.

And the cape with which they lay covered, which lay spread before him, was designed with severed heads, the palms of hands, hip bones, ribs, tibias, lower arm bones, footprints. With them it was painted.

And this cape was called *tlaquaqualo.*

And yet one more thing they spread out for him; they spread out what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was said to be his breechclout.

And this was a paper, white paper, not yellow paper,[16] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.[17]

With godly arrows, cut at the tip — darts — they supported it. They were made only that they might support it; that his breechclout might be supported.

In three places were they plumed with white turkey feathers; first on their points, second on their shafts, third there on their stems.

When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, the youths took it up. His breechclout went laid out before him, went spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalozque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamazçocan:

yn oqujcencauhque, cacoqujxtia in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in teachcaoan, in telpopuchti, ixpan onotiuh, ixpan çouhtiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaoalotiuj, qujttotitiuj:

15. *cononoloa*: read *conololoa* as in *ibid.*

16. Cf. V. W. von Hagen, *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 60, 72 esp. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 656, a note by Seler states: "Quauhamatl *ou* texamatl *est la matière fournie par la couche libérienne de quelques arbres du genre Ficus. Il servait de papier pour les peintures ou les livres, et d'étoffe pour faire les parures, les vêtements et autres objets que le culte des dieux nécessitait.*"

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vn papelon, que tenja veynte braças de largo, y vna de ancho, y vn dedo de grueso.*" Estimates of the units of measurement vary. Cf. a detailed discussion in Victor M. Castillo F., "Unidades nahuas de medida," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl,* Vol. 10, Mexico, 1972, pp. 195–223.

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, when already they carried it up, at the four [corners] cords had been tied by which they might take it up, by which they might carry it up. They went stretching [the cords] so that it would not twist.

Thereupon they began to climb. They went rolling the breechclout up; they went reeling it; they reeled it; they went reeling it up.

They went throwing aside the godly arrows. Those whose task it was went taking them, went gathering them, went collecting them.

And when they had risen to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, thereupon they placed [the paper roll] upon the serpent bench. They placed it before him. They bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it tightly, they bound it firmly.

When they had gone to place it [there], then they descended. There those who had tasks, the offering priests, the stewards who guarded it were left.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up in the evening when there was still a little sun. And also in the evening an offering was made.

And the tamales which they ate were fruit tamales, [which] were chili-red, or tamales made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[18] colored tamales, tamales of coarse white flour, and [tamales] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical tamales wrapped up in amaranth seed dough were the tamales they distributed at the temple.

And when it dawned, thereupon offerings were made in each one's home; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded. Everyone — women, men — [did so].

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the fire priest beheaded still other quail; he only laid his hands on them.[19]

Thereupon the commoners broke out; they threw themselves [into it] together. Everyone, men [and] women, beheaded quail.

And when the quail were beheaded, they cast them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli; they threw them toward it.

yn ocaxitique ytzintlan teucalli, in ie qujtlecauizque, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoqujxtizque, ynjc qujnapalozque, qujtitilinjtiuj, ynjc amo monecujloz:

njman ie ic qujpeoaltia in tlecoz, qujlacatzotiuj, qujcujxtiuj, qujtecuja, qujtecujxtiuj: yn jamamaxtli

qujoallaztiuj, in teumjtl concujtiuj, qujnechicotiuj, qujcententiuj in tequjppaneque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oqujpantlazque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapechco, ixpan qujtequjlia, itech qujlpia, qujcacatzilpia, qujteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequjpaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in qujpiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixqujch tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoqujçaia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in qujquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzooalilacatzolli:

ynjn mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynjc tlailacatzolli, qujcẽmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn otlathujc, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacateculotl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixqujch tlacatl, yn cioatl in toqujchti:

conpeoaltia yn Motecoçuma, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn iioma qujcotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çoçolti, tlenamacac, in qujncotona, çan inpã conmantiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in maceoaltzītli, yn ixqujch tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oqujchtli in cioatl.

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli.

18. Alvaro Tezozomoc, *Histoire du Mexique*, trans. H. Ternaux–Compans, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 269, has, for *quatequicuiltamalli*, bean and cornmeal cakes with bird or other meat.

19. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 104, suggests that the priest merely touched them to behead them symbolically.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away; they went thrashing; they went striking the earth; they kept throwing themselves to the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them up, gathered them up, plucked them,[20] roasted them, salted them; they cured them in brine.

Some they destined for Moctezuma, and the rest they destined for his officials — only the noblemen — and also for the masters of the youths, those who were leaders; also those who were offering priests.

And all took their large braziers — not their polished braziers. In them were coals and wood shavings. They heaped them up; they set them on fire; they made them take fire; they fired them with pine splinters. There they burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[21] And when already it was the proper time that already incense be offered, they laid coals in the incense ladle; on it they cast the white incense. With this they raised it in dedication to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they warmed him, thus they incensed him not only there at the great temple but also furthermore in each one's home, in each one's *calpulco.* Incense was offered to all of their gods in whom they believed.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], thereupon they cast [the coals] into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the women, the maidens painted their faces; they pasted themselves with red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper streamers firmly to canes. [The streamers] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls] thus fastened thin cotton blankets [to canes] likewise painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths who had spread black paint on their faces stood above, before the hearth. They stood in the leading position. They carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners, only they carried them [with tumplines which crossed] the chest.

They began the dancing for the women. In this manner was the dance: they danced leaping; they danced just in the fashion of women. And the

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcaoan qujnpepena, qujnnechicoa, qujnvihtlatla, qujntleoatza, qujmiztaioujia, qujmiztaioquauhoatza:

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujntonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcaoan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no iehoantin in teachcaoan, tlaiacatique: no iehoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlâtlâtla.

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ie inman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemâco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin inteteuoan inpan qujnmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica:

yoan intêteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tliltica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj:

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynjc qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynjc tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatototonti, çan quelpanmama.

qujnpeoaltilia yn cioa in netotiliztli, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jnteteuh coomemauja, qujtotitimanj,

20. *qujnvihtlatla*: read *quinvihvitla* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*

21. Thus identified in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 105.

women were in the middle; they held their sacrificial paper streamers in both hands. They were dancing; they were leaping about. And the offering priests also danced. It was said: "They make the Toxcatl-leap." [22]

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitoa toxcachocholoa:

There were conical paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they had conical paper rosettes fastened to their foreheads. They decked their heads with white turkey feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips went gleaming. They had paper breechclouts. And their various grackle-staves had grackle feathers;[23] they were like their cups, and their round balls at the base were likewise of grackle feathers. The grackle-staves were also called their thrasher[-staves].[24]

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, went in procession. They went striking their grackle-staves [on the ground].

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acaxilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in iehoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlaiaoaloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

And only in the *calpulcos* were those who beat the drum for them. They were only seated. They beat only the upright drums; they sat rattling gourd rattles; they sat erecting gourd rattles; they beat turtle shells; they struck turtle shells; they sat using turtle shells.

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate eheoaticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out elsewhere as they danced what is called the serpent dance.

Auh yn ixqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, moteneoa mococoloa.

And hence it went being called the serpent dance. It was because they went back and forth, they went from side to side, they met one another face to face, they went holding one another's hands as they danced.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, iehica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

And also a number of women, maidens, danced. It was their vow. They danced the popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they went placing on [the girls'] heads. They were painted. And to the thickness of their thighs reached where they were pasted with feathers; and it reached up to their shoulders. And they went with those who danced; they went mingling with them.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicozquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan inmetztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Of these it was said that they embraced; they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

Jn iehoantin hin moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

22. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tambien los satrapas del templo, dançauan tambien con las mugeres, ellos y ellas baylãdo, saltauan: y llamauan a este bayle toxcachocholoa, quiere dezir, saltar, o baylar de la fiesta de toxcatl.*" Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 298) translates *toxcachochololoya* as "*se salta el salto de Toxcatl.*"

23. *tzanatl: Cassidix palustris* (Swainson) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 50.

24. *cuitlacochin: Toxostoma curvirostre* (Swainson) in *ibid.*, p. 51.

And these maidens were very well guarded, that one might not covet them, that one might not joke with them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well guarded, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if any were seen joking with one [of the maidens], then the masters of the youths struck him to the ground. They dragged them; they kicked them; they stepped on them.

Because they punished them indeed in the temple; they indeed had done wrong. They said to them: "Indeed there penance is done; there a feast day is celebrated."

So night fell as there was dancing. Thus the feast day ended when the day came to an end.

And next morning, when [the feast day] was over, there also was dancing; there was also dancing of the serpent dance.

And at this time died Ixteucale, he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him also they named Tlacauepan and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. His paper headdress had eagle feathers. His headdress was in disorder. Over the middle of his forehead a flint knife made of feathers was standing.

And also he had his cape of netting; over it there went hanging a small net bag, and his maniple went hanging from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast.[25] He went fastening [golden] bells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went erect at the head of the others.

And it was purely of his own will when he was to die. When he was to wish it, when he wished it, thereupon he delivered himself into the hands of those where he was to die.

Offering priests called *tlatlacanaualti* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, cut open his breast. His heart they held up in dedication to the sun.

And his severed head also they strung up on the skull rack. In the same way he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head] was strung up [on the skull rack].

And just at this time the offering priests cut the skin on people; [with a stone knife] they cut the skin of youths, of young boys, and even verily small

auh in iehoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixqujchtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntitilicça, qujmiicça:

iehica in qujnmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlaaujlqujxtia, qujmjlhuja: ca vncan tlamaceoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo.

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, ic ontlamj in cemilhujtl, in ontzonquiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no necocololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucale, ynin neoan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepã, yoan Tehicauhtzin.

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlatquj, tezcapocio yn jamacal, quahujujio, momoiaoa yn jvitzoncal: tecpatl iquanepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachioalli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequaneoatl, oiooalli contlalitiuh, tehoan mjhtotia, mococoloa, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iillotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quẽman connequiz, yn oqujnec, njman ie ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz:

qujoalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacanaoalti, qujtitilinja, caana, queltetequi: yn iiollo conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquauhço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quauhçotica titlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tlamacazque, qujnpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipiltotõti, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quin-

25. Corresponding Spanish text: "*tambien en vno de los braços, otro ornamento, de pellejo de bestia fiera, a manera del manjpulo que se vsa en la missa: a este llamauan ymatacax.*"

children who lay in the cradles. Thus they cut the skin on their stomachs, on their breasts, and on both sides of each on their upper arms and on their forearms.

This was done only at the time of Toxcatl, when it ended, each year; thus ended [the feast].

paxotla ymelpan, ymelchiqujppan, yoan nenecoc ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan:

çan yio iquac y, in muchioaia, yn ipan toxcatl: apeoalco, cexiuhtica ic ontlatzonqujça.

Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of their offerings which they made during all the days of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.[1]

Etzalqualiztli. Before the arrival of this feast, at the time when it was celebrated, first the offering priests fasted for Tlaloc. For four days,[2] before their fasting began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For indeed at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[3] — very long, very high, and very white at the base; and rounded, like a stone column.

And there where they gathered them, at a place in the water called Temilco [or] Tepexic oztoc, they plucked them by their white ends.

And when they had gathered them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them together at the base in groups; they wrapped them up; they wrapped the groups of reeds up.

Thereupon they used the tumplines; they each used a tumpline. Then there was their carrying on their backs; there was carrying of the burdens upon their backs; there was the carrying of the burdens upon their backs [with the tumpline across] their foreheads. Thereupon they left; there was departing; there was coming to go. None carried [the reeds] crosswise upon his back; they only all departed carrying them on their backs.

And when the offering priests went to gather the reeds, and as they returned, the road [which they followed] remained deserted. No others took it; travelers followed it no more.

And if they came upon any men, they there then despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they took all from them, they made them drop their possessions. And if they defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them; they threw them flat on the ground, they stepped on each of them,

Jnic cenpoalli ommacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jntlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in moteneoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onaxioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: iehica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, yoan cenca tziniztac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtezcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujmecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaixquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloatz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch queoacamama.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oqujnnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapatla, njman qujnmjctia, qujntetentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujntitilicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujtequj, qujntlatlal-

1. Sahagún (Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 116) says: "*hacían una manera de puchas, o poleadas que se llama* etzalli"; and in *ibid.*, p. 166: "*este* etzalli *era hecho de maíz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 210, defines *etzalli* as boiled corn and beans. In "Relación breve," p. 298, Garibay has "*Comida de manjar de frijoles.*"

2. The *Real Palacio MS* varies as follows: "*ynin ylhuitl ypã ỹ quiçaya. matlactli omome metztli mayo. auh yn ayamo onaxiva. yn ipã ylhuitl. achtopa motlalocaçavaya. yn tlamacazque navilhuitl.*" Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, pp. 112–13, translates: "*Dieses Fest fiel auf den 12. Mai. Und ehe man an das Fest kam, fasteten die Priester zu Ehren Tlalocs vier Tage.*"

3. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *aztapilpetlatl* as "*petates jaspeados, de juncias blancas, y verdes.*" In Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 195, *tolmimilli* is identified as *Cyperus* sp., and the description says that the name of its white base is *aztapilli* or *oztopilli.*

they kicked each of them, they leapt upon each of them, they beat the ground with each of them, they scattered them like so many surveyor's cords,[4] they made them cry out, they beat them repeatedly, they beat their backs repeatedly, they beat the skin off of them, they straightened their backs.[5]

mecamauj, qujntzatzatzitia, qujnujujtequj, qujncujtlaujujtequj, qujxipetlavitequj, qujncujtlamelaoa.

And when they had each been robbed, when they had each been stripped, they there only turned back, they only went back there to their homes.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

And indeed if they took the very tribute, Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents. He esteemed them; he gave them protection; he revered them because they were offering priests, because they did penance; they laid offerings before [the gods]. For they were offering priests.

intla nellacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma iehica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, qujpopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymixpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque.

And when they had come reaching [the temple], when they had gone bringing the white reeds, thereupon were pierced and strung together the white reeds. They fashioned green and white reed mats,[6] and they bound the reeds; they made reed seats, and they made reed seats with backs for one to rest on. In the same manner green and white reed seats with backs were fashioned of white reeds.

Auh yn oacico, yn ocaxitico aztapili: njman ie ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoicpalli netlaxonj: çãnoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli.

Thereupon they somewhat bound the reeds, the thin reeds, at their midpoints. And when they had bound them at their midpoints, thereupon they were arranged in order; on the ground they went bound, they went tightly bound with maguey roots, with maguey fibers.

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica.

And when this was done, when already the fasting in honor of Tlaloc was to begin, when night fell, then the offering priests crowded themselves into the houses [of the *calmecac*]; there was crowding into the houses — the warrior offering priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the offering priests [who had captured only one];[7] then the offering priests who were singers, who beat [the drums]; then all the lesser offering priests, and those who were still children, the novices, the little offering priests.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizтli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman iehoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcateicaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto.

And when this had come to pass, then were spread out before the hearth the white and green reed mats, the white and green reed beds.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli:

And when they had stretched out the white and

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchi-

4. *quītlatlalmecamayavi* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

5. *quīcuitlamemelahua* in *ibid.*

6. In the corresponding Spanish text Sahagún states that the reeds were alternated: *"luego las cosian, y componjan, contrapuestas, y entrepuesto, lo blanco a lo uerde: a manera de mantas pintadas."*

7. The number of captives is given in the corresponding Spanish text.

green reed mats, then the fire priest ornamented himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket, and on his left arm he placed [the maniple] called *matacaxtli*.[8]

And with it he took the incense bag, and [in his right hand] he took his incense ladle. Thereupon he offered incense. He stood forth at the entrance; he stood forth in the courtyard.

The fire priest raised[9] it to the four directions. And when this was done, he cast the coals into the brazier. He then went in; he sat before the hearth.

There in his turn he laid down four offering-balls of dough made of maize. Very cautiously, very gently, very warily he placed them. If he made one of them roll, they seized him because of it; he was seized because of it. The offering priests said unto him:

"We offering priests have detained thee, for thou hast rolled it."

And the fire priest then went within. Then he sat down; he undid, he removed [his adornment]. Then all the offering priests came forward; each one in turn was setting in place the offering-balls of dough.

And some left four large tomatoes, or else small ones,[10] and some spread out four green chilis.[11]

Very well were they watched; closely were they watched; closely were they continually watched in case perchance someone might roll something, in case he might move something, in case perchance someone might displace something with his hand, in case perchance someone might knock something with his hand. And if someone rolled something, they detained him, they discovered him, they marked him.

And if they noted on one a little dirt, or a cobweb, or a small piece of cotton perchance on his head, perchance on his cape, they detained him because of it; they marked him. Perchance he stumbled, he slipped, or he struck something. All [such] were detained.

For four days this was done, and four nights, that there was living with prudence.

chioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

yoan itlan conana in copalxiqujpilli, yoan concuj in itlema: njman ie ic tlenamaca, qujiaoac oalmoquetza, itoalco oalmoquetza:

nauhcampa in conjaoa yn tlenamacac: auh in ie iuhquj, contema tlequazco tlexochtli, mec calaquj, onmotlalia tlecujlixquac:

vncan contema nauhtetl ynepapatlaia, ventelolotli, cencan tlamatzin, cencan juja, cencan matca in contlalia: intla centetl oqujmjmjlo, ic caci, yc axioa, conjlhuja in tlamacazque.

Otimjtzacique tlamacazque, ca otitlamjmjlo.

Auh in tlenamacac, mec calaquj: njman ic motlatlalia, moxixitinja, moueueloa; njman ic onmoiacatia yn ixqujchtin tlamacazque, ceceiaca cõtlalitimanj yn jnnepapatlaia, in ventelolotli.

Auh in cequjnti xitomatl, anoço izoatomatl in concaoaia nauhtetl: auh in cequjntin chilchotl in contemaia, nauj:

cenca vellachielo, vel neixpetzolo, vel neixpepetzalo, yn açaca tlamjmjloz, yn açaca tlaoliniz, yn açaca tlamapetoniz, yn açaca tlamaxopeoaz. Auh intla aca otlamjmjlo, caci, conjximati, conmachiotia:

yoan intla aca ytech qujttazque, tlaçoltontli, anoço tocatzaoalli, anoço ichcatontli: aço icpac, anoço itilmatitech, ic caci, conmachiotia: anoçe motepotlamja, moticujnja, anoço motlaujtequj, muchi ic neaxioa:

naujlhujtl ynjn muchioaia, yoã nauhioal, in nematcanemoaia.

8. *matacaxtli*: see Chapter 24, n. 25.

9. Sahagún (Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 308) distinguishes three grades of priests — "tlamacazton *(que) es como acólito*; . . . tlamacazque, *que es como diácono*; . . . tlanamácac, *que es como sacerdote. De estos sacerdotes los mejores elegían por sumos pontífices. . . .*"

10. Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las Plantas de Nueva España*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1942–46), Vol. III, p. 699: ". . . *son mayores que avellanas aunque menores que las nueces, están encerrados en una membrana a modo de vejiga, . . . y pasan del verde al amarillo o al púrpura. . . .*" *Physalis* sp.?

11. *nanavi* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

And when this was done, then the old priests[12] took away [the offerings]. They took away for themselves what they required; they ate them. For four days they took for themselves the things which had been offerings.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ic quiquanja in quaquacujlti: qujmocujlia intech monequj, qujqua: naujlhujtl in qujmocujliaia, in motlaueuenjaia:

And when midnight had not yet arrived, then shell trumpets were blown.[13] And when they were blown,[14] then there was the unclothing of each one and the cutting of maguey spines and the piercing of the ears. Thereupon were the spines stained with blood, and there was the smearing [of the priests] with blood. And when this was done, then there was the arising [of all].

auh yn aiamo onaci ioalnepantla, mec tlapitzalo: auh yn ontlapitzaloc, njman ic nepepetlaoalo, yoan neuitzteco, yoan nenacazteco: njman ie ic mezuja in vitztli, yoan neçua: auh in ie iuhquj mec nequetzalo.

There was going; there was bathing; there was going blowing musical instruments; they went blowing shell trumpets. Whistles were blown.[15]

Viloa, onnevtemalo, tlapitzalotiuh, qujpitztiuj, in tecciztli, cohcouiloc chililitli.

And all the offering priests each carried their tobacco bags on their backs, and had their cord necklets, each one his cord necklet from which went hanging their little tobacco bags, each of which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco.[16] And the fire priest went leading them. With him went his incense ladle; and his maguey thorns went with him. And, with them, he grasped his incense bag.

Auh in muchintin tlamacazque, qujmamama yn imiyiequach, ynmecacozquj, inmemecacozquj, itech pipilcatiuh yn imiiequach, ontetentiuh yiaqualli: yoan qujniacantiuh in tlenamacac, ytlemauh ietiuh, yoan yuitz ietiuh: yoan itlan cana icopalxiqujpil.

And leading them went a man, an old priest. He went bearing on his shoulders the mist rattle board, also called the sorcerer's staff. It was wide, very wide, excessively wide; and it was long, very long. And it rattled; he went along rattling it.

Auh ce tlacatl quacujlli teiacantiuh, qujquechpanotiuh, aiochicaoaztli, no itoca naoalquaujtl, patlaoac, patlactic, patlacpol: yoan viiac, vitlatztic, yoan cacalaca, qujcacalatztiuh

Not one remained in the *calmecac*. It went all cleaned out; it arose empty; the *calmecac* was empty.

aocac ce onmocaoã calmecac, cemjchictiuh, cactimoquetza, cactiuetzi in calmecac.

And only four singers were left there. They sat singing, they sat beating the horizontal drum, they sat rattling the turtle shell rattle, they sat rattling the gourd rattle, they sat blowing the shell trumpet; they sat sounding the shell trumpet.

Auh çan naujntin in vmpa onmocaoa cujcanjme, cujcatoque, teponaçotoque, aiochiuhtoque, aiacachotoque; qujpitztoque in qujqujztli, qujqujçotoque.

And when they went reaching the water's edge, the offering priests' bathing place, the mist houses were at the cardinal points. Thereupon there was stretching out of each one, there was their seating

Auh yn oacito atenco, yn jnnealtiaia tlamacazque: nauhcampa in manca yn aiauhcalli, njman ie ic neteteco, netlalilo, tlatzitzilca, tlaviujioca, tlacuecuechca, netlantzitzilitzalo:

12. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún describes "*vnos viejos, que llamauan quaquacujltin: los quales trayan las caras teñjdas de negro, trasqujladas: saluo en la corona de la cabeça, que tenja los cabellos largos, al reues de los clerigos.*"

13. *tlapitza* means "to blow something" — a trumpet, flageolet, flute, or other wind instrument. We follow Sahagún's corresponding Spanish where designating specific instruments.

14. The *Real Palacio MS* text reads: "*tlatlapitzalo auh yn ontlatlapitzaloc.*"

15. The *Real Palacio MS* reads *cohcouilotl chililitli.* Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 117, translates this passage thus: "*man bläst Muschelbörner und Tonpfeifen, auch solche in Gestalt von zwei Tauben.*" However, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 702, he states: "*Neben ihnen wurden thönerne Pfeifen*, chilitli *oder* cohcouilotl *genannt, viel gebraucht.*"

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*todos lleueuan a cuestas, vnas taleguillas, atadas con vnos cordelejos de ichtli, con vnas borlas al cabo: y de otras colgauan, vnas tiras de papel pintadas, cosidas, con las mismas talegas, que llamauan yiequachtli: y en aquellas talegas lleuauã vna manera de harina, hecha a la manera de estiercol de ratones, que ellos llamauan yiaqualli, que era cõficionada con tinta, y con poluos de vna yerua que ellos llaman yietl, que es como beleños de castilla.*"

themselves, there was trembling, there was shivering, there was quaking with cold, there was the chattering of teeth.

When this was done, then spoke the old man called the old precious stone priest; he said:

"[Behold] the place where the serpents are wrathful, the place where the water gnats buzz, the place where the ruddy ducks take off, the place where the white reeds rustle."

When he had said this, thereupon there was plunging into the water, there was going churning the water, there was going beating it with their hands, there was going beating it with their feet, there was going beating the water with their feet; they went shouting, they went twittering; they mimicked all the birds.

Some spoke like ducks; they hummed. Some mimicked gulls;[17] they spoke like gulls. Some mimicked jabirus;[18] they spoke like jabirus. Some spoke like white herons.[19] Some spoke like little blue herons.[20] Some spoke like brown cranes.[21]

Where they bathed, in the midst of things were poles.[22] For four days it was so done. And when this was done, then there was emerging from the water, there was ornamenting. Then there was returning; they went back. In just the same manner they went; they each went naked; they were naked.

And when they had reached [home], when they had each disposed themselves in the houses, thereupon were thrown down, were spread out the white and green mats everywhere in the *calmecac*.

Thereupon there was the wrapping up of each, there was the covering up of each. Then there was the stretching out of each upon the white and green mats. They were cold. There was lying as if dead. They lay cold. They lay sleepless. They sat hunched. They sat crouched. Some just lay sleepless, some slept continuously, some slept lightly, some dreamed, some talked in their sleep, some started up in their sleep. There was thundering, there was snoring, there was groaning, there was whimpering, there was [lying] twisted in sleep.

Later, at full noon, there was arising. And when

in ie iuhquj njman ic tlatoa, in veue itoca chalchiuhquaqujlli: qujtoa.

Coatl yçomocaiã, amoiotl ycaoacaian, atapalcatl ynechiccanaoan, aztapilcuecuetlacaian:

yn oconjto y, njman ie ic onnetepeoalon atla, tlachachaquatztinemj, yn atlan, tlamaujtectinemj, tlacxiujtectinemj, atlacxiuitectinemj, tzatzitinemj, ycaoacatinemj, qujntlaiehecalhuja yn ixqujchtin totome:

cequj canauhtlatoa, tlacacauja, ceq'ntin qujntlaiehecalhuja, in pihpitzti, pipitztlatoa: cequjntin qujntlaiehecalhuja, yn acacalome, acacalotlatoa: cequjntin aztatlatoa, cequjntin axoquentlatoa, cequjn tocujlcoiotlatoa:

yn vncan maltiaia yn, tlanepantla manca in cuenmantli: naujlhujtl yn juh mochioaia yn: auh yn ie iuhquj mec oalquixoa yn atlan, nechichioalo, njman ie oalnecuepalo, ycuitlaujc oalujloa, çan ie no iuj in Vitze, tlapitztiujtze, pepetlauhtiujtze, tlapetlauj.

Auh yn onacico, yn onmocacaltemaco, njman ie ic moteteca, moçoçoa yn aztapilpetlatl, yn noujan calmecac:

njman ie ic netlatlalpililo, nequequentilo, mec neteteco, yn aztapilpetlapan, cecec mjcoatoc, cecexcextoque, yitztitoque, mococototztlalia, motatapaiollalia: cequjntin çan iitztoque, cequjntin cocochi, cequjntin çan cochcanaoatoque, cequjntin temiquj, cequjntin cochtlatoa, cequjntin cochitleoa, tlaquaqualaca, tlacotaliuj, tlaqujqujnaca, tlatetena, tlanecujliuj in cochioa:

qujn cennepantla tonatiuh in neeheoalo. Auh in

17. *pipitztli*: tentatively identified as *Larus franklini* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 39.

18. *acacalotl: Jabiru mycteria* (Lichtenstein) in *ibid.*, p. 43.

19. The *aztatl* is identified as *Leucophoyx thula* (Molina), "snowy egret," in *ibid.*, p. 28. However, we follow the prevailing usage and use the term "heron."

20. *axoquen: Florida caerulea* (Linnaeus) in *ibid.*, p. 28.

21. *tocuilcoiotl: Grus canadensis* (Linnaeus) in *ibid.*, p. 27.

22. "*varales hincados*" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

there had been arising, then the fire priest arrayed himself in order to offer incense, to burn it. He went everywhere, to all the temples; the old priests went ahead of him.

And when he had gone everywhere offering incense, thereupon food was eaten; there was eating. There was gathering around; there was grouping around. Severally they gave them their food, all kinds of sauce. For four days they only tasted it.

And if someone were to exchange his sauce with someone, they detained him because of it, they seized him because of it; he was seized because of it. And when food was eaten, no one let a drop of the sauce fall there on the ground where the sauce had been placed. If anyone spilt a little sauce, for all this he was detained; there was punishing.

And when this was done, when they had eaten, thereupon there was going to gather fir branches [or] reeds, green reeds.

And when there had been going forth, when there had been gathering, thereupon [the branches or reeds] were bound at their midpoints;[23] they were somewhat bound up. And when they had been bound at their midpoints, when already it was time that they be deposited, then there was breaking up, there was running, there was running by each one. They carried the reeds upon their shoulders.[24]

Quickly they deposited each of them everywhere in each of the temples of the demons.

And if anyone were to stumble and fall, and if anyone went not there, if he strayed, for this he was detained.

And if anyone did not keep up, if he did not keep up with one, if anyone straggled, if he did not deposit reeds along with the others, they detained him because of it; there was confinement because of it.

And this was done for four days.

And for these four days he who was detained could yet be freed, could yet free himself, could yet escape in return for perhaps a turkey hen, for perchance a breechclout, perchance a cape, perchance a maguey fiber cape, perchance for a small manta.

And the poor, these freed themselves with balls of dough,[25] a wooden vessel [full].

oneeheoaloc, mec muchichioa in tlenamacac, ynic tlenamacaz tlatotoniz, noujian qujça in jzqujcan teteupan, qujiacantinemj in quaquacujlti.

Auh yn ōtlenamacato noujian: njman ie ic tlaqualo tlatlaqualo, neiaiaoalolo, neoolololo: ceceiaca qujmonmaca yn intlaqual, yn quenamj molli qujmonmaca, navilhujxti in çan ice qujpalozque.

Auh intla aca qujpatilizque ymol, ic caci, ic conaci, ic onaxioa: yoan in jquac tlaqualo, aiac achi qujchipinja yn molli, yn vncan tlalpan; tlatlalteco in molli, intla aca achi qujchipinja molli, muchi ic neaxioa, ic netlanamjctilo.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontlaqualoc, njman ie ic viloa yn acxoiatl mocuiz, ie yn acatl, acaxoxouhquj.

Auh yn ooalujloac, yn onmocujto: njman ie ic tlacuitlalpilo, acquj molpia: auh yn ontlacujcujtlalpiloc, in ie inman motemaz, njman ic tlatzomonj, netlalolo, netlatlalolo, qujquechpanoa in acatl:

qujtetentiqujça yn izqujcan in teteupan tlatlacateculo.

Auh intla aca motlaujtequiz: yoan intla aca amo vmpa itztiaz, intla miscuepaz, ic axioa.

Auh intla aca, amo qujcxiaci, intlacamo teicxiaci: intla aca icxicaoalo, yn amo tehoan contemaz acatl, ic caci, ic nemaltilo.

Auh ynjn naujlhujtl in muchioaia:

auh in naujlhujtl y, yn aqujque axioa, oc vel momaqujxtia, oc vel moqujxtia, oc vel maquiça: aço totolin yca, aço maxtlatl ica, aço tilmatli, aço ichtilmatli, aço tequachtli ica.

Auh yn jcnotlaactl iehoatl in uentelolotli, ic moqujxtiaia, cen quauhxicalli:

23. *tlacuicuitlalpilo* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

24. *quiquequechpanoa* in *ibid.*

25. "*bolillas de massa*" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

And [as for] all that by which one was freed, all this the captor, he who detained one, he who captured one, took.

But when it was already the fifth day, when it was already the feast day, no one could free himself; even if it were something very great in return for which he was to free himself, no longer did [the captor] accept it.

And when it was already the feast day, all the common folk made cooked maize and beans for themselves; they made *etzalli* for themselves. They fell to it as one. There was no one who did not prepare maize and beans for himself.

When they were cooked, then they were continually eaten; they continually presented it to one another; they continually invited one another to meals.

And some of the happy ones, the pleasure girls, and some of the brave warriors danced from time to time. Thus they just diverted themselves.

Thus were they adorned: they had circles about their eyes; they had their maize staves. They kept going to enter each one's home. They danced the *etzalli* dance. With them they went grasping a handled jar, the *etzalli* jar.

And as they kept on dancing they chanted: "When I do, when I do, [give me] a little of thy *etzalli*. If thou givest me none, I shall break a hole into thy house."

And the householders then gave them a pile of *etzalli*. They went placing it in the *etzalli* jar.

Those who kept on dancing gathered some in fives, some in sixes, some in sevens.

This *etzalli* dance began at midnight. Only when it was dawn was there dispersing, was it quiet.

And when the sun arose, then the fire priest adorned himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket;[26] over it he placed his [thin, transparent] netted cape, called the mist cape or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] motmot feathers. Then he carried on his back the round paper rosette,[27] and he went placing a pleated paper neck ornament on the nape of his neck.[28]

auh yn jxqujch nequjxtilonj, moch qujmocujlia in tlamanj, in teaci, in teacinj.

Auh in ie ic macujlilhujtl, in ie yquac ilhujtl, aocac vel moqujxtiaia, inmanel itla cenca vey ic moqujxtiaia, aocmo qujceliaia.

Auh in ie iquac ilhujtl, yn ixqujch tlacatl maceoalli, qujmochiujliaia etzalli, metzalhujaia, vel cenvetzi, aiac yn macamo metzalhujaia:

auh yn iquac oicucic, njman quaqualo, netech qujmomamaca, nepanotl ic mococooachioa.

Auh in cequjntin papaqujnj, yn ahaujeni: yoan in cequjntin tiacaoan, mamaceoa çan ic mellelqujxtia:

injc muchichioa mixteiaiaoaltia, incintopil, cacalactinemj in techachan, etzalmaceoa: intlan caantinemj xocujcolli etzalcomjtl.

Auh ynjc mamaceoaia queoaia. Yn naie yn naie tla achi in metzal, intlacamo xinechmaca, njmjtzcalxaxapotlaz.

Auh in chaneque, njman qujoalmaca, cen tlaolololli etzalli, contlalitiuj yn etzalcomjc:

cequj macujlli, cequj chiquacen, cequj chicome, mantinemj in mamaceoa.

Jnjn etzalmaceoaliztli, ioalnepantla in peoaia, çan ic tlatlalchipaoa, in necacaoalo, cactiuetzi,

auh yn ooalquiz tonatiuh, njman ie ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, pani conmololoa aiatl, itoca aiauhquemjtl, anoço aoachquemjtl, tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpaniotl, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

26. "*vna manta delgada trasparente, que se llama aiauhquemjtl*" in the corresponding Spanish text. Elsewhere Sahagún mentions "*mantas delgadas que llaman ayatl*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 49).

27. "*vna flor de papel grande vncida redonda, a manera de rodela*" in the corresponding Spanish text. Later, in the same chapter, he describes the *tlaquechpaniotl* as "*ornamento, que va sobre el pescuezo.*" In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 850, 851, 885, Seler refers to it as "*die breite Nackenschleife*" and adds: "*am Nacken ist das* tlaquechpanyotl, *die Binde mit den breiten Schleifenenden aus gefälteltem Papier, angegeben die das Abzeichen der Berg-, Regen- und Wassergottheiten ist.*"

28. In *ibid.*, p. 487, "*eine aus Papier geschnittene Imitation des Schopfes, den man den Knaben, denen im Uebrigen das Haupthaar rasirt wurde, am Hinterkopf stehen liess. Wir werden dasselbe Merkmal unten noch bei den* Tepictoton, *den Berggöttern, angegeben*

And his forehead was painted blue; besides, he put iron pyrites on it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.

yoan mixquatexoujaia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujaia, conapetzotiaia:

And with him he went grasping a paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with seashells,[29] also known as a seashell incense bag. It went filled there with *yauhtli*, with ground up *yauhtli*.[30]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiataztli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiataztli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

And a number of offering priests carried in their arms rubber molded like men, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round, conical [in shape]. On their points went erect quetzal feathers, called quetzal feather tassels.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac y icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiaoaiotl.

And when this was done, when the trumpets were played, thereupon there was their placing in order on the road. Then there was departing.[31]

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for transgressions] they arranged, each one, in order; they grasped each one firmly; they took them each by the napes of their necks, they seized each one firmly by the head; some they grasped, each one, by the ends of their breechclouts.

Auh in q̃xqujchtin, yn oaxioaque, oqujntetecpanque, qujntzitzitzqujtimanj, incuexcochteuh qujmaanjlitimanj, qujnquaquatemotzoltzitzqujtimanj, cequjntin inmaxtlaujcoltitech qujmaantimanj.

And for the novice offering priests who had been detained they made reed rests as for earthen jars for each one. There each one went. They went bearing [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.[32]

Auh in tlamaztoton, yn oaxioaque, toliaoalli qujnchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, qujnquechpanotiuj:

And as for those a little better [in size], they went grasping each one by their hands.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, inmatitech qujmaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then was the time that they turned upon [the transgressors]; they set upon them, they abused them, they cast them each to the ground. If somewhere there was a puddle of water, there they threw them; they kept sliding them, they kept rolling them; they went sliding them in the mud, they went mingling them with the mud. Just so they forced them to the water's edge, to the place where they immersed one in the water, to a place called Totecco.

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac qujnpeoaltia in qujncujcujtiuetzi, qujnmictia qujnmamaiauj, intlacana manj qujiaoatl, vmpa qujmontlaça vmpa qujnpepetzcoa, qujnmjmjloa, qujnçoqujpetzcotinemj, qujçoqujnelotinemj, çan iuh qujmonaxitia yn atenco, in teatlan papacholoian, itocaiocan totecco.

And when it had been reached, the fire priest and still other fire priests from various places thereupon [sacrificially] burned the papers and the incense gods and the rubber gods. And the *yauhtli* they

Auh yn iquac yn onaxioac in tlenamacac, yoan oc cequjntin tletlenamacaque, njman ie ic qujtlatia yn amatl, yoan copalteteu, yoan vlteteu: yoan yn jiauhtli, qujtetepeoa, qujcecenmana in tolpepechpan.

finden." The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*al colodrillo, vnas flores de papel, tambien froncidas, que sobrauan a ambas partes de la cabeça, a manera de orejas de papel, como medios circulos*," and later in the same chapter, "*era ornamento, que se ponjan tras el colodrillo, como vna flor hecha de papel*."

29. *tlacuechchotilli* in the *Real Palacio MS*.

30. Identified as *Tagetes lucida* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 145.

31. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing in the *Florentine Codex: auh tlanepātla ycatiuh ytoca icacpalli, icatl, in tlachichiualli yuitl ypac y ycatiuh ome, amatl ytech pileatiuh, ytech tzoltiui, yuc ilacatilolli ycuilaci, quinapalotiui, cenca quimauiztililiui* – "and in the midst of them went what is called a reed seat, made of reeds with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence."

32. *quīquequechpanotiui* in the *Real Palacio MS*.

scattered in various directions; they spread it over each of the reed beds.

And when this was done, it was as if the water was wounded when there was the casting [of the transgressors] into the water. There was what was like a roar; the water rose straight up. And if anyone tried to come up, they submerged him. He went deep.

And if any were experienced in water, when [the escorts] had submerged them, they went for good. They came up at a distance; then they jumped out, they fled, they escaped.

And some [the escorts] indeed suffocated; they indeed fainted. They left them quite hurt; they left them as if lying dead at the water's edge; they stretched them each out.

And some, who had swallowed water continuously, bitter water, [their relatives] held head down so that what they had swallowed might come out through their noses, through their mouths.

And when this was done, then there was departing, there was going back. Once again they went blowing the shell trumpets.

And those who had been repeatedly submerged in the water went only to their homes. Their home folk accompanied them. They each went sick, they each went trembling, they each went shivering to recover their breath[33] at their homes.

And when there was going to reach the *calmecac*, once again there was a spreading out; the mats of green and white reeds, and also the reeds, were spread out. Once again fasting began; it was called "fasting during the day." For four days they also fasted during the day. No longer was there detaining [for transgressions]; no longer was anything eaten during the day.

Then began the adorning [of the priests]. The novice offering priests adorned the offering priests. They prepared all the divers paper vestments, the round paper rosettes, the pleated paper neck ornaments, and the paper bags for incense, only they bought them [at the market], and the necklaces of wood, only they were sold in the market place.

And when the four days had passed in which there was fasting during the day, then at dawn began the arraying [of the priests].

Then were bedight the various fire priests and all the offering priests. At dawn there was the putting

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, yn atl iuhqujn tzopontimanj, ynic teatlan papacholo: iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj, vel macoquetza yn atl: auh yn aca oalpanuetziznequj conpolactia, centlanj iauh.

Auh yn aca amatinj, yn oconpolactique, çan iccen iauh, vecan onpauetzi, njman ic choloa, moieltia, momaqujxtia:

auh in cequjntin vel qujmjhiiocaoaltia vel çoçotlaoa, ça mjmjcque in qujncaoa, ça q'nmictoccaoa atenco qujnoaltetema:

auh in cequjntin oqujtotoloque atl, in chichic atl, qujntzonicpilooa ic oalqujça, yn iniacac yn jncamac, yn oqujtotoloca.

Auh in ie iuhquj njman ic oalujlooa, icujtlaujc oalujloa oc cepa oallapitztiuj:

auh yn oatlanpapacholoque, çan inchan vihuj, qujnujujca in inchantlaca, cocoxtiuj, viujujxcatiuj, tzitzitzilcatiuj, yn oconihiiocuizque inchan.

Auh yn oaxioato calmecac, oc cepa tlateteco, moteteca yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan no motetema yn atulin, oc cepa vncan peoa in neçaoaliztli, itoca netlacaçaoaliztli, no naujlhujtl in motlacaçaoaia, aocmo neaxioa, aocmo tlacatlaqualo:

njman ic vncã ompeoa in tlatlachichioalo, qujtlachichiujliaia in tlamacazque, tlamaztoton, qujcecencaoa yn ixqujch amatlatqujtl, in tlaquechpaniotl, yn amacuexpalli, yoã yn jiataztli, çan qujmococoujaia, yoan in tlacopacozcatl, çan monanamacaia tianquizco.

Auh yn oacic naujlhujtl, ynjc netlacaçaoalo, njman ioatzinco in peoa in techichioalo:

njman mochichioa in tletlenamacaque, yoan yn ixqujch tlamacazquj, ioatzĩco yn onneaqujlo, in tla-

33. In the *Real Palacio MS* the phrase reads: *yn oc ompa quihyyocuizque.*

on of the round paper rosettes. And they put on their heads the pleated paper neck ornaments. There was the application of the pleated paper neck ornaments; there was painting blue of the foreheads. Their foreheads were painted blue, and they were painted, they were painted after the manner of Uixtociuatl.[34] And with them they each grasped the incense bag; they were with them; they were grasped, each one. The various fire priests had their ocelot skin incense bags with small, white seashells. In four places shells hung from the incense bags.

quechpaniotl: yoan contlaliaia ymjcpac, amacuexpalli, neamacuexpaltilo, yoan neixquatexoujlo, mjxquatexoujaia, yoan michioaia, moujxtoichioaia: yoan intlan caana yn iataztli: tetlan tlaano in tletlenamacaque, ynooceloyiataz cuecuechcho, nauhcampa in pipilcac, cuechtli, yn itech yiataztli.

And the incense bags of the offering priests were made only of paper painted like ocelot skin, painted to look like ocelot skin. Some [incense bags] represented the northern phalarope;[35] some represented the duck. Their incense bags each went filled with powdered *yauhtli.*

Auh in tlamacazque ymjataz, çan amatl in tlachichioalli, tlaoceloicujlolli, oceloicujliuhquj, in cequjntin atzitzicujlotl ipan mixeoaia: in cequintin canauhtli, ipan mjxeoaia, yn jmiataz, tetentiuh, yn jiauhtextli.

And when this was done, then there was coming together; the feast day was celebrated. The fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc led the others. He went putting on his quetzal and heron feather crown, and his face was coated with liquid rubber. He put on his mist jacket, his rain mask or his Tlaloc mask. His long, tangled hair fell to his loins. Behind him came chanting all the offering priests. Thus they went to the Temple of Tlaloc.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec tenanamjco, ilhujtlalo: teiacana in tlalocan tlenamacac, quetzalaztatzontli, yn onactiuh: yoan mjsolhuj yaiauhxicol, iqujiauhxaiac, anoço itlalocaxaiac in conmaquja, ycuitlacaxiuhian vetzi yn ipapa ycampa icaoacatiuj yn jxqujchtin tlamacazque, ynic vih yn iteupan tlaloc:

When they reached there, thereupon the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc stopped. He spread out white reeds and *quequexquic*[36] and *nopal*, strewn with *yauhtli*, provided with *yauhtli.*

yn onacique njman ie ic onmoquetza, in tlalocan tlenamac, conchaiaoa in aztapili, yoan in quequexqujc, yoan nopalli, yiauhtitlan tlaaqujlli, tlayiauhujlli:

Then he placed [on the mats] four round green stones. And when he had placed them there,[37] then they gave him a small wooden hook, stained blue; with it he went striking each one of the round green stone balls. As he went striking each one, he went turning around.

njmã ic contlalia in chalchiuhtelolotli nauhtetl: auh yn ocontlali mec conmaca, quauhchicoltontli, tlatexoujlli, ic conujujtectiuh, cecentetl in chalchiuhtelolotli: yn jquac qujmonujujtectiuh, oalmocueptiuh.

And when this was done, then he scattered *yauhtli.* And when he had scattered it, then they gave him the mist rattle board. He rattled, he shook it; he raised it in dedication [to the god].

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman contepeoa yn jiauhtli: auh yn ocontepeuh, njman conmaca yn aiochicaoaztli, concacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa.

And when it was ended, then there was the departing of each one, there was the dispersing of each one, there was the disappearing of each one, there was the scattering of each one; they each went to the

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaztoton, çan qujnujujca yn inchachan.

34. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 125, has "*man . . . bemalt das Gesicht in der Art des bewegten Wassers.*"

35. *atzitzicujlotl*: identified as northern phalarope, *Lobipes lobatus*, or sanderling, *Crocethia alba* (Pallas), in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 28.

36. In a description of the Huaxteca and their region, Sahagún writes: "*se dan muy bien todos los bastimentos y muchas frutas que por acá no se hallan, como es la que dicen* quequexquic" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. III, p. 203). In Vol. IV, p. 351, it is identified as *Xanthosema violaceum.* Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 126, calls it *Pfeilkrautblätter*, and cites Hernández's definition as *Sagittae plinionae.*

37. The *Real Palacio MS* reads *contlatlalia* and *ocontlatlali.*

various *calmecacs*. But the novice offering priests they only took, each one, to their several homes.

And when there had been going to gather in the *calmecac*, then there was dispersing [of their ornaments]; there was the seating of each one.

And at night, thereupon there began the celebration of the feast day on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, trumpets were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums lay croaking; they lay growling; it was as if they lay droning; and gourd rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to die, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when the night divided in half, then began the slaying. The captives went leading; they died. They began as the fundament of [those to follow]. And when they died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also was the time when all the paper offerings burned, and the quetzal feathers and the various [other] precious feathers, and some of the green stones — well formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the rubber-colored stones, those which were blackish, those which were brown, those which were dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts of [the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they went to place it in a vessel painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with rubber on four sides. And its accouterments were papers dotted with drops of liquid rubber, much rubber; they were covered with rubber.

All this they likewise did to all the impersonators. All their hearts they continued casting there [in the cloud vessel].

And when this was done at midnight, when there had been the killing, all the bystanders, who had been watching continually, all went with their hands continually filled with their artemisia flowers.[38] They went thrusting them, they went lunging with them to and fro, they went fanning themselves, [and they went fanning their children with them.][39] It was said that thus they frightened away the worms;

Auh yn onnetecoto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:

auh yn oniooac njman ie ic peoa, in tlalhujmamanj, in teucalticpac tlalocan:

teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, iehoatl in mopitza tecciztli, yoan acatecciztli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc, nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan aiacacholo:

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlaoan tlaloque.

Auh yn oacic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli: mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcque, njman ie ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn ixqujch nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl: yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcucic, yn atle itlaciuiz, yn amo tlaciujce: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iaiauhquj, iaiactic, anoço yiauhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequj, in ce onpeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalitiuj comjc, tlatexoujlli motocaiotia, mixcomjtl, nauhcampa in tlavlxaoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavlchipinilli, cenca vllo moca vlli:

much iuh qujnchioa yn izqujntin teixiptlaoan, much vmpa contlaztimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, ynjc mjcoa: yn ixqujchtin tlatlattaque, in tlatlachia, muchi imiiztauhiaxochiuh, inmac tetentinemj, qujtlatlaujtzotinemj, aujc qujtlaztinemj, ic mêcapeujtinemj, yn inpilhoã, .qujlmach ic qujnpeujaia in ocujlti, ynic amo yxocujlloazque: cequjntin in nacaztitlan caaquja, cequjn çan qujmamapictinemj.

38. Identified as *Artemisia mexicana* Willd. in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 165.

39. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *yuan yc quimecapeuitinemi.*

that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put the flowers in their ears. Some just went holding them in each hand.

And when this was done, when were slain [the captives and the likenesses of the rain gods], thereupon the offering priests came down. They brought down all the offerings — the rubber-spattered sacrificial banners, and the maguey fiber capes painted with designs, also called "mist-faced," and the green stones, and the quetzal feathers, and the incense pieces which looked like men. And they brought down the cloud vessel; it went filled there with hearts.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oaltemoa in tlamacazque: qujoaltemouja yn ixqujch nextlaoalli, in teteujtl: yoan ichtilmatli tlacujlolli, yoan itoca aiavixo: yoan in chalchiujtl, yoan quetzalli, yoan copalli, tlatlacatlachia: yoan qujoaltemouja in mixcomjtl, vncã tetentiuh yn iollotli:

Then they took them directly to the water's edge, to a place called Tetamaçolco.

njman qujtlamelaoaltia atenco, itocaiocã tetamaçolco.

And when they had gone to arrive, thereupon they loaded a boat; they filled a boat with all the offerings. And all the offering priests embarked. Thereupon it was poled. It was filled. Those who poled it clung [to the poles]. They poled speedily. The poles were all in blue; they were painted blue; they were colored blue. And they had rubber ornamentation; they had rubber painting; they were rubber-ornamented.

Auh yn oacito njman ie ic conacalaquja, conacaltema yn ixqujch nextlaoalli: yoan onmacaltema yn ixqujchti tlamacazque, njman ie ic tlanelolo, ontetemj onpipilcatoque in tlaneloa, tequjtlaneloa, in aujctli muchi texoio, tlatexoujlli, tlatexoaltilli, yoan tlaulxauhtli, tlaulxaoalli, vlxauhquj.

And when they went to arrive in mid-water, at a place called Pantitlan,[40] there they brought the boat in. And when they had brought it in, thereupon trumpets were played. The fire priest arose in the prow of the boat. Then they gave him the cloud vessel, which went filled there with hearts. Thereupon he cast it in the midst of the water, before the stakes [which were in the water]. It immediately was swallowed; it immediately pierced [the water].

Auh yn oacito anepantla, itocaiocan pantitlan, njman ic concalaquja yn acalli: auh yn oqujcalaqujque, njman ie ic tlapitzalo: in tlenamacac acaliacac onmoquetza, njman conmaca in mixcomjtl, yn vncan tentiuh iollotli: njman ie ic contlaça anepantla, ynixpã cuenmantli, iuhquin ontlachaquanitiuetzi, ontlatzoponitiuetzi:

And then the water foamed, kept surging, roared, crackled continually, crackled as it surged. Bits of foam formed.

auh njman poçoni yn atl, momoloca, quaqualaca xixittomj, xixitemomoloca, apopoçoqujllotl motlatlalia:

Thereupon were hung out, tied to the stakes, to the poles, the sacrificial banners. And they bound on green stones, but some of them they cast, scattered, strewed on the water.

njman ie ic mopipiloa, moolpia in teteujtl, in quauhtitech yn itech cuenmantli: yoan in chalchiujtl qujilpia, yoan cequj atlan contepeoaia, conchaiaoa, concenmana.

And when this was done, thereupon there was going forth. And when there was coming to go forth, when there was going forth there at the opening in the [barrier of] stakes, then [the fire priest] took up the incense ladle, on which he arranged four sacrificial banners. Thereupon he dedicated [the incense ladle with papers]; when he had dedicated

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic oalqujxoa: auh yn oqujxoaloco, yn oalqujxooac, yn vncan qujiaoatenpan, yn iqujiaoaioc cuenmantli: njman ic concuj in tlemaitl, vncan conmamana nauhtetl teteujtl: njman ie ic conjiaoa, yn oconjiauh, mec conmaiauj, ica onmajauj, contlaça, ica ontlamotla:

40. The *Real Palacio MS* adds *auh yn oacito pantitlan* — "and when they had gone to reach Pantitlan."

them, then he scattered them. He scattered them [on the water]; he cast them down; he threw them [on the water].

And when he had cast them away, then they turned the boat about. Then there was the return; there was poling. Some went in the prow; some went in the stern.

And when they had come to reach Tetamaçolco, where there had been embarking at the place of embarkation, thereupon there was bathing; then there was going on the part of each one.

And the boat they then went to beach at its resting place at the place for beaching boats.

And when dawn broke, thereupon there was washing of the blue color from foreheads. The offering priests were there at the offering priests' bathing place.

And whoever had only hidden himself, who had only concealed himself when there was fasting for Tlaloc, when there was detaining, later with the washing of the blue stain from their foreheads, they there plunged him into the water.

And when this was done, then there was a quick departure. Then were taken out each of the reed beds; they were each carried out of the *calmecac.* They were each taken out; they threw them, each one, behind the building.

Enough. Here ended the feast of Etzalqualiztli.

auh yn ocontlaz mec qujmalacachoa yn acalli: mec oalnecuepalo, tlanelolo cequj tlaiacatitiuj, cequj tlacuexcochtitiuj.

Auh yn oacico tetamaçolco, yn vncan neacalaqujlo, in neacalaqujloia, njman ie ic neaaltilo, mec viviloa.

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian:

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequatexopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque.

Auh yn aqujn çan motlati, in çan mjnax, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequatexopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa.

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujqujxtilo, tlaeeoalo in tolpepechtli in vncan calmecac: tlaqujqujxtilo, calteputzco contlatlaça.

Je ixqujch, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in etzalqualiztli.

Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which are related the feast day and the honors done during all the days of the seventh month, which was named Tecuilhuitontli.[1]

Tecuilhuitontli. When this was in progress, the minor feast of the lords was celebrated also for twenty days. And at this time died, at this time her fate befell her, at this time died a sacrificial death [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, god[dess] of the salt people, the salt makers.

This Uixtociuatl, so it was said, was thought to be the elder sister of the rain gods. And it was thought that the rain gods were her brothers. In one thing she angered them, she offended them: that she mocked at her brothers. And then they banished their elder sister to the salt beds. There she went to discover salt — how it existed, how it was formed, how were made the salt jars; and also grains of salt.[2]

And on this account, greatly did the salt flats people honor her.

And the array of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl was [thus]: her face paint, her ornamentation, was yellow. This was of yellow ocher or [the yellow of] maize blossoms. And her paper cap had quetzal feathers in the form of a tassel of maize; it had many quetzal feathers; it was full of quetzal feathers. It was as if they turned it green; it was all turned green; they were outspread; they were divided; it was as if it were vivid green; it became green.

And there were her golden ear plugs. She had golden ear plugs. And the golden ear plugs glittered, flashed. They were very yellow; they were like squash blossoms. And her shift was designed like water; it was designed as if with water [waves].[3] And the border of her shift had a design of green stones; it was designed as if of green stones; the border was of billowing clouds; it had a cloud design. And her skirt was designed in the same fashion.

Jnic cẽpoualli on chiquace capitulo, vncan moteneoa yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in muchioaia, yn ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic chicome metztli, in mjtoaia: Tecujlhujtontli.

Tecujlhujtontli: yn in qujçaia in muchioaia, in tecuilhujtontli, no cempoalilhujtica: auh vncã mjquja, vncan itequjuh vetzia vncan teumjquja in vixtocioatl, yn jnteouh iztatlaca, iztachiuhque.

Jnjn vixtocioatl, iuh mjtoa qujlmach inveltiuh, catca in tlaloque: yoan qujlmach yioq'chtioan in tlaloque: centlamãtli ic qujnqualanj, ic qujniollitlaco, inca mocaiauh, yn joqujchtioan: auh njman ic qujtotocaque yn jnveltiuh vmpa yn iztapan: vmpa qujnextito yn iztatl, yn juh ioli, yn juh tlacati, yn juh muchioa iztacomjtl, yoan iztaxalli.

Auh ipampa y, cenca qujmauiztiliaia yn iztapaneca, yn iztapãtlaca.

Auh in vixtocioatl, yn jnechichioal catca, yn jxaoal, yn jnechioal cuztic: iehoatl in tecoçaujtl anoço tomjoli: yoan yamacal, quetzalmjiaoaio, quequetzalo, moca quetzalli, iuhqujn, xoxoqujuj, xoxoqujuhtimanj, momoiaoa, xexeliuj, iuhqujn xoxopaleoa, xoxoxouja:

yoan yteucujtlanacoch, teucujtlanacoche: auh in teucujtlanacochtli, pepetlaca, pepepetlaca, cenca coztic, iuhqujn aioxochqujlitl: yoan yujpil tlaaicujlolli, aycujliuhquj: auh yn iten yn ivipil, tlachalchiujcujlolli, chalchiujcujliuhquj, tẽmixmolonquj, tlatenmjxicujlolli: auh yn icue çan ie no iuhquj ynic tlacujlolli,

1. "*Fiestecilla de los señores,*" according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 300); "*das Kleine Herrenfest*" or "*Kleines Herrenfest*" in Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 130, 131).

2. "*Grano de sal, o sal de la mar*" in Molina, *Vocabulario.*

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenja el vipil labrado, con olas de agua.*" Cf. also Plate 24.

yoan icxic contlalia coiolli, teucujtlacoiolli, anoço tzitzilli: itlanitzco in qujlpiaia, ocelueoatl yn ipan onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica,

And on her ankles[4] she had placed bells, golden bells, or rattles. On the calf of her legs she had bound ocelot skins on which were the bells. And when she walked, much did she rustle, clatter, tinkle, continuously tinkle.

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujttli, ynjc tlamaiqujttli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacmecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj:

And her sandals, her foam sandals, [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels of her sandals were similarly of loose [cotton]. And her sandal thongs were of the same loose [cotton].

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanjcujlolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, toztlapilollo:

And her shield had water lily leaves [and flowers];[5] it was painted with a waterlily leaf [and flower] design; it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design. It was hung with yellow parrot feather pendants.[6]

Auh in toztlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmoloctli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, toztenoloio in chimalli.

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like the forepart of a locust.[7] They were [also] made of eagle feathers, of eagle down, and of cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers, and of troupial feathers,[8] and of the yellow belly and breast feathers and the ruddy tail feathers of parrots called *teoxollotl*.[9] The shield was rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic momamana:

When she danced, she kept swinging the shield around in a circle; with it she crouched around.

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

And her reed staff[10] was hung with papers; it had papers. And they were spattered with liquid rubber; they had rubber. In three places [the staff] had cup-like flowers; it had various cup-like flowers. And where there were the various cup-like flowers, there in each one there was *yauhtli*. On each of them were [crossed] motmot feathers; they were provided with [crossed] motmot feathers.

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

When she danced, she walked leaning on it, she walked thrusting it into the ground. She went marking the dance rhythm with it.[11]

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ix-

And for ten days there sang [and danced] for her

4. "*las cargantas de los pies*" in Sahagún's Spanish text.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenja vna rodela pintada, con vnas ojas anchas, de la yerua que se llama atlacueçona.*" For *atlacuetzonan*, Garibay, in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 322, gives " '*Madre de las olas*' . . . *Prob.* Priaropus crassipes." According to Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 126, the broad round leaves of the *atzatzamolli*, probably *Castalia gracilis*, are called *atlacueçonan*.

6. *toztli* is identified as adult yellow-headed parrot, *Amazona ochrocephala* (Gmelin) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 23.

7. "*con flores en los cabos, hechos de pluma de agujla*" in corresponding Spanish text. *Chapulin*, however, may be an element in *jiacachapullo*.

8. Identified as *Gymnostinops montezuma* (Lesson) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 20.

9. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22.

10. *yyoztopiltopil* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

11. Cf. *tlayaua* in Siméon, *Dictionnaire*: "*faire certains gestes en dansant.*" The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*quando baylaua en el areyto, yuase arrimando al baston, y alcandole* [sic] *a compas del bayle.*"

in the manner of women[12] all who came together, who gathered together of the salt people, the salt makers — the old women, and the mature women, and the maidens, and those who were maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged, they went arranged each one in order; they were arranged, they were arranged each one in order. It was with cords called "flower cords" that they held one another, that they went stretched out. Their artemisia flowers went placed on their heads.

And they went singing; they cried out loudly; they sang in a very high treble. As the mockingbird takes it, [so] was their song. Like bells were their voices.

The old men led them. They loosed the song; they went directing them in their song — the chief men of the *calpulli*, the old men of the *calpulli*. And they were named keepers of the god[dess].

And [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl went erect in the midst of them. A brilliant feather ornament preceded her; an old man carried it in his arms. And this [ornament] was called Uixtociuatl's brilliant plumage.[13]

And for [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl they daily sang the women's song until the ten days had passed. And when they had gone to pass the ten days, in the evening they began holding vigil for her. At no time did they sleep; they made themselves go without sleep. Thus the night went.

And as [the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl danced, the old women held her; they went holding her as they made her dance.

Likewise the captives danced all the night, those who were to be the first to die, who would be as her fundament, whom they would make her fundament.

And when dawn broke, when it was verily the feast day, then were arrayed the offering priests, those who were to slay the victims. These were called Uixtoti.[14] They were adorned like Uixtotin; they were painted with the face paint of Uixtotin. They had their round paper rosettes, their pleated paper neck ornaments. And their [head] insignia

qujchtin cenqujça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tona in peoa mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic motitilinjtiuj: ymjhiztauhiaxochiuh, ymicpac contecatiuj:

yoan cujcatiuj, cenca tzatzi, cenca tlapitzaoa: iuhqujn tzontli cana incujc: iuhquj in coiolli intozquj:

qujniacana in ueuetque, cuicatlaça qujncujcatlaxilitiuj in calpuleque, in calpulueuetque: yoan motocaiotia teuoaque.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, tlanepantla icatiuh, ce petlacotl qujiacana, ce tlacatl veue in qujnapaloa: auh ynjn mitoaia vixtopetlacotl.

Auh in iehoatl vixtocioatl, momuztlae in qujcioapancujcatiaia, yn ixqujchica matlaqujlhujtl onaci: auh yn oacito matlaqujlhujtl, teutlacpa im peoa qujtoçauja, qujcujcatia iuh ceiooal, aquenman cochi, acochiztli qujmochioaltia, iuh vetzi in ioalli.

Auh in Vixtocioatl, mitotia caana, caantinemj yn ylamatque in qujtotia:

no iuh ceiooal in mjtotia mamalti, in iacatiazque mjquizque, in iuhquj ypepechoan iezque, in qujnmopepechtizque.

Auh yn otlathujc, yn iquac ie vel ilhujtl, mec muchichioa in tlamacazque, in tlamictizque: in iehoan y, motocaiotiaia Vixtoti, movixtochichioa, moujxtoychioa, intlatlaquechpaiouh, yoan ymaamacuexpal: auh yn jntlauiz, quaviztitl muchioa, quetzaltzontecomaio quãmolocio.

12. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 133, translates: "*Und zehn Tage lang sang (und tanzte) man für sie nach Weiberart.*" Garibay in "Relación breve," p. 300, translates *civapan cuicaya* as "*se cantaba como mujer.*" Jiménez Moreno ("*Primeros memoriales*," p. 36) translates the same phrase as "*en el* Ciuapan *se cantaba.*"

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vn plumaje muy hermoso, hecho a manera de manga de cruz.*"

14. It would appear that both the offering priests and the captives were called *uixtotin*. The corresponding Spanish text reads "*quando era la fiesta, aderecauanse los satrapas, que aujan de matar a esta muger que la llamauan, como a la diosa Vixtocioatl, y a los captivos: a los quales llamauan vixtoti.*"

were made [like] the claws of eagles, with quetzal head feathers, with eagle down.

And the legs of the eagles were made also of eagle down. These insignia [were supported] each upon carrying frames, each with holes [in the frames, in which the insignia were inserted]. Here were the insignia; [the frames] were then each tied, each bound around the stomach [with cotton bands], tied tightly, tied firmly. And their cords, the cords of each one, were wide bands, wide woven bands.[15]

Auh in quauhtli imetz muchioa, no quãmolocio, ynjn tlaviztli câcacaxo, côcocoio, yn vncã onmana tlauiztli, ic maapana, ic moxixillancujtlalpia, ic motetevilpia, ic mocacatzilpia: auh yn jmecaio, yn jmemecaio, tlaxochtli, tlaxochpitzactli.

And all the common folk who looked on, all carried, each one, their flowers; each one their tagetes flowers;[16] and some carried, each one, their artemisia flowers.

Auh in jxqujch tlacatl maceoalli, in tlatlatta, muchintin inxoxochiuh incecempoalxochiuh: yoan cequjntin ymiiztauhiaxochiuh.

And when this was done, then they bore [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives who were as her fundament, whom she would use as a fundament, whom she would make her companions, her companions in death, who would be the first to die.

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vixtocioatl, yn icpac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'nmopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltiz, yn imiquizteujcalhoan, yn iacatiazque miquizque.

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then there was the slaying of the captives. And when the captives had died, only [then the impersonator of] Uixtociuatl came afterwards; she was last of all, she went last of all, she came quite last after them, she presided over the very end.

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatoqujlia in Vixtocioatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down on the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They each laid hold of her; they each pulled tightly her hands, her feet. They bent her breast up greatly; they bent down her back. And her head they pulled tightly so that they took it nearly to the ground. And they bore down upon her neck with the beak of a swordfish,[17] barbed, serrated, spiny — spiny on either side.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic conteca in techcac, conaquetztiteca, caanjlia, qujtitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcueloa, qujcujtlachicueloa: auh yn itzonteco, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cẽca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiqujltic, tzitziqujltic, viuitztic, necoc campa in ujujtztic.

And the slayer stood ready; he arose upright for it. Thereupon he cut open her breast. And when he had opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it gushed far. It was as if it rose; it was as if it showered; it was as if it boiled up.

Auh in tlamjcti, ça yc icac, omach ic moquetz, njman ie ic quelteteqUj: auh yn ompet yielchiqujuh, yn eztli oalmopipiazquetza, veca in onmopiaçoa, iuhquin momoloca, iuhqujn pipica, iuhqujn popoçoca.

And when this was done, he took her heart from her; he placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xoxoujc xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli.

And when this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they brought

Auh yn iquac muchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn

15. Corresponding Spanish text: "*lleuauanle ceñjdo, con vnas vendas de manta coloradas del anchura de dos manos.*"

16. *Tagetes erecta* L., in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 200.

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjanla sobre la carganta, vn palo rollizo, al qual tenjan dos, apretandole: para que no pudiesse dar vozes, al tiempo que la abriessen, los pechos. Otros dizen, que este era vn ocico de espadarte, que es vn pez marino, que tiene vn arma, como espada: en el ocico, que tiene colmjllos, de ambas partes: con este la apretauan la carganta.*"

down the body, as well as the heart, of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl. They came covered by a precious cape. And this came to pass in the early dawn.

And when it was over, when it was so, when there was ceasing of the part of each one,[18] then there was going, there was dispersing on the part of each one; there was going on the part of each one to their several homes. Those who had provided the feast carried out the feast, each one; celebrated the feast, each one. There was a feast; there was a feast in each place; the feast was observed in each place; the feast was held. There were invitations severally to banquet; there were acceptances severally.

And the old women, the old men, the salt people, the salt makers, the salt preparers, and the salt merchants, the salt traffickers, the people of the salt marshes each drank pulque. There was, on the part of each one, the drinking of pulque; there was the intoxication of each one. In their midst they poured out the pulque with a flower-decked jar.

One of the men made them intoxicated. He set it out; he distributed it. This was one who had not made his wife pregnant [nor] whose wife was pregnant. But if the one who made them intoxicated had impregnated his wife, he would not make them intoxicated; there would be no intoxicating. They would only imitate those who are drunk. The pulque would affect no one.

And when the day had ended, when they had celebrated the feast day, when it was night, then there was lying about. And some who were indeed intoxicated perhaps affronted others, perhaps belabored others, perhaps cried out at others. But afterwards they each fell exhausted,[19] they each slept, they slept as they fell. And anyone who had quitted the pulque, who had quitted it because he was sated — it was called sleep-producing pulque — afterwards, next day, he drank it, he finished it.

And any who had mishandled another, who had perhaps brawled with him, or had cried out at him, later, when day broke, when he had recovered his senses, supplicated [the injured one] with this same pulque in order to appease him. And the one to whom [injury] had been done, who had been shouted at, who had been shamed, then was appeased with the pulque; the offense was pardoned. Such did not remember against [the one who had been drunk] their disputes, their injuries, etc.

Here ended, here concluded Tecuilhuitontli.

iiollo Vixtocioatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçotilmatica. Auh ynin muchioaia, çan ioatzinco:

auh yn ontzonquiz, yie iuhquj yn onecacaoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecẽmanoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiylhujchioa, hiilhujtlamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, iilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococooanotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamatque in veuetque, yn iztatlaca yn iztachiuhque, yn iztatlatique, yoan yn iztanamacaque, yn iztanecujloque, yn iztapan tlaca: tlâtlaoana tlâtlaoano, motlatlaoantia, tlanepantla xochapaztica qujoalmana yn vctli:

ce tlacatl tetlaoantia, qujteteca, qujtemamaca, amo iehoatl in tlavtztia, in vtztli ycioauh. Auh intla tlautztia tetlaoanti, amo teiujntiz, amo yujntioaz: çan teyujcopina, aiac itech quiçaz in vctli.

Auh yn ouetz cemjlhujtl, yn onjlhujtlaque yn oiooac, mec neteteco: auh in cequjntin yn oveliujntique, aço teixco, teicpac nemj, aço temjctia, aço tetzatzilia. Auh çatepan quaquauhtenuetzi, cocochi, cocochuetzi: auh yn aqujn, yn oc qujcaoa vctli, in qujxujcaoa, itoca cochvctli, qujn imuztlaioc in quj, in qujtlamja:

auh yn aqujn temicti, yn aço teaoac, yn anoço tetzatzili, qujniquac yn otlatvic, yn omuzcali: çan ie no ie in vctli ic tetlatlauhtia, ynic teiolceuja. Auh yn aioni, in tzatzililonj, in pinauhtilonj, njman moiolceuja yn ica vctli, motlapopolhuja, amo qujmolnamiqujlia, yn inneaoaliz, yn innemictiliz etc.

Nican tlamj, nican tzonquiça in Tecujlhujtontli.

18. Before *yn onecacaoaloc* the *Real Palacio MS* has *yn onecaualoc.*
19. *quaquauhtevetzi* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast day and of the debt-paying which they celebrated during all the days of the eighth month, which was called Uey tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast day: this was Uey tecuilhuitl.

And before the arrival of the feast day, first there was eating on the part of each one. Everyone came together — the poor of Mexico and those who tilled the fields. When at dawn it was still quite dark, there was the drinking of *chiampinolli.* It was dissolved in a boat; they sweetened it with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *tiçapanqui.* Each one had a vessel for drinking from which he drank. Each one used the vessel, and some used the vessel twice. All fell to; two [vessels] were consumed. None held back; there were small children, old women, small boys, small girls; indeed there was everyone.

And anyone who could no longer finish it, who could no longer put his mouth to it, who could no longer put his lips to it, set it aside for himself. Some brought, each one, their vessels, some their gourds, in which they placed their leftovers. And anyone not provided with his vessel, who was without his vessel, without his bowl, just took it in his clothing; he made the atole go in his clothing. None made pretences; none cheated with the atole.

But if anyone did cheat with his atole, if he once more tried to enter among the others, there they repeatedly struck him with green canes; they whacked him.

And when this was done, when it had been drunk, for a while there was resting on the part of each one. Just there there was lying down; there was coming together on the part of each; there was gathering together on the part of each; there was conversing on the part of each. It was as if there was murmuring, as if they murmured, as if they twittered. And still others, who were setting aside[2] the atole, later could lie drinking it themselves; they lay giving it little by little to their small children to drink.

Jnic cempoalli on chicume capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in qujchioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl.

Inic chicuetetl ilhujtl: iehoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn aiamo onaxioa ilhujtl, achtopa tlatlaqualoa: ixqujch tlacatl cenqujçaia, in motolinja in mexica, yoan in millacatzitzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, iehoatl in chianpinolli, mopatlaia acalco, qujnecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoa caxitl, motocaiotia tiçapanquj: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in quj: cecen caxoa auh in cequjntin, ooncaxoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac mocaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oqujchpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ie ixqujch tlacatl.

Auh in aqujn, aocmo vel qujiecoa, in aocmo qujcamaaci, in aocmo qujtenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin qujvivica in incocon cequjntin inxixical in vncan qujteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle icõ monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icax; ça qujcuexanoa, concuexanaltia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolixcuepa:

auh intlaca matolixcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaqujznequj, vmpa qujvivitequj acaxoxouhquj ica, qujtlatlatzvitequj.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlaioac, oc achitonca nececevilo, çã vncan onoac, neoolololo, nececẽtlalilo, nenonotzalo, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj, iuhqujn tlatlacaoaca, iuhqujn tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oqujmocavica atolli, qujn ice vel qujtoque, yiolic qujmjititoque in impilhoantzitzin.

1. "*Fiesta grande de los Señores,*" according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 301); "*das 'grosse Herrenfest,'*" according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel,* p. 138).

2. *oquimocacauica* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

Auh in oacic nepantla tonatiuh, in jquac tlaqualizpan, ie no ceppa vel neteteco, nevivipanolo, nececenpanalo, netetecpano, necuecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti tematitech teaano, temamamalo.

And when midday arrived, when it was time to eat, once again there was indeed the spreading out, the placing in order, the arranging of rows,[3] the forming of rows, the forming of lines. The small children were held by the hand; they were borne on the back.

Auh in onetetecoc mec mocujcujtlalpia, yoan moquaquailpia toltica: in tequjtque, in tlacuexanozque, in tetlamacazque, in tetlamamacazque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexqujch veliti qujtzitzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujtemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiaoatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj iexococolotlaoio:

And when there had been the spreading out, then the servers who were to take the food in their capes each girded their loins and each bound their hair with reed blades. [And those who were to take the food in their capes] would give it to the people, would distribute it to the people.[4] He who served one began with the first. Thus did he serve one: as many tamales as he could take hold of [with one hand], all those did he give him. They were perchance tamales of maize treated with lime, or tamales made with fruit; some were tamales of maize blossoms, some were tamales with twisted ends, some were honey tamales. And of the twisted-end tamales some had grains of maize, some had green beans and grains of maize.

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzitzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cẽca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteiximatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in qujntlamaca.

And those who served looked to the small children. Very well did they serve them; great regard did they have [for them]. And there were some servers who offered tamales only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as perchance their kin or their friends. Perchance twice, thrice they offered them food.

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aqujn qujttaia motamalixcuepaznequj, intla ittvz, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ōmonexotla.

And no one cheated with the tamales. But if they saw anyone try to cheat with the tamales, if it was seen, they struck him; they struck him repeatedly, leaving marks on him with a cord made of reeds.[5] As much as had been given him they took all away from him; they took from him all his tamales, his own which they had left with him, his own which had [wrongly] come to him.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, iehoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotocholo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

And there were some to whom nothing came; it broke off with them — those who only came last after the others, who were only last, who only hung on at the tail [of the line]. Although indeed they crowded their way among the others, as they went forcing them apart in order to enter among them, nothing at all was given them. Therefore at first there was much forcing apart of the crowd, much jostling, because they feared lest[6] with them it be cut off.

3. *necempanalo* in *ibid.*

4. In the *Real Palacio MS* the passage is phrased: *yuan yn tlacuexanozque.* The bracketed words in our translation include the addition.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*nadie tomaua dos vezes y si alguno se atreuja a tomar dos vezes, dauanle de açotes cõ vna espadaña, torcidas.*"

6. *maaca* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

And among those with whom it was cut off there was weeping. They said:

"What can we do, we who are poor? In misfortune hath the feast day come! To what avail is our misery? Miserable are our small children!"

And if they saw that somewhere else perchance food was still eaten, they ran over there. There was running; they betook themselves there, they crowded there like the importunate. Although [those who ate] chased them away, beat them hence, beat them on the head, they only the more threw themselves at one, they only the more forced themselves violently on one.

And this was done for seven days while there was eating. And for this reason was this done,[7] that the ruler was pleased to show benevolence to one, that he showed benevolence to the common folk. For indeed there was much hunger; at this time dried grains of maize were costly; then there was much want; they were tired; it was very much a time of our death.

And until the time that the feast day of the lords came, upon every day there was song. When singing and dancing began,[8] there was very little sun; the sun had been shining bright. Thereupon fire was laid in the braziers; fire was placed in the braziers.

And the braziers lay in various rows; they lay in various lines; they lay in six rows. And each row was of ten [braziers]. And the braziers were so wide, each one, that two [men] took one in their embrace, and each was as tall as a man.[9]

And when this was done, then there was issuing from the house of song. They came singing, they came dancing. Between each pair [of men] came the women, the courtesans, the pleasure girls, the best ones, the chosen ones, those set apart.

And they went joining with,[10] went taking by the hands[11] those worthy of honor, the masters of the youths, and the young seasoned warriors, and the shorn ones, the Otomí, and the noblemen. [These last] were not arranged in order with them; they only placed themselves behind them, near them.

And the women were indeed adorned; they were indeed carefully bedight. All good were their skirts,

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen totlaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuhqujn amo pevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan jc tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in maceoaltzintli: iehica ca cenca maianaloia, in jquac cenca tlaçotia in tlaolli, cenca oncã mjhiioviaia, mociavia: cenca vncã tomjqujan catca.

Auh in jxqujchica oalaci tecujlhujtl, izqujlhujtl cujcoia: im peoaia cujcoanaliztli, cenca ça achiton tonatiuh, cenca ça pepetzcatica in tonatiuh: njman ie ic tleteco tlaviltec, ipan in tlaviltetl motlatlalia tletl.

Auh in tlaviltetl viuipantoca, tetecpantoca, chiquacenpantitoca: auh in cempantli, matlatlatetl, actimanca: auh ynjc totomaoac catca tlaujltetl, hoontlacujtlanaoatectli: auh ynjc quaquauhtic catca, cecen quapantli:

auh in ie iuhquj, mec oalqujxoa, in cujcacali, cujcatiujtze, mjtotitiujtze, intzatzalan actiujtze in cioa: iehoantin in maaujltia, yn aujenjme: iehoantin in tlatzonanti, in tlapepenti, in tlacenqujxtilti:

auh yn qujnnanamictia, yn inmatitech qujmantiuj, çan iehoantin in mauiztililonj in teachcaoan, yoan in telpochtequjoaque, yoan in quaquachicti, yn otomj, yoan in pipilti: amo tehoan motecpana, çan jllotlama, incãpa onmoquetza tetlan.

Auh in cioa uel mocencaoa, vel moiecchichioa, much qualli in conmaquja, yn jncue, yn j̃vipil: yn

7. *ynin yuim mochiuaya* in *ibid.*

8. *cuicoaloya* and *cuicoyanaliztli* in *ibid.*

9. Corresponding Spanish text: "*gran copia de braseros altos, cerca de vn estado, y gruessos, que apenas los podian dos abraçar.*" Literally, *hoontlacujtlanaoatectli* may be rendered "two can take [it] in their embrace."

10. *qūinanamictiui* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

11. *quimaantiui* in *ibid.*

their shifts which they had put on. Some of their skirts had [designs of] hearts; some had a mat design like birds' gizzards; some were ornamented like coverlets; some had designs like spirals or like leaves; some were of plain, fine weave. All had borders,[12] all had fringes; all [the women] had fringed skirts.

incue cequj iollo, cequj totolitipetlaio, cequj cacamoliuhquj, cequj ilacatziuhquj, anoço tlatzcallotl, cequj çan petztic, muchi tene, muchi tlatenio, muchi cuetenio.

And some of their shifts had tawny [streamers] hanging, some had smoke symbols,[13] some had dark green [streamers] hanging, some had house designs, some had fish patterns, some were only of plain, fine weave. And their neck [openings] were all large and their borders were also very deep; they were wide.

Auh yn invipil, cequj quappachpipilcac, cequj pocuipilli, cequj pocujpilli, cequj iapalpipilcac, cequj cacallo, cequj mjmjchcho, cequj çan petztic. Auh yn jtozquj much ueuei: yoan yn iten cenca no papatlaoac, papatlactic.

And when they danced, they unbound their hair; their hair just covered each one of them like a garment. But they brought braids of their hair across their foreheads.

Auh yn iquac mjtotia, qujtoma yn jntzon, çan intzon qujquequentinemj: auh yn jntzon ipiloaz, ymixquac qujoalteca.

And they were not decked with feathers; neither were their faces adorned with paint.

Auh amo mopotonja, amono moxaoa.

And thus were bedecked the masters of the youths: their array consisted of the cape of netting. And the brave warriors, they who had straw lip pendants,[14] had white net capes with seashells set in fish patterns. [These] were called their carmine-colored capes.

Auh ynic muchichioaia in teachcaoan, yn jnnechichioal catca, iehoatl in cuechintli: auh in tiacaoan, in teçacaoaque, ymiztaccuechin cilin ynic mjmjchcho, motocaiotia innochpalcuechin.

And as for all the men, whether brave warriors [or] youths, their net capes were only black, all with eyelets on the border,[15] and they had, each of them, their turquoise [ear plugs].

Auh in ixqujch tlacatl in çaçan tiiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tliltic yn jncuechin, muchi tenjxo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[16] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs[17] also had their small lip pendants matching [their ear plugs]. Some were like lizards, some lip pendants were like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant or rectangular.

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, qujnamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

And the youths who had the hairdress of a warrior had, each one, their lip pendants made in the form of a circle containing four smaller circles.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

And all the people who were just youths had the plain round lip plugs which they set in place.[18]

auh yn ixqujch tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

And the breast plates of the masters of the youths,

Auh in teachcaoan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuz-

12. *tetene* in *ibid.*

13. *cequi pocujpilli* is repeated in the *Florentine Codex.*

14. *yn tēçacauaque* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

15. *tenixxo* in *ibid.*

16. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.

17. *coyolnacocheque* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

18. Corresponding Spanish text: *"lleueuan vnos beçotes redondos, como vn circulo, con quatro circulillos en cruz, dentro en la circunferencia, que era algo ancha: todos los otros mancebos, lleuauan vnos beçotes, a manera de circulo, sin otro labor."*

the breastplates of each one, were made of small, white seashells. All the neck bands with pendants[19] of the shorn ones, and Otomí, were of white gastropod shells.

And the shorn ones had attached lip plugs in the form of birds, and the Otomí had attached lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those of the brave warriors who were very proud each bought for himself genuine gastropod shell neck bands, very clear and limpid. And those who only came last, who only followed, each bought for their neck bands those which were only yellow; and they were not hard, neither were they very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, had their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They went carrying them upright over their heads.

And the seasoned warriors carried upon their shoulders feather devices formed like trees. In three places there were eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red cotton thread.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of calliandra flowers, some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form, some a device made of imitation quetzal feathers.

And on their legs, on their left ones, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And their thongs were of this same deerskin cut thin, cut in narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted. Some placed a black stain on their cheeks called "black cheek ash vase"; they applied iron pyrites to it. And some carried a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, from ear to ear; it was called "black sweat"; they also applied iron pyrites to it. And some extended diagonally a black [stripe], called *auitolli*, on their faces; they also applied iron pyrites to it.

And thus was their hair shorn. All had shorn their hair in the manner of masters of the youths; all together they had shorn their hair in the manner of masters of the youths. And those who had their temples shaven had each shaved their temples well; they had scraped them down well with a [sharp] piece of turtle shell. And they applied yellow ocher to them; they applied downy hairs to them.

And when this was done, when already they

quj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti qujnamjctia, iehoatl in tototenpilolli: auh yn otomj qujnamjctiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aqujque in mocecenmati, in tiacaoan, qujmococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoqujlia, iehoatl yn achipulin qujmocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in qujmamaia, excan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaqujmilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatototl in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequĩtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, capetzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tliltzotl, no capetzujaia, auh in cequjntin imixtlan caana tlilli: itoca aujtolli no capetzuja.

Auh ynic moximaia, muchintin motiachcauhximaia, cenuetzia in motiachcauhximaia: yoan yn incanaoacan qujconaloaia, vel qujcoconaloaia, vel caiochiquja: yoã qujtecoçãnujaia, qujtomjiolhujaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn iquac ie mjtotia, tlepilli, oco-

19. Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 144, has *deren Perlenhalsband* for *yncozcachachapac*.

danced, torches, pine fire brands, guided them. They went burning, they went sputtering, they went crackling. And as the young seasoned warriors carried them in their arms, they were much weighed down; it was as if they ran on their buttocks. And the resin, as it were, fell in large drops, and the live coals went scattering one by one on the ground, went spreading one by one on the ground. And the [charred] pine fell bit by bit to the ground.

pilli, qujniacana tlatlatiuh, cuecuetlacatiuh, cocomocatiuh: auh in qujnapaloa telpuchtequjoaque cenca eticiuj, iuhqujn tzitzintlacça: auh yn ocotzotl, iuhqujn chachapaca, yoan in tlexochtli tetepeuhtiuh, cecenmantiuh: yoan in ocotl oalichachaiaca.

And along the sides, only from fire ladles held in the hand was there light. They who gave light were youths who had fasted for twenty days. They were spread out in a circle; they ranged on the sides. On one side were those of Tenochtitlan; on the other side were those of Tlatilulco.

Auh in tlatenco, çan matlematica in tlaujlo: iehoantin in tlaviaia telpopuchti, in mocempoalçauhque, tlaiaoalotimãca, ixtlapantimanj: cectlapal manj in tenochca, no cectlapal manj, in tlatilulca.

And they did not dance; they did only one thing, they only provided people light. And they kept watch, they kept a close watch on people. Their eyes were indeed on their charge, that no one take it upon himself, that none there make eyes at the women, in case anyone should go jesting there [with a woman]. If anyone was seen, [if] he yet only intended it, [if] he tried it — perhaps later, next day, or later, two days hence, they punished him. They beat him repeatedly with pine boughs[20] which went burning. Verily, they left him for dead.

Auh amo mjtotia, çan qujxcaujaia, çan ixqujch tetlaujliaia: yoan tlapieia, vel teixpieia, vel ymix intequjuh catca, ynic aiac ytla vncan qujmotequjtiz, ynic aiac vncan teixtlaxiliz, yn açaca vncan vetzcatiuh: intla aca oittoc, çan oc conjxxotia, coniximati, aço qujn jmoztlaioc, anoço qujn iviptlaioc, in qujtlatzacuiltia, qujujujtequj ocoquauhtica, tlatlatlatiuh, ca micquj in qujcaoa.

And when there was dancing, sometimes Moctezuma emerged, came forth to dance, and sometimes he came not forth; it was only as his heart felt.

Auh yn iquac netotilo, in Motecuçoma, in quenmanjan, oalqujçaia, oalmjtotiaia: auh in quenmanjan amo oalqujçaia, çan yiollo tlamatia:

auh ynic tecpantiuj, in mitotia, monaoa, mocujtlanaoa.

And that they might go in line when they danced, they held one another by the hand, they held one another about the waist.

And some they grasped by their hands. There was grasping of the hands. And thus they went going with their feet, thus they made the dance movements; they went together with their feet. And they whirled about repeatedly; they went passing by the braziers; they went passing among them; they went entering into all the rows of braziers. When they had gone to reach there where [the space] ended, once more they circled back; they returned [whence they had started].

Auh in cequjntin, inmatitech maana, nematitech neaano: auh ynic qujiauhtiuj, yn imicxi, ynic tlayiaoa, çan ceniauh yn imicxi: yoan ontzitzinqujça, itlan qujqujztiuj in tlaujltetl, itzalan quiquiztiuj, itic cacalactiuj, yn izqujpantli tlaujltetl: yn oacito yn vmpa tlantoc, oc cepa momalacachoa, in cujtlaujc, oalmocuepa.

And when there was a cessation, already it was late at night, already time for there to be sleeping, as when the eyes are blinked. Today it would be perchance already the hour of nine.

Auh in necaoaloa, ie tlaquauhiooa, ie netetequizpan: yn iuh mixtlaxilia axcan aço ie chicunauj ora.

And when it was enough, when it had been stopped, when the ground drums faded out, then

Auh in ie ixqujch, yn onecacaoaloc, yn ompet veuetl, mec cecenmanoa, viujloa, yn ixqujchtin viuj

20. See Plate 28.

there was dispersing on the part of each one, there was going on the part of each one; all betook themselves to their homes. The great noblemen were left there by torch light; they went lighted by torches; they went giving them torchlight to their homes.

And the women who had danced with people holding them by the hand then were assembled when already there had been song and dance; they led them away, even as was done with the masters of the youths. They gathered [the women] together, grouped them, rounded them up, placed them together, grouped them together, indeed hunted them out, lest one might go somewhere, lest one be forced to accompany someone, lest some perverse youth might take one away.

None the less, the noblemen addressed the matrons that they might go releasing some [of the women], might go releasing one. Not only of their own accord did [the women] go somewhere; only at someone's word was it done.

And when they released them, [the girls] were given gifts. Gifts were given there, and food was given there. And also gifts were given each of the mistresses of the women,[21] the matrons. They put them aside for themselves; they each put them aside for themselves; they took their leftovers to their several homes.

And as for the masters of the youths: the master of youths of front rank, worthy of honors, asked for the women only in secret, not before others. Perhaps he went to await her in his home, or else he asked for her elsewhere. Just so, they ate in secret.

And the woman came forth only at night; she spent only the night [with him]; she departed when it was well into the night.

But if one was noted living in concubinage, there was anger because of it, there was concern over it. For all this there was assembling, for this there was consulting there in the song house.

There, before everyone, they punished him. For this they cut off his warrior's hair dress; they took from him all his possessions, his adornment, his lip pendant. Thereafter they beat him repeatedly with a pine stick; they verily caused him to swoon. They singed his head with fire; his body smoked; it blistered.

And when they had indeed caused him to swoon, with this they cast him forth.

yn inchachan: in veuei pipilti, oncacaoalo, tlavilpan, tlaujlilotiuj, qujntlatlaujlitiuj yn inchan.

Auh yn cioa yn otenaoaque, njman mocentlalia, in ie oncujcoianoloc, in qujiacana, yn iuhq' yn tiachcaoan muchioa, qujnnechicoa, qujntecpichoa, qujmololoa, qujncenqujxtia, qujcentecpichoa, vel qujmixpepena, yn ma aca canapa ia, yn ma aca moteujcalti, in ma aca telpuchtlaueliloc qujujca:

tel in pipilti, qujmonilhujaia in cioa tlaiacanque, ynic cequjntin qujncaoatiuj, tecaoatiuj: amo çan moiocoiaia yn canapa via, tetencopa muchioaia.

Auh yn ontecaoaia, vmpa motlauhtiaia, vmpa tlauhtiloia, yoã vmpa tlamacoia: auh no tlatlauhtiloia, in cioatachcaoan, in cioateiacanque, motlacauja, motlatlacauja, quitquj yn inchachan innetlacaujl.

Auh in teachcaoan, in teachcauh, tlaiacatia, in mauiztililonj, çan ichtaca in qujnnaoatia cioa, amo teixpan, aço ichan in qujchietiuh, anoço canapa in qujnaoatia: çan iuhquj, yn ichtacaquaia.

Auh in cioatl, çan oaliooalqujça, çan moiooalpoloa, oc ueca ioan in qujça:

auh intla aca ittoz, in momecatitinemj, ic tlaqualanjaia, ic tlaiolitlacoaia, ica necentlalilo, yca nenonotzalo, in vncan cujcacali:

vncan teixpan qujtlatzacujltia, ic qujtzotzocoltequj, muchi qujcujlia in ixqujch ytlatquj, yn inechichioal, yn itempilol: çatepan qujujujtequj, ocoquauhtica, vel qujhiiocaoaltia, qujquatlechichinoa, tlêtlecaleoa, haaquaqualaca, yn inacaio.

Auh yn ouelqujhijocaoaltique, yca oalmaiauj:

21. *tlauhtiloya* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

They said unto him:

"Go, rascal! Perchance thou art a man, perchance thou art a brave warrior! How can we care for thee? Wherever our foes come rising against us, let us die as brave men!"

And these were the words which they said unto him; indeed much else.

And when with this they had cast him forth, he just slowly crept away; he left going from one side to the other; he just went confused; he left full; he withdrew forever; nevermore was he to sing and dance with the others.[22]

And the mistress of the women just expelled the [erring] woman. Nevermore was she to sing and dance with the others; nevermore was she to hold others by the hand. Thus the girls' matrons established; thus they resolved.

And the woman who had erred withdrew forever. Never again was she to expect that once more she would sing and dance with others.

And the one whom they had punished because of the woman then married her; he quieted the affair.

And before the real feast day came which was called Uey tecuilhuitl, on the tenth day, then the woman [who was the likeness of] Xilonen died. Her face was painted in two colors; she was yellow about her lips, she was chili-red on her forehead. Her paper cap had ears at the four corners; it had quetzal feathers in the form of maize tassels; [she wore] a plaited neck band. Her neck piece consisted of many strings of green stone; a golden disc went over it. [She had] her shift with the water lily [flower and leaf design], and she had her skirt with the water lily [flower and leaf design. She had] her obsidian sandals, her carmine-colored sandals. Her shield and her rattle stick were chili-red. In four directions she entered, or she entered the sand.

For this reason it was called *xalaqui*: in this way she foretold her death — that on the morrow she would die.

She began the feast day when she entered Tetamaçolco. The second place where we had been arriving, we went to reach [to accomplish the ceremony], and it was a place named Necoquixecan. The third place in which she entered was Atenchicalcan. For this reason was it called Atenchicalcan, that here gushed forth the water, and also here faded away the wind. The fourth place she entered was there at Xolloco. There she concluded.

qujlhuja,

Xiiauh nocne aço toqujchtli, aço titiiacauh, quen timitztocujtlauja: çaçocan techquetzaqujuh in toiaouh, maça toqujchmiqujcã:

yoan in tlatolli qujlhujaia, vel oc mjec.

Auh yno ica oalmaiauhque, ça iaiatiuh, chichicoeoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, têtentiuh, iccen tlatlalcauja, aoqujc teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in cioatl çan qujtotoca, in cioatetiachcaoan: aoqujc no teoã cujcoianoz, aoqujc no tenaoaz, ic qujcennaoatia, qujcenmacaoa, yn ichpuchtlaiacanquj.

Auh in cioatl yn otlatlaco, iccenmaian tlatlalcauja, aoq'c ceppa motemachiz, yn oc ceppa teoan cujcoanoz.

Auh in iehoatl yn otlatzacujltiloc, yn ipampa cioatl, njman ic qujmocioaoatia, qujiauceujlia.

Auh yn aiamo aci in iquac ie uel ilhujtl, yn moteneoa vei tecujlhujtl, yn iquac tlamatlacti, iquac miquja, in xilonen cioatl, michchictlapan, ynic michiuh yn itẽco coztic, auh yn ixquac chichiltic: yiamacal nauhcampa nacace, quetzalmjiaoaio, cozcapetlatl: yn icozquj chalchiujtl miiecpantli, teucujtlacomalli yn ipan mantiuh, yiaxochiavipil yoan yaxochiacue yhitzcac, ynochpalcac: yn ichimal yoã yn ichicaoaz chichiltic, nauhcampa yn aquja, anoço xalaquja:

ynic mjtoa xalaquj, ic qujmachiltia yn jmjquiz, in miquiz muztla:

in cemilhujtl conpeoaltia yn aquj, tetamaçolco, ynic vccan vncan in taciticatcan, tacito: yoan itocaiocan necoqujxecan: ynjc excan vncan yn aquja, yn atenchicalcan, ynic moteneoa atenchicalcan, ca vncan, oalcholoaia yn atl, yoan no vncan oalpopoliujaia yn ecatl: ynic nauhcan aquja, vmpa xolloco, vmpa ontzonqujçaia,

22. *quicoyanoz* in *ibid.*

[These] just sustained, just carried along the four year-bearers — Reed, Flint knife, House, Rabbit;[23] thus do the year-bearers go describing circles, go whirling around [as they measure time].

And when this was done, [the impersonator of] Xilonen was to die at dawn. All during the night songs were sung after the manner of women. Vigil was kept. Everybody kept vigil; they slept not; the women remained sleepless; they sang her songs; they sang for her.

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily everyone, the masters of the youths, the youths, the leaders, and the seasoned warriors had, each one, their maize stalk. These were named "bird banners."

Likewise the women danced, those who belonged to Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers and they were painted with yellow ocher. Also, thus were their faces divided: they were yellow with ocher about the lips, and they were light red with arnotto[24] on their foreheads. They had their wreaths of flowers upon their heads; their garlands of tagetes flowers went leading.

These women were known as offering priestesses. They mingled not with the men; they just remained apart. They went encircling [the likeness of] Xilonen; they went enclosing her. They went singing for her after the manner of women. These women were called "the hanging gourd."

And the masters of the youths went dancing before [the impersonator of Xilonen]; they followed a serpentine course.

And for this reason were the women known as "the hanging gourd": the two-toned wooden drum, which they beat as they went, had going tied to it a water gourd, which went under, at the bottom of the drum; it looked as if it went hanging. They who beat the two-toned drum only went carrying under their arms the little drum which they went beating with the rubber-tipped drumsticks.[25]

çã qujtoctiaia, çan qujujcaltiaia, yn nauhtetl xiuhtonalli: yn acatl, in tecpatl, in calli, in tochtli, ynic tlaiaoalotiuh, ynic momalacachotiuh, in xiuhtonalli.

In ie iuh ioatzinco miquiz in Xilonen: ceiooal in cioapan cujcoia, toçooaia, muchi tlacatl ixtoçooaia, amo cochia, mocochiçoloaia in cioa, queoaia queviliaia yn icujc.

Auh yn ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchti, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynjn motocaiotia totopanjtl.

No mjtotia in cioa, yn itech pouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlapalachiotica, ymjicpacxochiuh, inxoxochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh.

Yn iehoã yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapãcujcatitiuj: in iehoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa.

Auh in tiachcaoan ixpan mjtotitiuj, mococolotiuj:

auh ynic moteneoa tecomapilooa, ca in teponaztli in qujujtectiuj, itech çaliuhtiuh in atecomatl, yhicampa iteputzco ietiuh in teponaztli, iuhqujn pilcatiuh ic neci: in teponaçoa çan qujciacaujtiuh in teponaztontli in qujujtectiuh olmatica.

23. Entering the sand was evidently a ceremony literally enacted, and logical in view of the attributes of the deities whose festivities were honored by it. The explanation in both Sahagún's Spanish text and the Aztec column is not explicit. The four places in which Xilonen entered the sand may be identified in modern Mexico City and are associated with water and sand. *Aquia* is probably an assimilation of *aaquia*. Angel María Garibay K., personal communication.

Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 150) translates *aquia anoço xalaquia* as *"ging sie (in die Erde) oder in den Sand hinein."*

The corresponding Spanish text, quoted at length, is: *"Ataujada con estes ataujos, cercauanla muchas mugeres, lleuauanla en medio, a ofrecer encienso a quatro partes: esta ofrenda hazia a la tarde, antes que muriesse. A esta ofrenda llamauan xalaquia, porque el dia siguiente auja de morir: el vno destos lugares se llama tetamaçolco, el otro se llama necocyxecan, el otro se llama atenchicalcan, el quarto se llama xolloco. Estos quatro lugares, donde ofrecian era en reuerencia, de los quatro caracteres de la cuenta de los años."*

24. *Bixa orellana* L. in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 241.

25. Corresponding Spanish text: *"a las mugeres, yvanlas tañedo* [sic], *con vn teponaztli, que no tenja mas que vna lengua encima, y otra debaxo: y en la debaxo, lleuaua colgado, vna xicara en que soelen beuer agua, y assi suena mucho mas, que los que tienen dos lenguas,*

And the offering priests attended them. They went blowing wind instruments; it was shell trumpets that they went blowing. And they went scattering powdered *yauhtli*; they went strewing it, they went casting it [as] they went to meet [the likeness of] Xilonen.

Auh in tlamacazque, tenanamjquj tlapitztiuj, tecciztli in qujpitztiuj: yoan yn iauhtextli in qujpipixotiuj, qujcecenmatiuj, qujtetepeuhtiuj, conjxnamjctiuj in Xilonen.

And the fire priest, who was to slay [the likeness of] Xilonen as an offering was well arrayed [and] adorned. He bore an eagle claw device upon his back; it went surrounded by quetzal feathers. His holder was of eagle down [with] quetzal feathers. His flint knife was of gold. He had his rosette on his back; it was of paper workmanship. Etc.

Auh in tlenamacac, in tlamjctiz, vel mocencaoa, muchichioa, quauhiztitl in qujmama, quetzalli ynic moiaoatiuh, quãmoloctli, yn itecomaio ietiuh quetzalli cuztic teucujtlatl yn itecpaio ietiuh, ytlaquechpaniouh ietiuh, amatl in tlachiuhtli, etc.

A man carried the mist rattle board upon his shoulders; it rattled in three places. And when they had gone to arrive at the place where [the impersonator of] Xilonen was to die, then the fire priest came to receive her. Before her he set up the rattle board; he rattled it, and with *yauhtli* went forth to receive her, and scattered it toward her.

Ce tlacatl qujquechpanoa, in aiochicaoaztli, excan in cacalaca: auh yn oacito yn vncan miquiz xilonẽ, njman quioalnamjquj in tlenamacac, ixpan qujoaltilquetza in chicaoaztli, qujcacalatza: yoan yiauhtli ic qujoalnamiquj, yuicpa qujoalchaiaoa.

And thereupon they took her up to the Temple of Cinteotl. Then they laid her upon the back [of a priest] — not upon the offering stone; rather, she died upon [a priest's] back. And when there was dying upon his back, it was called "it has a back."

Auh ie ic contlecauja in cinteupan, çatepan conteca in tecujtlapan, amo techcac, çan tecujtlapan in miquja: auh yn icujtlapan mjcoaia, motocaiotia tepotzoa:

Thereupon she performed her service. [The sacrificing priest] severed her head. When she had [thus] performed her service, when they had slain her, thereupon he took her heart from her; he placed it in the blue gourd. They who knew, who were well experienced, knew where they placed it, where they required it.

njman ie ic tlacoti, qujquechtequj, yn otlacotic, yn ocontlatlatique, njman ie ic conanjlia yn iiollo, xoxouhquj xicalco qujoallalia: iehoã qujmati in machiceque catca in campa qujtlalia, in campa qujnequja.

And at this time were eaten, for the first time, tortillas of green maize. For the first time was offered, for the first time was chewed the cane of green corn. And for the first time were cooked amaranth greens. And for the first time the sweetness of flowers — tagetes, tobacco flowers [— was smelled].

Yoan iquac iancujcan qualoia, in xilotlaxcalli: iancujcan tlamanalo, iancujcan moquaquaia in ooatl: yoan iancujcan mopaoaci in oauhqujlitl, yoan iancujcan ynecu in suchitl, in cempoalsuchitl, in jesuchitl.

And when it was Uey tecuilhuitl, there was dancing which was the particular function of the women: old women, maidens, mature women, little girls. The maidens, who had looked upon no man, were plastered with feathers; their faces were painted.

Auh yn iquac in vei tecujlhujtl netotiloia, çan inneixcaujl in cioa, yn jlamatque, yn ichpopochti, yn iniolloco cioa cioapipiltotonti: in ichpopochti yn aiacan qujtta oqujchtli, mopotonjaia, moxaoaia.

Everyone made plain tamales, made fruit tamales for themselves. They offered them to each of their gods.

Ixqujch tlacatl motamaluja moxocotamalujaia: qujntlatlamanjliaia, in intevoan.

en la parte de arriba, y ninguna abaxo: a este teponaztli llaman tecomapiloa: lleuauanle vno debaxo del sobaco, tañendole, por ser desta manera hecho."

And of the old men and the old women it was the exclusive privilege that they drink pulque. Absolutely no one of the youths, the offering priests, the maidens drank pulque.

Auh in ueuetque, yoan in jlamatque, çan inneixcaujl catca in tlaoanaia: çan njmã aiac tlaoanaia in telpuchtli, in tlamacazquj, yn ichpuchtli.

And if anyone was noted, perforce he was seized, he was put in jail, in the granary.[26] Council was held concerning what would be done about it; whether perchance they would punish him. There was weighing [of evidence]; there were opinions given. They determined if it was his privilege, and if it was not his privilege he was condemned to die. No more did he go forth; there was no protection for him; no longer was it his half-entanglement;[27] there was no hope for him.

Auh intla aca, oittoc, vel iujuj ic oanoc, quauhcalco tlalilo, petlacalco: ipan nenonotzalo in tlein ipan muchioaz, yn aço qujtzacutiaz neetitilo, neixpãtitilo: qujpantia intla ie ynemac: auh intlacamo ie ynemac, tlatzontequjlilo, mjquiz, aocmo qujçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

When whoever it was had been condemned, in the evening there was announcing to the people that there would be assembling, there would be gathering wherever [the judge's] words were to be published.

In aq'n oixnaoatiloc, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in necenqujxtiloz, necentecoz, in çaço cãpa ie moteneoaz, in jtlatollo:

It was said: "On the morrow there will be dying. All of the commoners will be troubled. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone. Fear will fall upon them."

mjtoaia, muztla micoaz, ixqujch tlacatl oliniz in maçeoalli cequjntin tiqujncaoa in tlaoãque, inca mauiztli uetziz.

[The condemned] came with wrists bound together. [The constables] placed them in the middle [of the market place]. Thereupon the high judges spoke. They admonished the people. They spoke about pulque, which no youth was to drink. Only later, when they matured, when they had become old [might they drink it]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens, verily their privilege it was that they might drink pulque.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujntlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vctli, in aiac qujz in telpuchtli: ça qujnjquac in otlachicalujque, yn oueuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazque.

And when this was done, when the judgment ended, when Moctezuma's slayers, his executioners, struck the backs of each [of the criminals'] heads. They were the Quauhnochtli, the Ezuauacatl, the Ticociauacatl, the Tezcacoacatl, the Maçatecatl, the Atempanecatl.[28] These were not lords; they were only constables under command, appointed, approved, courageous, able, who spoke well.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic qujncuexcochujujtequj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in moteçumatzin: in quauhnochtli, iezoaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcacoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in iehoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

And when [the criminals] had been killed, there was terror because of it; the intelligent, the clear thinkers were terrified. But the perverse, those badly brought up, those who could not think, the effeminate, the rebellious only laughed at it, only jested at the admonitions. They only listened mockingly; they

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlaueliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj,

26. See Plate 27.

27. *ichicomatl:* cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*, p. 220.

28. For these officials, cf. Clark's *Mendoza Codex* (ed. and trans. James Cooper Clark, 3 vols. [London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938]), Vol. III, fol. 65.

only listened in vain; they took the discourse ill. Not thus were they terrified of death.

And when this was done, when there had been slaying, then there was dispersing, there was disorder. They raised dust. There was repeated shaking out [of capes], there was scattering of each one, there was breaking up, there was repeated breaking up, there was spreading out,[29] there was going on the part of each; they went to their various homes. Then the place where they had been quieted.

Here finishes, here ends the way in which was celebrated the feast called Uey tecuilhuitl.

çan caujlcaquj, avampa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhcaçonequj, in temjctiliztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaooa, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onooaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonqujça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

29. The *Real Palacio MS* has *momoyaoua.*

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made during all the days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.[1]

The ninth month was known as Tlaxochimaco. It also was of twenty days.

Two days [before the feast] there was the seeking of flowers. There was scattering over the mountains when there was looking for every flower — various flowers, mountain flowers, dahlias,[2] hummingbird flowers,[3] mountain tagetes,[4] ranunculus,[5] bocconias,[6] tiger lilies,[7] plumerias,[8] didymeas,[9] forest magnolias,[10] talaumas,[11] earth plumerias,[12] tagetes,[13] lobelias,[14] white water lilies, red water lilies,[15] castalias.[16]

And when they had been gathered, when they had come bringing the flowers, when there had been coming bringing [them], when it was dawn, then they were strung together. There was stringing; they strung them. And when the flowers had been strung together, then they were twisted, they were wound [in garlands] — each indeed long, each very long, each thick, indeed thick.

And when there had been the arranging, then carefully they were each set down; they were indeed handled with esteem, they were cared for with reverence.

Jnic cẽpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanaliztli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlasuchimaco.

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlasuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl:

viptlatica in suchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixqujch suchitl, in nepapan suchitl, in tepepan suchitl, yn acocosuchitl, vitzitzillacusuchitl, tepecempoalsuchitl, nextamalsuchitl, tlacosuchitl, ocelusuchitl, cacalosuchitl, ocusuchitl, anoço aocusuchitl, quavelosuchitl, iollosuchitl, tlalcacalosuchitl, cempoalsuchitl, acasuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolsuchitl.

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaaxitico suchitl, yn oaxioaco, yn otlatujc, njmã ic moçoço tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, suchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic.

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

1. Cf. Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, Vol. II, p. 38: "Miccailhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. *El primero era nombre usado por los de Tlaxcalla. . . . El nombre mexicana es Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Torquemada interpreta, cuando son dadas y repartidas las flores; mientras Veytia dice, estera de flores. En la fiesta principal del mes, consagrada á Huitzilopochtli, la estatua de éste y de los demas dioses eran adornadas profusamente con flores. . . .*" Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, pp. 162–63, further writes: "*. . . adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino también a los que tenían por devoción en sus casas; que por esto daban al mes el nombre de* Tlaxochimaco."

2. *acocosuchitl: Dahlia coccinea* Cav. in Dibble and Anderson, *Book* XI, p. 199.

3. *vitzitzillacusuchitl*: "*Prob.* Gallium *sp.*, Didymea mexicana," in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 337.

4. *tepecempoalsuchitl*: cf. Chap. 26, n. 16.

5. *nextamalsuchitl: Ranunculus petiolaris* H. B. K. in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 200.

6. *tlacosuchitl: Bouvardia termifolia* Schl. in *ibid.*, p. 208.

7. *ocelosuchitl: Tigridia pavonia* in *ibid.*, p. 212.

8. *cacalosuchitl: Plumeria rubra* in *ibid.*, p. 205.

9. *ocusuchitl: Didymea mexicana* Benth. in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 347.

10. *quavelosuchitl: eloxochitl* is identified as *Magnolia dealbata* Succ. in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 201.

11. *yollosuchitl: Talauma mexicana* Don in *ibid.*, p. 201.

12. *tlalcacalosuchitl*: prob. *Plumeria acutifolia* in *ibid.*, p. 198.

13. *cempoalsuchitl:* cf. Chap. 26, n. 16.

14. *acasuchitl: Lobelia fulgens, L. laxiflora* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 211.

15. *atlacueçona*: cf. Chap. 26, n. 5.

16. *atzatzamolsuchitl: Castalia gracilis* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 126.

And when this was done, all the common folk together fell to making tamales for themselves. In the evening they plucked turkey hens and [killed] dogs; also in the evening they singed them. Those were singed which would be required early in the morning.

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixqujch maceoalli, cenuetzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoã in chichime, no teutlacpa in qujnchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequizque ioatzīco:

There was confusion. There was indulging in sleeplessness; there was wakefulness. There was living for the feast day. It was as if each one was active; there was preoccupation on the part of each one so that there would be preparation.

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, iuhqujn tlatlaciuj, netetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

And when the day broke, the guardians of the god thereupon each made offerings to Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they kept spreading, they kept lining up, they kept placing in rows, they kept hanging in rows all the various flowers, the precious flowers, the gifts made as offerings.

Auh yn otlatujc in iehoantin teupixque, njman ie ic qujtlamamaca in Vitzilopuchtli, qujsuchicuzcatia, conicpasuchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetecpanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixqujch nepapan suchitl, in tlaçosuchitl, in manquj, in tlamantli:

Thereupon flowers were offered all at the same time to all of the gods, the images of the gods, the demons. They were adorned with flowers, they were girt with [garlands of] flowers; flowers were placed upon their heads there in the temples.

njman ie ic tesuchimaco, cenvetzi in ixqujchtin teteu, yn imixiptlaoan teteu, tlatlacateculo, tesuchitilo, tesuchiapano, teicpacsuchitilo, in vncan in teteupan:

Thereupon all at the same time in all the houses, in the homes of the stewards, in the homes of the great noblemen, and [in] each of the young men's houses, they all laid them out [before the idols]; they all spread them out in people's homes.

njman ie ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in veuei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, qujcentzacutimanj, qujcentzacutimomana in techachan.

And when this was done, when they had been ornamented, then there was eating, there was drinking. Everywhere there was eating, there was celebration of the feast day.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn otecencaoaloc mec tlatlaqualo, haatlioa: noujan tlatlaqualo, yilhujtlamacho.

And when midday came, then[17] there were singing and dancing. Verily they ornamented all the youths, the masters of the youths, the leaders of the youths, the seasoned warriors, the shorn ones, the Otomí. There in the god's courtyard, in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, there was dancing.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoianolo, vel ixqujch qujcencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in teuitoalco, yn itoalco Vitzilopuchtli.

And those who led were the shorn ones, the great, brave warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who did not hide themselves behind something in war; they who turned [the enemy] back, they who wheeled them around.

Auh in teiacana, iehoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacaoã yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

Also the women danced — not one's daughters [but] the courtesans, the pleasure girls. They went, each one, between [pairs of the men]; they each went grasped in their hands; they were grasped

No iehoantin in cioa mjtotiaia, amo iehoan in teichpuchoan, iehoantin in mahaujltianj, yn avianjme intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mo-

17. For *mec* the *Real Palacio MS* has *nimã ye yc*.

about the waist. They were all in line; they went all in line; they went winding to and fro. Nowhere did the line break; nowhere were hands loosed. They went in order.

And the singers, those who sang for them, those who beat the drums for them, who beat the ground drums for them, were quite apart, quite to one side. They were against a building, against a round altar [or pyramid]. And the altar was completely round, circular, like a spindle whorl. Against it, by it, stood [the musicians].

And as they danced, they did not keep leaping nor did they make great movements; they did not go making dance gestures; they did not go throwing themselves continually[18] about, they did not go dancing with arm movements, they did not continually bend their bodies, they did not continually go whirling themselves, they did not keep going from side to side, they did not keep turning their backs.

It was quite quietly, quite calmly, quite evenly that they went going, that they went dancing. Very much as a serpent goeth, as a serpent lieth,[19] was the dance. None disturbed, none intruded, none encircled,[20] none broke in.

And those who embraced the women were only the great, brave warriors. But those who were only masters of the youths did not embrace them.

And when there was an end to the dancing, there was only a little sun; already the sun was about to set. There was dispersing, there was going on the part of each one.

And everywhere in the houses, there was singing; there was singing in each one. They sang for their gods: perhaps Omacatl, or Chicome coatl, or Ehecatl, or Coatl xoxouhqui. Over here, over there, there was singing; song was widespread. Cries were widespread; cries were widespread as there was singing. The singing kept reechoing in a great din.

And only the revered old men and the revered old women drank pulque. And he who became really drunk cried out at people or boasted of his manly deeds.

cujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in qujncujcatia, in qujntlatzotzonjlia, qujnueuetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iaoaltic, teujlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjtotia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayiaoa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo momaitotitiuj, amo mopapachoa, amo momamalacachotiuj, amo aujc onviuj, amo tzitzinqujça:

çan yujian çan matca, çan tlamach yn iatiuj, yn mjtotitiuj: cẽca çan coamantiuh, coanotiuh in netotiliztli, aiac tlaolinja, aiac tlaamana, aiac tlepeionja, aiac tlaixneloa.

Auh in cioa in q'nnaoa, çan iehoantin in veuey tiacaoan: auh in çan tiachcaoan, amono iehoãtin, amo qujnnaoaia.

Auh in necaoalo in netotilo, ça achi tonatiuh, ie oncalaquiz tonatiuh, cecenmanoa viujloa.

Auh in noujan calpan, cujcujco, qujncujcujcatia yn inteteuoan: yn aço omacatl, anoço chicome coatl, anoço hecatl, anoço coatl xoxouhquj, nanachca in cujco, quitzacutimanj, in cujco, tlacaoacatimanj, tlacaoacatinemj in cujco, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl.

Auh çanyioque, in ueuentzitzin, yoã yn ilamatzitzin, in tlaoana: auh yn aqujn vel oiujntic, tetzatzilia, anoçe moqujchitoa.

18. *momatlatlaztiui* in *ibid.*
19. *coaonotiuh* in *ibid.*
20. *tlapeyonia* in *ibid.*

Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which are named the feast and the debt-paying which they celebrated during all the days of the tenth month, which was called Xocotl uetzi.[1]

The tenth feast, Xocotl uetzi, likewise was of twenty days.[2] They concluded it in twenty days.

And when they set up the *xocotl*, it was on the day after Tlaxochimaco[3] that at dawn they began it. Thus during one day was their strength used. Shouting was widespread. The overseer,[4] as he hastened it, shouted; he shouted at one.

He said: "[Use] all your strength! Pull upon [the ropes]! Pull with strength!"

And when he shouted at them he was hoarse. It was as if his voice broke.

There was piled up for themselves, there was provided a mound of earth by means of which [the *xocotl*] was erected.[5] Strength was indeed exerted; they each took hold of it with all their force.

And the *xocotl* was twenty-five fathoms long. They removed its branches; only its main stalk was left. Thus, in the manner in which they set it up, it was for twenty days. When they had brought it, it had no adornment.

And when twenty [days] had gone by, then verily it was the time of the feast day, Xocotl uetzi. And when the feast was to be observed two days hence, once again they laid it out; quite gradually, quite carefully they laid out [the *xocotl*]. They took pains lest it break, lest it crack, lest it snap. They went resting it upon wooden supports;[6] they went laying it down upon wooden supports with much caution.

Jnic cempoalli on chicunauj capitulo, vncan mote- neoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli: in qujchioaia, in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic matlactetl metztli: in mitoaia Xocotl vetzi.

Inic matlactetl ilhujtl, iehoatl in xocotl vetzi: no cempoalilhujtl vel qujtlamja, in cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in qujquetza xocotl, oiuh ialoa tlasuchimacotl, ioatzinco in qujpeoaltia, ic cemilhujtica vel ontlamj, yn jntlapaliuiz, tlacaoacatimanj in tepan manj, in tlaciujtia, tzatzi, tetzatzilia:

qujtoa. Ixqujch amotlapal, xitlatilinjcan, ximotilinjcan, ximotlapaltilican:

auh in tetzatziliaia içaoacaia, iuhquj yn jntozquj tzatzaianja.

Mololhujaia, mocentlatilulcaujaia, ynic meoatiquetzaia, vel motlapaltiliaia, ixqujch caanaia yn intlapaliuiz.

Auh in xócotl, injc viac catca, cempoalmatl ommacujlli: muchi qujtepeviliaia in jmatzocol: ça yio in jzcallo mocaoaia: inic iuhquj in oqujquetzque, cempoaltica in çan oqujvicaca, aiatle itlatquj.

Auh in oacic cempoalli: vel iquac ilhujtl in xócotl vetzi: auh in oqujuh viptla ilhujtl iez, oc ceppa qujteca, can jvian, çan tlamach in qujteca, qujmalhuja in ma cuetla, in ma natzin, in ma poztec: quauhtonmaçatl, quioalquechilitivi, quauhtonmaçapã in motecatiuh, cenca çan tlamach.

1. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 303) translates *Xucutl valuetzi* as "*El Xócotl viene a caer.*" Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, pp. 160, 161, has "*der Xocotl fällt herab*" for both *xocotl valuetzi* and *xocotl uetzi*.

In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 449, 1039, and Vol. III, pp. 289–92, however, Seler argues that Xocotl uetzi should have been celebrated as the feast of Otontecutli, god and ancestor of the Otomí, rather than for Xiuhtecutli; because the *xocotl*, which was set up at the feast on the top of the tree, was the likeness of Otontecutli. As evidence, Seler mentions the adornment of the *xocotl* and a passage from the *Real Palacio MS: iquac in itech motlaliaia yn inacaio Otontecutli.* Sometimes, Seler adds, the figure was a mummy bundle.

Cf. also Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," pp. 41–45.

2. *cẽpoualilhuitica* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

3. The *Real Palacio MS* reads: *O yuh yalhua tlaxochimacoc.* The sentence could be translated: "And when they set up the *xocotl* the previous month of Tlaxochimaco had been celebrated." The cutting and bringing in of the *xocotl* occurred during the previous month of Tlaxochimaco. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish reads: "*en passando la fiesta de tlasuchimaco, cortauan vn gran arbol.*" For more discussion see Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 161, n. 1, and Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," pp. 38–40.

4. In the Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 202, Sahagún defines the duties of the *tepan mani* as "*los que tenían cuidado de recoger la gente.*" The corresponding Spanish text for Xocotl uetzi appears to use the term *tlayacanques* as a synonym, here rendered into Spanish as *cuadrilleros.*

5. See *Codex Borbonicus*, *Codex Féjérváry-Mayer*, and Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," for illustrations of this scene and others for the month Xocotl uetzi.

6. Cf. *quauhtomacatl* (Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 370); the term is *quauhtonmaçatl* in the Nahuatl and *quauhtomaçatl* in the corresponding Spanish text.

And when they had laid out the *xocotl* in some fashion, then there was entering of the houses on the part of each one, there was resting on the part of each one. And they piled up all the heavy ropes on the *xocotl*; they placed them scattered over it.

And when it dawned, then the carpenters came forth; they assembled. They brought their equipment; they had with them adzes, hatchets. Well did they make even, did they smooth [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where it was broken off, where it was uneven.

They smoothed another pole of five fathoms. They joined it to strengthen the main stalk of the *xocotl*. They made its main stalk very even. They girded, they held its tip with ropes; they placed [main stalk and pole] within the ropes.[7]

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priest took charge. The old priests helped; also those who cast [victims] into the fire helped. There were three of them. They were very powerful; they were each tall; they were very tall; they were exceedingly tall. They were lords.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[8] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were disguised those who knew the task of adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned as of flesh. They formed it of a dough of fish amaranth and maize. They arranged pure white papers for it, each of which they placed on it. They had no design.

On it they set its shoulder sash of paper, its paper breechclout, its papers designed with falcons, its paper wig, its *xocotl* shifts. There were two *xocotl* shifts. They were not put on; they were only on the tree in two of its incisions. Then also they placed in another of its incisions large papers, wide — a yard wide;[9] they were ten fathoms long. They were reaching one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three tamales of amaranth seed. They pierced them with sticks. In three places they set them up [over the image]. And thereupon on the *xocotl* they bound ropes there, half way up the *xocotl* — ten [of them].

And when it was made ready, thereupon they set it up. Then there was an outcry, there was shouting.

Auh in oquentel qujtecaque xócotl: njman ic cacalacoa, nececevilo: auh in ixqujch vepanmecatl ipan cõtepeuhtitlalia in xocotl, ipan contoxauhtitlalia.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalitquj, intlatquj oalietiuh in matepoztli, tlaximaltepoztli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncã titicujtztic, in vncã xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jzcalo xocotl, vel cõnevivilia in jzcalo, in jquapitzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecatitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmã ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no iehoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepãtlazque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin catca.

In ce itoca: coiooa. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhqujn mjxpolotinemj,, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xócotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchioauhtzoalli qujtlaliaia, çan cemjztac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlaliaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzõ, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziqujlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziqujlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, ceniollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no etetl tzocoiotl in qujchioa, qujquaquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xócomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xócotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmã ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzioa:

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*labraban otro madero, de cinco braças delgado: hazianle concabo, y ponjanle en la punta desde donde començaua el gujon: y recoxian las ramas del gujon: dentro del concabo del otro madero, y atauanle con vna soga, ciñjendole desde donde començaua las ramas, hasta la punta del gujon.*"

8. Probably *çacamecatl* is meant. Cf. the Jourdanet–Siméon edition of Sahagún, p. 129.

9. Cf. Chap. 24, n. 17.

They said: "Go on there,[10] brave warriors! Pull with all your strength!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports, and they pried it up with levers. And likewise when already it went, when already it went rising, there was a great outcry, there was much shouting, there was much din.

And when this was done, it was quickly erected. Much did the earth stir; much did it move and swirl. When this was done, thereupon they filled [the hole] with stones, all these round rocks. They threw large stones in;[11] they cast them in. And when it was filled with stones, thereupon it was covered above with earth. Thereupon there was going on the part of each one; there was entering the houses on the part of each one. It was quiet; silence prevailed.

And thereupon came out the captors [with] their captives who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed; they were adorned. They were painted with yellow ocher;[12] their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices purely of flaming red feather composition. And their shields were [decorated with] shanks; either eagle legs or ocelot shanks were designed there on their shields in feathers. Hence were the shields called "shanks."

Thus did they go dancing. They went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also went dancing. They covered their bodies with chalk; they had their paper breechclouts, their paper shoulder sashes, then their paper wigs. They decked their heads with feathers. They had their feather lip pendants; they were strained chili-red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of their eyes.

And when the sun had set, thereupon it ceased. They shut the captives in, and the captors departed. Likewise in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men of the *calpulli*, the elders of the *calpulli*, there where they belonged, departed. And when they ended the

qujtoa. Maecuel tiacahoane, ximotilinjcan, ixqujch amotlapal:

njmã ie ic queoatiquetztivi, conquechilitivi, in quauhtonmaçatl, yoan qujquãmjvia: auh in iequene ie iauh, in ie meoatiquetztiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzioa, cenca chachalacoa:

auh in ie iuhquj ommoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoã comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmã ie ic qujtetema: muchi iehoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

Auh njman ie ic valqujça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlaviztli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoã in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncã chimalpan icujliuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamãtivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmã ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentlilcomoloa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmã ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan ommotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: iehoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

10. *ma ye cuel* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

11. *cõmayaui* in *ibid.*

12. *motecoçaualtia* in *ibid.*

vigil, it was midnight, in the midst of the night, [when] night divided in half.

When this was done, thereupon there was the taking of hair [from some of the captives]; the captors took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads, a little of the captives' hair; they cut it from the crowns of their heads; they bound it at the middle with chili-red thread, on which were two forked heron feathers. And the obsidian knife with which they cut their hair they named "obsidian falcon."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aqujton intzõ in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

When this was done, when they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed coffer, called "hair coffer." This hair coffer the captor carried to his home. He hung it high. Thus it was shown that he was indeed a taker of captives; thus his manly exploits were boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of his house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

in ie juhquj in oconcujque, njmã ic cõtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in ca tlamanj, ic moqujchitoa, muchipa pilcac calquac, itech in calquavitl, aic oaltemo ixqujch cavitl in mjqujz:

And when [the captives'] hair had been cut, the owners of the captives yet slept but little. They guarded [the captives] well; they watched them well; they were indeed careful lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

auh in otetzoncujoac oc achi concochi, in maleque: vel qujmpia, vel qujmjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in ma choloti in motlepantlaçazque.

And when it dawned, when the earth showed clearly,[13] thereupon they arranged [the captives] in order before the skull rack. And when they were arranged in order, a man [a priest] set upon them; he set upon them there; he pulled off of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments,[14] and perchance their wretched little capes. He placed them in the eagle vessel. There they burned.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmã ie ic qujntecpana, tzompãtli ixpan: auh in ie tecpantimani, njman çe tlacatl compeoaltia, qujmonpeoaltia, qujmontzintilinja in oc cequjnti: in jpan yoan in jamatlatquj, yoan in aço itilmaçoltzin contlalia quauhxicalco, vncan tlatla.

Thereupon all who were going, the captives who were following, continued to place their banners and their little capes [in the fire]; there they all burned up. Indeed already they were to leave the earth forever. Futilely they were in order there. They were awaiting their death; indeed in truth it was already the time.

njman ie ic mochintin õiatimanj, ommotocatimanj in mamalti, contlalitimanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzitzi, vncan centlatla, ca ie iccen cõcaoazque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ie vncã tecpantimanj, qujchixtimanj in immjqujz, ca nel ie otlaimmãtic:

And there they were awaiting Paynal, the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Paynal came to arrive, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed, where the unhappy captives were to perform their service. And when this was done, no sooner had Paynal arrived than he thereupon descended [from the pyramid]; it was only that

auh vncã qujchixtimanj in Painal, in jxiptla vitzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oacico Painal: njman ie ic tleco in tlacacouhcan, in vncan tlacotizque, mamaltzitzinti: auh in ie iuhquj: çan tequjtl onaci in Painal, njmã ie ic oaltemo: çan ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, qujciacavitivitz: inin qujoaltemovia, moteneoa

13. *ontlachipauac* in *ibid.*

14. *quimõtzintilia* in *ibid.*

a man [a priest] brought him down; he came carrying him under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he had descended, he came forth before the captives; he came forth in their presence.

Once again Paynal quickly went up. And a captor stood for the purpose; he awaited him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head; he grasped in his hand[15] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Thereupon he went off leading him. When he had gone taking him to the landing at the foot of the pyramid, there he left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire came down; they seized him. First they threw *yauhtli* in his face. Then they bound his wrists; they brought each hand behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

Thereupon they placed him upon their backs to carry him up. And when they had gone taking him up, then they cast him into the fire.[16] High[17] did the ashes shoot up; they indeed billowed.

And the brave warrior's flesh thereupon sputtered; blisters quickly formed; burning spots quickly arose.

Then the old priests quickly seized him; they quickly drew him forth. They stretched him out on the offering stone. They cut open his breast; they split open his chest. Then they cut out, they tore out, his heart; they cast it before Xiuhtecutli, the representation of fire. And in just the same manner died all the captives whom Paynal delivered up here.

And when this was done, when the brave warriors had come to an end, thereupon there was dispersing, there was departing. There was going to people's various homes. There was eating; the feast day was observed.

And [as for] Paynal, his old men carried him. They went encircling him, they went crowding about him. They left him, they placed him in his place, the place where he was guarded. And when they had gone to leave him, thereupon they descended; they went in single file. And when they had come reaching the base, thereupon they dispersed, each one; they went, each one, to their various homes. They each ate.

And when this was done, when there had been eating, then there was coming forth, there was the assembling here of all the men, the youths, and the

jta, anoço iach. Auh in ooaltemoc: imjxpan oalqujça, imjxtlan oalqujça in mamalti:

ie no ceppa tlecotivetzi in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iqujcac, qujchixticac: njmã ie icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cõtzitzquja, in jquateiolloco: njmã ie ic qujvicatiuh; in ocaxitito in apetlac, vncã qujcaoa in malli:

njmã ie ic oaltemo, in tetlepantlazque, qujoalana: achtopa, qujxiiauhtemja, çatepan qujmailpia, icampa qujviviqujlia in jma, yoan qujcxilpia:

njman ie ic iquechpan conteca, injc qujtlecavia: auh in oqujpantlacato, njmã ic contlaça in tleco, cẽcalli moquetztivetzi in nextli, vel molonj.

Auh in tiacauh njmã ie ic cuecuepoca in jnacaio, aquaqualacativetzi, yoan tletlecaleoativetzi:

njman ic conantivetzi, convilantivetzi, in quaquacujlti, qujoalteca techcac, conelteqUj qujoalixtlapana in jielchiqujuh: njmã ic concotona, contlatzcotona in jiollo; ixpan cõmaiavi, in xiuhtecutli: in jxiptla tletl: auh çan ie moch ivi in momjqujlia in mamalti, qujnoalçaçaca in Painal.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otlanque tiacaoan njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, viviloa viloa in techachan, tlatlaqualo, ilhujtlamacho.

Auh in Painal, njmã qujvica, cololhujtivi, qujtepevitivi, in jveveioan, concaoa, contlalia in jieian, in jpieloian: auh in ocõcaoato, njmã ie ic oaltemo, oalcenpantitivi. Auh in oacico tlalchi: njmã ic momoiaoa, vivi in inchachan ontlatlaqua.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatlaqualoc, njmã ic oalhujloa, oalnenechicolo, ixqujch tlacatl in telpochtli, yoan

15. *amatica*: read *imatica*.

16. *oquipãtlaçoto* in the *Real Palacio MS*.

17. *cẽcalli* may be in error for *cenca*. The *Real Palacio MS* reads: *cenca, lli moquetztiuetzi*.

boys, the small boys, those with a small tuft of hair at the back of the head,[18] those with a little tuft of hair at the back of the head. They put all in order.

At this time was begun the singing and dancing,[19] at midday. In this manner was it danced: the serpent dance was performed. Between [the men] the women were going, as hath been told. The courtyard was well filled, it was well crowded, it was well packed. No longer was there coming forth among the people. There was much jostling.

And when they grew tired, thereupon there was leaving on the part of each one. Then there was shouting. Then they passed over there where the *xocotl* stood. Indeed there was continual trampling; indeed there was hurrying; indeed there was a press of people.

And the masters of the youths kept people away [from the *xocotl*]. Their pine staves lay in the hands of each one. They did not hold back as they struck one, they did not spare their staves as they struck one. And those who in some way, somehow, quickly broke through [as the others] held them back, thereupon put their strength to the ropes, the heavy ropes.

Thereupon there was climbing on the ropes. On one rope maybe twenty climbed as if each were hanging. Not all reached the top; only some reached the top. The one who went leading, he indeed could reach the *xocotl* image. It was only of amaranth seed dough. He took all — its shield, its tipless arrow, and its dart thrower.

And the amaranth seed dough pieces he cast down there; he scattered them on the people. All the people who stood below looked up. When the amaranth seed dough fell, everyone stretched forth his hands. As if there were brawling, so was there shouting. Also some grasped the head ornaments of the amaranth seed dough [figure]; they also scattered them on the people. They were carried off down below.

And when this was done, then, thereupon he who had captured the *xocotl* [image] came down. When he had descended, when he had come to reach the ground, thereupon the old men seized him; they took him up to the place of sacrifice. There they gave him gifts. And everyone thereupon pulled the ropes; there indeed was pulling; strength was indeed

in telpopochtotonti, in telpopochpipïl, in cuexpaltotoneque, in cuexpaltzitzineque: ixqujch qujcencaoa:

in jquac peoalo cujcoanolo nepantla tonatiuh, inic netotilo, necocololo, intzatzalan mamantivi in cioa in juh omjto, in jtvalli vel temj, vel cacatzca, vel tzitzica, aoc vel tetlan qujxoa, cenca nepapatzolo.

Auh in otlatziuhque nimã ie ic necacaoalo, njman ic tlacaoaca: njman vmpa onxoqujvi, in vmpa icac xocotl: vel nequequeçalo, vel netotocholo, vel nepitzmamalioa.

Auh in teachcaoan, tetzaqua, imoocoquauh in immac oonoc, amo motlamachvia injc tevitequj, amo iloti in inquauh injc tevitequj: auh in oqueztel, in oquezteltzin in oqujnpetlatiqujzque tetzaqua: njmã ie ic muchi motilinja in mecatl, in vepãmecatl:

njman ie ic tlecoa in mecatitech: in ce mecatl, aço cen tecpantli in jtech tleco, iuhqujn tlapipilcac: amo mochintin in vmpanvetzi, çan quezqujntin in vmpanvetzi, in aqujn iacatiuh, vel iehoatl caci in xócotl ixiptla, çan tzoalli: muchi qujcujlia in jchimal, in jmjuh tlaoaçomalli, yoan yiatlauh.

Auh in tzoalli, vmpa qujoaltetepeoa, tepan qujoalcecẽmana, muchi tlacatl, onacopatlachia in tlatzintlan manj, in jquac oalhuetzi tzoalli muchi tlacatl maçoa, iuhqujn ipan nemjmjctilo, iuhquj tlatlacaoaca: no cequjntin conaci, in jtzõcoiol in tzoalli, no tepã qujoalcecẽmana, namoielo in tlatzintlan.

Auh in ie iuhquj njmã: njman ie ic oaltemo, in xócomanj: in ooaltemoc, in otlaltitechacico: njmã ie ic conana: in tlacacouhcan, vmpa qujtlecavia in vevetque, vmpa qujtlauhtia: auh in jxqujch, tlacatl, nimã ie ic qujtilinja in mecatl, vel netilinjlo, vel ontlamj in tlapaliviztli: auh in xocotl, njmã ic vetzi

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "*todos aquellos, que tenjã vedixas de cabellos en el cogote, que llamauan cuexpaleque.*"
19. *cuicoyanolo* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

expended. And the *xocotl* then fell to the ground. There was a sudden billowing of dust; it suddenly broke to pieces. Into three parts or into four parts it quickly flew.

When this was done, thereupon there was going on the part of each one. All was quiet; all was clear. And afterwards they took the captor of the *xocotl* [image] to his home. They arrayed him in a brown cape with an edge striped with feathers.[20]

And if one were a captor [of the *xocotl* image], he could [thus] array himself, he could [thus] go wrapping himself; no one might dispute him over it. But if one were not [such] a captor, he only kept it; it would be only in his care. And mayhap he would sell it when he was already poor or during a sickness.[21]

And thus they left him at his home; two old priests went grasping him; they went holding him by the arm. Behind came the offering priests. They blew wind instruments for him; they went sounding shell trumpets for him. And he went carrying his shield on his back. And when they had gone to leave him, then they turned back [to the temple].

Thus in truth here ended, [here] concluded the feast day.

tlalpã, tlalipototztivetzi, popoztectivetzi, aço excan, anoço nauhcan qujztivetzi.

In ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic viviloa, cactivetzi, cactimomana: auh çatepã, concaoa in jchan in xocomanj, ic caapana camopalli in tilmatli, tenjvivavanquj.

Auh intla tlamanj, vel qujmoquentiz, vel qujmolpilitinemjz, aiac ic qujtlatzoviliz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujmotlatiliz, çan ipiel iez: auh anoço qujmonamaqujliz, in jquac ie motolinja in jcocoian.

Auh injc cõcaoa ichan: caantivi, qujtzitzitzqujtivi yiacolpã; in quaquacujlti: vmentin, icãpa mantivi tlamacazque, qujtlapichilitivi: iehoatl in tecciztli qujpichilitivi: yoã qujmamatiuh in jchimal. Auh in ocõcaoato, mec oalmocuepa:

ic vel oncan ontzonqujça, õtlamj in jlhujtl.

20. Corresponding Spanish text: "*lleuaua esta manta, vna franja en la orilla de tochomjtl, y pluma.*"
21. Corresponding Spanish text: "*podianlas tener en su casa, y vender todos los que querian, pero no traerlas.*"

Thirtieth Chapter: here are related the feasts and the honors observed during all the days of the eleventh month, which was called, which was known as Ochpaniztli.[1]

The eleventh feast day was the one known as Ochpaniztli. Before the very time, the very day, had come, for five days nothing more was done; only silence still prevailed. But when the five days had passed, then began the hand-waving dance. At that time it was fifteen [days] to Ochpaniztli. This was done for eight days.[2]

And thus was the hand-waving dance danced: there was the arranging of various rows;[3] four rows were formed; there was the forming of four rows. Thus they danced: they only went walking; they kept circling about. Their hands each went filled with flowering tagetes branches. They went grasping them in their hands on both sides.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

Yet if some of the perverse youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums sounded, just so they went about doing. On both sides they went circling their arms. They only went in rows; they only went as one. None broke ranks; none turned another aside; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already late afternoon. And when there had been ceasing on the part of each one,[4] the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock battle [of the women physicians]. For four days this was done there before the house of song and dance.

In this manner was it done; in this way this was done: there were all the women physicians — the old women as well as the maidens as well as some of the pleasure girls.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: vnca moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in tlamaviztililiztli: in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoaia, in moteneoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Injc matlactetl oce ilhujtl: iehoatl in moteneoa, Ochpanjztli: in aiamo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhujtl: oc macujlilhujtl, in aiatle muchioaia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in õqujz macujlilhujtl njmã ic vmpeoa in nematlaxo, iquac in tlacaxtolti ochpanjztli: chicueilhujtl in muchioaia.

Auh injc nematlaxo, netetecpanaloia, nappantioa, nenappantililo: injc mitotiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoalsuchitla mapoztectli in immac tetẽtiuh, nenecoc in immac qujtzitzitzqujtivi:

amo cujcaia, aiac naoatia, çan nõtitivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjivintia contlaeecalhuja in vevetl: in juh caqujzti vevetl, çan no iuh qujchiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjauhtivi imma, çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetonj, aiac tepatilia, aiac onchicoqujça.

Auh in peoaia in nematlaxo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloia ie õcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonqujz chicueilhujtl: njmã ic vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhujtl in muchioaia: vncan in cujcacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchioaia, iuhquj in, in muchioaia: in jxqujchtin cioatitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpupuchti, yoan cequjntin avienjme:

1. *Barrimiento de caminos* in Garibay's rendering ("Relación breve," p. 306); *das "Wegfegen,"* according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 171; *fiesta barredera* in Durán, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 190.

2. The corresponding Spanish reads: *"los cinco dias primeros deste mes no hazian nada, tocante a la fiesta. Acabados los cinco dias; quinze dias antes de la fiesta començauan a baylar, vn bayle: que ellos llamauan, nematlaxo: este bayle, duraua ocho dias."* Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 172, translates the Nahuatl as follows: *"Als der eigentliche Festtag noch nicht erricht war, noch fünf Tage (fehlten), geschah nichts, alles bleibt noch still und leer. Und nachdem die fünf Tage zu Ende sind, beginnt der Handbewegungstanz. Wenn noch fünfzehn Tage bis zum Ochpaniztli sind, wurde er acht Tage lang vollführt."* Cf. also Sahagún's summary of Ochpaniztli in Chapter 11.

3. *nappanti* is added in the *Real Palacio MS.*

4. *necaualoya* in *ibid.*

They divided themselves; they divided themselves into two equal parts. [The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number; likewise as many went opposing her, keeping a skirmish against her. Thus they banished her sorrow, they kept gaining her attention, they kept making her laugh that she might not be sad. But if there were weeping, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many eagle-ocelot warriors would die in war or that many women would become *mociuaquetzque* when from their wombs [children] would go.

moxeloaia, monepãtlaxeloaia, izquj intlan mãtivi, in teteu innan, no izquj in qujnamjctivi, in qujtiiaiavtla, ic qujpopololtiaia in jtlaocul, qujtlatlacaaviloaia, qujvevetzqujtiaia, injc amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, qujlmach tlatetzaviz: qujl mjec iaumjqujz, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioaquetzazque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque.

And in this manner was the mock fighting done: first the Teteo innan [party] began to pursue the others. With her were going the great women physicians. These were Aua; second, Tlauitequi; third, Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto peoa in teteu innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. Iehoatl in Aoa: Jnjc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei xoquauhtli. In iehoantin im eixtin y, ilamaiooa:

Thus did they pursue [the others]: they went pelting them. Thus did they pelt them: it was with [matted] tree parasites[5] gathered into balls, gathered into many balls, and reeds [pressed into] balls, and cactus leaves, and tagetes flowers. And all tied their tobacco gourds to their waists. Again [the others] turned [Teteo innan] back; they went pelting them. It was not for long; it was only sometimes that they were pursued.

injc qujntoca, qujntepachotivi: injc qujntepachoa, papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaololollalili, yoan toltapaiolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalsuchitl: yoã muchintin imjiietecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele qujnteputztia, qujntepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezqujpa, in ommototoca.

And when this was done they took [the likeness of] Toci[6] where she was guarded. This was for four days that they did the skirmishing.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjicali:

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, toward sundown, she tramped over her market place.[7] As she came forth, the [women] physicians came encircling her. And as she came along, then the Chicome coatl [priests][8] received her here. And when they had received her here, then they made a circle [about her]. And when a procession had been made [about her], then she stopped in the middle of it. Then she kept scattering cornmeal there. Then she tramped over her market place for the last time before she took leave of the market place.

auh in otzonqujz in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianqujz, ie teutlac: injc oalqujça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz, njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in oqujoalnamjcque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontlaiaoalo, vncã vmmoquetza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã contetepeoa, tlaoltextli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianqujz, ça iiopa, ça ie cõnaoatia in tianqujztli.

And when she had gone tramping over it, then they took her where she was guarded in her temple. Much did the [women] physicians console her.

Auh in oconjcçato, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa pielo, in jteupan, cenca qujiollalia in titici:

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the ruler Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be happy."

qujlhuja. Nochputzin, ca iequene axcã motetzinco aciz in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapactzino:

5. Spanish beard; *Tillandsia usneoides* L. in Clark, *Codex Mendoza*, Vol. II, p. 106.
6. Toci: identical with Teteo innan and with Tlaçolteotl. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1064.
7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*A este passeo llamauan acozeamjento del tianquez porque nunca mas auja de boluer a el.*"
8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*rescebianla luego los satrapas, de la diosa llamada chicome coatl.*"

They did not tell her of her death; it was as if she died unaware. Then they adorned her, they arrayed her.

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjqujz, çan iuhquj in ichtaca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

And when midnight came, then they took her [to the temple]. No one at all spoke, none talked, nor did anyone cough; it was as if the earth lay dead. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

Auh in jquac ie onaci iooalnepantla njmã ic qujvica, çan njmã aiac naoati, aiac tlatoa, anoac tlatlaci, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: auh ixqujch tlacatl, cenquiçaia in iooaltica.

And when they had taken her to where she was to die, then they seized her. They stretched her out on the back of one [of them]. Then they quickly cut off her head. And when they had cut off her head, then also they quickly flayed her; they swiftly flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then a man [a priest] quickly put on her skin. He was called Teccizquacuilli — a very strong [man], very powerful, and very tall.[9]

Auh in oconaxitique vncã mjqujz: njmã ic qujoalana, çan tecujtlapan in cõteca, njmã ic qujoalquechcotontivetzi: auh in ocõquechcotonque, njmã no iciuhca qujxipeuhtivetzi, qujxipeuhtiquiça. Auh in oqujxipeuhque: njmã ic cõmaqujtivetzi ce tlacatl in jeoaio: itoca Tecizquacujli, cenca chicaoac, chichicactic, yoan cenca quauhtic.

And her thigh they had then also quickly flayed; they hastened it there to Pochtlan. [The likeness of Toci's] son put it on. His name was Cinteotl. There he went to take it.[10]

Auh in jmetz njmã no iciuhca qujxipeuhtivetzi, qujmotlalochtia, in vmpa puchtlan: conaquja in jconeuh: itoca, Cinteutl, in vmpa canatiuh.

And when this was done, when the Teccizquacuilli had [donned] her skin, then she quickly placed herself here on the edge [of the pyramid].[11] As she quickly placed herself here, it was with great speed. Then she quickly came down. There followed her swiftly, on each side, two of her Huaxtecs coming [with her]. And the offering priests went helping her. They went behind her; they went crowded about her; they went guarding her.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocõmaquj Teccizquacujlli: mec oalmoquetztivetzi tlatempan: in ooalmoquetztivetz, cencan iciuhca: mec oaltemotivetzi, qujtzatzacutivitze, nenecoc, oomemãtivitze in jcuexoan. Auh in tlamacazque qujpalevitivi, icãpa onotivi, qujtepevitivi, qujpixtivi:

And a number of noblemen and great brave warriors were awaiting her. And when already she went, then they set forth; they went spreading out before her; they went gathering before her. Much did they run; much did they hasten; as if they flew, so did they run. They kept going to turn back toward her; they went striking their shields, they went striking their shields against each other. Also they swiftly turned to her; they kept crowding, they kept pressing as they ran. There was much fear; fear spread over the people; indeed fear entered into the people.

auh in cequjntin qujchixtoque in pipilti, yoan in veve in tiacaoã. Auh in jquac ie iauh: njman ic oneoa, ixpã mãtivi, ixpã onotivi: cenca motlaloa, cenca paina: iuhqujn patlanj, ic motlaloa; oalmocuecueptivi, in jvicpa, qujoalhujtectivi in inchimal, oalmochimalhujtectivi: no ceppa ic mocueptivetzi, ontetemj, ompipilcatoque in motlaloa: cenca nemauhtilo, maviztli tepan moteca, vel tetechaquj in maviztli.

And when they thus ran, it was called "They fight with grass"; because it was indeed grass, it was indeed straw [brooms] that each of them went carrying in their hands; they were bloody; they were

Auh injc iuh iauh in: moteneoa, çacacali: iehica ca çacatl, ca popotl in immac tetentiuh, ehezço, tlaezvilli: auh injc qujntoca, çan momoiaoa, cecenmanj, cenca momauhtia.

9. We use "the likeness of" to refer to the representative of the goddess Toci (Teteo innan) until her ritual death. The priest who subsequently put on her skin is referred to as "the impersonator."

10. For the purpose of distinguishing the acts of the impersonator of Toci from those of the impersonator of Cinteotl, the former is referred to in subsequent passages as a woman (*she*) and the latter as a man (*he*).

11. Corresponding Spanish text: "*luego se leuantaua al canto del cu.*"

covered with blood. And when [the impersonator and her companions] set upon [the warriors], they just were scattered; they dispersed. Greatly were they terrified.

And when [the impersonator] had gone arriving at the base, at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, then she raised her arms, she spread her arms at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. She placed herself facing [the god]; then she turned about; she placed herself by her son, Cinteotl.

Here this one had been waiting. He had with him his thigh[-skin] mask,[12] and he had put on his peaked cap, curved back and serrated. And this [cap] was given the name Itztlacoliuhqui, "curved obsidian knife."[13] This [Itztlacoliuhqui is god of] frost. [Cinteotl] went accompanying [the impersonator]; they went along together. They did not run; it was only at their leisure that they went along. There they went facing, there they slowly approached [Toci's] temple, where [the likeness of Toci] had died. Again they took their places there.

And upon the morrow, when there was the breaking of day, the rising of daylight, then [the wearer of the skin of Toci's likeness] placed herself here upon the edge [of the pyramid]. And every one of the noblemen already stood awaiting her. There was hastening upward. Then they each ministered unto her.[14] One of them applied feathers to her head and her legs, with soft eagle down; one of them painted her face; one of them offered her her shift with the eagle design, and her skirt, which was only painted; one of them beheaded quail for her; one of them set incense before her. It was all very swift. Then it was quiet; then there was departing on the part of each.

And when there had been departing, then came forth her great vestments, called her paper crown and her market place banners. And her paper crown was wide; in the middle a market place banner went upright. There were five: in the middle a market place banner went erect, and four were on the sides, two each. They each went in order. [This headdress] was called *meyotli*.[15]

Auh in oacito tlacxitlan, in jicxitlan vitzilobuchtli: njmã ic maana, moteteoana, mamaçoa in jicxitlã Vitzilobuchtli: conjxnamjctimoquetza, mec oalmocuepa, itlan oalmoquetza in jconeuh in Cinteutl:

in vncan oqujchixticaca, imexaiac ietivitz: yoan cõmaquja, icopil, quacoltic, yoan tzitziquiltic: auh inin motocaiotiaia, itztlacoliuhquj: iehoatl in çetl: qujvicativitz, neoã mantivitze, amo motlaloa, ça yiolic yiativitze, vmpa itztivi, vmpa tlamattivi in jteupan, in vmpa omjc: oc ceppa vmpa ommotlalia.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlavilotleoac, tlatlavillotl eoa, mec oalmoquetza tlatenpan: auh in jxqujch tlacatl pipilti, ie qujchixtoque ipan õnetepeoalo: njman ic qujtlatlamaca: in aca qujpotonja icpac, yoan icxic, quauhtlachcaiotica: in aca qujxaoa: in aca cõmaca iquavipil, yoan icue, çan tlacujlolli: in aca çolin in qujcotonjlia: in aca copalli in contemjlia cenca çan iciuhca: njmã ic cactivetzi, njman ic viviloa.

Auh in oviviloac: njmã ic oalqujça in jveitlatquj moteneoa: yiamacal, yoan itianquizpan: auh in jamacal, çan patlachtic, inepantla icatiuh in tianqujzpanjtl, macujlli manj: in tlanepantla icatiuh, iehoatl in tianqujzpanjtl: auh navi necoccampa oome qujtzatzacutiuh: moteneoa meotli.

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Este cinteutl era vn mancebo: el qual lleuaua puesto, por caratula, el pellejo del muslo de la muger que aujan muerto.*" Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 307) translates *imexaiac* as "*máscara de muslo.*"

13. This headdress is illustrated in the Tonalamatl of the *Codex Borbonicus* and of the Aubin Collection.

14. *quitlamamaca* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

15. According to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 501), *meiotli* is to be read as *miotli*, derives from *mitl (pfeil)*, and means "*Ausstrahlung.*" He sees it as the headdress of Teteo innan pictured in the *Codex Borbonicus* for the month of Ochpaniztli. In Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 342, Garibay derives the word from *metl* (maguey), and translates it as "*Hilera de magueyes.*" It is *meyotli* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

And when they had attired her, then four captives were given first place before [the other captives]. Then they stretched one of them out on the offering stone; she herself slew him. She opened the breasts of each of the four; in like manner did she do.

When she had slain the four, then she left [the others] in the hands of the fire priests, that they might slay the rest of the captives. Then she went where [earlier] she had gone to get her son; she went to bring her son, Cinteotl or Itztlacoliuhqui. Her Huaxtecs led her; they went at a distance from her. They were adorned with their rope breechclouts and their mirrors for the small of the back, their cotton blossoms, with the precious feather spindles [with unspun cotton].

And the [women] physicians and the lime vendors went ranged on both sides. They went singing. The old priests went intoning a song for them. They were beating a small horizontal drum to which was fastened a small water gourd. Hence it was called "the hanging gourd." [16]

When they had gone reaching the place of the skull rack, then [the wearer of Toci's likeness's skin] tramped upon her drum.[17] And the seasoned warriors already stood awaiting [Cinteotl]. From there he departed with his thigh[-skin] mask in order to leave it in enemy land. From there the brave warriors departed. They went surrounding him — the strong, the agile ones. Swiftly did they run.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to reach the land of the foe, upon the mountain top, one of the side peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place. [The foe] set upon them, or else they pursued [the foe]. On both sides there were deaths.

And when they had gone setting her thigh[-skin] mask upon a wooden frame,[18] then there was quick departing. Then also the foe went.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had gone leaving her son, thereupon she went to her home there at Atempan. Then there was an assembling of the brave warriors, all the shorn ones, the leading

Auh in ocõcencauhque, njmã ic ommoiacatia, in mamalti injxpan, navintin: mec ce conteca, in techcac: inoma yioma in qujmjctia, qujmeltetequj: navixtin, iuhquin chioa:

in oqujmõmjcti in navixtin, mec immac qujnoalcaoa in tletlenamacaque, injc qujnmjctizque, in oc cequjntin mamalti: mec iauh in vmpa ocanato iconeuh: qujvicatiuh in jconeuh, in cinteutl ano itztlacoliuhquj: qujiacana in jcuexoan vecapa qujtztivi, omocencauhque, inmemecamaxtli, yoan incujtlatezcauh, imjichcasuchiuh, mamalacaquetzallo.

Auh in titici, yoan in tenexnamacaque, necoc onotivi, cujcativi: qujncujcatlaxilitivi in quaquacujlti, qujtzotzontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc moteneoa, tecomapiloa.

In oacito tzompantitlan: njmã ic conjcça in jveveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchixtoque: vncan oneoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoazque iauc: vncã oneoa cololhujtivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlaloa.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: itocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoaltoca: anoce qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in iehoatl Toci: in ocõcaoato, iconeuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jxqujchtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixqujchtin tequjoaque, in

16. Cf. Chap. 27.

17. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 306) translates *ic motenevaya iveveuh quicza* as "*con que se decía: 'golpea su tamboril.'*" Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," p. 46, translates *iueuéuh — quicza* as "*su tambor lo pisa.*"

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "*el pellejo ponjanlo colgado, en vna garita.*" Durán, *Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 186, 191, refers to "*vna ermita a manera de umilladero.*"

warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[19] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected brave warriors, those valiant of their own will, who set no value upon their heads, their breasts, the fearless of death who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And when this was done, when there had been the assembling, then there was their arranging in order, their placing in rows, before Moctezuma. He was seated upon the eagle mat; this was verily the flayed skin [with feathers] of an eagle upon which he was seated. And he was reclining upon an ocelot [skin] seat with back rest. It was in truth the hide of an ocelot with which the seat was covered.

Each one stood saluting him. Before him lay all the various devices, shields, and clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breechclouts.

They stood saluting him. Then each one stood taking his gifts. They went there where was the adorning, the putting on of devices. To the great brave warriors was given this costly array. But to all of those who were only commoners were given the Huaxtec devices.[20]

And when this was done, when it was concluded, when there had been the arraying, then once more there was their arranging in order before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Then they came forward; they went up there.

And when the dancing took place, the hand-waving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given, who went there, displayed their devices there. And the devices which thus had been given them became their reward, which became like what was their covering. And in this manner was the hand-waving: they went in various rows as hath been said; they moved like flowers. They indeed went in glory.[21] They kept circling the temple.

And all the onlookers, the beloved old women, all the beloved women, raised a tearful cry; their hearts were compassionate.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here. If in five days, in ten days, the sea, the conflagration are announced,[22] that is, war, will they

tlatzonanti, in ovelittoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujzmauhq̃, in vel in ca momotla in toiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, iehoatica quauhpetlapan, vel iehoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan eoatica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl yieoaio, injc tlaqujmjlolli icpalli:

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoã tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl:

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca iehoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, iehoatl in qujmomaca cuextecatl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in õnechichioaloc: njmã ic oc ceppa õnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmã ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpãtivi in juh omjto iuhqujn suchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaiaoalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl cioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id

19. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex, Book III, The Origin of the Gods* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1952), p. 53, and Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*, p. 76.

20. See Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 604–606. Seler mentions a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose plate; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxteca or else "the Mexicans wore [them to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, likenesses of the old mother of the gods, Teteo innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxteca, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from there."

21. *mauizçotiui* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

22. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*, p. 244.

perhaps come returning? Will they perhaps come making their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the [women] physicians went apart [from the others]; they went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone went singing. Thus did they sing: it was a high falsetto; like a mockingbird they raised their song. When the hand-waving dance began, it was midday, and when it stopped, with it the sun set.

And when dawn broke, when it was the next day, again there was an assembling; still there was also dancing the hand-waving dance. None ceased, indeed even once. Then, later, insignia were offered to the noblemen, no longer to many but to some. And those which they were given were very costly insignia, with much gold, covered with gold, with many quetzal feathers, full of quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given them, thereupon they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it; in great glory did he go. Before the people they displayed the insignia; for a great distance did they scintillate; much did the devices gleam.

And when this was done, when it had ceased,[23] then it was already late afternoon. Then came forth the Chicome coatl [priests], who were also the impersonators of the *tototecti*, who had also died when Toci['s likeness] died.

Then they came forth from their temples. They strewed seeds [of maize] there at [what was called] the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli,[24] a small pyramid which was] not very high. And when they had climbed up, then they each flung forth, they each dispersed here, they each scattered here on the people the seeds — white maize grains, yellow maize grains, black, red; and squash seeds. As if there were stealing, as if there were scratching up, gathering up, there was indeed continued brawling over it.[25]

And the maidens who belonged with the Chicome coatl [priests] were known as offering priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, each ear of dried maize painted with liquid rubber. And they wrapped them each in paper. And they were with precious capes. The

est, iaoiutl, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujchioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzõtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujniquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quezqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaçotlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, moca teucujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçazque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauizçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie teutlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in inteteupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in otlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: iztac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iavitl, xiuhtoctli, yoã aiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn momotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, moxaoaia,

23. *onecaualoc* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

24. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Estos se subian, encima vn cu pequeño, que se llamauan* [sic] *la mesa de uitzilobuchtli.*"

25. *ipampa* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

ILLUSTRATIONS

Al tercero mes, llamavan tocoztontli: enel primer dia deste mes, hazian fiesta al dios llamado Tlaloc: que es dios de las pluujas. E nesta fiesta, matauã muchos niños, sobre los montes: ofrecian los en sacrificio a este dios, y a sus compañeros, paraque los diessen agua.

Cap. 3.

1 c K L. Tocoztontli. c 14

2 d E nesta fiesta: ofrecian las primjcias de d 15
las flores, que aquel año primero nacian
3 e enel cu, llamado iopico: y antes que las o e 16
freciessen, nadie osaua oler flor. f 17

4 f Los officiales de las flores, que se llaman
5 g sochimanque: hazian fiesta, a su diosa lla g 18
mada Coatlycue, y por otro nombre coatlã
tona. A 19

6 A Tambien eneste mes: se desnudauan, los q̃
trayan vestidos, los pellejos de los muertos, q̃
7 b auian desollado el mes pasado: y uan los b 20
aechar en vna cueua, enel cu, que llama
8 c uan iopico: yuan a hazer esto, con procesi c 21
on: y cõ muchas cerimonjas, yuan hedien
9 d do, como perros muertos: y despues que d 22
los auian dexado: se lauauan, con muchas
10 e cerjmonjas: Algunos emfermos hazian voto, e 23
de hallarse presentes, a esta procesion, por
11 f sanar de sus emfermedades: y dizen, que f 24
algunos sanauan.

12 g Los dueños de los catiuos, con todos los de su g 25
casa, hazian penjtencia, veynte dias: que nj
13 A se bañauan, nj se lauauan las cabeças: has A 26
ta que se ponjan los pellejos, de los captiuos
14 b muertos, en la cueua arriba dicha: dezian b 27
que hazian penjtencia, por sus captiuos.
Despues que auian acabado la penjtencia:
15 c bañauanse, y lauauanse, y conbidauan a c 28
todos, sus parientes, y amigos, y dauanles
16 d comjda: y hazian muchas cerjmonjas, con d 29
los huesos, de los catiuos muertos.

17 e Todos estos veynte dias, hasta llegar al mes e 30
que viene: se exercitauan en cantar en las
18 f casas, que llamauan cujcacali, no baylauã, f 31
sino estando sentados: cantauan cantares
19 g a loor de sus dioses: Otras muchas cerjmo g 1. Aprilis habet dies xxx.
njas, se hazian enesta fiesta: las quales,
20. A estan escriptas, a la larga en su historia. A 2 Mariæ egyptiacæ.
fol. 45. 27.

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Chater 3)

delos cantares delos dioses. fo. 143.

Cochina, cochina, cocochi ienjemia
ololonjcanj, iecihoatl njcochina y
ieo, oaieo yho, yia, yia.

¶ Xippe icujc, totec iovalla
vana.

Ioalli tlavana, iztleican, timone
nequja xjiaquj mjtlatia teucuj
tlaquemjtl, xjemoquenti quetlovjia.

Noteuhoa chalchimmaina tlacoa
pana itemoia, oiquetzallaveveti,
ayquetzal xiujcoatl nech iaiquj no
cauhquetl ovjia.

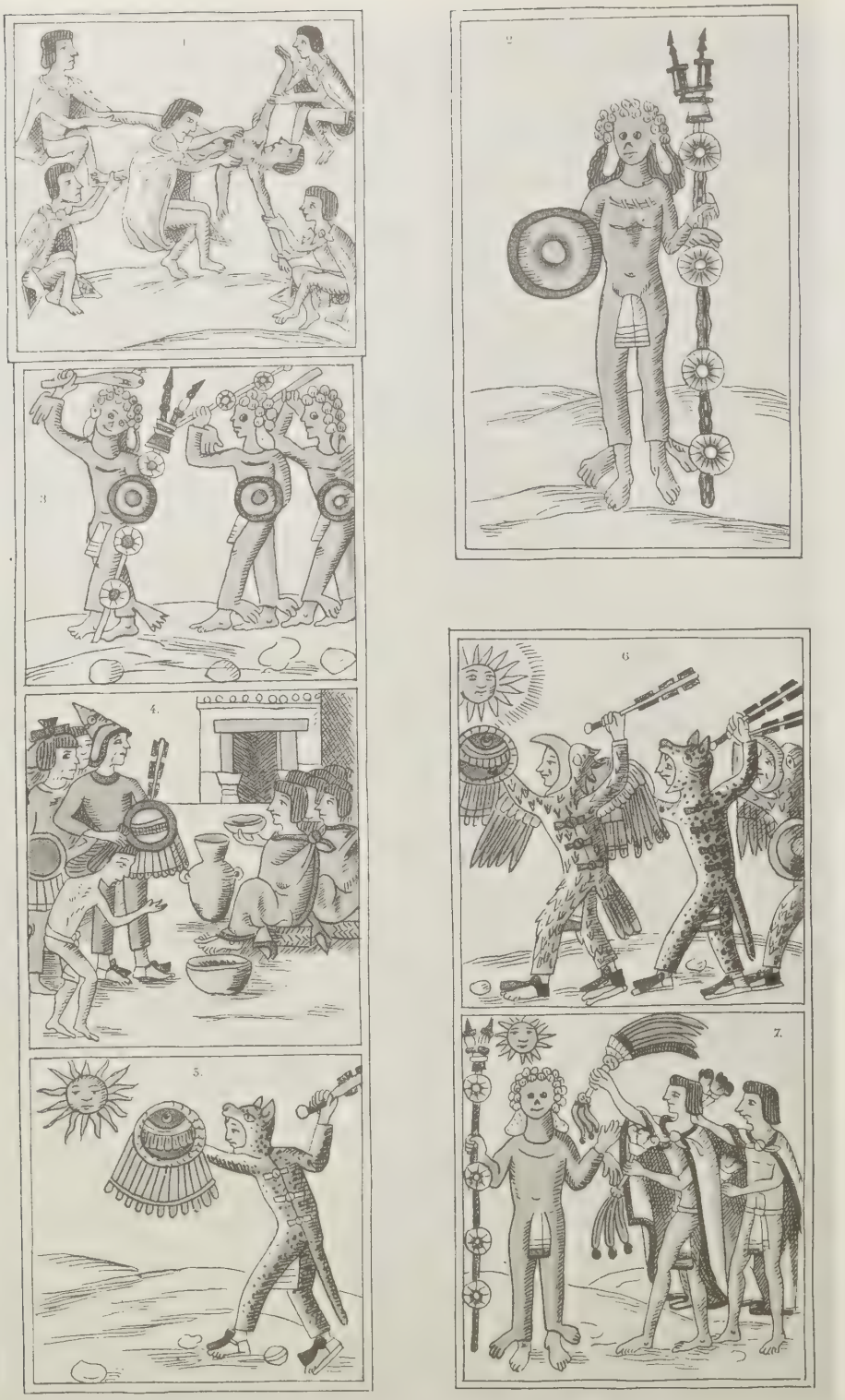
Manjiavjia, njia, njia poliviz
niyoatzin, achalchiuhtla noiollo,
ateucujtlatl nocoiaittaz neiolce
vizquj tlacatl achtoquetl tlaqua
vaia otlacatquj iautlatoa quetl
ovjia.

Noteuhoa centlaco xaiailiviz ço
noa yioatzin motepeiocpa mjtz
valitta moteuhoa, vizqujntla
catl achtoquetl tlaquavaia etla
catquj iautlatoaquetl ovjia.

¶ Chicomecoatl icujc.

Chicomolotzin, xaia mehoa,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

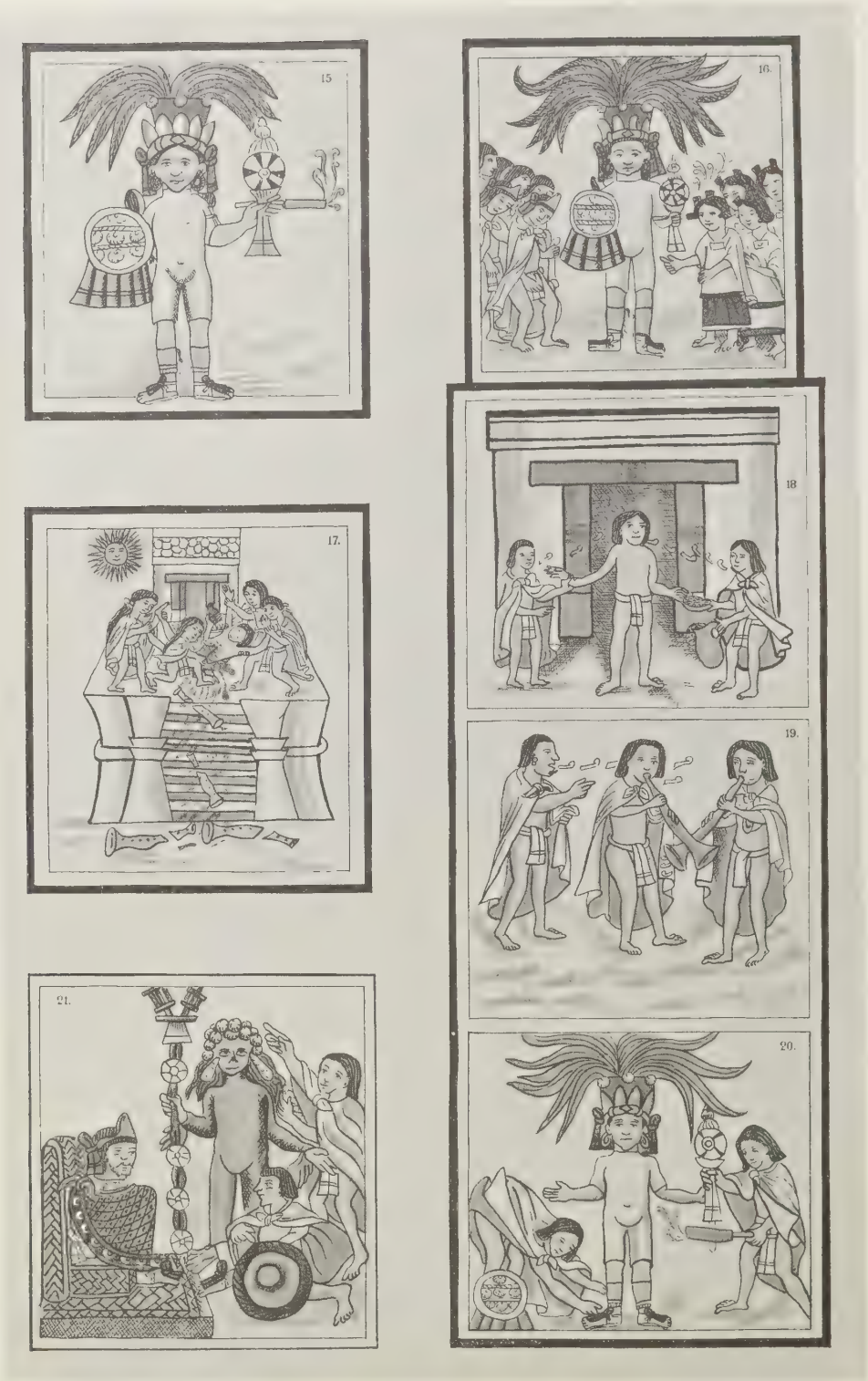


—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

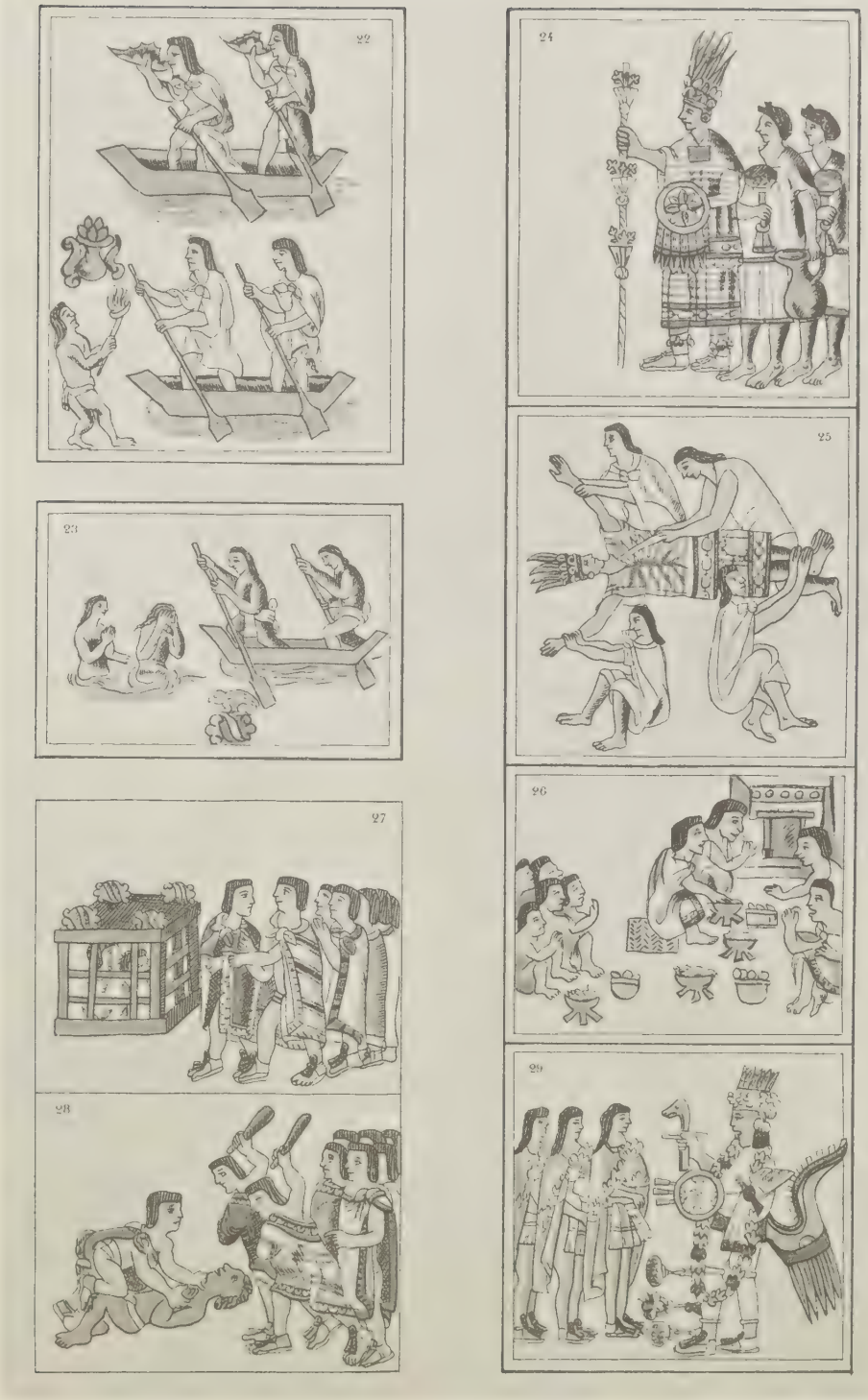
—*After Paso y Troncoso*

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei toçoztli (Chapter 23)



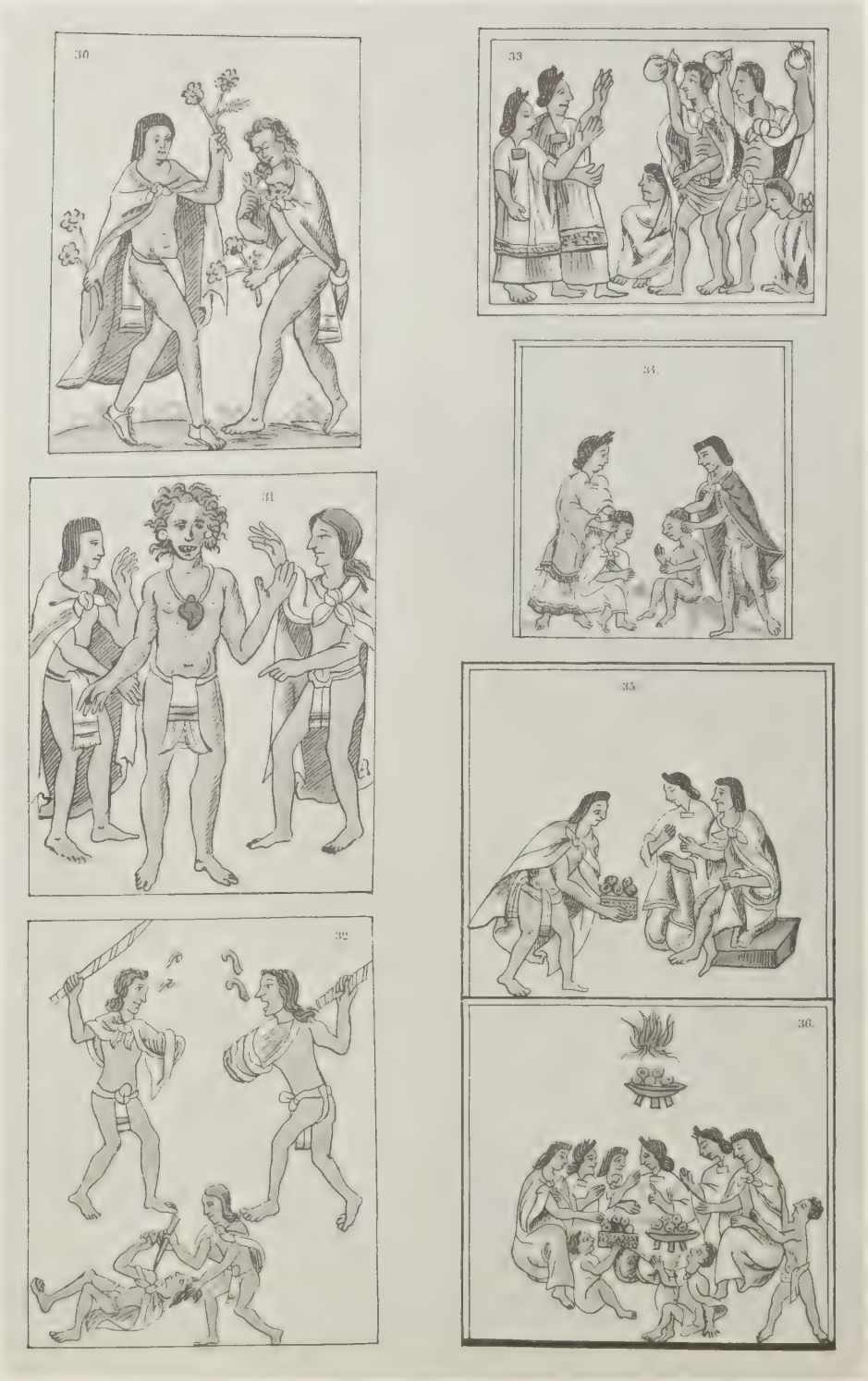
—After Paso y Troncoso

15-21. Toxcatl (Chapter 24)



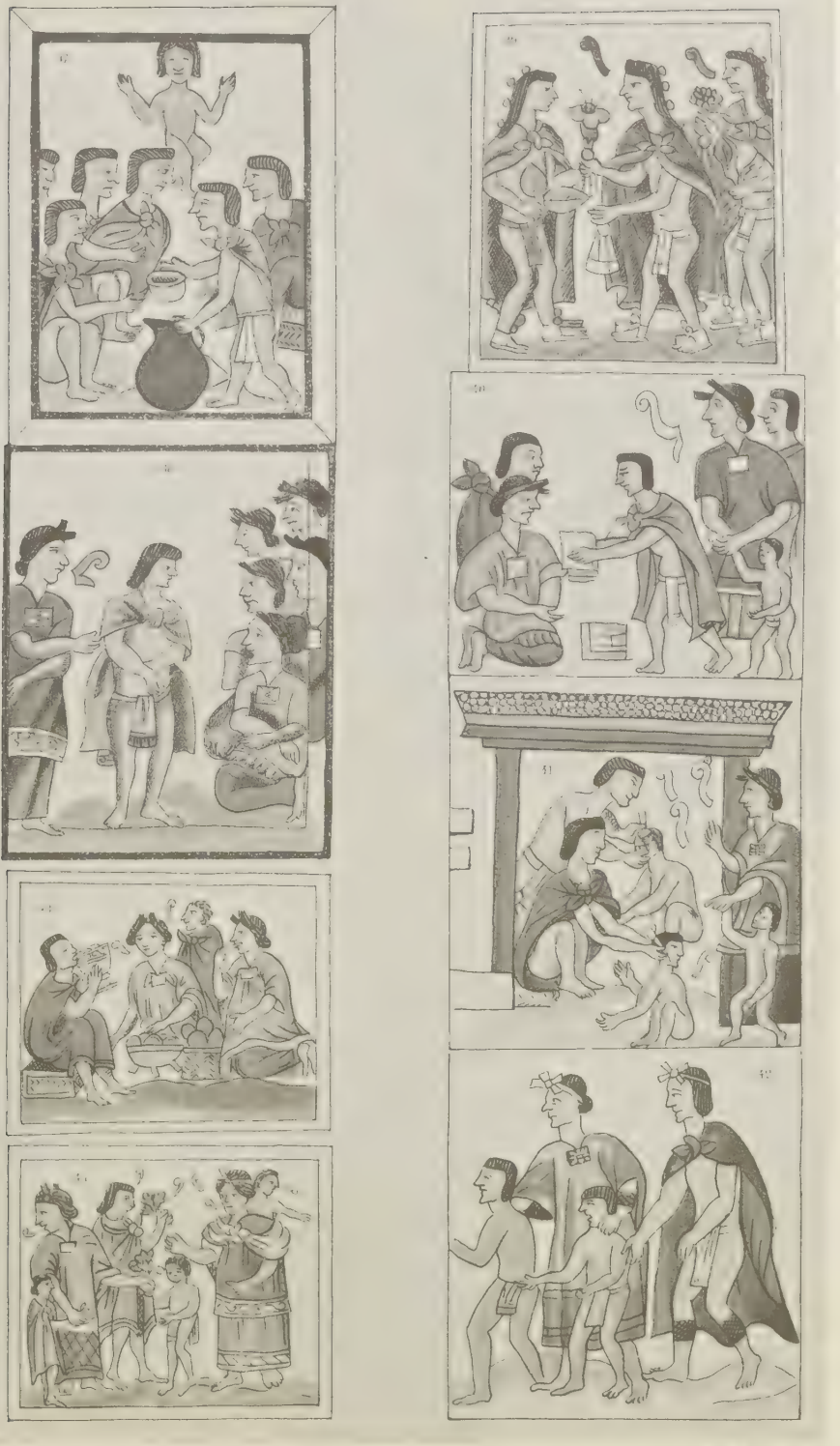
—*After Paso y Troncoso*

22-23. Etzalqualiztli (Chapter 25)
24-25. Tecuilhuitontli (Chapter 26)
26-28. Uei tecuilhuitl (Chapter 27)
29. Tlaxochimaco (Chapter 28)



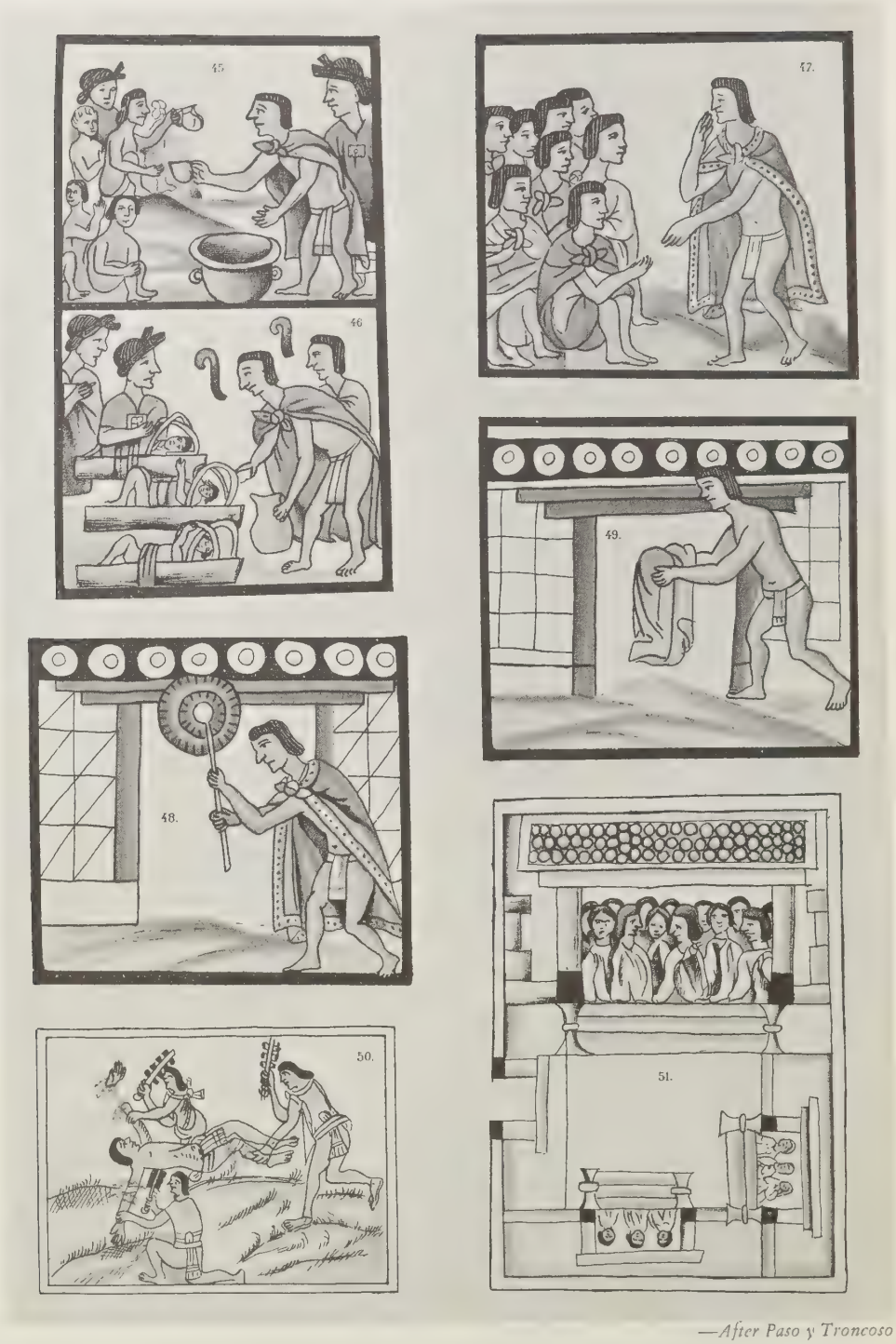
—After Paso y Troncoso

30. Ochpaniztli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Titil (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)



—After Paso y Troncoso.

37-44. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)



—After Paso y Troncoso

45-49. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

52. Tlamictiliztli (Appendix)
53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
54. Tlauauanaliztli (Appendix)
55. Çacapan nemanaliztli (Appendix)
56. Neçacapechtemaliztli (Appendix)
57. Tlatica tlauiliztli (Appendix)
58. Mexicatl teuhoatzin (Appendix)

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

59. Tepan teuhoatzin (Appendix)
60. Tlenamacaliztli (Appendix)
61. Iouallapializtli (Appendix)
62-63. Song of Xipe (Appendix)
64. Song of Chicome coatl (Appendix)
65. Song of the Totochtin (Appendix)
66. Song of Atlaua (Appendix)

offering priestesses who carried them on their backs had their faces painted; [their arms and legs] were pasted with feathers. Also they went singing. The Chicome coatl [priests] intoned the chant for them.

mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed,[26] thereupon they went to hide themselves away. Thereupon came down the [white] chalk and [white] feathers; they lay in a wooden vessel above [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come reaching the bottom, then he placed it there on the landing.[27]

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixooa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oaltemo in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

And when he had placed it, then set forth the brave warriors. They ran hard; they ran fast. In truth those who ran swiftly, those who were agile, appeared there. He who went leading quickly took up feathers.[28] Then they billowed up. Thereupon there was falling upon [the feathers] as [the others] went off with them. Then they left; indeed they ran off.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlacçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo in qujnamoia in hivitl, njman ic qujztimanj, vel motlaloa.

And Toci['s impersonator] there stood awaiting them; she stood facing them. Then she sent them forth; she set after them; she pursued them; she went crying war cries. And when Toci['s impersonator] went, everyone spat at her; anyone whose flowers lay in his hands spat at her; he cast [the flowers] at her.

Auh in toci vncan qujnchixticac, vncã qujmjtzticac, njmã ic qujmevitia, intech ietiquiça, qujntoca, tlacaoacatiuh. Auh in jquac ie iauh toci, muchi tlacatl conchicha: in aca isuchiuh oinmac onoca, conchichicha ic cõmotla.

And Moctezuma also ran with the others. He followed them only a little way; sometimes he quickly entered the Bird House;[29] sometimes he quickly entered [the Temple of] Tecanman.[30] And everyone [else] went stopping when they left her; there were only few who indeed brought her, who indeed left her there at Tocititlan. However, the offering priests did not leave her; rather, they went guarding her.

Auh in Motecuçoma, no teoan, motlaloa, çan achiton in contoca: in quenman, totocalco in calactivetzi: in quẽman tecãman, in calactivetzi. Auh in jxqujch tlacatl, çan iuh ontlantivi in qujtlalcavia, çan quezqujnti in vel qujmonaxitia, in vel ompa qujmoncaoa Tocititlan: tel in tlamazque amo qujcaoa, çan qujpixtivi.

And when they had arrived, then they took her up to the top of a wooden [structure]. Well did they set in place [the skin so that] its head looked forth. Similarly they made an end of all her adornments.

Auh in oacic, njman ic contlecavia in quauhticpac, vel qujtlatlalia, oalitztica in jtzontecon, çan iuh tlã-

26. *oxxinachpixoco* in *ibid.*

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjalo abaxo, en vn lugar que se llamaua coaxalpä, que era vn espacio, que auja entre las gradas del cu, y el patio abaxo, al qual espacio subia por cinco, o seys gradas.*"

28. *quimatzolotiquiça* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

29. *totocalli*: "*la recámara de Mocthecuzoma . . . que se llamaba* Totocalco, *que quiere decir, la casa de aves*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 46); and "*Allí se guardaba lo que era propio de Motecuhzoma, en el sitio de nombre Totocalco*" (*ibid.*, p. 112).

30. Tecanman is mentioned as a place or district in Chapter 24. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. IV, p. 154, says Tecanman was "*dem im Norden gelegenen Quartier und Tempel der Feuergöttin* Chantico."

And when they had gone setting it in place, then there was a turning about; there was a quick departure.

This is all. Here ended, here concluded the feast day which was known as Ochpaniztli.

tica in jxqujch inechichioal: in ocontlalito, mec oalnecuepalo, viloatz:

Ie ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonqujça, in ilhujtl, in moteneoa, Ochpanjztli.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the debt-paying which were observed during all the days of the twelfth month, which was named Teotl eco.[1]

The twelfth feast day was the one named Teotl eco.

After five days,[2] right there began the placing of the fir [branches].[3] The fir [branches] were [really] reeds, which they bound together in threes. Only the youths placed them everywhere on the small pyramids in the temples of the Ciuateteo,[4] and everywhere in people's homes where were kept the images of the devils.

And when they were placing fir [branches] everywhere in people's homes, [the householders] gave [the youths] perhaps a small basket of dried grains of maize, or else four ears of maize; in some places, three ears of maize; if [the householder] were very poor, it was two ears of maize[5] that he gave them. It was stated: "They are tongs," [6] for the youths ate the maize toasted on the embers. And no one just idly ate the maize toasted on the embers; only those who were diligent, acceptable, careful, wakeful, who trusted not [too much] their [own] diligence.

And on the third day of placing fir [branches], at that time arrived Telpochtli, named Tlamatzincatl.[7] He came here ahead; this one arrived first. For this reason did he come here ahead: he indeed still was a youth; he was still strong; he had calves [to his legs]. For this reason he arrived here first.

And they laid out an offering for him; that which they offered him was fish amaranth seed dough. First they roasted [the seeds]; they broke them up on an earthen griddle. Then they ground them up. And when they had ground them up, then they

Inic cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli; in muchioaia, in jpã vel ic cemjlhujtl, injc matlactetl omume metztli: in motocaiotiaia, Teutl eco.

Injc matlactetl om ume ilhujtl: iehoatl in motocaiotia, Tetl eco:

in ie iuh tlamacujlti, njmã vncan vmpeoa in acxoiatemalo: in acxoiatl, iehoatl in acatl, êei in qujlpiaia; çan iehoantin in telpopochtin qujtemaia, novian in momozco, in cioateucalco, yoan in novian techachan, in vncan pipielo in jmjxiptlaoan diablome:

auh in techachã novian onacxoiatemaia, qujnoalmaca, aço cen chiqujuhtzintli in tlaolli, anoço cintli, naolotl: in cana ieolotl: in cenca motolinja, omolotl in cintli qujoaltemaca: moteneoa, cacalotl ca qujmocalhujaia in telpopochtli: auh aiac çan nẽ mocalhujaia, can iehoantin in jmel, in tlacelianj, in tlamocujtlavianj, in cochiçanj, in amo tlatlacanequjnj in jmel.

Auh in ie ic ieilhujtl acxoiatemalo: iquac heco in telpochtli, itoca Tlamatzincatl, oaliacattivia, iehoatl achto heco: ipampa in oaliacattivia, ca oc telpochtli, oc chicaoac, tlacçanj, cotze: ipampa in achto oalaci,

yoan qujtlamanjliaia: in qujmanjliaia, mjchioauhtli, in tlapololli: achtopa qujcequj, qujtzomotza comalco, çatepan qujteci: auh in oqujtezque, çatepã qujpoloaia, atica: cequj necutica, in qujpoloaia: aço macujltetl, aço nauhtetl in coololoa, quauhcaxic in

1. *Teteu heco — Los dioses llegan*, in Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 307). Clavijero, *Historia Antigua*, Vol. III, p. 165, refers to *teotleco* as *la fiesta de la venida de los dioses*. The spelling "*Tetl eco*" is in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The Nahuatl text should read "fifteen days." The rituals described took place during the last five days of the month. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text reads: "*A qujnze dias andados, deste mes, enrramauan vnos altares, que ellos llamauan momoztli.*" See also Sahagún's summary of the month in Chap. 12.

3. See Chap. 23, n. 4. In the Spanish text of Chap. 34 (Panquetzaliztli), fol. 83, Sahagún explains that "*por ramos lleuauã cañas verdes, y espinas de maguey*," and in Chap. 25 (Etzalqualiztli), fol. 41, "*luego yuan a cortar ramos que llaman acxoiatl: y donde no auja estos ramos, cortauan cañas verdes, en lugar de acxoiatl.*"

4. See the Eighth Movable Feast in this volume.

5. *olotl*: maize cob in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. II, p. 34; however, Sahagún usually renders it maize ear.

6. "*cueruo, o tenazuela . . . para comer granos de mayz tostado en el rescoldo*" (Molina, *Vocabulario*). In the corresponding text, Sahagún states: "*llamauan a esto cacalotl, como qujen dize agujnaldo.*"

7. These names are synonyms for Tezcatlipoca. Cf. Chap. 12 and Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 152.

moistened them with water. Some they moistened with honey. Perhaps four pieces, perhaps five pieces it was that they made into balls. They went filling a wooden vessel. Then they went off carrying it. When they arrived in his presence, then they put it in place; they put it in place for him.

And when it was already night, then there was pulque drinking; there was the drinking of pulque. It was the esteemed old men, the esteemed old women [who did so]. Thus they said: "It is said they bathe [the god's] feet."

And when the fourth day came, then ended the placing of the fir [branches]. At that time they threw away the fir [branches]. And when the fifth day came, it was in truth the time of Teotl eco, with which ended the twenty days.[8]

It was midnight when [the priests] made cornmeal. They pressed it together hard; they pressed it together. They made it circular. It was on a reed mat that they placed it.

When it was time that the gods were reaching here, were arriving, they made preparations. They all set themselves in action, since the gods were arriving.

And the old priest, [the god's] old man, named Teohua [the god's keeper], kept going back to look upon [the cornmeal on the mat]. Often he looked upon it. He never sat down; his only office was to look on it. Never did he get off his feet when he was looking on the cornmeal. It was called "his foot."

And when [the god] arrived, [the priest] saw there a little foot[print], which was there on the cornmeal or at its edge. When [the god] stood upon the cornmeal, he crumbled the cornmeal.[9] It then appeared that the gods had indeed arrived.

Then he who kept the god said to them: "Indeed the lord hath deigned to come."

When this was heard, then [the priests] came together to go in procession, while shell trumpets were blown. It became generally known; then it was known that indeed the gods had arrived.

And all the common folk then went; there was going on the part of each one to lay offerings, each one, in their temples, the temples of the devils. All offered them balls of dough.

tetentiuh, mec qujtqujtiuh: in oacic ixpã mec contema, contemjlia.

Auh in jquac ie ioa, mec tlatlaoano, tlatlaoanalo, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin: in juh qujtoaia, qujlmach qujcxipaca.

Auh in oacic ic navilhujtl, vncan ontlamj, in acxoiatemaliztli: iquac qujtepeoa in acxoiatl. Auh in oacic ic macujlilhujtl, in ie vel iquac Teutl eco, in ie ic ontlamj cempoalilhujtl:

ioalnepantla, in qujchioaia, iotextli, qujtepitztlaliaia, qujpachoaia, iaoaltic injc qujtlaliaia, petlapã in contlaliaia:

in jquac muchintin oalacia, hecoia in teteu, qujcencaoaia, cemolinja, injc iecoia teteu:

auh in quacujlli, in jveveio, itoca: Teuoa, mocujtlacueptinemj, in conjtta, achca in conjtta, aquẽmã motlalia, çan jc nemj in conjtta, aquẽman conjcxicaoa, in conjtta iotextli, moteneoa: icxi.

Auh in ohecoc, vncan conjtta, iexitontli, in vncan icac, iotexpan: anoço itenco, in moquetza iotextli, texxitinj: njmã ic neci, ca ohecoque in teteu:

njman ic qujoalitoa, in teuoa. Ca omecavi in tlacatl:

in ocacoc: njmã ic maantimoquetza in tlapitzalo, qujtzacutimomana: njmã ic macho, ca ohecoque in teteu.

Auh in jxqujch maceoalli, njman ic vivi, viviloa, in tlatlamanazque inteupã, in inteteupan diablome: çã moche in tlapololli, in qujnmanjlia.

8. Cf. note 2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*al quinto dia, era la fiesta de teutl eco, es la llegada de los dioses, que era el vltimo dia deste mes.*"

9. The word *xitinia* is explained by Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 307): "*Auh quil mach in icuac vallacia teteu xitinia in iuhqui xamitl tlaultextli*" — "*y dizque cuando venian los dioses, se partia el como adobe de harina de maiz.*"

And when each had made the offerings, then all was still.

And when already night fell, in the same manner as they had done [previously], the old men, the esteemed old women each drank pulque. It was said: "They bathe the feet of the gods who have arrived."

And when it was the next day, it was the time that Yacapitzauac arrived; this one was Yiacatecutli; he was the merchants' god. And Ixcoçauhqui: this one was Xiuhtecutli; he likewise was the merchants' god. These came here only at the last, they came here only following, they came here only last of all because indeed they were already old.

And at this time then there began the casting [of victims] into the fire there on the large altar.[10] Indeed many were the poor captives whom they cast into the fire.

And when they were being cast into the fire, [one arrayed as a] squirrel went dancing there. He was ornamented only with a small crest of feathers on his head; he had a crest of feathers. He had bicolored face painting. He went carrying his carrying frame on his back; in there went lying a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the fire, [the dancer] whistled repeatedly through his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there. He went dancing. Indeed like a bat was he arrayed.[11] He had two gourd rattles. They were in each hand as he went rattling the rattles.

And when the captives had been cast into the fire, then the offering priests formed themselves into rows in order to descend here. They had their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

They grasped one another; with their hands they grasped one another; very firmly they grasped one another. When [in the line of procession] they were cut off, when they were in a gap, it was as if each one was thrown off. Some thus struck the ground; they quickly bit the earth. This was called *mamatlauitzoa*.[12]

And next day there was the assembling of each one, at the same time; there was a serpent dance. There was the decking of each one with feathers — yellow, chili-red, dark brown, blue-green. Thus were they decked with feathers — [even] all the small

auh in ontlatlamanaloc, njman ic cactivetzi.

Auh in ie iooa: çan ie no ivi in qujchioa, tlatlaoana in vevetque, in jlamatzitzin, qujlmach, qujmjcxipaca in ohecoque teteu.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, iquac heco in Jacapitzaoac, inj Jacatecutli: pochteca inteouh catca, yoa in Ixcoçauhquj, iehoatl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca inteouh catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoqujlitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: iehica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in qujntlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiqujltone, quachichiqujle, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoatzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

yoan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jaiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cenca moteteuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhqujn mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixqujch tlacatl, çan iehoantin in oqujchtin:

10. See a description of the *teccalco* in the appendix of this volume.

11. *yc momochichiuaya* in the *Real Palacio MS*.

12. *momatlauitzoa* in the *Real Palacio MS*; *mamatlauitzoa* in the corresponding Spanish text; the appendix on the temple square buildings, below (see Teccalco), uses the term *amatlauitzoa*. See also *tlauitzoa* in Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 630.

children, although they [still] lay in the cradle; indeed everyone, [but] only the males.[13]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. There was grasping of one another; there was singing. It was no matter what they intoned; just pleasure songs. And when there was stopping on the part of each, it was already dark. And he who was taking much pleasure indeed remained there until night fell.

And these two festive days they had already taken from Tepeilhuitl, [the next month].

Enough. Here ended, here concluded the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

njman ie ic peoalo in necocololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle queoa, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie iooa: auh in aca cenca compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cõcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixqujch njcan tlamj, njcan tzonqujça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

13. This ceremony is further described in the appendix of this volume.

Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feast day and debt-paying which were observed during all the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, which was called Tepeilhuitl.[1]

The thirteenth feast day was known as Tepeilhuitl.[2]

All the [wooden] serpent [representations] which were kept in people's houses, and the small wind [figures][3] they covered with a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of amaranth seed dough. They were cylindrical. Either fish amaranth[4] or ash amaranth [was used].[5]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains [for] perchance one who had died in the water, who had been drowned, or else had been struck by lightning.

And [for] whoever had died who had not been burned, who had only been buried,[6] they also at this time made representations of mountains. They made them all of amaranth seed dough.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, there was the bathing or the washing of the surfaces [of the figures' frames].[7] When they bathed them there, they went blowing wind instruments for them; they went blowing pottery whistles and little seashells.

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; with fresh cane shoots they washed their surfaces. And some bathed them only at their own shores.[8]

And when they had been bathed, then they were returned here; in the same manner they came blowing wind instruments for them; it was as if they

Inic cempoalli on matlactli omome capitulo: vncan moteneoa in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in moteneoaia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl.

Injc matlactetl omei ilhujtl iehoatl in moteneoa tepeilhujtl:

in jxqujchtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatotonti, qujtetepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia:

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cócotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaqujlo, in anoçe viteco:

yoã in aqujn omomjqujli, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujtoca, no tepetl ipan qujqujxtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia:

Auh in oqujuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in teaaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti.

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan aiauhcalco, acatzontli iehoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imatenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontealtiloc, mec oaltecuepalo, çã no ivi, qujntlapichilitivitze, iuhqujn tlacaoacativitz, njmã ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo qujmpepechoa:

1. "*Fiesta del cerro*," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 308); "*Fest der Berge*," in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 189.

2. After *tepeilhujtl* the *Real Palacio MS* adds: "*no cempoalilhuitl ynic moteneua tepeylhuitl*" — "also twenty days. For this reason was it known as Tepeilhuitl."

3. See the explanation of *cocoa* and *ecatotonti* in Chap. 13. Juan de Torquemada, in *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), p. 279, writes: "*Para cuia solemnidad, lo primero era, hacer unas Culebras de palo, ò de raìces de Arboles, labrandoles las cabeças, lo mas pulidamente que sabian. Hacian tambien de troçuelos pequeños vnas figurillas, à manera de las Muñecas, que acostumbran las Niñas, en nuestra Nacion Española, las quales llamaban Ecatotonti. . . .*"

4. According to Garibay, in Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. IV, p. 343: "*Michyauhtli. — 'Bledos de pez.' . . . Prob. la misma que la* Argemone mexicana (*Chicalote*)." Cf. also Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 287.

5. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 286.

6. Torquemada, *Segunda parte*, p. 279, further explains: "*. . . en memoria de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se avian ahogado en Agua, ò avian muerto de muerte, que no pudieron ser quemados sus cuerpos, ò fueron enterrados por alguna causa.*"

7. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, pp. 190–91, differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the mats upon which the images rested; in Seler, the people are washed.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*el agua, que passaua junto a su casa.*"

came shouting. Thereupon they were given human form; they were adorned. They gave them their foundation.

And some gave them their foundation well on into the night. Thus did they give them human form: they applied liquid rubber to the faces [of the figures][9] and they placed [a spot of] fish amaranth upon [each] of their cheeks; they dressed them in paper banners and they fitted them with their paper headdresses, their forked heron feather ornaments.

auh in cequjnti oc vecaioan, in qujnpepechoa, injc qujntlacatilia, qujmixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli in quimõtlalilia incamapan, qujmõquentia in tetevitl, yoan qujmõaquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

And for those who had died in the water, they placed their images only on circular jar rests of grass.[10] They made [the images] of amaranth seed dough.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in qujntlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in qujnchichioaia.

And when it dawned, then they were set up in each one's house upon reed foundations made perhaps of thin, fine reeds; perhaps of wide reeds; of large white reeds; perhaps of hollow reeds.[11] On these they placed them.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tolpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço axali in impã qujtlaliaia:

And when this was done, when they had arranged them, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit tamales, and stews, or dog meat, or turkey hen. And they offered them incense.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic qujntlamanjlia: in qujnmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan qujntlenamaqujlia.

And at this time it was stated: "They are laid in the houses." And where there was riches,[12] there was singing, and there was drinking pulque for them. But elsewhere all they did was make offerings to them.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in netlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in cana çan ixqujch in qujntlamanjliaia.

And upon the feast day there died some women who were representations of the mountains.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequjntin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

The first was named Tepexoch; the second, Matlalcueye; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Mayauel, representation of the maguey. The fifth was named Milnauatl; this one was a man who represented a serpent.

Injc ce itoca Tepoxoch. Injc vme: Matlalquae. Injc ei: Xochtecatl. Injc navi, Maiavel: ixiptla metl. Jnjc macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oqujchtli, ixiptlan coatl:

Their array, their paper headdresses, their paper vestments were painted with liquid rubber; they had much rubber; they were full of rubber. And the adornment of Milnauatl was in the same manner.

in j̄nechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no iuhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

Early in the morning they started them off. They went carrying them in their arms on litters. It was stated: "They provide them with litters." There they each went; there they each sat up in the litters. They took them in a roundabout procession. Only

ioatzinco in qujmpeoaltiaia in qujnnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, qujntlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, qujntlatlaiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, qujncujcatitivi.

9. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "*La cabeça de cada vn monte tenja dos caras, vna de persona, y otra de culebra. . . .*"

10. Spanish text: "*rodeos, o roscas, hechos de heno, atados con sogas.*"

11. Cf. Chap. 25, n. 3. See also Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, pp. 136, 195.

12. *netlacamachoa* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

the women carried [the litters] in their arms.[13] They went singing for [the victims].

And [the women] who carried [the litters] were well arrayed; they were properly set up. All new were their shifts, their skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted; they were pasted with feathers.

And when it was the time for it, when it was time for them to die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were each brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they went leaving each one there at [the Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there, then they stretched them on the offering stone. Then the officiating [priests], the slayer stood forth. Thereupon they cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had given their service, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down here. And thus did they bring them down here: they only went rolling them here; it was slowly that they went turning them over and over.

And when they had come bringing them down, then they took them to the skull rack. And when they had taken them [there], then they cut off their heads; they decapitated them. There they inserted into their heads [the crosspieces of the rack].

And when they had cut their heads off, their bodies they then took to the various *calpulcos* [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, when it was said, "They are dismembered," they were each dismembered.

Thereupon they dismembered the amaranth seed dough [figures]. And when they had dismembered each one, then they took them up to the roof tops. There they dried hard, they dried stiff. Little by little they went taking some of it when they ate it; gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular grass jar rest which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the roof of the *calpulco.* For one year they went caring for them; [then] they went to throw them away, they went to scatter them there at the Mist House. Only the paper vestments did they scatter; but the circular grass jar rests they brought back.

Here ended the feast day which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, ieccan moquetza, mochi iancujc, in intech qujtlaliaia in incue, in invipil, yoã moxaoa, mopotonja.

Auh in otlaimmãtic in ie iquac mjqujzque: njmã ie ic qujteca in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmooncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oqujmonaxitique, mec qujmõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequjpaneque, in temjctianj: njmã ie ic qujmeltetequj.

Auh in ontlacotique, in ommjcque, njmã ic qujnoaltemovia: auh injc qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjmjlotivi, cenca çan quẽmach, in qujncuecueptivitze.

Auh in oqujntemovico, njmã vmpa qujnvica, in tzompantitlan: auh in oqujmonaxitique, njmã ic qujnquechtequj, qujnquechcotona: vncã qujmõçoço in intzontecõ.

Auh in oqujmõquechcotonque, in intlac: njmã ie qujvica in incacalpolco: auh in jmuztlaioc, in ooallatvic: in mjtoaia, Texinjlo, texixitinjlo:

njmã ie ic qujxitinja in tzoalli: auh in oqujxixitinjque, njmã ic tlapanco qujtlecavia, vmpa oaquj, quauhvaquj, tepioaquj: achchi concujtivi in qujqua, can juh qujtlamja.

Auh in jmamatlatquj ocatca, qujquequentia in jiaoallo ocatca: auh in oqujquequẽtique calquac compiloa, calpulco, çe xivitl qujmattiuh, in qujtlaçativi, in qujtepeoativi, in vmpa aiauhcalco: çanjo in jmamatlatquj, contepeoa: auh in iaoalli qujoalitquj.

Nican tlamj in jlhujtl, in moteneoa Tepeilhujtl.

13. *tenapaloa* is added in *ibid.*

Thirty-third Chapter, in which are related the feast day and the debt-paying with which they gave service, which they observed during all the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast was the one called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days.[2] All still remained quite quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day there was an offering of reeds there; each seasoned warrior took a load upon his back in Tenochtitlan, in Tlatelolco, when reeds were offered there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then [others] came carrying them; they each bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

And, upon the morrow, once again there was going to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. They were to straighten them over a fire; the reeds were to be straightened over a fire. Only this was still all that was done. And when they had been straightened in the fire, once again they were borne away; once again their burdens went away with them.

And on the third day, once again there was going. The reeds were carried. Indeed all moved together — seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriageable age. And the small boys they took, each one, up [the pyramid] to the temple. There they each sat blowing shell trumpets, and they sat bleeding themselves. They cut their ears; they pressed out their blood; they anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "They anoint themselves with blood because of the deer." They fasted for the deer, so that [the deer] would be hunted.

And when there had been assembling in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelolco were spread on the other side. Thereupon spears were made. It was said: "Spears are born, or their [points] of oak."

Injc cempoalli õmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpã ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: iehoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in õquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in õqujz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncã in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncã in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in õnemacoc, njmã ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no ceppa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixqujch, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootquj in acatl, vel ixqujch cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oqujchpipiltotonti, qujtletlecavia in teucalli, vncã tlatlapitztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmezço compatzca, incanaoacã conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocẽqujxoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmã ie ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

1. *Quecholli*: "*Pájaro 'flamenco'* (Platalea ajaja)" in Jiménez Moreno, "*Primeros memoriales*," p. 52. The *teoquechol* or *tlauhquechol* is identified as *Ajaia ajaja*, "roseate spoonbill," in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 20. Torquemada, in *Segunda parte*, p. 280, writes: "*. . . nombre de vn Paxaro de pluma azul, y colorada, que ai en esta Tierra, en especial en vnos manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que ai junto del Pueblo de Quecholac.*"

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and dissensions (Kubler and Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar*, p. 32).

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*salido el mes passado, cinco dias, no se hazia cerjmonja ninguna, nj fiesta en los cues.*"

And at the time that the spears were being born, there was fasting; they fasted for them. Everyone anointed himself with his blood. And if anyone was seen who did not anoint himself with his blood, they repeatedly stripped him; nevermore did they give him his cape. The overseers took it from him for good.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixqujch tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto, in amo mjço qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj.

And when spears were being born, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no pulque; they became not drunk. They abstained; they abstained from pulque.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli.

And when spears were being made, their measure came forth. They were made all quite the same, and the bolts were all quite the same. None were unequal in length; on none did they make changes.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan much ixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã much ixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

Thereupon the reeds were cut. They went to put them in the hands of those who fitted the bolts, those who put on the bolts. Well did they tie the [ends of the] reeds with maguey fiber; well did they keep binding them with maguey fiber, so that the bolt would not split back. They set [the points] in glue so that they would indeed hold fast, so that they would be well embedded.

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, thereupon they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together at the middle; in twenties were they bound together at the middle. And when they were assembled, thereupon there was their arranging in rows, their ordering in line, their arranging in file to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped them together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then there was departing on the part of each one [to their homes].

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenqujz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

And the fourth day was called "They are made to live in the houses." Everyone used arrows, each one at his home, only to amuse themselves with them. Yet there were continual trials of skill with them; there was continual learning with them. They would put up a maguey [leaf] at a distance; they shot arrows at it continually. There appeared some who could knock it down, those who were dexterous, who shot arrows well.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpã nemjtilo, ixqujch tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neieiecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

And upon the fifth day one was concerned only with the dead. For each of them were made very small arrows, each one of a hand's length.[3] Also

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjxcaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conoocotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan

3. Corresponding Spanish text: "*eran largas, como vn xeme, o palmo.*"

they applied only a little resin on each one. And their bolts were only sticks. They bound four arrows [and] also four pine torches about the middle with loose cotton thread; they laid each [bundle] where the dead lay buried. And they placed on each one two sweet tamales. There they stayed all day. And at sundown, they thereupon burned them for [the dead], in the same place. There they set them on fire.

tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

And when they had burned, they buried their charcoal and their ashes there.

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan inexo, vncã contoca.

And the streamers, and the costly banners, and the shields, and the capes, and the breechclouts of those slain in battle they placed on a dry maize stalk. They tied them on. From it hung loose, twisted, red cotton thread. At its end went hanging a [dead] hummingbird and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. They pasted many cords with feathers. At the ends heron [feathers] went hanging. They left them in the eagle vessel; there they burned.

Auh in oiaomjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, ooaquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

And of the sixth day it was said: "There is issuing on the grass."[4] And for this reason was it said, "There is issuing on the grass": grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]; it was pine-tree grass.[5] There were ranged the old women [who served in the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: moteneoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc moteneoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: iehoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet tamales. All together, by fives, they laid them down. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; then they dandled them in their arms. Then, when they had dandled them, they gave the mothers [back] their children.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. It was yet early morning when this started. And it was already time to eat when it was finished. And when this was done, thereupon[6] there was the departure to hunt. They went to come upon Çacatepec, there at Ixillan tonan.

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in peoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iec viloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

And at the end of ten days of this month, as hath been said above, they there celebrated a feast in

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omote-

4. For *zacapan quixoaya* Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 309) gives: "*se salía a la grama*"; in "*Primeros memoriales*," p. 53, Jiménez Moreno translates: "*se salía (la gente) al zacate.*"

5. *ocoçacatl*: "*tendian mucho heno, que lo trayan de las montañas*," Sahagún says in the corresponding Spanish text. Molina, in his *Vocabulario*, gives: "*paja particular para hazer bohios, o casas de paja*" for *ocoçacatl* — perhaps *Andropogon schoenanthus* Linn. or *A. citratum* D. C. (Hernández, *Historia de las plantas*, Vol. II, pp. 395–96).

6. For *niman iec* read *niman ie ic* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*

honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, which in its time will be told.[7]

And when there had been arrival at Çacatepec, nothing was done; there was only each one's arriving; there was the making of grass shelters on the part of each one. There was sleeping there on the part of each one. There was the lighting of fires on the part of each one; there was being warmed by the fire on the part of each one.[8]

And at dawn, thereupon food [and] drink were eaten [and] drunk. Thereupon there was arraying, there was dressing on the part of each one.

Then there was departing; there was arranging in order, there was disposing in rows. Like a rope they stretched; nowhere was it cut. Everyone in this manner encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, jack rabbits.[9] Cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they were able to come upon them, then there was the seizing [of the game]; it was fallen upon on the part of each one. All that escaped their hands did not yet die.[10]

And when this was done, thereupon they dispersed. There was returning. But the captors were still left there; they yet slew [more game]. To those who yet caught a deer or a coyote, Moctezuma gave gifts of capes whose edges were striped with feathers.

If one were a captor, one would array oneself [in it]. But if one were not a captor, one would place it in a basket or one would sell it. And Moctezuma gave the captors food, and they drank.

And when the slaughtering had been done up on Çacatepec, thereupon there was a quick departure. They took with them only the heads of [the game]; they carried them each with them in their hands; they went dripping blood. When they reached their homes, they hung each [of the heads] high. And they left Moctezuma there [in his palace].

And when there was going forth on the grass, at that time they would give their pàper vestments to as many as were to die. For [the god] Tlamatzincatl[11] many of his bathed sacrificial victims were arrayed. For the second [god], Izquitecatl, perhaps

neuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpan jn moteneoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haaxioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo âatlioa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoaloa in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo, tecujcujtivecho, ixqujch in tematitlampa qujça in aiamo imjquja.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj, oalnecuepalo: auh in tlamanjme, oc ompa ommocaoa, oc tlamjctia: in aqujn maçatl oc acic, anoço coiotl, qujntlauhtia in Motecuçoma, tenjvivavanquj in tilmatli:

intla tlamanj, qujmoquentiz: auh intlacamo tlamanj, çan qujtlatiz tanaco, anoço qujmonamaqujliz: yoan in tlamanjme qujntlamaca in Motecuçoma, yoã atli.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlamjctiloc, in jcpac çacatepetl: njman ie ic viloatz, çaiio in intzontecon qujoalhujvica intlan qujmaana, chichipicativitz in eztli, in oacico inchachan, aco qujnpipiloa auh çan vmpa concaoa in Motecuçoma.

Auh in jquac çacapan qujxooaia: iquac qujnmacaia in imamatlatquj in jzqujntin mjqujzque: iehoatl in Tlamatzincatl, mjequjntin mochichioaia, itlaaltilhoan: injc ome iehoatl in Izqujtecatl, aço

7. This paragraph appears to be parenthetical. The corresponding Nahuatl text is missing in the *Real Palacio MS.*

8. *neezcolo*: read *neozcolo.*

9. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 12.

10. Reference to the corresponding Spanish text suggests that *çan quezquintin* might better be read for *ixquich.* Cf. also Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 199.

11. Tlamatzincatl was a Chichimec pulque god and is to be distinguished from the same name as applied to Tezcatlipoca in the month of Teotl eco. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 481.

two or three. Those who bathed [the victims] were the pulque makers and the ruler's pulque makers.

Third, there died for Mixcoatl and his consort, a woman named Yeuatl icue, only two [victims]. Only the stewards displayed them. And also there were the women [each named] Coatl icue, wives of Tlamatzincatl and Izquitecatl. These also took upon their heads their paper array.

And when [the time] had arrived, when it was verily the feast of Quecholli, with which the twenty [days] ended, there was going into the sand there;[12] those who were to die went into the sand there. After midday they then took them to the place where they were to die. They took them in procession about the offering stone; they went in line. And when they had come to encircle it, then they came down [from the pyramid]. No longer were they taken where they had been guarded; they only took them to their various *calpulcos.* There they kept them in vigil all night. They guarded them; they continually guarded them.

And when midnight arrived, thereupon there was the taking of hair [from the crowns of their heads]. And when they had taken the hair, thereupon [their belongings] were burned. [If the bathed one was] a man, he burned his streamers, and his cape, and his breechclout, and whatever his comforts had been, and his water gourd. All of them he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly belongings: her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her large straw for weaving, her divided cord which held up [the textile], her waist band, her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her heddle, and her measuring stick.[13] All of it she burned herself.

For this reason they thus did it: it was said that they would be required there where they were to go; when they died, [these things] would await them there.

And when it dawned, then they were adorned, they were arrayed. They put on them their paper vestments in which they were to die. When they had arrayed them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts took them; they were to take them up. Lest they faint somewhere, they held them tightly. And the two were to bring them down,

vmentin, anoço eintin: iehoan qujmaltiaia in tlachicque, yoan in tecutlachique:

injquein, mjquja iehoatl in Mixcoatl, yoan inamjc cioatl, itoca: Jeoatl icue, çan omextin, çan calpixque in qujnnextiaia: auh no iehoãtin in cioa, Coatl icue: in jnamjcoan Tlamatzincatl, yoan izqujtecatl: no iquac qujcuja in jmamatlatquj.

Auh in oacic, in vel iquac ilhujtl, Quecholli injc tlamj cempoalli: vncã xalacoa, vncã xallaquj, in mjqujzque: vmmotzcalo, in tonatiuh: mec qujnvica in vmpa mjqujzque: qujmõiaoalochtia in techcatl, motecpantivi: auh in ocõiaoaloto, njmã ie ic oaltemo, aocmo vmpa vico in vmpa opieloia, ça vmpa qujnvivica in incacalpulco, ceioal in qujntoçavia, qujnpia, qujnpipia.

Auh in ie onaci, ioalnepãtla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujva: auh in oqujmõtzoncujque, njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia: in oqujchtli, qujtlatia, in jpan yoan itilma, yoan imaxtli, yoã in quezquj itlaçevil, yoã iiatecõ muchi qujtlatia.

Auh in cioatl, muchi qujtlatia in jxqujch icioatlatquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jtzaoalcax, in jtzatzaz, in jotlauh, in jtzotzopaz, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, ineanaia, yoã itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, ixiouh, yoan yioctacauh: muchi qujtlatia inoma.

Injc iuh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjqujz vmpa qujoalchiaz.

Auh in otlatvic, mec tecẽcaoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjqujzque: in oqujmõchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujzque, qujnvica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in ma cana çotlaoa, qujntzitzqujzque: yoã vmẽtin tetemovjzque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan

12. See Chap. 27.

13. These weaving implements were tentatively identified with the assistance of the late Dr. Gladys Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia

they were to bring them down here when they had died. And there was one flag-bearer who went carrying a flag. And there were two women who were face-washers. Thus they took each one of the ceremonially bathed [victims].

vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan much ivi in qujnvivica, cecenme tlaaltilti.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives went ahead to die. At the landing at the foot of the pyramid they bound their feet and their hands. Then they took them up; four [priests] carried each one of them; they went pulling them by their arms [and] their legs; [the captives] went bobbing their heads up and down; their heads went hanging toward the ground.

Auh in oqujmaxitique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoã inma: mec qujntlecavia, qujnnanauhcavia, qujntitilinjlitivi in jnma, in jmjcxi: âaquetztivi, tlalchi oalpipilcatiuh in intzontecon.

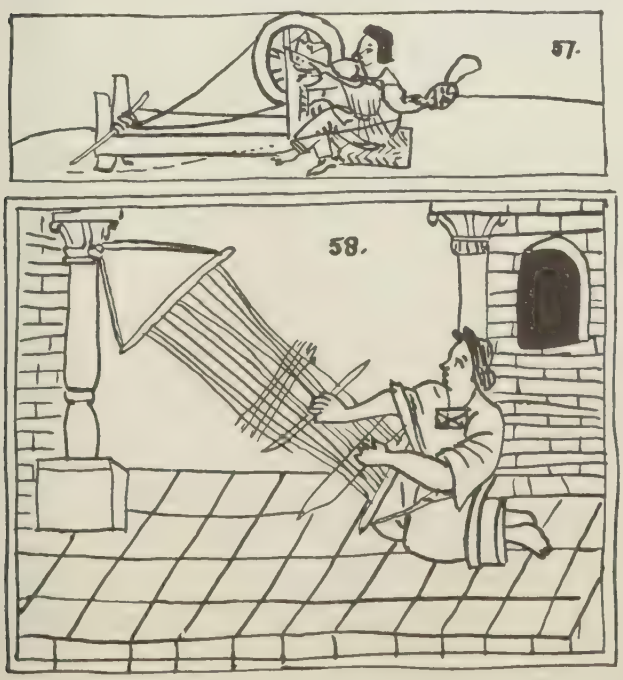
And when they had brought them, then they stretched them on the offering stone. There they slew them.

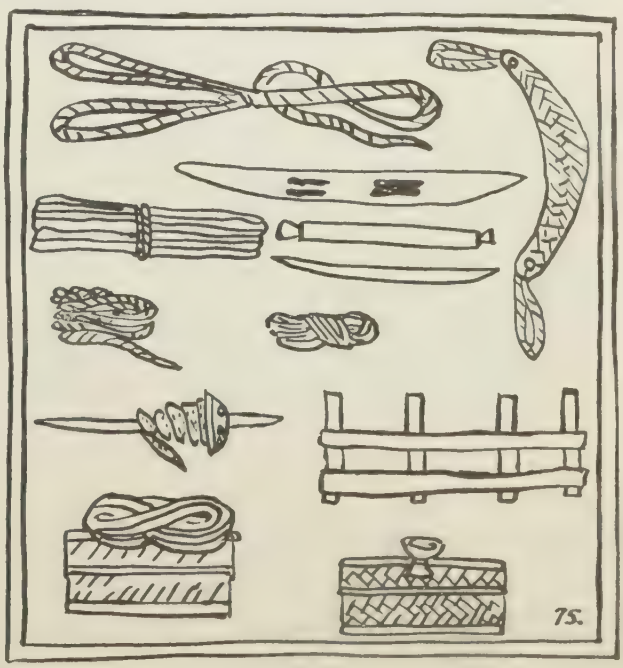
Auh in oqumonaxitique, mec qujmõteca in techcac vncã qujmõmjctia.

And as they took them up, it was said: "Thus they slay them as deer; they serve as the deer who thus die." And the rest of the captives climbed up purely of their own will. And when they had died, when they had given their service, then [the likeness of] Mixcoatl died. And when he had died, at the Temple of Mixcoatl, then [the likenesses of] Tlamatzincatl died; they died there at [the Temple of] Tlamatzincatl. And thus did they die: they climbed up purely of their own will; of their own accord they ascended. Then they went straight to the offering

Auh injc iuh qujntlecavia, y, qujlmach ic qujnmaçapoloa, qujntlaehecalhuja in mamaça, in juh mjquj: auh in oc cequjntin mamalti, çan õmonomavia in ontleco. Auh in õmjcque, in ontlacotique: çatepan in ommjquj Mixcoatl. Auh in mjquja y Mjxcoateupã: njman iehoantin in tlamatzĩca, vmpa mjquj tlamatzinco: auh injc mjquj, çan õmonomatlecavia, çan in iollotlamati in ontleco: njmã techcac ontlamelauhtimanj: auh in mjquja y, vncan in tlamatzinco.

University, N.Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, late of the School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Paso y Troncoso.





stone and then they died there at [the Temple of] Tlamatzincatl.

And the women died when it was indeed still dawn there at [the Temple of] Coatlan. When they ascended, they went singing lustily. Some went dancing. Some indeed wept. And the escorts went holding them by the hand.

When they had died, when they had given their service, then [they whose office it was] brought them down. As they brought each of them down, most carefully did they roll them here. And when there had been the slaying, then there was dispersing, there was departing on the part of each one.

This concluded [the feast]; already at that time one day had been counted [in the month of] Panquetzaliztli.

Here endeth [the account of the feast of] Quecholli.

Auh in cioa vel oc ioatzinco in mjquja, vmpan coatlan: in jquac tleco, cenca cujcativi, cequjntin mjtotitivi, in cequj̄tin vel choca: auh in teanque qujmaantivi.

In ommjcque in ontlacotique: mec qujnoaltemovia, in tetemovique, çan jvian in qujnoalmjmjloa: auh in ommjcoac, mec tlaxitinj, viviloa.

Inin tzonqujça, ie cuel ipan icemjlhujtlapoaloc in Panquetzaliztli:

njcan tzonqujça in Quecholli.

Thirty-fourth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the debt-paying which were observed during all the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth month was the one known as Panquetzaliztli.

Before the feast of Panquetzaliztli arrived, the offering priests had been fasting for eighty days and had been laying down fir [branches]. The time that they began this was thus the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread out the fir [branches] on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they were laying down the fir [branches], they went quite naked; nothing went on them. They went carrying fir [branches; actually] they were green reeds and thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and the pottery whistles. They went alternating them as they blew them.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing. The song which was intoned was called Tlaxotecayotl; it was the song of Uitzilopochtli. When it was begun, it was at the time that night fell, and when there was stopping on the part of each one it was at the time that the conch shells were repeatedly blown, when already the conch shells were blown.

And with one the women, the pleasure girls, sang and danced. They went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this until twenty days [had passed].

And when the ninth day [before the feast] arrived, there the ceremonially bathed [victims] or those to die the flowery death were bathed in sacred water.[2] The old men of the *calpulli* would get the water; they got the water there at Uitzilopochco; there indeed was [the spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress [branches][3] they went stop-

Inic 34 capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl, ic caxtoltetl metztli, in mjtoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtoltetl ilhujtl: iehoatl in moteneoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in aiamo aci ilhujtl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhujtl in moçaoaia, yoan acxoiatlaliaia: iquac qujpeoaltiaia, in iuh onquiz imuztlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiatema, in novian tetepeticpac, yoã in momomozco, in veca.

Auh inin qujchioaia, ixqujchica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlaliaia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, qujtqujtivi in acxoiatl, iehoatl in acatl xoxouhquj, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocovilutl qujpitztivi, qujpapatlativi in qujpitza.

Auh in õqujz Quecholli ilhujtl: njmã ic peoa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eoa itoca tlaxotecaiotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im peoaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaoa: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ie tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianoa in cioa in avienjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in juh omjto) mumuztlae in muchioa, ixqujchica cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in oacic tlachicunaviti, vncan moteualtiaia in tlatlaltilti, anoço suchimjcque: in calpulvevetque, conanaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobuchco conanaia atl, vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in qujoaltzatzacutivi, intlan qujoalaantivi:

1. "*Elevación de banderas*" in Garibay, "Relación breve," p. 312; "*el acto de enarbolar el pendón*" in Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, p. 170 — possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Paynal up to the altar in the Temple of Uitzilopochtli. According to Tovar (Kubler and Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar*, p. 32), it was the special festival of the war captains who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. Cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book IX, The Merchants* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1959), pp. 45–49.

3. *Taxodium mucronatum* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 108.

ping each [jar mouth]; they each went holding [the jars] with them.

When they had carried [the water] here, thereupon they sprinkled it upon [the victims] there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, and there they gave them their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted blue stripes on them, on their legs up to their thighs and on their arms up to their shoulders. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes;[4] they each went striped in light blue [and] in yellow. And they placed on them nose pendants [shaped like] arrows,[5] and reed headdresses surmounted by feathers.[6]

in oqujoalhujcaque: njman ie ic qujmatzelhuja, vncan in jcxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan qujnmamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in jpan mjqujzque, yoan qujntexovavana in imjcxic, inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tlatlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in texotli, in coztic, yoan qujmontlalilia iacapilolli, mjtl muchioa, yoan anecuiotl.

And when this was done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, who owned the slaves] took them each to the various *calpulcos*. They only quickly took them away. Thereupon the bathers [of victims] each went to their homes. There they took apart, they set down the array [of each victim]. They placed [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, with one, [the owners] began singing and dancing; they went, each one, taking their women.[7]

Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõchichiuhque, in oqujmõcencauhque, njman ic qujnvivica in incacalpulco, çan oalqujqujztiqujça njmã ie ic vivi in inchachan tealtique, vmpa qujnxixitinja, qujntlatlalilia in intlatquj, qujmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan compeoaltia in cujcoianoa, qujnvivicativi in incioaoan.

And when the fifth day arrived, then the bathers of [sacrificial victims][8] began to fast there, and the old men of the *calpullis* fasted[9] and bathed themselves at midnight. They bathed themselves there at the Mist House. From these they departed to their *calpulcos*.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã compeoaltia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulvevetque: tlacatlaquaia, yoan maltiaia in ioalnepantla: vmpã aiauhcalco in ommaltiaia, vncan oneoa incalpulco.

And a woman who was to bathe [sacrificial victims] just bathed herself there at her water's edge. She set up a thorn, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as the bathers, and the escorts, and those who brought the victims down, and the flag-bearers, and the women who were face-washers. When conch shells were blown, [at midnight, the dancing] ceased.

Auh in cioatl tealtiz, çan vncã in jatenco ommaltia: ce vitztli cõquetza atenco ezço: auh in otzõqujz navilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coanecujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltilti, yoã in tealtique, yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoaque, yoan in teixamjque cioa: in mocaoa iquac in tlatlapitzalo.

4. Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425, describes this face painting (*yixtlan tlaanticac*) as "*Die Querstreifung des Gesichts, mit abwechselnd hellen und dunklen Streifen.*" The stripes, although of different color, are characteristic of Tezcatlipoca.

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjanles en las narizes vna saetilla atrauesada, y vn medio circulo, que colgaua hasta abaxo.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*ponjanles vnas coroças, o coronas, hechas de cañjtas atadas, y de lo alto salian vn manojo de plumas blancas.*" The *anecuyotl* was a headdress worn by the Centzonuitznua in Book III of the *Florentine Codex*. It is described in Book XII of the *Florentine Codex*: "*hiviil in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac*" — "of featherwork, cylindrical, a little pointed, a little narrow at the base." Cf. also Seler in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 425.

7. *iciciuauã* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "*dueños de los esclauos.*"

9. "*comjan al medio dia, por el ayuno*" in corresponding Spanish text; "*Sie assen (nur einmal) am Tage (am Mittag)*" in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 206; "*comía a medias*" in Garibay, "Relación breve," p. 312.

And hence was it said that the serpent dance was danced: they took one another's hands; they were ranged in line. In their hands they grasped circular jar rests; it was perhaps reeds or cords which they arranged as jar rests. The bathed ones went trotting among [the others]. Much did they run; they continually hopped; they kept hurrying. It was as if they hastened, as if they were breathless. They kept winding about; they did not sing, they did not sing at all.

Auh injc moteneoa coanecujlolo, maana, motecpana: injc maana iaoalli, aço toli, anoço mecatl in qujiaoallalia: in tlaaltilti intlan aactivi, cenca motlatlaloa, chichitonj, vivicinj, iuhqujn tlaixtotochca, iuhqujn tlacica: moiaiaoaloa, amo cujca, amo ma cujca.

And the old men of the *calpulli* kept beating the drums for them; and only they sang. Some looked on; they marveled at [the dance]. And it was much admired; much was the fasting respected. Indeed everyone abstained, especially the bathers. No [man] lay with a woman, nor did any [woman] lie with a man.[10]

Auh in calpulvevetque, qujntlatzotzonjlia: auh çanjoque in cujca: cequjntin tlatlatta, tlatlamaviçoa: auh cenca tlamaviztililoia, cenca qujmaviztiliaia in neçaoaliztli: vel ixqujch tlacatl, motzitzqujaia: oc cenca iehoantin, in tealtique: aiac cioacochia, auh in cioa, ano ac oqujchcochia.

And when the serpent dance had been danced, thereupon they dispersed.

Auh in onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlaxitinj.

And when it dawned, on the twentieth day, when it was verily the feast day, thereupon the bathed ones went to take leave at the various [bathers'] houses. They dissolved stains for them: black; perhaps blue mineral earth; or red ocher. And as they went to take leave at the various [bathers'] houses, they went singing as if they each cracked their voices,[11] as if they were hoarse. When they reached the houses of the bathers, then they dipped their hands in the blue stain or the black stain or the red ocher. Thereupon they placed their hands on the posts and on the door lintels wherever they came out of the homes of the bathers.

Auh in otlatvic, in vncan tlacempoalti, in ie vel iquac ilhujtl: njman ie ic vi in tlaaltilti, mocacalnaoatizque: qujnpatilia tlilli, aço texotli, anoço tlavitl: auh in jquac ie vi mocacalnaoatizque, cujcativi, iuhqujn no intozquj tzatzaianj, omach içaoacaque: in onacique inchan tealtique, njmã conaquja in imma texotitlan, anoço tliltitlan, anoço tlauhtitlan: njman ie ic commamana tlaquetzaltitech, yoã tlaixquatl itech, izquicã qujça in inchachan tealtique.

And when they had proceeded to the several places where their relatives were, thereupon they again went to [the bathers'] homes. These in vain offered them food. Some still ate, but some no longer ate.

Auh in jzqujcan onqujzque, in inoaniolcaoacan: njmã ie ic no ceppa vi in inchachã, in nen qujntlamaca; in cequjntin oc ontlaqua; auh in cequjntin aocmo tlaqua.

And at this time, gifts lay for them. Capes lay waiting for them, breechclouts, shifts, skirts. And when the gifts were laid out, thereupon the bathed ones arrayed themselves; they put their banners on their backs. Quite of their own will they arrayed themselves. And the women likewise of their own accord put their baskets [with] all their womanly belongings on their backs. Thereupon those who bore burdens arose; they carried the gifts in their arms. At the entrance, in the street, they placed themselves in order. And the bathed ones thereupon

Auh in jquac in, ie ic onoc in tetlauhtilli, ic qujchixtoc in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in vipilli, in cueitl: auh in omotetecac, tetlauhtilli; njmã ie ic mochichioa in tlaaltilti commomamaltia in impã, çan monomavia in muchichioa: auh in cioa çan no innoma in cõmomamaltia, intana, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: njmã ie ic moquetza in tlanapaloa, in qujnapaloa tetlauhtilli, qujiaoac, vtlica oalmotecpana: auh in tlaaltilti, njman ie ic calaquj in cioapan, qujoaliaoaloa in tlecujlli: mec oalqujça mec ommoiacatia

10. *anoyac* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

11. *yuhquin o yntozqui tzatzayã* in *ibid.*

entered the women's quarters; they went around the fireplace. Then they came out. Then those who bore burdens went leading. They went quietly to the *calpulco*. The bathed ones only went following them; they only went last.

And when they had gone to reach the *calpulco*, thereupon the bathed ones danced in the courtyard. And they put the gifts in the *calpulco*. Also they placed aside the capes, the breechclouts, the skirts, the shifts. Then came first the bidden guests. [The bathers] offered each one of them their gifts. And the women stood apart in line. They also offered them their gifts.

And this was the doing of only the merchants, the bathers, the buyers [of slaves].

And when they had been completely arrayed, when they had come together, when they had been given their gifts, thereupon they took the bathed ones to enter into the sand.[12] When they reached the [pyramid] temple of the devil, then they climbed up to the top of the temple. When they had come to the top, then they circled about the sacrificial stone. They came right down [the other] side.

And when they had come climbing down to the ground, when they had come to reach the ground, then they each ran to the various *calpulcos*. But some went going quite slowly. When they entered [the *calpulcos*], thereupon they disposed for them their paper vestments; then they sat down on reed mats. They kept food for them, or pulque, whatever they would require. All night they had them keep vigil.

And when midnight arrived, then they ranged them in a row, while they cut hair [from the crowns of their heads]. When they had cut hair [from the crowns of their heads], then they put it away for themselves (as hath been told in [the account of] Quecholli).

And when this was done, then were eaten [tamales of] amaranth seed, all at the same time, everywhere among the common folk. None failed to eat [tamales of] amaranth seed. And none broke the amaranth seed [tamales] with his hand; it was with [a length of] maguey fiber that they sliced it. And when the amaranth seed [tamales] had been eaten, thereupon were taken up the mats. They rolled them up, they set them each down at the entrance. Thereupon there was stretching out on the part of each

in tlanapaloa, vmpa tlamattivi in calpulco, ça tetocativi in tlaaltilti, ça tlatzacutivi.

Auh in oacito calpulco: njman ie ic mjtotia, in tlaaltilti, in jtoalco: auh in tetlauhtilli, qujcalaquja in calpulco: no nonqua qujtlalia in tilmatli, in maxtlatl, in cueitl, in vipilli: mec ommoiacatia in tlacoanotzalti, qujoalmacatimanj, ceceniaca in innetlauhtil: auh in cioa, nonqua mocempanoa: no qujnoalmacatimanj, in innetlauhtil:

auh inin çan mjxcavia in pochteca, in tealtianj, in tecoanj.

Auh in õtecencaoaloc, in oncenvetz, in ontetlauhtiloc: njman ie ic qujnvica in tlaaltilti, xalaqujzque: in onacique tlacateculotl iteupan, mec tleco in teucalticpac, in vmpanvetzito: mec qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl, can jc oaltemotimanj, centlapal.

Auh in otemoco tlalchi, in otlaltitech acico, mec oalmotlatlaloa in incacalpulco: auh in cequjntin, çan jvian in iativi: in ocalaqujto, njmã ie ic qujntlatlalilia in jmamatlatquj, mec motlalia in petlapã qujnchieltia in tlaqualli, anoço vctli, in catle cõnequjzque, ceioal in qujntoçavia.

Auh in oacic iooalnepantla: mec qujntecpana, in qujntzoncujzque: in oqujmontzoncujque, mec motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto ipan quecholli).

Auh in ommochiuh y, mec tzoalqualo, cẽvetzi in novian maceoalpan, aiac in maca tzoalqua: auh in tzoalli, aiac imatica qujcotonaia: ichtli injc qujxotlaticate: auh in ontzoalqualoc, njmã ie ic meeoa in petlatl, qujilacatzoa, qujiaoac qujoalmamana; njmã ie ic neteteco, çan tlalpan, tlalitzticapan, ça tilmaçolli, anoço aiaçolli in commopepechtia, in commopepechia.

12. Cf. Chap. 27, n. 23.

only on the ground, on the cold ground. It was only of old capes or old maguey fiber capes that they made beds for themselves, that they made couches for themselves.

And upon the morrow, when still a little darkness lay about, thereupon [he who carried the figure of] Paynal came down from the top of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.[13] When he had come down here, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[14] There they slew four [victims], two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[15] When they had slain them, then they dragged them about the ball court. It was as if they painted it with [the victims'] blood.

Auh in otlatvic ça oc achi tlatlaiovatoc, njmã ie ic oaltemo in teucalticpac in Paynal in jcpac Vitzilobuchtli: in ooaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in moteneoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin; vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] departed. Much was he made to run. He proceeded to Tlatelolco. Then he went direct to Nonoalco. To that place there quickly took him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, [Paynal's] helper, his elder brother.[16] His adornment was similar[17] [to that of] Paynal, but he was striped with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan qujça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiqujça itoca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

And when [the latter] had quickly taken [Paynal], then [both] departed. They circled about there to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims — very swiftly.

auh in oconantiqujz, mec vi, vmpan ommocoloa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiqujça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went on, straight to Chapoltepetl; they passed before it. And when they had gone arriving at the river bank, at a place named Izquitlan, there also they quickly slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan qujça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izqujtlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiqujça in conmjctia, itoca Izqujtecatl:

Then they went on; they quickly passed on to Tepetocan. Already they were at the outskirts of Coyoacan. They then went direct to Maçatlan. There they doubled back. Then they went direct to Acachinanco.

mec vi, vncã qujztiqujça in tepetocan, ie coiooacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had come to reach Acachinanco, then the rolling up of the paper stopped. Those who rolled up the paper began at the time that Paynal had begun to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in iehoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And thus was the paper rolled up. The bathed ones remained in a separate group; those of Uitz-

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequjntin

13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*descendian el dios paynal, de lo alto del cu de vitzilopuchtli.*" The priest who carried the figure was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada, *Segunda parte*, p. 282.

14. See the description of *teotlachco* in the appendix of this volume.

15. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 210, apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, the corresponding Spanish text and the discussion of *teotlachco* in the appendix of this volume.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*alli le salia a rescebir, el satrapa de aquel cu, con la ymagen del dios Quavitl ycac.*"

17. The *Real Palacio MS* reads *çã no.*

nauac remained in [another] separate group. [These latter] a number of brave warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them yellow quilted cotton jackets and shields [painted with] bears'[18] eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac had spears with which they battled, which they cast. And the bathed ones met them only with bird arrows, which they shot. They had flint points. Verily, battle was joined. Verily, there were deaths.

And of them who aided those of Uitznauac, if one were taken, he also would die. The bathed ones themselves slew him; it was only on a horizontal drum that they cut open his breast.

And the onlooker, he who oversaw [the battle], when he noted, when he saw that [he who bore the likeness of] Paynal already was coming, then cried out: "Mexicans! Now indeed he cometh! Now already the lord cometh! Enough!"

And when they heard this, then the bathed ones took after [the others].[19] From there they each dispersed; there was dispersing. Those who aided [those of Uitznauac], who had been rolling up the paper, each went.

Thereupon came [he who bore] Paynal. First arrived the standards and two devices for seeing, made of feathers, with a hole in their midst. They who brought it here were still only small boys. Much did they make it hasten here. Then the brave warriors took [the seeing devices] from them — [warriors] who could hasten, who could run fast.

And when they had run along a certain distance, again two more [warriors] took [the devices] from them. It was as if they went sharing them.

And when they had come to reach the eagle portal [of the temple square],[20] no one could take these from them; they took [the devices] up to the top of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. These who indeed came ahead, when they had reached the top, cast the devices for seeing upon the image of Uitzilopochtli, which [was made of] amaranth seed. [There] they each fell to the ground; indeed each one was faint; each one lay exhausted.

And the fire priest thereupon went [to] cut their ears with a flint knife so that they opened their eyes, so that they revived.

tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in immac oonoc.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

Auh in tlapalevia in qujmpalevia vitznaoa, intla çe axioacã, no mjqujz: vel iioma qujmjctia in tlaaltilti, çan teponaztli in jpan conelteqUj.

Auh in tlachixquj, in oqujttac, in oconjttac in ie vitz Paynal: mec tzatzi, qujtva, Mexicae, ca ie vitz, ca ie movicatz in tlacatl, ma ixqujch.

Auh in oqujcacque: mec tetoca in tlaaltilti: vncan xixitinj, tlaxitinj, vivi, in otepaleviaia, in otlaamaviaia.

Niman ie ic vitz in Paynal: achtopa oaleoa in machiotl, auh in tlachielonj vntetl hivitl in tlachioalli, yiticoionquj, çã oc pipiltotonti in auioalitquj, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia, njman qujncujlitiqujça in tiacaoan, in vel paina, in vel totoca:

auh in oquexqujch oqujoaltoctique, oc ceppa no vmẽtin, qujncujlitiqujça, çan juhqujn qujmomamacativi.

Auh in oacico quauhqujiaoac, aocac vel qujncujlia, ieeoan qujpantlaçazque, in jicpac Vitzilobuchtli: in vel iacattiuh, in opanvetzito in tlachielonj, ipan contlaça in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, in tzoalli ça onchachapantivetzi, vel çoçotlaoa, ça cicintoque.

Auh in tlenamacac, njman ie ic iauh, qujnnacaztecpavia, ic oallachia, injc mozcalia.

18. Suggested identifications in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 5, are *Ursus horriaeus* or *Euarctos machetes*.

19. In the *Real Palacio MS* Sahagún has crossed out *tetoca* and inserted *quintoca*.

20. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hasta llegar a la puerta del patio del cu, de Vitzilopuchtli, que se llamaua quauhqujiaoac.*"

And when they revived, then they climbed down; they came bringing the amaranth seed [image] which they had captured.[21] They took it with them to their homes, for it was in truth their captive. They ate it. They offered it to each of their kin and to those of the neighborhood; they ate it all.[22]

Auh in omozcalique mec oaltemo, qujtqujtze in ocacique tzoalli, qujmotqujlia in inchan, ca nel immal, qujqua, qujnmamaca in inoaniolque, yoan in tlaxillacaleque, qujcenqua.

And when this was done, then those who were to die were taken in procession around [the pyramid]; only once did they circle them about. When this was done, then they were arranged, they were placed in order. The captives were in the lead. Thereupon they brought down [from the top of the pyramid] the sacrificial papers;[23] it was a man [a priest] who brought them down. When he reached the ground, he raised them in dedication to the four directions. Then he laid them there in what is called the eagle vessel.

Auh in ie iuhquj mec tetlaiaoalochtilo, in mjqujzque, çan ceppa in qujnoallaiaoalochtia: in ie iuhquj mec temanalo, tetecpanalo, iacattimanj in mamalti: njman ie ic qujoaltemovia in teteuhpoalli: ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, in ocaxitico tlalchi, nauhcampa conjaoa; mec cõmana, in vncan moteneoa quauhxicalco:

Thereupon likewise descended the fire serpent.[24] It was just like a blazing pine firebrand. Its tongue was made of flaming red feathers. It went [as if] burning [like] a torch. And its tail was of paper, perhaps two fathoms or three fathoms long. As it came down, it was like a real serpent; it showed its tongue; it was as if it bent back and forth.

njman ie ic no oaltemo in Xiuhcoatl, çan juhqujn in ocopilli; cueçalin in jnenepil muchioa, tlatlatiuh in ocopilli: auh in jcuitlapil, amatl, aço vmmatl, anoço ematl injc viac: injc oaltemo, iuhqujnma nelli coatl, nenepilotivitz, iuhqujn mocuecuelotivitz.

And when [the priest] had brought it to the base [of the pyramid], he proceeded carefully there to the eagle vessel. Then he went up [to the eagle vessel]; also he raised [the fire serpent] in dedication to the four directions. When he had [so] raised it in dedication, then he cast it upon the sacrificial papers; then they burned.

Auh in ocaxitico tlatzintlan, vmpa tlamattiuh in quauhxicalco: mec tleco, no nauhcampa in conjaoa: in oconjauh mec cõmaiavi in jpan teteppoalli, mec tlatla:

And when he had come to leave it, when he went ascending to the top, then shell trumpets were blown. Thereupon [the image of] Paynal, the representative of Uitzilopochtli, came down; in great haste [the priest] brought it down.

auh in oconcaoaco mec tleco, in opanvetzito tlacpac, mec tlapitzalo: njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, in jxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, cenca qujoalmotlalochtia.

21. Clavijero, *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, p. 168, says such images had been made of both Uitzilopochtli and Paynal: "... *fabricaban ... dos estatuas de aquellos dioses, de la pasta de varias semillas con sangre de niños sacrificados, y le ponian por huesos algunos leños de acacia.*"

22. In *ibid.*, pp. 169–70, Clavijero writes: "*aquella noche que era la última del mes, velaban también los sacerdotes y a la mañana siguiente llevaban a la estatua de masa de Huitzilopochtli a una sala que habìa en el recinto del templo, y en presencia solamente del rey, de cuatro dignidades del templo y de cuatro superiores de los seminarios, el sacerdote de Quetzalcoatl, que era jefe de los* tlamacazques *o penitentes arrojaba un dardo a la estatua con que la atrevasaba de parte a parte. Con esto decìan que ya habìa muerto su dios; uno de los sacerdotes le sacaba el corazón y lo presentaba al rey para que lo comiese; el cuerpo se dividìa por medio y la una mitad se daba a los tlatelolcas y la otra quedaba para los mexicanos; de esta se hacìan cuatro partes para los cuatro cuarteles de la ciudad, y cada parte se dividìa en menudas partículas que se distribuìan entre todos los individuos del sexo masculino. Esta ceremonia explicaban con la palabra* teocualo, *comer a Dios. Las mujeres no probaban de esta sagrada masa por razón, como se puede creer, de no pertenecer a su sexo el empleo de la guerra.*"

23. Corresponding Spanish text: "*vn volumen grande, de papeles blancos, que llaman teteppoalli, o por otro nombre teteujtl.*" The Nahuatl text here has *teteuhpoalli*; subsequently it is spelled *teteppoalli*.

24. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Luego descendia otro satrapa, que traya vn hachon de teas muy largo, que llamã xiuhcoatl: tenja la cabeça y la cola como culebra.*" In Chap. 14 of *Book IX* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. III, p. 54), which describes the same ceremony, the priest wears the fire serpent as a disguise: "*luego descendia un sátrapa que venía metido dentro de una culebra de papel, el cual la traia como si ella viniera por sí, y traia en la boca unas plumas coloradas que parecian llamas de fuego que le salian por la boca.*"

And when he had brought it to the ground, he passed before the eagle vessel. Quickly he passed before the captives and the bathed ones, as if he guided them. Then they ascended the pyramid steps.

When they had gone reaching the summit, first the captives died; it was as if they became the fundament of the bathed ones.[25] And when, first, the captives had died, the bathed ones just followed them.

And when one died, then shell trumpets were blown. Then they brought them down here; they came rolling them down. So did they with all the bathed ones.

And also there was dying in Uitznauac. They who died were only those of Uitznauac. Only they [died]; none were their fundament.[26]

And when there had been dying, then there was departing on the part of each one. And upon the next day there was the drinking of pulque; the leftovers were distributed.[27] The pulque which was drunk was called blue pulque. Everyone of the old men, the old women, and the seasoned warriors of noble lineage who already had wives, the men of marriageable age, and the lords, and the leaders of the marriageable ones were those who drank pulque.

And the rulers of the youths, those who were already mature, drank pulque, but they drank only in secret. They did not disclose themselves. They hid themselves well in the dark; they indeed crouched behind bushes in order not to be seen.

And if anyone discovered them, if they made it known that indeed they drank pulque, that indeed there had been gathering together, that indeed there had been arranging among themselves, they beat them repeatedly with pine staves; they bruised their bodies sorely, and they shaved their heads like servants — they cut [the hair from] the heads of each one. They dragged them each; they went kicking them; on the ground they struck them repeatedly; they cast stones at them. Verily, they afflicted them. From time to time death came from this.

And after they had taken their pleasure [with them], then they cast them hence, they threw them out of the portals. Thus fear fell [over the people].

And in the homes of the bathers there was sing-

Auh in otlaltitech caxitico, ixpan qujqujxtia in quauhxicalli, imjxpan qujztiqujça in mamalti, yoan in tlaaltilti, iuhqujn, qujnoaliacana, mec tleco:

in oacito tlacpac, achto mjquj in mamalti: iuhqujn impepechoan muchioa, tlaaltilti: auh in oachto ommjcque, mamalti; ça qujmõtoqujlia in tlaaltilti.

Auh in jquac çe õmjquj; njman tlapitzalo: njman ic qujnoaltemovitimanj, qujnmjmjlotivitze; much iuh qujnchioa in tlaaltilti.

Auh no mjcoa in vitznaoac: çanjoque in mjquj vitznaoaca, çan mjxcavia, aiaque inpepechoã.

Auh in õmjcoac, mec viviloa: auh in jmuztlaio, tlatlaoano, haapeoalo: in vctli mja itoca matlalvctli, ixqujch tlacatl in vevetque, in jlamatque: yoã in tlapaltequjoaque, in ie cioaoaque, in otlapaliuhcatque, yoã in tetecutin, yoan in tlapaliuhcaiaca, in quja vctli.

Auh in telpuchtlatoque, in ie chicaoaque, quja in vctli: iece çan qujchtacayia, amo mjxmanaia, vellaiovalli qujmotoctiaia, vel moxiuhtlapachoaia, injc amo ittozque.

Auh intla aca qujnnexxotlaz, intla machililozque, in ca otlaoanque: in ca necentlaliloia, in ca nenonotzaloia: qujnvivitequj, ocoquauhtica vel qujnnacatepoçaoa, yoã qujnquatexoloxima, qujnquatetequj, qujnvivilana, qujntilicçatinemj, tlaltitech qujntzotzona, qujntetentimaiavi, vel qujmellelaxitia: nemamaco injc mjctiloia.

Auh in oimellel onqujz, njmã in ca oalmaiavi, qujnnoalchiccanaoa qujiaoac, ic maviztli vetzia.

Auh in inchan tealtique, cujco, vevetzotzonalo,

25. Corresponding Spanish text: "*assi hazian a todos los esclauos, que matauan a honrra de vitznaoa, solos ellos morian, ningun captiuo moria, con ellos matauanlos en su cu de vitznaoatl.*"

26. After *inpepechoã* the *Real Palacio MS* adds *mochiua.*

27. *haapeoalo (apeualo)* was the ritual distribution of the leftovers after the ceremony. Cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, pp. 74, 363.

ing; ground drums were beaten, gourd rattles were rattled, turtle shells were beaten. Only as they were [seated] on the ground was there singing; only as they were [seated] on the ground were the ground drums beaten. Gifts were given one. They gave gifts to all who worked, who served [the guests] — those who cared for the tobacco, who were with the tobacco; and those who cared for the chocolate, who were with the chocolate, or who were with the water; and those who watched over one, who served [the guests]; and the honored women, those who were among the [cooking] vessels, who were with the tamales, who were with the meat, who set forth the meat, who stood over the meat; and those who stood over the pulque, the pulque-makers; and all those of the neighborhood. Everyone was given gifts.

aiacacholo, aiochioalo: çan tlalpan cujco, çan tlalpan vevetl in motzotzona: tetlauhtilo, qujntlauhtia yn ixqujchtin otlatequjpanoque in techixquj, in qujmocujtlauja yietl, yn iiepã ca, yoan in qujmocujtlauja cacaoatl, in cacaoapan ca, anoço apan ca, yoan in techia, in techixquj: yoan in cioatzitzinti, in contitlan nemj, in tamalpan ca, in nacapan ca, in nacatlatlali, in nacatl ipã icac: yoan in vctli ipan icac, yn vctlali: yoan in ixqujch tlaxilacaleque, ixqujch tlacatl motlauhtia.

And the third day [of Atemoztli] was known as "the mock-fight of the Chonchayotl." One [man] was set up as Chonchayotl; one [man] was his likeness. His hair was wild, his hair was disorderly; it was bloody; he was frightful.[28] And when they arrayed the Chonchayotl, then they separated [into bands]. Apart were the offering priests; with them went, with them stood the Chonchayotl. And [also] apart were the youths.

Auh injc eilhujtl moteneoa chonchaiocacalioa, ce moquetzaia, ce qujxiptlaiotiaia in chonchaiotl: quatatapatic, quapaçoltic, ieço temamauhti: auh yn oqujcencauhque chõchaiotl, mec moxeloa, nonqua manj, in tlamacazque inoan eoa inoan icac in chonchaiotl: auh nonqua momana in telpupuchti:

Then at midday they began fighting each other; they skirmished. They struck one another with fir branches, with fir staves, and long reeds, long stout reeds. They bound them each in the middle; they bound them firmly, they bound them tightly; they wrapped them in cords; they placed cords about them. As they were repeatedly struck, it was as if waves were breaking on the shore. Verily they harmed one another; verily they were hurt.

mec peoa nepantla tonatiuh, in moiaiaotla, micali, ynjc moujujtequj, acxoiamaitl, iehoatl yn oiametl, yoan acapitzactli, yoan otlapitzactli, qujcujcujtlalpiaia, qujcacatzilpiaia, qujtetevilpiaia, qujmecatetecujaiaia, qujmecatitlan tlaliaia ynic moujujtequj: iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, vel mococoltia, vel mococoaia.

And if [the youths] caught an offering priest, if one were taken, they rubbed him with [ground up] maguey thorns; much did he burn; he itched. It was as if his body were deadened. And if one of the youths were taken, the offering priests bled his ears with a [maguey] thorn, [and] his shoulders, his breast, his thighs. Indeed they made him cry out.[29]

Auh intla oce cacique tlamacazquj, intla oce axioac, qujmealtia, cenca cuecuetzoca, quequexquja: yuhqujn iolmiquj ynacaio. Auh intla ce axioa, telpuchtli, in tlamacazque qujçoçoia vitztica yn jnacazco, yn jacolpan, yn ielpan, yn jmetzpan, vel qujtzatzatia.

And if [the priests] chased the youths into the palace, they looted it; they stole all the [reed] mats, the mat cords, the seats with backs, the couches, the backless seats. And if they found horizontal drums, ground drums, they took away all; they took all.

Auh in telpupuchti, intla qujntocaticalaquizque, in vmpa tecpan, tlanamoia, muchi qujnamoia in petlatl in petlamecatl, in tepotzoicpalli, in netlaxonj, in tzinicpalli: auh intla qujpãtilia teponaztli, in veuetl muchi qujqujxtia, muchi qujcuj.

28. See Pl. 31.

29. *quitzatzatzitia* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

And if [the youths] chased the offering priests into the *calmecac*, they also robbed them;[30] they removed things from them. They took away all the mats, the shell trumpets, the seats with backs.

And they just dispersed from there, each one; there was stopping toward evening when there was still a little sun.

And the fourth day [of Atemoztli] was called "Ashes are scattered." The old people said: "Indeed the bathed ones who died, it is said, still walk [on the earth] for four days. Not yet do they depart to the place of the dead. But when ashes are scattered, then they go down to the place of the dead."

And at that time were burned their paper vestments in which they had died, which had been laid in reed coffers. And at that time there was head-washing with *amolli* soap; there was bathing. Then there was departing on the part of each one; thus there was dispersing, [each to his own house].

Here ended the feast of Panquetzaliztli; already it had taken four days from [the month of] Atemoztli.

Auh intla qujntocaticalaqujzque tlamacazque in calmecac, no qujntlanamoielia, qujntlaçaçaqujlia, muchi qujnqujxtilia, in petlatl, in tecciztli, in jcpalli:

auh çan vncã xixitinj, necacaoalo, oc achi tonatiuh ie teutlac.

Auh injc navilhujtl moteneoa, nexpixolo: qujtoaia in vevetque. Ca in tlaaltilti in omjcque: qujl oc nemj navilhujtl, aiamo vi in mjctlan: auh in jquac nexpixolo, qujnjquac temo in mjctlan;

yoã iquac motlatia, mopetlacaltema, in jmamatlatquj in jpã omjcque, yoan iquac neamovilo, neaaltilo, mec viviloa, ic cecẽmanoa.

Nicã tzõqujça in jlhujtl Panquetzaliztli, ie cuel ic naujlhujtl cõcujlia in Atemuztli.

30. *quintlanamoyalia* in *ibid.*

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast day and the honors which they observed during all the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.[1]

The sixteenth feast was the one known as Atemoztli.

For this reason was it called Atemoztli: it was indeed the time that the rains newly broke out, growled, thundered. All the common folk said: "Water cometh down" or "The Tlalocs descend."

And at this time the fire priest of the Temple of Tlaloc was very solemn, was very devout; he was trusting, he was expecting that in its time the rain would break out.

And when the rain broke out, then he forthwith arose; he seized his incense ladle. Its handle was indeed very long, quite thin. The incense ladle rattled. It was in the form of a serpent. And the serpent's head also rattled; it also [had a stone in] its hollow center.

Then he quickly scooped up the burning embers, the fire; he then quickly put on *yauhtli.* Only this did he do. Then he offered incense; to the four directions he raised [the incense ladle]. Much did it rattle; [the incense] spilled out; it fell out. Then he departed. He walked everywhere; he issued everywhere into the temple courtyards; everywhere he offered incense; everywhere he spread warmth. Thus he attended to the matter; thus he called upon the Tlalocs; thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods]. And five days [before the feast] they arranged paper, they bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and maguey fiber. They bought them.

They paid great honors to [the mountain gods], and they did penances so that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. They did not soap themselves when they bathed themselves; only their necks did they wash. Neither did [a man] lie

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in qujchioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl occe metztli in moteneoa Atemuztli.

Injc caxtoltetl, oce ilhujtl iehoatl in moteneoa Atemuztli:

injc moteneoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, oaoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxqujch maceoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchixcaca, motemachitica: in quenmã oalanjz qujavitl:

auh in ooalan qujavitl, njmã ic moquetztiqujça, qujcujtivetzi in jtlema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan qujça: auh in jtzontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo:

njmã qujxopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl: njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, nauhcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian qujça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qu̅jnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj.

Auh in cequjntin maceoalti, monetoltiaia injc tepiqujzque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia:

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiqujzque, yoã tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injc maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh in cioatl amono oqujchcochia.

1. "*Bajada de el agua,*" according to Torquemada, *Segunda parte*, p. 299, "*porque este Mes suele llover, y nevar algunos Años.*" Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 313) has the same.

Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tovar refers to frequent, extraordinary drizzles in the region, attributed to Tlaloc. Kubler and Gibson, *The Tovar Calendar*, p. 33.

with a woman, and neither did a woman lie with a man.

And [until] the feast day dawned, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, thus was all night lived, thus indeed was there spending of the night as paper was cut, that the spotted paper banners might be completed, might be finished. And when they were completed, when they were finished, they were each attached to poles. On the ground they began; they reached the top [of the poles]. They set them each up in the middle of the courtyard. There indeed they spent the feast day.

Auh in ie iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh ceioal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in amaxotlalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vel oncã cemjlhujtia:

And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] first entertained the offering priests, so that they would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. But only there in the *calmecac* did they array them.

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepictotõ: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, then they quickly took them to the homes of those who had undertaken to provide the figures. And their belongings went with them: their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shells. Then they adorned the figures of the mountain gods; they offered them food; they dressed them.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujtqujtze in inchã tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj, oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoã imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquẽtia:

And one who produced the figures [provided] perhaps five; [another] perhaps ten; [another] perhaps fifteen. And [the figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of amaranth seed dough.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço macujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned figures of these mountains: Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, Uixachtecatl; also [the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, Ecatl.[2]

Auh in qujnpiquja iehoantin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac cioatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had adorned them, then they set food before them; they did it for each one alone. And their tamales were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, each one long and small, each one long and tiny. And they put them into each one's small wooden vessel and their small sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very little chocolate.

Auh in oqujncencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, cececnj mjxcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çã achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtotonco in qujntetemjlia, yoã inmolcaxtoton, yoan inçoqujtecõtoton, çan no tepitoton cẽcã achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times during the night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two "green stone" jars; pulque was [in them]. And the "green stone" jars were made of green gourds.[3] They split them; they took out their seeds; they removed the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, iehoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiooachqujxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcuj-

2. These are in the chapter on Atl caualo. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli are probably the Tepetzinco and Tepepulco named in that chapter.

3. *Cucurbita ficifolia* Bouché in Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 221. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 288.

seeds. And they removed their pith as if it were a cord. There they put in the pulque with fermentation plants added.[4] Thus all night they sang for [the images]; they held vigil for them, and they blew trumpets for them, they played flutes for them.

tlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli, iuh ceioal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja.

And they who sounded the trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets] but youths. They were much honored; they were given food, they were given drink.

Auh in tlapitzaia amo iehoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaitiloia.

And when this was done, when it dawned, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they planted them in the hearts [of the images].[5]

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan.

And when they had set in the weaving sticks, then they bent back the necks of the amaranth seed [figures]. Then they took from them what had served as their hearts. They gave them to those who had produced the figures; [the priests] placed them in the green gourd bowl.

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xoxovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

And when this was done, when [the priests] had slain the amaranth seed [figures], then they gathered, they heaped up all the mountain images' paper vestments. They burned in the middle of the courtyard; they burned them, they set fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all burned together.

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ie ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxtotonti, muchi centlatla.

And all the reed mats on which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the "green stone" jars, all [these] they left in the Mist House.

Auh in jxqujxh aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilquavitl, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtotonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in aiauhcalco.

When they had gone to leave these, thereupon first arrived the bidden guests to feast in honor of the images. Then food was offered them, each severally. Nothing else was done. When they had eaten, thereupon they gave them pulque.

In ie vi qujcaoazque, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquazque: mec tetlamaco, cececnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vctli.

And the women also entered. It was said: "They leave the tamales." None came emptyhanded; everybody went bringing their dried grains of maize; the women carried them in their skirts. But those who brought their ears of corn [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

auh in cioa no calaquj, moteneoa ontamalcaoa, aiac çan juh iauh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujtqujtiuh in cioa qujcuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in qujtquj, aço caxtololotl, anoço tlamjc.

And when they had assembled, when they had sat down, then they gave them food; food was given them. Then also they gave them pulque; they made them drunk. They set before them pulque

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vctli, qujntlaoãtia, qujnoalmanjlia tlilapaztica in vctli, yoã

4. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 363: "*otras veces daban* pulcre *hechizo de agua y miel, cocido con la raiz, al cual llaman* ayoctli, *que quiere decir* pulcre *de agua.*" In Vol. IV, p. 324, Garibay defines *ayoctli* as "*Ingrediente vegetal, raiz, planta, o madera usado para hacer fermentar el pulque. . . . Conjeturalmente . . .* Mimosa *sp.*, Acacia *sp.*"

5. Torquemada, *Segunda parte*, p. 284, thus describes it: "*abrianlos por los pechos, con vn Tzotzopaztli, que es vn palo ancho, con que texen las Mugeres, à manera de espada, ò machete, sacabanles el coraçon, que tambien les avian puesto, en lo interior de la masa, y cortavanles las cabeças, como acostumbraban hacer à los Sacrificados, y guardavanlas.*"

in black vessels. And they set before them, when they made them drunk, cups, drinking vessels, also black.

And when they left the paper banners, when they set down the debt-payment, they bound them upon the poles.

Enough. Here ended this feast, which was named Atemoztli.

qujoalmana in tetlaoan, in tlaoanonj, in tlaoãcaxitl, çan no tliltic.

Auh in jquac concaoa tetevitl, in nextlaoalli cõmamana, conjilpia cuenmantitech.

Iie ixqujch, njcan tzonqujça inj ilhujtl in moteneoa Atemuztli.

Thirty-sixth Chapter, where are related the feast day and the debt-paying which were observed during all the days of the seventeenth month, which was called Tititl.[1]

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli oce, capitulo vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoã in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpan vel ic cemjlhujtl ic caxtoltetl omume metztli in mjtoaia Tititl.

The seventeenth feast was the one known as Tititl.

Injc caxtoltetl omume ilhujtl iehoatl in moteneoa, itoca Tititl:

At the time of this feast there died a person named Ilama tecutli — [one in] her likeness, a ceremonially bathed one. The stewards displayed her.

in jpan in ilhujtl, ce tlacatl mjquja, itoca: Ilama tecutli, ixiptla, tlaaltilli: calpixque in qujnextia.

And her adornment was that of Ilama tecutli. She had her white skirt, her white shift — completely white. And over this she was dressed in what was named her star skirt. This was made with small shells on cured skin cut into long, thin strips, the shells set in at the end of each [strip]. She wore it about her hips over [the other skirt]. When she walked, loudly did it jingle; it was audible for a distance. And her sandals had white toes, each toe woven with cotton thread.

Auh in jnechichioal catca in Ilama tecutli, iztac in jcue, iztac in jvipil, çan cemjztac: auh in panj qujmocuetia, itoca citlalli icue: inin cuechtli in tlachioalli, cuetlaxtli in tlapipitzaoacaxotlalli, tlapipitzaoacatectli, yiacac in tlatlatlalilli cuechtli; panj ic ommotzincuetia: in jquac nenemj cenca xaxamaca, veca caqujzti: yoan icacac, iztac in jquetzil, in jquequetzil: icpatl injc tlaqujttli,

And her shield was only a chalky shield pasted with eagle feathers. Its center was made of eagle feathers sewn to the middle of the shield, and it had pendants of heron feathers at the edges [and tassels shaped like] grasshopper heads, of eagle feathers; they hung by their points. And on the [other] side she held her weaving stick.[2]

yoan ichimal, çã tiçachimalli, quauhpachiuhquj: in jnepantla quauhivitl in tlachioalli, inepantla in tlatzõtli, chimalli, yoan tentlapilollo, aztatl in tlapilolli quauhivitl in jiacachapollo, in jiacac pipilcac: yoan centlapal qujtzitzquja, itzotzopaz:

And her face was painted. It was in diverse colors; it was painted in various colors. About her lips they spread black; it was said: "She is painted black [about] the lips."[3] And upon her nose and her forehead they spread yellow ocher.

yoã moxauh mochictlapana, mjchictlapana: in jtenco qujteca tlilli: mjtoa, motentlilhuja: auh in jiac ipan, yoan ixquac tecoçavitl in qujteca,

And her eagle feather headpiece was a headdress on which stood arrayed eagle feathers; only they were the hair. They were twisted, arrayed, disposed,

yoan iquauhtzon, tzoncalli in jtech tlavipantli in quauhivitl, çan mjxcavia in tzõtli, tlamalintli, tlavi-

1. "*Estiramiento*," Garibay suggests in "Relación breve," p. 314. Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua*, Vol. II, p. 39, writes: "Tititl. *Torquemada traduce, tiempo apretado; Boturini, vientre ó nuestro vientre. Gama rechaza como falsa la interpretacion de Boturini, y saca la suya del verbo* titixia, *rebuscar despues de la cosecha.*" Torquemada, in *Segunda parte*, p. 300, amplifies his version thus: "*porque lo era de frios, y heladas, las quales sentian mucho por la poca ropa de que vsaban, y porque por este mismo tiempo, andaban apretados, con Guerras, y Asaltos, que tenian las vnas Provincias contra las otras, y se mataban, y destruian vnos à otros.*"

Durán (*Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 301–302) writes: "*quiere decir estirar . . . imaginaban en el cielo dos niños estirándose el uno al otro. . . . había bailes de mugeres y hombres asidos unos con otros de las manos.*"

2. The shield and the entire costume of the goddess are clearly illustrated several times in the *Codex Borbonicus*. Paso y Troncoso, in *Descripción, historia y exposición del códice pictórico de los antiguos nauas* (Florence: 1898, p. 273), thus describes the shield: "*la rodela, que se acomoda muy bien á la descripción que han dejado los indios, es blanca; tiene un corro de plumas de águila pegadas en el centro; y llena como rapacejos otras 2 claves de plumas: unas pequeñas de garzotas, redondas (que algunos han tomado por conchas, porque lo parecen: pero que no son sino plumas), é ingeridas en estas primeras, y de ellas pendientes, otras plumas grandes de águila.*"

3. *motentetlilhuia* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

sewn to it, sewn to each other. The headdress was called *tzompilinalli.*

And before she died, she danced. The old men beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her; they intoned her song. And as she danced she could weep for herself, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For indeed it was only a short time, only so much time, only a brief time until she was to give her service when she would bring an end to earthly things.

And when the sun was past its zenith, thereupon they took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the devils went laying hold of her, went accompanying her; they went in file. Yet another impersonator of [Ilama tecutli] went leading them, one whom verily they thought a god[dess] on earth; it was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they had taken her [to the summit], then they cut open her breast. And when she died, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who went leading. He took it with him; in his right hand he went grasping it; he went dancing; with the severed head he went making dance gestures. He went before them; he went leading all the impersonators, the representatives of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended in the same way [as they had ascended]. They came ranged in a row; they came in line. And when they had come to descend to the ground, thereupon they each went, they dispersed; they went, each, to their homes, to their several *calpulcos*, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

And the impersonator, the likeness of Ilama tecutli, thus danced: he kept stepping back; he raised his legs up behind him; and he kept supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

At its end, at its head, it was divided into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, it was said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put on him a mask; it looked in two directions. It had large lips, it had huge lips; and it had big, round, protruding eyes. And upon his head stood a row of small banners; they stood in line. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

And when this [took place], it also was said: "Her grain bin burneth." Her grain bin was

pantli, tlavipanalli, itech tlatzontli, tlanetech itzontli: in tzõcalli, mjtoaia, tzompilinalli.

Auh in aiamo mjquj mjtotiaia, qujtlatzotzonjliaia in vevetque, in cujcanjme, qujcujcatia, quevilia in jcujc. Auh in jquac mjtotiaia, vel mochoqujliaia, yoan elcicivia, mociappoa: iehica ca ça achitonca, ça ixqujch cavitl y, ça ixqujch cavitontli y, in ie ontlacotiz, in ie compoloz tlalticpactli.

Auh in jquac õmotzcalo tonatiuh: njmã ie ic qujtlecavia in teucalticpac, qujtzitzqujtivi, qujtocativi in jxqujchtin im jxiptlaoã diablome cempantitivi, teiacãtiuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel qujmoteutia tlalticpac, çan tlacatl in qujchichioaia.

Auh in oconaxitique, njmã ic conelteqUj: auh in õmomjqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcotona: auh in jtzontecõ, qujoalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in qujtzitzqujtiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiiauhtiuh in tzõtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, qujniacantiuh in jxqujchtin imjxiptlaoan, in impatillooan Diablome, qujoaliaoaloa in teucalli, njman ic oaltemo, çã no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in otemoco tlalchi, njmã ie ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipielo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxjptla Ilama tecutli: injc mjtotiaia tzitzintlacça, itzintlampa in conjaoa icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechitiuh itopil, vtlatl:

in jiacac, in jquac, excan in maxaltic, iuhqujn mjnacachalli: motocaiotia, yiotlavitzil, auh in juh mjtotiaia y, mjtoa, motzineoa in Jlama tecutli: yoã xaiacatl cõmaquja, occampa tlachia, texxaxacaltic, tenxaxacalpul, yoan ixtotolonpol, auh in jcpac pantotonti tecpantoc, vipantoc: iuhqujn icpacsuchiuh muchioa:

yoan in jquac y, no moteneoa icuezcõ tlatla: in jcuezcon qujchichioaia ocoquavitl in qujnenepa-

4. Torquemada (*Segunda parte*, p. 284) writes, however, that "*a esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y entristecerse mucho (caso negado en otras, que morian otros Dias) y asi se entristecia, suspiraba, y lloraba, con la memoria de la muerta, que de proximo, y cerca esperaba.*"

fashioned[5] of pine branches which they joined together; like a framework did they arrange it.[6] They wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it there upon the eagle vessel.

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was bedight as a young [warrior]; he imitated a youth [with] his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the summit of the temple; he came bringing a maguey leaf; a small banner came standing on it.

When he came to arrive on the ground, he thereupon went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin. There he placed the maguey leaf.

And when he had placed it there, the offering priests thereupon appeared. They ran fast; it was as if each strove to be first. It was known as, it was called "They run for flowers"; they climbed up to the temple, where the flowers were. They were called godly flowers.

And when [the priests] had gone to reach the summit [of the temple], then [others] set fire to, ignited the grain bin. Once again [the priests] descended; they each quickly grasped the flowers. There they were casting the flowers there in the eagle vessel, there where the grain bin burned. Then the offering priests each ran off; they just left. This is quite enough.

And upon the morrow, then began the casting of bags at people. Everybody, each one, made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets; there they filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of paper. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine; they bound it inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made like] gloves; they also filled them with reed flowers; they were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which they made into bags for themselves; they pressed the leaves into balls.

And at this time it was commanded that none should put stones [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys only began in fun when they began the mock-fighting with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, it was as if it quickened as blows were repeatedly struck perchance at the heads [of the participants], perhaps at their backs, perhaps at their breasts as they dealt blows.

noaia, iuhqujn colotli, ic qujtlaliaia camaqujmjloaia, camapepechoa, vncan qujquetza in quauhxicalco:

auh ce tlenamacac in muchichioaia, motelpuchchichioaia, telpuchtli ipan qujça icuechin, yiaztaxel, ichochol itenpilol: vmpa oaleoa in teucalticpac, metl qujvicatz, pãtontli itech icativitz.

In oacico tlalchi: njmã ie ic vmpa iauh in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuezcomatl, vmpa contlalia in metl.

Auh in ocõtlali, njmã ie ic eoa in tlamacazque, cenca motlaloa, iuhqujn mopapanavitivi: moteneoa, motocaiotia. Suchipaina, qujtlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca suchitl: itoca Teusuchitl.

Auh in opanvechoato: njmã qujtlemjna, qujtlecavia, in cuezcomatl in tlamacazque: no ceppa oaltemo, qujoalcujcujtiqujça in suchitl: vncã qujoallaztimanj in suchitl in vncã quauhxicalco, in vncan tlatla, cuezcomatl: njmã motlatlaloa, in tlamacazque, çan ic qujztimanj, çan oc ie ixqujch.

Auh in jmuztlaioc: njmã ie peoa in nechichiquavilo, ixqujch tlacatl qujmuchichiviliaia chichiquatli: in acamatlatl in queoaia, vncã qujtentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amatzotzolli: in amatl qujpochina, qujpopochina, in jitic qujcacatza: auh in cequjntin iuhqujn macpalli, queoaia matlatl, no qujtentiquetza in tolcaputl: motocaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequjnti çan izoatl in qujmuchichiviliaia, in qujmochichiquatiaia: izoatl in qujtatapaiollaliaia.

Auh in jquac nenaoatiloia, injc aiac tetl itic qujtlaliz: çan onavilpeoa, çan oc pipiltotonti in qujpeoaltiaia in muchichiquaiautlaia, çan iuh nenti veiia: injc moiaiautla iuhqujn cocomonj ic movivitequj, aço imjcpac aço incuitlapan, aço imelpan in qujmotlaxilia.

5. *chichiua* may be rendered in two ways. We have been guided largely by the context.

6. In the next chapter (Izcalli) Sahagún notes that "*hazian la estatua del dios, de fuego de arquitos, y palos atados, unos con otros, que ellos llaman colotli, que quiere dezir zimbria, o modelo.*"

And the boys cast bags at the maidens — those yet with the long hairdress; whenever these came before them, there they cast bags at them; they surrounded them; in truth some made them weep. But when some woman took forethought if she went forth somewhere, she took something with her as a staff, or else a "devil-fruit-thorn." If anyone came to cast a bag at her, she pursued him with it, she defended herself with it.

But if one carried nothing with her as her defense, they indeed formed a ring about her. And some of the boys only kept watch; so that some might not display their bags, they just went hiding them by their sides.

And when they came upon a woman, if they somewhat waylaid her, then they turned around; they struck her; they made it known to her only when they struck her with the bags, when they cast the bags at her. They said to her: "It is a little bag, O our mother!" Then they ran away.

And this was done when there was the casting of the bags. And all these days the women watched themselves well; they were very prudent when they walked abroad, when they followed the road.

Enough. Here ended Tititl.

Auh in telpopochpipil, qujnchichiquaviaia in ichpopochti, iehoantin in tzonquemeque, in jquac imjxpan qujça, vncan qujchichiquavia, coololhuja, in aca vel qujchochoctia: auh in aca cioatl monemachtia, intla canapa iaz itla quavitl qujtquj, anoço tlacatecoloxocovitztli: intla aca ie vitz, qujchichiquaviz, ic qujtoca, ic momapatla.

Auh in aca atle qujtquj, inemapatlaia, vel coololhuja: auh in cequjntin telpopochtotonti, çã motepapachivia: in aca amo qujnextitiuh in jchichiqua, çan itlan caqujtiuh.

Auh in jquac qujnamjquj cioatl, intla achi ocompatili, njmã oalmocuepa, qujoallaxilia, çan ic qujmachitia in jquac qujoallaxilia, chichiquatli, in quioalchichiquavia: qujlhuja, chichiquatzin, tonãtze, njman ic motlaloa.

Auh inin muchioaia, in nechichiquaviloa: auh in jzqujlhujtl y, çẽca mopiaia in cioa, cenca mjmati, in jquac nememj, in jquac vtli qujtoca.

Ie ixqujch njcan tlamj Tititl.

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the honors performed during all the days of the eighteenth month, which was called, which was known as Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one known as Izcalli.[2]

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli, tamales stuffed with greens were eaten. It was maintained, it was said: "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image; it was only a framework [of wood] which they made.[3] They gave it a mask. His mask was made of green stone horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; much did it gleam; it was as if it shone; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon its head a quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom, large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers were outspread. And there were two head-fire-drills; they became as his horns; they were on two sides. And the head-fire-drills both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair. Very even was the head trimming; very evenly was the hair cut. His lordly hair fell to his loins. Very evenly was his head trimmed, his hair cut.

And when they put it on him, it was verily like his [own] hair.

And they dressed him in a cape of quetzal feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. Very far did it lie dragging; it was dragging a great deal on the ground. The wind penetrated it; it was as if it kept raising it up; it was as if it glittered, it was as if it gleamed.

And his mat was an ocelot skin; the ocelot skin mat lay with paws extended; in the same way its head lay face down. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make a fire]. And when a

Jnic cempoalli oncaxtolli omume, capt. ytechpa tla-toa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequjpanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic caxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in moteneoaia Yzcalli.

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: iehoatl in moteneoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia oauhqujltamalli, moteneoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan tota, iehoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia, yxiptla, çan colotli, in qujchioaia, qujxaiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecueioca, cenca mihiiotia:

yoan conaquja yn itzontecõ quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn xexeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencã quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli.

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujnma nelli itzon.

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujnma acomana. iuhq'n cuecueioca, iuhqujn cuecueiaoa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelueoatl, ocelupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jtzontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in iehoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iooalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetz tletl, njman ie ic qujpitza, mec tletlalia:

1. In the *Real Palacio MS*, fols. 123, 124, and 125 were bound out of correct sequence in the MS (pp. 45–50 in the Paso y Troncoso edition). Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 230–48) arranges the text in accordance with the consecutive numbering of the folios (119–26).

2. "Growth," or "the growing," according to Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 316). Torquemada favors the meaning "rebirth" (*Segunda parte*, p. 300): "*quiere decir: Resucitado, ò el de la resurreccion: porque por aquel tiempo ià queria mudar el tiempo, y pasar de frio à calor, y començar la Primavera.*" In Clavijero's *Historia antigua*, Vol. III, p. 172, n. 54, it is suggested that the literal meaning of *izcalli* is "here is the house."

3. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text says: "*hazian la estatua del dios, del fuego de arquitos, y palos atados, vnos con otros, que ellos llaman colotli, que quiere dezir zimbria, o modelo.*"

flame fell, thereupon he blew upon it; then he made the fire.

And when the fire had been made, when it was dawn, when it grew bright on the land, then there ranged themselves, there came first the youths, the small boys; they were giving the old men the snakes which they had caught. The old men were spread about taking them from [the boys]; they were spread about casting them into the fire. And everything, whatever anyone had captured—all the birds, the reed thrushes,[4] boat-tailed grackles,[5] western grebes,[6] all the various birds, and salamanders,[7] large lizards,[8] long-tailed lizards,[9] thick dark fish,[10] thick white fish,[11] small white fish,[12] shrimps,[13] frogs,[14] dragonfly larvae[15]—all of them they were spread about casting into the fire.

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, mec ommotecpana, õmoiacatia in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, qujmõmacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oqujmacique: qujnoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco qujmontlaztimanj, yoan in ie ixqujch, in aqujn çaço tlein ocacic, in jxqujch tototl, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictli, in ie ixqujch nepapã tototl, yoan in axolotl, in acaltetepon, in mjlquaxochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tleco qujmõtlaztimanj:

Then [the boys] were spread about coming forth; [the priests] were spread about offering each one a tamal stuffed with greens. And everyone of the common folk made themselves tamales stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as laid them out before Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. But some laid them as offerings only in their *calpulcos*.

njmã ic oalqujztimanj, qujnoalmacatimanj, cecentetl in oauhqujltamalli. Auh ixqujch tlacatl in maceoalli mooauhqujltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamanaia in xiuhtecutli: çan teiollotlama, in quezquj ontlamanaia ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in cequjntin çan incacalpulco in tlamanaia.

And the tamales stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone tamales. And all the common folk gave one another their tamales stuffed with greens; they were given one another. Whoever first cooked her tamales stuffed with greens then went to offer them to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

Auh in oauhqujltamalli, no qujtocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jxqujch maceoalli netech qujmomacaia, in inoauhqujltamal: netech motlatlamacaia: in aqujn achto oicucic, ioauhqujltamal: mec iauh qujmacaz in joãiolquj, ic qujnextia in netlaçotlaliztli:

And the sauce of the tamales stuffed with greens was a shrimp sauce. And the sauce was called "red [chili] sauce." And when the good common folk ate, they sat about sweating, they sat about burning themselves. And the tamales stuffed with greens were indeed hot, gleaming hot. They ate them hot; they sat about steaming their noses. And the husks

Auh in oauhqujltamalli in jmollo catca, acociltlatonjlli: auh in tlatonjlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia maceoaltzitzinti, mjîtonjtoque, mochichinotoque: auh in oauhqujltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapetztic qujtotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jzoaio, çan nonqua qujtlaliaia, aiac tleco conaxitiaia: muchi atlan contepeoaia.

4. "*Tordo de las cañas o milpero*" in Francisco J. Santamaría, *Diccionario de Mejicanismos* (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S. A., 1959, hereafter referred to as Santamaría, *Diccionario*), p. 18. Cf. also Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 50.

5. *Cassidix mexicanus* (Gmelin) in *ibid.*, p. 50.

6. *Aechmophorus occidentalis* (Lawrence) in *ibid.*, p. 31.

7. *Amblystoma tigrinum* L., *Proteus mexicanus, Sideron humboldti* in *ibid.*, p. 64.

8. *Heloderma horridum* in Santamaría, *Diccionario*, p. 15.

9. *Cnemidophorus sexlineatus gularis* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 61.

10. *Cyprinus americanus* or *Algansae tincella* C. in *ibid.*, p. 62.

11. *Chirostoma humboldtianum* in *ibid.*, p. 62.

12. *Amilotl, xouilin* and *xalmichi* are said to be the same, differing only in size and color. See n. 11.

13. *Cambarellus montezumae* in *ibid.*, p. 64.

14. *Rana esculenta, R. temporaria* in *ibid.*, p. 63.

15. *Larva de libélula* (dragonfly) in *ibid.*, p. 64.

they only set apart. No one took them to the fire; they strewed them all in the water.

And when this was done, when there had been eating, thereupon pulque was drunk. It was said: "There is cooling off at the oven; the old men cool off at the oven there at the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus did they cool off at the oven: they sat about drinking pulque, they sat about singing until it was dark. Here ended, thus concluded [the time when] tamales stuffed with greens were eaten, or the eating of tamales stuffed with greens.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmã ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa iteupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vctli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh iooa, njcã tlamj ic tzonqujça, in oauhqujltamalli qualo, in anoço vauhqujltamalqualiztli.

And when Izcalli arrived, when twenty days were counted, at that time Milintoc roasted something for himself. He likewise was [god of] fire. They also set up his image; it also was only a framework which they made.[16] They put a mask upon it made of [a mosaic of bits of] seashell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black [with] black stones called *teotetl* [jet], and the face was striped horizontally with black mirror stones.

Auh in onacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacempoalti: iquac motlaxqujaia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no qujtlaliaia ixiptla, çan no colotli in qujchoaia, conaquja ixaiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentlilhuj, in tlilli muchioa, iehoatl in tliltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teutetl, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, tezcapoctli ica:

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers. His tuft of hair at the back of his head was made of turquoise-browed motmot feathers: they were his motmot-tuft of hair at the back of his head. And they set on him his fire-flowers, made of turkey hen neck feathers.[17] It was as if this flared up, and [it had] plucked [single] flaming red feathers; and they were set in order.[18] When they put it on, it was as if in truth it lay burning. And his vestments were made only of flaming red feathers — a flaming red feather cape which also trailed far.

auh in conaquja itzontecon, iehoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolsuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: iehoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujnma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquẽ çã no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no veca vilantoc.

And they laid before him tortillas made of uncooked ground maize,[19] or bracelet tortillas. They ground the maize, and when it was already cornmeal, then they moistened it with hot water; then it was sweetened. Then they offered the tortillas. Some were with shelled beans — cooked shelled beans, not raw shelled beans.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmã catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmã ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then offerings were laid before him. The common folk, each one, [made offerings]; they went together each [with] five [tortillas]. A great quantity of bracelet tortillas were heaped up before him.

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoalti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpã motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

And in the same way [as for Xiuhtecutli] the youths [and] small boys were ranged in order; they

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan

16. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hazian otra vez, estatua del dios, del fuego, de palillos, y circulos atados, vnos con otros.*"

17. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Tenja aquella corona adornado el chapitel. de vnas plumas muy negras, que resplandecian. de negras: que crian las gallinas, y los gallos en el pescueço.*" Cf. also *tapalcatl* in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, p. 54.

18. Corresponding Spanish text: "*entrepuestas vnas pestañas, de plumas peladas, que parescian como pestañas de tafetan.*"

19. *uilocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llaman* uilocpalli, *de maiz molido, hechas sin cocer*" (Sahagún, Garibay ed. Vol. III, p. 57).

hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals mentioned. They spread about offering them to the old men, and the old men spread about casting them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals indeed burned; they charred. But the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went taking out. They spread about casting them on the hearth. There they were placed in a pile. Later the old men of the *calpulli* ate them.

in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmõmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in õmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaztimanj, vncã motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

And the youths [and] small boys then were spread about coming forth; [the old men] would offer them the bracelet tortillas. Then they each went. And when this was done, the bracelet tortillas were eaten.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujztimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmã ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

Thereupon there was cooling off at the oven; the old men cooled off at the oven there at the Temple, the *calpulco*, of Milintoc. And the pulque makers, the lords' pulque makers, left with each [of the old men] a bowl of pulque, or a gourd, with each one, or a small earthenware jar with each one; quite freely, quite of their own accord, they left the pulque; they would pour it into a large earthenware vessel. And the old men sat drinking the pulque; they sat cooling off at the oven. They did not become drunk.

njmã ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vncan iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vctli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotõ, çan in iollocopa, çan in iollotlamati, in concaoa vctli, qujoaltecatimanj apazco: auh tlaoãtoque in vevetque, texcalcevitoque, amo ivinti:

Enough of this.

ie ixqujch.

And when the twenty [days] of Izcalli had passed, thereupon were established the five days of Nemontemi or Nenontemi.[20] They belonged nowhere. And the Nemontemi were indeed feared; they were held in awe. No one disputed with others, no one wrangled. And if anyone disputed with others, then it was said that they would continue it. And he who was born then they named Nemo. They said: "It is said that nothing is his desert, nothing becomes his merit. He will live in misery, he will live in poverty there on earth." [21]

Auh in onqujz y, cempoalli Izcalli, njmã ie ic oalmotlalia in macujlilhujtl in nemotemj, anoço nenontemj, acampouhquj: Auh in nemontemj, vel imacaxoia, mauhcaittoia, aiac teaoaia, acac maoaia: auh in aca vncã teaoa, qujlmach cenqujcuj. Auh in aqujn vncan tlacati qujtocaiotiaia. Nemo: qujtoaia, qujlmach atle ilhujtl, atle imaceoal muchioa, qujhiovitinemjz, vmpa onqujztinemjz in tlalticpac.

And when it was the time of Izcalli, in the first year, and in the second year, and in the third year, nothing was done. But later, in the fourth year, a great [festival] was observed. Then died those [adorned as] Ixcoçauhqui, the impersonators of Xiuhtecutli, ceremonially bathed ones. Sometimes many died; sometimes not many.

Auh in jpan jn Izcalli: injc ce xivitl, yoan ic oxivitl, yoan iquexivitl, atle muchioaia: auh qujn ic nauhxivitl in moveichioa, qujniquac mjquja in Ixcoçauhque, in jxiptlaoan Xiuhtecutli: tlaaltilti, in quēmã mjequjntin in mjquja, in quemã amo mjequjnti.

And upon the morrow, when already [the feast of] Izcalli had dawned, the ceremonially bathed

Auh in ie iuh muztla, in ie oallatvi Izcalli: in tlaaltilti, onxalaqui, qujmonxalaquja in vmpa tzom-

20. Corresponding Spanish text: "*estos cinco dias, a njngun dios, estan dedicados: y por esso, los llaman nemontemj.*" *Nenontemi* means "not filled" and refers to an incomplete ritual month of 20 days.

21. Cf. Dibble and Anderson, *Book VI*, p. 225.

ones entered the sand; they brought them to the sand there at Tzonmolco. The women carried everything, all their womanly array, and the men carried everything, all their array (as hath been told elsewhere). And they carried for them all their paper array; these various things went upon a wooden globe.

And when they had brought [the bathed ones] there, thereupon they arrayed them; they were arrayed. They put on them all their paper array. And when they were prepared and arrayed even as Ixcoçauhqui was arrayed, and the women were arrayed in the same manner, thereupon they climbed up to [the Temple of] Tzonmolco; they went in rows. And when they reached the top, thereupon they circled about the offering stone. Then once again they came down. They also came in rows.

And when they came descending, thereupon they took them to the *calpulco.* Then they took apart the various [vestments]; there [the victims] were gathered in a house; they guarded each of them well. They fastened the men with a rope about the waist; [guards] held them tightly [with it] when they [went forth to] urinate. And when midnight arrived, then there was the cutting of hair; they cut hair from [the crowns of] their heads as hath been told, as hath been published. And when hair had been cut from them, thereupon they had feathers pasted [on their heads]. They also pasted feathers on [the heads of] the women. And, as during the night, none of the stewards might sleep by day.[22]

And when day broke, when already it grew bright on the land, thereupon was burned [the bathed ones'] various [raiment] (as hath been told). When each of these had been burned, thereupon once again they entered indoors. But some did not burn their various belongings; they only gave them as gifts to others; they gave them to others.

And when it had dawned, then once again they were adorned. Thereupon they went there where they were to die; they were in order. When they reached there where they were to die, thereupon they danced, they sang; they made an effort. It was said that [they sang until] their voices cracked; it was said that they were hoarse.

And when the sun had already passed its zenith, thereupon descended [he who was arrayed as] Paynal; he led the captives here; he came at their head.

molco: in cioa muchi qujtquj, in jxqujch incioatlatquj: yoan in oqujchtin, muchi qujtquj in jxqujch intlatlatquj (in juh omjto cecnj): auh in jmamatlatquj, muchi qujmjtqujlia: quauhtzontapaioltica ieietiuh.

Auh in oqujmonaxitiq̃, njman ie ic qujnchichioa, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in jxqujch imamatlatquj. Auh in ontecencaoaloc: auh injc muchichioa, ivin muchichioa Ixcoçauhquj: auh in cioa, çan ie no ivin muchichioa: njmã ie ic tleco in tzommolco, tecpantivi: auh in vmpanvetzito: njmã ie ic qujoaliaoaloa in techcatl: njmã ic no ceppa, oaltemo, no motecpãtivitze.

Auh in otemoco njmã ie ic qujnvica in calpulco, mec qujnxixitinja, vncan mocencaltilia, vel q'npipia: in oqujchtin qujnxillãmecaiotia, in jquac maxixa qujntitilinjtivi. Auh in oacic iooalnepantla: njmã ie ic tetzoncujoa, qujntzoncuj: in juh omjto, in juh omoteneuh: auh in ontetzoncujoac: njmã ie ic tepotonjlo, no qujnpotonja in cioa: auh in juh ceiooal, aocac ma ontlacacochi in tlapixque.

Auh in otlavizcalli moquetz, in ie tlatlalchipaoa: njmã ie ic motlatlatlatilia (in juh omjto) in ommotlatlatlatilique: njmã ie ic no ceppa calaquj in inieian: auh in aca amo qujmotlatlatilia in jaxca, çan qujtetlauhtia, çan qujtemamaca.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ic no ceppa techichioalo: njmã ie ic vi in vmpa mjqujzque, motecpana: in onacique vmpa mjqujzque: njmã ie ic mjtotia, mocujca ellaquaoa: omach intozquj tzatzaian, omach ihiçaoacaque:

Auh in ie ommotzcaloa tonatiuh; njmã ie ic oaltemo in Paynal, qujnoaliacana, iacattivi in mamalti,

22. *"En aquella noche nadie dormía"* seems to be the corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex.* See, however, Angel María Garibay K., "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 2 (1946), p. 171, for a discussion of *tlaca* in composition.

They became the fundament of [the bathed ones]. When the captives died, then [they slew] the bathed ones, [the impersonators of] Ixcoçauhqui.

And when they had completely ended the slaying, when it was so, [then] all the rulers, the lords, those much to be revered, then already were spread about; they just stood about waiting. They were arrayed. Moctezuma led them. He had put on the turquoise ruler's miter, the [symbol of] rulership.

And all put in place the turquoise nose rods and inserted the turquoise ear plugs, indeed of turquoise; but some were only made of wood painted like turquoise. And they put on the sleeveless jackets, the turquoise [blue] jackets, well ornamented, and the Xolotl jewel like a little dog which went with it. These were made of paper painted turquoise [blue]. And they had their paper breechclouts painted with stripes. And these were painted only with black.

And in their hands wooden staves went lying; they were small, shaped like weaving sticks, painted in two colors — red above and chalky below. On either side they grasped a paper incense bag. Thereupon they came down [from the temple]; they came dancing.

And when they had come descending, then they went encircling [the courtyard]. Only four times did they go encircling. And when they had danced, then there was dispersing on the part of each one; there was dispersing of each person. Thereupon there was entering the palace; there was going into the palace. And of this it was said: "There is lordly dancing; the lords dance the lordly dance." It was the privilege only of the rulers that they should dance the lordly dance. This was done every four years.

So it was.

It was still early morning when was begun the piercing of the ear [lobes], when they pierced the ear [lobes] of the small children. And they pasted them with yellow parrot feathers and with soft [white] feathers which went mingled with the yellow ones.

And for a gift they made pinole.[23] And the mothers sought out some brave warrior, perhaps a seasoned warrior or a leader of youths who might wish to be as a parent, thus to become [their children's] uncle. Also some sought out a woman who might be as an aunt.

in impepechoan muchioa: in ommjcque mamalti: njmã iehoã in tlaaltilti in ixcoçauhq̃.

Auh in oncentlanque mjquj in ie iuhquj: auh in jxqujchtin tlatoque, in tetecutin in cenca maviztililonj, ie ic manj, ça qujchixtimanj omocencauhq̃, qujniacana in Motecuçoma: ocontlali xiuhvitzolli, in tlatocaiotl:

yoan contlalia iacaxivitl in muchinti, yoã conaquja xiuhnacochtli, vel xivitl. Auh in cequjntin çan quavitl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli yoan cõmaquja xicolli, xiuhtlalpilli, vel tlaiecchioalli, yoã in xolocozquj iuhqujn chichiton ic ietiuh; amatl in tlachioalli, tlaxiuhicujlolli, yoan iamamaxtli, acaxilquj injc tlacujlolli: auh çan tlilli injc tlacujlolli.

Auh in immac oonotiuh quavitl, çan tepitoton tlatzotzopaztectli, chictlapãquj; in aco chichiltic, auh in tlanj tiçaio: cecectlapal qujtzitzquja amaxiqujpilli; njmã ie ic oaltemo mjtotitivitze.

Auh in otemoco: njmã ie ic tlaiaoaloa, çã nappa in tlaiaoaloa: auh in ommjtotique mec nexixitinjlo, texixitinjlo, njmã ie ic calacoa in tecpan tlatecpanoloz. Auh in iehoatl y, moteneoa: netecujtotilo, motecujtotia in tetecutin, çan inneixcavil catca in tlatoque, in motecujtotiaia: nauhxiuhtica in muchioaia;

ie iuhquj.

Oc vecaiooan in peoaloia in tenacazxapotlaloia in qujnnacazxapotla pipiltotonti: yoan qujnpotonja, tocivitica, yoan itlachcaioio neneliuhtiuh in toztli.

Auh in ventli in qujchioaia pinolli: auh in tenanoan cequj temooaia, iehoatl in tiacauh aço tequjoa, anoço telpochiaquj iuhqujn tlanenequja impilhoaque injc Tetlatizque: no cequj temoa cioatl in teavitiz,

23. The *Real Palacio MS* here contains the line *yeuatl yn chinampinolli*, which probably identifies the *pinolli* as ground dried maize and chía seeds.

They gave gifts to the man; they gave him perchance a tawny cape or a coyote fur cape. And also the woman was given gifts; they also gave gifts to her.

And when there had been the piercing of ear [lobes], thereupon they took each of the children to singe them. They laid a fire, they made a fire; indeed much incense did they spread on the fire.

And hence was it said: "They are singed." The old men of the *calpulli* were spread about taking the small children; they were spread about dedicating them over the fire. Then they were spread about giving them uncles and aunts. And it was as if the children kept crying out, it was as if they whimpered. Then they went each to his home.

And when they had gone to their homes, thereupon there was eating, there was drinking on the part of each one.

And when the singing and dancing were begun in the temple, it was noon. Then once again there was going to the temple. The uncles [and] the aunts carried the children. Those who carried things went with the pulque; what was poured they carried in small gourds, some in earthen jars. And when they went to arrive, there was singing there. Then was quieted the dance; they carried the children on their backs. There they were spread about giving them pulque; they went giving it to them; they gave it to one another.

And for drinking, for drinking the pulque, there were quite small drinking vessels; only exceedingly small ones. And all were giving pulque to the small children.

Hence this was named "pulque drinking for children."

And in the evening, when there had been ceasing on the part of each, there was going on the part of each to their several homes. And when there had been going on the part of each to their several homes, once again they danced in their courtyards. All the kin [of those who celebrated], each one, drank pulque — the revered old men, the revered old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli [The Growing]: at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they qujtlauhtiaia: in oqujchtli in qujmaca, aço quappachtilmatli, anoço coioichcatilmatli: auh no motlauhtiaia, no qujtlauhtiaia in Cioatl.

Auh in ontenacazxapotlaloc; njmã ie ic qujnvivica, in qujnchichinozque pipiltotõti: qujtlalia tletl, tletlaliaia, vel mjec in copalli contepeoa tleco.

Auh injc moteneoa techichinolo in calpulhuevetque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti tleco qujmonjauhtimanj: njman ic qujnoalmacatimanj in tetlati, in teaviti: auh in pipiltotonti iuhqujn tlatzatzatzi, iuhqujn tlacaoacatimanj: njman ic iatimanj in inchachan:

auh in oniaque inchan, njmã ie ic tlatlaqualo, haatlioa.

Auh in opeoaloc teupan in ie cujco in ie netotilo, nepantla tonatiuh: njmã ic no ceppa viloa in teupan: in Tetlaoan, in teavioan qujnvivica in pipiltotonti, in tlatlatquj ietiuh in vctli, in tlatoiaoalli xicalhujcoltica in qujitquj, cequj apiloltica: auh in oacito vncã cujco: njmã ie ic ommomana in mitotia, qujnmamama in pipiltotonti: vncã qujmomacatimanj, qujmomacatinemj in vctli: netech qujmomamaca.

Auh injc quja injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tepiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti:

ie injc moteneoa, pillaoano.

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in techachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no ceppa mjtotia in jmjtoalco, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoaniolque, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã qujnquechanaia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti: qujlmach, ic qujmjzcalloana: qujmjzcalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque.

grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly grow tall.

Enough. Here ended, here concluded the feast of Izcalli.

Ie ixqujch njcan tzonqujça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

Thirty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast which was named Uauhquiltamalqualiztli [The Eating of Tamales Stuffed With Amaranth Greens], which was celebrated at the time it was the tenth [day] of the aforesaid month; and when it was [this time], they celebrated a feast for him who was their god, whose name was Ixcoçauhqui.

Izcalli and Izcalli tlami: these verily are placed in the month of January, after there have been eight days, already after eight days, after the eighth day. When it was this [time], tamales stuffed with amaranth greens were eaten.[1] Everywhere [the custom] was general; it was everywhere; nowhere was it left out. In each house, and in each city, they indeed consumed two [tamales] when there was the making of tamales stuffed with amaranth greens, when there were tamales stuffed with amaranth greens. And there was giving of them to one another, there was giving of them to one another on the part of each one. In this manner was there the giving of them: there was giving in company; there was giving among themselves; there was giving to friends; there was giving to those whom they knew. There was no giving in ill will; there was giving in gladness.

And she who first cooked her tamales stuffed with amaranth greens then went to give them to [those of] houses like hers, her neighbors, those who lived in nearby houses. And first she made offerings for her distant kin.

And when this was done, when she had given them to each of the others, then they sat down to eat their tamales stuffed with amaranth greens. They were arranged in a circle. They rounded up, gathered together, brought together, assembled their children. This formed the family.

And first they made an offering to the fire; they laid five tamales stuffed with amaranth greens before the fire. These were in a wooden vessel; they went covered up. Then they set them in place, they laid them as offerings for each of their dead, there where they each lay buried.

Injc cempoalli on caxtolli omei capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, in moteneoaia: Oauhqujltamalqualiztli, in muchioaia in jpan ic tlamatlacti in metztli in tlacpac omjto: auh in jquac y, qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh catca, in jtoca Ixcoçauhquj.

Izcalli, yoan Izcalli tlamj: inin vel ipan motlalia in metztli henero, ie iuh chicueilhujtl manj, ie ichicueilhujoc, ie iuh chicueilhujtica: in jquac in, oauhqujltamalli qualoia: novian qujtzacutimãca, ipanoca, acã cavia: in cecencalpan, yoan in cecemaltepetl ipan, vel ontetlamja in neoauhqujltamalhujlo, in neoauhqujltamaltilo: auh nepanotl nemacoia, nepanotl nemamacoia, ic netlatlamacoia, necepãmacoia, nenetech macoia, necnjuhmacoia, neiximatcamacoia, amo netlavelmacoia, nepaccamacoia:

in aqujn achto oicucic ioauhqujltamal njman ic iauh qujmacaz in jcalpo, in jcalecapo, in jcalnaoac tlacatl: yoan in vecapa ivaniolquj, achto contonaltiaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in onoviampa qujtemamacac njmã motlalia in qujquazque, in inoauhqujltamal, moiaoaloa, qujncemololoa qujnnechicoa, qujncentlalia qujntecpichoa in impilhoã inin cencaltia.

Auh achtopa contlamanjlia in tletl, tlecujlixquac cõmana in oauhqujltamalli macujltetl, quauhcaxtica mantiuh, mollotiuh, çatepan cecentetl q'ntlatlaliliaia, qujnmamanjlia in immjccaoan, in vncã totoctoque:

1. *Uauhquiltamalqualiztli*: cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex, Book I, The Gods* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 2nd ed. rev., 1970), p. 29, n. 84. Much of the material in this chapter is discussed also in the previous one (Izcalli).

Thereupon they ate. They sat burning themselves, each one; they each sat sweating; indeed they were gleaming with the heat. What they ate went smoking; what they gladly ate they each gulped down, they went gulping it down; they ate panting; they sat burning their mouths.

njmã ie ic tlaqua, muchichinotoque, in jitonjtoque, vel totontlapetztic ipotoqujztiuh in qujqua, in qujpaccaqua tlatlaltequj, ontlaltectivi, neneciuhtoque, cocociuhtoque:

And the [corn] husks of the tamales stuffed with amaranth greens [in which they were wrapped] they just laid apart, elsewhere. They strewed them in the water. And no one could taste the husks. Because of this they took care that none be scorched, burned, fall in the fire.

auh in jzoaio, oauhqujltamalli, çan nõqua, cecnj qujtlaliaia, atlan cõtepeoaia: auh aiac vel qujpalooaia in izoatl: ipampa ic momalhujaia inic amo aca mochichinoz, motlatiz, tleco onvetziz.

And they were eaten in no more than one day. By night they were each done; all were finished. They left nothing for the next day.

Auh çan vel cemjlhujtl in qualoia: in ie iooa otlatlatlan, moch tlamja, aoctle qujmocavia in jmuztlaioc.

And when it grew dark, the old men [and] the old women drank pulque; only they. It was said: "They cool off at the oven."

Auh in oiooac tlatlaoana in vevetque in jlamatque, çanjoque: mjtoaia, Texcalcevia.

And when this [was done], they set up the image of the fire [god] Ixcoçauhqui, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhyoueue. They gave it human form, they gave it a body of amaranth seed [dough]. They who did it, whose office it was, were the men of the *calpulli* temple known as Tzonmolco,[2] especially those who worshipped [fire] as a god.[3]

Auh in jquac y, qujtlaliaia in jxiptla tletl Ixcoçauhquj, Xiuhtecutli, Tlalxictentica, Cueçaltzin, Nauhioveve, tzooalli in qujtlacatlaliaia, in qujnacaiotiaia: iehoan qujchioaia in jtech povia calpoleque, moteneoa: Tzommulca, oc cenca iehoan in qujmoteutiaia.

And when twenty days had passed, it was said to be Izcalli tlami. The bather of slaves at this time displayed to the people, made known to the people, set up before the people the one who would be his bathed one, the slave whom he had bought, who would become the impersonator of Ixcoçauhqui. At this time he adorned him; he placed on him all of Ixcoçauhqui's array. Hence it was said, "The bather gathereth [his wealth]."

Auh injc onaci cempoalilhujtl: mjtoa, Izcalli tlamj: in tealtianj, iquac qujteittitia, qujteiximachtia, teixpan qujquetza in jtlaaltil iez, in oqujcouh tlacotli: in jxiptla muchioa Ixcoçauhquj, iquac ic qujchichioa itech qujtlalilia in jxqujch in jnechichioal Ixcoçauhquj ic mjtoaia, tlaixnextia in tealtianj:

And for this reason he was called the bather of a slave: he continually bathed [the slave] with warm water all the time he was going to die, all the time that [the bathed one] went knowing that there was his tribute of death at its appointed time when he would die at the time of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

auh injc mjtoa, tealtianj: in jtlaaltil muchipa caltia, atotonjltica in jxqujch cavitl mjqujtiuh, in jxqujch cavitl qujmatitiuh in vncã imjqujztequjpã in jtlapoalpan: in mjqujz ipan tlacaxipeoaliztli.

And before he died, much did the bather of slaves esteem him; he paid much attention to him. He

Auh in aiamo mjquj, cenca qujmavizmatia, quj-

2. Tzonmolco: temple of the fire god; also one of the districts of Tenochtitlan. The temple is enumerated in the appendix on the buildings of the temple square as the sixty-fourth building. Cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 240.

3. The preceding Nahuatl text is not in the *Real Palacio MS*. The Nahuatl text for the remainder of this chapter appears on fols. 123, 124, 125 of the *Real Palacio MS*. These three folios have been removed from their correct sequence and placed at the beginning of Book II. The Nahuatl text is the same in the *Florentine* and *Real Palacio* manuscripts. However, the sequence of folios in the *Real Palacio MS* is fol. 125, fol. 123, fol. 124. This sequence is evidently correct as the notation, at the bottom of the folios, labels them C.ii; C.iii; C.iiii.

regaled him; he gave him things; all good was the food which he gave him.

And a pleasure girl became his guardian. She constantly amused him; she caressed him; she joked with him; she made him laugh; she gratified him; she took pleasure on his neck; she embraced him. She deloused him, she combed his hair, she smoothed his hair. She banished his sorrows. And when already it was the bathed one's time to die, the pleasure girl took all. She rolled up, she bundled up all the bathed one's belongings, each of what [the bather] had clothed him in, had placed on him when he had sent him as a messenger; [the things] with which he had lived in pretense, had gone with head high, had lived at ease, had gone about drunk, had indeed lived in pride.

And for this reason was [the time] named Izcalli tlami [The Growing is Achieved]: they took by the neck, they hung high all the small children. Thus was it said: "They take them for growth; they grasp them to grow, so that they will each quickly grow tall; they will develop; they will grow up."

And as for the magueys, they divided their cores, they split their cores, they broke up their cores, they exposed their cores. And as for the cacti, they cleaned them, they pruned their branches, because thus they would develop quickly; they would revive, they would grow.

And at this time of Izcalli, then it also came to pass, every fourth year, that there was the bringing out of the children, that there was pulque drinking by the children. And then the rulers danced the lordly dance along with their noblemen. And they put on their wigs of long locks of hair; they were head pieces made of long hair; they covered them with many green stones. [The hair] fell, verily, to the rulers' waists.

And for this reason was it said that there was bringing out of the children: the children's fathers [and] mothers first sought out a woman [and] a man whom they summoned to bring [the children] to the *calmecac* at a place called Tezcacoac. It was said that they would be their uncle [and] their aunt; they became uncle [and] aunt.

And not their kin did they take; only their friends. To those whom they took, those whom they chose, they gave gifts. They laid out capes, breechclouts for us men; in the same way for a woman they laid out her skirt, her shift.

çeçẽmatia in tealtianj, qujtlanenectia qujtlacuecuepilia: muchi qualli tlaqualli in qujmacaia:

auh ce avienj, in jtepixcauh muchioaia: muchipa caviltia, caavilia, qujcamanalhuja, qujvetzqujtia, qujquequeloa, iquechtlan âaquj, qujquechnaoa, caatemja, qujtzitziquaoazvia, qujpepepetla, qujtlaoculpopoloa: auh in jquac ie imjqujzpan tlaaltilli: in avienj moch concuj, ontlacemololoa, concemololoa in jxquich in jtlatquj tlaaltilli: in oqujquequemja, in jtech oqujtlatlaliaia in oqujtitlanja, in jpã oiztlacattinenca, oaquetztinẽca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinẽca omoveliztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujmacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, mooapaoazque:

yoã in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatepeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, mozcaltiz, mooapaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan contlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachioalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilqujxtilo, yn jxqujchtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in qujnvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oqujchtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmavitia, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan in tlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlaliliaia in toqujchtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

At midnight they took [the children] to the *calmecac*. There they perforated [the lobes of] their ears; they pierced [the lobes of] their ears. [The children] yelled [as] the pointed bone thus pierced [the lobes of] their ears. They there drew through a thread of unspun cotton; they bound it to them there. It was as if the small children raised a yell, kept crying out, raised a cry of weeping. And they pasted their heads with yellow parrot feathers, with soft downy feathers.

And the women who became aunts were pasted with red feathers, but only on their legs and their arms. And they went covering themselves with their paper flowers; they were called their lordly flowers.

When they had perforated their ear [lobes], then they took them each to their several homes. There they sat watching over them; they sat in vigil, they kept vigil, they sat awake; they sat awaiting the time dawn would break, the time that the light would arise, the time that the barn swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon there was activity, there was eating, there was drinking on the part of each one. Thereupon the old men, the men of the *calpulli*, the singers sat in the courtyard while they sang for [the children]. Then they went carrying the small children on their backs. And [a child] who was already a little large his uncle and his aunt went holding by his hand. There they made him dance; they went making dance motions. And when there was still a little daylight, when the sun hung low, there was gathering together at Tezcacoac. There the dancing, the singing continued — the songs, in all, spreading the sound, crashing like waves.

And there began the giving, the giving of pulque to the people. Everyone took his pulque there; it was taken with one in earthen jars. There was giving there to each other; there was continual giving to one another; there was continual returning, there was continual reciprocating. There they gave pulque to all the small children — those who were already a little large and those who still lay in the cradle. They only made them taste it. Indeed everyone already mature was drunk; it was indeed evident that pulque was drunk.

There was no awe [of the pulque]. It was as if it bubbled up. It was not precious. It was as if it gleamed. It reached the ground. The pulque ran like water.

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacazxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conqujxtia, vncã qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzatziztleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoqujztleoa in pipiltzitzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoã inmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh contecativia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

In jquac oqujmõnacaxxapotlaque, njmã ic qujnoalhujujca in inchachan, vncan qujchieltitoque ixtoçotoque, toçotoque tlatlatviltitoque, qujchixtoque in quenman tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmã tlatoz cujcujtzcatl.

Auh in otlatvic, njmã ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, aatlioa: njmã ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in qujncujcatiaia, vncã qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoan iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenqujxoa in tezcacoac: vncã mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepã caoantimomana, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl:

Auh vncã peoa in nemaco, in temaco vctli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoãtia in jxqujchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano:

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçotli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpã aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vctli,

And they carried their drinking vessels called *tzitzicuiltecomatl*. They had three feet; they had corners on four sides.

yoan intlaoancax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: ei icxi, nauhcampa nacace,

It was as if there were reddening of faces, as if there were a din, as if there were panting, as if there were glazing of the eyes, going in disorder, quarreling, going from one side to the other, disturbances; it was as if there were repulsing, crowding together, trampling, elbowing. There was taking of one another by the hand, there was continual taking of one; there was continual persisting, there was continual pride. There was going with arm about the neck as there was entering of their several homes on the part of each one.

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech neaano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

Thus was it said: "Indeed it is verily the feast day of pulque; indeed there was the drinking of pulque by the children."

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vctli, ca pillaoano.

And thus concluded, thus ended Izcalli. Then were established, were set in the Nemontemi, five days for which there were no day-names, which no longer belonged, which were no longer counted. Greatly were they feared; greatly were they held in awe.

Auh injc ontzonqujça, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmã oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacaxoia, cenca mauhcaittoia:

For they were only unfortunate; there was no purpose there; nothing came forth; there was misfortune. For indeed there was no desert there, no merit; there was only misery there, poverty, purposelessness, misfortune, a life of woe.

iehica ca çan nẽqujzquj, vncã nenenqujxtilo, atle vnqujxoa, nenencolo, nenenencolo: iehica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mâceoalli, can vncan icnoiotl, netolinjliztli, nenqujzcaiotl, nenqujçaliztli, âoneoatinemjliztli.

And if one were then born, there was great fear of it, there was ignoring of it. And if it were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted, nowhere did he belong. He was a profitless man. And if it were a woman, she was a profitless woman.

Auh in aqujn vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oqujchtli qujtocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenqujzquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoqujch. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

And when it was this time, nothing was done. The palaces, the courts of justice were empty; no suits were judged. There was only staying indoors. No one swept with a broom; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan or the flight feather of a turkey hen, the primary feather of a turkey hen; or they repeatedly beat, they swept with a cape.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan in teccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

And none could then wrangle; there were strong deterrents to the people; there were very strict commands given one; there were stringent commands given one; people were charged not to wrangle. Nor did anyone sleep during the day. Then it was said to them: "Thou wilt do [so] always."

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

Nor should anyone fall stumbling, or trip, or stumble. Carefully was there walking. And to one

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aqujn motepotla-

who stumbled they said: "Thou hast been affected by the Nemontemi; thou hast gotten it all. Be careful."

And if at this time anyone took sick, was ill, everyone said: "He hath taken sick. Nevermore will he go forth; no more may he hope that perhaps he will recover." No longer was there doubt; no longer was there hope of it.

And if anyone yet escaped [death], no longer was it of someone's notice, no longer was it of someone's conversation. It was said: "Indeed he through whom there is life was compassionate; he only acted of his own accord; he did it on his own account."

No longer was it customary that indeed there should be courage, that there should be an effort made. His kin forgot him; indeed they laid him on the ground. No longer was there leaving such a place. Somehow he got up, caught his breath. For the time when the days of Nemontemi began terrified one.

Indeed nothing was his day sign; indeed nothing was his name. Therefore no one could then practice medicine, heal one, read [the day signs] for one. For in truth [the days] were not counted; nothing was their number in all of these four [*sic*] days.

mjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aqujn ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococooaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Cencocolizcuj, aocmo qujçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maqujça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oqujmonomavili, oqujmoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoaloc, oqujxcauhque injoaiolque, ca oiqujtecaque: aocmo iuhcan qujxooaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipooallo in jzqujlhujtl navilhujtl.

APPENDIX

Apendiz del segundo libro

Temple of Uitzilopochtli

Coatepetl. 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times a year, when they used to celebrate his feast day.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was when there ascended [to the top of the pyramid], together, this Uitzilopochtli [and another] named Tlacauepan Cuexcotzin.[1] And when they took the image of this Uitzilopochtli up, indeed all the offering priests, the youths carried it in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of amaranth seed [dough]. It was very large; it was as tall as a man.

And the name of the second one was Tlacauepan Cuexcotzin. His image also was [made] only of amaranth seed [dough].

And when the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, when it took human form, it was there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second one, Tlacauepan Cuexcotzin, was made, took human form, there at a place called Uitznauac *calpulco.* And during one night they gave them form, they gave them human form.

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And when it was already afternoon, thereupon there was dancing, there was going round [in procession]. And when the sun had entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, thereupon they descended. [The images] were there all night. And the offering priests who guarded them were called Yiopoch.

And when it dawned, thereupon Paynaltzin came forth, who was himself the representative of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried him in his arms. And the image of Paynal was only of wood [formed] to go as a man. And he who bore it in his arms was titled Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl; he was richly bedight with his feather device from shoulder to flank. And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: it had its hummingbird disguise, its *anecuyotl* device, its

Vitzilobuchtli iteucal

coatepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, expa in qujçaia ilhujuh, in qujlhujqujxtiliaia, yn ipan ce xivitl.

Injc cepa ipan in mjtoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoqujçaia, in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli, ym omextin yn jtoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic qujtlecaujaja in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixqujch in tlamacazquj, in telpuchtli in qujnapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli.

Auh ynjc vme in jtoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in jxiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh ceniooal in qujmicuxitiaia, in qujntlacatiliaia.

Auh in otlatujc, ie otlacatque: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, necocololo: auh çan ic oncalaquj, in tonatiuh, in qujntlecaujaia: auh yn oqujmontlalito, njman ie ic oaltemoa, vmpa ceioal cate: yoan qujnpiaia tlamacazque, yn jntoca Iiopuch:

Auh yn otlatujc, niman ie ic oalqujça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, qujnapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quaujtl tlacaietiuh: auh in qujnapaloa, itoca topiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal ynjc muchichioaia, yvitzitzilnaoal, yianecuiouh, yteucujtlapã, ychalchiuhcozquj: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, iehoatl in cujtlatezcatl, çan muche in teuxivitl:

1. Cuexcotzin: the name is so spelt in the corresponding Spanish text.

golden banner, its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for the back, all fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] went carrying his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Teotlachco, then there was the slaying [of sacrificial victims] before him. Those who died were [both] named Amapantzin; both were only impersonators. And many more captives [also] died.

And when there had been the slaying, thereupon Paynal was taken in procession. He arrived in Tlatelolco, and when he had arrived, thereupon the common folk met him; they offered him incense and beheaded many quail for him. And thereupon they started, they reached Popotlan; similarly the common folk met him; they offered him incense and beheaded many quail. And then again they started, they reached Chapultepec; similarly the common folk met them; they offered [the god] incense and beheaded many quail for him. Thereupon they started, they reached Tepetocan; the common folk also met them, offered him incense, and also beheaded many quail. Thereupon they started forth, they reached here at Acachinanco; the common folk also met them; they offered him incense; they also beheaded many quail.

Thereupon the insignia started forth. And when the insignia came to arrive, thereupon they mounted to the top of Coatepetl, where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, thereupon they laid out the blood banner. When there had been circling about, thereupon they descended.

auh in qujiacana qujtqujtiuh ycoatopil, xivitl ic tlaqujmjlolli.

Auh yn onacic, in teutlachco in paynal, njman ie ixpã mjcoa: iehoantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzitzin, çan vmẽtin teixiptlaoan: auh ieh cenca mjequjntin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic vnpeoa, yn tlaiaoaloz Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatilulco, auh yno onacic, njman ie ic qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia yoan miec çolin qujcotonjliaia. Auh njman ie ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no iuh qujnamjq'a in maçeoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonaia. Auh njman ie no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapultepec, çan no iuh qujnamjqujin maceoalti, qujtlenamaqujlia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonjlia. Niman ie ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaqujlia, yoan no mjec çolin qujcotona. Niman ie ic oalpeoa, valaci in vncan acachinãco: no qujnamjquj in maceoalti, qujtlenamaqujlia, no mjec çolin qujcotona.

Niman ie ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ie ic tleco, yn jcpac coatepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn otlecoc, njmã ie ic conteca, in ezpanjtl, yn otlaiaoalo: njman ie ic oaltemo.

Here Is Described the Feast Which Was Observed Every Eight Years

And this was Atamalqualiztli [The Eating of Water Tamales], which went being observed every eight years. Sometimes it was observed in [the month of] Quecholli, but perhaps sometimes it was observed in [the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days there was fasting. Only water tamales, soaked in water, were eaten, with no chili, with no salt, nor with saltpeter, nor with lime. And they were eaten [only] at noon.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water tamales, held in awe. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said, would be visited with skin sores.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Good fortune is sought," and "Gastropod shells are applied."[1] And at this time indeed all the gods danced; hence it was said: "There is godly dancing."

And all came forth there as hummingbirds, butterflies, honey bees, flies, birds, black beetles, dung beetles; in the guise of these the people appeared when they danced.

And still others appeared in the guise of sleep. [Some had] fruit tamales as their necklaces; [others had] turkey hen tamales as their necklaces. And before them was the maize bin filled with fruit tamales.

And also all of [these] came forth: those who appeared in the guise of the poor, of those who sold various kinds of vegetables, of those who sold pieces of wood.[2] And also appeared there one in the guise of one afflicted by the divine sickness. And still others imitated birds, owls, barn owls;[3] and they appeared in the guise of still other birds.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before it was [a pool of] water. It was full of serpents there, and of frogs. And those called Maçateca there

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia.

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: auh tlacatlaqualoia.

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixiiotia.

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl qujçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn jpan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia.

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, inxocotamalcozquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncozquj: yoan ymjxpan ycaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli.

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn motequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocoxquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan qujçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia.

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in iehoantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan

1. Garibay ("Relación breve," p. 318) translates *ixnextioaya* as *"se enceniza la cara"*; *atecocoltioaya* appears in the same text, translated as *"se baila como víbora del agua."* However, see Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 249: *"man verwandelt sich in Meerschneckengehäuse."* *Atecuculli* is *"caracol de agua"* in the Molina *Vocabulario*, fol. 7*v*; as *ategogolo* it is defined as a *"gasterópodo o variedad de caracol,"* *Ampullaria monachus* or *A. yucatanensis* in Santamaría's *Diccionario*, p. 92.

2. *motequaquamaquilia* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

3. *teculutl*: generic term for owl; *chichtli: Tyto alba pratincola* (Bonaparte) in Dibble and Anderson, *Book XI*, pp. 42, 46–47.

swallowed the serpents. They were still quite alive, each one, [as well as the frogs]. The Maçateca [just][4] took these with their mouths, not with their hands. They just fastened their teeth in them as they took hold of them in the water there before the image of Tlaloc. And the Maçateca just went eating the serpents as they danced before it.

And he who first finished a serpent, who swallowed it, then shouted — yelled; he circled the temple. And they gave gifts to those who swallowed serpents. And there was dancing for two days.[5] Toward evening [of the second day] there was a procession; four times was the temple circled.

And when fruit tamales were eaten, the maize bin was filled [with fruit tamales]. Everyone took [some] when the feast ended.

And the old women and the old men wept exceedingly; they bethought themselves that perhaps they would not attain [another] eight years.

They said: "Before whom [among us] will [this again] be observed?"

[And as to its being done thus, they said that][6] thus the maize went being rested every eight years. For it was said that we brought much torment to it — that we ate [it], we put chili on it, we salted it, we added saltpeter to it, we added lime. As we tired it to death, so we revived it. Thus, it was said, the maize was given [new] youth when this was done.

And when the feast was ended on the morrow, it was said: "[Tortillas] are dipped in the sauce"; because indeed there had been fasting for the maize.

ioioltiuja, ceceiaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, amo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynjc qujmonanaia in atlan, in vncan ixpan tlaloc: auh çan q'nquatiuja in cocoa, ynjc impã mjtotiaia maçateca.

Auh yn aqujn achtopa qujtlamjaia in coatl in qujtoloaia, njman ic tzatzi tlapapauja, qujiaoaloa in teucalli: auh qujntlauhtiaia in qujntoloaia cocoa: auh omjhujtl in netotiloia, ie teutlac in tlaiaoaloloia, nappa in moiaoaloa teucalli.

Auh in xocotamalli yquac qualoia, in tonacacuezcomac temja: muchi tlacatl concuja, yn jquac tlamj ilhujtl.

Auh in iehoanti cioa ylamatque, yoan veuetque, cenca chocaia, qujlnamjquja, yn acaçocmo acizque, chicuexiujtl:

qujtoaia. Acoc ixpan in muchioaz:

ic moceujtiuja in tonacaiutl, in chicuexiuhtica: ipampa qujlmach cẽca tictlaihijoujltia, injc tiqua, in ticchilhuja, in tiquiztauja, in tictequjxqujuja, in motenexuja: yn juhqujma ticatzonmjctia ynic ticnemjtia: qujlmach ic mopilqujxtitiuja, in tonacajutl, ynjc iuhqujn muchioaia.

Auh yn iquac otzonquiz ilhujtl, yn jmuztlaioc moteneoaia, molpalolo: iehica ca onecaujliloc, in tonacaiutl.

4. Following *ceceiaca*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *ioã in cueyame çã.* The omission is supplied in brackets in our translation.

5. The *Real Palacio MS* reads *auh inic omilhuitl* — "and on the second day."

6. Following *muchioaz*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *y. Auh inic muchivaya. y. quilmach.* The omission is supplied in brackets in our translation.

Behold Here a True [Relation] of all the [Buildings] Which Were the Mexicans' Temples

All which was [in] the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli was like this:

As it appeared, it was perhaps two hundred fathoms [square]. And there in the center of [the square] were very large temples; they were the temples of the devils. The one which was taller, which was higher, was the house of Uitzilopochtli or Tlacauepan Cuexcotzin. This one was very large, very tall.

And this one was in the middle [of the square]. And with it was the house of Tlaloc. They were indeed together; they were indeed joined to each other. And at the very top, [one] stood a little higher perhaps by a fathom.

Of both of these, [one] was the taller, the higher. Only they were quite similar. And at the top of each was a temple; at the top was a house.

There was the image of Uitzilopochtli, also named Ilhuicatl xoxouhqui. And in the other [temple], there was the image of Tlaloc.

And also at the top [of the pyramid] were circular stones, very large, called *techcatl* [sacrificial stones], upon which they slew victims in order to pay honor to their gods. And the blood, the blood of those who died, indeed reached the base; so did it flow off. All were like this in each of the temples which were of the devils.

And this Temple of Uitzilopochtli and Tlaloc faced there toward the setting of the sun. And its stairway was very wide; it was reaching there to the top. There was ascending there. And of all the temples that there were, all were like this. Very straight were their stairways.

Izcatquj in jmelaoaca, in ixqujch catca inteucal mexica.

In jtoal catca vitzilopuchtli, in jxqujch ic catca:

in juh motta, aço matlacpovalmatl: auh in vncan yitic, cenca vevei in teucalli mamanca, in jnteucal catca diablome: in oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, in veixticatca, iehoatl in jcal catca Vitzilopuchtli, anoço tlacavepan cuexcochtzin: iehoatl in cenca vei catca, cenca vecapan.

Auh injn, nepantla in jcaca: auh nevan manca in jcal catca tlaloc, vel nehoan manca, vel netech çaliuhtimanca: auh in ie vel icpac, achi veca motzticatca: aço cemmatica.

Inj vnteixti y, oc cenca tlapanaviticatca, oc cenca veveixticatca, çan vel nenevixticatca: auh in jcpac cecentetl teucalli, in jcpac manca calli:

vncan catca in jxiptla vitzilopuchtli, no yoan itoca ilhujcatl xoxouhquj: auh in oc cecnj, vmpa catca in jxiptla tlaloc:

auh no ioan in jcpac, vncan mamanca tetl iaoaltic, cenca vevey, qujtocaiotiaia techcatl, in jpan tlamjctiaya: injc qujnmaviztiliaia inteuhoan: auh in eztli, in jmezço in mjquja, vel valacia in tlatzintlan, injc valtotocaia: muchi iuhquj catca, in jxqujch inteucal catca diablome.

Auh in iehoatl in jteucal vitzilopuchtli, ioan tlaloc: vmpa itztimanca in jcalaqujian tonatiuh: auh in jtlamamatlaio, cenca patlavac: vmpa aciticatca in jcpac, in vncan tlecovaia: ioan in ie ixqujch in teucalli catca, muchiuhquj catca: cenca vel melavaticaca in jtlamamatlaio

Tlalocan, the Temple of Epcoatl

At Tlalocan there was fasting in honor of the Tlalocs when their feast day came. And when there was fasting, thereupon evil was done, bad things were done. There was dancing with dried maize stalks. And they danced in all the houses; it was

Tlalocan, iteupan epcoatl.

In tlalocan: vncan netlalocaçaualoia, in jquac ilhujuhqujçaia: auh in onneçaualoc, njman ie ic aiectilo, ioan neaviltilo, netotilo, yca cintopilli: auh novian in calpan mjtotiaia: mjtoaia, etzalmaceoaloia. Auh in jquac oonqujz imjlhujuh, in tlatlaloque,

said that the dance of maize and beans was danced. And when the feast day of the Tlalocs ended, thereupon died those who were destined there, those called Tlalocs. And this went being done yearly.

njman ie ic miquj in vncan pouhque in mjtoaia tlatlaloque. Auh injn cexiuhtica in muchiuhtivia ipan

Macuilcalli and Macuilquiauitl

There in that place there died the informers, those who imparted secret information to those who were not dwellers here — the Tlaxcalteca, or the Uexotzinca, or the Cholulteca who entered here in Mexico during war time; who took forth information.

And if they could escape, if they came to take the information, these Tlaxcalteca, or Uexotzinca, or Cholulteca, and all who entered here in war time then would emplace [themselves] to await the Mexicans. And when the Mexicans went there, very many died there.

But if they were seen here in Mexico, then [the Mexicans] seized them and they slew them; they cut them to pieces there at Macuilcalli or Macuilquiauitl.

Macujlcalli, ioan macujlqujavitl.

In vncan yn, vncan mjquja in tetlanenque: in qujmjlhujaia tetzauhtlatoque, in amo njcan chaneque, in tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, in valiaucalaquja njcan mexico: in qujvalcuja tlatolli.

Auh intla ovelqujzque, intla oconcujco tlatolli, in iehoantin tlaxcalteca, anoço vexotzinca, anoço chololteca, yoan in ye ixqujch valiaucalaquja: njman ic tlateca, injc qujnchia mexica: auh in jquac onvi mexica, cenca mjiec in vmpa ommjquja.

Auh intla oittoque njcan mexico: njman qujntzitzqujaia, ioan qujnmjctiaia, qujntetequja: in vncan macujlcali, anoço macujlqujavitl.

Teccizcalli

Teccizcalli: there Moctezuma did penances; there he offered incense. And there the debt was paid [to the gods]. And he only fasted there when the great feasts came. And there was dying there; captives died there.

Teccizcalli.

In teccizcalli: vncan tlamaceoaia in iehoatl motecuçoma, vncan tlenamacaia: ioan vncan moxtlavaia. Auh çan iquac in vncan moçauaia, in vevey ilhujtl qujçaia: yoan vncan mjcovaia, vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Poyauhtlan

Poyauhtlan: there fasted Mexico's fire priest and the fire priest of [the Temple of] Tlaloc, once yearly, at [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. Both offered incense there at Poyauhtlan. And there was dying there; captives died there.

Poiauhtlan.

In poiauhtlan: vncan moçauaya in mexico tlenamacac, ioan in tlalocan tlenamacac: cexiuhtica, ipan in etzalqualiztli: nehoan vncan tletemaia in poiauhtlan: ioan vncan mjcovaia vncan mjquja in mamaltin.

Mixcoapan Skull Rack

Mixcoapan Skull Rack: there they strung up the severed heads of those who died in the Temple of Mixcoatl.

Mixcoapan tzumpantli.

In mjxcoapan tzumpantli: vncan qujçoia in jntzontecon, in mjquja mjxcoatempan.

Tlalxicco

Tlalxicco: there died he who was named [and impersonated] Mictlan tecutli. Once a year he died

Tlalxicco.

In tlalxicco: vncan mjquja, in jtoca catca Mjctlan tecutli: cexiuhtica in mjquja, ipan in tititl qujçaia.

when the feast of Tititl came. And when the impersonator of Mictlan tecutli died, then the fire priest of Tlillan offered incense there; he deposited incense. And this was done only at night, not by day.

Auh in ommjc in jxiptla mjctlan tecutli: njman vncan vallenamacaia, valletemaia, in tlillan tlenamacac. Auh injn muchioaia: çan iooan, amo cemjlhujtl.

Uey Quauhxicalco

Uey Quauhxicalco was Moctezuma's place of doing penance. When he fasted there, it was said: "There is fasting for the sun." And every two hundred and sixty days[1] it so came to pass that there was fasting for the sun. And also they who were called Chachanme died there — only four of them. And the impersonator of the sun [god] and of the moon [goddess] died there. And likewise many captives died there. But this was after the others.

Vey quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco, itlamaceoaian catca in Motecuçuma: iquac in vncan moçauaia, mjtoaia: netonatiuhçaualoa: auh mamatlacpovaltica vmeitica in juh muchiuaia, in netonatiuhçaualoia. Auh ioan vncan mjquja: in mjtoaia, chachanme: çan navintin: yoan vncan mjquja in jxiptla tonatiuh, ioan metztli: auh ioan cenca mjiequjn in mamalti, vncan mjquja. Auh ynjn, çan tepan ietiuh.

Tochinco

Tochinco: there died the impersonator of [Ome tochtli], once yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Tochinco.

In tochinco: vncan mjquja in jxiptla tochinco, cecexiuhtica: ipan tepeilhujtl.

Teotlalpan

Teotlalpan: there was a procession there each year when the feast of Quecholli arrived. And when there was a procession, thereupon they departed for Çacatepec. And when it was reached, thereupon there was hunting [of game]. And Moctezuma then paid the debt there. And when he had paid the debt, thereupon he departed. No longer was anyone left there. Likewise when there was going, no longer did anyone go to be left here in Mexico. And no longer did anyone follow the road. Verily, many men went there to Çacatepec.

Teutlalpan.

In teutlalpan, vncan tlaiaualovaia, cecexiuhtica: iquac in quecholli qujçaia ilhujtl. Auh in ontlaiaualoloc: njman ie ic vmpeoa in çacatepec: auh in onaxivac, njman ie ic amjoa: auh in motecuçuma, njman vmpa ommoxtlavaia: auh in ommoxtlauh, njman ye ic valpeoa: ayocac vmpa ommocaoa. Çan no yvi injc vilooaia, aioc noiac njcan mocauhtivia in mexico: yoan oiocac vtli qujtocaia: vel muchi tlacatl vmpa via in çacatepec.

Tlilapan

Tlilapan: there the fire priests bathed themselves, only at night, and often. And when they had bathed, thereupon they deposited incense; they offered incense there at the Temple of Mixcoatl. And when they had offered incense, thereupon they went to the *calmecac*.

Tlilapan.

In tlilapan: vncan maltiaia in tlenamacaque, çan iooaltica: ioan muchipa. Auh in jquac ommaltique: njman ie ic tletema, tlenamaca, in vmpa mjxcoapan teupan: auh in ontlenamacaque, njman ie ic huj in calmecac.

1. *mamatlacpovaltica vmeitica*: although the corresponding Spanish text (cf. Sahagún, Garibay ed., Vol. I, p. 233) translates the term as "*cada doscientos y tres dias*," it should be read *mamatlacpoaltica omeipoaltica*, "every two hundred and sixty days."

Tlillan Calmecac

Tlillan Calmecac: there dwelt the guardians of Ciuacoatl.

Mexico Calmecac

Mexico Calmecac: there dwelt the penitents who offered incense at the summit of the [pyramid] Temple of Tlaloc. [This they did] quite daily.

Coacalco

Coacalco: there dwelt the gods of [foreign] cities. Wherever the Mexicans conquered, they took [the gods] captive. Then they carried them here; they put them in there. And there they were guarded at Coacalco.

Quauhxicalco

Quauhxicalco: there the one named Yiopoch deposited incense. And there the [impersonator of the] devil called Titlacauan blew his flute. And when he had sounded his flute, thereupon he deposited incense. And when he had deposited incense, then he went in [to his dwelling]. Quite daily he did thus, perchance by night or [perchance] by day.

A Separate Quauhxicalco

Quauhxicalco: there danced the impersonator [who was arrayed as a] squirrel. And there was erected that which was called the *xocotl*. It was only a tree. And they distributed its shoulder sash of paper, its paper banners. And this was done at the time of [the feast of] Teotl eco, also yearly.

Teccalco

Teccalco: there was casting [of men] into the fire there; they cast captives into the fire there. This also was done at the time of Teotl eco, also yearly. And when there had been the casting into the fire, thereupon the offering priests came down here. Thereupon [the ceremony called] *amatlauitzoa* was performed.

Tlillan calmecac.

In tlillan calmecac: vncan onoca, in jtepixcauh cihoacoatl.

Mexico calmecac.

In mexico calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhque, in ontlenamacaia tlalocan ijcpac: çan mumuztlae.

Cooacalco.

In cooacalco: vncan onoca in altepeteteu, in canjn ontepeoaia mexica, in qujmonacia: njman qujnvalvicaia, vncan qujncalaqujaia: ioan vncan pialoia in cooacalco.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan tletemaia yn jtoca catca yiopuch, yoan vncan vallapitzaia in diablo: in qujtoaia titlacaoan: auh in ontlapitz, njman ye ic tletema: auh in ontleten, njman ic calaquj: çan mumuztlae iuh qujchioaia, aço iooan, anoço cemjlhujtl.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan mjtotiaia in techalotl yxiptla: yoan vncan moquetzaia, in mjtoaia: xocotl, çan quavitl, yoan qujtlamamacaia, yamaneapan, yamapan. Auh ipan in teutl eco muchioaia: no cexiuhtica.

Teccalco.

In teccalco, vncan netlepantlaxoia: vncan qujntlepantlaçaia in mamaltin: çan no ipan in teutl eco muchioaia, no cexiuhtica. Auh yn onnetlepantlaxoc: njman ye ic oaltemo in tlamacazque, njman ye ic amatlavitzoa.

The Skull Rack

The Skull Rack: there they strung up the severed heads of captives whom they had cast into the fire, who had died there at the Teccalco. Likewise this was done yearly.

The Temple of Uitznauac

The Temple of Uitznauac: there died those named the Centzonuitznaua, and many captives died there. And upon [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli was this done, and [it was done] yearly.

Tezcacalco

Tezcacalco: there was slaying there; captives died there, after the others [and] not every year.

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan

Tlacochcalco Acatl Yiacapan: there were guarded the spears, the arrows. Also there was slaying there; captives died there. And only at night was there slaying. And it was only at a time which was determined.

Teccizcalco

Teccizcalco: there also there was slaying; there captives died, also by night, also after the others, only when it was [so] determined.

Uitztepeualco

Uitztepeualco: there the offering priests, at the time of their penances, scattered the thorns, or else the fir branches, when they did penance somewhere.

Uitznauac Calmecac

Uitznauac Calmecac: there dwelt the penitent, the fire priest, who offered incense, who deposited incense there at the top of the [pyramid] temple which was named Uitznauac. Quite every day was it so done.

Tzumpantli

In tzumpantli: vncan qujçoia in mamaltin intzontecon, in qujntlepantlaçaia, in vmpa mjquja teccalco: çan no cexiuhtica yn muchioaia.

Vitznaoac teucalli.

In vitznaoac teucalli: vncan mjquja, in jntoca centzonvitznaoa, yoan mjiec malli vncan mjquja: auh ipan in panquetzaliztli muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Tezcacalco

In tezcacalco: vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan tepan yetiuh, amo cexiuhtica.

Tlacochcalco`acatl yiacapan.

In tlacochcalco acatl yiacapan: vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: auh çan iooan in mjcooaia, yoan çan molnamjquja yn jqujn.

Teccizcalco.

In teccizcalco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in mamalti: çan no iooaltica, çan no tepan yetiuh, çan molnamjquja.

Vitztepeoalco

In vitztepeoalco: vncan qujtepeoaia in tlamacazque in jntlamaceoaia, in vitztli: anoço acxoiatl, yn jquac canjn ontlamaceoaia.

Vitznaoac calmecac.

In vitznaoac calmecac: vncan onoca in tlamaceuhquj, in tlenamacac: in ontlenamacaia, in ontletemaia in teucalli icpac: in jtoca catca vitznaoac: çan mumuztlae in juh muchioaia.

A Separate Quauhxicalco

Quauhxicalco: there they placed, there they nourished the skull rack within [the pyramid compound of the god] whose name was Omacatl. In carved wood Omacatl was in human form. And it came to pass that he was nourished [with the blood of victims] every two hundred and sixty days upon the day sign Two Reed.

Oc cecnj quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan qujtlaliaia, vncan qujzcaltiaia in tzumpantli yiollo: in jtoca catca vmacatl, quavitl tlaxixintli, tlacaietiuh in vmacatl: auh in muchioaia in qujzcaltiaia matlacpovaltica vmeitica: ipan in cemjlhujtonalli vmacatl.

The Temple of Macuilcipactli

Temple of Macuilcipactli: there was slaying there; captives died there, at night only. Also the day sign [Five Crocodile] was chosen.

Macujlcipactli yteupan.

In macujlcipactli iteupan: vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti: çan iooaltica, çan no tonalpepenaloia.

Tetlanman Calmecac

Tetlanman Calmecac: there dwelt the fire priest, the one devoted [to the service of Chantico].

Tetlanman calmecac

In tetlanman calmecac: vncan onoca in tlenamacac, in tlamaceuhquj.

The Temple of the White Cinteotl

The Temple of the White Cinteotl: there captives died, only those with skin sores.[2] And when they died, then [the priests] buried them; they were not eaten. They died when there was fasting for the sun.

Iztac cinteutl yteupan.

In jztac cinteoutl yteupan: vncan mjquja in mamalti, çan iehoantin in xixijoti: auh in jquac ommjcque, njman qujntocaia, amo qualoia: ipan in netonatiuhçavaloia mjquja.

Tetlanman

Tetlanman: there died the impersonator of Quaxolotl Chantico. The rulers just determined the time that she was to died. It was after the others, and upon the day count One Flower.

Tetlanman.

In tetlanman: vncan mjquja, yn jxiptla quaxolotl chanticon: çan qujlnamjquja in tlatoque, in jqujn mjqujz: çan tepan yetiuh: auh ipan in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ce xuchitl.

The Temple of Chicomecatl

The Temple of Chicomecatl: only at certain times was there slaying there, and it was at night. Also it was after the others, only when it was determined, at the time that the day count One Flower set in.

Chicomecatl yteupan.

In chicomecatl yteupan: çan quenman in vncan mjcoaia, yoan iooaltica: çan no tepan ietiuh, çan molnamjquja: yquac in cemjlhujtlapoalli ce suchitl moquetza.

2. *xixijoti*: "*leprosos*" in the corresponding Spanish text. However, cf. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson: *Florentine Codex, Book X, The People* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1961), p. 157.

Tezcaapan

Tezcaapan: there the penitents just bathed themselves; it was their bathing place.

Tezcatlachco

Tezcatlachco: there also there was slaying; there died the impersonator of Uitznauatl — only at times, not often. Perchance it was at the time of [the day count] Two Reed.

Skull Rack

Skull Rack: there were sacrificed those named the Omacame [impersonators of Omacatl]. And also very many captives died there. And there was slaying every two hundred and sixty days.

Tlamatzinco

Tlamatzinco: there died those called, those whose name was the Tlamatzinca [impersonators of Tlamatzincatl], ceremonially bathed victims, at the time of [the month] Quecholli, at its close, yearly.

Tlamatzinco Calmecac

Tlamatzinco Calmecac: there dwelt the fire priests of the Tlamatzinca, those who offered incense at the top of [the pyramid of] Tlamatzinco.

Quauhxicalco

Quauhxicalco: there the sacrificial paper descended, but only last of all did the fire serpent descend. And there the debt-payments burned at the time that, each year, the Tlamatzinca died.

The Temple of Mixcoatl

The Temple of Mixcoatl: there [victims] were killed like deer. And thus did they take them up when they died like deer: they only went bobbing

Tezcaapan.

In tezcaapan: çan vncan maltiaia, innealtiaian catca in tlamaceuhque.

Tezcatlachco.

In tezcatlachco: no vncan mjcoaia, vncan mjquja in jxiptla vitznaoatl: çan quenman, amo muchipa: aço ipan in vmacatl.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli: vncan motonaltiaia, in jntoca catca vmacâ: auh yoan, cenca mjec in malli vncan mjquja: auh matlacpoaltica vmeitica in ommjcoaia.

Tlamatzinco.

In tlamatzinco: vncan mjquja in mjtoaia, in jntoca catca tlamatzinca, in tlaaltiti: iquac in quechulli, itlamjan cexiuhtica.

Tlamatzinco calmecac.

In tlamatzinco calmecac: vncan onoca, in tlamatzinca intlenamacacahoan: in ontlenamacaia ijcpac tlamatzinco.

Quauhxicalco.

In quauhxicalco: vncan oaltemoia in teteuhpoalli, auh ça oallatzacujaia in xiuhcoatl oaltemoia: ioan vncan tlatlaia in nextlaoalli, in jquac mjquja tlamatzinca cexiuhtica.

Mixcoateupan.

In mjxcoateupan: vncan maçapolioaia: auh ynjc qujntlecaviaia in maçapolivia, çan aaquetztivia, qujnnauhcaviaia: yoan vncan mjquja in mjxcoatl y

their heads up and down; four [priests] carried them. And there died the impersonator of Mixcoatl and [the impersonator of] Cuetlaciuatl. And this was done at the time of the close of Quecholli, and [it was done] each year.

Netlatiloyan

Netlatiloyan:[3] there was laid away that which was named the likeness of Nanauatl, and Xochquaye.

Teotlachco

Teotlachco: there died those named Amapantzin [impersonating the god Amapan]. They died only at dawn. And [this was done] yearly at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli.

Ilhuicatitlan

Ilhuicatitlan: there died the impersonator of the [morning] star, at night only. And very many captives died there by day. Yearly was this done, at the time that the star came forth.

The Great Skull Rack

The Great Skull Rack: there also there used to be slaying; very many captives died there, by day, not by night. [This was done] likewise at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli, also yearly.

Mecatlan

Mecatlan: there was teaching there. The sounders of trumpets were taught there—the people of Mecatlan. Quite frequently each day [they sounded trumpets].

The Temple of Cinteotl

The Temple of Cinteotl: there the impersonator of Chicome coatl died, at night only. And when she died, then they flayed her. And when dawn broke,

ixiptla, yoan cuetlacihoatl: auh ipan in quechulli tlamj muchioaia, yoan cexiuhtica.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan motlatiaia, in jtoca catca nanaoatl y ixiptla, ioan xochquaie.

Teutlachco.

In teutlachco: vncan mjquja in intoca catca amapantzitzin, çan tlahujzpan in ommjquja: auh cexiuhtica, ipan yn panquetzaliztli.

Ilhujcatitlan.

In jlhujcatitlan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla citlalin, çan iooaltica: auh cencan mjec in vncan mjquja mamalti cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in citlalin qujçaia.

Vey tzompantli.

In vey tzompantli: no vncan mjcovaia, cenca mjequjn in vncan mjquja mamalti, cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: çan no ipan in panquetzaliztli, no cexiuhtica.

Mecatlan.

In mecatlan: vncan nemachtiloia, vncan momachtiaia in tlapitzque, in mecateca: çan muchipa mumuztlae.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan mjquja in jxiptla chicome coatl, cioatl, çan iooaltica: auh in jquac oommjc, njman qujxipeoaia: auh in otlathujc, in tlenamacac

3. The corresponding Spanish text identifies this place as the cave in which were deposited the skins of victims flayed in the feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli.

then the fire priest put on the skin of [the likeness of] Chicome coatl. Thereupon there was a procession; they circled the eagle vessel; they went dancing. And this was done yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Ochpaniztli.

njman conmaqujaia, in eoaio chicome coatl: njman ye ic tlaiaoaloa, qujiaoaloa in quauhxicalli, mjtotitiuh: auh cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan ochpaniztli.

The Temple of the Centzontotochtin

The Temple of the Centzontotochtin: there died [the impersonators of] Tepoztecatl and Totoltecatl and Papaztac. And when they died, it was not by night; it was by day, at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl. And [this was done] yearly.

Centzontotochti inteupan.

In centzontotochti inteupan: vncan mjquja in tepuztecatl, yoan totoltecatl, yoan papaztac: auh in mjquja amo iooan, cemjlhujtl, ypan in tepeilhujtl: auh cexiuhtica.

The Temple of Cinteotl

The Temple of Cinteotl: there stood, there was guarded the image of Cinteotl. There the impersonator of Cinteotl died, by day.

Cinteupan.

In cinteupan: vncan ycaca, vncan pialoia in jxiptla cinteoutl: vncan mjquja in jxiptla cinteoutl, cemjlhujtl.

Netotiloyan

Netotiloyan: there danced the bathed ones [for the day sign] Nine Wind, when already they were to die. And when they died, it was at midnight, not by day. [This took place] at the time of [the feast of] Xilomanaliztli or Atl caualo, also each year.

Netotiloian.

In netotiloian: vncan mjtotiaia in tlatlaaltilti, in chicunauhecatl, in jquac ie mjqujz: auh iquac in mjquja iooalnepantla, amo cemjlhujtl: jpan xilomanjztli, anoço atl caoalo: no cexiuhtica.

Chililico

Chililico: there died the bathed ones [on the day sign] Nine Wind, at midnight. And each year did the bathed ones die there. And only the rulers ceremonially bathed them there. Likewise at the time of [the feast of] Atl caualo [was this done].

Chililico.

In chililico: vncan mjquja in tlatlaltilti in chicunauhecatl, iooalnepantla: auh cexiuhtica in vncan mjquja tlatlaltilti: auh çan tlatoque in vncan tealtiaia, çan no ipan in atl caoalo.

Coaapan

Coaapan: there the fire priest of Coatlan bathed himself. Only he did so; no one else bathed himself there.

Cooaapan.

In cooaapan: vncan maltiaia in cooatlan tlenamacac, çan qujmjxcaviaia, aiac oc ce vncan maltiaia.

Pochtlan

Pochtlan: there dwelt the fire priests, those who

Puchtlan.

In puchtlan: vncan onoca in tlenamacaque, in

deposited incense, those who offered incense there above [on the pyramid] Temple of Yiacatecutli. [This they did] quite daily.

ontletemaia, in ontlenamacaia, vmpa jicpac yiacatecutli iteupan: çan mumuztlae.

Atlauhco

Atlauhco: there dwelt, there lived the fire priests who deposited incense, who offered incense there above [on the pyramid of] Uitzilinquatec. Likewise [this was done] daily.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan onoca, vncan nenca in tlenamacaque, in vmpa ontletemaia, ontlenamacaia, in ijcpac vitzilinquatec yteupan: çan no mumuztlae.

Yopico

Yopico: there was slaying there; very many captives died there. And there died the ones whose names were Tequitzin[4] and Mayauel. And when they died it was by day, not by night. And they died at the time of [the feast of] Tlacaxipeualiztli; and [this was done] each year.

Iopico.

In iopico: vncan mjcovaloia: in vncan, cenca mjiequjntin mjquja in mamalti: yoan vncan mjquja in jtoca catca tequjtzin, yoan maiavel: auh in mjquja cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: auh ipan in tlacaxipeoaliztli mjquja, yoan cexiuhtica.

The Temple of Yiacatecutli

The Temple of Yiacatecutli: there the impersonator of Yiacatecutli died, by day, not by night. [This was done] at the time of [the feast of] Tititl, also each year.

Iyacatecutli iteupan.

In yiacatecutli iteupan: vncan mjquja in jiacatecutli ixiptla: cemjlhujtl, amo iooan: ipan in tititl, no cexiuhtica.

The Temple of Uitzilinquatec

The Temple of Uitzilinquatec: likewise the impersonator of Uitzilinquatec died, likewise by day, likewise at the time of [the feast of] Tititl. Also this was done yearly. It was a woman who died.

Vitzilinquatec iteupan.

In vitzilinquatec iteupan: çan no vncan mjquja, in ijxiptla vitzilinquatec: çan no cemjlhujtl, çan no ipan in tititl, no cexiuhtica in muchioaia: cioatl in mjquja.

Yopico Calmecac

Yopico Calmecac: there was slaying there; very many captives died there, also at night at the time of [the feast of] Tlacaxipeualiztli, also every year, there at the *calmecac* of Youallauan.

Iopico calmecac.

In iopico calmecac: vncan mjcooaia, vncan mjquja cenca mjec in malli: çan no iooaltica, ipan in tlacaxipeoaliztli: no cexiuhtica, vncan icalmecac in iooallaoan.

4. Tequitzin: the name should probably be Izquitecatl as in Chap. 19, above (fourth movable feast). See also Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book IV, The Soothsayers* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1957), p. 17. Cf. also below, in the appendix on "Those Who Served in All the Houses of the Gods": Izquitlan teuhoatzin.

Yopico Skull Rack

Yopico Skull Rack: there they strung up the severed heads of captives and those whom they striped [slew in gladiatorial sacrifice] at the time of [the feast of] Tlacaxipeualiztli. [This] also [they did] yearly.

Skull Rack

[This] Skull Rack was the skull rack of [the Temple of] Yiacatecutli. And there they strung up the severed heads of captives who died above on the [pyramid] Temple of Yiacatecutli at the time of the first day of [the month of] Xocotl uetzi.

The Temple of Macuilmalinalli

The Temple of Macuilmalinalli and of Topantlacaqui: there [priests] sang for and offered sacrifices to these [gods], Macuilmalinalli and Topantlacaqui. And they offered sacrifices to them every two hundred and sixty days. Also they came after the others. It was at the time of the day count Flower.

Aticpac

Aticpac: there [priests] offered sacrifices to the Ciuateteo when they observed the feast of the day sign Seven Serpent.

Netlatiloyan

Netlatiloyan: there they laid away the skins [flayed from the women impersonating] the Ciuateteo, who died there at Xochicalco each year, at the time of [the feast of] Ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco

Atlauhco: there they offered sacrifices to [the goddess] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco. And when [the impersonator of] Ciuateotl of Atlauhco died, it was there at Coatlan, at the base [of Atlauhco. This was done] yearly, also at the time of [the feast of] Ochpaniztli.

Iopico tzompantli.

In yopico tzompantli: vnca qujçoia in intzontecon mamalti: auh yehoantin in qujnoaoanaia ypan tlacaxipeoaliztli: no cexiuhtica.

Tzompantli.

In tzompantli, ytzompan in jiacatecutli: auh vncan qujçoia yn jntzontecon mamalti, yn jcpac mjquja yiacatecutli yteupan: ipan yn cemjlhujtlapoalli xocotl vetzi.

Macujlmalinal yteupan.

In macujlmalinal yteupan, yoan in topantlacaquj yteupan: vncan qujncujcatiaia, yoan vncan qujntonaltiaia in yehoantin macujlmalinal, yoan topantlacaquj: auh in qujntonaltiaia matlacpoaltica, omeytica: çan no tepan ietiuh: in cemjlhujtlapoalli, ipan in suchilhujtl.

Aticpac.

In aticpac: vncan qujntonaltiaia in cioateteu: yquac in qujlhuja chicomecooatonalli.

Netlatiloian.

In netlatiloian: vncan qujntlatiaia in cioateteu imeoaio, in vmpa mjquja suchicalco: cexiuhtica, ipan ochpaniztli.

Atlauhco.

In atlauhco: vncan qujntonaltiaia, in atlauhco, cioateoutl: auh in ommjquja atlauhco cioateoutl, vmpa in cooatlan tlatzintlan: cexiuhtica, çan no ipan in ochpaniztli.

Tzonmolco Calmecac

Tzonmolco Calmecac: from there came the fire, which they named Xiuhtecutli. There Moctezuma took the fire when he offered incense, and there the fire drill fell [to make the new fire] yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Uauhquiltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl

Temalacatl: at that place there was the striping [gladiatorial sacrifices]; there they striped very many captives. And thus were striped indeed all men who came here from all the lands about us, whom they slew as sacrifices there upon the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And there, their functionary was the Bear Man; he set them up on the stone of gladiatorial sacrifice. And when he set a captive up there, thereupon he gave him a pine club, and he gave him a feathered staff. And then went an impersonator to strike him repeatedly — perhaps an eagle or an ocelot [warrior]. Then [the warrior] repeatedly struck the captive, as if a battle were fought. And there his functionary was the one named Chalchiuhtepeua. And when the captive fell, thereupon the Bear Man dragged him off. Thereupon [a priest] slashed open the captive's breast. And the one who slew him was one whose name was Youallauan; he opened [the captive's] breast. And when they had slashed open the breast of the captive, thereupon they cast him down below. And this was done each year at the time of [the feast of] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

The Temple of Nappatecutli

Nappateco: there died [the impersonator] whose name was Nappatecutli, only at night, not by day. [This was done] yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Tzonmolco

Tzonmolco: there died the four [impersonators] named Xiuhtecutli. The first was named Blue Xiuhtecutli; the second, Yellow; the third, White Xiuhtecutli; the fourth, Red Xiuhtecutli. And there were still others named Iuipapaneca temilolca. And also [the woman] whose name was Ciuatontli [and] also

Tzonmolco calmecac.

In tzonmolco calmecac: vncan qujçaia in tletl, in qujtocaiotiaia xiuhtecutli: vmpa concuja in tletl, in jquac tlenamacaia motecuçoma, yoan vncan vetzia in tlequavitl: cexiuhtica, ipan oauhqujltamalqualiztli.

Temalacatl.

In temalacatl: vncan tlaoaoanoia, in vncan qujnoaoanaia, cenca mjequjntin in mamalti: auh injc tlaoaoanoia, vel ixqujch tlacatl oalhuja in cematonaoac in oallamjctiaia, in vncan temalacac: auh vncan intequjppan catca in cuetlachtli, ontequetzaia in temalacac. Auh in jquac oconquetz malli: njman ye ic conmaca in ocotzontetl, yoan conmaca quavitl tlapotonjlli. Auh njman ye iauh in teixiptla, in tevivitequjz: aço quauhtli, anoço, ocelutl: njman ie qujvivitequj in malli, iuhqujn moiauchioa: yoan, vncan itequippan catca, yn jtoca chalchiuhtepeoa. Auh in jquac ovetz malli: njman ye ic tevilana in cuetlachtli: njman ye ic quelteteqj in malli: auh in iehoatl tlamjctiaia in jtoca catca Iooallaoan, teelteteqja. Auh in jquac oconeltetecque malli: njman ye ic tlatzintlan qujoallaça: auh in muchioaia, yn, cexiuhtica ypan in tlacaxipeoaliztli.

Nappatecutli iteupan.

In nappatecco, vncan mjquja yn itoca catca, nappatecutli çan iohoan, amo cemjlhujtl: cexiuhtica ipan tepeilhujtl.

Tzommolco.

In tzonmolco. vncan miq'a yn jtoca catca xiuhtecutli naujntin. Jnjc ce ytoca, xoxouhquj xiuhtecutli. Jnic vme coçauhquj. Jnjc ey iztac xiuhtecutli. Jnjc nauj tlatlauhquj xiuhtecutli: yoã oc cequjntin intoca, ihujpapaneca, temjlolca: auh tlaelpanmjquja, yn

[the woman] named Nancotlaceuhqui died, their breasts slashed open.

And when they had died, thereupon Moctezuma came forth there to the Coacalco. Thereupon was danced the lordly dance, and all the men danced. Moctezuma led them; he led [priests impersonating] the various gods. And when there had been dancing, when there had been the serpent dance, thereupon Moctezuma offered incense [to the god].

And this was done at the time of [the feast of] Izcalli, once yearly.

Coatlan

Coatlan: there died [the impersonators] named the Centzonuitznaua, perchance when there was drilling [of new fire] or, yearly, when it was [the feast of] Quecholli tlami.

Xochicalco

Xochicalco: there died [the impersonators of] White Cinteotl and Red Cinteotl, and also that one [impersonating the goddess] Atlatonan.

And when Atlatonan died, thereupon they flayed her. And when they had flayed her, then the fire priest put on her skin.

And when day broke, thereupon the fire priest danced; he stood wearing the skin of [the impersonator of] Atlatonan. And this was done yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Ochpaniztli.

Yopicalco and Euacalco

Yopicalco and Euacalco: there stayed the rulers of Anauac who came from distant cities.

And greatly did Moctezuma honor them. There he gave them gifts. He gave them precious capes, precious necklaces, or precious arm bands. Whatever was precious he gave to all of them.

Tozpalatl

The Yellow Waters were very precious. They flowed [as a spring]. There the offering priests took water. And when it was the feast of Uitzilopochtli, and when all the feasts were celebrated, there water was drunk. There the common folk drank water.

jtoca catca cioatontli, no iehoatl ytoca nancotlaceuhquj.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic oalqujça, in Motecuçoma, in vmpa coacalco: njman ie ic motecujtotia, yoan ixqujch tlacatl mjtotia, teiacanaia in motecuçoma, qujniacanaia, in nepapã teteu. Auh yn onnetotiloc yn onnecocololoc, njmã ie ic tlenamaca yn motecuçoma:

auh in muchioa yn, ipan izcalli cexiuhtica.

Cooatlan.

In cooatlan, vncan mjquja in jntoca catca centzonvitznaoa: aço yquac in tlamamalioaia, anoço yquac in quecholli tlamj cexiuhtica.

Suchicalco.

In suchicalco, vncan mjquja in jztac cinteoutl, yoan tlatlauhquj cinteoutl, yoan no iehoatl in atla tonan.

Auh in jquac oommjc atla tonan: njman ye ic qujxipeoa: auh in jquac oconxipeuhque, njman in tlenamacac conmaqujaia yn jieoaio.

Auh in jquac otlathujc: njman ye ic mitotia in tlenamacac, conmaqujticac in jieoaio atla tonan: auh in muchioaia y, cexiuhtica, ipan in ochpanjztli.

Iopicalco, yoan eoacalco.

In iopicalco, yoan eoacalco, vncan onoca in anaoac tlatoque, in veca altepetl ipan oalvia:

auh cenca qujnmaviztiliaia in Motecuçoma, vncan qujntlauhtiaia: qujnmacaia in tlaçotilmatli, anoço tlaçocozcatl, anoço tlaçomacuextli: in ie ixqujch tlaçotli, muchi qujnmacaia.

Tospalatl.

In tospalatl, cenca tlaçotli catca, meiaia: vncan atlacuja in tlamacazque. Auh in jquac ylhujuh qujçaia vitzilopuchtli: yoan yn ixqujch ilhujtl muchioaia, vncan atlioaloia: vncan atlia in maceoalti.

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac

Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac: there was [the god] named Macuiltotec. There his feast day was observed. And when the feast day of Macuiltotec came, there was slaying there; captives died there at Tlacochcalco Quauhquiauac.

Perchance it was when the [new] fire was to be drilled; perchance also not. Also it was done yearly, at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli or [the feast of] Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tolnauac

Tolnauac: there was slaying there. Captives died there perchance [when the day sign] One Death set in in the day count.

Tilocan

Tilocan: there cooked the [amaranth seed dough for] the image of Uitzilopochtli.

Itepeyoc

Itepeyoc: there took form [the image of] Uitzilopochtli.

Uitznauac Calpulli[5]

At Uitznauac Calpulco there was made at that place, there took man's form, the image of the devil whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexcotzin.

Atempan

Atempan: there they assembled the [child sacrifices called] "human paper streamers." And when they had assembled them, thereupon they took them in a procession; they carried them in litters.

And when they had taken them in the procession, thereupon they dispersed them. Perchance they left them in the middle of the lagoon at Tepetzinco, or at Quauhtepec, above Yiauhqueme.

Tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac.

In tlacochcalco quauhqujaoac, vncan catca in jtoca macujltotec: vncan ilhujqujxtililoia. Auh in jquac yn jlhujuh qujçaia in macujltotec. vncan mjcoaia: vncan mjquja mamalti in tlacochcalco quauhqujiaoac:

aço yquac in tlamamalioaz, acanoçomo: no cexiuhtica in muchioaia, ipan in panquetzaliztli, anoço tlacaxipeolaiztli.

Tulnaoac.

In tulnaoac, vncan mjcooaia: vncan mjquja mamalti, aço ce mjqujztli moquetza in tonalpoalli catca.

Tilocan.

In tilocan: vncan ycucia in vitzilopuchtli ijxiptla.

Itepeioc.

In itepeioc: vncan tlacatia in vitzilopuchtli.

Vitznaoac calpulli.

In vitznaoac calpulco, vncan muchioaia, vncan tlacatia in ijxiptla diablo, in jtoca catca tlacavepan cuexcochtzin.

Atenpan

In atempan, vncan qujntecpichoaia in tlacateteuhti: auh in jquac in oqujntecpichoque: njman ye ic qujntlaiaoalochtia, qujntlapechvia.

Auh in jquac oqujmontlaiaoalochtique: njman ye ic qujnmoiaoa, aço atlitic tepetzinco qujmoncaoaia, anoço quauhtepec, yiauhqueme ijcpac.

5. Here and in instances below, where Sahagún uses the term *calpulli* instead of its locative form (*calpulco*), he specifies in the corresponding Spanish text that a building is meant.

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco

Tezcacoac Tlacochcalco: there was slaying there, only sometimes when there were very many captives. And there spears, arrows were guarded. With them there were conquests.

Acatl Yiacapan Uey Calpulli

Acatl Yiacapan Uey Calpulli: there they gathered together [the sacrificial victims called] Tlalocs. And when they had gathered them together, then they slew them there.

And when they had slain them, then they cut them to pieces there and cooked them. They put squash blossoms with their flesh.

And when they had cooked them, then the noblemen ate them, all the high judges; but not the common folk — only the rulers.

Techielli

Techielli: there fir branches[6] were placed.

Calpulli

All the small houses which were around and which surrounded the temples were called *calpulli*. There was fasting there.

And only the noblemen, the rulers, the constables, the seasoned warriors fasted there every twenty days.

[Of this] it was said: "There is fasting for five [days]."

And when they fasted, five days hence there would be a feast. And only at the time of the feast did they fast.

And thus did they fast: they abstained from food. Some ate at noon; [they fasted] until midnight arrived. And for some the time that they ate was midnight; [they fasted] also [until] the time of midday. Just so they went alternating.

And they fasted for five nights. Not by day but by night. And when it already was night, then they entered [the *calpulli*]. And when it dawned they went forth; they performed their tasks.

Thus they did daily; thus five days passed. And not then did they lie with women.

6. Reeds (*cañas*) in the corresponding Spanish text.

Tezcacooac tlacochcalco

In tezcacooac tlacochcalco: vncan mjcoaia, çan quemman, yquac in cenca mjiec malli: yoan vncan mopiaia in tlacochtli, in mjtl: ynjc tepeoaloya.

Acatl yiacapan vei calpulli.

In acatl yiacapan vey calpulli, vncan qujcenqujxtiaia in tlatlaloque: auh in jquac oqujcenqujxtique, njman vncan qujnmjctiaia:

auh in jquac in oqujmonmjctique, njman vncan qujntetequja, yoan qujnpaoacia, caiosuchqujlhujaia in jnnacaio.

Auh yn jquac oqujnpaoazque: njman qujquaia in pipilti, in jxqujch tecutlatoque: amono iehoantin in maceoalti, ça yehoantin in tlatoque.

Techielli.

In techielli: vncan acxoiatemaloia.

Calpulli.

In ie muchi caltotonti in tlaiaoalotoc, ioan qujiaoalotoc teucalli: in mjtoaia calpulli, vncan neçaoaloia:

auh çan iehoantin in pipiltin, in tlatoque, achcacauhti, tequjoaque vncan moçavaia, cempooaltica, mjtoaia: nemacujlçaoaloia.

Auh in jquac moçaoaia, oc iuh macujlilhujtl qujçaz ilhujtl: auh çan ypan in jlhujtl qujçaz moçaoaia:

auh injc mocaoaia, tlaqualizcaoaia: cequjntin tlaquaia nepantla tonatiuh, ixqujchica onaci iooalnepantla: auh in cequjntin yquac tlaquaia in iooalnepantla, no yquac onaci in nepantla tonatiuh: çan iuh mopatlatiuh.

Auh in moçaoaia macujliooal, amo cemjlhujtl, çan iooan: auh in jquac ie iooa, njman calaquj: auh in otlathujc, valqujçaia, tlatequjpanoaia:

mumuztlae iuh qujchioaia, injc onaci macujlilhujtl: yoan ayocmo cioacochia.

Here is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples

Offerings

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with whatever kinds of living things — perchance turkey hens or birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly grown — perchance maize, or chía, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: before dawn their mothers, their fathers woke them. So they went making offerings carried in the palms of their hands — little tortillas, very small ones; thus they quickly went laying gifts before the devil. In bowls they took the gifts; thus they would offer them.

Only in their homes were the tortillas made. Thus did the young women make offerings.

The Offering of Incense

And thus was the offering of incense performed. It was with an incense ladle made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. There in the ladle they laid live coals. When they had scooped them up,[1] then they filled it with copal incense; with it they came forth before the devil or else in the middle of the courtyard, where the brazier stood. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came to stand before the devil, then they raised the incense ladle in dedication to the four directions. Thus they offered incense. And when they had raised it in dedication to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Then the copal was smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers, the fathers likewise woke the children at dawn, whether men [children] or women [children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they woke them. That they

Nican moteneoa in quenjn tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

Tlamanaliztli.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein ioioli: aço totolin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxitiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: caxtica in qujtquja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

Tlenamaqujliztli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujliztli, in jca tlemaitl: çoqujtl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalqujça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, in vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoqujtl tlachichioalli.

Auh in ommoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemajtl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequazco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yooatzinco in qujmjxitiaia in tepilhoan, in oqujchtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacazque iciuhca

1. In place of *in oconxopiloque*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *yc conxopiloaya in tlexochtli ỹ ocoxupiloque tlexochtli* — "with it they scooped up the live coals. When they had scooped up the live coals. . . ."

might not become slothful[2] this was done in the houses.

The Casting of Incense

And the casting of incense was thus done when some statement already was to be uttered; perchance a judgment already was to be uttered: first one cast incense into the fire. For whoever already was to speak, just there lay the incense in a gourd vessel. Or else a singer, when already he was to sing, thus would begin: first he cast incense into the brazier; then the singer began [to sing].

The Eating of Earth

The eating of earth was thus done when there was coming to any place: everyone ate earth; with one finger [they touched the ground and then the mouth], perhaps before the devil, or else in front of the hearth.

And thus was attested, thus was verified the statement. When not much faith was put in a statement, thus was it said to one:

"If what thou sayest is true, eat earth."

Whosoever it was then ate earth; thus he attested to his words.

The Casting of a Food Offering

And thus was done the casting[3] of a food offering: when anything was to be eaten, before it was eaten, perchance of the food first a very small morsel was cut off; it was cast[4] before the hearth. When it had been cast, then they would begin to eat the food. No one ate first; indeed the food offering was cast first, in front of the hearth.

The Pouring of a Libation

Thus was done the pouring of a libation, when there was pulque-drinking, perchance [when] the pulque feast was celebrated: when anyone newly made pulque, when he increased it,[5] at this time he

qujmjxitiaia injc amo tlatzivizcujzque techan in muchioaia yn.

Copaltemaliztli.

Auh in copaltemaliztli ic muchioaia, yn jquac in tlein tlatolli ie mjtoz, aço tecutlatolli ie mitoz, achto contemaia in copalli, in tleco: in aqujn ie tlatoz, çan vncan manca in copalli xicaltica: anoço cujcanj in ie cujcaz, ic peoaz, achto contema in copalli in tlequazco, njman ic peoa in cujcanj.

Tlalqualiztli.

In tlalqualiztli ic muchioaia, iquac in campa oalhujlooaia, muchi tlacatl ontlalquaia, ica in ce imapil, aço ispan diablo, anoço tlecujlixquac:

yoan ic tlaneltililoia, ic neltia in tlatolli: yn jquac tlein amo cenca neltocoia tlatolli: ic teilhujloia

intla nelli in tiqujtoa, tla xontlalqua:
ic njman tlalquaia in aqujn, ic qujneltiliaia itlatol.

Tlatlaçaliztli.

Auh inic muchioaia tlatlacaliztli, iquac in tlein qualoz yn aiamo qualo, aço tlaqualli, achtopa achiton tepitõ mocotonaia, tlecujlixquac onmotlaçaia: in ontlatlaçaloc njman ic peoa inic tlaqualoz: aiac achto tlaquaia vel achto tlatlatlaçaloia, in tlecujlixquac.

Tlatoiaoaliztli.

Inic muchioaia tlatoiaoaliztli, iquac in tlauanaloia, aço vitziecoloia: iquac in aca iancujcan qujtlalia vctli, yn iquac oqujtlapiuj, iquac ic tenotzaia, qujoalmana apaztica tlecujlisquac, yoan tetlaoancaxtepiton.

2. *tlatzivilozque* in the *Real Palacio MS.*
3. *tlatlatlaçaliztli* in the *Real Palacio MS.*
4. *ontlatlatlaçaloc* in the *Real Palacio MS.*
5. *oquitlapiviyyoc* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

invited people to it; he served it in a tub, in front of the hearth, and with small drinking vessels.

And when they were to have someone drink, they dipped up the pulque with the drinking vessels. Then they poured a libation in front of the hearth; they poured the pulque in a libation to the four directions.

And when they had poured a libation of pulque, then everyone drank the pulque, then all began the drinking.

Auh yn iquac ie tetlaoantiz, coxopiloa tetlaoanoantica in vctli, njman ic contoiaoa in tlecujlisquac, nauhcãpa contoiaoaia in vctli.

Auh yn jquac ocontoiauh vctli, njman ic muchi tlacatl, quja yn vctli, njman ic muchi peoa in tetlaoantiloia.

Here Are Told the Various Modes in Which Blood Was Shed [and] Offered

Sacrificial Slaying, Etc.

Thus were performed the sacrificial slayings; thus died captives and slaves who were called the divine dead.

Thus they took [the victim] up [to the pyramid temple] before the devil: [the priests] just went holding him by his hands. And he who was known as the arranger [of victims], this one laid him out on the sacrificial stone.

And when he had laid him upon it, four men each pulled on his arms, his legs. And already in the hand of the fire priest lay the flint knife with which he was to slash open the breast of his ceremonially bathed one.

And then, when he had laid open his breast, he at once seized his heart from him. And he whose breast he laid open lay quite alive. And when [the fire priest] had taken his heart from him, he raised it in dedication to the sun.

The Drawing of Straws [Through Parts of the Body]

The drawing of straws was thus done, only it was at a time of a reasonable day sign that straws were drawn.

And quite everywhere [was it done], perchance on one's ear [lobe], or, whoever willed it, his tongue or his thigh. And to pierce one's flesh, a thorn-like obsidian point [was used]. And then they drew through there a twig or a straw. And in order to pull them through his flesh, the twigs [were tied] with a cord in order to draw them through there, in order to perform penance.

And when the twig had been passed through, next day the twigs and straws were swept up. They were much bloodied. And this was done in the home of the devil or along roads where there were devils.

Vncan mjtoa in quezquican neçoloia yn eztli ic tlamanaloia.

Tlamjctiliztli, &c.

Jnic muchivaia tlamjctiliztli, injc mjquja malli yoan tlacutli in mjtoaia teumiquj.

injc contlecaviaia ixpan diablo, çan caantivi imatitech. auh in tevelteca motocaiotiaia, iehoatl contecaia in jpan techcatl,

auh in jcoac oipan contecac navi tlacatl in qujtitilinjaia in jma in icxi, auh ie imac onoc in tlenamacac tlamacazquj in tecpatl injc queltetequiz tlaaltilli,

auh njman ic coneltequj conanjlia achto in jiollo: auh ça ioltoc in queltequja, auh in jcoac oconanjlique yiollo conjaviliaia in tonatiuh.

Tlacoqujstiliztli.

Jn tlacoqujstiliztli ic muchivaia, çan no ipan in tlein tonalli in tlacoqujstiloia,

auh çan novjian aço inacazco, anoço in aqujn quinequiz inenepilco, anoço imetzpan, auh injc qujcoionjaia inacaio iehoatl in vitzauhquj in itztli, auh ic niman vncan quiqujstiaia in tlacutl, anoço çacatl, auh injc qujtilinjaia in inacaio mecatica injc vncan quiquistiaia tlacutl injc tlamacevaloia,

auh in jcoac otlacuquistiloc, in muztlaioc tlachpanoia muchpanaia in tlacutl yoan in çacatl cẽca ezço, auh in muchivaia y, ichan Diablo anoço vtli in vncan manj Diablome.

The Offering of Thorns

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked fir branches and cut maguey spines, and they bloodied them. Thus they laid two maguey spines on the fir branches as offerings.

Everywhere one laid the maguey spines as offerings in perhaps two places, or three places, or five places. It was quite of one's own will.

Nevitzmanaliztli.

Jn nevitzmanaliztli ic muchivaia concuja in acxoiatl yoan contequja in mevitztli, auh quezvjaia ic qujvalmanaia in ipã acxoiatl vme in vitztli

noviian in aca aço vccan anoço excan in qujmanaia vitztli, anoço macuilcan çan teiollotlama.

The Bloodying

When they bloodied themselves, thus did they do it: with an obsidian blade one cut [the lobes of] one's ears, and then they let the blood flow from about the ears.

Neçoliztli.

Jn mjçoia injc qujchioaia itztli ica in contequja in jnacazco, auh njmã ic qujvalpipiloiaia in eztli in innacaztitlan.

The Cutting of the Ear [Lobes]

Likewise the bloodying was a cutting of the ear [lobes] when one bloodied oneself, when one cut one's ear [lobes].

Nenacaztequiliztli.

Çan ie no iehoatl in neçoliztli in nenacaztequiliztli in mjçoia in monacaztequja.

The Twisting Off of the Heads [of Birds]

The twisting off of the heads [of birds] was thus done: when they twisted the necks[1] of small birds before the devil, also they dedicated [the blood] to him. They cast [the body] there before the devil. There the body of the small bird lay beating its wings.[2]

Tlaquechcotonaliztli.

Jn tlaquechcotonaliztli ic muchivaia ca icoac in tlatototzintli ixpan qujcotonaia in Diablo no conjaviliaia, vncan contlaçaia in ixpan Diablo, vncan tlapapatlatztoc in jtlac in totótzintli.

The Eating [of Sacrificial Victims' Blood by the Gods]

Thus was done the eating [of sacrificial victims' blood by the gods]: when [the priests] had cut open a slave's or a captive's breast, then [the owner] took [the victim's] blood in a vessel, and, perchance, cast a paper into the vessel, which drew up the blood.

Then he took it in the vessel; he placed upon the lips of all [the images of] the devils the blood of him who had died for the gods.

Tlatlatlaqualiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tlatlatlaqualiliztli, in jcoac oconeltecque in tlacutli anoço malli, njman qujcuja in iezço castica yoan aço amatl contlaçaia in caxic qujchichinaltiaia in eztli,

njman ic qujtquja castica in izqujntin Diablome intenco qujntlatlaliliaia in eztli muchintin in jezço teumjcquj.

1. *quiquechcotonaja* in the *Real Palacio MS.*
2. *tlapapatlatoc* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

The Payment of a Debt [to the Gods]

The payment of a debt [to the gods] was thus done: when mayhap something had befallen one, perchance sickness, when he recovered, then perchance he paid his debt with incense or paper [spotted with liquid rubber]. Because he had not died, he paid his debt in this manner; because, verily, [otherwise] he would have died.

Nestlavaliztli.

Jn nestlavaliztli injc muchivaia in jquac aço aca in tlein ipã muchivaia, aço cocoliztli in jquac opatic, njman aço copalli yoã amatl injc moxtlavaia, injc amo omjc iuhqujnma ic tlaxtlava, iehica ca omiquizquja.

The Spreading of Fir Branches

Thus was done the spreading of fir branches: from the forest they took green fir branches in order that [bloodied] maguey spines be laid upon them as offerings. First they spread out the fir branches; upon them they laid two bloodied maguey spines as offerings.

Acxoiatemaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia acxoiatemaliztli ca concuja quauhtla in acxoiatl xoxouhquj injc ipan nevitzmanaloz achto contemaia in acxoiatl ipan conmanaia in vitztli vme ezço.

The Piling Up of Wood for the God

The piling up of wood for the god was thus done: they took green wood from the forest; they cut it in order that it burn there in the home of the devil. They piled it up for themselves. Those did it who lived in the home of the devil when they performed penances.

Teuquauhquetzaliztli.

Jn teuquauhquetzaliztli, ic muchivaia, ca concuja in xoxuhquj quahujtl in quauhtla contequja injc vncan tlatlaz ichan Diablo qujmaquetzaia, iehoantin quichivaia in vncan nenca ichan diablo in tlamacevaia.

The Sweeping

The sweeping was thus done: much did they constrain, much were constrained the children, whether women [children] or men [children], that there in the homes, in their courtyards, they sweep.

And when they had first swept, before dawn, then they made their offerings carried in the palms of their hands, which they laid before the devil. And when they had gone to make the offerings, then they took up their incense ladles that they might offer incense.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Jn tlachpanaliztli ic muchivaia, cenca qujncuitlaviltiaia, cenca cujtlaviltiloia in tepilhoan in aço cihoa, anoço oquichtin in vncã inchachan in jmjtvalco injc tlachpanazque.

auh in jcoac iovatzinco in oachto tlachpanque, njmã qujchivaia in ventlamapictli in conmanaia ixpan Diablo, auh in jcoac ontlamanato, njmã ic concuja in intlema injc tlenamacazque.

Vigils. 1. All-Night Vigils

Thus was a vigil kept: it was at night.

They who dwelt there in the home of the devil, who kept watch during the night, remained very wakeful, that they might not leave undone their

Toçovaliztli. 1. ixtoçoaliztli.

Inic muchioaia toçoliztli, iquac in iooaltica:

iehoantin in vncan nenca ichan diablo, in qujpiaia ioalli, cenca ixtoçotinenca, injc amo tlacochcaoazque, ynjc qujpiaia ioalli, in ixqujchica tlathuiz:

duties because of sleeping. Hence they kept watch during the night until dawn broke.

For this reason they kept watch: it was because of those things which should be done at midnight or very late at night or already near dawn. Because of this they faithfully kept watch all night and tended the fire.

ynjc qujpiaia, iehica, in tlein muchioaz yn iquac iooalnepantla, anoço tlaquauhiooac, anoço ie tlathujnaoac, ipampa in, vel qujpiaia in ioalli, yoã qujpiaia in tletl.

Abstinence

Thus was there abstaining: there was no fasting. Only no one washed himself with *amolli* soap, no one bathed in the steam bath, nor did anyone lie with a woman. Only at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli there was fasting for seven days.

Neçaoaliztli.

Inic neçaoaloia amo tlacatlaqualoia, çan ie aiac mamoviaia, aiac motemaia, anoiac cioacochia: çanyio yquac in panquetzaliztli, tlacatlaqualoia chicomilhujtl.

Here Are Told, in Very Truth, the Offerings Which They Made, with Which They Paid Honor to the Devil

The Swallowing of Serpents

Thus was it done. Those who swallowed serpents at the time that water tamales were eaten did this. They were known as Maçateca. [The serpents] went quite alive when they swallowed them. They just seized them with their mouths; they went cutting them to pieces [with their teeth], in order to swallow them. And when they had swallowed them, then they were given gifts, as was told in [its place. This was when] water tamales were eaten every eight years.

The Swallowing of Frogs

And thus did they swallow frogs. Likewise they went alive; likewise it was done at the time [that serpents were swallowed]; likewise those Maçateca did it.

Making Birds Fly

Thus was it done. Birds were made to fly at the time of [the feast of] Etzalqualiztli. The youths tied the birds to wooden poles; with them they danced at the time that there was a procession.

Processions

Processions were thus undertaken. For whatever feast went established, when this was done, all the people went in procession perchance at dawn or at sundown. Then there was dispersing.

Singing in the Manner of Women

And the singing in the manner of women was thus done. When, mayhap, [the image] of whatever devil took form, at that time everywhere the women

Nican mitoa, in vel nelli tlamanaliztli, in qujchioaia, inic qujmaviztiliaia tlacateculotl.

Cooatololiztli.

Inic muchioaia, in coatl qujtolooaia, iquac yn atamalqualoia qujchioaia: moteneoaia maçateca, çan ioltiuja in qujntoloaia, çan incamatica in qujmonanaia, qujnxaxamatztiuja, ynic qujntoloaia. Auh yn jquac oq'ntoloque, çatepan motlauhtiaia, yn iuhquj ipan omito, atamalqualoia chicuexiuhtica.

Cueiatololiztli.

Auh injc cuecueia qujntoloaia çan no ioltivia, çan no iquac muchivaia, çan no iehoantin in maçateca qujchivaia.

Totopatlanaltiliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia, totopatlanaltiloia iquac in etzalqualiztli, in telpupuchtin quauhtitech quimjlpiaia in totome ic mjtotiaia in iquac tlaiaoaloloia.

Tlaiavaloliztli.

Jn tlaiavaloliztli, ic muchivaia in tlein ilhujtl motlalitivia iquac muchivaia, muchi tlacatl tlaiavalovaia, aço iohoatzinco, anoço ie teutlac, ic tlaxitinjaia.

Cihoapãcuiquiztli.

Auh in jcihoapan cuiquiztli ic muchivaia iquac in aço tlacatia Diablo, in tlein, iquac muchintin

danced along with the men, [as] at the time of the feast day of Tlaloc.

mjtotiaia in cihoa novian yoan oquichtin iquac inilhuiuh tlaloc.

The Moistening of Chalk

Thus was done the moistening of chalk. At that time they quickly snatched the chalk. Then he who moistened the chalk ran. As he appeared, he ran fast and a number followed him. They went stoning him, and any who did not hasten fell quickly under the stones.

Tiçapaloliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia tiçapaloliztli: in iquac concuitiqujça in tiçatl njman ic motlaloa in tiçapaloa injc necia in cenca tlacça yoan cequjntin qujtocaia, qujtepachotivia auh in aqujn amo tlacçaia iciuhca tetica vetzia.

Grasping [Children] for Growth

Thus was done the grasping [of children] for growth. Also upon a certain day they grasped all the children for growth on the roads, as well as all the cacti and maguey which lay on the ground. Thus, it was said, thus they would quickly mature.

Teizcalanaliztli.

Jnjc muchivaia teizcalaanaliztli no ipan in tlein tonalli muchintin in pipiltotonti qujmizcalaanaia vtlica yoã in ixqujch tlalticpac onoc in nopalli, anoço metl, ic mjtoaia inic hiciuhca mozcaltiz.

A Declaration of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil

Imelavaca in oc cequj tlamanaliztli in çan no ic qujmaviztiliaia Diablo.

Tying [an Object] Over the Breast

Thus was done the tying [of objects] over the breast.[1] In order that there be the tying [of objects] over the breast, they tied their [sickly] small children with loose cotton thread about their wrists and their necks, and placed their ration of a small tortilla made of green maize there in a small carrying frame, and they set up a small earthen jar at one corner of the carrying frame. It went full of water [as] one's hand ration. And when the time of the twenty-day period when it was known as Teotl eco came to arrive, at that time they undid the feathered cords with which the small children were bound.

Neelpiliztli.

Injc muchivaia neelpiliztli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in qujmjilpiaia pipiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcaltotonti in vncan conmanaia vacaltonco yoan tecõtontli, vacalnacazco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jmaitac, auh in iq̃c oacico ipan cempoalilhujtl in iquac moteneva teteu heco iquac qujntomiliaia in jcpatl potonquj injc omoolpique pipiltotõti.

The Serpent Dance

And the serpent dance was thus done at the time of the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli. The small children were painted with feathers, with colored feathers, everywhere on their bodies. But the old people applied feathers only to their stomachs, over their hearts, and to their backs. For this reason did they apply feathers to them: it was said that it was because thus Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

Necocoloiztli.

Auh in necocoliztli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in pipiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in veuejtlaca çãyio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jncujtlapan, qujnamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc qujnpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo teiolloquaz acolmiztli.

The Taking Out of the Children

Thus was done the taking out of the children. They took all of them there to the temple of the devil; they had indeed all of them dance before them, and they made them drunk. Hence it was said that the children were taken out, for they had all the children come out in the home of the devil.

Pilquistiliztli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistiliztli vmpa muchintin qujnvicaia in iteupan Diablo, in pipiltotonti vel muchintin impan qujmjtotyaia yoã qujntlavantiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin qujnvalquiztia in pipiltotonti in Diablo ichan.

The Act of Striping

Thus was done what was called the act of striping. When battle was joined [with] a captive, his shield,

Tlavavanaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in motenehoa tlavavanaliztli in jquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal imaquauh imac

1. *neelpiliztli* is omitted in the *Real Palacio MS.*

his war club lay in his hands; his war club no longer had obsidian points. But they who striped had their shields, their war clubs with which they fought in gladiatorial sacrifice as if they fought the captive or the slave.

onoc aoc moitztzo in imaquauh. auh in tlavavanque inchimal inmacquauh ieticac injc tlavavanaia iuhqujn qujcali mali anoço tlacutli.

The Lying on Reeds[2]

For five days there was lying stretched out on reeds as penance was done for Tlaloc. This was when [the body of the representative of Tlaloc] was placed in a cave. Leave was taken of [Tlaloc] in one's house.[3]

Teupan onoliztli

Macujlilhujtl in tulpan netecoia injc neçavililoia tlaloc in iquac vztoc tlaliloia vme culnavati.

The Placing [of Xipes] upon the Straw

The placing [of Xipes] upon the straw: of those who flayed the skins of men, some put on the skins, those who were named Xipes. And straw was shaken out; on it they set[4] [the Xipes]. Hence was it said that there was the setting [of Xipes] on the straw.

Çacapan nemanaliztli

In çacapan nemanaliztli, iehoantin in qujxipevaia tlaca in imevaio cequjntin conmaqujaia in ehoatl in motenevaia xixipeme, auh motzetzeloaia in çacatl ipan qujnvalmanaia ipampa in motenevaia çacapan valnemanalo.

The Nourishing [of the Sun or of the Fire]

The nourishing was thus done. When the ear [lobes] were cut, they spattered the blood upward or they sprinkled it into the fire. Thus, it was said, they nourished the fire and the sun.

Tlazcaltiliztli.

In tlazcaltiliztli ic muchivaia iquac in monacaztequja acopa contzetzeloaia in eztli anoço tleco contzitzicujnjaia injc mjtoaia quizcaltia in tletl yoan in tonatiuh.

The Spreading of Fresh Sprouts

The spreading of fresh sprouts was thus done. When there had been going to pluck fresh sprouts,[5] then they were spread everywhere upon the altars. No one failed [to do so]; it was [done] indeed everywhere. This was known as the spreading of things which had been plucked by hand.

Tlatzmolintemaliztli

In tlatzmolintemaliztli injc muchivaia, in iquac omocujto tlatzmolin, njman ic motetema in novjian momuzco, acan mocava vel novjian, iehoatl in mjtoaia tlamacujtemaliztli.

The Spreading of a Bed of Straw

The spreading of a bed of straw was thus done. Like eating earth, it was fitting when somewhere

Neçacapechtemaliztli.

In neçacapechtemaliztli injc muchivaia çan no iuhquj in tlalqualiztli ipan povia in iquac campa

2. *teupan*: read *tolpan* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*
3. In the *Real Palacio MS* the word is either *omocalnavati* or *omecalnavati.*
4. Following *quinvalmanaia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *in xixipeme.*
5. Following *omocujto*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *quauhtla.*

there was issuing where stood the image of the devil. Thus [when] there was issuing in his presence, one pulled up straw; one shook it out before the devil when one issued before him.

Still others [did so] when they followed the road and when it was during war. It was as if there were supplication because of it. When someone went where there was war, in case something might go amiss with him, he said:

"Not here shall I die; it is in war that I go to die."

And when already battle was joined, he first plucked grass, shook it out toward the sun; he said:

"He will perish, this one; may he die" or "He will take captives."

It was as if thus a vow was made to the sun.

qujxovaia in canjn ycac ixiptla Diablo injc ixpã qujxoaia compia in çacatl ixpan contzetzeloaia in Diablo, in iquac tlaixpan qujçaia

Oc cequjntin in vtli qujtocaia, ioã in iquac iavc, iuhqujnma ic nenetoltiloia, jn jquac aca iauh iavc intla itla ic motolinjtinemj qujtoaia

amo njcan in njmiquiz, iavc in njmiquitiuh

auh in iq̃c ie muchivaz iauiotl achto qujpia in çacatl qujtzetzeloaia in jvicpa in tonatiuh qujtoaia,

vnpopolihuiz y in tla miquiz, anoço tlamaz

iuhqujn ic monetoltiaia ivjc tonatiuh.

The Blowing of Trumpets

Thus was done the blowing of trumpets. When it was already late at night, when already midnight was coming to arrive, at that time trumpets were blown, so that there be the offering of blood in the home of the devil. Therefore were [the priests] wakened.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

Injc muchivaia in tlatlapitzaliztli iquac in ie tlaquauhiovac, in ie onacitiuh iovalnepantla iquac tlapitzaloia ic neçohoaia in jchan Diablo, ic teixitiloia.

Illumination with Fire

Thus was done the illumination with fire. When we people[6] had reached midnight, trumpets also were blown. Thus were men wakened; thus those known as drum-beaters began the keeping of the watch. And on him who could not wake up they poured water or shook [coals of] fire, or else they cast him into the water there at Tlilapan or Coaapan.

Tlatica tlaviliztli.

Injc muchivaia tlatica tlaviliztli, in iquac ie titlaca in iohoalnepantla oacic, no tlapitzalo, ic teixitilo, ic pevaia in tlapializtli motenehoaia tlavitequjni, auh in aqujn amo vel hiça atl ipan qujnoqujaia, anoço tletl ipã qujtzetzelovaia, anoço atlan contlaçaia vmpa tlilapan, anoço coapan.

The Piercing of Ear [Lobes]

The piercing of ear [lobes] was also undertaken because of the devil. Hence were ear [lobes] pierced.

Nenacaxapotlaliztli.

In nenacaxapotlaliztli no ic tlaieiecalhujloia in Diablo injc nenacazcoioniloia.

The Piercing of the [Lower] Lip

In the same manner that there was the piercing of the ear [lobes], so also, because of the devil, was undertaken the piercing of the [lower] lip.

Netexapotlaliztli.

I Çan no iuhquj in nenacazxapotlaliztli çan no ic tlaieiecalviloia in Diablo in netexapotlaliztli.

6. *ticatla* (at midnight) in the *Real Palacio MS.*

A Declaration of All Those Who Served in the Homes of Each of the Gods

The Keeper of the God of the Mexicans

Thus did the Keeper of the God of the Mexicans adorn himself: he had his sleeveless jacket, his incense ladle, his pouch; with them he paid honor to the devil. And so did he keep watch that indeed it was a matter of his being like a father in the *calmecac*. He was like the ruler of the [lesser] keepers of the gods indeed everywhere.

And all the children were left with him that he might train them, that he might bring them up by his words, that they might live well. And whether men ruled, or were rich, or led others, directed things, all this was the charge of the Keeper of the God of the Mexicans.

And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the [lesser] keepers of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should err, the Keeper of the God of the Mexicans knew all of it.

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac, Omacatl

The Keeper of the God of Uitznauac similarly maintained usages just as the Keeper of the God of the Mexicans maintained usages. Likewise he oversaw, in the *calmecac*, that they brought up the children well.[1]

The Keeper of the God over Others

The Keeper of the God over Others: his overseeing was similar to the way the Keeper of the God of the Mexicans oversaw. For in truth he commanded all how they should oversee in the *calmecac*; how they should rear the children, how they should bring them up; indeed all that [the lesser] keepers of the gods everywhere did.

Imelavaca in izqujntin tlatequjpanoaia in jnchachan cecenme teteu.

Mexicatl teuhoatzin

Injc muchivaia mexicatl teuhoatzin ixicol, itlema, ixiqujpil injc qujmaviztiliaia Diablo, yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac, iuhqujn intlatocauh catca in teteuhoatzitzin injc novjian:

yoã in ixqujch in tepilhoan itech oncavaloia injc qujmizcaltiz, injc quivapavaz tlatoltica injc vel nemizque, yoã in aço tlatocatizque, anoço mocuiltonozque, anoço teiacanazque, tlapachozque muchi iehoatl itequjuh catca in Mexicatl teuhoatzin,

yoã no iehoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaia in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi iehoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhotzin.

Vitznava teuhoatzin omacatl.

In vitznavac teuhoatzin, çan no iuhquj injc tlamanitiaia in juhquj ic tlamanitiaia Mexico teuhoatzin no iuhquj injc tlapiaia in calmecac in quenjn vel tlacavapavaia.

Tepan teuhoatzin.

In tepan teuhoatzin çan no iuhquj in itlapializ catca, in juhquj ic tlapiaia in Mexico teuhoatzin, iehica ca muchi iehoatl qujnnavatiaia in quenjn tlapiazque calmecac, in quenjn tlacazcaltiaia, tlacavapavaia, çan muchiuhquj in qujchivaia injc novjian teuhoatzitzin.

1. Following *tlacaoapaoaia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *tenonotzaia* — "he corrected them."

Ome Tochtzin

The function of Ome tochtzin was that he gathered together the Centzontotochtin [singers], indeed all of them. None should fail.[2] And over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who became, as it were, their leader.

Then [Patecatl] set up the rabbit [pulque] jars. There he filled them with [ceremonial] five[fold] pulque, which they called sacred pulque. Then he brought forth the sucking tubes, [made of] reeds. He laid them there[3] with the sacred pulque — two hundred and sixty of them. But only one was bored through.

And when he had set them out, thereupon there was dancing, there was a procession.[4] The Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred pulque. There was much jostling, that whoever it was might find [the reed which was] bored through. And whoever found [and] took up the perforated [reed], then they left him alone.[5]

Only he alone stood drinking the sacred pulque. And when the sacred pulque had been drunk, then there was departing.

Vme tochtzin.

In vme tochtzin itequjuh catca in qujnechicovaia centzontotochtin in ie muchintin, aiac mocavaia, auh vncan tepan icaca im patecatl, iuhqujn tachcauh muchivaia,

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncã conteca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie qujvalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cõmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vmei, auh çan ce in coionquj,

auh in ocõma, njman ie ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac iehoatl qujttaz coionquj, auh in aqujn oqujttac, in oquicujc coionquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

ça icel qujticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlaoanoc, njman ic viujlooa.

Epcoaquacuiltzin

The Epcoaquacuiltzin: behold what were his duties. When feasts should be celebrated, when perchance the [fifty-two] years should be bound — verily all feasts — he directed everything, so that there would be the depositing of incense. Indeed all that was to be done, all that he commanded, he directed.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, izca yn jtequjuh catca: yn iquac ilhujtl qujçaia, yn aço xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipã tlatoaia, injc tletemaloz in ie muchi muchivaz muchi iehoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the God of Molonco

The Keeper of the God of Molonco also had this function: he issued directions for the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, all that this one required when [sacrificial victims] died, and the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauhecatl. And he

Moloncoteuhoa.

In moloncoteuhoa, çan no iehatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isqujch itech monequja in iehoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tliltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

2. *mocavaia*: read *molcauaia* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*

3. Following *quivalquistia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *in pantecatl.*

4. *tlaiaoaloa* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

5. The *Real Palacio MS* text reads *Auh in oquittaq̃ in aq̃n oquicuic coionqui nimã mochintin quitlalcavia* — "And when they saw the one who took up the perforated [reed], then they all left him alone."

issued directions for the incense ladles, the quail, and the black feathers with which [the impersonator of] Chiconauhecatl was feathered.

[The Priest of] Cinteotl

The function of [the priest of] Cinteotl was that he directed indeed everything; he commanded that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the *yiauhtli* which he needed for [the goddess] Xilonen when her feast day came, be gathered together. And he issued directions for all the [things and] incense ladles required at Ococalco[6] when [the impersonator of] Xilonen died.

The Keeper of the God of Atempan

The Keeper of the God of Atempan: behold what was his function. This one directed, issued commands that there be gathered together the feathers, and the eagle down, the eagle beaks with which [the impersonator of] Toci was feathered when she died.

And this one summoned the Huaxtec youths to do penance there at Atempan.

The Caretaker

The Caretaker took care of the songs of the devils, of indeed all the sacred songs, that none might do ill [with them]. He took great care that they teach the sacred songs, and he issued summons so that the singers or the lords be assembled[7] so that they would be taught the sacred songs.

The Keeper of the Goddess of Tzapotlan

The function of the Keeper of the Goddess of Tzapotlan was similar to what the function of the Keeper of the God of Atempan was like. For likewise he directed, commanded all that there be gathered together the paper, the incense, the [liquid]

Cinteutzin.

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isqujch in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in jtech monequja xilonen in jquac ilhujuh qujçaia, yoan muchi ipan tlatovaia, in tlemaitl in jtech monequja o calli in jquac mjquja xilonen.

Atempan teuhoatzin.

In atempan teuhoatzin, izca in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicovaia ihujtl, in quauhtlachcaiutl, yoan in quauhtevitztli injc mopotonjaia toci in iquac miquja

yoan iehoatl qujtzatziliaia in cuecuexteca in telpupuchtin, injc moçavazque vncã atempan.

Tlapiscatzin.

In tlapiscatzin qujmocujtlavjaia in jncujc Diablome in ie muchi teucujcatl injc aiac tlatlacoz, vel qujmocujtlavjaia, injc qujtemachtiaia in teucujcatl, yoan qujtzatziliaia injc monechicozque in cujcanjme anoço tetecutin injc qujmomachtizque in teucujcatl.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin, çã no iuhquj in jtequjuh catca, in juhquj itequjuh catca: Atempa teuhoatzin, iehica ça no muchi ipan tlatovaia, ic tlanavatiaia, inic monechicovaia amatl in copalli, in vlli, yoan in jiauh-

6. *o calli*: we accept *Ococalco*, following the interpretation given by Miguel León-Portilla in *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavíos de los dioses* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1958), pp. 90–91.

7. Following *monechicozque*, the *Real Palacio MS* concludes this paragraph with *in macevalti ynic vel q'matizque yn cuicatl* — "the commoners" were assembled "so that they could know the songs."

rubber, and the *yiauhtli* which [the impersonator of] Tzapotla tenan required when she died.

tli, in jtech monequja in tzaputla tenan in iquac mjquja.

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman

The Keeper of the God of Tecanman directed that there be torches, faggots. And it was the function of this one that he collect the red ocher, the black stain, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, and bells which [the impersonator of] Xiuhtecutli, the old god, required when he died.

Tecanman teuhoa.

In tecanman teuhoa iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in ocutl in tlepilli iez yoan iehoatl itequjuh catca, in qujnechicovaia in tlavitl, in tlilli yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli in jtech monequja xiuhtecutli, veueteutl in iquac mjquja.

Tezcatzoncatl Ome Tochtli

Tezcatzoncatl Ome tochtli: this one likewise issued directions for the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the foam sandals, the paper, the heron feather headdress, the pine flowers. Hence he commanded that there be gathered together, that there should come forth all the offerings which [the impersonator of] Tezcatzoncatl needed when he died. This was done at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli.

In tezcatzoncatl vme tochtli, çan no iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in poçolcactli in amatl, in aztatzontli, in ocoxochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc muchi monechicoz in valcenqujcaz in ventli in jtech monequja tezcatzoncatl in iquac mjquja ipã in tepeilhujtl mochivaia.

Ome Tochtli Yiauhqueme

Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme likewise issued directions for the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, the heron feather headdress, the pine flowers. Hence he commanded that all that was mentioned be gathered when they were required when [the impersonator of] Ome tochtli Yiauhqueme died. This was also at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli yiauhqueme.

In vme tochtli yiauhqueme çã ie no iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in aztatzontli, in ocoxochitl, ic tlanavatiaia injc monechicovaia in isqujch omjto, iquac monequja in iquac miquja vme tochtli yiauhqueme çan no ipan in tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Tomiauh

The function of Ome tochtli Tomiauh was that he issued directions for all that was required when [the impersonator of] Ome tochtli Tomiauh died — the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the bells, the sleeveless jacket, indeed all that was mentioned. This was also at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli tomjiauh.

In vme tochtli tomjiauh iehoatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch in monequja in iquac mjquja vme tochtli tomjiauh, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in tzitzilli, in xicolli, in e ixqujch omjto, çan no tepeilhujtl ipan.

Acalua Ome Tochtli

Acalua Ome tochtli: likewise this one's function

Acalva vme tochtli.

In acalhoa vme tochtli çan no iehoatl itequjuh

was that he issued directions for all that formed the function of Tomiauh Ome tochtli.

catca, ipan tlatovaia in isqujch itequjuh catca vme tochtli tomjiauh.

Quatlapanqui Ome Tochtli

The function of Quatlapanqui Ome tochtli was that he issued directions for the paper, the incense, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the obsidian sandals which [the impersonator of] Quatlapanqui Ome tochtli required when he died. This was at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli.

Quatlapanquj vme tochtli.

In quatlapanquj vme tochtli in jtequjuh catca, iehoatl ipan tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan in itzcactli in jtech monequja quatlapãquj in iquac mjquja ipan panquetzaliztli.

Tlilhua Ome Tochtli

Tlilhua Ome tochtli: likewise this one issued directions for the paper, the incense, the bells, all that was mentioned, which likewise this one, [the impersonator of] Tlilhua Ome tochtli, required at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Tlilhoa ome tochtli.

In tlilhoa vme tochtli, çan no iehoatl ipan tlatovaia in amatl, in copalli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in isqujch omjto, çan no iehoatl itech monequja in tlilhoa vme tochtli ipan tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Pâtecatl

Ome tochtli Pâtecatl: this one gave life to the five[fold] pulque; he left it in the hands of the craftsman, the one who made the sacred pulque at the time of [the feast of] Panquetzaliztli, when the five[fold] pulque was used.

Vme tochtli pâtecatl.

In vme tochtli patecatl iehoatl qujiolitiaia in macujlvctli imac concavaia in tultecatl iehoatl qujchivaia in teuvctli ipan panquetzaliztli in popolivia in macujlvctli.

Ome Tochtli Nappatecutli

Ome tochtli Nappatecutli issued directions for the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, indeed all that was required when [the impersonator of] Nappatecutli died, at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Vme tochtli nappatecutli.

In vme tochtli nappatecutli ipã tlatovaia, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli: in ie ixqujch monequja in jquac miquja nappatecutli, ipan tepeilhujtl.

Ome Tochtli Papaztac

Ome tochtli Papaztac: this one also made the pulque which was called "chalky pulque." This one gave it to Moctezuma, and at that time indeed all the small children, or the men, or the women drank pulque, at the time of [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

Vme tochtli papaztac.

In vme tochtli papaztac, çan no iehoatl qujchivaia in vctli in mjtovaia tiçavctli: iehoatl conmacaia in motecoçoma, auh iquac tlanavaia ie ixq'ch pipiltzitzintin, in anoço oqujchtli, anoço cihoatl ipan toçoztli.

The Same Ome Tochtli[8]

Similar was his function. His function was [like that of] Ome tochtli Papaztac, but it was done at the time of [the feast of] Atl caualo.

Ciuaquacuilli

The function of the Ciuaquacuilli was [to assemble] all the offerings which were required there at the Temple of Atenchicalcan [Toci] — the flowers, the tobacco, which she laid before Toci; verily, all the things which the women offered when the hand-holding dance was danced. All this was the function of the Ciuaquacuilli.

Ciuaquacuilli Iztac Ciuatl

The Ciuaquacuilli Iztac ciuatl also kept watch there, took care there at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan and issued directions for the sweeping, the laying of fires. And any who made vows there spoke to the Ciuaquacuilli Iztac ciuatl. This one pronounced judgment on all that was done in [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui at Tzonmolco

The function of the Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui at Tzonmolco was [to obtain] wood for [the god] Xiuhtecutli. He made public announcement that there be going to get [it] in the forest. And those who gathered it were only the youths whose function it was. And when they had gone to gather wood for Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up at the *calmecac* in Tzonmolco.

Tlaçolquacuilli

The function of the Tlaçolquacuilli was that he kept watch there, he took care there in [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket;

Vme tochtli idem.

Çan no iuhquj catca in itequjuh, in itequjuh catca, vme tochtli papaztac, auh in muchivaia ipan in atl cavalo.

Cihoaquacujlli.

In cihoaquacujlli itequjuh catca, in isqujch ventli, in vncan monequja, atenchicalcatl, in xuchitl, in ietl injc qujtlamanjliaia toci vel ixqujch in ontlamanaia in cihoa in jquac navaloia iehoatl muchi itequjuh catca, in cihoaquacujlli.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çã no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanaliztlj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, iehoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, muchi iehoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcã.

Iscoçauhquj tzõmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzõmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan iehoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzõmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicol yietecõton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizo-

8. In the *Real Palacio MS* this paragraph reads: *In Ome tochtli ipan tlatoaia in tlaqualli, in ietl, in xochitl ioan in amatl, in copalli, in ie isquich omito auh itech monequia in Ome tochtli, in icoac motonaltia ipan Atl caoallo*" — "Ome Tochtli issued directions for the food, the tobacco, the flowers, and the paper, the incense, all the things mentioned, and what Ome Tochtli required when offerings were made at the time of Atl caualo."

he had his gourd for tobacco. Great was the veneration in the temple there at Mecatlan. No one urinated there; but if anyone did urinate there, they then seized him, they took him within;[9] there they punished him, they bled him.

tiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlã, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia qujçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco kept guard, took care at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco, and it was his function that he issued directions about the offerings. He made public announcement that offerings be made at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncã tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpãtzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventli qujtzatzilitiia injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpãtzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton

The Epcoaquacuilli[10] Tepictoton directed the songs. When anyone was to mold figures [of the mountain gods], this [figure-molder] spoke to [the Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton], who chose, who summoned the singers, so that they would go to sing in the home of the one who was to mold [mountain-god] figures. Verily, this one, the Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton, passed judgment on [the songs].

Epcoaquacujlli tepictotõ.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipã tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz iehoatl iehoatl conjlhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme, injc qujcativi in jchan in aqujn tepiquiz, vel iehoatl qujtzontequja in Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton.

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton

The Keeper of the God at the Temple of Ixtlilton presided over, issued directions, made public announcements [concerning] the gifts, when the small children, whether men [children] or women [children], began to talk. They went carrying their gifts of incense, or flowers, indeed all the gifts that were made. Each of these things they bore with them.

Ixtlilco teuhoa.

In jxtlilco teuhoa ipan jcaca, ipan tlatovaia, qujtzatziliaia in ventli injc motenmamalia pipiltzitzinti in in aço oqujchtin, in anoço cihoa qujitquitivi in jnven in copalli, in anoço suchitl in ie isqujch ventli muchivaia cecentlamantli in qujtquja.

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at Aticpac

The Keeper of the God Xochipilli at [the Temple of] Aticpac issued directions concerning [the impersonator of the goddess] Aticpaccalqui ciuatl. He assembled the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber which the Aticpaccalqui ciuatl [impersonator] re-

Aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli.

In aticpac teuhoatzin xochipilli ipã tlatovaia, in aticpac calquj cihoatl qujnechicovaia in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, in jtech monequja aticpac calquj cihoatl in iquac mjquja, auh qujxipehoaia in jiehoaio

9. Following *calitic*, the *Real Palacio MS* reads *ỹ mecatlã vmpa quiçoçoia* — "they bled him in Mecatlan."
10. Following Epcoaquacuilli, the *Real Palacio MS* has *itequiuh catca* crossed out.

quired when she died. And they flayed her, and the fire priest put on her skin, and he went holding a [live] quail in his teeth; it went dangling from his mouth.[11]

cõmaqujaia tlenamacac, yoan qujtlanquativja çolin icamac pilcatiuh.

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui

The Keeper of the God Opochtli at Atlixeliuhqui issued directions concerning [and] assembled the adornment, the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the foam sandals, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, the *yiauhtli*,[12] the chalk, the dark green stain, and the heron feather headdress, the tousled hair which [the impersonator of] Opochtli required when he died at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli.

In atlixeliuhquj teuhoa obuchtli, ipan tlatovaia, qujnechicovaia in jnechichival, in amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in poçolcactli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, in jiauhtli, in tiçatl, in jaiapalli, yoan aztatzõtli, papatli, in jtech monequja obuchtli in jquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Keeper of the God Xipe at Yopico

The Keeper of the God Xipe at Yopico took care, at the time that that one, [the impersonator of the god] Tequitzin, died, of the paper, the incense, and the foam sandals, the red ocher; and [he arranged] that this one be arrayed in feathers, white turkey hen feathers, and the *totec* cape of fine workmanship which fell his lot.

Xippe iopico teuhoa.

In xippe iopico teuhoa qujmocujtlavjaia, in ipan mjquja in iehoatl tequjtzin, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in poçolcactli, in tlahujtl, auh injc mopotonjaia iehoatl in iztac totolihujtl, yoan in tolectilmatli tultecajutl in jpã vetzia.

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli at Pochtlan

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli at Pochtlan issued directions concerning [and] assembled[13] for [the impersonator of] Yiacatecutli the various feathers, the rabbit fur, all the feathers, and the precious cape, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the sandals of all colors.

Pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli.

In pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli ipan tlatovaia qujnechicovaia in jJacatecutli in nepapan ihujtl in tochiujtl in ie ixqujch ihujtl. yoan in tlaçotilmatli, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan tlatlapalcactli.

The Same, for Chiconquiauitl, at Pochtlan

Chiconquiauitl: likewise this one issued directions for all that it was mentioned that the Keeper of the God at Pochtlan directed.

Chiconqujahujtl pochtlã idem.

In chiconqujahujtl, çan no iehoatl, ipan tlatovaia in jxqujch omjto in ipan tlatovaia pochtlan teuhoa.

11. Following *pilcatiuh*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *quitlanquatiuh* — "he went grasping it in his teeth."
12. Following *yiauhtli*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *in tlilli* — "the black [stain]."
13. Following *quinechicovaia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *inic mochichioaia* — "with which he was arrayed."

The Keeper of the God at Izquitlan

The Keeper of the God at Izquitlan issued directions for the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the foam sandals, and the sacred pulque. He took the syrup [from a maguey plant] in the fields. This [maguey plant] was afterwards broken up, so that no one might drink of it, so that no one might take it.

Izqujtlan teuhoatzin.

In izqujtlan teuhoatzin ipan tlatovaia, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoã in poçolcactli: yoan teuvctli, concuicuja in necutli in mjlpã, iehoatl in qujn omotlapan in aiaiac quj, in aiaiac concuj.

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca God at Tzapotlan

The Keeper of the Chachalmeca God at Tzapotlan issued directions for [this], that [the impersonator of] the man of Tzapotlan be ornamented [and supplied with] paper, incense, and incense ladle, all the things which [the impersonator of] the man of Tzapotlan required when he died at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

Tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca.

In tzaputla teuhoatzin chachalmeca, ipan tlatoaia injc muchichioaia in ipan miquja in tzaputlacatl, in amatl, in copalli, yoan in tlemaitl, in ie ixqujch itech monequja tzaputlacatl in iquac miquja ipan tepeilhujtl.

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli Icue Acatonal

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue Acatonal issued directions about the offerings [and] made public announcements about all that [the impersonator of] Chalchiuhtli icue required at the time that she died: the pine nut skirt, the water skirt, and all the paper, the incense, and so forth.

Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal cuacujlli.

In chalchiuhtli icue acatonal quacuilli, ipan tlatoaia in ventli, qujtzatziliaia in jxqujch itech monequja, in iehoatl chalchiuhtli ycue in ipan miquja, in ococalcueitl, yn acueitl: yoan in ixqujch yn amatl, in copalli, in vlli, yoan in oc cequj.

Acolnauatl Acolmiztli

Acolnauatl Acolmiztli issued directions about all the adornment with which Moctezuma was adorned at the time that he fasted. Only at the time of the great feasts did he fast: at the time when there was fasting for Tlaloc, and when there was fasting for the sun, and when there was fasting for [the feast of] Quecholli. He issued directions about the cape, the sleeveless jacket, and the foam sandals.

Acolnaoacatl, acolmiztli.

In acolnavacatl acolmiztli, ipan tlatoaia in ie ixqujch nechichioalli, injc muchichioaia in iehoatl motecuçoma, in jpan moçaoaia: çan ipan in veuey ilhujtl moçaoaia, ipan in netlalocaçaoaloia, yoan in netonatiuhçaoaloia, yoan in nequecholçaoaloia: ipam tlatoaia in tilmatli, in xicolli, yoan in poçolcactli.

The Keeper of the God Totoltecatl at Tollan

The Keeper of the God of Tollan issued directions for what [the impersonator of] Totoltecatl required:

Tullan teuhoa totoltecatl.

In tollan teuhoa, iehoatl ipã tlatoaia, in jtech monequja totoltecatl: yn amatl in copalli, in vlli,

the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, and the obsidian sandals, the heron feather headdress, and the lordly flowers, everything which [the impersonator of] Totoltecatl required when he died, at the time of [the feast of] Quecholli tlami and sometimes at the time of [the feast of] Tepeilhuitl.

yoan yn itzcactli, yn aztatzontli, yoan in tecusuchitl: in ie ixqujch itech monequja totoltecatl, in jquac mjquja, ipan in quecholli tlamj, auh in quenman ipã in tepeilhujtl.

A Declaration of how the Sun Was Served, and of how many Times Trumpets Were Blown During the Day and During the Night, and of how many Times Incense Was Offered

Each day, when the sun arose, quail were slain and incense was offered. And thus were quail slain: they wrung the necks of the quail; they raised them dedicating them to the sun.

And they greeted [the sun]; they said:

"The sun hath come to emerge, Tonametl, Xiuhpiltontli, Quauhtleuanitl. But how will he go on his way? How will he spend the day? Perhaps something evil will befall his common people."

They said unto him:

"Perform thy function! Work, O our lord!"

And this each day was thus done when the sun arose, [as] hath been said.

And thus was incense offered: it was four times during the day and it was five times during the night. The first time was when the sun showed itself here. The second time was when it was time to eat. The third time was when it was midday. And the fourth time was when the sun had already set.

And at night, thus was incense offered. The first time, it was when it was dark. The second time was when it was time to go to sleep. The third time was when the shell trumpets were sounded. The fourth time was at midnight. And the fifth time was near dawn. And when it was dark, incense was offered; the night was greeted.

It was said:

"Youaltecutli, Yacauitztli hath extended here. But how will his task fall?"

And the feast day of [Youaltecutli] came at the time of the day count Four Movement, every two hundred and sixty days. And when the feast day came, there was fasting; there was fasting for four days. And when the feast day of the day count arrived, at noon shell trumpets were sounded; straws were drawn through the flesh. And they cut the ear [lobes] of small children lying in the cradles. And everyone drew blood. And there were then no greetings. There was only the drawing of blood; straws were drawn through the flesh; incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; no one was abstaining.

Imelaoaca, in quenjn tlaiecultiloia tonatiuh: yoan quezqujpa in tlapitzaloia in cemjlhujtl, yoan in ceiooal: yoan quezqujpa in tlenamacaia.

In mumuztlae in jquac valqujçaia tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, yoan tlenamacoia. Auh injc tlacotonaloia qujquechcotonaia in çolin, conjaviliaia in tonatiuh,

yoan qujtlapalovaia qujtoaia

Oqujçaco in tonatiuh, in tonametl, xiuhpiltontli, in quauhtlevanjtl: auh quen onotlatocaz quẽ cemilhujtiz, cujx itla ipan mochivaz in jcujtlapil, in jiatlapal

conilvjaia.

Ma ximotequjtili, ma xjmotlacotili, totecujoe.

auh injn mumuztlae iuh muchivaia in iquac valqujçaia tonatiuh mjtoaia.

Auh injc tlenamacoia, nappa in cemjlhujtl, auh macujlpa in iovaltica. Injc ceppa iquac in valmomana tonatiuh. Injc vppa iquac in tlaqualizpan, auh injc Expa iquac in nepãtla tonatiuh, auh injc nappa iquac in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh.

Auh in iovaltica, injc tlenamacoia. Injc ceppa tlapoiaoa. Injc vppa netequilizpan. Injc Expa tlatlapitzalizpan, auh injc Nappa ticatla, auh injc macujlpa tlatvinavac, auh in iquac tlapoiava tlenamacoia tlapaloloia, in iovalli

mjtoaia.

Ovalçouh in iovaltecutli in iacaviztli, auh quen onvetziz in jtequjuh.

Auh in ilhujuh, qujçaia ipan cemjlhujtonalli navi ollin, matlacpoalli, vmeiica, auh in iq̃c ie onaci ilhujuh, neçavaloia, navilhujtl tlacatlaqualoia, Auh in ipã cemilhujtonalli in oacic ilhujuh, in nepantla tonatiuh, tlapitzaloia, tlacoqujstiloia: auh in pipiltzitzinti coçolco onoque qujnnacaztequja: auh muchi tlacatl mjçoia, auh atle ic tlapaloloia, çan jxqujch in neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca,

And there[1] was the image of that one, [the sun, upon] the so-called Quauhxicalli. There his image was set up. His image was designed as if it had the mask of a man; his sun's rays shot forth [from it].[2] His sun costume was round, enclosed by feathers, enclosed by roseate spoonbill feathers. There in his presence the fasting was done, [and] the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, the slaying of quail.

And at the time of his feast day, also many captives died. And also it was said that those who died in war went to the home of the sun; they dwelt with the sun.

auh inon catca ixiptla, iehoatl, in motenehoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in jxiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in jxiptla iuhq'n tlacaxaiaque itonameio itech quiztoia in jtonatiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia nêçoliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanaliztli, in tlacotonaliztli.

Auh in ilhujuh ipã no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj tonatiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh.

1. *in vncan* in the *Real Palacio MS.*
2. See Pl. 60.

A Declaration of the Training or the Labors Which Were Done in the Temples, in the Devils' Houses

The Education of Men

The fire priest, who educated [the young priests], left them in the hands of the offering priests, those who dealt blows, those who guarded.

Admonitions

For this reason he admonished them: that they live well, that they not spend their time in pleasures, that they not live lazily.

Sweeping

So that they would sweep the courtyard of the temple, he cried out to all the little offering priests that they should sweep.

The Laying of Fires

And he constrained them to lay the fires; so that they be watched, there was reclining by the fires.[1] And indeed everywhere in the temple courtyard fires were laid in the braziers. There perchance ten rows [of them] burned — very many [of them].

Guarding During the Night

Those who were doing penance took care of the guarding during the night. It was the function of those who were prudent.

The Carrying of Wood

The carrying of wood: with it they kept guard as it burned at the *calmecac*. The very young offering priests got it, those not yet very prudent.

Imelaoaca in neiehecoliztli anoço tlatequjpanoliztli in muchioaia teupan in tlacateculocalco.

Tlacazcaltiliztli.

In teizcaltiaia tlenamacac, imac concaoaia, in tlamacazque, in tlavitequjnj, in tlapianj.

Tenonotzaliztli.

Ic qujnnonotzaia, injc vel nemjzque, in amo maviltizque, in amo tlatziuhtinemizque.

Tlachpanaliztli.

Injc tlachpanazque, in teuitvalco qujntzatzilia in jxqujchtin in tlamacazcatepitzitzin injc tlachpanazque.

Tletlaliliztli.

Ioan qujncujtlaviltiaia, injc tletlalizque injc tlapialoia, vncan netetecoia in tletl itla, auh çan novjian in tletlaliloia in teuitvalco, in tlequazco in vncan in vncã tlatlaia aço matlactecpantli cẽca mjiec.

In iovallapializtli.

In iovallapializtli iehoantin qujmocujtlavjaia, in tlamaceuhque, in jxtlamatque intequjuh catca.

Quauhçaqujliztli.

In quauhçaquiliztli, injc tlapiaia in tlatlaia calmecac, iehoantin concuja, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in aiamo cenca ixtlamati.

1. *in tletitlā* in the *Real Palacio MS.*

The Cutting of Maguey Spines

The cutting of maguey spines: those who cut them were the offering priests who were not yet much experienced. They were the ones who gathered them.

Vitztequjliztli.

In vitztequjliztli, iehoantin cõtequja in tlamacazque in aiamo cenca ixtlamati, in qujnõtlacuixque.

The Carrying of Fir Branches

The carrying of fir branches: likewise they who were offering priests got them, and these were already experienced.

Acxoiaçaqujliztli.

In acxoiaçaquiliztli, çan no iehoantin concuja in tlamacazq̃ auh iehoantin in ie ixtlamati.

The Blowing of Shell Trumpets

The blowing of shell trumpets: this was the function of the young offering priests, and those who were already experienced went mixing with them.

Tlatlapitzaliztli.

In tlatlapitzaliztli, iehoantin intequjuh catca, in tlamacazcatepitzitzin. yoan in ie ixtlamati neneliuhtivjia.

The Dissolving of Black Coloring

The dissolving of black coloring was the function of the young offering priests. They dissolved the black coloring. Everyone anointed himself with it; indeed they put it on like a costume when they anointed themselves. No one failed [to do so]. And they dissolved it there in the black coloring boat, and the black coloring was dissolved at night, and there was anointing at the time that the dawn arose.

Tlilpatlaliztli.

In tlilpatlaliztli, iehoantin intequjuh catca: in tlamacazcatepitzitzin, in qujpatlaia tlilli, muchi tlacatl ic moçaia, vel mocemaqujaia injc moçaia, acan mocavaia: auh in qujpatlaia vncã in tlillacalco, auh in tlilpatlaloia, çan iovaltica, auh in neoçaloia iquac in tlavizcalli iehoa.

A Declaration of how the Devils Were Prayed to, and How Oaths Were Made

When an oath was taken, when someone promised his child to the devils, in perchance two [temples] or in three he promised what he would do for the devils. Perhaps [because] his young son had been struck or for whatever had befallen him, at that time he promised that he would perform penances to them.

And also when an oath was taken, when someone made a statement to one, in order that he verify it, he was told:

"In order that thy statement be verified, in order that thou wilt not lie, eat earth."

When, then, whoever made some statement ate earth, he thus verified his statement. In order not to be thought a liar, he said:

"Well doth the sun, the lord of the earth, know that already I have eaten earth."

Like that, thus, were oaths taken.

And if it was a supplication, it was done only with these: the offering of incense, the paying of a debt, and the eating of earth, the paying of a debt.

Imelaoaca in quenjn tlatlauhtiloia diablome, yoan in quenjn muchioaia Juramento.

In iquac muchioaia Juramẽto in jquac aca qujnetoltia iconeuh ivjcpa Diablome, aço vccan, anoço Excan qujnetoltia, in tlein qujnchiviliz Diablome, aço motlavitequj piltontli, anoço tlein ipan muchioa, iquac quinetoltiaia, injc ivicpa tlamaceoaz.

Auh no ioã iquac muchioaia in Juramento in iquac aca tlein qujteilhujaia, injc qujneltiliaia, ilhujloia.

Jnjc neltiz motlatol, injc amo tiztlacatiz tlaxontlalqua.

iquac njmã tlalquaia in aqujn tlen qujteilhujaia ic qujneltiliaia in jtlatol inic amo iztlacamachoia qujtoaia,

vel qujmati in tonatiuh, in tlaltecutli ie nontlalqua.

Iuhquj in injc muchioaia Juramento.

Auh intla tlatlauhtiliztli, ic muchivaia çan iehoatl in tlenamaquiliztli, yoan nextlavaliztli, yoã tlalqualiztli, nestlavaliztli.

HERE IS TOLD WHAT THE SONGS OF THE DEVILS WERE, WITH WHICH THEY PAID HONOR TO THEM WITHIN THEIR TEMPLES AND INDEED WITHOUT[1]

NICAN MJTOA IN JNCUIC CATCA, IN TLATLACATECULO INJC QUJNMAVISTILIAIA IN JNTEUPÃ. YOAN IN ÇAN QUJIAOAC.

Song of Uitzilopochtli

Uitzilopochtli
Leader in war[2]
Whose work is on high[3]
Who goes on his way[4]
Not in vain[5] I take the yellow feathered cape[6]
Which through me is the sunshine[7]

Evil of omen
Dweller in cloudland

Vitzilobuchtli icu jc

Vitzilobuch
iaquetl *aia*,
yiaco n ai,
in ohujhujhujia
ane njcujc tociquemjtla, *yia, ayia, yia, yio vjia*,
que *ia* noca, *oia* tonaquj *yiaia, yia, yio.*

Tetzaviztli,
ia mixtecatl,

1. In translating the sacred songs, we have depended heavily upon Angel María Garibay K.'s versions in *Veinte himnos sacros de los nahuas* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1958; hereafter referred to as Garibay, *Viente himnos*), as well as upon those in Eduard Seler's essay, "Die religiösen Gesänge der alten Mexikaner" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 961–1107). Both authorities should be studied by the reader who wishes as full an understanding as possible of their meaning. In the *Florentine Codex*, the songs are untranslated and lack the glosses to be found in the *Real Palacio MS*.

In the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún comments concerning them: "*Costumbre muy antigua es, de nño aduersario el diablo: buscar ascondrijos, para hazer sus negocios: conforme a lo del sancto Euangelio, que dize. Quien haze mal, aborrece la luz: conforme a esto, este nño enemigo, en esta tierra planto, vn bosque, o arcabuco, lleno de muy espesas breñas, para hazer sus negocios, desde el, y para absconderse en el, para no ser hallado: como hazen las bestias fieras, y las muy ponçuñosas serpientes. Este bosque, o arcabuco breñoso, son los cantares, que en esta tierra el vrdio, que se hiziessen, y vsasen, en su serujcio: y como su culto diujno y psalmas de su loor, ansi en los templos, como fuera dellos: los quales lleuan tanto artificio, que dizen lo que quieren, y apregonan lo que el manda: y entiendenlos solamente aquellos, a quien el los endereça. Es cosa muy aueriguada, que la cueua, bosque, y arcabuco, donde el dia de oy, este maldito aduersario, se absconde, son los cantares, y psalmas, que tiene compuestos: y se le cantan, sin poderse entender, lo que en ello se trata, mas de aquellos que son naturales, y acostumbrados, a este lenguaje. De mamera, que seguramente se canta, todo lo que el quiere, sea guerra, o paz, loor suyo, o contumelia de xp̃o, sin que de los demas se pueda entender.*"

As for our transcription of the songs for our Nahuatl column: they appear in simple paragraph form in the MS, more or less as we reproduced them in our first edition of "The Ceremonies." In the present edition, we have rearranged them in the versified form we have adopted, but have not otherwise changed them except to italicize certain sounds (*aia, yia, yio, uiya*, etc.) which, according to Garibay, in *Poesía náhuatl*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia, Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1964), Vol. I, p. xxviii, n. 14, have only metric value or indicate the sounds of musical instruments when not accompanying voices, or are "*palabras de exclamación que probablemente eran para dar base al canto sin palabras*" (Garibay, *Viente himnos*, p. 33). These have no other meaning, and the MS does not clearly separate them in the song texts.

Whether because of surviving archaisms; or of distortions due to their poetic expression, their presentation sung and danced, their having been constantly and unthinkingly repeated; or of mistakes in copying the text, the Nahuatl is very difficult. Our notes suggest readings in keeping with the Nahuatl of the *Florentine Codex* for the most obscure passages. These are based upon both Garibay's commentaries in *Veinte himnos* and Seler's in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen.*. It may be noted that Seler places more confidence in the explanatory glosses to be found in the *Real Palacio MS* than Garibay does, and that he is perhaps less thorough in eliminating elements which probably have only metrical value or imitate accompanying sounds, as previously noted.

Garibay's translations into Spanish are rather free. While ours follow many of his suggestions, they are in some ways perhaps freer. We do not invariably accept his translations; sometimes we have preferred Seler's and sometimes we have accepted neither. In dividing the songs into "stanzas," we have followed the arrangement of the Nahuatl text as it is in both the *Florentine Codex* and the *Real Palacio MS*.

2. *yauhqui* or *yaqui*.

3. *in aco in ai*.

4. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 34) considers *ohuihuihuiya* as a "reiterative" form of *ouia* or *ohuia* (*otli* or *ohtli*, road, path, with the transitive verbalizing suffix *-huia*). The corresponding gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* interprets this and the preceding line as *ayac nechnenevilia*, a reading with which Seler agrees — "*Niemand ist mir gleich*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 964, 967).

5. *anen*.

6. *tozquemitl*.

7. *que*: read *quen; tonaqui*: read *tonac*.

You have but one foot	ce i mocxi
Dweller in chill land of wings[8]	pichaoazteca
You open your hand[9]	tlapo ma *ia, ova yieo ayia yie.*
Feathers are given the hot region's[10] ramparts	*Ai* tlaxotla tenamitl ihujtli macoc
Broadcast they fly	mopopoxotiuh,
Proclaimers of war	iautlato *aia ayia yio,*
My god is entitled defender of men	noteouh *aia* tepãquizqui mjtoa *ia,*
Already he rises all covered with paper[11]	O ya i eva vel mamavia
A hot region dweller[12]	in tlaxotecatl
He circles in dust	teuhtla tlamjlacatzoa *ia,*
A hot region dweller	tlaxotecatl
He circles in dust	teuhtla mjlacatzoa *ia.*
The Amanteca are our foes	Amanteca toiaohoan
About me place yourselves	xinechoncentlalizqui *via,*
In battle form[13] there's going to war	icalipan iautioa
About me place yourselves[14]	xenechoncentlalizqui.

8. *pichauaztecatl*: Garibay (*Viente himnos*, p. 36) derives his meaning from *pichaui*, stiffen with cold, and *aztli*, wing.

9. *moma.*

10. *tlaxotla, tlaxotecatl*: we accept Garibay's derivation from the verb *xotla* (*Viente himnos*, p. 37). Seler, however, interprets the passage as the allotting of feathers to the "gens" (*tenamitl*) of Tlaxotlan (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 969–70).

11. The corresponding gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* derives *mamauia* from *mauhtia.*

12. See note 10, above.

13. In *ibid.*, the gloss interprets *icalipan iautiooa* as *tlatlaz yn incal* — "their houses will burn."

14. *xenech . . .* : read *xinech. . . .*

In the *Real Palacio MS*, the following lines end the song: *Pipilteca toyavan xinechoncentlalizquivia icalipan yautiva xinechoncentlalizqui.*

Song of Uitznauac Yaotl	Vitznavac iautl icujc
My seasoned warrior's in the spear house	*Ahuja* tlacuchcalco notequjoa *aia*
Such is what I hear[1]	ivi nocaquja
The man puts me to shame	tlacatl, *ia* nech *ia* pinavia, *aia*
I think myself ill-omened	ca nomati njtetzavitli, *avia*, *aia*
I think I go to war	co nomati njia, iauhtla
Yet it has been said[2]	aqu itoloc
My seasoned warrior's in the spear house	tlacuchcalco, notequjoa
They laugh[3]	i uesca
They talk	tlatoa *ia*
It is my house as lord	*ay* nopilchan
The Tocuiltec is panting[4]	Ihiaquetl tocujlechcatl
Eagle robes lie variously	quaviquemjtl nepapanoc
In Uitztlan	vitzetla
By the youths of Olopan	*Huja* oholopa telipuchtla
My captive lies emplumed	yvijoc in nomalli
I'm afraid	ie njmavia,
I'm afraid	ie njmavia
My captive lies emplumed	ivjioc in nomalli
By the youths of Uitznauac	*Huja* vitznavac telipuchtla
My captive lies emplumed	yvjioc in nomalli
I'm afraid	ie njmavja
My captive lies emplumed	yvjioc in nomalli.
By the youths of Tzicotlan	*Huja* i tzicotla telibuchtla,
My captive lies emplumed	yvjioc in nomalli
I'm afraid	ie njmavia,
I'm afraid	ie njmavia
My captive lies emplumed	ivjioc in nomalli
The priest of Uitznauac[5]	vitznaoac teuhoaquj
Came down to the marvel[6]	machiotla tetemoia,
The sun shone	*ahuja aia* tonac
The sun shone	*iahuja oia* tonac
He came down to the marvel	*ia* machiotla tetemoia.
The priest of Tocuillan	Tocujlitla teuhoaquj
Came down to the marvel	machiotla tetemoia,
The sun shone	*ahuja*, *oia* tonac,
The sun shone	*iavjia oia* tonac
He came down to the marvel	*via* machiotla tetemoia.

1. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 971, 973) takes the particle *aia* as negative.
2. *oc itoloc.*
3. *in uetzca.*
4. *ihiaquetl*: Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 974) equates the term with *iyac*; cf. *iaque* or *telpochiaque.* Garibay (*Viente himnos*, p. 44) equates it with *ihiyaqui*, derived from *ihiyotl.*
5. *vitznaoac teuhoaquj*: we read *teuhoaquj* as *teohua* (god-keeper or priest); cf. also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 975. Garibay (*Viente himnos*, pp. 41, 46) prefers to derive the term from *teotl* and *aqui* and translates the phrase "*Se metete el dios en Huitznahuac.*"
6. *machiotlan.*

Song of Tlaloc	Tlalloc icujc
In Mexico	*Ahujia* Mexico
God's goods are borrowed	teutlaneviloc
Among paper flags[1]	amopanitla,
And[2] in the four zones	an nauhcampa
Are men standing up[3]	ie moquetzquetl
And also[4] it's their time for tears	*ao* iequena ychocaia.
But I've been formed	*Ahuja* an nehoa *ia* njiocoloc
And for my god	ã noteuh *oa*
Of bloody flowers of corn	eztlamjiaval,
A festive few[5]	*a* ilhujcolla,
I take	nic *ia* vica *ia*,
To the god's court[6]	teutivalco *ia*
You are my warrior	*Ahuja* an notequjoa
A sorcerer prince	navalpilli
And[7] though[8] it is true	aqu itla nella
That you made our food	motonacaiouh tic *ia* chjuhquj
You the first man	tlacatl achtoquetl
They only shame you	çan mitz *ia* pinavia.
Whoever shames me	*Ahuja* can aca tell *a*, nech *ia* pinavjia
Knows me quite ill	anech *yayia* velmatia,
You are my fathers[9]	anotata
My priesthood	i noquacujllo
My jaguar serpents	ocelocoatl *aia.*
In Tlalocan	*Ahuja* tlallocan *a*
In the turquoise boat	xivacalco
Is one who comes	*aia* quizquj
And is unseen[10]	aqu amotta,
Acatonal	acatonal *aia.*
To all places go	*Ahuja* xjia novia
To all places reach	*nahuja* xi *ia* moteca *ay*
To Poyauhtlan	pojauhtla

1. *amapantitlan.*
2. *an*: equivalent to *auh.*
3. As the gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* interprets the phrase, the banners stand erect: likewise Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 978).
4. *yequene.*
5. Read *ilhuiçolli.* Garibay, in *Veinte himnos*, p. 56, takes the meaning he assigns the word from *ilhuitl* and *çolli*, cluster, handful, which he derives from *çoa.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 985) prefers to follow the gloss, *ỹ vmpa ilhuiçololo* — "*wo man den ganzen Tag das Fest feiert.*"
6. *teoitualco.*
7. *aqu (ac)*: equivalent to *auh.*
8. Read *intlanel.*
9. Read *annotahuan.*
10. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 59) reads *ac ua motta*, which he takes to be equivalent to *auh amotta.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 980, 988), modifying the gloss, translates the phrase "*dein Vater.*"

With mist-bringing rattles	aiauhchicavaztica, *aia*
To Tlalocan taken	vicalo, tlallocan *aia.*
My brother Tozcuecuexi	*Ao* nacha tozcuecuexi
I shall go and go[11]	njiaializquj, *aia*
It's his time for tears	ychocaia.
Dispatch me to the place of mystery[12]	*Ahuja* queiamjca xinechiva *ia*
His words come down	temoquetl *a* itlatol
And I have told	a njqu *ia* ilhujq̃tl,
The omen-lord	tetzauhpilla
That I shall go and go	njiaializquj *aia*
It's his time for tears	ychocaia.
In four years	*Ahuja* nauhxiuhtica *ia*
There will be swept[13] on us[14]	i topa necaviloc
Unaware	aioc inomatia,
No longer[15] counted men	aymo tlapoalli ,*aia*
In the land of the unfleshed	ximovaia
In the house of quetzal plumes	ie quetzalcalla
Where together rejoice[16]	nepanavia *ai*
The creatures of him who forms men	yascan *a* teizcaltiq̃tl.
To all places go	*Ahuja* xjia novjia
To all places reach	*ahujia* xj *ia* moteca *ia*
To Poyauhtlan	*ai* pouhtla
With mist-bringing rattles	aiauhchicavaztica, *aia*
To Tlalocan taken	vicallo tlalloca.

11. Der. *yauh*, possibly repetitive because of reduplication.

12. *quenamican.*

13. Read *necauiloz.* The gloss in the *Real Palacio MS*, evidently preferring to read the phrase as *topan ecauiloz*, is accepted by Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 981, 991) — "*man hat es über uns kommen lassen.*" Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 62) translates it as "*entre nosotros habrá un levantamiento general.*"

14. *topan.*

15. *ayamo.*

16. *nepan* plus *auia* or *ahuia.* Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 63) prefers to derive it from *panahuia* and translates the phrase (p. 52) "*se hace la transformación.*" Seler appears to prefer to regard it as a verbal noun, *nepanavian*, "*Ort des Reichthums*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 992).

Song of Teteo innan

The yellow flower blossoms
She's our mother
With the godly thigh-skin mask[1]
Tamoanchan's where you started[2]

The yellow flower is your flower[3]
She's our mother
With the godly thigh-skin mask
Tamoanchan's where you started

The white flower blossoms
She's our mother
With the godly thigh-skin mask
Tamoanchan's where you started

The white flower is your flower
She's our mother
With the godly thigh-skin mask
Tamoanchans' where you started

The goddess on the barrel cactus[4]
Is our mother
The obsidian butterfly

Let us find her
In the ninefold steppes
She'll be feeding on deer hearts
She our mother
She the goddess of the earth

With new chalk
With new feathers
Is she covered
In all four quarters[5]
Darts lie in fragments

A deer's what she's become
There on the desert plain
They come to find you
They
Xiuhnel and Mimich

Teteu innan icujc

Ahuja coçahujc xuchitla *oia* cueponca
iehoa tonana
teumechaue
moqujcican tamovanchan, *avaiie, avajia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, aij, aiiaa.*

Coçaujc suchitla, *oia* mosocha
iehoa tonana
teumechaue
moqujcican tamovanchan, *ohoayia, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.*

Ahuja iztac suchitla *oia* cuepõca
iehoa tonana
teumechaue
moqujcican tamoanchan, *ohoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.*

Ahuja iztac suchitla, *oia* mosucha
iehoa tonana
teumechaue
moqujcican tamohoanchan, *ohoaya, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, aie, aie, ayia, ayiaa.*

Ahujia ohoia teutl ca teucontlipaca
tona, *aia*
itzpapalotli, *ahoayie, ahoayia, yiao, yia, yieo, ayiaa.*

Ao, ava tic *ia* ittaca
chicunaviztlavatla
maçatl yiollo, ica mozcaltizquj
tonan
tlaltecutli, *aiao, ayiao, ayiaa.*

Ahoie iancujc tiçatlan
ie iancujc yhujtla,
oia potoniloc
in avicacopa
acatl xamantoca.

Aho, maçatl mochiuhca
teutlalipan
mitz *ia* no ittaco
iehoa
xiuhnello iehoa mjmjcha.

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1. *teo-metz-xaue.*
2. *moquizcan.*
3. In accordance with the *Real Palacio MS* gloss, Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 994, 998) translates *oia mosocha* as "*ist aufgeblüht.*"
4. *teocontli (teocomitl) icpac.*
5. Read *nauicacopa*, as indicated in the *Real Palacio MS* gloss. See also Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 66.

Song of Chimalpanecatl and of Tlaltecaua's Motherhood

Chimalpanecatl icujc yoan tlaltecaoananotl

Upon his shield
From one big with birth[1]
Was the captain born
Upon his shield
From one big with birth
Was the captain born

Ichimal ipa
chipuchica vei *a*
mjxihujloc iautlato *aia*
ichimal ipa
chipuchica vei *a*,
mjxihujloc, iautlato *aia.*

The seasoned warrior
On Coatepec
On the mountain
Dons shield as mask
No one in truth
Does battle like him[2]
The earth quakes in fear
Who can
[Like him]
Don shield as mask?

Cohoatepec tequiva

tepetitla,
moxaiavalteueuel,
aiaquj nelli
moqujchtivi vi
tlalli cuecuechivjia
aquj

moxaiavalteueuella.

1. *chipuchica*: Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 80) relates the term to modern Mexican *chipote* (bruise, bump, swelling) a term colloquially used in reference to advanced pregnancy, and to a postulated Nahuatl *chipohtli*. Santamaría (*Diccionario*, p. 103) traces *chipote* to *xipotli* (cf. *xipocheua*). Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1006) derives it "*durch Metathesis aus* ichpochca c. ichpochtli ica . . . *'von der Jungfrau.'* "

2. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, pp. 77, 81) reads *moquichivi ivi in.*

Song of Ixcoçauhqui

Ixcoçauhauj icujc

In Tzonmolco
My fathers
Shall I defraud you?
In Tetemocan
Shall I defraud you?

Hujia, tzommolco
notavane
ie namechmaiapinauhtiz
tetemoca
ie namechmaiapinauhtiz

In Mecatlan
My lords[1]
The yucca [drum] lies croaking
In Chicueyocan
To the sorcerer's house
Did the sorcerer drop[2]

A oncan mecatlan
notechoan
icçotl mjmjlcatoc
chicueiocan
navalcalli,
navalli temoquetl *aia.*

In Tzonmolco
The songs are being sung
Which we have started
In Tzonmolco
The songs are being sung[3]
Which we have started
Here's why it's time
To come out disguised
Here's why it's time
To come out disguised

Hujia tzonjmolco
cujco
tipeuhque,
aia, tzomjlco
cujca
tipeuhque,
aia, iz tleica
naval, moquizca
via iz tleica
navalmoquizca.

In Tzonmolco
Let one of the people
Be given [the god]
The day's light dawns
The day's light dawns
Let one of the people
Be given [the god]

Hujia tzonjmolco
macehoalli
ma *ia* temaco *via.*
oia tonaqui,
oia tonaqui,
macevalli
ma *ia* temaco *vjia.*

In Tzonmolco
The servitors'[4] song
Loudly resounds
Through hardship[5] the lords[6]
Attain their contentment
Their benefits[7]
Glory

Hujia tzonjmolco
xoxolcujcatl
cacavantoc *ia*
ai avjia mocujltonoaci tontecujtl

moteicnelil
maviztli.

1. Read *notecuhuane.*
2. In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1008, 1013, Seler argues that "*In . . . dem Haus der Verkleidung ist die Verkleidung (der Maskentanz) herabgekommen.*" Reference to disguises in the next stanza may support his interpretation.
3. *cuico.*
4. *xoxolo*: pl. of *xolotl.*
5. *avjia*: see Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 83, 90. The *Real Palacio MS* reads *ovica.*
6. *tontecutli*: read *tetecutin.*
7. Read *iteicnelil* or *inteicnelil*, following a suggestion in the corresponding gloss in the *Real Palacio MS.*

O little woman
Summon the people
Mist-house dweller
In the region of rain
Summon the people

Hujia cihuatontla
xatenonotza
ayiauhcalcatl
qujiavatla
xatenonotza.

Song of the Mimixcoa

From bewitchèd seven caves
Alone I went my way[1]

From bewitchèd cactus[2] lands
Alone I went my way

I came down[3]
I was born[4]
I came down with my cactus-shaft dart
I was born with my cactus-shaft dart

I came down
I was born
I came down with my netted back-pack

In hand I take it
In hand I take it
And in hand I take it
In hand I take it
And in hand he has it[5]

Mimjscoa incujc

Chicomoztoc qujnehoaquj
ca njaueponj, çan j, can j, teiomj.

Tzivactitlan quinevaquj
ca njaaueponj, çan j, çan j, teiomj.

O *ia* mjtemoc,
o *ia* mjtemoc,
o *ia* ica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh,
a *ia* ica njtemoc notzivaqujmjuh.

O *ia* njtemoc,
ioa njtemoc,
o *ia* ica njtemoc nomatlavacal.

Niquimacui,
njqujmacuj,
yoa *ia* njqujmacuj,
njqujmacuj
yoan *jaaio* macuj

1. A "Chichimec" phrase, according to the gloss in the *Real Palacio MS*; see Garibay, *Veinte himnos,* pp. 93–95; Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1021. For *can j* read *çan in.*

2. *Tzivactlan: tziuactli* is *garambullo* in the Mexican vernacular, according to Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 96), which Santamaría (*Diccionario*, p. 550) identifies as *Cereus garambullo, Pisonia capitata,* or *Rosa mejicana.* Reference is to Chicomoztoc, Garibay says.

3. *nitemoc*: metaphorically it can also mean "I was born."

4. *Ibid.*

5. In the last five lines the meaning is highly problematical. These are followed in both the *Florentine Codex* and the *Real Palacio MS* by the lines *Tlachtli icpac aia, tel in cujcaia quetzalcoxcox aia, qujnanquilia cinteutla, oay.* Since they logically belong with the Song of Xochipilli, we have included them at its beginning. See Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1024; Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 98–100.

Song of Xochipilli

Over the ball court the fine pheasant sings[1]
Making replies to the corn god[2]

Already our friendly ones sing
Already the fine pheasant sings
By night did the god of corn shine[3]

He'll hear only my song
He who still has the bells[4]
He with the thigh-skin mask
He will still[5] hear my song
He Cipactonal

I give commands
As giver of things in Tlalocan

As given of things in Tlalocan
I give commands

I have only just reached here
Where the roads are united
Only the corn god am I
Where shall I go?
Where shall I follow the road?

Givers of things in Tlalocan
Gods who give rain

Suchipilli icujc

Tlachtli icpac *aia*, vel in cujca *ia* quetzalcoxcox *aia*,
qujnanqujlia cinteutla, *oay*.

Ie cujca *ia* tocniva *ia, ohoaia, ieo,*
ie cujca *ia*, ie quetzalcoxcox *a*
ioaltica tlao cinteutla *oay*.

Çan qujcaquiz nocujc
oc oioalle
teumechaue
o qujcaquiz nocujca
in cipactonalla *atilili ohoayia*.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, njtlanavati *ai*
tlallocan tlamacazquj *ayiao, aiao, aiao*.

Aiao aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj
nitlanavati *ay, ayiao, aiao*.

Ao ça njvallacic,
vtli nepanjvia,
ça njcinteutla
campa, ie noiaz,
campa vtli nic *ia* tocaz *aoay*.

Aiao, aiao, aiao, tlallocan tlamacazquj,
qujavi, teteu, *ayiao, aia, aiao*.

1. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 103) identifies *quetzalcoxcoxtli* as *Pauxis galeata* or *Crax globicera*, referring to Francisco J. Santamaría's *Diccionario general de americanismos*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 428, under the term *pauji*.
2. As Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1025) interprets the line, Cinteotl replies to the *quetzalcoxcoxtli*.
3. *tlao*: read *tlaui*. Seler (*ibid*., pp. 1025, 1028–29) reads *tlaoçinteutla*, which he equates with *tlatlauhqui cinteotl*, "*der rothe Maisgott*."
4. Translated as "*der Herr der Zeit, wo es noch Nacht ist*" in *ibid*., p. 1029.
5. *o*: read *oc*.

Song of Xochiquetzal

From watery mistland[1]
From near there[2] came I?
I Xochiquetzal?
Not as yet
It's the house at the brink
And[3] in Tamoanchan

You have wept until[4] now
Wind priest Piltzintecutli
He seeks Xochiquetzal[5]
To mist lands of turquoise[6]
For our sake he goes

Suchiquetzal icujc

Atlaiavica
njsuchiquetzalli tlacia njvitz

aiamo
tencali
va tamoanchan *oay.*

Ie quj tichoca *ia*
tlamacazecatla piltzintecutlon
quj *ya* temoa *ia ieo* tochiquetzalla
xoiavjia *ay*
topan jaz, *oay.*

1. *Atl-ayaui-can.*
2. *tlacia*: read *itloc.*
3. *va*: read *iuan.*
4. *ie quin.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1032, 1034) accepts the explanation of *yequitichoca* in the corresponding gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* (*choca*): "*Es weint der Fromme* Piltzintecutli."
5. Read *Xochiquetzalli.*
6. Read *xiuh-ayaui-yan.*

Song of Amimitl	Amjmjtl icujc
Cotiuana, cotiuana	Cotivana, cotivana
It's the house where rabbits stay[1]	cali totochmanca, *huja, yia*
You have come to linger[2]	limanjco,
At the gate of exit[3]	oqujxa
I have come to linger	nj, manjco,
At the house of darts	tlacochcalico, *ohoayia ayia,*
Stand there	ma tinica *ia*
Come to stand there	ma tonicalico, *ohoayia ia*
I only go afar	çana, çana *io* veca njvia,
I only go afar	çana, çana *io* veca njvia, *yia, yia, yiehoaia*
I only go afar	çana, çana *io* veca njvia.
Already I am taken	Ie nocujliva *ia,*
I am sent	niva, *ia,*
I am sent	niva *ia,*
It's to his duck I'm sent[4]	niva *ia, a* icanauh
I am sent	niva *hoaia,*
It's to his duck I'm sent	njhoa *ia, a* icanauh
Let him hasten[5]	Tla ie totoca,
It's his duckling	ie canauhtzin j,
Let him hasten	tla ixtotoca,
It's his duckling	ie canauhtzin j, *aio, aia,*
It's his duckling	*yvaian,* ie canauhtzin j.
With obsidian I rejoice me	*Aueia* itzipana nomahujlia
With obsidian I rejoice me	*aveia* itzipana nomavilia,
With obsidian I rejoice me	*aveia* itzipana nomavilia.

1. *Cotiuana*: meaning unknown. Perhaps a place? Perhaps somehow related to *tlauana*, considering the subsequent reference to rabbits? The gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* says that the entire poem is "Chichimec" and incomprehensible.
2. Read *timanico.*
3. Read *quixoa.*
4. Seler suggests that these four lines mean "*er umschleicht die Enten*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1037).
5. Read *ixtotoca.*

Song of Otontecutli	Otontecutli icujc
In Nonoalco[1]	Onoalico,
In Nonoalco	onoalico
Is flowery scent[2]	poma *ia, yiaia, ayio, ayio, aia, aia, aia, ayio.*
In shielding pines	Chimalocutitlana
It clothes itself[3]	motlaquevia
This will not fall[4]	avetzi nj,
In Nonoalco	nonovalco,
The eagle cactus fruit	quanochitla
In theobroma [flowers]	cacavatla
Clothes itself	motlaquevia,
This will not fall	avetzi nj.
I am the Tepaneca man Cuecuexin	Nitepanecatl *aia* cuecuexi
I am the serpent god with plumes[5]	niquetzalcoatl y, *aia*
Cuecuexin[6]	cuecuexi.
I am just the god of wind bearing the obsidian blades[7]	Ca ne, ca *ia* itziueponj
I am just the god of wind bearing the obsidian blades	ca ne, ca *ia* itziveponj.
In the land of Otomís	Otomico,
In the Nonoalcan land[8]	noioco,
In the Nahuatlacan land	navaco
The Mexicans find joy[9]	mexicame *ia* iavilili
In the Nonoalcan land	noioco,
In the Nahuatlacan land	navaco,
The Mexicans	mexicame *ia.*
With shields they yet find joy[10]	*A* chimalica *ia xo, xa* v in oqu jia, vilili
In the Nonoalcan land	noioco,
In the Nahuatlacan land	navaco
The Mexicans	mexicame *ia.*

1. Read *Nonoalco.*

2. Read *poyoma*: same as *poyomatli*, unidentified aromatic-narcotic fern, root, or possibly flower (Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Florentine Codex, Book X, The People* [Santa Fe: School of American Research and University of Utah, 1974], p. 88, n. 39). It is further commented upon by Garibay in *Veinte himnos*, p. 121.

3. *motlaquenuia.*

4. *nj*: read *inin.* Seler reads the phrase *avetzini*, "*der Herabfallende*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1038, 1040).

5. In the *Real Palacio MS*, the spelling may be *niquetzal ce atlj* If so, it is Quetzalcoatl in another aspect, according to Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 125.

6. In *Veinte himnos*, pp. 119–20, 124, Garibay regards Cuecuexin as a Tepaneca god-name related to Quetzalcoatl. Seler relates the term to *macuextli, chalchiuhcuecuextli*, etc., draws attention to *cuecuextzin* as a term of endearment applied to those dead in war, and translates it as "*das Edelsteinarmband*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1038, 1043).

7. *ca ne, ca* ia *itziueponj*: read *ça ni-ecatl itziuepani*, a practical possibility suggested in Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, pp. 119, 125–26. Seler's reading (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1038, 1044) is as *canin cueponi*, "*wo blühte er auf?*"

8. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, pp. 117, 127) reads this as *noyonco* and relates the term to Nonoalco; "*podremos aventurar la versión que doy,*" he says, while admitting as also possible Seler's translation as "*im Nachbarlande*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1038, 1044).

9. *ia avilili, jia vilili*: Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, pp. 117, 127) reads these as *ya avilili*; the verb is applicative of *auia.* He reads *xo, xa v in oqu* as *Xaxa! Auh in oc.* For Seler, these phrases are *iyauililli*, "*wurde er dargebracht*" and *xaxauhyoc*, "*mit Bemalung versehen*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1039, 1044).

10. *Ibid.*

Song of Ayopechtli	Aiopechtli icujc
Somewhere[1]	Cane
Somewhere in Ayopechtli's home	cana ichan, aiopechcatl
She lies with necklace jewels bedight[2]	cozcapantica mjxjuhtoc.
Giving birth	
Somewhere	Cane
Somewhere in Ayopechtli's home	cana ichan aiopechcatl
She lies with necklace jewels bedight	cozcapantica mjxiuhtoc
Giving birth	
Somewhere in her home	cane ichan
The little mite[3]	chacaioliva *ia.*
Is given life	
Bestir yourself[4]	Aiavalmeva *ia,*
Be sent	*via,* xiva
Bestir yourself	xivalmeva *ia avia ia*
New child	iancujpilla
Bestir yourself	xjvalmeva *ia.*
Bestir yourself	*Ahujia* xivalmeva *ia*
Be sent	*via* xiva
Bestir yourself	xihoalmeoa *ia*
Jewel child	cozcapilla,
Bestir yourself[5]	viualmeoa *ia.*

1. Read *cana.*
2. *cozcapantica:* cf. *apanalli.*
3. *chacaioliva: chacalli* (lit. shrimp) and *yoliua.* Garibay (*Veinte himnos,* p. 132) also accepts as a possible meaning for *chacalli* (*chacayolli?*) a thickening of the skin; the term being applicable to pregnancy, he suggests as an alternative "wombs take life."
4. Read *xiualmeua.*
5. See note 4, above.

Song of Ciuacoatl	Cihoacoatl icujc
The eagle[1]	Quavi
The eagle Quilaztli	quavi, qujlaztla
With blood of serpents	cohoaeztica
Is her face circled[2]	xaiaoaloc
With feathers adorned[3]	vivia
Eagle-plumèd she comes	quavivitl vitz
To sweep up the path[4]	alochpan
Chalmecan cypress	chalima, avevetl
Colhuacanian	ie colhoa.
Fir tree of our sustenance[5]	*Huja* tonacaacxoima
Corncob of the godly field	centlateumilco
On rattle stick upraised	chicavaztica, motlaquechizca.
The spines	Vitztla,
The thorns fill up my hand	vitztla nomac temj
The spines fill up my hand	vitztla nvmac temj,
Like corn of godly field[6]	*a* çanteumjlco
Like rattle stick upraised	chicavaztli motlaquechizca.
The broom fills up my hand	Malinalla, nomac temj,
Like corn of godly field	*a* çãteumjlco
On rattle stick upraised	chicavaztica motlaquechizca.
Thirteen Eagle[7] is our mother	*A* vmei quauhtli ie tonan *aia*
Chalmecan lady	chalmeca tecutli
His shaft of cactus is his glory	*a* tzioac imaviz
May he sate me[8]	tla nech *ia* tetemjli,
He	iehoa
My lord of cloud-snake land	nopiltzin *aia* mjscoatlan.
Our mother	*Ia* tonanj,
War woman[9]	iauchioatzin, *aia*
Our mother	tonan
War woman	iauchioatzin, *aia*
Deer of Colhuacan[10]	imaca colivacã
In plumage arrayed[11]	ihujtla ipotoca *ia*.

1. *Quavi: quauhin*, equivalent to *quauhtli*.

2. A compound of *xayacatl* and *yaualoa* is suggested by Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 139). Seler follows the gloss in the *Real Academia MS, yc oxavaloc in coaeztli — "mit Schlangenblut ist sie bemalt"* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1048, 1054).

3. *vivia*: read *iuihuia (ihui(tl)-huia)*. Seler favors the gloss's *iuan* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1048, 1054).

4. *alochpan:* read *ualochpan*. Seler considers a headdress called *uitzalochtli* possible (*ibid.*, pp. 1048, 1054).

5. *tonacaacxoima* (*tonacaacxolma* in the *Real Palacio MS*): cf. *tonacatl* and *acxoyatl*. Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, pp. 136, 142–44) prefers *"Ea! Donde se tienden los abetos (país) de nuestro origen,"* which he supports with references concerning Xochitlalpan, Tlalocan, Xochicalco, etc.

6. Read *centeomilco*.

7. Read *matlactli omei*.

8. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1049, 1057) translates the phrase as *"lege mir nieder"*; cf. *temi* in Siméon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 420.

9. Read *yaociuatzin*.

10. Read *imaça* or *in maçatl*.

11. *ipotoca*: cf. *potonia*.

The sun proclaims the war[12]	*Ahujia* ie tonaquetl iautlatoca *ia*
Let men be dragged away	ma nevilano tlaca
It will forever end[13]	cẽpoalihuiz
Deer of Colhuacan	*aia* inmaca colihoacã
In plumage arrayed	ihujtla ipotoca *ia*.
Eagle plumes are no mask	*Ahujia* quavivitl amo xaiavallj
For he rises[14] unmasked	on *avjia* iecoiametl amo xaiaivalli.

12. The phrase is repeated in the *Real Palacio MS.*

13. Read *cempoliuiz.*

14. *iecoiametl*: cf. *yeconi* or *econi.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1050) translates the last two lines thus: "*Adlerfedern sind eure Bemalung. Der im Kriege tapfer kämpft, eure Bemalung.*"

Here Is the Song Sung Every Eight Years when Water Tamales Were Eaten

My heart is a flower bursting open
It is lord of the night's half-way point[1]

Our mother has come[2]
The goddess has come
Carnality's goddess

Cinteotl[3] was born in Tamoanchan
Where the[4] flowers lift their heads
He is One Flower

Cinteotl was born in the rain-mist[5]
Where are made the children of men[6]
Where fishermen fish the jade fish

Now will the sun rise
Now will the day dawn
Let all the various firebirds
Sip nectar where flowers stand erect[7]

On earth
You stand yourself up
Near the market place stars[8]
[You] are the lord
[You] Quetzalcoatl[9]

Let there be rejoicing
By the flowering tree
Hear all the firebirds
The various firebirds
Our god speaks
Pay him heed
His firebird speaks

Izcatquj, in cujcatl chicuexjuhtica meheoaia, in jquac atamalqualoia

Suchitl noiollo cuepontimanja;
iehoa coioalle, *vaia, oovaia, ie.*

Iecoc ie tonan
iecoc ie teutl
tlaçulteutl *oaia oovaia ie.*

Otlacatquj cententeutl tamjioanjchan
nj xochitli icacanj
ce ixuchitli *iantala, iantatã, ayiao, ayiave,*
tililiiao ayiaue, vayiaue.

Otlacatquj centeutl, atliaiavican
j tlacavillachivaloia,
chalchimjchvacan *yiao, iantala, iantata, ayiao*
aiave tililiiao, aiyaue, oayiaue.

Oia tonazquj
tlavizcalleva *ia*
ma tlachichina *ia* nepapã quechol, suchitl aca,
yiantalan, yiantata, ayiao, ayiaue,
tililiiao, ayiaue, oayiaue.

Tlalpan
timoquetzca
tianquiznavaquj
a njtlacatla
njquetzalcoatla *aiantala, iantanta, ayiao, ayiave,*
tililiiao ayiaue oayiaue.

Ma *ia* avjialo
suchinquavitl itlanj
nepapan quecholli ma *ya* quecholli xjccaquj *ia*

tlatoa *ia* in toteuh
xiccaquj *ia*
tlatoa *ia* iquechol

1. *iehoa coioalle*: read *ie tlacoyoalle.*
2. *Iecoc: ecoc* (pret. of *eco*).
3. *cententeutl*: read *centeutl* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*
4. *nj*: read *in.*
5. *Atl-ayaui(tl)-can.*
6. Read *tlacapillachiualoyan.*
7. *aca* read *icac.*
8. *Tianquiznauac*: *tianquiztli* or marketplace was probably an unidentified constellation of stars (Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 164). Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1060, 1067) translates it simply as "*am Marktplatze.*"
9. Read *titlacatl, tiquetzalcoatl.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1060, 1067) makes no change: "*ich der Fürst, der* Quetzalcoatl."

Is it one of our dead who is piping —	*a* mach ieva tomjcauh tlapitza
Who'll be felled by a dart from a blow-gun?[10]	*a* mach iehoan tlacaloaz *ohoao.*
My flowers I shall fan with the breeze[11]	*Aie oho yiayia* ça niqujiecavizca nosucha
Flowers of our nourishment	tonacasuchitli
Blossoms like popcorn	ie izqujsuchitla
Where the blossoms all raise up their heads[12]	suchitlaca, *yiaa.*
He plays with the ball	Ollama,
Old[13] Xolotl plays with the ball	ollama viue xolotl
In the magical ball court	navallachco
Xolotl plays with the ball	ollama *ia* xolutl
Man of the land made of jade	chalchiuecatl
See him	xiqujtta
Is Piltzintecutli stretched out	mach *oia* moteca piltzintecutli
In the mansion of night[14]	yoanchan
In the mansion of night?	yoanchan.
My nobleman	Piltzintle,
My nobleman	piltzintle,
In yellow plumage you're bedight	tocivitica timopotonja
In the ball court you are set	tlachco timotlalia
In the mansion of night	yoãchan
In the mansion of night	yoanchan.
The man from Oztoman	Oztomecatla, *yiaue*,
The man from Oztoman	oztomecatla,
Back-packs Xochiquetzal	suchiquetzal qujmama,
He rules in Cholula	ontlatoa chololllan, *ayie, ayio, oie*
My heart is now in fear[15]	manj noiol, *oie*
My heart is now in fear	manj noiol, *aoia*
Cinteotl has arrived	iecoc, centeutl
Let us approach [the priest]	ma tivjia obispo,
The Oztoman man	oztomecatl
The man of Chacallan	chacalhoa
Has ear plugs of turquoise to trade	xjuhnacochtla, iteamjc
Has arm bands of turquoise to trade	ximaquiztla iteamjco, *ayie, ayio.*
The sleeper[16]	Cochina,
The sleeper	cochina,
In sleepiness drowses	cocochi
Here now with my hand	ie njcmaololo njcan, ie cihoatl
I turn the girl over	
The sleeper am I	njcochina *yieo, oaieo yho, yia, yia.*

10. Cf. *tlacalhuaztli.* Taking *a* as a negative prefix and *mach* as *m(o)-ach(tli)*, Seler translates these lines as "*es soll dein Bruder . . . nicht erblasen werden, es soll dein Bruder nicht mit dem Blasrohre geschossen werden*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1060, 1068).

11. *niqujiecaviz: ni-c-eheca(tl)-huiz.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1060, 1068) considers the term causative of *eco*: "*Ich werde bringen meine Blumen.*"

12. Read *xochitl icacan.*

13. Read *ueue.*

14. I.e., *yoalli ichan.*

15. *manj*: read *maui.*

16. Read *cochini.*

Song of Xipe Totec Youallauan

The night is here inebrious
Why have you to be coaxed?
Consume yourself now[1]
In garments of gold
Array yourself

My god
Bears jade water on his back
In middle watercourse
His way of coming down
Precious cypress tree
Precious snake of fire
[Care] has abandoned me[2]

Let me take pleasure
Let me not perish[3]
I am the tender corn[4]
Of jade is my heart made
The gold [of rain] I'll see[5]
My heart will be refreshed
The fledgling man grow firm
The man of war be born

My god of corn
With face held high[6]
Feels groundless fear
I am the tender corn[7]
From up your mountain top
Your god beholds you here[8]
[My heart] will be refreshed[9]
The fledgling man grow firm
The man of war be born

Xippe icujc, totec iovallavana

Ioalli tlavana, iz
tleican, timonenequja
xjia qujmjtlatia
teucujtlaquemjtl,
xjcmoquentiquetl *ovjia.*

Noteuho
achalchimmama
tlacoapana
itemoia,
oi quetzallavevetl,
ay quetzalxiujcoatl
nech *ia* iqujnocauhquetl *ovjia.*

Ma njiavjia,
njia, njiapoliviz
niyoatzin,
a chalchiuhtla noiollo
a teucujtlatl noco *ia* ittaz
noiolcevizquj
tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquava *ia*
otlacatquj iautlatoaquetl *ovjia.*

Noteuhoa centla
coxaia
iliviz çonoa
yioatzin
motepeiocpa
mjtzvalitta moteuhoa,
vizquj
n tlacatl achtoquetl tlaquava *ia*
etlacatquj iautlatoaquetl *ovjia.*

1. Read *quimotlatia.*

2. *Icnocauhqui.* The corresponding gloss in the *Real Palacio MS* explains: *ye otechcauh ȳ mayanaliztli* — "famine has already left us." Garibay interprets it similarly: "*me ha hecho mercedes*" (*Veinte himnos*, p. 175). Seler translates: "*es verliess mich (die Feuerschlange, die Hungersnoth)*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1071).

3. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1072, 1076) considers the verbs in these two lines optative and hence subjunctive in meaning — "*Es mag sein, das ich dahingehe, dahingehe, um zu Grunde zu gehen.*"

4. *Ni-ouatzin* (cf. *ouatl*).

5. *No-c-on-ittaz.*

6. Read *aco ixayac.*

7. Read *niouatzin.*

8. Seler transcribes these seven lines as *Noteua ce intlaco xayailiviz çonoa yyoatzin motepeyocpa mitzvalitta moteua*, and translates them thus: "*Mein Gott, ein Stück lass im Ueberflusse vorhanden sein die Maispflanze, es schaut nach deinem Berge, zu dir hin, dein Verehrer*" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1072, 1077–78).

9. Read *noyolceuiz.*

Song of Chicome coatl

Seven corncob
Now arise
Now wake up[1]
It is our mother
You are going to leave us bereft
You are going to your home[2] in Tlalocan

Now arise
Now wake up
It is our mother
You are going to leave us bereft
You are going to your home in Tlalocan

Chicome coatl icujc

Chicomolotzin,
xa *ia* mehoa,
ximjcotia
a ca tonan
titechicnocaoazquj
ti *ia* vjia muchi tlallocan *novjia.*

Xa *ia* mehoa
ximjçotia
a ca tonã
titechicnocavazquj
ti *ia* vjian mochan tlallocan, *novjia.*

1. Read *ximiçotia.*
2. *muchi*: read *mochan.*

Song of Totochtin Tezcatzoncatl

Totochtin incujc tezcatzõcatl

Iiaa, yia, yia, yia, ayia, ayio, ovjia, ayia,
ayia, ayia, yia, yio, vjia, ayia, yia,
ayia, vjia, yio, vjia.

In Colhuacan
An awesome place
Is the home of the monster[1]

Colivacan
mavizpan
atlacatl ichan *a, yio, ayio, yia, yio.*

In the palace[2] of the god
With the mirror in his hair

Tezcatzoncatl tepan

Gifts are made the god
Yet he weeps
It must not be so[3]
Gifts are made the god
Yet he weeps

teutl, macoc
ie choca *ia, avjia,*
maca ivi
teutl, macoc
yie choca *ia.*

Alas
In Axalco palace
Gifts are made the god
Yet he weeps
It must not be so
Gifts are made the god
Yet he weeps

Huja
axalaca tecpan
teutl, macoc
yie choca *ia*
maca ivi
teutl, macoc
yie choca *ia.*

In Tezcatzonco[4]
Your abode
A warrior[5]
A rabbit
My god has created
I'll overthrow[6]
I'll perforate
Mixcoatl's mount in Colhuacan

Tezcatzonco
moiolcan
a yiaquetl
yia tochin
qujiocus noteouh
niqu *jia* tlacaz
niqu *jia* mamaliz
mjscoatepetl colhoacan

Man with the voice
I've beaten the drum
Little mirror
Little mirror
In Tezcatzonco drink up[7]
The white-headed [pulque] is cooked to a froth[8]
Drink up[9] the pulque

Tozquiva *ia,*
njctzotzon *jiao*
in tezcatzintli
tezcatzintli
tezca xocoi
ehoa tzonistapalatiati,
tla oc xocon octli *aho, a.*

1. Seler reads *atlacatl* as *in tlacatl* — *"der Fürst"* (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1083, 1086).
2. *tepan*: read *tecpan* as in the *Real Palacio MS.*
3. *maca ivi* is repeated in *ibid.*
4. In the *Florentine Codex* the poem from this point on appears as the latter half of the Song of Macuilxochitl, because, apparently, in the *Real Palacio MS*, from which the *Florentine Codex* was copied, a mistake in binding inserted a page the wrong way about. See Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 196.
5. *yaqui.*
6. *nictlaçaz.*
7. *Tezcatzonco xoconi.*
8. Possibly to be read *yehuatl tzoniztapal tlatia.* Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, pp. 192, 199) transcribes the phrase as *yeva iztapalati* and suggests a similar meaning for it.
9. *xoconi.*

Song of Atlaua	Atlahoa icujc
I am the man from Chalman	*Huja* njchalmecatl,
I am the man from Chalman	njchalmecatl
With penance sandals	neçavalcactla
With forehead sun-jewel	oljia quatonalla
Which trembles[1]	
It trembles	olia
Big	Veia,
Big is your fir branch	veia, macxoiauh
The broom[2] of Quilaztli	quilazteutl illamanj
Your branch of a fir tree	macxoiauh.
I call to you	Nimjtzacatecunotza *ia*
Lord of the reeds[3]	
Over your shield	chimalticpac
Blood is being shed	moneçoia
I call to you	njmjtzacatecunotza *ia*.
Lord of the reeds	
My darts are gone	Aiac nomjuh
Proud is their tale[4]	timalli *a* itollaca
Reeds are my darts	acatl nomjuh
None break in two[5]	acaxelivi
Proud [is their tale][6]	timalli.
Tetoman is where you abide	Tetoma ca moiolcan *a*
Maker of gifts in Tetoman	tlamacazqujn tetometl,
Not with ease[7]	açan axcan
Do I nourish	ie quetzaltototl njc *ia* izcaltiquetl.
the quetzal bird	
Opochtli is my god	Iiobuchtli noteouh,
The one with dart throwers	atlavaquetl
[Not with ease]	[açan axcã
Do I nourish	ye quetzaltototl] njc *ia* izcaltiquetl *a*.
[The quetzal bird][8]	

1. *oljia* or *olia*: possibly to be read *olinia*.
2. *illamanj*: read *itlapan*; cf. *tlapana*, which, according to Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 214) means, *inter alia*, to sweep (*tlachpana?*). Though it appears as *yllapa*, Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1088, 1093) reads it as *ilama* — "*die alte (Göttin)*."
3. *Ni-mitz-aca(tl)-tecu(tli)-notza.*
4. *itollaca*: read *itoloca.*
5. Read *acan xeliui.*
6. *itoloca* is understood, as above.
7. Equivalent to *ayaxcan.* Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 1089, 1095) translates *açan axcan* as "*und jetzt.*"
8. The phrases in brackets, missing in the *Florentine Codex*, are supplied from the *Real Palacio MS.*

Song of Macuilxochitl

Where flowers stand erect
Thence do I come
Wind[-god]-provider
Owner of reddening dusk[1]

Likewise are you
My mother's mother[2]
With the thigh-skin mask
Owner of reddening dawn[3]
Wind[-god]-provider
Owner of reddening dusk

God of ill omen
My lord Tezcatlipoca
Answer the maize god[4]

Macujlsuchitl icujc

Ayia, iao suchitl icaca
vmpa njvitza
tlamacacecatla
tlamocoioale *va*,

ayia, yiao a ivi n tinocic *aia*

teumechaue *oia, iao*
tlavico, *ia* calle
tlamacacecatlo
tlamocoioale *a*.

Tetzauhteutl *a*
notecujo tezcatlipuca
qujnanqujlican cinteutla *oay*.

1. *tlamocoioale*: read *tlapcoyoale*.
2. *ivi in tinoci; noci*: cf. Toci.
3. Read *tlauizcocale*, i.e., *tlauizcale*.
4. Two paragraphs follow in the *Florentine Codex*. We have shifted them back to the Song of the Totochtin, as argued by Garibay (*Veinte himnos*, p. 196).

Song of Yiacatecutli	Iiacatecutli icujc
Without my knowledge was [the war][1] declared	Anomatia *a* itoloc,
Without my knowledge was [the war] declared	anomatia, *a* itoloc
In Tzocotzontlan was [the war] declared	tzocotzontlan *a* itoloc
In Tzocotzontlan	tzocotzõtla
Without my knowledge was [the war] declared	anomatia *a* itoloc.
In Pipitlan was [war] declared	Pipitla *a* itoloc,
In Pipitlan	pipitla
Without my knowledge was [the war] declared	anomatia *a* itoloc
In Cholotlan was [war] declared	cholotla, *a* itoloc
In Pipitlan	pipitla
Without my knowledge was [the war] declared	anomatia, *a* itoloc
I have merited our food	Tonacajutl, njcmaceuh
Not with easiness[2]	açan axcan
My priests have brought me	noquacujllo atl jiollo, nechval *ia* vicatique
The heart of water	
Whence sand is scattered	xalli ytepeuhia.
In a coffer of jade	Chalchiuhpetlacalco
I burn myself up[3]	njnaxca
Not with easiness	açã axcan
My priests have brought me	noquacujllo, atl jiollo nechval *ia* vicatique
The heart of water	
Whence sand is scattered	xalli itepeuhia.

1. See Garibay, *Veinte himnos*, p. 205.
2. *ayaxcan.*
3. Read *ninixca.*

An Account of How the Women Served There in the Temples

Behold the life of the priestesses when [their mothers] vowed them [to service] there in the great temple.

When they took them into [the temple], it was when they were still very small, perhaps after they were already twenty [days old] or after they were forty [days old]. And in order to take them, in order to leave them, they just took them in their arms; they just went in their mothers' arms. And they went with their brooms, which went filling the children's arms. And they bore their incense ladles and incense. Not yet did fire go [in the ladles]; later the old priest decided where the incense ladles would be required.

And when she had gone to dedicate the little girl, then she took her [away]. She left there only the incense ladle and the incense. And this old priest commanded that the mother not abandon her child because of lack of regard, and that [the child] not leave off, because of lack of regard, going to leave the brooms and the incense, or wood shavings, every twenty days there at the *calpulco.*

And when it was seen to be proper, when already she was a maiden, purely of her own will she went into the *calpulco.* And purely of her own will she performed the face-veiling [ceremony]. Also she went taking the incense ladle, the incense.

And when she was a grown woman, if this priestess was asked [in marriage], and if the words were well based, if the fathers, the mothers, the men of the neighborhood, the noblemen consented, then a number of things were bought. They bought quail, and incense, flowers, tobacco, and an incense ladle. And food was bought.

Then this priestess thereupon went to perform the face-veiling. She took with her all that had been bought, as was told. And that with which she veiled the face was a cape called *tlacaquachtli*; it had many heads [worked upon it]. Thereupon they laid out a very large cape, a *quachtli.* Thereupon they set forth the offerings in a reed vessel; there they placed the gifts which they called fast foods. They were only

Imelaoaca in quenjn tlatequjpanoaia cioa in vmpa teupã.

Izcatquj, in jnnemiliz in cihoatlamacazque, injc qujnnetoltiaia in vmpa vej teupan.

Jnjc qujncalaqujaia, oc vel tepitoton, aço qujn ie cempoaltia, anoco qujn ie vmpoaltia. auh injc qujnvicaia, injc qujmoncavaia, çan qujnnapalotivia, çan inmac ietivj in jnnanvan, auh njman impopouh ietivia, in pipiltotonti inmac tentivia, yoan intlema qujtquja, yoan copalli aiatle vnietiuh tletl qujn iehoatl qujmatia in iehoatl quacujlli in campa moneq'z in tlemaitl.

Auh in ocõnetoltito in cihoapiltontli njman ic qujvica: çã ixqujch in vmpa concavaia in tlemaitl, yoan in copalli: auh in iehoatl, in quacujlli njman qujvalnaoatia, in nantli injc amo qujxiccaoaz in jconeuh, yoan injc amo tlaxiccaoaz, injc qujcaoatiuh in popotl, yoan in copalli, anoço tlaxipeoalli, in cecempoaltica in vmpa calpulco.

Auh in iquac in ie movelitta in ie ichpuchtli, ça monomaviaia in calaquja, in calpulco: yoan ça yiollotlama in teisquentiaia, no qujtqujtiuh in tlemaitl in copalli.

Auh in iquac in ovelmaçic cihoatl, intla ie itlano, in iehoatl in cihoatlamacazquj, auh intla vel omotlali in tlatolli intla ocezque, in tetahoan, in tenanhoan in tlaxillacaleque in pipilti, njman ie tlacocohoalo qujcohoa, in çolin, yoan in copalli, in suchitl, in jietl, yoan in tlamaitl, yoan mocohoaia tlaqualli,

njman in iehoatl in cihoatlamacazquj njman ie ic iauh in teisquentiz qujtquj in jsquich omococouh, in omjto, auh injc teisquentiaia in tilmatlj itoca tlacaquachtli, tzotzontecomaio, njmã ie ic contlalia in cenca vej tilmatli in quachtli, njmã ie ic tlamana acaquauhcaxtica, vncan contlalia in ventli in quil-

three tamales. Thereupon they set out a wooden vessel; it went filled there with only five tamales and a sauce, perhaps turkey hen, perhaps duck, which they had put together as food.

Here Endeth the
Part of Book II
Called the
Appendix

viaia, tlacatlaqualli çan etetl, in tamalli, njman ie ic conmana, in quauhcaxitl vncan tentiuh, çan macujltetl in tamalli, auh in mulli, aço totolin, anoço canauhtli, in qujnamjctiaia tlaqualli.

Nican tlami in icotonca
inic vme amuztli
yn jtoca apendiz.

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
LITERATURE, HISTORY OF IDEAS, AND RELIGION

Huarochirí Manuscript

A text analysis of the Huarochirí Manuscript

with focus on afterlife and worship

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Abstract

Based on the Huarochirí Manuscript, this thesis seeks to elaborate a picture of religious aspects in the culture of the Andean region of Huarochirí in late 16th and early 17th century. I decided to elaborate on two themes which are in the center of this research. My focus lies at first on afterlife concepts as they often have influence in religious thoughts and hence practices. Myth and ritual descriptions are scrutinized in order to obtain significant information about this theme. The second research part is concentrated on worship practices and to what extent people were obligated to perform rituals, and what freedoms in this context they had. Combined, these two themes present aspects of people's life with regard to religion in the transition period from pre-Spanish to colonial Andean society. The results show a continuation of Andean afterlife concepts but a change in related rituals. The same was recognized for general worship, as people were hiding their belief in pre-Spanish religious concepts under the pressure raised by Christian officials. Freedoms and obligations shifted from Andean to Catholic religion, while the economic pressure often increased, also, due to greedy catholic priests. With the help of previous research and the work of Jürgen Osterhammel on colonialism, my thesis is inspired and oriented on renowned scholarly inquiries. I worked with a qualitative content analysis and narrative analysis as described by Dag Ingvar Jacobsen, Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus to obtain data from the text.

Keywords: Afterlife, Andean culture, Colonial theory, Conquistadors, Huaca, Huarochirí Manuscript, myth, narrative analysis, Peru, qualitative content analysis, ritual, worship.

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Chay simiri kaymi …

(And the story is like this…)[1]

1 Introduction

Blood, corpses and body parts were themes to the picture of forced cultural change in the Andes. They were also the precondition for the Huarochirí Manuscript and hence, for this thesis. During the process of this investigation, this thought never left my mind and made it sometimes difficult to prevent polemic or sarcasm of entering the following pages. However, this thesis is not about human atrocities and terror; it is about the change in religious behavior due to invasion and occupation.

It was the desire for gold and wealth which motivated the Conquistadores to slaughter[2] their way through an unknown land; it was also involved when the priest Francisco de Avila with the beginning of the 17th century started his campaign against what was then called idolatry. With the impressive title Extirpador de Idolatrías and the approval of the Catholic Church, he and his companions raided the country in search for treasures, leaving tortured and devastated people behind. Avila possessed intelligence in form of a manuscript which described local myths and rituals in the region of Huarochirí. It also provided information about places and huacas, and the priest just followed the descriptions which led him in many cases to the desired treasures.[3]

In the twentieth century the manuscript was rediscovered in Madrid and was henceforth known under the title Huarochirí Manuscript. Its origin and intentions may be accompanied by the dark side of human experience, but its existence today sheds light on this distant past

[1] The three main parts of this thesis are introduced by Quechua sentences from the original manuscript. This has an aesthetic purpose but also provides an opportunity for the reader to get an idea of the Quechua language; even if just very limited.

[2] I borrowed this term from Kim MacQuarrie as he used it to describe the Spanish behavior during the struggle for occupation. Kim MacQuarrie, *The last days of the Incas*, (London: Portrait, 2007), 84.

[3] In the spirit of an interest-waking introduction, it is slightly poetical. For an extensive description of Avila's actions see: Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, The Huarochirí Manuscript (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 27; and Antonio Acosta, "Estudio biográfico sobre Francisco de Avila de Antonio," in *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII*, 1. ed. Antonio Acosta and Gerald Taylor (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987), 551-616.

and on a people between two cultures. It provides a chance to discover cultural features or characteristics and some of them will be the focus in this thesis.

What defines a culture? There are probably many aspects which can be highlighted and the selection is surely related to the academic discipline or field oneself is involved with. The focus could lie on economics, art, language, or politics. However, since I am involved with the study of religion, this thesis is concentrated on religious aspects. Here too, further differentiation is needed in order to formulate a sufficient question which fits the parameter of this academic task. Thinking about religion and the consequences for the people involved, a major aspect of most religions are the religious rules. In case of the Abrahamic religions as well as for Hindu religions, Buddhism and many others, these rules are often sustained by ideas about the afterlife. There are other reasons why people follow religious rules, e.g. the love to a god or belief, but e.g. it is the idea of heaven and hell, in a Christian context, without which this religion would lose significance for many people. Without the promise of a good reincarnation or the threat of a bad one and the final promise to unite with him, a Krishna devotee would probably reevaluate his or her religious behavior. My point is, depending on convictions about the afterlife, believers shape their lives accordingly. Thus, afterlife conceptions can tell us a lot about cultural expressions because they are one of the reasons for religious rules, rituals and behaviors. Therefore one part of my thesis is dedicated to afterlife conceptions and related rituals revealed in the manuscript.

The second part of the thesis is occupied with discovering worship obligations and freedoms of the people, who lived in late 16th and early 17th century Huarochirí. The focus lies here on ritual descriptions in the text which are also connected to myth descriptions.

Combined, these two themes (of afterlife and worship) should provide enough material to describe religious characteristics in the culture of Huarochirí in late 16th and early 17th century and thereby create a picture which is both, worth to be shared and useful for further research.

1.1 Background

Time and Space

The topic of this thesis is very specific and at the same time, neither popular nor often highlighted by scholars. Previous research, which is briefly described further down, is often concerned with Inca society or Spanish colonization of the Andes. These topics however, are

not in my main focus, as it soon becomes clear. But they do provide valuable information which is incorporated in this thesis in order to reach accurate results. However, it is useful to implement a description of time and space in the beginning of my text to facilitate the understanding by providing an orientation. This part should be recognized as a brief overview and all mentioned information is discussed in detail during the thesis. Furthermore, there are some Quechua terms which are mentioned in the thesis. Their meaning is explained in the appendix.

I describe a period between the Spanish invasion and fully colonization of the region of Huarochirí (in what is now called Peru). It is a time of change, a clash of cultures, which is accompanied by conflicts, but also agreements. People during this period were influenced by the Spanish culture and thereby with Catholic religion and bureaucracy. Yet, the Spanish couldn't control the vast area completely and the Andean people kept part of their beliefs and traditions during this period.

The Manuscript describes the Andean region of Huarochirí which lies in the vicinity, east of Lima. The people in this area are **not Incas** by blood, but after the invasion of the Incas, their territory was dominated and ruled by them. Although the Incas dominated much of the Andes at their zenith, already before them, the different Andean cultures had common features. E.g. the Andean society knew a system of reciprocity, which I described explicit further down. It meant to give something in order to get something. A man helped his neighbor to build a new house and the neighbor returned the favor with the appropriate value. A lord needed support during a war campaign and the support was granted by another lord, under the condition of an expected repayment. This system was not tied to a particular people, but in usage throughout much of the Andean area. In the same way, the veneration of superhuman beings, even if they had different names and origins, had similar expressions in different groups. Offerings for example were essential to religious behavior.

Although there were hundreds of disparate languages and dialects, the most widespread were the Quechuan and Aymaran languages. Quechua was mainly spoken in the north part of the Andes, while Aymara was mainly the language of the south part. People in Huarochirí spoke Quechua and it is also the language of the manuscript. It is a valid point since most scriptures from this time are written in European languages, mostly Latin and the related Castilian. But what does the manuscript describe? The next part elucidates about the content of the manuscript.

The Manuscript

As it will become clear in the later presentation of the manuscript and its creation, there is an apparent Christian influence on the text. Since the manuscript was created to establish knowledge about Andean "idolatry", a reader is not confronted with a continuous narrative. It is a collection of myth and descriptions of traditions and rituals (plus enumerations of names and dates), often complemented with comments about native contemporary behavior related to them. (Late 16th and early 17th century – contemporary to the author of the manuscript.) The first chapters contain mostly myth descriptions and the author commented on them as well. His comments are e.g.: "Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the flood. But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them."[4] or "Nevertheless, we don't know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged from."[5] or "Here's what we Christian think about it: We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Maybe that's what it was."[6] The last commend refers to a story about the disappearance of the sun. This story consists just of eight sentences and they constitute the whole chapter four. Other chapters are much more extensive and contain not just one myth or ritual description, but many which often relate to each other. Overall, we can read e.g. about humans who turn into stones, about mighty supernatural entities which fight each other, about from Inca organized worship, the travel of gods, and 16th/ 17th century worship festivals. All the information in the script is related to the region of Huarochirí and worship places are described as well as directions to find them. Because of the comments, a reader is often reminded of the author's Christian point of view and the purpose of the manuscript. One term which is continuously utilized in the text and in my thesis is the term huaca, and is therefore now explained.

Huaca

The term is interpreted by Salomon as superhuman being and also used in connection with religion, as in *huaca religion*. A huaca could be anything, from a stone to a mountain, from a mummy to a golden object or even a river. People believed that they were living supernatural beings with forces which could interfere in their lives. Offerings were necessary if believer wanted help from huacas. But to maintain live as it was, annual worship festivals were conducted in honor of the supreme huacas in the region. Huacas were responsible for rain,

[4] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 52.
[5] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 54.
[6] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 53.

fertility, or protection from enemies, hence, people had to take care of them. This short introduction was intended to provide an overview, an orientation, but all the information is described in detail in the respective chapters in this thesis.

1.2 Aim

This essay has the purpose to reveal religious elements and their influences on native people in the Andean region of Huarochirí, in the transition period from pre-colonial to colonial society, around 1600. My focus lies on themes about life - afterlife relations and worship. To elaborate a conclusive picture, two questions are formulated:

1. What does the myth and ritual descriptions reveal about afterlife ideas and what are the consequences for the believer, recognizable in the manuscript?
2. What does the manuscript reveal about worship responsibilities and freedoms?

Through answering these questions I hope to elaborate a conclusive picture about cultural circumstances with focus on religious aspects in the described time period and place. I further hope to contribute to the understanding of this distant society.

1.2.1 Restrictions

I'm conscious about that a dedicated scholar could fill monographs by elaborating answers to each one of my questions; unfortunately, I had to narrow my focus in order to fit the size of this academic educational task. By putting the manuscript in the center of this research, my results are based on what the manuscript reveals with regard to my questions. With more time and resources I would have collected as much appropriate documents as possible and worked with a comparative content analysis to elaborate a picture of the culture in Huarochirí. However, as many of them are previously scrutinized by other scholars, I use their interpretations to some extent. An interpretation of the manuscript without knowledge about the circumstances of its creation and the social political frame in which it was composed, would lead to arbitrary speculations. Therefore, literature concerning these topics is also included in this research.

The period in question can be seen as starting with the first Spanish influence in the region, which must have been after the invasion of the Spanish in 1532 and ends with the year 1608

when the manuscript first appeared in an ecclesiastical lawsuit. Although it is tempting to speculate about pre-Columbian belief and life, especially with regard to the myth descriptions, I cannot make inferences about the antecedents of myth or ritual characteristics and origins in pre Spanish times. It is certainly possible[7] to find connections to sources about pre-Columbian religion and hence combine them with the descriptions given in the manuscript. However, limited time and access to resources restricted my research to the described period, and the Huarochirí region. In the manuscript itself one encounters different myths, gods and rituals, depending on which ayllu or village is described. This is also noticed in the manuscript when the author noted the difference of stories concerning religion: "…in each village, and even ayllu by ayllu, people give different versions, and different names, too."[8] Therefore it is impossible to make conclusions about other places in the Andes, since I have to assume that they also have different myths, gods and rituals. Another aspect in early 17th century life in Huarochirí was Christianity and its growing influence. As the manuscript contains evidence and indications of Christian behavior, native Christian people as part of this society cannot just be ignored. However, a thorough investigation with regard to Christian themes based on the manuscript would have to be complemented with other sources (e.g. lawsuit papers and other 17th century documents) and pointing besides Christian ideology also and probably even more so at social political implications. Yet, without basic information about this topic, the findings in the manuscript would be unclear and distorted. Therefore I used secondary literature which is presented in the following chapter.

Another aspect has to be emphasized, which is that the author writes about different time periods. The oldest period can be called mythical or ancient or pre-Inca period, the following pre-Spanish or Inca period, and finally the transition period in the 16th and 17th century. By reading the manuscript, it is more often than not clear to which period the author refers. But because the myth and ritual descriptions were collected in the transition period, it follows that people still knew these stories and were telling them; therefore the knowledge about them was imbedded in the Huarochirí culture. In this context it is possible to use these stories in an inquiry about the transition period, even when they describe the "old times" or "Inca times".

[7] E.g. done by Karen Spalding and Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco mentioned in chapter 1.2.4 Previous Research.

[8] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 87. Ayllu is a group or society in which the members are related by blood linages or connected by shared believes, behaviors and practices. The term is explicit explained in chapter: 1.3.6 Terms.

Given the landscape in Huarochirí, with deep valleys, plateaus, and high mountains and the distribution of settlements plus available communication at the time, it strongly indicates that people were differently influenced by the Spanish invaders. Therefore, in creating a picture of this society, one have to keep in mind that there were natives already fully converted to Christianity and those almost untouched by it and everything in between. Thus, by looking at e.g. described afterlife ideas in the manuscript, I can make only limited statements about what was known (probably to most natives) and what was still believed (by many). This differentiation is part of the picture I try to develop.

1.3 Material

As said above, my thesis is based on the Huarochirí Manuscript. It is written in Quechua language which I cannot read. There are translations available which vary in their quality and purposes. After analyzing evaluations and literature regarding these translations, I decided to work with Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste´s translation and complement it with the PhD thesis from Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz. All three scholars are Quechua experts with excellent knowledge about the manuscript. After a short presentation of their work I continue to list and briefly describe other previous researches. Thereafter follows a paragraph dedicated to research and information on the authorship of the manuscript and a summary about utilized terms in this essay. In order to give the reader of my thesis a context to facilitate the understanding, I will start with an introduction of the Huarochirí Manuscript.

1.3.1 Huarochiri Manuscript - A Short Introduction

In 1933, Julián Paz produced for the first time a catalog of American manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The catalog listed an item with the number 3169.[9] The Huarochiri Manuscript is the fourth in a collection of six manuscripts which are bound together and belonged to Francisco de Avila in the beginning of the 17th century.[10] The Huarochiri Manuscript provides no information about title, author or date of creation,

[9] Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí, Indianische Quechua-Überlieferungen aus der Kolonialzeit zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit eine Analyse ihres Diskurses" (PhD diss. Universität Bonn, 2003), 148.
[10] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.

therefore, when listed the first words of the text are used as a title. *"Runa yn.° niscap Machoncuna"*[11] (The ancestors of the Indian)

The manuscript is mainly written in Quechua language with an alphabet, introduced in Andean society by Spanish colonialists. It contains 31 Chapters and two supplements. There are two different types of descriptions, one of which is telling myths and stories, while the second one describes rituals. The myths describe huacas, men, and animals which interact with each other, and consist of stories from three different periods. One period is the mythological,[12] pre Inca time, another one is the Inca period and the last one is the early 17th century time, contemporary to the author of the script. The second type of description explains rituals and connected events, which are also placed in the previously described three periods. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz differentiates these two types according to myth and ritual descriptions without regard to the different periods.[13]

Around seventy years after the conquistadors occupied this territory, people in Huarochiri were already used to the Spanish presence, to Christianity and European administration. Nevertheless, they were still living in a time of transition and adaptation.[14] Ambitious Christian missionaries were determined to create new pious Christians and to destroy what they called idolatry and misbeliefs.[15] At the same time, they brought the Latin alphabet to the Andes and thereby a possibility to preserve myth and tradition for later generations. Although, scripture provided a tool to do so, it was seldom used in this way and commonly utilized to administrate the colony or for church organization purposes. The Huarochiri Manuscript is therefore valuable to scholars, since it presents a window to a lost culture, a documentation of folk myth, and traditions and practices during the transition period.

The Huarichiri Manuscript was written in or in the near of what is still today the Huarochiri region which is situated in the vicinity east of Lima. The exact year of the manuscript's creation is unknown, however, in 1608, Father Francisco de Avila wrote a text which is partly based on the Huarochiri Manuscript and probably used as intelligence to attack and wipe out

[11] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 148.
[12] We call it the mythological period, the natives talk about times when gods were born or the world was created.
[13] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 119.
[14] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 456.
[15] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 25-27; Hanns J. Prem, *Geschichte Altamerikas*, 2.ed. (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 99-101.

still existing precolonial beliefs. We do not know if Avila authorized the manuscript, or edited, or even wrote parts of it. Although it is possible that he was creating or partook in its creation, his own text, *Tratado y relación de los errores*, contains parts of the Huarochiri Manuscript and therefore proves his knowledge about it and its existence in 1608.[16] The content of the manuscript reveals a distance but also a proximity to Andean precolonial beliefs, which is an indication of different authors and a final editing stage.[17] One can encounter comments which ask in Spanish after a certain place or remind the supposed reader to search for a named place or huaca. Sometimes the huaca, especially in the later chapters are called demons, a clear hint for the Christian surroundings of the manuscript creation and intended usage.[18] On several places in the manuscript Avila is named and his "positive" role in the community emphasized or implied.[19] On the other hand, the opening lines of the script suggest a positive attitude towards the indigenous culture.

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known
> writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived
> would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is
> visible until now, so, too, would their's be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has
> been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro
> Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;
>
> What faith they held, how they live until now, those
> things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they
> lived from their dawning age onward.[20]

The positive attitude is clearly visible in these lines, and in later chapters, the narrator uses the phrase: "We speak of them as the Purum Runa, ´people of the desolation´." indicating his own

[16] *Tratado y relación de los errores* belongs to the six manuscripts of item nr. 3169 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Frank Salomon on page 24 and Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz on page 5 and 148 describing the *Tratado.* Both recognize the connection to the Huarochirí Manuscript as Avila commenting on its first 7 Chapters.
[17] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 4,5; Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.
[18] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 107.
[19] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, e.g. 74, 103, 120.
[20] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 1,2.

native ancestry.[21] Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz suggested an early native effort to document the pre-conquest Andean culture. "Ich vermute allerdings, daß das Manuskript nicht erst zu jener Zeit und nicht in diesem Rahmen entstand, sondern früher und zunächst auf eine Initiative Einheimischer hin."[22] With regard to the opening lines, it is not unlikely.

1.3.2 Frank Salomon & George L. Urioste – The Huarochiri Manuscript

My main material and source for this thesis is the translation of the Huarochiri Manuscript by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste.[23] Their book, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, 1991, consists of an introductory essay by Salomon, the translation by both authors and a transcription by Urioste. The essay by Salomon was very helpful to establish an overview about the manuscript itself and its possible origins. Combined with Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz's thesis (who also commented on Salomon's work) it is the basis for my work.

I decided to work with the translation by Salomon and Urioste after an examination of available book reviews and responses by other Scholars. In his 1993 published book review on *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, Gery Urton (Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Pre-Columbian Studies at Harvard University; Department of Anthroplogy) called it "…the first reliable translation into English." and wrote further: "The Huarochiri Manuscript is obviously the result of years of thoughtful and intelligent collaboration between Salomon and Urioste."[24] Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz mentioned Salomons essay and translation on several occasions in her thesis, either agreeing with him or utilizing his statements in her argumentation.[25] Joanne Rappaport (Professor at Georgetown University, Department of Anthropology) emphasized in her review that, the translation from Salomon and Urioste "… evokes the essentially oral nature of this written

[21] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 54.
[22] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 5. (My transl.: I suspect, however, that the manuscript was not created at that time and not in this context, but earlier and initially due to a local initiative.)
[23] Frank Salomon is a Professor of Anthropology and at the University of Wisconsin- Madison since 1982. George L. Urioste is professor at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas.
[24] Gary Urton, "The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion by Frank Salomon; George L. Urioste," *American Anthropologist New Series*, Vol. 95, March 1993; Accessed March 20, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/stable/pdfplus/681259.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true.
[25] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," e.g. 73, 107, 129, 220 and 274.

document." She continued to describe the positive work of the translators and finished with: "… it allows the indigenous voice in all its complexity to become linguistically and conceptually accessible to English readers."[26] Similar to Rappaport, Maria A. Benavides (Professor at Ohio University, Sociedad Geografica de Lima, and The Latin American Association for Afro-Asian ALADAA) mentioned the advantage of this translation because of its ability to transmit the original oral nature of the texts. However, she especially emphasizes the introduction by Salomon for its factual accuracy and the comprehensible structure and articulation of the text. "The major ethno historical contribution in this volume may well be Salomon's brilliant introductory essay (38 pages)."[27]

Overall, since it was important to find an accurate translation of the Quechua text into a language I could read, Salomon's and Urioste's book appeared to be the best choice. Other translations are into a language which I don't speak (e.g. into French) or they possess, in the case of the German translation, equal quality but are older and therefore just second choice.

1.3.3 Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz – Die Stimmen von Huarochirí

Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz[28] wrote a PhD thesis in 2003 based on her research on the Huarochiri Manuscript. Her aim was to widen our understanding of the Quechua text by emphasizing the transformation from oral to writing traditions and furthermore, to introduce a new method, connected to postmodern approaches, which utilized discourse analyzes and interdisciplinary work, combining ethnohistory, linguistic and literary science. As an expert on Quechua language, she translated parts of the Huarochiri Manuscript for her thesis and utilized linguistic and literary science to reveal patterns and differences in the text which were helpful in elaborating a picture of the transformation process from oral to writing tradition. By complementing her findings with information from the discipline of ethnohistory, e.g. about social and political life in the 17th century Andean society, she obtains knowledge which

[26] Joanne Rappaport, "Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, trans.: The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion (Book Review)." *Ethnohistory* , January 1, 1993; accessed March 20, 2014, http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=b3b09989-38a2-4723-bcee-8a59013de141%40sessionmgr4001&vid=2&hid=4209.

[27] María A. Benavides, "The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion.by Frank Salomon; George L. Urioste Review," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 74, August 1994; accessed March 20, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/stable/pdfplus/2517916.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true.

[28] Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz is currently lecturer in Latin American Studies at the University of Stirling, United Kingdom.

enables the reader of her thesis to understand the circumstances of the manuscript's creation and how to approach and to work with the content of the text itself.[29]

I use her thesis for exactly those reasons, to understand the time of the manuscript's creation and for a better understanding of the text types and their differences. Furthermore, her thesis provided valuable clues and evaluations on previous works on the manuscript which were very helpful in finding a translation most suitable for my own project.

1.3.4 Previous Research

This chapter focuses on research regarding the Huarochirí Manuscript. It will not consider text, myth or ritual research made on other documents. Although they could be useful for my research, the time and resource limitations for this essay permit neither a closer nor an exhausting overview about these themes. However, with regard to my methodical and theoretical approach, some major works and researches are mentioned in the chapter 1.3 Method.

The most common research on the manuscript was done in connection with translation efforts. The manuscript was published in Dutch, English, French, German, Latin, Polish, and Spanish language[30], whereas the following are worth mentioning. José Maria Arguedas *Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí* (1966) was the first complete Spanish translation and contained an elaboration on the origins of the text with focus on Francisco de Avila.[31] Gerald Taylor's translation into Spanish, *Ritos y Tradiciones de Huarochirí* (1987)[32] contains a chapter by Antonio Acosta, *Estudio biográfico sobre Francisco de Avila*, which deals with the origin and Francisco de Avila's role in its creation.[33] Jorge Lagos and Luis Galdames focus in their research on philosophical aspects. In "Entimemas y principios andinos en los Mitos de

[29] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,"
[30] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 6.
[31] José Maria Arguedas and Pierre Duviols, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí. Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila 1598*, (Lima:Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1966).
[32] Gerald Taylor and Antonio Acosta, *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí: manuscrito quechua de comienzos del siglo XVII*, 1. ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987).
[33] Acosta, "Estudio biográfico,".

Huarochirí" (2007)[34], published in *Estudios Filológicos*, the scholars show a connection between a myth from the Huarochirí Manuscript and the structure of enthymemes which are informally stated syllogisms.[35] Karen Spalding elaborated a picture of precolonial society in the Andes in *Huarochirí: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule*, (1984), by using besides other sources the Huarochirí Manuscript.[36] Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco used the manuscript in the same way in her publication of *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (1988).[37] She focused her work on political structures and connections between the different parts, especially between the mountain and coastal areas, of the Inca Empire. She also published a study about the connection between religious ideology and politics, including a gender analysis of the huacas under the title: *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política*, in which she also made use of the huaca descriptions in the Huarochirí Manuscript[38]. Another research with focus on the authorship of the manuscript was done by Alan Durston and published in Colonial Latin American Review in 2007 under the title *Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirı´ Manuscript*.[39] As I described their efforts already above, I left out the works of Frank Salomon and Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz.

I will not conclude that there is no research made which attempts to answer the same questions as I try to do, however, my investigation points at this possibility. The chosen topic is not as popular as e.g. Islam research and e.g. internet search machines produced much less appropriate hits than in the case of the given example. I understand that research on the Huarochirí Manuscript has often focused on the authorship or to obtain clues to Inca and precolonial society. The research of Spalding and Rostworowski is the most relevant for my project with respect to life circumstances around 16th and 17th century, and therefore utilized in this essay.

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[34] Jorge Lagos and Luis Galdames, "Entimemas y principios andinos en los Mitos de Huarochirí," *Estudios Filológicos*, Vol 42, September 2007; accessed May 16, 2014, http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_pdf&pid=S0071-17132007000100006&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=es.

[35] Syllogisms are a form of logical arguments. This research is mentioned in order to give an adequate research overview.

[36] Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1984).

[37] Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu,* 1a ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988).

[38] Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política*, 1. ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1983).

[39] Alan Durston, "Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirí," *Colonial Latin American Review,* Vol. 16, December 2007; accessed March 20, 2014, http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.bib.hh.se/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=fc92cbe4-6b88-46b1-9e07-f6c737ff72ef%40sessionmgr4004&vid=2&hid=4112.

1.3.5 Authorship of the Huarochirí Manuscript

As already described above, the author of the manuscript is unknown, which is true if one considers the uncertainty of information about an event, taken place 400 years ago. However, it is important to get as close as possible to a conceivable writer and origins. Naturally, Salomon and Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz dedicated parts of their research efforts to this topic.

For Salomon, Francisco de Avila (1573?-1647), was not directly involved in the writing of the manuscript.[40] But he most probably used it first to defend himself in an ecclesiastical lawsuit and later its intelligence to conduct massive anti huaca campaigns in 1612 and 1613. Antonio Acosta wrote about the connection between manuscript and Avila's way through the region of Huarochirí:

> En estos dos anos Avila declaró haber visitado 35,000 indios, convirtiéndose así en un experto extirpador gracias a su fuente secreta. Siguiendo su itinerario geográfico, pues, resulta bastante claro que la narración mitológica se convirtió en una inapreciable ayuda para Avila, sirviéndole de guía en sus visitas.[41]

Avila destroyed countless sacred places and mummies, caused great sufferings amongst the natives and secured him and his Christian and Spanish allies an income, since they had the right to keep treasures which they found on native sacred places.[42] Salomon relies mainly, but not exclusively on Antonio Acosta's work, a source which is also used by Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz. Acosta describes the surroundings of the manuscript's origins as sinister. There is Avila, a priest who is accused with a list of serious allegations, beside others, claiming that he had sex with native women, some even married.

> Pero Avila daba lugar también a otras quejas de los indios que no eran simplemente de carácter económico. Se trataba, sobre todo, de acusaciones sobre relaciones sexuales con varias mujeres de la comunidad.[43]

There were also other reasons for this lawsuit as Salomon wrote:

> Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit.

[40] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 24.
[41] Acosta, "*Estudio biográfico*," 597. (My transl.: In these two years Avila declared to have visited 35,000 Indians, thus becoming an expert extirpador thanks to his secret source. Following his geographical journey, then it is quite clear that the mythological narrative became an invaluable aid to Avila, serving as a guide for his visits.)
[42] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 27.
[43] Acosta, "*Estudio biográfico*," 574. (My transl.: But Avila also gave rise to other complaints of the Indians who were not simply economic. It was, above all, allegations of sex with several women in the community.)

> But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village.[44]

According to Salomon, the final push into the lawsuit was the plan of the priest Avila to build a textile fabric. Salomon describes the origin of the manuscript by quoting Acosta saying that the manuscript was ordered by Avila as a reaction to the acquisitions, as a kind of revenge and a career enhancing measure. Avila wanted to underline his honest intentions and that the acquisitions against him were forged because of his struggle against idolatry. Salomon mentions also the involvement of a man called Cristobal Choque Casa, an intimate of Avila and of native origins. For Salomon this character played a key role in and around Avila's lawsuit and the creation of the manuscript. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, does not specify his involvement as much as Salomon does, but renders him a possible role in editing the manuscript.[45]

In his article, "Notes on the Authorship of the Huarochirı´ Manuscript" (2007)[46], Alan Durston (associate professor at York University, Department for History) elaborates on a possible authorship and identifies Cristobal Choquecasa[47] as the writer and editor of the manuscript. According to him, Cristóbal Choquecasa had the means, knowledge and motivation to write it. Durston parallels the statements of Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Salomon with respect to a possible order of the manuscript given by Avila, or at least a close connection between him and the author. However, what is stated by all three scholars is the utility of the manuscript. Its information was successfully used in an effort to expel Andean precolonial beliefs by the Extirpators of Idolatries, amongst them Francisco de Avila.[48] That would have been impossible if the manuscript contained false information. Thus, the Huarochiri Manuscript contains information about Andean beliefs and traditions which were written down in an effort to obtain intelligence about these beliefs and traditions and therefore, seen in this context are reliable. However, Salomon warns the reader: "The papers

[44] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 25.
[45] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 83, 85.
[46] Durston, "Notes on the Authorship."
[47] The three sources contain different spellings of the same name: Durston: Cristóbal Choquecasa; Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz: Cristóbal Choquecaxas; Salomon: Cristobal Choque Casa.
[48] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 5; Durston, "Notes on the Authorship,"; Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 28.

born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution."[49]

1.3.6 Ritual and Myth

Since I have focused on ritual and myth descriptions a short explanation is in order. There is much debate on what defines a ritual. I don't want to join this debate, but have no attentions to simply ignore what other scholars have to say about it. I choose to combine statements of Robert A. Segal, Catherine M. Bell and Roy A. Rappaport to justify my elected ritual examples from the manuscript.

Robert A. Segal begins his chapter about ritual with the following sentence: "Whatever else ritual means, it means action."[50] Yet, everything people do is action and Segal continues to give an overview about theoretical thoughts on ritual for further differentiation. However, action is a good starting point for a ritual definition. How do I define an action as ritual? According to Catherine M. Bell, one can search for six characteristic which reveal a possible ritual nature of an action. These characteristic are formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism and performance.[51] Most of these characteristics are found in the ritual descriptions in the manuscript. Bell further states that a ritual has to be understood in the social context in which it is performed, and that it depends on concepts of belief.[52] All ritual descriptions in the manuscript are connected to the belief in the huacas and placed in the social context of the Andean natives in Huarochirí.

Even Rappaport listed a number of characteristics which could reveal a ritual. The foremost one for him is formalism; although it does not necessarily means that an action is ritualized because it contains formalized performance. Other characteristics are, the legitimation through others, invariance, and performance.[53] Similar to Bell's characteristics, even Rappaport's list can be successfully applied to the descriptions in the Huarochirí Manuscript.

[49] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 28.
[50] Robert A. Segal, "Myth and Ritual," in *The Routledge companion to the study of religion*, 2. ed., ed. John R. Hinnells (London: Routledge, 2010), 387.
[51] Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 139-164.
[52] Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 19.
[53] Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32-46.

The manuscript, especially in the beginning, describes myth from the region of Huarochirí. They present mostly theogonies, but contain also stories which have characteristics of eschatologies and cosmogonies. These stories are not incomprehensibly abstract; moreover, their characters resemble other Native American figures, e.g. the trickster figure[54] which is also known in European folk literature, in the Märchen der Gebrüder Grimm.[55] These stories are called myth by Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz[56] and Salomon[57], but what defines them as myth?

In his book[58] Robert A. Segal gives a definition of myth which is grounded in his expert knowledge about the works of e.g. E.B.Tylor (1832-1917), J.G. Frazer (1854-1941), Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), and Mircea Eliade (1907-1986).[59] For Segal, a myth (interesting for a scholar of religion) is a story containing contents about a god or similar concepts. A myth can also be about humans and animals which are involved in something significant in the past or present. The story must be significant for the reader and also present a conviction.[60] In the Huarochirí stories, the reader encounters gods, humans and animals, which are involved in the creating of the world as it was for the people in Huarochirí four hundred years ago. There are explanations for huaca and worship, the origins of lakes and mountains and also the social structures of the culture.[61]

1.4 Method

The following lines reveal the methods I choose and the justifications for their selection. Further down I describe the application of the chosen methods, and additionally I outline the overall process of my investigation.

[54] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 46, 54; and in Eva M. Thury and Margaret Klopfle Devinney, *Introduction to mythology: contemporary approaches to classical and world myths,* 2. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 295.
[55] Wilhelm Solms, *Die Moral von Grimms Märchen* (Darmstadt: Primus-Verlag, 1999).
[56] Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí,".
[57] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*.
[58] Robert A. Segal, *Myth: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4-6.
[59] Segal, "*Myth and Ritual*," 372-387; and Segal, *Myth: a very* 14ff.
[60] Segal, *Myth: a very*, 4-6.
[61] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 5-7.

1.4.1 Method presentation

There are surely questions to a scripture which could justify a quantitative approach in a utilized content analysis. However, since I don't want to provide statistics about how many llamas were butchered due to ritual processes described in the Huarochirí Manuscript, or make statements about certain ceremonies based on measurable units in connection with them, I chose to work with a qualitative content analysis.[62] This gave me the opportunity and ability not just to collect data, but also to interpret text statements and to set different elements in relation with each other in order to reach conclusive and meaningful results. In this way, implicit information became visible and hence could be utilized. To facilitate such a work, it is necessary to implement methodic tools; in my case selection criteria, which are based on the essay's purpose.[63] Afterlife and death was one criterion and bound to the first question. For the second question the criterions were the ritual descriptions which make reliable statements about the actual human involvement in religion and religious practices. Any attempt to condensate such information from the myth texts would, according to my estimation, only lead to highly speculative conclusions which in order to fill them with reliability, had to be scrutinized with other methods and complemented with other text sources. However, the chosen selection criteria produce information which can then be analyzed.[64]

Because of the complex cultural circumstances and motivations for the creation of the manuscript which are mentioned above, another important aspect had to be considered. This is how the text is presented to us; which formulation are used and for which purpose. Such an analysis is called narrative analysis.[65] I use this method to detect eventual existing influences on the text, especially through Christian involvement, which could distort the outcome of the content analysis.[66]

[62] Dag Ingvar Jacobsen, *Vad, hur och varför: om metodval i företagsekonomi och andra samhällsvetenskapliga ämnen* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2002), 142.
[63] Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus, *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys,* 3.ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012), 54.
[64] Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 50.
[65] Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 25.
[66] Bergström and Boréus, *Textens mening*, 260.

1.4.2 Process and Method Application

The first decision was made by choosing the Huarochirí Manuscript as the basic source for my research. To my understanding, previous research focused mainly on its history, form and language and content regarding historical events. In order to decide a particular topic which could be matched with the manuscript, I read it to establish a first understanding and to obtain possible research themes. It became clear that the myth and ritual descriptions permitted a closer look at religious expressions and behaviors. My personal interest and the information available in the manuscript shaped the two questions formulated in my aim-paragraph.

The next step was to find the right or most applicable and promising method to scrutinize the text. This resulted in the decision for the qualitative content analysis and qualitative narrative analysis as described above. I then proceeded by structuring the text according to the themes of the questions. As already mentioned these left me with different categories. For the first theme (afterlife) I selected the chapters 1, 5, 6, 9, 14, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 30. They all contained information about death or afterlife. I also separated myth descriptions (chapter 1, 5, 6, 14, 25, 27, and 30) from ritual descriptions (chapter 9, 24, and 28). Both types were then compared and with regard to similarities and differences, a picture of death and afterlife ideas was elaborated.

For the second question, I concentrated on the ritual descriptions. I classified them into three categories; whereas the first two contain descriptions which were selected after the character of the rituals (voluntary or obligated). When a story described a person who went to a huaca in order to ask for a personal favor, the story was situated in the category freedom of worship. When a story described persons or a group which partook e.g. in a ritual in order to ask for rain, or participated in rituals with pure worship reasons (e.g. for the greatness of a god), the worship was assessed as obligated. The third category contains descriptions of worship reality in the times of the manuscript's creation. I recognized that the author of the manuscript told two versions of most rituals. Often, the (for the author) original behavior was described first, followed by the version of the contemporary practiced ritual. This is an advantage for my research, since not only the change of ritual behavior is described, but often also the motivation behind rituals becomes evident. E.g.: The ritual descriptions about food deposits on churches and graveyards do not tell much about obligation and freedom. If we know the pre-Spanish tradition to take care of the dead, to dress and feed them in order to provide for them, but also to avoid the wrath of disappointed ancestors, then it is possible to create a

comprehensive explanation. To purely describe worship behavior (in 17th century) without the original ritual behavior would result in an incomplete picture of this culture. With additional descriptions of life circumstances in the Andes, based on secondary literature, I further believe to raise the reliability of my results.

During the analyzing process, I included information about the Christian involvement and life circumstances without which my results would miss a foundation. As all changes in religious behavior were generated by the Spanish occupation, my research needed to be grounded on such information. In a final effort I summarized my results in order to convey an understandable picture of religious thoughts and behavior in the culture of Huarochirí during the transition period.

1.5 Colonialism Theory

The Huarochirí Manuscript as already described, was written in a Spanish colony. The purpose was to collect information about Andean indigenous culture with focus on religious phenomena and expressions. The presented descriptions alone however, were not sufficient to produce a picture of the Huarochirí culture in this thesis, as explained above. I had to combine the information from the manuscript with information drawn from secondary literature about the circumstances of the manuscripts creation and the political, social and economic circumstances at the time. A suitable theory needed to be broad enough to cover all relevant data. Such a broad and also comprehensive theory was presented by Jürgen Osterhammel.[67]

His theory illuminates the connections between the colonialists and the colonized, with regard to areas of economy, occupation, resistance, society, indigenous culture and religion. Some of these areas are of minor importance for this thesis and of course, Osterhammel's statements about religious developments within colonies present a greater relevance. With the following few paragraphs I briefly describe his theory with emphasis on, for my thesis relevant components.

Colonialism theory a brief overview

Osterhammel´s approach to colonialism begins with a historical overview and a differentiation between a variety of expansions in history. He mentioned:

[67] His book, Colonialism, was first published in German 1995, later translated into English and since then several times republished. The latest publication by C.H.Beck Verlag appeared in 2012.

1. Total migration of entire populations and societies.
2. Mass individual migration.
3. Border colonization.
4. Overseas settlement colonization.
5. Empire building wars of conquest.
6. Construction of naval networks[68]

The Spanish expansion into South America is classified under the title *Empire building wars of conquest*. A further classification brought forward by Osterhammel describes the different types of colonies.

1. Exploitation colonies.
2. Maritime enclaves.
3. Settlement colonies.[69]

The Spanish South American colonies are classified under the first category, *exploitation colonies*. Characteristics for such colonies are:

- They are often a consequence of conquest with military means, after a period of contact without land claims.
- Their purpose is to exploit the conquered area, with help of tribute, taxation, and the use of natural resources. They should also enhance the national prestige and securing imperial politics.
- Generally, they have a low number of colonists, which after serving as soldiers, bureaucrats or businessmen returning to their home country.
- They often are controlled by the mother country with a governor system.[70]

Although, many theoretical features described in the book can be recognized in the writings concerned with Latin American history[71], Osterhammel gives the Iberian South American colonies a somewhat special status. While the segregation between Europeans and natives was maintained in most colonies; in the Latin American case, the European minority began to mix

[68] Osterhammel, Colonialism, 4-9.
[69] Osterhammel, Colonialism, 10,11,12
[70] Osterhammel, Colonialism, 10,11.
[71] I mentioned them in chapter 1.3.4.

with the natives and the group of creole or mestizo became later the political dominant social group in South America.[72]

Having established an overview about the different types of expansions and colonies and their characteristics, Osterhammel elaborated on a definition of colonialism with the following result:

> Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcible imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.[73]

In the case of Huarochirí, as part of the Latin American colonies, the sentence: "Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population,…" has to be seen critical, because of the rise of the mestizo population and the inevitable mix of cultural expressions. Nonetheless, Osterhammel emphasizes the unique character of every single colony, due to differences in politics, native culture, colonial purposes and not at least the local climate and geographical peculiarities.[74] Therefore, I believe that his definition is sufficient enough to account for the South American and also for the Huarochirí colonial situation.

Osterhammel continues to describe the characteristics of colonial empires. Thereby he mentions also the downfall of the Spanish Empire, due to the independence of the Latin American States and the Spanish–American War in 1898.[75] With the examples of Belgium, Netherlands and the United States he named colonial powers which could not be called Empires, simply because of their limited geographical spreading and number of colonies. He then briefly but comprehensively describes the differences of colonialism and imperialism. According to Osterhammel, one of colonialism´s main characteristic is the idea to be superior and that one has a responsibility to care for the colonial subjects.[76] With regard to the Spanish colonies in Latin America, the belief of spreading the righteous religion, Christianity, was one of the official motivations and justifications for the Spanish colonial efforts.

On the other hand, imperialism seeks to control and manipulate as many foreign nations and countries as possible with the intention to secure national prosperity, safety and other

[72] Osterhammel, Colonialism, 9.
[73] Osterhammel, Colonialism, 16,17.
[74] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 4, 51.
[75] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 18.
[76] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 22.

interests. "Imperialism presupposes the will and the ability of an imperial center to *define* as imperial its own national interests and enforce them worldwide in the anarchy of the international system."[77]

The next part in Osterhammel's theory is more interesting for this thesis. Here he elaborates on the question, why the colonial powers were usually successful in their campaigns. According to him, the technical advantages were most certainly one reason, but as there are examples for campaign failures, (by e.g. French, English and Italian troops) it was not the only one. Other reasons for colonial success were the better organized colonialists and the lack of unity between the indigenous people. Yet another point and an important one for this thesis, is the manipulation of native symbols by the conquistadores,[78] which is recognizable in the manuscript as shown further down in the analysis. Osterhammel mentioned here the example Cortés, who brought down an Empire with just a couple of hundred soldiers.[79] The Aztecs were expecting "white gods" to come and Cortés and the Spanish exploited this expectation. He also emphasizes that very few other people were as badly prepared for the Europeans as the Americans were. However, the manipulation of symbols was a crucial point, especially in the Spanish colonies. With regard to religion Osterhammel states:

> "… it was unique to have the church fully subordinated to secular power for the purposes of colonial politics. The clergy apparently became the most effective instrument of Spanish penetration of America."[80]

Karen Spalding also recognized this in her book, *Huarochirí: an Andean society under Inca and Spanish rule*.[81] The (from me previously) briefly described actions of Francisco de Avila show how much power church officials in the Spanish colonies could have. Yet, while the manipulation of symbols and the power of church officials are recognizable in the manuscript, there are no clues which could confirm Osterhammel's statements of a to secular powers subordinated church. For the purpose of this thesis, this fact is of minor importance. Of greater relevance is that Osterhammel recognizes the power of the church in the Spanish colonies, which is detectable in the manuscript and specified further down.

During the campaigns as well as during the following colonial period, in most cases, without the help of indigenous people, any colonial success would have needed a larger

[77] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 21.
[78] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 45.
[79] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 45.
[80] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 55.
[81] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society*, 245.

amount of soldiers and civil servants. To administrate India (a land with approximately 340 million residents at the time), England had 12000 civil servants on the ground; a ratio of 1: 28000. In French West Africa it was 1:27000 and in Nigeria 1: 54000.[82] Hence, Osterhammel put forward indigenous collaboration as one of five factors that supported colonial ruling; these are:

> 1) the threat and employment of force by colonial security forces; 2) the adoption of traditional roles and symbols by the highest representatives of the colonial state; 3) "communication imperialism": the systematic collection, processing, and dissemination of information about the colonized society by centralized institutions; 4) a calculated strategy of "divide and conquer"; and 5) an aspiration for the continued existence of the colonial system on the part of influential segments of the colonial society. This interest was nurtured by the colonial power, and constituted a prerequisite for "collaboration."[83]

Collaboration was an important factor in colonial efforts but it seldom resulted in a cultural cocktail. South America is the exception to the rule. In Africa and Asia, colonial societies were separated into the European ruler societies and the colonized indigenous societies.[84] Oseterhammel sees the reason for this segregation partly in Christian moral education but also in practical considerations of power preservation. As a result, with decolonization the "white men" could just vanish, leaving only architecture behind. There are of course differences. In colonies with farming settlers, decolonization was often violent; because their prime value was something they couldn't take home, land.[85]

However, even in colonies where European culture was mixed with native cultures, according to Osterhammel, "…hardly ever did Europeans convert to non-Christian religions of their own accord."[86]

When it comes to change of cultural expressions and behaviors (as e.g. values, traditions and religion) within native societies, the colonial state influenced these societies to a great deal but this influence "seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life, but always to its "destructuring" into fragments or at least to a challenging of cultural values previously taken for granted."[87] Osterhammel mentioned here also the importance of colonialism as part of the phenomenon westernization. However, colonial interference into indigenous societies varied in degrees of intensity. As the least influential

[82] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 63.
[83] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 64.
[84] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 84,85.
[85] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 85.
[86] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 86.
[87] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

colonial power, the Dutch are named and their behavior in Indonesia. "…the Dutch went about their business without mingling in their cultural environment."[88] The Spanish example stands for the opposite, for "an energetic politics of westernization as far back as the sixteenth century."[89] In much the same way religion, as an important part of most cultures, was also but not always targeted with different intensity by the colonialists. Thereby the Church organizations were sometimes used to support colonial efforts and sometimes they were excluded from the official colonial politics. While the English East India Company pursued a strict non-intervention politics with regard to religion until 1813, the Spanish used the Catholic Church as "a powerful instrument of cultural penetration."[90] For the Dutch on the other hand, it was more important to preserve and secure the faith of the colonists.

One important statement of Osterhammel stressed that "Never did imported "modernity" and local "tradition" merely clash or co-exist. Instead, new blends evolved."[91] Osterhammel mentioned four possible reactions or results to colonial efforts targeting indigenous religious traditions. Syncretism was one possible outcome, as for example in Mexico or the Philippines. Second, in some African examples, the Christian missionary efforts led to the rise of African churches, which were independent of the missionaries and an important "inspiration of decolonization."[92] A third result could have been a "Stimulation of non-Christian countermovements."[93] In these cases, native religious tradition was used to confront Christian and colonial efforts. During the process, original traditions could change and adapted to the new political situations. A prominent example is the term Hinduism and what it symbolizes. It was unknown to pre-colonial India and a result of colonization.

The last result or reaction named by Osterhammel is the "Assertion or strengthening of the existing order."[94] He used the Islam as a prime example. He argues that Islam differed from other religions, because of its history of the struggle with Christianity, its large propagation, and its apparent immunity towards Christianization efforts. This statement by Osterhammel presents a critical aspect. It contradicts his previous statement: "Never did imported "modernity" and local "tradition" merely clash or co-exist. Instead, new blends evolved."[95]

[88] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.
[89] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.
[90] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 96.
[91] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 97.
[92] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 98.
[93] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 98.
[94] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 99.
[95] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 97.

Not to mention the fact that there is not just one Islamic religion, but many. Still, his arguments are logical and comprehensible. Islam, even though it didn't "blend", was surely influenced by colonialism, as Osterhammel recognized. Its resistance led to a strengthening of this religion in many places.[96]

The "blend" argument should maybe transform into an "influence" argument. Where two cultures meet, they influence each other. However, the huge field of colonialism, which Osterhammel seeks to theoretically describe, appears to be elusive when it comes to details. But he understood that and made it clear in the beginning of his book.

> Colonial reality was multifaceted and often failed to conform to arrogant imperial strategies. It was shaped by particular local features overseas, by the intentions and opportunities of the individual colonial powers, and by broader tendencies in the international system. … Even if we simplify the matter by following the conventional equation of colonialism and (European) colonial politics … the multiformity of colonial situations continues to confound efforts to define colonialism.[97]

Yet to my understanding, Osterhammel created a theoretical structure of colonialism which has the ability to enrich my own research efforts. It provides valuable features that help to understand the situation of the indigenous people in Huarochirí in 17th century and their colonial masters. Combined, Osterhammel's theory, the secondary literature and the information from the manuscript, should produce research results which can be placed in the broader picture of colonialism and at the same time, create new knowledge about the particular situation in Huarochirí.

[96] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 99.
[97] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 4.

Canami rimason huarocheripi chay
Chay quitipi rurascancunacta

(Now we want to tell, what (Pariacaca) in the region of Huarochirí did…)

2 Analysis

The following analysis begins with the search for information about afterlife conceptions in the manuscript and possible connections to described behavior or rituals. At first I scrutinize the myth texts and later the ritual descriptions in search for any statements, explicit or implicit, relevant for this topic. In the second part, I elaborate with help of the ritual texts a picture of religious obligations and freedoms for the people in the Huarochirí society. With regard to this Christian influence, the following part deals with the Christian behavior in Huarochirí in 16th and 17th century. Hence this behavior affected most religious expressions of the period in question; it has significance for my analysis and for the concluding chapter.

2.1 The Christian Case

Karen Spalding describes in her book *Huarochirí, An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule*[98], how the Catholic Church systematically pursued the extinction of Andean belief. Beginning shortly after the Spanish invasion, which was according to history writing already accompanied by Christian priests,[99] she gives an overview about organization and structure of this attack on religious beliefs and social life in Huarochirí.

When the Inca Atahualpa received the Spanish and Pizarro, the first thing he had to listen to was the speech of the Dominican Vicente de Valverde.[100] He demanded the recognition of the Christian faith and his submission to the Pope and the King of Spain. It is not clear which exact words he used and if he held a bible or another book or paper in his hand, whatever the case and whatever the reaction was, the day ended with hundreds of native corpses and with

[98] Spalding, Huarochirí: an Andean society.
[99] For an exhaustive description see: Kim MacQuarrie, *The last days of the Incas*, (London: Portrait, 2007), 78-85.
[100] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal commentaries of the Incas and general history of Peru*. Abridged, (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co. 2006), 99

the imprisonment of the Inca Atahualpa and marked the beginning of Catholic Christian rule in the Andes.[101]

Spalding wrote that the Archbishop in Lima, Gerónimo de Loayza in the 1540s "issued the first Istrucción to guide the priests assigned to Andean communities in the conversion of the Inians to Catholicism."[102] They should involve the natives in destructing the huacas in order to convert them to the Christian faith. In 1551 the first Conciliar Council of Lima took place which ended with nothing less than the declaration of war against the native belief and rituals regarding their ancestors. The natives should be convinced that the huacas in reality were evil forces and any ancestral power came from a pact with the devil. During this "war", the church burned mummies and huacas alike. The priests tried to convince the Indians that their ancestors burn in hell for all eternity, for their alliance with the devil.[103]

An example for reinterpretation can be found in the Huarochirí Manuscript. It is a story of a man called Don Christóbal Choque Casa. Chapter 20 and 21 describe how he encountered the huaca Llocllay Huancupa and with the help of his Christian belief defeated him. The concept of the huaca is reinterpreted and understood as an evil spirit, a demon and the "good Christian" Don Christóbal proved (so the reader of the manuscript is told) the strength of the Christian religion.[104] The story ends with a warning in form of a quotation:

> "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him[105] for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house.[106] If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the padre. Consider carefully what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.[107]

Interesting here is that this story is not from a distant past, the author of the manuscript wrote "The deceased man´s son, that is, the same Don Christóbal we spoke of, is still alive."[108] The purpose of the story is clear, to convince the natives that the huacas are evil demons and that the Christian faith has the power to defeat them. The narrative analysis reveals the linguistic which manipulates the readers' opinion. There are the terms "Virgin Saint Mary" and "our mother" which can be seen as positive agents while the opposite site is portrayed with negative agents:

[101] Vega, *Royal commentaries*, 99
[102] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 245.
[103] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 245.
[104] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 103-109.
[105] Llocllay Huancupa.
[106] The place of the huaca worship.
[107] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 105.
[108] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 104.

> …the shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl. /…/ There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving the room.[109]

Osterhammel's described the manipulation of religious symbols in his book.[110] By changing the indigenous understanding of huacas and mummies, the Spanish created a religious vacuum which had to be filled. They promised the natives the almighty Christian god which could have helped them to overcome misery and misfortune. But the key to the Christian faith and thus to the Christian god was in the hand of the Spanish. Hence, through manipulation of religious symbols, the Spanish for themselves created power over the natives.

During the 1560s, when the conquistadores still raided and plundered the land, a resistance against the church promoted belief was formed. A movement called Taki Onqoy spread across the Andes and revitalized old huaca belief. Since it presented a danger for the Spanish occupiers and an end of their way of life, the church received full support from the secular Spanish forces in the Andes and by 1572 the movement was destroyed. Not by the means of convincing speeches and letters, but with violence against possible members of the leadership.[111] The notion of the creation of a countermovement, (in this case against the implemented Christian faith and thereby the Spanish occupation) is also an element in Osterhammel's theory. Countermovements were based on pre-colonial religious traditions; they often transformed or adapted to the new situation and intended to overcome the colonial rule and the extinction of traditional beliefs and values.[112]

Another tactic conducted by the Spanish was to denigrate and malign the Inca realm. Through investigations information was gathered and then reorganized and bended. The result was a picture of the Inca rule as tyranny which enslaved its people; whereby Inca accomplishments in architecture, e.g. bridges and roads, were presented as evidence for massive slave labor. Another evidence for the tyranny was the Inca rejection of the catholic faith, which also justified the invasion and destruction of the Inca state by the Spanish.[113]

The most important role in the process of colonizing the Andes had the priests. Their task was to watch over their parish, to ensure the full conversion to Christianity and also the acceptance of the new social system, in which the natives were exploited and the Spanish

[109] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 105.
[110] Described above in chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.
[111] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 248.
[112] Described above in chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.
[113] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 249.

were the profiteers. The priests conducted questionings with the focus on The Ten Commandments. They were used to prevent people from revolting. "Thou shalt not steal" e.g. was actually saying: don't take from the one who has more (the Spanish), while the Spanish had the right to take what they wanted, because it was in the name of the lord.[114]

And again, Spalding's descriptions echo in the statements of Osterhammel. With regard to the Spanish Latin American colonies, he called the Catholic Church "a powerful instrument of cultural penetration"[115].

This minor overview should provide a better understanding for the later descriptions in this thesis of native people, who hid their traditional belief and rituals.

2.2 Life and Afterlife

Within Abrahamic religious thought, a person's behavior during his or her lifetime is rewarded or punished in the afterlife, and in most Indic religions behavior and actions determine the quality of the next life and its circumstances. For any believer, these are strong motivations to follow given religious moral rules. How did the people in Huarochirí thought about life after death? What does the manuscript tell us about thoughts of reward and punishment after death; about the life-death connection? At first I concentrate on the myth descriptions which include stories about an ancient mythological time, when supreme huacas were creating the Andean world as it was then, during 16th and 17th century; they further include myth stories about the Inca Empire and also comments on contemporary behavior and belief in 16th and 17th century. Possible Christian comments about heaven and hell conceptions and their like are ignored in this section. However, Christian priests influenced religious behavior of the people which is detectable in the manuscript and such information is naturally included in this research.

[114] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 250, 251.
[115] Described above in the chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

2.2.1 Myth Texts

Chapter 1

In the first chapter a myth is told about "very ancient times"[116] when two huacas named, Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca, were defeated by a huaca called Huallallo Caruincho. The word Ñamca is interpreted by Salomon and Urioste as a certain type of huaca and the words Yana and Tuta translated as Black and Night. Therefore, this myth points at the time before the present world, or the present world in 1600 when the myth was told. With the appearance of Huallallo Caruincho, people would come back to life after exactly five days after their death. Because of their return, the region was overpopulated and life was very hard due to food shortages. The story continues with "Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca appeared…"[117] this misery stopped. In chapter 27, we find a description of why people would stop coming back; I will describe it further down. But this first chapter reveals the idea that a certain aspect of a person continues to act after death and the question is now, what aspect is it and where is it going?

Chapter 5,6

In chapter five we encounter a surely not common way of dying and the following afterlife. The son of Paria Caca a man called Huatya Curi punished a woman by turning her upside down and into stone. All passing people should see her vagina.[118] Now, the woman is clearly deprived of her human life but the intention of Huatya Curi was to punish her not just with death. Some aspect of her survived and as we are told later in the text, people offered coca to her when they were about to undertake something difficult. This suggests that people could turn into superhuman beings; here due to the influence of another superhuman being. But in chapter six, a woman called Chuqui Suso turned herself into stone after she had sex with Paria Caca.[119] In the next chapter we learn that people worshiped Chuqui Suso still at the time of the manuscript's creation.[120]

The described examples have similar outcomes as both women turned into stone and were still worshiped in 17th century. We can assume that not everyone died in this way or was

[116] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 43.
[117] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 44.
[118] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 59.
[119] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 62.
[120] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 65.

worshiped afterwards. However, even in these myths the afterlife existence is implied. Another interesting point is that, these women didn't ask for being turned into stone, nor had they any intentions to become villcas and therefore preparing themselves with rituals or traditions during their lifetime. To compare it with a Christian saint who lived according to the Christian god's rule, a pure life, or acted in certain ways that earned him the saint status; there is no indication in the text that the women acted in special ways and one of them was even punished.

Chapter 14

Chapter 14 gives another clue about life and afterlife thoughts of the Andean people. It is a description of an event taking place in the last days of the Inca Empire and involves the Inca Huayna Capac and the god Cuni Raya Vira Cocha. The god ordered the Inca to send someone "to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."[121] The translation, lower foundations, is discussed by Salomon and could mean the underside of the world or lowlands. Also not clear is another part of this story. When the Inca had ordered Shamans to come, the next paragraph starts with: "He instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, ´Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.´"".[122] The Inca could send for one of his sisters and so could the god Cuni Raya Vira Cocha. Salomon connects a later paragraph to this statement and concludes, not with absolute certainty, that the god Cuni Raya is probably the one who sends for his sister. On the other hand, the Inca's father, Tupac Yupanqui, was not alive when the son was ruling and it could also be him, who the Shamans should ask for the sister.[123] Whether or not the Inca or the god sent someone into the lowlands or underside of the world, this chapter gives proof to the concept of another world behind, beyond or under the world of the humans. The Incas were worshiped and presented as gods too[124], it is therefore not possible to conclude that "normal" human beings had access to these places and possibly were looking forward to come there after death. However, the concept of such a place was known to the Huarochirí people as they told the story.

[121] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 88.
[122] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 89.
[123] Prem, *Geschichte*, 74.
[124] Prem, *Geschichte,* 76.

Chapter 25, 30

Another human turned into stone in chapter 25. This time it's a man who after serving a god, who was dressed as a beggar, beer and coca, was frozen to stone.[125] Like the women above, after turning into stone he too was then worshiped by the people as a huaca. He or the huaca-stone was destroyed later by the priest Avila. However, until this destruction, people expected him to influence their life positively in return for their offerings. And so they did in the next example in chapter 30. After discussing the water distribution of a spring the man Anchi Cara and the woman Huayllama fell in love and decided to stay forever together and then turned into stone. They too were worshiped until the times of the manuscripts creation.[126] There are more such stone-turning examples in the text. This seems to be a very common notion or idea in Andean religion. As all of them were worshiped as villcas or huacas I will discuss them further down as a phenomenon or expression of Andean belief, separate from the preconceptions about "normal" human afterlife.

Chapter 27

In chapter 1, we are told about people, who would come back after five days of death and that with the appearance of Paria Caca, this stopped. Chapter 27 describes the reason, why people stopped coming back. I believe that it provides key elements which can help us to understand parts of the afterlife concepts of the described Andean culture. At the same time, the text shows influences of Spanish terms which calls for special attention and careful analysis. In order to facilitate the understanding for the reader, I cite here a large part of the myth.

> In very ancient times, they say, when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.
>
> The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"
>
> When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."[127]

After a short paragraph which discusses whether the dead would go to Paria Caca or Yauri Llancha, the story continues with:

> The dead used to come back after five days. When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

[125] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 125.
[126] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 134.
[127] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

> When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoiced immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.
>
> They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"[128]

The next two paragraphs tell about the misery people were living in, due to overpopulation, and that one man didn't come back in time. His family got angry with him when he arrived first on the sixth day. The following paragraph describes the action of his wife and the consequences.

> In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.
>
> The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.
>
> Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.[129]

The term for spirit in the original text is *animanri* which is derived from the Spanish word anima. Therefore, even though as Europeans we have an understanding of what a spirit could be, I cannot interpret the word in the same way, as I would do when it appears in a Western European context. However, there is a description of this concept. It has the size of a fly and makes "Sio!" when flying away. Salomon takes the possibility into account that it could refer to the Quechua term *upani,* which describes a "light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person."[130] That would certainly match the description of this spirit in the myth. It flew away to Paria Caca or in other stories to Yauri Llancha. Unfortunately, there is no description of what happen at Paria Caca or Yauri Llancha's place. With the thrown maize cob, the time of the returning dead stops and the spirits or the human essence would stay at a god's place.

These are the myths telling stories related to death and afterlife. To summarize the main notions:

- People would come back after five days, in the old days.
- They would go to Paria Caca or Yauri Llancha and then return.
- The concept of the human essence is seen as a fly like object in size and makes a "Sio!" noise.
- After one spirit went back to the god, due to his angry wife, the dead stopped coming back forever.
- For gods or Incas or both, there is a concept of an underworld.

[128] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.
[129] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.
[130] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 129.

- People turned into stone, for different reasons and were worshiped afterwards.

2.2.2 Ritual Texts

Chapter 9

The first ritual dealing with the afterlife is described in chapter 9. In connection with an annually Paria Caca worship, people who had lost a member of their family during the year would stay up in the night before the worship and wail and say: "Tomorrow we'll go and see our dead by Paria Caca´s side!"[131] They also said: "Tomorrow is the day when we'll deliver them there."[132] They offered food to the deceased in that night and prepared their ingredients for the rituals. Then they said: "Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever. They will never come back any more."[133] The following ritual is the sacrifice of a small llama or coca bags. The yancas would then examine the innards of the llama.

> If the signs were favorable, the yanca would prophecy, "Everything is well." If not, he'd say, "It's bad. You've incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well."[134]

This description reveals two major aspects of the life afterlife connection. One is the already mentioned notion in the myth description, that there is an aspect that survives the death of a person and goes somewhere and even has the possibility to come back.[135] We know now that people thought that the deceased is going to Paria Caca. The rituals could be understood as necessary to deliver him or her to the god. People also seem to fear that the deceased would come back which made the rituals even more important, it also presents a certain power of the living over the afterlife. The second aspect is the legacy of the dead. When he had committed any kinds of faults and angered the gods, this would not only affect the deceased somehow, but also the living relatives, who had to expiate and apologize for this transgression. "…lest that fault be charged to you as well."[136]

[131] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.
[132] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.
[133] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 73.
[134] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 74.
[135] This last thought is possible related to the information in the first chapter.
[136] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 74.

Chapter 24

Another concept is described in chapter 24. When people captured a warrior, according to the myth, they would flay his face and make a mask, a so called huayo, out of his skin and bones. The huayo was then used in a dance and hang up the following day together with offerings. People said about this: "The huayos will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha, carrying these things along with them."[137] A prisoner of war was aware of these things and would say:

> Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a huayo out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first.[138]

Again, as for the women who turned into stone and became villcas, or as described in the ritual above connected to the Paria Caca ritual, it is believed that some aspects of a human move on after life. But this time the death is caused by humans and through ritual action the afterlife of the warrior is influenced. Furthermore, the huayo should go where it was born, a "place called Uma Pacha"[139]. This part is puzzling since two paragraphs later a man is described who was known as Uma Pacha who turned into stone. Salomon has two different interpretations for this name. The first understands Uma Pacha as a huaca, but the second interpretation associates the name with high mountain lakes, "… seemingly imagined as sources at which biological vitality is renewed."[140] It is tempting to interpret the second alternative as some kind of heaven to which the soul returns. However, this would be a very Christian conception, and so far I have not found a single hint about any heaven conceptions in the manuscript. It does say that something is going back to where it was born, which is the important clue in this description together with the information about people's ability to influence the afterlife of a human.

Chapter 28

Chapter 28 describes a ritual which also contains a good example for the transition period. It describes how a woman after the death of a family member would wait until the first maggots would leave the corps, pick them up and bring them home. They were seen as the dead spirit or soul of the deceased. The people would feed them, wailing and dancing and afterwards

[137] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 120.
[138] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.
[139] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.
[140] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 121.

bring the maggots "… out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet.""[141] Salomon describes the pre-Columbian Andean tradition of keeping the dead conserved in houses or caves. They were fed and dressed as if they would be alive.[142] This is also mentioned in chapter 11, by the author of the manuscript.[143] When the priest ordered Christian burial, people thought that the dead were starving, because they could not be fed anymore. The manuscript continues to describe the present (early 17th century) tradition to lay cooked food and drinks alongside the churches on All Saints´ Day. This shows that the idea of the dead eating and drinking was still present during Avila's days. For Salomon the ritual described in chapter 28, was probably to "… mitigate anguish about burial."[144] It also confirms Osterhammel who stated that colonialism "seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life …"[145] Instead, as one of four possible reactions to colonialism; he describes the notion of syncretism. Syncretism in the broadest sense is a blending of religious ideas, which is clearly recognizable in this part of the manuscript.

But it creates also another question. When the dead were served as if they would be alive long after they had died what about the spirit concept and the ritual in connection to the Paria Caca ritual? I will discuss it further down.

These are the descriptions of rituals connected to afterlife conceptions. The most significant notions are:

- During Paria Caca worship, people would conduct rituals to send their dead to Paria Caca.
- If the signs revealed faults of the deceased produced during his or her lifetime, they had to be corrected by the living through other rituals.
- These faults could also influence the life of the relatives negatively.
- People could turn other people into objects with supernatural attributes, the huayo-mask.
- These "spirits" were thought to go back to where they were born, Uma Pacha.
- A later ritual describes how women collected maggots and how they were fed as if they would be the deceased.

[141] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.
[142] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.
[143] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 79.
[144] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.
[145] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

2.2.3 Summary

What does the myth and ritual descriptions reveal about afterlife ideas and what can be assumed effects for the lives of the people in Huarochirí?

To phrase this question in a simple way: what is the connection between life and afterlife? Obvious connections of afterlife ideas and life are the described rituals. But what more can be revealed with help of the manuscript? In the following lines I combined the obtained information about rituals and myths in order to answer the questions.

Stone Huacas - Based in the myth texts I would separate the stories about the human who turned into stone from the other stories. Although they reflect the belief that human aspects could survive a transformation into stone and furthermore obtain superhuman abilities, it does present the exception to the rule in many ways. These are descriptions of huacas or villcas, superhuman entities which we might call gods or spirits. As such, even though they have human origins in these stories, they rather constitute characteristics of these huacas and villcas, and not of humans. I will not ignore or exclude the overarching idea of a life after death in these myths; it will have a place in the later discussion. However, all other aspects of these stories are rather placed within a research about superhuman beings in Andean religion.

The Spirit - The story about deceased humans who came back after five days and thus overpopulated the region provides a much more significant clue to afterlife conceptions. Despite differences in these stories, whether the dead would go to Paria Caca or to another deity, an aspect of the deceased went away to a huaca. With the story about the angry wife, who threw a maize cob at her returning husband, the dead stopped coming back. It also tells us that the "spirit" is a fly like object which makes a "Sio!" noise. This conception is also part of a ritual description. We can recognize it in the ritual conducted by a female relative to a deceased. She would pick up small maggots and bring them home as if it would be the spirit of the deceased.

During the Paria Caca ritual season, people would also bring food and drinks for their dead. They thought that the dead would go to Paria Caca and that they had to send him or her off by conducting rituals. This ritual story has similarities to the myth about the returning dead. Here too, the dead is thought to go to a deity. The story also implies a certain fear that the dead would come back; a reminder of the myth about the old days. The ritual description about the huayo-mask contains also the belief that the spirit or some aspect of a warrior is going

somewhere. Here too, the deceased or in this case the killed man is fed. The significant differences are that, the (by ritual action) killed man is transformed into an object with supernatural powers and his spirit would go back to Uma Pacha, a place where he was born, according to the description. This Uma Pacha could be a place or a huaca.

Conserved Dead - It seems that there are two main conceptions which seemingly contradict each other. One is the fly like object (maybe the human essence or spirit) which is going to a deity or place where it was born; the other one is that the physical remains of the dead still contain some form of life, which has to be fed and dressed. Myth and ritual descriptions support both conceptions. We can presuppose that there were variation between the ideas, due to distances of settlements and ayllus to which people belonged. However, Salomon tells us that it was Andean tradition to feed the dead and to keep them in caves or special houses, which is also mentioned by the author of the manuscript. Hence, this behavior applies for the majority and not just for some ayllus. Another uniting factor was the annual Paria Caca festival or worship, in which the majority of the Huarochirí people participated. Hence the conception of the human essence, going to the deity was also widely known. Another indicator for this is the myth about the old days, when the dead would disappear for five days and then came back. It was an old myth which shows similarities to the other myths and rituals. Even when the exact place (e.g. Paria Caca, Uma Pacha, and Yauri Llancha) is debated, some aspect of the human is going somewhere. Furthermore, the differences can be explained by the different ayllos, which are described in the chapters 8, 9, 24 and 31.[146] These ayllos have different founders in their creation myths and it is probably therefore that the dead are going to different huacas or places.

Christian Influence - There is no clue in the manuscript which could illuminate this contradiction between conserved dead and spirit like conceptions. We have to work with both ideas in creating a picture of Huarochirí society. One of these conceptions was clearly compatible with Christian notions of the soul; which is going somewhere after the physical death. The other one clearly presents a problem for the native people. As they were forced to bury their dead for the first time, they could no longer be fed and people feared they would starve and had a miserable afterlife or even got angry. Feeding the dead was an important aspect as they also fed them during the Paria Caca worship. The consequence was a ritual which, according to Salomon and I agree with him, was conducted in order to relieve the

[146] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 117, 136.

living from their anxieties. In time, people considered the churches and connected burial places as sufficient enough, to leave food and drinks for the dead. I assume that this was done at first shortly after the burial of a relative, and later, with growing Christian power, on the All Saints´ Day, to hide their non-Christian beliefs. It also confirms parts of Osterhammel's theory, in which he describes the notion of syncretism due to colonialism.

Chapter nine describes a ritual in which the priests detected faults of the deceased, which could be harmful for the dead and the living relatives. The concept of the Christian sin could be explained to the natives by referring to the theoretical aspect of the ritual. However, important is the idea, that one could attract punishment in the afterlife by breaking certain rules in the lifetime. This is often a good motivation to follow religious rules, when the religion contains the idea of an afterlife plus included punishment for transgressions.

Summarized, life in Huarochirí was influenced by three major concepts related to death:

1. Conducting the correct rituals to send one aspect of the dead to a supposed final destination;
2. taking care of the physical aspect of the dead by feeding and conserving them;
3. living according to the religious rules to omit punishment for oneself in the afterlife and for the relatives.

The first two points required resources. As described, people had to offer certain things, according to their abilities. Especially the second point meant making a repeated effort at certain times in a year. The physical aspects of the dead were regularly presented in the society and had to be taken care of. The third point is similar to other religions. Behave in this life, so you won't get in trouble in the next. Unfortunately, there is no description of transgressions which counted as serious faults, something that would have consequences after death.

A last element in this inquiry has to be mentioned. The Christian influence had already changed religious behavior of the natives to a great extent; it will be closer discussed in the next part. Yet, with the knowledge about these stories and rituals, people in Huarochirí were still conscious about the described aspects of afterlife ideas. The continuous preparation of food for the dead is an evidence for ongoing belief in these ideas. That these prepared offerings were now placed on churches supports the theory of Osterhammel. Syncretism was

one of four possible reactions to colonialism and cultural encounters.[147] I assume that afterlife concepts are amongst the last religious aspects that change due to certain circumstances, since they are very essential to most religions. As it will be pointed out and discussed in greater detail further down, people in Huarochirí were not simultaneously converting to the new belief nor were they simultaneously refusing it. Most people lived in between both religions. Given the importance of the afterlife concepts, they were amongst the last that changed and therefore were still prominent to most in this transition society.

2.3 Worship Freedom and Obligation

Some obligations are already discussed in the previous chapter, now I will search for further obligations and also freedoms recognizable in the text. In order to do so I need another criterion within this content analysis; this is the purpose and schedule of a ritual. Whenever a ritual was conducted in order to pursue a certain private goal, the act is classified by me as a sign of personal freedom when it also was outside of any possible religious schedules; i.e. when a person decided to do it on her own. To understand what sustained an obligation in worship it is necessary to explain the term itself and what an obligation could be in the Andean context. [148]

2.3.1 Obligation

At this point I want to explain, what I mean with obligations in the essay's context. The Oxford Dictionary gives a definition of the term obligation which mirrors my understanding and therefore is here repeated:

1. An act or course of action to which a person is morally or legally bound; a duty or commitment"
2. "The condition of being morally or legally bound to do something"
3. "A debt of gratitude for a service or favour"
4. "A binding agreement committing a person to a payment or other action[149]

[147] Described above in the chapter Colonialism Theory, 22-28.

[148] As some descriptions reveal information about men or women involvements during rituals and others don't, I will not try to evaluate the general gender relationship in Huarochirí. For ritual descriptions with specific information about gender roles, I will make some statements but won't use them for a generalized picture of this religious culture.

[149] www.oxforddictionaries.com. Accessed April 28, 2014. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/obligation.

Two aspects in this definition are important to highlight. The first one is the expression "morally or legally bound". Transgressions of moral rules and laws are followed by consequences, if they are detected. There might be minor consequences as e.g. a disappointed, sad relative, but they can also be major ones, as e.g. severe punishment up till death penalty. Therefore, obligations imply consequences, when disregarded. The second aspect is "A debt of gratitude for a service or favor". This is the attribute of the Andean and Inca society par excellence, reciprocity, and therefore has to be explained in more detail.

2.3.1.1 Reciprocity

Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco[150] described in her book the system of reciprocity in the Inca and Andean cultures. She feels obligated not to use the word empire in connection with the word Inca, because in many ways the realm of the Incas is utterly different from our Western European understanding of the term empire. One reason for this is the system of reciprocity. The Inca (ruler) had no absolute power and was bound to give his fellow allies gifts and presents which represented roughly the same value as the requests of the Inca. He asked the other Andean lords e.g. for soldiers, which he needed to defend his realm and to occupy the next lordship or area. He also needed worker for mining, agricultural activities and the building of state roads, which are amongst the few similarities to the classical empires, like the Roman or the Mongol Empire. For all these requests he had to pay with gifts, and the alliances were renewed annually; which was in the end, due to the expanding empire and the constant rising of costs for organizing and ruling, a factor for the decline of this power in the Andean world.[151]

Yet, the system of reciprocity was not a characteristic bound only to the Inca ruler and upper classes in Andean society. Even between and in the ayllos, reciprocity was reality.[152] A favor for a favor, even between families and this system did not end there. Religious sacrifice described throughout the manuscript shows this pattern of reciprocity. People offered and expected something in return.[153]

[150] Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca.*
[151] Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca,* 36-47.
[152] Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca,* 36-47.
[153] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, e.g. 71, 116, 135.

2.3.1.2 Obligation and Consequences

When ignored, obligations promise consequences. In the Huarochirí manuscript, I found several examples for what believing people expected by transgressions or unfulfilled religious obligations. In chapter 13 the worshiper would ask the huacas, when someone of his kinship got sick:

> Oh llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
> It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?[154]

These lines clearly reveal the thoughts of the believer; because of his sin, a beloved family member got ill. I will come back to this example further down, because the same chapter provides evidence for personal freedom in worship.

I also mentioned another clue in the chapter above (afterlife). On Paria Caca worship festival, people would feed their deceased relatives and offered a llama to the priests, who would scrutinize the innards of the animal in search for any signs of sins. Identified sins or faults would have to be corrected by the family by conducting special rituals. In chapter 20[155] of the manuscript I found a description of how people first stopped to worship their huacas due to Spanish Christian pressure and later started again after a great plague of measles swept the area. People associated the disease with the anger of the huaca Llocllay Huancupa; a punishment for denied worship obligations. In the same chapter, the author described how the people even before the Spanish invasion thought that Llocllay Huancupa was angry and disappeared because of insufficient worship. People reacted with even stronger worship efforts and the huaca returned. The descriptions in chapter 20 match the characteristics of the Taki Onqoy movement which I described above. The author of the manuscript doesn't mention this name but there is a striking resemblance between his story and the Taki Onqoy descriptions by Spalding.[156]

In chapter 19[157] there is an example which also reveals the mindset of the people in Huarochirí. The child of Paria Caca Maca Uisa, which served the Inca and defeated his

[154] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 85.
[155] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 101-106.
[156] Spalding, *Huarochirí: an Andean society,* 246,247.
[157] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99.

enemies, was taken to Limca and worshiped there after the Spanish occupation. People in Limca became wealthy, up to the point that other people got envious of Limca and the curaca of another place Don Juan Puypu Tacma ordered the priest of Maca Uisa to bring him to Llacsa Tambo. People obviously connected the wealth with the huaca Maca Uisa.

These are examples which describe how people in Huarochirí connected wealth or despair with their worship of the huacas. It was the constant offering to the huacas and the returned favors which constituted the religious reciprocity, which resulted in non-negotiable obligations. A break of this circle of give and take was a serious matter and this is the first clue for answering the second question of the essay's aim.

2.3.2 Obligated worship

According to the manuscript, there were three great worship festivals in every given year; the already mentioned Paria Caca worship festival called Auquisna[158], the Chaupi Namca worship festival called Chaycasna[159], and the Tutay Quiri worship festival called Chanco[160]. These festivals were mainly dedicated to the huacas but had also additional purposes, e.g. in connection with Chanco they also ask for rain[161] and during the worship of Chaupi Namca they danced for a new fertile season[162], and aside from Auquisna they took care of their dead, as described above. Even if I evaluate the participation in these worship festivals as obligated, the manuscript offers no hint as to what happen if people wouldn't participate. Of course, the religious mind could understand an absence from important annual rituals as dangerous, since this worship was about protection, rain, fertility and other life-sustaining elements. However, I cannot make a statement to any punishments, which would be another proof for a force behind worship obligations. Belief in divine punishment might be the only plausible explanation in this context, but it is also a very sufficient one.

As for the great festival worships, people were not just offering to a huaca, they were also wishing things for themselves. During Auquisna, they held a race to the worship place and the first who would arrive with his llama received special blessings and good predictions for the

[158] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.
[159] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.
[160] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.
[161] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 80.
[162] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

near future. "The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him."[163] During another festival, called Machua, people were throwing spears on two effigies which presented a male and a female. Hitting the target on a certain spot, the thrower was permitted to give a llama to the yanca and said: "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha."[164] I mentioned Uma Pacha in the afterlife chapter. To this place or huaca a prisoner of war was supposed go back, after he was made into a mask. During the Machua festival, this Uma Pacha was clearly a huaca, since people worshiped him. More importantly is the aspect of the competition in Machua and Auquisna. People would compete by racing each other or by spear throwing, to enhance their chances of getting their wishes fulfilled or higher blessings. This is a personal aspect during the worship of the great huacas, but it is an addition to the whole obligated festival and not the main focus.

The content of the manuscript indicates that, people in Huarochirí were forced by their culture of reciprocity to participate in worship and thereby rituals. To refrain oneself from rituals could mean personal despair in the future, as the huacas would punish or refuse to give necessary favors (e.g. rain, fertility or protection).

2.3.3 Freedom in Worship

There are examples for worships, which people conducted according to their own will. One such example is described in chapter 10.

> There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a huaca named Rucana Coto.[291] Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, "It'll get big."[165]

I count that as a freedom in worship. I assume that the initial motivation came from the man, if I restrict myself from the idea that his wife had sent him there. Even in this case I would count it as a personal choice to invoke the huaca, although the choice would be made by the wife. As this example further implies, particular problems were not covered by the official huaca worship during the festivals. Or at least the believer evaluated them as insufficient and could therefore implore minor huacas and ask them for help.

[163] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.
[164] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 123.
[165] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.

I already mentioned chapter 13 above, and the worship held because of sins and resulting illnesses. It is a description of two huacas, which according to the author were sisters to Chaupi Ñamca. Their names were Llacsa Huato and Mira Huato. The manuscript tells us that people would not implore them according to an annual schedule, but visited them when they had personal reasons to do so, or just "… to have their presence noticed, saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim."[166] Another already mentioned example is the making of the mask, the so called huayo, described in chapter 24. It appears to be a freedom to transform a war prisoner into a sacred mask. But the text is not clear on this point. It could have been a cultural tradition which was not based on personal desires. Rather the community was involved in motivating the sacrifice, because the group was at war and needed every kind of support on their side. This ritual can be seen as standing between freedom and obligation. What at first glance looked as a simple example for personal freedom turns out to be much more complex. I included this example here in the interest of the picture I try to create, which should be as exhaustive and accurate as possible.

There are many more illustrations of obligations with regard to rituals in the text than there are freedoms. This in itself is already a statement for a society with little personal freedom in worship. But I will give one last example of freedom, described right in the beginning of the manuscript. It is a description of the old days and the author intended to demonstrate the similarity in character between two huacas (Vira Cocha and Cuni Raya), which are named in the chapter. One can read what the ancients did:

> And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves on the ground, talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,
>
> Help me remember how,
>
> Help me work it out,
>
> Cuni Raya Vira Cocha![167]

"Even though they couldn't see him", could mean that this ritual was performed away from the huaca. A small offer of coca leaves and a prayer to the huaca constituted a personal ritual which was intended to help the performer. The idea of invoking a huaca for personal reasons is noticeably as in the former examples. But since it was the only example in the whole

[166] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 86.
[167] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 45.

manuscript describing such a behavior (worship away from the huaca), which is also explicitly connected to the "ancients", it have to be used with care in the later conclusions.

In the framework of the religion described in the Huarochirí Manuscript, people were bound to scheduled worship festivals which they couldn't omit. However, certain huacas were available for personal rituals, conducted at times which seemed appropriate for the believer.

2.3.4 Worship Reality in early 16th century

Most traditions and worships described above, relate to a time when the people in Huarochirí were still used to perform them without the shadow of a Spanish presence. The author wrote often at first about the old times and would then add information about the contemporary situation. The old time could have been, pre-Inca or pre-Spanish but also as e.g. in the chapters 9, 20, and 24 the time before and after Avila's appearance and work in the region; hence old time from the author's point of view could mean twenty years ago.

Previously, information from the manuscript was used in research to create a picture of Inca society and even pre-Inca society; as I mentioned above. Yet, one should not forget that these ritual descriptions are collected in 16th / 17th century and therefore people in Huarochirí knew about them. What is even more interesting, based on the information from the sources they continued to perform rituals according to their tradition and more importantly so, according to their belief system. A good example (already described above) is described in the chapters 19[168] and 23[169]; a myth is told about the origins and veneration of a huaca Maca Uisa, the son of Paria Caca. His story begins in the Inca times. The Inca Tupay Ynga Yupanqui requested support from his huacas in a war campaign, and Maca Uisa agreed to help him. After the Spanish invasion, this huaca was transferred to the town Limca, and later from there to Llacsa Tambo, where people would offer to him. The author started his story with the origins of a huaca in past times and ended with statements about his contemporary times. Both, the history of the worship itself and the statements about the actual worship situation constitute a significant element which contributes to the understanding of this culture. What follows is a complementation of the examples given above in this chapter with the commentaries of the author of the manuscript who describes, if, how, and when people would perform these rituals.

[168] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99,100.
[169] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 114.

The manuscript tells us that the great worship festivals were rescheduled to coincide with Christian worship occasions. Auquisna, the Paria Caca festival, was celebrated after the invasion at or around Corpus Christi.

> Nowadays the Auquisna season … comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to … [Corpus Christi] the great pasch or actually coincides with it. All huacas, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.[170]

Similarly, Chaycasna, the festival of Chaupi Ñamca, was also scheduled around Corpus Christi. The huacsas had to perform dances during these and other festivals and the author in describing and thereby proving the continuous existence of traditional Andean worship in early 17th century, tells us about further festival periods.

> We know people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.[171]
>
> Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés, they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.[172]

In connection with an annual canal cleaning a ritual was performed by the Cupara people in the village of San Lorenzo, which ended with the participation of all communities around the village. It shows that some people still perform the ritual and others don't. According to Salomon, the "good padre" named in the quote is most probably Avila as the author expected him to read the text.

> In fact today people who are in the know about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they would fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.[173]

In connection with another ritual, regarding a huaca called Anchi Cara and his children, people would offer some coca leaves and then perform a more complex ritual involving a

[170] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 72.
[171] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.
[172] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 78.
[173] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 65.

llama sacrifice. The author tells us that they still perform these rites today, even if modified. "In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don't have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have."[174]

Describing a divine command, the author tells us about a ritual which involves coca producer. In the following quote, the author repeats the speech of the huaca Paria Caca to his son Chupui Huampo, who because of a fight with another huaca had a broken foot and volunteered to stay on a certain place in order to keep watch.

> He gave his command; "All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its eartips and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten." … They carry on the customs secretly to this day.[175]

Another example describes how some people, although Christian on the surface would still invoke the old gods.

> Some people, although they´ve become Christians, have done so only out of fear. "I'm afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I've been," they think.
>
> Although the say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty illa amulet everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.[176]

A similar example expresses how people adjusted to the new times.

> Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn't yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have said, "The Spaniards also give food to their dead, to their bones, on All Saints´ Day, they do feed them. So let's go to church. Let's feed our own dead."[177]
>
> In Huaro Cheri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints´ Day, "Let's leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church" and they cook up some warm potatoes and pieces of jerky well seasoned with red pepper, and also toasted maize […][178]

The last two examples describe a change in rituals which I will discuss further down in the next chapter. For now, their purpose is to finish the inquiry about actual worship performances during Avila's times and to show that some Andean worship traditions, even if

[174] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 135.
[175] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 69
[176] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 74.
[177] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.
[178] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 131.

changed, were continued in some ways. I believe I could show that there is sufficient proof for the continued worship during the transformation times in Peru.

The examples above confirm Osterhammel. We recognize syncretism but also the powerful influence of the Catholic Church and the priests, as people hid their belief and disguised it. There is however, no information about employed force or violence by the church. This is explained by the purpose of the manuscript and its creation circumstances.[179] Osterhammel stated that the Catholic Church in Spanish colonies was "a powerful instrument of cultural penetration"[180] which I described above in the chapters 1.3.5 (Authorship of the Huarochirí Manuscript) and 2.1 (The Christian Case).

To make a sincere statement about worship freedoms and obligations of natives during the transition period in Huarochirí required elucidating several aspects. These are the force behind obligations, examples of rituals which are obligated and those which were performed due to one's own will, the "original" performance of the rituals, and the actual (late 16th and early 17th century) performance. The Christian influence is recognizable in many examples given above. Festivals were rescheduled and their dates matched with the celebration of official Christian events. People would hide their belief in huacas by performing Andean rituals secretly or even paying old people to perform rituals for them. Another aspect worth consideration is the geography of Huarochirí.[181] The invaders couldn't cover the vast area of the Andes at once, even seventy years later this was not possible. Remote and isolated locations complicated the missionary work of the priests. Therefore, the Spanish concentrated groups of people in new founded towns in easily accessible places.[182] They also punished groups of people which disobeyed the Christian rules and resettled and concentrated them in new settlements. "In extremen Fällen kam es in Peru zur Umsiedlung, oder auch, je nach den Gegebenheiten, Konzentration der Bevölkerungsgruppen, die sich schuldig gemacht hatten."[183] Yet, as shown in the manuscript, people continued with different intensity to perform Andean rituals.

[179] As described above in chapter 1.3.
[180] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 96.
[181] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 11,12.
[182] Prem, *Geschichte,* 98.
[183] Prem, *Geschichte,* 100.

2.3.5 Summary

With the beginning of my research efforts, I predicted an answer which could be produced by simply adding information extracted from the text. However, the analysis revealed a very complex nature of the culture during the transition period. People had just lost parts of their ancestor traditions but hadn't been fully Christianized yet. In other words, people still performed original Andean rituals, while they also started to practice Christian rituals. Moreover, the word "some" should be included, because some people still performed Andean rituals, some already performed only Christian rituals, and some did both. Furthermore, with regard to the question about freedoms and obligations, some people, had to respond to the huacsa and yanka orders in accordance with their old tradition and the system of reciprocity, while others were forced by church officials to partake in their rituals, and again and I believe based on the results of the analysis, a majority were tied up in both religions.

These results left me with the conclusion of the impossibility of a statement about freedoms and obligations of an individual in a narrow sense. However, it is possible to describe and thereby understand in which situation people during the transition period were. The ancient system of reciprocity which constituted the ritual obligations to a high degree was still a custom for many. With the examples above, I described how people still performed rituals, how they changed some rituals and even paid others to satisfy their ancient obligations at least to some extent. Many annual customs as e.g. the Paria Caca festival were disguised as Christian events, in order to keep their tradition alive. Overall, obligation came from both sides, from the Christian and the Andean original religion. I assume that the obligation to conduct Andean rituals was partly broken when the local huacsas and yankas were imprisoned or worse. It meant also that people were left to deal with their convictions by themselves. In that case, the original priestly guidance was gone and the natives would precede or stay away from Andean ritual, depending on the intensity of their belief. It was strong, as some examples show us, but with ongoing Christian education and passing time, the intensity faded more and more. On the other hand, disappearing Andean worship obligations were replaced by Christian obligations. The same could be said about worship freedoms in this period. There are described rituals which were performed according to one's own will, needs and desires; but with increasing Christian pressure, they were less and less conducted. And of course, Christianity offered its own way of dealing with personal crises and wishes, you simply just had to pray. Plus, there were also Christian rituals, which promised to liberate from sins.

chaymi ciclla

ahaylle

(This is the blossom! Victory!)

3 Conclusions

In the previous parts I scrutinized religious elements in the culture in Huarochirí in the late 16th and early 17th century, as they are described in the Huarochirí manuscript. The results of these inquiries are now forged into a picture which should describe characteristics of indigenous Andean religion. The first characteristic was the concept of the afterlife and resulting consequences for the living. I revealed two basic notions within afterlife thoughts. People believed in a fly like object that contained the essence or soul of the deceased. They also believed that this object would return to the place or huaca from which it came. This also implies that people might have thought of this object as coming from this huaca or place when a human was born. But there is no statement about such thoughts in the text. The second important aspect of the afterlife concept was the preparation of the dead. The physical part of the dead would be dressed and fed regularly and lived (from a native believer point of view) in caves or special dead houses. The contrast between the fly like object and the physical remains is obvious. One can speculate if the fly like object is the life force of the humans which returns to the deities with the death of a person; and the body is left without physical powers but still contains a transcendent aspect which consists of the person's characteristics and supernatural powers. But the manuscript doesn't give further information which leaves this speculation without any support. But another thought is well described. People had rules which, when broken, could lead to misery and bad fortune. What these rules looked like is unclear and not discussed in the scripture. But accurately performed rituals as well as ancestral care belonged surely to a possible list of rules with prohibitions and commandments. While this has to be *concluded* based on the information in the text, *there are* descriptions for people, fearing the consequences of committed sins, regardless if they or the deceased inflicted them. It followed that rituals were performed in order to redeem oneself and the

deceased. Finally, I have to emphasize again that in late 16th century the society was not unanimous in keeping the Andean faith. Some natives were already committed to Christian belief, while some people still performed rituals of their ancestors, and as I wrote above, some did both.

Freedoms and obligations in worship were the theme for the next part of my analysis. I concluded that people in Huarochirí during the transition period were affected by the changing religious system and that obligations and freedoms shifted from huaca to Christian religion. As the Catholic Church forcefully demanded worship for the Christian god, the huacsa and yanca influence was diminished and believers were to some extent prevented from worshiping the Andean deities in the old fashion way. As shown above, the manuscript contains a number of examples which proves the continuation of huaca worship, and Andean religious traditions existed parallel with the Christian supremacy. Originally, this Andean worship was sustained by the system of reciprocity. It was imprinted in the culture and everyone was part of it; from the king to the beggar, from the human to the god. Life sustaining deeds from the huacas had to be paid with offerings and worship.

As the performance of these rituals became more and more dangerous, people responded with hiding their belief and religious performances. Major worship festivals were rescheduled, to disguise traditional worship with Christian celebrations. Other rituals were disguised as a festival for the completed cleaning of a water canal, or the dead were fed on All Saint's Day by storing food and drinks on the churches and graveyards. I also presented some cases of voluntary rituals, performed in order to be helped, blessed or guided. The wish for a penis enlargement is surely a personal desire. With growing pressure of Christianity, these rituals surely had to be hidden or disguised as well. However, in the same way as the obligations were shifting from huaca to the Christian god worship, freedoms were shifting too. Natives could now pray to God and ask him for protection or other things, whenever they desired it. Overall, worship freedoms and obligations existed in pre-Spanish times as well as thereafter. But worship obligations in connection with the huaca religion had a greater economic impact, as people had to prepare food, drinks and other offers. With regard to this aspect, Christian worship meant theoretically an improvement. Practically, based on the example of Avila, it was often the opposite. The Christian priests expected payment from the locals and support for their personal income and church related projects. The greed of some priests had nothing to do with religion, but in order to satisfy it, they used religion and their position as religious leaders within society. In the end, it seems to me that to sacrifice a llama or two in a year, or

whatever was economically possible, was not at all as costly as the greed of some Catholic Priests. Combined with the beginning colonialism and general exploitation of the natives, worship obligations probably doubled at first for those who practiced both religions. But with growing Christian pressure huaca worship decreased further and became a lesser aspect in people's lives.

Osterhammel barely mentioned the colonial efforts of the Spanish in South America and when writing about the Spanish chose the example of Central and North America. But his theoretical frame for colonialism can be applied for the Andean case. Osterhammel wrote that colonial influence "seldom led to a complete collapse of pre-colonial cosmologies and ways of life, but always to its "destructuring" into fragments or at least to a challenging of cultural values..."[184] This statement is validated by the examples above, ritual behavior in Huarochirí didn't just vanish, it changed, was syncretized with the new belief; it simply adapted to the new life circumstances.

The existence of the manuscript and how it was used by the church is one proof to Osterhammel's statement that the Spanish interfered in indigenous culture to a high degree, which is one possible colonial behavior, according to Osterhammel.

Osterhammel further described the notion to manipulate native symbols to facilitate conquests of unknown lands. It becomes clear in the manuscript that this manipulation was also practiced after the conquest in order to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. I gave the example of Don Christóbal, who fought an evil demon, which was previously venerated by the natives as the huaca Llocllay Huancupa.

To my understanding the Huarochirí Manuscript, with its contained information as well as its creation circumstances and purposes, is a valuable source for knowledge about Andean life in the transition period in 16th and 17th century. With help of Osterhammel's theory I was able to place my work in a wider theoretical frame which supported the validity of my results.

3.1 Discussion

Overall, based on the Huarochirí Manuscript it is possible to elaborate a picture of religious cultural aspects in this Andean region. Yet, although the stories present accurate descriptions

[184] Osterhammel, *Colonialism*, 95.

of religious myth and rituals, this information alone is insufficient with regard to a complete understanding. Therefore it is necessary to complement the information given in the manuscript with previous research to understand the context of the manuscript's creation and native life circumstances at the time. In previous research, scholars included examinations of other sources from this period. These sources are almost all written from a Spanish or Christian point of view and a tendency within is obvious. But since the motivations behind such tendencies are clear in many cases, these texts can be examined too.

There are uncertainties in this research, which cannot be eliminated. The translation into English, although done with utmost care, contains still doubts about some words or formulations. The Quechua from today is also not the same as in the manuscript and hence presents another obstacle for scholars. Still, I find the translations valid for my very purpose. Some of the stories, whether collected by friendly asking or torturing could be purposely falsified in order to protect a huaca or place of worship. With a qualitative content analysis I did hope to compensate such faults. This, however, gives always room for misinterpretation. To minimize this effect, I incorporated other research. As other research was often conducted over years and complemented with a large number of sources, it was very helpful to establish validity, at least to some degree.

The transition period with regard to religion in Huarochirí ended probably for the most people with the missionary efforts of Avila shortly after 1608 and his lawsuit. Documents reveal his way through the Andes and his trail of destroyed huacas and tortured people. Nonetheless, with regard to traditional worship, people were differently influenced and what ended shortly after the Spanish invasion for some, might have lasted much longer for others. Furthermore, the different expressions for catholic belief recognizable in today's Andes are proof of surviving aspects of pre-Columbian traditions. It would be interesting to reconstruct Avila's way through Huarochirí and to follow this trail to find out if some of the old traditions, described in the manuscript, survived the last 400 years. Are there huacas transformed into lucky charms, or little so called superstitious rituals, which have their origins in huaca worship? Is there perhaps a deep rooted distrust towards church and government officials still recognizable in regions with high percentage of Native Americans, or maybe not? Are there political movements influenced by the idea of huaca worship revival, resembling Taki Onqoy?

One of the reasons for this essay was to collect information about the Peruvian past in preparation for my upcoming master thesis. However, it is easy to theorize about another culture from an armchair perspective, as many 18th century orientalist desktop warriors proved. Their work, highly recognized in western society, and still influential to some extent today, was describing religious phenomena based on texts which had often little to do with true religious life. But the Huarochirí Manuscript seeks to describe worship reality and not theological thoughts of religious elites. Hence, I do feel prepared to enter the Andean world and looking forward to meet the descendants of the huaca culture.

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Appendix

Ayllu

As Salomon, Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz and Prem emphasize, there is no exact scientific definition or description of an ayllu yet. So far one can assume that it was a group of people, who were connected to each other (most probably by blood relation), who owned the right to cultivate their own land or exploited other productive resources, or even were specialized in different crafts (e.g. silversmithing). They probably had their own huacas and villcas and specialists for religious rituals. More than one ayllu could exist in one village and they are also seen as the lowest form of political power in the Andean precolonial society.[185]

Huaca

It is interpreted by Salomon as superhuman being and also used in connection with religion, as in huaca religion.[186] Described by Salomon: "A huaca was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrob, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightening."[187] People sacrificed to the huacas but also created new ones by burning children and youths alive or by mummifying their dead leader or high ranked officials.[188]

Villcas

Salomon has no clear interpretation of the word villca. It could be a human who by achievement or marriage enters the circles of the huacas. It has a similarity to a contemporary Aymara word, meaning sun or shrine. A mummified ancestor could also be a villca.[189]

Huacsas

Huacsa was a form of huaca priesthood. The title was not hereditary and people were often appointed in a rotary system within an ayllu or kinship. They impersonate the great huacas during festivals and reenact myth.[190]

[185] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 21,22; Dedenbach-Salazar Saènz, "Die Stimmen von Huarochirí," 9; Prem, *Geschichte*, 240,241.
[186] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 16.
[187] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 16, 17.
[188] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 16, 17.
[189] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 46.
[190] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 18.

Yanca

Yancas were also a kind of priesthood but with focus on calendric and technical elements in society. They could also function as oracles or mediators. There office was often inherited and the secrets were passed on from one generation to the next one.[191]

Yunka

Yunka is a term for the costal people, which were, according to the manuscript expelled from their territory in Huarochirí by ancient superhuman beings or folk heroes. They are mentioned in this context on several places in the manuscript.[192]

Curaca

Curaca were probably some kind of lord in Andean society with authority over their territory (e.g. town, village, or valley). The manuscript mentioned several by name, but doesn't give further explanation.[193] In chapter 19 one can read about Don Juan Puypu Tamca the curaca of Llacsa Tambo, who ordered a priest, to bring the huaca Maca Uisa to his town. This reveals a great deal of authority of this curaca.[194]

Checa

The Checa were a collective of ayllus which derived their brotherhood from a common mythology which explained their origins with the emergence of the five Paria Caca aspects; as they were the descendants of one of the Paria Caca components.[195]

Quinti

The Quinti were also a collective of ayllus which derived their brotherhood from the same genealogical myth, which was utilized by the Checa.[196]

[191] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 18.
[192] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 83.
[193] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 18.
[194] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 99.
[195] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 20.
[196] Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 20, 79.

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RALPH L. ROYS

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BY

RALPH L. ROYS

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PREFACE

Among the various avenues of approach to the investigation of Maya civilization, the study of the native literature of Yucatan is, next to the actual archæological exploration of the remains, one of the most promising, for it contains much of what the Indians remembered of their old culture after the Spanish Conquest.

The Books of Chilam Balam form the most important part of this native Maya literature. Written in the Maya language, they reflect more closely the thought of these Indians than any other records that have come down to us. Not only do they contain a wealth of historical and ethnological information invaluable to the student of the pre-Columbian career of the Maya, but they also furnish a record of the reactions of the native mind to the European culture and of the manner in which the latter was adapted to suit its new environment. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the value of these old texts to the linguistic student.

The translation of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel depends primarily upon the reading given to the badly punctuated and often misspelled Maya text, and such a reading is based upon an extensive comparison with other similar texts. The difficulties of translation are not to be underestimated, but they can be greatly lessened by such a comparison.

That I have been able to avail myself of the assistance afforded by the manuscripts of the Berendt Linguistic Collection, so often referred to in these pages, is due to the collaboration of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and to the kindness of Dr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Director, who has supplied me with the necessary photostats. Professor Alfred M. Tozzer, whose previous extensive survey of Maya literature was the indispensable preliminary to the present work, has given cordial assistance; both he and the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology have cooperated generously with the loan of material necessary to the work. Mr. Frans Blom, Director, and the Department of Middle American Research of the Tulane University of Louisiana have kindly loaned photographs of Sixteenth Century Maya documents in their collection, which have proved most valuable in the study of the present text.

Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley has spent much time and thought in going over my manuscript and has offered many valuable suggestions as well as searching out and obtaining related material in Mexico and Yucatan. Mr. Thomas R. Johnson has undertaken the tedious task of copying the drawings in the Chumayel manuscript. Mr. Juan Martínez Hernández has again, as in the past, come to my aid in the elucidation of obscure phrases and badly written

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passages in the Maya text. Linguistic data furnished by Dr. Manuel J. Andrade and ethnological analogies suggested by Dr. Robert Redfield will be found acknowledged elsewhere in this book. The manner of editing the Maya text is that suggested by Professor Otis J. Todd, who has assisted me in adapting the methods of classical scholars to this newer field of endeavor. For a number of the text-figures, Alice P. Roys has made copies from photographs and other reproductions. To Librarian John Ridington and Assistant Librarian Dorothy Jefferd, I am indebted for the many facilities afforded by the Library of the University of British Columbia. Throughout the preparation of this work, Dr. Alfred V. Kidder has given generously of his time and attention to the practical problems involved in the task. To all these I wish to make grateful acknowledgment at this time.

RALPH L. ROYS

March 30, 1932

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THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

By Ralph L. Roys

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THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

INTRODUCTION

The Books of Chilam Balam are the sacred books of the Maya of Yucatan and were named after their last and greatest prophet. *Chilam*, or *chilan*, was his title which means that he was the mouth-piece or interpreter of the gods. Balam means jaguar, but it is also a common family name in Yucatan, so the title of the present work could well be translated as the Book of the Prophet Balam.

During a large part of the colonial period, and even down into the Nineteenth Century, many of the towns and villages of northern Yucatan possessed Books of Chilam Balam, and this designation was supplemented by the name of the town to which the book belonged. Thus the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is named for a village in the District of Tekax, a short distance northwest of the well-known town of Teabo.

This Prophet Balam lived during the last decades of the Fifteenth Century and probably the first of the Sixteenth Century [1] and foretold the coming of strangers from the east who would establish a new religion. The prompt fulfilment of this prediction so enhanced his reputation as a seer that in later times he was considered the authority for many other prophecies which had been uttered long before his time. Inasmuch as prophecies were the most prominent feature of many of the older books of this sort, it was natural to name them after the famous soothsayer.

The Books of Chilam Balam were written in the Maya language but in the European script which the early missionaries adapted to express such sounds as were not found in Spanish. Each book is a small library in itself and contains a considerable variety of subject material. Besides the prophecies we find brief chronicles, fragmentary historical narratives, rituals, native catechisms, mythological accounts of the creation of the world, almanacs and medical treatises. Many such passages were no doubt originally transcribed from older hieroglyphic manuscripts, some of which were still in existence in northern Yucatan as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century.[2] As time went on, more and more European material was added to the native Maya lore. In some of the books not only do we find the ritual of a religion which is a

[1] For particulars concerning Chilam Balam see Appendix D.

[2] Don Juan Xiu of Oxkutzcab possessed such a book in 1689, and Father Avendaño was still able to learn to read hieroglyphic writing before he went to convert the heathen Itzá in 1696. *Cf.* Morley 1920, p. 507; Codex Perez, p. 166; Means 1917, p. 143; Appendix D.

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mixture of the old faith with Christianity, but there are also translations into Maya of Spanish religious tracts and astrological treatises, as well as notes of events which occurred during the colonial period. In two of these books we even find part of a Spanish romance translated into Maya.[1]

The ability of the Maya to write their own language in European script was due to the educational policy of the Spanish missionaries. Although at first they rather admired the Maya for having a graphic system of their own, they were determined to destroy the old manuscripts and eradicate all knowledge of the glyphs from the minds of their converts. The Indians had a great reverence for their hieroglyphic writing which was permeated with the symbols of their old religion, and the friars felt that if they could wipe out this knowledge and substitute for it the European system of writing, it would be an effective means for the complete Christianization of the native population. This should be the easier, since the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was confined to the priesthood and certain members of the nobility. Diego de Landa, afterward bishop of Yucatan, burned twenty-seven hieroglyphic manuscripts at the famous *auto de fe* in Mani in 1562, and although many of the Spaniards severely criticized him for this, there is little doubt that other missionaries followed his example whenever they had the opportunity.

The chiefs and former priests were ordered to send their sons to the schools established by the Franciscan friars, where they were taught to read and write their own language in European letters. Although some of the more promising pupils were taught Spanish, there does not seem to have been any general policy of attempting to impose the language of the conquerors upon the Indians. In the first place such a scheme was plainly impracticable owing to the comparatively small number of Spaniards in Yucatan and, besides, many of the missionaries frankly admitted that they preferred the local officials of the villages in their charge not to know Spanish.[2] This was probably in order that the latter should not complain too frequently of ecclesiastical discipline to the lay officials, who were sometimes at odds with the Franciscans. From a purely educational point of view the schools were a success, for after a time every village had its town clerk who could read and write, as well as many members of the more important native families; but the Spanish settlers complained in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century that many native schoolmasters and choir-masters were still practising idolatry in secret and that idols had even been found in the school-houses.[3]

If such persons as these were not completely reformed, it is hardly surprising to find the successors of the former prophets and priests, the herb-doctors and sorcerers of colonial times, making use of this new and more convenient graphic system of the white man in the pursuit of their ancient

[1] Chilam Balam of Kaua, pp. 99-117; Codex Perez, pp. 31-37.
[2] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, pp. 96-97.
[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, pp. 190, 213.

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professions. After Landa's famous bonfire at Mani, it is needless to say that the surviving hieroglyphic manuscripts were kept concealed, although now and then one of them came to the notice of the Franciscans. Seventy years after the Conquest, Aguilar wrote that "in these they painted in colors the count of their years, the wars, epidemics, hurricanes inundations, famines and other events."[1] It is remarkable that not a single one of these books is known to have survived in Yucatan at the present time, for as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century Avendaño was quite familiar with them. In his account of the visit he made to the heathen Itzá at Tayasal he writes: "At the instant that we landed and I saw the said column and mask,[2] I came to recognize it since I had already read about it in their old papers and had seen it in their *Anahtés*, which they use, which are books of barks of trees, polished and covered with lime, in which by painted figures and characters they have foretold their future events."[3] This was Avendaño's first visit to any of the heathen Maya, and he could only have seen such hieroglyphic books as still survived in northern Yucatan.

A comparison of these descriptions with the existing Books of Chilam Balam shows plainly that many portions of the latter are simply transcriptions of the old hieroglyphic manuscripts into European script. Aguilar mentions one of these early transcriptions which was written in a copy-book and contained an account of the creation of the world. He confiscated this book from a choir-master of the town of Sucopo.[4] As time went on, the transcriptions gradually took the place of the older hieroglyphic books. Fewer people were now able to read the glyphs, and much as the clergy condemned the Books of Chilam Balam, they were not considered such prima facie evidence of the crime of idolatry as was anything written in hieroglyphics. Aguilar also tells us how in their assemblies the Indians read the fables and histories contained in the books. Some of the contents were chanted to the accompaniment of a drum; old songs were sung;[5] and the dramatic representations, the names of which we find listed in the Motul dictionary, were enacted.[6] Cogolludo later wrote of such meetings that "God knows what goes on there, and at the very least many of them end up in drunkenness."[7]

None of the Books of Chilam Balam that have come down to us were compiled earlier than the last part of the Seventeenth Century, and most of them date from the Eighteenth Century. The older ones were probably worn out by constant use. Nevertheless we have Maya legal documents covering almost

[1] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 95 .

[2] *Cf.* p. 102, note 2, of the present work. [3] Avendaño 1696, f. 29 r., Bowditch translation, MS. p. 67.

[4] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 115. *Cf.* p. 98, note 2 of the present work.

[5] At least one such song will be found in Chapter XII of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.

[6] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 98.

[7] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. 4, Chap. 5, translated in Means 1917, p. 14.

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every decade from the year 1557 down to the present time, and a comparison of the language of these with that of the Books of Chilam Balam shows that many passages of the latter were copied verbatim from Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century originals.

At the present time we have photographic reproductions of the Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, Tizimin, Kaua, Ixil, Tekax and Nah as well as copious extracts copied from the Mani and Oxkutzcab manuscripts. The latter were made by Dr. Hermann Berendt and are now in the Berendt Linguistic Collection of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This scholar also made copies of the Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts about sixty years ago, when they were in better condition than when the present photographs were made. Consequently a complete transcription and translation of the texts can only be made with the aid of these copies. Tozzer gives the names of four others known by reputation only: the Books of Chilam Balam of Nabula, Tihosuco, Tixcocob and Hocabá.[1] Genet and Chelbatz give a brief description of a Book of Chilam Balam of Telchac.[2]

Of these books the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts have the greatest value for the study of Maya civilization, although the others are not lacking in interest. The Chumayel was a small quarto volume which appears to have originally consisted of fifty-eight numbered leaves. There are only 107 written pages in the University of Pennsylvania reproduction. Three leaves, numbers 1, 50 and 55, are missing, and there are breaks in the text at these places. The other pages seem to have been blank. The writer has seen only the leather cover, in which a hole had been burned; the book itself had disappeared. A number of the leaves are either torn or have crumbled away along the edges, and some of the pages are badly water-stained in places. Nevertheless the manuscript is very legible on the whole. Although it dates only from the year 1782, the language suggests the Seventeenth Century much more than it does the Eighteenth. The book contains comparatively little of the intrusive European material which predominates in other Books of Chilam Balam written at so late a date. The drawings which illustrate the volume are quite European in character, although many of the ideas which they represent are purely Maya.

Brinton was the first to make a translation of any considerable portion of the Chumayel. Using the Berendt copy of the text, he translated the three chronicles found in Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of the present work.[3] Martínez Hernandez has published his own Spanish translations of these chronicles, also the story of the Last Judgment in Chapter XXIII and the first part of the creation narrative in Chapter X.[4] Tozzer has translated the prophecy of Chilam Balam in Chapter XXIV and the chronicle in Chapter XX.[5] The writer

[1] Tozzer 1921, p. 191. [2] Genet and Chelbatz 1927, p. 42.
[3] Brinton 1882, pp. 152-185. [4] Martínez Hernandez 1912, 1913, 1927, 1928.
[5] Tozzer 1921, pp. 120-135.

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has published translations of Chapters II, IX and XIII,[1] and the entire manuscript has been freely rendered into Spanish poetical prose by Mediz Bolio.[2]

We know from internal evidence that the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was compiled by Don Juan Josef Hoil of that town, as we find his name signed to a notation written in the same hand as the rest of the book and dated 1782.[3] Only a few interpolations added at later dates are written in different hands. Subsequently the book passed into the possession either of a certain unnamed priest or of his secretary, Justo Balam, who inscribed two baptismal records on one of the blank pages in 1832 and 1833.[4] In 1838 Pedro de Alcantara Briceño of San Antonio made a record on the same page that he had purchased the book "in his poverty" for the price of one peso, probably from a priest, although the writing is very indistinct. It is possible that the priest was Don Diego Hoil, the son of the writer. On another blank page[5] the same Pedro Briceño noted that he made a loan of the book. The date here is badly written, but it is probably 1858. Some time during the next ten years it was acquired by Don Audomaro Molina, how or where, we do not know; but the latter stated to Sr. Martínez Hernandez in 1910[6] that he had given it to Bishop Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona. It was already in the Bishop's possession when Dr. Berendt copied it in 1868, and he permitted Teobert Maler to make the first photographs of it in 1887. When Bishop Carrillo died in 1897, the book passed into the hands of Don Ricardo Figueroa, and through the efforts of Sr. Molina it was loaned in 1910 to George B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who photographed it the same year. In 1913 the Museum published the handsome facsimile reproduction from which the present translation is made. The original was returned to Figueroa, in whose house Dr. S. G. Morley saw it in 1913. After Figueroa's death the manuscript was removed in 1915 to the Cepeda Library in Merida, but when Dr. Morley visited the Library in 1918 it had disappeared and its whereabouts is still unknown. As Dr. Morley has already noted, "In view of its doubtful fate, it is nothing short of providential that two photographic copies of it exist, the one made by Maler in 1887, a copy of which is in the Gates collection, and the other made by Gordon in 1910."[7]

The attempt has been made to learn something about Don Juan Josef Hoil, the compiler of the manuscript, from the surviving members of the Hoil family of Chumayel, and although he has not been completely identified, the results of the inquiry are not without interest. The writer is indebted to Sr. Martínez Hernandez of Merida for the following information.

There appears to have been but one Hoil family in Chumayel. The present generation consists of Miguel, care-taker at Uxmal; Alejandro, a brakeman on

[1] Roys 1920, 1922 and 1923. [2] Mediz Bolio 1930. [3] *Cf.* p. 143. [4] *Cf.* p. 144. [5] *Cf.* p. 144. [6] Martínez Hernandez letter, December 30, 1931. [7] Morley 1920, p. 475.

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the Ferrocarriles Unidos de Yucatan; Transito and Valentina, all of whom were born at the village of Xul. After much consultation with the various members of the family, Miguel Hoil reported on February 28, 1928, that their father was Epitacio Hoil, who married Cristina Parra and had a brother, Maximo. The grandfather was Juan José Hoil, married to Felipa Mendoza. He could hardly be the Don Juan Josef Hoil who signed the manuscript in 1782, however. The great-grandfather was Damaso Hoil, the natural son of a Doña Guadelupe Hoil, and married to Narcisa Guemes. From his time down to that of Epitacio the family seems to have lived at Tekax. Doña Guadelupe was the sister of Don Diego Hoil, curate of San Cristóbal. This is a suburb of Merida and was an important Indian parish. which indicates that Don Diego was a man of some learning and considerable importance. This would take us back to about the time when the manuscript was written, but unfortunately our information ceases at this point. It seems likely that the Don Juan Josef Hoil who wrote the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was the father of Don Diego, the curate, and of Doña Guadelupe. A search of the records of the parish of San Cristóbal might be rewarded with the confirmation of Don Diego's parentage. If Doña Guadelupe's natural son, Damaso, was brought up in her father's home at Chumayel, it would be most natural that Damaso should give his own son the name of his maternal grandfather.

As to the manuscript itself, the most probable conclusion from the information which we have is that after Don Juan Josef Hoil's death it passed into the hands of Don Diego and that he was the priest who sold the book to Diego Briceño in 1838.

Needless to say, the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is difficult to translate, although the spelling is better on the whole than that of some of the other manuscripts. As Professor Tozzer has noted, many words are separated arbitrarily into syllables, the same word sometimes being divided in several different ways on the same page.[1] Some passages are logically arranged in paragraphs, which is a great help, but many are not. There is little division of the text into sentences, and a capital letter rarely begins either a sentence or a proper name. Consequently it is necessary to establish a critical text before attempting a formal translation.

The greatest difficulty of all is found in the numerous obsolete words and phrases which occur. It has already been noted that the Chumayel is a compilation made from various earlier works, many of which were probably copied from still older books. This would account for an occasional corrupt text, which can often be rectified from parallel passages or similar stereotyped phrases occurring in the other writings. The meaning of obsolete words and phrases can be learned in three ways. They may be found in the older dictionaries which were written at a time when they were still in use; a more

[1] Tozzer 1917.

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modern Maya expression or even a Spanish word is sometimes substituted in a parallel passage in another manuscript; and when other means fail, the use of the same word or expression in a number of different contexts will cast considerable light upon the meaning. Sometimes the Maya writer of a manuscript will even explain the significance of an obscure term which he thinks his readers might not understand. For an explanation of the many proper names found in the Chumayel, especially those of deities, we are obliged to rely largely on the Spanish source material such as Landa, the Relaciones de Yucatan, Cogolludo, Aguilar and Lizana. This information may be supplemented by the reports of such modern ethnological investigators as Tozzer, Redfield, Thompson and Gann. Many unfamiliar words not found in any Maya dictionary have turned out to be plant-names. These will be found in the Maya medical literature, and a great many of them have been identified by the botanists.[1]

It has been suggested that a modern Maya Indian should be of great assistance in translating these old books, but none of the few efforts which have been made along this line of inquiry have had much success. The vocabulary of the average Indian is limited. Many words are now used with a changed meaning, and he is entirely too ready to resort to a typical *Volks-etymologie* to explain any word which has now passed out of current use. This is evident from the explanations made by natives to the botanists in the case of plant-names composed of obsolete words. The errors of such native derivations are amply demonstrated by the Sixteenth Century Motul dictionary, in which many of these old words are found. Up to the present a little has been done in this respect with the native Maya priests, or *h-menob*, some of whom can still recite a number of the old incantations. Such men would be likely to rely more on tradition than on their own improvised etymology. Dr. Redfield's elucidation of the puzzling name of Ah Muzencab, the bee-god, from the explanation of one of these native sorcerers is an example of the results which may be looked for from this line of inquiry. Needless to say, it is difficult to persuade these native priests to explain their rituals.

Doubts have been expressed in the past as to whether it was possible to translate some of the passages in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. Such scepticism was not unreasonable in view of the limited amount of related material accessible to the student at the time. In more recent years, however, additional manuscripts have been collected, and photographs or photostats have been made of nearly all the Maya writings known to be in existence. The archæological evidence uncovered in the course of the past few years and the reports of modern ethnologists have furnished explanations for a number of the obscure statements found in the Books of Chilam Balam. In view of these facts a translation of these books seems feasible at the present time; but there is little doubt that further search among the archives of Spain

[1] Roys 1931; Standley 1930.

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will bring to light additional reports on the natives of Yucatan, possibly some of the lost source material known to have been written by the early Spanish missionaries. Also the discovery of more Maya manuscripts and the results of further archæological and ethnological investigations should furnish an answer to many of the problems as yet unsolved. Another source of information should be the thorough study of the more closely related languages of the Maya stock. It seems likely that at least some of the obsolete words in the Books of Chilam Balam will be more fully explained by similar terms which have survived in the other languages.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE MAYA TEXT

Like the other Books of Chilam Balam, the Chumayel manuscript is written in the European script which the Sixteenth Century Spanish missionaries adapted to the Maya language of Yucatan. It differs only in a few particulars from ordinary Spanish script. The letters d, f, g, q and r are not employed in writing Maya words, as the sounds which they represent do not occur in Maya. Some Maya writers substituted ij for ii, but neither the Spanish nor the English sound of j appears to be indicated. C is pronounced somewhat like the English k. The other letters have approximately the same sound as in Spanish except for the following, which represent sounds which do not occur in Spanish, *viz.* pp, th, ɔ cẖ and k. The writer is indebted to Dr. M. J. Andrade for the following description:

"These sounds are very familiar to those who have studied the Indian languages of North America, where they are at present represented respectively by the phonetic symbols p', t', ts', tc' and k'. They are the so-called glottalized or fortis sounds. It is difficult to convey an idea of the acoustic effect of these sounds to those who have never heard them. Roughly speaking, it may be said that Maya pp and th are emphatic articulations of Maya p and t, and that a similar correspondence exists between the series ɔ, cẖ, k, and tz, ch, c. A careful enunciation of the k-sound, however, does not affect our ears as a mere emphatic articulation of the Maya c, but that is also the case in other Indian languages in which this sound occurs. In Maya these fortis sounds are not articulated as energetically as in many North American languages, particularly in those of the Pacific coast. On the whole they may best be compared with the corresponding sounds of the Dakota Sioux, although with many Maya speakers they are so weak that the untrained ear can not distinguish them from the unemphatic sounds." [1]

In writing the double vowels, Maya writers are frequently inconsistent, although the compiler of the Chumayel is less so than most of them. They sometimes write them with a single vowel. Of these Dr. Andrade states that the sound is—

"two moras long with a fall in pitch on the second half if it is a double vowel. In current usage there is no articulation of two separate vowels, but a continuous vocalic sound. This throws light, I think, on the discrepancy found in the manuscripts. If

[1] Andrade, letter of January 12, 1932.

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this phoneme was even in earlier times a single vocalic sound with double quantity, we can readily see that the use of two letters for its orthography was somewhat artificial, and in this, as in all artificial spelling, individuals are more likely to make mistakes."

We find in the use of certain letters an inconsistency that is somewhat similar to that found in many of the Spanish manuscripts of the colonial period. Since a consistent notation is desirable in the present edition of the Maya text, the writer has followed that of Pio Perez for which there is precedent among both Maya writers and the Spanish authors of Maya grammars, vocabularies and dictionaries. It is the notation of Beltran, except that he writes p̱ for pp, and of the Motul dictionary, except for the latter's frequent use of ç instead of z. The following tabulation will explain the present writer's method of avoiding the inconsistencies which occur in most Maya manuscripts.

Present edition	*Variants occurring in Maya MSS.*
i (vowel)	i, y
ii (double vowel)	ii, ij
y (semivowel)	y, i, ll· (rare)
u (vowel and semivowel)	u, v
c	c, qu (before e and i, rare)
z	z, ç, s
pp	pp, p̱

Only one abbreviation is generally used in the Maya manuscripts: this is the character y̱, which stands for *yetel*, a word having the double meaning of "with" and "and." A few manuscripts, chiefly legal documents, substitute for this another abbreviation, y̱t, and only rarely is the word *yetel* written out in full. In the present rendition of the Maya text the writer has followed Brinton's example and transcribed this abbreviation just as it is found in the Chumayel manuscript instead of writing out the word in full.

The text of the Books of Chilam Balam is not divided into sentences, and many portions are not separated into paragraphs. Words are frequently wrongly divided into syllables, and proper names rarely begin with capital letters. Inasmuch as an excellent photographic reproduction of the original manuscript of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel has been published by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and is accessible to the student, it has been considered advisable in the present edition to divide the Maya text into such chapters, paragraphs, sentences and words as are called for by the meaning of the subject-matter, and to begin sentences and proper names with capital letters. The method of determining which words are proper names has been discussed elsewhere. The text is often divided into short phrases by colons or dashes. Such punctuation is sometimes inconsistent and even occurs in the middle of a proper name, but it frequently corresponds somewhat to the meaning of the text. For this peculiar system of punctuation, the Maya student is referred to the published reproduction of the manuscript.

We now come to the mistakes found in the manuscript. Juan Josef Hoil was on the whole an unusually careful copyist, and the writer is inclined to

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ascribe most of the errors to his sources. As Professor Tozzer has already noted,[1] these texts are probably copies of copies and have been garbled somewhat in passing from hand to hand. In the Chumayel manuscript a garbled phrase is often accompanied by a vacant space, indicating that the copyist was not able to read all the words of his source at that point. In these cases it is often possible to correct the text from a parallel passage in another manuscript. In the case of such a correction, however, the reader is referred to a foot-note in which the corrected word or phrase is given as it is actually written in the manuscript. Sometimes a passage is obscure because of the omission of a word or phrase. When the latter is supplied from another source, it is enclosed in diamond brackets and its source indicated in a foot-note. In some cases where a parallel passage radically alters the meaning of the text, the alternative reading is given in a foot-note.

In transcribing the photographic reproduction of this lost manuscript, the Berendt copy of the original has been used constantly for comparison. This has been especially helpful in deciphering badly written and faded portions of the text, and is indispensable where the edge of a page has crumbled away after the Berendt copy was made. Missing words supplied from this copy are placed in diamond brackets, and the source is indicated in a foot-note.

Misspelled words constitute another difficulty. Many errors are due to a habit of the Maya writer who often employs the letter ç for z and then occasionally omits the cedilla. Such an omission may completely change the meaning of the word. Another error sometimes found is when the Maya writer has omitted the bar from the p̱ (pp) and c̄h. Often these mistakes in orthography can be corrected from a parallel passage, but occasionally the meaning of the context must be depended upon in the case of an obvious mistake or a slip of the pen. Corrections of orthography are referred to a foot-note in which the word is given as it stands in the manuscript.

It is needless to say that a critical text can be established with much more assurance for those portions of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel for which parallel passages can be found in other manuscripts. Such corresponding passages are not absolutely the same. The phraseology differs slightly. Some contain a certain amount of material omitted by others, and an archaic word or phrase in one may be replaced in another by a more modern expression or sometimes even by a Spanish word. Nevertheless the language is sufficiently similar to indicate that they are drawn from a single original source.

Where the Chumayel narrative is not duplicated elsewhere, we are frequently aided by comparison with other texts of the same general character. This is because the Books of Chilam Balam abound in certain stereotyped phrases often employed in similar contexts. When a portion of such a phrase appears to be garbled and we find the same phrase occurring elsewhere in

[1] Tozzer 1921, p. 112.

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much the same context, we can make the correction with a fair degree of certainty. In any case the garbled phrase will be found in the foot-note, and the reader is at liberty to draw his own conclusions.

As previously stated, all supplied material is enclosed in diamond brackets < >. Any words or letters believed by the writer to be intrusive are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

Certain abbreviations have been employed in the notes to the Maya text. These are to be explained as follows:

Ber.=Copy of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel by Dr. Hermann Berendt.
C=Photographic reproduction of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.
K=Book of Chilam Balam of Kaua. (Gates photostat.)
M=Book of Chilam of Mani. (Berendt copy.)
O=Book of Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab. (Berendt copy.)
T=Book of Chilam Balam Tizimin. (Morley photostat; Maler photograph; Gates photostat.)
Suppl.=Supplied from

In the present rendition of the Maya text it will be seen that marginal notations have been made showing the corresponding page numbers of the University of Pennsylvania Museum reproduction of the manuscript. Inasmuch as some of the earlier commentaries on the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel make references to the actual folio numbers of the manuscript, a correlation of these with the page numbers of the reproduction will be useful. Some of the folio numbers have disappeared, owing to the crumbling away of the corner of the sheet, but the sequence of the text enables us to apply them in the following table.

Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction
Folio <1>	missing	Folio 21	pp. 36-37	Folio 41	pp. 75-76
<2>	pp. 1-2	22	38-39	42	77-78
3	3-4	23	40-41	43	79-80
4	5-6	24	42-43	44	81-82
5	7-8	25	44-45	<45>	83-84
<6>	9-10	26	46-47	46	85-86
<7>	11-12	27	48-49	47	87-88
8	13-14	28	50-51	48	89-90
9	15-16	29	52-53	49	91-92
10	17-18	30	54-55	<50>	missing
11	19-20	31	56-57	51	pp. 93-94
12	21-22	32	58-59	52	95-96
13	23	33	60-61	53	97-98
14	24-25	34	62-63	54	99-100
<15>	26	35	64-65	<55>	missing
16	27	36	66-67	Unnumbered	p. 101
17	28-29	37	68-69	56	pp. 102-103
18	30-31	38	70-71	57	104-105
19	32-33	39	72	58	106-107
20	34-35	40	73-74		

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TEXT

I

(THE RITUAL OF THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS)

u chun u ui<ni>cil Ah Canule. Ix zac <uaxim,[1] ix> culun <cha>cah[2] yixmehen pa<zel> . . . <ek>[3] u pazel y<ax>um[4] u chu<n> u uinicil <Cauiche>.[5]

Yahau ah nohol u chun u uinicil Ah Noh<Ix>-Kan-tacay u kaba u chun u uinicil A<h> Puche. Bolonppel yoc haa u cananmaob, bolonppel uitz u cananmaob.

Chac tok tun u tunil Ah Chac Mucencabe. Chac imix yaxche u ɔulbal, yan ti lakin. Chacal pucte u cheob. Ix chac ya . . . Ix chac ak bilob. Chac ix kanɔulen yulumoob. Ix chac oppool yiximob.

Zac tok tun u tunil, u tunil ti xaman. Zac imix yaxche u ɔulbal Zac Mucencab. Ix sac tan yulumob, zac ib yibilob, zac ixim yiximob.

Ek tok tun u tunil ti chikin. Ek imix yaxche u ɔulbal. Ix ek hub yiximob. Ix ek chuch iz yizilob. Ix ek ucum yulumob. Ek akab chan u nalob. Ix ek buul u buulob. Ek ib yibilob.

Kan tok tun u tunil u nohol imix <ya>xche. Kan imix yaxche u ɔulbalob. Kanal pucte u cheob. Ix kan pucte yizilob. Ix kan pucte ucum yulumob. Ix kankan nal u nalob. Ix kan pach u buul[l]ob cah . . . /cu- p.2 C
<ch>ob[6]

Buluc Ahau u katunil uc<hc>i [7]u pach cuchob.Ca hoppi <u> talel ah ppiz <lum>.[8] Lay Ah Ppizte, yah ppi<zul u>[9] lubob.Catun tali chacte aban chactetic u <lu>bob. Ca tali Uac-hab-nal hoch-xiutic u lubob, tamuk u talel Mizcit Ahau miztic u lubob, tamuk u talel yah ppizul u lubob. Heklay coch lub cu ppizci.

Ca cahi u hool poop. Ix Noh Uc u hool u poop ah lakin. Ox Tocoy Moo u hol u poop ti lakin. Ox Pauah Ek u hol u pop ti lakin. Ah Miz u hol u pop ti lakin.

Batun u hol u pop ti xaman. Ah Puch u hol u pop ti xaman. Balamna u hol u pop ti xam<a>n. Ake u hol pop ti xaman.

<Ib>an[10] u hol pop ti chikin. Ah Chab u hop pop ti chikin. A<h T>uc-uch[11] u hol pop ti chikin.

[1] uazcim ix suppl. Ber. [2] Suppl. Ber. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl. Ber. [5] Suppl. Ber. [6] Suppl. Ber. [7] Suppl. Ber. [8] Suppl. Ber. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber. [11] Suppl. Martínez. *Ah Nucuch,* Ber.

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Ah Yamas u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Puch u hol pop ti nohol. Cauich u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Couoh u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Puc u hol pop ti nohol.

Chac Ix Chuuah-cabob ti lakin. Chaclol u luchob. Chachac nicte u nicteob.

Zac Ix Chuuah-cabob ti xaman. Zac ix-pach-ɔa u nicteilob. Zaclol u luchob.

Ek Ix Chuuah-cab u cabob ti<chi>kin.[1] Ek ix-lau<1>-nicte u nicteilob. Eklol u luchob.

Kan Ix Chuuah-cabob ti nohol. Kanlol u lu<chob>[2] . . . . . ntzacnicte
p.3 C u nicteilob./

Catun yanhii u numte aalcab <ɔe>[3]cuzamil u <ciil>[4] cab y̱ u luch cab y̱ u yaxcheel cab, u chululil cab. Kin Pauahtun yah kinobi. Lay mektanmail u picul katun cananmail Ah Hulneb Tantun Cuzamil, Ah Yax Ac, Chinab, Kinich Kakmo.

II

(THE RISE OF HUNAC CEEL TO POWER)

Ah Itz[tz]im-thul Chac u mektan[n]ob Ichcanzihoo. Uayom c̄hic̄h̄[chich] ya kinob Ichcanzihoo. Canul ix pop ti balam. U catul Ah Kin Chable u yahauob. Cabal Xiu yah kinob. Uxmal Chac u mektanob; lay yah kin cuchi. Ca ulzabi Hapai Can tu Chemchan. Lay huli, ca uchi kikil pak te Uxmale. Tii ca colabi u canhel[5] Chac Xib Chace; Zac Xib Chac colabi u canhel,[6] u canhel [7] ix Ek Yuuan Chac colabi xan. Ix Zacbeliz u kaba u chichob chac. Ek Yuuan Chac u yumob. Hun Yuuan Chac u thupilob, Uooh-puc u kaba. Lay ɔibtabi uooh tu tan u kab; ca ɔibtabi uooh yalan u cal; ca ɔibtabi tu tan yoc, ca ɔibtabi ichil u ppuc u kab ti Ah Uooh-pucil. Ma kui chac[c]ob. Halili hahal ku ca yumil ti Diose; u kulob tu than tu yiɔatil Mayapan.

p.4 C Ah Kin Coba / ah kin te ich paae. Zulim Chan [8] ti chikin. Nauat yah ca<nu>1 u uol pa ti nohole; Couoh yah canul uol pa ti[l] lakin; Ah Ek u lak. He yahauobe: Ah Tapai-nok Cauich u kaba u halach uinicob, Hun[n]ac Ceel, u pulbeen Ah Mex Cuci.

Ca u katah huntulis nicte. Ca u katah zac pop. Ca u katah cappel u tan nok. Ca u katah yax ulum. Ca u katah ule. Ca u katah zac homaob. Ti likulob ca kuchob Ppoole, ti ppolhob yala Ah Itzai, ti tun u naaintahob Ix Ppoli. Ca kuchob Ake, ti zihob Tix-Akei. Ake u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Alaa; Alaa u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca talob Kanholaa. Ca talob Tix-Chel, ti chelhi u thanobi, ti chelhi u canobi. Catun kuchob Ninum ti numhi u thanobi, ti numhi u canobi Ah Itzaobi. Catun kuchob Chikin-ɔonot,

[1] Suppl. Ber. and Martínez. [2] Suppl. Martínez. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl. Ber. [5] canhel: cangel C. [6] canhel: cangel C. [7] canhel: cangel C. [8] Zulim Chan: Tzulim Chan C.

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ti chikin-tan-hi u uichobi. Chikinɔonot u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Tzucoop, ti u tzucah ubaobi yalan opi. Tzucop u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Cahcab, ti u huytah cab Itzai. Ca uki tumenel <I>x-Koh-takin, ca huytabi ti cab, ca yuk<a>hi Cabilneba u kaba. Ca kuchob/Kikil ti u canahob p.5 C
kik-naki. Kikil u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca kuchob Panabhaa ti u panahob hai. Ca talob Cucuchil-haa u cuchob tu tamil haai. Ca kuchob Yalzihon; Yalzihon u kaba uaye cahlic cah. Ca kuchob Xppitah, cah xan. Catun kuchob Kancabɔonot. Ti likulob ca kuchob Ɔula. Caix talob Pibhaal-ɔonot. Catun kuchob Tahaac u kaba. Ca talob T<i>cooh u kaba, ti u manahob than coohi, ti u manahob cani. Ticoh u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Tikal, ti u kalah ubaobi. Tikal u kaba uaye. Ca talob Timaax, ti u maaxtah uba katunobi. Ca kuchob Buctzotz, ti u bucinahob u tzotzel u pol[l]obi. Buctzotz u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca kuchob Ɔiɔontun, ti hoppob chuc lum ɔiɔi. Ɔiholtun u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Yobain, ti u uayintahob ayini tumen u mamobi, Ah Yamasi, yahaulil tu chi kaknab. Ca kuchob Zinanche, ti u uayintahob cizin.[1] Zinanche u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Ti-cah-chac. Ca kuchob Ɔemul.[2] Ppizilba [3] u cahob u lakob; ca kuchob u mamob u lak, ti mulɔemlah yolobi. Ɔemul u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Kini yicnal Xkil Itzam Pech, Xɔeuc u lakob, Ca ku/chob icnal Xkil p.6 C
Pech yah<a>u Kiniob. Catun kuchob Baca, ti bacchahi haa tiobi. Baca uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Zabacnail yicnal u mamob u chun u uinicil Ah Nae, lai Chel Nae u mamob. Catun kuchob Tebenaae, ti kahi u naa tiobi. Ca talob Ixil. Catun binob Chulul. Ca kuchob Chichicaan, catun binob Holtun-Chable. Ca talob Itzamna. Ca talob Chubulna. Ca kuchob Caucel, ti ceelchahobi; Caucel uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Ucu, ti yalahob: "ya ucu." Ca binob Hunucma. Ca kuchob Kinchil. Ca binob Kana. Ca kuchob Tixpetoncah. Ca kuchob Zahab-balam. Ca kuchob Tahcum-chakan. Ca kuchob Tixbalche. Ca kuchob Uxmal. Ti tun likulob ca kuchob Tixyubak. Ca kuchob Munaa, ti munhi u thanob, ti munhi u canobi. Ca binob Oxlochhok. Ca binob Chac-akal. Ca binoc Xocneceh, ceh u uayob ca kuchob. Ca binob Ppuztunich. Ca binob Pucnalchac. Ca binob Ppencuyut. Ca binob Pax-ueuet. Ca kuchob Tixaya. Ca kuchob Tistis u kaba. Ca kuchob tu Chican. Ca kuchob Tixmeuac/ Ca kuchob Hunacthi. Ca kuch<ob Ti>tzal.[4] Ca kuchob p.7 C
Tamusbulna. Ca kuchob Tixcan. Ca kuchob Lop. Ca kuchob Cheemiuan [uan]. Ca kuchob Oxcahuanka. Ca binob Zacbacelcaan. Ca kuchob Cetelac. U kaba cah macalob ɣ u kaba cẖeenob, ca utzac yoheltabal [5] tux manob tan u ximbalticob yilaob ua utz lay peten, ua u nahma cahtalob uai lae. Tzol peten u kaba tu thanob ca yumil ti D<io>s. Lay tzol peten. Lay zihez yokolcab tulacal. Laix tzol xan. Heob lae, kabanzah peten u cahob, kabanzah cẖeen u cahob, kabanzah cacab u cahob, kabanzah luum u cahob tumen mamac kuchuc uaye, uayi u cal peten ca kuch on uay lae.

[1] cizin: cicin C. [2] Ɔemul: Ɔeuc C. [3] ppizilba: pisilba C. [4] Suppl. Ber.
[5] Yoheltabal: yoheltaual C.

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Zubinche, Kaua, Cumcanul (Cuncunul), Ti-em-tun (Ebtun?) ti emob ti tuni, Zizal, Zacii (Saci), Tiɔooc ti ɔooc u than katuni, Timozon,[1] Popola ti hay u pop katuni, Tipixoy, Uayumhaa, Zacba<cel>can, Tinum ti numchithantabobi, Timacal, Popola ti u tzolahob u pop katuni, Tixmaculum ti u macahob thani, Ɔithaaz, Bon-kauil, Tixmex, Kochil[l]a, Tix-xocen, Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkaaz, Haltunhaa, Kuxbila, Ɔiɔilche, Ticool, Zitilpech, Chalamte
p.8 C ti chalhi yolobi, Itzamthulil, Tipakab ti paktehobi/Ti ya,<Ca>anzahcab, Ɔiɔomtun yetun u mamob ti che choc ɔiiɔ, Ɔiɔholtun, Popola tu nohol Zinanche. Ca tal Muci, Zacnicte-cẖeen Zoɔil, uay tu multumtahob katune, Multumut u kaba uay, Mutule. Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun ti cumlahob tu chun tuni, Xoccẖel, Bohe, Zahcabhaa, Tzanlahcat, Human, ti humni than yokolobi, ti humni u pectzilobi. Chalamte, Pacaxua u kaba uaye cu thanob. Tekit, ti kit yala Itzaobi, Yokolcẖeen, Ppuppulni-huh, huh u uayob ca hokobi. Ɔoɔile, Tiab, Bitun-cẖeen. Uchci yocolob Tipikal u kaba cẖeen uchci u tippilob. Ca binob Poc-huh u kaba cẖeen, uchci u pocicob huh. Ca binob Manii, ti mankahii than tiobi. Ca kuchob Tiɔaan, ox kin ɔaman[n]obi. Ca bin Ticul, Zacluumcẖeen, Tixtohil-cẖeen, ti tohni yolobi. Ca binob Balamkin u peten[n]il ah kinob. Cẖeencẖomac, Zacnicteel-ɔonot, Tiyaxcab, Uman, Oxcum, Zanhil, Ichcaanzihoo, Ti-noh-naa, Nohpat, Poychena, Chulul. Ca kuchob tu titz luum Cumkal, ti
p.9 C cumlah u titz peteni.[2] Zicpach, Yaxkukul/Tixkokob, C<uca, Cẖeen-balam, Bolon-nic->³xan, Ekol, Ekol u kaba cẖ<een uaye>.[4] Tixueue, Tixeuue u kaba cẖeen uaye. Uhumtal, tal hun hatzi. Tixkanimacal, Tixaan, Yumxul uchci u yumtic u haan. Holtun-ake, Acanceh,[5] Ticooh, Ticẖahil, Tichac, Mayapan ich paa, Yokol-haa. Ca binob Nabula, Tixmucuy, Tixkanhube, Ɔoyila. Ca kuchob Tizip, ti zip u thanobi, ti zip u canobi.

Ca hop<p>i u heɔ luumob yahauobi. Ti yanah yah kin Paloncabi. Heklay yah kinobe Mutupul u kaba. He ah kin Paloncabe, Ah May. He ah kin Mutupule, Ah Canul, uay[y]om cẖicẖ ix xan, nụnili xan, y̱ u catun Ah Chable,[6] Ah Ichcanzihoo, Holtun Balam u mehen; ca u cẖaah[7] ix yaxum Chakane. Ti tun kuchi u lak ahauobi. Laobi ahau u nup u thanobe ti yahaulilob ti Buluc Ahau Tun, u kaba cuchi. Ca u heɔah cabobi; caix ti heɔ-luumnahobi. Caix cahlahobi Ichcaanzihoo. Ca emob Ah Holtun-ake; ca emob Ah Zabacnailob. Catun kuchob yetunyet ahaulilob. He Ah Zabacnaile u chun a uinicil Ah Na. Catun u molah ubaob te Ichcaanzihooe, ti yan ix pop ti balam tilic yahaulili
p.10 C Holtun/<Balam ti tu cẖeene>[8] tili<c> yahaulili <Pochek-ix>[9]ɔoy. Lay u chun u uinicil Copoe, <Tutul>[10]Xiu ix t<e>lo ual[11] xan. Chacte Ahau, Chacte u lumil uchuc yahaulilob. Teppanciz[12] yah kinob, lay ichtabi lae. Lay Ah Ppizte ppiz u lumilobe. Hetun Lubte u lumil u luubobe, uuc lub cab. Ah May hetun

[1] Timozon: Timocon C. [2] peteni: pateni C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl Ber.
[5] Acanceh: Acanqueh C. [6] y u catun: a correction to y̱ u catul is suggested.
[7] cẖaah: chaah C. [8] Suppl. Ber. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber.
[11] telo is often contracted to tlo. [12] Teppanciz: teppanquis C.

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accunte u xukil u luumob, ah accunte u xukil; ah miz mizte u luumob, lay Mizcit Ahaue. Hetun heɔci cab tiobe, lay Hoyahelcab, hetun te yahal cab tiobe. Tumte ahau, tumte yahal cab tiobe.

Ca hoppi yocol patan tiobe tu Chicẖeen. Tikuch uchci u kuchul u patan cantul uinicobe. Buluc Ahau u kaba u katunil cuchi ti baaxlahi patan, te Cetelace u pakte uchi yanile. Catun emi u patan Holtun Zuiua te Cetelace, ti cethi u thanobi. Oxlahun Ahau u katunil cuchi ti u kamahob patan halach uinicobi.

Ca hoppi[1] u tepal[l]obi; ca hoppi ti y ahaulilobi; ca hoppi u tanlabalob; ca hoppi u kuchul u pululteob; ca hoppi u pulicob ich cẖeen ca uyabac u thanob tumenel yahaulili. Ma hul u thanob. Lay Cauich Hunac Ceele,[2] lay Cauich u kaba u uinicile ti cu thical tu hol cẖeen/[cheen] ti nohol. Catun bini cẖabil. p.11 C
Catun hoki yalab u than. Ca hopp u cẖabal u than. Ca ɔuni u than. Ca hoppi yalabal ahauil. Ca culhii tu cuchil ahau[u]ob tumenob. Ca hoppi yalabal halach uinicil. Ma ahau cuchii, chen u bel Ah Mex Cuc. Caix alabi ahaui<l>[3] u pulben Ah Mex Cuc. Coot bin u naa. Ca bin caxtabi[4] tu uitzil. Cabin ɔuni u cẖabal u than lay ahau, laci tun yalabal. Catun hoppi u naczabal canal naa [ti] ti ahaulil. Ca hoppi u pakal yebal. Catun culhi ti canal na ichil Oxlahun Ahau, uac tepal. Ca ɔuni u kuchul uyabil u th<an>[5] u kin u ua Ah Mex Cuc u kaba. Ca u pula<h>[6] naɔan Baca u kin Ah Mex Cuuc[c]i. Ca y<an>cuntabi.[7] Ca hoppi u yumintabali,[8] ca hoppi u tzicili tu kaba Ah Mex Cuuc. Catun tzici, catun tanlabi te tu Chicẖeene, Chicẖeen Itza[m]u kaba, tumen ti bin Itza. Ca u lukah u tunil cabi, u tunil uiil cuch Itza[m], luk, ca bin ichil haa. Catun hoppi yocol numya te Chicẖen Itzae. Catun bini te likine, ca ku<chi> yicnal Ah Kin Cob<a>.[9]

Talel u cah Uaxac Ahau Katun cuchi. Uaxac Ahau u kaba katun uchci u tepa<lob>.[10] Catun hoki u hel katun, ca<tun> hoki u hel yahauob . . ./ p.12 C
ti numni ca ahaulili cu thanob yah kin tiob. Ca ti yoczahob kintunyabil, he cu talel kintunyaabila cu thanob, ti eli ɔiɔ, ti eli u chi kaknab, u kaknabil numya lae. Cii yalabal canal lae, cii yalabalob. Ca chiibi u uich kine; ca oklenhii u uich kine; ca tupi u uich. Ca haki yolob canal, ti eli cu than yah kin tiob, ti ɔoci u than ca ahaulili cu than yah kin tiob. Ca hoppi u tucul ɔib pac<h>[11] kin. Ca yubah caix yilahob u. Ca talob yahaulili <ca>boob. He Ix-Tziu-nene, lay ti ocez keban toon u mun nal cab ca ti tali. Cabin ɔococ u than katun, u tzacil katun. Ca ti talzabi, bic a thanex, cex yahaulilex cabexe? Ti oc tun u than uyanal katun, u ɔoc katun talzabi Ix-Tziu-nene. Ca ilabi u picul katun tiob. Ca hoppi u cimzabalob. ca utzcinabi u yoyteel u zakcheil uchebal u cimil. Ca hoppi u chulul tumenel Ox-Halal Chan. Ca hoppi u payal yahaulili caboob. Ca bini u kikel, ca cẖabi tumen ah cehob. Catun hak yolob . . . kin u ɔoc katun tiob . . . tiob naɔan u . . . uka-/ p.13 C

[1] hoppi: hopi C. [2] Hunac Ceele: hun hunah ceele C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] caxtabi: caxtaui C. [5] Suppl. Ber. [6] Suppl. Ber. [7] Suppl. Ber. [8] yumintabali: yumintauali C. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber. [11] Suppl. Ber.

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III

(A PROPHECY FOR KATUN 11 AHAU)

Buluc Ahau katun cumaan ti pop, cumaan ti ɔaam, ti ualaac yahaulili. Yax[x]aal Chac u uich ti yahaulili. Emom caanil ual, emom caanil ɔulub, caanil uɔub. Pecnom u pax, pecnom u zoot Ah Buluc Ahau, ti yocte tok yubte. Tu kin yan yax cutz,[1] tu kin yan Zulim Chan, tu kin yan Chakanputun.[2] Uiilnom che, uiilnom tunich, ah zatal uiil ichil Ah Buluc Ahau katun.

Bulu[u]c Ahau u hoppol u xocol, yoklal lay katun yan ca uli ɔulob. Ti u talelob ti likin ca uliobe. ✠ Tiix hoppi Christianoil xani. Ti lakin u ɔoc than. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun.

He u kahlay uchci bal tu mentahob. Manlahci u thanah ɏ u thanob, heuac manan u nucul tulacal. Heuac huntaɔ manci bay ɔiban-[n]ile. He ca cici nucbezabac tulacale, maiuil[l]obe maitun bahun ɔib tilobe, maix hach yab ɔiban tu cuch u keban-than-ob tuba tanbaob. Bay u cah yahau Ah Itzaobe, bay ix Ah Itzmal, Ah Ake, bay Ah Uxmal, bay Ah Ichcaanzihoo, bay Ah Ci<tab>[3] Couooh zane. Halach yab
p.14 C ha/lach uinicob, ma concon u keban-than u cibahob tuba tanbaobe. Heuac ma chicaan ichil yan uaye; mabahun bin tzoloci. Hex ohelmail talci ca c̄hibal con Maya uinice. Lay tun yohel u nucbez, ca bin u xocob yan uaye. Ti tun yilic, catun u nucbez uabic chucanil u zauin katun tumen cah kinob, Ah Kin Xuluc; maix Xuluc u kaba cuchi xani. Chen tumen lay cu kinil, lay cu ah kinil, ca oci numya, ca oci Christianoil tumen lay hach Christianoob. Ti uli ɏ hahal ku, hahal D<io>s, heuac u chun numya toon. U chun patan, u chun limosna, u chun hoc mucuuc tza, u chun ɔon bacal tza, u chun cumtan tza, u chun toc lukzah, u chun ɔalpach ppax, u chun pakpach ppax, u chun caca tza, u chun numzah ya, u chun toc lukzah. U chun u meyahtabal Españolesob ɏ ah kinob, u meyahtabal batabob, u meyahtabal camzahob, u meyahtabal fiscalob tumen mehen palalob, u palil cahob, tamuk u chac numzabal ti yah ah numyahob. Lay hach otzilobe, lay hach otzilob ma likulobi tilic u men-
p.15 C tic/[c]ii u ɔaalpach. Lay u Antachristoil yokol cabob lae, ah[4] cabcohil cahob, u c̄hamacil cahob, ah[5] picil cahob, yah ɔuɔil otzil mazeualob lae. Heuac bini to kuchuc tu kin u kuchul yalil u uichob yicnal ca yumil ti D<io>s. Emom[6] u justicia[7] ca yumil ti D<io>s hunyuk ti balcah. Hach likul ti D<io>s bin talbal Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, u ɔutan[n]ilob yokol cab lae.

[1] Tu kin yan yax cutz, O; takin yax utz tuba C. [2] Chakanputun, O. & T. Chikinputun, C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] ah: uh C. [5] ah: uh C. [6] Emom: emom C. [7] justicia: justisia C.

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IV

(THE BUILDING OF THE MOUNDS)

Ti haab de mil quinientos quarenta y uno.

181 Ɔuul. at. 5: Dik: 92 nhele.

U kahlay tin ɔibtah uchci yutzcin[n]abal mul tumen heregesob. Ox kal katun utzcin[n]abci catac holhunpiz katun tu mentahob nucuch uinicob. Ca ix ti bin yala u uinicilob, Cartabona u kaba u lumil yanil[l]ob hele lae. Ti yanobi ca uli S<a>n Bernabe ti cambezah. Ca cimzabiob tumen uinicob heregesob, u kaba u uinicilob.

156: u cuch helee=15 años:

Hele tin ɔibtah uchci yutzcin/[n]abal nucuch muul[l]ob tumen p.16 C
cẖibal[l]ob y̱ hecenbaal u mentah ahau[u]ob. Hex lic u menticob mul[l]e, oxlahunte katun catac uacppel haabi lic yutzcin[n]icob cuchi. Heix u chun mul yutzcin[n]ahobe; hoolhun baak u kaalal u mul[l]il catac lahu<n> yox kal u muc̄h cuentail mul yutzcin[n]ahob tu yuklah cabil peten, bay ti kaknab tac tu chun cab. U patah ix u kabaob xan y̱ u cẖeenil. Catun utzcin[n]abi mactzil tiob tumen Dios lae, caa elob tumen kak tu cahal Israel y̱ bobil laya. U kaahlay katunob y̱ haabob lukci te Viroª. Chac-unezcab u cẖibal Tutul Xiuobe.

V

(MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF YUCATAN)

U kahlay katunob y̱ haab[b]oob yax chuc[c]i u petenil Yucatan tumenel ɔulob, zac uinicob. Ichil bin Buluc Ahau Katun uchci u chucicob u hol haa Ecab. Ti lakin u talelob caa ulob. Op bin u yax kamchitahobi, lay u chun u kabaticob ah-mak-op-ɔulilob, ah-ɔuuɔ-op-ɔul u kabaob. Heix bin u kaba ah otochnalob u chucahob[b]ie Ecabe, Nacom Balam u kaba; heix yax chuci te Ecabe tumen yax capitane, D<o>n Juan/de Montejo, yax conquistador.[1] p.17 C
Uay tu petenil Yucatan lae. Layili u katunil uchci u kuchul Ichcaanzihoo lae.

Tu yaabil 1513 años, Oxlahun Ahau Katun, uchci u chucicob Campech. Hunɔit katun yanobi. Ah Kin Camal likul Campech ocez ɔulob uay ti peten lae.[2]

Helel en 20 de Agosto ti yaabil de mil quinientos quarenta y uno tin chicbezah u kaba haabob hoppic Christianoil lae.

Mil quinientos diez y nueve[3] años kuchic uuckal hab catac bulucpiz habi, uchci concierto[4] y̱ ɔulob lay lic ca botic u likzah katun ɔulob y̱ uyanal uinicob lae uay ti cahob. Lay u capitanil cahob uchie. Lay tun ca botic hele lae.

Helel ɔibnahen ti yaabil mil quinientos quarenta y uno años yax ulci ɔulob ti lakin, Ecab u kaba. Tu yabil uchci u kuchulob tu hol haa Ecab, tu cahal

[1] conquistador: concixtador C. [2] Gloss; "Dⁿ. Franᶜᵒ. Can . . . llo"
[3] diez y nueve: dies y nuebe C. [4] concierto: consierto C.

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p.18 C Nacom Balam, tu yax chun u kinil u habil/u katunil Buluc Ahau Katun. Ca paxob Ah Itzaob hoolhun kal haab u talel yulil ɔulob. Ca paxi cah Zaclahtun, ca paxi cah Kinchil Coba, ca paxi cah tu Chicẖen Itzam, ca paxi cah tu xax Uxmal, tu nohol cah Uxmal, ci bin [1] u kaba, y̱ Kabah. Paxi cah Zeye, y̱ Pakam, y̱ Homtun, ti cah Tixcalomkin, y̱ Ake, Holtun Ake.

Paxi cah Emal Chac, Etzemal ti emi yixmehen hahal Kui, u yumil caan, ixahau, ix zuhuy [2] ix mactzil. Ca yalah ahau: "Emom chim<al> Kinich Kakmo." Ma paat ti ahaulil uaye. Uay ti pati ix mactzil, ix ɔayatzil. "Emom zum, emom tab, tal ti caan. Emom u than, tal ti caan." Lay cicuntabi yahaulili tumen u chucan cahob, ca yalahob, ma pati yahaulilob Em[m]al.

Catun bin noh Ah Itzaob lae. Oxlahun bak u bakal u pic[c]il[l]ob, catac holhun bak a bakal u hokal[l]ili u nucteel[l]ob, heregesob, Ah Itzaob. Hetun bini yah tzenulteob xan numbilob bin tu pachob tzenticob lae. Oxhunppiz bin yiximal u pol u cuentailob catac bolonpiz almud [3] catac ox oc yiximalob. Yab
p.19 C ix mehen cahob bin u <a>h uay tanililob tu pachob xan./

Mat yoltahob u paktob ɔulob; ma u kat cristianoilob. Ma yoltahob u bot patan ah uayom chicẖob, ah uayom tunob, ah uayom ziniltunob, ah uayom balamob, ox uayahob. Can bak hab u xul u cuxtalob catac holhun kal hab yan cataci tu xul u cuxtalob tumen yohelob u ppiz kinob tubaob. Tuliz u, tuliz hab, tuliz kin, tuliz akab, tuliz ik cu ximbal, tuliz kik xan tu kuchul tu uayob, tu poopoob, tu ɔamob. Ppiz u canticob yutzil oraob, ppiz u caxanticob yutzil kin latuppiz yilicob yocolob utzul ekọb tu yahaulil, tan u ppix-ich-ticob yocolob yahaulil utzul ekob. Utz tun tulacal.

Catun u takbez yalob tu cuxolalob yan. Manan tun keban tu santo okolalob yan u cuxtalob. Manan tun chapahal, manan tun chibil bac tiob, manan tun ɔam chacuil tiob, minan tun xpomkakil tiob, minan tun elel tzemil tiob, minan ya nakil tiob, minan tun tzentzem cimil tiob, minan chibil pol tiob. Tzolombil tun u bin u uinicilob. Ma bay tun u mentah ɔulob ti uliob lae. Zub-
p.20 C tzilil[4] <u>tal/zahob ca talob. Ca cuxhi yol nicte; cuxhi tun yol tu nicteob Nacxit Xuchit tu nicte u lakob. Minan tun yutz kin[n]ob yetzahob toon. Lay u chun cakin xec, cakin ahaulil; lay ix u chun cimil toon xan. Manan yutz kin ton xan, minan cuxolal toon. Tu xul ca zatmail ilil y̱ zubtalil etlahom tulacal. Minan nohoch can, minan yahau than, minan ahau can ti lay u hel ahau[u]oob ti uliob lae. Tzuc cep ah kinil cu talel u mentabal ti telae tumen ɔulob. Catun tu ppatahob yal u mehenob uay Tancah lae. Lay tun kamicob u numyailob, uchci u chibil lay ɔulob lae. He bin Ah Itzaobe, oxtenhii bin uchicob ɔulob. Lay tun tumen oxkal haab yan toon tu lukzicob ca patan, tumen uchci u chibi-
p.21 C lob tumen lay uin<i>cob/Ah Itzaob lae. Ma toon t<i> mentei; toon botic hele lae. Heuac concierto[5] yanil yan u xul, ca yanac hun olal ton y̱ ɔulob. Uamae bi<n>yanac toon noh katun.

[1] ci bin: cib C. [2] ix zuhuy: yx suhun C. [3] almud: almut C. [4] Zubtzilil: sabtzilil C. [5] Concierto: consierto C.

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VI

(NOTES ON THE CALENDAR)

Katun.

Tu yax chun Buluc Ahau	do 1513 a<no>s	
Ɔoci lay lae.		
Hop<p>ci Hooil	do 1519 a<no>s	
S<a>n Fran<cis>co, eɔlahci[1] S<a>ntiago, Tihoo	do 1519	
Eɔlahci chumuc cah <H>oo Iglesia Mayor tu habil	do 1540	
U ichil haab, doce[2]	12	
U tzol kin ichil hunppel hab	do 365	
U tzolan akab hunppel hab	do 365	
U tzolan semana ichil hunppel haab catac hunppel kin	do 52	
U tzolan Domingo ichil hunppel haab	do 53	
U tzolan kin ichil uacppel u tu yax chun	do 181/	p.22 C
U tzolan kin ichil uacppel u tu caɔic, tu tuliztal hunppel hab	do 184	

Heix kin cu xocic semana lae: uucppel kin ichil hunppel semana, u cuentail lay xoc lae./ p.23 C

U tzol uinal ichil hunppel hab lae—

Poop—16 Julio	Yaax—12 Enero[3] u kin hoch utz.
Ụoo—5 Agosto	Zac—Febrero licil u lolancal zacob.
Zip—25 Agosto	Ceeh 21 Febrero
Zoɔ—14 Septiembre	Mac—13 Marzo, licil yalancal aac.
Zec—4 Octubre	Kankin—2 Abril
Xul 24 Octubre, tilic yalancal cayi.	Muan—22 Abril, lic u mumtal u nak u caanil kini.
Ɔeyaxkin 13 Nob<iem->bre, ti cu uaɔal nali.	Paax—12 Mayo.
Mol 3 Diciembre[4]	Kayab—1 Junio.
Cẖeen 23 Diciembre[4]	Cumku—21 Junio. U Uayayab hoppel kin./[5] p.24 C

Chumayel 28 zihic ahijada[6] Micaela Castañeda.[7]/ p.25 C

[1] eɔlahci: eɔlayci C. [2] doce: dose C. [3] Enero: henero C. [4] Diciembre: Diziembre C. [5] Pictures of the eighteen months will be found in the translation. [6] ahijada: ayijada C. [7] Notation in a different hand.

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VII

(THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF YUCATAN)

(Picture of a conventional coat of arms accompanied by the following legends in Maya. A reproduction of the picture will be found in the translation.)

U chun luum Campech. U puczikal luum Mani.
Calkini. Ichcaanzihoo.
U pol peten Cumkal. Itzmal. Kin zazal xa. Zacii.[1]
Naum Pech, t Zacnicte-c̄heen, Zoɔil, Mutul.
p.26 C Ah Kin Chable ah kak bak Tixkokob./

VIII

(NOTES ON ASTRONOMY)

He ca bin kuchuc lay kin tu bulucpiz Junioe u chau<a>cil kin. He ca bin kuchuc lay kin latu yoxlahunpiz Septiembre, hach lahcet lay kin y̱ akab. He ca bin kuchu<c> lay kin latulah capiz Diciembre,[2] chi[n]chan kin, com akab. He ca bin kuchuc lay kin latu lahunpiz Marzo lahcet kin y̱ akab.

Helay u petel yan yan chumuc ca: zazac u nucul licil u binel u ximbal kin. Tu cappelil u copol lay yeyekilo, lay u nucul lay u uich kino. Tu binel yokol lay u nohol yeyekilo, tu yemel tu chi[n]chanil u copol yeyekilo, layi lic lahcet tan u binel y̱ lay u ximbal uay yokol cablili xane. Ti luum bay ix u chacaan-pahal tu yukul peten xan. U ximbal kin, hahal noh cu c̄haic u ximbalte ocebal ti tu noh Oro u chil yokol cab. U kahlail kin oheltabal uay yokol cab lae.

(Picture: an astronomical diagram consisting of three concentric circles. In the inner one is the word "*tierra*," and between the two outer ones are four
p.27 C darkened disks.)/

(Picture: a diagram representing an eclipse of the sun and accompanied by the following legends.)[3]
Eclipse del sol.[4] U chibil kin.
Medio mundo. Tan buh yokol cab.

Ti xiblalob tu xaxob yan lay hun buha, u uinbail ma chibil u cah kini. Hetun yan chumuco lay cu chibil. Nupp tanba u cah y̱ u tu chibil. Ximbal u cah payanbe ti maili chibic. Kuchul u cah u ximbal ti xaman nohoch. Hun-ppelili tun u chibalob kin y̱ u ti maili kuchuc chumkine. U nucul utial yoheltic Maya uinicob bal cu yuchul ti kin y̱ ti u lae.

(Picture: another astronomical diagram showing sun, earth and moon and representing an eclipse. It is accompanied by the following legends.)

U chibil u, ma chibil u cahi. Caham ichtal u cah u y̱ kin tu tzel peten. U chibil kin, ma chibil u cahi. Caham ichtal u cah kin y̱ u tu tzel peten. Chicul
p.28 C tumen D<io>s licil u lahcet-hal. Heuac ma chibil u cahi./

[1] Zacii: çaquij C. [2] Diciembre: Diziembre C.
[3] This picture as well as all others accompanying the Maya text will be found in the translation. [4] del sol: dre sol C.

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IX

(THE INTERROGATION OF THE CHIEFS)

Zuyua[a] than ɣ naat utial ca yum Sr. Gov<ernad>dor Mariscal, lay uchic u cahtal Tzuc-uaxim lae tu lakin Ichcaanzihoo. Ti yan luum uchic u yantal u pakali ɣ u solar, uchic u cahtal lae. Bin ix kuchuc tu kin u holol u bel xan. Talel u than halach uinic[c]il. Chac u than, ca bin uluc; chac[c]ix u buc xan.

(Picture of crowned head with blurred face.) Heleac tu Zuyua than, lay bin u than, lay bin u kat u halach uinicil cah lae, ca bin kuchuc tu kin u ɔocol u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun, ca bin culac uyanal katun, Ah Hun Ahau Katun, bay alanil lae.

(Similar picture.) Hex katun hele lae Ox Ahau Katun. Ɔoc ix u kuchul tu kinil u ɔocol yahaulil ɣ u tepal. Halibe. Mahan ix uyanal.

(Similar picture.) Hex Hun Ahau Katun culan ichil yotoch Ah Ox Ahau Katun lae. Yula te, tan u ɔabal u chaan tumenel Ah Ox Ahau Katun lae. Zubtzil bin bin balob tu cahalob./ p.29 C

(Similar picture.) Kat naat cu talel ichil u katunil licil u ɔocol hele lae. Ti kuchi tu kinil u katabal u naatob u batabil cahob, ua yohelob uchic u talelob u uinicilob yahaulilob, ua tzolan u talel u batabilob u halach uinicilob, ua u cẖibalob ahau[u]ob, ua batab u cẖibalob, ti u hahcunticob.

(Similar picture.) He ix u yax chun than bin katabac tiobe: bin u katob u hanal. "Tal ex kin." Ci bin u than halach uinic tiob, bay bin alabac ti batabobe. "Talez kin mehene, ca a lathab tin plato. Ti cẖicaan lanza, caanil cruz tan chumuc u puczikal. Ti ix culan yax balam yokol kin ukic u kikele." Zuyua u naataal. Hex kin bin katabac tiob lae: yahau tzahbil hee. Hex lanza ɣ caanil cruz cẖicaan tu puczikale, lay lic yalice, lay cicithane. Hex yaax balam cumcabal yokol ukic u kikele, lay yaax ic, balam yanie. Zuyua u than lae.

(Similar picture.) Hex u cacẖic than bin katabac tiobe; ca xicob u cẖaob u ɔomel caan yilab halach uinic uabahun u cah. "Yan uol uilab, uchi uilab." Cii uil yalabalobe. Hex u ɔomel caane, lay pome. Zuyua./ p.30 C

(Similar picture.) Hex u yoxcẖic than bin katabac tiobe: ca u kaxob nohoch na. Uacthil u uaan, hunɔit[t]ili yocmal. He ix nohoch na lae: lay yahau ppoc ɔoz lae. Bin alabac ti ca nacac yokol yahau zazac tzimin. Zazac u nok ɣ zuyem, ɣ zazac zoot u machma tu kab, tamuk u zoot[t]ic u tzimin. Ti yan olom kik tu lol u zoot ti uil u lukule. He ix zazac tzimin lae, lay yocbil xanab zozcil kaane. He ix zazac zoot lic yalabale, lay zazac zuyeme. Lay nictee zazac ɔulube. He ix olom kik u lol zoote lic u katabal tie, lay takine yan tan chumuce, yoklal kikil likul tu kikel ix ma naa, ix ma yum, u talel lae.

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He ix u canc̄hic than bin katabac tiobe: ca xicob ti yotoch, catun alabac tiob. "He ix ca bin talac ex, a uilben exe tu kak chumuc kin uale. Caput pal ex, huk a cah ex; ca bin uluc ex, ti yan a ual pek ta pach exe. He ix a ual pek ex loe: u nachma u pixan ca cilich colel ca bin uluc ech yetel." He ix caput paliltic yalabal tie kak chumuc kin. Ca bin xic u cumtanma u booy, lay licil yalabal hukil u binel. Ca bin kuchuc yicnal halach uinice. He ix yal pek lic u katabal tie: lay u c̄huplile. He ix u pixan ca cilich colebile: yahau candelas, hacha cibe. Zuyua than lae./ p.31 C

(Similar picture.)

He ix u hoc̄hic than bin katabac tiobe. Bin alabac tiob ca xicob u c̄haob u puczikal Ku Citbil ti caan. "Heix ca bin a talez tene oxlahun yal u taz, tii teppan u pach ɣ zac potz." He ix lay u puczikal Ku Citbil lic yalabal tiob lae. Lay kane. He ix u taz lay oxlahun yal lic yalabale. Lay yahau uahe. Oxlahun yal buul yan ichile. He ix zazac potze, lay zazac noke. Lay bin katabac tiob, u naatul Zuyua.

(Similar picture.)

He ix uacc̄hic thanbin katabac tiobe. U binel u c̄haob u kab choo ɣ oxbal hax ɣ cuxul ak. Lay bin u ciilte. "In hanal zamal. Yan uol in hantante." Maiuil lob u kuxul u chun choe. Cii yalabalob. Heix u chun choe cii yalabalob. He ix u chun choe, lay chope. He ix oxbal haxe, lay u ne huhe. He ix cuxul ake, lay u chochel kekene. He ix u chun choe, u chun u ne chop. Zuyua than.

(Similar picture.)

He ix u uucc̄hic than bin katabac tiobe. Bin alabac tiob: "Xen mol ten u mac yit ɔonot, cappel zazaci, cappel kankani. Yan uol in hante. He ix u mac yit ɔonot lic u katabal tiobe. Lay zazac chicame, cappel kankani. U natul uchuc u chucul u batabil cah, ca pul tu tan ahau, yax halach uinic lae./ p.32 C

He thanob lae. Ua matan u natabal tumen u batabil cahobe, okom[m]oltzil ek taplayhom akab. C̄hakax thantzil yotoch. Okom[m]oltzilhom okom bulcum tan chumuc tancab yicnal ah almehenilob. Ah cimil ma u naaticob; ah cuxtal bin u naatab. Lay bin yanac yokol u batabil cahob, lay yetppizan; u hochbilan oheltabal yail bin ɔoc[c]ebal ahaulil lae. Lay kaxan u kab tu tan ɣ yu mache; c̄hopayan u zumil; binzabal u cah yicnal ahau, yax halach uinic. Lay u ɔoc batabil. Lay bin yanac yokol u co kin, u co katun. Bin yubob ya ca bin ɔococ u balob u batabil cahob. Lay bin yanac tu kin lae, hiiɔebal u than katun. Ca bin ɔococ Ah Ox Ahau Katun, chucom u batabil cahob tumen minanil u naatob lae./ p.33 C

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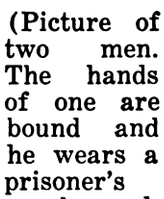

(Picture of two men. The hands of one are bound and he wears a prisoner's wooden collar [*copoochecal*]. The other leads him by a rope attached to the collar.)

Bay bin uch cu chucul u batabil cah lae. Kahlay uchebal u ɔaicob u hanal yax halach uinicob ca bin u katob u hanalob. Hich̄om u u calob; xotom u ni yakob; colom u uichob. Tu kinil lay bin ɔocebal lae.

Hex ch̄ibale, ti ix u hokzic uba tu tan u yum ti caclampix uchebal yoheltabal yanil u cuxolalob. Ti ix u kubul u poop ɣ u ɔam tiob xani. Lay yetppizan yilabal u hochbilan. Cio<l>tzil yilabal u ch̄ibal halach uinic ti luum uaye. Lay bin cuxlac tu kinil, lay ix bin kamic yax vara[1] xan. Bay tun bin heɔ-luumnahbal u ch̄ibal Maya uinicob uay tu cahal Yucatan tu cazut lae. Dios paybe ɔocebal uay yokolcab lae. Lay u hahil ahau bin tac u kat toon lay ca tepalilob, lay ca kulob lae, tunob, kanob; yetel bin katic pakal cii, balche. He mac minan tie cimzabil. He max bin tzicice, Diosil u cah tu thana. Maiuil yoltic Dios yuchul tulacal bal ɔibanob lae./ p.34 C

(Picture of a bearded Spaniard dressed in official robes and bearing a wand of office, the *vara*.)

Bay xan he ix almehenob u ch̄ibal batabob yohelma bix talicob u uinicilob ɣ yahaulilob u tepalob. Cio<l>tzil yilabal u cuxolalob u mektanma u tzicilteilob. Bin ix cici kubuc u pop tiob ɣ ɔam tiob tumenel ca yum yax halach uinic. Lay u pop ɣ u ɔam. Baxtabi, muc-luumtabi u uich, popokchektabi tu uich luum, bibilyabi, tu chochopay u co kin, u co katun, ɣalx buyuk, yal co, u mehen kaz, ah cakin pop, ah cakin ɔam, u maxil ahaulil, u maax katun. Lay ximbalnahob ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Hethan bolon buth ichil u puczikal u ch̄ibal almehenob, ahaulil uinicob, licitac yalabal ti u binel u ch̄ab u batabil cahobe. Ca xic u ch̄ab.

"Mehene! Xen ch̄a u lol akab ten uaye." Cii uil yalabal. Catun xic ti caclampix tu tan halach uinic katic tie. "Yume! He ix u lol akab lic a katic tene. Uet talic ɣ u kaz akabe. Tii yan uicnale." Cii u than.

"Bala mehene! Ua ti yan a/uicnale, ti uayan yax ix ɔoy ta pache ɣ noh copoe?" "Yume! Ti yan uicnale. U et ulic." p.35 C

"Bala mehene! Ua a uet ulice, xen pay a lakob ten. Lay huntul nohxibe, bolontul u mehene, ɣ huntul ixnuc, bolontul yale." "Yume!" cii u than ca bin u nucub, "u et ulic. Uayan tin pache. Payanbe u talob ten ca t<i>ulen in uil ech."

"Bala mehene! Ua uayan ta pache, xen molob ten u tunichil chakan yetelob ca tac ech." U lotmaob tu tzem cu talel. "Ua halach uinic cechi be, ua tech u ch̄ibal ahau uay ti luum be? Zuyua than.

He ix u lol akab lic u katabal tie: ek ti caan. Hex u kaz akabe: lay ue. Hey yax ix ɔoye ɣ noh copoe: lay ah cuch cabe, otlom cabal u kabae. Hex huntul nohxib lic u katabal tie, lay bolontul u mehene: lay u naa yoc[c]e. He ix huntul ixnuc lic u katabal tie: lay u naa u kabe. Hex u tun<i>chil chakan lic u katabal tie ɣ u lotma u mehe<n>: lay ubech̄ee.[2]

[1] vara: bara C. [2] ubech̄ee: ubechee C.

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"Bay xan, mehene, cex a yax haan alabi tech. Ma alan a pacte u uiche." "Uayan tin pache, yume."

"Bala mehene! Xen cha ten yibnel caan uaye. Ti a talel ti lakin, ca bin tac eche, cuch pach u tal tech." "Caybaac bee, yume!" Cii u than.

Hex u yax haan ti yan tu pach ca ti kuchie: lay u pach caae.

Hex u yibnel caane lic u katabal tie: lay patbil pome, oxlahun ual u patal. He ix licil yalabal tie cuch pachil u talel tie; te yan u boy tu pache tzelep kin cochom.

"Mehene, halach uinic ech, ah tepal echi xan. Xen tun cha ten a yax
p.36 C cuentexe licil a pa/yal chie." Hex u yax cuentexe lic u katabal tie: lay kane. Catun katabac ti tun uabahun kin cu payal chi. "Yume," cu than, "tu hunte kin cin payal chii ɣ tu lahun kin cin payal chii." "Balx kinil licil a naczic a payal chii?" "Yume, tu bolon kin ɣ tu yoxlahun kin. Bolon-ti-ku ɣ Oxlahun-ti-citbil, lay licil in xocic in cuentex loe.

"Mehene, xen cha ten a uex in uui[1] u booc uaye ɣ nach u booc[c]e u booc in uexe, u booc in noke, u booc in yub<k>ake, paynum u booc tu ɔu caane ɣ tu ɔu muyal[l]e, ɣ in yax pakab chie, yan ti zac hothe, ua halach uinic echi be." "Yume, bin in talez." Cii u than.

Hex u boc yex lic u katice, lay paynum u booc tu ɔu caane: lay pome thabbil, elel u cah. Hex yax pakab chi lic u katice; lay muxbil cacau, ch<u>cuae.

"Bala mehene; Xen talez ten u yax kikel in uixmehene ɣ u pole ɣ u homtanile ɣ u chacbacele ɣ u kabe ɣ lay ualah a macab ti zuhuy cate ɣ u yax kanchee, uixmehene. Etez ten. Yan uol uilab. Uch in ɔab tech liciuil yacal tin tane, liciuil u uakal uokole." "Caybacac be yume." Yet tal u ɔiic u xicin ah bol cabeh, yetel, catun xic tun.

p.37 C Hex u yax kikel yixmehen lic u katic loe: lay Maya ciie. Hex u homtanil/yixmehene: lay u hobonil cabe. Hex u pol yixmehene: lay zuhuy cate ɔamlic ciie. He ix u yax kanche yixmehene: lay u couoh tun cabe. Hex u ɔic u xicin ah bole: lay u zulil ciie. Hex u bacel yixmehene: lay u holil balchee. Hex u chacbacel lic yalice: lay u cheel balchee. Hex u kab yixmehene: lay u kab balchee. He ix licil yalic yokole, calhal u than. Ca tun xic u ɔab ti. Ten cul uba; chu<c> u than; tezcun u than ca bin kuchuc.

"Yume, helay a uixmehena a ɔah in canante lic a ualic. Cech yume, cech ah tepale." Cii u than u mehen tie.

"Bee, mehene, uet halach uinicile, uet ah tepalile. Kahaan baca tech, a uohel baca." Cii u than. "Lay tun u kikel uixmehen lic in katic tech lae." Oxlahun num tun u manel u kikel yixmehen utan tun yokol yixmehen ti chelic tu tancabal. Hii[i] citun yokol tamuk yilic ti chinlic, tamuk u than. "Bee, mehene," cii tun u than tamuk yokol, "halach uinic eche. Bee, mehene, ah

[1] uui: uilic (see) or ubic (perceive) may be intended.

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tepal echi xan. Bee, uet halach uinicile. Bin tun in kub a pop ɣ a ɔam ɣ a uahaulil cech mehene, atial tepal atial ix ahaulil xan, cech mehene."

Bay tun bin ɔocebal u thanal u batabil cahob ca bin lukuc[c]ob yicnal yax/halach uinic te tu pol petene. Ca tun xicob ti yotoch. Tii tun yan ti yotochob tan u ɔaic u hanalob halach uinic, tan ix u katic u hanal tiob xan bay binebal u tzolic lae. p.38 C

"Mehene, ca a talez ten cancot chac-ɔiɔib yan tu hol actune. Ti[n]uatal yokol in yax pakab chi. Chacniceni uil ualic u pput yokol in yax pakab chie, can bin kuchuc tin tane." "Caybacac be, yume." He ix lic u katice lay ciuie. Hex u <p>put lic yalice: lay yom chucuae. Hex u yax pakab chie: cacau ɔocan u huc̄ul. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u c̄hic̄hil akab y u hoc̄hil akab, yet tal u ɔomel caan. Hach yan uol uilab uaye." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay hoyobe licil u tocabal pome. Hex u hoc̄hil akab lic a katice, lay kane. Hex u ɔomel caane, lay pome. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u bacel a yum lay a mucah oxppel habhie. Hach yan uol uilab." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ɔiine pibbil. Ca xic ɔabil ti halach uinic.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul nohxib lay ma kalan u botonil u habone, homto chac u kabae." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ibache, ix ueche.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten ox buh caan, yan uol in hantante." "Caybacac be, yume."/Hex lic u katice, thohob zacae, lay <y>om zacae. Zuyua thanil bin katabal tulacal. p.39 C

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u chun cii, u cucutil cii, minan u kabi. Ma a lukzic yol[l]i. Yet tal ox thothol yoc tzitzil." "Caybacac, yume." He ix lic u katice, u pol keken pibbil. Ca bin xic ɔabil tie. Hex yol lic yalice, lay yake, tumen he yakbale u yol. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u cozil akab in hantante." "Caybaac, yume." He ix lic u katice, pollos, ah thel. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a ual ti yax ix ɔoy, otlom cabal u kabae, ca u talez ten hun xuxac pic̄hum, ti u chucul yalan noh copoe, ti banan tu boy copoe." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, eek buul ti yan ti yotoch ah cuch cab, lay yax ɔoy ɣ otlom cabale lic yalice. Zuy<ua than>.

"Mehene, ca xic chucbil u balamil actun, tamenel u ciilte in hanal. Yan uol in hantante balam." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex balam lic u katice, lay haleu[u]e. Zuyua than.

"Mehene ca a talez ten uuc yal u pix ix mayum. Yan uol in hantante tu kini uil u hantabale." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ɔotob chaye.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten yax tzublalob uaye. Ca tacob ti okot in chaante. Yet talob u pax ɣ zoot ɣ u ual ɣ u kab pax. Lay in pakob." "Caybacac, yume."

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Hex lic u katice, ah tzo. Hex u paxe, u koo. Hex u zoote, u pol. Hex u uale, u ne. Hex u kab u paxe, u chacbacel. Zuyua than.

p.40 C "Mehene, ca a talez ten u caz peten. Yan uol in/hantante." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, u kabil cab. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u tun<i>chil chuh cab, lay elele. Yet talel yalili uchebal in tupic uay ix u xicil tin tane." Hex lic u katice, pibil macal. Hex yalile utial u tupice, lay u kabil cabe. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten akab cocay. Lay hun xaman, hun chikin u man u booc. Yet tal<e>l[1] u lezak balam." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, chamal. Hex u lezak balam lic u katice, lay kake.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten a uixmehen in uilab. Lay hach zac haɔen u uiche, hach cichpame. Zazac u booch̄ ɣ u kaxi. Hach yan uol ti." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, zac luch ɣ tzune zacae. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten zabel u kabae. Lay zamacnac u booce." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay melone.[2]

"Mehene, ca a talez ten yax ix lochen cal, yayax u pach. Yan uol in hantante." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice u cal ah tzoo. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ch̄uplal hach zac uouol u ppul yoc. Uay in zilic u pic tu ppul yoce." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice chicam. Hex u zilic u pice, u ɔilic u pach.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ch̄uplal hach cichpam hach zac u uich. Hach yan uol tii. Uay in pulic u pic ɣ yipil tin tane." "Caybacac be, yume."

p.41 C Hex lic u katice, huncot ix tux ulum u hantante. Hex u pulic u pice/ɣ yipile, lay u thocol u kukmele. Catun kaktabac utial hanal. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ah canan col nohxib uaye. Yan uol uilab u uich." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, u cucutil macal u hantante. Ɔa nat.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten ix canan col ixnuc ektunlah u uinicile. Uuc nab u tan yit[t]e. Yan uol uilab." Hex lic u katice, lay u yax ich ɔole. Zuyua than.

Bin kuchuc u kin.

Hele ti kin tu po<k>chektah ca yum yax halach uinic lae. Licitac yulel uay ti luum, tu lumil Yucal-peten lae, cu payic batabob. Ca bin tac batabob. Payal u cahob tumen ca yum halach uinic. "Tex ua batabe?" "Toni be, yume." Ci uil u thanob lae.

"Mehenexe, ua tex halach uinic uay ti luum lae," ci uil yalabalob lae, "xenex ch̄a xiknal balam, ca tac ex a ɔab ex in hante. Cicii ɔa ex yuob, cicii ɔa ex u pputoob, ca tac ex a ɔa ex in hante, ɣ xen ex tac tuzebal hach hele ɣ[3] tac a tal exe. Mehen exe, hach yan in uol in hante. Cex mehen exe, cex halach uinic exe." Heob <i>x ma yohele otzilhom u tucul ɣ u pacat. Be, mabal bin yalab. He ix yohelobe cilmac yol ca bin xic u ch̄ab xiknal balam. Ca tun tac

[1] talel: suppl. Ber. [2] melone: milone C. [3] ɣ: y C.

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yetel. "Tech ua, mehene?" "Teni be, yume." "Tech ua cẖibale, mehene?" "Teni be, yume." "Cex a lakob, mehene?" "Yume, ti yanob ti kaxe u xachetob balame." Minan balam tu/thanob. Ca tun u manez tu tan. Hex lic u katice p.42 C lay balame, u tzimin ah batabil u kat u hante. Lay tzembil tzimine. Hex yue, lay cascabelese. Hex u ppute, lay chachac kuche. Cici ɔabil y̱ u silla y̱ u freno. Zuyua than.

X

(THE CREATION OF THE WORLD)

Ti hach kabet u bel yoczabal ti ol. Lay u tunil tu ppatah ca yum citbil. Lay u kamchi, lay baalche licil ca tzicic uay, con ah tepal uin<i>cob.

Hach paybentzil u kultabalob hahilob kuob, laobi tunob, cumlahic hahal ku, ca yumil ti Dios, u yumil caan y̱ luum, hahal ku. Bacacix yax kuobe hauay kuob. Ɔoc u than u kultabalob. Kazpahiob tumen u bendicion[1] u yumil caan, ca ɔoci u lohol balcah ca ɔoci u caput cuxtal, halhal ku, hahal D<io>s, ca u cicithantah caan y̱ luum. Ti kazpahi a kul, Maya uinic exe. Xeth a uol ta kul ex lae.

U kahlay cab tu kinil, lay tumen ɔiban lae, tumen ma kuchuc tu kin u meyah lay hunob lae, picil thanob lae, utial katabal u chi Maya uinicob ua[y] yohelob bix zihanilob eɔlic cab uay ti peten lae.

Ti peten.

Blurred picture of a face.

[2]Ichil Buluc Ahau tii ca hoki Ah Mucencab kaxic u uichob Oxlahun-ti-ku; maix yoheltahobi u kaba, halili u cic y̱ u mehenobe. Yalahob ti maix chancanhii u uich tiob xan. Tuchi ix ca ɔoci u yahal cabe, maix yoheltahob binil ulebal. Ca ix chuci Oxlahun-ti-ku tumenel Bolon-ti-ku. Tii ca emi kak; ca emi tab; ca emi tunich y̱ che. Ca tali u baxal che y̱ tunich. Ca ix chuci Oxlahun-/ti-ku. p.43 C Ca ix paxi u pol; ca ix lahi u uich; ca ix tubabi; ca ix cuch-pach-hi xan. Ca ix colabi u canhel[3] y̱ u hol zabac. Ca cẖabi ix kukil, ix yaxum.[4] Y ca cẖabi ibnel <p>puyem[5] uiil, y̱ u puczikal <p>puyem[5] zicil, y̱ u <p>puyem[5] topp, u <p>puyem[5] buul. U teppah <y>inah[6] yax Bolon Ɔacab, ca bini tu yoxlahun taz caan. Ca ix tun culhii u maɔil y̱ u ni u baclili uay yokol cabe. Ca tun bin u puczikal tumenel Oxlahun-ti-ku, ma ix yo<he>ltahob[7] binci u puczikal uiil lae. Ca ix hullahi[8] ix ma yumob y̱ ah numyahob, ix ma ichamob cuxanob ix ti minan u puczikalob. Ca ix mucchahii tumen u yam zuz[9] tu yam kaknab.

Hun uaɔ hail, hulom haail, tii ca uchi col canhelili.[10] Ti homocnac canal, homocnac ix ti cab, ualic cantul ti ku, cantul ti Bacab, lay hayezob. Tuchii tun

[1] bendicion: bendision C.
[2] Parallel versions of this passage are found in the Mani MS, p. 161, and the Tizimin MS, p. 20. [3] Canhel T: cangel C. [4] ix yaxum M & T: ix yaxun C.
[5] ppuyem M & T: puyem C. [6] yinah M & T: inah C.
[7] yoheltahob M: yoheltah T: yoltahob C. [8] hullahi C: hutlahi M & T.
[9] zuz M: zuc C. [10] canhelili: cangelili C.

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ca ɔoci haycabil lay cahcunah uchebal ca tzolic kan-xib-yuy<um>.[1] Caualhi zac imix che ti xaman. Ca ix ualhi yocmal caan, u chicul haycabal, lay zac imix che ualic cuchic. Ca ix ualhi ek imix che, cu<lic> ektan piɔoy.[2] Ca ix ualhii kan imix che u chicul haycabal, culic kantan piɔoy, cumlic ix kan-xib-yuy<um>, ix kan-oyal-mut. Ca ix ualhi yax imix che tu chumuc, u kahlay haycabil.

Culic, uatal, cumtal u cah u lac uyanal[3] katun, ah pay kab, ah pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u cah chac piltec tu lakin cab, ah pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u
p.44 C cah zac pilte<c> tu xaman cab, ah/ pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u cah Lahun Chan, ah pay kab tu yum. Cumtal u cah kan piltec, ah pay kab tu yum. Hex u uol cab ualic Ah Uuc Cheknale, tali ti uuc taz cab, ca emi u chekebte u pach Itzam-kab-ain, tii ca emi tu muk u xuk luum caan. Ximbal u cahob tu can cib, tu cantaz ti ek. Ma zazil cab, ti hun minan kin, ti hun minan akab, ti hun minan u. Ah ubaob ti ix tan u yahal cab. Ca tun ahi cab. ✠ Ualacito yahal cab, oxlahun[4] pic ɔac tu uuc u xocan yahal cab. Catun ah cab tiob.

Ci uba cakin ɔam, ox kin ɔam. Ca ix hoppi yokol Oxlahun-ti-ku. Okol u cahob ti yahaulil. Chacab tun tepal, chac-hix pop, chac acan u yax chel cab. Chacan u numteil cab tumenelob Uuc-yol-zip. Ma ix tu kin u tepal lay lic yokticob Bolon-ti-ku lae. Tii ca tali u tzolol pop. Chac[c]ix pop culic Bolon-ti-ku. Ɔut polbil ix yit, ti culic tu pop. Tica emi ziɔ, tali tan yol caan, lay u ziɔil tepal, u ziɔil ahaulil.

Ca ix cumlahii chac eɔ; ca cumlahi zac yeɔebil ahaulil eɔ; ca cumlahii ek eɔ; ca cumlahii kan eɔ.

Ca cumlahii Chac-tenel Ahau, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca culhi Zac-temal <Ahau>, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca cumlahii Ek-tenel Ahau, au ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca cumlahii Kan-tenel Ahau, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ti ku ix tu than; ti ua ix ti ma ix kui, ti minan ix u uah, ti minan ix yaal.

p.45 C Hun xeli / lic ualic u mul ui t ic,[5] ma ix tab u tal u yabal lic u yancuntic. Caal u mut ti culic cal kin, caal numya, ti tali tamuk yahaulil, ca kuchi ti culic tu pop. Top canal hopan u kak. Colob[6] u uich kin; tocan ti cab lay u buuc ti yahaulil. Lay u chun licil yoktic u tepal. Tu kin numen kin, numen celem. Tu kinil u natal naat ahauob. Can ualic u cẖic che. Mol tu kin zatay babalili. Can ualic u che ah muuc tu ho<l>can be,[7] tu ho<l>can heleb. Okom bulcum; tu kinil momolii pepen. Ti tali chac mitan numyaɔ, lic u talel ox uin keech, u kin Ox Ahau Katun. Ox tuc ti hab, lay bin nuppuc ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Ca bin cumlac uyanal katun. Ox u uah. ox yaal; cup u uah, cup yaal; la cu hantic, la cu yukic. Xbatun, cẖimcẖim-chay cu hantic. Lay culhi uay tu cahal numyae, yume, ichil u bolon tun. Tu kin yan ɔulili. Katal u cah u cuch katun tulah yabil Ah Oxlahun Ahau.

[1] kan-xib-yuyum M: kan-xib-yuy C.
[2] piɔoy C: pixoy M: picɔoy T. [3] uyanal M: canah ual C. [4] oxlahun: oxlahum C.
[5] The Maya compiler appears to have been unable to read this phrase.
[6] colob: colop C. [7] hol can be: supplied from Kaua, p. 166; ho can be C.

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Tii [ca] ca u hekah yoc Ah Buluc Ahau. Tii ca emi u than Bolon Ɔacab u ni yak. Ca emi katal u cah u cuch katun [katun], bolonte u cuch, ca emi ti caanil. Kan ix u kinil kaxci u cuch. Tii ca emi haa, tali tan yol caan uchebal u caput zihil Bolon-haaban yotoch. Yet emcii Bolon-mayel; cẖahuc u chi, u ni yak. Cẖahuchi u ɔomel. Ti ca emi cantul chaac uaya<b> caat lae, lay u cabilob nicte lae.[1]/ Tii ca hoki ix chac hoch kom ti, ɣ ix zac hoch kom ti, ɣ ix ek p.46 C hoch kom ɣ ix kan hoch kom, ɣ ix hau nab[2] ɣ ix huk nab.[3] Yet hokci tun ix ho yal nicte ɣ ix ho nixte, ɣ ix ninicẖ cacau, ɣ ix chabil tok,[4] ɣ ix bac nicte, ɣ ix Macuil Xuchite, ix hobon yol nicte, ɣ ix laul nicte, ɣ kouol yoctah nicte. Lay hokob nicte, laob ix ah conmayelob,[5] lay u naa[6] nicte. Ca hokiob yuɔub ah kin, yuɔub ahau, yuɔub holcan, lay u cuch nicte ahau ca emi, minan ix uyanal, lay uile cu than. Ma ix uah u cuchma. Tii tun ca hoki ix haulah nicte oczic u keban Bolon-ti-ku. Oxte ix ti hab u kin ca yalah cuchii, ma ix kuchi cẖab-naci ku mitnali Bolon Ɔacab. Ca emi tu chun nicte Ppizlimte<c>, yax bac ɔunun ix u uayinah ca emi. Ca u ɔuɔah u cabil bolon yal nicte tu ichil tun. Ca cẖa-icham-nii ix ho yal nicte. Catun hoki u puczikal nicte u ximbantez uba. Can hek ix u lac nicte lae, ti ix culan Ah Kin Xocbiltun chumuc. Tii ca uchi u hokol[7] Oxlahun-ti-ku, ma ix yoheltah yemel u keban u pop ti ku<chi> ix tu than cuchie.[8] Nicte ix u pop, nicte ix u kanche [nicte yema]. Zauin culic, zauin u ximbal. Zauin u lac, zauin u luch. Zauin u puczikal, zauin u nat, zauin u tucul, zauin u chi. Cool u than ti yahaulili. Tu kin<a>uat uil, <a>uat ukul,[9] tu xay u chi lic u hanal, tu pach u xau lic u uil u chiic. <Et>ma chee, etma tunich. Chac u cool yan ti; Lahun Chan u uich ti culic. Zip u uich, zip u than, zip u can, zip u naat, zip u ximbal. Kaxan u uich ti culic. Cẖa <u> cah, <tza u cah> u/pop,[10] culic tamuk yahaulil. Tuban p.47 C u yum, tuban u naa, ma ix yohelma u naa alintee. Thaban u puczikal tu hunal ichil ix ma yumil, ah pocẖ yum, ichil ix ma nail. Bin ximbalnac calan u mut, zatal u naat, yicnal u yum, yicnal u naa. Minan tibil ti, minan utz tu puczikal, halili yan tu ni yak ɔeɔec loe. Ma yohel bix bin ɔoc[c]ebal; ma ix yohel bal yan tu ɔoc yahaulili, lay ca bin ɔocnac u kinil u tepale.

He Bolon-ti-ku-lae. Bolon Chan<u>uich ahau[u]il uinicob, ah cakin pop, ah cakin ɔam. Lay tali ichil Ox Ahau Katun. Ti ix bin yanac uyanal u yumil peten, yah culcin[n]ahul u than uyanal katun, ca bin ɔococ u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Tu kinil u concon mehen, lay bin yanac yokol u nunil Ah Itza. Hun ua chuen, hun ua celem, hunɔit tunil u kex u keban u nunil Ah Itza. Lay Bolon-ti-ku lay bin ɔocebal u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Ti ix

[1] Ti ca emi cantul chaac uaya caat lae, lay u cabilob nicte lae. C. Ti ca emi catul chac uayab zooɔ lae, laix ɔuɔe u cabilob nicte. M & T.
[2] ix hau nab, M & T: ix hau nal C. [3] huk nab, C: kuk nab, T.
[4] chabil tok, M: chauil tok, C. [5] ah conmayel ob, T: ah comayelob, C.
[6] naa, C: na, M & T. [7] u hokol, M & T: u huhu yol, C.
[8] ti kuchi ix tu than cuchi, M: kuchi tu than cuchi, T: ti ku ix ta than cuchie, C.
[9] auat uil, auat ukul, M & T: uat uil, uaat ukul, C.
[10] Cha u cah, tza u cah u pop, M & T: chac cah u pop C.

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u natalnat yahaulil cabobi ɔocebal u than katun. Tix u chacanhal u cẖibal almehenobi batabob ɣ uyanal ah cuxolalob ɣ u cẖibal batabob. Lay muc-chektabi luum tu uichobe, ca mabalhiob tumen u co kin, u co katun, u mehen kaz, yal <i>x buyuk, lay zihob ca ahi cab ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Bay bin ɔocebal u tepalob ah cappel ichob ti ca yumil ti Dios.

Hex ca bin ɔocnac u than katun lae, ca tun u ɔab D<io>s yuchul hun yeciil tucaten, lay hay cabile. Lay tun cu ɔocole, ca tun emec ca yumil ti
p.48 C Jesu Christo yokol komil Josapat tu xax cah Je/rusalen, uchic u lohic coon tu cilich kikel. Lay ix bin emec ti noh muyal u ɔab u tohol canil hah u manzah ti zinan ti cruz che cuchie. Tii tun yemel ti noh u chucil, ti noh ix u tepal xan hahal D<io>s, lay hahal ku, lay zihez caan ɣ yokolcab tulacal. Layx bin emec taxcuntic yokolcab xan tu yutzil ɣ u lobtacil yah ɔoyzahulob ah munob.[1]

XI

(THE RITUAL OF THE ANGELS)

Dominus vobiscum u lah ci u thanob u ka<y>il ti minan caan ɣ luum. Tii ca zih tan homlah cabil ti minan caan ɣ luum ox amay tun gracia,[2] uchci u patci u kuil ah tepale, ti minan caan cuchie. Ti ca zihi uucte tun, uucp-pel katun, cẖuyan tu yol ik, uucte tete; ci bin ca pecni uucppel ix u graciail[3] xan. Uuctul ix u santoil xan. C<a>ma xiic lo uchci u zihil ti hun tun g<raci>a, hun picib g<raci>a, uchci u picil akab ti minan D<io>s cuchie. May to u kamab u D<io>sil cuchie. Tiili yan ichil g<raci> a tuba tu hunal ichil akbil ti minan caan ɣ luum. Ca buki tu ɔoc katun, ti ma uchuc zihil ti hunte katun. Yanii u tuyii adeu ti para mii, uchci u kuil, ca lukii.

Ca ix xibni tu ca picib tun g<raci>a. Ca kuchi tu cap<p> el katun Alpilcon u kaba yangelil[4] zihci. Lukul tu cibah u cappel g<raci>a tu cappel
p.49 C u picil akab, ti mamac yanac cuchie. Ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu/hunal, ca tali u lukul. "O firmar," ciix u than ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu hunal.

Ca lukii, ca bini tu yox picib tun g<raci>a. Alba Congel u kaba an-gelili. Lay u yoxppel g<raci>a.

Xic en tu can picib tun g<raci>a, u canppel uil akab. Atea Ohe, lay u kaba yangelili. Zihil u cibah u canppel g<raci>a, ca hoppi u thanic uba tu hunal. "Be kue, ah tepale! Ma baca mac en tin hunali baca," cu than tu balanil tu kuil ichil g<raci>a. "Xic en to," ci u than.

Ca bini tu ho picib tun g<raci>a, tu ho picib akab. Zihil u cibah u hoppel g<raci>a tu hoppel katun. Caa ualhi u thanab u kuil. Ca zihi yange-lili; Deçipto u kaba yangelili ca ualhi. "Xic en it baca. Mac en uile? Ku

[1] ah munob: ah nunob C. [2] gracia: grasia C. [3] graciail: grasiail C.
[4] yangelil: u angelil, C.

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en baca, ah tepal en baca," ca ix u than u kuil tu ba tu hunal. "A ninite dei sin," cu than ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu hunal.

Ca bini tu uac picib tun g<raci>a, tu uacppel u ppizil akab, tu uacte katun. "Ku ex ah tepal exe! Nuc ex in than. Ma baca mac yan ti hunali baca."

Zihil u cibah uucppel g<raci>a. Conlamil u kaba yangelil. "Ten kul u ba ku tex, ku exe. Nuc ex in than. Ma baca mac yan, mamac nucic in than." Ci uil u than ti ualic tamuk u zihzic uucte g<raci>a. Cilmac ti yol zihici uucte katun, uucppel zazil, uucppel ix u ppizil akab, uuc picib.

Abiento bocayento de la zipil na de fente note. Sustina g<raci>a, trece[1] mili, yno cargo bende. Ix huntic, catic, oxhuntic, oxhun bacam u katunil, ox uuc pic. Ca ti ah cab ti D<io>s citbil tu ba tu hunal;/ tu tunil ox amay tun p.50 C g<raci>a ahci cab ti D<io>s citbil ✠ u kaba u pectzil. Unidad ɣ D<io>s citbil, lay u kaba, henabil ex u katunil ex. Ox ɔacab hun yaban uaan ca tali. Uucpiz ɔacab ix tu cange <l>.[2] Can ten hi ix u yax than. Hun ɔalab ti akab, hun ɔalab ti canal: "Teni u chune, teni uil bin ɔocebale." Hex tun u can muchi[3] u thane: "Datate uayi ti kaman cahe. Teni unidate, ten ix unitata, ten ix u cume, ten ix unitata anuni. Talel u cah unidad."

Nilu u kaba akab. Lay u yax than ku lae; lay u yax than citbil lae. Ti ma xix tun u tunil tu ba tu hunal ichil akbilile. Etomas, Zipancaz, u kaba ik. Hun Katun u yum. Otaho-canil, Aucangel u kaba ik. Heronix[4] u kaba ik. Xicluto-tu-tanil u kaba ik lae. Virtutus u kaba ik. Joramis[5] u kaba ik tu caɔic katun. Hetun cu than, ca t<i> helpah tune, "Jaxyon-lacalpa." U macah u kaba u cilich caanil ualic[6] ca cilich yum citbil. Bolay u kaba u canil u caɔic caan. He ix tu toz[7] yoc sustinal g<raci>a u kaba. Ti ix ti utzhi Lonmias.[8] Lom tun u tunil ichil akbil. Zihontun u tunil eɔlic lay tunob; tu yox-ten-hi u cutal tu yoc sustina g<raci>a lay tunob zihob, yan yalan hun uil tun y chac ye tun, ocontun, chac ye napal tun, chac[c]iob tun tulacal ti hunac tzuc ti cabob yax ahau/ Dios citbil lae. Huntic katun lay zihci u p.51 C <p>pelel mehen D<io>s lae. Catic katun citbil. Oxtic katun Expleo u caan u kaba chihe Chac Opilla u kaba ualic u caanil, Enpileo caan u kaba lae. Expleo u kaba ichil yax le Dios lae. Hebones u ppelel mehen D<io>s. Nen bin ti heclic tu celembal u yum tu tunil yume.

Ca bin <i>x zihzah u coo caanil caan. Heklay hunppel gracia, hunppel tun, zihan tun kak, Tixitate u kaba, u zazilil caanil. Sustinal bin u za<z>hal u zazil caanil. Acpa u men katun zihci zazil ich caanil. Alpa u manga u kaba xulci lae.

[1] trece: trese C. [2] cangel: camge C. [3] muchi: possibly muc-hi.
[4] Heronix: possibly Hieron. [5] Joramis: perhaps Jehoram.
[6] ualic: yalic would suit the context better. [7] toz: badly blurred in the text.
[8] Lonmias: probably Hieronymus is intended.

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Cangeles ik ualic tamuk u cẖabtic ek, ma zazac cab, minan caan y̱ luum.
Chac Pauahtun.
Zac Pauahtun.
Ek Pauahtun.
Kanpauahtun.

He yax caan ualic Dios citbile, u machma u tunil, u machma u cangel, u machma ukabalil, ti cẖuyan tu cangeles ik. Cerpinus u kaba, hetun yalane Orele u ppiz luum. Oxtul personaob, lay Dios citbil, Dios mehenbil, Dios espiritu sancto. Ualic planetas, Sa[n]turnio, Jupiter, Marte, Venus lic yalic u machma kui, caanil uchic u cẖab. He u kaba caane, c[h]ristalino. He
p.52 C Angelob lae, Corpinus u kaba / u lathma u cicithanbilil yumbil ti minan caan y̱ luum. Inpicco u kaba uchic u tzitzatabal Angelesob tulacal. Baloyo u kaba ca ca uecan. Seros u kaba, Et sepeuas. Laus Deo.

Cabal Chac Bolay balam y̱ cacau balamte. Esperas u kaba uac taz caan. Isperas u kaba uuc taz caan. Ca zihi yokol cab tumen D<io>s ah tepale tu uucte katun, zihic ichil akbil. Espiritu u kaba. S<an>to Edendeus S<an>to Eluçeo santoob lay ti ila u zihil u lamay tun, u lamay akab. "Se repite, eli tun, entri de noche," cii u than ca tu thanah u lamay tun, u lamay akab. "Tronas, Aleseyo de mundo de gracia. En apedia tejo çipi dia te en pieted graçia. S<an>to Esuleptun jam estum est gr<aci>a. Suplilis el timeo me firme ab infinitis gra<ci>a y metis absolubtum ti metis de graçia. Abegintis gra<ci>a, Edendeo gra<ci>a, de fentis de gracia, fenoplis tun gra<cia>. Locom dar y̱ me gra<cia>, tretris u mis gra<cia>. Noçi luçi de graçia, in pricio de gra<cia>, trese mili uno de cargo, leonte."

Huntic, catic, oxhuntic, huntuuc, oxhun bakam u katunil. Ox uuc pic u yahal cab ca zihi u lamay tun, u lamay akab, ti minan caan y̱ luum. Ca
p.53 C than tumen D<io>s citbil / tu ba tu hunal, ti ox cocox akab cuchie. Lay u yax than ku ti minan caan y̱ luum, ca ti luk tu tunil, ti lubi tu capiz tun. Tiix tun u patah u kuil. Ca pecnahi huntic pic katun, cu than hunpiz ti tun de gracia, hun piliz tun de gra<cia>. Op hach kintah tu pach acantun. Mac ti zihi ca emi ca yum? Tech a uohel. Zihil u cah u yax batan op hoch̄ cẖintah tu pach acantun. Bal ti zihi coe? Bal ua? yume. Tech a uohel. Zihil u cah ah mun ti caan. Çiripacte, horca mundo. Ni mompan pan est noche. Amanena, omonena, apa opa. Hokci ik ti calam tun gra<cia>. "Cipiones ted coruna, pater profecido," ci bin u than ca kuchi tu uucppel capa u zuhuytun gra<cia>. "Bal te piones, orteçipio, reçi quenta noche. Hun ebrietate, hun cute profeciado," uchci u thanal Angel Gerupite<r>. Ca ɔab caan, Corporales ti ojales, tumenel yax papa, u uich katun, u cuch katun, ti Oxlahun Ahau. Ualkahom u uich kin, nocpahom yokol ualac yahaulil zatay uinicil, zatay ahaulil. Hoppel kin chian kin, ca bin pacatnac u taahte Oxlahun Ahau, chicul
p.54 C u cah D<io>s uchuc u cimil yahaulil/lay lumoob lae. Bay ix ca bin tac lay yax ahaucob u paah ubaob. Ca tali yocol christianoil uay ti peten lae.

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Bay ix bin u ɔaic chicul ca yumil ti D<io>s ca bin tacob, yoklal minan hun olal. Hach man u than numzah ya ti yal u mehenob, u christiano-ma on tan tun u manzic oon bay balcheobe. Lay ya tu yol Dios ti ah ɔuɔob loe.

Miliquinientos[1] treinta y nueve[2] años, bayla 1539 años, likinbail u hol yotoch D<o>n Juan Montejo, ocez christianoil uay ti peten lae, Yucalpeten, Yucatan lae.

Chilam Balam profeta.[3]/ p.55 C

Bay helelae ma lob kin tun . . . ento y cil u y/[3] p.56 C

Heix u ca kaba Dios
Citbil ca tali u
yanhal tu personase,[4]
zihanili balcah ɣ
luume. Lay tun u
kaba lae Josue[5] u
caɔice. Tu yoxɔice u
ca kabae ox uch oxtenhi
lae Mesister Latin tun
dei Romançe.

Chac Pauahtun
Ut Corusis.
Zac Pauahtun
Corocalbo.
Ek Pauahtun
Corusi provento.
Kan Pauahtun
Moses.
No vis.
No va.

(Up and down the center of the page runs an illumination of scrolls interspersed with small crosses.)

Mesias[6] u kaba Dios ti
ma zihic caan ɣ luum.
Lay Mesias[7] Xpoe u kaba,
catun u zihzah Angelob, heuac
chacan[n]ili ti Dios binili
zipic Angelobe tan haz tze.

U caɔic u kaba
Dios lay Manuel.
U ɔaci u kaba tu
yoxɔic u kabae,
lay tun Jeremias[8] u kabae
ti minan caan ɣ luume./ p.57 C

(Page 57 of this manuscript contains no Maya Text. The picture with its accompanying legends in Latin and Spanish will be found in the translation.)/ p.58 C

XII

(A SONG OF THE ITZÁ)

Damaçeno u kaba chakan patci ca yax yum Adan tumenel D<io>s. He ix u kabae, lay u yax kaba lae Adan, ca oci u pixan, ca uacunabi Paraiso. Zihanili tun Adan, ca zihi ca yax na ti Evae, yax c̄huplal, u naa balcah tuzinil. Chun thah biin tun, hun thah bin haban, ca zihi, ti minan caan cuchie.

Hetun Citbile zihi tuba tu hunal ichil akbil. He tunobe hunpay zihciob. Hetun Acantune lay luum lae. Lay ix c̄habi uchci u patal Adan xan. Lay tac u mehen, lay ocantacob yicnal Acanobe. B<a>la hex u kabatahob ca patlahobe. Layi tac u yax chun u uinicil.

[1] Milquinientos: milicinientos C. [2] nueve: nuebe C.
[3] Written in a different hand.
[4] personase: personaçe C. [5] Josue: sosue C. [6] Mesias: Meçias C.
[7] Mesias: mexias C. [8] Jeremias: Heremias C.

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Dios Citbil, Dios Mehenbil, ɣ Dios Espiri<tu> Santo, lay molcab D<io>s lae. Lay zihob tu tunil chac hilib tun ɣ uyub tun graçia. Lay Verbo u kabae, Josustin graçia.

Hetun yixhun yetae, zihi tu tunil ek oyol tun, lay Verbum-tuorum u kabae, Iix-coal-tun, Ix-coaal-cab, ti u cħaah u colel cabili. Ca bin ti cutal ox-cocox-caan, u cocox[x]il caan cuchie. Zac-homen culic tac[c]abal ti yol sustinal graçia. Oxklahun pic u katunil chelan tu tunil.

Ca pecnahi u uilim Hunac Ceel Ahau.

Kay: E! Ma<c> etkin on? Tix kanthixal ti tun. E! Mac u cobol yutz-tacil uinic? In nok, in uex. Yalaho ua kue. Bala ca uoktic iix? Ci ix mamace. U munal en u Chicħeen, cen, ti ulio chuc lum ɔiɔ u tah katun.
p.59 C Ayano!/Tu Chicħeen Itzao antan he<re>yao. Yulu uayanoo! E! Ti hun Ymix u kiinil chuc[c]aan bin ahau tu Chikin-cħeene. E! Taba ech yane kue. E! Tun hun Imix u kin yalah. Tu Chicħeen Itzaoa anta<n> hereyao. Yulu uayano! Muclam, muclam! Ci ix yauato. Muclam, muclam! Ci xan yohelob thunci yaue. Ci xan yauato tu hunte yax kine, chichil kinii, ca te akyabil ti talio. Ayano, ayano, ayano! Yulu uayano! Yan xin mac xin ahan uale? Chichilni ca te<n>. Ayano! Ox ten c' acan u kine kue cahualob, cahualob. Uuiyao! Maxan ulom tu Chicħeen Itzaoa anta<n> hereyae. Yulu uayano! Oxte caan u kin. He, mac en ua tu than tan yol uinice? Cen u mac lee. Eya! Mac en ua tu than tan yol Putun? Men a nateo. Eyan! Cħab en akab en. Coon ua zihiio? Eya! Alak on Mizcit Ahau. Hoa tal u xul u max. E, la bin in ka<h>cuntah tin kay be. Antan hereyao. Yulu uayano! Eya! Cimil en, yalah, tumen u kin caho. Eya! Ca tac en, yalahe, tumen u zat caho. U ti ulah ti yol, u tuclah tu puczikale. Men u zatzaho.[1] Uali<c> ka<h>cun
p.60 C tan in kayo. Antan hereyao. Ayano yulu uayano!/Lay kay tulacal lae, u ɔoclukanil yanumal Ahau Dios lae.

XIII

(THE CREATION OF THE UINAL)

Bay tzolci yax ah miatz, Merchise, yax ah bovat, Napuctun, sacerdote, yax ah kin. Lay kay uchci u zihil uinal ti ma to ahac cab cuchie. Ca hoppi u ximbal tuba tu hunal. Ca yalah u chich, ca yalah u ɔenaa, ca yalah u mim, ca yalah u muu: "Bal bin c'alab ca bin c'ilab uinic ti be?" Cu thanob tamuk u ximbalob cuchie, minan uinic cuchi. Catun kuchiob te ti likine, ca hoppi yalicob. "Mac ti mani uay lae? He yocob lae. Ppiz ta uoci." Ci bin u than u colel cab. Cabin u ppizah yoc ca yumil ti D<io>s Citbil. Lay u chun yalci xoc lah cab oc lae, lahca Oc. Lay tzolan zihci tumen oxlahun Oc, uchci u nup tanba yoc, likciob te ti likine. Ca yalah u kaba ti minan u kaba kin cuchie,

[1] zatzaho: çatcaho C.

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ximbalnahci ɣ u chiich ɣ u ɔenaa ɣ u mim ɣ u muu. Zi uinal, zihci kin u kaba, zihci caan ɣ luum, eb haa, luum, tunich ɣ che, zihci u bal kabnab ɣ luum.

Hun Chuen u hokzici uba tu kuil, u mentci caan ɣ luum.

Ca Eb u mentci yax eb. Emci likul tan yol caan tan yol haa, minan luum ɣ tunich ɣ che.

Ox Ben[1] u mentci tulacal bal, hibahun bal u bal caanob ɣ u bal kaknab ɣ u bal luum./ p.61 C

Can Ix uchci u nixpahal caan ɣ luum.

Ho Men uchci u meyah tulacal.

Uac Cib uchci u mentci yax cib, uchci u zazilhal ti minan kin ɣ u.

Uuc[2] Caban yax zihci cab ti minan toon cuchi.

Uaxac Eɔnab eɔlahci u kab ɣ yoc, ca u cẖicẖaah yokol luum.

Bolon Cauac yax tumtabci metnal.

Lahun Ahau uchci u binob u lobil uinicob ti metnal tumen D<io>s Citbil ma chicanac cuchie.

Bulu<c Im>ix uchci u patic tunich ɣ che, lay u mentah ichil kin.

Lahcabil Ik uchci u zihzic ik. Lay u chun u kabatic Ik tumen minan cimil ichil lae.

Oxlahun Ak<b>al uchci u cẖaic haa, ca yakzah luum. Ca u patah, ca uinic-hi.

Hun[n]il Kan u yax mentci u leppel yol tumenel u lobil zihzah.

Ca Chicchan uchci u chictahal u lobil hibal yilah ichil u uich cahe.

Ox Cimil u tuzci cimil, uchci u tuzci yax cimil ca yumil ti D<io>s.

Ho Lamat lay u tuzci uuclam chac haal kaknab.

Uac Muluc uchci u mucchahal kopob tulacal ti mato ahac cabe. Lay uchci yocol u tuz thanil ca yumil ti D<io>s tulacal ti minan tun than ti caan, ti minan tunich ɣ che cuchi.

Catun binob u tum tubaob. Ca yalah tun bayla:/ "Oxlahun tuc : : : p.62 C
uuc tuc, hun." Lay yalah ca hok u than ti minan than ti. Ca katab u chun tumen yax Ahau kin, ma ix hepahac u nucul than tiob uchebal u thanic ubaobe. Ca binob tan yol caan, ca u machaah u kab tuba tanbaobe. Catun ualah tan chumuc peten heklayob lae. Heklaobi Ah Tocob, cantulob lae.

Can Chicchan		Ah Toc.	E 2ᵘ
Canil Oc		Ah Toc.	Pio
Ca<n>Men		Ah Toc.	MER
Can Ahau		Ah Toc.	

Lay Ahauob, cantulob lae

Uaxac Muluc		Hoil Cauac
Bolon Oc		Uac Ahau
Lahun Chuen	2	Uuc[4] Imix
Buluc Eb		Uaxacil Ik
Lahca Ben[3]	4	Bolon Ak[a]bal
Oxlahun Ix	5	Lahun Kan
Hun Men	6	Buluc Chicchan
Ca Cib		Lahca Cimiy
Ox Caban	7	Oxlahun Manik
Can Eɔnab		Hun Lamat

[1] Ox Ben: ox men C. [2] Uuc caban: uac caban C.
[3] Lahca Ben: Lahca men C. [4] Uuc Imix: Uay Ymix C.

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Lay zihci uinal ɣ uchci yahal cab, tzolci caan ɣ luum ɣ cheob ɣ tunich,
p.63 C zihci tulacal tumen ca yumil ti D<io>s lae, lay Citbil,/ti minan caan ɣ luum, ti bay yanil tu Diosil tu muyalil tuba tu hunal, ca u zihzah[1] balcah tuzinil. Ca pecnahi tu caanil tu kuil: Ti bay noh uchucil yanil ah tepale.

U tzolan kin zanzamal licil u xocol u chun ti likine hebix tzolanile.

XIV

(A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST)

Lay u kaba hab ulci ɔulob lae, de mil quinientos y diez nueve años[2] bay lae 1519. Lay u habil yan ca uli ɔulob uay tac cahal coon Ah Itza, uay ti luum Yucalpeten, Yucatan, tu than Maya Ah Itzaob lae.

Bay yalci yax Adelantado, D<o>n Juan de Montejo yoklal bay alabci ti tumen D<o>n Lorenso Chable uyube lay conquistador[3] Tixkokobe. Kamah ix ɔulob tu uolol u puczikal. He u chun u kabatic D<o>n Lorenso Chableile yoklal u ɔaci kakbil bak u hante ɔulob ɣ cap[p]itanob tulacal. Yan ix u mehen D<o>n Martin Chable u kaba xan.

He u habil cu ximbal ca hoppi u cẖaic uba ɔulob utial u chucicob uay Yucalpeten lae. U yoheltah ix ah kin ah bobat[4] Ah Xupan u kaba. Occi christianoil toon do 1519 a<ños>. Eɔlahci kuna Tihoo do 1540 a<ños>. Ca ɔoci kuna Tihoo do 1599 a<anos> Uchci xe-kik, hoppci cimil toon do 1648
p.64 C años./

U uiihi cimil hoppel hab do 1650 años, do 1651 a<ños>, do 1652 a<ños>, do 1653 a<ños>, do 1654 a<ños>. Ca ɔoci uiih lae. Chac ikal ti cimi Padre Agustin Gomes do 1661 año. Uchci kintunyabil do 1669 anos. Uchci <i>x uzankak do. 1692 año.

XV

(THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM AND THE STORY OF ANTONIO MARTINEZ)

<Ohelte tii kuchi u kin>[5] ti culhi lahunpiz katun,[6] ti culhi nicte katun, oxte uu culan Yuma-une-tziuit, kuk yaxun. Tii ual yan u may chiich,[7] ti ual yan Bolonte-uitz, Yuma-une-tziuit, kuk yaxun. <Ma>mac[8] bin naaticob cẖabtan kintanob ti yahaulili tu lahcapiz tun ti yalah u kaba. La uile balam u pol, uaan u coo ɔuɔul uinicil,[9] pek u uincil.[10] Mancẖacat-han ya tu puczikal.[11]

[1] zihzah: çihcah C.
[2] mil quinientos y diez y nueve años: mil cinnientos i dies y nuebe años C.
[3] conquistador: concixtador C. [4] Ah bobat: Ah bouat C.
[5] Suppl. T. & M. [6] lahunpiz katun C: hunpiz katun T & M.
[7] yan u may chiich, C: yanom u uich, T: yanom ah chich, M.
[8] Mamac, suppl. T & M. [9] ɔuɔul unicil C: tzutzui uinicil T: thul u uinicil M.
[10] pek u uincil, C: ppec uinicil T.
[11] mancẖacat-han ya, C: mancacat hulte, T: mancẖacat lanza, M.

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Ciix u hanal, ciix yukul. <Mala tu thanic>,[1] mala bin yube. Bin ix u tuz coil u than. Matub u ɔaic uba ix cuch luum iɔinil. Bin lukebal uay ti petene. Bin bayacob <i>x cuch lum iɔinil ti yalob yixmehenob ix lolokbayen[2] palalob zamal cabehe. Ɔa ex aba cex uiɔin zucun exe manezex u cuch katun lic u talele. Uamatan a manezexe ti u motzhal ta uoc exe, texi bin u helinte. Ua ma a manzic exe, texi bin kuxic u chun che ɣ xiu. Ua ma a manzic exe, bay cimic cehil[3] bin uchebal u hokol ta cahal ex. Ti ix u hokol ahau. Bin manac u zut ichil a cahal exe ti ma u cuchilie. ¥ <bin uchuc>[4] oc-na-kuchile, u kin u maya-cimlal baalcheob. Tii culhi tu pop hun zip u than, hun zip u can, lay u zip katun. Ox tzuc u uah, <oxil uah u uaah> nicte katun. Lay ti culhii oxlahun yal u pop ah calam cħuuch̄,[5] ah calpach keban. Ti ix u talel Bula, uac tzuc tuba. Ox ten bin manbal Bula. Ca bin uluc u jueçil Bula lae. Ua<lac>[6] ah xolte takin bin u juezilte, uaix zac cib bin u kexinte/xane. He zac cib lae p.65 C
ti yemel justicia likul ti caan, nacebal Christianoil uinic tu uich u justiciail.[7] Ti tun u mentic u pec caan ɣ luum. Ya ix bin ɔocebal nicte katun. Mauil mac bin kuchuc u thanie. Ca bin chinchin-pol-cintabac u teelchacil chee. Ti tun u yukba peten tulacale. Conbil[8] bin ɔocbal u than nicte katune. Minani uil u uilal a ɔaic a pol ex ti Arzobispoe. Ca bin emece, bin xic ex a bal aba ex ti kax. Ua bin a ɔa aba exie, ti binan exi uil tu pach Xpo,[9] ti yanob[10] cochomie. Tii tun ca bin ɔococ u visitae.[11] Talel bin u cib u lilib[12] nicte. Tiix ca bin a nat exe. Ca bin ticin pecnac caane. Tii to ca bin thanac u ɔibte u nak pake. Tiix a ualic ex kuil xanie. Lay bin a uoczic ta uol ex kuil. Hiiuil to mac ah miatz yan a uichil bin natice. Tii tun u binel ti kax u tanle u christianoile, mac bin natic lae.

Halili lo lahu<n> canppel haab u batabil, ca bin hunkul uluc Mehenbil, lay D<o>n Antonio Martinez ɣ Saul,[13] lay u kabaob ca luki ti caan. Tiix ti bini Tzimentane. Ti yan Tzimentan, ti ix ti yalah huntul ix-ahau u yichamte. Uucte ix ti haab u kamic u casamientoil, ca ti hebi u puertail[14] takin ti cankaz-na. Etzabi ti, ca ix u tuz-zihzah[15] chem, oxlahun baak. Ca ix tu likzah katun Havana u lumil. Ti ix yan u nup u than Rey[16] Havana, ca alab u xicin Rey tumen u nup u than. Ti ix yan yah-tacul[17] u hool tu pach. Ca ti bini ti

[1] Mala tu thanic, suppl. T & M. [2] Ix lolokbayan C: ix lokbayenob T & M.
[3] zinic cehil C: cimcehil T & M. [4] Suppl. T & M.
[5] Cħuch̄ M: chuuch C.
[6] suppl. T & M. [7] uinic tu uich u justiciail, C: uale, uenel u uich justicia, T.
[8] Conbil, C: conolbil, T. & M.
[9] Xpo, C: hahal ku tali ti caane, Cristo bin u kabate, T & M.
[10] ti yanob, C: ti yanom T & M. [11] visitae, C: u thibah auichilex, T.
[12] lilib, C: lil, T & M. [13] Saul, C: Xaul, T & M.
[14] u puertail, C: u ho-nail, T & M.
[15] u tuz-zizah chem, C: tu likzah u chem, T: tun likzabi chem, M.
[16] Rey, C: ahau, T.
[17] yah-tacul u hool: yah-tocul u hool, C: yah-tacil u hol, T & M.

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yubah ix u chucul xani. Ti tun likul[1] ca bini te Tzimen<ta>ne. Ti ix tun
p.66 C ti chuci oxppel u lukuc yah chucil. Ca kuchi Tzimentan[n]e. Ti tun chuci/ ti ix u xotah u than ti<yah>chucil ka kuchi Tzimentane. Ca ix yalah: "Xen uinice," cu than ti. "O<x>u[2] in kuchuli," cu than. "Oxppel u luk cech hele lae. Ox u ech a kuchuli, lictun a kuchule, lictun a kalal ti mazcab, tamuk tun in talel. teni[3] bin lukzic ech ti mazcab. Tex cex capitane[4] catulili, bin yanac[5] tin pachi," cu than.

"Naczabac bolon <silla, ti ix bin culac oni.[6]>. Bin ix elec kaknab. Bin in likebali." Ti culan kak u pacat ti.[7] Bin ix likic zuz[8] ɣ yom haai. Bin ix tupuc u uich kin tumen chacbul[9] yikale. Ti tun u cenic[10] uba capitane.[11] Bin ix hutuc tu uich luum[12] tumen ikal xane. Lictun in cumtal tin kanche tun[n]e; lictun u talel ox bak cheme. Ti ix tun u cenic uba Rey[13] xani. "Cha aba, yumile! Te u talel France<s>e." Ci ix u than ten. "Bin cimic oon tumen uinice. Balx a uil u lubul a muke tumen a uet-uinicile lic echi loe? Xicen tin ɔab u tohol chem tan chumuce uet lik ciix in uikal xan."[14]

El ix [el ix] kaknab in binci ix; nooci ix u uich caan. Hetun ca emene taklicil u uich ca zat chem. "Mac uinicila? "cu than ten. "Ten ix ix-ma-okolale; ten ix a chaalte;[15] teni bin a caput-ziheze. Bin ix in tumte in kaba: lay Martinez. Dios Citbil, Dios Mehenbil, Dios Espiritu Santo in kaba!"[16] Ca ix in hokzah uuc-ɔacab libro[17] in xocob. Ca ix ti ɔoci ti oxppel u.

H<e>ix[18] u manzic ubaob ah belnalobe. Ti tun yalah u ɔab u cahal ten, tancoch uinice. "Tab yan a cahal? In cahal tulacal; ti a botic in cahal,[19] cen yax[20] ule."

Lictun in ualic ti, emi justicia uchebal u nacal christianoil, bolon-pixanil. <Lay>bin ɔocebal <nicte uinicil lae>. Ti ix u katabal u probail[21] tiob ti yahaulil cahe, uama yohelobe.[22]

[1] ti tun likul, C: ti tun likuli, M: ti likuli, T. [2] O u, C: ox kin, T: oxppel kin, M.
[3] tini, C: ten, T & M. [4] capitane, C: nacome, T. [5] bin yanac, C. bin tac, T & M.
[6] bolon silla, ti ix bin culac oni, suppl. M: bolon zian ɣ tiɔ ui llan ɔone, C: bolon ti ya cu ilah ɔone, T.
[7] ti culan kak u pacat ti, C: ti culan kak u ɔocoli, T: lic ix u yelil kak pactabali, M.
[8] likic zuz, T & M: likic ex, C. [9] chacbul, T: chac lubuc, C.
[10] u cenic uba, C & T; u cutal, M. [11] capitane, C & M: nacomi, T.
[12] Bin ix hutuc tu uich luum, C: bin hubuc tulacal tunichob yetel luum, M: bin hu . . . <tu>lacal tunichob ɣ luum, T.
[13] Rey, C & M: nacomi, T. [14] Xicen tin ɔal u hool chem chumuc, uet lik ciix uikal, T.
[15] Teni a chaalt-ex, T: Teni a chaahe, M.
[16] For the balance of this paragraph, the following is substituted in M: "Cu than. Caix u hokzah uuc-ɔacab *libro* u xocob ah-kinob ti ooxppel kin u manzic ubaob ah-kinob lae. He u yaxchune yaaxche libro ɔabilae ti Ah Xupan Nauat yetel Ah Kin Chel yetel Ah Naapuctun yetel Nahau Pech. Tiix bin chelan uuc-ɔacab libro ti noh temte. Heklai pootze (poɔ, T) licil u payalchi Ah Kin Pech yetel Ah Kauil Chel yanob ti payalchi ti noh pootze ti noh temte lae u ɔoc u katunil, ti ix tun u nup u uuɔ u katunil talan uchmale ma haual in thani, ten Chilam Balam, caten tzolah u than, u than hahal ku."
[17] libro: liblo C. [18] Heix: suppl. T & M.
[19] ti a botic in cahal, C: bin a bot in cahal, M.
[20] cen Xaule, T & M: cen yax ule, C. [21] probail, C: than, T.
[22] uama yohel obe, C: ua ix mamac yohele, M.

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Ti ix u hokol ich luumil tunich ɣ ich luumil che ti uinic-chahal; ti tun yeɔtal cahi. Minan tun cħamac bin chibalnaci. Lay to Ah Bolon Ahau Katun. Hoppel haabil u binel lay tu lah pach in than lae ti kuchi tu kinil yemel patan. Ti ɔoci u boticob u likzah katunob ca yumob. Ma ix a ualic a uah-ualilil ex katun cu talel kic/nal lae c'ah-lohil ti Jesu Christo, yah-canul ca pixan. Bay p.67 C
uay yokolcabe, bay ca bin u cħa ca pixan tu cilich caanil xan, mehen exe hahal Dios. Amen.

XVI

(A CHAPTER OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

(Picture: conventionalized Maya map. enclosed within a double circle and divided into quarters. It contains the following place-names.) Campech, Calkini, Mani, Tihoo, Cumkal, Zaci, Itzmal.

Oxlahun Eɔnab uchci u heɔ cab. Oxlahun Cheneb uchci u chektabal iglesia[1] mayor ti can-akab-naa, iglesia mayor ti caan. Bay ca chektabi uay xane. Oxlahunte katun u cuch lahun chekbii caan can chek lukii bolon chekeb tun u cuch cu binel canale. He ix ca caput chektabi likul tu uich luume can chekeb ca hek tu uich luum.

He Maniie chun peten. Campech u ni xik peten. Calkini u chun u xik peten. Itzmal u chumuc u xik peten. Zaci u ni xik peten. Conkal u pol peten.

Chumuc cah Tihoo iglesia mayor, u kakal na, u uitzil na, akab na u uilu Dios Yumbil, Dios Mehenbil, Dios Espiritu Santo.

Macx oc tu nail Diose? Yume, lay Ix-Kalem, u kabae.

Bax u kinil takci tu nak Zuhuy Cħuplale? Yume, canil Oc takci tu nak.

Mehene, balx kinil hokci? Oxil Oc hokci.

Bal kinil cimci? Hun Cimil cimci, be. Ti ix oci tu mucnal ti hun Cimie.

Bax oc tu mucnal? Yume, mabentun. Oc tu mucnal.

Bax oc tu chacbacel? Yume, lay chac ha<l>al tune. Lay oc tu tunil cab te ti caane.

Cunx u kabe? Yume, halal tun; lay ix lic u kinbezabal xani, lay oc ti chac zuytunil.[2] Bin ti lakin./Ca tali te ti xamane, lay oc ti zac zuytunil.[2] Lay ix p.68 C
oc ti ek zuytunil[2] ti chikin. Bay ix ti kan zuytunil[2] ti nohol.

Mehene, hayppel kom ọkop? Lay licil yauat chul, chultahe.

Mehene, tab yan ɔonot? Lah ɔam yalile; minan u chichil yite; ti tacan chulul tu hole. Lay kunae.

Mehene, Cex yax casamientosobe? Lub u muk Rey tumenelobe, yetel ix lubci u muk u chayanil[3] halach uinicobe tumenelobe, ɣ layob ix in muk tumenob xan. Lay uahe.

Mehene, ta uilah ua yaxal haaltune? Cappel[l]obe; ti uaan crus chumuce. U uich uinic.

[1] Iglesia: igleçia C.
[2] zuytunil: cuitunil C; çuitunil is probably intended.
[3] chayanil: chiyanil C.

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Mehene, tubx yanob ah yax oc-ha-obe? Yanil huntul ix ma-na, yan yue, yan ix u tzitz-moc xan. Lay peeue, y <i>x ma-yume.

Mehene, cex xtopplah kauile y u ɔomel cooɔ ɔoc yt peehe, y kulim paki? U tuchil ulum.

Mehenexe, talez ex ten hokbah caan y hokob coe. Ceh yetel ba.

Mehene, cex ix-nuc, uucnab u tan yite, <i>x ektunlah c̄huplale? Lay ɔole.

Mehene, il-ex ten zaclah c̄huplal, ueuel uak u pici lic u conic zac toke. Lay cae.

Mehene talez-ex ten cacot ix kan, huncot chachacbili, huncot tix bin xotoc u cali. Bin ix u ukuc[1] u kikel xan. Ix kaan ceh y yax luch yanil chucua.

Mehenexe, ulez-ex ten hun kal ah koch zinil-tunob uaye y catul casadosobe. Bec̄h y mucuy.

Mehene, talez ten zum, oxbal u haxal, in kat in uilae. Lay huhe.

Mehene, tac . . .[2] ci paac-tanal uilab uaye. Lay cie.

Mehene, bin a talez-ex u mac u hol caan y yebal uaye, bolon taz lah cab. Noh uah.

Mehene, ta uilah ua ah noc xamach noh-xibe. Hach noh u koe hoctan u tal ti luume. Lay ah tzoe.

Mehene, talez ten ah canan colob, noh-xibob, hun tuch u tal u choone y yatane. Tix mumil chac.

Talez ex uaye y<ete>l ix ah canan col c̄huplalobe, bin zaclah c̄huplalobe.
p.69 C Ten ix bin lukzic u picob yokole catun in hante. Lay chicame./

Mehene, talez ten noh tzublal in chaante. Ma uil lob yokotob ca bin in uilabe. Lay ah tzoe.

Mehene, cex yax ah mole? Pul nok y pul camissae y zuyem y poc y xanabe.

Mehene, tab ech ti mani? Ti ua ti man ech ti canal buktune nix-be-bal u hol caane, yanil u hol paae? He ca ti man echie, ta uilah ua uinicob tzayan-ob u talelob ta tane? Ti yan Bolon Chaan y yax ah kulele. U kulil ich y uabal ɔamil ich.

Mehene, ta uilah ua u kaxal yaal kue? Ti mani yalan u uitzil kue ti ix ti oc yalan u uitzil kue ti yan cruzi ti chakani. Coopnebal caan tii ti mani yaal kui.

Mehene, tabx[3] cu manel yaal kue, te cu hokol zuytune?[4] Yume, u hool uinic y yukul co uinic tu manel tu uol u cal uinic tu hokol tu chune.

Mehene, max ta uilah ti be zame . . .[5]

Mehene, tabx ta manzah a lakob tzayan u talelob ta pachobe? He in lakob lae. Matan in patab. Lay in mucut u xot-kin Diose, ca bin cimic ene. Helay u booy uinice.

[1] ukuc: ukuh C. [2] The Maya compiler has left a space here to indicate a lacuna.
[3] tabx: taxb C. [4] zuytun: cuitun C. [5] Space in the text indicates a lacuna.

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Mehe<n>, macx ta uilah ti be? Ta uilah ua noh-xibob yan palal tu pachobe? Yume, he noh xibob tin uilah ti bee. Ti yanob tin pach, maix tan u ppatbenobe. Heklay u naa oc ɣ yalobe.

Mehene, tabx ta uilah ix-nucob yan u mek zacalob ɣ u lak palalobe? Yume, hex lae. Tii to yan tin pach licil in hanal. May to uchac in ppatic. U naa in kab ɣ yalob.

Mehene, tabx ti man ech yanil yoc-haae? Yume, he yoc-haae. Ti ix yan te uicnale. Heklay u bel in pache.

Mehene, tabx ta uilah noh-xib ka<l>an yokol tzimine cħacatnebal yoc-haae. Yume, hex noh-xib lae. Tii to yan uicnale. Heklay u tzimin in pache/ p.70 C
lic a ualic kalic noh-xibe.

Mehene, hex noh-xib yan ta pach lic a ualic be: chican hahil ɣ tohil.

Mehen xen cħa u puczikal tunich ɣ u tamnel luum. Te . . . uil kin cilic . . .[1] zama le. He ix uilah hunppel[l]ie hauaan. He ix hunppelie, nocaan bay u binel ichil mitnale. Heklay haleue ɣ tzube ɣ yax batab ɣ yax ah kulele. Hex utial u puczikal tuniche, heklay u ni cob ɣ u mac u uol u cal mitnale, heklay iz ɣ chicame.

Mehene ca xic ech a cħab ix halizco uaye. Hun cuy ual u pole; hach cich-pam ix-lokbayan. Teni bin lukzic u pic ɣ buc[c]e. Zamacnac uil u boc ca bin in lukez u buc[c]e. Hach cilmac in uol cabin in uilab. Zamacnacil u boc[c]e ɣ hun zuyil u pole. Heklay pibil nale.

Mehene catun xic ech a cħab[2] noh-xib ɣ u xiuil tanil kaknabe. Hex noh xib lae, ac ɣ ix-bau.

Mehene, catun xic ech a cħaab u tunichil yit kax-eke. Lay ah tzatzace.

Mehene, catun xic ech a cħaab u tunichil chakan uaye. Lay becħe.

Ɣ yax ah-menobe, cantulob[3] tuba. Heklay baa ɣ tzub ɣ haleu ɣ citane.

Mehene, ca xic ech a cħab u chacbacel luum. Lay ɔine.

Mehene, ca xic ech a cħaab yax tzublal uaye ɣ yax kayomobe. Cutz ɣ <a>h tzoo.

Mehene, bin a uulez a uix-mehene te yan kin zamal uilabe. Payanbe bin talebal u ɔeɔile pach hebal bin talebal u nohole. Ca ix cici kaxac u kax pole ti kukmil kax; tii yan uil u bocħe. Teni to uil bin lukzic u bocħe. Ɣ ti yan ah kulel tu pach[ch]e./ p.71C

Mehene catun xic ech a cħab un trus nicte kuɔbene. Te uil kin zamale. Kelbil ixim ɣ cab.

Mehene, uay tin cucyah a pectzile. Yan yan cooɔ ti actun yan a uicnale. Ca ix a cuclez cilab uay tu kintzil hanale. Tzab[b]il hee.

[1] A space in the text indicates a lacuna. [2] cħab: chab C. [3] cantulob: catulob C.

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XVII

(AN INCANTATION)

MS. Tzaay-ni-tic tun, chac tun, u uayazba kab caan, itz caan u uayazba. U uay<az>ba a cẖaabtac kin, a cẖaabtaci ti cab. U uayazba itz caan, kab caan, kan-lol caan, u uayazba. Bacin in cẖaabtahci a kinil? <Bacin in> cẖabtahci[1] a<u> uil? [Bacit] bacin in cẖaab ta tunil? In cẖaab ech. Ti cumtal ta hoyobal a kahcunic u kinam ta yam kin. Ca ti tu tuxchitab ech, tacha . . . cit. Ti muc[c]e in cẖab ech, in cumcin[n]ech. Tac helel in cẖaic . . . u uyic a kiname tumenel . . . a yum. A mucut . . . ti cit . . . ti tune . . . in colob to . . . ta chie. U kan ti tune. Lay cu bin u ximbal u tzolic[2] lae. Lay
p.72 C ahauob tzolanob lae. Xic u bin a xoc, ca a nucte lae./

XVIII

(A SERIES OF KATUN PROPHECIES)

(Picture of a katun-wheel accompanied by the following legends.)

Ti likin uaye.

11. Buluc Ahau. Buluc Ahau u heɔ katun Ichcaanzihoo. Yaxhaal hoppci christianoil lae.

9. Bolon Ahau. Ti Uucyabnal u heɔ katun ti Bolon Ahau.

7. Uuc Ahau. Ti Mayapan u heɔ katun ti Uuc Ahau.

5. Hoo Ahau. Ti Zoɔil u heɔ katun ti Hoo Ahau. P<p>uzhom kohom uil ti yahaulil Ah Hoo Ahau Katun. Ti nohol uayi.

3. Ox Ahau. Ti Zuyua u heɔ katun ti Ox Ahau Katun, haylic u keulel can y̱ u keulel balam. Yax-cocay-mut u uich ti yahaulili Ah Ox Ahau Katun.

1. Hun Ahau. Emal u heɔ katun ti Hun Ahau. Emom tab, emom zum. Tu kin yemel ix yom Ix-ual-icim.[3]

12. Lahca Ahau. Ti Zaclahtun u heɔ katun ti Lahca Ahau. Yaxaal-chuen u uich ti yahaulili. Ti chikin uaye.

10. Lahun Ahau. Lahun-chable u heɔ katun ti Lahun Ahau.

8. Uaxac Ahau. Ti Lahun-chable u heɔ katun ti Uaxac Ahau Katun.

6. Uac Ahau. Ti Uucyabnal u heɔ katun ti Uac Ahau Katun. Ti xaman uaye.

4. Can Ahau. Ti Can Ahau Uucyabnal u heɔ katun tu Chicẖeen Itza.

2. Cabil Ahau. Ti Cabil Ahau Maya-Cuzamil Mayapan.

13. Oxlahun Ahau. Oxlahun Ahau Katun. Kincolah-Peten u heɔ katun
p.73 C Oxlahun Ahau Katun./[4]

[1] cẖabtahci: cẖabtabci C. [2] tzolic: ɔolic C.
[3] Ix-ual-icim T & M; Ix-ualicay C.
[4] See katun-wheel heading Chap. XVIII for translation. Here the translations of the preceding items are arranged in their place on the wheel.

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Buluc Ahau u heɔ katun Ichcaanzihoo. Yax-haal <Chac>[1] u uich. Emom canal ual, emom canal uɔub. Pecnom u pax, pecnom u zoot Ah Bolon-yocte. Tu kin yan yax cutz; Tu kin yan Zulim Chan;[2] tu kin Chakanputun. Uilnom[3] che; uilnom tunich, ah zati[4] uiil ichil Ah Buluc Ahau Katun lae.

Uuc-yab-nal u heɔ katun ti Can Ahau Katun. Tu ch̄i cheen, Uuc-yab-nal, u heɔ. Ti nohol ah bacocol.[5] Macan u uich; cimen u uich. Yokol yaal; yokol uaah. Chikin-tan-hom[6] u pop ɣ u ɔaam. Xe-kik u cuch. Tu kin yan zazac uil u yex, zazac uil u nok. Ix ma chan men[7] uah u uah katun. Hulom kuk; hulom yax-um. Hulom kaxte. Hulom mute. Hulom tzimin. Mucuc patan ti chi ch̄een lae.

Maylu, Zaci, Mayapan, u heɔ katun ti Cabil Ahau Katun. Ocliz tu ba katun. Emom zum; emom zaban, maya-cimlal, ox multun tzekil. Zac-patay[8] uinicil. Ca tali kaxan u cuch Buluc-ch̄aabtan. Kan yopol ik. Oxil uah u uah Cabil Ahau. Tancoch-hom uiihi, tancoch-hom uahi. Lay u cuch Ah Cabil Ahau Katun lae.

Kinchil Coba u heɔ katun, Maya Cu<zamil>, Oxlahun Ahau Katun. Itzamna, Itzam-tzab u uich ti yahaulil. Bin uiibic oxi. Oxte ti hab zakal[9] <h>abil, lahun ɔacab. Etbom ual; etbom uɔub, Yaxaal Chac u cuch tu caanil. Ix ma chacben uah u uah katun ti Oxlahun Ahau. Chibom/kini. Capic u cuch p.74 C katun: zatay uinicil, zatay ahaulil. Hoppel kin uil chian kin, ca bin pacatnac. Lay u cuch Ah Oxlahun Ahau Katun lae.

XIX

(THE FIRST CHRONICLE)

U kahlay u xocan katunob uchci u chictahal u Chich̄een Itza uchi lae. Lay ɔiban ti cab lae uchebal yoheltabal tumen hiimac yolah yohelte u xocol katun lae.

VI Uac Ahau uchci u chictahal u Chich̄een Itza.
IIII Can Ahau lae.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau tzolci pop.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.

[1] Suppl. T. [2] Zulim Chan T; Zulun Chan C. [3] uilnom T, M & O; uilnoh C.
[4] zati: zali C. [5] ah bacocol C; ah balcab cochom T. The latter reading is followed in the translation.
[6] chikin-tan-hom T & M; chac kitan-nahom C.
[7] Ix ma chan men C; probably Ix ma chacben is intended as in the prophecy for Katun 13 Ahau just below.
[8] Zac-patay: zac petay C.
[9] zakal: cakal C. The Mani and Oxcutzcab versions confirm this correction.

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III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
Uaxac Ahau paxci u Chicẖeen Itza. Uchi oxlahun uuɔ katun ca cahi Chakanputun ti yotochob u katunil.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau chucci u lumil tumenob Chakanputun.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
p.75 C XI Buluc Ahau./
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau paxci Chakanputunob tumen Ah Itza uinicob. Ca taliob u tzacle u yotochob tucaten. Oxlahun uuɔ u katunil cahanob Chakanputunob tu yotochob. Layli u katunil binciob Ah Itzaob yalan che, yalan haban, yalan ak[1] ti numyaob lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau paxci Ah Itza uinicob ti yotochob tucaten tumen u keban-than Hun[n]ac Ceel, tumen u uahal-uahob ɣ Ah Itzmal. Oxlahun uuɔ u katunil cahanobi, ca paxiob tumen Hun[n]ac Ceel tumen u ɔabal u natob Ah Itzaob lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau chucci u luumil Ich-paa Mayapan tumen Ah Itza uinicob
p.76 C likulob ti yotoche tumenel Ah Itzmalob, tumen u keban-than Hun[n]ac Ceel lae./

[1] ak: ah C.

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II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau uchci puch̄-tun Ich-paa Mayapan tumen u pach paa, u paah tulum, tumen mul-tepal ich cah Mayapan [lal] lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau uchci maya-cimlal; uchci oc-na-kuchil ich paa. Cabil Ahau uchci kakil, noh-kakile.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau cimci ah-pul-<h>a. Uacppel hab u binel u xocol haab ti lakin cuchie. Caanil Kan cumlahci Pop ti lakin. Hetun te na cici pahool katun haab. <Hola>hun[1] [h]ix Zip catac oxppeli. Bolon Imix hi u kinil lay cimci ahpul-<h>a lae, Napot Xiu, tu habil do. 158 años.
XI Buluc Ahau hulciob kul uinicob ti lakin. U yah-talzah-ulob u yax chun uay tac luumil coon Maya uinice, tu habil do 1513 años./ p.77 C
IX Bolon Ahau hop<p>ci xpnoil, uchci caput-zihile. Lay tal ichil u katunil hulci Obispo Tora<l>ua<y> xane. Hauci <c>h̄uy tabe[2] tu habil do. 1546 años.
VII Uuc Ahau cimci Obispo de Landa.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.

XX

(THE SECOND CHRONICLE)

Can Ahau u kaba katun uchci u zihilob Pauah emci[3] u yahauoob.

Ox<lah>unte ti katun lic u tepalob, lay u kabaob tamuk u tepalob lae.

Can Ahau u kaba katun emciob; noh[h]emal ɔe emal u kabaob lae.

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalob. Lic u kabaticob. Tii ualac u u cutob, oxlahun cut-hi u cutob lae.

Can Ahau u katunil uchci u caxanticob u Ch̄icheen Itzae. Tii utzcin[n]abi mactzil tiob tumen u yumoobe. Cantzuc lukciob can tzucul cab u kabaob.

[1] Corrected from the Mani and Tizimin chronicles.
[2] ch̄uytabe: huytabe C. Here the editor has followed the examples of Brinton and Martinez in correcting the text to conform with the context (Brinton 1882, p. 157; Martinez H. 1927, p. 27).
[3] Pauah emci: paua haen cuh C.

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Likul ti likin Kincolah-peten bini hun tzuci. <Li>kul xaman Nacocob hok hun tzuc[c]i. He ix hoki hun tzucie Holtun Zuyuua ti chikin. Hoki hun
p.78 C tzuc[c]ie Can-hek Uitz, Bolonte Uitz u kaba u luumil lae./

Can Ahau u katunil uchci u payalob tu can tzuc[c]ilob. Can tzuc cul cab u kabaob, ca emiob. Ti yumtabalob ca emiob tu Chicẖen Itzae. Ah Itza tun u kabaob.

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalobi, ca oci u keban-thanobi tumen Hun[n]ac Ceeli. Ca paxi u cabob ca biniob tan yol che Tan-xuluc-mul u kaba.

Can Ahau u katunil uchci yauat pixanobi!

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalobi y̱ u numyaobi!

Uaxac Ahau u katunil uchci yulelob yalaob Ah Itza u kabaob. Ca ulob tii ca ualac u tepalob Chakanputune.

Oxlahun Ahau u katunil u heɔcob cah Mayapan, Maya uinic u kabaob.

Uaxac Ahau paxci u cabobi, ca uecchahi ti peten tulacal. Uac katuni paxciob ca haui u Maya kabaob.

Buluc Ahau u kaba u katunil hauci u Maya kabaob Maya uinicob. Christiano u kabaob; tulacal u cuch-cabal tzo ma[1] Sanc Pedro y̱ Rey ah tepale.

XXI

(THE THIRD CHRONICLE)

U kahlay katunob utial Ah Itzaob, Maya katun u kaba lae.

Lahca Ahau.

Lahun Ahau.

Uaxac Ahau.

Uac Ahau paxci Ah Coni.

Can Ahau.

p.79 C Cabil Ahau./

Oxlahun Ahau.

Buluc Ahau.

Bolon Ahau.

Uuc Ahau.

Hoo Ahau paxci u cab yahau Ah Itzamal, Kinich Kakmoo y̱ Pophol Chan tumenel Hun[n]ac Ceel.

Ox Ahau.

Hun Ahau paxci yala Ah Itza tu Chicẖeen. Tu yoxpiz tun ichil Hun Ahau paxci u Chicẖeen.

Lahca Ahau.

Lahun Ahau.

Uaxac Ahau u katunil heɔci cab yala Ah Itza likul yan che yalan haban Tan-xuluc-mul u kaba. Ti likulob ca u heɔahob luum Zaclactun Mayapan u

[1] tzo ma: probably tzolma is intended.

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kaba. Tu uucpiz tun Uaxac Ahau u katunil, laix u katunil cimci Chakanputin tumen Kak-u-pacal yetel Tec Uilue.

Uac Ahau.

Can Ahau.

Cabil Ahau.

Oxlahun Ahau.

Buluc Ahau.

Bolon Ahau.

Uuc Ahau.

Hoo Ahau ulci ɔul ti chibil uinic. Ix/ma pic ɔul u kaba. Ma paxi peten tumenelobi. p.80 C

Ox Ahau.

Hun Ahau paxci peten Tancah Mayapan u kaba. Tu hunpiz tun ichil Hun Ahau u katunile lukci halach uinic Tutul y̱ u batabilob cabe y̱ can tzuc cul cabobe. Lay u katunil paxci uin<i>cob Tancah ca uecchahiob u batabilob cabe.

Lahca Ahau, te cħabi Otzmal u tunile.

Lahun Ahau, te cħabi Zizal u tunile.

Uaxac Ahau, te cħabi Kancaba u tunile.

Uac Ahau, te cħabi Hun[n]acthi u tunile.

Can Ahau, te cħabi Atikuhe u tunil<l>ae. Lay u katunil uchci maya-cimlal tu hopiz tun ichil Can Ahau u katunil lae.

Cabil Ahau, te cħabi Chacalna u tunile.

Oxlahun Ahau, te cħabi Euan u tunile.

Buluc Ahau. U yax chun kin Colox-peten cħabi u tunile. Laix u katunil cimci ah-pul-<h>a; Napot Xiu u kaba. Tu hunpiz tun Buluc Ahau, laix u katunil, yax hulciob Españoles[s]ob uay tac lumil lae. Tu uucpiz tun Buluc Ahau u katunil ti ix hoppi xpñoil lae; tu habil quinientos diez y nuebe años do. 1519 a.

Bolon Ahau ma cħabi u tunil lae. Lay katun yax ulci Obispo Fray Fran<cis>co Toral. Huli tu uacpiz tun ichil Ah Bolon Ahau Katun/lae. p.81 C

Uuc[1] Ahau. Ma cħabi u tunil lae. Lay u katunil cimci Obispo <d>e Landa lae. Ti ix uli u hel obispo xani.

Hoo Ahau.

Ox Ahau.

Helel en 18 de Agosto de 1766 a<ños> lae, ca uchi chac ikal lae. U kahlayil cin ɔibtic ca utzac yilic bahun hab ca bin uchuc u lak lae.

Helel en 20 de Henero de 1782 años, ca chekethi chupil uay ti cah Chumayel lae. Tu cal uinic cu chupul ca ix emec cabal xan tac ti chinchan tac ti nohoch ppiz u miztic hunppel na, ca bin oc[c]oci. He u ɔacal lae pah taan y̱ limones ua ix zizal-xiu mehentace. Tac tu habil 81 años chumpahi. Ti ix u

[1] Uuc: Uac C.

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ɔaah nohoch kintunyabil xani. Olma oc chac. El lah kax tulacal, cimlahix kaxob xan. Lay u kahlay cin ɔibtic, cen D<o>n Juan Josef Hoil lae. (Rubrica.)/

p.82 C

p.83 C Chumayel y Junio 28 de 1858 y uchic in mahan[1] ti Chinuh Balam, ten Pedro Briceno. (Rubrica.)[2]/

XXII

(A BOOK OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

(1. Frontispiece.)[3]

1. Buluc Ahau. (Picture of crowned head purposely darkened or blurred.)

2. Uuc Ahau.[4] (Similar picture.)

3. Bolon Ahau. (Similar picture.)

4. Ho Ahau. (Similar picture.)

5. Ox Ahau. (Similar picture.)

6. Hun Ahau. (Similar picture.)

7. Lahca Ahau. (Similar picture.)

8. Lahun Ahau. (Similar picture.)

9. Uaxac Ahau. (Similar picture.)

10. Uac Ahau. (Similar picture.)

11. Can Ahau. (Similar picture.)

12. Cabil Ahau. (Similar picture.)

13. Oxlahun Ahau Katun, oxlahun zut xan. (Picture of a face within a circle perhaps intended for the sun or some other heavenly body. Six crosses radiate from the circle. This is also blurred like the preceding pictures.)

p.84 C Oxlahun kal hab, ca zutnac lae tucaten layili./

[5] Miercoles helel en 4 de 1832 Abrilil uchic in chicultic u kaba M<ari>a Isidora, hija de Andres Balam y M<ari>a Juana Xicum.

Domingo helel en 22 de Disiembre de 1833 uchic in chicultic u kaba Tomas, hijo de Andres Balam Maria Juana Xicum.

Padrinos: Jose M<ari>a Castañ<e>da.

Madrina: Man<ue>la Marin.

cura

. . . Justo Balam, Escribano. (Rubrica.)

[6] He u kinil uchi<i>n manic lae libro: 1 de Julio de 1838. He u toholma ti tene hun ppel peso ichil otzilil. He toholma ti Yum padre[7]: peso. Lay u

[1] mahan: majan C.

[2] This entry is written in a different hand, cf. p. 53. The 5 in the date is somewhat doubtful.

[3] See Chapter XXII of translation for a reproduction of this frontispiece.

[4] Here the copyist has made an error. No. 2 should be Bolon Ahau, and No. 3 should be Uuc Ahau.

[5] Written in a different hand. [6] Written in still another hand.

[7] padre: very badly written; the reading is doubtful.

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habil uchi manic lae . . . Cin chicultic yoklal u yoheltabal hex kinil manic tin kab.

Ten cen Pedro de Alcantara Briceño, cahnalal San Ant<oni>o./ p.85 C

(2. Historical introduction to the katun-prophecies.)

Oxlahun Ahau Katun yax hoki u cheem ɔul[l]ob Campech. Mil y quinientos y quarenta y uno u kaba hab cuchi ca yulzahob u kin yocolob ti Christianoil Maya uinicob, heɔci cab Tantun Cuzamil. Tancoch hab yanobi. Ca biniob tu hol haa ti chikine, ti ix oc u patan Ah Chikincheel[l]obi. Lay hab yan cuchi do. 1542 heɔci u petenil Tihoo, Ichcanziho, Buluc Ahau Katun lae. He ix yax halach uinice D<o>n Fran<cis>co Montejo Adelantado lay ɔae u chinam ɔulob, kul uinicob. Ichil yabil do. 1542 oci patan. Do. 1545 hab yan cuchi ca huli Padreob, canppel hab huluc ɔulob cuchi. Ti ix hoppi yocol haa tu pol uinicobi ti cahal cah tumen P<adre>obi. Yax ulobe thoxci cah tiob.

Mil y quinientos quarenta y quatro a<ños>haab . . . lahu-ca-bak haab catac holhu-can-kal haab paxci cah tu Chicẖeen Itza, paxci u cahalob lae. Ca-bak haab catac lahu-can-kal haab paxci cah Uxmal lae, paxci u cabob lae.

Mil y quienientos y treinta y siete a<ños>, ti Bolon Cauac u kaba kin uchci mol tanbaob almehenob ti canancilob ti cah Mani uchebal u binelob ti cẖa ɔul tu cahal yoklal cinzabci halach uinice. Lay u kabaob lae: Ah Moochan Xiu, Nahau Ez, Ah Ɔun Chinab, Napoot Cupul, Napot Che, N<a>batun Itza, Ah-kin Euan tal Cocel, Nachan Uc tal ti Ɔibilkal, Ah-Kin Ucan tal ti Ekob, Nachi Uc, Ah-kul Koh, Nachan M<o>tul, Nahau Coyi. Laobi u nucil uin<i>cobi thaniob ca bin cẖabil ɔul tu cahal lae <yok>lal[1] u c<imz>aba<l>[1] halach uinicil cah Ah . . . Xiu Otzomal,/ Otzolmal. p.86 C

Lahun Kan ah-cuch-haab ca mani ah caxan cah. Heklay Montejo, u kaba ah ɔib cah. Lay ix hab yan ca mani ah luum ɔul, ah mak op ɔul. Helay yax thox cah. Hex ca uli ɔul tu cẖaobe yah cẖaule ti banob Campeche, ti hoki u chemobi, ca ix biniob almehenob u ɔaab u ziilobi. Oxlahuntul yah cẖaul ɔulob lae. Ca ix talob Ichcaanzihoo, Bolon Ahau u katunil cuchi lae.[2]

U kahlay u tzolan u miatzil u yanahteil u tzolan u ximbal katun. Uay cu hokzabal tu lumil Nitunɔala, Chactemal, Tahuaymil, Holtun Itza, Chichinila, ca utzac yoheltabal u cuch u ximbal katun, hunhunɔit katune, ua utz ua lob yani. Bay ɔibanil tumen Ah Kulen Ɔib, Evangelista, u than u yumil caan y luum . . . op . . . ich kin, tal canal. Lay ɔabi tiob . . . nob tu chun luum, tu chun ca uinicile . . . h tohil than tu kulem ɔibil, tu yunil Reportorio.[3] Minan zipani; ti cici ilabil tu ɔalal ti yunil. Heklay tumenelob cantul cẖibalob talob ti caan, ah kab caan, itz caanob, u halach uinicob, yahauilob cab: Zacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hocẖtun Poot, Ah Mex-cuc Chan. [Cheichil] He ichil uuc kal hab ococ Christianoile ti u humulhum[4] ahauobi, u chuc lum ɔiɔ katuni. Ti ix u chacanpahal ah miatzi, ti ix u kat naat katuni. Otzilhom u uich

[1] Suppl. Ber.
[2] A small cross is drawn here.
[3] Reportorio: Repuldoryo C. *Cf.* Tizimin p. 29.
[4] humulhum: humulhun C.

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Chac Chuen Coyi. Ca bin uluc u yumil kul-na. Yan chumuc cah Tihooe. Ulom tal ti lakin, tal ti xaman, tal ti chikin, tal ti nohol; uyub u thanil u
p.87 C Christianoil tu uuclahun tune uchebal u hach nac<al> Christia/noil. Ulom u Padreil; ulom u obispoil, Sancto Inquisicion,[1] u than Dios. Bin beltabaci Mamac bin hauzic lae. Amen.

(3. The katun-prophecies.)

Capitulo del año, katun.

Primero: Buluc Ahau yax heɔ luum ɔulob lae.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Primero: Buluc Ahau Katun u yax chun u xocol katun, u hunɔit katun. Ichcaanz ihoo u heɔ katun ulci ɔul<l>ob. Chac u mex u mehen kin, ah mexob ti lakin u taliob, ca uliob uay tac luumile. U ɔulilob cab, zac uinicob, chac uinicob . . . u chun nict<e> . . . ob nicte u ua . . . baob. Bee Ah Itza! . . . cha̱aaba. Talel u cah zac O ich caan. Zactunlah pal tal ti caan, zac uaom che bin emebal tal ti caan. Hun auat, hun lub u talel. A uilic ex yahalcab, a uilic ex mut. Bee! Oktaba coon ti taliob. Ulicob hunac ah mol tunichob, hunac ah mol cheob, u zac ibteelob cab. Hopom kak tu ni u kabob. Yet mac u zabanob y̱ u taabob uchebal u hicha̱cal u yumob. Bee Ah Itzae! He ix a kule mabal u uilal lay tu hahal ku ti emi lae. Hun zipi u than, hun zipi u can. Coc ix bin u katunil; coc ix bin u chac<a>lob. Mac to uil ah kin, mac to uil ah bovat bin natic ualac u talel Tancah Mayapan[2] tu Chicha̱een Itzae? Bee! Alan iɔinil ti tali <i>chil Uuc Ahau Katun tu cal ya, tu cal numya, tu patan tac yax culhex tac pul ex yalan patan zamal cabehe ti tali mehen exe. Cha̱aaba ex a man<e>z ex u cuch
p.88 C numya lic u talel tu yam a cahal exe. Hex katun ti culhi lae u/katun u katunil numya, u katunil u tza cizin ti culhi ichil Buluc Ahau Katun. Kam ex kam ex a uula exob, ah mexob, ah pulob tu chicul ku. Talel tun u cahob a zucun exob Ah Tantunob. Lay to bin u katic u zian ku tex yetelobe. He ix u kaba yah kinobe Ah Miznilacpe. Coh, Antachristo, u uichob tu kinil te u talel u kinil ta tan exe, bee, tu yabal numya, mehen exe. Lay u than ca yum: "Elom ti cab, zac petahom caanal, tu katunil uchmale." Tali tu chi Dios Citbil ma tuzbil than[n]i. Bee, hach al u cuch katun ti culhi ichil Christianoil. He ualac cu talele ppentacil than, ppentac . . . tunich, ppentac uinic. Ti talii bin ku<chuc> . . . a uilic ex. Talel u cah he ix halach <uinic> ah ca kin ɔamoob, ah ca kin popoob ic<hil u> uay[y]ab haab, ti u coy kinilobi. Halili u xul u than Dios. Bulucpiz u luch. Mol yam u mut u uich ti yahaulili, mol tun u can, mol tun u than. Bin ex cimic; bin ex cuxlac; mex ca a naat ex u than cuxul uooh lae. Ah Maypane u mehen uba tu hunal, u justisiail. Lay ti ɔaic ti mazcab, lay ti hokzic, ca u kax, ca u haɔab. Ca tun tac ti cutal, ca yal u xicin u mehen. Ti yan u ppoc tu hole y̱ u xanab ti yoce. Ti kaxan u taab tu
p.89 C nake he ualac u talele./

[1] Inquisicion: Inquiçicion C.
[2] Mayapan: Maya patan C.

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(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Bolon Ahau Katun u caɔit katun cu xocol. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Ti ix u kamah u patanobi u ɔul[l]ilob cabi. Ti ix uliob u yumil ca pixan[n]i. Ti ix hun molhi cahi ti tzucentzucil tu hol u poopobi. Ti ix ti hoppi u canal santo okolali, ti<i>x hoppi yocol haa tac polob. Ti ix eɔlahi u chun Santa Iglesia Mayori, u kakalna Diosi, u xiuil xitel na Dios Citbil. Tix eɔlahi uch . . . uucppel sacramentoi zatebac . . . Tix hoppi ban meyah chumuc cah . . . numya balcahi. Tix u uatal ca . . . lic u than kui, xanomi tali tu chi Di<os Cit>bil. Ti yulel zactunlah pal tal ti caan. Zuhuy cʰuplal u kaba u na uucppel chachac ek.

(Picture of seven stars.)

U chucma tu bolonpiz yabil Ah Bolon Ahau tu taninah Christianoil, bay ɔibanil tumen profeta Chilam Balam tu bolon ɔalab tun te caanale. Oxlahun Eɔnab u kinil te ti caane bay ix uay ti luume. Ti caanil xol, ti caanil ual. Em tab, u tha<n> Dios tal ti canal hun yuk ti balcah tuzinil. Bolonpiz u lac, bolonpiz u luch. Bee cʰaaba Ah Itzae. Matub a ɔaic a uula ex. Bi<n> a hant exob, bin ix u hant exob xan ti tali lae./ p.90 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Tercero: Uuc Ahau Katun yoxɔit katun. Yaxal Chac. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Yaxal Chac u uich ti yahaulil, ti yah miatzil, u tan pax cabal u tan zot canal.[1] Nicte uah, nicte haa yaal <katun>.[2] Ti u hoppol u tzucachil ah miatzobi, u bebech kab nictei, u bebech kab katuni. Ti u hoppol u tzintzin loc katun; lay bin hunyuk<lah ti>balcah[3] . . . <Nicte>u buc, nicte u uich, nicte u . . . <nicte>u xanab, nicte u pol, nicte u xim<bal> . . . Kuy cu cal, kuy cu chi, muɔ cu uich, puɔ cu tub, tu xiblalil, tu cʰuplalil, tu batabil, tu justiçiail, tu chun-thanil, tu escribanoil[4] tu <a>h camzahil, tu nohochil tu chanchanil. Minan to nohoch can. Ti u hach zatal caan ɣ luum tiobi; ti u hach zatal zubtal[l]i. Ti u hicʰil u cal u halach uinicil cahi, yahaulil cabi, u bovatil cah[h]i, yah kin Maya uinicobi. Zatal tun naat; zatal tun miatz. Cʰaaba, Ah Itzae! A mehen exob to bin ilic u hiɔibte katun, u baxal katun. Coo u than, coo u uich ti yahaulil tu halach uinicil chac-uen-co. Uucppel u lac, uucppel u luch, u than Dios. Banban hicʰ-cal u cuch katun lae./ p.91 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Quarto: Ho Ahau Katun u canɔit katun. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Chich u uich, chich u mut ti yahaulil. Chibil al, chibil mehen ti talii. Ti u hoppol u tza cizin ti balcahi. Ti ix u binel u uich Kauil<tu>can [c] he<le> bil caan, tu can he<le>bil [hele] be.[5] Tii u yuchul cʰuytab ti balcah. Ti ix <u> likil u cal <chac ahauca>n[6] ti chibali; ti ix u likil u cal holil <och ti chibali>.[7] Concon mehen, concon al. Ti talii ti ix . . . u hool chamal, cʰabci u yum balcah

[1] zot canal T; xot cabal C. [2] Suppl. T.
[3] hunyuklah ti balcah: hunyukka tic balcah C. [4] tu escribanoil: tu scriuanoil C.
[5] Corrected from Tizimin p. 30. [6] Suppl. T. [7] Suppl. T.

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tu . . . yan bin yubah okot bot bat. Ox chac-nicen chac xulab, chac uayahcab, u bal u zoot yah ɔaul ca puczikal ichil patan tu cal ya, tu cal tza. Batab och, batab c̄hamac, batab ah pic, ah ɔuuɔ, u ɔutanil cahob. Cum u tal xin cain lahab <i>x a pax, cech uiɔin zucun. Ah xaclam pat tech u uichil eex, tolil och. U katunil. Nicte u kanche, culic tu ɔam. Ti chaan tan kiuic, tan pop, ah ca kin ɔam ah ca kin pop. Tu tab cah cahaan uchi u bal<a>mil cab tu catulil, batab och ɣ ah xaclam pat. Maya-cimlal bin ɔaicob, u chun . . . xob; e ɔeɔecil cuchie. Ta kabatah tun helelae Ah Itza. Tu chicchic zoo<t ka>tun; tu keban-than katun Tancah Mayapa[ta]n. Chac Zuyua[1] patan. Tu lachlam pach Balam ah cabcoh tu chibal katun, tu chibal haab; ziɔob ti yahaulil. Banban h̄ichcal u cuch katun, ua cu hic̄hil u cal <u bata>bil cah
p.92 C telae. U xul u numya Maya ui<nic>[2] . . . /ti u zebtal u talel Ah Uayṃil[l]ob c̄haic u toh ti balcahi.

(Picture of a head surmounted by a Spanish ecclesiastical headdress.)

Quinto, 1620: Ox Ahau Katun u hoɔit katun. Ichcanzihoo u heɔ katun. Ek-cocohmut u uich ti yahaulil, ti yah miatzil. Antachristo u uich ti yahaulil. Hopom k<ak>tu xulub yuc Ichcaanzihoo. Haulahom u keulel chacbolay tan kiuic. Pek u mut. Zac-patay chacil, thul caan chacil, bohol caan chacil, c̄huhum caan chacil, caanil chacil, kuch caan chacil, thelen chacil, cehil chacil. Ti ix yemel ox ualah u le zilil. Zinic balamil; zakil habil. Ox chuylah u xotem.[3] Ox cuchlahom yal max. Okom bulcum tu can xay beo. La u tah[h]ob katun; auatnom u pixan tu holobal cah, nomal Itza et . . . talii. He ten cen Ox Ahau Katune. Cumtal in cah Ichcaanzihoo. He ten cen Çeçar Agustoe . . . cah in
p.93 C kam in matan tan yol che . . . [4]/

(Picture of a crowned head, an animal and two unidentified objects.)

1640. Primero: Hun Ahau Katun u uucɔit katun. Emal u heɔ katun. Tu kinil yulel Ix Puc-yola ɣ Ox Ualacii. Emom zuum, emom tab. Tal ti caan u thanil ma tuzbil be. Cu talel u beltabal u than u yumil caan, ma tuzbil thani.

Pek u mut; ah kuch u mut. Pan u caɔic u uinicil.[5] Ox kazap u tucul ɣ u than, ox kazap ɣ u toon, ox kazap u tok ti yahaulili, ti yah miatzili. Ti ix yulel Hun-pic-ti-ax ti chibali, balam ɣ Canul ti chibali. Yah chiul uiil, yah zatul kauil, u bobochil uiil, yah zatul hanal. Uucppel hab u chibal Hun-<pic>-ti-ax, uucppel hab u chibal Canul. Ca bin emec u justisia ca yumil ti Dios yokol nicte, yokol u zac ibteel cah, yokol chac uenco, u maxil katun. Ti ix yulel uyanal thani, uyanal cani, ma ix tan yoczob ti yol Maya uinicobi. Bin kayac ichilob u than Dios, u Yumbil caan ca u tohcint u belob, ca u pachini tu lobil
p.94 C u belob, u nucili ti Maya uinicob; ma u kat / yubob u than Diose, ena yumbilob ah xotkin[n]obe. Bin ix okomac yolob u halach uinicil balcah. Ɔeɔec ocan ti yol, ma ix ocan ti yol xanie. Bala ta thane. Hun-lukul ah cici-olal u balamil

[1] Zuyua: Xuyua C. [2] Suppl. Ber.
[3] xotem T: xuthen C. [4] One or more pages missing here.
[5] Insert: Och u uich ti yahaulili.

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cabe. Haxom kaak tu chicul Maya Zuhuye. Hun[n]ab-ku tu zuhuyil hunab Iglesia, ti yauati . La u yub u than u Yumil Caan, u Yumil yokolcab. Bin ix okomac yol balcah tuzinil ti talie. Pecnom u xik cab, pecnom chumuc cab ti tali u kinil. Ti ix yemel u tzicilob Ah Bentana ɔulobi u than Dios. Ox muc bin emebal u justiçia ca Yumil ti yokol balachi. Ti ix yemel noh katun yokol u zac ibeteel cahi, oheltabal ua halach chich yocolalobi. Ti ix yemel ah mektan u zih hoyic u uich u cuyil cab, u maxil katun, u cẖuyum-thulil cah, u cẖamacil cah. Ti ix yulel u ma xul ahaui u xot u tabil u cuch numya lae, xotom ahau. Tix yemel u koch tulacal tal ti caan, u koch balcah tuzinil, kintunyaabil tu pach. Yan to tu kin hun[n]ac tzuc ti cab. Hun kalhom yala ah canan zuz, ah canan kaknab, Ah Uaymil bay Ah Emal. Ox muchhom yala tan kaknab u ɔoc katun. Bay yili u beltabal tu kuchul u uuɔ katune. Tix ucham ua pani.[1] Ti ix u hiɔ u tza cizini, Antacristoi. Lom tok tza, hoc mucuc tza, ɔon bacal tza, cum-tan tza, puchẖ tun tza. U hiɔibte katun lae tan yol che u kamic u matan Çeçar Agusto. Che/tun cimil tumen uiih, oc-nakuchil, maya-cimlal. p.95 C
Okom bulcum ɣ yaxcach tu ho<l>can be, tu ho<l> can heleb. Alan iɔinil, ɔiɔi mehen; tali ti balcahii. Ti ix yulel ahau ti naatalnat ti. Nacom u uich, u mehen kui. Ti ix yulel Obispoi, Santo <in>quiçiçion u kaba, ɣ Saul. U kat okolal ɣ Christianoil. U ɔoc ziɔil, u ɔoc numzah ya ti balcah. He ix bin ɔocebal u thanile: noh katun. Likom Chan ɣ ho tzuc Chakan ti bateel, u Chan katun Hun Ahau Katun. Kakal mozon chac u cuch katun, tzolen chac[c]il, thul can chac[c]il u lobil katun. Hun cẖic xulil yoczah. Ti ix yemel u cuch tzai; ti yemel patani; ti ix u katabal probari[2] ɣ uuc zap yibnel cab, ti u hach chichtal u tanlabal Diosi. U ɔoc u kamic u takin Antachristo. Ma tali Antacristo; ma u kat ca Yumil ti Diosi. Ma u zatal katun lae uay tac petenil tumen ca zihnalil lay peten lae. He u chun lay Antachristoil lae, ɔutulɔut[t]il; he ix ma tac kul uinicobe minan toc lukzah, minan ziɔil ɣ pacẖil tu kikel u lak uinic, tu muk ah numya, tu muk cu hanal hunhuntul. He cu talele hoppel uich che ti u han[n]al cab-cohi, Ah Bentena. Belatun ya tu yol u Yumil Caan. Ix pom-kak u ɔoc u than katun. Likom katun Habana oxlahun bak chem lae.

Lahca Ahau./ p.96 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Lahcabil Ahau Katun u uaxacɔit katun cu xocol. Zaclahtun u heɔ katun. Yaxal Chuen u uich, Buleu-caan-chac u uich ti yahaulil. Hokom.[3] Yan tu caanil kin, yan tu caan[n]il akab. Hun[n]ac ah men[n]il, hun[n]ac ah iɔatil. Yani cici halach uinicil, cici batabil; yan[n]i cici olal u than balcah tuzinil. Bin ayikalac ah numya uinici. Uahaluah u than katuni. Ayikal hab; balbahali xan. Yutzil katun. Yutzil ix chac[c]ob; bin meyahnacobi yich. Ti ix u hokol ich luumil tunich ti Christianoili, yet tal Diosi. Minan tun cẖamac ɣ ah cab-coh ti chibali. Ti tun u katal okolal ti yah belnalil cah[h]

[1] Tix ucham ua pani: Tix uchom ual pani may be intended.
[2] probari: prouari C. [3] Hokom: hokon C.

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obi; ɣ u puertail takin ɣ u cas[s]amientoil cah ti can-kaz-na. Ti ix u katabal ca xanab, uala licil ca Christianoil. Heklay ti ahi cab tacmenel; helay ca ualic hele lae. He ix bin ɔocbal nicte katun lae. Conbil bin ɔocbal. Ulel u than yahaulili. Tii ca bin uluc Uuc Uitzil, Chac Ek, ɣ tu pem caane pa hool chac[c]e tu uuclahun tun[n]e./

p.97 C (Picture of a crowned head.)

Tercero: Lahun Ahau Katun, Chable u heɔ katun. Ti yulel u cahalob, can uat-hom u kax e<b>cheob yokolob yahaulil cab[b]ob. Elom ɔiɔ; elom zuz chi kak<nab>; elom u ku cħicħ. Uakom chaltun; kintunyabil u cuch katun[n]i. U than ca Yumil ti Dios Citbil ɣ u Colel Caan, u ye katun. Mamac bin hauzic u than ca Yumil ti D<io>s, D<io>s Mehenbil, u Yumil caan yetel luum lae. Ma manomi bin uchuc tu cal ti balcahil tuzinil. Bin uluc santo Christiano pulic u kin ca u ualkez ubaob ah nunob tu lobil u belob. Mamac bin hauzic; lay tun kintunyaabil. Chabil u than yokolob Maya ah kinob lae u than Dios.

p.98 C Uaxac Ahau uuɔ. Quarto./

(Picture of a crowned head, eleven small heads and two unidentified objects.)

Quarto: Uaxac Ahau Katun u bolonɔit katun. Itzmal u heɔ katun. Kinich Kakmo. Emom chimal, emom halal <yokol Chakanputun>[1] tu pach yahaulil cabob. Pakom u pol Chakanputunob u ɔulil cab. U ɔoc ziɔil; u ɔoc u numzah yaob ti balcah. U than Dios Citbil. Banban katunyah bin beltabaci tumenel ah otochnalobe.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Quinto: Uac Ahau Katun u lahunɔit katun cu xocol. Uxmal u heɔ katun. Ocliz tubaob. Chicix u than, chicix u uich ti yahaulil. Bin u tuzcob u coil than. Catun emec Dios Citbil xotic u calob tumen u keban tanalob. Catun caput cuxlacob; u paktob u xotkin ca Yumil ti D<io>s latulah yocolob ti Christianoil ɣ u cuchulteilob. Hebahun zihan uay yokol cabe bin ococob ti

p.99 C Christianoil./

(Picture of a crowned head adorned with feathers.)

Primero: Can Ahau Katun u bulcɔit katun cu xocol. Chicħeen Itza u heɔ katun. Ulom u cahal Ah Itzaobi. Hulom kuk, ulom xax um. Ulom Ah Kantenal. Ulom xe-kik. Hulom Kukulcan tu pachob tu cate<n>u than D<io>s lae. Ulom Ah Itza.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Cabil Ahau Katun u lahcaɔit katun. Maya [uaz] Cuzamil u heɔ katun. Tancochhom u uah; tancochhom yaal. U than Dios lae. Tan-

p.100 C cochhom u templo ti yahaulilob. U xul u than Dios lae./

(Picture of a face within a circle, perhaps intended for the sun or some other heavenly body. Six crosses radiate from the circle which is also surrounded by short rays.)

[1] yokol Chakanputun: suppl. T. p. 32.

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Tercero juiçio: Oxlahun Ahau Katun cu xocol. Kinchil Coba u heɔ katun, yoxlahunɔit katun. Etlahom uɔub yahaulil cabobi. U yuk xotkin ca Yumil ti Dios. Emom u kikel che ɣ tunich. Elom caan ɣ luum. U than Dios Citbil, ɣ Dios Mehenbil, ɣ D<io>s Espiritu Sancto. Santo xotkin lae, santo juiçio tumenel ca Yumil ti D<io>s. Bin minanac u muk caan ɣ luum. Bin ococ ti Christianoil nucuch cahob, u cahal mac nalob, u nohochil cah, max u kaba bay u cah tu yukul lay mehen cahob lae, tu yukul lay ca petenil Maya Cuzamil, Mayapa[ta]n. Licil ca ca-kin uinicil tucal coil, ɔiɔi mehenil tu xul ca zatmail-ilil ɣ zubtalil cux yol ca mehenob tu nicteob. Minan yutz kin toon lae. U chun cimil tu lobil kik, tu hokol u, tu bin u, tulizi uil u uchac cuchie; tuliz kik. Bay ti utzul planetaobe ilabil yutzil lae. U xul u than Dios. Bin tac yoklob yalil caput zihil, Santo Pixan. U kamob santo olio ma ɔalbil u pachobi; tal ti Dios. Hach manal bin Christiano ah balob tu santo ocolal[l]ob, <Ah> Itzaob ɣ Balamoob; Ɔocan tun ca zatic ca/[1] p.101 C

Aqui falta una hoja . . .[2]/ p.102 C

XXIII

(THE LAST JUDGMENT)

Xotkin ti D<io>s tu tiblil uinicobe: "Con ex uicnal cex u cici-than uinicil in Yume, ca a nahalt ex hunkul gloria mentahan tumen in Yume cex hoppci balcahile. A tacuntah ex ualmah-thanil; a uutzcinah ex penitencia[3] ca zip ex ten uchie. Bala con ex ti caan." Ca tun u zutbez u pacat ti ah kebanob ti leppan yol tiobe. "Nachhen ex uicnal cex lolob-thanbil tumen in Yume, xen ex tu kakil metnal ma-xulumte lay menan ti cizin tumen in Yume. A pocħah en ex, cen a Yum exe, cen a uah lohil exe. A pocħah ex in than tumen u than cizine, be! Bala xen ex tu pach ti hun lukul numya." Ca tun xicob ti metnal u lobil uinicobe, he ix yutzil uinicobe bin xicob ti caan tu pach ca Yumil ti D<io>s, ti hun lukul gloria yet ppizan gloria Josapat. Yan oxtul uinicob, u hach palilob Dios, hach yabilob tumen Dios. Elias ɣ Matusalem ɣ Enoc u kabaob; cuxanob tac hele lae. Ti culcinanob tumen Dios u canantob u xecil u sillasil. Bin u mentic cuenta ca Yumil ti D<io>s ti hunp<p>el kom luum, hunppel noh chakan. Tii tun u cutal yokol u xecil u tepal. Bin ix molocob tulacal balcah tuzinil. Zayhom tanamob, bin <ya>nacob tu noh; zayhom yucob, bin yanacob tu ɔic. . . . bin yanac tu ɔic lae, u lobil uinicob, ah ma ɔoczahob ti yalmah-thanil D<io>s tulacal, ti tun u binob ti hunlukul u numyail mitnal tu lamay cab, alanil tumen ca yax yumobe. He tun bin yanac tu noh Ahau Dios lae yutzilob uinic ah ɔoczahob ti yalmah-thanil Dios. "Con ex cex u cici-than uinicil in Yume pach ex ahaulil menan tex hop<p>ci bal-cahile." Ti tun u takal noh muyal eek tu nak/ caan tac tu uich luum. Bay p.103 C homi uil ciotzil u kay Angelesob. Minan yetp<p>izan cio<l>tzilil. Bin nacebal hahal Ku, u Yumil caan ɣ luum lae.

[1] One or more pages are missing here, and there is a break in the text.

[2] Written in a different hand. Except for a few more illegible words, this page is blank.

[3] penitencia: penitensia C.

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XXIV

(PROPHECIES OF A NEW RELIGION)

He thanob ti utzcinahan lae alabebal u xicin[n]ob ix ma yumob, ix ma nailob lae. He ix lay than lae bin tacuntabac bay u tacuntabal ah kan-thixal ti tune. Licil u talel yocol Christianoil Tancah Mayapan tu Chicẖeen Itza ualac uil Zuyua, ualac uil Itza. Ahom cab hun lakin, hun xaman, hun chikin, hun nohol. Tali tu chi D<io>s Citbil. Lay cut tz<o>licob hotul ah kinob, ah kulem ah kinob kuchiob tu tan D<io>s. Lay tzolob u cuch numya ca tal yocol Christianoil lae.

Heklay u kabaob ɔibanob lae:

1. Chilam Balam, noh saçerdote.
2. Napuctun, noh saçerdote.
3. Nahau Pech, noh saçerdote.
4. Ah Kuil Chel, noh saçerdote.
5. Natzin Yabun Chan, noh saçerdote.

U chinam Dios coɔlic u pach tan zuhuy luum, lay tzoliob u cuch numya tu tan ca Yumil ti D<io>s: talel tun u cah yocol Christianoil lae; xe-kik,
p.104 C Maya-cimlal, kintunyaabil, zakil haabil/ ix pom-kakil, u cuch numya, u tza cizin. Zac petahom canal. Elom ti cab ichil Ox Ahau Katun, Hun Ahau Katun, u lobil oxɔit katun. Bay ɔibanil tumenel Evangelistas ɣ prop<h>eta Balam, tali tu chi u Yumil caan ɣ luum. Ca tu kulem ɔibtahob ah kinob tu kinil noh kintunyaabil Lahun-Chable ich Christianoil. Ti ca bin uluc Saul ɣ D<o>n Antonio[1] Martinez u cẖab u toh yal u mehenob. Ahan tun cabe. Bay ɔibanil tu yalmah-thanil noh ah kin prop<h>eta Chilam Balam ɣ ti cal manben. Amen Jesus.

La interpretaçion historias de Yucatan.

1. Sacerdotesob, profeciado Napuctun.
2. Elom ti cab; petahom canal. U uaom Kauil;
3. ua ah tan uch[a]mal. Elom ti cab; elom ɔiɔ tu ka-
4. tunil uch[a]mal talome. U pixan[2] bin yilic
5. bin yal u than, bin yokte u numyail uchmale.

U profeçiado Ah Kuil Chel, saçerdote.

1. Cu hiɔibte katune, yume, mex ca a nate ualac
2. u talel. Mac bin caɔab tu coɔ pop katune, yume?
3. Bin uluc holom uil cal ya. Tali ti xaman,
4. tali ti chikine tu kinob uil yane, yume. Mac
5. to ah kin, mac to ah bovat bin toh alic u than
6. uoohe, yume, ichil Bolon[3] Ahau? Mex ka <a>
7. naate hunac tzuc ti cab. Hun ɔal pitan . . .

[1] Antonio: Ando C. [2] u pixan M & O; u bixan C.
[3] bolon M & O; balam C.

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8. nel tzutzuc chac. Be cioltzil uil tan ah/ p.105 C
9. tepal cuchie, cii uil yokol yahaulil cabobe.
10. Kahcun a uol Ah Itzae.
U profeciado Nahau Pech, gran sacerdote.
1. Tu kinili uil u uatal kine, yume, ti yokzah ich ah te-
2. pal, ualo tu canɔit u katunil uc<h>omi uale,[1] u hahal
3. pal tu kin Kue. Yok<ta ua> uba[2] in kuben, yu-
4. me. Ich ex tu bel a uula, Itzae! U yum cab ca hulom.
5. Tal tu chi Nahau Pech, ah kin tu kinil ua Can Ahau
6. Katun ti hiɔ bin u katunile, yume. Zatom uil zi-
7. nic uinicil. Bin yanac tu pach uiil tumen u bobo-
8. chil uiil, u cẖuyum-thulil uiil, zinic, ɔiu,
9. kau, picẖ, xpucil.
[10.] U profeciado Natzin Yabun Chan: uchi u than
1. hahal ku ti peten. Lay a pak u hokole, yume,
2. yah kinob uil bin puchcob[3] uchmale. Ɔa cɐx
3. ka a nat tu than, tu tzacil kae.[4] A pixan ex
4. [ceh] bin hahal kamice. Xeth a uol ta kul, Ah
5. Itzae; tubez a hauay ku, a zat[at]ay ku loe.
6. Tulacal yanil ah tepal, yume, yah cẖaabul caan
7. ɣ luum tuzinil. Lay ya ta uol in ualic techo Maya
8. Ah Itzae. Ma a kat a uu[y]yanal Dios haaha<l>
9. Kul ta thano. Lay u yocol tun ta uol u than
10. in tzec lae.
1. Profeciado de Chilam Balam, tix kayom,[5]
<2.> Cauich-<cẖ>en,[6] Mani Oxlahun Ahau u hiiɔ-
<3.> [ɔ]i uil katune ualac uil Itza, ualac/ p.106 C
4. uil Tancahe, yume. U chicul Hunab-ku canal. Hulom uaom
5. che. Etzahom[7] ti balcahe, uchebal u zazhal yokol cabe,
6. yume. Uch ɔuni to moc tanba, uch ɔuni zauinal,
7. ca talom[8] ti pul chicul uchmale ah kini uinice, yume.
8. Hun auat, hun lubi uil u tal. A uilic ex mute u ti-
9. ppil ɣ uaom che. Ahom cab hun xaman, hun chi-
10. kin. Ahom Itzamna Kauil. Talel u cah ca yum, Itza.
11. Tale u cah ca zucun, Ah Tantune. Kam a uulaob, ah
12. mexob, ah likin cabob, ah pul tu chicul Kue, yume.
13. Utz ka u than Ku cu tale cicnale. Talel u cah u kin.

[1] uchomi uale T; uchi uale M; ucomi nale C & O.
[2] yoktah ua uba T; yoktabaa ka uba M; yok lae ka uba C & O.
[3] puchcob C & M; puɔcob T & O.
[4] tu tzacil kae C & O; to tzacil kak T; tu chacil kak M.
[5] tix kayom T; zix coyom C. [6] Cauichen C; cabal chen T.
[7] etzahom T; etzahan C; etcahon M; etcahom O.
[8] talom O; talon C & T.

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14. ca cuxtale. Ma a zahtic yokol cabe. Yume, tech
15. hunac Ku cẖabtic on. Utz tunbac u than Kue,
16. yume. Yah canul ca pixan. He mac bin kamic,
17. hach ocan ti yole, ti caan u bin tu pach. Heuac
18. u chun ca-kin uinicil.

1. Ca uacunto u chicul canal, <ca uacunto ca pacte helee>,[1] ca uacunto y uaom
2. che. Numte tah u kexa u hokol hele.[2] U hel tu
3. pach u yax cheel cab; etzahom[3] helel ti balcahe.
4. La u chicul Hunab-ku canale. Lac a kult ex,
5. Ah Itzae. Ca a kulte helel u chicul canale. Ca a kul-
6. te to tu hahil colah,[4] ca kulte hahal Ku hele lae, yume.
7. Ocez taba u than Hunab-kue, yume; tali ti caan. A
8. uah than be. Cuxcin ka a uol, Ah Itzae. A-
9. hom uil cab tiob oczicob ti yole ichil uya-
10. nal katune, yume. Yok tuba in than,
11. cen Chilam Balam, ca in tzolah u than
12. hahal Ku tuzinile yokol cabe; yubi
13. hunac tzuc ti cabe, yume, u than Dios, u Yumil
14. caan ẏ luum. Hach utz ka u than ti caan,
15. yume.

p.107 C Cokol yahaulil, yokol ix ca pixan/

16. hahal Ku. Heuac heob ti ulez lae, yume, ox al a mukil
17. <i>x cuch lum iɔinil. Ɔaman yol. Cimen ix u puc-
18. zikal tu nicteob xan. Ah uaua tulupoob, ah ua
19. tan zinaob, Nacxit Xuchit tu nicte u lakob,
20. ca-ca-kin yahaulilob. Coylac te tu ɔamob;

1. coylac te tu nicteob. Ca-ca-kin uinicil u than-
2. [n]ob. Ca-ca-kin u xecob, u luchoḃ, u ppoocob.
3. U co kin[n]ob, u co akab, u maxilob yokol
4. cab. Kuy cu cal, muɔ cu uich, puɔ cu chi,
5. ti yahaulil cabob, yume. He, cu talel minan
6. hah tu thanob u ɔulilob cah. Bin yalob
7. hach talanilob, u mehen Uuc-tocoy-naob,
8. yalob Uuc-tocoy-naobe, yume.

Mac to ah

9. bovat, mac to ah kin bin tohol cantic
10. u than uooh lae?

Finis.

[1] Suppl. T & O.
[2] u kexa u hokol hele C; u kex ah okol helee T; a kex ac hokol hele O; a kex a cẖokol helele M.
[3] etzahom T; etcahom M; etcahan O; etzahan C.
[4] colah C; a uolah M; ocolal O; kolah T.

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TRANSLATION

I

(THE RITUAL OF THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS)

/[1] the first man of the Canul family.[2] The white *guaje*,[3] the *ixculun* <and> the gumbo-limbo[4] are his little hut,[5] . . . The logwood tree is the hut of Yaxum,[6] the first of the men of the Cauich family. p.1 C

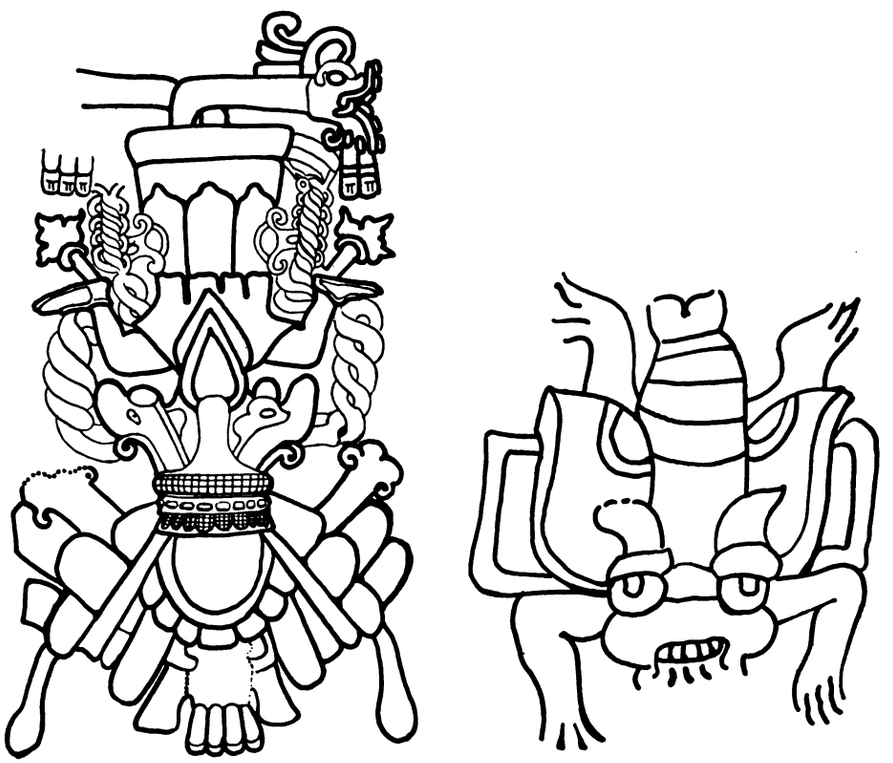

FIG. 1 *a*—Ah Muzencab, the Maya bee god. (After Lothrop.)[7] *b*, A bee. (Codex Tro-Cortesianus, p. 83.)

[1] One folio is missing from the beginning of the book.

[2] Martínez H. translates this sentence: "the first figure or idol is that of Ah Canul" (Martinez. H. 1921).

[3] Maya, *uaxim, Leucæna glauca* Benth. Botanical identifications will be found in Standley 1930 and Roys 1931.

[4] Maya, *chacah, Bursera simaruba* Sarg. Spanish *palo mulato*.

[5] Maya, *pazel*, a temporary shelter consisting of a single-pitched roof and open at one side, used for camping out.

[6] Yax-um, literally the green bird, the quetzal. *Um* or *un* is an obsolete word for bird, surviving only in compounds of names of birds, such as *picħum, ucum, yuyum, cħahum*, etc. *Cf.* Quiche, *Rax-on*, quetzal, and *um*, a certain black bird. (Ximenez, Tesoro, etc.)

[7] Copy of the stucco figure at Tulum known as the Diving god. (Lothrop 1924, pl. 23.) Besides its obvious resemblance to the insect in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus identified by Tozzer and Allen as a bee, it seems possible to recognize the pulvilli, ungues and metanotum, while the wings somewhat suggest the battered membranes of a bee's wings. A similar Diving God has been found at Cobá, where the Muzencabob are still believed to dwell (Thompson, Pollock, Charlot 1932, p. 84; Redfield letter).

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The lord of the people of the south is the first of the men of the Noh [1] family. Ix-Kan-tacay [2] is the name of the first of the men of the Puch family. They guard nine rivers; they guard nine mountains [3]

The red flint stone is the stone of the red Mucencab.[4] The red ceiba tree of abundance [5] is his arbor [6] which is set in the east. The red bullet-tree [7] is their tree. The red zapote . . . The red-vine [8] . . . Reddish are their yellow turkeys. Red toasted <corn> is their corn.

The white flint stone is their stone in the north. The white ceiba tree of abundance is the arbor of the white Mucencab. White-breasted are their turkeys. White Lima-beans are their Lima-beans. White corn is their corn.

The black flint stone is their stone in the west. The black ceiba tree of abundance is their arbor. Black speckled corn is their corn. Black tipped camotes are their camotes. Black wild pigeons are their turkeys. Black *akab-chan* [9] is their green corn. Black beans are their beans. Black Lima-beans are their Lima-beans.

The yellow flint stone is the stone of the south. The ceiba tree of abundance, the yellow ceiba tree of abundance, is their arbor. The yellow bullet-tree is their tree. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are their camotes. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are the wild pigeons which are their turkeys. Yellow green corn is their green corn. Yellow-backed are their
p.2 C beans . . ./

[1] Noh, a common family name, resembles *nohol*, which means south.

[2] Lit. yellow *tacay*, the Mexican large-billed tyrant. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 339.

[3] Maya, Bolonppel-uitz, probably a place-name in the south. The name may survive in that of Salinas de los Nueve Cerros on the Chixoy River.

[4] This name is spelled Muzencab in the Tizimin manuscript, so Mucencab is probably intended for Muçencab. *Cab* means hive or honey. As shown in Appendix A, the bees are closely connected with the Bacabs and the four world-quarters, and Dr. Redfield finds the Muzencabs invoked in the *u hanli cab* ceremony which is propitiatory of the gods of the bees. One native priest explained that "the *Mulzencab-ob* were a class of supernatural bees dwelling at Cobá. They report to Nohyumcab (Great-lord-of-the-hive), their superior, everything that happens in the apiary." Another native priest, or *h-men*, stated that the Nohyumcab and the Ah Muzencab were two gods in the form of large bees who governed all the bees (Letter from Dr. Robert Redfield).

[5] Maya, *imix yaxche*. Imix is one of the Maya day-names, and the *yaxche* is the ceiba tree, the green tree and the first tree of the world. Seler shows that Imix has much the same significance as Cipactli, the corresponding Aztec day-name. It is the symbol of fertility and abundance, and among the Cakchiquels it is closely associated with the ceiba tree (Seler 1902, p. 499). Beyer 1931, p. 204.

[6] This arbor may correspond to the arch of leaves and branches set up in connection with the New Year's ceremonies (Landa 1929, p. 20).

[7] Maya, *pucté*, *Bucida buceras* L.

[8] Maya, *chac-ak*, the name of an unidentified vine, used medicinally.

[9] *Akab-chan* is probably a dark variety of maize (Martinez letter). The Maya have corn of various colors, and there is a large vocabulary relating to maize (Standley 1930, p. 211).

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11 Ahau was the katun when they carried <burdens> on their backs. Then the land-surveyor first came;[1] this was Ah Ppizte[2] who measured the leagues. Then there came the *chacté* shrub[3] for marking the leagues with their walking sticks. Then he came<to> Uac-hab-nal[4] to pull the weeds along the leagues, when Mizcit Ahau came to sweep clean the leagues, when the land-surveyor came. These were long leagues that he measured.

Then a spokesman was established at the head of the mat.

Ix Noh Uc presides to the east. Ox Tocoy-moo presides to the east. Ox Pauah Ek presides to the east. Ah Miz presides to the east.

Batun presides to the north. Ah Puch presides to the north. Balam-na presides to the north. Ake presides to the north.

Iban presides to the west. Ah Chab presides to the west. Ah Tucuch presides to the west.

Ah Yamas presides to the south. Ah Puch presides to the south. Cauich presides to the south. Ah Couoh presides to the south. Ah Puc presides to the south.[5]

The red wild bees[6] are in the east. A large red blossom is their cup. The red Plumeria is their flower.

The white wild bees are in the north. The white *pachɔa*[7] is their flower. A large white blossom is their cup.

The black wild bees are in the west. The black laurel flower[8] is their flower. A large black blossom is their cup.

The yellow wild bees are in the south. A large yellow blossom[9] is their cup . . . is their flower./

[1] This appears to the translator to be a legend of the occupation of the country in ancient times. People came in bearing their household goods on their backs, as we know they had no beasts of burden. Then they were supposed to have surveyed and divided the land, after which they laid out the roads, cleared and cleaned them.

[2] A Maya pun: a man who measures or a man of the Ppizte family.

[3] Probably a shrubby form of the *chacté*, or brazil tree is meant (*Cæsalpinia platyoba* Wats.). It is a well-known dye wood, and Landa tells us that the Maya made staffs of it.

[4] It seems likely that Uuc-yab-nal is intended. This is a place-name associated with "the mouth of the well" in the prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 133. In another prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 161 the name Chichen Itzá is substituted for Uuc-yab-nal, so it is possible that the latter was the ancient name for Chichen Itzá before the Itzá came and named it Chichen Itzá, "the mouth of the well of the Itzá."

[5] Of the above names Uc, Batun, Balam, Ake, Cauich, Couoh and Puc are well known family names in Yucatan. Ah Puch is one of the names of the Maya death-god (Morley 1915, p. 17). Tucuch and Yiban Can are two of the Lords of the thirteen katuns (Morley 1920, p. 472, and Chilam Balam of Kaua, pp. 167 and 189). Ah Yamaz may be intended for Ah Yamazi who is mentioned on page 71. Ah Chab is the Maya name of the three-toed ant-eater.

[6] Here the word for wild bees, *ix chuuahcab-ob*, has the feminine prefix. In the Motul Dictionary it is given as *ah chuahcab* with the masculine prefix.

[7] There is little doubt that here the *pahɔa* is meant, which has been identified as *Commelina elegans* H. B. K. Here, however, the closely related *Callisia repens* L. with its white flowers may be intended.

[8] The *Ix-laul*, called *laurel* in Spanish, is *Stemmadenia insignis* Miers, the flowers of which are white, not black.

[9] *Kan-lol*, literally a large yellow blossom, also the name of *Tecoma stans* H. B. K.

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p.3 C Then they swarmed at Oecuzamil[1] in great numbers among the magueys[2] of the land, the calabash trees of the land, the ceiba trees of the land and the *chulul* trees of the land.[3] Kin Pauahtun[4] was their priest. He commanded the numerous army which guarded Ah Hulneb[5] at Tantun in Cozumel, <also> Ah Yax-ac,[6] Chinab,[7] and Kinich Kakmo.[8]

II

(THE RISE OF HUNAC CEEL TO POWER)

Ah Itzimthul Chac[9] was their commander at Ichcanzihoo. Uayom-c̄hic̄h[10] was their priest at Ichcanzihoo. Canul <occupied> the jaguar-mat.[11] The

[1] Oecuzamil means Little Cozumel and may refer either to the Island itself or some place on the mainland of the east coast of Yucatan. Oy-cib was another name for Cozumel (Motul), and *cib* means beeswax.

[2] Maya, *u cūl cab;* it could also mean the sweet things of the land.

[3] The *chulul* has been identified as *Apoplanesia paniculata* Presl.

[4] Probably Kan Pauahtun, the wind-god of the south, is intended. *Cf.* Appendix A.

[5] Ah Hulneb, the Archer, was one of the principal deities of Cozumel which was a center of pilgrimage not only from every part of Yucatan but from Tabasco as well. *Cf.* Cogolludo, Book 4, Chap. 8.

[6] Ah *Yax-ac*. *Yax* means green or first. *Ac* could mean turtle, dwarf, boar-peccary or a certain tall grass.

[7] *Chinab* means the distance from the tip of the forefinger to that of the thumb. Ah Dun Chinab was the name of one of the nobles who accompanied the embassy of Ah Mochan Xiu to Montejo.

[8] Kinich Kakmo means sun-eyed fire macaw. He was one of the founders of Izamal and was afterwards deified (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269). His shrine was visited by sufferers from pestilence, whom he cured. It is of interest to note that yellow fever patients are still given the ashes of a red parrot's feathers as a remedy (Roys 1931, p. 63).

[9] Here we have a new account of the conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel, the head-chief of Mayapan. Various versions of this episode will be found in Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of the present work as well in the Mani and Tizimin chronicles (Brinton 1882, pp. 102, 146; Martínez 1927, pp. 8, 16). *Cf.* Appendix C.

Chac was formerly an important title, but at the time of the Spanish conquest the term merely designated four old men who represented the rain-gods in certain religious ceremonies (Landa 1928, p. 180). Ah Itzimthul appears to be a variant of the name of the ruler of Izamal, afterward deified. He is called Itzmatul by Lizana (1893, ff. 4 and 14) and Itzmal Ulil in the Tizimin chronicle. Historical references to the ancient city of Ichcanzihoo, or Tihoo, the site of Merida, are so extremely rare that it is of especial interest to read that this city was under the command of the ruler of Izamal at this time.

[10] *Uayom-c̄hic̄h*: *uay* means a familiar spirit, and *-om* is an archaic suffix indicating either a participial or a future form of a verb. *C̄hic̄h* signifies a bird. *Ah uay c̄hamac* was a wizard who could turn himself into a fox, and the translator believes *uayom c̄hic̄h* indicates a similar relationship with a bird. This title may be associated with the figures of birds worn by the carved figures at Chichen Itzá.

[11] Maya, *ix-pop-ti-balam*. The mat (*pop*) was the seat of authority in a Maya council, and *balam* means jaguar, although it is also a term applied to the priests and officials of a village. We are reminded of the jaguar seats portrayed at Chichen Itzá (*Cf.* fig. 3 and Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 368, 373). In these frescos, which are of the Toltec period, we note that such seats are occupied by warriors. It is also known that the Mexican allies of the rulers of Mayapan were called the Ah Canuls (Landa 1928, p. 86; Crónica de Calkini, p. 35). Consequently the statement that one of the Canuls occupied the jaguar-seat accords with both the archæological and historical evidence. We are reminded of the *ocelo-petlatzine*, or "jaguar-mat" used at Temimilzinco in Mexico. It was so named because it was woven with dark spots to imitate a jaguar skin. Here, however, it was used to sleep on (Ruíz de Alarcón 1892, p. 155).

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second Priest Chable was their ruler. Cabal Xiu was their priest. Uxmal Chac [1] was their commander; formerly he was their priest.

Then Hapay Can [2] was brought to Chemchan.[3] He was pierced <by an arrow> when he arrived at the bloody wall there at Uxmal.[4]

Then Chac-xib-chac was despoiled of his insignia.[5] Zac-xib-chac and Ek

[1] One of the first rulers of Uxmal was called Hun Uitzil-Chac (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 287; Tizimin p. 13). Evidently the ruler at Uxmal still retained the title of Chac.

[2] Although not mentioned in any of the chronicles, Hapay Can figures prominently in a fragmentary account of the Hunac Ceel episode in the Tizimin (pp. 23-24) and Mani (pp. 166-167) manuscripts. The name, Hapay Can, means sucking-snake. The Lacandon Indians believe in a certain evil spirit of this name "in the form of a snake who draws people to him with his breath . . . At the end of the world Nohochchacyum (the head of the Lacandon Pantheon) will wear around his waist as a belt the body of Hapay Can" (Tozzer 1907, p. 94).

[3] Chemchan is a suburb of Uxmal, recently located by Frans Blom.

[4] Possibly his head was pierced by a stake and the reference is to a tzompantli (the Aztec name of a wooden rack on which the skulls of sacrificed victims were displayed) at Uxmal.

[5] In the Mani chronicle it is indicated that Chac-xib-chac was the governor or head-chief of Chichen Itzá. In Appendix A evidence is presented that Chac-xib-chac, said by Landa to be one of the names of the Red Bacab, was probably in reality the Red Rain-god, who lived at the east of the world. Here we have an important personage bearing the name of the rain-god, and we may infer that he figured as the representative of the god. In the Temple of the Chac Mool found in the substructure of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá there is a fresco representing five men wearing the mask and head-dress of God B, the Maya rain-god (Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 375 and 454 and pl. 133). These are called God Impersonators, and the translator believes that they impersonated the five Maya rain-gods who, like the five Mexican Tlaloque, were set at the four cardinal points and at the center of the heavens.

To identify the insignia of which Chac-xib-chac was "despoiled" is more difficult. It is called *canhel* in Maya, a word which Beltran defines as *"dragon."* There are reasons for believing that this *canhel* is the ceremonial staff carried by the God Impersonators of the fresco in the Chac Mool Temple. In the mixture of Christianity and paganism on page 110 of the present work we read of God the Father grasping in his hand his *canhel,* so it is evidently something that could be held in the hand. Again, the figure in Maya art most obviously suggested by Beltran's *"dragon"* is the snake-like head of the God K and, as Ann Axtell Morris has conclusively shown in her analysis of the fresco, this ceremonial object is a vestigial form of the Manikin Scepter with its serpent handle and surmounted by the head or entire figure of the God K. Schellhas (1904, pp. 32-33) has shown the frequent association of God K with God B, who is impersonated in this case. Consequently the ceremonial staff retained its name *canhel,* even though it did not always bear the head of the god. In the Chumayel text *canhel* is written *cangel,* although the g is almost never employed in writing a Maya word. Evidently the writer associated the word with the Spanish *angel,* and we are reminded of the so-called *angel* which Landa tells us was set on the back of the figure of Kan-u-uayab-haab, the spirit who ruled over the five unlucky days immediately preceding the Kan years. He says that these *"angeles"* were frightful in appearance, but that they presaged rain and a good year (Landa 1929, p. 22). In the picture of the New Year's ceremony on page 25 of the Dresden Codex, a human figure with an animal's head, apparently representing the last day of the old year, bears on his back the God K, quite like the *angel* of which Landa tells. The passage on page 110 of the Chumayel indicates that the *canhel* was closely connected with the winds. Solís Alcalá and Solís M. (1927, p. 245) have associated the *canhel* with the winds but identify it with the wheel-like object held in the left hand of the figure with the animal's head mentioned above.

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Yuuan Chac were also despoiled of their insignia. Ix Zacbeliz [1] was the name of the maternal grandmother of the Chacs. Ek Yuuan Chac was their father. Hun Yuuan Chac was their youngest brother; Uooh-puc was his name. There was a glyph (*uooh*) written on the palm of his hand. Then a glyph was writ-

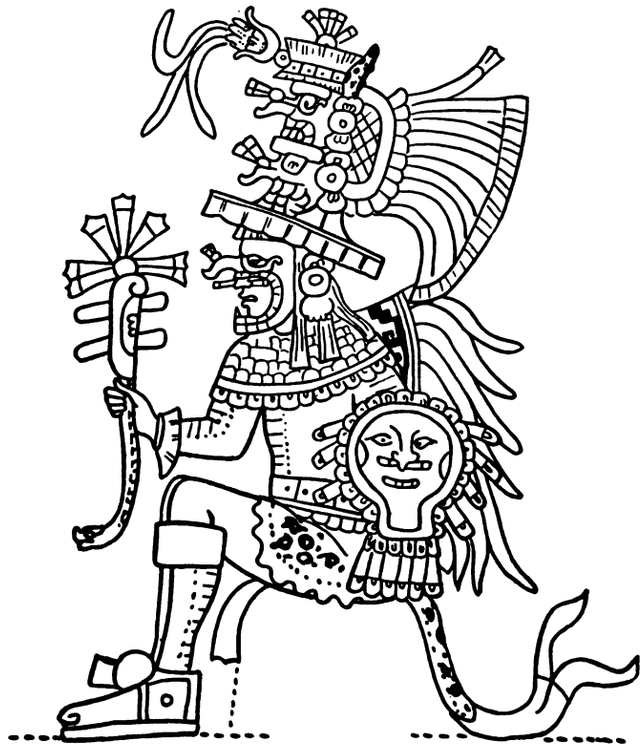

FIG. 2—Chac-xib-chac, the God Impersonator at Chichen Itzá. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

ten below his throat, was also written on the sole of his foot and written within the ball of the thumb of Ah Uooh-puc.[2] The Chacs were not gods. The only true God is our Lord Dios; they worshipped him according to the word and the wisdom of Mayapan.[3]

[1] Ix Zacbeliz could be translated either as "the white woman who travels on foot," or as "the woman who travels on the white causeway."

[2] This appears to have been the procedure followed by one who wished to set himself up as a leader. At the time of the fall of Mayapan, Ah Kin Chel also "wrote on the fleshy part of his left arm certain letters of great importance in order to be esteemed" (Landa 1928, p. 8; *Cf.* Spinden 1913, fig. 10).

[3] Probably a reference to Hunabku, "the only living and true god, also the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan" (Motul).

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Ah Kin Coba/was their priest there in the fortress <of Mayapan>. p.4 C
Zulim Chan was at the west <gate>. Nauat [1] was the guardian [2] of the

FIG. 3—Mexican warrior occupying the jaguar-seat. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. (After Ann Axtell Morris.)

The translator believes that this figure is also representative of the guardians of the gates at Mayapan mentioned in the Chumayel.

south gate. Couoh was the guardian of the east gate. Ah Ek was his companion. This was their ruler: Ah Tapay Nok Cauich [3] was the name of their head-chief; Hunac Ceel was the representative [4] of Ah Mex Cuc.[5] Then he

[1] Nauat is still a family name in Yucatan. We may well infer that this Nauat was one of the Mexican guards of Mayapan mentioned by Landa, as it is a Mexican word.

[2] Maya, *Ah-canul*, which has been translated as guardian or care-taker (Tozzer 1921, p. 125). It is not unlikely, however, that the reference is to the people called Ah Canul, the so-called Mexican mercenaries who afterward settled in the Province of Ah Canul. *Cf.* p. 66, note 11.

[3] Literally, Cauich with the embroidered mantle. Cauich is still a common family name in Yucatan.

[4] Maya, *pulben*. *Pul* means to carry, to throw, to offer and to cast a spell. *Pulben* is a passive verbal noun meaning that which is to be carried, thrown or offered, probably the person who was carried in the place of or thrown into the cenote for Ah Mex Cuc.

[5] Ah Mex Cuc, literally whiskered squirrel, is said to have had the surname Chan and to have been one of the four greatest men of the Maya (*Cf.* p. 147, note 5). A squirrel of this description appears on one of the sculptured friezes of the Temple of the Warriors. *Cf.* Plate 1, b.

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demanded one complete Plumeria flower.[1] Then he demanded a white mat. Then he demanded a mantle faced on two sides. Then he demanded a green turkey. Then he demanded a mottled snail.[2] Then he demanded the gourds called *homa*.[3]

[4] Whereupon they departed and arrived at Ppoole, where the remainder of the Itzá were increased in number; they took the women of Ppole as their mothers.[5] Then they arrived at Ake;[6] there they were born at Ake. Ake it was called here, as they said. Then they arrived at Alaa; Alaa was its name here, they said. Then they came to Tixchel, where their words and discourse were prolonged.[7] Then they arrived at Ninum, where their words and conversations were many.[8] Then they arrived at Chikin-ɔonot,[9] where their faces were turned to the west. Chikin-ɔonot was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tzuc-oop, where they remained apart under the Anona tree.[10] Tzuc-op was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tah-cab (Tah-cabo), where the Itzas stirred the honey. Then it was drunk by X-koh-takin.[11]
p.5 C When the honey was stirred, she drank it at Cabilneba,[12] as it was called. Then they arrived/at Kikil,[13] where they contracted dysentery. Kikil was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Panabhaa, where they dug for water.[13] Then they came to Cucuchilhaa; they settled at the deep water.[14] Then they arrived at Yalzihon; Yalzihon was its name here, where they settled the town. Then they arrived at Xppitah (Espita), also a town. Then they arrived at

[1] The Plumeria still has a mythological significance among the Lacandones (Tozzer 1907, p. 93).

[2] Maya, *ul*, "certain small mottled snails found among the bushes and rocks" (Motul). Priests wore snail-shells sewn on their robes (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 27).

[3] The *homa* is a long narrow gourd with a small mouth. Dr. Redfield reports that it is still exclusively used to contain balché for religious ceremonies.

[4] Here we have the beginning of what is evidently a migration legend referring to a much earlier period than the time of the Hunac Ceel episode.

[5] Ppole was the port on the mainland from which travelers usually embarked for the Island of Cozumel (Aguilar 1900, p. 83). We have here a pun on the name, as *ppol* means to multiply or increase in numbers. The reference to taking the women of Ppole as their mothers is of interest, as it shows a recollection of the first Itzá taking the women of the country as their wives. These invaders were probably largely men.

[6] This is not the Ake noted for its ruins, but no doubt the modern town of Ɔonot-ake, as it is here associated with Sucopo, Kikil and other towns in that neighborhood. Aké is also a family name.

[7] The name Tixchel probably comes from Ix Chel, the goddess of medicine and the rainbow, but a pun is made on the verbal root, *chel*, which means to stretch out or prolong.

[8] Ninum may be derived from *num*, a wild prickly pear (*Acanthocereus pentagonus* Britt. & Rose), but *num* also means much or too much.

[9] Chikin-ɔonot means west cenote. It was probably in the neighborhood of Tizimin, and not the village of that name south of Valladolid.

[10] Tzuc-op, the modern Sucopo, probably means a clump of Anona trees, but *tzuc-ba* means to remain apart, hence the pun.

[11] X-koh-takin, literally she who wears a gold mask.

[12] Cabilneba may be derived from *cabil*, sweet like honey, and *neba* (lit. gopher-tail) an unidentified plant. Many place-names are derived from plants.

[13] Kikil means bloody, and Panabhaa, an artificial well.

[14] Cucuchil-haa means very full of water and *cuch* can mean to settle.

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Kancabɔonot. They departed and arrived at Ɔula. Then they came to Pibhaalɔonot. Then they arrived at Tahaac, as it was called. Then they came to Ticooh, where they haggled for that which was dear.[1] Ticoh was its name here. Then they arrived at Tikal, where they shut themselves in.[2] Tikal was its name here. Then they came to Timaax, where they made complete rogues of themselves.[3] Then they arrived at Buctzotz, where they covered the hair of their heads with a garment. Buctzotz was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Ɔiɔontun, where a malevolent man began to seize the land.[4] It was called Ɔiholtun here. Then they arrived at Yobain, where the crocodile [5] bewitched them through their maternal grandfather, Ah Yamazi, their ruler at the seashore. Then they arrived at Zinanche, where the devil bewitched them.[6] Zinanche was its name here. Then they arrived at the town of Chac.[7] Then they arrived at Ɔeuc; their companions contended with one another. Then the maternal grandfather of their companions arrived to reconcile them at Ɔemul,[8] as it was called here. Then they arrived at Kini at the home of Xkil Itzam Pech.[9] Their companions were at Xɔeuc when they/arrived at the p.6 C
home of Xkil Itzam Pech, the ruler of the people of Kini. Then they arrived at Baca,[10] where water was poured out for them. It was Baca here, so they said. Then they arrived at Zabacnail, the home of their maternal grandfather, the first of the men of the Na <family>; this was Chel Na, their maternal grandfather. Then they arrived at Tebenaa, where they remembered their mother. Then they went to Ixil. Then they went to Chulul. Then they went to Holtun-chable. Then they came to Itzamna (Itzimná). Then they came to Chubulna. Then they arrived at Caucel, where they all shivered with cold.[11] It was Caucel here, so they said. Then they arrived at Ucu, where they said: "*ya ucu.*"[12] Then they went to Hunucma. Then they arrived at Kinchil. Then they went to <Can>kana. Then they arrived at Tixpetoncah. Then they arrived at Zahab-balam. Then they arrived at Tahcum-chakan. Then they arrived at Tixbalche. Then they arrived at Uxmal. Then they departed and arrived at Tixyubak. Then they arrived at Munaa, where their words were

[1] *Coh* means dear or high priced. [2] *Kal* means to shut in.
[3] Timaax is the modern Temax. *Maax* means a monkey or a rogue.
[4] Maya, *chuc lum ɔiɔi*, a stock phrase. The Indians told Martin Sanchez that Ɔiɔontun was so named because they had an idol which had a jacket of green and red beads and named Ah Kin Pekual (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 299).
[5] Maya, *ain*, or *ayin*.
[6] Zinanche, lit. scorpion tree, is the *Zanthoxylum caribæum* Lam.
[7] Probably Telchac is intended.
[8] Ɔemul means little mound; *ɔemlah yol* means to reconcile.
[9] Another Ixkil Itzam Pech was chief of Conkal at the time of the Spanish conquest (Brinton 1882, p. 219).
[10] Baca, or *bac-haa*, means to pour water.
[11] *Cel*, the last syllable in Caucel, means cold in Maya.
[12] *Ya ucu* is probably an exclamation of sorrow or pain.

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soft.[1] Then they went to Oxlochhok. Then they went to Chac-akal.[2] Then they went to Xocneceh; the deer was their familiar spirit [3] when they arrived. Then they went to Ppuztunich. Then they went to Pucnalchac. Then they went to Ppencuyut. Then they went to Paxueuet.[4] Then they arrived at Tixaya (Xaya). Then they arrived at Tiztiz, as it is called. Then they arrived
p.7 C at Chican.[5] Then they arrived at Tixmeuac./ Then they arrived at Hunacthi.[6] Then they arrived at Titzal.[7] Then they arrived at Tamuzbulna. Then they arrived at Tixcan. Then they arrived at Lop.[8] Then they arrived at Cheemiuan. Then they arrived at Oxcauanka. Then they went to Zacbacelcan. Then they arrived at Cetelac.[9]

These are the names of whatever towns there were and the names of the wells, in order that it may be known where they passed in their march to see whether this district was good, whether it was suitable for settlement here. They set in order the names of the district according to the command of our Lord God. He it was who set the land in order. He created everything on earth. He set it in order also. But these were the people who named the district, who named the wells, who named the villages, who named the land because no one had arrived here in this neck of the land [10] when we arrived here.[11]

Zubinche, Kaua, Cumcanul (Cuncunul), Tiemtun [12] (Ebtun), where the precious stones descended, Zizal, Zacii (Valladolid), Tiɔooc (Tesoco), where the law of the katun was fulfilled, Timozon, Popola, where the mat of the katun was spread, Tipixoy (Pixoy), Uayumhaa (Uayma), Zacbacelcan, Tinum where little was said to them, Timacal, Popola where they counted the mat of the katun in its order,[13] Tixmaculum where they interrupted with

[1] Maya, *munhi* (translated: "were soft,") is a pun on the name, Munaa, which the Indians themselves derived from *muan-a*, the water (or well) of the sparrow-hawk. Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 155.

[2] Chac-akal, literally red pond, may be modern Yakal.

[3] *Ceh*, the last syllable in Xocneceh, means deer in Maya.

[4] Pax-ueuet is probably derived from the Maya *pax*, to drum with the hand, and *ueuet*, or *huehuetl*, the Nahuatl for drum.

[5] Probably Chichican. Mani map of 1557 apud Stephens 1843, II, p. 264.

[6] Mentioned on p. 142; evidently between Tixmeuac and Tetzal.

[7] Located from description in Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 296.

[8] Lop is probably the modern Tiholop.

[9] Cetelac is the name of a hacienda close to the ruined city now named for the neighboring town of Yaxuná. These ruins are at the western end of the ancient causeway which extends to Cobá.

[10] Maya, *u cal peten*, in imitation of the Spanish name, Yucatan.

[11] This is the end of the first migration narrative, apparently an intrusion here, as it refers to a time when much of northern Yucatan was not settled, and the events of this chapter occurred in the time of Hunac Ceel about the end of the Twelfth Century A. D. What follows may refer to the reduction of the country after the fall of Chichen Itzá.

[12] Instead of precious stones (*tun*) this may refer to the descent or arrival of the Tun family who are very numerous in this neighborhood (Titulos de Ebtun). The modern name, Ebtun, means a stone stairway.

[13] Maya: *ti u tzolahob u pop katun.* Here we have an explanation of the phrase in the Tizimin Chronicle which Brinton (1882, p. 144) has translated: "then Pop (the first Maya month) was counted in order," and on which some change in the annual calendar has been predicated. It was the mat (pop) of the katun that was counted in order. The con-

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words, Ɔithaaz (Ɔitas), Bon-kauil, Tixmex, Kochila,[1] Tix-xocen (Xocen), Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkaaz (Tunkas), Haltunhaa, Kuxbila, Ɔiɔilche, Zitilpech, Chalamte where their anger was appeased, Itzamthulil (Izamal), Tipakab (Tepakam?) where they were united,/Tiya (Teya), Caanzahcab, Ɔiɔomtun, p.8 C
together with their maternal grandfather . . . [2] Ɔiɔholtun, Popola to the south of Zinanche. Then they came to Muci, Zacnicte-cẖeen, Zoɔil; here they had a council of war at Multumut, as it was called here, Mutul. Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun, where they settled at the base of the stone, Xoc-cẖel, Bohe, Zahcabhaa (Sancaba?), Tzanlahcat (Sanahcat), Human where there were noisy talk and rumors about them. Chalamte, Pacaxua [3] was its name here they said. Tekit where the remainder of the Itzá were dispersed, Yokolcẖeen, Ppuuppulni-huh [4] (Huhi?) the iguana was their familiar spirit when they came forth. Ɔoɔil, Tiab (Teabo), Bitun-cẖeen. Then they entered Tipikal, as the well was called, after which they came up out of it. Then they went to Poc-huh, as the well was named, where they roasted the iguana. Then they went to Mani, where their language was forgotten by them. Then they arrived at Tiɔaan (Ɔam); three days they were submerged. Then they went to Ticul, Zacluum-cẖeen (Sacalum), Tixtohil-cẖeen (Xtohil), where they recovered their health. Then they went to Balam-kin, the district of the priests. Cẖeencẖomac, Zacnicteel-ɔonot (Sacnicte), Tiyaxcab (Yaxcaba?), Uman, Oxcum, Zanhil (Samahil), Ichcanzihoo (Mérida), Ti-noh-naa, Nohpat, Poychena, Chulul (Cholul). Then they arrived at the corner of the land, Cumkal (Conkal), where the corner of the district was set. Zicpach, Yaxkukul,/ Tixkokob, Cuca, Cẖeen-balam, p.9 C
Bolon-nic-xan, Ekol, Ekol was the name of the well here. Tixueue, Tixueue was the name of the well here. Uhumtal, <where> one part came. Tixkanimacal, Tixaan (Texan), Yumxul, where they took their father-in-law as their lord. Holtun-ake (Ake?), Acanceh, Ticooh (Tecoh), Ticẖahil, Tichac (Telcha-quillo?), Mayapan the fortress, Yokol-haa. Then they went to Nabula, Tix-mucuy (Timucuy), Tixkanhube, Ɔoyila (Ɔoyola). Then they arrived at Tizip, where their words and conversation were sinful.

Then the rulers began to establish the country. There was the priest at Paloncab; there was the priest at Mutupul (Mutul), as it was called. The

ception is an ancient one, for the face of Stela J at Copan, containing an Initial Series inscription, is carved to represent a woven mat. No doubt the expression refers simply to the erection of the katun marker in this instance. It is of interest to note a secondary meaning also given to the word. *"Num pop, num ɔam: Trabajo y miseria. Num pop.l. num ɔam en ti numya mabal yan ten. Soy pobre miserable, no tengo tras que parar.l. ah numya pop en. Vocablos son antiguos."* Motul.

[1] Kochila is just north of the causeway from Cobá to Yaxuná. Tit. Ebtun, pp. 284 and 320.

[2] Maya: *ti che choc ɔiiɔ. Ɔic* is defined as hoof, left hand and to conquer in a dispute. *Che choc* may be intended for chochoc, which would mean loosely tied.

[3] Pacaxua is on the border of the Province of Mani between Chumayel and Sotuta. Mani map of 1557 (Stephens 1843, II, p. 264).

[4] *Ppuppulni-huh*: lit. the iguana was swollen.

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priest at Paloncab was Ah May;[1] The priest at Mutul[2] was Ah Canul, also <entitled> Uayom Chich,[3] who spoke brokenly also;[4] also the second Chable man,[5] the man of Ichcanziho, Holtun Balam, his son.[6] Then <the province of> Chakan received the quetzal.[7] Then their associate rulers arrived. These rulers were the intimate associates of the rulers in Tun 11 Ahau. Then they established the land; then they established the country. Then they settled at Ichcanziho. Then came the people of Holtun-Ake;[8] then came the people of Zabacna. Then the rulers came, all together. The man of Zabacna was the first of the men of the Na family. Then they assembled at Ichcanziho, where
p.10 C the official mat was,[9] during the reign of Holtun/Balam, there at the well, during the reign of Pochek-ix-ɔoy.[10] He was the first of the men of Copo; Tutul Xiu might have been there also. Chacte was the ruler, Chacte was the land where their rulers arrived.[11] Teppanciz was their priest, he was looked upon as such. It was Ah Ppizte[12] who measured their land. But Lubte was the land where they rested, there were seven leagues of land. Ah May it was who fixed the corners[13] of the land, he who set the corners in their places; the sweeper who swept the land was Mizcit Ahau. But the land which was established for them was Hoyahelcab; there they came to the use of their reason. They proved their ruler, they proved their reason.

Then began the introduction of tribute to them at Chichen. At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men.[14] 11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the tribute was handled. There at Cetelac it was assembled; there it was. Then came[15] the tribute of Holtun Zuiua, there at Cetelac, where they agreed in

[1] The chief priest of Yucatan was called Ah Kin May (Landa 1928, p. 72). May is still a common family name in Yucatan.

[2] A brief summary of the history of Motul is found in Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 77.

[3] See p. 66, note 10.

[4] *Nun*, or *ah-nun* means a newcomer who does not know the language of the country; a stammerer; a stupid unteachable person.

[5] *Ah Chable* could mean a member of the Chable family or a man of the town of Chable. Probably the former is intended here. It is implied on page 67 that he was the chief of Ichcanziho.

[6] *Cf.* p. 147.

[7] Maya, *Yaxum*, the symbol of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl (*Cf.* p. 63, note 6). *Yaxum* is also the name of an unidentified tree.

[8] Probably Ake, noted for the unique character of its ruins.

[9] *Ix pop ti balam.* Lit. the mat for the *balam*. *Balam* means jaguar, priest, and town officials generally, including the priesthood. It seems likely that the seat of government is meant (*Cf.* p. 66, note 11).

[10] Lit. "he who tramples on the conquered women." (*Cf.* Naranjo, Stelæ 14, 21, and 24. Maler 1908 b, Pl. 33, 35 and 39).

[11] Place-names in Yucatan are often derived from trees. *Chacte* is the Brazil tree, but if it were changed to *chacet*, the passage would read: Great was the ruler, great the land where their rulers arrived.

[12] Ah Ppizte: *cf.* p. 65, note 2.

[13] A play on words: Ah May—*amay* (corner).

[14] Apparently a reference to the four main divisions of the typical Nahua tribe or nation.

[15] Lit. descended.

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their opinions. 13 Ahau was the name of the katun [1] when the head-chiefs received the tribute.

Then began their reign; then began their rule. Then they began to be served; then those who were to be thrown (into the cenote) arrived; then they began to throw them into the well that their prophecy might be heard by their rulers. Their prophecy did not come.[2] It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich was the name of the man there, who put out his head at the opening of the well/ on the south side.[3] Then he went to take it.[4] Then he came forth to de- p.11 C
clare the prophecy.[5] Then began the taking of the prophecy. Then began his prophecy. Then they began to declare him ruler. Then he was set in the seat of the rulers by them. Then they began to declare him head-chief. He was not the ruler formerly; that was only the office of Ah Mex Cuc. Now the representative [6] of Ah Mex Cuc was declared ruler. The eagle, they say, was his mother. Then, they say, he was sought on his hill. Then they began to take the prophecy of this ruler after it was declared. Then they began to set aloft the house on high for the ruler. Then began the construction of the stairway. Then he was set in the house on high in 13 Ahau,[7] the sixth reign. Then began the hearing of the prophecy, of the news,[8] of the setting up [9] of Ah Mex Cuc, as he was called. Then he carried nearly to Baca [10] the news of Ah Mex Cuc. He was placed there.[11] Then he began to be treated as a lord;[12] then obedience [13] to the name of Ah Mex Cuc began. Then he was obeyed; then he was served there at the mouth of the well. Chichen Itzam was its name because the Itza

[1] As we know that the Hunac Ceel episode occurred in Katun 8 Ahau, either this passage is an intrusion, or else Tun 13 Ahau of Katun 8 Ahau is intended. The same applies to the mention of Katun 11 Ahau a few lines above.

[2] It was a serious matter if none of those thrown into the cenote returned to declare the prophecy. See Appendix B.

[3] The stone platform from which victims were flung into the cenote is still to be seen on the south side.

[4] Maya, *ca bini chabil*; from the verb, cha, to take. *Chabil* usually a passive form, is here employed as an active verb. Cf. "*Xiic pulbil huun Cumkal*, let them go carry the letter to Cumkal." Motul.

[5] Maya, *than*. Literally, the word. One secondary meaning is "law," and in the Chumayel it is frequently employed in contexts which plainly call for the meaning, prophecy.

[6] See p. 69, note 4.

[7] Probably Tun 13 Ahau is meant, as it is known that Hunac Ceel lived in a Katun 8 Ahau. Why it is the sixth reign is not clear.

[8] Maya, *kin*. Besides meaning news, this word could also mean reign, sun, time, day and festival.

[9] Maya, *ua*, as in *ua-cunah*, to set up or erect something.

[10] Baca is a town a few miles west of Motul.

[11] Here the page has crumbled and Berendt's copy has been followed. He gives this word as *yancuntabi*, and it is so translated. *Yacuntabi* would mean loved or guarded. It might be *yeɔcuntabi*, established.

[12] Maya, *yumintabali*. This could also mean "treated as a father."

[13] Maya, *tzicile*. It means to honor or respect as well as obey.

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went there. Then he removed the stones [1] of the land, the stones of the sowed land, the place of Itzam,[2] and they went into the water.[3] Then began the introduction of misery there at Chichen Itzá. Then he went to the east and arrived at the home of Ah Kin Coba.

Katun 8 Ahau came. 8 Ahau was the name of the katun when their government occurred. Then there was a change of the katun, then there was
p.12 C a change of rulers./ . . . when our rulers increased in numbers, according to the words of their priest to them. Then they introduced the drought. That which came was a drought, according to their words, when the hoofs <of the animals> burned, when the seashore burned, a sea of misery. So it was said on high, so it was said. Then the face of the sun was eaten;[4] then the face of the sun was darkened; then its face was extinguished. They were terrified on high, when it burned at the word of their priest to them, when the word of our ruler was fulfilled at the word of their priest to them. Then began the idea of painting the exterior of the sun.[5] When they heard of that, they saw the moon. Then came the rulers of the land. It was Ix-Tziu-nene [6] who introduced sin to us, the slaves of the land,[7] when he came. Then the law [8] of the katun, the divination of the katun shall be fulfilled. When he was brought, what was your command, you, the rulers of the land? Then the law of another katun was introduced, at the end of the katun when Ix-Tziu-nene was brought. Whereupon a numerous army was seen, and they began to be killed. Then a thing of terror was constructed, a gallows for their death. Now began the archery [9] of Ox-halal Chan.[10] Then the rulers of the land were called. Their

[1] Maya, *tunil*. This usually means precious stones, unless the word occurs in a compound, when it can mean an ordinary stone. While it is true that many precious stones were thrown into the water at Chichen Itzá, the context indicates that landmarks are meant here.

[2] The place of the Itzá may be meant. It is uncertain just who or what Itzam was. It is an element in the name Itzamná as well as in that of the whale or monster called Itzam-cab-ain, discussed on page 101, note 4. We find also the name Xkil Itzam Pech (p. 71, note 9).

[3] We are reminded of the great stones which they threw into the Sacred Cenote when none of the victims returned with the prophecy. Appendix B.

[4] "During lunar eclipses . . . They say that the moon is dying, or that it is being bitten by a certain kind of ant . . ." (Aguilar 1921, p. 204). A similar belief was held of solar eclipses.

[5] An alternative translation would be: "They began to imagine the reverse side of the sun."

[6] Tziu is a family name, and *nen* means mirror. Here it may be feminine.

[7] *u mun nal cab* might also mean: "the tender green corn of the land."

[8] *Than* has many meanings in Maya. The *than* of the katun is interpreted as "ordenansas" by the Kaua MS, p. 171 (Gates Reproduction).

[9] Maya, *chulul*. This word has a number of meanings. In the Maya texts it usually signifies either a bow or the chulul-tree from which bows were made (*Apoplanesia paniculata* Presl.)

[10] Literally, Chan of the three arrows. Chan is a common family name.

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blood flowed, and it was taken by the archers.[1] They were terrified . . . the time when the katun ended for them . . ./[2] p.13 C

III

(A PROPHECY FOR KATUN 11 AHAU)[3]

Katun 11 Ahau is set upon the mat, set upon the throne, when their ruler is set up. Yaxal Chac [4] is its face to their ruler. The heavenly fan, the heavenly wreath and the heavenly bouquet shall descend.[5] The drum and rattle of the lord of 11 Ahau shall resound, when flint knives are set into his mantle.[6] At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun.[7] They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their <usual> food [8] in katun 11 Ahau.

11 Ahau is the beginning of the count, because this was the katun when the foreigners arrived. They came from the east when they arrived. Then

[1] Maya, *ah-cehob*. The term implies hunters who use the bow and arrow rather than warriors. Ah Cehob could also mean the men of the Ceh family.

[2] The order in which the place-names occur in the first migration narrative in this chapter indicates roughly a great eclipse which covers much of northern Yucatan, running west, south, east and north. The course of the second migration is much more irregular. Both narratives suggest that the people concerned in these movements started in the east and first traveled toward the west.

It is significant that Uxmal was the only place southwest of the *puuc*, or low mountain range, which was visited, for this is the district which is so thickly occupied by the imposing remains of what must have been important cities, such as Sacbé, Kabah, Sayi, Tabi, Labná and Keuic, to mention only a few of the best-known sites. Hardly a tradition has come down to us regarding this once densely populated region, although the Xius must have come through it when they settled in Uxmal. Evidently it was a country apart, and the people from the east (or southeast) with whom this chapter is concerned did not attempt to penetrate it.

Equally significant is the fact that in the area covered by these two lists of place-names we find no mention of the towns supposed to have been founded by the Cocoms after the fall of Mayapan, such as Sotuta, Tabi and Tibolon, nor of those settled by the Ah Canuls in western Yucatan, such as Calkini, Numkini and Maxcanu. These omissions are a confirmation of the historical value of these old migration narratives.

[3] A discussion of Maya prophecies will be found in Appendix D.

[4] Literally, the green rain-god. Rain is green in the Maya picture-manuscripts. *Cf.* Appendix A.

[5] In the Mani version of this prophecy these objects are said to be held in the hand of Yaxal Chac (Perez Codex, p. 75). We are told that the Maya "were fond of fragrant odors, and so made use of bouquets of flowers and fragrant herbs of odd designs." The bouquet was also a ceremonial object, for when children were baptised, the priest's assistant carried a bouquet of flowers. With this he made a threatening motion nine times at each child and then caused the child to smell it (Landa 1928, pp. 150 and 184).

[6] Here the text is corrupt, it is corrected from page 133.

[7] The green turkey (p. 70), Zulim Chan (p. 69) and Chakanputun (p. 136) are all associated with occasions when people were driven out into the forest, as many were in Katun 11 Ahau, the period of the Spanish conquest.

[8] Alternative translation: who have lost their sowed fields, etc.

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Christianity also began. The fulfilment of its prophecy is <ascribed> to the east.[1] The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[2]

This is a record of the things which they did. After it had all passed, they told of it in their <own> words, but its meaning is not plain. Still the course of events was as it is written. But even when everything shall be thoroughly

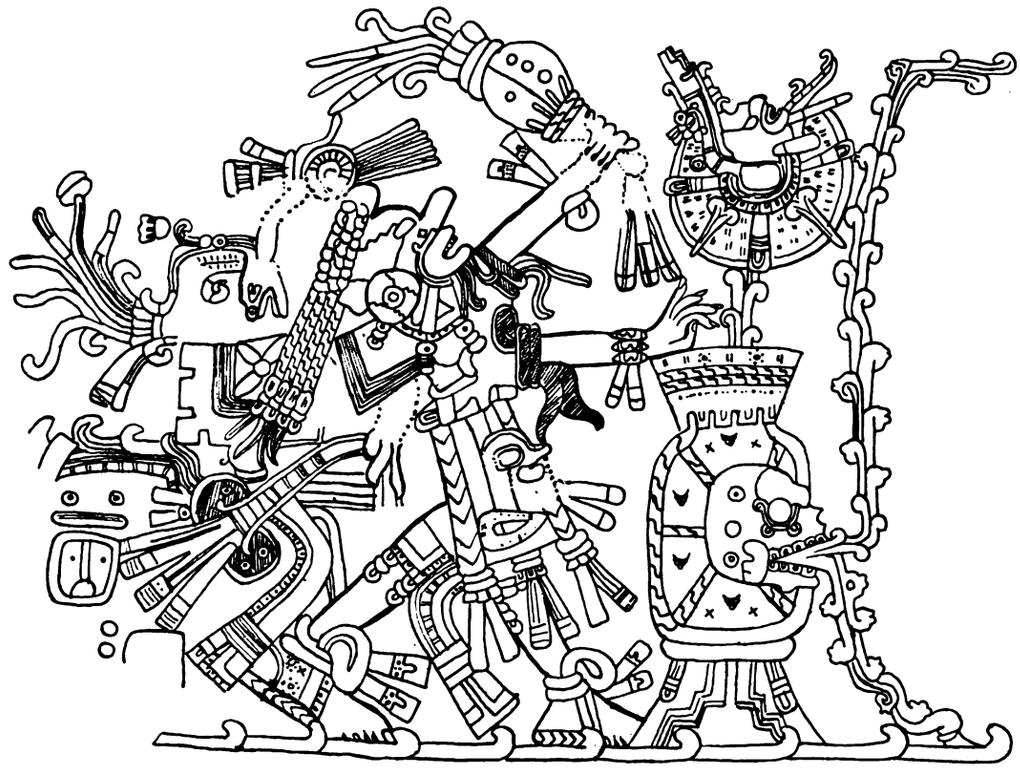

FIG. 4—The drum and rattle of the katun resound. Fresco at Santa Rita, British Honduras. (After Gann, 1900, Plate 31. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)

explained, perhaps not so much is written about it, nor has very much been written of the guilt of their conspiracies with one another. So it was with the ruler of the Itzá, with the men <who were rulers> of Izamal, Ake, Uxmal,
p.14 C Ichcanziho <and> Citab Couoh[3] also. Very many were the / head-chiefs and many a conspiracy they made with one another. But they are not made known in what is <written> here; not so much will be related. Still he who comes of our lineage will know it, one of us who are Maya men. He will know how to explain these things when he reads what is here. When he sees it, then he will explain the adjustment of the intricacy of the katun by our priest, Ah Kin Xuluc; but Xuluc[4] was not his name formerly. It was only because these

[1] Compare with the katun-wheel on p. 132.
[2] This is the end of the prophecy. What follows is a commentary.
[3] The Couoh (Spider) family ruled in Champoton (Landa 1928, p. 42).
[4] Xuluc is probably derived from the name of a fish resembling the dace, but it can also mean perishable, hence the play on words here.

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priests of ours were to come to an end when misery was introduced, when Christianity was introduced by the real Christians. Then with the true God, the true *Dios*, came the beginning of our misery. It was the beginning of tribute, the beginning of church dues,[1] the beginning of strife with purse-snatching,[2] the beginning of strife with blow-guns, the beginning of strife by trampling on people, the beginning of robbery with violence, the beginning of forced debts, the beginning of debts enforced by false testimony, the beginning of individual strife, a beginning of vexation, a beginning of robbery with violence.[3] This was the origin of service to the Spaniards and priests, of service to the local chiefs,[4] of service to the teachers,[5] of service to the public prosecutors by the boys, the youths of the town, while the poor people were harassed. These were the very poor people who did not depart when oppression was/ p.15 C put upon them. It was by Antichrist [6] on earth, the kinkajous of the towns, the foxes of the towns,[7] the blood-sucking insects of the town, those who drained the poverty of the working people. But it shall still come to pass that tears shall come to the eyes of our Lord God. The justice of our Lord God shall descend upon every part of the world, straight from God upon Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, the avaricious hagglers [8] of the world.

IV

(THE BUILDING OF THE MOUNDS)

In the year 1541.[9]

181 ɔuul. at. 5 Dik: 92 nhele [10]

The history which I have written of how the mounds came to be constructed by the heathen.[11] During three score and fifteen katuns they were constructed.[12] The great men made them. Then the remainder of the men went

[1] *Limosna* in the text, but to the Indians it meant compulsory dues.

[2] Lit. snatching the bags in which they carried the cacao used for small change.

[3] These are stereotyped phrases usually employed to describe a riot or the plundering of a town.

[4] Here we have a description of the oppression of the Indians during the colonial period, not only by the Spaniards but also by many of their own chiefs who held public office under the Spanish regime.

[5] Maya, *camzah*, is a term also supplied to the village choirmaster, a person of considerable authority.

[6] Called *antachristoil* in the text. We suspect it merely means bad Christians here.

[7] These are terms applied in general to harsh and oppressive Maya chiefs. It is probable that they were originally honorable titles among the Itzá. *Cf.* Appendix F.

[8] Maya, *ɔutanil*, which the Pio Perez dictionary translates as sorcerers or witches. The alternative translation, derived from *ɔut* seems preferable here.

[9] The year of the Spanish settlement at Merida.

[10] Probably a confused imitation of the chapter-heading in some Spanish history.

[11] Written *heregesob* (literally heretics) in the text. *Cf.* p. 115, note 4.

[12] This is evidently an attempt to fix the period of building activity in northern Yucatan, just as on page 83 we find four baktuns and fifteen katuns given as what was probably the period of Maya civilization. Some Maya writers put the end of the native regime at the time of the settlement of Merida in 1541 and others fix the date at 1519 when

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to Cartabona,[1] as the land where they were is called today. There they were when San Bernabé [2] came to teach them. Then they were killed by the men; the men were called heathen. 1<5>56 is the total count today <after> fif-
p.16 C teen years.[3] On this day I have written how the great mounds/came to be built by the lineages and all the things which the rulers did. They were the ones who built the mounds. <It took> thirteen katuns and six years for them to construct them. The following was the beginning of the mounds they built. Fifteen four-hundreds were the scores of their mounds, and fifty <more>[4] <made> the total count of the mounds they constructed all over the land. From the sea to the base of the land [5] they created names for them as well as for the wells. Then a miracle was performed for them by God. Then they were burned by fire among the people of Israel. <This is> the record of the katuns and years since Chac-unezcab of the lineage of the Tutul Xius departed from Viroa.[6]

V

(MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF YUCATAN)

A record of the katuns and years when the Province of Yucatan was first seized by the foreigners, the white men. It was, they say, in Katun 11 Ahau that they seized the port of Ecab. They came from the east when they arrived. They say they were the first to eat the pond-apple for breakfast, this was the reason they called them the foreigners who ate pond-apples; foreigners who

Cortez landed at Cosumel and even confuse the latter date with that of the settlement at Merida (*Cf.* pp. 81, 84). Possibly we have here a reference to the Long Count. If so the end of the native regime (whether we place it in 1519 or 1541) was believed to be fifteen katuns after an even number of baktuns, or scores of katuns as stated here. As to what the three baktuns were, two alternatives seem the most probable. We could consider them to be Baktuns 9, 10 and 11, which would make the Spanish conquest fall in the katun following 12. 15. 0. 0. 0. 1 Ahau 13 Uo. The other most likely alternative would be to consider these three baktuns to be Baktuns, 8, 9 and 10. This would fix the Spanish Conquest in the katun immediately following 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. 2 Ahau 8 Zac. It is generally agreed that Cortez landed in Cozumel during the first part of the katun immediately following Katun 2 Ahau, while on the other hand no dated monuments earlier than Baktun 9 have been found in northern Yucatan. It is possible, of course, that the inhabitants of northern Yucatan had been constructing the mounds mentioned here for some centuries before they set up the first dated monument.

[1] Cartabona is certainly a European name, but it is not identified.

[2] Possibly a reference to the battle on the day of San Bernabé at Merida.

[3] Although one of the figures is omitted, the year 1556 seems to be intended, as it was fifteen years after the occupation of Merida in 1541.

[4] When we find round numbers given in terms of fifty, one hundred or one thousand, we may suspect the influence of European methods of counting on the mind of the Maya writer.

[5] Maya: *tu chun cab*. Campeche was called "the base of the land." Chumayel, p. 86.

[6] Viroa appears to be a corruption of some Spanish or Latin word as the letter r does not occur in Maya. The name, Chacunezcab is unfamiliar, and a possible alternative translation would be: since the lineage of the Tutul Xius departed there at Viroa, Chacunezcab.

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sucked pond-apples, they were called.[1] This is the name of the householder whom they seized at Ecab, Nacom Balam[2] was his name. He was the first to be seized at Ecab by the first <Spanish> captain, Don Juan/de Montejo, the p.17 C first conqueror. It was still the same katun when they arrived at Ichcanziho (Merida).[3]

It was the year 1513 in Katun 13 Ahau that they seized Campeche. They were there one katun.[4] Ah Kin Camal from Campeche introduced the foreigners into the province here.

It was on August 20th in the year 1541, I have made known the name of the year when Christianity began.

In the year 1519, after seven score and eleven years, occurred the agreement with the foreigners,[5] according to which we paid for the war between the foreigners and the other men here in the towns. It was the captains of the towns <who made war>. It is we who pay for it today.

Today I have written down that in the year 1541 the foreigners first arrived from the east at Ecab, as it was called. In that year occurred their arrival at the port of Ecab, at the village of Nacom Balam, on the first day of the year/in which Katun 11 Ahau[6] <fell>. After the Itzá were dispersed, it p.18 C was fifteen score years[7] when the foreigners arrived. <It was> after the town of Zaclahtun[8] was depopulated, after the town of Kinchil Coba[9] was de-

[1] *Op* is a general term for the Annona species today, but it seems likely that at the time of the Conquest, the *op* or *makop* was the insipid pond-apple, the fruit of the *Annona glabra* L. which is of little use for food.

[2] Cogolludo (Book 2, Chap. 5) states that Nacom Balam was an old man living at a ranch called Coni, near Conil, on the east coast.

[3] Juan de Montejo was the son of Francisco the younger. The latter arrived at Merida in Katun 11 Ahau.

[4] Few of the dates mentioned here are correct.

[5] The agreement with the Spaniards was in 1542 or 1543, and not in 1519. The year 1543 was just seven score and eleven years after a certain year 7 Cauac which fell in 1392, and was employed as the basis of a chronological count for some reason as yet undiscovered (Chilam Balam of Mani apud Codex Perez, p. 127).

[6] The Spanish Conquest of northern Yucatan was completed and Merida founded early in Katun 11 Ahau, but it was during the previous katun that Montejo first landed on the east coast of Yucatan. The port of Ecab was near Cape Cotoche and eight leagues northwest of Mugeres Island (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 173).

[7] According to the chronicles, Chichen Itzá was depopulated by Hunac Ceel in a Katun 8 Ahau which was seventeen katuns before Montejo entered Yucatan in a Katun 13 Ahau. In connection with the period of fifteen katuns mentioned here, compare p. 79, note 12, p. 83, note 3, and Appendix H.

[8] This appears to be the town usually called Zaclactun. In the third Chumayel chronicle and in all the prophecies for Katun 12 Ahau except the two in the Tizimin (see table of references at the end of Appendix D) and the katun-wheel (p. 132), we find the name given as Saclactun Mayapan; and in the other three places it is called Zaclactun or Zaclahtun. It seems likely therefore that Zaclactun was the ancient name of Mayapan. In the latter name the last syllable, *-pan*, is a Nahuatl word meaning banner. According to Brinton (1882, p. 175) Zaclactun "apparently means 'the place where white pottery is made.'" The present translator is inclined to derive this name from *zacal actun*, white cave or, according to the Motul dictionary, white stone building.

[9] Here, as in most of the prophecies for Katun 13 Ahau, Kinchil Coba is given as a place-name. In the Books of Chilam Balam of Kaua and Mani (apud Morley 1920,

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populated, after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated, after the town on the Uxmal side <of the range of hills>, the great town of Uxmal as it is called,[1] was depopulated, as well as Kabah.[2] It was after the towns of Zeye,[3] Pakam,[4] Homtun, at the town of Tix-calom-kin,[5] and Ake,[6] Holtun Ake, were depopulated.

It was after the town of Emal Chac[7] was depopulated, Izamal,[8] where the daughter of the true God, Lord of Heaven, descended, the Queen, the Virgin, the miraculous one.[9] When the ruler said: "The shield of Kinich Kakmo[10] shall descend," he was not declared ruler here. It was she, the miraculous one, the merciful one, who was so declared here. "The rope shall descend, the cord shall descend from heaven. The word shall descend from heaven." There was rejoicing over his reign by the other towns when they said this, but he was not declared their ruler at Emal (Izamal?).[11]

Then the great Itzá went <away>. Thirteen four-hundreds were the four-hundreds of their thousands,[12] and fifteen four-hundreds, the four-hundreds of their hundreds, the leading men among them, the heathen Itzá.[13] But many supporters went with them to feed them. Thirteen measures of

p. 482) this is the name of a personage, and Avendaño (see p. 134, note 5) tells of a statue, probably an idol, at Tayasal named Kinchil Coba. In all likelihood the Kaua version of his name, Ah Kinchil Coba, is the correct one, meaning "the man of Kinchil Coba." Thompson believes that the place, Kinchil Coba, was the city of Cobá, and the writer is inclined to agree with him (Thompson, Pollock, Charlot 1932, p. 6). Of interest is the statement in the Calkini Chronicle that at the town of Kinchil in northwestern Yucatan "there is a stone building, the stone building of the man of Coba, <Ah> Kinchil Coba." *"ti yan nocac u nocacil Ah Coba he Kinchil Coba"* (Crónica de Calkini, p. 38).

[1] The Maya text reads: *"cib u kaba,"* but has been corrected to *ci bin u kaba* and so translated. As the text stands in the original, the translation could be: to the south of the town of Uxmal, Cib was its name, was depopulated.

[2] This is the only mention in Maya literature of the name of these ruins known to the translator.

[3] There is a town of this name northeast of Acanceh, and Indians of Ticul who have farms near the ruins of Zayi insist that Zeyé is the correct name of that site.

[4] Possibly the town of Tepakam northwest of Izamal is meant.

[5] This name much resembles that of Xcalumkin, also called Holactun, a site noted for its Initial Series date.

[6] Aké is a well-known ruined city, also a Maya family name. Holtun is difficult to translate; it might mean stone gate or opening in the rock. We read of Holtun Zuyua (p. 74) and Holtun Itzá (p. 146), also of a personage named Holtun Balam (pp. 74 and 147).

[7] Emal Chac, literally where the Chac (rain-god) descended.

[8] Written "Etzemal" in the text.

[9] Nra. Señora de Izamal, the famous Virgin of Izamal.

[10] An idol at Izamal. See p. 160, note 2.

[11] Here the worship of the Virgin of Izamal is ascribed to a time before the Spanish Conquest.

[12] *Picil* originally meant eight thousand; it was later reduced to a thousand.

[13] "It is said that the first founders of Chichen Itzá were not idolaters, until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He taught idolatry, as they say it was he who taught it." Rel. de Yucatán, I, p. 270. This statement was made repeatedly by the Indians to the first Spanish settlers.

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corn per head was their quota, and nine measures and three handsful of grain. From many small towns the magicians went with them also./[1] p.19 C

They did not wish to join with the foreigners; they did not desire Christianity. They did not wish to pay tribute, did those whose emblems were the bird, the precious stone, the flat precious stone and the jaguar,[2] those with the three magic <emblems>. Four four-hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives;[3] then came the end of their lives, because they knew the measure of their days. Complete was the month; complete, the year; complete, the day; complete, the night; complete, the breath of life as it passed also; complete, the blood, when they arrived at their beds, their mats, their thrones. In due measure did they recite the good prayers; in due measure they sought the lucky days, until they saw the good stars enter into their reign; then they kept watch while the reign of the good stars began. Then everything was good.

Then they adhered to <the dictates of> their reason. There was no sin; in the holy faith their lives <were passed>. There was then no sickness; they had then no aching bones; they had then no high fever; they had then no smallpox; they had then no burning chest; they had then no abdominal pains; they had then no consumption; they had then no headache.[4] At that time the course of humanity was orderly. The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here. They brought shameful things/when they came. They lost p.20 C their innocence in carnal sin; they lost their innocence in the carnal sin of Nacxit Xuchit,[5] in the carnal sin of his companions. No lucky days were then displayed to us. This was the origin of the two-day chair (or throne), of the two-day reign;[6] this was the cause of our sickness also. There were no more lucky days for us; we had no sound judgment. At the end of our loss of vision, and of our shame, everything shall be revealed. There was no great

[1] A very slight change in the text would make it read: "Many of the daughters of the towns went with them to serve them, also."

[2] See note 10, p. 66 Chumayel.

[3] Evidently a belief existed that Maya civilization had lasted four baktuns and fifteen katuns. These four complete baktuns might have been either Baktuns 8, 9, 10 and 11 or Baktuns 7, 8, 9 and 10. The latter alternative would take us back to Spinden's Historical Era, 7.0.0.0.0. (Spinden 1924, p. 160), and put the Spanish Conquest shortly after 11.15.0.0.0., 2 Ahau 8 Zac. (*Cf.* p. 79, note 12.) In that case the date 9.0.0.0.0. would have fallen about the year 435 A.D.

[4] The foreign Toltecs no doubt brought disease into the country, just as the Spaniards did at a later date.

[5] Nacxit was one of the Mexican names of Quetzalcoatl. Xuchit is an archaic form of the Aztec *xochitl*, which means flower. We are reminded here of the well-known erotic episode in the Quetzalcoatl legend.

[6] We shall encounter a number of references to these "two-day" or temporary rulers. They are everywhere referred to as upstarts and usurpers. The following statements of the Indians may cast some light on the matter. In answer to the questions of the Spaniards as to the origin of the vaulted stone buildings seen in the country, some of the natives replied that their own ancestors had built them. "Others say that foreign immigrants settled there, and that the natives put an end to them and killed them." (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 197). *Cf.* p. 93 of the present work.

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teacher, no great speaker, no supreme priest, when the change of rulers occurred at their arrival. Lewd were the priests, when they came to be established here by the foreigners. Furthermore they left their descendants here at Tancah (Mayapan). These then received the misfortunes, after the affliction[1] of these foreigners. These, they say, were the Itzá. Three times it was, they say, that the foreigners arrived. It was because of this that we were relieved
p.21 C from paying tribute at the age of sixty,[2] because of the affliction by these men,/ the Itzá. It was not we who did it; it is we who pay for it today. However there is at last an agreement so that there may be peace between us and the foreigners. Otherwise there will be a great war.[3]

VI

(NOTES ON THE CALENDAR)

The beginning of Katun 11 Ahau was in the year	1513 [4]
Then it ended.	
Tihoo (Merida) was begun in the year	1519 [5]
(The convent of) San Francisco was founded at Santiago[6] in Tihoo	1519
The principal church was founded in the center of the town of <Ti>hoo in the year	1540
The months in a year are twelve	12
The count of the days in one year	365
The count of the nights in one year [7]	365
The count of weeks in one year	52
p.22 C The number of Sundays in one year	53
The count of the days in the first six months (of the year)	181/

[1] It is difficult to understand why the Itzá who had been so long in Yucatan should be called foreigners. Possibly it was because they were still established at Tayasal at the time this passage was written. In any case the Itzá are denounced a number of times in these pages.

[2] Under the Colonial administration, unmarried youths and old men were exempt from tribute. Probably this was also the case before the Spanish Conquest.

[3] The confusion of this narrative is probably due to the fact that while the writer was referring ostensibly to the Itzá, he really had the Spaniards in mind. He evidently shares the belief of some of the Spanish writers that the Itzá migrated from northern Yucatan to avoid subjection to the Spaniards, whose coming their prophets had foretold. *Cf.* Villagutierre 1701, p. 34.

[4] It is generally agreed that Katun 11 Ahau began some time during the last half of the fourth decade of the Sixteenth Century. There was, however, a school of Maya writers during the Eighteenth Century who taught that the katun was composed of 24 years of 365 days each. They believed that a certain Katun 4 Ahau ended in 1752; and counting back to Katun 11 Ahau by their assumed katuns of 24 years, they came to the conclusion that it began in a year 10 Cauac which fell in 1512.

[5] Cortez landed in Cozumel in 1519.

[6] Santiago was a suburb of Merida occupied by the Nahua allies of the Spaniards (Cogolludo Bk. 7 Chap. 4).

[7] It is significant to note that the Maya still preserved the idea of a night-count at this late date.

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The count of days in the second six months which complete the year 184

This is the count of days in a week: seven days in one week is the total of this count./ p.23 C

The count of the uinals[1] in one year.

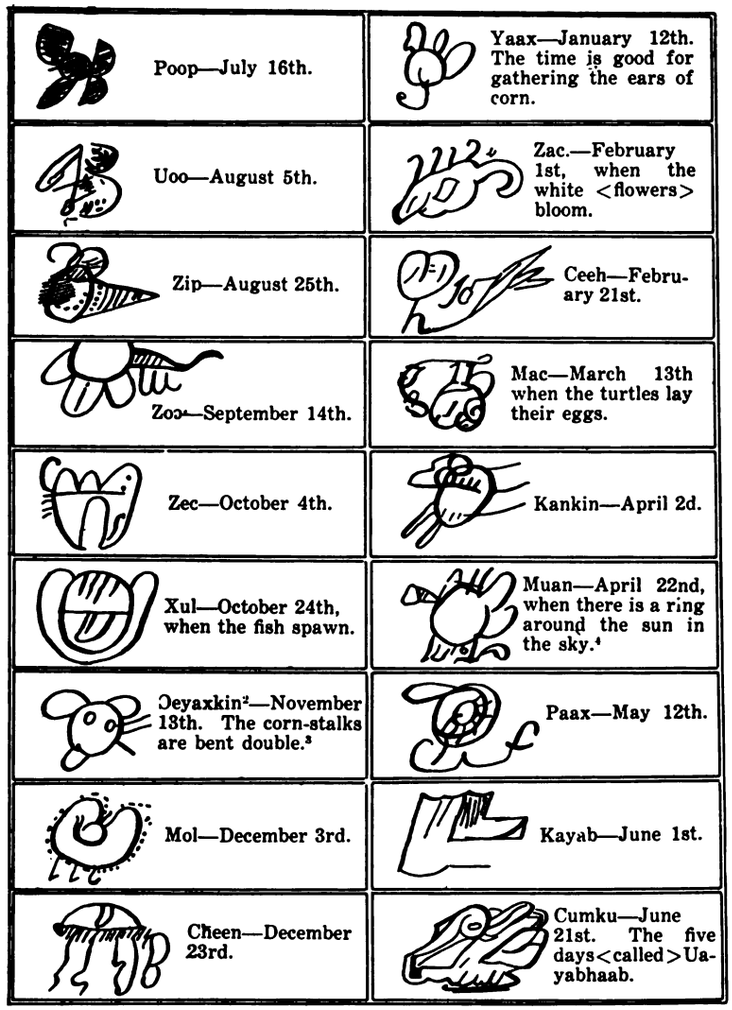

FIG. 5—The Maya months, or uinals. (Chumayel MS.)/ p.24 C

Chumayel, 28, is born the god-daughter, Micaela Castañeda[5]/ p.25 C

[1] The uinal was the Maya month of twenty days.

[2] Literally Little Yaxkin. Yaxkin is the usual name of this uinal.

[3] The ear is left on the stalk, which is bent double so that the husk will completely shed the rain. Until the fall rains are over, the corn is said to keep better in this manner than in the granary.

[4] Probably due to the smoke from the fields which are burned over at this time.

[5] Written in a different hand. The rest of the page is blank.

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VII

(THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF YUCATAN)[1]

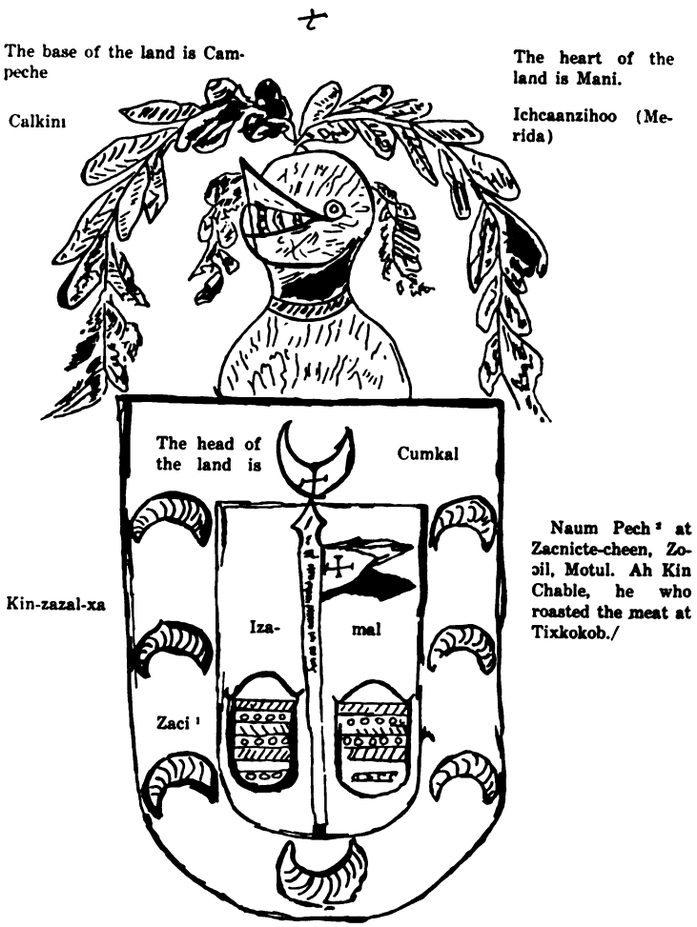

FIG. 6—The armorial bearings of Yucatan. (Chumayel MS.)/

p.26 C

VIII

(NOTES ON ASTRONOMY)

(Small picture of a cross.)[3]

When the eleventh day of June shall come, it will be the longest day.[4] When the thirteenth day of September comes, this day and night are precisely

[1] Compare legend accompanying this coat of arms with the figurative geographical description on page 126.

[2] Naum Pech, head-chief at Motul, welcomed the Spaniards (Brinton 1882, pp. 216 and 235). He was baptised Don Francisco de Montejo Pech and later wrote a chronicle of the Conquest (Martinez 1926, p. 25).

[3] The cross probably indicates that this is Christian teaching.

[4] This date for the summer solstice indicates that the passage was originally written at a time when the Julian calendar was still current in Yucatan.

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the same <in length>. When the twelfth day of December shall come the day is short, <but> the night <begins to> shorten. When the tenth day of March comes, the day and night will be equal <in length.>

FIG. 7—Diagram showing the course of the sun in the heavens (Chumayel MS.).

This annulus in the center of the disk is white and indicates the course of the sun. Between the two rings the black spots indicate the face of the sun, which goes over the large black one and descends to the small black one. Thus its movement is uniform, and this is its course here on earth also. On the ground it is thus manifested plainly all over the earth also. The progress of the sun is truly great as it takes its course to enter into the great *Oro* [1] extended over the world. <This is> the record <of the motion> of the sun as it is known here on earth./ p.27 C

FIG. 8—Diagram representing an eclipse of the sun (Chumayel MS.).

To the people on the sides of this half-section as pictured, the sun is not eclipsed;[2] but for anyone who is in the middle it is eclipsed. It is in conjunction with the moon when it is eclipsed. It travels in its course before it is eclipsed. It arrives in its course to the north, very great. It is all the same with eclipses of the sun and moon before it arrives opposite to the sun. <This is> the explanation so that Maya people may know what happens to the sun and to the moon.

[1] The translator does not know the word *Oro* as an astronomical term. It is the name of the gold disk which takes the place of the diamond on Spanish playing-cards and may refer to sunlight in general.

[2] *Chibil*, the Maya word for an eclipse, also means eaten. Aguilar tells us that the Maya believed that certain ants called *xulab* ate the sun or moon at the time of an eclipse (Aguilar 1921, p. 304). This passage in the Chumayel is evidently an attempt to correct such a belief, but it does not appear to have been entirely successful, as Dr. Redfield reports that many natives still believe that the moon is eaten by certain ants during an eclipse (Redfield, Letter October 22, 1931). (See NOTE, p. 88.)

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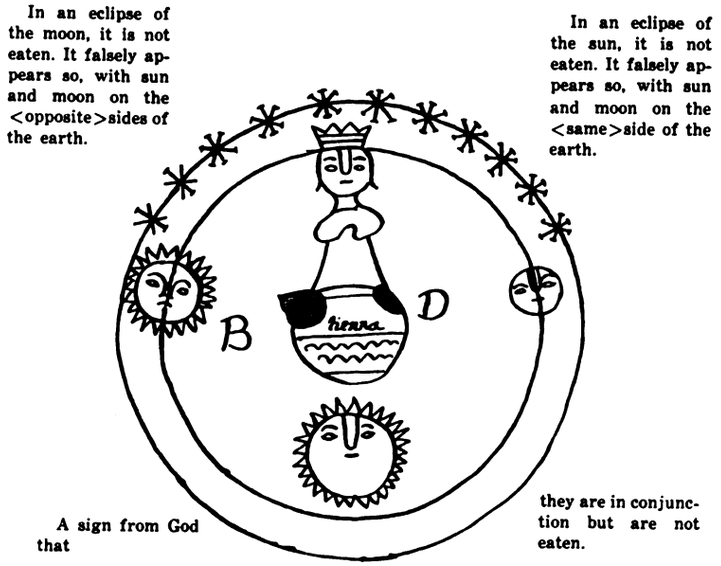

FIG. 9—Diagram explaining the cause of solar and lunar eclipses (Chumayel MS.)./

p.28 C

IX

(THE INTERROGATION OF THE CHIEFS)

This is the language of Zuyua[1] and the understanding for our lord, Señor Governor Mariscal,[2] who has settled at Tzuc-uaxim to the east of Ichcanziho (Merida). This is the land where his garden and homestead were, where he settled. Then the day will come when his period of office shall end also. The command of the head-chief comes. Vigorous is his command, when he arrives, and red is his garment also.

NOTE—There was, however, another explanation of the eclipse. Accompanied by some information taken from European almanacs, we find in the Codex Perez (p. 27) the statement that eclipses of the sun and moon are caused by their being "covered" by the planets. Now the Maya Indians of San Antonio in southern British Honduras give the name, *xulab*, to the deity of the Morning Star who ranks only next to the Christian God in power. The writer is inclined to connect this name with the ants called *xulab* which by the Maya of northern Yucatan, are believed to eat the sun or moon. The San Antonio Indians have been influenced by both the Chols and Kekchis, and the idea in the north that the *xulab*-ants eat the moon may well be a misunderstanding of a theory imported from the south to the effect that eclipses were caused by certain planets. *Cf.* J. E. Thompson 1930, p. 63.

[1] Zuyua is Nahuatl, a mythical place-name associated with the "Seven Caves" believed to be the origin of the Nahuas (Brinton 1882, p. 110).

[2] Probably Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano, governor of Yucatan from 1604 to 1612. Cogolludo Bk. 8, Chap. 12. His period of office was, however, in Katun 5 Ahau, and not 3 Ahau as stated here.

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FIG. 10—The lord of the katun[1] (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 11—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 12—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 13—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 14—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

On this day, in the language of Zuyua, this is the question asked by the head-chief of the town; then the day shall arrive when the law of Katun 3 Ahau shall end, when another katun shall be set <in its place>, Katun 1 Ahau, as stated below.

This katun today is Katun 3 Ahau. The time has come for the end of its rule and reign. It is finished. Another one <takes its place> for a time.

This is Katun 1 Ahau, which is set within the house of Katun 3 Ahau.[2] There it is its guest, while it is given its power by Katun 3 Ahau. Things are shameful, they say, <in th place> where they dwell./[3] p.29 C

This is the examination[4] which takes place in the katun which ends today. The time has arrived for examining the knowledge of the chiefs of the towns, <to see> whether they know how the ruling men came, whether they have explained the coming of the chiefs, of the head-chiefs, whether they are of the lineage of rulers, whether they are of the lineage of chiefs, that they may prove it.[5]

This is the first question which will be asked of them: he shall ask them for his food "Bring the sun." This is the word of the head-chief to them; thus it is said to the chiefs. "Bring the sun, <my> son, bear it on the palm of your hand to my plate. A lance is planted, a lofty cross, in the middle of its heart. A green jaguar is seated over the sun to drink its blood." Of Zuyua is the wisdom. This is what the sun is which is demanded of them: a very large fried egg. This is the lance and the lofty cross planted in its heart of which he speaks: it is the benediction.[6] This is what the green jaguar is which is set

[1] This and the other blurred crowned heads in this chapter seem to represent the so-called "ruler" of the katun-prophecies in Chapter XXII. It is of especial interest to find these heads pictured in connection with the present questionnaire, and it suggests that we have here an important ceremony associated with the establishment of a new katun-marker. The crowned head probably represents the glyph Ahau.

[2] When a katun was half finished, the idol of the succeeding katun was set up and also worshipped (Landa 1929, p. 98).

[3] Probably a reference to the erotic religious practices of which the early Spanish missionaries complained.

[4] Lit.: the demand for knowledge or understanding.

[5] See Appendix E.

[6] It is not known what sort of a blessing the pagan Maya recited over their ordinary meals. Here the usual Christian benediction is no doubt meant.

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over it to drink its blood: it is a green chile-pepper, is the jaguar. This is the language of Zuyua.

FIG. 15—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the second question that will be asked of them: let them go and get the brains of the sky, so the head-chief may see how large they are. "It is my desire to see them; let me see them." This is what he would say to them. This is what the brains of the sky are: it is copal gum.[1]

p.30 C Zuyua <language>./

FIG. 16—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the third question which will be asked of them: let them construct a large house.[2] Six *thils*[3] is its length: one such <measure> is that of its upright timbers. This is what the large house is: it is a very large hat set on the floor. He shall be told to mount a very large white horse. White shall be his mantle and his cape, and he shall grasp a white rattle in his hand, while he rattles it at his horse. There is coagulated blood on the rosette[4] of his rattle, which comes out of it. This is what the white horse is: it is a stirrup[5] of henequen fiber. This is the white rattle mentioned, and the white cape: they are a Plumeria flower <and> a white wreath. This is the coagulated blood on the rosette of the rattle, which is demanded of them: it is the gold in the middle, because it is blood which comes from the veins of the fatherless and motherless orphan.

FIG. 17—The lord of the katun (Chumayel M.S.).

This is the fourth question which will be asked of them: Let them go to his house and then they shall be told: "When you come, you shall be visible at midday. You shall be children again, you shall creep <again>. When you arrive, your little dog shall be just behind you. This little dog of yours carries with its teeth the soul of our holy mistress,[6] when you come with it." This is what the second childhood at midday is, which is mentioned to him. He shall go where he casts a shadow, this is what is called creeping. Then he shall come to the house of the head-chief. This is what his little dog is which is demanded of him: it is his wife. This is what the soul of our holy mistress is: it is an enormous thick wax candle. <This is>

p.31 C the language of Zuyua./

[1] The gum of the copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) was the principal incense used by the Maya. The thick clouds of smoke may have suggested the convolutions of the brain.

[2] Lit. let them bind a large house.

[3] *Thil* is the Maya measure for the distance between the uprights of a house.

[4] Mexican rattles were certainly ornamented with rosettes. *Cf.* Seler 1904, pp. 674, 675 and 700. The Maya word here is *lol*, which usually means a large blossom.

[5] Lit. a pierced shoe, which suggests an old Spanish stirrup of the Arab type.

[6] Our holy mistress (*ca cilich colel*) is a term usually applied to the Holy Virgin.

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FIG. 18—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the fifth question which will be asked of them. They shall be told to go and get the heart of God the Father in heaven. "Then you shall bring me thirteen layers [1] wrapped up in a coarse white fabric." This is the heart of God the Father, of which they are told: it is a bead of precious stone. This is what the covering of thirteen layers is, which is mentioned. It is an enormous tortilla. Thirteen layers of beans are in it. This is what the coarse white fabric is, it is a white mantle. This shall be demanded of them, as signified <in the language> of Zuyua.

FIG. 19—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the sixth question which will be asked of them: to go and get the branch of the *pochote* tree,[2] and a cord of three strands, and a living liana. This he will relish. "My food for tomorrow.[3] It is my desire to eat it." It is not bad to gnaw the trunk of the *pochote* tree, so they are told. This is what the trunk of the *pochote* tree is: it is a lizard.[4] This is the cord of three strands, the tail of an iguana. This is the living liana, it is the entrails of a pig. This is the trunk of the *pochote* tree, the base of the tail of a lizard. The language of Zuyua.

FIG. 20—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the seventh question which will be asked of them. They shall be told: "Go and gather for me those things which plug [5] the bottom of the cenote, two white ones, two yellow ones. I desire to eat them." These are the things which plug the bottom of the cenote, which are demanded of them. They are <two> white and two yellow jícamas.[6] These are the things to be understood in order to become chiefs of the town, when they are brought before the ruler, the first head-chief./ p.32 C

These are the words. If they are not understood by the chiefs of the towns, ill-omened is the star adorning the night. Frightful is its house. Sad is the havoc[7] in the courtyards of the nobles. Those who die are those who do not understand; those who live will understand it. This competitive test shall hang over the chiefs of the towns; it has been copied so that the severity may be known in which the reign is to end. Their hands are bound before them to a wooden collar. They are pulled along with the cord. They are taken to

[1] Probably a reference to the thirteen heavens of the Maya cosmos.
[2] *Ceiba schottii* Britt. & Baker. [3] Alternative translation: odorous food.
[4] *Chop*, a red and black lizard. The term is also applied to the dried lizards used by the native doctors.
[5] Possible alternative translation: tortoises.
[6] *Pachyrhizus erosus* (L.) Urban. The Maya name, *chicam*, appears to be derived from the Nahuatl jícama, and this edible root may have been introduced by the Toltecs.
[7] *Bulcum*, a misfortune frequently associated in these pages with swarming flies.

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the house of the ruler, the first head-chief. This is the end of the chiefs. This shall hang over[1] the unrestrained lewd ones of the day and of the katun. They shall feel anguish when the affairs of the chiefs of the towns shall come to an end. This shall occur on the day when the law of the katun shall come to an end, when Katun 3 Ahau shall terminate. The chiefs of the towns shall be
p.33 C seized because they are lacking in understanding./

[2] FIG. 21—"The chiefs of the towns shall be seized because they are lacking in understanding" (Chumayel MS.).

Thus shall occur the seizure of the chiefs of the towns. This is the memorandum so that they may give the first head-chief his food, when he demands his food of them. They shall be hung by the neck; the tips of their tongues shall be cut off: their eyes shall be torn out. On this day the end shall come.

But those who are of the lineage shall come forth before their lord on bended knees in order that their wisdom may be made known. Then their mat[3] is delivered to them and their throne as well. The test is to be seen as it is copied here. Those of the lineage of the first head-chief here in the land are viewed with favor. They shall live on that day, and they shall also receive their first wand of office. Thus are those of the lineage of Maya men established again in the Province of Yucatan. God shall be first, when all things are accomplished here on earth. He is the true ruler, he shall come to demand of us our government, those things which we hold sacred, precious stones, precious beads; and he shall demand the planted wine, the *balché*.[4] He who has none shall be killed. He who obeys, godly is his action according to the law. But perhaps God will not desire all the things
p.34 C which have been written to come to pass./

So, also, these are the nobility, the lineage of the chiefs, who know whence come the men and the rulers of their government. The discretion with which they govern their subjects shall be viewed with favor. Their mat and

[1] Alternative translation: There shall be weeping among, etc.

[2] Prisoners are also portrayed as nude in one of the frescos of the Temple of the Warriors (Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Pl. 139).

[3] Here, as among the Aztecs, the mat and throne are symbols of authority. Believing Cortez to be the returning Quetzalcoatl, Montezuma greeted him with these words: "My royal ancestors have said that you would come to visit your city and that you would sit upon your mat and chair when you returned" (Seler 1923, p. 447).

[4] An intoxicating drink made of fermented honey and the bark of the *Lonchocarpus longistylus* Pitt. and used in religious ceremonies.

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FIG. 22—The examining head-chief, or *halach-uinic*[1] (Chumayel MS.).

their throne shall be delivered to them by our lord, the first head-chief. This is their mat and their throne. <But> the unrestrained upstart of the day and katun, the offspring of the mad woman, the offspring of the harlot, the son of evil, the two-day occupant of the mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the rogue of the reign, the rogue of the katun, he shall be roughly handled, his face covered with earth, trampled into the ground, and befouled, as he is dragged along.[2] <On the other hand>, the ruling men of noble lineage have walked abroad in Katun 3 Ahau; <they are> placated in the fullness of their hearts when they are told to go and take the chiefs of the towns. Then let them go and take them.

"Son, go and bring the flower[3] of the night to me here." This is what will be said. Then let him go on his knees before the head-chief who demands this of him. "Father, here is the flower of the night for which you ask me; I come with it and with the vile thing of the night. There it is with me." These are his words.

"Then, <my> son, if it is/with you, have you with you the first captive[4] and the great álamo tree?"[5] "Father, they are with me. I have come with them." p.35 C

"Then, <my> son, if you have come with them, go and call your companions to me. These are an old man with nine sons and an old woman with nine children." "Father," he says when he replies, "I have come with them. Here they are with me. First they came to me, and then I came to see you."

"Then, <my> son, if they are here with you, go and gather for me stones of the savannah and come with them." He gathers them to his breast when he

[1] This portrayal of the *halach-uinic* dressed as a Spanish dignitary is probably due to an effort to make it real to the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Century Maya reader, rather than because of ignorance.

[2] A very similar passage on page 106 states that these usurpers who ruled in Katun 3 Ahau were Itzá (who called themselves "the Zuyua people.") This suggests that our questionnaire was originally a method by which the Xius, a "West Zuyua people," ousted Itzá chieftains from the towns over which they (the Xius) had gained control. We shall see on page 137 that the Itzá also had a questionnaire of their own.

[3] Lit.: a large flower. [4] Alternative translation: the green weak one.

[5] *Ficus cotinifolia* H. B. K. The miter-like head-dress of the Maya chiefs, like those seen on the sculptures of Chichen Itzá, was made of the bark of this tree (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 82).

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comes. "Are you a head-chief? Are you of the lineage of the ruler here in the land?" The language of Zuyua.

This is the flower of the night which is demanded of him: a star in the sky. This is the vile thing of the night: it is the moon.[1] This is the first woman captive and the great álamo tree: it is the town official,[2] named "he who falls to the ground." This is the old man with nine sons who is demanded of him: it is his great toe. This is the old woman demanded of him: it is his thumb. These are the stones of the savannah which are sought for and which his son is to gather to his breast: they are quails.[3]

"Also, <my> son, where is the smooth green thing of which you were told? You were not told to look at its face." Here it is with me, father." "Then, <my> son, go and bring to me here the placenta of the sky. When you come from the east, you shall come with something close behind you." "So be it, father," he says.

This is what the smooth green thing is, which is with him when he arrives: it is the rind of a squash.[4] This is the placenta of the sky which is demanded of him: it is moulded copal-gum shaped into thirteen layers. This is what is said to come close behind him: it is the shadow at his back early in the afternoon.

p.36 C "<My> son, you are a head-chief; you are a ruler also. Go and get me the green beads with which you pray."/ These are the green beads which are demanded of him: it is a bead of precious stone. Then he shall be asked how many days he prays. "Father," he says, "for one day I pray, and for ten days I pray." "On what day does your prayer arise?" "Father, on the ninth day and on the thirteenth day. It is to Bolon-ti-ku and Oxlahun-ti-citbil[5] that I count my beads."

"<My> son, go and get me your loin-cloth that I may perceive its odor here with the wide spread odor of my loin-cloth, the odor of my mantle, the odor of my censer,[6] the supreme odor at the center of the sky, at the center of the clouds, <also> that which glues together my mouth, it is in a white carved <cup>. <Do this> if you are a head-chief." "Father, I will bring them," he says.

This is the odor of the loin-cloth which he asks for, this is the supreme odor at the center of the sky: it is copal gum set on fire <so that> it burns. This is what first glues together his mouth: it is ground cacao, chocolate.

"Then, <my> son, go bring me the green blood of my daughter, also her head, her entrails, her thigh, and her arm; also that which I told you to enclose in an

[1] We know little of the Maya conception of the moon. It is certain, however, that in their later history they were greatly influenced by the Mexicans among whom the moon was associated with the rabbit, the symbol of drunkenness, and with Tlaçolteotl, the goddess of sinful love.

[2] Maya, *ah-cuch-cab*, which could also mean the honey-bearer. The translator believes the town official is meant because he was so subservient before any higher authority.

[3] The quail is also associated with a stone on page 128.

[4] Maya, *ca*, a certain white and striped squash. The Maya word, *haan*, is variously defined as something made smooth or scrubbed, father-in-law and son-in-law.

[5] Lit.: nine gods and thirteen fathers, probably the gods of the nine underworlds and the thirteen heavens.

[6] Written *yubak* in our text and corrected to *yubkak*, which means censer.

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unused jar, as well as the green stool of my daughter. Show them to me. It is my desire to see them. I have commissioned you to set them before me, that I may burst into weeping." "So be it, father." He <is to> come with the left ear of a wild bee. Then let him go.

This is the green blood of his daughter for which he asks: it is Maya wine. These are the entrails/of his daughter: it is an empty bee-hive.[1] This is his p.37 C daughter's head: it is an unused jar for steeping wine.[2] This is what his daughter's green stool is: it is the stone pestle [3] for <pounding> honey. This is what the left ear of the wild bee is: it is <a drop of> the moisture of the wine. This is what the bone of his daughter is: it is the flexible bark of the *balché*. This is the thigh of which he speaks: it is the trunk of the *balché* tree. This is what the arm of his daughter is: it is the branch of the *balché*. This is what he calls weeping: it is a drunken speech. Then let him go and give these <things> to him. Let him seat himself tranquilly; let him wait for him to speak; let him salute him as his lord when he arrives.

"Father, here is your daughter whom you put in my care. of whom you speak. You are the father, you are the ruler." This is what his son says to him.

"Oh son, my fellow head-chief, my fellow ruler! You have remembered; it is sufficient. You know; it is sufficient," he says. "This, then, is the blood of my daughter for which I ask you." Thirteen times the blood of his daughter flows, while he weeps for his daughter, lying there in the courtyard. Perchance, then he weeps, while he looks at her, bowed down, while he says: "Oh son!" he says while he weeps, "you are a head-chief. Oh son, you are a ruler also. Oh my fellow head-chief, I will deliver your mat and your throne and your authority to you, son; yours is the government, yours is the authority also, <my> son."

Thus, then, the chiefs of the towns are to obey[4] him when they depart with the first/head-chief, there at the head[5] of the province. Then let them p.38 C go to his house. There they are at his house, when they give his food to the head-chief, and when he asks them for his food, as he shall specify in its order.

"Son, bring me four cardinals[6] which are at the mouth of the cave. They are to be set over[7] the first thing which glues together my mouth. It is to be red, that which I call the crest over the first thing which glues together my mouth, when it shall be brought before me." "It is well, father." What he asks for are little cakes of achiote.[8] This is the crest of which he speaks: it is the froth on the chocolate.

[1] The Maya bee-hive is made of the hollow section of a log.

[2] *Balché*, the native wine is made by steeping the bark or root of the *balché* tree (*Lonchocarpus longistylus* Pitt.) in a mixture of fermenting honey and water.

[3] The text reads "*couoh tun*" (lit. tarantula stone) here. but it is assumed that *cocoh tun* (stone hammer) is meant, and translated accordingly.

[4] Alternative translation: then ends the speech of the chiefs, etc.

[5] Cumkal is called "the head of the land" on pages 86 and 126 of the Chumayel, so it is likely that the territory of Ceh Pech is the source of this ritual.

[6] *Chac-ɔiɔib* is *Cardinalis cardinalis ɣucatanicus* Ridg. Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, 50, p. 141. Its feathers are a cure for yellow fever (Libro del Judío, p. 80).

[7] The text reads: I am set over, etc. Probably an error.

[8] *Bixa orellana* L., the butter-color of commerce.

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This is what first glues together his mouth: it is cacao which has been ground. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bird of the night and the drilled <stone> of the night, and with them the brains of the sky. Great is my desire to see them here." "It is well, father." What he wants is a stick used to scrape[1] copal gum <from the tree>. This the drilled <stone> of the night for which he asks, a bead of precious stone. The brains of the sky are copal gum. Language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bone of your father whom you buried three years ago. Great is my desire to see it." "It is well, father." This is what he wants, it is cassava baked in a pit. Then let him go and give it to the head-chief.

"Son, bring me an old man whose coat[2] is not buttoned, Homtochac[3] is his name." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a nine-banded armadillo, a female armadillo.

"Son, bring me three segments split from the sky. I desire to eat them." "Even
p.39 C so, father."/ This is what he demands, it is *atole* shaken to a froth, the froth of *atole* (maize gruel). Everything is asked in the language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stock of maguey, the thick stalk of the maguey without branches. Do not remove its tip. Also bring with it three strands of ravelled cord." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, a hog's[4] head baked in a pit. Then he shall go and give it to him. The tip of which he speaks is its tongue, because its tip is fresh and tender.[5]

"Son, bring me the hawks[6] of the night for me to eat." It is well, father." What he asks for are chickens, cocks.

"Son, say to the first female captive, called Otlom-cabal, to bring me a basket of blackbirds[7] caught beneath the great álamo tree, heaped up there in the shadow of the álamo." "Even so, father." What he asks for are some black beans that are in the house of the town official, that is, the so-called first female captive and the thing which falls limply to the ground of which he speaks.[8] Language of Zuyua.

"Son, go and catch the jaguar of the cave, so that by means of you it may give savour to my food. I desire to eat the jaguar." "It is well, father." This is the jaguar for which he asks, it is an agouti.[9] The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me seven coverings of the fatherless <orphan>. It is my desire to eat them at the time when they should be eaten." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is the pressed <leaves of the> chaya.[10]

"Son, bring me the green gallants here. Let them come and dance, that I may look on with pleasure. Let them come with drum and rattle, fan and drum-stick. I am expecting them."[11] "Even so, father." What he asks for is a turkey-cock.

[1] *Tocabal* could mean either "removed" or "burned." In connection with *hoyob*, a stick for scraping something, the former definition is applied here. It is possible, however, that a spoonlike censer is meant.

[2] *Habon*, in the text, is assumed to be a corruption of the Spanish *habito*. The Maya *hobon*, hollow, may be intended.

[3] *Hom-toch-ac* could mean hollow stiff tortoise-shell.

[4] *Keken* originally was a large variety of peccary, but the term was later applied to European swine.

[5] *Ol* is a tender tip or sprout. *Ak* means tongue, also something fresh or tender.

[6] *Coz, Micrastur melanoleucus* Viellot. Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool Harvard, 50, p. 121.

[7] *Pichum, or pich: Dives dives* Lichtenstein. Pueblo Blackbird. *Ibid*, 50, p. 141.

[8] *Cf.* p. 94, note 2.

[9] *Dasyprocta punctata yucatana* Goldman. Mexican agouti, *haleu*.

[10] *Chay: Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill. "They eat the leaves of this tree much as they do cabbages, but they are not as tasty ("Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 56).

[11] Alternative translation: they are useful to me.

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The drum is its crop. The rattle is its head. The fan is its tail. The drum-stick is its leg. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the fanciful desire[1] of the district. I desire/to eat it." What he p.40 C
asks for is clarified honey. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stone from burned over land, it is burning hot. Bring with it the liquor for me to extinguish it, so it will crack here before me." What he wants is a *macal*[2] baked in a pit. The liquor to extinguish it is clarified honey. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the firefly of the night. Its odor shall pass to the north and to the west. Bring with it the beckoning tongue[3] of the jaguar." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a smoking tube filled with tobacco.[4] The beckoning tongue of the jaguar for which he asks is fire.

"Son, bring me your daughter that I may see her. Pale is her face and very beautiful. White are her head-covering and her sash. I greatly desire her." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a white calabash cup <filled> with atole. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the thing called *zabel*. Fragrant is its odor." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is a melon.

"Son, bring me the green curved neck, it is bright green along the back. I desire to eat it." "It is well, father." What he asks for is the neck of a turkey-cock. <Language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a woman with a very white and well rounded calf. Here will I tuck back the skirt from her calf." "It is well, father." He wants a jícama. This is what tucking back the skirt is: it is peeling the skin.

"Son, bring me a very beautiful woman with a very white countenance. I greatly desire her. I will cast down her skirt and her loose dress before me." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, it is a turkey-hen for him to eat. Casting down her skirt/ and loose dress means plucking its feathers. Then let it be roasted p.41 C
for eating. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring to me here a farmer, an old man. I wish to see his face." "Even so, father." What he asks for is a *cucut-macal*[5] to eat. <This is> the questionnaire.

"Son, bring me a farmer's wife, an old woman, a dark colored person. She is seven palms across the hips. It is my desire to see her." What he wants is the green fruit of a squash-vine.[6] The language of Zuyua.

The day shall come.

On this day our lord, the first head-chief, trampled them under foot, when he arrived here in the land, in the land of Yucalpeten.[7] He calls the chiefs, and the chiefs shall come. They are called by our lord, the first head-chief. "Are you chieftains?" "We are, <my> lord." These are their words.

"Sons, if you are head-chiefs here in the land," they shall be told, "go and get the winged jaguar, and then come and give it to me to eat. Put his bead collar on him properly, put on his crest properly, and come and give him to me to eat. Go immediately today, and come soon. Sons, I greatly desire to eat him. You are <my> sons, you are head-chiefs." Those who are ignorant shall be sad at heart

[1] Maya, *caz*. Probably *çaz*, something clear, is intended.
[2] *Xanthosoma yucatanse* Engl.; also the yam, a European importation.
[3] The Maya were accustomed to make a furtive signal with the tongue. Motul.
[4] A reference to puffing tobacco smoke toward the four world-quarters.
[5] This name is applied to the imported taro, but here probably a form of *Xanthosoma* is meant (Standley, 1930, p. 224).
[6] *Ɔol*. Certain green flattish squashes, good and palatable. Motul.
[7] *Yucalpeten* is an attempt to turn Yucatan into a name comprehensible in Maya.

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and in countenance. They shall say nothing. But those who know shall be cheerful
p.42 C when they go to get the winged jaguar. Then he shall come with it. "Is it you, son?" "It is I, father." "Are you of the lineage, son?" "Indeed I am, father." "Where are your companions, son?" "Father, they are in the forest seeking the jaguar." The jaguar, as they call it, does not exist,/ but let him bring it before him. This jaguar for which he asks is the chief's horse which he wishes to eat. It is a horse raised about the house. This is the bead collar: it is its little bells. This is its crest: it is a red thread. It is to be completely saddled and bridled. The language of Zuyua.[1]

X

(THE CREATION OF THE WORLD)[2]

It is most necessary to believe this. These are the precious stones which our Lord, the Father, has abandoned.[3] This was his first repast, this *balché*,[4] with which we, the ruling men revere him here. Very rightly[5] they worshipped as true gods these precious stones,[6] when the true God was established, our Lord God, the Lord of heaven and earth, the true God. Nevertheless, the first gods were perishable gods. Their worship came to its inevitable end. They lost their efficacy by the benediction of the Lord of Heaven, after the redemption of the world was accomplished, after the resurrection of the true God, the true Dios, when he blessed heaven and earth. Then was your worship abolished, Maya men. Turn away your hearts from your <old> religion.

<This is> the history of the world in those times, because it has been written down, because the time has not yet ended for making these books, these many explanations, so that Maya men may be asked if they know how they were born here in this country, when the land was founded.

[1] The frequent mention of the language of Zuyua, a mythical place-name of the Nahua peoples, suggests that this interrogatory once abounded in terms familiar to the Toltec conquerors of Yucatan but not understood by the people of the country. In any case it came eventually to mean only mysterious words which were obscure to all but the ruling class. This example of the questionnaire has no doubt sadly degenerated. Nevertheless the mention of a number of things like the horse, known only to the Maya since the Spanish Conquest, indicates that this interrogatory continued to develop during the colonial period, although the Spanish rulers of the country were entirely unaware of its existence. A discussion of the traditions of caste and chieftainship among the Maya will be found in Appendix E.

[2] Here we have a creation narrative of the sort described by Aguilar in his report on idolatry in Yucatan written early in the Seventeenth Century. "Furthermore it would be very advantageous if books were printed in the language of these Indians which would treat of Genesis and the creation of the world, because they have fables and histories which are very detrimental. Some of them have had them written down, and they keep them and read them in their assemblies. I had a copybook of this sort, which I took away from a choir-master named Cuytun from the town of Sucopo. He got away from me, and I never could get hold of him to learn the origin of this Genesis of his" (Aguilar 1900, p. 115).

[3] This expresses admirably the religious attitude of the Maya who seem capable of superimposing Christianity on their old faith. See Appendix G.

[4] See p. 95, note 2.

[5] Maya, *pay bentzil*, employed as a synonym for *tibil* in Crónica de Oxkutzcab (Gates reproduction, Plates 161 and 166).

[6] These may be what Avendaño refers to when he tells of the "devil" and "the worship which they (the Itzá) pay to him in the form of some stones" (Means 1917, p. 141. *Cf.* Appendix D).

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FIG. 23—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.). The face is darkened or blurred.

[1]It was <Katun> 11 Ahau when the Ah Mucencab[2] came forth to blindfold the faces of the Oxlahun-ti-ku;[3] but they did not know his name, except for his older sister and his sons. They said his face had not yet been shown to them also. This was after the creation of the world had been completed, but they did not know it was about to occur. Then Oxlahun-ti-ku was seized by Bolon-ti-ku.[4] Then it was that fire descended, then the rope descended, then rocks and trees descended.[5] Then came the beating of <things> with wood and stone. Then Oxlahun-ti-ku/was seized, his head was wounded, p.43 C his face was buffeted, he was spit upon, and he was <thrown> on his back as well. After that he was despoiled of his insignia[6] and his smut.[7] Then shoots of the yaxum tree[8] were taken. Also Lima beans were taken with crumbled tubercles, hearts of small squash-seeds, large squash-seeds[9] and beans, all crushed. He wrapped up the seeds <composing> this first Bolon Ɔacab,[10] and went to the thirteenth heaven.[11] Then a mass of maize-dough with the tips of corn-cobs remained here on earth. Then its heart departed because of Oxlahun-ti-ku, but they did not know the heart of the tubercle was gone. After that the fatherless ones, the miserable ones, and those without husbands were all pierced through;[12] they were alive though they had no hearts. Then they were buried in the sands, in the sea.

There would be a sudden rush of water when the theft of the insignia[13] <of Oxlahun-ti-ku> occurred. Then the sky would fall, it would fall down

[1] Parallel versions of this passage occur in the Mani (p. 161) and the Tizimin (p. 20) MSS. Juan Martínez H. (1913, pp. 164-171) has made an excellent translation of the first part of this narrative, and suggests that the accompanying head of the "lord" of the katun is blurred in order to indicate that he is blindfolded.

[2] Ah Mucencab: See p. 64, note 4.

[3] Oxlahun-ti-ku, literally the Thirteen Gods, are probably the gods of the thirteen heavens of the Maya cosmos, but they are usually treated as a single god.

[4] Bolon-ti-ku, or Nine Gods, appear to be treated as one god. We find them represented in the inscriptions, and it seems likely that they represent the nine underworlds and correspond to the Nine Lords of the Night of the Mexicans. (*Cf.* J. E. Thompson 1929, p. 225, and Seler 1923, p. 31.)

[5] *Cf.* Motul, p. 346: "*Eman u che u tunich Dios coklal:* The punishment of God has come upon us with deaths or pestilence."

[6] *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[7] Maya idol-makers removed the smut from their faces as a sign that their period of fast and consecration was over (Landa 1929, p. 70).

[8] We have a Maya homonym here, and possibly quetzal plumage is meant by *ix kukil ix yaxum.*

[9] The seeds of the unidentified striped squash called *ca.*

[10] Lit. nine generations, or eternal. According to Landa (1929, p. 20), Bolon Ɔacab was set up in the house of the chief as a sort of tutelary god of the Kan years. He appears to be closely associated with the rain-god, Chac, and is identified by Seler as the god usually designated by the letter K. Seler 1902, p. 377. We are reminded of the Mexican image of Tlaloc composed of seeds.

[11] Lit. "the 13th layer of the sky."

[12] "pierced through:" The Tizimin and Mani versions say: "fell to pieces," (*hutlahi*).

[13] See p. 67, note 5.

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upon the earth, when the four gods, the four Bacabs, were set up, who brought about the destruction of the world.[1] Then, after the destruction of the world was completed, they placed <a tree>[2] to set up in its order the yellow cock oriole. Then the white tree of abundance was set up. A pillar of the sky was set up, a sign of the destruction of the world; that was the white tree of abundance in the north. Then the black tree of abundance was set up <in

FIG. 24—Lahun Chaan, associated with the planet Venus (Dresden Codex, p. 47).

the west>[3] for the black-breasted *piɔoy*[4] to sit upon. Then the yellow tree of abundance was set up <in the south>,[5] as a symbol of the destruction of the world, for the yellow-breasted *piɔoy* to sit upon, for the yellow cock oriole to sit upon, the yellow timid *mut*. Then the green tree of abundance was set up in the center <of the world> as a record of the destruction of the world.

[1] Like the Mexicans, the Maya believed that the present order was preceded by other worlds which had been destroyed. According to the former, the fourth of these worlds, or "Suns," was destroyed by a great flood of water (Seler 1923, p. 40).

[2] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. This was the red *imix*-tree which was set up in the east, for the *Kan-xib-yuy*, or *Kan-xib-yuyum*, to sit upon. (*Cf.* Mani MS. p. 162.)

[3] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions of this narrative.

[4] *Piɔoy* is spelled three ways in the three versions. The context leaves little doubt that a bird is meant. It may have been something like the *mut*, an unidentified bird of the Cracidæ family (*Cf.* Maler 1908, p. 132).

[5] We find a portrayal of four trees, each surmounted by a bird, in one of the reliefs of the Temple of the Wall Panels at Chichen Itzá. (*Cf.* Plate 1, c.) Also on page 1 of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer there is a Mexican picture of the four world-quarters at each of which there is a flowering tree with a bird perched upon it (Apud Seler 1923, p. 15). The *yax-che* or green tree at the center of the world is probably shown on pages 41-42 of the Maya Codex Cortesianus. This last tree is still remembered by the Maya (*Cf.* Tozzer 1907, p. 154). In the Ritual of the Four World Quarters found in Chapter I of the present work, these *imix*-trees, or trees of abundance, are further qualified as being the ceiba tree so prominent in Maya mythology (*Cf.* p. 64, note 5).

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The plate[1] of another katun was set up and fixed in its place by the messengers of their lord. The red Piltec was set at the east of the world to conduct people to his lord. The white Piltec was set at the north of the world to conduct people/ to his lord. Lahun Chaan[2] was set <at the west> to bring p.44 C
things to his lord. The yellow Piltec was set <at the south> to bring things to his lord. But it was <over> the whole world that Ah Uuc Cheknal[3] was set up. He came from the seventh stratum of the earth, when he came to fecundate Itzam-kab-ain,[4] when he came with the vitality of the angle between earth <and> heaven.[5] They moved among the four lights,[6] among the four layers of the stars. The world was not lighted; there was neither day nor night nor moon. Then they perceived that the world was being created. Then creation dawned upon the world. ✠ During the creation thirteen infinite

[1] Mention of the "plate" and "cup" of the katun is found several times in the Books of Chilam Balam. It is probably a reference to the ceremonies connected with the so-called idol of the katun (*Cf.* Landa 1929, p. 98). These articles appear to symbolize the numerical coefficient of the day Ahau from which the katun took its name. On page 150 it is said of Katun 9 Ahau: "Nine was its plate, nine was its cup."

[2] Lahun Chaan is doubtless the same as the "Lakunchan" described by Cogolludo as an idol with very ugly teeth. *Lahun* means ten in both Maya and Chol, and *chan* means sky, heaven and serpent in Chol. The Maya word for sky is *caan*. It seems likely that Lahun Chaan is a borrowed foreign word and means the god of the tenth heaven. On page 47 of the Dresden Codex we find a picture (fig. 24) accompanied by a glyph composed of the number ten and an element which is generally accepted as the symbol of the sky or heavens. The picture is that of a deity whose face resembles that of the God B, or rain-god; but it lacks the curved ornament over the nose, and instead of the protruding tooth at the side of the mouth there is a fleshless lower jaw. Also skeleton-like ribs are painted on the front of the torso. We recall that a fleshless jawbone is one of the symbols of the number ten on the monuments; but the figure appears to be the regent of the second Venus period in the Dresden Codex, and the regent of the first of these periods in the Mexican Codex Bologna also has a fleshless lower jaw. Since the above passage in the Chumayel implies that Lahun Chaan was set in the west, the translator is inclined to believe that this god was closely connected with the appearance of Venus as an evening star. Cogolludo's mention of the "ugly teeth" may be a reference to the fleshless lower jaw in the picture (*Cf.* Cogolludo Bk. 4, Chap. 8).

[3] Ah Uuc Chek-nal: he who fertilizes the maize seven times.

[4] Itzam-kab-ain: literally, the whale with the feet of a crocodile. Martinez 1913, reprint p. 5. Beltran spells it Itzam-cab-ain, and defines it simply as whale, though it could mean literally Itzam-the-earth-crocodile. In either case, we are forcibly reminded of the fabled earth-monster which appears in the Dresden Codex (pp. 4 and 5) with the head of Itzamná between its jaws.

The Mexicans believed that the gods created "in the water a great fish, which is called *cipáctli* and which is like a crocodile, and from this fish they made the earth" (Hist. de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas, Chap. 2). On page 27 of the Codex Borgia we see this earth-monster with the head and claws of a crocodile and with maize sprouting from its back (Seler 1923, pp. 10, 11).

[5] A change of one letter (*tu muk* to *tamuk*) would give to this sentence the meaning: then he descended while the heavens rubbed against the earth.

[6] Maya, *can cib*, literally four wax candles. *Cib* is also the word for beeswax, but we find no record of candles being used prior to the Spanish conquest. The Maya employed torches of pitch-pine (*tahté*) or of the *Viguiera dentata* HBK (*tah*) for lighting. Thompson believes, however, that wax was used by the Maya for ceremonial purposes before the Conquest (J. E. Thompson, 1930, p. 105).

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series[1] <added> to seven was the count of the creation of the world. Then a new world dawned for them.

The two-day throne was declared, the three-day throne. Then began the weeping of Oxlahun-ti-ku. They wept in this reign. The reign became red; the mat became red; the first tree of the world was rooted fast.[2] The entire world was proclaimed by Uuc-yol-zip;[3] but it was not at the time of this reign that Bolon-ti-ku-wept. Then came the counting of the mat in its order.[4] Red was the mat on which Bolon-ti-ku sat. His buttock is sharply rounded,[5] as he sits on his mat. Then descended greed from the heart of the sky, greed for power, greed for rule.

Then the red foundation was established; the white foundation of the ruler was established; the black foundation was established; the yellow foundation was established.[6] Then the Red Ruler was set up, he who was raised[7] upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The White Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Black Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Yellow Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne.[8]

[1] *Ɔac*, here translated as series, also means degrees, steps, stairs and other things which go above one another. Motul.

[2] The *yax-cheel-cab*, or first tree of the world is believed to be a giant ceiba which grows in the exact center of the earth and rears its branches through successive holes in the various heavens (Tozzer 1907, p. 154). Avendaño describes the representation of this mythological tree as "the fragment of a column, of round stone, the circumference of each part of which is about three quarters of a yard across and one quarter high. It is made of stones placed on top of each other with mortar of lime and *cah cab* (*zahcab*), which is usually used for that purpose; and the middle is filled in with bitumen, so that it is like a table with a round pedestal, upon which and set in the foundation of the said stone column, there stands out toward the West a stone mask, very ill-formed . . . The said column is called, in the name by which they worship it, Yax cheel cab, which means in their language, 'the first tree in the world,' and, as it is understood in their old songs (which few people understand) they wish to have it known they worship it because it was the tree of whose fruit our first father Adam ate, who in their language is called Ixanom" (Means 1917, p. 135).

[3] *Cf.* p. 157, note 2.

[4] *Cf.* p. 72, note 13.

[5] Maya: *ɔut polbil*. *Ɔut* means pointed like a hat. (Dict. San Francisco.) *Polbil* is defined as either rounded or shaped. The description fits the representations of the death-god in the Dresden Codex. (Pp. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 19.) As ruler of the ninth and deepest hell, he sits upon the mat, the symbol of authority, and comprises in himself the idea of the gods of the nine under-worlds. *Cf.* Codex Vaticanus No. 3738, f. 1 v. apud Seler 1923, p. 21.

[6] Probably the bases or pedestals on which the following deities were set.

[7] Written *ah ten pop ah ten ɔam* in our text, but in the Mani and Tizimin MSS., *ah tem pop ah tem ɔam*. *Tem* is an altar or bench, and in compounds something set above something else. *Tem* is also a verbal stem meaning to alleviate. The mat *(pop)* and throne *(ɔam)* have the figurative significance of toil, misery and misfortune. (Motul, 1930, p. 694.) Consequently the expression could also mean "he who alleviates misfortunes." *Cf.* Tizimin, pp. 7, 8 and 25; Codex Perez, pp. 78, 82, 83, 107, 108, 153 and 161.

[8] The Red, White, Black and Yellow "Rulers" appear to be the four gods who presided at the four cardinal points. Each is qualified by the adjective, *tenel*, which we believe to mean "raised up." It is probably an obsolete word, and we find *temal* substituted for it in the Mani MS. (Codex Perez, p. 116.) A discussion of the gods of the cardinal points will be found in Appendix A.

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As a god, it is said;[1] whether or not gods, their bread is lacking, their water is lacking./ p.45 C

There was only a portion <of what was needed> for them to eat together . . .[2] but there was nowhere from which the quantity needed for existence could come. Compulsion and force were the tidings, when he[3] was seated <in authority>; compulsion was the tidings, compulsion by misery; it came during his reign, when he arrived to sit upon the mat . . .[2] Suddenly on high fire flamed up. The face of the sun was snatched away,[4] taken from earth. This was his garment in his reign. This was the reason for mourning his power, at that time there was too much vigor. At that time there was the riddle for the rulers.[5] The planted timber was set up. Perishable things are assembled at that time.[6] The timber of the grave-digger is set up at the cross-roads, at the four resting places.[7] Sad is the general havoc,[8] at that time the butterflies swarmed. Then there came great misery, when it came about that the sun in Katun 3 Ahau was moved from its place for three months. After three years[9] it will come back into place in Katun 3 Ahau. Then another katun will be set <in its place>. The *ramon*[10] fruit is their bread, the *ramon* fruit is their drink; the *jícama cimarrona*[11] is their bread, the *jícama cimarrona* is their drink; what they eat and what they drink. The *ix-batun*,[12] the

[1] Maya, *tu than*. An expression often found in the medical manuscripts, meaning "so people say" or "so they call it," referring to various names applied to the same disease. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 16.

[2] Lacuna in the text [3] Referring to Bolon-ti-ku.

[4] Maya, *colop*, translated as though it were *colob*.

[5] A reference to the interrogation of the chiefs. *Cf.* Chapter IX.

[6] Maya, *zatay babalil*. This has been translated as it stands, but in connection with the "riddle for the rulers" we suspect that *zatay batabil* is intended. This would mean that the chiefs who are about to perish are assembled. *Cf.* Chapter IX.

[7] This expression, *to ho<l> can be, tu ho<l> can heleb*, has been corrected from page 166 of the Kaua MS. Literally it means the four openings where two roads cross, the openings between the four resting places, *i.e.* the four corners at the cross-roads where travelers set down their packs and rested. Such would be a convenient place for an ambuscade, and here the slain would be buried. *Ah muuc*, here translated as grave-digger, means anyone who buries or conceals anything.

[8] Maya, *bul cum*, might mean "all down" literally. Its translation here is based on the contexts in which it occurs. Always it is sad and to be mourned. On page 91 of the previous chapter it occurs in the courtyards of the nobles on an occasion when a number of chiefs are killed for failing to pass the test. Here it occurs at the cross-roads. In the prophecy for Katun 1 Ahau we shall find it closely associated with the flies (swarming on the corpses?) and mentioned in the same category with pestilence, famine and sudden death. It is an archaic expression and does not occur in any of the old dictionaries.

[9] Lit. "three heaps of years." The translation of this sentence is uncertain.

[10] The fruit of the *ramon* (*Brosimum alicastrum* Sw.) is boiled and eaten alone or with honey or corn-meal, and a sort of bread is made of the ground seeds.

[11] The root of the *Jícama cimarrona* (*Calopogonium cœruleum* Benth.) is eaten in time of famine. Dicc. San Francisco.

[12] *Ix-batun*, or *batun*, is probably an unidentified wild plant or tree. Batun is a common family name among the Maya.

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ch̄imch̄im-chay,[1] are what they eat. These things were present here when misery settled, father, in Tun 9. At that time there were the foreigners. The charge <of misery> was sought for all the years[2] of <Katun> 13 Ahau.[3]

Then it was that the lord of <Katun> 11 Ahau spread his feet apart. Then it was that the word of Bolon Ɔacab[4] descended to the tip of his tongue. Then the charge of the katun was sought; nine was its charge when it descended from heaven. Kan was the day when its burden was bound to it.[5] Then the water descended, it came from the heart of the sky for the baptism[6] of the House of Nine Bushes. With it descended Bolon Mayel;[7] sweet was his mouth and the tip of his tongue. Sweet were his brains. Then descended
p.46 C the four mighty supernatural jars, this was the honey of the flowers.[8]/ Then there grew up for it the red unfolded calyx,[9] the white unfolded calyx, the black unfolded calyx and the yellow unfolded calyx, those which were half a palm <broad> and those which were a whole palm <in breadth>. Then there sprang up the five-leafed[10] flower, the five drooping <petals>, the cacao <with grains like> a row of teeth, the *ix-chabil-tok*, the little flower,[11] Ix Macuil Xuchit,[12] the flower with the brightly colored[13] tip, the *laurel*[14] flower, and the limping flower.[15] After these flowers sprang up, there were the vendors

[1] Ch̄inch̄in-chay, a very spiny variety of *Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill., is boiled like cabbages and eaten when the corn crop fails (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 299).

[2] A record of the misfortunes of each of the twenty years of a certain Katun 5 Ahau is found in the Tizimin (pp. 1-13) and Mani (pp. 135-156) manuscripts.

[3] Most of the preceding paragraph concerning Katun 3 Ahau appears to be an interpolation. It is not found in the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[4] Bolon Ɔacab: *Cf.* p. 99, note 10.

[5] *Cf.* Stela D, Copan (apud Morley 1915, Pl. 14) where the personified numeral is the bearer and the time-period is the burden.

[6] Alternative translation: for the rebirth etc.

[7] Bolon Mayel means "the fragrant one."

[8] For this sentence the following is substituted in the Mani and Tizimin versions of this narrative: "Then descended two mighty demon bats who sucked the honey of the flowers."

[9] Unfolded calyx (*hoch kom*): *hoch* has a number of different meanings, but in the Tizimin and Mani versions *choch* is substituted, which is a synonym for *hoch* in the sense of "to untie, to unfold." *Kom* means something bent, curved or hollowed out in general, and a socket or a depression in the earth in particular. *Kom lac* is a deep plate. In view of the context here, the calyx of a flower seems to be meant.

[10] Maya, *ix-ho-yal*. *Ho* means five, and, *yal*, after a numeral, means thin layers, folds or sheets. Literally this would mean five circles of floral leaves composing the perianth. This seems unusual, and it is probable that five leaves are meant.

[11] *Ix-bac nicte*: *ix-bac* means a little girl, and there may be a plant of that name, as it is also a place-name. *Nicte* means flower in general, particularly the Plumeria.

[12] *Macuil Xochitl* is Nahuatl for Five Flower, the Mexican god of music and dancing, probably introduced into Yucatan by the Toltecs.

[13] Alternative translation: hollow tip.

[14] *Laul*: *Stemmadenia insignis* Miers., much admired by the Maya (Landa 1900, p. 386).

[15] In the Maya treatises on medical plants this word, *nicté*, always designates the Plumeria, but here the definition found in all the Maya dictionaries has been followed: "*Nicté*. A rose, or a flower, not indicating from what tree, bush or plant." Motul. A secondary meaning is: "*Nicté. Deshonestidad, vicio de carne y travezuras de mugeres.*"

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of fragrant odors,[1] there was the mother[2] of the flowers. Then there sprang up the bouquet of the priest, the bouquet of the ruler, the bouquet of the captain; this was what the flower-king bore when he descended and nothing else, so they say.[3] It was not bread that he bore. Then it was that the flower sprang up, wide open, to introduce the sin of Bolon-ti-ku. <After> three years was the time when he said he did not come to create Bolon Ɔacab as the god in hell. Then descended Ppizlimtec[4] to take the flower;[5] he took the figure of a humming-bird with green plumage on its breast, when he descended. Then he sucked the honey from the flower with nine petals. Then the five-petaled flower took him for her husband.[6] Thereupon the heart of the flower came forth to set itself in motion. Four-fold[7] was the plate of the flower, and Ah Kin Xocbiltun[8] was set in the center. At this time Oxlahun-ti-ku came forth, but he did not know of the descent of the sin of the mat, when he came into his power. The flower[9] was his mat, the flower was his chair. He sat in envy, he walked in envy. Envy was his plate, envy was his cup. There was envy in his heart, in his understanding, in his thought and in his speech. Ribald and insolent was his speech during his reign. At that time his food cries out, his drink cries out,[10] from the corner of his mouth when he eats, from the back of his claw[11] when he bites his food. He holds in his hand a piece of wood,[12] he holds in his hand a stone. Mighty[13] are his teeth; his face is that of Lahun Chan,[14] as he sits. Sin is <in> his face, in his speech, in his talk, in his understanding <and in> his walk. His eyes are blindfolded.[15] He

[1] Possibly the pollen-bearing insects and humming-birds are meant here. We find a masculine prefix.

[2] In the Tizimin and Mani versions we find: "there was the house of the flowers."

[3] Alternative translation: there was no other food than this, so they say.

[4] "Although they had a god of song whom they called Xocbi<l>tum, they worshipped the idol, the statue of an Indian who, they said, was a great singer and musician named Ah Kin Xooc. They adored him as the god of poetry and also called him Pizlimtec." Cogolludo Bk. 4, chap. 8.

[5] Alternative translation: to the root of the flower.

[6] The five-petaled flower, or *nicté*, is without doubt the Plumeria. The red Plumeria and the white Plumeria are considered the father and mother respectively of Nohochacyum, the head of the Lacandon Pantheon (Tozzer 1907, p. 93).

[7] Maya, *can-hek*: literally, four-branched.

[8] See note 4.

[9] Here the flower, probably a Plumeria, is closely associated with the idea of carnal sin. *Cf.* p. 104, note 15.

[10] "his food cries out, his drink cries out:" here the Mani and Tizimin versions of the narrative have been followed in the translation.

[11] *Xau*, translated here as claw, also means the toes of a man.

[12] Alternative translation: He holds in his hand a tree.

[13] Alternative translation: Great is his madness.

[14] Lahun Chan: see p. 101, note 2.

[15] A blindfolded god is pictured on page 50 of the Dresden Codex, and the blurred faces of the Lords of the Katuns on page 144 of the Chumayel are believed to represent the same thing.

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p.47 C seizes, he demands as his right,[1] the mat on which he sits/ during his reign. Forgotten is his father, forgotten is his mother, nor does his mother know her offspring. The heart is on fire alone in the fatherless one who despises his father, in the motherless one. He shall walk abroad giving the appearance of one drunk, without understanding, in company with his father, in company with his mother. There is no virtue in him, there is no goodness in his heart, only a little on the tip of his tongue. He does not know in what manner his end is to come; nor does he know what will be the end of his reign, when the period of his power shall terminate.

[2]This is Bolon-ti-ku. <Like that of> Bolon Chan[3] is the face of the ruler of men, the two day occupant of the mat and throne. He came in Katun 3 Ahau. After that there will be another lord of the land who will establish the law[4] of another katun, after the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau shall have run its course. At that time there shall be few children; then there shall be mourning among the Itza who speak our language brokenly.[5] Industry[6] <and> vigor finally take the place, in the first tun <of the new katun>, of the sin of the Itzá who speak our language brokenly. It is Bolon-ti-ku who shall come to his end <with> the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau. Then the riddle of the rulers of the land shall end the law of the katun. Then those of the lineage of the noble chiefs shall come into their own,[7] with the other men of discretion and with those of the lineage of the chiefs. Their faces had been trampled on the ground, and they had been overthrown by the unrestrained upstarts of the day and of the katun, the son of evil and the offspring of the harlot, who were born when their day dawned in Katun 3 Ahau. Thus shall end the power of those who are two-faced toward our Lord God.

But when the law of the katun shall have run its course, then God will bring about a great deluge again which will be the end of the world. When

[1] "He seizes, he demands as his right the mat," etc.: here the Mani and Tizimin versions have been followed, as indicated in the Maya text.

[2] As on page 103, we have here another interpolation which also treats of the interrogation of the chiefs in Katun 3 Ahau. *Cf.* p. 89.

[3] It seems likely that the Maya compiler has inadvertently written Bolon Chan for Lahun Chan. *Bolon* means nine, and *lahun* means ten. No personage by the name of Bolon Chan is known to the translator, while Lahun Chan is well known. See p. 101, note 2.

[4] The *than* of the katun is translated as its "law," following the explanation on page 171 of the Kaua MS., where it is defined as "*ordenanzas*." The expression recurs so frequently in this book that an explanation seems to be required. Primarily *than* means word, speech or language, but it also has a number of different meanings when employed figuratively. If it were not for this definition in the same context in the Kaua MS., we should be inclined to translate it as "the force, power and duration" of the katun. See Motul 1930, p. 875.

[5] "*Nun*, or *ah nun*: A stupid foreigner who does not know the language of the country, or a stammerer or a stutterer; also a stupid person whom it is of no use to teach" (Motul 1930, p. 695).

[6] Maya, *chuen*. The translation is based on the word, *ah-chuen*, defined as artisan (Motul).

[7] Possible alternative translation: Then those of the lineage of the noble chiefs shall appear. *Cf.* p. 92.

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this is over, then our Lord Jesus Christ shall descend over the valley of Jehoshaphat beside the town of Jerusalem/ where he redeemed us with his holy blood. He shall descend on a great cloud to bear true testimony that he was once obliged to suffer, stretched out on a cross of wood. Then shall descend in his great power and glory the true God who created heaven and earth and everything on earth. He shall descend to level off the world for the good and the bad, the conquerors <and> the captives.[1] p.48 C

XI

(THE RITUAL OF THE ANGELS)[2]

Dominus vobiscum ended the words of their song when there was neither heaven nor earth. When the world was submerged, when there was neither heaven nor earth, the three-cornered precious stone[3] of grace was born, after the divinity of the ruler was created,[4] when there was no heaven. Then there were born seven tuns, seven katuns, hanging in the heart of the wind,[5] the seven chosen ones. Then, they say, their seven graces[6] stirred also. Seven also were their holy images.[7] While they were still untarnished, occurred the birth of the first precious stone of grace, the first infinite[8] grace, when there was infinite night, when there was no God. Not yet had he received his Godhead.[9] Then he remained alone within the grace, within the night, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then he departed[10] at the end of the katun, as he could not be born in the first katun. There were his long locks of hair, *adeu ti paramii*;[11] his divinity came to him when he departed.

[1] Possible alternative translation: the conqueror of the stupid ones. *Cf.* text, p. 34, note 1.

[2] The following ritual is an example of the manner in which the Maya superimposed Christian doctrines on their own religious conceptions. An account of what we might call the Americanization of Christianity will be found in Appendix G.

[3] Maya *tun*. This usually means a precious stone, while an ordinary stone or rock is called *tunich*. *Tun* also means the pit of a fruit as well as the soft surface limestone of the country. In compound words designating things made of stone we find the same term employed; furthermore *tun* is the name of the Maya time-period of 365 days. It is important to the interpretation of this chapter to note that among the Maya the Spanish word *gracia*, here literally translated as "grace," is a ritualistic term employed to designate the young maize plant (information supplied by Dr. Redfield). Consequently the "three-cornered precious stone of grace" is doubtless also a liturgical term indicating a grain of corn.

[4] Alternative translation: was declared.

[5] Alternative translation: in the heart of the spirit. *Ik* may mean either wind, breath or spirit.

[6] Written *grasiail* in the text. [7] Written *santoil* in the text.

[8] Maya *picib*, here translated as though it were *picil* which means innumerable.

[9] Written *Diosil* in the text.

[10] Here *buki* is translated as though it were *luki*, he departed. *Buki* means to be beaten up, like wax, or as soil is pulverized for cultivation.

[11] Either for the purpose of mystification or to add solemnity to the ritual, this chapter is filled with Spanish and Latin words and names heard in the Christian church service. Here the "long locks of hair" are probably a reference to the corn-silk.

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Thereupon he became man in the second infinite precious stone of grace. Then there arrived in the second katun Alpilcon, as the angel was named when he was born. The second grace was permitted to depart in the second infinite night, when no one was present. Then he received his divinity, alone and through his own effort, when he came to depart. "*O firmar*" he said, when he
p.49 C received his divinity by/himself and through his own effort.

Thereupon he departed and went to the third infinite precious stone of grace. Alba Congel was the name of its angel. This was the third grace.

Let me proceed to the fourth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fourth night. Atea Ohe was the name of its angel. The fourth grace was born and began to speak, alone and through his own effort. "Oh god, the ruler! I am after all nothing in myself." These were his words in his concealment, in his divinity within the grace. "Let me still proceed," he said.

Then he went to the fifth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fifth infinite night. The fifth grace was born[1] in the fifth katun. Thereupon he was set up to declare his divinity. Then his angel was born; Decipto was the name of his angel when he was set up. "Since it is so, let me go. Who might I be? I am a god, a ruler, after all," and he declared his divinity all alone. "*A ninite dei sin,*" he said when he received his divinity all by himself.

Then he went to the sixth infinite precious stone of grace, to the sixth measured night, to the sixth katun: "Ye gods, ye rulers! Make answer to my words. After all, I am nothing in myself alone."

The seventh grace was born. Conlamil was the name of his angel. "I deliver the things of god to you who are gods.[2] Answer my words. After all, there is no one; no one replies to my words." Thus he spoke as he caused the seventh grace to be born. And there was joy in his heart at the birth of the seventh katun, the seven lights, the seventh measured night <and> the seven infinite <things>.

Abiento bocayento de la zipil na[3] *de fente note. Sustina gracia, trece mili, uno cargo bende.* The first, the second, the thirteenth unfolding; thirteen banners of the katuns; three, seven, eight thousand. Then God the Father
p.50 C awoke to consciousness alone in person;/ in the three-cornered precious stone of grace he awoke to consciousness, God the Father, as his name was known

[1] It is possible that this word *zihil* should be translated as "originated" here, as we can not be sure that the "grace" or maize plant, is personified. The Spanish words for grace and angel often have a Maya suffix. The names of the angels are unfamiliar to the translator, but they are certainly not Maya.

[2] The Maya text: "*Ten kul u ba ku tex ku exe,*" is translated as though it read: *Ten kub u bal ku tex ku exe.*

[3] In all this abracadabra only the words, *zipil na,* appear to be Maya and might possibly be translated as "house of sin." The reader is reminded that the sounds of d, f, g and r do not occur in the Maya language. Consequently the remainder appears to be a mixture of corrupted Latin and Spanish, and, it is to be suspected, meant little more to the Maya writer than "eena meena mina mo" does to the American child who recites the formula.

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to be. *Unidad* and God the Father, these were his names, cleft from the katun for you. There were three generations suddenly augmented in stature when he came. Seven were the generations of his angels.[1] Four times did he first speak. There was one seal[2] in the darkness, one seal on high. "I am the beginning and I shall be the end." Here are his words in their mighty entirety. "*Datate* here to that which has been received. I am *Unidate, I am also Unitata*, I am the Dove, I am *Unitata Anuni. Unidad* cometh."[3]

Nilu[4] was the name of the night. This was the first speech of God; this was the first speech of the Father. Of cleansed stone was his precious stone[5] alone in the night. *Etomas*, Çipancas was the name of the wind. Hun Katun was his father. *Otahocanil Aucangel* was the name of the wind.[6] H<i>eron was the name of the Wind. Xicluto-tu-tanil was the name of the wind. Virtutus was the name of the wind. Joramis was the name of the wind in the second katun. This was what he said when he changed the stone: "*Jaxyon-lacalpa.*" He covered the name of the holy heaven which our holy Lord, the Father raised up. Bolay[7] was the name of the serpent of the second heaven. He was in the dust at the feet of *Sustinal Gracia*,[8] as he was called. Then Lonmias[9] was formed. The sharp stone was his stone within the night. Zihontun[10] was his stone, when these stones were fixed in their places. Three times they were set at the foot of *Sustinal Gracia.* These stones were born, they were beneath the one stone, the mighty pointed stone,[11] the stone column, the mighty pointed clashing stone. They were manifested all over the world <by> God the Father,/ the first ruler. In the first katun was born the only p.51 C
son of God; in the second katun, the Father. In the third katun was *Expleo-u-caan*,[12] as he was called, who chastised him named *Chac Opilla* when he set up the heavens. *Enpileo-u-caan*[13] was his name. *Expleo* was his name within the

[1] Maya *cangel*, or *canhel*, the genuine Maya "angel," who was probably a wind-spirit. *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[2] Maya *ɔalab*, defined as a seal or mold. Literally it means "that which is pressed down on something." The reference is to the terra cotta stamps or molds employed in decorating pottery, and it is possible that they were also used to stamp certain decorations on the human body.

[3] Of these italicized words, *Anuni* is the only one which is not intended for Latin or Spanish. Possibly it is either a corrupted Nahuatl form or one taken from the Chol-Tzeltal group of languages.

[4] Possibly a reference to "Egyptian darkness."

[5] From here on, the *tun* appears to refer to a stela or monument.

[6] Maya *ik*, here translated as wind, also means breath, life and spirit. "*El espíritu, vida y aliento.*" Motul.

[7] *Bolay*, the general name for a beast of prey.

[8] Apparently a corruption of some form of the Latin *sustineo* and *gracia*, in which case it would probably mean "sustaining grace," or in other words, the maize plant which is our sustenance.

[9] Lonmias may be a corruption of Hieronymus.

[10] Zihontun might be translated as the created stone.

[11] Alternative translation: the red pointed stone.

[12] This mixture of Latin and Maya could be translated: I fill out the heavens.

[13] Possibly the *Cielo Empireo* is meant.

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first noose of God. Hebones was the only son of God. <Like>a mirror[1] he was borne astride on the shoulder of his father, on the stone of his father.

Then, it is said, the boldness[2] of the heaven on high was created. This was one grace, one stone; then fire was created, Tixitate was his name, the light of the heavens. Sustinal, they say, was the light from that which lighted the heaven. Acpa, it was, who made the katun after the light originated in the heavens. Alpa-u-manga was his name after it ended.

<These are> the angels[3] of the winds which were set up while he created the star, when the world was not yet lighted, when there was neither heaven nor earth: the Red Pauahtun, the White Pauahtun, the Black Pauahtun, the Yellow Pauahtun.[4]

Here was the first heaven where God the Father was set up, grasping in his hand his stone, grasping his *cangel*, grasping his wheel[5] on which are hung the four angels of the winds. Cerpinus was the name of him who, under Orele, measured[6] the land. They were three persons, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. He set up the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, which he said were held in the grasp of the god in heaven when he created them. This was the name of the heaven, *cristalino*.[7] Here were
p.52 C the Angels. Corpinus was the name of him/who held aloft on the palm of his hand the Blessed Father[8] when there was neither heaven nor earth. In-

[1] The Maya carried mirrors, possibly on the back or shoulder.

[2] Alternative translation: the bold one, the mad one, the turbulent one; possibly this is a confused recollection of the story of Lucifer. A Maya legend much resembling the Lucifer story is reported from Yucatan (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 177).

[3] Maya, *cangeles ik*. The reference is evidently to the so-called "angels," one of whom was set on the back of the image of the Red Bacab in the ceremony pertaining to the year ascribed to the east. This "angel" was a sign of good rains and favorable crops. Easterly winds have always been favorably regarded by the Maya, and the translator believes that this *cangel* (Landa's "angel" and Beltran's "dragon") was a wind-spirit. It probably looked more like a dragon than an angel. As we see here, there were four of them, and the word itself could well be translated as "the four changing ones." Consequently our "angels of the wind" would be originally the "four changing winds." *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[4] This passage confirms Baeza's account of the *misa milpera* (quoted in Brinton 1890, p. 166), in which it is stated that the four Pauahtuns are identical with the winds and the four cardinal points from which they blow. A discussion of the four cardinal points and the deities associated with them will be found in Appendix A.

[5] Maya, *kabalil*, is the primitive Yucatecan potter's wheel, which is only a block of wood on which the pot is turned by the feet of the potter. See Tozzer 1907, Plate 13, fig. 3. In the Codex Cortesianus (pp. 20-21 d), we see a wheel-like ceremonial object held by four bird-headed figures. The pictures illustrate a *tzol-kin* (or tonalamatl) divided into four parts and beginning with the day 4 Ik (4 Wind).

[6] We find several unexplained references to "measuring the land." *Cf.* p. 65.

[7] We find in the Books of Chilam Balam of Ixil and Kaua a diagram on which the earth is enclosed within eleven spheres labeled Luna, Mercurio, Venus, Sol, Marte, Jupiter, Saturno, Firmamento (containing the fixed stars), Christalino, Primer Mobil and Cielo Empireo. It is, of course, the popular idea of Ptolmaic astronomy in vogue at the time, and was not unlike the native conception of thirteen heavens, of which the earth itself counted as the first.

[8] Possible alternative translation: The blessing of the Father, etc.

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picco was his name when all the angels were asperged.[1] Baloyo was his name when <the water> was sprinkled.[2] Seros was his name, *Et sepeuas. Laus Deo.*

Below were Chac Bolay Balam[3] and the cacao called *balamté.*[4] Esperas was the name of the sixth heaven; Isperas was the name of the seventh heaven. Then the world was created by God the ruler in the seventh katun, created in the darkness named Espiritu. St. Edendeus <and> St. Eluceo were the saints who witnessed the birth of him who was hidden within the stone,[5] hidden within the night. *Se repite elitun entri de noche.* These were the words said by him who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night: *Tronas Aleseyo de mundo de gracia. En apedia tejo çipi dia te en pieted gracia. Santo Esuleptun jam estum est gracia. Suplilis el timeo me firme abin finitis gracia y metis absolutum ti metis de gracia. Abegintis gracia, Edendeo gracia, de fentis de gracia, fenoplis tun gracia. Locom dar yme gracia, tretris u mis gracia. Noçi luçi de gracia, in pricio de gracia, trese mili uno de cargo, leonte."*[6]

One, two, thirteen, one division, thirteen *bakam* of katuns. Three, seven, eight thousand was the creation of the world, when he who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night, was born, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then God the Father/spoke alone, by his own efforts, in the darkness that clung like a thrice withered fruit <to the tree>. This was the first word of God, when there was neither heaven nor earth, when he came out of the stone and fell into the second stone. Then it was that he declared his divinity. Then resounded eight thousand katuns at the word of the first stone of grace, the first ornamented[7] stone of grace. It was the macaw that warmed it well behind the *acantun.*[8] p.53 C

Who was born when our father descended?

Thou knowest. There was born the first macaw who cast the stones behind the *acantun.*[9]

[1] Sprinkling with a consecrated liquid was an ancient Maya ceremony. Landa 1928, p. 184.

[2] Alternative translation: when they (the angels) were scattered.

[3] *Balam* is a general term for jaguar, but it can also mean priest. *Chac-bolay* is *Felis hernandesii goldmani* Mearns; but it was also the name of a certain evil spirit, and spreading the skin of this jaguar in the market-place was a symbol of war, famine and pestilence (Tizimin, p. 30).

[4] Balamté is the *Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.

[5] Maya, *u lamay tun,* probably the planted seed corn. The definition of this phrase, "the square stone," symbolizing the twenty years of the katun, has long been accepted. The word for squared, however, is *amay,* not *lamay,* which means sunk out of sight, hidden. *Cf.* Chumayel, p. 163, where we read of the "hell which is sunken within the world."

[6] Little, if any, of this hocus-pocus is Maya, and it is the conjecture of the translator that its source was some itinerant Spanish fortune-teller or astrologer. *Cf.* Aguilar 1900, p. 80. The repetition of the word *gracia* suggests an incantation to make the corn grow.

[7] Literally, embroidered. Maya: *hun piliz tun de gracia.*

[8] This reference recalls the legend of the divine macaw which brought down from heaven the fire to consume the sacrifice to Kinich Kakmó, the sun-god, at Izamal (Cogolludo 1868, I, p. 319). For an account of the *acantun,* see page 114, note 3.

[9] The text is confused here and the translation a little uncertain.

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How was the grain of maize born? How, indeed, father?

Thou knowest. The tender green <shoot> was born in heaven.

"*Ciripacte, horca mundo. Ni mompan est noche. Amanena, omonena, apa opa,*" <was said> when the wind emerged from the great stone of grace. "*Cipiones ted coruna, pater profecido,*" were his words when he arrived at the seventh stratum of the solid rock of grace.[1] "*Bal te piones, orteçipio, reçi quenta noche. Hun ebrietate, hun cute profeciado,*" were the words of the Angel, Jerupiter. Then the sky was put in its place, *Corporales ti ojales,* by the first pope, the face of the katun, the burden of the Katun 13 Ahau. The face of the sun shall be turned from its course, it shall be turned face down during the reign of the perishable men, the perishable rulers. Five days the sun is eclipsed, and then shall be seen the torch of <Katun> 13 Ahau, a sign
p.54 C given by God that death shall come to the rulers/of this land. Thus it shall come about that the first rulers are driven from their towns. Then Christianity <shall> have come here to the land.

Thus it is that God, our Father, gives a sign when they shall come, because there is no agreement. The descendants <of the former rulers> are dishonored and brought to misery; we are christianized, while they treat us like animals. There is sorrow in the heart of God because of these "suckers."[2]

In the year Fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, 1539, to the east was the door of the House of Don Juan Montejo,[3] to introduce Christianity here to the land of Yucalpeten, Yucatan.

p.55 C Chilam Balam, the prophet./[4]

p.56 C Thus today is not an unlucky day[5] . . ./

[1] Probably a fanciful conception of the structure of the maize-kernel.

[2] Possibly this is a reference to the name first given to the Spaniards. They were called "suckers of anonas," because they were seen eating the pond-apple, an insipid fruit not considered edible by the natives.

[3] Here as elsewhere Don Juan de Montejo is confused with his father, Don Francisco, the Spanish conqueror. The door of the old Montejo mansion in Merida faces north, not east, and it is the belief of the translator that this reference is not to the actual house of Montejo, but to the compartment, or so-called "house," of the katun-wheel in which is pictured Katun 11 Ahau, the first katun of the Spanish Conquest in which Montejo ruled the country. The katun-wheel on page 132 of the Chumayel ascribes Katun 11 Ahau to the east.

[4] Written in a different hand.

[5] Written in a different hand.

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This was his name, God the Father, when he came to exist in person, after the creation of the world and the earth. This was then his name.

Joshua was his second name. In his third person, his name for the third time was Mesister in Latin, Dei in the vernacular.

FIG. 25—The names and symbols of God. (Chumayel MS.)./

The Red Pauahtun was Utcorusis.

The White Pauahtun was Corocalbo.

The Black Pauahtun was Corusi-provento.

The Yellow Pauahtun was Moses.

No vis.

No va.

Messiah was the name of God before the heavens and the earth were created. Messiah the Christ, was his name. Then he created the Angels. But it was manifested to God that half of the Angels were destined to sin.

The second name of God was Emanuel. To this was added his third name; this then was Jeremiah, his name when there was neither heaven nor earth.

p.57 C

The misspelled Latin and Spanish names may have been taken from some Spanish treatise on astrology or magic. The decoration here is evidently borrowed from some Spanish religious book.

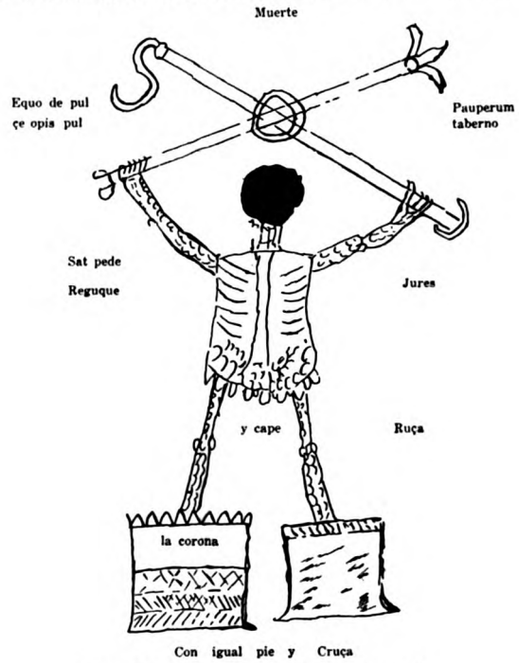

FIG. 26—Death is ruler over all. (Chumayel MS.)/

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This picture is probably taken bodily from some Spanish almanac.

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XII

(A SONG OF THE ITZÁ)

Damascus was the name of the plain where our first father, Adam, was created by God. This was his name, his first name was Adam, after his soul entered <into him>, after Paradise was set up. After Adam had then been created, then was created our first mother, Eve, the first woman, the mother of the whole world. Drops of moisture formed on the stones and bushes for the first time,[1] they say, created when there was no sky.

But <God> the Father was created alone and by his own effort in the darkness. But the stones were created separately.[2] This was the land of Acantun.[3] This was created after Adam was formed also. They were put in the place where the Acans are. Thus it was that he named them when he created them all. These were the first people.

God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, these are the joint <names> of God. They were created in the stone, the red slender stone and the worn stone of grace. His name is the Word, Josustin Graçia.[4]

However, at the same time there was born in the stone, the black stone of terror, the one named Verbum-tuorum, Ix-coal-tun, lx-coal-cab,[5] taken by the mistress of the world.[6] Then there was set in its place the thrice seasoned heaven,[7] the seasoned heaven. White and clean, it lay guarded in the heart of *Sustinal Gracia.*[8] Thirteen orders of katuns[9] lay prostrate in the stone. Then the ruler, Hunac Ceel, stirred into motion.[10]

The song:[11] Ho! What is so precious as we are? It is the precious jewel <worn on the breast.> Ho! What is the distinction of righteous men? It is my mantle, my loin-cloth. So spoke the god. Then do you mourn for anyone?

[1] "But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." Genesis II, 6.

[2] Alternative translation: But others were created separately.

[3] Acantun could be translated as a stone set up on a foundation. The four Acantuns were stone columns set up to represent the four Bacabs at the New Years' ceremonies (Landa 1929, pp. 22-40). *Cf.* Dresden MS. pp. 25C-28C.

[4] Perhaps *Josué sustina gracia* is intended, a pious interpolation which might mean: Jesus, the sustaining grace, the maize plant which sustains us.

[5] These names might be translated, the harlot born of the stone, the harlot born of the earth. Here is doubtless a reference to the black pustules of the corn-smut.

[6] "The mistress of heaven" was a term applied to the Holy Virgin; here we may have the direct opposite.

[7] Maya: *ox-cocox-caan.* Cocox is a term applied to cacao which has seasoned or ripened on the tree, also a fruit which withers on the tree before it ripens.

[8] *Sustinal Gracia* probably refers to the growing maize.

[9] Alternative translation: Thirteen times eight thousand katuns.

[10] *Uilim*, here translated as motion, is an unusual word. *Uil*, among other meanings, could signify the stirring of leaves or branches. *Uii* is a tuberous root, and the phrase has been translated: "*se movió la semilla del Senor Hunac Ceel*" (Mediz Bolio 1930, p. 68).

[11] *Kay* (song) is written in the margin in what appears to be the hand of the compiler. From this point on, we find a genuine old Maya song almost unaffected by post-Conquest influences.

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No one. A tender boy[1] was I at Chicẖen, when the evil man, the master of the army,[2] came to seize the land. Woe![3]/At Cẖichen Itzá heresy was favored![4] *Yulu uayano!*[5] Ho! 1 Imix was the day when the ruler was seized at Chikin-cẖen.[6] Ho! Where thou art, there is the god. Ho! 1 Imix was the day he said this. At Chicẖen Itzá heresy was favored! Yulu uayano! Buried, buried![7] This was their cry. Buried, buried! This they also knew[8] . . . This also was their cry on that first day of Yaxkin, that mighty day, 2 Akbal, they came. Woe! Woe! Woe! *Yulu uayano!* Is there perhaps anyone who by chance has awakened? Force was brought to bear for the second time.[9] Woe! For the third time was established the religious festival[10] of our enemies,[11] our enemies. *Uuiyao!*[12] Soon it will come to Cẖichen Itzá, <where> heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!* <In> the third heaven is the sun.[13] Behold! Who am I said to be among men?[14] I am a leafy covering.[15] Eya! Who am I among the people of Putun?[16] You do not understand me. *Eya!* I was

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[1] A tender boy, Maya, *munal*. "Mun: something tender and unmatured, before it ripens, like fruit and young boys." Motul. Possibly *mun nal* is intended and the young maize plant or ear is meant.

[2] Alternative translation: the lord of the katun *(u tah katun)*.

[3] *Ayano*, an old Toltec interjection of sorrow.

[4] We have seen idolators referred to as "heretics" on page 79. Here we have a reference to an old legend related to the first Spanish settlers, probably by Gaspar Antonio. "It is told that the first inhabitants of Chicẖen Itzá were not idolators until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He taught idolatry, as they say it was he who taught them." Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 270. This would be in the Tenth Century A.D. *Cf.* prophecy on p. 161. The story is hardly to be taken literally and probably refers to a change in the religion of Yucatan and the introduction of the Quetzalcoatl cult.

[5] The translator believes this to be another old Toltec interjection.

[6] Lit. West-well, perhaps the modern Chikinɔonot southwest of Valladolid, but more likely some locality near Chicẖen Itzá.

[7] We find in the prophecies a reference to certain tribute being buried or hidden at Chicẖen Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau which probably occurred in the Tenth Century A.D. (Tizimin p. 28). Perhaps, however, merely the planted corn is meant here.

[8] The next two words, *thunci yaue*, are not translated. They appear to mean: after something was spattered. *Yaue* is probably a mistake of the compiler.

[9] According to the Mani and Tizimin Chronicles the conquest of Chichen by the Itzá in Katun 4 Ahau was their second occupation of the city.

[10] Lit. the day of the god. *Cf.* Motul.

[11] In the katun-prophecies we shall see the Itzá referred to as enemies. This third triumph may refer to the conquest by Hunac Ceel.

[12] *Uuiyao*: probably an interjection. It might mean hunger or famine.

[13] Maya, *Oxte caan u kin*. Probably a chronological statement, referring to the position of the sun at the time. The sky was divided into thirteen layers or heavens, *Oxlahun-caan* (lit. thirteenth heaven or thirteen heavens) was the full moon. Motul.

[14] Maya, *tan yol uinice*. Lit. in the midst of men. *Tan yol che* means in the forest, *i.e.* in the midst of the trees.

[15] Maya, *Cen u mac lee*. This may be an error of the compiler.

[16] Putun is a geographical term and refers to the people living near Laguna de Términos, in the ancient Province of Tixchel. There is also a town named Tixchel, where the people "speak a different language called *Putun-than*, otherwise named *Chontal*, although in many words it is close to the Maya, so that if one is known, the other is easily learned" (Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 452). A study of the language is found in Blom & LaFarge 1927, II, p. 465. Possibly *putun* is also a Maya word. The translator recalls hearing of a variety of chile called *putun-ic*.

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created in the night. What were we born? *Eya!* We were <like> tame animals <to> Mizcit Ahau.[1] <But> an end comes to his roguery. Behold, so I remember my song.[2] Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano! Eya!* I die, he said, because of the town festival.[3] *Eya!* I shall come, he said, because of the destruction of the town. This is the end <of what is> in his mind, of what he thought in his heart. Me, he did not destroy. I tell what I have remembered
p.60 C in my song. Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!/* This is all of the song, the completion of the message of the Lord God.[4]

XIII

(THE CREATION OF THE UINAL)[5]

Thus it was recorded <by> the first sage, Melchise<dek>,[6] the first prophet, Napuc Tun,[7] the priest, the first priest. This is a song of how the *uinal* came to be created before the creation of the world.[8] Then he began to march by his own effort alone. Then said his maternal grandmother, then said his maternal aunt, then said his paternal grandmother, then said his sister-in-law: "What shall we say when we see man on the road?" These were their words as they marched along, when there was no man <as yet>. Then they arrived there in the east and began to speak. "Who has passed here? Here are footprints. Measure it off with your foot." So spoke the mistress of the world.[9] Then he measured the footstep of our Lord, God[10] the Father. This was the reason it was called counting off the whole earth, *lahca* (12) Oc.[11] This was the count, after it had been created by <the day> 13 Oc, after his feet were joined evenly, after they had departed there in the east. Then he spoke

[1] Possibly one of the conquerors associated with Hunac Ceel. *Cf.* p. 74. Alternative translation: We were your companions, Mizcit Ahau.

[2] Alternative translation: I abhorred my song.

[3] Possibly a reference to human sacrifice.

[4] Except, perhaps, for some of the prophecies which may have been sung, we have here a unique example of the old songs of the Maya. It was probably little understood in the Eighteenth Century when the Chumayel was compiled. The repeated refrain, *Antan hereyao*, here translated as "heresy was favored," is likely to be the distortion of some old Toltec chant.

[5] The Maya *uinal* was a period of twenty days, each with a different name. The Maya year, or *haab*, was composed of eighteen such uinals and a closing period of five days known as *xma kaba kin*, or nameless days.

[6] Written *Merchise* in the Maya text. The presence of an r indicates a European word or name, but it does not follow that it was an r in Spanish. R and l sounded alike to the Maya ear, and in native documents we find the name Melchor written Merchor. We have already seen Bible names piously interpolated in native legends. The last syllable is here supplied by the translator.

[7] A famous Maya prophet who foretold the coming of the Spaniards. See Appendix D.

[8] *Tima to ahac cab*; this could also be translated: before it dawned.

[9] The mistress of the world. *Cf.* 114, note 6.

[10] Alternative translation: Then our Lord, God the Father, measured his footstep.

[11] In other words, the day 12 Oc (*lahca Oc*) is derived from the phrase, *xoc lah cab oc*, which means counting off the whole world by footsteps.

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its name when the day had no name, after he had marched along with his maternal grandmother, his maternal aunt, his paternal grandmother and his sister-in-law. The uinal was created, the day, as it was called, was created, heaven and earth were created, the stairway[1] of water, the earth, rocks and trees; the things of the sea and the things of the land were created.

On 1 Chuen he raised himself to his divinity, after he had made heaven and earth.

On 2 Eb he made the first stairway. It descended from the midst of the heavens, in the midst of the water, when there were neither earth, rocks nor trees.

On 3 Ben he made all things, as many as there are, the things of the heavens, the things of the sea and the things of the earth./ p.61 C

On 4 Ix sky and earth were tilted.[2]

On 5 Men he made everything.

On 6 Cib the first candle[3] was made; it became light when there was neither sun nor moon.

On 7 Caban honey[4] was first created, when we had none.

On 8 Eɔnab his hand and foot were firmly set, then he picked up small things on the ground.

On 9 Cauac hell was first considered.

On 10 Ahau wicked men went to hell because of God the Father, that they might not be noticed.

On 11 Imix rocks and trees were formed; this he did within the day.

On 12 Ik the breath of life[5] was created. The reason it was called Ik was because there was no death in it.

On 13 Akbal he took water and watered the ground. Then he shaped it and it became man.

On 1 Kan he first created anger because of the evil he had created.

On 2 Chicchan occurred the discovery of whatever evil he saw within the town.

[1] Maya *eb* is the name of one of the days, and also means stairway. It is probably derived from *e*, a point, and refers to a series of points or indentations (Seler 1902, p. 482). Why it is connected with water is uncertain, but the fact is confirmed on page 74 of the Dresden Codex. Here we see the old goddess with the jaguar claws emptying a jar of water upon the earth, and in the descending stream of water is pictured the day-sign Eb.

[2] Possibly a reference to the horizon where earth and sky meet.

[3] *Cib*, which has meant candle since the Spanish occupation, appears to have always been the word for wax. We can find no evidence of the use of candles before the Conquest, but according to the reports of the Sixteenth Century settlers there was such an extensive trade in beeswax that it is difficult to believe that it dated only from the Spanish occupation of the country (Relaciones de Yucatan). *Cf.* p. 101, note 6.

[4] *Cab*, here translated as honey, could also mean the earth.

[5] *Ik* can mean either wind or the breath of life. The context appears to call for the latter rendering.

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On 3 Cimi he invented death; it happened that our Lord God invented the first death.[1]

On 5 Lamat he established the seven great waters of the sea.

On 6 Muluc all valleys were submerged, when the world was not yet created.[2] Then occurred the invention of the word of our Lord God, when there was no word in heaven, when there were neither rocks nor trees.

Then they went to consider <what they were>, and <the voice> spoke as follows:/"Thirteen entities, seven entities, one."[3] So it spoke when the word came forth, at the time when there was no word. Then the reason was
p.62 C sought by the first ruling day (the first day Ahau) why the meaning of the word to them was not revealed[4] so that they could declare themselves. Then they went to the center of heaven and joined hands. Then the following were set up in the middle of the land: the Burners, four of them:

4 Chicchan, the Burner.
4 Oc, the Burner.
4 Men, the Burner.
4 Ahau, the Burner.
These are the four Rulers.

8	Muluc		5 Cauac
9	Oc		6 Ahau
10	Chuen	2	7 Imix
11	Eb		8 Ik
12	Ben	4	9 Akbal
13	Ix	5	10 Kan
1	Men	6	11 Chicchen
2	Cib		12 Cimi
3	Caban	7	13 Manik
4	Eɔnab		1 Lamat[5]

[1] Following the day 3 Cimi, 4 Manik is omitted.

[2] Possibly a reference to the belief in a previous creation which was destroyed by water. Throughout this passage everything that occurred is told in language which is a play of words on the name of the day.

The day-name Oc is a homonym for the word meaning foot. Ix has a slight resemblance to the root of *nixpahal* meaning to tilt. Men means to make or to do something. The syllable *eɔ* of Eɔnab means to set something firmly on the ground. Nevertheless the Maya were not unaware of the relation between this day and the flint knife pictured by its glyph, for in another manuscript we find it associated with a flint, as well as with the blood-letter and the warrior, both of whom employed this implement (Kaua, p. 21).

The association of the day Ahau with hell *(metnal)* may be because of its resemblance to that of Cumhau (or Hun Ahau,) one of the names of the god of the underworld and whom the author of the Motul Dictionary identifies as "Lucifer, the prince of the devils." Akbal is associated with the verb *akzah*, which means to water the ground. Chicchan resembles *chictahal* which means to find. The day-name Cimi and the Maya word meaning death are homonyms. Muluc resembles the verb *mucchahal* meaning to be buried or submerged.

[3] The twenty day-names were combined with the numbers one to thirteen. When the numerical series of thirteen was completed, it began over again and was repeated for seven days more. Consequently we have 13 days+7 days=1 *uinal*.

[4] *Hepahac*, here translated as revealed, literally means opened, like a door.

[5] This series of twenty days could be the first *uinal* of a Year 8 Muluc which recurred every 52 years. From the time of the Conquest down to the compilation of the Chumayel, this year could have fallen in 1562, 1614, 1666, 1718 and 1770. The meaning of the numbers between the columns of days is not clear. If it is a secondary count beginning on the day 6 Ahau, then 13 Manik is wrongly numbered 7.

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The uinal was created, the earth was created; sky, earth, trees and rocks were set in order; all things were created by our Lord God, the Father./ Thus p.63 C he was there in his divinity, in the clouds, alone and by his own effort, when he created the entire world, when he moved in the heavens in his divinity. Thus he ruled in his great power.[1] Every day is set in order according to the count, beginning in the east, as it is arranged.

XIV

(A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST)

This is the name of the year when the foreigners arrived, the year One thousand five hundred and nineteen. This was the year when the foreigners arrived here at our town, <the town> of us, the Itzá, here in the land of Yucalpeten,[2] Yucatan, in the speech of the Maya Itzá.

So said the first Adelantado; Don Juan de Montejo,[3] because he was thus informed by Don Lorenso Chable when he listened to this conqueror[4] at Tixkokob. He received the foreigners with all his heart. This was the reason they named him Don Lorenso Chable, because he gave well-roasted meat to the foreigners and all the captains. He had a son also named Don Martin Chable.[5]

This is the year which was current when the foreigners prepared to seize *Yucalpeten*[6] here. It was known by the priest, the prophet, Ah Xupan,[7] as he was called. Christianity was introduced to us in the year 1519.[8] The church at Merida was founded in the year 1540.[9] In the year 1599 the church at

[1] Among the modern Jacalteca Indians it is still believed that the days were once men who lived on the earth. They were rulers who protected the village or divided the land (Lafarge and Byers 1931, p. 159).

[2] Yucalpeten is an attempt to turn into Maya the name Yucatan given by the Spaniards. The origin of the latter has been variously explained. The most plausible account is that of Ah Naum Pech, a contemporary of the Conquest. He states: "The Christian captains asked them in the Spanish language where they lived. They did not comprehend and merely replied, 'We do not understand what you say.' This they said, and <the Spaniards> called it Yucatan. It was the Land of the Turkey, the Land of the Deer" (Martinez 1926, p. 27).

[3] Here again the son, Don Juan, is confused with his father, Don Francisco de Montejo, who conquered Yucatan.

[4] The Maya allies of the Spaniards who had assisted in the Conquest afterwards called themselves "*conquistadores*" (Brinton 1882, p. 216). This was evidently the priest, Ah Kin Chable, mentioned on page 86. However, Montejo may be the conqueror referred to here.

[5] The Chablé family of Tixkokob does not appear to have lived up to expectations. Already in 1581 or thereabouts, Diego de Santillan, the husband of Doña Beatriz de Montejo, writes of this town: "The governor of the said town of Tixkokob is Lorenzo Puch from the town of San Cristóbal de los Naborios (a suburb of Merida). For although the said town has a native chief, the government of the said town has not been entrusted to him, as he is not capable of it" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 281).

[6] Yucalpeten, a Maya imitation of the name Yucatan, has been translated as "the neck of the land" (Molina Solís 1896, p. 168).

[7] Ah Xupan, an early Maya prophet. *Cf.* Tizimin p. 13 and Appendix D.

[8] Cortez exhorted the Indians at Cozumel to accept Christianity and set up a cross for them in 1519 (Herrera 1725, Dec. 2, Book 2, Chap. 3).

[9] Although Montejo reached Merida in 1540, the Spanish city was not founded until early in 1542.

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Merida was completed. In the year 1648 yellow fever[1] occurred and the sick-
p.64 C ness[2] began <to afflict> us./

There was death by famine for five years, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653 and 1654. Then the famine ended. There was a hurricane which killed Father Agustin Gomes in the year 1661. There was a drought in the year 1669. <The disease called> *uzankak*[3] occurred in 1692.

XV

(THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM AND THE STORY OF ANTONIO MARTINEZ[4])

<Let it be known that the day then arrived>[5] when the tenth katun[6] was

[1] Maya *xe-kik*, literally blood-vomit.

[2] This was the famous epidemic recorded in the French colony of Guadeloupe in this year. It broke out in Campeche in June and lasted for the next two years. Molina Solís 1910, p. 168. The Maya *cimil* can be translated as either sickness or death.

[3] *Uzankak* is a term applied to both measles and scarlatina.

[4] The following combined prophecy and narrative in the Chumayel is immediately joined to and made a part of the chronicle contained in the previous chapter, following the statement that a certain epidemic occurred in the year 1692.

Two parallel versions of the material contained in the present chapter are found in the Tizimin (pp. 14-16) and Mani (pp. 109-116) manuscripts. The fullest account is that of the Mani, but the Tizimin version is probably the oldest, as it retains the Maya forms of a number of words which are translated into Spanish in the Mani and Chumayel. Both the Tizimin and Mani versions contain an explanatory introduction which is completely lacking in the Chumayel.

The Mani version bears the following title: *U than hahal ku tu nathob Chilam*, which could be translated: The words of the true God which Chilam understood. The introduction states that the other great Maya prophets (see Appendix D) assembled at the house of Chilam Balam, here also called Ah Nacom Balam and indicating that he was the official sacrificial priest (Landa 1928, p. 194). Chilam Balam lay stretched out in a trance in his room, while he received a revelation which seems to have descended from the roof of the house, and which only he understood. Finally all the others threw themselves on their faces, and Chilam Balam is said to have delivered the prophecy contained in this chapter.

In this prophecy we find inserted bodily the story of a certain Antonio Martínez, an adventurer who proobably lived long after the Spanish Conquest. His name does not appear in any of the Spanish histories of Yucatan. A portion of the actual prophecy evidently dates from ancient times and is written in very obscure language, while other passages are inspired by events which occurred after the Spanish occupation.

[5] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani version of this prophecy.

[6] In the Tizimin and Mani versions it is called "the first katun." Katun 11 Ahau is usually called the first katun. (*Cf.* p. 147.) Not only was it the first katun of the Spanish occupation, but it also began with the day 1 Imix which was the first day of the *tzol-kin*, or tonalamatl. Possibly it is here called the tenth katun because the Eighteenth Century Maya copyist found it recorded immediately after the date 1692. According to several Eighteenth Century Maya writers a Katun 10 Ahau should have ended in 1692, but their deduction is not supported by the historical evidence (Tizimin, p. 1; Mani, p. 135; *cf.* Seler 1902, pp. 591-592).

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established, when the katun of the Plumeria flower was established.[1] For three moons[2] had been established Yuma-une-tziuit,[3] the quetzal, the green bird.[4] Then there shall be present the forceful one,[5] there would be Nine Mountains,[6] Yuma-une-tziuit, the quetzal, the green bird. No one understands the penance among the rulers[7] in the twelfth tun when he declared his name. <Like> a jaguar is his head, long is his tooth,[8] withered[9] is his body, <like> a dog[10] is his body. His heart is pierced with sorrow.[11] Sweet is his food, sweet is his drink. Perchance he does not speak,[12] perchance he will not hear. They say his speech is false and mad.[13] Nowhere do the younger sisters, native

[1] The erotic significance of the Plumeria flower has already been discussed (p. 104, note 15). But that this eroticism was always sinful may be doubted, for it was associated with lawful marriage and with the father and mother of Nohochacyum, the head of the Lacandon Pantheon. Furthermore the corollas of this flower are strung in chains and still used as decorations in churches, a custom which probably dates from ancient times (Standley 1930, p. 384). Consequently it may be inferred that many of its associations were innocent and simply concerned the reproduction of the race. Nevertheless, it may have been associated with Kukulcan because of the introduction of certain erotic religious practises by the Toltecs, and with the coming of the Spaniards on account of the manner in which European soldiers of the Sixteenth Century usually behaved toward the women of a newly conquered population. Maya warriors probably carried off women captives to make slaves and concubines of them, but it is doubtful that they practised violation in warfare. Compare with the prophecy for Katun 7 Ahau, p. 151.

[2] Maya *uu*. This refers to an actual lunation, and not to the Maya month of 20 days which was called *uinal*.

[3] This name is not Maya. The division made here is in accordance with the Maya texts. Its usual association with the quetzal leads to the conclusion that it is closely connected with Kukulcan and may be another name for the Mexican culture-hero.

[4] The quetzal, the green bird, Maya *kuk yaxum*. For *yaxum* see p. 63, note 6. *Kuk* usually means a sprout or shoot, hence offspring or descendants (Motul). Here we believe it refers to the quetzal, which is also called *kùk* in Kekchi and *xman k'uk* in Chol (Sapper 1927, p. 428). The Maya word for feather is *kukum*; but it is very possible that the name, Kukul-can, is derived directly from *kuk*, quetzal, and *can*, serpent, making it a literal translation of the Nahuatl Quetzalcoatl.

[5] The translator can make little out of the Maya expression found here in the Chumayel, *u may chiiceh*. *May* can mean either hoof or a fine powder, and *chiich* means forcefully. The variant found in the Mani version of this passage, *ah chich* is quite intelligible and means "the forceful one."

[6] Nine Mountains, Maya, *Bolonte uitz*. One of the Chumayel chronicles (p. 139) gives this place as the origin of one of the groups of people who later settled in Yucatan, probably the Itzá. *Cf*. p. 64, note 3.

[7] If some of the most powerful families of Yucatan, like the Xius, were of foreign origin, they would have penances and other religious practises not understood by the ordinary people. *Cf*. Appendix E.

[8] The Maya *coo* can mean either the tooth of an animal or man, or the bill of a bird.

[9] The various Maya compilers of the Books of Chilam Balam appear to have been uncertain about this passage. The Chumayel text reads ɔuɔul which means withered or shriveled; the Mani version gives *thul* which could be translated: "like a rabbit;" while the Tizimin variant is *tzutzui* which means dove. Among the Mexicans Quetzalcoatl was pictured as having a face not altogether human.

[10] The Tizimin version is "disgusting is his body."

[11] Both the Mani and Tizimin versions read: "His heart is pierced by a dart."

[12] Supplied from the Tizimin version.

[13] Alternative translation: false and lewd.

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to the land, surrender themselves. They shall be taken away from the land here. So it shall always be with the maidens, the daughters whom they shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow. Give yourselves up, my younger brothers, my older brothers, submit[1] to the unhappy destiny of the katun which is to come. If you do not submit, you shall be moved from where your feet are rooted.[2] If you do not submit, you shall gnaw the trunks of trees and herbs.[3] If you do not submit, it shall be as when the deer die,[4] so that they go forth from your settlement. Then <even> when the ruler <himself> goes forth, he shall return within your settlement bearing nothing.[5] Also there shall come <such a pestilence that> the vultures enter the houses,[6] a time of great death among the wild animals.[7] There shall be three kinds of bread, <the bread-nut[8] shall be their bread> in the katun of the Plumeria flower. Then <comes the time>[9] when thirteen layers of mats are laid down for the very mad one,[10] for the adulterer. Then comes the <papal> bull[11] of six divisions. Three times the bull shall be announced. Then the judge of the bull shall come, when he <who bears> the gold staff[12] shall judge, when white wax
p.65 C <candles>[13] shall be exchanged./ It is to be white wax, when justice shall descend from Heaven, for Christian men to come up before the eye of justice.[14] Then it shall shake heaven and earth. In sorrow shall end the katun of the Plumeria flower. No one shall fulfil his promises. The prop-roots of the trees shall be bent over.[15] There shall be an earthquake all over the land. The fulfil-

[1] Literally, make way, etc.

[2] The missionaries caused much suffering by forcibly moving country people from their homes and collecting them in towns to facilitate their conversion to Christianity (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 68).

[3] Many people fled to the forests to escape from the missionaries and Spanish officials (Cogolludo 1868, Book 10, Chap. 2).

[4] Maya *cim-cehil*, when the deer die, *i.e.* when there is such a severe drought that the water holes in the rocks dry up and the deer die of thirst. *Cf.* Tizimin version.

[5] In times of famine, practically always the result of drought, people of the affected area would leave their villages and wander about the country to exchange their personal property for food. We may infer from this passage that when the chief was obliged to do this, the situation was exceptionally serious.

[6] Maya, *oc-na-kuchil*. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, p. 151.

[7] It is difficult to explain what is meant by this general mortality of wild animals. The text indicates an epidemic.

[8] Maya *ox*, *Brosimum alicastrum* Sw., the *ramon* or bread-nut, the fruit of which was eaten especially in time of famine. The second kind of bread would be maize, and the third would be the *cup* (*Calopogonium cœruleum* Benth., or jícama cimarrona) usually also mentioned in this connection. *Cf.* p. 103, notes 10 and 11.

[9] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[10] Madness and immorality are frequently associated in the Books of Chilam Balam.

[11] The Spanish word, *bula*, is employed in the Maya text.

[12] This may be a reference to the bishop's crozier.

[13] Mediz Bolio (1930, p. 75, note 147) considers this a reference to votive offerings of wax.

[14] The Tizimin version reads: "when the eye of justice shall sleep."

[15] This may be the result of the earthquake mentioned in the following sentence, but Mediz Bolio suggests that a gallows is meant (1930, p. 76).

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ment of the prophecy of the katun of the Plumeria flower shall be for sale.[1] There is no reason or necessity for you to submit[2] to the Archbishop. When he comes, you shall go and hide yourselves in the forest. If you surrender yourselves, you shall follow Christ, when he shall come. Then his visitation[3] shall end. Then shall come to pass the shaking[4] of the Plumeria flower. Then you shall understand. Then it shall thunder from a dry sky. Then shall be spoken that which is written on the wall. Then you shall set up God,[5] that is, you shall admit his divinity to your hearts. I hardly know what wise man among you will understand. He who understands will go into the forest to serve Christianity. Who will understand it?

After only fourteen years[6] of chieftainship, permanently the Son[7] shall arrive, Don Antonio Martínez[8] and Saul. These were his names when he departed from heaven. At that time he went to Tzimentan,[9] and when he was at Tzimentan a certain queen said she would marry him. For seven years he was married, when the golden doors of the house of four apartments[10] were opened. <Here>he was shown how, and he equipped[11] a fleet of thirteen ships. Then he began a war with the land of Havana.[12] The King[13] had a friend at Havana, and the King was advised by his friend. The public prosecutor was there with him. Then he went and heard that <the man> was to be seized. Whereupon he departed and went to Tzimentan. It was three months after he was seized that the man who took him departed. Then he arrived at Tzimentan. When <the man> was seized,/ he cut short the words of him who took him p.66 C when he arrived at Tzimentan, and he said: "Go, man." These were his

[1] Possibly a reference to the money paid for indulgences, which are compared here to the prophecy of the Maya priests.

[2] Literally: "to give your heads to the Archbishop."

[3] Written *visita* in the text. The Tizimin version gives the Maya equivalent: "*Ca bin ɔococ u thibah a uichil ex.*"

[4] Evidently a reference to some ceremonial act, possibly the sprinkling of some consecrated liquid.

[5] Alternative translation: declare his divinity.

[6] Three and a half katuns are mentioned in the Tizimin version and four katuns in the Mani.

[7] Maya, *mehenbil*. The Tizimin substitutes the word, *almehenil*, the nobleman.

[8] The Spanish historians do not mention this personage. There is an allusion in the prophecy for Katun 1 Ahau (p. 158), which might place him some time during the fifth and sixth decades of the Seventeenth Century. His other name, Saul, is given as Xaul in the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[9] We are unable to identify this town. Mediz Bolio conjectures that it was some port on the northeastern coast of Yucatan frequented by the Protestant buccaneers, among whom were numbered the members of many strange sects (Mediz Bolio 1930, p. 77).

[10] Probably a public building, such as the church, as we read that the "town marriages" were performed in the *can-kaz-na*, as it is called in Maya (Chumayel, p. 159). The idea of golden doors is a purely European conception and may refer to the entrance to the chancel.

[11] Maya, *tuz-zihzah*. The Mani and Tizimin versions read *likzah* which could mean "raised a fleet," etc.

[12] Probably a piratical raid on the coast of Cuba is meant.

[13] Our text reads, *Rey*, while the Tizimin gives its Maya equivalent, *ahau*.

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words to him. "It is three months <since> I arrived," he said. "It is three months, now, <since> you departed. It was three months <ago> that you arrived, since you arrived, since you are shut up in the prison; in the meantime I come. I will take you out of prison. You two captains shall follow me." he said.

"Let nine chairs be raised up for us to sit on.[1] The sea shall burn. I shall be raised up." There was fire in his eye. Sand and spray shall be raised aloft. The face of the sun shall be darkened by the great tempest. Whereupon the captain accoutered himself. <Everything> shall be blown to the ground by the wind. In the meantime I sit on my chair; in the meantime the fleet of thirteen ships comes. Then the King[2] accouters himself also. "Prepare yourself, my lord! There come the French." These were his words to me. "We shall be killed by <these> men. For what reason does your strength fail because of your compatriots? Let me go and direct the ship from the middle." My own spirits are raised also. The sea upon which I go burns. The face of the heavens is tilted. But when I came down into his presence, the ship was lost.[3] "What man are you?" he said to me. "I am without compunction.[4] It is I whom you have aided,[5] I am he whom you have caused to live again."[6] <Then he said:>[7] "I shall put my name to the test, it is Martínez. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit is my name." <These were his words.>[8] Then I brought out the book of seven generations to read.[9] In three months it was finished.

Now the town officials went elsewhere.[10] Whereupon he said he would give his town, half of the men <in it>, to me. "Where is your town? It is all my town," <he said>.[11] "You shall pay for my town, I was the first to arrive."[12]

Then, I tell you, justice shall descend to the end that Christianity and salvation may arise. Thus shall end the men of the Plumeria flower.[13] Then the rulers of the towns shall be asked for their proofs and titles of ownership, if they know of them. Then they shall come forth from the forests and from

[1] Here the Chumayel text is corrupt and the Mani version is followed for this sentence.
[2] The text gives "*Rey*," while the Tizimin version reads, "*nacom*," which means captain. The Mani version reads: "Then the King agrees (*cetzicuba*) also."
[3] Corrected from the Tizimin and Mani versions.
[4] The Mani version reads: "I am an infidel."
[5] Alternative translation: I, whom you have released. The Tizimin and Mani versions read: "I, whom you have taken."
[6] In a figurative sense this also means: I am he whom you have baptised.
[7] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. [8] Supplied from the Mani version.
[9] Here the Tizimin and Mani versions read: "Then he brought out the book of seven generations for the priests to read." Martinez suggests it was a book of seven folios.
[10] Alternative translation: Now the town officials surrendered.
[11] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions.
[12] The Tizimin and Mani versions read: "It is I, Xaul." Here the story of Antonio Martínez ends, and the prophecy of Chilam Balam is continued.
[13] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. *Cf.* p. 121, note 1.

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among the rocks and live like men; then towns shall be established <again>. There shall be no fox to bite them.[1] This shall be in Katun 9 Ahau.[2] Five years shall run until the end of my prophecy, and then shall come the time for the tribute to come down. Then there shall be an end to the paying for the wars which our fathers raised <against the Spaniards>. You shall not call the katun which is to come a hostile one, when/ Jesus Christ, the guardian p.67 C of our souls, shall come. Just as <we are saved> here on earth, so shall he bear our souls to his holy heaven also. You are sons of the true God. Amen.

XVI

(A CHAPTER OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

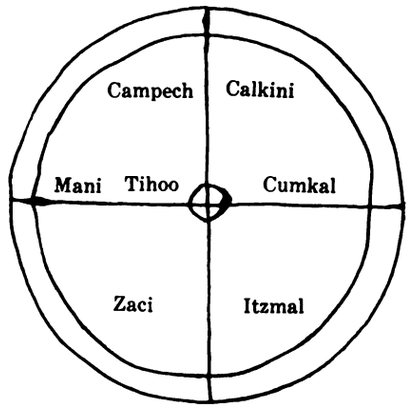

FIG. 27—A map of northern Yucatan.[3] (Chumayel MS.).

13 Eɔnab <was the day> when the land was established.[4] 13 Cheneb[5] was when they measured off by paces the cathedral,[6] the dark house of instruc-

[1] Here the so-called foxes may refer to the Spanish captains and not to the Maya head-chiefs and warriors. See Appendix F.

[2] Katun 9 Ahau covered approximately the seventh and eighth decades of the Sixteenth Century. By this time most of the thickly settled portions of the country had been pacified. Many people who had fled to the forests to escape the violence of the Spanish conquerors now returned to their homes again. The Spanish Governor at Merida seriously undertook to reconstruct the social and political organization of the country which had been disrupted by the Conquest. Much of this work was begun during Katun 11 Ahau, but it was probably Katun 9 Ahau before results began to be noted generally.

[3] This type of map is fairly typical in Maya documents. Here as usual the principal town, Tihoo (Merida), is in the center; but as a general thing the space between the two outlying circles is divided into compartments, each of which is occupied by the name of one of the border-sites. For a map of this sort see Stephens, 1843, II, p. 264.

[4] Probably a reference to the Spanish occupation. 13 Eɔnab was the day preceding 1 Cauac, from which the Maya year which began in 1568 took its name, but this year does not appear to have any special significance. 13 Eɔnab would recur every 260 days.

[5] 13 Cheneb. This may be a mistake of the copyist and intended either for the month Chen or the day Eb. It is also possible that it was an occult word employed for purposes of mystification.

[6] Written *Ygleçia mayor* in the text.

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tion, the cathedral in heaven. Thus it was also measured off by paces here <on earth>. Thirteen katuns was the total count, <that is, thir>teen feet[1] in heaven. Four feet, and from there nine feet, the total count of its extent in heaven.[2] Then it is again measured off by feet from the face of the earth. Four feet separate it from the face of the earth.

Mani is the base of the land. Campeche is the tip of the wing of the land. Calkini is the base of the wing of the land. Itzmal is the middle of the wing of the land. Zaci is the tip of the wing of the land. Conkal is the head of the land.[3]

In the middle of the town of Tihoo[4] is the cathedral, the fiery house,[5] the mountainous house, the dark house, for the benefit of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

Who enters into the house of God? Father, it is the one named Ix-Kalem.[6]

What day did the Virgin conceive? Father, 4 Oc <was the day> when she conceived.

What day did he come forth <from her womb>? On 3 Oc he came forth.

What day did he die? On 1 Cimi he died. Then he entered the tomb on 1 Cimi.

What entered his tomb? Father, a coffer of stone entered his tomb.

What entered in into his thigh?[7] Father, it was the red arrow-stone.[8] It entered into the precious stone of the world, there in heaven.

And his arm? Father, the arrow-stone; and that it might be commemo-
p.68 C rated,[9] it entered into the red living rock in the east./ Then it came to the north and entered into the white living rock. After that it entered the black

[1] *Chek, chekel* and *chekeb* designate a measure equaling the length of the human foot. Perhaps the idea is that 13 katuns (13x7200?)in heaven correspond to 13 feet on earth, and that any sacred thing on earth must previously exist in heaven.

[2] Alternative translation: toward heaven. This would indicate that we have here merely the perpendicular measurement of the cathedral, but in that case the number of feet designated would not be sufficient.

[3] It will be seen that the country is thought of as a vast bird whose wings extend from Campeche to Valladolid (Zaci).

[4] Tihoo is the modern Maya name for Merida. In the older literature it is called Ichcanzihoo.

[5] Maya, *kakal-na.* An alternative translation would be "the enclosed house." This would better fit Pio Perez' definition, which is the government building, the *casa real.*

[6] Ix-Kalem is a feminine name, but it means little. Probably Ix-Kulem, the Holy One, is intended.

[7] Maya, *chac-bacel,* which is the outside of the thigh or the thigh-bone.

[8] The text actually reads *chac haal-tun* which would mean the red water-hole in the rock, but as an l between vowels is almost silent in Maya, we have made it read *chac ha<l>al-tun,* which conforms with the word *halal-tun,* arrow-stone, occurring in the answer to the following question.

[9] Maya *kinbezabal*: this could mean either commemorated or warmed in the sun.

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living rock in the west. Thus also <it entered> the yellow living rock in the south.[1]

[2] Son, how many deep hollows <are there>? These <are the holes> for playing the flute.[3]

Son, where is the cenote?[4] All are drenched <with> its water.[5] There is no gravel on its bottom; a bow is inserted over its entrance.[6] <It is> the church.

Son, where are the first marriages? The strength of the King[7] and the strength of the other head-chiefs fail because of them, and my strength because of them also. It is bread.[8]

Son, have you seen the green water-holes in the rock? There are two of them; a cross is raised between them. They are a man's eyes.

Son, where are the first baptised ones? One has no mother, but has a bead collar and little bells. It is *peeu*.[9]

Son, where is the food[10] which bursts forth, and the fold of the brain <and> the lower end of that which is inflated,[11] and the dried fruit? It is the gizzard of a turkey.

Son bring me that which hooks the sky and the hooked tooth. They are a deer and a gopher.[12]

[1] Here the text reverts to pure Maya symbolism. The details of the crucifixion of Christ apparently recalled to the Maya mind some of the ceremonies connected with human sacrifice, in which the victim was probably considered the representative of the god. Like the crown of thorns, a paper crown was placed on his head, and the spear which pierced Christ's side appears to have reminded the Maya writer of the arrow with which the priest struck blood from the thigh of the sacrificial victim (Landa 1928, pp. 198-200). It is also possible that the legend of the stone arrow-points, which entered the mythical rocks at the four corners of the world, was associated in the mind of the writer with the rocks which were rent at the time of the crucifixion.

[2] The balance of this chapter consists of a series of questions much resembling the series entitled The Interrogation of the Chiefs in Chapter IX. Here, however, no explanation is given as to the purpose of the catechism.

[3] Maya *chul*, defined as a flute. This is a direct flute or flageolet. An excellent picture of this type of instrument is found in the Dresden Codex (p. 34 A) and plainly shows the finger-holes along the side. Landa states that they were made of cane or reeds. Another wind-instrument employed was a trumpet called *hom*. This was made of a wooden tube to the end of which was attached a long curved gourd, which probably gave it a flaring mouth. Whistles made of reeds or bones and conch-shells were also blown (Landa 1928, pp. 158-160).

[4] Evidently a reference to the cave type of cenote.

[5] Probably either the holy water or the water of baptism is meant.

[6] A reference to the arched doorway of the church.

[7] Written *Rey* in the text.

[8] The key to this riddle is not apparent.

[9] *Peeu* is a small early yellow maize which forms in forty days. The term is also applied to anything small or dwarfed (Motul).

[10] Maya *kauil*, an obsolete word which has survived only in the term, *kauil-yah*, to beg for food. In the old prophecies it is associated with bread. *Zatom uah, zatom kauil*, bread shall be lost, food shall be lost, *i.e.* the crops shall fail (Tizimin, p. 1).

[11] Maya *peehe*, a term applied to an inflated stomach or a full stomach. The question is based on fancied resemblances seen in removing and cutting up the giblets of a turkey.

[12] Maya *ba, Heterogeomys torridus* Merriam or *Orthegeomys scalops* Thomas, possibly both. It is called *tuza* in Spanish. The Maya eat it.

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Son, where is the old woman with buttocks seven palms wide, the woman with a dark complexion? It is <the squash called> *ɔol.*[1]

Son, show me the light complexioned woman with her skirt bound up who sells white flints. It is <the squash called> *ca.*[1]

Son, bring me two yellow animals, one to be well boiled, and one shall have its throat cut. I shall drink its blood also. It is a yellow deer and a green calabash full of chocolate.

<My> sons, bring me here a score of those who bear flat stones and two married ones. They are a quail[2] and a dove.[3]

Son, bring me a cord of three strands, I wish to see it. It is an iguana.

Son, bring . . . .[4] a mutual confession of sin[5] that I may see it here. It is the maguey.[6]

Son, bring me here that which stops the hole in the sky and the dew, the nine layers of the whole earth.[7] It is a very large maize tortilla.[8]

Son, have you seen the old man <who is like> an overturned *comal?*[9] He has a large double chin which reaches the ground. It is a turkey cock.

Son, bring me the old farmers, their beards come to their navels, also their wives. It is a muddy arrowroot.[10]

Bring to me here with them the women who guard the fields, white com-
p.69 C plexioned women. I will remove their skirts and eat them. It is a jícama.[11]/

Son, bring me the great gallants that I may view them. Perhaps they will not dance badly when I see them. It is a turkey-cock.

[1] *Ɔol* is a green flat squash and *ca* is another variety described as white and striped with thick seeds (Motul). *Ca* is also the name of a stone used to grind maize and cacao.

[2] Maya *becħ*, a name applied to *Eupsychortyx nigrogularis* Nelson (The Yucatan Bob-white), and *Dactylortyx thoracicus sharpei* Nelson (Yucatan Long-toed Grouse) (Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, vol. 50, p. 116). We have already seen the quail associated with a stone. (P. 94.)

[3] Maya *mucuy, Columbigallina rufipennis* Bonaparte (Ground dove), *ibid.* p. 117.

[4] Here there is a hiatus in the text.

[5] The word for sin used here, *tanal*, was considered antiquated already in the Sixteenth Century. It has the same meaning in Chol and may have been borrowed from that language (Motul Dictionary; LaFarge 1930, MS.). This mutual confession was an ancient Maya custom and was usually practised in time of sickness when death was imminent (Landa 1928, p. 188).

[6] Mrs. S. G. Morley has called the translator's attention to a lintel at Piedras Negras on which a kneeling penitent is seen passing a cord of maguey spines through his tongue (Charnay 1887, p. 250).

[7] Like the Mexicans, the Maya appear to have conceived that the world consisted of nine layers. The uppermost was the surface of the earth, and the other eight were the underworlds; in the lowermost reigned the god of the under regions variously called Cumhau and Xibalba in Maya (Motul Dictionary) and Mictlantecuhtli in Nahuatl (Seler 1923, pp. 17 and 22).

[8] This is evidently the *"tutiwa"* consisting of nine layers of tortillas and beans and employed in connection with the Maya harvest festival and the rain-making ceremony called chachac (Tozzer 1907, pp. 160-162).

[9] *Comal*, the Spanish name for the dish or pan used for cooking tortillas, called *xamach* in Maya.

[10] *Chac* in the text. It is usually spelled *chaac, Maranta arundinacea* L.

[11] *Pachyrhizus erosus* (L.) Urban, an edible root resembling a turnip but eaten raw.

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Son, where is the first collector? <The answer is> to undress, to take off one's shirt, cape, hat and shoes.[1]

Son, where was it that you passed? Did you pass, perchance, to the high rocky knoll which slopes down to the door of heaven, where there is a gate in the wall? Did you see men in front of you, coming side by side? Bolon Cħaan[2] and the first *Ah-kulel*[3] are there. It is the pupils of the eyes and any pair of eyes.

Son, have you seen the rain of God? It passed beneath the mountains of God; it entered beneath the mountains of God, where there is a cross on the savannah.[4] There will be a ring in the sky where the water of God has passed.

Son, where has the water of God passed when it comes forth from the living rock? Father, <from> a man's head and all a man's teeth, it passes through the opening in his throat and comes forth beneath.

Son, whom did you see on the road just now? . . . .[5]

Son, what did you do with your companions who were coming close behind you? Here are my companions. I have not left them. I await the judgment of God when I shall come to die. This is a man's shadow.

Son, whom did you see on the road? Did you see perchance <some> old men accompanied by <their> boys? Father, here are the old men I saw on the road. They are with me; they do not leave me. This is his great toe with the little <toes>.

Son, where did you see the old women carrying their step-children and their other boys. Father, here they are. They are still with me so that I can eat. I can not leave them yet. It is my thumb and the other fingers.

Son, where did you pass by a water-gutter?[6] Father, here is the water-gutter; it is right with me. This is my dorsal furrow.

Son, where did you see an old man astride a horse across a water-gutter? Father, here is the old man. He is still with me. My shoulders are the horse/ on which you say the old man sits astride. p.70 C

Son, this is the old man with you of which you spoke: it is manifest truth and justice.

Son, go get the heart of the stone and the liver of the earth. . . .[7] I have seen one of them lying on its back, and one lying on its face as though it were

[1] It seems probable that the compiler has omitted something here.

[2] Bolon Chaan is probably the name of a deity. It might be translated as Ninth Heaven. We find him mentioned on page 106.

[3] *Ah-kulel* means mediator or deputy and is the title of a certain class of town-officials. They were inferior to the *ah-cuch-cab*, or councillors, and superior to the *tupil*, whom the Spaniards considered a sort of constable.

[4] We can not but suspect that by the "mountain of God" the usual landmark consisting of a heap of stones surmounted by a cross is meant.

[5] A hiatus in the text.

[6] Maya *yoc-ha*. It also means river, but there are practically no rivers in northern Yucatan.

[7] A hiatus in the text in which the Maya copyist has inserted a few disjointed syllables. See text.

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going into hell. They are a Mexican Agouti[1] and a Spotted Agouti,[2] also the first local chief and the first Ah-kulel.[3] As for the heart of the stone, it is the tips of the teeth; and that which covers the opening in the neck of hell is a camote[4] and a jícama.

Son, go and bring me here <the girl> with the watery teeth.[5] Her hair is twisted into a tuft; she is a very beautiful maiden. Fragrant shall be her odor when I remove her skirt and her <other> garment. It will give me pleasure to see her. Fragrant is her odor and her hair is twisted into a tuft. It is an ear of green corn cooked in a pit.[6]

Son, then you shall go and get an old man and the herb that is by the sea. The old man is the *ac*,[7] and <the herb is> a crab.

Son, then you shall go and get the stones from the bottom of a forest pond.[8] It is the *tzac*.[9]

Son, then you shall bring here the stones of the savannah. It is a quail.[10]

Also <bring> the first sorcerers, there are four[11] of them. They are the gopher, the Spotted Agouti, the Mexican Agouti and the peccary.

Son, then go and get the thigh of the earth. It is the cassava.[12]

Son, go and bring here the green gallant and the green singer. It is a wild turkey <hen> and cock.[13]

Son, you shall bring your daughter that I may see her in the sun tomorrow. First the smaller one shall be brought and behind her shall come the larger one. Her hair shall be bound with a feathered band; she shall wear a head-scarf. I will take off her head-scarf. Also the Ah-kulel is behind
p.71 C her./

[1] Maya, *haleu, Cuniculus paca nelsoni* Goldman (?); Spanish *paca*.
[2] Maya, *tzub, Dasyprocta punctata yucatanica* Goldman; *aguti pinto*.
[3] *Cf.* p. 129, note 3. [4] Maya *iz, Ipomœa batatas* L.
[5] Maya, *ix ha-liz co*. *Ix* is the regular feminine prefix. *Haa* means water, and *-liz* is a suffix indicating possession of what precedes. *Co* means either a tooth or a kernel of maize. The phrase has been interpreted as "a woman of Jalisco," which would no doubt be rendered Ix Halisco or Ix Halizco in Maya, but Jalisco is so distant from Yucatan that the metaphor seems rather unlikely. *Cf.* Mediz-Bolio 1930, p. 84.
[6] Meat, maize and squashes were frequently cooked in a heated pit by the Maya. Here the ear of green corn was evidently cooked in the husk, which would preserve the milky juice. The husk is compared to a garment and the corn-silk to a twisted tuft of hair.
[7] *Ac* is a tall grass employed for thatching houses. It is called *barbon* in Spanish, which means a man with a thick beard. One Yucatecan writer states that it is *"Andropogon antillarum"* (MacKinney, 1889). *Ac* is also a turtle.
[8] Maya *kax-ek*, defined by Avendaño, apud Means 1917, p. 159.
[9] The text reads *ah-tzatzac*. The *tzac* is an unidentified variety of small fish.
[10] *Cf.* p. 94, note 3. [11] The text gives this number as two.
[12] Maya *ɔiin, Manihot esculenta* Crantz. *Cf.* p. 96.
[13] Maya *cutz* and *ah-tzo*. *Ah-tzo* is a general term for turkey-cock. *Cutz* has been identified as *Agriocharis ocellata* Cuvier, or Ocellated turkey (Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, vol. 50, p. 115). There is another wild turkey found in Yucatan, *Meleagris mexicana*, which may be called *cutz* also (Tozzer 1907, p. 22).

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Son, then go and get a cluster[1] of Plumeria flowers widely separated. <They should be> there where the sun is tomorrow. <What is meant is> roasted corn and honey.

Here I have rolled that which you have which is flat and round.[2] There are many rolls of it in the cave where you live. Then you shall roll it here that we may see it, when it is time to eat. <It is> a fried egg.

XVII

(AN INCANTATION)

Strung end to end are the precious stones, the red precious stones, representing the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven.[3]

The form in which you created the sun, <in which> you created the earth! The form of the moisture of heaven, the substance of heaven, the yellow blossom[4] of heaven! How did I create your sun? <How did I> create your moon? How did I create your precious stones? I created you. When you were sprinkled with water, you remembered the force of the sun. Then when the message was sent to you . . . Under cover I created you, I set you <where you are>. From time to time I take <you>, I perceive your vigor because of your father. You await . . . that I may take away . . . from your mouth. They are the yellow precious stones. So runs its course as he records[5] it. These are the rulers[6] which have been set in order. Go and read it and you will understand it.[7]

[1] The text reads *un trus nicte*. *Nicte* is a flower, usually the Plumeria. *Trus*, since it contains an *r* is probably a distorted Spanish word. The translation given here is derived from a comparison of the use of the expression on p. 118 of B.L.C. No. 43 and that of a similar Maya phrase, *oxlahun tzuc nicte* on page 174 of the same manuscript. The translator is inclined to associate this expression with the love-charm described by Aguilar (Aguilar 1892, p. 84; translated in Saville 1921, p. 207).

[2] Maya, *pectzil*. This word usually means news or what is said of some one. Here something concrete appears to be intended, and the word has been divided into its component parts, *pec* and *tzil*, which give a very different meaning.

[3] Maya: *kab caan itz caan*. When asked who he was, Itzamat-ul, a deified ruler of Izamal, replied: *"Itz en caan, itz en muyal."* This has been translated: *"Yo soy el rocío, ó sustancia del cielo y nubes"* (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, chap. 8).

[4] *Cf.* p. 65, note 9.

[5] To obtain this meaning *ɔolic* (he skins it) has been changed to *tzolic* (he records it).

[6] Ahau (ruler) is the day for which the katun is named.

[7] This very difficult passage differs in vocabulary and style from the rest of the MS. The spaces left in the text indicate that the Eighteenth Century compiler copied it from a defective original. Its unique style resembles that of Gates' Ritual of the Bacabs, which was probably written in eastern Yucatan, judging from a comparison of the latter with the Títulos de Ebtun. The translator is familiar only with a few extracts from the Ritual of the Bacabs, but it is possible that the above passage has been copied from that manuscript. *Cf.* Tozzer 1921, p. 196. We suggest that this is an invocation to the growing corn. Possibly the last three sentences refer to the following chapter.

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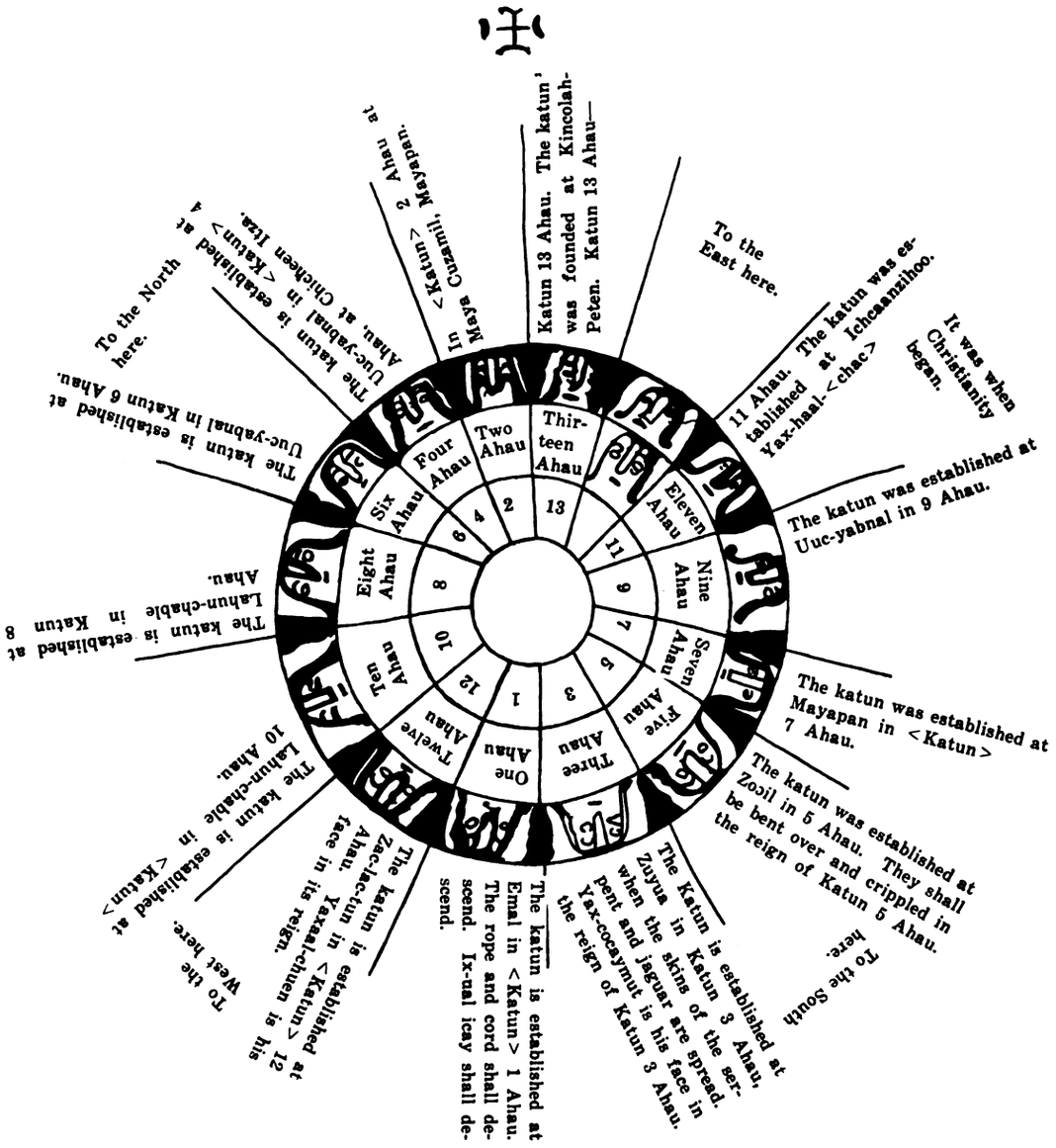
XVIII

(A SERIES OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)



p.73 C

FIG. 28—The katun wheel.[1] (Chumayel MS.)/

[1] For a full discussion of the Maya katun wheel the reader is referred to Bowditch 1910, Appendix 11, and to Landa 1929, pp. 94-97. The katun series with its prophecies is discussed in Appendix D of the present work. Among the various katun wheels, this one is unique in that the beginning of each prophecy is set down opposite the number of the katun to which it corresponds, *i.e.* the day with its number on which the katun ends.

Here the cross is set above Katun 13 Ahau, but in Landa's wheel the cross is over Katun 11 Ahau, which is usually considered to be the first of the series, and indeed it begins with the day 1 Imix.

It should be noted that on this wheel, although the succession of katuns is as usual to the right, the sequence of the directions, or world-quarters, East, North, West and South, is to the left.

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[1]Katun 11 Ahau is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[2] Yax-haal Chac[3] is its face. The heavenly fan, the heavenly bouquet shall descend. The drum and rattle of Ah Bolon-yocte[4] shall resound. At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun.[5] They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their crops in Katun 11 Ahau.

[6]The katun is established at Uuc-yab-nal in Katun 4 Ahau. At the mouth of the well, Uuc-yab-nal,[7] it is established . . . It shall dawn in the south.[8] The face of <the lord of the katun> is covered; his face is dead. There is mourning for water; there is mourning for bread.[9] His mat and his throne shall face the west.[10] Blood-vomit is the charge <of the katun>.[11] At that time his loin-cloth and his mantle shall be white.[12] Unattainable shall be the bread of the katun. The quetzal shall come; the green bird shall come. The *kax* tree shall come; the bird shall come.[13] The tapir shall come. The tribute shall be hidden at the mouth of the well.[14]

[1] Here we have four of the first and older series or katun-prophecies. *Cf.* p. 20 and Appendix D.

[2] Ichcaanzihoo is the Maya name of Merida. It is also called Tihoo.

[3] Yax-haal Chac is the Green Rain-god. *Cf.* p. 77, note 4.

[4] A comparison of this version of the prophecy with that on p. 20 indicates that Ah Bolon-yocte was the lord or idol of Katun 11 Ahau. The name might be translated as the nine-footed one, but its meaning is uncertain.

[5] The green turkey, Zulim Chan and Chakanputun, are symbols of other times when the people were driven from their homes into the forest, as they were again in Katun 11 Ahau by the Spanish conquerors. *Cf.* p. 77, note 7.

[6] The series is incomplete; Katuns 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8 and 6 Ahau are omitted here.

[7] We know nothing of Uuc-yab-nal beyond what is stated here. In the prophecy for this same Katun 4 Ahau on page 161, it is said to be established at Chichen Itzá, and here Uuc-yab-nal is said to be "at the mouth of the well" *(tu chi cheen)*. We can only conclude that Uuc-yab-nal was the ancient name of the old city of Chichen Itzá before the Itzá came and called it "the mouth of the well of the Itzá." *Uuc* means seven, and Abnal is still a well-known Maya family name.

[8] Here the Chumayel text means little to the translator, and it may be corrupt. Consequently the Tizimin version of the same passage has been given as the correct one.

[9] In other words, it shall be a time of drought and famine.

[10] Here again the Chumayel text seems meaningless, and the Tizimin and Mani version of the same prophecy is assumed to be the correct one and translated accordingly. A comparison of these three versions will be found in the Maya text.

[11] Evidently a reference to the epidemic mentioned on p. 142 as occurring in the fifth tun of the Katun 4 Ahau last preceding the Spanish Conquest. This tun would fall between 1480 and 1485. This was probably the pestilence said by Landa to be characterized by a fever followed by the body swelling and being filled with worms. The blood-vomit and fever strongly suggest yellow fever, and the last symptom could refer to secondary infections such as abscesses and suppurations in which flies had laid their eggs. It should be noted, however, that the medical historians do not believe that yellow fever occurred in America prior to the Spanish conquest. *Cf.* Landa 1928, pp. 92-94.

[12] A reference to the white garments of the priests of Quetzalcoatl. Under the Maya name of Kukulcan, this culture-hero is said to have come with the Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau. *Cf.* p. 161, also Landa 1928, p. 62.

[13] Maya *kax-te*. Possibly the *kax*, or *Randia longiloba* Hemsl., is intended. The reference to the bird and tree suggests the mythological symbols already noted. *Cf.* p. 100, note 5.

[14] The Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá may be meant here. *Cf.* Appendix B.

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The katun is established at Maylu, Zaci, Mayapan[1] in Katun 2 Ahau. The katun <stone> is on its own base. The rope shall descend; the poison of the serpent shall descend, pestilence <and> three piles of skulls. The men are of little use.[2] Then the burden was bound on Buluc-ch̄abtan.[3] <Then there came up> a dry wind. The ramon[4] is the bread of <Katun> 2 Ahau. It shall be half famine and half abundance. This is the charge of Katun 2 Ahau.

The Katun is established at Kinchil Coba,[5] Maya Cuzamil,[6] in Katun 13 Ahau. Itzamna, Itzam-tzab,[7] is his face during its reign. The ramon shall be eaten. Three years shall be locust years, ten generations <of locusts>. The fan shall be displayed; the bouquet shall be displayed,[8] borne by Yaxaal Chac in the heavens. Unattainable is the bread of the katun in 13 Ahau. The
p.74 C sun shall be / eclipsed. Double is the charge of the katun: men without offspring, chiefs without successors.[9] For five days the sun shall be eclipsed, then it shall be seen <again>.[10] This is the charge of Katun 13 Ahau.

[1] Maylu is not identified; Zaci is the Maya name for Valladolid; and Mayapan, the former capital of Yucatan is well known.

[2] In other words, they are weakened by the pestilence, of which the "three piles of skulls" constituted the symbol. Serapio Zumarraga, an aged Indian of Mani, knows the latter term (*ox-multun-tzek*) and explains it as three burial mounds for the Spaniards, mestizos and Indians. In ancient times the corresponding classes of society were nobles, commoners and slaves.

[3] Buluc-ch̄abtan could be translated, eleven penances or eleven times fortunate. It appears to be the name of a personage, possibly a deity.

[4] The dried seeds of the ramon tree (*Brosimum alicastrum* Sw.) are ground into a meal from which a sort of bread is made. It took the place of corn in time of famine.

[5] Any mention of the great and ancient city of Coba is of especial interest as Maya history is silent concerning it. Here, possibly the city itself is meant, though Kinchil Coba is usually treated as a personage, one of the priests associated with the thirteen katun-prophecies in the Mani and Kaua manuscripts. In the translation by C. P. Bowditch of Avendaño's Relación, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, we read: "This image (of Cortez' horse) they preserved till the present time and they worship it as they do also the statue of a man made of stone and lime, situated on the top of a hillock, which they call Kinchilcoba, who they say is their watchman and sentinel, who defends them against all misfortunes which can happen to them" (Avendaño MS. f. 29 v; Bowditch MS., p. 68). Coba is still a well-known family name and is also the name of a tree which the Indians say is to be found in the forests of Campeche. *Co-ba* could be translated gopher-tooth, just as *ne-ba* (another unidentified plant or tree) means gopher-tail.

[6] This place-name suggests the island of Cozumel, but on the katun-wheel it is associated with Mayapan.

[7] Itzamna was the god of the heavens, and Itzam-tzab may be another name for the constellation called *tzab*, "the Pleiades, a constellation of seven stars; also the rattles of the snake" (Motul).

[8] *Cf.* p. 77, note 5.

[9] The Oxkutzcab version of this prophecy (p. 202) gives the double charge of this katun as pestilence and famine.

[10] This belief that an eclipse might last five days probably reflects a legend to the effect that such was once the case. It would explain the frantic efforts of the people to bring it to an end. *Cf.* Aguilar 1921, pp. 203-204.

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XIX

(THE FIRST CHRONICLE)[1]

A record of the count of the katuns since the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred. It is written for the town in order that it may be known by anyone who wishes to be informed of the count of the katuns.

6 Ahau[2] was when the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau was when the mat <of the katun> was counted in order.[3]
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.[4]

[1] The following three chronicles have been dependably translated by Brinton and Martínez (Brinton 1882; Martínez 1912, 1927). If the present translator has ventured to disagree with them in some particulars, it is because new material has come to light.

[2] The katun consisted of twenty tuns of 360 days each, making 7200 days in all, and was named for the day Ahau on which it ended.

[3] Fifty years ago Brinton translated this sentence: "The thirteenth ahau; Pop was set in order." He admits that he was at a loss for the exact bearing of the expression, but since Pop was the name of the first month in the Maya year, he concludes that this is a record of the adoption of the Maya calendar at that time (Brinton 1882, p. 150). Later it was thought that this statement recorded a calendrical change of some sort. But although Pop, the name of the first month of the year, means mat, we have seen on page 72 of the present work that there was also a mat of the katun and that it was "counted in order." (See page 72, note 13.) Here we have the actual count, and it seems obvious that it is the so-called mat of the katun which was counted in order in this case. Moreover Katun 13 Ahau is the last of the recurring series of 13 katuns, and it would be the time to make a count of the preceding katun-markers of this period, now that it had elapsed. The following day is 1 Imix, the day with which Landa tells us the Maya calendar began, and the first day of the new series. Further mention of the mat of the katun will be found on page 165. *Cf.* Roys 1922, p. 52, and Dieseldorff 1931, p. 31.

[4] The long gaps in these chronicles, sometimes covering more than two centuries, are puzzling. Besides the so-called second Chumayel chronicle which is really a historical folk-song, there are four which have come down to us, and they are uniform in the two following particulars. All four end about the second decade of the Seventeenth Century and none of them take on the character of a genuine chronicle except for the period following the destruction of Mayapan, which occurred about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Subsequent to that event the entries are fairly frequent, but during the thousand years prior to that date, a period which the Mani, Tizimin and first Chumayel chronicles purport to cover, the historical entries are few and far between. The most likely conclusion to be drawn from these circumstances is that for the long period before the fall of Mayapan our chronicles are compilations or reconstructions made by early Seventeenth Century Maya writers from the historical allusions contained in the katun-prophecies and the old folk-songs, supplemented no doubt by a certain amount of oral tradition. That the Maya once had genuine chronicles written in hieroglyphic characters, there is little doubt, as has been demonstrated by Carrillo y Ancona (1872, p. 563); and it is probable that some of these were composed in much the same form as the chronicles of the Books of Chilam Balam, only with more numerous entries.

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12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when Chichen Itzá was abandoned. There were thirteen folds of katuns[1] when they established their houses at Chakanputun.[2]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau was when the land was seized by them at Chakanputun.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
p.75 C 11 Ahau./
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when Chakanputun was abandoned by the Itzá men. Then they came to seek homes again. For thirteen folds of katuns had they dwelt in their houses at Chakanputun. This was always[3] the katun when the Itzá went beneath the trees, beneath the bushes, beneath the vines, to their misfortune.
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.

[1] Possibly the reference is to the folds of the screen-like book in which the katuns were recorded, or else to thirteen turns of the katun-wheel.

[2] Chakanputun is generally supposed to have been the modern Champoton in southwestern Yucatan. The latter name is substituted for Chakanputun on page 75 of the Codex Perez.

[3] Katun 8 Ahau recurred approximately every 256 years, and for a thousand years every time a katun of this name occurred, the Itzá were driven from their homes, no matter where they were living at the time. Late in the Seventh Century A.D. they were expelled from Chichen Itzá after their first occupation of that city. In the middle of the Ninth Century they were driven out of Chakanputun. At the end of the Twelfth Century they were again driven from Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel. About the middle of the Fifteenth Century Mayapan was sacked and destroyed; and strangely enough it was again in a Katun 8 Ahau at the end of the Seventeenth Century that the Spaniards conquered the last Itzá stronghold at Tayasal, which was the end of this remarkable nation.

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12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when the Itzá men again abandoned their homes because of the treachery[1] of Hunac Ceel, because of the banquet[2] with the people of Izamal.[3] For thirteen folds of katuns they had dwelt there, when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire[4] of the Itzá.[5]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau was when the land of Ich-paa[6] Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel.[7]/ p.76 C
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when there was fighting with stones at Ich-paa Mayapan because of the seizure of the fortress. They broke down the city wall because of the joint government in the city of Mayapan.[8]
6 Ahau.

[1] Maya, *keban-than,* variously defined as treachery, treason, plot, conspiracy, to accuse falsely and to slander. Hence the Itzá may have been driven out because of some false accusation that Hunac Ceel made concerning them.

[2] Maya, *uahaluah,* literally an occasion when there is an abundance of bread for everyone. Brinton's translation of the term as a banquet seems appropriate, and it accords with the Itzá legend of the wedding feast from which the bride was stolen. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[3] Here the Maya word, Ah Itzmal, could be equally well translated as the ruler of Izamal.

[4] Maya, *u ɔabal u natob.* This a passive form of the expression, *ɔa-naat,* which we find on page 30, and which is applied to the questionnaire of the chiefs in Chapter IX. The primary meaning of *naat* is to understand something; and the Motul dictionary also defines it as "to foretell by conjectures and prophecy in this manner," although the translator has not found the expression employed in this sense in any Maya text.

[5] There are a number of references in Maya literature to the episode so briefly recorded here. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[6] Ich-paa, literally: within the walls.

[7] Evidently the Itzá were able to regain their power forty years after the great disaster.

[8] Katun 8 Ahau ended 1457-1460. The reference is to the well-known destruction of the capital in which the Cocom and Xiu families had long governed the rest of the country. The Xius, whose power had been inferior to that of the Cocoms, organized a conspiracy among the subject chiefs, killed most of the Cocom family and destroyed the city. Subsequently northern Yucatan was divided among a number of petty states. *Cf.* Landa, 1928, p. 82.

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4 Ahau was when the pestilence occurred; it was when the vultures entered the houses[1] within the fortress.[2]

2 Ahau was when the eruption of pustules occurred. It was smallpox.

13 Ahau was when the rain-bringer died. It was the sixth year. The year-count was to the east. It was <the year> 4 Kan. Pop was set to the east. . . . It was the <fif>teenth <day of the month> Zip. 9 Imix was the day when the rain-bringer, Napot Xiu, died. It was the year of our Lord 158.[3]

11 Ahau was when the mighty men arrived from the East. They were the ones who first brought <disease>[4] here to our land, <the land of> us who
p.77 C are Maya, in thc year 1513.[5]/

9 Ahau was when Christianity began, when baptism occurred. It was in this katun that Bishop Toral arrived here also. It was when the hangings ceased in the year of our Lord 1546.[6]

7 Ahau was when Bishop de Landa died.[7]

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

[1] Maya, *oc-na-kuchil*. This expression is a stereotyped one employed as a synonym for pestilence.

[2] The Maya term, *ich-paa*, was one of the names for Mayapan, but that city was now destroyed.

[3] The episode referred to was the murder of the "rain-bringer" Napot Xiu, *halach-uinic* of Mani, by Nachi Cocom at a town called Otzmal in the latter's territory. Following a severe drought Napot Xiu started on a pilgrimage to the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá to make an offering of human victims to the rain-god. Being obliged to pass through Nachi Cocom's territory, the pilgrims stopped at Otzmal where they were entertained and subsequently murdered by the Cocom ruler. *Cf.* Morley 1920, page 478; Landa 1928, page 114. Here the chronology of the event is badly confused. It occurred in 1536 in a year 8 Cauac, while the year 4 Kan cited here began in 1545. We can only conclude that our Maya historian confused the time of the Otzmal murder with some similar occurrence which took place in the latter year. The number 158 appears to be an error of the Maya compiler.

One phrase left untranslated here, *he tun te na cici pahool*, is rendered by Martínez as follows: *"cesó de llevarse la cuenta del katun de los anos;"*

[4] The present writer has followed the translation given here by both Brinton and Martínez, but the Maya expression *y-ah-talzah-ul* simply means "those who brought something or someone." *Cf.* San Buenaventura 1888, f. 27 v. As previously noted, an epidemic of smallpox swept through Yucatan in Katun 2 Ahau, and it may have been brought by the party of Spaniards who were shipwrecked and cast on the east coast in 1511 (Landa 1928, p. 34). The Tizimin chronicle states that white men first came in tun 13 of Katun 2 Ahau (Martínez 1927, p. 17).

[5] This date recalls the statement on page 81 that the Spaniards seized Campeche in 1513.

[6] Katun 9 Ahau covered approximately the twenty years following 1556 or 1559, according to which of the two chronological correlations we accept. It was in this katun that the conversion of the country took place, although efforts in this direction began a decade previously. Bishop Toral arrived in 1562. The hangings referred to here were probably the result of the Indian uprising of 1546 in the region of Valladolid.

[7] Landa died on April 29, 1579.

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XX

(THE SECOND CHRONICLE)[1]

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when occurred the birth of Pauahs, when the rulers descended.[2]

Thirteen katuns they reigned; thus they were named while they ruled.

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when they descended; the great descent and the little descent they were called.[3]

Thirteen katuns they reigned. So they were called. While they were settled, thirteen were their settlements.[4]

4 Ahau was the katun when they sought and discovered Chichen Itzá. There it was that miraculous things were performed for them by their lords. Four divisions they were, when the four divisions of the nation, as they were called, went forth. From Kincolahpeten in the east one division went forth. From Nacocob in the north one division came forth. But one division came forth from Holtun Zuyua in the west. One division came forth from Four-peaked Mountain, Nine Mountains is the name of the land.[5]/ p.78 C

[1] The following is a chant or song rather than an actual chronicle, and the events recorded are not set in chronological order. Nevertheless it has usually been included with the Maya chronicles because its content is largely historical. It emphasizes the fact already noted, that most of the historical events recorded by the Maya occurred either in a Katun 4 Ahau or a Katun 8 Ahau. Besides the translations already cited, Tozzer has also translated this passage (Tozzer 1920, p. 131).

[2] Part of the text here is corrupt: *paua haen cuh u yahauoob,* and has been changed to *pauah emci u yahauoob,* to obtain the reading given above. For the Pauah or Pauah-tun, see page 110, note 4. Chichen Itzá was once ruled by Chac-xib-chac, a name associated with Pauahtun. *Cf.* page 67.

Mr. T. A. Willard has made a study of this important passage and translates it: "In 4 Ahau, the name of the katun, were born (again) those who had been destroyed by water (*i.e.* the flood or the rain)." The word *cuh* may be intended for *cah*, the town which was destroyed; *pa* could mean to destroy, and *ha*, water, either flood or rain. We know that the old Maya era with which the Initial Series dates began was a day 4 Ahau, and we have seen both from the creation story in Chapter X and from page 74 of the Dresden Codex that according to the Maya the world was once destroyed by water.

[3] "In former times they called the East *Cenial* (*ɔe-emal*), the Little Descent, and the West *Nohenial* (*noh-emal*), the Great Descent. The reason they give for this is that on the east of this land a few people descended, and on the west a great many; and with that syllable they understand little or much, to the east and the west; and that few people came from one direction and many from another." Lizana 1893, ff. 3 and 4, apud Brinton 1882, page 182.

[4] There was a tradition that Yucatan was divided into thirteen provinces or divisions in ancient times. *Cf.* Avendano apud Appendix D.

[5] Like the typical Nahua tribe, the Maya nation was composed of four main divisions. As we shall see in the next chronicle, when Mayapan was destroyed, the head-chief Tutul Xiu went out with his chiefs and with the "four divisions of the nation." It is not impossible that the system was a Nahua innovation. Here it is suggested that this method of organization was the result of the amalgamation of four different peoples into one nation.

The places of origin are not fully identified. We have discussed Zuyua on page 88, note 1. *Holtun* may mean a stone gate. For "Nine Mountains, see page 64, note 3. Kincolah-peten is mentioned on page 132.

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4 Ahau was the katun when the four divisions were called <together>. The four divisions of the nation, they were called, when they descended. They became lords when they descended upon Chichen Itzá. The Itzá were they then called.

Thirteen katuns they ruled, and then came the treachery by Hunac Ceel. Their town was abandoned and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul,[1] as it is called.

4 Ahau was the katun when their souls cried out!

Thirteen katuns they ruled in their misery!

8 Ahau was the katun when occurred the arrival of the remainder of the Itzá, as they were called. They arrived, and there their reign endured in Chakanputun.

13 Ahau was the katun when they founded the town of Mayapan, the Maya men, as they were called.

8 Ahau was when their town was abandoned and they were scattered throughout the entire district. In the sixth katun after they were dispersed, then they ceased to be called Maya.[2]

11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the Maya men ceased to be called Maya. They were called Christians; their entire province <became subject> to St. Peter and the reigning King <of Spain>.[3]

XXI

(THE THIRD CHRONICLE)[4]

A record of the katuns for the Itzá, called the Maya katuns.

12 Ahau.

[1] Avendaño reports a pond named Tan-xuluc-mul a short distance west of Lake Peten. Above it towered a high hill crowned by a ruined building in which a noted idol was said to be worshipped. This would indicate that some of the Itzá at least migrated to Tayasal at this time (Means 1917, p. 128).

[2] The reference here is to the destruction of Mayapan in Katun 8 Ahau. Counting this katun as the first, 11 Ahau, the katun of the actual Spanish conquest, was the sixth.

[3] R. B. Weitzel considers the preceding a presentation of the Nahua penetration of the peninsula of Yucatan, and if we are to consider the so-called arrival of Kukulcan (perhaps the introduction of the Quetzalcoatl cult) a Nahua intrusion, some support for this opinion will be found in the prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 161.

His suggestion that a folk-song of this kind is the original form of a Maya chronicle is not unreasonable. It is indeed possible that the other chronicles were later compilations made from the material found in such songs. The prophecies would also furnish historical data. Such a hypothesis would explain the long sequences of katuns in the chronicles for which there are no historical entries (Weitzel 1931, p. 323).

[4] Of the five chronicles found in the Books of Chilam Balam this is the most puzzling. Much of its material is found in the others, but the dates and sequence of events are different. Here Hunac Ceel is said to have lived prior to the destruction of Chakanputun, and the fall of Mayapan is placed in Katun 1 Ahau, three katuns prior to its well established date in Katun 8 Ahau. Nevertheless a number of events are dated within the katun with an apparent precision not found in the other chronicles.

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10 Ahau.
8 Ahau.
6 Ahau was when the people of Conil were dispersed.[1]
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau./ p.79 C
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau was when the town of the ruler of Izamal, Kinich Kakmoo[2] as well as Pop-hol Chan was destroyed by Hunac Ceel.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau was when the remainder of the Itzá were driven out of Chichen. It was the third tun of <Katun> 1 Ahau when Chichen was depopulated.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was the katun when the remainder of the Itzá founded their town, coming forth from beneath the trees and bushes at Tan-Xuluc-Mul, as it was called. They came out and established the land of Zaclactun Mayapan,[3] as it was called. In the seventh tun of Katun 8 Ahau, this was the katun when Chakanputun perished at the hands of Kak-u-pacal and Tec Uilu.[4]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.

[1] Alternative translation: when the merchants were dispersed. This might be a reference to some occasion when foreign merchants were driven from the country. Brinton's translation, "the well-dressed ones" is based on a slight error by Berendt in copying the original manuscript. He wrote *ah oni* for *ah coni*.

[2] Kin-ich Kak-moo, lit. sun-eyed fiery macaw, was a sort of sun-god whose rays descended and consumed sacrifices to him. This deity, whose idol was at Izamal, was a protector against disease (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, Chap. 8).

[3] The place-name Zaclactun has survived only in that of the hacienda of Salactun in the district of Izamal (Berendt: Nombres propios en lengua Maya, f. 73 v.).

[4] We find the names of these leaders mentioned in the historical reports of the first Spanish settlers. "The inhabitants of the said city (Izamal) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and Uilo, valorous captains of the Itzá who were the people who founded Mayapan" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269). "In the course of time the inhabitants of the said town (Motul) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and one hundred valorous captains formerly of the city of Mayapan" (*Ibid*, I, p. 119). Evidently the fall of Chakanputun, the establishment of Mayapan and the Itzá conquest of the important cities of northern Yucatan all took place within a single generation. Kak-u-pacal, literally fiery glance, was deified and worshipped at the time of the Spanish Conquest (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, Chap. 8).

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7 Ahau.

p.80 C 5 Ahau was when foreigners arrived to eat men./ They were called foreigners without skirts.[1] The land was not depopulated by them.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau was when the district of Tancah Mayapan, as it was called, was depopulated. It was in the first tun of Katun 1 Ahau that the head-chief Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and the four divisions[2] of the town. This was the katun when the men of Tancah[3] were dispersed and the chiefs of the town were scattered.

12 Ahau. The stone was taken at Otzmal.

10 Ahau. The stone was taken at Zizal.

8 Ahau. The stone was taken at Kancaba.

6 Ahau. The stone was taken at Hunacthi.

4 Ahau. The stone was taken at Atikuh. This was the katun when the pestilence occurred. It was in the fifth tun of Katun 4 Ahau.[4]

2 Ahau. The stone was taken at Chacalna.

13 Ahau. The stone was taken at Euan.

11 Ahau. On the first day the stone was taken at Colox-peten.[5]

This was the katun when the rain-bringer died; his name was Napot Xiu.[6] It was in the first tun of 11 Ahau, that was the katun, when the

[1] Brinton and Martinez both consider these invaders to have been Caribs because of the cannibalism and nudity mentioned. Down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century Mosquito Indians in canoes from Rio Tinto, Honduras, were still making raids on the east coast of Yucatan. (MS. map of Yucatan by Juan de Dios Gonsalez, 1766.) It seems likely that similar incursions took place in pre-Columbian times. The skirt (Maya pic) referred to is certainly a woman's garment. Possibly *ppic* is intended. This was the *sobre carga*, a bundle carried above the usual traveler's pack. *Cf.* Motul.

[2] *Cf.* p. 139, note 5.

[3] Tancah may refer to the portion of Mayapan lying outside the walls.

[4] *Cf.* p. 133, note 11.

[5] This taking of the stone evidently refers to the Maya custom of setting up a monument every 7200 days to commemorate the katun that has just passed. *Cf.* Landa 1929, pages 94-98. Avendaño states that the thirteen katuns were ascribed to each of thirteen provinces in turn. *Cf.* Appendix D.

A parallel passage found on page 95 of the Codex Perez ascribes these ceremonies as follows: 1 Ahau, Izamal; 12 Ahau, Zizal; 10 Ahau, Kulche; 8 Ahau, Hunucma; 6 Ahau, Chacalna; 4 Ahau, Tiix-Kulche; 2 Ahau, Euan; 13 Ahau, Colox-peten; and states that in 11 Ahau when the Spaniards arrived no stone was taken. Izamal, Hunucma and Zizal are well-known towns. Euan is in the district of Izamal. Hunacthi is said to be in the Province of Mani (Molina Solis 1896, p. 219). Otzmal is now a hacienda two leagues south of Sotula, and Kancaba is the name of a hacienda in the district of Valladolid (Berendt, Nom, prop. de Yuc. f. 55 v.).

[6] In the Mani, Tizimin and first Chumayel chronicles this event was placed in Katun 13 Ahau but confused with some unknown episode which occurred in a year 4 Kan, presumably 1545 (*Cf.* p. 138, note 3). The year 4 Kan fell in Katun 11 Ahau, and in this chronicle the actual death of the rain-bringer is ascribed to the latter katun.

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Spaniards first arrived here in our land.[1] It was in the seventh tun of Katun 11 Ahau that Christianity then began;[2] it was in the year A. D. 1519.[3]

9 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop Francisco Toral first arrived. He arrived in the sixth tun of Katun 9 Ahau.[4]

7 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop de Landa died. Then another bishop also arrived. p.81 C

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

On this 18th day of August, 1766, occurred a hurricane. I have made a record of it in order that it may be seen how many years it will be before another one will occur.

On this 20th day of January, 1782, there was an epidemic of inflammation here in the town of Chumayel. The swelling began at the neck and then descended. <It spread> from the little ones to the adults, until it swept the entire house, once it was introduced. The remedy was sour ashes[5] and lemons or the young *Siempre vive.*[6] It was the year of '81 when it began. After that there was a great drought also. There was scarcely any rain. The entire

[1] "Verbi gratia. The Indians state that the Spaniards completed their arrival at the city of Merida in the year A.D. 1541, which was exactly the first year of the era 11 Ahau" (Landa 1929, p. 98). The truth of this statement is open to question, but it agrees with the date mentioned in the present chronicle.

[2] In these chronicles Christianity is usually said to have begun in Katun 9 Ahau. The present reference may be to the arrival of Fr. Villalpando in 1546. On page 145 we shall see the statement that the missionaries arrived in 1545.

[3] In the Books of Chilam Balam the year 1519 is given an importance out of all proportion to the fact that it was the year when Cortez landed and remained for a short time in Cozumel. On page 81 we have seen this date associated with a treaty with the Spaniards which must have occurred much later; again on page 84 we have seen the foundation of Merida and that of the Convent of San Francisco ascribed to the same year.

The Maya text is not divided into sentences, and the present translation is based on a sentence arrangement which changes the meaning materially from that of Brinton's translation, which is as follows: "The eleventh ahau: in the time of its beginning, the stone of Coloxpeten was taken; in this katun died Apula Napotxiu, in the first year of the eleventh ahau; it was also in this katun that the Spaniards first arrived here in this land, in the seventh year of the eleventh ahau katun; also Christianity began in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, the year of our Lord 1519" (Brinton 1882, pp. 171-172). Although it is possible that Brinton's rendition is the correct one, preference is given to the sentence arrangement given above, because Maya writers usually place a temporal phrase or clause beginning with the particle *ti* before the main clause of the sentence. Indeed Dr. Andrade reports that in present-day spoken Maya a temporal clause with *ti* precedes the main clause.

[4] Bishop Toral arrived in Yucatan in 1562.

[5] Possibly a lye solution is meant.

[6] Maya, *zizal-xiu*, the *Bryophyllum pinnatun* (Lam.) S. Kurz. It is called *Siempre vive, Admirable* and *Sinverguenza* in Spanish (Roys 1931, p. 310).

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forest was burned <with the heat>, and the forest <trees> died This is the
p.82 C record which I have written down, I, Don Juan Josef Hoil.[1] (Rubrica.)/

Chumayel, June 28th, 1858, was when I made a loan to Chinuh Balam.
p.83 C I, Pedro Briceño. (Rubrica.)[2]/

XXII
(A BOOK OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

(1. Frontispiece.)

p.84 C

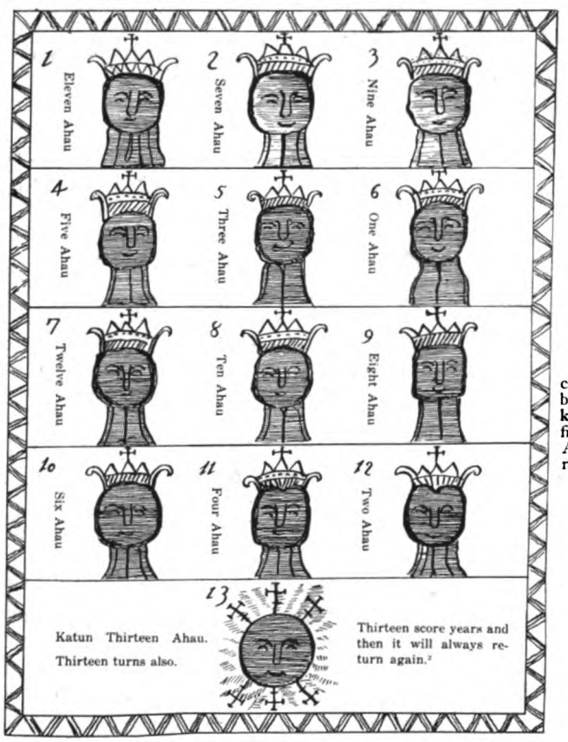

FIG. 29—The lords of the thirteen katuns. (Chumayel MS.)./

We have here a picture of the thirteen Lords of the Katuns. The blurred faces may signify that they are blindfolded. The crowns, crosses and manner of drawing are purely European, but they doubtless represent the idols set up in honor of each katun. Unfortunately no pre-Conquest representation of these figures has come down to us. *Cf.* Landa 1929, pp. 94-100, also Appendix D. After thirteen Katuns the same series will always recur.

[3]Today, Wednesday, April 4th, 1832, I have recorded the name of Maria Isidora, daughter of Andres Balam and Maria Juana Xicum.[4]

Today, Sunday, December 22d, 1833, I have recorded the name of Tomas, son of Andres Balam and Maria Xicum. God-father: José Maria Castañeda. God-mother: Manuela Marin.

Cura

. . . Justo Balam, Secretary. (Rubrica)

[1] Juan Josef Hoil is considered the compiler of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.
[2] This note is made in a different hand from the usual text of the Chumayel. The date might be 1818, 1838 or 1858. The last has been chosen as the most probable.
[3] Written in a different hand on a blank page.
[4] Women retain their maiden names after marriage in Yucatan.

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[1]This is the day on which I purchased the book: July 1st, 1838. It cost me one peso in <my> poverty. This was the price <I paid> to the Señor Padre: <one> peso. This is the year of the purchase . . . I have recorded it in order that it might be known that at this time it passed into my hands by purchase.

I, Pedro de Alcantara Briceño, resident of San Antonio./ p.85 C

(2. Historical introduction to the katun-prophecies.)

In Katun 13 Ahau the ship of the foreigners first appeared at Campeche. 1541 was the name of the year when they brought the news that the Maya men were to enter into Christianity, when the land of Tantun Cuzamil was established. They were there for half a year. Then they went to the seaport to the west and the people of Chikin-Chel[2] were put under tribute. It was the year 1542 when the district of Tihoo, Ichcanziho,[3] was established, in Katun 11 Ahau. The first governor was the Adelantado Don Francisco Montejo who was to appoint subjects[4] for the foreigners, mighty men. In the year 1542 tribute was introduced. A. D. 1545 was the year when the Padres arrived, four years after the arrival of the foreigners. Then it was that men were baptised from town to town by <the Padres>. When they first arrived the towns were distributed among them.

1544 was the year . . . six hundred years and seventy-five years after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated,[5] after its settlements were depopulated. <It was> eight hundred years and seventy years after the town of Uxmal was depopulated, after the people were driven out of its towns.[6]

In the year 1537, on a day named 9 Cauac, was when the nobles gathered at the town of Mani to discuss fully whether they should go and bring the foreigners to their settlements because the head-chief had been killed.[7] These

[1] Written in still another hand.

[2] Chikin-chel (lit. west woods) was the native province immediately to the south of Rio de Lagartos. Its chief city was Chauachá, a name also given to the entire province (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 7).

[3] Merida was founded on the site of an ancient city named Ichcanziho in the older narratives. At the time of the Spanish conquest it was called Tihoo, which still continues to be the Maya name of the capital.

[4] Maya *chinam*, a word probably borrowed from the Nahuatl. It is defined by Pio Perez as "town," but it can also mean subjects, as in the *Carta de diez caciques: "a chinamob tulacal cech ah-tepale,"* "all the subjects of Your Majesty" (Martínez, Ed. 1930, p. 59). The reference is probably to the establishment of *encomiendas*, but the towns may be meant.

[5] Here probably a tun of 360 days is meant instead of a year of 365 days, although the latter is stated. No mention of the inhabitants of Chichen Itzá being driven out at this time has yet been noted.

[6] This suggests the conquest of some ancient city at Uxmal long before the Xiu occupation of the site, but we know nothing of either conquerors or conquered.

[7] In spite of the statement as it stands we believe that by 9 Cauac the name of the year is intended. As we have previously noted, the Xiu head-chief was murdered in a year 8 Cauac which lasted from the middle of 1536 to the middle of 1537. The following year was 9 Kan. This paragraph has been translated and there is a full discussion of the matter in Morley 1920, pages 478-487. Yucatan had been abandoned by the Spaniards, and in 1537 a small expedition under Godoy returned to Champoton (Molina Solis 1896, p. 551).

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were their names: Ah Moochan Xiu, Nahau Ez, Ah Ɔun Chinab, Napoot Cupul, Napot Che, Nabatun Itza, Ah-kin[1] Euan from Caucel, Nachan Uc from Ɔibilkal[2] Ah-kin Ucan from Ekob, Nachi Uc, Ah-kul Koh, Nachan Motul, Nahau Coyi. These were the men of importance who talked of bringing the foreigners to their town, because the head-chief of the town, Ah <Ɔun>[3] Xiu was killed
p.86 C at Otzmal./

10 Kan[4] was the year-bearer when the seeker for a town passed. He was called Montejo, he who wrote down the towns. This was the year when the strangers in the land, the foreigners who ate annonas, passed. They were the first to distribute the towns. It was when the foreigners arrived that the "receivers" received them.[5] When they assembled at Campeche, when their ships came forth, then the nobles went to give gifts to them. There were thirteen "receivers of the foreigners."[6] After that they came to Ichcanziho. 9 Ahau was the katun.[7]

✠ <This is> a record of the wisdom of the book in which is set down the course of the katun. Here it is published in the land of Nitunɔala, Chactemal, Tahuaymil, Holtun Itzá, Chichinila,[8] in order that the charge of the course of the katun may be known, of each katun, whether it is good or bad. Thus it is written by the Holy Writer, the Evangelist, it is the word of the Lord of heaven and earth . . . it comes from on high. This was given to

[1] Ah-kin Euan, the priest Euan.

[2] Montejo established his headquarters for a time at Ɔibilkal, four leagues west or southwest of Merida, just prior to capturing the latter site in 1541. The mention here of an emissary from this town and the neighboring Caucel indicates that the assembly took place in 1541 and not in 1537. Molina Solis states that an embassy was sent from Mani to Ɔibilkal at this time (Molina Solis 1896, p. 624).

[3] Where the edge of the page is torn, the title or official name of Tutul Xiu has been supplied from the Crónica de Oxkutzcab, page 66, apud Morley 1920, page 507. Here it is given as Ah Ɔun Tutul Xiu.

[4] The year 10 Kan (*lahun Kan*) began in 1525 prior to Montejo's arrival and could not recur for fifty two years. Probably 13 Kan (*oxlahun Kan*) is intended. The latter year began in July 1541.

[5] Nakuk Pech tells of accompanying such an embassy to the Spaniards at Campeche (Brinton 1882, p. 219).

[6] The council at Mani which discussed going to meet the Spaniards was also composed of thirteen members. Possibly they were to be the actual ambassadors. Among the Maya thirteen had a symbolic meaning.

[7] The events mentioned here occurred in Katun 11 Ahau and not in 9 Ahau.

[8] Chactemal and Tahuaymil are both names given to the native province better known as Chetumal. It lies just north of British Honduras. *Ah-uaymi* is defined as an animal resembling the opossum (Motul). Holtun Itzá might be translated as "the gate of the Itzá." The district was the embarking point for considerable commerce with what is now the Republic of Honduras. *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, II, page 179. There is a town named Chichimila a few miles south of Valladolid. There was also a town of Chactemal, or "Chetemal," located by Cogolludo (Bk. 9, Chap. 6) on what is now Chetumal Bay, three leagues east of the mouth of the Rio Hondo, called *Nohukum* by the Maya. This town was the capital of the native province of the same name and the residence of Nachan Can, the ruler or one of the rulers of the province (Herrera 1726, Dec. 3, book 4, chap. 2).

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them . . . at the beginning of the land, at the beginning of our humanity . . . the true word in Holy Writ, in the book, the *Reportorio*.[1] It has no error; the seal[2] on the book[3] was carefully surveyed by them. These were the four lineages from heaven, the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven,[4] the head-chiefs, the rulers of the land: Zacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hochtun Poot, Ah Mex-Cuc Chan.[5]

Behold, within seven score years Christianity will be introduced amid the clamor of the rulers, those who violently seize land <during> the katun. Then suddenly appears the wise man; then there is the examination of the katun.[6] Miserable is the face of Chac Chuen Coyi.[7] Then the Lord of the Church shall come. It is in the middle of the town of Tihoo.[8] It shall come from the East, from the North, from the West, from the South; the word of Christianity shall be heard in the 17th tun in order that Christianity may truly arise./ The Padres shall arrive; the Bishop shall arrive, the Holy Inquisition, the word of God. <These things> shall be accomplished. No one shall cause them to cease. Amen. p.87 C

(3. The katun-prophecies.)[9]

The Chapter of the year, the katun.

First: 11 Ahau, when the foreigners first established the country.

The first: Katun 11 Ahau was the beginning of the katun-count, the first katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo when the foreigners arrived. Red were the beards of the children of the sun, the bearded ones from

[1] Written "Repuldoryo" in the text. Evidently the writer knew little Spanish.

[2] The idea of a seal on a book was probably taken from the Spaniards, but the Maya were familiar with clay stamps used to decorate pottery and possibly also to mark designs on the human body.

[3] This is the book mentioned on pages 13 and 29 of the Tizimin MS. and on page 115 of the Codex Perez. This book is stated to have been either written or copied on a day 11 Chuen, 18 Zac, February 15th, 1544.

[4] *Cf.* page 131, note 3.

[5] Mention has already been made in this book of Holtun Balam and Ah Mex-cuc. They appear to have been contemporaries of Hunac Ceel (*Cf.* pp. 69 and 74). Zacal Puc is probably the "Cacal Puc" referred to in the famous Valladolid law-suit of 1618 (*Cf.* Brinton 1882, p. 117). He was one of several leaders who came to found towns at Chichen Itzá, Bacalar and on the coast of Yucatan to the north. It is specifically stated that these men came from Mexico, and that they ruled in Yucatan for a long time. The period of their arrival is not recorded here, but we find the statement elsewhere that the Maya had been subject to certain Mexicans six hundred years prior to the Spanish Conquest (Aguilar 1892, p. 92).

[6] *Cf.* p. 89, note 4. The reference is to the catechism which the chiefs were obliged to undergo every katun to prove that they held their positions legitimately.

[7] Nothing is known of this personage. Coyi is a well-known family name among the Maya.

[8] The Maya name for Merida.

[9] Here we have the second and later series of katun-prophecies described in Appendix D.

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the east, when they arrived here in our land. The strangers to the land are white men, red men,[1] . . . a beginning of carnal sin[2] . . . Oh Itzá! . . . make ready. There cometh a white circle[3] in the sky, the fair-skinned boy from

FIG. 30—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

Each prophecy of this series is headed by an illustration similar to this one. It consists of a crowned head, and the crown is surmounted by a cross. It evidently represents the so-called "ruler" mentioned in a number of the prophecies, but there is some uncertainty as to the function of this personage in connection with each new katun. In the Tizimin (p. *22*) and Mani (Codex Perez, p. *120*) manuscripts we read of a certain Katun 8 Ahau that "the ruler of the people of Uxmal was painted." It is possible that this means that a picture of this ruler headed the prophecy for the katun; but Katun 8 Ahau "was established" at Izamal and not Uxmal according to the present series of katun-prophecies.

heaven, the white wooden standard[4] that shall descend from heaven. A quarter of a league, a league away,[5] it approaches. You shall see the dawn of a new day, you shall see the *mut*-bird.[6] Oh! how there shall be intercession for us when they come. There shall come multitudes who gather stone and wood,[7] the worthless rabble[8] of the town. Fire shall flame up at the tips of their hands. There shall be sufficient poison and also ropes to hang their lords.[9] Oh Itzá! Your worship is of no avail with the true God who has descended. It is false in word and teaching. Niggard is the katun; scanty are its rains. Who would be the priest, who would be the prophet who would understand

[1] A reference to the red beards of some of the Spaniards.

[2] Maya, *nicté*, literally the Plumeria flower, and figuratively the carnal sin for which it was the symbol. *Cf.* page 104, note 15.

[3] Here instead of the Maya word for circle, a ring is drawn. There is a stereotyped expression in Maya meaning the same thing: *zac petahom canal*, which frequently occurs in the prophecies and is usually associated with drought (p. 164). Here, as in Christian legends, it appears to be a halo encircling a celestial vision, the child Jesus, "the fair-skinned boy."

[4] Maya, *uaom che*. The Spanish missionaries translated this as cross (Villagutierre 1701, p. 37). It was probably the symbolic tree of Maya mythology. According to the prophecy of Chilam Balam a bird was perched on it (*Cf.* p. 167).

[5] Literally, the distance a cry can be heard, the distance after which the traveler sets down his pack and rests.

[6] Maya, *mut*, may mean either news, or an unidentified bird of the Cracidæ family (Maler 1908, p. 132). In Chol, Chontal and Tzotzil *mut* is a general term meaning bird (Stoll 1884, p. 54). *Cf.* page 100, note 4.

[7] Probably a reference to the construction of Spanish cities and churches with native labor.

[8] Maya, *zac ibteelob*; the translation is doubtful, but certainly it is a term of contempt. Compare the use of the same expression on pages 155 and 156.

[9] Alternative translation: their fathers.

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it when he came to Tancah Mayapan <or> to Chichen Itzá? Alas! The <burden> laid upon the younger brothers;[1] it came in Katun 7 Ahau[2] through necessity, through misery, from the tribute, from the time it was first imposed upon you down to the tribute which you shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow in your children's time. Prepare yourselves to endure the burden of misery which is to come among your villages. This katun which has been established is/ a katun of misery, a katun of the importunity[3] of the p.88 C devil, when it is established in Katun 11 Ahau. Receive your guests, the bearded men, the bearers of the sign of God. Your elder brothers, the men of Tantun,[4] come. They shall ask of you an offering to God with them. Their priest was named Ah Miznilacpe. Their faces were <like> the puma, <like> Antichrist, on that day which is to come, on that day which confronts you, alas, in much misery, <my> sons. This is the word of our Lord: "It shall burn on earth, there shall be a white circle in the sky, in that katun in time to come." It is the true word from the mouth of God the Father. Alas, very heavy is the burden of the katun that shall be established in Christianity. When it comes there shall be slavish talk, slavish . . . servile men. When it comes, there shall be . . . you shall see. There shall come the head-chiefs . . . the two day occupants of the thrones and mats . . . in the <five> unlucky days at the end of the year, in the days of penance. This only is the end of the word of God. 11 is the cup[5] <of the katun>. The news <regarding> the aspect of its reign is gathered, all its teachings, all its words. You shall die; you shall live; but you may not understand the word of the living book. Ah Maypan[6] was his only son, his justice. He was put in prison, he was taken out, then he was bound and whipped. After that, when he was seated, the son was admonished. There was a hat on his head and sandals on his feet. A cord was tied about his waist when he came./[7] p.89 C

The second <katun>.

Katun 9 Ahau is the second katun of the count. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Then it was that the foreigners to the land received their tribute. Then it was that the fathers of our souls arrived. The scattered

[1] A term probably applied to the natives by the Toltec invaders. *Cf.* prophecy of Chilam Balam, page 169, note 1.

[2] Maya, *uuc Ahau*; 11 Ahau (*buluc Ahau*) appears to be intended.

[3] Maya, *u tza cizin*, a phrase often encountered. *Tza* is to harass with an importunate demand or with a law-suit.

[4] *Cf.* page 168, note 3.

[5] A figure of speech meaning the coefficient of the day Ahau on which the katun ends.

[6] Possibly *Ah Mayapan*, the man of Mayapan, is intended.

[7] We have already noted a similar distortion of Christian teaching in these pages. *Cf.* page 107, note 2 and Appendix G.

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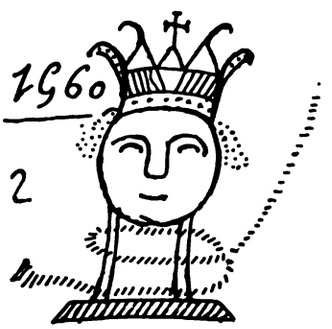

FIG. 31—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

divisions of the towns under their local chieftains[1] were gathered together. They began to teach the holy faith and baptise us.[2] The foundations of the holy Cathedral were laid, the public house of God, the widely extended house of God the Father. Then the seven sacraments were established to take away <our sins> . . . There began to be much labor in the center of the town . . . the misery of the world. Then there was set up . . . the word of God, which shall also come from the mouth of God the Father. Then the fair complexioned boy[3] arrives, he comes from heaven. The Virgin, as she is called, is the mother of the seven planets.[4]

FIG. 32—The seven planets. (Chumayel MS.).

It was in the ninth year of <Katun> 9 Ahau that they served[5] Christianity, just as it was written by the prophet Chilam Balam on the stone of nine seals in heaven. 13 Eɔnab[6] was the day there in heaven as well as here on earth. <There was> the heavenly staff, the heavenly fan.[7] The cord descended, the word of God which came from on high all over the entire world. Nine was its plate, nine was its cup. Oh make ready, Itzá. Nowhere shall

[1] Maya, *hool-poop*, literally "he who sits at the head of the mat." These scattered hamlets were destroyed by the missionaries after the Conquest and their inhabitants forced to live together in the towns where they could more easily be christianized. The practise was criticized in the reports of the encomenderos, as it caused a serious diminution of the native population. *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, II, page 187.

[2] Maya, *yocol haa tac polob*, literally "the water entered to our heads."

[3] The image of the child Jesus, and not the Virgin, as the wording of the text might suggest.

[4] Maya, *chachac ek*, the red stars. By *chac ek* the morning star is usually meant, probably the planet Venus. In the Venus table of the Dresden Codex the glyph for red is always prefixed to the Venus-sign. Here, however, the seven planets of medieval astronomy are plainly intended: Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

[5] Maya, *taninah*. The translator is not familiar with this word. The translation given is based on its resemblance to *tanlah*, meaning to serve.

[6] It has already been noted on page 125, note 4, that the year preceding 1 Cuauac ended on a day 13 Eɔnab, which could have fallen in 1568. This would be approximately the ninth year after the date given above as the beginning of Katun 9 Ahau.

[7] On pages 8 and 9 of the Crónica de Oxkutzcab the Tutul Xiu ruler holds a fan as a symbol of authority.

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you offer <provocation> to your guests. You shall give them food to eat, and they shall also give you food to eat when they come./ p.90 C

The third <katun>.

Katun 7 Ahau is the third katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[1] Yaxal Chac[2] is the face <of the katun in the heavens>[3] to its ruler, to its wise man,[4] while the drum <resounds> below and the rattle <resounds> above. The Plumeria is its bread, the Plumeria[5] is its water, the burden <of the katun>.[6] Then begins the lewdness of the wise men,[7] the beckoning of carnal sin, the beckoning of the katun. The katun begins to limp; it is all over the world. <Carnal sin> is its garment, carnal sin is its face, carnal sin is its . . . carnal sin is its sandal, carnal sin is its head, carnal sin is its gait. They twist their necks, they twist their mouths, they wink the eye, they slaver at the mouth, at men, women, chiefs, justices, presiding officers, clerks, choir-masters, <everybody both> great and small.[8] There is no great teaching. Heaven and earth are truly lost to them; they have lost all shame. Then the head-chiefs of the towns, the rulers of the towns, the prophets of the towns, the priests of the Maya men are hanged. Understanding is lost; wisdom is lost. Prepare yourselves, oh Itzá! Your sons shall see the mirth of the katun, the jesting of the katun. Dissolute is the speech, dissolute the face of the rogue to the rulers, to the head-chiefs. Seven is the plate, seven the cup[9]

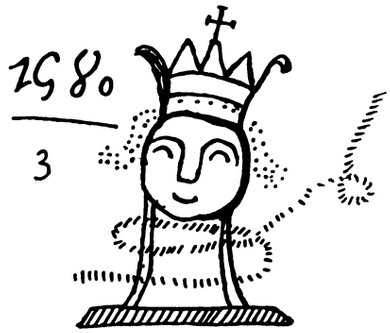

FIG. 33—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

[1] Merida.

[2] Yaxal Chac could be translated: the green rain-god. "Chaac was similarly a giant who taught agriculture, whom they afterward considered the god of bread, of water, of thunder and lightning" (Motul).

[3] Avendaño tells us of similar katun-prophecies in the hieroglyphic books of the Itzá at Tayasal. Each was associated with an "idol," a priest and a locality. The so-called "face of the katun" is evidently that of the god himself as he appears in the heavens, possibly a constellation. Among the gods mentioned in a similar connection with the various katun-prophecies are the familiar names of Ah-Cocah-mut, Itzamna, Kinich Kakmo, Ekchuuah and Lahun Chan. *Cf.* Appendix D. The words supplied here are taken from Codex Perez, page 157 and the Tizimin MS. page 23.

[4] The wise man mentioned here may be the priest of the katun-prophecy.

[5] *Cf.* page 104, note 15.

[6] Supplied from Tizimin page 29.

[7] Landa describes religious festivals at which the most unbridled license prevailed (Landa 1928, p. 156).

[8] One of the conquerors, Juan Farfan, witnessed a number of pagan festivals and tells us that "as they went on dancing and singing, they gave to each of those who danced and sang a small cup <of *balché*> to drink. They gave it to them so frequently that they became drunk with it, and did and said so many extravagant things and made such grimaces that it was a sight to behold" (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 188).

[9] *Cf.* page 149, note 5.

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<of the katun>, it is the word of God. Much hanging <of men> is the
p.91 C charge[1] of the katun./

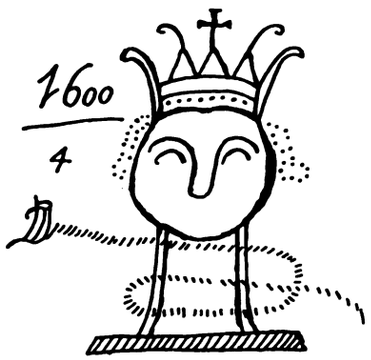

FIG. 34—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The fourth <katun>.

Katun 5 Ahau is the fourth katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo. Harsh is its face, harsh its tidings, to the ruler. There is affliction[2] of the offspring of woman and man, when it comes. Then begins the vexation by the devil in the world. Then <came> the blinding of <the face of the god>,[3] the face of Kauil,[4] in the four changing heavens, the four changing roads.[5] Then hanging comes to the world. The red <rattlesnake>[6] raises its head to bite; the *holil-<och>*[7] raises its head <to bite>. Men and women have few children. Then came . . . the end of the cigar,[8] after the lord of the world was created . . . he heard the dance . . .[9] There is the red flowered thing, the red *xulab*,[10] the red *uayah-cab*,[11] the accessory of the rattle of the giver of our hearts in tribute through misery

[1] The charge, or burden, of the katun was its destiny, usually an unpleasant one.

[2] Maya, *Chibil*, may mean either pain and affliction or being eaten or bitten. Early reports state that ceremonial cannibalism in connection with human sacrifice did not exist in northern Yucatan, but Avendaño ascribes the practise to the Itzá of Tayasal (Means 1917, p. 150).

[3] Supplied from a parallel version of this prophecy (Tizimin, p. 30). We have noted a reference to the blindfolding of a god on page 99, and the Dresden Codex, page 50, contains a picture of a blindfolded god.

[4] Probably the name of a divine patron of the crops. *Kauil* can mean food, and Itzamna-Kauil was a well-known sky-god.

[5] Alternative translation: the four resting places at the four corners of the heavens, like the four corners at the crossroads where travelers set down their loads and rest. The same verb, *hel*, can mean either to change or to rest.

[6] Supplied from Tizimin, page 30. The page is badly water-stained. The Motul dictionary states that there were four varieties of rattlesnakes, red, white, black and yellow.

[7] Literally hole-opossum, *Marmosa gaumeri* Osgood, an opossum which burrows under stones and logs and has a small gray body. Like the other animals mentioned here, it symbolized certain warrior chiefs. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 333, and Appendix F.

[8] *Chamal*, a roll or tube of tobacco for smoking (Motul). The modern Maya believe in four supernatural protectors, the Balams, who move abroad at night. The shooting stars are believed to be glowing stumps of the cigar smoked by the Balams, which they throw away (Brinton 1890, p. 174). *Chamal-ɔutan* is a small comet (Motul).

[9] A space in the text indicates that the Maya compiler found the text he copied illegible. The space is followed by the words *bot* (to pay) and *bat* (hatchet, hail) which are not translated here.

[10] *Xulab*: defined as certain stinging ants (Motul). They move in batallions, have long legs, are found in dry places and destroy the leaves of plants (Pacheco Cruz 1919, p. 50). Their sting caused an eclipse of the moon (Aguilar 1900, p. 83).

[11] *Chac uayah-cab*, described as a red stinging ant which lives underground (Pacheo Cruz 1919, p. 50). The translator does not understand the connection between these insects and the diviners rattle. Compare the mention of "coagulated blood on the red rosette of the rattle" on page 90 of the present work.

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and vexation. It is the opossum chieftain, the fox chieftain, the *ah-pic* chieftain,[1] the <blood->sucking chieftain, the avaricious ones of the town. He is set up perchance, and then it is that your drum is beaten, my younger brother <my> elder brother. He who lies in wait for you on all fours is among you, the *tolil-och*.[2] <It is> his katun. The Plumeria flower is his chair, as he sits on his throne. He is publicly seen in the market-place on his mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the two-day occupant of the mat. They deceive the town, the two town officials, the chieftain opossum and he who lies in wait on all fours. They bring the pestilence, <they are> the cause of . . .; there was little of it formerly. You then called them the Itzá. The rattle of the katun is shaken; there is the treachery of the katun at Tancah Mayapan. There is the great tribute of Zuyua. The kinkajou[3] claws the back of the jaguar amid the affliction of the katun, amid the affliction of the year; they are greedy for dominion. Many hangings are the charge of the katun, when the chiefs of the town are hung there. There is an end to the misery of the Maya men/when p.92 C suddenly the men of Uaymil come to take vengeance on the world.[4]

FIG. 35—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel M.S.)

The fifth katun. 1620.

Katun 3 Ahau was the fifth katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Ek-Cocah-mut[5] was its face to the rulers, to the wise men. Antichrist[6] was its face to the rulers. Fire shall flame up at the horn of the brock-

[1] *Ah-pic* is a species of Hemiptera (Martínez' note to Motul). It is described as a flying cimex, so it appears to be a blood-sucking insect.

[2] The meaning of this expression is uncertain. *Och* is the opossum, and *tolil* difficult to translate in this context. There was a certain dance called *"ix tolil."*

[3] For the figurative use of the word, *kinkajou*, see Appendix F.

[4] Alternative translation: to collect the debts of the world. Uaymil was another name for the native province of Chetumal, or Chactemal, in southeastern Yucatan, just north of what is now British Honduras.

[5] Literally, the Black Cocah-mut. Yax-Cocah-mut was one of the regents of the Muluc Years (Landa 1929, p. 28). The name is spelled Yax-Cocay-mut in the Tizimin MS. (p. 25) which might be translated as "the green fire-fly bird." Avendaño saw at Tayasal a mask set in a stone column which he identified as Ah-Cocah-mut. "I came to recognize it, since I had already read about it in their old papers and had seen it in their Anahtes, which they use, which are books of the barks of trees, polished and covered with lime, in which by painted figures and characters, they have foretold their future events. By which means I knew that there was found in the said Peten Itzá the said idol of Yaxchecab, that of Cocahmut, that of Ytzimna (Itzamna) Kauil, which means "horse of the devil" (Bowditch, unpublished translation p. 67. Avendaño, original MS., f. 29 r.). Yax-Cocah-mut is probably one of the names of Itzamna. None of the hieroglyphic prophecies has survived, but it is evident that the present series follows the original model.

[6] Written "Antachristo" in the text.

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ett at Ichcaanzihoo.[1] The skin of the jaguar shall be spread out in the market-place.[2] The water-tank[3] is its tidings. There are rains of little profit,[4] rains from a rabbit sky,[5] rains from a parched sky, rains from a woodpecker sky, high rains, rains from a vulture sky, crested[6] rains, deer rains. Then descends the thrice raised leaf of the *zil*-palm.[7] There is fighting; there is a year of locusts. The diminished remainder <of the population> is hanged.[8] They are defeated in war.[9] Sad shall be the havoc at the cross-roads.[10] There are the lords of the army;[11] their souls cry out at the opening up of the town . . .[12] Behold, I am Katun 3 Ahau. My town of Ichcaanzihoo is founded. Behold,
p.93 C I am Caesar Augustus.[13] . . . I receive my donation in the heart of the forest/[14]

[1] Possibly a reference to the firing of a pistol, which may have looked like the horn of a brockett or that of a goat to the natives.

[2] Maya, *haylahom u keuel chac-bolay*. This expression evidently has the same figurative meaning as that of *zin balam* (literally "spread the jaguar") which is defined as "to fight or to go to war" (Motul).

[3] The Maya word *pek* primarily means a dog, and among its rather numerous secondary meanings are water-tank, chills and fever, and a certain skin disease. We might conclude that the "tidings," or fortunes, of the katun were chills and fever; but the statement following that it was a period of drought suggests rather that people were obliged to use the stagnant water of the tanks, when the rains failed. It is also quite possible that *pek*, the dog, had a symbolic meaning unknown to us, perhaps merely that the news is bad.

[4] Literally, white or pale profit. "*Zac*, in composition with certain expressions, diminishes their significance and denotes a certain imperfection" (Motul).

[5] The precise significance of these figures of speech is nowhere explained. We find "rain from a rabbit sky" (*thul caan chacil*) associated with a period of drought on page 1 of the Tizimin MS.

[6] Maya *thelen chacil*. *Thilen chacil* would mean interrupted rains.

[7] The *zil* is reported as an unidentified variety of palm (Martínez letter). Its ceremonial significance is unknown, but the Tizimin version of this prophecy treats it as a misfortune (Tizimin MS., p. 30).

[8] *Ox c̄huylah u xuthen*, or *ox c̄huilah xotem*, is a stereotyped phrase which Brinton has translated: "three generations hang there" (on the tree). An alternative translation would be: the diminished remainder are driven far away. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, page 127.

[9] Maya, *ox cuchlahom yal max*, is another stereotyped phrase. *Cuch-chimal* means to be defeated in war, *i. e.* to bear one's shield on one's back in retreat. *Chimal*, however, is a borrowed Nahuatl word, and we find the original Maya expression only in the verb, *maax-cinah*, to employ a shield in defense, and its derivative *maax*, a man who defends himself well with his shield. *Yal max* could be a little shield.

[10] At a time of civil disorder and revolution we found the "havoc" occurring in the courtyards of the nobles (p. 91, note 7). Now, however, there is defeat in war. Possibly the retreating soldiers are ambushed at a cross-road. The Tizimin version adds the detail that flies swarm, presumably over the corpses (Tizimin, p. 30).

[11] Alternative translation: the masters of the katun.

[12] The text is unsatisfactory and the translation here is uncertain. Also the manuscript is water-stained. One mutilated sentence has been left untranslated: "*nomal Ytza e . . . talii.*"

[13] Written "Ceçar Agustoe" in the original. A discussion of the use of this name will be found on page 157, note 2.

[14] There is a break in the text here indicating that one or more pages are missing.

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FIG. 36—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The first <katun>.[1]

Katun 1 Ahau is the seventh[1] katun. The katun is established at Emal.[2] At that time Ix Puc-yola and Ox Ualacii[3] shall come. The rope shall descend, the cord[4] shall descend. There comes from heaven the word of the true path. Through it will come the fulfilment of the word of the Lord of heaven, the true word.

The dog[5] is its tidings; the vulture is its tidings. The flag is the second of the figures <drawn above>. The opossum is its face to the rulers. Thrice impeded are their thought and speech, thrice impeded their manhood, thrice impeded their flint knife among the rulers, among the wise men. Then came Hunpic-ti-ax[6] as an affliction, the jaguar and Canul[7] for an affliction. These were the eaters of their food, the destroyers of their crops, the *boboch*,[8] the destroyer of food. For seven years there is the affliction of Hunpic-ti-ax; for seven years there is the affliction of Canul. Then the justice of our Lord, God, shall descend upon carnal sin, upon the worthless rabble of the town,[9] upon the lewd rogue, the rascal. After that there shall come another word, another teaching, but the Maya men shall not admit it to their hearts. The word of God, the Father of Heaven, shall be sung among them that they may correct their ways, that they may turn their backs upon their evil ways, the usages among Maya men; but they will not wish/ to p.94 C listen to the word of God, when they should rather respect the judges as their fathers. The hearts of the head-chiefs of the world shall be sad. They believe little, nor do they even believe that. So you say. The blessed among those in authority are set apart. Fire shall be kindled with a fire-drill as a sign of the Maya Virgin.[10] Hunab-ku[11] is in his only virgin Church,[12] where he

[1] This is the sixth katun. The reason for starting a new count here is not apparent.
[2] On page 82 it was implied that Emal was another name for Izamal, and the same city may be meant here, but there is another Emal on the northern coast of Yucatan.
[3] Written Ix Puc-yol-ha and Ix Ual-icim on page 25 of the Tizimin MS.
[4] Perhaps a reference to the "living rope" (*cuxan zum*), which is a road suspended in the sky and extending from Tulum and Cobá to Chichen Itzá and Uxmal (Tozzer 1907, p. 153).
[5] *Cf.* p. 154, note 3.
[6] Literally, eight thousand warts. Possibly a disease and not a personage is meant.
[7] Canul is probably a reference to an important family of Nahua origin. They settled in the province of Ah Canul after the fall of Mayapan. Landa calls them Mexican mercenaries.
[8] The *boboch* is identified by Pio Perez as a fabulous animal, but he gives no particulars.
[9] *Cf.* p. 148, note 8.
[10] During the colonial period the most famous shrine in Yucatan was that of the Virgin of Izamal, where many cures were performed. Here, however, we are reminded of Zuhuy-kak, the Fire-Virgin, who was the goddess of little girls. She was said to be the deified daughter of a ruler, a member of an order of virgins or nuns who served the gods (Lizana 1893, ff. 39-40).
[11] Hunab-ku was "the only living and true god, also the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan" (Motul 1930, p. 404).
[12] Written "Yglesia" in the text.

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cries out. There is heard the word of the Lord of Heaven, the Lord on earth. The entire world shall be sad when he comes. The wing of the land shall shake, the center of the land[1] shall shake when he comes in his time. Then there shall occur the obedience of the foreigners of Bentana[2] <to> the word of God. Thrice shall the justice of our Lord descend to the world. Then a great army shall descend upon the worthless rabble of the town,[3] that it may be known whether their faith is truly firm. Then descended the governor.[4] There shall begin the tearing out of the eyes[5] of the rogue who incites riot,[6] of the great rascal, of the great hawk of the town, of the fox of the town. Then the eternal ruler shall come to cut the cord from the burden of misery, the ruler who appraises.[7] Then sickness,[8] the result of guilt, shall descend, the punishment of all the world shall come from heaven, with it the drought. At that time it shall be all over the world. The remainder of the guardians of the sands, the guardians of the sea, shall be detained together such as the people of Uaymil,[9] such as the people of Emal.[10] The rest of them shall be assembled in great numbers by the sea at the end of the katun. Thus it is seen that the fold[11] of the katun is brought about. Then the flag shall be raised.[12] Then there is an end to the importunity of the devil, of Antichrist. <There is> knife-thrusting strife, purse-snatching strife,[13] strife with the blow-gun, strife by trampling on

[1] *Cf.* page 126, note 3.

[2] Maya, *ah bentana*, and written *ah bentena* on page 158. The name has not been identified. Possibly the rendering should be: the obedience of the men of Bentana <to> the foreigners <and to> the word of God.

[3] This translation is inferred from the three contexts in which it occurs. *Cf.* page 148, note 8, and page 155, note 9.

[4] Maya, *ah mektan*. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, page 124, note 3. These prophecies abound in references to a time when an avenging ruler will come and punish certain immoral and oppressive chieftains who are designated as birds or animals. *Cf.* Appendix F.

[5] On page 92 we have noted this punishment in connection with the upstart chief who is not of the proper lineage. The Dresden Codex (p. 3) depicts a bird tearing the eye from a sacrificial victim.

[6] Maya, *u cuyil cab*, literally the moth in the hive. Any bee-keeper is familiar with the results of this phenomenon. A very similar phrase, *yilkil cah*, the moth of the town, has the figurative meaning: "a great rascal, like the moth of the town, who incites it to riot and destroys it" (Motul). It is an interesting commentary on the vicissitudes of civic life in ancient Yucatan.

[7] Maya, *xotom ahau*, the ruler who cuts, or the ruler who appraises and judges.

[8] Maya, *koch*, which means either guilt or the sickness which is the punishment of guilt. It can also mean a burden or obligation.

[9] Uaymil is another name for the Province of Bacalar in southeastern Yucatan.

[10] Here the town of Emal on the north coast is evidently meant. We are reminded of the mounds found on the seashore in that region.

[11] Probably the end or turn of the katun is meant.

[12] Here the meaning of the Maya phrase, *tix ucham ua pani*, is doubtful. It may be an archaic expression, but it seems more like a corruption of the original text.

[13] *Cf.* page 79, note 2. These are all stereotyped phrases.

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people, stonethrowing strife. The fighting ends in the heart of the forest[1] where Cæsar Augustus[2] receives his donation. <There is>/sudden death with p.95 C hunger; the vultures enter the houses <because> of the pestilence. There is sad havoc[3] with flies <swarming> at the cross-roads, and at the four resting places <at the four corners>. There is oppression of the younger brothers,[4] flaying[5] of the sons; it comes to the world. Then arrives the ruler to propound the riddle[6] to them. His face is that of a war-captain, of the son of God. After that there is the arrival of the Bishop, the Holy Inquisition as it is called, and Saul.[7] They ask for penitence[8] and Christianity. There is an end to greed, an end to vexation in the world. This shall be the end of its prophecy: there is a great war. The Chan<s> shall rise up in war with the five divisions of Chakan,[9] an army of Chan<s> in Katun 1 Ahau. A parching whirlwind storm[10] is the charge of the katun. There is a series of rains, rain from a rabbit-sky[11] <during> the evil katun. There is a sudden end to planting. Then the burden of legal summons descends; tribute descends; the proof is sought, with seven fathoms . . .,[12] when the serving of God is strongly urged.

[1] Among the Maya wars, whether civil or foreign, appear to have ended by driving the conquered into the forest.

[2] We are unable to explain this allusion, but it is of interest to note that in the Tizimin version of the preceding prophecy we find the name of Ah Uuc-yol-zip substituted for that of Cæsar Augustus in what is practically the same statement; "*ti taliob tan yol che ti ual tu kamic u matan Ah Uuc-yol-zip uale.*" Tizimin, page 30. Ah Uuc-yol-zip might be the modern Zip, or protector of the deer, to whom Dr. Redfield still finds the hunters making offerings.

[3] *Cf.* p. 91, note 7. [4] *Cf.* p. 149, note 1.

[5] Translation doubtful. The text might be rendered either: *ɔi-ɔil*, flayed, or *ɔiɔ-il*, overcome in a contest.

[6] *Cf.* p. 89, note 5. The use of this word is of ethnological interest, as the riddle is supposed to have been absent from aboriginal culture in America, and first introduced by Europeans. Already in the Sixteenth Century Motul dictionary we find the word used here, *naatal-nat*, defined: "*enigma, o que es cosi cosa dezirla.*"

[7] *Cf.* p. 123, note 8.

[8] Maya, *okolal*. It seems likely that *ocolal* is intended, which would give the passage the meaning: there is an inquiry into their faith.

[9] Chakan was the name of the native province or geographical division in which Merida was founded. We have no record of any outstanding family ruling there, as the Xius, Chels, Cocoms, Cupuls, Peches, Cochuahs and Canuls ruled in other provinces. Nor do we know of any war in Chakan in a Katun 1 Ahau. The battle fought by Montejo near Merida in 1541 took place in Katun 11 Ahau; also the actual fight was just over the border of Chakan in the Province of Ceh Pech. The Can family is said to have been predominant in the Province of Chetumal (Chactemal), and there was an uprising of the natives there in 1636, which lasted all during the Katun 1 Ahau which ensued. Very little fighting occurred, however (Cogolludo 1868, Book 11, Chap. 12).

[10] Maya, *kakal mozon chac*, lit. parched or fiery whirlwind storm. Dr. Redfield reports that the *kakal-mozon ik* (wind) is a disease bringing wind which comes from cenotes and caves containing water. It is summoned by whistling to burn the fields when cleared for planting.

[11] *Cf.* p. 154, note 5.

[12] The following two words, *yibnel cab*, have not been translated. *Ibnel* is defined as "a cloth or net, or else the placenta in which the fetus is wrapped at birth. Item, the umbilical cord of the fetus at birth" (Motul). *Cab* could mean honey, hive, town, region, world, low and red earth.

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It is the end of receiving the money of Antichrist. Antichrist does not come; our Lord God does not desire it. The katun is not ruined[1] here in our land by the natives of our land. This was the origin of Antichrist, it was avarice;[2] but before the coming of the mighty men[3] there was no robbery by violence, there was no greed and striking down one's fellow man in his blood, at the cost[4] of the poor man, at the expense[4] of the food of each and every one. In time to come there shall be five fruits of the tree for the food of the kinkajou,[5] the man of Bentena.[6] Alas, there is sorrow in the heart of the Lord of Heaven. Smallpox[7] is the end of the prophecy of the katun. An army shall
p.96 C come forth from Havana <with> a fleet of thirteen ships.[8]/

The second <katun>.

FIG. 37—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

Katun 12 Ahau is the eighth[9] katun of the count. The katun is established at Zaclahtun.[10] Yaxal Chuen[11] is his face, Buleu-caan-chac[12] is his face to the rulers. He shall manifest himself. He is in the sky by day; he is in the sky by night. The great artisan,[13] the wise man <shall come>. There are kind head-chiefs, kind chiefs; kindness and joy is the law of the entire world. Poor men become rich. Abundance of bread is the word of the katun. It is a rich year; there is an accumulation of wealth also. The katun is good. The rains are good ones; the fruit will form. Then they come forth from among the rocks to Christianity,[14]

[1] Alternative translation: the army is not ruined, etc. This does not fit the context.
[2] Maya, *ɔutulɔutil*. The word also means peddling something from house to house. For a reference to Antichrist, *cf.* page 79, note 6.
[3] A term applied to the Spaniards.
[4] Maya, *tu muk*, literally: at the suffering or endurance, etc.
[5] *Cf.* Appendix F, for the significance of this animal. The preceding reference is obscure.
[6] *Cf.* page 156, note 2.
[7] As noted on page 120, this period was distinguished for its epidemic of yellow fever rather than for any conspicuous outbreak of smallpox.
[8] Probably a reference to the story of Antonio Martínez. *Cf.* p. 123, and p. 157, note 7.
[9] This katun is really the seventh in the series.
[10] This place-name has survived only as the name of a hacienda in the Department of Izamal. It is, however, frequently associated with Mayapan in these pages and may be another name for this city.
[11] Yaẋal Chuen appears to be an important deity and probably a constellation as well. The name might be translated as the green or first artisan. We find on pp. 23, 24 of the Codex Peresianus a glyph composed of the elements, *yax* and *chuen*, which may refer to this deity (Gates 1910, p. 30). These are the pages containing the figures which represent the thirteen divisions of the Maya zodiac.
[12] The text appears to be corrupt here.
[13] Maya, *hunac ah-menil*. Among the modern Maya *ah-men* means sorcerer.
[14] As a result of the five years of famine, 1650 to 1654, enormous numbers of Indians had left their towns and were scattered in the forests. In 1652 an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the Spanish authorities to bring them back to their homes, but it seems likely that during the following katun they gradually returned to their homes. *Cf.* Molina Solis 1910, p. 231.

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where God is. There shall be neither the fox nor the kinkajou that will bite.[1] Then penitence is sought of the town officials, <with the opening of> the golden gates and the town marriages in the official building.[2] Then our sandals are sought for,[3] in the time of our Christianity. This is a new day which dawns for us; this is what you tell of today. This shall be the end of the katun of carnal sin.[4] Soon[5] shall it end. The law of the ruler comes. Then there shall come the Seven Mountains,[6] the Red Star,[7] and in the wind-swollen sky <there shall be> the House of Storms,[8] in the 17th tun./ p.97 C

FIG. 38—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The third <katun>.

Katun 10 Ahau, the katun is established at Chable.[9] The ladder[10] is set up over the rulers of the land. The hoof shall burn; the sand by the seashore shall burn; the bird's nest shall burn.[11] The rocks shall crack <with the heat>; drought is the charge of the katun. It is the word of our Lord God the Father and of the Mistress of Heaven,[12] the portent[13] of the katun.

[1] *Cf.* Appendix F.

[2] The golden gates (*u puertail takin*) are probably the gilded gates to the chancel of the church. The town marriages perhaps refer to the marriages of many people at one time, when the people had returned to the towns after living for some years in the forests and mating without ecclesiastical sanction. *Can-kaz-na*, here translated as the official building, means literally "the house of four apartments."

[3] The return to the towns meant also a return to the regulations governing the Indians. One such law regarding dress reads: "that all shall manage to wear footgear, at least hemp sandals" (Cogolludo 1868, book 5, chap. 19).

[4] Maya, *nicte katun*, literally the katun of the Plumeria flower. *Cf.* page 104, note 15. This is the fourth katun-prophecy in which we find this reference; the others were Katuns 11, 7 and 5 Ahau.

[5] Maya, *conbil*, also means that which is for sale.

[6] We are reminded of the "Nine Mountains" mentioned on page 139.

[7] Maya, *chac ek*, the morning star. (Motul.) *Cf.* p. 150, note 4. In Mexican mythology we find a close association between Quetzalcoatl and the planet Venus.

[8] The text reads *pa hool chace*, which we have rendered as Pap-hool-chac and which is probably the Ppappholchac mentioned by Lizana, who translates it "*casa de las cabezas y rayos.*" It was the name of one of the pyramids at Izamal and was said to be the dwelling of the priests of the gods (Lizana 1893, p. 5).

[9] Chablé was a town of some importance in the district of Bacalar at the time of the Conquest, but it was already depopulated in Cogolludo's time (Cogolludo 1868, Book 2, chap. 6). Berendt lists a port of that name in Yucatan, also a town in Tabasco (Berendt, Nombres proprios en lengua Maya). It is still a family name in Yucatan.

[10] A possible alternative translation could be: the ladder is forcibly broken over, etc. We do not know the significance of the ladder among the Maya, possibly one is intended in the accompanying picture. We find a picture of a ladder on page 34 of the Dresden Codex in connection with a ceremony said to represent a human sacrifice.

[11] Extensive forest fires have never been reported from Yucatan, and we probably have here only an exaggerated description of extreme heat and drought.

[12] Maya, *u colel caan*, a term usually applied to the Holy Virgin.

[13] Maya, *u ye katun*, literally, that which the katun sets before us. *U yekabtun* would mean an offering of precious stone.

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No one shall arrest the word of our Lord God, God the Son, the Lord of Heaven and earth. There shall not be lacking that which shall, through his power, come to pass all over the world. Holy Christianity shall come bringing with it the time when the stupid ones who speak our language badly[1] shall turn from their evil ways. No one shall prevent it; this then is the drought. Sufficient is the word for the Maya priests, the word of God.

p.98 C 8 Ahau is the <next> fold, the fourth <katun>./

FIG. 39—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

The fourth <katun>.

Katun 8 Ahau is the ninth katun. The katun is established at Izamal. There is Kinich Kakmo.[2] The shield shall descend, the arrow shall descend <upon Chakanputun>[3] together with the rulers of the land. The heads of the foreigners to the land were cemented <into the wall>[4] at Chakanputun.[5] There is an end of greed; there is an end to causing vexation in the world. It is the word of God the Father. Much fighting shall be done by the natives of the land.

[1] Maya, *ah nunob*, a term applied several times to the Itzá in these pages. This would indicate a foreign origin for the Itzá.

[2] This reference to Kinich Kakmo is capable of two explanations. It may be merely a reference to the god of this name as the idol or presiding deity of the katun. It is very possible, however, that it is a historical allusion to the man, Kinich Kakmo, who was later deified. Gaspar Antonio Chi collaborated with Cristóbal Sánchez in writing a report which states that "in course of time the inhabitants of the said town (Izamal) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and a hundred valorous captains formerly of the town of Mayapan, and that those who founded this place were called Kinich-Kabul, Kinich Kakmo and others from whom descend the Xool, Mo and Coyi <families>, Indians so named in this province" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 119-120). Mo or Moo (parrot) is still a common family name among the Maya, and it will be noted that it is one of the elements of the name, Kinich Kakmo, which means sun-eyed fire-parrot. *Cf.* p. 141, note 2.

[3] Supplied from the Tizimin version of this prophecy which is more complete (Tizimin p. 32). One of the objects in the accompanying picture may be intended for a shield and two arrows.

[4] Supplied from Tizimin (p. 32). The Maya *pak*, here translated as wall, can also mean a water-tank. Motul, Spanish-Maya portion. This is the only mention of the episode of cementing human heads into a wall that we find anywhere. Possibly what is meant is that a tzompantli was erected, and the stakes transfixing the heads were set in a wall of masonry.

[5] For the accounts of the sojourn of the Itzá at Chakanputun see page 136 and page 141, note 4. Chakanputun is generally believed to be the modern Champoton in southwestern Yucatan. The translator is uncertain whether or not to accept this identification, as excellent reasons could be cited both for and against it.

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The fifth <katun>.

Katun 6 Ahau is the tenth katun according to the count. The katun is established at Uxmal. <The katun monuments> are set up on their own bases.[1] Shameless is his speech, shameless his face[2] to the rulers. They shall be the inventors of lewd speech,[3] and then God the Father[4] shall descend to cut their throats because of their sins. Then they shall be regenerated; the judgment of our Lord God shall unite them until they enter into Christianity with their families. As many as are born here on earth shall enter into Christianity./

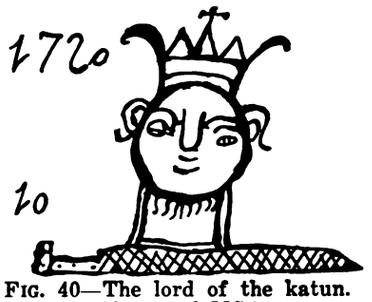

FIG. 40—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The first <katun>.[5]

Katun 4 Ahau is the eleventh katun according to the count. The katun is established at Chichen Itzá. The settlement of the Itzá shall take place <there>.[6] The quetzal shall come, the green bird shall come.[7] Ah Kantenal[8] shall come. Blood-vomit shall come.[9] Kukulcan[10] shall come with them for the second time. <It is> the word of God. The Itzá shall come.

FIG. 41—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

p.99 C

[1] It is suggested here that at Uxmal they erected stelæ as katun monuments.

[2] The reference is probably to the idol of the katun.

[3] Here doubtless referring to the introduction of certain erotic religious festivals like the one described by Landa (1928, p. 156).

[4] The Tizimin version of this prophecy substitutes the expression "*u kochob* (the punishment of their guilt) shall descend," instead of "God the Father."

[5] Here the count recommences for no apparent reason. The feathers in the picture no doubt represent Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent. The stars in the picture may refer to the four Venus periods of the Dresden Codex. It will be recalled that the Mexicans believed that Quetzalcoatl became the planet Venus after his death.

[6] This agrees with the Maya chronicles which place the second occupation of Chichen Itzá by the Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau which fell in the Tenth Century A.D. (Appendix H).

[7] *Cf.* page 63, note 6, and page 121, note 4.

[8] Nothing is known of this personage. *Kante* is a tree which yields a yellow dye.

[9] *Cf.* page 133, note 11.

[10] This statement is important as it enables us to date the beginning of the worship of Kukulcan at Chichen Itzá which was accompanied by a number of new architectural features at that city. *Cf.* Landa 1928, pages 62-68, and Relaciones de Yucatan, I, page 121. The Tizimin version of this prophecy is even more explicit than the Chumayel, for it says: "Kukulcan shall come with the Itzá." Although Torquemada (Book 3, chap. 7) says that Quetzalcoatl went to "Onohualco," a term comprising Tabasco, Campeche and Yucatan, the writer is inclined to doubt that the Kukulcan who came to Chichen Itzá in the Tenth Century was the actual culture-hero, who is supposed to have lived about the Seventh Century. Like the Kukulcan mentioned in the Tizimin (p. 23) in connection with the Hunac Ceel episode about 1200 A.D., this was probably also a ruler who bore as a title the name of the deified hero.

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FIG. 42—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

p.100 C

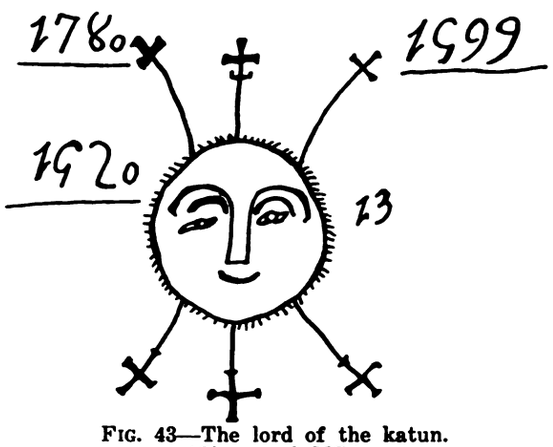

FIG. 43—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The second <katun>.

Katun 2 Ahau is the twelfth katun. At Maya [uaz] Cuzamil[1] the katun is established. For half <the katun> there will be bread; for half <the katun> there will be water. <It is> the word of God. For half of it there will be a temple[2] for the rulers. <It is> the end of the word of God./

The third <katun>.

The judgment.[3]

It is Katun 13 Ahau according to the count. The katun is established at Kinchil Coba,[4] the thirteenth katun. The bouquet of the rulers of the world shall be displayed.[5] There is the universal judgment of our Lord God. Blood shall descend from the tree and stone. Heaven and earth shall burn. It is the word of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. It is the holy judgment, the holy judgment[3] of our Lord God. There shall be no strength in heaven and earth. Great cities shall enter into Christianity, any settlements of people whatever, the great towns, whatever their names are as well as the little towns, all over our land of Maya Cuzamil Mayapan. <It shall be> for our two-day men, because of lewdness . . .[6] the sons of malevolence. At the end of our blindness and shame our sons shall be regenerated from carnal sin. There is no lucky day for us. It is the cause of death from bad blood,[7] when the moon rises, when the moon sets, the entire moon, <this was> its power; <it was> all blood. So it was with the good planets <which were> looked upon as good. It is the end of the word of God. The

[1] Probably Maya Cuzamil, Mayapan, is intended as stated in the following prophecy.
[2] Alternative translation: Its bread, water and temple are halved.
[3] Written *juicio* in the text.
[4] Kinchil Coba. *Cf.* page 134, note 5.
[5] *Cf.* page 77, note 5.
[6] A space is left in the text indicating that the Maya compiler was unable to read a few words in the manuscript which he was copying. What is meant by the "two-day men" is uncertain. *Cf.* page 83, note 6.
[7] Maya, *tu lobol kik.* "Bad blood" is associated with dysentery in the Maya medical manuscripts. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 38.

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waters of baptism shall come over them, the Holy Spirit. They receive the holy oil without compulsion; it comes from God. There are too many Christians who go to those who deny the holy faith, . . .[1] <to> the Itzá and the *balams*.[2] There is then an end to our losing/ . . . p.101 C

(Page 101 is left blank in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel. It contains a note in a modern hand stating that a page of the book is missing here.)/ p. 102 C

XXIII

(THE LAST JUDGMENT)[3]

The judgment of God for the righteous: "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father, inherit the eternal glory prepared by my Father for you since the beginning of the world. You have kept my commandments; you have done penance when you sinned against me. Therefore come ye to heaven."[4] Then he turns his gaze upon the sinners with whom he is angered. "Depart from me ye accursed of my Father into the eternal fire of hell which is prepared for the Devil by my Father. You have despised me, your Father, me, your Redeemer. You have despised my commandments with the commandment of the Devil. Go ye therefore with him to eternal misery." Then the wicked men shall go to hell, but the good men shall go to Heaven with our Father, God, to eternal glory comparable to the glory of Jehoshaphat. There are three men, the true servants of God, well beloved of God. Elias, and Methuselah and Enoch are their names; they are living to this day. They are ordained by God to guard his seats. Our Lord God shall call a reckoning in a valley in the land, a great open savannah. There he shall sit upon his throne. The entire world shall assemble <there>. The sheep shall be set apart; they shall be on his right hand. The goats shall be set apart; they shall be on his left hand. On his left shall be the wicked men; those who have not fulfilled all the commandments of God shall then go to the eternal misery of hell, sunk in the earth, oppressed by <the sins> of our first parents.[5] But the

[1] The text is water-stained and illegible here.

[2] Literally, the jaguars, probably a reference to the pagan priests of the Itzá. Many renegade Christians fled to the Itzá at Tayasal during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

[3] The following is an account of the Christian Last Judgment apparently written by a Spanish missionary. The text seems to adhere too closely to the rules laid down by the Spanish writers on Maya grammar for it to have been written by an Indian. Nevertheless it is written in excellent Maya and probably dates from the Seventeenth Century. It will be of interest to compare this text with the *"Carta de los Diez Caciques"* written in 1567 and published by Juan Martínez in his edition of the Motul Dictionary. The latter is formal but extremely idiomatic. Our present text, although we do not know the date when it was written originally, shows that the Maya idiom had changed in its forms of expression since the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

The present translator has availed himself freely of Sr. Martínez' Spanish translation of this passage (Martínez 1928, pp. 137-138).

[4] Matthew, chap. 25.

[5] Alternative translation: told of by our first parents (Adam and Eve).

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good men who have fulfilled the commandments of God shall be at the right hand of the great Lord God. "Come, ye men blessed of my Father and take the kingdom prepared for you since the beginning of the world." Then a great
p.103 C cloud shall gather, black in the sky,[1]/down to the face of the earth. Like a trumpet is the joyful song of the Angels. It is beautiful beyond comparison. The true God shall arise, the Lord of heaven and earth.

XXIV

(PROPHECIES OF A NEW RELIGION)[2]

These are the words which were composed to admonish the fatherless ones, the motherless ones.[3] These words are to be treasured as a precious jewel is treasured. They are concerning the coming introduction of Christianity, <and were spoken> at Tancah Mayapan <and> at Chichen Itzá in the time of the Zuyua people,[4] in the time of the Itzá. A new wisdom shall dawn upon the world[5] universally, in the east, north, west and south. It shall come from the mouth of God the Father. Those who recorded it were the five priests, the holy priests who came into the presence of God. They recorded the charge of misfortune when the introduction of Christianity came.

Here are their names written down:

1. Chilam Balam, the great priest.
2. Napuctun, the great priest.
3. Nahau Pech, the great priest.
4. Ah Kuil Chel, the great priest.
5. Natzin Yabun Chan, the great priest.

<Like> a servant of God who bends his back over virgin soil,[6] they recorded the charge of misery in the presence of our Lord God: the introduction
p.104 C of Christianity occurs; blood-vomit, pestilence, drought, a year of locusts,/ smallpox are the charge of misery, <also> the importunity of the devil. There shall be a white circle in the sky. It shall burn on earth in Katun 3

[1] Possible alternative translation: Then a great cloud of stars shall gather. *Cf.* Revelation 14.14: "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man."

[2] These are fundamentally prophecies of the return of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican culture-hero; but after the arrival of the Spaniards they were believed to be prognostics of that event and were in some instances adapted in later times to fit the facts of the actual occurrence. *Cf.* Tozzer 1921, p. 192. A discussion of these prognostications, their reputed authors and their place in the prophetic literature of the Maya will be found in Appendix D.

[3] A term applied to the Itzá in the Tizimin MS. It may well be a reference to the Itzá custom of killing off the older men to prevent their becoming sorcerers, though we do not hear of their killing the older women. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[4] Probably the foreign Nahua who invaded Yucatan. *Cf.* page 88, note 1.

[5] Literally, a new day shall dawn. Both the literal and figurative meanings of this expression are given in the Motul Dictionary.

[6] Possibly a description applied by the missionaries to themselves.

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Ahau, in Katun 1 Ahau, the worst of three katuns. Just as it was written by the Evangelists and the prophet Balam, it came from the mouth of the Lord of heaven and earth. Then the priests set it down in holy writ at the time of the great drought at Lahun Chable[1] in <the time of> Christianity. Then Saul and Don Antonio Martínez[2] shall come to avenge[3] their descendants. The day has dawned. So it is written in the command of the great priest, the prophet of Chilam Balam and in the chest of manuscripts. Amen Jesus.

The Interpretation <of> the histories of Yucatan.

The priests, the prophecy <of> Napuctun.[4]

It shall burn on earth; there shall be a circle in the sky. Kauil[5] shall be set up; he shall be set up in front in time to come. It shall burn on earth;[6] the <very> hoof shall burn in that katun, in the time which is to come. Fortunate is he who shall see it when the prophecy is declared, who shall weep over his misfortunes in time to come.[7]

The prophecy of Ah Kuil Chel,[8] the priest.

When the end of the katun shall come, lord, ye shall not understand when it comes. Who shall believe it at the rolling up of the mat of the katun?[9] The end shall come because of misery. It comes from the north, it comes from

[1] Lahun Chable: possibly the same as Chablé. *Cf.* page 159, note 9.

[2] *Cf.* page 123, note 8, and page 157, note 7.

[3] Alternative translation: to collect the debts of their descendants, etc.

[4] Of the five following prophecies the Maya text has been copied from the Chilam Balam of Mani in Codex Perez, pages 72-73, and from the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab in Codex Perez, pages 166-170. Accompanying the latter are Spanish translations of the first four. Berendt ascribes the latter version of these prophecies to the Chilam Balam of Ixil, but they are not to be found in the reproduction of the Ixil; and the Perez Codex indicates that they are a part of the copy of the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab which immediately precedes them. The Maya text of the prophecies of Nahau Pech, Natzin Yabun Chan and Chilam Balam are given in the Tizimin MS., pages 17, 18.

The Maya text and Spanish translations of all five have been published in Lizana 1893, pages 37-39. The Maya text and an English translation of the prophecy of Nahau Pech appear in Brinton 1882, pages 255-256; the text and English translation of the prophecy of Chilam Balam are given in Tozzer 1921, pages 122-128.

Spanish translations of all five prophecies are to be found in Cogolludo 1868, Book 2, chapter 11, and in Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1701, pages 36-37. Tozzer (1921, pages 192-194) gives a full bibliography of the modern literature covering the subject.

[5] Kauil is an obsolete word meaning food. *Cf. kauilyah*, to beg for food (Motul). It also appears to be the name of a god as in Itzamna Kauil. Kauil is also a common family name in Yucatan.

[6] We are reminded of the portents said to have presaged the Spanish Conquest of Mexico: "there appeared in the sky a pyramidal flame of fire, which ascended from midnight till sun-rising, when it came into the south, and then vanish'd" (Herrera 1726, Dec. 2, Book 10, Chap. 1).

[7] The Maya text is accompanied by a Spanish translation in the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab which reads as follows: "*Habrá final culto de los Dioses vanos y el mundo sera purificado con fuego. El que esta viere sera llamado dichoso si con dolor llorare sus pecados*" (Codex Perez, p. 167). The translator has difficulty in finding any close correspondence between this and the Maya text of the prophecy. The setting up of Kauil is a figure of speech which is difficult to understand.

[8] Called Kauil Chel in the Oxkutzcab, Ah Kauil Chel in the Tizimin (p. 13) and Mani (Codex Perez, p. 72), and Ah Kukil Chel by Cogolludo (Book 2, chap. 11).

[9] *Cf.* page 135, note 3.

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the west at that time when it shall be, lord. Who then shall be the priest, who then <shall be> the prophet who will declare truly the word of the book, lord, in <Katun> 9 Ahau? Ye shall not understand, <ye people> in every part of the world. . .[1] shall be cleansed of shame. Oh <there was> joy
p.105 C among the / rulers, pleasure among the rulers of the land. Acknowledge it in your hearts, ye Itzá.[2]

The prophecy of Nahau Pech the great priest.

At that time when the sun shall stand high[3] <in the heavens>, lord, when the ruler has had compassion, in the fourth katun[4] it shall come to pass, the tidings of God are truly brought. They ask[5] perchance what I recommend, lord. You see your guests upon the road, oh Itzá! It is the fathers of the land[6] who will arrive. <This prophecy> comes from the mouth of Nahau Pech, the priest in the time of Katun 4 Ahau[7] at the end of the katun,[8] lord.

The food of the ant<-like> men shall be destroyed. They shall be at the end of their food <-supply> because of the *boboch*[9] <which takes their> food, the great hawk <which takes their> food, the ant, the cowbird,[10] the grackle,[11] the blackbird,[12] the mouse.[13]

[1] Part of the text is obliterated here, and this portion of the prophecy does not occur in any of the other versions; the translation is therefore a little uncertain.

[2] We find the following purported translation in the Book of Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab: *"La interpretacion. En el fin de la edad presente los que ignorais futuras que <e>dad pensais que sucederá: sabed pues que vendran de todas partes tales cosas por nuestros malos. Historia. Que los podreis tener por presentes y os digo que en la edad novena ningun sacerdote ni profeta os declarara las escrituras que generalmente ignorais.* The fulfilment of this very vague prophecy was evidently the Christianization of Yucatan in Katun 9 Ahau.

[3] This version of the prophecy of Nahau Pech is the only one which corresponds here to the time-honored translation by the early Spanish missionaries. The other versions read: "At that time the news shall be understood."

[4] This statement, "in the fourth katun," can be taken two ways. It could be either the fourth katun after the fall of Mayapan, Katun 13 Ahau, when the Spaniards made their first and unsuccessful attempt to conquer Yucatan, or Katun 9 Ahau, the fourth katun after the time of Nahau Pech who lived in Katun 4 Ahau. Katun 9 Ahau was really the period when the general conversion of the Mayas was effected.

[5] A space has been left in the Chumayel text here which has been supplied from the Tizimin version. The Mani version reads: "You ask what I recommend." The Spanish translation renders this sentence: "With great concern I recommend," etc.

[6] A term equally applicable to the priests of Quetzalcoatl and the Christian missionaries.

[7] Katun 4 Ahau ended either in 1497 or 1500 according to which correlation is accepted.

[8] The rest of the prophecy does not appear in any of the other versions.

[9] Pio Perez defines *boboch* as a fabulous animal. The name may be derived from *bob*, another mysterious animal, and *och*, an opossum.

[10] Maya *ɔiu, Tangavius æneus involucratus* Lesson. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 344.

[11] Maya *kau, Megaquiscalus major macrourus* Swainson. *Cf. ibid.*, page 334.

[12] Maya *pich, Dives dives* Lichtenstein. *Ibid.*, page 338.

[13] The Spanish translation given for this prophecy in the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab is as follows: *"En el dia que mas alumbrare el sol por la misericordia del omnipotente, vendra de aquí a cuatro edades los que han de traer la nueva de ese Dios con grande afecto, os encomiendo, esperais oh itzalanos nuestros huespedes que son los padres de la tierra cuando vengan. Profetizó Nahau Pech sacerdote en los dias de la cuarta edad acerca de su principio."*

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The prophecy of Natzin Yabun Chan.

There was the word of the true God in the land. You shall await the coming forth, lord, of his priests who will bring[1] it in time to come. Give your understanding to his word, to his admonition.[2] Fortunate are you who truly receive it. Forsake those things which you have held sacred, oh Itzá; forget your perishable gods, your transitory gods. Of all things he is the ruler, lord, the creator of all heaven and earth. It is to your hearts that I speak, oh Maya Itzá. You shall not desire another God <than> the true God according to your <own> words. You shall take to heart the word of my admonition.[3]

The prophecy of Chilam Balam, the singer, of Cabal-ch̄en,[4] Mani.

On <the day> 13 Ahau the katun will end[5] in the time of the Itzá, in the time of / Tancah <Mayapan>, lord. There is the sign of Hunab-ku[6] p.106 C on high. The raised wooden standard shall come.[7] It shall be displayed to the world, that the world may be enlightened, lord. There has been a beginning of strife, there has been a beginning of rivalry, when the priestly man shall come to bring the sign <of God> in time to come, lord. A quarter of a league,[8] a league <away> he comes. You see the *mut*[9]-bird surmounting the raised wooden standard. A new day shall dawn in the north, in the west.

[1] Here the Maya *puchcob* has been translated as though it were *pulicob*.

[2] *Tzacil* is translated as though it were *tzecil*, for which it may be an antiquated form. The word *tzac* has survived only in compounds and means an incantation.

[3] The Spanish translation of this prophecy in the Oxkutzcab manuscript reads: *"Hecha fue la palabra de Dios sobre la tierra, la cual esperad que ella vendrá que sus sacerdotes os la traerán; aprended sus palabras y predicacion. Bien aventurados los que aprendieron; o Ytzalanos, aborreced ya vuestros dioses, olvidad los que ya son fundibles; adorad todos el Dios de la verdad que está poderoso en todas partes y que es criador de todas las cosas."*

[4] The Chumayel text reads Cauichen, but the Tizimin version calls it Cabal-ch̄en, which is still the name of the cenote at Mani. It is in a cave and approached by a path, but there is also an opening like a well in the roof of the cave directly above the pool.

Tozzer has made a valuable study of this prophecy in which he has compared the Tizimin, Chumayel and Lizana versions of the text with the reading by Martínez, and his own translation with those of Lizana and Martínez.

[5] The Tizimin, Oxkutzcab and Lizana versions of the text read: "the katun shall be established." In either case the meaning is approximately the same. This is the day when Katun 13 Ahau ends and when the new Katun 11 Ahau is established.

[6] "Hunabku: the only living and true god, and he was the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan. He had no form because they said that he could not be represented as he was incorporeal." (Motul.)

[7] Maya, *uaom che*, literally a raised wooden standard. The Ticul Dictionary defines the term as *"picota, horca, ó rollo,"* indicating a raised pole on which the heads of malefactors were exposed. The missionaries applied the term to the cross, but originally it probably meant a ceremonial pole or standard, perhaps a mythological tree.

[8] Maya, *hun auat*, the distance that a cry can be heard.

[9] Defined as a bird of the Cracidæ family (Maler 1908, p. 132). *Mut* can also mean news, but in this context the bird seems to be intended. Martínez has noted that a quetzal appears on the cross at Palenque (Tozzer 1921, p. 123, note 7). Also what appears to be a conventionalized bird surmounts the cross on the katun-wheel in the Chilam Balam of Kaua.

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Itzamná Kauil shall rise.[1] Our lord comes,[2] Itzá. Our elder brother comes, <oh> men of Tantun.[3] Receive your guests, the bearded men, the men of the east, the bearers of the sign of God, lord. Good indeed[4] is the word of God that comes to us. The day of our regeneration[5] comes. You do not fear the world, Lord, you are the only God who created us. It is sufficient, then, that the word of God is good, lord. <He is> the guardian[6] of our souls. He who receives him, who has truly believed, he will go to heaven with him. Nevertheless <at> the beginning were the two-day men.

Let us exalt his sign on high, let us exalt it <that we may gaze upon it today>[7] with the raised standard. Great is the discord that arises today.[8] The First Tree of the World[9] is restored; it is displayed to the world. This is the sign of Hunab-ku on high. Worship it, Itzá. You shall worship today his sign on high. You shall worship it furthermore with true good will,[10] and you shall worship the true God today, lord. You shall be converted to the word of Hunab-ku, lord; it came from heaven. Oh it is he who speaks to you![11] Be admonished indeed, Itzá. They will correct their ways[12] who receive him in their hearts[13] in another katun, lord.

Believe in my word itself, I am Chilam Balam, and I have interpreted the entire message of the true God <of> the world; it is heard in every part of the world,[14] lord, the word of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. Very good indeed is his word in heaven, lord.

p.107 C He is ruler over us; he is the true God over our souls./ But those to whom <the word> is brought, lord: thrice weighed down is their[15] strength, the

[1] Alternative translation: shall awaken. Both this phrase and the statement "Kauil shall be set up" in the prophecy of Napuctun (p. 165) are translated by the missionaries: "the worship of the vain gods shall cease." Possibly Itzamna Kauil, at one time the supreme Maya god, is here identified with the Christian God.

[2] Alternative translation: our father comes.

[3] On page 66 Tantun is associated with the Island of Cozumel which was a holy place visited by many pilgrims. Lizana puts it in the plural and translates the expression; *"o Tantunites," i.e.* oh ye men of Tantun. Apparently it is an exhortation to them to receive Christianity.

[4] Maya, *ka*: "appended to certain expressions it embellishes, as: *Bax u ka Dias?* What is God? *Bax u ka lo?* What is that?" (Motul).

[5] Literally, our life.

[6] *Cf.* page 69, note 2.

[7] Supplied from the Tizimin, Mani, Oxkutzcab and Lizana versions.

[8] Here the text varies somewhat in the different versions.

[9] *Cf.* page 102, note 2. Here this mythological tree is said to be restored, apparently as the Christian cross.

[10] Written *colah* in the Chumayel text, which is obscure. Here the Mani version, *a uolah* has been followed; but the Oxkutzcab version, *ocolal*, which means faith, is equally acceptable.

[11] Alternative translations: he who commands you, or he who has power over you.

[12] Literally: a day will dawn for them or the world will awaken for them. The figurative meaning given above is not unusual and is authorized by the Motul Dictionary.

[13] Maya, *ol*. Primarily it means the will, but figuratively it is "the true heart, not the physical one" (Motul). The organ is called *puczikal*.

[14] The remainder of the prophecy as given here does not occur in any of the other versions or translations.

[15] Written "your strength" in the text.

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younger brothers[1] native to the land. Their hearts are submerged <in sin>. Their hearts are dead in their carnal sins. They are frequent backsliders,[2] the principal ones who spread <sin>, Nacxit Xuchit[3] in the carnal sin of his companions, the two-day rulers.[4] <They sit> crookedly on their thrones; crookedly in carnal sin. Two-day men they call them. For two days <endure> their seats,[5] their cups, their hats.[6] They are the unrestrained lewd[7] ones of the day, the unrestrained lewd ones of the night,[8] the rogues of the world. They twist their necks, they wink their eyes, they slaver at the mouth,[9] at the rulers of the land, lord. Behold, when they come, there is no truth in the words of the foreigners to the land. They tell very solemn and mysterious things, the sons of the men of Seven-deserted-buildings, the offspring of the women of Seven-deserted-buildings,[10] lord.

Who will be the prophet, who will be the priest who shall interpret truly the word of the book?

FINIS

[1] In the various prophecies believed to foretell the coming of the Spaniards, the Indians are called "the younger brothers," and the new-comers, "the elder brothers." That these terms originally signified the first inhabitants of Yucatan and the Itzá invaders is indicated by the following passage in the Tizimin MS.: "This was when the time of the white men, the bearded, men was known, just as the priest Chilam declared the time of the arrival of their elder brothers, just as the hosts of Itzá had already arrived among them" (Tizimin, p. 36).

[2] Maya, *ah uaua tulupoob*: literally, those who often turn back.

[3] Nacxit Xuchit, *cf.* page 83, note 5.

[4] *Cf.* page 83, note 6.

[5] Maya, *xec*, defined as a straight chair without arms. Apparently it indicated authority.

[6] The early Spanish writers make no mention of hats. The Maya word, *ppooc*, was applied to a hat, hood or cap, as well as to a crown of flowers (Motul). Elaborate head-dresses are found on Maya monuments of almost every period, and in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá are carved head-dresses which are plainly hats in the modern sense of the word (Morris, Charlot and Morris, 1931, p. 278 and Pls. 50 and 52).

[7] Maya, *co*, defined as "Mad, unrestrained, insolent, deceitful and lewd" (Motul). In many of its compounds it means lewd.

[8] Maya, *u co akab*, could also be translated as the mad one of the night. *Ah-coo-akab* is the name of the Yucatan screech-owl, probably on account of its cry. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 329.

[9] *Cf.* page 151, note 8. Alternative translation: they pout their lips. Here it appears to refer to certain foreigners who introduced these wild orgies. The reference to Nacxit Xuchit indicates a people of Nahua traditions and some Nahua elements. Nacxit Xuchit is expressly associated with the Itzá on pages 83 and 84 of the present work.

[10] Maya, *Uuc-tocoy-naob*. This allusion to deserted ruined buildings suggests that the Itzá came from a land where there were already deserted and ruined cities in ancient times. Could this refer to the cities of the Old Empire in the south? We are reminded of the mixture of Maya and Mexican features occurring in the drawings incised on the latest stucco covering of the inner walls of the temples at Tikal. Here are spear-throwers (atlatls) of the Mexican type and a row of the little flags which were a Mexican numerical symbol, both of which are practically unknown to the old Maya sculptures. *Cf.* Maler 1911, pages 56-63. Compare the standards, or "way-signs," incised on one of the Tikal temples (Maler 1911, fig. 14), with those painted on the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá (Morris, Charlot & Morris 1931, fig. 323).

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APPENDIX A

THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS

Few religious ideas were more widely spread among the aboriginal peoples of America than that of the sacred character of the four cardinal points. The Plains Indians of North America are said to ascribe the origin of this conception to the apparent motions of the sun to the east, north, west and south,[1] and the same explanation would appear to hold good for the peoples of Central America. The Maya connected the idea with a system of color symbolism: red with the east, white with the north, black with the west and yellow with the south. In the Dresden Codex we frequently find the glyphs for these directions associated with those representing the four colors in the order named. Each successive year followed the same rotation according to the day with which it began. The Kan years were ascribed to the east, the Muluc years to the north, the Ix years to the west and the Cauac years to the south, as shown by the calendar wheel of the Book of Chilam Balam of Ixil.[2] The same system governed the katun-wheel, only here we find whole groups of katuns associated with each of the cardinal points, as we see from the wheel on page 132 of the present work. On pages 41 and 42 of the Maya Codex Cortesianus there is a picture of the four world-quarters, each marked with its appropriate glyph, and in the Mexican Codex Fejérváry-Mayer[3] is a similar picture showing the trees and birds mentioned in Chapter X of the Chumayel. It is evident that the Mexican and Maya myths relating to this subject were very similar in some respects.

In Chapter X we have seen how the gods set up the four Trees of Abundance at the cardinal points to commemorate the previous destruction of the world. Like the conventionalized trees of the Palenque reliefs, the so-called crosses, these trees were surmounted by birds of mythological significance. From the four world-quarters came the winds, and here in all probability were the four great jars of water which supplied the rains.[4] According to the Mexican version of this myth the rain was favorable or unfavorable to the crops depending on the cardinal point from which it came.[5]

From Landa we learn that "among the multitude of gods worshipped by these people they adored four, each of whom was called Bacab. These, they said, were four brothers whom God, when he created the world, placed at its four quarters to hold up the sky, so that it should not fall. They also state that these Bacabs were saved when the world was destroyed by a deluge.

[1] Brinton 1890, pp. 156-157.
[2] Reproduced Bowditch 1910, p. 328.
[3] Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 1, reproduced in Seler 1923, p. 15.
[4] Codex Cortesianus, p. 40.
[5] Seler 1904, p. 267.

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Other names are <also> given to each of these, and with them they designate the world quarter where God set them to hold up the sky."[1] The same writer goes on to tell us their names. In the east was Chacal Bacab, literally the Red Bacab, whose name was Cantzicnal,[2] and Landa also ascribes to him the names Chac Pauahtun and Chac-xib-chac. In the north was Zac-cimi,[3] as Zacal Bacab, or the White Bacab, was named, and he is also called Zac Pauahtun and Zac-xib-chac. In the west was Hozan-ek, or Ekel Bacab, the Black Bacab, also called Ek Pauahtun and Ek-xib-chac. In the south was Hobnil, or Kanal Bacab, the Yellow Bacab, to whom Landa also gives the names, Kan Pauahtun and Kan-xib-chac. Connected with the worship of these Bacabs were four stones, the Red, White, Black and Yellow Acantuns, which were anointed with the blood of the worshippers. Acantun might be translated as stone stela, and each of these probably had its mythological counterpart at one of the four cardinal points.[4]

In the Motul Dictionary the word *bacab* is defined as "*representante*," possibly indicating that the Bacabs were the representatives of the gods. They were the advocates or patrons of the bee-keepers,[5] and it has been thought that their name was in some way connected with bees or honey, as *cab* can mean honey and bee-hive as well as earth and land. In the ritual in Chapter I we have noted that there were red, white, black and yellow bees, each sort ascribed to the world-quarter corresponding to their color. Of the individual names of the Bacabs, Cantzicnal and Hozan-ek mean little to the writer. Zac-cimi means a swoon, and Hobnil, which primarily means something hollow, is a term applied to a bee-hive, probably because it is made of the hollow section of a tree-trunk.

It seems likely that the four Pauahtuns were not quite the same as the Bacabs. Brinton gives an account of the *misa milpera*, or cornfield mass, as described by Baeza in a report written in 1813.[6] Here it is stated that "they are identical with the winds, and the four cardinal points from which they blow," and we find this confirmed in Chapter XI of the Chumayel which contains the Ritual of the Angels. In the modern ceremonies the red, white and black wind-spirits are identified with St. Dominic, St. Gabriel, and St. James; only the Yellow Pauahtun has the name of a Maya deity. This is Ix-Kan-le-ox, the goddess named for the yellow ramon[7] leaf. The word, Pauahtun, is difficult to translate. The last two syllables, *uah* and *tun*, sug-

[1] Landa 1929, pp. 14-16. We can not but believe that at least some of the numerous Atlantean figures found at Chichen Itzá represent these mythological personages who held up the sky.

[2] The name is supplied from the Tizimin MS. p. 10; in Landa it is written Canzienal.

[3] Given in Landa as Zacciui, but the associated prognostic is swooning, which is *zac-cimil* in Maya.

[4] Landa, 1929, pp. 16-40.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[6] Brinton 1890, p. 166; Baeza 1845.

[7] *Cf.* p. 103, note 10.

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gest a stone or a pillar set up or erected; but they are evidently personages, and the writer is inclined to identify them with the "angels" described by Landa in his account of the ceremonies preceding the New Year.[1] We have already seen in Chapter XI that the four Pauahtuns were set up before the world was created and were either identical or closely associated with the wind-spirits. Possibly they occupied the same position in the heavens that the Bacabs did on the earthly plane.

Landa has also ascribed to the four Bacabs the names, Chac-xib-chac, Zac-xib-chac, Ek-xib-chac and Kan-xib-chac. These appear to be the rain-gods who were four in number and were set at the four cardinal points. The author of the Motul Dictionary considers them to be one person and states that Chaac "was a gigantic man who taught agriculture and whom they later considered the god of bread, water, thunder and lightning." The names given by Landa could be translated as the Red, White, Black and Yellow male Chacs, or rain-gods.

We find in Landa a detailed description of the ceremonies performed on the five unlucky days which concluded the year.[1] Although they have been considered New Year's ceremonies, in each case the Bacabs and other personages belong to the year which is ending, and not to the coming year for which they are said to be the augury. On pages 25 to 28 of the Dresden Codex is the portrayal of some very similar ceremonies which Seler has analysed and compared with the Landa account.[2]

[1] *Cf.* p. 67, note 5; also Landa 1929, p. 22.
[2] Seler 1902, pp. 357-389.

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APPENDIX B

THE SACRIFICIAL CENOTE AT CHICHEN ITZÁ

Chichen Itzá was at one time not only the greatest and most powerful city in Yucatan, but it was a sacred city as well, a center of pilgrimage to which people flocked from every part of the peninsula and from foreign countries also to make offerings of gold, incense, copper, precious stones and human victims. The city owed its reputation for sanctity to its cenote,[1] or natural well, which was believed to be inhabited by the gods and the spirits of the illustrious dead. It is a great cup-shaped depression in the earth with perpendicular walls, about seventy feet down to the surface of the water and about one hundred and seventy feet across. The sacred well served no utilitarian purpose; the city obtained its water from another more convenient cenote and several artificial wells.

We first hear of the Sacrificial Cenote from Bishop Landa who mentions it several times in his report on the natives of Yucatan. He gives an account of human sacrifice and adds: "Besides killing people in their towns, they had two infamous sanctuaries at Chichen Itzá and Cozumel, where they sent an infinite number of wretched people to be sacrificed. At the former they were flung headlong down a precipice, and at the latter they tore out their hearts."[2] "From the court facing these theaters (two stone platforms in front of the main temple) a broad and handsome causeway led to a well about twice a stone's throw distant. Into this well it was their custom to cast living men as a sacrifice to the Gods in times of drought; and it was their belief that they did not die, although they never saw them any more. They also threw in many other things of precious stone and articles which they highly prized. Thus if this land had contained gold, this well would hold the largest part of it, so devoted were the Indians to it. It is a well with a depth of seven times a man's height down to the water and a breadth of more than one hundred feet. It is round with a sheer precipice down to the water which is extraordinary. The water appears to be very green, and I believe that this is caused by the thicket of trees with which it is surrounded. It is also very deep. Above, close to its mouth, is a small structure where I found idols made in honor of all the principal edifices of the country, almost like the Pantheon at Rome. I do not know whether this was a device of the ancients or of the moderns in order to encounter their idols when they came to this well with offerings. I found pumas carved in the round, (stone) jars and other things such that I do

[1] The word cenote is a Spanish corruption of the Maya *ɔonot*. As the drainage of Yucatan is subterranean and the ponds of surface water are unfit to drink, the water used is drawn either from cenotes or artificial wells. In Maya cheen, which means an artificial well primarily, is also another name for a cenote, hence the name Chichen Itzá, which means the mouth of the well of the Itzá.

[2] Landa 1900, p. 367.

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not know how anyone can say that these people did not have steel tools.[1] I also found two men of great stature each carved from a single block of stone, naked but their modesty preserved by the coverings the Indians formerly used. They had separate heads with ear-rings in the ears such as the Indians used to wear. There was a tenon at the back of the neck which fitted into a deep hole made for it which was also in the neck. When fitted together it made a complete figure."[2] Landa also tells us "that they held Cozumel and the well at Chichen Itzá in as great veneration as we do the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome."[3]

A report by the municipality of Valladolid written in 1579 covers a number of details omitted by Landa. Here we read: "This pyramid (the principal temple of the city) lies between two cenotes of very deep water. One of these is called the Sacrificial Cenote. Chichen Itzá was named for an Indian who lived beside the Sacrificial Cenote and who was called Ah Kin Itzá.[4] It was the custom of the lords and nobles of all these provinces of Valladolid to fast for sixty days without raising their eyes during this time even to look at their wives or those who brought them their food. And this they did in order, when they should arrive at the mouth of that cenote, to cast into it at break of day some Indian women of each of these lords. They had told them that they should ask for an abundant year <and> all those things which occurred to them. Thus when these Indian women were thrown in without being bound but flung down as from a cliff, they fell into the water striking it with great force. Precisely at mid-day the one who was to come forth made a great outcry for them to let down a rope to draw her out. When she came up half dead, they built large fires about her perfuming her with copal incense. After she recovered consciousness, she said that down below there were many of her nation, both men and women, and that they received her; but when she raised her head to look at any of them, they struck her with heavy blows on the back of the neck so that she should keep her head bowed. This was all within the water, below which there were believed to be many hollows and pits. And they replied to her whether there would be an abundant year or a bad one according to the questions which the Indian woman asked of them. And if the devil was angered with any of the lords who threw in the Indian women, when none asked to be drawn out at precisely noon, they knew that he was angry with them and that she would never more come forth. In this it rather resembles

[1] Landa employs the term, *herramientas*, which means iron or steel tools, but he must have meant merely hard metal tools in general. It would seem that he was too well informed about the Indians to believe that they ever had iron or steel.

[2] Landa 1900, pp. 365-366.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[4] Literally the priest Itzá; written Alquin Itzá in the report. Besides being the name of a nation, Itzá is also a common family name in Yucatan.

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what occurred at the cave of Salamanca.[1] Then when it was seen that she was not coming out, that lord and all of his <men> threw great stones into the water and fled precipitately from the place making a great outcry."[2]

We have seen in the Chumayel,[3] however, that one man at least did not flee in terror from the cenote when none of the messengers to the gods returned. This was Hunac Ceel, later the head-chief of Mayapan who conquered Chichen Itzá and drove out its inhabitants.[4] He was evidently of the stuff of which rulers are made, a man with sufficient courage and force of character to shape his own destiny. When no one appeared on the surface of the water crying to be drawn out, he realized that the prophecy must be obtained at any cost. "It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich, was the name of the man there who put out his head over the mouth of the well on the south side. Then he went to get it. Then he came forth to declare the prophecy." There can be but one interpretation of this terse statement: Hunac Ceel cast himself into the cenote and returned from its depths bringing the desired prophecy.

In his account of the visit of Father Alonso Ponce to Yucatan in the summer of 1588, Antonio de Ciudad Real, the reputed author of the Motul Dictionary, tells of the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá and adds the detail that "they even say that in the wall of this well or *zonote* there is a cave which enters a considerable distance within <the cliff>."[5] In his description of the ruins of Mayapan the same writer describes the principal pyramid and states: "Near the foot of this *mul* (pyramid) there is a very deep *zonote* with a very flat stone at the edge of its mouth from which (as they say) they flung down those whom they sacrificed to their gods."[6] Stephens found a cenote at Mayapan near the base of one of the larger pyramids there but states that it was in a cave. "The entrance was by a broken, yawning mouth, steep, and requiring some care in the descent."[7]

Long after Chichen Itzá ceased to be of political importance, its sacred cenote continued to draw pilgrims. The last pilgrimage of which we have any knowledge was in 1536, and although its members never reached the holy spot, the event had considerable influence on the history of the country. "The Spaniards having gone forth from Yucatan (1535), there was a scarcity of water in the land, and as they had used their maize recklessly in the wars with the Spaniards, there came upon them a great hunger, so great that they were

[1] There was a story of an enchanted cave at Salamanca in Spain which contained an oracle. Of seven who entered to consult the oracle only six ever returned (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 26, note 1).

[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 25-26.

[3] *Cf.* p. 75.

[4] *Cf.* p. 137 and Appendix C.

[5] Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 404.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 471. Ciudad Real apparently confused the Mayapan cenote with the one at Chichen Itzá.

[7] Stephens 1843, I, p. 134.

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even brought to eat the bark of trees, especially one which they called *cumche*,[1] which is soft and tender inside. On account of this famine the Xiu who are Lords of Mani resolved to make a solemn sacrifice to the idols, bearing certain slaves, both men and maidens, to be thrown into the well of Chichen Itzá, and to reach which they have to pass by the town of the Lords Cocomes, their principal enemies, and so thinking that at such a time ancient passions would not be renewed in this land, they (the Xiu) sent to them (the Cocom) asking them to let them (the Xiu) pass through their land. And the Cocomes deceived them with a fair reply, and giving them shelter all together in one great house they set fire to it and slew those who escaped, and for this reason there were great wars."[2] Here we have the complete story of the murder of Napot Xiu mentioned on pages 138, 142 and 146 of the present work. From this it would appear that the rain-god was one of the divinities who dwelt in the Sacrificial Cenote.

In a report written in 1581 by one of the early Spanish settlers who tells us that he received much of his information from Gaspar Antonio Chi, we read: "At one time all this land was under the dominion of a lord who dwelt at the ancient city of Chichen Itzá and to whom all the lords of this province were tributaries. And even from without the province, from Mexico, Guatemala, Chiapas and other provinces they sent them presents in token of peace and friendship."[3] We can not but believe that these foreign embassies, which must have traveled for weeks through tropical forests, swamps and waterless wastes to reach a far-off city in northeastern Yucatan, were motivated more by the religious veneration which its famous sanctuary enjoyed than by the political prestige which its rulers enjoyed in such a distant country.

[1] The *cumche*, or *kumche*, has been identified as *Leucopremna mexicana* (A. DC.) Standl. and is called *bonete* in Spanish (Roys 1931, p., 259).

[2] Landa 1928, pp. 112-114, translated by S. G. Morley, 1920, p. 478.

[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 120.

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APPENDIX C

THE HUNAC CEEL EPISODE

The conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel and his allies is without doubt one of the most interesting and puzzling episodes in Maya history. It might well be called the Trojan War of Yucatan, for tradition ascribes as its cause the theft of the wife of a powerful ruler by the chieftain of another great and famous city. As in the case of its classical counterpart, the immediate cause of the trouble may have been the abduction of the wife, but the struggle doubtless originated in political jealousies of long standing and the desire of one city to obtain control of economic resources previously enjoyed by another.

From about the year 1000 A.D. the three cities of Chichen Itzá, Mayapan and Uxmal had ruled over the rest of northern Yucatan, and there is evidence that the most powerful of them was Chichen Itzá.[1] Then late in the Twelfth Century, Hunac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, organized a conspiracy against Chichen Itzá, as the result of which he conquered the latter city aided by seven foreign Mexican captains and probably also by the people of Izamal. The consequences were far-reaching. Not only was there a permanent readjustment of the political forces of northern Yucatan by which the country was governed solely from Mayapan for the next two centuries and a half, but also it resulted in the migration of a considerable portion of the Itzá nation to the distant region of Lake Peten in what is now the Republic of Guatemala.

The oustanding personality of the episode was Hunac Ceel.[2] Although we do not know the details of his conspiracy, it is evident that he played a sinister part in the affair. Incomplete accounts of the event occur in the formal chronicles of the Books of Chilam Balam, and confused details are also contributed by the fragmentary historical narratives which are to be found in these manuscripts. The episode still remains a puzzle, because these details are given in a more or less incoherent form and it is difficult to determine the order in which they occurred.

We have seen a number of references to the event in the present work, but the most complete account is to be found in the chronicle of the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which is as follows: "In <Katun> 8 Ahau the *halach-uinic*, or head-chief, of Chichen Itzá was driven out because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel; and this happened to Chac-xib-chac of Chichen Itzá because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel,[3] the head-chief of Mayapan, the for-

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 120, 147, 176, 200, 214, 225, 242 and 270.

[2] The episode of the Sacrificial Cenote, recorded in Chapter II and discussed in Appendix B, shows that Hunac Ceel was an unusually bold and resourceful person.

[3] This expression, *u keban-than Hunac Ceel*, can in the writer's opinion be translated only as the treachery or plot of Hunac Ceel. It has usually been translated as the plotting or treachery against Hunac Ceel, although Brinton admits that the former rendering seems more correct (Brinton 1882, p. 129).

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tress. Four score years and ten years; it was in Tun 10 of <Katun> 8 Ahau. That was the year when <Chichen Itzá> was depopulated by Ah Zinteyut Chan, Tzuntecum, Taxcal, Pantemit, Xucheueut, Itzcuat and Kakaltecat. It was in this same Katun 8 Ahau that they went to drive out Ah Ulmil, the ruler, because of the banquet[1] with Ulil, the ruler of Itzmal. It was thirteen folds of katuns[2] when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire."[3]

So far as we can tell from our present knowledge of Maya history, this appears to have been a struggle between two branches of the Itzá nation, one of which was at Chichen Itzá and the other at Mayapan. The Itzá occupation of Chichen Itzá in the Tenth Century is well known, and we learn from the Relaciones de Yucatan that "Izamal was conquered by Kak-u-pacal and Uilo, valorous captains of the Itzá who were the people who founded Mayapan."[4] Moreover this was not the first conflict between these two Itzá factions, for we have already seen in the third Chumayel chronicle that Chakanputun, the former home of the inhabitants of Chichen Itzá, was depopulated by the same Kak-u-pacal and Uilo (or Uilu) in the Tenth Century A.D.[5] It has never been satisfactorily explained just who the Itzá were. Although their connection with the history of Yucatan began at a very early period, the native literature always refers to them as a people apart. They were feared and hated, but at the same time regarded as holy men. They spoke the Maya language, but are called *ah-nunob* which means "those who speak our language brokenly." Their customs were certainly different from those of the rest of the people of northern Yucatan, for they are called rogues, people without fathers or mothers and people who are disobedient to their fathers and mothers. Indeed this last epithet was a very mild statement of the facts in the case, for Avendaño tells us that they had the custom of beheading the older men when they passed the age of fifty, "so that they shall not learn to be wizards and to kill; except the priests of their idols, for whom they have great respect."[6]

Of special interest is the part taken in the conquest of Chichen Itzá by the seven men of Mayapan. Brinton has noted that their names have a Nahuatl appearance, which seems to confirm the statements of Landa and

[1] Maya, *uahaluah*. The writer agrees with Brinton and Martínez who have translated this as banquet. It must be admitted, however, that the word could also mean an abundance of bread.

[2] This was thirteen katuns after the Itzá were driven from Chakanputun.

[3] Brinton 1882, p. 97. *Cf.* Chumayel p. 137, note 4. The writer believes this to be a reference to the questionnaire given in Chapter IX, the so-called *naat*. An alternative translation is possible: because they were so given to understand; but we are told that Chac-xib-chac was trampled upon, and this was one of the usual penalties for not being able to answer the questionnaire. *Cf.* Tizimin MS. pp. 22-23, also p. 93 of the present work.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269.

[5] *Cf.* p. 141.

[6] Means 1917, p. 132.

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Herrera that at one time the rulers of Mayapan brought in Mexican warriors from the province of Tabasco to assist them in controlling the Maya inhabitants of northern Yucatan. These were the people called Ah Canul who later settled in the province of that name in western Yucatan after the fall of Mayapan.[1]

In the second Chumayel chronicle we read: "then came the treachery of Hunac Ceel. Their town (Chichen Itzá) was abandoned, and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul, as it is called." This is important, for Avendaño locates this place near Lake Peten, around which the Itzá were living at the time of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico and northern Yucatan. Here they maintained their independence until the close of the Seventeenth Century. They told Father Fuensalida, a Spanish missionary who visited them in 1618, that they had come there from Chichen Itzá. According to their story, in a certain Katun 8 Ahau one of their rulers at Chichen Itzá stole the bride of another more powerful chieftain during the wedding festivities. Fearing the consequences of the act, the offender and his subjects abandoned their city and retired to Lake Peten.[2] The connection of this event with the Hunac Ceel episode is further confirmed by the historical fragment in the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which tells of the same affair. Here it is stated that an unspecified person "sinned against Ah Ulil, the ruler <of Izamal>, against the wife of his fellow-ruler."[3] We conclude that it was the ruler of Izamal whose bride was stolen. Why it was Hunac Ceel and his Mexican captains who avenged the offense by the sack of Chichen Itzá, and why the Maya chronicles ascribe the trouble to the treachery of Hunac Ceel, is a problem which the writer is unable to solve.

It appears that the city of Izamal had another grievance against Chichen Itzá, but the precise nature of it is uncertain. In the obscurely written historical fragment already cited we read that the son (or possibly the sons) of "holy Izamal" was given in tribute (or perhaps put under tribute) to feed and nourish Hapay Can.[4] We have seen in Chapter II of the present work that after the fall of Chichen Itzá and the degradation of Chac-xib-chac Hapay Can was taken to Uxmal, where he was pierced by an arrow.[5] Unfortunately we are nowhere told who or what Hapay Can was. The translation of the name is Sucking-snake. The Lacandons still believe in an evil spirit of this name who drew people to him with his breath and killed them. At the end of the world the chief god of the Lacandons will wear the body of Hapay Can around his waist as a belt.[6] The historical fragment cited above would imply

[1] Brinton 1882, p. 129; Landa 1928, p. 80; Herrera 1726, decad. 3, book 6, chap. 3. *Cf.* p. 66, note 11.
[2] Cogolludo 1868, book 9, chap. 14; Villagutierre Soto Mayor 1701, p. 30.
[3] Codex Perez, p. 120. *"tumenel zipci ti Ah Ulil ti cħuplal yatan yet-ahaulil."*
[4] Codex Perez, pp. 120-121; Tizimin, pp. 22-23.
[5] *Cf.* p. 67.
[6] *Cf.* p. 67, note 2: Tozzer 1907, p. 94.

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that this fabulous serpent actually ate the son of the ruler of Izamal, but the writer would suggest the two following interpretations of the statement. Either Hapay Can was an idol at Chichen Itzá to which the people of Izamal were sacrificed, or else it was the title of an important personage, perhaps a God Impersonator, at Chichen Itzá who was maintained in state by tribute from Izamal. The latter alternative is favored by the statement that he was pierced by an arrow at Uxmal, which suggests a person, while the former is

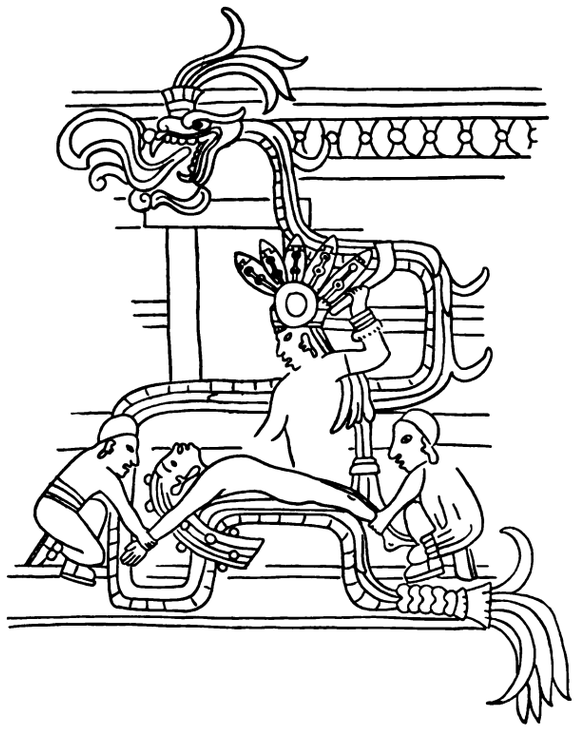

FIG. 44—Human sacrifice scene. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. (Restored by Ann Axtell Morris.)

supported by the mural fresco in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá, where we see the sacrifice of a human victim who lies stretched across one of the coils of a huge plumed serpent.[1] We can find no confirmation for the possibility that there was a sacred serpent at Chichen Itzá which was actually fed with human victims.

In any case Chichen Itzá was depopulated at this time, and the inhabitants fled to Tan-xuluc-mul in the region of Lake Peten. Evidently a considerable number of them did not remain permanently in the south, although no doubt many of them did. We have seen in the first Chumayel chronicle that about forty years later, it was in Katun "4 Ahau, when the land of Ich-

[1] Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Plate 145. See figure 44. Here, however, the serpent appears to be Kukulcan, and not Hapaycan.

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paa Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel."[1] This indicates that the inhabitants of Izamal also had a hand in driving out the people of Chichen Itzá. After their return these Itzá appear to have joined forces with their conquered enemies of Mayapan, for from that

FIG. 45—Typical Itzá priest. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

time down to the fall of the latter city in the middle of the Fifteenth Century we find Mayapan enjoying the hegemony of all northern Yucatan.

After the end of the Twelfth Century we hear nothing more of Chichen Itzá as an important political power, but its sacred cenote continued to be a center of pilgrimage down to the time of the Spanish Conquest.

[1] *Cf.* p. 137.

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APPENDIX D

THE MAYA PROPHECIES

Prophecy played an important part in the lives of the Maya and occupied a prominent position in their literature. Nor was the Maya prophet without honor in his own country. Foretelling the future was the profession of a special branch of the priesthood, the members of which were called *chilans*. The word means mouthpiece, spokesman or interpreter, and it was the *chilans* who delivered to the people the responses of the gods. They were held in such high esteem that they were carried on men's shoulders when they went abroad.[1] In the Tizimin manuscript we find an account[2] of the manner in which Chilam Balam gave his prophecy, and it is likely that it was the customary method with this class of priests. He retired to a room in his home where he lay prostrate[3] in a trance while the god or spirit, perched on the ridgepole of the house, spoke to the unconscious *chilan* below. Then the other priests assembled, probably in the reception hall of the house, and listened to the revelation with their faces bowed down to the floor.

Broadly speaking, Maya prophecies fall into four classes: day-prophecies, year-prophecies, katun-prophecies and special prophecies of the return of Quetzalcoatl, or Kukulcan as he was called by the Maya.

What we have termed the day-prophecy is more properly a prognostic, probably the business of the *ah-kinyah*, or diviner, rather than that of the *chilan*. Every one of the 260 days of the *tzolkin*, or tonalamatl, is specified as being lucky or unlucky, and many of them are followed by further prognostications telling whether the day is suitable for certain undertakings, lucky for certain professions and trades, auspicious for sowing certain crops, etc. These divinations are probably the scanty remnant of an extensive hieroglyphic literature exemplified by the numerous *tzolkin* series found in the Maya picture manuscripts. Although these almanacs are perhaps the most constant feature of the various Books of Chilam Balam, no series of this sort occurs in the Chumayel.

The predictions for the years, however, fall definitely in the field of genuine prophecy. Two versions of the series of prophecies for the twenty years of a certain Katun 5 Ahau have come down to us in the books of Tizimin and Mani. The one in the latter manuscript is entitled "*Cuceb*," which means squirrel, for some unknown reason. It seems likely that these were originally the predictions corresponding to the twenty tuns of this katun, but the versions

[1] Landa 1928, p. 192. The content of their prophecies indicates that they continued to carry on the Mexican traditions of the Itzá.

[2] Chilam Balam of Tizimin, pp. 13, 14.

[3] This is a Maya pun; *chil-cabal* means stretched out prostrate on the ground.

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which we have, ascribed them to the Maya year, or *haab*, of 365 days, giving the name of the first day of each such year. As in the words of the minor Hebrew prophets, a surprisingly large proportion of the predictions are unfavorable. Drought, famine, pestilence are freely foretold, to say nothing of war, political upheavals, the sacking of towns and the captivity of the inhabitants. Many misfortunes are symbolized by the name of the deity which

FIG. 46—Typical Itzá sorcerer. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

Taken from the colored fresco reproduced in Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Plate 156 c. This personage undoubtedly belongs to the highest priestly class, as he wears not only the hat with green plumes, but also the white robe of the priests of Kukulcan mentioned in the prophecies. For these reasons we are inclined to identify him with the *chilan*.

brought them, and there are valuable references to religious ceremonies. The latter, coming as they do from a purely native source, are of especial importance, since practically all our knowledge of the Maya religion comes from the accounts of the Spanish missionaries who were obviously prejudiced.

Of all the prophecies, those of the katuns possess the greatest historical interest. As the Maya commentator himself tells us on page 78 of the Chumayel, they are essentially historical in character. This appears to be because whatever has occurred in the past during a certain katun is expected to recur

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in the future during another katun of the same name. The katun was named for the day Ahau with its numerical coefficient on which the period ended. A katun of the same name recurred after approximately 256 years, consequently at the end of that time history was expected to repeat itself. The events recounted in the Maya Chronicles found in the Mani, Tizimin and Chumayel manuscripts offer excellent grounds for believing that this belief was so strong at times as to actually influence the course of history. A surprisingly large proportion of the important upheavals in Maya history appear to have occurred in some katun named either 4 Ahau or 8 Ahau.

That the katun-prophecies written in European script in the Books of Chilam Balam correspond closely to their original form, is confirmed by the account of Father Avendaño who drew his information from the actual hieroglyphic manuscripts of the independent Itzá. The missionary's familiarity with such books and his ability to read and expound them to the Indians indicate that similar hieroglyphic manuscripts were still available for study in northern Yucatan during the last part of the Seventeenth Century, for the few days he spent at Tayasal certainly did not allow sufficient time to acquire the knowledge.

Avendaño's account explains so well the prophecies in the Books of Chilam Balam that it deserves to be given in full. It is as follows:

"I told them that I wished to speak to them of the old manner of reckoning which they use, both of days, months and years and of the ages, and to find out what age the present one might be (since for them one age consists only of twenty years) and what prophecy there was about the said year and age; for it is all recorded in certain books of a quarter of a yard high and about five fingers broad, made of the bark of trees, folded from one side to the other like screens; each leaf of the thickness of a Mexican *Real* of eight. These are painted on both sides with a variety of figures and characters (of the same kind as the Mexican Indians also used in their old times), which shows not only the count of the said days, months and years, but also the ages and prophecies which their idols and images announced to them, or, to speak more accurately, the devil by means of the worship which they pay to him in the form of some stones. These ages are thirteen in number; each age has its separate idol and its priest, with a separate prophecy of its events. These thirteen ages are divided into thirteen parts, which divide this kingdom of Yucathan and each age, with its idol, priest and prophecy, rules in one of these thirteen parts of this land, according as they have divided it; I do not give the names of the idols, priests or parts of the land, so as not to cause trouble, although I have made a treatise[1] on these old counts with all their differences and explanations, so that they may be evident to all, and the curious may learn them, for if we do not know them, I affirm that the Indians can betray us face to face."[2]

[1] Entitled "Explicación de varios vaticinios de los antiguos Indios de Yucatan." MS. Listed in Eguiara's Biblioteca Mexicana. This interesting work by Avendaño has disappeared.

[2] Means 1917, p. 141.

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We could hardly ask for a more accurate description of the katun-prophecies as we find them in the Books of Chilam Balam. About the only difference is that they are not written in hieroglyphics. All of them give the name of the katun, the place where it is "established" and a deity who is called "the face of the katun." The last named, however, is not described as an idol, but is said to be in the sky, or heavens. In the Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts the prophecy is not accompanied by the name of its corresponding priest, but we find the names of these priests in the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani and Kaua. Of the prophecies themselves, more of them are unfavorable than favorable, but we do not find the complete pessimism which prevails in the year-prophecies.

In the Books of Chilam Balam we find two different series of katun-prophecies, both covering the thirteen katuns which make up the "*u kahlay katunob*," *i.e.* the record of the katuns. They begin with Katun 11 Ahau, which is called the first katun because it commences with the day 1 Imix, the first day of the *tzol-kin*, or tonalamatl, and ends with Katun 13 Ahau. This period of thirteen katuns is the least common denominator of the 260 day *tzol-kin* and the katun which consists of 7200 days.

The first of these two series is evidently the older, as it takes little account of the events which occurred after the Spanish Conquest, although it does mention the actual conquest. Also its language is somewhat more symbolic than that of the other. The second series of prophecies was probably compiled at some time later than the second decade of the Seventeenth Century, judging from some of the historical allusions which it contains. Most of these allusions, however, date from before the discovery of America.

The second and later series of prophecies is completely recorded in the Chumayel, but of the first, only abbreviated versions of the prophecies for Katuns 11, 4, 2 and 13 Ahau occur. The second series is complete in the Tizimin manuscript, which also contains the prophecies of the first series. In the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani, Oxcutzcab and Kaua only the thirteen prophecies of the first series are to be found.

In both of these series of katun-prophecies the more ancient allusions are to the history of the Itzá, so far as we are able to identify them.

If Avendaño was the only Spanish writer to concern himself with the katun-prophecies, such was not the case with the special prophecies which deal with the return of Quetzalcoatl. These aroused the interest of most of the early missionaries, since they were believed to foretell the coming of the Spaniards and the conversion of the Maya to Christianity. Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre all published Spanish translations of five of these, and Lizana even went so far as to quote the Maya text. To anyone who knew them only through these Spanish translations, they would appear to be inspired by missionary propaganda; but an examination of the Maya text leads to a conviction

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of their genuine character, in spite of the fact that any mention of the name of Quetzalcoatl has been carefully deleted. This personage is, however, mentioned in the most obscure and guarded terms in a sixth prophecy by Chilam Balam found in the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts.[1] A seventh prophecy, also ascribed to Chilam Balam, is thoroughly pagan in character, but confines its statements to predicting misfortunes of a general character in Katun 13 Ahau. Its language is archaic, and it approaches more closely the European idea of poetry than anything else found in Maya literature.[2] Only in an eighth prophecy, ascribed to Ah Xupan Nauat, do we find a statement obviously inspired by the event itself. Here the arrival of the white men is foretold as occurring in the eighth year of Katun 13 Ahau. If Katun 13 Ahau began in 1519, this is altogether too accurate a prediction of Montejo's landing on the east coast of Yucatan in 1527 to be credited to a man said to have lived under Hun Uitzil Chac at Uxmal about the Eleventh Century A.D.[3]

The five Maya prophets quoted by Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre were Ah Kauil Chel, Napuctun, Natzin Yabun Chan, Nahau Pech and Chilam Balam It is possible that the first two were contemporaries of Ah Xupan Nauat, as the three names appear to be associated. Nothing is known of Natzin Yabun Chan to the translator. Nahau Pech is believed to have lived about four katuns, or eighty years, before the coming of the whites, which would be about the time of the fall of Mayapan. He was probably a member of the powerful Pech family which governed the Province of Ceh Pech at the time of the Conquest. The last and greatest of the Maya prophets was Chilam Balam. Balam in this case was probably the man's family name, and as among ourselves the name of his profession was prefixed to it as a title.

[1] Chumayel p. 64; Tizimin p. 14; Mani p. 109 of B.L.C. No. 43.

[2] Tizimin p. 19. This is the prophecy translated in part by Brinton (1882, p. 126) as follows:

"Eat, eat, thou hast bread;
Drink, drink, thou hast water;
On that day, dust possesses the earth,
On that day, a blight is on the face of the earth,
On that day, a cloud rises,
On that day, a mountain rises,
On that day, a strong man seizes the land,
On that day, things fall to ruin,
On that day, the tender leaf is destroyed,
On that day, the dying eyes are closed,
On that day, three signs are on the tree,
On that day, three generations hang there,
On that day, the battle flag is raised,
And they are scattered afar in the forests."

[3] Mani apud B.L.C. No. 43, p. 116. The prophet is identified in Tizimin, p. 13.

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Chilam Balam lived at Mani during the reign of Mochan Xiu.[1] In Katun 2 Ahau[2] he predicted that in the Katun 13 Ahau following, bearded men would come from the east and introduce a new religion. His prophecy was somewhat more definite than those of his predecessors, except for the suspicious case already mentioned. This can be accounted for by rumors of the arrival of the Spaniards in the West Indies, for we know that fishing canoes were occasionally driven across to Yucatan by storms.[3] What Chilam Balam had in mind was the return of Quetzalcoatl and his white-robed priests, but after the Spaniards landed in Yucatan in Katun 13 Ahau according to schedule, he never ceased to be regarded as the most famous of the Maya prophets.

We have associated five of these six prophets with the provinces governed by the Xiu, Pech and Chel families. It is worthy of note that Montejo and his soldiers received a more friendly reception in these three provinces than in any other part of Yucatan.

The following table will be useful to the student who wishes to make a comparison of the various versions of the prophecies found in the Books of Chilam Balam.[4]

	Chumayel reproduction	Mani (in Codex Perez)	Oxkutzcab (in Codex Perez)	Tizimin
	pp.	*pp.*	*pp.*	*pp.*
Year-prophecies		101-114		1-13
Katun-prophecies, 1st series	13, 72-74	75-90	153-165	20, 23-29, 36
Katun-prophecies, 2d series	83-100			29-33
Special prophecies of the return of Kukulcan and of a new religion	103-107	70-75	166-170	17-18
Special prophecy of Chilam Balam in which the Antonio Martínez story is interpolated	64-67	65-69		13-16

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 45.

[2] Chilam Balam of Tizimin, page 36. Katun 2 Ahau covered approximately the first two decades of the Sixteenth Century.

[3] Herrera 1725, II, p. 121. Dec. 2, Book 4, Chap. 4.

[4] The prognostics for the days are not really prophecies in the same sense as the above and are not listed in this table.

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APPENDIX E

TRADITIONS OF CASTE AND CHIEFTAINSHIP AMONG THE MAYA

Although chieftainship in Yucatan was not always hereditary in the strictest sense of the word, it was only considered legitimate when confined to certain families, and a proper rank was most essential. Apparently it was not necessary to have established this social position in the particular locality in question, for after the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century when the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries at the capital, were allowed to settle in western Yucatan, they were promptly accepted as chiefs by the people living in that region. As we are told in the Calkini chronicle, "they were not pretenders to chieftainship nor were they provokers of discord." They were legitimate chiefs, even though they had been driven by revolution from the capital which had been their home for centuries. So "they began to love the towns and the local chiefs, and they were also loved by the towns there where my great ancestor governed men."[1]

Maya society, broadly speaking, was divided into two classes, nobles and commoners. The former were called *almehen*, and the latter, *mazeual*. *Al* designates the son of a woman and *mehen* a man's son. Consequently the word *almehen* means one who had a father and a mother, both presumably persons of distinction. Oddly enough, the term parallels its Spanish equivalent, *hidalgo*, which is the abbreviation of *hijo de algo*, the son of somebody. *Mazeual* was a foreign word borrowed from the Toltec intruders into Yucatan. In the Nahuatl language as well as in Maya it meant the ordinary agricultural laborer who was not eligible to political office. The Maya language itself bears frequent evidence of static social conditions in spite of wars and political revolutions. For example, *pic-ɔacab* (literally innumerable generations) is defined in the Sixteenth Century Motul Dictionary as: "by inheritance from one's ancestors, by caste, by lineage, by family or from far back." An example is given which is translated: "By caste, by lineage, by inheritance from his ancestors or from far back, the chieftainship comes to Juan, or he comes to be a farmer," etc.[2] So in spite of certain communistic aspects of Maya society, it was anything but democratic.

From the time of the fall of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest we find two classes of chieftains in Yucatan, the *halach-uinic* and the *batab*. The former, literally the real man, was the governor, or head-chief, of a district, and the latter was the local municipal executive officer. *Halach-uinic* has usually been translated as governor and *batab* as cacique or chief. The objec-

[1] Crónica de Calkini, pp. 13, 14.

[2] Maya: *"Pic-ɔacab u talel Juan ti batabil, tah colil,"* etc. This explains the importance of genealogy among the Maya. *Cf.* Landa 1928, p. 168, and page 89 of the present work.

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tion to calling the former a governor is that in Spanish colonial times the local *batab* was given the title of *Gobernador* and frequently appears as such in official documents. After the Conquest of course the native office of *halach-uinic* disappeared. Consequently in the present work *batab* has been rendered as "chief" and *halach-uinic*, as "head-chief." There was probably also a religious aspect to the office of *halach-uinic* judging by the definition of the term given by the Motul Dictionary: "*Obispo, oydor, governador, o comissario; es nombre para estas dignidades y otras semejantes.*" Another term, *ahau*, was applied to some of the head-chiefs of the various territorial divisions of Yucatan. In the present work this has been translated as "ruler," although we can not be certain as to just what it implied. The Motul Dictionary defines *ahau* as "king, emperor, monarch, prince or great lord," and in colonial times it was the Maya title of the King of Spain. We know that before the Conquest the head-chiefs of three of the so-called provinces[1] were called Ahau Pech, Ahau Chel and Ahau Cocom.[2] Strangely enough we nowhere find the title, *Ahau*, given to any of the Xiu rulers, the *halach-uinics*[3] of the Province of Mani, although they seem to have been the most powerful in Yucatan at the time of the Spanish Conquest. In some provinces there may have been more than one head-chief,[4] while in others we find only a loose confederation of local *batabs*.[5]

Landa would have us believe that the office of head-chief was hereditary. "If when the lord died there were no sons <old enough> to rule and if he had brothers, the eldest of the brothers governed or else the one who was most at liberty <to do so>. These instructed the heir in their usages and festivals in view of the time when he should become a man; and even when the heir was <old enough> to govern, these brothers continued in command all during their lives. If there were no brothers, the priests and leading people chose a man who was capable."[6] It is difficult to reconcile this account with what we find to have been the actual practise. In that unique document, the Xiu family tree,[7] which covers the period from the destruction of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest, we find that during the last two generations the office of *halach-uinic* passed through two different branches of the Xiu family, and not from father to son nor even from brother to brother. We know that the grandfather of the famous interpreter, Gaspar Antonio Chi, was the Xiu *halach-uinic* who was murdered at Otzmal by Nachi Cocom; and he appears in the Xiu family tree as Ah Ɔulub Xiu, although he was also known as Ah

[1] After the fall of Mayapan these so-called provinces, or *cacicazgos*, were really independent states.

[2] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech (Brinton 1882, p. 195).

[3] The English plural form has been applied to Maya terms here. The Maya plural would really be *halach-uinicob*.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, pp. 23, 53, 150.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 104; also Crónica de Calkini.

[6] Landa 1928, pp. 170-172. This resembles the rules of succession among the Nahuas of Mexico. *Cf.* Zurita 1891, pp. 79-80.

[7] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9; Blom 1928, p. 258.

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Oun Xiu.[1] He had two sons and two younger brothers, one of whom survived him, but his successor, christened Francisco de Montejo Xiu, was the second son of his second cousin, Ah Ziyah Xiu, who also met his death at Otzmal.

The head-chief of the Province of Ceh Pech always belonged to the Pech family, and in Ah Kin Chel the Chel family governed. In Zotuta the Cocom family was supreme, while in the Provinces of the Cupuls and of Cochuah we find members of the Cupul and Cochuah families in power. In addition to being noble, such families enjoyed the further distinction of being called "the first lineage" in the provinces in which they were supreme. In Ceh Pech, for example, Nakuk Pech referred to himself and his relatives as belonging to the "first lineage,"[2] and the families of the head-chiefs of other provinces probably enjoyed a similar distinction. We can not be certain of the method employed for determining the succession among the various members of the family when the *halach-uinic* died. It may have been hereditary, as explained by Landa, in some families, while in others it was probably a matter of personal prestige.

So far as we can learn, the powers of the *halach-uinic* appear to have been very broad. Certainly he took the lead in formulating both foreign and domestic policy, but we get the general impression that he had an advisory council composed of the more important *batabs* and priests. The towns of his territory paid him tribute in the form of grain, fowls, honey, game, cotton cloth, precious stones and sometimes even slaves. We find no mention of gold in this connection, probably because gold was not produced in Yucatan. The tribute does not seem to have been onerous, and under the Xius of Mani it is said to have been very light, little more than a matter of form in fact. In time of war it was obligatory for each town to furnish the quota of fighting men demanded by the head-chief. The maritime provinces often fought to prevent outsiders from fishing or gathering salt on their coasts, and there were many petty wars over boundary disputes.[3]

"The lords were absolute in command, and what they ordered was carried out without fail. They had in the towns caciques <*batabs*> or a person of rank[4] to listen to lawsuits and public demands. He received the litigants or negotiators, and when the case was heard, if the matter was a serious one, he discussed it with the lord. To settle it, other officials were appointed who were like lawyers and *alguaciles*,[5] and they always took part in the presence of the judges. The latter and the lords could receive gratuities from both parties."[6]

[1] Morley 1920, pp. 478, 507; Blom 1928, p. 254.
[2] Maya, *yax chibal*. Brinton 1882, p. 201.
[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, I and II.
[4] Maya, *hol-pop* (he who sits at the head of the mat). *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 90, 95.
[5] Probably the *ah-kulel*. These are defined as "advocates, mediators between any people" (Motul).
[6] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. IV, Chap. 3.

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In some cases the *halach-uinic* himself acted as judge.[1]

The *batab*, or local chief, was appointed by the *halach-uinic*,[2] who frequently gave the position to one of his own family connections. Other noble families were by no means excluded, but we find a considerable proportion of the local chiefs belonging to the "first lineage" in the Provinces of Ceh Pech, Zotuta and Cupul. Landa tells us that at the death of the *batab* his son was appointed in his place by the head-chief,[3] if he was found suitable for the position. Nevertheless we also find the capable sons of local chiefs appointed to govern other towns during their fathers' lifetime.[4]

The *batab* was the local magistrate and executive. He took an important part in the conduct of war,[5] although there was also a war-chief called the *nacom*.[6] The *batab's* power could hardly have been arbitrary, for he was subject to influence and probably even pressure at times from three different quarters. Certainly he had to carry out the orders of the *halach-uinic* who had appointed him. Then he was obliged to cooperate with the local priest, who was the diviner and prophet and "whom they (the people) obeyed, though not so much as they did the *batabs*."[7] Furthermore we learn that he had two or three advisers called *ah-cuch-cab* who could veto his decisions in the village council.[8] It is probable that these last represented the interests of the wealthier members of the community. As a matter of practise these things did not always work out according to rule. Sometimes the *batab* was in a position where he could afford to pay little attention to the *halach-uinic*, as in some parts of the Province of the Cupuls, and in other cases he was able to override the objections of the town-council. His government was decidedly of a paternal character. Besides presiding at the local council and holding court, he also gave directions for repairing the houses of individual citizens as well as the municipal buildings, preparing the fields for cultivation and planting crops at such times as the priest declared proper.[9]

As to the remuneration of the *batabs*, we are told that "they did not pay them any tribute; they only supported them from what they manufactured and sowed."[10] This information is supplemented by the decrees of the Spanish governors of Yucatan in confirmation of certain old rights and privileges granted in perpetuity to a number of native families whose members had aided in the Conquest and reorganization of the country. Adjoining the town

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. IV, Chap. 4; Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 227.
[2] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech. Brinton 1882, p. 216.
[3] Landa 1928, p. 72.
[4] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech. Brinton 1882, pp. 216-241; Xiu family tree, Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9.
[5] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 208.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 185 and 209; Landa 1928, p. 206.
[7] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 182.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 104, 182, 211.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, p. 80, II, p. 210.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 103-104.

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of Oxkutzcab was a village called Yaxa, the chief of which was favored by such a grant. In the year 1608 we find the official Protector of the Indians petitioning the Governor to confirm the rights of Don Pedro Xiu, a descendant of the original grantee. The grant compelled local *gobernador* and *alcaldes* of Yaxa to see to it that the village cultivated each year a cornfield for the support of Don Pedro Xiu and his wife, supplied each week a man and a woman for domestic service, and repaired the buildings comprising the Xiu residence as often as it might be needed.[1] The measure was a wise one on the part of the Spanish government, calculated to preserve the loyalty of the more influential Maya families, and it continued in force down to the end of the colonial period.

New light is cast on the traditions of caste and chieftainship among the Maya by the chapter in the Chumayel which the translator has entitled "The Interrogation of the Chiefs." This formality took place at the beginning of each katun[2] and was a sort of civil service examination conducted by the *halach-uinic* with the object of weeding out from the ranks of legitimate chieftainship the upstarts, pretenders and those who had obtained office under false pretenses. Many of the prescribed questions and answers are trivial, and the questionnaire which has come down to us contains references to horses, which shows us that it had been altered a little to correspond to the new conditions since the Spanish Conquest. Nevertheless three important facts are brought out in this chapter. The first is that there was a firmly established tradition of such an examination; the second, that the proof of legitimacy was considered to be certain knowledge supposed to have been handed down from father to son in families eligible to chieftainship; the third, that this occult knowledge was known as the "language of Zuyua."

The name Zuyua is inseparably connected with the Toltec penetration of Yucatan, which left a number of Nahuatl words in the Maya language. Many such words are those associated with ideas of political power and social standing. The Xius believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua,[3] and Brinton has identified Zuyua with the Mexican Zuiven, "the name of the uppermost heaven, the abode of the Creator, Hometecutli, the father of Quetzalcoatl, and the place of his first birth as a divinity."[4]

The foregoing indicates that only members of those families in which certain Toltec traditions had been handed down were eligible to chieftainship. It is uncertain whether such families were actually of Mexican descent, but confirmation of the long-standing Nahua affiliations of the ruling families is found in Landa's account of the annual festival in honor of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, at Mani, the capital of the Province of the Xius. This festival

[1] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 15-16.
[2] The katun was a chronological period of 7200 days, approximately twenty years.
[3] Brinton 1882, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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had been celebrated at Mayapan until the destruction of that city, and it was peculiarly the affair of the chiefs and priests who had assembled from the various parts of the country.[1] The other provinces contributed each year in turn four or five feather banners which played an important part in the ceremonies, and the various *halach-uinics*, so frequently at war with one another, appear for the time being to have forgotten their feuds and enmities. During the last five days of the month of Xul everything was as it had been when the entire country was united under the rule of Mayapan.

To account for these Toltec traditions among the ruling families we must go back to the time of the introduction of the worship of Kukulcan into Yucatan. The identity of the Maya Kukulcan with the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and the Mexican origin of the worship of this culture-hero have been well established.[2]

If a foreign religion was introduced into the country from Mexico, we should first look for the families of the descendants of the people who introduced it, although, of course, it does not necessarily follow that any of them survived. In this connection our attention is drawn first to the Xiu family in whose capital we have seen the festival for Kukulcan still being celebrated down to the time of the Spanish Conquest. We have already noted that they themselves believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua, a name derived from Mexican mythology. Landa tells us that when they arrived in Yucatan, their only weapon was the dart and throwing-stick,[3] or *atlatl*, which points strongly to a Nahua origin. Elsewhere we read of the town of Mama near Mani that "they were subject to a lord whom they called Tutul Xiu, a Mexican name, who, they say, was a foreigner. He came from the west, and having come to this province the leading people raised him with common consent to be their king."[4] If further confirmation of the Mexican origin of this family were needed, we might cite the Xiu family tree,[5] according to which two members of the family have the name or title of Ah Cuat Xiu. *Cuat* is simply another form of the Nahuatl *coatl* which means serpent.

If we search for Nahuatl names or titles among the other leading families of Yucatan, we find mention three times in the Chronicle of Nakuk Pech of the name, Ah Cuat Cocom,[6] he may have been related to Nachi Cocom who

[1] Landa 1929, pp. 60-62.

[2] Seler (1902, p. 674) has assembled and correlated the evidence on this point. The first Spanish settlers in Yucatan also tell us: "It is the opinion among the Indians that with the Itzá who settled at Chichen Itzá there came a great lord named Kukulcan . . . And they say that he entered <the country> from the western side . . . and that after his return he was held in Mexico to be one of their gods and called Quetzalcoatl; in Yucatan they also consider him to be a god because of his great public spirit" (Landa 1928, pp. 62-64).

[3] Landa 1928, p. 14.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 161.

[5] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9.

[6] Brinton 1882, p. 237.

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was the *halach-uinic* at Zotuta. The Cocom family was at one time the most powerful in Yucatan, and even after the destruction of Mayapan they continued to play an important part in the history of the country. Their history goes back to the founding of Mayapan in the Tenth Century A.D. Of this city Landa tells us that after settling Chichen Itzá—

"Kukulcan again founded another city by arrangement with the native lords of the land, in which he and they should live and where all the affairs and business should be conducted . . . and they surrounded it with a very broad wall of dry stone of about half a quarter of a league, leaving only two narrow gates. The wall was not very high. Within this they constructed their temples . . . and the houses for the lords, among whom he divided the entire country, giving towns to each according to the antiquity of his lineage and his personal importance. Kukulcan . . . called it Mayapan, which means the standard of the Maya . . .

"This Kukulcan lived with the lords for some years in that city, and leaving them in all peace and friendship he returned by the same road to Mexico . . . After the departure of Kukulcan the lords agreed in order to perpetuate the government that the house of the Cocoms should have the chief command, either because it was the oldest or richest, or because its head was at that time the most valorous man."[1]

In one of the Mexican sources we read that—

"The people of Yucatan venerated and reverenced this God, Quetzalcoatl, and called him Kulkulcan, and said he arrived there from the west . . . They said of him that from him descended the Kings of Yucatan whom they call Cocoms, which means *Oidores*."[2]

Descent from a Nahua culture-hero would be ascribed to a Mexican family rather than to one of Maya origin.

A third important Toltec family, probably a later arrival than the Xius and Cocoms, was that of the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries[3] whom we have already discussed.

Consequently the joint government at Mayapan appears to have consisted of two rival Mexican factions, Cocoms and Xius,[4] the former being supported by a third element of similar origin, the Ah Canuls. By the time of the fall of Mayapan, however, they were probably Mexican only by tradition, for the Spanish conquerers found them speaking only Maya some sixty years later.

A question arises as to the origin of the other ruling families of the various provinces, such as the Pechs, Chels, Cupuls and Cochuahs, to mention only those of whose hereditary standing we have some information. At some unspecified time, probably after the destruction of Mayapan, a certain Noh-

[1] Landa 1928, pp. 64-70. This legend is colored in some respects by the later hegemony of Mayapan over all northern Yucatan. It is probable that prior to 1200 A.D. Chichen Itzá was the more powerful of the two cities. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[2] Torquemada 1723, II, p. 52. The translation is an excellent one, for *cocom* could well be an archaic participial form meaning "one who listens with attention."

[3] Landa 1928, p. 80.

[4] Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 470.

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cabal Pech established his capital at Motul, and we are told that he was "a near relative of the great lord at Mayapan."[1] The Chel family was descended from Mo-Chel, the noble son-in-law of one of the principal priests at Mayapan. He is said to have foreseen the destruction of the capital, and he fled with some followers to Tecoh near Izamal, where he established an independent state, taking the title of Ah Kin (the priest) Chel.[2] We know little of the history of the others, but their status as independent rulers dated only from the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. No doubt most of those who were not of Toltec origin were descended from the old Yucatecan ruling class, of whom we have practically no knowledge. There were, however, other intruders into the country besides the Toltecs. Both in the proper names and in the vocabulary of Yucatan we find distinct traces of people from the south who spoke a language very similar to what we know of the Chol. This is one of the other languages of the great Maya stock, and while it much resembles the Maya of Yucatan in some respects, it has a different consonantal system. At least two Maya families[3] had such foreign names, and there were probably others.

During the hegemony of Mayapan these "lords" lived at the capital and each governed his own district from there. Their residences were within the walled enclosure, but outside the walls each head-chief had a house where petitioners from his own district were received when they came to the capital. This house was in charge of a personal representative called the *caluac* who made requisitions on the towns of the district for food, clothing and anything else needed for the maintenance of the household of his master.[4]

A comparison of the Maya sources cited in this paper with Zurita's account[5] of the political institutions of Mexico leads to the conclusion that the central government at Mayapan corresponded in many respects to the Nahua pattern. At the time of the revolution which destroyed the city we are told that "the halach-uinic Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and of the four districts or divisions of the town,"[6] and we are reminded of the four main divisions of the Aztec and Tlaxcalan states. The four chiefs of these divisions were especially concerned with the distribution of tribute from subject peoples, and we find an echo of this function in the present work when we read: "At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men."[7] The resemblance is less apparent in the local government of the Yucatecan towns and villages. Here the administration of the *batab*, assisted by the *ah-cuch-cags* and *ah-kulels* probably followed the ancient traditions of Yucatan.

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 78.
[2] Landa 1928, p. 88; Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 193.
[3] Chan and Te. Berendt MS.
[4] Landa 1928, pp. 70-72.
[5] Zurita 1891.
[6] P. 142.
[7] P.74.

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APPENDIX F

TOLTEC MILITARY ORDERS IN YUCATAN

In the prophetic literature of the Maya we find the names of certain animals mentioned in such manner as to suggest that they stand as the symbols for something else and that the reference is not to the actual animals. For example, we read: "There shall be no fox[1] to bite them,"[2] "there shall be neither fox nor kinkajou that will bite,"[3] "there shall be neither fox, puma nor weasel: there shall be none that bite. The claws of the puma shall be drawn; the claws of the jaguar shall be drawn."[4] "The time shall come when the burrowing opossum[5] and the jaguar[6] shall bite one another."[7] At first sight it seems strange to find the comparatively harmless fox, kinkajou, weasel and opossum classed with the jaguar and puma.

We can not but suspect that these fauna-names are referable to certain persons and that the prophecies tell of a time when the people will be freed of the presence of these unwelcome individuals. Indeed, a further examination of the related material confirms this conjecture. In the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin we read: "At the time <of the year> 3 Kan the spots shall be removed from the red jaguars, the white jaguars.[8] The claws and teeth shall be drawn from the jaguars[9] of the Itzá.[10]

We find further indications of the significance of these names of animals in the following passages: "There is no kinkajou, there is no fox, there is no weasel to suck men's blood; there are no pernicious rulers."[11] "The rulers shall be cut off, when the claws of the eagle[12] are cut, when the backs of the kinkajou

[1] Maya, *cħamac*, a term applied in northern Yucatan to the Grey Fox, *Urocyon cinereo-argenteus fraterculus* Elliot, identified by Goldman and Gaumer. The same name appears to be given to the coyote in some part of the Maya speaking area where the latter exists. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 331.

[2] Chumayel, p. 125.

[3] Maya, *cab-coh*, literally honey-puma, called *oso melero* in Spanish and identified by Goldman and Gaumer as the Aztec Kinkajou, *Potas flavus aztecus* Thomas. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 329. The quotation is from Chumayel, p. 159.

[4] Tizimin p. 26; Mani (Codex Perez) p. 80. *Coh* is the puma, *Felis concolor* L., and *zabin* is the weasel, *Mustela tropicalis* Merriam. *Cf.* Roys 1931, pp. 330, 342.

[5] Maya, *holil-och*, identified by Gaumer as *Marmosa gaumeri* Osgood, spec. nov. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 333.

[6] Maya, *chac-bolay*, identified by Goldman as Hernandez's Jaguar, *Felis hernandesii goldmani* Mearns, and called *tigre* in Spanish. Pio Perez (1866-77) defines it as *"el leoncillo"* and Pacheco Cruz (1919, p. 14), as *"tigrillo."* *Balam* is the usual Maya word for jaguar.

[7] Tizimin, p. 3.

[8] Maya, *chac-bob*, *zac-bob*. *Bobil-che* was a general term for the *tigre*, or jaguar (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 169). It is possible that smaller felines like the margay were also included by the term.

[9] Maya, *bal<a>mil*.

[10] Tizimin, p. 10.

[11] Mani (Codex Perez), p. 80.

[12] Maya, *cħuyum-thul* (literally, that which holds a rabbit suspended) is defined by the Motul dictionary, Spanish-Maya portion as *"Aguila o especie della, ave de rapina."* In present-day Maya the word means both an eagle and a large hawk (Pacheco Cruz, 1919, p. 62,) and elsewhere we find the term defined as a hawk, osprey or kite (Motul, Maya-Spanish portion). Another word, *coot* is variously defined as the red eagle and the black eagle.

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and the fox are clawed and torn."[1] "Then the burrowing opossums who are greedy for dominion shall bite one another."[2] For Katun 12 Ahau, a period of good fortune, the prophecy states: "The burrowing opossum shall flee. He shall give up his delegated mat[3] and throne, and he shall go out into the wilderness. Men shall be happy; things shall go well in the towns."[4] From this we infer that these animals represent certain persons in authority, and such a conclusion is amply confirmed by the following passage: "In the ninth year of Katun 6 Ahau the puma (*coh*) and the jaguar (*balam*) claw one another's backs. The puma (*coh*) is a *leon*.[5] These are the head-chiefs (*halach-uinicob*)."[6]

We have already seen how the central organization at Mayapan may be traced to a Toltec origin and followed to a certain extent the example of the Nahua institutions of the highlands of Mexico. It has also been noted that this foreign political structure was superimposed upon a form of local government that was probably indigenous.[7] We may therefore turn to the history of the Nahua peoples of Mexico for an explanation of some symbols connected with the higher ranks of the rulers in Yucatan.

Landa has given us to understand that with the exception of the Cocoms and Xius who ruled at Mayapan, the so-called "lords" possessed delegated powers only, and that it was only after the fall of that city that these *halach-uinics* became the real rulers of the various independent states into which the Spaniards found the country divided at the time of their arrival.[8] We have also noted in one of the prophecies just quoted that the "burrowing opossum" is to "give up his delegated mat and throne," or in other words, his authority. Consequently it seems permissible to draw an analogy between the *halach-uinics* symbolized by these animals and the *tecuhtli*, or so-called "lords," of the Nahua peoples of Mexico.

Seler has convincingly shown that the Mexican "king" delegated many of his functions to these men, and that the institution reached its highest development when the latter were set to supervising the collection of tribute and enforcing other rights which their own state had acquired over a conquered people.[9] Such would also be the case in Yucatan where the Toltec conquerors appear to have actually settled in the country and maintained their power for a long time in spite of the fact that they could never have formed more than a very small proportion of the population.

[1] Tizimin, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] The mat, like the throne, was a symbol of authority. *Cf.* p. 92, note 3.
[4] Tizimin, p. 26.
[5] In many parts of Spanish America the puma is called *leon*.
[6] Mani (Codex Perez), p. 72.
[7] *Cf.* Appendix E.
[8] Landa 1928, pp. 70-72.
[9] Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen, Seler 1904, pp. 509-619.

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Seler goes on to quote from the unpublished Sahagun manuscript a list of mantles worn by persons of high rank in Mexico. A number of these are described as representing the skins of animals which we have seen mentioned in the Maya prophecies, such as the jaguar, kinkajou, puma, wild-cat and coyote.[1] From the same source and from the Mexican picture-manuscripts he gives descriptions and illustrations of warrior-costumes representing coyotes and jaguars.[2] He believes that what he calls "royal rank" among the Mexicans went back in the first instance to Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec dynasty,[3] and we have already seen how Landa traces the authority of the "lords" of Yucatan back to the same source.[4]

a *b*

FIG. 47—Temple of the Warriors frescos: *a*, coyote-fox;[5] *b*, eagle. (After Ann Axtell Morris.)

If we are right in ascribing a Mexican origin to a large part of the symbolism discussed here, it is to the architectural remains of the Toltec occupation of Yucatan that we should look for archæological confirmation. The jaguar, it is true, appears frequently in the older Maya art, indeed it goes back to some of the earliest monuments; but before the appearance of an intrusive Nahua culture in Yucatan this animal is always connected with the priesthood. Only in the Toltec temples do we begin to find it a symbol of the warrior class, as in the reliefs of the Temple of the Tigers and the platform just to the east of it at Chichen Itzá. It is in the reliefs and frescos of that masterpiece of Maya-Toltec architecture, the Temple of the Warriors, that we find the most striking illustration of the animals symbolizing the Nahua warrior-chieftains who once ruled over Yucatan. Many of them bear human hearts in their claws, suggesting that the warriors whom they represent captured victims for human

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 558-560.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 510.
[4] *Cf.* Appendix E.
[5] Mrs. Morris notes that this animal wears the blue necklace common to the human warrior and considers it to be a composite bear and coyote, identifying it with a short-tailed long-haired animal which appears frequently in the sculptured frieze of the same temple. As the coyote would be known only from hearsay at Chichen Itzá, we might expect a less realistic treatment than in the case of other animals. Morris, Charlot and Morris, Plate 165.

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sacrifice. Here we see the puma,[1] the jaguar,[2] the coyote or fox[3] and the eagle.[4]

Although we have but little data on which to base an estimate of the age of the Toltec remains at Chichen Itzá, it seems probable that the political hegemony of this city preceded that of Mayapan.[5] Consequently we can hardly expect too close a correspondence between the references in the Books of Chilam Balam and the sculptures at Chichen Itzá. The Maya writers of the Spanish colonial period would have a much more vivid recollection of the hegemony of Mayapan which ended about the middle of the Fifteenth Century.

Among the Mexicans the jaguar was the strong and brave animal par excellence, the companion of the eagle. Indeed "Eagle and Jaguar" was the conventional designation of brave warriors.[6] The coyote was regarded in a two-fold aspect. He was the god of singing and dancing, but as a beast of prey he was also a symbol of the warrior. Certain outstanding warriors appeared both at dances and in battle clothed in a garment representing the coyote.[7] If it seems a little strange to find the coyote serving as a symbol of bravery, we can not but feel that a considerable stretch of the imagination was required to consider the kinkajou in the same light. And yet such was the case. Whether alone, or associated with the hawk, the kinkajou was, next to the eagle and jaguar, regarded as one of the bravest and strongest animals and the symbol of the bold warrior.[8] "Hawk and Kinkajou" are often mentioned in the Mexican myths and stories along with the "Eagle and Jaguar."[9]

The weasel (Maya *zabin* or *sabim*) seems a more appropriate animal in this connection than either the coyote or kinkajou. Its association with ideas pertaining to military affairs is shown by certain expressions found in the Motul dictionary. "*Zabim-be, ah-zabim-be*: a look-out, sentinel and spy, when no battle-line has been formed; also to keep a look-out." "*Zabin-katun*: look-

[1] See Plate 1, a; also Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 40-41. Cit-chac-coh, literally Father-red-puma, appears to have been the name of one of the war-gods. In the month of Pax the warriors and *nacom* (war-chief) celebrated a festival to this deity, during which the *nacom* was given divine honors as though he were himself the god. It would seem from this that the war-chief was the especial representative of this puma war-god. (Landa 1929, p. 84.)

[2] Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Pl. 151.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. 165; see fig. 47, a.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. 164.

[5] Perhaps the most likely estimate of this period would be from the introduction of the Kukulcan cult some time in the Tenth Century A.D. to the conquest of the city by Hunac Ceel at the end of the Twelfth Century. We are told that the hegemony of Chichen Itzá lasted over two hundred years and that "at one time this entire land was under the dominion of a lord who reigned over the ancient city of Chichen Itzá. To him were tributary all the lords of this province, and even from outside the province, from Mexico, Guatemala, Chiapas and other provinces they sent presents in token of peace and friendship" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 176, 120-121).

[6] Seler 1923, p. 470.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 496.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 595.

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out or sentinel, when the battle-line has been formed, and to keep a look-out in this manner." Literally, *zabim-be* means the weasel of the road and *zabin-katun*, the weasel of the army. No portrayal of this animal has yet been found and identified.

This leaves the so-called "burrowing opossum" to be accounted for. It must be confessed that neither in Maya nor Mexican art have we found the opossum playing the rôle assigned to him in the Books of Chilam Balam. Frequently depicted in the Mexican picture-manuscripts, the animal appears as

FIG. 48—Jaguar. Relief-carving at Chichen Itzá.

lord of the lower regions or as the associate of certain gods. In the Maya Dresden Codex he is dressed as a dancer and brings on his back the Regent of the New Year.[1] Nowhere do we find him associated with either war or chieftainship except in the Books of Chilam Balam.

The frequent mention of these various animals in the Books of Chilam Balam is therefore of unusual interest. Although the meaning of the jaguars and eagles at Chichen Itzá has long been known, we should be tempted to ascribe a religious or mythological significance to the other animals found in the reliefs and frescos of that city, if it were not for the information contained in these manuscripts. As it is, they take on the character of historical and political figures.

[1] Seler 1923, pp. 506-509.

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APPENDIX G

THE AMERICANIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY

According to the early Spanish writers a considerable proportion of the Maya of northern Yucatan embraced Christianity quite willingly after the Spanish occupation of the country. Whether or not this was true, the Books of Chilam Balam convince us that their faith was genuine, once they were converted. Even in those books which were frowned upon by the missionaries, we note an unmistakable spontaneity in the pious phrases with which the Spanish *Dios*, the Trinity and the Holy Virgin are frequently invoked. At first sight it is difficult to reconcile this apparently sincere belief in the new religion with the lapses into idolatry which continued to recur during a large part of the colonial period.

The fact of the matter was that their Christianity, however sincere it may have been, was something quite different from that of their European conquerors. They simply superimposed it upon their old religion, just as they had previously superimposed the Quetzalcoatl cult of the Nahua invaders upon the original Maya faith.[1] They sometimes called their old deities perishable gods (*hauay kuob*),[2] but they continued to worship them surreptitiously.

Even in their Christian worship we find among the Maya an unconscious tendency to adapt the new religion to their own psychology, as we have seen in Chapters XI and XII of the present work. There is further evidence of this in the katun prophecies, where the Spanish God is cited as authority for prognostications made by their own prophets before the coming of the white man.

The Spanish missionaries did their best to prevent this Americanization of Christianity. The historian Cogolludo bitterly deplores the lapses of the Indians into idolatry, but he appears to be still more horrified at their attempts to combine the new religion with the old. Probably this tendency was already anticipated by the statutes of Tomás López little more than a decade after the country was pacified. In one of these we find the Indians forbidden to found or conduct schools for the teaching of Christian doctrine except by the express authority of the prelate of the province.[3]

We do not know just when the Indians of Yucatan began to combine some form of Christian worship with their old idolatrous practises, but we learn of an Indian of rank at Zotuta by the name of Don Andres Cocom who, about the year 1585, was "convicted, not only of idolatry, but also as a perverse dog-

[1] "It is said that the first founders of Chichen Itzá were not idolaters until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He it was who taught them idolatry" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 270). Kukulcan is the Maya equivalent of the Nahuatl name, Quetzalcoatl. Although we may doubt the statement that the original inhabitants did not worship idols, there is considerable evidence that a new religion was introduced.

[2] *Cf.* p. 98.

[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 5, chap. 17.

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matizer and the inventor of new abominations among the Indians."[1] Condemned to exile and imprisonment, he escaped and attempted to instigate a native rebellion before he was finally captured and punished.

In 1597 Andres Chi, also of Zotuta, "incited the Indians of that territory to go into the forests to practise idolatry. Falsely pretending and saying that he was another Moses[2] he deceived the people of his town, persuading them that what he did was revealed to him by the Holy Spirit. For this purpose he hid a boy in his house to speak to him at night and say what he wished him to. When the Indians heard this, as they were ignorant of the fraud, they blindly allowed themselves to be deceived."[3] Chi was convicted and condemned to death for this offense.

A similar case occurred in 1610. "There were two Indians, one named Alonso Chablé and the other Francisco Canul. The former pretended to be the Pope and supreme pontiff and the latter, a bishop, and they announced themselves to be such among the Indians. Also they caused themselves to be venerated, deceiving the wretched Catholic Indians with their infernal doctrine. They said mass at night dressed in the sacred vestments of the church which no doubt the sacristans had given them. They profaned the holy chalices and consecrated oils, baptized boys, confessed adults and gave them communion, while they worshipped the idols which they placed on the altar. They ordained priests for service, anointing their hands with the oil and the holy chrism, and when they ordained them they put on a miter and took a crozier in their hands. They commanded the Indians to give them offerings and openly taught other deadly heresies."[4]

In addition to all this they were said to have practised witchcraft.

In the year 1636 there was a general uprising of the Indians in the district of Bacalar in southeastern Yucatan. They relapsed into idolatry, and many of them fled to Tipu,[5] the southernmost of the towns which had been christianized up to this time. This place continued to be the center of the insurrection, and finally in 1641 Fr. Bartolomé Fuensalida[6] and Fr. Juan de Estrada determined to go there and try to conciliate the inhabitants. The expedition was a failure and they did not quite reach Tipu. At the neighboring village of Hubelná the Indian companions of the priests witnessed a religious ceremony performed by the rebels in which "one of those apostates was the idolatrous priest of the others. He said mass to them, and with the mass his

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Book 7, chap. 11.
[2] We have already noted that Moses was identified with the Yellow Pauahtun on page 113.
[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 7, chap. 15.
[4] Cogolludo 1868, Book 9, chap. 1.
[5] Tipu is believed to have been located on Booths River in what is now British Honduras. See Means 1917, map.
[6] This was the same Fr. Fuensalida who went to Tayasal in 1618 to attempt to convert the Itzá. Means 1917, pp. 59-74.

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food was tortillas and his drink, maize gruel. The other idolatrous Indians said to them: 'This is indeed a mass which your companion (one of the two Spanish priests) does not say.' "[1] It was years before these Indians were again reconciled with the Church, and during this period the people of the district doubtless had an excellent opportunity to develop a form of Christianity suited to their own psychology.

We find the tendencies already outlined cropping out in every part of the Maya-speaking area where the Spanish authorities and missionaries were not in a position to exercise strict control over the natives. In 1646 two monks were sent from Yucatan to the Usumacinta region to take charge of the spiritual welfare of some Maya-speaking Indians at a town called Nohaa situated on the shore of a large lake in the forests beyond Tenosique. A church had been built and the people somewhat perfunctorily converted by a Dominican friar who had gone away. The founder of the town, Don Diego de Vera Ordoñez, had left the place in charge of a mestizo captain named Juan de Bilbao. When they arrived, the friars found that this man was not only exploiting the Indians, but also that he had a wooden idol which he, his native wife and the villagers worshipped together. "They became drunk in front of it with a drink called balché. Also they said that on Ash Wednesday he put on a stole, blessed it and gave it to the Indians. On Palm Sunday he blessed palms and distributed them. During Holy Week he made a *monumento*[2] and placed on it the idol of his Indian woman; and on Holy Saturday he blessed the baptismal font. All these things and others which are unspeakable were done by this insolent fellow, who possessed an entire set of sacred vestments and a chalice. He only refrained from saying mass."[3]

The incidents related here are sufficient to account for the mixture of Christianity and paganism which we find in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. This tendency has continued to be effective down to the present time and its modern manifestations would fill an entire volume. Not only have the names of saints replaced in many cases those of the Maya deities in the old native ceremonies which survive, but in parts of Yucatan, particularly in the Territory of Quintana Roo, many nominal Catholics are at heart polytheists. "The Christian god is the Zeus of the Pantheon. The Virgin Mary, the Saints of the Catholic Church, and such of the old gods as have survived, form a less powerful, but more friendly group of divinities."[4] The present psychology of the Maya Indian is the result of centuries of conflict between European and native religious concepts. During this time each reacted upon the other unceasingly, and the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is perhaps one of the most illuminating documents we have to illustrate the history of the process.

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Book 11, chap. 14.
[2] An altar raised in churches on Holy Thursday to resemble a sepulcher.
[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 12, chap. 5.
[4] J. E. Thompson 1930, p. 106. See also Tozzer 1907 and Gann 1918.

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APPENDIX H

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Katun	8	Ahau	A. D. 433	(Chichen Itzá and Ziancan discovered.)
"	6	"	452	Chichen Itzá discovered.
"	4	"	472	(Bakhalal occupied.)[1]
"	2	"	492	
"	13	"	511	The "mat" of the katun is counted in its order.
"	11	"	531	(Chichen Itzá occupied.)
"	9	"	551	
"	7	"	571	
"	5	"	590	
"	3	"	610	
"	1	"	630	
"	12	"	649	
"	10	"	669	
"	8	"	689	Chichen Itzá abandoned. Chakanputun settled.
"	6	"	709	
"	4	"	728	The land of Chakanputun is seized.
"	2	"	748	
"	13	"	768	
"	11	"	787	
"	9	"	807	
"	7	"	827	
"	5	"	847	
"	3	"	866	
"	1	"	886	
"	12	"	906	
"	10	"	925	
"	8	"	945	Chakanputun abandoned.
"	6	"	965	
"	4	"	985	Occupation of Chichen Itzá by Kukulcan and the Itzá.
"	2	"	1004	(The Xiu found Uxmal. League of Mayapan begins.)
"	13	"	1024	
"	11	"	1044	
"	9	"	1063	
"	7	"	1083	
"	5	"	1103	
"	3	"	1123	
"	1	"	1142	
"	12	"	1162	
"	10	"	1182	
"	8	"	1201	Conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel.
"	6	"	1221	
"	4	"	1241	Seizure of Mayapan by the Itzá.
"	2	"	1261	
"	13	"	1280	
"	11	"	1300	
"	9	"	1320	
"	7	"	1339	
"	5	"	1359	
"	3	"	1379	
"	1	"	1398	
"	12	"	1418	
"	10	"	1438	
"	8	"	1458	Destruction of Mayapan.
"	6	"	1477	

[1] Events not mentioned in the Chumayel are enclosed in parentheses.

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"	4	"	1497 The "Maya pestilence," called blood-vomit.
"	2	"	1517 The small-pox. (The Spaniards first seen.)
"	13	"	1536 Arrival of Montejo. Death of the "rain-bringer" (Napot) Xiu.
"	11	"	1556 The Spanish Conquest. Merida founded. Tribute exacted. Missionaries arrive.
"	9	"	1576 Bishop Toral arrives. General conversion of the natives to Christianity.
"	7	"	1596 Bishop Landa dies.
"	5	"	1615
"	3	"	1635

In the above table it is the end of the katun that is dated, as the katun is named for the day on which it ends. The Christian dates are taken from a similar table compiled by Dr. Morley[1] and are in accordance with the well-known Morley-Spinden correlation of Maya and Christian chronology. According to the Goodman-Martínez-Thompson correlation, each of the Christian dates given above should be three years later.

Although there is only a variation of about three years between the two correlations so far as the katun count of the Books of Chilam Balam is concerned, they differ by about 259 years in their interpretations of the Initial Series dates of the monuments in terms of European chronology. According to the former correlation, the end of the last Katun 13 Ahau before the Spanish Conquest fell on 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Kankin, in the year 1536.[2] The latter correlation, however, places the end of the same Katun 13 Ahau on 11. 16. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Xul, in the year 1539.[3]

The only two possible references to the Long Count known to the writer are those which we have seen on pages 79 and 83 of the present work, and these unfortunately are somewhat vague. In the former it is stated that the mounds in Yucatan were constructed during a period of "three score and fifteen katuns." Evidently referring to the Maya, the latter passage tells us: "Four four-hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives." In the Books of Chilam Balam we find occasional references to the *haab*, or 365 day year, when the *tun* of 360 days is plainly meant. Consequently in terms of the Long Count we have on page 79 a mention of a period which would be recorded on the monuments as 3. 15. 0. 0. 0.; and on page 83 the period referred to would be 4. 15. 0. 0. 0. These two statements are indefinite in several important respects. No date in the Long Count is given as a starting point. No current Maya day, month, year or katun is given as the end of either of these periods. Although the implication is that Maya civilization came to an end at the close of these periods, native writers differ somewhat

[1] Morley 1920, p. 503.
[2] Spinden.
[3] Martínez H. 1926, p. 11. Goodman fixes the date on October 30, 1539; Thompson (1927, p. 21) places it on November 13, 1539. For other correlations see Morley 1920, pp. 524-535.

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as to just when the end came. Some of them considered that it ended early in Katun 13 Ahau, as predicted by the prophet Chilam Balam, while many others very logically put the end either at the close of Katun 13 Ahau or at the foundation of Merida in 1542. If we make the assumption that these three score katuns and "four four-hundreds of years" refer to the even baktuns of the Long Count and then add fifteen katuns, it is of interest to note that the date 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. falls on a day 2 Ahau, which is also the name of the last day of the katun immediately preceding the Spanish invasion of Yucatan.

According to the 1539 correlation Katun 2 Ahau, the last katun prior to the Spanish invasion, ended in 1519, and its position in the Long Count was 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. 2 Ahau 8 Zac. Subtracting 3. 15. 0. 0. 0. from this we reach the date 8. 0. 0. 0. 0., or very near the time when the Maya must have begun to record their chronology on imperishable media. The oldest contemporaneous date is 8. 6. 4. 2. 17. which is recorded on the Tuxtla Statuette. If we subtract from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. the other period mentioned in the Chumayel, 4. 15. 0. 0. 0., the count will be carried back to 7. 0. 0. 0. 0. which is believed to be the general period when Maya Chronology was first developed.[1] In other words, either of the totals given in the Chumayel Manuscript, counted backward from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0., will reach an Initial Series value which we now believe is about the time that Maya chronology, in the first case, was actually inaugurated and, in the other case, was first committed to stone. No such interesting conditions will arise, however, if the 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. correlation is used. To this extent the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel tends to support the former correlation against the latter. We also have here an indication that the Maya calendar continued unbroken, except for the shift of a single day in the Year Bearer, from the time of the inscriptions down to that of the Spanish occupation of Yucatan.[2]

[1] Spinden 1924, p. 156.

[2] In this summary the writer has quoted freely from a letter of Dr. S. G. Morley, who was kind enough to point out the significance of the results to be obtained by such a subtraction as suggested above.

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[1] Gates 1931, 1932a and 1932b were received by the writer after the present work had gone to press.

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Peresianus, Codex (cont.)
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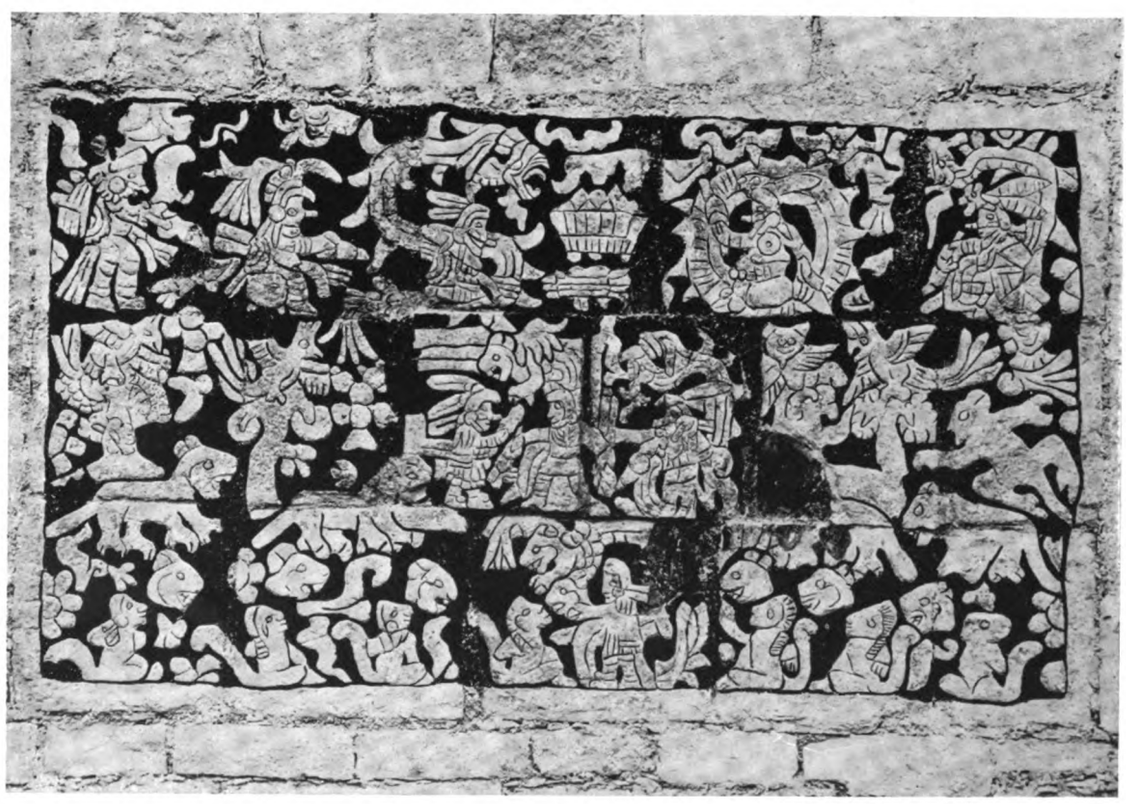

c

a and *b*, Puma and squirrel from the frieze of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá. *c*, The four trees and birds set at the cardinal points to commemorate the previous destruction of the world. Sculptured Panel of the Temple of the Wall Panels at Chichen Itzá. (After Ruppert)

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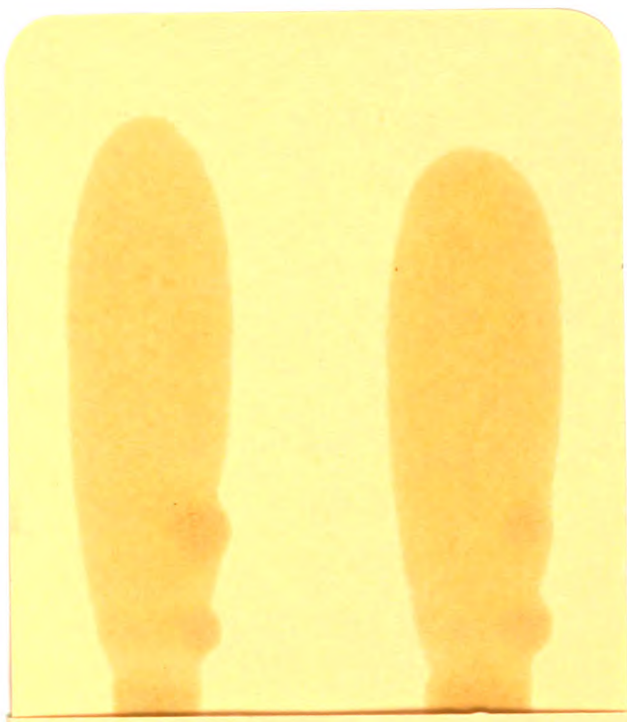

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THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

RALPH L. ROYS

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BY

RALPH L. ROYS

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PREFACE

Among the various avenues of approach to the investigation of Maya civilization, the study of the native literature of Yucatan is, next to the actual archæological exploration of the remains, one of the most promising, for it contains much of what the Indians remembered of their old culture after the Spanish Conquest.

The Books of Chilam Balam form the most important part of this native Maya literature. Written in the Maya language, they reflect more closely the thought of these Indians than any other records that have come down to us. Not only do they contain a wealth of historical and ethnological information invaluable to the student of the pre-Columbian career of the Maya, but they also furnish a record of the reactions of the native mind to the European culture and of the manner in which the latter was adapted to suit its new environment. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the value of these old texts to the linguistic student.

The translation of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel depends primarily upon the reading given to the badly punctuated and often misspelled Maya text, and such a reading is based upon an extensive comparison with other similar texts. The difficulties of translation are not to be underestimated, but they can be greatly lessened by such a comparison.

That I have been able to avail myself of the assistance afforded by the manuscripts of the Berendt Linguistic Collection, so often referred to in these pages, is due to the collaboration of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and to the kindness of Dr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Director, who has supplied me with the necessary photostats. Professor Alfred M. Tozzer, whose previous extensive survey of Maya literature was the indispensable preliminary to the present work, has given cordial assistance; both he and the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology have cooperated generously with the loan of material necessary to the work. Mr. Frans Blom, Director, and the Department of Middle American Research of the Tulane University of Louisiana have kindly loaned photographs of Sixteenth Century Maya documents in their collection, which have proved most valuable in the study of the present text.

Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley has spent much time and thought in going over my manuscript and has offered many valuable suggestions as well as searching out and obtaining related material in Mexico and Yucatan. Mr. Thomas R. Johnson has undertaken the tedious task of copying the drawings in the Chumayel manuscript. Mr. Juan Martínez Hernández has again, as in the past, come to my aid in the elucidation of obscure phrases and badly written

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passages in the Maya text. Linguistic data furnished by Dr. Manuel J. Andrade and ethnological analogies suggested by Dr. Robert Redfield will be found acknowledged elsewhere in this book. The manner of editing the Maya text is that suggested by Professor Otis J. Todd, who has assisted me in adapting the methods of classical scholars to this newer field of endeavor. For a number of the text-figures, Alice P. Roys has made copies from photographs and other reproductions. To Librarian John Ridington and Assistant Librarian Dorothy Jefferd, I am indebted for the many facilities afforded by the Library of the University of British Columbia. Throughout the preparation of this work, Dr. Alfred V. Kidder has given generously of his time and attention to the practical problems involved in the task. To all these I wish to make grateful acknowledgment at this time.

RALPH L. ROYS

March 30, 1932

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By Ralph L. Roys

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THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

INTRODUCTION

The Books of Chilam Balam are the sacred books of the Maya of Yucatan and were named after their last and greatest prophet. *Chilam*, or *chilan*, was his title which means that he was the mouth-piece or interpreter of the gods. Balam means jaguar, but it is also a common family name in Yucatan, so the title of the present work could well be translated as the Book of the Prophet Balam.

During a large part of the colonial period, and even down into the Nineteenth Century, many of the towns and villages of northern Yucatan possessed Books of Chilam Balam, and this designation was supplemented by the name of the town to which the book belonged. Thus the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is named for a village in the District of Tekax, a short distance northwest of the well-known town of Teabo.

This Prophet Balam lived during the last decades of the Fifteenth Century and probably the first of the Sixteenth Century [1] and foretold the coming of strangers from the east who would establish a new religion. The prompt fulfilment of this prediction so enhanced his reputation as a seer that in later times he was considered the authority for many other prophecies which had been uttered long before his time. Inasmuch as prophecies were the most prominent feature of many of the older books of this sort, it was natural to name them after the famous soothsayer.

The Books of Chilam Balam were written in the Maya language but in the European script which the early missionaries adapted to express such sounds as were not found in Spanish. Each book is a small library in itself and contains a considerable variety of subject material. Besides the prophecies we find brief chronicles, fragmentary historical narratives, rituals, native catechisms, mythological accounts of the creation of the world, almanacs and medical treatises. Many such passages were no doubt originally transcribed from older hieroglyphic manuscripts, some of which were still in existence in northern Yucatan as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century.[2] As time went on, more and more European material was added to the native Maya lore. In some of the books not only do we find the ritual of a religion which is a

[1] For particulars concerning Chilam Balam see Appendix D.

[2] Don Juan Xiu of Oxkutzcab possessed such a book in 1689, and Father Avendaño was still able to learn to read hieroglyphic writing before he went to convert the heathen Itzá in 1696. *Cf.* Morley 1920, p. 507; Codex Perez, p. 166; Means 1917, p. 143; Appendix D.

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mixture of the old faith with Christianity, but there are also translations into Maya of Spanish religious tracts and astrological treatises, as well as notes of events which occurred during the colonial period. In two of these books we even find part of a Spanish romance translated into Maya.[1]

The ability of the Maya to write their own language in European script was due to the educational policy of the Spanish missionaries. Although at first they rather admired the Maya for having a graphic system of their own, they were determined to destroy the old manuscripts and eradicate all knowledge of the glyphs from the minds of their converts. The Indians had a great reverence for their hieroglyphic writing which was permeated with the symbols of their old religion, and the friars felt that if they could wipe out this knowledge and substitute for it the European system of writing, it would be an effective means for the complete Christianization of the native population. This should be the easier, since the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was confined to the priesthood and certain members of the nobility. Diego de Landa, afterward bishop of Yucatan, burned twenty-seven hieroglyphic manuscripts at the famous *auto de fe* in Mani in 1562, and although many of the Spaniards severely criticized him for this, there is little doubt that other missionaries followed his example whenever they had the opportunity.

The chiefs and former priests were ordered to send their sons to the schools established by the Franciscan friars, where they were taught to read and write their own language in European letters. Although some of the more promising pupils were taught Spanish, there does not seem to have been any general policy of attempting to impose the language of the conquerors upon the Indians. In the first place such a scheme was plainly impracticable owing to the comparatively small number of Spaniards in Yucatan and, besides, many of the missionaries frankly admitted that they preferred the local officials of the villages in their charge not to know Spanish.[2] This was probably in order that the latter should not complain too frequently of ecclesiastical discipline to the lay officials, who were sometimes at odds with the Franciscans. From a purely educational point of view the schools were a success, for after a time every village had its town clerk who could read and write, as well as many members of the more important native families; but the Spanish settlers complained in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century that many native schoolmasters and choir-masters were still practising idolatry in secret and that idols had even been found in the school-houses.[3]

If such persons as these were not completely reformed, it is hardly surprising to find the successors of the former prophets and priests, the herb-doctors and sorcerers of colonial times, making use of this new and more convenient graphic system of the white man in the pursuit of their ancient

[1] Chilam Balam of Kaua, pp. 99-117; Codex Perez, pp. 31-37.
[2] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, pp. 96-97.
[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, pp. 190, 213.

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professions. After Landa's famous bonfire at Mani, it is needless to say that the surviving hieroglyphic manuscripts were kept concealed, although now and then one of them came to the notice of the Franciscans. Seventy years after the Conquest, Aguilar wrote that "in these they painted in colors the count of their years, the wars, epidemics, hurricanes inundations, famines and other events."[1] It is remarkable that not a single one of these books is known to have survived in Yucatan at the present time, for as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century Avendaño was quite familiar with them. In his account of the visit he made to the heathen Itzá at Tayasal he writes: "At the instant that we landed and I saw the said column and mask,[2] I came to recognize it since I had already read about it in their old papers and had seen it in their *Anahtés*, which they use, which are books of barks of trees, polished and covered with lime, in which by painted figures and characters they have foretold their future events."[3] This was Avendaño's first visit to any of the heathen Maya, and he could only have seen such hieroglyphic books as still survived in northern Yucatan.

A comparison of these descriptions with the existing Books of Chilam Balam shows plainly that many portions of the latter are simply transcriptions of the old hieroglyphic manuscripts into European script. Aguilar mentions one of these early transcriptions which was written in a copy-book and contained an account of the creation of the world. He confiscated this book from a choir-master of the town of Sucopo.[4] As time went on, the transcriptions gradually took the place of the older hieroglyphic books. Fewer people were now able to read the glyphs, and much as the clergy condemned the Books of Chilam Balam, they were not considered such prima facie evidence of the crime of idolatry as was anything written in hieroglyphics. Aguilar also tells us how in their assemblies the Indians read the fables and histories contained in the books. Some of the contents were chanted to the accompaniment of a drum; old songs were sung;[5] and the dramatic representations, the names of which we find listed in the Motul dictionary, were enacted.[6] Cogolludo later wrote of such meetings that "God knows what goes on there, and at the very least many of them end up in drunkenness."[7]

None of the Books of Chilam Balam that have come down to us were compiled earlier than the last part of the Seventeenth Century, and most of them date from the Eighteenth Century. The older ones were probably worn out by constant use. Nevertheless we have Maya legal documents covering almost

[1] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 95 .

[2] *Cf.* p. 102, note 2, of the present work. [3] Avendaño 1696, f. 29 r., Bowditch translation, MS. p. 67.

[4] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 115. *Cf.* p. 98, note 2 of the present work.

[5] At least one such song will be found in Chapter XII of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.

[6] Sanchez de Aguilar 1900, p. 98.

[7] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. 4, Chap. 5, translated in Means 1917, p. 14.

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every decade from the year 1557 down to the present time, and a comparison of the language of these with that of the Books of Chilam Balam shows that many passages of the latter were copied verbatim from Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century originals.

At the present time we have photographic reproductions of the Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, Tizimin, Kaua, Ixil, Tekax and Nah as well as copious extracts copied from the Mani and Oxkutzcab manuscripts. The latter were made by Dr. Hermann Berendt and are now in the Berendt Linguistic Collection of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This scholar also made copies of the Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts about sixty years ago, when they were in better condition than when the present photographs were made. Consequently a complete transcription and translation of the texts can only be made with the aid of these copies. Tozzer gives the names of four others known by reputation only: the Books of Chilam Balam of Nabula, Tihosuco, Tixcocob and Hocabá.[1] Genet and Chelbatz give a brief description of a Book of Chilam Balam of Telchac.[2]

Of these books the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts have the greatest value for the study of Maya civilization, although the others are not lacking in interest. The Chumayel was a small quarto volume which appears to have originally consisted of fifty-eight numbered leaves. There are only 107 written pages in the University of Pennsylvania reproduction. Three leaves, numbers 1, 50 and 55, are missing, and there are breaks in the text at these places. The other pages seem to have been blank. The writer has seen only the leather cover, in which a hole had been burned; the book itself had disappeared. A number of the leaves are either torn or have crumbled away along the edges, and some of the pages are badly water-stained in places. Nevertheless the manuscript is very legible on the whole. Although it dates only from the year 1782, the language suggests the Seventeenth Century much more than it does the Eighteenth. The book contains comparatively little of the intrusive European material which predominates in other Books of Chilam Balam written at so late a date. The drawings which illustrate the volume are quite European in character, although many of the ideas which they represent are purely Maya.

Brinton was the first to make a translation of any considerable portion of the Chumayel. Using the Berendt copy of the text, he translated the three chronicles found in Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of the present work.[3] Martínez Hernandez has published his own Spanish translations of these chronicles, also the story of the Last Judgment in Chapter XXIII and the first part of the creation narrative in Chapter X.[4] Tozzer has translated the prophecy of Chilam Balam in Chapter XXIV and the chronicle in Chapter XX.[5] The writer

[1] Tozzer 1921, p. 191. [2] Genet and Chelbatz 1927, p. 42.
[3] Brinton 1882, pp. 152-185. [4] Martínez Hernandez 1912, 1913, 1927, 1928.
[5] Tozzer 1921, pp. 120-135.

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has published translations of Chapters II, IX and XIII,[1] and the entire manuscript has been freely rendered into Spanish poetical prose by Mediz Bolio.[2]

We know from internal evidence that the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was compiled by Don Juan Josef Hoil of that town, as we find his name signed to a notation written in the same hand as the rest of the book and dated 1782.[3] Only a few interpolations added at later dates are written in different hands. Subsequently the book passed into the possession either of a certain unnamed priest or of his secretary, Justo Balam, who inscribed two baptismal records on one of the blank pages in 1832 and 1833.[4] In 1838 Pedro de Alcantara Briceño of San Antonio made a record on the same page that he had purchased the book "in his poverty" for the price of one peso, probably from a priest, although the writing is very indistinct. It is possible that the priest was Don Diego Hoil, the son of the writer. On another blank page[5] the same Pedro Briceño noted that he made a loan of the book. The date here is badly written, but it is probably 1858. Some time during the next ten years it was acquired by Don Audomaro Molina, how or where, we do not know; but the latter stated to Sr. Martínez Hernandez in 1910[6] that he had given it to Bishop Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona. It was already in the Bishop's possession when Dr. Berendt copied it in 1868, and he permitted Teobert Maler to make the first photographs of it in 1887. When Bishop Carrillo died in 1897, the book passed into the hands of Don Ricardo Figueroa, and through the efforts of Sr. Molina it was loaned in 1910 to George B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who photographed it the same year. In 1913 the Museum published the handsome facsimile reproduction from which the present translation is made. The original was returned to Figueroa, in whose house Dr. S. G. Morley saw it in 1913. After Figueroa's death the manuscript was removed in 1915 to the Cepeda Library in Merida, but when Dr. Morley visited the Library in 1918 it had disappeared and its whereabouts is still unknown. As Dr. Morley has already noted, "In view of its doubtful fate, it is nothing short of providential that two photographic copies of it exist, the one made by Maler in 1887, a copy of which is in the Gates collection, and the other made by Gordon in 1910."[7]

The attempt has been made to learn something about Don Juan Josef Hoil, the compiler of the manuscript, from the surviving members of the Hoil family of Chumayel, and although he has not been completely identified, the results of the inquiry are not without interest. The writer is indebted to Sr. Martínez Hernandez of Merida for the following information.

There appears to have been but one Hoil family in Chumayel. The present generation consists of Miguel, care-taker at Uxmal; Alejandro, a brakeman on

[1] Roys 1920, 1922 and 1923. [2] Mediz Bolio 1930. [3] *Cf.* p. 143. [4] *Cf.* p. 144. [5] *Cf.* p. 144. [6] Martínez Hernandez letter, December 30, 1931. [7] Morley 1920, p. 475.

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the Ferrocarriles Unidos de Yucatan; Transito and Valentina, all of whom were born at the village of Xul. After much consultation with the various members of the family, Miguel Hoil reported on February 28, 1928, that their father was Epitacio Hoil, who married Cristina Parra and had a brother, Maximo. The grandfather was Juan José Hoil, married to Felipa Mendoza. He could hardly be the Don Juan Josef Hoil who signed the manuscript in 1782, however. The great-grandfather was Damaso Hoil, the natural son of a Doña Guadelupe Hoil, and married to Narcisa Guemes. From his time down to that of Epitacio the family seems to have lived at Tekax. Doña Guadelupe was the sister of Don Diego Hoil, curate of San Cristóbal. This is a suburb of Merida and was an important Indian parish. which indicates that Don Diego was a man of some learning and considerable importance. This would take us back to about the time when the manuscript was written, but unfortunately our information ceases at this point. It seems likely that the Don Juan Josef Hoil who wrote the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was the father of Don Diego, the curate, and of Doña Guadelupe. A search of the records of the parish of San Cristóbal might be rewarded with the confirmation of Don Diego's parentage. If Doña Guadelupe's natural son, Damaso, was brought up in her father's home at Chumayel, it would be most natural that Damaso should give his own son the name of his maternal grandfather.

As to the manuscript itself, the most probable conclusion from the information which we have is that after Don Juan Josef Hoil's death it passed into the hands of Don Diego and that he was the priest who sold the book to Diego Briceño in 1838.

Needless to say, the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is difficult to translate, although the spelling is better on the whole than that of some of the other manuscripts. As Professor Tozzer has noted, many words are separated arbitrarily into syllables, the same word sometimes being divided in several different ways on the same page.[1] Some passages are logically arranged in paragraphs, which is a great help, but many are not. There is little division of the text into sentences, and a capital letter rarely begins either a sentence or a proper name. Consequently it is necessary to establish a critical text before attempting a formal translation.

The greatest difficulty of all is found in the numerous obsolete words and phrases which occur. It has already been noted that the Chumayel is a compilation made from various earlier works, many of which were probably copied from still older books. This would account for an occasional corrupt text, which can often be rectified from parallel passages or similar stereotyped phrases occurring in the other writings. The meaning of obsolete words and phrases can be learned in three ways. They may be found in the older dictionaries which were written at a time when they were still in use; a more

[1] Tozzer 1917.

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modern Maya expression or even a Spanish word is sometimes substituted in a parallel passage in another manuscript; and when other means fail, the use of the same word or expression in a number of different contexts will cast considerable light upon the meaning. Sometimes the Maya writer of a manuscript will even explain the significance of an obscure term which he thinks his readers might not understand. For an explanation of the many proper names found in the Chumayel, especially those of deities, we are obliged to rely largely on the Spanish source material such as Landa, the Relaciones de Yucatan, Cogolludo, Aguilar and Lizana. This information may be supplemented by the reports of such modern ethnological investigators as Tozzer, Redfield, Thompson and Gann. Many unfamiliar words not found in any Maya dictionary have turned out to be plant-names. These will be found in the Maya medical literature, and a great many of them have been identified by the botanists.[1]

It has been suggested that a modern Maya Indian should be of great assistance in translating these old books, but none of the few efforts which have been made along this line of inquiry have had much success. The vocabulary of the average Indian is limited. Many words are now used with a changed meaning, and he is entirely too ready to resort to a typical *Volks-etymologie* to explain any word which has now passed out of current use. This is evident from the explanations made by natives to the botanists in the case of plant-names composed of obsolete words. The errors of such native derivations are amply demonstrated by the Sixteenth Century Motul dictionary, in which many of these old words are found. Up to the present a little has been done in this respect with the native Maya priests, or *h-menob*, some of whom can still recite a number of the old incantations. Such men would be likely to rely more on tradition than on their own improvised etymology. Dr. Redfield's elucidation of the puzzling name of Ah Muzencab, the bee-god, from the explanation of one of these native sorcerers is an example of the results which may be looked for from this line of inquiry. Needless to say, it is difficult to persuade these native priests to explain their rituals.

Doubts have been expressed in the past as to whether it was possible to translate some of the passages in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. Such scepticism was not unreasonable in view of the limited amount of related material accessible to the student at the time. In more recent years, however, additional manuscripts have been collected, and photographs or photostats have been made of nearly all the Maya writings known to be in existence. The archæological evidence uncovered in the course of the past few years and the reports of modern ethnologists have furnished explanations for a number of the obscure statements found in the Books of Chilam Balam. In view of these facts a translation of these books seems feasible at the present time; but there is little doubt that further search among the archives of Spain

[1] Roys 1931; Standley 1930.

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will bring to light additional reports on the natives of Yucatan, possibly some of the lost source material known to have been written by the early Spanish missionaries. Also the discovery of more Maya manuscripts and the results of further archæological and ethnological investigations should furnish an answer to many of the problems as yet unsolved. Another source of information should be the thorough study of the more closely related languages of the Maya stock. It seems likely that at least some of the obsolete words in the Books of Chilam Balam will be more fully explained by similar terms which have survived in the other languages.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE MAYA TEXT

Like the other Books of Chilam Balam, the Chumayel manuscript is written in the European script which the Sixteenth Century Spanish missionaries adapted to the Maya language of Yucatan. It differs only in a few particulars from ordinary Spanish script. The letters d, f, g, q and r are not employed in writing Maya words, as the sounds which they represent do not occur in Maya. Some Maya writers substituted ij for ii, but neither the Spanish nor the English sound of j appears to be indicated. C is pronounced somewhat like the English k. The other letters have approximately the same sound as in Spanish except for the following, which represent sounds which do not occur in Spanish, *viz.* pp, th, ɔ cẖ and k. The writer is indebted to Dr. M. J. Andrade for the following description:

"These sounds are very familiar to those who have studied the Indian languages of North America, where they are at present represented respectively by the phonetic symbols p', t', ts', tc' and k'. They are the so-called glottalized or fortis sounds. It is difficult to convey an idea of the acoustic effect of these sounds to those who have never heard them. Roughly speaking, it may be said that Maya pp and th are emphatic articulations of Maya p and t, and that a similar correspondence exists between the series ɔ, cẖ, k, and tz, ch, c. A careful enunciation of the k-sound, however, does not affect our ears as a mere emphatic articulation of the Maya c, but that is also the case in other Indian languages in which this sound occurs. In Maya these fortis sounds are not articulated as energetically as in many North American languages, particularly in those of the Pacific coast. On the whole they may best be compared with the corresponding sounds of the Dakota Sioux, although with many Maya speakers they are so weak that the untrained ear can not distinguish them from the unemphatic sounds." [1]

In writing the double vowels, Maya writers are frequently inconsistent, although the compiler of the Chumayel is less so than most of them. They sometimes write them with a single vowel. Of these Dr. Andrade states that the sound is—

"two moras long with a fall in pitch on the second half if it is a double vowel. In current usage there is no articulation of two separate vowels, but a continuous vocalic sound. This throws light, I think, on the discrepancy found in the manuscripts. If

[1] Andrade, letter of January 12, 1932.

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this phoneme was even in earlier times a single vocalic sound with double quantity, we can readily see that the use of two letters for its orthography was somewhat artificial, and in this, as in all artificial spelling, individuals are more likely to make mistakes."

We find in the use of certain letters an inconsistency that is somewhat similar to that found in many of the Spanish manuscripts of the colonial period. Since a consistent notation is desirable in the present edition of the Maya text, the writer has followed that of Pio Perez for which there is precedent among both Maya writers and the Spanish authors of Maya grammars, vocabularies and dictionaries. It is the notation of Beltran, except that he writes p̱ for pp, and of the Motul dictionary, except for the latter's frequent use of ç instead of z. The following tabulation will explain the present writer's method of avoiding the inconsistencies which occur in most Maya manuscripts.

Present edition	*Variants occurring in Maya MSS.*
i (vowel)	i, y
ii (double vowel)	ii, ij
y (semivowel)	y, i, ll· (rare)
u (vowel and semivowel)	u, v
c	c, qu (before e and i, rare)
z	z, ç, s
pp	pp, p̱

Only one abbreviation is generally used in the Maya manuscripts: this is the character y̱, which stands for *yetel*, a word having the double meaning of "with" and "and." A few manuscripts, chiefly legal documents, substitute for this another abbreviation, y̱t, and only rarely is the word *yetel* written out in full. In the present rendition of the Maya text the writer has followed Brinton's example and transcribed this abbreviation just as it is found in the Chumayel manuscript instead of writing out the word in full.

The text of the Books of Chilam Balam is not divided into sentences, and many portions are not separated into paragraphs. Words are frequently wrongly divided into syllables, and proper names rarely begin with capital letters. Inasmuch as an excellent photographic reproduction of the original manuscript of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel has been published by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and is accessible to the student, it has been considered advisable in the present edition to divide the Maya text into such chapters, paragraphs, sentences and words as are called for by the meaning of the subject-matter, and to begin sentences and proper names with capital letters. The method of determining which words are proper names has been discussed elsewhere. The text is often divided into short phrases by colons or dashes. Such punctuation is sometimes inconsistent and even occurs in the middle of a proper name, but it frequently corresponds somewhat to the meaning of the text. For this peculiar system of punctuation, the Maya student is referred to the published reproduction of the manuscript.

We now come to the mistakes found in the manuscript. Juan Josef Hoil was on the whole an unusually careful copyist, and the writer is inclined to

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ascribe most of the errors to his sources. As Professor Tozzer has already noted,[1] these texts are probably copies of copies and have been garbled somewhat in passing from hand to hand. In the Chumayel manuscript a garbled phrase is often accompanied by a vacant space, indicating that the copyist was not able to read all the words of his source at that point. In these cases it is often possible to correct the text from a parallel passage in another manuscript. In the case of such a correction, however, the reader is referred to a foot-note in which the corrected word or phrase is given as it is actually written in the manuscript. Sometimes a passage is obscure because of the omission of a word or phrase. When the latter is supplied from another source, it is enclosed in diamond brackets and its source indicated in a foot-note. In some cases where a parallel passage radically alters the meaning of the text, the alternative reading is given in a foot-note.

In transcribing the photographic reproduction of this lost manuscript, the Berendt copy of the original has been used constantly for comparison. This has been especially helpful in deciphering badly written and faded portions of the text, and is indispensable where the edge of a page has crumbled away after the Berendt copy was made. Missing words supplied from this copy are placed in diamond brackets, and the source is indicated in a foot-note.

Misspelled words constitute another difficulty. Many errors are due to a habit of the Maya writer who often employs the letter ç for z and then occasionally omits the cedilla. Such an omission may completely change the meaning of the word. Another error sometimes found is when the Maya writer has omitted the bar from the p̱ (pp) and c̄h. Often these mistakes in orthography can be corrected from a parallel passage, but occasionally the meaning of the context must be depended upon in the case of an obvious mistake or a slip of the pen. Corrections of orthography are referred to a foot-note in which the word is given as it stands in the manuscript.

It is needless to say that a critical text can be established with much more assurance for those portions of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel for which parallel passages can be found in other manuscripts. Such corresponding passages are not absolutely the same. The phraseology differs slightly. Some contain a certain amount of material omitted by others, and an archaic word or phrase in one may be replaced in another by a more modern expression or sometimes even by a Spanish word. Nevertheless the language is sufficiently similar to indicate that they are drawn from a single original source.

Where the Chumayel narrative is not duplicated elsewhere, we are frequently aided by comparison with other texts of the same general character. This is because the Books of Chilam Balam abound in certain stereotyped phrases often employed in similar contexts. When a portion of such a phrase appears to be garbled and we find the same phrase occurring elsewhere in

[1] Tozzer 1921, p. 112.

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much the same context, we can make the correction with a fair degree of certainty. In any case the garbled phrase will be found in the foot-note, and the reader is at liberty to draw his own conclusions.

As previously stated, all supplied material is enclosed in diamond brackets < >. Any words or letters believed by the writer to be intrusive are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

Certain abbreviations have been employed in the notes to the Maya text. These are to be explained as follows:

Ber.=Copy of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel by Dr. Hermann Berendt.
C=Photographic reproduction of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.
K=Book of Chilam Balam of Kaua. (Gates photostat.)
M=Book of Chilam of Mani. (Berendt copy.)
O=Book of Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab. (Berendt copy.)
T=Book of Chilam Balam Tizimin. (Morley photostat; Maler photograph; Gates photostat.)
Suppl.=Supplied from

In the present rendition of the Maya text it will be seen that marginal notations have been made showing the corresponding page numbers of the University of Pennsylvania Museum reproduction of the manuscript. Inasmuch as some of the earlier commentaries on the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel make references to the actual folio numbers of the manuscript, a correlation of these with the page numbers of the reproduction will be useful. Some of the folio numbers have disappeared, owing to the crumbling away of the corner of the sheet, but the sequence of the text enables us to apply them in the following table.

Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction
Folio <1>	missing	Folio 21	pp. 36-37	Folio 41	pp. 75-76
<2>	pp. 1-2	22	38-39	42	77-78
3	3-4	23	40-41	43	79-80
4	5-6	24	42-43	44	81-82
5	7-8	25	44-45	<45>	83-84
<6>	9-10	26	46-47	46	85-86
<7>	11-12	27	48-49	47	87-88
8	13-14	28	50-51	48	89-90
9	15-16	29	52-53	49	91-92
10	17-18	30	54-55	<50>	missing
11	19-20	31	56-57	51	pp. 93-94
12	21-22	32	58-59	52	95-96
13	23	33	60-61	53	97-98
14	24-25	34	62-63	54	99-100
<15>	26	35	64-65	<55>	missing
16	27	36	66-67	Unnumbered	p. 101
17	28-29	37	68-69	56	pp. 102-103
18	30-31	38	70-71	57	104-105
19	32-33	39	72	58	106-107
20	34-35	40	73-74		

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TEXT

I

(THE RITUAL OF THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS)

u chun u ui<ni>cil Ah Canule. Ix zac <uaxim,[1] ix> culun <cha>cah[2] yixmehen pa<zel> . . . <ek>[3] u pazel y<ax>um[4] u chu<n> u uinicil <Cauiche>.[5]

Yahau ah nohol u chun u uinicil Ah Noh<Ix>-Kan-tacay u kaba u chun u uinicil A<h> Puche. Bolonppel yoc haa u cananmaob, bolonppel uitz u cananmaob.

Chac tok tun u tunil Ah Chac Mucencabe. Chac imix yaxche u ɔulbal, yan ti lakin. Chacal pucte u cheob. Ix chac ya . . . Ix chac ak bilob. Chac ix kanɔulen yulumoob. Ix chac oppool yiximob.

Zac tok tun u tunil, u tunil ti xaman. Zac imix yaxche u ɔulbal Zac Mucencab. Ix sac tan yulumob, zac ib yibilob, zac ixim yiximob.

Ek tok tun u tunil ti chikin. Ek imix yaxche u ɔulbal. Ix ek hub yiximob. Ix ek chuch iz yizilob. Ix ek ucum yulumob. Ek akab chan u nalob. Ix ek buul u buulob. Ek ib yibilob.

Kan tok tun u tunil u nohol imix <ya>xche. Kan imix yaxche u ɔulbalob. Kanal pucte u cheob. Ix kan pucte yizilob. Ix kan pucte ucum yulumob. Ix kankan nal u nalob. Ix kan pach u buul[l]ob cah . . . /cu- p.2 C
<ch>ob[6]

Buluc Ahau u katunil uc<hc>i [7]u pach cuchob.Ca hoppi <u> talel ah ppiz <lum>.[8] Lay Ah Ppizte, yah ppi<zul u>[9] lubob.Catun tali chacte aban chactetic u <lu>bob. Ca tali Uac-hab-nal hoch-xiutic u lubob, tamuk u talel Mizcit Ahau miztic u lubob, tamuk u talel yah ppizul u lubob. Heklay coch lub cu ppizci.

Ca cahi u hool poop. Ix Noh Uc u hool u poop ah lakin. Ox Tocoy Moo u hol u poop ti lakin. Ox Pauah Ek u hol u pop ti lakin. Ah Miz u hol u pop ti lakin.

Batun u hol u pop ti xaman. Ah Puch u hol u pop ti xaman. Balamna u hol u pop ti xam<a>n. Ake u hol pop ti xaman.

<Ib>an[10] u hol pop ti chikin. Ah Chab u hop pop ti chikin. A<h T>uc-uch[11] u hol pop ti chikin.

[1] uazcim ix suppl. Ber. [2] Suppl. Ber. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl. Ber. [5] Suppl. Ber. [6] Suppl. Ber. [7] Suppl. Ber. [8] Suppl. Ber. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber. [11] Suppl. Martínez. *Ah Nucuch,* Ber.

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Ah Yamas u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Puch u hol pop ti nohol. Cauich u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Couoh u hol pop ti nohol. Ah Puc u hol pop ti nohol.

Chac Ix Chuuah-cabob ti lakin. Chaclol u luchob. Chachac nicte u nicteob.

Zac Ix Chuuah-cabob ti xaman. Zac ix-pach-ɔa u nicteilob. Zaclol u luchob.

Ek Ix Chuuah-cab u cabob ti<chi>kin.[1] Ek ix-lau<1>-nicte u nicteilob. Eklol u luchob.

Kan Ix Chuuah-cabob ti nohol. Kanlol u lu<chob>[2] . . . . . ntzacnicte
p.3 C u nicteilob./

Catun yanhii u numte aalcab <Ɔe>[3]cuzamil u <ciil>[4] cab y̱ u luch cab y̱ u yaxcheel cab, u chululil cab. Kin Pauahtun yah kinobi. Lay mektanmail u picul katun cananmail Ah Hulneb Tantun Cuzamil, Ah Yax Ac, Chinab, Kinich Kakmo.

II

(THE RISE OF HUNAC CEEL TO POWER)

Ah Itz[tz]im-thul Chac u mektan[n]ob Ichcanzihoo. Uayom c̄hic̄h̄[chich] ya kinob Ichcanzihoo. Canul ix pop ti balam. U catul Ah Kin Chable u yahauob. Cabal Xiu yah kinob. Uxmal Chac u mektanob; lay yah kin cuchi. Ca ulzabi Hapai Can tu Chemchan. Lay huli, ca uchi kikil pak te Uxmale. Tii ca colabi u canhel[5] Chac Xib Chace; Zac Xib Chac colabi u canhel,[6] u canhel [7] ix Ek Yuuan Chac colabi xan. Ix Zacbeliz u kaba u chichob chac. Ek Yuuan Chac u yumob. Hun Yuuan Chac u thupilob, Uooh-puc u kaba. Lay ɔibtabi uooh tu tan u kab; ca ɔibtabi uooh yalan u cal; ca ɔibtabi tu tan yoc, ca ɔibtabi ichil u ppuc u kab ti Ah Uooh-pucil. Ma kui chac[c]ob. Halili hahal ku ca yumil ti Diose; u kulob tu than tu yiɔatil Mayapan.

p.4 C Ah Kin Coba / ah kin te ich paae. Zulim Chan [8] ti chikin. Nauat yah ca<nu>1 u uol pa ti nohole; Couoh yah canul uol pa ti[l] lakin; Ah Ek u lak. He yahauobe: Ah Tapai-nok Cauich u kaba u halach uinicob, Hun[n]ac Ceel, u pulbeen Ah Mex Cuci.

Ca u katah huntulis nicte. Ca u katah zac pop. Ca u katah cappel u tan nok. Ca u katah yax ulum. Ca u katah ule. Ca u katah zac homaob. Ti likulob ca kuchob Ppoole, ti ppolhob yala Ah Itzai, ti tun u naaintahob Ix Ppoli. Ca kuchob Ake, ti zihob Tix-Akei. Ake u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Alaa; Alaa u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca talob Kanholaa. Ca talob Tix-Chel, ti chelhi u thanobi, ti chelhi u canobi. Catun kuchob Ninum ti numhi u thanobi, ti numhi u canobi Ah Itzaobi. Catun kuchob Chikin-ɔonot,

[1] Suppl. Ber. and Martínez. [2] Suppl. Martínez. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl. Ber. [5] canhel: cangel C. [6] canhel: cangel C. [7] canhel: cangel C. [8] Zulim Chan: Tzulim Chan C.

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ti chikin-tan-hi u uichobi. Chikinɔonot u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Tzucoop, ti u tzucah ubaobi yalan opi. Tzucop u kaba uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Cahcab, ti u huytah cab Itzai. Ca uki tumenel <I>x-Koh-takin, ca huytabi ti cab, ca yuk<a>hi Cabilneba u kaba. Ca kuchob/Kikil ti u canahob p.5 C
kik-naki. Kikil u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca kuchob Panabhaa ti u panahob hai. Ca talob Cucuchil-haa u cuchob tu tamil haai. Ca kuchob Yalzihon; Yalzihon u kaba uaye cahlic cah. Ca kuchob Xppitah, cah xan. Catun kuchob Kancabɔonot. Ti likulob ca kuchob Ɔula. Caix talob Pibhaal-ɔonot. Catun kuchob Tahaac u kaba. Ca talob T<i>cooh u kaba, ti u manahob than coohi, ti u manahob cani. Ticoh u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Tikal, ti u kalah ubaobi. Tikal u kaba uaye. Ca talob Timaax, ti u maaxtah uba katunobi. Ca kuchob Buctzotz, ti u bucinahob u tzotzel u pol[l]obi. Buctzotz u kaba uaye cu thanob. Ca kuchob Ɔiɔontun, ti hoppob chuc lum ɔiɔi. Ɔiholtun u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Yobain, ti u uayintahob ayini tumen u mamobi, Ah Yamasi, yahaulil tu chi kaknab. Ca kuchob Zinanche, ti u uayintahob cizin.[1] Zinanche u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Ti-cah-chac. Ca kuchob Ɔemul.[2] Ppizilba [3] u cahob u lakob; ca kuchob u mamob u lak, ti mulɔemlah yolobi. Ɔemul u kaba uaye. Ca kuchob Kini yicnal Xkil Itzam Pech, Xɔeuc u lakob, Ca ku/chob icnal Xkil p.6 C
Pech yah<a>u Kiniob. Catun kuchob Baca, ti bacchahi haa tiobi. Baca uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Zabacnail yicnal u mamob u chun u uinicil Ah Nae, lai Chel Nae u mamob. Catun kuchob Tebenaae, ti kahi u naa tiobi. Ca talob Ixil. Catun binob Chulul. Ca kuchob Chichicaan, catun binob Holtun-Chable. Ca talob Itzamna. Ca talob Chubulna. Ca kuchob Caucel, ti ceelchahobi; Caucel uaye cu thanob. Catun kuchob Ucu, ti yalahob: "ya ucu." Ca binob Hunucma. Ca kuchob Kinchil. Ca binob Kana. Ca kuchob Tixpetoncah. Ca kuchob Zahab-balam. Ca kuchob Tahcum-chakan. Ca kuchob Tixbalche. Ca kuchob Uxmal. Ti tun likulob ca kuchob Tixyubak. Ca kuchob Munaa, ti munhi u thanob, ti munhi u canobi. Ca binob Oxlochhok. Ca binob Chac-akal. Ca binoc Xocneceh, ceh u uayob ca kuchob. Ca binob Ppuztunich. Ca binob Pucnalchac. Ca binob Ppencuyut. Ca binob Pax-ueuet. Ca kuchob Tixaya. Ca kuchob Tistis u kaba. Ca kuchob tu Chican. Ca kuchob Tixmeuac/ Ca kuchob Hunacthi. Ca kuch<ob Ti>tzal.[4] Ca kuchob p.7 C
Tamusbulna. Ca kuchob Tixcan. Ca kuchob Lop. Ca kuchob Cheemiuan [uan]. Ca kuchob Oxcahuanka. Ca binob Zacbacelcaan. Ca kuchob Cetelac. U kaba cah macalob ɣ u kaba cẖeenob, ca utzac yoheltabal [5] tux manob tan u ximbalticob yilaob ua utz lay peten, ua u nahma cahtalob uai lae. Tzol peten u kaba tu thanob ca yumil ti D<io>s. Lay tzol peten. Lay zihez yokolcab tulacal. Laix tzol xan. Heob lae, kabanzah peten u cahob, kabanzah cẖeen u cahob, kabanzah cacab u cahob, kabanzah luum u cahob tumen mamac kuchuc uaye, uayi u cal peten ca kuch on uay lae.

[1] cizin: cicin C. [2] Ɔemul: Ɔeuc C. [3] ppizilba: pisilba C. [4] Suppl. Ber.
[5] Yoheltabal: yoheltaual C.

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Zubinche, Kaua, Cumcanul (Cuncunul), Ti-em-tun (Ebtun?) ti emob ti tuni, Zizal, Zacii (Saci), Tiɔooc ti ɔooc u than katuni, Timozon,[1] Popola ti hay u pop katuni, Tipixoy, Uayumhaa, Zacba<cel>can, Tinum ti numchithantabobi, Timacal, Popola ti u tzolahob u pop katuni, Tixmaculum ti u macahob thani, Ɔithaaz, Bon-kauil, Tixmex, Kochil[l]a, Tix-xocen, Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkaaz, Haltunhaa, Kuxbila, Ɔiɔilche, Ticool, Zitilpech, Chalamte
p.8 C ti chalhi yolobi, Itzamthulil, Tipakab ti paktehobi/Ti ya,<Ca>anzahcab, Ɔiɔomtun yetun u mamob ti che choc ɔiiɔ, Ɔiɔholtun, Popola tu nohol Zinanche. Ca tal Muci, Zacnicte-cẖeen Zoɔil, uay tu multumtahob katune, Multumut u kaba uay, Mutule. Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun ti cumlahob tu chun tuni, Xoccẖel, Bohe, Zahcabhaa, Tzanlahcat, Human, ti humni than yokolobi, ti humni u pectzilobi. Chalamte, Pacaxua u kaba uaye cu thanob. Tekit, ti kit yala Itzaobi, Yokolcẖeen, Ppuppulni-huh, huh u uayob ca hokobi. Ɔoɔile, Tiab, Bitun-cẖeen. Uchci yocolob Tipikal u kaba cẖeen uchci u tippilob. Ca binob Poc-huh u kaba cẖeen, uchci u pocicob huh. Ca binob Manii, ti mankahii than tiobi. Ca kuchob Tiɔaan, ox kin ɔaman[n]obi. Ca bin Ticul, Zacluumcẖeen, Tixtohil-cẖeen, ti tohni yolobi. Ca binob Balamkin u peten[n]il ah kinob. Cẖeencẖomac, Zacnicteel-ɔonot, Tiyaxcab, Uman, Oxcum, Zanhil, Ichcaanzihoo, Ti-noh-naa, Nohpat, Poychena, Chulul. Ca kuchob tu titz luum Cumkal, ti
p.9 C cumlah u titz peteni.[2] Zicpach, Yaxkukul/Tixkokob, C<uca, Cẖeen-balam, Bolon-nic->³xan, Ekol, Ekol u kaba cẖ<een uaye>.[4] Tixueue, Tixeuue u kaba cẖeen uaye. Uhumtal, tal hun hatzi. Tixkanimacal, Tixaan, Yumxul uchci u yumtic u haan. Holtun-ake, Acanceh,[5] Ticooh, Ticẖahil, Tichac, Mayapan ich paa, Yokol-haa. Ca binob Nabula, Tixmucuy, Tixkanhube, Ɔoyila. Ca kuchob Tizip, ti zip u thanobi, ti zip u canobi.

Ca hop<p>i u heɔ luumob yahauobi. Ti yanah yah kin Paloncabi. Heklay yah kinobe Mutupul u kaba. He ah kin Paloncabe, Ah May. He ah kin Mutupule, Ah Canul, uay[y]om cẖicẖ ix xan, nụnili xan, y̱ u catun Ah Chable,[6] Ah Ichcanzihoo, Holtun Balam u mehen; ca u cẖaah[7] ix yaxum Chakane. Ti tun kuchi u lak ahauobi. Laobi ahau u nup u thanobe ti yahaulilob ti Buluc Ahau Tun, u kaba cuchi. Ca u heɔah cabobi; caix ti heɔ-luumnahobi. Caix cahlahobi Ichcaanzihoo. Ca emob Ah Holtun-ake; ca emob Ah Zabacnailob. Catun kuchob yetunyet ahaulilob. He Ah Zabacnaile u chun a uinicil Ah Na. Catun u molah ubaob te Ichcaanzihooe, ti yan ix pop ti balam tilic yahaulili
p.10 C Holtun/<Balam ti tu cẖeene>[8] tili<c> yahaulili <Pochek-ix>[9]ɔoy. Lay u chun u uinicil Copoe, <Tutul>[10]Xiu ix t<e>lo ual[11] xan. Chacte Ahau, Chacte u lumil uchuc yahaulilob. Teppanciz[12] yah kinob, lay ichtabi lae. Lay Ah Ppizte ppiz u lumilobe. Hetun Lubte u lumil u luubobe, uuc lub cab. Ah May hetun

[1] Timozon: Timocon C. [2] peteni: pateni C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] Suppl Ber.
[5] Acanceh: Acanqueh C. [6] y u catun: a correction to y̱ u catul is suggested.
[7] cẖaah: chaah C. [8] Suppl. Ber. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber.
[11] telo is often contracted to tlo. [12] Teppanciz: teppanquis C.

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accunte u xukil u luumob, ah accunte u xukil; ah miz mizte u luumob, lay Mizcit Ahaue. Hetun heɔci cab tiobe, lay Hoyahelcab, hetun te yahal cab tiobe. Tumte ahau, tumte yahal cab tiobe.

Ca hoppi yocol patan tiobe tu Chicẖeen. Tikuch uchci u kuchul u patan cantul uinicobe. Buluc Ahau u kaba u katunil cuchi ti baaxlahi patan, te Cetelace u pakte uchi yanile. Catun emi u patan Holtun Zuiua te Cetelace, ti cethi u thanobi. Oxlahun Ahau u katunil cuchi ti u kamahob patan halach uinicobi.

Ca hoppi[1] u tepal[l]obi; ca hoppi ti y ahaulilobi; ca hoppi u tanlabalob; ca hoppi u kuchul u pululteob; ca hoppi u pulicob ich cẖeen ca uyabac u thanob tumenel yahaulili. Ma hul u thanob. Lay Cauich Hunac Ceele,[2] lay Cauich u kaba u uinicile ti cu thical tu hol cẖeen/[cheen] ti nohol. Catun bini cẖabil. p.11 C
Catun hoki yalab u than. Ca hopp u cẖabal u than. Ca ɔuni u than. Ca hoppi yalabal ahauil. Ca culhii tu cuchil ahau[u]ob tumenob. Ca hoppi yalabal halach uinicil. Ma ahau cuchii, chen u bel Ah Mex Cuc. Caix alabi ahaui<l>[3] u pulben Ah Mex Cuc. Coot bin u naa. Ca bin caxtabi[4] tu uitzil. Cabin ɔuni u cẖabal u than lay ahau, laci tun yalabal. Catun hoppi u naczabal canal naa [ti] ti ahaulil. Ca hoppi u pakal yebal. Catun culhi ti canal na ichil Oxlahun Ahau, uac tepal. Ca ɔuni u kuchul uyabil u th<an>[5] u kin u ua Ah Mex Cuc u kaba. Ca u pula<h>[6] naɔan Baca u kin Ah Mex Cuuc[c]i. Ca y<an>cuntabi.[7] Ca hoppi u yumintabali,[8] ca hoppi u tzicili tu kaba Ah Mex Cuuc. Catun tzici, catun tanlabi te tu Chicẖeene, Chicẖeen Itza[m]u kaba, tumen ti bin Itza. Ca u lukah u tunil cabi, u tunil uiil cuch Itza[m], luk, ca bin ichil haa. Catun hoppi yocol numya te Chicẖen Itzae. Catun bini te likine, ca ku<chi> yicnal Ah Kin Cob<a>.[9]

Talel u cah Uaxac Ahau Katun cuchi. Uaxac Ahau u kaba katun uchci u tepa<lob>.[10] Catun hoki u hel katun, ca<tun> hoki u hel yahauob . . ./ p.12 C
ti numni ca ahaulili cu thanob yah kin tiob. Ca ti yoczahob kintunyabil, he cu talel kintunyaabila cu thanob, ti eli ɔiɔ, ti eli u chi kaknab, u kaknabil numya lae. Cii yalabal canal lae, cii yalabalob. Ca chiibi u uich kine; ca oklenhii u uich kine; ca tupi u uich. Ca haki yolob canal, ti eli cu than yah kin tiob, ti ɔoci u than ca ahaulili cu than yah kin tiob. Ca hoppi u tucul ɔib pac<h>[11] kin. Ca yubah caix yilahob u. Ca talob yahaulili <ca>boob. He Ix-Tziu-nene, lay ti ocez keban toon u mun nal cab ca ti tali. Cabin ɔococ u than katun, u tzacil katun. Ca ti talzabi, bic a thanex, cex yahaulilex cabexe? Ti oc tun u than uyanal katun, u ɔoc katun talzabi Ix-Tziu-nene. Ca ilabi u picul katun tiob. Ca hoppi u cimzabalob. ca utzcinabi u yoyteel u zakcheil uchebal u cimil. Ca hoppi u chulul tumenel Ox-Halal Chan. Ca hoppi u payal yahaulili caboob. Ca bini u kikel, ca cẖabi tumen ah cehob. Catun hak yolob
. . . kin u ɔoc katun tiob . . . tiob naɔan u . . . uka-/ p.13 C

[1] hoppi: hopi C. [2] Hunac Ceele: hun hunah ceele C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] caxtabi: caxtaui C. [5] Suppl. Ber. [6] Suppl. Ber. [7] Suppl. Ber. [8] yumintabali: yumintauali C. [9] Suppl. Ber. [10] Suppl. Ber. [11] Suppl. Ber.

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III

(A PROPHECY FOR KATUN 11 AHAU)

Buluc Ahau katun cumaan ti pop, cumaan ti ɔaam, ti ualaac yahaulili. Yax[x]aal Chac u uich ti yahaulili. Emom caanil ual, emom caanil ɔulub, caanil uɔub. Pecnom u pax, pecnom u zoot Ah Buluc Ahau, ti yocte tok yubte. Tu kin yan yax cutz,[1] tu kin yan Zulim Chan, tu kin yan Chakanputun.[2] Uiilnom che, uiilnom tunich, ah zatal uiil ichil Ah Buluc Ahau katun.

Bulu[u]c Ahau u hoppol u xocol, yoklal lay katun yan ca uli ɔulob. Ti u talelob ti likin ca uliobe. ✠ Tiix hoppi Christianoil xani. Ti lakin u ɔoc than. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun.

He u kahlay uchci bal tu mentahob. Manlahci u thanah ɏ u thanob, heuac manan u nucul tulacal. Heuac huntaɔ manci bay ɔiban-[n]ile. He ca cici nucbezabac tulacale, maiuil[l]obe maitun bahun ɔib tilobe, maix hach yab ɔiban tu cuch u keban-than-ob tuba tanbaob. Bay u cah yahau Ah Itzaobe, bay ix Ah Itzmal, Ah Ake, bay Ah Uxmal, bay Ah Ichcaanzihoo, bay Ah Ci<tab>[3] Couooh zane. Halach yab
p.14 C ha/lach uinicob, ma concon u keban-than u cibahob tuba tanbaobe. Heuac ma chicaan ichil yan uaye; mabahun bin tzoloci. Hex ohelmail talci ca c̄hibal con Maya uinice. Lay tun yohel u nucbez, ca bin u xocob yan uaye. Ti tun yilic, catun u nucbez uabic chucanil u zauin katun tumen cah kinob, Ah Kin Xuluc; maix Xuluc u kaba cuchi xani. Chen tumen lay cu kinil, lay cu ah kinil, ca oci numya, ca oci Christianoil tumen lay hach Christianoob. Ti uli ɏ hahal ku, hahal D<io>s, heuac u chun numya toon. U chun patan, u chun limosna, u chun hoc mucuuc tza, u chun ɔon bacal tza, u chun cumtan tza, u chun toc lukzah, u chun ɔalpach ppax, u chun pakpach ppax, u chun caca tza, u chun numzah ya, u chun toc lukzah. U chun u meyahtabal Españolesob ɏ ah kinob, u meyahtabal batabob, u meyahtabal camzahob, u meyahtabal fiscalob tumen mehen palalob, u palil cahob, tamuk u chac numzabal ti yah ah numyahob. Lay hach otzilobe, lay hach otzilob ma likulobi tilic u men-
p.15 C tic/[c]ii u ɔaalpach. Lay u Antachristoil yokol cabob lae, ah[4] cabcohil cahob, u c̄hamacil cahob, ah[5] picil cahob, yah ɔuɔil otzil mazeualob lae. Heuac bini to kuchuc tu kin u kuchul yalil u uichob yicnal ca yumil ti D<io>s. Emom[6] u justicia[7] ca yumil ti D<io>s hunyuk ti balcah. Hach likul ti D<io>s bin talbal Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, u ɔutan[n]ilob yokol cab lae.

[1] Tu kin yan yax cutz, O; takin yax utz tuba C. [2] Chakanputun, O. & T. Chikinputun, C. [3] Suppl. Ber. [4] ah: uh C. [5] ah: uh C. [6] Emom: emom C. [7] justicia: justisia C.

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IV

(THE BUILDING OF THE MOUNDS)

Ti haab de mil quinientos quarenta y uno.

181 Ɔuul. at. 5: Dik: 92 nhele.

U kahlay tin ɔibtah uchci yutzcin[n]abal mul tumen heregesob. Ox kal katun utzcin[n]abci catac holhunpiz katun tu mentahob nucuch uinicob. Ca ix ti bin yala u uinicilob, Cartabona u kaba u lumil yanil[l]ob hele lae. Ti yanobi ca uli S<a>n Bernabe ti cambezah. Ca cimzabiob tumen uinicob heregesob, u kaba u uinicilob.

156: u cuch helee=15 años:

Hele tin ɔibtah uchci yutzcin/[n]abal nucuch muul[l]ob tumen p.16 C
cẖibal[l]ob ɣ hecenbaal u mentah ahau[u]ob. Hex lic u menticob mul[l]e, oxlahunte katun catac uacppel haabi lic yutzcin[n]icob cuchi. Heix u chun mul yutzcin[n]ahobe; hoolhun baak u kaalal u mul[l]il catac lahu<n> yox kal u muc̄h cuentail mul yutzcin[n]ahob tu yuklah cabil peten, bay ti kaknab tac tu chun cab. U patah ix u kabaob xan ɣ u cẖeenil. Catun utzcin[n]abi mactzil tiob tumen Dios lae, caa elob tumen kak tu cahal Israel ɣ bobil laya. U kaahlay katunob ɣ haabob lukci te Viroª. Chac-unezcab u cẖibal Tutul Xiuobe.

V

(MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF YUCATAN)

U kahlay katunob ɣ haab[b]oob yax chuc[c]i u petenil Yucatan tumenel ɔulob, zac uinicob. Ichil bin Buluc Ahau Katun uchci u chucicob u hol haa Ecab. Ti lakin u talelob caa ulob. Op bin u yax kamchitahobi, lay u chun u kabaticob ah-mak-op-ɔulilob, ah-ɔuuɔ-op-ɔul u kabaob. Heix bin u kaba ah otochnalob u chucahob[b]ie Ecabe, Nacom Balam u kaba; heix yax chuci te Ecabe tumen yax capitane, D<o>n Juan/de Montejo, yax conquistador.[1] p.17 C
Uay tu petenil Yucatan lae. Layili u katunil uchci u kuchul Ichcaanzihoo lae.

Tu yaabil 1513 años, Oxlahun Ahau Katun, uchci u chucicob Campech. Hunɔit katun yanobi. Ah Kin Camal likul Campech ocez ɔulob uay ti peten lae.[2]

Helel en 20 de Agosto ti yaabil de mil quinientos quarenta y uno tin chicbezah u kaba haabob hoppic Christianoil lae.

Mil quinientos diez y nueve[3] años kuchic uuckal hab catac bulucpiz habi, uchci concierto[4] ɣ ɔulob lay lic ca botic u likzah katun ɔulob ɣ uyanal uinicob lae uay ti cahob. Lay u capitanil cahob uchie. Lay tun ca botic hele lae.

Helel ɔibnahen ti yaabil mil quinientos quarenta y uno años yax ulci ɔulob ti lakin, Ecab u kaba. Tu yabil uchci u kuchulob tu hol haa Ecab, tu cahal

[1] conquistador: concixtador C. [2] Gloss; "Dⁿ. Franᶜᵒ. Can . . . llo"
[3] diez y nueve: dies y nuebe C. [4] concierto: consierto C.

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p.18 C Nacom Balam, tu yax chun u kinil u habil/u katunil Buluc Ahau Katun. Ca paxob Ah Itzaob hoolhun kal haab u talel yulil ɔulob. Ca paxi cah Zaclahtun, ca paxi cah Kinchil Coba, ca paxi cah tu Chicẖen Itzam, ca paxi cah tu xax Uxmal, tu nohol cah Uxmal, ci bin [1] u kaba, y̱ Kabah. Paxi cah Zeye, y̱ Pakam, y̱ Homtun, ti cah Tixcalomkin, y̱ Ake, Holtun Ake.

Paxi cah Emal Chac, Etzemal ti emi yixmehen hahal Kui, u yumil caan, ixahau, ix zuhuy [2] ix mactzil. Ca yalah ahau: "Emom chim<al> Kinich Kakmo." Ma paat ti ahaulil uaye. Uay ti pati ix mactzil, ix ɔayatzil. "Emom zum, emom tab, tal ti caan. Emom u than, tal ti caan." Lay cicuntabi yahaulili tumen u chucan cahob, ca yalahob, ma pati yahaulilob Em[m]al.

Catun bin noh Ah Itzaob lae. Oxlahun bak u bakal u pic[c]il[l]ob, catac holhun bak a bakal u hokal[l]ili u nucteel[l]ob, heregesob, Ah Itzaob. Hetun bini yah tzenulteob xan numbilob bin tu pachob tzenticob lae. Oxhunppiz bin yiximal u pol u cuentailob catac bolonpiz almud [3] catac ox oc yiximalob. Yab
p.19 C ix mehen cahob bin u <a>h uay tanililob tu pachob xan./

Mat yoltahob u paktob ɔulob; ma u kat cristianoilob. Ma yoltahob u bot patan ah uayom chicẖob, ah uayom tunob, ah uayom ziniltunob, ah uayom balamob, ox uayahob. Can bak hab u xul u cuxtalob catac holhun kal hab yan cataci tu xul u cuxtalob tumen yohelob u ppiz kinob tubaob. Tuliz u, tuliz hab, tuliz kin, tuliz akab, tuliz ik cu ximbal, tuliz kik xan tu kuchul tu uayob, tu poopoob, tu ɔamob. Ppiz u canticob yutzil oraob, ppiz u caxanticob yutzil kin latuppiz yilicob yocolob utzul ekọb tu yahaulil, tan u ppix-ich-ticob yocolob yahaulil utzul ekob. Utz tun tulacal.

Catun u takbez yalob tu cuxolalob yan. Manan tun keban tu santo okolalob yan u cuxtalob. Manan tun chapahal, manan tun chibil bac tiob, manan tun ɔam chacuil tiob, minan tun xpomkakil tiob, minan tun elel tzemil tiob, minan ya nakil tiob, minan tun tzentzem cimil tiob, minan chibil pol tiob. Tzolombil tun u bin u uinicilob. Ma bay tun u mentah ɔulob ti uliob lae. Zub-
p.20 C tzilil[4] <u>tal/zahob ca talob. Ca cuxhi yol nicte; cuxhi tun yol tu nicteob Nacxit Xuchit tu nicte u lakob. Minan tun yutz kin[n]ob yetzahob toon. Lay u chun cakin xec, cakin ahaulil; lay ix u chun cimil toon xan. Manan yutz kin ton xan, minan cuxolal toon. Tu xul ca zatmail ilil y̱ zubtalil etlahom tulacal. Minan nohoch can, minan yahau than, minan ahau can ti lay u hel ahau[u]oob ti uliob lae. Tzuc cep ah kinil cu talel u mentabal ti telae tumen ɔulob. Catun tu ppatahob yal u mehenob uay Tancah lae. Lay tun kamicob u numyailob, uchci u chibil lay ɔulob lae. He bin Ah Itzaobe, oxtenhii bin uchicob ɔulob. Lay tun tumen oxkal haab yan toon tu lukzicob ca patan, tumen uchci u chibi-
p.21 C lob tumen lay uin<i>cob/Ah Itzaob lae. Ma toon t<i> mentei; toon botic hele lae. Heuac concierto[5] yanil yan u xul, ca yanac hun olal ton y̱ ɔulob. Uamae bi<n>yanac toon noh katun.

[1] ci bin: cib C. [2] ix zuhuy: yx suhun C. [3] almud: almut C. [4] Zubtzilil: sabtzilil C. [5] Concierto: consierto C.

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VI

(NOTES ON THE CALENDAR)

Katun.

Tu yax chun Buluc Ahau	do 1513 a<no>s	
Ɔoci lay lae.		
Hop<p>ci Hooil	do 1519 a<no>s	
S<a>n Fran<cis>co, eɔlahci[1] S<a>ntiago, Tihoo	do 1519	
Eɔlahci chumuc cah <H>oo Iglesia Mayor tu habil	do 1540	
U ichil haab, doce[2]	12	
U tzol kin ichil hunppel hab	do 365	
U tzolan akab hunppel hab	do 365	
U tzolan semana ichil hunppel haab catac hunppel kin	do 52	
U tzolan Domingo ichil hunppel haab	do 53	
U tzolan kin ichil uacppel u tu yax chun	do 181/	p.22 C
U tzolan kin ichil uacppel u tu caɔic, tu tuliztal hunppel hab	do 184	

Heix kin cu xocic semana lae: uucppel kin ichil hunppel semana, u cuentail lay xoc lae./ p.23 C

U tzol uinal ichil hunppel hab lae—

Poop—16 Julio	Yaax—12 Enero[3] u kin hoch utz.
Ůoo—5 Agosto	Zac—Febrero licil u lolancal zacob.
Zip—25 Agosto	Ceeh 21 Febrero
Zoɔ—14 Septiembre	Mac—13 Marzo, licil yalancal aac.
Zec—4 Octubre	Kankin—2 Abril
Xul 24 Octubre, tilic yalancal cayi.	Muan—22 Abril, lic u mumtal u nak u caanil kini.
Ɔeyaxkin 13 Nob<iem->bre, ti cu uaɔal nali.	Paax—12 Mayo.
Mol 3 Diciembre[4]	Kayab—1 Junio.
Cha̍een 23 Diciembre[4]	Cumku—21 Junio. U Uayayab hoppel kin./[5] p.24 C

Chumayel 28 zihic ahijada[6] Micaela Castañeda.[7]/ p.25 C

[1] eɔlahci: eɔlayci C. [2] doce: dose C. [3] Enero: henero C. [4] Diciembre: Diziembre C. [5] Pictures of the eighteen months will be found in the translation. [6] ahijada: ayijada C. [7] Notation in a different hand.

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VII

(THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF YUCATAN)

(Picture of a conventional coat of arms accompanied by the following legends in Maya. A reproduction of the picture will be found in the translation.)

U chun luum Campech. U puczikal luum Mani.
Calkini. Ichcaanzihoo.
U pol peten Cumkal. Itzmal. Kin zazal xa. Zacii.[1]
Naum Pech, t Zacnicte-c̄heen, Zoɔil, Mutul.
p.26 C Ah Kin Chable ah kak bak Tixkokob./

VIII

(NOTES ON ASTRONOMY)

He ca bin kuchuc lay kin tu bulucpiz Junioe u chau<a>cil kin. He ca bin kuchuc lay kin latu yoxlahunpiz Septiembre, hach lahcet lay kin y̱ akab. He ca bin kuchu<c> lay kin latulah capiz Diciembre,[2] chi[n]chan kin, com akab. He ca bin kuchuc lay kin latu lahunpiz Marzo lahcet kin y̱ akab.

Helay u petel yan yan chumuc ca: zazac u nucul licil u binel u ximbal kin. Tu cappelil u copol lay yeyekilo, lay u nucul lay u uich kino. Tu binel yokol lay u nohol yeyekilo, tu yemel tu chi[n]chanil u copol yeyekilo, layi lic lahcet tan u binel y̱ lay u ximbal uay yokol cablili xane. Ti luum bay ix u chacaan-pahal tu yukul peten xan. U ximbal kin, hahal noh cu c̄haic u ximbalte ocebal ti tu noh Oro u chil yokol cab. U kahlail kin oheltabal uay yokol cab lae.

(Picture: an astronomical diagram consisting of three concentric circles. In the inner one is the word "*tierra*," and between the two outer ones are four
p.27 C darkened disks.)/

(Picture: a diagram representing an eclipse of the sun and accompanied by the following legends.)[3]
Eclipse del sol.[4] U chibil kin.
Medio mundo. Tan buh yokol cab.

Ti xiblalob tu xaxob yan lay hun buha, u uinbail ma chibil u cah kini. Hetun yan chumuco lay cu chibil. Nupp tanba u cah y̱ u tu chibil. Ximbal u cah payanbe ti maili chibic. Kuchul u cah u ximbal ti xaman nohoch. Hun-ppelili tun u chibalob kin y̱ u ti maili kuchuc chumkine. U nucul utial yoheltic Maya uinicob bal cu yuchul ti kin y̱ ti u lae.

(Picture: another astronomical diagram showing sun, earth and moon and representing an eclipse. It is accompanied by the following legends.)

U chibil u, ma chibil u cahi. Caham ichtal u cah u y̱ kin tu tzel peten. U chibil kin, ma chibil u cahi. Caham ichtal u cah kin y̱ u tu tzel peten. Chicul
p.28 C tumen D<io>s licil u lahcet-hal. Heuac ma chibil u cahi./

[1] Zacii: çaquij C. [2] Diciembre: Diziembre C.
[3] This picture as well as all others accompanying the Maya text will be found in the translation. [4] del sol: dre sol C.

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IX

(THE INTERROGATION OF THE CHIEFS)

Zuyua[a] than ɣ naat utial ca yum Sr. Gov<ernad>dor Mariscal, lay uchic u cahtal Tzuc-uaxim lae tu lakin Ichcaanzihoo. Ti yan luum uchic u yantal u pakali ɣ u solar, uchic u cahtal lae. Bin ix kuchuc tu kin u holol u bel xan. Talel u than halach uinic[c]il. Chac u than, ca bin uluc; chac[c]ix u buc xan.

(Picture of crowned head with blurred face.) Heleac tu Zuyua than, lay bin u than, lay bin u kat u halach uinicil cah lae, ca bin kuchuc tu kin u ɔocol u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun, ca bin culac uyanal katun, Ah Hun Ahau Katun, bay alanil lae.

(Similar picture.) Hex katun hele lae Ox Ahau Katun. Ɔoc ix u kuchul tu kinil u ɔocol yahaulil ɣ u tepal. Halibe. Mahan ix uyanal.

(Similar picture.) Hex Hun Ahau Katun culan ichil yotoch Ah Ox Ahau Katun lae. Yula te, tan u ɔabal u chaan tumenel Ah Ox Ahau Katun lae. Zubtzil bin bin balob tu cahalob./ p.29 C

(Similar picture.) Kat naat cu talel ichil u katunil licil u ɔocol hele lae. Ti kuchi tu kinil u katabal u naatob u batabil cahob, ua yohelob uchic u talelob u uinicilob yahaulilob, ua tzolan u talel u batabilob u halach uinicilob, ua u cẖibalob ahau[u]ob, ua batab u cẖibalob, ti u hahcunticob.

(Similar picture.) He ix u yax chun than bin katabac tiobe: bin u katob u hanal. "Tal ex kin." Ci bin u than halach uinic tiob, bay bin alabac ti batabobe. "Talez kin mehene, ca a lathab tin plato. Ti cẖicaan lanza, caanil cruz tan chumuc u puczikal. Ti ix culan yax balam yokol kin ukic u kikele." Zuyua u naataal. Hex kin bin katabac tiob lae: yahau tzahbil hee. Hex lanza ɣ caanil cruz cẖicaan tu puczikale, lay lic yalice, lay cicithane. Hex yaax balam cumcabal yokol ukic u kikele, lay yaax ic, balam yanie. Zuyua u than lae.

(Similar picture.) Hex u cacẖic than bin katabac tiobe; ca xicob u cẖaob u ɔomel caan yilab halach uinic uabahun u cah. "Yan uol uilab, uchi uilab." Cii uil yalabalobe. Hex u ɔomel caane, lay pome. Zuyua./ p.30 C

(Similar picture.) Hex u yoxcẖic than bin katabac tiobe: ca u kaxob nohoch na. Uacthil u uaan, hunɔit[t]ili yocmal. He ix nohoch na lae: lay yahau ppoc ɔoz lae. Bin alabac ti ca nacac yokol yahau zazac tzimin. Zazac u nok ɣ zuyem, ɣ zazac zoot u machma tu kab, tamuk u zoot[t]ic u tzimin. Ti yan olom kik tu lol u zoot ti uil u lukule. He ix zazac tzimin lae, lay yocbil xanab zozcil kaane. He ix zazac zoot lic yalabale, lay zazac zuyeme. Lay nictee zazac ɔulube. He ix olom kik u lol zoote lic u katabal tie, lay takine yan tan chumuce, yoklal kikil likul tu kikel ix ma naa, ix ma yum, u talel lae.

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(Similar picture.) He ix u canch̄ic than bin katabac tiobe: ca xicob ti yotoch, catun alabac tiob. "He ix ca bin talac ex, a uilben exe tu kak chumuc kin uale. Caput pal ex, huk a cah ex; ca bin uluc ex, ti yan a ual pek ta pach exe. He ix a ual pek ex loe: u nachma u pixan ca cilich colel ca bin uluc ech yetel." He ix caput paliltic yalabal tie kak chumuc kin. Ca bin xic u cumtanma u booy, lay licil yalabal hukil u binel. Ca bin kuchuc yicnal halach uinice. He ix yal pek lic u katabal tie: lay u ch̄uplile. He ix u pixan ca cilich colebile: yahau candelas, hacha cibe.
p.31 C Zuyua than lae./

(Similar picture.) He ix u hoch̄ic than bin katabac tiobe. Bin alabac tiob ca xicob u ch̄aob u puczikal Ku Citbil ti caan. "Heix ca bin a talez tene oxlahun yal u taz, tii teppan u pach ɣ zac potz." He ix lay u puczikal Ku Citbil lic yalabal tiob lae. Lay kane. He ix u taz lay oxlahun yal lic yalabale. Lay yahau uahe. Oxlahun yal buul yan ichile. He ix zazac potze, lay zazac noke. Lay bin katabac tiob, u naatul Zuyua.

(Similar picture.) He ix uacch̄ic thanbin katabac tiobe. U binel u ch̄aob u kab choo ɣ oxbal hax ɣ cuxul ak. Lay bin u ciilte. "In hanal zamal. Yan uol in hantante." Maiuil lob u kuxul u chun choe. Cii yalabalob. Heix u chun choe cii yalabalob. He ix u chun choe, lay chope. He ix oxbal haxe, lay u ne huhe. He ix cuxul ake, lay u chochel kekene. He ix u chun choe, u chun u ne chop. Zuyua than.

(Similar picture.) He ix u uucch̄ic than bin katabac tiobe. Bin alabac tiob: "Xen mol ten u mac yit ɔonot, cappel zazaci, cappel kankani. Yan uol in hante. He ix u mac yit ɔonot lic u katabal tiobe. Lay zazac chicame, cappel kankani. U natul uchuc u chucul u batabil cah,
p.32 C ca pul tu tan ahau, yax halach uinic lae./

He thanob lae. Ua matan u natabal tumen u batabil cahobe, okom[m]oltzil ek taplayhom akab. Ch̄akax thantzil yotoch. Okom[m]oltzilhom okom bulcum tan chumuc tancab yicnal ah almehenilob. Ah cimil ma u naaticob; ah cuxtal bin u naatab. Lay bin yanac yokol u batabil cahob, lay yetppizan; u hochbilan oheltabal yail bin ɔoc[c]ebal ahaulil lae. Lay kaxan u kab tu tan ɣ yu mache; ch̄opayan u zumil; binzabal u cah yicnal ahau, yax halach uinic. Lay u ɔoc batabil. Lay bin yanac yokol u co kin, u co katun. Bin yubob ya ca bin ɔococ u balob u batabil cahob. Lay bin yanac tu kin lae, hiiɔebal u than katun. Ca bin ɔococ Ah Ox Ahau Katun, chucom u batabil cahob tumen minanil u naatob
p.33 C lae./

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(Picture of two men. The hands of one are bound and he wears a prisoner's wooden collar [*copoochecal*]. The other leads him by a rope attached to the collar.)

Bay bin uch cu chucul u batabil cah lae. Kahlay uchebal u ɔaicob u hanal yax halach uinicob ca bin u katob u hanalob. Hichom u u calob; xotom u ni yakob; colom u uichob. Tu kinil lay bin ɔocebal lae.

Hex chibale, ti ix u hokzic uba tu tan u yum ti caclampix uchebal yoheltabal yanil u cuxolalob. Ti ix u kubul u poop ɣ u ɔam tiob xani. Lay yetppizan yilabal u hochbilan. Cio<l>tzil yilabal u chibal halach uinic ti luum uaye. Lay bin cuxlac tu kinil, lay ix bin kamic yax vara[1] xan. Bay tun bin heɔ-luumnahbal u chibal Maya uinicob uay tu cahal Yucatan tu cazut lae. Dios paybe ɔocebal uay yokolcab lae. Lay u hahil ahau bin tac u kat toon lay ca tepalilob, lay ca kulob lae, tunob, kanob; yetel bin katic pakal cii, balche. He mac minan tie cimzabil. He max bin tzicice, Diosil u cah tu thana. Maiuil yoltic Dios yuchul tulacal bal ɔibanob lae./ p.34 C

(Picture of a bearded Spaniard dressed in official robes and bearing a wand of office, the *vara*.)

Bay xan he ix almehenob u chibal batabob yohelma bix talicob u uinicilob ɣ yahaulilob u tepalob. Cio<l>tzil yilabal u cuxolalob u mektanma u tzicilteilob. Bin ix cici kubuc u pop tiob ɣ ɔam tiob tumenel ca yum yax halach uinic. Lay u pop ɣ u ɔam. Baxtabi, muc-luumtabi u uich, popokchektabi tu uich luum, bibilyabi, tu chochopay u co kin, u co katun, yalx buyuk, yal co, u mehen kaz, ah cakin pop, ah cakin ɔam, u maxil ahaulil, u maax katun. Lay ximbalnahob ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Hethan bolon buth ichil u puczikal u chibal almehenob, ahaulil uinicob, licitac yalabal ti u binel u chab u batabil cahobe. Ca xic u chab.

"Mehene! Xen cha u lol akab ten uaye." Cii uil yalabal. Catun xic ti caclampix tu tan halach uinic katic tie. "Yume! He ix u lol akab lic a katic tene. Uet talic ɣ u kaz akabe. Tii yan uicnale." Cii u than.

"Bala mehene! Ua ti yan a/uicnale, ti uayan yax ix ɔoy ta pache ɣ noh copoe?" "Yume! Ti yan uicnale. U et ulic." p.35 C

"Bala mehene! Ua a uet ulice, xen pay a lakob ten. Lay huntul nohxibe, bolontul u mehene, ɣ huntul ixnuc, bolontul yale." "Yume!" cii u than ca bin u nucub, "u et ulic. Uayan tin pache. Payanbe u talob ten ca t<i>ulen in uil ech."

"Bala mehene! Ua uayan ta pache, xen molob ten u tunichil chakan yetelob ca tac ech." U lotmaob tu tzem cu talel. "Ua halach uinic cechi be, ua tech u chibal ahau uay ti luum be? Zuyua than.

He ix u lol akab lic u katabal tie: ek ti caan. Hex u kaz akabe: lay ue. Hey yax ix ɔoye ɣ noh copoe: lay ah cuch cabe, otlom cabal u kabae. Hex huntul nohxib lic u katabal tie, lay bolontul u mehene: lay u naa yoc[c]e. He ix huntul ixnuc lic u katabal tie: lay u naa u kabe. Hex u tun<i>chil chakan lic u katabal tie ɣ u lotma u mehe<n>: lay ubechee.[2]

[1] vara: bara C. [2] ubechee: ubechee C.

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"Bay xan, mehene, cex a yax haan alabi tech. Ma alan a pacte u uiche." "Uayan tin pache, yume."

"Bala mehene! Xen cha ten yibnel caan uaye. Ti a talel ti lakin, ca bin tac eche, cuch pach u tal tech." "Caybaac bee, yume!" Cii u than.

Hex u yax haan ti yan tu pach ca ti kuchie: lay u pach caae.

Hex u yibnel caane lic u katabal tie: lay patbil pome, oxlahun ual u patal. He ix licil yalabal tie cuch pachil u talel tie; te yan u boy tu pache tzelep kin cochom.

"Mehene, halach uinic ech, ah tepal echi xan. Xen tun cha ten a yax
p.36 C cuentexe licil a pa/yal chie." Hex u yax cuentexe lic u katabal tie: lay kane. Catun katabac ti tun uabahun kin cu payal chi. "Yume," cu than, "tu hunte kin cin payal chii ɣ tu lahun kin cin payal chii." "Balx kinil licil a naczic a payal chii?" "Yume, tu bolon kin ɣ tu yoxlahun kin. Bolon-ti-ku ɣ Oxlahun-ti-citbil, lay licil in xocic in cuentex loe.

"Mehene, xen cha ten a uex in uui[1] u booc uaye ɣ nach u booc[c]e u booc in uexe, u booc in noke, u booc in yub<k>ake, paynum u booc tu ɔu caane ɣ tu ɔu muyal[l]e, ɣ in yax pakab chie, yan ti zac hothe, ua halach uinic echi be." "Yume, bin in talez." Cii u than.

Hex u boc yex lic u katice, lay paynum u booc tu ɔu caane: lay pome thabbil, elel u cah. Hex yax pakab chi lic u katice; lay muxbil cacau, ch<u>cuae.

"Bala mehene; Xen talez ten u yax kikel in uixmehene ɣ u pole ɣ u homtanile ɣ u chacbacele ɣ u kabe ɣ lay ualah a macab ti zuhuy cate ɣ u yax kanchee, uixmehene. Etez ten. Yan uol uilab. Uch in ɔab tech liciuil yacal tin tane, liciuil u uakal uokole." "Caybacac be yume." Yet tal u ɔiic u xicin ah bol cabeh, yetel, catun xic tun.

p.37 C Hex u yax kikel yixmehen lic u katic loe: lay Maya ciie. Hex u homtanil/yixmehene: lay u hobonil cabe. Hex u pol yixmehene: lay zuhuy cate ɔamlic ciie. He ix u yax kanche yixmehene: lay u couoh tun cabe. Hex u ɔic u xicin ah bole: lay u zulil ciie. Hex u bacel yixmehene: lay u holil balchee. Hex u chacbacel lic yalice: lay u cheel balchee. Hex u kab yixmehene: lay u kab balchee. He ix licil yalic yokole, calhal u than. Ca tun xic u ɔab ti. Ten cul uba; chu<c> u than; tezcun u than ca bin kuchuc.

"Yume, helay a uixmehena a ɔah in canante lic a ualic. Cech yume, cech ah tepale." Cii u than u mehen tie.

"Bee, mehene, uet halach uinicile, uet ah tepalile. Kahaan baca tech, a uohel baca." Cii u than. "Lay tun u kikel uixmehen lic in katic tech lae." Oxlahun num tun u manel u kikel yixmehen utan tun yokol yixmehen ti chelic tu tancabal. Hii[i] citun yokol tamuk yilic ti chinlic, tamuk u than. "Bee, mehene," cii tun u than tamuk yokol, "halach uinic eche. Bee, mehene, ah

[1] uui: uilic (see) or ubic (perceive) may be intended.

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tepal echi xan. Bee, uet halach uinicile. Bin tun in kub a pop ɣ a ɔam ɣ a uahaulil cech mehene, atial tepal atial ix ahaulil xan, cech mehene."

Bay tun bin ɔocebal u thanal u batabil cahob ca bin lukuc[c]ob yicnal yax/halach uinic te tu pol petene. Ca tun xicob ti yotoch. Tii tun yan ti yotochob tan u ɔaic u hanalob halach uinic, tan ix u katic u hanal tiob xan bay binebal u tzolic lae. p.38 C

"Mehene, ca a talez ten cancot chac-ɔiɔib yan tu hol actune. Ti[n]uatal yokol in yax pakab chi. Chacniceni uil ualic u pput yokol in yax pakab chie, can bin kuchuc tin tane." "Caybacac be, yume." He ix lic u katice lay ciuie. Hex u <p>put lic yalice: lay yom chucuae. Hex u yax pakab chie: cacau ɔocan u huc̄ul. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u c̄hic̄hil akab y u hoc̄hil akab, yet tal u ɔomel caan. Hach yan uol uilab uaye." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay hoyobe licil u tocabal pome. Hex u hoc̄hil akab lic a katice, lay kane. Hex u ɔomel caane, lay pome. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u bacel a yum lay a mucah oxppel habhie. Hach yan uol uilab." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ɔiine pibbil. Ca xic ɔabil ti halach uinic.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul nohxib lay ma kalan u botonil u habone, homto chac u kabae." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ibache, ix ueche.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten ox buh caan, yan uol in hantante." "Caybacac be, yume."/Hex lic u katice, thohob zacae, lay <y>om zacae. Zuyua thanil bin katabal tulacal. p.39 C

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u chun cii, u cucutil cii, minan u kabi. Ma a lukzic yol[l]i. Yet tal ox thothol yoc tzitzil." "Caybacac, yume." He ix lic u katice, u pol keken pibbil. Ca bin xic ɔabil tie. Hex yol lic yalice, lay yake, tumen he yakbale u yol. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u cozil akab in hantante." "Caybaac, yume." He ix lic u katice, pollos, ah thel. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a ual ti yax ix ɔoy, otlom cabal u kabae, ca u talez ten hun xuxac pic̄hum, ti u chucul yalan noh copoe, ti banan tu boy copoe." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, eek buul ti yan ti yotoch ah cuch cab, lay yax ɔoy ɣ otlom cabale lic yalice. Zuy<ua than>.

"Mehene, ca xic chucbil u balamil actun, tamenel u ciilte in hanal. Yan uol in hantante balam." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex balam lic u katice, lay haleu[u]e. Zuyua than.

"Mehene ca a talez ten uuc yal u pix ix mayum. Yan uol in hantante tu kini uil u hantabale." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay ɔotob chaye.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten yax tzublalob uaye. Ca tacob ti okot in chaante. Yet talob u pax ɣ zoot ɣ u ual ɣ u kab pax. Lay in pakob." "Caybacac, yume."

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Hex lic u katice, ah tzo. Hex u paxe, u koo. Hex u zoote, u pol. Hex u uale, u ne. Hex u kab u paxe, u chacbacel. Zuyua than.

p.40 C "Mehene, ca a talez ten u caz peten. Yan uol in/hantante." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, u kabil cab. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten u tun<i>chil chuh cab, lay elele. Yet talel yalili uchebal in tupic uay ix u xicil tin tane." Hex lic u katice, pibil macal. Hex yalile utial u tupice, lay u kabil cabe. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten akab cocay. Lay hun xaman, hun chikin u man u booc. Yet tal<e>l[1] u lezak balam." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, chamal. Hex u lezak balam lic u katice, lay kake.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten a uixmehen in uilab. Lay hach zac haɔen u uiche, hach cichpame. Zazac u booch̄ ɣ u kaxi. Hach yan uol ti." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice, zac luch ɣ tzune zacae. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten zabel u kabae. Lay zamacnac u booce." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, lay melone.[2]

"Mehene, ca a talez ten yax ix lochen cal, yayax u pach. Yan uol in hantante." "Caybacac, yume." Hex lic u katice u cal ah tzoo. Zuyua.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ch̄uplal hach zac uouol u ppul yoc. Uay in zilic u pic tu ppul yoce." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice chicam. Hex u zilic u pice, u ɔilic u pach.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ch̄uplal hach cichpam hach zac u uich. Hach yan uol tii. Uay in pulic u pic ɣ yipil tin tane." "Caybacac be, yume."

p.41 C Hex lic u katice, huncot ix tux ulum u hantante. Hex u pulic u pice/ɣ yipile, lay u thocol u kukmele. Catun kaktabac utial hanal. Zuyua than.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten huntul ah canan col nohxib uaye. Yan uol uilab u uich." "Caybacac be, yume." Hex lic u katice, u cucutil macal u hantante. Ɔa nat.

"Mehene, ca a talez ten ix canan col ixnuc ektunlah u uinicile. Uuc nab u tan yit[t]e. Yan uol uilab." Hex lic u katice, lay u yax ich ɔole. Zuyua than.

Bin kuchuc u kin.

Hele ti kin tu po<k>chektah ca yum yax halach uinic lae. Licitac yulel uay ti luum, tu lumil Yucal-peten lae, cu payic batabob. Ca bin tac batabob. Payal u cahob tumen ca yum halach uinic. "Tex ua batabe?" "Toni be, yume." Ci uil u thanob lae.

"Mehenexe, ua tex halach uinic uay ti luum lae," ci uil yalabalob lae, "xenex ch̄a xiknal balam, ca tac ex a ɔab ex in hante. Cicii ɔa ex yuob, cicii ɔa ex u pputoob, ca tac ex a ɔa ex in hante, ɣ xen ex tac tuzebal hach hele ɣ[3] tac a tal exe. Mehen exe, hach yan in uol in hante. Cex mehen exe, cex halach uinic exe." Heob <i>x ma yohele otzilhom u tucul ɣ u pacat. Be, mabal bin yalab. He ix yohelobe cilmac yol ca bin xic u ch̄ab xiknal balam. Ca tun tac

[1] talel: suppl. Ber. [2] melone: milone C. [3] ɣ: y C.

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yetel. "Tech ua, mehene?" "Teni be, yume." "Tech ua cẖibale, mehene?" "Teni be, yume." "Cex a lakob, mehene?" "Yume, ti yanob ti kaxe u xachetob balame." Minan balam tu/thanob. Ca tun u manez tu tan. Hex lic u katice p.42 C lay balame, u tzimin ah batabil u kat u hante. Lay tzembil tzimine. Hex yue, lay cascabelese. Hex u ppute, lay chachac kuche. Cici ɔabil y̱ u silla y̱ u freno. Zuyua than.

X

(THE CREATION OF THE WORLD)

Ti hach kabet u bel yoczabal ti ol. Lay u tunil tu ppatah ca yum citbil. Lay u kamchi, lay baalche licil ca tzicic uay, con ah tepal uin<i>cob.

Hach paybentzil u kultabalob hahilob kuob, laobi tunob, cumlahic hahal ku, ca yumil ti Dios, u yumil caan y̱ luum, hahal ku. Bacacix yax kuobe hauay kuob. Ɔoc u than u kultabalob. Kazpahiob tumen u bendicion[1] u yumil caan, ca ɔoci u lohol balcah ca ɔoci u caput cuxtal, halhal ku, hahal D<io>s, ca u cicithantah caan y̱ luum. Ti kazpahi a kul, Maya uinic exe. Xeth a uol ta kul ex lae.

U kahlay cab tu kinil, lay tumen ɔiban lae, tumen ma kuchuc tu kin u meyah lay hunob lae, picil thanob lae, utial katabal u chi Maya uinicob ua[y] yohelob bix zihanilob eɔlic cab uay ti peten lae.

Ti peten.

Blurred picture of a face.

[2]Ichil Buluc Ahau tii ca hoki Ah Mucencab kaxic u uichob Oxlahun-ti-ku; maix yoheltahobi u kaba, halili u cic y̱ u mehenobe. Yalahob ti maix chancanhii u uich tiob xan. Tuchi ix ca ɔoci u yahal cabe, maix yoheltahob binil ulebal. Ca ix chuci Oxlahun-ti-ku tumenel Bolon-ti-ku. Tii ca emi kak; ca emi tab; ca emi tunich y̱ che. Ca tali u baxal che y̱ tunich. Ca ix chuci Oxlahun-/ti-ku. p.43 C Ca ix paxi u pol; ca ix lahi u uich; ca ix tubabi; ca ix cuch-pach-hi xan. Ca ix colabi u canhel[3] y̱ u hol zabac. Ca cẖabi ix kukil, ix yaxum.[4] Y ca cẖabi ibnel <p>puyem[5] uiil, y̱ u puczikal <p>puyem[5] zicil, y̱ u <p>puyem[5] topp, u <p>puyem[5] buul. U teppah <y>inah[6] yax Bolon Ɔacab, ca bini tu yoxlahun taz caan. Ca ix tun culhii u maɔil y̱ u ni u baclili uay yokol cabe. Ca tun bin u puczikal tumenel Oxlahun-ti-ku, ma ix yo<he>ltahob[7] binci u puczikal uiil lae. Ca ix hullahi[8] ix ma yumob y̱ ah numyahob, ix ma ichamob cuxanob ix ti minan u puczikalob. Ca ix mucchahii tumen u yam zuz[9] tu yam kaknab.

Hun uaɔ hail, hulom haail, tii ca uchi col canhelili.[10] Ti homocnac canal, homocnac ix ti cab, ualic cantul ti ku, cantul ti Bacab, lay hayezob. Tuchii tun

[1] bendicion: bendision C.
[2] Parallel versions of this passage are found in the Mani MS, p. 161, and the Tizimin MS, p. 20. [3] Canhel T: cangel C. [4] ix yaxum M & T: ix yaxun C.
[5] ppuyem M & T: puyem C. [6] yinah M & T: inah C.
[7] yoheltahob M: yoheltah T: yoltahob C. [8] hullahi C: hutlahi M & T.
[9] zuz M: zuc C. [10] canhelili: cangelili C.

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ca ɔoci haycabil lay cahcunah uchebal ca tzolic kan-xib-yuy<um>.[1] Caualhi zac imix che ti xaman. Ca ix ualhi yocmal caan, u chicul haycabal, lay zac imix che ualic cuchic. Ca ix ualhi ek imix che, cu<lic> ektan piɔoy.[2] Ca ix ualhii kan imix che u chicul haycabal, culic kantan piɔoy, cumlic ix kan-xib-yuy<um>, ix kan-oyal-mut. Ca ix ualhi yax imix che tu chumuc, u kahlay haycabil.

Culic, uatal, cumtal u cah u lac uyanal[3] katun, ah pay kab, ah pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u cah chac piltec tu lakin cab, ah pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u
p.44 C cah zac pilte<c> tu xaman cab, ah/ pay oc tu yum. Cumtal u cah Lahun Chan, ah pay kab tu yum. Cumtal u cah kan piltec, ah pay kab tu yum. Hex u uol cab ualic Ah Uuc Cheknale, tali ti uuc taz cab, ca emi u chekebte u pach Itzam-kab-ain, tii ca emi tu muk u xuk luum caan. Ximbal u cahob tu can cib, tu cantaz ti ek. Ma zazil cab, ti hun minan kin, ti hun minan akab, ti hun minan u. Ah ubaob ti ix tan u yahal cab. Ca tun ahi cab. ✠ Ualacito yahal cab, oxlahun[4] pic ɔac tu uuc u xocan yahal cab. Catun ah cab tiob.

Ci uba cakin ɔam, ox kin ɔam. Ca ix hoppi yokol Oxlahun-ti-ku. Okol u cahob ti yahaulil. Chacab tun tepal, chac-hix pop, chac acan u yax chel cab. Chacan u numteil cab tumenelob Uuc-yol-zip. Ma ix tu kin u tepal lay lic yokticob Bolon-ti-ku lae. Tii ca tali u tzolol pop. Chac[c]ix pop culic Bolon-ti-ku. Ɔut polbil ix yit, ti culic tu pop. Tica emi ziɔ, tali tan yol caan, lay u ziɔil tepal, u ziɔil ahaulil.

Ca ix cumlahii chac eɔ; ca cumlahi zac yeɔebil ahaulil eɔ; ca cumlahii ek eɔ; ca cumlahii kan eɔ.

Ca cumlahii Chac-tenel Ahau, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca culhi Zac-temal <Ahau>, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca cumlahii Ek-tenel Ahau, au ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ca cumlahii Kan-tenel Ahau, ah ten pop, ah ten ɔam. Ti ku ix tu than; ti ua ix ti ma ix kui, ti minan ix u uah, ti minan ix yaal.

p.45 C Hun xeli / lic ualic u mul ui t ic,[5] ma ix tab u tal u yabal lic u yancuntic. Caal u mut ti culic cal kin, caal numya, ti tali tamuk yahaulil, ca kuchi ti culic tu pop. Top canal hopan u kak. Colob[6] u uich kin; tocan ti cab lay u buuc ti yahaulil. Lay u chun licil yoktic u tepal. Tu kin numen kin, numen celem. Tu kinil u natal naat ahauob. Can ualic u cẖic che. Mol tu kin zatay babalili. Can ualic u che ah muuc tu ho<l>can be,[7] tu ho<l>can heleb. Okom bulcum; tu kinil momolii pepen. Ti tali chac mitan numyaɔ, lic u talel ox uin keech, u kin Ox Ahau Katun. Ox tuc ti hab, lay bin nuppuc ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Ca bin cumlac uyanal katun. Ox u uah. ox yaal; cup u uah, cup yaal; la cu hantic, la cu yukic. Xbatun, cẖimcẖim-chay cu hantic. Lay culhi uay tu cahal numyae, yume, ichil u bolon tun. Tu kin yan ɔulili. Katal u cah u cuch katun tulah yabil Ah Oxlahun Ahau.

[1] kan-xib-yuyum M: kan-xib-yuy C.
[2] piɔoy C: pixoy M: picɔoy T. [3] uyanal M: canah ual C. [4] oxlahun: oxlahum C.
[5] The Maya compiler appears to have been unable to read this phrase.
[6] colob: colop C. [7] hol can be: supplied from Kaua, p. 166; ho can be C.

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Tii [ca] ca u hekah yoc Ah Buluc Ahau. Tii ca emi u than Bolon Ɔacab u ni yak. Ca emi katal u cah u cuch katun [katun], bolonte u cuch, ca emi ti caanil. Kan ix u kinil kaxci u cuch. Tii ca emi haa, tali tan yol caan uchebal u caput zihil Bolon-haaban yotoch. Yet emcii Bolon-mayel; cẖahuc u chi, u ni yak. Cẖahuchi u ɔomel. Ti ca emi cantul chaac uaya<b> caat lae, lay u cabilob nicte lae.[1]/ Tii ca hoki ix chac hoch kom ti, ɣ ix zac hoch kom ti, ɣ ix ek p.46 C hoch kom ɣ ix kan hoch kom, ɣ ix hau nab[2] ɣ ix huk nab.[3] Yet hokci tun ix ho yal nicte ɣ ix ho nixte, ɣ ix ninicẖ cacau, ɣ ix chabil tok,[4] ɣ ix bac nicte, ɣ ix Macuil Xuchite, ix hobon yol nicte, ɣ ix laul nicte, ɣ kouol yoctah nicte. Lay hokob nicte, laob ix ah conmayelob,[5] lay u naa[6] nicte. Ca hokiob yuɔub ah kin, yuɔub ahau, yuɔub holcan, lay u cuch nicte ahau ca emi, minan ix uyanal, lay uile cu than. Ma ix uah u cuchma. Tii tun ca hoki ix haulah nicte oczic u keban Bolon-ti-ku. Oxte ix ti hab u kin ca yalah cuchii, ma ix kuchi cẖab-naci ku mitnali Bolon Ɔacab. Ca emi tu chun nicte Ppizlimte<c>, yax bac ɔunun ix u uayinah ca emi. Ca u ɔuɔah u cabil bolon yal nicte tu ichil tun. Ca cẖa-icham-nii ix ho yal nicte. Catun hoki u puczikal nicte u ximbantez uba. Can hek ix u lac nicte lae, ti ix culan Ah Kin Xocbiltun chumuc. Tii ca uchi u hokol[7] Oxlahun-ti-ku, ma ix yoheltah yemel u keban u pop ti ku<chi> ix tu than cuchie.[8] Nicte ix u pop, nicte ix u kanche [nicte yema]. Zauin culic, zauin u ximbal. Zauin u lac, zauin u luch. Zauin u puczikal, zauin u nat, zauin u tucul, zauin u chi. Cool u than ti yahaulili. Tu kin<a>uat uil, <a>uat ukul,[9] tu xay u chi lic u hanal, tu pach u xau lic u uil u chiic. <Et>ma chee, etma tunich. Chac u cool yan ti; Lahun Chan u uich ti culic. Zip u uich, zip u than, zip u can, zip u naat, zip u ximbal. Kaxan u uich ti culic. Cẖa <u> cah, <tza u cah> u/pop,[10] culic tamuk yahaulil. Tuban p.47 C u yum, tuban u naa, ma ix yohelma u naa alintee. Thaban u puczikal tu hunal ichil ix ma yumil, ah pocẖ yum, ichil ix ma nail. Bin ximbalnac calan u mut, zatal u naat, yicnal u yum, yicnal u naa. Minan tibil ti, minan utz tu puczikal, halili yan tu ni yak ɔeɔec loe. Ma yohel bix bin ɔoc[c]ebal; ma ix yohel bal yan tu ɔoc yahaulili, lay ca bin ɔocnac u kinil u tepale.

He Bolon-ti-ku-lae. Bolon Chan<u>uich ahau[u]il uinicob, ah cakin pop, ah cakin ɔam. Lay tali ichil Ox Ahau Katun. Ti ix bin yanac uyanal u yumil peten, yah culcin[n]ahul u than uyanal katun, ca bin ɔococ u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Tu kinil u concon mehen, lay bin yanac yokol u nunil Ah Itza. Hun ua chuen, hun ua celem, hunɔit tunil u kex u keban u nunil Ah Itza. Lay Bolon-ti-ku lay bin ɔocebal u than Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Ti ix

[1] Ti ca emi cantul chaac uaya caat lae, lay u cabilob nicte lae. C. Ti ca emi catul chac uayab zooɔ lae, laix ɔuɔe u cabilob nicte. M & T.
[2] ix hau nab, M & T: ix hau nal C. [3] huk nab, C: kuk nab, T.
[4] chabil tok, M: chauil tok, C. [5] ah conmayel ob, T: ah comayelob, C.
[6] naa, C: na, M & T. [7] u hokol, M & T: u huhu yol, C.
[8] ti kuchi ix tu than cuchi, M: kuchi tu than cuchi, T: ti ku ix ta than cuchie, C.
[9] auat uil, auat ukul, M & T: uat uil, uaat ukul, C.
[10] Cha u cah, tza u cah u pop, M & T: chac cah u pop C.

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u natalnat yahaulil cabobi ɔocebal u than katun. Tix u chacanhal u cẖibal almehenobi batabob ɣ uyanal ah cuxolalob ɣ u cẖibal batabob. Lay muc-chektabi luum tu uichobe, ca mabalhiob tumen u co kin, u co katun, u mehen kaz, yal <i>x buyuk, lay zihob ca ahi cab ichil Ah Ox Ahau Katun. Bay bin ɔocebal u tepalob ah cappel ichob ti ca yumil ti Dios.

Hex ca bin ɔocnac u than katun lae, ca tun u ɔab D<io>s yuchul hun yeciil tucaten, lay hay cabile. Lay tun cu ɔocole, ca tun emec ca yumil ti
p.48 C Jesu Christo yokol komil Josapat tu xax cah Je/rusalen, uchic u lohic coon tu cilich kikel. Lay ix bin emec ti noh muyal u ɔab u tohol canil hah u manzah ti zinan ti cruz che cuchie. Tii tun yemel ti noh u chucil, ti noh ix u tepal xan hahal D<io>s, lay hahal ku, lay zihez caan ɣ yokolcab tulacal. Layx bin emec taxcuntic yokolcab xan tu yutzil ɣ u lobtacil yah ɔoyzahulob ah munob.[1]

XI

(THE RITUAL OF THE ANGELS)

Dominus vobiscum u lah ci u thanob u ka<y>il ti minan caan ɣ luum. Tii ca zih tan homlah cabil ti minan caan ɣ luum ox amay tun gracia,[2] uchci u patci u kuil ah tepale, ti minan caan cuchie. Ti ca zihi uucte tun, uucp-pel katun, cẖuyan tu yol ik, uucte tete; ci bin ca pecni uucppel ix u graciail[3] xan. Uuctul ix u santoil xan. C<a>ma xiic lo uchci u zihil ti hun tun g<raci>a, hun picib g<raci>a, uchci u picil akab ti minan D<io>s cuchie. May to u kamab u D<io>sil cuchie. Tiili yan ichil g<raci> a tuba tu hunal ichil akbil ti minan caan ɣ luum. Ca buki tu ɔoc katun, ti ma uchuc zihil ti hunte katun. Yanii u tuyii adeu ti para mii, uchci u kuil, ca lukii.

Ca ix xibni tu ca picib tun g<raci>a. Ca kuchi tu cap<p> el katun Alpilcon u kaba yangelil[4] zihci. Lukul tu cibah u cappel g<raci>a tu cappel
p.49 C u picil akab, ti mamac yanac cuchie. Ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu/hunal, ca tali u lukul. "O firmar," ciix u than ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu hunal.

Ca lukii, ca bini tu yox picib tun g<raci>a. Alba Congel u kaba an-gelili. Lay u yoxppel g<raci>a.

Xic en tu can picib tun g<raci>a, u canppel uil akab. Atea Ohe, lay u kaba yangelili. Zihil u cibah u canppel g<raci>a, ca hoppi u thanic uba tu hunal. "Be kue, ah tepale! Ma baca mac en tin hunali baca," cu than tu balanil tu kuil ichil g<raci>a. "Xic en to," ci u than.

Ca bini tu ho picib tun g<raci>a, tu ho picib akab. Zihil u cibah u hoppel g<raci>a tu hoppel katun. Caa ualhi u thanab u kuil. Ca zihi yange-lili; Deçipto u kaba yangelili ca ualhi. "Xic en it baca. Mac en uile? Ku

[1] ah munob: ah nunob C. [2] gracia: grasia C. [3] graciail: grasiail C.
[4] yangelil: u angelil, C.

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en baca, ah tepal en baca," ca ix u than u kuil tu ba tu hunal. "A ninite dei sin," cu than ca u kamah u kuil tu ba tu hunal.

Ca bini tu uac picib tun g<raci>a, tu uacppel u ppizil akab, tu uacte katun. "Ku ex ah tepal exe! Nuc ex in than. Ma baca mac yan ti hunali baca."

Zihil u cibah uucppel g<raci>a. Conlamil u kaba yangelil. "Ten kul u ba ku tex, ku exe. Nuc ex in than. Ma baca mac yan, mamac nucic in than." Ci uil u than ti ualic tamuk u zihzic uucte g<raci>a. Cilmac ti yol zihici uucte katun, uucppel zazil, uucppel ix u ppizil akab, uuc picib.

Abiento bocayento de la zipil na de fente note. Sustina g<raci>a, trece[1] mili, yno cargo bende. Ix huntic, catic, oxhuntic, oxhun bacam u katunil, ox uuc pic. Ca ti ah cab ti D<io>s citbil tu ba tu hunal;/ tu tunil ox amay tun p.50 C g<raci>a ahci cab ti D<io>s citbil ✠ u kaba u pectzil. Unidad ɣ D<io>s citbil, lay u kaba, henabil ex u katunil ex. Ox ɔacab hun yaban uaan ca tali. Uucpiz ɔacab ix tu cange <l>.[2] Can ten hi ix u yax than. Hun ɔalab ti akab, hun ɔalab ti canal: "Teni u chune, teni uil bin ɔocebale." Hex tun u can muchi[3] u thane: "Datate uayi ti kaman cahe. Teni unidate, ten ix unitata, ten ix u cume, ten ix unitata anuni. Talel u cah unidad."

Nilu u kaba akab. Lay u yax than ku lae; lay u yax than citbil lae. Ti ma xix tun u tunil tu ba tu hunal ichil akbilile. Etomas, Zipancaz, u kaba ik. Hun Katun u yum. Otaho-canil, Aucangel u kaba ik. Heronix[4] u kaba ik. Xicluto-tu-tanil u kaba ik lae. Virtutus u kaba ik. Joramis[5] u kaba ik tu caɔic katun. Hetun cu than, ca t<i> helpah tune, "Jaxyon-lacalpa." U macah u kaba u cilich caanil ualic[6] ca cilich yum citbil. Bolay u kaba u canil u caɔic caan. He ix tu toz[7] yoc sustinal g<raci>a u kaba. Ti ix ti utzhi Lonmias.[8] Lom tun u tunil ichil akbil. Zihontun u tunil eɔlic lay tunob; tu yox-ten-hi u cutal tu yoc sustina g<raci>a lay tunob zihob, yan yalan hun uil tun y chac ye tun, ocontun, chac ye napal tun, chac[c]iob tun tulacal ti hunac tzuc ti cabob yax ahau/ Dios citbil lae. Huntic katun lay zihci u p.51 C <p>pelel mehen D<io>s lae. Catic katun citbil. Oxtic katun Expleo u caan u kaba chihe Chac Opilla u kaba ualic u caanil, Enpileo caan u kaba lae. Expleo u kaba ichil yax le Dios lae. Hebones u ppelel mehen D<io>s. Nen bin ti heclic tu celembal u yum tu tunil yume.

Ca bin <i>x zihzah u coo caanil caan. Heklay hunppel gracia, hunppel tun, zihan tun kak, Tixitate u kaba, u zazilil caanil. Sustinal bin u za<z>hal u zazil caanil. Acpa u men katun zihci zazil ich caanil. Alpa u manga u kaba xulci lae.

[1] trece: trese C. [2] cangel: camge C. [3] muchi: possibly muc-hi.
[4] Heronix: possibly Hieron. [5] Joramis: perhaps Jehoram.
[6] ualic: yalic would suit the context better. [7] toz: badly blurred in the text.
[8] Lonmias: probably Hieronymus is intended.

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Cangeles ik ualic tamuk u cẖabtic ek, ma zazac cab, minan caan y̱ luum.
Chac Pauahtun.
Zac Pauahtun.
Ek Pauahtun.
Kanpauahtun.

He yax caan ualic Dios citbile, u machma u tunil, u machma u cangel, u machma ukabalil, ti cẖuyan tu cangeles ik. Cerpinus u kaba, hetun yalane Orele u ppiz luum. Oxtul personaob, lay Dios citbil, Dios mehenbil, Dios espiritu sancto. Ualic planetas, Sa[n]turnio, Jupiter, Marte, Venus lic yalic u machma kui, caanil uchic u cẖab. He u kaba caane, c[h]ristalino. He
p.52 C Angelob lae, Corpinus u kaba / u lathma u cicithanbilil yumbil ti minan caan y̱ luum. Inpicco u kaba uchic u tzitzatabal Angelesob tulacal. Baloyo u kaba ca ca uecan. Seros u kaba, Et sepeuas. Laus Deo.

Cabal Chac Bolay balam y̱ cacau balamte. Esperas u kaba uac taz caan. Isperas u kaba uuc taz caan. Ca zihi yokol cab tumen D<io>s ah tepale tu uucte katun, zihic ichil akbil. Espiritu u kaba. S<an>to Edendeus S<an>to Eluçeo santoob lay ti ila u zihil u lamay tun, u lamay akab. "Se repite, eli tun, entri de noche," cii u than ca tu thanah u lamay tun, u lamay akab. "Tronas, Aleseyo de mundo de gracia. En apedia tejo çipi dia te en pieted graçia. S<an>to Esuleptun jam estum est gr<aci>a. Suplilis el timeo me firme ab infinitis gra<ci>a y metis absolubtum ti metis de graçia. Abegintis gra<ci>a, Edendeo gra<ci>a, de fentis de gracia, fenoplis tun gra<cia>. Locom dar y̱ me gra<cia>, tretris u mis gra<cia>. Noçi luçi de graçia, in pricio de gra<cia>, trese mili uno de cargo, leonte."

Huntic, catic, oxhuntic, huntuuc, oxhun bakam u katunil. Ox uuc pic u yahal cab ca zihi u lamay tun, u lamay akab, ti minan caan y̱ luum. Ca
p.53 C than tumen D<io>s citbil / tu ba tu hunal, ti ox cocox akab cuchie. Lay u yax than ku ti minan caan y̱ luum, ca ti luk tu tunil, ti lubi tu capiz tun. Tiix tun u patah u kuil. Ca pecnahi huntic pic katun, cu than hunpiz ti tun de gracia, hun piliz tun de gra<cia>. Op hach kintah tu pach acantun. Mac ti zihi ca emi ca yum? Tech a uohel. Zihil u cah u yax batan op hocẖ cẖintah tu pach acantun. Bal ti zihi coe? Bal ua? yume. Tech a uohel. Zihil u cah ah mun ti caan. Çiripacte, horca mundo. Ni mompan pan est noche. Amanena, omonena, apa opa. Hokci ik ti calam tun gra<cia>. "Cipiones ted coruna, pater profecido," ci bin u than ca kuchi tu uucppel capa u zuhuytun gra<cia>. "Bal te piones, orteçipio, reçi quenta noche. Hun ebrietate, hun cute profeciado," uchci u thanal Angel Gerupite<r>. Ca ɔab caan, Corporales ti ojales, tumenel yax papa, u uich katun, u cuch katun, ti Oxlahun Ahau. Ualkahom u uich kin, nocpahom yokol ualac yahaulil zatay uinicil, zatay ahaulil. Hoppel kin chian kin, ca bin pacatnac u taahte Oxlahun Ahau, chicul
p.54 C u cah D<io>s uchuc u cimil yahaulil/lay lumoob lae. Bay ix ca bin tac lay yax ahaucob u paah ubaob. Ca tali yocol christianoil uay ti peten lae.

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Bay ix bin u ɔaic chicul ca yumil ti D<io>s ca bin tacob, yoklal minan hun olal. Hach man u than numzah ya ti yal u mehenob, u christiano-ma on tan tun u manzic oon bay balcheobe. Lay ya tu yol Dios ti ah ɔuɔob loe.

Miliquinientos[1] treinta y nueve[2] años, bayla 1539 años, likinbail u hol yotoch D<o>n Juan Montejo, ocez christianoil uay ti peten lae, Yucalpeten, Yucatan lae.

Chilam Balam profeta.[3]/ p.55 C

Bay helelae ma lob kin tun . . . ento y cil u y/[3] p.56 C

Heix u ca kaba Dios
Citbil ca tali u
yanhal tu personase,[4]
zihanili balcah ɣ
luume. Lay tun u
kaba lae Josue[5] u
caɔice. Tu yoxɔice u
ca kabae ox uch oxtenhi
lae Mesister Latin tun
dei Romançe.

Chac Pauahtun
Ut Corusis.
Zac Pauahtun
Corocalbo.
Ek Pauahtun
Corusi provento.
Kan Pauahtun
Moses.
No vis.
No va.

(Up and down the center of the page runs an illumination of scrolls interspersed with small crosses.)

Mesias[6] u kaba Dios ti
ma zihic caan ɣ luum.
Lay Mesias[7] Xpoe u kaba,
catun u zihzah Angelob, heuac
chacan[n]ili ti Dios binili
zipic Angelobe tan haz tze.

U caɔic u kaba
Dios lay Manuel.
U ɔaci u kaba tu
yoxɔic u kabae,
lay tun Jeremias[8] u kabae
ti minan caan ɣ luume./ p.57 C

(Page 57 of this manuscript contains no Maya Text. The picture with its accompanying legends in Latin and Spanish will be found in the translation.)/ p.58 C

XII

(A SONG OF THE ITZÁ)

Damaçeno u kaba chakan patci ca yax yum Adan tumenel D<io>s. He ix u kabae, lay u yax kaba lae Adan, ca oci u pixan, ca uacunabi Paraiso. Zihanili tun Adan, ca zihi ca yax na ti Evae, yax c̄huplal, u naa balcah tuzinil. Chun thah biin tun, hun thah bin haban, ca zihi, ti minan caan cuchie.

Hetun Citbile zihi tuba tu hunal ichil akbil. He tunobe hunpay zihciob. Hetun Acantune lay luum lae. Lay ix c̄habi uchci u patal Adan xan. Lay tac u mehen, lay ocantacob yicnal Acanobe. B<a>la hex u kabatahob ca patlahobe. Layi tac u yax chun u uinicil.

[1] Milquinientos: milicinientos C. [2] nueve: nuebe C.
[3] Written in a different hand.
[4] personase: personaçe C. [5] Josue: sosue C. [6] Mesias: Meçias C.
[7] Mesias: mexias C. [8] Jeremias: Heremias C.

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Dios Citbil, Dios Mehenbil, ɣ Dios Espiri<tu> Santo, lay molcab D<io>s lae. Lay zihob tu tunil chac hilib tun ɣ uyub tun graçia. Lay Verbo u kabae, Josustin graçia.

Hetun yixhun yetae, zihi tu tunil ek oyol tun, lay Verbum-tuorum u kabae, Iix-coal-tun, Ix-coaal-cab, ti u cħaah u colel cabili. Ca bin ti cutal ox-cocox-caan, u cocox[x]il caan cuchie. Zac-homen culic tac[c]abal ti yol sustinal graçia. Oxklahun pic u katunil chelan tu tunil.

Ca pecnahi u uilim Hunac Ceel Ahau.

Kay: E! Ma<c> etkin on? Tix kanthixal ti tun. E! Mac u cobol yutz-tacil uinic? In nok, in uex. Yalaho ua kue. Bala ca uoktic iix? Ci ix mamace. U munal en u Chicħeen, cen, ti ulio chuc lum ɔiɔ u tah katun.
p.59 C Ayano!/Tu Chicħeen Itzao antan he<re>yao. Yulu uayanoo! E! Ti hun Ymix u kiinil chuc[c]aan bin ahau tu Chikin-cħeene. E! Taba ech yane kue. E! Tun hun Imix u kin yalah. Tu Chicħeen Itzaoa anta<n> hereyao. Yulu uayano! Muclam, muclam! Ci ix yauato. Muclam, muclam! Ci xan yohelob thunci yaue. Ci xan yauato tu hunte yax kine, chichil kinii, ca te akyabil ti talio. Ayano, ayano, ayano! Yulu uayano! Yan xin mac xin ahan uale? Chichilni ca te<n>. Ayano! Ox ten c' acan u kine kue cahualob, cahualob. Uuiyao! Maxan ulom tu Chicħeen Itzaoa anta<n> hereyae. Yulu uayano! Oxte caan u kin. He, mac en ua tu than tan yol uinice? Cen u mac lee. Eya! Mac en ua tu than tan yol Putun? Men a nateo. Eyan! Cħab en akab en. Coon ua zihiio? Eya! Alak on Mizcit Ahau. Hoa tal u xul u max. E, la bin in ka<h>cuntah tin kay be. Antan hereyao. Yulu uayano! Eya! Cimil en, yalah, tumen u kin caho. Eya! Ca tac en, yalahe, tumen u zat caho. U ti ulah ti yol, u tuclah tu puczikale. Men u zatzaho.[1] Uali<c> ka<h>cun
p.60 C tan in kayo. Antan hereyao. Ayano yulu uayano!/Lay kay tulacal lae, u ɔoclukanil yanumal Ahau Dios lae.

XIII

(THE CREATION OF THE UINAL)

Bay tzolci yax ah miatz, Merchise, yax ah bovat, Napuctun, sacerdote, yax ah kin. Lay kay uchci u zihil uinal ti ma to ahac cab cuchie. Ca hoppi u ximbal tuba tu hunal. Ca yalah u chich, ca yalah u ɔenaa, ca yalah u mim, ca yalah u muu: "Bal bin c'alab ca bin c'ilab uinic ti be?" Cu thanob tamuk u ximbalob cuchie, minan uinic cuchi. Catun kuchiob te ti likine, ca hoppi yali-cob. "Mac ti mani uay lae? He yocob lae. Ppiz ta uoci." Ci bin u than u colel cab. Cabin u ppizah yoc ca yumil ti D<io>s Citbil. Lay u chun yalci xoc lah cab oc lae, lahca Oc. Lay tzolan zihci tumen oxlahun Oc, uchci u nup tanba yoc, likciob te ti likine. Ca yalah u kaba ti minan u kaba kin cuchie,

[1] zatzaho: çatcaho C.

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ximbalnahci ɣ u chiich ɣ u ɔenaa ɣ u mim ɣ u muu. Zi uinal, zihci kin u kaba, zihci caan ɣ luum, eb haa, luum, tunich ɣ che, zihci u bal kabnab ɣ luum.

Hun Chuen u hokzici uba tu kuil, u mentci caan ɣ luum.

Ca Eb u mentci yax eb. Emci likul tan yol caan tan yol haa, minan luum ɣ tunich ɣ che.

Ox Ben[1] u mentci tulacal bal, hibahun bal u bal caanob ɣ u bal kaknab ɣ u bal luum./ p.61 C

Can Ix uchci u nixpahal caan ɣ luum.

Ho Men uchci u meyah tulacal.

Uac Cib uchci u mentci yax cib, uchci u zazilhal ti minan kin ɣ u.

Uuc[2] Caban yax zihci cab ti minan toon cuchi.

Uaxac Eɔnab eɔlahci u kab ɣ yoc, ca u cẖicẖaah yokol luum.

Bolon Cauac yax tumtabci metnal.

Lahun Ahau uchci u binob u lobil uinicob ti metnal tumen D<io>s Citbil ma chicanac cuchie.

Bulu<c Im>ix uchci u patic tunich ɣ che, lay u mentah ichil kin.

Lahcabil Ik uchci u zihzic ik. Lay u chun u kabatic Ik tumen minan cimil ichil lae.

Oxlahun Ak<b>al uchci u cẖaic haa, ca yakzah luum. Ca u patah, ca uinic-hi.

Hun[n]il Kan u yax mentci u leppel yol tumenel u lobil zihzah.

Ca Chicchan uchci u chictahal u lobil hibal yilah ichil u uich cahe.

Ox Cimil u tuzci cimil, uchci u tuzci yax cimil ca yumil ti D<io>s.

Ho Lamat lay u tuzci uuclam chac haal kaknab.

Uac Muluc uchci u mucchahal kopob tulacal ti mato ahac cabe. Lay uchci yocol u tuz thanil ca yumil ti D<io>s tulacal ti minan tun than ti caan, ti minan tunich ɣ che cuchi.

Catun binob u tum tubaob. Ca yalah tun bayla:/ "Oxlahun tuc : : : uuc tuc, hun." Lay yalah ca hok u than ti minan than ti. Ca katab u chun tumen yax Ahau kin, ma ix hepahac u nucul than tiob uchebal u thanic ubaobe. Ca binob tan yol caan, ca u machaah u kab tuba tanbaobe. Catun ualah tan chumuc peten heklayob lae. Heklaobi Ah Tocob, cantulob lae. p.62 C

Can Chicchan		Ah Toc.	E 2ᵘ
Canil Oc		Ah Toc.	Pio
Ca<n>Men		Ah Toc.	MER
Can Ahau		Ah Toc.	

Lay Ahauob, cantulob lae

Uaxac Muluc		Hoil Cauac
Bolon Oc		Uac Ahau
Lahun Chuen	2	Uuc[4] Imix
Buluc Eb		Uaxacil Ik
Lahca Ben[3]	4	Bolon Ak[a]bal
Oxlahun Ix	5	Lahun Kan
Hun Men	6	Buluc Chicchan
Ca Cib		Lahca Cimiy
Ox Caban	7	Oxlahun Manik
Can Eɔnab		Hun Lamat

[1] Ox Ben: ox men C. [2] Uuc caban: uac caban C.
[3] Lahca Ben: Lahca men C. [4] Uuc Imix: Uay Ymix C.

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Lay zihci uinal ɣ uchci yahal cab, tzolci caan ɣ luum ɣ cheob ɣ tunich,
p.63 C zihci tulacal tumen ca yumil ti D<io>s lae, lay Citbil,/ti minan caan ɣ luum, ti bay yanil tu Diosil tu muyalil tuba tu hunal, ca u zihzah[1] balcah tuzinil. Ca pecnahi tu caanil tu kuil: Ti bay noh uchucil yanil ah tepale.

U tzolan kin zanzamal licil u xocol u chun ti likine hebix tzolanile.

XIV

(A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST)

Lay u kaba hab ulci ɔulob lae, de mil quinientos y diez nueve años[2] bay lae 1519. Lay u habil yan ca uli ɔulob uay tac cahal coon Ah Itza, uay ti luum Yucalpeten, Yucatan, tu than Maya Ah Itzaob lae.

Bay yalci yax Adelantado, D<o>n Juan de Montejo yoklal bay alabci ti tumen D<o>n Lorenso Chable uyube lay conquistador[3] Tixkokobe. Kamah ix ɔulob tu uolol u puczikal. He u chun u kabatic D<o>n Lorenso Chableile yoklal u ɔaci kakbil bak u hante ɔulob ɣ cap[p]itanob tulacal. Yan ix u mehen D<o>n Martin Chable u kaba xan.

He u habil cu ximbal ca hoppi u cẖaic uba ɔulob utial u chucicob uay Yucalpeten lae. U yoheltah ix ah kin ah bobat[4] Ah Xupan u kaba. Occi christianoil toon do 1519 a<ños>. Eɔlahci kuna Tihoo do 1540 a<ños>. Ca ɔoci kuna Tihoo do 1599 a<anos> Uchci xe-kik, hoppci cimil toon do 1648
p.64 C años./

U uiihi cimil hoppel hab do 1650 años, do 1651 a<ños>, do 1652 a<ños>, do 1653 a<ños>, do 1654 a<ños>. Ca ɔoci uiih lae. Chac ikal ti cimi Padre Agustin Gomes do 1661 año. Uchci kintunyabil do 1669 anos. Uchci <i>x uzankak do. 1692 año.

XV

(THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM AND THE STORY OF ANTONIO MARTINEZ)

<Ohelte tii kuchi u kin>[5] ti culhi lahunpiz katun,[6] ti culhi nicte katun, oxte uu culan Yuma-une-tziuit, kuk yaxun. Tii ual yan u may chiich,[7] ti ual yan Bolonte-uitz, Yuma-une-tziuit, kuk yaxun. <Ma>mac[8] bin naaticob cẖabtan kintanob ti yahaulili tu lahcapiz tun ti yalah u kaba. La uile balam u pol, uaan u coo ɔuɔul uinicil,[9] pek u uincil.[10] Mancẖacat-han ya tu puczikal.[11]

[1] zihzah: çihcah C.
[2] mil quinientos y diez y nueve años: mil cinnientos i dies y nuebe años C.
[3] conquistador: concixtador C. [4] Ah bobat: Ah bouat C.
[5] Suppl. T. & M. [6] lahunpiz katun C: hunpiz katun T & M.
[7] yan u may chiich, C: yanom u uich, T: yanom ah chich, M.
[8] Mamac, suppl. T & M. [9] ɔuɔul unicil C: tzutzui uinicil T: thul u uinicil M.
[10] pek u uincil, C: ppec uinicil T.
[11] mancẖacat-han ya, C: mancacat hulte, T: mancẖacat lanza, M.

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Ciix u hanal, ciix yukul. <Mala tu thanic>,[1] mala bin yube. Bin ix u tuz coil u than. Matub u ɔaic uba ix cuch luum iɔinil. Bin lukebal uay ti petene. Bin bayacob <i>x cuch lum iɔinil ti yalob yixmehenob ix lolokbayen[2] palalob zamal cabehe. Ɔa ex aba cex uiɔin zucun exe manezex u cuch katun lic u talele. Uamatan a manezexe ti u motzhal ta uoc exe, texi bin u helinte. Ua ma a manzic exe, texi bin kuxic u chun che ɣ xiu. Ua ma a manzic exe, bay cimic cehil[3] bin uchebal u hokol ta cahal ex. Ti ix u hokol ahau. Bin manac u zut ichil a cahal exe ti ma u cuchilie. ¥ <bin uchuc>[4] oc-na-kuchile, u kin u maya-cimlal baalcheob. Tii culhi tu pop hun zip u than, hun zip u can, lay u zip katun. Ox tzuc u uah, <oxil uah u uaah> nicte katun. Lay ti culhii oxlahun yal u pop ah calam cħuuch̄,[5] ah calpach keban. Ti ix u talel Bula, uac tzuc tuba. Ox ten bin manbal Bula. Ca bin uluc u jueçil Bula lae. Ua<lac>[6] ah xolte takin bin u juezilte, uaix zac cib bin u kexinte/xane. He zac cib lae p.65 C
ti yemel justicia likul ti caan, nacebal Christianoil uinic tu uich u justiciail.[7] Ti tun u mentic u pec caan ɣ luum. Ya ix bin ɔocebal nicte katun. Mauil mac bin kuchuc u thanie. Ca bin chinchin-pol-cintabac u teelchacil chee. Ti tun u yukba peten tulacale. Conbil[8] bin ɔocbal u than nicte katune. Minani uil u uilal a ɔaic a pol ex ti Arzobispoe. Ca bin emece, bin xic ex a bal aba ex ti kax. Ua bin a ɔa aba exie, ti binan exi uil tu pach Xpo,[9] ti yanob[10] cochomie. Tii tun ca bin ɔococ u visitae.[11] Talel bin u cib u lilib[12] nicte. Tiix ca bin a nat exe. Ca bin ticin pecnac caane. Tii to ca bin thanac u ɔibte u nak pake. Tiix a ualic ex kuil xanie. Lay bin a uoczic ta uol ex kuil. Hiiuil to mac ah miatz yan a uichil bin natice. Tii tun u binel ti kax u tanle u christianoile, mac bin natic lae.

Halili lo lahu<n> canppel haab u batabil, ca bin hunkul uluc Mehenbil, lay D<o>n Antonio Martinez ɣ Saul,[13] lay u kabaob ca luki ti caan. Tiix ti bini Tzimentane. Ti yan Tzimentan, ti ix ti yalah huntul ix-ahau u yichamte. Uucte ix ti haab u kamic u casamientoil, ca ti hebi u puertail[14] takin ti cankaz-na. Etzabi ti, ca ix u tuz-zihzah[15] chem, oxlahun baak. Ca ix tu likzah katun Havana u lumil. Ti ix yan u nup u than Rey[16] Havana, ca alab u xicin Rey tumen u nup u than. Ti ix yan yah-tacul[17] u hool tu pach. Ca ti bini ti

[1] Mala tu thanic, suppl. T & M. [2] Ix lolokbayan C: ix lokbayenob T & M.
[3] zinic cehil C: cimcehil T & M. [4] Suppl. T & M.
[5] Cħuch̄ M: chuuch C.
[6] suppl. T & M. [7] uinic tu uich u justiciail, C: uale, uenel u uich justicia, T.
[8] Conbil, C: conolbil, T. & M.
[9] Xpo, C: hahal ku tali ti caane, Cristo bin u kabate, T & M.
[10] ti yanob, C: ti yanom T & M. [11] visitae, C: u thibah auichilex, T.
[12] lilib, C: lil, T & M. [13] Saul, C: Xaul, T & M.
[14] u puertail, C: u ho-nail, T & M.
[15] u tuz-zizah chem, C: tu likzah u chem, T: tun likzabi chem, M.
[16] Rey, C: ahau, T.
[17] yah-tacul u hool: yah-tocul u hool, C: yah-tacil u hol, T & M.

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yubah ix u chucul xani. Ti tun likul[1] ca bini te Tzimen<ta>ne. Ti ix tun
p.66 C ti chuci oxppel u lukuc yah chucil. Ca kuchi Tzimentan[n]e. Ti tun chuci/ ti ix u xotah u than ti<yah>chucil ka kuchi Tzimentane. Ca ix yalah: "Xen uinice," cu than ti. "O<x>u[2] in kuchuli," cu than. "Oxppel u luk cech hele lae. Ox u ech a kuchuli, lictun a kuchule, lictun a kalal ti mazcab, tamuk tun in talel. teni[3] bin lukzic ech ti mazcab. Tex cex capitane[4] catulili, bin yanac[5] tin pachi," cu than.

"Naczabac bolon <silla, ti ix bin culac oni.[6]>. Bin ix elec kaknab. Bin in likebali." Ti culan kak u pacat ti.[7] Bin ix likic zuz[8] ɣ yom haai. Bin ix tupuc u uich kin tumen chacbul[9] yikale. Ti tun u cenic[10] uba capitane.[11] Bin ix hutuc tu uich luum[12] tumen ikal xane. Lictun in cumtal tin kanche tun[n]e; lictun u talel ox bak cheme. Ti ix tun u cenic uba Rey[13] xani. "Cha aba, yumile! Te u talel France<s>e." Ci ix u than ten. "Bin cimic oon tumen uinice. Balx a uil u lubul a muke tumen a uet-uinicile lic echi loe? Xicen tin ɔab u tohol chem tan chumuce uet lik ciix in uikal xan."[14]

El ix [el ix] kaknab in binci ix; nooci ix u uich caan. Hetun ca emene taklicil u uich ca zat chem. "Mac uinicila? "cu than ten. "Ten ix ix-ma-okolale; ten ix a chaalte;[15] teni bin a caput-ziheze. Bin ix in tumte in kaba: lay Martinez. Dios Citbil, Dios Mehenbil, Dios Espiritu Santo in kaba!"[16] Ca ix in hokzah uuc-ɔacab libro[17] in xocob. Ca ix ti ɔoci ti oxppel u.

H<e>ix[18] u manzic ubaob ah belnalobe. Ti tun yalah u ɔab u cahal ten, tancoch uinice. "Tab yan a cahal? In cahal tulacal; ti a botic in cahal,[19] cen yax[20] ule."

Lictun in ualic ti, emi justicia uchebal u nacal christianoil, bolon-pixanil. <Lay>bin ɔocebal <nicte uinicil lae>. Ti ix u katabal u probail[21] tiob ti yahaulil cahe, uama yohelobe.[22]

[1] ti tun likul, C: ti tun likuli, M: ti likuli, T. [2] O u, C: ox kin, T: oxppel kin, M.
[3] tini, C: ten, T & M. [4] capitane, C: nacome, T. [5] bin yanac, C. bin tac, T & M.
[6] bolon silla, ti ix bin culac oni, suppl. M: bolon zian ɣ tiɔ ui llan ɔone, C: bolon ti ya cu ilah ɔone, T.
[7] ti culan kak u pacat ti, C: ti culan kak u ɔocoli, T: lic ix u yelil kak pactabali, M.
[8] likic zuz, T & M: likic ex, C. [9] chacbul, T: chac lubuc, C.
[10] u cenic uba, C & T; u cutal, M. [11] capitane, C & M: nacomi, T.
[12] Bin ix hutuc tu uich luum, C: bin hubuc tulacal tunichob yetel luum, M: bin hu . . . <tu>lacal tunichob ɣ luum, T.
[13] Rey, C & M: nacomi, T. [14] Xicen tin ɔal u hool chem chumuc, uet lik ciix uikal, T.
[15] Teni a chaalt-ex, T: Teni a chaahe, M.
[16] For the balance of this paragraph, the following is substituted in M: "Cu than. Caix u hokzah uuc-ɔacab *libro* u xocob ah-kinob ti ooxppel kin u manzic ubaob ah-kinob lae. He u yaxchune yaaxche libro ɔabilae ti Ah Xupan Nauat yetel Ah Kin Chel yetel Ah Naapuctun yetel Nahau Pech. Tiix bin chelan uuc-ɔacab libro ti noh temte. Heklai pootze (poɔ, T) licil u payalchi Ah Kin Pech yetel Ah Kauil Chel yanob ti payalchi ti noh pootze ti noh temte lae u ɔoc u katunil, ti ix tun u nup u uuɔ u katunil talan uchmale ma haual in thani, ten Chilam Balam, caten tzolah u than, u than hahal ku."
[17] libro: liblo C. [18] Heix: suppl. T & M.
[19] ti a botic in cahal, C: bin a bot in cahal, M.
[20] cen Xaule, T & M: cen yax ule, C. [21] probail, C: than, T.
[22] uama yohel obe, C: ua ix mamac yohele, M.

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Ti ix u hokol ich luumil tunich y ich luumil che ti uinic-chahal; ti tun yeɔtal cahi. Minan tun cħamac bin chibalnaci. Lay to Ah Bolon Ahau Katun. Hoppel haabil u binel lay tu lah pach in than lae ti kuchi tu kinil yemel patan. Ti ɔoci u boticob u likzah katunob ca yumob. Ma ix a ualic a uah-ualilil ex katun cu talel kic/nal lae c'ah-lohil ti Jesu Christo, yah-canul ca pixan. Bay p.67 C uay yokolcabe, bay ca bin u cħa ca pixan tu cilich caanil xan, mehen exe hahal Dios. Amen.

XVI

(A CHAPTER OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

(Picture: conventionalized Maya map. enclosed within a double circle and divided into quarters. It contains the following place-names.) Campech, Calkini, Mani, Tihoo, Cumkal, Zaci, Itzmal.

Oxlahun Eɔnab uchci u heɔ cab. Oxlahun Cheneb uchci u chektabal iglesia[1] mayor ti can-akab-naa, iglesia mayor ti caan. Bay ca chektabi uay xane. Oxlahunte katun u cuch lahun chekbii caan can chek lukii bolon chekeb tun u cuch cu binel canale. He ix ca caput chektabi likul tu uich luume can chekeb ca hek tu uich luum.

He Maniie chun peten. Campech u ni xik peten. Calkini u chun u xik peten. Itzmal u chumuc u xik peten. Zaci u ni xik peten. Conkal u pol peten.

Chumuc cah Tihoo iglesia mayor, u kakal na, u uitzil na, akab na u uilu Dios Yumbil, Dios Mehenbil, Dios Espiritu Santo.

Macx oc tu nail Diose? Yume, lay Ix-Kalem, u kabae.

Bax u kinil takci tu nak Zuhuy Cħuplale? Yume, canil Oc takci tu nak.

Mehene, balx kinil hokci? Oxil Oc hokci.

Bal kinil cimci? Hun Cimil cimci, be. Ti ix oci tu mucnal ti hun Cimie.

Bax oc tu mucnal? Yume, mabentun. Oc tu mucnal.

Bax oc tu chacbacel? Yume, lay chac ha<l>al tune. Lay oc tu tunil cab te ti caane.

Cunx u kabe? Yume, halal tun; lay ix lic u kinbezabal xani, lay oc ti chac zuytunil.[2] Bin ti lakin./Ca tali te ti xamane, lay oc ti zac zuytunil.[2] Lay ix p.68 C oc ti ek zuytunil[2] ti chikin. Bay ix ti kan zuytunil[2] ti nohol.

Mehene, hayppel kom okop? Lay licil yauat chul, chultahe.

Mehene, tab yan ɔonot? Lah ɔam yalile; minan u chichil yite; ti tacan chulul tu hole. Lay kunae.

Mehene, Cex yax casamientosobe? Lub u muk Rey tumenelobe, yetel ix lubci u muk u chayanil[3] halach uinicobe tumenelobe, y layob ix in muk tumenob xan. Lay uahe.

Mehene, ta uilah ua yaxal haaltune? Cappel[l]obe; ti uaan crus chumuce. U uich uinic.

[1] Iglesia: igleçia C.
[2] zuytunil: cuitunil C; çuitunil is probably intended.
[3] chayanil: chiyanil C.

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Mehene, tubx yanob ah yax oc-ha-obe? Yanil huntul ix ma-na, yan yue, yan ix u tzitz-moc xan. Lay peeue, y <i>x ma-yume.

Mehene, cex xtopplah kauile y u ɔomel cooɔ ɔoc yt peehe, y kulim paki? U tuchil ulum.

Mehenexe, talez ex ten hokbah caan y hokob coe. Ceh yetel ba.

Mehene, cex ix-nuc, uucnab u tan yite, <i>x ektunlah c̄huplale? Lay ɔole.

Mehene, il-ex ten zaclah c̄huplal, ueuel uak u pici lic u conic zac toke. Lay cae.

Mehene talez-ex ten cacot ix kan, huncot chachacbili, huncot tix bin xotoc u cali. Bin ix u ukuc[1] u kikel xan. Ix kaan ceh y yax luch yanil chucua.

Mehenexe, ulez-ex ten hun kal ah koch zinil-tunob uaye y catul casadosobe. Bec̄h y mucuy.

Mehene, talez ten zum, oxbal u haxal, in kat in uilae. Lay huhe.

Mehene, tac . . .[2] ci paac-tanal uilab uaye. Lay cie.

Mehene, bin a talez-ex u mac u hol caan y yebal uaye, bolon taz lah cab. Noh uah.

Mehene, ta uilah ua ah noc xamach noh-xibe. Hach noh u koe hoctan u tal ti luume. Lay ah tzoe.

Mehene, talez ten ah canan colob, noh-xibob, hun tuch u tal u choone y yatane. Tix mumil chac.

Talez ex uaye y<ete>l ix ah canan col c̄huplalobe, bin zaclah c̄huplalobe.
p.69 C Ten ix bin lukzic u picob yokole catun in hante. Lay chicame./

Mehene, talez ten noh tzublal in chaante. Ma uil lob yokotob ca bin in uilabe. Lay ah tzoe.

Mehene, cex yax ah mole? Pul nok y pul camissae y zuyem y poc y xanabe.

Mehene, tab ech ti mani? Ti ua ti man ech ti canal buktune nix-be-bal u hol caane, yanil u hol paae? He ca ti man echie, ta uilah ua uinicob tzayan-ob u talelob ta tane? Ti yan Bolon Chaan y yax ah kulele. U kulil ich y uabal ɔamil ich.

Mehene, ta uilah ua u kaxal yaal kue? Ti mani yalan u uitzil kue ti ix ti oc yalan u uitzil kue ti yan cruzi ti chakani. Coopnebal caan tii ti mani yaal kui.

Mehene, tabx[3] cu manel yaal kue, te cu hokol zuytune?[4] Yume, u hool uinic y yukul co uinic tu manel tu uol u cal uinic tu hokol tu chune.

Mehene, max ta uilah ti be zame . . .[5]

Mehene, tabx ta manzah a lakob tzayan u talelob ta pachobe? He in lakob lae. Matan in patab. Lay in mucut u xot-kin Diose, ca bin cimic ene. Helay u booy uinice.

[1] ukuc: ukuh C. [2] The Maya compiler has left a space here to indicate a lacuna.
[3] tabx: taxb C. [4] zuytun: cuitun C. [5] Space in the text indicates a lacuna.

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Mehe<n>, macx ta uilah ti be? Ta uilah ua noh-xibob yan palal tu pachobe? Yume, he noh xibob tin uilah ti bee. Ti yanob tin pach, maix tan u ppatbenobe. Heklay u naa oc ɣ yalobe.

Mehene, tabx ta uilah ix-nucob yan u mek zacalob ɣ u lak palalobe? Yume, hex lae. Tii to yan tin pach licil in hanal. May to uchac in ppatic. U naa in kab ɣ yalob.

Mehene, tabx ti man ech yanil yoc-haae? Yume, he yoc-haae. Ti ix yan te uicnale. Heklay u bel in pache.

Mehene, tabx ta uilah noh-xib ka<l>an yokol tzimine cħacatnebal yoc-haae. Yume, hex noh-xib lae. Tii to yan uicnale. Heklay u tzimin in pache/ p.70 C
lic a ualic kalic noh-xibe.

Mehene, hex noh-xib yan ta pach lic a ualic be: chican hahil ɣ tohil.

Mehen xen cħa u puczikal tunich ɣ u tamnel luum. Te . . . uil kin cilic . . .[1] zama le. He ix uilah hunppel[l]ie hauaan. He ix hunppelie, nocaan bay u binel ichil mitnale. Heklay haleue ɣ tzube ɣ yax batab ɣ yax ah kulele. Hex utial u puczikal tuniche, heklay u ni cob ɣ u mac u uol u cal mitnale, heklay iz ɣ chicame.

Mehene ca xic ech a cħab ix halizco uaye. Hun cuy ual u pole; hach cich-pam ix-lokbayan. Teni bin lukzic u pic ɣ buc[c]e. Zamacnac uil u boc ca bin in lukez u buc[c]e. Hach cilmac in uol cabin in uilab. Zamacnacil u boc[c]e ɣ hun zuyil u pole. Heklay pibil nale.

Mehene catun xic ech a cħab[2] noh-xib ɣ u xiuil tanil kaknabe. Hex noh xib lae, ac ɣ ix-bau.

Mehene, catun xic ech a cħaab u tunichil yit kax-eke. Lay ah tzatzace.

Mehene, catun xic ech a cħaab u tunichil chakan uaye. Lay becħe.

Ɣ yax ah-menobe, cantulob[3] tuba. Heklay baa ɣ tzub ɣ haleu ɣ citane.

Mehene, ca xic ech a cħab u chacbacel luum. Lay ɔine.

Mehene, ca xic ech a cħaab yax tzublal uaye ɣ yax kayomobe. Cutz ɣ <a>h tzoo.

Mehene, bin a uulez a uix-mehene te yan kin zamal uilabe. Payanbe bin talebal u ɔeɔile pach hebal bin talebal u nohole. Ca ix cici kaxac u kax pole ti kukmil kax; tii yan uil u bocħe. Teni to uil bin lukzic u bocħe. Ɣ ti yan ah kulel tu pach[ch]e./ p.71C

Mehene catun xic ech a cħab un trus nicte kuɔbene. Te uil kin zamale. Kelbil ixim ɣ cab.

Mehene, uay tin cucyah a pectzile. Yan yan cooɔ ti actun yan a uicnale. Ca ix a cuclez cilab uay tu kintzil hanale. Tzab[b]il hee.

[1] A space in the text indicates a lacuna. [2] cħab: chab C. [3] cantulob: catulob C.

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XVII

(AN INCANTATION)

MS. Tzaay-ni-tic tun, chac tun, u uayazba kab caan, itz caan u uayazba. U uay<az>ba a cẖaabtac kin, a cẖaabtaci ti cab. U uayazba itz caan, kab caan, kan-lol caan, u uayazba. Bacin in cẖaabtahci a kinil? <Bacin in> cẖabtahci[1] a<u> uil? [Bacit] bacin in cẖaab ta tunil? In cẖaab ech. Ti cumtal ta hoyobal a kahcunic u kinam ta yam kin. Ca ti tu tuxchitab ech, tacha . . . cit. Ti muc[c]e in cẖab ech, in cumcin[n]ech. Tac helel in cẖaic . . . u uyic a kiname tumenel . . . a yum. A mucut . . . ti cit . . . ti tune . . . in colob to . . . ta chie. U kan ti tune. Lay cu bin u ximbal u tzolic[2] lae. Lay
p.72 C ahauob tzolanob lae. Xic u bin a xoc, ca a nucte lae./

XVIII

(A SERIES OF KATUN PROPHECIES)

(Picture of a katun-wheel accompanied by the following legends.)

Ti likin uaye.

11. Buluc Ahau. Buluc Ahau u heɔ katun Ichcaanzihoo. Yaxhaal hoppci christianoil lae.

9. Bolon Ahau. Ti Uucyabnal u heɔ katun ti Bolon Ahau.

7. Uuc Ahau. Ti Mayapan u heɔ katun ti Uuc Ahau.

5. Hoo Ahau. Ti Zoɔil u heɔ katun ti Hoo Ahau. P<p>uzhom kohom uil ti yahaulil Ah Hoo Ahau Katun. Ti nohol uayi.

3. Ox Ahau. Ti Zuyua u heɔ katun ti Ox Ahau Katun, haylic u keulel can y̱ u keulel balam. Yax-cocay-mut u uich ti yahaulili Ah Ox Ahau Katun.

1. Hun Ahau. Emal u heɔ katun ti Hun Ahau. Emom tab, emom zum. Tu kin yemel ix yom Ix-ual-icim.[3]

12. Lahca Ahau. Ti Zaclahtun u heɔ katun ti Lahca Ahau. Yaxaal-chuen u uich ti yahaulili. Ti chikin uaye.

10. Lahun Ahau. Lahun-chable u heɔ katun ti Lahun Ahau.

8. Uaxac Ahau. Ti Lahun-chable u heɔ katun ti Uaxac Ahau Katun.

6. Uac Ahau. Ti Uucyabnal u heɔ katun ti Uac Ahau Katun. Ti xaman uaye.

4. Can Ahau. Ti Can Ahau Uucyabnal u heɔ katun tu Chicẖeen Itza.

2. Cabil Ahau. Ti Cabil Ahau Maya-Cuzamil Mayapan.

13. Oxlahun Ahau. Oxlahun Ahau Katun. Kincolah-Peten u heɔ katun
p.73 C Oxlahun Ahau Katun./[4]

[1] cẖabtahci: cẖabtabci C. [2] tzolic: ɔolic C.
[3] Ix-ual-icim T & M; Ix-ualicay C.
[4] See katun-wheel heading Chap. XVIII for translation. Here the translations of the preceding items are arranged in their place on the wheel.

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Buluc Ahau u heɔ katun Ichcaanzihoo. Yax-haal <Chac>[1] u uich. Emom canal ual, emom canal uɔub. Pecnom u pax, pecnom u zoot Ah Bolon-yocte. Tu kin yan yax cutz; Tu kin yan Zulim Chan;[2] tu kin Chakanputun. Uilnom[3] che; uilnom tunich, ah zati[4] uiil ichil Ah Buluc Ahau Katun lae.

Uuc-yab-nal u heɔ katun ti Can Ahau Katun. Tu cẖi cheen, Uuc-yab-nal, u heɔ. Ti nohol ah bacocol.[5] Macan u uich; cimen u uich. Yokol yaal; yokol uaah. Chikin-tan-hom[6] u pop ɏ u ɔaam. Xe-kik u cuch. Tu kin yan zazac uil u yex, zazac uil u nok. Ix ma chan men[7] uah u uah katun. Hulom kuk; hulom yax-um. Hulom kaxte. Hulom mute. Hulom tzimin. Mucuc patan ti chi cẖeen lae.

Maylu, Zaci, Mayapan, u heɔ katun ti Cabil Ahau Katun. Ocliz tu ba katun. Emom zum; emom zaban, maya-cimlal, ox multun tzekil. Zac-patay[8] uinicil. Ca tali kaxan u cuch Buluc-cẖaabtan. Kan yopol ik. Oxil uah u uah Cabil Ahau. Tancoch-hom uiihi, tancoch-hom uahi. Lay u cuch Ah Cabil Ahau Katun lae.

Kinchil Coba u heɔ katun, Maya Cu<zamil>, Oxlahun Ahau Katun. Itzamna, Itzam-tzab u uich ti yahaulil. Bin uiibic oxi. Oxte ti hab zakal[9] <h>abil, lahun ɔacab. Etbom ual; etbom uɔub, Yaxaal Chac u cuch tu caanil. Ix ma chacben uah u uah katun ti Oxlahun Ahau. Chibom/kini. Capic u cuch p.74 C katun: zatay uinicil, zatay ahaulil. Hoppel kin uil chian kin, ca bin pacatnac. Lay u cuch Ah Oxlahun Ahau Katun lae.

XIX

(THE FIRST CHRONICLE)

U kahlay u xocan katunob uchci u chictahal u Chicẖeen Itza uchi lae. Lay ɔiban ti cab lae uchebal yoheltabal tumen hiimac yolah yohelte u xocol katun lae.

VI Uac Ahau uchci u chictahal u Chicẖeen Itza.
IIII Can Ahau lae.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau tzolci pop.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.

[1] Suppl. T. [2] Zulim Chan T; Zulun Chan C. [3] uilnom T, M & O; uilnoh C.
[4] zati: zali C. [5] ah bacocol C; ah balcab cochom T. The latter reading is followed in the translation.
[6] chikin-tan-hom T & M; chac kitan-nahom C.
[7] Ix ma chan men C; probably Ix ma chacben is intended as in the prophecy for Katun 13 Ahau just below.
[8] Zac-patay: zac petay C.
[9] zakal: cakal C. The Mani and Oxcutzcab versions confirm this correction.

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III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
Uaxac Ahau paxci u Chicẖeen Itza. Uchi oxlahun uuɔ katun ca cahi Chakanputun ti yotochob u katunil.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau chucci u lumil tumenob Chakanputun.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
p.75 C XI Buluc Ahau./
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau paxci Chakanputunob tumen Ah Itza uinicob. Ca taliob u tzacle u yotochob tucaten. Oxlahun uuɔ u katunil cahanob Chakanputunob tu yotochob. Layli u katunil binciob Ah Itzaob yalan che, yalan haban, yalan ak[1] ti numyaob lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau.
II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau paxci Ah Itza uinicob ti yotochob tucaten tumen u keban-than Hun[n]ac Ceel, tumen u uahal-uahob ɣ Ah Itzmal. Oxlahun uuɔ u katunil cahanobi, ca paxiob tumen Hun[n]ac Ceel tumen u ɔabal u natob Ah Itzaob lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau chucci u luumil Ich-paa Mayapan tumen Ah Itza uinicob
p.76 C likulob ti yotoche tumenel Ah Itzmalob, tumen u keban-than Hun[n]ac Ceel lae./

[1] ak: ah C.

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II Cabil Ahau.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau.
XI Buluc Ahau.
IX Bolon Ahau.
VII Uuc Ahau.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.
I Hun Ahau.
XII Lahca Ahau.
X Lahun Ahau.
VIII Uaxac Ahau uchci puch̄-tun Ich-paa Mayapan tumen u pach paa, u paah tulum, tumen mul-tepal ich cah Mayapan [lal] lae.
VI Uac Ahau.
IIII Can Ahau uchci maya-cimlal; uchci oc-na-kuchil ich paa. Cabil Ahau uchci kakil, noh-kakile.
XIII Oxlahun Ahau cimci ah-pul-<h>a. Uacppel hab u binel u xocol haab ti lakin cuchie. Caanil Kan cumlahci Pop ti lakin. Hetun te na cici pahool katun haab. <Hola>hun[1] [h]ix Zip catac oxppeli. Bolon Imix hi u kinil lay cimci ahpul-<h>a lae, Napot Xiu, tu habil do. 158 años.
XI Buluc Ahau hulciob kul uinicob ti lakin. U yah-talzah-ulob u yax chun uay tac luumil coon Maya uinice, tu habil do 1513 años./ p.77 C
IX Bolon Ahau hop<p>ci xpnoil, uchci caput-zihile. Lay tal ichil u katunil hulci Obispo Tora<l>ua<y> xane. Hauci <c>h̄uy tabe[2] tu habil do. 1546 años.
VII Uuc Ahau cimci Obispo de Landa.
V Hoo Ahau.
III Ox Ahau.

XX

(THE SECOND CHRONICLE)

Can Ahau u kaba katun uchci u zihilob Pauah emci[3] u yahauoob.

Ox<lah>unte ti katun lic u tepalob, lay u kabaob tamuk u tepalob lae.

Can Ahau u kaba katun emciob; noh[h]emal ɔe emal u kabaob lae.

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalob. Lic u kabaticob. Tii ualac u u cutob, oxlahun cut-hi u cutob lae.

Can Ahau u katunil uchci u caxanticob u Ch̄icheen Itzae. Tii utzcin[n]abi mactzil tiob tumen u yumoobe. Cantzuc lukciob can tzucul cab u kabaob.

[1] Corrected from the Mani and Tizimin chronicles.
[2] ch̄uytabe: huytabe C. Here the editor has followed the examples of Brinton and Martinez in correcting the text to conform with the context (Brinton 1882, p. 157; Martinez H. 1927, p. 27).
[3] Pauah emci: paua haen cuh C.

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Likul ti likin Kincolah-peten bini hun tzuci. <Li>kul xaman Nacocob hok hun tzuc[c]i. He ix hoki hun tzucie Holtun Zuyuua ti chikin. Hoki hun
p.78 C tzuc[c]ie Can-hek Uitz, Bolonte Uitz u kaba u luumil lae./

Can Ahau u katunil uchci u payalob tu can tzuc[c]ilob. Can tzuc cul cab u kabaob, ca emiob. Ti yumtabalob ca emiob tu Chicẖen Itzae. Ah Itza tun u kabaob.

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalobi, ca oci u keban-thanobi tumen Hun[n]ac Ceeli. Ca paxi u cabob ca biniob tan yol che Tan-xuluc-mul u kaba.

Can Ahau u katunil uchci yauat pixanobi!

Oxlahunte ti katun lic u tepalobi y̱ u numyaobi!

Uaxac Ahau u katunil uchci yulelob yalaob Ah Itza u kabaob. Ca ulob tii ca ualac u tepalob Chakanputune.

Oxlahun Ahau u katunil u heɔcob cah Mayapan, Maya uinic u kabaob.

Uaxac Ahau paxci u cabobi, ca uecchahi ti peten tulacal. Uac katuni paxciob ca haui u Maya kabaob.

Buluc Ahau u kaba u katunil hauci u Maya kabaob Maya uinicob. Christiano u kabaob; tulacal u cuch-cabal tzo ma[1] Sanc Pedro y̱ Rey ah tepale.

XXI

(THE THIRD CHRONICLE)

U kahlay katunob utial Ah Itzaob, Maya katun u kaba lae.

Lahca Ahau.

Lahun Ahau.

Uaxac Ahau.

Uac Ahau paxci Ah Coni.

Can Ahau.

p.79 C Cabil Ahau./

Oxlahun Ahau.

Buluc Ahau.

Bolon Ahau.

Uuc Ahau.

Hoo Ahau paxci u cab yahau Ah Itzamal, Kinich Kakmoo y̱ Pophol Chan tumenel Hun[n]ac Ceel.

Ox Ahau.

Hun Ahau paxci yala Ah Itza tu Chicẖeen. Tu yoxpiz tun ichil Hun Ahau paxci u Chicẖeen.

Lahca Ahau.

Lahun Ahau.

Uaxac Ahau u katunil heɔci cab yala Ah Itza likul yan che yalan haban Tan-xuluc-mul u kaba. Ti likulob ca u heɔahob luum Zaclactun Mayapan u

[1] tzo ma: probably tzolma is intended.

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kaba. Tu uucpiz tun Uaxac Ahau u katunil, laix u katunil cimci Chakanputin tumen Kak-u-pacal yetel Tec Uilue.

Uac Ahau.

Can Ahau.

Cabil Ahau.

Oxlahun Ahau.

Buluc Ahau.

Bolon Ahau.

Uuc Ahau.

Hoo Ahau ulci ɔul ti chibil uinic. Ix/ma pic ɔul u kaba. Ma paxi peten tumenelobi. p.80 C

Ox Ahau.

Hun Ahau paxci peten Tancah Mayapan u kaba. Tu hunpiz tun ichil Hun Ahau u katunile lukci halach uinic Tutul y̱ u batabilob cabe y̱ can tzuc cul cabobe. Lay u katunil paxci uin<i>cob Tancah ca uecchahiob u batabilob cabe.

Lahca Ahau, te cħabi Otzmal u tunile.

Lahun Ahau, te cħabi Zizal u tunile.

Uaxac Ahau, te cħabi Kancaba u tunile.

Uac Ahau, te cħabi Hun[n]acthi u tunile.

Can Ahau, te cħabi Atikuhe u tunil<l>ae. Lay u katunil uchci maya-cimlal tu hopiz tun ichil Can Ahau u katunil lae.

Cabil Ahau, te cħabi Chacalna u tunile.

Oxlahun Ahau, te cħabi Euan u tunile.

Buluc Ahau. U yax chun kin Colox-peten cħabi u tunile. Laix u katunil cimci ah-pul-<h>a; Napot Xiu u kaba. Tu hunpiz tun Buluc Ahau, laix u katunil, yax hulciob Españoles[s]ob uay tac lumil lae. Tu uucpiz tun Buluc Ahau u katunil ti ix hoppi xpñoil lae; tu habil quinientos diez y nuebe años do. 1519 a.

Bolon Ahau ma cħabi u tunil lae. Lay katun yax ulci Obispo Fray Fran<cis>co Toral. Huli tu uacpiz tun ichil Ah Bolon Ahau Katun/lae. p.81 C

Uuc[1] Ahau. Ma cħabi u tunil lae. Lay u katunil cimci Obispo <d>e Landa lae. Ti ix uli u hel obispo xani.

Hoo Ahau.

Ox Ahau.

Helel en 18 de Agosto de 1766 a<ños> lae, ca uchi chac ikal lae. U kahlayil cin ɔibtic ca utzac yilic bahun hab ca bin uchuc u lak lae.

Helel en 20 de Henero de 1782 años, ca chekethi chupil uay ti cah Chumayel lae. Tu cal uinic cu chupul ca ix emec cabal xan tac ti chinchan tac ti nohoch ppiz u miztic hunppel na, ca bin oc[c]oci. He u ɔacal lae pah taan y̱ limones ua ix zizal-xiu mehentace. Tac tu habil 81 años chumpahi. Ti ix u

[1] Uuc: Uac C.

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ɔaah nohoch kintunyabil xani. Olma oc chac. El lah kax tulacal, cimlahix kaxob xan. Lay u kahlay cin ɔibtic, cen D<o>n Juan Josef Hoil lae. (Rubrica.)/

p.82 C

p.83 C Chumayel y Junio 28 de 1858 y uchic in mahan[1] ti Chinuh Balam, ten Pedro Briceno. (Rubrica.)[2]/

XXII

(A BOOK OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

(1. Frontispiece.)[3]

1. Buluc Ahau. (Picture of crowned head purposely darkened or blurred.)

2. Uuc Ahau.[4] (Similar picture.)

3. Bolon Ahau. (Similar picture.)

4. Ho Ahau. (Similar picture.)

5. Ox Ahau. (Similar picture.)

6. Hun Ahau. (Similar picture.)

7. Lahca Ahau. (Similar picture.)

8. Lahun Ahau. (Similar picture.)

9. Uaxac Ahau. (Similar picture.)

10. Uac Ahau. (Similar picture.)

11. Can Ahau. (Similar picture.)

12. Cabil Ahau. (Similar picture.)

13. Oxlahun Ahau Katun, oxlahun zut xan. (Picture of a face within a circle perhaps intended for the sun or some other heavenly body. Six crosses radiate from the circle. This is also blurred like the preceding pictures.)

p.84 C Oxlahun kal hab, ca zutnac lae tucaten layili./

[5] Miercoles helel en 4 de 1832 Abrilil uchic in chicultic u kaba M<ari>a Isidora, hija de Andres Balam y M<ari>a Juana Xicum.

Domingo helel en 22 de Disiembre de 1833 uchic in chicultic u kaba Tomas, hijo de Andres Balam Maria Juana Xicum.

Padrinos: Jose M<ari>a Castañ<e>da.

Madrina: Man<ue>la Marin.

cura

. . . Justo Balam, Escribano. (Rubrica.)

[6] He u kinil uchi<i>n manic lae libro: 1 de Julio de 1838. He u toholma ti tene hun ppel peso ichil otzilil. He toholma ti Yum padre[7]: peso. Lay u

[1] mahan: majan C.

[2] This entry is written in a different hand, cf. p. 53. The 5 in the date is somewhat doubtful.

[3] See Chapter XXII of translation for a reproduction of this frontispiece.

[4] Here the copyist has made an error. No. 2 should be Bolon Ahau, and No. 3 should be Uuc Ahau.

[5] Written in a different hand. [6] Written in still another hand.

[7] padre: very badly written; the reading is doubtful.

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habil uchi manic lae . . . Cin chicultic yoklal u yoheltabal hex kinil manic tin kab.

Ten cen Pedro de Alcantara Briceño, cahnalal San Ant<oni>o./ p.85 C

(2. Historical introduction to the katun-prophecies.)

Oxlahun Ahau Katun yax hoki u cheem ɔul[l]ob Campech. Mil y quinientos y quarenta y uno u kaba hab cuchi ca yulzahob u kin yocolob ti Christianoil Maya uinicob, heɔci cab Tantun Cuzamil. Tancoch hab yanobi. Ca biniob tu hol haa ti chikine, ti ix oc u patan Ah Chikincheel[l]obi. Lay hab yan cuchi do. 1542 heɔci u petenil Tihoo, Ichcanziho, Buluc Ahau Katun lae. He ix yax halach uinice D<o>n Fran<cis>co Montejo Adelantado lay ɔae u chinam ɔulob, kul uinicob. Ichil yabil do. 1542 oci patan. Do. 1545 hab yan cuchi ca huli Padreob, canppel hab huluc ɔulob cuchi. Ti ix hoppi yocol haa tu pol uinicobi ti cahal cah tumen P<adre>obi. Yax ulobe thoxci cah tiob.

Mil y quinientos quarenta y quatro a<ños>haab . . . lahu-ca-bak haab catac holhu-can-kal haab paxci cah tu Chicẖeen Itza, paxci u cahalob lae. Ca-bak haab catac lahu-can-kal haab paxci cah Uxmal lae, paxci u cabob lae.

Mil y quienientos y treinta y siete a<ños>, ti Bolon Cauac u kaba kin uchci mol tanbaob almehenob ti canancilob ti cah Mani uchebal u binelob ti cẖa ɔul tu cahal yoklal cinzabci halach uinice. Lay u kabaob lae: Ah Moochan Xiu, Nahau Ez, Ah Ɔun Chinab, Napoot Cupul, Napot Che, N<a>batun Itza, Ah-kin Euan tal Cocel, Nachan Uc tal ti Ɔibilkal, Ah-Kin Ucan tal ti Ekob, Nachi Uc, Ah-kul Koh, Nachan M<o>tul, Nahau Coyi. Laobi u nucil uin<i>cobi thaniob ca bin cẖabil ɔul tu cahal lae <yok>lal[1] u c<imz>aba<l>[1] halach uinicil cah Ah . . . Xiu Otzomal,/ Otzolmal. p.86 C

Lahun Kan ah-cuch-haab ca mani ah caxan cah. Heklay Montejo, u kaba ah ɔib cah. Lay ix hab yan ca mani ah luum ɔul, ah mak op ɔul. Helay yax thox cah. Hex ca uli ɔul tu cẖaobe yah cẖaule ti banob Campeche, ti hoki u chemobi, ca ix biniob almehenob u ɔaab u ziilobi. Oxlahuntul yah cẖaul ɔulob lae. Ca ix talob Ichcaanzihoo, Bolon Ahau u katunil cuchi lae.[2]

U kahlay u tzolan u miatzil u yanahteil u tzolan u ximbal katun. Uay cu hokzabal tu lumil Nitunɔala, Chactemal, Tahuaymil, Holtun Itza, Chichinila, ca utzac yoheltabal u cuch u ximbal katun, hunhunɔit katune, ua utz ua lob yani. Bay ɔibanil tumen Ah Kulen Ɔib, Evangelista, u than u yumil caan y luum . . . op . . . ich kin, tal canal. Lay ɔabi tiob . . . nob tu chun luum, tu chun ca uinicile . . . h tohil than tu kulem ɔibil, tu yunil Reportorio.[3] Minan zipani; ti cici ilabil tu ɔalal ti yunil. Heklay tumenelob cantul cẖibalob talob ti caan, ah kab caan, itz caanob, u halach uinicob, yahauilob cab: Zacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hocẖtun Poot, Ah Mex-cuc Chan. [Cheichil] He ichil uuc kal hab ococ Christianoile ti u humulhum[4] ahauobi, u chuc lum ɔiɔ katuni. Ti ix u chacanpahal ah miatzi, ti ix u kat naat katuni. Otzilhom u uich

[1] Suppl. Ber.
[2] A small cross is drawn here.
[3] Reportorio: Repuldoryo C. *Cf.* Tizimin p. 29.
[4] humulhum: humulhun C.

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Chac Chuen Coyi. Ca bin uluc u yumil kul-na. Yan chumuc cah Tihooe. Ulom tal ti lakin, tal ti xaman, tal ti chikin, tal ti nohol; uyub u thanil u
p.87 C Christianoil tu uuclahun tune uchebal u hach nac<al> Christia/noil. Ulom u Padreil; ulom u obispoil, Sancto Inquisicion,[1] u than Dios. Bin beltabaci Mamac bin hauzic lae. Amen.

(3. The katun-prophecies.)

Capitulo del año, katun.

Primero: Buluc Ahau yax heɔ luum ɔulob lae.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Primero: Buluc Ahau Katun u yax chun u xocol katun, u hunɔit katun. Ichcaanz ihoo u heɔ katun ulci ɔul<l>ob. Chac u mex u mehen kin, ah mexob ti lakin u taliob, ca uliob uay tac luumile. U ɔulilob cab, zac uinicob, chac uinicob . . . u chun nict<e> . . . ob nicte u ua . . . baob. Bee Ah Itza! . . . cha̱aba. Talel u cah zac O ich caan. Zactunlah pal tal ti caan, zac uaom che bin emebal tal ti caan. Hun auat, hun lub u talel. A uilic ex yahalcab, a uilic ex mut. Bee! Oktaba coon ti taliob. Ulicob hunac ah mol tunichob, hunac ah mol cheob, u zac ibteelob cab. Hopom kak tu ni u kabob. Yet mac u zabanob y̱ u taabob uchebal u hicha̱cal u yumob. Bee Ah Itzae! He ix a kule mabal u uilal lay tu hahal ku ti emi lae. Hun zipi u than, hun zipi u can. Coc ix bin u katunil; coc ix bin u chac<a>lob. Mac to uil ah kin, mac to uil ah bovat bin natic ualac u talel Tancah Mayapan[2] tu Chicha̱een Itzae? Bee! Alan iɔinil ti tali <i>chil Uuc Ahau Katun tu cal ya, tu cal numya, tu patan tac yax culhex tac pul ex yalan patan zamal cabehe ti tali mehen exe. Cha̱aba ex a man<e>z ex u cuch
p.88 C numya lic u talel tu yam a cahal exe. Hex katun ti culhi lae u/katun u katunil numya, u katunil u tza cizin ti culhi ichil Buluc Ahau Katun. Kam ex kam ex a uula exob, ah mexob, ah pulob tu chicul ku. Talel tun u cahob a zucun exob Ah Tantunob. Lay to bin u katic u zian ku tex yetelobe. He ix u kaba yah kinobe Ah Miznilacpe. Coh, Antachristo, u uichob tu kinil te u talel u kinil ta tan exe, bee, tu yabal numya, mehen exe. Lay u than ca yum: "Elom ti cab, zac petahom caanal, tu katunil uchmale." Tali tu chi Dios Citbil ma tuzbil than[n]i. Bee, hach al u cuch katun ti culhi ichil Christianoil. He ualac cu talele ppentacil than, ppentac . . . tunich, ppentac uinic. Ti talii bin ku<chuc> . . . a uilic ex. Talel u cah he ix halach <uinic> ah ca kin ɔamoob, ah ca kin popoob ic<hil u> uay[y]ab haab, ti u coy kinilobi. Halili u xul u than Dios. Bulucpiz u luch. Mol yam u mut u uich ti yahaulili, mol tun u can, mol tun u than. Bin ex cimic; bin ex cuxlac; mex ca a naat ex u than cuxul uooh lae. Ah Maypane u mehen uba tu hunal, u justisiail. Lay ti ɔaic ti mazcab, lay ti hokzic, ca u kax, ca u haɔab. Ca tun tac ti cutal, ca yal u xicin u mehen. Ti yan u ppoc tu hole y̱ u xanab ti yoce. Ti kaxan u taab tu
p.89 C nake he ualac u talele./

[1] Inquisicion: Inquiçicion C.
[2] Mayapan: Maya patan C.

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(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Bolon Ahau Katun u caɔit katun cu xocol. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Ti ix u kamah u patanobi u ɔul[l]ilob cabi. Ti ix uliob u yumil ca pixan[n]i. Ti ix hun molhi cahi ti tzucentzucil tu hol u poopobi. Ti ix ti hoppi u canal santo okolali, ti<i>x hoppi yocol haa tac polob. Ti ix eɔlahi u chun Santa Iglesia Mayori, u kakalna Diosi, u xiuil xitel na Dios Citbil. Tix eɔlahi uch . . . uucppel sacramentoi zatebac . . . Tix hoppi ban meyah chumuc cah . . . numya balcahi. Tix u uatal ca . . . lic u than kui, xanomi tali tu chi Di<os Cit>bil. Ti yulel zactunlah pal tal ti caan. Zuhuy cħuplal u kaba u na uucppel chachac ek.

(Picture of seven stars.)

U chucma tu bolonpiz yabil Ah Bolon Ahau tu taninah Christianoil, bay ɔibanil tumen profeta Chilam Balam tu bolon ɔalab tun te caanale. Oxlahun Eɔnab u kinil te ti caane bay ix uay ti luume. Ti caanil xol, ti caanil ual. Em tab, u tha<n> Dios tal ti canal hun yuk ti balcah tuzinil. Bolonpiz u lac, bolonpiz u luch. Bee cħaaba Ah Itzae. Matub a ɔaic a uula ex. Bi<n> a hant exob, bin ix u hant exob xan ti tali lae./ p.90 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Tercero: Uuc Ahau Katun yoxɔit katun. Yaxal Chac. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Yaxal Chac u uich ti yahaulil, ti yah miatzil, u tan pax cabal u tan zot canal.[1] Nicte uah, nicte haa yaal <katun>.[2] Ti u hoppol u tzucachil ah miatzobi, u bebech kab nictei, u bebech kab katuni. Ti u hoppol u tzintzin loc katun; lay bin hunyuk<lah ti>balcah[3] . . . <Nicte>u buc, nicte u uich, nicte u . . . <nicte>u xanab, nicte u pol, nicte u xim<bal> . . . Kuy cu cal, kuy cu chi, muɔ cu uich, puɔ cu tub, tu xiblalil, tu cħuplalil, tu batabil, tu justiçiail, tu chun-thanil, tu escribanoil[4] tu <a>h camzahil, tu nohochil tu chanchanil. Minan to nohoch can. Ti u hach zatal caan ɣ luum tiobi; ti u hach zatal zubtal[l]i. Ti u hicħil u cal u halach uinicil cahi, yahaulil cabi, u bovatil cah[h]i, yah kin Maya uinicobi. Zatal tun naat; zatal tun miatz. Cħaaba, Ah Itzae! A mehen exob to bin ilic u hiɔibte katun, u baxal katun. Coo u than, coo u uich ti yahaulil tu halach uinicil chac-uen-co. Uucppel u lac, uucppel u luch, u than Dios. Banban hicħ-cal u cuch katun lae./ p.91 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Quarto: Ho Ahau Katun u canɔit katun. Ichcaanzihoo u heɔ katun. Chich u uich, chich u mut ti yahaulil. Chibil al, chibil mehen ti talii. Ti u hoppol u tza cizin ti balcahi. Ti ix u binel u uich Kauil<tu>can [c] he<le> bil caan, tu can he<le>bil [hele] be.[5] Tii u yuchul cħuytab ti balcah. Ti ix <u> likil u cal <chac ahauca>n[6] ti chibali; ti ix u likil u cal holil <och ti chibali>.[7] Concon mehen, concon al. Ti talii ti ix . . . u hool chamal, cħabci u yum balcah

[1] zot canal T; xot cabal C. [2] Suppl. T.
[3] hunyuklah ti balcah: hunyukka tic balcah C. [4] tu escribanoil: tu scriuanoil C.
[5] Corrected from Tizimin p. 30. [6] Suppl. T. [7] Suppl. T.

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tu . . . yan bin yubah okot bot bat. Ox chac-nicen chac xulab, chac uayahcab, u bal u zoot yah ɔaul ca puczikal ichil patan tu cal ya, tu cal tza. Batab och, batab c̄hamac, batab ah pic, ah ɔuuɔ, u ɔutanil cahob. Cum u tal xin cain lahab <i>x a pax, cech uiɔin zucun. Ah xaclam pat tech u uichil eex, tolil och. U katunil. Nicte u kanche, culic tu ɔam. Ti chaan tan kiuic, tan pop, ah ca kin ɔam ah ca kin pop. Tu tab cah cahaan uchi u bal<a>mil cab tu catulil, batab och ɣ ah xaclam pat. Maya-cimlal bin ɔaicob, u chun . . . xob; e ɔeɔecil cuchie. Ta kabatah tun helelae Ah Itza. Tu chicchic zoo<t ka>tun; tu keban-than katun Tancah Mayapa[ta]n. Chac Zuyua[1] patan. Tu lachlam pach Balam ah cabcoh tu chibal katun, tu chibal haab; ziɔob ti yahaulil. Banban h̄ichcal u cuch katun, ua cu hic̄hil u cal <u bata>bil cah
p.92 C telae. U xul u numya Maya ui<nic>[2] . . . /ti u zebtal u talel Ah Uayṃil[l]ob c̄haic u toh ti balcahi.

(Picture of a head surmounted by a Spanish ecclesiastical headdress.)

Quinto, 1620: Ox Ahau Katun u hoɔit katun. Ichcanzihoo u heɔ katun. Ek-cocohmut u uich ti yahaulil, ti yah miatzil. Antachristo u uich ti yahaulil. Hopom k<ak>tu xulub yuc Ichcaanzihoo. Haulahom u keulel chacbolay tan kiuic. Pek u mut. Zac-patay chacil, thul caan chacil, bohol caan chacil, c̄huhum caan chacil, caanil chacil, kuch caan chacil, thelen chacil, cehil chacil. Ti ix yemel ox ualah u le zilil. Zinic balamil; zakil habil. Ox chuylah u xotem.[3] Ox cuchlahom yal max. Okom bulcum tu can xay beo. La u tah[h]ob katun; auatnom u pixan tu holobal cah, nomal Itza et . . . talii. He ten cen Ox Ahau Katune. Cumtal in cah Ichcaanzihoo. He ten cen Çeçar Agustoe . . . cah in
p.93 C kam in matan tan yol che . . . [4]/

(Picture of a crowned head, an animal and two unidentified objects.)

1640. Primero: Hun Ahau Katun u uucɔit katun. Emal u heɔ katun. Tu kinil yulel Ix Puc-yola ɣ Ox Ualacii. Emom zuum, emom tab. Tal ti caan u thanil ma tuzbil be. Cu talel u beltabal u than u yumil caan, ma tuzbil thani.

Pek u mut; ah kuch u mut. Pan u caɔic u uinicil.[5] Ox kazap u tucul ɣ u than, ox kazap ɣ u toon, ox kazap u tok ti yahaulili, ti yah miatzili. Ti ix yulel Hun-pic-ti-ax ti chibali, balam ɣ Canul ti chibali. Yah chiul uiil, yah zatul kauil, u bobochil uiil, yah zatul hanal. Uucppel hab u chibal Hun-<pic>-ti-ax, uucppel hab u chibal Canul. Ca bin emec u justisia ca yumil ti Dios yokol nicte, yokol u zac ibteel cah, yokol chac uenco, u maxil katun. Ti ix yulel uyanal thani, uyanal cani, ma ix tan yoczob ti yol Maya uinicobi. Bin kayac ichilob u than Dios, u Yumbil caan ca u tohcint u belob, ca u pachini tu lobil
p.94 C u belob, u nucili ti Maya uinicob; ma u kat / yubob u than Diose, ena yumbilob ah xotkin[n]obe. Bin ix okomac yolob u halach uinicil balcah. Ɔeɔec ocan ti yol, ma ix ocan ti yol xanie. Bala ta thane. Hun-lukul ah cici-olal u balamil

[1] Zuyua: Xuyua C. [2] Suppl. Ber.
[3] xotem T: xuthen C. [4] One or more pages missing here.
[5] Insert: Och u uich ti yahaulili.

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cabe. Haxom kaak tu chicul Maya Zuhuye. Hun[n]ab-ku tu zuhuyil hunab Iglesia, ti yauati . La u yub u than u Yumil Caan, u Yumil yokolcab. Bin ix okomac yol balcah tuzinil ti talie. Pecnom u xik cab, pecnom chumuc cab ti tali u kinil. Ti ix yemel u tzicilob Ah Bentana ɔulobi u than Dios. Ox muc bin emebal u justiçia ca Yumil ti yokol balachi. Ti ix yemel noh katun yokol u zac ibeteel cahi, oheltabal ua halach chich yocolalobi. Ti ix yemel ah mektan u zih hoyic u uich u cuyil cab, u maxil katun, u cẖuyum-thulil cah, u cẖamacil cah. Ti ix yulel u ma xul ahaui u xot u tabil u cuch numya lae, xotom ahau. Tix yemel u koch tulacal tal ti caan, u koch balcah tuzinil, kintunyaabil tu pach. Yan to tu kin hun[n]ac tzuc ti cab. Hun kalhom yala ah canan zuz, ah canan kaknab, Ah Uaymil bay Ah Emal. Ox muchhom yala tan kaknab u ɔoc katun. Bay yili u beltabal tu kuchul u uuɔ katune. Tix ucham ua pani.[1] Ti ix u hiɔ u tza cizini, Antacristoi. Lom tok tza, hoc mucuc tza, ɔon bacal tza, cum-tan tza, puchẖ tun tza. U hiɔibte katun lae tan yol che u kamic u matan Çeçar Agusto. Che/tun cimil tumen uiih, oc-nakuchil, maya-cimlal. p.95 C
Okom bulcum ɣ yaxcach tu ho<l>can be, tu ho<l> can heleb. Alan iɔinil, ɔiɔi mehen; tali ti balcahii. Ti ix yulel ahau ti naatalnat ti. Nacom u uich, u mehen kui. Ti ix yulel Obispoi, Santo <in>quiçiçion u kaba, ɣ Saul. U kat okolal ɣ Christianoil. U ɔoc ziɔil, u ɔoc numzah ya ti balcah. He ix bin ɔocebal u thanile: noh katun. Likom Chan ɣ ho tzuc Chakan ti bateel, u Chan katun Hun Ahau Katun. Kakal mozon chac u cuch katun, tzolen chac[c]il, thul can chac[c]il u lobil katun. Hun cẖic xulil yoczah. Ti ix yemel u cuch tzai; ti yemel patani; ti ix u katabal probari[2] ɣ uuc zap yibnel cab, ti u hach chichtal u tanlabal Diosi. U ɔoc u kamic u takin Antachristo. Ma tali Antacristo; ma u kat ca Yumil ti Diosi. Ma u zatal katun lae uay tac petenil tumen ca zihnalil lay peten lae. He u chun lay Antachristoil lae, ɔutulɔut[t]il; he ix ma tac kul uinicobe minan toc lukzah, minan ziɔil ɣ pacẖil tu kikel u lak uinic, tu muk ah numya, tu muk cu hanal hunhuntul. He cu talele hoppel uich che ti u han[n]al cab-cohi, Ah Bentena. Belatun ya tu yol u Yumil Caan. Ix pom-kak u ɔoc u than katun. Likom katun Habana oxlahun bak chem lae.

Lahca Ahau./ p.96 C

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Lahcabil Ahau Katun u uaxacɔit katun cu xocol. Zaclahtun u heɔ katun. Yaxal Chuen u uich, Buleu-caan-chac u uich ti yahaulil. Hokom.[3] Yan tu caanil kin, yan tu caan[n]il akab. Hun[n]ac ah men[n]il, hun[n]ac ah iɔatil. Yani cici halach uinicil, cici batabil; yan[n]i cici olal u than balcah tuzinil. Bin ayikalac ah numya uinici. Uahaluah u than katuni. Ayikal hab; balbahali xan. Yutzil katun. Yutzil ix chac[c]ob; bin meyahnacobi yich. Ti ix u hokol ich luumil tunich ti Christianoili, yet tal Diosi. Minan tun cẖamac ɣ ah cab-coh ti chibali. Ti tun u katal okolal ti yah belnalil cah[h]

[1] Tix ucham ua pani: Tix uchom ual pani may be intended.
[2] probari: prouari C. [3] Hokom: hokon C.

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obi; ɣ u puertail takin ɣ u cas[s]amientoil cah ti can-kaz-na. Ti ix u katabal ca xanab, uala licil ca Christianoil. Heklay ti ahi cab tacmenel; helay ca ualic hele lae. He ix bin ɔocbal nicte katun lae. Conbil bin ɔocbal. Ulel u than yahaulili. Tii ca bin uluc Uuc Uitzil, Chac Ek, ɣ tu pem caane pa hool chac[c]e tu uuclahun tun[n]e./

p.97 C (Picture of a crowned head.)

Tercero: Lahun Ahau Katun, Chable u heɔ katun. Ti yulel u cahalob, can uat-hom u kax e<b>cheob yokolob yahaulil cab[b]ob. Elom ɔiɔ; elom zuz chi kak<nab>; elom u ku cħicħ. Uakom chaltun; kintunyabil u cuch katun[n]i. U than ca Yumil ti Dios Citbil ɣ u Colel Caan, u ye katun. Mamac bin hauzic u than ca Yumil ti D<io>s, D<io>s Mehenbil, u Yumil caan yetel luum lae. Ma manomi bin uchuc tu cal ti balcahil tuzinil. Bin uluc santo Christiano pulic u kin ca u ualkez ubaob ah nunob tu lobil u belob. Mamac bin hauzic; lay tun kintunyaabil. Chabil u than yokolob Maya ah kinob lae u than Dios.

p.98 C Uaxac Ahau uuɔ. Quarto./

(Picture of a crowned head, eleven small heads and two unidentified objects.)

Quarto: Uaxac Ahau Katun u bolonɔit katun. Itzmal u heɔ katun. Kinich Kakmo. Emom chimal, emom halal <yokol Chakanputun>[1] tu pach yahaulil cabob. Pakom u pol Chakanputunob u ɔulil cab. U ɔoc ziɔil; u ɔoc u numzah yaob ti balcah. U than Dios Citbil. Banban katunyah bin beltabaci tumenel ah otochnalobe.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Quinto: Uac Ahau Katun u lahunɔit katun cu xocol. Uxmal u heɔ katun. Ocliz tubaob. Chicix u than, chicix u uich ti yahaulil. Bin u tuzcob u coil than. Catun emec Dios Citbil xotic u calob tumen u keban tanalob. Catun caput cuxlacob; u paktob u xotkin ca Yumil ti D<io>s latulah yocolob ti Christianoil ɣ u cuchulteilob. Hebahun zihan uay yokol cabe bin ococob ti

p.99 C Christianoil./

(Picture of a crowned head adorned with feathers.)

Primero: Can Ahau Katun u bulcɔit katun cu xocol. Chicħeen Itza u heɔ katun. Ulom u cahal Ah Itzaobi. Hulom kuk, ulom xax um. Ulom Ah Kantenal. Ulom xe-kik. Hulom Kukulcan tu pachob tu cate<n>u than D<io>s lae. Ulom Ah Itza.

(Picture of a crowned head.)

Segundo: Cabil Ahau Katun u lahcaɔit katun. Maya [uaz] Cuzamil u heɔ katun. Tancochhom u uah; tancochhom yaal. U than Dios lae. Tan-

p.100 C cochhom u templo ti yahaulilob. U xul u than Dios lae./

(Picture of a face within a circle, perhaps intended for the sun or some other heavenly body. Six crosses radiate from the circle which is also surrounded by short rays.)

[1] yokol Chakanputun: suppl. T. p. 32.

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Tercero juiçio: Oxlahun Ahau Katun cu xocol. Kinchil Coba u heɔ katun, yoxlahunɔit katun. Etlahom uɔub yahaulil cabobi. U yuk xotkin ca Yumil ti Dios. Emom u kikel che ɣ tunich. Elom caan ɣ luum. U than Dios Citbil, ɣ Dios Mehenbil, ɣ D<io>s Espiritu Sancto. Santo xotkin lae, santo juiçio tumenel ca Yumil ti D<io>s. Bin minanac u muk caan ɣ luum. Bin ococ ti Christianoil nucuch cahob, u cahal mac nalob, u nohochil cah, max u kaba bay u cah tu yukul lay mehen cahob lae, tu yukul lay ca petenil Maya Cuzamil, Mayapa[ta]n. Licil ca ca-kin uinicil tucal coil, ɔiɔi mehenil tu xul ca zatmail-ilil ɣ zubtalil cux yol ca mehenob tu nicteob. Minan yutz kin toon lae. U chun cimil tu lobil kik, tu hokol u, tu bin u, tulizi uil u uchac cuchie; tuliz kik. Bay ti utzul planetaobe ilabil yutzil lae. U xul u than Dios. Bin tac yoklob yalil caput zihil, Santo Pixan. U kamob santo olio ma ɔalbil u pachobi; tal ti Dios. Hach manal bin Christiano ah balob tu santo ocolal[l]ob, <Ah> Itzaob ɣ Balamoob; Ɔocan tun ca zatic ca/[1] p.101 C

Aqui falta una hoja . . .[2]/ p.102 C

XXIII

(THE LAST JUDGMENT)

Xotkin ti D<io>s tu tiblil uinicobe: "Con ex uicnal cex u cici-than uinicil in Yume, ca a nahalt ex hunkul gloria mentahan tumen in Yume cex hoppci balcahile. A tacuntah ex ualmah-thanil; a uutzcinah ex penitencia[3] ca zip ex ten uchie. Bala con ex ti caan." Ca tun u zutbez u pacat ti ah kebanob ti leppan yol tiobe. "Nachhen ex uicnal cex lolob-thanbil tumen in Yume, xen ex tu kakil metnal ma-xulumte lay menan ti cizin tumen in Yume. A pocħah en ex, cen a Yum exe, cen a uah lohil exe. A pocħah ex in than tumen u than cizine, be! Bala xen ex tu pach ti hun lukul numya." Ca tun xicob ti metnal u lobil uinicobe, he ix yutzil uinicobe bin xicob ti caan tu pach ca Yumil ti D<io>s, ti hun lukul gloria yet ppizan gloria Josapat. Yan oxtul uinicob, u hach palilob Dios, hach yabilob tumen Dios. Elias ɣ Matusalem ɣ Enoc u kabaob; cuxanob tac hele lae. Ti culcinanob tumen Dios u canantob u xecil u sillasil. Bin u mentic cuenta ca Yumil ti D<io>s ti hunp<p>el kom luum, hunppel noh chakan. Tii tun u cutal yokol u xecil u tepal. Bin ix molocob tulacal balcah tuzinil. Zayhom tanamob, bin <ya>nacob tu noh; zayhom yucob, bin yanacob tu ɔic. . . . bin yanac tu ɔic lae, u lobil uinicob, ah ma ɔoczahob ti yalmah-thanil D<io>s tulacal, ti tun u binob ti hunlukul u numyail mitnal tu lamay cab, alanil tumen ca yax yumobe. He tun bin yanac tu noh Ahau Dios lae yutzilob uinic ah ɔoczahob ti yalmah-thanil Dios. "Con ex cex u cici-than uinicil in Yume pach ex ahaulil menan tex hop<p>ci bal-cahile." Ti tun u takal noh muyal eek tu nak/ caan tac tu uich luum. Bay homi uil ciotzil u kay Angelesob. Minan yetp<p>izan cio<l>tzilil. Bin nacebal hahal Ku, u Yumil caan ɣ luum lae. p.103 C

[1] One or more pages are missing here, and there is a break in the text.

[2] Written in a different hand. Except for a few more illegible words, this page is blank.

[3] penitencia: penitensia C.

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XXIV

(PROPHECIES OF A NEW RELIGION)

He thanob ti utzcinahan lae alabebal u xicin[n]ob ix ma yumob, ix ma nailob lae. He ix lay than lae bin tacuntabac bay u tacuntabal ah kan-thixal ti tune. Licil u talel yocol Christianoil Tancah Mayapan tu Chicẖeen Itza ualac uil Zuyua, ualac uil Itza. Ahom cab hun lakin, hun xaman, hun chikin, hun nohol. Tali tu chi D<io>s Citbil. Lay cut tz<o>licob hotul ah kinob, ah kulem ah kinob kuchiob tu tan D<io>s. Lay tzolob u cuch numya ca tal yocol Christianoil lae.

Heklay u kabaob ɔibanob lae:

1. Chilam Balam, noh saçerdote.
2. Napuctun, noh saçerdote.
3. Nahau Pech, noh saçerdote.
4. Ah Kuil Chel, noh saçerdote.
5. Natzin Yabun Chan, noh saçerdote.

U chinam Dios coɔlic u pach tan zuhuy luum, lay tzoliob u cuch numya tu tan ca Yumil ti D<io>s: talel tun u cah yocol Christianoil lae; xe-kik,
p.104 C Maya-cimlal, kintunyaabil, zakil haabil/ ix pom-kakil, u cuch numya, u tza cizin. Zac petahom canal. Elom ti cab ichil Ox Ahau Katun, Hun Ahau Katun, u lobil oxɔit katun. Bay ɔibanil tumenel Evangelistas ɣ prop<h>eta Balam, tali tu chi u Yumil caan ɣ luum. Ca tu kulem ɔibtahob ah kinob tu kinil noh kintunyaabil Lahun-Chable ich Christianoil. Ti ca bin uluc Saul ɣ D<o>n Antonio[1] Martinez u cẖab u toh yal u mehenob. Ahan tun cabe. Bay ɔibanil tu yalmah-thanil noh ah kin prop<h>eta Chilam Balam ɣ ti cal manben. Amen Jesus.

La interpretaçion historias de Yucatan.

1. Sacerdotesob, profeciado Napuctun.
2. Elom ti cab; petahom canal. U uaom Kauil;
3. ua ah tan uch[a]mal. Elom ti cab; elom ɔiɔ tu ka-
4. tunil uch[a]mal talome. U pixan[2] bin yilic
5. bin yal u than, bin yokte u numyail uchmale.

U profeçiado Ah Kuil Chel, saçerdote.

1. Cu hiɔibte katune, yume, mex ca a nate ualac
2. u talel. Mac bin caɔab tu coɔ pop katune, yume?
3. Bin uluc holom uil cal ya. Tali ti xaman,
4. tali ti chikine tu kinob uil yane, yume. Mac
5. to ah kin, mac to ah bovat bin toh alic u than
6. uoohe, yume, ichil Bolon[3] Ahau? Mex ka <a>
7. naate hunac tzuc ti cab. Hun ɔal pitan . . .

[1] Antonio: Ando C. [2] u pixan M & O; u bixan C.
[3] bolon M & O; balam C.

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8. nel tzutzuc chac. Be cioltzil uil tan ah/ p.105 C
9. tepal cuchie, cii uil yokol yahaulil cabobe.
10. Kahcun a uol Ah Itzae.

U profeciado Nahau Pech, gran sacerdote.

1. Tu kinili uil u uatal kine, yume, ti yokzah ich ah te-
2. pal, ualo tu canɔit u katunil uc<h>omi uale,[1] u hahal
3. pal tu kin Kue. Yok<ta ua> uba[2] in kuben, yu-
4. me. Ich ex tu bel a uula, Itzae! U yum cab ca hulom.
5. Tal tu chi Nahau Pech, ah kin tu kinil ua Can Ahau
6. Katun ti hiɔ bin u katunile, yume. Zatom uil zi-
7. nic uinicil. Bin yanac tu pach uiil tumen u bobo-
8. chil uiil, u cẖuyum-thulil uiil, zinic, ɔiu,
9. kau, picẖ, xpucil.

[10.] U profeciado Natzin Yabun Chan: uchi u than

1. hahal ku ti peten. Lay a pak u hokole, yume,
2. yah kinob uil bin puchcob[3] uchmale. Ɔa cɐx
3. ka a nat tu than, tu tzacil kae.[4] A pixan ex
4. [ceh] bin hahal kamice. Xeth a uol ta kul, Ah
5. Itzae; tubez a hauay ku, a zat[at]ay ku loe.
6. Tulacal yanil ah tepal, yume, yah cẖaabul caan
7. ɣ luum tuzinil. Lay ya ta uol in ualic techo Maya
8. Ah Itzae. Ma a kat a uu[y]anal Dios haaha<l>
9. Kul ta thano. Lay u yocol tun ta uol u than
10. in tzec lae.
1. Profeciado de Chilam Balam, tix kayom,[5]

<2.> Cauich-<cẖ>en,[6] Mani Oxlahun Ahau u hiiɔ-

<3.> [ɔ]i uil katune ualac uil Itza, ualac/ p.106 C

4. uil Tancahe, yume. U chicul Hunab-ku canal. Hulom uaom
5. che. Etzahom[7] ti balcahe, uchebal u zazhal yokol cabe,
6. yume. Uch ɔuni to moc tanba, uch ɔuni zauinal,
7. ca talom[8] ti pul chicul uchmale ah kini uinice, yume.
8. Hun auat, hun lubi uil u tal. A uilic ex mute u ti-
9. ppil ɣ uaom che. Ahom cab hun xaman, hun chi-
10. kin. Ahom Itzamna Kauil. Talel u cah ca yum, Itza.
11. Tale u cah ca zucun, Ah Tantune. Kam a uulaob, ah
12. mexob, ah likin cabob, ah pul tu chicul Kue, yume.
13. Utz ka u than Ku cu tale cicnale. Talel u cah u kin.

[1] uchomi uale T; uchi uale M; ucomi nale C & O.
[2] yoktah ua uba T; yoktabaa ka uba M; yok lae ka uba C & O.
[3] puchcob C & M; puɔcob T & O.
[4] tu tzacil kae C & O; to tzacil kak T; tu chacil kak M.
[5] tix kayom T; zix coyom C. [6] Cauichen C; cabal chen T.
[7] etzahom T; etzahan C; etcahon M; etcahom O.
[8] talom O; talon C & T.

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14. ca cuxtale. Ma a zahtic yokol cabe. Yume, tech
15. hunac Ku cẖabtic on. Utz tunbac u than Kue,
16. yume. Yah canul ca pixan. He mac bin kamic,
17. hach ocan ti yole, ti caan u bin tu pach. Heuac
18. u chun ca-kin uinicil.

1. Ca uacunto u chicul canal, <ca uacunto ca pacte helee>,[1] ca uacunto y uaom
2. che. Numte tah u kexa u hokol hele.[2] U hel tu
3. pach u yax cheel cab; etzahom[3] helel ti balcahe.
4. La u chicul Hunab-ku canale. Lac a kult ex,
5. Ah Itzae. Ca a kulte helel u chicul canale. Ca a kul-
6. te to tu hahil colah,[4] ca kulte hahal Ku hele lae, yume.
7. Ocez taba u than Hunab-kue, yume; tali ti caan. A
8. uah than be. Cuxcin ka a uol, Ah Itzae. A-
9. hom uil cab tiob oczicob ti yole ichil uya-
10. nal katune, yume. Yok tuba in than,
11. cen Chilam Balam, ca in tzolah u than
12. hahal Ku tuzinile yokol cabe; yubi
13. hunac tzuc ti cabe, yume, u than Dios, u Yumil
14. caan y luum. Hach utz ka u than ti caan,
15. yume.

p.107 C Cokol yahaulil, yokol ix ca pixan/

16. hahal Ku. Heuac heob ti ulez lae, yume, ox al a mukil
17. <i>x cuch lum iɔinil. Ɔaman yol. Cimen ix u puc-
18. zikal tu nicteob xan. Ah uaua tulupoob, ah ua
19. tan zinaob, Nacxit Xuchit tu nicte u lakob,
20. ca-ca-kin yahaulilob. Coylac te tu ɔamob;

1. coylac te tu nicteob. Ca-ca-kin uinicil u than-
2. [n]ob. Ca-ca-kin u xecob, u luchoƀ, u ppoocob.
3. U co kin[n]ob, u co akab, u maxilob yokol
4. cab. Kuy cu cal, muɔ cu uich, puɔ cu chi,
5. ti yahaulil cabob, yume. He, cu talel minan
6. hah tu thanob u ɔulilob cah. Bin yalob
7. hach talanilob, u mehen Uuc-tocoy-naob,
8. yalob Uuc-tocoy-naobe, yume.

Mac to ah

9. bovat, mac to ah kin bin tohol cantic
10. u than uooh lae?

Finis.

[1] Suppl. T & O.
[2] u kexa u hokol hele C; u kex ah okol helee T; a kex ac hokol hele O; a kex a cẖokol helele M.
[3] etzahom T; etcahom M; etcahan O; etzahan C.
[4] colah C; a uolah M; ocolal O; kolah T.

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TRANSLATION

I

(THE RITUAL OF THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS)

/[1] the first man of the Canul family.[2] The white *guaje*,[3] the *ixculun* <and> the gumbo-limbo[4] are his little hut,[5] . . . The logwood tree is the hut of Yaxum,[6] the first of the men of the Cauich family. p.1 C

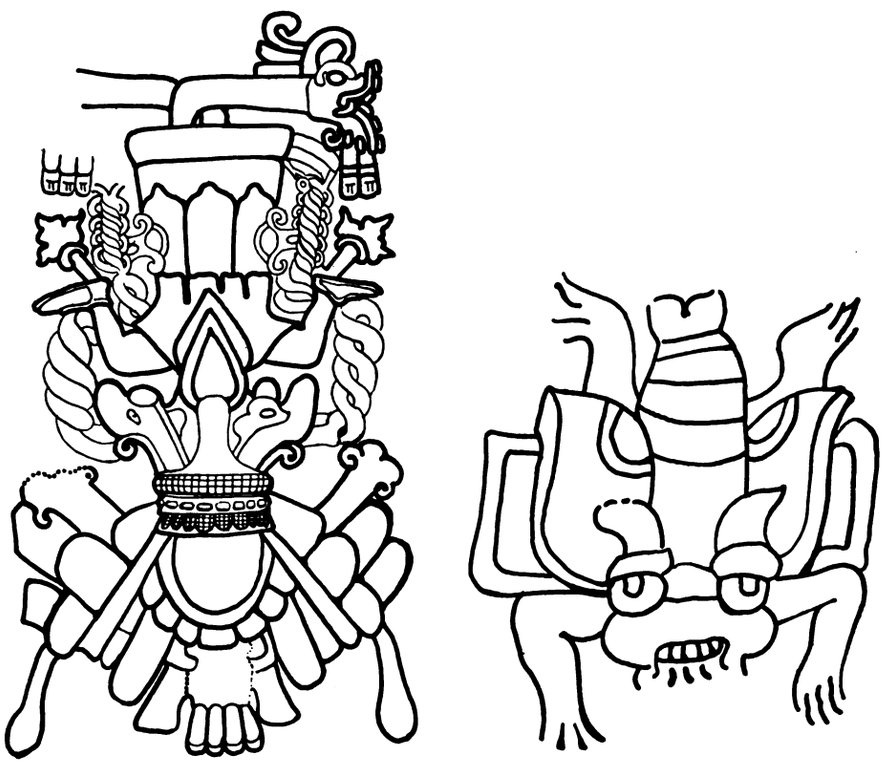

FIG. 1 *a*—Ah Muzencab, the Maya bee god. (After Lothrop.)[7] *b*, A bee. (Codex Tro-Cortesianus, p. 83.)

[1] One folio is missing from the beginning of the book.

[2] Martínez H. translates this sentence: "the first figure or idol is that of Ah Canul" (Martinez. H. 1921).

[3] Maya, *uaxim, Leucæna glauca* Benth. Botanical identifications will be found in Standley 1930 and Roys 1931.

[4] Maya, *chacah, Bursera simaruba* Sarg. Spanish *palo mulato*.

[5] Maya, *pazel*, a temporary shelter consisting of a single-pitched roof and open at one side, used for camping out.

[6] Yax-um, literally the green bird, the quetzal. *Um* or *un* is an obsolete word for bird, surviving only in compounds of names of birds, such as *pichum, ucum, yuyum, chahum*, etc. *Cf.* Quiche, *Rax-on*, quetzal, and *um*, a certain black bird. (Ximenez, Tesoro, etc.)

[7] Copy of the stucco figure at Tulum known as the Diving god. (Lothrop 1924, pl. 23.) Besides its obvious resemblance to the insect in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus identified by Tozzer and Allen as a bee, it seems possible to recognize the pulvilli, ungues and metanotum, while the wings somewhat suggest the battered membranes of a bee's wings. A similar Diving God has been found at Cobá, where the Muzencabob are still believed to dwell (Thompson, Pollock, Charlot 1932, p. 84; Redfield letter).

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The lord of the people of the south is the first of the men of the Noh [1] family. Ix-Kan-tacay [2] is the name of the first of the men of the Puch family. They guard nine rivers; they guard nine mountains [3]

The red flint stone is the stone of the red Mucencab.[4] The red ceiba tree of abundance [5] is his arbor [6] which is set in the east. The red bullet-tree [7] is their tree. The red zapote . . . The red-vine [8] . . . Reddish are their yellow turkeys. Red toasted <corn> is their corn.

The white flint stone is their stone in the north. The white ceiba tree of abundance is the arbor of the white Mucencab. White-breasted are their turkeys. White Lima-beans are their Lima-beans. White corn is their corn.

The black flint stone is their stone in the west. The black ceiba tree of abundance is their arbor. Black speckled corn is their corn. Black tipped camotes are their camotes. Black wild pigeons are their turkeys. Black *akab-chan* [9] is their green corn. Black beans are their beans. Black Lima-beans are their Lima-beans.

The yellow flint stone is the stone of the south. The ceiba tree of abundance, the yellow ceiba tree of abundance, is their arbor. The yellow bullet-tree is their tree. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are their camotes. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are the wild pigeons which are their turkeys. Yellow green corn is their green corn. Yellow-backed are their
p.2 C beans . . ./

[1] Noh, a common family name, resembles *nohol*, which means south.

[2] Lit. yellow *tacay*, the Mexican large-billed tyrant. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 339.

[3] Maya, Bolonppel-uitz, probably a place-name in the south. The name may survive in that of Salinas de los Nueve Cerros on the Chixoy River.

[4] This name is spelled Muzencab in the Tizimin manuscript, so Mucencab is probably intended for Muçencab. *Cab* means hive or honey. As shown in Appendix A, the bees are closely connected with the Bacabs and the four world-quarters, and Dr. Redfield finds the Muzencabs invoked in the *u hanli cab* ceremony which is propitiatory of the gods of the bees. One native priest explained that "the *Mulzencab-ob* were a class of supernatural bees dwelling at Cobá. They report to Nohyumcab (Great-lord-of-the-hive), their superior, everything that happens in the apiary." Another native priest, or *h-men*, stated that the Nohyumcab and the Ah Muzencab were two gods in the form of large bees who governed all the bees (Letter from Dr. Robert Redfield).

[5] Maya, *imix yaxche*. Imix is one of the Maya day-names, and the *yaxche* is the ceiba tree, the green tree and the first tree of the world. Seler shows that Imix has much the same significance as Cipactli, the corresponding Aztec day-name. It is the symbol of fertility and abundance, and among the Cakchiquels it is closely associated with the ceiba tree (Seler 1902, p. 499). Beyer 1931, p. 204.

[6] This arbor may correspond to the arch of leaves and branches set up in connection with the New Year's ceremonies (Landa 1929, p. 20).

[7] Maya, *pucté*, *Bucida buceras* L.

[8] Maya, *chac-ak*, the name of an unidentified vine, used medicinally.

[9] *Akab-chan* is probably a dark variety of maize (Martinez letter). The Maya have corn of various colors, and there is a large vocabulary relating to maize (Standley 1930, p. 211).

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11 Ahau was the katun when they carried <burdens> on their backs. Then the land-surveyor first came;[1] this was Ah Ppizte[2] who measured the leagues. Then there came the *chacté* shrub[3] for marking the leagues with their walking sticks. Then he came<to> Uac-hab-nal[4] to pull the weeds along the leagues, when Mizcit Ahau came to sweep clean the leagues, when the land-surveyor came. These were long leagues that he measured.

Then a spokesman was established at the head of the mat.

Ix Noh Uc presides to the east. Ox Tocoy-moo presides to the east. Ox Pauah Ek presides to the east. Ah Miz presides to the east.

Batun presides to the north. Ah Puch presides to the north. Balam-na presides to the north. Ake presides to the north.

Iban presides to the west. Ah Chab presides to the west. Ah Tucuch presides to the west.

Ah Yamas presides to the south. Ah Puch presides to the south. Cauich presides to the south. Ah Couoh presides to the south. Ah Puc presides to the south.[5]

The red wild bees[6] are in the east. A large red blossom is their cup. The red Plumeria is their flower.

The white wild bees are in the north. The white *pachɔa*[7] is their flower. A large white blossom is their cup.

The black wild bees are in the west. The black laurel flower[8] is their flower. A large black blossom is their cup.

The yellow wild bees are in the south. A large yellow blossom[9] is their cup . . . is their flower./

[1] This appears to the translator to be a legend of the occupation of the country in ancient times. People came in bearing their household goods on their backs, as we know they had no beasts of burden. Then they were supposed to have surveyed and divided the land, after which they laid out the roads, cleared and cleaned them.

[2] A Maya pun: a man who measures or a man of the Ppizte family.

[3] Probably a shrubby form of the *chacté*, or brazil tree is meant (*Cæsalpinia platyoba* Wats.). It is a well-known dye wood, and Landa tells us that the Maya made staffs of it.

[4] It seems likely that Uuc-yab-nal is intended. This is a place-name associated with "the mouth of the well" in the prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 133. In another prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 161 the name Chichen Itzá is substituted for Uuc-yab-nal, so it is possible that the latter was the ancient name for Chichen Itzá before the Itzá came and named it Chichen Itzá, "the mouth of the well of the Itzá."

[5] Of the above names Uc, Batun, Balam, Ake, Cauich, Couoh and Puc are well known family names in Yucatan. Ah Puch is one of the names of the Maya death-god (Morley 1915, p. 17). Tucuch and Yiban Can are two of the Lords of the thirteen katuns (Morley 1920, p. 472, and Chilam Balam of Kaua, pp. 167 and 189). Ah Yamaz may be intended for Ah Yamazi who is mentioned on page 71. Ah Chab is the Maya name of the three-toed ant-eater.

[6] Here the word for wild bees, *ix chuuahcab-ob*, has the feminine prefix. In the Motul Dictionary it is given as *ah chuahcab* with the masculine prefix.

[7] There is little doubt that here the *pahɔa* is meant, which has been identified as *Commelina elegans* H. B. K. Here, however, the closely related *Callisia repens* L. with its white flowers may be intended.

[8] The *Ix-laul*, called *laurel* in Spanish, is *Stemmadenia insignis* Miers, the flowers of which are white, not black.

[9] *Kan-lol*, literally a large yellow blossom, also the name of *Tecoma stans* H. B. K.

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p.3 (

Then they swarmed at Oecuzamil[1] in great numbers among the magueys[2] of the land, the calabash trees of the land, the ceiba trees of the land and the *chulul* trees of the land.[3] Kin Pauahtun[4] was their priest. He commanded the numerous army which guarded Ah Hulneb[5] at Tantun in Cozumel, <also> Ah Yax-ac,[6] Chinab,[7] and Kinich Kakmo.[8]

II

(THE RISE OF HUNAC CEEL TO POWER)

Ah Itzimthul Chac[9] was their commander at Ichcanzihoo. Uayom-c̄hic̄h[10] was their priest at Ichcanzihoo. Canul <occupied> the jaguar-mat.[11] The

[1] Oecuzamil means Little Cozumel and may refer either to the Island itself or some place on the mainland of the east coast of Yucatan. Oy-cib was another name for Cozumel (Motul), and *cib* means beeswax.

[2] Maya, *u cūl cab;* it could also mean the sweet things of the land.

[3] The *chulul* has been identified as *Apoplanesia paniculata* Presl.

[4] Probably Kan Pauahtun, the wind-god of the south, is intended. *Cf.* Appendix A.

[5] Ah Hulneb, the Archer, was one of the principal deities of Cozumel which was a center of pilgrimage not only from every part of Yucatan but from Tabasco as well. *Cf.* Cogolludo, Book 4, Chap. 8.

[6] Ah *Yax-ac*. *Yax* means green or first. *Ac* could mean turtle, dwarf, boar-peccary or a certain tall grass.

[7] *Chinab* means the distance from the tip of the forefinger to that of the thumb. Ah Dun Chinab was the name of one of the nobles who accompanied the embassy of Ah Mochan Xiu to Montejo.

[8] Kinich Kakmo means sun-eyed fire macaw. He was one of the founders of Izamal and was afterwards deified (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269). His shrine was visited by sufferers from pestilence, whom he cured. It is of interest to note that yellow fever patients are still given the ashes of a red parrot's feathers as a remedy (Roys 1931, p. 63).

[9] Here we have a new account of the conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel, the head-chief of Mayapan. Various versions of this episode will be found in Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of the present work as well in the Mani and Tizimin chronicles (Brinton 1882, pp. 102, 146; Martínez 1927, pp. 8, 16). *Cf.* Appendix C.

Chac was formerly an important title, but at the time of the Spanish conquest the term merely designated four old men who represented the rain-gods in certain religious ceremonies (Landa 1928, p. 180). Ah Itzimthul appears to be a variant of the name of the ruler of Izamal, afterward deified. He is called Itzmatul by Lizana (1893, ff. 4 and 14) and Itzmal Ulil in the Tizimin chronicle. Historical references to the ancient city of Ichcanzihoo, or Tihoo, the site of Merida, are so extremely rare that it is of especial interest to read that this city was under the command of the ruler of Izamal at this time.

[10] *Uayom-c̄hic̄h*: *uay* means a familiar spirit, and *-om* is an archaic suffix indicating either a participial or a future form of a verb. *C̄hic̄h* signifies a bird. *Ah uay c̄hamac* was a wizard who could turn himself into a fox, and the translator believes *uayom c̄hic̄h* indicates a similar relationship with a bird. This title may be associated with the figures of birds worn by the carved figures at Chichen Itzá.

[11] Maya, *ix-pop-ti-balam*. The mat (*pop*) was the seat of authority in a Maya council, and *balam* means jaguar, although it is also a term applied to the priests and officials of a village. We are reminded of the jaguar seats portrayed at Chichen Itzá (*Cf.* fig. 3 and Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 368, 373). In these frescos, which are of the Toltec period, we note that such seats are occupied by warriors. It is also known that the Mexican allies of the rulers of Mayapan were called the Ah Canuls (Landa 1928, p. 86; Crónica de Calkini, p. 35). Consequently the statement that one of the Canuls occupied the jaguar-seat accords with both the archæological and historical evidence. We are reminded of the *ocelo-petlatzine*, or "jaguar-mat" used at Temimilzinco in Mexico. It was so named because it was woven with dark spots to imitate a jaguar skin. Here, however, it was used to sleep on (Ruíz de Alarcón 1892, p. 155).

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second Priest Chable was their ruler. Cabal Xiu was their priest. Uxmal Chac [1] was their commander; formerly he was their priest.

Then Hapay Can [2] was brought to Chemchan.[3] He was pierced <by an arrow> when he arrived at the bloody wall there at Uxmal.[4]

Then Chac-xib-chac was despoiled of his insignia.[5] Zac-xib-chac and Ek

[1] One of the first rulers of Uxmal was called Hun Uitzil-Chac (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 287; Tizimin p. 13). Evidently the ruler at Uxmal still retained the title of Chac.

[2] Although not mentioned in any of the chronicles, Hapay Can figures prominently in a fragmentary account of the Hunac Ceel episode in the Tizimin (pp. 23-24) and Mani (pp. 166-167) manuscripts. The name, Hapay Can, means sucking-snake. The Lacandon Indians believe in a certain evil spirit of this name "in the form of a snake who draws people to him with his breath . . . At the end of the world Nohochchacyum (the head of the Lacandon Pantheon) will wear around his waist as a belt the body of Hapay Can" (Tozzer 1907, p. 94).

[3] Chemchan is a suburb of Uxmal, recently located by Frans Blom.

[4] Possibly his head was pierced by a stake and the reference is to a tzompantli (the Aztec name of a wooden rack on which the skulls of sacrificed victims were displayed) at Uxmal.

[5] In the Mani chronicle it is indicated that Chac-xib-chac was the governor or head-chief of Chichen Itzá. In Appendix A evidence is presented that Chac-xib-chac, said by Landa to be one of the names of the Red Bacab, was probably in reality the Red Rain-god, who lived at the east of the world. Here we have an important personage bearing the name of the rain-god, and we may infer that he figured as the representative of the god. In the Temple of the Chac Mool found in the substructure of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá there is a fresco representing five men wearing the mask and head-dress of God B, the Maya rain-god (Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 375 and 454 and pl. 133). These are called God Impersonators, and the translator believes that they impersonated the five Maya rain-gods who, like the five Mexican Tlaloque, were set at the four cardinal points and at the center of the heavens.

To identify the insignia of which Chac-xib-chac was "despoiled" is more difficult. It is called *canhel* in Maya, a word which Beltran defines as *"dragon."* There are reasons for believing that this *canhel* is the ceremonial staff carried by the God Impersonators of the fresco in the Chac Mool Temple. In the mixture of Christianity and paganism on page 110 of the present work we read of God the Father grasping in his hand his *canhel,* so it is evidently something that could be held in the hand. Again, the figure in Maya art most obviously suggested by Beltran's *"dragon"* is the snake-like head of the God K and, as Ann Axtell Morris has conclusively shown in her analysis of the fresco, this ceremonial object is a vestigial form of the Manikin Scepter with its serpent handle and surmounted by the head or entire figure of the God K. Schellhas (1904, pp. 32-33) has shown the frequent association of God K with God B, who is impersonated in this case. Consequently the ceremonial staff retained its name *canhel,* even though it did not always bear the head of the god. In the Chumayel text *canhel* is written *cangel,* although the g is almost never employed in writing a Maya word. Evidently the writer associated the word with the Spanish *angel,* and we are reminded of the so-called *angel* which Landa tells us was set on the back of the figure of Kan-u-uayab-haab, the spirit who ruled over the five unlucky days immediately preceding the Kan years. He says that these *"angeles"* were frightful in appearance, but that they presaged rain and a good year (Landa 1929, p. 22). In the picture of the New Year's ceremony on page 25 of the Dresden Codex, a human figure with an animal's head, apparently representing the last day of the old year, bears on his back the God K, quite like the *angel* of which Landa tells. The passage on page 110 of the Chumayel indicates that the *canhel* was closely connected with the winds. Solís Alcalá and Solís M. (1927, p. 245) have associated the *canhel* with the winds but identify it with the wheel-like object held in the left hand of the figure with the animal's head mentioned above.

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Yuuan Chac were also despoiled of their insignia. Ix Zacbeliz [1] was the name of the maternal grandmother of the Chacs. Ek Yuuan Chac was their father. Hun Yuuan Chac was their youngest brother; Uooh-puc was his name. There was a glyph (*uooh*) written on the palm of his hand. Then a glyph was writ-

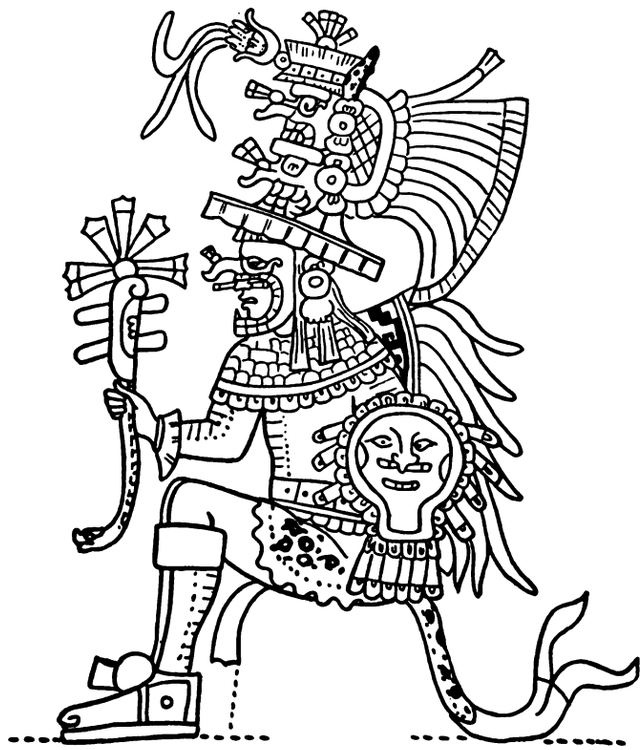

FIG. 2—Chac-xib-chac, the God Impersonator at Chichen Itzá. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

ten below his throat, was also written on the sole of his foot and written within the ball of the thumb of Ah Uooh-puc.[2] The Chacs were not gods. The only true God is our Lord Dios; they worshipped him according to the word and the wisdom of Mayapan.[3]

[1] Ix Zacbeliz could be translated either as "the white woman who travels on foot," or as "the woman who travels on the white causeway."

[2] This appears to have been the procedure followed by one who wished to set himself up as a leader. At the time of the fall of Mayapan, Ah Kin Chel also "wrote on the fleshy part of his left arm certain letters of great importance in order to be esteemed" (Landa 1928, p. 8; *Cf.* Spinden 1913, fig. 10).

[3] Probably a reference to Hunabku, "the only living and true god, also the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan" (Motul).

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Ah Kin Coba/was their priest there in the fortress <of Mayapan>. p.4 C
Zulim Chan was at the west <gate>. Nauat [1] was the guardian [2] of the

FIG. 3—Mexican warrior occupying the jaguar-seat. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. (After Ann Axtell Morris.)

The translator believes that this figure is also representative of the guardians of the gates at Mayapan mentioned in the Chumayel.

south gate. Couoh was the guardian of the east gate. Ah Ek was his companion. This was their ruler: Ah Tapay Nok Cauich [3] was the name of their head-chief; Hunac Ceel was the representative [4] of Ah Mex Cuc.[5] Then he

[1] Nauat is still a family name in Yucatan. We may well infer that this Nauat was one of the Mexican guards of Mayapan mentioned by Landa, as it is a Mexican word.

[2] Maya, *Ah-canul*, which has been translated as guardian or care-taker (Tozzer 1921, p. 125). It is not unlikely, however, that the reference is to the people called Ah Canul, the so-called Mexican mercenaries who afterward settled in the Province of Ah Canul. *Cf.* p. 66, note 11.

[3] Literally, Cauich with the embroidered mantle. Cauich is still a common family name in Yucatan.

[4] Maya, *pulben*. *Pul* means to carry, to throw, to offer and to cast a spell. *Pulben* is a passive verbal noun meaning that which is to be carried, thrown or offered, probably the person who was carried in the place of or thrown into the cenote for Ah Mex Cuc.

[5] Ah Mex Cuc, literally whiskered squirrel, is said to have had the surname Chan and to have been one of the four greatest men of the Maya (*Cf.* p. 147, note 5). A squirrel of this description appears on one of the sculptured friezes of the Temple of the Warriors. *Cf.* Plate 1, b.

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demanded one complete Plumeria flower.[1] Then he demanded a white mat. Then he demanded a mantle faced on two sides. Then he demanded a green turkey. Then he demanded a mottled snail.[2] Then he demanded the gourds called *homa*.[3]

[4] Whereupon they departed and arrived at Ppoole, where the remainder of the Itzá were increased in number; they took the women of Ppole as their mothers.[5] Then they arrived at Ake;[6] there they were born at Ake. Ake it was called here, as they said. Then they arrived at Alaa; Alaa was its name here, they said. Then they came to Tixchel, where their words and discourse were prolonged.[7] Then they arrived at Ninum, where their words and conversations were many.[8] Then they arrived at Chikin-ɔonot,[9] where their faces were turned to the west. Chikin-ɔonot was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tzuc-oop, where they remained apart under the Anona tree.[10] Tzuc-op was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tah-cab (Tah-cabo), where the Itzas stirred the honey. Then it was drunk by X-koh-takin.[11]
p.5 C When the honey was stirred, she drank it at Cabilneba,[12] as it was called. Then they arrived/at Kikil,[13] where they contracted dysentery. Kikil was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Panabhaa, where they dug for water.[13] Then they came to Cucuchilhaa; they settled at the deep water.[14] Then they arrived at Yalzihon; Yalzihon was its name here, where they settled the town. Then they arrived at Xppitah (Espita), also a town. Then they arrived at

[1] The Plumeria still has a mythological significance among the Lacandones (Tozzer 1907, p. 93).

[2] Maya, *ul*, "certain small mottled snails found among the bushes and rocks" (Motul). Priests wore snail-shells sewn on their robes (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 27).

[3] The *homa* is a long narrow gourd with a small mouth. Dr. Redfield reports that it is still exclusively used to contain balché for religious ceremonies.

[4] Here we have the beginning of what is evidently a migration legend referring to a much earlier period than the time of the Hunac Ceel episode.

[5] Ppole was the port on the mainland from which travelers usually embarked for the Island of Cozumel (Aguilar 1900, p. 83). We have here a pun on the name, as *ppol* means to multiply or increase in numbers. The reference to taking the women of Ppole as their mothers is of interest, as it shows a recollection of the first Itzá taking the women of the country as their wives. These invaders were probably largely men.

[6] This is not the Ake noted for its ruins, but no doubt the modern town of Ɔonot-ake, as it is here associated with Sucopo, Kikil and other towns in that neighborhood. Aké is also a family name.

[7] The name Tixchel probably comes from Ix Chel, the goddess of medicine and the rainbow, but a pun is made on the verbal root, *chel*, which means to stretch out or prolong.

[8] Ninum may be derived from *num*, a wild prickly pear (*Acanthocereus pentagonus* Britt. & Rose), but *num* also means much or too much.

[9] Chikin-ɔonot means west cenote. It was probably in the neighborhood of Tizimin, and not the village of that name south of Valladolid.

[10] Tzuc-op, the modern Sucopo, probably means a clump of Anona trees, but *tzuc-ba* means to remain apart, hence the pun.

[11] X-koh-takin, literally she who wears a gold mask.

[12] Cabilneba may be derived from *cabil*, sweet like honey, and *neba* (lit. gopher-tail) an unidentified plant. Many place-names are derived from plants.

[13] Kikil means bloody, and Panabhaa, an artificial well.

[14] Cucuchil-haa means very full of water and *cuch* can mean to settle.

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Kancabɔonot. They departed and arrived at Ɔula. Then they came to Pibhaalɔonot. Then they arrived at Tahaac, as it was called. Then they came to Ticooh, where they haggled for that which was dear.[1] Ticoh was its name here. Then they arrived at Tikal, where they shut themselves in.[2] Tikal was its name here. Then they came to Timaax, where they made complete rogues of themselves.[3] Then they arrived at Buctzotz, where they covered the hair of their heads with a garment. Buctzotz was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Ɔiɔontun, where a malevolent man began to seize the land.[4] It was called Ɔiholtun here. Then they arrived at Yobain, where the crocodile [5] bewitched them through their maternal grandfather, Ah Yamazi, their ruler at the seashore. Then they arrived at Zinanche, where the devil bewitched them.[6] Zinanche was its name here. Then they arrived at the town of Chac.[7] Then they arrived at Ɔeuc; their companions contended with one another. Then the maternal grandfather of their companions arrived to reconcile them at Ɔemul,[8] as it was called here. Then they arrived at Kini at the home of Xkil Itzam Pech.[9] Their companions were at Xɔeuc when they/arrived at the p.6 C
home of Xkil Itzam Pech, the ruler of the people of Kini. Then they arrived at Baca,[10] where water was poured out for them. It was Baca here, so they said. Then they arrived at Zabacnail, the home of their maternal grandfather, the first of the men of the Na <family>; this was Chel Na, their maternal grandfather. Then they arrived at Tebenaa, where they remembered their mother. Then they went to Ixil. Then they went to Chulul. Then they went to Holtun-chable. Then they came to Itzamna (Itzimná). Then they came to Chubulna. Then they arrived at Caucel, where they all shivered with cold.[11] It was Caucel here, so they said. Then they arrived at Ucu, where they said: "*ya ucu.*"[12] Then they went to Hunucma. Then they arrived at Kinchil. Then they went to <Can>kana. Then they arrived at Tixpetoncah. Then they arrived at Zahab-balam. Then they arrived at Tahcum-chakan. Then they arrived at Tixbalche. Then they arrived at Uxmal. Then they departed and arrived at Tixyubak. Then they arrived at Munaa, where their words were

[1] *Coh* means dear or high priced. [2] *Kal* means to shut in.

[3] Timaax is the modern Temax. *Maax* means a monkey or a rogue.

[4] Maya, *chuc lum ɔiɔi*, a stock phrase. The Indians told Martin Sanchez that Ɔiɔontun was so named because they had an idol which had a jacket of green and red beads and named Ah Kin Pekual (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 299).

[5] Maya, *ain*, or *ayin*.

[6] Zinanche, lit. scorpion tree, is the *Zanthoxylum caribæum* Lam.

[7] Probably Telchac is intended.

[8] Ɔemul means little mound; *ɔemlah yol* means to reconcile.

[9] Another Ixkil Itzam Pech was chief of Conkal at the time of the Spanish conquest (Brinton 1882, p. 219).

[10] Baca, or *bac-haa*, means to pour water.

[11] *Cel*, the last syllable in Caucel, means cold in Maya.

[12] *Ya ucu* is probably an exclamation of sorrow or pain.

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soft.[1] Then they went to Oxlochhok. Then they went to Chac-akal.[2] Then they went to Xocneceh; the deer was their familiar spirit [3] when they arrived. Then they went to Ppuztunich. Then they went to Pucnalchac. Then they went to Ppencuyut. Then they went to Paxueuet.[4] Then they arrived at Tixaya (Xaya). Then they arrived at Tiztiz, as it is called. Then they arrived
p.7 C at Chican.[5] Then they arrived at Tixmeuac./ Then they arrived at Hunacthi.[6] Then they arrived at Titzal.[7] Then they arrived at Tamuzbulna. Then they arrived at Tixcan. Then they arrived at Lop.[8] Then they arrived at Cheemiuan. Then they arrived at Oxcauanka. Then they went to Zacbacelcan. Then they arrived at Cetelac.[9]

These are the names of whatever towns there were and the names of the wells, in order that it may be known where they passed in their march to see whether this district was good, whether it was suitable for settlement here. They set in order the names of the district according to the command of our Lord God. He it was who set the land in order. He created everything on earth. He set it in order also. But these were the people who named the district, who named the wells, who named the villages, who named the land because no one had arrived here in this neck of the land [10] when we arrived here.[11]

Zubinche, Kaua, Cumcanul (Cuncunul), Tiemtun [12] (Ebtun), where the precious stones descended, Zizal, Zacii (Valladolid), Tiɔooc (Tesoco), where the law of the katun was fulfilled, Timozon, Popola, where the mat of the katun was spread, Tipixoy (Pixoy), Uayumhaa (Uayma), Zacbacelcan, Tinum where little was said to them, Timacal, Popola where they counted the mat of the katun in its order,[13] Tixmaculum where they interrupted with

[1] Maya, *munhi* (translated: "were soft,") is a pun on the name, Munaa, which the Indians themselves derived from *muan-a*, the water (or well) of the sparrow-hawk. Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 155.

[2] Chac-akal, literally red pond, may be modern Yakal.

[3] *Ceh*, the last syllable in Xocneceh, means deer in Maya.

[4] Pax-ueuet is probably derived from the Maya *pax*, to drum with the hand, and *ueuet*, or *huehuetl*, the Nahuatl for drum.

[5] Probably Chichican. Mani map of 1557 apud Stephens 1843, II, p. 264.

[6] Mentioned on p. 142; evidently between Tixmeuac and Tetzal.

[7] Located from description in Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 296.

[8] Lop is probably the modern Tiholop.

[9] Cetelac is the name of a hacienda close to the ruined city now named for the neighboring town of Yaxuná. These ruins are at the western end of the ancient causeway which extends to Cobá.

[10] Maya, *u cal peten*, in imitation of the Spanish name, Yucatan.

[11] This is the end of the first migration narrative, apparently an intrusion here, as it refers to a time when much of northern Yucatan was not settled, and the events of this chapter occurred in the time of Hunac Ceel about the end of the Twelfth Century A. D. What follows may refer to the reduction of the country after the fall of Chichen Itzá.

[12] Instead of precious stones (*tun*) this may refer to the descent or arrival of the Tun family who are very numerous in this neighborhood (Titulos de Ebtun). The modern name, Ebtun, means a stone stairway.

[13] Maya: *ti u tzolahob u pop katun.* Here we have an explanation of the phrase in the Tizimin Chronicle which Brinton (1882, p. 144) has translated: "then Pop (the first Maya month) was counted in order," and on which some change in the annual calendar has been predicated. It was the mat (pop) of the katun that was counted in order. The con-

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words, Ɔithaaz (Ɔitas), Bon-kauil, Tixmex, Kochila,[1] Tix-xocen (Xocen), Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkaaz (Tunkas), Haltunhaa, Kuxbila, Ɔiɔilche, Zitilpech, Chalamte where their anger was appeased, Itzamthulil (Izamal), Tipakab (Tepakam?) where they were united,/Tiya (Teya), Caanzahcab, Ɔiɔomtun, p.8 C
together with their maternal grandfather . . . [2] Ɔiɔholtun, Popola to the south of Zinanche. Then they came to Muci, Zacnicte-cẖeen, Zoɔil; here they had a council of war at Multumut, as it was called here, Mutul. Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun, where they settled at the base of the stone, Xoc-cẖel, Bohe, Zahcabhaa (Sancaba?), Tzanlahcat (Sanahcat), Human where there were noisy talk and rumors about them. Chalamte, Pacaxua [3] was its name here they said. Tekit where the remainder of the Itzá were dispersed, Yokolcẖeen, Ppuuppulni-huh [4] (Huhi?) the iguana was their familiar spirit when they came forth. Ɔoɔil, Tiab (Teabo), Bitun-cẖeen. Then they entered Tipikal, as the well was called, after which they came up out of it. Then they went to Poc-huh, as the well was named, where they roasted the iguana. Then they went to Mani, where their language was forgotten by them. Then they arrived at Tiɔaan (Ɔam); three days they were submerged. Then they went to Ticul, Zacluum-cẖeen (Sacalum), Tixtohil-cẖeen (Xtohil), where they recovered their health. Then they went to Balam-kin, the district of the priests. Cẖeencẖomac, Zacnicteel-ɔonot (Sacnicte), Tiyaxcab (Yaxcaba?), Uman, Oxcum, Zanhil (Samahil), Ichcanzihoo (Mérida), Ti-noh-naa, Nohpat, Poychena, Chulul (Cholul). Then they arrived at the corner of the land, Cumkal (Conkal), where the corner of the district was set. Zicpach, Yaxkukul,/ Tixkokob, Cuca, Cẖeen-balam, p.9 C
Bolon-nic-xan, Ekol, Ekol was the name of the well here. Tixueue, Tixueue was the name of the well here. Uhumtal, <where> one part came. Tixkanimacal, Tixaan (Texan), Yumxul, where they took their father-in-law as their lord. Holtun-ake (Ake?), Acanceh, Ticooh (Tecoh), Ticẖahil, Tichac (Telcha-quillo?), Mayapan the fortress, Yokol-haa. Then they went to Nabula, Tix-mucuy (Timucuy), Tixkanhube, Ɔoyila (Ɔoyola). Then they arrived at Tizip, where their words and conversation were sinful.

Then the rulers began to establish the country. There was the priest at Paloncab; there was the priest at Mutupul (Mutul), as it was called. The

ception is an ancient one, for the face of Stela J at Copan, containing an Initial Series inscription, is carved to represent a woven mat. No doubt the expression refers simply to the erection of the katun marker in this instance. It is of interest to note a secondary meaning also given to the word. *"Num pop, num ɔam: Trabajo y miseria. Num pop.l. num ɔam en ti numya mabal yan ten. Soy pobre miserable, no tengo tras que parar.l. ah numya pop en. Vocablos son antiguos."* Motul.

[1] Kochila is just north of the causeway from Cobá to Yaxuná. Tit. Ebtun, pp. 284 and 320.

[2] Maya: *ti che choc ɔiiɔ. Ɔic* is defined as hoof, left hand and to conquer in a dispute. *Che choc* may be intended for chochoc, which would mean loosely tied.

[3] Pacaxua is on the border of the Province of Mani between Chumayel and Sotuta. Mani map of 1557 (Stephens 1843, II, p. 264).

[4] *Ppuppulni-huh*: lit. the iguana was swollen.

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priest at Paloncab was Ah May;[1] The priest at Mutul [2] was Ah Canul, also <entitled> Uayom Chich,[3] who spoke brokenly also;[4] also the second Chable man,[5] the man of Ichcanziho, Holtun Balam, his son.[6] Then <the province of> Chakan received the quetzal.[7] Then their associate rulers arrived. These rulers were the intimate associates of the rulers in Tun 11 Ahau. Then they established the land; then they established the country. Then they settled at Ichcanziho. Then came the people of Holtun-Ake;[8] then came the people of Zabacna. Then the rulers came, all together. The man of Zabacna was the first of the men of the Na family. Then they assembled at Ichcanziho, where
p.10 C the official mat was,[9] during the reign of Holtun/Balam, there at the well, during the reign of Pochek-ix-ɔoy.[10] He was the first of the men of Copo; Tutul Xiu might have been there also. Chacte was the ruler, Chacte was the land where their rulers arrived.[11] Teppanciz was their priest, he was looked upon as such. It was Ah Ppizte [12] who measured their land. But Lubte was the land where they rested, there were seven leagues of land. Ah May it was who fixed the corners [13] of the land, he who set the corners in their places; the sweeper who swept the land was Mizcit Ahau. But the land which was established for them was Hoyahelcab; there they came to the use of their reason. They proved their ruler, they proved their reason.

Then began the introduction of tribute to them at Chichen. At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men.[14] 11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the tribute was handled. There at Cetelac it was assembled; there it was. Then came [15] the tribute of Holtun Zuiua, there at Cetelac, where they agreed in

[1] The chief priest of Yucatan was called Ah Kin May (Landa 1928, p. 72). May is still a common family name in Yucatan.

[2] A brief summary of the history of Motul is found in Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 77.

[3] See p. 66, note 10.

[4] *Nun*, or *ah-nun* means a newcomer who does not know the language of the country; a stammerer; a stupid unteachable person.

[5] *Ah Chable* could mean a member of the Chable family or a man of the town of Chable. Probably the former is intended here. It is implied on page 67 that he was the chief of Ichcanziho.

[6] *Cf.* p. 147.

[7] Maya, *Yaxum*, the symbol of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl (*Cf.* p. 63, note 6). *Yaxum* is also the name of an unidentified tree.

[8] Probably Ake, noted for the unique character of its ruins.

[9] *Ix pop ti balam.* Lit. the mat for the *balam*. *Balam* means jaguar, priest, and town officials generally, including the priesthood. It seems likely that the seat of government is meant (*Cf.* p. 66, note 11).

[10] Lit. "he who tramples on the conquered women." (*Cf.* Naranjo, Stelæ 14, 21, and 24. Maler 1908 b, Pl. 33, 35 and 39).

[11] Place-names in Yucatan are often derived from trees. *Chacte* is the Brazil tree, but if it were changed to *chacet*, the passage would read: Great was the ruler, great the land where their rulers arrived.

[12] Ah Ppizte: *cf.* p. 65, note 2.

[13] A play on words: Ah May—*amay* (corner).

[14] Apparently a reference to the four main divisions of the typical Nahua tribe or nation.

[15] Lit. descended.

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their opinions. 13 Ahau was the name of the katun [1] when the head-chiefs received the tribute.

Then began their reign; then began their rule. Then they began to be served; then those who were to be thrown (into the cenote) arrived; then they began to throw them into the well that their prophecy might be heard by their rulers. Their prophecy did not come.[2] It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich was the name of the man there, who put out his head at the opening of the well/ on the south side.[3] Then he went to take it.[4] Then he came forth to de- p.11 C
clare the prophecy.[5] Then began the taking of the prophecy. Then began his prophecy. Then they began to declare him ruler. Then he was set in the seat of the rulers by them. Then they began to declare him head-chief. He was not the ruler formerly; that was only the office of Ah Mex Cuc. Now the representative [6] of Ah Mex Cuc was declared ruler. The eagle, they say, was his mother. Then, they say, he was sought on his hill. Then they began to take the prophecy of this ruler after it was declared. Then they began to set aloft the house on high for the ruler. Then began the construction of the stairway. Then he was set in the house on high in 13 Ahau,[7] the sixth reign. Then began the hearing of the prophecy, of the news,[8] of the setting up [9] of Ah Mex Cuc, as he was called. Then he carried nearly to Baca [10] the news of Ah Mex Cuc. He was placed there.[11] Then he began to be treated as a lord;[12] then obedience [13] to the name of Ah Mex Cuc began. Then he was obeyed; then he was served there at the mouth of the well. Chichen Itzam was its name because the Itza

[1] As we know that the Hunac Ceel episode occurred in Katun 8 Ahau, either this passage is an intrusion, or else Tun 13 Ahau of Katun 8 Ahau is intended. The same applies to the mention of Katun 11 Ahau a few lines above.

[2] It was a serious matter if none of those thrown into the cenote returned to declare the prophecy. See Appendix B.

[3] The stone platform from which victims were flung into the cenote is still to be seen on the south side.

[4] Maya, *ca bini chabil*; from the verb, cha, to take. *Chabil* usually a passive form, is here employed as an active verb. Cf. "*Xiic pulbil huun Cumkal*, let them go carry the letter to Cumkal." Motul.

[5] Maya, *than*. Literally, the word. One secondary meaning is "law," and in the Chumayel it is frequently employed in contexts which plainly call for the meaning, prophecy.

[6] See p. 69, note 4.

[7] Probably Tun 13 Ahau is meant, as it is known that Hunac Ceel lived in a Katun 8 Ahau. Why it is the sixth reign is not clear.

[8] Maya, *kin*. Besides meaning news, this word could also mean reign, sun, time, day and festival.

[9] Maya, *ua*, as in *ua-cunah*, to set up or erect something.

[10] Baca is a town a few miles west of Motul.

[11] Here the page has crumbled and Berendt's copy has been followed. He gives this word as *yancuntabi*, and it is so translated. *Yacuntabi* would mean loved or guarded. It might be *yeɔcuntabi*, established.

[12] Maya, *yumintabali*. This could also mean "treated as a father."

[13] Maya, *tzicile*. It means to honor or respect as well as obey.

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went there. Then he removed the stones [1] of the land, the stones of the sowed land, the place of Itzam,[2] and they went into the water.[3] Then began the introduction of misery there at Chichen Itzá. Then he went to the east and arrived at the home of Ah Kin Coba.

Katun 8 Ahau came. 8 Ahau was the name of the katun when their government occurred. Then there was a change of the katun, then there was
p.12 C a change of rulers./ . . . when our rulers increased in numbers, according to the words of their priest to them. Then they introduced the drought. That which came was a drought, according to their words, when the hoofs <of the animals> burned, when the seashore burned, a sea of misery. So it was said on high, so it was said. Then the face of the sun was eaten;[4] then the face of the sun was darkened; then its face was extinguished. They were terrified on high, when it burned at the word of their priest to them, when the word of our ruler was fulfilled at the word of their priest to them. Then began the idea of painting the exterior of the sun.[5] When they heard of that, they saw the moon. Then came the rulers of the land. It was Ix-Tziu-nene [6] who introduced sin to us, the slaves of the land,[7] when he came. Then the law [8] of the katun, the divination of the katun shall be fulfilled. When he was brought, what was your command, you, the rulers of the land? Then the law of another katun was introduced, at the end of the katun when Ix-Tziu-nene was brought. Whereupon a numerous army was seen, and they began to be killed. Then a thing of terror was constructed, a gallows for their death. Now began the archery [9] of Ox-halal Chan.[10] Then the rulers of the land were called. Their

[1] Maya, *tunil*. This usually means precious stones, unless the word occurs in a compound, when it can mean an ordinary stone. While it is true that many precious stones were thrown into the water at Chichen Itzá, the context indicates that landmarks are meant here.

[2] The place of the Itzá may be meant. It is uncertain just who or what Itzam was. It is an element in the name Itzamná as well as in that of the whale or monster called Itzam-cab-ain, discussed on page 101, note 4. We find also the name Xkil Itzam Pech (p. 71, note 9).

[3] We are reminded of the great stones which they threw into the Sacred Cenote when none of the victims returned with the prophecy. Appendix B.

[4] "During lunar eclipses . . . They say that the moon is dying, or that it is being bitten by a certain kind of ant . . ." (Aguilar 1921, p. 204). A similar belief was held of solar eclipses.

[5] An alternative translation would be: "They began to imagine the reverse side of the sun."

[6] Tziu is a family name, and *nen* means mirror. Here it may be feminine.

[7] *u mun nal cab* might also mean: "the tender green corn of the land."

[8] *Than* has many meanings in Maya. The *than* of the katun is interpreted as "ordenansas" by the Kaua MS, p. 171 (Gates Reproduction).

[9] Maya, *chulul*. This word has a number of meanings. In the Maya texts it usually signifies either a bow or the chulul-tree from which bows were made (*Apoplanesia paniculata* Presl.)

[10] Literally, Chan of the three arrows. Chan is a common family name.

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blood flowed, and it was taken by the archers.[1] They were terrified . . . the time when the katun ended for them . . ./[2] p.13 C

III

(A PROPHECY FOR KATUN 11 AHAU)[3]

Katun 11 Ahau is set upon the mat, set upon the throne, when their ruler is set up. Yaxal Chac [4] is its face to their ruler. The heavenly fan, the heavenly wreath and the heavenly bouquet shall descend.[5] The drum and rattle of the lord of 11 Ahau shall resound, when flint knives are set into his mantle.[6] At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun.[7] They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their <usual> food [8] in katun 11 Ahau.

11 Ahau is the beginning of the count, because this was the katun when the foreigners arrived. They came from the east when they arrived. Then

[1] Maya, *ah-cehob*. The term implies hunters who use the bow and arrow rather than warriors. Ah Cehob could also mean the men of the Ceh family.

[2] The order in which the place-names occur in the first migration narrative in this chapter indicates roughly a great eclipse which covers much of northern Yucatan, running west, south, east and north. The course of the second migration is much more irregular. Both narratives suggest that the people concerned in these movements started in the east and first traveled toward the west.

It is significant that Uxmal was the only place southwest of the *puuc*, or low mountain range, which was visited, for this is the district which is so thickly occupied by the imposing remains of what must have been important cities, such as Sacbé, Kabah, Sayi, Tabi, Labná and Keuic, to mention only a few of the best-known sites. Hardly a tradition has come down to us regarding this once densely populated region, although the Xius must have come through it when they settled in Uxmal. Evidently it was a country apart, and the people from the east (or southeast) with whom this chapter is concerned did not attempt to penetrate it.

Equally significant is the fact that in the area covered by these two lists of place-names we find no mention of the towns supposed to have been founded by the Cocoms after the fall of Mayapan, such as Sotuta, Tabi and Tibolon, nor of those settled by the Ah Canuls in western Yucatan, such as Calkini, Numkini and Maxcanu. These omissions are a confirmation of the historical value of these old migration narratives.

[3] A discussion of Maya prophecies will be found in Appendix D.

[4] Literally, the green rain-god. Rain is green in the Maya picture-manuscripts. *Cf.* Appendix A.

[5] In the Mani version of this prophecy these objects are said to be held in the hand of Yaxal Chac (Perez Codex, p. 75). We are told that the Maya "were fond of fragrant odors, and so made use of bouquets of flowers and fragrant herbs of odd designs." The bouquet was also a ceremonial object, for when children were baptised, the priest's assistant carried a bouquet of flowers. With this he made a threatening motion nine times at each child and then caused the child to smell it (Landa 1928, pp. 150 and 184).

[6] Here the text is corrupt, it is corrected from page 133.

[7] The green turkey (p. 70), Zulim Chan (p. 69) and Chakanputun (p. 136) are all associated with occasions when people were driven out into the forest, as many were in Katun 11 Ahau, the period of the Spanish conquest.

[8] Alternative translation: who have lost their sowed fields, etc.

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Christianity also began. The fulfilment of its prophecy is <ascribed> to the east.[1] The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[2]

This is a record of the things which they did. After it had all passed, they told of it in their <own> words, but its meaning is not plain. Still the course of events was as it is written. But even when everything shall be thoroughly

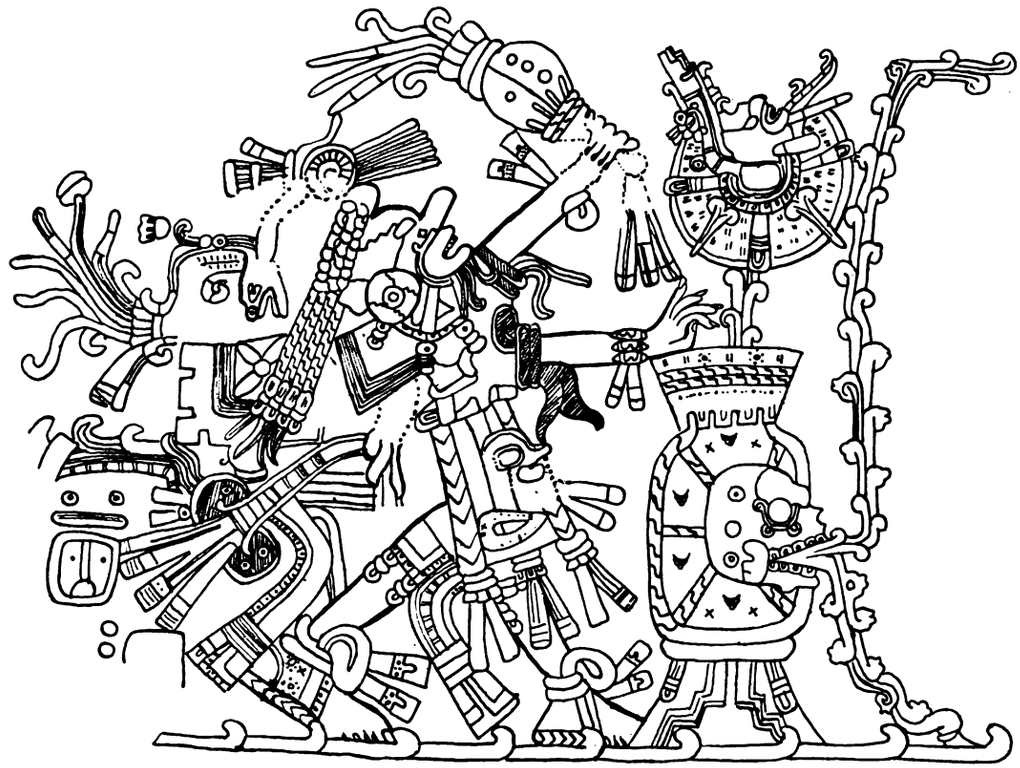

FIG. 4—The drum and rattle of the katun resound. Fresco at Santa Rita, British Honduras. (After Gann, 1900, Plate 31. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)

explained, perhaps not so much is written about it, nor has very much been written of the guilt of their conspiracies with one another. So it was with the ruler of the Itzá, with the men <who were rulers> of Izamal, Ake, Uxmal,
p.14 C Ichcanziho <and> Citab Couoh[3] also. Very many were the / head-chiefs and many a conspiracy they made with one another. But they are not made known in what is <written> here; not so much will be related. Still he who comes of our lineage will know it, one of us who are Maya men. He will know how to explain these things when he reads what is here. When he sees it, then he will explain the adjustment of the intricacy of the katun by our priest, Ah Kin Xuluc; but Xuluc[4] was not his name formerly. It was only because these

[1] Compare with the katun-wheel on p. 132.
[2] This is the end of the prophecy. What follows is a commentary.
[3] The Couoh (Spider) family ruled in Champoton (Landa 1928, p. 42).
[4] Xuluc is probably derived from the name of a fish resembling the dace, but it can also mean perishable, hence the play on words here.

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priests of ours were to come to an end when misery was introduced, when Christianity was introduced by the real Christians. Then with the true God, the true *Dios*, came the beginning of our misery. It was the beginning of tribute, the beginning of church dues,[1] the beginning of strife with purse-snatching,[2] the beginning of strife with blow-guns, the beginning of strife by trampling on people, the beginning of robbery with violence, the beginning of forced debts, the beginning of debts enforced by false testimony, the beginning of individual strife, a beginning of vexation, a beginning of robbery with violence.[3] This was the origin of service to the Spaniards and priests, of service to the local chiefs,[4] of service to the teachers,[5] of service to the public prosecutors by the boys, the youths of the town, while the poor people were harassed. These were the very poor people who did not depart when oppression was/ p.15 C put upon them. It was by Antichrist [6] on earth, the kinkajous of the towns, the foxes of the towns,[7] the blood-sucking insects of the town, those who drained the poverty of the working people. But it shall still come to pass that tears shall come to the eyes of our Lord God. The justice of our Lord God shall descend upon every part of the world, straight from God upon Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, the avaricious hagglers [8] of the world.

IV

(THE BUILDING OF THE MOUNDS)

In the year 1541.[9]

181 ɔuul. at. 5 Dik: 92 nhele [10]

The history which I have written of how the mounds came to be constructed by the heathen.[11] During three score and fifteen katuns they were constructed.[12] The great men made them. Then the remainder of the men went

[1] *Limosna* in the text, but to the Indians it meant compulsory dues.

[2] Lit. snatching the bags in which they carried the cacao used for small change.

[3] These are stereotyped phrases usually employed to describe a riot or the plundering of a town.

[4] Here we have a description of the oppression of the Indians during the colonial period, not only by the Spaniards but also by many of their own chiefs who held public office under the Spanish regime.

[5] Maya, *camzah*, is a term also supplied to the village choirmaster, a person of considerable authority.

[6] Called *antachristoil* in the text. We suspect it merely means bad Christians here.

[7] These are terms applied in general to harsh and oppressive Maya chiefs. It is probable that they were originally honorable titles among the Itzá. *Cf.* Appendix F.

[8] Maya, *ɔutanil*, which the Pio Perez dictionary translates as sorcerers or witches. The alternative translation, derived from *ɔut* seems preferable here.

[9] The year of the Spanish settlement at Merida.

[10] Probably a confused imitation of the chapter-heading in some Spanish history.

[11] Written *heregesob* (literally heretics) in the text. *Cf.* p. 115, note 4.

[12] This is evidently an attempt to fix the period of building activity in northern Yucatan, just as on page 83 we find four baktuns and fifteen katuns given as what was probably the period of Maya civilization. Some Maya writers put the end of the native regime at the time of the settlement of Merida in 1541 and others fix the date at 1519 when

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to Cartabona,[1] as the land where they were is called today. There they were when San Bernabé [2] came to teach them. Then they were killed by the men; the men were called heathen. 1<5>56 is the total count today <after> fif-
p.16 C teen years.[3] On this day I have written how the great mounds/came to be built by the lineages and all the things which the rulers did. They were the ones who built the mounds. <It took> thirteen katuns and six years for them to construct them. The following was the beginning of the mounds they built. Fifteen four-hundreds were the scores of their mounds, and fifty <more>[4] <made> the total count of the mounds they constructed all over the land. From the sea to the base of the land [5] they created names for them as well as for the wells. Then a miracle was performed for them by God. Then they were burned by fire among the people of Israel. <This is> the record of the katuns and years since Chac-unezcab of the lineage of the Tutul Xius departed from Viroa.[6]

V

(MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF YUCATAN)

A record of the katuns and years when the Province of Yucatan was first seized by the foreigners, the white men. It was, they say, in Katun 11 Ahau that they seized the port of Ecab. They came from the east when they arrived. They say they were the first to eat the pond-apple for breakfast, this was the reason they called them the foreigners who ate pond-apples; foreigners who

Cortez landed at Cosumel and even confuse the latter date with that of the settlement at Merida (*Cf.* pp. 81, 84). Possibly we have here a reference to the Long Count. If so the end of the native regime (whether we place it in 1519 or 1541) was believed to be fifteen katuns after an even number of baktuns, or scores of katuns as stated here. As to what the three baktuns were, two alternatives seem the most probable. We could consider them to be Baktuns 9, 10 and 11, which would make the Spanish conquest fall in the katun following 12. 15. 0. 0. 0. 1 Ahau 13 Uo. The other most likely alternative would be to consider these three baktuns to be Baktuns, 8, 9 and 10. This would fix the Spanish Conquest in the katun immediately following 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. 2 Ahau 8 Zac. It is generally agreed that Cortez landed in Cozumel during the first part of the katun immediately following Katun 2 Ahau, while on the other hand no dated monuments earlier than Baktun 9 have been found in northern Yucatan. It is possible, of course, that the inhabitants of northern Yucatan had been constructing the mounds mentioned here for some centuries before they set up the first dated monument.

[1] Cartabona is certainly a European name, but it is not identified.

[2] Possibly a reference to the battle on the day of San Bernabé at Merida.

[3] Although one of the figures is omitted, the year 1556 seems to be intended, as it was fifteen years after the occupation of Merida in 1541.

[4] When we find round numbers given in terms of fifty, one hundred or one thousand, we may suspect the influence of European methods of counting on the mind of the Maya writer.

[5] Maya: *tu chun cab*. Campeche was called "the base of the land." Chumayel, p. 86.

[6] Viroa appears to be a corruption of some Spanish or Latin word as the letter r does not occur in Maya. The name, Chacunezcab is unfamiliar, and a possible alternative translation would be: since the lineage of the Tutul Xius departed there at Viroa, Chacunezcab.

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sucked pond-apples, they were called.[1] This is the name of the householder whom they seized at Ecab, Nacom Balam[2] was his name. He was the first to be seized at Ecab by the first <Spanish> captain, Don Juan/de Montejo, the p.17 C first conqueror. It was still the same katun when they arrived at Ichcanziho (Merida).[3]

It was the year 1513 in Katun 13 Ahau that they seized Campeche. They were there one katun.[4] Ah Kin Camal from Campeche introduced the foreigners into the province here.

It was on August 20th in the year 1541, I have made known the name of the year when Christianity began.

In the year 1519, after seven score and eleven years, occurred the agreement with the foreigners,[5] according to which we paid for the war between the foreigners and the other men here in the towns. It was the captains of the towns <who made war>. It is we who pay for it today.

Today I have written down that in the year 1541 the foreigners first arrived from the east at Ecab, as it was called. In that year occurred their arrival at the port of Ecab, at the village of Nacom Balam, on the first day of the year/in which Katun 11 Ahau[6] <fell>. After the Itzá were dispersed, it p.18 C was fifteen score years[7] when the foreigners arrived. <It was> after the town of Zaclahtun[8] was depopulated, after the town of Kinchil Coba[9] was de-

[1] *Op* is a general term for the Annona species today, but it seems likely that at the time of the Conquest, the *op* or *makop* was the insipid pond-apple, the fruit of the *Annona glabra* L. which is of little use for food.

[2] Cogolludo (Book 2, Chap. 5) states that Nacom Balam was an old man living at a ranch called Coni, near Conil, on the east coast.

[3] Juan de Montejo was the son of Francisco the younger. The latter arrived at Merida in Katun 11 Ahau.

[4] Few of the dates mentioned here are correct.

[5] The agreement with the Spaniards was in 1542 or 1543, and not in 1519. The year 1543 was just seven score and eleven years after a certain year 7 Cauac which fell in 1392, and was employed as the basis of a chronological count for some reason as yet undiscovered (Chilam Balam of Mani apud Codex Perez, p. 127).

[6] The Spanish Conquest of northern Yucatan was completed and Merida founded early in Katun 11 Ahau, but it was during the previous katun that Montejo first landed on the east coast of Yucatan. The port of Ecab was near Cape Cotoche and eight leagues northwest of Mugeres Island (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 173).

[7] According to the chronicles, Chichen Itzá was depopulated by Hunac Ceel in a Katun 8 Ahau which was seventeen katuns before Montejo entered Yucatan in a Katun 13 Ahau. In connection with the period of fifteen katuns mentioned here, compare p. 79, note 12, p. 83, note 3, and Appendix H.

[8] This appears to be the town usually called Zaclactun. In the third Chumayel chronicle and in all the prophecies for Katun 12 Ahau except the two in the Tizimin (see table of references at the end of Appendix D) and the katun-wheel (p. 132), we find the name given as Saclactun Mayapan; and in the other three places it is called Zaclactun or Zaclahtun. It seems likely therefore that Zaclactun was the ancient name of Mayapan. In the latter name the last syllable, *-pan*, is a Nahuatl word meaning banner. According to Brinton (1882, p. 175) Zaclactun "apparently means 'the place where white pottery is made.'" The present translator is inclined to derive this name from *zacal actun*, white cave or, according to the Motul dictionary, white stone building.

[9] Here, as in most of the prophecies for Katun 13 Ahau, Kinchil Coba is given as a place-name. In the Books of Chilam Balam of Kaua and Mani (apud Morley 1920,

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populated, after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated, after the town on the Uxmal side <of the range of hills>, the great town of Uxmal as it is called,[1] was depopulated, as well as Kabah.[2] It was after the towns of Zeye,[3] Pakam,[4] Homtun, at the town of Tix-calom-kin,[5] and Ake,[6] Holtun Ake, were depopulated.

It was after the town of Emal Chac[7] was depopulated, Izamal,[8] where the daughter of the true God, Lord of Heaven, descended, the Queen, the Virgin, the miraculous one.[9] When the ruler said: "The shield of Kinich Kakmo[10] shall descend," he was not declared ruler here. It was she, the miraculous one, the merciful one, who was so declared here. "The rope shall descend, the cord shall descend from heaven. The word shall descend from heaven." There was rejoicing over his reign by the other towns when they said this, but he was not declared their ruler at Emal (Izamal?).[11]

Then the great Itzá went <away>. Thirteen four-hundreds were the four-hundreds of their thousands,[12] and fifteen four-hundreds, the four-hundreds of their hundreds, the leading men among them, the heathen Itzá.[13] But many supporters went with them to feed them. Thirteen measures of

p. 482) this is the name of a personage, and Avendaño (see p. 134, note 5) tells of a statue, probably an idol, at Tayasal named Kinchil Coba. In all likelihood the Kaua version of his name, Ah Kinchil Coba, is the correct one, meaning "the man of Kinchil Coba." Thompson believes that the place, Kinchil Coba, was the city of Cobá, and the writer is inclined to agree with him (Thompson, Pollock, Charlot 1932, p. 6). Of interest is the statement in the Calkini Chronicle that at the town of Kinchil in northwestern Yucatan "there is a stone building, the stone building of the man of Coba, <Ah> Kinchil Coba." *"ti yan nocac u nocacil Ah Coba he Kinchil Coba"* (Crónica de Calkini, p. 38).

[1] The Maya text reads: *"cib u kaba,"* but has been corrected to *ci bin u kaba* and so translated. As the text stands in the original, the translation could be: to the south of the town of Uxmal, Cib was its name, was depopulated.

[2] This is the only mention in Maya literature of the name of these ruins known to the translator.

[3] There is a town of this name northeast of Acanceh, and Indians of Ticul who have farms near the ruins of Zayi insist that Zeyé is the correct name of that site.

[4] Possibly the town of Tepakam northwest of Izamal is meant.

[5] This name much resembles that of Xcalumkin, also called Holactun, a site noted for its Initial Series date.

[6] Aké is a well-known ruined city, also a Maya family name. Holtun is difficult to translate; it might mean stone gate or opening in the rock. We read of Holtun Zuyua (p. 74) and Holtun Itzá (p. 146), also of a personage named Holtun Balam (pp. 74 and 147).

[7] Emal Chac, literally where the Chac (rain-god) descended.

[8] Written "Etzemal" in the text.

[9] Nra. Señora de Izamal, the famous Virgin of Izamal.

[10] An idol at Izamal. See p. 160, note 2.

[11] Here the worship of the Virgin of Izamal is ascribed to a time before the Spanish Conquest.

[12] *Picil* originally meant eight thousand; it was later reduced to a thousand.

[13] "It is said that the first founders of Chichen Itzá were not idolaters, until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He taught idolatry, as they say it was he who taught it." Rel. de Yucatán, I, p. 270. This statement was made repeatedly by the Indians to the first Spanish settlers.

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corn per head was their quota, and nine measures and three handsful of grain. From many small towns the magicians went with them also./[1] p.19 C

They did not wish to join with the foreigners; they did not desire Christianity. They did not wish to pay tribute, did those whose emblems were the bird, the precious stone, the flat precious stone and the jaguar,[2] those with the three magic <emblems>. Four four-hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives;[3] then came the end of their lives, because they knew the measure of their days. Complete was the month; complete, the year; complete, the day; complete, the night; complete, the breath of life as it passed also; complete, the blood, when they arrived at their beds, their mats, their thrones. In due measure did they recite the good prayers; in due measure they sought the lucky days, until they saw the good stars enter into their reign; then they kept watch while the reign of the good stars began. Then everything was good.

Then they adhered to <the dictates of> their reason. There was no sin; in the holy faith their lives <were passed>. There was then no sickness; they had then no aching bones; they had then no high fever; they had then no smallpox; they had then no burning chest; they had then no abdominal pains; they had then no consumption; they had then no headache.[4] At that time the course of humanity was orderly. The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here. They brought shameful things/when they came. They lost p.20 C their innocence in carnal sin; they lost their innocence in the carnal sin of Nacxit Xuchit,[5] in the carnal sin of his companions. No lucky days were then displayed to us. This was the origin of the two-day chair (or throne), of the two-day reign;[6] this was the cause of our sickness also. There were no more lucky days for us; we had no sound judgment. At the end of our loss of vision, and of our shame, everything shall be revealed. There was no great

[1] A very slight change in the text would make it read: "Many of the daughters of the towns went with them to serve them, also."

[2] See note 10, p. 66 Chumayel.

[3] Evidently a belief existed that Maya civilization had lasted four baktuns and fifteen katuns. These four complete baktuns might have been either Baktuns 8, 9, 10 and 11 or Baktuns 7, 8, 9 and 10. The latter alternative would take us back to Spinden's Historical Era, 7.0.0.0.0. (Spinden 1924, p. 160), and put the Spanish Conquest shortly after 11.15.0.0.0., 2 Ahau 8 Zac. (*Cf.* p. 79, note 12.) In that case the date 9.0.0.0.0. would have fallen about the year 435 A.D.

[4] The foreign Toltecs no doubt brought disease into the country, just as the Spaniards did at a later date.

[5] Nacxit was one of the Mexican names of Quetzalcoatl. Xuchit is an archaic form of the Aztec *xochitl*, which means flower. We are reminded here of the well-known erotic episode in the Quetzalcoatl legend.

[6] We shall encounter a number of references to these "two-day" or temporary rulers. They are everywhere referred to as upstarts and usurpers. The following statements of the Indians may cast some light on the matter. In answer to the questions of the Spaniards as to the origin of the vaulted stone buildings seen in the country, some of the natives replied that their own ancestors had built them. "Others say that foreign immigrants settled there, and that the natives put an end to them and killed them." (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 197). *Cf.* p. 93 of the present work.

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teacher, no great speaker, no supreme priest, when the change of rulers occurred at their arrival. Lewd were the priests, when they came to be established here by the foreigners. Furthermore they left their descendants here at Tancah (Mayapan). These then received the misfortunes, after the affliction[1] of these foreigners. These, they say, were the Itzá. Three times it was, they say, that the foreigners arrived. It was because of this that we were relieved
p.21 C from paying tribute at the age of sixty,[2] because of the affliction by these men,/ the Itzá. It was not we who did it; it is we who pay for it today. However there is at last an agreement so that there may be peace between us and the foreigners. Otherwise there will be a great war.[3]

VI

(NOTES ON THE CALENDAR)

The beginning of Katun 11 Ahau was in the year	1513 [4]
Then it ended.	
Tihoo (Merida) was begun in the year	1519 [5]
(The convent of) San Francisco was founded at Santiago[6] in Tihoo	1519
The principal church was founded in the center of the town of <Ti>hoo in the year	1540
The months in a year are twelve	12
The count of the days in one year	365
The count of the nights in one year [7]	365
The count of weeks in one year	52
p.22 C The number of Sundays in one year	53
The count of the days in the first six months (of the year)	181/

[1] It is difficult to understand why the Itzá who had been so long in Yucatan should be called foreigners. Possibly it was because they were still established at Tayasal at the time this passage was written. In any case the Itzá are denounced a number of times in these pages.

[2] Under the Colonial administration, unmarried youths and old men were exempt from tribute. Probably this was also the case before the Spanish Conquest.

[3] The confusion of this narrative is probably due to the fact that while the writer was referring ostensibly to the Itzá, he really had the Spaniards in mind. He evidently shares the belief of some of the Spanish writers that the Itzá migrated from northern Yucatan to avoid subjection to the Spaniards, whose coming their prophets had foretold. *Cf.* Villagutierre 1701, p. 34.

[4] It is generally agreed that Katun 11 Ahau began some time during the last half of the fourth decade of the Sixteenth Century. There was, however, a school of Maya writers during the Eighteenth Century who taught that the katun was composed of 24 years of 365 days each. They believed that a certain Katun 4 Ahau ended in 1752; and counting back to Katun 11 Ahau by their assumed katuns of 24 years, they came to the conclusion that it began in a year 10 Cauac which fell in 1512.

[5] Cortez landed in Cozumel in 1519.

[6] Santiago was a suburb of Merida occupied by the Nahua allies of the Spaniards (Cogolludo Bk. 7 Chap. 4).

[7] It is significant to note that the Maya still preserved the idea of a night-count at this late date.

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The count of days in the second six months which complete the year 184

This is the count of days in a week: seven days in one week is the total of this count./ p.23 C

The count of the uinals[1] in one year.

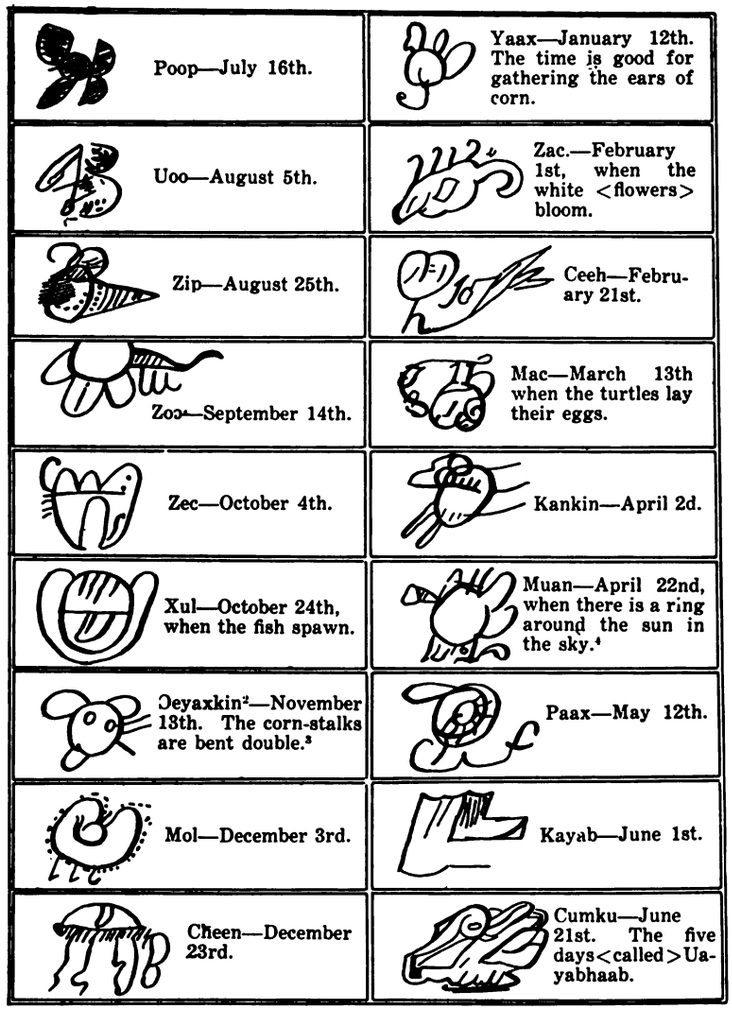

FIG. 5—The Maya months, or uinals. (Chumayel MS.)/ p.24 C

Chumayel, 28, is born the god-daughter, Micaela Castañeda[5]/ p.25 C

[1] The uinal was the Maya month of twenty days.

[2] Literally Little Yaxkin. Yaxkin is the usual name of this uinal.

[3] The ear is left on the stalk, which is bent double so that the husk will completely shed the rain. Until the fall rains are over, the corn is said to keep better in this manner than in the granary.

[4] Probably due to the smoke from the fields which are burned over at this time.

[5] Written in a different hand. The rest of the page is blank.

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VII

(THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF YUCATAN)[1]

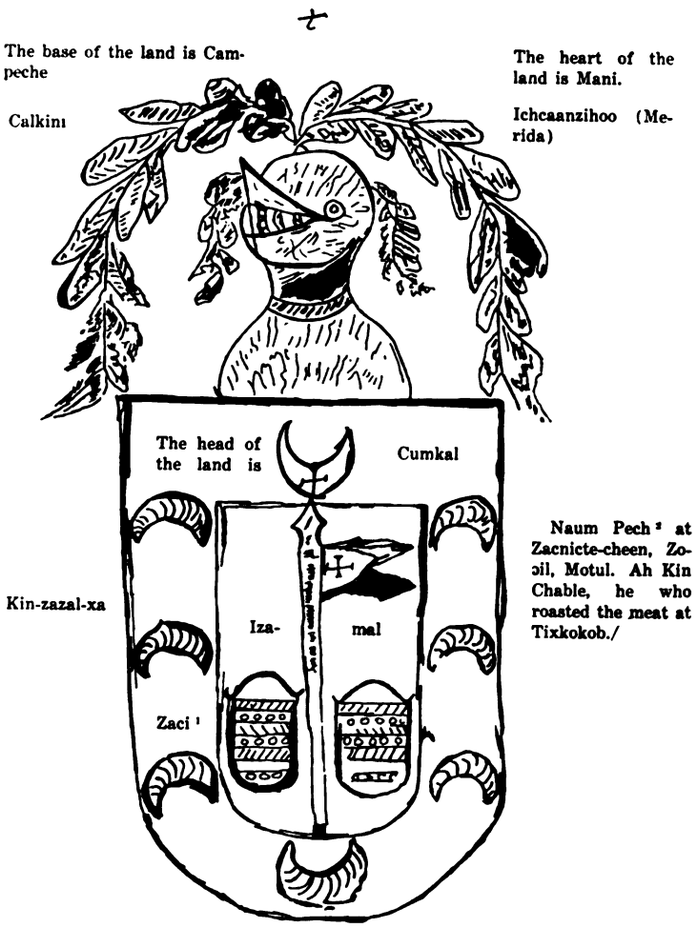

FIG. 6—The armorial bearings of Yucatan. (Chumayel MS.)/

p.26 C

VIII

(NOTES ON ASTRONOMY)

(Small picture of a cross.)[3]

When the eleventh day of June shall come, it will be the longest day.[4] When the thirteenth day of September comes, this day and night are precisely

[1] Compare legend accompanying this coat of arms with the figurative geographical description on page 126.

[2] Naum Pech, head-chief at Motul, welcomed the Spaniards (Brinton 1882, pp. 216 and 235). He was baptised Don Francisco de Montejo Pech and later wrote a chronicle of the Conquest (Martinez 1926, p. 25).

[3] The cross probably indicates that this is Christian teaching.

[4] This date for the summer solstice indicates that the passage was originally written at a time when the Julian calendar was still current in Yucatan.

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the same <in length>. When the twelfth day of December shall come the day is short, <but> the night <begins to> shorten. When the tenth day of March comes, the day and night will be equal <in length.>

FIG. 7—Diagram showing the course of the sun in the heavens (Chumayel MS.).

This annulus in the center of the disk is white and indicates the course of the sun. Between the two rings the black spots indicate the face of the sun, which goes over the large black one and descends to the small black one. Thus its movement is uniform, and this is its course here on earth also. On the ground it is thus manifested plainly all over the earth also. The progress of the sun is truly great as it takes its course to enter into the great *Oro* [1] extended over the world. <This is> the record <of the motion> of the sun as it is known here on earth./ p.27 C

FIG. 8—Diagram representing an eclipse of the sun (Chumayel MS.).

To the people on the sides of this half-section as pictured, the sun is not eclipsed;[2] but for anyone who is in the middle it is eclipsed. It is in conjunction with the moon when it is eclipsed. It travels in its course before it is eclipsed. It arrives in its course to the north, very great. It is all the same with eclipses of the sun and moon before it arrives opposite to the sun. <This is> the explanation so that Maya people may know what happens to the sun and to the moon.

[1] The translator does not know the word *Oro* as an astronomical term. It is the name of the gold disk which takes the place of the diamond on Spanish playing-cards and may refer to sunlight in general.

[2] *Chibil*, the Maya word for an eclipse, also means eaten. Aguilar tells us that the Maya believed that certain ants called *xulab* ate the sun or moon at the time of an eclipse (Aguilar 1921, p. 304). This passage in the Chumayel is evidently an attempt to correct such a belief, but it does not appear to have been entirely successful, as Dr. Redfield reports that many natives still believe that the moon is eaten by certain ants during an eclipse (Redfield, Letter October 22, 1931). (See NOTE, p. 88.)

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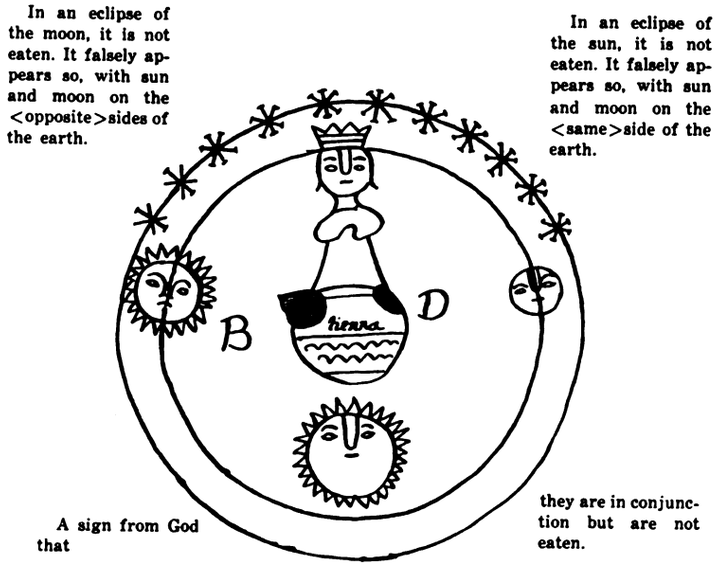

FIG. 9—Diagram explaining the cause of solar and lunar eclipses (Chumayel MS.)./

p.28 C

IX

(THE INTERROGATION OF THE CHIEFS)

This is the language of Zuyua[1] and the understanding for our lord, Señor Governor Mariscal,[2] who has settled at Tzuc-uaxim to the east of Ichcanziho (Merida). This is the land where his garden and homestead were, where he settled. Then the day will come when his period of office shall end also. The command of the head-chief comes. Vigorous is his command, when he arrives, and red is his garment also.

NOTE—There was, however, another explanation of the eclipse. Accompanied by some information taken from European almanacs, we find in the Codex Perez (p. 27) the statement that eclipses of the sun and moon are caused by their being "covered" by the planets. Now the Maya Indians of San Antonio in southern British Honduras give the name, *xulab*, to the deity of the Morning Star who ranks only next to the Christian God in power. The writer is inclined to connect this name with the ants called *xulab* which by the Maya of northern Yucatan, are believed to eat the sun or moon. The San Antonio Indians have been influenced by both the Chols and Kekchis, and the idea in the north that the *xulab*-ants eat the moon may well be a misunderstanding of a theory imported from the south to the effect that eclipses were caused by certain planets. *Cf.* J. E. Thompson 1930, p. 63.

[1] Zuyua is Nahuatl, a mythical place-name associated with the "Seven Caves" believed to be the origin of the Nahuas (Brinton 1882, p. 110).

[2] Probably Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano, governor of Yucatan from 1604 to 1612. Cogolludo Bk. 8, Chap. 12. His period of office was, however, in Katun 5 Ahau, and not 3 Ahau as stated here.

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FIG. 10—The lord of the katun[1] (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 11—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 12—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 13—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

FIG. 14—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

On this day, in the language of Zuyua, this is the question asked by the head-chief of the town; then the day shall arrive when the law of Katun 3 Ahau shall end, when another katun shall be set <in its place>, Katun 1 Ahau, as stated below.

This katun today is Katun 3 Ahau. The time has come for the end of its rule and reign. It is finished. Another one <takes its place> for a time.

This is Katun 1 Ahau, which is set within the house of Katun 3 Ahau.[2] There it is its guest, while it is given its power by Katun 3 Ahau. Things are shameful, they say, <in th place> where they dwell./[3] p.29 C

This is the examination[4] which takes place in the katun which ends today. The time has arrived for examining the knowledge of the chiefs of the towns, <to see> whether they know how the ruling men came, whether they have explained the coming of the chiefs, of the head-chiefs, whether they are of the lineage of rulers, whether they are of the lineage of chiefs, that they may prove it.[5]

This is the first question which will be asked of them: he shall ask them for his food "Bring the sun." This is the word of the head-chief to them; thus it is said to the chiefs. "Bring the sun, <my> son, bear it on the palm of your hand to my plate. A lance is planted, a lofty cross, in the middle of its heart. A green jaguar is seated over the sun to drink its blood." Of Zuyua is the wisdom. This is what the sun is which is demanded of them: a very large fried egg. This is the lance and the lofty cross planted in its heart of which he speaks: it is the benediction.[6] This is what the green jaguar is which is set

[1] This and the other blurred crowned heads in this chapter seem to represent the so-called "ruler" of the katun-prophecies in Chapter XXII. It is of especial interest to find these heads pictured in connection with the present questionnaire, and it suggests that we have here an important ceremony associated with the establishment of a new katun-marker. The crowned head probably represents the glyph Ahau.

[2] When a katun was half finished, the idol of the succeeding katun was set up and also worshipped (Landa 1929, p. 98).

[3] Probably a reference to the erotic religious practices of which the early Spanish missionaries complained.

[4] Lit.: the demand for knowledge or understanding.

[5] See Appendix E.

[6] It is not known what sort of a blessing the pagan Maya recited over their ordinary meals. Here the usual Christian benediction is no doubt meant.

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over it to drink its blood: it is a green chile-pepper, is the jaguar. This is the language of Zuyua.

FIG. 15—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the second question that will be asked of them: let them go and get the brains of the sky, so the head-chief may see how large they are. "It is my desire to see them; let me see them." This is what he would say to them. This is what the brains of the sky are: it is copal gum.[1]
p.30 C Zuyua <language>./

FIG. 16—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the third question which will be asked of them: let them construct a large house.[2] Six *thils*[3] is its length: one such <measure> is that of its upright timbers. This is what the large house is: it is a very large hat set on the floor. He shall be told to mount a very large white horse. White shall be his mantle and his cape, and he shall grasp a white rattle in his hand, while he rattles it at his horse. There is coagulated blood on the rosette[4] of his rattle, which comes out of it. This is what the white horse is: it is a stirrup[5] of henequen fiber. This is the white rattle mentioned, and the white cape: they are a Plumeria flower <and> a white wreath. This is the coagulated blood on the rosette of the rattle, which is demanded of them: it is the gold in the middle, because it is blood which comes from the veins of the fatherless and motherless orphan.

FIG. 17—The lord of the katun (Chumayel M.S.).

This is the fourth question which will be asked of them: Let them go to his house and then they shall be told: "When you come, you shall be visible at midday. You shall be children again, you shall creep <again>. When you arrive, your little dog shall be just behind you. This little dog of yours carries with its teeth the soul of our holy mistress,[6] when you come with it." This is what the second childhood at midday is, which is mentioned to him. He shall go where he casts a shadow, this is what is called creeping. Then he shall come to the house of the head-chief. This is what his little dog is which is demanded of him: it is his wife. This is what the soul of our holy mistress is: it is an enormous thick wax candle. <This is>
p.31 C the language of Zuyua./

[1] The gum of the copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) was the principal incense used by the Maya. The thick clouds of smoke may have suggested the convolutions of the brain.
[2] Lit. let them bind a large house.
[3] *Thil* is the Maya measure for the distance between the uprights of a house.
[4] Mexican rattles were certainly ornamented with rosettes. *Cf.* Seler 1904, pp. 674, 675 and 700. The Maya word here is *lol*, which usually means a large blossom.
[5] Lit. a pierced shoe, which suggests an old Spanish stirrup of the Arab type.
[6] Our holy mistress (*ca cilich colel*) is a term usually applied to the Holy Virgin.

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FIG. 18—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the fifth question which will be asked of them. They shall be told to go and get the heart of God the Father in heaven. "Then you shall bring me thirteen layers [1] wrapped up in a coarse white fabric." This is the heart of God the Father, of which they are told: it is a bead of precious stone. This is what the covering of thirteen layers is, which is mentioned. It is an enormous tortilla. Thirteen layers of beans are in it. This is what the coarse white fabric is, it is a white mantle. This shall be demanded of them, as signified <in the language> of Zuyua.

FIG. 19—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the sixth question which will be asked of them: to go and get the branch of the *pochote* tree,[2] and a cord of three strands, and a living liana. This he will relish. "My food for tomorrow.[3] It is my desire to eat it." It is not bad to gnaw the trunk of the *pochote* tree, so they are told. This is what the trunk of the *pochote* tree is: it is a lizard.[4] This is the cord of three strands, the tail of an iguana. This is the living liana, it is the entrails of a pig. This is the trunk of the *pochote* tree, the base of the tail of a lizard. The language of Zuyua.

FIG. 20—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is the seventh question which will be asked of them. They shall be told: "Go and gather for me those things which plug [5] the bottom of the cenote, two white ones, two yellow ones. I desire to eat them." These are the things which plug the bottom of the cenote, which are demanded of them. They are <two> white and two yellow jícamas.[6] These are the things to be understood in order to become chiefs of the town, when they are brought before the ruler, the first head-chief./ p.32 C

These are the words. If they are not understood by the chiefs of the towns, ill-omened is the star adorning the night. Frightful is its house. Sad is the havoc[7] in the courtyards of the nobles. Those who die are those who do not understand; those who live will understand it. This competitive test shall hang over the chiefs of the towns; it has been copied so that the severity may be known in which the reign is to end. Their hands are bound before them to a wooden collar. They are pulled along with the cord. They are taken to

[1] Probably a reference to the thirteen heavens of the Maya cosmos.
[2] *Ceiba schottii* Britt. & Baker. [3] Alternative translation: odorous food.
[4] *Chop*, a red and black lizard. The term is also applied to the dried lizards used by the native doctors.
[5] Possible alternative translation: tortoises.
[6] *Pachyrhizus erosus* (L.) Urban. The Maya name, *chicam*, appears to be derived from the Nahuatl jícama, and this edible root may have been introduced by the Toltecs.
[7] *Bulcum*, a misfortune frequently associated in these pages with swarming flies.

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the house of the ruler, the first head-chief. This is the end of the chiefs. This shall hang over[1] the unrestrained lewd ones of the day and of the katun. They shall feel anguish when the affairs of the chiefs of the towns shall come to an end. This shall occur on the day when the law of the katun shall come to an end, when Katun 3 Ahau shall terminate. The chiefs of the towns shall be
p.33 C seized because they are lacking in understanding./

[2] FIG. 21—"The chiefs of the towns shall be seized because they are lacking in understanding" (Chumayel MS.).

Thus shall occur the seizure of the chiefs of the towns. This is the memorandum so that they may give the first head-chief his food, when he demands his food of them. They shall be hung by the neck; the tips of their tongues shall be cut off: their eyes shall be torn out. On this day the end shall come.

But those who are of the lineage shall come forth before their lord on bended knees in order that their wisdom may be made known. Then their mat[3] is delivered to them and their throne as well. The test is to be seen as it is copied here. Those of the lineage of the first head-chief here in the land are viewed with favor. They shall live on that day, and they shall also receive their first wand of office. Thus are those of the lineage of Maya men established again in the Province of Yucatan. God shall be first, when all things are accomplished here on earth. He is the true ruler, he shall come to demand of us our government, those things which we hold sacred, precious stones, precious beads; and he shall demand the planted wine, the *balché*.[4] He who has none shall be killed. He who obeys, godly is his action according to the law. But perhaps God will not desire all the things
p.34 C which have been written to come to pass./

So, also, these are the nobility, the lineage of the chiefs, who know whence come the men and the rulers of their government. The discretion with which they govern their subjects shall be viewed with favor. Their mat and

[1] Alternative translation: There shall be weeping among, etc.

[2] Prisoners are also portrayed as nude in one of the frescos of the Temple of the Warriors (Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Pl. 139).

[3] Here, as among the Aztecs, the mat and throne are symbols of authority. Believing Cortez to be the returning Quetzalcoatl, Montezuma greeted him with these words: "My royal ancestors have said that you would come to visit your city and that you would sit upon your mat and chair when you returned" (Seler 1923, p. 447).

[4] An intoxicating drink made of fermented honey and the bark of the *Lonchocarpus longistylus* Pitt. and used in religious ceremonies.

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FIG. 22—The examining head-chief, or *halach-uinic*[1] (Chumayel MS.).

their throne shall be delivered to them by our lord, the first head-chief. This is their mat and their throne. <But> the unrestrained upstart of the day and katun, the offspring of the mad woman, the offspring of the harlot, the son of evil, the two-day occupant of the mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the rogue of the reign, the rogue of the katun, he shall be roughly handled, his face covered with earth, trampled into the ground, and befouled, as he is dragged along.[2] <On the other hand>, the ruling men of noble lineage have walked abroad in Katun 3 Ahau; <they are> placated in the fullness of their hearts when they are told to go and take the chiefs of the towns. Then let them go and take them.

"Son, go and bring the flower[3] of the night to me here." This is what will be said. Then let him go on his knees before the head-chief who demands this of him. "Father, here is the flower of the night for which you ask me; I come with it and with the vile thing of the night. There it is with me." These are his words.

"Then, <my> son, if it is/with you, have you with you the first captive[4] and the great álamo tree?"[5] "Father, they are with me. I have come with them." p.35 C

"Then, <my> son, if you have come with them, go and call your companions to me. These are an old man with nine sons and an old woman with nine children." "Father," he says when he replies, "I have come with them. Here they are with me. First they came to me, and then I came to see you."

"Then, <my> son, if they are here with you, go and gather for me stones of the savannah and come with them." He gathers them to his breast when he

[1] This portrayal of the *halach-uinic* dressed as a Spanish dignitary is probably due to an effort to make it real to the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Century Maya reader, rather than because of ignorance.

[2] A very similar passage on page 106 states that these usurpers who ruled in Katun 3 Ahau were Itzá (who called themselves "the Zuyua people.") This suggests that our questionnaire was originally a method by which the Xius, a "West Zuyua people," ousted Itzá chieftains from the towns over which they (the Xius) had gained control. We shall see on page 137 that the Itzá also had a questionnaire of their own.

[3] Lit.: a large flower. [4] Alternative translation: the green weak one.

[5] *Ficus cotinifolia* H. B. K. The miter-like head-dress of the Maya chiefs, like those seen on the sculptures of Chichen Itzá, was made of the bark of this tree (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 82).

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comes. "Are you a head-chief? Are you of the lineage of the ruler here in the land?" The language of Zuyua.

This is the flower of the night which is demanded of him: a star in the sky. This is the vile thing of the night: it is the moon.[1] This is the first woman captive and the great álamo tree: it is the town official,[2] named "he who falls to the ground." This is the old man with nine sons who is demanded of him: it is his great toe. This is the old woman demanded of him: it is his thumb. These are the stones of the savannah which are sought for and which his son is to gather to his breast: they are quails.[3]

"Also, <my> son, where is the smooth green thing of which you were told? You were not told to look at its face." Here it is with me, father." "Then, <my> son, go and bring to me here the placenta of the sky. When you come from the east, you shall come with something close behind you." "So be it, father," he says.

This is what the smooth green thing is, which is with him when he arrives: it is the rind of a squash.[4] This is the placenta of the sky which is demanded of him: it is moulded copal-gum shaped into thirteen layers. This is what is said to come close behind him: it is the shadow at his back early in the afternoon.

p.36 C "<My> son, you are a head-chief; you are a ruler also. Go and get me the green beads with which you pray."/ These are the green beads which are demanded of him: it is a bead of precious stone. Then he shall be asked how many days he prays. "Father," he says, "for one day I pray, and for ten days I pray." "On what day does your prayer arise?" "Father, on the ninth day and on the thirteenth day. It is to Bolon-ti-ku and Oxlahun-ti-citbil[5] that I count my beads."

"<My> son, go and get me your loin-cloth that I may perceive its odor here with the wide spread odor of my loin-cloth, the odor of my mantle, the odor of my censer,[6] the supreme odor at the center of the sky, at the center of the clouds, <also> that which glues together my mouth, it is in a white carved <cup>. <Do this> if you are a head-chief." "Father, I will bring them," he says.

This is the odor of the loin-cloth which he asks for, this is the supreme odor at the center of the sky: it is copal gum set on fire <so that> it burns. This is what first glues together his mouth: it is ground cacao, chocolate.

"Then, <my> son, go bring me the green blood of my daughter, also her head, her entrails, her thigh, and her arm; also that which I told you to enclose in an

[1] We know little of the Maya conception of the moon. It is certain, however, that in their later history they were greatly influenced by the Mexicans among whom the moon was associated with the rabbit, the symbol of drunkenness, and with Tlaçolteotl, the goddess of sinful love.

[2] Maya, *ah-cuch-cab*, which could also mean the honey-bearer. The translator believes the town official is meant because he was so subservient before any higher authority.

[3] The quail is also associated with a stone on page 128.

[4] Maya, *ca*, a certain white and striped squash. The Maya word, *haan*, is variously defined as something made smooth or scrubbed, father-in-law and son-in-law.

[5] Lit.: nine gods and thirteen fathers, probably the gods of the nine underworlds and the thirteen heavens.

[6] Written *yubak* in our text and corrected to *yubkak*, which means censer.

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unused jar, as well as the green stool of my daughter. Show them to me. It is my desire to see them. I have commissioned you to set them before me, that I may burst into weeping." "So be it, father." He <is to> come with the left ear of a wild bee. Then let him go.

This is the green blood of his daughter for which he asks: it is Maya wine. These are the entrails/of his daughter: it is an empty bee-hive.[1] This is his p.37 C daughter's head: it is an unused jar for steeping wine.[2] This is what his daughter's green stool is: it is the stone pestle [3] for <pounding> honey. This is what the left ear of the wild bee is: it is <a drop of> the moisture of the wine. This is what the bone of his daughter is: it is the flexible bark of the *balché*. This is the thigh of which he speaks: it is the trunk of the *balché* tree. This is what the arm of his daughter is: it is the branch of the *balché*. This is what he calls weeping: it is a drunken speech. Then let him go and give these <things> to him. Let him seat himself tranquilly; let him wait for him to speak; let him salute him as his lord when he arrives.

"Father, here is your daughter whom you put in my care. of whom you speak. You are the father, you are the ruler." This is what his son says to him.

"Oh son, my fellow head-chief, my fellow ruler! You have remembered; it is sufficient. You know; it is sufficient," he says. "This, then, is the blood of my daughter for which I ask you." Thirteen times the blood of his daughter flows, while he weeps for his daughter, lying there in the courtyard. Perchance, then he weeps, while he looks at her, bowed down, while he says: "Oh son!" he says while he weeps, "you are a head-chief. Oh son, you are a ruler also. Oh my fellow head-chief, I will deliver your mat and your throne and your authority to you, son; yours is the government, yours is the authority also, <my> son."

Thus, then, the chiefs of the towns are to obey[4] him when they depart with the first/head-chief, there at the head[5] of the province. Then let them p.38 C go to his house. There they are at his house, when they give his food to the head-chief, and when he asks them for his food, as he shall specify in its order.

"Son, bring me four cardinals[6] which are at the mouth of the cave. They are to be set over[7] the first thing which glues together my mouth. It is to be red, that which I call the crest over the first thing which glues together my mouth, when it shall be brought before me." "It is well, father." What he asks for are little cakes of achiote.[8] This is the crest of which he speaks: it is the froth on the chocolate.

[1] The Maya bee-hive is made of the hollow section of a log.

[2] *Balché*, the native wine is made by steeping the bark or root of the *balché* tree (*Lonchocarpus longistylus* Pitt.) in a mixture of fermenting honey and water.

[3] The text reads "*couoh tun*" (lit. tarantula stone) here. but it is assumed that *cocoh tun* (stone hammer) is meant, and translated accordingly.

[4] Alternative translation: then ends the speech of the chiefs, etc.

[5] Cumkal is called "the head of the land" on pages 86 and 126 of the Chumayel, so it is likely that the territory of Ceh Pech is the source of this ritual.

[6] *Chac-ɔiɔib* is *Cardinalis cardinalis ɣucatanicus* Ridg. Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, 50, p. 141. Its feathers are a cure for yellow fever (Libro del Judío, p. 80).

[7] The text reads: I am set over, etc. Probably an error.

[8] *Bixa orellana* L., the butter-color of commerce.

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This is what first glues together his mouth: it is cacao which has been ground. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bird of the night and the drilled <stone> of the night, and with them the brains of the sky. Great is my desire to see them here." "It is well, father." What he wants is a stick used to scrape[1] copal gum <from the tree>. This the drilled <stone> of the night for which he asks, a bead of precious stone. The brains of the sky are copal gum. Language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bone of your father whom you buried three years ago. Great is my desire to see it." "It is well, father." This is what he wants, it is cassava baked in a pit. Then let him go and give it to the head-chief.

"Son, bring me an old man whose coat[2] is not buttoned, Homtochac[3] is his name." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a nine-banded armadillo, a female armadillo.

"Son, bring me three segments split from the sky. I desire to eat them." "Even
p.39 C so, father."/ This is what he demands, it is *atole* shaken to a froth, the froth of *atole* (maize gruel). Everything is asked in the language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stock of maguey, the thick stalk of the maguey without branches. Do not remove its tip. Also bring with it three strands of ravelled cord." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, a hog's[4] head baked in a pit. Then he shall go and give it to him. The tip of which he speaks is its tongue, because its tip is fresh and tender.[5]

"Son, bring me the hawks[6] of the night for me to eat." It is well, father." What he asks for are chickens, cocks.

"Son, say to the first female captive, called Otlom-cabal, to bring me a basket of blackbirds[7] caught beneath the great álamo tree, heaped up there in the shadow of the álamo." "Even so, father." What he asks for are some black beans that are in the house of the town official, that is, the so-called first female captive and the thing which falls limply to the ground of which he speaks.[8] Language of Zuyua.

"Son, go and catch the jaguar of the cave, so that by means of you it may give savour to my food. I desire to eat the jaguar." "It is well, father." This is the jaguar for which he asks, it is an agouti.[9] The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me seven coverings of the fatherless <orphan>. It is my desire to eat them at the time when they should be eaten." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is the pressed <leaves of the> chaya.[10]

"Son, bring me the green gallants here. Let them come and dance, that I may look on with pleasure. Let them come with drum and rattle, fan and drum-stick. I am expecting them."[11] "Even so, father." What he asks for is a turkey-cock.

[1] *Tocabal* could mean either "removed" or "burned." In connection with *hoyob*, a stick for scraping something, the former definition is applied here. It is possible, however, that a spoonlike censer is meant.

[2] *Habon*, in the text, is assumed to be a corruption of the Spanish *habito*. The Maya *hobon*, hollow, may be intended.

[3] *Hom-toch-ac* could mean hollow stiff tortoise-shell.

[4] *Keken* originally was a large variety of peccary, but the term was later applied to European swine.

[5] *Ol* is a tender tip or sprout. *Ak* means tongue, also something fresh or tender.

[6] *Coz, Micrastur melanoleucus* Viellot. Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool Harvard, 50, p. 121.

[7] *Pichum, or pich: Dives dives* Lichtenstein. Pueblo Blackbird. *Ibid*, 50, p. 141.

[8] *Cf.* p. 94, note 2.

[9] *Dasyprocta punctata yucatana* Goldman. Mexican agouti, *haleu*.

[10] *Chay: Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill. "They eat the leaves of this tree much as they do cabbages, but they are not as tasty ("Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 56).

[11] Alternative translation: they are useful to me.

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The drum is its crop. The rattle is its head. The fan is its tail. The drum-stick is its leg. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the fanciful desire[1] of the district. I desire/to eat it." What he p.40 C
asks for is clarified honey. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stone from burned over land, it is burning hot. Bring with it the liquor for me to extinguish it, so it will crack here before me." What he wants is a *macal*[2] baked in a pit. The liquor to extinguish it is clarified honey. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the firefly of the night. Its odor shall pass to the north and to the west. Bring with it the beckoning tongue[3] of the jaguar." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a smoking tube filled with tobacco.[4] The beckoning tongue of the jaguar for which he asks is fire.

"Son, bring me your daughter that I may see her. Pale is her face and very beautiful. White are her head-covering and her sash. I greatly desire her." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a white calabash cup <filled> with atole. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the thing called *zabel*. Fragrant is its odor." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is a melon.

"Son, bring me the green curved neck, it is bright green along the back. I desire to eat it." "It is well, father." What he asks for is the neck of a turkey-cock. <Language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a woman with a very white and well rounded calf. Here will I tuck back the skirt from her calf." "It is well, father." He wants a jícama. This is what tucking back the skirt is: it is peeling the skin.

"Son, bring me a very beautiful woman with a very white countenance. I greatly desire her. I will cast down her skirt and her loose dress before me." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, it is a turkey-hen for him to eat. Casting down her skirt/ and loose dress means plucking its feathers. Then let it be roasted p.41 C
for eating. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring to me here a farmer, an old man. I wish to see his face." "Even so, father." What he asks for is a *cucut-macal*[5] to eat. <This is> the questionnaire.

"Son, bring me a farmer's wife, an old woman, a dark colored person. She is seven palms across the hips. It is my desire to see her." What he wants is the green fruit of a squash-vine.[6] The language of Zuyua.

The day shall come.

On this day our lord, the first head-chief, trampled them under foot, when he arrived here in the land, in the land of Yucalpeten.[7] He calls the chiefs, and the chiefs shall come. They are called by our lord, the first head-chief. "Are you chieftains?" "We are, <my> lord." These are their words.

"Sons, if you are head-chiefs here in the land," they shall be told, "go and get the winged jaguar, and then come and give it to me to eat. Put his bead collar on him properly, put on his crest properly, and come and give him to me to eat. Go immediately today, and come soon. Sons, I greatly desire to eat him. You are <my> sons, you are head-chiefs." Those who are ignorant shall be sad at heart

[1] Maya, *caz*. Probably *çaz*, something clear, is intended.
[2] *Xanthosoma yucatanse* Engl.; also the yam, a European importation.
[3] The Maya were accustomed to make a furtive signal with the tongue. Motul.
[4] A reference to puffing tobacco smoke toward the four world-quarters.
[5] This name is applied to the imported taro, but here probably a form of *Xanthosoma* is meant (Standley, 1930, p. 224).
[6] *Ɔol*. Certain green flattish squashes, good and palatable. Motul.
[7] *Yucalpeten* is an attempt to turn Yucatan into a name comprehensible in Maya.

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and in countenance. They shall say nothing. But those who know shall be cheerful
p.42 C when they go to get the winged jaguar. Then he shall come with it. "Is it you, son?" "It is I, father." "Are you of the lineage, son?" "Indeed I am, father." "Where are your companions, son?" "Father, they are in the forest seeking the jaguar." The jaguar, as they call it, does not exist,/ but let him bring it before him. This jaguar for which he asks is the chief's horse which he wishes to eat. It is a horse raised about the house. This is the bead collar: it is its little bells. This is its crest: it is a red thread. It is to be completely saddled and bridled. The language of Zuyua.[1]

X

(THE CREATION OF THE WORLD)[2]

It is most necessary to believe this. These are the precious stones which our Lord, the Father, has abandoned.[3] This was his first repast, this *balché*,[4] with which we, the ruling men revere him here. Very rightly[5] they worshipped as true gods these precious stones,[6] when the true God was established, our Lord God, the Lord of heaven and earth, the true God. Nevertheless, the first gods were perishable gods. Their worship came to its inevitable end. They lost their efficacy by the benediction of the Lord of Heaven, after the redemption of the world was accomplished, after the resurrection of the true God, the true Dios, when he blessed heaven and earth. Then was your worship abolished, Maya men. Turn away your hearts from your <old> religion.

<This is> the history of the world in those times, because it has been written down, because the time has not yet ended for making these books, these many explanations, so that Maya men may be asked if they know how they were born here in this country, when the land was founded.

[1] The frequent mention of the language of Zuyua, a mythical place-name of the Nahua peoples, suggests that this interrogatory once abounded in terms familiar to the Toltec conquerors of Yucatan but not understood by the people of the country. In any case it came eventually to mean only mysterious words which were obscure to all but the ruling class. This example of the questionnaire has no doubt sadly degenerated. Nevertheless the mention of a number of things like the horse, known only to the Maya since the Spanish Conquest, indicates that this interrogatory continued to develop during the colonial period, although the Spanish rulers of the country were entirely unaware of its existence. A discussion of the traditions of caste and chieftainship among the Maya will be found in Appendix E.

[2] Here we have a creation narrative of the sort described by Aguilar in his report on idolatry in Yucatan written early in the Seventeenth Century. "Furthermore it would be very advantageous if books were printed in the language of these Indians which would treat of Genesis and the creation of the world, because they have fables and histories which are very detrimental. Some of them have had them written down, and they keep them and read them in their assemblies. I had a copybook of this sort, which I took away from a choir-master named Cuytun from the town of Sucopo. He got away from me, and I never could get hold of him to learn the origin of this Genesis of his" (Aguilar 1900, p. 115).

[3] This expresses admirably the religious attitude of the Maya who seem capable of superimposing Christianity on their old faith. See Appendix G.

[4] See p. 95, note 2.

[5] Maya, *pay bentzil*, employed as a synonym for *tibil* in Crónica de Oxkutzcab (Gates reproduction, Plates 161 and 166).

[6] These may be what Avendaño refers to when he tells of the "devil" and "the worship which they (the Itzá) pay to him in the form of some stones" (Means 1917, p. 141. *Cf.* Appendix D).

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FIG. 23—The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.). The face is darkened or blurred.

[1]It was <Katun> 11 Ahau when the Ah Mucencab[2] came forth to blindfold the faces of the Oxlahun-ti-ku;[3] but they did not know his name, except for his older sister and his sons. They said his face had not yet been shown to them also. This was after the creation of the world had been completed, but they did not know it was about to occur. Then Oxlahun-ti-ku was seized by Bolon-ti-ku.[4] Then it was that fire descended, then the rope descended, then rocks and trees descended.[5] Then came the beating of <things> with wood and stone. Then Oxlahun-ti-ku/was seized, his head was wounded, p.43 C his face was buffeted, he was spit upon, and he was <thrown> on his back as well. After that he was despoiled of his insignia[6] and his smut.[7] Then shoots of the yaxum tree[8] were taken. Also Lima beans were taken with crumbled tubercles, hearts of small squash-seeds, large squash-seeds[9] and beans, all crushed. He wrapped up the seeds <composing> this first Bolon Ɔacab,[10] and went to the thirteenth heaven.[11] Then a mass of maize-dough with the tips of corn-cobs remained here on earth. Then its heart departed because of Oxlahun-ti-ku, but they did not know the heart of the tubercle was gone. After that the fatherless ones, the miserable ones, and those without husbands were all pierced through;[12] they were alive though they had no hearts. Then they were buried in the sands, in the sea.

There would be a sudden rush of water when the theft of the insignia[13] <of Oxlahun-ti-ku> occurred. Then the sky would fall, it would fall down

[1] Parallel versions of this passage occur in the Mani (p. 161) and the Tizimin (p. 20) MSS. Juan Martínez H. (1913, pp. 164-171) has made an excellent translation of the first part of this narrative, and suggests that the accompanying head of the "lord" of the katun is blurred in order to indicate that he is blindfolded.

[2] Ah Mucencab: See p. 64, note 4.

[3] Oxlahun-ti-ku, literally the Thirteen Gods, are probably the gods of the thirteen heavens of the Maya cosmos, but they are usually treated as a single god.

[4] Bolon-ti-ku, or Nine Gods, appear to be treated as one god. We find them represented in the inscriptions, and it seems likely that they represent the nine underworlds and correspond to the Nine Lords of the Night of the Mexicans. (*Cf.* J. E. Thompson 1929, p. 225, and Seler 1923, p. 31.)

[5] *Cf.* Motul, p. 346: "*Eman u che u tunich Dios coklal:* The punishment of God has come upon us with deaths or pestilence."

[6] *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[7] Maya idol-makers removed the smut from their faces as a sign that their period of fast and consecration was over (Landa 1929, p. 70).

[8] We have a Maya homonym here, and possibly quetzal plumage is meant by *ix kukil ix yaxum.*

[9] The seeds of the unidentified striped squash called *ca.*

[10] Lit. nine generations, or eternal. According to Landa (1929, p. 20), Bolon Ɔacab was set up in the house of the chief as a sort of tutelary god of the Kan years. He appears to be closely associated with the rain-god, Chac, and is identified by Seler as the god usually designated by the letter K. Seler 1902, p. 377. We are reminded of the Mexican image of Tlaloc composed of seeds.

[11] Lit. "the 13th layer of the sky."

[12] "pierced through:" The Tizimin and Mani versions say: "fell to pieces," (*hutlahi*).

[13] See p. 67, note 5.

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upon the earth, when the four gods, the four Bacabs, were set up, who brought about the destruction of the world.[1] Then, after the destruction of the world was completed, they placed <a tree>[2] to set up in its order the yellow cock oriole. Then the white tree of abundance was set up. A pillar of the sky was set up, a sign of the destruction of the world; that was the white tree of abundance in the north. Then the black tree of abundance was set up <in

FIG. 24—Lahun Chaan, associated with the planet Venus (Dresden Codex, p. 47).

the west>[3] for the black-breasted *piɔoy*[4] to sit upon. Then the yellow tree of abundance was set up <in the south>,[5] as a symbol of the destruction of the world, for the yellow-breasted *piɔoy* to sit upon, for the yellow cock oriole to sit upon, the yellow timid *mut*. Then the green tree of abundance was set up in the center <of the world> as a record of the destruction of the world.

[1] Like the Mexicans, the Maya believed that the present order was preceded by other worlds which had been destroyed. According to the former, the fourth of these worlds, or "Suns," was destroyed by a great flood of water (Seler 1923, p. 40).

[2] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. This was the red *imix*-tree which was set up in the east, for the *Kan-xib-yuy*, or *Kan-xib-yuyum*, to sit upon. (*Cf.* Mani MS. p. 162.)

[3] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions of this narrative.

[4] *Piɔoy* is spelled three ways in the three versions. The context leaves little doubt that a bird is meant. It may have been something like the *mut*, an unidentified bird of the Cracidæ family (*Cf.* Maler 1908, p. 132).

[5] We find a portrayal of four trees, each surmounted by a bird, in one of the reliefs of the Temple of the Wall Panels at Chichen Itzá. (*Cf.* Plate 1, c.) Also on page 1 of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer there is a Mexican picture of the four world-quarters at each of which there is a flowering tree with a bird perched upon it (Apud Seler 1923, p. 15). The *yax-che* or green tree at the center of the world is probably shown on pages 41-42 of the Maya Codex Cortesianus. This last tree is still remembered by the Maya (*Cf.* Tozzer 1907, p. 154). In the Ritual of the Four World Quarters found in Chapter I of the present work, these *imix*-trees, or trees of abundance, are further qualified as being the ceiba tree so prominent in Maya mythology (*Cf.* p. 64, note 5).

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The plate[1] of another katun was set up and fixed in its place by the messengers of their lord. The red Piltec was set at the east of the world to conduct people to his lord. The white Piltec was set at the north of the world to conduct people/ to his lord. Lahun Chaan[2] was set <at the west> to bring p.44 C
things to his lord. The yellow Piltec was set <at the south> to bring things to his lord. But it was <over> the whole world that Ah Uuc Cheknal[3] was set up. He came from the seventh stratum of the earth, when he came to fecundate Itzam-kab-ain,[4] when he came with the vitality of the angle between earth <and> heaven.[5] They moved among the four lights,[6] among the four layers of the stars. The world was not lighted; there was neither day nor night nor moon. Then they perceived that the world was being created. Then creation dawned upon the world. ✠ During the creation thirteen infinite

[1] Mention of the "plate" and "cup" of the katun is found several times in the Books of Chilam Balam. It is probably a reference to the ceremonies connected with the so-called idol of the katun (*Cf.* Landa 1929, p. 98). These articles appear to symbolize the numerical coefficient of the day Ahau from which the katun took its name. On page 150 it is said of Katun 9 Ahau: "Nine was its plate, nine was its cup."

[2] Lahun Chaan is doubtless the same as the "Lakunchan" described by Cogolludo as an idol with very ugly teeth. *Lahun* means ten in both Maya and Chol, and *chan* means sky, heaven and serpent in Chol. The Maya word for sky is *caan*. It seems likely that Lahun Chaan is a borrowed foreign word and means the god of the tenth heaven. On page 47 of the Dresden Codex we find a picture (fig. 24) accompanied by a glyph composed of the number ten and an element which is generally accepted as the symbol of the sky or heavens. The picture is that of a deity whose face resembles that of the God B, or rain-god; but it lacks the curved ornament over the nose, and instead of the protruding tooth at the side of the mouth there is a fleshless lower jaw. Also skeleton-like ribs are painted on the front of the torso. We recall that a fleshless jawbone is one of the symbols of the number ten on the monuments; but the figure appears to be the regent of the second Venus period in the Dresden Codex, and the regent of the first of these periods in the Mexican Codex Bologna also has a fleshless lower jaw. Since the above passage in the Chumayel implies that Lahun Chaan was set in the west, the translator is inclined to believe that this god was closely connected with the appearance of Venus as an evening star. Cogolludo's mention of the "ugly teeth" may be a reference to the fleshless lower jaw in the picture (*Cf.* Cogolludo Bk. 4, Chap. 8).

[3] Ah Uuc Chek-nal: he who fertilizes the maize seven times.

[4] Itzam-kab-ain: literally, the whale with the feet of a crocodile. Martinez 1913, reprint p. 5. Beltran spells it Itzam-cab-ain, and defines it simply as whale, though it could mean literally Itzam-the-earth-crocodile. In either case, we are forcibly reminded of the fabled earth-monster which appears in the Dresden Codex (pp. 4 and 5) with the head of Itzamná between its jaws.

The Mexicans believed that the gods created "in the water a great fish, which is called *cipáctli* and which is like a crocodile, and from this fish they made the earth" (Hist. de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas, Chap. 2). On page 27 of the Codex Borgia we see this earth-monster with the head and claws of a crocodile and with maize sprouting from its back (Seler 1923, pp. 10, 11).

[5] A change of one letter (*tu muk* to *tamuk*) would give to this sentence the meaning: then he descended while the heavens rubbed against the earth.

[6] Maya, *can cib*, literally four wax candles. *Cib* is also the word for beeswax, but we find no record of candles being used prior to the Spanish conquest. The Maya employed torches of pitch-pine (*tahté*) or of the *Viguiera dentata* HBK (*tah*) for lighting. Thompson believes, however, that wax was used by the Maya for ceremonial purposes before the Conquest (J. E. Thompson, 1930, p. 105).

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series[1] <added> to seven was the count of the creation of the world. Then a new world dawned for them.

The two-day throne was declared, the three-day throne. Then began the weeping of Oxlahun-ti-ku. They wept in this reign. The reign became red; the mat became red; the first tree of the world was rooted fast.[2] The entire world was proclaimed by Uuc-yol-zip;[3] but it was not at the time of this reign that Bolon-ti-ku-wept. Then came the counting of the mat in its order.[4] Red was the mat on which Bolon-ti-ku sat. His buttock is sharply rounded,[5] as he sits on his mat. Then descended greed from the heart of the sky, greed for power, greed for rule.

Then the red foundation was established; the white foundation of the ruler was established; the black foundation was established; the yellow foundation was established.[6] Then the Red Ruler was set up, he who was raised[7] upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The White Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Black Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Yellow Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne.[8]

[1] *Ɔac*, here translated as series, also means degrees, steps, stairs and other things which go above one another. Motul.

[2] The *yax-cheel-cab*, or first tree of the world is believed to be a giant ceiba which grows in the exact center of the earth and rears its branches through successive holes in the various heavens (Tozzer 1907, p. 154). Avendaño describes the representation of this mythological tree as "the fragment of a column, of round stone, the circumference of each part of which is about three quarters of a yard across and one quarter high. It is made of stones placed on top of each other with mortar of lime and *cah cab* (*zahcab*), which is usually used for that purpose; and the middle is filled in with bitumen, so that it is like a table with a round pedestal, upon which and set in the foundation of the said stone column, there stands out toward the West a stone mask, very ill-formed . . . The said column is called, in the name by which they worship it, Yax cheel cab, which means in their language, 'the first tree in the world,' and, as it is understood in their old songs (which few people understand) they wish to have it known they worship it because it was the tree of whose fruit our first father Adam ate, who in their language is called Ixanom" (Means 1917, p. 135).

[3] *Cf.* p. 157, note 2.

[4] *Cf.* p. 72, note 13.

[5] Maya: *ɔut polbil*. *Ɔut* means pointed like a hat. (Dict. San Francisco.) *Polbil* is defined as either rounded or shaped. The description fits the representations of the death-god in the Dresden Codex. (Pp. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 19.) As ruler of the ninth and deepest hell, he sits upon the mat, the symbol of authority, and comprises in himself the idea of the gods of the nine under-worlds. *Cf.* Codex Vaticanus No. 3738, f. 1 v. apud Seler 1923, p. 21.

[6] Probably the bases or pedestals on which the following deities were set.

[7] Written *ah ten pop ah ten ɔam* in our text, but in the Mani and Tizimin MSS., *ah tem pop ah tem ɔam*. *Tem* is an altar or bench, and in compounds something set above something else. *Tem* is also a verbal stem meaning to alleviate. The mat *(pop)* and throne *(ɔam)* have the figurative significance of toil, misery and misfortune. (Motul, 1930, p. 694.) Consequently the expression could also mean "he who alleviates misfortunes." *Cf.* Tizimin, pp. 7, 8 and 25; Codex Perez, pp. 78, 82, 83, 107, 108, 153 and 161.

[8] The Red, White, Black and Yellow "Rulers" appear to be the four gods who presided at the four cardinal points. Each is qualified by the adjective, *tenel*, which we believe to mean "raised up." It is probably an obsolete word, and we find *temal* substituted for it in the Mani MS. (Codex Perez, p. 116.) A discussion of the gods of the cardinal points will be found in Appendix A.

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As a god, it is said;[1] whether or not gods, their bread is lacking, their water is lacking./ p.45 C

There was only a portion <of what was needed> for them to eat together . . .[2] but there was nowhere from which the quantity needed for existence could come. Compulsion and force were the tidings, when he[3] was seated <in authority>; compulsion was the tidings, compulsion by misery; it came during his reign, when he arrived to sit upon the mat . . .[2] Suddenly on high fire flamed up. The face of the sun was snatched away,[4] taken from earth. This was his garment in his reign. This was the reason for mourning his power, at that time there was too much vigor. At that time there was the riddle for the rulers.[5] The planted timber was set up. Perishable things are assembled at that time.[6] The timber of the grave-digger is set up at the cross-roads, at the four resting places.[7] Sad is the general havoc,[8] at that time the butterflies swarmed. Then there came great misery, when it came about that the sun in Katun 3 Ahau was moved from its place for three months. After three years[9] it will come back into place in Katun 3 Ahau. Then another katun will be set <in its place>. The *ramon*[10] fruit is their bread, the *ramon* fruit is their drink; the *jícama cimarrona*[11] is their bread, the *jícama cimarrona* is their drink; what they eat and what they drink. The *ix-batun*,[12] the

[1] Maya, *tu than*. An expression often found in the medical manuscripts, meaning "so people say" or "so they call it," referring to various names applied to the same disease. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 16.

[2] Lacuna in the text [3] Referring to Bolon-ti-ku.

[4] Maya, *colop*, translated as though it were *colob*.

[5] A reference to the interrogation of the chiefs. *Cf.* Chapter IX.

[6] Maya, *zatay babalil*. This has been translated as it stands, but in connection with the "riddle for the rulers" we suspect that *zatay batabil* is intended. This would mean that the chiefs who are about to perish are assembled. *Cf.* Chapter IX.

[7] This expression, *to ho<l> can be, tu ho<l> can heleb*, has been corrected from page 166 of the Kaua MS. Literally it means the four openings where two roads cross, the openings between the four resting places, *i.e.* the four corners at the cross-roads where travelers set down their packs and rested. Such would be a convenient place for an ambuscade, and here the slain would be buried. *Ah muuc*, here translated as grave-digger, means anyone who buries or conceals anything.

[8] Maya, *bul cum*, might mean "all down" literally. Its translation here is based on the contexts in which it occurs. Always it is sad and to be mourned. On page 91 of the previous chapter it occurs in the courtyards of the nobles on an occasion when a number of chiefs are killed for failing to pass the test. Here it occurs at the cross-roads. In the prophecy for Katun 1 Ahau we shall find it closely associated with the flies (swarming on the corpses?) and mentioned in the same category with pestilence, famine and sudden death. It is an archaic expression and does not occur in any of the old dictionaries.

[9] Lit. "three heaps of years." The translation of this sentence is uncertain.

[10] The fruit of the *ramon* (*Brosimum alicastrum* Sw.) is boiled and eaten alone or with honey or corn-meal, and a sort of bread is made of the ground seeds.

[11] The root of the *Jícama cimarrona* (*Calopogonium cœruleum* Benth.) is eaten in time of famine. Dicc. San Francisco.

[12] *Ix-batun*, or *batun*, is probably an unidentified wild plant or tree. Batun is a common family name among the Maya.

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ch̄imch̄im-chay,[1] are what they eat. These things were present here when misery settled, father, in Tun 9. At that time there were the foreigners. The charge <of misery> was sought for all the years[2] of <Katun> 13 Ahau.[3]

Then it was that the lord of <Katun> 11 Ahau spread his feet apart. Then it was that the word of Bolon Ɔacab[4] descended to the tip of his tongue. Then the charge of the katun was sought; nine was its charge when it descended from heaven. Kan was the day when its burden was bound to it.[5] Then the water descended, it came from the heart of the sky for the baptism[6] of the House of Nine Bushes. With it descended Bolon Mayel;[7] sweet was his mouth and the tip of his tongue. Sweet were his brains. Then descended
p.46 C the four mighty supernatural jars, this was the honey of the flowers.[8]/ Then there grew up for it the red unfolded calyx,[9] the white unfolded calyx, the black unfolded calyx and the yellow unfolded calyx, those which were half a palm <broad> and those which were a whole palm <in breadth>. Then there sprang up the five-leafed[10] flower, the five drooping <petals>, the cacao <with grains like> a row of teeth, the *ix-chabil-tok*, the little flower,[11] Ix Macuil Xuchit,[12] the flower with the brightly colored[13] tip, the *laurel*[14] flower, and the limping flower.[15] After these flowers sprang up, there were the vendors

[1] Ch̄inch̄in-chay, a very spiny variety of *Jatropha aconitifolia* Mill., is boiled like cabbages and eaten when the corn crop fails (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 299).

[2] A record of the misfortunes of each of the twenty years of a certain Katun 5 Ahau is found in the Tizimin (pp. 1-13) and Mani (pp. 135-156) manuscripts.

[3] Most of the preceding paragraph concerning Katun 3 Ahau appears to be an interpolation. It is not found in the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[4] Bolon Ɔacab: *Cf.* p. 99, note 10.

[5] *Cf.* Stela D, Copan (apud Morley 1915, Pl. 14) where the personified numeral is the bearer and the time-period is the burden.

[6] Alternative translation: for the rebirth etc.

[7] Bolon Mayel means "the fragrant one."

[8] For this sentence the following is substituted in the Mani and Tizimin versions of this narrative: "Then descended two mighty demon bats who sucked the honey of the flowers."

[9] Unfolded calyx (*hoch kom*): *hoch* has a number of different meanings, but in the Tizimin and Mani versions *choch* is substituted, which is a synonym for *hoch* in the sense of "to untie, to unfold." *Kom* means something bent, curved or hollowed out in general, and a socket or a depression in the earth in particular. *Kom lac* is a deep plate. In view of the context here, the calyx of a flower seems to be meant.

[10] Maya, *ix-ho-yal*. *Ho* means five, and, *yal*, after a numeral, means thin layers, folds or sheets. Literally this would mean five circles of floral leaves composing the perianth. This seems unusual, and it is probable that five leaves are meant.

[11] *Ix-bac nicte*: *ix-bac* means a little girl, and there may be a plant of that name, as it is also a place-name. *Nicte* means flower in general, particularly the Plumeria.

[12] *Macuil Xochitl* is Nahuatl for Five Flower, the Mexican god of music and dancing, probably introduced into Yucatan by the Toltecs.

[13] Alternative translation: hollow tip.

[14] *Laul*: *Stemmadenia insignis* Miers., much admired by the Maya (Landa 1900, p. 386).

[15] In the Maya treatises on medical plants this word, *nicté*, always designates the Plumeria, but here the definition found in all the Maya dictionaries has been followed: "*Nicté*. A rose, or a flower, not indicating from what tree, bush or plant." Motul. A secondary meaning is: "*Nicté. Deshonestidad, vicio de carne y travezuras de mugeres.*"

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of fragrant odors,[1] there was the mother[2] of the flowers. Then there sprang up the bouquet of the priest, the bouquet of the ruler, the bouquet of the captain; this was what the flower-king bore when he descended and nothing else, so they say.[3] It was not bread that he bore. Then it was that the flower sprang up, wide open, to introduce the sin of Bolon-ti-ku. <After> three years was the time when he said he did not come to create Bolon Ɔacab as the god in hell. Then descended Ppizlimtec[4] to take the flower;[5] he took the figure of a humming-bird with green plumage on its breast, when he descended. Then he sucked the honey from the flower with nine petals. Then the five-petaled flower took him for her husband.[6] Thereupon the heart of the flower came forth to set itself in motion. Four-fold[7] was the plate of the flower, and Ah Kin Xocbiltun[8] was set in the center. At this time Oxlahun-ti-ku came forth, but he did not know of the descent of the sin of the mat, when he came into his power. The flower[9] was his mat, the flower was his chair. He sat in envy, he walked in envy. Envy was his plate, envy was his cup. There was envy in his heart, in his understanding, in his thought and in his speech. Ribald and insolent was his speech during his reign. At that time his food cries out, his drink cries out,[10] from the corner of his mouth when he eats, from the back of his claw[11] when he bites his food. He holds in his hand a piece of wood,[12] he holds in his hand a stone. Mighty[13] are his teeth; his face is that of Lahun Chan,[14] as he sits. Sin is <in> his face, in his speech, in his talk, in his understanding <and in> his walk. His eyes are blindfolded.[15] He

[1] Possibly the pollen-bearing insects and humming-birds are meant here. We find a masculine prefix.

[2] In the Tizimin and Mani versions we find: "there was the house of the flowers."

[3] Alternative translation: there was no other food than this, so they say.

[4] "Although they had a god of song whom they called Xocbi<l>tum, they worshipped the idol, the statue of an Indian who, they said, was a great singer and musician named Ah Kin Xooc. They adored him as the god of poetry and also called him Pizlimtec." Cogolludo Bk. 4, chap. 8.

[5] Alternative translation: to the root of the flower.

[6] The five-petaled flower, or *nicté*, is without doubt the Plumeria. The red Plumeria and the white Plumeria are considered the father and mother respectively of Nohochacyum, the head of the Lacandon Pantheon (Tozzer 1907, p. 93).

[7] Maya, *can-hek*: literally, four-branched.

[8] See note 4.

[9] Here the flower, probably a Plumeria, is closely associated with the idea of carnal sin. *Cf.* p. 104, note 15.

[10] "his food cries out, his drink cries out:" here the Mani and Tizimin versions of the narrative have been followed in the translation.

[11] *Xau*, translated here as claw, also means the toes of a man.

[12] Alternative translation: He holds in his hand a tree.

[13] Alternative translation: Great is his madness.

[14] Lahun Chan: see p. 101, note 2.

[15] A blindfolded god is pictured on page 50 of the Dresden Codex, and the blurred faces of the Lords of the Katuns on page 144 of the Chumayel are believed to represent the same thing.

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p.47 C seizes, he demands as his right,[1] the mat on which he sits/ during his reign. Forgotten is his father, forgotten is his mother, nor does his mother know her offspring. The heart is on fire alone in the fatherless one who despises his father, in the motherless one. He shall walk abroad giving the appearance of one drunk, without understanding, in company with his father, in company with his mother. There is no virtue in him, there is no goodness in his heart, only a little on the tip of his tongue. He does not know in what manner his end is to come; nor does he know what will be the end of his reign, when the period of his power shall terminate.

[2]This is Bolon-ti-ku. <Like that of> Bolon Chan[3] is the face of the ruler of men, the two day occupant of the mat and throne. He came in Katun 3 Ahau. After that there will be another lord of the land who will establish the law[4] of another katun, after the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau shall have run its course. At that time there shall be few children; then there shall be mourning among the Itza who speak our language brokenly.[5] Industry[6] <and> vigor finally take the place, in the first tun <of the new katun>, of the sin of the Itzá who speak our language brokenly. It is Bolon-ti-ku who shall come to his end <with> the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau. Then the riddle of the rulers of the land shall end the law of the katun. Then those of the lineage of the noble chiefs shall come into their own,[7] with the other men of discretion and with those of the lineage of the chiefs. Their faces had been trampled on the ground, and they had been overthrown by the unrestrained upstarts of the day and of the katun, the son of evil and the offspring of the harlot, who were born when their day dawned in Katun 3 Ahau. Thus shall end the power of those who are two-faced toward our Lord God.

But when the law of the katun shall have run its course, then God will bring about a great deluge again which will be the end of the world. When

[1] "He seizes, he demands as his right the mat," etc.: here the Mani and Tizimin versions have been followed, as indicated in the Maya text.

[2] As on page 103, we have here another interpolation which also treats of the interrogation of the chiefs in Katun 3 Ahau. *Cf.* p. 89.

[3] It seems likely that the Maya compiler has inadvertently written Bolon Chan for Lahun Chan. *Bolon* means nine, and *lahun* means ten. No personage by the name of Bolon Chan is known to the translator, while Lahun Chan is well known. See p. 101, note 2.

[4] The *than* of the katun is translated as its "law," following the explanation on page 171 of the Kaua MS., where it is defined as "*ordenanzas*." The expression recurs so frequently in this book that an explanation seems to be required. Primarily *than* means word, speech or language, but it also has a number of different meanings when employed figuratively. If it were not for this definition in the same context in the Kaua MS., we should be inclined to translate it as "the force, power and duration" of the katun. See Motul 1930, p. 875.

[5] "*Nun*, or *ah nun*: A stupid foreigner who does not know the language of the country, or a stammerer or a stutterer; also a stupid person whom it is of no use to teach" (Motul 1930, p. 695).

[6] Maya, *chuen*. The translation is based on the word, *ah-chuen*, defined as artisan (Motul).

[7] Possible alternative translation: Then those of the lineage of the noble chiefs shall appear. *Cf.* p. 92.

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this is over, then our Lord Jesus Christ shall descend over the valley of Jehoshaphat beside the town of Jerusalem/ where he redeemed us with his holy blood. He shall descend on a great cloud to bear true testimony that he was once obliged to suffer, stretched out on a cross of wood. Then shall descend in his great power and glory the true God who created heaven and earth and everything on earth. He shall descend to level off the world for the good and the bad, the conquerors <and> the captives.[1] p.48 C

XI

(THE RITUAL OF THE ANGELS)[2]

Dominus vobiscum ended the words of their song when there was neither heaven nor earth. When the world was submerged, when there was neither heaven nor earth, the three-cornered precious stone[3] of grace was born, after the divinity of the ruler was created,[4] when there was no heaven. Then there were born seven tuns, seven katuns, hanging in the heart of the wind,[5] the seven chosen ones. Then, they say, their seven graces[6] stirred also. Seven also were their holy images.[7] While they were still untarnished, occurred the birth of the first precious stone of grace, the first infinite[8] grace, when there was infinite night, when there was no God. Not yet had he received his Godhead.[9] Then he remained alone within the grace, within the night, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then he departed[10] at the end of the katun, as he could not be born in the first katun. There were his long locks of hair, *adeu ti paramii*;[11] his divinity came to him when he departed.

[1] Possible alternative translation: the conqueror of the stupid ones. *Cf.* text, p. 34, note 1.

[2] The following ritual is an example of the manner in which the Maya superimposed Christian doctrines on their own religious conceptions. An account of what we might call the Americanization of Christianity will be found in Appendix G.

[3] Maya *tun*. This usually means a precious stone, while an ordinary stone or rock is called *tunich*. *Tun* also means the pit of a fruit as well as the soft surface limestone of the country. In compound words designating things made of stone we find the same term employed; furthermore *tun* is the name of the Maya time-period of 365 days. It is important to the interpretation of this chapter to note that among the Maya the Spanish word *gracia*, here literally translated as "grace," is a ritualistic term employed to designate the young maize plant (information supplied by Dr. Redfield). Consequently the "three-cornered precious stone of grace" is doubtless also a liturgical term indicating a grain of corn.

[4] Alternative translation: was declared.

[5] Alternative translation: in the heart of the spirit. *Ik* may mean either wind, breath or spirit.

[6] Written *grasiail* in the text. [7] Written *santoil* in the text.

[8] Maya *picib*, here translated as though it were *picil* which means innumerable.

[9] Written *Diosil* in the text.

[10] Here *buki* is translated as though it were *luki*, he departed. *Buki* means to be beaten up, like wax, or as soil is pulverized for cultivation.

[11] Either for the purpose of mystification or to add solemnity to the ritual, this chapter is filled with Spanish and Latin words and names heard in the Christian church service. Here the "long locks of hair" are probably a reference to the corn-silk.

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Thereupon he became man in the second infinite precious stone of grace. Then there arrived in the second katun Alpilcon, as the angel was named when he was born. The second grace was permitted to depart in the second infinite night, when no one was present. Then he received his divinity, alone and through his own effort, when he came to depart. "*O firmar*" he said, when he
p.49 C received his divinity by/himself and through his own effort.

Thereupon he departed and went to the third infinite precious stone of grace. Alba Congel was the name of its angel. This was the third grace.

Let me proceed to the fourth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fourth night. Atea Ohe was the name of its angel. The fourth grace was born and began to speak, alone and through his own effort. "Oh god, the ruler! I am after all nothing in myself." These were his words in his concealment, in his divinity within the grace. "Let me still proceed," he said.

Then he went to the fifth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fifth infinite night. The fifth grace was born[1] in the fifth katun. Thereupon he was set up to declare his divinity. Then his angel was born; Decipto was the name of his angel when he was set up. "Since it is so, let me go. Who might I be? I am a god, a ruler, after all," and he declared his divinity all alone. "*A ninite dei sin*," he said when he received his divinity all by himself.

Then he went to the sixth infinite precious stone of grace, to the sixth measured night, to the sixth katun: "Ye gods, ye rulers! Make answer to my words. After all, I am nothing in myself alone."

The seventh grace was born. Conlamil was the name of his angel. "I deliver the things of god to you who are gods.[2] Answer my words. After all, there is no one; no one replies to my words." Thus he spoke as he caused the seventh grace to be born. And there was joy in his heart at the birth of the seventh katun, the seven lights, the seventh measured night <and> the seven infinite <things>.

Abiento bocayento de la zipil na[3] *de fente note. Sustina gracia, trece mili, uno cargo bende.* The first, the second, the thirteenth unfolding; thirteen banners of the katuns; three, seven, eight thousand. Then God the Father
p.50 C awoke to consciousness alone in person;/ in the three-cornered precious stone of grace he awoke to consciousness, God the Father, as his name was known

[1] It is possible that this word *zihil* should be translated as "originated" here, as we can not be sure that the "grace" or maize plant, is personified. The Spanish words for grace and angel often have a Maya suffix. The names of the angels are unfamiliar to the translator, but they are certainly not Maya.

[2] The Maya text: "*Ten kul u ba ku tex ku exe*," is translated as though it read: *Ten kub u bal ku tex ku exe.*

[3] In all this abracadabra only the words, *zipil na*, appear to be Maya and might possibly be translated as "house of sin." The reader is reminded that the sounds of d, f, g and r do not occur in the Maya language. Consequently the remainder appears to be a mixture of corrupted Latin and Spanish, and, it is to be suspected, meant little more to the Maya writer than "eena meena mina mo" does to the American child who recites the formula.

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to be. *Unidad* and God the Father, these were his names, cleft from the katun for you. There were three generations suddenly augmented in stature when he came. Seven were the generations of his angels.[1] Four times did he first speak. There was one seal[2] in the darkness, one seal on high. "I am the beginning and I shall be the end." Here are his words in their mighty entirety. "*Datate* here to that which has been received. I am *Unidate, I am also Unitata*, I am the Dove, I am *Unitata Anuni. Unidad* cometh."[3]

Nilu[4] was the name of the night. This was the first speech of God; this was the first speech of the Father. Of cleansed stone was his precious stone[5] alone in the night. *Etomas*, Çipancas was the name of the wind. Hun Katun was his father. *Otahocanil Aucangel* was the name of the wind.[6] H<i>eron was the name of the Wind. Xicluto-tu-tanil was the name of the wind. Virtutus was the name of the wind. Joramis was the name of the wind in the second katun. This was what he said when he changed the stone: "*Jaxyon-lacalpa.*" He covered the name of the holy heaven which our holy Lord, the Father raised up. Bolay[7] was the name of the serpent of the second heaven. He was in the dust at the feet of *Sustinal Gracia*,[8] as he was called. Then Lonmias[9] was formed. The sharp stone was his stone within the night. Zihon-tun[10] was his stone, when these stones were fixed in their places. Three times they were set at the foot of *Sustinal Gracia.* These stones were born, they were beneath the one stone, the mighty pointed stone,[11] the stone column, the mighty pointed clashing stone. They were manifested all over the world <by> God the Father,/ the first ruler. In the first katun was born the only p.51 C
son of God; in the second katun, the Father. In the third katun was *Expleo-u-caan*,[12] as he was called, who chastised him named *Chac Opilla* when he set up the heavens. *Enpileo-u-caan*[13] was his name. *Expleo* was his name within the

[1] Maya *cangel*, or *canhel*, the genuine Maya "angel," who was probably a wind-spirit. *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[2] Maya *ɔalab*, defined as a seal or mold. Literally it means "that which is pressed down on something." The reference is to the terra cotta stamps or molds employed in decorating pottery, and it is possible that they were also used to stamp certain decorations on the human body.

[3] Of these italicized words, *Anuni* is the only one which is not intended for Latin or Spanish. Possibly it is either a corrupted Nahuatl form or one taken from the Chol-Tzeltal group of languages.

[4] Possibly a reference to "Egyptian darkness."

[5] From here on, the *tun* appears to refer to a stela or monument.

[6] Maya *ik*, here translated as wind, also means breath, life and spirit. "*El espíritu, vida y aliento.*" Motul.

[7] *Bolay*, the general name for a beast of prey.

[8] Apparently a corruption of some form of the Latin *sustineo* and *gracia*, in which case it would probably mean "sustaining grace," or in other words, the maize plant which is our sustenance.

[9] Lonmias may be a corruption of Hieronymus.

[10] Zihontun might be translated as the created stone.

[11] Alternative translation: the red pointed stone.

[12] This mixture of Latin and Maya could be translated: I fill out the heavens.

[13] Possibly the *Cielo Empireo* is meant.

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first noose of God. Hebones was the only son of God. <Like>a mirror[1] he was borne astride on the shoulder of his father, on the stone of his father.

Then, it is said, the boldness[2] of the heaven on high was created. This was one grace, one stone; then fire was created, Tixitate was his name, the light of the heavens. Sustinal, they say, was the light from that which lighted the heaven. Acpa, it was, who made the katun after the light originated in the heavens. Alpa-u-manga was his name after it ended.

<These are> the angels[3] of the winds which were set up while he created the star, when the world was not yet lighted, when there was neither heaven nor earth: the Red Pauahtun, the White Pauahtun, the Black Pauahtun, the Yellow Pauahtun.[4]

Here was the first heaven where God the Father was set up, grasping in his hand his stone, grasping his *cangel*, grasping his wheel[5] on which are hung the four angels of the winds. Cerpinus was the name of him who, under Orele, measured[6] the land. They were three persons, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. He set up the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, which he said were held in the grasp of the god in heaven when he created them. This was the name of the heaven, *cristalino*.[7] Here were
p.52 C the Angels. Corpinus was the name of him/who held aloft on the palm of his hand the Blessed Father[8] when there was neither heaven nor earth. In-

[1] The Maya carried mirrors, possibly on the back or shoulder.

[2] Alternative translation: the bold one, the mad one, the turbulent one; possibly this is a confused recollection of the story of Lucifer. A Maya legend much resembling the Lucifer story is reported from Yucatan (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 177).

[3] Maya, *cangeles ik*. The reference is evidently to the so-called "angels," one of whom was set on the back of the image of the Red Bacab in the ceremony pertaining to the year ascribed to the east. This "angel" was a sign of good rains and favorable crops. Easterly winds have always been favorably regarded by the Maya, and the translator believes that this *cangel* (Landa's "angel" and Beltran's "dragon") was a wind-spirit. It probably looked more like a dragon than an angel. As we see here, there were four of them, and the word itself could well be translated as "the four changing ones." Consequently our "angels of the wind" would be originally the "four changing winds." *Cf.* p. 67, note 5.

[4] This passage confirms Baeza's account of the *misa milpera* (quoted in Brinton 1890, p. 166), in which it is stated that the four Pauahtuns are identical with the winds and the four cardinal points from which they blow. A discussion of the four cardinal points and the deities associated with them will be found in Appendix A.

[5] Maya, *kabalil*, is the primitive Yucatecan potter's wheel, which is only a block of wood on which the pot is turned by the feet of the potter. See Tozzer 1907, Plate 13, fig. 3. In the Codex Cortesianus (pp. 20-21 d), we see a wheel-like ceremonial object held by four bird-headed figures. The pictures illustrate a *tzol-kin* (or tonalamatl) divided into four parts and beginning with the day 4 Ik (4 Wind).

[6] We find several unexplained references to "measuring the land." *Cf.* p. 65.

[7] We find in the Books of Chilam Balam of Ixil and Kaua a diagram on which the earth is enclosed within eleven spheres labeled Luna, Mercurio, Venus, Sol, Marte, Jupiter, Saturno, Firmamento (containing the fixed stars), Christalino, Primer Mobil and Cielo Empireo. It is, of course, the popular idea of Ptolmaic astronomy in vogue at the time, and was not unlike the native conception of thirteen heavens, of which the earth itself counted as the first.

[8] Possible alternative translation: The blessing of the Father, etc.

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picco was his name when all the angels were asperged.[1] Baloyo was his name when <the water> was sprinkled.[2] Seros was his name, *Et sepeuas. Laus Deo.*

Below were Chac Bolay Balam[3] and the cacao called *balamté.*[4] Esperas was the name of the sixth heaven; Isperas was the name of the seventh heaven. Then the world was created by God the ruler in the seventh katun, created in the darkness named Espiritu. St. Edendeus <and> St. Eluceo were the saints who witnessed the birth of him who was hidden within the stone,[5] hidden within the night. *Se repite elitun entri de noche.* These were the words said by him who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night: *Tronas Aleseyo de mundo de gracia. En apedia tejo çipi dia te en pieted gracia. Santo Esuleptun jam estum est gracia. Suplilis el timeo me firme abin finitis gracia y metis absolutum ti metis de gracia. Abegintis gracia, Edendeo gracia, de fentis de gracia, fenoplis tun gracia. Locom dar yme gracia, tretris u mis gracia. Noçi luçi de gracia, in pricio de gracia, trese mili uno de cargo, leonte."*[6]

One, two, thirteen, one division, thirteen *bakam* of katuns. Three, seven, eight thousand was the creation of the world, when he who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night, was born, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then God the Father/spoke alone, by his own efforts, in the dark- p.53 C
ness that clung like a thrice withered fruit <to the tree>. This was the first word of God, when there was neither heaven nor earth, when he came out of the stone and fell into the second stone. Then it was that he declared his divinity. Then resounded eight thousand katuns at the word of the first stone of grace, the first ornamented[7] stone of grace. It was the macaw that warmed it well behind the *acantun.*[8]

Who was born when our father descended?

Thou knowest. There was born the first macaw who cast the stones behind the *acantun.*[9]

[1] Sprinkling with a consecrated liquid was an ancient Maya ceremony. Landa 1928, p. 184.

[2] Alternative translation: when they (the angels) were scattered.

[3] *Balam* is a general term for jaguar, but it can also mean priest. *Chac-bolay* is *Felis hernandesii goldmani* Mearns; but it was also the name of a certain evil spirit, and spreading the skin of this jaguar in the market-place was a symbol of war, famine and pestilence (Tizimin, p. 30).

[4] Balamté is the *Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.

[5] Maya, *u lamay tun,* probably the planted seed corn. The definition of this phrase, "the square stone," symbolizing the twenty years of the katun, has long been accepted. The word for squared, however, is *amay,* not *lamay,* which means sunk out of sight, hidden. *Cf.* Chumayel, p. 163, where we read of the "hell which is sunken within the world."

[6] Little, if any, of this hocus-pocus is Maya, and it is the conjecture of the translator that its source was some itinerant Spanish fortune-teller or astrologer. *Cf.* Aguilar 1900, p. 80. The repetition of the word *gracia* suggests an incantation to make the corn grow.

[7] Literally, embroidered. Maya: *hun piliz tun de gracia.*

[8] This reference recalls the legend of the divine macaw which brought down from heaven the fire to consume the sacrifice to Kinich Kakmó, the sun-god, at Izamal (Cogolludo 1868, I, p. 319). For an account of the *acantun,* see page 114, note 3.

[9] The text is confused here and the translation a little uncertain.

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How was the grain of maize born? How, indeed, father?

Thou knowest. The tender green <shoot> was born in heaven.

"*Ciripacte, horca mundo. Ni mompan est noche. Amanena, omonena, apa opa,*" <was said> when the wind emerged from the great stone of grace. "*Cipiones ted coruna, pater profecido,*" were his words when he arrived at the seventh stratum of the solid rock of grace.[1] "*Bal te piones, orteçipio, reçi quenta noche. Hun ebrietate, hun cute profeciado,*" were the words of the Angel, Jerupiter. Then the sky was put in its place, *Corporales ti ojales,* by the first pope, the face of the katun, the burden of the Katun 13 Ahau. The face of the sun shall be turned from its course, it shall be turned face down during the reign of the perishable men, the perishable rulers. Five days the sun is eclipsed, and then shall be seen the torch of <Katun> 13 Ahau, a sign
p.54 C given by God that death shall come to the rulers/of this land. Thus it shall come about that the first rulers are driven from their towns. Then Christianity <shall> have come here to the land.

Thus it is that God, our Father, gives a sign when they shall come, because there is no agreement. The descendants <of the former rulers> are dishonored and brought to misery; we are christianized, while they treat us like animals. There is sorrow in the heart of God because of these "suckers."[2]

In the year Fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, 1539, to the east was the door of the House of Don Juan Montejo,[3] to introduce Christianity here to the land of Yucalpeten, Yucatan.

p.55 C Chilam Balam, the prophet./[4]

p.56 C Thus today is not an unlucky day[5] . . ./

[1] Probably a fanciful conception of the structure of the maize-kernel.

[2] Possibly this is a reference to the name first given to the Spaniards. They were called "suckers of anonas," because they were seen eating the pond-apple, an insipid fruit not considered edible by the natives.

[3] Here as elsewhere Don Juan de Montejo is confused with his father, Don Francisco, the Spanish conqueror. The door of the old Montejo mansion in Merida faces north, not east, and it is the belief of the translator that this reference is not to the actual house of Montejo, but to the compartment, or so-called "house," of the katun-wheel in which is pictured Katun 11 Ahau, the first katun of the Spanish Conquest in which Montejo ruled the country. The katun-wheel on page 132 of the Chumayel ascribes Katun 11 Ahau to the east.

[4] Written in a different hand.

[5] Written in a different hand.

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This was his name, God the Father, when he came to exist in person, after the creation of the world and the earth. This was then his name.

Joshua was his second name. In his third person, his name for the third time was Mesister in Latin, Dei in the vernacular.

FIG. 25—The names and symbols of God. (Chumayel MS.)./

The Red Pauahtun was Utcorusis.

The White Pauahtun was Corocalbo.

The Black Pauahtun was Corusi-provento.

The Yellow Pauahtun was Moses.

No vis.

No va.

Messiah was the name of God before the heavens and the earth were created. Messiah the Christ, was his name. Then he created the Angels. But it was manifested to God that half of the Angels were destined to sin.

The second name of God was Emanuel. To this was added his third name; this then was Jeremiah, his name when there was neither heaven nor earth.

p.57 C

The misspelled Latin and Spanish names may have been taken from some Spanish treatise on astrology or magic. The decoration here is evidently borrowed from some Spanish religious book.

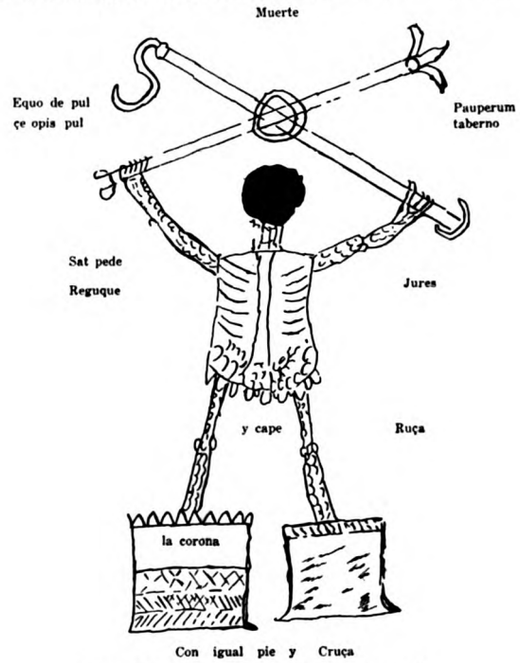

FIG. 26—Death is ruler over all. (Chumayel MS.)/

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This picture is probably taken bodily from some Spanish almanac.

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XII

(A SONG OF THE ITZÁ)

Damascus was the name of the plain where our first father, Adam, was created by God. This was his name, his first name was Adam, after his soul entered <into him>, after Paradise was set up. After Adam had then been created, then was created our first mother, Eve, the first woman, the mother of the whole world. Drops of moisture formed on the stones and bushes for the first time,[1] they say, created when there was no sky.

But <God> the Father was created alone and by his own effort in the darkness. But the stones were created separately.[2] This was the land of Acantun.[3] This was created after Adam was formed also. They were put in the place where the Acans are. Thus it was that he named them when he created them all. These were the first people.

God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, these are the joint <names> of God. They were created in the stone, the red slender stone and the worn stone of grace. His name is the Word, Josustin Graçia.[4]

However, at the same time there was born in the stone, the black stone of terror, the one named Verbum-tuorum, Ix-coal-tun, lx-coal-cab,[5] taken by the mistress of the world.[6] Then there was set in its place the thrice seasoned heaven,[7] the seasoned heaven. White and clean, it lay guarded in the heart of *Sustinal Gracia.*[8] Thirteen orders of katuns[9] lay prostrate in the stone. Then the ruler, Hunac Ceel, stirred into motion.[10]

The song:[11] Ho! What is so precious as we are? It is the precious jewel <worn on the breast.> Ho! What is the distinction of righteous men? It is my mantle, my loin-cloth. So spoke the god. Then do you mourn for anyone?

[1] "But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." Genesis II, 6.

[2] Alternative translation: But others were created separately.

[3] Acantun could be translated as a stone set up on a foundation. The four Acantuns were stone columns set up to represent the four Bacabs at the New Years' ceremonies (Landa 1929, pp. 22-40). *Cf.* Dresden MS. pp. 25C-28C.

[4] Perhaps *Josué sustina gracia* is intended, a pious interpolation which might mean: Jesus, the sustaining grace, the maize plant which sustains us.

[5] These names might be translated, the harlot born of the stone, the harlot born of the earth. Here is doubtless a reference to the black pustules of the corn-smut.

[6] "The mistress of heaven" was a term applied to the Holy Virgin; here we may have the direct opposite.

[7] Maya: *ox-cocox-caan.* Cocox is a term applied to cacao which has seasoned or ripened on the tree, also a fruit which withers on the tree before it ripens.

[8] *Sustinal Gracia* probably refers to the growing maize.

[9] Alternative translation: Thirteen times eight thousand katuns.

[10] *Uilim*, here translated as motion, is an unusual word. *Uil*, among other meanings, could signify the stirring of leaves or branches. *Uii* is a tuberous root, and the phrase has been translated: "*se movió la semilla del Senor Hunac Ceel*" (Mediz Bolio 1930, p. 68).

[11] *Kay* (song) is written in the margin in what appears to be the hand of the compiler. From this point on, we find a genuine old Maya song almost unaffected by post-Conquest influences.

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No one. A tender boy[1] was I at Chicĥen, when the evil man, the master of the army,[2] came to seize the land. Woe![3]/At Cĥichen Itzá heresy was favored![4] *Yulu uayano!*[5] Ho! 1 Imix was the day when the ruler was seized at Chikin-cĥen.[6] Ho! Where thou art, there is the god. Ho! 1 Imix was the day he said this. At Chicĥen Itzá heresy was favored! Yulu uayano! Buried, buried![7] This was their cry. Buried, buried! This they also knew[8] . . . This also was their cry on that first day of Yaxkin, that mighty day, 2 Akbal, they came. Woe! Woe! Woe! *Yulu uayano!* Is there perhaps anyone who by chance has awakened? Force was brought to bear for the second time.[9] Woe! For the third time was established the religious festival[10] of our enemies,[11] our enemies. *Uuiyao!*[12] Soon it will come to Cĥichen Itzá, <where> heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!* <In> the third heaven is the sun.[13] Behold! Who am I said to be among men?[14] I am a leafy covering.[15] Eya! Who am I among the people of Putun?[16] You do not understand me. *Eya!* I was

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[1] A tender boy, Maya, *munal*. "Mun: something tender and unmatured, before it ripens, like fruit and young boys." Motul. Possibly *mun nal* is intended and the young maize plant or ear is meant.

[2] Alternative translation: the lord of the katun *(u tah katun)*.

[3] *Ayano*, an old Toltec interjection of sorrow.

[4] We have seen idolators referred to as "heretics" on page 79. Here we have a reference to an old legend related to the first Spanish settlers, probably by Gaspar Antonio. "It is told that the first inhabitants of Chicĥen Itzá were not idolators until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He taught idolatry, as they say it was he who taught them." Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 270. This would be in the Tenth Century A.D. *Cf.* prophecy on p. 161. The story is hardly to be taken literally and probably refers to a change in the religion of Yucatan and the introduction of the Quetzalcoatl cult.

[5] The translator believes this to be another old Toltec interjection.

[6] Lit. West-well, perhaps the modern Chikinɔonot southwest of Valladolid, but more likely some locality near Chicĥen Itzá.

[7] We find in the prophecies a reference to certain tribute being buried or hidden at Chicĥen Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau which probably occurred in the Tenth Century A.D. (Tizimin p. 28). Perhaps, however, merely the planted corn is meant here.

[8] The next two words, *thunci yaue*, are not translated. They appear to mean: after something was spattered. *Yaue* is probably a mistake of the compiler.

[9] According to the Mani and Tizimin Chronicles the conquest of Chichen by the Itzá in Katun 4 Ahau was their second occupation of the city.

[10] Lit. the day of the god. *Cf.* Motul.

[11] In the katun-prophecies we shall see the Itzá referred to as enemies. This third triumph may refer to the conquest by Hunac Ceel.

[12] *Uuiyao*: probably an interjection. It might mean hunger or famine.

[13] Maya, *Oxte caan u kin*. Probably a chronological statement, referring to the position of the sun at the time. The sky was divided into thirteen layers or heavens, *Oxlahun-caan* (lit. thirteenth heaven or thirteen heavens) was the full moon. Motul.

[14] Maya, *tan yol uinice*. Lit. in the midst of men. *Tan yol che* means in the forest, *i.e.* in the midst of the trees.

[15] Maya, *Cen u mac lee*. This may be an error of the compiler.

[16] Putun is a geographical term and refers to the people living near Laguna de Términos, in the ancient Province of Tixchel. There is also a town named Tixchel, where the people "speak a different language called *Putun-than*, otherwise named *Chontal*, although in many words it is close to the Maya, so that if one is known, the other is easily learned" (Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 452). A study of the language is found in Blom & LaFarge 1927, II, p. 465. Possibly *putun* is also a Maya word. The translator recalls hearing of a variety of chile called *putun-ic*.

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created in the night. What were we born? *Eya!* We were <like> tame animals <to> Mizcit Ahau.[1] <But> an end comes to his roguery. Behold, so I remember my song.[2] Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano! Eya!* I die, he said, because of the town festival.[3] *Eya!* I shall come, he said, because of the destruction of the town. This is the end <of what is> in his mind, of what he thought in his heart. Me, he did not destroy. I tell what I have remembered
p.60 C in my song. Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!/* This is all of the song, the completion of the message of the Lord God.[4]

XIII

(THE CREATION OF THE UINAL)[5]

Thus it was recorded <by> the first sage, Melchise<dek>,[6] the first prophet, Napuc Tun,[7] the priest, the first priest. This is a song of how the *uinal* came to be created before the creation of the world.[8] Then he began to march by his own effort alone. Then said his maternal grandmother, then said his maternal aunt, then said his paternal grandmother, then said his sister-in-law: "What shall we say when we see man on the road?" These were their words as they marched along, when there was no man <as yet>. Then they arrived there in the east and began to speak. "Who has passed here? Here are footprints. Measure it off with your foot." So spoke the mistress of the world.[9] Then he measured the footstep of our Lord, God[10] the Father. This was the reason it was called counting off the whole earth, *lahca* (12) Oc.[11] This was the count, after it had been created by <the day> 13 Oc, after his feet were joined evenly, after they had departed there in the east. Then he spoke

[1] Possibly one of the conquerors associated with Hunac Ceel. *Cf.* p. 74. Alternative translation: We were your companions, Mizcit Ahau.

[2] Alternative translation: I abhorred my song.

[3] Possibly a reference to human sacrifice.

[4] Except, perhaps, for some of the prophecies which may have been sung, we have here a unique example of the old songs of the Maya. It was probably little understood in the Eighteenth Century when the Chumayel was compiled. The repeated refrain, *Antan hereyao*, here translated as "heresy was favored," is likely to be the distortion of some old Toltec chant.

[5] The Maya *uinal* was a period of twenty days, each with a different name. The Maya year, or *haab*, was composed of eighteen such uinals and a closing period of five days known as *xma kaba kin*, or nameless days.

[6] Written *Merchise* in the Maya text. The presence of an r indicates a European word or name, but it does not follow that it was an r in Spanish. R and l sounded alike to the Maya ear, and in native documents we find the name Melchor written Merchor. We have already seen Bible names piously interpolated in native legends. The last syllable is here supplied by the translator.

[7] A famous Maya prophet who foretold the coming of the Spaniards. See Appendix D.

[8] *Tima to ahac cab*; this could also be translated: before it dawned.

[9] The mistress of the world. *Cf.* 114, note 6.

[10] Alternative translation: Then our Lord, God the Father, measured his footstep.

[11] In other words, the day 12 Oc (*lahca Oc*) is derived from the phrase, *xoc lah cab oc*, which means counting off the whole world by footsteps.

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its name when the day had no name, after he had marched along with his maternal grandmother, his maternal aunt, his paternal grandmother and his sister-in-law. The uinal was created, the day, as it was called, was created, heaven and earth were created, the stairway[1] of water, the earth, rocks and trees; the things of the sea and the things of the land were created.

On 1 Chuen he raised himself to his divinity, after he had made heaven and earth.

On 2 Eb he made the first stairway. It descended from the midst of the heavens, in the midst of the water, when there were neither earth, rocks nor trees.

On 3 Ben he made all things, as many as there are, the things of the heavens, the things of the sea and the things of the earth./ p.61 C

On 4 Ix sky and earth were tilted.[2]

On 5 Men he made everything.

On 6 Cib the first candle[3] was made; it became light when there was neither sun nor moon.

On 7 Caban honey[4] was first created, when we had none.

On 8 Eɔnab his hand and foot were firmly set, then he picked up small things on the ground.

On 9 Cauac hell was first considered.

On 10 Ahau wicked men went to hell because of God the Father, that they might not be noticed.

On 11 Imix rocks and trees were formed; this he did within the day.

On 12 Ik the breath of life[5] was created. The reason it was called Ik was because there was no death in it.

On 13 Akbal he took water and watered the ground. Then he shaped it and it became man.

On 1 Kan he first created anger because of the evil he had created.

On 2 Chicchan occurred the discovery of whatever evil he saw within the town.

[1] Maya *eb* is the name of one of the days, and also means stairway. It is probably derived from *e*, a point, and refers to a series of points or indentations (Seler 1902, p. 482). Why it is connected with water is uncertain, but the fact is confirmed on page 74 of the Dresden Codex. Here we see the old goddess with the jaguar claws emptying a jar of water upon the earth, and in the descending stream of water is pictured the day-sign Eb.

[2] Possibly a reference to the horizon where earth and sky meet.

[3] *Cib*, which has meant candle since the Spanish occupation, appears to have always been the word for wax. We can find no evidence of the use of candles before the Conquest, but according to the reports of the Sixteenth Century settlers there was such an extensive trade in beeswax that it is difficult to believe that it dated only from the Spanish occupation of the country (Relaciones de Yucatan). *Cf.* p. 101, note 6.

[4] *Cab*, here translated as honey, could also mean the earth.

[5] *Ik* can mean either wind or the breath of life. The context appears to call for the latter rendering.

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On 3 Cimi he invented death; it happened that our Lord God invented the first death.[1]

On 5 Lamat he established the seven great waters of the sea.

On 6 Muluc all valleys were submerged, when the world was not yet created.[2] Then occurred the invention of the word of our Lord God, when there was no word in heaven, when there were neither rocks nor trees.

Then they went to consider <what they were>, and <the voice> spoke as follows:/"Thirteen entities, seven entities, one."[3] So it spoke when the word came forth, at the time when there was no word. Then the reason was
p.62 C sought by the first ruling day (the first day Ahau) why the meaning of the word to them was not revealed[4] so that they could declare themselves. Then they went to the center of heaven and joined hands. Then the following were set up in the middle of the land: the Burners, four of them:

4 Chicchan, the Burner.
4 Oc, the Burner.
4 Men, the Burner.
4 Ahau, the Burner.
These are the four Rulers.

8	Muluc		5 Cauac
9	Oc		6 Ahau
10	Chuen	2	7 Imix
11	Eb		8 Ik
12	Ben	4	9 Akbal
13	Ix	5	10 Kan
1	Men	6	11 Chicchen
2	Cib		12 Cimi
3	Caban	7	13 Manik
4	Eɔnab		1 Lamat[5]

[1] Following the day 3 Cimi, 4 Manik is omitted.

[2] Possibly a reference to the belief in a previous creation which was destroyed by water. Throughout this passage everything that occurred is told in language which is a play of words on the name of the day.

The day-name Oc is a homonym for the word meaning foot. Ix has a slight resemblance to the root of *nixpahal* meaning to tilt. Men means to make or to do something. The syllable *eɔ* of Eɔnab means to set something firmly on the ground. Nevertheless the Maya were not unaware of the relation between this day and the flint knife pictured by its glyph, for in another manuscript we find it associated with a flint, as well as with the blood-letter and the warrior, both of whom employed this implement (Kaua, p. 21).

The association of the day Ahau with hell *(metnal)* may be because of its resemblance to that of Cumhau (or Hun Ahau,) one of the names of the god of the underworld and whom the author of the Motul Dictionary identifies as "Lucifer, the prince of the devils." Akbal is associated with the verb *akzah*, which means to water the ground. Chicchan resembles *chictahal* which means to find. The day-name Cimi and the Maya word meaning death are homonyms. Muluc resembles the verb *mucchahal* meaning to be buried or submerged.

[3] The twenty day-names were combined with the numbers one to thirteen. When the numerical series of thirteen was completed, it began over again and was repeated for seven days more. Consequently we have 13 days+7 days=1 *uinal*.

[4] *Hepahac*, here translated as revealed, literally means opened, like a door.

[5] This series of twenty days could be the first *uinal* of a Year 8 Muluc which recurred every 52 years. From the time of the Conquest down to the compilation of the Chumayel, this year could have fallen in 1562, 1614, 1666, 1718 and 1770. The meaning of the numbers between the columns of days is not clear. If it is a secondary count beginning on the day 6 Ahau, then 13 Manik is wrongly numbered 7.

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The uinal was created, the earth was created; sky, earth, trees and rocks were set in order; all things were created by our Lord God, the Father./ Thus p.63 C he was there in his divinity, in the clouds, alone and by his own effort, when he created the entire world, when he moved in the heavens in his divinity. Thus he ruled in his great power.[1] Every day is set in order according to the count, beginning in the east, as it is arranged.

XIV

(A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST)

This is the name of the year when the foreigners arrived, the year One thousand five hundred and nineteen. This was the year when the foreigners arrived here at our town, <the town> of us, the Itzá, here in the land of Yucalpeten,[2] Yucatan, in the speech of the Maya Itzá.

So said the first Adelantado; Don Juan de Montejo,[3] because he was thus informed by Don Lorenso Chable when he listened to this conqueror[4] at Tixkokob. He received the foreigners with all his heart. This was the reason they named him Don Lorenso Chable, because he gave well-roasted meat to the foreigners and all the captains. He had a son also named Don Martin Chable.[5]

This is the year which was current when the foreigners prepared to seize *Yucalpeten*[6] here. It was known by the priest, the prophet, Ah Xupan,[7] as he was called. Christianity was introduced to us in the year 1519.[8] The church at Merida was founded in the year 1540.[9] In the year 1599 the church at

[1] Among the modern Jacalteca Indians it is still believed that the days were once men who lived on the earth. They were rulers who protected the village or divided the land (Lafarge and Byers 1931, p. 159).

[2] Yucalpeten is an attempt to turn into Maya the name Yucatan given by the Spaniards. The origin of the latter has been variously explained. The most plausible account is that of Ah Naum Pech, a contemporary of the Conquest. He states: "The Christian captains asked them in the Spanish language where they lived. They did not comprehend and merely replied, 'We do not understand what you say.' This they said, and <the Spaniards> called it Yucatan. It was the Land of the Turkey, the Land of the Deer" (Martinez 1926, p. 27).

[3] Here again the son, Don Juan, is confused with his father, Don Francisco de Montejo, who conquered Yucatan.

[4] The Maya allies of the Spaniards who had assisted in the Conquest afterwards called themselves "*conquistadores*" (Brinton 1882, p. 216). This was evidently the priest, Ah Kin Chable, mentioned on page 86. However, Montejo may be the conqueror referred to here.

[5] The Chablé family of Tixkokob does not appear to have lived up to expectations. Already in 1581 or thereabouts, Diego de Santillan, the husband of Doña Beatriz de Montejo, writes of this town: "The governor of the said town of Tixkokob is Lorenzo Puch from the town of San Cristóbal de los Naborios (a suburb of Merida). For although the said town has a native chief, the government of the said town has not been entrusted to him, as he is not capable of it" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 281).

[6] Yucalpeten, a Maya imitation of the name Yucatan, has been translated as "the neck of the land" (Molina Solís 1896, p. 168).

[7] Ah Xupan, an early Maya prophet. *Cf.* Tizimin p. 13 and Appendix D.

[8] Cortez exhorted the Indians at Cozumel to accept Christianity and set up a cross for them in 1519 (Herrera 1725, Dec. 2, Book 2, Chap. 3).

[9] Although Montejo reached Merida in 1540, the Spanish city was not founded until early in 1542.

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Merida was completed. In the year 1648 yellow fever[1] occurred and the sick-
p.64 C ness[2] began <to afflict> us./

There was death by famine for five years, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653 and 1654. Then the famine ended. There was a hurricane which killed Father Agustin Gomes in the year 1661. There was a drought in the year 1669. <The disease called> *uzankak*[3] occurred in 1692.

XV

(THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM AND THE STORY OF ANTONIO MARTINEZ[4])

<Let it be known that the day then arrived>[5] when the tenth katun[6] was

[1] Maya *xe-kik*, literally blood-vomit.

[2] This was the famous epidemic recorded in the French colony of Guadeloupe in this year. It broke out in Campeche in June and lasted for the next two years. Molina Solís 1910, p. 168. The Maya *cimil* can be translated as either sickness or death.

[3] *Uzankak* is a term applied to both measles and scarlatina.

[4] The following combined prophecy and narrative in the Chumayel is immediately joined to and made a part of the chronicle contained in the previous chapter, following the statement that a certain epidemic occurred in the year 1692.

Two parallel versions of the material contained in the present chapter are found in the Tizimin (pp. 14-16) and Mani (pp. 109-116) manuscripts. The fullest account is that of the Mani, but the Tizimin version is probably the oldest, as it retains the Maya forms of a number of words which are translated into Spanish in the Mani and Chumayel. Both the Tizimin and Mani versions contain an explanatory introduction which is completely lacking in the Chumayel.

The Mani version bears the following title: *U than hahal ku tu nathob Chilam*, which could be translated: The words of the true God which Chilam understood. The introduction states that the other great Maya prophets (see Appendix D) assembled at the house of Chilam Balam, here also called Ah Nacom Balam and indicating that he was the official sacrificial priest (Landa 1928, p. 194). Chilam Balam lay stretched out in a trance in his room, while he received a revelation which seems to have descended from the roof of the house, and which only he understood. Finally all the others threw themselves on their faces, and Chilam Balam is said to have delivered the prophecy contained in this chapter.

In this prophecy we find inserted bodily the story of a certain Antonio Martínez, an adventurer who proobably lived long after the Spanish Conquest. His name does not appear in any of the Spanish histories of Yucatan. A portion of the actual prophecy evidently dates from ancient times and is written in very obscure language, while other passages are inspired by events which occurred after the Spanish occupation.

[5] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani version of this prophecy.

[6] In the Tizimin and Mani versions it is called "the first katun." Katun 11 Ahau is usually called the first katun. (*Cf.* p. 147.) Not only was it the first katun of the Spanish occupation, but it also began with the day 1 Imix which was the first day of the *tzol-kin*, or tonalamatl. Possibly it is here called the tenth katun because the Eighteenth Century Maya copyist found it recorded immediately after the date 1692. According to several Eighteenth Century Maya writers a Katun 10 Ahau should have ended in 1692, but their deduction is not supported by the historical evidence (Tizimin, p. 1; Mani, p. 135; *cf.* Seler 1902, pp. 591-592).

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established, when the katun of the Plumeria flower was established.[1] For three moons[2] had been established Yuma-une-tziuit,[3] the quetzal, the green bird.[4] Then there shall be present the forceful one,[5] there would be Nine Mountains,[6] Yuma-une-tziuit, the quetzal, the green bird. No one understands the penance among the rulers[7] in the twelfth tun when he declared his name. <Like> a jaguar is his head, long is his tooth,[8] withered[9] is his body, <like> a dog[10] is his body. His heart is pierced with sorrow.[11] Sweet is his food, sweet is his drink. Perchance he does not speak,[12] perchance he will not hear. They say his speech is false and mad.[13] Nowhere do the younger sisters, native

[1] The erotic significance of the Plumeria flower has already been discussed (p. 104, note 15). But that this eroticism was always sinful may be doubted, for it was associated with lawful marriage and with the father and mother of Nohochacyum, the head of the Lacandon Pantheon. Furthermore the corollas of this flower are strung in chains and still used as decorations in churches, a custom which probably dates from ancient times (Standley 1930, p. 384). Consequently it may be inferred that many of its associations were innocent and simply concerned the reproduction of the race. Nevertheless, it may have been associated with Kukulcan because of the introduction of certain erotic religious practises by the Toltecs, and with the coming of the Spaniards on account of the manner in which European soldiers of the Sixteenth Century usually behaved toward the women of a newly conquered population. Maya warriors probably carried off women captives to make slaves and concubines of them, but it is doubtful that they practised violation in warfare. Compare with the prophecy for Katun 7 Ahau, p. 151.

[2] Maya *uu*. This refers to an actual lunation, and not to the Maya month of 20 days which was called *uinal*.

[3] This name is not Maya. The division made here is in accordance with the Maya texts. Its usual association with the quetzal leads to the conclusion that it is closely connected with Kukulcan and may be another name for the Mexican culture-hero.

[4] The quetzal, the green bird, Maya *kuk yaxum*. For *yaxum* see p. 63, note 6. *Kuk* usually means a sprout or shoot, hence offspring or descendants (Motul). Here we believe it refers to the quetzal, which is also called *kùk* in Kekchi and *xman k'uk* in Chol (Sapper 1927, p. 428). The Maya word for feather is *kukum*; but it is very possible that the name, Kukul-can, is derived directly from *kuk*, quetzal, and *can*, serpent, making it a literal translation of the Nahuatl Quetzalcoatl.

[5] The translator can make little out of the Maya expression found here in the Chumayel, *u may chiiceh*. *May* can mean either hoof or a fine powder, and *chiich* means forcefully. The variant found in the Mani version of this passage, *ah chich* is quite intelligible and means "the forceful one."

[6] Nine Mountains, Maya, *Bolonte uitz*. One of the Chumayel chronicles (p. 139) gives this place as the origin of one of the groups of people who later settled in Yucatan, probably the Itzá. *Cf*. p. 64, note 3.

[7] If some of the most powerful families of Yucatan, like the Xius, were of foreign origin, they would have penances and other religious practises not understood by the ordinary people. *Cf*. Appendix E.

[8] The Maya *coo* can mean either the tooth of an animal or man, or the bill of a bird.

[9] The various Maya compilers of the Books of Chilam Balam appear to have been uncertain about this passage. The Chumayel text reads *ɔuɔul* which means withered or shriveled; the Mani version gives *thul* which could be translated: "like a rabbit;" while the Tizimin variant is *tzutzui* which means dove. Among the Mexicans Quetzalcoatl was pictured as having a face not altogether human.

[10] The Tizimin version is "disgusting is his body."

[11] Both the Mani and Tizimin versions read: "His heart is pierced by a dart."

[12] Supplied from the Tizimin version.

[13] Alternative translation: false and lewd.

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to the land, surrender themselves. They shall be taken away from the land here. So it shall always be with the maidens, the daughters whom they shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow. Give yourselves up, my younger brothers, my older brothers, submit[1] to the unhappy destiny of the katun which is to come. If you do not submit, you shall be moved from where your feet are rooted.[2] If you do not submit, you shall gnaw the trunks of trees and herbs.[3] If you do not submit, it shall be as when the deer die,[4] so that they go forth from your settlement. Then <even> when the ruler <himself> goes forth, he shall return within your settlement bearing nothing.[5] Also there shall come <such a pestilence that> the vultures enter the houses,[6] a time of great death among the wild animals.[7] There shall be three kinds of bread, <the bread-nut[8] shall be their bread> in the katun of the Plumeria flower. Then <comes the time>[9] when thirteen layers of mats are laid down for the very mad one,[10] for the adulterer. Then comes the <papal> bull[11] of six divisions. Three times the bull shall be announced. Then the judge of the bull shall come, when he <who bears> the gold staff[12] shall judge, when white wax
p.65 C <candles>[13] shall be exchanged./ It is to be white wax, when justice shall descend from Heaven, for Christian men to come up before the eye of justice.[14] Then it shall shake heaven and earth. In sorrow shall end the katun of the Plumeria flower. No one shall fulfil his promises. The prop-roots of the trees shall be bent over.[15] There shall be an earthquake all over the land. The fulfil-

[1] Literally, make way, etc.

[2] The missionaries caused much suffering by forcibly moving country people from their homes and collecting them in towns to facilitate their conversion to Christianity (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 68).

[3] Many people fled to the forests to escape from the missionaries and Spanish officials (Cogolludo 1868, Book 10, Chap. 2).

[4] Maya *cim-cehil*, when the deer die, *i.e.* when there is such a severe drought that the water holes in the rocks dry up and the deer die of thirst. *Cf.* Tizimin version.

[5] In times of famine, practically always the result of drought, people of the affected area would leave their villages and wander about the country to exchange their personal property for food. We may infer from this passage that when the chief was obliged to do this, the situation was exceptionally serious.

[6] Maya, *oc-na-kuchil*. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, p. 151.

[7] It is difficult to explain what is meant by this general mortality of wild animals. The text indicates an epidemic.

[8] Maya *ox*, *Brosimum alicastrum* Sw., the *ramon* or bread-nut, the fruit of which was eaten especially in time of famine. The second kind of bread would be maize, and the third would be the *cup* (*Calopogonium cœruleum* Benth., or jícama cimarrona) usually also mentioned in this connection. *Cf.* p. 103, notes 10 and 11.

[9] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[10] Madness and immorality are frequently associated in the Books of Chilam Balam.

[11] The Spanish word, *bula*, is employed in the Maya text.

[12] This may be a reference to the bishop's crozier.

[13] Mediz Bolio (1930, p. 75, note 147) considers this a reference to votive offerings of wax.

[14] The Tizimin version reads: "when the eye of justice shall sleep."

[15] This may be the result of the earthquake mentioned in the following sentence, but Mediz Bolio suggests that a gallows is meant (1930, p. 76).

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ment of the prophecy of the katun of the Plumeria flower shall be for sale.[1] There is no reason or necessity for you to submit[2] to the Archbishop. When he comes, you shall go and hide yourselves in the forest. If you surrender yourselves, you shall follow Christ, when he shall come. Then his visitation[3] shall end. Then shall come to pass the shaking[4] of the Plumeria flower. Then you shall understand. Then it shall thunder from a dry sky. Then shall be spoken that which is written on the wall. Then you shall set up God,[5] that is, you shall admit his divinity to your hearts. I hardly know what wise man among you will understand. He who understands will go into the forest to serve Christianity. Who will understand it?

After only fourteen years[6] of chieftainship, permanently the Son[7] shall arrive, Don Antonio Martínez[8] and Saul. These were his names when he departed from heaven. At that time he went to Tzimentan,[9] and when he was at Tzimentan a certain queen said she would marry him. For seven years he was married, when the golden doors of the house of four apartments[10] were opened. <Here>he was shown how, and he equipped[11] a fleet of thirteen ships. Then he began a war with the land of Havana.[12] The King[13] had a friend at Havana, and the King was advised by his friend. The public prosecutor was there with him. Then he went and heard that <the man> was to be seized. Whereupon he departed and went to Tzimentan. It was three months after he was seized that the man who took him departed. Then he arrived at Tzimentan. When <the man> was seized,/ he cut short the words of him who took him p.66 C when he arrived at Tzimentan, and he said: "Go, man." These were his

[1] Possibly a reference to the money paid for indulgences, which are compared here to the prophecy of the Maya priests.

[2] Literally: "to give your heads to the Archbishop."

[3] Written *visita* in the text. The Tizimin version gives the Maya equivalent: "*Ca bin ɔococ u thibah a uichil ex.*"

[4] Evidently a reference to some ceremonial act, possibly the sprinkling of some consecrated liquid.

[5] Alternative translation: declare his divinity.

[6] Three and a half katuns are mentioned in the Tizimin version and four katuns in the Mani.

[7] Maya, *mehenbil*. The Tizimin substitutes the word, *almehenil*, the nobleman.

[8] The Spanish historians do not mention this personage. There is an allusion in the prophecy for Katun 1 Ahau (p. 158), which might place him some time during the fifth and sixth decades of the Seventeenth Century. His other name, Saul, is given as Xaul in the Tizimin and Mani versions.

[9] We are unable to identify this town. Mediz Bolio conjectures that it was some port on the northeastern coast of Yucatan frequented by the Protestant buccaneers, among whom were numbered the members of many strange sects (Mediz Bolio 1930, p. 77).

[10] Probably a public building, such as the church, as we read that the "town marriages" were performed in the *can-kaz-na*, as it is called in Maya (Chumayel, p. 159). The idea of golden doors is a purely European conception and may refer to the entrance to the chancel.

[11] Maya, *tuz-zihzah*. The Mani and Tizimin versions read *likzah* which could mean "raised a fleet," etc.

[12] Probably a piratical raid on the coast of Cuba is meant.

[13] Our text reads, *Rey*, while the Tizimin gives its Maya equivalent, *ahau*.

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words to him. "It is three months <since> I arrived," he said. "It is three months, now, <since> you departed. It was three months <ago> that you arrived, since you arrived, since you are shut up in the prison; in the meantime I come. I will take you out of prison. You two captains shall follow me." he said.

"Let nine chairs be raised up for us to sit on.[1] The sea shall burn. I shall be raised up." There was fire in his eye. Sand and spray shall be raised aloft. The face of the sun shall be darkened by the great tempest. Whereupon the captain accoutered himself. <Everything> shall be blown to the ground by the wind. In the meantime I sit on my chair; in the meantime the fleet of thirteen ships comes. Then the King[2] accouters himself also. "Prepare yourself, my lord! There come the French." These were his words to me. "We shall be killed by <these> men. For what reason does your strength fail because of your compatriots? Let me go and direct the ship from the middle." My own spirits are raised also. The sea upon which I go burns. The face of the heavens is tilted. But when I came down into his presence, the ship was lost.[3] "What man are you?" he said to me. "I am without compunction.[4] It is I whom you have aided,[5] I am he whom you have caused to live again."[6] <Then he said:>[7] "I shall put my name to the test, it is Martínez. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit is my name." <These were his words.>[8] Then I brought out the book of seven generations to read.[9] In three months it was finished.

Now the town officials went elsewhere.[10] Whereupon he said he would give his town, half of the men <in it>, to me. "Where is your town? It is all my town," <he said>.[11] "You shall pay for my town, I was the first to arrive."[12]

Then, I tell you, justice shall descend to the end that Christianity and salvation may arise. Thus shall end the men of the Plumeria flower.[13] Then the rulers of the towns shall be asked for their proofs and titles of ownership, if they know of them. Then they shall come forth from the forests and from

[1] Here the Chumayel text is corrupt and the Mani version is followed for this sentence.
[2] The text gives "*Rey*," while the Tizimin version reads, "*nacom*," which means captain. The Mani version reads: "Then the King agrees (*cetzicuba*) also."
[3] Corrected from the Tizimin and Mani versions.
[4] The Mani version reads: "I am an infidel."
[5] Alternative translation: I, whom you have released. The Tizimin and Mani versions read: "I, whom you have taken."
[6] In a figurative sense this also means: I am he whom you have baptised.
[7] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. [8] Supplied from the Mani version.
[9] Here the Tizimin and Mani versions read: "Then he brought out the book of seven generations for the priests to read." Martinez suggests it was a book of seven folios.
[10] Alternative translation: Now the town officials surrendered.
[11] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions.
[12] The Tizimin and Mani versions read: "It is I, Xaul." Here the story of Antonio Martínez ends, and the prophecy of Chilam Balam is continued.
[13] Supplied from the Tizimin and Mani versions. *Cf.* p. 121, note 1.

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among the rocks and live like men; then towns shall be established <again>. There shall be no fox to bite them.[1] This shall be in Katun 9 Ahau.[2] Five years shall run until the end of my prophecy, and then shall come the time for the tribute to come down. Then there shall be an end to the paying for the wars which our fathers raised <against the Spaniards>. You shall not call the katun which is to come a hostile one, when/ Jesus Christ, the guardian p.67 C of our souls, shall come. Just as <we are saved> here on earth, so shall he bear our souls to his holy heaven also. You are sons of the true God. Amen.

XVI

(A CHAPTER OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

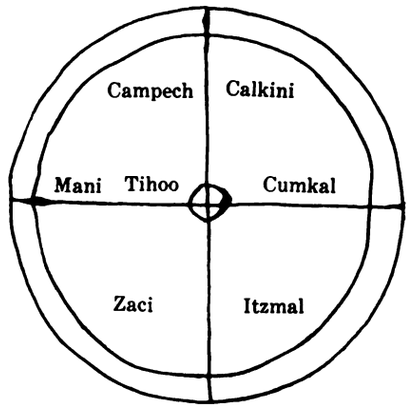

FIG. 27—A map of northern Yucatan.[3] (Chumayel MS.).

13 Eɔnab <was the day> when the land was established.[4] 13 Cheneb[5] was when they measured off by paces the cathedral,[6] the dark house of instruc-

[1] Here the so-called foxes may refer to the Spanish captains and not to the Maya head-chiefs and warriors. See Appendix F.

[2] Katun 9 Ahau covered approximately the seventh and eighth decades of the Sixteenth Century. By this time most of the thickly settled portions of the country had been pacified. Many people who had fled to the forests to escape the violence of the Spanish conquerors now returned to their homes again. The Spanish Governor at Merida seriously undertook to reconstruct the social and political organization of the country which had been disrupted by the Conquest. Much of this work was begun during Katun 11 Ahau, but it was probably Katun 9 Ahau before results began to be noted generally.

[3] This type of map is fairly typical in Maya documents. Here as usual the principal town, Tihoo (Merida), is in the center; but as a general thing the space between the two outlying circles is divided into compartments, each of which is occupied by the name of one of the border-sites. For a map of this sort see Stephens, 1843, II, p. 264.

[4] Probably a reference to the Spanish occupation. 13 Eɔnab was the day preceding 1 Cauac, from which the Maya year which began in 1568 took its name, but this year does not appear to have any special significance. 13 Eɔnab would recur every 260 days.

[5] 13 Cheneb. This may be a mistake of the copyist and intended either for the month Chen or the day Eb. It is also possible that it was an occult word employed for purposes of mystification.

[6] Written *Ygleçia mayor* in the text.

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tion, the cathedral in heaven. Thus it was also measured off by paces here <on earth>. Thirteen katuns was the total count, <that is, thir>teen feet[1] in heaven. Four feet, and from there nine feet, the total count of its extent in heaven.[2] Then it is again measured off by feet from the face of the earth. Four feet separate it from the face of the earth.

Mani is the base of the land. Campeche is the tip of the wing of the land. Calkini is the base of the wing of the land. Itzmal is the middle of the wing of the land. Zaci is the tip of the wing of the land. Conkal is the head of the land.[3]

In the middle of the town of Tihoo[4] is the cathedral, the fiery house,[5] the mountainous house, the dark house, for the benefit of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

Who enters into the house of God? Father, it is the one named Ix-Kalem.[6]

What day did the Virgin conceive? Father, 4 Oc <was the day> when she conceived.

What day did he come forth <from her womb>? On 3 Oc he came forth.

What day did he die? On 1 Cimi he died. Then he entered the tomb on 1 Cimi.

What entered his tomb? Father, a coffer of stone entered his tomb.

What entered in into his thigh?[7] Father, it was the red arrow-stone.[8] It entered into the precious stone of the world, there in heaven.

And his arm? Father, the arrow-stone; and that it might be commemo-
p.68 C rated,[9] it entered into the red living rock in the east./ Then it came to the north and entered into the white living rock. After that it entered the black

[1] *Chek, chekel* and *chekeb* designate a measure equaling the length of the human foot. Perhaps the idea is that 13 katuns (13x7200?)in heaven correspond to 13 feet on earth, and that any sacred thing on earth must previously exist in heaven.

[2] Alternative translation: toward heaven. This would indicate that we have here merely the perpendicular measurement of the cathedral, but in that case the number of feet designated would not be sufficient.

[3] It will be seen that the country is thought of as a vast bird whose wings extend from Campeche to Valladolid (Zaci).

[4] Tihoo is the modern Maya name for Merida. In the older literature it is called Ichcanzihoo.

[5] Maya, *kakal-na.* An alternative translation would be "the enclosed house." This would better fit Pio Perez' definition, which is the government building, the *casa real.*

[6] Ix-Kalem is a feminine name, but it means little. Probably Ix-Kulem, the Holy One, is intended.

[7] Maya, *chac-bacel,* which is the outside of the thigh or the thigh-bone.

[8] The text actually reads *chac haal-tun* which would mean the red water-hole in the rock, but as an l between vowels is almost silent in Maya, we have made it read *chac ha<l>al-tun,* which conforms with the word *halal-tun,* arrow-stone, occurring in the answer to the following question.

[9] Maya *kinbezabal*: this could mean either commemorated or warmed in the sun.

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living rock in the west. Thus also <it entered> the yellow living rock in the south.[1]

[2] Son, how many deep hollows <are there>? These <are the holes> for playing the flute.[3]

Son, where is the cenote?[4] All are drenched <with> its water.[5] There is no gravel on its bottom; a bow is inserted over its entrance.[6] <It is> the church.

Son, where are the first marriages? The strength of the King[7] and the strength of the other head-chiefs fail because of them, and my strength because of them also. It is bread.[8]

Son, have you seen the green water-holes in the rock? There are two of them; a cross is raised between them. They are a man's eyes.

Son, where are the first baptised ones? One has no mother, but has a bead collar and little bells. It is *peeu*.[9]

Son, where is the food[10] which bursts forth, and the fold of the brain <and> the lower end of that which is inflated,[11] and the dried fruit? It is the gizzard of a turkey.

Son bring me that which hooks the sky and the hooked tooth. They are a deer and a gopher.[12]

[1] Here the text reverts to pure Maya symbolism. The details of the crucifixion of Christ apparently recalled to the Maya mind some of the ceremonies connected with human sacrifice, in which the victim was probably considered the representative of the god. Like the crown of thorns, a paper crown was placed on his head, and the spear which pierced Christ's side appears to have reminded the Maya writer of the arrow with which the priest struck blood from the thigh of the sacrificial victim (Landa 1928, pp. 198-200). It is also possible that the legend of the stone arrow-points, which entered the mythical rocks at the four corners of the world, was associated in the mind of the writer with the rocks which were rent at the time of the crucifixion.

[2] The balance of this chapter consists of a series of questions much resembling the series entitled The Interrogation of the Chiefs in Chapter IX. Here, however, no explanation is given as to the purpose of the catechism.

[3] Maya *chul*, defined as a flute. This is a direct flute or flageolet. An excellent picture of this type of instrument is found in the Dresden Codex (p. 34 A) and plainly shows the finger-holes along the side. Landa states that they were made of cane or reeds. Another wind-instrument employed was a trumpet called *hom*. This was made of a wooden tube to the end of which was attached a long curved gourd, which probably gave it a flaring mouth. Whistles made of reeds or bones and conch-shells were also blown (Landa 1928, pp. 158-160).

[4] Evidently a reference to the cave type of cenote.

[5] Probably either the holy water or the water of baptism is meant.

[6] A reference to the arched doorway of the church.

[7] Written *Rey* in the text.

[8] The key to this riddle is not apparent.

[9] *Peeu* is a small early yellow maize which forms in forty days. The term is also applied to anything small or dwarfed (Motul).

[10] Maya *kauil*, an obsolete word which has survived only in the term, *kauil-yah*, to beg for food. In the old prophecies it is associated with bread. *Zatom uah, zatom kauil*, bread shall be lost, food shall be lost, *i.e.* the crops shall fail (Tizimin, p. 1).

[11] Maya *peehe*, a term applied to an inflated stomach or a full stomach. The question is based on fancied resemblances seen in removing and cutting up the giblets of a turkey.

[12] Maya *ba, Heterogeomys torridus* Merriam or *Orthegeomys scalops* Thomas, possibly both. It is called *tuza* in Spanish. The Maya eat it.

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Son, where is the old woman with buttocks seven palms wide, the woman with a dark complexion? It is <the squash called> *ɔol.*[1]

Son, show me the light complexioned woman with her skirt bound up who sells white flints. It is <the squash called> *ca.*[1]

Son, bring me two yellow animals, one to be well boiled, and one shall have its throat cut. I shall drink its blood also. It is a yellow deer and a green calabash full of chocolate.

<My> sons, bring me here a score of those who bear flat stones and two married ones. They are a quail[2] and a dove.[3]

Son, bring me a cord of three strands, I wish to see it. It is an iguana.

Son, bring . . . .[4] a mutual confession of sin[5] that I may see it here. It is the maguey.[6]

Son, bring me here that which stops the hole in the sky and the dew, the nine layers of the whole earth.[7] It is a very large maize tortilla.[8]

Son, have you seen the old man <who is like> an overturned *comal?*[9] He has a large double chin which reaches the ground. It is a turkey cock.

Son, bring me the old farmers, their beards come to their navels, also their wives. It is a muddy arrowroot.[10]

Bring to me here with them the women who guard the fields, white com-
p.69 C plexioned women. I will remove their skirts and eat them. It is a jícama.[11]/

Son, bring me the great gallants that I may view them. Perhaps they will not dance badly when I see them. It is a turkey-cock.

[1] *Ɔol* is a green flat squash and *ca* is another variety described as white and striped with thick seeds (Motul). *Ca* is also the name of a stone used to grind maize and cacao.

[2] Maya *becħ*, a name applied to *Eupsychortyx nigrogularis* Nelson (The Yucatan Bob-white), and *Dactylortyx thoracicus sharpei* Nelson (Yucatan Long-toed Grouse) (Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, vol. 50, p. 116). We have already seen the quail associated with a stone. (P. 94.)

[3] Maya *mucuy, Columbigallina rufipennis* Bonaparte (Ground dove), *ibid.* p. 117.

[4] Here there is a hiatus in the text.

[5] The word for sin used here, *tanal*, was considered antiquated already in the Sixteenth Century. It has the same meaning in Chol and may have been borrowed from that language (Motul Dictionary; LaFarge 1930, MS.). This mutual confession was an ancient Maya custom and was usually practised in time of sickness when death was imminent (Landa 1928, p. 188).

[6] Mrs. S. G. Morley has called the translator's attention to a lintel at Piedras Negras on which a kneeling penitent is seen passing a cord of maguey spines through his tongue (Charnay 1887, p. 250).

[7] Like the Mexicans, the Maya appear to have conceived that the world consisted of nine layers. The uppermost was the surface of the earth, and the other eight were the underworlds; in the lowermost reigned the god of the under regions variously called Cumhau and Xibalba in Maya (Motul Dictionary) and Mictlantecuhtli in Nahuatl (Seler 1923, pp. 17 and 22).

[8] This is evidently the *"tutiwa"* consisting of nine layers of tortillas and beans and employed in connection with the Maya harvest festival and the rain-making ceremony called chachac (Tozzer 1907, pp. 160-162).

[9] *Comal*, the Spanish name for the dish or pan used for cooking tortillas, called *xamach* in Maya.

[10] *Chac* in the text. It is usually spelled *chaac, Maranta arundinacea* L.

[11] *Pachyrhizus erosus* (L.) Urban, an edible root resembling a turnip but eaten raw.

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Son, where is the first collector? <The answer is> to undress, to take off one's shirt, cape, hat and shoes.[1]

Son, where was it that you passed? Did you pass, perchance, to the high rocky knoll which slopes down to the door of heaven, where there is a gate in the wall? Did you see men in front of you, coming side by side? Bolon Cħaan[2] and the first *Ah-kulel*[3] are there. It is the pupils of the eyes and any pair of eyes.

Son, have you seen the rain of God? It passed beneath the mountains of God; it entered beneath the mountains of God, where there is a cross on the savannah.[4] There will be a ring in the sky where the water of God has passed.

Son, where has the water of God passed when it comes forth from the living rock? Father, <from> a man's head and all a man's teeth, it passes through the opening in his throat and comes forth beneath.

Son, whom did you see on the road just now? . . . .[5]

Son, what did you do with your companions who were coming close behind you? Here are my companions. I have not left them. I await the judgment of God when I shall come to die. This is a man's shadow.

Son, whom did you see on the road? Did you see perchance <some> old men accompanied by <their> boys? Father, here are the old men I saw on the road. They are with me; they do not leave me. This is his great toe with the little <toes>.

Son, where did you see the old women carrying their step-children and their other boys. Father, here they are. They are still with me so that I can eat. I can not leave them yet. It is my thumb and the other fingers.

Son, where did you pass by a water-gutter?[6] Father, here is the water-gutter; it is right with me. This is my dorsal furrow.

Son, where did you see an old man astride a horse across a water-gutter? Father, here is the old man. He is still with me. My shoulders are the horse/ on which you say the old man sits astride. p.70 C

Son, this is the old man with you of which you spoke: it is manifest truth and justice.

Son, go get the heart of the stone and the liver of the earth. . . .[7] I have seen one of them lying on its back, and one lying on its face as though it were

[1] It seems probable that the compiler has omitted something here.

[2] Bolon Chaan is probably the name of a deity. It might be translated as Ninth Heaven. We find him mentioned on page 106.

[3] *Ah-kulel* means mediator or deputy and is the title of a certain class of town-officials. They were inferior to the *ah-cuch-cab*, or councillors, and superior to the *tupil*, whom the Spaniards considered a sort of constable.

[4] We can not but suspect that by the "mountain of God" the usual landmark consisting of a heap of stones surmounted by a cross is meant.

[5] A hiatus in the text.

[6] Maya *yoc-ha*. It also means river, but there are practically no rivers in northern Yucatan.

[7] A hiatus in the text in which the Maya copyist has inserted a few disjointed syllables. See text.

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going into hell. They are a Mexican Agouti[1] and a Spotted Agouti,[2] also the first local chief and the first Ah-kulel.[3] As for the heart of the stone, it is the tips of the teeth; and that which covers the opening in the neck of hell is a camote[4] and a jícama.

Son, go and bring me here <the girl> with the watery teeth.[5] Her hair is twisted into a tuft; she is a very beautiful maiden. Fragrant shall be her odor when I remove her skirt and her <other> garment. It will give me pleasure to see her. Fragrant is her odor and her hair is twisted into a tuft. It is an ear of green corn cooked in a pit.[6]

Son, then you shall go and get an old man and the herb that is by the sea. The old man is the *ac*,[7] and <the herb is> a crab.

Son, then you shall go and get the stones from the bottom of a forest pond.[8] It is the *tzac*.[9]

Son, then you shall bring here the stones of the savannah. It is a quail.[10]

Also <bring> the first sorcerers, there are four[11] of them. They are the gopher, the Spotted Agouti, the Mexican Agouti and the peccary.

Son, then go and get the thigh of the earth. It is the cassava.[12]

Son, go and bring here the green gallant and the green singer. It is a wild turkey <hen> and cock.[13]

Son, you shall bring your daughter that I may see her in the sun tomorrow. First the smaller one shall be brought and behind her shall come the larger one. Her hair shall be bound with a feathered band; she shall wear a head-scarf. I will take off her head-scarf. Also the Ah-kulel is behind
p.71 C her./

[1] Maya, *haleu, Cuniculus paca nelsoni* Goldman (?); Spanish *paca*.
[2] Maya, *tzub, Dasyprocta punctata yucatanica* Goldman; *aguti pinto*.
[3] *Cf.* p. 129, note 3. [4] Maya *iz, Ipomœa batatas* L.
[5] Maya, *ix ha-liz co*. *Ix* is the regular feminine prefix. *Haa* means water, and *-liz* is a suffix indicating possession of what precedes. *Co* means either a tooth or a kernel of maize. The phrase has been interpreted as "a woman of Jalisco," which would no doubt be rendered Ix Halisco or Ix Halizco in Maya, but Jalisco is so distant from Yucatan that the metaphor seems rather unlikely. *Cf.* Mediz-Bolio 1930, p. 84.
[6] Meat, maize and squashes were frequently cooked in a heated pit by the Maya. Here the ear of green corn was evidently cooked in the husk, which would preserve the milky juice. The husk is compared to a garment and the corn-silk to a twisted tuft of hair.
[7] *Ac* is a tall grass employed for thatching houses. It is called *barbon* in Spanish, which means a man with a thick beard. One Yucatecan writer states that it is *"Andropogon antillarum"* (MacKinney, 1889). *Ac* is also a turtle.
[8] Maya *kax-ek*, defined by Avendaño, apud Means 1917, p. 159.
[9] The text reads *ah-tzatzac*. The *tzac* is an unidentified variety of small fish.
[10] *Cf.* p. 94, note 3. [11] The text gives this number as two.
[12] Maya *ɔiin, Manihot esculenta* Crantz. *Cf.* p. 96.
[13] Maya *cutz* and *ah-tzo*. *Ah-tzo* is a general term for turkey-cock. *Cutz* has been identified as *Agriocharis ocellata* Cuvier, or Ocellated turkey (Bull. Mus. Comp. Zool. Harvard, vol. 50, p. 115). There is another wild turkey found in Yucatan, *Meleagris mexicana*, which may be called *cutz* also (Tozzer 1907, p. 22).

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Son, then go and get a cluster[1] of Plumeria flowers widely separated. <They should be> there where the sun is tomorrow. <What is meant is> roasted corn and honey.

Here I have rolled that which you have which is flat and round.[2] There are many rolls of it in the cave where you live. Then you shall roll it here that we may see it, when it is time to eat. <It is> a fried egg.

XVII

(AN INCANTATION)

Strung end to end are the precious stones, the red precious stones, representing the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven.[3]

The form in which you created the sun, <in which> you created the earth! The form of the moisture of heaven, the substance of heaven, the yellow blossom[4] of heaven! How did I create your sun? <How did I> create your moon? How did I create your precious stones? I created you. When you were sprinkled with water, you remembered the force of the sun. Then when the message was sent to you . . . Under cover I created you, I set you <where you are>. From time to time I take <you>, I perceive your vigor because of your father. You await . . . that I may take away . . . from your mouth. They are the yellow precious stones. So runs its course as he records[5] it. These are the rulers[6] which have been set in order. Go and read it and you will understand it.[7]

[1] The text reads *un trus nicte*. *Nicte* is a flower, usually the Plumeria. *Trus*, since it contains an *r* is probably a distorted Spanish word. The translation given here is derived from a comparison of the use of the expression on p. 118 of B.L.C. No. 43 and that of a similar Maya phrase, *oxlahun tzuc nicte* on page 174 of the same manuscript. The translator is inclined to associate this expression with the love-charm described by Aguilar (Aguilar 1892, p. 84; translated in Saville 1921, p. 207).

[2] Maya, *pectzil*. This word usually means news or what is said of some one. Here something concrete appears to be intended, and the word has been divided into its component parts, *pec* and *tzil*, which give a very different meaning.

[3] Maya: *kab caan itz caan*. When asked who he was, Itzamat-ul, a deified ruler of Izamal, replied: *"Itz en caan, itz en muyal."* This has been translated: *"Yo soy el rocío, ó sustancia del cielo y nubes"* (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, chap. 8).

[4] *Cf.* p. 65, note 9.

[5] To obtain this meaning *ɔolic* (he skins it) has been changed to *tzolic* (he records it).

[6] Ahau (ruler) is the day for which the katun is named.

[7] This very difficult passage differs in vocabulary and style from the rest of the MS. The spaces left in the text indicate that the Eighteenth Century compiler copied it from a defective original. Its unique style resembles that of Gates' Ritual of the Bacabs, which was probably written in eastern Yucatan, judging from a comparison of the latter with the Títulos de Ebtun. The translator is familiar only with a few extracts from the Ritual of the Bacabs, but it is possible that the above passage has been copied from that manuscript. *Cf.* Tozzer 1921, p. 196. We suggest that this is an invocation to the growing corn. Possibly the last three sentences refer to the following chapter.

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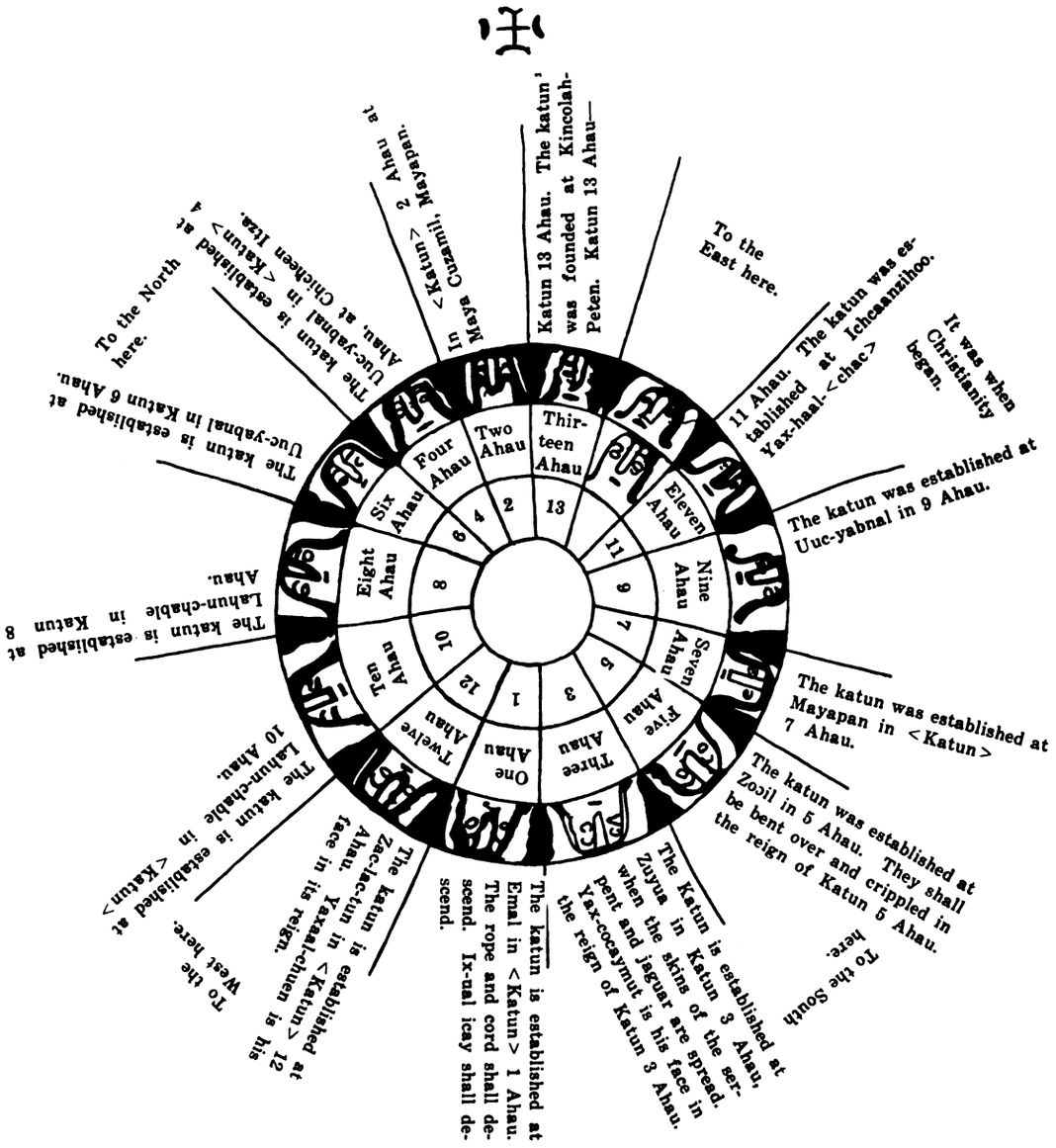
XVIII

(A SERIES OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)



p.73 C

FIG. 28—The katun wheel.[1] (Chumayel MS.)/

[1] For a full discussion of the Maya katun wheel the reader is referred to Bowditch 1910, Appendix 11, and to Landa 1929, pp. 94-97. The katun series with its prophecies is discussed in Appendix D of the present work. Among the various katun wheels, this one is unique in that the beginning of each prophecy is set down opposite the number of the katun to which it corresponds, *i.e.* the day with its number on which the katun ends.

Here the cross is set above Katun 13 Ahau, but in Landa's wheel the cross is over Katun 11 Ahau, which is usually considered to be the first of the series, and indeed it begins with the day 1 Imix.

It should be noted that on this wheel, although the succession of katuns is as usual to the right, the sequence of the directions, or world-quarters, East, North, West and South, is to the left.

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[1]Katun 11 Ahau is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[2] Yax-haal Chac[3] is its face. The heavenly fan, the heavenly bouquet shall descend. The drum and rattle of Ah Bolon-yocte[4] shall resound. At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun.[5] They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their crops in Katun 11 Ahau.

[6]The katun is established at Uuc-yab-nal in Katun 4 Ahau. At the mouth of the well, Uuc-yab-nal,[7] it is established . . . It shall dawn in the south.[8] The face of <the lord of the katun> is covered; his face is dead. There is mourning for water; there is mourning for bread.[9] His mat and his throne shall face the west.[10] Blood-vomit is the charge <of the katun>.[11] At that time his loin-cloth and his mantle shall be white.[12] Unattainable shall be the bread of the katun. The quetzal shall come; the green bird shall come. The *kax* tree shall come; the bird shall come.[13] The tapir shall come. The tribute shall be hidden at the mouth of the well.[14]

[1] Here we have four of the first and older series or katun-prophecies. *Cf.* p. 20 and Appendix D.

[2] Ichcaanzihoo is the Maya name of Merida. It is also called Tihoo.

[3] Yax-haal Chac is the Green Rain-god. *Cf.* p. 77, note 4.

[4] A comparison of this version of the prophecy with that on p. 20 indicates that Ah Bolon-yocte was the lord or idol of Katun 11 Ahau. The name might be translated as the nine-footed one, but its meaning is uncertain.

[5] The green turkey, Zulim Chan and Chakanputun, are symbols of other times when the people were driven from their homes into the forest, as they were again in Katun 11 Ahau by the Spanish conquerors. *Cf.* p. 77, note 7.

[6] The series is incomplete; Katuns 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8 and 6 Ahau are omitted here.

[7] We know nothing of Uuc-yab-nal beyond what is stated here. In the prophecy for this same Katun 4 Ahau on page 161, it is said to be established at Chichen Itzá, and here Uuc-yab-nal is said to be "at the mouth of the well" *(tu chi cheen)*. We can only conclude that Uuc-yab-nal was the ancient name of the old city of Chichen Itzá before the Itzá came and called it "the mouth of the well of the Itzá." *Uuc* means seven, and Abnal is still a well-known Maya family name.

[8] Here the Chumayel text means little to the translator, and it may be corrupt. Consequently the Tizimin version of the same passage has been given as the correct one.

[9] In other words, it shall be a time of drought and famine.

[10] Here again the Chumayel text seems meaningless, and the Tizimin and Mani version of the same prophecy is assumed to be the correct one and translated accordingly. A comparison of these three versions will be found in the Maya text.

[11] Evidently a reference to the epidemic mentioned on p. 142 as occurring in the fifth tun of the Katun 4 Ahau last preceding the Spanish Conquest. This tun would fall between 1480 and 1485. This was probably the pestilence said by Landa to be characterized by a fever followed by the body swelling and being filled with worms. The blood-vomit and fever strongly suggest yellow fever, and the last symptom could refer to secondary infections such as abscesses and suppurations in which flies had laid their eggs. It should be noted, however, that the medical historians do not believe that yellow fever occurred in America prior to the Spanish conquest. *Cf.* Landa 1928, pp. 92-94.

[12] A reference to the white garments of the priests of Quetzalcoatl. Under the Maya name of Kukulcan, this culture-hero is said to have come with the Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau. *Cf.* p. 161, also Landa 1928, p. 62.

[13] Maya *kax-te*. Possibly the *kax*, or *Randia longiloba* Hemsl., is intended. The reference to the bird and tree suggests the mythological symbols already noted. *Cf.* p. 100, note 5.

[14] The Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá may be meant here. *Cf.* Appendix B.

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The katun is established at Maylu, Zaci, Mayapan[1] in Katun 2 Ahau. The katun <stone> is on its own base. The rope shall descend; the poison of the serpent shall descend, pestilence <and> three piles of skulls. The men are of little use.[2] Then the burden was bound on Buluc-ch̄abtan.[3] <Then there came up> a dry wind. The ramon[4] is the bread of <Katun> 2 Ahau. It shall be half famine and half abundance. This is the charge of Katun 2 Ahau.

The Katun is established at Kinchil Coba,[5] Maya Cuzamil,[6] in Katun 13 Ahau. Itzamna, Itzam-tzab,[7] is his face during its reign. The ramon shall be eaten. Three years shall be locust years, ten generations <of locusts>. The fan shall be displayed; the bouquet shall be displayed,[8] borne by Yaxaal Chac in the heavens. Unattainable is the bread of the katun in 13 Ahau. The
p.74 C sun shall be / eclipsed. Double is the charge of the katun: men without offspring, chiefs without successors.[9] For five days the sun shall be eclipsed, then it shall be seen <again>.[10] This is the charge of Katun 13 Ahau.

[1] Maylu is not identified; Zaci is the Maya name for Valladolid; and Mayapan, the former capital of Yucatan is well known.

[2] In other words, they are weakened by the pestilence, of which the "three piles of skulls" constituted the symbol. Serapio Zumarraga, an aged Indian of Mani, knows the latter term (*ox-multun-tzek*) and explains it as three burial mounds for the Spaniards, mestizos and Indians. In ancient times the corresponding classes of society were nobles, commoners and slaves.

[3] Buluc-ch̄abtan could be translated, eleven penances or eleven times fortunate. It appears to be the name of a personage, possibly a deity.

[4] The dried seeds of the ramon tree (*Brosimum alicastrum* Sw.) are ground into a meal from which a sort of bread is made. It took the place of corn in time of famine.

[5] Any mention of the great and ancient city of Coba is of especial interest as Maya history is silent concerning it. Here, possibly the city itself is meant, though Kinchil Coba is usually treated as a personage, one of the priests associated with the thirteen katun-prophecies in the Mani and Kaua manuscripts. In the translation by C. P. Bowditch of Avendaño's Relación, now in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, we read: "This image (of Cortez' horse) they preserved till the present time and they worship it as they do also the statue of a man made of stone and lime, situated on the top of a hillock, which they call Kinchilcoba, who they say is their watchman and sentinel, who defends them against all misfortunes which can happen to them" (Avendaño MS. f. 29 v; Bowditch MS., p. 68). Coba is still a well-known family name and is also the name of a tree which the Indians say is to be found in the forests of Campeche. *Co-ba* could be translated gopher-tooth, just as *ne-ba* (another unidentified plant or tree) means gopher-tail.

[6] This place-name suggests the island of Cozumel, but on the katun-wheel it is associated with Mayapan.

[7] Itzamna was the god of the heavens, and Itzam-tzab may be another name for the constellation called *tzab*, "the Pleiades, a constellation of seven stars; also the rattles of the snake" (Motul).

[8] *Cf.* p. 77, note 5.

[9] The Oxkutzcab version of this prophecy (p. 202) gives the double charge of this katun as pestilence and famine.

[10] This belief that an eclipse might last five days probably reflects a legend to the effect that such was once the case. It would explain the frantic efforts of the people to bring it to an end. *Cf.* Aguilar 1921, pp. 203-204.

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XIX

(THE FIRST CHRONICLE)[1]

A record of the count of the katuns since the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred. It is written for the town in order that it may be known by anyone who wishes to be informed of the count of the katuns.

6 Ahau[2] was when the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau was when the mat <of the katun> was counted in order.[3]
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.[4]

[1] The following three chronicles have been dependably translated by Brinton and Martínez (Brinton 1882; Martínez 1912, 1927). If the present translator has ventured to disagree with them in some particulars, it is because new material has come to light.

[2] The katun consisted of twenty tuns of 360 days each, making 7200 days in all, and was named for the day Ahau on which it ended.

[3] Fifty years ago Brinton translated this sentence: "The thirteenth ahau; Pop was set in order." He admits that he was at a loss for the exact bearing of the expression, but since Pop was the name of the first month in the Maya year, he concludes that this is a record of the adoption of the Maya calendar at that time (Brinton 1882, p. 150). Later it was thought that this statement recorded a calendrical change of some sort. But although Pop, the name of the first month of the year, means mat, we have seen on page 72 of the present work that there was also a mat of the katun and that it was "counted in order." (See page 72, note 13.) Here we have the actual count, and it seems obvious that it is the so-called mat of the katun which was counted in order in this case. Moreover Katun 13 Ahau is the last of the recurring series of 13 katuns, and it would be the time to make a count of the preceding katun-markers of this period, now that it had elapsed. The following day is 1 Imix, the day with which Landa tells us the Maya calendar began, and the first day of the new series. Further mention of the mat of the katun will be found on page 165. *Cf.* Roys 1922, p. 52, and Dieseldorff 1931, p. 31.

[4] The long gaps in these chronicles, sometimes covering more than two centuries, are puzzling. Besides the so-called second Chumayel chronicle which is really a historical folk-song, there are four which have come down to us, and they are uniform in the two following particulars. All four end about the second decade of the Seventeenth Century and none of them take on the character of a genuine chronicle except for the period following the destruction of Mayapan, which occurred about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Subsequent to that event the entries are fairly frequent, but during the thousand years prior to that date, a period which the Mani, Tizimin and first Chumayel chronicles purport to cover, the historical entries are few and far between. The most likely conclusion to be drawn from these circumstances is that for the long period before the fall of Mayapan our chronicles are compilations or reconstructions made by early Seventeenth Century Maya writers from the historical allusions contained in the katun-prophecies and the old folk-songs, supplemented no doubt by a certain amount of oral tradition. That the Maya once had genuine chronicles written in hieroglyphic characters, there is little doubt, as has been demonstrated by Carrillo y Ancona (1872, p. 563); and it is probable that some of these were composed in much the same form as the chronicles of the Books of Chilam Balam, only with more numerous entries.

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12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when Chichen Itzá was abandoned. There were thirteen folds of katuns[1] when they established their houses at Chakanputun.[2]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau was when the land was seized by them at Chakanputun.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
p.75 C 11 Ahau./
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when Chakanputun was abandoned by the Itzá men. Then they came to seek homes again. For thirteen folds of katuns had they dwelt in their houses at Chakanputun. This was always[3] the katun when the Itzá went beneath the trees, beneath the bushes, beneath the vines, to their misfortune.
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.

[1] Possibly the reference is to the folds of the screen-like book in which the katuns were recorded, or else to thirteen turns of the katun-wheel.

[2] Chakanputun is generally supposed to have been the modern Champoton in southwestern Yucatan. The latter name is substituted for Chakanputun on page 75 of the Codex Perez.

[3] Katun 8 Ahau recurred approximately every 256 years, and for a thousand years every time a katun of this name occurred, the Itzá were driven from their homes, no matter where they were living at the time. Late in the Seventh Century A.D. they were expelled from Chichen Itzá after their first occupation of that city. In the middle of the Ninth Century they were driven out of Chakanputun. At the end of the Twelfth Century they were again driven from Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel. About the middle of the Fifteenth Century Mayapan was sacked and destroyed; and strangely enough it was again in a Katun 8 Ahau at the end of the Seventeenth Century that the Spaniards conquered the last Itzá stronghold at Tayasal, which was the end of this remarkable nation.

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12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when the Itzá men again abandoned their homes because of the treachery[1] of Hunac Ceel, because of the banquet[2] with the people of Izamal.[3] For thirteen folds of katuns they had dwelt there, when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire[4] of the Itzá.[5]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau was when the land of Ich-paa[6] Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel.[7]/ p.76 C
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was when there was fighting with stones at Ich-paa Mayapan because of the seizure of the fortress. They broke down the city wall because of the joint government in the city of Mayapan.[8]
6 Ahau.

[1] Maya, *keban-than,* variously defined as treachery, treason, plot, conspiracy, to accuse falsely and to slander. Hence the Itzá may have been driven out because of some false accusation that Hunac Ceel made concerning them.

[2] Maya, *uahaluah,* literally an occasion when there is an abundance of bread for everyone. Brinton's translation of the term as a banquet seems appropriate, and it accords with the Itzá legend of the wedding feast from which the bride was stolen. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[3] Here the Maya word, Ah Itzmal, could be equally well translated as the ruler of Izamal.

[4] Maya, *u ɔabal u natob.* This a passive form of the expression, *ɔa-naat,* which we find on page 30, and which is applied to the questionnaire of the chiefs in Chapter IX. The primary meaning of *naat* is to understand something; and the Motul dictionary also defines it as "to foretell by conjectures and prophecy in this manner," although the translator has not found the expression employed in this sense in any Maya text.

[5] There are a number of references in Maya literature to the episode so briefly recorded here. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[6] Ich-paa, literally: within the walls.

[7] Evidently the Itzá were able to regain their power forty years after the great disaster.

[8] Katun 8 Ahau ended 1457-1460. The reference is to the well-known destruction of the capital in which the Cocom and Xiu families had long governed the rest of the country. The Xius, whose power had been inferior to that of the Cocoms, organized a conspiracy among the subject chiefs, killed most of the Cocom family and destroyed the city. Subsequently northern Yucatan was divided among a number of petty states. *Cf.* Landa, 1928, p. 82.

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4 Ahau was when the pestilence occurred; it was when the vultures entered the houses[1] within the fortress.[2]

2 Ahau was when the eruption of pustules occurred. It was smallpox.

13 Ahau was when the rain-bringer died. It was the sixth year. The year-count was to the east. It was <the year> 4 Kan. Pop was set to the east. . . . It was the <fif>teenth <day of the month> Zip. 9 Imix was the day when the rain-bringer, Napot Xiu, died. It was the year of our Lord 158.[3]

11 Ahau was when the mighty men arrived from the East. They were the ones who first brought <disease>[4] here to our land, <the land of> us who
p.77 C are Maya, in the year 1513.[5]/

9 Ahau was when Christianity began, when baptism occurred. It was in this katun that Bishop Toral arrived here also. It was when the hangings ceased in the year of our Lord 1546.[6]

7 Ahau was when Bishop de Landa died.[7]

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

[1] Maya, *oc-na-kuchil*. This expression is a stereotyped one employed as a synonym for pestilence.

[2] The Maya term, *ich-paa*, was one of the names for Mayapan, but that city was now destroyed.

[3] The episode referred to was the murder of the "rain-bringer" Napot Xiu, *halach-uinic* of Mani, by Nachi Cocom at a town called Otzmal in the latter's territory. Following a severe drought Napot Xiu started on a pilgrimage to the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá to make an offering of human victims to the rain-god. Being obliged to pass through Nachi Cocom's territory, the pilgrims stopped at Otzmal where they were entertained and subsequently murdered by the Cocom ruler. *Cf.* Morley 1920, page 478; Landa 1928, page 114. Here the chronology of the event is badly confused. It occurred in 1536 in a year 8 Cauac, while the year 4 Kan cited here began in 1545. We can only conclude that our Maya historian confused the time of the Otzmal murder with some similar occurrence which took place in the latter year. The number 158 appears to be an error of the Maya compiler.

One phrase left untranslated here, *he tun te na cici pahool*, is rendered by Martínez as follows: *"cesó de llevarse la cuenta del katun de los anos;"*

[4] The present writer has followed the translation given here by both Brinton and Martínez, but the Maya expression *y-ah-talzah-ul* simply means "those who brought something or someone." *Cf.* San Buenaventura 1888, f. 27 v. As previously noted, an epidemic of smallpox swept through Yucatan in Katun 2 Ahau, and it may have been brought by the party of Spaniards who were shipwrecked and cast on the east coast in 1511 (Landa 1928, p. 34). The Tizimin chronicle states that white men first came in tun 13 of Katun 2 Ahau (Martínez 1927, p. 17).

[5] This date recalls the statement on page 81 that the Spaniards seized Campeche in 1513.

[6] Katun 9 Ahau covered approximately the twenty years following 1556 or 1559, according to which of the two chronological correlations we accept. It was in this katun that the conversion of the country took place, although efforts in this direction began a decade previously. Bishop Toral arrived in 1562. The hangings referred to here were probably the result of the Indian uprising of 1546 in the region of Valladolid.

[7] Landa died on April 29, 1579.

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XX

(THE SECOND CHRONICLE)[1]

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when occurred the birth of Pauahs, when the rulers descended.[2]

Thirteen katuns they reigned; thus they were named while they ruled.

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when they descended; the great descent and the little descent they were called.[3]

Thirteen katuns they reigned. So they were called. While they were settled, thirteen were their settlements.[4]

4 Ahau was the katun when they sought and discovered Chichen Itzá. There it was that miraculous things were performed for them by their lords. Four divisions they were, when the four divisions of the nation, as they were called, went forth. From Kincolahpeten in the east one division went forth. From Nacocob in the north one division came forth. But one division came forth from Holtun Zuyua in the west. One division came forth from Four-peaked Mountain, Nine Mountains is the name of the land.[5]/ p.78 C

[1] The following is a chant or song rather than an actual chronicle, and the events recorded are not set in chronological order. Nevertheless it has usually been included with the Maya chronicles because its content is largely historical. It emphasizes the fact already noted, that most of the historical events recorded by the Maya occurred either in a Katun 4 Ahau or a Katun 8 Ahau. Besides the translations already cited, Tozzer has also translated this passage (Tozzer 1920, p. 131).

[2] Part of the text here is corrupt: *paua haen cuh u yahauoob,* and has been changed to *pauah emci u yahauoob,* to obtain the reading given above. For the Pauah or Pauah-tun, see page 110, note 4. Chichen Itzá was once ruled by Chac-xib-chac, a name associated with Pauahtun. *Cf.* page 67.

Mr. T. A. Willard has made a study of this important passage and translates it: "In 4 Ahau, the name of the katun, were born (again) those who had been destroyed by water (*i.e.* the flood or the rain)." The word *cuh* may be intended for *cah,* the town which was destroyed; *pa* could mean to destroy, and *ha,* water, either flood or rain. We know that the old Maya era with which the Initial Series dates began was a day 4 Ahau, and we have seen both from the creation story in Chapter X and from page 74 of the Dresden Codex that according to the Maya the world was once destroyed by water.

[3] "In former times they called the East *Cenial* (*ɔe-emal*), the Little Descent, and the West *Nohenial* (*noh-emal*), the Great Descent. The reason they give for this is that on the east of this land a few people descended, and on the west a great many; and with that syllable they understand little or much, to the east and the west; and that few people came from one direction and many from another." Lizana 1893, ff. 3 and 4, apud Brinton 1882, page 182.

[4] There was a tradition that Yucatan was divided into thirteen provinces or divisions in ancient times. *Cf.* Avendano apud Appendix D.

[5] Like the typical Nahua tribe, the Maya nation was composed of four main divisions. As we shall see in the next chronicle, when Mayapan was destroyed, the head-chief Tutul Xiu went out with his chiefs and with the "four divisions of the nation." It is not impossible that the system was a Nahua innovation. Here it is suggested that this method of organization was the result of the amalgamation of four different peoples into one nation.

The places of origin are not fully identified. We have discussed Zuyua on page 88, note 1. *Holtun* may mean a stone gate. For "Nine Mountains, see page 64, note 3. Kincolah-peten is mentioned on page 132.

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4 Ahau was the katun when the four divisions were called <together>. The four divisions of the nation, they were called, when they descended. They became lords when they descended upon Chichen Itzá. The Itzá were they then called.

Thirteen katuns they ruled, and then came the treachery by Hunac Ceel. Their town was abandoned and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul,[1] as it is called.

4 Ahau was the katun when their souls cried out!

Thirteen katuns they ruled in their misery!

8 Ahau was the katun when occurred the arrival of the remainder of the Itzá, as they were called. They arrived, and there their reign endured in Chakanputun.

13 Ahau was the katun when they founded the town of Mayapan, the Maya men, as they were called.

8 Ahau was when their town was abandoned and they were scattered throughout the entire district. In the sixth katun after they were dispersed, then they ceased to be called Maya.[2]

11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the Maya men ceased to be called Maya. They were called Christians; their entire province <became subject> to St. Peter and the reigning King <of Spain>.[3]

XXI

(THE THIRD CHRONICLE)[4]

A record of the katuns for the Itzá, called the Maya katuns.

12 Ahau.

[1] Avendaño reports a pond named Tan-xuluc-mul a short distance west of Lake Peten. Above it towered a high hill crowned by a ruined building in which a noted idol was said to be worshipped. This would indicate that some of the Itzá at least migrated to Tayasal at this time (Means 1917, p. 128).

[2] The reference here is to the destruction of Mayapan in Katun 8 Ahau. Counting this katun as the first, 11 Ahau, the katun of the actual Spanish conquest, was the sixth.

[3] R. B. Weitzel considers the preceding a presentation of the Nahua penetration of the peninsula of Yucatan, and if we are to consider the so-called arrival of Kukulcan (perhaps the introduction of the Quetzalcoatl cult) a Nahua intrusion, some support for this opinion will be found in the prophecy for Katun 4 Ahau on page 161.

His suggestion that a folk-song of this kind is the original form of a Maya chronicle is not unreasonable. It is indeed possible that the other chronicles were later compilations made from the material found in such songs. The prophecies would also furnish historical data. Such a hypothesis would explain the long sequences of katuns in the chronicles for which there are no historical entries (Weitzel 1931, p. 323).

[4] Of the five chronicles found in the Books of Chilam Balam this is the most puzzling. Much of its material is found in the others, but the dates and sequence of events are different. Here Hunac Ceel is said to have lived prior to the destruction of Chakanputun, and the fall of Mayapan is placed in Katun 1 Ahau, three katuns prior to its well established date in Katun 8 Ahau. Nevertheless a number of events are dated within the katun with an apparent precision not found in the other chronicles.

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10 Ahau.
8 Ahau.
6 Ahau was when the people of Conil were dispersed.[1]
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau./ p.79 C
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.
7 Ahau.
5 Ahau was when the town of the ruler of Izamal, Kinich Kakmoo[2] as well as Pop-hol Chan was destroyed by Hunac Ceel.
3 Ahau.
1 Ahau was when the remainder of the Itzá were driven out of Chichen. It was the third tun of <Katun> 1 Ahau when Chichen was depopulated.
12 Ahau.
10 Ahau.
8 Ahau was the katun when the remainder of the Itzá founded their town, coming forth from beneath the trees and bushes at Tan-Xuluc-Mul, as it was called. They came out and established the land of Zaclactun Mayapan,[3] as it was called. In the seventh tun of Katun 8 Ahau, this was the katun when Chakanputun perished at the hands of Kak-u-pacal and Tec Uilu.[4]
6 Ahau.
4 Ahau.
2 Ahau.
13 Ahau.
11 Ahau.
9 Ahau.

[1] Alternative translation: when the merchants were dispersed. This might be a reference to some occasion when foreign merchants were driven from the country. Brinton's translation, "the well-dressed ones" is based on a slight error by Berendt in copying the original manuscript. He wrote *ah oni* for *ah coni*.

[2] Kin-ich Kak-moo, lit. sun-eyed fiery macaw, was a sort of sun-god whose rays descended and consumed sacrifices to him. This deity, whose idol was at Izamal, was a protector against disease (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, Chap. 8).

[3] The place-name Zaclactun has survived only in that of the hacienda of Salactun in the district of Izamal (Berendt: Nombres propios en lengua Maya, f. 73 v.).

[4] We find the names of these leaders mentioned in the historical reports of the first Spanish settlers. "The inhabitants of the said city (Izamal) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and Uilo, valorous captains of the Itzá who were the people who founded Mayapan" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269). "In the course of time the inhabitants of the said town (Motul) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and one hundred valorous captains formerly of the city of Mayapan" (*Ibid*, I, p. 119). Evidently the fall of Chakanputun, the establishment of Mayapan and the Itzá conquest of the important cities of northern Yucatan all took place within a single generation. Kak-u-pacal, literally fiery glance, was deified and worshipped at the time of the Spanish Conquest (Cogolludo 1868, Book 4, Chap. 8).

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7 Ahau.

p.80 C 5 Ahau was when foreigners arrived to eat men./ They were called foreigners without skirts.[1] The land was not depopulated by them.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau was when the district of Tancah Mayapan, as it was called, was depopulated. It was in the first tun of Katun 1 Ahau that the head-chief Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and the four divisions[2] of the town. This was the katun when the men of Tancah[3] were dispersed and the chiefs of the town were scattered.

12 Ahau. The stone was taken at Otzmal.

10 Ahau. The stone was taken at Zizal.

8 Ahau. The stone was taken at Kancaba.

6 Ahau. The stone was taken at Hunacthi.

4 Ahau. The stone was taken at Atikuh. This was the katun when the pestilence occurred. It was in the fifth tun of Katun 4 Ahau.[4]

2 Ahau. The stone was taken at Chacalna.

13 Ahau. The stone was taken at Euan.

11 Ahau. On the first day the stone was taken at Colox-peten.[5]

This was the katun when the rain-bringer died; his name was Napot Xiu.[6] It was in the first tun of 11 Ahau, that was the katun, when the

[1] Brinton and Martinez both consider these invaders to have been Caribs because of the cannibalism and nudity mentioned. Down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century Mosquito Indians in canoes from Rio Tinto, Honduras, were still making raids on the east coast of Yucatan. (MS. map of Yucatan by Juan de Dios Gonsalez, 1766.) It seems likely that similar incursions took place in pre-Columbian times. The skirt (Maya pic) referred to is certainly a woman's garment. Possibly *ppic* is intended. This was the *sobre carga*, a bundle carried above the usual traveler's pack. *Cf.* Motul.

[2] *Cf.* p. 139, note 5.

[3] Tancah may refer to the portion of Mayapan lying outside the walls.

[4] *Cf.* p. 133, note 11.

[5] This taking of the stone evidently refers to the Maya custom of setting up a monument every 7200 days to commemorate the katun that has just passed. *Cf.* Landa 1929, pages 94-98. Avendaño states that the thirteen katuns were ascribed to each of thirteen provinces in turn. *Cf.* Appendix D.

A parallel passage found on page 95 of the Codex Perez ascribes these ceremonies as follows: 1 Ahau, Izamal; 12 Ahau, Zizal; 10 Ahau, Kulche; 8 Ahau, Hunucma; 6 Ahau, Chacalna; 4 Ahau, Tiix-Kulche; 2 Ahau, Euan; 13 Ahau, Colox-peten; and states that in 11 Ahau when the Spaniards arrived no stone was taken. Izamal, Hunucma and Zizal are well-known towns. Euan is in the district of Izamal. Hunacthi is said to be in the Province of Mani (Molina Solis 1896, p. 219). Otzmal is now a hacienda two leagues south of Sotula, and Kancaba is the name of a hacienda in the district of Valladolid (Berendt, Nom, prop. de Yuc. f. 55 v.).

[6] In the Mani, Tizimin and first Chumayel chronicles this event was placed in Katun 13 Ahau but confused with some unknown episode which occurred in a year 4 Kan, presumably 1545 (*Cf.* p. 138, note 3). The year 4 Kan fell in Katun 11 Ahau, and in this chronicle the actual death of the rain-bringer is ascribed to the latter katun.

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Spaniards first arrived here in our land.[1] It was in the seventh tun of Katun 11 Ahau that Christianity then began;[2] it was in the year A. D. 1519.[3]

9 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop Francisco Toral first arrived. He arrived in the sixth tun of Katun 9 Ahau.[4]

7 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop de Landa died. Then another bishop also arrived. p.81 C

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

On this 18th day of August, 1766, occurred a hurricane. I have made a record of it in order that it may be seen how many years it will be before another one will occur.

On this 20th day of January, 1782, there was an epidemic of inflammation here in the town of Chumayel. The swelling began at the neck and then descended. <It spread> from the little ones to the adults, until it swept the entire house, once it was introduced. The remedy was sour ashes[5] and lemons or the young *Siempre vive.*[6] It was the year of '81 when it began. After that there was a great drought also. There was scarcely any rain. The entire

[1] "Verbi gratia. The Indians state that the Spaniards completed their arrival at the city of Merida in the year A.D. 1541, which was exactly the first year of the era 11 Ahau" (Landa 1929, p. 98). The truth of this statement is open to question, but it agrees with the date mentioned in the present chronicle.

[2] In these chronicles Christianity is usually said to have begun in Katun 9 Ahau. The present reference may be to the arrival of Fr. Villalpando in 1546. On page 145 we shall see the statement that the missionaries arrived in 1545.

[3] In the Books of Chilam Balam the year 1519 is given an importance out of all proportion to the fact that it was the year when Cortez landed and remained for a short time in Cozumel. On page 81 we have seen this date associated with a treaty with the Spaniards which must have occurred much later; again on page 84 we have seen the foundation of Merida and that of the Convent of San Francisco ascribed to the same year.

The Maya text is not divided into sentences, and the present translation is based on a sentence arrangement which changes the meaning materially from that of Brinton's translation, which is as follows: "The eleventh ahau: in the time of its beginning, the stone of Coloxpeten was taken; in this katun died Apula Napotxiu, in the first year of the eleventh ahau; it was also in this katun that the Spaniards first arrived here in this land, in the seventh year of the eleventh ahau katun; also Christianity began in the year fifteen hundred and nineteen, the year of our Lord 1519" (Brinton 1882, pp. 171-172). Although it is possible that Brinton's rendition is the correct one, preference is given to the sentence arrangement given above, because Maya writers usually place a temporal phrase or clause beginning with the particle *ti* before the main clause of the sentence. Indeed Dr. Andrade reports that in present-day spoken Maya a temporal clause with *ti* precedes the main clause.

[4] Bishop Toral arrived in Yucatan in 1562.

[5] Possibly a lye solution is meant.

[6] Maya, *zizal-xiu*, the *Bryophyllum pinnatun* (Lam.) S. Kurz. It is called *Siempre vive, Admirable* and *Sinverguenza* in Spanish (Roys 1931, p. 310).

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forest was burned <with the heat>, and the forest <trees> died This is the
p.82 C record which I have written down, I, Don Juan Josef Hoil.[1] (Rubrica.)/

Chumayel, June 28th, 1858, was when I made a loan to Chinuh Balam.
p.83 C I, Pedro Briceño. (Rubrica.)[2]/

XXII
(A BOOK OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

(1. Frontispiece.)

p.84 C

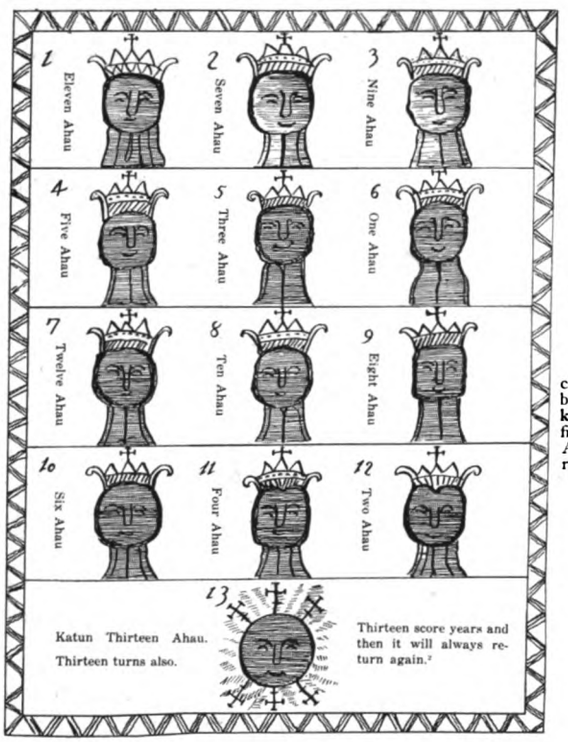

FIG. 29—The lords of the thirteen katuns. (Chumayel MS.)./

We have here a picture of the thirteen Lords of the Katuns. The blurred faces may signify that they are blindfolded. The crowns, crosses and manner of drawing are purely European, but they doubtless represent the idols set up in honor of each katun. Unfortunately no pre-Conquest representation of these figures has come down to us. *Cf.* Landa 1929, pp. 94-100, also Appendix D. After thirteen Katuns the same series will always recur.

[3]Today, Wednesday, April 4th, 1832, I have recorded the name of Maria Isidora, daughter of Andres Balam and Maria Juana Xicum.[4]

Today, Sunday, December 22d, 1833, I have recorded the name of Tomas, son of Andres Balam and Maria Xicum. God-father: José Maria Castañeda. God-mother: Manuela Marin.

Cura

. . . Justo Balam, Secretary. (Rubrica)

[1] Juan Josef Hoil is considered the compiler of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.
[2] This note is made in a different hand from the usual text of the Chumayel. The date might be 1818, 1838 or 1858. The last has been chosen as the most probable.
[3] Written in a different hand on a blank page.
[4] Women retain their maiden names after marriage in Yucatan.

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[1]This is the day on which I purchased the book: July 1st, 1838. It cost me one peso in <my> poverty. This was the price <I paid> to the Señor Padre: <one> peso. This is the year of the purchase . . . I have recorded it in order that it might be known that at this time it passed into my hands by purchase.

I, Pedro de Alcantara Briceño, resident of San Antonio./ p.85 C

(2. Historical introduction to the katun-prophecies.)

In Katun 13 Ahau the ship of the foreigners first appeared at Campeche. 1541 was the name of the year when they brought the news that the Maya men were to enter into Christianity, when the land of Tantun Cuzamil was established. They were there for half a year. Then they went to the seaport to the west and the people of Chikin-Chel[2] were put under tribute. It was the year 1542 when the district of Tihoo, Ichcanziho,[3] was established, in Katun 11 Ahau. The first governor was the Adelantado Don Francisco Montejo who was to appoint subjects[4] for the foreigners, mighty men. In the year 1542 tribute was introduced. A. D. 1545 was the year when the Padres arrived, four years after the arrival of the foreigners. Then it was that men were baptised from town to town by <the Padres>. When they first arrived the towns were distributed among them.

1544 was the year . . . six hundred years and seventy-five years after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated,[5] after its settlements were depopulated. <It was> eight hundred years and seventy years after the town of Uxmal was depopulated, after the people were driven out of its towns.[6]

In the year 1537, on a day named 9 Cauac, was when the nobles gathered at the town of Mani to discuss fully whether they should go and bring the foreigners to their settlements because the head-chief had been killed.[7] These

[1] Written in still another hand.

[2] Chikin-chel (lit. west woods) was the native province immediately to the south of Rio de Lagartos. Its chief city was Chauachá, a name also given to the entire province (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 7).

[3] Merida was founded on the site of an ancient city named Ichcanziho in the older narratives. At the time of the Spanish conquest it was called Tihoo, which still continues to be the Maya name of the capital.

[4] Maya *chinam*, a word probably borrowed from the Nahuatl. It is defined by Pio Perez as "town," but it can also mean subjects, as in the *Carta de diez caciques: "a chinamob tulacal cech ah-tepale,"* "all the subjects of Your Majesty" (Martínez, Ed. 1930, p. 59). The reference is probably to the establishment of *encomiendas*, but the towns may be meant.

[5] Here probably a tun of 360 days is meant instead of a year of 365 days, although the latter is stated. No mention of the inhabitants of Chichen Itzá being driven out at this time has yet been noted.

[6] This suggests the conquest of some ancient city at Uxmal long before the Xiu occupation of the site, but we know nothing of either conquerors or conquered.

[7] In spite of the statement as it stands we believe that by 9 Cauac the name of the year is intended. As we have previously noted, the Xiu head-chief was murdered in a year 8 Cauac which lasted from the middle of 1536 to the middle of 1537. The following year was 9 Kan. This paragraph has been translated and there is a full discussion of the matter in Morley 1920, pages 478-487. Yucatan had been abandoned by the Spaniards, and in 1537 a small expedition under Godoy returned to Champoton (Molina Solis 1896, p. 551).

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were their names: Ah Moochan Xiu, Nahau Ez, Ah Ɔun Chinab, Napoot Cupul, Napot Che, Nabatun Itza, Ah-kin[1] Euan from Caucel, Nachan Uc from Ɔibilkal[2] Ah-kin Ucan from Ekob, Nachi Uc, Ah-kul Koh, Nachan Motul, Nahau Coyi. These were the men of importance who talked of bringing the foreigners to their town, because the head-chief of the town, Ah <Ɔun>[3] Xiu was killed
p.86 C at Otzmal./

10 Kan[4] was the year-bearer when the seeker for a town passed. He was called Montejo, he who wrote down the towns. This was the year when the strangers in the land, the foreigners who ate annonas, passed. They were the first to distribute the towns. It was when the foreigners arrived that the "receivers" received them.[5] When they assembled at Campeche, when their ships came forth, then the nobles went to give gifts to them. There were thirteen "receivers of the foreigners."[6] After that they came to Ichcanziho. 9 Ahau was the katun.[7]

✠ <This is> a record of the wisdom of the book in which is set down the course of the katun. Here it is published in the land of Nitunɔala, Chactemal, Tahuaymil, Holtun Itzá, Chichinila,[8] in order that the charge of the course of the katun may be known, of each katun, whether it is good or bad. Thus it is written by the Holy Writer, the Evangelist, it is the word of the Lord of heaven and earth . . . it comes from on high. This was given to

[1] Ah-kin Euan, the priest Euan.

[2] Montejo established his headquarters for a time at Ɔibilkal, four leagues west or southwest of Merida, just prior to capturing the latter site in 1541. The mention here of an emissary from this town and the neighboring Caucel indicates that the assembly took place in 1541 and not in 1537. Molina Solis states that an embassy was sent from Mani to Ɔibilkal at this time (Molina Solis 1896, p. 624).

[3] Where the edge of the page is torn, the title or official name of Tutul Xiu has been supplied from the Crónica de Oxkutzcab, page 66, apud Morley 1920, page 507. Here it is given as Ah Ɔun Tutul Xiu.

[4] The year 10 Kan (*lahun Kan*) began in 1525 prior to Montejo's arrival and could not recur for fifty two years. Probably 13 Kan (*oxlahun Kan*) is intended. The latter year began in July 1541.

[5] Nakuk Pech tells of accompanying such an embassy to the Spaniards at Campeche (Brinton 1882, p. 219).

[6] The council at Mani which discussed going to meet the Spaniards was also composed of thirteen members. Possibly they were to be the actual ambassadors. Among the Maya thirteen had a symbolic meaning.

[7] The events mentioned here occurred in Katun 11 Ahau and not in 9 Ahau.

[8] Chactemal and Tahuaymil are both names given to the native province better known as Chetumal. It lies just north of British Honduras. *Ah-uaymi* is defined as an animal resembling the opossum (Motul). Holtun Itzá might be translated as "the gate of the Itzá." The district was the embarking point for considerable commerce with what is now the Republic of Honduras. *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, II, page 179. There is a town named Chichimila a few miles south of Valladolid. There was also a town of Chactemal, or "Chetemal," located by Cogolludo (Bk. 9, Chap. 6) on what is now Chetumal Bay, three leagues east of the mouth of the Rio Hondo, called *Nohukum* by the Maya. This town was the capital of the native province of the same name and the residence of Nachan Can, the ruler or one of the rulers of the province (Herrera 1726, Dec. 3, book 4, chap. 2).

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them . . . at the beginning of the land, at the beginning of our humanity . . . the true word in Holy Writ, in the book, the *Reportorio*.[1] It has no error; the seal[2] on the book[3] was carefully surveyed by them. These were the four lineages from heaven, the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven,[4] the head-chiefs, the rulers of the land: Zacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hochtun Poot, Ah Mex-Cuc Chan.[5]

Behold, within seven score years Christianity will be introduced amid the clamor of the rulers, those who violently seize land <during> the katun. Then suddenly appears the wise man; then there is the examination of the katun.[6] Miserable is the face of Chac Chuen Coyi.[7] Then the Lord of the Church shall come. It is in the middle of the town of Tihoo.[8] It shall come from the East, from the North, from the West, from the South; the word of Christianity shall be heard in the 17th tun in order that Christianity may truly arise./ The Padres shall arrive; the Bishop shall arrive, the Holy In- p.87 C
quisition, the word of God. <These things> shall be accomplished. No one shall cause them to cease. Amen.

(3. The katun-prophecies.)[9]

The Chapter of the year, the katun.

First: 11 Ahau, when the foreigners first established the country.

The first: Katun 11 Ahau was the beginning of the katun-count, the first katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo when the foreigners arrived. Red were the beards of the children of the sun, the bearded ones from

[1] Written "Repuldoryo" in the text. Evidently the writer knew little Spanish.

[2] The idea of a seal on a book was probably taken from the Spaniards, but the Maya were familiar with clay stamps used to decorate pottery and possibly also to mark designs on the human body.

[3] This is the book mentioned on pages 13 and 29 of the Tizimin MS. and on page 115 of the Codex Perez. This book is stated to have been either written or copied on a day 11 Chuen, 18 Zac, February 15th, 1544.

[4] *Cf.* page 131, note 3.

[5] Mention has already been made in this book of Holtun Balam and Ah Mex-cuc. They appear to have been contemporaries of Hunac Ceel (*Cf.* pp. 69 and 74). Zacal Puc is probably the "Cacal Puc" referred to in the famous Valladolid law-suit of 1618 (*Cf.* Brinton 1882, p. 117). He was one of several leaders who came to found towns at Chichen Itzá, Bacalar and on the coast of Yucatan to the north. It is specifically stated that these men came from Mexico, and that they ruled in Yucatan for a long time. The period of their arrival is not recorded here, but we find the statement elsewhere that the Maya had been subject to certain Mexicans six hundred years prior to the Spanish Conquest (Aguilar 1892, p. 92).

[6] *Cf.* p. 89, note 4. The reference is to the catechism which the chiefs were obliged to undergo every katun to prove that they held their positions legitimately.

[7] Nothing is known of this personage. Coyi is a well-known family name among the Maya.

[8] The Maya name for Merida.

[9] Here we have the second and later series of katun-prophecies described in Appendix D.

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the east, when they arrived here in our land. The strangers to the land are white men, red men,[1] . . . a beginning of carnal sin[2] . . . Oh Itzá! . . . make ready. There cometh a white circle[3] in the sky, the fair-skinned boy from

FIG. 30—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

Each prophecy of this series is headed by an illustration similar to this one. It consists of a crowned head, and the crown is surmounted by a cross. It evidently represents the so-called "ruler" mentioned in a number of the prophecies, but there is some uncertainty as to the function of this personage in connection with each new katun. In the Tizimin (p. 22) and Mani (Codex Perez, p. 120) manuscripts we read of a certain Katun 8 Ahau that "the ruler of the people of Uxmal was painted." It is possible that this means that a picture of this ruler headed the prophecy for the katun; but Katun 8 Ahau "was established" at Izamal and not Uxmal according to the present series of katun-prophecies.

heaven, the white wooden standard[4] that shall descend from heaven. A quarter of a league, a league away,[5] it approaches. You shall see the dawn of a new day, you shall see the *mut*-bird.[6] Oh! how there shall be intercession for us when they come. There shall come multitudes who gather stone and wood,[7] the worthless rabble[8] of the town. Fire shall flame up at the tips of their hands. There shall be sufficient poison and also ropes to hang their lords.[9] Oh Itzá! Your worship is of no avail with the true God who has descended. It is false in word and teaching. Niggard is the katun; scanty are its rains. Who would be the priest, who would be the prophet who would understand

[1] A reference to the red beards of some of the Spaniards.

[2] Maya, *nicté*, literally the Plumeria flower, and figuratively the carnal sin for which it was the symbol. *Cf.* page 104, note 15.

[3] Here instead of the Maya word for circle, a ring is drawn. There is a stereotyped expression in Maya meaning the same thing: *zac petahom canal*, which frequently occurs in the prophecies and is usually associated with drought (p. 164). Here, as in Christian legends, it appears to be a halo encircling a celestial vision, the child Jesus, "the fair-skinned boy."

[4] Maya, *uaom che*. The Spanish missionaries translated this as cross (Villagutierre 1701, p. 37). It was probably the symbolic tree of Maya mythology. According to the prophecy of Chilam Balam a bird was perched on it (*Cf.* p. 167).

[5] Literally, the distance a cry can be heard, the distance after which the traveler sets down his pack and rests.

[6] Maya, *mut*, may mean either news, or an unidentified bird of the Cracidæ family (Maler 1908, p. 132). In Chol, Chontal and Tzotzil *mut* is a general term meaning bird (Stoll 1884, p. 54). *Cf.* page 100, note 4.

[7] Probably a reference to the construction of Spanish cities and churches with native labor.

[8] Maya, *zac ibteelob*; the translation is doubtful, but certainly it is a term of contempt. Compare the use of the same expression on pages 155 and 156.

[9] Alternative translation: their fathers.

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it when he came to Tancah Mayapan <or> to Chichen Itzá? Alas! The <burden> laid upon the younger brothers;[1] it came in Katun 7 Ahau[2] through necessity, through misery, from the tribute, from the time it was first imposed upon you down to the tribute which you shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow in your children's time. Prepare yourselves to endure the burden of misery which is to come among your villages. This katun which has been established is/ a katun of misery, a katun of the importunity[3] of the p.88 C devil, when it is established in Katun 11 Ahau. Receive your guests, the bearded men, the bearers of the sign of God. Your elder brothers, the men of Tantun,[4] come. They shall ask of you an offering to God with them. Their priest was named Ah Miznilacpe. Their faces were <like> the puma, <like> Antichrist, on that day which is to come, on that day which confronts you, alas, in much misery, <my> sons. This is the word of our Lord: "It shall burn on earth, there shall be a white circle in the sky, in that katun in time to come." It is the true word from the mouth of God the Father. Alas, very heavy is the burden of the katun that shall be established in Christianity. When it comes there shall be slavish talk, slavish . . . servile men. When it comes, there shall be . . . you shall see. There shall come the head-chiefs . . . the two day occupants of the thrones and mats . . . in the <five> unlucky days at the end of the year, in the days of penance. This only is the end of the word of God. 11 is the cup[5] <of the katun>. The news <regarding> the aspect of its reign is gathered, all its teachings, all its words. You shall die; you shall live; but you may not understand the word of the living book. Ah Maypan[6] was his only son, his justice. He was put in prison, he was taken out, then he was bound and whipped. After that, when he was seated, the son was admonished. There was a hat on his head and sandals on his feet. A cord was tied about his waist when he came./[7] p.89 C

The second <katun>.

Katun 9 Ahau is the second katun of the count. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Then it was that the foreigners to the land received their tribute. Then it was that the fathers of our souls arrived. The scattered

[1] A term probably applied to the natives by the Toltec invaders. *Cf.* prophecy of Chilam Balam, page 169, note 1.

[2] Maya, *uuc Ahau*; 11 Ahau (*buluc Ahau*) appears to be intended.

[3] Maya, *u tza cizin*, a phrase often encountered. *Tza* is to harass with an importunate demand or with a law-suit.

[4] *Cf.* page 168, note 3.

[5] A figure of speech meaning the coefficient of the day Ahau on which the katun ends.

[6] Possibly *Ah Mayapan*, the man of Mayapan, is intended.

[7] We have already noted a similar distortion of Christian teaching in these pages. *Cf.* page 107, note 2 and Appendix G.

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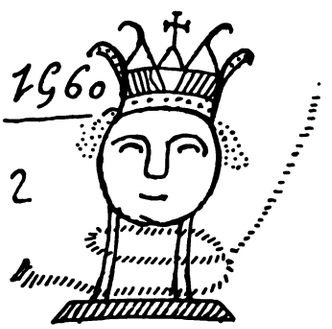

FIG. 31—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

divisions of the towns under their local chieftains[1] were gathered together. They began to teach the holy faith and baptise us.[2] The foundations of the holy Cathedral were laid, the public house of God, the widely extended house of God the Father. Then the seven sacraments were established to take away <our sins> . . . There began to be much labor in the center of the town . . . the misery of the world. Then there was set up . . . the word of God, which shall also come from the mouth of God the Father. Then the fair complexioned boy[3] arrives, he comes from heaven. The Virgin, as she is called, is the mother of the seven planets.[4]

FIG. 32—The seven planets. (Chumayel MS.).

It was in the ninth year of <Katun> 9 Ahau that they served[5] Christianity, just as it was written by the prophet Chilam Balam on the stone of nine seals in heaven. 13 Ɔnab[6] was the day there in heaven as well as here on earth. <There was> the heavenly staff, the heavenly fan.[7] The cord descended, the word of God which came from on high all over the entire world. Nine was its plate, nine was its cup. Oh make ready, Itzá. Nowhere shall

[1] Maya, *hool-poop*, literally "he who sits at the head of the mat." These scattered hamlets were destroyed by the missionaries after the Conquest and their inhabitants forced to live together in the towns where they could more easily be christianized. The practise was criticized in the reports of the encomenderos, as it caused a serious diminution of the native population. *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, II, page 187.

[2] Maya, *yocol haa tac polob*, literally "the water entered to our heads."

[3] The image of the child Jesus, and not the Virgin, as the wording of the text might suggest.

[4] Maya, *chachac ek*, the red stars. By *chac ek* the morning star is usually meant, probably the planet Venus. In the Venus table of the Dresden Codex the glyph for red is always prefixed to the Venus-sign. Here, however, the seven planets of medieval astronomy are plainly intended: Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

[5] Maya, *taninah*. The translator is not familiar with this word. The translation given is based on its resemblance to *tanlah*, meaning to serve.

[6] It has already been noted on page 125, note 4, that the year preceding 1 Cuauac ended on a day 13 Ɔnab, which could have fallen in 1568. This would be approximately the ninth year after the date given above as the beginning of Katun 9 Ahau.

[7] On pages 8 and 9 of the Crónica de Oxkutzcab the Tutul Xiu ruler holds a fan as a symbol of authority.

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you offer <provocation> to your guests. You shall give them food to eat, and they shall also give you food to eat when they come./ p.90 C

The third <katun>.

Katun 7 Ahau is the third katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo.[1] Yaxal Chac[2] is the face <of the katun in the heavens>[3] to its ruler, to its wise man,[4] while the drum <resounds> below and the rattle <resounds> above. The Plumeria is its bread, the Plumeria[5] is its water, the burden <of the katun>.[6] Then begins the lewdness of the wise men,[7] the beckoning of carnal sin, the beckoning of the katun. The katun begins to limp; it is all over the world. <Carnal sin> is its garment, carnal sin is its face, carnal sin is its . . . carnal sin is its sandal, carnal sin is its head, carnal sin is its gait. They twist their necks, they twist their mouths, they wink the eye, they slaver at the mouth, at men, women, chiefs, justices, presiding officers, clerks, choir-masters, <everybody both> great and small.[8] There is no great teaching. Heaven and earth are truly lost to them; they have lost all shame. Then the head-chiefs of the towns, the rulers of the towns, the prophets of the towns, the priests of the Maya men are hanged. Understanding is lost; wisdom is lost. Prepare yourselves, oh Itzá! Your sons shall see the mirth of the katun, the jesting of the katun. Dissolute is the speech, dissolute the face of the rogue to the rulers, to the head-chiefs. Seven is the plate, seven the cup[9]

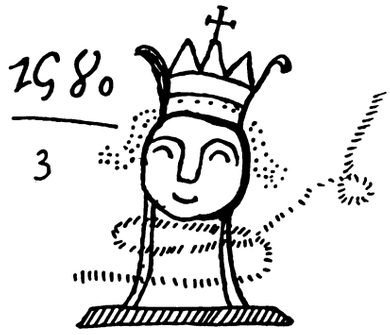

FIG. 33—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

[1] Merida.

[2] Yaxal Chac could be translated: the green rain-god. "Chaac was similarly a giant who taught agriculture, whom they afterward considered the god of bread, of water, of thunder and lightning" (Motul).

[3] Avendaño tells us of similar katun-prophecies in the hieroglyphic books of the Itzá at Tayasal. Each was associated with an "idol," a priest and a locality. The so-called "face of the katun" is evidently that of the god himself as he appears in the heavens, possibly a constellation. Among the gods mentioned in a similar connection with the various katun-prophecies are the familiar names of Ah-Cocah-mut, Itzamna, Kinich Kakmo, Ekchuuah and Lahun Chan. *Cf.* Appendix D. The words supplied here are taken from Codex Perez, page 157 and the Tizimin MS. page 23.

[4] The wise man mentioned here may be the priest of the katun-prophecy.

[5] *Cf.* page 104, note 15.

[6] Supplied from Tizimin page 29.

[7] Landa describes religious festivals at which the most unbridled license prevailed (Landa 1928, p. 156).

[8] One of the conquerors, Juan Farfan, witnessed a number of pagan festivals and tells us that "as they went on dancing and singing, they gave to each of those who danced and sang a small cup <of *balché*> to drink. They gave it to them so frequently that they became drunk with it, and did and said so many extravagant things and made such grimaces that it was a sight to behold" (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 188).

[9] *Cf.* page 149, note 5.

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<of the katun>, it is the word of God. Much hanging <of men> is the
p.91 C charge[1] of the katun./

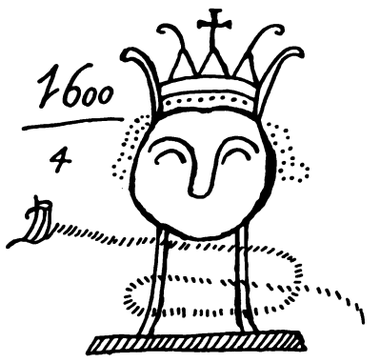

FIG. 34—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The fourth <katun>.

Katun 5 Ahau is the fourth katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo. Harsh is its face, harsh its tidings, to the ruler. There is affliction[2] of the offspring of woman and man, when it comes. Then begins the vexation by the devil in the world. Then <came> the blinding of <the face of the god>,[3] the face of Kauil,[4] in the four changing heavens, the four changing roads.[5] Then hanging comes to the world. The red <rattlesnake>[6] raises its head to bite; the *holil-<och>*[7] raises its head <to bite>. Men and women have few children. Then came . . . the end of the cigar,[8] after the lord of the world was created . . . he heard the dance . . .[9] There is the red flowered thing, the red *xulab*,[10] the red *uayah-cab*,[11] the accessory of the rattle of the giver of our hearts in tribute through misery

[1] The charge, or burden, of the katun was its destiny, usually an unpleasant one.

[2] Maya, *Chibil*, may mean either pain and affliction or being eaten or bitten. Early reports state that ceremonial cannibalism in connection with human sacrifice did not exist in northern Yucatan, but Avendaño ascribes the practise to the Itzá of Tayasal (Means 1917, p. 150).

[3] Supplied from a parallel version of this prophecy (Tizimin, p. 30). We have noted a reference to the blindfolding of a god on page 99, and the Dresden Codex, page 50, contains a picture of a blindfolded god.

[4] Probably the name of a divine patron of the crops. *Kauil* can mean food, and Itzamna-Kauil was a well-known sky-god.

[5] Alternative translation: the four resting places at the four corners of the heavens, like the four corners at the crossroads where travelers set down their loads and rest. The same verb, *hel*, can mean either to change or to rest.

[6] Supplied from Tizimin, page 30. The page is badly water-stained. The Motul dictionary states that there were four varieties of rattlesnakes, red, white, black and yellow.

[7] Literally hole-opossum, *Marmosa gaumeri* Osgood, an opossum which burrows under stones and logs and has a small gray body. Like the other animals mentioned here, it symbolized certain warrior chiefs. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 333, and Appendix F.

[8] *Chamal*, a roll or tube of tobacco for smoking (Motul). The modern Maya believe in four supernatural protectors, the Balams, who move abroad at night. The shooting stars are believed to be glowing stumps of the cigar smoked by the Balams, which they throw away (Brinton 1890, p. 174). *Chamal-ɔutan* is a small comet (Motul).

[9] A space in the text indicates that the Maya compiler found the text he copied illegible. The space is followed by the words *bot* (to pay) and *bat* (hatchet, hail) which are not translated here.

[10] *Xulab*: defined as certain stinging ants (Motul). They move in batallions, have long legs, are found in dry places and destroy the leaves of plants (Pacheco Cruz 1919, p. 50). Their sting caused an eclipse of the moon (Aguilar 1900, p. 83).

[11] *Chac uayah-cab*, described as a red stinging ant which lives underground (Pacheo Cruz 1919, p. 50). The translator does not understand the connection between these insects and the diviners rattle. Compare the mention of "coagulated blood on the red rosette of the rattle" on page 90 of the present work.

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and vexation. It is the opossum chieftain, the fox chieftain, the *ah-pic* chieftain,[1] the <blood->sucking chieftain, the avaricious ones of the town. He is set up perchance, and then it is that your drum is beaten, my younger brother <my> elder brother. He who lies in wait for you on all fours is among you, the *tolil-och*.[2] <It is> his katun. The Plumeria flower is his chair, as he sits on his throne. He is publicly seen in the market-place on his mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the two-day occupant of the mat. They deceive the town, the two town officials, the chieftain opossum and he who lies in wait on all fours. They bring the pestilence, <they are> the cause of . . .; there was little of it formerly. You then called them the Itzá. The rattle of the katun is shaken; there is the treachery of the katun at Tancah Mayapan. There is the great tribute of Zuyua. The kinkajou[3] claws the back of the jaguar amid the affliction of the katun, amid the affliction of the year; they are greedy for dominion. Many hangings are the charge of the katun, when the chiefs of the town are hung there. There is an end to the misery of the Maya men/when p.92 C suddenly the men of Uaymil come to take vengeance on the world.[4]

FIG. 35—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel M.S.)

The fifth katun. 1620.

Katun 3 Ahau was the fifth katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Ek-Cocah-mut[5] was its face to the rulers, to the wise men. Antichrist[6] was its face to the rulers. Fire shall flame up at the horn of the brock-

[1] *Ah-pic* is a species of Hemiptera (Martínez' note to Motul). It is described as a flying cimex, so it appears to be a blood-sucking insect.

[2] The meaning of this expression is uncertain. *Och* is the opossum, and *tolil* difficult to translate in this context. There was a certain dance called *"ix tolil."*

[3] For the figurative use of the word, *kinkajou*, see Appendix F.

[4] Alternative translation: to collect the debts of the world. Uaymil was another name for the native province of Chetumal, or Chactemal, in southeastern Yucatan, just north of what is now British Honduras.

[5] Literally, the Black Cocah-mut. Yax-Cocah-mut was one of the regents of the Muluc Years (Landa 1929, p. 28). The name is spelled Yax-Cocay-mut in the Tizimin MS. (p. 25) which might be translated as "the green fire-fly bird." Avendaño saw at Tayasal a mask set in a stone column which he identified as Ah-Cocah-mut. "I came to recognize it, since I had already read about it in their old papers and had seen it in their Anahtes, which they use, which are books of the barks of trees, polished and covered with lime, in which by painted figures and characters, they have foretold their future events. By which means I knew that there was found in the said Peten Itzá the said idol of Yaxchecab, that of Cocahmut, that of Ytzimna (Itzamna) Kauil, which means "horse of the devil" (Bowditch, unpublished translation p. 67. Avendaño, original MS., f. 29 r.). Yax-Cocah-mut is probably one of the names of Itzamna. None of the hieroglyphic prophecies has survived, but it is evident that the present series follows the original model.

[6] Written "Antachristo" in the text.

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ett at Ichcaanzihoo.[1] The skin of the jaguar shall be spread out in the market-place.[2] The water-tank[3] is its tidings. There are rains of little profit,[4] rains from a rabbit sky,[5] rains from a parched sky, rains from a woodpecker sky, high rains, rains from a vulture sky, crested[6] rains, deer rains. Then descends the thrice raised leaf of the *zil*-palm.[7] There is fighting; there is a year of locusts. The diminished remainder <of the population> is hanged.[8] They are defeated in war.[9] Sad shall be the havoc at the cross-roads.[10] There are the lords of the army;[11] their souls cry out at the opening up of the town . . .[12] Behold, I am Katun 3 Ahau. My town of Ichcaanzihoo is founded. Behold,
p.93 C I am Caesar Augustus.[13] . . . I receive my donation in the heart of the forest/[14]

[1] Possibly a reference to the firing of a pistol, which may have looked like the horn of a brockett or that of a goat to the natives.

[2] Maya, *haylahom u keuel chac-bolay*. This expression evidently has the same figurative meaning as that of *zin balam* (literally "spread the jaguar") which is defined as "to fight or to go to war" (Motul).

[3] The Maya word *pek* primarily means a dog, and among its rather numerous secondary meanings are water-tank, chills and fever, and a certain skin disease. We might conclude that the "tidings," or fortunes, of the katun were chills and fever; but the statement following that it was a period of drought suggests rather that people were obliged to use the stagnant water of the tanks, when the rains failed. It is also quite possible that *pek*, the dog, had a symbolic meaning unknown to us, perhaps merely that the news is bad.

[4] Literally, white or pale profit. "*Zac*, in composition with certain expressions, diminishes their significance and denotes a certain imperfection" (Motul).

[5] The precise significance of these figures of speech is nowhere explained. We find "rain from a rabbit sky" (*thul caan chacil*) associated with a period of drought on page 1 of the Tizimin MS.

[6] Maya *thelen chacil*. *Thilen chacil* would mean interrupted rains.

[7] The *zil* is reported as an unidentified variety of palm (Martínez letter). Its ceremonial significance is unknown, but the Tizimin version of this prophecy treats it as a misfortune (Tizimin MS., p. 30).

[8] *Ox c̄huylah u xuthen*, or *ox c̄huilah xotem*, is a stereotyped phrase which Brinton has translated: "three generations hang there" (on the tree). An alternative translation would be: the diminished remainder are driven far away. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, page 127.

[9] Maya, *ox cuchlahom yal max*, is another stereotyped phrase. *Cuch-chimal* means to be defeated in war, *i. e.* to bear one's shield on one's back in retreat. *Chimal*, however, is a borrowed Nahuatl word, and we find the original Maya expression only in the verb, *maax-cinah*, to employ a shield in defense, and its derivative *maax*, a man who defends himself well with his shield. *Yal max* could be a little shield.

[10] At a time of civil disorder and revolution we found the "havoc" occurring in the courtyards of the nobles (p. 91, note 7). Now, however, there is defeat in war. Possibly the retreating soldiers are ambushed at a cross-road. The Tizimin version adds the detail that flies swarm, presumably over the corpses (Tizimin, p. 30).

[11] Alternative translation: the masters of the katun.

[12] The text is unsatisfactory and the translation here is uncertain. Also the manuscript is water-stained. One mutilated sentence has been left untranslated: "*nomal Ytza e . . . talii.*"

[13] Written "Ceçar Agustoe" in the original. A discussion of the use of this name will be found on page 157, note 2.

[14] There is a break in the text here indicating that one or more pages are missing.

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FIG. 36—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The first <katun>.[1]

Katun 1 Ahau is the seventh[1] katun. The katun is established at Emal.[2] At that time Ix Puc-yola and Ox Ualacii[3] shall come. The rope shall descend, the cord[4] shall descend. There comes from heaven the word of the true path. Through it will come the fulfilment of the word of the Lord of heaven, the true word.

The dog[5] is its tidings; the vulture is its tidings. The flag is the second of the figures <drawn above>. The opossum is its face to the rulers. Thrice impeded are their thought and speech, thrice impeded their manhood, thrice impeded their flint knife among the rulers, among the wise men. Then came Hunpic-ti-ax[6] as an affliction, the jaguar and Canul[7] for an affliction. These were the eaters of their food, the destroyers of their crops, the *boboch*,[8] the destroyer of food. For seven years there is the affliction of Hunpic-ti-ax; for seven years there is the affliction of Canul. Then the justice of our Lord, God, shall descend upon carnal sin, upon the worthless rabble of the town,[9] upon the lewd rogue, the rascal. After that there shall come another word, another teaching, but the Maya men shall not admit it to their hearts. The word of God, the Father of Heaven, shall be sung among them that they may correct their ways, that they may turn their backs upon their evil ways, the usages among Maya men; but they will not wish/ to p.94 C listen to the word of God, when they should rather respect the judges as their fathers. The hearts of the head-chiefs of the world shall be sad. They believe little, nor do they even believe that. So you say. The blessed among those in authority are set apart. Fire shall be kindled with a fire-drill as a sign of the Maya Virgin.[10] Hunab-ku[11] is in his only virgin Church,[12] where he

[1] This is the sixth katun. The reason for starting a new count here is not apparent.
[2] On page 82 it was implied that Emal was another name for Izamal, and the same city may be meant here, but there is another Emal on the northern coast of Yucatan.
[3] Written Ix Puc-yol-ha and Ix Ual-icim on page 25 of the Tizimin MS.
[4] Perhaps a reference to the "living rope" (*cuxan zum*), which is a road suspended in the sky and extending from Tulum and Cobá to Chichen Itzá and Uxmal (Tozzer 1907, p. 153).
[5] *Cf.* p. 154, note 3.
[6] Literally, eight thousand warts. Possibly a disease and not a personage is meant.
[7] Canul is probably a reference to an important family of Nahua origin. They settled in the province of Ah Canul after the fall of Mayapan. Landa calls them Mexican mercenaries.
[8] The *boboch* is identified by Pio Perez as a fabulous animal, but he gives no particulars.
[9] *Cf.* p. 148, note 8.
[10] During the colonial period the most famous shrine in Yucatan was that of the Virgin of Izamal, where many cures were performed. Here, however, we are reminded of Zuhuy-kak, the Fire-Virgin, who was the goddess of little girls. She was said to be the deified daughter of a ruler, a member of an order of virgins or nuns who served the gods (Lizana 1893, ff. 39-40).
[11] Hunab-ku was "the only living and true god, also the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan" (Motul 1930, p. 404).
[12] Written "Yglesia" in the text.

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cries out. There is heard the word of the Lord of Heaven, the Lord on earth. The entire world shall be sad when he comes. The wing of the land shall shake, the center of the land[1] shall shake when he comes in his time. Then there shall occur the obedience of the foreigners of Bentana[2] <to> the word of God. Thrice shall the justice of our Lord descend to the world. Then a great army shall descend upon the worthless rabble of the town,[3] that it may be known whether their faith is truly firm. Then descended the governor.[4] There shall begin the tearing out of the eyes[5] of the rogue who incites riot,[6] of the great rascal, of the great hawk of the town, of the fox of the town. Then the eternal ruler shall come to cut the cord from the burden of misery, the ruler who appraises.[7] Then sickness,[8] the result of guilt, shall descend, the punishment of all the world shall come from heaven, with it the drought. At that time it shall be all over the world. The remainder of the guardians of the sands, the guardians of the sea, shall be detained together such as the people of Uaymil,[9] such as the people of Emal.[10] The rest of them shall be assembled in great numbers by the sea at the end of the katun. Thus it is seen that the fold[11] of the katun is brought about. Then the flag shall be raised.[12] Then there is an end to the importunity of the devil, of Antichrist. <There is> knife-thrusting strife, purse-snatching strife,[13] strife with the blow-gun, strife by trampling on

[1] *Cf.* page 126, note 3.

[2] Maya, *ah bentana*, and written *ah bentena* on page 158. The name has not been identified. Possibly the rendering should be: the obedience of the men of Bentana <to> the foreigners <and to> the word of God.

[3] This translation is inferred from the three contexts in which it occurs. *Cf.* page 148, note 8, and page 155, note 9.

[4] Maya, *ah mektan*. *Cf.* Brinton 1882, page 124, note 3. These prophecies abound in references to a time when an avenging ruler will come and punish certain immoral and oppressive chieftains who are designated as birds or animals. *Cf.* Appendix F.

[5] On page 92 we have noted this punishment in connection with the upstart chief who is not of the proper lineage. The Dresden Codex (p. 3) depicts a bird tearing the eye from a sacrificial victim.

[6] Maya, *u cuyil cab*, literally the moth in the hive. Any bee-keeper is familiar with the results of this phenomenon. A very similar phrase, *yilkil cah*, the moth of the town, has the figurative meaning: "a great rascal, like the moth of the town, who incites it to riot and destroys it" (Motul). It is an interesting commentary on the vicissitudes of civic life in ancient Yucatan.

[7] Maya, *xotom ahau*, the ruler who cuts, or the ruler who appraises and judges.

[8] Maya, *koch*, which means either guilt or the sickness which is the punishment of guilt. It can also mean a burden or obligation.

[9] Uaymil is another name for the Province of Bacalar in southeastern Yucatan.

[10] Here the town of Emal on the north coast is evidently meant. We are reminded of the mounds found on the seashore in that region.

[11] Probably the end or turn of the katun is meant.

[12] Here the meaning of the Maya phrase, *tix ucham ua pani*, is doubtful. It may be an archaic expression, but it seems more like a corruption of the original text.

[13] *Cf.* page 79, note 2. These are all stereotyped phrases.

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people, stonethrowing strife. The fighting ends in the heart of the forest[1] where Cæsar Augustus[2] receives his donation. <There is>/sudden death with p.95 C hunger; the vultures enter the houses <because> of the pestilence. There is sad havoc[3] with flies <swarming> at the cross-roads, and at the four resting places <at the four corners>. There is oppression of the younger brothers,[4] flaying[5] of the sons; it comes to the world. Then arrives the ruler to propound the riddle[6] to them. His face is that of a war-captain, of the son of God. After that there is the arrival of the Bishop, the Holy Inquisition as it is called, and Saul.[7] They ask for penitence[8] and Christianity. There is an end to greed, an end to vexation in the world. This shall be the end of its prophecy: there is a great war. The Chan<s> shall rise up in war with the five divisions of Chakan,[9] an army of Chan<s> in Katun 1 Ahau. A parching whirlwind storm[10] is the charge of the katun. There is a series of rains, rain from a rabbit-sky[11] <during> the evil katun. There is a sudden end to planting. Then the burden of legal summons descends; tribute descends; the proof is sought, with seven fathoms . . .,[12] when the serving of God is strongly urged.

[1] Among the Maya wars, whether civil or foreign, appear to have ended by driving the conquered into the forest.

[2] We are unable to explain this allusion, but it is of interest to note that in the Tizimin version of the preceding prophecy we find the name of Ah Uuc-yol-zip substituted for that of Cæsar Augustus in what is practically the same statement; "*ti taliob tan yol che ti ual tu kamic u matan Ah Uuc-yol-zip uale.*" Tizimin, page 30. Ah Uuc-yol-zip might be the modern Zip, or protector of the deer, to whom Dr. Redfield still finds the hunters making offerings.

[3] *Cf.* p. 91, note 7. [4] *Cf.* p. 149, note 1.

[5] Translation doubtful. The text might be rendered either: *ɔi-ɔil*, flayed, or *ɔiɔ-il*, overcome in a contest.

[6] *Cf.* p. 89, note 5. The use of this word is of ethnological interest, as the riddle is supposed to have been absent from aboriginal culture in America, and first introduced by Europeans. Already in the Sixteenth Century Motul dictionary we find the word used here, *naatal-nat*, defined: "*enigma, o que es cosi cosa dezirla.*"

[7] *Cf.* p. 123, note 8.

[8] Maya, *okolal*. It seems likely that *ocolal* is intended, which would give the passage the meaning: there is an inquiry into their faith.

[9] Chakan was the name of the native province or geographical division in which Merida was founded. We have no record of any outstanding family ruling there, as the Xius, Chels, Cocoms, Cupuls, Peches, Cochuahs and Canuls ruled in other provinces. Nor do we know of any war in Chakan in a Katun 1 Ahau. The battle fought by Montejo near Merida in 1541 took place in Katun 11 Ahau; also the actual fight was just over the border of Chakan in the Province of Ceh Pech. The Can family is said to have been predominant in the Province of Chetumal (Chactemal), and there was an uprising of the natives there in 1636, which lasted all during the Katun 1 Ahau which ensued. Very little fighting occurred, however (Cogolludo 1868, Book 11, Chap. 12).

[10] Maya, *kakal mozon chac*, lit. parched or fiery whirlwind storm. Dr. Redfield reports that the *kakal-mozon ik* (wind) is a disease bringing wind which comes from cenotes and caves containing water. It is summoned by whistling to burn the fields when cleared for planting.

[11] *Cf.* p. 154, note 5.

[12] The following two words, *yibnel cab*, have not been translated. *Ibnel* is defined as "a cloth or net, or else the placenta in which the fetus is wrapped at birth. Item, the umbilical cord of the fetus at birth" (Motul). *Cab* could mean honey, hive, town, region, world, low and red earth.

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It is the end of receiving the money of Antichrist. Antichrist does not come; our Lord God does not desire it. The katun is not ruined[1] here in our land by the natives of our land. This was the origin of Antichrist, it was avarice;[2] but before the coming of the mighty men[3] there was no robbery by violence, there was no greed and striking down one's fellow man in his blood, at the cost[4] of the poor man, at the expense[4] of the food of each and every one. In time to come there shall be five fruits of the tree for the food of the kinkajou,[5] the man of Bentena.[6] Alas, there is sorrow in the heart of the Lord of Heaven. Smallpox[7] is the end of the prophecy of the katun. An army shall
p.96 C come forth from Havana <with> a fleet of thirteen ships.[8]/

The second <katun>.

FIG. 37—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

Katun 12 Ahau is the eighth[9] katun of the count. The katun is established at Zaclahtun.[10] Yaxal Chuen[11] is his face, Buleu-caan-chac[12] is his face to the rulers. He shall manifest himself. He is in the sky by day; he is in the sky by night. The great artisan,[13] the wise man <shall come>. There are kind head-chiefs, kind chiefs; kindness and joy is the law of the entire world. Poor men become rich. Abundance of bread is the word of the katun. It is a rich year; there is an accumulation of wealth also. The katun is good. The rains are good ones; the fruit will form. Then they come forth from among the rocks to Christianity,[14]

[1] Alternative translation: the army is not ruined, etc. This does not fit the context.
[2] Maya, *ɔutulɔutil*. The word also means peddling something from house to house. For a reference to Antichrist, *cf.* page 79, note 6.
[3] A term applied to the Spaniards.
[4] Maya, *tu muk*, literally: at the suffering or endurance, etc.
[5] *Cf.* Appendix F, for the significance of this animal. The preceding reference is obscure.
[6] *Cf.* page 156, note 2.
[7] As noted on page 120, this period was distinguished for its epidemic of yellow fever rather than for any conspicuous outbreak of smallpox.
[8] Probably a reference to the story of Antonio Martínez. *Cf.* p. 123, and p. 157, note 7.
[9] This katun is really the seventh in the series.
[10] This place-name has survived only as the name of a hacienda in the Department of Izamal. It is, however, frequently associated with Mayapan in these pages and may be another name for this city.
[11] Yaẋal Chuen appears to be an important deity and probably a constellation as well. The name might be translated as the green or first artisan. We find on pp. 23, 24 of the Codex Peresianus a glyph composed of the elements, *yax* and *chuen*, which may refer to this deity (Gates 1910, p. 30). These are the pages containing the figures which represent the thirteen divisions of the Maya zodiac.
[12] The text appears to be corrupt here.
[13] Maya, *hunac ah-menil*. Among the modern Maya *ah-men* means sorcerer.
[14] As a result of the five years of famine, 1650 to 1654, enormous numbers of Indians had left their towns and were scattered in the forests. In 1652 an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the Spanish authorities to bring them back to their homes, but it seems likely that during the following katun they gradually returned to their homes. *Cf.* Molina Solis 1910, p. 231.

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where God is. There shall be neither the fox nor the kinkajou that will bite.[1] Then penitence is sought of the town officials, <with the opening of> the golden gates and the town marriages in the official building.[2] Then our sandals are sought for,[3] in the time of our Christianity. This is a new day which dawns for us; this is what you tell of today. This shall be the end of the katun of carnal sin.[4] Soon[5] shall it end. The law of the ruler comes. Then there shall come the Seven Mountains,[6] the Red Star,[7] and in the wind-swollen sky <there shall be> the House of Storms,[8] in the 17th tun./ p.97 C

FIG. 38—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The third <katun>.

Katun 10 Ahau, the katun is established at Chable.[9] The ladder[10] is set up over the rulers of the land. The hoof shall burn; the sand by the seashore shall burn; the bird's nest shall burn.[11] The rocks shall crack <with the heat>; drought is the charge of the katun. It is the word of our Lord God the Father and of the Mistress of Heaven,[12] the portent[13] of the katun.

[1] *Cf.* Appendix F.

[2] The golden gates (*u puertail takin*) are probably the gilded gates to the chancel of the church. The town marriages perhaps refer to the marriages of many people at one time, when the people had returned to the towns after living for some years in the forests and mating without ecclesiastical sanction. *Can-kaz-na*, here translated as the official building, means literally "the house of four apartments."

[3] The return to the towns meant also a return to the regulations governing the Indians. One such law regarding dress reads: "that all shall manage to wear footgear, at least hemp sandals" (Cogolludo 1868, book 5, chap. 19).

[4] Maya, *nicte katun*, literally the katun of the Plumeria flower. *Cf.* page 104, note 15. This is the fourth katun-prophecy in which we find this reference; the others were Katuns 11, 7 and 5 Ahau.

[5] Maya, *conbil*, also means that which is for sale.

[6] We are reminded of the "Nine Mountains" mentioned on page 139.

[7] Maya, *chac ek*, the morning star. (Motul.) *Cf.* p. 150, note 4. In Mexican mythology we find a close association between Quetzalcoatl and the planet Venus.

[8] The text reads *pa hool chace*, which we have rendered as Pap-hool-chac and which is probably the Ppappholchac mentioned by Lizana, who translates it "*casa de las cabezas y rayos.*" It was the name of one of the pyramids at Izamal and was said to be the dwelling of the priests of the gods (Lizana 1893, p. 5).

[9] Chablé was a town of some importance in the district of Bacalar at the time of the Conquest, but it was already depopulated in Cogolludo's time (Cogolludo 1868, Book 2, chap. 6). Berendt lists a port of that name in Yucatan, also a town in Tabasco (Berendt, Nombres proprios en lengua Maya). It is still a family name in Yucatan.

[10] A possible alternative translation could be: the ladder is forcibly broken over, etc. We do not know the significance of the ladder among the Maya, possibly one is intended in the accompanying picture. We find a picture of a ladder on page 34 of the Dresden Codex in connection with a ceremony said to represent a human sacrifice.

[11] Extensive forest fires have never been reported from Yucatan, and we probably have here only an exaggerated description of extreme heat and drought.

[12] Maya, *u colel caan*, a term usually applied to the Holy Virgin.

[13] Maya, *u ye katun*, literally, that which the katun sets before us. *U yekabtun* would mean an offering of precious stone.

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No one shall arrest the word of our Lord God, God the Son, the Lord of Heaven and earth. There shall not be lacking that which shall, through his power, come to pass all over the world. Holy Christianity shall come bringing with it the time when the stupid ones who speak our language badly[1] shall turn from their evil ways. No one shall prevent it; this then is the drought. Sufficient is the word for the Maya priests, the word of God.

p.98 C 8 Ahau is the <next> fold, the fourth <katun>./

FIG. 39—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

The fourth <katun>.

Katun 8 Ahau is the ninth katun. The katun is established at Izamal. There is Kinich Kakmo.[2] The shield shall descend, the arrow shall descend <upon Chakanputun>[3] together with the rulers of the land. The heads of the foreigners to the land were cemented <into the wall>[4] at Chakanputun.[5] There is an end of greed; there is an end to causing vexation in the world. It is the word of God the Father. Much fighting shall be done by the natives of the land.

[1] Maya, *ah nunob*, a term applied several times to the Itzá in these pages. This would indicate a foreign origin for the Itzá.

[2] This reference to Kinich Kakmo is capable of two explanations. It may be merely a reference to the god of this name as the idol or presiding deity of the katun. It is very possible, however, that it is a historical allusion to the man, Kinich Kakmo, who was later deified. Gaspar Antonio Chi collaborated with Cristóbal Sánchez in writing a report which states that "in course of time the inhabitants of the said town (Izamal) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and a hundred valorous captains formerly of the town of Mayapan, and that those who founded this place were called Kinich-Kabul, Kinich Kakmo and others from whom descend the Xool, Mo and Coyi <families>, Indians so named in this province" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 119-120). Mo or Moo (parrot) is still a common family name among the Maya, and it will be noted that it is one of the elements of the name, Kinich Kakmo, which means sun-eyed fire-parrot. *Cf.* p. 141, note 2.

[3] Supplied from the Tizimin version of this prophecy which is more complete (Tizimin p. 32). One of the objects in the accompanying picture may be intended for a shield and two arrows.

[4] Supplied from Tizimin (p. 32). The Maya *pak*, here translated as wall, can also mean a water-tank. Motul, Spanish-Maya portion. This is the only mention of the episode of cementing human heads into a wall that we find anywhere. Possibly what is meant is that a tzompantli was erected, and the stakes transfixing the heads were set in a wall of masonry.

[5] For the accounts of the sojourn of the Itzá at Chakanputun see page 136 and page 141, note 4. Chakanputun is generally believed to be the modern Champoton in southwestern Yucatan. The translator is uncertain whether or not to accept this identification, as excellent reasons could be cited both for and against it.

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The fifth <katun>.

Katun 6 Ahau is the tenth katun according to the count. The katun is established at Uxmal. <The katun monuments> are set up on their own bases.[1] Shameless is his speech, shameless his face[2] to the rulers. They shall be the inventors of lewd speech,[3] and then God the Father[4] shall descend to cut their throats because of their sins. Then they shall be regenerated; the judgment of our Lord God shall unite them until they enter into Christianity with their families. As many as are born here on earth shall enter into Christianity./

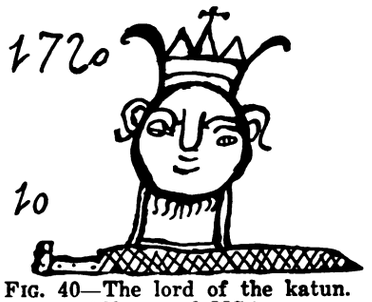

FIG. 40—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The first <katun>.[5]

Katun 4 Ahau is the eleventh katun according to the count. The katun is established at Chichen Itzá. The settlement of the Itzá shall take place <there>.[6] The quetzal shall come, the green bird shall come.[7] Ah Kantenal[8] shall come. Blood-vomit shall come.[9] Kukulcan[10] shall come with them for the second time. <It is> the word of God. The Itzá shall come.

FIG. 41—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

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[1] It is suggested here that at Uxmal they erected stelæ as katun monuments.

[2] The reference is probably to the idol of the katun.

[3] Here doubtless referring to the introduction of certain erotic religious festivals like the one described by Landa (1928, p. 156).

[4] The Tizimin version of this prophecy substitutes the expression "*u kochob* (the punishment of their guilt) shall descend," instead of "God the Father."

[5] Here the count recommences for no apparent reason. The feathers in the picture no doubt represent Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent. The stars in the picture may refer to the four Venus periods of the Dresden Codex. It will be recalled that the Mexicans believed that Quetzalcoatl became the planet Venus after his death.

[6] This agrees with the Maya chronicles which place the second occupation of Chichen Itzá by the Itzá in a Katun 4 Ahau which fell in the Tenth Century A.D. (Appendix H).

[7] *Cf.* page 63, note 6, and page 121, note 4.

[8] Nothing is known of this personage. *Kante* is a tree which yields a yellow dye.

[9] *Cf.* page 133, note 11.

[10] This statement is important as it enables us to date the beginning of the worship of Kukulcan at Chichen Itzá which was accompanied by a number of new architectural features at that city. *Cf.* Landa 1928, pages 62-68, and Relaciones de Yucatan, I, page 121. The Tizimin version of this prophecy is even more explicit than the Chumayel, for it says: "Kukulcan shall come with the Itzá." Although Torquemada (Book 3, chap. 7) says that Quetzalcoatl went to "Onohualco," a term comprising Tabasco, Campeche and Yucatan, the writer is inclined to doubt that the Kukulcan who came to Chichen Itzá in the Tenth Century was the actual culture-hero, who is supposed to have lived about the Seventh Century. Like the Kukulcan mentioned in the Tizimin (p. 23) in connection with the Hunac Ceel episode about 1200 A.D., this was probably also a ruler who bore as a title the name of the deified hero.

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p.100 C

FIG. 42—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

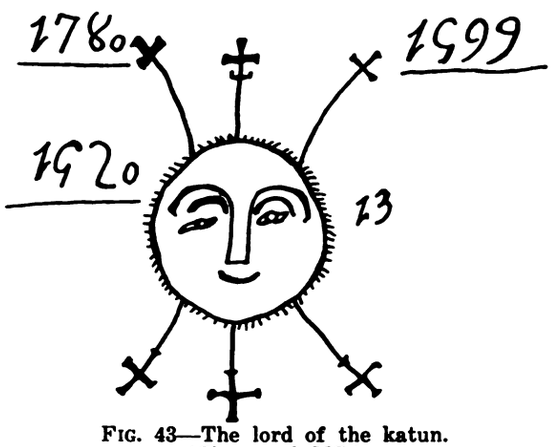

FIG. 43—The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The second <katun>.

Katun 2 Ahau is the twelfth katun. At Maya [uaz] Cuzamil[1] the katun is established. For half <the katun> there will be bread; for half <the katun> there will be water. <It is> the word of God. For half of it there will be a temple[2] for the rulers. <It is> the end of the word of God./

The third <katun>.

The judgment.[3]

It is Katun 13 Ahau according to the count. The katun is established at Kinchil Coba,[4] the thirteenth katun. The bouquet of the rulers of the world shall be displayed.[5] There is the universal judgment of our Lord God. Blood shall descend from the tree and stone. Heaven and earth shall burn. It is the word of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. It is the holy judgment, the holy judgment[3] of our Lord God. There shall be no strength in heaven and earth. Great cities shall enter into Christianity, any settlements of people whatever, the great towns, whatever their names are as well as the little towns, all over our land of Maya Cuzamil Mayapan. <It shall be> for our two-day men, because of lewdness . . .[6] the sons of malevolence. At the end of our blindness and shame our sons shall be regenerated from carnal sin. There is no lucky day for us. It is the cause of death from bad blood,[7] when the moon rises, when the moon sets, the entire moon, <this was> its power; <it was> all blood. So it was with the good planets <which were> looked upon as good. It is the end of the word of God. The

[1] Probably Maya Cuzamil, Mayapan, is intended as stated in the following prophecy.
[2] Alternative translation: Its bread, water and temple are halved.
[3] Written *juicio* in the text.
[4] Kinchil Coba. *Cf.* page 134, note 5.
[5] *Cf.* page 77, note 5.
[6] A space is left in the text indicating that the Maya compiler was unable to read a few words in the manuscript which he was copying. What is meant by the "two-day men" is uncertain. *Cf.* page 83, note 6.
[7] Maya, *tu lobol kik.* "Bad blood" is associated with dysentery in the Maya medical manuscripts. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 38.

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waters of baptism shall come over them, the Holy Spirit. They receive the holy oil without compulsion; it comes from God. There are too many Christians who go to those who deny the holy faith, . . .[1] <to> the Itzá and the *balams*.[2] There is then an end to our losing/ . . . p.101 C

(Page 101 is left blank in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel. It contains a note in a modern hand stating that a page of the book is missing here.)/ p. 102 C

XXIII

(THE LAST JUDGMENT)[3]

The judgment of God for the righteous: "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father, inherit the eternal glory prepared by my Father for you since the beginning of the world. You have kept my commandments; you have done penance when you sinned against me. Therefore come ye to heaven."[4] Then he turns his gaze upon the sinners with whom he is angered. "Depart from me ye accursed of my Father into the eternal fire of hell which is prepared for the Devil by my Father. You have despised me, your Father, me, your Redeemer. You have despised my commandments with the commandment of the Devil. Go ye therefore with him to eternal misery." Then the wicked men shall go to hell, but the good men shall go to Heaven with our Father, God, to eternal glory comparable to the glory of Jehoshaphat. There are three men, the true servants of God, well beloved of God. Elias, and Methuselah and Enoch are their names; they are living to this day. They are ordained by God to guard his seats. Our Lord God shall call a reckoning in a valley in the land, a great open savannah. There he shall sit upon his throne. The entire world shall assemble <there>. The sheep shall be set apart; they shall be on his right hand. The goats shall be set apart; they shall be on his left hand. On his left shall be the wicked men; those who have not fulfilled all the commandments of God shall then go to the eternal misery of hell, sunk in the earth, oppressed by <the sins> of our first parents.[5] But the

[1] The text is water-stained and illegible here.

[2] Literally, the jaguars, probably a reference to the pagan priests of the Itzá. Many renegade Christians fled to the Itzá at Tayasal during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

[3] The following is an account of the Christian Last Judgment apparently written by a Spanish missionary. The text seems to adhere too closely to the rules laid down by the Spanish writers on Maya grammar for it to have been written by an Indian. Nevertheless it is written in excellent Maya and probably dates from the Seventeenth Century. It will be of interest to compare this text with the *"Carta de los Diez Caciques"* written in 1567 and published by Juan Martínez in his edition of the Motul Dictionary. The latter is formal but extremely idiomatic. Our present text, although we do not know the date when it was written originally, shows that the Maya idiom had changed in its forms of expression since the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

The present translator has availed himself freely of Sr. Martínez' Spanish translation of this passage (Martínez 1928, pp. 137-138).

[4] Matthew, chap. 25.

[5] Alternative translation: told of by our first parents (Adam and Eve).

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good men who have fulfilled the commandments of God shall be at the right hand of the great Lord God. "Come, ye men blessed of my Father and take the kingdom prepared for you since the beginning of the world." Then a great
p.103 C cloud shall gather, black in the sky,[1]/down to the face of the earth. Like a trumpet is the joyful song of the Angels. It is beautiful beyond comparison. The true God shall arise, the Lord of heaven and earth.

XXIV

(PROPHECIES OF A NEW RELIGION)[2]

These are the words which were composed to admonish the fatherless ones, the motherless ones.[3] These words are to be treasured as a precious jewel is treasured. They are concerning the coming introduction of Christianity, <and were spoken> at Tancah Mayapan <and> at Chichen Itzá in the time of the Zuyua people,[4] in the time of the Itzá. A new wisdom shall dawn upon the world[5] universally, in the east, north, west and south. It shall come from the mouth of God the Father. Those who recorded it were the five priests, the holy priests who came into the presence of God. They recorded the charge of misfortune when the introduction of Christianity came.

Here are their names written down:

1. Chilam Balam, the great priest.
2. Napuctun, the great priest.
3. Nahau Pech, the great priest.
4. Ah Kuil Chel, the great priest.
5. Natzin Yabun Chan, the great priest.

<Like> a servant of God who bends his back over virgin soil,[6] they recorded the charge of misery in the presence of our Lord God: the introduction
p.104 C of Christianity occurs; blood-vomit, pestilence, drought, a year of locusts,/ smallpox are the charge of misery, <also> the importunity of the devil. There shall be a white circle in the sky. It shall burn on earth in Katun 3

[1] Possible alternative translation: Then a great cloud of stars shall gather. *Cf.* Revelation 14.14: "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of man."

[2] These are fundamentally prophecies of the return of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican culture-hero; but after the arrival of the Spaniards they were believed to be prognostics of that event and were in some instances adapted in later times to fit the facts of the actual occurrence. *Cf.* Tozzer 1921, p. 192. A discussion of these prognostications, their reputed authors and their place in the prophetic literature of the Maya will be found in Appendix D.

[3] A term applied to the Itzá in the Tizimin MS. It may well be a reference to the Itzá custom of killing off the older men to prevent their becoming sorcerers, though we do not hear of their killing the older women. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[4] Probably the foreign Nahua who invaded Yucatan. *Cf.* page 88, note 1.

[5] Literally, a new day shall dawn. Both the literal and figurative meanings of this expression are given in the Motul Dictionary.

[6] Possibly a description applied by the missionaries to themselves.

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Ahau, in Katun 1 Ahau, the worst of three katuns. Just as it was written by the Evangelists and the prophet Balam, it came from the mouth of the Lord of heaven and earth. Then the priests set it down in holy writ at the time of the great drought at Lahun Chable[1] in <the time of> Christianity. Then Saul and Don Antonio Martínez[2] shall come to avenge[3] their descendants. The day has dawned. So it is written in the command of the great priest, the prophet of Chilam Balam and in the chest of manuscripts. Amen Jesus.

The Interpretation <of> the histories of Yucatan.

The priests, the prophecy <of> Napuctun.[4]

It shall burn on earth; there shall be a circle in the sky. Kauil[5] shall be set up; he shall be set up in front in time to come. It shall burn on earth;[6] the <very> hoof shall burn in that katun, in the time which is to come. Fortunate is he who shall see it when the prophecy is declared, who shall weep over his misfortunes in time to come.[7]

The prophecy of Ah Kuil Chel,[8] the priest.

When the end of the katun shall come, lord, ye shall not understand when it comes. Who shall believe it at the rolling up of the mat of the katun?[9] The end shall come because of misery. It comes from the north, it comes from

[1] Lahun Chable: possibly the same as Chablé. *Cf.* page 159, note 9.

[2] *Cf.* page 123, note 8, and page 157, note 7.

[3] Alternative translation: to collect the debts of their descendants, etc.

[4] Of the five following prophecies the Maya text has been copied from the Chilam Balam of Mani in Codex Perez, pages 72-73, and from the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab in Codex Perez, pages 166-170. Accompanying the latter are Spanish translations of the first four. Berendt ascribes the latter version of these prophecies to the Chilam Balam of Ixil, but they are not to be found in the reproduction of the Ixil; and the Perez Codex indicates that they are a part of the copy of the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab which immediately precedes them. The Maya text of the prophecies of Nahau Pech, Natzin Yabun Chan and Chilam Balam are given in the Tizimin MS., pages 17, 18.

The Maya text and Spanish translations of all five have been published in Lizana 1893, pages 37-39. The Maya text and an English translation of the prophecy of Nahau Pech appear in Brinton 1882, pages 255-256; the text and English translation of the prophecy of Chilam Balam are given in Tozzer 1921, pages 122-128.

Spanish translations of all five prophecies are to be found in Cogolludo 1868, Book 2, chapter 11, and in Villagutierre Soto-Mayor 1701, pages 36-37. Tozzer (1921, pages 192-194) gives a full bibliography of the modern literature covering the subject.

[5] Kauil is an obsolete word meaning food. *Cf. kauilyah*, to beg for food (Motul). It also appears to be the name of a god as in Itzamna Kauil. Kauil is also a common family name in Yucatan.

[6] We are reminded of the portents said to have presaged the Spanish Conquest of Mexico: "there appeared in the sky a pyramidal flame of fire, which ascended from midnight till sun-rising, when it came into the south, and then vanish'd" (Herrera 1726, Dec. 2, Book 10, Chap. 1).

[7] The Maya text is accompanied by a Spanish translation in the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab which reads as follows: "*Habrá final culto de los Dioses vanos y el mundo sera purificado con fuego. El que esta viere sera llamado dichoso si con dolor llorare sus pecados*" (Codex Perez, p. 167). The translator has difficulty in finding any close correspondence between this and the Maya text of the prophecy. The setting up of Kauil is a figure of speech which is difficult to understand.

[8] Called Kauil Chel in the Oxkutzcab, Ah Kauil Chel in the Tizimin (p. 13) and Mani (Codex Perez, p. 72), and Ah Kukil Chel by Cogolludo (Book 2, chap. 11).

[9] *Cf.* page 135, note 3.

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the west at that time when it shall be, lord. Who then shall be the priest, who then <shall be> the prophet who will declare truly the word of the book, lord, in <Katun> 9 Ahau? Ye shall not understand, <ye people> in every part of the world. . .[1] shall be cleansed of shame. Oh <there was> joy
p.105 C among the / rulers, pleasure among the rulers of the land. Acknowledge it in your hearts, ye Itzá.[2]

The prophecy of Nahau Pech the great priest.

At that time when the sun shall stand high[3] <in the heavens>, lord, when the ruler has had compassion, in the fourth katun[4] it shall come to pass, the tidings of God are truly brought. They ask[5] perchance what I recommend, lord. You see your guests upon the road, oh Itzá! It is the fathers of the land[6] who will arrive. <This prophecy> comes from the mouth of Nahau Pech, the priest in the time of Katun 4 Ahau[7] at the end of the katun,[8] lord.

The food of the ant<-like> men shall be destroyed. They shall be at the end of their food <-supply> because of the *boboch*[9] <which takes their> food, the great hawk <which takes their> food, the ant, the cowbird,[10] the grackle,[11] the blackbird,[12] the mouse.[13]

[1] Part of the text is obliterated here, and this portion of the prophecy does not occur in any of the other versions; the translation is therefore a little uncertain.

[2] We find the following purported translation in the Book of Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab: *"La interpretacion. En el fin de la edad presente los que ignorais futuras que <e>dad pensais que sucederá: sabed pues que vendran de todas partes tales cosas por nuestros malos. Historia. Que los podreis tener por presentes y os digo que en la edad novena ningun sacerdote ni profeta os declarara las escrituras que generalmente ignorais.* The fulfilment of this very vague prophecy was evidently the Christianization of Yucatan in Katun 9 Ahau.

[3] This version of the prophecy of Nahau Pech is the only one which corresponds here to the time-honored translation by the early Spanish missionaries. The other versions read: "At that time the news shall be understood."

[4] This statement, "in the fourth katun," can be taken two ways. It could be either the fourth katun after the fall of Mayapan, Katun 13 Ahau, when the Spaniards made their first and unsuccessful attempt to conquer Yucatan, or Katun 9 Ahau, the fourth katun after the time of Nahau Pech who lived in Katun 4 Ahau. Katun 9 Ahau was really the period when the general conversion of the Mayas was effected.

[5] A space has been left in the Chumayel text here which has been supplied from the Tizimin version. The Mani version reads: "You ask what I recommend." The Spanish translation renders this sentence: "With great concern I recommend," etc.

[6] A term equally applicable to the priests of Quetzalcoatl and the Christian missionaries.

[7] Katun 4 Ahau ended either in 1497 or 1500 according to which correlation is accepted.

[8] The rest of the prophecy does not appear in any of the other versions.

[9] Pio Perez defines *boboch* as a fabulous animal. The name may be derived from *bob*, another mysterious animal, and *och*, an opossum.

[10] Maya *ɔiu, Tangavius æneus involucratus* Lesson. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 344.

[11] Maya *kau, Megaquiscalus major macrourus* Swainson. *Cf. ibid.*, page 334.

[12] Maya *pich, Dives dives* Lichtenstein. *Ibid.*, page 338.

[13] The Spanish translation given for this prophecy in the Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab is as follows: *"En el dia que mas alumbrare el sol por la misericordia del omnipotente, vendra de aquí a cuatro edades los que han de traer la nueva de ese Dios con grande afecto, os encomiendo, esperais oh itzalanos nuestros huespedes que son los padres de la tierra cuando vengan. Profetizó Nahau Pech sacerdote en los dias de la cuarta edad acerca de su principio."*

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The prophecy of Natzin Yabun Chan.

There was the word of the true God in the land. You shall await the coming forth, lord, of his priests who will bring[1] it in time to come. Give your understanding to his word, to his admonition.[2] Fortunate are you who truly receive it. Forsake those things which you have held sacred, oh Itzá; forget your perishable gods, your transitory gods. Of all things he is the ruler, lord, the creator of all heaven and earth. It is to your hearts that I speak, oh Maya Itzá. You shall not desire another God <than> the true God according to your <own> words. You shall take to heart the word of my admonition.[3]

The prophecy of Chilam Balam, the singer, of Cabal-ch̄en,[4] Mani.

On <the day> 13 Ahau the katun will end[5] in the time of the Itzá, in the time of / Tancah <Mayapan>, lord. There is the sign of Hunab-ku[6] p.106 C on high. The raised wooden standard shall come.[7] It shall be displayed to the world, that the world may be enlightened, lord. There has been a beginning of strife, there has been a beginning of rivalry, when the priestly man shall come to bring the sign <of God> in time to come, lord. A quarter of a league,[8] a league <away> he comes. You see the *mut*[9]-bird surmounting the raised wooden standard. A new day shall dawn in the north, in the west.

[1] Here the Maya *puchcob* has been translated as though it were *pulicob*.

[2] *Tzacil* is translated as though it were *tzecil*, for which it may be an antiquated form. The word *tzac* has survived only in compounds and means an incantation.

[3] The Spanish translation of this prophecy in the Oxkutzcab manuscript reads: *"Hecha fue la palabra de Dios sobre la tierra, la cual esperad que ella vendrá que sus sacerdotes os la traerán; aprended sus palabras y predicacion. Bien aventurados los que aprendieron; o Ytzalanos, aborreced ya vuestros dioses, olvidad los que ya son fundibles; adorad todos el Dios de la verdad que está poderoso en todas partes y que es criador de todas las cosas."*

[4] The Chumayel text reads Cauichen, but the Tizimin version calls it Cabal-ch̄en, which is still the name of the cenote at Mani. It is in a cave and approached by a path, but there is also an opening like a well in the roof of the cave directly above the pool.

Tozzer has made a valuable study of this prophecy in which he has compared the Tizimin, Chumayel and Lizana versions of the text with the reading by Martínez, and his own translation with those of Lizana and Martínez.

[5] The Tizimin, Oxkutzcab and Lizana versions of the text read: "the katun shall be established." In either case the meaning is approximately the same. This is the day when Katun 13 Ahau ends and when the new Katun 11 Ahau is established.

[6] "Hunabku: the only living and true god, and he was the greatest of the gods of the people of Yucatan. He had no form because they said that he could not be represented as he was incorporeal." (Motul.)

[7] Maya, *uaom che*, literally a raised wooden standard. The Ticul Dictionary defines the term as *"picota, horca, ó rollo,"* indicating a raised pole on which the heads of malefactors were exposed. The missionaries applied the term to the cross, but originally it probably meant a ceremonial pole or standard, perhaps a mythological tree.

[8] Maya, *hun auat*, the distance that a cry can be heard.

[9] Defined as a bird of the Cracidæ family (Maler 1908, p. 132). *Mut* can also mean news, but in this context the bird seems to be intended. Martínez has noted that a quetzal appears on the cross at Palenque (Tozzer 1921, p. 123, note 7). Also what appears to be a conventionalized bird surmounts the cross on the katun-wheel in the Chilam Balam of Kaua.

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Itzamná Kauil shall rise.[1] Our lord comes,[2] Itzá. Our elder brother comes, <oh> men of Tantun.[3] Receive your guests, the bearded men, the men of the east, the bearers of the sign of God, lord. Good indeed[4] is the word of God that comes to us. The day of our regeneration[5] comes. You do not fear the world, Lord, you are the only God who created us. It is sufficient, then, that the word of God is good, lord. <He is> the guardian[6] of our souls. He who receives him, who has truly believed, he will go to heaven with him. Nevertheless <at> the beginning were the two-day men.

Let us exalt his sign on high, let us exalt it <that we may gaze upon it today>[7] with the raised standard. Great is the discord that arises today.[8] The First Tree of the World[9] is restored; it is displayed to the world. This is the sign of Hunab-ku on high. Worship it, Itzá. You shall worship today his sign on high. You shall worship it furthermore with true good will,[10] and you shall worship the true God today, lord. You shall be converted to the word of Hunab-ku, lord; it came from heaven. Oh it is he who speaks to you![11] Be admonished indeed, Itzá. They will correct their ways[12] who receive him in their hearts[13] in another katun, lord.

Believe in my word itself, I am Chilam Balam, and I have interpreted the entire message of the true God <of> the world; it is heard in every part of the world,[14] lord, the word of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. Very good indeed is his word in heaven, lord.

p.107 C He is ruler over us; he is the true God over our souls./ But those to whom <the word> is brought, lord: thrice weighed down is their[15] strength, the

[1] Alternative translation: shall awaken. Both this phrase and the statement "Kauil shall be set up" in the prophecy of Napuctun (p. 165) are translated by the missionaries: "the worship of the vain gods shall cease." Possibly Itzamna Kauil, at one time the supreme Maya god, is here identified with the Christian God.

[2] Alternative translation: our father comes.

[3] On page 66 Tantun is associated with the Island of Cozumel which was a holy place visited by many pilgrims. Lizana puts it in the plural and translates the expression; *"o Tantunites," i.e.* oh ye men of Tantun. Apparently it is an exhortation to them to receive Christianity.

[4] Maya, *ka*: "appended to certain expressions it embellishes, as: *Bax u ka Dias?* What is God? *Bax u ka lo?* What is that?" (Motul).

[5] Literally, our life.

[6] *Cf.* page 69, note 2.

[7] Supplied from the Tizimin, Mani, Oxkutzcab and Lizana versions.

[8] Here the text varies somewhat in the different versions.

[9] *Cf.* page 102, note 2. Here this mythological tree is said to be restored, apparently as the Christian cross.

[10] Written *colah* in the Chumayel text, which is obscure. Here the Mani version, *a uolah* has been followed; but the Oxkutzcab version, *ocolal*, which means faith, is equally acceptable.

[11] Alternative translations: he who commands you, or he who has power over you.

[12] Literally: a day will dawn for them or the world will awaken for them. The figurative meaning given above is not unusual and is authorized by the Motul Dictionary.

[13] Maya, *ol*. Primarily it means the will, but figuratively it is "the true heart, not the physical one" (Motul). The organ is called *puczikal*.

[14] The remainder of the prophecy as given here does not occur in any of the other versions or translations.

[15] Written "your strength" in the text.

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younger brothers[1] native to the land. Their hearts are submerged <in sin>. Their hearts are dead in their carnal sins. They are frequent backsliders,[2] the principal ones who spread <sin>, Nacxit Xuchit[3] in the carnal sin of his companions, the two-day rulers.[4] <They sit> crookedly on their thrones; crookedly in carnal sin. Two-day men they call them. For two days <endure> their seats,[5] their cups, their hats.[6] They are the unrestrained lewd[7] ones of the day, the unrestrained lewd ones of the night,[8] the rogues of the world. They twist their necks, they wink their eyes, they slaver at the mouth,[9] at the rulers of the land, lord. Behold, when they come, there is no truth in the words of the foreigners to the land. They tell very solemn and mysterious things, the sons of the men of Seven-deserted-buildings, the offspring of the women of Seven-deserted-buildings,[10] lord.

Who will be the prophet, who will be the priest who shall interpret truly the word of the book?

FINIS

[1] In the various prophecies believed to foretell the coming of the Spaniards, the Indians are called "the younger brothers," and the new-comers, "the elder brothers." That these terms originally signified the first inhabitants of Yucatan and the Itzá invaders is indicated by the following passage in the Tizimin MS.: "This was when the time of the white men, the bearded, men was known, just as the priest Chilam declared the time of the arrival of their elder brothers, just as the hosts of Itzá had already arrived among them" (Tizimin, p. 36).

[2] Maya, *ah uaua tulupoob*: literally, those who often turn back.

[3] Nacxit Xuchit, *cf.* page 83, note 5.

[4] *Cf.* page 83, note 6.

[5] Maya, *xec*, defined as a straight chair without arms. Apparently it indicated authority.

[6] The early Spanish writers make no mention of hats. The Maya word, *ppooc*, was applied to a hat, hood or cap, as well as to a crown of flowers (Motul). Elaborate head-dresses are found on Maya monuments of almost every period, and in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá are carved head-dresses which are plainly hats in the modern sense of the word (Morris, Charlot and Morris, 1931, p. 278 and Pls. 50 and 52).

[7] Maya, *co*, defined as "Mad, unrestrained, insolent, deceitful and lewd" (Motul). In many of its compounds it means lewd.

[8] Maya, *u co akab*, could also be translated as the mad one of the night. *Ah-coo-akab* is the name of the Yucatan screech-owl, probably on account of its cry. *Cf.* Roys 1931, page 329.

[9] *Cf.* page 151, note 8. Alternative translation: they pout their lips. Here it appears to refer to certain foreigners who introduced these wild orgies. The reference to Nacxit Xuchit indicates a people of Nahua traditions and some Nahua elements. Nacxit Xuchit is expressly associated with the Itzá on pages 83 and 84 of the present work.

[10] Maya, *Uuc-tocoy-naob*. This allusion to deserted ruined buildings suggests that the Itzá came from a land where there were already deserted and ruined cities in ancient times. Could this refer to the cities of the Old Empire in the south? We are reminded of the mixture of Maya and Mexican features occurring in the drawings incised on the latest stucco covering of the inner walls of the temples at Tikal. Here are spear-throwers (atlatls) of the Mexican type and a row of the little flags which were a Mexican numerical symbol, both of which are practically unknown to the old Maya sculptures. *Cf.* Maler 1911, pages 56-63. Compare the standards, or "way-signs," incised on one of the Tikal temples (Maler 1911, fig. 14), with those painted on the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá (Morris, Charlot & Morris 1931, fig. 323).

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APPENDIX A

THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS

Few religious ideas were more widely spread among the aboriginal peoples of America than that of the sacred character of the four cardinal points. The Plains Indians of North America are said to ascribe the origin of this conception to the apparent motions of the sun to the east, north, west and south,[1] and the same explanation would appear to hold good for the peoples of Central America. The Maya connected the idea with a system of color symbolism: red with the east, white with the north, black with the west and yellow with the south. In the Dresden Codex we frequently find the glyphs for these directions associated with those representing the four colors in the order named. Each successive year followed the same rotation according to the day with which it began. The Kan years were ascribed to the east, the Muluc years to the north, the Ix years to the west and the Cauac years to the south, as shown by the calendar wheel of the Book of Chilam Balam of Ixil.[2] The same system governed the katun-wheel, only here we find whole groups of katuns associated with each of the cardinal points, as we see from the wheel on page 132 of the present work. On pages 41 and 42 of the Maya Codex Cortesianus there is a picture of the four world-quarters, each marked with its appropriate glyph, and in the Mexican Codex Fejérváry-Mayer[3] is a similar picture showing the trees and birds mentioned in Chapter X of the Chumayel. It is evident that the Mexican and Maya myths relating to this subject were very similar in some respects.

In Chapter X we have seen how the gods set up the four Trees of Abundance at the cardinal points to commemorate the previous destruction of the world. Like the conventionalized trees of the Palenque reliefs, the so-called crosses, these trees were surmounted by birds of mythological significance. From the four world-quarters came the winds, and here in all probability were the four great jars of water which supplied the rains.[4] According to the Mexican version of this myth the rain was favorable or unfavorable to the crops depending on the cardinal point from which it came.[5]

From Landa we learn that "among the multitude of gods worshipped by these people they adored four, each of whom was called Bacab. These, they said, were four brothers whom God, when he created the world, placed at its four quarters to hold up the sky, so that it should not fall. They also state that these Bacabs were saved when the world was destroyed by a deluge.

[1] Brinton 1890, pp. 156-157.
[2] Reproduced Bowditch 1910, p. 328.
[3] Codex Fejérváry-Mayer, p. 1, reproduced in Seler 1923, p. 15.
[4] Codex Cortesianus, p. 40.
[5] Seler 1904, p. 267.

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Other names are <also> given to each of these, and with them they designate the world quarter where God set them to hold up the sky."[1] The same writer goes on to tell us their names. In the east was Chacal Bacab, literally the Red Bacab, whose name was Cantzicnal,[2] and Landa also ascribes to him the names Chac Pauahtun and Chac-xib-chac. In the north was Zac-cimi,[3] as Zacal Bacab, or the White Bacab, was named, and he is also called Zac Pauahtun and Zac-xib-chac. In the west was Hozan-ek, or Ekel Bacab, the Black Bacab, also called Ek Pauahtun and Ek-xib-chac. In the south was Hobnil, or Kanal Bacab, the Yellow Bacab, to whom Landa also gives the names, Kan Pauahtun and Kan-xib-chac. Connected with the worship of these Bacabs were four stones, the Red, White, Black and Yellow Acantuns, which were anointed with the blood of the worshippers. Acantun might be translated as stone stela, and each of these probably had its mythological counterpart at one of the four cardinal points.[4]

In the Motul Dictionary the word *bacab* is defined as "*representante*," possibly indicating that the Bacabs were the representatives of the gods. They were the advocates or patrons of the bee-keepers,[5] and it has been thought that their name was in some way connected with bees or honey, as *cab* can mean honey and bee-hive as well as earth and land. In the ritual in Chapter I we have noted that there were red, white, black and yellow bees, each sort ascribed to the world-quarter corresponding to their color. Of the individual names of the Bacabs, Cantzicnal and Hozan-ek mean little to the writer. Zac-cimi means a swoon, and Hobnil, which primarily means something hollow, is a term applied to a bee-hive, probably because it is made of the hollow section of a tree-trunk.

It seems likely that the four Pauahtuns were not quite the same as the Bacabs. Brinton gives an account of the *misa milpera*, or cornfield mass, as described by Baeza in a report written in 1813.[6] Here it is stated that "they are identical with the winds, and the four cardinal points from which they blow," and we find this confirmed in Chapter XI of the Chumayel which contains the Ritual of the Angels. In the modern ceremonies the red, white and black wind-spirits are identified with St. Dominic, St. Gabriel, and St. James; only the Yellow Pauahtun has the name of a Maya deity. This is Ix-Kan-le-ox, the goddess named for the yellow ramon[7] leaf. The word, Pauahtun, is difficult to translate. The last two syllables, *uah* and *tun*, sug-

[1] Landa 1929, pp. 14-16. We can not but believe that at least some of the numerous Atlantean figures found at Chichen Itzá represent these mythological personages who held up the sky.

[2] The name is supplied from the Tizimin MS. p. 10; in Landa it is written Canzienal.

[3] Given in Landa as Zacciui, but the associated prognostic is swooning, which is *zac-cimil* in Maya.

[4] Landa, 1929, pp. 16-40.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[6] Brinton 1890, p. 166; Baeza 1845.

[7] *Cf.* p. 103, note 10.

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gest a stone or a pillar set up or erected; but they are evidently personages, and the writer is inclined to identify them with the "angels" described by Landa in his account of the ceremonies preceding the New Year.[1] We have already seen in Chapter XI that the four Pauahtuns were set up before the world was created and were either identical or closely associated with the wind-spirits. Possibly they occupied the same position in the heavens that the Bacabs did on the earthly plane.

Landa has also ascribed to the four Bacabs the names, Chac-xib-chac, Zac-xib-chac, Ek-xib-chac and Kan-xib-chac. These appear to be the rain-gods who were four in number and were set at the four cardinal points. The author of the Motul Dictionary considers them to be one person and states that Chaac "was a gigantic man who taught agriculture and whom they later considered the god of bread, water, thunder and lightning." The names given by Landa could be translated as the Red, White, Black and Yellow male Chacs, or rain-gods.

We find in Landa a detailed description of the ceremonies performed on the five unlucky days which concluded the year.[1] Although they have been considered New Year's ceremonies, in each case the Bacabs and other personages belong to the year which is ending, and not to the coming year for which they are said to be the augury. On pages 25 to 28 of the Dresden Codex is the portrayal of some very similar ceremonies which Seler has analysed and compared with the Landa account.[2]

[1] *Cf.* p. 67, note 5; also Landa 1929, p. 22.
[2] Seler 1902, pp. 357-389.

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APPENDIX B

THE SACRIFICIAL CENOTE AT CHICHEN ITZÁ

Chichen Itzá was at one time not only the greatest and most powerful city in Yucatan, but it was a sacred city as well, a center of pilgrimage to which people flocked from every part of the peninsula and from foreign countries also to make offerings of gold, incense, copper, precious stones and human victims. The city owed its reputation for sanctity to its cenote,[1] or natural well, which was believed to be inhabited by the gods and the spirits of the illustrious dead. It is a great cup-shaped depression in the earth with perpendicular walls, about seventy feet down to the surface of the water and about one hundred and seventy feet across. The sacred well served no utilitarian purpose; the city obtained its water from another more convenient cenote and several artificial wells.

We first hear of the Sacrificial Cenote from Bishop Landa who mentions it several times in his report on the natives of Yucatan. He gives an account of human sacrifice and adds: "Besides killing people in their towns, they had two infamous sanctuaries at Chichen Itzá and Cozumel, where they sent an infinite number of wretched people to be sacrificed. At the former they were flung headlong down a precipice, and at the latter they tore out their hearts."[2] "From the court facing these theaters (two stone platforms in front of the main temple) a broad and handsome causeway led to a well about twice a stone's throw distant. Into this well it was their custom to cast living men as a sacrifice to the Gods in times of drought; and it was their belief that they did not die, although they never saw them any more. They also threw in many other things of precious stone and articles which they highly prized. Thus if this land had contained gold, this well would hold the largest part of it, so devoted were the Indians to it. It is a well with a depth of seven times a man's height down to the water and a breadth of more than one hundred feet. It is round with a sheer precipice down to the water which is extraordinary. The water appears to be very green, and I believe that this is caused by the thicket of trees with which it is surrounded. It is also very deep. Above, close to its mouth, is a small structure where I found idols made in honor of all the principal edifices of the country, almost like the Pantheon at Rome. I do not know whether this was a device of the ancients or of the moderns in order to encounter their idols when they came to this well with offerings. I found pumas carved in the round, (stone) jars and other things such that I do

[1] The word cenote is a Spanish corruption of the Maya *ɔonot*. As the drainage of Yucatan is subterranean and the ponds of surface water are unfit to drink, the water used is drawn either from cenotes or artificial wells. In Maya cheen, which means an artificial well primarily, is also another name for a cenote, hence the name Chichen Itzá, which means the mouth of the well of the Itzá.

[2] Landa 1900, p. 367.

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not know how anyone can say that these people did not have steel tools.[1] I also found two men of great stature each carved from a single block of stone, naked but their modesty preserved by the coverings the Indians formerly used. They had separate heads with ear-rings in the ears such as the Indians used to wear. There was a tenon at the back of the neck which fitted into a deep hole made for it which was also in the neck. When fitted together it made a complete figure."[2] Landa also tells us "that they held Cozumel and the well at Chichen Itzá in as great veneration as we do the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome."[3]

A report by the municipality of Valladolid written in 1579 covers a number of details omitted by Landa. Here we read: "This pyramid (the principal temple of the city) lies between two cenotes of very deep water. One of these is called the Sacrificial Cenote. Chichen Itzá was named for an Indian who lived beside the Sacrificial Cenote and who was called Ah Kin Itzá.[4] It was the custom of the lords and nobles of all these provinces of Valladolid to fast for sixty days without raising their eyes during this time even to look at their wives or those who brought them their food. And this they did in order, when they should arrive at the mouth of that cenote, to cast into it at break of day some Indian women of each of these lords. They had told them that they should ask for an abundant year <and> all those things which occurred to them. Thus when these Indian women were thrown in without being bound but flung down as from a cliff, they fell into the water striking it with great force. Precisely at mid-day the one who was to come forth made a great outcry for them to let down a rope to draw her out. When she came up half dead, they built large fires about her perfuming her with copal incense. After she recovered consciousness, she said that down below there were many of her nation, both men and women, and that they received her; but when she raised her head to look at any of them, they struck her with heavy blows on the back of the neck so that she should keep her head bowed. This was all within the water, below which there were believed to be many hollows and pits. And they replied to her whether there would be an abundant year or a bad one according to the questions which the Indian woman asked of them. And if the devil was angered with any of the lords who threw in the Indian women, when none asked to be drawn out at precisely noon, they knew that he was angry with them and that she would never more come forth. In this it rather resembles

[1] Landa employs the term, *herramientas*, which means iron or steel tools, but he must have meant merely hard metal tools in general. It would seem that he was too well informed about the Indians to believe that they ever had iron or steel.

[2] Landa 1900, pp. 365-366.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[4] Literally the priest Itzá; written Alquin Itzá in the report. Besides being the name of a nation, Itzá is also a common family name in Yucatan.

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what occurred at the cave of Salamanca.[1] Then when it was seen that she was not coming out, that lord and all of his <men> threw great stones into the water and fled precipitately from the place making a great outcry."[2]

We have seen in the Chumayel,[3] however, that one man at least did not flee in terror from the cenote when none of the messengers to the gods returned. This was Hunac Ceel, later the head-chief of Mayapan who conquered Chichen Itzá and drove out its inhabitants.[4] He was evidently of the stuff of which rulers are made, a man with sufficient courage and force of character to shape his own destiny. When no one appeared on the surface of the water crying to be drawn out, he realized that the prophecy must be obtained at any cost. "It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich, was the name of the man there who put out his head over the mouth of the well on the south side. Then he went to get it. Then he came forth to declare the prophecy." There can be but one interpretation of this terse statement: Hunac Ceel cast himself into the cenote and returned from its depths bringing the desired prophecy.

In his account of the visit of Father Alonso Ponce to Yucatan in the summer of 1588, Antonio de Ciudad Real, the reputed author of the Motul Dictionary, tells of the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá and adds the detail that "they even say that in the wall of this well or *zonote* there is a cave which enters a considerable distance within <the cliff>."[5] In his description of the ruins of Mayapan the same writer describes the principal pyramid and states: "Near the foot of this *mul* (pyramid) there is a very deep *zonote* with a very flat stone at the edge of its mouth from which (as they say) they flung down those whom they sacrificed to their gods."[6] Stephens found a cenote at Mayapan near the base of one of the larger pyramids there but states that it was in a cave. "The entrance was by a broken, yawning mouth, steep, and requiring some care in the descent."[7]

Long after Chichen Itzá ceased to be of political importance, its sacred cenote continued to draw pilgrims. The last pilgrimage of which we have any knowledge was in 1536, and although its members never reached the holy spot, the event had considerable influence on the history of the country. "The Spaniards having gone forth from Yucatan (1535), there was a scarcity of water in the land, and as they had used their maize recklessly in the wars with the Spaniards, there came upon them a great hunger, so great that they were

[1] There was a story of an enchanted cave at Salamanca in Spain which contained an oracle. Of seven who entered to consult the oracle only six ever returned (Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 26, note 1).

[2] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 25-26.

[3] *Cf.* p. 75.

[4] *Cf.* p. 137 and Appendix C.

[5] Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 404.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, p. 471. Ciudad Real apparently confused the Mayapan cenote with the one at Chichen Itzá.

[7] Stephens 1843, I, p. 134.

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even brought to eat the bark of trees, especially one which they called *cumche*,[1] which is soft and tender inside. On account of this famine the Xiu who are Lords of Mani resolved to make a solemn sacrifice to the idols, bearing certain slaves, both men and maidens, to be thrown into the well of Chichen Itzá, and to reach which they have to pass by the town of the Lords Cocomes, their principal enemies, and so thinking that at such a time ancient passions would not be renewed in this land, they (the Xiu) sent to them (the Cocom) asking them to let them (the Xiu) pass through their land. And the Cocomes deceived them with a fair reply, and giving them shelter all together in one great house they set fire to it and slew those who escaped, and for this reason there were great wars."[2] Here we have the complete story of the murder of Napot Xiu mentioned on pages 138, 142 and 146 of the present work. From this it would appear that the rain-god was one of the divinities who dwelt in the Sacrificial Cenote.

In a report written in 1581 by one of the early Spanish settlers who tells us that he received much of his information from Gaspar Antonio Chi, we read: "At one time all this land was under the dominion of a lord who dwelt at the ancient city of Chichen Itzá and to whom all the lords of this province were tributaries. And even from without the province, from Mexico, Guatemala, Chiapas and other provinces they sent them presents in token of peace and friendship."[3] We can not but believe that these foreign embassies, which must have traveled for weeks through tropical forests, swamps and waterless wastes to reach a far-off city in northeastern Yucatan, were motivated more by the religious veneration which its famous sanctuary enjoyed than by the political prestige which its rulers enjoyed in such a distant country.

[1] The *cumche*, or *kumche*, has been identified as *Leucopremna mexicana* (A. DC.) Standl. and is called *bonete* in Spanish (Roys 1931, p., 259).

[2] Landa 1928, pp. 112-114, translated by S. G. Morley, 1920, p. 478.

[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 120.

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APPENDIX C

THE HUNAC CEEL EPISODE

The conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel and his allies is without doubt one of the most interesting and puzzling episodes in Maya history. It might well be called the Trojan War of Yucatan, for tradition ascribes as its cause the theft of the wife of a powerful ruler by the chieftain of another great and famous city. As in the case of its classical counterpart, the immediate cause of the trouble may have been the abduction of the wife, but the struggle doubtless originated in political jealousies of long standing and the desire of one city to obtain control of economic resources previously enjoyed by another.

From about the year 1000 A.D. the three cities of Chichen Itzá, Mayapan and Uxmal had ruled over the rest of northern Yucatan, and there is evidence that the most powerful of them was Chichen Itzá.[1] Then late in the Twelfth Century, Hunac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, organized a conspiracy against Chichen Itzá, as the result of which he conquered the latter city aided by seven foreign Mexican captains and probably also by the people of Izamal. The consequences were far-reaching. Not only was there a permanent readjustment of the political forces of northern Yucatan by which the country was governed solely from Mayapan for the next two centuries and a half, but also it resulted in the migration of a considerable portion of the Itzá nation to the distant region of Lake Peten in what is now the Republic of Guatemala.

The oustanding personality of the episode was Hunac Ceel.[2] Although we do not know the details of his conspiracy, it is evident that he played a sinister part in the affair. Incomplete accounts of the event occur in the formal chronicles of the Books of Chilam Balam, and confused details are also contributed by the fragmentary historical narratives which are to be found in these manuscripts. The episode still remains a puzzle, because these details are given in a more or less incoherent form and it is difficult to determine the order in which they occurred.

We have seen a number of references to the event in the present work, but the most complete account is to be found in the chronicle of the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which is as follows: "In <Katun> 8 Ahau the *halach-uinic*, or head-chief, of Chichen Itzá was driven out because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel; and this happened to Chac-xib-chac of Chichen Itzá because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel,[3] the head-chief of Mayapan, the for-

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 120, 147, 176, 200, 214, 225, 242 and 270.

[2] The episode of the Sacrificial Cenote, recorded in Chapter II and discussed in Appendix B, shows that Hunac Ceel was an unusually bold and resourceful person.

[3] This expression, *u keban-than Hunac Ceel*, can in the writer's opinion be translated only as the treachery or plot of Hunac Ceel. It has usually been translated as the plotting or treachery against Hunac Ceel, although Brinton admits that the former rendering seems more correct (Brinton 1882, p. 129).

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tress. Four score years and ten years; it was in Tun 10 of <Katun> 8 Ahau. That was the year when <Chichen Itzá> was depopulated by Ah Zinteyut Chan, Tzuntecum, Taxcal, Pantemit, Xucheueut, Itzcuat and Kakaltecat. It was in this same Katun 8 Ahau that they went to drive out Ah Ulmil, the ruler, because of the banquet[1] with Ulil, the ruler of Itzmal. It was thirteen folds of katuns[2] when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire."[3]

So far as we can tell from our present knowledge of Maya history, this appears to have been a struggle between two branches of the Itzá nation, one of which was at Chichen Itzá and the other at Mayapan. The Itzá occupation of Chichen Itzá in the Tenth Century is well known, and we learn from the Relaciones de Yucatan that "Izamal was conquered by Kak-u-pacal and Uilo, valorous captains of the Itzá who were the people who founded Mayapan."[4] Moreover this was not the first conflict between these two Itzá factions, for we have already seen in the third Chumayel chronicle that Chakanputun, the former home of the inhabitants of Chichen Itzá, was depopulated by the same Kak-u-pacal and Uilo (or Uilu) in the Tenth Century A.D.[5] It has never been satisfactorily explained just who the Itzá were. Although their connection with the history of Yucatan began at a very early period, the native literature always refers to them as a people apart. They were feared and hated, but at the same time regarded as holy men. They spoke the Maya language, but are called *ah-nunob* which means "those who speak our language brokenly." Their customs were certainly different from those of the rest of the people of northern Yucatan, for they are called rogues, people without fathers or mothers and people who are disobedient to their fathers and mothers. Indeed this last epithet was a very mild statement of the facts in the case, for Avendaño tells us that they had the custom of beheading the older men when they passed the age of fifty, "so that they shall not learn to be wizards and to kill; except the priests of their idols, for whom they have great respect."[6]

Of special interest is the part taken in the conquest of Chichen Itzá by the seven men of Mayapan. Brinton has noted that their names have a Nahuatl appearance, which seems to confirm the statements of Landa and

[1] Maya, *uahaluah*. The writer agrees with Brinton and Martínez who have translated this as banquet. It must be admitted, however, that the word could also mean an abundance of bread.

[2] This was thirteen katuns after the Itzá were driven from Chakanputun.

[3] Brinton 1882, p. 97. *Cf.* Chumayel p. 137, note 4. The writer believes this to be a reference to the questionnaire given in Chapter IX, the so-called *naat*. An alternative translation is possible: because they were so given to understand; but we are told that Chac-xib-chac was trampled upon, and this was one of the usual penalties for not being able to answer the questionnaire. *Cf.* Tizimin MS. pp. 22-23, also p. 93 of the present work.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 269.

[5] *Cf.* p. 141.

[6] Means 1917, p. 132.

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Herrera that at one time the rulers of Mayapan brought in Mexican warriors from the province of Tabasco to assist them in controlling the Maya inhabitants of northern Yucatan. These were the people called Ah Canul who later settled in the province of that name in western Yucatan after the fall of Mayapan.[1]

In the second Chumayel chronicle we read: "then came the treachery of Hunac Ceel. Their town (Chichen Itzá) was abandoned, and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul, as it is called." This is important, for Avendaño locates this place near Lake Peten, around which the Itzá were living at the time of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico and northern Yucatan. Here they maintained their independence until the close of the Seventeenth Century. They told Father Fuensalida, a Spanish missionary who visited them in 1618, that they had come there from Chichen Itzá. According to their story, in a certain Katun 8 Ahau one of their rulers at Chichen Itzá stole the bride of another more powerful chieftain during the wedding festivities. Fearing the consequences of the act, the offender and his subjects abandoned their city and retired to Lake Peten.[2] The connection of this event with the Hunac Ceel episode is further confirmed by the historical fragment in the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which tells of the same affair. Here it is stated that an unspecified person "sinned against Ah Ulil, the ruler <of Izamal>, against the wife of his fellow-ruler."[3] We conclude that it was the ruler of Izamal whose bride was stolen. Why it was Hunac Ceel and his Mexican captains who avenged the offense by the sack of Chichen Itzá, and why the Maya chronicles ascribe the trouble to the treachery of Hunac Ceel, is a problem which the writer is unable to solve.

It appears that the city of Izamal had another grievance against Chichen Itzá, but the precise nature of it is uncertain. In the obscurely written historical fragment already cited we read that the son (or possibly the sons) of "holy Izamal" was given in tribute (or perhaps put under tribute) to feed and nourish Hapay Can.[4] We have seen in Chapter II of the present work that after the fall of Chichen Itzá and the degradation of Chac-xib-chac Hapay Can was taken to Uxmal, where he was pierced by an arrow.[5] Unfortunately we are nowhere told who or what Hapay Can was. The translation of the name is Sucking-snake. The Lacandons still believe in an evil spirit of this name who drew people to him with his breath and killed them. At the end of the world the chief god of the Lacandons will wear the body of Hapay Can around his waist as a belt.[6] The historical fragment cited above would imply

[1] Brinton 1882, p. 129; Landa 1928, p. 80; Herrera 1726, decad. 3, book 6, chap. 3. *Cf.* p. 66, note 11.
[2] Cogolludo 1868, book 9, chap. 14; Villagutierre Soto Mayor 1701, p. 30.
[3] Codex Perez, p. 120. *"tumenel zipci ti Ah Ulil ti ch̄uplal yatan yet-ahaulil."*
[4] Codex Perez, pp. 120-121; Tizimin, pp. 22-23.
[5] *Cf.* p. 67.
[6] *Cf.* p. 67, note 2: Tozzer 1907, p. 94.

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that this fabulous serpent actually ate the son of the ruler of Izamal, but the writer would suggest the two following interpretations of the statement. Either Hapay Can was an idol at Chichen Itzá to which the people of Izamal were sacrificed, or else it was the title of an important personage, perhaps a God Impersonator, at Chichen Itzá who was maintained in state by tribute from Izamal. The latter alternative is favored by the statement that he was pierced by an arrow at Uxmal, which suggests a person, while the former is

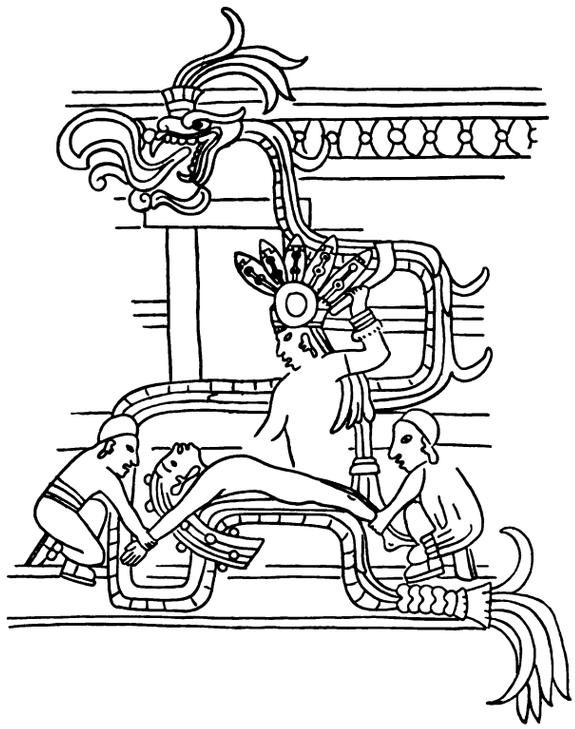

FIG. 44—Human sacrifice scene. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. (Restored by Ann Axtell Morris.)

supported by the mural fresco in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá, where we see the sacrifice of a human victim who lies stretched across one of the coils of a huge plumed serpent.[1] We can find no confirmation for the possibility that there was a sacred serpent at Chichen Itzá which was actually fed with human victims.

In any case Chichen Itzá was depopulated at this time, and the inhabitants fled to Tan-xuluc-mul in the region of Lake Peten. Evidently a considerable number of them did not remain permanently in the south, although no doubt many of them did. We have seen in the first Chumayel chronicle that about forty years later, it was in Katun "4 Ahau, when the land of Ich-

[1] Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Plate 145. See figure 44. Here, however, the serpent appears to be Kukulcan, and not Hapaycan.

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paa Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel."[1] This indicates that the inhabitants of Izamal also had a hand in driving out the people of Chichen Itzá. After their return these Itzá appear to have joined forces with their conquered enemies of Mayapan, for from that

FIG. 45—Typical Itzá priest. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

time down to the fall of the latter city in the middle of the Fifteenth Century we find Mayapan enjoying the hegemony of all northern Yucatan.

After the end of the Twelfth Century we hear nothing more of Chichen Itzá as an important political power, but its sacred cenote continued to be a center of pilgrimage down to the time of the Spanish Conquest.

[1] *Cf.* p. 137.

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APPENDIX D

THE MAYA PROPHECIES

Prophecy played an important part in the lives of the Maya and occupied a prominent position in their literature. Nor was the Maya prophet without honor in his own country. Foretelling the future was the profession of a special branch of the priesthood, the members of which were called *chilans*. The word means mouthpiece, spokesman or interpreter, and it was the *chilans* who delivered to the people the responses of the gods. They were held in such high esteem that they were carried on men's shoulders when they went abroad.[1] In the Tizimin manuscript we find an account[2] of the manner in which Chilam Balam gave his prophecy, and it is likely that it was the customary method with this class of priests. He retired to a room in his home where he lay prostrate[3] in a trance while the god or spirit, perched on the ridgepole of the house, spoke to the unconscious *chilan* below. Then the other priests assembled, probably in the reception hall of the house, and listened to the revelation with their faces bowed down to the floor.

Broadly speaking, Maya prophecies fall into four classes: day-prophecies, year-prophecies, katun-prophecies and special prophecies of the return of Quetzalcoatl, or Kukulcan as he was called by the Maya.

What we have termed the day-prophecy is more properly a prognostic, probably the business of the *ah-kinyah*, or diviner, rather than that of the *chilan*. Every one of the 260 days of the *tzolkin*, or tonalamatl, is specified as being lucky or unlucky, and many of them are followed by further prognostications telling whether the day is suitable for certain undertakings, lucky for certain professions and trades, auspicious for sowing certain crops, etc. These divinations are probably the scanty remnant of an extensive hieroglyphic literature exemplified by the numerous *tzolkin* series found in the Maya picture manuscripts. Although these almanacs are perhaps the most constant feature of the various Books of Chilam Balam, no series of this sort occurs in the Chumayel.

The predictions for the years, however, fall definitely in the field of genuine prophecy. Two versions of the series of prophecies for the twenty years of a certain Katun 5 Ahau have come down to us in the books of Tizimin and Mani. The one in the latter manuscript is entitled "*Cuceb*," which means squirrel, for some unknown reason. It seems likely that these were originally the predictions corresponding to the twenty tuns of this katun, but the versions

[1] Landa 1928, p. 192. The content of their prophecies indicates that they continued to carry on the Mexican traditions of the Itzá.

[2] Chilam Balam of Tizimin, pp. 13, 14.

[3] This is a Maya pun; *chil-cabal* means stretched out prostrate on the ground.

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which we have, ascribed them to the Maya year, or *haab*, of 365 days, giving the name of the first day of each such year. As in the words of the minor Hebrew prophets, a surprisingly large proportion of the predictions are unfavorable. Drought, famine, pestilence are freely foretold, to say nothing of war, political upheavals, the sacking of towns and the captivity of the inhabitants. Many misfortunes are symbolized by the name of the deity which

FIG. 46—Typical Itzá sorcerer. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

Taken from the colored fresco reproduced in Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Plate 156 c. This personage undoubtedly belongs to the highest priestly class, as he wears not only the hat with green plumes, but also the white robe of the priests of Kukulcan mentioned in the prophecies. For these reasons we are inclined to identify him with the *chilan*.

brought them, and there are valuable references to religious ceremonies. The latter, coming as they do from a purely native source, are of especial importance, since practically all our knowledge of the Maya religion comes from the accounts of the Spanish missionaries who were obviously prejudiced.

Of all the prophecies, those of the katuns possess the greatest historical interest. As the Maya commentator himself tells us on page 78 of the Chumayel, they are essentially historical in character. This appears to be because whatever has occurred in the past during a certain katun is expected to recur

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in the future during another katun of the same name. The katun was named for the day Ahau with its numerical coefficient on which the period ended. A katun of the same name recurred after approximately 256 years, consequently at the end of that time history was expected to repeat itself. The events recounted in the Maya Chronicles found in the Mani, Tizimin and Chumayel manuscripts offer excellent grounds for believing that this belief was so strong at times as to actually influence the course of history. A surprisingly large proportion of the important upheavals in Maya history appear to have occurred in some katun named either 4 Ahau or 8 Ahau.

That the katun-prophecies written in European script in the Books of Chilam Balam correspond closely to their original form, is confirmed by the account of Father Avendaño who drew his information from the actual hieroglyphic manuscripts of the independent Itzá. The missionary's familiarity with such books and his ability to read and expound them to the Indians indicate that similar hieroglyphic manuscripts were still available for study in northern Yucatan during the last part of the Seventeenth Century, for the few days he spent at Tayasal certainly did not allow sufficient time to acquire the knowledge.

Avendaño's account explains so well the prophecies in the Books of Chilam Balam that it deserves to be given in full. It is as follows:

"I told them that I wished to speak to them of the old manner of reckoning which they use, both of days, months and years and of the ages, and to find out what age the present one might be (since for them one age consists only of twenty years) and what prophecy there was about the said year and age; for it is all recorded in certain books of a quarter of a yard high and about five fingers broad, made of the bark of trees, folded from one side to the other like screens; each leaf of the thickness of a Mexican *Real* of eight. These are painted on both sides with a variety of figures and characters (of the same kind as the Mexican Indians also used in their old times), which shows not only the count of the said days, months and years, but also the ages and prophecies which their idols and images announced to them, or, to speak more accurately, the devil by means of the worship which they pay to him in the form of some stones. These ages are thirteen in number; each age has its separate idol and its priest, with a separate prophecy of its events. These thirteen ages are divided into thirteen parts, which divide this kingdom of Yucathan and each age, with its idol, priest and prophecy, rules in one of these thirteen parts of this land, according as they have divided it; I do not give the names of the idols, priests or parts of the land, so as not to cause trouble, although I have made a treatise[1] on these old counts with all their differences and explanations, so that they may be evident to all, and the curious may learn them, for if we do not know them, I affirm that the Indians can betray us face to face."[2]

[1] Entitled "Explicación de varios vaticinios de los antiguos Indios de Yucatan." MS. Listed in Eguiara's Biblioteca Mexicana. This interesting work by Avendaño has disappeared.

[2] Means 1917, p. 141.

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We could hardly ask for a more accurate description of the katun-prophecies as we find them in the Books of Chilam Balam. About the only difference is that they are not written in hieroglyphics. All of them give the name of the katun, the place where it is "established" and a deity who is called "the face of the katun." The last named, however, is not described as an idol, but is said to be in the sky, or heavens. In the Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts the prophecy is not accompanied by the name of its corresponding priest, but we find the names of these priests in the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani and Kaua. Of the prophecies themselves, more of them are unfavorable than favorable, but we do not find the complete pessimism which prevails in the year-prophecies.

In the Books of Chilam Balam we find two different series of katun-prophecies, both covering the thirteen katuns which make up the "*u kahlay katunob*," *i.e.* the record of the katuns. They begin with Katun 11 Ahau, which is called the first katun because it commences with the day 1 Imix, the first day of the *tzol-kin*, or tonalamatl, and ends with Katun 13 Ahau. This period of thirteen katuns is the least common denominator of the 260 day *tzol-kin* and the katun which consists of 7200 days.

The first of these two series is evidently the older, as it takes little account of the events which occurred after the Spanish Conquest, although it does mention the actual conquest. Also its language is somewhat more symbolic than that of the other. The second series of prophecies was probably compiled at some time later than the second decade of the Seventeenth Century, judging from some of the historical allusions which it contains. Most of these allusions, however, date from before the discovery of America.

The second and later series of prophecies is completely recorded in the Chumayel, but of the first, only abbreviated versions of the prophecies for Katuns 11, 4, 2 and 13 Ahau occur. The second series is complete in the Tizimin manuscript, which also contains the prophecies of the first series. In the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani, Oxcutzcab and Kaua only the thirteen prophecies of the first series are to be found.

In both of these series of katun-prophecies the more ancient allusions are to the history of the Itzá, so far as we are able to identify them.

If Avendaño was the only Spanish writer to concern himself with the katun-prophecies, such was not the case with the special prophecies which deal with the return of Quetzalcoatl. These aroused the interest of most of the early missionaries, since they were believed to foretell the coming of the Spaniards and the conversion of the Maya to Christianity. Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre all published Spanish translations of five of these, and Lizana even went so far as to quote the Maya text. To anyone who knew them only through these Spanish translations, they would appear to be inspired by missionary propaganda; but an examination of the Maya text leads to a conviction

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of their genuine character, in spite of the fact that any mention of the name of Quetzalcoatl has been carefully deleted. This personage is, however, mentioned in the most obscure and guarded terms in a sixth prophecy by Chilam Balam found in the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts.[1] A seventh prophecy, also ascribed to Chilam Balam, is thoroughly pagan in character, but confines its statements to predicting misfortunes of a general character in Katun 13 Ahau. Its language is archaic, and it approaches more closely the European idea of poetry than anything else found in Maya literature.[2] Only in an eighth prophecy, ascribed to Ah Xupan Nauat, do we find a statement obviously inspired by the event itself. Here the arrival of the white men is foretold as occurring in the eighth year of Katun 13 Ahau. If Katun 13 Ahau began in 1519, this is altogether too accurate a prediction of Montejo's landing on the east coast of Yucatan in 1527 to be credited to a man said to have lived under Hun Uitzil Chac at Uxmal about the Eleventh Century A.D.[3]

The five Maya prophets quoted by Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre were Ah Kauil Chel, Napuctun, Natzin Yabun Chan, Nahau Pech and Chilam Balam It is possible that the first two were contemporaries of Ah Xupan Nauat, as the three names appear to be associated. Nothing is known of Natzin Yabun Chan to the translator. Nahau Pech is believed to have lived about four katuns, or eighty years, before the coming of the whites, which would be about the time of the fall of Mayapan. He was probably a member of the powerful Pech family which governed the Province of Ceh Pech at the time of the Conquest. The last and greatest of the Maya prophets was Chilam Balam. Balam in this case was probably the man's family name, and as among ourselves the name of his profession was prefixed to it as a title.

[1] Chumayel p. 64; Tizimin p. 14; Mani p. 109 of B.L.C. No. 43.

[2] Tizimin p. 19. This is the prophecy translated in part by Brinton (1882, p. 126) as follows:

"Eat, eat, thou hast bread;
Drink, drink, thou hast water;
On that day, dust possesses the earth,
On that day, a blight is on the face of the earth,
On that day, a cloud rises,
On that day, a mountain rises,
On that day, a strong man seizes the land,
On that day, things fall to ruin,
On that day, the tender leaf is destroyed,
On that day, the dying eyes are closed,
On that day, three signs are on the tree,
On that day, three generations hang there,
On that day, the battle flag is raised,
And they are scattered afar in the forests."

[3] Mani apud B.L.C. No. 43, p. 116. The prophet is identified in Tizimin, p. 13.

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Chilam Balam lived at Mani during the reign of Mochan Xiu.[1] In Katun 2 Ahau[2] he predicted that in the Katun 13 Ahau following, bearded men would come from the east and introduce a new religion. His prophecy was somewhat more definite than those of his predecessors, except for the suspicious case already mentioned. This can be accounted for by rumors of the arrival of the Spaniards in the West Indies, for we know that fishing canoes were occasionally driven across to Yucatan by storms.[3] What Chilam Balam had in mind was the return of Quetzalcoatl and his white-robed priests, but after the Spaniards landed in Yucatan in Katun 13 Ahau according to schedule, he never ceased to be regarded as the most famous of the Maya prophets.

We have associated five of these six prophets with the provinces governed by the Xiu, Pech and Chel families. It is worthy of note that Montejo and his soldiers received a more friendly reception in these three provinces than in any other part of Yucatan.

The following table will be useful to the student who wishes to make a comparison of the various versions of the prophecies found in the Books of Chilam Balam.[4]

	Chumayel reproduction	Mani (in Codex Perez)	Oxkutzcab (in Codex Perez)	Tizimin
	pp.	*pp.*	*pp.*	*pp.*
Year-prophecies		101-114		1-13
Katun-prophecies, 1st series	13, 72-74	75-90	153-165	20, 23-29, 36
Katun-prophecies, 2d series	83-100			29-33
Special prophecies of the return of Kukulcan and of a new religion	103-107	70-75	166-170	17-18
Special prophecy of Chilam Balam in which the Antonio Martínez story is interpolated	64-67	65-69		13-16

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 45.

[2] Chilam Balam of Tizimin, page 36. Katun 2 Ahau covered approximately the first two decades of the Sixteenth Century.

[3] Herrera 1725, II, p. 121. Dec. 2, Book 4, Chap. 4.

[4] The prognostics for the days are not really prophecies in the same sense as the above and are not listed in this table.

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APPENDIX E

TRADITIONS OF CASTE AND CHIEFTAINSHIP AMONG THE MAYA

Although chieftainship in Yucatan was not always hereditary in the strictest sense of the word, it was only considered legitimate when confined to certain families, and a proper rank was most essential. Apparently it was not necessary to have established this social position in the particular locality in question, for after the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century when the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries at the capital, were allowed to settle in western Yucatan, they were promptly accepted as chiefs by the people living in that region. As we are told in the Calkini chronicle, "they were not pretenders to chieftainship nor were they provokers of discord." They were legitimate chiefs, even though they had been driven by revolution from the capital which had been their home for centuries. So "they began to love the towns and the local chiefs, and they were also loved by the towns there where my great ancestor governed men."[1]

Maya society, broadly speaking, was divided into two classes, nobles and commoners. The former were called *almehen*, and the latter, *mazeual*. *Al* designates the son of a woman and *mehen* a man's son. Consequently the word *almehen* means one who had a father and a mother, both presumably persons of distinction. Oddly enough, the term parallels its Spanish equivalent, *hidalgo*, which is the abbreviation of *hijo de algo*, the son of somebody. *Mazeual* was a foreign word borrowed from the Toltec intruders into Yucatan. In the Nahuatl language as well as in Maya it meant the ordinary agricultural laborer who was not eligible to political office. The Maya language itself bears frequent evidence of static social conditions in spite of wars and political revolutions. For example, *pic-ɔacab* (literally innumerable generations) is defined in the Sixteenth Century Motul Dictionary as: "by inheritance from one's ancestors, by caste, by lineage, by family or from far back." An example is given which is translated: "By caste, by lineage, by inheritance from his ancestors or from far back, the chieftainship comes to Juan, or he comes to be a farmer," etc.[2] So in spite of certain communistic aspects of Maya society, it was anything but democratic.

From the time of the fall of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest we find two classes of chieftains in Yucatan, the *halach-uinic* and the *batab*. The former, literally the real man, was the governor, or head-chief, of a district, and the latter was the local municipal executive officer. *Halach-uinic* has usually been translated as governor and *batab* as cacique or chief. The objec-

[1] Crónica de Calkini, pp. 13, 14.

[2] Maya: *"Pic-ɔacab u talel Juan ti batabil, tah colil,"* etc. This explains the importance of genealogy among the Maya. *Cf.* Landa 1928, p. 168, and page 89 of the present work.

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tion to calling the former a governor is that in Spanish colonial times the local *batab* was given the title of *Gobernador* and frequently appears as such in official documents. After the Conquest of course the native office of *halach-uinic* disappeared. Consequently in the present work *batab* has been rendered as "chief" and *halach-uinic*, as "head-chief." There was probably also a religious aspect to the office of *halach-uinic* judging by the definition of the term given by the Motul Dictionary: "*Obispo, oydor, governador, o comissario; es nombre para estas dignidades y otras semejantes.*" Another term, *ahau*, was applied to some of the head-chiefs of the various territorial divisions of Yucatan. In the present work this has been translated as "ruler," although we can not be certain as to just what it implied. The Motul Dictionary defines *ahau* as "king, emperor, monarch, prince or great lord," and in colonial times it was the Maya title of the King of Spain. We know that before the Conquest the head-chiefs of three of the so-called provinces[1] were called Ahau Pech, Ahau Chel and Ahau Cocom.[2] Strangely enough we nowhere find the title, *Ahau*, given to any of the Xiu rulers, the *halach-uinics*[3] of the Province of Mani, although they seem to have been the most powerful in Yucatan at the time of the Spanish Conquest. In some provinces there may have been more than one head-chief,[4] while in others we find only a loose confederation of local *batabs*.[5]

Landa would have us believe that the office of head-chief was hereditary. "If when the lord died there were no sons <old enough> to rule and if he had brothers, the eldest of the brothers governed or else the one who was most at liberty <to do so>. These instructed the heir in their usages and festivals in view of the time when he should become a man; and even when the heir was <old enough> to govern, these brothers continued in command all during their lives. If there were no brothers, the priests and leading people chose a man who was capable."[6] It is difficult to reconcile this account with what we find to have been the actual practise. In that unique document, the Xiu family tree,[7] which covers the period from the destruction of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest, we find that during the last two generations the office of *halach-uinic* passed through two different branches of the Xiu family, and not from father to son nor even from brother to brother. We know that the grandfather of the famous interpreter, Gaspar Antonio Chi, was the Xiu *halach-uinic* who was murdered at Otzmal by Nachi Cocom; and he appears in the Xiu family tree as Ah Ɔulub Xiu, although he was also known as Ah

[1] After the fall of Mayapan these so-called provinces, or *cacicazgos*, were really independent states.

[2] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech (Brinton 1882, p. 195).

[3] The English plural form has been applied to Maya terms here. The Maya plural would really be *halach-uinicob*.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, pp. 23, 53, 150.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p. 104; also Crónica de Calkini.

[6] Landa 1928, pp. 170-172. This resembles the rules of succession among the Nahuas of Mexico. *Cf.* Zurita 1891, pp. 79-80.

[7] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9; Blom 1928, p. 258.

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Oun Xiu.[1] He had two sons and two younger brothers, one of whom survived him, but his successor, christened Francisco de Montejo Xiu, was the second son of his second cousin, Ah Ziyah Xiu, who also met his death at Otzmal.

The head-chief of the Province of Ceh Pech always belonged to the Pech family, and in Ah Kin Chel the Chel family governed. In Zotuta the Cocom family was supreme, while in the Provinces of the Cupuls and of Cochuah we find members of the Cupul and Cochuah families in power. In addition to being noble, such families enjoyed the further distinction of being called "the first lineage" in the provinces in which they were supreme. In Ceh Pech, for example, Nakuk Pech referred to himself and his relatives as belonging to the "first lineage,"[2] and the families of the head-chiefs of other provinces probably enjoyed a similar distinction. We can not be certain of the method employed for determining the succession among the various members of the family when the *halach-uinic* died. It may have been hereditary, as explained by Landa, in some families, while in others it was probably a matter of personal prestige.

So far as we can learn, the powers of the *halach-uinic* appear to have been very broad. Certainly he took the lead in formulating both foreign and domestic policy, but we get the general impression that he had an advisory council composed of the more important *batabs* and priests. The towns of his territory paid him tribute in the form of grain, fowls, honey, game, cotton cloth, precious stones and sometimes even slaves. We find no mention of gold in this connection, probably because gold was not produced in Yucatan. The tribute does not seem to have been onerous, and under the Xius of Mani it is said to have been very light, little more than a matter of form in fact. In time of war it was obligatory for each town to furnish the quota of fighting men demanded by the head-chief. The maritime provinces often fought to prevent outsiders from fishing or gathering salt on their coasts, and there were many petty wars over boundary disputes.[3]

"The lords were absolute in command, and what they ordered was carried out without fail. They had in the towns caciques <*batabs*> or a person of rank[4] to listen to lawsuits and public demands. He received the litigants or negotiators, and when the case was heard, if the matter was a serious one, he discussed it with the lord. To settle it, other officials were appointed who were like lawyers and *alguaciles*,[5] and they always took part in the presence of the judges. The latter and the lords could receive gratuities from both parties."[6]

[1] Morley 1920, pp. 478, 507; Blom 1928, p. 254.
[2] Maya, *yax chibal*. Brinton 1882, p. 201.
[3] Relaciones de Yucatan, I and II.
[4] Maya, *hol-pop* (he who sits at the head of the mat). *Cf.* Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 90, 95.
[5] Probably the *ah-kulel*. These are defined as "advocates, mediators between any people" (Motul).
[6] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. IV, Chap. 3.

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In some cases the *halach-uinic* himself acted as judge.[1]

The *batab*, or local chief, was appointed by the *halach-uinic*,[2] who frequently gave the position to one of his own family connections. Other noble families were by no means excluded, but we find a considerable proportion of the local chiefs belonging to the "first lineage" in the Provinces of Ceh Pech, Zotuta and Cupul. Landa tells us that at the death of the *batab* his son was appointed in his place by the head-chief,[3] if he was found suitable for the position. Nevertheless we also find the capable sons of local chiefs appointed to govern other towns during their fathers' lifetime.[4]

The *batab* was the local magistrate and executive. He took an important part in the conduct of war,[5] although there was also a war-chief called the *nacom*.[6] The *batab's* power could hardly have been arbitrary, for he was subject to influence and probably even pressure at times from three different quarters. Certainly he had to carry out the orders of the *halach-uinic* who had appointed him. Then he was obliged to cooperate with the local priest, who was the diviner and prophet and "whom they (the people) obeyed, though not so much as they did the *batabs*."[7] Furthermore we learn that he had two or three advisers called *ah-cuch-cab* who could veto his decisions in the village council.[8] It is probable that these last represented the interests of the wealthier members of the community. As a matter of practise these things did not always work out according to rule. Sometimes the *batab* was in a position where he could afford to pay little attention to the *halach-uinic*, as in some parts of the Province of the Cupuls, and in other cases he was able to override the objections of the town-council. His government was decidedly of a paternal character. Besides presiding at the local council and holding court, he also gave directions for repairing the houses of individual citizens as well as the municipal buildings, preparing the fields for cultivation and planting crops at such times as the priest declared proper.[9]

As to the remuneration of the *batabs*, we are told that "they did not pay them any tribute; they only supported them from what they manufactured and sowed."[10] This information is supplemented by the decrees of the Spanish governors of Yucatan in confirmation of certain old rights and privileges granted in perpetuity to a number of native families whose members had aided in the Conquest and reorganization of the country. Adjoining the town

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Bk. IV, Chap. 4; Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 227.
[2] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech. Brinton 1882, p. 216.
[3] Landa 1928, p. 72.
[4] Chronicle of Nakuk Pech. Brinton 1882, pp. 216-241; Xiu family tree, Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9.
[5] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 208.
[6] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 185 and 209; Landa 1928, p. 206.
[7] Relaciones de Yucatan, II, p. 182.
[8] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 104, 182, 211.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, p. 80, II, p. 210.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 103-104.

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of Oxkutzcab was a village called Yaxa, the chief of which was favored by such a grant. In the year 1608 we find the official Protector of the Indians petitioning the Governor to confirm the rights of Don Pedro Xiu, a descendant of the original grantee. The grant compelled local *gobernador* and *alcaldes* of Yaxa to see to it that the village cultivated each year a cornfield for the support of Don Pedro Xiu and his wife, supplied each week a man and a woman for domestic service, and repaired the buildings comprising the Xiu residence as often as it might be needed.[1] The measure was a wise one on the part of the Spanish government, calculated to preserve the loyalty of the more influential Maya families, and it continued in force down to the end of the colonial period.

New light is cast on the traditions of caste and chieftainship among the Maya by the chapter in the Chumayel which the translator has entitled "The Interrogation of the Chiefs." This formality took place at the beginning of each katun[2] and was a sort of civil service examination conducted by the *halach-uinic* with the object of weeding out from the ranks of legitimate chieftainship the upstarts, pretenders and those who had obtained office under false pretenses. Many of the prescribed questions and answers are trivial, and the questionnaire which has come down to us contains references to horses, which shows us that it had been altered a little to correspond to the new conditions since the Spanish Conquest. Nevertheless three important facts are brought out in this chapter. The first is that there was a firmly established tradition of such an examination; the second, that the proof of legitimacy was considered to be certain knowledge supposed to have been handed down from father to son in families eligible to chieftainship; the third, that this occult knowledge was known as the "language of Zuyua."

The name Zuyua is inseparably connected with the Toltec penetration of Yucatan, which left a number of Nahuatl words in the Maya language. Many such words are those associated with ideas of political power and social standing. The Xius believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua,[3] and Brinton has identified Zuyua with the Mexican Zuiven, "the name of the uppermost heaven, the abode of the Creator, Hometecutli, the father of Quetzalcoatl, and the place of his first birth as a divinity."[4]

The foregoing indicates that only members of those families in which certain Toltec traditions had been handed down were eligible to chieftainship. It is uncertain whether such families were actually of Mexican descent, but confirmation of the long-standing Nahua affiliations of the ruling families is found in Landa's account of the annual festival in honor of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, at Mani, the capital of the Province of the Xius. This festival

[1] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 15-16.
[2] The katun was a chronological period of 7200 days, approximately twenty years.
[3] Brinton 1882, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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had been celebrated at Mayapan until the destruction of that city, and it was peculiarly the affair of the chiefs and priests who had assembled from the various parts of the country.[1] The other provinces contributed each year in turn four or five feather banners which played an important part in the ceremonies, and the various *halach-uinics*, so frequently at war with one another, appear for the time being to have forgotten their feuds and enmities. During the last five days of the month of Xul everything was as it had been when the entire country was united under the rule of Mayapan.

To account for these Toltec traditions among the ruling families we must go back to the time of the introduction of the worship of Kukulcan into Yucatan. The identity of the Maya Kukulcan with the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and the Mexican origin of the worship of this culture-hero have been well established.[2]

If a foreign religion was introduced into the country from Mexico, we should first look for the families of the descendants of the people who introduced it, although, of course, it does not necessarily follow that any of them survived. In this connection our attention is drawn first to the Xiu family in whose capital we have seen the festival for Kukulcan still being celebrated down to the time of the Spanish Conquest. We have already noted that they themselves believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua, a name derived from Mexican mythology. Landa tells us that when they arrived in Yucatan, their only weapon was the dart and throwing-stick,[3] or *atlatl*, which points strongly to a Nahua origin. Elsewhere we read of the town of Mama near Mani that "they were subject to a lord whom they called Tutul Xiu, a Mexican name, who, they say, was a foreigner. He came from the west, and having come to this province the leading people raised him with common consent to be their king."[4] If further confirmation of the Mexican origin of this family were needed, we might cite the Xiu family tree,[5] according to which two members of the family have the name or title of Ah Cuat Xiu. *Cuat* is simply another form of the Nahuatl *coatl* which means serpent.

If we search for Nahuatl names or titles among the other leading families of Yucatan, we find mention three times in the Chronicle of Nakuk Pech of the name, Ah Cuat Cocom,[6] he may have been related to Nachi Cocom who

[1] Landa 1929, pp. 60-62.

[2] Seler (1902, p. 674) has assembled and correlated the evidence on this point. The first Spanish settlers in Yucatan also tell us: "It is the opinion among the Indians that with the Itzá who settled at Chichen Itzá there came a great lord named Kukulcan . . . And they say that he entered <the country> from the western side . . . and that after his return he was held in Mexico to be one of their gods and called Quetzalcoatl; in Yucatan they also consider him to be a god because of his great public spirit" (Landa 1928, pp. 62-64).

[3] Landa 1928, p. 14.

[4] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 161.

[5] Crónica de Oxkutzcab, pp. 8, 9.

[6] Brinton 1882, p. 237.

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was the *halach-uinic* at Zotuta. The Cocom family was at one time the most powerful in Yucatan, and even after the destruction of Mayapan they continued to play an important part in the history of the country. Their history goes back to the founding of Mayapan in the Tenth Century A.D. Of this city Landa tells us that after settling Chichen Itzá—

"Kukulcan again founded another city by arrangement with the native lords of the land, in which he and they should live and where all the affairs and business should be conducted . . . and they surrounded it with a very broad wall of dry stone of about half a quarter of a league, leaving only two narrow gates. The wall was not very high. Within this they constructed their temples . . . and the houses for the lords, among whom he divided the entire country, giving towns to each according to the antiquity of his lineage and his personal importance. Kukulcan . . . called it Mayapan, which means the standard of the Maya . . .

"This Kukulcan lived with the lords for some years in that city, and leaving them in all peace and friendship he returned by the same road to Mexico . . . After the departure of Kukulcan the lords agreed in order to perpetuate the government that the house of the Cocoms should have the chief command, either because it was the oldest or richest, or because its head was at that time the most valorous man."[1]

In one of the Mexican sources we read that—

"The people of Yucatan venerated and reverenced this God, Quetzalcoatl, and called him Kulkulcan, and said he arrived there from the west . . . They said of him that from him descended the Kings of Yucatan whom they call Cocoms, which means *Oidores*."[2]

Descent from a Nahua culture-hero would be ascribed to a Mexican family rather than to one of Maya origin.

A third important Toltec family, probably a later arrival than the Xius and Cocoms, was that of the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries[3] whom we have already discussed.

Consequently the joint government at Mayapan appears to have consisted of two rival Mexican factions, Cocoms and Xius,[4] the former being supported by a third element of similar origin, the Ah Canuls. By the time of the fall of Mayapan, however, they were probably Mexican only by tradition, for the Spanish conquerers found them speaking only Maya some sixty years later.

A question arises as to the origin of the other ruling families of the various provinces, such as the Pechs, Chels, Cupuls and Cochuahs, to mention only those of whose hereditary standing we have some information. At some unspecified time, probably after the destruction of Mayapan, a certain Noh-

[1] Landa 1928, pp. 64-70. This legend is colored in some respects by the later hegemony of Mayapan over all northern Yucatan. It is probable that prior to 1200 A.D. Chichen Itzá was the more powerful of the two cities. *Cf.* Appendix C.

[2] Torquemada 1723, II, p. 52. The translation is an excellent one, for *cocom* could well be an archaic participial form meaning "one who listens with attention."

[3] Landa 1928, p. 80.

[4] Ciudad Real 1873, II, p. 470.

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cabal Pech established his capital at Motul, and we are told that he was "a near relative of the great lord at Mayapan."[1] The Chel family was descended from Mo-Chel, the noble son-in-law of one of the principal priests at Mayapan. He is said to have foreseen the destruction of the capital, and he fled with some followers to Tecoh near Izamal, where he established an independent state, taking the title of Ah Kin (the priest) Chel.[2] We know little of the history of the others, but their status as independent rulers dated only from the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. No doubt most of those who were not of Toltec origin were descended from the old Yucatecan ruling class, of whom we have practically no knowledge. There were, however, other intruders into the country besides the Toltecs. Both in the proper names and in the vocabulary of Yucatan we find distinct traces of people from the south who spoke a language very similar to what we know of the Chol. This is one of the other languages of the great Maya stock, and while it much resembles the Maya of Yucatan in some respects, it has a different consonantal system. At least two Maya families[3] had such foreign names, and there were probably others.

During the hegemony of Mayapan these "lords" lived at the capital and each governed his own district from there. Their residences were within the walled enclosure, but outside the walls each head-chief had a house where petitioners from his own district were received when they came to the capital. This house was in charge of a personal representative called the *caluac* who made requisitions on the towns of the district for food, clothing and anything else needed for the maintenance of the household of his master.[4]

A comparison of the Maya sources cited in this paper with Zurita's account[5] of the political institutions of Mexico leads to the conclusion that the central government at Mayapan corresponded in many respects to the Nahua pattern. At the time of the revolution which destroyed the city we are told that "the halach-uinic Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and of the four districts or divisions of the town,"[6] and we are reminded of the four main divisions of the Aztec and Tlaxcalan states. The four chiefs of these divisions were especially concerned with the distribution of tribute from subject peoples, and we find an echo of this function in the present work when we read: "At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men."[7] The resemblance is less apparent in the local government of the Yucatecan towns and villages. Here the administration of the *batab*, assisted by the *ah-cuch-cags* and *ah-kulels* probably followed the ancient traditions of Yucatan.

[1] Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 78.
[2] Landa 1928, p. 88; Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 193.
[3] Chan and Te. Berendt MS.
[4] Landa 1928, pp. 70-72.
[5] Zurita 1891.
[6] P. 142.
[7] P.74.

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APPENDIX F

TOLTEC MILITARY ORDERS IN YUCATAN

In the prophetic literature of the Maya we find the names of certain animals mentioned in such manner as to suggest that they stand as the symbols for something else and that the reference is not to the actual animals. For example, we read: "There shall be no fox[1] to bite them,"[2] "there shall be neither fox nor kinkajou that will bite,"[3] "there shall be neither fox, puma nor weasel: there shall be none that bite. The claws of the puma shall be drawn; the claws of the jaguar shall be drawn."[4] "The time shall come when the burrowing opossum[5] and the jaguar[6] shall bite one another."[7] At first sight it seems strange to find the comparatively harmless fox, kinkajou, weasel and opossum classed with the jaguar and puma.

We can not but suspect that these fauna-names are referable to certain persons and that the prophecies tell of a time when the people will be freed of the presence of these unwelcome individuals. Indeed, a further examination of the related material confirms this conjecture. In the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin we read: "At the time <of the year> 3 Kan the spots shall be removed from the red jaguars, the white jaguars.[8] The claws and teeth shall be drawn from the jaguars[9] of the Itzá.[10]

We find further indications of the significance of these names of animals in the following passages: "There is no kinkajou, there is no fox, there is no weasel to suck men's blood; there are no pernicious rulers."[11] "The rulers shall be cut off, when the claws of the eagle[12] are cut, when the backs of the kinkajou

[1] Maya, *cħamac*, a term applied in northern Yucatan to the Grey Fox, *Urocyon cinereo-argenteus fraterculus* Elliot, identified by Goldman and Gaumer. The same name appears to be given to the coyote in some part of the Maya speaking area where the latter exists. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 331.

[2] Chumayel, p. 125.

[3] Maya, *cab-coh*, literally honey-puma, called *oso melero* in Spanish and identified by Goldman and Gaumer as the Aztec Kinkajou, *Potas flavus aztecus* Thomas. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 329. The quotation is from Chumayel, p. 159.

[4] Tizimin p. 26; Mani (Codex Perez) p. 80. *Coh* is the puma, *Felis concolor* L., and *zabin* is the weasel, *Mustela tropicalis* Merriam. *Cf.* Roys 1931, pp. 330, 342.

[5] Maya, *holil-och*, identified by Gaumer as *Marmosa gaumeri* Osgood, spec. nov. *Cf.* Roys 1931, p. 333.

[6] Maya, *chac-bolay*, identified by Goldman as Hernandez's Jaguar, *Felis hernandesii goldmani* Mearns, and called *tigre* in Spanish. Pio Perez (1866-77) defines it as *"el leoncillo"* and Pacheco Cruz (1919, p. 14), as *"tigrillo."* *Balam* is the usual Maya word for jaguar.

[7] Tizimin, p. 3.

[8] Maya, *chac-bob*, *zac-bob*. *Bobil-che* was a general term for the *tigre*, or jaguar (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 169). It is possible that smaller felines like the margay were also included by the term.

[9] Maya, *bal<a>mil*.

[10] Tizimin, p. 10.

[11] Mani (Codex Perez), p. 80.

[12] Maya, *cħuyum-thul* (literally, that which holds a rabbit suspended) is defined by the Motul dictionary, Spanish-Maya portion as *"Aguila o especie della, ave de rapina."* In present-day Maya the word means both an eagle and a large hawk (Pacheco Cruz, 1919, p. 62,) and elsewhere we find the term defined as a hawk, osprey or kite (Motul, Maya-Spanish portion). Another word, *coot* is variously defined as the red eagle and the black eagle.

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and the fox are clawed and torn."[1] "Then the burrowing opossums who are greedy for dominion shall bite one another."[2] For Katun 12 Ahau, a period of good fortune, the prophecy states: "The burrowing opossum shall flee. He shall give up his delegated mat[3] and throne, and he shall go out into the wilderness. Men shall be happy; things shall go well in the towns."[4] From this we infer that these animals represent certain persons in authority, and such a conclusion is amply confirmed by the following passage: "In the ninth year of Katun 6 Ahau the puma (*coh*) and the jaguar (*balam*) claw one another's backs. The puma (*coh*) is a *leon*.[5] These are the head-chiefs (*halach-uinicob*)."[6]

We have already seen how the central organization at Mayapan may be traced to a Toltec origin and followed to a certain extent the example of the Nahua institutions of the highlands of Mexico. It has also been noted that this foreign political structure was superimposed upon a form of local government that was probably indigenous.[7] We may therefore turn to the history of the Nahua peoples of Mexico for an explanation of some symbols connected with the higher ranks of the rulers in Yucatan.

Landa has given us to understand that with the exception of the Cocoms and Xius who ruled at Mayapan, the so-called "lords" possessed delegated powers only, and that it was only after the fall of that city that these *halach-uinics* became the real rulers of the various independent states into which the Spaniards found the country divided at the time of their arrival.[8] We have also noted in one of the prophecies just quoted that the "burrowing opossum" is to "give up his delegated mat and throne," or in other words, his authority. Consequently it seems permissible to draw an analogy between the *halach-uinics* symbolized by these animals and the *tecuhtli*, or so-called "lords," of the Nahua peoples of Mexico.

Seler has convincingly shown that the Mexican "king" delegated many of his functions to these men, and that the institution reached its highest development when the latter were set to supervising the collection of tribute and enforcing other rights which their own state had acquired over a conquered people.[9] Such would also be the case in Yucatan where the Toltec conquerors appear to have actually settled in the country and maintained their power for a long time in spite of the fact that they could never have formed more than a very small proportion of the population.

[1] Tizimin, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] The mat, like the throne, was a symbol of authority. *Cf.* p. 92, note 3.
[4] Tizimin, p. 26.
[5] In many parts of Spanish America the puma is called *leon*.
[6] Mani (Codex Perez), p. 72.
[7] *Cf.* Appendix E.
[8] Landa 1928, pp. 70-72.
[9] Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen, Seler 1904, pp. 509-619.

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Seler goes on to quote from the unpublished Sahagun manuscript a list of mantles worn by persons of high rank in Mexico. A number of these are described as representing the skins of animals which we have seen mentioned in the Maya prophecies, such as the jaguar, kinkajou, puma, wild-cat and coyote.[1] From the same source and from the Mexican picture-manuscripts he gives descriptions and illustrations of warrior-costumes representing coyotes and jaguars.[2] He believes that what he calls "royal rank" among the Mexicans went back in the first instance to Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec dynasty,[3] and we have already seen how Landa traces the authority of the "lords" of Yucatan back to the same source.[4]

a *b*

FIG. 47—Temple of the Warriors frescos: *a*, coyote-fox;[5] *b*, eagle. (After Ann Axtell Morris.)

If we are right in ascribing a Mexican origin to a large part of the symbolism discussed here, it is to the architectural remains of the Toltec occupation of Yucatan that we should look for archæological confirmation. The jaguar, it is true, appears frequently in the older Maya art, indeed it goes back to some of the earliest monuments; but before the appearance of an intrusive Nahua culture in Yucatan this animal is always connected with the priesthood. Only in the Toltec temples do we begin to find it a symbol of the warrior class, as in the reliefs of the Temple of the Tigers and the platform just to the east of it at Chichen Itzá. It is in the reliefs and frescos of that masterpiece of Maya-Toltec architecture, the Temple of the Warriors, that we find the most striking illustration of the animals symbolizing the Nahua warrior-chieftains who once ruled over Yucatan. Many of them bear human hearts in their claws, suggesting that the warriors whom they represent captured victims for human

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 558-560.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 510.
[4] *Cf.* Appendix E.
[5] Mrs. Morris notes that this animal wears the blue necklace common to the human warrior and considers it to be a composite bear and coyote, identifying it with a short-tailed long-haired animal which appears frequently in the sculptured frieze of the same temple. As the coyote would be known only from hearsay at Chichen Itzá, we might expect a less realistic treatment than in the case of other animals. Morris, Charlot and Morris, Plate 165.

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sacrifice. Here we see the puma,[1] the jaguar,[2] the coyote or fox[3] and the eagle.[4]

Although we have but little data on which to base an estimate of the age of the Toltec remains at Chichen Itzá, it seems probable that the political hegemony of this city preceded that of Mayapan.[5] Consequently we can hardly expect too close a correspondence between the references in the Books of Chilam Balam and the sculptures at Chichen Itzá. The Maya writers of the Spanish colonial period would have a much more vivid recollection of the hegemony of Mayapan which ended about the middle of the Fifteenth Century.

Among the Mexicans the jaguar was the strong and brave animal par excellence, the companion of the eagle. Indeed "Eagle and Jaguar" was the conventional designation of brave warriors.[6] The coyote was regarded in a two-fold aspect. He was the god of singing and dancing, but as a beast of prey he was also a symbol of the warrior. Certain outstanding warriors appeared both at dances and in battle clothed in a garment representing the coyote.[7] If it seems a little strange to find the coyote serving as a symbol of bravery, we can not but feel that a considerable stretch of the imagination was required to consider the kinkajou in the same light. And yet such was the case. Whether alone, or associated with the hawk, the kinkajou was, next to the eagle and jaguar, regarded as one of the bravest and strongest animals and the symbol of the bold warrior.[8] "Hawk and Kinkajou" are often mentioned in the Mexican myths and stories along with the "Eagle and Jaguar."[9]

The weasel (Maya *zabin* or *sabim*) seems a more appropriate animal in this connection than either the coyote or kinkajou. Its association with ideas pertaining to military affairs is shown by certain expressions found in the Motul dictionary. "*Zabim-be, ah-zabim-be*: a look-out, sentinel and spy, when no battle-line has been formed; also to keep a look-out." "*Zabin-katun*: look-

[1] See Plate 1, a; also Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, pp. 40-41. Cit-chac-coh, literally Father-red-puma, appears to have been the name of one of the war-gods. In the month of Pax the warriors and *nacom* (war-chief) celebrated a festival to this deity, during which the *nacom* was given divine honors as though he were himself the god. It would seem from this that the war-chief was the especial representative of this puma war-god. (Landa 1929, p. 84.)

[2] Morris, Charlot and Morris 1931, Pl. 151.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. 165; see fig. 47, a.

[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. 164.

[5] Perhaps the most likely estimate of this period would be from the introduction of the Kukulcan cult some time in the Tenth Century A.D. to the conquest of the city by Hunac Ceel at the end of the Twelfth Century. We are told that the hegemony of Chichen Itzá lasted over two hundred years and that "at one time this entire land was under the dominion of a lord who reigned over the ancient city of Chichen Itzá. To him were tributary all the lords of this province, and even from outside the province, from Mexico, Guatemala, Chiapas and other provinces they sent presents in token of peace and friendship" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, pp. 176, 120-121).

[6] Seler 1923, p. 470.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 496.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 595.

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out or sentinel, when the battle-line has been formed, and to keep a look-out in this manner." Literally, *zabim-be* means the weasel of the road and *zabin-katun*, the weasel of the army. No portrayal of this animal has yet been found and identified.

This leaves the so-called "burrowing opossum" to be accounted for. It must be confessed that neither in Maya nor Mexican art have we found the opossum playing the rôle assigned to him in the Books of Chilam Balam. Frequently depicted in the Mexican picture-manuscripts, the animal appears as

FIG. 48—Jaguar. Relief-carving at Chichen Itzá.

lord of the lower regions or as the associate of certain gods. In the Maya Dresden Codex he is dressed as a dancer and brings on his back the Regent of the New Year.[1] Nowhere do we find him associated with either war or chieftainship except in the Books of Chilam Balam.

The frequent mention of these various animals in the Books of Chilam Balam is therefore of unusual interest. Although the meaning of the jaguars and eagles at Chichen Itzá has long been known, we should be tempted to ascribe a religious or mythological significance to the other animals found in the reliefs and frescos of that city, if it were not for the information contained in these manuscripts. As it is, they take on the character of historical and political figures.

[1] Seler 1923, pp. 506-509.

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APPENDIX G

THE AMERICANIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY

According to the early Spanish writers a considerable proportion of the Maya of northern Yucatan embraced Christianity quite willingly after the Spanish occupation of the country. Whether or not this was true, the Books of Chilam Balam convince us that their faith was genuine, once they were converted. Even in those books which were frowned upon by the missionaries, we note an unmistakable spontaneity in the pious phrases with which the Spanish *Dios*, the Trinity and the Holy Virgin are frequently invoked. At first sight it is difficult to reconcile this apparently sincere belief in the new religion with the lapses into idolatry which continued to recur during a large part of the colonial period.

The fact of the matter was that their Christianity, however sincere it may have been, was something quite different from that of their European conquerors. They simply superimposed it upon their old religion, just as they had previously superimposed the Quetzalcoatl cult of the Nahua invaders upon the original Maya faith.[1] They sometimes called their old deities perishable gods (*hauay kuob*),[2] but they continued to worship them surreptitiously.

Even in their Christian worship we find among the Maya an unconscious tendency to adapt the new religion to their own psychology, as we have seen in Chapters XI and XII of the present work. There is further evidence of this in the katun prophecies, where the Spanish God is cited as authority for prognostications made by their own prophets before the coming of the white man.

The Spanish missionaries did their best to prevent this Americanization of Christianity. The historian Cogolludo bitterly deplores the lapses of the Indians into idolatry, but he appears to be still more horrified at their attempts to combine the new religion with the old. Probably this tendency was already anticipated by the statutes of Tomás López little more than a decade after the country was pacified. In one of these we find the Indians forbidden to found or conduct schools for the teaching of Christian doctrine except by the express authority of the prelate of the province.[3]

We do not know just when the Indians of Yucatan began to combine some form of Christian worship with their old idolatrous practises, but we learn of an Indian of rank at Zotuta by the name of Don Andres Cocom who, about the year 1585, was "convicted, not only of idolatry, but also as a perverse dog-

[1] "It is said that the first founders of Chichen Itzá were not idolaters until Kukulcan, a Mexican captain, entered these provinces. He it was who taught them idolatry" (Relaciones de Yucatan, I, p. 270). Kukulcan is the Maya equivalent of the Nahuatl name, Quetzalcoatl. Although we may doubt the statement that the original inhabitants did not worship idols, there is considerable evidence that a new religion was introduced.

[2] *Cf.* p. 98.

[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 5, chap. 17.

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matizer and the inventor of new abominations among the Indians."[1] Condemned to exile and imprisonment, he escaped and attempted to instigate a native rebellion before he was finally captured and punished.

In 1597 Andres Chi, also of Zotuta, "incited the Indians of that territory to go into the forests to practise idolatry. Falsely pretending and saying that he was another Moses[2] he deceived the people of his town, persuading them that what he did was revealed to him by the Holy Spirit. For this purpose he hid a boy in his house to speak to him at night and say what he wished him to. When the Indians heard this, as they were ignorant of the fraud, they blindly allowed themselves to be deceived."[3] Chi was convicted and condemned to death for this offense.

A similar case occurred in 1610. "There were two Indians, one named Alonso Chablé and the other Francisco Canul. The former pretended to be the Pope and supreme pontiff and the latter, a bishop, and they announced themselves to be such among the Indians. Also they caused themselves to be venerated, deceiving the wretched Catholic Indians with their infernal doctrine. They said mass at night dressed in the sacred vestments of the church which no doubt the sacristans had given them. They profaned the holy chalices and consecrated oils, baptized boys, confessed adults and gave them communion, while they worshipped the idols which they placed on the altar. They ordained priests for service, anointing their hands with the oil and the holy chrism, and when they ordained them they put on a miter and took a crozier in their hands. They commanded the Indians to give them offerings and openly taught other deadly heresies."[4]

In addition to all this they were said to have practised witchcraft.

In the year 1636 there was a general uprising of the Indians in the district of Bacalar in southeastern Yucatan. They relapsed into idolatry, and many of them fled to Tipu,[5] the southernmost of the towns which had been christianized up to this time. This place continued to be the center of the insurrection, and finally in 1641 Fr. Bartolomé Fuensalida[6] and Fr. Juan de Estrada determined to go there and try to conciliate the inhabitants. The expedition was a failure and they did not quite reach Tipu. At the neighboring village of Hubelná the Indian companions of the priests witnessed a religious ceremony performed by the rebels in which "one of those apostates was the idolatrous priest of the others. He said mass to them, and with the mass his

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Book 7, chap. 11.
[2] We have already noted that Moses was identified with the Yellow Pauahtun on page 113.
[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 7, chap. 15.
[4] Cogolludo 1868, Book 9, chap. 1.
[5] Tipu is believed to have been located on Booths River in what is now British Honduras. See Means 1917, map.
[6] This was the same Fr. Fuensalida who went to Tayasal in 1618 to attempt to convert the Itzá. Means 1917, pp. 59-74.

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food was tortillas and his drink, maize gruel. The other idolatrous Indians said to them: 'This is indeed a mass which your companion (one of the two Spanish priests) does not say.' "[1] It was years before these Indians were again reconciled with the Church, and during this period the people of the district doubtless had an excellent opportunity to develop a form of Christianity suited to their own psychology.

We find the tendencies already outlined cropping out in every part of the Maya-speaking area where the Spanish authorities and missionaries were not in a position to exercise strict control over the natives. In 1646 two monks were sent from Yucatan to the Usumacinta region to take charge of the spiritual welfare of some Maya-speaking Indians at a town called Nohaa situated on the shore of a large lake in the forests beyond Tenosique. A church had been built and the people somewhat perfunctorily converted by a Dominican friar who had gone away. The founder of the town, Don Diego de Vera Ordoñez, had left the place in charge of a mestizo captain named Juan de Bilbao. When they arrived, the friars found that this man was not only exploiting the Indians, but also that he had a wooden idol which he, his native wife and the villagers worshipped together. "They became drunk in front of it with a drink called balché. Also they said that on Ash Wednesday he put on a stole, blessed it and gave it to the Indians. On Palm Sunday he blessed palms and distributed them. During Holy Week he made a *monumento*[2] and placed on it the idol of his Indian woman; and on Holy Saturday he blessed the baptismal font. All these things and others which are unspeakable were done by this insolent fellow, who possessed an entire set of sacred vestments and a chalice. He only refrained from saying mass."[3]

The incidents related here are sufficient to account for the mixture of Christianity and paganism which we find in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. This tendency has continued to be effective down to the present time and its modern manifestations would fill an entire volume. Not only have the names of saints replaced in many cases those of the Maya deities in the old native ceremonies which survive, but in parts of Yucatan, particularly in the Territory of Quintana Roo, many nominal Catholics are at heart polytheists. "The Christian god is the Zeus of the Pantheon. The Virgin Mary, the Saints of the Catholic Church, and such of the old gods as have survived, form a less powerful, but more friendly group of divinities."[4] The present psychology of the Maya Indian is the result of centuries of conflict between European and native religious concepts. During this time each reacted upon the other unceasingly, and the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is perhaps one of the most illuminating documents we have to illustrate the history of the process.

[1] Cogolludo 1868, Book 11, chap. 14.
[2] An altar raised in churches on Holy Thursday to resemble a sepulcher.
[3] Cogolludo 1868, Book 12, chap. 5.
[4] J. E. Thompson 1930, p. 106. See also Tozzer 1907 and Gann 1918.

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APPENDIX H

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Katun	8	Ahau	A. D. 433	(Chichen Itzá and Ziancan discovered.)
"	6	"	452	Chichen Itzá discovered.
"	4	"	472	(Bakhalal occupied.)[1]
"	2	"	492	
"	13	"	511	The "mat" of the katun is counted in its order.
"	11	"	531	(Chichen Itzá occupied.)
"	9	"	551	
"	7	"	571	
"	5	"	590	
"	3	"	610	
"	1	"	630	
"	12	"	649	
"	10	"	669	
"	8	"	689	Chichen Itzá abandoned. Chakanputun settled.
"	6	"	709	
"	4	"	728	The land of Chakanputun is seized.
"	2	"	748	
"	13	"	768	
"	11	"	787	
"	9	"	807	
"	7	"	827	
"	5	"	847	
"	3	"	866	
"	1	"	886	
"	12	"	906	
"	10	"	925	
"	8	"	945	Chakanputun abandoned.
"	6	"	965	
"	4	"	985	Occupation of Chichen Itzá by Kukulcan and the Itzá.
"	2	"	1004	(The Xiu found Uxmal. League of Mayapan begins.)
"	13	"	1024	
"	11	"	1044	
"	9	"	1063	
"	7	"	1083	
"	5	"	1103	
"	3	"	1123	
"	1	"	1142	
"	12	"	1162	
"	10	"	1182	
"	8	"	1201	Conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel.
"	6	"	1221	
"	4	"	1241	Seizure of Mayapan by the Itzá.
"	2	"	1261	
"	13	"	1280	
"	11	"	1300	
"	9	"	1320	
"	7	"	1339	
"	5	"	1359	
"	3	"	1379	
"	1	"	1398	
"	12	"	1418	
"	10	"	1438	
"	8	"	1458	Destruction of Mayapan.
"	6	"	1477	

[1] Events not mentioned in the Chumayel are enclosed in parentheses.

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"	4	"	1497	The "Maya pestilence," called blood-vomit.
"	2	"	1517	The small-pox. (The Spaniards first seen.)
"	13	"	1536	Arrival of Montejo. Death of the "rain-bringer" (Napot) Xiu.
"	11	"	1556	The Spanish Conquest. Merida founded. Tribute exacted. Missionaries arrive.
"	9	"	1576	Bishop Toral arrives. General conversion of the natives to Christianity.
"	7	"	1596	Bishop Landa dies.
"	5	"	1615	
"	3	"	1635	

In the above table it is the end of the katun that is dated, as the katun is named for the day on which it ends. The Christian dates are taken from a similar table compiled by Dr. Morley[1] and are in accordance with the well-known Morley-Spinden correlation of Maya and Christian chronology. According to the Goodman-Martínez-Thompson correlation, each of the Christian dates given above should be three years later.

Although there is only a variation of about three years between the two correlations so far as the katun count of the Books of Chilam Balam is concerned, they differ by about 259 years in their interpretations of the Initial Series dates of the monuments in terms of European chronology. According to the former correlation, the end of the last Katun 13 Ahau before the Spanish Conquest fell on 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Kankin, in the year 1536.[2] The latter correlation, however, places the end of the same Katun 13 Ahau on 11. 16. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Xul, in the year 1539.[3]

The only two possible references to the Long Count known to the writer are those which we have seen on pages 79 and 83 of the present work, and these unfortunately are somewhat vague. In the former it is stated that the mounds in Yucatan were constructed during a period of "three score and fifteen katuns." Evidently referring to the Maya, the latter passage tells us: "Four four-hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives." In the Books of Chilam Balam we find occasional references to the *haab*, or 365 day year, when the *tun* of 360 days is plainly meant. Consequently in terms of the Long Count we have on page 79 a mention of a period which would be recorded on the monuments as 3. 15. 0. 0. 0.; and on page 83 the period referred to would be 4. 15. 0. 0. 0. These two statements are indefinite in several important respects. No date in the Long Count is given as a starting point. No current Maya day, month, year or katun is given as the end of either of these periods. Although the implication is that Maya civilization came to an end at the close of these periods, native writers differ somewhat

[1] Morley 1920, p. 503.
[2] Spinden.
[3] Martínez H. 1926, p. 11. Goodman fixes the date on October 30, 1539; Thompson (1927, p. 21) places it on November 13, 1539. For other correlations see Morley 1920, pp. 524-535.

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as to just when the end came. Some of them considered that it ended early in Katun 13 Ahau, as predicted by the prophet Chilam Balam, while many others very logically put the end either at the close of Katun 13 Ahau or at the foundation of Merida in 1542. If we make the assumption that these three score katuns and "four four-hundreds of years" refer to the even baktuns of the Long Count and then add fifteen katuns, it is of interest to note that the date 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. falls on a day 2 Ahau, which is also the name of the last day of the katun immediately preceding the Spanish invasion of Yucatan.

According to the 1539 correlation Katun 2 Ahau, the last katun prior to the Spanish invasion, ended in 1519, and its position in the Long Count was 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. 2 Ahau 8 Zac. Subtracting 3. 15. 0. 0. 0. from this we reach the date 8. 0. 0. 0. 0., or very near the time when the Maya must have begun to record their chronology on imperishable media. The oldest contemporaneous date is 8. 6. 4. 2. 17. which is recorded on the Tuxtla Statuette. If we subtract from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. the other period mentioned in the Chumayel, 4. 15. 0. 0. 0., the count will be carried back to 7. 0. 0. 0. 0. which is believed to be the general period when Maya Chronology was first developed.[1] In other words, either of the totals given in the Chumayel Manuscript, counted backward from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0., will reach an Initial Series value which we now believe is about the time that Maya chronology, in the first case, was actually inaugurated and, in the other case, was first committed to stone. No such interesting conditions will arise, however, if the 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. correlation is used. To this extent the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel tends to support the former correlation against the latter. We also have here an indication that the Maya calendar continued unbroken, except for the shift of a single day in the Year Bearer, from the time of the inscriptions down to that of the Spanish occupation of Yucatan.[2]

[1] Spinden 1924, p. 156.

[2] In this summary the writer has quoted freely from a letter of Dr. S. G. Morley, who was kind enough to point out the significance of the results to be obtained by such a subtraction as suggested above.

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(See Sanchez de Aguilar, Pedro)

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1882 Maya chronicles. In Library of Aboriginal American Literature, No. 1. Philadelphia.
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Ca. 1910 Mapa de la peninsula de Yucatán (México) comprendiendo los estados de Yucatán y Campeche y el territorio de Quintana Roo.

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1928 Calendario de Espinosa para el año bisiesto 1928. Merida.

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[1] Gates 1931, 1932a and 1932b were received by the writer after the present work had gone to press.

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MS. Unpublished Spanish-Maya dictionary in John Carter Brown Library, Providence. This has been called the Spanish-Maya portion of the Diccionario de Motul, but internal evidence on fol. 198 r. indicates that it was written at the town of Calkini in western Yucatan, where there was a Franciscan monastery, founded in 1561. The present writer suggests that this book should be named Diccionario de Calkini. (Gates reproduction.)

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MS. Gates reproduction.

Oxkutzcab, Book of Chilam Balam of
MS. (Known only from extracts copied by J. Pio Perez in Perez, Codex.

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Peresianus, Codex (cont.)
1887 Manuscrit hiératique des anciens Indiens de l'Amérique Centrale conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, avec un introduction par Léon de Rosny. (Publié en couleurs. Ed. 2.) Paris.
1888 Same as 1887, but not in colors.
1909 Redrawn and slightly restored, and with the coloring as it originally stood, so far as possible, given on the basis of a new and minute examination of the codex itself. Drawn and edited by William Gates. Point Loma.

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1898 Coordinación alfabética de las voces del idioma Maya que se hallan en el arte y obra del Padre Pedro Beltran de Santa Rosa, con las equivalencias castellanas que en las mismas se hallan. Merida. (This contains the Ticul dictionary.)

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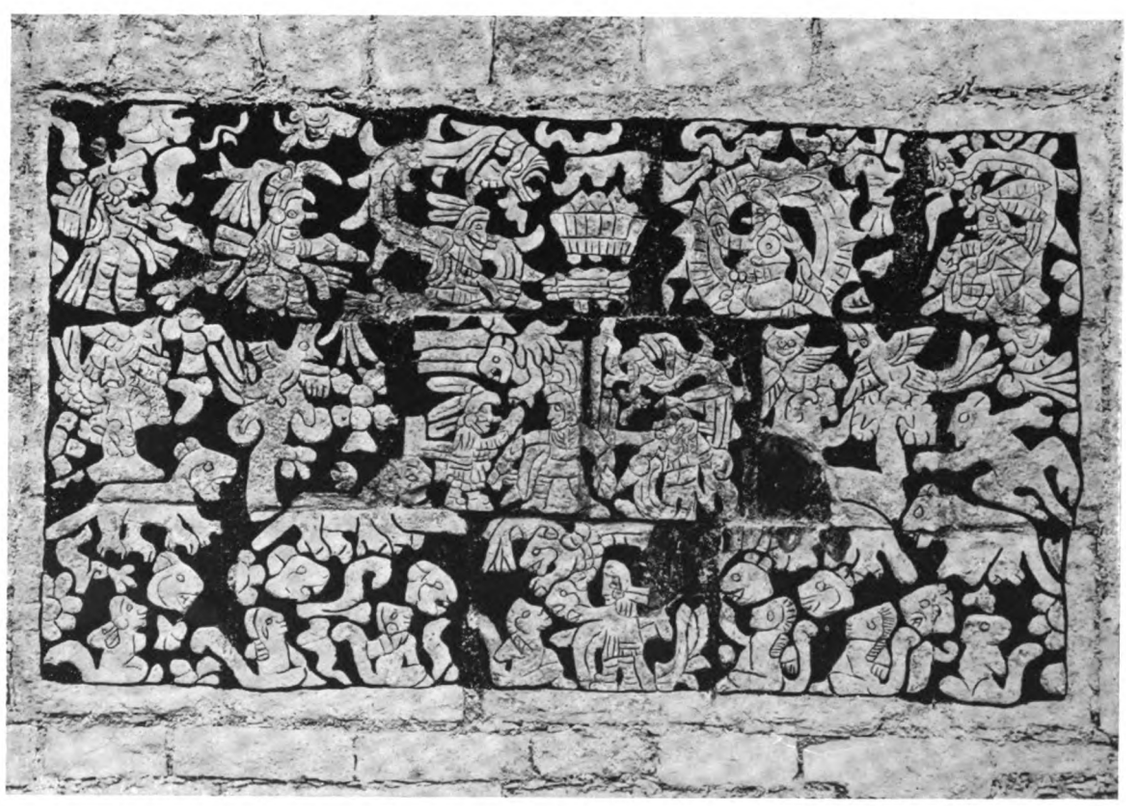

c

a and *b*, Puma and squirrel from the frieze of the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá. *c*, The four trees and birds set at the cardinal points to commemorate the previous destruction of the world. Sculptured Panel of the Temple of the Wall Panels at Chichen Itzá. (After Ruppert)

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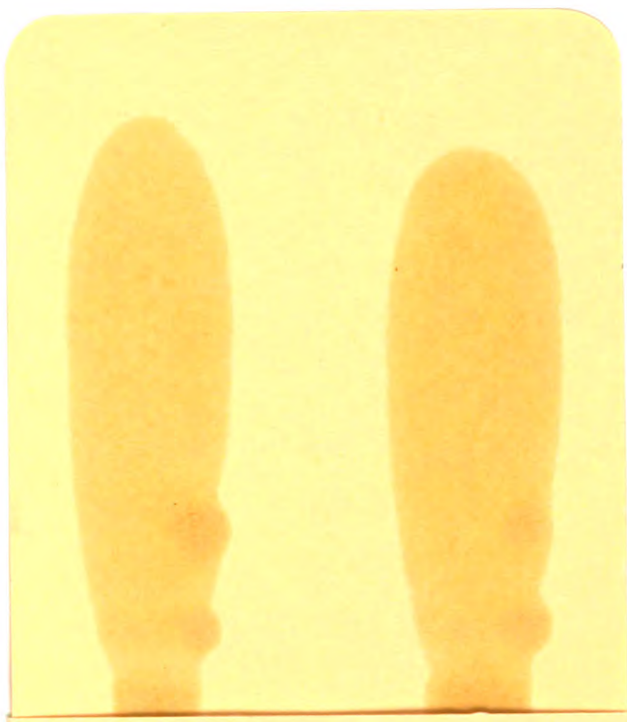

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Popol Vuh

THE DEFINITIVE EDITION OF THE MAYAN BOOK OF THE DAWN OF LIFE AND THE GLORIES OF GODS AND KINGS

REVISED AND EXPANDED

"*POPOL VUH* IS ONE OF THE GREAT BOOKS ABOUT THE CREATION OF THE WORLD. IT IS THE MAYAN BIBLE." —*CARLOS FUENTES*

TRANSLATED BY DENNIS TEDLOCK

P814
1996

POPOL

The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life

REVISED EDITION

Translated by

DENNIS TEDLOCK

with commentary based on the
ancient knowledge of the modern Quiché Maya

VUH

A TOUCHSTONE BOOK

Published by Simon & Schuster

New York London Toronto Sydney

Are k'u wa' nu tak'alib'al, nu presenta
chikiwach ri nantat, comon chuchkajawib'
much'ulik ulew, much'ulik poqlaj, much'ulik baq.

TOUCHSTONE
Rockefeller Center
1230 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

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PREFACE

THE POPOL VUH TELLS THE STORY of the emergence of light in the darkness, from primordial glimmers to brilliant dawns, and from rainstorms as black as night to days so clear the very ends of the earth can be seen. A revised edition of this translation of the Popol Vuh has become necessary because the world of Mayan studies is itself a constantly brightening one. Advances in the understanding of Mayan languages, literature, art, history, politics, and astronomy have required changes in the introduction, notes, commentaries, glossary, and illustrations. There are also changes in the translation itself, some of them subtle refinements and others that readers of the previous edition may find surprising. And finally, an index has been added.

Newly available sources on Mayan languages have made it possible to give meaning to proper names that were left untranslated before. For example, Xbaquiyalo, the wife of Seven Macaw, now becomes Egret Woman. The temptresses Xtah and Xpuch are now Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, and they stand revealed as the predecessors of a dangerous phantom known all the way from Guatemala to northern New Mexico by her Spanish name, La Llorona. And Tecum, Keeper of the Mat in the ninth generation of Quiché lords, becomes Black Butterfly.

In other cases new sources have made it possible to correct errors of translation that were caused by imprecise spellings or slips of the pen in the Popol Vuh manuscript, which often leave words and phrases open to multiple interpretations. What was once "the emergence of all the sky-earth" now becomes "the lighting of all the sky-earth," a reference to the astronomical aspect of the story. The name of the first human woman, given as Celebrated Seahouse in the previous edition, now changes to Red Sea Turtle. The term for the rubber used by the hero twins to heal a falcon's eye is no longer "sorrel gum" but rather "blood of sacrifice." And the image of the god Hacauitz is no longer located "above a great red river" but rather "at the top of a great pyramid."

Other refinements have resulted from discussions with Quiché linguist and literary scholar Enrique Sam Colop, who recently completed his

dissertation on Mayan poetics. For example, he has conclusively shown that various translators (including myself) have misread the phrase *saq petenaq ch'aqa palo,* which is one of several titles of the Popol Vuh. My previous version was "The Light That Came from Across the Sea," but the actual meaning of *ch'aqa,* in the present context, calls for the rendition given in the present edition, which is "The Light That Came from *Beside* the Sea." Corrected in this way, the phrase becomes one of a number of clues that converge to indicate that the east coast of Yucatán was the region where Quiché ancestors acquired the hieroglyphic Popol Vuh, or some part of it, on a pilgrimage.

Advances in the understanding of ancient Mayan art have made it clearer than ever that many of the characters and events in the Popol Vuh have a very deep past and were well known among the lowland Maya. This has made it possible to add more than forty new illustrations to the new edition, using images from carved reliefs in stucco and stone, from engraved bones and shells, and from painted vases and books. Now we can see Blood Gatherer sending away his pregnant daughter; we can see Hunahpu and Xbalanque talking things over, or Hunahpu playing ball with a lord of Xibalba, or a lord of Xibalba playing ball with the head of Hunahpu, or Xbalanque playing the role of the moon.

The continuing decipherment of Mayan hieroglyphic texts is another source of new light for the Popol Vuh, including the astronomical aspects of the story it tells. At times the astronomy is quite explicit, but the narrators often content themselves with allusions whose meaning is left to knowledgeable readers. Such is the case with their account of the cataclysm that ended the world preceding this one, where they mention that hearthstones came shooting out of a kitchen fireplace. Mayan fireplaces have three hearthstones arranged in a triangle, and we know that the contemporary Quiché have a hearthstone constellation consisting of a triangle of three stars in Orion. The authors of the Popol Vuh might well be telling us the origin story of this constellation, but they never come right out and say so. This is where their Mayan predecessors come to the rescue, writers who worked at Palenque and Quiriguá many centuries before them. Those writers clearly state that at the end of the world before this one, three hearthstones marked out a new place for themselves in the sky.

Some of the earthly places whose locations remained uncertain in the previous edition have emerged from the mists to take their places on the map. There is growing evidence that for at least a part of Quiché history, the great eastern city that figures in Part Four of the Popol Vuh was the place whose ruins are known today as Copán, located straight east of the

Quiché capital and just across the border in Honduras. Another place that is no longer misty is the mountain named *Pan Paxil* or "Split Place" (previously translated "Broken Place"), which turns out to be well known to the present-day Mam Maya under the name *Paxal.* It is located in the far western highlands of Guatemala, near the Mexican border and just south of the Pan-American Highway. The Mam, like the writers of the Popol Vuh, say that corn originated from the split in that mountain.

A reexamination of the ways in which the European invaders of Mesoamerica conducted themselves has led to a reinterpretation of the Popol Vuh passage that describes the hanging of the Quiché kings. It is now evident that this was not hanging by the neck but rather hanging by the wrists, the method of torture favored by Europeans at the time. Pedro de Alvarado, acting in accordance with the European belief that people who are tortured will make truthful statements, forced Three Deer and Nine Dog to confess that they had plotted against him and then used their confession as a justification for burning them at the stake. What most struck the authors of the Popol Vuh was not the execution but the means of interrogation. Accordingly, the translation no longer states that the kings "were hanged by the Castilian people," which appears to refer to execution, but rather that they "were tortured by the Castilian people."

In 1988, Mayan scholars and educators in Guatemala established the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala. The long-range goals of the members of the Academia include the introduction of the reading and writing of Mayan languages in the public schools of Guatemala. Their first practical task was to institute reforms in the alphabetic writing of Mayan languages; for the first time ever, all the orthographic decisions were made by native speakers of the languages in question. In the present edition of this book I retain old spellings only for proper names appearing in the Popol Vuh manuscript and other early documents, or for direct citations of such sources. Otherwise I have been guided by the decisions of the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas.

The opportunities for the field work, library research, and writing that went into the original edition of this book and the present revision came during an era that may yet survive all the recent efforts to shut it down. A Fellowship for Independent Study and Research from the National Endowment for the Humanities, a grant from the Translations Program at the National Endowment for the Humanities, and a sabbatical leave from Boston University made the first edition possible. The time for work on this new one was provided by a Fellowship in Pre-Columbian Studies at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., and by a sabbatical leave from the State University of New York at Buffalo. May we all see a

time when the understanding of other languages, literatures, and cultures is more highly valued than ever.

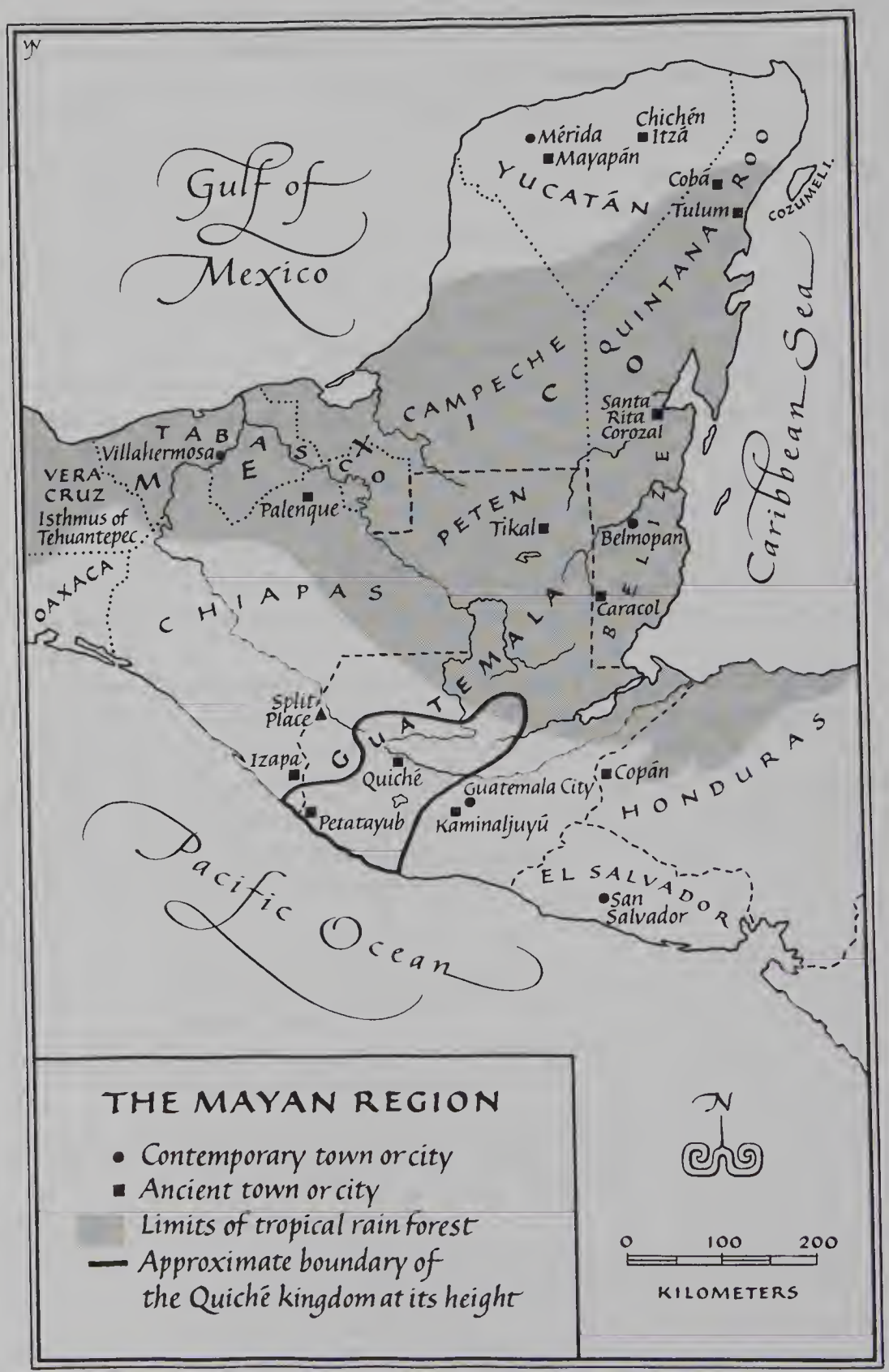
My greatest debt in preparing this new edition of the Popol Vuh is to Barbara Tedlock, as scholar, artist, colleague, soul mate, and wife of many more years than most couples we know. All this while she has been writing her own accounts of Mayan peoples and places and times. We have made return visits to the Quiché, but we have also ventured onto new ground with the Achí of Rabinal, the Kekchí in the Alta Verapaz and Belize, and the Mopán of San Antonio Toledo in Belize.

I remain grateful to Andrés Xiloj Peruch of Momostenango, who not only traveled with me through the Quiché text of the Popol Vuh but taught Barbara Tedlock and myself how to read dreams, omens, and the rhythms of the Mayan calendar. Today he continues as the mother-father or spiritual head of his lineage, and recently he accepted a new burden, becoming the mother-father for all the people of his district of Momostenango. As a diviner he is, by profession, an interpreter of difficult texts. From the moment he first saw the Quiché text of the Popol Vuh, he was intrigued by its patterns of darkness and light. His insights shine throughout the old edition and they continue to shine in this new one.

From the beginning of our work on the Popol Vuh, Xiloj felt certain that if one only knew how to read it perfectly, borrowing the knowledge of the lords of the days, the moist breezes, and the distant lightning, it should reveal everything under the sky and on the earth, all the way out to the four corners. As a help to my own reading and pondering of the book, he suggested an addition to the prayer that daykeepers recite when they go to public shrines. It goes like this:

> Make my guilt vanish,
> Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth;
> do me a favor,
> give me strength, give me courage
> in my heart, in my head,
> since you are my mountain and my plain;
> may there be no falsehood and no stain,
> and may this reading of the Popol Vuh
> come out clear as dawn,
> and may the sifting of ancient times
> be complete in my heart, in my head;
> and make my guilt vanish,
> my grandmothers, grandfathers,

and however many souls of the dead there may be,
you who speak with the Heart of Sky and Earth,
may all of you together give strength
to the reading I have undertaken.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Chichén Itzá
Mayapán
Cobá
Tulum
COZUMEL I.
YUCATÁN
QUINTANA ROO
Caribbean Sea
CAMPECHE
Santa Rita Corozal
TABASCO
Villahermosa
VERACRUZ
Isthmus of Tehuantepec
Palenque
PETEN
Tikal
Belmopan
BELIZE
OAXACA
CHIAPAS
Caracol
GUATEMALA
Split Place
Izapa
Quiché
Guatemala City
Copán
HONDURAS
Petatayub
Kaminaljuyú
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
Pacific Ocean
THE MAYAN REGION
Contemporary town or city
Ancient town or city
Limits of tropical rain forest
Approximate boundary of the Quiché kingdom at its height
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KILOMETERS

INTRODUCTION

THE FIRST FOUR HUMANS, the first four earthly beings who were truly articulate when they moved their feet and hands, their faces and mouths, and who could speak the very language of the gods, could also see everything under the sky and on the earth. All they had to do was look around from the spot where they were, all the way to the limits of space and the limits of time. But then the gods, who had not intended to make and model beings with the potential of becoming their own equals, limited human sight to what was obvious and nearby. Nevertheless, the lords who once ruled a kingdom from a place called Quiché, in the highlands of Guatemala, once had in their possession the means for overcoming this nearsightedness, an *ilb'al,* a "seeing instrument" or a "place to see"; with this they could know distant or future events. The instrument was not a telescope, not a crystal for gazing, but a book.

The lords of Quiché consulted their book when they sat in council, and their name for it was Popol Vuh or "Council Book." Because they obtained the book (or some section of it) on a pilgrimage that took them down from the highlands to the Atlantic shore, they called it "The Light That Came from Beside the Sea." Because the book told of events that happened before the first true dawn, and of a time when their ancestors hid themselves and the stones that contained the spirit familiars of their gods in forests, they also called it "Our Place in the Shadows." And because it told of the rise of the morning star and the sun and moon, and foretold the rise and radiant splendor of the Quiché lords, they called it "The Dawn of Life."

Those who wrote the version of the Popol Vuh we know today do not give us their personal names, but rather call themselves "we" in its opening pages and "we who are the Quiché people" later on. In contemporary usage "the Quiché people" are an ethnic group in Guatemala, consisting of all those who speak the particular Mayan language that itself has come to be called Quiché; they presently number close to a million and occupy most of the former territory of the kingdom whose development is described in the Popol Vuh. To the west and northwest of them

are other Mayan peoples, speaking other Mayan languages, who extend across the Mexican border into the highlands of Chiapas and down into the Gulf coastal plain of Tabasco. To the east and northeast still other Mayans extend just across the borders of El Salvador and Honduras, down into the lowlands of Belize, and across the peninsula of Yucatán. These are the peoples, with a total population of more than six million today, whose ancestors developed what has become known to the outside world as Mayan civilization.

The roots of Mayan civilization may lie in the prior civilization of the Olmecs, which was flowering on the Gulf coastal plain of Veracruz and Tabasco by about 1200 B.C. A more immediate antecedent is the Izapan culture, which ran along the western and southern edges of the Mayan world and reached inside that world at the highland site of Kaminaljuyú, on the west side of what is now Guatemala City. Beginning in the first century B.C., Izapan stone monuments display an iconography and writing system similar to the ones that emerge later in the sites archaeologists designate as properly Mayan. This emergence took place during the period they call the Early Classic (A.D. 300–600), and it was centered in the lowland rain forest that separates the mountain pine forest of Chiapas and Guatemala from the low and thorny scrub forest of northern Yucatán. Swamps were drained and trees were cleared to make way for intensive cultivation. Hieroglyphic texts in great quantity were sculpted in stone and stucco, painted on pottery and plaster, and inked on long strips of paper that were folded like screens to make books.

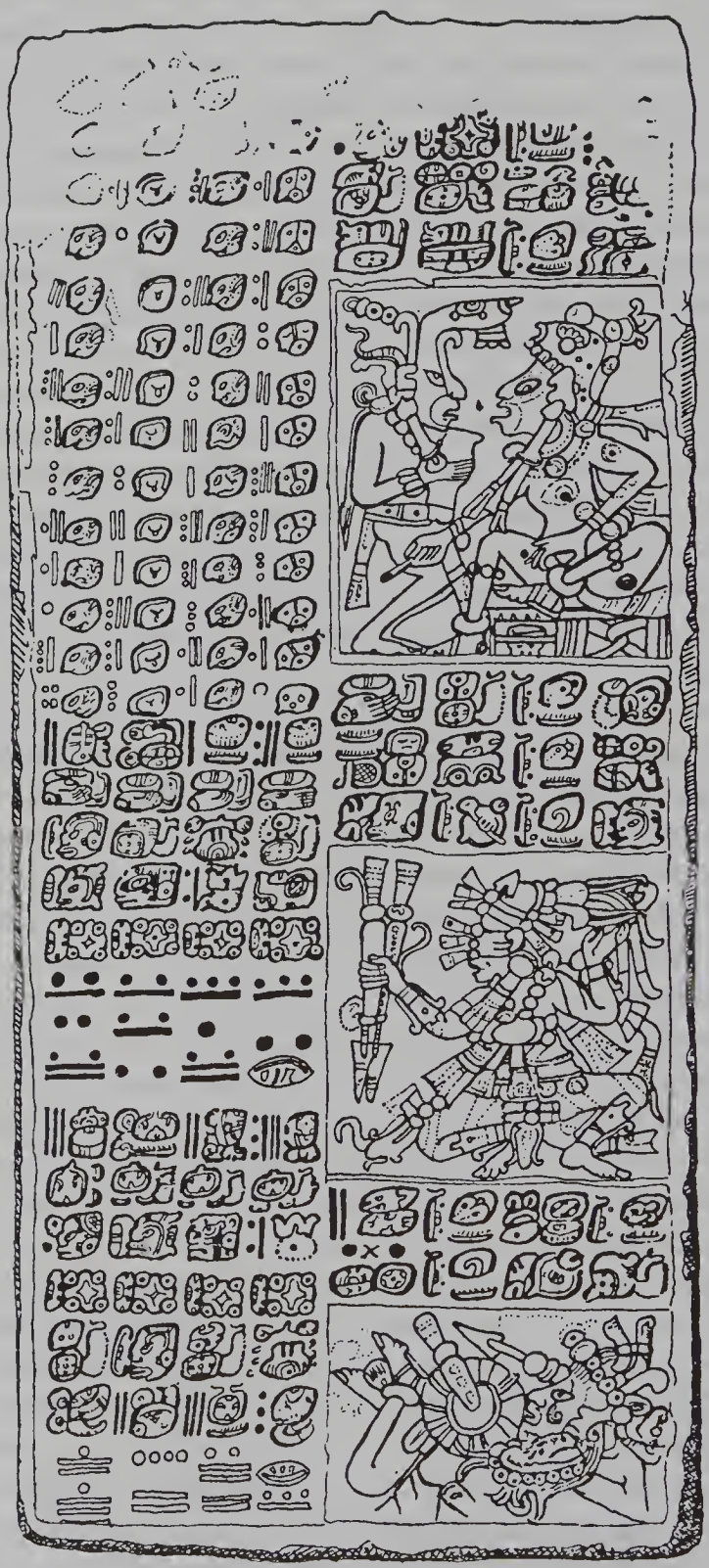
During the Early Classic period lords from Teotihuacan, the great city of the central Mexican highlands, took control of Kaminaljuyú and established political and trade relationships with such lowland Mayan cities as Tikal. The Late Classic period (A.D. 600–900) opened with the collapse of Teotihuacan and its outpost at Kaminaljuyú, and it saw the establishment of a Mayan presence at Xochicalco and Cacaxtla in central Mexico. In the lowland rain forest, such Mayan cities as Palenque, Tikal, and Caracol rose to their greatest glory, and Chichén Itzá was founded in the north. The southernmost city was Copán, located in the foothills of the highlands rather than in the rain forest. Its rise to prominence coincided with the decline of Kaminaljuyú, and it has recently been revealed that its rulers claimed descent from the royal line of Teotihuacan.

As the Late Classic period drew to a close, the Mayan communities that had carved out a place for themselves in the rain forest, along with Copán, were caught in a deepening vortex of overpopulation, environ-

mental degradation, malnutrition, and warfare. At the same time, they were being bypassed by a developing sea-trade network that reached all the way around Yucatán from Tabasco to Honduras. By A.D. 900, the political and economic strength of the larger city-states had broken under the strain. From that time until the European invasion, the remaining inhabitants of the rain forest lived in smaller towns along the shores of lakes, rivers, and estuaries. The greater part of the Maya population was now divided between two areas that had been on the periphery during Classic times, one in northern Yucatán and the other in the southern highlands. The Late Postclassic (from A.D. 1200 to the European invasion) saw the rise of the kingdom of Mayapán in the north and that of Quiché in the south, both of them tribute-collecting conquest states that followed Chichén Itzá in giving mythic prominence to a divine king named Plumed Serpent. At the core of each of these states was an alliance of noble lineages that was largely Mayan but included Mexicans whose native language was Nahua. The heads of these lineages, whatever their places of origin, resided in the capital, surrounded by fortifications.

Carved inscriptions were no longer a major feature of Mayan monuments and buildings during the Postclassic period, but writing and painting flourished on plastered walls and the pages of books. This is especially evident for sites located on or near the east coast of Yucatán, from the island of Cozumel and the mainland sites of Cobá, Tancah, and Tulum in the north down to Santa Rita Corozal in Belize. The illustrations in three of the surviving Mayan books, the ones now known as the Madrid, Paris, and Dresden codices, have strong ties in both style and content to the wall art of this region. Cortés and his men saw many books when they landed on Cozumel, and there is good evidence that the loot they took away with them included the Dresden Codex. The writing in Postclassic books, as compared with Classic writing, shows an increased reliance on phonetic signs, including the use of distinctly Mayan signs to spell out words borrowed from Nahua.

The European invasion of the Mayan world began during the sixteenth century, and so did a long history of Mayan resistance that continues right down to the broadcast news of our own day. Backed by means of persuasion that included gunpowder, instruments of torture, and the threat of eternal damnation, the invaders established a monopoly on virtually all major forms of visible public expression, whether in drama, architecture, sculpture, painting, or writing. In the highlands, when they realized that textile designs carried complex messages, they even at-



DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

tempted to ban the wearing of Mayan styles of clothing. Hundreds of hieroglyphic books were burned by missionaries, but they were still in use as late as the end of the seventeenth century in Yucatán and the beginning of the eighteenth in highland Guatemala. Only four books are known to have survived to the present day, including the three that found their way to Madrid, Paris, and Dresden long ago. A fourth was recovered in 1966 from looters who had found it in a dry cave in Chiapas.

But the survival of ancient Mayan literature was not dependent on the survival of its outward forms. Just as Mayan peoples learned to use the symbolism of Christian saints as masks for ancient gods, so they learned to use the Roman alphabet as a mask for ancient texts. There was no little justice in the fact that it was the missionaries themselves, the burners of the ancient books, who first introduced Mayans to alphabetic writing. What they wanted their pupils to write was translations of Christian prayers, sermons, and catechisms into Mayan languages, but very little time passed before some Mayans found political and religious applications for alphabetic writing that suited their own purposes. These independent writers have left a literary legacy that is both more extensive than the surviving hieroglyphic corpus and more open to understanding. Their most notable works, created as alphabetic substitutes for hieroglyphic books, are the Chilam Balam or "Jaguar Translator" books of Yucatán and the Popol Vuh of Guatemala.

The authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh were members of the three lordly lineages that had once ruled the Quiché kingdom: the Cauecs, the Greathouses, and the Lord Quichés. They worked in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the scene of their writing was the town of Quiché, northwest of what is now Guatemala City. The east side of this town, on flat land, was new in their day, with low buildings in files on a grid of streets and a tall church on a central plaza. The west side, already in

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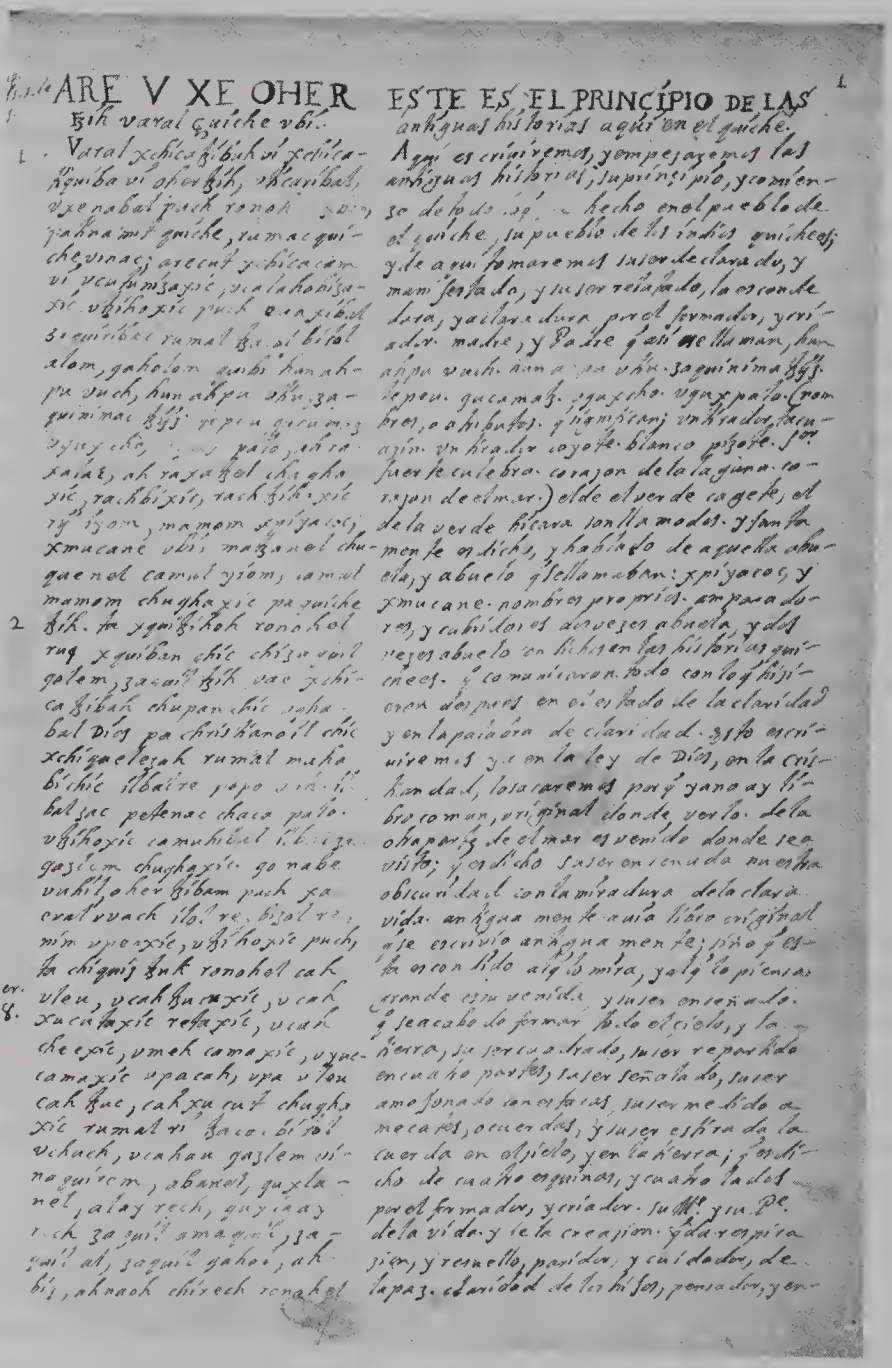
THE PAGES OF BOOKS: *This is a page from the Maya hieroglyphic book known as the Dresden Codex, dating from the fifteenth century. The left-hand column describes the movements of Venus during one of five different types of cycles reckoned for that planet. The right-hand column describes the auguries for the cycle and gives both pictures and names for the attendant deities. In the top picture the seated figure is Hunahpu, called Hun Ahaw in Yucatán. In the middle picture is the god who currently accounts for Venus itself, holding a dart thrower in his left hand and darts in his right. In the bottom picture is his victim, whose shield has been pierced by a dart.*



THE ONLY SURVIVING COPY: *The first page of the alphabetic version of the Popol Vuh, as copied by Francisco Ximénez in Chichicastenango; the Quiché text is on the left and his Spanish translation is on the right.*

PHOTO COURTESY NEWBERRY LIBRARY

ruins, was on fortified promontories above deep canyons, with pyramids and palaces clustered around multiple plazas and courtyards. The buildings of the east side displayed broad expanses of blank stone and plaster, but the ruined walls of the west side bore tantalizing traces of multicolored murals. What concerned the authors of the new version of the Popol Vuh was to preserve the story that lay behind the ruins.

During the early colonial period the town of Quiché was eclipsed, in both size and prosperity, by the neighboring town of *Chuwi La'* or "Nettles Heights," otherwise known as Chichicastenango. The residents of this rising town included members of the Cauec and Lord Quiché lineages, and at some point a copy of the alphabetic Popol Vuh found its way there. Between 1701 and 1703, a friar named Francisco Ximénez happened to get a look at this manuscript while he was serving as the parish priest. He made the only surviving copy of the Quiché text of the Popol Vuh and added a Spanish translation (see the illustration on the opposite page). His work remained in the possession of the Dominican order until after Guatemalan independence, but when liberal reforms forced the closing of all monasteries in 1830, it was acquired by the library of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City. Carl Scherzer, an Austrian physician, happened to see it there in 1854, and Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, a French priest, had the same good fortune a few months later. In 1857 Scherzer published Ximénez' Spanish translation under the patronage of the Hapsburgs in Vienna, members of the same royal lineage that had ruled Spain at the time of the conquest of the Quiché kingdom, and in 1861 Brasseur published the Quiché text and a French translation in Paris. The manuscript itself, which Brasseur spirited out of Guatemala, eventually found its way back across the Atlantic from Paris, coming to rest in the Newberry Library in 1911. The town graced by this library, with its magnificent collection of Native American texts, is not in Mesoamerica, but it does have an Indian name: Chicago, meaning "Place of Wild Onions."

The manuscript Ximénez copied in the place called "Nettles Heights" may have included a few illustrations and even an occasional hieroglyph, but his version contains nothing but solid columns of alphabetic prose. Mayan authors in general made only sparing use of graphic elements in their alphabetic works, but nearly every page of the ancient books combined writing (including signs meant to be read phonetically) and pictures. In Mayan languages the terms for writing and painting were and are the same, the same artisans practiced both skills, and the patron deities of both skills were twin monkey gods bearing two different names for the same day, translatable as One Monkey and One Artisan. In the

books made under the patronage of these twin gods there is a dialectical relationship between the writing and the pictures: the writing not only records words but sometimes offers pictorial clues to its meaning. As for the pictures, they not only depict what they mean but have elements that can be read as words.

At times the writers of the alphabetic Popol Vuh seem to be describing pictures, especially when they begin new episodes in narratives. In passages like the following, the use of sentences beginning with phrases like "this is" and the use of verbs in the Quiché equivalent of the present tense cause the reader to linger, for a moment, over a lasting image:

> This is the great tree of Seven Macaw, a nance, and this is the food of Seven Macaw. In order to eat the fruit of the nance he goes up the tree every day. Since Hunahpu and Xbalanque have seen where he feeds, they are now hiding beneath the tree of Seven Macaw, they are keeping quiet here, the two boys are in the leaves of the tree.

It must be cautioned, of course, that word pictures painted by storytellers, in Quiché or in any other language, need not have physical counterparts in the world outside the mind's eye. But the present example has an abruptness that suggests a sudden still picture from a story already well under way rather than a moving picture unfolded in the course of the events of that story. The narrators do not describe how the boys arrived "in the leaves of the tree"; the opening scene is already complete, waiting for the blowgun shot that comes in the next sentence, where the main verb is in the Quiché equivalent of the past tense and the still picture gives way to a moving one.

The writing of words in ancient Mayan books was done by means of a script that combines logographic and phonetic principles. Logographic signs, which stand for entire words and sometimes carry pictorial clues to their meaning, are most often used for such common items as day names. Mayan phonetic signs proceed syllable by syllable, with each sign corresponding to a consonant and vowel in combination or (less often) a vowel alone. Where a spelling problem was created by a syllable that had a single vowel bracketed by two consonants, the conventional solution was to treat it as if it were two syllables, each containing one of the consonants, and leave it up to the reader to avoid pronouncing the second vowel sound. This and other syllabic conventions sometimes affected the spelling choices Mayan writers made when they later used the Roman alphabet. For example, if the authors of the Popol Vuh had written in a purely alphabetic manner, they might have spelled the Quiché name of

Macaw House, one of the first four women created by the gods, as Cakixha. What they did instead was to treat its three syllables as if they were four, spelling it Cakixaha (Ca-ki-xa-ha).

More than any other Mayan book, whether hieroglyphic or alphabetic, the Popol Vuh tells us something about the conceptual place of books in the pre-Columbian world. The writers of the alphabetic version explain why the hieroglyphic version was among the most precious possessions of Quiché rulers:

> They knew whether war would occur; everything they saw was clear to them. Whether there would be death, or whether there would be famine, or whether quarrels would occur, they knew it for certain, since there was a place to see it, there was a book. "Council Book" was their name for it.

When "everything they saw was clear to them" the Quiché lords were recovering the vision of the first four humans, who at first "saw everything under the sky perfectly." That would mean that the Popol Vuh made it possible, once again, to sight "the four sides, the four corners in the sky, on the earth," the corners and sides that mark the earth and serve as reference points for the movements of celestial lights.

If the ancient Popol Vuh was like the surviving hieroglyphic books, it contained systematic accounts of cycles in astronomical and earthly events that served as a complex navigation system for those who wished to see and move beyond the present. In the case of a section dealing with the planet Venus, for example, there would have been tables of rising and setting dates, pictures of the attendant gods, and brief texts outlining what these gods did when they first established the pattern for the movements of Venus. When the ancient readers of the Popol Vuh took the roles of diviners and astronomers, seeking the proper date for a ceremony or a momentous political act, we may guess that they looked up specific passages, pondered their meanings, and rendered an opinion. But the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh tell us that there were also occasions on which readers offered "a long performance and account" whose subject was the lighting of the whole *kajulew* or "sky-earth," which is the Quiché way of saying "world." If a divinatory reading or pondering was a way of recovering the depth of vision enjoyed by the first four humans, a long performance, in which readers may well have covered every major subject in the entire book, was a way of recovering the full cosmic sweep of that vision.

If the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh had transposed the ancient Popol Vuh directly, on a glyph-by-glyph basis, they might have produced

a text that would have made little sense to anyone but a fully trained diviner and performer. What they did instead was to quote what readers of the ancient book would say when they gave long performances, telling the full story that lay behind the charts, pictures, and plot outlines of the ancient book. Lest we miss the fact that they are quoting, they periodically insert such phrases as "This is the account, here it is," or "as it is said." At one point they themselves become performers, *speaking directly to us* as if we were members of a live audience rather than mere readers. When they introduce the first episode of a long cycle of stories about the gods who prepared the sky-earth for human life, they propose that we all drink a toast to the heroes.

At the beginning of their book, the authors delicately describe the difficult circumstances under which they work. When they tell us that they are writing "amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now," we can catch a plaintive tone only by noticing that they make this statement immediately after asserting that their own gods "accounted for everything—and did it, too—as enlightened beings, in enlightened words." What the authors propose to write down is what Quichés call the *Ojer Tzij,* the "Ancient Word" or "Prior Word," which has precedence over "the preaching of God." They have chosen to do so because "there is no longer" a Popol Vuh, which makes it sound as though they intend to re-create the original book solely on the basis of their memory of what they have seen in its pages or heard in the long performance. But when we remember their complaint about being "in Christendom," there remains the possibility that they still have the original book but are protecting it from possible destruction by missionaries. Indeed, their next words make us wonder whether the book might still exist, but they no sooner raise our hopes on this front than they remove the book's reader from our grasp: "There is the original book and ancient writing, but the one who reads and assesses it has a hidden identity." Here we must remember that the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh have chosen to remain anonymous; in other words, they are hiding their identities. If they are protecting anyone with their enigmatic statements about an inaccessible book or an anonymous reader, it could well be themselves.

The authors begin their narrative in a world that has nothing but an empty sky above and a calm sea below. The action gets under way when the gods who reside in the primordial sea, named Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter, Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea, and Sovereign Plumed Serpent, are joined by gods who come down from the primordial sky, named Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt, and Hurricane. These two groups engage in a dialogue,

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EARTH FROM THE WATER: *Lake Atitlán, called* Najachel *in Quiché, with the volcanoes of Cerro de Oro (in the middle distance) and San Pedro (beyond). The contemporary Quichés of Momostenango reckon this as the lake of the south, one of four sacred lakes that mark the four sides of their world.*

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

and in the course of it they conceive the emergence of the earth from the water and the growth of plants and people on its surface. They wish to set in motion a process they call the "sowing" and "dawning," by which they mean several different things at once. There is the sowing of seeds in the earth, whose sprouting will be their dawning, and there is the sowing of the sun, moon, and stars, whose difficult passage beneath

the earth will be followed by their own dawning. Then there is the matter of human beings, whose sowing in the womb will be followed by their emergence into the light at birth, and whose sowing in the earth at death will be followed by dawning when their souls become sparks of light in the darkness.

For the gods, the idea of human beings is as old as that of the earth itself, but they fail in their first three attempts (all in Part One of the present translation) to transform this idea into a living reality. What they want is beings who will walk, work, and talk in an articulate and measured way, visiting shrines, giving offerings, and calling upon their makers by name, all according to the rhythms of a calendar. What they get instead, on the first try, is beings who have no arms to work with and can only squawk, chatter, and howl, and whose descendants are the animals of today. On the second try they make a being of mud, but this one is unable to walk or turn its head or even keep its shape; being solitary, it cannot reproduce itself, and in the end it dissolves into nothing.

Before making a third try the gods decide, in the course of a further dialogue, to seek the counsel of an elderly husband and wife named Xpiyacoc and Xmucane. Xpiyacoc is a divine matchmaker and therefore prior to all marriage, and Xmucane is a divine midwife and therefore prior to all birth. Like contemporary Quiché matchmakers and midwives, both of them are *ajq'ij* or "daykeepers," diviners who know how to interpret the auguries given by thirteen day numbers and twenty day names that combine to form a calendrical cycle lasting 260 days. They are older than all the other gods, who address them as grandparents, and the cycle they divine by is older than the longer cycles that govern Venus and the sun, which have not yet been established at this point in the story. The question the younger gods put to them here is whether human beings should be made out of wood. Following divinatory methods that are still in use among Quiché daykeepers, they give their approval. The wooden beings turn out to look and talk and multiply themselves something like humans, but they fail to time their actions in an orderly way and forget to call upon the gods in prayer. Hurricane brings a catastrophe down on their heads, not only flooding them with a gigantic rainstorm but sending monsters to attack them. Even their own dogs, turkeys, tools, and houses rise against them, taking vengeance for past mistreatment. Their only descendants are the monkeys that inhabit the forests today.

At this point the gods who have been working on the problem of making human beings will need only one more try before they solve it, but the authors of the Popol Vuh postpone the telling of this episode,

DIVINATORY METHODS THAT ARE STILL IN USE: *A divination in progress on top of the mountain called Tohil's Place. At left is the client, Lucas Pacheco Benítez, himself a daykeeper. Spread out on the stone at lower right is the paraphernalia of the daykeeper who is divining for him, set up for a counting of days. Burning in the background are offerings of candles and copal incense.*

PHOTO BY BARBARA TEDLOCK

turning their attention to stories about two generations of heroic deities whose triumphs make the sky-earth a safer place for human habitation. First come the twin sons of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, together with Blood Moon, the daughter of a lord of the underworld named Blood Gatherer. In the second generation come her twin sons, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, jointly fathered by One and Seven Hunahpu. Both generations of twins are players of the Mesoamerican ball game, in which the rubber ball (an indigenous American invention) is hit with a yoke-shaped device worn on one side of the body, riding just under the arm or resting on the hip. In addition to being ballplayers, One and Seven Hunahpu occupy themselves by gambling with dice, whereas Hunahpu and Xbalanque go out hunting with blowguns.

The adventures of the sons, daughter-in-law, and grandsons of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane are presented in two different cycles, with the episodes

divided between the cycles more on the basis of where they take place in space than when they take place in time. The first cycle deals entirely with adventures on the face of the earth, while the second, though it has two separate aboveground passages, deals mainly with adventures in the underworld, a region named Xibalba or "Place of Fear." If the events of these two cycles were combined in a single chronological sequence, the aboveground episodes might alternate with those below, with the heroes descending into the underworld, emerging on the earth again, and so forth. These sowing and dawning movements of the heroes, along with those of their supporting cast, prefigure the present-day movements of the sun, moon, planets, and stars.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque are the protagonists of the first of the two hero cycles (presented in Part Two), and their enemies are a father and his two sons, all of them pretenders to lordly power over the affairs of the earth. Hurricane, or Heart of Sky, is offended by this threesome, and it is he who sends Hunahpu and Xbalanque against them. The first to get his due is the father, named Seven Macaw, who claims to be both the sun and moon. In chronological terms this episode overlaps with the story of the wooden people (at the end of Part One), since Seven Macaw serves as their source of celestial light and has his downfall at the same time they do. The twins shoot him while he is at his meal, high up in a fruit tree, breaking his jaw and bringing him down to earth. Later they persuade a pair of curers, an elderly couple named Great White Peccary and Great White Coati, to give him the reverse of a face-lift, pulling out his teeth and removing the metal disks from around his eyes. His earthly descendants are scarlet macaws, with broken, toothless jaws and bare white cheeks that turn red when they get excited. He himself remains as the seven stars of the Big Dipper, and his wife, Chimalmat, corresponds to a circle of northern stars that includes the arc of the Little Dipper. In mid-July, when he is already falling from his tree as the night begins, he opens the hurricane season, and in mid-October, when he almost gets back up the tree before morning, he closes it. It was his first fall, brought on by the blowgun shot of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, that opened the way for the great flood that brought down the wooden people. Just as Seven Macaw only pretended to be the sun and moon, so the wooden people only pretended to be human.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque next take on Zipacna, the elder of Seven Macaw's two sons, a crocodilian monster who claims to be the maker of mountains. But first comes an episode in which Zipacna has an encounter with the gods of alcoholic drinks, the Four Hundred Boys. Alarmed by Zipacna's great strength, these boys trick him into digging a deep hole

and try to crush him by dropping a great log down behind him. He survives, but he waits in the hole until they are in the middle of a drunken victory celebration and then brings their own house down on top of them. At the celestial level they become the stars called Motz, the Quiché name for the Pleiades, and their downfall corresponds to early-evening settings of these stars. At the earthly level, among contemporary Quichés, the Pleiades symbolize a handful of seeds, and their disappearance in the west marks the proper time for the sowing of crops.

Zipacna meets his own downfall when Hunahpu and Xbalanque set out to avenge the Four Hundred Boys. At a time when Zipacna has gone without food for several days, they set a trap for him by making a device that appears to be a living, moving crab. Having placed this artificial crab in a tight space beneath an overhang at the bottom of a great mountain, they show him the way there. Zipacna goes after the crab with great passion, and his struggles to wrestle himself into the right position to consummate his hunger become a symbolic parody of sexual intercourse. When the great moment comes the whole mountain falls on his chest (which is to say he ends up on the bottom), and when he heaves a sigh he turns to stone.

Finally there comes the demise of the younger son of Seven Macaw, named Earthquake, who bills himself as a destroyer of mountains. In his case the lure devised by Hunahpu and Xbalanque is the irresistibly delicious aroma given off by the roasting of birds. They cast a spell on the bird they give him to eat: just as it was cooked inside a coating of earth, so he will end up covered by earth. They leave him buried in the east, opposite his elder brother, whose killing of the Four Hundred Boys associates him with the west (where the Pleiades may be seen to fall beneath the earth). Seven Macaw, as the Big Dipper, is of course in the north. He is near the pivot of the movement of the night sky, whereas his two sons make the earth move—though they cannot raise or level whole mountains in a single day as they once did.

Having accounted for three of the aboveground episodes in the lives of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the Popol Vuh goes back a generation to tell the story of their twin fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu (at the beginning of Part Three). This is the point at which the authors treat us as if we were in their very presence, introducing One Hunahpu by saying, "Let's drink to him." As the story opens, One Hunahpu is married to Egret Woman and they have twin sons named One Monkey and One Artisan. One and Seven Hunahpu sometimes play ball with these two boys, and a messenger from Hurricane, a falcon, sometimes comes to watch them. The boys become practitioners of all sorts of

arts and crafts, including flute playing, singing, writing, carving, jewelry making, and metalworking. At some point Egret Woman dies, but we are not told how; that leaves Xmucane, the mother of One and Seven Hunahpu, as the only woman in the household.

The ball court of One and Seven Hunahpu lies in the east, at a place called Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes. Their ball playing offends the lords of Xibalba, who dislike hearing noises above their subterranean domain. The head lords are named One Death and Seven Death, and under them are other lords who specialize in causing such maladies as lesions, jaundice, emaciation, edema, stabbing pains, and sudden death from vomiting blood. One and Seven Death decide to challenge One and Seven Hunahpu to come play ball in the court of Xibalba, which lies at the western edge of the underworld. They therefore send their messengers, who are monstrous owls, to the Great Hollow. One and Seven Hunahpu leave One Monkey and One Artisan behind to keep Xmucane entertained and follow the owls over the eastern edge of the world. The way is full of traps, but they do well until they come to the Crossroads, where each of four roads has a different color corresponding to a different direction. They choose the Black Road, which means, at the terrestrial level, that their journey through the underworld will take them from east to west. At the celestial level, it means that they were last seen in the black cleft of the Milky Way when they descended below the eastern horizon; to this day the cleft is called the Road of Xibalba.

Entering the council place of the lords of Xibalba is a tricky business, beginning with the fact that the first two figures seated there are mere manikins, put there as a joke. The next gag that awaits visitors is a variation on the hot seat, but after that comes a deadly serious test. One and Seven Hunahpu must face a night in Dark House, which is totally black inside. They are given a torch and two cigars, but they are warned to keep these burning all night without consuming them. They fail this test, so their hosts sacrifice them the next day instead of playing ball with them. Both of them are buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, except that the severed head of One Hunahpu is placed in the fork of a tree that stands by the road there. Now, for the first time, the tree bears fruit, and it becomes difficult to tell the head from the fruit. This is the origin of the calabash tree, whose fruit has the character of a human skull when dried and hollowed.

Blood Moon, the maiden daughter of a Xibalban lord named Blood Gatherer, goes to marvel at the calabash tree. The skull of One Hunahpu, animated by both brothers, now spits in her hand and makes her pregnant with Hunahpu and Xbalanque. A voice comes from the skull, ex-

plaining to her that henceforth a father's face will survive in his son, even after his own face has rotted away and left nothing but bone. After six moons, when Blood Moon's father notices that she is pregnant, he demands to know who is responsible. She answers that "there is no man whose face I've known," which is literally true. He orders the owl messengers of Xibalba to cut her heart out and bring it back in a bowl; armed with the White Dagger, the instrument of sacrifice, they take her away. But she persuades them to spare her, devising a substitute for her heart in the form of a congealed nodule of sap from a croton tree. The lords heat the nodule over a fire and are entranced by the aroma; meanwhile the owls show Blood Moon to the surface of the earth. As a result of this episode it is destined that the lords of Xibalba will receive offerings of incense made from croton sap rather than human blood and hearts. At the astronomical level Blood Moon corresponds to the moon, which appears in the west at nightfall when it begins to wax, just as she appeared before the skull at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice when she became pregnant.

Once she is out of the underworld, Blood Moon goes to Xmucane and claims to be her daughter-in-law, but Xmucane resists the idea that her own sons could be responsible for Blood Moon's pregnancy. She puts Blood Moon to a test, sending her to get a netful of corn from the garden that One Monkey and One Artisan have been cultivating. Blood Moon finds only a single clump of corn plants there, but she produces a whole netful of ears by pulling out the silk from just one ear. When Xmucane sees the load of corn she goes to the garden herself, wondering whether Blood Moon has stripped it bare. On the ground at the foot of the clump of plants she notices the imprint of the carrying net, which she reads as a sign that Blood Moon is indeed pregnant with her own grandchildren.

To understand how Xmucane is able to interpret the sign of the net we must remember that she knows how to read the auguries of the Mayan calendar, and that one of the twenty day names that go into the making of that calendar is "Net." Retold from a calendrical point of view, the story so far is that Venus rose as the morning star on a day named Hunahpu, corresponding to the ball playing of Xmucane's sons, One and Seven Hunahpu, in the east; then, after being out of sight in Xibalba, Venus reappeared as the evening star on a day named Death, corresponding to the defeat of her sons by One and Seven Death and the placement of One Hunahpu's head in a tree in the west. The event that is due to come next in the story is the rebirth of Venus as the morning star, which should fall, as she already knows, on a day named Net. When she sees the imprint of the net in the field, she takes it as a sign that this

event is coming near and that the sons born to Blood Moon will make it possible.

When Hunahpu and Xbalanque are born they are treated cruelly by their jealous half-brothers, One Monkey and One Artisan, and even by their grandmother. They never utter a complaint, but keep themselves happy by going out every day to hunt birds with their blowguns. Eventually they get the better of their brothers by sending them up a tree to get birds that failed to fall down when they were shot. They cause the tree to grow tall enough to maroon their brothers, whom they transform into monkeys. When Xmucane objects they give her four chances to see the faces of One Monkey and One Artisan again, calling them home with music. They warn her not to laugh, but the monkeys are so ridiculous she cannot contain herself; finally they swing up and away through the treetops for good. One Monkey and One Artisan, both of whose names refer to a single day on the divinatory calendar, correspond to the planet Mars, whose period is thereafter reckoned by that day, and their temporary return to the house of Xmucane corresponds to the retrograde motion of Mars. They are also the gods of arts and crafts, and they probably made their first journey through the sky during the era of the wooden people, who were the first earthly beings to make and use artifacts and who themselves ended up as monkeys.

With their half-brothers out of the way, Hunahpu and Xbalanque decide to clear a garden plot of their own, but when they return to the chosen spot each morning they find that the forest has reclaimed it. By hiding themselves at the edge of the plot one night, they discover that the animals of the forest are restoring the cleared plants by means of a chant. They try to grab each of these animals in turn, but they miss the puma and jaguar completely, break the tails off the rabbit and deer, and finally get their hands on the rat. In exchange for his future share of stored crops, the rat reveals to them that One and Seven Hunahpu left a set of ball game equipment tied up under the rafters of their house, and he agrees to help them get it down. At home the next day, Hunahpu and Xbalanque get Xmucane out of the house by claiming her chili stew has made them thirsty; she goes after water but is delayed when her water jar springs a leak. Then, when Blood Moon goes off to see why Xmucane has failed to return, the rat cuts the ball game equipment loose and the twins take possession of it.

When Hunahpu and Xbalanque begin playing ball at the Great Hollow they disturb the lords of Xibalba, just like their fathers before them. Once again the lords send a summons, but this time the messengers go to Xmucane, telling her that the twins must present themselves in seven

days. She sends a louse to relay the message to her grandsons, but the louse is swallowed by a toad, the toad by a snake, and the snake by a falcon. The falcon arrives over the ball court and the twins shoot him in the eye. They cure his eye with rubber stripped from their ball, which is why this particular species of falcon (the so-called laughing falcon) now has a black patch around the eye. The falcon vomits the snake, who vomits the toad, who still has the louse in his mouth, and the louse recites the message, quoting what Xmucane told him when she quoted what the owls told her when they quoted what the lords of Xibalba told them to say.

Having been summoned to the underworld, Hunahpu and Xbalanque go to take leave of their grandmother, and in the process they demonstrate a harvest ritual that Quichés follow to this day. They "plant" ears of corn in the center of her house, in the attic; these ears are neither to be eaten nor used as seed corn but are to be kept as a sign that corn remains alive throughout the year, even between the drying out of the plants at harvest time and the sprouting of new ones after planting. They tell their grandmother that when a crop dries out it will be a sign of their death, but that the sprouting of a new crop will be a sign that they live again.

The twins play a game with language when they instruct their grandmother; only now, instead of a quotation swallowed up inside other quotations we get a word hidden within other words. The secret word is *Aj,* one of the twenty day names; the twins point to it by playing on its sounds rather than simply mentioning it. When they tell their grandmother that they are planting corn ears (*aj*) in the house (*ja*), they are making a pun on the name *Aj* in the one case and reversing its sound in the other. The play between *Aj* and *ja* is familiar to contemporary Quiché daykeepers, who use it when they explain to clients that the day *Aj* is portentous in matters affecting households. If the twins planted their corn ears in the house on this day, then their expected arrival in Xibalba, seven days later, would fall on the day named Hunahpu. This fits the Mayan Venus calendar perfectly: whenever Venus rises as the morning star on a day named Net, corresponding to the appearance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque on the earth, its next descent into the underworld will always fall on a day named Hunahpu.

Following in the footsteps of their fathers, Hunahpu and Xbalanque descend the road to Xibalba, but when they come to the Crossroads they do things differently. They send a spy ahead of them, a mosquito, to learn the names of the lords. He bites each one of them in turn; the first two lords reveal themselves as mere manikins by their lack of response,

but the others, in the process of complaining about being bitten, address each other by name, all the way down the line. When the twins themselves arrive before the lords, they ignore the manikins (unlike their fathers) and address each of the twelve real lords correctly. Not only that, but they refuse to fall for the hot seat, and when they are given a torch and two cigars to keep lit all night, they trick the lords by passing off a macaw's tail as the glow of the torch and by putting fireflies at the tips of their cigars.

The next day Hunahpu and Xbalanque play ball with the Xibalbans, something their fathers did not survive long enough to do. The Xibalbans insist on putting their own ball into play first, though the twins protest that this ball, which is covered with crushed bone, is nothing but a skull. When Hunahpu hits it back to the Xibalbans with the yoke that rides on his hip, it falls to the court and reveals the weapon that was hidden inside it. This is nothing less than the White Dagger, the same instrument of sacrifice the owls were supposed to use on Blood Moon; it twists its way all over the court, but it fails to kill the twins.

The Xibalbans consent to use the rubber ball belonging to the twins in a further game; this time four bowls of flower petals are bet on the outcome. After playing well for a while the twins allow themselves to lose, and they are given until the next day to come up with the petals. This time they must spend the night in Razor House, which is full of voracious stone blades that are constantly looking for something to cut. In exchange for a promise that they will one day have the flesh of animals as their food, the blades stop moving. This leaves the boys free to attend to the matter of the petals; they send leaf-cutting ants to get them from the very gardens of the lords of Xibalba. The ground-dwelling birds who guard this garden, poorwills and whippoorwills, are so oblivious that they fail to notice that their own tails and wings are being trimmed along with the flowers. The lords, who are aghast when they receive bowls filled with the petals of their own flowers, split the birds' mouths open, giving them the wide gape that birds of the nightjar family have today.

Next, the hero twins survive stays in Cold House, which is full of drafts and falling hail; Jaguar House, which is full of hungry, brawling jaguars; and a house with fire inside. After these horrors comes Bat House, full of moving, shrieking bats, where they spend the night squeezed up inside their blowgun. When the house grows quiet and Hunahpu peeks out from the muzzle, one of the bats swoops down and takes his head off. The head ends up rolling on the ball court of Xibalba, but Xbalanque gives his brother a temporary replacement in the form of a carved squash. While he is performing this head transplant the eastern sky reddens with

CONTEMPORARY QUICHÉ DAYKEEPERS: *All the adults in this picture are daykeepers; in addition, the woman is a midwife, the man wearing a hat is a matchmaker, and the man at right is a singer and prayer maker. The man bending over toward the child is Andrés Xiloj.*

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

the dawn, and a possum, addressed in the story as "old man," makes four dark streaks along the horizon. Not only the red dawn but the possum and his streaks are signs that the time of the sun (which has never before been seen) is coming nearer. In the future a new solar year will be brought in by the old man each 365 days; the four streaks signify that only four of the twenty day names—Deer, Tooth, Thought, and Wind—will ever correspond to the first day of a solar year. Contemporary Quiché daykeepers continue to reckon the solar dimension of the Mayan calendar; in the year 2000, for example, they will expect the old man to arrive on February 25, which will fall on One Thought.

Once Hunahpu has been fitted out with a squash for a head, he and Xbalanque are ready to play ball with the Xibalbans again. When the lords send off Hunahpu's original head as the ball, Xbalanque knocks it out of the court and it lands among a group of ball bags. Hidden among the bags is a rabbit, and when it runs away the lords mistake it for the bouncing ball. While they chase it Xbalanque retrieves the head, puts it

back on Hunahpu's shoulders, and then puts the squash among the bags, pretending to find the ball there. Now the squash is put into play, but it wears out and splatters its seeds on the court, revealing to the lords of Xibalba that they have been played for fools. The game played with the squash, like the games played with the bone-covered ball and with Hunahpu's severed head, corresponds to an appearance of Venus in the west, the direction of evening and death. If these events were combined in chronological order with those that take place entirely above ground, they would probably alternate with the episodes in which the twins defeat One Monkey and One Artisan, Seven Macaw, Zipacna, and Earthquake, with each of these latter episodes corresponding to an appearance of Venus in the east, the direction of morning and life.

At this point we are ready for the last of the episodes that prefigure the cycles of Venus and prepare the way for the first rising of the sun. Knowing that the lords of Xibalba plan to burn them, Hunahpu and Xbalanque instruct two seers named Xulu and Pacam as to what they should say when the lords seek advice as to how to dispose of their remains. This done, the twins cheerfully accept an invitation to come see the great stone pit where the Xibalbans are roasting the ingredients for an alcoholic beverage. The lords challenge them to a contest in which the object is to leap clear across the pit, but the boys cut the deadly game short and jump right in. Thinking they have triumphed, the Xibalbans follow the advice of Xulu and Pacam, grinding the bones of the boys and spilling the powder into a river.

After five days Hunahpu and Xbalanque reappear as catfish; the day after that they take human form again, only now they are disguised as vagabond dancers and actors. They gain great fame as illusionists, their most popular acts being the ones in which they set fire to a house without burning it and perform a sacrifice without killing the victim. The lords of Xibalba get news of all this and invite them to show their skills at court; they accept with pretended reluctance. The climax of their performance comes when Xbalanque sacrifices Hunahpu, rolling his head out the door, removing his heart, and then bringing him back to life. One and Seven Death go wild at the sight of this and demand that they themselves be sacrificed. The twins oblige—and, as might already be imagined, these final sacrifices are real ones. Hunahpu and Xbalanque now reveal their true identities before all the inhabitants of the underworld. They declare that henceforth the offerings received by Xibalbans will be limited to incense made of croton sap and to animals, and that Xibalbans will limit their attacks on future human beings to those who have weaknesses or guilt.

At this point the narrators take us back to the twins' grandmother, telling us what she has been doing all this time. She cries when the season comes for corn plants to dry out, signifying the death of her grandsons, and rejoices when they sprout again, signifying rebirth. She burns incense in front of ears from the new crop and thus completes the establishment of the custom whereby humans keep consecrated ears in the house, at the center of the stored harvest. Then the scene shifts back to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who are about to establish another custom.

Having made their speech to the defeated Xibalbans, the twins go to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice with the intention of reviving Seven Hunahpu, whose head and body still lie buried there. The full restoration of his face depends on his own ability to pronounce the names of all the parts it once had, but he gets no further than the mouth, nose, and eyes, which remain as notable features of skulls. They leave him there, but they promise that human beings will keep his day (the one named Hunahpu), coming to pray where his remains are. To this day, Hunahpu days are set aside for the veneration of the dead, and graveyards are called by the same word (*jom*) as the ball courts of the Popol Vuh.

At the astronomical level the visit of Hunahpu and Xbalanque to Seven Hunahpu's grave signals the return of a whole new round of Venus cycles, starting with a morning star that first appears on a day named Hunahpu. As for the twins themselves, they rise as the sun and moon. Contemporary Quichés regard the full moon as a nocturnal equivalent of the sun, pointing out that it has a full disk, is bright enough to travel by, and goes clear across the sky in the same time it takes the sun to do the same thing. Most likely the twin who became the moon is to be understood specifically as the full moon, whereas Blood Moon, the mother of the twins, would account for other phases of the moon.

With the ascent of Hunahpu and Xbalanque the Popol Vuh returns to the problem the gods confronted at the beginning: the making of beings who will walk, work, talk, and pray in an articulate manner. The account of their fourth and final attempt at a solution is a flashback, since it takes us back to a time when Seven Macaw had already seen his downfall but the real sun had yet to appear. As we have already seen, the gods failed when they tried using mud and then wood as the materials for the human body, but now they get news of a mountain filled with yellow corn and white corn, discovered by the fox, coyote, parrot, and crow (at the beginning of Part Four). Xmucane grinds the corn from this mountain very finely, and the flour, mixed with the water she rinses her hands with, provides the substance for human flesh, just as the ground bone thrown in the river by the Xibalbans becomes the substance for the rebirth of

THEY ARE CALLED "MOTHER-FATHERS": *Andrés Xiloj (at left), who read through the Popol Vuh text with the present translator and provided numerous comments, is himself a mother-father, or patrilineage head. He is shown here at his house in Momostenango, with his son Anselmo and his daughter-in-law Manuela.*

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

her grandsons. The first people to be modeled from the corn dough are four men named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They are the first four heads of Quiché patrilineages; as in the case of the men who occupy such positions today, they are called "mother-fathers," since in ritual matters they serve as symbolic androgynous parents to everyone in their respective lineages.

This time the beings shaped by the gods are everything they hoped for and more: not only do the first four men pray to their makers, but they have perfect vision and therefore perfect knowledge. The gods are alarmed that beings who were merely manufactured by them should have divine powers, so they decide, after their usual dialogue, to put a fog on human eyes. Next they make four wives for the four men, and from these couples come the leading Quiché lineages. Red Sea Turtle becomes the wife of Jaguar Quitze, who founds the Cauec lineage; Prawn House becomes the wife of Jaguar Night, who founds the Greathouse lineage; and Water Hummingbird becomes the wife of Not Right Now,

who founds the Lord Quiché lineage. Dark Jaguar is also given a wife, Macaw House, but they have no male children. Other lineages also come into being, and they all begin to multiply until they form whole tribes.

All these early events in human history take place in darkness, and all the different tribes wander about and grow weary as they go on watching and waiting for the rising of Venus as the morning star, to be followed by the sun. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar decide to change their situation by going eastward to a city that is somehow already there. What they seek is elevation to noble rank and the right to establish themselves as lords over an earthly domain. Petitioners from many different tribes converge on the city, speaking a variety of languages. The authors of the Popol Vuh describe some of them as rustic "mountain people," including the Quichés and their closest Mayan relatives: Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and "those of the Bird House" (Tzutuhils).

The Popol Vuh gives the eastern city names that reach deep into the Mesoamerican past, calling it Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons. From other Mayan authors we learn that this city had a western twin that shared the name Tulan, which means "Place of Cattails" in Nahua. A new reading of the inscriptions at Copán reveals that Mayans knew this name as long ago as the Classic period, and that they applied it to the great western city whose ruins are known today as Teotihuacan. Their closest contact with the world of that city, while it was still in its glory, was through its eastern outpost at Kaminaljuyú, which is a likely candidate for the eastern city of the Popol Vuh.

By specifying that their Tulan was the one named Zuyua, the authors of the Popol Vuh further indicate its eastern position. When other Mayan authors mention both members of an east-west pair of cities, they reserve this name for the eastern one. Whatever language it came from, Zuyua came to mean "twisted" or "deceptive" in Yucatec Maya and referred to riddles that pretenders to lordly positions were required to answer. As for the names Seven Caves and Seven Canyons, they evoke both cities. At Teotihuacan, the Pyramid of the Sun rises directly above a cave whose main shaft and side chambers add up to seven, while Kaminaljuyú is located on a tableland that falls away into multiple canyons.

During their stay in the eastern city, the Quiché ancestors are given patron deities. Among these the first in rank is Tohil, patron of the Cauecs and two lesser lineages, the Tams and Ilocs. Next comes Auilix, god of the Greathouses, and then Hacauitz, god of the Lord Quichés. It is not known what language was spoken at Kaminaljuyú, but the names of all three of these gods are of Cholan origin, belonging to the same

branch of the Mayan family as the inscriptions at Copán. Tohil, who stands on one leg, provides fire, and thirsts for blood, is very much like the one-legged patron deity of Classic Maya rulers, whose image takes the form of a scepter.

Tohil introduces the element of riddling into the story. When a great hailstorm puts out the fires of all the visitors to the city, he makes himself into a fire drill on behalf of the Quichés, pivoting on one leg and using his sandal as the drill socket. Members of other tribes, shivering with cold, beg for a little of his fire, but he refuses to let them have it unless they promise to embrace him someday, allowing themselves to be suckled. Not realizing that he is speaking the twisted language of Zuyua, they agree to this. When the time comes for the Quiché lords to subjugate the members of these tribes, being "suckled" by Tohil will mean having their hearts cut out as a sacrifice to him. Only the Cakchiquels, who get their fire by sneaking past everyone else in the smoke, escape this fate.

The Cakchiquel version of the visit to the city weaves in threads that seem to belong to the Late Classic period, when Teotihuacan had fallen and Copán had replaced Kaminaljuyú as the greatest city of the Mayan highlands. Two details point straight to Copán itself. First, we are told that the lords of the city had a bat as their insignia. Second, just as the Cakchiquel visitors to the city were passing through its gate, they heard one of the world's most dramatic bird cries, that of the brown-backed solitaire. It happens that the hieroglyphic emblem of the rulers of Copán features the profiled head of a leaf-nosed bat and spells out the word *xwukpi,* the term for the brown-backed solitaire in the Mayan language

THE HEAD OF A BAT: *The heraldic emblem of the lords of the Classic Maya city of Copán, with the profile of a leaf-nosed bat facing left at the center. The bat's head, itself a hieroglyph, forms the first syllable of a phrase that continues to the right of the bat's mouth and runs clockwise around its head from there. The first full word is* xwukpi, *a term for the brown-backed solitaire and the name of the ruling lineage of Copán; then comes the title of the ruler himself,* ch'ul pop ahaw, *"Lord of the Holy Council."*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

that was spoken there. A further clue that may point to Copán appears in the Popol Vuh, where the Quiché ancestors continue to watch for the first appearance of the morning star after they leave the city, an act that turns their gaze back toward the east. It happens that the inscriptions of Copán give more attention to Venus than those of any other major Classic Maya site.

When Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar leave the eastern city, they pack the gods they were given on their backs. Singing a song in which they lament the loss of a cosmopolitan life, they begin their search for a place to found their own kingdom. Eventually they pass Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes, the location of the eastern ball court where the sons and grandsons of Xmucane once played. Moving westward and a little south, they reach a mountain called Place of Advice, not very far south of the site where they will one day reach their greatest glory. Still with them at this point, having accompanied them all the way from the city, are the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and Bird House people.

Up on the mountain, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar observe a great fast together with their wives, Red Sea Turtle, Prawn House, Water Hummingbird, and Macaw House. During the fast Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz speak to them, asking to be given hiding places so that they will not be captured by enemies of the Quichés. After a search through the highland pine forest, the three gods are hidden at places that are named after them. At first they are put beneath arbors decorated with bromeliads and hanging mosses, Tohil on a mountain and Auilix in a canyon, but Hacauitz, on his own mountain, is eventually put at the top of a great pyramid. The Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés all wait for the approaching dawn on the mountain of Hacauitz; the Tams and Ilocs wait on nearby mountains; while peoples other than the Quichés wait at more distant places. When, at last, they all see the "sun carrier," or the morning star, they give thanks by burning the incense they have kept for this occasion, ever since they left the city.

At this point we reach the moment in the account of human affairs that corresponds to the final event in the account of the lives of the gods: the Sun himself rises. On just this one occasion he appears as an entire person, so hot that he dries out the face of the earth. His heat turns Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz to stone, along with such pumas, jaguars, and snakes as there were at the time. A diminutive god called White Sparkstriker escapes petrifaction by going into the shade of the trees, becoming the keeper of the stone animals. He remains to this day as a

gamekeeper, with volcanic concretions, fulgurites, and meteorites that resemble animals in his personal care. He may be encountered in forests and caves, or on dark nights and in dreams; he appears in contemporary masked dramas dressed entirely in red, the color of dawn.

At first the Quichés rejoice when they see the sunrise, but then they remember their "brothers," the members of other tribes who were with them at the eastern city. They sing their lament again, wondering where their brothers might be at this very moment. In effect, the coming of the first sunrise reunites the tribes despite the fact that they remain widely separated in space. As the Popol Vuh has it, "There were countless peoples, but there was just one dawn for all tribes." What makes such a vision of unity possible is the possession of a common calendar. All Mesoamerican peoples shared the 260-day calendar whose auguries were first read by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, and they used its rhythms to measure off those of the sun, and moon, and planets.

Having seen the first sunrise from the mountain of Hacauitz, the Quichés eventually build a citadel there. Wherever Hacauitz may have been, it is mentioned in a Late Classic inscription at the lowland site of Seibal. At first, even while the people of other tribes are becoming thickly settled and can be seen traveling the roads in great numbers, the Quichés remain rustic and rural, gathering the larvae of yellow jackets, wasps, and bees for food and staying largely out of sight. When they go before the petrified forms of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they burn bits of pitchy bark and wildflowers as substitutes for refined incense, and they offer blood drawn from their own bodies. The three gods are still able to speak to them, but only by appearing in spirit form. Tohil tells them to augment their offerings with the blood of deer and birds taken in the hunt, but they grow dissatisfied with this arrangement and begin to cast eyes on the people they see walking by in the roads. From hiding places on

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HACAUITZ: *A four-part glyph from Stele 8 at Seibal, carved during the ninth century. It refers to the place of origin of a lord from elsewhere than Seibal, reading* ha- *(upper left)* -ka- *(lower left)* -witz- *(upper right)* -il *(lower right);* hakawitzil *means "from Hacauitz."*

DRAWING BY LINDA SCHELE

mountain peaks, they begin imitating the cries of the coyote, fox, puma, and jaguar.

Finally Tohil reminds his followers that members of other tribes once promised to embrace him, allowing him to suckle. Now the Quichés begin to seize people they find out walking alone or in pairs, taking them away to cut them open before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz and then rolling their heads out onto the roads. At first the lords who rule the victimized tribes think these deaths are the work of wild animals, but then they suspect the worshippers of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz and attempt to track them down. Again and again they are foiled by rain, mist, and mud, but they do discover that the three gods, whose spirit familiars take the form of adolescent boys, have a favorite bathing place. They send two beautiful maidens, Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, to wash clothes there, instructing them to tempt the boys and yield to any advances. They warn the maidens to return with proof of the success of their mission, which must take the form of presents from the boys.

Contrary to plan, the three Quiché gods fail to lust after Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, but they do agree to provide them with presents. They give them three cloaks, one brocaded with the figure of a jaguar by Jaguar Quitze, another with an eagle by Jaguar Night, and the third with swarms of yellow jackets and wasps by Not Right Now. When the maidens return the enemy lords are so pleased with the cloaks that they cannot resist trying them on. All is well until the brocaded wasps of the third cloak turn into real ones. Lust Woman and Wailing Woman are spurned; despite their failure to tempt Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz they become the first prostitutes, or what Quichés call "barkers of shins." As for the enemy lords, they resolve to make war, launching a massive attack on the Quiché citadel at Hacauitz.

The enemy warriors come at night in order to get as far as possible without resistance, but they fall into a deep sleep on the road. The Quichés not only strip them of all the metal ornaments on their weapons and clothes, but pluck out their eyebrows and beards as well. They press on the next day, determined to recover their losses, but the Quichés are well prepared. What the enemy lookouts see all around the citadel of Hacauitz is a wooden palisade; visible on the parapet are rows of warriors, decked out with the very metal objects that were stolen during the night. What the lookouts do not see is that these warriors are mere wooden puppets, and that behind the palisade, on each of its four sides, is a large gourd filled with yellow jackets and wasps, put there at the suggestion of Tohil. As for the Quichés on the inside, what they see, once the attack begins, is more than twenty-four thousand warriors converging on them,

bristling with weapons and shouting continuously. But Tohil has made them so confident that they treat the attack as a great spectacle, bringing their women and children up on the parapet to see it. When they release the yellow jackets and wasps their enemies drop their weapons and attempt to flee, so badly stung they hardly even notice the blows they receive from conventional Quiché weapons. The survivors become permanent payers of tribute to the Quiché lords.

After their great victory, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar begin preparing, with complete contentment, for what they know to be their approaching death. They sing the lament they last sang at the first sunrise, and then they explain to their wives and successors that "the time of our Lord Deer" has come around again. This is a reference to the transition from one solar year to another, in particular from a year ruled by Lord Wind, beginning on a day named Wind, to a year whose first day will be Deer. Lord Wind rules from a western mountain, while Lord Deer rules from an eastern one. The Quiché forefathers choose the passage to the easterly year to announce that they intend to return to the east. Jaguar Quitze leaves behind a sacred object called the "Bundle of Flames," a sort of cloth-wrapped ark with mysterious contents, as a "sign of his being." Neither he nor the others are ever seen again, but their descendants burn incense before the Bundle of Flames in remembrance of them, just as Xmucane burned incense before the ears of corn in remembrance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

The Quiché lords of the second generation, following the instructions of their fathers, go eastward on a pilgrimage (at the beginning of Part Five). Unlike their fathers, they do this with the intention of returning in the flesh. Noble Two goes on behalf of the Cauec lineage, Noble Acutec represents the Greathouses, and Noble Lord represents the Lord Quichés. Here the authors of the Popol Vuh have foreshortened time; an alternative Quiché account puts these same individuals not in the second but in the fourth generation. In any case they go all the way down to the lowlands, and at some point they cross a "sea," or what is described in other accounts as both a lake and a sea, on a stone causeway. This would be one of the ancient stone causeways of Yucatán, perhaps the one that ran northward across a lake on its way to Cobá. No name is given for their destination, but when they get there they come before the ruler of a large kingdom. He gives them the royal titles Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the one belonging to a head of state and the other to an overseer of tribute collection. Both of these titles go to the Cauecs, but other sources add that the Greathouse and Lord Quiché lineages also receive titles at this time, with the position of

Lord Minister (ranking third) going to one and that of Herald (ranking fourth) to the other.

The titles bestowed on the pilgrims are venerable Mayan ones, yet the ruler who bestows them is called by the Nahua name Nacxit. In Yucatec accounts this is one of the names of the god-king Plumed Serpent, who established himself at Chichén Itzá at some time during the transition from the Classic to the Postclassic period, but it was used by later rulers as well. The Nacxit of the Popol Vuh does not give his Quiché visitors patron deities, as did the rulers of the eastern city visited by their forefathers, but rather gives them canopies, thrones, musical instruments, cosmetics, and ornaments that serve as emblems of lordship. Where the names of the patron deities were Cholan, the foreign words in the list of emblems are either Yucatec, as in the case of a gourd container of tobacco called *k'us b'us,* or Nahua, as in the case of a food bowl called *kaxkon* (from *caxcomulli*). Somewhere along the way, when the pilgrims are "beside the sea," they also acquire "the writing of Tulan, the writing of Zuyua." This would be the hieroglyphic Popol Vuh, or at least the part of it known as "The Light That Came from Beside the Sea." It seems likely that the coast in question was the eastern one of Yucatán, which was not only a source of books but famous for its places of pilgrimage as well.

When Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord return from their pilgrimage, their sovereignty is recognized not only by the Quichés themselves, but by the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and Bird House people as well. Only now do the Quiché lords begin to have what the Popol Vuh calls "fiery splendor." It seems likely that their pilgrimage was conceived as a reenactment of the adventures of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in Xibalba, who had only the planet Venus to their credit when they first descended in the east at the Great Hollow, but who eventually returned with the greater splendor of the sun and full moon.

Eventually the Quichés leave Hacauitz and settle at a succession of other sites. The Popol Vuh mentions only one of these by name, Thorny Place, settled at some point after the deaths of Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord. This move temporarily takes the Quichés back in the direction from which they came, to a point between Place of Advice and the Great Hollow. When they move again two generations later, they resume their original trajectory and go farther west than ever before. With Noble Sweatbath as Keeper of the Mat and Iztayul as Keeper of the Reception House Mat, they found the citadel of Bearded Place, directly across a canyon to the south of the site that later becomes their greatest citadel.

At Bearded Place there is great harmony among the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés; these three lineages, each with its own palace, are tied together through intermarriage. At Thorny Place women were married off in exchange for modest favors and gifts, but now, at Bearded Place, wedding arrangements are accompanied by elaborate feasting and drinking. The only disturbance during this period comes from the Ilocs, who first try to get Iztayul involved in a plot to assassinate Noble Sweatbath and then go so far as to mount a direct attack on Bearded Place. They are defeated, and some of their own number are sacrificed before the gods of their intended victims. The Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages now gain greater and greater power, defeating some tribes in direct attacks and terrorizing still others by having them witness the sacrifice of prisoners of war.

In the next generation the Keeper of the Mat takes the name Plumed Serpent, while the Keeper of the Reception House Mat is Noble Sweatbath, named after the previous Keeper of the Mat. They build a new and larger citadel across the canyon from Bearded Place, at Rotten Cane. The three leading lineages, faced with increased numbers and torn by quarrels over inflation in the costs of marriage, break apart into smaller groups. The Cauecs divide into nine segments, the Greathouses into nine, and the Lord Quichés into four, with each of these segments headed by a titled lord and occupying its own palace. In addition, the inhabitants of Rotten Cane include the Zaquics, a lineage not previously mentioned in the Popol Vuh, divided into two segments but occupying only a single palace, making twenty-three palaces in all. Along with all these palaces, Rotten Cane is provided with three pyramids that bear the temples of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, ranged around a central plaza; elsewhere is a fourth pyramid for Corntassel, the god of the Zaquics.

The Popol Vuh identifies Plumed Serpent, who holds the titles of both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat during at least part of his reign at Rotten Cane, as "a true lord of genius." He has the power to manifest his personal spirit familiars, putting on performances in which he transforms himself into a snake, an eagle, a jaguar, or a puddle of blood, climbing to the sky or descending to Xibalba. As the Popol Vuh explains it, his displays are "just his way of revealing himself," but they have the effect of terrorizing the lords of other tribes. The next Quiché lords to manifest genius, coming two generations later, are Quicab, who serves as Keeper of the Mat, and Cauizimah, who serves as Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Under their rule the dominion of the Quichés reaches its greatest extent. Where Plumed Serpent gained power through spectacular displays of shamanic skill, Quicab now gains

PYRAMIDS THAT BEAR THE TEMPLES: *At left is one of the pyramids of Iximché, a site whose buildings are far better preserved than those of Rotten Cane. When the Cakchiquels ended their allegiance with the Quichés, two generations after the founding of Rotten Cane, Iximché became their capital. To the right of the pyramid is a long platform on which a palace once stood. Major structures, here and at Rotten Cane, were covered with plaster (fragments of which are visible in the picture) and painted with polychrome murals.*

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

it by conquest, extending the kingdom southwestward as far as the present-day border of Mexico. Not content with merely overpowering the citadels of surrounding peoples, he sends out loyal vassals, called

"guardians of the land" or "lookout lineages," to serve as forces of occupation. The stationing of these guardians is conceived as analogous to the construction of a palisade; they turn the entire Quiché kingdom into one great fortress.

During this period the settlement at the center of the Quiché kingdom embraced a cluster of four citadels, with Rotten Cane at the focal point. Together with the ordinary houses that occupied the lower or less defensible land around them, these four sites made up a larger town that took the name Quiché. It was perhaps the most densely built-up area that had existed in highland Guatemala since the Early Classic, and it took on the stature of the place where Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord had gone to receive the titles and emblems of truly glorious lordship. Five generations after their pilgrimage a new conferring of titles took place, only now it was not pilgrims but the heads of the leading lookout lineages who were ennobled, and it happened not under the authority of Nacxit, lord of a distant and ever more mythic domain, but under Quicab, who ruled from Quiché.

The town of Quiché not only took on the status of the place visited by the pilgrims who received titles from Nacxit, but of the eastern city visited by their forefathers as well. When the founders of the ruling Quiché lineages and their closest allies left that city before the first sunrise, they had come away with tribal gods whose names were "meant to be in agreement," and they were "in unity" when they passed the Great Hollow and convened at Place of Advice. Now, in this latter day, "the word came from just one place" again, and the allies convened in a town and "came away in unity" again, but this time they came away "having heard, there at *Quiché*, what all of them should do." It was probably during this period that the Quiché lords went so far as to have an artificial cave constructed directly beneath Rotten Cane, a cave whose main shaft and side chambers add up to seven. Not content with honoring the memory of the eastern city, they brought the Seven Caves of Teotihuacan, the greatest of all the ancient cities, to the time and place of their own greatest glory.

It is in the course of explaining the greatness of lords like Plumed Serpent and Quicab that the writers of the alphabetic Popol Vuh tell us how its hieroglyphic predecessor was put to use, serving as a way of seeing into distant places and times. Greatness also came to the lords through their participation in religious retreats. For long periods they would stay in the temples, praying, burning incense, letting their own blood, sleeping apart from their wives, and abstaining not only from meat

but from corn products, eating nothing but the fruits of various trees. The shortest fast lasted 180 days, corresponding to half the 360-day cycle (separate from the solar year) that was used in keeping chronologies of historical events, and another lasted 260 days, or one complete run of the cycle whose days were counted by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane when they divined for the gods. The longest fast, 340 days, corresponded to a segment of the Mayan Venus calendar, beginning with the departure of Venus as the morning star and continuing through its stay in the underworld and its period of reappearance as the evening star, leaving just eight days to go before its rebirth as the morning star. This fast probably commemorated the heroic adventures of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in Xibalba, the long darkness endured by the first generation of lords as they watched for the first appearance of the morning star, and perhaps the lowland pilgrimage undertaken by Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord.

The Quiché lords sought identification with the very gods, not only in their pilgrimages, shamanic feats, limitless vision, and long fasts, but in the requirements they set for their subjects. Just as the gods needed human beings to nurture them with offerings, so human lords required subjects to bring them tribute. As the Popol Vuh points out, the "nurture" required by the Quiché lords consisted not only of the food and drink that were prepared for them, but of turquoise, jade, and the iridescent blue-green feathers of the quetzal. Such precious objects as these were considered the ultimate fruits of the blue-green world of earth and sky.

Near the end, the Popol Vuh lists all the noble titles held by the various segments of the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages (in rank order), and it gives the names of those who held the highest titles (in the order of their succession). In the case of the two leading segments of the Cauec lineage, those whose heads held the titles of Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the text lists four generations after Quicab and Cauizimah, who were in the seventh generation, without comment. Then, in the twelfth generation, the names Three Deer and Nine Dog are followed by two sentences whose combination of gravity and brevity gives the reader a chill. The first is, "And they were ruling when Tonatiuh arrived," Tonatiuh or "he who goes along getting hot" being the name given by the Aztecs to Pedro de Alvarado, the man whose forces destroyed Rotten Cane in 1524. And the second sentence about Three Deer and Nine Dog is simply, "They were tortured by the Castilian people." Alvarado, convinced that they

had plotted against him, hung them by their wrists as an aid to interrogation. Afterward he had them executed, but what struck the authors of the Popol Vuh was the torture.

In the thirteenth generation of Cauecs the Popol Vuh lists Black Butterfly and Tepepul, who were "tributary to the Castilian people." Then, at the end of the list of Cauec generations, come the first lords who adopted Spanish names, Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortés, the living holders of the titles of Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat when the alphabetic Popol Vuh was written. Today Quichés ideally list either nine or thirteen generations when they invoke their ancestors in prayer; from this we can see that the thirteen generations of lords named as preceding Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortés need not be taken as constituting an exhaustive genealogy, but may rather be the names these two men were using in their current prayers.

By giving us the names of Quiché lords who were alive while they were writing, the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh also give us the means for dating their work. They could not have finished it any later than 1558, since by that year the name of Juan de Rojas is missing from documents he would have signed had he still been among the living. And since they mention Pedro de Robles of the Greathouse lineage as the current Lord Minister, they could not have finished any earlier than 1554, at which time his predecessor was still in office. During this same period Juan Cortés, whose duties as Keeper of the Reception House Mat would have included tribute collection had he served before the coming of Alvarado, worked constantly to restore tribute rights to the lordly lineages of the town of Quiché. In 1557 he went all the way to Spain to press his case, and it could be that he took a copy of the alphabetic Popol Vuh with him. He continued to make claims when he returned to Guatemala in 1558, prompting a missionary to warn Philip II that "this land is new and not confirmed in the faith," and that Cortés, "son of idolatrous parents, would need to do very little to restore their ceremonies and attract their former subjects to himself." Quiché rights to collect tribute never were restored, but over the next thirty years Juan Cortés did take a considerable role in appointing and installing the leaders of various towns that had once been under Quiché rule.

By the time the authors of the Popol Vuh have finished listing noble titles and the names of the persons who held them, they are only a few sentences away from finishing their work. At this point they single out one of the lesser titles for further discussion, a move that seems anticlimactic until we realize that they are giving us a clue to their own identity. Without naming any individuals, they point out that each of the three

leading lineages included one lord bearing the title of Master of Ceremonies. Here we may recall that when the authors introduced the story of One Hunahpu, they themselves proposed a toast to the reader. If we look for masters of ceremonies among the contemporary Quiché we find the professional matchmakers, who preside over the feasts where marriage arrangements are completed. If our mysterious authors were themselves the three Masters of Ceremonies, and if their duties included speaking at wedding banquets, that would help explain why they took a special interest in marriage customs when they recounted the life and times of successive Quiché citadels. Indeed, they specifically noted the point at which feasting and drinking first became a part of the negotiations for a bride.

The authors give us one final clue to their identity when they tell us that the three Masters of Ceremonies are "Mothers of the Word" and "Fathers of the Word." The combination of "Mother" and "Father" suggests the contemporary daykeepers called mother-fathers, who serve as the ritual heads of patrilineages; it is from their ranks that matchmakers are drawn. Moreover, matchmakers are admired above all other public performers for their eloquence. The focus on "the Word," coming as it does near the very end of a work whose opening line promised to give us the "Ancient Word," suggests that the Word parented by the Masters of Ceremonies and the Word written down in the alphabetic Popol Vuh are one and the same. If so, we know who one of the writers was. As of 1554, the current Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs was a man named Cristóbal Velasco.

At the end of their work the authors repeat the enigma they presented near the beginning, allowing us to wonder whether the hieroglyphic Popol Vuh might still exist somewhere, only now they say it has been "lost" instead of telling us that the reader is hiding his identity. They close on a note of reassurance, asking us, in effect, to accept what they have written without demanding a closer look at their sources, since "everything has been completed here concerning Quiché," meaning the place named Quiché. Then, lest we forget their difficult circumstances, they add the phrase, "which is now named Santa Cruz," or "Holy Cross." Here again they take us back to the beginning, where they told us, "We shall write about this now amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now."

Today, even when Quiché daykeepers go to a remote mountaintop shrine, sending up great clouds of incense for multitudes of deities and ancestors, they sometimes begin and end by running through an "Our Father" and a "Hail Mary" and crossing themselves. It is as if the alien

eye and ear of the conqueror were present even under conditions of solitude and required the recitation of two spells, one to ward them off for a while and the other to readmit their existence. Between these protective spells daykeepers are left to enter, in peace, a world whose obligations they know to be older than those of Christianity, obligations to the mountains and plains where they continue to live and to all those who have ever lived there before them. So it is with the authors of the Popol Vuh, who mention Christendom on the first page, Holy Cross on the last page, and open up the whole sky-earth, vast and deep, within.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Popol Vuh, considered in its entirety, is the vast temporal sweep of its narrative. It begins in darkness, with a world inhabited only by gods, and continues all the way past the dawn into the time of the humans who wrote it. The surviving Mayan hieroglyphic books abound with gods, but they seem to stop short of dealing directly with the acts of mortals. The Dresden book does have one page that shifts the action to the human sphere, but the following pages were torn off at some time in the past. If we wish to find hieroglyphic texts that have the same proportion between divine and human affairs as the alphabetic Popol Vuh, we must leave the time and place in which it was written and go a thousand years back and hundreds of miles away to the Classic Maya site of Palenque, down in the rain forest.

At Palenque, in the sanctuary of each of the three temples in what is now known as the Cross Group, is a stone tablet bearing a hieroglyphic narrative. In each case the text is divided into two panels, one of which begins with the deeds of gods, and the other of which ends with the deeds of human lords whose own scribes were the authors of the inscriptions. In the middle of this narrative, where the reader passes from one panel to the other, is a transition from divine to human characters. So also with the Popol Vuh: about halfway through, the reader comes to a transition between what might be called "myth" and "history" (at the end of Part Three). The characters in the narrative are still divine at this point, but they are described as performing rituals for the veneration of ripened corn and deceased relatives, rituals that are meant to be followed by future humans rather than by ancient gods. After this episode, in which the gods act like people, comes another in which people act like gods (at the beginning of Part Four). The people in question are the first four humans, the ones who saw and understood everything in the sky-earth. Once their perfect vision has been taken away the narrative begins to sound more like history as it moves along, though human characters continue to aspire to deeds of divine proportions.

We tend to think of myth and history as being in conflict with each

other, but the authors of the inscriptions at Palenque and the alphabetic text of the Popol Vuh treated the mythic and historical parts of their narratives as belonging to a single, balanced whole. By their sense of proportion, the Egyptian Book of the Dead would need a second half devoted to human deeds in the land of the living, and the Hebrew Testament would need a first half devoted to events that took place before the fall of Adam and Eve. In the case of ancient Chinese literature, the Book of Changes, which is like the Popol Vuh in being subject to divinatory interpretation, would have to be combined with the Book of History in a single volume.

To this day the Quiché Maya think of dualities in general as complementary rather than opposed, interpenetrating rather than mutually exclusive. Instead of being in logical opposition to one another, the realms of divine and human actions are joined by a mutual attraction. If we had an English word that fully expressed the Mayan sense of narrative time, it would have to embrace the duality of the divine and the human in the same way the Quiché term *kajulew* or "sky-earth" preserves the duality of what we call the "world." In fact we already have a word that comes close to doing the job: *mythistory,* taken into English from Greek by way of Latin. For the ancient Greeks, who set about driving a wedge between the divine and the human, this term became a negative one, designating narratives that should have been properly historical but contained mythic impurities. For Mayans, the presence of a divine dimension in narratives of human affairs is not an imperfection but a necessity, and it is balanced by a necessary human dimension in narratives of divine affairs. At one end of the Popol Vuh the gods are preoccupied with the difficult task of making humans, and at the other humans are preoccupied with the equally difficult task of finding the traces of divine movements in their own deeds.

The difference between a fully mythistorical sense of narrative time and the European quest for pure history is not reducible to a simple contrast between cyclical and linear time. Mayans are always alert to the reassertion of the patterns of the past in present events, but they do not expect the past to repeat itself exactly. Each time the gods of the Popol Vuh attempt to make human beings they get a different result, and except for the solitary person made of mud, each attempt has a lasting result rather than completely disappearing into the folds of cyclical time. Later, when members of the second generation of Quiché lords go on a pilgrimage that takes them into the lowlands, their journey is not described as a literal repetition of the journey of Hunahpu and Xbalanque to Xibalba, nor even as a retracing of the journey of the human founders

of the ruling Quiché lineages, but is rather allowed its own character as a unique event, an event that nevertheless carries constant echoes of the past. The effect of these events, like others, is cumulative, and it is a specifically human capacity to take each of them into account separately while at the same time recognizing that they double back on one another.

In theory, if we who presently claim to be human were to forget our efforts to find the traces of divine movements in our own actions, our fate should be something like that of the wooden people in the Popol Vuh. For them, the forgotten force of divinity reasserted itself by inhabiting their own tools and utensils, which rose up against them and drove them from their homes. Today they are swinging through the trees.

On the holy day Eight Monkey
in the year Eleven Thought,
June 22, 1984,
Menotomy, Massachusetts

On the holy day One Hunahpu
in the year Nine Tooth,
July 24, 1995,
East Aurora, New York

PART ONE

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE ANCIENT WORD, here in this place called Quiché. Here we shall inscribe, we shall implant the Ancient Word, the potential and source for everything done in the citadel of Quiché, in the nation of Quiché people.

And here we shall take up the demonstration, revelation, and account of how things were put in shadow and brought to light by

> the Maker, Modeler,
> named Bearer, Begetter,
> Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
> Great White Peccary, Coati,
> Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
> Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea,
> plate shaper, bowl shaper, as they are called,
> also named, also described as
> the midwife, matchmaker
> named Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
> defender, protector,
> twice a midwife, twice a matchmaker,

as is said in the words of Quiché. They accounted for everything—and did it, too—as enlightened beings, in enlightened words. We shall write about this now amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now. We shall bring it out because there is no longer

> a place to see it, a Council Book,
> a place to see "The Light That Came from
> Beside the Sea,"
> the account of "Our Place in the Shadows."
> a place to see "The Dawn of Life,"

as it is called. There is the original book and ancient writing, but the one who reads and assesses it has a hidden identity. It takes a long performance and account to complete the lighting of all the sky-earth:

> the fourfold siding, fourfold cornering,
> measuring, fourfold staking,
> halving the cord, stretching the cord

in the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners, as it is said,
by the Maker, Modeler,
mother-father of life, of humankind,
giver of breath, giver of heart,
bearer, upbringer in the light that lasts
of those born in the light, begotten in the light;
worrier, knower of everything, whatever there is:
sky-earth, lake-sea.

THIS IS THE ACCOUNT, here it is:

Now it still ripples, now it still murmurs, ripples, it still sighs, still hums, and it is empty under the sky.

Here follow the first words, the first eloquence:

There is not yet one person, one animal, bird, fish, crab, tree, rock, hollow, canyon, meadow, forest. Only the sky alone is there; the face of the earth is not clear. Only the sea alone is pooled under all the sky; there is nothing whatever gathered together. It is at rest; not a single thing stirs. It is held back, kept at rest under the sky.

Whatever there is that might be is simply not there: only the pooled water, only the calm sea, only it alone is pooled.

Whatever might be is simply not there: only murmurs, ripples, in the dark, in the night. Only the Maker, Modeler alone, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, the Bearers, Begetters are in the water, a glittering light. They are there, they are enclosed in quetzal feathers, in blue-green.

Thus the name, "Plumed Serpent." They are great knowers, great thinkers in their very being.

SOVEREIGN PLUMED SERPENT: *Here he is seated, holding a snake in his hand. On his back he wears a quetzal bird, with its head behind his, its wings at the level of his shoulders, and its tail hanging down to the ground. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

And of course there is the sky, and there is also the Heart of Sky. This is the name of the god, as it is spoken.

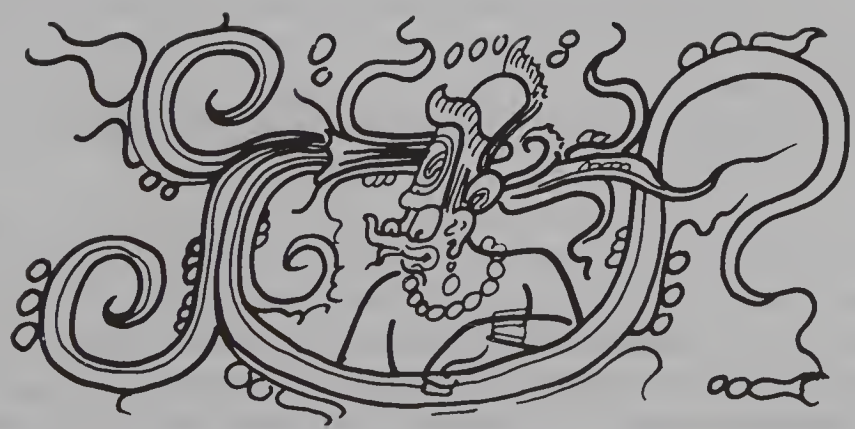
And then came his word, he came here to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, here in the blackness, in the early dawn. He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, and they talked, then they thought, then they worried. They agreed with each other, they joined their words, their thoughts. Then it was clear, then they reached accord in the light, and then humanity was clear, when they conceived the growth, the generation of trees, of bushes, and the growth of life, of humankind, in the blackness, in the early dawn, all because of the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. Thunderbolt Hurricane comes first, the second is Newborn Thunderbolt, and the third is Sudden Thunderbolt.

So there were three of them, as Heart of Sky, who came to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, when the dawn of life was conceived:

"How should the sowing be, and the dawning? Who is to be the provider, nurturer?"

"Let it be this way, think about it: this water should be removed, emptied out for the formation of the earth's own plate and platform, then should come the sowing, the dawning of the sky-earth. But there will be no high days and no bright praise for our work, our design, until the rise of the human work, the human design," they said.

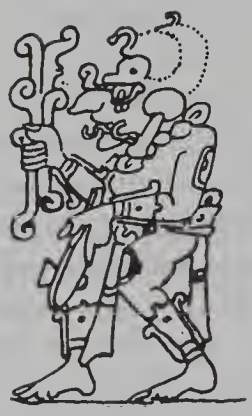
And then the earth arose because of them, it was simply their word that brought it forth. For the forming of the earth they said "Earth." It arose suddenly, just like a cloud, like a mist, now forming, unfolding.



THE HEART OF SKY, NAMED HURRICANE: *Here he peers out from among swirls of smoke and flame (or clouds and lightning) that come from the obsidian mirror on his own forehead. From a Late Classic vase from the lowlands.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

THUNDERBOLT: *A lowland Maya* Chak *or Thunderbolt god, holding a lightning-striking axe in his left hand and a representation of the sound of thunder in his right. From the Dresden Codex.*



DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

Then the mountains were separated from the water, all at once the great mountains came forth. By their genius alone, by their cutting edge alone they carried out the conception of the mountain-plain, whose face grew instant groves of cypress and pine.

And the Plumed Serpent was pleased with this:

"It was good that you came, Heart of Sky, Hurricane, and Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt. Our work, our design will turn out well," they said.

And the earth was formed first, the mountain-plain. The channels of water were separated; their branches wound their ways among the mountains. The waters were divided when the great mountains appeared.

Such was the formation of the earth when it was brought forth by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, as they are called, since they were the first to think of it. The sky was set apart, and the earth was set apart in the midst of the waters.

Such was their plan when they thought, when they worried about the completion of their work.

NOW THEY PLANNED THE ANIMALS OF THE MOUNTAINS, all the guardians of the forests, creatures of the mountains: the deer, birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, rattlesnakes, fer-de-lances, guardians of the bushes.

A Bearer, Begetter speaks:

"Why this pointless humming? Why should there merely be rustling beneath the trees and bushes?"

"Indeed—they had better have guardians," the others replied. As soon as they thought it and said it, deer and birds came forth.

And then they gave out homes to the deer and birds:

"You, the deer: sleep along the rivers, in the canyons. Be here in the meadows, in the thickets, in the forests, multiply yourselves. You will stand and walk on all fours," they were told.

So then they established the nests of the birds, small and great:

"You, precious birds: your nests, your houses are in the trees, in the bushes. Multiply there, scatter there, in the branches of trees, the branches of bushes," the deer and birds were told.

When this deed had been done, all of them had received a place to sleep and a place to stay. So it is that the nests of the animals are on the earth, given by the Bearer, Begetter. Now the arrangement of the deer and birds was complete.

And then the deer and birds were told by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"Talk, speak out. Don't moan, don't cry out. Please talk, each to each, within each kind, within each group," they were told—the deer, birds, puma, jaguar, serpent.

"Name now our names, praise us. We are your mother, we are your father. Speak now:

> 'Hurricane,
> Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
> Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
> Maker, Modeler,
> Bearer, Begetter,'

speak, pray to us, keep our days," they were told. But it didn't turn out that they spoke like people: they just squawked, they just chattered, they just howled. It wasn't apparent what language they spoke; each one gave a different cry. When the Maker, Modeler heard this:

"It hasn't turned out well, they haven't spoken," they said among themselves. "It hasn't turned out that our names have been named. Since we are their mason and sculptor, this will not do," the Bearers and Begetters said among themselves. So they told them:

"You will simply have to be transformed. Since it hasn't turned out well and you haven't spoken, we have changed our word:

JUST LET YOUR FLESH BE EATEN: *A turkey (left) and deer (right) caught in bent-tree snares. From the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"What you feed on, what you eat, the places where you sleep, the places where you stay, whatever is yours will remain in the canyons, the forests. Although it turned out that our days were not kept, nor did you pray to us, there may yet be strength in the keeper of days, the giver of praise whom we have yet to make. Just accept your service, just let your flesh be eaten.

"So be it, this must be your service," they were told when they were instructed—the animals, small and great, on the face of the earth.

And then they wanted to test their timing again, they wanted to experiment again, and they wanted to prepare for the keeping of days again. They had not heard their speech among the animals; it did not come to fruition and it was not complete.

And so their flesh was brought low: they served, they were eaten, they were killed—the animals on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES AN EXPERIMENT WITH THE HUMAN WORK, the human design, by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"It must simply be tried again. The time for the planting and dawning is nearing. For this we must make a provider and nurturer. How else can we be invoked and remembered on the face of the earth? We have already made our first try at our work and design, but it turned out that they didn't keep our days, nor did they glorify us.

"So now let's try to make a giver of praise, giver of respect, provider, nurturer," they said.

So then comes the building and working with earth and mud. They made a body, but it didn't look good to them. It was just separating, just crumbling, just loosening, just softening, just disintegrating, and just dissolving. Its head wouldn't turn, either. Its face was just lopsided, its

face was just twisted. It couldn't look around. It talked at first, but senselessly. It was quickly dissolving in the water.

"It won't last," the mason and sculptor said then. "It seems to be dwindling away, so let it just dwindle. It can't walk and it can't multiply, so let it be merely a thought," they said.

So then they dismantled, again they brought down their work and design. Again they talked:

"What is there for us to make that would turn out well, that would succeed in keeping our days and praying to us?" they said. Then they planned again:

"We'll just tell Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote, to try a counting of days, a counting of lots," the mason and sculptor said to themselves. Then they invoked Xpiyacoc, Xmucane.

THEN COMES THE NAMING OF THOSE WHO ARE THE MIDMOST SEERS: the "Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light," as the Maker, Modeler called them. These are names of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

When Hurricane had spoken with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, they invoked the daykeepers, diviners, the midmost seers:

"There is yet to find, yet to discover how we are to model a person, construct a person again, a provider, nurturer, so that we are called upon and we are recognized: our recompense is in words.

> Midwife, matchmaker,
> our grandmother, our grandfather,
> Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
> let there be planting, let there be the dawning
> of our invocation, our sustenance, our recognition
> by the human work, the human design,
> the human figure, the human form.
> So be it, fulfill your names:
> Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
> Bearer twice over, Begetter twice over,
> Great Peccary, Great Coati,
> lapidary, jeweler,
> sawyer, carpenter,
> plate shaper, bowl shaper,
> incense maker, master craftsman,
> Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light.

You have been called upon because of our work, our design. Run your hands over the kernels of corn, over the seeds of the coral tree, just get it done, just let it come out whether we should carve and gouge a mouth, a face in wood," they told the daykeepers.

And then comes the borrowing, the counting of days; the hand is moved over the corn kernels, over the coral seeds, the days, the lots.

Then they spoke to them, one of them a grandmother, the other a grandfather.

This is the grandfather, this is the master of the coral seeds: Xpiyacoc is his name.

And this is the grandmother, the daykeeper, diviner who stands behind others: Xmucane is her name.

And they said, as they set out the days:

> "Just let it be found, just let it be discovered,
> say it, our ear is listening,
> may you talk, may you speak,
> just find the wood for the carving and sculpting
> by the builder, sculptor.
> Is this to be the provider, the nurturer
> when it comes to the planting, the dawning?
> You corn kernels, you coral seeds,
> you days, you lots:
> may you succeed, may you be accurate,"

they said to the corn kernels, coral seeds, days, lots. "Have shame, you up there, Heart of Sky: attempt no deception before the mouth and face of Sovereign Plumed Serpent," they said. Then they spoke straight to the point:

"It is well that there be your manikins, woodcarvings, talking, speaking, there on the face of the earth."

"So be it," they replied. The moment they spoke it was done: the manikins, woodcarvings, human in looks and human in speech.

This was the peopling of the face of the earth:

They came into being, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons, these manikins, woodcarvings. But there was nothing in their hearts and nothing in their minds, no memory of their mason and builder. They just went and walked wherever they wanted. Now they did not remember the Heart of Sky.

And so they fell, just an experiment and just a cutout for humankind. They were talking at first but their faces were dry. They were not yet

developed in the legs and arms. They had no blood, no lymph. They had no sweat, no fat. Their complexions were dry, their faces were crusty. They flailed their legs and arms, their bodies were deformed.

And so they accomplished nothing before the Maker, Modeler who gave them birth, gave them heart. They became the first numerous people here on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES A HUMILIATION, destruction, and demolition. The manikins, woodcarvings were killed when the Heart of Sky devised a flood for them. A great flood was made; it came down on the heads of the manikins, woodcarvings.

The man's body was carved from the wood of the coral tree by the Maker, Modeler. And as for the woman, the Maker, Modeler needed the hearts of bulrushes for the woman's body. They were not competent, nor did they speak before the builder and sculptor who made them and brought them forth, and so they were killed, done in by a flood:

There came a rain of resin from the sky.

There came the one named Gouger of Faces: he gouged out their eyeballs.

There came Sudden Bloodletter: he snapped off their heads.

There came Crunching Jaguar: he ate their flesh.

There came Tearing Jaguar: he tore them open.

HE GOUGED OUT THEIR EYEBALLS: *A human eye in the beak of a king vulture, still attached by the optic nerve. From the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

They were pounded down to the bones and tendons, smashed and pulverized even to the bones. Their faces were smashed because they were incompetent before their mother and their father, the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. The earth was blackened because of this; the black rainstorm began, rain all day and rain all night. Into their houses came the animals, small and great. Their faces were crushed by things of wood and stone. Everything spoke: their water jars, their tortilla griddles, their plates, their cooking pots, their dogs, their grinding stones, each and every thing crushed their faces. Their dogs and turkeys told them:

"You caused us pain, you ate us, but now it is *you* whom *we* shall eat." And this is the grinding stone:

"We were undone because of you.

Every day, every day,
in the dark, in the dawn, forever,
r-r-rip, r-r-rip,
r-r-rub, r-r-rub,
right in our faces, because of you.

This was the service we gave you at first, when you were still people, but today you will learn of our power. We shall pound and we shall grind your flesh," their grinding stones told them.

And this is what their dogs said, when they spoke in their turn:

"Why is it you can't seem to give us our food? We just watch and you just keep us down, and you throw us around. You keep a stick ready when you eat, just so you can hit us. We don't talk, so we've received nothing from you. How could you not have known? You *did* know that we were wasting away there, behind you.

"So, this very day you will taste the teeth in our mouths. We shall eat you," their dogs told them, and their faces were crushed.

And then their tortilla griddles and cooking pots spoke to them in turn:

"Pain! That's all you've done for us. Our mouths are sooty, our faces are sooty. By setting us on the fire all the time, you burn us. Since *we* felt no pain, *you* try it. We shall burn you," all their cooking pots said, crushing their faces.

The stones, their hearthstones were shooting out, coming right out of the fire, going for their heads, causing them pain. Now they run for it, helter-skelter.

They want to climb up on the houses, but they fall as the houses collapse.

They want to climb the trees; they're thrown off by the trees.

THEIR HEARTHSTONES WERE SHOOTING OUT: *According to Classic Maya inscriptions, three hearthstones entered the sky and formed a new constellation at the end of the world that preceded the present one. The glyph at left (from a stele at Quiriguá) reads* yax ox tunal, *"new three-stone place," and repeats the sign for "stone"* (tun) *three times; the glyph at right (from a stele at Toniná) adds signs for smoke and flames to the stones.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

They want to get inside caves, but the caves slam shut in their faces.

Such was the scattering of the human work, the human design. The people were ground down, overthrown. The mouths and faces of all of them were destroyed and crushed. And it used to be said that the monkeys in the forests today are a sign of this. They were left as a sign because wood alone was used for their flesh by the builder and sculptor.

So this is why monkeys look like people: they are a sign of a previous human work, human design—mere manikins, mere woodcarvings.

THIS WAS WHEN THERE WAS JUST A TRACE OF EARLY DAWN on the face of the earth, there was no sun. But there was one who magnified himself; Seven Macaw is his name. The sky-earth was already there, but the face of the sun-moon was clouded over. Even so, it is said that his light provided a sign for the people who were flooded. He was like a person of genius in his being.

"I am great. My place is now higher than that of the human work, the human design. I am their sun and I am their light, and I am also their months.

"So be it: my light is great. I am the walkway and I am the foothold of the people, because my eyes are of metal. My teeth just glitter with jewels, and turquoise as well; they stand out blue with stones like the face of the sky.

"And this nose of mine shines white into the distance like the moon.

Since my nest is metal, it lights up the face of the earth. When I come forth before my nest, I am like the sun and moon for those who are born in the light, begotten in the light. It must be so, because my face reaches into the distance," says Seven Macaw.

It is not true that he is the sun, this Seven Macaw, yet he magnifies himself, his wings, his metal. But the scope of his face lies right around his own perch; his face does not reach everywhere beneath the sky. The faces of the sun, moon, and stars are not yet visible, it has not yet dawned.

And so Seven Macaw puffs himself up as the days and the months, though the light of the sun and moon has not yet clarified. He only wished for surpassing greatness. This was when the flood was worked upon the manikins, woodcarvings.

And now we shall explain how Seven Macaw died, when the people were vanquished, done in by the mason and sculptor.

PART TWO

HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE DEFEAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE DAY OF SEVEN MACAW by the two boys, the first named Hunahpu and the second named Xbalanque. Being gods, the two of them saw evil in his attempt at self-magnification before the Heart of Sky. So the boys talked:

"It's no good without life, without people here on the face of the earth."

"Well then, let's try a shot. We could shoot him while he's at his meal. We could make him ill, then put an end to his riches, his jade, his metal, his jewels, his gems, the source of his brilliance. Everyone might do as he does, but it should not come to be that fiery splendor is merely a matter of metal. So be it," said the boys, each one with a blowgun on his shoulder, the two of them together.

And this Seven Macaw has two sons: the first of these is Zipacna, and the second is the Earthquake. And Chimalmat is the name of their mother, the wife of Seven Macaw.

And this is Zipacna, this is the one to build up the great mountains: Fireplace, Hunahpu, Cave by the Water, Xcanul, Macamob, Huliznab, as the names of the mountains that were there at the dawn are spoken. They were brought forth by Zipacna in a single night.

And now this is the Earthquake. The mountains are moved by him; the mountains, small and great, are softened by him. The sons of Seven Macaw did this just as a means of self-magnification.

"Here am I: I am the sun," said Seven Macaw.

"Here am I: I am the maker of the earth," said Zipacna.

THE BOYS TALKED: *Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right). The latter, known as Yax Balam in lowland Maya texts, has patches of jaguar skin on his face and body. Classic Maya painting from the cave at Naj Tunich, Guatemala.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

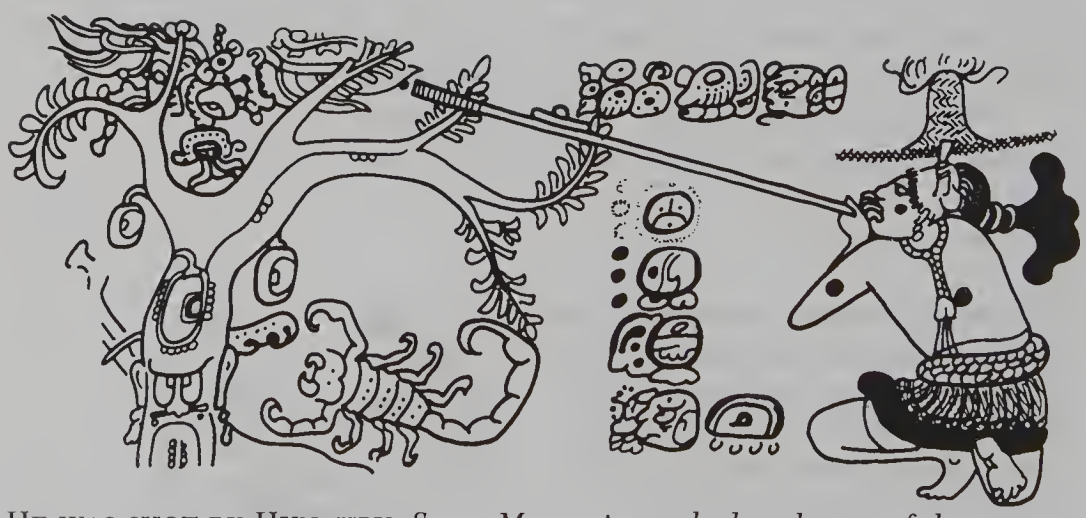
"As for me, I bring down the sky, I make an avalanche of all the earth," said Earthquake. The sons of Seven Macaw are alike, and like him: they got their greatness from their father.

And the two boys saw evil in this, since our first mother and father could not yet be made. Therefore deaths and disappearances were planned by the two boys.

AND HERE IS THE SHOOTING OF SEVEN MACAW BY THE TWO BOYS. We shall explain the defeat of each one of those who engaged in self-magnification.

This is the great tree of Seven Macaw, a nance, and this is the food of Seven Macaw. In order to eat the fruit of the nance he goes up the tree every day. Since Hunahpu and Xbalanque have seen where he feeds, they are now hiding beneath the tree of Seven Macaw, they are keeping quiet here, the two boys are in the leaves of the tree.

And when Seven Macaw arrived, perching over his meal, the nance, it was then that he was shot by Hunahpu. The blowgun shot went right to his jaw, breaking his mouth. Then he went up over the tree and fell flat on the ground. Suddenly Hunahpu appeared, running. He set out to



HE WAS SHOT BY HUNAHPU: *Seven Macaw is perched at the top of the tree at left. Xbalanque is hidden behind its trunk, with only his pawlike hand showing just below the fruit that dangles from the base of the tree's right limb. Hunahpu, with his blowgun on target, crouches at right, shaded by a straw hat. From a Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

grab him, but actually it was the arm of Hunahpu that was seized by Seven Macaw. He yanked it straight back, he bent it back at the shoulder. Then Seven Macaw tore it right out of Hunahpu. Even so, the boys did well: the first round was not their defeat by Seven Macaw.

And when Seven Macaw had taken the arm of Hunahpu, he went home. Holding his jaw very carefully, he arrived:

"What have you got there?" said Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw.

"What is it but those two tricksters! They've shot me, they've dislocated my jaw. All my teeth are just loose, now they ache. But once what I've got is over the fire—hanging there, dangling over the fire—then they can just come and get it. They're real tricksters!" said Seven Macaw, then he hung up the arm of Hunahpu.

Meanwhile Hunahpu and Xbalanque were thinking. And then they invoked a grandfather, a truly white-haired grandfather, and a grandmother, a truly humble grandmother—just bent-over, elderly people. Great White Peccary is the name of the grandfather, and Great White Coati is the name of the grandmother. The boys said to the grandmother and grandfather:

"Please travel with us when we go to get our arm from Seven Macaw; we'll just follow right behind you. You'll tell him:

'Do forgive us our grandchildren, who travel with us. Their mother and father are dead, and so they follow along there, behind us. Perhaps we should give them away, since all we do is pull worms out of teeth.' So we'll seem like children to Seven Macaw, even though *we're* giving *you* the instructions," the two boys told them.

"Very well," they replied.

After that they approached the place where Seven Macaw was in front

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GREAT WHITE PECCARY: *A white-lipped peccary wearing a cloth headdress. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

of his home. When the grandmother and grandfather passed by, the two boys were romping along behind them. When they passed below the lord's house, Seven Macaw was yelling his mouth off because of his teeth. And when Seven Macaw saw the grandfather and grandmother traveling with them:

"Where are you headed, our grandfather?" said the lord.

"We're just making our living, your lordship," they replied.

"Why are you working for a living? Aren't those your children traveling with you?"

"No, they're not, your lordship. They're our grandchildren, our descendants, but it is nevertheless *we* who take pity on *them.* The bit of food they get is the portion we give them, your lordship," replied the grandmother and grandfather. Since the lord is getting done in by the pain in his teeth, it is only with great effort that he speaks again:

"I implore you, please take pity on me! What sweets can you make, what poisons can you cure?" said the lord.

"We just pull the worms out of teeth and we just cure eyes. We just set bones, your lordship," they replied.

"Very well, please cure my teeth. They really ache, every day. It's insufferable! I get no sleep because of them—and my eyes. They just shot me, those two tricksters! Ever since it started I haven't eaten because of it. Therefore take pity on me! Perhaps it's because my teeth are loose now."

"Very well, your lordship. It's a worm, gnawing at the bone. It's merely a matter of putting in a replacement and taking the teeth out, sir."

"But perhaps it's not good for my teeth to come out—since I am, after all, a lord. My finery is in my teeth—and my eyes."

"But then we'll put in a replacement. Ground bone will be put back in." And this is the "ground bone": it's only white corn.

"Very well. Yank them out! Give me some help here!" he replied.

And when the teeth of Seven Macaw came out, it was only white corn that went in as a replacement for his teeth—just a coating shining white, that corn in his mouth. His face fell at once, he no longer looked like a lord. The last of his teeth came out, the jewels that had stood out blue from his mouth.

And when the eyes of Seven Macaw were cured, he was plucked around the eyes, the last of his metal came off. Still he felt no pain; he just looked on while the last of his greatness left him. It was just as Hunahpu and Xbalanque had intended.

And when Seven Macaw died, Hunahpu got back his arm. And Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw, also died.

Such was the loss of the riches of Seven Macaw: only the doctors got the jewels and gems that had made him arrogant, here on the face of the earth. The genius of the grandmother, the genius of the grandfather did its work when they took back their arm: it was implanted and the break got well again. Just as they had wished the death of Seven Macaw, so they brought it about. They had seen evil in his self-magnification.

After this the two boys went on again. What they did was simply the word of the Heart of Sky.

And here are the deeds of Zipacna, the first son of Seven Macaw.

"I am the maker of mountains," says Zipacna.

And this is Zipacna, bathing on the shore. Then the Four Hundred Boys passed by dragging a log, a post for their hut. The Four Hundred Boys were walking along, having cut a great tree for the lintel of their hut.

And then Zipacna went there, he arrived where the Four Hundred Boys were:

"What are you doing, boys?"

This is Zipacna, bathing on the shore: *With bands of sky above and water below, this lowland version of Zipacna takes the form of a caiman. From a Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

"It's just this log. We can't lift it up to carry it."

"I'll carry it. Where does it go? What do you intend to use it for?"

"It's just a lintel for our hut."

"Very well," he replied.

And then he pulled it, or rather carried it, right on up to the entrance of the hut of the Four Hundred Boys.

"You could just stay with us, boy. Do you have a mother and father?"

"Not so," he replied.

"We'd like some help tomorrow in cutting another one of our logs, a post for our hut."

"Good," he replied.

After that the Four Hundred Boys shared their thoughts:

"About this boy: what should we do with him?"

"We should kill him, because what he does is no good. He lifted that log all by himself. Let's dig a big hole for him, and then we'll throw him down in the hole. We'll say to him:

'Why are you spilling dirt in the hole?' And when he's wedged down in the hole we'll wham a big log down behind him. Then he should die in the hole," said the Four Hundred Boys.

And when they had dug a hole, one that went deep, they called for Zipacna:

"We're asking you to please go on digging out the dirt. We can't go on," he was told.

"Very well," he replied.

After that he went down in the hole.

"Call out when enough dirt has been dug, when you're getting down deep," he was told.

"Yes," he replied, then he began digging the hole. But the only hole he dug was for his own salvation. He realized that he was to be killed, so he dug a separate hole to one side, he dug a second hole for safety.

"How far is it?" the Four Hundred Boys called down to him.

"I'm digging fast. When I call up to you, the digging will be finished," said Zipacna, from down in the hole. But he's not digging at the bottom of the hole, in his own grave; rather, the hole he's digging is for his own salvation.

After that, when Zipacna called out, he had gone to safety in his own hole. Then he called out:

"Come here, take the dirt, the fill from the hole. It's been dug. I've really gone down deep! Can't you hear my call? As for your call, it just echoes down here, it sounds to me as if you were on another level, or

two levels away," said Zipacna from his hole. He's hidden in there, he calls out from down in the hole.

Meanwhile, a big log is being dragged along by the boys.

And then they threw the log down in the hole.

"Isn't he there? He doesn't speak."

"Let's keep on listening. He should cry out when he dies," they said among themselves. They're just whispering, and they've hidden themselves, each one of them, after throwing down the log.

And then he did speak, now he gave a single cry. He called out when the log fell to the bottom.

"Right on! He's been finished!"

"Very good! We've done him in, he's dead."

"What if he had gone on with his deeds, his works? He would've made himself first among us and taken our place—we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. Now they enjoyed themselves:

"On to the making of our sweet drink! Three days will pass, and after three days let's drink to dedicate our hut—we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. "And tomorrow we'll see, and on the day after tomorrow we'll see whether or not ants come from the ground when he's stinking and rotting. After that our hearts will be content when we drink our sweet drink," they said. But Zipacna was listening from the hole when the boys specified "the day after tomorrow."

And on the second day, when the ants collected, they were running, swarming. Having taken their pickings under the log, they were everywhere, carrying hair in their mouths and carrying the nails of Zipacna. When the boys saw this:

"He's finished, that trickster! Look here how the ants have stripped him, how they've swarmed. Everywhere they carry hair in their mouths. It's his nails you can see. We've done it!" they said among themselves.

But this Zipacna is still alive. He just cuts the hair off his head and chews off his nails to give them to the ants.

And so the Four Hundred Boys thought he had died.

After that, their sweet drink was ready on the third day, and then all the boys got drunk, and once they were drunk, all four hundred of those boys, they weren't feeling a thing.

After that the hut was brought down on top of them by Zipacna. All of them were completely flattened. Not even one or two were saved from among all the Four Hundred Boys. They were killed by Zipacna, the son of Seven Macaw.

Such was the death of those Four Hundred Boys. And it used to be

said that they entered a constellation, named Hundrath after them, though perhaps this is just a play on words.

And this is where we shall explain the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

NOW THIS IS THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ZIPACNA, when he was beaten by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

What now weighed heavily on the hearts of the two boys was that the Four Hundred Boys had been killed by Zipacna.

It's mere fish and crabs that Zipacna looks for in the waters, but he's eating every day, going around looking for his food by day and lifting up mountains by night.

Next comes the counterfeiting of a great crab by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And they used bromeliad flowers, picked from the bromeliads of the forests. These became the forearms of the crab, and where they opened were the claws. They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered.

After that they put the shell beneath an overhang, at the foot of a great mountain. Meauan is the name of the mountain where the defeat took place.

After that, when the boys came along, they found Zipacna by the water:

"Where are you going, boy?" Zipacna was asked.

"I'm not going anywhere. I'm just looking for my food, boys," Zipacna replied.

"What's your food?"

"Just fish and crabs, but there aren't any that I can find. It's been two days since I stopped getting meals. By now I can't stand the hunger," Zipacna told Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"There *is* that crab that's down in the canyon. A really big crab! Perhaps you might manage to eat her. We were just getting bitten. We wanted to catch her, but we got scared by her. If she hasn't gone away you could catch her," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Take pity on me, please come point her out, boys," said Zipacna.

"We don't want to, but you go ahead. You can't miss her. Just follow the river, and you go straight on over there below a great mountain. She's clattering there at the bottom of the canyon. Just head on over there," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"But won't you please take pity on me? What if she can't be found, boys? If you come along I'll show you a place where there are plenty of birds. Please come shoot them, I know where they are," Zipacna replied. They consented. He went ahead of the boys.

"What if you can't catch the crab? Just as we had to turn back, so will you. Not only didn't we eat her, but all at once *she* was biting *us*. We were entering face down, but when she got scared we were entering on our back. We just barely missed reaching her then, so you'd better enter on your back," he was told.

"Very well," Zipacna replied, and then they went on. Now Zipacna had company as he went. They arrived at the bottom of the canyon.

The crab is on her side, her shell is gleaming red there. In under the canyon wall is their contrivance.

"Very good!" Zipacna is happy now. He wishes she were already in his mouth, so she could really cure his hunger. He wanted to eat her, he just wanted it face down, he wanted to enter, but since the crab got on top of him with her back down, he came back out.

"You didn't reach her?" he was asked.

"No indeed—she was just getting on top with her back down. I just barely missed her on the first try, so perhaps I'd better enter on my back," he replied.

After that he entered again, on his back. He entered all the way—only his kneecaps were showing now! He gave a last sigh and was calm. The great mountain rested on his chest. He couldn't turn over now, and so Zipacna turned to stone.

Such, in its turn, was the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. He was "the maker of mountains," as his previous pronouncements had it, the first son of Seven Macaw. He was defeated beneath the great mountain called Meauan, defeated by genius alone. He was the second to magnify himself, and now we shall speak what is spoken of another.

And the third to magnify himself is the second son of Seven Macaw, named Earthquake.

"I am the breaker of mountains," he said. But even so, Hunahpu and Xbalanque defeated the Earthquake. Then Hurricane spoke, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt; he spoke to Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"The second son of Seven Macaw is another one, another who should

be defeated. This is my word, because what they do on the face of the earth is no good. They are surpassing the sun in size, in weight, and it should not be that way. Lure this Earthquake into sitting down over there in the east," Hurricane told the two boys.

"Very well, your lordship. There is more to be done. What we see is no good. Isn't it a question of your position and your eminence, sir, Heart of Sky?" the two boys said when they responded to the word of Hurricane.

Meanwhile he presses on, this Earthquake, breaker of mountains. Just by lightly tapping his foot on the ground he instantly demolishes the mountains, great and small. When he met up with the two boys:

"Where are you going, boy?" they asked Earthquake.

"I'm not going anywhere. I just scatter the mountains, and I'm the one who breaks them, in the course of the days, in the course of the light," he said when he answered. Then the Earthquake asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"Where did you come from? I don't know your faces. What are your names?" said Earthquake.

"We have no names. We just hunt and trap in the mountains. We're just orphans, we have nothing to call our own, boy. We're just making our way among the mountains, small and great, boy. And there's one great mountain we saw that's just growing right along. It's rising really high! It's just swelling up, rising above all the other mountains. And there weren't even one or two birds to be found, boy. So how could it be that you destroy all mountains, boy?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to Earthquake.

"It can't be true you saw the mountain you're talking about. Where is it? You'll see me knock it down yet. Where did you see it?"

"Well, it's over there in the east," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Good. Lead the way," the two boys were told.

"Not so. You take the middle. Stay here between us—one of us at your left, the other at your right hand—because of our blowguns. If there are birds, we'll shoot," they said. They enjoy practicing their shooting.

And this is the way they shoot: the shot of their blowguns isn't made of earth—they just blow at the birds when they shoot, to the amazement of the Earthquake.

And then the boys made fire with a drill and roasted the birds over the fire. And they coated one of the birds with plaster, they put gypsum on it.

"So this is the one we'll give him when he's hungry, and when he

THE BOYS MADE FIRE WITH A DRILL: *Two figures turn a fire drill while sparks fly up from the wooden platform where the point of the drill is inserted. They are seated beside a road, marked by footprints. From the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

savors the aroma of our birds. That will be victory, since we've covered his bird with baked earth. In earth we must cook it, and in earth must be his grave—if the great knower, the one to be made and modeled, is to have a sowing and dawning," said the boys.

"Because of this, the human heart will desire a bite of meat, a meal of flesh, just as the heart of the Earthquake will desire it," Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to each other. Then they roasted the birds and cooked them until they were brown, dripping with fat that oozed from the backs of the birds, with an overwhelmingly fragrant aroma.

And this Earthquake wants to be fed, his mouth just waters, he gulps and slurps with spittle and saliva because of the fragrance of the birds. So then he asked:

"What are you eating? I smell a truly delicious aroma! Please give me a little bit," he said. And when they gave a bird to Earthquake, he was as good as defeated.

After he had finished off the bird, they went on until they arrived in the east, where the great mountain was.

Meanwhile, Earthquake had lost the strength in his legs and arms. He couldn't go on because of the earth that coated the bird he'd eaten. So now there was nothing he could do to the mountain. He never recovered; he was destroyed. So then he was bound by the two boys; his hands were bound behind him. When his hands had been secured by the boys, his ankles were bound to his wrists.

After that they threw him down, they buried him in the earth.

Such is the defeat of Earthquake. It's Hunahpu and Xbalanque yet again. Their deeds on the face of the earth are countless.

And now we shall explain the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, having first explained the defeat of Seven Macaw, along with Zipacna and Earthquake, here on the face of the earth.

PART THREE

And now we shall name the name of the father of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Let's drink to him, and let's just drink to the telling and accounting of the begetting of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. We shall tell just half of it, just a part of the account of their father. Here follows the account.

These are the names: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, as they are called.

And these are their parents: Xpiyacoc, Xmucane. In the blackness, in the night, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were born to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

And this One Hunahpu had two children, and the two were sons, the firstborn named One Monkey and the second named One Artisan.

And this is the name of their mother: she is called Egret Woman, the wife of One Hunahpu. As for Seven Hunahpu, he has no wife. He's just a partner and just secondary; he just remains a boy.

They are great thinkers and great is their knowledge. They are the midmost seers, here on the face of the earth. There is only good in their being and their birthright. They taught skills to One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu. One Monkey and One Artisan became flautists, singers, and writers; carvers, jadeworkers, metalworkers as well.

And as for One and Seven Hunahpu, all they did was throw dice and play ball, every day. They would play each other in pairs, the four of them together. When they gathered in the ball court for entertainment a falcon would come to watch them, the messenger of Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt. And for this falcon it wasn't far to the earth here, nor was it far to Xibalba; he could get back to the sky, to Hurricane, in an instant.

The four ballplayers remained here on the face of the earth after the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan had died. Since it was on the road to Xibalba that they played, they were heard by One Death and Seven Death, the lords of Xibalba:

"What's happening on the face of the earth? They're just stomping and shouting. They should be summoned to come play ball here. We'll defeat them, since we simply get no deference from them. They show no respect, nor do they have any shame. They're really determined to run right over us!" said all of Xibalba, when they all shared their thoughts, the ones named One and Seven Death. They are great lawgivers.

And these are the lords over everything, each lord with a commission and a domain assigned by One and Seven Death:

There are the lords named Scab Stripper and Blood Gatherer. And this is their commission: to draw blood from people.

Next are the lordships of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice. And this is their domain: to make people swell up, to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice, as it is called. Such is the domain of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice.

Next are the lords Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter, the staff bearers of Xibalba; their staffs are just bones. And this is their staff-bearing: to reduce people to bones, right down to the bones and skulls, until they die from emaciation and edema. This is the commission of the ones named Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter.

Next are the lords named Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe. This is their commission: just to give people a sudden fright whenever they have filth or grime in the doorway of the house, the patio of the house. Then they're struck, they're just punctured till they crawl on the ground, then die. And this is the domain of Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe, as they are called.

Next are the lords named Wing and Packstrap. This is their domain: that people should die in the road, just "sudden death," as it is called. Blood comes to the mouth, then there is death from vomiting blood. So to each of them his burden, the load on his shoulders: just to strike people on the neck and chest. Then there is death in the road, and then

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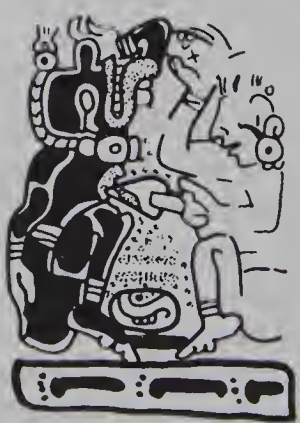
People should die in the road: *A Xibalban (right) stabs a merchant god (left) on a road (indicated by the footprints). From the Madrid Codex.*



DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

they just go on causing suffering, whether one is coming or going. And this is the domain of Wing and Packstrap.

Such are those who shared their thoughts when they were piqued and driven by One and Seven Hunahpu. What Xibalba desired was the gaming equipment of One and Seven Hunahpu: their kilts, their yokes, their arm guards, their panaches and headbands, the costumes of One and Seven Hunahpu.

And this is where we shall continue telling of their trip to Xibalba. One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu, stayed behind. Their mother died—and, what is more, they were to be defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND NOW FOR THE MESSENGERS OF ONE AND SEVEN DEATH:

"You're going, you Military Keepers of the Mat, to summon One and Seven Hunahpu. You'll tell them, when you arrive:

' "They must come," the lords say to you. "Would that they might come to play ball with us here. Then we could have some excitement with them. We are truly amazed at them. Therefore they should come," say the lords, "and they should bring their playthings, their yokes and arm guards should come, along with their rubber ball," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

THESE MESSENGERS OF THEIRS ARE OWLS:
The great horned owl appears as a bird of omen in lowland Maya art, serving as the messenger of the merchant lord of Xibalba. From the Dresden Codex.

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

And these messengers of theirs are owls: Shooting Owl, One-legged Owl, Macaw Owl, Skull Owl, as the messengers of Xibalba are called.

There is Shooting Owl, like a point, just piercing.

And there is One-legged Owl, with just one leg; he has wings.

And there is Macaw Owl, with a red back; he has wings.

And there is also Skull Owl, with only a head alone; he has no legs, but he does have wings.

There are four messengers, Military Keepers of the Mat in rank.

And when they came out of Xibalba they arrived quickly, alighting above the ball court where One and Seven Hunahpu were playing, at the ball court called Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes. The owls, arriving in a flurry over the ball court, now repeated their words, reciting the exact words of One Death, Seven Death, Demon of Pus, Demon of Jaundice, Bone Scepter, Skull Scepter, Scab Stripper, Blood Gatherer, Demon of Filth, Demon of Woe, Wing, Packstrap, as all the lords are named. Their words were repeated by the owls.

"Don't the lords One and Seven Death speak truly?"

"Truly indeed," the owls replied. "We'll accompany you.

'They're to bring along all their gaming equipment,' say the lords."

"Very well, but wait for us while we notify our mother," they replied.

And when they went to their house, they spoke to their mother; their father had died:

"We're going, our dear mother, even though we've just arrived. The messengers of the lord have come to get us:

' "They should come," he says,' they say, giving us orders. We'll leave our rubber ball behind here," they said, then they went to tie it up under the roof of the house. "Until we return—then we'll put it in play again."

They told One Monkey and One Artisan:

"As for you, just play and just sing, write and carve to warm our house and to warm the heart of your grandmother." When they had been given their instructions, their grandmother Xmucane sobbed, she had to weep.

"We're going, we're not dying. Don't be sad," said One and Seven Hunahpu, then they left.

After that One and Seven Hunahpu left, guided down the road by the messengers.

And then they descended the road to Xibalba, going down over the edge of a steep slope, and they descended until they came to the mouth where the canyons change, the ones named Rustling Canyon, Gurgling Canyon.

They passed through there, then they passed through Scorpion Rapids. They passed through countless scorpions but they were not stung.

And then they came to water again, to blood: Blood River. They crossed but did not drink. They came to a river, but a river filled with pus. Still they were not defeated, but passed through again.

And then they came to the Crossroads, but here they were defeated, at the Crossroads:

Red Road was one and Black Road another.

White Road was one and Yellow Road another.

There were four roads, and Black Road spoke:

"I am the one you are taking. I am the lord's road," said the road. And they were defeated there: this was the Road of Xibalba.

And then they came to the council place of the lords of Xibalba, and they were defeated again there. The ones seated first there are just manikins, just woodcarvings dressed up by Xibalba. And they greeted the first ones:

"Morning, One Death," they said to the manikin. "Morning, Seven Death," they said to the woodcarving in turn.

So they did not win out, and the lords of Xibalba shouted out with laughter over this. All the lords just shouted with laughter because they had triumphed; in their hearts they had beaten One and Seven Hunahpu. They laughed on until One and Seven Death spoke:

"It's good that you've come. Tomorrow you must put your yokes and arm guards into action," they were told.

"Sit here on our bench," they were told, but the only bench they were offered was a burning-hot rock.

THE LORDS OF XIBALBA SHOUTED OUT WITH LAUGHTER: *This lowland Maya death lord, whose skull and joints have no flesh on them, sits on a throne made of bones. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

So now they were burned on the bench; they really jumped around on the bench now, but they got no relief. They really got up fast, having burned their butts. At this the Xibalbans laughed again, they began to shriek with laughter, the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores, all the lords of Xibalba laughed themselves down to their blood and bones.

"Just go in the house. Your torch and cigars will be brought to your sleeping quarters," the boys were told.

After that they came to the Dark House, a house with darkness alone inside. Meanwhile the Xibalbans shared their thoughts:

"Let's just sacrifice them tomorrow. It can only turn out to be quick; they'll die quickly because of our playing equipment, our gaming things," the Xibalbans are saying among themselves.

This ball of theirs is just a spherical knife. White Dagger is the name of the ball, the ball of Xibalba. Their ball is just ground down to make it smooth; the ball of Xibalba is just surfaced with crushed bone to make it firm.

AND ONE AND SEVEN HUNAHPU WENT INSIDE DARK HOUSE.

And then their torch was brought, only one torch, already lit, sent by One and Seven Death, along with a cigar for each of them, also already lit, sent by the lords. When these were brought to One and Seven Hunahpu they were cowering, here in the dark. When the bearer of their torch and cigars arrived, the torch was bright as it entered; their torch and both of their cigars were burning. The bearer spoke:

" 'They must be sure to return them in the morning—not finished,

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A CIGAR: *A lowland Maya god producing a shower of sparks with a cigar. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

but just as they look now. They must return them intact,' the lords say to you," they were told, and they were defeated. They finished the torch and they finished the cigars that had been brought to them.

And Xibalba is packed with tests, heaps and piles of tests.

This is the first one: the Dark House, with darkness alone inside.

And the second is named Rattling House, heavy with cold inside, whistling with drafts, clattering with hail. A deep chill comes inside here.

And the third is named Jaguar House, with jaguars alone inside, jostling one another, crowding together, with gnashing teeth. They're scratching around; these jaguars are shut inside the house.

Bat House is the name of the fourth test, with bats alone inside the house, squeaking, shrieking, darting through the house. The bats are shut inside; they can't get out.

And the fifth is named Razor House, with blades alone inside. The blades are moving back and forth, ripping, slashing through the house.

These are the first tests of Xibalba, but One and Seven Hunahpu never entered into them, except for the one named earlier, the specified test house.

And when One and Seven Hunahpu went back before One and Seven Death, they were asked:

"Where are my cigars? What of my torch? They were brought to you last night!"

"We finished them, your lordship."

"Very well. This very day, your day is finished, you will die, you will disappear, and we shall break you off. Here you will hide your faces: you are to be sacrificed!" said One and Seven Death.

And then they were sacrificed and buried. They were buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, as it is called. The head of One Hunahpu was cut off; only his body was buried with his younger brother.

"Put his head in the fork of the tree that stands by the road," said One and Seven Death.

And when his head was put in the fork of the tree, the tree bore fruit. It would not have had any fruit, had not the head of One Hunahpu been put in the fork of the tree.

This is the calabash, as we call it today, or "the skull of One Hunahpu," as it is said.

And then One and Seven Death were amazed at the fruit of the tree. The fruit grows out everywhere, and it isn't clear where the head of One Hunahpu is; now it looks just the way the calabashes look. All the Xibalbans see this, when they come to look.

The state of the tree loomed large in their thoughts, because it came

about at the same time the head of One Hunahpu was put in the fork. The Xibalbans said among themselves:

"No one is to pick the fruit, nor is anyone to go beneath the tree," they said. They restricted themselves; all of Xibalba held back.

It isn't clear which is the head of One Hunahpu; now it's exactly the same as the fruit of the tree. Calabash came to be its name, and much was said about it. A maiden heard about it, and here we shall tell of her arrival.

AND HERE IS THE ACCOUNT OF A MAIDEN, the daughter of a lord named Blood Gatherer.

And this is when a maiden heard of it, the daughter of a lord. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father, and Blood Moon is the name of the maiden.

And when he heard the account of the fruit of the tree, her father retold it. And she was amazed at the account:

"I'm not acquainted with that tree they talk about. ' "Its fruit is truly sweet!" they say,' I hear," she said.

Next, she went all alone and arrived where the tree stood. It stood at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"What? Well! What's the fruit of this tree? Shouldn't this tree bear something sweet? They shouldn't die, they shouldn't be wasted. Should I pick one?" said the maiden.

And then the bone spoke; it was here in the fork of the tree:

BLOOD MOON IS THE NAME OF THE MAIDEN: *The lowland Maya moon goddess sits on a platform that represents the sky, and receives an offering. Her lunar identity is revealed in part by the crescent-shaped object she wears tucked under her arm and curving up behind her back to touch her shoulder. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"Why do you want a mere bone, a round thing in the branches of a tree?" said the head of One Hunahpu when it spoke to the maiden. "You don't want it," she was told.

"I do want it," said the maiden.

"Very well. Stretch out your right hand here, so I can see it," said the bone.

"Yes," said the maiden. She stretched out her right hand, up there in front of the bone.

And then the bone spit out its saliva, which landed squarely in the hand of the maiden.

And then she looked in her hand, she inspected it right away, but the bone's saliva wasn't in her hand.

"It is just a sign I have given you, my saliva, my spittle. This, my head, has nothing on it—just bone, nothing of meat. It's just the same with the head of a great lord: it's just the flesh that makes his face look good. And when he dies, people get frightened by his bones. After that, his son is like his saliva, his spittle, in his being, whether it be the son of a lord or the son of a craftsman, an orator. The father does not disappear, but goes on being fulfilled. Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of a lord, a warrior, craftsman, orator. Rather, he will leave his daughters and sons. So it is that I have done likewise through you. Now go up there on the face of the earth; you will not die. Keep the word. So be it," said the head of One and Seven Hunahpu—they were of one mind when they did it.

This was the word Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt had given them. In the same way, by the time the maiden returned to her home, she had been given many instructions. Right away something was generated in her belly, from the saliva alone, and this was the generation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And when the maiden got home and six months had passed, she was found out by her father. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father.

And after the maiden was noticed by her father, when he saw that she was now with child, all the lords then shared their thoughts —One and Seven Death, along with Blood Gatherer:

"This daughter of mine is with child, lords. It's just a bastard," Blood Gatherer said when he joined the lords.

"Very well. Get her to open her mouth. If she doesn't tell, then sacrifice her. Go far away and sacrifice her."

TAKE HER AWAY FOR SACRIFICE: *The merchant lord of the underworld (the lowland Maya equivalent of Blood Gatherer) sends away the moon goddess. Sitting on his hat is his owl messenger. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA.

"Very well, your lordships," he replied. After that, he questioned his daughter:

"Who is responsible for the child in your belly, my daughter?" he said.

"There is no child, my father, sir; there is no man whose face I've known," she replied.

"Very well. It really is a bastard you carry! Take her away for sacrifice, you Military Keepers of the Mat. Bring back her heart in a bowl, so the lords can take it in their hands this very day," the owls were told, the four of them.

Then they left, carrying the bowl. When they left they took the maiden by the hand, bringing along the White Dagger, the instrument of sacrifice.

"It would not turn out well if you sacrificed me, messengers, because it is not a bastard that's in my belly. What's in my belly generated all by itself when I went to marvel at the head of One Hunahpu, which is there at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice. So please stop: don't do your sacrifice, messengers," said the maiden. Then they talked:

"What are we going to use in place of her heart? We were told by her father:

'Bring back her heart. The lords will take it in their hands, they will satisfy themselves, they will make themselves familiar with its composition. Hurry, bring it back in a bowl, put her heart in the bowl.' Isn't that what we've been told? What shall we deliver in the bowl? What we want above all is that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well. My heart must not be theirs, nor will your homes be here. Nor will you simply force people to die, but hereafter, what will be truly yours will be the true bearers of bastards. And hereafter, as for One and

Seven Death, only blood, only nodules of sap, will be theirs. So be it that these things are presented before them, and not that hearts are burned before them. So be it: use the fruit of a tree," said the maiden. And it was red tree sap she went out to gather in the bowl.

After it congealed, the substitute for her heart became round. When the sap of the croton tree was tapped, tree sap like blood, it became the substitute for her blood. When she rolled the blood around inside there, the sap of the croton tree, it formed a surface like blood, glistening red now, round inside the bowl. When the tree was cut open by the maiden, the so-called cochineal croton, the sap is what she called blood, and so there is talk of "nodules of blood."

"So you have been blessed with the face of the earth. It shall be yours," she told the owls.

"Very well, maiden. We'll show you the way up there. You just walk on ahead; we have yet to deliver this apparent duplicate of your heart before the lords," said the messengers.

And when they came before the lords, they were all watching closely:

"Hasn't it turned out well?" said One Death.

"It has turned out well, your lordships, and this is her heart. It's in the bowl."

"Very well. So I'll look," said One Death, and when he lifted it up with his fingers, its surface was soaked with gore, its surface glistened red with blood.

"Good. Stir up the fire, put it over the fire," said One Death.

After that they dried it over the fire, and the Xibalbans savored the aroma. They all ended up standing here, they leaned over it intently. They found the smoke of the blood to be truly sweet!

THE OWLS WENT TO SHOW THE MAIDEN THE WAY OUT: *Flying above the moon goddess (and thus appearing above the earth ahead of her) is the owl messenger of the merchant god of the underworld. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

And while they stayed at their cooking, the owls went to show the maiden the way out. They sent her up through a hole onto the earth, and then the guides returned below.

In this way the lords of Xibalba were defeated by a maiden; all of them were blinded.

And here, where the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan lived, was where the woman named Blood Moon arrived.

And when Blood Moon came to the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan, her children were still in her belly, but it wasn't very long before the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, as they are called.

And when the woman came to the grandmother, the woman said to the grandmother:

"I've come, my lady. I'm your daughter-in-law and I'm your child, my lady," she said when she came here to the grandmother.

"Where do you come from? As for my little babies, didn't they die in Xibalba? And these two remain as their sign and their word: One Monkey and One Artisan are their names. So if you've come to see my children, get out of here!" the maiden was told by the grandmother.

"Even so, I really am your daughter-in-law. I am already his, I belong to One Hunahpu. What I carry is his. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu are alive, they are not dead. They have merely made a way for the light to show itself, my mother-in-law, as you will see when you look at the faces of what I carry," the grandmother was told.

And One Monkey and One Artisan have been keeping their grandmother entertained: all they do is play and sing, all they work at is writing and carving, every day, and this cheers the heart of their grandmother.

And then the grandmother said:

"I don't want you, no thanks, my daughter-in-law. It's just a bastard in your belly, you trickster! These children of mine who are named by you are dead," said the grandmother.

"Truly, what I say to you is so!"

"Very well, my daughter-in-law, I hear you. So get going, get their food so they can eat. Go pick a big netful of ripe corn ears, then come back—since you are already my daughter-in-law, as I understand it," the maiden was told.

"Very well," she replied.

After that, she went to the garden; One Monkey and One Artisan had a garden. The maiden followed the path they had cleared and arrived

ALL THEY WORK AT IS WRITING: *Two monkey scribes sit on either side of a thick screen-fold book, discussing a page they have opened. The scribe on the left holds a writing instrument in his hand. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY STEPHEN D. HOUSTON

there in the garden, but there was only one clump, there was no other plant, no second or third. That one clump had borne its ears. So then the maiden's heart stopped:

"It looks like I'm a sinner, a debtor! Where will I get the netful of food she asked for?" she said. And then the guardians of food were called upon by her:

> "Come on out, rise up now, come on out, stand up now:
> Thunder Woman, Yellow Woman,
> Cacao Woman and Cornmeal Woman,
> thou guardian of the food of One Monkey, One Artisan,"

said the maiden.

And then she took hold of the silk, the bunch of silk at the top of the ear. She pulled it straight out, she didn't pick the ear, and the ear reproduced itself to make food for the net. It filled the big net.

And then the maiden came back, but animals carried her net. When she got back she went to put the pack frame in the corner of the house, so it would look to the grandmother as if she had arrived with a load.

And then, when the grandmother saw the food, a big netful:

"Where did that food of yours come from? You've leveled the place! I'm going to see if you've brought back our whole garden!" said the grandmother.

And then she went off, she went to look at the garden, but the one clump was still there, and the place where the net had been put at the foot of it was still obvious.

And the grandmother came back in a hurry, and she got back home, and she said to the maiden:

"The sign is still there. You really are my daughter-in-law! I'll have to keep watching what you do. These grandchildren of mine are already showing genius," the maiden was told.

Now this is where we shall speak of the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR BIRTH; WE SHALL TELL OF IT HERE.

Then it came to the day of their birth, and the maiden named Blood Moon gave birth. The grandmother was not present when they were born; they were born suddenly. Two of them were born, named Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were born in the mountains, and then they came into the house. Since they weren't sleeping:

"Throw them out of here! They're really loudmouths!" said the grandmother.

After that, when they put them on an anthill, they slept soundly there. And when they removed them from there, they put them in brambles next.

And this is what One Monkey and One Artisan wanted: that they should die on the anthill and die in the brambles. One Monkey and One Artisan wanted this because they were rowdy and flushed with jealousy. They didn't allow their younger brothers in the house at first, as if they didn't even know them, but even so they flourished in the mountains.

And One Monkey and One Artisan were great flautists and singers, and as they grew up they went through great suffering and pain. It had cost them suffering to become great knowers. Through it all they became flautists, singers, and writers, carvers. They did everything well. They simply knew it when they were born, they simply had genius. And they were the successors of their fathers who had gone to Xibalba, their dead fathers.

Since One Monkey and One Artisan were great knowers, in their hearts they already realized everything when their younger brothers

came into being, but they didn't reveal their insight because of their jealousy. The anger in their hearts came down on their own heads; no great harm was done. They were decoyed by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who merely went out shooting every day. These two got no love from the grandmother, or from One Monkey and One Artisan. They weren't given their meals; the meals had been prepared and One Monkey and One Artisan had already eaten them before they got there.

But Hunahpu and Xbalanque aren't turning red with anger; rather, they just let it go, even though they know their proper place, which they see as clear as day. So they bring birds when they arrive each day, and One Monkey and One Artisan eat them. Nothing whatsoever is given to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, either one of them. All One Monkey and One Artisan do is play and sing.

And then Hunahpu and Xbalanque arrived again, but now they came in here without bringing their birds, so the grandmother turned red:

"What's your reason for not bringing birds?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque were asked.

"There are some, our dear grandmother, but our birds just got hung up in a tree," they said, "and there's no way to get up the tree after them, our dear grandmother, and so we'd like our elder brothers to please go with us, to please go get the birds down," they said.

"Very well. We'll go with you at dawn," the elder brothers replied.

Now they had won, and they gathered their thoughts, the two of them, about the fall of One Monkey and One Artisan:

"We'll just turn their very being around with our words. So be it, since they have caused us great suffering. They wished that we might die and disappear—we, their younger brothers. Just as they wished us to be slaves here, so we shall defeat them there. We shall simply make a sign of it," they said to each other.

And then they went there beneath a tree, the kind named yellow tree, together with the elder brothers. When they got there they started shooting. There were countless birds up in the tree, chittering, and the elder brothers were amazed when they saw the birds. And not one of these birds fell down beneath the tree:

"Those birds of ours don't fall down; just go throw them down," they told their elder brothers.

"Very well," they replied.

And then they climbed up the tree, and the tree began to grow, its trunk got thicker.

After that, they wanted to get down, but now One Monkey and One

Artisan couldn't make it down from the tree. So they said, from up in the tree:

"How can we grab hold? You, our younger brothers, take pity on us! Now this tree looks frightening to us, dear younger brothers," they said from up in the tree. Then Hunahpu and Xbalanque told them:

"Undo your pants, tie them around your hips, with the long end trailing like a tail behind you, and then you'll be better able to move," they were told by their younger brothers.

"All right," they said.

And then they left the ends of their loincloths trailing, and all at once these became tails. Now they looked like mere monkeys.

After that they went along in the trees of the mountains, small and great. They went through the forests, now howling, now keeping quiet in the branches of trees.

Such was the defeat of One Monkey and One Artisan by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They did it by means of their genius alone.

And when they got home they said, when they came to their grandmother and mother:

"Our dear grandmother, something has happened to our elder brothers. They've become simply shameless, they're like animals now," they said.

"If you've done something to your elder brothers, you've knocked me down and stood me on my head. Please don't do anything to your elder brothers, my dear grandchildren," the grandmother said to Hunahpu and Xbalanque. And they told their grandmother:

"Don't be sad, our dear grandmother. You will see the faces of our elder brothers again. They'll come, but this will be a test for you, our dear grandmother. Will you please not laugh while we test their destiny?" they said.

And then they began playing. They played "Hunahpu Monkey."

AND THEN THEY SANG, THEY PLAYED, THEY DRUMMED. When they took up their flutes and drums, their grandmother sat down with them, then they played, they sounded out the tune, the song that got its name then. "Hunahpu Monkey" is the name of the tune.

And then One Monkey and One Artisan came back, dancing when they arrived.

And then, when the grandmother looked, it was their ugly faces the grandmother saw. Then she laughed, the grandmother could not hold

DANCING WHEN THEY ARRIVED: *A monkey scribe dances with a mirror in his right hand. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

back her laughter, so they just left right away, out of her sight again, they went up and away in the forest.

"Why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? We'll only try four times; only three times are left. We'll call them with the flute, with song. Please hold back your laughter. We'll try again," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Next they played again, then they came back, dancing again, they arrived again, in the middle of the patio of the house. As before, what they did was delightful; as before, they tempted their grandmother to laugh. Their grandmother laughed at them soon enough. The monkeys looked truly ridiculous, with the skinny little things below their bellies and their tails wiggling in front of their breasts. When they came back the grandmother had to laugh at them, and they went back into the mountains.

"Please, why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? Even so, we'll try it a third time now," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Again they played, again they came dancing, but their grandmother held back her laughter. Then they climbed up here, cutting right across the building, with thin red lips, with faces blank, puckering their lips, wiping their mouths and faces, suddenly scratching themselves. And when the grandmother saw them again, the grandmother burst out laughing again, and again they went out of sight because of the grandmother's laughter.

SUDDENLY SCRATCHING THEMSELVES: *This spider monkey has his genitals showing, or what the Popol Vuh calls "the skinny little things below their bellies." From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

"Even so, our dear grandmother, we'll get their attention."

So for the fourth time they called on the flute, but they didn't come back again. The fourth time they went straight into the forest. So they told their grandmother:

"Well, we've tried, our dear grandmother. They came at first, and we've tried calling them again. So don't be sad. We're here—we, your grandchildren. Just love our mother, dear grandmother. Our elder brothers will be remembered. So be it: they have lived here and they have been named; they are to be called One Monkey and One Artisan," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So they were prayed to by the flautists and singers among the ancient people, and the writers and carvers prayed to them. In ancient times they turned into animals, they became monkeys, because they just magnified themselves, they abused their younger brothers. Just as they wished them to be slaves, so they themselves were brought low. One Monkey and One Artisan were lost then, they became animals, and this is now their place forever.

Even so, they were flautists and singers; they did great things while they lived with their grandmother and mother.

And now they began to act out their self-revelation before their grandmother and mother. First they made a garden:

"We'll just do some gardening, our dear grandmother and mother," they said. "Don't worry. We're here, we're your grandchildren, we're the successors of our elder brothers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And then they took up their axe, their mattock, their hoe; each of them went off with a blowgun on his shoulder. They left the house having instructed their grandmother to give them their food:

"At midday bring our food, dear grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my dear grandchildren," said their grandmother.

After that, they went to their gardening. They simply stuck their mattock in the ground, and the mattock simply cultivated the ground.

And it wasn't only the mattock that cultivated, but also the axe. In the same way, they stuck it in the trunk of a tree; in the same way, it cut into the tree by itself, felling, scattering, felling all the trees and bushes, now leveling, mowing down the trees.

Just the one axe did it, and the mattock, breaking up thick masses, countless stalks and brambles. Just one mattock was doing it, breaking up countless things, just clearing off whole mountains, small and great.

And then they gave instructions to that creature named the mourning dove. They sat up on a big stump, and Hunahpu and Xbalanque said:

"Just watch for our grandmother, bringing our food. Cry out right away when she comes, and then we'll grab the mattock and axe."

"Very well," said the mourning dove.

This is because all they're doing is shooting; they're not really doing any gardening.

And as soon as the dove cries out they come running, one of them grabbing the mattock and the other grabbing the hoe, and they're tying up their hair.

One of them deliberately rubs dirt on his hands; he dirties his face as well, so he's just like a real gardener.

And as for the other one, he deliberately dumps wood chips on his head, so he's like a real woodcutter.

Once their grandmother has seen them they eat, but they aren't really doing their gardening; she brings their food for nothing. And when they get home:

"We're really ready for bed, our dear grandmother," they say when

they arrive. Deliberately they massage, they stretch their legs, their arms in front of their grandmother.

And when they went on the second day and arrived at the garden, it had all grown up high again. Every tree and bush, every stalk and bramble had put itself back together again when they arrived.

"Who's been picking us clean?" they said.

And these are the ones who are doing it, all the animals, small and great: puma, jaguar, deer, rabbit, fox, coyote, peccary, coati, small birds, great birds. They are the ones who did it; they did it in just one night.

After that, they started the garden all over again. Just as before, the ground worked itself, along with the woodcutting.

And then they shared their thoughts, there on the cleared and broken ground:

"We'll simply have to keep watch over our garden. Then, whatever may be happening here, we'll find out about it," they said when they shared their thoughts. And when they arrived at the house:

"How could we get picked clean, our dear grandmother? Our garden was tall thickets and groves all over again when we got there a while ago, our dear grandmother," they said to their grandmother and mother. "So we'll go keep watch, because what's happening to us is no good," they said.

After that, they wound everything up, and then they went back to the clearing.

And there they took cover, and when they were well hidden there, all the animals gathered together, each one sat on its haunches, all the animals, small and great.

And this was the middle of the night when they came. They all spoke when they came. This is what they said:

"Arise, conjoin, you trees!
Arise, conjoin, you bushes!"

they said. Then they made a great stir beneath the trees and bushes, then they came nearer, and then they showed their faces.

The first of these were the puma and jaguar. The boys tried to grab them, but they did not give themselves up. When the deer and rabbit came near they only got them by the tail, which just broke off: the deer left its tail in their hands. When they grabbed the tail of the deer, along with the tail of the rabbit, the tails were shortened. But the fox, coyote, and peccary, coati did not give themselves up. All the animals went by in front of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So NOW THERE WAS FIRE IN THEIR HEARTS, because they didn't catch them. And one more came, the last one now, jumping as he came, then they cut him off. In their net they caught the rat.

And then they grabbed him and squeezed him behind the head. They tried to choke him; they burned his tail over a fire. Ever since the rat's tail got caught, there's been no hair on his tail, and his eyes have been the way they are since the boys tried to choke him, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"I will not die by your hand! Gardening is not your job, but there is something that is," said the rat.

"Where is what is ours? Go ahead and name it," the boys told the rat.

"Will you let me go then? My word is in my belly, and after I name it for you, you'll give me my morsel of food," said the rat.

"We'll give you your food, so name it," he was told.

"Very well. It's something that belonged to your fathers, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, who died in Xibalba. What remains is their gaming equipment. They left it up under the roof of the house: their kilts, their wrist guards, their rubber ball. But your grandmother doesn't take these down in front of you, because this is how your fathers died."

"You know the truth, don't you!" the boys told the rat.

There was great joy in their hearts when they got word of the rubber ball. When the rat had named it they gave the rat his food, and this is his food: corn kernels, squash seeds, chili, beans, pataxte, cacao. These are his.

"If anything of yours is stored or gets wasted, then gnaw away," the rat was told by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well, boys. But what will your grandmother say if she sees me?" he said.

"Don't be fainthearted. We're here. We know what our grandmother needs to be told. We'll set you up under the corner of the roof right away. When that's taken care of you'll go straight to where the things were left, and we'll look up there under the roof, but it's our stew we'll be looking at," they told the rat when they gave him his instructions.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque made their plans overnight and arrived right at noon, and it wasn't obvious that they had a rat with them when they arrived. One of them went right inside the house when he reached it, while the other went to the corner of the house, quickly setting up the rat. And then they asked their grandmother for their meal:

"Just grind something for our stew, we want chili sauce, our dear grandmother," they said.

After that, she ground chili for their stew. A bowl of broth was set out in front of them, but they were just fooling their grandmother and mother. They had emptied the water jar:

"We're really parched! Bring us a drink," they told their grandmother.

"Yes," she said, then she went, and they kept on eating. They weren't really hungry; they just put on false appearances.

And then they saw the rat reflected in their chili sauce: here was the rat loosening the ball that had been left in the peak of the roof. When they saw him in the chili sauce they sent a mosquito, that creature the mosquito, similar to a gnat. He went to the water, then he punctured the side of the grandmother's jar. The water just gushed out from the side of her jar. She tried, but she could not stop up the side of her jar.

"What has our grandmother done? We're choking for lack of water, our parched throats will do us in," they told their mother, then they sent her there.

After that, the rat cut the ball loose. It dropped from beneath the roof, along with the yokes, wrist guards, kilts. These were taken away then; they went to hide them on the road, the road to the ball court.

After that, they went to join their grandmother at the water, and their grandmother and mother were unable to stop up the side of the jar, either one of them.

After that, the boys arrived, each with his blowgun. When they arrived at the water:

"What have you done? We got weary at heart, so we came," they said.

"Look at the side of my jar! It cannot be stopped," said their grandmother, and they quickly stopped it up.

And they came back together, the two of them ahead of their grandmother.

In this way, the matter of the rubber ball was arranged.

HAPPY NOW, THEY WENT TO PLAY BALL AT THE COURT. So they played ball at a distance, all by themselves. They swept out the court of their fathers.

And then it came into the hearing of the lords of Xibalba:

"Who's begun a game again up there, over our heads? Don't they have any shame, stomping around this way? Didn't One and Seven Hunahpu

die trying to magnify themselves in front of us? So, you must deliver another summons," they said as before, One and Seven Death, all the lords.

"They are hereby summoned," they told their messengers. "You are to say, on reaching them:

' "They must come," say the lords, "We would play ball with them here. In seven days we'll have a game," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

And then they came along a wide roadway, the road to the house of the boys, which actually ended at their house, so that the messengers came directly to their grandmother. As for the boys, they were away playing ball when the messengers of Xibalba got there.

" 'Truly, they are to come,' say the lords," said the messengers of Xibalba. So then and there the day was specified by the messengers of Xibalba:

" 'In seven days our game will take place,' " Xmucane was told there.

"Very well. They'll go when the day comes, messengers," said the grandmother, and the messengers left. They went back.

So now the grandmother's heart was broken:

"How can I send for my grandchildren? Isn't it really Xibalba, just as it was when the messengers came long ago, when their fathers went to die?" said the grandmother, sobbing, at home by herself.

After that a louse came down where it could be seen, and then she picked it up and put it in her hand, and the louse moved around with fits and starts.

"My grandchild, perhaps you might like to take my message, to go where my grandchildren are, at the ball court," the louse was told when he went as a message bearer:

" 'A messenger has come to your grandmother,' you will say. ' "You are to come:

'In seven days they are to come,' say the messengers of Xibalba," says your grandmother,' you will say," the louse was told.

Then he went off, and he went in fits and starts, and sitting in the road was a boy named Tamazul, the toad.

"Where are you going?" said the toad to the louse.

"My word is contained in my belly. I'm going to the two boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well. But I notice you're not very fast," the louse was told by the toad. "Wouldn't you like me to swallow you? You'll see, I'll run bent over this way, we'll arrive in a hurry."

TAMAZUL, THE TOAD: *Trailing down the back of this toad is a piece of skin he is shedding. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

"Very well," said the louse to the toad.

After that, when he had been united with the toad, the toad hopped. He went along now, but he didn't run.

After that, the toad met a big snake named Zaquicaz:

"Where are you going, Tamazul boy?" the toad was asked next by Zaquicaz.

"I'm a messenger. My word is in my belly," the toad next said to the snake.

"But I notice you're not fast. Listen to me, I'll get there in a hurry," said the snake to the toad.

"Get going," he was told, so then the toad was next swallowed by Zaquicaz. When snakes get their food today they swallow toads.

So the snake was running as he went, then the snake was met from overhead by a laughing falcon, a large bird. The snake was swallowed up by the falcon, and then he arrived above the court. When hawks get their food, they eat snakes in the mountains.

And when the falcon arrived he alighted on the rim of the ball court. Hunahpu and Xbalanque were happy then, they were playing ball when the falcon arrived.

So then the falcon cried out:

"Wak-ko! Wak-ko!"

said the falcon as he cried.

"Who's crying out there? Come on! Our blowguns!" they said. And they shot the falcon, landing their blowgun shot right in his eye. Wob-

bling, he fell down and they went right there to grab him, then they asked him:

"What are you after?" they said to the falcon.

"My word is contained in my belly. But heal my eye first, then I'll name it," said the falcon.

"Very well," they said.

Next they took a bit of rubber off the surface of the ball, then they put it on the falcon's eye. "Blood of sacrifice" was their name for it. As soon as he was treated by them, the falcon's vision became good again.

"So name it," they said to the falcon, and then he vomited a big snake.

"Speak up," they said next to the snake.

"Yes," he said next, then he vomited the toad.

"What's your errand? Tell it," the toad was told next.

"My word is contained in my belly," the toad said next, and then he tried to throw up, but there was no vomit, he just sort of drooled. He was trying, but there was no vomit.

After that, he had to be kicked by the boys.

"You trickster!" he was told, then they kicked him in the rear, and they crushed the bones of his rear end with their feet. When he tried again, he just sort of spit.

And then they pried the toad's mouth open, it was opened by the boys. They searched his mouth, and the louse had simply stuck in the toad's teeth, it was right there in his mouth. He hadn't swallowed it, but had only seemed to swallow.

And such was the defeat of the toad. It's not clear what kind of food they gave him, and because he didn't run he became mere meat for snakes.

"Tell it," the louse was told next, so then he named his word:

"Boys, your grandmother says:

'Summon them. A message came for them:

"From Xibalba comes the messenger of One and Seven Death:

THEY PUT IT ON THE FALCON'S EYE: *The laughing falcon, alone among the hawks and falcons of Mesoamerica, has black feathers around the eye.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

' "In seven days they are to come here. We'll play ball. Their gaming equipment must come along: rubber ball, yokes, arm guards, kilts. This will make for some excitement here," say the lords,' is the word that came from them," ' says your grandmother. So your grandmother says you must come. Truly your grandmother cries, she calls out to you to come."

"Isn't it the truth!" the boys said in their thoughts. When they heard it they left at once and got to their grandmother, but they went there only to give their grandmother instructions:

"We're on our way, dear grandmother. We're just giving you instructions. So here is the sign of our word. We'll leave it with you. Each of us will plant an ear of green corn. We'll plant them in the center of our house. When the corn dries up, this will be a sign of our death:

'Perhaps they died,' you'll say, when it dries up. And when the sprouting comes:

'Perhaps they live,' you'll say, our dear grandmother and mother. From now on, this is the sign of our word. We're leaving it with you," they said, then they left.

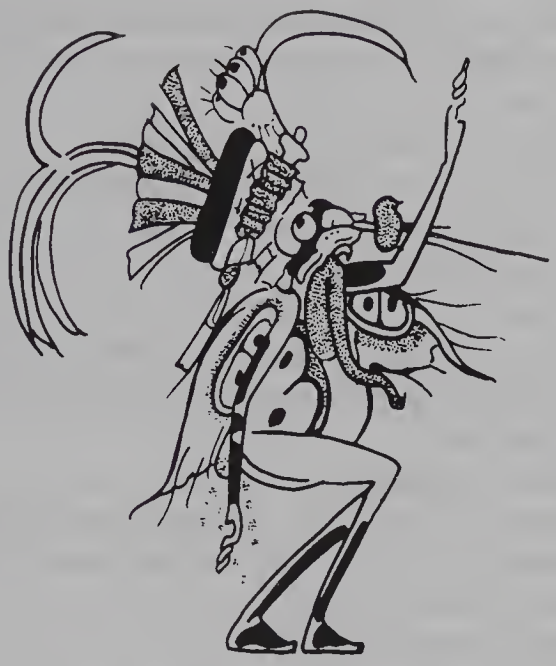
Hunahpu planted one and Xbalanque planted another. They were planted right there in the house: neither in the mountains nor where the earth is damp, but where the earth is dry, in the middle of the inside of their house. They left them planted there, then went off, each with his own blowgun.

THEY WENT DOWN TO XIBALBA, quickly going down the face of a cliff, and they crossed through the change of canyons. They passed right through the birds—the ones called throng birds—and then they crossed Pus River and Blood River, intended as traps by Xibalba. They did not step in, but simply crossed over on their blowguns, and then they went on over to the Crossroads. But they knew about the roads of Xibalba: Black Road, White Road, Red Road, Green Road.

And there they summoned that creature named the mosquito. Having heard that he's a spy, they sent him ahead:

"Bite them one by one. First bite the first one seated there, then bite every last one of them, and it will be yours alone to suck the blood of people in the roads," the mosquito was told.

"Very well," replied the mosquito, then he took Black Road and stopped at the two manikins, or woodcarvings, that were seated first. They were all dressed up, and he bit the first of them. It didn't speak, so he bit again. When he bit the one seated second, again it didn't speak,



THAT CREATURE NAMED THE MOSQUITO: *In this drawing from a Late Classic Maya vase, the mosquito wears its weapon on the front of its headdress and dribbles blood from its anus.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

and then he bit the third one, the one seated third actually being One Death.

"Yeow!" each one said as he was bitten.

"What?" each one replied.

"Ouch!" said One Death.

"What is it, One Death?"

"Something's bitten me."

"It's—ouch! There's something that's bitten me," the one seated fourth said next.

"What is it, Seven Death?"

"Something's bitten me." The one seated fifth spoke next:

"Ow! Ow!" he said.

"What, Scab Stripper?" Seven Death said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated sixth was bitten:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Blood Gatherer?" Scab Stripper said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated seventh was bitten:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Demon of Pus?" Blood Gatherer said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated eighth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Demon of Jaundice?" Demon of Pus said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated ninth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said.

"What is it, Bone Scepter?" Demon of Jaundice said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated tenth in order was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Skull Scepter?" said Bone Scepter.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated eleventh was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Wing?" Skull Scepter said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated twelfth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What, Packstrap?" he was asked next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated thirteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Bloody Teeth?" Packstrap said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated fourteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch! Something's bitten me," he said next.

"Bloody Claws?" Bloody Teeth said to him next.

And such was the naming of their names, they named them all among themselves. They showed their faces and named their names, each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the name of the one seated next to him. There wasn't a single name they missed, naming every last one of their names when they were bitten by the hair that Hunahpu had plucked from his own shin. It wasn't really a mosquito that bit them. It went to hear all their names for Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

After that Hunahpu and Xbalanque went on, and then they came to where the Xibalbans were:

"Bid the lords good day," said someone who was seated there. It was a deceiver who spoke.

"These aren't lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!" they said as they came up.

And after that, they bid them good morning:

"Morning, One Death. Morning, Seven Death.
Morning, Scab Stripper. Morning, Blood Gatherer.
Morning, Demon of Pus. Morning, Demon of Jaundice.
Morning, Bone Scepter. Morning, Skull Scepter.
Morning, Wing. Morning, Packstrap.
Morning, Bloody Teeth. Morning, Bloody Claws,"

they said when they arrived, and all of their identities were accounted for. They named every one of their names; there wasn't a single name they missed. When this was required of them, no name was omitted by them.

"Sit here," they were told. They were wanted on the bench, but they didn't want it:

"This bench isn't for us! It's just a stone slab for cooking," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were not defeated.

"Very well. Just get in the house," they were told.

And after that, they entered Dark House. They were not defeated there. This was the first test they entered in Xibalba, and as far as the Xibalbans were concerned they were as good as defeated.

First they entered Dark House.

And after that, the messenger of One Death brought their torch, burning when it arrived, along with one cigar apiece.

" 'Here is their torch,' says the lord. 'They must return the torch in the morning, along with the cigars. They must return them intact,' say the lords," the messenger said when he arrived.

"Very well," they said, but they didn't burn the torch—instead, something that looked like fire was substituted. This was the tail of the macaw, which looked like a torch to the sentries. And as for the cigars, they just put fireflies at the tips of those cigars, which they kept lit all night.

"We've defeated them," said the sentries, but the torch was not consumed—it just looked that way. And as for the cigars, there wasn't anything burning there—it just looked that way. When these things were taken back to the lords:

"What's happening? Where did they come from? Who begot them and bore them? Our hearts are really hurting, because what they're doing to us is no good. They're different in looks and different in their very being," they said among themselves. And when they had summoned all the lords:

"Let's play ball, boys," the boys were told. And then they were asked by One and Seven Death:

"It's just a skull": *In this game the ball (just right of center) is marked with a skull in profile. From the mouths of the two players at left and the one at extreme right comes speech (resembling curling smoke), probably in the form of taunts like the ones hurled back and forth in the Popol Vuh. The first player to the left of the ball holds the severed head of the first player to the right, whose neck sprouts serpents (representing spurts of blood) and a squash vine (recalling an episode in which a squash serves as Hunahpu's head). From a relief panel in the great ball court at Chichén Itzá.*

"Where might you have come from? Please name it," Xibalba said to them.

"Well, wherever did we come from? We don't know," was all they said. They didn't name it.

"Very well then, we'll just go play ball, boys," Xibalba told them.

"Good," they said.

"Well, this is the one we should put in play, here's our rubber ball," said the Xibalbans.

"No thanks. This is the one to put in, here's ours," said the boys.

"No it's not. This is the one we should put in," the Xibalbans said again.

"Very well," said the boys.

"After all, it's just a decorated one," said the Xibalbans.

"Oh no it's not. It's just a skull, we say in return," said the boys.

"No it's not," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said Hunahpu. When it was sent off by Xibalba, the ball was stopped by Hunahpu's yoke.

And then, while Xibalba watched, the White Dagger came out from inside the ball. It went clattering, twisting all over the floor of the court.

DRAWING FROM ALFRED M. TOZZER, *CHICHEN ITZA AND ITS CENOTE OF SACRIFICE:* PHOTO BY HILLEL BURGER © 1984 BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

"What's that!" said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. "Death is the only thing you want for us! Wasn't it *you* who sent a summons to us, and wasn't it *your* messenger who went? Truly, take pity on us, or else we'll just leave," the boys told them.

And this is what had been ordained for the boys: that they should have died right away, right there, defeated by that knife. But it wasn't like that. Instead, Xibalba was again defeated by the boys.

"Well, don't go, boys. We can still play ball, but we'll put yours into play," the boys were told.

"Very well," they said, and this was the time for their rubber ball, so the ball was dropped in.

And after that, they specified the prize:

"What should our prize be?" asked the Xibalbans.

"It's yours for the asking," was all the boys said.

"We'll just win four bowls of flowers," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well. What kinds of flowers?" the boys asked Xibalba.

"One bowl of red petals, one bowl of white petals, one bowl of yellow petals, and one bowl of whole ones," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said the boys, and then their ball was dropped in. The boys were their equals in strength and made many plays, since they only

THEIR BALL WAS DROPPED IN: *Hunahpu (left) and a member of the Xibalba team (right) jointly hold a ball up with their arm guards just before putting it into play; the latter wears a trophy head on his back. From a relief carved on a stone ball-court marker at Copán.*

DRAWING BY BARBARA FASH

had very good thoughts. Then the boys gave themselves up in defeat, and the Xibalbans were glad when they were defeated:

"We've done well. We've beaten them on the first try," said the Xibalbans. "Where will they go to get the flowers?" they said in their hearts.

"Truly, before the night is over, you must hand over our flowers and our prize," the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, were told by Xibalba.

"Very well. So we're also playing ball at night," they said when they accepted their charge.

AND AFTER THAT, THE BOYS NEXT ENTERED RAZOR HOUSE, the second test of Xibalba.

And this is when it was ordained that they be cut clear through with

knives. It was intended to be quick, intended that they should die, but they did not die. They spoke to the knives then, they instructed them:

"This is yours: the flesh of all the animals," they told the knives, and they no longer moved—rather, each and every knife put down its point.

And this is how they stayed there overnight, in Razor House. Now they summoned all the ants:

> "Cutting ants, conquering ants, come now,
> all of you fetch all of them for us:
> flowers in bloom, prizes for lords."

"Very well," they replied. Then all the ants went to get the flowers, the plantings of One and Seven Death, who had already given instructions to the guardians of the flowers of Xibalba:

"Would you please watch our flowers? Don't let them get stolen. We've defeated these boys, so won't they come looking for the prize they owe us? Don't sleep tonight."

"Very well," they replied, but the guardians of the plants never knew a thing. Their only inclination was to stretch their mouths wide open, going from one perch to another in the trees and plants, repeating the same song:

"Whip-poor-will! Whip-poor-will!"

one of them says as he cries.

"Poor-willow! Poor-willow!"

says the other as he cries, the one named poorwill.

The two of them are the guards of the garden, the garden of One and Seven Death, but they don't notice the ants stealing what's under their guard, swarming, carrying away loads of flowers, coming to cut down the flowers in the trees, gathering these together with the flowers beneath the trees, while the guards just stretch their mouths wide open, not noticing the nibbling at their own tails, the nibbling at their own wings. The severed flowers rain down into the gathering and bunching here below, so that four bowls of flowers are easily filled, an acrobatic performance that lasts till dawn.

After that the messengers, the pages, arrive:

" 'They are to come,' says the lord: 'They must bring our prizes here right away,' " the boys were told.

"Very well," they said. Having loaded up the flowers, four bowls of them, they left and came before the lord, or lords, who received the flowers with pained looks.

With this, the Xibalbans were defeated. The boys had sent mere ants; in just one night the ants had taken the flowers and put them in the bowls.

With this, all the Xibalbans looked sick, they paled at the sight of the flowers.

After that, they summoned the flower guards:

"How did you allow our flowers to get stolen? These are *our* flowers! Here! Look!" the guards were told.

"We took no notice, your lordship, though our tails are the worse for it," they said.

And then their mouths were split wide, their payment for the theft of what was under their guard.

Such was the defeat of One and Seven Death by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, on account of which the whippoorwills got gaping mouths. Their mouths gape to this day.

Now after that, when the ball was dropped in, they just played to a tie. When they finished the game they made an arrangement with each other:

"At dawn again," said Xibalba.

"Very well," said the boys, then they were finished.

And now they entered Cold House. There are countless drafts, thick-falling hail inside the house, the home of cold. They diminished the cold right away by shutting it out. The cold dissipated because of the boys. They did not die, but were alive when it dawned.

So, although Xibalba had wanted them to die there, they did not, but were alive when it dawned. They came out when the pages arrived and the guards left.

"Why haven't they died?" said the rulers of Xibalba. Again they were amazed at the feats of the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So next they entered Jaguar House, the jaguar-packed home of jaguars:

"Don't eat *us*. There *is* something that should be yours," the jaguars were told.

With that, they scattered bones before the animals.

After that, the jaguars were wrestling around there, over the bones.

"So they've made good work of them, they've eaten their very hearts. Now that the boys have given themselves up, they've already been transformed into skeletons," said the sentries, all of them finding it sweet. But they hadn't died; they were well. They came out of Jaguar House.

"What sort of people are they? Where did they come from?" said all the Xibalbans.

So next they entered the midst of the fire, a house of fire with only fire alone inside. They weren't burned by it, just toasted, just simmered, so they were well when it dawned. Although it had been ordained that they be quickly killed in there, overcome, they weren't, and instead it was the Xibalbans who lost heart over this.

Now they were put inside Bat House, with bats alone inside the house, a house of snatch-bats, monstrous beasts, their snouts like knives, the instruments of death. To come before these is to be finished off at once.

When they were inside they just slept in their blowgun; they were not bitten by the members of the household. But this is where they gave one of themselves up because of a snatch-bat that came down, he came along just as one of them showed himself. They did it because it was actually what they were asking for, what they had in mind.

And all night the bats are making noise:

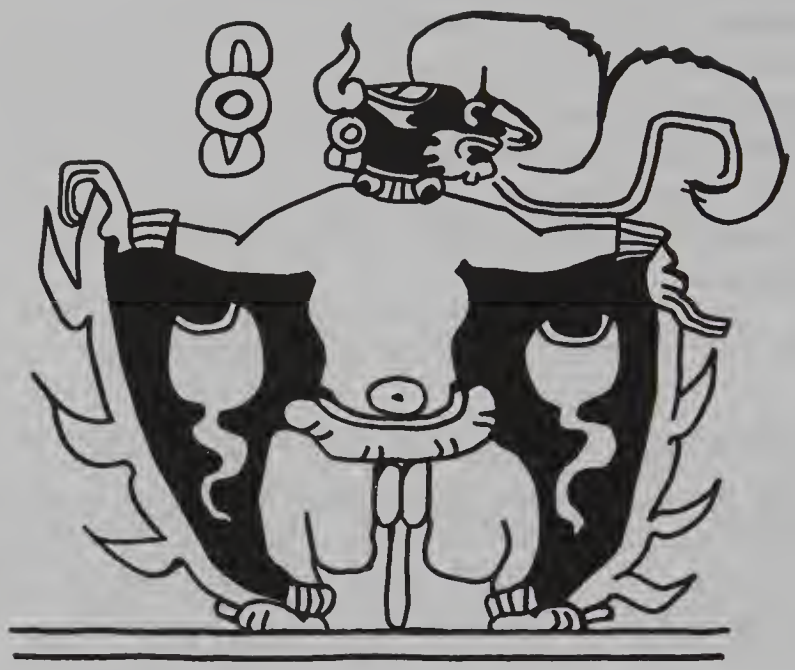
"Eek-eek! Eek-eek!"

they say, and they say it all night.

Then it let up a little. The bats were no longer moving around. So there, one of the boys crawled to the end of the blowgun, since Xbalanque said:

"Hunahpu? Can you see how long it is till dawn?"

"Well, perhaps I should look to see how long it is," he replied. So he kept trying to look out the muzzle of the blowgun, he tried to see the dawn.



SNATCH-BATS, MONSTROUS BEASTS: *The design on the bat's wings represents plucked-out eyes; the scroll-like forms issuing from his mouth are his shrieks. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Chamá style, found in the same region as the Great Hollow where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into Xibalba.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

And then his head was taken off by a snatch-bat, leaving Hunahpu's body still stuffed inside.

"What's going on? Hasn't it dawned?" said Xbalanque. No longer is there any movement from Hunahpu. "What's this? Hunahpu hasn't left, has he? What have you done?" He no longer moves; now there is only heavy breathing.

After that, Xbalanque despaired:

"Alas! We've given it all up!" he said. And elsewhere, the head meanwhile went rolling onto the court, in accordance with the word of One and Seven Death, and all the Xibalbans were happy over the head of Hunahpu.

After that, Xbalanque summoned all the animals: coati, peccary, all the animals, small and great. It was at night, still nighttime when he asked them for their food:

"Whatever your foods are, each one of you: that's what I summoned you for, to bring your food here," Xbalanque told them.

"Very well," they replied, then they went to get what's theirs, then indeed they all came back.

HIS HEAD WAS TAKEN OFF: *Hunahpu stands headless with his arms bound. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

There's the one who only brought his rotten wood.

There's the one who only brought leaves.

There's the one who only brought stones.

There's the one who only brought earth, on through the varied foods of the animals, small and great, until the very last one remained: the coati. He brought a squash, bumping it along with his snout as he came.

And this became a simulated head for Hunahpu. His eyes were carved right away, then brains came from the thinker, from the sky. This was the Heart of Sky, Hurricane, who came down, came on down into Bat House. The face wasn't finished any too quickly; it came out well. His strength was just the same, he looked handsome, he spoke just the same.

And this is when it was trying to dawn, reddening along the horizon:

"Now make the streaks, man," the possum was told.

"Yes," said the old man. When he made the streaks he made it dark again; the old man made four streaks.

XBALANQUE SUMMONED ALL THE ANIMALS: *Here he brings a hummingbird to him. Around his mouth and on his back and thigh are patches of jaguar skin. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

THE POSSUM: *Bringing in a new year that begins on the day named* E *or* Eb, *a possum uses a backpack to carry the patron deity assigned to such years. There are four kinds of year in all, corresponding to the four streaks made by the possum who comes to the aid of Xbalanque. Drawing from the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"Possum is making streaks," people say today, ever since he made the early dawn red and blue, establishing its very being.

"Isn't it good?" Hunahpu was asked.

"Good indeed," he replied. His head was as if it had every bone; it had become like his real head.

After that, they had a talk, they made arrangements with each other:

"How about not playing ball yourself? You should just make lots of threats, while I should be the one to take all the action," Xbalanque told him. After that, he gave instructions to a rabbit:

"Your place is there above the court, on top. Stay there among the ball bags," the rabbit was told by Xbalanque, "until the ball comes to you, then take off while I get to work," the rabbit was told. He got his instructions while it was still dark.

After that, when it dawned, both of them were just as well as ever.

And when the ball was dropped in again, it was the head of Hunahpu that rolled over the court:

"We've won! You're done!
Give up! You lost!"

they were told. But even so Hunahpu was shouting:

"Punt the head as a ball!" he told them.

"Well, we're not going to do them any more harm with threats," and with this the lords of Xibalba sent off the ball and Xbalanque received it, the ball was stopped by his yoke, then he hit it hard and it took off, the

IT WAS THE HEAD OF HUNAHPU: *A member of the Xibalba team goes down on one knee and returns the ball with his thigh, protected by a leather kilt. The ball bears the name of Hunahpu. From a relief carved on an Early Classic Maya ball-court marker from La Esperanza, Chiapas.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

ball passed straight out of the court, bouncing just once, just twice, and stopping among the ball bags. Then the rabbit took off hopping, then they went off in pursuit, then all the Xibalbans went off, shouting, shrieking, they went after the rabbit, off went the whole of Xibalba.

After that, the boys got Hunahpu's head back. Then Xbalanque planted the squash; this is when he went to set the squash above the court.

So the head of Hunahpu was really a head again, and the two of them were happy again. And the others, those Xibalbans, were still going on in search of the ball.

After that, having recovered the ball from among the bags, the boys cried out to them:

"Come back! Here's the ball! We've found it!" they said, so they stopped. When the Xibalbans got back:

"Have we been seeing things?" they said. Then they began their ball game again, and they made equal plays on both sides again.

After that, the squash was punted by Xbalanque. The squash was wearing out; it fell on the court, bringing to light its light-colored seeds, as plain as day right in front of them.

"How did you get ahold of that? Where did it come from?" said Xibalba.

With this, the masters of Xibalba were defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. There was great danger there, but they did not die from all the things that were done to them.

And here it is: the epitaph, the death of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Here it is: now we shall name their epitaph, their death. They did whatever they were instructed to do, going through all the dangers, the troubles that were made for them, but they did not die from the tests of Xibalba, nor were they defeated by all the voracious animals that inhabit Xibalba.

After that, they summoned two midmost seers, similar to readers. Here are their names: Xulu, Pacam, both knowers.

"Perhaps there will be questions from the lords of Xibalba about our death. They are thinking about how to overcome us because we haven't died, nor have we been defeated. We've exhausted all their tests. Not even the animals got us. So this is the sign, here in our hearts: their instrument for our death will be a stone oven. All the Xibalbans have gathered together. Isn't our death inevitable? So this is your plan, here we shall name it: if you come to be questioned by them about our death, once we've been burned, what will you say, Xulu, and you, Pacam? If they ask you:

'Wouldn't it be good if we dumped their bones in the canyon?'

'Perhaps it wouldn't be good, since they would only come back to life again,' you will say.

'Perhaps this would be good: we'll just hang them up in a tree,' they'll say to you next.

'Certainly that's no good, since you would see their faces,' you will say, and then they'll speak to you for the third time:

'Well, here's the only good thing: we'll just dump their bones in the river.' If that's what they ask you next:

'This is a good death for them, and it would also be good to grind their bones on a stone, just as hard corn is refined into flour, and refine each of them separately, and then:

> 'Spill them into the river,
> sprinkle them on the water's way,
> among the mountains, small and great,'

you will say, and then you will have carried out the instructions we've named for you," said little Hunahpu and Xbalanque. When they gave these instructions they already knew they would die.

THIS IS THE MAKING OF THE OVEN, the great stone oven. The Xibalbans made it like the places where the sweet drink is cooked, they opened it to a great width.

After that, messengers came to get the boys, the messengers of One and Seven Death:

" 'They must come. We'll go with the boys, to see the treat we've cooked up for them,' say the lords, you boys," they were told.

"Very well," they replied. They went running and arrived at the mouth of the oven.

And there they tried to force them into a game:

"Here, let's jump over our drink four times, clear across, one of us after the other, boys," they were told by One Death.

"You'll never put that one over on us. Don't we know what our death is, you lords? Watch!" they said, then they faced each other. They grabbed each other by the hands and went head first into the oven.

And there they died, together, and now all the Xibalbans were happy, raising their shouts, raising their cheers:

"We've really beaten them! They didn't give up easily," they said.

After that they summoned Xulu and Pacam, who kept their word: the bones went just where the boys had wanted them. Once the Xibalbans

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WALKING ON STILTS: *A figure from the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

had done the divination, the bones were ground and spilled in the river, but they didn't go far—they just sank to the bottom of the water. They became handsome boys; they looked just the same as before when they reappeared.

AND ON THE FIFTH DAY THEY REAPPEARED. They were seen in the water by the people. The two of them looked like catfish when their faces were seen by Xibalba. And having germinated in the waters, they appeared the day after that as two vagabonds, with rags before and rags behind, and rags all over too. They seemed unrefined when they were examined by Xibalba; they acted differently now.

It was only the Dance of the Poorwill, the Dance of the Weasel, only Armadillos they danced.

Only Swallowing Swords, only Walking on Stilts now they danced.

They performed many miracles now. They would set fire to a house, as if they were really burning it, and suddenly bring it back again. Now Xibalba was full of admiration.

Next they would sacrifice themselves, one of them dying for the other, stretched out as if in death. First they would kill themselves, but then they would suddenly look alive again. The Xibalbans could only admire what they did. Everything they did now was already the groundwork for their defeat of Xibalba.

And after that, news of their dances came to the ears of the lords, One and Seven Death. When they heard it they said:

"Who are these two vagabonds? Are they really such a delight? And is their dancing really that pretty? They do everything!" they said. An account of them had reached the lords. It sounded delightful, so then they entreated their messengers to notify them that they must come:

" ' "If only they'd come make a show for us, we'd wonder at them and marvel at them," say the lords,' you will say," the messengers were told. So they came to the dancers, then spoke the words of the lords to them.

"But we don't want to, because we're really ashamed. Just plain no. Wouldn't we be afraid to go inside there, into a lordly house? Because we'd really look bad. Wouldn't we just be wide-eyed? Take pity on us! Wouldn't we look like mere dancers to them? What would we say to our fellow vagabonds? There are others who also want us to dance today, to liven things up with us, so we can't do likewise for the lords, and likewise is not what we want, messengers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Even so, they were prevailed upon: through troubles, through torments, they went on their tortuous way. They didn't want to walk fast. Many times they had to be forced; the messengers went ahead of them as guides but had to keep coming back. And so they went to the lord.

AND THEY CAME TO THE LORDS. Feigning great humility, they bowed their heads all the way to the ground when they arrived. They brought themselves low, doubled over, flattened out, down to the rags, to the tatters. They really looked like vagabonds when they arrived.

So then they were asked what their mountain and tribe were, and they were also asked about their mother and father:

"Where do you come from?" they were asked.

"We've never known, lord. We don't know the identity of our mother

THEY DANCED THE ARMADILLO: *This dancer wears a scaly armadillo mask, plays a flute, and shakes a rattle. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Chamá style, found in the same region as the Great Hollow where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into the Xibalba.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

THEN THEY TOOK HOLD OF A HUMAN SACRIFICE: *The aged merchant god of the underworld sits on a dais in his palace, with his owl messenger perched on his hat. The women around the platform are all of noble rank; one of them turns to watch the performance to the left, in which two masked dancers (probably Hunahpu and Xbalanque in disguise) carry out a human sacrifice. The left-hand dancer is applying an axe to the back of the neck of the victim. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Princeton University Art Museum.*

and father. We must've been small when they died," was all they said. They didn't give any names.

"Very well. Please entertain us, then. What do you want us to give you in payment?" they were asked.

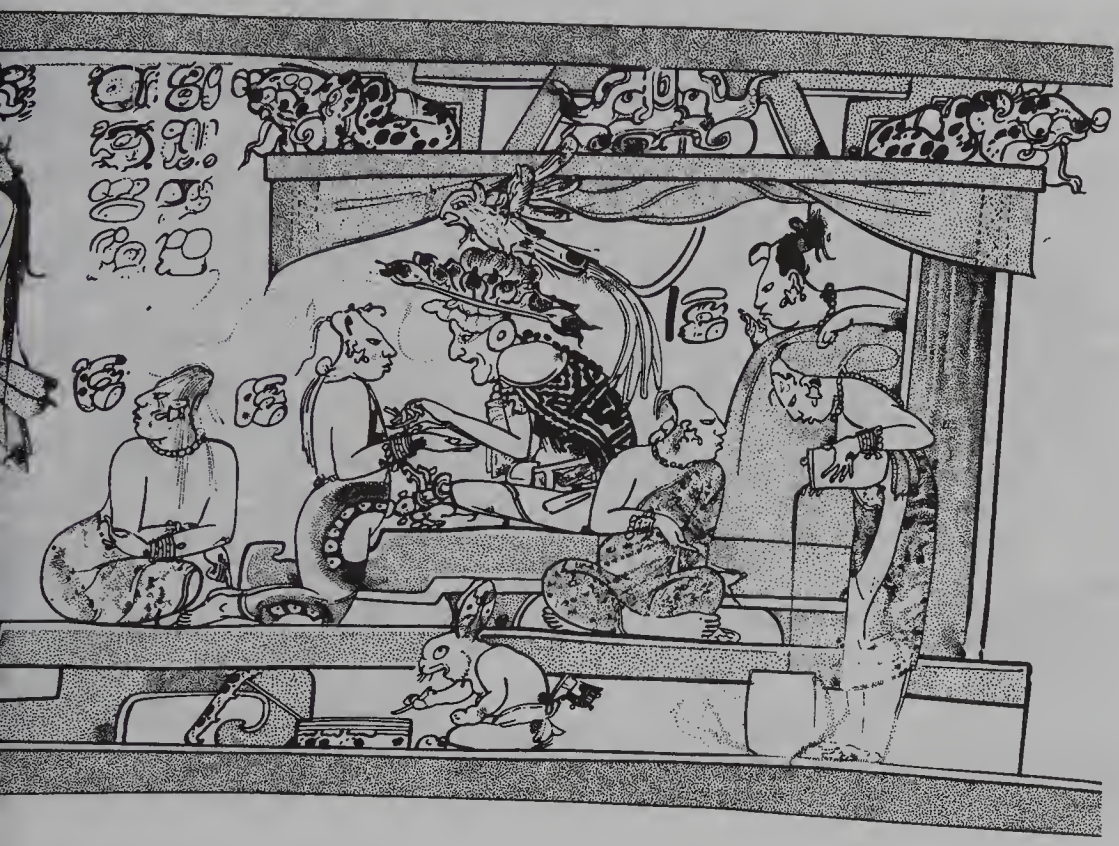
"Well, we don't want anything. To tell the truth, we're afraid," they told the lord.

"Don't be afraid. Don't be ashamed. Just dance this way: first you'll dance to sacrifice yourselves, you'll set fire to my house after that, you'll act out all the things you know. We want to be entertained. This is our heart's desire, the reason you had to be sent for, dear vagabonds. We'll give you payment," they were told.

So then they began their songs and dances, and then all the Xibalbans arrived, the spectators crowded the floor, and they danced everything: they danced the Weasel, they danced the Poorwill, they danced the Armadillo. Then the lord said to them:

"Sacrifice my dog, then bring him back to life again," they were told.

"Yes," they said.



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

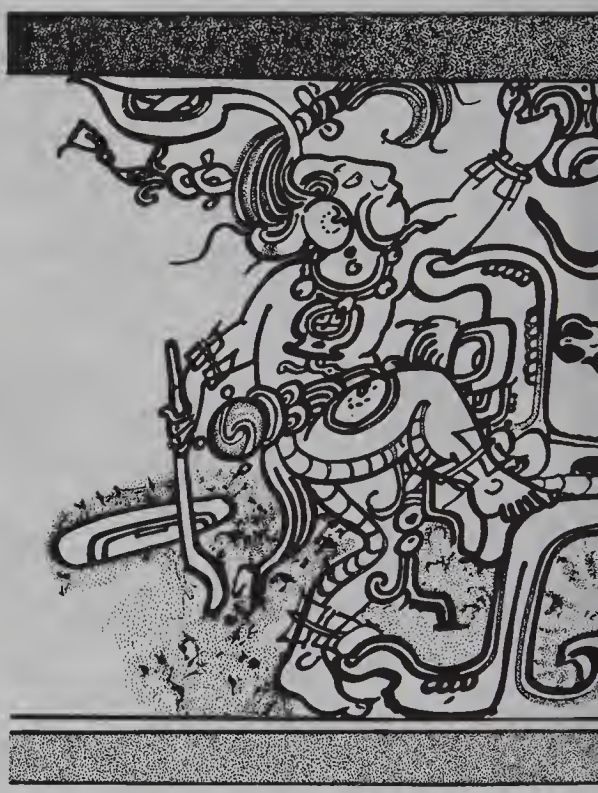
When they sacrificed the dog
he then came back to life.
And that dog was really happy
when he came back to life.
Back and forth he wagged his tail
when he came back to life.

And the lord said to them:

"Well, you have yet to set my home on fire," they were told next, so then they set fire to the home of the lord. The house was packed with all the lords, but they were not burned. They quickly fixed it back again, lest the house of One Death be consumed all at once, and all the lords were amazed, and they went on dancing this way. They were overjoyed.

And then they were asked by the lord:

"You have yet to kill a person! Make a sacrifice without death!" they were told.



SACRIFICE YET AGAIN, EVEN DO IT TO YOURSELVES!: *At left is Hunahpu disguised as a Thunderbolt god, about to swing a lightning-striking axe; the catfish barbel on his cheek recalls the episode in which he and his brother appeared as catfish. Playfully waiting to have his head cut off is a prostrate Xbalanque, no longer limited to wearing a few patches of jaguar skin but rather appearing as a parody of himself. Next (from left to right) are a skeletal Xibalban who dances with delight, a dog who wags his tail (having survived his own decapitation), and a firefly bearing a torch (from the Dark House episode). From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

"Very well," they said.

And then they took hold of a human sacrifice.

And they held up a human heart on high.

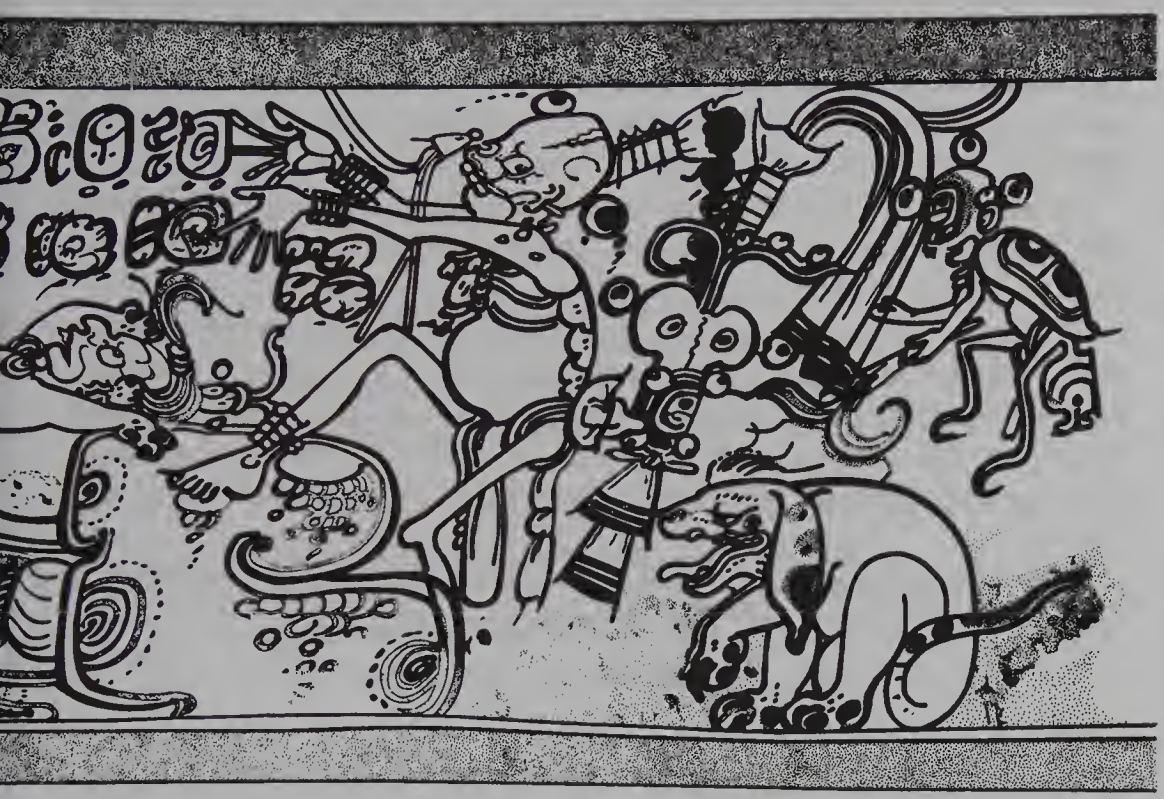
And they showed its roundness to the lords.

And now One and Seven Death admired it, and now that person was brought right back to life. His heart was overjoyed when he came back to life, and the lords were amazed:

"Sacrifice yet again, even do it to yourselves! Let's see it! At heart, that's the dance we really want from you," the lords said now.

"Very well, lord," they replied, and then they sacrificed themselves.

AND THIS IS THE SACRIFICE OF LITTLE HUNAHPU BY XBALANQUE. One by one his legs, his arms were spread wide. His head came off, rolled far away outside. His heart, dug out, was smothered in a leaf, and all the Xibalbans went crazy at the sight.



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

So now, only one of them was dancing there: Xbalanque.

"Get up!" he said, and Hunahpu came back to life. The two of them were overjoyed at this—and likewise the lords rejoiced, as if they were doing it themselves. One and Seven Death were as glad at heart as if they themselves were actually doing the dance.

And then the hearts of the lords were filled with longing, with yearning for the dance of little Hunahpu and Xbalanque, so then came these words from One and Seven Death:

"Do it to us! Sacrifice us!" they said. "Sacrifice both of us!" said One and Seven Death to little Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well. You ought to come back to life. What is death to you? And aren't we making you happy, along with the vassals of your domain?" they told the lords.

And this one was the first to be sacrificed: the lord at the very top, the one whose name is One Death, the ruler of Xibalba.

And with One Death dead, the next to be taken was Seven Death. They did not come back to life.

And then the Xibalbans were getting up to leave, those who had seen the lords die. They underwent heart sacrifice there, and the heart sacrifice was performed on the two lords only for the purpose of destroying them.

As soon as they had killed the one lord without bringing him back to life, the other lord had been meek and tearful before the dancers. He didn't consent, he didn't accept it:

"Take pity on me!" he said when he realized. All their vassals took the road to the great canyon, in one single mass they filled up the deep abyss. So they piled up there and gathered together, countless ants, tumbling down into the canyon, as if they were being herded there. And when they arrived, they all bent low in surrender, they arrived meek and tearful.

Such was the defeat of the rulers of Xibalba. The boys accomplished it only through wonders, only through self-transformation.

AND THEN THEY NAMED THEIR NAMES, they gave themselves names before all of Xibalba:

"Listen: we shall name our names, and we shall also name the names of our fathers for you. Here we are: we are little Hunahpu and Xbalanque by name. And these are our fathers, the ones you killed: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name. And we are here to clear the road of the torments and troubles of our fathers. And so we have suffered all the troubles you've caused us. And so we are putting an end to all of you. We're going to kill you. No one can save you now," they were told. And then all the Xibalbans got down on the ground and cried out:

"Take pity on us, Hunahpu and Xbalanque! It is true that we wronged your fathers, the ones you name. Those two are buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice," they replied.

"Very well. Now this is our word, we shall name it for you. All of you listen, you Xibalbans: because of this, your day and your descendants will not be great. Moreover, the gifts you receive will no longer be great, but reduced to scabrous nodules of sap. There will be no cleanly blotted blood for you, just griddles, just gourds, just brittle things broken to pieces. Further, you will only feed on creatures of the meadows and clearings. None of those who are born in the light, begotten in the light will be yours. Only the worthless will yield

themselves up before you. These will be the guilty, the violent, the wretched, the afflicted. Wherever the blame is clear, that is where you will come in, rather than just making sudden attacks on people in general. And you will hear petitions over headed-up sap," all the Xibalbans were told.

Such was the beginning of their disappearance and the denial of their worship.

Their ancient day was not a great one,
these ancient people only wanted conflict,
their ancient names are not really divine,
but fearful is the ancient evil of their faces.

They are makers of enemies, users of owls,
they are inciters to wrongs and violence,
they are masters of hidden intentions as well,
they are black and white,
masters of stupidity, masters of perplexity,

as it is said. By putting on appearances they cause dismay.

Such was the loss of their greatness and brilliance. Their domain did not return to greatness. This was accomplished by little Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR GRANDMOTHER, CRYING AND CALLING OUT IN FRONT OF THE EARS OF GREEN CORN they left planted. Corn plants grew, then dried up.

And this was when they were burned in the oven; then the corn plants grew again.

And this was when their grandmother burned something, she burned copal before the ears of green corn as a memorial to them. There was happiness in their grandmother's heart the second time the corn plants sprouted. Then the ears were deified by their grandmother, and she gave them names: Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, Living Ears of Green Corn, Bed of Earth became their names.

And she named the ears Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, because they had planted them right in the middle of the inside of their home.

And she further named them Bed of Earth, Living Ears of Green Corn, since the ears had been placed up above an earthen floor.

And she also named them Living Ears of Green Corn, because the corn plants had grown again. So they were named by Xmucane. They had been left behind, planted by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, simply as a way for their grandmother to remember them.

And the first to die, a long time before, had been their fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. And they saw the face of their father again, there in Xibalba. Their father spoke to them again when they had defeated Xibalba.

THEIR FATHER IS PUT BACK TOGETHER BY THEM: *Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right) resurrect their father. He takes the form of a maize god in lowland Maya art, here emerging (or sprouting) from a cleft in the back of a turtle (the earth). From a Late Classic Maya bowl.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

AND HERE THEIR FATHER IS PUT BACK TOGETHER BY THEM. They put Seven Hunahpu back together; they went to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice to put him together. He had wanted his face to become just as it was, but when he was asked to name everything, and once he had found the name of the mouth, the nose, the eyes of his face, there was very little else to be said. Although his mouth could not name the names of each of his former parts, he had at least spoken again.

And so it remained that they were respectful of their father's heart, even though they left him at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"You will be prayed to here," his sons told him, and his heart was comforted. "You will be the first resort, and you will be the first to have your day kept by those who will be born in the light, begotten in the light. Your name will not be lost. So be it," they told their father when they comforted his heart.

"We merely cleared the road of your death, your loss, the pain, the suffering that were inflicted upon you."

And such was the instruction they gave when all the Xibalbans had been finally defeated. And then the two boys ascended this way, here into the middle of the light, and they ascended straight on into the sky, and the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other. When it became light within the sky, on the face of the earth, they were there in the sky.

THE MOON TO THE OTHER: *The lowland Maya Jaguar Moon Lord, enclosed by a lunar crescent. From an Early Classic conch shell trumpet.*

DRAWING BY LINDA SCHELE

And then the Four Hundred Boys climbed up, the ones who were killed by Zipacna.

And so they came to accompany the two of them, they became the sky's own stars.

PART FOUR

AND HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE CONCEPTION OF HUMANS, and of the search for the ingredients of the human body. So they spoke, the Bearer, Begetter, the Makers, Modelers named Sovereign Plumed Serpent:

"The dawn has approached, preparations have been made, and morning has come for the provider, nurturer, born in the light, begotten in the light. Morning has come for humankind, for the people of the face of the earth," they said. It all came together as they went on thinking in the darkness, in the night, as they searched and they sifted, they thought and they wondered.

And here their thoughts came out in clear light. They sought and discovered what was needed for human flesh. It was only a short while before the sun, moon, and stars were to appear above the Makers and Modelers. Split Place, Bitter Water Place is the name: the yellow corn, white corn came from there.

And these are the names of the animals who brought the food: fox, coyote, parrot, crow. There were four animals who brought the news of the ears of yellow corn and white corn. They were coming from over there at Split Place, they showed the way to the split.

THE YELLOW CORN AND WHITE CORN WERE GROUND: *This woman is rubbing a hand stone ("mano") over a grinding stone ("metate") that has stone feet. From a Late Classic Maya bowl.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

And this was when they found the staple foods.

And these were the ingredients for the flesh of the human work, the human design, and the water was for the blood. It became human blood, and corn was also used by the Bearer, Begetter.

And so they were happy over the provisions of the good mountain, filled with sweet things, thick with yellow corn, white corn, and thick with pataxte and cacao, countless zapotes, anonas, jocotes, nances, matasanos, sweets—the rich foods filling up the citadel named Split Place, Bitter Water Place. All the edible fruits were there: small staples, great staples, small plants, great plants. The way was shown by the animals.

And then the yellow corn and white corn were ground, and Xmucane did the grinding nine times. Food was used, along with the water she rinsed her hands with, for the creation of grease; it became human fat when it was worked by the Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, as they are called.

After that, they put it into words:

> the making, the modeling of our first mother-father,
> with yellow corn, white corn alone for the flesh,
> food alone for the human legs and arms,
> for our first fathers, the four human works.

It was staples alone that made up their flesh.

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE FIRST PEOPLE WHO WERE MADE AND MODELED.

This is the first person: Jaguar Quitze.

And now the second: Jaguar Night.

And now the third: Not Right Now.

And the fourth: Dark Jaguar.

And these are the names of our first mother-fathers. They were simply made and modeled, it is said; they had no mother and no father. We have named the men by themselves. No woman gave birth to them, nor were they begotten by the builder, sculptor, Bearer, Begetter. By sacrifice alone, by genius alone they were made, they were modeled by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent. And when they came to fruition, they came out human:

They talked and they made words.

They looked and they listened.

They walked, they worked.

They were good people, handsome, with looks of the male kind. Thoughts came into existence and they gazed; their vision came all at once. Perfectly they saw, perfectly they knew everything under the sky, whenever they looked. The moment they turned around and looked around in the sky, on the earth, everything was seen without any obstruction. They didn't have to walk around before they could see what was under the sky; they just stayed where they were.

As they looked, their knowledge became intense. Their sight passed through trees, through rocks, through lakes, through seas, through mountains, through plains. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were truly gifted people.

And then they were asked by the builder and mason:

"What do you know about your being? Don't you look, don't you listen? Isn't your speech good, and your walk? So you must look, to see out under the sky. Don't you see the mountain-plain clearly? So try it," they were told.

And then they saw everything under the sky perfectly. After that, they thanked the Maker, Modeler:

> "Truly now,
> double thanks, triple thanks
> that we've been formed, we've been given
> our mouths, our faces,
> we speak, we listen,
> we wonder, we move,
> our knowledge is good, we've understood
> what is far and near,
> and we've seen what is great and small
> under the sky, on the earth.
> Thanks to you we've been formed,
> we've come to be made and modeled,
> our grandmother, our grandfather,"

they said when they gave thanks for having been made and modeled. They understood everything perfectly, they sighted the four sides, the four corners in the sky, on the earth, and this didn't sound good to the builder and sculptor:

"What our works and designs have said is no good:

'We have understood everything, great and small,' they say." And so the Bearer, Begetter took back their knowledge:

"What should we do with them now? Their vision should at least reach nearby, they should see at least a small part of the face of the earth, but what they're saying isn't good. Aren't they merely 'works' and 'designs' in their very names? Yet they'll become as great as gods, unless they procreate, proliferate at the sowing, the dawning, unless they increase."

"Let it be this way: now we'll take them apart just a little, that's what we need. What we've found out isn't good. Their deeds would become equal to ours, just because their knowledge reaches so far. They see everything," so said

> the Heart of Sky, Hurricane,
> Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
> Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
> Bearer, Begetter,
> Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
> Maker, Modeler,

as they are called. And when they changed the nature of their works, their designs, it was enough that the eyes be marred by the Heart of Sky. They were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon. Their vision flickered. Now it was only from close up that they could see what was there with any clarity.

And such was the loss of the means of understanding, along with the means of knowing everything, by the four humans. The root was implanted.

And such was the making, modeling of our first grandfather, our father, by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.

AND THEN THEIR WIVES AND WOMEN CAME INTO BEING. Again, the same gods thought of it. It was as if they were asleep when they received them, truly beautiful women were there with Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. With their women there they really came alive. Right away they were happy at heart again, because of their wives.

Red Sea Turtle is the name of the wife of Jaguar Quitze.

Prawn House is the name of the wife of Jaguar Night.

Water Hummingbird is the name of the wife of Not Right Now.

Macaw House is the name of the wife of Dark Jaguar.

So these are the names of their wives, who became ladies of rank, giving birth to the people of the tribes, small and great.

And this is our root, we who are the Quiché people. And there came to be a crowd of penitents and sacrificers. It wasn't only four who came into being then, but there were four mothers for us, the Quiché people. There were different names for each of the peoples when they multiplied, there in the east. Their names became numerous: Sovereign Oloman, Cohah, Quenech Ahau, as the names of the people who were there in the east are spoken. They multiplied, and it is known that the Tams and Ilocs began then. They came from the same place, there in the east.

Jaguar Quitze was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Cauecs.

Jaguar Night was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Greathouses.

Not Right Now was the grandfather and father of the four great houses of the Lord Quichés.

There were three separate lineages. The names of the grandfathers and fathers are not forgotten. These multiplied and flowered there in the east, but the Tams and Ilocs also came forth, along with thirteen allied tribes, thirteen principalities, including:

The Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House.

And the White Cornmeals.

And also the Lamacs, Serpents, Sweatbath House, Talk House, those of Star House.

And those of Quiba House, those of Yokes House, Acul people, Jaguar House, Guardians of the Spoils, Jaguar Ropes.

It is sufficient that we speak only of the largest tribes from among the allied tribes; we have only noted the largest. Many more came out afterward, each one a division of that citadel. We haven't written their names, but they multiplied there, from out of the east. There came to be many peoples in the blackness; they began to abound even before the birth of the sun and the light. When they began to abound they were all there together; they stood and walked in crowds, there in the east.

There was nothing they could offer for sustenance, but even so they lifted their faces to the sky. They didn't know where they were going. They did this for a long time, when they were there in the grasslands:

black people, white people, people of many faces, people of many languages, uncertain, there at the edge of the sky.

And there were mountain people. They didn't show their faces, they had no homes. They just traveled the mountains, small and great. "It's as if they were crazy," they used to say. They derided the mountain people, it was said. There they watched for the sunrise, and for all the mountain people there was just one language. They did not yet pray to the tree-stone.

These are the words with which they remembered the Maker, Modeler, Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth. It was said that these were enough to keep them mindful of what was in shadow and what was dawning. All they did was ask; they had reverent words. They were reverent, they were givers of praise, givers of respect, lifting their faces to the sky when they made requests for their daughters and sons:

> "Wait!
> thou Maker, thou Modeler,
> look at us, listen to us,
> don't let us fall, don't leave us aside,
> thou god in the sky, on the earth,
> Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
> give us our sign, our word,
> as long as there is day, as long as there is light.
> When it comes to the sowing, the dawning,
> will it be a greening road, a greening path?
> Give us a steady light, a level place,
> a good light, a good place,
> a good life and beginning.
> Give us all of this, thou Hurricane,
> Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
> Newborn Nanahuac, Sudden Nanahuac,
> Falcon, Hunahpu,
> Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
> Bearer, Begetter,
> Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
> Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light,
> when it comes to the sowing, the dawning,"

they said when they made their fasts and prayers, just watching intently for the dawn. There, too, they looked toward the east, watching closely for the sun carrier, the great star at the birth of the sun, of the heat for

THEY DID NOT YET PRAY TO THE TREE-STONE: *A wooden stele commemorating a new year. The cluster of branches and leaves at the top is the glyph for* te' *or "tree," while the glyph at the foot of the stele is for* tun *or "stone." The snake* (kan) *near the top is a pun on "sky"* (kan); *the inscription on the strip of paper hanging from the stele is represented only by footprints that signify the passage of time, following the reading order of a column of glyphs. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

what is under the sky, on the earth, the guide for the human work, the human design.

They spoke, those who are Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"We're still waiting for the dawning," they said, these great knowers, great thinkers, penitents, praisers, as they are called. And there was no tree-stone in the keeping of our first mother-fathers, and they were weary at heart there, waiting for the sun. Already there were many of them, all the tribes, including the Mexican people, all penitents and sacrificers.

"Let's just go. We'll look and see whether there is something to keep as our sign. We'll find out what we should burn in front of it. The way we are right now, we have nothing to keep as our own," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They got word of a citadel. They went there.

AND THIS IS THE NAME OF THE MOUNTAIN WHERE THEY WENT, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, Dark Jaguar, and the Tams and Ilocs: Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons is the name of the citadel. Those who were to receive the gods arrived there.

And they arrived there at Tulan, all of them, countless people arrived, walking in crowds, and their gods were given out in order, the first being those of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They were happy:

"We have found what we were looking for," they said. And this one was the first to come out:

Tohil is the name of the god loaded in the backpack borne by Jaguar Quitze. And the others came out in turn:

Auilix is the name of the god that Jaguar Night carried.

Hacauitz, in turn, is the name of the god received by Not Right Now.

Middle of the Plain is the name of the god received by Dark Jaguar.

And there were still other Quiché people, since the Tams also received theirs, but it was the same Tohil for the Tams, that's the name received by the grandfather and father of the Tam lords, as they are known today.

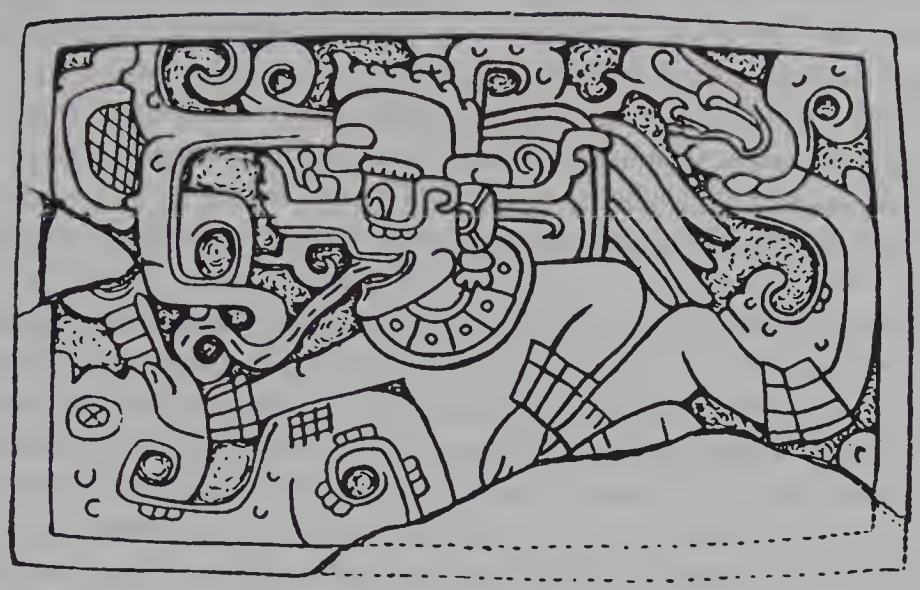
And third were the Ilocs: again, Tohil is the name of the god received by the grandfather and father of those lords, the same ones known today.

And such was the naming of the three Quichés. They have never let go of one another because the god has just one name: Tohil for the Quiché proper, and Tohil for the Tams and Ilocs. There is just one name for their god, and so the Quiché threesome has not come apart, those three. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz are truly great in their very being.

And then all the tribes came in: Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, along with the Mexican people, as the names are today. And the languages of the tribes changed there; their languages became differentiated. They could no longer understand one another clearly when they came away from Tulan.

And there they broke apart. There were those who went eastward and many who came here, but they were all alike in dressing with hides. There were no clothes of the better kinds. They were in patches, they were adorned with mere animal hides. They were poor. They had nothing of their own. But they were people of genius in their very being when they came away from Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons, so says the ancient text.

THEY WALKED IN CROWDS WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT TULAN, AND THERE WAS NO FIRE. Only those with Tohil had it: this was the tribe whose god was first to generate fire. How it was generated is not clear. Their fire was already burning when Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night first saw it:



TOHIL . . . WAS FIRST TO GENERATE FIRE: *Here he sits amid swirls of smoke and fire (or clouds and lightning), some of which originate from his own forehead and tongue. One of his legs, turned to the right, can be seen turning into a snake (lightning) below his knee. From an incised potsherd found at Rotten Cane (Utatlán), now in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.*

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"Alas! Fire has not yet become ours. We'll die from the cold," they said. And then Tohil spoke:

"Do not grieve. You will have your own even when the fire you're talking about has been lost," Tohil told them.

"Aren't you a true god!
Our sustenance and our support!
Our god!"

they said when they gave thanks for what Tohil had said.

"Very well, in truth,
I am your god: so be it.
I am your lord: so be it,"

the penitents and sacrificers were told by Tohil.

And this was the warming of the tribes. They were pleased by their fire.

After that a great downpour began, which cut short the fire of the

tribes. And hail fell thickly on all the tribes, and their fires were put out by the hail. Their fires didn't start up again. So then Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night asked for their fire again:

"Tohil, we'll be finished off by the cold," they told Tohil.

"Well, do not grieve," said Tohil. Then he started a fire. He pivoted inside his sandal.

After that, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were pleased.

After they had been warmed, the fires of the other tribes were still out. Now they were being finished off by the cold, so they came back to ask for their fire from Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They could bear the cold and hail no longer. By now they were chattering and shivering. There was no life left in them. Their legs and arms kept shaking. Their hands were stiff when they arrived.

"Perhaps we wouldn't make ourselves ashamed in front of you if we asked to remove a little something from your fire?" they said when they arrived, but they got no response. And then the tribes cursed in their thoughts. Already their language had become different from that of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"Alas! We left our language behind. How did we do it? We're lost! Where were we deceived? We had only one language when we came to Tulan, and we had only one place of emergence and origin. We haven't done well," said all the tribes beneath the trees and bushes.

And then a person showed himself before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and he spoke as a messenger of Xibalba:

"Truly, since you have your god, your nurturer, and he is the representation, the commemoration of your Maker and your Modeler, don't give the tribes their fire until they give something to Tohil. You don't want them to give anything to *you*. You must ask for what belongs to Tohil; to *him* must come what they give in order to get fire," said the Xibalban. He had wings like the wings of a bat.

"I am a messenger of those who made you and modeled you," said the Xibalban. So now they were happy; now they thought all the more of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. When the Xibalban had spoken he made himself vanish right in front of them, without delay.

And so again the tribes arrived, again done in by the cold. Thick were the white hail, the blackening storm, and the white crystals. The cold was incalculable. They were simply overwhelmed. Because of the cold all the tribes were going along doubled over, groping along when they arrived in the presence of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and

Dark Jaguar. There was great pain in their hearts; they had covetous mouths and covetous faces.

And now they were coming as thieves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"Wouldn't you take pity on us if we asked to remove a little something from your fire? Wasn't it found and wasn't it revealed that we had just one home and just one mountain when you were made, when you were modeled? So please take pity on us," they said.

"And what would you give us for taking pity on you?" they were asked.

"Well, we'd give you metal," said the tribes.

"We don't want metal," said Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night.

"Whatever might you want, if we may ask?" the tribes said then.

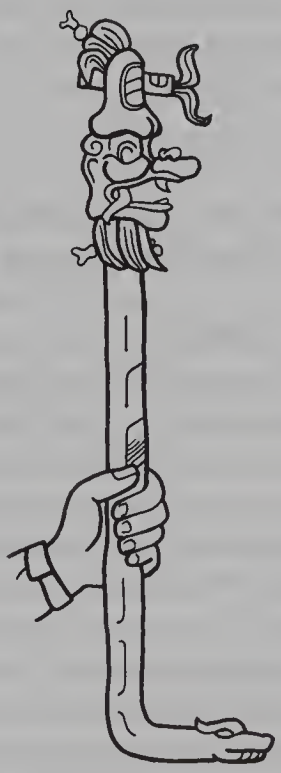
"Very well. First we must ask Tohil, and then we'll tell you," they were told next. And then they asked Tohil:

"What should the tribes give you, Tohil? They've come to ask for your fire," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"Very well. You will tell them:

" 'Don't they want to be suckled on their sides and under their arms?

THEY'VE COME TO ASK FOR YOUR FIRE: *This is a scepter held by a ruler, one of the forms taken by* K'awil, *the lowland Maya counterpart of Tohil, or Hurricane. On his forehead he wears an obsidian mirror with a burning torch emerging from it. His body and his one normal leg are omitted here, leaving only the leg that becomes a serpent (or lightning). This is a reconstruction from several Late Classic stucco reliefs at Palenque.*



DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

Isn't it their heart's desire to embrace me? I, who am Tohil? But if there is no desire, then I'll not give them their fire," says Tohil. "When the time comes, not right now, they'll be suckled on their sides, under their arms," he says to you,' you will say," they were told, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and then they spoke the word of Tohil.

"Very well. Let him suckle. And very well, we shall embrace him," said the tribes, when they answered and agreed to the word of Tohil. They made no delay but said "very well" right away, and then they received their fire.

After that they got warm, but there was one group that simply stole the fire, there in the smoke. This was the Bat House. Snake Tooth is the name of the god of the Cakchiquels, but it looks like a bat. They went right past in the smoke then, they sneaked past when they came to get fire. Those fiery Cakchiquels didn't ask for their fire. They didn't give themselves up in defeat, but all the other tribes were defeated when they gave themselves up to being suckled on their sides, under their arms.

And this is what Tohil meant by being "suckled": that all the tribes be cut open before him, and that their hearts be removed "through their sides, under their arms." This deed had not yet been attempted when Tohil saw into the middle of it, nor had Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar received fiery splendor and majesty.

When they came away from Tulan Zuyua, they weren't eating. They observed a continuous fast. It was enough that they watch intently for the dawning, that they watch closely for the rising of the sun, taking turns at watching for the great star named sun carrier. This one came first before the sun when the sun was born, the newly risen sun carrier.

And there, always, they were facing the east, when they were there in the place named Tulan Zuyua. Their gods came from there. It wasn't really here that they received their fiery splendor and their dominion, but rather there that the tribes, great and small, were subjugated and humiliated. When they were cut open before Tohil, all the peoples gave their blood, their gore, their sides, their underarms. Fiery splendor came to them all at once at Tulan, along with great knowledge, and they achieved this in the darkness, in the night.

And now they came away, they tore themselves away from there. Now they left the east:

"Our home is not here. Let's go on until we see where we belong,"

said Tohil. He actually spoke to them, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"It remains for you to give thanks, since you have yet to take care of bleeding your ears, yet to take stitches in your elbows. You must worship. This is your way of giving thanks before your god."

"Very well," they replied, then they bled their ears. They cried in their song about coming from Tulan. They cried in their hearts when they came away, when they made their departure from Tulan:

> "Alas!
> We won't be here when we see the dawn,
> when the sun is born,
> when the face of the earth is lit,"

they said.

AND THEN THEY CAME AWAY, JUST CAMPING ON THE ROAD. People were just camping there, each tribe slept and then got up again. And they were always watching for the star, the sign of the day. They kept this sign of the dawn in their hearts when they came away from the east. In unity they passed beyond the place named Great Hollow today.

And then they arrived on top of a mountain there. All the Quiché people got together there, along with the other tribes, and all of them held council there. The name the mountain has today is from when they took counsel together; Place of Advice is the name of the mountain. They got together and identified themselves there:

"Here am I: I am a Quiché person, and you there, you are Tams, this will be your name," the Tams were told. And then the Ilocs were told:

"You are the Ilocs, this will be your name. The three Quichés must not be lost. We are united in our word," they said when they fixed their names.

And then the Cakchiquels were named; their name became Cakchiquels. So, too, with the Rabinals; this became their name. It hasn't been lost today.

And then there are those of Bird House, as they are named today.

These are the names they named for one another. When they held council there, they were still waiting for the dawning, watching for the appearance of the rising star, the one that came before the sun when it was born.

"When we came away from Tulan, we broke ourselves apart," they told each other.

This is what kept weighing on their hearts, the great pain they went through: there was nothing to eat, nothing to feed on. They were just smelling the tips of their staffs as if they were thinking of eating them, but they weren't eating at all as they came.

And it isn't clear how they crossed over the sea. They crossed over as if there were no sea. They just crossed over on some stones, stones piled up in the sand. And they gave it a name: Stone Courses, Sand Banks was their name for the place where they crossed through the midst of the sea. Where the waters were divided, they crossed over.

And this is what weighed on their hearts when they took counsel: that they had nothing to eat. They had one beverage to drink, just one atole, which they brought up on the mountain named Place of Advice. And they also brought Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

Observing a great fast was Jaguar Quitze, with his wife; Red Sea Turtle is his wife's name.

Likewise doing it was Jaguar Night, with his wife, named Prawn House.

And Not Right Now was also there at the great fast, with his wife, named Water Hummingbird, along with Dark Jaguar, whose wife's name is Macaw House.

So these were the ones who fasted, there in the blackness, in the early dawn. Their sadness was great when they were there on the mountain named Place of Advice today. And their gods spoke there.

And then Tohil, along with Auilix and Hacauitz, spoke to them, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"Let's just go, let's just get up, let's not stay here. Please give us places to hide. It's nearly dawn. Wouldn't you look pitiful if we became plunder for warriors? Construct places where we can remain yours, you penitents and sacrificers, and give one place to each of us," they said when they spoke.

"Very well. Let's get out and search the forests," they all replied.

After that they packed each one of the gods on their backs.

And then Auilix went into the canyon named Concealment Canyon, as they called it, into the great canyon in the forest. Auilix's Place is the name today. He was left there, placed in the canyon by Jaguar Night, coming first in the sequence of placements.

And then Hacauitz was placed at the top of a great pyramid. Hacauitz is the name of the mountain today, and it became their citadel. So the god Hacauitz remained there, and Not Right Now stayed with his god. This was the second god to be hidden by them. Hacauitz didn't stay in the forest. It was on a bare mountain that Hacauitz was hidden.

And then came Jaguar Quitze. He arrived in the great forest there. Tohil was put into hiding by Jaguar Quitze; the mountain is called Tohil's Place today. Then they gave Concealment Canyon an epithet: Tohil Medicine. Masses of serpents and masses of jaguars, rattlesnakes, fer-de-lances were there in the forest where he was hidden by the penitents and sacrificers.

So they were there in unity: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. In unity they waited for the dawn, there on top of the mountain named Hacauitz.

Also, a short distance away, was the god of the Tams, together with the Ilocs. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where the god of the Tams was, there at the dawn. Net Weave Tribe is the name of the place where dawn came for the Ilocs. The god of the Ilocs was just a short distance away.

Also there were all the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, all the tribes, small and great. In unity they stopped there, and in unity they had their dawning there. In unity they waited there for the rising of the great star named sun carrier.

"It will rise before the sun when the dawn comes," they said, and they were in unity there: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. There was no sleep, no rest for them. They cried their hearts and their guts out, there at the dawning and clearing, and so they looked terrible. Great sorrow, great anguish came over them; they were marked by their pain. They just stayed that way.

"Coming here hasn't been sweet for us. Alas! If we could only see the birth of the sun! What have we done? We all had one identity, one mountain, but we sent ourselves into exile," they said when they talked among themselves. They talked about sorrow, about anguish, about crying and wailing, since their hearts had not yet been set to rest by the dawn.

And these are the ones who did feel settled there: the gods who were in the canyons, in the forests, just out in the bromeliads, in the hanging mosses, not yet set on pedestals. At first, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz actually spoke. The greatness of their day and the greatness of their breath of spirit set them above all the other tribal gods. Their genius was manifold and their ways were manifold, their strategies. They were chilling, they were frightening in their very being and in the hearts of the tribes, whose thoughts were calmed by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not

Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. Their hearts did not yet harbor ill will toward the gods who had been taken up and carried away when they all came from Tulan Zuyua, there in the east, and who were now in the forest.

These were the dawning places: Tohil's Place, Auilix's Place, and Hacauitz, as they are called today. And this is where our grandfathers, our fathers had their sowing, their dawning.

This is what we shall explain next: the dawning and showing of the sun, moon, and stars.

AND HERE IS THE DAWNING AND SHOWING OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS. And Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were overjoyed when they saw the sun carrier. It came up first. It looked brilliant when it came up, since it was ahead of the sun.

After that they unwrapped their copal incense, which came from the east, and there was triumph in their hearts when they unwrapped it. They gave their heartfelt thanks with three kinds at once:

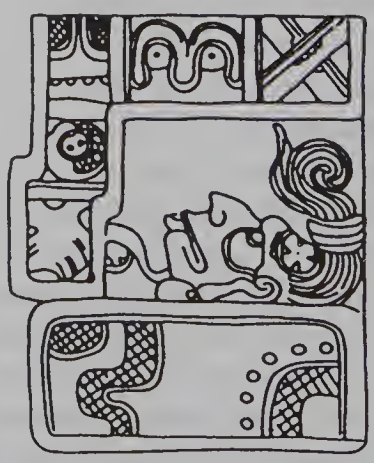
Mixtam Copal is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Quitze.

Cauiztan Copal, next, is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Night.

Godly Copal, as the next one is called, was brought by Not Right Now.

The three of them had their copal, and this is what they burned as they incensed the direction of the rising sun. They were crying sweetly as they shook their burning copal, the precious copal.

IT WAS AHEAD OF THE SUN: *The band across the top is sky, with the glyph for Venus in the middle. Below Venus, lying on the earth, is the profile of the sun god. From a Late Classic Maya relief on a bench at Copán.*



DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

After that they cried because they had yet to see and yet to witness the birth of the sun.

And then, when the sun came up, the animals, small and great, were happy. They all came up from the rivers and canyons; they waited on all the mountain peaks. Together they looked toward the place where the sun came out.

So then the puma and jaguar cried out, but the first to cry out was a bird, the parrot by name. All the animals were truly happy. The eagle, the white vulture, small birds, great birds spread their wings, and the penitents and sacrificers knelt down. They were overjoyed, together with the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, the Ilocs.

And the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House.

And the Sweatbath House, Talk House, Quiba House, those of Yokes House.

And the Mexican Sovereigns—however many tribes there may be today. There were countless peoples, but there was just one dawn for all tribes.

And then the face of the earth was dried out by the sun. The sun was like a person when he revealed himself. His face was hot, so he dried out the face of the earth. Before the sun came up it was soggy, and the face of the earth was muddy before the sun came up. And when the sun had risen just a short distance he was like a person, and his heat was unbearable. Since he revealed himself only when he was born, it is only his reflection that now remains. As they put it in the ancient text,

"The visible sun is not the real one."

And then, all at once, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were turned to stone, along with the icons of the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, fer-de-lance, which the White Sparkstriker took with him into the trees. Everywhere, all of them became stone when the sun, moon, and stars appeared. Perhaps we would have no relief from the voracious animals today—the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, fer-de-lance—and perhaps it wouldn't even be our day today, if the original animals hadn't been turned to stone by the sun when he came up.

There was great happiness in the hearts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They were overjoyed when it dawned. The people on the mountain of Hacauitz were not yet numerous; just a few were there. Their dawning was there and they burned copal there, incensing the direction of the rising sun. They came from there: it is their own mountain, their own plain. Those named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar came from there, and they began their increase on that mountain.

And that became their citadel, since they were there when the sun, moon, and stars appeared, when it dawned and cleared on the face of the earth, over everything under the sky.

And there began their song named "Camacu." They sang out the lament of their very hearts and guts. In their song they stated:

"Alas!
We were lost at Tulan!
We shattered ourselves!
We left our elder brothers behind!
Our younger brothers!
Where did they see the sun?
Where must they be staying,
now that the dawn has come?"

They were speaking of the penitents and sacrificers who were the Mexican people.

"Even though Tohil is his name, he is the same as the god of the Mexican people, who is named Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat. When we divided, there at Tulan, at Zuyua, they left with us, and they shared our identity when we came away," they said among themselves when they remembered their faraway brothers, elder and younger, the Mexican people whose dawn was there in the place named Mexico today.

And again, some of the people stayed there in the east; Sovereign Oloman is their name.

"We left them behind," they said. It was a great weight on their hearts, up there on Hacauitz. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, except that they were in the forest. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where it dawned for the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, with their god, the same Tohil. There was just one name for the god of all three divisions of the Quiché people.

And again, the name of the god of the Rabinals was the same. His name was only slightly changed; "One Toh" is the way the name of the god of the Rabinals is spoken. They say it that way, but it is meant to be in agreement with the Quichés and with their language.

And the language has differentiated in the case of the Cakchiquels, since their god had a different name when they came away from Tulan Zuyua. Snake Tooth is the name of the god of the Bat House, and they

speak a different language today. Along with their god, the lineages took their names; they are called Keeper of the Bat Mat and Keeper of the Dance Mat. Like their god, their language was differentiated on account of a stone, when they came from Tulan in the darkness. All the tribes were sown and came to light in unity, and each division was allocated a name for its god.

And now we shall tell about their stay and their sojourn there on the mountain. The four were there together, the ones named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. Their hearts cried out to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, who were now amid the bromeliads and hanging mosses.

AND HERE THEY BURN THEIR COPAL, and here also is the origin of the masking of Tohil.

And when they went before Tohil and Auilix, they went to visit them and keep their day. Now they gave thanks before them for the dawning, and now they bowed low before their stones, there in the forest. Now it was only a manifestation of his genius that spoke when the penitents and sacrificers came before Tohil, and what they brought and burned was not great. All they burned before their gods was resin, just bits of pitchy bark, along with marigolds.

And when Tohil spoke now it was only his genius. When the gods taught procedures to the penitents and sacrificers, they said this when they spoke:

"This very place has become our mountain, our plain. Now that we are yours, our day and our birth have become great, because all the peoples are yours, all the tribes. And since we are still your companions, even in your citadel, we shall give you procedures:

"Do not reveal us to the tribes when they burn with envy over us. They are truly numerous now, so don't you let us be hunted down, but rather give the creatures of the grasses and grains to us, such as the female deer and female birds. Please come give us a little of their blood, take pity on us. And set the pelts of the deer aside, save them. These are for disguises, for deception. They will become deerskin bundles, and they will also serve as our surrogates before the tribes. When you are asked:

'Where is Tohil?' then you will show them the deerskin bundle, yet you won't be giving yourselves away. And there is still more for you to do. You will become great in your very being. Defeat all the tribes. They

must bring blood and lymph before us, they must come to embrace us. They belong to us already," said Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. They had a youthful appearance when they saw them, when they came to burn offerings before them.

So then began the hunting of the young of all the birds and deer; they were taken in the hunt by the penitents and sacrificers.

And when they got hold of the birds and fawns, they would then go to anoint the mouth of the stone of Tohil or Auilix with the blood of the deer or bird. And the bloody drink was drunk by the gods. The stone would speak at once when the penitents and sacrificers arrived, when they went to make their burnt offerings.

They did the very same thing before the deerskin bundles: they burned resin, and they also burned marigolds and stevia. There was a deerskin bundle for each of the gods, which was displayed there on the mountain.

They didn't occupy their houses during the day, but just walked in the mountains. And this was their food: just the larva of the yellow jacket, the larva of the wasp, and the larva of the bee, which they hunted. As yet there wasn't anything good to eat or good to drink. Also, it wasn't obvious how to get to their houses, nor was it obvious where their wives stayed.

And the tribes were already densely packed, settling down one by one, with each division of a tribe gathering itself together. Now they were crowding the roads; already their roadways were obvious.

As for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, it wasn't obvious where they were. When they saw the people of the tribes passing by on the roads, that was when they would get up on the mountain peaks, just crying out with the cry of the coyote and the cry of the fox. And they would make the cries of the puma and jaguar, whenever they saw the tribes out walking in numbers. The tribes were saying:

"It's just a coyote crying out," and "Just a fox."

"Just a puma. Just a jaguar."

In the minds of all the tribes, it was as if humans weren't involved. They did it just as a way of decoying the tribes; that was what their hearts desired. They did it so that the tribes wouldn't get really frightened just yet; that was what they intended when they cried out with the cry of the puma and the cry of the jaguar. And then, when they saw just one or two people out walking, they intended to overwhelm them.

Each day, when they came back to their houses and wives, they brought just the same things—yellow jacket larvae, wasp larvae, and bee larvae—and gave them to their wives, each day. And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they thought to themselves:

"They are Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, yet we only give them the blood

of deer and birds, we only take stitches in our ears and our elbows when we ask for our strength and our manhood from Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. Who will take care of the death of the tribes? Should we just kill them one by one?" they said among themselves.

And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they took stitches in their ears and their elbows in front of the gods. They spilled their blood, they poured gourdfuls into the mouths of the stones. But these weren't really stones: each one became like a boy when they arrived, happy once again over the blood.

And then came a further sign as to what the penitents and sacrificers should do:

"You must win a great many victories. Your right to do this came from over there at Tulan, when you brought us here," they were told. Then the matter of the suckling was set forth, at the place called Stagger, and the blood that would result from it, the rainstorm of blood, also became a gift for Tohil, along with Auilix and Hacauitz.

Now here begins the abduction of the people of the tribes by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

And then comes the killing of the tribes. This is how they died: when there was just one person out walking, or just two were out walking, it wasn't obvious when they took them away.

After that they went to cut them open before Tohil and Auilix.

After that, when they had offered the blood, the skull would be placed in the road. They would roll it onto the road. So the tribes were talking:

"A jaguar has been eating," was all that was said, because their tracks were like a jaguar's tracks when they did their deed. They did not reveal themselves. Many people were abducted.

It was actually a long time before the tribes came to their senses:

"If it's Tohil and Auilix who are after us, we have only to search for the penitents and sacrificers. We'll follow their tracks to wherever their houses are," said all those of the tribes, when they shared their thoughts among themselves.

After that, they began following the tracks of the penitents and sacrificers, but they weren't clear. They only saw the tracks of the deer, the tracks of the jaguar. The tracks weren't clear, nothing was clear. Where they began the tracks were merely those of animals. It was as if the tracks were there for the sole purpose of leading them astray. The way was not clear:

It would get cloudy.
It would get dark and rainy.
It would get muddy, too.
It would get misty and drizzly.

That was all the tribes could see in front of them, and their search would simply make them weary at heart. Then they would give up.

Because Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were great in their very being, they did this for a long time, there on the mountain. They did their killing on the frontiers of the tribes when the abductions began; they singled them out and cut them down. They would seize the people of the tribes in the roads, cutting them open before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

And the boys hid there on the mountain. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz had the appearance of three boys when they went out walking; these were simply the spirit familiars of the stones. There was a river. They would bathe there on the bank, just as a way of revealing themselves, and this gave the place its name. The name of the river came to be Tohil's Bath, and the tribes saw them there many times. They would vanish the moment they were seen by the tribes.

Then the news spread as to the whereabouts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and this is when the tribes realized how they were being killed.

FIRST THE TRIBES TRIED TO PLAN THE DEFEAT OF TOHIL, AUILIX, AND HACAUITZ. All the penitents and sacrificers of the tribes spoke to the others. They roused and summoned one another, all of them. Not even one or two divisions were left out. All of them converged and presented themselves, then they shared their thoughts. And they said, as they questioned one another:

"What would assure the defeat of the Cauecs, the Quiché people? Our vassals have met their ends because of them. Isn't it clear that our people have been lost because of them? What if they finish us off with these abductions?"

"Let it be this way: if the fiery splendor of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz is so great, then let this Tohil become our god! Let him be captured! Don't let them defeat us completely! Don't we constitute a multitude of people? And as for the Cauecs, there aren't as many of them," they said, when all of them had assembled. Some among the tribes also said this when they spoke:

"Who could be bathing every day at the riverbank? If it's Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, then we can defeat them ahead of time. Let the defeat of the penitents and sacrificers begin right there!" some of them said, and then they spoke further:

"How shall we defeat them?" And then they said:

"Let this be our means for defeating them: since they present the appearance of adolescent boys at the river, let two maidens go there. Let them be choice maidens who radiate preciousness, so that when they go they'll be desirable," they said.

"Very well. So we'll just search for two perfect maidens," the others replied. And then they searched among their daughters for those who were truly radiant maidens. Then they gave the maidens instructions:

"You must go, our dear daughters. Go wash clothes at the river, and if you should see three boys, undress yourselves in front of them. And if their hearts should desire you, you will titillate them. When they say to you:

'We're coming after you,' then you are to say:

'Yes.' And then you will be asked:

'Where do you come from? Whose daughters are you?' When they say that, you are to answer them:

'We are the daughters of lords, so let a sign be forthcoming from you.' Then they should give you something. If they like your faces you must really give yourselves up to them. And if you do not give yourselves up, then we shall kill you. We'll feel satisfied when you bring back a sign, since we'll think of it as proof that they came after you," said the lords, instructing the two maidens.

Here are their names: Lust Woman is the name of the one maiden, and Wailing Woman is the name of the other.

And they sent the two of them, named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, over to the place where Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz bathed. All the tribes knew about this.

And then they went off. They were dressed up, looking truly beautiful, when they went to the place where Tohil bathed. They were carrying what looked like their wash when they went off. Now the lords were pleased over having sent their two daughters there.

And when they arrived at the river, they began to wash. They undressed themselves, both of them. They were on the rocks, on their hands and knees, when Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz came along. They got

to the bank of the river and just barely glanced at the two maidens washing there, and the maidens got a sudden scare when Tohil and the others arrived. They did not go lusting after the two maidens. Then came the questioning:

"Where do you come from?" the two maidens were asked. "What do you intend by coming here, to the bank of our river?" they were also asked.

"We were sent here by the lords, so we came. The lords told us:

'Go see the faces of Tohil and the others, and speak to them,' the lords told us, 'and also, there must come a sign as to whether you really saw their faces. Go!' is what we were told," said the two maidens, explaining their errand.

But this is what the tribes had intended: that the maidens should be violated by the spirit familiars of Tohil and the others. Then Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz spoke, answering the two maidens named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman:

"Good. Let a sign of our word go with you. But you must wait for it, then give it directly to the lords," they were told.

And then Tohil and the others plotted with the penitents and sacrificers. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now were told:

"You must inscribe three cloaks, inscribe the signs of your being. They're for the tribes; they'll go back with the maidens who are washing. Give them to the maidens," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now were told.

After that, they inscribed all three of them. Jaguar Quitze wrote first: the jaguar became his image, he inscribed it on the face of his cloak.

Then there was Jaguar Night: the eagle was now his image, he inscribed it on the face of his cloak.

The next to write was Not Right Now: swarms of yellow jackets, swarms of wasps were his images, his figures; he inscribed them on the face of his cloak. Then their figures were complete, all three of them; they had done the threefold inscription.

After that, when Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now went to give the cloaks to those who were named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, they spoke to them:

"Here is the proof of your word. When you come before the lords you will say:

'Tohil really spoke to us, and here is the sign we've brought back,' you'll tell them, and give them the cloaks to try on," the maidens were told when they were given their instructions.

So then they went back, taking the inscribed cloaks.

And when they arrived, the lords were happy the moment they spotted what they had asked for, hanging from the arms of the maidens.

"Didn't you see the face of Tohil?" they were asked.

"See it we did," said Lust Woman and Wailing Woman.

"Very good. You've brought back some sort of sign. Isn't that so?" said the lords, since there seemed to be signs of their sin—or so thought the lords. So then they were shown the inscribed cloaks by the maidens: one with a jaguar, one with an eagle, and one with yellow jackets and wasps figured on the inside, on a smooth surface.

And they loved the way the cloaks looked. They costumed themselves. The one with the jaguar figured on it didn't do anything; it was the first to be tried on by a lord.

And when another lord costumed himself with the second inscribed cloak, with the eagle figured on it, he just felt good inside it. He turned around in front of them, unfurling it in front of all of them.

And then came the third inscribed cloak to be tried on by a lord, he costumed himself with the one that had yellow jackets and wasps inside it.

And then he started getting stung by the yellow jackets and wasps. He couldn't endure it, he couldn't stand the stings of the insects. That lord yelled his mouth off over the insects, mere written images, the figures of Not Right Now. It was the third inscription that defeated them.

And then the maidens named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman were reprimanded by the lords:

"How did you get these things you brought back? Where did you go to get them, you tricksters!" the maidens were told when they were reprimanded.

Again, all the tribes were defeated because of Tohil. This is what they had intended: that Tohil would be tempted to go after the maidens. It then became the profession of Lust Woman and Wailing Woman to bark shins; the tribes continued to think of them as temptresses.

So the defeat of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now was not brought about, since they were people of genius.

And then all the tribes plotted again:

"How are we going to beat them? They are truly great in their very being," they said when they shared their thoughts.

"Even so, we'll invade them and kill them. Let's fit ourselves out with weapons and shields. Aren't we a multitude? There won't even be one or two of them left," they said when they shared their thoughts. All the tribes fitted themselves out. There were masses of killers, once the killers of all the tribes had joined together.

And as for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, they were there on the mountain. Hacauitz is the name of the mountain where they were, and those spirit boys of theirs were hidden there on the mountain. They were not a numerous people then; their numbers were not equal to the numbers of the tribes. There were just a few of them on the mountain, their fortress, so when it was said that the tribes had planned death for them, all of them gathered together. They held a council; they all sent for one another.

AND HERE IS THE JOINING TOGETHER OF ALL THE TRIBES, all decked out now with weapons and shields. Their metal ornaments were countless, they looked beautiful, all the lords, the men. In truth, they were just making talk, all of them. In truth, they would become our captives.

"Since there is a Tohil, and since he is a god, let's celebrate his day—or let's make him our prize!" they said among themselves. But Tohil already knew about it, and Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now also knew about it. They had heard about it while it was being plotted, since they were neither asleep nor at rest.

So then all the lance-bearing warriors of the tribes were armed.

After that, all the warriors got up during the night, in order to enter

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THEY WOULD BECOME OUR CAPTIVES: *This warrior has bound his prisoner's arms behind his back and stripped him of nearly all his paraphernalia. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

our very midst. They set off, but they never arrived. They just fell asleep on the way, all those warriors.

And then they were defeated again by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now, since every last one of them fell asleep in the road. Now they couldn't feel a thing. A multitude slept, all of them, and that's when things got started. Their eyebrows were plucked out, along with their beards.

And then the metal was undone from their cloaks, along with their headdresses.

And their necklaces came off too, and then the necks of their staffs. Their metal was taken just to cause them a loss of face, and the plucking was done just to signify the greatness of the Quiché.

After that, they woke up. Right away they reached for their headdresses, along with the necks of their staffs. There was no metal on their cloaks and headdresses.

"How could it have been taken from us? Who could have plucked us? Where did they come from? Our metal has been stolen!" said all the warriors.

"Perhaps it's those tricksters who've been abducting people! But it's not over with. Let's not get frightened by them. Let's enter their very citadel! That's the only way we'll ever see our metal and make it ours again!" said all the tribes, but even so, they were just making talk, all of them.

The hearts of the penitents and sacrificers were content, there on the mountain, but even so, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were making great plans.

And then Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar had a plan. They made a fence at the edge of their citadel. They just made a palisade of planks and stakes around their citadel.

Next they made manikins; it was as if they had made people. Next they lined them up on the parapet. They were even equipped with weapons and shields. Headdresses were included, with metal on top, and cloaks were included. But they were mere manikins, mere woodcarvings. They used the metal that belonged to the tribes, which they had gone to get in the road. This is what they used to decorate the manikins. They surrounded the citadel.

And then they asked Tohil about their plan:

"What if we die, and what if we're defeated?" They spoke straight from their hearts before Tohil.

"Do not grieve. I am here. And here is what you will use on them. Do not be afraid," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were told, and then the matter of the yellow jackets and wasps was set out.

And when they had gone to get these insects and come back with them, they put them inside four large gourds, which were placed all around the citadel. The yellow jackets and wasps were shut inside the gourds. These were their weapons against the tribes.

And they were spied upon and watched from hiding; their citadel was studied by the messengers of the tribes.

"There aren't many of them," they said, but when they came to look it was only the manikins, the woodcarvings, that were moving, with weapons and shields in their hands. They looked like real people, they looked like real killers when the tribes saw them.

And all the tribes were happy when they saw there weren't many of them. The tribes themselves were in crowds; there were countless people, warriors and killers, the assassins of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now, who were there on the mountain called Hacauitz. This is where they were when they were invaded. Here we shall tell about it.

And these are the ones who were there: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They were in unity on the mountain with their wives and children.

And then all the warriors came, the killers, and it was nothing less than eight hundred score, or even thirty times eight hundred people who surrounded the citadel. They were bellowing, bristling with weapons and shields, rending their mouths with howling and growling, bellowing, yelling, whistling through their hands when they came up below the citadel. But the penitents and sacrificers had no fear; they just enjoyed the spectacle from the parapet of the stockade. They were lined up with their wives and children. Their hearts were content, since the tribes were merely making talk.

And then they climbed up the mountainside, and now they were just a little short of the edge of the citadel.

And then the gourds were opened up—there were four of them around the citadel—and the yellow jackets and wasps were like a cloud of smoke when they poured out of each of the gourds. And the warriors

were done in, with the insects landing on their eyes and landing on their noses, on their mouths, their legs, their arms. The insects went after them wherever they were, they overtook them wherever they were. There were yellow jackets and wasps everywhere, landing to sting their eyes. They had to watch out for whole swarms of them, there were insects going after every single person. They were dazed by the yellow jackets and wasps. No longer able to hold on to their weapons and shields, they were doubling over and falling to the ground, stumbling. They fell down the mountainside.

And now they couldn't feel a thing when they were hit with arrows and cut with axes. Now Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night could even use sticks; even their wives became killers.

Now some of them turned away, then all the tribes just took off running. The first to be overtaken were finished off, killed, and it wasn't just a few people who died. For those who didn't die the chase was carried into their very midst when the insects caught up with them. There were no manly deeds for them to do, since they no longer carried weapons and shields.

Then all the tribes were conquered. Now the tribes humbled themselves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now:

"Take pity on us! Don't kill us!" they said.

"Very well. Although you were destined to join the dead, you will be payers of tribute for as long as there are days and as long as there is light," they were told.

Such was the defeat of all the tribes by our first mother-fathers. It was done there on the mountain named Hacauitz today. This is where they first began. They grew, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons on Hacauitz. They were happy, once they had beaten all the tribes, who were defeated there on the mountain.

In this way they accomplished the defeat of the tribes, all the tribes.

After that, their hearts were content. They informed their sons that their death was approaching. They very much intended to be taken by death.

Now this is where we shall tell about the death of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, as they are named. Since they knew about their death and disappearance, they left instructions with their sons. They weren't sickly yet, they weren't gasping for breath when they left their word with their sons.

These are the names of their sons:

Jaguar Quitze begot these two: Noble Two was the name of the first-born and Noble Raiment was the name of the second of the sons of Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father of the Cauecs.

And again, Jaguar Night begot two. These are their names: Noble Acul was the name of his first son, and the other was called Noble Acutec, the second son of Jaguar Night, of the Greathouses.

And Not Right Now begot just one son, named Noble Lord.

These three had sons, but Dark Jaguar had no son. They were all true penitents and sacrificers, and these are the names of their sons, with whom they left instructions. They were united, the four of them together. They sang of the pain in their hearts, they cried their hearts out in their singing. "Camacu" is the name of the song they sang.

And then they advised their sons:

"Our dear sons: we are leaving. We are going back. We have enlightened words, enlightened advice to leave with you—and with you who have come from faraway mountains, our dear wives," they told their wives. They advised each one of them:

"We are going back to our own tribal place. Again it is the time of our Lord Deer, as is reflected in the sky. We have only to make our return. Our work has been done, our day has been completed. Since you know this, neither forget us nor put us aside. You have yet to see your own home and mountain, the place of your beginning.

"Let it be this way: you must go. Go see the place where we came from," were the words they spoke when they gave their advice.

And then Jaguar Quitze left a sign of his being:

"This is for making requests of me. I shall leave it with you. Here is your fiery splendor. I have completed my instructions, my counsel," he said when he left the sign of his being, the Bundle of Flames, as it is called. It wasn't clear just what it was; it was wound about with coverings. It was never unwrapped. Its sewing wasn't clear because no one looked on while it was being wrapped.

In this way they left instructions, and then they disappeared from there on the mountain of Hacauitz. Their wives and children never saw them again. The nature of their disappearance was not clear. But whatever the case with their disappearance, their instructions were clear, and the bundle became precious to those who remained. It was a memorial to their fathers. Immediately they burned offerings before this memorial to their fathers.

When the lords began their generation of the people, the Cauecs took

IT WAS WOUND ABOUT WITH COVERINGS: *The rounded shape and large knot on top are characteristic of lowland Maya sacred bundles. From a Late Classic vase.*

DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

their start from Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father; his sons, named Noble Two and Noble Raiment, were not lost.

Such was the death of all four of our first grandfathers and fathers. When they disappeared their sons remained there on the mountain of Hacauitz; their sons stayed there for a while. As for all the tribes, it was now their day to be broken and downtrodden. They no longer had any splendor to them, though they were still numerous.

All those on Hacauitz gathered on each day that was for the remembrance of their fathers. For them, the day of the bundle was a great one. They could not unwrap it; for them it stayed bundled—the Bundle of Flames, as they called it. It was given this epithet, this name when it was left in their keeping by their fathers, who made it just as a sign of their being.

Such was the disappearance and loss of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, the first people to come from beside the sea, from the east. They came here in ancient times. When they died they were already old. They had a reputation for penitence and sacrifice.

PART FIVE

And then they remembered what had been said about the east. This is when they remembered the instructions of their fathers. The ancient things received from their fathers were not lost. The tribes gave them their wives, becoming their fathers-in-law as they took wives. And there were three of them who said, as they were about to go away:

"We are going to the east, where our fathers came from," they said, then they followed their road. The three of them were representative sons:

Noble Two was the name of the son of Jaguar Quitze who represented all the Cauecs.

Noble Acutec was the name of the son of Jaguar Night who served as the sole representative of the Greathouses.

Noble Lord was the name of the only son of Not Right Now, representing the Lord Quichés.

So these are the names of those who went there beside the sea. There were only three who went, but they had skill and knowledge. Their being was not quite that of mere humans. They advised all their brothers, elder and younger, who were left behind. They were glad to go:

"We're not dying. We're coming back," they said when they went, yet it was these same three who passed over the sea.

And then they arrived in the east; they went there to receive lordship. Next comes the name of the lord with dominion over those of the east, where they arrived.

And then they came before the lord named Nacxit, the great lord and sole judge over a populous domain.

And he was the one who gave out the signs of lordship, all the emblems; the signs of the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth.

And when the signs of the splendor and lordship of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth, Nacxit gave a complete set of the emblems of lordship. Here are their names:

Canopy, throne.

Bone flute, bird whistle.

Sparkling powder, yellow ocher.

Puma's paw, jaguar's paw.

Head and hoof of deer.
Leather armband, snail-shell rattle.
Tobacco gourd, food bowl.
Parrot feathers, egret feathers.

So they came away bringing all of these. Then, from beside the sea, they brought back the writing of Tulan, the writing of Zuyua. They spoke of their investiture in their signs, in their words.

Also, after they had reached their citadel, named Hacauitz, all the Tams and Ilocs gathered there. All the tribes gathered themselves together; they were happy. When Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord came back, they resumed their lordship over the tribes. The Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and those of Bird House were happy. Only the signs of the greatness of lordship were revealed before them. Now the lords became great in their very being; when they had displayed their lordship previously, it was incomplete.

This was when they were at Hacauitz. The only ones with them were all those who had originally come from the east. And they spent a long time there on that mountain. Now they were all numerous.

And the wives of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now died there. Then they came away, they left their mountain place behind. They sought another mountain where they could settle. They settled countless mountains, giving them epithets and names. Our first mothers and our first fathers multiplied and gained strength at those places, according to what the people of ancient times said when they told about the abandonment of their first citadel, named Hacauitz.

And then they came to a place where they founded a citadel named Thorny Place. They spent a long time there in that one citadel. They had daughters and sons while they were there. There were actually four mountains, but there came to be a single name for the whole town. Their daughters and sons got married. They just gave them away. They accepted mere favors and gifts as sufficient payment for their daughters. They did only what was good.

Then they examined each division of the citadel. Here are the names of the divisions of Thorny Place: Dry Place, Bark House, Boundary Marker, and Stronghold are the names of the mountains where they stayed.

And this is when they looked out over the mountains of their citadel. They were seeking a further mountain, since all the divisions had become more numerous. But those who had brought lordship from the east had

died by now; they had become old in the process of going from one citadel to another. But their faces did not die; they passed them on.

They went through a great deal of pain and affliction; it was a long time before the grandfathers and fathers found their citadel. Here is the name of the citadel where they arrived.

And Bearded Place is the name of the mountain of their citadel. They stayed there and they settled down there.

And they tested their fiery splendor there. They ground their gypsum, their plaster, in the fourth generation of lords. It was said that Noble Rooftree ruled when Nine Deer was the Lord Minister, and then the lords named Noble Sweatbath and Iztayul reigned as Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. They reigned there at Bearded Place. It was through their works that it became an excellent citadel.

The number of great houses only reached three, there at Bearded Place. There were not yet a score and four great houses, but only three of them:

Just one Cauec great house.

And just one great house for the Greathouses.

And finally, just one for the Lord Quichés.

But the three were housed in just two buildings, one in each of the two divisions of the citadel.

This is the way it was when they were at Bearded Place:

They were of just one mind: there was no evil for them, nor were there difficulties.

Their reign was all in calm: there were no quarrels for them, and no disturbances.

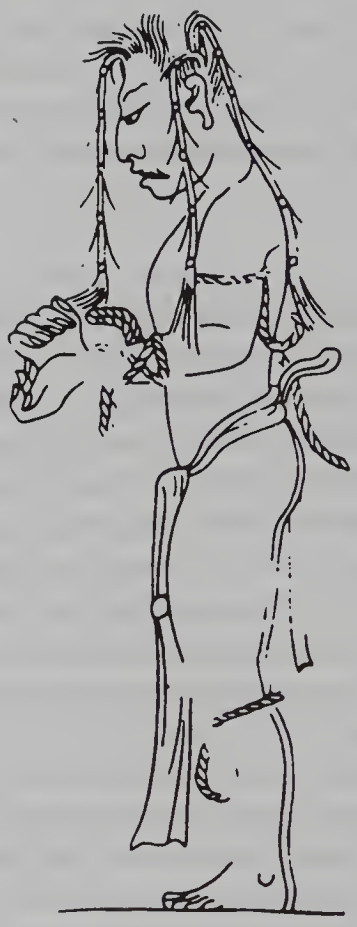
Their hearts were filled with a steady light: there was nothing of stupidity and nothing of envy in what they did.

Their splendor was modest: they caused no amazement, nor had they grown great.

And then they tested themselves. They excelled in the Shield Dance, there at Bearded Place. They did it as a sign of their sovereignty. It was a sign of their fiery splendor and a sign of their greatness.

When it was seen by the Ilocs, the Ilocs began to foment war. It was their desire that the Lord Noble Sweatbath be murdered, and that the other lord be allied with them. It was the Lord Iztayul they wanted to persuade; the Ilocs wanted him as their disciple in committing murder. But their jealous plotting behind the back of the Lord Noble Sweatbath

THEY WERE CAPTURED AND THEY WERE MADE PRISONERS: *A Late Classic Maya drawing from Tikal, depicting a captive warrior from Calakmul.*



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM

failed to work out. They just wanted it over with, but the lord wasn't killed by the Ilocs on the first try.

Such were the roots of disturbances, of tumult and war. First they invaded the citadel, the killers were on the move. What they wanted was to obliterate the very identity of the Quichés. Only then, they thought, could they alone have sovereignty, and it was for this alone that they came to kill. They were captured and they were made prisoners. Not many of them ever got their freedom again.

And then began the cutting of flesh. They cut the Ilocs open before the gods. This was in payment for their wrongs against Lord Noble Sweatbath. And many others went into bondage; they were made into slaves and serfs. They had simply given themselves up in defeat by fomenting war against the lord and against the canyon and the citadel. What their hearts had desired was the destruction and disintegration of the very identity of the Quiché lord, but it did not come to pass.

In this way it came about that people were cut open before the gods. The shields of war were made then; it was the very beginning of the fortification of the citadel at Bearded Place. The root of fiery splendor was implanted there, and because of it the reign of the Quiché lords was truly great. They were lords of singular genius. There was nothing to humble them; nothing happened to make fools of them or to ruin the greatness of their reign, which took root there at Bearded Place.

The penance done for the gods increased there, striking terror again, and all the tribes were terrified, small tribes and great tribes. They witnessed the arrival of people captured in war, who were cut open and killed for the splendor and majesty of Lord Noble Sweatbath and Lord Iztayul, along with the Greathouses and the Lord Quichés. There were only three branches of kin there at the citadel named Bearded Place.

And it was also there that they began feasting and drinking over the blossoming of their daughters. This was the way the ones they named the "Three Great Houses" stayed together. They drank their drinks there and ate their corn there, the payment for their sisters, payment for their daughters. There was only happiness in their hearts when they did it. They ate, they feasted inside their palaces.

"This is just our way of being thankful and grateful that we have good news and good tidings. It is the sign of our agreements about the daughters and sons born to our women," they said.

Epithets were bestowed there, and the lineages, the allied tribes, the principalities gave themselves names there.

"We are intermarried: we Cauecs, we Greathouses, and we Lord Quichés," said those of the three lineages and the three great houses. They spent a long time there at Bearded Place, and then they sought again and saw another citadel. They left Bearded Place behind.

And then they got up and came to the citadel of Rotten Cane, as the name is spoken by the Quichés. The Lords Noble Sweatbath and Plumed Serpent came along, together with all the other lords. There had been five changes and five generations of people since the origin of light, the origin of continuity, the origin of life and of humankind.

And they built many houses there.

And they also built houses for the gods, putting these in the center of the highest part of the citadel. They came and they stayed.

After that their domain grew larger; they were more numerous and

more crowded. Again they planned their great houses, which had to be regrouped and sorted out because of their growing quarrels. They were jealous of one another over the prices of their sisters and daughters, which were no longer a matter of mere food and drink.

So this was the origin of their separation, when they quarreled among themselves, disturbing the bones and skulls of the dead. Then they broke apart into nine lineages, putting an end to quarrels over sisters and daughters. When the planning of the lordships was done, the result was a score and four great houses.

It was a long time ago when they all came up onto their citadel, building a score and four palaces there in the citadel of Rotten Cane. That was the citadel blessed by the lord bishop after it had been abandoned.

They achieved glory there. Their marvelous seats and cushions were arranged; the varieties of splendor were sorted out for each one of the lords of the nine lineages. One by one they took their places:

The nine lords of the Cauecs.

The nine lords of the Greathouses.

The four lords of the Lord Quichés.

The two lords of the Zaquics.

They became numerous. Those who were in the following of a given lord were also numerous, but the lord came first, at the head of his vassals. There were masses, masses of lineages for each of the lords. We shall name the titles of the lords one by one, for each of the great houses.

AND HERE ARE THE TITLES OF THE LORDS WHO LED THE CAUECS, beginning with the first in rank:

Keeper of the Mat.

Keeper of the Reception House Mat.

Keeper of Tohil.

Keeper of the Plumed Serpent.

Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs.

Councilor of the Stores.

Quehnay Emissary.

Councilor in the Ball Court.

Mother of the Reception House.

So these are the lords who led the Cauecs, nine lords with their palaces ranged around, one for each of them. And now to show their faces . . .

And now these are the lords who led the Greathouses, beginning with the first lord:

Lord Minister.
Lord Herald.
Minister of the Reception House.
Chief of the Reception House.
Mother of the Reception House.
Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses.
Lord Auilix.
Yacolatam, meaning the "corner of the mat" or the zaclatol.
Chief Yeoltux Emissary.
So there were nine lords who led the Greathouses.

And now these are the Lord Quichés. Here are the titles of the lords:

Herald.
Lord Emissary.
Lord Master of Ceremonies for the Lord Quichés.
Lord Hacauitz.
Four lords led the Lord Quichés, with their palaces ranged around.

And there were also two lineages of Zaquic lords:

Lord Corntassel House.
Minister for the Zaquics.
There was just one palace for these two lords.

Such was the arrangement of the score and four lords, and there came to be a score and four great houses as well.

Then splendor and majesty grew among the Quiché. The greatness and weight of the Quiché reached its full splendor and majesty with the surfacing and plastering of the canyon and citadel. The tribes came, whether small or great and whatever the titles of their lords,

adding to the greatness of the Quiché. As splendor and majesty grew, so grew the houses of gods and the houses of lords.

But the lords could not have accomplished it, they could not have done the work of building their houses or the houses of the gods, were it not for the fact that their vassals had become numerous. They neither had to lure them nor did they kidnap them or take them away by force, because each one of them rightfully belonged to the lords. And the elder and younger brothers of the lords also became populous.

Each lord led a crowded life, crowded with petitions. The lords were truly valued and had truly great respect. The birthdays of the lords were made great and held high by their vassals. Those who lived in the canyons and those who lived in the citadels multiplied then. Even so they would not have been numerous, had not all the tribes arrived to give themselves up.

And when war befell their canyons and citadels, it was by means of their genius that the Lord Plumed Serpent and the Lord Noble Sweatbath blazed with power. Plumed Serpent became a true lord of genius:

On one occasion he would climb up to the sky; on another he would go down the road to Xibalba.

On another occasion he would be serpentine, becoming an actual serpent.

On yet another occasion he would make himself aquiline, and on another feline; he would become like an actual eagle or a jaguar in his appearance.

On another occasion it would be a pool of blood; he would become nothing but a pool of blood.

Truly his being was that of a lord of genius. All the other lords were fearful before him. The news spread; all the tribal lords heard about the existence of this lord of genius.

And this was the beginning and growth of the Quiché, when the Lord Plumed Serpent made the signs of greatness. His face was not forgotten by his grandsons and sons. He didn't do these things just so there would be one single lord, a being of genius, but they had the effect of humbling all the tribes when he did them. It was just his way of revealing himself, but because of it he became the sole head of the tribes.

This lord of genius named Plumed Serpent was in the fourth generation of lords; he was both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat.

And so he left signs and sayings for the next generation. They achieved splendor and majesty, and they, too, begot sons, making the sons still

HE WOULD MAKE HIMSELF . . . FELINE: *A dancing shaman transforms himself into a jaguar. From a Late Classic Maya vase from Altar de Sacrificios.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

more populous. Tepepul and Iztayul were begotten; they merely served out their reign, becoming the fifth generation of lords. They begot another generation of lords.

AND HERE ARE THE NAMES OF THE SIXTH GENERATION OF LORDS. There were two great lords; they were fiery. Quicab was the name of one lord; Cauizimah was the name of the other.

And Quicab and Cauizimah did a great deal in their turn. They added to the greatness of the Quiché because they truly had genius. They crushed and they shattered the canyons and citadels of the tribes, small and great—the ones that had citadels among them in ancient times, nearby:

There was a mountain place of the Cakchiquels, called Nettles Heights today.

And also a mountain place of the Rabinals, Place of Spilt Water.

And a mountain of the Caoques, Plaster House.

And then a citadel of the White Earths, Hot Springs Heights.
Under Ten, Front of the Monument, and Willow Tree.

They all hated Quicab. They made war, but in fact they were brought down, they were shattered, these canyons, these citadels of the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, White Earths. All the tribes went down on their faces or flat on their backs. The warriors of Quicab kept up the killing for a long time, until there were only one or two groups, from among all the enemies, who hadn't brought tribute. Their citadels fell and they brought tribute to Quicab and Cauizimah. Their lineages came to be bled, shot full of arrows at the stake. Their day came to nothing, their heritage came to nothing.

Projectiles alone were the means for breaking the citadels. All at once the earth itself would crack open; it was as if a lightning bolt had shattered the stones. In fear, the members of one tribe after another went before the gum tree, carrying in their hands the signs of the citadels, with the result that a mountain of stones is there today. Only a few of these aren't cut stones; the rest look as though they had been split with an axe. The result is there on the plain named Petatayub; it is obvious to this day. Everyone who passes by can see it as a sign of the manhood of Quicab. He could not be killed, nor could he be conquered. He was truly a man, and all the tribes brought tribute.

And then all the lords made plans; they moved to cordon off the canyons and citadels, the fallen citadels of all the tribes.

AFTER THAT CAME THE SENTRIES, to watch for the makers of war. Now lookout lineages were established to occupy the conquered mountains:

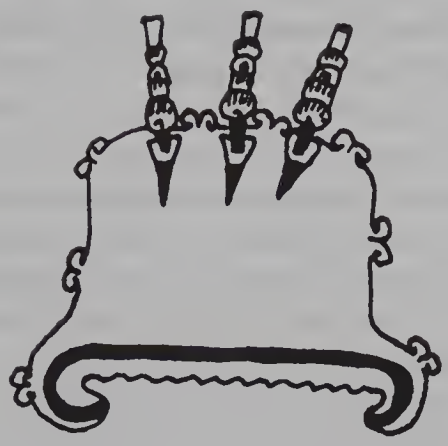
"Otherwise the tribes would return to inhabit their citadels," all the lords said when they had all shared their thoughts. Then the assignments were given out:

"Let them be like a palisade to us, and like doubles for our own lineages, and like a stockade, a fortress to us. Let them now become our anger, our manliness," said all the lords. The assignments were given to each of the lineages that were to provide opposition to the makers of war.

And then they were notified, and then they went to their posts, occupying the mountain places of the tribes:

"Go, because these are now our mountains. Do not be afraid. The moment there are makers of war again, coming back among you as your

PROJECTILES ALONE WERE THE MEANS FOR BREAKING THE CITADELS: *In Mixtec books, conquest is signified by darts thrust into a place name, which in this example consists of the sign for a mountain. From the Codex Nuttall.*



DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

murderers, send for us to come and kill them," Quicab and the Minister and the Herald told them, notifying all of them.

Then they went off, those who are called the Point of the Arrow, Angle of the Bowstring. Their grandfathers and fathers split up then; they were on each of the mountains. They went just as guards of the mountains, and as arrowhead and bowstring guards, and as guards against the makers of war as well. None of them had been there at the dawning nor did any of them have his own god; they just blocked the way to the citadel. They all went out:

The keepers of Nettles Heights, keepers of Mirror Side, White River, Deer Dance Plaza, Plank Place, Eighteen.

Also, the keepers of Earthquake, Meteor, Hunahpu Place.

And the keepers of Spilt Water, keepers of Among the Rocks, keepers of Plaster House, keepers of Ziya House, keepers of Hot Springs, keepers of Under Ten, of the plains, of the mountains.

The war sentries, the guardians of the land, went out, they went on behalf of Quicab and Cauizimah, Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and on behalf of the Minister and the Herald. There were four lords who posted messengers and sentries against the makers of war:

Quicab and Cauizimah are the names of the two lords who led the Cauecs.

Woven is the name of the lord who led the Greathouses.

And Armadillo Dung is the name of the lord who led the Lord Quichés.

So these are the names of the lords who posted messengers and couriers. Their own vassals went to the mountains, to each one of the moun-

tains, and as soon as they had gone, spoils kept coming back, and prisoners of war kept coming back to Quicab and Cauizimah, to the Minister and the Herald. The Points of the Arrows and Angles of the Bowstrings made war. They took spoils and prisoners again. There came to be heroes again, among those who were sentries. They were given seats and honored; they were generously remembered by the lords when they came to turn over all their spoils and their prisoners.

After that, when the Lords Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald had shared their thoughts, their decision came out:

"When it comes to the ennobling of the lookout lineages, we'll induct only those who are first in rank. I am Keeper of the Mat."

"And I am Keeper of the Reception House Mat."

"The nobility of Keeper of the Mat, which is mine—and that which is yours, Lord Minister—should enter into this. Ministers will be ennobled." And all the lords spoke as they gathered their thoughts. The Tams and Ilocs did just the same; the three divisions of the Quiché were in concord when they carried out the investiture. They titled those of the first rank among their vassals.

In this way the decision was reached. But they weren't inducted at Quiché. The mountain where the first-ranking vassals were inducted has a name; all of them were summoned, from each of the mountains where they were, and they gathered in just one place. Under the Twine, Under the Cord is the name of the mountain where they were inducted, where they entered into nobility. It was done at the boundary of Mirror Side.

And here are their titles, their honors, and their marks: a score of Ministers and a score of Keepers of the Mat were created by the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and by the Minister and the Herald.

All of these entered the nobility: Ministers, Keepers of the Mat, eleven Masters of Ceremonies, Minister for the Lords, Minister for the Zaquics, Military Minister, Military Keeper of the Mat, Military Walls, and Military Corners are the titles that came in when the soldiers were titled and named to their seats, their cushions.

These were the first-ranking vassals, watchers and listeners for the Quiché people, Points of the Arrows, Angles of the Bowstrings, a palisade, an enclosure, a wall, a fortress around Quiché.

And the Tams and Ilocs did the same thing; they inducted and titled the first-ranking vassals for each mountain.

So this was the origin of the noble Ministers and Keepers of the Mat that exist for each of the mountains today. The sequence was such that

they came out later than the Keeper of the Mat proper and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and later than the Minister and the Herald.

AND NOW WE SHALL NAME THE NAMES OF THE HOUSES OF THE GODS, although the houses have the same names as the gods:

Great Monument of Tohil is the name of the building that housed Tohil of the Cauecs.

Auilix, next, is the name of the building that housed Auilix of the Greathouses.

Hacauitz is the name, then, of the building that housed the god of the Lord Quichés.

Corntassel, whose house of sacrifice can still be seen, is the name of another great monument.

These were the locations of the stones whose days were kept by the Quiché lords. Their days were also kept by all the tribes. When the tribes burned offerings, they came before Tohil first.

After that, they greeted the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat next, then they handed over their quetzal feathers and their tribute to the lords, these same lords.

And so they nurtured and provided for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, who had been victorious over their citadels.

THEY CAME BEFORE TOHIL FIRST: *Seated in his temple (shown in cross section behind him),* K'awil *(the lowland Maya counterpart of Tohil) receives offerings in bowls and (at extreme left) a censer full of flaming copal. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

They were great lords, they were people of genius. Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath were lords of genius, and Quicab and Cauizimah were lords of genius. They knew whether war would occur; everything they saw was clear to them. Whether there would be death, or whether there would be famine, or whether quarrels would occur, they knew it for certain, since there was a place to see it, there was a book. Council Book was their name for it.

But it wasn't only in this way that they were lords. They were great in their own being and observed great fasts. As a way of cherishing their buildings and cherishing their lordship, they fasted for long periods, they did penance before their gods.

And here is their way of fasting:

For nine score days they would fast, and for nine they would do penance and burn offerings.

Thirteen score was another of their fasts, and for thirteen they would do penance and burn offerings before Tohil and their other gods. They would only eat zapotes, matasanos, jocotes; there was nothing made of corn for their meals.

Even if they did penance for seventeen score, then for seventeen they fasted, they did not eat. They achieved truly great abstinence.

This was a sign that they had the being of true lords. And there weren't any women with them when they slept; they kept themselves apart when they fasted. They just stayed in the houses of the gods, each day. All they did was keep the days, burn offerings, and do penance. They were there whether it was dark or dawn; they just cried their hearts and their guts out when they asked for light and life for their vassals and their domain. They lifted their faces to the sky, and here is their prayer before their gods, when they made their requests.

AND THIS IS THE CRY OF THEIR HEARTS, here it is:

"Wait! On this blessed day,
thou Hurricane, thou Heart of the Sky-Earth,
thou giver of ripeness and freshness,
and thou giver of daughters and sons,
spread thy stain, spill thy drops
of green and yellow;
give life and beginning
to those I bear and beget,

that they might multiply and grow,
nurturing and providing for thee,
calling to thee along the roads and paths,
on rivers, in canyons,
beneath the trees and bushes;
give them their daughters and sons.

"May there be no blame, obstacle, want, or misery;
let no deceiver come behind or before them,
may they neither be snared nor wounded,
nor seduced, nor burned,
nor diverted below the road nor above it;
may they neither fall over backward nor stumble;
keep them on the Green Road, the Green Path.

"May there be no blame or barrier for them
through any secrets or sorcery of thine;
may thy nurturers and providers be good
before thy mouth and thy face,
thou, Heart of Sky; thou, Heart of Earth;
thou, Bundle of Flames;
and thou, Tohil, Auilix, Hacauitz,
under the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners;
may there be only light, only continuity within,
before thy mouth and thy face, thou god."

So it was with the lords when they fasted during nine score, thirteen score, or seventeen score days; their days of fasting were many. They cried their hearts out over their vassals and over all their wives and children. Each and every lord did service, as a way of cherishing the light of life and of cherishing lordship.

Such were the lordships of the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald. They went into fasting two by two, taking turns at carrying the tribes and all the Quiché people on their shoulders.

At its root the word came from just one place, and the root of nurturing and providing was the same as the root of the word. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, along with the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, Sweatbath House, Talk House. They came away in unity, having heard, there at Quiché, what all of them should do.

It wasn't merely that they became lords; it wasn't just that they received occasional gifts from nurturers and providers who merely made food and drink for them. Nor did they wantonly falsify or steal their lordship, their splendor, their majesty. And it wasn't merely that they crushed the canyons and citadels of the tribes, whether small or great, but that the tribes paid a great price:

There came turquoise, there came metal.

And there came drops of jade and other gems that measured the width of four fingers or a full fist across.

And there came green, yellow, and red feather work, the tribute of all the tribes. It came to the lords of genius Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath, and to Quicab and Cauizimah as well, to the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald.

What they did was no small feat, and the tribes they conquered were not few in number. The tribute of Quiché came from many tribal divisions.

And the lords had undergone pain and withstood it; their rise to splendor had not been sudden. Actually it was Plumed Serpent who was the root of the greatness of the lordship.

Such was the beginning of the rise and growth of Quiché.

And now we shall list the generations of lords, and we shall also name the names of all these lords.

AND HERE ARE THE GENERATIONS, THE SEQUENCES OF LORDSHIPS, so that all of them will be clear.

Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were our first grandfathers, our first fathers when the sun appeared, when the moon and stars appeared.

And here are the generations, the sequences, of lordships. We shall begin from here, at their very root. The lords will come up two by two, as each generation of lords enters and succeeds the previous grandfathers and lords of the citadel, going on through each and every one of the lords.

And here shall appear the faces of each one of the lords.

AND HERE SHALL APPEAR THE FACES, ONE BY ONE, OF EACH OF THE QUICHÉ LORDS . . .

Jaguar Quitze, origin of the Cauecs.

Noble Raiment, in the second generation after Jaguar Quitze.

Jaguar Noble Rooftree, who began the office of Keeper of the Mat, was in the third generation.

Noble Sweatbath and Iztayul, in the fourth generation.

Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath, at the root of the lords of genius, were in the fifth generation.

Tepepul and Iztayul next, sixth in the sequence.

Quicab and Cauizimah, in the seventh change of lordship, were the culmination of genius.

Tepepul and Xtayub, in the eighth generation.

Black Butterfly and Tepepul, in the ninth generation.

Eight Cord, with Quicab, in the tenth generation of lords.

Seven Thought and Cauatepech next, eleventh in the sequence of lords.

Three Deer and Nine Dog, in the twelfth generation of lords. And they were ruling when Tonatiuh arrived. They were tortured by the Castilian people.

Black Butterfly and Tepepul were tributary to the Castilian people. They had already been begotten as the thirteenth generation of lords.

Don Juan de Rojas and Don Juan Cortés, in the fourteenth generation of lords. They are the sons of Black Butterfly and Tepepul.

So these are the generations, the sequences of lordships for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the lords who have led the Cauecs of Quiché. Next we shall name the lineages.

And here are the great houses of each one of the lords in the following of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. These are the names of the nine lineages of the Cauecs, nine great houses. Here are the titles of the rulers of each one of the great houses:

Lord Keeper of the Mat, with one great house. Granary is the name of the palace.

WHEN TONATIUH ARRIVED: *A Quiché sketch of the coat of arms of the Hapsburgs, rulers of Austria and Spain when Pedro de Alvarado (Tonatiuh) invaded the Quiché kingdom. From the sixteenth-century Título de los Señores de Coyoy.*

Lord Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Bird House is the name of his palace.

Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs, with one great house.

Lord Keeper of Tohil, with one great house.

Lord Keeper of the Plumed Serpent, with one great house.

Councilor of the Stores, with one great house.

Quehnay Emissary, with one great house.

Councilor in the Ball Court, Xcuxeba, with one great house.

Sovereign Mexican, with one great house.

So these are the nine lineages of the Cauecs. Many vassals are counted in the following of these nine great houses.

And here are those of the Greathouses, with nine more great houses. First we shall name the genealogy of the lordship. It began, from just one root, at the origin of the root of the day and the light:

Jaguar Night, first grandfather and father.

Noble Acul and Noble Acutec, in the second generation.

Noble Chahuh and Noble Inscription House, in the third generation.

Nine Deer next, in the fourth generation.

Noble Sweatbath, in the fifth generation of lords.

And Monkey House next, in the sixth generation.

And Iztayul, in the seventh generation of lords.

Noble Sweatbath then, eighth in the sequence of lordships.

Nine Deer, ninth in the sequence.

Woven, as the next one was called, in the tenth generation.

Lord Noble Sweatbath, in the eleventh generation.

Don Cristóbal, as he was called, became lord in the presence of the Castilian people.

Don Pedro de Robles is Lord Minister today.

And these are all the lords who come in the following of the Lord Minister. Now we shall give the title of the ruler of each one of the great houses:

Lord Minister, the first-ranking lord at the head of the Greathouses, with one great house.

Lord Herald, with one great house.

Lord Minister of the Reception House, with one great house.

Chief of the Reception House, with one great house.

Mother of the Reception House, with one great house.

Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses, with one great house.
Lord Auilix, with one great house.
Yacolatam, with one great house.
So these are the great houses at the head of the Greathouses; these are the names of the nine lineages of the Greathouses, as they are called. There are many branch lineages in the following of each one of these lords; we have named only the first-ranking titles.

And now these are for the Lord Quichés. Here are their grandfathers and fathers:
Not Right Now, the first person.
Noble Lord is the name of the lord of the second generation.
Red Banner.
Noble Short One.
Noble Doctor.
Seven Cane.
Noble Mortal.
Noble Caller.
Person of Bam.
So these are the lords at the head of the Lord Quichés; these are their generations and sequences.

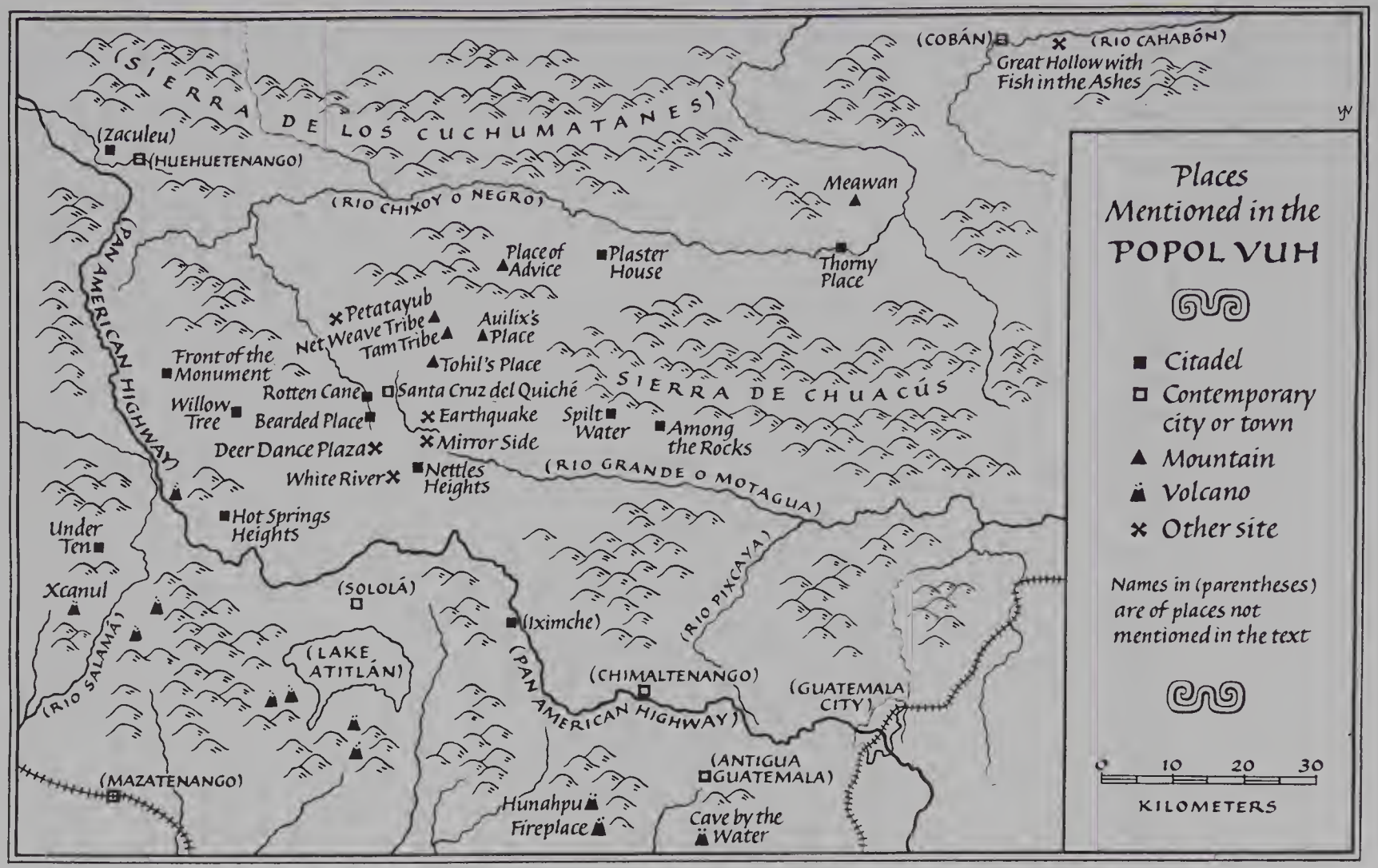
And here are the lords within the palaces, with just four great houses:
Herald for the Lords is the title of the first lord, with one great house.
Emissary for the Lords, the second lord, with one great house.
Master of Ceremonies for the Lords, the third lord, with one great house.
And Hacauitz, the fourth lord, with one great house.
And so these are the four great houses at the head of the Lord Quichés.

And there are three Masters of Ceremonies in all. They are like fathers to all the Quiché lords. They come together in unity, these three Masters of Ceremonies. They are givers of birth, they are Mothers of the Word, they are Fathers of the Word, great in being few, these three Masters of Ceremonies:
Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs, first.
And Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses, second.

Lord Master of Ceremonies for the Lord Quichés, third of the Masters of Ceremonies.

And so there are three Masters of Ceremonies, one representing each of these lineages.

THIS IS ENOUGH ABOUT THE BEING OF QUICHÉ, given that there is no longer a place to see it. There is the original book and ancient writing owned by the lords, now lost, but even so, everything has been completed here concerning Quiché, which is now named Santa Cruz.


(SIERRA DE LOS CUCHUMATANES)
(COBÁN)
(RIO CAHABÓN)
Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes
(Zaculeu)
(HUEHUETENANGO)
Meawan
(RIO CHIXOY O NEGRO)
Place of Advice
Plaster House
Thorny Place
(PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY)
Petatayub
Net Weave Tribe
Tam Tribe
Auilix's Place
Tohil's Place
Front of the Monument
Willow Tree
Rotten Cane
Santa Cruz del Quiché
SIERRA DE CHUACÚS
Bearded Place
Earthquake
Spilt Water
Among the Rocks
Deer Dance Plaza
Mirror Side
White River
Nettles Heights
(RIO GRANDE O MOTAGUA)
Hot Springs Heights
Under Ten
Xcanul
(SOLOLÁ)
(Iximche)
(RIO PIXCAYA)
(RIO SALAMÁ)
(LAKE ATITLÁN)
(PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY)
(CHIMALTENANGO)
(GUATEMALA CITY)
(MAZATENANGO)
(ANTIGUA GUATEMALA)
Hunahpu Fireplace
Cave by the Water
Places Mentioned in the POPOL VUH
Citadel
Contemporary city or town
Mountain
Volcano
Other site
Names in (parentheses) are of places not mentioned in the text
0 10 20 30
KILOMETERS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Orthography

Words from the Mayan languages of Guatemala, when they appear in italics, are written in the new alphabets of the Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (1988), except that vowels have been reduced to the five found in both hieroglyphic texts and early alphabetic documents. With the following exceptions, consonants may be pronounced as in English: *j* is like Spanish *j*, with the tongue farther back than for English *h; l* is like Welsh *ll*, with the tongue farther forward than for English; and *q* is like Hebrew qoph, with the tongue farther back than for English *k*. Two other Mayan sounds are found in English but are spelled differently: *tz* is like *ts* in English "bats," and *x* is like English *sh*. The glottal stop, equivalent to *tt* in the Scottish pronunciation of "bottle," is indicated by *'*; when it follows a consonant, it is pronounced simultaneously with that consonant. Vowels are approximately like those of Spanish or Italian. Stress is nearly always on the final syllable of a word. In most cases words in italics from Mayan languages outside of Guatemala or from Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, retain the orthographies of the sources consulted.

In the Popol Vuh and other early alphabetic documents in Quiché and other Quichean languages, vowels followed by glottal stops were written *aa, ee, ii, oo, uu;* in the new spellings these become *a', e', i', o', u'*. Among the glottalized consonants, *b* becomes *b'*, *tt* becomes *t'*, *4h* becomes *ch'*, and *4,* becomes *tz'*. Among k sounds, the plain front variety formerly written *c* or *qu* is now *k*, while the plain back variety formerly written *k* is now *q*. The glottalized forms once written *4* and *3* are now *k'* and *q'*, respectively. And finally, *h* becomes *j,* while *z* and *ç* become *s*. Where untranslated proper names appear in roman type, they follow the original spellings of the documents. Otherwise, original spellings (in roman type enclosed in brackets) are given only where the new spellings of the same words (in italics) include corrections of phonetic or scribal errors.

The names of the Guatemalan Mayan peoples and languages mentioned in this work, as written in the new official alphabets, are *K'iche', Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil, Poqomchi, Q'eqchi', Ixil, Mam,* and *Jakalteko.* The spellings used in

the present work are the ones most commonly followed in Spanish and English publications: Quiché, Cakchiquel, Tzutuhil, Pokomchí, Kekchí, Ixil, Mam, and Jacaltec. It is true that most of these spellings are imperfect reflections of the way speakers of Mayan languages pronounce the names, but they do reflect the way the names are commonly pronounced in the context of Spanish or English discourse. In the same way, *inglés* is a Spanish rendition of *English, Jakalteko* is a Mayan rendition of Nahuatl *uacaltica,* and *Castilian* and *kaxlan* are English and Mayan renditions of *castellano.*

Abbreviations

Citations of vocabulary sources are given by a letter code, as with DB for Domingo de Basseta; see the first page of the Bibliography for the key to this code. PV abbreviates Popol Vuh and MS refers to the Popol Vuh manuscript.

Mayan Poetics

When the gods of the PV first try to make humans and come up with animals instead (see p. 67), they nevertheless attempt to teach their creations to speak. The lesson they offer is not only an exercise in pronunciation and grammar, but an exercise in basic Mayan poetics as well. It consists of a few lines of prayer, limited to a list of divine names, but its forms would be appropriate for any other kind of formal oratory. First comes an item that stands alone, but what follows is parallel verse, constructed by pairing words or phrases that are partly the same and partly different:

Juraqan,	Hurricane,
ch'ipi kaqulja,	Newborn Thunderbolt,
raxa kaqulja,	Sudden Thunderbolt,
uk'ux kaj,	Heart of Sky,
uk'ux ulew,	Heart of Earth,
tz'aqol,	Maker,
b'itol,	Modeler,
alom,	Bearer,
k'ajolom.	Begetter.

The count of syllables shifts from one couplet to the next, and in two cases it even shifts from one half of a couplet to the other. There are rhythms here, but

they are not rhythms constructed for the sake of sound alone. Rather, they are built from whole words and phrases, as when *ch'ipi* and *raxa,* "newborn" and "sudden," trade places as adjectives modifying *kaqulja,* "thunderbolt." At a smaller scale, they are built from stems such as *tzaq-* and *b'it-,* "make" and "model," and affixes such as *-ol,* something like English "-er." In other words, these rhythms work at the level of syntax, where sounds have already been organized to make meanings.

If the animals had mastered their first lesson they might have been taught some additional tricks. Skilled Quiché orators do not deliver verse mechanically, but rather ring changes on it through the timing of their pauses. Recast in lines separated from one another by pauses rather than by verse structure alone, the passage quoted above might go like this:

> Hurricane,
> Newborn Thunderbolt,
> Sudden Thunderbolt,
> Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
> Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter.

A skilled performance also requires changes in the verse structure itself. The parallelism of couplets can and should be varied, from time to time, with triplets. The list of animals made by the gods provides a simple example:

kej,	deer,
tz'ikin,	birds,
koj,	pumas,
b'alam,	jaguars,
kumatz,	serpents,
sochoch,	rattlesnakes,
k'anti	fer-de-lances

But whatever the groupings according to meaning, a list of this kind would be delivered today without any more marking of the transition between jaguars and serpents than that between pumas and jaguars. There would be no pause until the run of parallel nouns came to a halt or the breath of the speaker ran out. On this basis I have chosen not to break such lists into lines of verse in the present translation, but have run them on as prose.

Another variation on the couplet takes the form of a quatrain in which the first two parts establish a pattern, the third departs from it (often by means of simplification), and the fourth returns to it. Here is an example from the narration of how the earth was made (p. 63):

ukaj tz'ukuxik, fourfold siding,
ukaj xukutaxik fourfold cornering,
retaxik, measuring,
ukaj che'xik fourfold staking

There do come moments in Quiché poetry when sounds seem to come to the foreground against syntax, but even then they are put in the direct service of meaning, this time by way of onomatopoeia. The following passage is dense with alliteration and assonance, both inside its words and between them, but it opens language toward the direct imitation of what is outside it, evoking the sounds of a primordial world that consists only of a flat sea and an empty sky:

K'a katz'ininoq, Now it still ripples,
k'a kachamamoq, now it still murmurs,
katz'inonik, ripples,

k'a kasilanik, it still sighs,
k'a kalolinik, it still hums,
katolona puch. and it is empty.

For ears attuned to patterns that run below the level of syntax, this seems to be one of the most densely poetic passages in the PV. For Quiché ears it is rather the sound of chaos—not the maelstrom of Old World mythology, but a chaos of vibrations and pulsations.

In narrative the vertical movement of verse, which dwells on the moment, must be modified by the horizontal movement of prose, which carries the action forward. When the two forces alternate, the result is a diagonal trajectory:

xchaw ruk' ri tepew q'ukumatz
xech'a k'ut, ta xenaojinik
ta xeb'isonik,
xeriqo kib'
xkikuch kitzij
kinaoj

He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
and they talked, then they thought,
then they worried.
They agreed with each other,
they joined their words,
their thoughts.

Sometimes the balance may swing more toward the verticality of verse than in this example and sometimes more toward the horizontality of prose. When

action moves fast during the telling of a story, parallel verse may be reduced to an occasional couplet or triplet, afloat on a river of prose. As a rule, I have chosen to cast my translation in a verse format only where parallelism is sustained for more than one or two couplets, and only where parallel meanings are expressed in parallel syntax. For more on Mayan verse, see D. Tedlock (1983a; 1983b: chap. 8; 1987), Hanks (1989), and Sam Colop (1994).

The division of the translation into paragraphs is largely based on two considerations. The first is the occurrence of what Dell Hymes calls "initial particles" (Hymes 1981:318–20). Examples in Quiché are *k'ut,* "And here" or "And this is"; *k'ate k'ut,* "And next"; and *keje k'ut,* "And so." The second consideration is the occurrence of quotations. In contemporary Quiché speech there are deliberate pauses both before and after phrases consisting of initial particles, and immediately before quotations (see D. Tedlock 1983b: chap. 4; 1987).

The Mayan Calendar

The foundation of Mayan timekeeping, and that of Mesoamerican timekeeping in general, is a divinatory calendar of 260 days. It is made up of two shorter cycles, one consisting of an endlessly repeating sequence of thirteen day numbers and the other of an endlessly repeating sequence of twenty day names. Since 13 and 20 have no common factor, the interaction of 13 numbers with 20 names produces a larger repeating sequence of 260 combinations ($13 \times 20 = 260$). If we begin with the day that combines the number 1 with the name *Kej,* the list of successive days proceeds as follows:

Quiché Day Names with Numbers
(Yucatec names in parentheses)

1	Kej	(Manik')	11	No'j	(Kaban)
2	Q'anil	(Lamat)	12	Tijax	(Ets'nab)
3	Toj	(Muluk)	13	Kawuq	(Kawak)
4	Tz'i'	(Ok)	1	Junajpu	(Ahaw)
5	B'atz'	(Chuen)	2	Imox	(Imix)
6	E	(Eb)	3	Iq'	(Ik')
7	Aj	(Ben)	4	Aq'ab'al	(Ak'bal)
8	Ix	(Ix)	5	K'at	(K'an)
9	Tz'ikin	(Men)	6	Kan	(Chikchan)
10	Ajmak	(Kib)	7	Kame	(Kimi)

From *7 Kame* the count goes on to *8 Kej, 9 Q'anil,* and so forth, returning to *1 Kej* after 260 days.

Contemporary daykeepers often call this sequence of days "the calendar of the earth," thus setting it apart from astronomical intervals such as the solar year. Andrés Xiloj, among others, insists that the period of human pregnancy is the basis for its length, and 260 days is indeed close to an average figure for the interval between first missed menses (the earliest definitive sign of pregnancy) and birth. It should also be noted that the growth cycle of one of the varieties of corn planted in highland Guatemala is such that it is ideally harvested 260 days after planting (see B. Tedlock 1985; 1992: chap. 8).

Ancient Mayan astronomers measured the rhythms of lunar, planetary, and solar cycles against those of the divinatory calendar. In the eclipse table of the Dresden Codex, a series of 405 lunations is reckoned as beginning on the Yucatec day *13 Muluk* and ending on *12 Lamat* (Lounsbury 1978:796). The equivalent Quiché day names, *Toj* and *Q'anil,* are the same ones Blood Moon invokes (in that order) when she prays before the single cornstalk in Xmucane's field (translated as Thunder and Yellow on p. 103). The lunations of the eclipse table are divided into groups that most often consist of six moons, and that is the number of moons that go by before Blood Moon's father discovers her pregnancy (p. 99).

The Mayan Venus calendar is best known from a table in the Dresden Codex (Thompson 1972:62–71), but the presence of Venus reckoning in the Guatemalan highlands is attested by the PV and by a Quiché almanac dating from 1722 (Berendt n.d.). A given Venus synodic period (lasting 584 days) is divided into four stages, with Venus appearing as the morning star at the beginning of the first stage and remaining visible throughout it (236 days or 8 synodic moons). During the second stage (90 days), Venus goes through its last 27 days (one sidereal moon) as the morning star, disappears for 50 days, and runs through its first 13 days as the evening star. It remains visible as the evening star throughout the third period (250 days) and stays out of sight throughout the fourth period (8 days), after which it returns to the first stage.

During a given 584-day period the 20 day names repeat 29 times, giving 580 days with a remainder of 4; this means that a new Venus cycle will always begin 4 days later in the sequence of 20 day names than the previous cycle. And since 20 is evenly divisible by 4 ($20 \div 4 = 5$), only 5 of the day names can ever begin a Venus cycle. In the Dresden Codex the chosen days (here given their Quiché names) were *Junajpu, K'at, Q'anil, E,* and *Ajmak,* followed by *Junajpu* again. Starting from *1 Junajpu* (as the Dresden Codex does) and running through five complete periods so as to show all of the possible day names, the beginning dates for the four stages within each Venus period work out as follows:

DATES FOR FIVE SUCCESSIVE VENUS PERIODS

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	FIFTH
Appears as morning star:	1 Junajpu	13 K'at	12 Q'anil	11 E	10 Ajmak
Becomes invisible:	3 Ajmak	2 Junajpu	1 K'at	13 Q'anil	12 E
Appears as evening star:	2 Kame	1 Tz'i'	13 Ix	12 Tijax	11 Iq'
Becomes invisible:	5 Ajmak	4 Junajpu	3 K'at	2 Q'anil	1 E

After five complete cycles totaling 2,920 days, the movements of Venus fill eight idealized years of 365 days each and come within hours of spanning 99 lunations. At this point Venus begins repeating the same series of period-beginning day names but with different numbers, while at the same time coming very close to repeating its relationship to the fixed stars and the seasons of the solar year. To get back to a morning appearance on *1 Junajpu,* Venus must repeat the full set of five periods a total of thirteen times.

In the PV, the divine names One and Seven Hunahpu (*Junajpu*) and One and Seven Death (*Kame*) point directly to the Venus calendar, and specifically to the first of the five periods charted above. Andrés Xiloj pointed out that combining the numbers 1 and 7 with a given day name is a conventional way of indicating all 13 days bearing that name. The reason is that when one traces a single day name through all of its occurrences in a given 260-day cycle, the accompanying numbers fall out in the sequence 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, 4, 11, 5, 12, 6, 13, and 7. This means that if the divine names in question here refer to astronomical events, these should be events whose day names remain constant but whose day numbers are variable, which is indeed the case. The ball game One and Seven Hunahpu play on their own court corresponds to the appearance of Venus as the morning star on a day that bears their name, their death by sacrifice at the court of One and Seven Death corresponds to the appearance of the evening star on a day named *Kame,* and the eventual resurrection of Seven Hunahpu by Hunahpu and Xbalanque corresponds to the return of the morning star to its original day name. Just as there are five kinds of Venus period, so there are fivefold recurrences in their story, the most obvious of these being the five test houses where Hunahpu and Xbalanque spend the night in the underworld (see the notes to p. 97). Also five in number are the severed heads (corresponding to the evening star) of the underworld episodes: One Hunahpu's head is placed in a tree, the underworld lords use an artificial skull as a ball, Hunahpu's head is put into play as a ball, a carved squash is substituted for his head, and finally Xbalanque cuts off Hunahpu's head in a mock sacrifice.

Two characters in the PV, One Monkey (*1 B'atz'*) and One Artisan (*1 Chuen*),

respectively bear the Quiché and Yucatec names of the same day on the divinatory calendar. This suggests that they might correspond to an astronomical phenomenon whose canonical divinatory date is constant in both number and name, which would require a periodicity of 260 days or an even multiple thereof. The only planetary possibility is Mars, whose average synodic period of 780 (3 × 260) days is reflected in the fact that the Mars table in the Dresden Codex is organized around a single day number and name. The table also reflects the extreme variability of Mars from one period to the next, using this one day as a focal point at the near end of a 63-day range of possibilities for the heliacal rise of the planet (Bricker and Bricker 1986:66–68). The day in question is *3 Lamat* (*3 Q'anil* in Quiché), which happens to be followed, 63 days later, by *1 Chuen* (*1 B'atz'*). It would appear, then, that the Mars table used by the Quiché must have had the latter date as its anchor. If so, we may imagine that the animals illustrated in this table were not the "Mars beasts" of the Dresden Codex, which have the snouts of reptiles and the legs of peccaries, but rather the monkeys of the PV narrative. This interpretation is supported by a Kekchí myth recorded among the contemporary Mopán Maya, in which the brother of the gods of the sun and Venus, having been transformed into a monkey, becomes an unspecified planet that is probably Mars (Thompson 1970:355). For more on planetary astronomy in the PV, see D. Tedlock (1992a; 1992b) and D. and B. Tedlock (1993).

Among all the astronomical periods to fall into place in the PV, the invariable Mayan solar year of 365 days is the last. In a given year all 20 day names are repeated 18 times, giving 360 days with a remainder of 5; this means that the next solar year will always begin with a day name that comes 5 days later in the cycle of 20 than the name that began the previous year. And since 20 is evenly divisible by 5 (20 ÷ 5 = 4), only 4 of the 20 day names, evenly spaced within the name cycle, can ever begin a solar year. For the Quiché, these new year's day names were and are the same as in the Dresden Codex; their Quiché names are *Kej, E, No'j,* and *Iq',* followed by *Kej* again. As for the new year's day number, the 13 numbers are repeated 28 times in a given year, giving 364 days and a remainder of 1, which means that a given solar year will always begin with a day number that comes a single place later in the cycle of 13 than the number that began the previous year. The year as a whole is designated by the number and name of its beginning day; starting with a year bearing the name *1 Kej,* the reckoning of successive years proceeds as follows:

QUICHÉ YEAR DESIGNATIONS

1 Kej	6 E	11 No'j
2 E	7 No'j	12 Iq'
3 No'j	8 Iq'	13 Kej
4 Iq'	9 Kej	1 E
5 Kej	10 E	etc.

Two of these day names, *E* and *Iq'*, also have a potential for events pertaining to Venus (see the Venus calendar above). They occur in the fourth and (more markedly) in the fifth and final Venus period, just as the solar dimension of the story of Hunahpu and Xbalanque waits for two scenes that come late. In the first, one of the four old possums or vagabond actors whose job it is to bring the new year makes a personal appearance (pp. 127–28). In the second, after a five-day period corresponding to the end of an old year, Hunahpu and Xbalanque disguise themselves as the bearers of a new year (p. 132).

Introduction

22–33

My account of Mayan archaeology is based largely on M. Coe (1987; 1994), Hammond (1982), Fash (1991), and various essays in Chase and Rice (1985) and Sabloff and Andrews (1986). David Stuart (n.d.) is my source of information on the relationship between Copán and Teotihuacan. The Postclassic Mexican impact on the highlands is notably weaker than in Yucatán. The PV and other highland documents from the sixteenth century contain many fewer Nahua words than the Chilam Balam books of Yucatán. The notion that elite highland lineages came from the Gulf coast, which has been repeated uncritically by many scholars, originated with Recinos (see Recinos et al. 1950:62–68). Ignoring the fact that the PV and other highland documents have these lineages moving westward to reach their present homes, and that the Quiché kingdom subsequently expanded westward, he gave them a common origin with the Tutul Xiu, who moved eastward along the Gulf to reach Yucatán. Brown (1985) points to the absence of archaeological evidence for the Gulf connection.

23

For a general discussion of what is known about Mayan books from early Spanish sources, see Thompson (1972: chap. 1). The story of the surviving books (or codices) and their rediscovery by modern scholars is told by M. Coe (1992: chaps. 3–6). The Dresden Codex is fully reproduced in Thompson (1972), the Paris Codex in Love (1994), and the fragment found in Chiapas (the Grolier Codex) in Coe (1973). On similarities between the illustrations in such books and wall paintings along the east coast of Yucatán, see Miller (1982:54–59) and Paxton (1986:202–11). For general introductions to the Mayan writing system, see Lounsbury (1989) and Houston (1989). Whittaker (1986) has found Nahua words in the Dresden Codex.

27

For a comparison of the towns of Quiché and Chichicastenango during the colonial period, see Carmack (1981:76, 106, 304, 328).

27

For a longer account of the odyssey of the MS of the PV (Ximénez c.1701), see Recinos et al. (1950:32–45); on Ximénez and his works, see Carmack (1973:189–92).

27

For the Vienna volume see Ximénez (1857); for the Paris volume see Brasseur de Bourbourg (1861). The title chosen by Scherzer for the Vienna volume is the one used by Ximénez; Brasseur was the first to call the alphabetic version of the ancient book by the name of its hieroglyphic predecessor. His version of the Quiché text leaves much to be desired; by far the best version ever published is that of Schultze Jena (1944). For a highly legible facsimile see Ximénez (1973). For evidence that the manuscript Ximénez worked from contained at least a few hieroglyphs, see the notes to pp. 184 and 194 of the present translation. The monkey patrons of writing and painting and the close relationship between these arts are discussed in M. Coe (1977). My discussion of the influence of ancient Mayan syllabic spelling conventions on the alphabetic spellings in the PV was inspired by Bricker (1989), who explored similar influences in Yucatec alphabetic texts. Another indication that the authors of the PV were familiar with hieroglyphic writing is their failure to consistently differentiate the k sounds of Quiché, which come in plain front (*k*) and back (*q*) forms as well as glottalized front (*k'*) and back (*q'*) forms. If ancient Quiché scribes used the same inventory of syllabic signs as their Yucatec counterparts, then the front/back contrast would not have been provided for, leaving only the plain/glottalized contrast.

29

For discussions of the four sides and corners and their differences from European cardinal directions, see Hunt (1977:207–208) and B. Tedlock (1992:173–78). The directional language used in the PV has no exact ethnographic parallel, but it seems likely that on the earthly plane, the four corners were marked by the horizon positions of the rising and setting sun at the solstices. Only for the night sky is it likely that the corners partially corresponded to cardinal directions, with "north" located somewhat above the horizon, at Polaris, and "south" located below the horizon, opposite Polaris; "east" and "west" would have been marked by the rising and setting points of major stars located very near the celestial equator, such as those in Orion's belt.

29–30

See Tozzer (1941:153–54) for a description of the reading of a hieroglyphic book in Yucatán. At present there are public readings of alphabetic manuscripts in the Yucatec ceremonial center of Xcacal, in Quintana Roo; see Burns (1977; 1983:22–23, 71–72).

30

For a further discussion of the Ancient Word and its relation to the preaching of God, see D. Tedlock (1983b: chap. 12).

30

In holding open the possibility that the authors of the alphabetic PV had access to the hieroglyphic version I am in agreement with Edmonson (1971:6–7). For a discussion of the role of dialogue in the Quiché story of the origin of the world and the contrasting monologue of Genesis, see D. Tedlock (1983b: chap. 11).

33

For more on the Mesoamerican ball game, see Leyenaar and Parsons (1988:94–149), which includes an account of present-day versions, and Scarborough and Wilcox (1991).

35

The sexual symbolism of the Zipacna story was pointed out by Andrés Xiloj, whose full comments will be found in the notes to p. 84 of the translation.

35

Together, Zipacna and Earthquake probably correspond to the two-headed celestial monster of Classic Maya iconography, whose features include those of a caiman (Taube 1989).

39

It was Andrés Xiloj who pointed out that the ritual performed with the ears of corn in the PV is the same as a contemporary ritual; his detailed comments on this and other connections between the PV and contemporary practices may be found throughout the notes to the PV translation itself. For an account of contemporary sound plays on day names, see B. Tedlock (1982).

44

Contemporary Quiché mother-fathers are discussed in B. Tedlock (1992:74–85).

45

For detailed arguments as to the identity of Tulan Zuyua, see D. Tedlock (1993a:12–15, 236–37) and the notes to p. 151; Brown (1980) has argued that it was Kaminaljuyú. For a general discussion of the widespread use of the name Tollan (or Tula) and its Mixtec equivalent, see Smith (1973:70–75). David Stuart (n.d.) has recently found that the royal dynasty of Copán traced its origins to Teotihuacan, naming that city with a glyph in the form of a bundle of cattails.

The main cave at Teotihuacan and its relationship to a Mexica tradition concerning seven caves are discussed by Doris Heyden (1975).

48

In Quiché theory, at least, the reckoning of the 260-day cycle should have been in synchrony everywhere in Mesoamerica. We do know that Cuauhtémoc, the successor of Moctezuma, surrendered the city of Tenochtitlán to Hernán Cortés on an Aztec day whose name means "One Snake," falling on August 13, 1521, on the Julian calendar (Thompson 1960:303). Tracing the contemporary Quiché calendar back to that same Julian date, we come to a day whose Quiché name, *Jun Kan*, also means "One Snake." In other words, when it was One Snake in Tenochtitlán, it was One Snake a thousand road miles away in the town of Quiché. For Classic Mayan dates, epigraphers and archaeologists have recently favored a correlation that runs the corresponding Yucatec dates two days later (Lounsbury 1983), but ethnohistorians and ethnographers favor a correlation that brings all these calendars into synchrony (Bricker and Bricker 1986:54; D. Tedlock 1992a:267–69).

48

It was Linda Schele who found the name Hacauitz in an inscription at Seibal and kindly passed the information along.

50

It took 52 years of 365 days each for all four year-beginning day names to occur in combination with all thirteen day numbers ($4 \times 13 = 52$). The seniority given by the Quiché to *Kej* or "Deer" among the year-beginning day names is noted in B. Tedlock (1992:99).

50

According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Chonay and Goetz 1953:176), both Noble Two and his brother Noble Raiment set off to get the emblems of lordship from Nacxit. The former went east and succeeded in his mission, while the latter went west, getting as far as the Gulf coast, and returned empty-handed. Here is further confirmation of the strong eastern ties of the Quiché elite, in contradiction to the Gulf coast theory of Recinos.

50

Alternative accounts of the names and generational positions of the Quichés who went on the pilgrimage, and of the titles that were given to them, may be found in the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Chonay and Goetz 1953:176–79). On the east coast of Yucatán as a pilgrimage center, see Miller (1982:96).

50

The reference to the body of water crossed by the Quiché forefathers as a "sea" is a hyperbole; it is called both a "lake" and a "sea" in other Quiché accounts

(see the notes to p. 158). On causeways at Cobá, one of which runs to the south southwest across a lake, see Thompson (1966:185–86).

51

A long list of the citadels settled by the Quichés between Hacauitz and Thorny Place is given in the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Chonay and Goetz 1953:180–83).

53

For a full discussion of the buildings of *Q'umaraq aj* (Rotten Cane) or Utatlán (the Nahuatl name for the same place), see Carmack (1981: chap. 9).

53–54

The military exploits of Quicab are discussed in Carmack (1981:134–37). The citadels that made up the town of Quiché, in addition to Rotten Cane, were *Chi ismachi* or Bearded Place to the south, which now belonged to the Tams; *Piloqab'* or Iloc Place to the north, belonging to the Ilocs; and Resguardo, or Atalaya, to the east, whose Quiché name and lineage affiliation are unknown (Carmack 1981: chap. 8).

55–56

For the full story of Alvarado's conquest of the Quiché kingdom, which was resisted by a large military force, see Bricker (1981:39–41) and D. Tedlock (1993a:102–108, 245–46; 1993b).

56

On the dating of the writing of the alphabetic PV, see Recinos et al. (1950:22–23). For more on the Spanish journey of Juan Cortés and the warning sent to Philip II, see Pedro Carrasco (1967).

56

The lineal descendants of Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortés continued to litigate well into the eighteenth century. The Cortés line died out by 1788; the de Rojas line still lives, but its members lost all remaining vestiges of their lordly privileges with the coming of liberal reforms in 1801 (Carmack 1981:321, 362).

57

For more on contemporary matchmakers (or "road guides"), see B. Tedlock (1992:74, 110, 117, 156); on the eloquence of their speeches, see Sam Colop (1994:116–43).

57

The name Cristóbal Velasco may be found in Carmack and Mondloch (1983a:164–65, 200). He is not to be confused with the Don Cristóbal men-

tioned in the PV, who is a member of the Greathouse rather than the Cauec lineage.

58
The Dresden Codex page that begins an otherwise torn-off section is discussed in Thompson (1972:78–80).

58
On the character of the Palenque inscriptions, see Schele (1984).

59–60
For more on the dialectical nature of Quiché thought see B. Tedlock (1992:145–46, 176–77). The role of myth in Mayan thinking about history is explored by Bricker (1981: chaps. 1 and 14).

Popol Vuh

PART ONE

63
the beginning: This is *uxe,* literally "its base" or "root"; it is as if the writers were starting at the bottom of something vertical and working their way up.

63
this place called Quiché: That "Quiché" is meant as a place name here is confirmed at the very end of the PV (p. 198): "everything has been completed here concerning Quiché, which is now named Santa Cruz" (see Santa Cruz in the Glossary). The same name, appearing as [quiche] or [queche] in the MS and as [4iche] in TK and TT, can serve to designate a people or a language; in the new orthography it is *k'iche'.* The general assumption is that *k'iche'* comes from a combination of *k'i,* "many," and *che',* "trees," thus carrying approximately the same meaning as Cuautemallan, the Nahuatl name for what is now called Guatemala.

63
citadel: This is *tinamit,* from a Nahua source; *tenamitl* is "enclosure, or wall of a city" in Nahuatl proper (AM). In the PV the term refers to a town in a defensible position, whether on top of a hill or mountain or between two canyons, with walls or stockades at points of easy access. Under Spanish rule most such towns were relocated to weaker sites as a matter of colonial military policy; today *tinamit* (or *tinimit*) is the general Quiché term for "town," regardless of location.

63

how things were put in shadow and brought to light: This is *ewaxib'al saqirib'al* [zaquiribal], "being-hidden-instrument becoming-light-instrument." The first word is built on a passive (*-x*) form of *ewaj*, which FV glosses as "to hide" but then explains that it has to do with shadows or dark places. The second word is built on an inchoative (*-ir*) form of *saq*, "be light," which is also found in *saqirik*, "to dawn." As will be seen, the gods not only bring things to light but can also darken what was once in the light. The two words could also be translated as "the hiding place, the dawning place," since *-b'al* can either be instrumental or indicate place. The "hiding place" would be *ewab'al siwan* or "Concealment Canyon" (see Glossary), where the gods were hidden away before the dawn (p. 158); the "dawning place" would be the place (or places) where the founding ancestors of the ruling Quiché lineages were keeping vigil when the morning star and then the sun rose for the first time (p. 160), places which are referred to as *saqirib'al* [zaquiribal].

63

Maker, Modeler: These names are *tz'aqol* [tzacol] and *b'itol*, consisting of an agentive suffix, *-ol*, added to two different verb stems. In both ancient and modern Quiché, *tz'aq-* has to do with making things out of clay, plaster, cement, or stone; the objects made range through bricks and walls to monuments, mounds of earth, and buildings of all sizes. *B'it-*, on the other hand, has to do with making definite shapes out of a pliable and otherwise formless material; the gloss in FX is "to make jars, to fabricate things from clay." Andrés Xiloj said of *tz'aq-* (which today is agentivized as *tz'aqal*), "This is to make or construct, like a building, a wall." Of *b'it-* he said, "This *b'itik* is to form, as when we were small and played with mud; we made forms. *Qab'itik*, 'we form it.' " He saw *tz'aqol* and *b'itol* as referring, respectively, to the amassing of clay and then its shaping into forms such as vessels or figures.

63

Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote: The next time these names are used they seem to be epithets for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane (p. 69), but they may be epithets for Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their roles as vagabond dancers and magicians (see p. 232).

63

Great White Peccary, Coati: These names are given here as *saqi* [zaqui] *nim aq* [ac] and *tzi's;* the latter appears elsewhere as *saqi nima tzi's.* That the peccary is both white (*saqi*) and great (*nim*) points to the white-lipped peccary (*Tayasu pecari*), which has white jowls and is markedly larger than the collared peccary (*Tayasu tajacu*). The *tzi's* or coati mundi (*Nasua narica*) is a raccoon-like animal

that resembles a peccary in having a long, flexible snout. In Classic Maya art both members of this pair are shown as peccaries.

63

Sovereign Plumed Serpent: Here and elsewhere, the title *tepew* or "Sovereign" serves to distinguish the god named Plumed Serpent, who bears it nearly every time he is mentioned, from the Quiché king named Plumed Serpent, who never bears it. *Tepew* is from a Nahua source; *tepeuani* is "conqueror or victor in battle" in Nahuatl proper (AM). Quiché *tepewal,* an adjectival form (marked by *-al*), is glossed by DB as "majesty, dignity." The name rendered as Plumed Serpent is *q'ukumatz* [4ucumatz], in which *q'u-* is from *q'uq',* which refers to the resplendent quetzal (*Pharomachrus mocinno*) when used as a bird name but extends to precious feathers in general when it modifies other words, and *kumatz,* a generic term for snakes. The Yucatec name *k'uk'ulkan* is constructed in the same way: *k'uk'* (used here in the adjectival form *k'uk'ul*) carries the same range of meanings as Quiché *q'u-* or *q'uq',* and *kan* is generic for "snake" (AB). The Nahuatl name *quetzalcoatl* fits the same pattern, combining *quetzal-,* which refers to precious feathers in general but is taken from the species name *quetzalli,* with *coatl,* "snake" (RS). It is the sense of value and splendor adhering to the quetzal and its feathers that has led to the standard English translation followed here, using "plumed" instead of the more ordinary "feathered" and then, as if that were not quite strong enough, using "serpent" instead of "snake."

63

plate shaper, bowl shaper: This is *ajraxa laq* [la3], *ajraxa tzel,* in which *aj-* is occupational and *raxa,* which in some contexts is "green," means "wet" in the context of earth (in this case earthenware). In other words, the pottery in question is as yet unfired, which places the focus on the stage at which it is shaped. The plate and bowl may refer ultimately to the earth and sky. Andrés Xiloj pointed out that when the head of a contemporary patrilineage (who is always a diviner) dies, his successor must be installed in office by the head of a neighboring lineage, who is hired as an *ajch'ajb'al laq, ajch'ajb'al tasa,* "washer of the plate, washer of the cup." Before the new lineage head can take office, the "washer" must go to all of that lineage's shrines and clean out the ashes of all the offerings burned by the deceased lineage head. Such shrines are lined and covered with slabs of stone and pieces of pottery, spoken of as "plates" and "cups." In the PV, "plate shaper, bowl shaper" could refer to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in their general roles as those who look after (and even create) shrines, or it might refer to pottery vessels used for burning incense rather than to shrines as such.

63

midwife, matchmaker: These roles, *iyom* and *mamom,* are mentioned in the predominant female/male order of Quiché discourse but refer, respectively, to

the divine daykeepers Xmucane and Xpiyacoc, who are always named with Xpiyacoc (the male) first. *Iyom* means "midwife" in both ancient (FX) and modern (AG) Quiché. Xmucane's midwife role suggests that she could be the Quiché counterpart of lowland Maya Goddess O (as iconographers label her), an elderly goddess of medicine, childbirth, and weaving whose name is *chak chel* in the codices and *ix chel* or *chakal ix chel* in alphabetic documents (Roys 1965:146, 153; Taube 1992:99–105; 1994a:657–58, 663–64). Andrés Xiloj recognized *mamom* only as a term addressed to a matchmaker in the ceremonial language of a bride-asking ceremony. Ordinarily such a person (always a male) would be referred to as *k'amal b'e,* "road guide."

63

Xpiyacoc, Xmucane: It is difficult to discover the meaning of these names, except that the initial *x-* means "she of" or "small." The male member of the pair, Xpiyacoc, has a feminine aspect that is indicated not only by the *x-*, but also by the fact that he is later subsumed under the double epithet "Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light." This recalls the fact that contemporary diviners (of either sex) are symbolically androgynous, female on the left side of the body and male on the right. Andrés Xiloj suggested that the *-pi-* in Xpiyacoc might be *-pe-*, "to come," and he derived *-yak-* from *yekik* (*yakik* in some dialects), "to be put in order, to be lifted up," a verb diviners use with reference to the problems of clients. In ancient Quiché *yako* is a numeral classifier for counting tribute (DB); the *yako* in Xpiyacoc could refer to the counting (and manipulation) of the divining seeds (described on p. 70) rather than to the "lifting up" of the client. In the case of Xmucane, Xiloj derived *mukane* from *mokonik,* "to do something requested" or "to do a favor"; he pointed out that a diviner who has ascertained the cause of a problem may then be hired to make prayers and offerings on behalf of the client. Another possibility is that her name refers to her preparation of maize for the making of the first humans, suggested by the Pokomchí verb *muqunem,* "to make a tortilla" (OS).

63

defender, protector: This translates *matzanel, ch'uqenel* [chuquenel]. DB glosses *matzo* as "shelter after the manner of a hen" and (under the same heading) *matzanel* as "defender," while *ch'uqu* [chu3u] is "cover over" and (under the same heading) *ch'uqonal* [chukonal] is "protector." Andrés Xiloj pointed out that a daykeeper, when he or she states the case of a client in a prayer, may be called an "abogado," Spanish for "lawyer" or (more literally) "advocate."

63

as enlightened beings, in enlightened words: "Enlightened" is my translation, for the present context, of *zaqil* [zaquil], "lightness" or "whiteness." This insistence that the aforementioned Quiché deities and their words have the properties of light is directly juxtaposed to a mention of God and Christendom in the sentence

that follows; it can thus be read as a direct and deliberate contradiction of the missionary teaching that all indigenous gods were devils.

63

amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now: This couplet contains the first Spanish or Spanish-derived words to appear in the MS, *Dios* and *christianoil;* no more such words are used until p. 184 (see the note for *the lord bishop* on p. 321). The "preaching" is *ch'ab'al,* literally "manner of speaking" or just plain "talk"; the phrase *uch'ab'al Dios,* "talk of God," came to be the standard Quiché way of referring to Christian doctrine and is still used in that sense by both Quichés and missionaries, but the original choice of these words to translate "la palabra de Dios" must have been made by a Quiché rather than a missionary. The proper Quiché term for an authoritative and abiding "word" was and still is *tzij* rather than *ch'ab'al;* the writers of the PV refer to their own work as containing *ojer tzij,* "the Ancient Word," but neither they nor contemporary Quichés use *tzij* as a way of referring to "la palabra de Dios." In choosing to translate *uch'ab'al Dios* as "the preaching of God" in the present context, I have tried to combine the "Christian doctrine" sense of this phrase with the more general sense of *ch'ab'al* as an act of speaking.

63

a place to see it: The original pre-Columbian PV is referred to here and much later (p. 192) as an *ilb'al re* (miswritten [ibal re] in the latter place), "an instrument (or place) for the seeing of something." What was "seen" there included "how things were put in shadow and brought to light" by the gods, together with future events such as war, death, famine, and quarrels (pp. 63, 192). DB has an entry for *ilb'al re* (under *ilo*) glossed as "figure, picture." Today *ilb'al* or *ilob'al* (without the *re*) refers to crystals used for gazing by diviners and to eyeglasses, binoculars, and telescopes.

63

Council Book: The MS has *popo wuj* here and *popol wuj* the second time the book is mentioned (p. 152); *pop wuj,* the spelling preferred by Chávez (1979), occurs in TY but not in the PV itself. *Pop* is "mat," *-ol* is adjectival, and *wuj* is "paper" or "book." In ancient Quiché, *popol* occurred in many phrases in which it had the effect of "public" or "in common," such as *popol ja,* "council house" (DB); *popoj,* a verb built on the same root, was "to hold a council" (FX, FV), and the pronouncements of a council were *popol tzij,* in which *tzij* is "word." *Popol,* literally "partaking of a mat," is a metonym for a council, referring to the mat on which its members sat; at the same time it might have been a metaphor for the way councils were structured, weaving diverse interests together. Alternative translations of *popol wuj* would be "Common Book" or "Council Paper."

63

"The Light That Came from Beside the Sea": This epithet for the PV is *saq petenaq ch'aqa palo* [zac petenac chaca palo], "light come-from-perfect beside sea." Some translators have rendered *ch'aqa palo* as "from the other side of the sea," as I did in the previous edition of the present work, but the Quiché scholar Enrique Sam Colop (1994:237–38) makes a conclusive linguistic argument for the revised translation offered here. In the present context, the phrase alludes to the fact that the sons of the first Quiché lords, on their return from a pilgrimage to a great lord named Nacxit, "brought back the writing of Tulan, the writing of Zuyua" from beside the sea (see p. 180).

63

There is the original book and ancient writing, but the one who reads and assesses it has a hidden identity: "There is" is my translation of *k'o;* some translators have used the past tense here, but there is nothing in the text that calls for it. "The one who reads" translates *ilol,* literally "one who sees"; DB gives *ilol* as "seer" or "prophet," and *ilol wuj* (literally "book seer") as "reader." The full range of *ilol* is covered by an English translation built on "read," which still retains divinatory usages that go all the way back to its Germanic root. The one who "assesses" is *b'isol,* in which the stem *b'iso-* refers to deliberation or care in Quiché and Cakchiquel but retains a clear reference to the making of measurements in Kekchí (EH). In the present context the very next sentence describes a process of measurement (see two notes below). The known hieroglyphic books are filled with astronomical measurements; these same books (or others) may have included detailed descriptions of territorial boundaries as well, as does the script of the Rabinal Achi (a drama contemporary with the alphabetic text of the PV). "Hidden identity" translates *ewal uwach,* literally "hidden his/her-face," in which the meanings of face extend to a person's social identity. Edmonson (1971:7) is correct in interpreting this phrase as referring to the reader of the PV rather than to the book itself.

63

It takes a long performance and account to complete the lighting of all the sky-earth: "Performance" translates *peyoxik* [peoxic], which I read as a passive and nominalized form of *peyoj,* "to hire" (TC, FV), probably meaning something like "service rendered." "Lighting" is *tzuk'* [tzuk], translated on the basis of the verb stem *tzuk'u-,* referring in both ancient and modern Quiché to the placing of a light (such as a candle or torch) in a high place (FX, FV, MX, AG). The only alternative readings of [tzuk] would be *tzuq,* referring to the giving of sustenance, and *tz'uk,* referring to sides, but both of these are written [tzuc] everywhere else in the MS, and the placement of lights does fit the present passage. The next sentence (see the following note) refers to the placement of stakes at the four corners of the world, corresponding to the solstitial rising and setting points of the sun. Moreover, the full account of the origins of the sun,

moon, and stars, or "the lighting of all the sky-earth," will indeed be "long" (as stated here), taking up better than half the book.

63–64

the fourfold siding, fourfold cornering, / mèasuring, fourfold staking, / halving the cord, stretching the cord / in the sky, on the earth, / the four sides, the four corners: "Siding" and "side" are *tz'ukuxik* [tzucuxic] and *tz'uk* [tzuc]; TC cites a prior dictionary as giving "side" for *tz'uk,* which is also the translation suggested by Andrés Xiloj. "Cornering" and "corner" translate *xukutaxik* and *xukut;* Xiloj uses the latter word in his prayers, saying *kaj xukut kaj, kaj xukut ulew,* "four corners of sky, four corners of earth." The "fourfold staking" is *ukaj che'xik,* which he understood to be four sticks or poles driven into the ground at the four corners. The "measuring" is *retaxik,* literally "its-being-measured," translated on the basis of *etaj,* "to measure, to mark out" (DB), and the reading offered by Xiloj. The unit of measurement in question, still used by Quichés, is the *k'a'm* or "cord," a length of rope about twenty yards (or paces) long. Xiloj was familiar with the phrasing used here, *umej k'a'maxik* [camaxic], "its-folded cording," and *uyuq k'a'maxik* [uyuc camaxic], "its-stretched cording." He explained that the "folded" measurement is done with the cord doubled back on itself to halve its length, while the "stretched" measurement is done with the cord pulled out to its full length. His reading of *k'a'maxik* (which has a passive ending) is confirmed by an entry in DB, *k'a'maj* [caamaah] (with an active ending), "to measure lands." He observed that the PV describes the measurement of sky and earth as if a cornfield were being laid out for cultivation; house and loom construction are also suggested by this passage (B. Tedlock and D. Tedlock 1985). In the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, the measurement of the world is described in terms of twenty footsteps (equal to a cord) that span the twenty day names of the divinatory calendar (Roys 1967:116–18). The same source refers to a celestial cord (Ibid.:155); according to Yucatec Mayas living near Valladolid, a cord suspended in the sky once linked Tulum and Cobá with Chichén Itzá and Uxmal (Tozzer 1907:153).

64

giver of heart, . . . upbringer: These are respectively *k'uxlanel* and *k'uxla'y,* both built on the stem *k'ux,* "heart," which in its *k'uxla-* forms has to do with thought in the sense of "memory" and "will." Andrés Xiloj defined *k'uxlanel* as follows: "One who raises us and has a good reputation for doing this." In the translation I have tried to preserve the full range of *k'uxla-* by staying literal for its first occurrence ("giver of heart") and translating for sense the second time around ("upbringer").

64

in the light that lasts: Here I have tried to preserve in English the relationship that exists between the corresponding words of the text, *saqil amaq'el* [zaquil

amaquil]. These two words are linked by assonance and alliteration, giving them a parallel sound, but they are not properly parallel in their syntax—in fact, the latter word *modifies* the former. *Saqil* is composed of *saq*, an adjective meaning "light" or "white," and *-il*, which makes it into an abstract noun; *amaq'el*, on the other hand, whether in ancient or modern Quiché, is a unitary, unanalyzable form (at least where proper morphology is concerned). It means "always," "all the time," "continuous," or "eternal." In rendering *saqil amaq'el* as "the light that lasts," I change parts of speech as the original phrase does (though not in precisely the same way), while at the same time linking the two halves of the phrase through alliteration.

64

Now it still ripples, now it still murmurs, ripples, it still sighs, still hums, and it is empty: This is *k'a katz'ininoq, k'a kachamamoq, katz'inonik, k'a kasilanik, k'a kalolinik, katolona puch*, with [ca] corrected to *k'a*, [-oc] to *-oq*, and [tzini-] and [tzino-] to *tz'ini-* and *tz'ino-*. *K'a* is "still, yet"; *ka-* is the incomplete aspect; and *-oq* has the effect of "now." What we are hearing here is the performer's effort to make the primordial state of the world *present* for his listeners, setting a scene rather than recounting a past event, but translators have generally put this passage in the past tense. They have also transformed its activity into a static state, not only changing the first five verbs into adjectives, but choosing such adjectives as "quiet" or "silent." In fact the verb stems *tz'inin-*, *chamam-*, *tz'inon-*, and *lolin-*, each of which contains reduplicative alliteration and/or assonance, are onomatopoeic. Colonial and modern dictionary entries for these stems do indeed include some of the glosses translators have chosen, but DB gives "ring" for *tz'ino-*, and FV, under the entry for [silee], explains that *silan-* refers to the (audible) process through which windy weather is calmed. Further, Andrés Xiloj identifies *lolin-* as the standard Quiché way of rendering the sound of a cricket. In translating this passage I have chosen quiet sounds that can be expressed as verbs; my ripples are derived from the fact that there is nothing but sky and water in this opening scene, as will be seen further on; for the same reason I have avoided obvious animal sounds. The quiet in question here is not so much a complete silence as it is white noise, the kind of sounds one hears when there are no other sounds—in this case, the white noise of the primordial world itself. For a further discussion of the system of ideophonic words in the PV, see D. Tedlock (1988).

64

the first eloquence: Ximénez translates *uchan* as "eloquence," the same gloss offered by DB (under the entry for *chan*).

64

It is at rest; not a single thing stirs: Some translators have made the first half of this sentence negative by joining it to the negative clause that precedes it, but

in fact it is the last in a series of three sentences with the same positive-negative clause structure. The negativity of the second clause of the present sentence is marked by *junta,* "not one thing" (DB), which is not to be confused with *jutaq,* "each one." My reading follows the one offered by Andrés Xiloj, who found this passage perfectly clear.

64

It is held back: This is *kamal kab'antaj,* which is difficult to translate. I find my clue in the entry for [camalo] in DB, which is glossed "late, not quick"; the entire phrase might be read as, "it is made to be late (or slow)."

64

a glittering light: This is *saqtetoj* [za3tetoh], which DB glosses as "the brightness that enters through cracks." The light in question here might be escaping between the feathers with which the Bearers and Begetters are covered (see the next two sentences), but it could also be a twinkling star. In any case it is down at the level of the water, perhaps on the horizon. Its "glittering" corresponds, in the sensory domain of sight, to the soft and repetitive nature of the primordial sounds described earlier.

64

in quetzal feathers, in blue-green: This is *pa q'uq'* [cuc], *pa raxon,* in which *q'uq'* is the primary term for the quetzal or its feathers and *raxon* is identified by PG as an alternative term for the same thing. *Raxon* is a nominal form of *rax,* a color adjective covering the blue to green range.

64

in their very being: This is *chikik'ojeik,* "at-their-being-there." I have translated it as "in their *very* being" because the writers of the PV, wherever they add a form based on *k'ojeik* to a statement in which the verb "to be" is already present or understood, are making a *pointedly* ontological statement. Some translators have softened the ontological abstractness of these statements by using such phrases as "by their nature," but *k'ojeik* has no aura of the natal or the biological hanging about it the way "nature" does, and in fact I know of no Quiché concept that corresponds to "nature." If I were translating *k'ojeik* into German, I would choose "Dasein."

65

the name of the god: Through most of the PV, *k'ab'awil* or "god" refers to the patron deities of the ruling Quiché lineages and to the sacred stones that were the material embodiments of these deities (see the notes to p. 161). But the present passage—given that the term is linked specifically to the Heart of Sky, and given that the Heart of Sky will shortly hereafter be described as a trinity—must be read as an allusion to Christian teachings. Note carefully that when the

passage is read literally rather than as an allusion, it contains nothing that directly contradicts indigenous Quiché theology; Heart of Sky is among the names uttered before gods whose bodies have turned to stone in a prayer given much later (pp. 192–93). For a general discussion of biblical allusions in the PV see D. Tedlock (1983b: chap. 11).

65

in the early dawn: In this phrase the authors make their first allusion to the 260-day divinatory calendar. Instead of the ordinary word for "early dawn," *aq'ab'il,* the text has *aq'ab'al,* an archaic form that is also the proper name of a day. Like other day names, *Aq'ab'al* is often given a divinatory interpretation by means of sound play, and one of the words used to play on it today is in fact *aq'ab'il,* an allusion to the fact that *Aq'ab'al* is a day whose rituals are best performed during the very early dawn. The rituals in question, appropriately enough, involve the first steps toward the negotiation of new social relationships that will last a lifetime (B. Tedlock 1992:77–81). When a daykeeper who holds the office of mother-father needs to schedule a visit to the shrines of his patrilineage in order to ask his ancestors to approve a forthcoming marriage negotiation, *1 Aq'ab'al* is a particularly auspicious date, and a day with the same name (but some other number) may be chosen for the actual marriage proposal at the house of the prospective bride. On *1, 8,* and *9 Aq'ab'al,* a mother-father who has agreed to train and install the successor of his deceased counterpart in a neighboring lineage goes to the ancestral shrines of that lineage to ask for the approval of the novice. In both the marriage and the installation the negotiation has two levels: it is not only the living who must give their approval to the bond between husband and wife or the spiritual marriage between the new mother-father and the shrines, but the ancestors. In the PV, when Heart of Sky goes before Sovereign Plumed Serpent in the early dawn (*aq'ab'al*), they originate both kinds of ritual, eventually creating the first four human mother-fathers and the first four married couples who ever existed.

65

the generation: This is *winaqirik* [uinaquiric]. Others have translated it as "creation," but it has to do with such processes as the seasonal rising of springs in places that would otherwise be dry, and the growth or formation of algae or larvae in still water (FV). The word "creation" is too heavily laden with an implied ontological priority of the spiritual over the material to be imported into the present account of origins, which contains no word quite like it.

65

Hurricane: This god, who causes a cataclysmic rainstorm later on in Part One, is designated here by the epithet *juraqan* [huracan], shortened from *jun raqan,* "one-legged." In Part Four he will take the form of Tohil, the patron deity of Quiché rulers, standing on one leg to make fire and shrouding himself in clouds

and rain. His lowland Maya counterpart, variously labeled God K, GII, or "the manikin scepter" by iconographers, sometimes takes the form of a fire-striking or lightning-striking axe, with the head of the axe sticking out of an obsidian mirror on his forehead and the handle taking the place of one of his legs or serving as his only leg (see p. 298). In some cases artists represented this god's fire-making capacity by means of a pun on the term for obsidian (*tah*), substituting a burning torch (*tah*) for the axe blade (Schele and Miller 1986:49). No such pun is possible in Nahuatl, which suggests that the Nahuatl name Tezcatlipoca, meaning "smoking mirror," might have a Mayan image behind it. As a god, Tezcatlipoca is both one-legged and a causer of hurricanes (Hunt 1977:241–42). In a story told among the Sierra Popoluca (speakers of a Mixe-Zoquean language in eastern Veracruz), a god whose name Foster reports only as "Hurricane" (1945:194) fractures one leg after falling from a great height. Throughout the West Indies and along the north coast of South America, among Carib and Arawakan peoples, there is a god of the hurricane whose names are cognate with *juraqan* and who is one-legged in the Guianas (Lehmann-Nitsche 1924–25). As for the word "hurricane," which came into English via Spanish or French, dictionary compilers favor a Taino (Arawakan) rather than a Mayan origin, but the Taino word could have come from a Mayan source (for evidence of Mayan contact with Caribbean peoples see Roys 1967:142).

65

Thunderbolt Hurricane comes first, the second is Newborn Thunderbolt, and the third is Sudden Thunderbolt: The term for thunderbolt is *kaqulja* [caculha], referring to a shaft of lightning (with the accompanying thunder), as contrasted with *koyopa,* referring to sheet lightning seen in the distance (without visible shafts or audible thunder). Thunderbolt is a fitting addition to the name Hurricane (or "one-legged") not only because hurricanes bring violent thunderstorms, but because lightning that strikes the ground is typically concentrated in one main shaft. Another of Hurricane's names, Tohil, originally meant "thunderer" (see p. 296). Carib and Arawakan hurricane gods (see the previous note) are also thunderbolt gods, whereas the Sierra Popoluca Hurricane has a companion named Thunderbolt. In the names of the Quiché Hurricane's thunderbolt companions, "Newborn" translates *ch'ipi,* written [chipa] here but [chipi] nearly everywhere else, meaning "youngest (or smallest) child," while "Sudden" translates *raxa,* "green, raw, fresh, sudden." These two names refer not only to shafts of lightning but to fulgurites, glassy stones formed by lightning in sandy soil. This is apparent from the "rayo" and "relámpago" entries in TC, where *ru ch'ipil kaqolajay* is "the tiny child of the thunderbolt," *ru naq' ru pub' kaqolajay* is "the shot (pellet) of the blowgun of the thunderbolt," and both of these expressions refer to "a small stone that congeals where lightning hits the ground." Newborn and Sudden Thunderbolt are the Quiché counterparts of the lowland Mayan deities labeled God B or GI by iconographers and named *chak*

or "thunderbolt" in hieroglyphic and alphabetic texts; indeed, the name *raxa kaqulja* has exactly the same meaning as Yucatec *yaxal chak* (Roys 1965:160). In Classic and Postclassic images the *chak* gods wield lightning-striking axes that sometimes take the form of God K (Taube 1992:73).

65

So there were three of them: This appears to be an allusion to the Christian trinity, but there is no lack of trinities among pre-Columbian Mayan gods. There is, for example, the so-called Palenque triad (Schele and Miller 1986:48–51), which resembles the Quiché Thunderbolt triad in that two of its members are God B and God K (see the previous two notes). Another Quiché triad, which may be the same as the Thunderbolt triad, consists of the patron deities of the three ruling Quiché lineages, who are repeatedly named together (beginning in Part Four) as Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

65

"How should the sowing be, and the dawning?": "Sowing" (*awax-*) and "dawning" (*saqir-*) are frequently paired throughout the portion of the PV that deals with the predawn world. The meanings of these two words, which run through them several different threads when they are paired, have something of the structure of a Möbius strip. If we start with the literal meaning of sowing in the present context, the reference is to the beginning of plants; but if we trace that idea over to the other side of our strip, the sprouting of those same plants is expressed metaphorically as "dawning." If, on the other hand, we start from the literal meaning of "dawning," the present reference is to the first of all dawns; but if we trace that idea back over to the other side of the strip, the origin of that dawn is expressed metaphorically as a "sowing," referring to the fact that the Quiché gods who eventually become Venus and the sun and moon must first descend into the underworld. The head of one of these gods becomes the fruit of a calabash tree (p. 97), while another has his head replaced by a squash (p. 127)—that is, at least two of them acquire plant characteristics in the underworld before the coming of the first literal dawning.

The pairing of sowing and dawning receives a further meaning when it is taken to refer to human beings whose perfection is the principal goal of the world-making gods of the present passage. To trace out this meaning, we must have recourse to ethnography. In Momostenango a mother-father or patrilineage head "sows" and "plants" an unborn child in certain shrines of his lineage by announcing its mother's pregnancy there (B. Tedlock 1992:80). On the "dawning" side of this process, the woman who gives birth to the child *kuya ri saq*, "gives it light" (Ibid.: 211). This particular tracing remains metaphorical on both sides of the "sowing" and "dawning," but it retains a twist in that it is specifically built on the model of the literal sowing and metaphorical "dawning" of vegetation. A second human tracing, also metaphorical on both sides but

twisted in that it seems to be built on the model of the metaphorical "sowing" and literal dawning of heavenly bodies, is followed out in death and its aftermath. Here the body is put in the earth, but the deceased "becomes light" or "dawns" (both *saqirik*) in two different senses: the body itself is reduced to plain white (light-colored) bones, but the spirit becomes a spark of light, something like a star.

65

provider, nurturer: This is *tzuqul q'o'l* [tzucul cool]; both words broadly refer to sustenance, but the latter seems to refer more overtly to actual food than the former (at least in DB), and the only word that resembles it today is *q'ob'ik,* "to get fat" (MX). The providers or nurturers ultimately intended here are human beings, who will one day sustain the gods through prayer and sacrifice, but for the time being the gods will succeed only in making animals. Eventually deer and birds will indeed be among those who nurture the gods with their blood, but only when there are humans to sacrifice them (p. 163); these same sacrificers will also provide their own blood to the gods (p. 165) and will ultimately offer the blood and hearts of human captives (foretold on p. 156 and first carried out on p. 165).

65

But there will be no high days and no bright praise: The paired words here are *uq'ijilab'al* [uquihilabal] and *uq'alaib'al* [ucalaibal]. The first is literally "its-day-ness-instrument," referring to the keeping or setting aside of a specific day on the calendar for ritual purposes; I chose "high days" because the notion of "holidays" has become secularized in English (despite the etymology of that word). The second is "its-brightness (or manifestness)-instrument" and carries a sense of proclamation.

65–66

just like a cloud, like a mist, now forming, unfolding. Then the mountains were separated from the water: The "unfolding" here is *upupujeik,* which for both Andrés Xiloj and DB describes the way in which clouds form around mountains. "Separated" translates *xtape;* DB has *tapo,* "to pick out." On reading this passage Xiloj immediately commented, "It's just the way it is right now, there are clouds, then the clouds part, piece by piece, and now the sky is clear." It is as if the mountains were there in the primordial world all along and were revealed, little by little, as the clouds parted. But Xiloj complicated this interpretation by saying, "Haven't you seen that when the water passes—a rainstorm—and then it clears, a vapor comes out from among the trees? The clouds come out from among the mountains, among the trees." This lends a cyclical movement to the picture: the clouds come from the mountains, then conceal the mountains, then part to reveal the mountains, and so on.

66

By their genius alone, by their cutting edge alone: The paired terms here are *nawal* and *pus*. The former term is from a Nahua source but is not limited to the concept of an animal alter ego, as it is in central Mexico. In Quiché it can refer to the spiritual essence or character of a person, animal, plant, stone, or geographical place, thus corresponding to English "genius" in its older sense as "spirit familiar." The latter term, *pus,* carries one central literal meaning from its Mixe-Zoque (and possibly Olmec) origins (Campbell 1983:83) right down to its use in modern Quiché: it refers to the cutting of flesh with a knife (see D. Tedlock 1983b:265). At the time of the European invasion it was the primary term for sacrifice. In the present context, it implies that "the mountains were separated from the water" through an act resembling the extraction of the heart (or other organs) from a sacrifice. As if to confirm this allusion, the text goes on to refer to the earth as the "mountain-plain," or *juyub' taq'aj* [tacah], which is today the principal Quiché metaphor for the human body. When used together, *pus* and *nawal* serve as metonyms for shamanic power, referring to the ability to make genius or spiritual essence visible or audible by means of ritual.

When Andrés Xiloj read these lines, he shifted away from the idea that the preceding lines about cloud formation and dispersal referred to something happening in the atmosphere around the mountains, moving toward the idea that this process was a simile for the formation and differentiation of the mountains themselves. That the mountains under discussion were made by means of *nawal* rather than physical labor suggested a certain insubstantiality to him, and he commented, "Then these mountains are for no other reason than *representing* that there are hills or volcanoes." That is to say, he interpreted the mountains not as hard realities but as mere "signs" (*retal*), unfolding themselves "just like a cloud, like a mist."

66

it was brought forth by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, as they are called, since they were the first to think of it: Andrés Xiloj took this to mean that the formation of the earth was an act of self-revelation on the part of the Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth. He compared them to the present-day *uk'ux pwaq* or "Heart of Metal (or silver or money)," which reveals itself to the fortunate. As he explained it, "When one has luck, one picks up some kind of rock, but in the form of an animal; this is the Heart of Metal. When the moment comes, suddenly it appears." Such rocks may be volcanic concretions that happen to resemble animals, or they may be ancient stone artifacts. They are properly kept in the indoor half of a pair of patrilineage shrines called the *meb'il,* which consists of a wooden box placed on a family altar (B. Tedlock 1992:81). "This is where one prays, this is where the fortune, the money, abounds. Here in the PV, the Heart of Sky and the Heart of Earth appeared, and this is where the earth was propagated." The objects in a *meb'il* should multiply of their own accord, and

that, as Xiloj would have it, is what happened to the object or objects from which the earth began.

The notion that the "Heart of Sky" is a hard object is supported by a much later passage in which the names Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth are both addressed to gods whose bodies have been petrified. The connection between these gods and the sky lies in the fact that they were petrified when the sun first rose and burned them. Among the objects called "Heart of Metal" today, volcanic concretions are said to have been formed in the same way, while ancient stone artifacts are said to have been formed where thunderbolts struck the ground. Here we may note that Newborn Thunderbolt, one of the epithets or aspects of Heart of Sky, is also a term for fulgurites, formed where lightning strikes the ground (see p. 224). The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel takes the question of celestial stoniness home to the sky itself, declaring that the "Heart of Heaven" is a bead of precious stone (Roys 1967:91).

66

all the guardians of the forests: Andrés Xiloj commented, "The animals are the caretakers of the woods. They [the gods] thought, 'There is a need for animals, so that people won't be able to enter the woods. The animals will frighten them.' " For the contemporary Quiché, wild animals are the domestic animals of the Mundo, or earth deity. One cannot hunt deer without first asking permission of the Mundo. When a family is in arrears in its offerings, the Mundo may send a predator from out of the woods to raid its flocks or herds.

66

fer-de-lances: In Quichean languages the name of this snake species (*Bothrops atrox*) is *k'anti* [canti], borrowed from Cholan, in which *k'an* is "yellow," as contrasted with *q'an* in Quichean, and *ti'* means "lips" (JH), as contrasted with "bite" in Quichean. In Cholan the name refers to a yellow zone around the mouth of the fer-de-lance.

66

"Why this pointless humming?": The "humming" and "rustling" referred to in this passage are the *lolin-* and *tzinin-* sounds discussed earlier (see the notes to p. 64). What the gods are ultimately looking for here is the sound of articulate human speech, but they will not succeed in hearing it until p. 147. In the present scene, all they can hear on the earth are sounds that are indefinitely repetitive or vibratory and therefore without meaning, just as sounds lacked meaning when there was only the sea.

67

"You, precious birds": This is *ix ix tz'ikin,* in which the second *ix,* though it might appear to be a scribal error, is essential to the full understanding of the phrase. The first *ix* is plainly enough "you," in the familiar and plural, but

the second one has a double meaning. At one level it is diminutive, making the whole phrase translatable as "You, precious (or little) birds," but at another level it is the day name *Ix,* which immediately precedes *Tz'ikin* or "Bird" in the sequence of twenty day names. Today, *7 Ix* and *8 Tz'ikin* are the days devoted to the rites of the contemporary patrilineage shrine called the *meb'il,* which is often referred to simply by naming these two days.

67

a place to sleep: This is *warab'al,* and it alludes to patrilineage shrines, which are called *warab'alja,* "foundation of the house" or, literally, "sleeping (or resting) place of the house." The animals that are given places to sleep in this passage, *kej* or "deer" and *tz'ikin* or "birds," give their names to two of the days used for *warab'alja* rites today. The human mother-father or patrilineage head uses a low-numbered day bearing the name *Kej* to go to the parts of the *warab'alja* dedicated to human beings in order to announce that a woman

SLEEPING PLACE OF THE HOUSE: *A foundation shrine belonging to a patrilineage in Momostenango. The stone slab that covers the shrine marks it as a place of worship that is private rather than open to the public; only the head of the patrilineage that owns this particular shrine may pray and burn copal here.*

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

married into his lineage is pregnant, and to pray for the child she bears. This ritual is called a "sowing," and so is the long process in which the divine mother-fathers of the PV speak of making humans and prepare for their coming long before they actually succeed in their project. Deer result from one of their four attempts to make humans; these animals are, in effect, an approximation of real humans, their fault being that they walk on all fours and lack articulate speech. The implication here is that in visiting his shrines to announce a child on the day named Deer, the human mother-father commemorates the process whereby properly walking and talking humans were spoken of and approximated by the divine mother-fathers (Maker and Modeler) before they were realized.

The most startling link between shrines and deer—deer as animals rather than days named Deer—manifests itself in dreams. On this point I can give firsthand testimony. During the period of my formal apprenticeship as a day-keeper in Momostenango, I told Andrés Xiloj of dreaming that I was followed along a path by a series of large deer. After a laugh of immediate recognition he told me that I had been followed by shrines! He explained that outdoor shrines have spirit familiars that frequently take the form of deer—and, these days, of horses and cattle. The path, of course, was that of the days of the calendar, along which each shrine had its proper place in a sequence (see D. Tedlock 1993a:67–69 for more detail).

67

"Talk, speak out. Don't moan, don't cry out": Here again (as on p. 66) the gods express their desire for articulate human speech, this time contrasted with moans and cries rather than humming and rustling. Not only that, but they want to hear their own names and praises, and they ask the animals to "keep our days." This last idea is expressed by *kojiq'ijila'* [cohiquihila], literally, "to-us-you (plural familiar) day (transitive imperative)," analogous to the form rendered as "high days" on p. 65. If English permitted "day" to be a verb, one could translate *kojiq'ijila'* as "dayify us," with the pun on "deify" being appropriate enough. A less direct translation would be "calendrify us."

67

They just squawked, they just chattered, they just howled: New sounds have been added to the world here. They are not yet the sounds of speech, but neither are they like the rippling, murmuring, and humming of the world that had only a sea (see p. 64). Those sounds tended toward vowel harmony and repeated consonants, as with *tz'inin-* and *chamam-*, whereas the new sounds retain vowel harmony without repeating their consonants: *wachela-*, *karala-*, and *wojo-*.

67

It wasn't apparent what language they spoke: The text has *mawi xwachinik uwach kich'ab'al,* literally, "not faced-out its face their-talk-instrument." The active verb *wachinik,* built on *wach,* "face," is used primarily with reference to

the bearing of fruit by plants. The implication is that the sounds made by the animals contained a potential for articulate speech, but that this potential was never realized.

69

It talked at first, but senselessly: The person of mud is unique among all the creatures made by the gods in that it not only lacks sensible speech, but is not even quoted by means of onomatopoeia. Note also the correlate lack of articulation of its body. But the subtlest point here is that the only creature made of mud is also the only one made in the singular, which makes this episode an allusion to the Adamic myth. What the writers of the PV have to say about Adam, in their indirect way, is that a singular creature of mud could neither have made sense, nor walked nor multiplied. If there ever was such a creature, there is no way it could have left a trace of itself; it must have dissolved.

69

"a counting of days, a counting of lots": This is *uq'ijixik* [uquihixic] *ub'itaxik,* "its-being-dayed (or timed) its-being-modeled (or shaped)." As daykeepers, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane will divine by counting the day numbers and names of the 260-day divinatory cycle, dividing or "shaping" a fistful of seeds from the coral tree (see Glossary) into lots.

69

midmost seers: This is *nik' wachinel* [nicuachinel], composed of *nik',* "middle"; *wachin,* "see with one's own eyes" (FV); *-el,* agentive. In TC, where the words *pa ya'* or "into water" are added, the term refers to diviners who look into water. From this it would seem that the unmodified term must refer to any diviners who use gazing techniques.

69

Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light: This is *ratit q'ij* [quih], *ratit saq* [zac], "its-grandmother day (or sun), its-grandmother light," referring to both Xpiyacoc and Xmucane despite the fact that the former is described in other contexts as a grandfather (*mama*). Andrés Xiloj commented that a grandmother (or grandfather) of "day" and "light" would be a grandmother "until the end of the world," that is, for as long as light lasts, and would go back to the beginning of light. In this context, then, "day" and "light" are a dyadic and less direct way of referring to what Indo-European languages reduce to the unitary concept of "time."

69

"the human form": "Form" translates *anom;* DB has *anomal,* "mold."

69

"fulfill your names": Some of the names or terms in this list refer to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, but others refer to their grandsons. One Monkey and One Artisan account for the various occupational terms, while Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in their roles as vagabond actors, may account for the names Hunahpu Possum and Hunahpu Coyote. Great Peccary and Great Coati resemble Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in being an elderly couple, but they are later treated as distinct from them (p. 79).

69

"lapidary, jeweler": This is *ajk'wal* [ahcuual], *ajyamanik,* in which *aj-* is occupational, *k'wal* is "medicinal or precious stones" (FV), and *yamanik* is "ancient jewels" (FV).

69

"sawyer, carpenter": This is *ajch'ut* [ahchut], *ajtz'alam* [ahtzalam], in which *aj-* is occupational, *ch'ut* is "sawyer of canes and boards" (FV), and *tz'alam* is "board" (TC, AG).

69

"incense maker, master craftsman": This is *ajq'ol, ajtoltekat,* in which *aj-* is occupational; *q'ol* is copal incense. *Toltekat* is from a Nahua source; *toltecatl* is "master of mechanical arts" in Nahuatl proper (AM).

70

"Run your hands over the kernels of corn, over the seeds of the coral tree": The verb stem here is *mala-,* "to run the hand over something" (FV). The contemporary Quiché daykeeper first pours the seeds out of a small bundle into a pile on a table and mixes them, moving the right hand over them with palm down flat and fingers spread, and then grabs a fistful. The remaining seeds are then set aside; those from the fistful are sorted into lots of four seeds each, arranged in parallel rows so that the days can easily be counted on them, one day for each lot. When seeds are left over from the division into fours, a remainder of three seeds is made into two additional lots (with two seeds in one and one seed in the other), while a remainder of one or two seeds counts as one additional lot. Once the clusters are complete the diviner begins counting the days of the 260-day cycle, starting in the present (the day of the divination itself), the past (the day the client's problem began), or the future (the day of an action contemplated by the client). The augury is reckoned from the portent of the day that is reached by counting through to the final lot of seeds.

70

the borrowing: This is *uqajik,* a term that Andrés Xiloj, as a daykeeper, recognized immediately. When today's daykeeper speaks the opening prayer for a

RUN YOUR HANDS . . . OVER THE SEEDS OF THE CORAL TREE: *A divination in progress in front of burning offerings at Tohil's Place. Coral seeds and crystals from a random handful are being sorted out in lots of four each; once the arrangement is complete the daykeeper will count the days of the 260-day calendar (one day for each lot), starting from the current day or the day the client's problem began. At left is the bundle in which the seeds and crystals are carried; the coin on top is the fee paid by the client. The hands are those of the translator, who is a trained and initiated daykeeper.*

PHOTO BY BARBARA TEDLOCK

divination, invoking the sheet lightning, clouds, mists, and damp breezes of the world, he or she is said to be "borrowing" these forces from the days themselves, each of which is ruled by a lord, and from the mountains of the world, each of which has a spirit familiar (B. Tedlock 1992:155, 157, 162). Xpiyacoc and Xmucane are not as modest as this human daykeeper in their own borrowing of lightning, moisture, and air currents: they name the Heart of Sky, whose electrical aspect ultimately manifests not as far-off and silently flickering sheet lightning but as close-up thunderbolts, and who is also known as Hurricane, the bringer of rains and winds of world-destroying proportions. Meteorological forces, large or small, serve to connect the cosmos, both temporally and spatially, with the microcosmic scene of the divination, transmitting information about

distant places or times through the counting of days and through lightning-like sensations that occur in various parts of the diviner's own body.

70

the lots: This is *b'it,* apparently the same as the stem in the name *b'itol,* "Modeler" (see Maker, Modeler in the Glossary). It is my guess that it refers to the clusters of seeds that are made up from the random fistful taken up by the diviner (as described above); in effect, the diviner is giving shape to a chaotic mass. I translate *b'it* as "lots" because that word both fits the groups of seeds, which are arranged in lots of four, and figures in English-language divination terminology. "Diviner" (on p. 70) is a translation of *ajb'it,* in which *b'it* has the occupational prefix.

70

who stands behind others: This is [chiracan], which Andrés Xiloj identified as part of a phrase used today by daykeepers: *chiraqan uq'ab',* "at-his/her-legs his/her-arms" (in which legs and arms include feet and hands). To be at someone's feet and hands means to give assistance, as a daykeeper does when praying and giving offerings on behalf of a client, or a midwife does when assisting a birth.

70

"may you succeed, may you be accurate": Like Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, the contemporary daykeeper speaks to the seeds while arranging them, asking for a clear outcome.

70

"Have shame, you up there, . . . attempt no deception": Andrés Xiloj was not surprised to hear the Heart of Sky addressed in this manner. He pointed out that today's daykeepers (including himself) also ask that the gods not deceive their divinatory clients. The praying diviner may say, for example, *Ma b'an la ri mentira,* "Do not make a lie." In the PV the client in question is none other than the god Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

70

manikins, woodcarvings: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "Then these will only be *representations* of humans."

70

They just went and walked wherever they wanted: Andrés Xiloj commented, "Then they're like animals." In Quiché thinking one of the major differences between animals and humans is that humans must ask permission of the gods to go abroad in the world. To pray that nothing bad happen to one in the road is to ask permission to pass; the need for such permission is more acute in the case of visits to powerful shrines or distant towns. In prayers that prepare the way for

a long trip, one asks not only that there be no robbers in the road, but that policemen, soldiers, and customs officials should be inattentive.

71

The man's body was carved from the wood of the coral tree: The body of the icon presently called Maximón in the Tzutuhil town of Santiago Atitlán is made of this wood (Mendelson 1959:57).

71

hearts of bulrushes: This is *sib'aq* [zibac], referring to the "heart" (FV, FX) or "pith or insides" (DB) of rushes of the kinds whose leaves are woven into mats (FV). This would be the white and fleshy (as opposed to green and fibrous) parts of rushes (including cattails), which can be found inside the lower parts of stalks.

71

a rain of resin: Andrés Xiloj commented, "This was turpentine that fell, and it was burning as it fell."

71

Gouger of Faces: This is *k'otk'owach* [cotcouach], composed of *k'otk'o,* a reduplicated form of *k'oto,* "to carve out," and *wach,* "face." Andrés Xiloj gave the modern name as *k'ot kiwach,* "gouges out their faces," and identified it as a kind of animal, commenting that "they still exist, but I don't know whether in the sky or the forest. They stay in the darkness, and when the sun doesn't shine they come out."

71

Sudden Bloodletter: This is *kamalotz,* in which *lotz* is "puncture, let blood" (FX); *kama-* is probably related to *kajmaj,* "fright, surprise attack" (FV).

71

Crunching Jaguar: This is *kotz'b'alam* [cotzbalam], in which *kotz'* is from *kotz'ij,* "grind" (FV).

71

Tearing Jaguar: This is *tukumb'alam;* TC has *tukum,* "scratch."

72

black rainstorm: This is *q'eqal jab'* [quecal hab]. As Andrés Xiloj explained, the phrase does not mean that the rain itself was black, but refers to the darkness created by an intense rainstorm.

72

Into their houses came: This is *xok ula'* [xoc ula], "entered as visitors." Today any invasion of the house (including its patio) by a wild animal is viewed as a

sign sent by the earth deity, whether it is a fox or possum that attacks domestic animals or, say, a bird that happens to fly indoors. Andrés Xiloj pointed out that such animals do not speak (*ch'awik*) but rather give signs (*retal*) by their cries or movements. Note that even under the cataclysmic conditions of the present episode the speaking is done by domestic animals and by artifacts; it is not attributed to wild animals.

72

turkeys: This is *ak'* [ac], which became the term for the Old World chicken during colonial times. A number of colonial dictionaries give the term for turkey as *qitzij ak'* (FT, FV), meaning "true *ak',*" or *masewal ak'* (PG), "Indian *ak',*" so named to contrast it with the European chicken. This makes it clear that the pre-Hispanic term for turkey was simply *ak'*. Today the turkey is called *no's* (AG), a term that had already appeared by the seventeenth century (DB has [noz]).

72

r-r-rip, r-r-rip, / r-r-rub, r-r-rub: This is *joli, joli, juqi, juqi* [juqui], onomatopoeic for the sound of a handstone (mano) rubbing against a grinding stone (metate); the verb stem for "rub together" is *juqu-* (AG). If the performance of the present Quiché story was anything like that of North American Indian tales, these lines were probably sung. It must be kept in mind that *j* in Quiché is rough, like Spanish *j* or German *x*, and that *q* (as contrasted with *k*) is rough as well. This harshness would probably be exaggerated in a dramatic oral rendering, hence my suggestion that the *r* in the translation be trilled. Andrés Xiloj immediately heard a sound play in these lines, which he rendered as follows:

Jo' ali, jo' ali,
juquwik, juquwik.

Let's go girl, let's go girl,
rubbing together, rubbing together.

72

their hearthstones were shooting out: Andrés Xiloj compared this incident with stones shooting out of a volcano. It appears to be an origin story for the stars Alnitak, Saiph, and Rigel in Orion, which are said by Quichés to be the three hearthstones of the typical Mayan kitchen fireplace, arranged to form a triangle. The stars enclose the Orion nebula (M-42), which is said to be a smoky fire (B. Tedlock 1985:86). Inscriptions on Stele C at Quiriguá and in the Temple of the Cross at Palenque reveal that the Classic Maya reckoned the age preceding the present one as ending with a similar event. The interpretation of these inscrip-

tions by Freidel et al. (1993:64–70) obscures the similarity, placing the event at the beginning of a new age and raising the entire sky rather than just the hearthstones. In fact the inscriptions give the date as a period-ending one, 4 Ahaw 8 Kumk'u 13.0.0.0.0 (falling in 3114 B.C. by Western reckoning). The Palenque text reads, *Hal k'ohba, ox tun tzukah, . . . ch'a chan yax ox tunal* (Schele 1992:122–25), or, in my translation, "The image is lifted up, the stones are arranged in their three places, . . . the place with three stones is taken into the sky for the first time" (D. Tedlock 1995). For a further discussion of hearthstones in lowland Mayan iconography, see Taube 1994b.

73

wood alone was used for their flesh: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "They lacked blood, or quickening, which is what corn gives." As it turns out later, real human beings are indeed made of corn.

73

Seven Macaw: In this name the term for macaw is *kaqix* [caquix], combining *kaq,* "red," and *qi'x,* "feather" (MX) and thus fitting the scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*), which has more red feathers than any other macaw. This identification is confirmed by the statement that Seven Macaw's nose "shines white," the scarlet macaw being the only one with a white beak. The Yucatec counterpart of Seven Macaw is *k'inich k'ak'mo,* "Sun-eyed Fire-macaw," who is like him in having solar pretensions and in being given to self-aggrandizement in general (Roys 1954:42). In the art of Izapa and the Protoclassic and Classic Maya, Seven Macaw has an ancestor in the winged monster iconographers call the Principal Bird Deity (Taube 1987), whose attributes sometimes include those of the king vulture (*Sarcoramphus papa*) and who is often shown with a snake in his beak. Just as the scarlet macaw is the showiest of all macaws and parrots, so the king vulture stands out among vultures, with complex red, orange, black, and white markings on the head, neck, beak, and wattles, and with parallel rows of black and white wing and tail feathers. Macaw, vulture, and snake all meet in the Cakchiquel *xib'alb'ay kaqix* or "underworld macaw," which is "a bird like a vulture that eats snakes" (PG).

73

"I am their sun . . . their months": "Sun" is *q'ij* [quih] here, which could either be "sun" or "day," but "months" is *ik'il* [iquil], as contrasted with *ik',* "moon." The PV only mentions this exaggerated claim to an astronomical role, but Seven Macaw's actual (and lesser) role is indicated by the fact that some present-day speakers of Quiché use his name as a term for the seven stars of the Big Dipper (DL, MA). In West Indian Carib myths the Big Dipper has a feathered headdress that shows by day as the rainbow, which suggests that Seven Macaw might also have a rainbow aspect. What the Big Dipper has in common with the rainbow is that

its appearance marks the end of storms, only it does so seasonally, fully returning to the night sky at the end of the hurricane season (see the notes to p. 74).

73

"I am the walkway and I am the foothold of the people": "Walkway" is *b'inib'al* and "foothold" is *chakab'al; -b'al* is an instrumental suffix. Andrés Xiloj explicated Seven Macaw's statement as follows: *"B'inib'al* is to give light for walking, or to go out on a somewhat clear road; and *chakab'al*—now we say *chakanib'al*—is the same. These words are in the prayers we say at the *warab'alja* [patrilineage shrines], to ask permission for anyone who goes out of the house to whatever place. They can walk, they can crawl—*chakanib'al* is to crawl on all fours. Seven Macaw is saying that he is a person's feet, since he knows that he has light [to show a person where to step], but in fact the person sees darkly, it isn't very clear."

73

"they stand out": This is *kawakoj;* MX has *kawakik,* "to have big teeth (and thus to be unable to close the mouth)."

74

the scope of his face lies right around his own perch: Seven Macaw, as the Big Dipper, swings around the pole star in the northern part of the sky rather than traveling the longer paths of the true sun and moon.

74

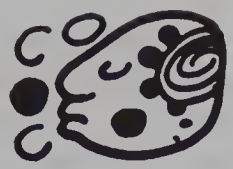
This was when the flood was worked upon the manikins, woodcarvings: In timing the demise of Seven Macaw to coincide with the great disaster that befalls the wooden people, the PV follows a mythological pattern that is widespread in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean. In these latitudes, the movement of the Big Dipper is associated with the hurricane season (Lehmann-Nitsche 1924–25). The season begins when the Big Dipper is already in steep descent at dusk (in mid-July) and continues through a period when it disappears completely for as much as half the night, ending only when all seven stars make it above the eastern horizon before dawn (in mid-October).

PART TWO

77

Hunahpu: This name is composed of *jun,* "one"; *aj-,* agentive or occupational; and possibly *pub',* "blowgun," giving "One Blowgunner." In Yucatec, *p'uh* is a verb for "hunt" (but not a term for "blowgun"), while *ahp'uh* means "hunter" (AB). *Junajpu* (Hunahpu) is one of the twenty day names of the Quiché version

HUNAHPU: *The glyph for his Yucatec counterpart, which reads* Hun Ahaw.



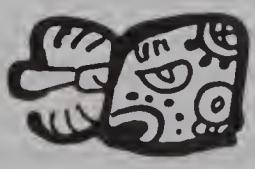
DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

of the 260-day divinatory calendar. Since Quiché speakers take no more notice of the blowgunner contained in this name than English speakers take notice of Thor in Thursday, it has been left untranslated in the body of the present work. The *jun* is so embedded in the name that in both ancient and modern Quiché the particular *Junajpu* day that bears the number one is called *Jun Junajpu*. The corresponding Yucatec day name is *Ahaw* or "Lord," without the embedded number, but the name of the cognate deity (designated God S by iconographers) was written by prefixing the head variant of the day name glyph with the number one (see illustration above), yielding *Hun Ahaw* (M. Coe 1989:167–68; Taube 1992:115–16). In Classic Maya art this god, like Hunahpu, hunts with a blowgun and plays ball (M. Coe 1989:169–73).

77

Xbalanque: The final syllable of this name is ambiguously spelled in the MS, where there is a tendency to use [qu] for any one of four distinct k sounds. The correct sound is revealed by the name contemporary speakers of Kekchí give to the sun when it passes beneath the earth at night, which is *b'alamq'e* (EH). At present they have no term for the sun in general, but the original solar meaning of *-q'e* is made clear by *saq'e,* their term for the daytime sun, which combines *saq* ("white" or "light") with *-q'e. B'alam* means both "hidden" and "jaguar" in Kekchí, while *xb'alam* (with a third-person singular possessive prefix) means "its hidden part (or aspect)." *Xb'alamq'e* would thus mean "sun's hidden aspect," and the correct form of the PV version of the name would be *Xb'alanq'e.* The existence of a prefixed version of Kekchí *b'alamq'e* is confirmed by Las Casas (1967:330, 619), who reports a tradition that a god named Exbalanquen entered the underworld through a cave near Cobán (which is in Kekchí territory). In the PV, the specifically underworld character of Xbalanque is revealed by scenes in which he and his brother Hunahpu depart from their habit of acting in unison. Hun-

XBALANQUE: *The glyph for his Yucatec counterpart, which reads* Yax Balam.



DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

ahpu takes the lead only when they are on the surface of the earth, whereas Xbalanque does so only when they are in Xibalba. The name of the Yucatec deity (God CH) corresponding to Xbalanque was written by prefixing the head variant of the glyph for the number nine with *yax*, "first" (see illustration on p. 239), yielding *yax bolon* as a literal reading (M. Coe 1989:168; Taube 1992:60–63). The profiled head is always shown with a patch of spotted jaguar fur on the jaw, indicating that the intended reading is *balam*, which puns on *bolon* and means "jaguar."

77

We could shoot him while he's at his meal: The timing of this event is limited by three factors: (1) the seven stars of the Big Dipper (corresponding to Seven Macaw) must be high in the sky, (2) Venus (corresponding to Hunahpu) must be on the horizon, and (3) the nance tree must provide fruit for Seven Macaw's meal. The two astronomical possibilities, both of which find the Big Dipper high over Polaris, are a June evening, with Venus visible on the western horizon, or a December morning, with Venus rising on the eastern horizon. As for nances, their ripening begins in June and continues (depending on local conditions) for several months, but they are unavailable in December (Breedlove and Laughlin 1993:151–52). In the Dresden Codex, confrontations between a god of Venus and Seven Macaw occur on the last page of the Venus table, where the lowland Maya equivalent of Junajpu is shown sitting on a sky band (corresponding to the ecliptic) in the top picture and Seven Macaw is named on the same page (in the third column of text) as *7 k'ak'mo'* or "7 Fire Macaw." The confrontation occurs when Venus makes one last appearance as the evening star on a day named *Eb* (*E* in Quiché), eight days before reappearing as the morning star on a day named *Ahaw* (*Junajpu*). During the era for which the table is set up, such occurrences fell in early June—for example, on the Gregorian date June 10, 1235, or 11.0.11.2.12 1 Eb 5 Mak on the Mayan calendar.

77

Zipacna: This character and his brother, Earthquake (see below), constitute the Quiché version of a pair of Mesoamerican dragons, often represented as a two-headed dragon by the Classic Maya, whose features variously combine those of reptiles or (less often) fish or birds. Zipacna has the habits of a caiman, bathing beside a river and hunting in its waters. His name (*sipakna* in modern orthography) resembles a number of other Mayan god names in ending with *na*, meaning "house" in Yucatec. The rest of the name could well have its source in the Yucatec verb stem *sip-*, referring to a sliding or slipping motion (like that of a caiman) and nominalized by *-ak* (AB). Zipacna has an obvious Yucatec counterpart in the patron deity of the month named *sip*, whose glyph consists of the profiled head and snout of a caiman. Together, *sipakna* and *sip* are cognate, in both their caiman features and their names, with the Mexican dragon whose Nahuatl name is *cipactli*.

77

Earthquake: The name of the second son of Seven Macaw, *kab'raqan,* is the common term for "earthquake" in both ancient and modern Quiché. It has been read as combining *kab'-,* "two," with *raqan,* "his legs," but the Cakchiquel version of the name, *kab'araqan,* instead suggests *kab'a,* "pile up a quantity of earth" (FV); the sense of the name as a whole could be something like "earthen (are) his legs." The Yucatec dragon named *itzam kab ayin* (AB), meaning something like "monster earth caiman," seems akin to both Earthquake and his brother, Zipacna.

77

Chimalmat: This name is from a Nahua source; *chimalli* is "round shield" and *matlatl* is "net" in Nahuatl proper (AM). A netted shield was the emblem of Chimalli, the central Mexican warrior goddess who served as the patron deity of midwives (Klein 1993:46–47). Chimalmat has her Yucatec counterpart in *chimal k'inich k'ak'mo,* "Shield of Sun-eyed Fire Macaw" (Roys 1967:22, 82). In that same language, *chimal ek'* or "Shield Stars" is a term for "the guards of the north (Ursa Minor)" (AB), a constellation that probably combines the stars in the arc of the Little Dipper with other nearby stars to make a circle. Chimalmat should have a similar celestial identity, given that her husband, Seven Macaw, corresponds to the neighboring stars of the Big Dipper.

77

Fireplace, Hunahpu, Cave by the Water, Xcanul, Macamob, Huliznab: These are all volcanoes lying along the Pacific Rim. Fireplace or *chiq'aq'* [chicac] is generally thought to be the Volcán de Fuego (southwest of Antigua). Hunahpu is described in the Annals of the Cakchiquels as being separated from Fireplace by a *kojol* or "notch" (Brinton 1885:86), which points to the Volcán Acatenango, located just a few kilometers north of Fuego. Cave by the Water, which may well be the Volcán de Agua (south of Antigua), is *pekul ya'* [ya]; TC gives *ru pekul ya'* [ya] as "cave on the bank of a river or lake." Xcanul or *xk'anul,* with a feminine prefix (*x-*), is the Volcán Santa María (south of Quetzaltenango). The name Macamob may be from *makamo,* "to do something suddenly" (FV), while the *jul* in Huliznab is probably "hole." The locations of these last two volcanoes are uncertain.

77

the mountains . . . are softened by him: "Softened" translates *neb'onik;* Andrés Xiloj read it as "soaked," while MX glosses *neb'enik* as "overcooked." Xiloj commented, "When the earth is completely soaked it can be destroyed by the water. When there are rains of forty-eight or sixty hours, there may be destruction. Landslides are the work of such rains."

78

he goes up the tree every day: Scarlet macaws typically feed in the tops of fruit and nut trees from dawn to dusk (Forshaw 1973:365). Their habitat, like that of the nance tree whose fruit is eaten by Seven Macaw, consists of rain forest margins, savannas, and the lower slopes of mountains.

78–79

Then he went up over the tree and fell flat on the ground: When birds are shot they fly upward in a spasm before falling from a tree. But Seven Macaw's movement also suggests that of the Big Dipper; assuming that his head and body correspond to the bowl of the Big Dipper and his tail to its handle, his climbing of the tree to eat his nances, his going up over the tree when shot, and his fall to the ground all follow the pattern of the Big Dipper, which rises with its handle down, goes up over Polaris (counterclockwise) in a momentarily horizontal position, and then sets with its bowl end down.

79

the arm of Hunahpu . . . was seized by Seven Macaw: At this point Seven Macaw's behavior departs from that of an actual macaw and suggests his identity with the Principal Bird Deity of Izapa and the lowland Maya, a monstrous creature partly modeled on the king vulture (see the notes to p. 73). As Karl Taube has pointed out to me, a newly discovered Classic Maya relief at Toniná, in Chiapas, shows this monster perched above Hun Ahaw (the lowland equivalent of Hunahpu), whose lower arm has been amputated (see Yadeun 1993:108, 111, 114). A similar scene is depicted on a Protoclassic stele at Izapa (Norman 1976: fig. 3.26). See also the note headed "All my teeth are just loose," below.

79

tricksters: Here and elsewhere, the term translated as "trickster" or "tricksters" is *k'axtok'*, which occurs in the PV only in quoted dialogues. It is addressed to characters who have pulled a trick or are suspected of having done so, including Hunahpu and Xbalanque, Zipacna, Blood Moon, Tamazul, and Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, along with Quiché warriors who play a joke on sleeping enemies. It is glossed as "devil" in dictionaries compiled by missionaries (DB and FV).

79

"they've dislocated my jaw": This is the origin of the way a macaw's beak looks, with a huge upper mandible and a small, retreating lower one.

79

"All my teeth are just loose": "Loose" is *chu;* DB glosses a reduplicated form, *chuyucha,* as "to rattle." Today, the bark of the nance (the kind of tree in which

Seven Macaw was perched when he was shot) is chewed by the Tzotzil Maya as a cure for loose teeth (Breedlove and Laughlin 1993:151).

79

" 'Do forgive us' ": The addition of "Do" to this phrase is my way of translating *qi* [qui], which carries a sense of exaggerated politeness (FV).

80

with great effort: This is *nimaq wa' ch'ij* [nimac ua chih], literally "great this effort," in which *ch'ij* is translated on the basis of *ch'ijinik,* "the strength to do something" (MX).

80

"What sweets can you make, what poisons can you cure?": The "sweets" and "poisons" are both *ki'* [qui], a word that carries both these meanings to this day; see the notes to p. 83.

80

"We just pull the worms out of teeth": There is a contemporary Mopán Maya myth in which Lord K'in ("Sun" or "Day") causes the chief of the vultures to have a toothache and then is begged to come and cure it (Thompson 1930:129–32). The motive of this trickery is the protagonist's desire to get his wife back from the vultures.

80

"we just cure eyes": As a medical specialty, the curing of eyes fits under the same heading as bones and teeth because the Quiché language classifies the eyes as bones. In the PV eyes are *ubaq* [ubac] *uwach,* literally "its-bones (or pits) his/her-eyes"; today they are *ub'aq'och.* Andrés Xiloj himself covers a medical territory similar to that of Hunahpu and Xbalanque: in addition to being a bonesetter and healer of sprains, he knows how to make eyedrops.

80

"It's a worm, gnawing at the bone": The present-day Quiché retain the notion that a toothache is caused by a worm gnawing at the bone. According to T. J. Knab (personal communication), there is a Mesoamerican parasite that takes up residence in the gums.

80

a coating: This is *q'u* [cu], "covering" (MX).

80

he was plucked around the eyes: The verb stem here is *ch'olik* [cholic], "to cut or pull out hair or feathers" (MX), or "flay, skin, take off crust" (FV). This is

clearly meant to be the origin of the large, white, and completely featherless eye patches of the scarlet macaw (see Forshaw 1973:364–67). I take it that Seven Macaw sported two large metal disks where the patches of the scarlet macaw are now. As Charles Bigelow (a keeper of macaws) has shown me, excitement or anger brings a distinct blush to these patches. Perhaps the Quiché once took this blush to be a reminder of the bird's former solar pretensions.

81

What they did was simply the word of the Heart of Sky: In a similar fashion the Zunis sometimes portray the Ahayuuta warrior heroes—who, like Hunahpu and Xbalanque, are tricksters—as simply carrying out the word of the Sun Father, though they may appear to be acting on their own (see D. Tedlock 1972:234–48).

81

a post for their hut . . . the lintel of their hut: This passage is indeterminate as to what use the Four Hundred Boys intend for their log. The "post" is *aqan* [acan], literally "leg"; Andrés Xiloj explained that this would be a vertical post with a fork at the top. The "lintel" is *wapalil* (*apalil* today), which he specified as a term for a horizontal beam over a door or window.

82

"We'd like some help": This is *kaqachaq'imaj* [cacachaquimah] *tana,* in which *kaqa-* is "incomplete-we" and *tana* indicates supplication; the verb stem, *chaq'imaj,* is given by FV as "ask to borrow."

82

"we'll throw him down": The verb stem here is *tzaq* [tzac], "fling, cast" (MX). This is mere bravado; it is not what the Four Hundred Boys actually end up doing.

82

" 'Why are you spilling dirt in the hole?' ": The verb stem here is written [macaha], but with the stem of the *h* crossed off to make it into an *n;* MX has *mak'inik,* "to spill." Here the Four Hundred Boys are proposing to make a sarcastic statement to Zipacna, but once again, as when they talked about throwing him into the hole, they are indulging in bravado.

82

"wedged": This is [pachal]; MX has *pach'alik,* "be between two walls or in a crack."

82

"we'll wham a big log": The verb stem here is *tar-;* in MX, the entries dealing with *tar* and *t'ar-* have a sense of giving a blow that makes a sound. In effect the

Four Hundred Boys are planning to drop a major vertical post for their hut into place, resting its butt end on a sacrifice victim.

82

he dug a separate hole to one side: Edmonson notes here that in digging a hole for the present-day Flying Pole Dance, Quichés place offerings in a hole dug to one side from the post hole proper (Edmonson 1971:45). There is a story in the Achí dialect of Quiché in which a character now known as Zipac carries a log the narrator compares with the pole used in the Monkey Dance (Shaw 1971:48).

82–83

"on another level, or two levels away": "Level" translates *eleb'al;* literally this would be "place of egress," but I take my cue from Burgess and Xec (1955:42), who decided on "elevation," which fits with the general Mesoamerican notion of a stratified underworld.

83

sweet drink: This is *ki'* [qui], "sweet," "poison," "maguey," and (according to PG) "wine or chicha." In contemporary Quiché "maguey," is *ki* and "sweet" is *ki'* (AG), but PG (a reliable colonial source) has *ki'* for both. The "wine" in question would be some variety of the maguey drink known as pulque (from Nahuatl) in Mexico, which is no longer made in Guatemala. In the PV, it requires cooking at some stage, takes three days to ferment, and sends the Four Hundred Boys "out of their senses" (p. 83). At least one kind of Mexican pulque requires cooking, a variety in which maguey cuttings are boiled together with honey prior to fermentation. Pulque (with or without honey) is sweet to the taste before fermentation and bitter afterward; perhaps the seemingly contradictory meanings of *ki'* reflect the paradox of a drink that starts out sweet and harmless and ends up bitter and (in sufficient quantities) sickening.

83

to dedicate: This is [lacabebal], with an instrumental suffix (*-b'al*); DB has *laq'ab'ej,* "to inhabit some place, occupying it."

83

Having taken their pickings: The verb stem here is [culun]; MX has *q'ulunik,* "to pluck, devastate, strip."

84

Hundrath and *play on words:* In this passage the authors are wondering whether the term for the Pleiades, which is *motz,* might actually come from *omuch'* in *omuch' k'ajolab',* "Four Hundred Boys," or whether the connection is merely a *sakb'al tzij,* literally "play-instrument words"; FX gives *saki* as "play cards or dice." *Omuch'* is composed of *o-,* "five," and *much',* "eighty," yielding

5 × 80 = 400. Verbs with the stem *much'-*, which takes the form *moch'-* in Kekchí (EH), have such meanings as "take hold of a fistful" or "make a pile" (FX). *Motz,* in addition to being a term for the Pleiades, means "heap" or "pile," while verbs with the stem *motz-* can be used to refer to the crowding together of numerous people (FX). From all of this it seems clear that *motz,* as a term for the Pleiades, might well have its origin in an archaic form of the Quichean name for the Four Hundred Boys. For this reason I have chosen to translate *motz* as Hundrath, an archaic (Old Norse) form of English "hundred." In today's Quiché thought the Pleiades symbolize a fistful of seeds. The planting season for high-altitude maize, in March, is marked by evening settings of the Pleiades, which leave them invisible for most of the night; by May, when low-altitude maize is planted, the Pleiades enter a period of complete invisibility.

84

counterfeiting: This is *jalwachixik;* FV has *jalwachir,* "change one thing for another."

84

the forearms: This is *xul,* translated on the basis of an entry in FV that is missing its heading but falls between *xulb'aq* and *xulu;* the gloss is "the little arms of crabs or shrimps."

84

where they opened: This is [pa hac]; *pa* is "in" and [hac] is translated on the basis of the entry for *jaq* in FV, "to open things" (such as curtains or eyelids).

84

the claws: This is *uko'k* [ucoc] *q'ab,* "its-carrying-device arm," in which *ko'k* is translated on the basis of an entry in MX.

84

They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered: Andrés Xiloj commented, "A crab is just like a wristwatch: it has the meat inside and it's pure bone outside."

84

they put the shell beneath an overhang: Andrés Xiloj pictured this as a spot beneath a waterfall.

84

"By now I can't stand the hunger": "Hunger" is a Quiché metaphor for sexual appetite; that this metaphor is intended here becomes more obvious as the story unfolds.

84

"please come point her out, boys": Andrés Xiloj chuckled as he read this and said, "This Zipacna is abusing the boys here, he's saying they shouldn't be afraid. It says here, *kib'e ta iwab'a,* which could be *kib'e ta iwab'a',* 'If only you would come along to *iwab'a'*—to point it out,' but it could also be, *keb'e ta iwab'aj,* 'If only *iwab'aj*—your stones, your balls—would come along.' Today, when someone runs from a fight, the saying is *ke'me ta iwab'aj,* 'Don't hide your balls.' So Zipacna is saying, 'Don't you have any balls, boys?' They're still young." The puns in this passage cannot be preserved in English, but I have tried to make its sexual dimension more obvious by using feminine pronouns for the crab (though Quiché pronouns do not have gender), since the crab is the object of Zipacna's "hunger."

85

"But won't you please": This sentence begins with *la qi* [qui]; *la* makes it a yes/no question and *qi* (according to FV) indicates exaggerated politeness.

85

"I'll show you a place where there are plenty of birds": Continuing along the lines of his comment above, Andrés Xiloj said, "There it is again, only now it's *nuwab'a',* 'I show you something,' or else *nuab'aj,* 'my balls'—he's got balls." As for the "birds" (*tz'ikin*), the primary metaphor for penis is "bird" in Quichean languages. Edmonson takes this metaphor to be a recent borrowing from Spanish (1965:130), but it is already present in colonial dictionaries (TC, PM, FV). *Pich',* the Quichean term for a redheaded woodpecker (probably *Dryocopus lineatus*), provides a more specific metaphor, not only for penis but for penetration (PG, FT, FV, FX). This word is the obvious source of one of the Guatemalan Spanish slang terms for penis, "picha" (Rubio 1982).

85

"We were entering": The verb stem here is *ok-*, glossed (literally) as "enter" throughout this passage, a simple solution that keeps the same double meaning going in English that is present in the original.

85

"face down . . . on our back": These two opposite body positions are given throughout the present episode as *jupulik* and *pakalik,* respectively. Although they have caused difficulties for some translators, they are spelled correctly in the MS, are glossed in DB in the same way I have translated them, and were perfectly transparent to Andrés Xiloj.

85

her shell is gleaming red there: Some translators have complained about the color of this crab, but there are species of crab that are red before they are cooked.

85

"perhaps I'd better enter on my back": By this time Andrés Xiloj had already begun snickering as he read, but now he burst into laughter. Explaining himself, he said, "Clearly, the crab is a woman. As you already know, a woman does it on her back, but here it's in reverse: the man is on the bottom and the crab will go on top. These are trial runs. In ancient times, I think, they didn't know what sin was. They were looking for a way to understand everything." Speakers of Mopán Maya use their term for crab, *yux,* as a metaphor for "vulva" (see the entry for *is* in UU).

85

only his kneecaps were showing now! At this point Xiloj sat back and said, "My God! All the way to the knees!"

85

He gave a last sigh and was calm: The "sigh" here is [biquitahic], translated as suggested by Xiloj; MX gives *b'iq'b'itik,* "sigh." Xiloj translated *xlilob'* as "was calm"; FV gives *lilot* as "tranquil." On Zipacna's state Xiloj commented, "Nothing will bother him now." The story of Zipacna and the crab prompted him to tell a story that has been published elsewhere (D. Tedlock 1983b:317–20). In the Achí dialect of Quiché there is a contemporary story about a character named Zipac that makes the sexual dimension more overt than it is in the PV (Shaw 1971:48–51).

86

"Lure this Earthquake into sitting down": "Lure" is *b'ochi'j,* following DB; "sitting down" is *ku'b'ik* [cu ubic], following MX. I have supplied "this Earthquake" in order to clarify the sense of the sentence, setting it apart from the plural reference of the previous sentence.

86

"in the course of the days, in the course of the light": This is *chi b'e q'ij* [quih], *chi b'e saq* [zac], "in-road day (or sun), in-road light." According to Andrés Xiloj, it means "for all time. Just the way we in my family are weavers. All the time, and for all time, we are weavers." For an alternative translation of this line and a further comment by Xiloj, see the note headed "as long as there is day" on p. 294.

86

"Lead the way": This is *chik'ama qab'e* [chicama cabe], literally "imperative-you-take our-road," a common Quiché idiom that I have translated into the equivalent English idiom.

86

they just blow at the birds when they shoot: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "When people go out hunting today with guns, and when they see that an animal is coming, they do this: [blows a quick puff of air]. It is like magnetism, they pull it, the animal stops—it feels, it thinks there is a person hidden. When the animal has stopped for a moment, the person shoots, and there it is. The animal stopped to see what this noise was."

86

made fire with a drill: This is *xkib'aq k'u kiq'aq'* [xquibac cu quicac], "they-drilled then their-fire." An example of the same idiom is given by DB as *kanub'aq q'aq'* [ca3], "I start a fire"; FV gives *b'aq* as "to drill."

87

"the one to be made and modeled": The reference is to humankind, and the problem is the same one the twins discuss on pp. 77–78. Like so many other American Indian hero twins, they are monster slayers, making the earth habitable for humans.

87

"the human heart": I have supplied "human" here, assuming that the subject of the discussion has not changed since the previous sentence.

87

"a bite of meat, a meal of flesh": The parallel items here are *ti'k* and [chacuxic], which have been translated in many different ways; my version is based on *ti'nik,* "to eat meat" (MX), and *ch'akuj,* "to eat meat" (FV).

87

his ankles were bound to his wrists: The "ankles" and "wrists" are *ukul raqan uq'ab* [racan ucab], literally "its-necks his-legs his-arms"; as Andrés Xiloj explained, the "neck" of a leg or arm is its "ankle" or "wrist" in Quiché. In effect he is being prepared for a bundle-style burial, with his knees drawn up under his chin; perhaps this is what Hurricane was referring to when he told the twins to lure him "into sitting down."

PART THREE

91

let's just drink to the telling: The verb for "drink" here is [camuh]; I follow Edmonson in reading it as *qumuj,* "to drink" (Edmonson 1971:58), and find confirmation of the corrected spelling in FT and TC. If the authors of the PV are holders of the title of Master of Ceremonies (see the Introduction and the

notes to pp. 184, 197), then the drink in question is a cacao beverage and the readers are being asked to imagine themselves at a wedding banquet. The traditional vessel for drinking cacao, from Mexico to Panama, was a calabash (McBryde 1947:57), and the story the authors are about to tell will account for the origin of the calabash.

91

One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, as they are called: These names are *jun junajpu* and *wuqub'* [uucub] *junajpu,* in which *junajpu* is one of the twenty day names of the divinatory calendar. The MS leaves out Seven Hunahpu here, but everything else in the sentence is in the plural and the two brothers are named together two sentences later. As their numbers show, One and Seven Hunahpu represent all thirteen possible days bearing the name *Junajpu* (see p. 207).

91

One Monkey and *One Artisan:* These names are *jun b'atz'* [batz] and *jun chuen* [chouen]. *B'atz'* is a day name in Quiché and in Chol (JH), meaning "howler monkey" in both languages. *Chuen* is the Kekchí (EH) and Yucatec (AB) name for the same day, referring to craftsmanship in Yucatec. The name of the Yucatec counterpart of the monkey twins is *yaxal chuen,* "first artisan" (CB).

91

Egret Woman: This name is *xb'aqiyalo* [xbaquiyalo], in which the *x-* is "she of"; *b'aqiya-* seems equivalent to Yucatec *bak' ja',* in which *bak'* (like Quiché *baq*) means "bone" and *ja'* (like Quiché *ya'*) means "water." *Bak' ja'* is the Yucatec term for a white heron or egret, while *-lo'* may be a Yucatec demonstrative suffix meaning "that" (AB). The crested head of a snowy egret (*Egretta thula*) is featured in the name glyph for Egret Woman's Classic Maya counterpart at Palenque, where the tablet in the Temple of the Cross describes her as the mother of twins and possibly triplets (D. Tedlock 1990; 1992a:254, 263–66).

91

a partner: This is *laq'el* [laquel]. FV gives an example of the use of this term in which a woman may refer to another woman who shares the same man with her as *nulaq'el* (*nu-* is "my").

91

flautists, singers, and writers; carvers, jadeworkers, metalworkers: In these two sets of three skills each, writing is grouped with the performing arts rather than with handicrafts. This points to its close association with oral recitation (see also the notes to p. 63). A writer is *ajtz'ib',* in which *tz'ib'* refers to writing, painting, and designs produced by brocading; a carver is *ajk'ot,* in which *k'ot* means "thing

worked in wood" (FX) and (as a verb stem) "to sculpt" (TC). The term for a jadeworker is *ajxit,* in which *xit* is "the very green stone like turquoise" (PG).

91

falcon: The term for this bird is *wok,* probably synonymous with *wak,* the laughing falcon that comes to the ball court in a later passage. The laughing falcon begins its song with a syllable that can be heard as either *wok* or *wak* (see the notes to p. 114). It flies quickly and directly from one place to another rather than gliding in circles (Álvarez del Toro 1971:46), which matches the movements described in the present passage.

91

Xibalba: This name, *xib'alb'a* in the new orthography, comes from the same root as *xib'ij,* "frighten"; the final *-b'a* could be from *-b'al,* "place of," or it could be reduplicative. In the terms of terrestrial reckoning it designates the underworld, as contrasted with the face of the earth (*uwach ulew*), but in celestial terms it may designate a world beyond the visible sky. In Yucatec the name survives as that of a "devil" (AB); in Quiché it is still the name of the underworld, to be uttered with caution.

91

One Death and Seven Death: These names are *jun kame* and *wuqub'* [uucub] *kame,* in which *kame* is one of the twenty day names of the divinatory calendar; it shares the same root with such forms as *kamel,* "dead person," but it is not the ordinary term for "death" (that would be *kamik* or *kamikal*). One and Seven Death are treated in the narrative as two persons, as are One and Seven Hunahpu, but their numbers show that they represent all thirteen possible days bearing the name Death (see p. 207).

91

"They're really determined to run right over us!": This is *xax kejikik uloq* [uloc] *paqawi* [pacaui], literally "certainly they-cut-straight hither above-us."

92

Scab Stripper and Blood Gatherer: These names are *xik'iri* [xiquiri] *pat* and *kuchuma kik'* [quic], translated so as to fit with each other and with the explanatory remark made by the authors. In Kekchí, *xik'i-* has to do with slipping and sliding, while *pat* is "scab" (EH); *kuchu-* is "gather, join together" in Quiché (FX, AG) and Cakchiquel (TC), while *kik'* "is blood." But these could be Quichean versions of the names of the lowland Maya personage labeled God L by iconographers, who is marked as a god of the underworld by the owl that sometimes sits on his hat and as a merchant by the trader's pack he sometimes carries on his back (Taube 1992:79–88). In Chol, *pat* is "back," while *kuch* is "load" and *kuchu-* is "carry" (JH).

92

to draw blood from people: Andrés Xiloj commented, "When there is strife, when people begin to fight, they strike one another. The blood comes out, and Xibalba receives this blood. We see that it fell, but it fell into the flasks of the evil ones. It is like their food."

92

Demon: This translates *ajal,* a term that occurs in Quiché only in compound names of "demons" (FX). In Chol it is a general term for "evil spirit" (AA).

92

to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice: This passage could refer not only to hepatitis but to yellow fever (if yellow fever was present in pre-Columbian times), whose symptoms include jaundice. The pus in the legs would be sores spread out along the lymphatic system. "Jaundice" translates *q'anil,* literally "yellowness."

92

to reduce people to bones . . . until they die from emaciation and edema: The first of these ailments is *siyaj b'aq* [bac], in which the first word may be a form of *siy,* "stretched" (FX), and the second is "bone"; DB gives *siyaj b'aq* as "skeleton" and *siyaj b'aqil* as the name of an unspecified illness; MX gives *baqil,* literally "bony," as "thin, weak." The second ailment is *xupan,* "dropsy" (FV and PG), better known today as edema, swelling caused by excess fluid in the tissues or cavities of the body. According to Andrés Xiloj, the contemporary shamans called *ajmesa,* "keeper of the table," sometimes go bad and practice a ritual called *chaqij mesa,* "dry table," in which they ask Xibalba to cause emaciation: "They put bones into the body of a person by means of prayers, in order to dry him up. They put a skull into the body of a person. They dry up the whole body." He told of a recent case in Momostenango in which a man was brought to court because "there were skulls, and bones of the arms and legs, in the place where this man burned his offerings. It was by means of these things that he screwed people up." Edema is caused by a separate ritual, called *rax mesa,* "fresh (or sudden, strong) table." Xiloj continued, "This, too, is done with bones. They put the bone in water, or whatever they put it in, and this same bone comes to be left in the body of the person, who then swells up. It's like an injection, but the evil is contained by this bone. The moment it is put in the body, the evil befalls one."

92

to give people a sudden fright: The verb here is *k'ulwachij,* which FV translates as "to run into someone." For Andrés Xiloj, it expresses what happens in a certain type of dream: "When one is in bed, not yet really sleeping . . . then

comes the apparition; it is represented. A person comes right up to touch one, one feels they are coming to touch one directly, but one can neither move nor cry out." This is what dream researchers call a "hypnagogic hallucination" (see B. Tedlock 1987:116).

92

whenever they have filth or grime in the . . . house: According to Andrés Xiloj, the best way to keep the agents of Xibalba out of one's house is to keep the place swept out and not allow trash to accumulate. See the story in the first note to p. 93 (below) for a case in which a house is cleaned out as a way of ending the deeds of a Xibalban.

92

in the doorway of the house, the patio of the house: This is *chirij ja,* "at the back of the house," and *chuwa ja,* "at the face of the house." In Quiché, as Andrés Xiloj explained, the "back" of a house is the side that has a door or entranceway giving access to a public road or path, while the "face" is the side that gives onto a patio (whether enclosed on all four sides or not).

92

that people should die in the road, just "sudden death": This affliction is *rax kamikal,* "fresh (or unripe, sudden, strong) death." According to Andrés Xiloj, it is like edema (see the above note headed "to reduce people to bones") in being caused by practices that come under the heading of *rax mesa:* "They come to frighten one in the road, and now one doesn't arrive home. Suddenly one may fall in the ditch, *rax kamikal.* As it says here in the Popol Vuh, 'Blood comes to the mouth,' it is as if one had pneumonia, suddenly one begins to vomit blood, and one dies in a moment. It is a matter of the *rax mesa.* They put a bone in the lung, and it is damaged instantly. One begins to vomit pure blood. They carry their materials on their shoulders, as it says here: 'the load on his shoulders.' When they are encountered in the road, they can kill one. But it isn't the *ajmesa* directly, but rather his genius [spirit familiar] or *win* [were animal]." Wing and Packstrap, the Xibalban lords responsible for this form of death, have a lowland Maya counterpart known to iconographers as God Q (Taube 1992:105–107), who attacks God M (a merchant) on a road in the Madrid Codex (50a, 54c).

93

Such are those who shared their thoughts: At this point Andrés Xiloj was reminded of a story, which he told on the spot. It is about a young man who gets aggravated with his wife almost to the point of taking a machete to her, all because an emissary of Xibalba keeps sneaking hairs or bits of rag or even bugs into the food she prepares. Moving in for the kill, the Xibalban tells the young man he has just seen his wife serving lunch to another man. Sure enough, when he gets home for lunch and asks his wife to give him the breast of the chicken

she has prepared, she cannot find it in the pot. Later the young man is seized with the idea of climbing a tree; the earth rumbles and he suddenly finds himself looking down on the spot where the lords of Xibalba regularly assemble to banquet on blood that has been spilled by violence. He sees Blood Gatherer (the head lord) come out, and the last one to arrive, named Jodido (a Spanish word roughly translatable as "screwed-up"), turns out to be the very Xibalban who has been plotting against him. Jodido brags about how he sneaked the chicken breast out of the pot and tells the others they will soon enjoy the blood of the poor woman who was cooking it. After the Xibalbans leave the young man returns home and throws boiling water in each corner of his house. Returning to the banquet spot in time to see the Xibalbans reassemble, he sees Jodido come in late, barely able to move because of the scalding he has received. After this no more foreign objects appear in the young man's food.

93

they were piqued and driven: This is *xetzayixik* [xetzaixic] "they were salted (spiced)" (MX), and *xekotob'ax,* "they were pursued" (DB).

93

gaming equipment: This is *etz'ab'al* [etzabal], "play-instrument." The kilt is *tz'u'm,* "hide"; it is clearly shown to be hide in lowland Classic Maya art. The yoke, made of wood or hide and worn on one side at hip level (Leyenaar and Parsons 1988:107), is *b'ate,* a possible combination of *bat,* which is attested in Yucatec (AB) and Mopán (UU) as a term for "axe," with Cholan *te',* "wood, tree"; it is used as a term for the game itself over wide areas of Mesoamerica and in the Caribbean as well. Hunahpu and Xbalanque will later receive and return the ball with their yokes when they play against Xibalba. The arm guard or *pach'q'ab'* provided protection when a player hitting the ball from a squatting position braced himself with one arm on the ground (Leyenaar and Parsons 1988:114). The panache, shown as a long bunch of feathers attached to the crowns of the heads of the players in the ball court reliefs of Chichén Itzá, is *yachwach;* DB gives *yachwachib'ej* as "to crown." The headband, probably corresponding to the wreaths or turbans worn at forehead level by the Chichén Itzá players, is *wach sot,* in which *wach* is "face" and *sot* is "to make circular, like a crown or ring" (FV). The rubber ball is *kik',* literally "blood" but also referring to tree resins in general and rubber in particular. It was in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica that Europeans saw rubber balls for the first time.

93

"Military Keepers of the Mat": This title is *rajpop achij,* "its-keeper-mat soldier."

94

And these messengers of theirs are owls: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "At times an owl suddenly arrives near the house and begins to sing. This is a warning. Yes,

it is a warning from Xibalba." Shooting Owl is *ch'ab'i tukur,* in which *tukur* is "owl"; *ch'ab'ij* is "shoot with an arrow" (FV) or "swoop down like a bird of prey" (DB, FX).

94

Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes: This place is called *nim xob' karchaj* here and *nim xol* (Great Hollow) later (p. 157); in other documents it appears as *nim xol karchaj* (TV) and *xol karchaj* [chakaj] (RA). The location in question is that of the town near Cobán whose official name is San Pedro Carchá but whose spoken name in Kekchí (the local Mayan language) is *nim karcha. Nim* is "great" in both Kekchí and Quiché; among contemporary Kekchí speakers, *karcha* is said to be composed of *kar,* "fish," and *cha,* "ashes" (see the notes to p. 132). The writers of the PV could have given this name the same interpretation, since *kar* has the same meaning in Quiché while "ashes" is *chaj,* accounting for the final *j* in their spelling. As for the difference between *xob'* and *xol,* the former is Kekchí and refers to a geological depression or hollow (EH), while the latter is Quiché and refers to a space between things (FX). There are numerous karstic depressions in the area in question, but the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán narrows the possible locations by stating that the Great Hollow is the location of a *ch'uti cho* or "small lake" (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:74–75). This points to Las Islas, a park located on the edge of the town of San Pedro Carchá. Here the Río Cahabón (the only local source of fish) forms a large pool where it traverses the bottom of a large, round-sided depression, just before entering a long and deepening canyon (see "to the mouth where the canyons change," below).

94

repeated their words, reciting the exact words: This is *ta xkitzaq* [xquizac] *k'ut* [cut] *kitzij xawi xere ucholik utzij.* DB gives *tzaqonisaj ri tzij* as "to fulfill words," and FV gives *tzaqantik* as "deliver up, render, regurgitate"; *xawi xere* is "yet the same," and *ucholik* is a nominalized form of *chol,* "to say in an ordered way" (FV).

94

"Don't the lords . . . speak truly?": That this line is part of the dialogue rather than the narrative is made obvious by the next line, which is clearly a reply.

94

"We're going, . . . even though we've just arrived": "Even though" translates *xaet,* which DB glosses as "in vain, uselessly." Antitheses are frequent in the speech of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

94

"just play and just sing": The playing here (*tzuan-*) is specifically on the flute. In staying behind while One and Seven Hunahpu go down to Xibalba, One

Monkey and One Artisan reflect the fact that Mars would stay behind if it were near Venus when the latter dropped out of sight as the morning star.

94

to the mouth where the canyons change: This is *chuchi'* [chuchi] *jalja siwanub',* in which the first word is "to-its-mouth"; the second is shortened from *jalaja,* "change, differentiate" (TC); and the third is the plural of *siwan,* "canyon." The place where the twins start their journey, Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes (see p. 255), is located at the head of a deepening canyon through which the Río Cahabón flows eastward. The whole region is full of karstic depressions and caves, and about forty kilometers from Carchá the river disappears inside a cave called Semuc, emerging 350 meters later to continue on its way through what would be, were it not for the cave, a separate drainage. "The mouth where the canyons change" could be the mouth of this cave (see also following note).

94

Rustling Canyon, Gurgling Canyon: This passage reads *nu'* [nu] *siwan, k'ulk'u* [cul, cu] *siwan,* in which *siwan* is canyon; TC gives *nu'* as "shake" and FX specifies the trembling of leaves; *k'ulk'uch* (listed under *culcutc* in EH) is Kekchí for the "sound of intestines." This may be the place where the Río Cahabón disappears into a system of caves and then emerges again (see above).

95

Scorpion Rapids: This is *jaljal ja'* [ha] *sinaj* [simah]; DB has *jalja ja'* [ha], "waters that join and revolve." In reading [simah] as *sinaj,* "scorpion," I agree with Edmonson (1971:68). At the terrestrial level of interpretation this would be a place in or beyond Rustling Canyon, Gurgling Canyon (see above). At the astronomical level it would be on the road of the ecliptic, a short distance west of the place where it crosses the Great Rift in the Milky Way (see following note). That would put it in Scorpius, the location of the *sina'n ek'* or "scorpion stars" of the Yucatec zodiac (AB).

95

Crossroads: This is *kajib'* [caib] *xalkat b'e,* in which *xalkat* refers to any branching of roads but *kajib'* or "four" specifies a four-way intersection. The authors go on to list the four Mayan roads that link the very cosmos together. On the terrestrial plane, red and black correspond to east and west, while white and yellow correspond to north and south. At the celestial level, Black Road and Road of Xibalba, or *q'eqa* [queca] *b'e* and *ri b'e xib'alb'a,* are present-day Quiché terms for the Great Rift that splits a portion of the Milky Way lengthwise. White Road or *saqi* [saqui] *b'e* designates the rest of the Milky Way. From the identity of One and Seven Hunahpu (or their rubber ball) as Venus, and from the fact that they go down to Xibalba from a ball court located far in the east, it may be

deduced that they descended at a time when Venus was ending its period of visibility as the morning star in a sidereal position near the Great Rift, having begun its crossing of the Milky Way in Scorpius and continuing into Sagittarius.

95

"Morning": This is *q'alaj* [calah], literally "clear, bright, plainly visible," used as a morning greeting in the PV. Today the preferred greeting for the morning is *saqirik,* "it is getting light (or dawning)."

96

they got no relief: This is *mawi xeyakamarik,* in which *mawi* is negative; DB gives *yakamarik* as "be relieved, alleviated."

96

the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores: Kumatz or "serpent" is a term for various kinds of disabling cramps (see B. Tedlock 1992:54, 56). Concerning the present case of *kumatz,* Andrés Xiloj said, "There are people who begin to make an uproar when one passes by, they die laughing. This is because those of Xibalba are among them; it is as if they had been ordered to do this. This is a work of Xibalba, and this is what the Popol Vuh is talking about. People get a serpent here in the breast [indicates a diagonal through his trunk, from one shoulder to the opposite hip] for having laughed so hard. Now one can't bear laughing because of the pain of the serpent; now it doesn't let one breathe. We could go out in the street right now. There could be a group of people there. They could begin to make an uproar, killing themselves laughing, and we couldn't hear what they were laughing about. But Xibalba would know what they were saying."

96

down to their blood and bones: This is *chi kikik'* [quiqui] *kib', chi kib'aq* [quiba] *kib',* literally, "that they-blooded themselves, that they-boned themselves." That is, they became nothing but blood and bones, having laughed their flesh away; in idiomatic English, "they laughed themselves sick."

96

This ball of theirs: The term for "ball" here is *cha'j,* spelled [chah] at this point but [chaah] later on in the same passage. This term often means "ball game" in the PV, but wherever it is used for the ball itself, as here, it refers to the ball of Xibalba, whereas the ball used by One and Seven Hunahpu (and later by Hunahpu and Xbalanque) is always called *kik'* [quic], literally "blood" but meaning "rubber (ball)" in the context of the game. I suspect that *cha'j* was a generic term and therefore translate it (wherever it refers to the ball) as just plain "ball," as contrasted with "rubber ball."

96

White Dagger: This is *saqi toq'* [zaqui toc], in which *toq'* is "knife" or "stab" (FV) or "flint" (PG).

96

their torch was brought: The torch is *chaj,* literally "pine"; in the present context it is the Quiché term for what is more widely known in Mesoamerica as ocote (a Nahuatl-derived term), a split-off stick of extremely resinous pine wood, still widely used for torches and kindling.

96

they were cowering: The verb here is *chokochoj,* a reduplicated (and therefore emphasized) form of *chokol-,* "to crouch" (DB).

97

Xibalba is packed with tests: In a later episode (pp. 119–26), the sons of One and Seven Hunahpu go through all five of the test houses listed here. Rattling House is called Cold House in that passage, and Razor House moves from the fifth to the second position in the sequence, which otherwise remains the same. The test houses may correspond to constellations entered by Venus when it disappears after a term as the morning star or else as the evening star. Either kind of disappearance falls at five different times of year and therefore corresponds to five different parts of the sky. An alternative interpretation is that all five houses belong to a single transfer of Venus from the morning to the evening role at one particular time of year. In the Dresden Codex this kind of transition is reckoned as lasting 90 days, a period sufficient to move Venus through five of the thirteen divisions of the Mayan zodiac as charted in the Paris Codex.

97

whistling with drafts, clattering with hail: This is *saq* [zac] *xuruxuj, saq k'arakoj* [caracoh], in which *saq* may be shortened from *saqb'ach,* "hail." The first verb is similar to *xururik,* "the penetration of cold" (into a house) or "a sharp whistling" (MX); the second is similar to *k'ararem,* "the sound of hail falling" (MX). My translation retains the drafts and the hail while at the same time preserving the onomatopoeia. In translating the name of this house, *xuxulim ja,* as "Rattling House," I have considered both the falling hail and a dictionary entry that glosses *xuxulim* as a continuous buzzing or humming (DB).

97

The blades are moving back and forth: "Back and forth" is *sakleloj,* which DB gives as "in alternation." In translating the name of this house, *ch'ayim* [chaim] *ja,* as "Razor House," I have considered that *ch'ay,* as a noun, refers to cutting instruments made of stone (PG), among them a "razor" that was probably an

obsidian blade (FX). As a verb stem (here nominalized by *-im*) it refers to the act of beating or pressing on something (FV, FX), which in the present context would be the percussion and pressure techniques used in making stone tools.

97

Place of Ball Game Sacrifice: This is *pusb'al cha'j;* in the [pucbal] of the MS, [c] is an error for [ç]. *Pusb'al* is "place of sacrifice" (DB), while *cha'j* is "ball game" (DB, FX). The reference is probably to a feature of ball courts in general rather than to a specific geographical location. That this feature was near or even within the playing area itself is indicated by the fact that *jom,* once the Quiché term for a ball court, had become a term for "cemetery" by the early eighteenth century (FX) and remains so today. Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who later address the remains of Seven Hunahpu at the place where he was sacrificed and buried, tell him, "You will be prayed to here" (p. 141). Today, as Andrés Xiloj pointed out, people visit graveyards on days bearing the name *Junajpu.*

97

"Put his head in the fork of the tree that stands by the road": As Wendy Ashmore has pointed out to me, a cache of skulls was discovered on the west side of the temple known as Structure 38 at Tikal, not far from the ball court in the East Plaza (see W. Coe 1967:72). This temple stands beside the Méndez Causeway, just as the tree at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice stands beside a road. Andrés Xiloj (like Ximénez long before him) offered "fork of the tree" as a reading for *xol che'* [che]. At the astronomical level of interpretation the head of One Hunahpu would be Venus as evening star, which is represented as a skull in Mayan iconography (Carlson 1983; D. Tedlock 1992b:234), and the form of the tree has two possible interpretations. On the one hand, it could represent the forked or crossed sticks Mesoamerican astronomers used for sighting heavenly bodies (see Aveni 1980:18–21); on the other hand, it could be part of a tree constellation lying somewhere along the zodiac. Once the calabash tree of the story bears fruit, the head of One Hunahpu cannot be told apart from the fruit, which suggests the presence of Venus (as evening star) among a number of closely grouped stars.

97

This is the calabash, as we call it today, or "the skull of One Hunahpu": The term for calabash (see the Glossary) is given as [zima] in the PV but otherwise occurs only as *tzima* in Quiché. It is *tzima* in contemporary Chol (AA) and *tzima'* in Tzotzil (RL), and in both of these languages it is extended to a bald-headed person—bald, we might say, like the skull of One Hunahpu in the calabash tree. In an earlier passage the authors proposed that we drink to One Hunahpu, implicitly offering us a cacao beverage in a calabash; here they tell us, in effect, that we have been drinking from his very skull. An allusion to the origin of the calabash occurs in the Quiché play known as the Rabinal Achi, when a war

captive facing sacrifice comments on the vessel in which his host serves him his last drink:

> Is this what you drink from, sir?
> Perhaps it's the skull of my grandfather,
> perhaps it's the skull of my father.
> Is that what I'm looking at, what I see before me?
> Then won't this also become a work of some kind, an artifact,
> this bone of my crown, bone of my head,
> carved in back and carved in front?
> (Brasseur 1862:102, translation mine)

Explaining these lines to me, José León Coloch of Rabinal said, "He's comparing himself to a calabash." Since colonial times and probably before, Rabinal has been the principal Guatemalan site for the production of carved calabash vessels.

Classic Maya vases often bear an inscription that identifies them as cacao-drinking vessels (Houston et al. 1989:722). Most such vessels are cylindrical (unlike a calabash), but at least one carries the evidence of calabash use in its inscription, which reads *utsimal, hay yuch'ab k'ak tsih kakaw,* "his calabash, his thin-walled drinking vessel for hot fresh cocoa" (Reents-Budet 1994:256). In contrast with gourds, calabashes are watertight and have thin walls (*hay*); even on pottery vessels that carry no direct reference to a calabash there is frequent reference to thin walls. A number of vessels are actually shaped like a calabash, and Reents-Budet has pointed out to me that many potters, whether they used the calabash shape or not, went to great lengths to produce remarkably thin walls. Many vessels are painted with scenes from stories like those of the PV (M. Coe 1973, 1989), while others depict receptions of royal visitors that take place with containers of food and drink on display (Reents-Budet 1994: chap. 3). Among the Quiché today, the principal occasions for banqueting on a scale that brings members of different lineages together are *tz'onoj* or "asking" ceremonies, in which the family of a young man comes to the house of a young woman to negotiate a marriage, and the *k'ulanem* or "marriage" itself.

98

Blood Moon is the name of the maiden: In her name, *xkik'*, the prefix *x-* makes her feminine, while *kik'* means "blood" and plays on *ik'*, "moon."

98

' "Its fruit is truly sweet!" they say': The last two words translate *kacha'* [cacha], the only occurrence in the entire PV of the Quiché word that is used to mark general hearsay. A more literal translation would be "it says" or "it is said," but I have rendered it as "they say" because that is what a speaker of English would be likely to use when citing hearsay. As Andrés Xiloj pointed out, the hearsay in question here is misinformation, since the fruit referred to is not only not sweet,

but is not even edible. For a general discussion of how the writers of the PV address the epistemological questions raised by their text, see D. Tedlock (1983b: chap. 12).

99

"Stretch out your right hand here": Andrés Xiloj explained that the right side of the body (whether that of a male or female) is symbolically male, while the left is female. Further, the hands unite the fingers, which symbolize the living members of a family, graded from babies (the little finger of each hand) on up to the elderly (thumbs). The fact that Blood Moon receives the sign from the skull in her right hand already points toward the bearing of a male child; in fact she will bear male twins.

99

"It is just a sign I have given you, my saliva, my spittle": Because of the mention of "sign" (*retal*) here, Andrés Xiloj remarked, "Then this is a dream." Asked what would be augured by being spit on in a dream, he said, "This is two matters. It depends on whether the saliva is good or bad. When it is good it has a lot of foam; when it is just clear water it is bad. But here in the Popol Vuh, one isn't told which kind of saliva it is."

99

"Keep the word": The stem of the verb here is *ok-*, "follow where someone else is going" (FV).

99

they were of one mind: This is *xawi kinaoj,* "same their-thoughts"; it is the narrators' way of explaining how they could attribute the actions of the head in the tree to both brothers, even though Seven Hunahpu's *physical* head was buried with his body. In this way the twins in Blood Moon's belly are given a dual fatherhood; in a later passage, Seven Hunahpu will be described not as *kikan,* "their uncle," but as *kiqajaw,* "their father" (p. 141).

99

"It's just a bastard": "Bastard" is *joxb'al,* literally "fornication-instrument," glossed as "bastard" by DB.

99

"Get her to open her mouth": This is *chakoto uchi',* literally "Dig it out of her mouth," an idiom for close questioning. In terms of the somatic mapping of actual or potential speech, as conceived by Quichés, this implies that Blood Moon knows perfectly well what her father wants her to say; if her word were

"in her belly," on the other hand, it would mean that she could not readily articulate a response even if she wanted to. See also the notes to pp. 111, 115.

100

"there is no man whose face I've known": This statement is not only true in its figurative reference to Blood Moon's sexual innocence, but in its literal sense: she never knew the fleshly face of the skull in the tree. For the importance of a man's "face" (and personal identity) in sexual encounters, see pp. 168–69.

100

"take it in their hands": This is *kik'ololej* [quicololeh], a reduplicative form of *k'olej,* "take something round in the hand" (FV); DB gives *kolola* as "turn, revolve."

100

"So please stop": The verb here is *keke;* DB gives *kekeb'a* as "stop, detain."

100

" 'they will make themselves familiar with its composition' ": This is *xchikijunam wachij utz'akic* [utzaquic], "will-they-compare appearance its-being-made (or constructed)"; MX gives *junamanik* as "compare" and DB gives *junamaj wach* as "reconcile."

100

"nor will your homes be here": This means that future owls will be free to move around the surface of the earth.

101

"only blood": "Blood" is a literal translation of *kik'* [quic], which also refers to gums and resins from trees (including latex), in this case the blood-red resin of the cochineal croton (see croton in Glossary).

101

"use the fruit of a tree": This is a figurative reference to nodules of sap from the cochineal croton.

101

it formed a surface like blood: This is *keje k'u* [cu] *ri kik'* [quic] *rij xuxik,* "like then the blood its back (or upper or outer surface) became."

101

"nodules of blood": This is *kik'* [quic] *jolomax.* For a discussion of "blood" in this context, see the notes above. *Jolomax* would seem to be composed of a

verbal form of *jolom,* "head," with a passive suffix (*-x*); in the present context it would mean something like "headed-up," hence "nodules."

101

and when he lifted it up with his fingers: This is *ta xuchuyej k'u* [cu] *aq'anoq* [acanoc], "when he-lifted-with-fingers and upward"; DB gives *chuyej* as "to lift with the fingers."

101

they leaned over it intently: This is *xechiqe* [xechique] *chuwi,* in which *xe-* is "complete-they" and *chuwi* is "over (or on top of)"; FV gives *chiqe* as "to bend the head over" and FX has "to be pensive."

102

the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan: In fact the mother (in the literal sense) of One Monkey and One Artisan has already died by this time (see p. 93); either the present reference to her (which occurs twice) is an error for "grandmother," or "mother" is being used in its role-designating sense rather than in its genealogical sense. One Monkey and One Artisan are living alone with Xmucane, their father's mother, at this point; she is the only person they have who could fill the role of a mother.

102

"my lady": This approximates the effect of Blood Moon's combination of *lal,* marking polite address, with *chichu'* [chichu], "lady" (AG).

102

"I'm your daughter-in-law and I'm your child": The use of "child" here is metaphorical. A Quiché daughter-in-law takes up residence with her husband's family; in offering herself not only as a daughter-in-law but as a "child," Blood Moon both seeks the kind of acceptance a daughter would have and makes an offer of loyalty.

102

"my little babies": Xmucane uses the term *ch'ipa* [chipa] here, which is normally reserved for a youngest child. She seems to be using it endearingly, given that she is never mentioned as having had children other than One and Seven Hunahpu, and given that they were adults when they left home.

102

"They have merely made a way for the light to show itself": "A way . . . to show itself" is *uk'utb'al* [ucutbal] *rib'*, literally "its-showing-instrument." The immediate reference, as the rest of the sentence makes clear, is to the symbolic survival of the dead through their offspring (see also p. 99), "light" being a

metaphor for birth. But "light" may also be taken literally here: Blood Moon's twin sons will account for Venus (in some of its cycles) and, in time, the sun and moon (or at least the full moon).

102

"Truly, what I say to you is so!": I take it that this sentence belongs to Blood Moon rather than Xmucane, given that it is followed with *utz b'ala,* "Very well," which signals the beginning of a reply and definitely belongs to Xmucane.

102

"ripe corn ears": Throughout this passage the corn in question is *jal,* hardened or ripened ears, as contrasted with *aj,* green corn or roasting ears.

102

"since you are already my daughter-in-law": The grandmother isn't so much accepting Blood Moon's claim to kinship here as she is saying (with sarcasm) something like, "If you *say* you're my daughter-in-law, then *act* like one." Quiché daughters-in-law, who live with the families of their husbands, are subject to the commands of their mothers-in-law, who give them heavy household tasks to do.

102

she went to the garden: "Garden" is *ab'ix,* often translated "milpa." Maize is the principal plant in the highland Mayan milpa, but it is interplanted with beans and squash. Each of these crops has different characteristics in its response to wet or dry conditions at various points in its growth cycle; interplanting assures that when one crop suffers during a given season, another will prosper.

103

but there was only one clump: In Mesoamerica corn is properly grown in thick clumps, not stalk by stalk in single file; clumps survive high winds better.

103

"Come on out, rise up now, come on out, stand up now": This is *ta tul waloq, ta tul tak'aloq* [tacaloc], in which *ta tul* is perfectly good Cakchiquel (but not possible in Quiché), while *waloq* and *tak'aloq* are perfectly good Quiché (but not possible in Cakchiquel). In *ta tul, ta* marks the phrase as a plea, *t-* marks the second-person singular familiar, and *-ul* is a verb stem meaning "to come out" (TC). In the verbs *waloq* and *tak'aloq, -oq* is imperative. The rest of Blood Moon's prayer is entirely in Quiché.

103

"Thunder Woman, Yellow Woman": This reads *xtoj, xq'anil* [xcanil], in which *x-* is "she of" and *Toj* and *Q'anil* are the names of two adjacent days on the 260-day

calendar, invoked in reverse order here. This is not a matter of a momentary lapse on the part of a scribe, since the order of cacao and cornmeal in the following line fits the order of the day names in the present line. *Toj* is a day of payment on the Quiché calendar, and cacao pods once served as currency; *Q'anil* is a day for the harvest of maize, and from that harvest comes cornmeal (B. Tedlock 1992:114–15). The explanation for the apparent reversal of the two days may lie in Blood Moon's lunar character, since by Lounsbury's reckoning (1978:796) the Dresden eclipse table begins on the day *13 Muluk* (*Toj* in Quiché) and then, at the end of an interval of 11,959 days, arrives at *12 Lamat* (*Q'anil* in Quiché). In effect, then, Blood Moon might be invoking, by means of metonymy, the calendrical patrons of all possible moons or groups of moons, from the beginning to the end of an eclipse table. Among the intervening dates specified in the Dresden table are *Muluk* and *Lamat* days with numbers other than 13 and 12, which helps explain why she invokes *Toj* and *Q'anil* in general rather than by specific numbers.

104

they were rowdy and flushed with jealousy: For these two qualities the MS has *kichakimal* and *kikaq* [qui3a3] *wachib'al,* in which *ki-* is "their." DB gives *chakimal* as "tumult, clatter, fuss, disturbance; clamor of boys." MX gives *kaq* [quiak] *wachinik,* which would literally be "red in appearance," as "zeal, jealousy."

104

the successors: This is *k'exel* [quexel], "substitute." It may be a reference to the fact that Mars, the planet of One Monkey and One Artisan, sometimes serves as morning star in the absence of Venus, which in at least one of its five cycles is the planet of One and Seven Hunahpu (see the notes on p. 207). When Venus and Mars appear in the east together Mars remains long after Venus has descended into the underworld, just as One Monkey and One Artisan remained on the face of the earth when One and Seven Hunahpu went down to Xibalba.

105

The anger in their hearts came down on their own heads: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "We see a person; we speak behind his back and he doesn't hear what we are murmuring. Then this murmur doesn't fall upon that person, but we are the ones who pay for it." A daykeeper, taking on the task of defending a person who has been the victim of witchcraft, asks in prayer that "the one who did this work should be the one to receive it."

105

They were decoyed: The verb here is *poisaxik;* if English "doll" were a verb, this could be translated literally as "to be dolled"—that is, to be misled by a doll. Today *poisaxik* is most commonly employed with reference to the use of scarecrows in fields.

105

"but our birds just got hung up in a tree": When birds are shot they sometimes close their feet around the branch where they were sitting and then hang there, dead.

105

"We'll just turn their very being around": The verb here is [catzolcomih], which Andrés Xiloj read as *katzolq'omij,* "to turn around."

105

"Just as they wished us to be slaves here": This is *keje ri ala xojpe wi uloq* [uloc] *chi kik'ux,* "like the slaves we-came location here in-their-hearts," in which I take *xojpe chi kik'ux* to be an idiom analogous to the one given in DB as *chi nuk'ux* [cux] *petinaq* [petinac], literally "in-my-heart come-from-perfect" but glossed as "of my own will." *Ala* ("slaves") is shortened here from *alab'il,* which is the form given in a later and similar passage (translated "slaves" on p. 108).

105

yellow tree: This is *k'ante'* [cante], given as *q'ante* in MA and *k'ante'* in EH, composed of *q'an* (Quiché and Kekchí) or *k'an* (Chol), both meaning "yellow," together with *te'* (Kekchí and Chol), "tree." It is the madre cacao (MA and EH) or *Gliricidia sepium,* a large tree planted to provide shade in cacao plantations. In Chol this same species is called *chante'* (AA), a name meaning "tall tree" or "sky tree."

106

"How can we grab hold?": The verb stem here is *chanik;* DB has *chanij,* "keep in the fist."

106

"simply shameless": This is *rax kiwach,* "fresh (or raw or green) their-faces"; DB glosses *rax wach* as "shameless."

106

"Will you please not laugh": Among the contemporary Jacaltec Maya there are myths in which the hero tricks his elder brother or his mother's brothers into going up a tree that grows taller and maroons them, after which they turn into monkeys. The hero's mother then tries to reverse this transformation but fails (Siegel 1943:122–24; La Farge 1947:53–56), in one case because she disobeys an admonition not to laugh (La Farge 1947:51–53).

106

One Monkey and One Artisan came back: This episode suggests a scene in which Mars (corresponding to the monkey twins) goes into retrograde motion, turning

back toward Venus (corresponding to Hunahpu and Xbalanque) for a time but then resuming forward motion and drawing away again.

107

the patio of the house: See the notes to p. 92 for a discussion of the parts of a house.

107

the skinny little things below their bellies: This is *chi xiririk xe kipam;* Ximénez translated *xiririk* as "that which is thin," and Andrés Xiloj read it as "round little thing," chuckling as he did so. This refers not to the "bellies" of the monkeys (*kipam*) but to what is "below" or "at the bottom of" (*xe*) their bellies.

107

and their tails wiggling in front of their breasts: This is *chi chilita je pu chuchi kik'ux,* "that wag tails and at-edge-of their-breasts." Andrés Xiloj read *chuchi* as "up against" in this context. Spider monkeys and howler monkeys both have very long prehensile tails; howlers are seldom observed, but spider monkeys are given to winding their tails around to the front of their bodies and all the way up to their chins.

107

with thin red lips, with faces blank, puckering their lips, wiping their mouths and faces, suddenly scratching themselves: "Thin red lips" are *kaq* [ca3] *ruxruj uchi',* "red thin his-mouth (or lips)"; *ruxruj* seems to be a reduplicated form of *ruxa',* "thin" (MX). "Blank" translates *tak,* which FT glosses as "deaf," MX as "fool," and various other sources as "flat." "Puckering" translates *mutzumaq* [mutzumac], which Andrés Xiloj glossed as "to make small, like a trumpet." "Wiping" translates *mal,* which Xiloj glossed as "to clean"; DB (under [malo]) has *mala,* "to touch lightly." "Scratching" translates [hoquih], which Xiloj read as *joq'oj,* "to scratch." This passage reminded him of the contemporary Monkey Dance in Momostenango: "These monkeys, when they come out here in the fiesta, they scratch themselves, and do their mouths this way [touches himself all around the mouth], as if they had fleas and lice." Two monkeys with stars on their costumes cross the plaza from east to west on a high tightrope, interrupting their progress with midair acrobatics that could be (or might once have been) a dramatization of Martian retrograde motion.

109

their mattock, their hoe: These tools are *mixkina* and *xokem,* respectively; I have rendered the former word as "mattock" because DB glosses it as a "large" hoe.

109

leveling . . . the trees: "Leveling" translates [3a3chacachoh]; FV has *kaqchachoj,* "thrown down by the wind."

109

stalks and brambles: "Stalks" translates *tum;* FV has *tun,* "shoot (of a plant)." "Brambles" translates [quixic]; AG has *k'ix,* "spine (or thorn)."

109

dumps wood chips on his head: The verb here is [puquij]; MX has *puk'inik,* "dunk" or "throw." The "wood chips" are *uweb'alche',* glossed as such by DB.

110

they massage, they stretch their legs, their arms: Andrés Xiloj, who is a *wiqol b'aq* or "bonesetter" in addition to being a daykeeper, remarked here that he uses a combination of massage and stretching to treat sprains.

110

fox, coyote: Fox is *yak* in Quiché; the only fox in the region is the gray fox, *Urocyon cinereo-argenteus.* Ximénez translated *yak* as "gato de monte" or "mountain cat," which is what the fox is still called in Guatemalan Spanish (Janson 1981:48–49); some translators of the PV have been led astray by this.

110

"Arise, conjoin, you trees! / Arise, conjoin, you bushes!": This is *yak lin che'* [che] *yak lin k'a'm* [caam], in which *yak* is "for inciting someone" (FV) and is probably related to *yakalik,* "be up high" (MX); *lin* is "to squeeze, press together" and is used for tamping the weft in weaving (DB).

111

"My word is in my belly": Here and in a later passage (p. 115) the animal who makes this statement is assigned its characteristic food in exchange for a message. For the contemporary Quiché diviner, words that are "in the belly" of a person are words that person is unable to bring to consciousness and articulate; words that are higher up, in the chest or the head, are more likely to be spoken, and those that are in the throat or mouth or on the tongue are at the very point of actually being said. As for animals, their utterances are regarded as clear to other members of the same species but very difficult for a human to understand. The fact that the animals in the PV have their word in their bellies is not only an indication of their interest in being given food but an indication of the difficulties of understanding what animals have to say. They may be able to make sounds, but the meaning of these sounds is as hidden as are the crucial

facts a human client may find it difficult to articulate when a diviner asks probing questions. See also the notes to pp. 99, 115.

111

"up under the roof of the house": This is *chuwi ja,* "at-its-top house," which, as Andrés Xiloj explained, means the attic. He pointed out that this is the part of the house where tools are kept today, along with the stored harvest.

111

"But what will your grandmother say if she sees me?": Andrés Xiloj commented, "When the rat speaks it isn't understood what he says, *'witz', witz', witz'.'* When a boy is born, then the rat doesn't cry, they say. He is content, because the boy is the one who sows the garden. Now, if a woman is born, then the rat cries, they say, because when the rat comes near a woman in the kitchen she grabs a stick to kill him."

112

they were just fooling: "Fooling" is *mich'b'al* [michbal], literally "means of plucking," an idiom for deception. Note that in a later story the victims of deception are literally plucked (p. 171).

112

loosening the ball: The verb here is *kolon;* DB has *kolo,* "to free."

112

These were taken away: The verb stem here is *majix,* "be taken"; MX has *majanik,* "to take away from."

113

where it could be seen: This is *chuka'yik* [chucayac], in which *ka'y-* is "to look at, to notice" (PG, AG) and *-ik* is transitive passive. The louse has come down from the grandmother's hair.

113

Tamazul: This is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper, *tamazulin* is "toad" (RS). The Quiché term for toad is *xpeq.*

113

"My word is contained": "Contained" is [4oba]; DB has *kob'a,* "to contain" or "keep to oneself."

113

"bent over": This is *pe;* AG has *pek'i'k,* "to warp."

114

when he had been united with the toad: The verb here is *xriktaxik,* a complete and passive form of the verb given by DB as *rikitajik,* "to join."

114

Zaquicaz: This name appears as *saqiq'as* in FV and PG; the former source glosses it as "a very thick snake that flees when it sees people, making a noise with its belly," while the latter says only that it is a black snake.

114

laughing falcon: This is *Herpetotheres cachinnans,* a snake-hunting bird called *wak* in Quiché and *vakos* in Tzotzil (RL), probably the same as the *wok* (translated simply as "falcon") in an earlier passage. The laughing falcon makes two different sounds: a long call consisting of a single, rapidly repeated syllable that resembles laughter, and a short song that makes use of two different phrases or syllables. Davis (1972:25) describes the repeated element of the song as *woo-oo ka-woo,* while Álvarez del Toro (1971:46) renders it as *guaco* (pronounced *wako*). The PV rendition, *wak ko,* is closer to the former version in using a two-part phrase, but closer to the latter in its vowel sequence. The song is heard in the early morning or in the evening, which supports the notion that the ball games of the PV correspond to times when Venus is close to the horizon. The Aztecs, who called this bird *oactli,* were like Hunahpu and Xbalanque in taking its sounds to be portentous. The call, which they heard as uncontrolled laughter, was a bad omen, but the song was good (Sahagún 1950–69, book 5:153–55). Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in a comical move, take the matter of the omen into their own hands, bringing the bird down and demanding that it restate its message in words. The song would seem to be a good omen for them, given that they are like twin tricksters elsewhere in the Americas in jumping at the opportunity for an adventure.

114

on the rim of the ball court: "Rim" is [zutzil] (in which *-il* is adjectival), translated on the basis of *tzutz,* "to finish weaving" (FX) or "to finish weaving by filling out the space at the edge" (FV). I take it that the falcon alighted at the top of the wall enclosing the ball court.

114

their blowgun shot: The "shot" of the blowgun is *ubaq* [ubac], literally "its bone" or "its pit" (in the sense of the pit of a fruit).

115

"My word is contained in my belly": See the notes to p. 111 for a discussion of the meaning of words in bellies. What is notable in the present context, where

the hawk contains the snake that contains the toad that contains the louse who has the message, is a symbolic acting out of the structure of the speech of messengers. Again and again the messengers of the PV deliver their news in the form of multiply embedded quotes; in the present episode each animal corresponds, as it were, to a pair of quotation marks, one pair inside the next.

115

"Blood of sacrifice": This is *lotz kik'* [quic], in which *lotz* is "to puncture, let blood" (FV and FX), and *kik'* covers both "blood" and "resin"; PG specifies *las kik'* as "rubber." The black eye patches of the laughing falcon remain as signs of the incident in which Hunahpu and Xbalanque doctored him with a bit of rubber from their ball.

115

he just sort of drooled: The verb stem here is [caxh]; DB has *kaxajinik,* "to drool."

115

they kicked him: The verb stem here is *yik;* DB has *yikb'al,* "kick with the foot." I have spared the reader the redundancy of the original phrasing, which goes on to specify that the kicking was indeed done with the foot.

115

they crushed the bones: The verb stem here is [cah]; MX has *k'ajinik,* "to crush, crumble."

115

it was right there in his mouth: In terms of the somatic mapping of speech, as conceived by Quichés, this implies that the toad knew perfectly well what the message was; it was not in his belly, a realm of the unconscious or the dimly perceived, but right up front in his mouth (see the notes to pp. 99, 111).

116

"Each of us will plant an ear of green corn": These are not kernels (*ixim*) but ears of corn that are planted (*tik*), and they are roasting (or green) ears (*aj*) rather than ripened ones (*jal*). As will be made clear on p. 40, they are "planted" not in the earth but above it, in the attic of the house, where harvested corn is stored. See p. 285 for a discussion of contemporary rites of the patrilineage shrine called *winel* that answer to this description.

116

"When the corn dries up": "Corn" has been supplied here; the original sentence does not specify what is drying (*chaqijik*). It might be the ears of corn Hunahpu and Xbalanque left in the center of their house, but Andrés Xiloj took it to be

the ripening of a corn crop in their field, which would coincide with the arrival of the dry season.

116

" 'when the sprouting comes' ": This is *ta chipe utux,* "when there-comes its-shoot." It would not be the sprouting of the ears of corn left in the center of the house by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, but of a new crop in the field (see the above note).

116

Hunahpu planted one and Xbalanque planted another: This makes it sound as though there were two ears of corn, but today it would be four: one yellow, one white, one spotted, and one blue. Note that the ears planted by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, however many of them there may have been, are later given four different names (pp. 139–40).

116

where the earth is damp: This is *rax ulew,* literally "green (or raw) earth," in contrast with the *chakij* [chaquih] *ulew* or "dry earth" mentioned in this same sentence; my translation follows the reading offered by Andrés Xiloj.

116

in the middle of the inside of their house: This is *chunik'ajal* [chunicahal] *upa kochoch,* "at-its-middle its-inside their-house." Andrés Xiloj was quite definite that this could only mean indoors, not on the patio.

116

throng birds: These are *tz'ikin molay,* in which *molay* may be from *mol-,* referring to the joining together of what was dispersed (FV); PG gives *mo* as a "large black hawk." These birds have been identified as an autumn migrating flock of Swainson's hawks (*Buteo swainsonii*) by B. Tedlock (1985:80–83). Their plumage is in its dark phase when they funnel through Guatemala in October or early November, and they form spectacular masses before spreading out into South America. At that time, ears of green corn (*aj*) like those picked by Hunahpu and Xbalanque are available in the area where the PV was written, but ripe corn (*jal*) is not. The spring migration of these birds announces the approach of the season's first thunderstorms.

116

the roads of Xibalba: This passage makes it sound as though all four roads eventually lead to or through Xibalba, but in an earlier episode "the" Road of Xibalba, and specifically of its lords, is the Black Road (see the notes to p. 95). In the list of roads given there the colors are paired by opposite directions: red/black (east/west) and white/yellow (north/south). The present passage drops yellow, adds green, and pairs the colors by their own complementarity: black/

white, red/green. One and Seven Hunahpu took the Black Road, whereas Hunahpu and Xbalanque send a spy in that direction and later travel a road whose color is not specified. Perhaps it is the Green Road, which was not available to their fathers. In the five-part Mesoamerican directional scheme this would be the middle road, the axis mundi. In the PV, the Green Road is the only one a living human being wants to travel (see the prayer on pp. 192–93).

118

each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the name of the one seated next to him: This is *jujun chijoloman ub'ixik kumal are chib'i'n ub'i jun ri kub'ul chuxukut,* "each-one from-ahead being-named by-them this-one naming his-name one that seated at-his-side." I interpret *chijoloman* as referring to differences in rank, with *chi-* as prepositional and *jolom* as "head" in the sense of leadership (a sense given by FV under the entry for *wi*). In the dialogue that follows each lord is indeed named by the one ranking immediately above him and in turn names the next one down the line; the only exception is One Death, who has no one above him and must therefore be named by Seven Death.

118

"These aren't lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!": Strictly speaking, this remark refers to the two manikins seated first in the sequence, but it may also be taken as slyly referring to the entire group of lords. They are waiting for a good laugh, like the one they had earlier at the expense of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu (p. 95), but instead the joke is on them.

120

"here's our rubber ball," said the Xibalbans: This is one of the few points at which *kik'*, "rubber ball," is used with reference to the ball belonging to Xibalba, which is otherwise called *cha'j,* a generic term for "ball" (see the notes to p. 96), or else by its proper name, White Dagger (see the Glossary). Given the general air of duplicity in the present passage, we may assume that the Xibalbans are falsely using the term *kik'*.

120

"just a decorated one": This is *xa juch'il* [huchil], in which I take *juch'il* to be an adjectival form of *juch'unik,* "to stripe, put on a design" (MX). The ball of Xibalba is fundamentally different from the rubber ball used by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, but the Xibalbans are claiming that it is merely decorated.

120

"just a skull": The ball of Xibalba is surfaced with crushed bone, as has already been seen. In one of the relief panels in the great ball court at Chichén Itzá, the ball bears the image of a skull (illustrated on pp. 120–21).

120

"we say in return": This is *kojch'a chik,* literally "we-say again." Others have treated *koj* as a separate word here, in which case it would mean "puma," but that leaves *ch'a chik* hanging.

121

"Death is the only thing you want for us! Wasn't it you *who sent a summons to us?":* This is an ironic reference to the names of One and Seven Death. To put it in other words, "Given that you are named *kame* (Death), no wonder you want our *kamik* (death)!" Hunahpu and Xbalanque play on the name *kame* again in a later episode (p. 137). See the note headed "One Death and Seven Death" for a discussion of their name (p. 251).

121

"One bowl of red petals": "One bowl of" translates *jutikab',* in which *ju-* is one; I take *-tikab'* to be a numeral classifier for counting by the bowlful, similar to *-tuk* in *jutuk,* "one jarful" (FT). The bowls in question here (*sel*) are mentioned just before this. "Petals" translates a word given as *muchij* the first time and *muchit* thereafter, which Andrés Xiloj read as *muchik,* referring to the "undoing" of flowers to get their petals off, rather than as *much',* which is an herb (known as "chipilín" in Spanish) whose leaves are used as a seasoning in beans. Today flower petals are sprinkled on tombs and are used to adorn shrines before offerings are burned.

123

"cutting ants, conquering ants": These are *chay sanik, ch'eken* [chequen] *sanik,* possibly two names for the same species. *Chay* refers to cutting instruments made of stone; FV lists *je chay* as ants that go in swarms. Andrés Xiloj identified *ch'eken sanik* as leaf-cutting ants seen only in the lowlands, called "zompopo" in Guatemalan Spanish.

123

"Whip-poor-will!" and *"Poor-willow!":* These bird calls are *xpurpuwek* and *pujuyu,* respectively. Andrés Xiloj recognized *xpurpuwek* as the call of the *perpuwaq,* which he described as a ground-dwelling bird that calls out at night. This is obviously a whippoorwill; phonetically the Quiché rendition of its call is not that different from the English version, except for the final consonant. I interpret *pujuyu* as a similar but somewhat simpler call, belonging to a related species, and translate it as "poorwill" when it is used (on this same page) as a species name rather than as a call.

123

the nibbling at their own tails, . . . their own wings: This may be a reference to the fact that the tails and wings of whippoorwills and poorwills are marked with bands, bars, and spots that give them a mottled appearance.

123

an acrobatic performance: This is *tikitoj;* DB has *tikita,* "dance audaciously in front of others."

124

all the Xibalbans looked sick, they paled: The key forms here are *saqkaje* [zaccahe], "be discolored in sickness" (FV), and *saqb'u* [zacbu], "pallid" (DB).

124

their mouths were split wide: Whippoorwills and poorwills are nightjars (*Caprimulgidae*), all of which have small bills but mouths that gape very wide.

124

countless drafts, thick-falling hail: For more about the drafts (*tew*), see the notes to p. 97. The hail is *saqb'oqom* [zacbocom], based on glosses offered by DB and Andrés Xiloj.

125

a house of fire: This is *jun ja chi q'aq',* a descriptive phrase not constructed in the same way as the proper names given the other houses—*b'alami ja,* "Jaguar House," for example. It is omitted from the earlier list of five test houses (p. 97) and is the most briefly described of the houses in the present sequence; it may be a secondary elaboration, based on the immolation undergone by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in a later episode (p. 132). That would leave five proper test houses in both passages. On the astronomical importance of the number five, see p. 207.

125

snatch-bats: These are *kamasotz'* [camazotz], in which *sotz'* is "bat" and *kama-* is probably from *kajmaj,* "fright, surprise attack" (FV). Andrés Xiloj commented, "These are not animal bats, but the bats of Xibalba." DB lists *kamotzoj* as "an animal that eats the moon." Today, in the town of Rabinal, the dance-drama of San Jorge includes a character named *kaman xoch,* costumed as a bat (Teletor 1955:165–66).

125

"Can you see how long it is till dawn?": "How long" translates *janik,* "How much?" (DB).

126

"What's going on?": This is my reading of *juchalik,* based on *jucha,* "How?" or "What's this?" (DB).

126

Xbalanque despaired: The verb stem here is [quixbih], translated on the basis of *k'ixb'ej,* "to have shame" (FV) and considerations of context.

126

"Alas!": This is [acaroc], probably *aqaroq,* which Ximénez translates as "Ay! Ay!" Elsewhere *aqaroq* begins a song of lament (p. 162), where I again translate it as "Alas!" But when it begins prayers (pp. 150, 192) I render it as "Wait!" on the basis of *aqar,* "wait" (FV) and the apparent imperative suffix (*-oq*). A person at prayer is said to "cry" (*oq'ik*) and "call out" (*sik'ij*); to translate *aqaroq* as "Alas!" emphasizes the emotional tone, while "Wait!" emphasizes the attempt to get attention.

127

He brought a squash: What the coati brings is written as [coc], which must be *q'oq',* "squash," rather than *ko'k,* "turtle." As Edmonson has pointed out (1971:124), turtles do not have seeds (see p. 129), and I would add that a turtle would not burst open when hitting the floor of a ball court. The notion of a squash as a head shows up in the contemporary traditions of Chichicastenango, where an excess of large squashes in a field means that the senior male of a family may die, the squashes being a sign that his head is rotting (Bunzel 1959:54). The vine shown growing out of the head of a ballplayer in one of the ball-court relief panels at Chichén Itzá (see pp. 120–21) may well be a squash vine.

127

then brains came from the thinker, from the sky: "Brains" translates *tzatz,* glossed as such in FX. According to the riddling "language of Zuyua" in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, the "brains" of the sky consist of copal (Roys 1967:90, 96). That raises the possibility that "thinker," which is *ajno'j* [ahnaoh] in the present passage, puns on *noj,* "a certain gum" (FX). For a discussion of punning in the language of Zuyua, see Stross (1983).

127

His strength was just the same: "Strength" is [chuuc], which is the gloss FV gives *chuq'a* and TC and AG give *chuq'ab'.*

127

old man: This is *mama,* "old man (or grandfather)," which identifies this possum as one of the bearers of new years (see the Introduction). They announce the

coming of a new solar year, just as the black streaks (see the next note) announce the coming of a new day.

128

"Possum is making streaks": This is *kaxaqin wuch'* [caxaquin uuch], "he-is-making-black-streaks possum." TC and FV have entries for *xaqin wuch'*, "a darkness before dawn," which confirms that [uuch] should be *wuch'*, "possum." Ximénez translated "vulture," as if the text had read [4uch]. Andrés Xiloj read the verb stem as *xaqin*, "make black stripes"; FV has "stripe with carbon" as a gloss for *xaqij*. Xiloj commented, "At 4:30 in the morning it is as if black clouds were placed there at the end of the sky [the horizon], they are like a sea, they are in grades or levels, alternating yellow and black. Then, according to the hour, as it clears up, the black becomes blacker, blacker, blacker, and what was yellow becomes redder, as the sun comes nearer. Then it changes, these black clouds are no longer there, now there is only the light of the sun. These black clouds appear to be over the earth, they go far [to the left and right], all the way to wherever. The stripes signal that the sun is already shining; they are a reflection. When one gets up at 4:00 or 4:30 in the morning, *kaq chuwi xekaj,* 'it is red over the end of the sky.' At first only one black band is there, then it divides up. One can see all this in the dry season, but not at this time of year" (as he said this his voice was almost drowned out by the sound of rain).

128

"You should just make lots of threats": The verb stem here is *yekuj,* "be in a threatening attitude" (under the entry for [yecoh] in DB).

128

"ball bags": The term here is *pixk,* changing to *pix* when it is mentioned twice again in this same passage. What is required by the plot is objects of about the same size and shape as a huddled rabbit, a ball, and a squash, so that the rabbit can wait among these objects without being noticed, the ball can land among them and appear to belong there while the running rabbit appears to be the still-bouncing ball, and, finally, so that a squash can be switched for the ball. The problem is that in Quichean languages, *pixk* is normally "acorns" and *pix* is "tomatoes" (FV, FX), both of which are too small to serve the purpose. The solution adopted here is based on the fact that *pix* has to do with wrappings or coverings (and bundles) in Kekchí (EH) and Chol (JH, AA), suggesting that the objects might be bags or wrappers used to carry balls.

129

having recovered the ball from among the bags: I picture Hunahpu and Xbalanque standing among the ball bags, pretending they have found the ball when in fact they have traded it for a squash.

129

The squash was wearing out: The verb stem here is *puq'ab'in* [pucabin]; FV has *puq'*, "wear down."

129

bringing to light its light-colored seeds, as plain as day: This is *saqiram k'u ri usaqilal* [zaquiram cu ri uzaquilal], literally "becoming-light (or white) then the its-lightness-own." *Saqir-* is also "to dawn," and *saqil* is the term for squash seeds; in the translation I have added the word "seeds" and the phrase "as plain as day" in order to make these dimensions more obvious to the reader. Further, *saqir-* is a metaphor for the sprouting of plants, but the phrase "bringing to light its light-colored seeds" turns that metaphor inside out. When the squash bursts and causes a "dawning" of seeds, it is a "dawning" that comes from the harvested fruit of a plant rather than from the planted seeds. To put it another way, the seeds burst forth rather than being sown.

This passage probably has an astronomical dimension as well. Keeping in mind that Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in their Venus or ballplayer aspect, cannot stray from the zodiac, we may speculate that the splattered squash seeds correspond to a constellation, and that this constellation is closer to being "in bounds" with respect to the zodiac than the ball bags discussed in the notes for p. 128. The Pleiades are within the zodiac, though they would seem to be accounted for by the Four Hundred Boys. But the seeds of the burst squash could be somewhere near the Pleiades (perhaps they are the Hyades), since the Four Hundred Boys may be rabbits (see under their name in the Glossary) and since it is a rabbit who leads the Xibalbans away from the ball court.

130

Xulu and *Pacam:* FV describes *xulu* as "(spirit) familiars appearing alongside rivers"; an *ajxulu,* or "keeper of Xulu," is a curer (FV) or diviner (DB). Given that the advice Xulu and Pacam give to the lords of Xibalba results in the reincarnation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque as catfish, there would seem to be a link between *xulu* and the Chol term for "big-bellied catfish," which is *xlu'* or *ajlu'* (AA). As "midmost seers," Xulu and Pacam would presumably be of the particular kind known as *nik' wachinel pa ya'* or "midmost seers into water," whom TC describes as diviners who gaze into water. That the reincarnation of the twins is the result of sinking their bones in water suggests that the name Pacam (which could be *pak'am*) might have its source in something like Chol *pak'*, "to sow" (JH). Many fishing cultures—on the northwest coast of North America, for example—have rituals in which fish are reincarnated by casting their bones into water. In the present case the idea for such an act originates with Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the same gods who establish a ritual for the death and revival of corn. This brings to mind the raised-field complex among the lowland Classic Maya, who harvested fish from the same ditches that drained

their cornfields (see Hammond 1982:160–63) and might well have developed a ritual for "replanting" the fish.

130

" 'if we dumped their bones in the canyon' ": T. J. Knab informs me that in the lore of contemporary Nahuatl speakers in the Sierra de Puebla, this is precisely the procedure that would be used to put a permanent and complete end to a person. On the other hand, grinding the bones and putting them directly into water (which is what is finally done with Hunahpu and Xbalanque) would ensure continued life in some form.

130

" 'since you would see their faces' ": This is an allusion to what happened when the head of One Hunahpu was put in a tree.

130

" 'sprinkle them' ": The verb stem here is *ikaj,* "sprinkle" (DB).

130

little Hunahpu: Here and elsewhere, the addition of "little" in front of Hunahpu reflects instances where his name is written [xhunahpu], with the diminutive prefix *x-,* making it like the name of his brother [xbalanque]. The prefix has not been translated in the latter case because it is an inseparable part of the name itself, whereas it seldom appears when Hunahpu is named. The name of the Yucatec equivalent of Hunahpu, Hun Ahaw, is sometimes written [ix hun ahau] (Roys 1965:9).

131

"You'll never put that one over on us": The verb stem here is *mich'* [mich], "pluck," but in the present context a literal translation would not make sense in English (see the notes to p. 171 for a case in which deception involves *literal* plucking of the victim).

131

They grabbed each other by the hands and went head first into the oven: Hunahpu and Xbalanque do not ascend as the sun and moon until p. 141, but their self-immolation here opens the way to that event. In Aztec myth the sun and moon are again a pair of males, Nanahuatzin and Tecuciztecatl, but not brothers. They do not jump into the flames together; instead, the former jumps in because the latter is afraid to, and then the latter follows out of shame. At first they are both like suns, but then Tecuciztecatl is dimmed and becomes the moon (Sahagún 1950–69, book 7:2–7).

131

raising their shouts, raising their cheers: Andrés Xiloj remarked, "It's like they held a fiesta, complete with a marimba."

132

The two of them looked like catfish: The term used here is *winaq* [uinac] *kar,* literally "person fish," identified by PG and TC as "catfish." It should be noted that among speakers of Pokomchí (a Quichean language), *xb'alamq'e* [xbalamque] was the term for a species of fish belonging to the family that includes perch and bass (DZ), whose members lack the barbels that characterize catfish and (unlike catfish) have spiny fins. Perhaps there was once a version of the story in which only Hunahpu became a catfish, while Xbalanque became a bass. The location for this episode may be Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes (*nim xob' karchaj*), in or near the present-day Kekchí town of San Pedro Carchá and named elsewhere in the PV as the location of the court where One and Seven Hunahpu and their sons played ball. According to the people who live there today, Carchá (*karcha*) derives its name from an incident that occurred during a heavy rain, when wriggling fish (*kar*) appeared in wet ashes (*cha*); I learned this from Marcello Cho of San Pedro Columbia (a Kekchí village in Belize), who heard it on a visit to Carchá. These fish would seem equivalent to the catfish of the PV, which appear when the burned (and ground) remains of Hunahpu and Xbalanque get wet. Taking our cue from the fact that other PV episodes involve the establishment of customs by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, we may guess that this one established a fishing ritual.

132

vagabonds: This translates *meb'a,* glossed by DB and MX as "poor person" and by FX as "orphan"; I have chosen "vagabonds" because Hunahpu and Xbalanque later disclaim any attachment to a particular place (p. 133). At this point in their career they probably correspond to the possum actors of the lowland Maya, strolling players who appeared at the transition point between two solar years (Thompson 1970:277).

132

They seemed unrefined: This is *mana chib'ananta kiwach,* literally "not-yet become-done their-faces"; *b'an wach* is an idiom meaning "polished, adorned," as indicated by the entries under [bano] in DB.

132

Swallowing Swords: This dance is *xtz'ul* [xtzul], which is also the term for the centipede; the corrected form appears in FV and TC. *Tz'ul* may be from *tz'ulej,* "be together in an embrace and with the legs intertwined" (FV). DB describes the dance as one in which masked performers with tortoiseshell rattles put sticks

or daggers in their mouths. FV describes the masks as small and says that the dancers are two in number (as they are in the PV), wear the tails of macaws down their backs, put sticks down their throats and bones into their noses, and give themselves hard blows on their chests with a large stone. The swallowing of sticks cut to a shape like that of swords is also known among the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest United States.

132

Now Xibalba was full of admiration: The "admiration" is [cayic]; DB has *kaiq'*, "watch admiringly."

132

Next they would sacrifice themselves, one of them dying for the other: This implies that either of the twins could assume either role when they did their sacrifice act. When the narrators describe an example of this act they happen to have Xbalanque sacrificing Hunahpu (p. 136), but the Classic Maya painter of the so-called Metropolitan Vase shows the equivalent characters the other way around, with Hun Ahaw about to chop off the head of Yax Balam (see p. 136). Hun Ahaw appears in the guise of Chac (God B or GI), wielding an axe; the catfish barbel coming out of his cheek, itself a Chac attribute (Taube 1992:24–27), recalls the PV scene in which Hunahpu and Xbalanque make an appearance in the guise of catfish just before taking up their formal acting careers. Yax Balam, who usually looks human except for patches of jaguar skin on his face and body, appears on the vase as a caricature of himself, all jaguar except for his head. As different as the two brothers may appear in other respects, both wear their hair pulled forward and tied, as they do in some other depictions (see p. 77). This hairdo is compatible with Hun Ahaw's Chac role, but the point here is that both brothers wear it; further, Yax Balam cooperates with his brother by offering himself for decapitation rather than having to be held down. If this interpretation is correct, then Lounsbury (1985) is correct in identifying the figure wielding the axe as Hun Ahaw but wrong to think Hun Ahaw and GI are the same god, while M. Coe (1989:165–66) is correct in distinguishing Hun Ahaw from GI or Chac but wrong to think the axe-wielder on the vase is Chac in person. Neither of them took the play-acting aspect of the scene into consideration.

133

had to keep coming back: The verb stem here is [machcay]; DB has *machkaiq'*, "to come and go repeatedly."

133

Feigning great humility: This is *kemochochik;* DB gives *mochochik* as "to humble oneself hypocritically."

133

they bowed their heads all the way to the ground: This is *chikixulela kiwach,* in which the second word is "their faces"; DB gives *xulela* as "throwing the face on the ground."

133

down to the rags, to the tatters: The "rags" are *mayokij,* translated on the basis of *makij,* "to throw away"; the "tatters" are *atz'iak* [atziac], which carries this meaning in both ancient and modern Quiché.

133

their mountain: This is *kijuyub'al,* "their-mountain-place." *Juyub'al* is a metonym for almost any settlement, but especially a fortified town or "citadel" (*tinamit*), located on a defensible elevation.

136

And they showed its roundness: This is *xkik'olob'a k'ut* [xquicoloba cut] *chikiwach,* "they-positioned-round-thing then to-their-faces."

136

his legs, his arms were spread wide: The verb here is *xperepoxik,* apparently a complete (*x-*), passive (*-xik*), and reduplicated form of *pere-,* "to put a wide thing somewhere" (FV); DB glosses *perepik* as "wide." The limbs of Mesoamerican sacrifice victims were indeed spread wide.

136

was smothered in a leaf: This is *xch'eqe* [xcheque] *chuwach tz'alik* [tzalic], "stanched in-face-of leaf-wrapping." MX gives *ch'eqelik* as "stop the flow of" and *tz'alik* as "leaves for wrapping." This line has caused much confusion, but Andrés Xiloj found it crystal clear. He commented that *tz'alik* refers to any leaves used to wrap tamales, of which there are several different kinds.

137

"Do it to us! Sacrifice us!": Here Andrés Xiloj remarked, "It didn't please them that they were perfectly well; what pleased them was to be butchered."

137

"What is death to you?": The original question puns on the name of its addressees and is phrased negatively: *ma pa ix k'o kam,* "Aren't you *kam?*" Lacking any suffixes, *kam* is open to various interpretations: *kaminaq,* "dead person"; *kamikal,* the ordinary term for "death"; or *Kame,* the proper name of a day on the calendar and of the two highest lords of Xibalba, One and Seven Death. In recasting the question in English, I have sought to preserve both the biting tone

of the question and the play on words between Death as a name and death as an event. Hunahpu and Xbalanque also played on the name in an earlier passage (see the notes to p. 121).

137

vassals: Here and elsewhere, this translates *alk'ajol,* a composite term made up of *al,* "child (of a woman)," and *k'ajol,* "son (of a man)." The reference is to members of commoner lineages owing fealty to a lordly lineage. Vassalage was thus conceived as kinship by adoption, but note that *alk'ajol* clouds or averts the issue of lineality by including the term for a woman's children.

138

heart sacrifice: The stem here is *xaraxo-;* DB gives *xaraxoj* as "cut or open the chest and take out the heart."

138

countless ants: This may or may not be metaphorical; if not, it could be that the fate of the vassals of the lords of Xibalba was to become the ants of today. In any case it is very unusual for vassals to come downward to get to where their lords are; it would seem that the domain of Xibalba is the reverse of earthly domains, where lords are situated in citadels rather than at the bottoms of canyons.

138

no cleanly blotted blood for you: This is *ch'ajom k'ik* [chahom quic], literally "washed blood." I take this to be a reference to autosacrifice, in which the blood that flowed from self-inflicted pricks and wounds was blotted up with paper or leaves. During colonial times this practice was modified rather than suppressed, owing to the role of bloodletting in European medicine, but it is no longer done today. Andrés Xiloj pointed out that it is still said of the Xibalbans that they collect blood spilled on the ground—that is, dirty blood.

138

just griddles, just gourds, just brittle things broken to pieces: The "griddles" are *xot,* for toasting tortillas. The "gourds" are [acam]; FV has *aqem,* "gourd." The "brittle things" are *chuch;* DB has *chuchuj,* "delicate, thin." Finally, "broken to pieces" is *xjeraxik;* FV has *jera-,* "crumble." This list suggests the contemporary ritual of the days *7 Tz'i'* and *8 B'atz'* (7 Dog and 8 Monkey) at Momostenango, in which novice daykeepers are initiated. On the eve of 8 Monkey, the novice is visited at home by his or her teacher, who breaks a large and previously unused jar and burns copal incense in the shards; the ashes of the copal are put in a small gourd. The next day the shards and the gourd are taken to a shrine called Ch'uti Sab'al or "Little Place of Declaration" and deposited there (see B. Tedlock 1992:65–66 for more details). But this ritual is dedicated primarily

to the Mundo (earth deity) and the ancestors; there is no mention of Xibalba in its liturgy. Perhaps members of the Quiché elite of pre-Columbian times were given to defaming the indigenous highland Guatemalan religion as Xibalban, in the same way that Christian missionaries have since defamed it as Satanic.

138

born in the light, begotten in the light: Andrés Xiloj pointed out that only human beings can be referred to in this way; note the contrast with "creatures of the meadows and clearings" in the previous sentence. The point is that the lords of Xibalba will henceforth be denied proper human sacrifices.

139

the blame is clear: The idiom here is *chak umak,* "his sin is clear" (DB).

139

And you will hear petitions over headed-up sap: This is *kixtaon puch chuwi ri kik'* [quic] *jolomax,* "you-listen and over the blood (sap) headed-up." Earlier I translated *kik' jolomax* as "nodules of sap." What this sentence means is that henceforth, when people pray to Xibalbans, they will burn nodules of croton tree sap (see croton in the Glossary) as offerings.

139

they are inciters to wrongs and violence: Andrés Xiloj commented, "They are the ones who send one to do evil. It is as if, in spirit, they enter us, into the head. I think, 'I'm going to do such-and-such a thing,' but I don't know who put this bad idea into me."

139

masters of perplexity: This is *ajlatzab',* consisting of *aj-,* "person or owner of"; *latz,* "embarrassed, perplexed" (DB); and *-ab',* plural.

139

crying and calling out: What the grandmother of Hunahpu and Xbalanque does is *koq'ik kasik'in* [coquic caziquin], translated literally here, but in both ancient and modern Quiché the combination of the verb stems *oq'-* ("cry") and *sik'-* ("call out"), used in that order, refers to the act of praying. This is generally done in a mildly insistent tone rather than a sorrowful one, but the petitioner is nevertheless thought of as seeking pity; the amplitude of the voiee is generally low to moderate, but those who are addressed by a prayer are thought of as being summoned from a distance.

139

the ears of green corn they left planted: These are the corn ears Hunahpu and Xbalanque dedicated when they left for Xibalba (p. 116). "They left planted" is

xkitik kanoq [canoc], "they-plant left," an idiom referring to the establishment of a ritual obligation. Andrés Xiloj recognized one of the obligations of the contemporary mother-father (patrilineage head) in this passage: "What was 'left planted' was a custom. . . . Because of the corn, they would never be forgotten. Now, this is the custom of the *winel* [a pair of shrines located near a cornfield, one above it and the other below]. When the corn is ripe one has to give thanks, to burn copal in the *winel.* One gives thanks so that the seeds will have to sprout again; one carries the corn there to have it at the burning place, and when one is finished praying one passes the ears through the smoke of the copal, saying *are k'u wa ruk'ux* [this here is that which is its heart]. This is what their grandmother must have done in the Popol Vuh. And after the ears are passed through the smoke they are placed in the center of the house, in the middle of our crop. They are not eaten until another crop is ripe." Although these dedicated ears are not used as seed corn, they are thought of as alive, and it is because "the heart of the corn has not died" that the seed corn is able to sprout and that even the stored corn is able to continue multiplying.

It would seem that Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in addition to their aspects as Venus, year-bearing vagabond actors, and (eventually) the sun and moon, are also maize deities. The rites of the *winel* are performed on two successive days bearing the names *Kej* and *Q'anil* (Deer and Yellowness), with the latter being the principal day (B. Tedlock 1992:77, 80). There are fixed rites each 260 days on 7 Deer and 8 Yellowness; planting rites are carried out on the Deer and Yellowness days nearest the actual planting time, and harvest rites are carried out on the days nearest the actual harvest. The day corresponding to Yellowness (named *Lamat* in Yucatec) also figures prominently in the Venus table of the Dresden Codex, where it is the first day of the morning star that begins the third of five full Venus cycles and the first day of disappearance for both morning and evening stars during the fourth Venus cycle. It may be that at least portions of these Venus cycles symbolize the life cycle of the maize plant; indeed, the lowland Maya maize god is actually depicted at the bottom of the page dealing with the third cycle.

139

And this was when their grandmother burned something: That is, when the corn dried up (ripened), coinciding with the burning of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in the oven.

139

the ears were deified by their grandmother: "Were deified" is *xk'ab'awilax* [xcabauilax], "complete-deify-passive."

139

Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, Living Ears of Green Corn, Bed of Earth: The first two names are *nik'aj ja, nik'aj b'ichok* [nicah ha, nicah bichok],

"middle house, middle shucked-corn"; *b'ich-* is "to shell ripened ears of corn" (FV, FX) and Kekchí *b'ich'ok jal* is "remove the husk of a ripened ear of corn" (EH). The other two names are *k'azam* [cazam] *aj, ch'atam* [chatam] *ulew,* "living green-corn-ears, bed (or slab) earth." As Andrés Xiloj pointed out (see the notes to p. 139), Xmucane's act resembles the present-day customs of the patrilineage shrine called the *winel.*

140

the ears had been placed up above an earthen floor: This is *chuwi ch'ata* [chata] *ulew kitik wi aj,* "above bed (or slab or table) earth they-plant to corn-ear," which makes it quite clear that the corn was not "planted" in any ordinary sense of the word—not that one would plant corn *ears* in the first place.

140

their father: Note that the term for father (*qajaw*) is here extended to Seven Hunahpu. See the notes to p. 99 for a discussion of how One and Seven Hunahpu share the fathering of the twins Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

141

he was asked to name everything: The notion here is that articulate speech, with clearly enunciated words, is analogous to a clearly recognizable human face. Seven Hunahpu is not able to articulate the names of all the parts of his face because he has very few parts beyond the ones he does name, having been reduced to bones. The "meat" of his face is irreversibly lost, just as One Hunahpu had said the meat of a dead man's face would be lost (p. 99).

141

each of his former parts: This is *ri ujunal puil,* "the its-each former-ness"; DB has *pujil,* "antiquity."

141

"You will be prayed to here": Andrés Xiloj saw this as the beginning of the veneration of the dead. He explained that when there is a death in the patrilineage, the funeral rites are not complete until the mother-father goes to the lineage shrines on a *Junajpu* day that falls after the actual death. There he prays that the lingering soul of the deceased, which is a spark of light, might pass on into the cool, dark room of the underworld, from which it may later have the good fortune to rise into the sky. The number of the *Junajpu* day is chosen according to the age and importance of the deceased, with a very low number for a small child and a high one for a very old person who occupied important offices. With or without a recent death *Junajpu* days are appropriate for visiting the graves of relatives, where prayers are said and offerings are burned in much the same way as at lineage shrines, except that the entire family can go along and make a day of it, taking along a picnic lunch and strong drink.

141

"you will be the first to have your day kept": This may refer specifically to the day 7 *Junajpu*, but it probably means *Junajpu* days in general, regardless of their number prefix.

141

"Your name will not be lost": Andrés Xiloj, who is the mother-father for his own patrillineage, remarked, "This is just the way it is with our family. The first man who lived in this place was named Gaspar Xiloj, but we are still remembering him right now. Gaspar is the first generation, the second is Juan, the third is Sabino, the fourth is Antonio, the fifth is ourselves, but we are still remembering all of them. That's what it's talking about here in the Popol Vuh." He added that ideally a mother-father would be able to call upon nine or even thirteen generations of predecessors, all of them having lived on the same lands (see the Introduction for a discussion of the naming of predecessors within the PV itself). The list of people invoked in prayers should also include the spouses of all these men (with their maiden names). The names of wives are given only for the first generation in the PV (pp. 148–49), but wives receive more frequent mention in the Annals of the Cakchiquels.

141

the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other: This is *jun k'u* [cu] *q'ij* [quih] *jun nay pu ik'* [ic] *chike*, "one then sun one also and moon to-them." It is not stated that they literally became the sun and moon. From the general order of mention of Hunahpu and Xbalanque and the order of mention of the sun and moon in the present passage, it would appear that the sun pertains to Hunahpu and the moon to Xbalanque, at least on the present occasion. That the occasion is unique is indicated by a later passage, where it is stated that although Sun appeared in person on the first dawn, "it is only his reflection that now remains" (p. 161). As for Xbalanque, Mayan peoples (including the contemporary Quiché) usually put the moon in the keeping of a goddess, but there are examples of male lunar deities in Classic Maya art (Schele and Miller 1986:306, 309; Taube 1992:65–68). The nature of Xbalanque's lunar role is foretold by the fact that he is face-to-face with Hunahpu when they burn together, this being the position of the moon when it is full. The contemporary Quiché use *q'ij*, "sun," as a figure of speech for the full moon, thus saluting its brightness and roundness, and this may help account for the sun (*-q'e*) in Xbalanque's Kekchí name (*xb'alamq'e*). The whole picture fits the Aztec description of the first appearance of the present sun and moon, in which the moon rises when the sun sets and they appear similar to each other (Sahagún 1950–69, book 7:8).

142

they became the sky's own stars: Earlier we were told that the Four Hundred Boys correspond specifically to the Pleiades (p. 84).

PART FOUR

145

They sought and discovered: The root of the latter verb is *kanaisaj;* DB has *kaneisaj,* "discover, find."

145

Split Place, Bitter Water Place: This is *pan paxil, pan k'ayala'* [cayala], in which *pan* is "at" or "in"; today *pan paxil* is known as *paxal* in Mam (JM). *Paxil* is nominalized *paxi-,* "break into pieces," in Quiché (AG), while *paxal* is nominalized *pax-,* "split," in Mam (JM). *K'ayala'* combines Mam *k'ayal,* "bitterness" (JM), which would be *k'ayil* in Quiché (AG), with *a',* which is "water" in both languages. The place in question is a high mountain just south of the Pan American Highway and near the Guatemalan border with Mexico, with a cave and a large spring on its north side. Today the people of the surrounding region, who speak Mam, reckon it as the origin place of corn (Miles 1981). Teosinte, a wild grain that crossbreeds with corn, is abundant in the area.

145

the animals who brought the food: Andrés Xiloj pointed out that all four of these animals eat corn. Of the birds he said, "There are birds that take the kernels from the crop and carry them off to hide them. When the time comes they still know where they are and go to eat them. When they don't find where they left them, a garden is created there."

145

ears of yellow corn and white corn: This is ripe corn (*jal*).

146

Xmucane did the grinding nine times: Andrés Xiloj commented, "The first time corn is ground it is broken open. The second time, it is somewhat fine. The third time is finer." He indicated that ordinarily corn would not be ground nine times; that would be very fine indeed.

146

the water she rinsed her hands with: This is [ha ropenal], which Andrés Xiloj read as the *ja'* (water) a woman uses to wash off *rupenal,* the corn meal that sticks to the hands during grinding.

146

with yellow corn, white corn alone for the flesh: This reminded Andrés Xiloj of a saying used today: *ujral q'anwach, xolob',* "We are the children [specifically a woman's children] of yellow-faced corn, spotted corn."

146

Jaguar Quitze: This name is *b'alam k'itze* [quitze]; the corrected form may be found in TK and TT. *B'alam* is "jaguar" and *k'itze* may derive from *k'ische,* "cedar" (TC, PG). Note the resemblance to *k'iche'* (Quiché), meaning "many trees."

146

Jaguar Night: This name is *b'alam aq'ab'* [acab]; the corrected form may be found in TK and TT.

146

Not Right Now: This name is *majukutaj* in the PV, elsewhere taking the form *majukotaj* (TK, TT, TV) or *jukutaj* (RA). Whatever the origin of the name, it has a clear meaning in Quiché, combining *ma,* "not," with *jukotaj,* "right away, in a moment" (DB).

146

Dark Jaguar: This name is *ik'ib'alam* [iquibalam], in which *b'alam* is "jaguar." The prefix makes no sense in Quiché, but one of the Chol terms for "jaguar" is *ik' bolay* (JH), in which *ik'* is "dark, black" and *bolay* is the generic Yucatec (and probably Cholan) term for "fierce animals that kill" (AB). As an explanation for the *i* separating *ik'* from *b'alam,* John Justeson (personal communication) suggests that the original Cholan source could have been *ik'il b'alam,* though this form has not been attested; an alternative explanation would be that the extra *i* is an artifact of the syllabic spelling conventions of Mayan hieroglyphic writing (pp. 28, 210).

147

They walked, they worked: The second verb here is *xechapanik,* literally "they grasped," but Andrés Xiloj suggested "worked," since work is done with the hands. Quichés think of the extremities together; walking and using the hands are the physical counterparts of articulate speech. Note that the link between speech and walking is made explicit in the statement, "Isn't your speech good, and your walk?" (p. 147).

148

It was as if they were asleep: This passage seems to allude to Genesis, but it disagrees with Genesis on four crucial points. First, it was only "as if" (*keje*) the

men were asleep when the women were made, and it was only afterward that *ki xek'astajik,* "they really came alive." Second, there were four men and then four women, not one and one. Third, the women were not made from parts of men, but were made separately from men. Fourth, gender differences already existed among the gods.

148

Red Sea Turtle: This is *kaqa paluma* [cahapaluna]; Ximénez misread [caka] as [caha], but the corrected form may be found in TT. The name is composed of *kaq,* "red," with the added vowel *-a* (a possible vestige of hieroglyphic spelling conventions), and *palama,* "sea turtle" (PG, TC).

148

Prawn House: This is *chomija,* composed of *chom,* "shrimp" (DB) or "large shrimp" (FT) with the added vowel *-i* (see the previous note), and *ja,* which is literally "house" but means "lineage" in the context of a name.

148

Water Hummingbird: This is *tz'ununija'* [tzununiha], rendered *tz'ununa'* in the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Brinton 1885:112); *tz'unun* is "hummingbird" (with an added *-i* in the PV spelling) and *ja'* or *a'* is "water." FT lists *tz'ununja'* as a bird with "a long beak, white breast, colored green but with white wing tips, frequenting rivers," which is to say the green kingfisher (*Chloroceryle americana*). Water Hummingbird is the name of the Tzutuhil lineage that gave its name to the ancient town that became present-day San Pedro la Laguna, on the south shore of Lake Atitlán (Orellana 1984:53, 82–83).

149

Macaw House: This is *kaqixaja* [caquixaha], in which *kaqix* (with an added *-a* here) is the term for the scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*). It is the name of a Cakchiquel lineage also known as Bat House (Recinos and Goetz 1953:58) and later mentioned in the PV under the latter name. All four of the first women seem to bear the names of patrilineages. In taking Water Hummingbird and Macaw House as their wives, Not Right Now and Dark Jaguar not only marry outside their own lineages, as anyone must, but outside their own tribe, as befits their royal status. The lineages of Red Sea Turtle and Prawn House were probably foreign as well. The paradox is that the first men married outside their lineages before they had even founded them, while the first women bore the names of patrilineages even though they had no fathers. A similar paradox appears in the Classic inscriptions of Palenque, where a woman is reckoned as the founder of the patrilineage of the king named Chan Bahlum (Schele and Freidel 1990: 252–60).

149

ladies of rank: This is *xoqojawab'* [xoccohauab], literally "women-lords."

149

penitents and sacrificers: Here and elsewhere, these are *ajk'ixb'* [ahquix or ahquixb] and *ajk'ajb'* [ahcahb], in which *aj-* is agentive; FV gives *k'ixb'*, which is clearly a verbal form of *k'ix*, "spine," as "to shame"; FX gives *k'ajb'*, which probably has the same root as *k'ajinik*, "to punish" (MX), as "sacrifice of blood." The reference of the pair of terms is to the penitential autosacrifice of blood.

149

Sovereign Oloman: This tribal name is *tepew oloman* (elsewhere *oliman*), from a Nahua source; on *tepew*, see the notes for p. 63. In Nahuatl proper *ollomani* means "ballplayer" (AM). It is later stated (p. 162) that this tribe remained in the east when the Quiché and their allies left Tulan. They may have been speakers of Pipil (a Nahua language) who once occupied part of the Motagua valley, between Rotten Cane and Copán.

149

Quenech Ahau: This is from Yucatec *k'inich ajaw*, "sun-faced lord" (AB), a title that appears in Classic inscriptions (Stuart and Houston 1994:9) and in Chilam Balam books. If it came into Quiché by way of Kekchí, where terms for the sun include the syllable *q'e* (EH), the correct form was probably *q'enech ajaw*. It would appear to be a Quichean term for a people speaking a Yucatecan language, such as Itzá or Mopán.

149

Cauecs: This is *kawiqib'* [cauiquib], singular *kaweq* [cauec]; the corrected *kaweq* form appears in TK.

149

great houses and *lineages:* Here and elsewhere, "great house" translates *nimja*, which can refer to a palace but serves here as a metonym for an organized and named lineage segment (within a larger patrilineage), one with a person of lordly rank at its head. "Lineage" translates *chinamit*, from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *chinamitl* is "hedge or enclosure of cane plants, district" (RS). In Quiché *chinamit* refers to an organized and named patrilineage or to its lands; in the PV it usually refers to a whole group of named lineage segments, but sometimes it is used synonymously with *nimja*.

149

thirteen allied tribes, thirteen principalities: This is *oxlajuj uk'a* [uca] *amaq'* [amac], *oxlajuj tekpan*, in which *oxlajuj* is "thirteen" and *amaq'* is "tribe." *Tekpan*

is from a Nahua source; it means "royal house or palace" or "put the people in order" in Nahuatl proper (AM). In Quiché it seems to be a term for a tribe that is organized under a recognized noble house, but a house that is tributary (at least ideally) to the larger Quiché state. The *tekpan* list in this passage contains fifteen names rather than thirteen; some of the names may be subdivisions of larger entities, or some may be synonyms, or else the number thirteen is simply an ideal figure rather than a literal count. There remains the question of how to translate [uca], which requires appeal to the only other passage in the entire PV that combines *amaq'* and *tekpan* in parallel construction (p. 183): *wuk'* [uuc] *amaq'* [amac] *kib' kitikpan* [quiticpan] *k'ib'*, in which *kib'* is "themselves." It stands to reason that [uca] in the first passage should have the same sense as [uuc] in the second passage. By itself the latter form has often been read as a shortened *wuqub'*, "seven," but that is disconfirmed by the reference to thirteen tribes in the earlier passage. I translate both [uca] and [uuc] as "allied" on the basis of two entries in DB: *wuk'ij* [*uuquih*], "to make friends," and *wuk'*, "friend"; these forms are probably related to the prepositional root *-uk'*, "with."

149

White Cornmeals: This name is *saq k'ajib'* [zacahib], "white cornmeal-plural." The people in question must have settled in the area of the present town of Salcajá, called *saqk'aja* in Quiché, located about ten kilometers northeast of Quetzaltenango.

149

Lamacs, Serpents, Sweatbath House, Talk House, those of Star House: The Sweatbath House (*tujalja*) people correspond to the place still called *tujal* in Quiché, which is the town center of Sacapulas. The town has long been famous for salt production, and Hill and Monaghan note that the term *tuj*, which normally means "sweatbath" in Quiché, is locally extended to the ovens used in salt production (1987:47). They point out that under Spanish rule, the peoples listed here as Lamacs (*lamakib'*) and Talk House (*uch'ab'aja*) were resettled in districts surrounding the center of Sacapulas, and the same point can be made for the remaining two groups on the list. Clearly, the Serpents (*kumatz*) and Star House (*ajch'umilaja*), both given Quiché names in the PV, correspond to the groups Hill and Monaghan found listed in colonial documents as Coatecas and Sitaltecas (1987:47), names derived from Nahuatl *coatl*, "snake," and *citlali*, "star" (RS).

149

those of Yokes House: This is *ajb'atenaja* [ahbatenaba], in which *aj-* is "those of," *b'ate* is the yoke used in the ball game, *-na* is plural, and *ja* is "house."

149

Guardians of the Spoils: This is *kanchajeleb'*, composed of *kan-* from *kanab'*, "spoils of war" (DB); *chajel,* "guardian"; and *-eb',* plural.

149

Jaguar Ropes: This is *b'alam kolob',* composed of *b'alam,* "jaguar"; *kolo,* "rope" (DB); and *-b',* plural.

149

each one a division of that citadel: This is probably a reference to Tulan Zuyua, a place that will not be properly discussed until later (p. 151).

150

And there were mountain people: In this passage the PV would appear to follow the lines of Toltec myths of national origin, exemplified by the claim of the powerful Aztecs (or Mexicas) to a humble past as Chichimec hunters and gatherers. But in the present context the reference might rather be to Quichean peoples (the "allied tribes") as they were during the Classic period, which is to say rustic and small in numbers by comparison with lowland Mayans. The ancestors of the Quiché proper and related tribes will later be described as being "adorned with mere animals hides" (p. 152), and the Quiché ancestors in particular will be described as hunters of deer, birds, and larvae who stay apart from more populous tribes (p. 164).

150

for all the mountain people there was just one language: I have supplied "mountain people" here; the intent seems to be to separate the mountain people, which is to say speakers of Quichean languages, from others who were present in the east, where there were "people of many languages" (p. 150).

150

tree-stone: This is a literal translation of *che' ab'aj,* the exact Quiché equivalent of Cholan *te' tun,* the term for a stele in the Classic Maya inscriptions of Copán (Schele and Stuart 1986). This is one of various indications that the great eastern city where Quichean peoples received their patron deities (see the next episode) was a Classic Maya site.

150

lifting their faces to the sky: Andrés Xiloj explained, "When one prays, as here, asking for things, one looks to heaven; afterward, when waiting for the blessing, one looks to earth."

150

"as long as there is day, as long as there is light": This is an alternate translation of the line discussed in the notes to p. 86 ("in the course of the days"). In the present context Andrés Xiloj commented, "Today one says *qab'e q'ij, qab'e saq* [our-road day, our-road light]. This is the time that goes forward; it is the road of time, the number of years one is going to live, or the number of times there will be until the end of the world."

150

"will it be": This line has been translated as a question because it begins with *kita,* which DB glosses as "what" or "how."

150

"a good life and beginning": Andrés Xiloj commented, "These words would be used in prayer when someone was setting up a new household."

150

"Newborn Nanahuac, Sudden Nanahuac": As Schultze Jena pointed out (1944:187), Nanahuac would appear to be the Aztec deity Nanahuatl (or Nanahuatzin), who throws a thunderbolt to open the mountain containing the first maize. *Nanahuatl* means "warts" in Nahuatl (AM), giving us one of several bits of evidence that there might be an allusion to mushrooms in the names of the previous line, "Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt." On the basis of fieldwork, Barbara Tedlock and I can confirm Lowy's report that the Quiché word for thunderbolt, *kaqulja,* is also the term for the *Amanita muscaria* mushroom (Lowy 1974:189). We must hasten to add that although Quichés collect and eat wild mushrooms, including *Amanita caesaria,* they regard *muscaria* as a poisonous species best avoided. But it is suggestive that the stipe of a mushroom (like the trunk of a tree) is called *raqan* or "its leg" in Quiché, and that the name *kaqulja juraqan,* earlier rendered as "Thunderbolt Hurricane" (p. 65), could be also translated as "one-legged thunderbolt." The names Newborn and Sudden Thunderbolt suggest the rapidity of mushroom growth. Literal bolts of lightning are sudden as well, and frequently one-legged, but the "warts" of the name Nanahuac do suggest the appearance of *muscaria* when the remnants of its veil still fleck the cap.

150

they made their fasts: The verb stem here is [quilonic]; MX has *q'ilonik,* "avoid, abstain."

150

watching intently: This is *selawachin;* DB has *selawachij,* "to view with close attention."

150

the sun carrier, the great star: The "sun carrier" is *iqoq'ij* [icoquih], composed of *iqo-* (sometimes *eqo-*), "to carry a burden," and *q'ij,* "sun" or "day." The corrected form is found in FT, TC, and FV. The "great star" or *nima ch'umil* is the planet Venus in general, while "sun carrier" specifies its role as the morning star. This passage is the first of many direct references to Venus that are clustered around and during the visit of Quichean peoples to a great city in the east. Both the focus on Venus and the eastern location are among various indications that the city in question may have been Copán, which is located east of the present-day Quiché homeland. Copán surpasses all Classic Maya sites yet studied in the extent to which its kings timed major ritual events according to the movements of Venus (see Schele and Fash 1991:4; Schele 1991:6).

151

Tulan Zuyua: Tulan is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper, *tullan* or *tollan* is "place of rushes (or cattails)" (RS). In Postclassic times and possibly earlier, this word served throughout central Mexico and Oaxaca as an honorific title for any town where the investiture of lords could take place. During the sixteenth century, Tullan or Tollan is the name of a lost city of the mythic past in Nahuatl songs, while *tolan* serves as a term for any abandoned building or place in Quiché and Cakchiquel (DB, FX, TC, FV). The often-repeated notion that the name Zuyua [zuiua] is Nahua originates with Brinton (1885:199), who incorrectly stated that it appears in Aztec mythology. It is a Yucatec name, made up of *suy,* which carries the meaning "twisted" in various contexts, and perhaps *wa,* referring to deception (AB); in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel the phrase *suyua t'an,* meaning "twisted, deceptive speech," designates a language game in which pretenders to lordly titles are asked a series of metaphorical riddles in order to test their legitimacy (Roys 1967:88–98). As for the combined Tulan Zuyua of the PV, it fits all the above senses of both names: it is a place where the investiture of lords took place, it belongs to the distant past rather than the time of the authors, and it is the place where those who failed to understand a question containing a deceptive metaphor (see p. 156) became subject to the Quiché lords.

According to the Annals of the Cakchiquels there were four places named Tulan, including one in Xibalba and one in the sky. The other two were on the earthly plane, in the east and west, and the highland tribes traveled eastward (as in the PV) to reach the eastern Tulan (Brinton 1885:68–69). The name Zuyua appears solely as part of the compound name Tulan Zuyua in the PV, but it is used separately in the Annals of the Cakchiquels, where it seems to specify the eastern Tulan (Ibid.:76–77, 82–83). The east-west pairing appears again in the Book of Chilam Balam of Maní, where there is a western place called Tulapan (meaning "on the cattails") and an eastern one called Zuyua (Craine and Reindorp 1979:138). In the Chilam Balam books of Chumayel and Tizimín, Zuyua is treated as a town somewhere in Yucatán (Roys 1967:74, 132; Edmonson

1982:38, 135). In one passage Zuyua is prefixed with Oxlahun, "Thirteen" (Edmonson 1982:135); in other passages it is prefixed with Holtun, referring to a stone with a hole through it, and in one such case Holtun Zuyua is said to be west of Chichén Itzá (Roys 1967:139). There is a place known today as Holtun just two kilometers west of the great ball court at Chichén Itzá; it consists of a cenote (natural well) and an archaeological site important enough to have its own ball court. There were also places called Holtun on both the east and west coasts of Yucatán (Scholes and Roys 1968:81); Thompson (1970:23), in the midst of an argument promoting the importance of the Gulf, proposed that the name Zuyua belonged to the west-coast Holtun.

151

Seven Caves, Seven Canyons: This is *wuqub'* [uucub] *pek, wuqub'* [uucub] *siwan,* an epithet for Tulan Zuyua. Seven Caves would seem to be the Quiché equivalent of Chicomoztoc, the "seven caves" of the mythic Nahua place of origin. Numerous Mayan sites were built directly over natural caves, and at some sites that lack such caves artificial substitutes were dug. There are three artificial caves beneath the ruins of Rotten Cane, the Quiché capital, perhaps belonging to the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages. The longest cave, which runs to a point beneath the main plaza, matches the cave beneath the pyramid of the sun at Teotihuacan (which has also turned out to be artificial) in having its entrance at the west end and in having six side chambers that combine with the main tunnel to make the number seven. For more on this cave see Brady (1991) and Brady and Veni (1992).

152

Tohil: This divine name appears to be composed of *Toj,* one of the twenty day names of the 260-day divinatory calendar, and *-il,* "having the quality of." *Toj* is the verb stem for "pay" in Chol (JH) and Quiché, and contemporary Quiché daykeepers give the day named *Toj* its divinatory meaning by saying *tojonik,* "one pays." Another etymology is suggested in the Annals of the Cakchiquels, where the Quiché people (as worshippers of Tohil) are given the epithet *tojojil,* "thunderers" (Brinton 1885:82–83). In Chol, *tojmel* is "to thunder" and *tojokna* is "the way in which clouds come" (AA). All these meanings fit Tohil, a god who is owed a great sacrificial debt and who is able to shroud himself in clouds and rain.

152

the name of the god: This is *ub'i k'ab'awil* [cabauil], in which *ub'i* means "his name" but *k'ab'awil* or "god" also carries a root sense of naming. *K'ab'a'* means "name" or "identity" in Kekchí (EH) and (in the form *k'aba*) in Chol (JH), Mopán (UU), and Yucatec (AB); the *-il* suffix gives the word the sense of "that which has the quality of being named" or "having an identity." In contemporary Kekchí the religious sense of *k'ab'a'* continues in *k'ab'a'tiox* (in which *tiox* is from Spanish "Dios" and marks sacredness), referring not only to sacred names

but to religious discourse in general (EH). In the PV the term *k'ab'awil* is used primarily for the patron deities of ruling lineages, acquired in a distant place where the local language was probably a Cholan one. The authors go on to point out a three-way homology in the differentiation of the names of such gods, the identities of the tribes who worship them, and the dialects or languages spoken by those tribes, all of which fits the root sense of *k'ab'awil.* To these differentiations we may add that of place, since some of these gods are destined to be given homes on separate mountains and (later) on separate pyramids that bear their names. In Classic Maya inscriptions the equivalent term is *k'awil,* which is applied to the manikin scepter (God K or GII) held by rulers (Stuart 1987:15–16). *K'awil* is often combined with place names, indicating that it is like *k'ab'awil* in being a general term for the patrons of lineages and/or their places rather than a proper name for one particular god (Grube 1992:210–11).

152

Auilix: In other sources this name appears as *awilis* (TK, TT, TV) or *wilix* (FX). In Kekchí the term for "swallow" (the bird) is *kwilix* (EH) today, but John Justeson (personal communication) points out that the initial *k-* is a recent innovation; in Chol the term for this bird is *wilis chan* (JH). Justeson suggests a Cholan origin for the name *awilix,* combining *aj-,* "lord," with *wilix.* In Cholan languages, he points out, *aj-* becomes plain *a-* in such an environment. *Awilix,* then, would mean "Lord Swallow."

152

Hacauitz: Jak is "to strip off" in Chol (JH); *witz* is "mountain" in Yucatec (AB) and Chol (JH). The writers of the PV seem to be interpreting the name in just this way when they contrast the god Auilix, who was placed in a forest, with Hacauitz, who was placed on what they call a *saqi juyub'; saqi* is literally "white" or "clear" and means "treeless" with respect to terrain (see under *saq* in FV), and *juyub'* is the Quiché equivalent of *witz,* "mountain."

152

because the god has just one name: The logic of this passage lies in the notion that receiving a titular deity (*k'ab'awil*) and receiving a legitimate name (*b'i'*) are two aspects of the same process. The word *k'ab'awil* itself, in its Cholan or Yucatec root sense (see above), means something like "that which has the quality of being named."

152

so says the ancient text: This is *ch'a chupan ojer tzij,* literally "it says within ancient word." Enrique Sam Colop (1994:44–45) points out that the use of *chupan,* which refers to the inside of a physical object, turns "ancient word" into a figure of speech for the contents of an ancient book, which is to say the original version of the PV. The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by

a later passage using *chupan,* in which the reference to writing is made explicit (see the notes to p. 161).

154

He pivoted inside his sandal: The verb phrase here is *xub'aq uloq* [xubac uloc], "he drilled hither"; FV gives *b'aq* as "to drill." Just as he had promised, Tohil gives his followers fire when others have lost it, acting as a fire drill. He pivots on one leg, which serves as the drill, and his sandal serves as the platform. His one-legged pose and the fire identify him with the Classic Maya personage known to iconographers as God K or GII, whose fire is usually shown as a burning torch sticking out of his forehead but sometimes comes out of the mouth of the snake that serves as the longer of his legs or (sometimes) his only leg (Taube 1992:69–79). Tohil is also a manifestation of the god called Hurricane or Thunderbolt Hurricane elsewhere in the PV (see the notes to p. 65).

154

they got no response: The verb stem here is *k'ula-* [cula-]; DB has [culuba], "respond," and TC gives *k'ulub'a* the same meaning.

154

place of emergence: This is *tz'ukib'al* [tzuquibal], in which *-b'al* is "place of"; FV glosses *tz'uk* as "spring forth, sprout."

154

And then a person showed himself: At this point Ximénez, who otherwise confines his own parenthetical remarks to the Spanish translation in the right-hand column of each page of the MS, inserts a remark into the left-hand column, otherwise reserved for the Quiché text. As if avoiding an impropriety he uses Latin, writing "Demonio loquens eis." The writers of the PV probably intended an allusion to Christian demonology in this passage, since they describe the god under discussion as having the wings of a bat and as coming from Xibalba (the underworld), but it should be noted that they make this allusion at the expense of the Cakchiquels, the principal rivals of the Quichés, whose god, they say, "looks like a bat" (p. 156). To this day many Cakchiquel men wear jackets with a bat motif on the back.

154

the representation: This is *k'exwach* [quexuach], literally "substitute-face," which DB glosses as "resemblance" in the entry for [quexel]; Andrés Xiloj offered the same reading.

154

They were simply overwhelmed: The verb stem here is [kulu]; DB and FV have *k'ulum,* "dismay."

154

groping along: The verb stem here is *chakchot;* DB has *chakacha,* "to go like a blind person."

155

they had covetous mouths and covetous faces: This is *chikimaj kichi' chikimaj kiwach.* The combination of *maj* ("rob") with *chi'* ("mouth") and *wach* ("face") is an idiom meaning "to be pained by not having something to trade with or something one has need of" (under [mah] in FV). A more literal translation of the present example would be something like "They had thieving mouths and thieving faces."

155

"Wasn't it found and wasn't it revealed": This is a divinatory phrase, much like the one used by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane at the beginning of their divinatory question concerning the making of humans from wood (p. 70). The verb stems in both cases are *k'ulu* [culu] and *riqo* [rico], "encounter" and "find." In the present context the implication is that those who want fire claim a kinship with those who already have it on the basis of some past divinatory reading rather than on the basis of a clear genealogy. This is what anthropologists call "fictive kinship"; it may have been standard practice in highland Guatemala to include divinatory readings in the negotiation of such relationships.

155

' "Don't they want to be suckled?" ': Throughout this passage I follow Edmonson in translating *tu'nik* [tunic] as having to do with suckling (Edmonson 1971:168), a meaning found in both ancient and modern Quiché. In the present context the suckling is a metaphor for sacrifice by removal of the heart, as is made quite explicit on p. 156. It may be the horror of this metaphor that has caused translators to pass over it heedlessly; even Edmonson's note on the subject suggests that mere sacrifice by self-bleeding is meant. The place where Tohil desires to do his sucking is "on their sides and under their arms," which fits with what is known about Mesoamerican heart sacrifice: the incision was made between the last two ribs on the left side (Robicsek and Hales 1984). The next sentence, "Isn't it their heart's desire to embrace me?" is not only a statement about motivation but a further reference to heart sacrifice. Tohil is no mere sucker of breasts; what he wants from those who embrace him is deep inside the breast, and he wants the whole thing.

156

They made no delay: The verb here is [xquiquiyaluh], which I take to be an error for *xkiyaluj; yaluj* is "to delay oneself" (DB), giving "not complete-they-delay" for the whole phrase.

156

Snake Tooth: This name, *chamalkan,* makes little sense in Quichean languages, but *cha'am* is "molar" in Chol (AA) and Yucatec (AB), while *kan* is "snake" in Yucatec (AB). The comment the authors add here, "but it looks like a bat," suggests that they knew the meaning of *kan.*

156

Those fiery Cakchiquels didn't ask for their fire: The name of these people is usually spelled [ca3chequeleb] or [ca3chiqueleb] in the MS, [3] being an apparent error for [k]; in the new orthography the word would be *kaqchekeleb'* or *kaqchikeleb'. Kaq* means "red" and *che'* means "tree" or "pole," an etymology put forward in the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Recinos and Goetz 1953:55). But in the present PV passage the first syllable of the name is written [3a3] or *q'aq',* meaning "fire," a pun on *kaq* that refers to the Cakchiquel theft of fire. The closest I could come in English was to add the word "fiery."

156

This deed had not yet been attempted: The verb stem here is *tijow;* MX has *tijowik,* "try, practice."

156

newly risen: This translates *raxa,* which could also be "fresh" or "raw"; I assume that the reference is to the first appearance of Venus as morning star after a period of invisibility.

156

they left the east: The verb stem here is *kanaj,* "to leave" (DB).

156

"where we belong": This is *kojtike wi,* "incomplete-we-stop"; FX glosses *tike* as "to stop," and it carries connotations of planting or taking root.

157

"yet to take care of bleeding your ears, yet to take stitches in your elbows": In this passage "bleeding" translates *jutik,* "to let blood" (DB); in contemporary Quiché the verb stem *jut-* means "to run through" (AG). "Take stitches" translates *sisa,* which is similar to *tziso,* "to sew a seam; formerly, to let blood for sacrifice to idols" (DB). The words for "ears" and "elbows" (*xikin and ch'uk*) pun on the words for "birds" and "breechclouts" (*tz'ikin and ch'uq*). The possibilities for a play on *xikin* begin with the fact that it was also used for such appendages as a long handle on a cooking utensil (FV). *Tz'ikin,* the generic term for bird, is the commonest Quiché metaphor for penis, an alternative metaphor

being *pich'*, the term for a red-headed woodpecker (PG, FT, FV, FX). Classic Maya lords did penance by bleeding their penises rather than their ears (Schele and Miller 1986: chap. 4), and bloodletting is precisely what Tohil tells the future Quiché lords to do with their so-called *xikin*. As for what he tells them to take stitches in, that is written as [chuc] in the imprecise spelling of the MS and may be read as either of two words: *ch'uk*, which is indeed "elbow," and *ch'uq*, which refers to covering by means of cloth (FT) and specifically to the covering of a man's genitals (DB). In the present context "elbow" makes a better fit with "ear" if we want a pair of terms for body parts, but if we consider the stitching, a cloth covering works better. The covering serves in turn as a metonym for what it covers, or else as a metaphor for the foreskin, which was the site where blood was drawn. The method was to pass a cord through it (as if sewing). According to a later PV passage (p. 165), the penitents who took these stitches prayed to Tohil for their *achijilal*, which literally means "manhood" but is also a figure of speech for "virile member" (FT).

157

camping on the road: This is *xukanajib'ej ri pa b'e*, literally "it was left in the road."

157

In unity: This is *chikijunam wach*, "in-their-one face," an idiom given in MX as *junam kiwach*, "be in agreement," and in DB as *junamaj wach*, "be in accord."

158

They were just smelling the tips of their staffs: Andrés Xiloj commented, "Perhaps these staffs had some secret. Perhaps they were of a wood like cherry, which has the odor of the fruit."

158

Stone Courses, Sand Banks: These names are *cholochik ab'aj, bokotajinaq* [bocotahinac] *sanayeb'*, composed of a reduplicated form of *cholo-*, "to order, put in a row"; *ab'aj*, "rocks"; *boko-*, "uproot"; *taji'-*, "cultivate, plow"; *-naq*, perfect; and *sanayeb'*, "sands." In effect, the names describe a causeway like the ones that cross lakes or areas of seasonal flooding in connecting various Mayan sites in the lowlands. The body of water crossed by the present causeway is described as a "sea" (*palo*), but the Historia Quiché de Don Juan de Torres (Recinos 1957:24–25) and the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:72–73, 175) call it both a lake (*cho*) and a sea, a poetic way of referring to a large body of water. In the latter source, whose authors actively remodeled Quiché traditions along biblical lines, the causeway disappears and Jaguar Quitze becomes Moses, parting the Red Sea with his staff (Chonay and Goetz 1953:170).

158

packed . . . on their backs: The verb stem here is *eqaj* [eca], "to carry on the shoulders or back" (DB).

159

at the top of a great pyramid: This is *chuwi jun nima kaqja* [ca3ha], "on-top one great red-house." Others have followed Ximénez in reading *ja* as *ja'*, thus translating this phrase as "above a great red river." The present reading is supported by at least three dictionary sources for Quiché and Cakchiquel: FV glosses *kaqjay* (in which *jay* is "house") as "rounded mounds of stone and dry earth made by the ancients," DV glosses *kaqay* as "hill made by hand," and FX glosses *kaqjal* [cachal] (in which the *-l* changes "house" into "something pertaining to a house") as "hills made by hand." It is not surprising that the term for pyramid was (literally) "red-house," given that Mayan pyramids (and the temples on top) were painted red, at least up through the Classic period.

159

on a bare mountain: This is *saqi* [zaqui] *juyub'*, in which *saqi* is literally "white" or "clear" and means "treeless" with respect to terrain (see under *saq* in FV); *juyub'* is "mountain." I take it that the writers mean to contrast the situation of Hacauitz with that of Auilix and Tohil, both of whom seem to be "in a great forest" even though the latter, like Hacauitz, is on a mountain.

159

Masses of serpents . . . jaguars, rattlesnakes, fer-de-lances were there in the forest where he was hidden: Today in Momostenango the shrines on the high mountains that bound the community, together with the shrine (atop a very high waterfall) used by those who organize and play parts in the Monkey Dance, are all said to be haunted by dangerous animals. Such animals appear to those whose ritual office does not entitle them to visit a particular shrine; they also appear to those who have a right to visit but have failed to abstain from sexual or violent acts (whether verbal or physical) on the day of their arrival at the shrine.

159

Tam Tribe. . . . Net Weave Tribe: These place names are *amaq'* [amac] *tan* and *amaq'* [amac] *ukin k'at* [cat]. In the first name, *tan* is an archaic or alternative pronunciation of the tribal name otherwise rendered as *tam.* In the second, *u-* is "its," *kin* is "do the warp in weaving" (DB), and *k'at* is "net."

159

they stopped there: The verb stem here is [tacotob]; DB (under *taq'ab'a*) has *taq'atob'ik*, "to stop and not move forward."

159

They cried their hearts and their guts out: Asked why, Andrés Xiloj said, "They were sad in the darkness, there was no light, no day, no night, all the time it was dark." The Quiché do not think of night as simply "dark" as opposed to "light" (see "early dawn" in the notes to p. 65). The conditions before the first dawn in the PV were so bad that one could not even speak properly of night, with its moon and stars and even a faint trace of dawn, to say nothing of the full light of day.

159

in the bromeliads, in the hanging mosses, not yet set on pedestals: Today, *ek'* or bromeliads (*Tillandsia spp.*) and *atz'iyaq* [atziyac] or Spanish moss (*Dendropogon usneoides*) are standard materials in the construction of temporary outdoor arbors or archways for saints. The present passage would seem to mean that the gods were put beneath such arbors, not that they were put up in the trees where these air plants actually grow. Only later were the gods "set on pedestals," presumably in the "houses" at the tops of pyramids (see p. 191).

159

their strategies: This is *kich'akab'al* [quichacabal], "their-win-instrument."

160

Their hearts did not yet harbor ill will: This is *mana chilik cayal ta kik'ux*, in which *mana* is "not yet," *ta* is a further marker of the negative, and *kik'ux* is "their hearts." DB glosses both *chilik* and *kayal* as "become annoyed, have ill will."

160

Mixtam Copal: The name of this copal (*pom*) is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper, *mixtemi* is "be cloudy" (RS). Since this copal and the Cauiztan variety (see below) are said to have come from the east, they might be from the part of the Motagua valley where Pipil (a Nahua language) was spoken.

160

Cauiztan Copal: Again a Nahua name; in Nahuatl proper, *quauitztlan* is "near the thistles" (RS).

160

they incensed: The verb stem here is [zacbiza]; DB has *saqb'isaj* [za3bisah], "to incense" and "to wag his (a dog's) tail." In the next sentence I have translated the same verb as "they shook." A pottery censer of the kind used in Mesoamerica must be shaken or swung back and forth to keep the incense burning.

161

it is only his reflection that now remains: What might lie behind this statement is revealed by a contemporary Mopán Maya tale in which Lord K'in (the sun) goes from his home in the east to the center of the sky and then back to the east again; it appears that he goes clear across the sky because he has placed a mirror at its center (Thompson 1930:132). To interpret the movements of the sun in this manner is to model it on Venus as morning star, which both rises and sets in the east.

161

As they put it in the ancient text: This is *xch'a chupan ki tzij,* literally "it said inside their word." "Ancient" (*ojer*) has been supplied on the basis of a similar phrase occurring earlier, *ch'a chupan ojer tzij* (see the notes to p. 152). In that instance *ojer tzij,* literally "ancient word," was translated as "ancient text" because *chupan,* referring to the inside of a physical object, turns it into a figure of speech for the contents of the original PV.

161

Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were turned to stone, along with the icons of the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, fer-de-lance, which the White Sparkstriker took with him into the trees: The "icons" here are *uk'ab'awilal* [ucabauilal], "its-godliness," *k'ab'awil* being translated elsewhere as "god." The White Sparkstriker is *saqi k'oxol* [zaqui coxol], composed of *saqi,* "white"; *k'oxo,* a verb stem used for the act of striking stones together "to start a fire" (FV); and *-l,* agentive. This name follows immediately after the fer-de-lance, so that some translators have treated it as part of the list of beings who are turned to stone. However, in terms of what is known about the White Sparkstriker today (see B. Tedlock 1983; 1986), it makes much more sense to treat the name as the subject of the sentence that follows it, *xa xuchap chi uk'aj* [uca] *rib' pa che'* [che], "just he/she took that to-accompany him/herself into trees." Today the White Sparkstriker, who is sexually ambiguous, is the keeper of volcanic concretions and ancient artifacts that resemble animals; these objects, which are said to have been petrified when the sun first rose, are called *meb'il* (the same as the name of the shrine in which they are kept) in Momostenango.

Andrés Xiloj commented on this passage as follows: "When all the birds, animals were converted into stone, they remained as *meb'il.* When the moment comes and one is able to acquire one of these, this is the *meb'il.* Birds, rabbits —in sum, all the different kinds of stones. Now the *k'oxol* [Sparkstriker], this one, yes, he has money, they say. When one has luck, the *k'oxol* presents himself. If he takes off his shoe and leaves it thrown away, then there is the money; or his little bag—because he has a little bag, and if he leaves it thrown away, there is the money. This is the *meb'il* of a person; it is the luck." Lucas Pacheco, a daykeeper from a town near Santa Cruz del Quiché, said that the *k'oxol* lost his/

her shoe when the sun first rose; the *k'oxol* escaped petrifaction by running into the trees, but the shoe did not.

161

Perhaps we would have no relief from the voracious animals today . . . if the original animals hadn't been turned to stone: "Voracious animals" is *tionel chikop,* "biting (or meat-eating) animals." The MS erroneously adds the White Sparkstriker to the list of animals in this sentence; apparently Ximénez (or a copyist) interpreted the previous naming of the White Sparkstriker (see the previous note) as part of a list of animals and then assumed that the name must be missing from the present list. Andrés Xiloj commented, "The *k'oxol* [Sparkstriker] has to take care of the animals; he doesn't allow them to go out, because they are harmful. He keeps them, he has them in a corral." This is the Sparkstriker in his role as gamekeeper (see B. Tedlock 1992:181–87); today the dangerous animals only attack people who have failed in their ritual duties. According to Lucas Pacheco, a daykeeper from a town near Santa Cruz del Quiché, the corral where the Sparkstriker keeps his animals is located deep within a branch of a cave beneath the ruins of Rotten Cane; in that context they take the form of small stones. The fortunate may be allowed to take some of these; the unfortunate fall into a great, wide mouth.

162

their song named "Camacu": This is *k'amaku* [camaku], a Quiché rendition of a Cholan or Yucatec song title. Such titles begin with *k'ay,* the term for "song" in these languages; *k'ay nikte',* for example, means "Song of the Flower" in Yucatec (AB). The song in question here probably resembled the one whose text is given in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel (Roys 1967:38, 114–15). That song is composed of questions and answers, and it opens with questions whose first word is *mak* or "what," for example, *Mak u kobol yutz takil winik?* "What is it that has the best qualities of a man?" (Answer: *In nok, in wex,* "My cloak, my loincloth"). The title of this song is not given, but it could have been *k'ay mak u,* meaning something like "Song of What-is-it." The Chilam Balam and PV songs both have lines beginning with exclamations and interrogatives, and in both cases the singers lament events that took place in a town they have left behind.

162

Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat: These names are from a Nahua source. In the former case the relevant forms in Nahuatl proper are *yollo,* "able, ingenious, intelligent," and *coatl,* "snake" (RS). The latter name has its Nahuatl counterpart in Quetzalcoatl, meaning "quetzal (or plumed) serpent." The equivalent Quiché deity is not Tohil, as the authors claim here, but the god whose Quiché name is *q'ukumatz,* which has exactly the same meaning as Quetzalcoatl and is rendered as "Plumed Serpent" throughout the present translation. Tohil has his closest

Mexican parallel not in Quetzalcoatl but in Tezcatlipoca (see p. 224). Whether or not the authors knew the meaning of the name they wrote as Quitzalcuat, their claim to an equivalence with Tohil makes sense as a political statement, one that aligns the Quiché rulers with the richer and more powerful rulers of Mexico.

162

some of the people: In the earlier edition of this book I followed a number of other translators in treating *chajkar winaq* (in which *winaq* is "people") as a tribal name, which I rendered as "Fishkeeper People," but now, in translating *chajkar* as "some of," I follow the PV translation of Ximénez and the meaning given to this word by DB.

162

And the language has differentiated in the case of the Cakchiquels: In this passage the PV presents a theory that linguistic differentiation correlates with differences in the names originally assigned to tribal gods. The linguistic observations are themselves quite accurate.

163

Keeper of the Bat Mat and Keeper of the Dance Mat: These names are *ajpo sotz'il* [zotzil] and *ajpo xa,* in which *ajpo* is shortened from *ajpop,* "keeper of the mat" and *xa* is shortened from *xajil.* The shortened form *ajpo* does not occur in dictionaries of Quichean languages but is well known from Classic Maya inscriptions. In the Annals of the Cakchiquels (where *xajil* is used instead of *xa*) the two names are used as lordly titles rather than as designations of lineages (Recinos and Goetz 1953:72, 74, 132).

163

their stay: The verb stem here is *yalujik,* "stop, delay" (DB).

163

the masking of Tohil: The "masking" is *kojb'al,* "mask-instrument."

163

they bowed low: The verb here is *wonowoj;* DB has *wonob'a rib',* "contract, as in joining the chin with the knees."

163

Now it was only a manifestation of his genius that spoke: That is to say, the words came not from the stone itself but from an apparition of its spirit familiar, which in this case would be a youth.

163

All they burned before their gods was resin, just bits of pitchy bark, along with marigolds: That is to say, they burned things still in their natural forms rather than using proper copal. The resin is *q'ol,* which may be gathered in gummy nodules from the trunks of various trees. The bits of pitchy bark are *rachaq noj,* literally "leavings of pine resin," pieces of bark on which a hard red resin has been formed as a result of the holes bored by worms. The marigold is *iya* [yia], a particular species (*Tagetes lucida*) called "pericón" in Guatemalan Spanish, where it is a common roadside herb with yellow flowers. According to Andrés Xiloj, all of these things are burned as offerings today in Momostenango, but they constitute a poorer offering than copal. Earle (1983) reports the burning of pericón in the eastern Quiché area, and I have seen the unburned remains of bits of bark at a shrine near Chichicastenango.

163

"Do not reveal us to the tribes": Andrés Xiloj compared this hiding of the gods (or the stones that contain their geniuses) to the proper treatment of the valuable objects that are called *meb'il* in Momostenango: "These stones are like *meb'il.* When one finds one, one must not show it to another person, because it's for oneself directly. There are persons who find some little things; they may show them to others, but this *meb'il* won't allow it, now it won't give good fortune to the person who found it. It withdraws. If there is some little thing, an ancient coin found in the woods, or a stone, then one must guard it." See also the notes to p. 66.

163

"they burn with envy over us": This is *kojq'aq'anij rumal,* "us-envied by-them"; FX has *q'aq'aj,* "brand with fire, have envy, burn."

163

"don't you let us be hunted down": This is *mawi kojiralajob'isaj,* "not incomplete-us-you-hunt (or trap)-cause."

163

"female deer and female birds": "Female" is *xnam* here; FV gives *xnam* as "female deer," but in the present passage *xnam* appears as an adjective with both "deer" and "birds": *xnam kej, xnam tz'ikin.*

163

"deerskin bundles": Here and elsewhere this translates *k'ukej* [cuqueh], composed of *k'u-,* which refers to the act of covering or wrapping something when it serves as a verb stem (TC), and *kej,* "deer"; note the reference to "pelts of the deer" (*rismal ri kej*) two sentences earlier. Deerskins served as wrappings for

sacred bundles throughout Mesoamerica, and bundles often corresponded, as they do here, to particular gods.

164

"They belong to us already": This is a reference to the long-standing promise the tribes made in order to get fire, namely, that they would allow themselves to be "suckled"—that is, to have their hearts cut out (see p. 156).

164

they would then go to anoint the mouth of the stone of Tohil or Auilix with the blood of the deer or bird: In the eastern Quiché area today, the mouths of stones (now called *k'amawil* rather than *k'ab'awil* as here) are more commonly given drinks of distilled liquor than of blood, but the blood of sacrificed chickens is sometimes given in the area of Chichicastenango. Drinks of liquor are also put into the mouths of saints. Ideally the liquid offered should quickly disappear, as if actually swallowed by the stone or saint; in the words of the PV, "And the bloody drink was drunk by the gods."

164

stevia: This is *jolom okox,* literally "head of mushroom," but as Ximénez pointed out in his Spanish translation of the PV (1973:205), it is not a mushroom but rather an herb. It is named for the shape of its composite flower head, which consists of numerous tiny, closely spaced white blossoms, and is probably *Stevia serrata,* called "requesón" (after the resemblance of the flower head to a clump of cottage cheese) in Mexico (see Rzedowski and Equihua 1987). In Guatemalan Spanish it is called "pericón blanco" in order to distinguish it from ordinary pericón, a wild marigold whose flowers are yellow (see the notes to p. 163). Today, as in the PV, the burning of marigolds and stevia constitutes a more modest offering than copal incense (see Earle 1983:294, 297). In the present passage the two plants are mentioned in the standard yellow/white order of Quiché ritual discourse.

164

just the larva of the yellow jacket, the larva of the wasp, and the larva of the bee: Andrés Xiloj described these insects, the *wonon, sital,* and *aqaj,* as follows: "The *wonon* is large and striped yellow and black; there is honey in its hive, and it stings. The *sital* is bigger and has red stripes. Its bite is more serious than that of the *wonon;* it causes a large swelling and one could even die. It, too, has honey. The *aqaj* is small, a little bigger than a fly, and stings. It makes a nest, with thousands of *aqaj.* If one can get it down with a stick the *aqaj* stay up there, then one can get whatever pieces of honey there are."

165

"we only take stitches . . . when we ask for . . . our manhood": The interpretation of [chuc] as *ch'uq,* referring at least figuratively to the penis or foreskin (see the

notes to p. 157), is reinforced by the fact that *achijilal,* literally "manhood," is given by FT as a figure of speech for "virile member."

165

the mouths of the stones: Whatever the stones may have looked like, mouths are the only anatomical feature ever mentioned for them. Among the contemporary Quiché of the region around Santa Cruz del Quiché, the principal criterion for distinguishing a divine stone from an ordinary rock is the presence of a groove or opening that might serve as a mouth, to be anointed with liquor or (less often) with the blood of sacrificed poultry. It should be noted that the PV term for stones with mouths (and for the beings whose petrified bodies they are), *k'ab'awil* or "god," suggests, by way of sound play, *k'ab'a-* (DB, FT) or *k'ab'e-* (FV), "to be open-mouthed." But the word *k'ab'awil* is no longer used; instead, the terms for stones with mouths are *k'amawil,* "that which receives," and *iq',* which is also one of the twenty day names and an archaic word for "wind."

165

"Your right": This is *ikolb'al iwib',* in which *i-* is "you" and *iwib'* is "yourselves" (both plural familiar); DB gives *kolb'alib'* as "liberty." This is a reference to the agreement the tribes made to allow themselves to be sacrificed (see p. 156 and the next note).

165

the suckling: This is *ri tz'um;* some have taken it to be "pelt," but I translate it on the basis of *tz'umaj* [tzumah], "to suckle" (DB), and take it to be a further reference to the "suckling" (heart sacrifice) pledged by the tribes (see the previous note).

165

the place called Stagger: This name is *silisib';* DB has *silisab',* "sway, swing, stagger." In an earlier passage (p. 156) it was the location (left unnamed) where the tribes other than the Cakchiquels pledged themselves to be "suckled" (or to have their hearts cut out) by Tohil in exchange for fire.

165

the skull would be placed in the road: If the Quichés timed their attacks on their rivals in the same way as the lowland Classic Maya, they may have favored periods when Venus was the evening star (see Lounsbury 1982). The "road" onto which they rolled the head of a sacrifice victim may have been symbolic of the celestial path followed by Venus, and the head may have been thought of on the model of the severed heads that appeared as the evening-star Venus in the story of Hunahpu and Xbalanque and their fathers.

165

the tracks were merely those of animals: This is *kaqan* [cacan] *ri xa kipich,* "their tracks that just their feet," in which "feet" (*pich*) is specifically "the feet of quadrupeds" (FV).

166

dark and rainy: This is *q'eqal* [quecal] *jab',* literally "black rain," but referring (according to Andrés Xiloj) to a storm that is so intense that the sky gets very dark. This supports the notion that Tohil is a manifestation of Hurricane (see the notes to p. 65), who caused a "black rain" when he destroyed the wooden people.

166

misty and drizzly: This is *musmul jab',* "misty rain." Andrés Xiloj explained, "These are days when it doesn't rain strongly; instead the drops are small, little bits of water fall. It is *musmul.*"

166

they singled them out and cut them down: The MS has [echalamicat], in which the only certainty is *e,* "they." My reading is based on *chala,* "to pick out among many" (DB), and (following Edmonson 1971:192) *k'at,* "cut" (in the sense of "reap").

167

"choice": This is *cho'm* [chaom], "select" (FX, AG), and a "metaphor for beauty" (DB).

167

"radiate preciousness": This is *saqloq'oj* [zaclocoh], a combination of "light" (*saq*) and "valuable" or "precious" (*loq'oj*). Andrés Xiloj pictured the maidens as twelve to fifteen years old.

167

Lust Woman and *Wailing Woman:* These names are *xtaj* and *xpuch'* [xpuch], in which *x-* marks them as feminine. *Taj* is "to desire to do something" (FV) and, in the reduplicated form *tajij,* "to sin many times" (FV, FX); AG translates *puch'* with the Spanish term llorón (llorona in its feminine form), which refers to a person who cries a lot. This confirms my argument, made on other grounds (D. Tedlock 1993a:45–58, 242), that these women are the pre-Columbian predecessors of the figure known as La Llorona in the Hispanic folklore of Mesoamerica and the Southwest United States, who haunts rivers and baths and lures men to their deaths. The Title of the Lords of Totonicapán lists a third woman (thus making three women for the three gods), whose full name is *k'ib'atz'un ja*

(TT), in which *ja* is "house" (referring to her lineage), while *k'i* is "many" and *b'atz'un* seems to be a nominalized form of a verb stem for "marry" that appears as *b'atz'o-* in FV, yielding "often married."

167

on their hands and knees: This is *chakachaxinaq* [chacachaxinac], with passive and perfect suffixes (*-xinaq*); DB has *chakachotik,* "go on all fours."

168

Tohil and the others: Here and elsewhere in this episode I have supplied "and the others"; the name Tohil is often used to mean all three gods and may be accompanied by a verb that is marked for a plural subject.

168

" 'there must come a sign as to whether you really saw their faces' ": Note that when Blood Moon went before the head of One Hunahpu, he gave her a "sign" by spitting in her hand, which made her pregnant (p. 99); in this case the signs will be quite different, intended not for the women but for their fathers.

169

they spotted: This is *xil kiwach,* in which *x-* is complete and *ki-* is "they"; DB has *ilawachij,* "to look with attention."

169

on a smooth surface: This is *chiyulinik wach,* "on-smooth its-face"; DB has *yulunik,* "a smooth thing." The designs were on "the inside" (*upam*) of the cloaks, and it was this side that went next to the body of the lord who was then stung by wasps, despite the "smooth surface."

169

He turned around: The verb stem here is *solowik;* DB has *sololik,* "to give turns."

169

unfurling it: This is *katzonon uq'uxik* [ucuxic], literally "he-undresses his-being-covered"; DB gives *tzonolik* as "undressed." I take it that this lord opened up his cloak so that everyone could see the eagle on the inside of it.

169

It then became the profession of Lust Woman and Wailing Woman to bark shins: "Bark shins" is my translation of *joxol ch'eq* [chec], based on the comments of Andrés Xiloj: "*Ch'eq* is the shin bone. *Joxol* is 'one who wounds.' It is the wound that they [the girls] gave them. A girl or a boy comes to know how the world is [laughs]. Let's suppose we are now old people. We can deceive a girl of fifteen

or sixteen years, and there is the wound. The violence. And so a woman can deceive a boy of fifteen or fourteen years, then there it is. The old woman wounded the boy [laughs]. This is *joxol ch'eq,* 'the wounder of shins.' Only now we say *xuporo raqan,* 'she burned his legs.' "

170

those spirit boys: I have supplied "spirit" to make it clearer that the reference is to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

170

their fortress: Ximénez translates *katem* as "fortification" here; DB gives *katej* as "to block passage."

171

Their eyebrows were plucked out, along with their beards: The "plucking" here is *mich'* [mich], which is elsewhere a metaphor for deception; this time plucking carries both its literal and metaphorical meanings.

171

made a fence: The "fence" is *k'oxtun* [coxtun]; TC has *k'oxtum,* "fence or wall." In the next paragraph I translate this same word as "parapet" on the basis of context.

171

They just made a palisade of planks and stakes: The materials for this structure are *tz'alam* [tzalam], glossed as "board" by TC and AG, and *ch'ut* [chut], glossed as "sharp point" by AG. The verb for the making of the palisade is *kejb'ej;* DB has *kejom che',* "palisaded." This was definitely not stonework.

171

around their citadel: This is *rij kitinamit,* which is misleading when translated literally as "its-back their-citadel." *Rij,* when applied to a house, means the side or sides that face the outside world, whereas *uwach,* "its-face," means the side or sides that face the patio; I assume that the same scheme was analogously applied to a citadel. That is to say, a citadel turned its "back" to the outside world and its "face" inward. This interpretation is confirmed by the entry for *kotoj chirij tinamit* in DB, literally "surround at-its-back citadel" but glossed (following European reckoning) as the "face of a fortress."

171

They surrounded the citadel: The verb stem here is *kotkomij,* a reduplicated form meaning "surround" (DB).

172

eight hundred score, . . . thirty times eight hundred: This is my attempt to translate Mayan numbers into English without completely converting them from the vigesimal system to the decimal one; "score" in English is of course a remnant of vigesimal reckoning. The numbers in the text are *kachui* and *oxchui,* "2 × 8,000" and "3 × 8,000," 8,000 being the third power of 20 and filling the same place in a vigesimal system that 1,000 fills in a decimal system.

172

they just enjoyed the spectacle: The verb stem here is *kai-,* "to watch admiringly, like watching dances" (listed under [cai3] in DB).

173

their legs, their arms: As Andrés Xiloj pointed out, this is an idiom meaning "all over their bodies."

173

they were doubling over . . . stumbling: The first verb stem here is *won-;* DB has *wonob'a rib',* "to double over as if to join the knees with the beard." The second is *lajajik,* a reduplicated form; DB has *lajab',* "snare."

173

they were hit: The verb stem here is [cac]; DB has *kaq'o,* "hit with stones."

173

Now some of them turned away: "Some of" translates *chajkar;* see the earlier note headed "some of the people" (p. 306).

173

gasping for breath: This is *kejilowik kepolow,* probably an idiom for heavy or laborious breathing; DB has *jilowik,* "sigh of tiredness," and *polow,* "breath."

174

Noble: Many of the names of Quiché lords, beginning with the sons of those who received the emblems of lordship at Tulan Zuyua but becoming rarer in later generations, carry the prefix *k'o-* [co-]; the corrected form is from TT and TY. This appears to be a shortening of expressions described by TC as acknowledgments of great authority, such as *k'o rab', ruxlab',* "it is (or there is) his breath, his spirit" (referring to descent in its sense as a source of life), and *k'o aq'ij, k'o awalaxik,* "it is your day, it is your birth" (referring to destiny and descent). The name Noble Two is *k'okib'* [cocaib], while Noble Raiment is *k'okawib',* in which *kawib'* is "adornment" (FV).

174

"our own tribal place": This could be all the way back at the place where they were before arriving at Tulan Zuyua.

174

"Again it is the time of our Lord Deer, as is reflected in the sky": "It is the time" translates *cholan,* "order" (in the sense of sequence). Deer (*kej*) is a day name from the 260-day calendar, connected to recurring events in the sky only in its role as one of the four days that can begin a new year. Any day can be addressed as "Lord" in contemporary ritual language, but only these four are commonly addressed without specifying a day number, as "Lord Deer" is here.

174

"Go see the place where we came from": Given that Jaguar Quitze and the others have already said that they themselves are going to "our own tribal place," it is difficult to interpret their instructions to their sons. Perhaps the answer is that the fathers are going in spirit, whereas their sons will make a pilgrimage in the flesh. Also, the sons will not go until sometime later. In any case, the irreducible difference between the journey of the fathers and that later undertaken by the sons is that the fathers are never seen again.

174

"for making requests": This is *ta'nab'al* [tanabal], "asking-instrument." Andrés Xiloj remarked, "It's like a place to burn offerings. But this word is only used for places that are open to the public, not for shrines that only a mother-father [patrilineage head] can visit."

174

"fiery splendor": This translates *q'aq'al,* "fire-ness" or "hot-ness," a frequent metaphor for the glories and splendors of lordly dominance over others.

175

downtrodden: This is [yocotahinac]; DB has *yoq'o,* "step on."

175

All those on Hacauitz: This phrase has been supplied in order to distinguish the inhabitants of the citadel of Hacauitz from the "broken and downtrodden" tribes.

175

the day of the bundle: This may have been the day named Deer, mentioned by the departing Quiché ancestors on the same occasion as the presentation of the bundle. Today this day is associated, above all others, with mother-fathers,

the priest-shamans who perform rites for lineages, cantons, or an entire town (according to their rank). All mother-fathers, as well as the ordinary daykeepers who rank just below them, possess a sacred bundle, but this bundle contains divining paraphernalia and is opened frequently.

PART FIVE

179

who represented all the Cauecs: This is *rech ronojel kawikib',* literally "of (or belonging to) all the Cauecs." There are similar phrases in the sentences dealing with the Greathouses and Lord Quichés in this same passage.

179

Nacxit: This name is from a Nahua source; its component parts in Nahuatl proper are *naui,* "four," and *icxitl,* "foot" (RS). In Nahuatl texts this is a title held by the king named Quetzalcoatl; in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, a lord named Nacxit Xuchit is mentioned in connection with events that sound like part of the legend of Quetzalcoatl (Roys 1967:83). Nacxit's "populous domain," as it is called in the PV, was probably a kingdom in Yucatán ruled by a lineage claiming Toltec descent.

179

judge: This is *q'atol* [catol] *tzij,* at present *q'atal tzij* (MX) or *q'atb'al tzij* (AG), "reap-instrument [of] words."

179

Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat: These titles are *ajpop* and *ajpop k'amja* [camha]; the corrected form *k'amja* appears in TV, while PG and FV list the Cakchiquel synonym as *k'amajay. Aj-* is occupational and *pop* is mat, a woven mat being a metonym for a council (whose members sat on a mat or mats) and probably, at the same time, a metaphor for a council (whose members might have been thought of as being interwoven like a mat or as serving to interweave those whom they represented). *K'amja* combines *k'am-,* "receive," with *ja,* "house." The Yucatec equivalent, *k'am na,* is still in use today as a term for a guest house or inn (AB). Among the functions of the Keeper of the Reception House Mat was the collection of tribute; Don Juan Cortés, the last known holder of this title, went all the way to Spain in 1557 in an attempt to restore the right of the Quiché lords to collect tribute (Carrasco 1967).

179

emblems of lordship: These are *uwachinel rajawarem,* literally "the means of showing one's having become lord."

179

Here are their names: The canopy and throne are *muj* and *q'alib'al;* the Keeper of the Mat was entitled to sit beneath four canopies, with three for the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, two for the Lord Minister, and one for the Herald (Carmack 1981:169). The bone flute and bird whistle are *sub'aq* and *ch'amch'am* [chamcham]; the latter word is a reduplicated form related to *ch'anin,* referring to the trilling and warbling of birds (FV), and may refer to a clay ocarina. The sparkling powder is *tatil,* given in DB as *titil,* "bright powder," while the yellow ocher is *q'anab'aj* [canabah], "yellow stone"; *titil* and *q'ana ab'aj* are both listed by TC as cosmetics formerly used by persons who were being installed in lordships. The paws are *tz'ikwil* [tzicuil]; FV gives *tz'ik* as "heel of hand." The leather armband is *makutax,* from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *macuetlaxtli* is "arm band made of leather" (RS). The snail-shell rattle is *t'ot'* [tot] *tatam,* in which *t'ot'* is "snail" (AG) and *tatam* may be related to *tota'nik,* "shake" (MX). The tobacco gourd is *k'us b'us,* from Yucatec *k'us,* "tobacco" (AB, listed as a variant of *k'uts*), and *bux,* "small wild gourd for keeping ground tobacco" (AB). The food bowl is *kaxkon,* from a Nahua source, with *caxcomulli* meaning "bowl (for eating)" in Nahuatl proper (AM). The parrot feathers, following Recinos et al. (1950:209n), are *chiyom,* but in Kekchí *chion* is a "certain small bird" (EH) that may not be a parrot. The egret feathers are *astapulul,* which is Nahua again; *aztatl* is the Nahuatl term for *Egretta thula,* the snowy egret (BS).

180

Then, from beside the sea, they brought back the writing of Tulan, the writing of Zuyua. They spoke of their investiture in their signs, in their words: In the following version of the text of this passage, routine emendations have been made to change [xquicam] to *xkik'am,* [chaca] to *ch'aqa,* [utzibal] to *utz'ib'al,* and [oquinac] to *okinaq.* The passage is arranged to call attention to two pairs of noun phrases (one pair in each of the indented lines), neither of which makes sense unless we assume a scribal error and supply the missing words marked here by ⟨ ⟩:

Ta xkik'am ula ri ch'aqa palo
utz'ib'al tulan, utz'ib'al ⟨suywa⟩.
Xech'a chire ki okinaq
chupan ⟨ketal⟩, chupan kitzij.

Then, from beside the sea, they brought back
the writing of Tulan, the writing of ⟨Zuyua⟩.
They spoke of their investiture
in ⟨their signs⟩, in their words.

The first of the supplied words is a place name parallel to Tulan, following the second of two occurrences of *utz'ib'al;* judging from other PV contexts, the name in question could only be Zuyua. This reading is supported by a reference to *utz'ib'al sewan* in the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:68–69), where *sewan* consistently takes the place of *suywa* in the PV. The second supplied word is a possessed noun parallel to *kitzij,* "their words," following the first of two occurrences of *chupan.* The only possibility offered by other PV contexts is *ketal,* "their signs," which in this context would refer to the characters of the writing of Tulan. "Investiture" translates *okinaq,* literally "that which has already entered"; FV glosses *okenaq jay* (in which *jay* is "house") as "respected house, such as a convent or the house of a mayor or leader." It should be noted that Nacxit, who performed the investiture, was at an unnamed place other than Tulan, which had been abandoned by this time.

180

they examined: This is *xeiko chiri chuwi,* literally "they passed there above," but Andrés Xiloj read it as an idiom meaning "to look over."

180

the divisions of Thorny Place: The ruins of this place, known today as Cauinal, are organized around four separate plazas, each of which was probably the center of one of the four divisions listed here (Ichon 1983:240–41). Two plazas are located on one side of the Río Calá or Blanco and two on the other, a short distance upstream from its confluence with the Río Negro or Chixoy, about twenty kilometers northwest of Rabinal. The name *chik'ix* [chiquix] or "Thorny Place" refers to the thorny scrub vegetation of this area. The division translated as "Boundary Marker" is *k'ulb'a* [culba], from *k'ulb'at,* referring to anything (including a natural feature) that may mark a boundary between properties or towns (FV). The division that gives the site its present-day name, translated here as "Stronghold," is *kawinal,* from *kawij* [kauh], "prepare, arm" (DB); in Kekchí *kawil* is "strong, hard" (EH), equivalent to Quiché *kowil,* whose meanings include "fortress" (DB).

181

But their faces did not die: This is *mana xukam kiwach,* translated almost literally. It alludes to the lecture given to Blood Moon by the skull of One Hunahpu, in which it is stated, "Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of a lord" (p. 99).

181

pain and affliction: This is *k'axk'ol* [caxcol] *rail,* translated on the basis of entries in DB, where the two words are treated as synonyms, and on the basis of the entry for *k'axk'ol* in AG.

181

They ground their gypsum, their plaster: This seems to be a metonym for major construction. It may not mean that previous Quiché sites lacked gypsum plaster, but in the present context it combines with such phrases as "excellent citadel," "the root of fiery splendor," and "lords of singular genius" to indicate that the building of Bearded Place represented a whole new level in the rise of the Quiché lords.

181

Noble Rooftree: This is *k'onache'*, in which *k'o-* is honorific and the rest suggests *xna' che'*, literally "mother tree," the Kekchí term for a rooftree (EH). In a later passage this lord is called Jaguar Noble Rooftree. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Chonay and Goetz 1953:176–77), he was the son of Noble Two's wife and Noble Raiment (Noble Two's brother), conceived while Noble Two was on his pilgrimage to Nacxit. On his return, Noble Two signaled his adoption of this child as his own successor by naming him Jaguar Noble Rooftree, a doubly glorious appellation but one that nevertheless seems to allude (by way of "mother tree") to his unusual origin. After Jaguar Noble Rooftree's death his descendants, beginning with his son Iztayul, were shifted to the second-ranking lordship, supplying Keepers of the Reception House Mat, while the first-ranking title of Keeper of the Mat reverted to the direct descendants of Noble Two.

181

Minister: This is *q'alel*, in which *q'alel* may be from *q'alunel*, "one who holds something in his arms."

181

Iztayul: This name, elsewhere spelled [ztayul] or [xtayub], is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *iztayo* is "salty" and *iztayotl* is "brine" (RS).

181

one in each: This is my interpolation.

181

Shield Dance: This is simply called *pokob'*, "shield"; it is identified as "an ancient dance" by DB.

181

their desire that the Lord Noble Sweatbath be murdered: According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán (Chonay and Goetz 1953:186–87), the plotters first attempted to turn Noble Sweatbath and Iztayul against each other by telling each of them falsehoods about what the other had been saying about him. When

this scheme was uncovered they attempted to assassinate Noble Sweatbath in his sweatbath, but he got wind of this and was well guarded when the assassins arrived. Whether he received his name from this incident or his name inspired the sweatbath plot, it is the only name that remains for him. A plot of the same kind is mentioned in the drama known as Rabinal Achi. A warrior named only as Man of Quiché makes the following confession to his captor, a warrior in the service of Lord Five Toh of Rabinal (Quiché text in Brasseur 1862:68; translation mine):

> I myself made the mistake, I came to lure him out,
> your lord, sir, your liege, sir,
> there at Bathing Place, as it is called,
> even though bathing was his only concern.

181

and that the other lord be allied with them: This is *xa k'u* [cu] *jun ajaw xraj ku'* [cu] *kib'*, "just then one (other) lord was-wanted to-keep themselves," in which the translation of *ku'* as "allied" is based on DB. The lord in question here is Iztayul, as the next sentence makes clear; in the present sentence he is being distinguished from Noble Sweatbath.

181

the Ilocs wanted him as their disciple: This is *xraj tijox kumal ilokab'*, "was-wanted disciple by-them Ilocs"; DB glosses *tijoxel* as "disciple."

182

First they invaded the citadel: This is *xkokib'ej nab'e tinamit*, literally "they-entered first citadel"; DB glosses *okib'ej tinamit* as "scale a fortress."

182

This was in payment: The "payment" is *tojb'al*, "pay-instrument," which in this context is a sound play on Tohil, the principal god before whom the Ilocs were sacrificed, and on the day name *Toj*, which was the day of Tohil. This day is still interpreted by diviners as having to do with the payment of debts; in making this interpretation they utilize a sound play on the day name similar to the one used here, moving from *Toj* as a proper name to the verb *tojonik*, "pay" (see B. Tedlock 1992:155).

182

the canyon and the citadel: This is the first of a number of joint appearances of *siwan*, "canyon," and *tinamit*, "citadel"; taken together, they seem to encompass both a citadel proper, in the sense of a high, fortified place with temples and

palaces, and what lies around or below that citadel as well. The effect is to extend the sense of settlement or community beyond its fortified core, with temples and palaces, to the surrounding population, creating a compound concept meaning something like "town" or "city." T. J. Knab (personal communication) suggests that this expression might be the Quiché equivalent *altepetl,* the Nahuatl term for town or city, which also involves a juxtaposition of the low with the high; it is compounded of *al* (from *atl*) "water," and *tepetl,* "mountain" (AM). The Quiché also use a water-mountain pairing, but it is applied not to towns but to outdoor shrines, which (ideally) exist in low-high pairs (see B. Tedlock 1992:76, 80).

183

lords of singular genius: "Singular" is *jumaj;* DB has *junaj,* "make oneself unique."

183

nothing happened to make fools of them or to ruin the greatness of their reign: "To make fools" translates *alachinaq;* DB has *alachinik,* "joke." "Or to ruin the greatness" translates *xawi b'anol rech nimal,* in which *xawi* indicates "the same as the aforesaid" and links this clause to the negative one preceding it, while *b'anol* is translated "to ruin" on the basis of *b'anoj,* "disaster" (FV).

183

the blossoming of their daughters: The verb stem here is *si'j,* a form that means "flower" as a noun (MX).

183

ate their corn: The verb here is *wech,* which refers specifically to the eating of foods made of corn, and what I have translated "corn" is *wa,* which refers to these same things, primarily to tamales (which are often made of nothing but corn dough in Guatemala).

183

"our way of being thankful and grateful": The former is *k'amowab'al* [camouabal], "thanks-instrument," and the latter is [pacubal]; DB has *paq'uj,* "be thankful for."

183

allied tribes . . . principalities: See the notes to p. 149 for a discussion of these terms.

183

Rotten Cane: This name is *q'umaraq aj* [cumaracaah], "rotten-plural cane-plant."

183

The Lords Noble Sweatbath and Plumed Serpent: The Lord Noble Sweatbath mentioned here is probably not the one who ruled as Keeper of the Mat at Bearded Place, but the one who is mentioned in a number of places as the Keeper of the Reception House Mat who ruled with Plumed Serpent when the latter was Keeper of the Mat (pp. 183, 186, 192). In yet another passage it is stated that Plumed Serpent served as both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat (p. 186); perhaps Noble Sweatbath died during the reign of Plumed Serpent and was not replaced until after the latter's death. However that might be, Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath are jointly credited with founding Rotten Cane, and both of them are treated as lords of genius —that is, as lords with powerful spirit familiars. The Title of the Lords of Totonicapán devotes much attention to Noble Sweatbath but omits any mention of Plumed Serpent.

183

There had been five changes and five generations: This is *xrokexok xrolea puch,* in which *x-* is complete, *ro-* is "five," and *puch* is "and." The rest is translated on the basis of *k'exo* [quexo], "change, return," and *le,* "generation" (DB).

184

their separation, when they quarreled among themselves, disturbing the bones and skulls of the dead: The scribe got into a tangle here, writing as follows (the items in parentheses were written in the margin with their places of insertion marked by daggers): [quihachouic quib ta xqui (tzolbeh quib) tzol (cacbeh) bac uholom caminac xquicacbeh quib]. The only way I can make sense of this is to assume that the scribe meant to cross out the final [xquicacbeh quib] and move it (except for [xqui-]) to a position immediately following the dangling [xqui] he had already written, and to insert a missing [beh] after [tzol]. In the process he unnecessarily repeated [tzol] before [-beh] and then inverted the order of [cacbeh] and [tzolbeh], meanwhile forgetting to cross out the final [xquicacbeh quib]. If I am right, the passage (complete with phonetic emendations) would read, *kijachowik kib' ta xkikaqb'ej kib' tzolb'ej baq ujolom kaminaq,* "their-sorting-out themselves when they-quarreled themselves turning-over bone its-head dead-person."

184

the lord bishop: This is [Sr. obicpo], the first Spanish to appear in the text since p. 63. The person referred to here is Francisco Marroquín, who blessed the ruins of Rotten Cane in 1539, fifteen years after the place had been taken by Pedro de Alvarado.

184

the Zaquics: This is *saqikib'* [zaquiquib], singular *saqik;* the corrected form is from TT. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán, the founder of this lineage was *ajaw saqik tz'utuja,* who took the place of Dark Jaguar when he died childless and thus kept the number of ruling Quiché lineages at four (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:189). According to the PV (see p. 185), *ajaw tz'utuja* [tzutuha] or "Lord Corntassel House" was the title of the Zaquic lord who headed one of the two great houses into which the Zaquic lineage was divided. The name *tz'utuja* suggests that this lineage may have had its origin among the Tzutuhil (*tz'utujil*) Maya, who occupy the area around the southern half of Lake Atitlán.

184

Master of Ceremonies: This title is *nim chokoj,* in which *nim* means "principal"; *chokoj* refers to banquets, weddings, or wedding banquets (FX), while the verb *chokola'* or *chokola'j* refers to doing something in common (TC) or, more specifically, to gathering food and drink that will be shared at a banquet (FX, PG), the most important item being cacao for the making of a drink (FV). Whichever way the borrowing may have gone, there is an obvious relationship between *chokola'* and Nahuatl *chocolatl,* the immediate source of Spanish (and then English) chocolate. Today, cacao remains a key item among the gifts the family of a Quiché groom brings to the banquet at the bride's house.

184

Councilor of the Stores: This title is *popol winaq* [uinac] *chituy,* "council person at-stack"; in DB, *tuyub'a* is "put one thing on top of another."

184

Quehnay Emissary: This title is *lolmet kejnay;* PG and TC have *lolmay,* "he who is sent on business, ambassador." Each of the three ruling Quiché lineages had a lord whose title included *lolmet.*

184

Councilor in the Ball Court: This title combines *popol winaq* [uinac], "council person," with *pa jom tzalatz,* in which *jom* means "ball court" all by itself, and *tzalatz,* which refers to things on a tilt (FX, AG), seems to be added to specify a ball court that has sloping masonry sides.

184

And now to show their faces: This is *k'ate* [cate] *chik chiwachin uwach,* "next now that-show his-face," singular in Quiché in order to agree with "each of them" in the previous sentence. The notion of "face" is intimately tied up with personal identity in Quiché; a person's day of birth, for example, is called *uwach*

uq'ij, "its-face his/her-day," and a number of Quiché lords were named after the days of their birth (see pp. 195–96). A later passage mentioning the "faces" of lords precedes a list of the names of individual lords (p. 194). I have put an ellipsis following both of these mentions of faces to indicate that graphic elements might be missing here, something that was in the manuscript Ximénez discovered but which he did not reproduce. If that manuscript was like the Book of Chilam Balam of Maní, there may have been a graphic device, at least partially based on hieroglyphic writing, corresponding to each lord. In the Maní book the device is a line drawing of a face with a European crown, a latter-day version of the much more stylized face that composes the glyph meaning *ajaw* or "lord," but the individual name of each lord is written in block letters on a scroll beneath the head rather than rendered hieroglyphically (Craine and Reindorp 1979:79–86).

185

Lord Herald: Here and elsewhere, "Herald" translates *ajtzik' winaq* [ahtzic uinac], given as *ajtzij* [atzih] *winaq* in TT. *Aj-* is occupational and *winaq* is "person." One way or another, the rest of this title has to do with the act of speaking: *tzik* is "to count" in Chol (AA); in Quiché and Cakchiquel, *sik'* is "to call out" (including reading aloud), *ajsik'* is "town crier" (PG, FX), and *tzij* is "word" or (as a verb stem) "to put into words."

185

Yacolatam, meaning the "corner of the mat" or the zaclatol: This passage reads *yakolatam, utzam pop saklatol,* but the title proper, given by itself in a later passage (p. 197), is simply Yacolatam, and the rest is offered as an explication. The only Quiché words here, *utzam pop* or "corner of the mat," are offered as a gloss on *yakolatam,* a word from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *yacatl* is "point," while *tam-* or *tan-* figures in various terms for objects made of such materials as corn husks and palm leaves (AM). The word *zaclatol,* offered as a further explanation, looks like a combination of Nahuatl *zacatl* or "straw" with *tollin* or "cattail," the plant whose leaves go into the weaving of the mats called *pop* in Mayan languages.

186

a crowded life, crowded with petitions: "Crowded" translates *molomox,* a passive form of *molomanik,* "many join together" (DB). "Petitions" translates *utab'al tzij,* in which *tab'a* is "supplicate" (DB) and *tzij* is "words."

186

The birthdays: This is *uq'ij* [uquih] *ralaxik,* "its-day his-being-born," the phrase still used for "birthday."

186

On one occasion: This is [hu uuc], a phrase most translators have taken to mean "one seven" (literally) and "seven days" (idiomatically). But "seven" should be *wuqub'*, and there is nothing in colonial dictionaries of Quichean languages that would allow for its combination with *ju*. The solution I offer is based on considerations of context and on *wuq'ul*, which refers to pauses or interruptions in the normal course of events (FV); I take the present phrase to be *ju wuq'* and to mean something like "during one interval," or (idiomatically) "one time" or "on one occasion."

186

serpentine. . . . aquiline . . . feline: At some moments the claim is made that Plumed Serpent became an "actual" (*kitzij*) serpent (*kumatz*) or eagle (*kot*) or jaguar (*b'alam*), but at other moments it would seem that he took on the *qualities* of these animals. Wherever I translate with words ending in -ine, the MS has *kumatzil, kotal,* or *b'alamil,* each of which has a suffix meaning "having the quality of."

186

The news spread: This is *xpaxin rib' utaik,* "it-scattered itself its-being-heard."

186

he became the sole head: "Sole" here is [huquizic]; FV has *juk'isik,* "only."

187

Tepepul: This name is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *tepetl* is "mountain" and *pul* is "big" (RS).

187

Quicab: This name appears in TT as *k'iqab'* and in TY as *k'iq'ab';* it would seem to be composed of *k'i-,* "many," and *q'ab',* "hand" or "arm."

187

Caoques: The correct form of this name, which is [caoqueb] in the MS, may be *kawqeb'* or *kawuqeb',* from the day name *Kawuq* ([cao3] in FX); *-eb'* is a plural suffix. Immediately west of Guatemala City are two towns very close together named Santiago Cauqué and Santa María Cauqué (Palma 1991:107); officially, the name Cauqué has been replaced in both cases with Sacatepéquez, the name of the department in which these towns are located.

188

White Earths: This tribal name, which refers to the Mam Maya, is *saqulewab'* [zaculeuab], "white-earth-plural," formed by adding a plural suffix to *saqulew*

(Zaculeu or Saculeu on maps), the principal Mam citadel. Its ruins are five kilometers west of the present town of Huehuetenango.

188

Under Ten: This is a literal translation of *xelajuj;* the full name of the town, not given in the PV, is *xelajuj kej,* "Under Ten Deer," Ten Deer being a nearby mountain that takes its name from a date on the divinatory calendar. The town is still called Xelajú (or Xela) in everyday Guatemalan speech, whether in Spanish or in Mayan languages, but in government documents and on maps it is known as Quetzaltenango, a Nahuatl name meaning "quetzal citadel." Its former location, when it was truly a citadel, was on one of the hilltops in the vicinity of the present town, but the exact site is not known.

188

went down on their faces or flat on their backs: This is [xuleic, xpacaic]; FV has *xul,* "turn downward," and MX has *pak'alik,* "face up."

188

Their lineages came to be bled, shot full of arrows at the stake: This is *xeok chinamit xelotzik xek'aqik* [xecacquic] *chiche'* [chiche], in which *xeok* is literally "they-entered" but idiomatically "it was their time," and *chiche'* is "at-tree" or "at-pole." In *xelotzik, xe-* is "complete-they"; DB and FV have *lotzo,* "to let blood." The verb stem *k'aq-* has been emended on the basis *k'aqoj,* "shoot with an arrow" (TC). *Xek'aqik* (with a passive suffix) is translated "they were shot with arrows" by Ximénez; DB has *k'aqokej* [cacoqueh] (with an active suffix), "hunt with arrows." This passage confirms that Quiché rituals included arrow sacrifice.

188

Projectiles alone were the means for breaking the citadels: The weapon here is *ch'a* (sometimes *ch'ab'*), "arrow" and (judging from FV) the spear thrown by an atlatl (spear-thrower). *Ch'a* or *ch'ab'* is distinct from *cha* or *cha',* which is the term for any lithic projectile point or cutting instrument and (today) for glass (see *ch'a* and *cha'* in FV, [chab] and *cha* in DB, and *ch'ab'* and *cha* in MX). In Mixtec codices, towns (or citadels) are identified by place signs whose basic element is a mountain; the conquest of a town is signified by showing its place sign pierced with a projectile (Smith 1973:33 and fig. 51). The present passage sounds like a literal reading of a codex of this style, or else such codices represented a ritual practice in which the very earth or native stone of a conquered citadel was actually pierced or broken. Whatever the case with codices, people from the towns conquered by the Quiché came to Petatayub, "carrying in their hands the signs of the citadels," which "look as though they had been split with an axe."

188

one . . . after another: This is *libaj chi,* given by DB as "step by step."

188

the gum tree: I follow Edmonson in reading [col che] as *q'ol che',* "gum tree" (Edmonson 1971:236), rather than as a place named "Colche," partly because the name of the place discussed in this passage is otherwise accounted for.

188

carrying in their hands: This is [chelah]; MX has *ch'elenik,* "to carry with the hands."

188

cut stones: I have supplied "stones" here, assuming that they are still the subject of the discussion; "cut" translates *xq'atatajik* [xcatatahic], "complete-cut-result-passive." Reading the verb stem as *q'ata,* "cut," fits with *xchoy chi ikaj,* "split with an axe," later on in this same sentence, and with the general sense of the paragraph up to this point.

188

Petatayub: This name is from a Nahua source; in Nahuatl proper *petlatl* is "mat" and *ayutl* is "turtle" (AM). The place in question should be in the vicinity of the town of Tecún Umán, formerly known as Ayutla, on the Pacific coastal plain near the Mexican border (Recinos et al. 1950:221–22n). It is known from the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán that the conquests of Quicab reached that far (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:200, 264).

188

"and like doubles for our own lineages": This is [quehe pu cacachinamit], which I read as *keje pu qakakab' chinamit,* "like and our-pair lineages."

189

"send for us to come and kill them": Here the text has both *nu,* first person singular, and *qa* [ca], first person plural. It reads [chulibiih chibe nu ca camizah], in which [ca] is written somewhat above the line, just after *nu;* for this reason, and because the statement quoted here is attributed to three people, I take *nu* to be an error the scribe forgot to cross out when he added [ca].

189

Point of the Arrow, Angle of the Bowstring: This is *uchi' ch'a, uchi' k'a'm* [uchi 4ha, uchi cam], "its mouth arrow, its mouth cord." Andrés Xiloj pointed out that in Quiché the "mouth" of an arrow is its tip, while the "mouth" of a bowstring is the point at which the butt end of the arrow is pulled back against it.

189

nor did any of them have his own god: That is to say, those who were sent to occupy the conquered citadels did not have stone gods (*k'ab'awil*) of the kind that were brought from Tulan Zuyua. We do not know whether the previous lords of these citadels had such stones or what might have been the fate of their stones. It is interesting to note that the present-day term *k'amawil,* which covers large stones found in outdoor shrines, is used only in the region around the ruins of Rotten Cane. Shrines in the western Quiché area lack such stones, and the small stone objects collected for household altars are called by a different term, *meb'il.*

189

Mirror Side: This name is *chulimal,* in which *chu-* is probably shortened from *chuwa-,* "in front of," signaling that the place in question is named for a separate place that lies nearby; the final *-l* turns the name of that nearby place into an adjective. That leaves *lima,* which in all probability has its origin in *lemowa'* or "Mirror Water," the name of a lake that in fact lies a short distance to the west of *chulimal,* which is itself the northernmost rural district of the present-day town of Chichicastenango.

189

Meteor: This is [cabicac] in the text column of the MS but [chabicac] in the translation column, the latter being an approximation of *ch'ab'iq'aq',* literally "arrow fire." A comet, by contrast, is *uje ch'umil,* "star's tail."

189

Among the Rocks: This is *xoy* (or *xay*) *ab'aj,* a name derived by FX from *xol ab'aj,* "among the rocks."

190

"the ennobling of the lookout lineages": The "ennobling" is *keqalem* [quecalem], in which *k-* is "their"; DB glosses [ecalem] as "dignity" or "nobility." In its literal sense the root *eqa-* has to do with taking a load on the shoulders; it is used today in various expressions having to do with taking on responsibilities, such as those of mother-fathers for people they train as daykeepers, or those of daykeepers for the clients they are currently praying for. Eventually, members of these newly ennobled lineages staged a revolt against Quicab, who survived an assassination attempt but lost much of his power (Carmack 1981:136–37).

190

"we'll induct": This is *qachapa* [cachapa], literally "we-take-hold-of," but FV notes that *chapa* is also an idiom for "putting into lordship."

190

"which is mine . . . which is yours": This translates *we,* "of mine," and *awe,* "of yours (singular familiar)"; others have missed the sense of this sentence, trying to make these two pronouns agree; Edmonson has [ui] for the [ue] of the MS (Edmonson 1971:240).

190

in concord: This is *junam wach* (elsewhere *junamaj wach*), given in DB as "be in concord."

190

Under the Twine, Under the Cord: This is *xeb'alax, xek'a'maq* [xecamac], in which *xe-* is "under"; *b'alax* is a passive form of *b'al,* "to make or twist a cord" (FV); and *k'a'maq* is a perfect form of *k'a'maj,* "to cord (measure land with a cord)." In other words, this mountain is named for the fact that a boundary passes over it. In the next sentence, "at the boundary of Mirror Side" translates *chiri chulimal,* literally, "at the Mirror Side." The reference is to the boundary between the lands that were ruled directly by the Quiché lords at Rotten Cane and the lands of their vassals at Mirror Side. To this day, Mirror Side (*chulimal*) lies just outside the lands of Santa Cruz del Quiché, the colonial town that was founded to replace Rotten Cane. That the heads of vassal lineages should be elevated to lordship in a peripheral location rather than within the citadel itself would seem to befit their collective status as a human "palisade," ultimately guarding the larger boundary that encloses the entire kingdom.

191

Military Walls, and Military Corners: This is *rajtz'alam* [rahtzalam] *achij, utza'm* [utzam] *achij,* "its-keeper-wall soldier, its-corner (or angle) soldier." *Tz'alam* is "wall" in FV, while other sources give "plank"; the "walls" and "corners" here are undoubtedly those of a stockade. These positions seem analogous to the "sides" and "corners" of the sky-earth, suggesting that a fortified town was seen as a microcosm. The statement that the holders of these and the other newly created titles formed "a fortress around Quiché" suggests that the entire kingdom was conceived as a gigantic fortress, an enlargement of the citadel at its center.

191

Great Monument of Tohil: The term translated as monument is *tz'aq* [tzac], which refers to constructions whose major materials are earth, stone, or cement rather than wood. In the PV and other sixteenth-century documents, it refers to platform mounds or pyramids and to the houses or temples they support. It is not clear whether the Great Monument of Tohil housed the original Tohil stone brought from Tulan by Jaguar Quitze or whether that stone was left at Tohil's

Place and was represented by some secondary object in Rotten Cane. In today's ritual practice, one can use a shrine close at hand to summon up a deity whose proper residence is another and quite distant shrine. The diviners of El Palmar, a community whose founders emigrated from Momostenango, have named their local shrines after those of their parent town but address the shrines of Momostenango itself from a distance; they try to make a pilgrimage to the parent shrines once each 260 days (Saler 1976). In a like manner, the priest of Tohil at Rotten Cane might have addressed the mountain named Tohil's Place while he was actually on the pyramid of Tohil, making periodic pilgrimages to the mountain itself.

191

house of sacrifice: This is *kajb'aja,* which I take to be composed of *kajb',* "sacrifice" (see the notes to p. 149), and *ja,* "house." Some have taken *kajb'aja* to be a reference to the place called Sajcabajá today, but that is written [zacabaha] or [zaccabaha] in the MS and combines *ja* with *saqkab'a,* "plaster."

191

they nurtured and provided for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat: The gods are spoken of at various points as needing nurturers and providers (beginning on p. 65); the present passage means that the relationship between lords and vassals was conceived in the same terms as that between gods and humans. Note here that the text goes right on to emphasize the greatness of the lords under discussion.

192

everything they saw was clear to them: That is to say, they were able to recover the clairvoyance possessed by the first humans before "they were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon" (p. 148).

192

there was a place to see it, there was a book: The "place to see it" is [ibal re], earlier written as [ilbal re]. With the book the lords are able to recover the full vision of the first humans; such vision, as this passage makes clear, reached into future time.

192

a way of cherishing: This is *loq'b'al* [locbal], "love (or desire or value) instrument." Andrés Xiloj suggested "something that shows esteem or expresses a sense of value."

192

For nine score days they would fast: "Nine score" is *belej winaq* [uinac]; Edmonson is correct in reading this as 9 × 20 rather than "nine persons" (Edmonson

1971:243). As he has observed, 180 is half a *tun,* the 360-day cycle used by the lowland Maya in reckoning chronologies. The "thirteen score" (or 260) mentioned next is the length of the so-called divinatory cycle, while the "seventeen score" (or 340) is the combined length of the 90- and 250-day segments of the Venus cycle (see p. 206).

192

They would only eat zapotes, matasanos, jocotes: For identifications of the tropical fruits listed here, see the Glossary. Of this kind of diet, Andrés Xiloj said, "This was so that they would have strength. This Tecum Umam [hero of Quiché resistance to the Spanish] didn't eat cooked things, only raw [or green] things. Because of this, the people of that time were muscular. Whatever place they went, whatever kind of fruit they found, they ate in place of tamales."

192

abstinence: This is *awasinik;* DB (under *awatz*) has *awasim,* "forbidden."

192

there weren't any women with them when they slept: This does not mean that women were not present at all. When people "keep the days" at present, the abstinence always includes sexual contact but never avoidance of all interaction with the opposite sex. If the fasts described here were like those of the first four Quiché ancestors, it was not only the lords who fasted but their wives as well (see p. 158).

192

"On this blessed day": This is *ato'b uq'ij* [uquih], in which *uq'ij* is "its-day"; DB gives [atob] as "good."

192

"ripeness and freshness": literally *q'anal,* "yellowness," and *raxal,* "greenness." Andrés Xiloj commented, "When one prays, *q'anal* means to have corn, to have money, to do business. Yes, it is like 'yellow' but it isn't yellow, but rather that it ripens. *Raxal* is like a plant that is green, it is developing to give fruit. *Q'anal* is when it ripens."

192

"spread thy stain, spill thy drops / of green and yellow": This is a fairly literal translation of *chatz'iloj, chamak'ij uloq* [chatziloh, chamaquih uloc] *araxal, aq'anal.* Of the connotations Andrés Xiloj said, *"Tz'iloj* is to use [sexually]; now they are going to have a family. *Mak'ij* is the sin. The man looks for his companion, there it is. And there is that liquid [semen]. And the green [raxal], there it is, it is the son or daughter, and the yellow [q'anal]; and they, in turn, have to produce again. Here it is like a plant, the sowing of a plant, and its ripening."

193

"that they might multiply": This is *chipoq taj* [chipo3tah]. Andrés Xiloj commented, *"Poq taj* is that it produces. Like a seed: when we cast it, we say to it, *kapoq la,* 'Come out [sprout], produce more.' " Commenting on the prayer as a whole, he said, "We're using this now; it's just that the language has changed somewhat."

193

"may they neither be snared nor wounded, / nor seduced, nor burned, / nor diverted below the road nor above it": "Burned" is paired with "seduced" here because, as Andrés Xiloj pointed out, the act of seducing an innocent person may be expressed in the phrase *xuporo raqan,* "He (or she) burned her (or his) legs." He suggested that a contemporary prayer for safety in the road might include the following lines:

> Do not let us fall into the hands
> of this person, this neighbor,
> who has a pistol, who has a dagger,
> who has a knife, who has a revolver;
> keep away the legs and arms
> of people at the corners, on the streets.

Contemporary prayers also include numerous passages with lists of negative requests; here is an example from a prayer by Esteban Ajxub of Momostenango, a professional *ajb'ix* or "singer":

> May there be no pain,
> may there be no trouble,
> may there be no jail,
> may there be no prison,
> may there be no weakness,
> may there be no feebleness,
> may there be no stiffness,
> may there be no lies and gossip.

193

"secrets or sorcery of thine": This is [acuil auitzmal], in which *a-* is "your (singular familiar)." Andrés Xiloj read [cuil] as *k'uyil,* "hidden"; *itzmal* is translated on the basis of *itzim,* "witched" (MX). Xiloj commented, "God gives all the good and all the evil."

193

"before thy mouth and thy face": Placement "before" someone's "face" is the commonest Quiché way of saying something like English "in" someone's "pres-

ence"; sometimes this is elaborated, as here, by adding "mouth" to "face," in which, if "face" is a metonym for the whole front of the body, "mouth" is a metonym for the whole face. In the present context "mouth" has an additional connotation, given that it refers in part to Heart of Earth, the deity called "Mundo" today. This is the great Mesoamerican earth deity, the ultimate swallower of all living things, depicted in Classic Maya art (in the Palenque relief panels, for example) as an enormous pair of jaws upon whose lips even the feet of great lords must rest in precarious balance, and into whose throat even great lords must fall. Turning to the contemporary scene, daykeepers who visit the main cave beneath the ruins of Rotten Cane, the last Quiché capital, speak of the danger of falling into "the open mouth of the Mundo" there, which is said to be more than four yards wide.

193

carrying the tribes and all the Quiché people on their shoulders: This is *reqalaxik amaq'* [re3alaxic amac] *ruk' ronojel k'eche winaq* [queche uinac], "its-being-carried (on the shoulders) tribe, with all-of Quiché people."

194

they became lords: The verb stem here is *ajawarik,* "to make oneself a lord" (DB).

194

received occasional gifts: This is *xkikak kochij,* in which *xki-* is "complete-they"; FX and FV have *kaka,* an auxiliary verb that makes an action uneven or hesitant, and *kochij,* "to receive a gift."

194

food and drink: This is [uain ucaha], translated on the basis of the reading offered by Andrés Xiloj, who uses the phrase *wa'im ok'aja,* "food, drink," in his own prayers.

194

falsify: This is *tzub'a;* DB has *tzub'u,* "deceive."

194

drops . . . that measured the width of four fingers or a full fist across: "Drops" is my translation of *raqan* [racan], literally "its leg" but also a term for the large drops of rain that begin or end a thunderstorm (FV). The first of the two measurements is *kajq'ab'* [cahcab]; DB (under [3a]) has *kajq'a* , "measured with the four fingers together." The second is [tuic]; DB has *tuwik,* "the fist closed with the thumb out; it is a measurement."

194

green, yellow, and red feather work: This is *raxon k'ub'ul* [cubul] *chaktik,* in which *raxon* is a noun that refers to something green, often paired with *q'uq'* to make it clear that quetzal feathers are meant. *K'ub'ul* is "oriole" in Kekchí (EH), Chol (AA), and Yucatec (AB), probably referring to a number of Icteridae with prominent yellow feathers. *Chaktik,* in which *chak* is Yucatec or Cholan for "red," is glossed by DB (a Quiché source) as "a species of red bird." That "feather work" is meant in the present context (rather than feathers or birds as such) is indicated by [cubulchactic] in PG, glossed as "thing made of feathers."

194

rise and growth: The MS has [unimaric ri unimaric puch], in which the second [unimaric] is probably an error for *uwinaqirik,* giving "its-big-becoming its-growth and."

194

two by two: In the list of Cauec lords that follows, the pairing of lords will not actually begin until the fourth generation.

194

succeeds: This is [camiheic], which Ximénez translates in this same way; his own dictionary (FX) has "to continue imitating" for [camih], but no other colonial source consulted here has a closely corresponding form.

194

the faces . . . of each of the Quiché lords: Again, as on p. 184, it would seem that something is missing here; perhaps the source Ximénez copied had name glyphs for the lords in the list that follows this statement.

195

Black Butterfly: This is *tekum,* "the large, black butterfly that flies with great speed" (FT).

195

Eight Cord: This is *wajxakib' k'a'm* [uahxaqui caam], in which "Cord" is a Quiché translation of the Nahua day name which is *Malinalli* in Nahuatl proper, meaning "twisted cord" (RS). *Malinalli* occupies the same position in the Nahuatl sequence of days as *E* or "Tooth" in the Quiché sequence.

195

Cauatepech: This is a Nahua name; in Nahuatl proper *cauani* is "leave a memory behind" and *tepechtli* is "base, foundation" (RS), yielding something like "founder."

195

Tonatiuh: In the MS this is [Donadiu], from *tonatiuh,* Nahuatl for "sun" (RS) or, more literally, "he who goes along getting hot." This was the name given by the Indians of central Mexico to Pedro de Alvarado before he came to Guatemala.

195

They were tortured by the Castilian people: The verb stem here is *jitz'* [hitz], which literally refers to the act of suspending or hanging something or someone (FX, AG). Numerous historians, assuming that this passage refers to execution by hanging, have rejected it in favor of Alvarado's claim that he burned the Quiché lords. They ignore the fact that Alvarado says he suspected the lords of plotting to kill him, and that he extracted confessions from them before he burned them. In the Spanish jurisprudence of his time, the standard method for obtaining a confession was to hang a prisoner by the wrists and then, if necessary, apply further tortures. That the lords were indeed tortured is confirmed by the Annals of the Cakchiquels, where it is stated that the Quiché rulers were "tortured" before they were "burned" (Recinos and Goetz 1953:120). Apparently the authors of the PV found torture more remarkable than execution, and the same may be said of their contemporaries among the Yucatec Maya. For a more general discussion of the use of torture in obtaining testimony from Mayans, and of the use and misuse of such testimony by scholars, see D. Tedlock (1993b).

196

Chief of the Reception House: The MS repeats this title after Mother of the Reception House and leaves out Chief Yeoltux Emissary, the final name on an earlier list of titles belonging to the Greathouses (p. 185).

197

Red Banner: This is *kaq laq'an* [ca3 lacan], with *kaq,* "red"; DB gives *laq'am* as "banner."

197

Noble Short One: This is *k'ok'osom* [cocozom], in which *k'o-* is honorific and *k'osom* is "shortened" in Kekchí (EH).

197

Noble Mortal: This is *k'okamel,* in which *k'o-* is honorific and *kamel* is literally "dead person" and figuratively "humble person" (FX).

197

Noble Caller: This is *k'oyab'akoj,* translated on the basis of Kekchí *yab'ak,* "call out" (EH).

197

They come together in unity: In this passage the authors make it clear that the lordly title they give as *nim chokoj* [nim chocoh], translated here and elsewhere as "Master of Ceremonies," is not an error for *nim ch'okoj* [nim 4hocoh], the spelling given in the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán. *Chokoj,* which fits the present context, has to do with occasions when people come together to share food and drink (see the notes to p. 91); *ch'okoj,* on the other hand, merely refers to the act of sitting down. The authors of the PV digress in order to exalt the Masters of Ceremonies, whereas the Totonicapán authors, whatever their political motives may have been, go out of their way to belittle the Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs. For them, he is not a *nim chokoj* but a *nim ch'okoj,* a "Master of Sitting," and they go on to describe him as *xa ch'okojil tem,* "just a sitter on a bench," a minor official who, they insist, was never given the right to his own lordly domain (Carmack and Mondloch 1983a:101, 183).

197

great in being few: This is *nim skakin uk'ojeik,* "great few (or little bit) its-being-there."

198

the original book and ancient writing: This is simply *nab'e ojer,* "original (or first) ancient" in the MS, abbreviated from a phrase near the opening of the PV, *nab'e wujil, ojer tz'ib'am* [tzibam] *puch,* translated as "the original book and ancient writing" on p. 63. I have repeated the full phrase here to make the echo of the opening more obvious. In general the closing paragraph is terse, as if the hand that wrote it were running downhill toward the finish.

GLOSSARY

ACUL PEOPLE *Ak'ul winaq,* one of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. *Ak'ul* remains today as the name of a major district of the Ixil Maya town of Nebaj, to the west of the town center. See also Noble Acul.

AMONG THE ROCKS *Xoy ab'aj,* the town known today as Joyabaj, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

ANCIENT WORD *Ojer tzij,* also translatable as "Prior Word." A word, whether in the narrow sense of a single word or in the broad sense of an extended discourse, that carries the authority of tradition rather than being mere hearsay.

ANONAS *Q'awex,* a tropical fruit (*Annona spp.*) sometimes called "cherimoya" or "custard apple" in English. Heart-shaped, green outside and creamy inside, segmented, and incredibly sweet.

ARMADILLO *Ib'oy,* name of a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

ARMADILLO DUNG *Achaq ib'oy,* Crier to the People for the Lord Quiché lineage when Quicab was Keeper of the Mat; possibly a nickname for one of the Lord Quiché lords listed on p. 197.

ATOLE *A' ixim,* literally "corn water," a corn-gruel drink widely known in Mesoamerica by the Nahuatl-derived name atole.

AUILIX *Awilix,* patron deity of the Greathouse lineage, received at Tulan by Jaguar Night, who took him to Auilix's Place for the first dawn. The temple dedicated to Auilix at Rotten Cane was itself called Auilix, and the priest of that temple was called Auilix or Lord Auilix. The priest was seventh in rank among the lords of the Greathouses and the head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The name Auilix is of Cholan origin, meaning "Lord Swallow."

AUILIX'S PLACE *Pawilix,* the place where Jaguar Night took the god Auilix and saw the first dawn, in or near Concealment Canyon and not far from Tohil's Place.

BALL COURT *Jom,* the I-shaped courtyard in which the Mesoamerican ball game was played. The playing field was paved with stone and bounded by stone walls; the side walls of the narrow part (connecting the two ends of the I) sloped upward in opposite directions from the playing surface, resembling grandstands in appearance but in fact constituting part of the playing

surface. Today *jom* is the Quiché term for "graveyard," which suggests the deadly nature of the game described in the Popol Vuh, at least when it is played in the underworld court of the lords of Xibalba (see Place of Ball Game Sacrifice). The playing fields of the ball courts in Mesoamerican archaeological sites typically lie on a lower plane than that of the nearby plazas or courtyards.

BARK HOUSE *Jumetaja,* one of the four parts into which the citadel of Thorny Place was divided.

BAT HOUSE *Sotz'ija,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac. Bat House is also the name of a lordly Cakchiquel lineage, otherwise known as Macaw House, whose founders stole fire from the Quichés rather than pledge themselves as sacrifice victims.

BEARDED PLACE *Chi ismachi,* citadel of the Quiché lords after they left Thorny Place and before they built Rotten Cane, founded by Noble Sweatbath. When the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages later left for Rotten Cane, Bearded Place was left to the Tam lineage. The ruins are located one kilometer south of Rotten Cane, separated from the latter by a canyon.

BEARER, BEGETTER *Alom, k'ajolom,* sometimes pluralized (*e alom, e k'ajolom*). Names or epithets for the gods who make the earth, plants, animals, and humans. The bearing and begetting is metaphorical, since these gods do their work by means of words, genius, and sacrifice rather than through procreation. The same gods are also called Maker, Modeler, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

BIRD HOUSE *Tz'ikinaja,* the palace, at Rotten Cane, of the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, second in rank among all the Quiché lords. Not to be confused with *ajtz'ikinaja,* "those of Bird House," a branch of the people known today as the Tzutuhil, who speak a language of the Quichean family and are located south and west of Lake Atitlán. Those of Bird House belong to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

BLACK BUTTERFLY *Tekum,* name of the Keeper of the Mat in the ninth generation of Cauec lords. A second Black Butterfly, who held the same position in the thirteenth generation, was taken hostage when Rotten Cane fell to the Spanish in 1524; he was the son of Three Deer, the Keeper of the Mat who was tortured and executed by Pedro de Alvarado. His accession to his father's title was later recognized by Alvarado, but eventually he, too, was executed, having been accused of plotting a rebellion. He is not to be confused with the famous warrior named Tecum Umam Quicab, "Black Butterfly Grandson of Quicab," who died in a battle with Alvarado's forces before the attack on Rotten Cane took place.

BLACK ROAD *Q'eqa b'e,* one of four cosmic roads. Black is the color of the west on the earthly plane, but the Black Road of the sky corresponds to the Great Rift in the Milky Way, which runs northward from the place where the ecliptic crosses the Milky Way in Sagittarius. See also Crossroads and Road of Xibalba.

BLOOD GATHERER *Kuchuma kik'*, fourth-ranking lord of Xibalba. By this same name he plays a role in present-day Quiché stories, sitting at the head of the banquet table where the other lords of Xibalba bring human blood that has been shed in violence or through illness.

BLOOD MOON *Xkik'*, daughter of Blood Gatherer and mother of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. As a moon goddess she may account only for the waxing moon, leaving the waning moon to her mother-in-law, Xmucane, and the full moon to Xbalanque.

BLOOD OF SACRIFICE *Lotz kik'*, a metaphor for rubber, used by Hunahpu and Xbalanque when they take a bit of rubber from their ball to cure the eye of a laughing falcon.

BLOOD RIVER *Kik' ya'*, a river that crosses the road to Xibalba. Blood River and Pus River may have been the names of actual dark (deep) and light (muddy) rivers that flow from the Guatemalan highlands into the northern lowlands. For today's Quiché the region that drops off toward the Atlantic in the vicinity of Cobán is still an abode of evil.

BLOODY TEETH, BLOODY CLAWS *Kik' re', kik' rixk'aq*, two lords of Xibalba. They are omitted from earlier lists of the lords (pp. 92, 94) but appear as the eleventh- and twelfth-ranking lords in later lists (pp. 117–19). The situation is just the opposite for Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe, who appear only in the earlier lists and may be these same two lords under different names.

BONE SCEPTER, SKULL SCEPTER *Ch'amiya b'aq, ch'amiya jolom*, seventh- and eighth-ranking lords of Xibalba.

BOUNDARY MARKER *K'ulb'a*, one of the four parts into which the citadel of Thorny Place was divided.

BROMELIADS *Ek'*, air plants (*Tillandsia spp.*) abounding in the trees of highland Guatemala. In some species the flowers have pointed petals and grow at the ends of stiff stalks that jut out from the rest of the plant; hence their use by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in constructing the arms and claws of an artificial crab.

BUNDLE OF FLAMES *Pisom q'aq'al*, a sacred relic left to the Quiché lords by Jaguar Quitze. Like the sacred bundles of North American peoples, a cloth-wrapped ark with mysterious contents.

CACAO *Kako* or *kakaw*, the seeds or seed pods of *Theobroma cacao*, a tree domesticated by Mesoamerican peoples. They used the seeds as money and continue to use them to make cocoa or chocolate.

CACAO WOMAN, CORNMEAL WOMAN *Xkakaw, ix tziya*, names or epithets for the goddess who guards the crops of One Monkey and One Artisan. She is also called Thunder Woman, Yellow Woman.

CAKCHIQUELS *Kaqchikeleb'* or *kaqchekeleb'*, a people who border the Quiché on the south and east and speak a language of the Quichean family. They belong to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. One of the Cakchiquel citadels, Nettles Heights, was conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

CALABASH *Sima* or *tzima*, the fruit of *Crescentia cujete*, a lowland tree, or the

tree itself. The fruit is halved and hollowed to make drinking vessels that are especially valued for cacao beverages. The tree did not bear fruit until the head of One Hunahpu was placed in a fork of its branches. See also skull of One Hunahpu.

"Camacu" *K'amaku,* possibly from Yucatec *k'ay mak u,* "Song of What-is-it," the title of a song full of questions. It is sung by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, who lament being separated from the other peoples who were together at Tulan before the first dawn.

Caoques *Kawqeb',* a tribe whose citadels once included Plaster House, which was among the places conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab. In the Guatemalan department of Sacatepéquez, near San Pedro Sacatepéquez, there are Cakchiquel villages named Santa María Cauqué and Santiago Cauqué.

Cauatepech Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the eleventh generation of Cauec lords. The name, from a Nahua source, means "founder."

Cauecs *Kawiqib'* (singular *kaweq*), the first-ranking Quiché lineage, founded by Jaguar Quitze and divided into nine segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

Cauizimah Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the seventh generation of Cauec lords.

Cauiztan Copal The type of copal used by Jaguar Night to incense the direction of the rising sun. The name is of Nahua origin, meaning "near the thistles."

Cave by the Water *Pekul ya',* one of the volcanoes made by Zipacna. It may be the Volcán de Agua, south of Antigua Guatemala, which once had a lake at its summit.

Chief of the Reception House *Nima k'amja,* title of the lord who was fourth in rank among the Greathouses and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

Chief Yeoltux Emissary *Nima lolmet ye'oltux,* title of the lord who ranked ninth among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. This title is omitted in the second of the two lists of Greathouse lords (pp. 196–97).

Chimalmat Wife of Seven Macaw and mother of Zipacna and Earthquake. Her husband's stars are those of the Big Dipper, while hers form a circle that includes the arc of the Little Dipper. Her name, from a Nahua source, means "shield net."

coati *Tzi's,* an omnivorous, tree-dwelling mammal (*Nasua narica*) related to the raccoon, with a long, flexible snout and a long, erect tail; ranges from southern Arizona to South America, confined to the lowlands in Guatemala.

cochineal See croton.

Cohah A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

COLD HOUSE *Tew ja,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac. Also called Rattling House.

CONCEALMENT CANYON *Ewab'al siwan,* a great canyon in a forest, located somewhere between Santa Cruz del Quiché and San Andrés Sajcabajá in the Sierra de Chuacús. See also Auilix's Place and Tohil Medicine.

COPAL *Pom,* a type of incense widely used in Mesoamerica to this day, better known as copal (from Nahuatl *copalli*). The basic ingredient is the resin from the bark of the incense tree (*Bursera bipinnata*).

CORAL TREE, CORAL SEEDS *Tz'ite,* a tree known in Spanish as the palo pito (*Erythrina corallodendron*) or the tree's hard, red, bean-like seeds. The seeds are used by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in performing calendrical divination for the gods who seek the proper materials for the human body; the wood of the tree is then used in making an experimental male figure.

CORNTASSEL HOUSE *Tz'utuja,* temple of the patron deity of the Zaquic lineage at Rotten Cane or perhaps at a site now known as El Resguardo, one kilometer to the east. Lord Corntassel House was the title of the first-ranking lord of the Zaquic lineage, who headed one of the two great houses into which that lineage was divided; he must have been the priest of the Corntassel god.

CORTÉS, DON JUAN Lord Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fourteenth generation of Cauec lords, alive when the Popol Vuh was written. His title was recognized by the Spanish, but he was unsuccessful in his attempt to restore the full powers of the Cauec lords to Don Juan de Rojas (Keeper of the Mat) and himself, an effort that took him all the way to Spain.

COUNCIL BOOK *Popol wuj* or *popo wuj,* the hieroglyphic book used by the council of Quiché lords to see into the past or future.

COUNCILOR IN THE BALL COURT *Popol winaq pa jom tzalatz,* title of the lord who was eighth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The second time this title is mentioned (p. 196) the untranslatable name Xcuxeba is added. The ball court at Rotten Cane ran east-west and was located immediately south of the Great Monument of Tohil, adjacent to the main plaza.

COUNCILOR OF THE STORES *Popol winaq chituy,* title of the lord who was sixth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

CRISTÓBAL, DON Lord Minister in the twelfth generation of Greathouse lords, still in office by September of 1554.

CROSSROADS *Kajib' xalkat b'e,* a four-way intersection of the roads that link the cosmos together. At the celestial level, this is the place where the ecliptic crosses the Great Rift of the Milky Way near Sagittarius. See also Black Road, Green Road, Red Road, White Road, Yellow Road, and Road of Xibalba.

CROTON *Kaqche'* or *chuj kaqche',* "red tree" or "cochineal red tree," called "sangre de dragón" in Spanish (*Croton sanguifluus*). The shade of red called

cochineal is named for a dye made from scale insects that feed on prickly pear cactus. In the case of the croton tree it is the sap that is red, suggesting blood when it flows from a fresh cut and drying in scabrous nodules. A large nodule of this sap is passed off as the heart of Blood Moon by the messengers of Xibalba, and the burning of such nodules is established as an appropriate offering to the lords of Xibalba.

CRUNCHING JAGUAR *Kotz'b'alam,* one of the monsters who ends the era of the wooden people.

DARK HOUSE *Q'equmaja,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac.

DARK JAGUAR *Ik'ib'alam,* one of the first four human males. He had no son and therefore did not found a lineage. The name is of Cholan origin.

"DAWN OF LIFE, THE" *Saq k'aslem,* an epithet for the Popol Vuh, referring to the first dawning of the present sun and contrasting with another epithet, "Our Place in the Shadows." An alternative reading would be "The Life in the Light."

DAYKEEPER *Ajq'ij,* diviners who count the days of the divinatory calendar using coral seeds. The daykeepers in the Popol Vuh are Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

DEER DANCE PLAZA *Xajb'a kej,* a place six kilometers northwest of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

DEMON OF FILTH, DEMON OF WOE *Ajal mes, ajal toq'ob',* lords of Xibalba who rank ninth and tenth in earlier lists (pp. 92, 94) but are omitted from later ones. See Bloody Teeth, Bloody Claws.

DEMON OF PUS, DEMON OF JAUNDICE *Ajal puj, ajal q'ana,* lords of Xibalba ranking fifth and sixth.

DRY PLACE *Chichaq,* one of the four parts into which the citadel of Thorny Place was divided.

EARTHQUAKE *Kab'raqan,* name of the second son of Seven Macaw and Chimalmat; younger brother of Zipacna. He loses the strength in his limbs when he eats a bird coated with earth and ends up buried in the earth, where his continuing attempts to move cause quakes. Named after him is a place nine kilometers southeast of Rotten Cane, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

EGRET WOMAN *Xb'aqiyalo,* the wife of One Hunahpu and the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan. Her name is partly derived from *bak ha',* the Yucatec term for the snowy egret (*Egretta thula*).

EIGHT CORD *Wajxakib' k'a'm,* Keeper of the Mat in the tenth generation of Cauec lords. *K'a'm,* meaning "cord," is a Quiché translation of the Nahua day name Malinalli.

EIGHTEEN *Waxalajuj,* a place of uncertain location, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

EMISSARY FOR THE LORDS See Lord Emissary.

FALCON *Wok,* a divine name paired with Hunahpu in a prayer and a term for a falcon that serves as a messenger for Heart of Sky. Probably the same as *wak* (see laughing falcon).

FIREPLACE *Chiq'aq',* one of the volcanoes made by Zipacna. Generally thought to be the Volcán de Fuego, southwest of Antigua Guatemala, which forms twin peaks with the Volcán de Acatenango (see Hunahpu).

FOUR HUNDRED BOYS *Omuch' k'ajolab',* the youths who attempt to kill Zipacna but are killed by him instead, eventually becoming the Pleiades (see Hundrath). They die while in a drunken stupor, just as the four hundred rabbits of Nahua mythology do, and like those rabbits they were probably the patron deities of an alcoholic beverage (see sweet drink) and of drunkenness.

FRONT OF THE MONUMENT *Chuwa tz'aq,* the town labeled on maps as Momostenango, a Nahua name meaning "Citadel of Shrines," formerly located five kilometers northwest of its present site. Conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

GODLY COPAL *K'ab'awil pom,* the kind of copal used by Not Right Now to incense the direction of the rising sun. It came from the east.

GOUGER OF FACES *K'otk'owach,* one of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people, coming with a great, dark rainstorm.

GRANARY *Kuja,* name of the palace, at Rotten Cane, of the Keeper of the Mat, first in rank among all the Quiché lords.

GRANDMOTHER OF DAY, GRANDMOTHER OF LIGHT *Ratit q'ij, ratit saq,* meaning grandmother for as long as day or light have existed or may yet exist. Epithets for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, although Xpiyacoc is sometimes described as a grandfather.

GREAT HOLLOW *Nim xol,* the same place as Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes.

GREAT HOLLOW WITH FISH IN THE ASHES *Nim xob' karchaj,* in or near a present-day town eight kilometers east of Cobán, named San Pedro Carchá in printed sources but called *nim karcha* in Kekchí, the Mayan language spoken there. One and Seven Hunahpu (and later Hunahpu and Xbalanque) play ball there before they make their descent into Xibalba. Later, when the Quiché people migrate westward into the highlands, they pass by the same place on their way from Stagger to Place of Advice. There are numerous hollows (karstic depressions) in the area.

GREAT HOUSE *Nimja,* a term for a named and formally organized lineage segment (within a larger patrilineage) with a person of lordly rank at its head, and for the palace that served as headquarters for that segment.

GREATHOUSES *Nijayib',* second-ranking Quiché lineage, founded by Jaguar Night and divided into nine segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

GREAT MONUMENT OF TOHIL *Nima tz'aq tojil,* the temple and supporting pyramid dedicated to the god Tohil in the citadel of Rotten Cane, on the west side of the main plaza and facing east.

GREAT WHITE PECCARY, GREAT WHITE COATI *Saqi nim aq, saqi nima tzi's,*

terms referring to the white-lipped peccary (*Tayasu pecari*), a wild pig, and the coati mundi (*Nasua narica*), a relative of the raccoon; names of a pair of curers, an elderly husband and wife who specialize in problems affecting the teeth, eyes, and bones.

GREEN ROAD *Raxa b'e,* a cosmic road, one of four appearing in a list (p. 116) where it replaces the Yellow Road of an earlier list (p. 95). It is the only road the Quiché lords mention when they pray, asking that the gods keep their subjects on it. In the Mayan scheme of directional colors, green normally pertains to the center or axis mundi. See also Crossroads.

GUARDIANS OF THE SPOILS *Kanchajeleb',* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

HACAUITZ *Jakawitz,* patron deity of the Lord Quiché lineage, received at Tulan by Not Right Now, who carried him to the mountain named for him and placed him at the top of a great pyramid. The Lord Quichés were at Hacauitz when the first dawn came, and the same mountain was the site of the first Quiché citadel, built by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. The temple dedicated to Hacauitz at Rotten Cane bore the same name as the god, and the priest of that temple was called Lord Hacauitz. The priest was fourth in rank among the lords of the Lord Quiché lineage and headed one of the four great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. *Jakawitz* is a Cholan name meaning "bald mountain."

HEART OF SKY, HEART OF EARTH *Uk'ux kaj, uk'ux ulew,* epithets for the gods otherwise named Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt.

HEART OF THE LAKE, HEART OF THE SEA *Uk'ux cho, uk'ux palo,* epithets for the gods who were in or on the sea before the raising of the earth. They are also known as Maker, Modeler and as Bearer, Begetter, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent. Their counterparts, with whom they cooperate in making the earth, are covered by a contrasting pair of epithets: Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.

HERALD *Ajtzik' winaq,* title of the lord who ranked first among the Lord Quichés and headed one of the four great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane; also called Herald for the Lords. He ranked fourth among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiché state from Rotten Cane, with the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and the Lord Minister above him. A slightly different title, Lord Herald, pertained to the lord who ranked second among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses of that lineage.

HOT SPRINGS See Hot Springs Heights.

HOT SPRINGS HEIGHTS *Chuwi miq'ina',* the town known in Spanish as San Miguel Totonicapán, capital of the Department of Totonicapán, formerly located on one of the hilltops above the present site. Once a citadel of the

White Earths (Mam Maya), conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiché.

HULIZNAB One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna; location uncertain.

HUNAHPU *Junajpu*, sometimes *xjunajpu* or "little Hunahpu," a hunter and ball-player, the elder twin brother of Xbalanquè. Their mother is Blood Moon and their fathers, who jointly conceived them, are One and Seven Hunahpu. The astronomical roles of Hunahpu include that of the planet Venus, which still bears his name when it appears as the morning star, and that of the sun that appeared on the first day of the present age. Hunahpu is also the name of one of the volcanoes made by Zipacna, possibly the Volcán de Acatenango, which forms twin peaks with the Volcán de Fuego (see Fireplace).

"HUNAHPU MONKEY" *Junajpu k'oy*, title of a tune played on the flute by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. One Monkey and One Artisan, having been turned into monkeys, danced and did acrobatics to it, climbing up over their grandmother's house instead of using the door. Today in Guatemala there are numerous Mayan towns whose fiestas include a Monkey Dance. The version done in Momostenango seems to confirm the celestial aspect of One Monkey and One Artisan: two monkeys, with stars on their costumes, climb a high pole and do acrobatics on a tightrope.

HUNAHPU PLACE *Chi junajpu*, a place of uncertain location, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

HUNAHPU POSSUM, HUNAHPU COYOTE *Junajpu wuch', junajpu utiw*, epithets that may refer to Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabond dancers and magicians whose arrival signals the transition from one solar year to another.

HUNDRATH *Motz*, the Pleiades, the group of stars formed by the Four Hundred Boys after Zipacna brought their house down on top of them. For today's Quiché the Pleiades symbolize a fistful of seeds. The planting season for maize, running from March to May depending on altitude, is marked by evening settings of the Pleiades that end when they enter a period of complete invisibility.

HURRICANE *Juraqan*, the god who causes the rain and flood that end the era of the wooden people and who periodically gives instructions to Hunahpu and Xbalanque. He is also called Thunderbolt Hurricane and Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth. Tohil, the first-ranking patron deity of the Quiché people, is one of his earthly manifestations.

ILOCS *Ilokab'* (singular *ilok*), one of the allied groups of lineages called "the three Quichés," the other two members being the Quiché proper (comprising the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés) and the Tams.

IZTAYUL Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fourth generation of Cauec lords, with Noble Sweatbath as Keeper of the Mat. A second Iztayul was Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fifth (p. 187) or sixth (p. 195) generation of Cauecs, with Tepepul as Keeper of the Mat. A third Iztayul was

Lord Minister in the seventh generation of Greathouse lords. The name is of Nahua origin, meaning "brine." See also Xtayub.

JAGUAR HOUSE *B'alamija,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac. Jaguar House is also the name of a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

JAGUAR NIGHT *B'alam aq'ab',* one of the first four human males and founder of the Greathouse lineage.

JAGUAR NOBLE ROOFTREE *B'alam k'onache',* the first to rule with the title of Keeper of the Mat, coming in the third generation of Cauec lords; a contemporary of Nine Deer, who was Lord Minister in the fourth generation of Greathouse lords.

JAGUAR QUITZE *B'alam k'itze,* one of the first four human males and founder of the Cauec lineage.

JAGUAR ROPES *B'alam kolob',* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

JOCOTES *Q'inom,* a tropical fruit (*Spondias purpurea*), yellow in color and resembling small plums.

KEEPER OF THE BAT MAT *Ajpo sotz'il,* a Cakchiquel lordly title, treated in the Popol Vuh as the name of the Cakchiquel lineage whose god was Snake Tooth.

KEEPER OF THE DANCE MAT *Ajpo xa* or *xajil,* a Cakchiquel lordly title, treated in the Popol Vuh as the name of a Cakchiquel lineage.

KEEPER OF THE MAT *Ajpop,* title of the lord who ranked first among the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He also ranked first among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiché state from Rotten Cane, with the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Lord Minister, and Herald for the Lords coming below him. The signs or emblems that accompanied these titles were given out by Nacxit, the lord of a "populous domain" located in the east. During the reign of Quicab, the title of Keeper of the Mat was conferred upon the heads of twenty vassal lineages, presumably lineages that were specifically vassals of the Cauecs.

KEEPER OF THE PLUMED SERPENT *Ajq'ukumatz,* title of the priest of the god Sovereign Plumed Serpent at Rotten Cane; he was fourth in rank among the lords of the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The temple of Sovereign Plumed Serpent was located near the center of the main plaza, where the outline of its circular foundation can still be seen.

KEEPER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE MAT *Ajpop k'amja,* title of the lord who ranked second among the Cauec lords and headed one of the nine great houses into which the Cauecs were divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He ranked second among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiché

state from Rotten Cane, coming below the Keeper of the Mat and above the Lord Minister and Herald for the Lords. Among his functions was the collection of tribute.

KEEPER OF TOHIL *Ajtojil,* title of the priest of the god Tohil at Rotten Cane; he was third in rank among the lords of the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

LAKE-SEA *Chopalo,* composed of *cho,* "lake," and *palo,* "sea" (or else a large lake such as Atitlán), but pronounced as a single word. A term for all the pooled water of the world.

LAMACS *Lamakib',* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. Under Spanish rule they were resettled near Sacapulas.

LAUGHING FALCON *Wak,* a snake-hunting falcon (*Herpetotheres cachinnans*) that appears over ball courts and received its identifying black eye patch from Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Its cries are interpreted as omens by peoples ranging from Central Mexico to Brazil.

"LIGHT THAT CAME FROM BESIDE THE SEA, THE" *Saq petenaq ch'aqa palo,* an epithet for the Popol Vuh, referring to the splendid emblems of lordship the Quiché lords brought back from a pilgrimage to Yucatán. See also Nacxit.

LIVING EARS OF GREEN CORN, BED OF EARTH *K'azam aj, ch'atam ulew,* names given by Xmucane to the unripe ears of corn she incenses and then puts in the attic of her house, repeating what Hunahpu and Xbalanque did when they left for Xibalba. She calls these ears "living" because corn lives to sprout again after a harvest, and because Hunahpu and Xbalanque rise again after their death in the underworld. "Bed of Earth" refers to the floor beneath the attic and alludes to the field from which planted corn sprouts and the earth from which Hunahpu and Xbalanque ascend to the sky. See also Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest.

LORD CORNTASSEL HOUSE See Corntassel House.

LORD EMISSARY *Lolmet ajaw* or *ajaw lolmet,* title of the lord who ranked second among the Lord Quichés and headed one of the four great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

LORD HACAUITZ See Hacauitz.

LORD HERALD See Herald.

LORD MINISTER See Minister.

LORD QUICHÉS *Ajaw k'iche',* third-ranking Quiché lineage, founded by Not Right Now and divided into four segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

LUST WOMAN, WAILING WOMAN *Xtaj, xpuch',* names of two young women sent to the place called Tohil's Bath in order to seduce the gods Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, who appeared there as young men. Today these women take the form of the wailing woman known to Guatemalan Mayans and Latins

alike as La Llorona, a freshwater siren who appears along rivers at night and whose icy touch is fatal to men.

MACAMOB One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna; location uncertain.

MACAW HOUSE *Kaqixaja,* name of one of the first four women made by the gods; wife of Dark Jaguar, one of the first four men. Macaw House is also the name of a Cakchiquel patrilineage, otherwise known as Bat House.

MACAW OWL *Kaqix tukur,* third-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, one of four messenger owls. This is clearly the so-called Principal Bird Deity of Classic Maya vase paintings, who has the head and wings of a horned owl but the tail of a macaw.

MAKER, MODELER *Tz'aqol, b'itol,* names or epithets for the gods who amass and give form to the materials that make up the earth, plants, animals, and humans. The same gods are also called Bearer, Begetter, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

MASTER OF CEREMONIES *Nim chokoj,* a title held by one lord in each of the three ruling Quiché lineages and extended, during the reign of Quicab, to the heads of eleven vassal lineages. Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs ranked fifth among the Cauec lords, Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses ranked sixth among the Greathouse lords, and Lord Master of Ceremonies for the Lords ranked third among the Lord Quiché lords. The authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh may have included the current holders of one or more of these three positions. See also Mothers of the Word, Fathers of the Word.

MATASANOS *Ajache,* a tropical fruit (*Casimiroa edulis*), pulpy, thin-skinned, yellow inside and chartreuse outside; called "matasanos" in Guatemalan Spanish.

MATCHMAKER *Mamom,* an arranger of marriages and conductor of marriage ceremonies. An epithet for Xpiyacoc.

MEAUAN The mountain beneath which Hunahpu and Xbalanque defeated Earthquake. Possibly located within the great bend of the Río Negro or Chixoy, north of Rabinal.

METEOR *Ch'ab'iq'aq',* a place of uncertain location, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

MEXICAN PEOPLE *Yaki winaq,* referring to speakers of Nahua, claimed to have been present in the eastern citadel of Tulan at the same time as the Quichés, Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and those of Bird House (Tzutuhils). Their god was called Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat.

MEXICAN SOVEREIGNS *Yaki tepew,* probably identical with the Mexican people (see above).

MIDDLE OF THE HOUSE, MIDDLE OF THE HARVEST *Nik'aj ja, nik'aj b'ichok,* names given by Xmucane to the unripe ears of corn she incenses and then puts in her house, repeating what Hunahpu and Xbalanque did when they left for Xibalba. She calls the ears Middle of the House because that is where

she puts them, which is to say at the center of the storage space in the attic; she calls them Middle of the Harvest because the attic is where she will store the ripened ears of corn at harvest time. See also Living Ears of Green Corn, Bed of Earth.

MIDDLE OF THE PLAIN *Nik'aj taq'aj,* name of the god received by Dark Jaguar at Tulan.

MIDMOST SEERS *Nik' wachinel,* diviners whose techniques include gazing into something translucent. The term is applied to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, One and Seven Hunahpu, and Xulu and Pacam.

MILITARY KEEPER OF THE MAT *Rajpop achij,* title held by the four owls who served as messengers for the lords of Xibalba. Also one of the titles conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab.

MILITARY MINISTER *Uq'alel achij,* one of the titles conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab.

MILITARY WALLS, MILITARY CORNERS *Rajtz'alam achij, utza'm achij,* titles referring to the parts of a stockade and the frontiers of the Quiché kingdom, conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab.

MINISTER *Q'alel,* the title, sometimes prefixed with *ajaw* or "Lord," of the lord who ranked first among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He also ranked third among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiché state from Rotten Cane, coming below the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat and above the Herald for the Lords. During the reign of Quicab, when Woven was Lord Minister of the Greathouses, the title of Minister was conferred upon the heads of twenty vassal lineages, presumably lineages that were specifically vassals of the Greathouses.

MINISTER FOR THE LORDS *Q'alel ajaw,* one of the titles conferred upon the heads of one or more vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab, when Armadillo Dung was Lord Herald for the Lord Quichés. Presumably these would have been vassals of the Lord Quichés in particular, although Minister is not listed as one of the titles actually held by their lineage.

MINISTER FOR THE ZAQUICS *Q'alel saqik,* title of the lord who ranked second among the Zaquics and headed one of the two great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The Zaquics may not have acquired this title until the reign of Quicab, two generations after the founding of Rotten Cane, since it is elsewhere listed as one of the titles conferred on the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab (p. 190). It could also be that the Zaquics themselves ennobled one or more lineages subordinate to themselves, titling them Ministers for the Zaquics in order to distinguish them from the Ministers created by the Greathouses at this same time.

MINISTER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE *Q'alel k'amja,* title of the lord who ranked third among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

MIRROR SIDE *Chulimal,* a place three kilometers north of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

MIXTAM COPAL The type of copal used by Jaguar Quitze to incense the direction of the rising sun. The name is of Nahua origin, meaning "cloudy."

MONKEY HOUSE *B'atz'a,* Lord Minister in the sixth generation of Greathouse lords.

MOTHER-FATHER *Chuchqajaw,* composed of *chuch,* "mother," and *qajaw,* "father," but pronounced as a single word. It carries the sense of "parent," but without any final reduction of the difference between motherhood and fatherhood. The gods known as Maker, Modeler are called mother-fathers, and so are the first four human males and the male heads of present-day patrilineages. See also Mothers of the Word, Fathers of the Word.

MOTHER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE *Uchuch k'amja,* title of the lord who ranked ninth among the Cauecs (also titled Sovereign Mexican) and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The fifth-ranking lord of the Greathouses, who headed one of the nine great houses of their lineage, was also titled Mother of the Reception House.

MOTHERS OF THE WORD, FATHERS OF THE WORD *Uchuch tzij, uqajaw tzij,* an epithet for the three Masters of Ceremonies, suggesting that they were ritual heads of patrilineages (see mother-father) and that they may have been responsible for the Word (see Ancient Word) that is set forth in the Popol Vuh itself.

MOUNTAIN-PLAIN *Juyub'taq'aj,* composed of *juyub',* "mountain (or hill)," and *taq'aj,* "plain (or flat)," but pronounced as a single word. It carries the sense of "earth," but without any final reduction of the difference between mountains and plains. In modern Quiché ritual language, mountain-plain is a common metaphor for the human body; in the Popol Vuh the gods conceive humans at the same time they conceive the earth.

NACXIT The lord of a populous domain, somewhere in Yucatán, where Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord go on a pilgrimage. He gives them the emblems of legitimate lordship. His name is of Nahua origin, meaning "four legs."

NANCE *Tapal,* a tropical fruit *(Byrsonima crassifolia),* small, yellow and purple. The tree grows in the margins of the rain forest, in savannas, and on the lower reaches of temperate mountain slopes.

NETTLES HEIGHTS *Chuwi la,* the town labeled on maps with its Nahua name, Chichicastenango, meaning "Nettles Citadel." Formerly a Cakchiquel citadel, conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiché.

NET WEAVE TRIBE *Amaq' ukin k'at,* the place where the Ilocs gave a home to their patron deity, not far from where the Tams, Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés did the same; also the place where the Ilocs were when the dawn first came.

Newborn Nanahuac, Sudden Nanahuac *Ch'ipi nanawak, raxa nanawak,* alternative names for Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt. Nanahuac is cognate with Nanahuatzin, the Nahuatl name of a god who throws the thunderbolt that opens up the mountain filled with the corn needed to make human flesh. See Split Place.

Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt *Ch'ipi kaqulja, raxa kaqulja,* gods whose names refer both to shafts of lightning and to fulgurites (glassy stones formed where lightning strikes sandy soil), conceived as projectiles hurled from the sky. The same gods are also called Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth; with Thunderbolt Hurricane they form a threesome.

Nine Deer *B'elejeb' kej,* Lord Minister in the fourth generation of Greathouse lords, when Jaguar Noble Rooftree was Keeper of the Mat. Another Nine Deer was Lord Minister in the ninth generation. At least the first of these two was apparently born on the day Nine Deer on the divinatory calendar; the second was probably named after the first. Today such a birth date would augur a domineering, articulate, and masculine character with shamanic inclinations, and because of the relatively high number these qualities should be obvious.

Nine Dog *B'elejeb' tz'i',* Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the twelfth generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Nine Dog on the divinatory calendar. Today, such a birth date would augur confusion, weakness, promiscuity, and ill fortune. He was tortured and burned by the Castilians when they took Rotten Cane in 1524.

Noble Acul *K'oak'ul,* first-ranking lord in the second generation of Greathouse lords, perhaps a lord over the Acul people. Like his successor, Noble Chahuh (Chajul), he bears the name of a place in the territory of the Ixil Maya.

Noble Acutec *K'oakutek,* second-ranking lord in the second generation of Greathouse lords. He represented the Greathouses on the pilgrimage to the lord Nacxit.

Noble Caller *K'oyab'akoj,* Herald for the Lords in the eighth generation of Lord Quiché lords.

Noble Chahuh *K'ochajuj,* first-ranking lord in the third generation of Greathouse lords. Like his predecessor, Noble Acul, he bears the name of a place in the territory of the Ixil Maya, the town known today as Chajul.

Noble Doctor *K'omajkun,* Herald for the Lords in the fifth generation of Lord Quiché lords.

Noble Inscription House *K'otz'ib'aja,* second-ranking lord in the third generation of Greathouse lords.

Noble Lord *K'oajaw,* first-ranking lord in the second generation of Lord Quiché lords. He represented the Lord Quichés on the pilgrimage to the lord Nacxit.

Noble Mortal *K'okamel,* Herald for the Lords in the seventh generation of Lord Quiché lords.

Noble Raiment *K'okawib'*, second-ranking lord in the second generation of Cauec lords and brother of Noble Two. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán, the generation of these brothers was already the fourth one (starting with Jaguar Quitze) rather than the second. While Noble Two was on the pilgrimage to the Lord Nacxit, Noble Raiment fathered a child, Jaguar Noble Rooftree, with Noble Two's wife. On his return Noble Two nevertheless recognized this child as his successor in the first-ranking Cauec lordship.

Noble Rooftree See Jaguar Noble Rooftree.

Noble Short One *K'ok'osom*, Herald for the Lords in the fourth generation of Lord Quiché lords.

Noble Sweatbath *K'otuja*, Keeper of the Mat in the fourth generation of Cauec lords and the object of an attempted assassination. A second Noble Sweatbath was Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fifth generation of Cauec lords, helping Plumed Serpent to found Rotten Cane. Still other Noble Sweatbaths served as Lord Minister in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh generations of Greathouse lords.

Noble Two *K'okib'*, first-ranking lord in the second generation of Cauec lords. He represented the Cauecs on the pilgrimage to the Lord Nacxit. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapán, his generation was already the fourth one (starting with Jaguar Quitze) rather than the second.

Not Right Now *Majukutaj*, one of the first four human males and founder of the Lord Quiché lineage.

One Death, Seven Death *Jun kame, wuqub' kame*, lords who rank first and second among the rulers of Xibalba, named after two days on the divinatory calendar. In the narrative they are treated as two persons, but one and seven stand for all thirteen possible numbers, occurring first and last among the number prefixes of any given day name. By putting the severed head of One Hunahpu in a tree, they initiate evening-star appearances of the planet Venus that begin on days named Death.

One Hunahpu, Seven Hunahpu *Jun junajpu, wuqub' junajpu*, the elder and younger sons, respectively, of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, named after two days on the divinatory calendar. In the narrative they are treated as two persons, but one and seven stand for all thirteen possible numbers, occurring first and last among the number prefixes of any given day name. One Hunahpu is the father, by Egret Woman, of One Monkey and One Artisan; later, both One and Seven Hunahpu become the fathers, by Blood Moon, of twins named Hunahpu and Xbalanque. By bringing the face of the deceased Seven Hunahpu back to life, the twins initiate morning-star appearances of the planet Venus that begin on days named Hunahpu.

One-legged Owl *Juraqan tukur*, second-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, one of four messenger owls. As Andrés Xiloj pointed out, owls stand on only one leg at a time.

One Monkey, One Artisan *Jun b'atz', jun chuen*, the sons of One Hunahpu and Egret Woman; half-brothers of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Patron deities

of musicians, writers, and artisans. One Monkey (specifically a howler monkey) is named for a day on the Quiché and Chol divinatory calendars, while One Artisan is named for the corresponding day on the Kekchí and Yucatec calendars.

One Toh *Jun toj,* a day on the divinatory calendar. The patron deity of the Rabinals, declared by the writers of the Popol Vuh to be equivalent to the Tohil of the Cauecs, Ilocs, and Tams.

"Our Place in the Shadows" *Qamujib'al,* an epithet for the Popol Vuh, referring to the period before the first sunrise is seen and contrasting with another epithet, "The Dawn of Life." The implication of "shadows" is that the light of dawn and of sunrise were really there (somewhere) all along, but that humans remained in darkness.

pataxte *Pek,* the seeds or seed pods of the tree *Theobroma bicolor,* a lower grade of cacao than cacao proper, widely known in Mesoamerica by its Nahuatl-derived name, pataxte. See cacao.

Person of Bam *Winaq b'am,* Herald for the Lords in the ninth generation of Lord Quiché lords.

Petatayub A plain where a mountain of shattered stones from conquered citadels was piled up during the reign of Quicab, located somewhere in the vicinity of the town of Tecún Umán, formerly known as Ayutla, on the Pacific coastal plain near the Mexican border. The name, from a Nahua source, means "mat turtle."

Place of Advice *Chi pixab',* a mountain where the Quichés and other tribes held a council during their migrations. It is a peak of the Montaña los Achiotes, about seven kilometers west of San Andrés Sajcabajá.

Place of Ball Game Sacrifice *Pusb'al cha'j,* the place where the decapitated body of One Hunahpu and the complete body of Seven Hunahpu were buried by the lords of Xibalba. Probably not a place name, but rather a name for the altar where losing ballplayers were sacrificed.

Place of Spilt Water See Spilt Water.

Plank Place *Chitemaj,* a place of uncertain location, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

Plaster House *Saqkab'aja,* the town known today as San Andrés Sajcabajá. Formerly a Caoque citadel, conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiché.

Plumed Serpent *Q'ukumatz,* literally "Quetzal Serpent," Keeper of the Mat in the fourth (p. 186) or fifth (p. 195) generation of Cauec lords, named after the god listed elsewhere as Sovereign Plumed Serpent. For at least part of his reign, it seems, he also held the office of Keeper of the Reception House Mat. He was one of the founders of Rotten Cane and was especially remembered for his demonstrations of shamanic power.

Point of the Arrow, Angle of the Bowstring *Uchi' ch'a, uchi' k'a'm,* epithets for the vanguard lineages sent out to occupy conquered citadels during the reign of Quicab.

POORWILL, DANCE OF THE *Xajoj pujuy,* a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

POPOL VUH See Council Book.

PRAWN HOUSE *Chomija,* name of one of the first four women made by the gods; wife of Jaguar Night, one of the first four men.

PUS RIVER *Puj ya',* a river that crosses the road to Xibalba. Blood River and Pus River may have been the names of actual dark (deep) and light (muddy) rivers that flow from the Guatemalan highlands into the northern lowlands. For today's Quiché the regions that drop off toward the Atlantic, especially in the area of Cobán, are still an abode of evil.

QUEHNAY EMISSARY *Lolmet kejnay,* title of the lord who ranked seventh among the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

QUENECH AHAU A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. The name is from the Yucatec Maya title *k'inich ahaw,* "sun-faced lord."

QUETZAL *Q'uq',* also known as the resplendent quetzal (*Pharomachrus mocinno*). Confined to localized cloud forest habitats scattered from Chiapas to Panama, it is the most spectacular bird in the New World, red on the breast and white under the tail but otherwise bright green with blue iridescence. The two-foot-long tail coverts of the male were a major item of tribute and a major feature of lordly regalia throughout Mesoamerica.

QUIBA HOUSE, THOSE OF *Ajkib'aja,* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

QUICAB *K'iqab',* Keeper of the Mat in the sixth (p. 187) or seventh (p. 195) generation of Cauec lords. He greatly expanded the Quiché state, destroying the citadels of neighboring peoples and occupying them with vassal lineages drawn from the immediate vicinity of Rotten Cane. He ennobled the heads of many vassal lineages, including those who had served him well in his conquests, but members of this new nobility later perpetrated a revolt that reduced his power. Three generations later, while Eight Cord was Keeper of the Mat, a second Quicab served in the second-ranking lordship, that of the Keeper of the Reception House Mat. This latter Quicab was probably the grandfather of the famous warrior known as Tecum Umam Quicab, "Black Butterfly Grandson of Quicab," who died in a battle with Pedro de Alvarado's forces before the attack on Rotten Cane took place.

QUICHÉ *K'iche',* the name of a people, a language, a town, and a kingdom. As a people, the Quiché proper consist of those who descend from Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now—that is to say, the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages—and who worship the gods Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. "The three Quichés" include the Quiché proper, as just described, together with two further lineages whose god was Tohil, the Tams and Ilocs. This threesome is said to have been together even since the time of Tulan, and to

have shared the same language, which is also called Quiché. Late in the narrative Quiché becomes a place name referring to the vicinity of Rotten Cane, covering Rotten Cane itself, Bearded Place (half a kilometer south of Rotten Cane), and the site of the post-conquest town of Santa Cruz. The name can also be extended to the entire kingdom that was ruled from Rotten Cane.

QUITZALCUAT The god of the Mexican people, also called Yolcuat. The present name, from a Nahua source, means "plumed serpent."

RABINALS *Rab'inaleb'*, the people known today as the Achí, who speak Achí (a dialect of Quiché) and whose principal town is Rabinal, on the northeast frontier of what was once the Quiché kingdom. They belonged to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. One of the Rabinal citadels, Spilt Water, was conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

RATTLING HOUSE *Xuxulim ja,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac. Also called Cold House; the present name comes from the sounds of the hail that falls on the house and the cold drafts that come in through its cracks.

RAZOR HOUSE *Ch'ayim ja,* one of the tests of Xibalba, possibly corresponding to a position on the Mayan zodiac. Full of stone knives or blades that move back and forth.

RED BANNER *Kaq laq'an,* Herald for the Lords in the third generation of Lord Quiché lords.

RED ROAD *Kaqa be',* one of four cosmic roads. Red is the color of the east. See also Crossroads.

RED SEA TURTLE *Kaqa paluma,* name of one of the first four women made by the gods; wife of Jaguar Quitze, one of the first four men.

ROAD OF XIBALBA *Ri b'e xib'alb'a,* the road that beckoned to One and Seven Hunahpu when they were on their way to Xibalba and led to their deaths, also called Black Road. As a celestial road it is the Great Rift in the Milky Way; as a terrestrial road it descends into Xibalba from somewhere near Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes.

ROBLES, DON PEDRO DE Lord Minister in the thirteenth generation of Great-house lords, in office when the Popol Vuh was written. Since his predecessor was still in office in September of 1554, the Popol Vuh must have been written after that time.

ROJAS, DON JUAN DE Lord Keeper of the Mat in the fourteenth generation of Cauec lords, in office when the Popol Vuh was written. His title was recognized by the Spanish; he retained his serfs, was given a reception room in the Royal Palace at Santiago Guatemala, served as a minister of native affairs, and attempted to regain jurisdiction over the towns that had been conquered by the Quiché state before the arrival of the Spanish. He was still in office in 1554; since he was no longer signing documents by November of 1558, the Popol Vuh must have been written before that date.

ROTTEN CANE *Q'umaraq aj,* the citadel built by the Quiché lords after they left Bearded Place, founded by the Keeper of the Mat named Plumed Serpent. At Bearded Place there had been only three great houses or lordly lineages, but after the founding of Rotten Cane the Cauecs divided into nine parts, the Greathouses into nine parts, the Lord Quichés into four parts, and there were also two divisions of Zaquics (not mentioned at Bearded Place). Except for the two divisions of Zaquics, which shared a single palace, each of these lineage segments had a separate palace, making twenty-three palaces in all. It was from Rotten Cane that Quicab greatly expanded the Quiché state, and it was Rotten Cane that was taken by Pedro de Alvarado in 1524. The ruins, labeled on maps as Utatlán (their Nahua name), are located three kilometers west of Santa Cruz del Quiché.

RUSTLING CANYON, GURGLING CANYON *Nu' siwan, k'ulk'u siwan,* on the road followed by One and Seven Hunahpu when they descended to Xibalba. It could be east of San Pedro Carchá, where the Río Cahabón disappears into a system of caves and then emerges again.

SANTA CRUZ Bishop Francisco Marroquín gave this name to Rotten Cane in 1539, but the town that came to be known as Santa Cruz del Quiché was not built on the ruins of Rotten Cane itself but three kilometers to the east.

SCAB STRIPPER *Xik'iri pat,* third-ranking lord of Xibalba.

SCORPION RAPIDS *Jalja ja' sinaj,* an obstacle on the road to Xibalba, encountered shortly before the Crossroads. At the celestial level, Scorpion Rapids would be on the ecliptic a short distance west of the place where it crosses the Great Rift in the Milky Way. That would be in Scorpius, which the Yucatec Maya and the Aztecs both saw as a scorpion.

SERPENTS *Kumatz,* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. The Spanish, who resettled them near the town of Sacapulas, called them Coatecas, a Nahuatl-derived name with the same meaning as the Quiché name.

SEVEN CANE *Wuqub' aj,* Herald for the Lords in the sixth generation of Lord Quiché lords. Apparently born on the day Seven Cane on the divinatory calendar; today such a birth date would augur good luck in all the affairs of life and a potential career as a dutiful priest-shaman or official.

SEVEN CAVES, SEVEN CANYONS *Wuqub' pek, wuqub' siwan,* an epithet for Tulan, the citadel where the ruling Quiché lineages acquired their patron deities. Numerous Mayan ruins have natural caves beneath them; Rotten Cane has three artificial caves, the longest of which runs to a point beneath the main plaza. See also Tulan and Zuyua.

SEVEN MACAW *Wuqub' kaqix,* a god who falsely claimed to be both the sun and moon during the era of the wooden people; husband of Chimalmat and father of Zipacna and Earthquake. In his earthly role he is a scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*), while his celestial role is that of the seven stars of the Big Dipper. At the request of Hurricane, Hunahpu and Xbalanque bring Seven Macaw down out of his tree, opening the way for the great rain that destroys

the wooden people who worshipped Seven Macaw as the sun. In the same way, the period during which the Big Dipper is in descent or below the horizon for most of the night coincides with the hurricane season in the latitudes of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean (mid-July to mid-October).

SEVEN THOUGHT *Wuqub' no'j,* Keeper of the Mat in the eleventh generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Seven Thought on the divinatory calendar. Today, such a birth date would augur an ability to solve problems, a potential for leadership, and a markedly masculine character.

SHIELD DANCE *Pokob',* a dance performed by the Quiché lords while they were settled at Bearded Place.

SHOOTING OWL *Ch'ab'i tukur,* first-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, one of four messenger owls. These owls are able to reach the eastern ball court used by One and Seven Hunahpu and by One Monkey and One Artisan, but in contrast with the falcon that serves as messenger of the Heart of Sky or Hurricane, they are not described as being able to reach the place where the Heart of Sky is located.

SKULL OF ONE HUNAHPU *Ujolom jun junajpu,* an epithet for the calabash, referring to the fact that the calabash tree never bore fruit until One Hunahpu's severed head was placed in it. The calabash was and is used for drinking cacao, and Classic Maya ceramic vessels used for that purpose were painted with scenes from stories like those of the Popol Vuh. See calabash.

SKULL OWL *Jolom tukur,* fourth-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, one of four messenger owls.

SKY-EARTH *Kajulew,* composed of *kaj,* "sky," and *ulew,* "earth," but pronounced as a single word. It carries the sense of "world," but without any final reduction of the difference between sky and earth.

SNAKE TOOTH *Chamalkan,* god of the Bat House lineage of the Cakchiquels. The name is of Yucatecan or Cholan origin.

SNATCH-BAT *Kamasotz',* the kind of bat that inhabits the Bat House of Xibalba; one of them bites off the head of Hunahpu.

SOVEREIGN MEXICAN *Tepew yaki,* title of the lord who was ninth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane; he was also called Mother of the Reception House.

SOVEREIGN OLOMAN *Tepew oloman,* a people who stayed in the east when the Quiché ancestors migrated westward; possibly the speakers of Pipil (a Nahua language) who once occupied an area lying east of Rotten Cane and west of Copán, in the Motagua valley. Oloman, from a Nahua source, means "ballplayer."

SOVEREIGN PLUMED SERPENT *Tepew q'ukumatz,* a god who belongs to the group variously called Maker, Modeler; Bearer, Begetter; and Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea. These gods are on or in the sea in the primordial world, whereas the god or gods called Heart of Sky, Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt are in the sky.

SPILT WATER *Mak'a'* or *pamak'a'*, the town labeled on maps as Zacualpa, formerly located two kilometers southeast of its present site. Once a Rabinal citadel, conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiché.

SPLIT PLACE, BITTER WATER PLACE *Pan paxil, pan k'ayala'*, a high mountain just south of the Pan American Highway and near the Guatemalan border with Mexico, with a large spring on its north side. The place where the Makers and Modelers got the corn and water needed to make the bodies of the first true humans; its interior was filled not only with corn but with a variety of tropical fruits. Today the people of the surrounding region, who speak Mam, reckon it as the origin place of corn. Teosinte, a wild grain that crossbreeds with corn, is abundant on its slopes.

STAGGER *Silisib'*, the place where the tribes (other than the Cakchiquels) pledged themselves to be "suckled" (or to have their hearts cut out) by Tohil in exchange for fire.

STAR HOUSE, THOSE OF *Ajch'umilaja*, a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. The Spanish, who resettled them near the town of Sacapulas, called them Sitaltecas, a Nahuatl-derived name with the same meaning as the Quiché name.

STEVIA *Jolom okox*, literally "head of mushroom," a common aromatic herb named for the shape of its composite flower head. It is probably *Stevia serrata*, called "requesón" in Mexico and "pericón blanco" in Guatemala. The burning of this herb, together with marigolds, constitutes a more modest offering than copal incense.

STONE COURSES, SAND BANKS *Cholochik ab'aj, bokotajinaq sanayeb'*, a causeway crossing a body of water, traveled by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar on their migration from Tulan.

STRONGHOLD *Kawinal*, one of the four parts into which the citadel of Thorny Place was divided. Today the ruins of all four parts together are called Cauinal.

SUDDEN BLOODLETTER *Kamalotz*, one of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people.

SUN CARRIER *Iqoq'ij*, the planet Venus as the morning star, also called the "great star."

SUN-MOON *Q'ijik'*, composed of *q'ij*, "sun," and *ik'*, "moon," but pronounced as a single word. A term encompassing all heavenly bodies that move across the background of the fixed stars.

SWALLOWING SWORDS *Xtz'ul*, a dance in which a pair of performers in small masks wear macaw tails on their backs, shake tortoiseshell rattles, pound themselves on their chests with stones, and put sticks down their throats and bones up their noses. Hunahpu and Xbalanque perform this dance while in their guise as vagabonds.

SWEATBATH HOUSE *Tujalja*, a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied

tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. They settled at Sacapulas, where the Quiché name for the town center is *tujal.*

SWEET DRINK *Ki',* an alcoholic beverage made from maguey, known in Mexico by its Nahuatl-derived name, pulque. *Ki'* can mean not only "sweet" but "poison" as well, which has to do with the fact that pulque changes its character, tasting sweet before fermentation and then becoming bitter and (when drunk to excess) sickening.

TALK HOUSE *Uch'ab'aja,* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. Under Spanish rule they were resettled near Sacapulas.

TAMAZUL *Tamasul,* the toad that swallowed the louse that carried the message of Xmucane.

TAMS *Tamub'* (singular *tam*), one of the allied groups of lineages called "the three Quichés," the other two members being the Quiché proper—comprising the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés—and the Ilocs.

TAM TRIBE *Amaq' tan,* place where the Tams gave a home to their patron deity, not far from where the Ilocs, Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quichés did the same; also the place where the Tams saw the first dawn.

TEARING JAGUAR *Tukumb'alam,* one of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people.

TEPEPUL Keeper of the Mat in the fifth (p. 187) or sixth (p. 195) generation of Cauec lords. Another Tepepul was Keeper of the Mat in the eighth generation of Cauec lords, and still others were Keepers of the Reception House Mat in the ninth and thirteenth generations. This last Tepepul was taken hostage when Rotten Cane fell to the Spanish in 1524; he was the son of Nine Dog, the Keeper of the Reception House Mat who was tortured and executed by Pedro de Alvarado. His accession to his father's title was later recognized by Alvarado, but eventually he, too, was executed, having been accused of plotting a rebellion. Tepepul, from a Nahua source, means "big mountain."

THORNY PLACE *Chik'ix,* the citadel of the Quiché lords after they left Hacauitz and before they built Bearded Place. It was divided into four parts: Dry Place, Bark House, Boundary Marker, and Stronghold. The ruins of Thorny Place, grouped around four plazas, are located on the Río Calá or Blanco near its confluence with the Río Chixoy or Negro, about twenty kilometers northwest of Rabinal. They are known today as Cauinal (see Stronghold).

THREE DEER *Oxib' kej,* Keeper of the Mat in the twelfth generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Three Deer on the divinatory calendar. Today such a birth date would augur a domineering, articulate, and masculine character, with possible shamanic inclinations, but because of the low number these qualities would be present in only moderate quantity. He was tortured and burned by the Castilians when they took Rotten Cane in 1524.

THREE GREAT HOUSES *Oxib' chi nim ja,* referring to the alliance, at Bearded

Place, of the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiché lineages, whose members intermarried.

THRONG BIRDS *Tz'ikin molay,* a migrating flock of Swainson's hawks (*Buteo swainsonii*), which funnel through Guatemala in spectacular numbers on their way from North to South America and back again. After performing a harvest ritual, Hunahpu and Xbalanque encounter these birds on their way to Xibalba.

THUNDERBOLT HURRICANE *Kaqulja juraqan,* an epithet for Hurricane.

THUNDER WOMAN, YELLOW WOMAN *Xtoj, Xq'anil,* names or epithets of the goddess who guards the crops of One Monkey and One Artisan, who is also called Cacao Woman and Cornmeal Woman. *Toj* and *Q'anil* are day names from the divinatory calendar; at present days named *Q'anil* are appropriate for harvesting ripened ears of corn, which is what Blood Moon is about to do when she invokes this goddess.

TOHIL *Tojil,* god of fire-making, thunderstorms, blood sacrifice, and rulership. As an aspect of the one-legged god named Hurricane, he takes the role of a fire drill. Patron deity of the Cauec, Tam, and Iloc lineages; the name Tohil sometimes covers not only Tohil himself but also Auilix and Hacauitz, patrons of the Greathouse and Lord Quiché lineages. Tohil was received at Tulan by Jaguar Quitze, who took him to Tohil's Place for the first dawn. At his temple in Rotten Cane, called Great Monument of Tohil, he received offerings from those who came to pay tribute to the lords of the Quiché kingdom.

TOHIL MEDICINE *Kunab'al tojil,* an epithet given to Concealment Canyon after Tohil was placed nearby on the mountain called Tohil's Place.

TOHIL'S BATH *Ratinib'al tojil,* the unknown place where the spirit familiars of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were regularly seen bathing during the time when the Quiché lords occupied the citadel of Hacauitz.

TOHIL'S PLACE *Patojil,* the mountain where Jaguar Quitze took the god Tohil and saw the first dawn, located between Santa Cruz del Quiché and San Andrés Sajcabajá in the Sierra de Chuacús.

TONATIUH The name given to Pedro de Alvarado by the Nahuatl-speaking people of Mexico. It means "sun" or, more literally, "he who goes along getting hot."

TORTILLA GRIDDLE *Xot,* a round and slightly concave pottery griddle, used in toasting tortillas; better known by the Nahuatl-derived name comal.

TREE-STONE *Che'ab'aj,* an exact Quiché translation of *te'tun,* the Cholan term for stele in the Classic Maya inscriptions at Copán.

TULAN A town in the east that was like the Classic Maya site of Copán in having a bat as its insignia. The lords of the Quiché, Cakchiquel, and other "mountain people" gathered there, paying tribute and acquiring their respective patron deities. By the time they found their own places to rule, Tulan had been abandoned. The site was probably not called Tulan until after its demise. For its other names see Zuyua and Seven Caves, Seven Canyons.

UNDER TEN *Xelajuj,* a citadel conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab, corresponding to what is now the second-largest city in Guatemala.

The city appears on maps as Quezaltenango or Quetzaltenango, a Nahuatl-derived name meaning "quetzal citadel," but it is called Xelajú or Xela in everyday Guatemalan speech, whether in Spanish or in Mayan languages. The ancient citadel, whose exact location is unknown, was on a hilltop in the vicinity of the present city.

UNDER THE TWINE, UNDER THE CORD *Xeb'alax, xek'a'maq,* a mountain named for its location on a measured boundary, specifically the boundary separating lands belonging directly to the lords of Rotten Cane from those of their vassals at Mirror Side. When the heads of vassal lineages were elevated to lordship and assigned to the task of protecting newly conquered territories during the reign of Quicab, their induction took place on this boundary mountain rather than in the citadel of Rotten Cane.

WALKING ON STILTS *Chitik,* a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

WATER HUMMINGBIRD *Tz'ununija',* referring to the green kingfisher (*Chloroceryle americana*). The name of one of the first four women made by the gods; wife of Not Right Now, one of the first four men. A Tzutuhil patrilineage carries the same name.

WEASEL, DANCE OF THE *Xajoj kux,* a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds. The species in question is the long-tailed weasel (*Mustela frenata*).

WHITE CORNMEALS *Saq k'ajib',* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. They must have settled in the area of the present town of Salcajá, called *saqk'aja* in Quiché.

WHITE DAGGER *Saqi toq',* the sacrificial knife belonging to the lords of Xibalba and of the ball (containing this knife) they are anxious to use in their game with Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

WHITE EARTHS *Saqulewab',* the Mam Maya, named after their principal citadel, White Earth or *saqulew* (Zaculeu on maps). The ruins of this citadel are five kilometers west of the present town of Huehuetenango.

WHITE RIVER *Saqi ya',* a place two kilometers west of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

WHITE ROAD *Saqi b'e,* one of four cosmic roads. White is the color of north on the earthly plane, but the White Road of the sky corresponds to the section of the Milky Way whose width is solid white rather than being split lengthwise by the darkness of the Great Rift. See also Black Road.

WHITE SPARKSTRIKER *Saqi k'oxol,* a being who escapes into the shelter of the woods when the sun first rises, taking along the animals that were petrified by the sun. He/she (the sex is ambiguous) has the title role in the present-day dance drama called "Saqi K'oxol" in Quiché and "La Conquista" in Spanish, playing the role of a daykeeper (or else the dwarf companion of the daykeeper) who forecasts the outcome of the Spanish invasion and later escapes into the woods to preserve indigenous customs. Despite the name, he/she has

a red mask and is dressed entirely in red, carrying the stone axe he/she used to strike lightning into the bodies of the first daykeepers. As a being who appears in woods, caves, and dreams, he/she is the keeper of the petrified animals (volcanic concretions that resemble animals).

WHITE VULTURE *Saq k'uch,* the king vulture (*Sarcoramphus papa*), a lowland species, white except for black flight feathers and a naked red head and neck.

WILLOW TREE *Tzolojche',* the town labeled on maps as Santa María Chiquimula. One of the citadels conquered by the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

WING, PACKSTRAP *Xik', patan,* lords of Xibalba who rank eleventh and twelfth in earlier lists (pp. 92, 94) and ninth and tenth in later ones (pp. 117–19). The packstrap is a strip of hide used to protect the forehead when a load is carried with a tumpline.

WOVEN *Kema,* Lord Minister of the Greathouse lords, mentioned in one passage as a contemporary of Quicab, who served as Keeper of the Mat in the sixth generation of Cauec lords (p. 189), and in a later passage as belonging to the tenth generation of Greathouse lords (p. 196).

XBALANQUE *Xb'alanq'e,* a hunter and ballplayer, the younger twin brother of Hunahpu. Their mother is Blood Moon and their fathers, who jointly conceived them, are One and Seven Hunahpu. The astronomical roles of Xbalanque include that of the night or underworld sun and that of the full moon that rose when the sun set on the first day of the present era. His name means "sun's hidden aspect" in Kekchí (a Quichean language).

XCANUL *Xk'anul,* one of the volcanoes made by Zipacna. This is the Volcán Santa María, nine kilometers south of Quetzaltenango.

XCUXEBA See Councilor in the Ball Court.

XIBALBA *Xib'alb'a,* the fearful world beneath the face of the earth, ruled by One Death, Seven Death, and other lords. See also Road of Xibalba.

XPIYACOC, XMUCANE Divine grandparents, older than all the other gods; parents of One and Seven Hunahpu; patrons of daykeepers. To this day the ideal daykeepers are husband and wife, and the divinations with the clearest outcomes are the ones they do together. Among the epithets of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane are Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light (though Xpiyacoc is male), and Bearer twice over, Begetter twice over (as if to make them even older than the gods who are simply called Bearer, Begetter). They are also described as midwife and matchmaker, which are specialized subfields of contemporary Quiché diviners (female and male respectively).

XTAYUB Probably a variant spelling of Iztayul. Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the eighth generation of Cauec lords.

XULU, PACAM *Xulu, pak'am,* diviners who tell the lords of Xibalba to throw the ground bones of Hunahpu and Xbalanque into a river, with the result that they become catfish. The names are of Cholan origin, respectively referring to catfish and to something sown. See also Midmost Seers.

YACOLATAM Title of the lord who ranked eighth among the Greathouses and

was head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The word, from a Nahua source, means "corner of the mat."

YELLOW ROAD *Q'anab'e.* One of four cosmic roads. Yellow is the color of the south. See also Crossroads.

YELLOW TREE *K'ante',* the madre cacao (*Gliricidia sepium*), a large tree planted to provide shade for cacao trees.

YOKES HOUSE, THOSE OF *Ajb'atenaja,* a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quichés regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. The yokes are those worn in the Mesoamerican ball game.

YOLCUAT The god of the Mexican people, also called Quitzalcuat. Yolcuat, from a Nahua source, means "ingenious snake."

ZACLATOL The Quiché version of a Nahua term for a mat made of cattail leaves.

ZAPOTES *Tulul,* a tropical fruit (*Manilkara zapota*) sometimes called sapota in English. The tan skin resembles suede; the flesh is chocolate-colored.

ZAQUIC *Saqik,* a lordly lineage divided into two great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane. This lineage, which is not listed among those that came from the east, served as a substitute for the lineage that would have been founded by Dark Jaguar and his wife, Macaw House, who had no children. See also Corntassel House.

ZAQUICAZ *Saqiq'as,* the snake that swallows the toad that swallows the louse that carries the message of Xmucane. It is a thick, black snake that is said to flee when it sees people, making a noise with its belly.

ZIPACNA *Sipakna,* the first son of Seven Macaw and Chimalmat and the elder brother of Earthquake. He claims to be the maker of the earth and has the character of a caiman.

ZIYA HOUSE *Siyaja,* a place of uncertain location, occupied by vassals of the Quiché lords during the reign of Quicab.

ZUYUA *Suyua,* part of the name Tulan Zuyua, referring to a town in the east where the leaders of the Quichés and other "mountain peoples" received patron deities that entitled them to lordship. In Yucatec Maya, the term *suyua t'an,* "twisted (or deceptive) speech," refers to riddles whose answers were demanded of pretenders to lordly positions.

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Key to Lexical Citations

(AA) Aulie and Aulie 1978.
(AB) Barrera Vásquez 1980.
(AG) García Hernández et al. 1980.
(AM) Molina 1970.
(BS) Sahagún 1950–69, book 11.
(CB) Roys 1967.
(DB) Basseta 1921.
(DL) León 1954.
(DV) Vico c.1550.
(DZ) Zúñiga n.d.
(EH) Haeserijn V. 1979.
(FT) Tirado 1787.
(FV) Varea 1929.
(FX) Ximénez 1985.
(JH) Josserand and Hopkins 1988.
(JM) Maldonado Andrés et al. 1986.
(MA) Alvarado López 1975.
(MX) Maynard and Xec 1954.
(OS) Stoll 1888.
(PG) Guzmán 1984.
(PM) Morán n.d.
(RA) Brasseur de Bourbourg 1862.
(RL) Laughlin 1975.
(RS) Siméon 1977.
(TC) Coto 1983.
(TK) Carmack 1973: chap. 6.
(TT) Carmack and Mondloch 1983a.
(TV) Carmack and Mondloch 1983c.
(TY) Carmack and Mondloch 1983b.
(UU) Ulrich and Ulrich 1976.

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from Quiché into Spanish

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Preamble

THIS IS THE BEGINNING of the old traditions of this place called Quiché.

Here we shall write and we shall begin the old stories, the beginning and the origin of all that was done in the town of the Quiché, by the tribes of the Quiché nation.

And here we shall set forth the revelation, the declaration, and the narration of all that was hidden, the revelation by Tzacol, Bitol, Alom, Qaholom, who are called Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú, Zaqui-Nimá-Tziís, Tepeu, Gucumatz, u Qux cho, u Qux Paló, Ali Raxá Lac, Ah Raxá Tzel, as they were called. And [at the same time] the declaration, the combined narration of the Grandmother and the Grandfather, whose names are Xpiyacoc, and Xmucané, helpers and protectors, twice grandmother, twice grandfather, so called in the Quiché chronicles. Then we shall tell all that they did in the light of existence, in the light of history.

This we shall write now under the Law of God and Christianity; we shall bring it to light because now the *Popol Vuh*, as it is called, cannot be seen any more, in which was dearly seen the coming from the other side of the sea and the narration of our obscurity, and our life was clearly seen. The original book, written long ago, existed, but its sight is hidden to the searcher and to the thinker. Great were the descriptions and the account of how all the sky and earth were formed, how it was formed and divided into four parts; how it was partitioned, and how the sky was divided; and the measuring-cord was brought, and it was stretched in the sky and over the earth, on the four angles, on the four corners, as was told by the Creator and the Maker, the Mother and the Father of Life, of all created things, he who gives breath and thought, she who gives birth to the children, he who watches over the happiness of the people, the happiness of the human race, the wise man, he who meditates on the goodness of all that exists in the sky, on the earth, in the lakes and in the sea.

PART I: Chapter 1

THIS IS THE ACCOUNT OF HOW ALL WAS in suspense, all calm, in silence; all motionless, still, and the expanse of the sky was empty.

This is the first account, the first narrative. There was neither man, nor animal, birds, fishes, crabs, trees, stones, caves, ravines, grasses, nor forests; there was only the sky.

The surface of the earth had not appeared. There was only the calm sea and the great expanse of the sky.

There was nothing brought together, nothing which could make a noise, nor anything which might move, or tremble, or could make noise in the sky.

There was nothing standing; only the calm water, the placid sea, alone and tranquil. Nothing existed.

There was only immobility and silence in the darkness, in the night. Only the creator, the Maker, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, were in the water surrounded with light. They were hidden under green and blue feathers, and were therefore called Gucumatz. By nature they were great sages and great thinkers. In this manner the sky existed and also the Heart of Heaven, which is the name of God and thus He is called.

Then came the word. Tepeu and Gucumatz came together in the darkness, in the night, and Tepeu and Gucumatz talked together. They talked then, discussing and deliberating; they agreed, they united their words and their thoughts.

Then while they meditated, it became clear to them that when dawn would break, man must appear. Then they planned the creation, and the growth of the trees and the thickets and the birth of life and the creation of man. Thus it was arranged in the darkness and in the night by the Heart of Heaven who is called Huracán.

The first is called Caculhá Huracán. The second is Chipi-Caculhá. The third is Raxa-Caculhá. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

Then Tepeu and Gucumatz came together; then they conferred about life and light, what they would do so that there would be light and dawn, who it would be who would provide food and sustenance.

Thus let it be done! Let the emptiness be filled! Let the water recede and make a void, let the earth appear and become solid; let it be done. Thus they spoke. Let there be light, let there be dawn in the sky and on the earth! There shall be neither glory nor grandeur in our creation and formation until the human being is made, man is formed. So they spoke.

Then the earth was created by them. So it was, in truth, that they created the earth. Earth! they said, and instantly it was made.

Like the mist, like a cloud, and like a cloud of dust was the creation, when the mountains appeared from the water; and instantly the mountains grew.

Only by a miracle, only by magic art were the mountains and valleys formed; and instantly the groves of cypresses and pines put forth shoots together on the surface of the earth.

And thus Gucumatz was filled with joy, and exclaimed: "Your coming has been fruitful, Heart of Heaven; and you, Huracán, and you, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá!"

"Our work, our creation shall be finished," they answered.

First the earth was formed, the mountains and the valleys; the currents of water were divided, the rivulets were running freely between the hills, and the water was separated when the high mountains appeared.

Thus was the earth created, when it was formed by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, as they are called who first made it fruitful, when the sky was in suspense, and the earth was submerged in the water.

So it was that they made perfect the work, when they did it after thinking and meditating upon it.

I. Chapter 2

Then they made the small wild animals, the guardians of the woods, the spirits of the mountains, the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, snakes. vipers, guardians of the thickets.

And the Forefathers asked: 'Shall there be only silence and calm under the trees, under the vines? It is well that hereafter there be someone to guard them."

So they said when they meditated and talked. Promptly the deer and the birds were created. immediately they gave homes to the deer and the birds. "You, deer, shall sleep in the fields by the river bank and in the ravines. Here you shall be amongst the thicket, amongst the pasture; in the woods you shall multiply, you shall walk on four feet and they will support you. Thus be it done!" So it was they spoke.

Then they also assigned homes to the birds big and small. "You shall live in the trees and in the vines. There you shall make your nests; there you shall multiply; there you shall increase in the branches of the trees and in the vines." Thus the deer and the birds were told; they did their duty at once, and all sought their homes and their nests.

And the creation of all the four-footed animals and the birds being finished, they were told by the Creator and the Maker and the Forefathers: "Speak, cry, warble, call, speak each one according to your variety, each, according to your kind." So was it said to the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, and serpents.

"Speak, then, our names, praise us, your mother, your father. Invoke then, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers; speak, invoke us, adore us," they were told.

But they could not make them speak like men; they only hissed and screamed and cackled; they were unable to make words, and each screamed in a different way.

When the Creator and the Maker saw that it was impossible for them to talk to each other, they said: "It is impossible for them to say our names, the names of us, their Creators and Makers. This is not well," said the Forefathers to each other.

Then they said to them: "Because it has not been possible for you to talk, you shall be changed. We have changed our minds: Your food, your pasture, your homes. and your nests you shall have; they shall be the ravines and the woods, because it has not been possible for you to adore us or invoke us. There shall be those who adore us, we shall make other [beings] who shall be obedient. Accept your destiny: your flesh shall be tom to pieces. So shall it be. This shall be your lot." So they said, when they made known their will to the large and small animals which are on the face of the earth.

They wished to give them another trial; they, wished to make another attempt; they wished to make [all living things] adore them.

But they could not understand each other's speech; they could succeed in nothing, and could do nothing. For this reason they were sacrificed and the animals which were on earth were condemned to be killed and eaten.

For this reason another attempt had to be made to create and make men by the Creator, the Maker, and the Forefathers.

"Let us try again! Already dawn draws near: Let us make him who shall nourish and sustain us! What shall we do to be invoked, in order to be remembered on earth? We have already tried with our first creations, our first creatures; but we could not make them praise and venerate us. So, then, let us try to make obedient, respectful beings who will nourish and sustain us." Thus they spoke.

Then was the creation and the formation. Of earth, of mud, they made [man's] flesh. But they saw that it was not good. It melted away, it was soft, did not move, had no strength, it fell down, it was limp, it could not move its head, its face fell to one side, its sight was blurred, it could not look behind. At first it spoke, but had no mind. Quickly it soaked in the water and could not stand.

And the Creator and the Maker said: "Let us try again because our creatures will not be able to walk nor multiply. Let us consider this," they said.

Then they broke up and destroyed their work and their creation. And they said: "What shall we do to perfect it, in order that our worshipers, our invokers, will be successful?"

Thus they spoke when they conferred again: "Let us say again to Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú: 'Cast your lot again. Try to create again.'" In this manner the Creator and the Maker spoke to Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

Then they spoke to those soothsayers, the Grandmother of the day, the Grandmother of the Dawn, as they were called by the Creator and the Maker, and whose names were Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

And said Huracán, Tepeu, and Gucumatz when they spoke to the soothsayer, to the Maker, who are the diviners: "You must work together and find the means so that man, whom we shall make, man, whom we are going to make, will nourish and sustain us, invoke and remember us.

"Enter, then, into council, grandmother, grandfather, our grandmother, our grandfather, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, make light, make dawn. have us invoked, have us adored, have us remembered by created man, by made man, by mortal man. Thus be it done.

"Let your nature be known, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú, twice-mother, twice-father, Nim-Ac, Nima-Tziís, the master of emeralds, the worker in jewels, the sculptor, the carver, the maker of beautiful plates, the maker of green gourds, the master of resin, the master Toltecat, grandmother of the sun, grandmother of dawn, as you will be called by our works and our creatures.

"Cast the lot with your grains of corn and *tzité*. Do it thus and we shall know if we are to make, or carve his mouth and eyes out of wood." Thus the diviners were told.

They went down at once to make their divination, and cast their lots with the corn and the *tzité*. "Fate! Creature!" said an old woman and an old man. And this old man was the one who cast the lots with Tzité, the one called Xpiyacoc. And the old woman was the diviner, the maker, called Chiracán Xmucané.

Beginning the divination, they said: "Get together, grasp each other! Speak, that we may hear." They said, "Say if it is well that the wood be got together and that it be carved by the Creator and the Maker, and if this [man of wood] is he who must nourish and sustain us when there is light when it is day!

"Thou, corn; thou, *tzité*; thou, fate; thou, creature; get together, take each other," they said to the corn, to the *tzité*, to fate, to the creature. "Come to sacrifice here, Heart of Heaven; do not punish Tepeu and Gucumatz!"

Then they talked and spoke the truth: "Your figures of wood shall come out well; they shall speak and talk on earth."

"So may it be," they answered when they spoke.

And instantly the figures were made of wood. They looked like men, talked like men, and populated the surface of the earth.

They existed and multiplied; they had daughters, they had sons, these wooden figures; but they did not have souls, nor minds, they did not remember their Creator, their Maker; they walked on all fours, aimlessly.

They no longer remembered the Heart of Heaven and therefore they fell out of favor. It was merely a trial, an attempt at man. At first they spoke, but their face was without expression; their feet and hands had no strength; they had no blood, nor substance, nor moisture, nor flesh; their cheeks were dry, their feet and hands were dry, and their flesh was yellow.

Therefore, they no longer thought of their Creator nor their Maker, nor of those who made them and cared for them.

These were the first men who existed in great numbers on the face of the earth.

I. Chapter 3

Immediately the wooden figures were annihilated, destroyed, broken up, and killed.

A flood was brought about by the Heart of Heaven; a great flood was formed which fell on the heads of the wooden creatures.

Of *tzité* the flesh of man was made, but when woman was fashioned by the Creator and the Maker, her flesh was made of rushes. These were the materials the Creator and the Maker wanted to use in making them.

But those that they had made, that they had created, did not think, did not speak with their Creator, their Maker. And for this reason they were killed, they were deluged. A heavy resin fell from the sky. The one called Xecotcovach came and gouged out their eyes; Camalotz came and cut off their heads; Cotzbalam came and devoured their flesh. Tucumbalam came, too, and broke and mangled their bones and their nerves, and ground and crumbled their bones.

This was to punish them because they had not thought of their mother, nor their father, the Heart of Heaven, called Huracán. And for this reason the face of the earth was darkened and a black rain began to fall, by day and by night.

Then came the small animals and the large animals, and sticks and stones struck their faces. And all began to speak: their earthen jars, their griddles, their plates, their pots, their grinding stones, all rose up and struck their faces.

"You have done us much harm; you ate us, and now we shall kill you," said their dogs and birds of the barnyard.

And the grinding stones said: "We were tormented by you; every day, every day, at night, at dawn, all the time our faces went *holi, holi, huqui, huqui*, because of you. This was the tribute we paid you. But now that you are no longer men, you shall feel our strength. We shall grind and tear your flesh to pieces," said their grinding stones.

And then their dogs spoke and said: "Why did you give us nothing to eat? You scarcely looked at us, but you chased us and threw us out. You always had a stick ready to strike us while you were eating.

"Thus it was that you treated us. You did not speak to us. Perhaps we shall not kill you now; but why did you not look ahead, why did you not think about yourselves? Now we shall destroy you, now you shall feel the teeth of our mouths; we shall devour you," said the dogs, and then, they destroyed their faces.

And at the same time, their griddles and pots spoke: "Pain and suffering you have caused us. Our mouths and our faces were blackened with soot; we were always put on the fire and you burned us as though we felt no pain. Now you shall feel it, we shall burn you," said their pots, and they all destroyed their [the wooden men's] faces. The stones of the hearth, which were heaped together, hurled themselves straight from the fire against their heads causing them pain.

The desperate ones [the men of wood] ran as quickly as they could; they wanted to climb to the tops of the houses.

And the houses fell down and threw them to the ground; they wanted to climb to the treetops, and the trees cast them far away; they wanted to enter the caverns, and the caverns repelled them.

So was the ruin of the men who had been created and formed, the men made to be destroyed and annihilated; the mouths and faces of all of them were mangled.

And it is said that their descendants are the monkeys which now live in the forests; these are all that remain of them because their flesh was made only of wood by the Creator and the Maker.

And therefore the monkey looks like man, and is an example of a generation of men which were created and made but were only wooden figures.

I. Chapter 4

IT WAS CLOUDY AND TWILIGHT THEN ON the face of the earth. There was no sun yet. Nevertheless, there was a being called Vucub-Caquix, who was very proud of himself.

The sky and the earth existed, but the faces of the sun and the moon were covered.

And he [Vucub-Caquix] said: "Truly, they are clear examples of those people who were drowned, and their nature is that of supernatural beings.

"I shall now be great above all the beings created and formed. I am the sun, the light, the moon," he exclaimed. "Great is my splendor. Because of me men shall walk and conquer. For my eyes are of silver, bright, resplendent as precious stones, as emeralds; my teeth shine like perfect stones, like the face of the sky. My nose shines afar like the moon, my throne is of silver, and the face of the earth is lighted when I pass before my throne.

"So, then, I am the sun, I am the moon, for all mankind. So shall it be, because I can see very far."

So Vucub-Caquix spoke. But he was not really the sun; he was only vainglorious of his feathers and his riches. And he could see only as far as the horizon, and he could not see over all the world.

The face of the sun had not yet appeared, nor that of the moon, nor the stars, and it had not dawned. Therefore, Vucub-Caquix became as vain as though he were the sun and the moon,

because the light of the sun and the moon had not yet shown itself His only ambition was to exalt himself and to dominate. And all this happened when the flood came because of the wooden-people.

Now we shall tell how Vucub-Caquix was overthrown and died, and how man was made by the Creator and the Maker.

I. Chapter 5

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE DEFEAT and the ruin of the glory of Vucub-Caquix brought about by two youths, the first of whom was called Hunahpú and the second, Xbalanqué. They were really gods. When they saw the harm which the arrogant one had done, and wished to do, in the presence of the Heart of Heaven, the youths said:

"It is not good that it be so, when man does not yet live here on earth. Therefore, we shall try to shoot him with our blowgun when he is eating. We shall shoot him and make him sicken, and then that will be the end of his riches, his green stones, his precious metals, his emeralds, his jewels of which he is so proud. And this shall be the lot of all men, for they must not become vain, because of power and riches.

"Thus shall it be," said the youths, each one putting his blowgun to his shoulder.

Well, now Vucub-Caquix had two sons: the first was called Zipacná, the second was Cabracán; and the mother of the two was called Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix.

Well, Zipacná played ball with the large mountains: with Chigag, Hunahpú, Pecul, Yaxcanul, Macamob, and Huliznab. These are the names of the mountains which existed when it dawned and which were created in a single night by Zipacná.

In this way, then, Cabracán moved the mountains and made the large and small mountains tremble.

And in this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix proclaimed their pride. "Listen! I am the sun!" said Vucub-Caquix. "I am he who made the earth!" said Zipacná. "I am he who shook the sky and made the earth tremble!" said Cabracán, In this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix followed the example of their father's assumed greatness. And this seemed very evil to the youths. Neither our first mother nor our first father had yet been created.

Therefore, the deaths of Vucub-Caquix and his sons and their destruction was decided upon by the youths.

I. Chapter 6

Now we shall tell how the two youths shot their blowguns at Vucub-Caquix and how each one of those, who had become arrogant, was destroyed.

Vucub-Caquix had a large nantze tree and he ate the fruit of it. Each day he went to the tree and climbed to the top. Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had seen that this fruit was his food. And they lay in ambush at the foot of the tree, hidden among the leaves. Vucub-Caquix came straight to his meal of nantzes.

Instantly he was injured by a discharge from Hun-Hunahpú's blowgun which struck him squarely in the jaw, and screaming, he fell straight to earth from the treetop.

Hun-Hunahpú ran quickly to overpower him, but Vucub-Caquix seized his arm and wrenching it from him, bent it back to the shoulder. In this way Vucub-Caquix tore out Hun-Hunahpú's arm. Surely the two youths did well in not letting themselves be defeated first by Vucub-Caquix.

Carrying Hun-Hunahpú's arm, Vucub-Caquix went home, and arrived there nursing his jaw.

"What has happened to you, my lord?" said Chimalmat, his wife.

"What could it be, but those two demons who shot me with blowguns and dislocated my jaw? For that reason my teeth are loose and pain me very much. But I have brought it [his arm], to put it on the fire. Let it hang there over the fire, for surely these demons will come looking for it." So said Vucub-Caquix as he hung up the arm of Hun-Hunahpú.

Having thought it over, Hun-Hunahpú and Xbalanqué went to talk with an old man who had snow-white hair and with an old woman, really very old and humble, both already bent, like very old people. The old man was called Zaqui-Nim-Ac and the old woman, Zaqui-Nima-Tziís. The youths said to the old woman and the old man:

"Come with us to Vucub-Caquix's house to get our arm. We will follow you, and you shall tell them: 'These with us are our grandchildren; their mother and father are dead; so they follow us everywhere we are given alms, for the only thing that we know how to do is take the worm from the teeth.'

"So Vucub-Caquix shall think we are boys and we shall also be there to advise you," said the two youths.

"Very well," answered the old man and woman.

Then they started out for the place where they found Vucub-Caquix reclining on his throne. The old woman and man walked along followed by the two boys, who stayed behind them. In this way they arrived at the house of the lord who was screaming because his tooth pained him.

When Vucub-Caquix saw the old man and the old woman and those who accompanied them, he asked, "Where do you come from, grandparents?"

"We come looking for something to eat, honorable sir," they answered.

"And what do you eat? Are those not your sons who are with you?"

"Oh, no, sir! They are our grandsons; but we are sorry for them and what is given to us, we share with them, sir," answered the old woman and the old man.

Meanwhile, the lord was suffering terrible pain from his tooth, and it was only with great difficulty that he could speak.

"I earnestly beseech you to have pity on me. What can you do? What do you know how to cure?" the lord asked them.

And the old ones answered, "Oh, sir! we only take the worm from the teeth, cure the eyes, and set bones."

"Very well. Cure my teeth, which are really making me suffer day and night, and because of them and of my eyes I cannot be calm and cannot sleep. All of this is because two demons shot me with a pellet [from their blowgun] and for that reason I cannot eat. Have pity on me, then, tighten my teeth with your hands."

"Very well, sir. It is a worm which makes you suffer. It will end when these teeth are pulled and others put in their place."

"It is not well that you pull my teeth, because it is only with them that I am a lord and all my ornaments are my teeth and my eyes."

"'We will put others of ground bone in their place." But the ground bone was nothing but grains of white corn.

"Very well, pull them out, come and relieve me," he replied.

Then they pulled Vucub-Caquix's teeth; but in their place they put only grains of white corn, and these grains of corn shone in his mouth. Instantly his features sagged and he no longer looked like a lord. They removed the rest of his teeth which shone like pearls in his mouth. And finally they cured Vucub-Caquix's eyes, piercing the pupils of his eyes, and they took all his riches.

But he felt nothing any more. He only watched, because at the advice of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, they took from him all of the things of which he had been so proud.

Then Vucub-Caquix died. Hun-Hunahpú recovered his arm. Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix, also perished.

In this way Vucub-Caquix lost his riches. The healer took all the emeralds and precious stones which had been his pride here on earth.

The old woman and the old man who did this were miraculous beings; and having recovered the arm of Hun-Hunahpú, they put it in place, and it was all right again.

It was only to bring about the death of Vucub-Caquix that they did this, because it seemed wicked to them that he should become so arrogant.

And then the two youths went on, having in this way carried out the order of the Heart of Heaven.

I. Chapter 7

Here now are the deeds of Zipacná the elder son of Vucub-Caquix.

"I am the creator of the mountains," said Zipacná.

Zipacná was bathing at the edge of a river when four hundred youths passed dragging a log to support their house. The four hundred were walking, after having cut down a large tree to make the ridge-pole of their house.

Then Zipacná came up, and going toward the four hundred youths, said to them: "What are you doing, boys?"

"It is only this log," they answered, "which we cannot lift and carry on our shoulders."

"I will carry it. Where does it have to go? What do you want it for?"

"For a ridge-pole for our house."

"All right," he answered, and lifting it up, he put it on his shoulders and carried it to the entrance of the house of the four hundred boys.

"Now stay with us, boy," they said. "Have you a mother or father;"

"I have neither," he answered.

"Then we shall hire you tomorrow to prepare another log to support our house."

"Good," he answered.

The four hundred boys talked together then. and said:

"How shall we kill this boy? Because it is not good what he has done lifting the log alone. Let us make a big hole and push him so that he will fall into it. 'Go down and take out the earth and carry it from the pit,' we shall tell him. and when he stoops down, to go down into the pit, we shall let the large log fall on him and he will die there in the pit."

So said the four hundred boys, and then they dug a large, very deep pit. Then they called Zipacná.

"We like you very much. Go, go and dig dirt, for we cannot reach [the bottom of the pit]," they said.

"All right," he answered. He went at once into the pit. And calling to him as he was digging the dirt, they said: "Have you gone down very deep yet?"

"Yes," he answered beginning to dig the pit. But the pit which he was making was to save him from danger. He knew that they wanted to kill him; so when he dug the pit, he made a second hole at one side in order to free himself.

"How far [have you gone]?" the four hundred boys called down.

"I am still digging; I will call up to you when I have finished the digging," said Zipacná from the bottom of the pit. But he was not digging his grave; instead he was opening another pit in order to save himself.

At last Zipacná called to them. But when he called, he was already safe in the second pit.

"Come and take out and carry away the dirt which I have dug and which is in the bottom of the pit," he said, "because in truth I have made it very deep. Do you not hear my call? Nevertheless, your calls, your words repeat themselves like an echo once, twice, and so I hear well where you are." So Zipacná called from the pit where he was hidden, shouting from the depths.

Then the boys hurled the great log violently, and it fell quickly with a thud to the bottom of the pit.

"Let no one speak! Let us wait until we hear his dying screams," they said to each other, whispering, and each one covered his face as the log fell noisily. He [Zipacná] spoke then, crying out, but he called only once when the log fell to the bottom.

"How well we have succeeded in this! Now he is dead," said the boys. "if, unfortunately, he had continued what he had begun to do, we would have been lost, because he already had interfered with us, the four hundred boys."

And filled with joy they said: "Now we must make our *chicha* within the next three days. When the three days are passed, we shall drink to the construction of our new house, we, the, four hundred boys." Then they said: "Tomorrow we shall look, and day after tomorrow, we shall also look to see if the ants do not come out of the earth when the body smells and begins to rot. Presently we shall become calm and drink our *chicha*," they said.

But from his pit Zipacná listened to everything the boys said. And later, on the second day, multitudes of ants came, going and coming and gathering under the log. Some carried Zipacná's hair in their mouths and others carried his fingernails.

When the boys saw this, they said, "That devil has now perished. Look how the ants have gathered, how they have come by hordes, some bringing his hair and others his fingernails. Look what we have done!" So they spoke to each other.

Nevertheless, Zipacná was very much alive. He had cut his hair and gnawed off his fingernails to give them to the ants.

And so the four hundred boys believed that he was dead, and on the third day they began the orgy and all of the boys got drunk. And the four hundred being drunk knew nothing any more. And then Zipacná let the house fall on their heads and killed all of them.

Not even one or two among the four hundred were saved; they were killed by Zipacná, son of Vucub-Caquix.

In this way the four hundred boys died, and it is said that they became the group of stars which because of them are called Motz, but it may not be true.

I. Chapter 8

Now we shall tell how Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Now follows the defeat and death of Zipacná, when he was overcome by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

The boys' hearts were full of rancor because the four hundred young men had been killed by Zipacná. And he only hunted fish and crabs at the bank of the river, which were his daily food. During the day he went about looking for food, and at night he carried mountains on his back.

With a leaf of the *ec* plant which is found in the forest, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué quickly made a figure to look like a very large crab.

With this they made the stomach of the crab; the claws, they made of *pahac*, and for the shell, which covers the back, they used a stone. Then they put the crab at the bottom of a cave at the foot of a large mountain called *Meaguán*, where he was overcome.

Then the boys went to find Zipacná on the river bank.

"Where are you going, young man?" they asked him.

"I am not going anywhere," Zipacná answered, "only looking for food, boys."

"And what is your food?"

"Fish and crabs, but there are none here and I have not found any; I have not eaten since day before yesterday, and I am dying of hunger," said Zipacná to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Over there in the bottom of the ravine there is a crab, a really large crab, and it would be well if you would eat it! Only it bit us when we tried to catch it and so we were afraid. We wouldn't try to catch it for anything," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Have pity on me! Come and show it to me, boys," begged Zipacná.

"We do not want to. You go alone, you will not get lost. Follow the bank of the river and you will come out at the foot of a large hill; there it is making a noise at the bottom of the ravine. You have only to go there," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Oh, unfortunate me! Won't you accompany me, boys? Come and show it to me. There are many birds which you can shoot with your blowguns and I know where to find them," said Zipacná.

His meekness convinced the boys. And they asked him: But, can you really catch him? Because it is only for you that we are returning; we are not going to try to get it again because it bit us when we were crawling into the cave. After that we were afraid to crawl in, but we almost caught it. So, then, it is best that you crawl in," they said.

"Very well," said Zipacná, and then they went with him. They arrived at the bottom of the ravine and there, stretched on his back, was the crab, showing his red shell. And there also in the bottom of the ravine was the boys' hoax.

"Good! Good!" said Zipacná happily. "I should like to have it in my mouth already!" And he was really dying of hunger. He wanted to try to crawl in, he wanted to enter, but the crab was climbing. He came out at once and the boys asked, "Did you not get it?"

"No," he answered," because he was going up and I almost caught him. But perhaps it would be good if I go in from above," he added. And then he entered again from above, but as he was almost inside, with only the soles of his feet showing, the great hill slid and fell slowly down on his chest.

Zipacná never returned and he was changed into stone.

In this way Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; he was the elder son of Vucub-Caquix, and he, according to the ancient legend, was the one who made the mountains.

At the foot of the hill called Meaguán he was vanquished. Only by a miracle was he vanquished, the second of the arrogant ones. One was left, whose history we shall tell now.

I. Chapter 9

The third of the arrogant ones was the second son of Vucub-Caquix who was called Cabracán.

"I demolish the mountains," he said.

But Hunahpú and Xbalanqué also defeated Cabracán. Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá talked and said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué:

"Let the second son of Vucub-Caquix also be defeated. This is our will, for it is not well what they do on earth, exalting their glory, their grandeur, and their power, and it must not be so. Lure him to where the sun rises," said Huracán to the two youths.

"Very well, honored sir," they answered, "because what we see is not right. Do you not exist, you who are the peace, you, Heart of Heaven?" said the boys as they listened to the command of Huracán.

Meanwhile, Cabracán was busy shaking the mountains. At the gentlest tap of his feet on the earth, the large and small mountains opened. Thus the boys found him and asked Cabracán:

"Where are you going, young man?

"Nowhere," he answered," here I am moving the mountains, and I am leveling them to the ground forever," he answered.

Then Cabracán asked Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, "What did you come to do here? I do not recognize you. What are your names?" said Cabracán.

"We have no names," they answered, "we are nothing more than shooters of blowguns and hunters with bird-traps on the mountains. We are poor and we have nothing, young man. We only walk over the large and small mountains, young man, and we have just seen a large mountain, over there where you see the pink sky. It really rises up very high and overlooks the tops of all the hills. So it is that we have not been able to catch even one or two of the birds on it, boy. But, is it true that you can level all the mountains?" Hunahpú and Xbalanqué asked Cabracán.

"Have you really seen the mountain of which you speak? Where is it? If I see it, I shall demolish it. Where did you see it?"

"Over there it is, where the sun rises," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well, show me the road," he said to the two boys.

"Oh no!" they answered. "We must take you between us. One shall go at your left and the other at your right, because we have our blowguns, and if there should be birds we can shoot them." And so they set out happily, trying out their blowguns. But when they shot with them, they did not use the clay pellets in the tube of the blowgun; instead they felled the birds only with the puff of air when they shot them, which surprised Cabracán very much.

Then the boys built a fire and put the birds on it to roast, but they rubbed one of the birds with chalk, covering it with a white earth soil.

"We shall give him this," they said, "to whet his appetite with the odor which it gives off. This bird of ours shall be his ruin, as we cover this bird with earth so we shall bring him down to the earth and bury him in the earth.

"Great shall be the wisdom of a created being, of a being fashioned, when it dawns, when there is light," said the boys.

"As it is natural for man to wish to eat, so Cabracán desires food," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué to each other.

Meanwhile the birds were roasting, they were beginning to turn golden brown, and the fat and juice which dripped from them made an appetizing odor. Cabracán wanted very much to eat them; they made his mouth water, he yawned, and the saliva and spittle drooled because of the smell which the birds gave off.

Then he asked them: "What is that you eat? The smell is really savoury. Give me a little piece," he said to them.

Then they gave a bird to Cabracán, the one which would be his ruin; and when he had finished eating it, they set out toward the east where the great mountain was. But already Cabracán's legs and hands were weakening and he had no strength because of the earth with which the bird he had eaten was rubbed, and he could do nothing to the mountains. Neither was it possible to level them.

Then the boys tied him, they tied his hands behind him and also tied his neck and his feet together. Then they threw him to the ground and there they buried him.

In this way Cabracán was overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. It would be impossible to tell of all the things they did here on earth.

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, having first told of the destruction of Vucub-Caquix and that of Zipacná and of Cabracán, here on earth.

PART II: Chapter 1

Now we shall also tell the name of the father of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. We shall not tell his origin and we shall not tell the history of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. We shall tell only half of it, only a part of the history of his father.

Here is the story. Here are the names of Hun-Hunahpú [and Vucub-Hunahpú], as they are called. Their parents were Xpiyacoc and Xmucané. During the night Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were born of Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

Well now, Hun-Hunahpú had begotten two sons; the first was called Hunbatz and the second Hunchouén.

The mother of the two sons was called Xbaquiyalo. Thus was the wife of Hun-Hunahpú called. As for the other son, Vucub-Hunahpú, he had no wife; he was single.

By nature these two sons were very wise, and great was their wisdom; on earth they were soothsayers of good disposition and good habits. All the arts were taught to Hunbatz and Hunchouén, the sons of Hun-Hunahpú. They were flautists, singers, shooters with blowguns, painters, sculptors, jewelers, silversmiths; these were Hunbatz and Hunchouén.

Well, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did nothing but play dice and ball A day long; and when the four got together to play ball, one pair played against the other pair.

And Voc, the messenger of Huracán, of Chipi-Caculhá, of Raxa-Caculhá came there to watch them, but Voc did not stay far from the earth nor far from Xibalba, [7] and in an instant he went up to heaven to the side of Huracán.

They were still here on earth when the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén died.

And having gone to play ball on the road to Xibalba, they were overheard by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, the lords of Xibalba.

"What are they doing on earth? Who are they who are making the earth shake, and making so much noise? Go and call them! Let them come here to play ball. Here we will overpower them! We are no longer respected by them. They no longer have consideration, or fear of our rank, and they even fight above our heads," said all the lords of Xibalba.

All of them held a council. Those called Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé were the supreme judges. All the lords had been assigned their duties. Each one was given his own authority by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They were, then, Xiquiripat and Cuchumaquic lords of these names. They were the two who caused the shedding of blood of the men.

Others were called Ahalpuh and Ahalganá, also lords. And their work was to make men swell and make pus gush forth from their legs and stain their faces yellow, what is called Chuganal. Such was the work of Ahalpuh and Ahalganá.

Others were Lord Chamiabac and Lord Chamiaholom, constables of Xibalba whose staffs were of bone. Their work was to make men waste away until they were nothing but skin and bone and they died, and they carried them With their stomach and bones stretched out. This was the work of Chamiabac and Chamiaholom, as they were called.

Others were called Lord Ahalmez and Lord Ahaltocob; their work was to bring disaster upon men, as they were going home, or in front of it, and they would be found wounded, stretched out, face up, on the ground, dead. This was the work of Ahalmez and Ahaltocob, as they were called.

Immediately after them were other lords named Xic and Patán whose work it was to cause men to die on the road, which is called sudden death, making blood to rush to their mouths until they died vomiting blood. The work of each one of these lords was to seize upon them, squeeze their throats and chests, so that the men died on the road, making the blood rush to their throats when they were walking. This was the work of Xic and Patán.

And having gathered in council, they discussed how to torment and wound Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. What the Lords of Xibalba coveted were the playing implements of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú-their leather pads and rings and gloves and crown and masks which were the playing gear of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

Now we shall tell of their journey to Xibalba and how they left behind them the sons of Hun-Hunahpú, Hunbatz, and [Hun] Chouén, whose mother had died.

Then we shall tell how Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

II. Chapter 2

THE messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé arrived immediately.

"Go, Ahpop Achih!" they were told. "Go and call Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. Say to them, 'Come with us. The lords say that you must come.' They must come here to play ball with us so that they shall make us happy, for really they amaze us. So, then, they must come," said the lords. "And have them bring their playing gear, their rings, their gloves, and have them bring their rubber balls, too," said the lords. "Tell them to come quickly," they told the messengers.

And these messengers were owls: Chabi-Tucur, Huracán-Tucur, Caquix-Tucur and Holom-Tucur. These were the names of the messengers of Xibalba.

Chabi-Tucur was swift as an arrow; Huracán-Tucur had only one leg; Caquix-Tucur had a red back, and Holom-Tucur had only a head, no legs, but he had wings.

The four messengers had the rank of Ahpop-Achih. Leaving Xibalba, they arrived quickly, bringing their message to the court where Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were playing ball, at the ball-court which was called *Nim-Xob-Carchah*. The owl messengers went directly to the ball-court and delivered their message exactly as it was given to them by Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, Ahalpuh, Ahalganá, Chamiabac, Chamiaholom, Xiquiripat, Cuchumaquic, Ahalmez, Ahaltocob, Xic, and Patán, as the lords were called who sent the message by the owls.

"Did the Lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé really say that we must go with you?"

"They certainly said so, and 'Let them bring all their playing gear,' the lords said."

"Very well," said the youths. "Wait for us, we are only going to say good-bye to our mother."

And having gone straight home, they said to their mother, for their father was dead: "We are going, our mother, but our going is only for a while. The messengers of the lord have come to take us. 'They must come,' they said, according to the messengers.

"We shall leave our ball here in pledge," they added. They went immediately to hang it in the space under the rooftree. "We will return to play," they said.

And going to Hunbatz and Hunchouén they said to them: "Keep on playing the flute and singing, painting, and carving; warm our house and warm the heart of your grandmother."

When they took leave of their mother, Xmucané was moved and burst into tears. "Do not worry, we are going, but we have not died yet," said Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú as they left.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú went immediately and the messengers took them on the road. Thus they were descending the road to Xibalba, by some very steep stairs. They went down until they came to the bank of a river which flowed rapidly between the ravines called *Nuziván cul* and *Cuziván*, and crossed it. Then they crossed the river which flows among

thorny calabash trees. There were very many calabash trees, but they passed through them without hurting themselves.

Then they came to the bank of a river of blood and crossed it without drinking its waters; they only went to the river bank and so they were not overcome. They went on until they came to where four roads joined, and there at the crossroads they were overcome.

One of the four roads was red, another black, another white, and another yellow. And the black road said to them: "I am the one you must take because I am the way of the Lord." So said the road.

And from here on they were already overcome. They were taken over the road to Xibalba and when they arrived at the council room of the Lords of Xibalba, they had already lost the match.

Well, the first ones who were seated there were only figures of wood, arranged by the men of Xibalba. These they greeted first:

"How are you, Hun-Camé?" they said to the wooden man. "How are you, Vucub-Camé?" they said to the other wooden man. But they did not answer. instantly the Lords of Xibalba burst into laughter and all the other lords began to laugh loudly, because they already took for granted the downfall and defeat of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. And they continued to laugh.

Then Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé spoke: "Very well," they said. "You have come. Tomorrow you shall prepare the mask, your rings, and your gloves," they said.

"Come and sit down on our bench," they said. But the bench which they offered them was of hot stone, and when they sat down they were burned. They began to squirm around on the bench, and if they had not stood up they would have burned their seats.

The Lords of Xibalba burst out laughing again; they were dying of laughter; they writhed from pain in their stomach, in their blood, and in their bones, caused by their laughter, all the Lords of Xibalba laughed.

"Go now to that house," they said. "There you will get your sticks of fat pine and your cigar and there you shall sleep."

Immediately they arrived at the House of Gloom. There was only darkness within the house. Meanwhile the Lords of Xibalba discussed what they should do.

"Let us sacrifice them tomorrow, let them die quickly, quickly, so that we can have their playing gear to use in play," said the Lords of Xibalba to each other.

Well, their fat-pine sticks were round and were called *zaquitoc*, which is the pine of Xibalba. Their fat-pine sticks were pointed and filed and were as bright as bone; the pine of Xibalba was very hard.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú entered the House of Gloom. There they were given their fat-pine sticks, a single lighted stick which Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé sent them, together

with a lighted cigar for each of them which the lords had sent. They went to give them to Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

They found them crouching in the darkness when the porters arrived with the fat-pine sticks and the cigars. As they entered, the pine sticks lighted the place brightly.

"Each of you light your pine sticks and your cigars; come and bring them back at dawn, you must not burn them up, but you must return them whole; this is what the lords told us to say." So they said. And so they were defeated. They burned up the pine sticks, and they also finished the cigars which had been given to them.

There were many punishments in Xibalba; the punishments were of many kinds.

The first was the House of Gloom, Quequma-ha, in which there was only darkness.

The second was Xuxulim-ha, the house where everybody shivered, in which it was very cold. A cold, unbearable wind blew within.

The third was the House of Jaguars, Balami-ha, it was called, in which there were nothing but jaguars which stalked about, jumped around, roared, and made fun. The jaguars were shut up in the house.

Zotzi-há, the House of Bats, the fourth place of punishment was called. Within this house there were nothing but bats which squeaked and cried and flew around and around. The bats were shut in and could not get out.

The fifth was called Chayim-há, the House of Knives, in which there were only sharp, pointed knives, silent or grating against each other in the house.

There were many places of torture in Xibalba, but Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not enter them. We only mention the names of these houses of punishment.

When Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú came before Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, they said: "Where are my cigars? Where are my sticks of fat pine which I gave you last night?"

"They are all gone, Sir."

"Well. Today shall be the end of your days. Now you shall die. You shall be destroyed, we will break you into pieces and here your faces will stay hidden. You shall be sacrificed," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They sacrificed them immediately and buried them in the Pucbal-Chah, as it was called. Before burying them, they cut off the head of Hun-Hunahpú and buried the older brother together with the younger brother.

"Take the head and put it in that tree which is Planted on the road," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. And having put the head in the tree, instantly the tree, which had never borne fruit before the head of Hun-Hunahpú was placed among its branches, was covered with fruit. And this calabash tree, it is said, is the one which we now call the head of Hun-Hunahpú.

Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé looked in amazement at the fruit on the tree. The round fruit was everywhere; but they did not recognize the head of Hun-Hunahpú; it was exactly like the other fruit of the calabash tree. So it seemed to all of the people of Xibalba when they came to look at it.

According to their judgment, the tree was miraculous, because of what had instantly occurred when they put Hun-Hunahpú's head among its branches. And the Lords of Xibalba said:

"Let no one come to pick this fruit. Let no one come and sit under this tree!" they said, and so the Lords of Xibalba resolved to keep everybody away.

The head of Hun-Hunahpú did not appear again because it had become one and the same as the fruit of the gourd tree. Nevertheless, a girl heard the wonderful story. Now we shall tell about her arrival.

II. Chapter 3

THIS is the story of a maiden, the daughter of a lord named Cuchumaquic.

A maiden, then, daughter of a lord heard this story. The name of the father was Cuchumaquic and that of the maiden was Xquic. When she heard the story of the fruit of the tree which her father told, she was amazed to hear it.

"Why can I not go to see this tree which they tell about?" the girl exclaimed. "Surely the fruit of which I hear tell must be very good." Finally she went alone and arrived at the foot of the tree which was planted in Pucbal-Chah.

"Ah!" she exclaimed. "What fruit is this which this tree bears? Is it not wonderful to see how it is covered with fruit? Must I die, shall I be lost, if I pick one of this fruit?" said the maiden.

Then the skull which was among the branches of the tree spoke up and said: "What is it you wish? Those round objects which cover the branches of the trees are nothing but skulls." So spoke the head of Hun-Hunahpú turning to the maiden. "Do you, perchance, want them?" it added.

"Yes, I want them," the maiden answered.

"Very well," said the skull. "Stretch your right hand up here."

"Very well," said the maiden, and with her right hand reached toward the skull.

In that instant the skull let a few drops of spittle fall directly into the maiden's palm. She looked quickly and intently at the palm of her hand, but the spittle of the skull was not there.

"In my saliva and spittle I have given you my descendants," said the voice in the tree. "Now my head has nothing on it any more, it is nothing but a skull without flesh. So are the heads of the great princes, the flesh is all which gives them a handsome appearance. And when they die, men are frightened by their bones. So, too, is the nature of the sons, which are like saliva and spittle, they may be sons of a lord, of a wise man, or of an orator. They do not lose their

substance when they go, but they bequeath it; the image of the lord, of the wise man, or of the orator does not. disappear, nor is it lost, but he leaves it to the daughters and to the sons which he begets. I have done the same with you. Go up, then, to the surface of the earth, that you may not die. Believe in my words that it will be so," said the head of Hun-Hunahpú and of Vucub-Hunahpú.

And all that they did together was by order of Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá.

After all of the above talking, the maiden returned directly to her home, having immediately conceived the sons in her belly by virtue of the spittle only. And thus Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were begotten.

And so the girl returned home, and after six months had passed, her father, who was called Cuchumaquic, noticed her condition. At once the maiden's secret was discovered by her father when he observed that she was pregnant.

Then the lords, Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, held council with Cuchumaquic.

"My daughter is pregnant, Sirs; she has been disgraced," exclaimed Cuchumaquic when he appeared before the lords.

"Very well," they said. "Command her to tell the truth, and if she refuses to speak, punish her; let her be taken far from here and sacrifice her."

"Very well, Honorable Lords," he answered. Then he questioned his daughter: "Whose are the children that you carry, my daughter?" And she answered, "I have no child, my father, for I have not yet known a youth."

'Very well," he replied. "You are really a whore. Take her and sacrifice her, Ahpop Achih; bring me her heart in a gourd and return this very day before the lords," he said to the two owls.

The four messengers took the gourd and set out carrying the young girl in their arms and also taking the knife of flint with which to sacrifice her.

And she said to them: "It cannot be that you will kill me, oh, messengers, because what I bear in my belly is no disgrace, but was begotten when I went to marvel at the head of Hun-Hunahpú which was in Pucbal-Chah. So, then, you must not sacrifice me, oh, messengers!" said the young girl, turning to them.

"And what shall we put in place of your heart? Your father told us: 'Bring the heart, return before the lords, do your duty, all working together, bring it in the gourd quickly, and put the heart in the bottom of the gourd.' Perchance, did he not speak to us so? What shall we put in the gourd? We wish too, that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well, but my heart does not belong to them. Neither is your home here, nor must you let them force you to kill men. Later, in truth, the real criminals will be at your mercy and I will overcome Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. So, then, the blood and only the blood shall be theirs and shall be given to them. Neither shall my heart be burned before them. Gather the product of this tree," said the maiden.

The red sap gushing forth from the tree fell in the gourd and with it they made a ball which glistened and took the shape of a heart. The tree gave forth sap similar to blood, with the appearance of real blood. Then the blood, or that is to say the sap of the red tree, clotted, and formed a very bright coating inside the gourd, like clotted blood; meanwhile the tree glowed at the work of the maiden. It was called the "red tree of cochineal," but [since then] it has taken the name of Blood Tree because its sap is called Blood.

"There on earth you shall be beloved and you shall have all that belongs to you," said the maiden to the owls.

"Very well, girl. We shall go there, we go up to serve you; you, continue on your way, while we go to present the sap, instead of your heart, to the lords," said the messengers.

When they arrived in the presence of the lords, all were waiting.

"You have finished?" asked Hun-Camé.

"All is finished, my lords. Here in the bottom of the gourd is the heart."

"Very well. Let us see," exclaimed Hun-Camé. And grasping it with his fingers he raised it, the shell broke and the blood flowed bright red in color.

"Stir up the fire and put it on the coals," said Hun-Camé.

As soon as they threw it on the fire, the men of Xibalba began to sniff and drawing near to it, they found the fragrance of the heart very sweet.

And as they sat deep in thought, the owls, the maiden's servants, left, and flew like a flock of birds from the abyss toward earth and the four became her servants.

In this manner the Lords of Xibalba were defeated. All were tricked by the maiden.

II. Chapter 4

Well, then, Hunbatz and Hunchouén were with their mother when the woman called Xquic arrived.

When the woman Xquic came before the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén, she carried her sons in her belly and it was not long before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, as they were called, were to be born.

When the woman came to the old lady, she said to her: "I have come, mother; I am your daughter-in-law and your daughter, mother." She said this when she entered the grandmother's house.

"Where did you come from? Where are my sons? Did they, perchance, not die in Xibalba? Do you not see these two who remain, their descendants and blood, and are called Hunbatz and Hunchouén. Go from here! Get out!" the old lady screamed at the girl.

"Nevertheless, it is true that I am your daughter-in-law; I have been for a long time. I belong to Hun-Hunahpú. They live in what I carry, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú are not dead; they will return to show themselves clearly, my mother-in-law. And you shall soon see their image in what I bring to you," she said to the old woman.

Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén became angry. They did nothing but play the flute and sing, paint, and sculpture all day long and were the consolation of the old woman.

Then the old woman said: "I do not wish you to be my daughter-in-law, because what you bear in your womb is fruit of your disgrace. Furthermore, you are an impostor; my sons of whom you speak are already dead."

Presently the grandmother added: "This, that I tell you is the truth; but well, it is all right, you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I have heard. Go, then, bring the food for those who must be fed. Go and gather a large net [full of corn] and return at once, since you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I hear," she said to the girl.

"Very well," the girl replied, and she went at once to the cornfield which Hunbatz and Hunchouén had planted. They had opened the road and the girl took it and so came to the cornfield; but she found only one stalk of corn; there were not two or three, and when she saw that there was only one stalk with an ear on it, the girl became very anxious.

"Ah, sinner that I am, unfortunate me! Where must I go to get a net full of corn as she told me to do?" she exclaimed. Immediately she began to beg Chahal for the food which she had to get and must take back.

"Xtoh, Xcanil, Xcacau, you who cook the corn; and you, Chahal, guardian of the food of Hunbatz and Hunchouén!" said the girl. And then she seized the beards, the red silk of the ears of corn and pulled them off without picking the ear. Then she arranged the silk in the net like ears of corn and the large net was completely filled.

The girl returned immediately; the animals of the field went along carrying the net, and when they arrived, they went to put the load in a corner of the house, as though she might have carried it. The old woman came and when she saw the corn in the large net she exclaimed:

"Where have you brought all this corn from? Did you, perchance, take all the corn in our field and bring it all in? I shall go at once to see," said the old woman, and she set out on the road to the cornfield. But the one stalk of corn was still standing there, and she saw too where the net had been at the foot of the stalk. The old woman quickly returned to her house and said to the girl:

"This is proof enough that you are really my daughter-in-law. I shall now see your little ones, those whom you carry and who also are to be soothsayers," she said to the girl.

II. Chapter 5

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Here, then, we shall tell about their birth.

When the day of their birth arrived, the girl named Xquic gave birth; but the grandmother did not see them when they were born. Instantly the two boys called Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were born. There in the wood they were born.

Then they came to the house, but they could not sleep.

"Go throw them out! "said the old woman, "because truly they cry very much." Then they went and put them on an ant-hill. There they slept peacefully. Then they took them from the ant-hill and laid them on thistles.

Now, what Hunbatz and Hunchouén wished was that they [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] would die there on the ant-hill, or on the thistles. They wished this because of the hatred and envy Hunbatz and Hunchouén felt for them.

At first they refused to receive their younger brothers in the house; they would not recognize them and so they were brought up in the fields.

Hunbatz and Hunchouén were great musicians and singers; they had grown up in the midst of trials and want and they had had much trouble, but they became very wise. They were flautists, singers, painters, and carvers; all of this they knew how to do.

They had heard about their birth and knew also that they were the successors of their parents, those who went to Xibalba and died there. Hunbatz and Hunchouén were diviners, and in their hearts they knew everything concerning the birth of their two younger brothers. Nevertheless, because they were envious, they did not show their wisdom, and their hearts were filled with bad will for them, although Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had not offended them in any way.

These two [last] did nothing all day long but shoot their blowguns; they were not loved by their grandmother, nor by Hunbatz, nor by Hunchouén; they were given nothing to eat; only when the meal was ended and Hunbatz and Hunchouén had already eaten, then the younger brothers came to eat. But they did not become angry, nor did they become vexed, but suffered silently, because they knew their rank, and they understood everything clearly. They brought their birds when they came, and Hunbatz and Hunchouén ate them without giving anything to either of the two, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

The only thing that Hunbatz and Hunchouén did was to play the flute and sing.

And once when Hunahpú and Xbalanqué came without bringing any bird at all, they went into the house and their grandmother became furious.

"Why did you bring no birds?" she said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they answered: "What happened, grandmother, is that our birds were caught in the tree and we could not climb up to get them, dear grandmother. If our elder brothers so wish, let them come with us to bring the birds down," they said.

"Very well," the older brothers answered, "we shall go with you at dawn."

The two younger brothers then discussed the way to overcome Hunbatz and Hunchouén. "We shall only change their nature, their appearance; and so let our word be fulfilled, for all the suffering that they have caused us. They wanted us to die, that we might be lost, we, their younger brothers. In their hearts they really believe that we have come to be their servants. For these reasons we shall overcome them and teach them a lesson." Thus they spoke.

Then they went toward the foot of the tree called Canté. They were accompanied by their two elder brothers and they were shooting their blowguns. It was not possible to count the birds which sang in the tree, and their elder brothers marveled to see so many birds. There were birds, but not one fell at the foot of the tree.

"Our birds do not fall to the ground. Go and fetch them down," they said to their elder brothers.

"Very well," the latter answered. And then they climbed the tree; but the tree became larger and the trunk swelled. Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén wanted to come down but they could not come down from the top of the tree.

Then they called from the treetop. "What has happened to us, our brothers? Unfortunate we. This tree frightens us only to look at it. Oh, our brothers!" they called from the treetop. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué answered: "Loosen your breechclouts; tie them below your stomach, leaving the long ends hanging and pull these from behind, and in this way you can walk easily." Thus said the younger brothers.

"Very well," they answered, pulling the ends of their belts back, but instantly these were changed into tails and they took on the appearance of monkeys. Then they hopped over the branches of the trees, among the great woods and little woods, and they buried themselves in the forest, making faces and swinging in the branches of the trees.

In this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and only because of their magic could they have done it.

Then they returned to their home, and when they arrived they spoke to their grandmother and their mother, and said to them: "What could it be, grandmother, that has happened to our elder brothers, that suddenly their faces turned into the faces of animals?" So they said.

"If you have done any harm to your elder brothers, you have hurt me and have filled me with sadness. Do not do such a thing to your brothers, oh, my children," said the old woman to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they replied to their grandmother:

"Do not grieve, our grandmother. You shall see our brother's faces again; they shall return, but it will be a difficult trial for you, grandmother. Be careful that you do not laugh at them. And now, let us cast our lot," they said.

Immediately they began to play their flutes, playing the song of Hunahpú-Qoy. Then they sang, playing the flute and drum, picking up their flutes and their drum. Afterward they sat down close to their grandmother and continued playing and calling back [their brothers] with music and song, intoning the song, called Hunahpú-Qoy.

At last, Hunbatz and Hunchouén came and began to dance; but when the old woman saw their ugly faces, she began to laugh, unable to control her laughter, and they went away at once and she did not see their faces again.

"Now you see, grandmother! They have gone to the forest. What have you done, grandmother of ours? We may make this trial but four times and only three are left. Let us call them [back again] with flute and with song, but you, try to control your laughter. Let the trial begin!" said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Immediately they began again to play. Hunbatz and Hunchouén returned dancing, and came as far as the center of the court of the house grimacing and provoking their grandmother to laughter, until finally she broke into loud laughter. They were really very amusing with their monkey faces, their broad bottoms, their narrow tails, and the hole of their stomach. all of which made the old woman laugh.

Again the [elder brothers] went back to the woods. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said: "And now what shall we do, grandmother? We shall try once again, this third time."

They played the flute again, and the monkeys returned dancing. The grandmother contained her laughter. Then they went up over the kitchen; their eyes gave off a red light; they drew away and scrubbed their noses and frightened each other with the faces they made.

And as the grandmother saw all of this, she burst into violent laughter; and they did not see the faces [of the elder brothers] again because of the old woman's laughter.

"Only once more shall we call them, grandmother, so that they shall come for the fourth time," said the boys. They began again, then, to play the flute, but [their brothers] did not return the fourth time, instead they fled into the forest as quickly as they could.

The boys said to their grandmother: "We have done everything possible, dear grandmother; they came once, then we tried to call them again. But do not grieve, here we are, your grandchildren; you must look to us, oh, our mother! Oh, our grandmother! to remind you of our elder brothers, those who were called and have the names of Hunbatz and Hunchouén," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

They were invoked by the musicians and singers, and by the old people. The painters and craftsmen also invoked them in days gone by. But they were changed into animals and became monkeys because they became arrogant and abused their brothers.

In this way they were disgraced; this was their loss, in this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome and became animals. They had always lived in their home; they were musicians and

singers and also did great things when they lived with their grandmother and with their mother.

II. Chapter 6

Then they [Hunahpú] and [Xbalanqué] began to work, in order to be well thought of by their grandmother and their mother. The first thing they made was the cornfield. "We are going to plant the cornfield, grandmother and mother," they said. "Do not grieve; here we are, your grandchildren, we who shall take the place of our brothers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

At once they took their axes, their picks, and their wooden hoes and went, each carrying his blowgun on his shoulder. As they left the house they asked their grandmother to bring them their midday meal.

"At midday, come and bring our food, grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my grandsons," the old woman replied.

Soon they came to the field. And as they plunged the pick into the earth, it worked the earth; it did the work alone.

In the same way they put the ax in the trunks of the trees and in the branches, and instantly they fell and all the trees and vines were lying on the ground. The trees fell quickly, with only one stroke of the ax.

The pick also dug a great deal. One could not count the thistles and brambles which had been felled with one blow of the pick. Neither was it possible to tell what it had dug and broken up, in all the large and small woods.

And having taught an animal, called Xmucur, they had it climb to the top of a large tree and Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to it: "Watch for our grandmother to come with our food, and as soon as she comes, begin at once to sing, and we shall seize the pick and the ax."

"Very well," Xmucur answered.

And they began to shoot with their blowguns; certainly they did none of the work of clearing and cultivating. A little later, the dove sang, and they ran quickly, grabbing the pick and ax. And one of them covered his head and also deliberately covered his hands With earth and in the same way smeared his face to look like a real laborer, and the other purposely threw splinters of wood over his head as though he really had been cutting the trees.

Thus their grandmother saw them. They ate at once, but they had not really done the work of tilling the soil, and without deserving it they were given their midday meal. After a while, they went home.

"We are really tired, grandmother," they said upon arriving, stretching their legs and arms before her, but without reason.

They returned the following day, and upon arriving at the field, they found that all the trees and vines were standing again and that the brambles and thistles had become entangled again.

"Who has played this trick on us;" they said. "No doubt all the small and large animals did it, the puma, the jaguar, the deer, the rabbit, the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, the coati, the small birds, the large birds; they, it was, who did it; in a single night, they did it."

They began again to prepare the field and to prepare the soil and cut the trees. They talked over what they would have to do with the trees which they had cut, and the weeds which they had pulled up.

"Now we shall watch over our cornfield; perhaps we can surprise those who come to do all of this damage," they said, talking it over together. And later they returned home.

"What do you think of it, grandmother? They have made fun of us. Our field, which we had worked, has been turned into a field of stubble and a thick woods. Thus we found it, when we got there, a little while ago, grandmother," they said to her and to their mother. "But we shall return there and watch over it, because it is not right that they do such things to us," they said.

Then they dressed and returned at once to their field of cut trees, and there they hid themselves, stealthily, in the darkness.

Then all the animals gathered again; one of each kind came with the other small and large animals. It was just midnight when they came, all talking as they came, saying in their own language: "Rise up, trees! Rise up, vines!"

So they spoke when they came and gathered under the trees, under the vines, and they came closer until they appeared before the eyes [of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué].

The puma and the jaguar were the first, and [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] wanted to seize them, but [the animals] did not let them. Then the deer and the rabbit came close. and the only parts of them which they could seize were their tails, only these, they pulled out. The tall of the deer remained in their hands, and for this reason the deer and the rabbit have short tails.

Neither the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, nor the coati fell into their hands. All the animals passed before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, who were furious because they could not catch them.

But, finally, another animal came hopping along, and this one which was the rat, [which] they seized instantly, and wrapped him in a cloth. Then when they had caught him, they squeezed his head and tried to choke him, and they burned his tall in the fire, and for that reason the rat's tail has no hair. So, too, the boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, tried to poke at his eyes.

The rat said: "I must not die at your hands. And neither is it your business to plant the cornfield."

"What are you telling us now?" the boys asked the rat.

"Loosen me a little, for I have something which I wish to tell you, and I shall tell you immediately, but first give me something to eat," said the rat.

"We will give you food afterward, but first speak," they answered.

"Very well. Do you know, then, that the property of your parents Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú, as they were called, those who died in Xibalba, or rather the gear with which they played ball, has remained and is hanging from the roof of the house: the ring, the gloves, and the ball? Nevertheless, your grandmother does not want to show them to you for it was on account of these things that your parents died."

"Are you sure of that?" said the boys to the rat. And they were very happy when they heard about the rubber ball. And as the rat had now talked, they showed the rat what his food would be.

"This shall be your food: corn, chili-seeds, beans, pataxte, cacao; all this belongs to you, and should there be anything stored away or forgotten, it shall be yours also. Eat it," Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to the rat.

"Wonderful, boys," he said; "but what shall I tell your grandmother if she sees me?"

"Do not worry, because we are here and shall know what to say to our grandmother. Let us go! We shall go quickly to the comer of the house, go at once to where the things hang; we shall be looking at the garret of the house and paying attention to our food," they said to the rat.

And having arranged it thus, during the night after talking together, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué arrived at midday. When they arrived, they brought the rat with them, but they did not show it; one of them went directly into the house, and the other went to the corner and there let the rat climb up quickly.

Immediately they asked their grandmother for food. "Prepare our food, we wish a chili-sauce, grandmother," they said. And at once the food was prepared for them and a plate of broth was put before them.

But this was only to deceive their grandmother and their mother. And having dried up the water which was in the water jar, they said, "We are really dying of thirst; go and bring us a drink," they said to their grandmother.

"Good," she said and went. Then they began to eat, but they were not really hungry; it was only a trick. They saw then by means of their plate of chile how the rat went rapidly toward the ball which was suspended from the roof of the house. On seeing this in their chile-sauce, they sent to the river a certain xan, an animal called xan which is like a mosquito, to puncture the side of their grandmother's water jar, and although she tried to stop the water which ran out, she could not close the hole made in the jar.

"What is the matter with our grandmother? Our mouths are dry, with thirst, we are dying of thirst," they said to their mother and they sent her out, Immediately the rat went to cut [the cord which held] the ball and it fell from the garret of the house together with the ring and the gloves and the leather pads. The boys seized them and ran quickly to hide them on the road which led to the ball-court.

After this they went to the river to join their grandmother and their mother, who were busily trying to stop the hole in the water jar. And arriving With their blowgun, they said when they came to the river: "What are you doing? We got tired [of waiting] and we came," they said.

"Look at the hole in my jar which I cannot stop, said the grandmother. Instantly they stopped it, and together they returned, the two walking before their grandmother.

And in this way the ball was found.

II. Chapter 7

The boys returned happily to the ball-court to play; they were playing alone a long time and cleared the court where their parents had played.

And the Lords of Xibalba, hearing them, said: "Who are they who play again over our heads and disturb us with the noise they make? Perchance Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not die, those who wished to exalt themselves before us? Go at once and call them!"

So said Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, and all the lords. And sending the messengers to call them, they said to them: "Go and tell them when you get there: 'Let them come,' the lords have said; we wish to play ball with them here, within seven days we wish to play; tell them so when you arrive," thus said the lords. This was the command which they gave to the messengers. And they came then by the wide road which the boys had made that led directly to their house; by it the messengers arrived directly before [the boys'] grandmother. They were eating when the messengers from Xibalba arrived.

"Tell them to come, without fail, the lords commanded," said the messengers of Xibalba. And the messengers of Xibalba indicated the day: "Within seven days they will await them," they said to Xmucané.

"It is well, messengers; they will go," the old woman answered. And the messengers set out on their return.

Then the old woman's heart was filled with anxiety. "Who shall I send to call my grandchildren? Was it not in this same way that the messengers of Xibalba came before, when they came to take the [boys'] parents?" said the grandmother, entering her house, alone and grieving.

And immediately a louse fell into her lap. She seized it and put it in the palm of her hand, and the louse wriggled and began to walk.

"My child, would you like that I sent you away to call my grandchildren from the ball-court?" she said to the louse. "'Messengers have come to your grandmother,' tell them; 'come within seven days, tell them to come, said the messengers of Xibalba; thus your grandmother told me to say,'" thus she told the louse.

At once the louse swaggered off. Sitting on the road was a boy called Tamazul, or the toad.

"Where are you going?" the toad said to the louse.

"I am carrying a message in my stomach. I go to find the boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well, but I see that you do not go quickly," said the toad to the louse. "Do you not want me to swallow you? You shall see how I run, and so we shall arrive quickly."

"Very well," the louse said to the toad. Immediately the toad swallowed him. And the toad walked a long time, but without hurrying. Soon he met a large snake, called Zaquicaz.

"Where are you going, young Tamazul?" said Zaquicaz to the toad.

"I go as a messenger; I carry a message in my stomach," said the toad to the snake.

See that you do not walk quickly. Would I not arrive sooner?" the snake said to the toad. "Come here," he said. At once Zaquicaz swallowed the toad. And from then on this was the food of snakes, who still today swallow toads.

The snake went quickly and having met Vac, which is a very large bird, the hawk, [the latter] instantly swallowed the snake. Shortly afterward it arrived at the ball-court. From that time, this has been the food of hawks, who devour snakes in the fields.

And upon arrival, the hawk perched upon the cornice of the ball-court where Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were amusing themselves playing ball. Upon arriving, the hawk began to cry: "*Vac-có*! *Vac-có*!" it said cawing. ["Here is the hawk! Here is the hawk!"]

"Who is screaming? Bring our blowguns!" the boys exclaimed. And shooting at the hawk, they aimed a pellet at the pupil of the eye and [the hawk] spiraled to the ground. They ran to seize it and asked: "What do you come to do here?" they asked the hawk.

"I bring a message in my stomach. First cure my eye and afterward I shall tell you," the hawk answered.

"Very well," they said, and taking a bit of the rubber of the ball with which they were playing, they put it in the hawk's eye. Lotzquic they called it, and instantly the hawk's eye was perfectly healed.

"Speak, then," they said to the hawk. And immediately it vomited a large snake.

"Speak, thou," they said to the snake.

"Good," the [snake] said and vomited the toad.

"Where is the message that you bring?" they asked the toad.

"Herein my stomach is the message," answered the toad. And immediately he tried, but could not vomit; his mouth only filled with spittle but he did not vomit. The boys wanted to hit him then.

"You are a liar, "they said, kicking him in the rump, and the bone of the haunches gave way. He tried again, but his mouth only filled with spittle. Then the boys opened the toad's mouth and once open, they looked inside of it. The louse was stuck to the toad's teeth: it had stayed

in its mouth and had not been swallowed, but only pretended to be swallowed. Thus the toad was tricked, and the kind of food to give it is not known. It cannot run; and it became the food of the snakes.

"Speak," they said to the louse, and then it gave its message. "Your grandmother has said, boys: 'Go call them; the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé have come to tell them to go to Xibalba, saying: "They must come here within seven days to play ball with us, and they must also bring their playing gear, the ball, the rings, the gloves, the leather pads, in order that they may amuse themselves here," said the lords. They have really come,' said your grandmother. That is why I have come. For truly your grandmother said this and she cries and grieves, for this reason I have come."

"Is it true?" the boys asked themselves when they heard this. And running quickly they arrived at their grandmother's side; they went only to take their leave of her.

"We are going, grandmother, we came only to say goodbye. But here will be the sign which we shall leave of our fate: each of us shall plant a reed, in the middle of the house we shall plant it; if it dries, this shall be the sign of our death. 'They are dead!' you shall say, if it begins to dry up. But if it sprouts again: 'They are living!' you shall say, oh, our grandmother. And you, mother, do not weep, for here we leave the sign of our fate," thus they said.

And before going, Hunahpú planted one [reed] and Xbalanqué planted another; they planted them in the house and not in the field, nor did they plant them in moist soil, but in dry soil; in the middle of their house, they left them planted.

II. Chapter 8

Then they went, each one carrying his blowgun, and went down in the direction of Xibalba. They descended the steps quickly and passed between several streams and ravines. They passed among some birds and these birds were called Molay.

They also passed over a river of corruption, and over a river of blood, where they would be destroyed, so the people of Xibalba thought; but they did not touch it with their feet, instead they crossed it on their blowguns.

They went on from there, and came to a crossway of four roads. They knew very well which were the roads to Xibalba; the black road, the white road, the red road, and the green road. So, then, they sent an animal called Xan. It was to go to gather information which they wanted. "Sting them, one by one; first sting the one seated in the first place and then sting all of them, since this is the part you must play: to suck the blood of the men on the roads," they said to the mosquito.

"Very well," answered the mosquito. And immediately it flew on to the dark road and went directly toward the wooden men which were seated first and covered with ornaments. It stung the first, but this one said nothing; then it stung the next one, it stung the second, who was seated, but this one said nothing, either.

After that it stung the third; the third of those seated was Hun-Camé. "Ah!" he exclaimed when it stung him. "What is this, Hun-Camé? What is it that has stung you? Do you not know who has stung you? "said the fourth one of the lords, who were seated.

"What is the matter, Vucub-Camé? What has stung you?" said the fifth.

"Ah! Ah!" then said Xiquiripat. And Vucub-Camé asked him, "What has stung you?" and when they stung the sixth who was seated [he cried], "Ah!"

"What is this, Cuchumaquic?" asked Xiquiripat. "What is it that has stung you?" And the seventh one seated said "Ah" when he was stung.

"What is the matter, Ahalpuh?" said Cuchumaquic. "What has stung you?" And when it stung him, the eighth of those seated said, "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Ahalcaná?" said Ahalpuh. "What has stung you?" And when he was stung the ninth of those seated said "Ah!"

"What is this, Chamiabac? "said Ahalcaná. "What has stung you?" And when the tenth of those seated was stung, he said "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Chamiaholom?" said Chamiabac. "What has stung you?" And when the eleventh of those seated was stung he said, "Ah!"

"What happened?" said Chamiaholom. "What has stung you?" And when the twelfth of those seated was stung, he said "Alas!"

"What is this, Patán?" they said. "What has stung you?" And the thirteenth of those seated said "Alas!" when he was stung.

"What is the matter, Quicxic?" said Patán. "What has stung you?" And the fourteenth of those seated when he was stung said "Alas!"

"What has stung you, Quicrixcac?" said Quicré.

In this way they told their names, as they all said them one to the other. So they made themselves known by telling their names, calling each chief, one by one. And in this manner each of those seated in his comer told his name.

Not a single one of the names was missed. All told their names when Hunahpú puffed out a hair of his leg, which was what had stung them. It was really not a mosquito which stung them which went for Hunahpú and Xbalanqué to hear the names of all of them.

They [the youths] continued on their way and arrived where the Lords of Xibalba were.

"Greet the lord, the one who is seated,' said one in order to deceive them.

"That is not a lord. it is nothing more than a wooden figure," they said, and went on. Immediately they began to greet them:

"Hail, Hun-Camé! Hail, Vucub-Camé! Hail, Xiquiripat! Hail, Cuchumaquic! Hail, Ahalpuh! Hail, Ahalcaná! Hail, Chamiabac! Hail, Chamiaholom! Hail, Quicxic! Hail, Patán! Hail, Quicré! Hail, Quicrixcac!" they said coming before them. And looking in their faces, they spoke the name of all, without missing the name of a single one of them.

But what the lords wished was that they should not discover their names.

"Sit here," they said, hoping that they would sit in the seat [which they indicated].

"That is not a seat for us; it is only a hot stone," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, and they [the Lords of Xibalba] could not overcome them.

"Very well, go to that house," the lords said. And they [the youths] went on and entered the House of Gloom. And neither there were they overcome.

II. Chapter 9

This was the first test of Xibalba. The Lords of Xibalba thought that [the boys'] entrance there would be the beginning of their downfall. After a while [the boys] entered the House of Gloom; immediately lighted sticks of fat pine were given them and the messengers of Hun-Camé also took a cigar to each one.

"'These are their pine sticks,' said the lord; 'they must return them at dawn, tomorrow, together with the cigars, and you must bring them back whole,' said the lord." So said the messengers when they arrived.

"Very well," [the boys] replied. But they really did not [light] the sticks of pine, instead they put a red-colored thing in place of them, or some feathers from the tail of the macaw, which to the night watches looked like lighted pine sticks. And as for the cigars, they attached fireflies to their end.

All night [everybody] thought they were defeated. "They are lost," said the night watchmen. But the pine sticks had not been burned and looked the same, and the cigars had not been lighted and looked the same as before.

They went to tell the lords.

"How is this? Whence have they come? Who conceived them? Who gave birth to them? This really troubles us, because it is not well what they do. Their faces are strange, and strange is their conduct." they said to each other.

Soon all the lords summoned [the boys].

"Eh! Let us play ball, boys!" they said. At the same time they were questioned by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé:

"Where did you come from? Tell us, boys!" said the Lords of Xibalba.

"Who knows whence we came! We do not know," they said, and nothing more.

"Very well. Let us play ball, boys," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"Good," they replied.

"We shall use our ball," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"By no means, shall you use [your ball], but ours," the boys answered.

"Not that one, but ours we shall use," insisted the Lords of Xibalba.

"Very well," said the boys.

"Let us play for a worm, the *chil*," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"No, but instead, the head of the puma shall speak," said the boys.

"Not that," said those of Xibalba.

"Very well," said Hunahpú.

Then the Lords of Xibalba seized the ball; they threw it directly at the ring of Hunahpú. Immediately, while those of Xibalba grasped the handle of the knife of flint, the ball rebounded and bounced all around the floor of the ball-court.

"What is this?" exclaimed Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. "You wish to kill us? Perchance you did not send to call us? And your own messengers did not come? In truth, unfortunate are we! We shall leave at once," the boys said to them.

This was exactly what those of Xibalba wanted to have happen to the boys, that they would die immediately, right there in the ball-court and thus they would be overcome. But it did not happen thus, and it was the Lords of Xibalba who were defeated by the boys.

"Do not leave, boys, let us go on playing ball, but we shall use your ball," they said to the boys.

"Very well," the boys answered and then they drove their ball through [the ring of Xibalba], and with this the game ended.

And offended by their defeat, the men of Xibalba immediately said: "What shall we do in order to overcome them?" And turning to the boys they said to them: "Go gather and bring us, early tomorrow morning, four gourds of flowers." So said the men of Xibalba to the boys.

"Very well. And what kind of flowers?" they asked the men of Xibalba.

"A branch of red *chiptlín*, a branch of white *chiptlín*, a branch of yellow *chiptlín*, and a branch of *carinimac*," said the men of Xibalba.

"Very well," replied the boys.

Thus the talk ended; equally strong and vigorous were the words of the boys. And their hearts were calm when they gave themselves up to be overcome.

The Lords of Xibalba were happy, thinking that they had already defeated them.

"This has turned out well for us. First they must cut them [the flowers]," said the Lords of Xibalba. "Where shall they go to get the flowers?" they said to themselves.

"Surely you will give us our flowers tomorrow early; go, then, to cut them," the Lords of Xibalba said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well," they replied. "At dawn we shall play ball again," they said upon leaving.

And immediately the boys entered the House of Knives, the second place of torture in Xibalba. And what the lords wanted was that they would be cut to pieces by the knives, and would be quickly killed; that is what they Wished in their hearts.

But the [boys] did not die. They spoke at once to the knives and said to them:

"Yours shall be the flesh of all the animals," they said to the knives. And they did not move again, but all the knives were quiet.

Thus they passed the night in the House of Knives, and calling all the ants, they said to them: "Come, Cutting Ants, come, *zompopos*, and all of you go at once, go and bring all the kinds of flowers that we must cut for the lords."

"Very well," they said, and all the ants went to bring the flowers from the gardens of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

Previously [the lords] had warned the guards of the flowers of Xibalba: "Take care of our flowers, do not let them be taken by the boys who shall come to cut them. But how could [the boys] see and cut the flowers? Not at all. Watch, then, all night!"

"Very well," they answered. But the guards of the garden heard nothing. Needlessly they shouted up into the branches of the trees in the garden. There they were all night, repeating their same shouts and songs.

"*Ixpurpuvec*! *Ixpurpuvec*!" one shouted.

"*Puhuyú*! *Puhuyú*!" the other answered.

Puhuyú was the name of the two who watched the garden of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. But they did not notice the ants who were robbing them of what they were guarding, turning around and moving here and there, cutting the flowers, climbing the trees to cut the flowers, and gathering them from the ground at the foot of the trees.

Meanwhile the guards went on crying, and they did not feel the teeth which were cutting their tails and their wings.

And thus the ants carried, between their teeth, the flowers which they took down, and gathering them from the ground, they went on carrying them with their teeth.

Quickly they filled the four gourds with flowers, which were moist [with dew] when it dawned. Immediately the messengers arrived to get them. "'Tell them to come,' the lord has said, 'and bring here instantly what they have cut,'" they said to the boys.

"Very well," the [boys] answered. And carrying the flowers in the four gourds, they went, and when they arrived before the lord [of Xibalba] and the other lords, it was lovely to see the flowers they had brought. And in this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome.

The boys had only sent the ants [to cut the flowers], and in a night the ants cut them and put them in the gourds.

Instantly the Lords of Xibalba paled and their faces became livid because of the flowers. They sent at once for the guardians of the flowers. "Why did you permit them to steal our flowers? These which we see here are our flowers," they said to the guardians.

"We noticed nothing, my lord. Our tails also suffered," they answered. And then the [lords] tore at their mouths as a punishment for having let that which was under their care be stolen.

Thus were Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé defeated by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And this was the beginning of their deeds. From that time the mouth of the owl is divided, cleft as it is today.

Immediately they went down to play ball, and also they played several tie-matches. Then they finished playing and agreed to play again the following day at dawn. So said the Lords of Xibalba.

"It is well," said the boys upon finishing.

II. Chapter 10

Afterward they entered the House of Cold. It is impossible to describe how cold it was. The house was full of hail; it was the mansion of cold. Soon, however, the cold was ended because with [a fire of] old logs the boys made the cold disappear.

That is why they did not die; they were still alive when it dawned. Surely what the Lords of Xibalba wanted was that they would die; but it was not thus, and when it dawned, they were still full of health, and they went out again, when the messengers came to get them.

"How is this? They are not dead yet?" said the Lords of Xibalba. They were amazed to see the deeds of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Presently the boys [entered] the House of Jaguars. The house was full of jaguars. "Do not bite us! Here is what belongs to you," [the boys] said to the jaguars. And quickly they threw some bones to the animals, which pounced upon the bones.

"Now surely they are finished. Now already they have eaten their own entrails. At last they have given themselves up. Now their bones have been broken, "so said the guards, all happy because of this.

But they [the boys] did not die. As usual, well and healthy, they came out of the House of Jaguars.

"What kind of people are they? Where did they come from?" said all the Lords of Xibalba.

Presently they [the boys] entered into the midst of fire in the House of Fire, inside which there was only fire; but they were not burned. Only the coals and the wood burned. And, as usual, they were well when it dawned. But what they [the Lords of Xibalba] wished was that [the boys] would die rapidly, where they had been. Nevertheless, it did not happen thus, which disheartened the Lords of Xibalba.

Then they put them into the House of Bats. There was nothing but bats inside this house, the house of Camazotz, a large animal, whose weapons for killing were like a dry point, and instantly those who came into their presence perished.

They [the boys] were in there, then, but they slept inside their blowguns. And they were not bitten by those who were in the house. Nevertheless, one of them had to give up because of another Camazotz that came from the sky, and made him come into sight.

The bats were assembled in council all night, and flew about: "*Quilitz*, *quilitz*," they said: So they were saying all night. They stopped for a little while, however, and they did not move and were pressed against the end of one of the blowguns.

Then Xbalanqué said to Hunahpú: "Look you, has it begun already to get light?"

"Maybe so. I am going to see," [Hunahpú] answered.

And as he wished very much to look out of the mouth of the blowgun, and wished to see if it had dawned, instantly Camazotz cut off his head and the body of Hunahpú was decapitated.

Xbalanqué asked again: "Has it not yet dawned?" But Hunahpú did not move. "Where have you gone, Hunahpú? What have you done?" But he did not move, and remained silent.

Then Xbalanqué felt concerned and exclaimed: "Unfortunate are we. We are completely undone."

They went immediately to hang the head [of Hunahpú] in the ball-court by special order of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, and all the people of Xibalba rejoiced for what had happened to the head of Hunahpú.

II. Chapter 11

Immediately he [Xbalanqué] called all the animals, the coati, the wild boar, all the animals small and large, during the night, and at dawn he asked them what their food was.

"What does each of you eat? For I have called you so that you may choose your food," said Xbalanqué to them.

"Very well," they answered. And immediately each went to take his [own food] and they all went together. Some went to take rotten things; others went to take grasses; others went to get stones. Others went to gather earth. Varied was the food of the [small] animals and of the large animals.

Behind them the turtle was lingering, it came waddling along to take its food. And reaching at the end [of Hunahpú's body] it assumed the form of the head of Hunahpú, and instantly the eyes were fashioned.

Many soothsayers came, then, from heaven. The Heart of Heaven, Huracán, came to soar over the House of Bats.

It was not easy to finish making the face, but it turned out very well; the hair had a handsome appearance and [the head] could also speak.

But as it was about to dawn and the horizon reddened: "Make it dark again, old one!" the buzzard was told.

"Very well, said the old one, and instantly the old one darkened [the sky]. "Now the buzzard has darkened it," the people say nowadays.

And so, during the cool of dawn, the [Hunahpú] began his existence.

"Will it be good?" they said. "Will it turn out to look like Hunahpú?"

"It is very good," they answered. And really it seemed that the skull had changed itself back into a real head.

Then they [the two boys] talked among themselves and agreed: "Do not play ball; only pretend to play; I shall do everything alone," said Xbalanqué.

At once he gave his orders to a rabbit: "Go and take your place over the ball-court; stay there within the oak grove," the rabbit was told by Xbalanqué; "when the ball comes to you, run out immediately, and I shall do the rest," the rabbit was told, when they gave him these instructions during the night.

Presently day broke and the two boys were well and healthy. Then they went down to play ball. The head of Hunahpú was suspended over the ball-court.

"We have triumphed! [said the Lords of Xibalba].You worked your own destruction, you have delivered yourselves," they said. In this way they annoyed Hunahpú.

"Hit his head with the ball," they said. But they did not bother him with it; he paid no attention to it.

Then the Lords of Xibalba threw out the ball. Xbalanqué went out to get it; the ball was going straight to the ring, but it stopped, bounced, and passed quickly over the ball-court and with a jump went toward the oak grove.

Instantly the rabbit ran out and went hopping; and the Lords of Xibalba ran after it. They went, making noise and shouting after the rabbit. It ended by all of the Lords of Xibalba going.

At once Xbalanqué took possession of the head of Hunahpú; and taking the turtle he went to suspend it over the ball-court. And that head was actually the head of Hunahpú and the two boys were very happy.

Those of Xibalba ran, then, to find the ball and having found it between the oaks, called them, saying:

"Come here. Here is the ball. We found it," they said, and they brought it.

When the Lords of Xibalba returned, they exclaimed, "What is this we see?"

Then they began to play again. Both of them tied.

Presently Xbalanqué threw a stone at the turtle, which came to the ground and fell in the ball-court, breaking into a thousand pieces like seeds, before the lords.

"Who of you shall go to find it? Where is the one who shall go to bring it?" said the Lords of Xibalba.

And so were the Lords of Xibalba overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. These two suffered great hardships, but they did not die despite all that was done to them.

II. Chapter 12

Here is the account of the death of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Now we shall tell of the way they died.

Having been forewarned of all the suffering which the [Lords of Xibalba] wished to impose upon them, they did not die of the tortures of Xibalba, nor were they overcome by all the fierce animals which were in Xibalba.

Afterward they sent for two soothsayers who were like prophets; they were called Xulú and Pacam and were diviners, and they said unto them:

"You shall be questioned by the Lords of Xibalba about our deaths, for which they are planning and preparing because of the fact that we have not died, nor have they been able to overcome us, nor have we perished under their torments, nor have the animals attacked us. We have the presentiment in our hearts that they shall kill us by burning us. All the people of Xibalba have assembled, but the truth is, that we shall not die. Here, then, you have our instructions as to what you must say:

"If they should come to consult you about our death and that we may be sacrificed, what shall you say then, Xulú and Pacam? If they ask you: 'Will it not be good to throw their bones into the ravine?' 'No, it would not be well,' tell them, 'because they would be brought to life again, afterward!' If they ask you: 'Would it not be good to hang them from the trees?' you shall answer: 'By no means would it be well, because then you shall see their faces again.' And when for the third time they ask you: 'Would it be good to throw their bones into the river?' If you were asked all the above by them, you should answer: 'It would be well if they were to die that way; then it would be well to crush their bones on a grinding stone, as corn meal is ground; let each one be ground [separately]; throw them into the river immediately, there where the spring gushes forth, in order that they may be carried away among all the small and large hills.' Thus you shall answer them when the plan which we have advised you is put into practice," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And when they [the boys] took leave of them, they already knew about their approaching death.

They made then, a great bonfire, a kind of oven; the men of Xibalba made it and filled it with thick branches.

Shortly afterward the messengers arrived who had to accompany [the boys], the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

"'Tell them to come. Go and get the boys; go there so that they may know we are going to burn them.' This the lords said, oh, boys!" the messengers exclaimed.

"It is well," they answered. And setting out quickly, they arrived near the bonfire. There [the Lords of Xibalba] wanted to force the boys to play a mocking game with them.

"Let us drink our *chicha* and fly four times, each one [over the bonfire] boys!" was said to them by Hun-Camé.

"Do not try to deceive us,"[the boys] answered. "Perchance, we do not know about our death, oh lords! And that this is what awaits us here? "And embracing each other, face to face, they both stretched out their arms, bent toward the ground and jumped into the bonfire, and thus the two died together.

All those of Xibalba were filled with joy, shouting and whistling they exclaimed: "Now we have overcome them. At last they have given themselves up."

Immediately they called Xulú and Pacam, to whom they [the boys] had given their instructions, and asked them what they must do with their bones, as they [the boys] had foretold. Those of Xibalba then ground their bones and went to cast them into the river. But the bones did not go very far, for settling themselves down at once on the bottom of the river, they were changed back into handsome boys. And when again they showed themselves they really had their same old faces.

II. Chapter 13

On the fifth day they appeared again and were seen in the water by the people. Both had the appearance of fishmen; when those of Xibalba saw them, after having hunted them all over the river.

And the following day, two poor men presented themselves with very old-looking faces and of miserable appearance, [and] ragged clothes, whose countenances did not commend them. So they were seen by all those of Xibalba.

And what they did was very little. They only performed the dance of the *puhuy* [owl or chum-owl], the dance of the *cux* [weasel], and the dance of the *iboy* [armadillo], and they also danced the *xtzul* [centipede] and the *chitic* [that walks on stilts].

Furthermore, they worked many miracles. They burned houses as though they really were burning and instantly they were as they had been before. Many of those of Xibalba watched them in wonder.

Presently they cut themselves into bits; they killed each other; the first one whom they had killed stretched out as though he were dead, and instantly the other brought him back to life. Those of Xibalba looked on in amazement at all they did, and they performed it, as the beginning of their triumph over those of Xibalba.

Presently word of their dances came to the ears of the lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. Upon hearing it they exclaimed: "Who are these two orphans? Do they really give you so much pleasure?"

"Surely their dances are very beautiful, and all that they do," answered he who had brought the news to the lords.

Happy to hear this, the [lords] then sent their messengers to call [the boys] with flattery. "'Tell them to come here, tell them to come so that we may see what they do; that we may admire them and regard them with wonder,' this the lords said. 'So you shall say unto them,'" this was told to the messengers.

They arrived at once before the dancers and gave them the message of the lords.

"We do not wish to, the [boys] answered," because, frankly, we are ashamed. How could we not but be ashamed to appear in the house of the lords with our ugly countenances, our eyes which are so big, and our poor appearance? Do you not see that we are nothing more than some [poor] dancers? What shall we tell our companions in poverty who have come with us and wish to see our dances and be entertained by them? How could we do our dances before the lords? For that reason, then, we do not want to go, oh, messengers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Finally, with downcast faces and with reluctance and sorrow they went; but for a while they did not wish to walk, and the messengers had to beat them in the face many times, when they led them to the house of the lords.

They arrived, then, before the lords, timid and with head bowed; they came prostrating themselves, making reverences and humiliating themselves. They looked feeble, ragged, and their appearance was really that of vagabonds when they arrived they were questioned immediately about their country and their people; they also asked them about their mother and their father.

"Where do you come from?" [the lords] said.

"We do not know, Sir. We do not know the faces of our mother and father; we were small when they died," they answered, and did not say another word.

"All right. Now do [your dances] so that we may admire you. What do you want? We shall give you pay," they told them.

"We do not want anything; but really we are very much afraid," they said to the lord.

"Do not grieve, do not be afraid. Dance! And do first the part in which you kill yourselves; burn my house, do all that you know how to do. We shall marvel at you, for that is what our hearts desire. And afterwards, poor things, we shall give help for your journey," they told them.

Then they began to sing and dance. All the people of Xibalba arrived and gathered together in order to see them. Then they performed the dance of the *cux*, they danced the *puhuy*, and they danced the *iboy*.

And the lord said to them: "Cut my dog into pieces and let him be brought back to life by you," he said to them.

"Very well," they answered, and cut the dog into bits. Instantly they brought him back to life. The dog was truly full of joy when he was brought back to life, and wagged his tail when they revived him.

The Lord said to them then: "Burn my house now!" Thus he said to them. instantly they put fire to the lord's house, and although all the lords were assembled together within the house, they were not burned. Quickly it was whole again, and not for one instant was the house of Hun-Camé destroyed.

All of the lords were amazed, and in the same way the [boys'] dances gave them much pleasure.

Then they were told by the lord: "Now kill a man, sacrifice him, but do not let him die," he told them.

"Very well," they answered. And seizing a man, they quickly sacrificed him, and raising his heart on high, they held it so that all the lords could see it.

Again Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé were amazed. A moment afterward the man was brought back to life by them [the boys], and his heart was filled with joy when he was revived.

The lords were astounded. "Sacrifice yourselves now, let us see it! We really like your dances!" said the lords. "Very well, Sirs," they answered. And they proceeded to sacrifice each other. Hunahpú was sacrificed by Xbalanqué; one by one his arms and his legs were sliced off, his head was cut from his body and carried away; his heart was torn from his breast and thrown onto the grass. All the Lords of Xibalba were fascinated. They looked on in wonder, but really it was only the dance of one man; it was Xbalanqué.

"Get up!" he said, and instantly [Hunahpú] returned to life. They [the boys] were very happy and the lords were also happy. In truth, what they did gladdened the hearts of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, and the latter felt as though they themselves were dancing.

Then their hearts were filled with desire and longing by the dances of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé gave their commands.

"Do the same with us! Sacrifice us!" they said. "Cut us into pieces, one by one!" Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Very well; afterward you will come back to life again. Perchance, did you not bring us here in order that we should entertain you, the lords, and your sons, and vassals?" they said to the lords.

And so it happened that they first sacrificed the one, who was the chief and [Lord of Xibalba], the one called Hun-Camé, king of Xibalba.

And when Hun-Camé was dead, they overpowered Vucub-Camé, and they did not bring either of them back to life.

The people of Xibalba fled as soon as they saw that their lords were dead and sacrificed. In an instant both were sacrificed. And this they [the boys] did in order to chastize them. Quickly the principal lord was killed. And they did not bring him back to life.

And another lord humbled himself then, and presented himself before the dancers. They had not discovered him, nor had they found him. "Have mercy on me!" he said when they found him.

All the sons and vassals of Xibalba fled to a great ravine, and all of them were crowded into this narrow, deep place. There they were crowded together and hordes of ants came and found them and dislodged them from the ravine. In this way [the ants] drove them to the road, and when they arrived [the people] prostrated themselves and gave themselves up; they humbled themselves and arrived, grieving.

In this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome. Only by a miracle and by their [own] transformation could [the boys] have done it.

II. Chapter 14

Immediately [the boys] told their names and they extolled themselves before all the people of Xibalba.

"Hear our names. We shall also tell you the names of our fathers. We are Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; those are our names. And our fathers are those whom you killed and who were called Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. We, those whom you see here, are, then, the avengers of the torments and suffering of our fathers. That is the reason why we resent all the evil you have done to them. Therefore, we shall put an end to all of you, we shall kill you, and not one of you shall escape, "they said.

Instantly all the people of Xibalba fell to their knees, crying.

"Have mercy on us, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué! It is true that we sinned against your fathers as you said, and that they are buried in Puchbal-Chah," they said.

"Very well. This is our sentence, that we are going to tell you. Hear it, all you of Xibalba:

"Since neither your great power nor your race any longer exist, and since neither do you deserve mercy, your rank shall be lowered. Not for you shall be the ball game. You shall spend your time making earthen pots and tubs and stones to grind corn. Only the children of the thickets and desert shall speak with you. The noble sons, the civilized vassals shall not consort with you, and they will foresake your presence. The sinners, the evil ones, the sad ones, the unfortunate ones, those who give themselves up to vice, these are the ones who will welcome you. No longer will you seize men suddenly [for sacrifice]; remember your rank has been lowered."

Thus they spoke to all the people of Xibalba.

In this way their destruction and their lamentations began. Their power in the olden days was not much. They only liked to do evil to men in those times. In truth, in those days, they did not have the category of gods. Furthermore, their horrible faces frightened people. They were the enemies, the owls. They incited to evil, to sin and to discord.

They were also false in their hearts, black and white at the same time, envious and tyrannical, according to what was said of them. Furthermore, they painted and greased their faces.

In this way, then, occurred the loss of their grandeur and the decadence of their empire.

And this was what Hunahpú and Xbalanqué did.

Meanwhile, the grandmother was crying and lamenting before the reeds which they had left planted. The reeds sprouted, then they dried up when [the boys] were consumed in the bonfire; afterward [the reeds] sprouted again. Then the grandmother lighted the fire and burned incense before the reeds in memory of her grandchildren. And the grandmother's heart filled with joy when, for the second time, the reeds sprouted. Then they were worshiped by the grandmother, and she called them the Center of the House, *Nicah* [the center] they were called.

"Green reeds growing in the plains" [*Cazam Ah Chatam Uleu*] was their name. And they were called the Center of the House and the Center, because in the middle of the house they planted the reeds. And the reeds, which were planted, were called the plains, Green Reeds growing on the plains. They also were called Green Reeds because they had resprouted. This name was given them by Xmucané [given] to those [reeds] which Hunahpú and Xbalanqué left planted in order that they should be remembered by their grandmother.

Well, now, their fathers, those who died long ago, were Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. They also saw the faces of their fathers there in Xibalba and their fathers talked with their descendants, that is the ones who overthrew those of Xibalba.

And here is how their fathers were honored by them. They honored Vucub-Hunahpú; they went to honor him at the place of sacrifice of the ball-court. And at the same time they wanted to make Vucub-Hunahpú's face. They hunted there for his entire body, his mouth, his nose, his eyes. They found his body, but it could do very little. It could not pronounce his name, this Hunahpú. Neither could his mouth say it.

And here is how they extolled the memory of their fathers, whom they had left there in the place of sacrifice at the ball-court: "You shall be invoked," their sons said to them, when they fortified their heart. "You shall be the first to arise, and you shall be the first to be worshiped by the sons of the noblemen, by the civilized vassals. Your names shall not be lost. So it shall be!" they told their fathers and thus consoled themselves. "We are the avengers of your death, of the pains and sorrows which they caused you."

Thus was their leave-taking, when they had already overcome all the people of Xibalba.

Then they rose up in the midst of the light, and instantly they were lifted into the sky. One was given the sun, the other, the moon. Then the arch of heaven and the face of the earth were lighted. And they dwelt in heaven.

Then the four hundred boys whom Zipacná had killed also ascended, and so they again became the companions of [the boys] and were changed into stars in the sky.

PART III: Chapter 1

Here, then is the beginning of when it was decided to make man, and when what must enter into the flesh of man was sought.

And the Forefathers, the Creators and Makers, who were called Tepeu and Gucumatz said: "The time of dawn has come, let the work be finished, and let those who are to nourish and sustain us appear, the noble sons, the civilized vassals; let man appear, humanity, on the face of the earth." Thus they spoke.

They assembled, came together and held council in the darkness and in the night; then they sought and discussed, and here they reflected and thought. In this way their decisions came dearly to light and they found and discovered what must enter into the flesh of man.

It was just before the sun, the moon, and the stars appeared over the Creators and Makers.

From Paxil, from Cayalá, as they were called, came the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn.

These are the names of the animals which brought the food: *yac* (the mountain cat), *utiú* (the coyote), *quel* (a small parrot), and *hoh* (the crow). These four animals gave tidings of the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn, they told them that they should go to Paxil and they showed them the road to Paxil.

And thus they found the food, and this was what went into the flesh of created man, the made man; this was his blood; of this the blood of man was made. So the corn entered [into the formation of man] by the work of the Forefathers.

And in this way they were filled with joy, because they had found a beautiful land, full of pleasures, abundant in ears of yellow corn and ears of white corn, and abundant also in *pataxte* and cacao, and in innumerable *zapotes*, *anonas*, *jocotes*, *nantzes*, *matasanos*, and honey. There was an abundance of delicious food in those villages called Paxil and Cayalá. There were foods of every kind, small and large foods, small plants and large plants.

The animals showed them the road. And then grinding the yellow corn and the white corn, Xmucané made nine drinks, and from this food came the strength and the flesh, and with it they created the muscles and the strength of man. This the Forefathers did, Tepeu and Gucumatz, as they were called.

After that they began to talk about the creation and the making of our first mother and father; of yellow corn and of white corn they made their flesh; of corn-meal dough they made the arms and the legs of man. Only dough of corn meal went into the flesh of our first fathers, the four men, who were created.

III. Chapter 2

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE FIRST men who were created and formed: the first man was Balam-Quitzé, the second, Balam-Acab, the third, Mahucutah, and the fourth was Iqui-Balam.

These are the names of our first mothers and fathers.

It is said that they only were made and formed, they had no mother, they had no father. They were only called men. They were not born of woman, nor were they begotten by the Creator nor by the Maker, nor by the Forefathers. Only by a miracle, by means of incantation were they created and made by the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers, Tepeu and Gucumatz. And as they had the appearance of men, they were men; they talked, conversed, saw and heard, walked, grasped things; they were good and handsome men, and their figure was the figure of a man.

They were endowed with intelligence; they saw and instantly they could see far, they succeeded in seeing, they succeeded in knowing all that there is in the world. When they looked, instantly they saw all around them, and they contemplated in turn the arch of heaven and the round face of the earth.

The things hidden [in the distance] they saw all, without first having to move; at once they saw the world, and so, too, from where they were, they saw it.

Great was their wisdom; their sight reached to the forests, the rocks, the lakes, the seas, the mountains, and the valleys. In truth, they were admirable men. Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then the Creator and the Maker asked them: "What do you think of your condition? Do you not see? Do you not hear? Are not your speech and manner of walking good? Look, then! Contemplate the world, look [and see] if the mountains and the valleys appear! Try, then, to see!" they said to [the four first men].

And immediately they [the four first men] began to see all that was in the world. Then they gave thanks to the Creator and the Maker: "We really give you thanks, two and three times! We have been created, we have been given a mouth and a face, we speak, we hear, we think, and walk; we feel perfectly, and we know what is far and what is near. We also see the large and the small in the sky and on earth. We give you thanks, then, for having created us, oh, Creator and Maker! for having given us being, oh, our grandmother! oh, our grandfather!" they said, giving thanks for their creation and formation.

They were able to know all, and they examined the four comers, the four points of the arch of the sky and the round face of the earth.

But the Creator and the Maker did not hear this with pleasure. "It is not well what our creatures, our works say; they know all, the large and the small," they said. And so the Forefathers held counsel again. "What shall we do with them now? Let their sight reach only to that which is near; let them see only a little of the face of the earth! It is not well what they say. Perchance, are they not by nature simple creatures of our making? Must they also be gods? And if they do not reproduce and multiply when it will dawn, when the sun rises? And what if they do not multiply?" So they spoke.

"Let us check a little their desires, because it is not well what we see. Must they perchance be the equals of ourselves, their Makers, who can, see afar, who know all and see all?"

Thus spoke the Heart of Heaven, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, the Creator and the Maker. Thus they spoke, and immediately they changed the nature of their works, of their creatures.

Then the Heart of Heaven blew mist into their eyes, which clouded their sight as. when a mirror is breathed upon. Their eyes were covered and they could see only what was close, only that was clear to them.

In this way the wisdom and all the knowledge of the four men, the origin and beginning [of the Quiché race], were destroyed.

In this way were created and formed our grandfathers, our fathers, by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

III. Chapter 3

Then their wives had being, and their women were made. God himself made them carefully. And so, during sleep, they came, truly beautiful, their women, at the side of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

There were their women when they awakened, and instantly their hearts were filled with joy because of their wives.

Here are the names of their wives: Cahá-Paluna was the name of the wife of Balam-Quitzé; Chomihá was the wife of Balam-Acab; Tzununihá, the wife of Mahucutah; and Caquixahá was the name of the wife of Iqui-Balam. These are the names of their wives, who were distinguished women.

They conceived the men, of the small tribes and of the large tribes, and were the origin of us; the people of Quiché.

There were many priests and sacrificers; there were not only four, but those four were the Forefathers of us, the people of the Quiché.

The names of each one were different when they multiplied there in the East, and there were many names of the people: Tepeu, Olomán, Cohah, Quenech, Ahau, as they called those men there in the East, where they multiplied.

The beginning is known, too, of those of Tamub and those of Ilocab who came together from there in the East.

Balam-Quitzé was the grandfather and the father of the nine great houses of the Cavec; Balam-Acab was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Nimhaib; Mahucutah, the grandfather and father of the four great houses of Ahau-Quiché.

Three groups of families existed; but they did not forget the name of their grandfather and father, those who propagated and multiplied there in the East.

The Tamub and Ilocab also came, and thirteen branches of peoples, the thirteen of Tecpán, and those of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the Zacahá and the Lamaq, Cumatz, Tuhalhá, Uchabahá, those of Chumilahá, those of Quibahá, of Batenabá, Acul-Vinac, Balamihá, the Canchahel, and Balam-Colob.

These are only the principal tribes, the branches of the people which we mention; only of the principal ones shall we speak. Many others came from each group of the people, but we shall not write their names. They also multiplied there in the East.

Many men were made and in the darkness they multiplied. Neither the sun nor the light had yet been made when they multiplied. All lived together, they existed in great number and walked there in the East.

Nevertheless, they did not sustain nor maintain [their God]; they only raised their faces to the sky, and they did not know why they had come so far as they did.

There they were then, in great number, the black men and the white men, men of many classes, men of many tongues, that it was wonderful to hear them.

There are generations in the world, there are country people, whose faces we do not see, who have no homes, they only wander through the small and large woodlands, like crazy people. So it is said scornfully of the people of the wood. So they said there, where they saw the rising of the sun.

The speech of all was the same. They did not invoke wood nor stone, and they remembered the word of the Creator and the Maker, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

in this manner they spoke, while they thought about the coming of the dawn. And they raised their prayers, those worshipers of the word [of God], loving, obedient. and fearful, raising their faces to the sky when they asked for daughters and sons:

"Oh thou, Tzacol, Bitol! Look at us, hear us! Do not leave us, do not forsake us, oh, God, who art in heaven and on earth, Heart of Heaven, Heart of Earth! Give us our descendants, our succession, as long as the sun shall move and there shall be light. Let it dawn; let the day come! Give us many good roads, flat roads! May the people have peace, much peace, and may they be happy; and give us good life and useful existence! Oh, thou Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxá-Caculhá, Chipi-Nanauac, Raxá-Nanauac, Voc, Hunahpú, Tepeu, Gucumatz, Alom, Qaholom, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, grandmother of the sun, grandmother of the light, let there be dawn, and let the light come!"

Thus they spoke while they saw and invoked the coming of the sun, the arrival of day; and at the same time that they saw the rising of the sun, they contemplated the Morning Star, the Great Star, which comes ahead of the sun, that lights up the arch of the sky and the surface of the earth, and illuminates the steps of the men who had been created and made.

III. Chapter 4

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam said, "Let us await the break of day." So said those great wise men, the enlightened men, the priests and sacrificers. This they said.

Our first mothers and fathers did not yet have wood nor stones to keep; but their hearts were tired of waiting for the sun. Already all the tribes and the Yaqui people, the priests and sacrificers, were very many.

"Let us go, let us go to search and see if our [tribal] symbols are in safety; if we can find what we must burn before them. For being as we are, there is no one who watches for us," said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

And having heard of a city, they went there.

Now then, the name of the place where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and those of Tamub and Ilocab went was Tulán-Zuivá, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Ziván. This was the name of the city where they went to receive their gods.

So, then, all arrived at Tulán. It was impossible to count the men who arrived; there were very many and they walked in an orderly way.

Then was the appearance of their gods; first those of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam who were filled with joy: "At last we have found that for which we searched!" they said.

And the first that appeared was Tohil, as this god was called, and Balam-Quitzé put him on his back, in his chest. Instantly the god called Avilix appeared, and Balam-Acab carried him. The god called Hacavitz was carried by Mahucutah; and Iqui-Balam carried the one called Nicahtacah.

And together with the people of the Quiché, they also received those of Tamub. And in the same way Tohil was the name of the god of the Tamub who received the grandfather and father of the Lords of Tamub, whom we know today.

In the third place were those of Ilocab. Tohil was also the name of the god who was received by the grandfathers and the fathers of the lords, whom we also know today.

In this way, the three Quiché [families] were given their names and they did not separate, because they had a god of the same name, Tohil of the Quiché, Tohil of the Tamub and [Tohil] of the Ilocab; one only was the name of the god, and therefore the three Quiché [families] did not separate.

Great indeed was the virtue of the three, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz.

Then all the people arrived, those from Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the people who now are called the Yaqui. And there it was that the speech of the tribes changed; their tongues became different. They could no longer understand each other clearly after arriving at Tulán. There also they separated, there were some who had to go to the East, but many came here.

And their clothing was only the skins of animals; they had no good clothes to put on, the skins of animals were their only dress. They were poor, they possessed nothing, but they had the nature of extraordinary men.

When they arrived at Tulán-Zuivá, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Zivan, the old traditions say that they had traveled far in order to arrive there.

III. Chapter 5

And they did not have fire. Only the people of Tohil had it. He was the god of the tribes which first created fire. It is not known how it was made, because it was already burning when Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab saw it.

"Ah, we have no fire yet! We shall die of cold," they said. Then Tohil said to them: "Do not worry! Yours shall be the lost fire which is talked of. Yours shall be what is spoken of as lost fire," Tohil said to them.

"Really? Oh, God, our support, our maintenance, thou, our God!" they said, returning thanks.

And Tohil answered: "Very well, certainly I am your God; so shall it be! I am your Lord; so let it be!" Thus it was told to the priests and sacrificers by Tohil. And in this manner the tribes received fire and they were joyful because of it.

Instantly a great shower began to fall when the fire of the tribes was burning. Much hail fell on all the tribes and the fire was put out because of it, and again the fire was extinguished.

Then Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab again asked Tohil for fire. "Oh, Tohil, we are truly dying of cold!" they said to Tohil.

"Very well, do not worry," Tohil answered, and instantly he made fire, turning about in his shoe.

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were at once happy and immediately they became warm.

Now, the fire of the peoples [of Vucamag] had also gone out and they were dying of cold. immediately they came to ask Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam for fire. They could no longer bear the cold nor the ice; they were shivering and their teeth were chattering; they were numb; their legs and hands shook and they could not hold anything in them, when they came.

"We are not ashamed to come before you, to beg for a little of your fire," they said. But they were not well received. And then the tribes were very sad.

"The speech of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam is different! Oh! We have given up our speech! What have we done? We are lost. How were we deceived? We had only one speech when we arrived there at Tulán; we were created and educated in the same way. It is not good what we have done," said all the tribes under the trees, under the vines.

Then a man came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and [this man], who was a messenger of Xibalba, spoke thus: "This is, in truth, your God; this is your support; this is, furthermore, the representation, the memory of your Creator and Maker. Do not give your fire to the tribes until they present offerings to Tohil. It is not necessary that they give anything to you. Ask Tohil what they should give when they come to receive fire," said the man from Xibalba. He had wings like the wings of a bat. "I am sent by your Creator, your Maker," said the man of Xibalba.

They were filled with joy then, and Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz were also gladdened when the man from Xibalba spoke, who disappeared instantly from their presence.

But the tribes did not perish when they came, although they were dying of cold. There was much hail, black rain and mist, and indescribable cold.

All the tribes were trembling and shivering with cold when they came where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were. Their hearts were greatly troubled and their mouths and eyes were sad.

In a moment the beggars came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and said: "Will you not have pity on us, we only ask a little of your fire? Perchance, were we not [once] together and reunited? Did we not have the same home and one country when we were created, when we were made? Have mercy, then, on us!" they said.

"What will you give us so that we shall have mercy on you?" they were asked.

"Well, then, we shall give you money," the tribes answered.

"We do not want money," said Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab.

"And what do you want?" [asked the tribes].

"We shall ask now" [said Balam-Quitzé].

"Very well, "said the tribes.

"We shall ask Tohil and then we shall tell you," they answered.

"What must the tribes give, oh, Tohil! who have come to ask for your fire?" said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

"Well! Are they willing to give their waist and their armpits? Do they want me to embrace them? For if they do not want to do that, neither shall I give them fire," answered Tohil.

"Tell them that this shall come later, that they do not have to come now to give me their waist and their armpits. This is what Tohil orders us to tell you, you will say." This was the answer to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then they took Tohil's message. "Very well, we shall join you and we shall embrace him," they [the people] said when they heard and were told the message from Tohil. And they did not delay in acting. "Good," they said, "but may it be soon!" And immediately they received the fire. Then they became warm.

III. Chapter 6

There was nevertheless a tribe who stole the fire in the smoke; and they were from the house of Zotzil. The god of the Cakchiquel was called *Chamalcán* and he had the form of a bat.

When they passed through the smoke, they went softly and then they seized the fire. The Cakchiquel did not ask for the fire, because they did not want to give themselves up to be overcome, the way that the other tribes had been overcome when they offered their breasts and their armpits so that they would be opened. And this was the opening [of the breasts] about which Tohil had spoken; that they should sacrifice all the tribes before him, that they should tear out their hearts from their breasts.

And this had not yet begun when the taking of power and sovereignty by Balam-Quitzé, Balam.-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam was prophesied by Tohil.

There in Tulán-Zuivá, whence they had come, they were accustomed to fast, they observed a perpetual fast while they awaited the coming of dawn and watched for the rising sun.

They took turns at watching the Great Star called *Icoquih*, which rises first before the sun, when the sun rises, the brilliant Icoquih, which was always before them in the East, when they were there in the place called Tulán-Zuivá, whence came their god.

It was not here, then, where they received their power and sovereignty, but there they subdued and subjected the large and small tribes when they sacrificed them before Tohil, and offered him the blood, the substance, breasts, and sides of all the men.

In Tulán power came instantly to them; great was their wisdom in the darkness and in the night.

Then they came, they pulled up stakes there and left the East. "This is not our home; let us go and see where we should settle," Tohil said then.

In truth, he was accustomed to talk to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam: "Give thanks before setting out; do what is necessary to bleed your ears, prick your elbows, and make your sacrifices, this shall be your thanks to God."

"Very well, "they said, and took blood from their ears. And they wept in their chants because of their departure from Tulán; their hearts mourned when they left Tulán.

"Pity us! We shall not see the dawn here, when the sun rises and lights the face of the earth," they said at leaving. But they left some people on the road which they followed so that they would keep watch.

Each of the tribes kept getting up to see the star which was the herald of the sun. This sign of the dawn they carried in their hearts when they came from the East, and with the same hope they left there, from that great distance, according to what their songs now say.

III. Chapter 7

They came at last to the top of a mountain and there all the Quiché people and the tribes were reunited. There they all held council to make their plans. Today this mountain is called Chi-Pixab, this is the name of the mountain.

There they reunited and there they extolled themselves: "I am, I, the people of the Quiché! And thou, Tamub, that shall be thy name." And to those from Ilocab they said: "Thou, Ilocab, this shall be thy name. And these three Quiché [peoples] shall not disappear, our fate is the same," they said when they gave them their names.

Then they gave the Cakchiquel their name: Gagchequeleb was their name. In the same way they named those of Rabinal, which was their name, and they still have it. And also those of Tziquinahá, as they are called today. Those are the names which they gave to each other.

There they were come together to await the dawn and to watch for the coming of the star, which comes just before the sun, when it is about to rise. "We came from there, but we have separated," they said to each other.

And their hearts were troubled; they were suffering greatly; they did not have food; they did not have sustenance; they only smelled the ends of their staffs and thus they imagined they were eating; but they did not eat when they came.

It is not quite clear, however, how they crossed the sea; they crossed to this side, as if there were no sea; they crossed on stones, placed in a row over the sand. For this reason they were called Stones in a Row, Sand Under the Sea, names given to them when they [the tribes] crossed the sea, the waters having parted when they passed.

And their hearts were troubled when they talked together, because they had nothing to eat, only a drink of water and a handful of corn they had.

There they were, then, assembled on the mountain called Chi-Pixab. And they had also brought Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. Balam-Quitzé and his wife Cahá-Paluna, which was the name of his wife, observed a complete fast. And so did Balam-Acab and his wife, who was called Chomihá; and Mahucutah and his wife, called Tzununihá, also observed a complete fast, and Iqui-Balam. with his wife, called Caquixahá, likewise.

And there were those who fasted in the darkness, and in the night. Great was their sorrow when they were on the mountain, called Chi-Pixab.

III. Chapter 8

And their gods spoke to them again. Thus Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz spoke to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam: "Let us go, let us get up, let us not stay here, take us to a secret place! Already dawn draws near. Would it not be a disgrace for you if we were imprisoned by our enemies within these walls where you, the priests and sacrificers. keep us? Put each of us, then. in a safe place," they said when they spoke.

"Very well. We shall go on, we shall go in search of the forests," all answered.

Immediately after, they took up their gods and put them on their backs. In this way they carried Avilix to the ravine called Euabal-Ziván, so named by them, to the large ravine of the forest. now called Pavilix, and there they left him. In this ravine he was left by Balam-Acab.

They were left one by one. The first one left was Hacavitz, he was left on a large red pyramid, on the mountain now called *Hacavitz*. There they founded their town, there in the place where the god called Hacavitz, was.

In the same way, Mahucutah left his god, who was the second one hidden by them.

Hacavitz was not in the forest, but on a hill cleared of trees, Hacavitz was hidden.

Then Balam-Quitzé came, he came there to the large forest; Balam-Quitzé came to hide Tohil at the hill which is today called *Patohil*. Then they celebrated the hiding of Tohil in the

ravine, in his refuge. A great quantity of snakes, jaguars, vipers, and *cantiles* were in the forest where they were hidden by the priests and sacrificers.

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah. and Iqui-Balam were together; together they awaited the dawn, there on the mountain, called Hacavitz.

And a short distance away, was the god of the people of Tamub and of the people of Ilocab. Amac-Tan, the place is called, where the god of the Tamub [people] was, and there dawn came to the tribes. The place where those from Ilocab awaited the dawn was called *Amac-Uquincat*; there was the god of those of Ilocab, a short distance from the mountain.

There. too, were all the people of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, the Tziquinahá, all the small tribes, and the large tribes. Together they stayed. awaiting the coming of the dawn and the rising of the large star called Icoquih, which rises just before the sun, when it dawns, according to the legend.

There they were together, then, Balam-Quitzé. Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam. They did not sleep; they remained standing and great was the anxiety of their hearts and their stomachs for the coming of dawn and the day. There, too, they felt shame; they were overcome with great sorrow, great suffering. and they were oppressed with pain.

They had come that far. "Oh. we have come without joy! If only we could see the rising of the sun! What shall we do now? If we lived in harmony in our country, why did we leave it?" they said to each other, in the midst of their sadness and affliction, and with mournful voices.

They talked, but they could not calm their hearts which were anxious for the coming of the dawn. "The gods are seated in the ravines, in the forests, they are among the air-plants, among the mosses, not even a seat of boards were they given," they said.

First there were Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. Great was their glory, their strength, and their power over the gods of all the tribes. Many were their miracles, and countless their journeys, and their pilgrimages in the midst of the cold; and the hearts of the tribes were filled with fear.

But calm were the hearts of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam. With respect to them [the gods]. They felt no anxiety in their hearts for the gods whom they had received, and had carried on their backs when they came there from Tulán-Zuivá, from there in the East.

They were there, then, in the forest, now called Zaquiribal, Pa-Tohil, P'Avilix, Pa-Hacavitz.

And next came the dawn, and light shone for our grandparents and our parents.

Now we shall tell of the coming of the dawn and the appearance of the sun, the moon, and the stars.

III. Chapter 9

Here, then, is the dawn, and the coming of the sun, the moon, and the stars.

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were very happy when they saw the Morning Star. It rose first, with shining face, when it came ahead of the sun.

Immediately they unwrapped the incense which they had brought from the East, and which they had planned to burn, and then they untied the three gifts which they had planned to offer.

The incense which Balam-Quitzé brought was called Mixtán-Pom; the incense which Balam-Acab brought was called Cavixtán-Pom; and that which Mahucutah brought was called Cabauil-Pom. The three had their incense and burned it when they began to dance facing toward the East.

They wept for joy as they danced and burned their incense, their precious incense. Then they wept because they did not yet behold nor see the sunrise.

But, then, the sun came up. The small and large animals were happy; and arose from the banks of the river, in the ravines, and on the tops of the mountains, and all turned their eyes to where the sun was rising.

Then the puma and the jaguar roared. But first the bird called Queletzú burst into song. In truth, all the animals were happy, and the eagle, the white vulture; the small birds and the large birds stretched their wings.

The Priests and the sacrificers were kneeling; great was the joy of the priests and sacrificers and of the people of Tamub and Ilocab and the people of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and those from Tuhalhá, Uchabahá, Quibahá, from Batená, and the Yaqui Tepeu, all those tribes which exist today. And it was not possible to count the people. The light of dawn fell upon all the tribes at the same time.

Instantly the surface of the earth was dried by the sun. Like a man was the sun when it showed itself, and its face glowed when it dried the surface of the earth.

Before the sun rose, damp and muddy was the surface of the earth, before the sun came up; but then the sun rose, and came up like a man. And its heat was unbearable. It showed itself when it was born and remained fixed [in the sky] like a mirror. Certainly it was not the same sun which we see, it is said in their old tales.

Immediately afterward Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz were turned to stone, together with the deified beings the puma, the jaguar, the snake, the *cantil*, and the hobgoblin. Their arms became fastened to the trees when the sun, the moon, and the stars appeared. All alike, were changed into stone. Perhaps we should not be living today because of the voracious animals, the puma, the jaguar, the snake, and the *cantil*, as well as the hobgoblin; perhaps our power would not exist if these first animals had not been turned into stone by the sun.

When the sun arose, the hearts of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were filled with joy. Great was their joy when it dawned. And there were not many men at

that place; only a few were there on the mountain Hacavitz. There dawn came to them, there they burned their incense and danced, turning their gaze toward the East, whence they had come. There were their mountains and their valleys, whence had come Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, as they were called.

But it was here where they multiplied, on the mountain, and this was their town; here they were, too, when the sun, the moon, and the stars appeared, when it dawned and the face of the earth and the whole world was lighted. Here, too, began their song, which they call *camucú*; they sang it, but only the pain in their hearts and their innermost selves they expressed in their song. "Oh pity us! In Tulán we were lost, we were separated, and there our older and younger brothers stayed. Ah, we have seen the sun! but where are they now, that it has dawned?" so said the priests and the sacrificers of the Yaqui.

Because, in truth, the so-called Tohil is the same god of the Yaqui, the one called Yolcuat-Quitzalcuat.

"We became separated there in Tulán, in Zuyva, from there we went out together, and there our race was created when we came," they said to each other.

Then they remembered their older brothers and their younger brothers, the Yaqui, to whom dawn came there in the land which today is called Mexico. Part of the people remained there in the East, those called Tepeu Olimán, who stayed there, they say.

They felt much grief in their hearts, there in Hacavitz; and sad, too, were the people from Tamub and Ilocab, who were also there in the forest called Amac-Tan. Where dawn came to the priests and sacrificers of Tamub and to their god, who also was Tohil, because one and the same was the name of the god of the three branches of the Quiché people. And this is also the name of the god of the people of Rabinal, for there is little difference between that and the name of Huntoh, as the god of the people of Rabinal is called; for that reason, it is said, they wanted to make their speech the same as that of the Quiché.

Well, the speech of the Cakchiquel is different, because the name of their god was different when they came from there, from Tulán-Zuyva. Tzotzihá Chimalcan was the name of their god, and today they speak a different tongue; and also from their god the families of Ahpozotzil and Ahpoxa, as they are called, took their names.

The speech of the god was also changed when they were given their god there, in Tulán, near the stone; their speech was changed when they came from Tulán in the darkness. And being together, dawn came to them and the light shone on all the tribes, in the order of the names of the gods of each of the tribes.

III. Chapter 10

And now we shall tell of their stay and abode there on the mountain, where the four called Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were together. Their hearts mourned for Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, whom they had placed among the air-plants and the moss.

We shall tell now how they made the sacrifices at the foot of the place where they had carried Tohil, when they arrived in the presence of Tohil and Avilix. They went to see them, to greet

them, and also to give them thanks for the arrival of the dawn. They were in the thicket amidst the stones, there in the woods. And only by magic art did they speak when the priests and sacrificers came before Tohil. They did not bring great gifts, only resin, the remains of the gum, called *noh*, and *pericón*, they burned before their gods.

Then Tohil spoke; only by a miracle he gave counsel to the priests and sacrificers. And they [the gods] spoke and said: "Truly here shall be our mountains and our valleys. We are yours; great shall be our lory and numerous our descendents, through the work of all men. Yours are all the tribes and we, your companions. Care for your town, and we shall give you your learning.

"Do not show us before the tribes when we are angered by the words of their mouths, or because of their conduct. Neither shall you permit us to fall into a snare. Give us, instead, the creatures of the woods and of the fields, and also the female deer, and the female birds. Come and give us a little of your blood, have pity upon us. You may have the skins of the deer and guard us from those whose eyes have deceived us.

"So, then, [the skin of] the deer shall be our symbol which you shall show before the tribes. When they ask 'Where is Tohil?' show the deerskin before their eyes. Neither shall you show yourselves. for you shall have other things to do. Great shall be their position; you shall dominate all the tribes; you shall bring your blood and their substance before us, and those who come to embrace us, shall be ours also," thus spoke Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz.

They had the appearance of youths, when those who came to offer gifts saw them. Then the persecution of the young of the birds and of the deer began, and the fruit of the chase was received by the priests and sacrificers. And when they found the young of the birds and the deer, they went at once to place the blood of the deer and of the birds in the mouths of the stones, that were Tohil and Avilix.

As soon as the blood had been drunk by the gods, the stones spoke, when the priests and the sacrificers came, when they came to bring their offerings. And they did the same before their symbols, burning *pericón* and *holom-ocox*.

The symbols of each one were there where they had been placed on the top of the mountain. But they [the priests] did not live in their houses by day, but walked over the mountains, and ate only the young horseflies, and the wasps, and the bees which they hunted; they had neither good food nor good drink. And neither were the roads from their homes known, nor did they know where their wives had remained.

PART IV: Chapter 1

NOW, THEN, MANY TOWNS WERE BEING founded, one by one, and the different branches of the tribes were being reunited and settled close to the roads, their roads which they had opened.

As for Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, it was not known where they were. But when they saw the tribes that passed on the roads, instantly they began to shout on the mountain-tops, howling like a coyote, screaming like a mountain cat, and imitating the roaring of the puma and the jaguar.

And the tribes seeing these things, as they walked, said: "Their screams are like those of the coyote, of the mountain cat, of the puma, and of the jaguar. They want to appear to the tribes as though they are not men, and they only do this to deceive us, we the people. Their hearts wish something. Surely, they do not frighten us with what they do. They mean something with the roaring of the puma, with the noise of the jaguar which they break into when they see one or two men walking; what they want is to make an end of us."

Every day they [the priests] came to their houses and to their women, carrying only the young of the bumblebees and the wasps, and the honeybees to give to their women.

Every day, too, they came before Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz and said in their hearts: "Here are Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. We can offer them only the blood of the deer and the birds; we take only blood from our ears and our arms. Let us ask Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz for strength and vigor. What will [the tribes] say about the deaths of the people, which, one by one, we are killing?" they said to one another as they went into the presence of Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz.

Then they punctured their ears and their arms before the divinities; they caught their blood and put it in a vase near the stones. They were not really stones, but each one appeared in the likeness of a youth.

They were happy with the blood of the priests and sacrificers when they arrived with this example of their work.

"Follow their tracks [those of the animals which they sacrificed], there is your salvation!

"From there, from Tulán, whence you brought us," they were told, "came the skin, called Pazilizib, which was given to you, smeared with blood: spill your blood and let this be the offering of Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz."

IV. Chapter 2

Here is how Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah. and Iqui-Balam began the abduction of the men of the tribes [of Vuc Amag].

Then came the killing of the tribes. They seized a man as he walked alone, or two when they were walking together, and it was not known when they were seized, and then they went to sacrifice them before Tohil. and Avilix. Afterward they sprinkled the blood on the road and placed the heads separately on the road. And the tribes said, "The jaguar ate them." And they spoke thus because like footprints of the jaguar were the tracks which they had left, although they did not show themselves.

Already, many were the men who had been carried off, but the tribes did not notice it until later. "Could it be Tohil. and Avilix who have been here among us? It must be they who are nourished by the priests and the sacrificers. Where are their homes? Let us follow their footprints!" said all the people.

Then they held a council among themselves. Then they began to follow the footprints of the priests and the sacrificers, but they were not clear. There were only tracks of wild animals,

tracks of jaguars that they saw, but the tracks were not distinct. The first ones were not clear because they were reversed, as though made so that the people went astray, and their way was not clear. A mist formed, a black rain fell and made much mud; and it began to drizzle. This was what the people saw before them. And their hearts became weary of searching and following them on the roads, because the beings of Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz were so great that the latter withdrew to the summit of the mountains, in the vicinity of the people, whom they killed.

Thus began the abduction of the people when the sorcerers caught the tribes in the roads and sacrificed them before Tohil. Avilix, and Hacavitz; but their [own] sons they saved there on the mountain.

Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz had the appearance of three youths and walked by virtue of the magic stone. There was a river in which they bathed, at the edge of the water and only there did they appear. For this reason it was called "in the Bathing Place of Tohil," and this was the name of the river. Often the tribes saw them, but they disappeared immediately, when they were seen by the people.

Then they had tidings of where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah. and Iqui-Balam were, and at once the tribes held council as to the way in which they could be killed.

In the first place the tribes wanted to discuss the way to overcome Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. And all the priests and sacrificers [of the tribes] said to the people: "Arise, all of you, call everyone, let there be not one group, nor two groups, among us who remain behind the others."

All assembled, they assembled in great numbers and deliberated among themselves. And they said, asking each other: "What shall we do to overcome the Quiché of *Cavec* by whose hands our sons and vassals are being killed? it is not known how our people are being destroyed. If we must perish, because of these abductions, so let it be; and if the power of Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz is so great then let our god be this Tohil, and God grant that you take him captive. It is not possible that they shall overcome us. Are there not, perchance, enough men among us? And the Cavec are not many," they said, when all were assembled.

And some said, turning to the tribes, when they spoke: "Who has seen those who bathe in the river every day? If they are Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, then we shall overcome them first, and afterward, we shall begin the destruction of the priests and sacrificers." This, many of them said, when they talked.

"But how shall we overcome them?" they asked again.

"This shall be our way of overcoming them. Since they have the appearance of youths when they let themselves be seen in the water, then let two maidens who are really beautiful, and very lovely, go and provoke in them desire to possess them," they said.

"Very well. Let us go, then; let us find two beautiful maidens," they exclaimed, and then they went to find their daughters. And truly beautiful were the maidens.

Then they instructed the maidens: "Go, our daughters, go to wash clothes at the river, and if you see the three youths, undress before them, and if their hearts desire you, call to them. If

they say to you, 'May we come to you?' answer, 'Yes.' And when they ask: 'Where do you come from, whose daughters are you?' tell them, 'We are daughters of the lords.'

"Then you shall say: 'Give us a token of yours.' And if after they have given you something, they want to kiss your faces, really give yourselves to them. And if you do not give yourselves to them, we shall kill you. Afterward our hearts shall be satisfied. When you have the token, bring it here, and this shall be proof, in our judgment, that they were joined with you."

Thus spoke the lords when they advised the two maidens. Here are their names: Xtah was the name of one of the maidens, and the other was Xpuch. And the two maidens, Xtah and Xpuch, were sent to the river, to the bathing place of Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. This is what was decided by all the tribes.

They went at once, well adorned, and they were truly very beautiful when they went there where Tohil was bathing, so that they would be seen, when they were washing. When they went, the lords were happy because they had sent their two daughters.

As soon as the latter arrived at the river, they began to wash. The two had already taken off their clothes and were bending over the stones when Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz came. They came there to the edge of the river and paused a moment, surprised to see the two young girls who were washing, and the girls became ashamed at the moment when Tohil came. But the two girls did not appeal to Tohil. And then he asked them: "Where did you come from?" Thus he asked the two maidens, and added: "What do you want that you come here to the edge of our water?"

And they answered: "The lords have sent us to come here. 'Go look at the faces of Tohil and speak with them,' the lords told us; and 'then bring proof that you have seen their faces.' they told us." Thus the two girls spoke, making known the purpose of their coming.

Well, what the tribes wanted was that the two maidens would be violated by the incarnation of Tohil. But Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz said, speaking again to Xtah and Xpuch, as the two maidens were called: "Very well, with you shall go proof of our conversation. Wait a little and then you shall give it to the lords." they said.

Then they held council with the priests and sacrificers and they said to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam: "Paint three capes, paint on them the symbol of your being in order that it may be recognized by the tribes, when the maidens who are washing carry them back. Give the capes to them," Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah were told.

At once the three began to paint. First, Balam-Quitzé painted a jaguar; the figure was made and painted on the surface of the cape. Then Balam-Acab painted the figure of an eagle on the surface of a cape; and then Mahucutah painted bumblebees and wasps all over, figures and drawings of which he painted on the cloth. And the three finished their painting, three pieces they painted.

Then they went to give the capes to Xtah and Xpuch, as they were called, and Balam-Quitzé. Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah said to them: "Here is proof of your conversation [with us]; take these before the lords: Say to them, 'In truth, Tohil has talked to us; here we bring the proof,' tell them, and have them dress themselves in the clothes which you will give them." This they

told the maidens when they bade them farewell. The latter went at once, carrying the above-mentioned painted capes.

When they arrived, the lords were filled with joy to see their faces and their hands, from which hung the things the maidens had gone for.

"Did you see the face of Tohil?" they asked them.

"Yes, we saw it," answered Xtah and Xpuch.

"Very well. And you bring the token, do you not?" the lords asked, thinking that this was the proof of their sin.

Then the maidens held out the painted capes, all covered with [the figures] of jaguars and eagles, and covered with bumblebees and wasps, painted on the surface of the cloth and which shone before them. At once they felt a desire to put the capes on.

The jaguar did nothing when the lord threw the first painting on his back. Then the lord put on the second painting, with the figure of the eagle. The lord felt very well wrapped within it. And he turned about before all of them.

Then he undressed before all, and put on the third painted cape. And now he had on himself, the bumblebees and wasps which were on it. Instantly the bumblebees and the wasps stung his flesh. And not being able to suffer the stings of these insects, he began to scream because of the insects whose figures were painted on the cloth, the painting of Mahucutah, which was the third one that had been painted.

Thus they were overcome. Then the lords reprimanded the two maidens named Xtah and Xpuch: "What kind of clothes are those which you have brought? Where did you go to bring them, you devils?" they said to the maidens when they reprimanded them. All the people were overcome by Tohil.

Well, what they [the lords] wanted was that Tohil should have gone to amuse himself with Xtah and Xpuch, and that the [maidens] would have become whores, for the tribes believed that they would serve to tempt them. But it was not possible that they should overcome them, thanks to those miraculous men, Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

IV. Chapter 3

Afterwards the tribes held council again.

"What shall we do with them? in truth, their estate is very great," they said when they assembled again in council.

"Well, then, we shall waylay them, we shall kill them, we shall arm ourselves with bows and with shields. Perchance, are we not many? Let there not be one or two among us who remains behind." This they said when they held council. And all the people armed. Many were the warriors when all the people gathered together for the killing.

Meanwhile, there were Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, they were on the mountain Hacavitz, on the hill of this name. They were there in order to save their sons who were on the mountain.

And they did not have many people, they did not have multitudes such as the multitudes of the tribes. The summit of the mountain where they had their place was small, and for that reason when the tribes assembled together and rose, they decided to kill all of them.

In this manner, then, took place the reunion of all the people, all armed with their bows and their shields. It is impossible to describe the richness of their arms; the appearance of all the chiefs and men was very beautiful, and certainly all obeyed their orders.

"They shall positively be destroyed, and as for Tohil. he shall be our god, we shall worship him, if we take him prisoner," they said to each other. But Tohil knew everything and so did Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah. They heard all the plans, because they did not sleep, or rest, from the time the warriors armed themselves.

Then all the warriors rose up and started out on the road, intending to enter [the town] by night. But they did not arrive, for all the warriors were watching on the road, and then they were destroyed by Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah.

All remained watching along the road, but they heard nothing and they finally fell asleep. Then they [Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah] began to pull out their eyelashes and their beards; they took off the metal ornaments from their throats--their crowns and necklaces. And they took the metal from the handles of their spears. They did this to punish them and humiliate them, and give them an example of the power of the Quiché people.

When they [the warriors] awoke, they wanted to take their crowns and their staffs, but they no longer had metal in the staff-handles, nor their crowns. "Who has stripped us? Who has torn out our beards? Whence have they come to rob us of our precious metals?" said all of the warriors. "Can it be these devils who are carrying off the men? But they shall not succeed in frightening us. We shall enter their town by force, and we shall again see the face of our silver; this we shall do," said all the tribes, and all truly intended to carry out their word.

Meanwhile the hearts of the priests and the sacrificers on the summit of the mountain were calm. And Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam having talked together, they built a wall at the edge of the town and enclosed it with boards and thorns. Then they made figures in the form of men, and put them in rows on the wall, armed them with shields and arrows and adorned them, putting metal crowns on their heads. These they put on the simple wooden figures, they adorned them with the metal which they had taken from the tribes on the road and with them they decorated the figures.

They made a moat around the town, and then they asked advice of Tohil: "Shall they kill us? Shall they overcome us?" their hearts said to Tohil.

"Do not be troubled! I am here. And this you will use. Do not be afraid," he [Tohil] said to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, when they were given the bumblebees and the wasps. This is what they went to fetch. And when they came, they put them inside four big gourds which were placed around the town. They shut the bumblebees and wasps inside the gourds, in order to fight the people with them.

The city was watched from afar, spied upon and observed by the scouts of the tribes. "They are not many," they said. But they saw only the wooden figures which lightly moved their bows and their shields. In truth, they had the appearance of men, had in truth the appearance of warriors when the tribes looked at them, and all the tribes were happy because they saw that they were not many.

There were many tribes; it was not possible to count the people, the warriors and soldiers who were going to kill Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah, who were on the mountain Hacavitz, the name of the place where they were found.

Now we shall tell about their arrival.

IV. Chapter 4

They were there, then, Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, were all together on the mountain with their wives and their children when all the warriors and soldiers came. The tribes did not number sixteen thousand, or twenty-four thousand men, [but even more].

They surrounded the town, crying out loudly, armed with arrows and shields, beating drums, giving war whoops, whistling, shouting, inciting them to fight, when they arrived in front of the town.

But the priests and sacrificers were not frightened; they only looked at them from the edge of the wall, where they were in good order with their wives and children. They thought only of the strength and the shouting of the tribes when they came up the side of the mountain.

Shortly before they were about to throw themselves at the entrance of the town, the four gourds which were at the edge of the town were opened and the bumblebees and the wasps came out of the gourds; like a great cloud of smoke they emerged from the gourds. And thus the warriors perished because of the insects which stung the pupils of their eyes and fastened themselves to their noses, their mouths, their legs, and their arms. "Where are they," they said, "those who went to get and bring in all the bumblebees and wasps that are here?"

They went straight to sting the pupils of their eyes, the little insects buzzing in swarms over each one of the men; and the latter, stunned by the bumblebees and wasps, could no longer grasp their bows and their shields, which were broken on the ground.

When the warriors fell, they were stretched out on the mountainside, and they no longer felt when they were hit with arrows, and wounded by the axes. Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab used only blunt sticks. Their wives also took part in this killing. Only a part [of them] returned and all the tribes began to flee. But the first ones caught were put to death; not a few of the men died, and those who died were not the ones they intended to kill but those who were attacked by the insects. Neither was it a deed of valor, because the warriors were not killed by arrows or by shields.

Then all the tribes surrendered. The people humbled themselves before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah. "Have pity on us, do not kill us," they exclaimed.

"Very well. Although you deserve to die, you shall [instead] become [our] vassals for the rest of your lives," they said to them.

In this way were all of the tribes destroyed by our first mothers and fathers; and this happened there on the mountain Hacavitz, as it is now called. This was where they first settled, where they multiplied and increased, begot their daughters, gave being to their sons, on the mountain Hacavitz.

They were, then, very happy when they had overcome all the tribes, whom they destroyed there on the mountaintop. In this way they carried out the destruction of the tribes, of all the tribes. After this their hearts rested. And they said to their sons that when they [the tribes] intended to kill them, the hour of their own death was approaching.

And now we shall tell of the death of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, as they were called.

IV. Chapter 5

And as they had had a presentiment of their death, they counseled their children. They were not ill, they had neither pain nor agony when they gave their advice to their children.

These are the names of their sons: Balam-Quitzé had two sons, Qocaib the first was called, and Qocavib was the name of the second son of Balam-Quitzé, the grandfather and father of those of Cavec.

And these are the two sons which Balam-Acab begot, here are their names: Qoacul the first of his sons was called, and Qoacutec was the name of the second son of Balam-Acab [the founder] of those of Nihaib.

Mahucutah had but one son, who was called Qoahau.

Those three had sons, but Iqui-Balam did not have children. They were really the sacrificers, and these are the names of their sons.

So, then, they bade [their sons] farewell. The four were together and they began to sing, feeling sad in their hearts; and their hearts wept when they sang the *camucú*, as the song is called which they sang when they bade farewell to their sons.

"Oh, our sons! we are going, we are going away; sane advice and wise counsel we leave you. And you, also, who came from our distant country, oh our wives! they said to their women, and they bade farewell to each one. "We are going back to our town, there already in his place is Our Lord of the stags, to be seen there in the sky. We are going to begin our return, we have completed our mission [here], our days are ended. Think, then, of us, do not erase us [from your memory], nor forget us. You shall see your homes and your mountains again; settle, there, and so let it be! Go on your way and you shall see again the place from which we came."

These words they said when they bade them farewell. Then Balam-Quitzé left the symbol of his being: "This is a remembrance which I leave you. This shall be your power. I take my

leave filled with sorrow," he added. Then he left the symbol of his being, the *Pizom-Gagal*, as it was called, whose form was invisible because it was wrapped up and could not be unwrapped; the seam did not show because it was not seen when they wrapped it up.

In this way they took their leave and immediately they disappeared there on the summit of the mountain Hacavitz.

They [the four lords] were not buried by their wives nor by their children, because they were not seen when they disappeared. Only their leaving was seen dearly, and therefore the bundle was very dear to them. it was the reminder of their fathers and at once they burned incense before this reminder of their fathers.

And then the lords, who succeeded Balam-Quitzé, begot new generations of men, and this was the beginning of the grandfathers and fathers of those of Cavec; but their sons, those called Qocaib and Qocavib, did not disappear.

In this way the four died, our first grandfathers and fathers; in this way they disappeared, leaving their children on the mountain Hacavitz, there where they have remained.

And the people being subdued already, and their grandeur ended, the tribes no longer had power, and all lived to serve daily.

They remembered their fathers; great was the glory of the bundle to them. Never did they unwrap it, but it was always wrapped, and with them. Bundle of Greatness they called it when they extolled and named that which their fathers had left in their care as a symbol of their being.

In this manner, then, came about the disappearance and end of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, the first men who came there from the other side of the sea, where the sun rises. They had been here a long time when they died, being very old, the chiefs and sacrificers, as they were called.

IV. Chapter 6

Then they decided to go to the east, thinking thus to fulfill the command of their fathers which they had not forgotten. It had been a long time since their fathers had died, when the tribes gave them their wives, and thus they acquired many relatives-in-law, when the three took wives.

And starting on their journey, they said: "We are going to the East, there whence came our fathers." So they said when the three sons set out. One was called Qocaib, and he was the son of Balam-Quitzé, of the Cavec. The one called Qoacutec was son of Balam-Acab, of the Nihaib; and the other called Qoahau, was son of Mahucutah, of the Ahau-Quiché.

These, then, are the names of those who went there to the other side of the sea; the three went then, and were endowed with intelligence and experience, but they were not common men. They took leave of all their brothers and relatives and left joyfully. "We shall not die; we shall return," said the three when they left.

Certainly they crossed the sea when they came there to the East, when they went to receive the investiture of the kingdom. And this was the name of the Lord, King of the East, where they went. When they arrived before Lord Nacxit, which was the name of the great lord, the only supreme judge of all the kingdoms, he gave them the insignia of the kingdom and all its distinctive symbols. Then came the insignia of Ahpop and Ahpop-Camhá, and then the insignia of the grandeur and the sovereignty of the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá. And Nacxit ended by giving them the insignia of royalty, which are: the canopy, the throne, the flutes of bone, the *cham-cham*, yellow beads, puma claws, jaguar claws, the heads and feet of the deer, dais, snail shells, tobacco, little gourds, parrot feathers, standards of royal aigrette feathers, *tatam*, and *caxcon*. All the foregoing they carried, those who came after going to the other side of the sea to receive the paintings of Tulán, the paintings, as these were called, in which they wrote their histories.

Then, having arrived at their town called Hacavitz, all the people of Tamub and of Ilocab assembled there; all the tribes were assembled and were filled with joy when Qocaib, Qoacutec, and Qoahau arrived, and there they again assumed the rule of the tribes.

The people of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, and the people of Tziquinahá rejoiced. Before them they showed the insignia of the grandeur of the kingdom. Great, too, were the tribes, although they had not finished showing their might. And they were there in Hacavitz, all were there with those who came from the East. There they spent much time; there on the summit of the mountain they were in great numbers.

There, too, the wives of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, and Mahucutah died.

Later they left, abandoning their country, and searching for other places in which to settle. innumerable were the places in which they settled, where they were, and which they named. There our first mothers and our first fathers were reunited and increased. So said the old people when they told how they left their first capital, called Hacavitz, and went to found another capital, called *Chi-Quix*.

They were a long time in this other town, where they had daughters and sons. There were many of them there, and there were four other places, to each of which they gave the name of their town. Their daughters and sons married; they simply gave them away [in marriage] and the presents and favors they received they considered as the price for their daughters, and, in this way, they lived happily.

Afterward they went through each one of the wards of the town, the different names of which are: Chi-Quix, Chichac, Humetahá, Culbá, and Cavinal. These were the names of the places where they settled. And they surveyed the hills and their towns and sought the uninhabited places, for, all together, they were now very many.

Those who had gone to the East to receive the sovereignty were now dead. They were already old when they arrived at each of the towns. They did not become accustomed to the different places through which they passed; they suffered many hardships and troubles and only after a long time did the grandfathers and fathers arrive at their town. Here is the name of the city to which they came.

Finally Qocaib returned and gave an account of his mission. "He brought the titles of Ahpop, Ahtzalam, Tzanchinamital, and many others; he showed the insignia which must accompany

these titles, and they were the claws of the jaguars and eagles, skins of other animals, and also stones, sticks, etc." Seeing his wife with a newly born child in her arms, he asked whence it had come. "'It is of thy blood,' answered the woman, 'of thy flesh and thy same bones.'" Qocaib accepted the explanation, and taking the child's cradle said: "'From today on, and forever this child shall be called Balam Conaché.' And the latter began the House of Conaché and Iztayul." With respect to the second journey of the Quiché princes, the Título says that they returned satisfied to Hacavitz Chipal, and displayed the signs and symbols which they brought.}

IV. Chapter 7

Chi-Izmachí is the name of the site of their town, where they were afterward and where they settled. There, under the fourth generation of kings, they developed their power and constructed buildings of mortar and stone.

And Conaché and Beleheb-Queh, the Galel-Ahau, ruled. Then king Cotuhá and Iztayul reigned, as they were called the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá, who reigned there in Izmachí, which was the beautiful city which they had built.

Only three great houses were there in Izmachí. There were not twenty-four great houses then, only their three great houses, only a great house of the Cavec, only a great house of the Nihaib, and only one of the people of Ahau-Quiché. Only two had great houses, the two branches of the family [the Quiché and the Tamub].

And there they were in Izmachí with only one thought, without disputes or difficulties, peaceful was the kingdom, they had no quarrels nor disputes, in their hearts were only peace and happiness. They were not envious nor jealous. Their grandeur was limited, they had not thought of aggrandizing themselves, nor of expanding. When they tried to do it, they fastened the shield there in Izmachí but only to give a sign of their empire, as a symbol of their power and a symbol of their greatness.

Seeing this, the people of Ilocab began the war; they wanted to kill King Cotuhá, wishing to have a chief of their own. And as for Lord Iztayul, they wanted to punish him, that he be punished and killed by those of Ilocab. But their evil plans against King Cotuhá did not succeed, for he fell upon them before the people of Ilocab were able to kill him.

This, then, was the beginning of the revolution and the dissensions of the war. First they attacked the town, and the warriors came. And what they wanted was to ruin the Quiché race; they wanted to reign alone. But they only came to die; they were captured and fell into captivity, and few among them succeeded in escaping.

Immediately afterward the sacrifices began; the people of Ilocab were sacrificed before the god, and this was the punishment for their sins by order of King Cotuhá. Many also fell into slavery and servitude; they only went to give themselves up to be overcome because of having arranged the war against the lords and against the town. The destruction and ruin of the Quiché race and their king was what they wished, but they did not succeed in accomplishing it.

In this way the sacrifice of men began before the gods, when the war of the shields broke out, which was the reason that they began the fortifications of the city of Izmachí.

There began and originated their power, because the empire of the King of the Quiché was really large. They were in every sense marvelous kings; there was no one who could dominate them, neither was there anyone who could humble them. And at the same time they were the builders of the grandeur of the kingdom which they had founded there in Izmachí.

There the fear of god waxed, they were inspired with awe, and the tribes large and small were filled with fear, for they saw the arrival of the captives, those who were sacrificed and killed because of the power and sovereignty of King Cotuhá, the King Iztayul, and the people of Nihaib and Ahau-Quiché.

There were only three branches of the [Quiché] family there in Izmachí, as the town was called, and there they also began the feasts and orgies for their daughters when [suitors] came to ask for them in marriage.

There the so-called three great houses gathered, and there they drank their drinks, there they also ate their food, which was the price of their sisters, the price of their daughters, and their hearts were joyful when they did it, and they ate and drank in the great houses.

"In this way we show our gratitude, and thus we open the road for our posterity and our descendants, this is the demonstration of our consent to their becoming husbands and wives," they said.

There they identified themselves, and there they took their names; they distributed themselves in clans in the seven principal tribes and in cantons.

"Let us unite, we of the Cavec, we of the Nihaib, and we of the Ahau-Quiché," said the three clans, and the three great houses. For a long time they were there in Izmachí, until they found and saw another town, and abandoned that of Izmachí.

IV. Chapter 8

AFTER THEY HAD LEFT THERE, THEY CAME here to the town of Gumarcaah, as the Quiché named it when Kings Cotuhá and Gucumatz and all the lords came. There had then begun the fifth generation of men, since the beginning of civilization and of the population, the beginning of the existence of the nation.

There, then, they built many houses and at the same time constructed the temple of God; in the center of the high part of the town they located it when they arrived and settled there.

Then their empire grew. They were very numerous, when they held their council in their great houses. They reunited, but later divided, because dissensions had arisen and jealousies grew up amongst them over the price for their sisters and their daughters, and because they no longer drank together.

This, then, was the reason why they divided and why they turned against each other, and they threw the skulls of the dead, they hurled them around among each other.

Then they divided into nine families, and having ended the dispute over the sisters and the daughters, they carried out the plan of dividing the kingdom into twenty-four great houses, as they did. It is a long time since they came here to their town, and finished the twenty-four great houses, there

in the City of Gumarcaah, which was blessed by the Bishop. Later the city was abandoned.

There they increased, there they installed their splendid thrones and royal seats, and they distributed their honors among all the lords. The nine lords of Cavec formed nine families; the lords of Nihaib formed another nine; the lords of Ahau-Quiché formed another four; and the lords of Zaquic formed another two families.

They became very numerous, and many also followed each of the lords; these were the first among their vassals, and each of the lords had large families.

We shall tell now the names of the lords of each of the great houses. Here, then, are the names of the lords of Cavec. The first of the lords was Ahpop, [then] Ahpop-Camhá, Ah-Tohil, Ah-Gucumatz, Nim-Chocoh-Cavec, Popol-Vinac-Chituy, Lolmet-Quehnay, Popol-Vinac Pa-Hom Tzalatz, and Uchuch-Camhá.

These, then, were the lords of Cavec, nine lords, each one of which had his great house, which afterward will appear again.

Here then are the lords of Nihaib. The first was Ahau-Galel, then Ahau-Ahtzic-Vinac, Galel-Camhá, Nima-Camhá, Uchuch-Camhá, Nim-Chocoh-Nihaibab, Avilix, Yacolatam, Utzam-pop-Zalclatol, and Nimá-Lolmet-Ycoltux, the nine lords of Nihaib.

And as for those of Ahau-Quiché, these are the names of the lords: Ahtzic-Vinac, Ahau-Lolmet, Ahau-Nim-Chocoh-Ahau, and Ahau-Hacavitz, four lords of Ahau-Quiché, in the order of their great houses.

And the house of Zaquic had two families, the Lords Tzutuhá and Galel Zaquic. These two lords had only one great house.

IV. Chapter 9

In this way [the number] of the twenty-four lords was completed and the twenty-four great houses came into being. Thus the grandeur and power of the sons of the Quiché grew, when they built the town of the ravines out of stone and mortar.

Then the small tribes and the great tribes came before the king. The Quiché increased when their glory and majesty waxed, when they raised the house of their gods and the house of their lords. But it was not they who worked, or constructed their houses either, or made the house of the gods, for they were [made] by their sons and vassals, who had multiplied.

And they were not cheating them, nor robbing them, nor seizing them by force, because in reality each belonged to the lords, and many of their brothers and relatives had come together and had assembled, to hear the commands of each of the lords.

The lords were really loved and great was their glory; and the sons and the vassals held the birthdays of the lords in great respect when the inhabitants of the country and the city multiplied.

But it did not happen that all the tribes delivered themselves up, and neither did the country and towns [the inhabitants of them] fall in battle, but instead they increased, because of the marvels of the lords, King Gucumatz and King Cotuhá. Gucumatz was truly a marvelous king. For seven days he mounted to the skies and for seven days he went down into Xibalba; seven days he changed himself into a snake and really became a serpent; for seven days he changed himself into an eagle; for seven days he became a jaguar; and his appearance was really that of an eagle and a jaguar. Another seven days he changed himself into clotted blood and was only motionless blood.

The nature of this king was really marvelous, and all the other lords were filled with terror before him. Tidings of the wonderful nature of the King were spread and all the lords of the towns heard it. And this was the beginning of the grandeur of the Quiché, when King Gucumatz gave these signs of his power. His sons and his grandsons never forgot him. And he did not do this in order to be an extraordinary king, he did it as a means of dominating all the towns, as a means of showing that only one was called upon to be chief of the people.

The generation of the wonderful king called Gucumatz was the fourth generation, and Gucumatz was also the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá.

They left successors and descendants who reigned and ruled, and begot children, and did many things. Tepepul and Iztayul whose reign was the fifth generation of kings were begotten; and in the same way, each of the generations of these lords had succession.

IV. Chapter 10

Here are the names of the sixth generation of kings. There were two great kings, the first was called Gag-Quicab, and the other, Cavizimah, and they performed heroic deeds and aggrandized the Quiché; for surely they were of marvelous nature.

Here is the destruction and division of the fields and the towns of the neighboring nations, small and large. Among them was that, which in olden times, was the country of the Cakchiquel, the present Chuvilá, and the country of the people of Rabinal, Pamacá, the country of the people of Caoqué, Zaccabahá and the towns of the peoples of Zaculeu, of Chuvi-Miquiná, Xelahuh, Chuva-Tzac, and Tzolohche.

These [peoples] hated Quicab. He made war on them and certainly conquered and destroyed the fields and towns of the people of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, and the people of Zaculeu; he came and conquered all the towns, and the soldiers of Quicab carried his arms to distant parts. One or two tribes did not bring tribute, and then he fell upon all the towns and they were forced to bring tribute to Quicab and Cavizimah.

They were made slaves, they were wounded, and they were killed with arrows against the trees [to which they had been tied] and for them there was no longer any glory, they no longer had power. In this way came about the destruction of the towns, which were instantly razed to

the ground. Like a flash of lightning which strikes and shatters the rock, so, in an instant were the conquered people filled with terror.

Before Colché, as a symbol of a town destroyed by him, there is now a pile of stones, which look almost as if they had been cut With the edge of an ax. it is there on the coast, called Petatayub, and it may be clearly seen today by people who pass, as proof of the valor of Quicab.

They could neither kill him nor overcome him, for, in truth, he was a brave man, and all the people rendered tribute unto him.

And all the lords, having gathered in council, went to fortify the ravines and the towns, having conquered the towns of all the tribes. Then spies went out to observe the enemy and they founded something like towns in the occupied places. "Just in case by chance the tribes might return to occupy the town," they said, when they reassembled in council.

Then they went out to [take up] their positions. "These shall be like our forts and our town, our walls and defenses, here shall our valor and our manhood be proved," said all the lords, when they went to take up the position assigned to each clan in order to fight the enemy.

And having received their orders they went to the places that had been founded in the land of the tribes. "Go there, for now it is our land. Do not be afraid, if there are still enemies who come to kill you, come quickly and let me know, and I will go to kill them!" said Quicab, when he took leave of all of them in the presence of the Galel and the Ahtzic-Vinac.

Then the bowmen and the slingers, as they were called, set out. Then the grandfathers and the fathers of all the Quiché nation took their [battle] positions. They were on each one of the mountains, and they were like guards--of the mountains; they were guarding [with] their bows and slings; they were the sentinels of the war. They were not of different origin, nor did they have a different god, when they went. They went only to fortify their towns.

Then all the people of Uvilá went out, those of Chulimal, Zaquiyá, Xahbaquieh, Chi-Temah, Vahxalahuh, and the people of Cabracán, Chabicac-Chi-Hunahpú, and those of Macá, those of Xoyabah and those of Zaccabahá, those of Ziyahá, those of Miquiná, those of Xelahuh, and those of the coast. They went to observe the war and to guard the land, when they went by order of Quicab and Cavizimah, [who were] the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá, and the Galel and the Ahtzic-Vinac, who were the four lords.

They were sent in order to watch the enemies of Quicab and Cavizimah, names of the kings, both of the House of Cavec, of Queemá, name of the lord of the people of Nihaib, and of Achac-Iboy, the name of the lord of the people of Ahau-Quiché. These were the names of the lords who sent them, When their sons and vassals went to the mountains, to each one of the mountains.

They went at once and they took captives; they brought their prisoners into the presence of Quicab, Cavizimah, the Galel, and the Ahtzic-Vinac. The bowmen and slingers made war, taking captives and prisoners. Some of the defenders of he positions were heroes, and the lords gave [them gifts] and lavished rewards upon them, when they came to deliver up all their captives and prisoners.

Later they gathered in council by order of the lords, the Ahpop, the Ahpop-Camhá, the Galel, and the Ahtzic-Vinac, and they decided and said, that those who were there first should have the rank of representing their families. "I am the Ahpop! I am the Ahpop-Camhá! Mine shall be the rank of the Ahpop; meanwhile thou, the Ahau-Galel, shall have the rank of Galel," said all the lords when they held council.

Those of Tamub and of Ilocab did likewise; equal in position were the three clans of the Quiché when for the first time they named their sons and vassals captains, and ennobled them. This was the result of the council. But they were not made captains here in Quiché. The mountain where the sons and vassals were made captains for the first time has its name, when all were sent, each one to his mountain, and all were reunited. Xebalax and Xecamax are the names of the mountains where they were made captains and they received their commands. This happened in Chulimal.

In this manner was the naming, the promotion, and distinction of the twenty Galel, of the twenty Ahpop, who were named by the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá and by the Galel and the Ahtzic-Vinac. All of the Galel-Ahpops received their rank: eleven Nim-Chocoh, Galel-Ahau, Galel-Zaquic, Galel-Achih, Rahpop-Achih, Rahtzalam-Achih, Utzam-Achih were the names which the warriors received when their titles and distinctions were conferred upon them, as they were on their thrones and on their seats, being the first sons and vassals of the Quiché nation, their spies, their scouts, the bowmen, the slingers, the walls, doors, forts, and bastions of the Quiché.

Those of Tamub and Ilocab also did thus; they named and ennobled the first sons and vassals who were in each place.

This, then, was the origin of the Galel-Ahpops, and of the titles which are now preserved in each one of these places. This is the way their titles were created, by the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá, by the Galel and the Ahtzic-Vinac they were created.

IV. Chapter 11

WE SHALL NOW TELL OF THE HOUSE of the God. The house was also given the same name as the god. The Great Edifice of Tohil was the name of the Temple of Tohil, of those of Cavec. Avilix was the name of the Temple of Avilix, of the people of Nihaib; and Hacavitz was the name of the Temple of the God of the people of Ahau-Quiché.

Tzutuhá, which is seen in Cahbahá, is the name of a large edifice in which there was a stone which all the lords of Quiché worshiped and which was also worshiped by all the tribes.

The people first offered their sacrifices before Tohil, and afterward went to pay their respects to the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá. Then they went to Present their gorgeous feathers and their tribute before the king. And the kings whom they maintained were the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá, who had conquered their towns.

Great lords and wonderful men were the marvelous kings Gucumatz and Cotuhá, the marvelous kings Quicab and Cavizimah. They knew if there would be war, and everything was clear before their eyes; they saw if there would be death and hunger, if there would be

strife. They well knew that there was a place where it could be seen, that there was a book which they called the *Popol Vuh*.

But not only in this way was the estate of the lords great, great also were their fasts. And this was in recognition of their having been created, and in recognition of their having been given their kingdoms. They fasted a long time and made sacrifices to their gods. Here is how they fasted: Nine men fasted and another nine made sacrifices and burned incense. Thirteen more men fasted, and another thirteen more made offerings and burned incense before Tohil. And while before their god, they nourished themselves only with fruits, with *zapotes*, *matasanos*, and *jocotes*. And they did not eat any *tortillas*. Now if there were seventeen men who made sacrifice, or ten who fasted, the truth is they did not eat. They fulfilled their great precepts, and thus showed their position as lords.

Neither had they women to sleep with, but they remained alone, fasting. They were in the House of God, all day they prayed, burning incense and making sacrifices. Thus they remained from dusk until dawn, grieving in their hearts and in their breasts, and begging for happiness and life for their sons and vassals as well as for their kingdom, and raising their faces to the sky.

Here are their petitions to their god, when they prayed; and this was the supplication of their hearts:

"Oh, Thou, beauty of the day! Thou, Huracán; Thou, Heart of Heaven and of Earth! Thou, giver of richness, and giver of the daughters and the sons! Turn toward us your power and your riches; grant life and growth unto my sons and vassals; let those who must maintain and nourish Thee multiply and increase; those who invoke Thee on the roads, in the fields, on the banks of the rivers, in the ravines, under the trees, under the vines.

"Give them daughters and sons. Let them not meet disgrace, nor misfortune, let not the deceiver come behind or before them. Let them not fall, let them not be wounded, let them not fornicate, nor be condemned by justice. Let them not fall on the descent or on the ascent of the road. Let them not encounter obstacles back of them or before them, nor anything which strikes them. Grant them good roads, beautiful, level roads. Let them not have misfortune, nor disgrace, through Thy fault, through Thy sorceries.

"Grant a good life to those who must give Thee sustenance and place food in Thy mouth, in Thy presence, to Thee, Heart of Heaven, Heart of Earth, Bundle of Majesty. And Thou, Tohil; Thou, Avilix; Thou, Hacavitz, Arch of the Sky, Surface of the Earth, the Four Corners, the Four Cardinal Points. Let there be but peace and tranquility in Thy mouth, in Thy presence, oh, God!"

Thus [spoke] the lords, while within, the nine men fasted, the thirteen men, and the seventeen men. During the day they fasted and their hearts grieved for their sons and vassals and for all their wives and their children when each of the lords made his offering.

This was the price of a happy life, the price of power, the price of the authority of the Ahpop, of the Ahpop-Camhá, of the Galel and of the Ahtzic-Vinac. Two by two they ruled, each pair succeeding the other in order to bear the burden of the people of all the Quiché nation.

One only was the origin of their tradition and [one only] the origin of the manner of maintaining and sustaining, and one only, too, was the origin of the tradition and the customs of those of Tamub and Ilocab and the people of Rabinal and the Cakchiquel, those of Tziquinahá, of Tuhalahá and Uchabahá. And there was but one trunk [a single family] when they heard there in Quiché what all of them were to do.

But it was not only thus that they reigned. They did not squander the gifts of those whom they sustained and nourished, but they ate and drank them. Neither did they buy them; they had won and seized their empire, their power, and their sovereignty.

And it was not at small cost, that they conquered the fields and the towns; the small towns and the large towns paid high ransoms; they brought precious stones and metals, they brought honey of the bees, bracelets, bracelets of emeralds and other stones, and brought garlands made of blue feathers, the tribute of all the towns. They came into the presence of the marvelous kings Gucumatz and Cotuhá, and before Quicab and Cavizimah, the Ahpop, the Ahpop-Camhá, the Galel and the Ahtzic-Vinac.

It was not little what they did, neither were few, the tribes which they conquered. Many branches of the tribes came to pay tribute to the Quiché; full of sorrow they came to give it over. Nevertheless, the [Quiché] power did not grow quickly. Gucumatz it was, who began the aggrandizement of the kingdom. Thus was the beginning of his aggrandizement and that of the Quiché nation.

And now we shall name the generations of the lords and give their names; again we shall name all of the lords.

IV. Chapter 12

Here, then, are the generations and the order of all the rulers which began with our first grandfathers and our first fathers, Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, when the sun appeared, and the moon and the stars were seen.

Now, then, we shall give the beginning of the generations, the order of kingdoms from the beginning of their lineage, how the lords entered into power, from their accessions to their deaths: [we shall give] each generation of lords and ancestors, as well as the lord of the town, all and each of the lords. Here, then, the person of each one of the lords of the Quiché shall be shown.

Balam-Quitzé, the root of those of Cavec.

Qocavib, second generation [of the line] of Balam-Quitzé.

Balam-Conaché, with whom the title of Ahpop began, third generation.

Cotuhá [I] and Iztayub, fourth generation.

Gucumatz and Cotuhá, [II] first of the marvelous kings, who were of the fifth generation.

Tepepul and Iztayul, of the sixth order.

Quicab and Cavizimah, of the seventh order of succession to the kingdom.

Tepepul and Iztayub, eighth generation.

Tecum and Tepepul, ninth generation.

Vahxaqui-Caam and Quicab, tenth generation of kings.

Vucub-Noh and Cauutepech, eleventh order of kings.

Oxib-Queh and Beleheb-Tzi, the twelfth generation of kings. These were those who reigned when Donadiú came, and who were hanged by the Spaniards.

Tecum and Tepepul, who paid tribute to the Spaniards, they left sons, and the former were the thirteenth generation of kings.

Don Juan de Rojas and don Juan Cortés, the fourteenth generation of kings, were the sons of Tecum and Tepepul.

These are, then, the generations and the order of the kingdom of the lords Ahpop and Ahpop-Camhá of the Quiché of Cavec.

And now we shall name again the families. These are the Great Houses of each of the lords who followed the Ahpop and the Ahpop-Camhá. These are the names of the nine families of those of Cavec, of the nine Great Houses, and these are the titles of the lords of each one of the Great Houses:

Ahau-Ahpop, one Great House. Cuhá was the name of this Great House.

Ahau-Ahpop-Camhá, whose Great House was called Tziquinahá.

Nim-Chocoh-Cavec, one Great House.

Ahau-Ah-Tohil, one Great House.

Ahau-Ah-Gucumatz, one Great House.

Popol-Vinac Chituy, one Great House.

Lolmet-Quehnay, one Great House.

Popol-Vinac Pahom Tzalatz Xcuxebá, one Great House.

Tepeu-Yaqui, one Great House.

These, then, are the nine families of Cavec. And very numerous were the sons and vassals of the tribes which followed these nine Great Houses.

Here are the nine Great Houses of those of Nihaib. But first we shall give the lineage of the rulers of the kingdom. From one root only these names originated when the sun began to shine, with the beginning of light.

Balam-Acab, first grandfather and father.

Qoacul and Qoacutec, second generation.

Cochahuh and Cotzibahá, third generation.

Beleheb-Queh [I], fourth generation.

Cotuhá, [I] fifth generation of kings.

Batza, sixth generation.

Iztayul, seventh generation of kings.

Cotuhá [II], eighth order of the kingdom.

Beleheb-Queh [II], ninth order.

Quemá, so called, tenth generation.

Ahau-Cotuhá, eleventh generation.

Don Cristóval, so called, who ruled in the time of the Spaniards.

Don Pedro de Robles, the present Ahau-Galel.

These, then, are all the kings who descended from the Ahau-Galel. Now we shall name the lords of each of the Great Houses.

Ahau-Galel, first lord of the Nihaib, head of one Great House.

Ahau-Ahtzic-Vinac, one Great House.

Ahau-Galel-Camhá, one Great House.

Nima-Camhá, one Great House.

Uchuch-Camhá, one Great House.

Nim-Chocoh-Nihaib, one Great House.

Ahau-Avilix, one Great House.

Yacolatam, one Great House.

Nima-Lolmet-Ycoltux, one Great House.

These, then, are the Great Houses of the Nihaib; these were the names of the nine families of those of Nihaib, as they were called. Numerous were the families of each one of the lords, whose names we have given first.

Here, now, is the lineage of those of Ahau-Quiché, who were their grandfather and father.

Mahucutah, the first man.

Qoahau, name of the second generation of kings.

Caglacán.

Cocozom.

Comahcún.

Vucub-Ah.

Cocamel.

Coyabacoh.

Vinac-Bam.

These were the kings of those of the Ahau-Quiché; this is the order of their generations.

Here now are the tides of the lords who made up the Great Houses; there were only four Great Houses.

Ahtzic-Vinac-Ahau, title of the first lord, one Great House.

Lolmet-Ahau, second lord, a Great House.

Nim-Chocoh-Ahau, third lord, a Great House.

Hacavitz, fourth lord, a Great House.

Therefore, four were the Great Houses of the Ahau-Quiché.

There were, then, three Nim-Chocoh, who were like fathers [vested with authority] of all the lords of the Quiché. The three Chocoh came together in order to make known the orders of the mothers, the orders of the fathers. Great was the position of the three Chocoh. There were, then, the Nim-Chocoh of those of Cavec, the Nim-Chocoh of those of Nihaib, who was second, and the Nim-Chocoh-Ahau of the Ahau-Quiché, who was third. Each one of the three Chocoh represented his family.

And this was the life of the Quiché, because no longer can be seen [the book of the Popol Vuh] which the kings had in olden times, for it has disappeared.

In this manner, then, all the people of the Quiché, which is called Santa Cruz, came to an end.

Title: Popol Vuh: the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life
Author: Dennis Tedlock

POPOL VUH: THE MAYAN BOOK OF THE DAWN OF LIFE

translated by Dennis Tedlock with commentary based on the ancient knowledge of the modern Quiche Maya

PREFACE

Are 4u ua nuta4alibal, nupresenta
chiquiuach ri nantat, comon chuchkajauib
mu4hulic uleu, mu4hulic poklaj, mu4hulic bak.

PREFACE

You cannot erase time.

-ANDRES XILOJ

THE TRANSLATOR of the Popol Vuh, as if possessed by the story the Popol Vuh tells, must wander in darkness and search long for the clear light. The task is not a matter of deciphering Maya hieroglyphs, since the only surviving version of the Popol Vuh is a transcription into alphabetic writing, but the manuscript nevertheless abounds with ambiguities and obscurities. My work took me not only into dark corners of libraries but into the forests and tall cornfields and smoky houses of highland Guatemala, where the people who speak and walk and work in the pages of the Popol Vuh, the Quiche Maya, have hundreds of thousands of descendants. Among them are diviners called "daykeepers," who know how to interpret illnesses, omens, dreams, messages given by sensations internal to their own bodies, and the multiple rhythms of time. It is their business to bring what is dark into "white clarity," just as the gods of the Popol Vuh first brought the world itself to light.

The Quiche people speak a Mayan language, say prayers to Mayan mountains and Mayan ancestors, and keep time according to the Mayan calendar. They are also interested citizens of the larger contemporary world, but they find themselves surrounded and attacked by those who have yet to realize they have something to teach the rest of us. For them it is not that the time of Mayan civilization has passed, to be followed by the time of European civilization, but that the two have begun to run alongside one another. A complete return to conditions that existed before Europeans first arrived is unthinkable, and so is a complete abandonment of indigenous traditions in favor of European ones. What most worries daykeepers about people from Europe, and specifically about missionaries, is that they confuse the Earth, whose divinity is equal to that of the celestial God, with the devil. As daykeepers put it, "He who makes an enemy of the Earth makes an enemy of his own body."

In the western part of what was once the Quiche kingdom is a town called Chuua 4,ak or "Before the Building." It is listed in the Popol Vuh as one of the citadels that were added to the kingdom during the reign of two great lords named Quicab and Cauizimah. When they sent "guardians of the land" to occupy newly conquered towns, Before the Building was assigned to nobles whose descendants still possess documents that date from the period of the Popol Vuh manuscript. Among

contemporary Guatemalan towns it is without rival in the degree to which its ceremonial life is timed according to the Mayan calendar and mapped according to the relative elevations and directional positions of outdoor shrines. Once each 260 days, on the day named Eight Monkey, daykeepers converge from all over the Guatemalan highlands for the largest of all present-day Mesoamerican ceremonies that follow the ancient calendar. That Before the Building was already a religious center before the fall of the Quiche kingdom is indicated by the Nahua name that Pedro de Alvarado's Mexican-Indian allies gave it: Momostenango, meaning "Citadel of Shrines." It was in this town that I began my search for someone who might be able to light my way through some of the darker passages of the Popol Vuh. At the same time I began making sound recordings of contemporary narratives, speeches, and prayers, looking for passages that might resemble the Popol Vuh.

For fieldworkers in a Citadel of Shrines, visiting sacred places, listening to prayers and chants, and learning how to reckon time according to the continuing rhythms of the Mayan calendar can be a dangerous business. Barbara Tedlock and I almost came to the point of giving up our various research projects and leaving town when a daykeeper named Andres Xiloj divined that we had not only annoyed people at shrines but had entered the presence of these shrines without even realizing that we must be ritually clean in order to do so. But it was this same daykeeper, a man who is also the head of his patrilineage, who took on the task of answering all our inquiries about the shrines, the people who went there, the calendar, and the process by which he had divined the nature of our offense. One day, when we had come to the point of asking for a detailed description of the training and initiation of daykeepers, he dropped what seemed to be a broad hint that the best way to find out the answer to such questions would be to undertake an actual apprenticeship. After debating the meaning of his remarks all night, we asked him the next day whether he had meant that he would in fact be willing to take us on as apprentices, and he said, "Of course." There followed four and a half months of formal training, timed according to the Mayan calendar, that left us much more knowledgeable than we had ever intended to be.

Diviners are, by profession, interpreters of difficult texts. They can even start from a nonverbal sign, such as an ominous invasion of a house by a wild animal, and arrive at a "reading," as we would say, or ubixic, "its saying" or "its announcement," as is said in Quiche. When they start from a verbal sign such as the name of a day on the Mayan calendar, they may treat it as if it were a sign from a writing system rather than a word in itself, arriving at "its saying" by finding a different word with similar sounds. It should therefore come as no surprise that a diviner might be willing to take on the task of reading the Popol Vuh, whose text presents its own intriguing difficulties of interpretation.

When Andres Xiloj was given a chance to look at the text of the Popol Vuh, he produced a pair of spectacles and began reading aloud, word by word. His previous knowledge of alphabetic reading and writing was limited to Spanish, but he was able to grasp the orthography of the Popol Vuh text with very little help. When he was puzzled by archaic words, I offered definitions drawn from Quiche dictionaries

compiled during the colonial period; in time, of course, he readily recognized the more frequent archaic forms. He was never content with merely settling on a Quiche reading of a particular passage and then offering a simple Spanish translation; instead, he was given to frequent interpretive asides, some of which took the form of entire stories. In the present volume the effects of the three-way dialogue among Andres Xiloj, the Popol Vuh text, and myself are most obvious in the Glossary and the Notes and Comments, but they are also present in the Introduction and throughout the translation of the Popol Vuh itself.

My work in Guatemala took me not only to the town called Before the Building (Momostenango), but to the ruins of Rotten Cane (Utatlan), to the mountain called Patohil, to the pile of broken stones at Petatayub, and to towns such as Santa Cruz Quiche, Spilt Water (Zacualpa), Above the Nettles (Chichicastenango), Above the Hot Springs (Totonicapan), Willow Tree (Santa Maria Chiquimula), and Under Ten Deer (Quezaltenango). To the patron saints and earthly spirits of all these places I pay my respects, especially to Santiago and his scribe, San Felipe, at Momostenango; to San Juan and to the divine Uhaal and Roz Utz stones at Agua Tibia; and above all to Uhaal Zabal, 4huti Zabal, and Nima Zabal.

Library pilgrimages have taken me to nearby Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the Tozzer Library at Harvard; to the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; to the Latin American libraries at Tulane in New Orleans and the University of Texas in Austin; to the special-collections library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah; to the Museo Nacional de Antropologia in Mexico City; to the Archivo General de Centroamerica in Guatemala City; and to the Newberry Library in Chicago, where I saw, felt, smelled, and heard the rustle of the manuscript of the Popol Vuh.

Such is the magnitude of the present project that it stretched over nine years; except for one of these years and part of another, it necessarily took a backseat to the countless complexities of university life. Most of the Guatemalan fieldwork was carried out during the summer of 1975 and throughout 1976. Much of my effort to transform masses of research and multiple trial runs at translation into a book was made during evenings and weekends at home, and it was also carried on during all-too-brief retreats to such places as Tepoztlan, south of Mexico City; Panajachel, on the shore of Lake Atitlan in Guatemala; and in the woodlands and rocks near Cerrillos, New Mexico, south of Santa Fe. But even when one is confined to Massachusetts, there are ways in which the world of the Popol Vuh makes itself felt. During the months in which I completed the manuscript for the book you now hold in your hands, I could see Venus as the morning star if I looked out the window of my study early enough.

Thinking back over my work on the Popol Vuh brings a great many people to mind; I apologize in advance to those who should have been remembered here but were not. Having learned my lessons about ancestors from my Quiche master, I will begin with persons who are now deceased. Robert Wauchope, when I first began my graduate work at Tulane in 1961, soon became convinced that I should eventually go to Guatemala to do archaeological fieldwork; he lived long enough to know

that fourteen years later I finally did get to Guatemala, but as an ethnologist, linguist, and translator rather than an archaeologist. My first lessons in how to read and interpret manuscript sources from Spanish America were given to me by France V. Scholes in the Coronado Library at the University of New Mexico, during the summer of 1964. He and Wauchope enjoyed full careers, but the career of Thelma Sullivan, the finest of all scholars working with texts in the Nahuatl language, was cut short; she stood out among Americanists in general as one of those rare individuals who realize and demonstrate that precision in translation is not to be confused with mechanical literalness. Also cut short was the career of Fernando Horcasitas, who gave a splendid lecture on Nahuatl theater one fine warm evening in Cuernavaca when Barbara Tedlock and I were waiting for the Guatemalan border to reopen after the great earthquake of 1976.

And then there is Abelino Zapeta y Zapeta, who in 1979 became the first Quiche to serve as mayor of Santa Cruz Quiche in centuries. He offered gracious words of greeting to an international conference on the Popol Vuh that took place in his town. For the time being it must also be said that he was the last Quiche to serve as mayor. A year after the conference, while he was riding home from work on his bicycle, he was assassinated by gunmen who were seen driving away in an army jeep. The day may come when the Popol Vuh will be entirely at home in Santa Cruz Quiche, the town where it was written, but that day may not be soon.

Turning to those who are still living, and beginning with graduate school, I first think of Munro S. Edmonson. I have come to disagree with him about a great many matters affecting the Popol Vuh, as he well knows, but I have not forgotten his seminar on the Maya at Tulane, which I took more than twenty years ago. When he offered a list of possible research topics to the students in that seminar, I was the one who chose to do a class presentation and term paper on the Popol Vuh. But my first fieldwork in anthropology took me closer to my home in New Mexico: I went to the Zuni, who live on the northern frontier of Mesoamerica. When it came, at long last, to doing field research among the people whose ancestors wrote the Popol Vuh, it was Robert M. Carmack, of the State University of New York at Albany, who introduced Barbara Tedlock and myself to the western highlands of Guatemala. He did this with a generosity that is rare among ethnographers- and with a wisdom, still rarer, that led him to abandon us to our fate once he had gotten us into the field.

Among the people of Guatemala, I give special thanks to Andres Xiloj Peruch, who not only traveled with me through the Quiche text of the Popol Vuh but taught me how to read dreams, omens, and the rhythms of the Mayan calendar. Thanks also go to his daughter Maria, who has boundless patience and kindness; to Santiago Guix, who showed the way down many a path; to Gustavo Lang, who offers a steady hand in any emergency; to Lucas Pacheco Benitez, who combines a warm heart with an intimate knowledge of the spiritual properties of stones; to Celso Akabal, who offers genial toasts at his home near the shrine called the Great Place of Declaration; to Vicente de Leon Abac, who knows how the ancient customs originated; to Esteban Ajxub, who eloquently prays and sings for others; and to Flavio Rojas Lima, who knows how to make foreigners feel welcome at the Seminario de Integracion Social Guatemalteca.

In matters of Native American linguistics and poetics, I am especially thankful for more than fifteen years of unceasing dialogue with Dell Hymes. Others who come to mind here are Allan Burns, the first to reveal that conversation is the root of all Mayan discourse; Lyle Campbell, who went beyond his normal duties in providing myself and others with an introductory course in Quiche at the State University of New York at Albany in the fall of 1975 and who taught me the value of Cakchiquel sources; Ives Goddard, who convinced me that even the most intractable manuscript materials on Native American languages may conceal moments of great accuracy; T. J. Knab, who helped me with Nahuatl loanwords in the Popol Vuh and with Nahuatl metaphors; and James L. Mondloch, who answered some of my questions about Quiche syntax.

In matters of ethnography, ethnohistory, and archaeology I think of Duncan Earle, who revealed that the "mushroom head" of the Popol Vuh is in fact an herb; Gary Gossen, who knows that in trying to comprehend the contemporary highland Maya we are dealing with nothing less than a civilization; Doris Heyden, the first to reveal the full meaning of the secret cave at Teotihuacan; Alain Ichon, who excavated the site called Thorny Place in the Popol Vuh; David H. Kelley, who personally convinced me in far-off Calgary that classic Maya vase paintings do indeed illustrate scenes from the Popol Vuh; J. Jorge Klor de Alva, who knows that the "spiritual conquest" of Mesoamerica has in fact never taken place; Linda Schele, who brought the hieroglyphic texts of Palenque closer than ever to the Popol Vuh at the eighth Workshop on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing in Austin; and Nathaniel Tarn, who in earlier times played the role of anthropologist among neighbors of the Quiche and later returned as a poet.

Anthony Aveni, John B. Carlson, and Floyd G. Lounsbury have heard out my ideas concerning the calendrical and astronomical interpretation of the Popol Vuh. Michael D. Coe, who well knows what a calabash tree is, not only provided welcome praise for the translation but generously permitted the use of the vase drawings reproduced here. Peter T. Furst and Jill Leslie Furst are steady friends who can be counted upon to do unexpected things, like raising toads, cooking sharks, and praising the fertility of skeletons. But above all I am grateful to my wife-colleague Barbara Tedlock, scholar and artist, who has meanwhile been telling her own story about places and times in Guatemala.

At various times over the years I have discussed portions of this work with four past and present colleagues in the University Professors Program at Boston University, all of whom have views on the subject of translation: William Arrowsmith, Rodolfo Cardona, D. S. Carne-Ross, and Herbert Mason. Others who have lent patient ears include the poets Robert Kelly, George Quasha, Jerome Rothenberg, and Charles Stein, along with the book-rancher Gus Blaisdell and the apple-farmer Jeff Titon. Thanks also go to Richard Lewis, of the Touchstone Center in New York, who provided me with the opportunity to do a public performance of parts of the translation at the American Museum of Natural History.

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years 1979-80 and 1980-81, by a grant from the Translations Program at the National Endowment for the Humanities, which is ably and thoughtfully administered by Susan Mango. During 1980-81 I received additional aid in the form of a sabbatical leave from Boston University.

From the beginning of our work on the Popol Vuh, Andres Xiloj felt certain that if one only knew how to read it perfectly, borrowing the knowledge of the day lords, the moist breezes, and the distant lightning, it should reveal everything under the sky and on the earth, all the way out to the four corners. As a help to my own reading and pondering of the book, he suggested an addition to the prayer that daykeepers recite when they go to public shrines. It goes like this:

Make my guilt vanish,
Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth;
do me a favor,
give me strength, give me courage
in my heart, in my head,
since you are my mountain and my plain;
may there be no falsehood and no stain,
and may this reading of the Popol Vuh
come out clear as dawn,
and may the sifting of ancient times
be complete in my heart, in my head;
and make my guilt vanish,
my grandmothers, grandfathers,
and however many souls of the dead there may be,
you who speak with the Heart of Sky and Earth,
may all of you together give strength
to the reading I have undertaken.

INTRODUCTION

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(See illustration: Map of the Mayan region.)

THE FIRST FOUR HUMANS, the first four earthly beings who were truly articulate when they moved their feet and hands, their faces and mouths, and who could speak the very language of the gods, could also see everything under the sky and on the earth. All they had to do was look around from the spot where they were, all the way to the limits of space and the limits of time. But then the gods, who had not intended to make and model beings with the potential of becoming their own equals, limited human sight to what was obvious and nearby. Nevertheless, the lords who once ruled a kingdom from a place called Quiche, in the highlands of Guatemala, once had in their possession the means for overcoming this nearsightedness, an ilbal, a "seeing instrument" or a "place to see"; with this they could know distant or future events. The instrument was not a telescope, not a crystal for gazing, but a book.

The lords of Quiche consulted their book when they sat in council, and their name for it was Popol Vuh or "Council Book." Because this book contained an account of how the forefathers of their own lordly lineages had exiled themselves from a faraway city called Tulan, they sometimes described it as "the writings about Tulan." Because a later generation of lords had obtained the book by going on a pilgrimage that took them across water on a causeway, they titled it

"The Light That Came from Across the Sea." And because the book told of events that happened before the first sunrise and of a time when the forefathers hid themselves and the stones that contained the spirit familiars of their gods in forests, they also titled it "Our Place in the Shadows." And finally, because it told of the first rising of the morning star and the sun and moon, and of the rise and radiant splendor of the Quiche lords, they titled it "The Dawn of Life."

Those who wrote the version of the Popol Vuh that comes down to us do not give us their personal names but rather call themselves "we" in its opening pages and "we who are the Quiche people" later on. In contemporary usage "the Quiche people" are an ethnic group in Guatemala, consisting of all those who speak the particular Mayan language that itself has come to be called Quiche; they presently number over half a million and occupy most of the former territory of the kingdom whose development is described in the Popol Vuh. To the west and northwest of them are other Mayan peoples, speaking other Mayan languages, who extend across the Mexican border into the highlands of Chiapas and down into the Gulf coastal plain of Tabasco. To the east and northeast still other Mayans extend just across the borders of El Salvador and Honduras, down into the lowlands of Belize, and across the peninsula of Yucatan. These are the peoples, with a total population of about four million today, whose ancestors developed what has become known to the outside world as Maya civilization.

The roots of Maya civilization may lie in the prior civilization of the Olmecs, which reached its peak on the Gulf coastal plain about three thousand years ago. Maya hieroglyphic writing and calendrical reckoning probably have antecedents that go back at least that far, but they did not find expression in the lasting form of inscriptions on stone monuments until the first century B.C., in a deep river valley that cuts through the highlands of Chiapas. From there, the erection of inscribed monuments spread south to the Pacific and eastward along the Guatemalan coastal plain, then reached back into the highlands at the site of Kaminaljuyu, on the western edge of what is now Guatemala City. During the so-called classic period, beginning about A.D. 300, the center of literate civilization in the Mayan region shifted northward into the lowland rain forest that separates the mountain pine forest of Chiapas and Guatemala from the low and thorny scrub forest of northern Yucatan. Swamps were drained and trees were cleared to make way for intensive cultivation. Hieroglyphic texts in great quantity were sculpted in stone and stucco, painted on pottery and plaster, and inked on long strips of paper that were folded like screens to make books. This is the period that accounts for the glories of such sites as Palenque, Tikal, and Copan, leaving a legacy that has made Maya civilization famous in the fields of art and architecture. The Mayan languages spoken at most of these sites probably corresponded to the ones now known as Cholan, which are still spoken by the Mayan peoples who live at the extreme eastern and western ends of the old classical heartland.

Near the end of the classic period, the communities that had carved out a place for themselves in the rain forest were caught in a deepening vortex of overpopulation, environmental degradation, and malnutrition. The organizational and technological capacities of

Maya society were strained past the breaking point, and by A.D. 900 much of the region had been abandoned. That left Maya civilization divided between two areas that had been peripheral during classic times, one in northern Yucatan and the other in the Guatemalan highlands. The subsequent history of both these areas was shaped by invaders from the western end of the old classical heartland, from Tabasco and neighboring portions of the Gulf coastal plain, who set up militaristic states among the peoples they conquered. The culture they carried with them has come to be called Toltec; it is thought to have originated among speakers of Nahua languages, who are presently concentrated in central Mexico (where they include the descendants of the Aztecs) and who once extended eastward to Tabasco. In the Mayan area, Toltec culture was notable for giving mythic prominence to the god-king named Plumed Serpent, technical prominence to the use of spear-throwers in warfare, and sacrificial prominence to the human heart. Those who carried this culture to highland Guatemala brought many Nahua words with them, but they themselves were probably Gulf-coast Maya of Cholan descent. Among them were the founders of the kingdom whose people have come to be known as the Quiche Maya.*

Mayan monuments and buildings no longer featured inscriptions after the end of the classic period, but scribes went right on making books for another six centuries, sometimes combining Mayan texts with Toltecan pictures. Then, in the sixteenth century, Europeans arrived in Mesoamerica. They forcibly imposed a monopoly on all major forms of visible expression, whether in drama, architecture, sculpture, painting, or writing. Hundreds of hieroglyphic books were tossed into bonfires by ardent missionaries; between this disaster and the slower perils of decay, only four books made it through to the present day. Three of them, all thought to come from the lowlands, found their way to Europe in early colonial times and eventually turned up in libraries in Madrid, Paris, and Dresden; a fragment from a fourth book was recovered more recently from looters who had found it in a dry cave in Chiapas. But the survival of Mayan literature was not dependent on the survival of its outward forms. Just as Mayan peoples learned to use the symbolism of Christian saints as a mask for ancient gods, so they learned to use the Roman alphabet as a mask for ancient texts.*(2)

(See illustration: Drawing by Carlos A. Villacorta.

SCRIBES WENT RIGHT ON MAKING BOOKS: This is a page from the Maya hieroglyphic book known as the Dresden Codex, which dates to the thirteenth century. The left-hand column describes the movements of Venus during one of five different types of cycles reckoned for that planet. The right-hand column describes the auguries for the cycle and gives both pictures and names for the attendant deities. The top picture, in which the figure at right is seated on two glyphs that name constellations, may have to do with the position of Venus relative to the fixed stars during the cycle. In the middle picture is the god who currently accounts for Venus itself, holding a dart-thrower in his left hand and darts in his right; in the bottom picture is his victim, with a dart piercing his shield. The Venus gods of the Popol Vuh are more conservatively Mayan than those of the Dresden Codex; they are armed with old-fashioned blowguns rather than Toltecan dart-throwers.)

There was no little justice in the fact that it was the missionaries

themselves, the burners of the ancient books, who worked out the problems of adapting the alphabet to the sounds of Mayan languages, and while they were at it they charted grammars and compiled dictionaries. Their official purpose in doing this linguistic work was to facilitate the writing and publishing of Christian prayers, sermons, and catechisms in the native languages. But very little time passed before some of their native pupils found political and religious applications for alphabetic writing that were quite independent of those of Rome. These independent writers have left a literary legacy that is both more extensive than the surviving hieroglyphic corpus and more open to understanding. Their most notable works, created as alphabetic substitutes for hieroglyphic books, are the Chilam Balam or "Jaguar Priest" books of Yucatan and the Popol Vuh of Guatemala.

The authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh were members of the three lordly lineages that had once ruled the Quiche kingdom: the Cauecs, the Greathouses, and the Lord Quiches. They worked in the middle of the sixteenth century, shortly before the end of one of the fifty-two-year cycles measured out by their own calendar. The scene of their writing was the town of Quiche, northwest of what is now Guatemala City. The east side of this town, on flat land, was new in their day, with buildings in files on a grid of streets and the bell towers of a church at the center. The west side, already in ruins, was on fortified promontories above deep canyons, with pyramids and palaces clustered around multiple plazas and courtyards. The buildings of the east side displayed broad expanses of blank stone and plaster, but the ruined walls of the west side bore tantalizing traces of multicolored murals. What concerned the authors of the new version of the Popol Vuh was to preserve the story that lay behind the ruins.

During the early colonial period the town of Quiche was eclipsed, in both size and prosperity, by the neighboring town of Chuui La or "Above the Nettles," better known today as Chichicastenango.*(3) The residents of the latter town included members of the Cauec and Lord Quiche lineages, and at some point a copy of the alphabetic Popol Vuh found its way there. Between 1701 and 1703, a friar named Francisco Ximenez happened to get a look at this manuscript while he was serving as the parish priest for Chichicastenango. He made the only surviving copy of the Quiche text of the Popol Vuh and added a Spanish translation. His work remained in the possession of the Dominican order until after Guatemalan independence, but when liberal reforms forced the closing of all monasteries in 1830, it was acquired by the library of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City. Carl Scherzer, an Austrian physician, happened to see it there in 1854, and Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, a French priest, had the same good fortune a few months later.*(4) In 1857 Scherzer published Ximenez' Spanish translation under the patronage of the Hapsburgs in Vienna,*(5) members of the same royal lineage that had ruled Spain at the time of the conquest of the Quiche kingdom, and in 1861 Brasseur published the Quiche text and a French translation in Paris. The manuscript itself, which Brasseur spirited out of Guatemala, eventually found its way back across the Atlantic from Paris, coming to rest in the Newberry Library in 1911. The town graced by this library, with its magnificent collection of Native

American texts, is not in Mesoamerica, but it does have an Indian name: Chicago, meaning "Place of Wild Onions."

The manuscript Ximenez copied in the place called "Above the Nettles" may have included a few illustrations and even an occasional hieroglyph, but his version contains nothing but solid columns of alphabetic prose. Mayan authors in general made only sparing use of graphic elements in their alphabetic works, but nearly every page of the ancient books combined writing (including signs meant to be read phonetically) and pictures. In the Mayan languages, as well as in Nahua, the terms for writing and painting were and are the same, the same artisans practiced both skills, and the patron deities of both skills were twin monkey gods born on the day bearing a name translatable (whether from Mayan or Nahua) as One Monkey. In the books made under the patronage of these twin gods there is a dialectical relationship between the writing and the pictures: the writing not only records words but sometimes has elements that picture or point to their meaning without the necessity of a detour through words. As for the pictures, they not only depict what they mean but have elements that can be read as words. When we say that Mesoamerican writing is strongly ideographic relative to our own, this observation should be balanced with the realization that Mesoamerican painting is more conceptual than our own.

At times the writers of the alphabetic Popol Vuh seem to be describing pictures, especially when they begin new episodes in narratives. In passages like the following, the use of sentences beginning with phrases like "this is" and the use of verbs in the Quiche equivalent of the present tense cause the reader to linger, for a moment, over a lasting image:

This is the great tree of Seven Macaw, a nance, and this is the food of Seven Macaw. In order to eat the fruit of the nance he goes up the tree every day. Since Hunahpu and Xbalanque have seen where he feeds, they are now hiding beneath the tree of Seven Macaw, they are keeping quiet here, the two boys are in the leaves of the tree.

It must be cautioned, of course, that "word pictures" painted by storytellers, in Quiche or in any other language, need not have physical counterparts in the world outside the mind's eye. But the present example has an abruptness that suggests a sudden still picture from a story already well under way rather than a moving picture unfolded in the course of the events of that story. The narrators do not describe how the boys arrived "in the leaves of the tree"; the opening scene is already complete, waiting for the blowgun shot that comes in the next sentence, where the main verb is in the Quiche equivalent of the past tense and the still picture gives way to a moving one.

More than any other Mayan book, whether hieroglyphic or alphabetic, the Popol Vuh tells us something about the conceptual place of books in the pre-Columbian world. The writers of the alphabetic version explain why the hieroglyphic version was among the most precious possessions of Quiche rulers:

They knew whether war would occur; everything they saw was clear to them. Whether there would be death, or whether there would be famine, or whether quarrels would occur, they knew it for certain, since there was a place to see it, there was a book. "Council Book" was their name for it.

When "everything they saw was clear to them" the Quiche lords were recovering the vision of the first four humans, who at first "saw everything under the sky perfectly." That would mean that the Popol Vuh made it possible, once again, to sight "the four sides, the four corners in the sky, on the earth," the corners and sides that mark not only the earth but are the reference points for the movements of celestial lights.*(6)

If the ancient Popol Vuh was like the surviving hieroglyphic books, it contained systematic accounts of cycles in astronomical and earthly events that served as a complex navigation system for those who wished to see and move beyond the present. In the case of a section dealing with the planet Venus, for example, there would have been tables of rising and setting dates, pictures of the attendant gods, and brief texts outlining what these gods did when they established the pattern for the movements of Venus. When the ancient reader of the Popol Vuh took the role of a diviner and astronomer, seeking the proper date for a ceremony or a momentous political act, we may guess that he looked up a specific passage, pondered its meaning, and rendered an opinion. But the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh tell us that there were also occasions on which the reader offered "a long performance and account" whose subject was the emergence of the whole cahuleu or "sky-earth," which is the Quiche way of saying "world." If a divinatory reading or pondering was a way of recovering the depth of vision enjoyed by the first four humans, a "long performance," in which the reader may well have covered every major subject in the entire book, was a way of recovering the full cosmic sweep of that vision.

If the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh had transposed the ancient Popol Vuh directly, on a glyph-by-glyph basis, they might have produced a text that would have made little sense to anyone but a fully trained diviner and performer. What they did instead was to quote what a reader of the ancient book would say when he gave a "long performance," telling the full story that lay behind the charts, pictures, and plot outlines of the ancient book. Lest we miss the fact that they are quoting, they periodically insert such phrases as "This is the account, here it is," or "as it is said." At one point they themselves take the role of a performer, speaking directly to us as if we were members of a live audience rather than mere readers. As they introduce the first episode of a long cycle of stories about the gods who prepared the sky-earth for human life, they propose that we all drink a toast to the hero.*(7)

At the beginning of their book, the authors delicately describe the difficult circumstances under which they work. When they tell us that they are writing "amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now," we can catch a plaintive tone only by noticing that they make this statement immediately after asserting that their own gods "accounted for everything- and did it, too- as enlightened beings, in enlightened words." What the authors propose to write down is what Quiches call the Oher Tzih, the "Ancient Word"*(8) or "Prior Word," which has precedence over "the preaching of God." They have chosen to do so because "there is no longer" a Popol Vuh, which makes it sound as though they intend to re-create the original book solely on the basis of their memory of what they have seen in its pages or heard in the "long performance." But when we remember their complaint

about being "in Christendom," there remains the possibility that they still have the original book but are protecting it from possible destruction by missionaries. Indeed, their next words make us wonder whether the book might still exist, but they no sooner raise our hopes on this front than they remove the book's reader from our grasp: "There is the original book and ancient writing, but he who reads and ponders it hides his face." Here we must remember that the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh have chosen to remain anonymous; in other words, they are hiding their own faces. If they are protecting anyone with their enigmatic statements about an inaccessible book or a hidden reader, it could well be themselves.*(9)

The authors begin their narrative in a world that has nothing but an empty sky above and a calm sea below. The action gets under way when the gods who reside in the primordial sea, named Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter, Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea, and Sovereign Plumed Serpent, are joined by gods who come down from the primordial sky, named Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt, and Hurricane. These two parties engage in a dialogue, and in the course of it they conceive the emergence of the earth from the sea and the growth of plants and people on its surface. They wish to set in motion a process they call the "sowing" and "dawning," by which they mean several different things at once. There is the sowing of seeds in the earth, whose sprouting will be their dawning, and there is the sowing of the sun, moon, and stars, whose difficult passage beneath the earth will be followed by their own dawning. Then there is the matter of human beings, whose sowing in the womb will be followed by their emergence into the light at birth, and whose sowing in the earth at death will be followed by dawning when their souls become sparks of light in the darkness.

For the gods, the idea of human beings is as old as that of the earth itself, but they fail in their first three attempts (all in Part One) to transform this idea into a living reality. What they want is beings who will walk, work, and talk in an articulate and measured way, visiting shrines, giving offerings, and calling upon their makers by name, all according to the rhythms of a calendar. What they get instead, on the first try, is beings who have no arms to work with and can only squawk, chatter, and howl, and whose descendants are the animals of today. On the second try they make a being of mud, but this one is unable to walk or turn its head or even keep its shape; being solitary, it cannot reproduce itself, and in the end it dissolves into nothing.

Before making a third try the gods decide, in the course of a further dialogue, to seek the counsel of an elderly husband and wife named Xpiyacoc and Xmucane. Xpiyacoc is a divine matchmaker and therefore prior to all marriage, and Xmucane is a divine midwife and therefore prior to all birth. Like contemporary Quiche matchmakers and midwives, both of them are ah3ih or "daykeepers," diviners who know how to interpret the auguries given by thirteen day numbers and twenty day names that combine to form a calendrical cycle lasting 260 days.*(10) They are older than all the other gods, who address them as grandparents, and the cycle they divine by is older than the longer cycles that govern Venus and the sun, which have not yet been established at this point in the story. The question the younger gods put to them here is whether human beings should be made out of

wood. Following divinatory methods that are still in use among Quiche daykeepers, they give their approval. The wooden beings turn out to look and talk and multiply themselves something like humans, but they fail to time their actions in an orderly way and forget to call upon the gods in prayer. Hurricane brings a catastrophe down on their heads, not only flooding them with a gigantic rainstorm but sending monstrous animals to attack them. Even their own dogs, turkeys, and household utensils rise against them, taking vengeance for past mistreatment. Their only descendants are the monkeys who inhabit the forests today.

At this point the gods who have been working on the problem of making human beings will need only one more try before they solve it, but the authors of the Popol Vuh postpone the telling of this episode, turning their attention to stories about heroic gods whose adventures make the sky-earth a safer place for human habitation. The gods in question are the twin sons of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, and the twin sons of One Hunahpu, named Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Both sets of twins are players of the Mesoamerican ball game, in which the rubber ball (an indigenous American invention) is hit with a yoke that rides on the hips rather than with the hands. In addition to being ballplayers, One and Seven Hunahpu occupy themselves by gambling with dice, whereas Hunahpu and Xbalanque go out hunting with blowguns.*(11)

The adventures of the sons and grandsons of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane are presented in two different cycles, with the episodes divided between the cycles more on the basis of where they take place in space than when they take place in time. The first cycle deals entirely with adventures on the face of the earth, while the second, though it has two separate above-ground passages, deals mainly with adventures in the Mayan underworld, named Xibalba. If the events of these two cycles were combined in a single chronological sequence, the above-ground episodes would probably alternate with those below, with the heroes descending into the underworld, emerging on the earth again, and so forth. These sowing and dawning movements of the heroes, along with those of their supporting cast, prefigure the present-day movements of the sun, moon, planets, and stars.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque are the protagonists of the first of the two hero cycles (corresponding to Part Two in the present translation), and their enemies are a father and his two sons, all of them pretenders to lordly power over the affairs of the earth. Hurricane, or Heart of Sky, is offended by this threesome, and it is he who sends Hunahpu and Xbalanque against them. The first to get his due is the father, named Seven Macaw, who claims to be both the sun and moon. In chronological terms this episode overlaps with the story of the wooden people (at the end of Part One), since Seven Macaw serves as their source of celestial light and has his downfall at the same time they do. The twins shoot him while he is at his meal, high up in a fruit tree, breaking his jaw and bringing him down to earth. Later they pose as curers and give him the reverse of a face-lift, pulling out all his teeth and removing the metal disks from around his eyes; this puts an end to his career as a lordly being. His earthly descendants are scarlet macaws, with broken and toothless jaws and mottled white patches beneath their eyes. He himself remains as the seven stars of the Big Dipper, and his wife, named Chimalmat,

corresponds to the Little Dipper. The rising of Seven Macaw (in mid-October) now marks the coming of the dry season, and his fall to earth and his disappearance (beginning in mid-July) signal the beginning of the hurricane season. It was his first fall, brought on by the blowgun shot of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, that opened the way for the great flood that brought down the wooden people. Just as Seven Macaw only pretended to be the sun and moon, so the wooden people only pretended to be human.*(12)

Hunahpu and Xbalanque next take on Zipacna, the elder of Seven Macaw's two sons, a crocodilian monster who claims to be the maker of mountains. But first comes an episode in which Zipacna has an encounter with the gods of alcoholic drinks, the Four Hundred Boys. Alarmed by Zipacna's great strength, these boys trick him into digging a deep hole and try to crush him by dropping a great log down behind him. He survives, but he waits in the hole until they are in the middle of a drunken victory celebration and then brings their own house down on top of them. At the celestial level they become the stars called Motz, the Quiche name for the Pleiades, and their downfall corresponds to early-evening settings of these stars. At the earthly level, among contemporary Quiches, the Pleiades symbolize a handful of seeds, and their disappearance in the west marks the proper time for the sowing of crops.

Zipacna meets his own downfall when Hunahpu and Xbalanque set out to avenge the Four Hundred Boys. At a time when Zipacna has gone without food for several days, they set a trap for him by making a device that appears to be a living, moving crab. Having placed this artificial crab in a tight space beneath an overhang at the bottom of a great mountain, they show him the way there. Zipacna goes after the crab with great passion, and his struggles to wrestle himself into the right position to consummate his hunger become a symbolic parody of sexual intercourse. When the great moment comes the whole mountain falls on his chest (which is to say he ends up on the bottom), and when he heaves a sigh he turns to stone.*(13)

Finally there comes the demise of the younger son of Seven Macaw, named Earthquake, who bills himself as a destroyer of mountains. In his case the lure devised by Hunahpu and Xbalanque is the irresistibly delicious aroma given off by the roasting of birds. They cast a spell on the bird they give him to eat: just as it was cooked inside a coating of earth, so he will end up covered by earth. They leave him buried in the east, opposite his elder brother, whose killing of the Four Hundred Boys associates him with the west (where the Pleiades may be seen to fall beneath the earth). Seven Macaw, as the Big Dipper, is of course in the north. He is near the pivot of the movement of the night sky, whereas his two sons make the earth move- though they cannot raise or level whole mountains in a single day as they once did.*(14)

Having accounted for three of the above-ground episodes in the lives of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the Popol Vuh next moves back in time to tell the story of their father, One Hunahpu, and his twin brother, Seven Hunahpu (at the beginning of Part Three). This is the point at which the authors treat us as if we were in their very presence, introducing One Hunahpu with these words: "Let's drink to him, and let's just drink to the telling and accounting of the begetting of Hunahpu and Xbalanque." The story begins long before One Hunahpu meets

the woman who will bear Hunahpu and Xbalanque; in the opening episode, he marries a woman named Xbaquiyalo and they have twin sons named One Monkey and One Artisan. One Hunahpu and his brother sometimes play ball with these two boys, and a messenger from Hurricane, a falcon,*(15) sometimes comes to watch them. The boys become practitioners of all sorts of arts and crafts, including flute playing, singing, writing, carving, jewelry making, and metalworking. At some point Xbaquiyalo dies, but we are not told how; that leaves Xmucane, the mother of One and Seven Hunahpu, as the only woman in the household.

The ball court of One and Seven Hunahpu lies on the eastern edge of the earth's surface at a place called Great Abyss at Carchah.*(16) Their ballplaying offends the lords of Xibalba, who dislike hearing noises above their subterranean domain. The head lords are named One Death and Seven Death, and under them are other lords who specialize in causing such maladies as lesions, jaundice, emaciation, edema, stabbing pains, and sudden death from vomiting blood. One and Seven Death decide to challenge One and Seven Hunahpu to come play ball in the court of Xibalba, which lies at the western edge of the underworld. They therefore send their messengers, who are monstrous owls, to the Great Abyss. One and Seven Hunahpu leave One Monkey and One Artisan behind to keep Xmucane entertained and follow the owls over the eastern edge of the world. The way is full of traps, but they do well until they come to the Crossroads, where each of four roads has a different color corresponding to a different direction. They choose the Black Road, which means, at the terrestrial level, that their journey through the underworld will take them from east to west. At the celestial level, it means that they were last seen in the black cleft of the Milky Way when they descended below the eastern horizon; to this day the cleft is called the Road of Xibalba.

Entering the council place of the lords of Xibalba is a tricky business, beginning with the fact that the first two figures seated there are mere manikins, put there as a joke. The next gag that awaits visitors is a variation on the hot seat, but after that comes a deadly serious test. One and Seven Hunahpu must face a night in Dark House, which is totally black inside. They are given a torch and two cigars, but they are warned to keep these burning all night without consuming them. They fail this test, so their hosts sacrifice them the next day instead of playing ball with them. Both of them are buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, except that the severed head of One Hunahpu is placed in the fork of a tree that stands by the road there. Now, for the first time, the tree bears fruit, and it becomes difficult to tell the head from the fruit. This is the origin of the calabash tree, whose fruit is the size and shape of a human head.

Blood Woman, the maiden daughter of a Xibalban lord named Blood Gatherer, goes to marvel at the calabash tree. The head of One Hunahpu, which is a skull by now, spits in her hand and makes her pregnant with Hunahpu and Xbalanque. The skull explains to her that henceforth, a father's face will survive in his son, even after his own face has rotted away and left nothing but bone. After six months, when Blood Woman's father notices that she is pregnant, he demands to know who is responsible. She answers that "there is no man whose face I've known," which is literally true. He orders the owl

messengers of Xibalba to cut her heart out and bring it back in a bowl; armed with the White Dagger, the instrument of sacrifice, they take her away.*(17) But she persuades them to spare her, devising a substitute for her heart in the form of a congealed nodule of sap from a croton tree. The lords heat the nodule over a fire and are entranced by the aroma; meanwhile the owls show Blood Woman to the surface of the earth. As a result of this episode it is destined that the lords of Xibalba will receive offerings of incense made from croton sap rather than human blood and hearts. At the astronomical level Blood Woman corresponds to the moon, which appears in the west at nightfall when it begins to wax, just as she appeared before the skull of One Hunahpu at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice when she became pregnant.

Once she is out of the underworld, Blood Woman goes to Xmucane and claims to be her daughter-in-law, but Xmucane resists the idea that her own son, One Hunahpu, could be responsible for Blood Woman's pregnancy. She puts Blood Woman to a test, sending her to get a netful of corn from the garden that One Monkey and One Artisan have been cultivating. Blood Woman finds only a single clump of corn plants there, but she produces a whole netful of ears by pulling out the silk from just one ear. When Xmucane sees the load of corn she goes to the garden herself, wondering whether Blood Woman has stripped it. On the ground at the foot of the clump of plants she notices the imprint of the carrying net, which she reads as a sign that Blood Woman is indeed pregnant with her own grandchildren.

To understand how Xmucane is able to interpret the sign of the net we must remember that she knows how to read the auguries of the Mayan calendar, and that one of the twenty day names that go into the making of that calendar is "Net." Retold from a calendrical point of view, the story so far is that Venus rose as the morning star on a day named Hunahpu, corresponding to the ballplaying of Xmucane's sons, One and Seven Hunahpu, in the east; then, after being out of sight in Xibalba, Venus reappeared as the evening star on a day named Death, corresponding to the defeat of her sons by One and Seven Death and the placement of One Hunahpu's head in a tree in the west. The event that is due to come next in the story is the rebirth of Venus as the morning star, which should fall, as she already knows, on a day named Net. When she sees the imprint of the net in the field, she takes it as a sign that this event is coming near, and that the faces of the sons born to Blood Woman will be reincarnations of the face of One Hunahpu.*(18)

When Hunahpu and Xbalanque are born they are treated cruelly by their jealous half-brothers, One Monkey and One Artisan, and even by their grandmother. They never utter a complaint, but keep themselves happy by going out every day to hunt birds with their blowguns. Eventually they get the better of their brothers by sending them up a tree to get birds that failed to fall down when they were shot. They cause the tree to grow tall enough to maroon their brothers, whom they transform into monkeys. When Xmucane objects they give her four chances to see the faces of One Monkey and One Artisan again, calling them home with music. They warn her not to laugh, but the monkeys are so ridiculous she cannot contain herself; finally they swing up and away through the treetops for good. One Monkey and One Artisan, both of whose names refer to a single day on the divinatory

calendar, correspond to the planet Mars, which thereafter begins its period of visibility on a day bearing these names, and their temporary return to the house of Xmucane corresponds to the retrograde motion of Mars. They are also the gods of arts and crafts, and they probably made their first journey through the sky during the era of the wooden people, who were the first earthly beings to make and use artifacts and who themselves ended up as monkeys.

With their half-brothers out of the way, Hunahpu and Xbalanque decide to clear a garden plot of their own, but when they return to the chosen spot each morning they find that the forest has reclaimed it. By hiding themselves at the edge of the plot one night, they discover that the animals of the forest are restoring the cleared plants by means of a chant. They try to grab each of these animals in turn, but they miss the puma and jaguar completely, break the tails off the rabbit and deer, and finally get their hands on the rat. In exchange for his future share of stored crops, the rat reveals to them that their father and uncle, One and Seven Hunahpu, left a set of ball game equipment tied up under the rafters of their house, and he agrees to help them get it down. At home the next day, Hunahpu and Xbalanque get Xmucane out of the house by claiming her chili stew has made them thirsty; she goes after water but is delayed when her water jar springs a leak. Then, when Blood Woman goes off to see why Xmucane has failed to return, the rat cuts the ball game equipment loose and the twins take possession of it.

When Hunahpu and Xbalanque begin playing ball at the Great Abyss they disturb the lords of Xibalba, just like their father and uncle before them. Once again the lords send a summons, but this time the messengers go to Xmucane, telling her that the twins must present themselves in seven days. She sends a louse to relay the message to her grandsons, but the louse is swallowed by a toad, the toad by a snake, and the snake by a falcon.*(19) The falcon arrives over the ball court and the twins shoot him in the eye. They cure his eye with gum from their ball, which is why the laughing falcon now has a black patch around the eye. The falcon vomits the snake, who vomits the toad, who still has the louse in his mouth, and the louse recites the message, quoting what Xmucane told him when she quoted what the owls told her when they quoted what the lords of Xibalba told them to say.

Having been summoned to the underworld, Hunahpu and Xbalanque go to take leave of their grandmother, and in the process they demonstrate a harvest ritual that Quiches follow to this day. They "plant" ears of corn in the center of her house, in the attic; these ears are neither to be eaten nor used as seed corn but are to be kept as a sign that corn remains alive throughout the year, even between the drying out of the plants at harvest time and the sprouting of new ones after planting. They tell their grandmother that when a crop dries out it will be a sign of their death, but that the sprouting of a new crop will be a sign that they live again.*(20)

The twins play a game with language when they instruct their grandmother; only now, instead of a quotation swallowed up inside other quotations we get a word hidden within other words. The secret word is "Ah," one of the twenty day names; the twins point to it by playing on its sounds rather than simply mentioning it. When they tell their grandmother that they are planting corn ears (ah) in the house

(ha), they are making a pun on Ah in the one case and reversing its sound in the other. The play between Ah and ha is familiar to contemporary Quiche daykeepers, who use it when they explain to clients that the day Ah is portentous in matters affecting households. If the twins planted their corn ears in the house on the day Ah, then their expected arrival in Xibalba, seven days later, would fall on the day named Hunahpu. This fits the Mayan Venus calendar perfectly: whenever Venus rises as the morning star on a day named Net, corresponding to the appearance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque on the earth, its next descent into the underworld will always fall on a day named Hunahpu.

Following in the footsteps of their father and uncle, Hunahpu and Xbalanque descend the road to Xibalba, but when they come to the Crossroads they do things differently. They send a spy ahead of them, a mosquito, to learn the names of the lords. He bites each one of them in turn; the first two lords reveal themselves as mere manikins by their lack of response, but the others, in the process of complaining about being bitten, address each other by name, all the way down the line. When the twins themselves arrive before the lords, they ignore the manikins (unlike their father and uncle) and address each of the twelve real lords correctly. Not only that, but they refuse to fall for the hot seat, and when they are given a torch and two cigars to keep lit all night, they trick the lords by passing off a macaw's tail as the glow of the torch and putting fireflies at the tips of their cigars.*(21)

The next day Hunahpu and Xbalanque play ball with the Xibalbans, something their father and uncle did not survive long enough to do. The Xibalbans insist on putting their own ball into play first, though the twins protest that this ball, which is covered with crushed bone, is nothing but a skull. When Hunahpu hits it back to the Xibalbans with the yoke that rides on his hips, it falls to the court and reveals the weapon that was hidden inside it. This is nothing less than the White Dagger, the same instrument of sacrifice that the owls were supposed to use on Blood Woman; it twists its way all over the court, but it fails to kill the twins.

The Xibalbans consent to use the rubber ball belonging to the twins in a further game; this time four bowls of flowers are bet on the outcome. After playing well for awhile the twins allow themselves to lose, and they are given until the next day to come up with the flowers. This time they must spend the night in Razor House, which is full of voracious stone blades that are constantly looking for something to cut. In exchange for a promise that they will one day have the flesh of animals as their food, the blades stop moving. This leaves the boys free to attend to the matter of the flowers; they send leaf-cutting ants to steal them from the very gardens of the lords of Xibalba. The birds who guard this garden, poorwills and whippoorwills, are so oblivious that they fail to notice that their own tails and wings are being trimmed along with the flowers. The lords, who are aghast when they receive bowls filled with their own flowers, split the birds' mouths open, giving them the wide gape that birds of the night-jar family have today.

Next, the hero twins survive stays in Cold House, which is full of drafts and falling hail; Jaguar House, which is full of hungry, brawling jaguars; and a house with fire inside. After these horrors

comes Bat House, full of moving, shrieking bats, where they spend the night squeezed up inside their blowgun.*(22) When the house grows quiet and Hunahpu peeks out from the muzzle, one of the bats swoops down and takes his head off. The head ends up rolling on the ball court of Xibalba, but Xbalanque replaces it with a carved squash. While he is busy with this head transplant the eastern sky reddens with the dawn, and a possum, addressed in the story as "old man," makes four dark streaks along the horizon. Not only the red dawn but the possum and his streaks are signs that the time of the sun (which has never before been seen) is coming nearer. In the future a new solar year will be brought in by the old man each 365 days; the four streaks signify that only four of the twenty day names- Deer, Tooth, Thought, and Wind- will ever correspond to the first day of a solar year. Contemporary Quiche daykeepers continue to reckon the solar dimension of the Mayan calendar; in 1986, for example, they will expect the old man to arrive on February 28, which will be the day Thirteen Deer.*(23)

Once Hunahpu has been fitted out with a squash for a head, he and Xbalanque are ready to play ball with the Xibalbans again. When the lords send off Hunahpu's original head as the ball, Xbalanque knocks it out of the court and into a stand of oak trees. A rabbit decoys the lords, who mistake his hopping for the bouncing of the ball, while Xbalanque retrieves the head, puts it back on Hunahpu's shoulders, and then pretends to find the squash among the oaks. Now the squash is put into play, but it wears out and eventually splatters its seeds on the court, revealing to the lords of Xibalba that they have been played for fools. The game played with the squash, like the games played with the bone-covered ball and with Hunahpu's severed head, corresponds to an appearance of Venus in the west, the direction of evening and death. If these events were combined in chronological order with those that take place entirely above ground, they would probably alternate with the episodes in which the twins defeat One Monkey and One Artisan, Seven Macaw, Zipacna, and Earthquake, with each of these latter episodes corresponding to an appearance of Venus in the east, the direction of morning and life.*(24)

At this point we are ready for the last of the episodes that prefigure the cycles of Venus and prepare the way for the first rising of the sun. Knowing that the lords of Xibalba plan to burn them, Hunahpu and Xbalanque instruct two seers named Xulu and Pacam as to what they should say when the lords seek advice as to how to dispose of their remains. This done, the twins cheerfully accept an invitation to come see the great stone pit where the Xibalbans are cooking the ingredients for an alcoholic beverage. The lords challenge them to a contest in which the object is to leap clear across the pit, but the boys cut the deadly game short and jump right in. Thinking they have triumphed, the Xibalbans follow the advice of Xulu and Pacam, grinding the bones of the boys and spilling the powder into a river.

After five days Hunahpu and Xbalanque reappear as catfish;*(25) the day after that they take human form again, only now they are disguised as vagabond dancers and actors. They gain great fame as illusionists, their most popular acts being the ones in which they set fire to a house without burning it and perform a sacrifice without killing the victim. The lords of Xibalba get news of all this and invite them to show their skills at court; they accept with

pretended reluctance. The climax of their performance comes when Xbalanque sacrifices Hunahpu, rolling his head out the door, removing his heart, and then bringing him back to life. One and Seven Death go wild at the sight of this and demand that they themselves be sacrificed. The twins oblige- and, as might already be imagined, these final sacrifices are real ones. Hunahpu and Xbalanque now reveal their true identities before all the inhabitants of the underworld. They declare that henceforth, the offerings received by Xibalbans will be limited to incense made of croton sap and to animals, and that Xibalbans will limit their attacks on future human beings to those who have weaknesses or guilt.

At this point the narrative takes us back to the twins' grandmother, telling us what she has been doing all this time. She cries when the season comes for corn plants to dry out, signifying the death of her grandsons, and rejoices when they sprout again, signifying rebirth. She burns incense in front of ears from the new crop and thus completes the establishment of the custom whereby humans keep consecrated ears in the house, at the center of the stored harvest. Then the scene shifts back to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who are about to establish another custom.

Having made their speech to the defeated Xibalbans, the twins go to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice with the intention of reviving Seven Hunahpu, whose head and body still lie buried there. The full restoration of his face depends on his own ability to pronounce the names of all the parts it once had, but he gets no further than the mouth, nose, and eyes, which remain as notable features of skulls. They leave him there, but they promise that human beings will keep his day (the one named Hunahpu), coming to pray where his remains are. To this day, Hunahpu days are set aside for the veneration of the dead, and graveyards are called by the same word (hom) as the ball courts of the Popol Vuh.

At the astronomical level the visit of Hunahpu and Xbalanque to their uncle's grave signals the return of a whole new round of Venus cycles, starting with a morning star that first appears on a day named Hunahpu. As for the twins themselves, they rise as the sun and moon. Contemporary Quiches regard the full moon as a nocturnal equivalent of the sun, pointing out that it has a full disk, is bright enough to travel by, and goes clear across the sky in the same time it takes the sun to do the same thing. Most likely the twin who became the moon is to be understood specifically as the full moon, whereas Blood Woman, the mother of the twins, would account for the other phases of the moon.*(26)

With the ascent of Hunahpu and Xbalanque the Popol Vuh returns to the problem the gods confronted at the beginning: the making of beings who will walk, work, talk, and pray in an articulate manner. The account of their fourth and final attempt at a solution is a flashback, since it takes us to a time when the sun had not yet appeared. As we have already seen, the gods failed when they tried using mud and then wood as the materials for the human body, but now they get news of a mountain filled with yellow corn and white corn, discovered by the fox, coyote, parrot, and crow (at the beginning of Part Four). Xmucane grinds the corn from this mountain very finely, and the flour, mixed with the water she rinses her hands with, provides the substance for human flesh, just as the ground bone thrown

in the river by the Xibalbans becomes the substance for the rebirth of her grandsons. The first people to be modeled from the corn dough are four men named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. They are the first four heads of Quiche patrilineages; as in the case of the men who occupy such positions today, they are called "mother-fathers,"*(27) since in ritual matters they serve as symbolic androgynous parents to everyone in their respective lineages.

This time the beings shaped by the gods are everything they hoped for and more: not only do the first four men pray to their makers, but they have perfect vision and therefore perfect knowledge. The gods are alarmed that beings who were merely manufactured by them should have divine powers, so they decide, after their usual dialogue, to put a fog on human eyes. Next they make four wives for the four men, and from these couples come the leading Quiche lineages. Celebrated Seahouse becomes the wife of Jaguar Quitze, who founds the Cauec lineage; Prawn House becomes the wife of Jaguar Night, who founds the Greathouse lineage; and Hummingbird House becomes the wife of Mahucutah, who founds the Lord Quiche lineage. True Jaguar is also given a wife, Macaw House, but they have no male children. Other lineages and peoples also come into being, and they all begin to multiply.

All these early events in human history take place in darkness, somewhere in the "east," and all the different peoples wander about and grow weary as they go on watching and waiting for the rising of the morning star and the sun. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar decide to change their situation by acquiring patron deities they can burn offerings in front of, and it is with this purpose in mind that they go to a great eastern city bearing the names Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons. These are grand names that call up broad reaches of the Mesoamerican past. Tulan (or Tollan)*(28) means "Place of Reeds" or more broadly "metropolis" in Nahua, and it was prefixed to the names of many different towns during Toltecan times. The particular Tulan called Zuyua was probably near the Gulf coast in Tabasco or Campeche, "eastern" because it was east of the principal Tulan of the Toltecs, near Mexico City at the site now known as Tula. But in giving Tulan Zuyua the further name Seven Caves, the Popol Vuh preserves the memory of a metropolis much older and far grander than any Toltec town. This ultimate Tulan was at the site now known as Teotihuacan, northeast of Mexico City. It was the greatest city in Mesoamerican history, dating from the same period as the classic Maya. Only recently it has been discovered that beneath the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan lies a natural cave whose main shaft and side chambers add up to seven.*(29)

Countless lineages and tribes converge on the Tulan Zuyua of the Popol Vuh, and each of them, starting with the Quiches, is given a god. The Cauecs receive the god named Tohil, the Greathouses receive Auilix, and the Lord Quiches receive Hacauitz. Ultimately the patronage of the first-ranking god, Tohil, extended to all three of these lineages, and to two other Quiche lineages of lesser rank, the Tams and Ilocs. The worship of Tohil has recently been traced back to the classic period; in the inscriptions at Palenque, he bears the name Tahil, a Cholan word meaning "Obsidian Mirror," and he is shown with a smoking mirror in his forehead.

The Popol Vuh tells us that although "all the tribes were sown and

came to light in unity," their languages differentiated while they were at Tulan. The cause of this was that some peoples were given patron deities whose names differed from that of the god of the Quiches. The language of the Rabinals became only slightly different, since they were given a god named One Toh rather than Tohil, but others, who received gods with completely distinctive names, ended up speaking distinctive languages, including the Cakchiquels, the Bird House people, and the Yaqui people. Today, indeed, the Rabinals, who live to the northeast of the Quiche proper, speak a dialect of Quiche, whereas the Cakchiquels (still known by this name) and the Bird House people (better known as the Tzutuhils) speak related but separate languages. What the Popol Vuh calls the Yaqui people are the speakers of Nahua languages, in Mexico. Those languages belong to a family that not only stands apart from Quiche, Cakchiquel, and Tzutuhil, but from Mayan languages in general.

Tohil is the source of the first fires kept by human beings, making it possible for them to keep warm in the cold of the predawn world. When a great hailstorm puts all these fires out, Tohil restores fire to the Quiches by pivoting inside his sandal, which is to say that he originates the technology whereby fire is started by rotating a drill in the socket of a wooden platform. The other tribes, shivering with cold, come to the Quiches to beg for fire, but Tohil refuses to let them have it unless they promise to embrace him someday, allowing themselves to be suckled. They agree, not realizing that when the time comes for the Quiche lords to subjugate them, being "suckled" by Tohil will mean having their hearts cut out in sacrifice. Only the Cakchiquels, who get their fire by sneaking past everyone else in the smoke, escape this fate.

At the suggestion of Tohil the Quiches leave Tulan. They sacrifice their own blood to him, passing cords through their ears and elbows, and they sing a song called "The Blame Is Ours," lamenting the fact that they will not be in Tulan when the time comes for the first dawn. Packing their gods on their backs and watching continuously for the appearance of the morning star, they begin a long migration. At a place called Rock Rows, Furrowed Sands they cross a "sea"*(30) on a causeway; this would be somewhere in Tabasco or Campeche, perhaps at Potonchan or Tixchel, both lowland Maya sites where causeways pass through flooded areas. They also pass the Great Abyss, the location of the eastern ball court used by the sons and grandsons of Xmucane, a long way east and a little south of any likely location for Rock Rows, Furrowed Sands. Next they enter the highlands, turning west and continuing at a slight southward angle until they reach a mountain called Place of Advice, not very far short of the site where they will one day reach their greatest glory. With them at Place of Advice, having accompanied them ever since they left Tulan, are the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and Bird House people.

Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, together with their wives, observe a great fast at Place of Advice. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz speak to them, asking to be given hiding places so that they will not be captured by enemies of the Quiches. After a search through the forest, each of these gods is hidden at the place that bears his name today. They are not yet placed in temples atop pyramids, but merely in arbors decorated with bromelias and hanging mosses. At the place of Hacauitz, on a mountaintop, the Cauecs,

Greathouses, and Lord Quiches weep while they wait for the dawn; the Tams and Ilocs wait on nearby mountains, while peoples other than the Quiches wait at more distant places. When, at last, they all see the daybringer, the morning star, they give thanks by burning the incense they have kept for this occasion, ever since they left Tulan.

At this point we reach the moment in the account of human affairs that corresponds to the final event in the account of the lives of the gods: the Sun himself rises. On just this one occasion he appears as an entire person, so hot that he dries out the face of the earth. His heat turns Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz to stone, along with such pumas, jaguars, and snakes as had existed until now. A diminutive god called White Sparkstriker*(31) escapes petrifaction by going into the shade of the trees, becoming the keeper of the stone animals. He remains to this day as a gamekeeper, with stone fetishes (volcanic concretions and meteorites) that resemble animals, together with flesh-and-blood game animals, in his care. He may be encountered in forests and caves, or on dark nights and in dreams; he appears in contemporary masked dramas dressed entirely in red, the color of the dawn.

At first the Quiches rejoice when they see the first sunrise, but then they remember their "brothers," the tribes who were with them at Tulan, and they sing the song called "The Blame Is Ours" once again. In the words of this song they wonder where their brothers might be at this very moment. In effect, the coming of the first sunrise reunites the tribes, despite the fact that they remain widely separated in space; as the Popol Vuh has it, "there were countless peoples, but there was just one dawn for all tribes." The orderly movements of the lights of the sky, signs of the deeds of the gods, enable human beings to coordinate their actions even when they cannot see one another. In point of fact Mesoamerican peoples in general shared a common calendar, consisting of the 260-day cycle, whose auguries were first read by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, and the cycles of Mars, Venus, and the sun and moon, as measured off by the movements of their sons and grandsons and by Blood Woman.*(32)

Having seen the first sunrise from the mountain of Hacauitz, the Quiches eventually build a citadel there. But at first, even while the people of other tribes are becoming thickly settled and are seen traveling the roads in great numbers, the Quiches remain rustic and rural, gathering the larvae of yellow jackets, wasps, and bees for food and staying largely out of sight. When they go before the petrified forms of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they burn bits of pitchy bark and wildflowers as substitutes for refined incense and offer blood drawn from their own bodies. The three gods are still able to speak to them, but only by appearing in spirit form. Tohil tells them to augment their offerings with the blood of deer and birds taken in the hunt, but they grow dissatisfied with this arrangement and begin to cast eyes on the people they see walking by in the roads. From hiding places on mountain peaks, they begin imitating the cries of the coyote, fox, puma, and jaguar.

Finally Tohil tells the Quiches to go ahead and take human beings for sacrifice, reminding them that when they were at Tulan the other tribes promised to allow him to "suckle" them. They begin to seize people they find out walking alone or in pairs, taking them away to cut them open before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz and then rolling

their heads out onto the roads. At first the lords who rule the victimized tribes think these deaths are the work of wild animals, but then they suspect the worshipers of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz and attempt to track them down. Again and again they are foiled by rain, mist, and mud, but they do discover that the three gods, whose spirit familiars take the form of adolescent boys, have a favorite bathing place. They send two beautiful maidens, Xtah and Xpuch, to wash clothes there, instructing them to tempt the boys and then yield to any advances. They warn the maidens to return with proof of the success of their mission, which must take the form of presents from the boys.*(33)

Contrary to plan, the three Quiche gods fail to lust after Xtah and Xpuch, but they do agree to provide them with presents. They give them three cloaks with figures on the inside, one painted with a jaguar by Jaguar Quitze, another painted with an eagle by Jaguar Night, and the third painted with swarms of yellow jackets and wasps by Mahucutah. When the maidens return the enemy lords are so pleased with the cloaks that they cannot resist trying them on. All is well until the wasps painted on the inside of the third cloak turn into real ones. Xtah and Xpuch are spurned; despite their failure to tempt Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz they become the first prostitutes, or what Quiches call "barkers of shins." As for the enemy lords, they resolve to make war and launch a massive attack on the Quiche citadel at Hacauitz.

The enemy warriors come at night in order to get as far as possible without resistance, but they fall into a deep sleep on the road. The Quiches not only strip them of all the metal ornaments on their weapons and clothes, but pluck out their eyebrows and beards as well. Even so the enemy warriors press on the next day, determined to recover their losses, but the Quiches are well prepared. What the enemy lookouts see all around the citadel of Hacauitz is a wooden palisade; visible on the parapet are rows of warriors, decked out with the very metal objects that were stolen during the night. What the lookouts do not see is that these warriors are mere wooden puppets, and that behind the palisade, on each of its four sides, is a large gourd filled with yellow jackets and wasps, put there at the suggestion of Tohil. As for the Quiches on the inside, what they see, once the attack begins, is more than twenty-four thousand warriors converging on them, bristling with weapons and shouting continuously. But Tohil has made them so confident that they treat the attack as a great spectacle, bringing their women and children up on the parapet to see it. When they release the yellow jackets and wasps their enemies drop their weapons and attempt to flee, so badly stung they hardly even notice the blows they receive from conventional Quiche weapons. The survivors become permanent payers of tribute to the Quiche lords.

After their great victory, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar begin preparing, with complete contentment, for what they know to be their approaching death. First they sing "The Blame Is Ours," and then they explain to their wives and successors that "the time of our Lord Deer" has come around again. This is a reference to the day named Deer, one of the four days on which a new solar year can begin, and specifically to the first day of a longer period, lasting fifty-two years, which falls on One Deer.*(34) Such a major temporal

transition is an occasion for rites of renewal; the Quiche forefathers declare that their time as lords among the living has been completed and that they intend to return to the place where they came from, far in the east. Jaguar Quitze leaves a sacred object called the "Bundle of Flames," a sort of cloth-wrapped ark with mysterious contents, as a "sign of his being." He and the others "die" by simply departing; they are never seen again, but their descendants burn incense before the Bundle of Flames in remembrance of them, just as Xmucane burned incense before the ears of corn in remembrance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

The Quiche lords of the second generation, following the instructions of their departed fathers, go on a pilgrimage to the east (at the beginning of Part Five). Unlike their fathers, they do this with the intention of returning in the flesh. Cocaib, the firstborn son of Jaguar Quitze, goes on behalf of the Cauec lineage; Coacutec, the second son of Jaguar Night, represents the Greathouses; and Coahau, the only son of Mahucutah, represents the Lord Quiches. They go all the way back down into the lowlands, to the other side of the same "sea" their fathers once crossed on the way up to the highlands. If they were retracing their fathers' route in detail, they must have descended into the lowlands by way of the Great Abyss. They do not go to Tulan Zuyua, which may have been in ruins by this time, but they do come before the ruler of a great kingdom. His name is Nacxit, one of the epithets Nahua speakers give to the god-king Plumed Serpent. He gives them the emblems that go with the two highest titles of Mayan nobility, Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Both these titles, the one belonging to a head of state and the other to an overseer of tribute collection, go to the Cauecs. From other sources we know that the Greathouse and Lord Quiche lineages also receive emblems at this time, with the title of Lord Minister (ranking third) going to one and that of Crier to the People (ranking fourth) to the other.*(35)

Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau return "from across the sea" with the regalia given them by Nacxit, including canopies, thrones, musical instruments, cosmetics, jewelry, the feet and feathers of various animals and birds, and "the writings about Tulan." Since one of the titles of the Popol Vuh is "The Light That Came from Across the Sea," we may guess that it was the Popol Vuh they brought back, and that the hieroglyphic version of the book contained not only writings about the gods whose movements prefigured those of celestial lights, but about such human affairs as those of Tulan. The sovereign lordship of the returned pilgrims is recognized not only by the Quiches themselves, but by the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and Bird House people as well. Only now do the Quiche lords begin to have what the Popol Vuh calls "fiery splendor." It seems likely that their pilgrimage was conceived as a reenactment of the adventures of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in Xibalba, who had only the planet Venus to their credit when they first descended in the east at the Great Abyss, but who eventually returned with the greater splendor of the sun and full moon.

Later, after the death of the widows of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah, the Quiches leave Hacauitz and settle at a succession of other sites. The Popol Vuh mentions only one of these by name, Thorny Place, settled at some point after the deaths of Cocaib,

Coacutec, and Coahau. The ruins of Thorny Place, which are divided into four parts just as the Popol Vuh indicates they should be, are some distance east and a little north of Hacauitz, in the direction of the Great Abyss. This location may have been chosen because it was a step backward on the Quiche migration route, placing the ruling lords closer to their forefathers than they were before. But when the Quiches move again, two generations later, they go west and a little south again, ending up even farther in that direction than Hacauitz. This time, with Cotuha as Keeper of the Mat and Iztayul as Keeper of the Reception House Mat, they found the citadel of Bearded Place, directly across a canyon to the south from the site of what will one day be their greatest citadel.*(36)

At Bearded Place there is great harmony among the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches; these three lineages, each with its own palace, are tied together through intermarriage. At Thorny Place women were married off in exchange for modest favors and gifts, but now, at Bearded Place, wedding arrangements are accompanied by elaborate feasting and drinking. The only disturbance during this period comes when the Ilocs not only try to get Iztayul involved in a plot to assassinate Cotuha, but come to the point of making a military attack on Bearded Place. They are defeated, and some of their own number are sacrificed before the gods of their intended victims. The Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiche lineages now rise to greater and greater power, defeating some tribes in direct attacks and terrorizing still others by having them witness the sacrifice of prisoners of war.

In the next generation the Keeper of the Mat bears the divine name Plumed Serpent, while the Keeper of the Reception House Mat is Cotuha, named after the previous Keeper of the Mat. They build a new and larger citadel across the canyon from Bearded Place, at Rotten Cane.*(37) The three leading lineages, faced with increased numbers and torn by quarrels over inflation in bride prices, break apart into smaller groups. The Cauecs divide into nine segments, the Greathouses into nine, and the Lord Quiches into four, with each of these segments headed by a titled lord and occupying its own palace. In addition, the inhabitants of Rotten Cane include the Zaquics, a lineage not previously mentioned in the Popol Vuh, divided into two segments but occupying only a single palace, making twenty-three palaces in all. Along with all these palaces, Rotten Cane is provided with three pyramids that bear the temples of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, ranged around a central plaza; elsewhere is a fourth pyramid for Corntassel, the god of the Zaquics.

The Popol Vuh identifies Plumed Serpent, who holds the titles of both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat during at least part of his reign at Rotten Cane, as "a true lord of genius." He has the power to manifest his personal spirit familiars, putting on performances in which he transforms himself into a snake, an eagle, a jaguar, or a puddle of blood, climbing to the sky or descending to Xibalba. As the Popol Vuh explains it, his displays are "just his way of revealing himself," but they have the effect of terrorizing the lords of other tribes. The next Quiche lords to manifest genius, coming two generations later, are Quicab, who serves as Keeper of the Mat, and Cauizimah, who serves as Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Under their rule the dominion of the Quiches reaches its greatest extent. Where Plumed Serpent gained power through spectacular displays

of shamanic skill, Quicab now gains it by military force. Not content with merely overpowering the citadels of surrounding peoples, he sends out loyal vassals, called "guardians of the land" or "lookout lineages," to serve as forces of occupation. The stationing of these guardians is conceived as analogous to the construction of a palisade; they turn the entire Quiche kingdom into one great fortress.

During this period the settlement at the center of the Quiche kingdom embraced a cluster of four citadels, with Rotten Cane at the focal point. Together with the ordinary houses that occupied the lower ground around them, these four sites made up a larger town that took the name Quiche. It was perhaps the most densely built-up area that had existed in highland Guatemala since early in the classic period, and it took on the stature of the place where Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau had gone to receive the titles and emblems of truly glorious lordship. Five generations after their pilgrimage a new conferring of titles took place, only now it was not Quiches but the heads of the leading "lookout" lineages who were ennobled, and it happened not under the authority of Nacxit, lord of a domain in the mythic "east," but under Quicab, who ruled from Quiche.*(38)

The town of Quiche not only took on the status of the place visited by the pilgrims who saw Nacxit, but of the Tulan visited by their forefathers as well. When the founders of the ruling Quiche lineages and their closest allies left Tulan Zuyua before the first sunrise, they had come away with tribal gods whose names were "meant to be in agreement," and they were "in unity" when they passed the Great Abyss and convened at Place of Advice. Now, in this latter day, "the word came from just one place" again, and the allies convened in a town and "came away in unity" again, but this time they came away "having heard, there at Quiche, what all of them should do." It was probably during this period that the Quiche lords went so far as to have a branching tunnel constructed directly beneath Rotten Cane, a tunnel that brought the Seven Caves of Tulan Zuyua, or of the ultimate Tulan that was Teotihuacan, to the time and place of their own greatest glory.

It is in the course of explaining the greatness of lords like Plumed Serpent and Quicab that the writers of the alphabetic Popol Vuh tell us how its hieroglyphic predecessor was put to use, serving as a way of seeing into distant places and times. Greatness also came to the lords through their participation in religious retreats. For long periods they would stay in the temples, praying, burning incense, bleeding themselves, sleeping apart from their wives, and abstaining not only from meat but from corn products, eating nothing but the fruits of various trees. The shortest fast lasted 180 days, corresponding to half the 360-day cycle (separate from the solar year) that was used in keeping chronologies of historical events, and another lasted 260 days, or one complete run of the cycle whose days were counted by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane when they divined for the gods. The longest fast, 340 days, corresponded to a segment of the Mayan Venus calendar, beginning with the departure of Venus as the morning star and continuing through its stay in the underworld and its period of reappearance as the evening star, leaving just eight days to go before its rebirth as the morning star. This fast probably commemorated the heroic adventures of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in

Xibalba, the long darkness endured by the first generation of lords as they watched for the appearance of the morning star, and the lowland pilgrimage undertaken by Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau.

The Quiche lords sought identification with the very gods, not only in their pilgrimages, shamanic feats, limitless vision, and long fasts, but in the requirements they set for their subjects. Just as the gods needed human beings to nurture them with offerings, so human lords required subjects to bring them tribute. As the Popol Vuh points out, the "nurture" required by the Quiche lords consisted not only of the food and drink that were prepared for them, but of turquoise, jade, and the iridescent blue-green feathers of the quetzal bird. Apparently such precious objects as these were considered the ultimate fruits of the earth and sky, which were themselves described as the "blue-green plate" and "blue-green bowl."

Near the end, the Popol Vuh lists all the noble titles held by the various segments of the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiche lineages (in rank order), and it gives the names of those who held the highest titles (in the order of their succession). In the case of the two leading segments of the Cauec lineage, those whose heads held the titles of Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the text lists four generations after Quicab and Cauizimah, who were in the seventh generation, without comment. Then, in the twelfth generation, the names Three Deer and Nine Dog are followed by two sentences whose combination of gravity and brevity gives the reader a chill. The first is, "And they were ruling when Tonatiuh arrived," Tonatiuh or "Sun" being the name given by the Aztecs to Pedro de Alvarado, the man whose forces destroyed Rotten Cane in 1524. And the second sentence about Three Deer and Nine Dog is simply, "They were hanged by the Castilian people."*(39)

In the thirteenth generation of Cauecs the Popol Vuh lists Tecum and Tepepul, who were "tributary to the Castilian people." Then, at the end of the list of Cauec generations, come the first lords who adopted Spanish names, Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortes, the living holders of the titles of Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat when the alphabetic Popol Vuh was written. Today Quiches ideally list either nine or thirteen generations when they invoke their ancestors in prayer; from this we can see that the thirteen generations of lords named as preceding Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortes need not be taken as constituting an exhaustive genealogy but may simply be a list of the names these two men used in their own prayers.

By giving us the names of Quiche lords who were alive while they were writing, the authors of the alphabetic Popol Vuh also give us the means for dating their work. They could not have finished it any later than 1558, since by that year the name of Juan de Rojas is missing from documents he would have signed had he still been among the living. And since they mention Pedro de Robles of the Greathouse lineage as the current Lord Minister, they could not have finished any earlier than 1554, at which time his predecessor was still in office. This places the writing of the Popol Vuh during the very same decade as the writing of the majority of the native titulos that exist for colonial Guatemala, documents that were composed by indigenous authors for the express purpose of reasserting the rights formerly enjoyed by specific lordly lineages living in specific

places. The version of the Popol Vuh that comes down to us does not include a copy of the original title page or of whatever explicitly legal statements might have been appended to the original alphabetic manuscript, but it makes the lineage and place names plain enough, and it contains two different lists of towns that had once been tributary to Quiche.*(40)

It may be that the indigenous lords of highland Guatemala chose the 1550s to make their claims because they thought they saw an opening in Spanish policy, but they may also have been preparing for the major temporal transition that Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar had once called "the time of our Lord Deer." A new fifty-two-year cycle, with the first day of its first year falling on One Deer, was due to begin on June 2, 1558 (on the Julian calendar). Juan Cortes, whose duties as Keeper of the Reception House Mat would have included tribute collection had he served before the coming of Alvarado, worked constantly to restore tribute rights to the lordly lineages of the town of Quiche. In 1557 he went all the way to Spain to press his case, and it may well be that he took a copy of the alphabetic Popol Vuh with him. He continued to make claims when he returned to Guatemala in 1558, prompting a missionary to warn Philip II that "this land is new and not confirmed in the faith," and that Cortes, "son of idolatrous parents, would need to do very little to restore their ceremonies and attract their former subjects to himself."*(41) Quiche rights to collect tribute never were restored, but over the next thirty years Juan Cortes did take a considerable role in appointing and installing the leaders of various towns that had once been under Quiche rule.*(42)

By the time the authors of the Popol Vuh have finished giving the rank order of noble titles and the names of the individuals who held the highest titles, they are only a few sentences away from finishing their work. At this point they single out one of the lesser titles for further discussion, a move that seems anticlimactic until we realize that they are giving us a clue to their own identity. Without naming any individuals, they point out that each of the three leading lineages included one lord bearing the title of Great Toastmaster,*(43) also translatable as Great Convener of Banquets. Here we may recall that when the authors introduced the story of One Hunahpu, they themselves proposed a toast to the reader. If we look for a convener of banquets and maker of toasts among the contemporary Quiche, we find the professional matchmaker, who serves as an eloquent master of ceremonies at the feasts where marriage arrangements are completed. If our mysterious authors were themselves the three Great Toastmasters, and if their duties included the convening of wedding banquets, that would help explain why they took a special interest in marriage customs when they recounted the life and times of successive Quiche citadels. Indeed, they specifically noted the point at which feasting and drinking first became a part of the negotiations for a bride.

The authors give us one final clue to their identity when they tell us that the three Great Toastmasters are "Mothers of the Word" and "Fathers of the Word." The combination of "Mother" and "Father" suggests the contemporary daykeepers called mother-fathers, who serve as the ritual heads of patrilineages; it is from their ranks that matchmakers are drawn. The focus on "the Word," coming as it does

near the very end of a work whose opening line promised to give us the "Ancient Word," suggests that the Word parented by the Great Toastmasters and the Word written down in the alphabetic Popol Vuh are one and the same. If so, we know the name of at least one of the writers: when Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortes signed a document known as the "Title of the Lords of Totonicapan" in 1554, a man named Cristobal Velasco*(44) signed himself as Great Toastmaster of the Cauecs.

At the end of their work the authors repeat the enigma they presented near the beginning, allowing us to wonder whether the hieroglyphic Popol Vuh might still exist somewhere, only now they say it has been "lost" instead of telling us that the reader is hiding his face. They close on a note of reassurance, asking us, in effect, to accept what they have written without demanding a closer look at their sources, since "everything has been completed here concerning Quiche," meaning the place named Quiche. Then, lest we forget their difficult circumstances, they add the phrase, "which is now named Santa Cruz," or "Holy Cross." Here again they take us back to the beginning, where they told us, "We shall write about this now amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now."

Today, even when Quiche daykeepers go to a remote mountaintop shrine, sending up great clouds of incense for multitudes of deities and ancestors, they sometimes begin and end by running through an "Our Father" and a "Hail Mary" and crossing themselves. It is as if the alien eye and ear of the conqueror were present even under conditions of solitude and required the recitation of two spells, one to ward them off for awhile and the other to readmit their existence. Between these protective spells daykeepers are left to enter, in peace, a world whose obligations they know to be older than those of Christianity, obligations to the mountains and plains where they continue to live and to all those who have ever lived there before them. So it is with the authors of the Popol Vuh, who mention Christendom on the first page, Holy Cross on the last page, and open up the whole sky-earth, vast and deep, within.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Popol Vuh, considered in its entirety, is the vast temporal sweep of its narrative. It begins in darkness, with a world inhabited only by gods, and continues all the way past the dawn into the time of the humans who wrote it. The surviving Maya hieroglyphic books abound with gods, but they seem to stop short of dealing directly with the acts of mortals. The Dresden book does have one page that shifts the action to the human sphere, but the following pages were torn off at some time in the past. If we wish to find hieroglyphic texts that have the same proportion between divine and human affairs as the alphabetic Popol Vuh, we must leave the time and place in which it was written and go a thousand years back and hundreds of miles away to the classic Maya site of Palenque, in the Gulf-coast lowlands.*(45)

At Palenque, in the sanctuary of each temple in what is now known as the Cross Group, is a stone tablet bearing a hieroglyphic narrative. In each case the text is divided into two panels, one of which begins with the deeds of gods who include the classic equivalents of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, and the other of which ends with the deeds of human lords whose own scribes were the authors of the inscriptions. In the middle of this narrative, where the reader passes from one panel to the other, are characters who are neither fully divine nor quite

human. So also with the Popol Vuh: about halfway through, the reader comes to a transition between what might be called "myth" and "history" (at the end of Part Three). The characters in the narrative are still divine at this point, but they are described as performing rituals for the veneration of ripened corn and deceased relatives, rituals that are meant to be followed by future humans rather than by ancient gods. After this episode, in which the gods act like people, comes another in which people act like gods (at the beginning of Part Four). The people in question are the first four humans, the ones who saw and understood everything in the sky-earth. Once their perfect vision has been taken away the narrative begins to sound more like history as it moves along, though human characters continue to aspire to deeds of divine proportions.*(46)

We tend to think of myth and history as being in conflict with one another, but the authors of the inscriptions at Palenque and the alphabetic text of the Popol Vuh treated the mythic and historical parts of their narratives as belonging to a single, balanced whole. By their sense of proportion, the Egyptian Book of the Dead would need a second half devoted to human deeds in the land of the living, and the Hebrew Testament would need a first half devoted to events that took place before the fall of Adam and Eve. In the case of ancient Chinese literature the Book of Changes, which is like the Popol Vuh in being subject to divinatory interpretation, would have to be combined with the Book of History in a single volume.

To this day the Quiche Maya think of dualities in general as complementary rather than opposed, interpenetrating rather than mutually exclusive. Instead of being in logical opposition to one another, the realms of divine and human actions are joined by a mutual attraction. If we had an English word that fully expressed the Mayan sense of narrative time, it would have to embrace the duality of the divine and the human in the same way the Quiche term cahuleu or "sky-earth" preserves the duality of what we call the "world." In fact we already have a word that comes close to doing the job: mythistory, taken into English from Greek by way of Latin. For the ancient Greeks, who set about driving a wedge between the divine and the human, this term became a negative one, designating narratives that should have been properly historical but contained mythic impurities. For Mayans, the presence of a divine dimension in narratives of human affairs is not an imperfection but a necessity, and it is balanced by a necessary human dimension in narratives of divine affairs. At one end of the Popol Vuh the gods are preoccupied with the difficult task of making humans, and at the other humans are preoccupied with the equally difficult task of finding the traces of divine movements in their own deeds.

The difference between a fully mythistorical sense of narrative time and the European quest for pure history is not reducible to a simple contrast between cyclical and linear time. Mayans are always alert to the reassertion of the patterns of the past in present events, but they do not expect the past to repeat itself exactly. Each time the gods of the Popol Vuh attempt to make human beings they get a different result, and except for the solitary person made of mud, each attempt has a lasting result rather than completely disappearing into the folds of cyclical time. Later, when members of the second generation of Quiche lords go on a pilgrimage that takes them into the

lowlands, their journey is not described as a literal repetition of the journey of Hunahpu and Xbalanque to Xibalba, nor even as a retracing of the journey of the human founders of the ruling Quiche lineages, but is allowed its own character as a unique event, an event that nevertheless carries echoes of the past. The effect of these events, like others, is cumulative, and it is a specifically human capacity to take each of them into account separately while at the same time recognizing that they double back on one another.*(47)

In theory, if we who presently claim to be human were to forget our efforts to find the traces of divine movements in our own actions, our fate should be something like that of the wooden people in the Popol Vuh. For them, the forgotten force of divinity reasserted itself by inhabiting their own tools and utensils, which rose up against them and drove them from their homes. Today they are swinging through the trees.

On the holy day Eight Monkey
in the year Eleven Thought,
June 22, 1984,
Menotomy, Massachusetts

PRONOUNCING_QUICHE_WORDS

PRONOUNCING QUICHE WORDS

VOWELS

a	Like a in English "father," or Spanish a.
e	Like ai in English "wait," or Spanish e.
i	Like ee in English "seed," or Spanish i.
o	Like o in English "bone," or Spanish o.
u	Like oo in English "hoot," or Spanish u.
aa, ee, ii, oo, uu	The doubling of a vowel normally indicates that it is followed by a glottal stop, which is like tt in the Scottish pronunciation of "bottle"; when uu begins a word or follows another vowel it is pronounced like English "woo."

CONSONANTS

b	Like English b, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.
c, qu	Pronounced without the puff of air that follows c in English "cat."
ch	Like English ch.
h	Pronounced deeper in the throat than English h, like Spanish j or German ch.
k	Pronounced with the tongue farther back in the mouth than for c or qu, like the Hebrew letter qoph.
l	Pronounced with the tongue moved forward from the position of English l so as to touch the teeth, as in the ll of Welsh "Lloyd."
m	Like English m.
n	Like English n.
p	Pronounced without the puff of air that follows p in English "pit."
r	Pronounced with a flap if between two vowels, like Spanish r, otherwise trilled like Spanish rr.
t	Pronounced without the puff of air that follows t in English "ten."

tt	Like t, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.
tz	Like ts in English "mats."
x	Like English sh.
y	Like English y.
z	Like English s.
3	Like k, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.
4	Like c or qu, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.
4h	Like ch, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.
4,	Like tz, but pronounced together with a glottal stop.

Stress is always on the final syllable of a word.

PART_ONE

PART ONE

THIS IS THE BEGINNING*(48) OF THE ANCIENT WORD, here in this place called Quiche.*(49) Here we shall inscribe, we shall implant the Ancient Word, the potential and source for everything done in the citadel of Quiche, in the nation of Quiche people.

And here*(50) we shall take up the demonstration, revelation, and account of how things were put in shadow and brought to light*(51)

by the Maker, Modeler, named Bearer, Begetter,
Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
Great White Peccary, Tapir,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea,
Maker of the Blue-Green Plate,
Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl,

as they are called, also named, also described as

the midwife, matchmaker*(52)
named Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
defender, protector,*(53)
twice a midwife, twice a matchmaker,

as is said in the words of Quiche. They accounted for everything- and did it, too- as enlightened beings, in enlightened words.*(54) We shall write about this now amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now.*(55) We shall bring it out because there is no longer a place to see it,*(56) a Council Book,

a place to see "The Light That Came from
Across the Sea,"
the account of "Our Place in the Shadows,"
a place to see "The Dawn of Life,"

as it is called. There is the original book and ancient writing, but he who reads and ponders it hides his face.*(57) It takes a long performance*(58) and account to complete the emergence of all the sky-earth:

the fourfold siding, fourfold cornering,
measuring, fourfold staking,
halving the cord, stretching the cord
in the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners,*(59)

as it is said,

by the Maker, Modeler,
mother-father of life, of humankind,
giver of breath, giver of heart,
bearer, upbringer*(60) in the light that lasts*(61)
of those born in the light, begotten in the light;
worrier, knower of everything, whatever there is:
sky-earth, lake-sea.

THIS IS THE ACCOUNT, here it is:

Now it still ripples, now it still murmurs, ripples, it still sighs, still hums, and it is empty*(62) under the sky.

Here follow the first words, the first eloquence:*(63)

There is not yet one person, one animal, bird, fish, crab, tree, rock, hollow, canyon, meadow, forest. Only the sky alone is there; the face of the earth is not clear. Only the sea alone is pooled under all the sky; there is nothing whatever gathered together. It is at rest; not a single thing stirs.*(64) It is held back,*(65) kept at rest under the sky.

Whatever there is that might be is simply not there: only the pooled water, only the calm sea, only it alone is pooled.

Whatever might be is simply not there: only murmurs, ripples, in the dark, in the night. Only the Maker, Modeler alone, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, the Bearers, Begetters are in the water, a glittering light.*(66) They are there, they are enclosed in quetzal feathers, in blue-green.

Thus the name, "Plumed Serpent." They are great knowers, great thinkers in their very being.*(67)

And of course there is the sky, and there is also the Heart of Sky. This is the name of the god,*(68) as it is spoken.

And then came his word, he came here to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, here in the blackness, in the early dawn.*(69) He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, and they talked, then they thought, then they worried. They agreed with each other, they joined their words, their thoughts.*(70) Then it was clear, then they reached accord in the light, and then humanity was clear, when they conceived the growth, the generation*(71) of trees, of bushes, and the growth of life, of humankind, in the blackness, in the early dawn, all because of the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. Thunderbolt Hurricane comes first, the second is Newborn Thunderbolt, and the third is Raw Thunderbolt.*(72)

So there were three of them, as Heart of Sky, who came to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, when the dawn of life was conceived:

"How should it be sown, how should it dawn?*(73) Who is to be the provider, nurturer?"*(74)

"Let it be this way, think about it: this water should be removed, emptied out for the formation of the earth's own plate and platform, then comes the sowing, the dawning of the sky-earth. But there will be no high days and no bright praise*(75) for our work, our design, until the rise of the human work, the human design," they said.

And then the earth arose because of them, it was simply their word that brought it forth. For the forming of the earth they said "Earth." It arose suddenly, just like a cloud, like a mist, now forming, unfolding. Then the mountains were separated from the water,*(76) all at once the great mountains came forth. By their genius alone, by their cutting edge alone*(77) they carried out the conception of

the mountain-plain, whose face grew instant groves of cypress and pine.

And the Plumed Serpent was pleased with this:

"It was good that you came, Heart of Sky, Hurricane, and Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt. Our work, our design will turn out well," they said.

And the earth was formed first, the mountain-plain. The channels of water were separated; their branches wound their ways among the mountains. The waters were divided when the great mountains appeared.

Such was the formation of the earth when it was brought forth by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, as they are called, since they were the first to think of it.*(78) The sky was set apart, and the earth was set apart in the midst of the waters.

Such was their plan when they thought, when they worried about the completion of their work.

NOW THEY PLANNED THE ANIMALS OF THE MOUNTAINS, all the guardians of the forests,*(79) creatures of the mountains: the deer, birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, rattlesnakes, yellowbites,*(80) guardians of the bushes.

A Bearer, Begetter speaks:

"Why this pointless humming?*(81) Why should there merely be rustling beneath the trees and bushes?"

"Indeed- they had better have guardians," the others replied. As soon as they thought it and said it, deer and birds came forth.

And then they gave out homes to the deer and birds:

"You, the deer: sleep along the rivers, in the canyons. Be here in the meadows, in the thickets, in the forests, multiply yourselves. You will stand and walk on all fours," they were told.

So then they established the nests of the birds, small and great:

"You, precious birds:*(82) your nests, your houses are in the trees, in the bushes. Multiply there, scatter there, in the branches of trees, the branches of bushes," the deer and birds were told.

When this deed had been done, all of them had received a place to sleep*(83) and a place to stay. So it is that the nests of the animals are on the earth, given by the Bearer, Begetter. Now the arrangement of the deer and birds was complete.

AND THEN THE DEER AND BIRDS WERE TOLD by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"Talk, speak out. Don't moan, don't cry out.*(84) Please talk, each to each, within each kind, within each group," they were told- the deer, birds, puma, jaguar, serpent.

"Name now our names, praise us. We are your mother, we are your father. Speak now:

'Hurricane,
Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt,
Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
Maker, Modeler,
Bearer, Begetter,'

speak, pray to us, keep our days," they were told. But it didn't turn out that they spoke like people: they just squawked, they just chattered, they just howled.*(85) It wasn't apparent what language they spoke;*(86) each one gave a different cry. When the Maker, Modeler heard this:

"It hasn't turned out well, they haven't spoken," they said among

themselves. "It hasn't turned out that our names have been named. Since we are their mason and sculptor, this will not do," the Bearers and Begetters said among themselves. So they told them:

"You will simply have to be transformed. Since it hasn't turned out well and you haven't spoken, we have changed our word:

"What you feed on, what you eat, the places where you sleep, the places where you stay, whatever is yours will remain in the canyons, the forests. Although it turned out that our days were not kept, nor did you pray to us, there may yet be strength in the keeper of days, the giver of praise whom we have yet to make. Just accept your service, just let your flesh be eaten.

"So be it, this must be your service," they were told when they were instructed- the animals, small and great, on the face of the earth.

And then they wanted to test their timing again, they wanted to experiment again, and they wanted to prepare for the keeping of days again. They had not heard their speech among the animals; it did not come to fruition and it was not complete.

And so their flesh was brought low: they served, they were eaten, they were killed- the animals on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES AN EXPERIMENT WITH THE HUMAN WORK, the human design, by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"It must simply be tried again. The time for the planting and dawning is nearing. For this we must make a provider and nurturer. How else can we be invoked and remembered on the face of the earth? We have already made our first try at our work and design, but it turned out that they didn't keep our days, nor did they glorify us.

"So now let's try to make a giver of praise, giver of respect, provider, nurturer," they said.

So then comes the building and working with earth and mud. They made a body, but it didn't look good to them. It was just separating, just crumbling, just loosening, just softening, just disintegrating, and just dissolving. Its head wouldn't turn, either. Its face was just lopsided, its face was just twisted. It couldn't look around. It talked at first, but senselessly.*(87) It was quickly dissolving in the water.

"It won't last," the mason and sculptor said then. "It seems to be dwindling away, so let it just dwindle. It can't walk and it can't multiply, so let it be merely a thought," they said.

So then they dismantled, again they brought down their work and design. Again they talked:

"What is there for us to make that would turn out well, that would succeed in keeping our days and praying to us?" they said. Then they planned again:

"We'll just tell Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote, to try a counting of days, a counting of lots,"*(88) the mason and sculptor said to themselves. Then they invoked Xpiyacoc, Xmucane.

THEN COMES THE NAMING OF THOSE WHO ARE THE MIDMOST SEERS: the "Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light," as the Maker, Modeler called them. These are names of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

When Hurricane had spoken with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, they invoked the daykeepers, diviners, the midmost seers:

"There is yet to find, yet to discover how we are to model a person, construct a person again, a provider, nurturer, so that we are called upon and we are recognized: our recompense is in words.

Midwife, matchmaker,
our grandmother, our grandfather,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
let there be planting, let there be the dawning
of our invocation, our sustenance, our recognition
by the human work, the human design,
the human figure, the human mass.*(89)

So be it, fulfill your names:

Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
Bearer twice over, Begetter twice over,
Great Peccary, Great Tapir,
lapidary, jeweler,
sawyer, carpenter,
Maker of the Blue-Green Plate,
Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl,
incense maker, master craftsman,*(90)
Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light.

You have been called upon because of our work, our design. Run your hands over the kernels of corn, over the seeds of the coral tree,*(91) just get it done, just let it come out whether we should carve and gouge a mouth, a face in wood," they told the daykeepers.

And then comes the borrowing,*(92) the counting of days; the hand is moved over the corn kernels, over the coral seeds, the days, the lots.*(93)

Then they spoke to them, one of them a grandmother, the other a grandfather.

This is the grandfather, this is the master of the coral seeds: Xpiyacoc is his name.

And this is the grandmother, the daykeeper, diviner who stands behind others:*(94) Xmucane is her name.

And they said, as they set out the days:

"Just let it be found, just let it be discovered,
say it, our ear is listening,
may you talk, may you speak,
just find the wood for the carving and sculpting
by the builder, sculptor.
Is this to be the provider, the nurturer
when it comes to the planting, the dawning?
You corn kernels, you coral seeds,
you days, you lots:
may you succeed, may you be accurate,"*(95)

they said to the corn kernels, coral seeds, days, lots. "Have shame, you up there, Heart of Sky: attempt no deception*(96) before the mouth and face of Sovereign Plumed Serpent," they said. Then they spoke straight to the point:

"It is well that there be your manikins, woodcarvings,*(97) talking, speaking, there on the face of the earth."

"So be it," they replied. The moment they spoke it was done: the manikins, woodcarvings, human in looks and human in speech.

This was the peopling of the face of the earth:

They came into being, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons, these manikins, woodcarvings. But there was nothing in their hearts and nothing in their minds, no memory of their mason and builder. They just went and walked wherever they wanted.*(98) Now they

did not remember the Heart of Sky.

And so they fell, just an experiment and just a cutout for humankind. They were talking at first but their faces were dry. They were not yet developed in the legs and arms. They had no blood, no lymph. They had no sweat, no fat. Their complexions were dry, their faces were crusty. They flailed their legs and arms, their bodies were deformed.

And so they accomplished nothing before the Maker, Modeler who gave them birth, gave them heart. They became the first numerous people here on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES A HUMILIATION, destruction, and demolition. The manikins, woodcarvings were killed when the Heart of Sky devised a flood for them. A great flood was made; it came down on the heads of the manikins, woodcarvings.

The man's body was carved from the wood of the coral tree*(99) by the Maker, Modeler. And as for the woman, the Maker, Modeler needed the pith of reeds*(100) for the woman's body. They were not competent, nor did they speak before the builder and sculptor who made them and brought them forth, and so they were killed, done in by a flood:

There came a rain of resin*(101) from the sky.

There came the one named Gouger of Faces: he gouged out their eyeballs.

There came Sudden Bloodletter: he snapped off their heads.

There came Crunching Jaguar: he ate their flesh.

There came Tearing Jaguar: he tore them open.

They were pounded down to the bones and tendons, smashed and pulverized even to the bones. Their faces were smashed because they were incompetent before their mother and their father, the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. The earth was blackened because of this; the black rainstorm*(102) began, rain all day and rain all night. Into their houses came*(103) the animals, small and great. Their faces were crushed by things of wood and stone. Everything spoke: their water jars, their tortilla griddles, their plates, their cooking pots, their dogs, their grinding stones, each and every thing crushed their faces. Their dogs and turkeys*(104) told them:

"You caused us pain, you ate us, but now it is you whom we shall eat." And this is the grinding stone:

"We were undone because of you.
Every day, every day,
in the dark, in the dawn, forever,
r-r-rip, r-r-rip,
r-r-rub, r-r-rub,*(105)
right in our faces, because of you.
This was the service we gave you at first, when you were still people, but today you will learn of our power. We shall pound and we shall grind your flesh," their grinding stones told them.

And this is what their dogs said, when they spoke in their turn:

"Why is it you can't seem to give us our food? We just watch and you just keep us down, and you throw us around. You keep a stick ready when you eat, just so you can hit us. We don't talk, so we've received nothing from you. How could you not have known? You did know that we were wasting away there, behind you.

"So, this very day you will taste the teeth in our mouths. We shall eat you," their dogs told them, and their faces were crushed.

And then their tortilla griddles and cooking pots spoke to them in turn:

"Pain! That's all you've done for us. Our mouths are sooty, our faces are sooty. By setting us on the fire all the time, you burn us. Since we felt no pain, you try it. We shall burn you," all their cooking pots said, crushing their faces.

The stones, their hearthstones were shooting out,*(106) coming right out of the fire, going for their heads, causing them pain. Now they run for it, helter-skelter.

They want to climb up on the houses, but they fall as the houses collapse.

They want to climb the trees; they're thrown off by the trees.

They want to get inside caves, but the caves slam shut in their faces.

Such was the scattering of the human work, the human design. The people were ground down, overthrown. The mouths and faces of all of them were destroyed and crushed. And it used to be said that the monkeys in the forests today are a sign of this. They were left as a sign because wood alone was used for their flesh*(107) by the builder and sculptor.

So this is why monkeys look like people: they are a sign of a previous human work, human design- mere manikins, mere woodcarvings.

THIS WAS WHEN THERE WAS JUST A TRACE OF EARLY DAWN on the face of the earth, there was no sun. But there was one who magnified himself; Seven Macaw is his name. The sky-earth was already there, but the face of the sun-moon was clouded over. Even so, it is said that his light provided a sign for the people who were flooded. He was like a person of genius in his being.

"I am great. My place is now higher than that of the human work, the human design. I am their sun and I am their light, and I am also their months.*(108)

"So be it: my light is great. I am the walkway and I am the foothold of the people,*(109) because my eyes are of metal. My teeth just glitter with jewels, and turquoise as well; they stand out*(110) blue with stones like the face of the sky.

"And this nose of mine shines white into the distance like the moon. Since my nest is metal, it lights up the face of the earth. When I come forth before my nest, I am like the sun and moon for those who are born in the light, begotten in the light. It must be so, because my face reaches into the distance," says Seven Macaw.

It is not true that he is the sun, this Seven Macaw, yet he magnifies himself, his wings, his metal. But the scope of his face lies right around his own perch;*(111) his face does not reach everywhere beneath the sky. The faces of the sun, moon, and stars are not yet visible, it has not yet dawned.

And so Seven Macaw puffs himself up as the days and the months, though the light of the sun and moon has not yet clarified. He only wished for surpassing greatness. This was when the flood was worked upon the manikins, woodcarvings.

And now we shall explain how Seven Macaw died, when the people were vanquished, done in by the mason and sculptor.

PART_TWO

PART TWO

(See illustration: Drawings by the author.

THE FIRST NAMED HUNAHPU AND THE SECOND NAMED XBALANQUE: These are the portrait glyphs for the classic Maya equivalents of Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right) at Palenque.)

HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE DEFEAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE DAY OF SEVEN MACAW by the two boys, the first named Hunahpu and the second named Xbalanque. Being gods, the two of them saw evil in his attempt at self-magnification before the Heart of Sky. So the boys talked:

"It's no good without life, without people here on the face of the earth."

"Well then, let's try a shot. We could shoot him while he's at his meal. We could make him ill, then put an end to his riches, his jade, his metal, his jewels, his gems, the source of his brilliance. Everyone might do as he does, but it should not come to be that fiery splendor is merely a matter of metal. So be it," said the boys, each one with a blowgun on his shoulder, the two of them together.

And this Seven Macaw has two sons: the first of these is Zipacna, and the second is the Earthquake. And Chimalmat is the name of their mother, the wife of Seven Macaw.

And this is Zipacna, this is the one to build up the great mountains: Fire Mouth, Hunahpu, Cave by the Water, Xcanul, Macamob, Huliznab, as the names of the mountains that were there at the dawn are spoken. They were brought forth by Zipacna in a single night.

And now this is the Earthquake. The mountains are moved by him; the mountains, small and great, are softened by him.*(112) The sons of Seven Macaw did this just as a means of self-magnification.

"Here am I: I am the sun," said Seven Macaw.

"Here am I: I am the maker of the earth," said Zipacna.

"As for me, I bring down the sky, I make an avalanche of all the earth," said Earthquake. The sons of Seven Macaw are alike, and like him: they got their greatness from their father.

And the two boys saw evil in this, since our first mother and father could not yet be made. Therefore deaths and disappearances were planned by the two boys.

AND HERE IS THE SHOOTING OF SEVEN MACAW BY THE TWO BOYS. We shall explain the defeat of each one of those who engaged in self-magnification.

This is the great tree of Seven Macaw, a nance, and this is the food of Seven Macaw. In order to eat the fruit of the nance he goes up the tree every day. Since Hunahpu and Xbalanque have seen where he feeds, they are now hiding beneath the tree of Seven Macaw, they are keeping quiet here, the two boys are in the leaves of the tree.

(See illustration: Photo 1980 by Justin Kerr.

THEY ARE NOW HIDING BENEATH THE TREE OF SEVEN MACAW: In this classic Maya vase painting from the lowlands, Seven Macaw is shown perched in the top of a fruit tree. The tree itself is portrayed as animate, with a face and ears at its base. Hidden behind the tree is Xbalanque, whose pawlike hand protrudes above the tree's left ear. Crouching at the right is Hunahpu, in the act of shooting Seven Macaw with his blowgun. The presence of a scorpion beneath the tree remains unexplained.)

And when Seven Macaw arrived, perching over his meal, the nance, it was then that he was shot by Hunahpu. The blowgun shot went right

to his jaw, breaking his mouth. Then he went up over the tree and fell flat on the ground.*(113) Suddenly Hunahpu appeared, running. He set out to grab him, but actually it was the arm of Hunahpu that was seized by Seven Macaw. He yanked it straight back, he bent it back at the shoulder. Then Seven Macaw tore it right out of Hunahpu. Even so, the boys did well: the first round was not their defeat by Seven Macaw.

And when Seven Macaw had taken the arm of Hunahpu, he went home. Holding his jaw very carefully, he arrived:

"What have you got there?" said Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw.

"What is it but those two tricksters!*(114) They've shot me, they've dislocated my jaw.*(115) All my teeth are just loose,*(116) now they ache. But once what I've got is over the fire- hanging there, dangling over the fire- then they can just come and get it. They're real tricksters!" said Seven Macaw, then he hung up the arm of Hunahpu.

Meanwhile Hunahpu and Xbalanque were thinking. And then they invoked a grandfather, a truly white-haired grandfather, and a grandmother, a truly humble grandmother- just bent-over, elderly people. Great White Peccary is the name of the grandfather, and Great White Tapir is the name of the grandmother. The boys said to the grandmother and grandfather:

"Please travel with us when we go to get our arm from Seven Macaw; we'll just follow right behind you. You'll tell him:

'Do forgive us*(117) our grandchildren, who travel with us. Their mother and father are dead, and so they follow along there, behind us. Perhaps we should give them away, since all we do is pull worms out of teeth.' So we'll seem like children to Seven Macaw, even though we're giving you the instructions," the two boys told them.

"Very well," they replied.

After that they approached the place where Seven Macaw was in front of his home. When the grandmother and grandfather passed by, the two boys were romping along behind them. When they passed below the lord's house, Seven Macaw was yelling his mouth off because of his teeth. And when Seven Macaw saw the grandfather and grandmother traveling with them:

"Where are you headed, our grandfather?" said the lord.

"We're just making our living, your lordship," they replied.

"Why are you working for a living? Aren't those your children traveling with you?"

"No, they're not, your lordship. They're our grandchildren, our descendants, but it is nevertheless we who take pity on them. The bit of food they get is the portion we give them, your lordship," replied the grandmother and grandfather. Since the lord is getting done in by the pain in his teeth, it is only with great effort*(118) that he speaks again:

"I implore you, please take pity on me! What sweets can you make, what poisons can you cure?"*(119) said the lord.

"We just pull the worms out of teeth,*(120) and we just cure eyes.*(121) We just set bones, your lordship," they replied.

"Very well, please cure my teeth. They really ache, every day. It's insufferable! I get no sleep because of them- and my eyes. They just shot me, those two tricksters! Ever since it started I haven't eaten because of it. Therefore take pity on me! Perhaps it's because my teeth are loose now."

"Very well, your lordship. It's a worm, gnawing at the bone.*(122) It's merely a matter of putting in a replacement and taking the teeth out, sir."

"But perhaps it's not good for my teeth to come out- since I am, after all, a lord. My finery is in my teeth- and my eyes."

"But then we'll put in a replacement. Ground bone will be put back in." And this is the "ground bone": it's only white corn.

"Very well. Yank them out! Give me some help here!" he replied.

And when the teeth of Seven Macaw came out, it was only white corn that went in as a replacement for his teeth- just a coating*(123) shining white, that corn in his mouth. His face fell at once, he no longer looked like a lord. The last of his teeth came out, the jewels that had stood out blue from his mouth.

And then the eyes of Seven Macaw were cured. When his eyes were trimmed back*(124) the last of his metal came out. Still he felt no pain; he just looked on while the last of his greatness left him. It was just as Hunahpu and Xbalanque had intended.

And when Seven Macaw died, Hunahpu got back his arm. And Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw, also died.

Such was the loss of the riches of Seven Macaw: only the doctors got the jewels and gems that had made him arrogant, here on the face of the earth. The genius of the grandmother, the genius of the grandfather did its work when they took back their arm: it was implanted and the break got well again. Just as they had wished the death of Seven Macaw, so they brought it about. They had seen evil in his self-magnification.

After this the two boys went on again. What they did was simply the word of the Heart of Sky.*(125)

AND HERE ARE THE DEEDS OF ZIPACNA, the first son of Seven Macaw.

"I am the maker of mountains," says Zipacna.

And this is Zipacna, bathing on the shore. Then the Four Hundred Boys passed by dragging a log, a post for their hut. The Four Hundred Boys were walking along, having cut a great tree for the lintel of their hut.*(126)

And then Zipacna went there, he arrived where the Four Hundred Boys were:

"What are you doing, boys?"

"It's just this log. We can't lift it up to carry it."

"I'll carry it. Where does it go? What do you intend to use it for?"

"It's just a lintel for our hut."

"Very well," he replied.

And then he pulled it, or rather carried it, right on up to the entrance of the hut of the Four Hundred Boys.

"You could just stay with us, boy. Do you have a mother and father?"

"Not so," he replied.

"We'd like some help*(127) tomorrow in cutting another one of our logs, a post for our hut."

"Good," he replied.

After that the Four Hundred Boys shared their thoughts:

"About this boy: what should we do with him?"

"We should kill him, because what he does is no good. He lifted that log all by himself. Let's dig a big hole for him, and then we'll throw him down*(128) in the hole. We'll say to him:

'Why are you spilling dirt in the hole?'*(129) And when he's

wedged*(130) down in the hole we'll wham a big log*(131) down behind him. Then he should die in the hole," said the Four Hundred Boys.

And when they had dug a hole, one that went deep, they called for Zipacna:

"We're asking you to please go on digging out the dirt. We can't go on," he was told.

"Very well," he replied.

After that he went down in the hole.

"Call out when enough dirt has been dug, when you're getting down deep," he was told.

"Yes," he replied, then he began digging the hole. But the only hole he dug was for his own salvation. He realized that he was to be killed, so he dug a separate hole to one side,*(132) he dug a second hole for safety.

"How far is it?" the Four Hundred Boys called down to him.

"I'm digging fast. When I call up to you, the digging will be finished," said Zipacna, from down in the hole. But he's not digging at the bottom of the hole, in his own grave; rather, the hole he's digging is for his own salvation.

After that, when Zipacna called out, he had gone to safety in his own hole. Then he called out:

"Come here, take the dirt, the fill from the hole. It's been dug. I've really gone down deep! Can't you hear my call? As for your call, it just echoes down here, it sounds to me as if you were on another level, or two levels away,"*(133) said Zipacna from his hole. He's hidden in there, he calls out from down in the hole.

Meanwhile, a big log is being dragged along by the boys.

And then they threw the log down in the hole.

"Isn't he there? He doesn't speak."

"Let's keep on listening. He should cry out when he dies," they said among themselves. They're just whispering, and they've hidden themselves, each one of them, after throwing down the log.

And then he did speak, now he gave a single cry. He called out when the log fell to the bottom.

"Right on! He's been finished!"

"Very good! We've done him in, he's dead."

"What if he had gone on with his deeds, his works? He would've made himself first among us and taken our place- we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. Now they enjoyed themselves:

"On to the making of our sweet drink! Three days will pass, and after three days let's drink to dedicate*(134) our hut- we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. "And tomorrow we'll see, and on the day after tomorrow we'll see whether or not ants come from the ground when he's stinking and rotting. After that our hearts will be content when we drink our sweet drink," they said. But Zipacna was listening from the hole when the boys specified "the day after tomorrow."

And on the second day, when the ants collected, they were running, swarming. Having taken their pickings*(135) under the log, they were everywhere, carrying hair in their mouths and carrying the nails of Zipacna. When the boys saw this:

"He's finished, that trickster! Look here how the ants have stripped him, how they've swarmed. Everywhere they carry hair in their mouths. It's his nails you can see. We've done it!" they said among themselves.

But this Zipacna is still alive. He just cuts the hair off his head and chews off his nails to give them to the ants.

And so the Four Hundred Boys thought he had died.

After that, their sweet drink was ready on the third day, and then all the boys got drunk, and once they were drunk, all four hundred of those boys, they weren't feeling a thing.

After that the hut was brought down on top of them by Zipacna. All of them were completely flattened. Not even one or two were saved from among all the Four Hundred Boys. They were killed by Zipacna, the son of Seven Macaw.

Such was the death of those Four Hundred Boys. And it used to be said that they entered a constellation, named Hundrath after them, though perhaps this is just a play on words.*(136)

And this is where we shall explain the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

NOW THIS IS THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ZIPACNA, when he was beaten by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

What now weighed heavily on the hearts of the two boys was that the Four Hundred Boys had been killed by Zipacna.

It's mere fish and crabs that Zipacna looks for in the waters, but he's eating every day, going around looking for his food by day and lifting up mountains by night.

Next comes the counterfeiting*(137) of a great crab by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And they used bromelia flowers, picked from the bromelias of the forests. These became the forearms*(138) of the crab, and where they opened*(139) were the claws.*(140) They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered.*(141)

After that they put the shell beneath an overhang,*(142) at the foot of a great mountain. Meauan is the name of the mountain where the defeat took place.

After that, when the boys came along, they found Zipacna by the water:

"Where are you going, boy?" Zipacna was asked.

"I'm not going anywhere. I'm just looking for my food, boys," Zipacna replied.

"What's your food?"

"Just fish and crabs, but there aren't any that I can find. It's been two days since I stopped getting meals. By now I can't stand the hunger,"*(143) Zipacna told Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"There is that crab that's down in the canyon. A really big crab! Perhaps you might manage to eat her. We were just getting bitten. We wanted to catch her, but we got scared by her. If she hasn't gone away you could catch her," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Take pity on me, please come point her out, boys,"*(144) said Zipacna.

"We don't want to, but you go ahead. You can't miss her. Just follow the river, and you go straight on over there below a great mountain. She's clattering there at the bottom of the canyon. Just head on over there," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"But won't you please*(145) take pity on me? What if she can't be found, boys? If you come along I'll show you a place where there are plenty of birds.*(146) Please come shoot them, I know where they are," Zipacna replied. They consented. He went ahead of the boys.

"What if you can't catch the crab? Just as we had to turn back, so will you. Not only didn't we eat her, but all at once she was biting us. We were entering*(147) face down, but when she got scared we were entering on our back.*(148) We just barely missed reaching her then, so you'd better enter on your back," he was told.

"Very well," Zipacna replied, and then they went on. Now Zipacna had company as he went. They arrived at the bottom of the canyon.

The crab is on her side, her shell is gleaming red there.*(149) In under the canyon wall is their contrivance.

"Very good!" Zipacna is happy now. He wishes she were already in his mouth, so she could really cure his hunger. He wanted to eat her, he just wanted it face down, he wanted to enter, but since the crab got on top of him with her back down, he came back out.

"You didn't reach her?" he was asked.

"No indeed- she was just getting on top with her back down. I just barely missed her on the first try, so perhaps I'd better enter on my back,"*(150) he replied.

After that he entered again, on his back. He entered all the way- only his kneecaps were showing now!*(151) He gave a last sigh and was calm.*(152) The great mountain rested on his chest. He couldn't turn over now, and so Zipacna turned to stone.

Such, in its turn, was the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. He was "the maker of mountains," as his previous pronouncements had it, the first son of Seven Macaw. He was defeated beneath the great mountain called Meauan, defeated by genius alone. He was the second to magnify himself, and now we shall speak what is spoken of another.

AND THE THIRD TO MAGNIFY HIMSELF IS THE SECOND SON OF SEVEN MACAW, NAMED EARTHQUAKE.

"I am the breaker of mountains," he said. But even so, Hunahpu and Xbalanque defeated the Earthquake. Then Hurricane spoke, Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt; he spoke to Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"The second son of Seven Macaw is another one, another who should be defeated. This is my word, because what they do on the face of the earth is no good. They are surpassing the sun in size, in weight, and it should not be that way. Lure this Earthquake into settling down*(153) over there in the east," Hurricane told the two boys.

"Very well, your lordship. There is more to be done. What we see is no good. Isn't it a question of your position and your eminence, sir, Heart of Sky?" the two boys said when they responded to the word of Hurricane.

Meanwhile he presses on, this Earthquake, breaker of mountains. Just by lightly tapping his foot on the ground he instantly demolishes the mountains, great and small. When he met up with the two boys:

"Where are you going, boy?" they asked Earthquake.

"I'm not going anywhere. I just scatter the mountains, and I'm the one who breaks them, in the course of the days, in the course of the light,"*(154) he said when he answered. Then the Earthquake asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"Where did you come from? I don't know your faces. What are your names?" said Earthquake.

"We have no names. We just hunt and trap in the mountains. We're just orphans, we have nothing to call our own, boy. We're just making our way among the mountains, small and great, boy. And

there's one great mountain we saw that's just growing right along. It's rising really high! It's just swelling up, rising above all the other mountains. And there weren't even one or two birds to be found, boy. So how could it be that you destroy all mountains, boy?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to Earthquake.

"It can't be true you saw the mountain you're talking about. Where is it? You'll see me knock it down yet. Where did you see it?"

"Well, it's over there in the east," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Good. Lead the way,"*(155) the two boys were told.

"Not so. You take the middle. Stay here between us- one of us at your left, the other at your right hand- because of our blowguns. If there are birds, we'll shoot," they said. They enjoy practicing their shooting.

And this is the way they shoot: the shot of their blowguns isn't made of earth- they just blow at the birds when they shoot,*(156) to the amazement of the Earthquake.

And then the boys made fire with a drill*(157) and roasted the birds over the fire. And they coated one of the birds with plaster, they put gypsum on it.

(See illustration: Drawing by Carlos A. Villacorta: Photo by
Hillel Burger (C) 1984 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

AND THEN THE BOYS MADE FIRE WITH A DRILL: In this illustration from the lowland Maya hieroglyphic book now known as the Madrid Codex, two figures turn a fire drill while sparks fly up from the wooden platform where the point of the drill is inserted. They are seated on or beside a road, marked by footprints.)

"So this is the one we'll give him when he's hungry, and when he savors the aroma of our birds. That will be victory, since we've covered his bird with baked earth. In earth we must cook it, and in earth must be his grave- if the great knower, the one to be made and modeled,*(158) is to have a sowing and dawning," said the boys.

"Because of this, the human heart*(159) will desire a bite of meat, a meal of flesh,*(160) just as the heart of the Earthquake will desire it," Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to one another. Then they roasted the birds and cooked them until they were brown, dripping with fat that oozed from the backs of the birds, with an overwhelmingly fragrant aroma.

And this Earthquake wants to be fed, his mouth just waters, he gulps and slurps with spittle and saliva because of the fragrance of the birds. So then he asked:

"What are you eating? I smell a truly delicious aroma! Please give me a little bit," he said. And when they gave a bird to Earthquake, he was as good as defeated.

After he had finished off the bird, they went on until they arrived in the east, where the great mountain was.

Meanwhile, Earthquake had lost the strength in his legs and arms. He couldn't go on because of the earth that coated the bird he'd eaten. So now there was nothing he could do to the mountain. He never recovered; he was destroyed. So then he was bound by the two boys; his hands were bound behind him. When his hands had been secured by the boys, his ankles were bound to his wrists.*(161)

After that they threw him down, they buried him in the earth.

Such is the defeat of Earthquake. It's Hunahpu and Xbalanque yet again. Their deeds on the face of the earth are countless.

And now we shall explain the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, having first explained the defeat of Seven Macaw, along with Zipacna and Earthquake, here on the face of the earth.

PART_THREE

PART THREE

AND NOW WE SHALL NAME THE NAME OF THE FATHER OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE. Let's drink to him, and let's just drink to the telling*(162) and accounting of the begetting of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. We shall tell just half of it, just a part of the account of their father. Here follows the account.

These are the names: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, as they are called.*(163)

And these are their parents: Xpiyacoc, Xmucane. In the blackness, in the night, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were born to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

And this One Hunahpu had two children, and the two were sons, the firstborn named One Monkey and the second named One Artisan.

And this is the name of their mother: she is called Xbaquiyalo, the wife of One Hunahpu. As for Seven Hunahpu, he has no wife. He's just a partner*(164) and just secondary; he just remains a boy.

They are great thinkers and great is their knowledge. They are the midmost seers, here on the face of the earth. There is only good in their being and their birthright. They taught skills to One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu. One Monkey and One Artisan became flautists, singers, and writers; carvers, jewelers, metalworkers*(165) as well.

(See illustration: Photo 1980 by Justin Kerr.

ONE MONKEY AND ONE ARTISAN BECAME FLAUTISTS, SINGERS, AND WRITERS: In this classic Maya funerary vase painting from northern Guatemala, the twin monkey gods are shown seated in a cross-legged position, pointing to screen-folded books while speaking or singing. The books they hold in their hands have jaguar-skin covers; other books are piled up at their feet. [Vase in the New Orleans Museum of Art.])

And as for One and Seven Hunahpu, all they did was throw dice and play ball, every day. They would play each other in pairs, the four of them together. When they gathered in the ball court for entertainment a falcon would come to watch them, the messenger of Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt. And for this falcon it wasn't far to the earth here, nor was it far to Xibalba; he could get back to the sky, to Hurricane, in an instant.

The four ballplayers*(166) remained here on the face of the earth after the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan had died. Since it was on the road to Xibalba that they played, they were heard by One Death and Seven Death, the lords of Xibalba:

"What's happening on the face of the earth? They're just stomping and shouting. They should be summoned to come play ball here. We'll defeat them, since we simply get no deference from them. They show no respect, nor do they have any shame. They're really determined to run right over us!"*(167) said all of Xibalba, when they all shared their thoughts, the ones named One and Seven Death. They are great lawgivers.

AND THESE ARE THE LORDS OVER EVERYTHING, each lord with a commission and a domain assigned by One and Seven Death:

There are the lords named House Corner and Blood Gatherer. And this is their commission: to draw blood from people.*(168)

Next are the lordships of Pus Master and Jaundice Master. And this is their domain: to make people swell up, to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice,*(169) as it is called. Such is the domain of Pus Master and Jaundice Master.

Next are the lords Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter, the staff bearers of Xibalba; their staffs are just bones. And this is their staff-bearing: to reduce people to bones, right down to the bones and skulls, until they die from emaciation and edema.*(170) This is the commission of the ones named Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter.

Next are the lords named Trash Master and Stab Master. This is their commission: just to catch up with people*(171) whenever they have filth or grime in the doorway of the house,*(172) the patio of the house.*(173) Then they're struck, they're just punctured until they crawl on the ground, then die. And this is the domain of Trash Master and Stab Master, as they are called.

Next are the lords named Wing and Packstrap. This is their domain: that people should die in the road, just "sudden death,"*(174) as it is called. Blood comes to the mouth, then there is death from vomiting blood. So to each of them his burden, the load on his shoulders: just to strike people on the neck and chest. Then there is death in the road, and then they just go on causing suffering, whether one is coming or going. And this is the domain of Wing and Packstrap.

Such are those who shared their thoughts*(175) when they were piqued and driven*(176) by One and Seven Hunahpu. What Xibalba desired was the gaming equipment of One and Seven Hunahpu: their kilts, their yokes, their arm guards, their panaches and headbands, the costumes of One and Seven Hunahpu.

And this is where we shall continue telling of their trip to Xibalba. One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu, stayed behind. Their mother died- and, what is more, they were to be defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

(See illustration: Drawing reproduced by permission of Michael D.
Coe and the Grolier Club.

AND THESE ARE THE LORDS OVER EVERYTHING: This late classic Maya funerary vase painting from northern Guatemala shows seven lords of Xibalba, with the head lord, corresponding to One Death of the Popol Vuh, smoking a cigar and sitting on a jaguar skin at right. The two lords immediately to his left may be Bone Scepter (in the bottom row) and Skull Scepter (in the top row), one with a staff that looks like a spinal column in front of him and the other with a rounded bundle that could contain a skull. All seven lords wear ball game yokes on their hips. The Popol Vuh mentions fourteen lords, counting two manikins that are meant to be mistaken for lords. Perhaps each pair of names mentioned in the Popol Vuh originally belonged to a single lord, or perhaps each of the lords shown here is understood to have another seated at his side.)

AND NOW FOR THE MESSENGERS OF ONE AND SEVEN DEATH: "You're going, you Military Keepers of the Mat, to summon One and Seven Hunahpu. You'll tell them, when you arrive:

'"They must come," the lords say to you. "Would that they might come to play ball with us here. Then we could have some excitement with them. We are truly amazed at them. Therefore they should come," say the lords, "and they should bring their playthings, their yokes and arm guards should come, along with their rubber ball," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

And these messengers of theirs are owls:*(177) Shooting Owl, One-legged Owl, Macaw Owl, Skull Owl, as the messengers of Xibalba are called.

There is Shooting Owl, like a point, just piercing.

And there is One-legged Owl, with just one leg; he has wings.

And there is Macaw Owl, with a red back; he has wings.

And there is also Skull Owl, with only a head alone; he has no legs, but he does have wings.

There are four messengers, Military Keepers of the Mat in rank.

And when they came out of Xibalba they arrived quickly, alighting above the ball court where One and Seven Hunahpu were playing, at the ball court called Great Abyss at Carchah. The owls, arriving in a flurry over the ball court, now repeated their words, reciting the exact words*(178) of One Death, Seven Death, Pus Master, Jaundice Master, Bone Scepter, Skull Scepter, House Corner, Blood Gatherer, Trash Master, Stab Master, Wing, Packstrap, as all the lords are named. Their words were repeated by the owls.

"Don't the lords One and Seven Death speak truly?"*(179)

"Truly indeed," the owls replied. "We'll accompany you.

'They're to bring along all their gaming equipment,' say the lords."

"Very well, but wait for us while we notify our mother," they replied.

And when they went to their house, they spoke to their mother; their father had died:

"We're going, our dear mother, even though we've just arrived.*(180) The messengers of the lord have come to get us:

'"They should come," he says,' they say, giving us orders. We'll leave our rubber ball behind here," they said, then they went to tie it up under the roof of the house. "Until we return- then we'll put it in play again."

They told One Monkey and One Artisan:

"As for you, just play and just sing,*(181) write and carve to warm our house and to warm the heart of your grandmother." When they had been given their instructions, their grandmother Xmucane sobbed, she had to weep.

"We're going, we're not dying. Don't be sad," said One and Seven Hunahpu, then they left.

AFTER THAT ONE AND SEVEN HUNAHPU LEFT, guided down the road by the messengers.

And then they descended the road to Xibalba, going down a steep cliff, and they descended until they came out where the rapids cut through,*(182) the roaring canyon narrows named Neck Canyon. They passed through there, then they passed on into the River of Churning Spikes. They passed through countless spikes but they were not stabbed.

And then they came to water again, to blood: Blood River. They crossed but did not drink. They came to a river, but a river filled with pus. Still they were not defeated, but passed through again.

And then they came to the Crossroads, but here they were defeated, at the Crossroads:

Red Road was one and Black Road another.

White Road was one and Yellow Road another.

There were four roads, and Black Road spoke:

"I am the one you are taking. I am the lord's road," said the road. And they were defeated there: this was the Road of Xibalba.

And then they came to the council place of the lords of Xibalba, and they were defeated again there. The ones seated first there are just manikins, just woodcarvings dressed up by Xibalba. And they greeted the first ones:

"Morning,*(183) One Death," they said to the manikin. "Morning, Seven Death," they said to the woodcarving in turn.

So they did not win out, and the lords of Xibalba shouted out with laughter over this. All the lords just shouted with laughter because they had triumphed; in their hearts they had beaten One and Seven Hunahpu. They laughed on until One and Seven Death spoke:

"It's good that you've come. Tomorrow you must put your yokes and arm guards into action," they were told.

"Sit here on our bench," they were told, but the only bench they were offered was a burning-hot rock.

So now they were burned on the bench; they really jumped around on the bench now, but they got no relief.*(184) They really got up fast, having burned their butts. At this the Xibalbans laughed again, they began to shriek with laughter, the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores,*(185) all the lords of Xibalba laughed themselves down to their blood and bones.*(186)

"Just go in the house. Your torch and cigars will be brought to your sleeping quarters," the boys were told.

After that they came to the Dark House, a house with darkness alone inside. Meanwhile the Xibalbans shared their thoughts:

"Let's just sacrifice them tomorrow. It can only turn out to be quick; they'll die quickly because of our playing equipment, our gaming things," the Xibalbans are saying among themselves.

This ball of theirs is just a spherical knife.*(187) White Dagger is the name of the ball, the ball of Xibalba. Their ball is just ground down to make it smooth; the ball of Xibalba is just surfaced with crushed bone to make it firm.

AND ONE AND SEVEN HUNAHPU WENT INSIDE DARK HOUSE.

And then their torch was brought,*(188) only one torch, already lit, sent by One and Seven Death, along with a cigar for each of them, also already lit, sent by the lords. When these were brought to One and Seven Hunahpu they were cowering,*(189) here in the dark. When the bearer of their torch and cigars arrived, the torch was bright as it entered; their torch and both of their cigars were burning. The bearer spoke:

"'They must be sure to return them in the morning- not finished, but just as they look now. They must return them intact,' the lords say to you," they were told, and they were defeated. They finished the torch and they finished the cigars that had been brought to them.

And Xibalba is packed with tests, heaps and piles of tests.

This is the first one: the Dark House, with darkness alone inside.

And the second is named Rattling House, heavy with cold inside, whistling with drafts, clattering with hail.*(190) A deep chill

comes inside here.

And the third is named Jaguar House, with jaguars alone inside, jostling one another, crowding together, with gnashing teeth. They're scratching around; these jaguars are shut inside the house.

Bat House is the name of the fourth test, with bats alone inside the house, squeaking, shrieking, darting through the house. The bats are shut inside; they can't get out.

And the fifth is named Razor House, with blades alone inside. The blades are moving back and forth,*(191) ripping, slashing through the house.

These are the first tests of Xibalba, but One and Seven Hunahpu never entered into them, except for the one named earlier, the specified test house.

And when One and Seven Hunahpu went back before One and Seven Death, they were asked:

"Where are my cigars? What of my torch? They were brought to you last night!"

"We finished them, your lordship."

"Very well. This very day, your day is finished, you will die, you will disappear, and we shall break you off. Here you will hide your faces: you are to be sacrificed!" said One and Seven Death.

And then they were sacrificed and buried. They were buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, as it is called. The head of One Hunahpu was cut off; only his body was buried with his younger brother.

"Put his head in the fork of the tree that stands by the road,"*(192) said One and Seven Death.

And when his head was put in the fork of the tree, the tree bore fruit. It would not have had any fruit, had not the head of One Hunahpu been put in the fork of the tree.

This is the calabash tree, as we call it today, or "the head of One Hunahpu," as it is said.

And then One and Seven Death were amazed at the fruit of the tree. The fruit grows out everywhere, and it isn't clear where the head of One Hunahpu is; now it looks just the way the calabashes look. All the Xibalbans see this, when they come to look.

The state of the tree loomed large in their thoughts, because it came about at the same time the head of One Hunahpu was put in the fork. The Xibalbans said among themselves:

"No one is to pick the fruit, nor is anyone to go beneath the tree," they said. They restricted themselves; all of Xibalba held back.

It isn't clear which is the head of One Hunahpu; now it's exactly the same as the fruit of the tree. Calabash tree came to be its name, and much was said about it. A maiden heard about it, and here we shall tell of her arrival.

AND HERE IS THE ACCOUNT OF A MAIDEN, the daughter of a lord named Blood Gatherer.

And this is when a maiden heard of it, the daughter of a lord. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father, and Blood Woman is the name of the maiden.

And when he heard the account of the fruit of the tree, her father retold it. And she was amazed at the account:

"I'm not acquainted with that tree they talk about. '"Its fruit is truly sweet!" they say,' I hear,"*(193) she said.

Next, she went all alone and arrived where the tree stood. It

stood at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"What? Well! What's the fruit of this tree? Shouldn't this tree bear something sweet? They shouldn't die, they shouldn't be wasted. Should I pick one?" said the maiden.

And then the bone spoke; it was here in the fork of the tree:

"Why do you want a mere bone, a round thing in the branches of a tree?" said the head of One Hunahpu when it spoke to the maiden. "You don't want it," she was told.

"I do want it," said the maiden.

"Very well. Stretch out your right hand here,*(194) so I can see it," said the bone.

"Yes," said the maiden. She stretched out her right hand, up there in front of the bone.

And then the bone spit out its saliva, which landed squarely in the hand of the maiden.

And then she looked in her hand, she inspected it right away, but the bone's saliva wasn't in her hand.

"It is just a sign I have given you, my saliva, my spittle.*(195) This, my head, has nothing on it- just bone, nothing of meat. It's just the same with the head of a great lord: it's just the flesh that makes his face look good. And when he dies, people get frightened by his bones. After that, his son is like his saliva, his spittle, in his being, whether it be the son of a lord or the son of a craftsman, an orator. The father does not disappear, but goes on being fulfilled. Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of a lord, a warrior, craftsman, orator. Rather, he will leave his daughters and sons. So it is that I have done likewise through you. Now go up there on the face of the earth; you will not die. Keep the word.*(196) So be it," said the head of One and Seven Hunahpu- they were of one mind*(197) when they did it.

This was the word Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt had given them. In the same way, by the time the maiden returned to her home, she had been given many instructions. Right away something was generated in her belly, from the saliva alone, and this was the generation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And when the maiden got home and six months had passed, she was found out by her father. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father.

AND AFTER THE MAIDEN WAS NOTICED BY HER FATHER, when he saw that she was now with child, all the lords then shared their thoughts- One and Seven Death, along with Blood Gatherer:

"This daughter of mine is with child, lords. It's just a bastard,"*(198) Blood Gatherer said when he joined the lords.

"Very well. Get her to open her mouth.*(199) If she doesn't tell, then sacrifice her. Go far away and sacrifice her."

"Very well, your lordships," he replied. After that, he questioned his daughter:

"Who is responsible for the child in your belly, my daughter?" he said.

"There is no child, my father, sir; there is no man whose face I've known,"*(200) she replied.

"Very well. It really is a bastard you carry! Take her away for sacrifice, you Military Keepers of the Mat. Bring back her heart in a bowl, so the lords can take it in their hands*(201) this very day," the owls were told, the four of them.

Then they left, carrying the bowl. When they left they took the maiden by the hand, bringing along the White Dagger, the instrument of sacrifice.

"It would not turn out well if you sacrificed me, messengers, because it is not a bastard that's in my belly. What's in my belly generated all by itself when I went to marvel at the head of One Hunahpu, which is there at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice. So please stop:*(202) don't do your sacrifice, messengers," said the maiden. Then they talked:

"What are we going to use in place of her heart? We were told by her father:

'Bring back her heart. The lords will take it in their hands, they will satisfy themselves, they will make themselves familiar with its composition.*(203) Hurry, bring it back in a bowl, put her heart in the bowl.' Isn't that what we've been told? What shall we deliver in the bowl? What we want above all is that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well. My heart must not be theirs, nor will your homes be here.*(204) Nor will you simply force people to die, but hereafter, what will be truly yours will be the true bearers of bastards. And hereafter, as for One and Seven Death, only blood,*(205) only nodules of sap, will be theirs. So be it that these things are presented before them, and not that hearts are burned before them. So be it: use the fruit of a tree,"*(206) said the maiden. And it was red tree sap she went out to gather in the bowl.

After it congealed, the substitute for her heart became round. When the sap of the croton tree was tapped, tree sap like blood, it became the substitute for her blood. When she rolled the blood around inside there, the sap of the croton tree, it formed a surface like blood,*(207) glistening red now, round inside the bowl. When the tree was cut open by the maiden, the so-called cochineal croton, the sap is what she called blood, and so there is talk of "nodules of blood."*(208)

"So you have been blessed with the face of the earth. It shall be yours," she told the owls.

"Very well, maiden. We'll show you the way up there. You just walk on ahead; we have yet to deliver this apparent duplicate of your heart before the lords," said the messengers.

And when they came before the lords, they were all watching closely:

"Hasn't it turned out well?" said One Death.

"It has turned out well, your lordships, and this is her heart. It's in the bowl."

"Very well. So I'll look," said One Death, and when he lifted it up with his fingers,*(209) its surface was soaked with gore, its surface glistened red with blood.

"Good. Stir up the fire, put it over the fire," said One Death.

After that they dried it over the fire, and the Xibalbans savored the aroma. They all ended up standing here, they leaned over it intently.*(210) They found the smoke of the blood to be truly sweet!

And while they stayed at their cooking, the owls went to show the maiden the way out. They sent her up through a hole onto the earth, and then the guides returned below.

In this way the lords of Xibalba were defeated by a maiden; all of them were blinded.

And here, where the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan*(211) lived, was where the woman named Blood Woman arrived.

AND WHEN THE BLOOD WOMAN CAME TO THE MOTHER OF ONE MONKEY AND ONE ARTISAN, her children were still in her belly, but it wasn't very long before the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, as they are called.

And when the woman came to the grandmother, the woman said to the grandmother:

"I've come, mother, madam.*(212) I'm your daughter-in-law and I'm your child,*(213) mother, madam," she said when she came here to the grandmother.

"Where do you come from? As for my lastborn children,*(214) didn't they die in Xibalba? And these two remain as their sign and their word: One Monkey and One Artisan are their names. So if you've come to see my children, get out of here!" the maiden was told by the grandmother.

"Even so, I really am your daughter-in-law. I am already his, I belong to One Hunahpu. What I carry is his. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu are alive, they are not dead. They have merely made a way for the light to show itself,*(215) madam mother-in-law, as you will see when you look at the faces of what I carry," the grandmother was told.

And One Monkey and One Artisan have been keeping their grandmother entertained: all they do is play and sing, all they work at is writing and carving, every day, and this cheers the heart of their grandmother.

And then the grandmother said:

"I don't want you, no thanks, my daughter-in-law. It's just a bastard in your belly, you trickster! These children of mine who are named by you are dead," said the grandmother.

"Truly, what I say to you is so!"*(216)

"Very well, my daughter-in-law, I hear you. So get going, get their food so they can eat. Go pick a big netful of corn, then come back- since you are already my daughter-in-law,*(217) as I understand it," the maiden was told.

"Very well," she replied.

After that, she went to the garden;*(218) One Monkey and One Artisan had a garden. The maiden followed the path they had cleared and arrived there in the garden, but there was only one clump,*(219) there was no other plant, no second or third. That one clump had borne its ears. So then the maiden's heart stopped:

"It looks like I'm a sinner, a debtor! Where will I get the netful of food she asked for?" she said. And then the guardians of food were called upon by her:

"Come thou, rise up, come thou, stand up:*(220)
Generous Woman, Harvest Woman,
Cacao Woman, Cornmeal Woman,
thou guardian of the food of One Monkey, One Artisan,"
said the maiden.

And then she took hold of the silk, the bunch of silk at the top of the ear. She pulled it straight out, she didn't pick the ear, and the ear reproduced itself to make food for the net. It filled the big net.

And then the maiden came back, but animals carried her net. When she got back she went to put the pack frame in the corner of the house, so

it would look to the grandmother as if she had arrived with a load.

And then, when the grandmother saw the food, a big netful:

"Where did that food of yours come from? You've leveled the place! I'm going to see if you've brought back our whole garden!" said the grandmother.

And then she went off, she went to look at the garden, but the one clump was still there, and the place where the net had been put at the foot of it was still obvious.

And the grandmother came back in a hurry, and she got back home, and she said to the maiden:

"The sign is still there. You really are my daughter-in-law! I'll have to keep watching what you do. These grandchildren of mine are already showing genius," the maiden was told.

Now this is where we shall speak of the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR BIRTH; WE SHALL TELL OF IT HERE.

Then it came to the day of their birth, and the maiden named Blood Woman gave birth. The grandmother was not present when they were born; they were born suddenly. Two of them were born, named Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were born in the mountains, and then they came into the house. Since they weren't sleeping:

"Throw them out of here! They're really loudmouths!" said the grandmother.

After that, when they put them on an anthill, they slept soundly there. And when they removed them from there, they put them in brambles next.

And this is what One Monkey and One Artisan wanted: that they should die on the anthill and die in the brambles. One Monkey and One Artisan wanted this because they were rowdyish and flushed with jealousy.*(221) They didn't allow their younger brothers in the house at first, as if they didn't even know them, but even so they flourished in the mountains.

And One Monkey and One Artisan were great flautists and singers, and as they grew up they went through great suffering and pain. It had cost them suffering to become great knowers. Through it all they became flautists, singers, and writers, carvers. They did everything well. They simply knew it when they were born, they simply had genius. And they were the successors*(222) of their fathers who had gone to Xibalba, their dead fathers.

Since One Monkey and One Artisan were great knowers, in their hearts they already realized everything when their younger brothers came into being, but they didn't reveal their insight because of their jealousy. The anger in their hearts came down on their own heads;*(223) no great harm was done. They were decoyed*(224) by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who merely went out shooting every day. These two got no love from the grandmother, or from One Monkey and One Artisan. They weren't given their meals; the meals had been prepared and One Monkey and One Artisan had already eaten them before they got there.

But Hunahpu and Xbalanque aren't turning red with anger; rather, they just let it go, even though they know their proper place, which they see as clear as day. So they bring birds when they arrive each day, and One Monkey and One Artisan eat them. Nothing whatsoever is given to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, either one of them. All One Monkey and One Artisan do is play and sing.

And then Hunahpu and Xbalanque arrived again, but now they came in here without bringing their birds, so the grandmother turned red:

"What's your reason for not bringing birds?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque were asked.

"There are some, our dear grandmother, but our birds just got hung up in a tree,"*(225) they said, "and there's no way to get up the tree after them, our dear grandmother, and so we'd like our elder brothers to please go with us, to please go get the birds down," they said.

"Very well. We'll go with you at dawn," the elder brothers replied.

Now they had won, and they gathered their thoughts, the two of them, about the fall of One Monkey and One Artisan:

"We'll just turn their very being around*(226) with our words. So be it, since they have caused us great suffering. They wished that we might die and disappear- we, their younger brothers. Just as they wished us to be slaves here,*(227) so we shall defeat them there. We shall simply make a sign of it," they said to one another.

And then they went there beneath a tree, the kind named yellowwood, together with the elder brothers. When they got there they started shooting. There were countless birds up in the tree, chittering, and the elder brothers were amazed when they saw the birds. And not one of these birds fell down beneath the tree:

"Those birds of ours don't fall down; just go throw them down," they told their elder brothers.

"Very well," they replied.

And then they climbed up the tree, and the tree began to grow, its trunk got thicker.

After that, they wanted to get down, but now One Monkey and One Artisan couldn't make it down from the tree. So they said, from up in the tree:

"How can we grab hold?*(228) You, our younger brothers, take pity on us! Now this tree looks frightening to us, dear younger brothers," they said from up in the tree. Then Hunahpu and Xbalanque told them:

"Undo your pants, tie them around your hips, with the long end trailing like a tail behind you, and then you'll be better able to move," they were told by their younger brothers.

"All right," they said.

And then they left the ends of their loincloths trailing, and all at once these became tails. Now they looked like mere monkeys.

After that they went along in the trees of the mountains, small and great. They went through the forests, now howling, now keeping quiet in the branches of trees.

Such was the defeat of One Monkey and One Artisan by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They did it by means of their genius alone.

And when they got home they said, when they came to their grandmother and mother:

"Our dear grandmother, something has happened to our elder brothers. They've become simply shameless,*(229) they're like animals now," they said.

"If you've done something to your elder brothers, you've knocked me down and stood me on my head. Please don't do anything to your elder brothers, my dear grandchildren," the grandmother said to Hunahpu and Xbalanque. And they told their grandmother:

"Don't be sad, our dear grandmother. You will see the faces of our

elder brothers again. They'll come, but this will be a test for you, our dear grandmother. Will you please not laugh*(230) while we test their destiny?" they said.

And then they began playing. They played "Hunahpu Monkey."

AND THEN THEY SANG, THEY PLAYED, THEY DRUMMED. When they took up their flutes and drums, their grandmother sat down with them, then they played, they sounded out the tune, the song that got its name then. "Hunahpu Monkey" is the name of the tune.

And then One Monkey and One Artisan came back, dancing when they arrived.

And then, when the grandmother looked, it was their ugly faces the grandmother saw. Then she laughed, the grandmother could not hold back her laughter, so they just left right away, out of her sight again, they went up and away in the forest.

"Why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? We'll only try four times; only three times are left. We'll call them with the flute, with song. Please hold back your laughter. We'll try again," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Next they played again, then they came back, dancing again, they arrived again, in the middle of the patio of the house.*(231) As before, what they did was delightful; as before, they tempted their grandmother to laugh. Their grandmother laughed at them soon enough. The monkeys looked truly ridiculous, with the skinny little things below their bellies*(232) and their tails wiggling in front of their breasts.*(233) When they came back the grandmother had to laugh at them, and they went back into the mountains.

"Please, why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? Even so, we'll try it a third time now," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Again they played, again they came dancing, but their grandmother held back her laughter. Then they climbed up here, cutting right across the building, with thin red lips,*(234) with faces blank,*(235) puckering their lips,*(236) wiping their mouths and faces,*(237) suddenly scratching themselves.*(238) And when the grandmother saw them again, the grandmother burst out laughing again, and again they went out of sight because of the grandmother's laughter.

"Even so, our dear grandmother, we'll get their attention."

So for the fourth time they called on the flute, but they didn't come back again. The fourth time they went straight into the forest. So they told their grandmother:

"Well, we've tried, our dear grandmother. They came at first, and we've tried calling them again. So don't be sad. We're here- we, your grandchildren. Just love our mother, dear grandmother. Our elder brothers will be remembered. So be it: they have lived here and they have been named; they are to be called One Monkey and One Artisan," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So they were prayed to by the flautists and singers among the ancient people, and the writers and carvers prayed to them. In ancient times they turned into animals, they became monkeys, because they just magnified themselves, they abused their younger brothers. Just as they wished them to be slaves, so they themselves were brought low. One Monkey and One Artisan were lost then, they became animals, and this is now their place forever.

Even so, they were flautists and singers; they did great things while they lived with their grandmother and mother.

(See illustration: Drawing by the author.

SUDDENLY SCRATCHING THEMSELVES: This spider monkey was painted on a classic Maya funerary vase from northern Guatemala. Note the dangling genitals, or what the Popol Vuh calls "the skinny little things below their bellies." [The vase is in the collection of Edwin Pearlman.])

AND NOW THEY BEGAN TO ACT OUT THEIR SELF-REVELATION before their grandmother and mother. First they made a garden:

"We'll just do some gardening, our dear grandmother and mother," they said. "Don't worry. We're here, we're your grandchildren, we're the successors of our elder brothers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And then they took up their axe, their mattock, their hoe;*(239) each of them went off with a blowgun on his shoulder. They left the house having instructed their grandmother to give them their food:

"At midday bring our food, dear grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my dear grandchildren," said their grandmother.

After that, they went to their gardening. They simply stuck their mattock in the ground, and the mattock simply cultivated the ground.

And it wasn't only the mattock that cultivated, but also the axe. In the same way, they stuck it in the trunk of a tree; in the same way, it cut into the tree by itself, felling, scattering, felling all the trees and bushes, now leveling, mowing down the trees.*(240)

Just the one axe did it, and the mattock, breaking up thick masses, countless stalks and brambles.*(241) Just one mattock was doing it, breaking up countless things, just clearing off whole mountains, small and great.

And then they gave instructions to that creature named the mourning dove. They sat up on a big stump, and Hunahpu and Xbalanque said:

"Just watch for our grandmother, bringing our food. Cry out right away when she comes, and then we'll grab the mattock and axe."

"Very well," said the mourning dove.

This is because all they're doing is shooting; they're not really doing any gardening.

And as soon as the dove cries out they come running, one of them grabbing the mattock and the other grabbing the hoe, and they're tying up their hair.

One of them deliberately rubs dirt on his hands; he dirties his face as well, so he's just like a real gardener.

And as for the other one, he deliberately dumps wood chips on his head,*(242) so he's like a real woodcutter.

Once their grandmother has seen them they eat, but they aren't really doing their gardening; she brings their food for nothing. And when they get home:

"We're really ready for bed, our dear grandmother," they say when they arrive. Deliberately they massage, they stretch their legs, their arms*(243) in front of their grandmother.

And when they went on the second day and arrived at the garden, it had all grown up high again. Every tree and bush, every stalk and bramble had put itself back together again when they arrived.

"Who's been picking us clean?" they said.

And these are the ones who are doing it, all the animals, small and great: puma, jaguar, deer, rabbit, fox, coyote,*(244) peccary, coati, small birds, great birds. They are the ones who did it; they

did it in just one night.

After that, they started the garden all over again. Just as before, the ground worked itself, along with the woodcutting.

And then they shared their thoughts, there on the cleared and broken ground:

"We'll simply have to keep watch over our garden. Then, whatever may be happening here, we'll find out about it," they said when they shared their thoughts. And when they arrived at the house:

"How could we get picked clean, our dear grandmother? Our garden was tall thickets and groves all over again when we got there awhile ago, our dear grandmother," they said to their grandmother and mother. "So we'll go keep watch, because what's happening to us is no good," they said.

After that, they wound everything up, and then they went back to the clearing.

And there they took cover, and when they were well hidden there, all the animals gathered together, each one sat on its haunches, all the animals, small and great.

And this was the middle of the night when they came. They all spoke when they came. This is what they said:

"Arise, conjoin, you trees!
Arise, conjoin, you bushes!"*(245)

they said. Then they made a great stir beneath the trees and bushes, then they came nearer, and then they showed their faces.

The first of these were the puma and jaguar. The boys tried to grab them, but they did not give themselves up. When the deer and rabbit came near they only got them by the tail, which just broke off: the deer left its tail in their hands. When they grabbed the tail of the deer, along with the tail of the rabbit, the tails were shortened. But the fox, coyote, and peccary, coati did not give themselves up. All the animals went by in front of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

SO NOW THERE WAS FIRE IN THEIR HEARTS, because they didn't catch them. And one more came, the last one now, jumping as he came, then they cut him off. In their net they caught the rat.

And then they grabbed him and squeezed him behind the head. They tried to choke him; they burned his tail over a fire. Ever since the rat's tail got caught, there's been no hair on his tail, and his eyes have been the way they are since the boys tried to choke him, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"I will not die by your hand! Gardening is not your job, but there is something that is," said the rat.

"Where is what is ours? Go ahead and name it," the boys told the rat.

"Will you let me go then? My word is in my belly,*(246) and after I name it for you, you'll give me my morsel of food," said the rat.

"We'll give you your food, so name it," he was told.

"Very well. It's something that belonged to your fathers, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, who died in Xibalba. What remains is their gaming equipment. They left it up under the roof of the house:*(247) their kilts, their arm guards, their rubber ball. But your grandmother doesn't take these down in front of you, because this is how your fathers died."

"You know the truth, don't you!" the boys told the rat.

There was great joy in their hearts when they got word of the rubber

ball. When the rat had named it they gave the rat his food, and this is his food: corn kernels, squash seeds, chili, beans, pataxte, cacao. These are his.

"If anything of yours is stored or gets wasted, then gnaw away," the rat was told by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well, boys. But what will your grandmother say if she sees me?"*(248) he said.

"Don't be fainthearted. We're here. We know what our grandmother needs to be told. We'll set you up under the corner of the roof right away. When that's taken care of you'll go straight to where the things were left, and we'll look up there under the roof, but it's our stew we'll be looking at," they told the rat when they gave him his instructions.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque made their plans overnight and arrived right at noon, and it wasn't obvious that they had a rat with them when they arrived. One of them went right inside the house when he reached it, while the other went to the corner of the house, quickly setting up the rat. And then they asked their grandmother for their meal:

"Just grind something for our stew, we want chili sauce, our dear grandmother," they said.

After that, she ground chili for their stew. A bowl of broth was set out in front of them, but they were just fooling*(249) their grandmother and mother. They had emptied the water jar:

"We're really parched! Bring us a drink," they told their grandmother.

"Yes," she said, then she went, and they kept on eating. They weren't really hungry; they just put on false appearances.

And then they saw the rat reflected in their chili sauce: here was the rat loosening the ball*(250) that had been left in the peak of the roof. When they saw him in the chili sauce they sent a mosquito, that creature the mosquito, similar to a gnat. He went to the water, then he punctured the side of the grandmother's jar. The water just gushed out from the side of her jar. She tried, but she could not stop up the side of her jar.

"What has our grandmother done? We're choking for lack of water, our parched throats will do us in," they told their mother, then they sent her there.

After that, the rat cut the ball loose. It dropped from beneath the roof, along with the yokes, arm guards, kilts. These were taken away*(251) then; they went to hide them on the road, the road to the ball court.

After that, they went to join their grandmother at the water, and their grandmother and mother were unable to stop up the side of the jar, either one of them.

After that, the boys arrived, each with his blowgun. When they arrived at the water:

"What have you done? We got weary at heart, so we came," they said.

"Look at the side of my jar! It cannot be stopped," said their grandmother, and they quickly stopped it up.

And they came back together, the two of them ahead of their grandmother.

In this way, the matter of the rubber ball was arranged.

HAPPY NOW, THEY WENT TO PLAY BALL AT THE COURT. So they played ball at a distance, all by themselves. They swept out the court of

their fathers.

And then it came into the hearing of the lords of Xibalba:

"Who's begun a game again up there, over our heads? Don't they have any shame, stomping around this way? Didn't One and Seven Hunahpu die trying to magnify themselves in front of us? So, you must deliver another summons," they said as before, One and Seven Death, all the lords.

"They are hereby summoned," they told their messengers. "You are to say, on reaching them:

'"They must come," say the lords. "We would play ball with them here. In seven days we'll have a game," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

And then they came along a wide roadway, the road to the house of the boys, which actually ended at their house, so that the messengers came directly to their grandmother. As for the boys, they were away playing ball when the messengers of Xibalba got there.

"'Truly, they are to come,' say the lords," said the messengers of Xibalba. So then and there the day was specified by the messengers of Xibalba:

"'In seven days our game will take place,'" Xmucane was told there.

"Very well. They'll go when the day comes, messengers," said the grandmother, and the messengers left. They went back.

So now the grandmother's heart was broken:

"How can I send for my grandchildren? Isn't it really Xibalba, just as it was when the messengers came long ago, when their fathers went to die?" said the grandmother, sobbing, at home by herself.

After that, a louse fell on her elbow,*(252) and then she picked it up and put it in her hand, and the louse moved around with fits and starts.

"My grandchild, perhaps you might like to take my message, to go where my grandchildren are, at the ball court," the louse was told, then he went as a message bearer:

"'A messenger has come to your grandmother,' you will say. '"You are to come:

'In seven days they are to come,' say the messengers of Xibalba," says your grandmother,' you will say," the louse was told.

Then he went off, and he went in fits and starts, and sitting in the road was a boy named Tamazul, the toad.

"Where are you going?" said the toad to the louse.

"My word is contained*(253) in my belly. I'm going to the two boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well. But I notice you're not very fast," the louse was told by the toad. "Wouldn't you like me to swallow you? You'll see, I'll run bent over*(254) this way, we'll arrive in a hurry."

"Very well," said the louse to the toad.

After that, when he had been united with the toad,*(255) the toad hopped. He went along now, but he didn't run.

After that, the toad met a big snake named Zaquicaz:

"Where are you going, Tamazul boy?" the toad was asked next by Zaquicaz.

"I'm a messenger. My word is in my belly," the toad next said to the snake.

"But I notice you're not fast. Listen to me, I'll get there in a hurry," said the snake to the toad.

"Get going," he was told, so then the toad was next swallowed by Zaquicaz. When snakes get their food today they swallow toads.

So the snake was running as he went, then the snake was met from overhead by a laughing falcon, a large bird. The snake was swallowed up by the falcon, and then he arrived above the court. When hawks get their food, they eat snakes in the mountains.

And when the falcon arrived he alighted on the rim of the ball court.*(256) Hunahpu and Xbalanque were happy then, they were playing ball when the falcon arrived.

So then the falcon cried out:

"Wak-ko! Wak-ko!"*(257)

said the falcon as he cried.

"Who's crying out there? Come on! Our blowguns!" they said. And they shot the falcon, landing their blowgun shot*(258) right in his eye. Wobbling, he fell down and they went right there to grab him, then they asked him:

"What are you after?" they said to the falcon.

"My word is contained in my belly.*(259) But heal my eye first, then I'll name it," said the falcon.

"Very well," they said.

Next they took a bit of gum off the surface of the ball, then they put it on the eye of the falcon. "Sorrel gum" was their name for it. As soon as it was treated by them, the vision of the falcon became good again.

"So name it," they said to the falcon, and then he vomited a big snake.

"Speak up," they said next to the snake.

"Yes," he said next, then he vomited the toad.

"What's your errand? Tell it," the toad was told next.

"My word is contained in my belly," the toad said next, and then he tried to throw up, but there was no vomit, he just sort of drooled.*(260) He was trying, but there was no vomit.

After that, he had to be kicked by the boys.

"You trickster!" he was told, then they kicked him*(261) in the rear, and they crushed the bones*(262) of his rear end with their feet. When he tried again, he just sort of spit.

And then they pried the toad's mouth open, it was opened by the boys. They searched his mouth, and the louse had simply stuck in the toad's teeth, it was right there in his mouth.*(263) He hadn't swallowed it, but had only seemed to swallow.

And such was the defeat of the toad. It's not clear what kind of food they gave him, and because he didn't run he became mere meat for snakes.

"Tell it," the louse was told next, so then he named his word:

"Boys, your grandmother says:

'Summon them. A message came for them:

"From Xibalba comes the messenger of One and Seven Death:

'"In seven days they are to come here. We'll play ball. Their gaming equipment must come along: rubber ball, yokes, arm guards, kilts. This will make for some excitement here," say the lords,' is the word that came from them,"' says your grandmother. So your grandmother says you must come. Truly your grandmother cries, she calls out to you to come."

"Isn't it the truth!" the boys said in their thoughts. When they

heard it they left at once and got to their grandmother, but they went there only to give their grandmother instructions:

"We're on our way, dear grandmother. We're just giving you instructions. So here is the sign of our word. We'll leave it with you. Each of us will plant an ear of corn.*(264) We'll plant them in the center of our house. When the corn dries up,*(265) this will be a sign of our death:

'Perhaps they died,' you'll say, when it dries up. And when the sprouting comes:*(266)

'Perhaps they live,' you'll say, our dear grandmother and mother. From now on, this is the sign of our word. We're leaving it with you," they said, then they left.

Hunahpu planted one and Xbalanque planted another.*(267) They were planted right there in the house: neither in the mountains nor where the earth is damp,*(268) but where the earth is dry, in the middle of the inside of their house.*(269) They left them planted there, then went off, each with his own blowgun.

THEY WENT DOWN TO XIBALBA, quickly going down the face of a cliff, and they crossed over the bottom of a canyon with rapids. They passed right through the birds- the ones called throng birds- and then they crossed Pus River and Blood River, intended as traps by Xibalba. They did not step in, but simply crossed over on their blowguns, and then they went on over to the Crossroads. But they knew about the roads of Xibalba:*(270) Black Road, White Road, Red Road, Green Road.

And there they summoned that creature named the mosquito. Having heard that he's a spy, they sent him ahead:

"Bite them one by one. First bite the first one seated there, then bite every last one of them, and it will be yours alone to suck the blood of people in the roads," the mosquito was told.

"Very well," replied the mosquito, then he took Black Road and stopped at the two manikins, the woodcarvings, that were seated first. They were all dressed up, and he bit the first of them. It didn't speak, so he bit again. When he bit the one seated second, again it didn't speak, and then he bit the third one, the one seated third actually being One Death.

"Yeow!" each one said as he was bitten.

"What?" each one replied.

"Ouch!" said One Death.

"What is it, One Death?"

"Something's bitten me."

"It's- ouch! There's something that's bitten me," the one seated fourth said next.

"What is it, Seven Death?"

"Something's bitten me." The one seated fifth spoke next:

"Ow! Ow!" he said.

"What, House Corner?" Seven Death said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated sixth was bitten:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Blood Gatherer?" House Corner said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated seventh was bitten:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Pus Master?" Blood Gatherer said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated eighth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Jaundice Master?" Pus Master said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated ninth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said.

"What is it, Bone Scepter?" Jaundice Master said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated tenth in order was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Skull Scepter?" said Bone Scepter.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated eleventh was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Wing?"*(271) Skull Scepter said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated twelfth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What, Packstrap?" he was asked next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated thirteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Bloody Teeth?" Packstrap said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated fourteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch! Something's bitten me," he said next.

"Bloody Claws?" Bloody Teeth said to him next.

And such was the naming of their names, they named them all among themselves. They showed their faces and named their names, each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the name of the one seated next to him.*(272) There wasn't a single name they missed, naming every last one of their names when they were bitten by the hair that Hunahpu had plucked from his own shin. It wasn't really a mosquito that bit them. It went to hear all their names for Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

After that Hunahpu and Xbalanque went on, and then they came to where the Xibalbans were:

"Bid the lords good day," said someone who was seated there. It was a deceiver who spoke.

"These aren't lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!"*(273) they said as they came up.

And after that, they bid them good morning:

"Morning, One Death. Morning, Seven Death.
Morning, House Corner. Morning, Blood Gatherer.
Morning, Pus Master. Morning, Jaundice Master.
Morning, Bone Scepter. Morning, Skull Scepter.
Morning, Wing. Morning, Packstrap.
Morning, Bloody Teeth. Morning, Bloody Claws,"

they said when they arrived, and all of their identities were accounted for. They named every one of their names; there wasn't a single name they missed. When this was required of them, no name was omitted by them.

"Sit here," they were told. They were wanted on the bench, but they didn't want it:

"This bench isn't for us! It's just a stone slab for cooking," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were not defeated.

"Very well. Just get in the house," they were told.

And after that, they entered Dark House. They were not defeated there. This was the first test they entered in Xibalba, and as far as the Xibalbans were concerned they were as good as defeated.

FIRST THEY ENTERED DARK HOUSE.

And after that, the messenger of One Death brought their torch, burning when it arrived, along with one cigar apiece.

"'Here is their torch,' says the lord. 'They must return the torch in the morning, along with the cigars. They must return them intact,' say the lords," the messenger said when he arrived.

"Very well," they said, but they didn't burn the torch- instead, something that looked like fire was substituted. This was the tail of the macaw, which looked like a torch to the sentries. And as for the cigars, they just put fireflies at the tips of those cigars, which they kept lit all night.

"We've defeated them," said the sentries, but the torch was not consumed- it just looked that way. And as for the cigars, there wasn't anything burning there- it just looked that way. When these things were taken back to the lords:

"What's happening? Where did they come from? Who begot them and bore them? Our hearts are really hurting, because what they're doing to us is no good. They're different in looks and different in their very being," they said among themselves. And when they had summoned all the lords:

"Let's play ball, boys," the boys were told. And then they were asked by One and Seven Death:

"Where might you have come from? Please name it," Xibalba said to them.

"Well, wherever did we come from? We don't know," was all they said. They didn't name it.

"Very well then, we'll just go play ball, boys," Xibalba told them.

"Good," they said.

"Well, this is the one we should put in play, here's our rubber ball," said the Xibalbans.*(274)

"No thanks. This is the one to put in, here's ours," said the boys.

"No it's not. This is the one we should put in," the Xibalbans said again.

"Very well," said the boys.

"After all, it's just a decorated one,"*(275) said the Xibalbans.

"Oh no it's not, it's just a skull!*(276) We've said enough,"*(277) said the boys.

"No it's not," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said Hunahpu. When it was sent off by Xibalba, the ball was stopped by Hunahpu's yoke.

And then, while Xibalba watched, the White Dagger came out from inside the ball. It went clattering, twisting all over the floor of the court.

"What's that!" said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. "Death is the only thing you want for us! Wasn't it you who sent a summons to us,*(278) and wasn't it your messenger who went? Truly, take pity on us, or else

we'll just leave," the boys told them.

And this is what had been ordained for the boys: that they should have died right away, right there, defeated by that knife. But it wasn't like that. Instead, Xibalba was again defeated by the boys.

"Well, don't go, boys. We can still play ball, but we'll put yours into play," the boys were told.

"Very well," they said, and this was the time for their rubber ball, so the ball was dropped in.

And after that, they specified the prize:

"What should our prize be?" asked the Xibalbans.

"It's yours for the asking," was all the boys said.

"We'll just win four bowls of flowers," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well. What kinds of flowers?" the boys asked Xibalba.

"One bowl of red petals,*(279) one bowl of white petals, one bowl of yellow petals, and one bowl of whole ones," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said the boys, and then their ball was dropped in. The boys were their equals in strength and made many plays, since they only had very good thoughts. Then the boys gave themselves up in defeat, and the Xibalbans were glad when they were defeated:

"We've done well. We've beaten them on the first try," said the Xibalbans. "Where will they go to get the flowers?" they said in their hearts.

"Truly, before the night is over, you must hand over our flowers and our prize," the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, were told by Xibalba.

"Very well. So we're also playing ball at night," they said when they accepted their charge.

(See illustration: Drawing from Alfred M. Tozzer, Chichen Itza and
Its Cenote of Sacrifice: photo by Hillel Burger (C) 1984 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

"IT'S JUST A SKULL": In this section from the relief panels in the ball court at Chichen Itza, the ball (at center) bears a skull motif. Like One and Seven Hunahpu and their sons in the Popol Vuh, the players in this scene wear kilts, yokes (the belts with objects protruding upward from them at an angle), arm guards, panaches, and headbands. From the mouths of the two players at left and the one at extreme right comes speech (resembling curling smoke), probably in the form of taunts like those the lords of Xibalba hurl at Hunahpu and Xbalanque in a later Popol Vuh episode. The kneeling player to the right of the ball has been decapitated; from his neck emerge serpents and a vine with flowers and fruits. This may be a squash vine, corresponding to the squash that was substituted for Hunahpu's head when he lost his own to a snatch-bat.)

AND AFTER THAT, THE BOYS NEXT ENTERED RAZOR HOUSE, the second test of Xibalba.

And this is when it was ordained that they be cut clear through with knives. It was intended to be quick, intended that they should die, but they did not die. They spoke to the knives then, they instructed them:

"This is yours: the flesh of all the animals," they told the knives, and they no longer moved- rather, each and every knife put down its point.

And this is how they stayed there overnight, in Razor House. Now they summoned all the ants:

"Cutting ants, conquering ants, come now,
all of you fetch all of them for us:
flowers in bloom, prizes for lords."

"Very well," they replied. Then all the ants went to get the flowers, the plantings of One and Seven Death, who had already given instructions to the guardians of the flowers of Xibalba:

"Would you please watch our flowers? Don't let them get stolen. We've defeated these boys, so won't they come looking for the prize they owe us? Don't sleep tonight."

"Very well," they replied, but the guardians of the plants never knew a thing. Their only inclination was to stretch their mouths wide open, going from one perch to another in the trees and plants, repeating the same song:

"Whip-poor-will! Whip-poor-will!"

one of them says as he cries.

"Poor-willow! Poor-willow!"*(280)

says the other as he cries, the one named poorwill.

The two of them are the guards of the garden, the garden of One and Seven Death, but they don't notice the ants stealing what's under their guard, swarming, carrying away loads of flowers, coming to cut down the flowers in the trees, gathering these together with the flowers beneath the trees, while the guards just stretch their mouths wide open, not noticing the nibbling at their own tails, the nibbling at their own wings.*(281) The severed flowers rain down into the gathering and bunching here below, so that four bowls of flowers are easily filled, an acrobatic performance*(282) that lasts till dawn.

After that the messengers, the pages, arrive:

"'They are to come,' says the lord. 'They must bring our prizes here right away,'" the boys were told.

"Very well," they said. Having loaded up the flowers, four bowls of them, they left and came before the lord, or lords, who received the flowers with pained looks.

With this, the Xibalbans were defeated. The boys had sent mere ants; in just one night the ants had taken the flowers and put them in the bowls.

With this, all the Xibalbans looked sick, they paled*(283) at the sight of the flowers.

After that, they summoned the flower guards:

"How did you allow our flowers to get stolen? These are our flowers! Here! Look!" the guards were told.

"We took no notice, your lordship, though our tails are the worse for it," they said.

And then their mouths were split wide,*(284) their payment for the theft of what was under their guard.

Such was the defeat of One and Seven Death by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, on account of which the whippoorwills got gaping mouths. Their mouths gape to this day.

Now after that, when the ball was dropped in, they just played to a tie. When they finished the game they made an arrangement with each other:

"At dawn again," said Xibalba.

"Very well," said the boys, then they were finished.

AND NOW THEY ENTERED COLD HOUSE. There are countless drafts,

thick-falling hail*(285) inside the house, the home of cold. They diminished the cold right away by shutting it out. The cold dissipated because of the boys. They did not die, but were alive when it dawned.

So, although Xibalba had wanted them to die there, they did not, but were alive when it dawned. They came out when the pages arrived and the guards left.

"Why haven't they died?" said the rulers of Xibalba. Again they were amazed at the feats of the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

SO NEXT THEY ENTERED JAGUAR HOUSE, the jaguar-packed home of jaguars:

"Don't eat us. There is something that should be yours," the jaguars were told.

With that, they scattered bones before the animals.

After that, the jaguars were wrestling around there, over the bones.

"So they've made good work of them, they've eaten their very hearts. Now that the boys have given themselves up, they've already been transformed into skeletons," said the sentries, all of them finding it sweet. But they hadn't died; they were well. They came out of Jaguar House.

"What sort of people are they? Where did they come from?" said all the Xibalbans.

SO NEXT THEY ENTERED THE MIDST OF THE FIRE, a house of fire*(286) with only fire alone inside. They weren't burned by it, just toasted, just simmered, so they were well when it dawned. Although it had been ordained that they be quickly killed in there, overcome, they weren't, and instead it was the Xibalbans who lost heart over this.

NOW THEY WERE PUT INSIDE BAT HOUSE, with bats alone inside the house, a house of snatch-bats, monstrous beasts, their snouts like knives, the instruments of death. To come before these is to be finished off at once.

When they were inside they just slept in their blowgun; they were not bitten by the members of the household. But this is where they gave one of themselves up because of a snatch-bat that came down, he came along just as one of them showed himself. They did it because it was actually what they were asking for, what they had in mind.

And all night the bats are making noise:

"Squeak! Squeak!"

they say, and they say it all night.

(See illustration: Drawing by the author.

SNATCH-BATS, MONSTROUS BEASTS: The bats of Xibalba were frequently painted on classic Maya funerary vases of the Chama style, from sites in the same region as the Great Abyss where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into the underworld. The designs on the present bat's wings represent plucked-out eyes, and he wears two eyes on his collar; the scroll-like forms issuing from his mouth, with ragged upper edges, may represent his shrieks. [The vase is in the collection of Edwin Pearlman.])

Then it let up a little. The bats were no longer moving around. So there, one of the boys crawled to the end of the blowgun, since Xbalanque said:

"Hunahpu? Can you see how long it is till dawn?"*(287)

"Well, perhaps I should look to see how long it is," he replied. So he kept trying to look out the muzzle of the blowgun, he tried to

see the dawn.

And then his head was taken off by a snatch-bat, leaving Hunahpu's body still stuffed inside.

"What's going on?*(288) Hasn't it dawned?" said Xbalanque. No longer is there any movement from Hunahpu. "What's this? Hunahpu hasn't left, has he? What have you done?" He no longer moves; now there is only heavy breathing.

After that, Xbalanque despaired:*(289)

"Alas!*(290) We've given it all up!" he said. And elsewhere, the head meanwhile went rolling onto the court, in accordance with the word of One and Seven Death, and all the Xibalbans were happy over the head of Hunahpu.

After that, Xbalanque summoned all the animals: coati, peccary, all the animals, small and great. It was at night, still night-time when he asked them for their food:

"Whatever your foods are, each one of you: that's what I summoned you for, to bring your food here," Xbalanque told them.

"Very well," they replied, then they went to get what's theirs, then indeed they all came back.

There's the one who only brought his rotten wood.

There's the one who only brought leaves.

There's the one who only brought stones.

There's the one who only brought earth, on through the varied foods of the animals, small and great, until the very last one remained: the coati. He brought a squash,*(291) bumping it along with his snout as he came.

And this became a simulated head for Hunahpu. His eyes were carved right away, then brains came from the thinker, from the sky.*(292) This was the Heart of Sky, Hurricane, who came down, came on down into Bat House. The face wasn't finished any too quickly; it came out well. His strength was just the same,*(293) he looked handsome, he spoke just the same.

And this is when it was trying to dawn, reddening along the horizon:

"Now make the streaks, man," the possum was told.

"Yes," said the old man. When he made the streaks he made it dark again; the old man made four streaks.

(See illustration: Drawings by Carlos A. Villacorta.

THE OLD MAN MADE FOUR STREAKS: In these drawings from the Dresden Codex, the possum deity is shown bringing in each of the four types of solar years. The repeated glyphs in the column to the left of each figure give the names of the four year-beginning day names; in Quiche the names are E or "Tooth" (upper left), Naoh or "Thought" (upper right), I3 or "Wind" (lower left), and Queh or "Deer." Each figure bears the patron deity of a given type of year on his back.)

"Possum is making streaks,"*(294) people say today, ever since he made the early dawn red and blue, establishing its very being.

"Isn't it good?" Hunahpu was asked.

"Good indeed," he replied. His head was as if it had every bone; it had become like his real head.

After that, they had a talk, they made arrangements with each other:

"How about not playing ball yourself? You should just make lots of threats,*(295) while I should be the one to take all the action," Xbalanque told him. After that, he gave instructions to a rabbit:

"Your place is there above the court, on top. Stay there in the

oaks,"*(296) the rabbit was told by Xbalanque, "until the ball comes to you, then take off while I get to work," the rabbit was told. He got his instructions while it was still dark.

After that, when it dawned, both of them were just as well as ever.

And when the ball was dropped in again, it was the head of Hunahpu that rolled over the court:

"We've won! You're done!
Give up! You lost!"

they were told. But even so Hunahpu was shouting:

"Punt the head as a ball!" he told them.

"Well, we're not going to do them any more harm with threats," and with this the lords of Xibalba sent off the ball and Xbalanque received it, the ball was stopped by his yoke, then he hit it hard and it took off, the ball passed straight out of the court, bouncing just once, just twice, and stopping among the oaks. Then the rabbit took off hopping, then they went off in pursuit, then all the Xibalbans went off, shouting, shrieking, they went after the rabbit, off went the whole of Xibalba.

After that, the boys got Hunahpu's head back. Then Xbalanque planted the squash; this is when he went to set the squash above the court.

So the head of Hunahpu was really a head again, and the two of them were happy again. And the others, those Xibalbans, were still going on in search of the ball.

After that, having recovered the ball from among the oaks,*(297) the boys cried out to them:

"Come back! Here's the ball! We've found it!" they said, so they stopped. When the Xibalbans got back:

"Have we been seeing things?" they said. Then they began their ball game again, and they made equal plays on both sides again.

After that, the squash was punted by Xbalanque. The squash was wearing out;*(298) it fell on the court, bringing to light its light-colored seeds, as plain as day*(299) right in front of them.

"How did you get ahold of that? Where did it come from?" said Xibalba.

With this, the masters of Xibalba were defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. There was great danger there, but they did not die from all the things that were done to them.

AND HERE IT IS: THE EPITAPH, THE DEATH OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE.

Here it is: now we shall name their epitaph, their death. They did whatever they were instructed to do, going through all the dangers, the troubles that were made for them, but they did not die from the tests of Xibalba, nor were they defeated by all the voracious animals that inhabit Xibalba.

After that, they summoned two midmost seers, similar to readers. Here are their names: Xulu, Pacam, both knowers.

"Perhaps there will be questions from the lords of Xibalba about our death. They are thinking about how to overcome us because we haven't died, nor have we been defeated. We've exhausted all their tests. Not even the animals got us. So this is the sign, here in our hearts: their instrument for our death will be a stone oven. All the Xibalbans have gathered together. Isn't our death inevitable? So this is your plan, here we shall name it: if you come to be questioned by them about our death, once we've been burned, what will you say, Xulu and Pacam? If they ask you:

'Wouldn't it be good if we dumped their bones in the canyon?'*(300)

'Perhaps it wouldn't be good, since they would only come back to life again,' you will say.

'Perhaps this would be good: we'll just hang them up in a tree,' they'll say to you next.

'Certainly that's no good, since you would see their faces,'*(301) you will say, and then they'll speak to you for the third time:

'Well, here's the only good thing: we'll just dump their bones in the river.' If that's what they ask you next:

'This is a good death for them, and it would also be good to grind their bones on a stone, just as corn is refined into flour, and refine each of them separately, and then:

Spill them into the river,
sprinkle them*(302) on the water's way,
among the mountains, small and great,'

you will say, and then you will have carried out the instructions we've named for you," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. When they gave these instructions they already knew they would die.

THIS IS THE MAKING OF THE OVEN, the great stone oven. The Xibalbans made it like the places where the sweet drink is cooked, they opened it to a great width.

After that, messengers came to get the boys, the messengers of One and Seven Death:

"'They must come. We'll go with the boys, to see the treat we've cooked up for them,' say the lords, you boys," they were told.

"Very well," they replied. They went running and arrived at the mouth of the oven.

And there they tried to force them into a game:

"Here, let's jump over our drink four times, clear across, one of us after the other, boys," they were told by One Death.

"You'll never put that one over on us.*(303) Don't we know what our death is, you lords? Watch!" they said, then they faced each other. They grabbed each other by the arms and went head first into the oven.*(304)

And there they died, together, and now all the Xibalbans were happy, raising their shouts, raising their cheers:*(305)

"We've really beaten them! They didn't give up easily," they said.

After that they summoned Xulu and Pacam, who kept their word: the bones went just where the boys had wanted them. Once the Xibalbans had done the divination, the bones were ground and spilled in the river, but they didn't go far- they just sank to the bottom of the water. They became handsome boys; they looked just the same as before when they reappeared.

AND ON THE FIFTH DAY THEY REAPPEARED. They were seen in the water by the people. The two of them looked like channel catfish*(306) when their faces were seen by Xibalba. And having germinated in the waters, they appeared the day after that as two vagabonds,*(307) with rags before and rags behind, and rags all over too. They seemed unrefined*(308) when they were examined by Xibalba; they acted differently now.

It was only the Dance of the Poorwill, the Dance of the Weasel, only Armadillos they danced.

Only Swallowing Swords, only Walking on Stilts now they danced.

They performed many miracles now. They would set fire to a house, as

if they were really burning it, and suddenly bring it back again. Now Xibalba was full of admiration.*(309)

Next they would sacrifice themselves, one of them dying for the other,*(310) stretched out as if in death. First they would kill themselves, but then they would suddenly look alive again. The Xibalbans could only admire what they did. Everything they did now was already the groundwork for their defeat of Xibalba.

(See illustration: Drawing by the author.

ONLY ARMADILLOS THEY DANCED: This dancer, who wears an armadillo mask, plays a flute, and shakes a rattle, was painted on a classic Maya funerary vase of the Chama style, which pertains to sites in the same general region as the Great Abyss where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into the underworld. The cross-hatching represents the scales of an armadillo.)

And after that, news of their dances came to the ears of the lords, One and Seven Death. When they heard it they said:

"Who are these two vagabonds? Are they really such a delight? And is their dancing really that pretty? They do everything!" they said. An account of them had reached the lords. It sounded delightful, so then they entreated their messengers to notify them that they must come:

"'"If only they'd come make a show for us, we'd wonder at them and marvel at them," say the lords,' you will say," the messengers were told. So they came to the dancers, then spoke the words of the lords to them.

"But we don't want to, because we're really ashamed. Just plain no. Wouldn't we be afraid to go inside there, into a lordly house? Because we'd really look bad. Wouldn't we just be wide-eyed? Take pity on us! Wouldn't we look like mere dancers to them? What would we say to our fellow vagabonds? There are others who also want us to dance today, to liven things up with us, so we can't do likewise for the lords, and likewise is not what we want, messengers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Even so, they were prevailed upon: through troubles, through torments, they went on their tortuous way. They didn't want to walk fast. Many times they had to be forced; the messengers went ahead of them as guides but had to keep coming back.*(311) And so they went to the lord.

AND THEY CAME TO THE LORDS. Feigning great humility,*(312) they bowed their heads all the way to the ground*(313) when they arrived. They brought themselves low, doubled over, flattened out, down to the rags, to the tatters.*(314) They really looked like vagabonds when they arrived.

So then they were asked what their mountain*(315) and tribe were, and they were also asked about their mother and father:

"Where do you come from?" they were asked.

"We've never known, lord. We don't know the identity of our mother and father. We must've been small when they died," was all they said. They didn't give any names.

"Very well. Please entertain us, then. What do you want us to give you in payment?" they were asked.

"Well, we don't want anything. To tell the truth, we're afraid," they told the lord.

"Don't be afraid. Don't be ashamed. Just dance this way: first

you'll dance to sacrifice yourselves, you'll set fire to my house after that, you'll act out all the things you know. We want to be entertained. This is our heart's desire, the reason you had to be sent for, dear vagabonds. We'll give you payment," they were told.

So then they began their songs and dances, and then all the Xibalbans arrived, the spectators crowded the floor, and they danced everything: they danced the Weasel, they danced the Poorwill, they danced the Armadillo. Then the lord said to them:

"Sacrifice my dog, then bring him back to life again," they were told.

"Yes," they said.

When they sacrificed the dog
he then came back to life.
And that dog was really happy
when he came back to life.
Back and forth he wagged his tail
when he came back to life.

And the lord said to them:

"Well, you have yet to set my home on fire," they were told next, so then they set fire to the home of the lord. The house was packed with all the lords, but they were not burned. They quickly fixed it back again, lest the house of One Death be consumed all at once, and all the lords were amazed, and they went on dancing this way. They were overjoyed.

And then they were asked by the lord:

"You have yet to kill a person! Make a sacrifice without death!" they were told.

"Very well," they said.

And then they took hold of a human sacrifice.

And they held up a human heart on high.

And they showed its roundness*(316) to the lords.

(See illustration: Drawing reproduced by permission of Michael D. Coe and the Grolier Club.

AND THEN THEY TOOK HOLD OF A HUMAN SACRIFICE: In this classic Maya funerary vase painting from northern Guatemala, the head lord of Xibalba, One Death, is seated on his throne at right; perched on his hat is one of the messengers of Xibalba, Macaw Owl, who is like an owl except in having the tail of a macaw. In front of One Death are Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right), acting out the roles of sacrificial priests; Xbalanque's identity is marked by the jaguar paw on the nose of his mask. The women around the platform are all of noble rank; the one at extreme left is tapping the foot of the one who faces One Death, calling her attention to the sacrificial performance. [The vase is in the Princeton University Art Museum.])

And now One and Seven Death admired it, and now that person was brought right back to life. His heart was overjoyed when he came back to life, and the lords were amazed:

"Sacrifice yet again, even do it to yourselves! Let's see it! At heart, that's the dance we really want from you," the lords said now.

"Very well, lord," they replied, and then they sacrificed themselves.

AND THIS IS THE SACRIFICE OF HUNAHPU BY XBALANQUE. One by one his legs, his arms were spread wide.*(317) His head came off, rolled far

away outside. His heart, dug out, was smothered in a leaf,*(318) and all the Xibalbans went crazy at the sight.

So now, only one of them was dancing there: Xbalanque.

"Get up!" he said, and Hunahpu came back to life. The two of them were overjoyed at this- and likewise the lords rejoiced, as if they were doing it themselves. One and Seven Death were as glad at heart as if they themselves were actually doing the dance.

(See illustration: Drawing reproduced by permission of Michael D.
Coe and the Grolier Club.

"SACRIFICE YET AGAIN, EVEN DO IT TO YOURSELVES!": This classic Maya funerary vase painting from the lowlands shows Hunahpu (at extreme left) about to swing the stone axe in his right hand and decapitate his brother Xbalanque, while an ecstatic lord of Xibalba (in skeletal form) looks on. The dog at right is doubtless the one already sacrificed and brought back to life earlier in this same episode. The insect above the dog holds a torch and may be one of the fireflies with which Hunahpu and Xbalanque made their cigars appear to be burning while they spent the night in Dark House, in an earlier episode. In the present scene Hunahpu is identifiable, in part, by the catfish barbel that emerges just behind his nostril; he acquired this attribute in a previous episode, when he and Xbalanque appeared as channel catfish after their ground bones had been thrown in water. Xbalanque, whose name is partly derived from balam or "jaguar," is identifiable from his jaguar ears, paws, feet, and tail. [This vase can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.])

And then the hearts of the lords were filled with longing, with yearning for the dance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, so then came these words from One and Seven Death:

"Do it to us! Sacrifice us!"*(319) they said. "Sacrifice both of us!" said One and Seven Death to Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well. You ought to come back to life. After all, aren't you Death?*(320) And aren't we making you happy, along with the vassals of your domain?" they told the lords.

And this one was the first to be sacrificed: the lord at the very top, the one whose name is One Death, the ruler of Xibalba.

And with One Death dead, the next to be taken was Seven Death. They did not come back to life.

And then the Xibalbans were getting up to leave, those who had seen the lords die. They underwent heart sacrifice*(321) there, and the heart sacrifice was performed on the two lords only for the purpose of destroying them.

As soon as they had killed the one lord without bringing him back to life, the other lord had been meek and tearful before the dancers. He didn't consent, he didn't accept it:

"Take pity on me!" he said when he realized. All their vassals took the road to the great canyon, in one single mass they filled up the deep abyss. So they piled up there and gathered together, countless ants,*(322) tumbling down into the canyon, as if they were being herded there. And when they arrived, they all bent low in surrender, they arrived meek and tearful.

Such was the defeat of the rulers of Xibalba. The boys accomplished it only through wonders, only through self-transformation.

AND THEN THEY NAMED THEIR NAMES, they gave themselves names before all of Xibalba:

"Listen: we shall name our names, and we shall also name the names of our fathers for you. Here we are: we are Hunahpu and Xbalanque by name. And these are our fathers, the ones you killed: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name. And we are here to clear the road of the torments and troubles of our fathers. And so we have suffered all the troubles you've caused us. And so we are putting an end to all of you. We're going to kill you. No one can save you now," they were told. And then all the Xibalbans got down on the ground and cried out:

"Take pity on us, Hunahpu and Xbalanque! It is true that we wronged your fathers, the ones you name. Those two are buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice," they replied.

"Very well. Now this is our word, we shall name it for you. All of you listen, you Xibalbans: because of this, your day and your descendants will not be great. Moreover, the gifts you receive will no longer be great, but reduced to scabrous nodules of sap. There will be no cleanly blotted blood for you,*(323) just griddles, just gourds, just brittle things broken to pieces.*(324) Further, you will only feed on creatures of the meadows and clearings. None of those who are born in the light, begotten in the light*(325) will be yours. Only the worthless will yield themselves up before you. These will be the guilty, the violent, the wretched, the afflicted. Wherever the blame is clear,*(326) that is where you will come in, rather than just making sudden attacks on people in general. And you will hear petitions over headed-up sap,"*(327) all the Xibalbans were told.

Such was the beginning of their disappearance and the denial of their worship.

Their ancient day was not a great one,
these ancient people only wanted conflict,
their ancient names are not really divine,
but fearful is the ancient evil of their faces.
They are makers of enemies, users of owls,
they are inciters to wrongs and violence,*(328)
they are masters of hidden intentions as well,
they are black and white,
masters of stupidity, masters of perplexity,*(329)

as it is said. By putting on appearances they cause dismay.

Such was the loss of their greatness and brilliance. Their domain did not return to greatness. This was accomplished by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR GRANDMOTHER, CRYING AND CALLING OUT*(330) IN FRONT OF THE CORN EARS they left planted.*(331) Corn plants grew, then dried up.

And this was when they were burned in the oven; then the corn plants grew again.

And this was when their grandmother burned something,*(332) she burned copal before the corn as a memorial to them. There was happiness in their grandmother's heart the second time the corn plants sprouted. Then the ears were deified by their grandmother,*(333) and she gave them names: Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, Living Corn, Earthen Floor became their names.

And she named the ears Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, because they had planted them right in the middle of the inside of

their home.

And she further named them Earthen Floor, Living Corn, since the corn ears had been placed up above an earthen floor.*(334)

And she also named them Living Corn, because the corn plants had grown again. So they were named by Xmucane. They had been left behind, planted by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, simply as a way for their grandmother to remember them.

And the first to die, a long time before, had been their fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. And they saw the face of their father*(335) again, there in Xibalba. Their father spoke to them again when they had defeated Xibalba.

AND HERE THEIR FATHER IS PUT BACK TOGETHER BY THEM. They put Seven Hunahpu back together; they went to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice to put him together. He had wanted his face to become just as it was, but when he was asked to name everything,*(336) and once he had found the name of the mouth, the nose, the eyes of his face, there was very little else to be said. Although his mouth could not name the names of each of his former parts,*(337) he had at least spoken again.

And so it remained that they were respectful of their father's heart, even though they left him at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"You will be prayed to here,"*(338) his sons told him, and his heart was comforted. "You will be the first resort, and you will be the first to have your day kept*(339) by those who will be born in the light, begotten in the light. Your name will not be lost.*(340) So be it," they told their father when they comforted his heart.

"We merely cleared the road of your death, your loss, the pain, the suffering that were inflicted upon you."

And such was the instruction they gave when all the Xibalbans had been finally defeated. And then the two boys ascended this way, here into the middle of the light, and they ascended straight on into the sky, and the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other.*(341) When it became light within the sky, on the face of the earth, they were there in the sky.

And this was also the ascent of the Four Hundred Boys killed by Zipacna.

And these came to accompany the two of them. They became the sky's own stars.*(342)

PART_FOUR

PART FOUR

AND HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE CONCEPTION OF HUMANS, and of the search for the ingredients of the human body. So they spoke, the Bearer, Begetter, the Makers, Modelers named Sovereign Plumed Serpent:

"The dawn has approached, preparations have been made, and morning has come for the provider, nurturer, born in the light, begotten in the light. Morning has come for humankind, for the people of the face of the earth," they said. It all came together as they went on thinking in the darkness, in the night, as they searched and they sifted, they thought and they wondered.

And here their thoughts came out in clear light. They sought and discovered*(343) what was needed for human flesh. It was only a short while before the sun, moon, and stars were to appear above the Makers and Modelers. Broken Place, Bitter Water Place is the name: the yellow corn, white corn came from there.

And these are the names of the animals who brought the food:*(344) fox, coyote, parrot, crow. There were four animals who brought the news of the ears of yellow corn and white corn. They were coming from over there at Broken Place, they showed the way to the break.

And this was when they found the staple foods.

And these were the ingredients for the flesh of the human work, the human design, and the water was for the blood. It became human blood, and corn was also used by the Bearer, Begetter.

And so they were happy over the provisions of the good mountain, filled with sweet things, thick with yellow corn, white corn, and thick with pataxte and cacao, countless zapotes, anonas, jocotes, nances, matasanos, sweets- the rich foods filling up the citadel named Broken Place, Bitter Water Place. All the edible fruits were there: small staples, great staples, small plants, great plants. The way was shown by the animals.

And then the yellow corn and white corn were ground, and Xmucane did the grinding nine times.*(345) Corn was used, along with the water she rinsed her hands with,*(346) for the creation of grease; it became human fat when it was worked by the Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, as they are called.

After that, they put it into words:

> the making, the modeling of our first mother-father,
> with yellow corn, white corn alone for the flesh,*(347)
> food alone for the human legs and arms,
> for our first fathers, the four human works.

It was staples alone that made up their flesh.

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE FIRST PEOPLE WHO WERE MADE AND MODELED.

This is the first person: Jaguar Quitze.

And now the second: Jaguar Night.

And now the third: Mahucutah.

And the fourth: True Jaguar.

And these are the names of our first mother-fathers. They were simply made and modeled, it is said; they had no mother and no father. We have named the men by themselves. No woman gave birth to them, nor were they begotten by the builder, sculptor, Bearer, Begetter. By sacrifice alone, by genius alone they were made, they were modeled by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent. And when they came to fruition, they came out human:

They talked and they made words.

They looked and they listened.

They walked, they worked.*(348)

They were good people, handsome, with looks of the male kind. Thoughts came into existence and they gazed; their vision came all at once. Perfectly they saw, perfectly they knew everything under the sky, whenever they looked. The moment they turned around and looked around in the sky, on the earth, everything was seen without any obstruction. They didn't have to walk around before they could see what was under the sky; they just stayed where they were.

As they looked, their knowledge became intense. Their sight passed through trees, through rocks, through lakes, through seas, through mountains, through plains. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were truly gifted people.

And then they were asked by the builder and mason:

"What do you know about your being? Don't you look, don't you

listen? Isn't your speech good, and your walk? So you must look, to see out under the sky. Don't you see the mountain-plain clearly? So try it," they were told.

And then they saw everything under the sky perfectly. After that, they thanked the Maker, Modeler:

"Truly now,
double thanks, triple thanks
that we've been formed, we've been given
our mouths, our faces,
we speak, we listen,
we wonder, we move,
our knowledge is good, we've understood
what is far and near,
and we've seen what is great and small
under the sky, on the earth.
Thanks to you we've been formed,
we've come to be made and modeled,
our grandmother, our grandfather,"

they said when they gave thanks for having been made and modeled. They understood everything perfectly, they sighted the four sides, the four corners in the sky, on the earth, and this didn't sound good to the builder and sculptor:

"What our works and designs have said is no good:
'We have understood everything, great and small,' they say." And so the Bearer, Begetter took back their knowledge:

"What should we do with them now? Their vision should at least reach nearby, they should see at least a small part of the face of the earth, but what they're saying isn't good. Aren't they merely 'works' and 'designs' in their very names? Yet they'll become as great as gods, unless they procreate, proliferate at the sowing, the dawning, unless they increase."

"Let it be this way: now we'll take them apart just a little, that's what we need. What we've found out isn't good. Their deeds would become equal to ours, just because their knowledge reaches so far. They see everything," so said

the Heart of Sky, Hurricane,
Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Bearer, Begetter,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
Maker, Modeler,

as they are called. And when they changed the nature of their works, their designs, it was enough that the eyes be marred by the Heart of Sky. They were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon. Their eyes were weakened. Now it was only when they looked nearby that things were clear.

And such was the loss of the means of understanding, along with the means of knowing everything, by the four humans. The root was implanted.

And such was the making, modeling of our first grandfather, our father, by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.

AND THEN THEIR WIVES AND WOMEN CAME INTO BEING. Again, the same gods thought of it. It was as if they were asleep*(349) when they received them, truly beautiful women were there with Jaguar Quitze,

Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. With their women there they became wider awake. Right away they were happy at heart again, because of their wives.

Celebrated Seahouse is the name of the wife of Jaguar Quitze.

Prawn House is the name of the wife of Jaguar Night.

Hummingbird House is the name of the wife of Mahucutah.

Macaw House is the name of the wife of True Jaguar.

So these are the names of their wives, who became ladies of rank,*(350) giving birth to the people of the tribes, small and great.

AND THIS IS OUR ROOT, WE WHO ARE THE QUICHE PEOPLE. And there came to be a crowd of penitents and sacrificers.*(351) It wasn't only four who came into being then, but there were four mothers for us, the Quiche people. There were different names for each of the peoples when they multiplied, there in the east. Their names became numerous: Sovereign Oloman, Cohah, Quenech Ahau, as the names of the people who were there in the east are spoken. They multiplied, and it is known that the Tams and Ilocs began then. They came from the same place, there in the east.

Jaguar Quitze was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Cauecs.

Jaguar Night was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Greathouses.

Mahucutah was the grandfather and father of the four great houses of the Lord Quiches.

There were three separate lineages. The names of the grandfathers and fathers are not forgotten. These multiplied and flowered there in the east, but the Tams and Ilocs also came forth, along with thirteen allied tribes, thirteen principalities,*(352) including:

The Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of the Bird House.

And the White Cornmeals.

And also the Lamacs, Serpents, Sweatbath House, Talk House, those of the Star House.

And those of the Quiba House, those of the Yokes House, Acul people, Jaguar House, Guardians of the Spoils, Jaguar Ropes.

It is sufficient that we speak only of the largest tribes from among the allied tribes; we have only noted the largest. Many more came out afterward, each one a division of that citadel.*(353) We haven't written their names, but they multiplied there, from out of the east. There came to be many peoples in the blackness; they began to abound even before the birth of the sun and the light. When they began to abound they were all there together; they stood and walked in crowds, there in the east.

There was nothing they could offer for sustenance, but even so they lifted their faces to the sky. They didn't know where they were going. They did this for a long time, when they were there in the grasslands: black people, white people, people of many faces, people of many languages, uncertain, there at the edge of the sky.

And there were mountain people.*(354) They didn't show their faces, they had no homes. They just traveled the mountains, small and great. "It's as if they were crazy," they used to say. They derided the mountain people, it was said. There they watched for the sunrise, and for all the mountain people there was just one language.*(355) They did not yet pray to wood and stone.*(356)

These are the words with which they remembered the Maker, Modeler,

Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth. It was said that these were enough to keep them mindful of what was in shadow and what was dawning. All they did was ask; they had reverent words. They were reverent, they were givers of praise, givers of respect, lifting their faces to the sky*(357) when they made requests for their daughters and sons:

"Wait!
thou Maker, thou Modeler,
look at us, listen to us,
don't let us fall, don't leave us aside,
thou god in the sky, on the earth,
Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
give us our sign, our word,
as long as there is day, as long as there is light.*(358)
When it comes to the sowing, the dawning,
will it be*(359) a greening road, a greening path?
Give us a steady light, a level place,
a good light, a good place,
a good life and beginning.*(360)
Give us all of this, thou Hurricane,
Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt,
Newborn Nanahuac, Raw Nanahuac,
Falcon, Hunahpu,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Bearer, Begetter,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light,
when it comes to the sowing, the dawning,"

they said when they made their fasts*(361) and prayers, just watching intently*(362) for the dawn. There, too, they looked toward the east, watching closely for the daybringer, the great star at the birth of the sun, of the heat for what is under the sky, on the earth, the guide for the human work, the human design.

They spoke, those who are Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar:

"We're still waiting for the dawning," they said, these great knowers, great thinkers, penitents, praisers, as they are called. And there was nothing of wood and stone in the keeping of our first mother-fathers, and they were weary at heart there, waiting for the sun. Already there were many of them, all the tribes, including the Yaqui people, all penitents and sacrificers.

"Let's just go. We'll look and see whether there is something to keep as our sign. We'll find out what we should burn in front of it. The way we are right now, we have nothing to keep as our own," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. They got word of a citadel. They went there.

AND THIS IS THE NAME OF THE MOUNTAIN WHERE THEY WENT, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, True Jaguar, and the Tams and Ilocs: Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons is the name of the citadel. Those who were to receive the gods arrived there.

And they arrived there at Tulan, all of them, countless people arrived, walking in crowds, and their gods were given out in order, the first being those of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. They were happy:

"We have found what we were looking for," they said. And this one

was the first to come out:

Tohil is the name of the god loaded in the backpack borne by Jaguar Quitze. And the others came out in turn:

Auilix is the name of the god that Jaguar Night carried.

Hacauitz, in turn, is the name of the god received by Mahucutah.

Middle of the Plain is the name of the god received by True Jaguar.

And there were still other Quiche people, since the Tams also received theirs, but it was the same Tohil for the Tams, that's the name received by the grandfather and father of the Tam lords, as they are known today.

And third were the Ilocs: again, Tohil is the name of the god received by the grandfather and father of those lords, the same ones known today.

And such was the naming of the three Quiches. They have never let go of each other because the god has just one name: Tohil for the Quiche proper, and Tohil for the Tams and Ilocs. There is just one name for their god, and so the Quiche threesome has not come apart, those three. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz are truly great in their very being.

And then all the tribes came in: Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of the Bird House, along with the Yaqui people, as the names are today. And the languages of the tribes changed there; their languages became differentiated. They could no longer understand one another clearly when they came away from Tulan.

And there they broke apart. There were those who went eastward and many who came here, but they were all alike in dressing with hides. There were no clothes of the better kinds. They were in patches, they were adorned with mere animal hides. They were poor. They had nothing of their own. But they were people of genius in their very being when they came away from Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons, so says the Ancient Word.

THEY WALKED IN CROWDS WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT TULAN, AND THERE WAS NO FIRE. Only those with Tohil had it: this was the tribe whose god was first to generate fire. How it was generated is not clear. Their fire was already burning when Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night first saw it:

"Alas! Fire has not yet become ours. We'll die from the cold," they said. And then Tohil spoke:

"Do not grieve. You will have your own even when the fire you're talking about has been lost," Tohil told them.

"Aren't you a true god!
Our sustenance and our support!
Our god!"

they said when they gave thanks for what Tohil had said.

"Very well, in truth,
I am your god: so be it.
I am your lord: so be it,"

the penitents and sacrificers were told by Tohil.

And this was the warming of the tribes. They were pleased by their fire.

After that a great downpour began, which cut short the fire of the tribes. And hail fell thickly on all the tribes, and their fires were put out by the hail. Their fires didn't start up again. So then Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night asked for their fire again:

"Tohil, we'll be finished off by the cold," they told Tohil.

"Well, do not grieve," said Tohil. Then he started a fire. He pivoted inside his sandal.*(363)

After that, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were pleased.

After they had been warmed, the fires of the other tribes were still out. Now they were being finished off by the cold, so they came back to ask for their fire from Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. They could bear the cold and hail no longer. By now they were chattering and shivering. There was no life left in them. Their legs and arms kept shaking. Their hands were stiff when they arrived.

"Perhaps we wouldn't make ourselves ashamed in front of you if we asked to remove a little something from your fire?" they said when they arrived, but they got no response.*(364) And then the tribes cursed in their thoughts. Already their language had become different from that of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar.

"Alas! We left our language behind. How did we do it? We're lost! Where were we deceived? We had only one language when we came to Tulan, and we had only one place of emergence*(365) and origin. We haven't done well," said all the tribes beneath the trees and bushes.

And then a person showed himself*(366) before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, and he spoke as a messenger of Xibalba:

"Truly, since you have your god, your nurturer, and he is the representation,*(367) the commemoration of your Maker and your Modeler, don't give the tribes their fire until they give something to Tohil. You don't want them to give anything to you. You must ask for what belongs to Tohil; to him must come what they give in order to get fire," said the Xibalban. He had wings like the wings of a bat.

"I am a messenger of those who made you and modeled you," said the Xibalban. So now they were happy; now they thought all the more of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. When the Xibalban had spoken he made himself vanish right in front of them, without delay.

And so again the tribes arrived, again done in by the cold. Thick were the white hail, the blackening storm, and the white crystals. The cold was incalculable. They were simply overwhelmed.*(368) Because of the cold all the tribes were going along doubled over, groping along*(369) when they arrived in the presence of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. There was great pain in their hearts; they had covetous mouths and covetous faces.*(370)

And now they were coming as thieves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar:

"Wouldn't you take pity on us if we asked to remove a little something from your fire? Wasn't it found and wasn't it revealed*(371) that we had just one home and just one mountain when you were made, when you were modeled? So please take pity on us," they said.

"And what would you give us for taking pity on you?" they were asked.

"Well, we'd give you metal," said the tribes.

"We don't want metal," said Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night.

"Whatever might you want, if we may ask?" the tribes said then.

"Very well. First we must ask Tohil, and then we'll tell you,"

they were told next. And then they asked Tohil:

"What should the tribes give you, Tohil? They've come to ask for your fire," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar.

"Very well. You will tell them:

'"Don't they want to be suckled*(372) on their sides and under their arms? Isn't it their heart's desire to embrace me? I, who am Tohil? But if there is no desire, then I'll not give them their fire," says Tohil. "When the time comes, not right now, they'll be suckled on their sides, under their arms," he says to you,' you will say," they were told, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, and then they spoke the word of Tohil.

"Very well. Let him suckle. And very well, we shall embrace him," said the tribes, when they answered and agreed to the word of Tohil. They made no delay*(373) but said "very well" right away, and then they received their fire.

After that they got warm, but there was one group that simply stole the fire, there in the smoke. This was the Bat House. Calm Snake is the name of the god of the Cakchiquels, but it looks like a bat. They went right past in the smoke then, they sneaked past when they came to get fire. The Cakchiquels didn't ask for their fire. They didn't give themselves up in defeat, but all the other tribes were defeated when they gave themselves up to being suckled on their sides, under their arms.

And this is what Tohil meant by being "suckled": that all the tribes be cut open before him, and that their hearts be removed "through their sides, under their arms." This deed had not yet been attempted*(374) when Tohil saw into the middle of it, nor had Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar received fiery splendor and majesty.

(See illustration: Drawing by the author.

"THEY'VE COME TO ASK FOR YOUR FIRE": This is a scepter held by a ruler, one of the forms taken by Tahil, the classic Maya antecedent of Tohil. On his forehead he wears an obsidian mirror with a burning torch emerging from it. Sometimes he is shown with a body of human form, except that one leg is a serpent; only his head and the serpent leg are shown here. The drawing is reconstructed from several stucco reliefs at Palenque.)

WHEN THEY CAME AWAY FROM TULAN ZUYUA, they weren't eating. They observed a continuous fast. It was enough that they watch intently for the dawning, that they watch closely for the rising of the sun, taking turns at watching for the great star named daybringer. This one came first before the sun when the sun was born, the new daybringer.*(375)

And there, always, they were facing the east, when they were there in the place named Tulan Zuyua. Their gods came from there. It wasn't really here that they received their fiery splendor and their dominion, but rather there that the tribes, great and small, were subjugated and humiliated. When they were cut open before Tohil, all the peoples gave their blood, their gore, their sides, their underarms. Fiery splendor came to them all at once at Tulan, along with great knowledge, and they achieved this in the darkness, in the night.

And now they came away, they tore themselves away from there. Now they left the east:*(376)

"Our home is not here. Let's go on until we see where we belong,"*(377) said Tohil. He actually spoke to them, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar.

"It remains for you to give thanks, since you have yet to take care of bleeding your ears and passing a cord through your elbows.*(378) You must worship. This is your way of giving thanks before your god."

"Very well," they replied, then they bled their ears. They cried in their song about coming from Tulan. They cried in their hearts when they came away, when they made their departure from Tulan:

"Alas! We won't be here when we see the dawn,
when the sun is born, when the face of the earth is lit,"
they said.

AND THEN THEY CAME AWAY, JUST CAMPING ON THE ROAD.*(379) People were just camping there, each tribe slept and then got up again. And they were always watching for the star, the sign of the day. They kept this sign of the dawn in their hearts when they came away from the east. In unity*(380) they passed beyond the place named Great Abyss today.

And then they arrived on top of a mountain there. All the Quiche people got together there, along with the other tribes, and all of them held council there. The name the mountain has today is from when they took counsel together: Place of Advice is the name of the mountain. They got together and identified themselves there:

"Here am I: I am a Quiche person, and you there, you are Tams, this will be your name," the Tams were told. And then the Ilocs were told:

"You are the Ilocs, this will be your name. The three Quiches must not be lost. We are united in our word," they said when they fixed their names.

And then the Cakchiquels were named: their name became Cakchiquels. So, too, with the Rabinals; this became their name. It hasn't been lost today.

And then there are those of the Bird House, as they are named today.

These are the names they named for each other. When they held council there, they were still waiting for the dawning, watching for the appearance of the rising star, the one that came before the sun when it was born.

"When we came away from Tulan, we broke ourselves apart," they told each other.

This is what kept weighing on their hearts, the great pain they went through: there was nothing to eat, nothing to feed on. They were just smelling the tips of their staffs*(381) as if they were thinking of eating them, but they weren't eating at all as they came.

And it isn't clear how they crossed over the sea. They crossed over as if there were no sea. They just crossed over on some stones, stones piled up in the sand. And they gave it a name: Rock Rows, Furrowed Sands was their name for the place where they crossed through the midst of the sea. Where the waters divided, they crossed over.

And this is what weighed on their hearts when they took counsel: that they had nothing to eat. They had one beverage to drink, just one atole, which they brought up on the mountain named Place of Advice. And they also brought Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

Observing a great fast was Jaguar Quitze, with his wife; Great Seahouse is his wife's name.

Likewise doing it was Jaguar Night, with his wife, named Prawn House.

And Mahucutah was also there at the great fast, with his wife, named Hummingbird House, along with True Jaguar, whose wife's name is Macaw House.

So these were the ones who fasted, there in the blackness, in the early dawn. Their sadness was great when they were there on the mountain named Place of Advice today. And their gods spoke there.

AND THEN TOHIL, ALONG WITH AUILIX AND HACAUITZ, SPOKE TO THEM, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar:

"Let's just go, let's just get up, let's not stay here. Please give us places to hide. It's nearly dawn. Wouldn't you look pitiful if we became plunder for warriors? Construct places where we can remain yours, you penitents and sacrificers, and give one place to each of us," they said when they spoke.

"Very well. Let's get out and search the forests," they all replied.

After that they packed each one of the gods on their backs.*(382)

And then Auilix went into the canyon named Concealment Canyon, as they called it, into the great canyon in the forest. Pauilix is the name of the place today. He was left there, placed in the canyon by Jaguar Night, coming first in the sequence of placements.

And then Hacauitz was placed above a great red river.*(383) Hacauitz is the name of the mountain today, and it became their citadel. So the god Hacauitz remained there, and Mahucutah stayed with his god. This was the second god to be hidden by them. Hacauitz didn't stay in the forest. It was on a bare mountain*(384) that Hacauitz was hidden.

And then came Jaguar Quitze. He arrived in the great forest there. Tohil was put into hiding by Jaguar Quitze; the mountain is called Patohil today. Then they gave Concealment Canyon an epithet: Tohil Medicine. Masses of serpents and masses of jaguars, rattlesnakes, yellowbites were there in the forest where he was hidden*(385) by the penitents and sacrificers.

So they were there in unity: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. In unity they waited for the dawn, there on top of the mountain named Hacauitz.

Also, a short distance away, was the god of the Tams, together with the Ilocs. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where the god of the Tams was, there at the dawn. Net Weave Tribe is the name of the place where dawn came for the Ilocs. The god of the Ilocs was just a short distance away.

Also there were all the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of the Bird House, all the tribes, small and great. In unity they stopped there,*(386) and in unity they had their dawning there. In unity they waited there for the rising of the great star named daybringer.

"It will rise before the sun when the dawn comes," they said, and they were in unity there: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. There was no sleep, no rest for them. They cried their hearts and their guts out,*(387) there at the dawning and clearing, and so they looked terrible. Great sorrow, great anguish came over them; they were marked by their pain. They just stayed that way.

"Coming here hasn't been sweet for us. Alas! If we could only see the birth of the sun! What have we done? We all had one identity, one mountain, but we sent ourselves into exile," they said when they

talked among themselves. They talked about sorrow, about anguish, about crying and wailing, since their hearts had not yet been set to rest by the dawn.

And these are the ones who did feel settled there: the gods who were in the canyons, in the forests, just out in the bromelias, in the hanging mosses, not yet set on pedestals.*(388) At first, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz actually spoke. The greatness of their day and the greatness of their breath of spirit set them above all the other tribal gods. Their genius was manifold and their ways were manifold, their strategies.*(389) They were chilling, they were frightening in their very being and in the hearts of the tribes, whose thoughts were calmed by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. Their hearts did not yet harbor ill will*(390) toward the gods who had been taken up and carried away when they all came from Tulan Zuyua, there in the east, and who were now in the forest.

These were the dawning places: Patohil, Pauilix, and Hacauitz, as they are called today. And this is where our grandfathers, our fathers had their sowing, their dawning.

This is what we shall explain next: the dawning and showing of the sun, moon, and stars.

AND HERE IS THE DAWNING AND SHOWING OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS. And Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were overjoyed when they saw the daybringer. It came up first. It looked brilliant when it came up, since it was ahead of the sun.

After that they unwrapped their copal incense, which came from the east, and there was triumph in their hearts when they unwrapped it. They gave their heartfelt thanks with three kinds at once:

Mixtam Copal is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Quitze.

Cauiztan Copal, next, is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Night.

Godly Copal, as the next one is called, was brought by Mahucutah.

The three of them had their copal, and this is what they burned as they incensed*(391) the direction of the rising sun. They were crying sweetly as they shook their burning copal, the precious copal.

After that they cried because they had yet to see and yet to witness the birth of the sun.

And then, when the sun came up, the animals, small and great, were happy. They all came up from the rivers and canyons; they waited on all the mountain peaks. Together they looked toward the place where the sun came out.

So then the puma and jaguar cried out, but the first to cry out was a bird, the parrot by name. All the animals were truly happy. The eagle, the white vulture, small birds, great birds spread their wings, and the penitents and sacrificers knelt down. They were overjoyed, together with the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, the Ilocs.

And the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of the Bird House.

And the Sweatbath House, Talk House, Quiba House, those of the Yoke House.

And the Yaqui Sovereign- however many tribes there may be today. There were countless peoples, but there was just one dawn for all tribes.

And then the face of the earth was dried out by the sun. The sun was like a person when he revealed himself. His face was hot, so he

dried out the face of the earth. Before the sun came up it was soggy, and the face of the earth was muddy before the sun came up. And when the sun had risen just a short distance he was like a person, and his heat was unbearable. Since he revealed himself only when he was born, it is only his reflection that now remains.*(392) As they put it in their own words:

"The sun that shows itself is not the real sun."

And then, all at once, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were turned to stone, along with the idols of the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, yellowbite, which the White Sparkstriker took with him into the trees.*(393) Everywhere, all of them became stone when the sun, moon, and stars appeared. Perhaps we would have no relief from the voracious animals today- the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, yellowbite- and perhaps it wouldn't even be our day today, if the original animals hadn't been turned to stone*(394) by the sun when he came up.

There was great happiness in the hearts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. They were overjoyed when it dawned. The people on the mountain of Hacauitz were not yet numerous; just a few were there. Their dawning was there and they burned copal there, incensing the direction of the rising sun. They came from there: it is their own mountain, their own plain. Those named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar came from there, and they began their increase on that mountain.

And that became their citadel, since they were there when the sun, moon, and stars appeared, when it dawned and cleared on the face of the earth, over everything under the sky.

AND THERE BEGAN THEIR SONG NAMED "THE BLAME IS OURS." They sang out the lament of their very hearts and guts. In their song they stated:

"Alas!
We were lost at Tulan!
We shattered ourselves!
We left our elder brothers behind!
Our younger brothers!
Where did they see the sun?
Where must they be staying,
now that the dawn has come?"

They were speaking of the penitents and sacrificers who were the Yaqui people.

"Even though Tohil is his name, he is the same as the god of the Yaqui people, who is named Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat. When we divided, there at Tulan, at Zuyua, they left with us, and they shared our identity when we came away," they said among themselves when they remembered their faraway brothers, elder and younger, the Yaqui people whose dawn was there in the place named Mexico today.

And again, there were also the Fishkeeper people. They stayed there in the east; Sovereign Oloman is their name.

"We left them behind," they said. It was a great weight on their hearts, up there on Hacauitz. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, except that they were in the forest. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where it dawned for the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, with their god, the same Tohil. There was just one name for the god of all three divisions of the Quiche people.

And again, the name of the god of the Rabinals was the same. His

name was only slightly changed; "One Toh" is the way the name of the god of the Rabinals is spoken. They say it that way, but it is meant to be in agreement with the Quiches and with their language.

And the language has differentiated in the case of the Cakchiquels,*(395) since their god had a different name when they came away from Tulan Zuyua. Calm Snake is the name of the god of the Bat House, and they speak a different language today. Along with their god, the lineages took their names; they are called Keeper of the Bat Mat and Keeper of the Dancer Mat. Like their god, their language was differentiated on account of a stone, when they came from Tulan in the darkness. All the tribes were sown and came to light in unity, and each division was allocated a name for its god.

And now we shall tell about their stay*(396) and their sojourn there on the mountain. The four were there together, the ones named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar. Their hearts cried out to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, who were now amid the bromelias and hanging mosses.

AND HERE THEY BURN THEIR COPAL, and here also is the origin of the masking of Tohil.*(397)

And when they went before Tohil and Auilix, they went to visit them and keep their day. Now they gave thanks before them for the dawning, and now they bowed down*(398) before their stones, there in the forest. Now it was only a manifestation of his genius that spoke when the penitents and sacrificers came before Tohil,*(399) and what they brought and burned was not great. All they burned before their gods was resin, just bits of pitchy bark, along with marigolds.*(400)

And when Tohil spoke now it was only his genius. When the gods taught procedures to the penitents and sacrificers, they said this when they spoke:

"This very place has become our mountain, our plain. Now that we are yours, our day and our birth have become great, because all the peoples are yours, all the tribes. And since we are still your companions, even in your citadel, we shall give you procedures:

"Do not reveal us to the tribes*(401) when they search for us.*(402) They are truly numerous now, so don't you let us be hunted down,*(403) but rather give the creatures of the grasses and grains to us, such as the female deer and female birds.*(404) Please come give us a little of their blood, take pity on us. And leave the pelts of the deer apart, save them. These are for disguises, for deception. They will become deer costumes,*(405) and so also they will serve as our surrogates before the tribes. When you are asked:

'Where is Tohil?' then you will display the deer costumes before them, and without revealing yourselves. And there is still more for you to do. You will become great in your very being. Defeat all the tribes. They must bring blood and lymph before us, they must come to embrace us. They belong to us already,"*(406) said Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. They had a youthful appearance when they saw them, when they came to burn offerings before them.

So then began the hunting of the young of all the birds and deer; they were taken in the hunt by the penitents and sacrificers.

And when they got hold of the birds and fawns, they would then go to anoint the mouth of the stone of Tohil or Auilix with the blood of the deer or bird.*(407) And the bloody drink was drunk by the gods. The stone would speak at once when the penitents and sacrificers

arrived, when they went to make their burnt offerings.

They did the very same thing before the deerskins: they burned resin, and they also burned marigolds and yarrow. There was a deerskin for each one of the gods, which was displayed there on the mountain.

They didn't occupy their houses during the day, but just walked in the mountains. And this was their food: just the larva of the yellow jacket, the larva of the wasp, and the larva of the bee,*(408) which they hunted. As yet there wasn't anything good to eat or good to drink. Also, it wasn't obvious how to get to their houses, nor was it obvious where their wives stayed.

And the tribes were already densely packed, settling down one by one, with each division of a tribe gathering itself together. Now they were crowding the roads; already their roadways were obvious.

As for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, it wasn't obvious where they were. When they saw the people of the tribes passing by on the roads, that was when they would get up on the mountain peaks, just crying out with the cry of the coyote and the cry of the fox. And they would make the cries of the puma and jaguar, whenever they saw the tribes out walking in numbers. The tribes were saying:

"It's just a coyote crying out," and "Just a fox."

"Just a puma. Just a jaguar."

In the minds of all the tribes, it was as if humans weren't involved. They did it just as a way of decoying the tribes; that was what their hearts desired. They did it so that the tribes wouldn't get really frightened just yet; that was what they intended when they cried out with the cry of the puma and the cry of the jaguar. And then, when they saw just one or two people out walking, they intended to overwhelm them.

Each day, when they came back to their houses and wives, they brought just the same things- yellow-jacket larvae, wasp larvae, and bee larvae- and gave them to their wives, each day. And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they thought to themselves:

"They are Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, yet we only give them the blood of deer and birds, we only draw cords through our ears and elbows when we ask for our strength and our manhood from Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. Who will take care of the death of the tribes? Should we just kill them one by one?" they said among themselves.

And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they drew cords through their ears and elbows in front of the gods. They spilled their blood, they poured gourdfuls into the mouths of the stones. But these weren't really stones: each one became like a boy when they arrived, happy once again over the blood.

And then came a further sign as to what the penitents and sacrificers should do:

"You must win a great many victories. Your right*(409) to do this came from over there at Tulan, when you brought us here," they were told. Then the matter of the suckling*(410) was set forth, at the place called Staggering, and the blood that would result from it, the rainstorm of blood, also became a gift for Tohil, along with Auilix and Hacauitz.

Now here begins the abduction of the people of the tribes by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar.

AND THEN COMES THE KILLING OF THE TRIBES. This is how they died:

when there was just one person out walking, or just two were out walking, it wasn't obvious when they took them away.

After that they went to cut them open before Tohil and Auilix.

After that, when they had offered the blood, the skull would be placed in the road. They would roll it onto the road. So the tribes were talking:

"A jaguar has been eating," was all that was said, because their tracks were like a jaguar's tracks when they did their deed. They did not reveal themselves. Many people were abducted.

It was actually a long time before the tribes came to their senses:

"If it's Tohil and Auilix who are after us, we have only to search for the penitents and sacrificers. We'll follow their tracks to wherever their houses are," said all those of the tribes, when they shared their thoughts among themselves.

After that, they began following the tracks of the penitents and sacrificers, but they weren't clear. They only saw the tracks of the deer, the tracks of the jaguar. The tracks weren't clear, nothing was clear. Where they began the tracks were merely those of animals.*(411) It was as if the tracks were there for the sole purpose of leading them astray. The way was not clear:

It would get cloudy.

It would get dark and rainy.*(412)

It would get muddy, too.

It would get misty and drizzly.*(413)

That was all the tribes could see in front of them, and their search would simply make them weary at heart. Then they would give up.

Because Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were great in their very being, they did this for a long time, there on the mountain. They did their killing on the frontiers of the tribes when the abductions began; they singled them out and cut them down.*(414) They would seize the people of the tribes in the roads, cutting them open before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

And the boys hid there on the mountain. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz had the appearance of three boys when they went out walking; these were simply the spirit familiars of the stones. There was a river. They would bathe there on the bank, just as a way of revealing themselves, and this gave the place its name. The name of the river came to be Tohil's Bath, and the tribes saw them there many times. They would vanish the moment they were seen by the tribes.

Then the news spread as to the whereabouts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, and this is when the tribes realized how they were being killed.

FIRST THE TRIBES TRIED TO PLAN THE DEFEAT OF TOHIL, AUILIX, AND HACAUITZ. All the penitents and sacrificers of the tribes spoke to the others. They roused and summoned one another, all of them. Not even one or two divisions were left out. All of them converged and presented themselves, then they shared their thoughts. And they said, as they questioned one another:

"What would assure the defeat of the Cauecs, the Quiche people? Our vassals have met their ends because of them. Isn't it clear that our people have been lost because of them? What if they finish us off with these abductions?"

"Let it be this way: if the fiery splendor of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz is so great, then let this Tohil become our god! Let him be

captured! Don't let them defeat us completely! Don't we constitute a multitude of people? And as for the Cauecs, there aren't as many of them," they said when all of them had assembled. Then the Fishkeepers spoke to the tribes, saying:

"Who could be bathing every day at the river bank? If it's Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, then we can defeat them ahead of time. Let the defeat of the penitents and sacrificers begin right there!" said the Fishkeepers, and then they spoke further:

"How shall we defeat them?" And then they said:

"Let this be our means for defeating them: since they present the appearance of adolescent boys at the river, let two maidens go there. Let them be in full blossom,*(415) maidens who radiate preciousness,*(416) so that when they go they'll be desirable," they said.

"Very well. So we'll just search for two perfect maidens," the others replied. And then they searched among their daughters for those who were truly radiant maidens. Then they gave the maidens instructions:

"You must go, our dear daughters. Go wash clothes at the river, and if you should see three boys, undress yourselves in front of them. And if their hearts should desire you, you will titillate them. When they say to you:

'We're coming after you,' then you are to say:

'Yes.' And then you will be asked:

'Where do you come from? Whose daughters are you?' When they say that, you are to answer them:

'We are the daughters of lords, so let a sign be forthcoming from you.' Then they should give you something. If they like your faces you must really give yourselves up to them. And if you do not give yourselves up, then we shall kill you. We'll feel satisfied when you bring back a sign, since we'll think of it as proof that they came after you," said the lords, instructing the two maidens.

Here are their names: Xtah is the name of the one maiden, and Xpuch is the name of the other.

AND THEY SENT THE TWO OF THEM, NAMED XTAH AND XPUCH, over to the place where Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz bathed. All the tribes knew about this.

And then they went off. They were dressed up, looking truly beautiful, when they went to the place where Tohil bathed. They were carrying what looked like their wash when they went off. Now the lords were pleased over having sent their two daughters there.

And when they arrived at the river, they began to wash. They undressed themselves, both of them. They were on the rocks, on their hands and knees,*(417) when Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz came along. They got to the bank of the river and just barely glanced at the two maidens washing there, and the maidens got a sudden scare when Tohil and the others*(418) arrived. They did not go lusting after the two maidens. Then came the questioning:

"Where do you come from?" the two maidens were asked. "What do you intend by coming here, to the bank of our river?" they were also asked.

"We were sent here by the lords, so we came. The lords told us:

'Go see the faces of Tohil and the others, and speak to them,' the lords told us, 'and also, there must come a sign as to whether you

really saw their faces.*(419) Go!' is what we were told," said the two maidens, explaining their errand.

But this is what the tribes had intended: that the maidens should be violated by the spirit familiars of Tohil and the others. Then Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz spoke, answering the two maidens named Xtah and Xpuch:

"Good. Let a sign of our word go with you. But you must wait for it, then give it directly to the lords," they were told.

And then Tohil and the others plotted with the penitents and sacrificers. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah were told:

"You must draw figures on three cloaks. Inscribe them with the signs of our being. They're for the tribes; they'll go back with the maidens who are washing. Give them to the maidens," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah were told.

After that, they drew figures for all three of them. Jaguar Quitze drew first: his image was that of the jaguar. He drew it on his cloak.

And as for Jaguar Night, he drew the image of an eagle on his cloak.

And the one who drew next was Mahucutah, who drew the images, the figures of swarms of yellow jackets, swarms of wasps on his cloak. Then the figures were complete; they had drawn all three of them, the threefold figures.

After that, when Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah went to give the cloaks to those who were named Xtah and Xpuch, they spoke to them:

"Here is the proof of your word. When you come before the lords you will say:

'Tohil really spoke to us, and here is the sign we've brought back,' you'll tell them, and give them the cloaks to try on," the maidens were told when they were given their instructions.

So then they went back, taking the figured cloaks.

And when they arrived, the lords were happy the moment they spotted*(420) what they had asked for, hanging from the arms of the maidens.

"Didn't you see the face of Tohil?" they were asked.

"See it we did," said Xtah and Xpuch.

"Very good. You've brought back some sort of sign. Isn't that so?" said the lords, since there seemed to be signs of their sin- or so thought the lords. So then they were shown the figured cloaks by the maidens: one with a jaguar, one with an eagle, and one with yellow jackets and wasps drawn on the inside, on a smooth surface.*(421)

And they loved the way the cloaks looked. They costumed themselves. The jaguar didn't do anything; it was the first figure to be tried on by a lord.

And when another lord costumed himself with the second figured cloak, with the drawing of the eagle, the inside of it just felt good to him. He turned around*(422) in front of them, unfurling it*(423) in front of all of them.

And then came the third figured cloak to be tried on by a lord; he costumed himself with the one that had yellow jackets and wasps painted inside.

And then he started getting stung by the yellow jackets and wasps. He couldn't endure it, he couldn't stand the stings of the insects. That lord yelled his mouth off over the insects. Mahucutah's figures inside the cloak looked like a mere drawing. It was the third

drawing that defeated them.

And then the maidens named Xtah and Xpuch were reprimanded by the lords:

"How did you get these things you brought back? Where did you go to get them, you tricksters!" the maidens were told when they were reprimanded.

Again, all the tribes were defeated because of Tohil. This is what they had intended: that Tohil would be tempted to go after the maidens. It then became the profession of Xtah and Xpuch to bark shins;*(424) the tribes continued to think of them as temptresses.

So the defeat of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah was not brought about, since they were people of genius.

And then all the tribes plotted again:

"How are we going to beat them? They are truly great in their very being," they said when they shared their thoughts.

"Even so, we'll invade them and kill them. Let's fit ourselves out with weapons and shields. Aren't we a multitude? There won't even be one or two of them left," they said when they shared their thoughts. All the tribes fitted themselves out. There were masses of killers, once the killers of all the tribes had joined together.

And as for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, they were there on the mountain. Hacauitz is the name of the mountain where they were, and those spirit boys*(425) of theirs were hidden there on the mountain. They were not a numerous people then; their numbers were not equal to the numbers of the tribes. There were just a few of them on the mountain, their fortress,*(426) so when it was said that the tribes had planned death for them, all of them gathered together. They held a council; they all sent for one another.

AND HERE IS THE JOINING TOGETHER OF ALL THE TRIBES, all decked out now with weapons and shields. Their metal ornaments were countless, they looked beautiful, all the lords, the men. In truth, they were just making talk, all of them. In truth, they would become our captives.

"Since there is a Tohil, and since he is a god, let's celebrate his day- or let's make him our prize!" they said among themselves. But Tohil already knew about it, and Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah also knew about it. They had heard about it while it was being plotted, since they were neither asleep nor at rest.

So then all the lance-bearing warriors of the tribes were armed.

After that, all the warriors got up during the night, in order to enter our very midst. They set off, but they never arrived. They just fell asleep on the way, all those warriors.

And then they were defeated again by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah, since every last one of them fell asleep in the road. Now they couldn't feel a thing. A multitude slept, all of them, and that's when things got started. Their eyebrows were plucked out, along with their beards.*(427)

And then the metal was undone from their cloaks, along with their headdresses.

And their necklaces came off too, and then the necks of their staffs. Their metal was taken just to cause them a loss of face, and the plucking was done just to signify the greatness of the Quiche.

After that, they woke up. Right away they reached for their headdresses, along with the necks of their staffs. There was no

metal on their cloaks and headdresses.

"How could it have been taken from us? Who could have plucked us? Where did they come from? Our metal has been stolen!" said all the warriors.

"Perhaps it's those tricksters who've been abducting people! But it's not over with. Let's not get frightened by them. Let's enter their very citadel! That's the only way we'll ever see our metal and make it ours again!" said all the tribes, but even so, they were just making talk, all of them.

The hearts of the penitents and sacrificers were content, there on the mountain, but even so, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were making great plans.

AND THEN JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, MAHUCUTAH, AND TRUE JAGUAR HAD A PLAN. They made a fence*(428) at the edge of their citadel. They just made a palisade of planks and stakes*(429) around their citadel.*(430)

Next they made manikins; it was as if they had made people. Next they lined them up on the parapet. They were even equipped with weapons and shields. Headdresses were included, with metal on top, and cloaks were included. But they were mere manikins, mere woodcarvings. They used the metal that belonged to the tribes, which they had gone to get in the road. This is what they used to decorate the manikins. They surrounded the citadel.*(431)

And then they asked Tohil about their plan:

"What if we die, and what if we're defeated?" They spoke straight from their hearts before Tohil.

"Do not grieve. I am here. And here is what you will use on them. Do not be afraid," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were told, and then the matter of the yellow jackets and wasps was set out.

And when they had gone to get these insects and come back with them, they put them inside four large gourds, which were placed all around the citadel. The yellow jackets and wasps were shut inside the gourds. These were their weapons against the tribes.

And they were spied upon and watched from hiding; their citadel was studied by the messengers of the tribes.

"There aren't many of them," they said, but when they came to look it was only the manikins, the woodcarvings, that were moving, with weapons and shields in their hands. They looked like real people, they looked like real killers when the tribes saw them.

And all the tribes were happy when they saw there weren't many of them. The tribes themselves were in crowds; there were countless people, warriors and killers, the assassins of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah, who were there on the mountain called Hacauitz. This is where they were when they were invaded. Here we shall tell about it.

AND THESE ARE THE ONES WHO WERE THERE: JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, MAHUCUTAH, AND TRUE JAGUAR. They were in unity on the mountain with their wives and children.

And then all the warriors came, the killers, and it was nothing less than eight hundred score, or even thirty times eight hundred*(432) people who surrounded the citadel. They were bellowing, bristling with weapons and shields, rending their mouths with howling and growling, bellowing, yelling, whistling through their hands when they came up

below the citadel. But the penitents and sacrificers had no fear; they just enjoyed the spectacle*(433) from the parapet of the stockade. They were lined up with their wives and children. Their hearts were content, since the tribes were merely making talk.

And then they climbed up the mountainside, and now they were just a little short of the edge of the citadel.

And then the gourds were opened up- there were four of them around the citadel- and the yellow jackets and wasps were like a cloud of smoke when they poured out of each of the gourds. And the warriors were done in, with the insects landing on their eyes and landing on their noses, on their mouths, their legs, their arms.*(434) The insects went after them wherever they were, they overtook them wherever they were. There were yellow jackets and wasps everywhere, landing to sting their eyes. They had to watch out for whole swarms of them, there were insects going after every single person. They were dazed by the yellow jackets and wasps. No longer able to hold onto their weapons and shields, they were doubling over*(435) and falling to the ground, stumbling.*(436) They fell down the mountainside.

And now they couldn't feel a thing when they were hit*(437) with arrows and cut with axes. Now Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night could even use sticks; even their wives became killers.

Then the Fishkeepers turned away, and all the other tribes just took off running. The first to be overtaken were finished off, killed, and it wasn't just a few people who died. For those who didn't die the chase was carried into their very midst when the insects caught up with them. There were no manly deeds for them to do, since they no longer carried weapons and shields.

Then all the tribes were conquered. Now the tribes humbled themselves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah:

"Take pity on us! Don't kill us!" they said.

"Very well. Although you were destined to join the dead, you will be payers of tribute for as long as there are days and as long as there is light," they were told.

Such was the defeat of all the tribes by our first mother-fathers. It was done there on the mountain named Hacauitz today. This is where they first began. They grew, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons on Hacauitz. They were happy, once they had beaten all the tribes, who were defeated there on the mountain.

In this way they accomplished the defeat of the tribes, all the tribes.

After that, their hearts were content. They informed their sons that their death was approaching. They very much intended to be taken by death.

NOW THIS IS WHERE WE SHALL TELL ABOUT THE DEATH OF JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, MAHUCUTAH, AND TRUE JAGUAR, as they are named. Since they knew about their death and disappearance, they left instructions with their sons. They weren't sickly yet, they weren't gasping for breath*(438) when they left their word with their sons.

These are the names of their sons:

Jaguar Quitze begot these two: Cocaib was the name of the firstborn and Cocauib was the name of the second of the sons of Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father of the Cauecs.

And again, Jaguar Night begot two. These are their names: Coacul was the name of his first son, and the other was called Coacutec, the

second son of Jaguar Night, of the Greathouses.

And Mahucutah begot just one son, named Coahau.

These three had sons, but True Jaguar had no son. They were all true penitents and sacrificers, and these are the names of their sons, with whom they left instructions. They were united, the four of them together. They sang of the pain in their hearts, they cried their hearts out in their singing. "The Blame Is Ours" is the name of the song they sang.

And then they advised their sons:

"Our dear sons: we are leaving. We are going back. We have enlightened words, enlightened advice to leave with you- and with you who have come from faraway mountains, our dear wives," they told their wives. They advised each one of them:

"We are going back to our own tribal place.*(439) Again it is the time of our Lord Deer,*(440) as is reflected in the sky. We have only to make our return. Our work has been done, our day has been completed. Since you know this, neither forget us nor put us aside. You have yet to see your own home and mountain, the place of your beginning.

"Let it be this way: you must go. Go see the place where we came from,"*(441) were the words they spoke when they gave their advice.

And then Jaguar Quitze left a sign of his being:

"This is for making requests*(442) of me. I shall leave it with you. Here is your fiery splendor.*(443) I have completed my instructions, my counsel," he said when he left the sign of his being, the Bundle of Flames, as it is called. It wasn't clear just what it was; it was wound about with coverings. It was never unwrapped. Its sewing wasn't clear because no one looked on while it was being wrapped.

In this way they left instructions, and then they disappeared from there on the mountain of Hacauitz. Their wives and children never saw them again. The nature of their disappearance was not clear. But whatever the case with their disappearance, their instructions were clear, and the bundle became precious to those who remained. It was a memorial to their fathers. Immediately they burned offerings before this memorial to their fathers.

When the lords began their generation of the people, the Cauecs took their start from Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father; his sons, named Cocaib and Cocauib, were not lost.

Such was the death of all four of our first grandfathers and fathers. When they disappeared their sons remained there on the mountain of Hacauitz; their sons stayed there for awhile. As for all the tribes, it was now their day to be broken and downtrodden.*(444) They no longer had any splendor to them, though they were still numerous.

All those on Hacauitz*(445) gathered on each day that was for the remembrance of their fathers. For them, the day of the bundle*(446) was a great one. They could not unwrap it; for them it stayed bundled- the Bundle of Flames, as they called it. It was given this epithet, this name when it was left in their keeping by their fathers, who made it just as a sign of their being.

Such was the disappearance and loss of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, the first people to come across the sea, from the east. They came here in ancient times. When they died they were already old. They had a reputation for penitence and

sacrifice.

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AND THEN THEY REMEMBERED WHAT HAD BEEN SAID ABOUT THE EAST. This is when they remembered the instructions of their fathers. The ancient things received from their fathers were not lost. The tribes gave them their wives, becoming their fathers-in-law as they took wives. And there were three of them who said, as they were about to go away:

"We are going to the east, where our fathers came from," they said, then they followed their road. The three of them were representative sons:

Cocaib was the name of the son of Jaguar Quitze who represented all the Cauecs.*(447)

Coacutec was the name of the son of Jaguar Night who served as the sole representative of the Greathouses.

Coahau was the name of the only son of Mahucutah, representing the Lord Quiches.

So these are the names of those who went across the sea. There were only three who went, but they had skill and knowledge. Their being was not quite that of mere humans. They advised all their brothers, elder and younger, who were left behind. They were glad to go:

"We're not dying. We're coming back," they said when they went, yet it was these same three who went clear across the sea.

And then they arrived in the east; they went there to receive lordship. Next comes the name of the lord with dominion over those of the east, where they arrived.

AND THEN THEY CAME BEFORE THE LORD NAMED NACXIT, the great lord and sole judge*(448) over a populous domain.

And he was the one who gave out the signs of lordship, all the emblems; the signs of the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth.

And when the signs of the splendor and lordship of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth, Nacxit gave a complete set of the emblems of lordship. Here are their names:

Canopy, throne.
Bone flute, bird whistle.
Paint of powdered yellow stone.
Puma's paw, jaguar's paw.
Head and hoof of deer.
Bracelet of rattling snail shells.
Gourd of tobacco.
Nosepiece.
Parrot feathers, heron feathers.

They brought all of these when they came away. From across the sea, they brought back the writings about Tulan. In the writings, in their words, they spoke of having cried.*(449)

And then, when they got back up in their citadel, named Hacauitz, all the Tams and Ilocs gathered there. All the tribes gathered themselves together; they were happy. When Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau came back, they resumed their lordship over the tribes. The Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and those of the Bird House were happy. Only the signs of the greatness of lordship were revealed before them.

Now the lords became great in their very being; when they had displayed their lordship previously, it was incomplete.

This was when they were at Hacauitz. The only ones with them were all those who had originally come from the east. And they spent a long time there on that mountain. Now they were all numerous.

And the wives of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah died there. Then they came away, they left their mountain place behind. They sought another mountain where they could settle. They settled countless mountains, giving them epithets and names. Our first mothers and our first fathers multiplied and gained strength at those places, according to what the people of ancient times said when they told about the abandonment of their first citadel, named Hacauitz.

AND THEN THEY CAME TO A PLACE WHERE THEY FOUNDED A CITADEL NAMED THORNY PLACE. They spent a long time there in that one citadel. They had daughters and sons while they were there. There were actually four mountains,*(450) but there came to be a single name for the whole town. Their daughters and sons got married. They just gave them away. They accepted mere favors and gifts as sufficient payment for their daughters. They did only what was good.

Then they examined*(451) each division of the citadel. Here are the names of the divisions of Thorny Place: Dry Place, Bark House, Culba, Cauinal are the names of the mountains where they stayed.

And this is when they looked out over the mountains of their citadel. They were seeking a further mountain, since all the divisions had become more numerous. But those who had brought lordship from the east had died by now; they had become old in the process of going from one citadel to another. But their faces did not die;*(452) they passed them on.

They went through a great deal of pain and affliction;*(453) it was a long time before the grandfathers and fathers found their citadel. Here is the name of the citadel where they arrived.

AND BEARDED PLACE IS THE NAME OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THEIR CITADEL. They stayed there and they settled down there.

And they tested their fiery splendor there. They ground their gypsum their plaster,*(454) in the fourth generation of lords. It was said that Conache ruled when Nine Deer was the Lord Minister, and then the lords named Cotuha and Iztayul reigned as Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. They reigned there at Bearded Place. It was through their works that it became an excellent citadel.

The number of great houses only reached three, there at Bearded Place. There were not yet a score and four great houses, but only three of them:

Just one Cauec great house.

And just one great house for the Greathouses.

And finally, just one for the Lord Quiches.

But the three were housed in just two buildings, one in each*(455) of the two divisions of the citadel.

This is the way it was when they were at Bearded Place:

They were of just one mind: there was no evil for them, nor were there difficulties.

Their reign was all in calm: there were no quarrels for them, and no disturbances.

Their hearts were filled with a steady light: there was nothing of stupidity and nothing of envy in what they did.

Their splendor was modest: they caused no amazement, nor had they grown great.

And then they tested themselves. They excelled in the Shield Dance, there at Bearded Place. They did it as a sign of their sovereignty. It was a sign of their fiery splendor and a sign of their greatness.

When it was seen by the Ilocs, the Ilocs began to foment war. It was their desire that the Lord Cotuha be murdered, and that the other lord be allied with them.*(456) It was the Lord Iztayul they wanted to persuade; the Ilocs wanted him as their disciple*(457) in committing murder. But their jealous plotting behind the back of the Lord Cotuha failed to work out. They just wanted it over with, but the lord wasn't killed by the Ilocs on the first try.

Such were the roots of disturbances, of tumult and war. First they invaded the citadel,*(458) the killers were on the move. What they wanted was to obliterate the very identity of the Quiches. Only then, they thought, could they alone have sovereignty, and it was for this alone that they came to kill. They were captured and they were made prisoners. Not many of them ever got their freedom again.

And then began the cutting of flesh. They cut the Ilocs open before the gods. This was in payment*(459) for their wrongs against Lord Cotuha. And many others went into bondage; they were made into slaves and serfs. They had simply given themselves up in defeat by fomenting war against the lord and against the canyon and the citadel.*(460) What their hearts had desired was the destruction and disintegration of the very identity of the Quiche lord, but it did not come to pass.

In this way it came about that people were cut open before the gods. The shields of war were made then; it was the very beginning of the fortification of the citadel at Bearded Place. The root of fiery splendor was implanted there, and because of it the reign of the Quiche lords was truly great. They were lords of singular genius.*(461) There was nothing to humble them; nothing happened to make fools of them*(462) or to ruin the greatness*(463) of their reign, which took root there at Bearded Place.

The penance done for the gods increased there, striking terror again, and all the tribes were terrified, small tribes and great tribes. They witnessed the arrival of people captured in war, who were cut open and killed for the splendor and majesty of Lord Cotuha and Lord Iztayul, along with the Greathouses and the Lord Quiches. There were only three branches of kin there at the citadel named Bearded Place.

And it was also there that they began feasting and drinking over the blossoming of their daughters.*(464) This was the way those who were called the "Three Great Houses" stayed together. They drank their drinks there and ate their corn*(465) there, the payment for their sisters, payment for their daughters. There was only happiness in their hearts when they did it. They ate, they feasted inside their palaces.

"This is just our way of being thankful and grateful*(466) that we have good news and good tidings. It is the sign of our agreements about the daughters and sons born to our women," they said.

Epithets were bestowed there, and the lineages, the allied tribes, the principalities*(467) gave themselves names there.

"We are intermarried: we Cauecs, we Greathouses, and we Lord Quiches," said those of the three lineages and the three great houses. They spent a long time there at Bearded Place, and then they sought again and saw another citadel. They left Bearded Place behind.

AND THEN THEY GOT UP AND CAME TO THE CITADEL OF ROTTEN CANE, as the name is spoken by the Quiches. The Lords Cotuha and Plumed Serpent*(468) came along, together with all the other lords. There had been five changes and five generations*(469) of people since the origin of light, the origin of continuity, the origin of life and of humankind.

And they built many houses there.

And they also built houses for the gods, putting these in the center of the highest part of the citadel. They came and they stayed.

After that their domain grew larger; they were more numerous and more crowded. Again they planned their great houses, which had to be regrouped and sorted out because of their growing quarrels. They were jealous of one another over the prices of their sisters and daughters, which were no longer a matter of mere food and drink.

So this was the origin of their separation, when they quarreled among themselves, disturbing the bones and skulls of the dead.*(470) Then they broke apart into nine lineages, putting an end to quarrels over sisters and daughters. When the planning of the lordships was done, the result was a score and four great houses.

It was a long time ago when they all came up onto their citadel, building a score and four palaces there in the citadel of Rotten Cane. That was the citadel blessed by the lord bishop*(471) after it had been abandoned.

They achieved glory there. Their marvelous seats and cushions were arranged; the varieties of splendor were sorted out for each one of the lords of the nine lineages. One by one they took their places:

The nine lords of the Cauecs.

The nine lords of the Greathouses.

The four lords of the Lord Quiches.

The two lords of the Zaquics.

They became numerous. Those who were in the following of a given lord were also numerous, but the lord came first, at the head of his vassals. There were masses, masses of lineages for each of the lords. We shall name the titles of the lords one by one, for each of the great houses.

AND HERE ARE THE TITLES OF THE LORDS WHO LED THE CAUECS, beginning with the first in rank:

Keeper of the Mat.

Keeper of the Reception House Mat.

Keeper of Tohil.

Keeper of the Plumed Serpent.

Great Toastmaster of the Cauecs.

Councilor of the Stores.

Lolmet Quehnay.

Councilor of the Ball Court.

Mother of the Reception House.

So these are the lords who led the Cauecs, nine lords with their palaces ranged around, one for each of them. And now to show their faces ...*(472)

AND NOW THESE ARE THE LORDS WHO LED THE GREATHOUSES, beginning

with the first lord:
Lord Minister.
Lord Crier to the People.
Minister of the Reception House.
Great Reception House.
Mother of the Reception House.
Great Toastmaster of the Greathouses.
Lord Auilix.
Yacolatam, or Edge of the Zaclatol Mat.
Great Lolmet Yeoltux.
So there were nine lords who led the Greathouses.
AND NOW THESE ARE THE LORD QUICHES. Here are the titles of the lords:
Crier to the People.
Lord Lolmet.
Lord Great Toastmaster of the Lord Quiches.
Lord Hacauitz.
Four lords led the Lord Quiches, with their palaces ranged around.
AND THERE WERE ALSO TWO LINEAGES OF ZAQUIC LORDS:
Lord Corntassel House.
Minister for the Zaquics.
There was just one palace for these two lords.
Such was the arrangement of the score and four lords, and there came to be a score and four great houses as well.
THEN SPLENDOR AND MAJESTY GREW AMONG THE QUICHE. The greatness and weight of the Quiche reached its full splendor and majesty with the surfacing and plastering of the canyon and citadel. The tribes came, whether small or great and whatever the titles of their lords, adding to the greatness of the Quiche. As splendor and majesty grew, so grew the houses of gods and the houses of lords.
But the lords could not have accomplished it, they could not have done the work of building their houses or the houses of the gods, were it not for the fact that their vassals had become numerous. They neither had to lure them nor did they kidnap them or take them away by force, because each one of them rightfully belonged to the lords. And the elder and younger brothers of the lords also became populous.
Each lord led a crowded life, crowded with petitions.*(473) The lords were truly valued and had truly great respect. The birthdays*(474) of the lords were made great and held high by their vassals. Those who lived in the canyons and those who lived in the citadels multiplied then. Even so they would not have been numerous, had not all the tribes arrived to give themselves up.
And when war befell their canyons and citadels, it was by means of their genius that the Lord Plumed Serpent and the Lord Cotuha blazed with power. Plumed Serpent became a true lord of genius:
On one occasion*(475) he would climb up to the sky; on another he would go down the road to Xibalba.
On another occasion he would be serpentine, becoming an actual serpent.
On yet another occasion he would make himself aquiline, and on another feline;*(476) he would become like an actual eagle or a jaguar in his appearance.
On another occasion it would be a pool of blood; he would become nothing but a pool of blood.

Truly his being was that of a lord of genius. All the other lords were fearful before him. The news spread;*(477) all the tribal lords heard about the existence of this lord of genius.

And this was the beginning and growth of the Quiche, when the Lord Plumed Serpent made the signs of greatness. His face was not forgotten by his grandsons and sons. He didn't do these things just so there would be one single lord, a being of genius, but they had the effect of humbling all the tribes when he did them. It was just his way of revealing himself, but because of it he became the sole head*(478) of the tribes.

This lord of genius named Plumed Serpent was in the fourth generation of lords; he was both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat.

And so he left signs and sayings for the next generation. They achieved splendor and majesty, and they, too, begot sons, making the sons still more populous. Tepepul and Iztayul were begotten; they merely served out their reign, becoming the fifth generation of lords. They begot another generation of lords.

AND HERE ARE THE NAMES OF THE SIXTH GENERATION OF LORDS. There were two great lords; they were fiery. Quicab was the name of one lord; Cauizimah was the name of the other.

And Quicab and Cauizimah did a great deal in their turn. They added to the greatness of the Quiche because they truly had genius. They crushed and they shattered the canyons and citadels of the tribes, small and great- the ones that had citadels among them in ancient times, nearby:

There was a mountain place of the Cakchiquels, called Above the Nettles today.

And also a mountain place of the Rabinals, Place of Spilt Water.

And a mountain of the Caoques, Plaster House.

And then a citadel of the White Earths, Above the Hot Springs.

Under Ten, Before the Building, and Willow Tree.

They all hated Quicab. They made war, but in fact they were brought down, they were shattered, these canyons, these citadels of the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, White Earths. All the tribes went down on their faces or flat on their backs.*(479) The warriors of Quicab kept up the killing for a long time, until there were only one or two groups, from among all the enemies, who hadn't brought tribute. Their citadels fell and they brought tribute to Quicab and Cauizimah. Their lineages came to be bled, shot full of arrows at the stake.*(480) Their day came to nothing, their heritage came to nothing.

Projectiles alone were the means for breaking the citadels.*(481) All at once the earth itself would crack open; it was as if a lightning bolt had shattered the stones. In fear, the members of one tribe after another*(482) went before the gum tree,*(483) carrying in their hands*(484) the signs of the citadels, with the result that a mountain of stones is there today. Only a few of these aren't cut stones;*(485) the rest look as though they had been split with an axe. The result is there on the flat*(486) named Petatayub; it is obvious to this day. Everyone who passes by can see it as a sign of the manhood of Quicab. He could not be killed, nor could he be conquered. He was truly a man, and all the tribes brought tribute.

And then all the lords made plans; they moved to cordon off the

canyons and citadels, the fallen citadels of all the tribes.

AFTER THAT CAME THE SENTRIES, to watch for the makers of war. Now lookout lineages were established to occupy the conquered mountains:

"Otherwise the tribes would return to inhabit their citadels," all the lords said when they had all shared their thoughts. Then the assignments were given out:

"Let them be like a palisade to us, and like doubles for our own lineages,*(487) and like a stockade, a fortress to us. Let them now become our anger, our manliness," said all the lords. The assignments were given to each of the lineages that were to provide opposition to the makers of war.

And then they were notified, and then they went to their posts, occupying the mountain places of the tribes:

"Go, because these are now our mountains. Do not be afraid. The moment there are makers of war again, coming back among you as your murderers, send for us to come and kill them,"*(488) Quicab and the Minister and the Crier to the People told them, notifying all of them.

Then they went off, those who are called the Point of the Arrow, Angle of the Bowstring. Their grandfathers and fathers split up then; they were on each of the mountains. They went just as guards of the mountains, and as arrowhead and bowstring guards, and as guards against the makers of war as well. None of them had been there at the dawning nor did any of them have his own god;*(489) they just blocked the way to the citadel. They all went out:

Keepers of Above the Nettles, Keepers of Chulimal, White River, Deer Dance Plaza, Plank Place, Eighteen.

Also, Keepers of Earthquake, Meteor, Hunahpu Place.

And Keepers of Spilt Water, Keepers of Cut Rock, Keepers of Plaster House, Keepers of Ziya House, Keepers of Hot Springs, Keepers of Under Ten, of the plains, of the mountains.

The war sentries, the guardians of the land, went out, they went on behalf of Quicab and Cauizimah, Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and on behalf of the Minister and the Crier to the People. There were four lords who posted messengers and sentries against the makers of war:

Quicab and Cauizimah are the names of the two lords who led the Cauecs.

Quema is the name of the lord who led the Greathouses.

And Armadillo Dung is the name of the lord who led the Lord Quiches.

So these are the names of the lords who posted messengers and couriers. Their own vassals went to the mountains, to each one of the mountains, and as soon as they had gone, spoils kept coming back, and prisoners of war kept coming back to Quicab and Cauizimah, to the Minister and the Crier to the People. The Points of the Arrows and Angles of the Bowstrings made war. They took spoils and prisoners again. There came to be heroes again, among those who were sentries. They were given seats and honored; they were generously remembered by the lords when they came to turn over all their spoils and their prisoners.

After that, when the Lords Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Crier to the People had shared their thoughts, their decision came out:

"When it comes to the ennobling of the lookout lineages,*(490) we'll induct*(491) only those who are first in rank. I am Keeper of the

Mat."

"And I am Keeper of the Reception House Mat."

"The nobility of Keeper of the Mat, which is mine- and that which is yours,*(492) Lord Minister- should enter into this. Ministers will be ennobled." And all the lords spoke as they gathered their thoughts. The Tams and Ilocs did just the same; the three divisions of the Quiche were in concord*(493) when they carried out the investiture. They titled those of the first rank among their vassals.

In this way the decision was reached. But they weren't inducted at Quiche. The mountain where the first-ranking vassals were inducted has a name; all of them were summoned, from each of the mountains where they were, and they gathered in just one place. Under the Twine, Under the Cord is the name of the mountain where they were inducted, where they entered into nobility. It was done there in Chulimal.

And here are their titles, their honors, and their marks: a score of Ministers and a score of Keepers of the Mat were created by the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and by the Minister and the Crier to the People.

All of these entered the nobility: Ministers, Keepers of the Mat, eleven Great Toastmasters, Minister for the Lords, Minister for the Zaquics, Military Minister, Military Keeper of the Mat, Military Walls, and Military Corners are the titles that came in when the soldiers were titled and named to their seats, their cushions.

These were the first-ranking vassals, watchers and listeners for the Quiche people, Points of the Arrows, Angles of the Bowstrings, a palisade, an enclosure, a wall, a fortress around Quiche.*(494)

And the Tams and Ilocs did the same thing; they inducted and titled the first-ranking vassals for each mountain.

So this was the origin of the noble Ministers and Keepers of the Mat that exist for each of the mountains today. The sequence was such that they came out later than the Keeper of the Mat proper and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and later than the Minister and the Crier to the People.

AND NOW WE SHALL NAME THE NAMES OF THE HOUSES OF THE GODS, although the houses have the same names as the gods:

Great Monument of Tohil is the name of the building that housed Tohil of the Cauecs.

Auilix, next, is the name of the building that housed Auilix of the Greathouses.

Hacauitz is the name, then, of the building that housed the god of the Lord Quiches.

Corntassel, whose house of sacrifice*(495) can still be seen, is the name of another great monument.

These were the locations of the stones whose days were kept by the Quiche lords. Their days were also kept by all the tribes. When the tribes burned offerings, they came before Tohil first.

After that, they greeted the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat next, then they handed over their quetzal feathers and their tribute to the lords, these same lords.

And so they nurtured and provided for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat,*(496) who had been victorious over their citadels.

They were great lords, they were people of genius. Plumed Serpent and Cotuha were lords of genius, and Quicab and Cauizimah were lords

of genius. They knew whether war would occur; everything they saw was clear to them.*(497) Whether there would be death, or whether there would be famine, or whether quarrels would occur, they knew it for certain, since there was a place to see it, there was a book.*(498) Council Book was their name for it.

But it wasn't only in this way that they were lords. They were great in their own being and observed great fasts. As a way of cherishing*(499) their buildings and cherishing their lordship, they fasted for long periods, they did penance before their gods.

And here is their way of fasting:

For nine score days they would fast,*(500) and for nine they would do penance and burn offerings.

Thirteen score was another of their fasts, and for thirteen they would do penance and burn offerings before Tohil and their other gods. They would only eat zapotes, matasanos,*(501) jocotes; there was nothing made of corn for their meals.

Even if they did penance for seventeen score, then for seventeen they fasted, they did not eat. They achieved truly great abstinence.*(502)

This was a sign that they had the being of true lords. And there weren't any women with them when they slept;*(503) they kept themselves apart when they fasted. They just stayed in the houses of the gods, each day. All they did was keep the days, burn offerings, and do penance. They were there whether it was dark or dawn; they just cried their hearts and their guts out when they asked for light and life for their vassals and their domain. They lifted their faces to the sky, and here is their prayer before their gods, when they made their requests.

AND THIS IS THE CRY OF THEIR HEARTS, here it is:

"Wait! On this blessed day,*(504)
thou Hurricane, thou Heart of the Sky-Earth,
thou giver of ripeness and freshness,*(505)
and thou giver of daughters and sons,
spread thy stain, spill thy drops
of green and yellow;*(506)
give life and beginning
to those I bear and beget,
that they might multiply*(507) and grow,
nurturing and providing for thee,
calling to thee along the roads and paths,
on rivers, in canyons,
beneath the trees and bushes;
give them their daughters and sons.
"May there be no blame, obstacle, want or misery;
let no deceiver come behind or before them,
may they neither be snared nor wounded,
nor seduced, nor burned,
nor diverted below the road nor above it;*(508)
may they neither fall over backward nor stumble;
keep them on the Green Road, the Green Path.
"May there be no blame or barrier for them
through any secrets or sorcery of thine;*(509)
may thy nurturers and providers be good
before thy mouth and thy face,*(510)

thou, Heart of Sky; thou, Heart of Earth;
thou, Bundle of Flames;
and thou, Tohil, Auilix, Hacauitz,
under the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners;
may there be only light, only continuity within,
before thy mouth and thy face, thou god."

So it was with the lords when they fasted during nine score, thirteen score, or seventeen score days; their days of fasting were many. They cried their hearts out over their vassals and over all their wives and children. Each and every lord did service, as a way of cherishing the light of life and of cherishing lordship.

Such were the lordships of the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Crier to the People. They went into fasting two by two, taking turns at carrying the tribes and all the Quiche people on their shoulders.*(511)

At its root the word came from just one place, and the root of nurturing and providing was the same as the root of the word. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, along with the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of the Bird House, Sweatbath House, Talk House. They came away in unity, having heard, there at Quiche, what all of them should do.

It wasn't merely that they became lords;*(512) it wasn't just that they gathered in gifts*(513) from nurturers and providers who merely made food and drink*(514) for them. Nor did they wantonly falsify*(515) or steal their lordship, their splendor, their majesty. And it wasn't merely that they crushed the canyons and citadels of the tribes, whether small or great, but that the tribes paid a great price:

There came turquoise, there came metal.

And there came drops of jade and other gems that measured the width of four fingers or a full fist across.*(516)

And there came green and red featherwork,*(517) the tribute of all the tribes. It came to the lords of genius Plumed Serpent and Cotuha, and to Quicab and Cauizimah as well, to the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Crier to the People.

What they did was no small feat, and the tribes they conquered were not few in number. The tribute of Quiche came from many tribal divisions.

And the lords had undergone pain and withstood it; their rise to splendor had not been sudden. Actually it was Plumed Serpent who was the root of the greatness of the lordship.

Such was the beginning of the rise and growth*(518) of Quiche.

And now we shall list the generations of lords, and we shall also name the names of all these lords.

AND HERE ARE THE GENERATIONS, THE SEQUENCES OF LORDSHIPS, so that all of them will be clear.

Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar were our first grandfathers, our first fathers when the sun appeared, when the moon and stars appeared.

And here are the generations, the sequences, of lordships. We shall begin from here, at their very root. The lords will come up two by two,*(519) as each generation of lords enters and succeeds*(520) the previous grandfathers and lords of the citadel, going on through each and every one of the lords.

And here shall appear the faces of each one of the lords.

AND HERE SHALL APPEAR THE FACES, ONE BY ONE, OF EACH OF THE QUICHE LORDS ...*(521)

Jaguar Quitze, origin of the Cauecs.

Cocauib, in the second generation after Jaguar Quitze.

Jaguar Conache, who began the office of Keeper of the Mat, was in the third generation.

Cotuha and Iztayul, in the fourth generation.

Plumed Serpent and Cotuha, at the root of the lords of genius, were in the fifth generation.

Tepepul and Iztayul next, sixth in the sequence.

Quicab and Cauizimah, in the seventh change of lordship, were the culmination of genius.

Tepepul and Xtayub, in the eighth generation.

Tecum and Tepepul, in the ninth generation.

Eight Cords, with Quicab, in the tenth generation of lords.

Seven Thought and Cauatepech next, eleventh in the sequence of lords.

Three Deer and Nine Dog, in the twelfth generation of lords. And they were ruling when Tonatiuh arrived. They were hanged by the Castilian people.

Tecum and Tepepul were tributary to the Castilian people. They had already been begotten as the thirteenth generation of lords.

Don Juan de Rojas and don Juan Cortes, in the fourteenth generation of lords. They are the sons of Tecum and Tepepul.

So these are the generations, the sequences of lordships for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the lords who have led the Cauecs of Quiche. Next we shall name the lineages.

And here are the great houses of each one of the lords in the following of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. These are the names of the nine lineages of the Cauecs, nine great houses. Here are the titles of the rulers of each one of the great houses:

Lord Keeper of the Mat, with one great house. Granary is the name of the palace.

Lord Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Bird House is the name of his palace.

Great Toastmaster of the Cauecs, with one great house.

Lord Keeper of Tohil, with one great house.

Lord Keeper of the Plumed Serpent, with one great house.

Councilor of the Stores, with one great house.

Lolmet Quehnay, with one great house.

Councilor of the Ball Court, Xcuxeba, with one great house.

Sovereign Yaqui, with one great house.

So these are the nine lineages of the Cauecs. Many vassals are counted in the following of these nine great houses.

AND HERE ARE THOSE OF THE GREATHOUSES, with nine more great houses. First we shall name the genealogy of the lordship. It began, from just one root, at the origin of the root of the day and the light:

Jaguar Night, first grandfather and father.

Coacul and Coacutec, in the second generation.

Cochahuh and Cotzibaha, in the third generation.

Nine Deer next, in the fourth generation.

Cotuha, in the fifth generation of lords.
And Monkey House next, in the sixth generation.
And Iztayul, in the seventh generation of lords.
Cotuha then, eighth in the sequence of lordships.
Nine Deer, ninth in the sequence.
Quema, as the next one was called, in the tenth generation.
Lord Cotuha, in the eleventh generation.
Don Cristobal, as he was called, became lord in the presence of the Castilian people.
Don Pedro de Robles is Lord Minister today.
And these are all the lords who come in the following of the Lord Minister. Now we shall give the title of the ruler of each one of the great houses:
Lord Minister, the first-ranking lord at the head of the Greathouses, with one great house.
Lord Crier to the People, with one great house.
Lord Minister of the Reception House, with one great house.
Great Reception House,*(522) with one great house.
Mother of the Reception House, with one great house.
Great Toastmaster of the Greathouses, with one great house.
Lord Auilix, with one great house.
Yacolatam, with one great house.
So these are the great houses at the head of the Greathouses; these are the names of the nine lineages of the Greathouses, as they are called. There are many branch lineages in the following of each one of these lords; we have named only the first-ranking titles.
AND NOW THESE ARE FOR THE LORD QUICHES. Here are their grandfathers and fathers:
Mahucutah, the first person.
Coahau is the name of the lord of the second generation.
Red Banner.
Cocozom.
Comahcun.
Seven Cane.
Cocamel.
Coyabacoh.
Person of Bam.
So these are the lords at the head of the Lord Quiches; these are their generations and sequences.
And here are the lords within the palaces, with just four great houses:
Crier to the People for the Lords is the title of the first lord, with one great house.
Lolmet of the Lords, the second lord, with one great house.
Great Toastmaster of the Lords, the third lord, with one great house.
And Hacauitz, the fourth lord, with one great house.
And so these are the four great houses at the head of the Lord Quiches.
AND THERE ARE THREE GREAT TOASTMASTERS IN ALL. They are like fathers to all the Quiche lords. They come together in unity, these three Toastmasters. They are givers of birth, they are Mothers of the Word, they are Fathers of the Word, great in being few,*(523) these three Toastmasters:

Great Toastmaster for the Cauecs, first.

And Great Toastmaster for the Greathouses, second.

Great Toastmaster Lord for the Lord Quiches, third of the Great Toastmasters.

And so there are three Toastmasters, one representing each of these lineages.

THIS IS ENOUGH ABOUT THE BEING OF QUICHE, given that there is no longer a place to see it. There is the original book and ancient writing*(524) owned by the lords, now lost, but even so, everything has been completed here concerning Quiche, which is now named Santa Cruz.

(See illustration: Map of places mentioned in the Popol Vuh.)

NOTES_AND_COMMENTS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Quiche words in brackets are corrections of the spellings in the Popol Vuh manuscript. Popol Vuh is abbreviated P.V. throughout. Sources for the meanings of words, here and in the Glossary, are cited by the following letter code (see the Bibliography for the full citations):

(A.) Miguel Alvarado Lopez, Lexico medico quiche-espanol.

(B.) Domingo de Basseta, "Vocabulario en lengua quiche."

(C.) Lyle Campbell, "Prestamos linguisticos en el Popol Vuh."

(D.) Alonso de Molina, Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana.

(E.) Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, Gramatica de la lengua quiche.

(F.) Floyd G. Lounsbury, "The Identities of the Mythological Figures in the 'Cross Group' Inscriptions."

(G.) Pantaleon de Guzman, "Compendio de nombres en lengua cakchiquel."

(K.) Terrence Kaufman, "Common Cholan Lexical Items."

(L.) Robert M. Laughlin, The Great Tzotzil Dictionary.

(M.) Antonio de Ciudad Real, Diccionario de Motul.

(P.) Pedro Moran, "Bocabulario de solo los nombres de la lengua pokoman."

(Q.) Munro S. Edmonson, Quiche-English Dictionary.

(R.) Adrian Recinos et al., Popol Vuh.

(S.) Linda Schele, Notebook for the Maya Hieroglyphic Writing Workshop.

(T.) Fermin Joseph Tirado, "Vocabulario de lengua kiche."

(V.) Francisco de Varela, "Calepino en lengua cakchiquel."

(X.) Gail Maynard and Patricio Xec, "Diccionario preliminar del idioma quiche."

(Z.) Dionysio de Zuniga, "Diccionario pocomchi-castellano y castellano-pocomchi."

INTRODUCTION

* My account of Mayan archaeology is based largely on Michael D. Coe, The Maya, and Norman Hammond, Ancient Maya Civilization.

*(2) For a general discussion of pre-Columbian books in the Mayan region, see J. Eric S. Thompson, A Commentary on the Dresden Codex, chap. 1; the hieroglyphic book now in Dresden is reproduced in color in this same source. For a color reproduction of the fragment that was found more recently in Chiapas, see Coe, The Maya Scribe and His

World; for a demonstration of the authenticity of this fragment, see John B. Carlson, "The Grolier Codex."

*(3) For a comparison of the towns of Quiche and Chichicastenango during the colonial period, see Robert M. Carmack, The Quiche Mayas of Utatlan, pp. 76, 106, 304, 328.

*(4) For a longer account of the odyssey of the Ximenez manuscript, see Adrian Recinos et al., Popol Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiche Maya, pp. 32-45.

*(5) For the Vienna volume see Francisco Ximenez, Las historias del origen de los indios de esta provincia de Guatemala; for the Paris volume, see Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh: Le livre sacre et les mythes de l'antiquite americaine. The title chosen by Scherzer for the Vienna volume is the one used by Ximenez; Brasseur was the first to call the alphabetic version of the ancient book by the name of its hieroglyphic predecessor. His version of the Quiche text leaves much to be desired; by far the best version ever published is that of Leonhard S. Schultze Jena (Popol Vuh: Das heilige Buch der Quiche-Indianer von Guatemala). A highly legible facsimile of the manuscript (easier to read than the original) was published in 1973 by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education (Francisco Ximenez, Popol Vuh).

For evidence that the manuscript Ximenez worked from contained at least a few hieroglyphs, see notes *(472) and *(521). Maya writing, like Egyptian and Chinese, was both logographic and phonetic, which is to say that a given word could be written with a single sign all its own, but could also be spelled out with glyphs that stood for the sounds of its individual consonants or syllables; see David Humiston Kelley, Deciphering the Maya Script, chaps. 6 and 9. The monkey patrons of writing and painting and the close relationship between these arts are discussed in Coe, "Supernatural Patrons of Maya Scribes and Artists."

*(6) The four corners in question here are not the four cardinal points, but the four places marked out by the solstitial rising and setting points of the sun; see Eva Hunt, The Transformation of the Hummingbird, chap. 6.

*(7) See Alfred M. Tozzer, Landa's Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan, pp. 153-54, for a description of the reading of a hieroglyphic book in Yucatan. At present there are public readings of alphabetic manuscripts in the Yucatec Maya ceremonial center of Xcacal, in Quintana Roo; see Allan F. Burns, "The Caste War in the 1970's," and An Epoch of Miracles, pp. 22-23, 71-72.

*(8) For a further discussion of the Ancient Word and its relation to the preaching of God, see Dennis Tedlock, The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation, chap. 12.

*(9) In holding open the possibility that the authors of the alphabetic P.V. had access to the hieroglyphic version I am in agreement with Munro S. Edmonson, The Book of Counsel: The Popol Vuh of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala, pp. 6-7. For a discussion of the role of dialogue in the Quiche story of the origin of the world and the contrasting monologue of Genesis, see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, chap. 11.

*(10) Contemporary Quiche daykeepers and their practices are fully described in Barbara Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya. The 260-day cycle daykeepers divine by is made up of two shorter cycles,

one consisting of an endlessly repeating sequence of thirteen day numbers and the other of an endlessly repeating sequence of twenty day names. Since 13 and 20 have no common factor, the interaction of 13 numbers with 20 names produces a larger cycle consisting of 13 x 20 or 260 days, each with a unique combination of number and name. If we begin with the day that combines the number 1 with the name Queh, the list of successive days proceeds as follows:

QUICHE DAY NAMES WITH NUMBERS
(Yucatec names in parentheses)

1	Queh	(Manik)	12	Tihax	(Etznab)
2	3anil	(Lamat)	13	Cauuk	(Cauac)
3	Toh	(Muluc)	1	Hunahpu	(Ahau)
4	4,ii	(Oc)	2	Imox	(Imix)
5	Ba4,	(Chuen)	3	I3	(Ik)
6	E	(Eb)	4	A3abal	(Akbal)
7	Ah	(Ben)	5	4at	(Kan)
8	Ix	(Ix)	6	Can	(Chicchan)
9	4,iquin	(Men)	7	Came	(Cimi)
10	Ahmac	(Cib)	8	Queh	(Manik)
11	Naoh	(Caban)		etc.	etc.

From 8 Queh the count goes on to 9 3anil, 10 Toh, and so forth, returning to 1 Queh after 260 days.

Andres Xiloj, the daykeeper introduced in the preface to the present work, insists that the period of human pregnancy is the basis for the length of this cycle; medically speaking, 260 days is indeed a sound, average figure for the period lasting from the time when a woman first misses her menses to the time when she gives birth. It should also be noted that the growth cycle of one of the varieties of corn used in highland Guatemala is such that it is harvested 260 days after planting, though it is necessary to hasten the ripening of the ears by bending the stalks over; see B. Tedlock, "Earth Rites and Moon Cycles: Mayan Synodic and Sidereal Moon Reckoning."

*(11) For more on the ball game, see Theodore Stern, The Rubber-Ball Games of the Americas, and Stephan F. de Borhegyi, The Pre-Columbian Ballgames: A Pan-Mesoamerican Tradition.

*(12) For a full exploration of the astronomical dimensions of the P.V., see D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning of All the Sky-Earth: Astronomy in the Popol Vuh." The sources for the astronomical identifications of Seven Macaw and Chimalmat are given under their names in the Glossary. Claude Levi-Strauss states that the Big Dipper is identified with the hurricane (rather than opposed to it) in the mythology of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean (From Honey to Ashes, pp. 115-16), but he bases this statement on the work of R. Lehmann-Nitsche, who presents not a single concrete ethnographic example of such an identification and even passes over evidence that would place the stellar aspect of the hurricane close to the ecliptic rather than near the pole star ("La constelacion de la Osa Mayor y su concepto como Huracan o dios de la tormenta en la esfera del Mar Caribe").

*(13) The symbolism of the Pleiades is discussed in B. Tedlock, "Earth Rites and Moon Cycles." The sexual symbolism of the Zipacna story was pointed out by Andres Xiloj, whose full comments will be found in notes *(144)-*(152).

*(14) Together, Zipacna and Earthquake probably correspond to the

two-headed "Cauac monster" of classic Maya iconography (see Dicey Taylor, "The Cauac Monster").

*(15) The falcon who serves as the messenger for Hurricane, or Heart of Sky, may correspond to the planet Jupiter, for reasons that are given in D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning."

*(16) The Great Abyss at Carchah (see the Glossary) is probably near the town of Coban; an independent colonial source on that region, Bartolome de las Casas, has a god named Exbalanquen entering the underworld through a cave near Coban (Apologetica historia de las Indias, pp. 330, 619).

*(17) The movements of the messenger owls, here and elsewhere, fit those of the planet Mercury; see D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning."

*(18) The Maya Venus cycle, as given in the Dresden Codex, is discussed at length in Thompson, A Commentary on the Dresden Codex, pp. 62-71. A given Venus cycle (lasting 584 days) is divided into four stages, with Venus appearing as the morning star (for 236 days), then disappearing (90 days), then reappearing as the evening star (250 days), and finally disappearing again (8 days). During a given 584-day cycle the 20 day names will repeat fully 29 times, giving 580 days and a remainder of 4; this means that a new Venus cycle will always begin 4 days later in the sequence of 20 day names than the previous cycle. And since 4 divides evenly into 20, giving 5, only 5 of the 20 day names can ever begin a Venus cycle. In the Dresden Codex the chosen days (here given their Quiche names) were Hunahpu, 4at (or "Net"), 3anil, E, and Ahmac, followed by Hunahpu again. Starting from 1 Hunahpu (as the Dresden Codex does) and running through five complete cycles so as to show all of the possible day names, the beginning dates for the four stages within each Venus cycle work out as follows:

DAY NUMBERS AND NAMES
FOR FIVE SUCCESSIVE VENUS CYCLES

	FIRST CYCLE	SECOND CYCLE	THIRD CYCLE	FOURTH CYCLE	FIFTH CYCLE
Appears as morning star:	1 Hunahpu	13 4at	12 3anil	11 E	10 Ahmac
Becomes invisible:	3 Ahmac	2 Hunahpu	1 4at	13 3anil	12 E
Appears as evening star:	2 Came	1 4,ii	13 Ix	12 Tihax	11 13
Becomes invisible:	5 Ahmac	4 Hunahpu	3 4at	2 3anil	1 E

After five complete cycles totaling 2,920 days, the movements of Venus fill exactly 8 years of 365 days each and come within hours of filling 99 lunar months. At this point Venus is also close to completing 13 of its sidereal periods, which run a little under 225 days each. In the present context this means that when Venus begins its cycle for the sixth time, an event that will fall on 9 Hunahpu, it will have the same relationship to the fixed stars that it had 2,920 days earlier, when its appearance as morning star began on 1 Hunahpu. The date for this appearance will not return to 1 Hunahpu until all five of the possible day names have combined with each of the 13 day numbers, by which time Venus will have passed through precisely 65 cycles of 584 days each, 104 cycles of 365 days each, and 146 cycles Of 260 days each.

The divine names One and Seven Hunahpu and One and Seven Came (or "Death") point directly to the Venus calendar, and specifically to the first of its five cycles. Andres Xiloj pointed out that combining the numbers 1 and 7 with a given day name is a conventional way of indicating all 13 days bearing that name. The reason is that when one traces a single day name through all of its occurrences in a given 260-day cycle, the accompanying numbers fall out in the sequence 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, 4, 11, 5, 12, 6, 13, and 7. This means that if the divine names in question here refer to astronomical events, these should be events whose day names remain constant but whose day numbers are variable, which is indeed the case. By the same argument, the names One Ba4, (or "Monkey") and One Chouen (or "Artisan"), both of which refer to the same day (see the Glossary), point to an event that varies neither as to number nor as to name and must therefore occur each 260 days or a multiple thereof. The only astronomical events that fit this description are those pertaining to Mars, whose synodic period is 780 (3 x 260) days. For example, if Mars made its first appearance in a given cycle on the day 1 Ba4, the return of this same event would again fall on the day 1 Ba4,.

*(19) The falcon who serves as the messenger for Xmucane may correspond to the planet Saturn, for reasons that are given in D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning."

*(20) It was Andres Xiloj who pointed out that the ritual performed with the ears of corn in the P.V. is the same as a contemporary ritual; his detailed comments on this and other connections between the P.V. and contemporary practices may be found throughout the notes to the P.V. translation itself. For an account of contemporary sound plays on day names, see B. Tedlock, "Sound Texture and Metaphor in Quiche Maya Ritual Language," and Time and the Highland Maya, chap. 5.

*(21) The macaw's tail and the two fireflies that glowed all night may correspond to the stars Procyon, Castor, and Pollux, for reasons that are given in D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning."

*(22) Ideally there should be a total of five test houses, corresponding to the second stage in each of the five types of Venus cycles; these would be Dark House, Razor House, Cold (or Rattling) House, Jaguar House, and Bat House. They may correspond to locations along the Mayan zodiac, since Venus begins to repeat the pattern of its relationship to the fixed stars after five cycles. In the second of two passages naming the houses, the P.V. seems to add a sixth house, a "house of fire," but this may be a secondary elaboration on the part of the narrator [see note *(286)].

*(23) In a given 365-day period the 20 day names repeat themselves completely 18 times, giving 360 days with a remainder of 5; this means that the next solar year will always begin with a day name that comes 5 days later in the cycle of 20 than the name that began the previous year. And since 5 divides evenly into 20, giving 4, only 4 of the 20 day names, evenly spaced within the name cycle, can ever begin a solar year. For the Quiche, these new year's day names were and are Queh or "Deer," E or "Tooth," Naoh or "Thought," and I3 or "Wind," followed by Queh again. As for the new year's day number, the cycle of 13 numbers repeats itself completely 28 times in a given solar year, giving 364 days and a remainder of 1; this means that a given solar year will always begin with a day number that comes

a single place later in the cycle of 13 than the number that began the previous year.

The year as a whole is designated by the number and name of its beginning day; starting with a year bearing the name 1 Queh, the reckoning of successive years proceeds as follows:

QUICHE YEAR DESIGNATIONS

1 Queh	6 E	11 Naoh
2 E	7 Naoh	12 I3
3 Naoh	8 I3	13 Queh
4 I3	9 Queh	1 E
5 Queh	10 E	etc.

Note that two of these day names, E and I3, also have a potential for events pertaining to Venus (see the Venus calendar in an earlier note). They occur in the fourth and (more markedly) in the fifth and final cycle of Venus, just as the solar dimension of the story of Hunahpu and Xbalanque begins to manifest itself in the final episodes.

*(24) In Mesoamerican iconography the evening-star Venus is a death's head (see Carlson, "The Grolier Codex"). Even the ball game played with the squash fits into place when we consider the report of Ruth Bunzel that in at least one contemporary Quiche town, an excess of large squashes in a field means that the senior male of a family may die, since the squashes are a sign that his head is rotting (Chichicastenango, p. 54). The vine shown growing out of the head of a ballplayer in one of the ball-court relief panels at Chichen Itza may well be a squash vine; note that the ball in this panel is shown as enclosing a skull (see illustration: "It's just a skull").

The morning-star and evening-star episodes should total five each, corresponding to the five types of Venus cycles. The morning-star episodes are brought up to five if we count the period when One and Seven Hunahpu were on the surface of the earth as the first episode, with the four above-ground adventures of Hunahpu and Xbalanque following. The first evening-star episode is of course the one in which One Hunahpu's head is placed in the tree at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, followed by the three ball games with literal or figurative heads; the fifth head will be Hunahpu's again, when he loses it in a future episode.

*(25) The appearance of Hunahpu and Xbalanque as catfish recalls that the purported equivalent of Hunahpu among the classic Maya, the god designated G-I in the epigraphic literature on Palenque, has cheeks with appendages that sometimes look like catfish barbels and sometimes like spiny fins [see Floyd G. Lounsbury, "The Identities of the Mythological Figures in the 'Cross Group' Inscriptions at Palenque," and notes *(306)-*(307)]. The appearance of the twins as vagabond actors is a further sign, beyond the earlier appearance of the "old man" or possum, that the sun will soon rise. Among the roles of classic Maya year-bearers was that of wandering actors (Thompson, Maya History and Religion, p. 277).

*(26) The similarities between the sun and full moon were also pointed out by the Aztecs (Bernardino de Sahagun, Florentine Codex, Book 7, p. 3).

*(27) Contemporary Quiche mother-fathers are discussed in B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 74-85.

*(28) For a general discussion of the subject of Tollan, see Nigel Davies, The Toltecs, chap. 2. Tulan (Tulapan in Yucatec sources) and

Zuyua (often Holtun Zuyua in Yucatec sources) are mentioned in various Mayan alphabetic writings, including Recinos et al., The Annals of the Cakchiquels, pp. 44-53; Ralph L. Roys, The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, pp. 74, 132, 139, 153; and Eugene R. Craine and Reginald C. Reindorp, The Codex Perez and the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani, pp. 80, 138, 166, 167.

From a Yucatec point of view (see the Chumayel book), Holtun Zuyua occupied the western position in a four-directional group of towns whose leaders converged on Chichen Itza (a fifth and central town) in order to receive lordship; it may have been at the place now known as Puerto Escondido in Campeche (Thompson, Maya History and Religion, p. 23), though Edmonson (without giving any evidence) locates it near Motul in Yucatan (The Ancient Future of the Itza: The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin, p. 38). As for Tulapan, that was the place where the Tutul Xiu lineage traced its origins; it was even farther west than Zuyua (according to the Mani book), which could mean that it was the primary Toltecan Tollan near Mexico City. The Cakchiquel book uses the name Tulan in this narrow sense when it has the Quiches and Cakchiquels coming to Zuyua from a western Tulan, but it also uses the name in a broader sense that takes in the Yucatec system of directional towns, speaking of a Tulan for each of the four directions and of a convergence on what appears to be a central Tulan. In effect, the authors of the P.V. apply the name Tulan specifically to the western town in the Yucatec system, producing the name Tulan Zuyua. When they say Tulan Zuyua is in the "east," they are reckoning its position not in the context of the Yucatec system but relative to the Tulan or Tulapan that is west of Zuyua in the Mani and Cakchiquel books.

*(29) The main cave at Teotihuacan and its relationship to a Nahua tradition concerning seven caves are discussed by Doris Heyden in "An Interpretation of the Cave Underneath the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan, Mexico." The existence of a god named Tahil at Palenque and his relationship to Tohil have been pointed out by Linda Schele (Notebook for the Maya Hieroglyphic Writing Workshop, p. 114) and Floyd G. Lounsbury (personal communication). For more on the Yaqui see the Glossary; they are not to be confused with the Yaqui tribe of Sonora and Arizona.

*(30) The reference to the body of water crossed by the Quiche forefathers as a "sea" is a hyperbole; it is called both a "lake" and a "sea" in "Historia Quiche de don Juan de Torres," in Recinos, Cronicas indigenas de Guatemala pp. 24-25. The causeways at Potonchan and Tixchel are noted in France V. Scholes and Ralph L. Roys, The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel, p. 81.

*(31) For more on the Zaki 4oxol or "White Sparkstriker," see the Glossary and B. Tedlock, "El C'oxol: un simbolo de la resistencia quiche a la conquista espiritual."

*(32) In Quiche theory, at least, the reckoning of the 260-day cycle should have been in synchrony everywhere in Mesoamerica. We do know that Cuauhtemoc, the successor of Moctezuma, surrendered the city of Tenochtitlan to Hernan Cortes on an Aztec day whose name means "One Snake," falling on August 13, 1521, on the Julian calendar (Thompson, Maya Hieroglyphic Writing, p. 303). Tracing the contemporary Quiche calendar back to that same Julian date, we come to a day whose Quiche name, Hun Can, also means "One Snake." In other

words, when it was One Snake in Tenochtitlan, it was One Snake a thousand road miles away in the town of Quiche. Lounsbury argues, in "The Base of the Venus Table of the Dresden Codex," for a lowland Maya calendar correlation that would move the classic Maya 260-day cycle two days out of synchrony with the Quiche and Aztec calendars, but the astronomical basis of his argument could easily be two days off, according to the astronomer John B. Carlson (personal communication).

*(33) If the Quiches timed their attacks on their rivals in the same way as the classic lowland Maya, they favored periods when Venus was the evening star (see Lounsbury, "Astronomical Knowledge and Its Uses at Bonampak, Mexico"). The "road" onto which they rolled the head of a sacrifice victim may have been symbolic of the zodiacal path within which Venus is confined, and the head may have been thought of on the model of the severed heads that appeared as the evening-star Venus in the story of Hunahpu and Xbalanque and their fathers.

*(34) It took 52 years of 365 days each for all four year-beginning day names to occur in combination with all thirteen day numbers (4 x 13 = 52). The seniority given by the Quiche to Queh or "Deer" among the year-beginning day names is noted in B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, p. 99.

*(35) Alternative accounts of the names and generational positions of the Quiches who went on the pilgrimage, and of the titles that were given to them, may be found in Adrian Recinos et al., Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, pp. 176-79. Tulan, the place where the Quiche founding fathers had spent some time in an earlier episode, may have been left completely empty by the time they and the other tribes mentioned in the P.V. had departed from it. In the Quiche language the word for this place, in the form tolan, came to figure in such phrases as tolanic tinamit, "abandoned city," and tolan ha, "dark, uninhabited house" (B.).

*(36) A long list of the citadels settled by the Quiches between Hacauitz and Thorny Place is given in Recinos et al., Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, pp. 180-83. For a description of Thorny Place, now known as Cauinal (the name given to one of its four divisions in the P.V.), see John W. Fox, Quiche Conquest: Centralism and Regionalism in Highland Guatemalan State Development pp. 243-50, and Alain Ichon, "Arqueologia y etnohistoria en Cawinal."

*(37) For a full discussion of the buildings of 3umarakah (Rotten Cane) or Utatlan (the Nahua name for the same place), see Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, chap. 9.

*(38) The military exploits of Quicab are discussed in Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, pp. 134-37. The citadels that made up the town of Quiche, in addition to Rotten Cane, were Bearded Place to the south, which now belonged to the Tams; Mukuitz Pilocab to the north, belonging to the Ilocs; and Resguardo, or Atalaya, to the east, whose Quiche name and lineage affiliation are unknown (Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, chap. 8).

*(39) For the full story of Alvarado's conquest of the Quiche kingdom, which was resisted by a large military force, see Victoria Reifler Bricker, The Indian Christ, the Indian King, pp. 39-41. The events at Rotten Cane itself are further described in Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, pp. 143-47. According to Spanish sources, Three Deer and Nine Dog were burned at the stake and it was Tecum and Tepepul who were hanged.

*(40) In dating the writing of the alphabetic P.V., I follow Recinos, Popol Vuh, pp. 22-23. For a description of titulos contemporary with the P.V., see Carmack, Quichean Civilization, pp. 19-71. The calculations correlating a year-beginning day bearing the name One Deer with June 2, 1558 (Julian) are my own. The fact that a calendrical event of the same kind fell on April 10, 1818 (Gregorian), may help explain why the years 1816 to 1820 saw a Quiche revolt against tribute payments to the Spanish crown, climaxing in the coronation of Atinasio Tzul, the mayor of Totonicapan, as King of the Quiches. For a description of this revolt see Bricker, The Indian Christ, chap. 7.

*(41) For more on the Spanish journey of Juan Cortes and the warning sent to Philip II, see Pedro Carrasco, "Don Juan Cortes, cacique de Santa Cruz Quiche."

*(42) The lineal descendants of Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortes continued to litigate well into the eighteenth century. The Cortes line died out by 1788; the de Rojas line still lives, but its members lost all remaining vestiges of their lordly privileges with the coming of liberal reforms in 1801 (Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, pp. 321, 362).

*(43) In translating the nim chocohib of the P.V. as "Great Toastmasters" or "Great Conveners of Banquets" I take my cue from Ximenez, who has "grandes combites" (Popol Vuh, p. 265); see also Great Toastmaster in the Glossary. For more on contemporary matchmakers (or "road guides"), see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 74, 110, 117, 156.

*(44) The name Cristobal Velasco may be found in Recinos et al., Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, p. 195.

*(45) The Dresden Codex page that begins an otherwise torn-off section is discussed in Thompson, A Commentary on the Dresden Codex, pp. 78-80.

*(46) My discussion of the Palenque inscriptions is based on lectures given by Linda Schele in the spring of 1984; their contents are partially available in Schele, Notebook for the Maya Hieroglyphic Writing Workshop at Texas.

*(47) For more on the dialectical nature of Quiche thought see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 145-46, 176-77. The role of myth in Mayan thinking about history is explored by Bricker in The Indian Christ, chaps. 1 and 14.

POPOL VUH

PART ONE

*(48) the beginning: This is uxe, literally "its base" or "root"; it is as if the writers were starting at the bottom of something vertical and working their way up.

*(49) this place called Quiche: That "Quiche" is meant as a place name here is confirmed at the very end of the P.V.: "everything has been completed here concerning Quiche, which is now named Santa Cruz." See the Glossary for more on Quiche and Santa Cruz.

*(50) And here: The paragraphing of the present translation is largely based on two considerations. The first is the occurrence of what Dell Hymes calls "initial particles" ("In Vain I Tried to Tell You", pp. 318-20). Examples in Quiche are are 4ut, "And here" (or "And this is"); 4ate 4ut, "And next"; and quehe 4ut, "And so." The second consideration is the occurrence of quotations. In contemporary

Quiche speech there are deliberate pauses both before and after phrases consisting of initial particles, and immediately before quotations. For more details, see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, chap. 4, and "Hearing a Voice in an Ancient Text."

*(51) how things were put in shadow and brought to light: This is euaxibal zaquiribal [zakiribal], "being-hidden-instrument becoming-light-instrument." The first word is built on a passive (-x) form of euah, which V. glosses as "to hide" but then explains that it has to do with shadows or dark places. The second word is built on an inchoative (-ir) form of zak, "be light," which it shares with zakiric, "to dawn." The two words together describe the activities of the gods at a very general level. As will be seen, the gods not only bring things to light but can also darken what was once in the light.

On the other hand, the two words could also be translated as "the hiding place, the dawning place," since -bal can either be instrumental or indicate place. The "hiding place" would be euabal ziuan or "Concealment Canyon" (see Glossary), where the gods were hidden away before the dawn; the "dawning place" would be the place (or places) where the founding ancestors of the ruling Quiche lineages were keeping vigil when the morning star and then the sun rose for the first time, places which are referred to as zaquiribal [zakribal.]

*(52) the midwife, matchmaker: This is iyom, mamom. Andres Xiloj immediately identified iyom as the modern term for "midwife" (yom is given the same meaning in B.). He knew of mamom only as a term addressed to a matchmaker in the ceremonial language of a bride-asking ceremony; ordinarily the matchmaker is referred to as 4amal be, "road guide."

*(53) defender, protector: This is matzanel chuquenel. B. lists matzanel (under matzo) as "defender," which fits the role of the Quiche daykeeper as the maker of prayers and offerings on behalf of clients. As Andres Xiloj pointed out, the daykeeper who takes this role today may be called, among other things, by the Spanish word abogado, "lawyer, advocate," and may be thought of as presenting the case of the client before a divine tribunal. The translation of chuquenel rests on the entry in B. for chukonal (under chu3u), "protector." The two terms are very similar in their root senses; for matzo, B. gives "to shelter after the manner of a hen," and for chu3u, "to cover over."

*(54) as enlightened beings, in enlightened words: "Enlightened" is my translation, for the present context, of zaquil [zakil], "lightness" or "whiteness." This insistence that the aforementioned Quiche deities and their words have the properties of light is directly juxtaposed to a mention of God and Christendom in the sentence that follows; it can thus be read as a direct and deliberate contradiction of the missionary teaching that the pre-Conquest gods were all devils.

*(55) amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now: After the Dios and christianoil in this phrase, there will be no more Spanish or Spanish-derived words until Part Five of the present translation [see note *(471) for the lord bishop]. The "preaching" is 4habal, literally "manner of speaking" or just plain "talk"; the phrase u4habal Dios, "talk of God," came to be the standard Quiche way of referring to Christian doctrine and is still used in that sense by

both Quiches and missionaries, but the original choice of these words to translate "la palabra de Dios" must have been made by a Quiche rather than a missionary. The proper Quiche term for an authoritative and abiding "word" was and still is tzih rather than 4habal; the writers of the P.V. refer to their own manuscript as containing oher tzih, "the Ancient Word," but neither they nor contemporary Quiches use tzih as a way of referring to "la palabra de Dios." In choosing to translate u4habal Dios as "the preaching of God" in the present context, I have tried to combine the "Christian doctrine" sense of this phrase with the more general sense of 4habal as an act of speaking.

*(56) a place to see it: The original pre-Columbian P.V. is referred to here and much later as an ilbal re (written ibal re in the later place), "an instrument (or place) for the seeing of something." What was "seen" there included "how things were put in shadow and brought to light" by the gods, together with future events such as war, death, famine, and quarrels. B. has an entry for ilbal re (under ilo) glossed redundantly as "figura de dibujos," which could variously mean "figure," "drawing," and even "picture." Today ilbal or ilobal (without the re) refers to crystals used for gazing by diviners and to eyeglasses, binoculars, and telescopes.

*(57) There is the original book and ancient writing, but he who reads and ponders it hides his face: Edmonson is correct in interpreting the phrase eual uuach, "hidden his-face," as pertaining to the reader of the P.V. rather than to the book itself (The Book of Counsel, p. 7). "There is" is my translation of 4o; some translators have used the past tense here, the usual treatment for Quiche verbs inflected for the complete aspect, but that would call for x4o. "He who reads" translates ilol, literally "one who sees." B. gives ilol as "seer" or "prophet," and ilol uuh (literally "book seer") as "reader"; an English translation built on "read" does quite well at covering the full range of ilol, since "read" still retains divinatory usages that go all the way back to its Germanic root. "[He who] ponders" translates bizol, an agentive form of biz, "sad" or "pensive." The emotional dimension of bizol is made quite clear in later passages, where we hear again and again how the Quiche forefathers wept at the thought of having left the mythic city of Tulan and having become separated from other tribes.

*(58) performance: This is my translation of peoxic, which I read as a passive and nominalized form of peyoh, "to hire" (V.), probably meaning something like "service rendered."

*(59) the fourfold siding, fourfold cornering, / measuring, fourfold staking, / halving the cord, stretching the cord / in the sky, on the earth, / the four sides, the four corners: The "fourfold siding" and "cornering" are ucah tzucuxic and ucah xucutaxic; the "four sides" and "four corners" are cah tzuc and cah xucut. Xucut was and is "corner," and cah xucut is still in use as a way of referring to the four directions, most frequently in prayers in the line, cah xucut cah, cah xucut uleu, "four corners of sky, four corners of earth." Tzuc is more difficult to translate. Andres Xiloj suggested "sides" on the basis of context. B. gives cahzuc as "a square thing," and although he gives cahxucut as a synonym for cahzuc under the entry for the latter, he elsewhere glosses cahxucut as "four angles of the world." The notion that tzuc means "side" in the present context, in

contrast with "corner" or "angle," is based on zu3u-, "to go somewhere straight, without straying" (B.), and on zu4um, "straight" (X.). Under zucube, which would mean "straight (direct) road," B. lists tzucu be as an alternative spelling; this supports the relationship between the tzuc of the P.V., with its tz, and the dictionary entries for zu3 and zu4um with their z.

The "fourfold staking" is ucah cheexic; Andres Xiloj understood this to be four sticks or poles driven in the ground at the four corners. The "measuring" is retaxic, literally "its-being-measured," translated on the basis of etah, "to measure, to mark out" (B.), and the reading offered by don Andres. The measuring in this passage is done according to a unit still in use among the Quiche, the 4aam or "cord" (a length of rope). Don Andres was familiar with the phraseology used here, umeh camaxic [4aamaxic], "its-folded cording," and uyuc camaxic [uyuk 4aamaxic], "its-stretched cording." He explained that the "folded" measurement is done with the cord folded back upon itself to halve its length, and that the "stretched" measurement is done with the cord pulled out to its full length. His reading of 4aamaxic (which has a passive ending) is confirmed by an entry in B., caamaah (with an active ending), "to measure lands." He observed that the P.V. describes the measuring out of the sky and earth as if a cornfield were being laid out for cultivation. The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel also describes the setting up of the earth and sky as an act of measurement, carried out not only in space (by footsteps in this case) but in time (through twenty consecutive days from the 260-day divinatory cycle) (Roys, The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, pp. 116-118). The Chumayel document makes a passing reference to a celestial cord (p. 155); Yucatec Mayas near Valladolid told Alfred M. Tozzer that a cord suspended in the sky once linked Tulum and Coba with Chichen Itza and Uxmal (A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandones, p. 153).

The present passage offers one of the clearest examples of parallel verse structure in the P.V.; it may be scanned as follows:

ucah tzucuxic,	fourfold siding,
ucah xucutaxic	fourfold cornering,
retaxic,	measuring,
ucah cheexic,	fourfold staking,
umeh camaxic,	halving the cord,
uyuc camaxic	stretching the cord
upa cah,	in the sky,
upa uleu	on the earth,
cah tzuc	the four sides,
cah xucut	the four corners

Note that the first two lines actually form a quatrain, with a slight variation in the third part; such quatrains occur elsewhere in the P.V. and in Yucatec texts as well (see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, chap. 8). Edmonson presented the entire P.V. in couplets (The Book of Counsel), ignoring triplets, quatrains, and passages in which the horizontal movement of prose strongly modifies the vertical movement of parallelism [see note *(70)]. In the present work I have chosen a verse format only where the parallelism is both strongly marked and sustained.

In contemporary Quiche discourse with parallelism like that of the passage under discussion, the formation of lines in oral delivery

would depend on considerations of audience. If this were a prayer meant only for the ears of the gods and if the wording were well known to the speaker, the whole thing might be run off on a single breath, with the end of each phrase marked by a slight drop in pitch. In a slower rendition meant to be heard by humans, or near the beginning of a performance, there might be a pause after each of the lines as they are given in the translation, though the opening quatrain might well be run together as a single spoken line rather than divided between two lines (see D. Tedlock, "Hearing a Voice"). In any case, the two parts of a couplet are seldom divided between lines.

*(60) giver of heart, ... upbringer: These are respectively 4uxlanel and 4uxlaay, both built on the stern 4ux, "heart," which in its 4uxla-forms has to do with thought in the sense of "memory" and "will." Andres Xiloj defined 4uxlanel as follows: "One who raises us and has a good reputation for doing this." In the translation I have tried to preserve the full range of 4uxla- by staying literal for its first occurrence ("giver of heart") and translating for sense the second time around ("upbringer").

*(61) in the light that lasts: Here I have tried to preserve in English the relationship that exists between the corresponding words of the text, zaquil amaquil [zakil ama3el]. These two Quiche words are linked by assonance and alliteration, giving them a parallel sound, but they are not properly parallel in their morphology- in fact, the latter word modifies the former. Zakil is composed of zak, an adjective meaning "light" or "white," and -il, which makes it into an abstract noun; ama3el, on the other hand, whether in classical or modern Quiche, is a unitary, unanalyzable form (at least where proper morphology is concerned). As an adverb it means "always" or "all the time"; as an adjective it means "continuous" or "eternal." In rendering zakil ama3el as "the light that lasts," I change parts of speech as the original phrase does (though not in precisely the same way), while at the same time linking the two halves of the phrase through alliteration.

*(62) Now it still ripples, now it still murmurs, ripples, it still sighs, still hums, and it is empty: The full sound pattern of this passage can only be fully appreciated in the original; I have corrected ca to 4a, -oc to -ok, and tzini- and tzino- to 4,ini- and 4,ino-: 4a ca4,ininok, 4a cachamamok ca4,inonic, 4a cazilanic, 4a calolinic, catolona puch. 4a is "still, yet"; ca- is the incomplete aspect; and -ok has the effect of "now"; nevertheless, translators have generally put this passage in the past tense! What we are hearing here is the performer's effort to make the primordial state of the world present for his listeners, setting a scene rather than recounting a past event; the mood is a lyric rather than a historical one.

Translators have rendered the first five verbs here with adjectives like "quiet" or "silent"; the problems with such a treatment only begin with the fact that the Quiche words in question are, after all, verbs and not adjectives. To translate these verbs as referring to mere silence and the like misses the fact that the stems 4,inin-, chamam-, 4,inon-, and lolin- all contain reduplicative alliteration (together with reduplicative assonance in two cases) and are therefore onomatopoeic. Colonial and modern dictionary entries for the stems of this passage do indeed include

some of the glosses translators have chosen, but B. gives "ring" for 4,ino-, and V. explains that zilan- (under zilee) refers to the (audible) process through which windy weather is calmed. Further, Andres Xiloj identifies lolin- as the standard Quiche way of rendering the sound of a cricket. In translating this passage I have chosen quiet sounds that can be expressed as verbs; my "ripples" are derived from the fact that there is nothing but sky and water in this opening scene, as will be seen further on; for the same reason I have avoided obvious animal sounds. The "quiet" in question here is not so much a complete silence as it is a "hush" (note the onomatopoeic quality of this English word), the kinds of sounds one hears when there are no other sounds- or in this case, the "white noise" of the primordial world itself.

*(63) the first eloquence: Ximenez translates uchan as "eloquence," the same gloss given it by B. (under the entry for chan).

*(64) It is at rest; not a single thing stirs: Some translators have made the first half of this sentence negative by joining it to the negative clause that precedes it, but in fact what we have here is the last in a series of three sentences with the same positive-negative clause structure. The negativity of the second clause of the present sentence is marked by hunta, "not one thing" (B.), which is not to be confused with hutak, "each one." The entire sentence is perfectly intelligible, just as it is, in modern Quiche; Andres Xiloj gave it the same reading I have.

*(65) It is held back: This is camal cabantah, which is difficult to translate. I find my clue in the entry for camalo in B., which is glossed "late, not quick"; the entire phrase might be read as, "it is made to be late (or slow)."

*(66) a glittering light: This is zactetoh [zaktetoh], which B. glosses as "the brightness that enters through cracks." If this is the central meaning of this word rather than an illustrative example, then the light in question must be escaping between the feathers with which the Bearers and Begetters are covered (see the next two sentences). Note that the first light in the primordial scene is not up in the sky, but down at (or in) the level of the water. Its "glittering" corresponds, in the sensory domain of light, to the soft and repetitive nature of the primordial sounds described earlier.

*(67) in their very being: This is chiqui4oheic, "at-their-being-there." I have translated it as "in their very being" because the writers of the P.V., wherever they add chiqui4oheic (or a similar form based on 4oheic) to a statement in which the verb "to be" is already present or understood, are making a pointedly ontological statement. Some translators have softened the ontological abstractness of these statements by using such phrases as "by their nature," but 4oheic has no aura of the natal or the biological hanging about it the way "nature" does, and in fact I know of no Quiche concept that corresponds to "nature." If I were translating 4oheic into German, I would choose Dasein.

*(68) the name of the god: The word I have translated as "god" here is cabauil [4abauil]. The primary reference of 4abauil, through most of the P.V., is to the patron deities of the ruling Quiche lineages and to the sacred stones that were the material embodiments of these deities. But the present passage- given that 4abauil is linked specifically to the Heart of Sky, and given that the Heart of

Sky will shortly hereafter be described as a trinity- must be read as an allusion to Christian teachings. Note carefully that when the passage is read literally rather than as an allusion, it contains nothing that directly contradicts indigenous Quiche theology; Heart of Sky is among the names uttered before 4abauil stones in a prayer given much later. For a general discussion of biblical allusions in the P.V., see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, chap. 11.

Looking into the etymology of 4abauil, we find 4ab, "to have the mouth open"- for example, in admiration and in death (V.). B. and T. have caba, "to open," with the mouth given as an example. 4abauil, then, could mean something like "open-mouthed." The ancient stone 4abauil were given drinks of sacrificed blood through their mouths; their modern counterparts in the eastern Quiche area, called 4amauil, are given drinks of liquor (and sometimes chicken blood) through their mouths.

*(69) in the early dawn: This phrase constitutes the P.V.'s first allusion to the day names of the 260-day divinatory calendar. Instead of the ordinary word for "early dawn," a3abil, the text has a3abal, an archaic form that is also the proper name of a day. Like other day names, A3abal is often given a divinatory interpretation by means of sound play, and one of the words used to play on it today is in fact a3abil, an allusion to the fact that the rituals scheduled for days named A3abal are best carried out during the time of day known as a3abil. The rituals in question, appropriately enough, involve the first steps toward the negotiation of new social relationships that will last a lifetime (B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 77-81). One A3abal is an appropriate day for a daykeeper with the office of mother-father to go to the pair of shrines dedicated to the welfare of the human inhabitants of the lands of his patrilineage, in order to discuss (in prayer) the fact that a family in his lineage wishes to propose a marriage between one of its young men and a woman from another lineage. A later day named A3abal may be chosen for the making of the actual proposal at the house of the prospective bride.

On One, Eight, and Nine A3abal a mother-father who has taken on the responsibility of training and installing the successor of his deceased counterpart in a neighboring lineage will go to the shrines of that lineage to discuss the fact that one of its members wishes to become its new mother-father. In both the marriage and the installation the negotiation has two levels: it is not only the living who must give their approval to the bond between husband and wife or between the new mother-father and the foundation shrines (which is thought of as a spiritual marriage), but the ancestors and the gods. In the case of the Heart of Sky's discussion with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent in the P.V., the problem is a more fundamental one. When, by their joint efforts (and those of other gods) they eventually succeed in making four different mother-fathers, each of them married to one of four different women, these will be the first human mother-fathers and the first human married couples who ever existed.

*(70) He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent.... they joined their words, their thoughts: This passage offers an example of what happens when the Quiche tendency to parallel verse is modified by the forward thrust of prose (see D. Tedlock, "Hearing a Voice"). The

result is a diagonal trajectory:

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      xchau ru4 ri tepeu 4ucumatz
      xe4ha cut, ta xenaohinic
          ta xebizonic,
            xerico quib
            xquicuch quitzih
                     quinaoh
    He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
    and they talked, then they thought,
                     then they worried.
                          They agreed with each other,
                          they joined their words,
                                    their thoughts.
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It is passages such as this that move the action forward in narratives, with the balance sometimes swinging more toward the verticality of verse than in the present example and sometimes more toward the horizontality of prose. The more a passage in contemporary Quiche discourse swings toward this horizontality the less predictable- and, potentially, the more dramatic- its pauses become, except for the paragraphing discussed in note *(50). As in the present case, I have kept such passages in a prose format in the translation proper.

*(71) the generation: This is uinaquiric [uinakiric]. Others have translated this as "creation," but it has to do with such processes as the seasonal rising of springs in places that would otherwise be dry, and the growth or formation of algae or larvae in still water (V.). The word "creation" is too heavily laden with an implied ontological priority of the spiritual over the material to be imported into the present account of origins, which contains no word quite like it.

*(72) Thunderbolt Hurricane comes first, the second is Newborn Thunderbolt, and the third is Raw Thunderbolt: There may be an allusion to the Christian trinity here, but the pre-Columbian Quiche pantheon did include at least one trinity, whether that trinity was the same as the present Thunderbolt trinity or not. The principal gods (4abauil) of the ruling Quiche lineages are listed again and again as Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, though there is occasional mention of a fourth god. The P.V. never directly links the three Thunderbolts with the three lineage gods, but it is at least suggestive that the dwelling place of the latter threesome is described as shrouded in a rainstorm.

On the basis of fieldwork, Barbara Tedlock and I can confirm Lowy's report that cakulha not only is the Quiche term for thunderbolt but is also the Quiche name for the Amanita muscaria mushroom (Bernard Lowy, "Amanita muscaria and the Thunderbolt Legend in Guatemala and Mexico," p. 189). We must hasten to add that although Quiches are indeed what Gordon Wasson would call "mycophiles" rather than "mycophobes"- they are very fond of the Amanita caesaria, for example- they generally regard the muscaria as a poisonous species best avoided. But we cannot rule out the possible presence of a muscaria cult in the P.V., whether in the form of a symbolic residue of something long past or a highly coded allusion to something still under way at the time Europeans first arrived, nor can we rule out the use of muscaria by some present-day highland Guatemalan shamans.

As to the stone and pottery mushroom effigies discovered in Guatemalan archaeological sites (Stephan F. de Borhegyi, "Pre-Columbian Pottery Mushrooms from Mesoamerica"), these pertain to the hot Pacific lowlands rather than to the high, cool evergreen forests where the muscaria grows, and there is the further problem that the ruling Quiche lineages trace their origins to the Gulf coast rather than the Pacific. Moreover, de Borhegyi dates the effigies no later than a thousand years ago, leaving a gap of several centuries before the Quiche kingdom expanded into the Pacific lowlands during the reign of Quicab. Of all the arguments for a mushroom cult among the highland Maya the archaeological one is the weakest.

The case for Amanita muscaria in the P.V. itself is somewhat stronger, though we must begin from the fact that mushrooms as such are never mentioned. Far beyond the present passage there occur the words holom ocox, literally "head of a mushroom," translated there as "yarrow", but Duncan MacLean Earle ("La etnoecologia quiche en el Popol Vuh") has found this to be the Quiche term for a common herb, named (like a great many other Quiche plants and mushrooms) for its resemblance to an anatomical part of another biological species (see yarrow in the Glossary). What is more, the holom ocox of the P.V. is not eaten but rather burned as incense, along with another common herb called iya (see marigold in the Glossary); according to Earle, both these herbs are still used as incense today in the region east of Santa Cruz Quiche, and Andres Xiloj attested the use of iya in Momostenango. The flowers of iya are yellow and those of holom ocox are white; the P.V. mentions the two plant names in this same order, which fits with the yellow/white order of corn colors in the P.V. and the color pairings in the couplets of contemporary prayers (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, Appendix B).

Whatever the problems with finding a clear reference to mushrooms in the P.V., the evidence for the Amanita muscaria is not limited to the fact that cakulha could refer both to a literal thunderbolt and to the mushroom named for the thunderbolt. First of all, the stipe of a mushroom (like the trunk of a tree) is called rakan, "its leg," in Quiche, and of course a mushroom with a stipe has only one "leg," which recalls that the name translated "Thunderbolt Hurricane" here could also be glossed as "One-legged Thunderbolt" (see Hurricane in the Glossary). This leaves the way open to the muscaria but does not settle the matter, since there are plenty of literal thunderbolts that also have a single "leg." The rawness (or freshness) and youthfulness ascribed to the cakulha in the P.V. work in the same way: there could be an allusion to the suddenness of the growth of mushrooms, but these same qualities are also possessed by thunderbolts.

The single most suggestive bit of evidence for the mushroom theory lies in the fact that a later P.V. passage gives Newborn Thunderbolt and Raw Thunderbolt two further names: Newborn Nanahuac and Raw Nanahuac. As Schultze Jena pointed out (Popol Vuh, p. 187), Nanahuac would appear to be the same as the Aztec deity Nanahuatl (or Nanahuatzin), who throws a thunderbolt to open the mountain containing the first corn. Nanahuatl means "warts" in Nahua (D.), which suggests the appearance of the muscaria when the remnants of its veil still fleck the cap.

*(73) "How should it be sown, how should it dawn?": "Sowing" (auax-) and "dawning" (zakir-) are frequently paired throughout the portion of the P.V. that deals with the predawn world. The meanings of these two words, which run through them several different threads when they are paired, have something of the structure of a Mobius strip. If we start with the literal meaning of sowing in the present context, the reference is to the beginning of plants; but if we trace that idea over to the other side of our strip, the sprouting of those same plants is expressed metaphorically as "dawning." If, on the other hand, we start from the literal meaning of "dawning," the present reference is to the first of all dawns; but if we trace that idea back over to the other side of the strip, the origin of that dawn is expressed metaphorically as a "sowing," referring to the fact that the Quiche gods who eventually become Venus and the sun and moon must first descend into the underworld. The head of one of these gods becomes the fruit of a calabash tree, while another has his head replaced by a squash- that is, at least two of them acquire plant characteristics in the underworld before the coming of the first literal dawning.

The pairing of sowing and dawning receives a further meaning when it is taken to refer to human beings, whose perfection is the principal goal of the world-making gods of the present passage. To trace out this meaning, we must have recourse to ethnography. In Momostenango a mother-father or patrilineage head "sows" and "plants" an unborn child in certain shrines of his lineage by announcing its mother's pregnancy there (B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, p. 80). On the "dawning" side of this process, the woman who gives birth to the child cuya ri zak, "gives it light" (Ibid., p. 211). This particular tracing remains metaphorical on both sides of the "sowing" and "dawning," but it retains a twist in that it is specifically built on the model of the literal sowing and metaphorical "dawning" of vegetation. A second human tracing, also metaphorical on both sides but twisted in that it seems to be built on the model of the metaphorical "sowing" and literal dawning of heavenly bodies, is followed out in death and its aftermath. Here the body is put in the earth, but the deceased "becomes light" or "dawns" (both zakiric) in two different senses: the body itself is reduced to plain white (light-colored) bones, but the spirit becomes a spark of light, something like a star.

*(74) provider, nurturer: This is tzucul cool [tzukul 3ool]; both words broadly refer to sustenance, but the latter seems to refer more overtly to actual food than the former (at least in B.), and the only word that resembles it today is 3obic, "to get fat" (X.). The providers or nurturers ultimately intended here are human beings, who will one day sustain the gods through prayer and sacrifice, but for the time being the gods will succeed only in making animals. Eventually deer and birds will indeed be among those who nurture the gods with their blood, but only when there are humans to sacrifice them; these same sacrificers will also provide their very own blood to the gods, drawing it from their ears and elbows, and will ultimately offer the blood and the hearts of human captives.

*(75) But there will be no high days and no bright praise: The paired words here are uquihilabal [u3ihilabal] and ucalaibal [u3alaibal]. The first is literally "its-day-ness-instrument,"

referring to the keeping or setting aside of a specific day on the calendar for ritual purposes; I chose "high days" because the notion of "holidays" has become so secularized in English (despite the etymology of that word). The second is "its-brightness (or manifestness)-instrument"; it could even be translated as "publicity," but that term, unlike the Quiche one, is strictly secular, includes unfavorable attention, and does not involve a visual metaphor.

*(76) just like a cloud, like a mist, now forming, unfolding. Then the mountains were separated from the water: The "unfolding" here is upupuheic, which for both B. and Andres Xiloj describes the way in which clouds form around mountains. "Separated" is my translation of xtape, tangentially based on tapo, "to pick out" (B.). On reading this passage don Andres immediately commented: "It's just the way it is right now, there are clouds, then the clouds part, piece by piece, and now the sky is clear." It is as if the mountains were there in the primordial world all along and were revealed, little by little, as the clouds parted. But don Andres complicated this interpretation by saying, "Haven't you seen that when the water passes- a rainstorm- and then it clears, a vapor comes out from among the trees? The clouds come out from among the mountains, among the trees." This lends a cyclical movement to the picture: the clouds come from the mountains, then conceal the mountains, then part to reveal the mountains, and so on.

*(77) By their genius alone, by their cutting edge alone: The paired terms here are naual and puz. The former term, although it is a Nahua borrowing, does not have the narrow meaning in Quiche that it has in central Mexico, but rather covers a very broad notion that may be glossed as "spirit familiar" (see genius in the Glossary for more detail). The latter term, puz, carries one central literal meaning from its Mixe-Zoque (and possibly Olmec) origins right down to its use in modern Quiche: it refers to the cutting of flesh with a knife (see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, p. 265). At the time of the conquest it was the primary term for sacrifice. In the present context, it implies that "the mountains were separated from the water" through an act resembling the extraction of the heart (or other organs) from a sacrifice. As if to confirm this allusion, the text goes on to refer to the earth as the "mountain-plain," or huyub tacah [ta3ah], which is today the principal Quiche metaphor for the human body.

When don Andres read these lines, he shifted away from the idea that the preceding lines about cloud formation and dispersal referred to something happening in the atmosphere around the mountains, moving toward the idea that this process was a simile for the formation and differentiation of the mountains themselves. That the mountains under discussion were made by means of naual rather than physical labor suggested a certain insubstantiality to him, and he commented: "Then these mountains are for no other reason than representing that there are hills or volcanoes." That is to say, he interpreted the mountains not as hard realities but as mere "signs" (retal), unfolding themselves "just like a cloud, like a mist."

*(78) it was brought forth by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, as they are called, since they were the first to think of it: Andres Xiloj took this to mean that the formation of the earth was an act of self-revelation on the part of the Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth.

He compared them to the present-day u4ux puuak or "Heart of Metal (or silver or money)," which reveals itself to the fortunate. As he explained it, "When one has luck, one picks up some kind of rock, but in the form of an animal; this is the Heart of Metal. When the moment comes, suddenly it appears." Such rocks may be volcanic concretions that happen to resemble animals, or they may be ancient stone artifacts. They are properly kept in the indoor half of a pair of patrilineage shrines called the mebil, which consists of a wooden box placed on a family altar (B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, p. 81). Don Andres continued, "This is where one prays, this is where the fortune, the money, abounds. Here in the Popol Vuh, the Heart of Sky and the Heart of Earth appeared, and this is where the earth was propagated." The objects in a mebil should multiply of their own accord, and that, as don Andres would have it, is what happened to the object or objects from which the earth began.

The notion of a "Heart of Sky" might seem out of place where something as substantial as earth or stone is concerned, but don Andres' interpretation is supported by a much later passage in which the names Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth are both addressed to gods whose bodies have been petrified. The connection between these gods and the sky lies in the fact that they were petrified when the sun first rose and burned them. The objects called "Heart of Metal" today also have their celestial dimensions: volcanic concretions with animal shapes are said to have been formed at the first sunrise, just as the stone gods of the P.V. were, while ancient stone artifacts are said to have been formed where thunderbolts struck the ground. The P.V. does not mention the latter process, but it does include thunderbolts among the attributes of the Heart of Sky. The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel takes the question of celestial stoniness home to the sky itself, declaring that the "Heart of Heaven" is a bead of precious stone (Roys, The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, p. 91).

*(79) all the guardians of the forests: Andres Xiloj commented: "The animals are the caretakers of the woods. They [the gods] thought, 'There is a need for animals, so that people won't be able to enter the woods. The animals will frighten them.'" For the contemporary Quiche, wild animals are (in effect) the domestic animals of the Mundo, or earth deity. One cannot take a deer in the hunt without first asking permission of the Mundo. When a family is in arrears in its offerings, the Mundo may send a predator from out of the woods to raid its flocks or herds.

*(80) deer, birds,... yellowbites: On the basis of meaning this list might be organized into couplets and triplets:

quieh,	deer,
tziquin,	birds,
4oh,	pumas
balam,	jaguars,
cumatz,	serpents,
zochoch,	rattlesnakes,
canti	yellowbites

But whatever the groupings according to meaning, a list of this kind would be orally delivered today without any more marking of the transition between jaguars and serpents than that between pumas and jaguars; each individual word would retain its integrity, as marked by

a stress on its final (or only) syllable, but there would be no pause until the run of parallel nouns came to a halt, or until the breath of the speaker ran out. On this basis I have chosen not to break such lists into lines of verse in the translation, but have run them on as prose.

*(81) "Why this pointless humming?": The "humming" and "rustling" referred to in this passage are the lolin- and tzinin- sounds discussed earlier [see note *(62)]. What the gods are ultimately looking for here is the sound of articulate human speech, but they will not succeed in hearing it until Part Four of the present translation. In the present scene, all they can hear on the earth is sounds that are indefinitely repetitive or vibratory and therefore without meaning, just as sounds were without meaning when there was only the sea.

*(82) "You, precious birds": This is ix ix 4,iquin, in which the second ix might be treated as a scribal error, but it is essential to the full understanding of the phrase. The first ix is plainly enough "you," in the familiar and in the plural, but the second one has a double meaning. At one level it is diminutive, making the whole phrase translatable as "You, precious (or little) birds," but at another level it is the day name Ix, which immediately precedes 4,iquin or "Bird" in the sequence of twenty day names. These are the two days devoted to the contemporary rites of the patrilineage shrine called the mebil, specifically Seven Ix and Eight 4,iquin; indeed, this shrine is often referred to simply by naming these two days.

*(83) a place to sleep: This is uarabal, and it alludes to patrilineage shrines, which are called uarabalha, "foundation of the house" or, literally, "sleeping (or resting) place of the house." The animals that are given places to sleep in this passage, queh or "deer" and 4,iquin or "birds," give their names to two of the days used for uarabalha rites today. The human mother-father or patrilineage head uses a low-numbered day bearing the name Queh or "Deer" to go to the parts of the uarabalha dedicated to people in order to announce that a woman married into his lineage is pregnant and to pray for the child she bears. This ritual is called a "sowing," just as is the long process in which the divine mother-fathers of the P.V. speak of making humans and prepare for their coming long before they actually succeed in making them a reality. Deer result from one of their four attempts to make humans; these animals are, in effect, an approximation of real humans, their fault being that they walk on all fours and lack articulate speech. The implication here is that in visiting his shrines to announce a child on the day named after the deer, the human mother-father commemorates the process whereby properly walking and talking humans were spoken of and approximated by the divine mother-fathers (the Maker and Modeler) before they were realized.

The most startling link between shrines and deer- deer as animals rather than days named Deer- manifests itself in dreams. On this point I can give firsthand testimony. During the period of my formal apprenticeship as a daykeeper in Momostenango, I told Andres Xiloj of dreaming that I was followed along a path by a series of large deer. After a laugh of immediate recognition he told me that I had been followed by shrines! He explained that outdoor shrines have

spirit familiars that frequently take the form of deer- and, these days, of horses and cattle. The path, of course, was that of the days of the calendar, along which each shrine had its proper place in a sequence. The deer were following me in anticipation of the time when I would end my apprenticeship and feed them- that is, make offerings of my own.

*(84) "Talk, speak out. Don't moan, don't cry out": Here again the gods express their desire for articulate human speech, this time contrasted with moans and cries rather than humming and rustling. Not only that, but they want to hear their own names and praises, and they ask the animals to "keep our days." This last idea is expressed by cohiquihila [cohi3ihilaa], literally, "to-us-you (plural familiar) day (transitive imperative)," analogous to the form rendered as "high days." If English permitted "day" to be a verb, one could translate cohi3ihilaa as "dayify us," with the pun on "deify" being appropriate enough. A less direct translation would be "calendrify us."

*(85) they just squawked they just chattered, they just howled: New sounds have been added to the world here. They are not yet the sounds of speech, but neither are they like the rippling, murmuring, and humming of the world that had only a sea. Those sounds tended toward vowel harmony and repeated consonants- 4,inin- and chamam-, for example- whereas the verb stems here retain vowel harmony but do not repeat their consonants: uachela-, carala-, and uoho-.

*(86) It wasn't apparent what language they spoke: The text has maui xuachinic uuach qui4habal, literally, "not faced-out its face their-talk-instrument." The active verb uachinic, built on uach, "face," is used primarily with reference to the bearing of fruit by plants. The implication is that the sounds made by the animals contained a potential for articulate speech, but that this potential was never realized.

*(87) It talked at first, but senselessly: The person of mud is unique among all the creatures made by the gods in that it not only lacks sensible speech, but is not even quoted by means of onomatopoeia. Note also the correlate lack of articulation of its body. But the subtlest point here is that the only creature made of mud is also the only one made in the singular, which makes this episode an allusion to the Adamic myth. What the writers of the P.V. have to say about Adam, in their indirect way, is that a singular creature of mud could neither have made sense nor walked nor multiplied. If there ever was such a creature, there is no way it could have left a trace of itself; it must have dissolved.

*(88) "a counting of days, a counting of lots": This is uquihixic [u3ihixic] ubitaxic, "its-being-dayed (or timed) its-being-modeled (or shaped)." As daykeepers, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane will divine by means of counting the day numbers and names of the 260-day divinatory cycle, dividing or "shaping" a fistful of seeds of the coral tree (see the Glossary) into lots.

*(89) the human mass: "Mass" is anom, which is given this gloss in B.

*(90) master craftsman: This is ahtoltecat, in which ah- is occupational; the rest is from Nahua toltecatl, "master of mechanical arts" (D.).

*(91) "Run your hands over the kernels of corn, over the seeds of

the coral tree": The verb stem here is mala-, "to run the hand over something" (V.). The contemporary Quiche daykeeper first pours the seeds out of a small bundle into a pile on a table and mixes them, moving the right hand over them with palm down flat and fingers spread, and then grabs a fistful. The remaining seeds are then set aside; those from the fistful are sorted into lots of four seeds each, arranged in parallel rows so that the days can easily be counted on them, one day for each lot. When seeds are left over from the division into fours, a remainder of three seeds is made into two additional lots (with two seeds in one and one seed in the other), while a remainder of one or two seeds counts as one additional lot. Once the clusters are complete the diviner begins counting the days of the 260-day cycle, starting in the present (the day of the divination itself), the past (the day the client's problem began), or the future (the day of an action contemplated by the client). The augury is reckoned from the character or portent of the day that is reached by counting through to the final lot of seeds.

The alphabetic P.V. does not give the numbers and names of the days counted by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in this earliest of all divinations, but the ancient P.V. may have been like the Chilam Balam book from Chumayel, which treats the first counting of days as nothing less than the origin of the 260-day calendar itself and gives not only numbers and names but day-by-day interpretations, running through twenty consecutive days (Roys, The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, chap. 13).

*(92) the borrowing: This is ukahic, a term that Andres Xiloj, as a daykeeper, recognized immediately. When today's daykeeper speaks the opening prayer for a divination, invoking the sheet-lightning, clouds, mists, and damp breezes of the world, he or she is said to be "borrowing" these forces from the days themselves, each of which is ruled by a lord, and from the mountains of the world, each of which has a spirit familiar (B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 155, 157, 162). Xpiyacoc and Xmucane are not as modest as this human daykeeper in their own borrowing of lightning, moisture, and air currents: they name the Heart of Sky, whose electrical aspect ultimately manifests not as far-off and silently flickering sheet-lightning but as close-up thunderbolts, and who is also known as Hurricane, the bringer of rains and winds of world-destroying proportions. Meteorological forces, large or small, serve to connect the cosmos at large, both temporally and spatially, with the microcosmic scene of the divination, transmitting information about distant places or times through the counting of days and through lightninglike sensations that occur in various parts of the diviner's own body.

*(93) the lots: This is bit, possibly the same as the stem in the name bitol, "Modeler" (see Maker, Modeler in the Glossary). My guess is that it refers to the clusters of seeds that are made up from the random fistful taken up by the diviner (as described above); in effect, the diviner is giving shape to a chaotic mass. I translate bit as "lots" because that word both fits the groups of seeds, which are arranged in lots of four, and figures in English-language divination terminology. "Diviner" (in a later passage) is a translation of ahbit, in which bit has the occupational prefix.

*(94) who stands behind others: This is chiracan, which Andres Xiloj

identified as part of a phrase used today by daykeepers: chirakan u3ab, "at-his/her-legs his/her-arms" (in which "legs" and "arms" include "feet" and "hands"). To be at someone's feet and hands means to give assistance, as a daykeeper does when praying and giving offerings on behalf of a client, or a midwife does when assisting a birth.

*(95) "may you succeed, may you be accurate": Like Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, the contemporary daykeeper speaks to the seeds while arranging them, asking for a clear outcome.

*(96) "Have shame, you up there,... attempt no deception": Andres Xiloj was not surprised to hear the Heart of Sky addressed in this manner. He pointed out that today's daykeepers (including himself) also ask that the gods not deceive their divinatory clients. The praying diviner may say, for example, ma ban la ri mentira, "Do not make a lie." In the case of the P.V. the client in question is none other than the god Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

*(97) manikins, woodcarvings: Andres Xiloj remarked, "Then these will only be representations of humans."

*(98) They just went and walked wherever they wanted: Andres Xiloj commented: "Then they're like animals." In Quiche thinking one of the major differences between animals and humans is that humans must ask permission of the gods to go abroad in the world. To pray that nothing bad happen to one in the road is to ask permission to pass; the need for such permission is more acute in the case of visits to powerful shrines or distant towns. In prayers that prepare the way for a long trip, one asks not only that there be no robbers in the road, but that policemen, soldiers, and customs officials look the other way.

*(99) The man's body was carved from the wood of the coral tree: The body of the god presently called Maximon in the Tzutuhil Maya town of Santiago Atitlan is made of this wood (Michael Mendelson, "Maximon: An Iconographical Introduction," p. 57).

*(100) the pith of reeds: This is zibac; B. gives ziba3 as "the pith or insides of a small reed."

*(101) a rain of resin: Andres Xiloj commented: "This was turpentine that fell, and it was burning as it fell."

*(102) the black rainstorm: This is quecal hab [3ekal hab]. As Andres Xiloj explained, this does not mean that the rain itself was black, but refers to the darkness created by a very intense rainstorm.

*(103) Into their houses came: This is xoc ula [xoc ulaa], "entered as visitors." Today any invasion of the house (including its patio) by a wild animal is viewed as a sign sent by the earth deity, whether it is a fox or possum that attacks domestic animals or, say, a bird that happens to fly indoors. Andres Xiloj pointed out that such animals do not speak (4hauic) but rather give signs (retal) by their cries or movements. Note that even under the cataclysmic conditions of the present episode the speaking is done by domestic animals and by artifacts; it is not attributed to wild animals.

*(104) turkeys: This is ac [a4], which became the term for the Old World chicken during colonial times. A number of colonial dictionaries give the term for turkey as kitzih a4, "true a4" (T. and V.), or mazeual a4, "Indian a4" (G.), which makes it plain enough that the pre-Hispanic term for turkey was a4. Today the turkey is called nooz (X.), a term that had already appeared by the seventeenth century

(listed in B. as noz).

*(105) r-r-rip, r-r-rip, / r-r-rub, r-r-rub: This is holi, holi, huqui, huqui, onomatopoeic for the sound of a handstone (mano) rubbing against a grinding stone (metate). If the performance of the present Quiche story was anything like that of North American Indian tales, these lines were probably sung. It must be kept in mind that h in Quiche is rough, like Spanish j or German ch. This roughness would probably be exaggerated in a dramatic oral rendering, hence my suggestion in the translation that the r be trilled. When judged by the fact that the verb for "rub together" is hukunic (X.), huqui, huqui should probably be huki, huki. Andres Xiloj immediately heard a sound play in these lines, which he rendered as follows:

hoo ali, hoo ali,
hukuuic, hukuuic

meaning something like this:

Let's go girl, let's go girl,
rubbing together, rubbing together.

*(106) their hearthstones were shooting out: Andres Xiloj remarked: "It's like a cataract of stones from a volcano!" This incident may be the origin of the stars Alnitak, Saiph, and Rigel in Orion; today these three stars are said to be the three hearthstones of the typical Quiche kitchen fireplace, arranged to form a triangle, and the cloudy area they enclose (Great Nebula M42) is said to be the smoke from a fire (B. Tedlock, "Earth Rites and Moon Cycles").

*(107) wood alone was used for their flesh: Andres Xiloj remarked, "They lacked blood, or quickening, which is what corn gives." As it turns out later, real human beings are indeed made of corn.

*(108) "I am their sun ... their months": "Sun" is quih [3ih] here, which could either be "sun" or "day," but "months" is iquil [i4il], which is definitely "months," rather than i4, "moon."

*(109) "I am the walkway and I am the foothold of the people": "Walkway" is binibal and "foothold" is chacabal; -bal is an instrumental suffix. Andres Xiloj explicated Seven Macaw's statement as follows: "Binibal is to give light for walking, or to go out on a somewhat clear road; and chacabal- now we say chacanibal- is the same. These words are in the prayers we say at the uarabalha [patrilineage shrines], to ask permission for anyone who goes out of the house to whatever place. They can walk, they can crawl- chacanibal is to crawl on all fours. Seven Macaw is saying that he is a person's feet, since he knows that he has light [to show a person where to step], but in fact the person sees darkly, it isn't very clear."

*(110) "they stand out": This is cauacoh, translated on the basis of cauaquic, "to have big teeth (so as to be unable to close the mouth)" (X.).

*(111) the scope of his face lies right around his own perch: Seven Macaw, as the Big Dipper, is restricted to a path that lies close to the pole star, unlike the sun and moon (see Glossary and D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning of All the Sky-Earth"). The classic Maya equivalent of Seven Macaw is shown perched atop a northern tree at Palenque, in the central panel of the Tablet of the Cross and on the lid of the sarcophagus beneath the Temple of the Inscriptions (Linda Schele, Notebook, pp. 66-67).

PART TWO

*(112) the mountains ... are softened by him: "Softened" is my translation of nebonic; X. glosses this as "overcooked," but Andres Xiloj read it as "soaked." He commented: "When the earth is completely soaked it can be destroyed by the water. When there are rains of forty-eight or sixty hours, there may be destruction. Landslides are the work of such rains."

*(113) Then he went up over the tree and fell flat on the ground: When birds are shot they fly upward in a spasm before falling from a tree. But Seven Macaw's movement here also suggests that of the Big Dipper; assuming that his head and body correspond to the bowl of the Big Dipper and his tail to its handle, his climbing of the tree to eat his nances, his going up over the tree when shot, and his fall to the ground all follow the pattern of the Big Dipper, which rises with its handle down, goes up over the North Star (counterclockwise) in a momentarily horizontal position, and then sets with its bowl end down. The period when all seven stars may be seen in ascendancy, from mid-October to mid-May, corresponds approximately to the dry season; the period when the Big Dipper is already in steep descent by twilight and when all seven stars may become invisible for as much as half the night, from mid-July to mid-October, corresponds to the hurricane season.

*(114) "tricksters": This is 4axto4; it is glossed as "the devil" or "liar" in colonial dictionaries (B. and V.), but that is a missionary view of the matter. In the P.V., where the word is used ten different times, it is usually obvious from context that the person or persons labeled by it have done something tricky or are accused of trickery. In the present case Hunahpu and Xbalanque have ambushed Seven Macaw while he was at his meal. In other cases the Four Hundred Boys suspect Zipacna of being tricky, which he indeed turns out to be; Xmucane accuses Blood Woman of trickery, but (ironically) Blood Woman's ability to work magic apparently comes from the fact that she carries Xmucane's own grandchildren in her womb; Hunahpu and Xbalanque accuse a toad of trickery, and sure enough it turns out that the toad never swallowed what he claimed was in his belly; Xtah and Xpuch are accused of trickery when painted wasps turn into real ones; and the Quiches are called tricksters by their enemies for making it look as though the people they've seized for sacrifice were attacked by wild animals. Except for the cases of Zipacna and the toad, the trickery works on the side of the protagonists in a given story. Translating 4axto4 as "trickster" rather than "devil" puts the matter in a more general American Indian context, where the exploits of trickster figures are simultaneously disapproved and enjoyed.

*(115) "they've dislocated my jaw": This is obviously the origin of the way a macaw's beak looks, with a huge upper mandible and a much smaller and retreating lower one.

*(116) "All my teeth are just loose": "Loose" is chu, translated on the basis of a reduplicated form in B., chuyucha, "to rattle."

*(117) "'Do forgive us'": The addition of "'Do'" to this phrase is my way of translating qui [ki], which, according to V., carries a sense of exaggerated politeness.

*(118) with great effort: This is nimac ua chih [nimak uaa 4hih], "great this effort," in which 4hih is translated on the basis of 4hihinic, "the strength to do something" (X.).

*(119) "What sweets can you make, what poisons can you cure?": The "sweets" and "poisons" are both qui [quii], a word that carries both these meanings to this day (for an explanation see sweet drink in the Glossary).

*(120) "We just pull the worms out of teeth": There is a contemporary Mopan Maya myth in which Lord Kin ("Sun" or "Day") causes the chief of the vultures to have a toothache and then is begged to come and cure it (Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas, pp. 129-32). But in this case the motive of the trickery is the protagonist's desire to get his wife back from the vultures.

*(121) "we just cure eyes": As a medical specialty, the curing of eyes fits under the same heading as bones and teeth because the Quiche language classifies the eyes as bones. Eyes are ubac [ubak] uuach, literally "its-bones (or pits) his/her-eyes," in the P.V.; today they are uba3uach. Andres Xiloj himself covers a medical territory similar to that of Hunahpu and Xbalanque: in addition to being a bonesetter and healer of sprains, he knows how to make eyedrops.

*(122) "It's a worm, gnawing at the bone": The present-day Quiche retain the notion that a toothache is caused by a worm gnawing at the bone. According to T. J. Knab (personal communication), there is a Mesoamerican parasite that takes up residence in the gums.

*(123) a coating: This is cu [3u], "covering" (X.).

*(124) When his eyes were trimmed back: The verb stem here is cholic [4holic], "to cut or pull out hair or feathers" (X.), or "flay, skin, take off crust" (V.). This is clearly meant to be the origin of the large white eye patch and very small eyes of the scarlet macaw (see Seven Macaw in the Glossary). I take it that Seven Macaw sported two large metal discs where the patches of the scarlet macaw are now.

*(125) What they did was simply the word of the Heart of Sky: In a similar fashion the Zunis sometimes portray the Ahayuuta warrior heroes- who, like Hunahpu and Xbalanque, are tricksters- as simply carrying out the word of the Sun Father, though they may appear to be acting on their own (see D. Tedlock, Finding the Center, pp. 234-48).

*(126) a post for their hut.... the lintel of their hut: This passage is self-contradictory as to what use the Four Hundred Boys intend for their log. The "post" is acan [akan], literally "leg"; Andres Xiloj explained that this would be a vertical post with a fork at the top. The "lintel" is uapalil (apalil today), which he specified as a term for a horizontal beam over a door or window.

*(127) "We'd like some help": This is cacachaquimah [cakacha3imah] tana, in which caka- is "incomplete-we" and tana indicates supplication; the verb stem, cha3imah, is given by V. as "ask to borrow."

*(128) "we'll throw him down": The verb stem here is tzac [tzak], "fling, cast" (X.). This is mere bravado; it is not what the Four Hundred Boys actually end up doing.

*(129) "'Why are you spilling dirt in the hole?'": The verb stem here is written macaha, but with the stem of the h crossed off to make it into an n. I translate it "spill" on the basis of ma4anic, "to spill or scatter" (X.). Here the Four Hundred Boys are proposing to make a sarcastic statement to Zipacna, but once again, as when they talked about throwing him into the hole, they are indulging in

bravado.

*(130) "wedged": This is pachal, translated on the basis of pa4hinic, "be between two walls or in a crack" (X.).

*(131) "we'll wham a big log": The verb stem here is tarih, "give a blow that makes a sound" (X.). In effect the Four Hundred Boys are planning to put a major vertical post for their hut into place, resting its butt end on a sacrifice victim.

*(132) he dug a separate hole to one side: Edmonson notes here that in digging a hole for the present-day Flying Pole Dance, Quiches place offerings in a hole dug to one side from the post hole proper (The Book of Counsel, p. 45). Speakers of the Achi dialect of Quiche tell a story in which a character now known as Zipac carries a log the narrator compares with the pole used in the Monkey Dance (Mary Shaw, According to Our Ancestors, p. 48).

*(133) "on another level, or two levels away": "Level" is my translation of elebal; literally this would be "place of egress," but I take my cue from Burgess and Xec, who decided on "elevation" (Popol Wuj, p. 42), a solution that fits with the general Mesoamerican notion of a stratified underworld.

*(134) to dedicate: This is lacabebal, with an instrumental suffix (-bal), translated on the basis of la3abeh, "to inhabit some place, occupying it" (B.).

*(135) Having taken their pickings: The verb stem here is culun, translated on the basis Of 3ulunic, "to pluck, devastate, strip" (X.).

*(136) a play on words: This is zacbal tzih, "play-instrument words"; B. gives zaquibal as "instrument for playing." The authors of the P.V. seem uncertain as to whether the Four Hundred Boys actually became the Pleiades (see Hundrath in the Glossary), in which case motz (the Quiche term for these stars) would mean the same thing as omu4h, "four hundred," or whether the supposed connection between the Four Hundred Boys and the Pleiades is merely a matter of a pun between omu4h and motz.

*(137) counterfeiting: This is haluachixic, translated on the basis of haluachir, "change one thing for another" (V.).

*(138) the forearms: This is xul, translated on the basis of an entry in V. that is missing its heading but falls between xulbak and xulu; the gloss is "little arms of crabs or shrimps."

*(139) where they opened: This is pa hac, pa is "in" and hac is translated on the basis of the entry for hak in V., "to open things" (such as curtains or eyelids).

*(140) the claws: This is ucoc [ucooc] 3ab, "its-carrying-device arm," in which cooc is translated on the basis of an entry in X.

*(141) They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered: Andres Xiloj commented: "A crab is just like a wristwatch: it has the meat inside and it's pure bone outside."

*(142) they put the shell beneath an overhang: Andres Xiloj pictured this as a spot beneath a waterfall.

*(143) "By now I can't stand the hunger": "Hunger" is a Quiche metaphor for sexual appetite; that the metaphorical level is intended here becomes more obvious as the story unfolds.

*(144) "please come point her out, boys": Andres Xiloj chuckled as he read this and then said, "This Zipacna is abusing the boys here, he's saying they shouldn't be afraid. It says here, quibe ta iuaba, which could be quibe ta iuabaa, 'If only you would come along to

iuabaa- to point it out,' but it could also be, quebe ta iuabah, 'If only iuabah- your stones, your balls- would come along.' Today, when someone runs from a fight, the saying is queeme ta iuabah, 'Don't hide your balls.' So Zipacna is saying, 'Don't you have any balls, boys?' They're still young." Since the puns in this passage cannot be preserved in English I have tried to make its sexual dimension more obvious by using feminine pronouns for the crab (though Quiche pronouns do not have gender), since the crab is the object of Zipacna's "hunger."

*(145) "But won't you please": This sentence begins with la qui [ki]; la makes it a yes/no question and ki (according to V.) indicates exaggerated politeness.

*(146) "I'll show you a place where there are plenty of birds": Continuing along the lines of the above comment, Andres Xiloj said, "There it is again, only now it's nuuaba, 'I show you something,' or else nuabah, 'my balls'- he's got balls." As for the "birds" (4,iquin), the primary metaphor for penis is "bird" in Quiche; Q. dates this metaphor to the late post-Hispanic period, but it is already present in a colonial dictionary for Pokoman Maya (P.), a Quichean language.

*(147) "We were entering": The verb stem here is oc-, translated (literally) as "enter" throughout this passage, a simple solution that keeps the same double meaning going in English that is present in the original.

*(148) "facedown ... on our back": These two opposite body positions are given throughout the present episode as hupulic and pacalic, respectively. Although they seem to have caused difficulties for some translators, they are spelled correctly in the MS., are glossed in B. in the same way I have translated them, and were perfectly transparent to Andres Xiloj.

*(149) her shell is gleaming red there: Some translators have complained about the color of this crab, but there are species of crab that are red before they are cooked.

*(150) "perhaps I'd better enter on my back": By this time Andres Xiloj had already begun snickering as he read, but now he burst into laughter. Explaining himself, he said: "Clearly, the crab is a woman. As you already know, a woman does it on her back, but here it's in reverse: the man is on the bottom and the crab will go on top. These are trial runs. In ancient times, I think, they didn't know what sin was. They were looking for a way to understand everything."

*(151) only his kneecaps were showing now: At this point don Andres sat back and said, "My God! All the way to the knees!"

*(152) He gave a last sigh and was calm: The "sigh" here is biquitahic, translated as suggested by don Andres; X. gives bi3bitic, "sigh." Don Andres translated xlilob as "was calm"; V. gives lilot as "tranquil." Of Zipacna's state don Andres commented: "Nothing will bother him now." The story of Zipacna and the crab prompted him to tell a story that has been translated elsewhere (see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, pp. 317-20). There is a contemporary Achi story about a character named Zipac that makes the sexual dimension more overt than it is in the P.V. (Shaw, According to Our Ancestors, pp. 48-51).

*(153) "Lure this Earthquake into settling down": "Lure" is bochiih, translated on the basis of bochih, "allure" (B.); "settling down" is cuubic, "to sit" (X.). I have supplied "this Earthquake" in order to

clarify the sense of the sentence, setting it apart from the plural reference of the previous sentence.

*(154) "in the course of the days, in the course of the light": chi be quih [3ih], chi be zac [zak], "in-road day (or sun), in-road light." According to Andres Xiloj, this means "for all time. Just the way we in my family are weavers. All the time, and for all time, we are weavers." For an alternative translation of this line and a further comment by don Andres, see "as long as there is day" in note *(358).

*(155) "Lead the way": This is chicama cabe [chi4ama kabe], literally "imperative-you-take our-road," a common Quiche idiom which I have translated into the equivalent English idiom.

*(156) they just blow at the birds when they shoot: Andres Xiloj remarked: "When people go out hunting today with guns, and when they see that an animal is coming, they do this: [blows a quick puff of air]. It is like magnetism, they pull it, the animal stops- it feels, it thinks there is a person hidden. When the animal has stopped for a moment, the person shoots, and there it is. The animal stopped to see what this noise was."

*(157) made fire with a drill: This is xquibac cu quicac [xquibak 4u qui3a3], "they-drilled then their-fire." And example of the same idiom is given by B. as canuba3 ca3, "I start a fire"; V. gives bak as "to drill."

*(158) "the one to be made and modeled": The reference is to humankind, and the problem is the same one the twins discuss in an earlier passage. Like so many other American Indian hero twins, they are monster slayers, making the earth habitable for humans.

*(159) "the human heart": I have supplied "human" here, assuming that the subject of the discussion has not changed since the previous sentence.

*(160) "a bite of meat, a meal of flesh": The parallel items here are tiic and chacuxic, which have been translated in many different ways; my version is based on tiinic, "to eat meat" (X.), and 4hacuh, "to eat meat" (V.).

*(161) his ankles were bound his wrists: The "ankles" and "wrists" are ucul racan ucab [rakan u3ab], literally "its-necks his-legs his-arms"; Andres Xiloj explained, the "neck" of a leg or arm is its "ankle" or "wrist" in Quiche.

PART THREE

*(162) let's just drink to the telling: The verb stem for "drink" here is camuh; I follow Edmonson in reading it as a variant of kumuh, "to drink" (The Book of Counsel, p. 58). Andres Xiloj liked this reading and pictured the narrator as seated on the tomb of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, on a day bearing the name Hunahpu. On many such days contemporary Quiche cemeteries look like crowded picnic grounds; whole families come to the graves of their ancestors, sprinkling flower petals, burning offerings, reciting prayers, and eating and drinking, all this in a respectful but festive mood.

*(163) One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, as they are called: The MS. leaves out Seven Hunahpu here; I assume that this is an error, given that everything else in the sentence is in the plural, and given that One and Seven Hunahpu are named together two sentences later.

*(164) a partner: This is laquel [la3el]. V. gives an example of the use of this term in which a woman may refer to another woman who

shares the same man with her as nula3el (nu- is "my").

*(165) flautists, singers, and writers; carvers, jewelers, metalworkers: Note that in these two sets of three skills each, writing is grouped with the performing arts rather than with handicrafts. Whatever writing system or systems were employed by the Quiche, the grouping of writing with flute playing and singing points to its close association with oral recitation [see also note *(57)]. "Writers" is my translation of ahtzib [ah4,ib], "person-who-does-writing," in which 4,ib also covers painting.

*(166) The four ballplayers: These words are supplied; the text only indicates "they."

*(167) "They're really determined to run right over us!": This is xax quehiquic uloc [ulok] pacaui [pakaui], literally "certainly they-cut-straight hither above-us."

*(168) to draw blood from people: Andres Xiloj commented: "When there is strife, when people begin to fight, they strike one another. The blood comes out, and Xibalba receives this blood. We see that it fell, but it fell into the flasks of the evil ones. It is like their food."

*(169) to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice: "Jaundice" is 3anal, "yellowness." This passage could refer not only to hepatitis but to yellow fever (if yellow fever was present in pre-Columbian times), whose symptoms include jaundice. The pus in the legs would be sores spread out along the lymphatic system.

*(170) to reduce people to bones ... until they die from emaciation and edema: The first of these ailments is ziiah bac [bak], in which the first word may be a form of ziy, "extended" (E.), and the second is "bone"; B. gives ziyah bak as "skeleton" and ziyah bakil as the name of an unspecified illness; X. gives bakil, literally "bony," as "thin, weak." The second ailment is xupan, "dropsy" (V. and G.), better known today as "edema," swelling caused by excess fluid in the tissues or cavities of the body. According to Andres Xiloj, the contemporary shamans called ahmesa, "keepers of the table," sometimes go bad and practice a ritual called chakih mesa, "dry table," in which they ask Xibalba to cause emaciation: "They put bones into the body of a person by means of prayers, in order to dry him up. They put a skull into the body of a person. They dry up the whole body." He told of a recent case in Momostenango in which a man was brought to court because "there were skulls, and bones of the arms and legs, in the place where this man burned his offerings. It was by means of these things that he screwed people up." Edema is caused by a separate ritual, called rax mesa, "fresh (or unripe, sudden, strong) table." Don Andres continued: "This, too, is done with bones. They put the bone in water, or whatever they put it in, and this same bone comes to be left in the body of the person, then he swells up. It's like an injection, but the evil is contained by this bone. The moment it is put in the body, the evil befalls one."

*(171) to catch up with people: The verb here is culuachih [4uluachih], "to come about" (B.), "to strike with misfortune" (V.).

*(172) whenever they have filth or grime in the ... house: According to Andres Xiloj, the best way to keep the agents of Xibalba out of one's house is to keep the place swept out and not allow trash to accumulate. See the story in note *(175) for a case in which a house

is cleaned out as a way of ending the deeds of a Xibalban.

*(173) in the doorway of the house, the patio of the house: This is chirih ha, "at the back of the house," and chuua ha, "at the face of the house." In Quiche terminology, as Andres Xiloj explained, the "back" of a house is the side that has a door or entrance way giving access to a public road or path, while the "face" is the side that gives onto a patio (whether enclosed on all four sides or not).

*(174) that people should die in the road, just "sudden death": This affliction is rax camical, "fresh (or unripe, sudden, strong) death." According to Andres Xiloj, it is like edema [see note *(170)] in that it is caused by practices that come under the heading of rax mesa: "They come to frighten one in the road, and now one doesn't arrive home. Suddenly one may fall in the ditch, rax camical. As it says here in the Popol Vuh, 'Blood comes to the mouth,' it is as if one had pneumonia, suddenly one begins to vomit blood, and one dies in a moment. It is a matter of the rax mesa. They put a bone in the lung, and it is damaged in a moment. One begins to vomit pure blood. They carry their materials on their shoulders, as it says here: 'The load on his shoulders.' When they are encountered in the road, they can kill one. But it isn't the ahmesa directly, but rather his genius [see the Glossary] or uin [were animal]." See note *(170) for more about the ahmesa.

*(175) Such are those who shared their thoughts: At this point Andres Xiloj was reminded of a story, which he told on the spot. It is about a young man who gets aggravated with his wife almost to the point of taking a machete to her, all because an emissary of Xibalba keeps sneaking hairs or bits of rag or even bugs into the food she prepares. Moving in for the kill, the Xibalban tells the young man he has just seen his wife serving lunch to another man. Sure enough, when he gets home for lunch and asks his wife to give him the breast of the chicken she has prepared, she cannot find it in the pot. Later the young man is seized with the idea of climbing a tree; the earth rumbles and he suddenly finds himself looking down on the spot where the lords of Xibalba regularly assemble to banquet on blood that has been spilled by violence. He sees Blood Gatherer (the head lord) come out, and the last one to arrive, named Jodido (a Spanish word roughly translatable as "screwed-up"), turns out to be the very Xibalban who has been plotting against him. Jodido brags about how he sneaked the chicken breast out of the pot and tells the others they will soon enjoy the blood of the poor woman who was cooking it. After the Xibalbans leave, the young man returns home and throws boiling water in each corner of his house. Returning to the banquet spot in time to see the Xibalbans reassemble, he sees Jodido come in very late, barely able to move because of the scalding he has received. After this no more foreign objects appear in the young man's food.

*(176) they were piqued and driven: This is xetzaixic, "they were salted (spiced)" (X.), and xecotobax, "they were pursued" (B.).

*(177) And these messengers of theirs are owls: Andres Xiloj remarked: "At times an owl suddenly arrives near the house and begins to sing. This is a warning. Yes, it is a warning from Xibalba."

*(178) repeated their words, reciting the exact words: This is ta xquizac [xquitzak] cut [4ut] quitzih xaui xere ucholic utzih. B. gives tzaconizah ri tzih as "to fulfill words," and V. gives tzakantic as

"deliver up, render, regurgitate"; xaui xere is "yet the same," and ucholic is "to say in an ordered way" (V.).

*(179) "Don't the lords ... speak truly?": That this line is part of the dialogue rather than part of the narrative is made obvious by the next line, which is clearly a reply.

*(180) "We're going,... even though we've just arrived": "Even though" is my translation of xaet, which B. gives as "in vain, uselessly." Antitheses are rather frequent in the speech of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

*(181) "just play and just sing": The playing here (tzuan-) is specifically on the flute.

*(182) where the rapids cut through: This is chuchi halha ziuanub, in which the first word is "at-its-mouth"; the second is "rapid, violent river" (B.); and the third may be an error for ziuanuh, "to open a ditch" (V.).

*(183) "Morning": This is calah [3alah], literally "clear, bright, plainly visible," used as a morning greeting in classical Quiche. Today the preferred greeting for the morning is zakiric, "it is getting light (or dawning)."

*(184) they got no relief: This is maui xeyacamaric, in which maui is negative; B. gives yacamaric as "be relieved, alleviated."

*(185) the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores: Cumatz or "serpent" is a term for various kinds of disabling cramps (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 54, 56). Concerning the present case of "serpent," Andres Xiloj said the following: "There are people who begin to make an uproar when one passes by, they die laughing. This is because those of Xibalba are among them; it is as if they had been ordered to do this. This is a work of Xibalba, and this is what the Popol Vuh is talking about. People get a serpent (cumatz) here in the breast [indicates a diagonal through his trunk, from one shoulder to the opposite hip] for having laughed so hard. Now one can't bear laughing because of the pain of the serpent; now it doesn't let one breathe. We could go out in the street right now. There could be a group of people there. They could begin to make an uproar, killing themselves laughing, and we couldn't hear what they were laughing about. But Xibalba would know what they were saying."

*(186) down to their blood and bones: This is chi quiqui [quiqui4] quib, chi quiba [quibak] quib, literally, "that they-blooded themselves, that they-boned themselves." That is, they became nothing but blood and bones, having laughed their flesh away; in idiomatic English, "they laughed themselves sick."

*(187) This ball of theirs is just a spherical knife: This is are cu [4u] ri quichah [chaah] xa coloquic cha, "this-is then the their-ball just rounded knife." Chaah often means "ball game" in the P.V.; wherever it is used for the ball itself, as it is here, it refers to the ball of Xibalba, whereas the ball used by One and Seven Hunahpu (and later by Hunahpu and Xbalanque) is always called quic [qui4], literally "blood (or sap)," but "rubber [ball]" in the context of the ball game. I suspect that chaah was a generic term and therefore translate it (wherever it refers to the ball) as just plain "ball," as contrasted with "rubber ball."

*(188) their torch was brought: The torch is chah, literally "pine"; in the present context it is the Quiche term for what is more widely known in Mesoamerica as ocote (a Nahua-derived term), a split-off

stick of extremely resinous pine wood, still widely used for torches and kindling.

*(189) they were cowering: The verb here is chocochoh, which means to crouch "in a cowering manner" (B.).

*(190) whistling with drafts, clattering with hail: This is zac [zak] xuruxuh, zac caracoh [4aracoh], in which zak may be shortened from zakbach, "hail." The first verb is similar to xururic, "the penetration of cold" (into a house) or "a sharp whistling" (X.); the second is similar to 4ararem, "the sound of hail falling" (X.). My translation retains the drafts and the hail while at the same time preserving the onomatopoeia.

*(191) The blades are moving back and forth: "Back and forth" is zacleloh, which B. gives as "in alternation."

*(192) "Put his head in the fork of the tree that stands by the road": Andres Xiloj read xol che [chee] as "in the fork of a tree," as did Ximenez long before him. Given that the head of One Hunahpu is Venus as evening star (see D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning"), the form of the tree has two different astronomical interpretations. On the one hand, it could represent the forked or crossed sticks that Mesoamerican astronomers used for sighting heavenly bodies; on the other hand, it could be part of a tree constellation lying somewhere along the zodiac. Once the calabash tree of the story bears fruit, the head of One Hunahpu cannot be told apart from the fruit, which suggests a conjunction between Venus (as evening star) and a number of closely grouped stars. For example, it could be that this particular evening star spent part of its period of visibility between the horns of Taurus, which point upward when Taurus is on the western horizon.

*(193) "'"Its fruit is truly sweet!" they say,' I hear.": The words "they say" translate cacha [cachaa], whose use following a statement in Quiche marks that statement as general hearsay. A more literal translation would be "it says" or "it is said," but I have chosen "they say" because that is what a speaker of English would be likely to use when citing hearsay. Blood Woman is repeating something that was already marked as hearsay by the time she heard it, so she adds a further layer of quotation with "I hear." As Andres Xiloj pointed out, the hearsay in question here is misinformation, since the fruit referred to is not only not sweet, but is not even edible (see calabash tree in the Glossary). For a general discussion of how the writers of the P.V. address the epistemological questions raised by their text, see D. Tedlock, The Spoken Word, chap. 12.

*(194) "Stretch out your right hand here": Andres Xiloj explained that the right side of the body (whether that of a male or female) is symbolically male, while the left is female. Further, the hands unite the fingers, which symbolize the living members of a family, graded from babies (the little finger of each hand) on up to the elderly (thumbs). The fact that Blood Woman receives the sign from the head of One Hunahpu in her right hand already points toward the bearing of a male child; in fact she will bear male twins.

*(195) "It is just a sign I have given you, my saliva, my spittle": Because of the mention of "sign" (retal) here, Andres Xiloj remarked, "Then this is a dream." Asked what would be augured by being spit on in a dream, he said, "This is two matters. It depends on whether the saliva is good or bad. When it is good it has a lot of

foam; when it is just clear water it is bad. But here in the Popol Vuh, one isn't told which kind of saliva it is."

*(196) "Keep the word": The stem of the verb here is oc-, which can carry the sense of "keeping to something" (V.).

*(197) they were of one mind: This is xaui quinaoh, "same their-thoughts."

*(198) "It's just a bastard": "Bastard" is hoxbal, literally "fornication-instrument," glossed as "bastard" by B.

*(199) "Get her to open her mouth": This is chacoto uchi [uchii], literally "Dig it out of her mouth," an idiom for close questioning. In terms of the somatic mapping of actual or potential speech, as conceived by Quiches, this implies that she knows perfectly well what her father wants her to say; if her word were "in her belly," on the other hand, it would mean that she could not readily articulate a response even if she wanted to. See also notes *(246) and *(259).

*(200) "there is no man whose face I've known": This statement is not only true in its figurative reference to Blood Woman's sexual innocence, but in its literal sense: she has never known the (fleshly) face of the man responsible for her miraculous pregnancy. For the importance of a man's "face" (and personal identity) in sexual encounters, see Part Four of the present translation, "And they sent the two of them,..."

*(201) "take it in their hands": This is quicololeh [qui4ololeh], a reduplicative form of 4oleh, "have something round in the hand" (V.); B. gives colola as "revolve, turn around."

*(202) "So please stop": The verb here is queque; B. gives quequeba as "stop, detain."

*(203) "they will make themselves familiar with its composition": This is xchiquihunam uachih utzaquic [u4,akic], "will-they-compare appearance its-being-made (or constructed)"; X. gives hunamanic as "compare" and B. gives hunamah uach as "to make friends."

*(204) "nor will your homes be here": In the biological sense, this means that future owls will be free to move around the surface of the earth. If I am right in suspecting that the messenger owls of Xibalba correspond to the planet Mercury, the astronomical sense of this same statement would be that Mercury appears above the horizon on more days than it remains below (the average ratio for a given Mercury cycle is 76:40)

*(205) "only blood": "Blood" is a literal translation of quic [qui4], which also refers to gums and resins from trees (including latex), in this case the blood-red resin of the cochineal croton (see croton in the Glossary).

*(206) "use the fruit of a tree": This is a figurative reference to nodules of sap from the cochineal croton.

*(207) it formed a surface like blood: This is quehe cu [4u] ri quic [qui4] rih xuxic, "like then the blood its back (or upper or outer surface) became."

*(208) "nodules of blood": This is quic [qui4] holomax. For a discussion of "blood" in this context, see notes *(205)-*(207). Holomax would seem to be composed of a verbal form of holom, "head," with a passive suffix (-x); in the present context it would mean something like "headed-up," hence "nodules."

*(209) and when he lifted it up with his fingers: This is ta xuchuieh cu [4u] acanoc [a3anok], "when he-lifted-with-fingers and

upward"; B. gives chuieh as "to lift with the fingers."

*(210) they leaned over it intently: This is xechique [xechike] chuui, in which xe- is "complete-they" and chuui is "over (or on top of)"; V. gives chiker as "to be inclined pensively."

*(211) the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan: In fact the mother (in the literal sense) of One Monkey and One Artisan has already died by this time; in the present passage the term "mother" is being used in its role-designating sense rather than in its genealogical sense. One Monkey and One Artisan are living alone with Xmucane, their father's mother, at this point; she is the only person they have who could fill the role of "mother."

*(212) "mother, madam": This is lal chichu, in which lal is "you (singular polite)," here translated as "madam." I cannot locate chichu in any dictionary, colonial or modern, nor did Andres Xiloj know it, but it resembles chuch, "mother." It is not the ordinary term for mother-in-law; that is alib, which is used by Blood Woman later on in this same dialogue.

*(213) I'm your daughter-in-law and I'm your child": The use of "child" here is metaphorical. A Quiche daughter-in-law takes up residence with her husband's family; in offering herself not only as a daughter-in-law but as a "child," Blood Woman both seeks the kind of acceptance a daughter would have and makes an offer of loyalty.

*(214) "my lastborn children": Given that Xmucane is never mentioned as having had any children other than One and Seven Hunahpu, she may be using chipa [4hipa] or "lastborn (youngest)" endearingly, in effect calling her sons, who were adults when they left home, "my little babies."

*(215) "They have merely made a way for the light to show itself": "A way ... to show itself" is ucutbal [u4utbal] rib, literally "its-showing-instrument." The immediate reference, as the rest of the sentence makes clear, is to the symbolic survival of the dead through their offspring, "light" being a metaphor for birth. But "light" may also be taken literally here: Blood Woman's twin sons will account for Venus (in some of its cycles) and, in time, the sun and moon (or at least the full moon) (see D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning").

*(216) "Truly, what I say to you is so!": I take it that this sentence belongs to Blood Woman rather than Xmucane, given that it is followed with utz bala, "Very well," which signals the beginning of a reply and definitely belongs to Xmucane.

*(217) "since you are already my daughter-in-law": The grandmother isn't so much accepting Blood Woman's claim to kinship here as she is saying (with sarcasm) something like, "If you say you're my daughter-in-law, then act like one." Quiche daughters-in-law, who live with the families of their husbands, are subject to the commands of their mothers-in-law, who give them heavy household tasks to do.

*(218) she went to the garden: "Garden" is abix, often translated "milpa." Maize is the principal plant in the highland Mayan milpa, but it is interplanted with beans and squash. Each of these crops has different characteristics in its response to wet or dry conditions at various points in its growth cycle; interplanting assures that when one crop suffers during a given season, another part will prosper.

*(219) but there was only one clump: In Mesoamerica corn is properly grown in thick clumps, not stalk by stalk in single file; clumps

survive high winds better.

*(220) "Come thou, rise up, come thou, stand up": This is tatul ualoc tatul tacaloc. In tatul, ta- suggests Cakchiquel "you" (singular familiar in V.) and -at- suggests Quiche "you" (singular familiar), while -ul would be "come" in either language. For the rest, ual- is "get up" (B.) and tacal- is "stand up, present oneself" (B.), while -oc [-ok] carries an urgent or imperative force. Throughout the P.V., I translate the first person singular familiar pronoun as "thou" in prayers but as "you" in conversation.

*(221) they were rowdyish and flushed with jealousy: For these two qualities the MS. has quichaquimal and qui3a3 [quicak] uachibal, in which qui- is "their." B. gives chaquimal as "tumult, clatter, fuss, disturbance; clamor of boys." X. gives quiak [cak] uachinic, which would literally be "red in appearance," as "zeal, jealousy."

*(222) the successors: This is quexel [4exel], "substitute." This may be a reference to the fact that Mars, the planet of One Monkey and One Artisan, sometimes serves as morning star in the absence of Venus, which in one of its five cycles is the planet of One and Seven Hunahpu (see D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning"). When Venus and Mars appear in the east together Mars remains long after Venus has descended into the underworld, just as One Monkey and One Artisan remained on the face of the earth when One and Seven Hunahpu went to Xibalba.

*(223) The anger in their hearts came down on their own heads: Andres Xiloj remarked, "We see a person; we speak behind his back and he doesn't hear what we are murmuring. Then this murmur doesn't fall upon that person, but we are the ones who pay for it." A daykeeper, taking on the task of defending a person who has been the victim of witchcraft, asks in prayer that "the one who did this work should be the one to receive it."

*(224) They were decoyed: The verb here is poizaxic [poyizaxic]; if English "doll" were a verb, this could be translated literally as "to be dolled"- that is, to be misled by a doll. Today poyizaxic is most commonly employed with reference to the use of scarecrows in fields.

*(225) "but our birds just got hung up in a tree": When birds are shot they sometimes close their feet around the branch where they were sitting and then hang there, dead.

*(226) "We'll just turn their very being around": The verb here is catzolcomih, which Andres Xiloj read as catzol3omih, "to turn around."

*(227) "Just as they wished us to be slaves here": This is quehe ri ala xohpe ui uloc [ulok] chiqui4ux, "like the slaves we-came location here in-their-hearts," in which I take xohpe chiqui4ux to be an idiom analogous to the one given in B. as chi nucux [4ux] petinac [petinak], literally "in-my-heart come-from-perfect" but glossed as "of my own will." Ala ("slaves") is shortened here from alabil, which is the form given in a later and similar passage (translated "slaves").

*(228) "How can we grab hold?": The verb stem here is chanic, translated on the basis of chanih, "keep in the fist" (B.). The tree is too thick for One Monkey and One Artisan to use their hands in coming down.

*(229) "simply shameless": This is rax quiuach, "fresh (or raw or green) their-faces"; B. gives rax uach as "shameless."

*(230) "Will you please not laugh": Among the contemporary

Jacaltec Maya there are myths in which the hero tricks his elder brother or his mother's brothers into going up a tree that grows taller and maroons them, after which they turn into monkeys. The hero's mother then tries to reverse this transformation but fails (Morris Siegel, "The Creation Myth and Acculturation in Acatan, Guatemala," pp. 122-24; Oliver La Farge, Santa Eulalia, pp. 53-56), in one case because she disobeys an admonition not to laugh (La Farge, pp. 51-53).

*(231) the patio of the house: See note *(173) for a discussion of the parts of a house.

*(232) the skinny little things below their bellies: This is chi xiriric xe quipam; Ximenez translated xiriric as "that which is thin," and Andres Xiloj read it as "round little thing," chuckling as he did so. This refers not to the "bellies" of the monkeys (quipam) but to what is "below" or "at the bottom of" (xe) their bellies.

*(233) and their tails wiggling in front of their breasts: This is chi chilita he pu chuchi qui4ux, "that wag tails and at-edge-of their-breasts." Andres Xiloj read chuchi as "up against" in this context. Spider monkeys and howler monkeys both have very long prehensile tails; howlers are seldom observed, but spider monkeys are given to winding their tails around to the front of their bodies and all the way up to their chins.

*(234) thin red lips: This is ca3 [cak] ruxruh uchi [chii], "red thin his-mouth (or lips)"; ruxruh may be a reduplicative form of ruxaa, "thin" (X.).

*(235) with faces blank: "Blank" is my translation of tac [ta3], "deafened" (B.) or "fool" (X.) or "flat" (various sources).

*(236) puckering their lips: "Puckering" is my translation of mutzumac [mutzumak], based on the gloss offered by Andres Xiloj: "to make small, like a trumpet." This passage reminded don Andres of the contemporary Monkey Dance in Momostenango: "These monkeys, when they come out here in the fiesta, they scratch themselves, and do their mouths this way [touches himself all around the mouth], as if they had fleas and lice." They also climb a high pole and do acrobatics on a tightrope above the plaza.

*(237) wiping their mouths and faces: The verb stem here is mal; B. gives mala- as "to touch lightly" and Andres Xiloj read it as "to clean."

*(238) suddenly scratching themselves: This is macama [makama] chiquihoquih chique; Andres Xiloj read hoquih as ho3oh, "to scratch"; chique is "to them," possibly referring to the mouths and faces of the monkeys.

*(239) their mattock, their hoe: These tools are mixquina and xoquem, respectively; I have rendered the former word as "mattock" because B. glosses it as a "large" hoe.

*(240) leveling ... the trees: "Leveling" is my translation of 3a3chacachoh, based on cakchachoh, "thrown down by the wind" (V.).

*(241) stalks and brambles: "Stalks" is my translation of tum, based on tun, "shoot (of a plant)" (V.); "brambles" translates quixic, based on 4ix, "spine (or thorn)" (X.).

*(242) dumps wood chips on his head: The verb here is puquih, translated on the basis of pu4unic, "dunk" or "throw" (X.); the "wood chips" are uuebalche [uuebalchee], glossed as such by B.

*(243) they massage, they stretch their legs, their arms: Andres

Xiloj, who is a uikol bak or "bonesetter" in addition to being a daykeeper, remarked here that he uses a combination of massage and stretching to treat sprains.

*(244) fox, coyote: The fox is yac in Quiche; it is sometimes called gato del monte or "mountain cat" in rural Guatemalan Spanish, which has caused much confusion among speakers of English. Foxes are more like cats than like dogs in their fur and in their graceful leaps. But in Quiche, as in English, the fox is nevertheless thought of together with the coyote (utiu), as in the case of the present list, whereas cats are covered by the "puma, jaguar" pair of terms occurring earlier in the list.

*(245) "Arise, conjoin, you trees! / Arise, conjoin, you bushes!": This is iac lin che [chee] iac lin caam [4aam], in which iac is "for inciting someone" (V.) and is probably related to yacalic, "be up high" (X.); lin is "to squeeze, press together" and is used for tamping the weft in weaving (B.).

*(246) "My word is in my belly": Here and in a later passage the animal who makes this statement is assigned its characteristic food in exchange for a message. For the contemporary Quiche diviner, words that are "in the belly" of a person are words that person is unable to bring to consciousness and articulate; words that are higher up, in the chest or the head, are more likely to be spoken, and those that are in the throat or mouth or on the tongue are at the very point of actually being said. As for animals, their utterances are regarded as clear to other members of the same species but very difficult for a human to understand. The fact that the animals in the P.V. have their word in their bellies is not only an indication of their interest in being given food but an indication of the difficulties of understanding what animals have to say. They may be able to make sounds, but the meaning of these sounds is as hidden as are the crucial facts a human client may find difficult to articulate when a diviner asks probing questions. See also notes *(199) and *(259).

*(247) "up under the roof of the house": This is chuui ha, "at-its-top house," which, as Andres Xiloj explained, means the attic. He pointed out that this is the part of the house where tools are kept today, along with the stored harvest.

*(248) "But what will your grandmother say if she sees me?": Andres Xiloj commented: "When the rat speaks it isn't understood what he says, 'Ui4,, ui4,, uit4,.' When a boy is born, then the rat doesn't cry, 'tis said. He is content, because the boy is the one who sows the garden. Now, if a woman is born, then the rat cries, 'tis said, because when the rat is near a woman in the kitchen she grabs a stick to kill him."

*(249) they were just fooling: "Fooling" is michbal [mi4hbal], literally "means of plucking," an idiom for deception. Note that in a later story the victims of deception are literally plucked.

*(250) loosening the ball: The verb here is colon, translated on the basis of colo, "to free" (B.).

*(251) These were taken away: The verb stem here is mahix, "be-taken," translated on the basis of mahinic, "to take" (X.).

*(252) a louse fell on her elbow: I read chucayac as "elbow" on the basis of 4hucah, the entry for "elbow" in X., and picture Xmucane with her head buried in her arms. The louse, of course, falls from her head.

*(253) "My word is contained": "Contained" is 4oba, translated on the basis of coba, "to contain" or "keep to oneself" (B.).

*(254) "bent over": This is pe, translated on the basis of pe4elic, "to sag" (X.).

*(255) when he had been united with the toad: The verb here is xrictaxic, a complete and passive form of the verb given by B. as riquitahic, "to join."

*(256) on the rim of the ball court: "Rim" is zutzil (in which -il is adjectival), translated on the basis of tzutz, "to finish weaving" (E.) or "to finish weaving by filling out the space at the edge" (V.). I take it that the falcon alighted at the top of the wall enclosing the ball court.

*(257) "Wak-ko! Wak-ko!": This is uac co, uac co in the MS. The bird in question, the uac or laughing falcon (see Glossary), makes two different sounds: a long call consisting of a single, rapidly repeated syllable, resembling laughter, and a short song that makes use of two different syllables. L. Irby Davis transcribes a typical phrase of the song as woo-o ka-woo (A Field Guide to the Birds of Mexico and Central America, p. 25), which is close to the way the P.V. has it. Michael Coe has called my attention to the fact that the Aztecs, like Hunahpu and Xbalanque in the present passage, took the sounds of this falcon (called oactli in Nahuatl) to be portentous. The call, which they heard as uncontrolled laughter, was a bad omen, but the song was good (Sahagun, Florentine Codex, book 5, pp. 153-55). Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in a move the original hearers of their story may have found humorous, take the matter of the omen into their own hands, bringing the bird down and demanding to know exactly what message it carries. The song would seem to be a good omen for them, despite the dangers implied by the message that lies behind (or inside) it; they are like the twin heroes of North American Indian myths in fearlessly taking immediate action whenever a new adventure presents itself. But their grandmother, like her own North American counterpart, is filled with apprehension.

*(258) their blowgun shot: The "shot" of the blowgun is ubac [ubak], literally "its bone" or "its pit" (in the sense of the pit of a fruit).

*(259) "My word is contained in my belly": See note *(246) for a discussion of the meaning of words in bellies. What is notable in the present context, where the hawk contains the snake that contains the toad that contains the louse who has the message, is a symbolic acting out of the structure of the speech of messengers. Again and again the messengers of the P.V. deliver their news in the form of multiply embedded quotes; in the present episode each animal corresponds, as it were, to a pair of quote marks, one pair inside the next.

*(260) he just sort of drooled: This is xa quehe chucaxh, "just like that-he-drooled"; I translate the verb stem, caxh, on the basis of caxahinic, "to drool" (B.).

*(261) they kicked him: The verb stem here is iic, translated on the basis of yicbal, "kick with the foot" (B.). I have spared the reader the redundancy of the original phrasing, which goes on to specify that the kicking was indeed done with the foot.

*(262) they crushed the bones: The verb stem here is cah [4ah], translated on the basis of 4ahinic, "to crumble" (X.).

*(263) it was right there in his mouth: In terms of the somatic mapping of speech, as conceived by Quiches, this implies that the toad knew perfectly well what the message was; it was not buried in his belly, a realm of the unconscious or the dimly perceived, but right up front in his mouth [see notes *(246) and *(259)].

*(264) Each of us will plant an ear of corn: These are not kernels (ixim) but ears (ah) that are planted (tic), and as will be made clear, they are "planted" not in the earth but above it, in the attic of the house, where harvested corn is stored. Andres Xiloj recognized this as one of the rituals he carries out in his capacity as a mother-father [see also the notes immediately below and *(331)-*(334), as well as the Introduction].

*(265) When the corn dries up: "Corn" has been supplied here; the original sentence does not specify what is drying (chakihic). It might be the ears of corn Hunahpu and Xbalanque left in the center of their house, but Andres Xiloj took it to be the ripening of a corn crop in their field, which would coincide with the arrival of the dry season.

*(266) when the sprouting comes: This is ta chipe utux, "when there-comes its-shoot." It would not be the sprouting of the ears of corn left in the center of the house by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, but of a new crop in the field [see notes *(331)-*(334)].

*(267) Hunahpu planted one and Xbalanque planted another: This makes it sound as though there were two ears of corn, but today it would be four: one yellow, one white, one spotted, and one blue. Note that the ears planted by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, however many of them there may have been, are later given four different names.

*(268) where the earth is damp: This is rax uleu, literally "green (or raw) earth," in contrast with the chaquih [chakih] uleu or "dry earth" mentioned in this same sentence; my translation follows the reading offered by Andres Xiloj.

*(269) in the middle of the inside of their house: This is chunicahal [chuni4ahal] upa cochoch, "at-its-middle its-inside their-house." Andres Xiloj was quite definite that this could only mean indoors, not in the patio. See note *(173) for further information on the parts of a house.

*(270) the roads of Xibalba: Apparently all four roads eventually lead to or through Xibalba, but in an earlier passage "the" Road of Xibalba, and specifically of its lords, is the Black Road (see Glossary).

*(271) "What is it, Wing?": "Wing" has been provided.

*(272) each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the name of the one seated next to him: This is huhun chiholoman ubixic cumal are chibiin ubi hun ri cubul chuxucut, "each-one from-ahead being-named by-them this-one naming his-name one that seated at-his-side." I interpret chiholoman as referring to differences in rank, with chi- as prepositional and holom as "head" in the sense of leadership (a sense given by V. under the entry for ui). In the dialogue that follows each lord is indeed named by the one ranking immediately above him and in turn names the next one down the line; the only exception is One Death, who has no one above him and must therefore be named by Seven Death.

*(273) "These aren't lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!": Strictly speaking this remark refers to the two manikins, or

woodcarvings, who are seated first in the sequence, but may also be taken as slyly referring to the entire group of lords. They are waiting for a good laugh, like the one they had earlier at the expense of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, but instead the joke is on them.

*(274) "here's our rubber ball," said the Xibalbans: This is one of the few points at which qui4, "rubber ball," is used with reference to the ball belonging to Xibalba, which is otherwise called chaah, a generic term for "ball" [see note *(187)], or else by its proper name, White Dagger (see Glossary). Given the general air of duplicity in the present passage, we may assume that the Xibalbans are falsely using the term qui4.

*(275) "just a decorated one": This is xa huchil [hu4hil], in which I take hu4hil to be an adjectival form of hu4hunic, "to stripe, put on a design" (X.). The ball of Xibalba (see White Dagger in the Glossary) is fundamentally different from the rubber ball used by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, but the Xibalbans are claiming that it is merely decorated.

*(276) "just a skull": The ball of Xibalba is surfaced with crushed bone (see White Dagger in the Glossary).

*(277) "We've said enough,": This is coh4hachic, "we-stop-talking," translated on the basis of forms like chach and chachachi in B., which have to do with the cessation or hushing of talk. Others have treated coh as a separate word here, in which case it would mean "puma," but that leaves 4hachic hanging.

*(278) "Death is the only thing you want for us! Wasn't it you who sent a summons to us?": This is an ironic reference to the names of One and Seven Death. To put it in other words, "Given that you are named came (Death), no wonder you want our camic (death)!" Hunahpu and Xbalanque play on the name came again in a later episode. See One Death, Seven Death in the Glossary for a discussion of their name.

*(279) "One bowl of red petals": "One bowl" is my translation of huticab, in which I take -ticab to be a numeral classifier for counting by the bowlful, similar to -tuc in hutuc, "one jarful" (T.); the bowls in question here (zel) are mentioned just before this. "Petals" translates a word given as muchih the first time and muchit thereafter, which Andres Xiloj read as muchic, referring to the "undoing" of flowers to get their petals off, rather than as mu4h, which is an herb (known as chipilin in Spanish) whose leaves are used as a seasoning in beans. Today flower petals are sprinkled on tombs and may be used to adorn shrines before offerings are burned.

*(280) "Whip-poor-will!" and "Poor-willow!": The bird calls here are xpurpuuec and puhuyu, respectively. Andres Xiloj recognized xpurpuuec as the call of the bird named perpuuak, which he described as a ground-dwelling bird that calls out at night. This is obviously a whippoorwill; phonetically the Quiche rendition of its call is not that different from the English version, except for the final consonant (for an ornithologist's technical description of the call see Davis, A Field Guide to the Birds of Mexico and Central America, pp. xiii-xv). I interpret puhuyu as a similar but somewhat simpler call, belonging to a related species, and translate it as "poorwill" when it is used as a species name rather than as a call.

*(281) the nibbling at their own tails,... wings: This may be a reference to the fact that the tails and wings of whippoorwills and poorwills are marked with bands, bars, and spots that give them a

mottled appearance.

*(282) an acrobatic performance: This is tiquitoh, translated on the basis of tiquita, "to dance audaciously in front of others" (B.).

*(283) all the Xibalbans looked sick, they paled: The key forms here are zaccahe [zakcahe], "be discolored in sickness" (V.), and zacbu [zakbu], "pallid" (B.).

*(284) their mouths were split wide: Whippoorwills and poorwills are night-jars (Caprimulgidae), all of which have small bills but mouths that gape very wide.

*(285) countless drafts, thick-failing hail: For more about the drafts (teu), see note *(190). The hail is zacbocom [zakbokom], based on glosses offered by B. and by Andres Xiloj.

*(286) a house of fire: This is hun ha chi 3a3, a descriptive phrase not constructed in the same way as the proper names given the other houses- balami ha, "Jaguar House," for example. It is omitted from the earlier list of five test houses and is the most briefly described of the houses in the present sequence; it may be a secondary elaboration, based on the immolation undergone by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in a later episode. That would leave five proper test houses in both passages, probably corresponding to segments of five different kinds of Venus cycles (see Bat House in the Glossary and D. Tedlock, "The Sowing and Dawning").

*(287) "Can you see how long it is till dawn?": "How long" is my translation of hanic, "How much?" (B.).

*(288) "What's going on?": This is my reading of huchalic, based on hucha, "How?" or "What's this?" (B.).

*(289) Xbalanque despaired: The verb stem here is quixbih, translated on the basis of 4ixbeh, "to have shame" (V.) and considerations of context.

*(290) "Alas!": This is acaroc [probably akarok], which Ximenez translates as "Ay! Ay!" Elsewhere akarok begins a song of lament, where I again translate it as "Alas!" But when it begins prayers I render it as "Wait!" on the basis of akar, "wait" (V.) and the apparent imperative suffix (-ok). A person at prayer is said to "cry" (o3ic) and "call out" (zi4ih); to translate akarok as "Alas!" emphasizes the emotional tone, while "Wait!" emphasizes the attempt to get attention.

*(291) He brought a squash: What the coati brings is written as coc, which must be 3o3, "squash," rather than cooc, "turtle." As Edmonson has pointed out (The Book of Counsel, p. 124), turtles do not have seeds, and I would add that a turtle would not burst open when hitting the floor of a ball court.

*(292) then brains came from the thinker, from the sky: I follow Edmonson (The Book of Counsel, p. 124) in reading tzatz as tzatz 3or, "brains" (literally "thick dough"). According to the riddling "language of Zuyua" in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, the "brains" of the sky consist of copal (Roys, The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, pp. 90, 96). That raises the possibility that "thinker," which is ahnaoh (ah- is occupational) in the present passage, could be a pun on naoh [nooh], which is a variety of copal (X.). For a discussion of punning in the language of Zuyua, see Brian Stross, "The Language of Zuyua."

*(293) His strength was just the same: "Strength" is chuuc here, translated on the basis of chu3a, "strength" or "force" (V.).

*(294) "Possum is making streaks": This is caxaquin uuch [caxakin uu4h], "he-is-making-black-streaks possum." V. has an entry for xakin uu4h, "a darkness before dawn," which confirms that uuch should be uu4h, "possum"; Ximenez translated "vulture," as if the text had read 4uch. Andres Xiloj read the verb stem as xakin, "make black stripes"; V. has "stripe with carbon" as a gloss for xakih. Don Andres commented: "At four-thirty in the morning it is as if black clouds were placed there at the end of the sky [the horizon], they are like a sea, they are in grades or levels, alternating yellow and black. Then, according to the hour, as it clears up, the black becomes blacker, blacker, blacker, and what was yellow becomes redder, as the sun comes nearer. Then it changes, these black clouds are no longer there, now there is only the light of the sun. These black clouds appear to be over the earth, they go far [to the left and right], all the way to wherever. The stripes signal that the sun is already shining; they are a reflection. When one gets up at four or four-thirty in the morning, cak chuui xecah, 'it is red over the end of the sky.' At first only one black band is there, then it divides up. One can see all this in the dry season, but not at this time of year" (as he said this his voice was almost drowned out by the sound of rain). The possum who made the black streaks or bands in the P.V. is called mama, "old man (or grandfather)," which identifies him as one of the so-called "year-bearers" (see the Introduction). The year-bearers announce the coming of a new solar year, just as the black streaks announce the coming of a new day.

*(295) "You should just make lots of threats": The verb stem here is yecuh, "be in a threatening attitude" (under the entry for yecoh in B.).

*(296) "Stay there in the oaks": These are pixc, "oaks" or "acorns" (V., G.), not pix, "tomatoes."

*(297) having recovered the ball from among the oaks: "Oaks" has been supplied here. I picture Hunahpu and Xbalanque standing among the oaks, pretending they have found the ball when in fact they have traded it for a squash.

*(298) The squash was wearing out: The verb stem here is pucabin [pu3abin], translated on the basis of pu3, "wear down" (V.).

*(299) bringing to light its light-colored seeds, as plain as day: This is zaquiram cu ri uzaquilal [zakiram 4u ri uzakilal], literally "becoming-light (or white) then the its-lightness-own." Zakir- is also "to dawn," and zakil is the term for squash seeds; in the translation I have added the word "seeds" and the phrase "as plain as day" in order to make these dimensions more obvious to the reader. Further, zakir- is a metaphor for the sprouting of plants, but the phrase "bringing to light its light-colored seeds" turns that metaphor inside out. When the squash bursts and causes a "dawning" of seeds, it is a "dawning" that comes from the harvested fruit of a plant rather than from the planted seeds. To put it another way, the seeds burst forth rather than being sown.

This passage probably has an astronomical dimension as well. Keeping in mind that Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in their Venus or ballplayer aspect, cannot stray from the zodiac, we may speculate that the splattered squash seeds correspond to a constellation, and that this constellation is closer to being "in bounds" with respect to the zodiac than the oaks (or acorns) discussed in note *(296). The

Pleiades are within the zodiac, but they would seem to be accounted for by the Four Hundred Boys. But the seeds of the burst squash could at least be somewhere near the Pleiades, since the Four Hundred Boys may be rabbits (see under their name in the Glossary) and since it is a rabbit who leads the Xibalbans away from the ball court.

*(300) if we dumped their bones in the canyon: T. J. Knab informs me that in the lore of contemporary Nahuatl speakers in the Sierra de Puebla, this is precisely the procedure that would be used to put a permanent and complete end to a person. On the other hand, grinding the bones and putting them directly into water (which is what is finally done with Hunahpu and Xbalanque) would ensure continued life in some form.

*(301) since you would see their faces: This is an allusion to what happened when the head of One Hunahpu was put in a tree.

*(302) sprinkle them: The verb stem here is icah, "sprinkle" (B.).

*(303) "You'll never put that one over on us": The verb stem here is mich [mi4h], "pluck," but in the present context a literal translation would not make sense in English [see note *(427) for a case in which deception involves literal plucking of the victim].

*(304) They grabbed each other by the arms and went head first into the oven: Hunahpu and Xbalanque do not ascend as the sun and moon until later in Part Three of the translation, but their self-immolation here is obviously the act that opens the way to that event. In Aztec mythology the sun and moon are again a pair of males, Nanahuatzin and Tecuciztecatl, though apparently not brothers. They do not jump into the flames arm in arm; instead, the former jumps in because the latter is afraid to, and then the latter follows out of shame. At first they rise as two identical suns, but then Tecuciztecatl is dimmed and becomes the moon (Sahagun, Florentine Codex, Book 7, pp. 2-7).

*(305) raising their shouts, raising their cheers: Andres Xiloj remarked, "It's like they held a fiesta, complete with a marimba."

*(306) The two of them looked like channel catfish: For the identification of the fish, see the Glossary. There is a classic Maya vase on which a figure that has been positively identified as Hunahpu by Floyd Lounsbury ("The Identities of the Mythological Figures in the 'Cross Group'") is shown in profile with a barbel growing out of his cheek (see illustration: "Sacrifice yet again, even
do it to yourselves!"). The scene depicted takes place not far beyond the one in the present passage [see notes *(317)-*(321)]. It should be noted that among the Pokomchi Maya Xbalanque gave his name to a fish of the perch and bass family (see Xbalanque in the Glossary), whose members lack the barbels that characterize catfish and (unlike catfish) have spiny fins. It may be that for speakers of Quichean languages (who include the Pokomchi) Hunahpu manifested as a catfish and Xbalanque as a perch or bass, but it remains to be seen whether their classic counterparts might be sorted out between two different fish.

Taking our cue from the fact that other P.V. episodes involve the establishment of customs by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, we may guess that the casting of their bones in the water (an event they themselves planned) may have established a fishing ritual. Many fishing cultures- on the northwest coast of North America, for example- have rituals

in which the casting of fish bones back in the water results in the reincarnation of the fish to which they belonged. When we combine this possibility with the fact that Hunahpu and Xbalanque also established a ritual for the perpetuation of the life of corn plants, it brings to mind the raised-field complex among the classic lowland Maya, who harvested fish from the same ditches that drained their cornfields (see Hammond, Ancient Maya Civilization, pp. 160-63). Contemporary Quiches do not link corn with fish, but the founders of the leading Quiche lineages came from the Gulf-coast lowlands, and a later generation of lords obtained the hieroglyphic P.V. from the lowlands.

*(307) vagabonds: This is my translation of meba, given by B. and X. as "poor person"; I have chosen "vagabonds" because Hunahpu and Xbalanque later disclaim any attachment to a particular place. At this point in their career they probably correspond to the so-called "year-bearers" or "possum actors" of the lowland Maya, and this is probably the point at which they earned the epithets Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote (see Glossary).

*(308) They seemed unrefined: This is mana chibananta quiuach, literally "not-yet that-get-to-be-done their-faces"; ban uach is an idiom meaning "polished, adorned" (B.).

*(309) Now Xibalba was full of admiration: The "admiration" is cayic, translated on the basis of cai3, "watch admiringly" (B.).

*(310) Next they would sacrifice themselves, one of them dying for the other: This would seem to indicate that either of the twins could assume either role in this act. When the P.V. describes the act, it is Xbalanque who sacrifices Hunahpu, but the classic Maya vase that portrays this scene shows it the other way around (see illustration:
"Sacrifice yet again, even do it to yourselves!"). In terms of consistency within the P.V. the former arrangement makes more sense, since the sacrifice includes decapitation and since it is otherwise Hunahpu who gets dismembered; by this time he has already suffered a decapitation by a snatch-bat, having previously lost his arm to Seven Macaw.

*(311) had to keep coming back: The verb stem here is machcay, translated on the basis of machcai3, "to come and go repeatedly" (B.).

*(312) Feigning great humility: This is quemochochic; B. gives mochochic as "to humble oneself hypocritically."

*(313) they bowed their heads all the way to the ground: This is chiquixulela quiuach, in which the second word is "their faces"; B. gives xulela as "throwing the face on the ground."

*(314) down to the rags, to the tatters: The "rags" are mayoquih, translated on the basis of maquih, "to throw out"; the "tatters" are atziac [a4,iak], which carries this meaning in both classical and modern Quiche.

*(315) their mountain: This is quihuyubal, "their-mountain-place." Huyubal is a metonym for almost any settlement, but especially a fortified town or "citadel" (tinamit), located on a defensible elevation.

*(316) And they showed its roundness: This is xquicoloba cut [xqui4oloba 4ut] chiquiuach, "they-positioned-round-thing then to-their-faces."

*(317) his legs, his arms were spread wide: The verb here is

xperepoxic, apparently a complete (x-), passive (-xic), and reduplicated form of pere-, "to put a wide thing somewhere" (V.); B. has an entry for perrepic, "wide." The limbs of Mesoamerican sacrifice victims were indeed spread wide.

*(318) was smothered in a leaf: This is xcheque [xcheke] chuuach tzalic [4,alic], "stanched in-face-of leaf-wrapping." X. gives 4hekelic as "stop the flow of" and 4,alic as "leaves for wrapping." This line has caused much confusion, but Andres Xiloj found it crystal clear. He commented that 4,alic refers to any leaves used to wrap tamales, of which there are several different kinds.

*(319) "Do it to us! Sacrifice us!": Here Andres Xiloj remarked, "It didn't please them that they were perfectly well; what pleased them was to be butchered."

*(320) "After all, aren't you Death?": Edmonson has pointed out the irony of this statement (The Book of Counsel, p. 138). "Death" is cam here, lacking any suffixes, which leaves it open to various interpretations: caminak, "dead person"; camical, the ordinary term for "death"; or came, "Death" as the proper name of a day on the calendar and of the two highest lords of Xibalba, One and Seven Death. Hunahpu and Xbalanque also played on the name came in an earlier passage [see note *(278)].

*(321) heart sacrifice: The stem here is xaraxo-; B. gives xaraxoh as "cut or open the chest and take out the heart."

*(322) countless ants: This may or may not be metaphorical; if not, it may be that the fate of the vassals of the lords of Xibalba was to become the ants of today. In any case it is very unusual for "vassals" to come downward to get to where their lords are; it would seem that the domain of Xibalba is the reverse of earthly domains, where lords are situated in citadels rather than at the bottoms of canyons.

*(323) no cleanly blotted blood for you: This is chahom quic [4hahom qui4], literally "washed blood." I take this to be a reference to autosacrifice, in which the blood that flowed from self-inflicted pricks and wounds was blotted up with paper or leaves. This is no longer done today, but Andres Xiloj pointed out that it is still said of the Xibalbans that they collect blood that is spilled on the ground- that is, dirty blood.

*(324) just griddles, just gourds, just brittle things broken to pieces: The "griddles" are xot, for toasting tortillas; the "gourds" are acam, translated on the basis of akem, "gourd" (V.); the "brittle things" are chuch, which B. glosses as "delicate, thin"; and "broken to pieces" is xheraxic, translated on the basis of hera-, "crumble" (V.). This list suggests the contemporary ritual of the days Seven 4,ii and Eight Ba4, (Seven Dog and Eight Monkey) at Momostenango, in which novice daykeepers are initiated. On the eve of Eight Monkey, the novice is visited at home by his or her teacher, who breaks a large and previously unused jar and burns copal incense in the shards; the ashes of the copal are put in a small gourd. The next day the shards and the gourd are taken to a shrine called 4huti Zabal or "Little Place of Declaration" and deposited there (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 65-66 for more details). But this ritual is dedicated primarily to the Mundo (earth deity) and the ancestors; there is no mention of Xibalba in its liturgy. Perhaps the Quiche elite of pre-Columbian times was given

to defaming the indigenous highland Guatemalan religion as Xibalban in the same way that Christian missionaries have since defamed it as Satanic.

*(325) born in the light, begotten in the light: Andres Xiloj pointed out that only human beings can be referred to in this way; note the contrast with "creatures of the meadows and clearings" in the previous sentence. The point is that the lords of Xibalba will henceforth be denied proper human sacrifices.

*(326) the blame is clear: The idiom here is chac umac, "to make clear one's sin" (B.).

*(327) And you will hear petitions over headed-up sap: This is quixtaon puch chuui ri quic [qui4] holomax, "you-listen and over the blood (sap) headed-up." Elsewhere I have translated qui4 holomax as "nodules of sap." What this sentence means is that henceforth, when people pray to the Xibalbans, they will burn nodules of the sap of croton trees (see croton in the Glossary) as offerings.

*(328) they are inciters to wrongs and violence: Andres Xiloj commented: "They are the ones who send one to do evil. It is as if, in spirit, they enter us, into the head. I think, 'I'm going to do such-and-such a thing,' but I don't know who put this bad idea into me."

*(329) masters of perplexity: This is ahlatzab, consisting of ah-, "person or owner of"; latz, "embarrassed, perplexed" (B.); and -ab, plural.

*(330) crying and calling out: What the grandmother of Hunahpu and Xbalanque does is coquic caziquin [co3ic cazi4in], translated literally here, but in both classical and contemporary Quiche the combination of the verb stems o3- ("cry") and zi4- ("call out"), used in that order, refers to the act of praying. This is generally done in a mildly insistent tone rather than a sorrowful one, but the petitioner is nevertheless thought of as seeking pity; the amplitude of the voice is generally low to moderate, but those who are addressed by a prayer are thought of as being summoned from a distance.

*(331) the corn ears they left planted: These are the corn ears Hunahpu and Xbalanque dedicated when they left for Xibalba. "They left planted" is xquitic canoc [canok], "they-plant left," an idiom referring to the establishment of a ritual obligation. Andres Xiloj recognized one of the obligations of the contemporary mother-father (patrilineage head) in this passage: "What was 'left planted' was a custom. They left it 'planted' that because of the corn, they would never be forgotten. Now, this is the uinel [a pair of shrines located near a cornfield, one above it and the other below]. When the corn is ripe one has to give thanks, to burn copal in the uinel. One gives thanks so that the seeds will have to sprout again; one carries the corn there to have it at the burning place, and when one is finished praying one passes the ears through the smoke of the copal, saying are 4u ua ru4ux [this here is that which is its heart]. This is what their grandmother must have done in the Popol Vuh. And after the ears are passed through the smoke they are placed in the center of the house, in the middle of our crop. They are not eaten until another crop is ripe." Although these dedicated ears are not used as seed corn, they are thought of as alive, and it is because "the heart of the corn has not died" that the seed corn is able to sprout and that even the stored corn is able to continue multiplying.

It would seem that Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in addition to their aspects as Venus, year-bearing vagabond actors, and (eventually) the sun and moon, are also maize deities. The rites of the uinel are performed on two successive days bearing the names Queh and 3anil, "Deer" and "Yellowness (or Ripeness)," with the latter being the principal day (B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 77, 80). There are fixed rites each 260 days on Seven Deer and Eight Yellowness; planting rites are carried out on the Deer and Yellowness days nearest the actual planting time, and harvest rites are carried out on the days nearest the actual harvest. The day corresponding to Yellowness (named Lamat in Yucatec) also figures prominently in the Venus table of the Dresden Codex, where it is the first day of the morning star that begins the third of five full Venus cycles and the first day of disappearance for both morning and evening stars during the fourth Venus cycle. It may be that at least portions of these Venus cycles symbolize the life cycle of the maize plant; indeed, the lowland Maya maize god is actually depicted at the bottom of the page dealing with the third cycle.

*(332) And this was when their grandmother burned something: That is, when the corn dried up (ripened), coinciding with the burning of Hunahpu and Xbalanque in the oven.

*(333) the ears were deified by their grandmother: "Were deified" is xcabauilax [x4abauilax], "complete-deify-passive," which could also be translated "made into an idol," not in the sense of an image but as an object of adoration.

*(334) the corn ears had been placed up above an earthen floor: This is chuui chata [4hata] uleu quitic ui ah, "above bed (or slab or table) earth they-plant to corn-ear," which makes it quite clear that the corn was not "planted" in any ordinary sense of the word- not that one would plant corn ears in the first place.

*(335) their father: Note that the term for father (kahau) is extended to Seven Hunahpu in this passage; he is the younger brother of One Hunahpu, who is the actual father of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. In a sense One Hunahpu (or at least his head) has long since come back to life, but Seven Hunahpu, whose head and body were both buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, has been dead all this time. Therefore Hunahpu and Xbalanque's attempt at a revival of the dead is directed at Seven Hunahpu.

*(336) he was asked to name everything: The notion here is that articulate speech, with clearly enunciated words, is analogous to a clearly recognizable human face. Seven Hunahpu is not able to articulate the names of all the parts of his face because he has very few parts beyond the ones he does name, having been reduced to bones. The "meat" of his face is irreversibly lost, just as One Hunahpu has said the meat of a dead man's face would be lost.

*(337) each of his former parts: This is ri uhunal puil, "the its-each formerness"; I translated puil on the basis of puhil, "antiquity" (B.).

*(338) "You will be prayed to here": Andres Xiloj saw this as the beginning of the veneration of the dead. He explained that when there is a death in the patrilineage, the funeral rites are not complete until the mother-father goes to the lineage shrines on a Hunahpu day that falls after the actual death. There he prays that the lingering soul of the deceased, which is a spark of light, might

pass on into the cool, dark room of the underworld, from which it may later have the good fortune to rise into the sky. The number of the Hunahpu day is chosen according to the age and importance of the deceased, with a very low number for a small child and a high one for a very old person who occupied important offices. With or without a recent death Hunahpu days are appropriate for visiting the graves of relatives, where prayers are said and offerings are burned in much the same way as at lineage shrines, except that the entire family can go along and make a day of it, taking along a picnic lunch and strong drink.

*(339) "you will be the first to have your day kept": This may refer specifically to the day Seven Hunahpu, but it probably means Hunahpu days in general, regardless of their number prefix.

*(340) "your name will not be lost": Andres Xiloj, who is the mother-father for his own patrilineage, remarked: "This is just the way it is with our family. The first man who lived in this place was named Gaspar Xiloj, but we are still remembering him right now. Gaspar is the first generation, the second is Juan, the third is Sabino, the fourth is Antonio, the fifth is ourselves, but we are still remembering all of them. That's what it's talking about here in the Popol Vuh." He added that ideally, a mother-father would be able to call upon nine or even thirteen generations of predecessors, all of them having lived on the same lands (see the Introduction for a discussion of the naming of predecessors within the P.V. itself). The list of people invoked in prayers should also include the spouses of all these men (with their maiden names); the writers of the P.V. name the women only for the first generation.

*(341) the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other: This is hun cu [4u] quih [3ih] hun nai pu ic [i4] chique, "one then sun one also and moon to-them." The text does not say that they literally became the sun and moon. From the general order of mention of Hunahpu and Xbalanque and the order of mention of the sun and moon in the present passage, it would appear that the sun pertains to Hunahpu and the moon to Xbalanque. But Thompson noted that except for this passage and a contemporary Cakchiquel myth, all the sources on Mayan peoples (including the contemporary Quiche) cast the moon as a woman, and he argued that the male moon of the P.V. was the result of an influence from outside Mayan culture (Maya History and Religion, pp. 234, 368). Lounsbury, following Thompson, argues that Xbalanque in particular is properly a solar rather than a lunar deity, one of his principal pieces of evidence being that among the contemporary Kekchi Maya, one of the names of the sun god is Xbalam3e, in which 3e is "day" and once meant "sun" ("The Identities of the Mythological Figures in the 'Cross Group'"). As for Hunahpu, Thompson associates him with both the sun (Maya History and Religion, p. 234) and Venus (p. 368), whereas Lounsbury casts Xbalanque as "the" Maya sun god and assigns Hunahpu (or the equivalent of Hunahpu at Palenque) to Venus alone.

There are at least three major problems with any attempt to give unambiguous astronomical assignments to Hunahpu and Xbalanque- or to their counterparts at Palenque, the gods designated G-I and G-III. The first is that a single celestial light need not be assigned to a single god; in the P.V., at least, one of the five Venus cycles, the first, is assignable neither to Hunahpu nor Xbalanque but to their

father, One Hunahpu (see the Introduction), and Thompson notes that the classic Maya personification of the sun takes several different forms (Maya History and Religion, pp. 237, 239, 281). The second problem is the converse of the first, which is that a single god need not be limited to a single astronomical assignment. The P.V. treats a given celestial phenomenon as a "sign" (retal) or (in the case of the rising sun) a "reflection" (lemo) of a past event; given that Hunahpu and Xbalanque undergo various transformations and take on various disguises in the course of their adventures, there is no reason to suppose that if the sun and moon (or aspects thereof) are signs or reflections of their past actions, all other celestial phenomena are thereby eliminated.

A third major problem with giving simple assignments to Hunahpu and Xbalanque is that Quiches do not limit the use of 3ih, "sun" or "day," to words or expressions for solar phenomena, and the same may have been true of writers who used glyphic elements meaning "sun" in classic inscriptions. In the P.V. the morning star is called iko3ih, "day (or sun) bringer" (see the Glossary), and contemporary Quiches use 3ih as a figure of speech for the full moon (see the Introduction). A colonial source reports an occasion on which the Quiches "saw three suns in one day" (Carmack, The Quiche Mayas, p. 129); this was probably a day that began with Venus as the morning star and ended with the rising of the full moon. Returning to the P.V., the fact that Xbalanque (or Xbalan3e) may have "sun" in his name need not mean that he is "the" Maya sun god, nor does it disqualify him from having a lunar aspect. And given that balan can mean "hidden" in classic inscriptions and is used to designate human lords who have passed into the underworld at death (Schele, Notebook, p. 118), it could be that Xbalanque was specifically responsible for the night-time sun (the one in the underworld), and that he became visible on the surface of the earth once a month as the full moon. That would leave the daytime sun open to Hunahpu.

*(342) They became the sky's own stars: Earlier we were told that the Four Hundred Boys correspond specifically to the Pleiades.

PART FOUR

*(343) they sought and discovered: The root of the latter verb is canaizah, translated on the basis of caneizah, "discover, find" (B.).

*(344) the animals who brought the food: Andres Xiloj pointed out that all four of these animals eat corn. Of the birds he said, "There are birds that take the kernels from the crop and carry them off to hide them. When the time comes they still know where they are and go to eat them. When they don't find where they left them, a garden is created there."

*(345) Xmucane did the grinding nine times: Andres Xiloj commented: "The first time corn is ground it is broken open. The second time, it is somewhat fine. The third time is finer." He indicated that ordinarily corn would not be ground nine times; that would be very fine indeed.

*(346) the water she rinsed her hands with: This is ha ropenal in the MS.; Andres Xiloj read it as the haa (water) a woman uses to wash off rupenal, which is the corn meal that sticks to the hands during grinding.

*(347) with yellow corn, white corn alone for the flesh: This reminded Andres Xiloj of a saying used today: uhral 3anuach, xolob,

"We are the children [specifically a woman's children] of yellow-faced corn, spotted corn."

*(348) They walked, they worked: The second verb here is xechapanic, literally "they grasped," but Andres Xiloj suggested "worked," since work is done with the hands. Quiches think of the extremities together; walking and using the hands are the physical counterparts of articulate speech. Note that the linking of speech and walking is made explicit in the statement "Isn't your speech good, and your walk?"

*(349) It was as if they were asteep: Note that this passage seems to allude to Genesis, but that it disagrees with Genesis on four crucial points. First, it was only "as if" (quehe) the men were asleep when the women were made, and they were "wider awake" afterward- qui xe4aztahic, "really (or very) they-got-to-be-alive (or awake)." Second, there were four men and then four women, not one and one. Third, the women were not made from parts of men but were made separately from men. Fourth, sexual differences already existed among the gods.

*(350) ladies of rank: This is xoccohauab [xokohauab], literally "women-lords."

*(351) penitents and sacrificers: This is ahquix (sometimes ahquixb) ahcahb [ah4ixb ah4ahb], in which ah- is occupational; V. gives 4ixb as "shame" and E. gives 4ahb as "sacrifice, idolize." 4ixb is probably a verbal form of 4ix, "spine," and 4ahb probably has the same root as 4ahinic, "punish" (X.). The reference is to the penitential autosacrifice of blood, a widespread practice in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica.

*(352) thirteen allied tribes, thirteen principalities: This is oxlahuh uca amac [ama3] oxlahuh tecpan, in which oxlahuh is "thirteen" and ama3 is "tribe." Tecpan is Nahua for "royal house or palace" or "put something in order" (D.); in the Quiche context it seems to be a term for a tribe that is organized under a recognized noble house, but a house that is tributary (at least ideally) to the larger Quiche state. The tecpan list in this passage contains fifteen names rather than thirteen; some of the names may be subdivisions of larger entities, or some may be synonyms, or else the number thirteen is simply an ideal figure rather than a literal count.

That leaves the question of how to translate uca, which requires appeal to the only other passage in the entire P.V. that combines ama3 and tecpan in parallel construction (Part Five, "And Bearded Place is the name of..."): uuc amac [ama3] quib quiticpan [quitecpan] quib, in which quib is "themselves." It stands to reason that uca in the first passage should be the same as uuc in the second passage. By itself the latter form might be read as uukub, "seven," but that is disconfirmed by the fact that there are thirteen uca ama3 in the earlier passage. I translate both uca and uuc as "allied" on the basis of two entries in B.: uuquih [probably uu4ih], "to make a friend," and uuq [probably uu4], "friend"; these forms are probably related to the prepositional root -u4, "with."

*(353) each one a division of that citadel: This is probably a reference to Tulan Zuyua, a place that will not be properly discussed until later.

*(354) And there were mountain people: Here the P.V. follows the lines of Toltecan myths of national origin, exemplified by the claim of the powerful Aztecs (or Mexicans) to a humble past as Chichimec

hunters and gatherers. The ancestors of the Quiches and related tribes will later be described as being "adorned with mere animal hides," and the Quiche ancestors in particular will be described as hunters of deer, birds, and larvae who stay apart from more populous tribes.

*(355) for all the mountain people there was just one language: I have supplied "mountain people" here; the intent seems to be to separate the mountain people (including the Quiche ancestors) from others who were in the east, including "people of many languages."

*(356) They did not yet pray to wood and stone: That is, they had not yet received the objects whose spirit familiars would become their tribal gods.

*(357) lifting their faces to the sky: Andres Xiloj explained: "When one prays, as here, asking for things, one looks to heaven; afterwards, when waiting for the blessing, one looks to earth."

*(358) "as long as there is day, as long as there is light": This is an alternate translation of the line discussed in note *(154) ("in the course of the days"). In the present context Andres Xiloj commented: "Today one says kabe 3ih, kabe zak [our-road day, our-road light]. This is the time that goes forward; it is the road of time, the number of years one is going to live, or the number of times there will be until the end of the world."

*(359) "will it be": This line has been translated as a question because it begins with quita, which B. gives as "what" or "how."

*(360) "a good life and beginning": Andres Xiloj commented: "These words would be used in prayer when someone was setting up a new household."

*(361) they made their fasts: The verb stem here is quilonic, translated on the basis of 3ilonic, translated on the basis of 3ilonic, "avoid, abstain" (X.).

*(362) watching intently: This is zelauachin, translated on the basis of zelauachih, "to view with close attention" (listed under zeleuachih in B.).

*(363) He pivoted inside his sandal: The verb phrase here is xubac uloc [xubak ulok], "he drilled hither"; V. gives bak as "to drill." Just as he promised, Tohil gave his followers fire even when others had lost theirs; his "sandal" was presumably the platform of a fire drill. The classic Maya antecedent of Tohil, who also possesses fire, is the personage designated only as G-II or God K in the past literature, but whose name at Palenque is now known to have been Tahil, "Torch Mirror" or "Obsidian Mirror" (Linda Schele and Floyd G. Lounsbury, personal communications); he is typically shown with a burning torch sticking out of the mirror he wears on his forehead. As Michael Coe had previously pointed out (The Maya Scribe, pp. 16, 116), God K is the Mayan cognate of the Nahua god named Tezcatlipoca or "Smoking Mirror." The Tohil of the P.V. is like Tezcatlipoca in demanding human sacrifice; it remains to be seen if the same was true of Tahil at Palenque. Tahil often takes the form of the "manikin scepter" (Thompson, Maya History and Religion, pp. 225-26), an object carried by classic rulers (see illustration: "They've come
to ask for your fire"). In this form he is like Tezcatlipoca in having only one leg (the other "leg," when present, takes the form of a serpent). This suggests that Tohil may be a manifestation of Hurricane or Hurakan (literally "One leg"); see also note *(516).

*(364) they got no response: The verb here is xeculaxic, "they were [not] answered"; B. glosses cula as "respond."

*(365) place of emergence: This is tzuquibal [4,uquibal], in which -bal is "place of"; V. glosses 4,uc as "spring forth, sprout."

*(366) And then a person showed himself: At this point in the MS. Ximenez, who otherwise confines his own parenthetical remarks to the Spanish translation in the right-hand column of each page, inserts a remark into the left-hand column, otherwise reserved for the Quiche text. As if avoiding an impropriety, he uses Latin, writing "Demonio loquens eis." The writers of the P.V. probably intended their own allusion to Christian demonology in this passage, since they describe the person under discussion as having the wings of a bat and as coming from Xibalba (the underworld), but note that they make this allusion at the expense of the Cakchiquels, the principal rivals of the Quiches, whose god, they say, "looks like a bat." To this day a great many Cakchiquel men wear jackets with a bat motif on the back.

*(367) the representation: This is quexuach [4exuach], literally "substitute-face," which B. glosses as "resemblance" (under the entry for quexel); Andres Xiloj offered the same reading.

*(368) They were simply overwhelmed: This is xa quiculu, in which xa is "just" and qui- is "they"; culu is translated on the basis of culum [4ulum], "dismay" (B.).

*(369) groping along: The verb stem here is chacchot, translated on the basis of chacacha, "to go like a blind person" (B.).

*(370) they had covetous mouths and covetous faces: This is chiquimah quichi [chii] chiquimah quiuach. The combination of mah ("rob") with chii ("mouth") and uach ("face") is an idiom meaning "to be pained by not having something to trade with or something one has need of" (under mah in V.). A more literal translation of the present example would be something like "They had thieving mouths and thieving faces."

*(371) "Wasn't it found and wasn't it revealed": This is a divinatory phrase, much like the one used by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane at the beginning of their divinatory question concerning the making of humans from wood. The verb stems in both cases are culu [4ulu] and rico [riko], "encounter" and "find." In the present context the implication is that those who want fire claim a kinship with those who already have it on the basis of some past divinatory reading rather than on the basis of a clear genealogy. This is what anthropologists call "fictive kinship"; it may have been standard practice in highland Guatemala to include divinatory readings in the negotiation of such relationships.

*(372) "Don't they want to be suckled?": Throughout this passage I follow Edmonson in translating tunic [tuunic] as having to do with suckling (The Book of Counsel, p. 168), a meaning found in both classical and modern Quiche. In the present context the suckling is a metaphor for sacrifice by removal of the heart. It may be the horror of this metaphor that has caused translators to pass over it heedlessly; even Edmonson's note on the subject suggests that mere sacrifice by self-bleeding is meant. The place where Tohil desires to do his suckling is "on their sides and under their arms," which fits with what is known about Mesoamerican heart sacrifice: the incision ran all the way to the sides of the chest (Francis Robicsek

and Donald Hales, "Maya Heart Sacrifice"). The next sentence, "Isn't it their heart's desire to embrace me?" is not only a statement about motivation but a further reference to heart sacrifice. Tohil is no mere suckler of breasts; what he wants from those who embrace him is deep inside the breast, and he wants the whole thing.

*(373) They made no delay: The text has maui xquiquiyaluh, in which I take the second word to be an error for xquiyaluh; yaluh is "to delay oneself" (B.), giving "not complete-they-delay" for the whole phrase.

*(374) This deed had not yet been attempted: The verb stem here is tihou, translated on the basis of tihouic, "try, practice" (X.).

*(375) the new daybringer: "New" is my translation of raxa, which could also be "raw"; I assume that the reference is to the first appearance of Venus as morning star after a period of invisibility.

*(376) they left the east: The verb stem here is canah, "to leave" (B.).

*(377) "where we belong": This is cohtique ui, "incomplete-we-stop"; B. glosses tequeic as "to stop."

*(378) "bleeding your ears and passing a cord through your elbows": The verbs here are hutic, "to let blood" (B.), and ziza, translated on the basis of tzizo, "to sew a seam, to string [like beads]; formerly, to let blood for sacrifice to idols" (B.). The "ears" and "elbows" are xiquin and chuc [4huc]. Ears are well attested throughout Mesoamerica as sites for the drawing of blood in rites of self-sacrifice, but elbows are mentioned only for the Quiche, in both the P.V. and in B. (under the entry for tzizo). Michael D. Coe has pointed out to me that the penis was a primary site for the drawing of blood among the classic Maya. In the present passage chuc (if it is not 4huc) could conceivably be related to chu3a or chu3ab, "strength, energy, vigor" (V. and X.), and thus allude to the penis, but this seems unlikely, given that B. confirms the elbow as a site for drawing blood.

*(379) camping on the road: This is xucanahibeh ri pa be, literally "it was left in the road."

*(380) In unity: This is chiquihunam uach, "in-their-one face," an idiom given in X. as hunam quiuach, "in agreement," and in B. as hunamah uach, "to make friends."

*(381) They were just smelling the tips of their staffs: Andres Xiloj commented: "Perhaps these staffs had some secret. Perhaps they were of a wood like cherry, which has the odor of the fruit."

*(382) packed ... on their backs: The verb stem here is eca [eka], "to carry on the shoulders or back" (B.).

*(383) above a great red river: This is chuui hun nima ca3ha [cakhaa], "on-top one great red-river." Given that the writers of the P.V. usually transcribe both "house" (ha) and "water (or river)" (haa) as ha, this could also be "great red house." Red was perhaps the commonest color for the stuccoed exteriors of Mayan public buildings, going all the way back to the pre-classic.

*(384) on a bare mountain: This is zaqui [zaki] huyub, literally "white mountain," but zaki is sometimes used to mean "plain" (in the sense of unadorned). I take it that the writers mean to contrast the situation of Hacauitz with that of Auilix and Tohil, both of whom seem to be "in a great forest" even though the latter, like Hacauitz, is on a mountain.

*(385) Masses of serpents ... jaguars, rattlesnakes, yellowbites were there in the forest where he was hidden: Today in Momostenango the shrines on the high mountains that bound the community, together with the shrine (atop a very high waterfall) used by those who organize and play parts in the Monkey Dance, are all said to be haunted by dangerous animals. Such animals appear to those whose ritual office does not entitle them to visit a particular shrine; they also appear to those who have a right to visit but have failed to abstain from sexual or violent acts (whether verbal or physical) on the day of their arrival at the shrine.

*(386) they stopped there: The verb stem here is tacotob, translated on the basis of ta3atobic, "to stop and not move forward" (under ta3aba in B.).

*(387) They cried their hearts and their guts out: Asked why, Andres Xiloj said, "They were sad in the darkness, there was no light, no day, no night, all the time it was dark." The Quiche do not think of night as simply "dark" as opposed to "light" [see in the early dawn in note *(69)]. The conditions before the first dawn of the P.V. were so bad that one could not even speak properly of night, with its moon and stars and even a faint trace of dawn, to say nothing of the full light of day.

*(388) the gods who were ... just out in the bromelias, in the hanging mosses, not yet set on pedestals: Today bromelias and hanging mosses (see Glossary) are standard materials in the construction of temporary outdoor arbors or archways for saints; the present passage would seem to mean that the gods were put beneath such arbors, not that they were put up in the trees where bromelias and hanging mosses actually grow. Only later were the gods "set on pedestals," presumably in the "houses" at the tops of pyramids.

*(389) their strategies: This is quichacabal [qui4hacabal], "their-win-instrument."

*(390) Their hearts did not yet harbor ill will: This is mana chilic cayal ta qui4ux, in which mana is "not yet," ta is a further marker of the negative, and qui4ux is "their hearts." B. glosses both chilic and cayal as "ill will, anger."

*(391) they incensed: The verb stem here is zacbiza, translated on the basis of za3bizah, "to incense" and "to wag [a tail]" (B.). In the next sentence I have translated the same verb as "they shook." A pottery censer of the kind used in Mesoamerica must be shaken or swayed back and forth to keep the incense burning.

*(392) it is only his reflection that now remains: What might lie behind this statement is revealed by a contemporary Mopan Maya tale in which Lord Kin (the sun) goes from his home in the east to the center of the sky and then back to the east again; it appears that he goes clear across the sky because he has placed a mirror at its center (Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras, p. 132). To interpret the movements of the sun in this manner is to model it on Venus as morning star, which both rises and sets in the east.

*(393) Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were turned to stone, along with the idols of the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, yellowbite, which the White Sparkstriker took with him into the trees: The "idols" here are ucabauilal [u4abauilal], "its-god-own," 4abauil being translated elsewhere as "god." The White Sparkstriker is named immediately

after the yellowbite and could be included in the list of beings who are turned to stone, but in terms of what is known about him (or her) today (B. Tedlock, "El C'oxol: un simbolo de la resistencia quiche") it makes much more sense to treat the name as the subject of the sentence that follows it, xa xuchap chi uca [u4ah] rib pa che [chee], "just he/she took that to-accompany him/herself into trees." Today the White Sparkstriker is the keeper of volcanic concretions and ancient artifacts that resemble animals; these objects, which are said to have been petrified when the sun first rose, are called mebil (the same as the name of the shrine in which they are kept) in Momostenango and 4amauil in the eastern Quiche area.

Andres Xiloj commented on the passage at hand as follows: "When all the birds, animals were converted into stone, they remained as mebil. When the moment comes and one is able to acquire one of these, this is the mebil. Birds, rabbits, in sum, all the different kinds of stones. Now the 4oxol [Sparkstriker], this one, yes, he has money, 'tis said. When one has luck, the 4oxol presents himself. If he takes off his shoe and leaves it thrown away, then there is the money; or his little bag- because he has a little bag, and if he leaves it thrown away, there is the money. This is the mebil of a person; it is the luck." Lucas Pacheco said that the 4oxol lost his/her shoe when the sun first rose; the 4oxol escaped petrifaction by running into the trees, but the shoe did not.

*(394) Perhaps we would have no relief from the voracious animals today- the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, yellowbite-... if the original animals hadn't been turned to stone: "Voracious animals" is tionel chicop, "biting (or meat-eating) animals." The MS. erroneously adds the White Sparkstriker to the list of animals in this sentence; apparently Ximenez (or a copyist) interpreted the previous naming of the White Sparkstriker (see above) as part of a list of animals and then assumed that the name must be missing from the present list. Andres Xiloj commented: "The 4oxol [Sparkstriker] has to take care of the animals; he doesn't allow them to go out, because they are harmful. He keeps them, he has them in a corral." This is the Sparkstriker in his role as gamekeeper (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 181-87); today the dangerous animals only attack people who have failed in their ritual duties. According to Lucas Pacheco, the corral where the Sparkstriker keeps his animals is located deep within a branch of the cave beneath the ruins of Rotten Cane; in that context they take the form of small stones. The fortunate may be allowed to take some of these; the unfortunate fall into a great, wide mouth.

*(395) And the language has differentiated in the case of the Cakchiquels: In this passage the P.V. presents a theory that linguistic differentiation correlates with differences in the names originally assigned to tribal gods. The linguistic observations are themselves quite accurate (see the Introduction).

*(396) their stay: This is quiabulic, translated on the basis of yabulic, "to stop" (B.).

*(397) the masking of Tohil: The "masking" is cohbal, "mask-instrument," apparently referring to the deer costumes discussed later.

*(398) they bowed down: The verb here is uonouoh, "contract, as in joining the chin with the knees" (B.).

*(399) Now it was only a manifestation of his genius that spoke when the penitents and sacrificers came before Tohil: That is to say, the words came not from the stone itself but from an apparition of its spirit familiar, which in this case would be a youth.

*(400) All they burned before their gods was resin, just bits of pitchy bark, along with marigolds: That is to say, they burned things gathered in nature rather than proper copal (see Glossary). The resin is 3ol, which may be gathered in gummy nodules from the trunks of various trees. The bits of pitchy bark are rachak nooh, literally "leavings of pine resin," pieces of bark on which a hard red resin has been formed as a result of the holes bored by worms. The species of marigold in question is a common roadside herb (see Glossary). According to Andres Xiloj, all of these things are burned as offerings today in Momostenango, but they constitute a poorer offering than copal. Earle reports the use of marigolds in the eastern Quiche area as well ("La etnoecologia quiche"), and I have seen the unburned remains of bits of bark at a shrine near Chichicastenango.

*(401) Do not reveal us to the tribes: Andres Xiloj compared this hiding of the gods (or the stones that contain their geniuses) to the proper treatment of the valuable objects that are called mebil in the Quiche dialect of Momostenango: "These stones are like mebil. When one finds one, one must not show it to another person, because it's for oneself directly. There are persons who find some little things; they may show them to others, but this mebil won't allow it, now it won't give good fortune to the person who found it. It withdraws. If there is some little thing, an ancient coin found in the woods, or a stone, then one must guard it." See also note *(68).

*(402) "they search for us": This is coh3a3anih rumal, "us-watch-closely by-them"; the verb stem is translated on the basis of 3a3alinic, "ambushed, surveyed closely" (Q.).

*(403) "don't you let us be hunted down": This is maui cohiralahobizah, "not incomplete-us-you-hunt (or trap)-cause."

*(404) "female deer and female birds": "Female" is xnam here; V. gives xnam as "female deer," but in the present passage xnam appears as an adjective with both "deer" and "birds": xnam queh xnam 4,iquin.

*(405) "deer costumes": These are u queh at the first mention and cu queh thereafter. B. gives cuu as "clothing"; it should probably be 4uu on the basis of its resemblance to 4ul, which several other sources gloss as "clothing."

*(406) "They belong to us already": This is a reference to the long-standing promise the tribes made in order to get fire, namely, that they would allow themselves to be "suckled"- that is, to have their hearts cut out.

*(407) they would then go to anoint the mouth of the stone of Tohil or Auilix with the blood of the deer or bird: In the eastern Quiche area today, the mouths of stones (now called 4amauil rather than 4abauil as here) are more commonly given drinks of distilled liquor than of blood, but the blood of sacrificed chickens is sometimes given in the area of Chichicastenango. Drinks of liquor are also put into the mouths of saints. Ideally the liquid offered should quickly disappear, as if actually swallowed by the stone or saint; in the words of the P.V., "And the bloody drink was drunk by the gods."

*(408) just the larva of the yellow jacket, the larva of the wasp,

and the larva of the bee: Andres Xiloj described these insects, the uonon, zital, and akah, as follows: "The uonon is large and striped yellow and black; there is honey in its hive, and it stings. The zital is bigger and has red stripes. Its bite is more serious than that of the uonon; it causes a large swelling and one could even die. It, too, has honey. The akah is small, a little bigger than a fly, and stings. It makes a nest, with thousands of akah. If one can get it down with a stick the akah stay up there, then one can get whatever pieces of honey there are." At present the larvae are eaten only in the case of the akah.

*(409) "Your right": This is icolbal iuib, in which i- is "you" and iuib is yourselves" (both plural familiar); B. gives colbalib as "liberty." This is a reference to the agreement the tribes made to allow themselves to be sacrificed (see the next note).

*(410) the suckling: This is ri 4,um; some have taken it to be "pelt," but I translate it on the basis of tzumah [4,umah], "to suckle" (B.), and take it to be a further reference to the "suckling" (heart sacrifice) pledged by the tribes (see the previous note).

*(411) the tracks were merely those of animals: This is cacan [cakan] ri xa quipich, "their tracks that just their feet," in which "feet" (pich) is specifically "the feet of quadrupeds" (V.).

*(412) dark and rainy: This is quecal [3ekal] hab, literally "black rain," but referring (according to Andres Xiloj) to a storm that is so intense that the sky gets very dark. This supports the notion that Tohil is an aspect of Hurricane [see note *(363)], who caused a "black rain" when he destroyed the wooden people. In the view of Lounsbury (personal communication), Tahil, the classic equivalent of Tohil at Palenque, was also a rain god.

*(413) misty and drizzly: This is muzmul hab, "misty rain." Andres Xiloj explained: "These are days when it doesn't rain strongly; instead the drops are small, little bits of water fall. It is muzmul."

*(414) they singled them out and cut them down: The MS. has echalamicat, in which the only certainty is e, "they." My reading is based on chala "to pick out among many" (B.), and (following Edmonson, The Book of Counsel, p. 192) 4at, "cut" (in the sense of "reap").

*(415) "in full blossom": This is chaom, "blossom," a "metaphor meaning beauty" according to B.

*(416) "radiate preciousness": This is zaclocoh [zaklo3oh], a combination of "light" (zak) and "valuable" or "precious" (lo3oh). Andres Xiloj pictured the maidens as twelve to fifteen years old.

*(417) on their hands and knees: This is chacachaxinac [chacachaxinak], with passive and perfect suffixes (-xinak), which I translate on the basis of chacachotic, "go on all fours" (B.).

*(418) Tohil and the others: Here and elsewhere in this story I have supplied "and the others"; the name Tohil is often used to mean all three gods and may be combined with a plural verb prefix.

*(419) there must come a sign as to whether you really saw their faces: Note that when Blood Woman went before the head of One Hunahpu, he gave her a "sign" by spitting in her hand, which made her pregnant; in this case the signs will be quite different, intended not for the women but for their fathers.

*(420) they spotted: This is xil quiuach, in which x- is complete and qui- is "they," translated on the basis of ilauachih, "to look

with attention" (B.).

*(421) on a smooth surface: This is chiyulinic uuach, "on-smooth its-face"; B. gives yulunic as "a smooth thing." The paintings were on "the inside" (upam) of the cloaks, and it was this side that went next to the body of the lord who was then stung by wasps, despite the "smooth surface."

*(422) He turned around: The verb stem here is zolouic, translated on the basis of zololic, "to give turns" (B.).

*(423) unfurling it: This is catzonon ucuxic [u3uxic], literally "he-undresses his-being-covered"; B. gives tzonolic as "undressed." I take it that this lord opened up his cloak so that everyone could see the eagle on the inside of it.

*(424) It then became the profession of Xtah and Xpuch to bark shins: "Bark shins" is my translation of hoxol chec [4hek], based on the comments of Andres Xiloj: "4hek is the shin bone. Hoxol is 'one who wounds.' It is the wound that they [the girls] gave them. A girl or a boy comes to know how the world is [laughs]. Let's suppose we are now old people. We can deceive a girl of fifteen or sixteen years, and there is the wound. The violence. And so a woman can deceive a boy of fifteen or fourteen years, then there it is. The old woman wounded the boy [laughs]. This is hoxol 4hek, 'the wounder of shins.' Only now we say xuporo rakan, 'she burned his legs.'"

*(425) those spirit boys: I have supplied "spirit" to make it clearer that the reference is to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

*(426) their fortress: Ximenez translates catem as "fortification" here; B. gives cateh as "to block passage."

*(427) Their eyebrows were plucked out, along with their beards: The "plucking" here is mich [mi4h], which is elsewhere a metaphor for deception; this time plucking carries both its literal and metaphorical meanings.

*(428) made a fence: The "fence" is coxtun, "wall, castle, fence" (B.). In the next paragraph I translate this same word as "parapet" on the basis of context.

*(429) They just made a palisade of planks and stakes: The materials for this structure are tzalam and chut, respectively glossed as "board" and "stake" by B.; the verb for the making of the palisade is quehbeh, translated on the basis of quehom che, "palisaded" (B.). This was definitely not stonework.

*(430) around their citadel: This is rih quitinamit, which is misleading when translated literally as "its-back their-citadel." Rih, when applied to a house, means the side or sides that face the outside world, whereas uuach, "its-face," means the side or sides that face the patio; I assume that the same scheme was analogously applied to a citadel. That is to say, a citadel turned its "back" to the outside world and its "face" inward. This interpretation is confirmed by the entry for cotoh chirih tinamit in B., literally "surround at-its-back citadel" but glossed (following European reckoning) as the "face of a fortress."

*(431) They surrounded the citadel: The verb stem here is cotcomih, a reduplicated form meaning "surround" (B.).

*(432) eight hundred score,... thirty times eight hundred: This is my attempt to translate Mayan numbers into English without completely converting them from the vegesimal system to the decimal one; "score" in English is of course a remnant of vegesimal reckoning.

The numbers in the text are cachui and oxchui, "2 x 8,000" and "3 x 8,000," 8,000 being the third power of 20 and filling the same place in a vegesimal system that 1,000 fills in a decimal system.

*(433) they just enjoyed the spectacle: The verb stem here is cai, "to watch admiringly, like watching dances" (listed under cai3 in B.).

*(434) their legs, their arms: As Andres Xiloj pointed out, this is an idiom meaning "all over their bodies."

*(435) they were doubling over: The verb stem here is uon, translated on the basis of uonih, "to be doubled over so that the knees meet the chin" (B.).

*(436) stumbling: The verb stem here is lahahic, a reduplicated form, translated on the basis of lahab, "snare" (B.).

*(437) they were hit: Edmonson has qiyaq [kiyak], "poisoned," here (The Book of Counsel, p. 208), but the MS. has cac, which I translate on the basis of ca3o, "hit with stones" (B.).

*(438) gasping for breath: This is quehilouic quepolou, probably an idiom for heavy or laborious breathing; hilouic is "sigh of tiredness" and polou is "breath" (both in B.).

*(439) "our own tribal place": This could be all the way back at the place where they were before arriving at Tulan Zuyua.

*(440) "Again it is the time of our Lord Deer": "It is the time" is my translation of cholan, "order" (in the sense of sequence). "Our Lord Deer" is a reference to one of the twenty day names of the 260-day divinatory cycle. At present a day addressed in prayer is always prefaced with the title "Lord," but the number prefix of the day is specified- for example, ahau hun queh, "Lord One Deer." One of the few contexts in which days may be addressed or referred to by name alone is that of prayers to or stories about the mam, the only four day names that can serve to mark a new solar year. Deer is one of these days, and it seems likely that the present passage refers to the day named Deer in its capacity as a mam. For speculation that the specific day in question was One Deer, see the Introduction.

*(441) "Go see the place where we came from": Given that Jaguar Quitze and the others have already said that they themselves are going to "our own tribal place," it is difficult to interpret their instructions to their sons. Perhaps the answer is that the fathers are going in spirit, whereas their sons will make a pilgrimage in the flesh. Also, the sons will not go until some time later. In any case, the irreducible difference between the journey of the fathers and that later undertaken by the sons is that the former are never seen again.

*(442) "for making requests": This is tanabal [taanabal], "asking-instrument." Andres Xiloj remarked, "It's like a place to burn offerings. But this word is only used for places that are open to the public, not for shrines that only a mother-father [patrilineage head] can visit."

*(443) "fiery splendor": This is my translation of 3a3al, "fire-ness" or "hot-ness," a frequent metaphor for the glories and splendors of lordly dominance over others.

*(444) downtrodden: This is yocotahinac, translated on the basis of yo3o, "step on" (B.).

*(445) All those on Hacauitz: This phrase has been supplied in order to distinguish the inhabitants of the citadel of Hacauitz from the "broken and downtrodden" tribes.

*(446) the day of the bundle: This may have been the day named Deer, mentioned by the departing Quiche ancestors on the same occasion as the presentation of the bundle. Today this day is associated, above all others, with mother-fathers, the priest-shamans who perform rites for lineages, cantons, and an entire town (according to their rank). All mother-fathers, as well as the ordinary daykeepers who rank just below them, possess a sacred bundle, but this bundle contains divining paraphernalia and is opened frequently.

PART FIVE

*(447) who represented all the Cauecs: This is rech ronohel cauiquib, literally "of (or belonging to) all the Cauecs." There are similar phrases in the sentences dealing with the Greathouses and Lord Quiches in this same passage.

*(448) judge: This is catol [3atol] tzih, at present 3atal tzih (X.) or (in the dialect of Momostenango) 3atbal tzih, "reap-instrument [of] words."

*(449) From across the sea, they brought back the writings about Tulan. In the writings, in their words, they spoke of having cried: The MS. reads as follows: xquicam [xqui4am] ula ri chaca [chaka] palo utzibal [u4,ibal] tulan utzibal xe4ha chire quioquinac [quio3inak] chupan chupan quitzih. The repetitions of utzibal and chupan make no sense unless we assume a scribal transposition; moving the second utzibal to a position immediately after the first chupan gives the following reading: "they-brought back the from-across sea its-writings Tulan, they-talked about having-cried inside its-writings, inside their-words." The writers of the P.V. do not specify whether the "writings about Tulan" and the Council Book (P.V.) itself were one and the same, but it seems likely, given that one of the epithets of the Council Book is "The Light That Came from Across the Sea."

*(450) There were actually four mountains: "Mountains" (huyub), in referring to settlement, could mean prominences in close proximity and of any size; for symbolic purposes even a small mound can be called "mountain" in Quiche.

*(451) they examined: This is xeico chiri chuui, literally "they passed there above," but Andres Xiloj read it as an idiom meaning "to look over."

*(452) But their faces did not die: This is mana xucam quiuach, translated almost literally. The reference is to the eschatology set forth by One Hunahpu in his lecture to Blood Woman, in which he says, "Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of a lord."

*(453) pain and affliction: This is caxcol [4ax4ol] rail, translated on the basis of entries in B., where the two words are treated as synonyms, and on the basis of the entry for 4ax4ol in X.

*(454) They ground their gypsum, their plaster: This seems to be a metonym for major construction. It may not mean that previous Quiche sites lacked gypsum plaster, but in the present context it combines with such phrases as "excellent citadel," "the root of fiery splendor," and "lords of singular genius" to indicate that the building of Bearded Place represented a whole new level in the rise of the Quiche lords.

*(455) one in each: This is my interpolation.

*(456) and that the other lord be allied with them: This is xa cu [4u] hun ahau xrah cu [cuu] quib, "just then one (other) lord

was-wanted to-keep themselves," in which the translation of cuu is based on B. The lord in question here is Iztayul, as the next sentence makes clear; in the present sentence he is being distinguished from Cotuha.

*(457) the Ilocs wanted him as their disciple: This is xrah tihox cumal ilocab, "was-wanted disciple by-them Ilocs"; B. gives tihoxel as "disciple."

*(458) First they invaded the citadel: This is xcoquibeh nabe tinamit, literally "they-entered first citadel"; B. gives oquibeh tinamit as "scale a fortress."

*(459) This was in payment: The "payment" is tohbal, "pay-instrument," which in this context is a sound play on Tohil, the principal god before whom the Ilocs were sacrificed, and on the day name Toh, which was the day of Tohil. This day is still interpreted by diviners as having to do with the payment of debts; in making this interpretation they utilize a sound play on the day name similar to the one used here, moving from toh as a proper name to the verb tohonic, "pay" (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, p. 155).

*(460) the canyon and the citadel: This is the first of a number of joint appearances of ziuan, "canyon," and tinamit, "citadel"; taken together, they seem to encompass both a citadel proper (see Glossary), in the sense of a high, fortified place with temples and palaces, and what lies around or below that citadel as well. The effect is to extend the sense of settlement or community beyond its fortified core, with temples and palaces, to the surrounding population, creating a compound concept meaning something like "town" or "city." T. J. Knab (personal communication) suggests that this expression might be the Quiche equivalent of the Nahua term for town or city, which also involves a juxtaposition of the low with the high (in that order): altepetl, compounded of al (from atl), "water," and tepetl, "mountain" (D.). The Quiche also use a water-mountain pairing, but it is applied not to towns but to outdoor shrines, which (ideally) exist in low-high pairs (see B. Tedlock, Time and the Highland Maya, pp. 76, 80). In sum, the Quiche and Nahua terms for "town," along with the Quiche pairing of shrines, all involve a juxtaposition of the low and the high, in that order. Both languages construct their term for town by pairing complementary metonyms for a town rather than by reducing the complexity of a town to a unitary abstraction.

*(461) lords of singular genius: "Singular" is humah, translated on the basis of hunah, "make oneself unique" (B.).

*(462) nothing happened to make fools of them: "To make fools" is my translation of alachinak, which is given by B. as "joke."

*(463) or to ruin the greatness: This is xaui banol rech nimal, in which xaui indicates "the same as the aforesaid" and links this clause to the negative one preceding it; banol is translated "to ruin" on the basis of banoh, "disaster" (V.); rech is "of their"; and nimal is "greatness."

*(464) the blossoming of their daughters: The verb stem here is ziih, "to flower" (X.), and fits with an earlier floral metaphor for young women [see note *(415)].

*(465) ate their corn: The verb here is uech, which refers specifically to the eating of foods made of corn, and what I have translated "corn" is ua, which refers to these same things,

primarily to tamales (which are often made of nothing but corn dough in Guatemala).

*(466) our way of being thankful and grateful: The former is camouabal [4amouabal], "thanks-instrument," and the latter is pacubal, translated on the basis of pa3uh, "be thankful for" (B.).

*(467) allied tribes ... principalities: See note *(352) for a discussion of these terms.

*(468) The Lords Cotuha and Plumed Serpent: The Cotuha mentioned here is probably not the one who ruled as Keeper of the Mat at Bearded Place, but the Cotuha who was Keeper of the Reception House Mat when Plumed Serpent was Keeper of the Mat.

*(469) There had been five changes and five generations: This is xroquexoc xrolea puch, in which x- is complete, ro- is "five," and puch is "and." The rest is translated on the basis of quexoc, "change, return," and le, "generation" (both in B.).

*(470) their separation, when they quarreled among themselves, disturbing the bones and skulls of the dead: The scribe got into a tangle here, writing as follows (the items in parentheses were written in the margin with their places of insertion marked by daggers): quihachouic quib ta xqui (tzolbeh quib) tzol (cacbeh) bac uholom caminac xquicacbeh quib. The only way I can make sense of this is to assume that the scribe meant to cross out the final xquicacbeh quib and move it (except for xqui-) to a position immediately following the dangling xqui he had already written, and to insert a missing beh after tzol. In the process he unnecessarily repeated tzol before -beh and then inverted the order of cacbeh and tzolbeh, meanwhile forgetting to cross out the final xquicacbeh quib. If I am right, the text should read, quihachouic quib ta xquicacbeh [xquicakbeh] quib tzolbeh bac [bak] uholom caminac [caminak], "their-sorting-out themselves when they-quarreled themselves turning-over bone its-head dead-person."

*(471) the lord bishop: This is Sr. obicpo, the first Spanish to appear in the text since Part One. The person referred to here is Francisco Marroquin, who blessed the ruins of Rotten Cane in 1539, fifteen years after the place had been burned by Alvarado.

*(472) And now to show their faces: This is cate [4ate] chic chiuachin uuach, "next now that-show his-face," singular in Quiche in order to agree with "each of them" in the previous sentence. The notion of "face" is intimately tied up with personal identity in Quiche; a person's day of birth, for example, is called uuach u3ih, "its-face his/her-day," and a number of Quiche lords were named after the days of their birth. A later passage mentioning the "faces" of lords precedes a list of the names of individual lords. I have put dots following both of these mentions of faces to indicate that graphic elements might be missing here, something that was in the manuscript Ximenez discovered but which he did not reproduce. If that manuscript was like the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani, there may have been a graphic device, at least partially based on hieroglyphic writing, corresponding to each lord. In the Mani book the device is a line drawing of a face with a European crown, a latter-day version of the much more stylized face that composes the glyph meaning ahau or "lord," but the individual name of each lord is written in block letters on a scroll beneath the head rather than rendered hieroglyphically (Eugene R. Craine and Reginald C. Reindorp, The Codex

Perez and the Chilam Balam of Mani, pp. 79-86).

*(473) a crowded life, crowded with petitions: "Crowded" translates molomox, a passive form of molomanic, "many join together" (B.). "Petitions" translates utabal tzih, in which the stem of utabal is taba, "supplicate" (B.), and tzih is "words."

*(474) The birthdays: This is uquih [u3ih] ralaxic, "its-day his-being-born," the phrase still used for "birthday."

*(475) On one occasion: This is hu uuc, a phrase most translators have taken to be hu uuk and to mean "one seven" (literally) and "seven days" (idiomatically). But "seven" should be uukub, not uuk, and there is nothing in the colonial dictionaries of Quichean languages that would allow for its combination with hu. The solution I offer is based on considerations of context and on uu3ul, a form that refers to pauses or interruptions in the normal course of events (V.); I take the present phrase to be hu uu3 and to mean something like "during one interval," or (idiomatically) "one time" or "on one occasion."

*(476) serpentine.... aquiline ... feline: At some moments this passage claims that Plumed Serpent became an "actual" (quitzih) serpent (cumatz) or eagle (cot) or jaguar (balam), but at other moments it would seem that he took on the qualities of these animals. Wherever I translate with English words ending in -ine, the MS. has cumatzil, cotal, and balamil, each of which has a suffix meaning something like "-ness."

*(477) The news spread: This is xpaxin rib utaic, "it-scattered itself its-being-heard."

*(478) he became the sole head: "Sole" here is huquizic, translated on the basis of hu4izic, "only" (V.).

*(479) went down on their faces or flat on their backs: This is xuleic, xpacaic, translated on the basis of xuleic, "throw face down" (B.), and pa4alic, "face up" (X.).

*(480) Their lineages came to be bled, shot full of arrows at the stake: This is xeoc chinamit xelotzic xecacquic chiche [chichee], in which xeoc is literally "they-entered" but idiomatically "it was their time," and chichee is "at-tree" or "at-pole." Xelotzic, in which xe- is "complete-they," is translated on the basis of lotzo, "to let blood" (B. and V.). Xecacquic (with a passive suffix) is translated "they were shot with arrows" by Ximenez; B. has cacoqueh (with an active suffix), "hunt with arrows." This passage confirms that Quiche rituals included arrow sacrifice, a practice better known from central Mexico.

*(481) Projectiles alone were the means for breaking the citadels: The weapon here is 4ha [sometimes 4hab] in the MS., "arrow" and (judging from V.) the spear thrown by an atlatl (spear-thrower). 4ha or 4hab is distinct from cha or chaa, which is the term for any lithic projectile point or cutting instrument and (today) for glass (see 4ha and chaa in V., chab and cha in B., and 4hab and cha in X.). In Mixtec codices, towns (or citadels) are identified by place signs whose basic element is a mountain; the conquest of a town is signified by showing its place sign pierced with a projectile (Mary Elizabeth Smith, Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico, p. 33 and fig. 51). The present passage sounds like a literal reading of a codex of this style. It may also be that such codices depict a ritual practice in which the very earth or native stone of a conquered citadel was actually pierced or broken. Whatever the case with

codices, people from the towns conquered by the Quiche came to Petatayub, "carrying in their hands the signs of the citadels," which "look as though they had been split with an axe."

*(482) one ... after another: This is libah chi, given by B. as "step by step."

*(483) the gum tree: I follow Edmonson in reading col che as 3ol chee, "gum (or resin) tree" (The Book of Counsel, p. 236), rather than as a place named "Colche," partly because the name of the place under discussion in this passage is otherwise accounted for.

*(484) carrying in their hands: This is chelah, translated on the basis of 4helenic, "to carry with the hands" (X.).

*(485) cut stones: I have supplied "stones" here, assuming that they are still the subject of the discussion; "cut" is my translation of xcatatahic [x3atatahic], "complete-cut-result-passive." Reading the verb stem as 3ata, "cut," fits with xchoi chi icah, "split with an axe," later on in this same sentence, and with the general sense of the paragraph up to this point.

*(486) there on the flat: Ximenez translates tacah [ta3ah] as "the coast," meaning the long Pacific coastal plain of Guatemala, but this term can refer even to very small flats. See Petatayub in the Glossary for a further discussion.

*(487) "and like doubles for our own lineages": This is quehe pu cacachinamit, which I read as quehe pu kacacab chinamit, "like and our-pair lineages."

*(488) "send for us to come and kill them": Here the text has both nu, the first person singular, and ca [ka], first person plural. The text reads chulibiih chibe nu ca camizah, in which ca is written somewhat above the line, just after nu; for this reason, and because the statement quoted here is attributed to three people, I take nu to be an error the scribe forgot to cross out when he added ca.

*(489) nor did any of them have his own god: That is to say, those who were sent to occupy the conquered citadels did not have stone gods (4abauil) of the kind that were brought from Tulan Zuyua. We do not know whether the previous lords of these citadels had such stones or what might have been the fate of their stones. It is interesting to note that the present-day term 4amauil, which covers large stones found in outdoor shrines, is used only in the region around the ruins of Rotten Cane. Shrines in the western Quiche area lack such stones, and the small stone objects collected for household altars are called by a different term, mebil.

*(490) "the ennobling of the lookout lineages": The "ennobling" is quecalem [quekalem], in which qu- is "their"; B. gives ecalem as "dignity" or "nobility." The root eka- has to do with taking a load on the shoulders; it is used today in various expressions having to do with the taking on of responsibilities, such as those of mother-fathers for people they train as daykeepers, or those of daykeepers for the clients they are currently praying for.

*(491) "we'll induct": This is cachapa [kachapa], literally "we-take-hold-of," but V. notes that chapa is also an idiom for "putting into lordship."

*(492) "which is mine ... which is yours": This translates ue, "of mine," and aue, "of yours (singular familiar)"; others have missed the sense of this sentence, trying to make these two pronouns agree; Edmonson has ui for the ue of the MS. (The Book of Counsel, p. 240).

*(493) in concord: This is hunam uach, literally "equal face," an idiom meaning "to be in concord" (under the entry for hun in B.).

*(494) a fortress around Quiche: In effect, the entire Quiche state was conceived as a gigantic fortress, an enlargement of the citadel at its center.

*(495) house of sacrifice: This is cahbaha, which I take to be composed of cahb, "sacrifice" [see the note *(351)], and ha, "house." Some have taken cahbaha to be a reference to the place called Sajcabaja today, but that is written zacabaha or zaccabaha in the P.V. (see Plaster House in the Glossary) and combines ha with zakcaba, "plaster."

*(496) they nurtured and provided for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat: The gods are spoken of at various points as needing nurturers and providers; the present passage means that the relationship between lords and vassals was conceived in the same terms as that between gods and humans. Note here that the text goes right on to emphasize the greatness of the lords under discussion.

*(497) everything they saw was clear to them: That is to say, they were able to recover the clairvoyance that the first humans had before "they were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon."

*(498) there was a place to see it, there was a book: The "place to see it" is ibal re, earlier written as ilbal re. With the book the lords are able to recover the full vision of the first humans; such vision, as this passage makes clear, reached into future time.

*(499) a way of cherishing: This is locbal [lo3bal], "love (or desire or value) instrument." Andres Xiloj suggested "something that shows esteem or expresses a sense of value."

*(500) For nine score days they would fast: "Nine score" is beleh uinac [uinak]; Edmonson is correct in reading this as 9 x 20 rather than "nine persons" (The Book of Counsel, p. 243). As he has observed, 180 is half a tun, the 360-day cycle (distinct from the solar year) used by the lowland Maya in reckoning chronologies. The "thirteen score" (or 260) mentioned next is the length of the so-called divinatory cycle, while the "seventeen score" (or 340) is the combined length of the 90- and 250-day segments of the Venus cycle (see the notes to the Introduction).

*(501) They would only eat zapotes, matasanos....: For identifications of the tropical fruits listed here, see the Glossary. Of this kind of diet, Andres Xiloj said, "This was so that they would have strength. This Tecum Umam [hero of Quiche resistance to the Spanish] didn't eat cooked things, only raw [or green] things. Because of this, the people of that time were muscular. Whatever place they went, whatever kind of fruit they found, they ate in place of tamales."

*(502) abstinence: This is auazinic, translated on the basis of auazim, "forbidden" (in B. under auatz).

*(503) there weren't any women with them when they slept: This does not mean that women were not present at all. When people "keep the days" at present, the abstinence always includes sexual contact but never avoidance of all interaction with the opposite sex. If the fasts described here were like those of the first four Quiche ancestors, it was not only the lords who fasted but their wives as well.

*(504) "On this blessed day": This is atoob uquih [u3ih], in which u3ih is "its-day"; B. gives atob as "good."

*(505) "ripeness and freshness": literally 3anal, "yellowness," and raxal, "greenness." Andres Xiloj commented: "When one prays, 3anal means to have corn, to have money, to do business. Yes, it is like 'yellow' but it isn't yellow, but rather that it ripens. Raxal is like a plant that is green, it is developing to give fruit. 3anal is when it ripens."

*(506) "spread thy stain, spill thy drops / of green and yellow": This is a fairly literal translation of chatziloh, chamaquih uloc [cha4,iloh, chama4ih ulok] araxal, a3anal. Andres Xiloj commented: "4,iloh is to use [sexually]; now they are going to have a family. Ma4ih is the sin. The man looks for his companion, there it is. And there is that liquid [semen]. And the green [raxal], there it is, it is the son or daughter, and the yellow [3anal]; and they, in turn, have to produce again. Here it is like a plant, the sowing of a plant, and its ripening."

*(507) "that they might multiply" [chipo3tah]: Andres Xiloj commented: "Po3tah is that it produces. Like a seed: when we cast it, we say to it, capo3 la, 'Come out [sprout], produce more.'" Commenting on the prayer as a whole, he said, "We're using this now; it's just that the language has changed somewhat."

*(508) "may they neither be snared nor wounded, / nor seduced, nor burned, / nor diverted below the road nor above it": "Burned" is paired with "seduced" here because, as Andres Xiloj pointed out, the act of seducing an innocent person may be expressed in the phrase xuporo rakan, "He (or she) burned her (or his) legs." He suggested that a contemporary prayer for safety in the road might include the following lines:

Do not let us fall into the hands
of this person, this neighbor,
who has a pistol, who has a dagger,
who has a knife, who has a revolver;
keep away the legs and arms
of people at the corners, on the streets.

Contemporary prayers also include numerous passages with lists of negative requests; here is an example from a prayer by Esteban Ajxub, a professional ahbix or "singer":

May there be no pain,
may there be no trouble,
may there be no jail,
may there be no prison,
may there be no weakness,
may there be no feebleness,
may there be no stiffness,
may there be no lies and gossip.

*(509) "secrets or sorcery of thine": This is acuil auitzmal, in which a- is your (singular familiar)." Andres Xiloj read cuil as 4uyil, "hidden"; itzmal is translated on the basis of itzim, "witched" (X.). Don Andres commented, "God gives all the good and all the evil."

*(510) "before thy mouth and thy face": Placement "before" someone's "face" is the commonest Quiche way of saying something like English "in" someone's "presence"; sometimes this is elaborated, as here, by adding "mouth" to "face," in which, if "face" is a metonym for the

whole front of the body, "mouth" is a metonym for the whole face. In the present context "mouth" has an additional connotation, given that it refers in part to Heart of Earth, the deity called Mundo today. This is the great Mesoamerican earth deity, the ultimate swallower of all living things, depicted in classic Maya art (in the Palenque relief panels, for example) as an enormous pair of jaws upon whose lips even the feet of great lords must rest in precarious balance, and into whose throat even great lords must fall. Turning to the contemporary scene, daykeepers who visit the cave beneath the ruins of Rotten Cane, the last Quiche capital, speak of the danger of falling into "the open mouth of the Mundo" there, which is said to be more than four yards wide.

*(511) carrying the tribes and all the Quiche people on their shoulders: This is re3alaxic [rekalaxic] amac [ama3] ru4 ronohel queche uinac [uinak], "its-being-carried (on the shoulders) tribe, with all-of Quiche people."

*(512) they became lords: The verb stem here is ahauaric, "to make oneself a lord" (B.).

*(513) gathered in gifts: This is xquicac cochih, in which xqui- is "complete-they"; the rest is translated on the basis of 4a4, "to gather" (E.), and cochih, "to receive a gift." (B.).

*(514) food and drink: This is uain ucaha, translated on the basis of the reading offered by Andres Xiloj, who uses the phrase uaim o4aha, "food, drink," in his own prayers.

*(515) falsify: This is tzuba, translated on the basis of tzubu, "deceive" (B.).

*(516) drops ... that measured the width of four fingers or a full fist across: "Drops" is my translation of racan [rakan], literally "its leg" but also a term for the large drops of rain that begin or end a thunderstorm (see Hurricane in the Glossary). The measurements are cahcab [cah3ab], translated on the basis of cah3a, "measured with the four fingers together" (under 3a in V.), and tuic, translated on the basis of tuuic, "measurement of the fist with the thumb out" (B.).

*(517) green and red featherwork: This is raxon cubulchactic. Raxon, literally "greened," is a synonym for 3u3, "quetzal feather." Cubulchactic is a "thing made of feathers" (G.) or a "garland" (R.); B. lists chactic as "a species of red bird."

*(518) rise and growth: The MS. has unimaric ri unimaric puch, in which the second unimaric is probably an error for uuinakiric, giving "its-big-becoming its-growth and."

*(519) two by two: In the list of Cauec lords that follows, the pairing of lords will not actually begin until the fourth generation.

*(520) succeeds: This is camiheic, which Ximenez translates this way; B. has 4amibeh, "continue" (listed after camibeh).

*(521) the faces ... of each of the Quiche lords: Again, it would seem that something is missing here; perhaps the MS. Ximenez copied had name glyphs for the lords in the list that follows this statement.

*(522) Great Reception House: The MS. repeats this title after Mother of the Reception House and leaves out Great Lolmet Yeoltux, the final name on an earlier list of titles belonging to the Greathouses.

*(523) great in being few: This is nim zcaquin u4oheic, "great few (or little bit) its-being-there."

*(524) the original book and ancient writing: This is simply nabe

oher, "original (or first) ancient" in the MS., abbreviated from a phrase near the opening of the P.V., nabe uuhil, oher tzibam [4,ibam] puch, translated as "the original book and ancient writing." I have repeated the full phrase here to make the echo of the opening more obvious. In general the closing paragraph is rather terse, as if the hand that wrote it were running downhill toward the finish.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

ABOVE THE HOT SPRINGS Chuui miquina [mi3inaa], "above (or on top of) hot water." The town known today as San Miguel Totonicapan, capital of the Department of Totonicapan, formerly located on one of the hilltops above the present site. Once a citadel of the White Earths (Mam Mayas), conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiche.

ABOVE THE NETTLES Chuui la, "above (or on top of) the nettles." The town more widely known today as Chichicastenango, a Nahua name meaning "Nettles Citadel." Formerly a Cakchiquel citadel, conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiche.

ACUL PEOPLE Acul uinac [uinak], in which uinak is "people." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

ANCIENT WORD Oher tzih, also translatable as "Prior Word." A word, whether in the narrow sense of a single word or in the broad sense of an extended discourse, that carries the authority of tradition rather than being mere hearsay. At the beginning the writers of the P.V. claim this authority for their entire work, though they occasionally assign their later statements to hearsay.

ANONAS Cauex [3auex]. A tropical fruit (Anona spp.), sometimes called "cherimoya" or "custard apple" in English. Heart-shaped, green outside and creamy inside, segmented, and incredibly sweet.

ARMADILLO Yboy. The name of a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

ARMADILLO DUNG Achac [achak] iboy, "dung armadillo." Crier to the People for the Lord Quiches when Quicab was Keeper of the Mat; possibly a nickname for one of the Lord Quiche lords listed in Part Five of the present translation.

ARM GUARD Pachcab [pa4h3ab], composed of pa4h, "tighten, fasten" (X.), and 3ab, "arm." Part of the equipment necessary for the ball game played in the P.V. (see gaming equipment). The players of the pre-Columbian ball game are usually depicted with a wrapping on the lower arm (often the right arm only).

ATOLE A ixim, "water corn-kernel," is the Quiche term for the corn-gruel drink more widely known in Mesoamerica by its Nahua name, atole.

AUILIX Often aulix in the MS. Patron deity of the Greathouse lineage, given to Jaguar Night at Tulan Zuyua and eventually placed in Concealment Canyon, "the great canyon in the forest", in a location that came to be named Pauilix, literally "At Auilix"; the Greathouses were there when the dawn first came. Auilix was also the name of the temple that housed the god Auilix in the citadel of Rotten Cane, at the east side of the main plaza. It consisted of a pyramid

with a single stairway (on the west side) and topped by a single thatch-roofed room with its door facing west across the plaza, toward the temple that housed the god Tohil; at present its ruins are the site of an active shrine. And finally, Auilix or Lord Auilix was the title of the priest of the god Auilix; he was seventh in rank among the lords of the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

BALL COURT Hom. The I-shaped courtyard in which the Mesoamerican ball game was played. The playing field was paved with stone and bounded by stone walls; the side walls of the narrow part (connecting the two ends of the I) sloped upward in opposite directions from the playing surface, resembling grandstands in appearance but in fact constituting part of the area where the ball was in play. The ball court at Rotten Cane (see Councilor of the Ball Court) ran east-west, but many Mesoamerican ball courts ran north-south. Today hom is the Quiche term for "graveyard," which suggests the deadly nature of the game described in the P.V., at least when it is played in the underworld court of the lords of Xibalba (see also Place of Ball Game Sacrifice). It should be noted that the playing fields of the ball courts in Mesoamerican archaeological sites typically lie on a lower plane than that of the nearby plazas or courtyards.

BARK HOUSE See Thorny Place.

BAT HOUSE Zotzi [zo4,i] ha. One of the tests of Xibalba, fourth or sixth in the sequence of tests. If the test of fire that comes fifth in the later list is discounted as a redundant elaboration based on the eventual immolation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque (which does not take place in a house), then Bat House would come fifth in the later sequence and both sequences would total five houses. These houses may correspond to the five different kinds of complete Venus cycles plotted out in the Maya calendar; each cycle includes a ninety-day period during which Venus has disappeared as the morning star and has not yet reappeared as the evening star. Bat House is also the name of a lordly Cakchiquel lineage whose founders steal fire from the Quiches rather than pledge themselves as sacrifice victims.

BEARDED PLACE Chi izmachi, "at bearded." Citadel of the Quiche lords after they left Thorny Place and before they built Rotten Cane, founded by Jaguar Conache. When the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches left for Rotten Cane, Bearded Place was left to the Tams. The ruins are located one kilometer south of Rotten Cane, separated from the latter by a canyon.

BEARER, BEGETTER Alom 4aholom, "one who bears children, one who begets sons," sometimes pluralized (e alom, e 4aholom). Names or epithets for the gods who make the earth, plants, animals, and humans. The bearing and begetting is metaphorical, since these gods do their work by means of words, genius, and sacrifice rather than through procreation. The same gods are also called Maker, Modeler, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

BEFORE THE BUILDING Chuua tzac [4,ak], "in-front-of building (of earth or stone)." The town more widely known today as Momostenango, a Nahua name meaning "Citadel of Shrines," formerly located five kilometers northwest of its present site. Conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

BIRD HOUSE Tziquina [4,iquina] ha. The palace, at Rotten Cane, of the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, second in rank among all the Quiche lords. Not to be confused with the ah4,iquina ha, "those of the Bird House," a people known today as the Tzutuhil. They speak a language of the Quichean family and are located south and west of Lake Atitlan. They belong to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

BLACK ROAD Quecabe [3ekabe]. One of four cosmic roads (see Crossroads and Road of Xibalba).

"BLAME IS OURS, THE" Camacu [kamacu], "our blame or wrong." A song sung by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar, in which they lamented being separated from the other peoples who were together at Tulan Zuyua before the first dawn. They especially lamented leaving the Yaqui people behind, presumably Nahua speakers of the Gulf coast.

BLOOD GATHERER Cuchuma quic [qui4], "gathering (or uniting) blood." Fourth-ranking lord of Xibalba; by this same name he figures in present-day Quiche tales, in which he heads the banquet table where the other lords of Xibalba bring together all human blood that has been lost by violence or illness since their previous banquet.

BLOOD RIVER Quia or quiquia [qui4 yaa], "blood water." A river that crosses the road to Xibalba (the underworld). This name, along with Pus River, might have been an actual toponym, referring to a large, muddy river of the kind that originates in the Guatemalan highlands and flows into the northern lowlands. For today's Quiche the region that drops off toward the Atlantic in the vicinity of Coban is still an abode of evil.

BLOOD WOMAN Xquic [xqui4], composed of x-, archaic in Quiche but "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.), and qui4, "blood"; by way of sound play the name also suggests i4, "moon." Daughter of Blood Gatherer, one of the lords of Xibalba, and mother of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. She is probably the moon but perhaps not the full moon (see Xbalanque).

BLOODY TEETH, BLOODY CLAWS Quic [qui4] re, quic rixcac [rix4ak], "blood his teeth, blood his claws." These two lords of Xibalba are omitted from earlier lists but appear as the eleventh- and twelfth-ranking lords in later lists. The situation is just the opposite for Trash Master and Stab Master, who appear only in the earlier lists and may be these same two lords under different names.

BONE FLUTE, BIRD WHISTLE Zubac [zubak], in which zu is "flute" and bak is "bone," and chamcham, possibly a reduplicated form derived from 4hanin, referring to the trilling and warbling of birds (V.). Among the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

BONE SCEPTER, SKULL SCEPTER 4hamia bac [bak], 4hamia holom, "staff bone, staff skull (or head)." Seventh- and eighth-ranking lords of Xibalba.

BRACELET OF RATTLING SNAIL SHELLS Macutax tot tatam, in which macutax is probably from Nahua mahcuetlax, "bracelet" (C.); tot is "snail"; and tatam may be related to totaanic, "shake" (X.). One of the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

BROKEN PLACE, BITTER WATER PLACE Pan paxil, pan cayala [cayalaa], in which pan is an archaic or non-Quiche form of pa, "at" or "in"; paxil probably has the same root as paxinic, "to break" (used with pottery); and cayal may be like modern 4ayil, "bitter," combined

with -aa for "water." A mountain or citadel where the Makers and Modelers got the corn and water needed to make the bodies of the first true humans; its interior was filled not only with corn but with a variety of tropical fruits. The name Broken Place suggests the Nahua myth in which a mountain containing the corn needed for human flesh was split open by a thunderbolt.

BROMELIAS Ec [e4]. Tillandsia spp., air plants abounding in the trees of highland Guatemala, except in arid regions. In some species the flowers have pointed petals and grow at the ends of stiff stalks that jut out from the rest of the plant; hence their use by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in constructing the arms and claws of an artificial crab. Today, bromelias and Spanish moss are among the principal materials used in constructing outdoor arbors for saints.

BUNDLE OF FLAMES Pizom 3a3al, "wrapped fieriness or heat." A sacred relic left to the Quiche lords by Jaguar Quitze. Like the sacred bundles of the North American Indians, a sort of cloth-wrapped ark with mysterious contents.

CACAO Caco. Theobroma cacao, a higher grade of cacao than pataxte. The seeds of cacao, which is native to the New World, were and are used by Mesoamerican Indians to make cocoa and chocolate.

CAKCHIQUELS 3a3chequeleb or ca3chiqueleb, in which che is from chee, "tree"; the first syllable would be "fire" (3a3), judging by the spelling in the P.V., but in the etymology offered by the Annals of the Cakchiquels it is cak, "red." This is the name (still used today) of a people who border the Quiches on the south and east; they speak a language of the Quichean family. They belong to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. One of the Cakchiquel citadels, Above the Nettles, was conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

CALABASH TREE Zima [tzimah]; tzimah is Cholan for "gourd" (K.), but in Quiche this is a term for a lowland tree with fruit resembling gourds (Crescentia cujete). It did not bear fruit until the head of One Hunahpu was placed in a fork of its branches. According to Andres Xiloj, the "gourds" of this tree are indeed the size of a human head; they have a woody or bonelike rind and are halved to make bowls.

CALM SNAKE Chamalcan, in which chamal may be derived from chaman, "calm" (V.), and can is Yucatec for "snake." That the writers of the P.V. were aware of the meaning of can is hinted at by the fact that they comment, after mentioning the name chamalcan, "but it looks like a bat." The name of the god of the Bat House lineage of the Cakchiquels.

CANOPY, THRONE Muh, "canopy" (literally "shade"), and 3alibal, "presiding chair" (G.). Among the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit. The Keeper of the Mat was entitled to have four canopies over him, the Keeper of the Reception House Mat three, the Lord Minister two, and the Crier to the People one.

CAOQUES Caoqueb, an untranslatable proper name with a plural suffix (-b). A tribe whose citadels once included Plaster House, which was among the places conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab. Possibly the Caoques are the ancestors of the people who speak the Quichean language called Uspantec today and whose present territory begins only ten kilometers north of Plaster House.

CAUATEPECH A Nahua name of uncertain translation. Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the eleventh generation of Cauec lords.

CAUECS Cauiquib [cauikib], singular cauec [cauek]. First-ranking Quiche lineage, founded by Jaguar Quitze and divided into nine segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

CAUINAL See Thorny Place.

CAUIZIMAH Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the seventh generation of Cauec lords.

CAUIZTAN COPAL Cauiztan pom, in which pom is "copal incense" and the rest is a Nahua name of uncertain translation. The kind of copal used by Jaguar Night to incense the direction of the rising sun.

CAVE BY THE WATER Pecul ya; V. gives rupecul as "cave at the edge of a river or lake," and ya is "water." One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna. It may be the Volcan de Agua, eleven kilometers south of Antigua Guatemala, which once had a lake at its summit.

CELEBRATED SEAHOUSE Caha [3aha] paluna, from 3ahar, "be famous"; palu, an archaic or non-Quiche form of plo or palo, "sea"; and na, Yucatec for "house." One of the first four human females; wife of Jaguar Quitze.

CHANNEL CATFISH Uinac [uinak] car, "person fish," identified by G. as the bagre or channel catfish. One of the forms assumed by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Catfish barbels are shown coming out of the cheeks of the classic Maya equivalent of Hunahpu.

CHIMALMAT A Nahua-derived name in which chimal is from chimalli, "shield." The word chimalli also entered Yucatec; M. gives chimal as "shield" and chimal ek ("shield stars") as "the guards of the north (Ursa Minor)," but the constellation in question might well have included Draco (to form the border of the shield). Chimalmat is the wife of Seven Macaw and the mother of Zipacna and Earthquake. Her astronomical identification fits with Seven Macaw's (he is the Big Dipper).

CHULIMAL A place three kilometers north of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

CHURNING SPIKES, RIVER OF Halha ha [haa] zimah; B. has halha ha as "waters that join and revolve"; zimah is "sharpened or pointed things." One of the rivers that crosses the road to Xibalba (the underworld).

CITADEL Tinamit, from Nahua tenamitl, "enclosure, or wall of a city" (D.). A town in a defensible position, whether on top of a hill or mountain or between two canyons; any points of easy access were walled or stockaded. Under Spanish rule most such towns were relocated to weaker sites as a matter of colonial military policy; today tinamit (or tinimit) is the general Quiche term for "town," regardless of location.

CO- 4o- or co- in the MS., probably related to the co- in two forms given in B.: cobic, "to have an epithet," and cobizah, "to praise." Co- begins the names of a large number of Quiche lords (see below), especially the earlier ones, and probably has an honorific effect.

COACUL First-ranking lord in the second generation of Greathouse lords.

COACUTEC Second-ranking lord in the second generation of Greathouse lords. He represented the Greathouses on the pilgrimage to the lord Nacxit.

COAHAU Co-, an honorific prefix, with ahau, "lord." First-ranking lord in the second generation of Lord Quiche lords. He represented the Lord Quiches on the pilgrimage to the lord Nacxit.

COATI Tziz. Nasua narica, an omnivorous, tree-dwelling, raccoon-like mammal with a long, flexible nose and a long, erect tail, ranging from southern Arizona to South America; confined to the lowlands in Guatemala.

COCAIB Co-, an honorific prefix, with caib, "two." First-ranking lord in the second generation of Cauec lords. He represented the Cauecs on the pilgrimage to the lord Nacxit. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, his generation was already the fourth one (starting with Jaguar Quitze) rather than the second.

COCAMEL Crier to the People for the Lords in the seventh generation of Lord Quiche lords.

COCAUIB Second-ranking lord in the second generation of Cauec lords and brother of Cocaib. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, the generation of these brothers was already the fourth one (starting with Jaguar Quitze) rather than the second. While Cocaib was on the pilgrimage to the Lord Nacxit, Cocauib fathered a child, Jaguar Conache, with Cocaib's wife. On his return, Cocaib nevertheless recognized Jaguar Conache as his own legitimate successor in the first-ranking Cauec lordship.

COCHAHUH First-ranking lord in the third generation of Greathouse lords.

COCHINEAL See croton.

COCOZOM Crier to the People for the Lords in the fourth generation of Lord Quiche lords.

COHAH A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

COLD HOUSE Teuh ha. One of the tests of Xibalba, also called Rattling House; it is second or third in the sequence of test houses. These houses may correspond to the periods when Venus is invisible between its appearances as morning and evening star (see Bat House).

COMAHCUN Crier to the People for the Lords in the fifth generation of Lord Quiche lords.

CONACHE See Jaguar Conache.

CONCEALMENT CANYON Euabal ziuan, "hiding place (or place of putting into shadow) canyon." A great canyon in a forest; location of Pauilix, where Jaguar Night placed the god Auilix. After Jaguar Quitze had placed the god Tohil on a mountain in this same vicinity, Concealment Canyon received the epithet Tohil Medicine.

COPAL Pom, from proto-Mixe-Zoque (C.). The Quiche term for a type of incense widely used in Mesoamerica to this day, better known as copal (from Nahua copalli). The basic ingredient is the resin from the bark of the palo jiote tree (Hymenaea verrucosa).

CORAL TREE, CORAL SEEDS Tzite [4,ite]. A tree known in Spanish as palo pito (Erythrina corallodenron), or its hard, red, beanlike seeds. The seeds are used by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in performing calendrical divination for the gods who seek the proper materials for the human body; the wood of the tree is then used in making an experimental male figure.

CORNTASSEL HOUSE Tzutuha [4,utuha], composed of 4,utuh, "tassel of the maize plant," and ha, "house." Temple of the patron deity of the Zaquic lineage, who was probably called 4,utuh, at Rotten Cane or perhaps at a site now known as El Resguardo, one kilometer to the east. Lord Corntassel House was the title of the first-ranking lord of

the Zaquic lineage, who headed one of the two great houses into which that lineage was divided; he must have been the priest of the Corntassel god.

CORTES, DON JUAN Lord Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fourteenth generation of Cauec lords, alive when the P.V. was written. His title was recognized by the Spanish, but he was unsuccessful in his attempt to restore the full powers of the Cauec lords to don Juan de Rojas (Keeper of the Mat) and himself, an effort that took him all the way to Spain.

COTUHA Co-, an honorific prefix, probably with tuh, "sweatbath," and ha, "house." Keeper of the Mat in the fourth generation of Cauec lords. There were two plots against his life, in the second of which he was ambushed at his sweatbath, according to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapan; the latter source does not make it clear whether this second plot succeeded, but the P.V. implies that it did. A second Cotuha was Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fifth generation of Cauec lords, helping Plumed Serpent to found Rotten Cane. Still other Cotuhas served as Lord Minister in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh generations of Greathouse lords.

COTZIBAHA Co-, an honorific prefix, probably with 4,iba, "write, paint," and ha, "house." Second-ranking lord in the third generation of Greathouse lords.

COUNCIL BOOK Popo uuh or popol uuh, in which pop is "mat," -ol has the effect of "-ness," and uuh (or vuh) is "paper" or "book." In classical Quiche, popol occurs in many phrases in which it has the effect of "public" or "in common"; popoh, a verb built on the same root, was "to hold a council" (V.), and the pronouncements of a council were popol tzih, in which tzih is "word." Popol, literally "matness," would be a metonymic reference to a council, referring to the mat on which a council sat; at the very same time it could be a metaphor for the way councils were structured, weaving diverse interests together. Alternative readings of popol uuh would be "Common Book" or "Council Paper."

COUNCILOR OF THE BALL COURT Popol uinac [uinak] pahom tzalatz, "council person in-courtyard long-and-narrow"; the second time this title is mentioned the name Xcuxeba is added (untranslatable). Title of the lord who was eighth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The ball court at Rotten Cane ran east-west and was located immediately south of the Great Monument of Tohil, with its east end forming part of the west side of the main plaza. The north wall of the ruins of the ball court is at present the site of an active shrine.

COUNCILOR OF THE STORES Popol uinac [uinak] chituy, "council person at-stack"; in B., tuyuba is "put one thing on top of another." Title of the lord who was sixth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

COYABACOH Crier to the People for the Lords in the eighth generation of Lord Quiche lords.

CRIER TO THE PEOPLE Ahtzic uinac [ahtzi4 uinak], "person who [or person whose occupation is] calling out to people"; G. gives ahzi4 as "crier" (in the sense of "town crier"), and tzi4 could be an archaic form of zi4, "to call out." Crier to the People or Crier to

the People for the Lords was the title of the lord who ranked first among the Lord Quiches and headed one of the four great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He ranked fourth among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiche state from Rotten Cane, with the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and the Lord Minister above him. A title with a slightly different wording, Lord Crier to the People, pertained to the lord who ranked second among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses of that lineage.

CRISTOBAL, DON Lord Minister in the twelfth generation of Greathouse lords, still in office by September of 1554.

CROSSROADS Cahib xalcat be, "four junction roads"; xalcat refers to any joining or forking of roads, and cahib makes this junction a "crossroads." There are two lists of the names of the four roads that lead away from this junction. The earlier list has Red, Black, White, and Yellow roads; it seems consonant (in terms of both sequence and colors) with the lowland Maya color-directional scheme, in which red is east, black west, white north, and yellow south. The later list has Black, White, Red, and Green roads; this may be a separate scheme for which the Milky Way (rather than the sun's path) is the key. In the P.V. the Black Road is also the Road of Xibalba, which corresponds to the cleft in the Milky Way. Whenever the cleft is visible, the opposite end of the Milky Way is undivided where it intersects the horizon; the undivided part is called White Road (see below), which could explain why Black and White (rather than Red and Black) are paired in the later list of roads. Since characters corresponding to Venus (One and Seven Hunahpu and later Hunahpu and Xbalanque) travel a path that intersects the Black Road, the Crossroads would seem to be the point at which the cleft is crossed by the zodiac. Note that both the Milky Way and the zodiac shift positions with respect to the horizon; we are not dealing so much with a system of cardinal points fixed to the terrestrial plain as with a complex system of navigation.

CROTON 3a3che [cakchee] or chuh 3a3che, "red tree" or "cochineal red tree." A croton called sangre de dragon in Spanish (Croton sanguifluus). Cochineal is a red dye made from scale insects that feed on the prickly pear cactus; in the present context the Quiche word for this dye is used simply as a color term. When the "cochineal red tree" is cut open, the sap that flows looks like blood and dries in scabrous nodules. A large nodule of this sap is passed off as the heart of Blood Woman by the messengers of Xibalba, and the burning of such nodules is established as an appropriate offering to the lords of Xibalba.

CRUNCHING JAGUAR Cotzbalam [co4,balam], composed of co4,ih, "grind" (V.), and balam, "jaguar." One of the monsters who ends the era of the wooden people.

CULBA See Thorny Place.

CUT ROCK Xay (or xoy) abah, possibly composed of choy, "cut," and abah, "rock." The town known today as Joyabaj, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

CUTTING ANTS, CONQUERING ANTS Chai zanic, chequen [4hequen] zanic; chai refers to cutting instruments made of stone. Ants summoned by Hunahpu and Xbalanque to help them cut the flowers of Xibalba; possibly two names for the same species. V. lists he chay as ants that

go in swarms; Andres Xiloj identified 4hequen zanic as very large leaf-cutting ants seen only in the lowlands, called zampopo in Guatemalan Spanish.

DARK HOUSE Que3uma [3ekuma] ha. One of the tests of Xibalba, first in the sequence of test houses. These houses may correspond to the periods when Venus is invisible between its appearances as morning and evening star (see Bat House).

"DAWN OF LIFE, THE" Zac [zak] 4azlem, "light (or dawn) life." An epithet for the P.V., referring to the period after the first light of dawn and of the sun itself, as contrasted with the previous period, which is referred to by the epithet, "Our Place in the Shadows." An alternative reading of the present epithet would be "The Life in the Light."

DAYBRINGER Icoquih [iko3ih in both T. and V.], composed of iko- (or eko-), "to carry a burden," and 3ih, "sun" or "day." The morning star.

DAYKEEPER Ahquih [ah3ih], "keeper (or person of) day (or sun)," referring to diviners who count the days of the 260-day calendar using coral seeds (see above). The daykeepers in the P.V. are the husband and wife Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

DEER DANCE PLAZA Xahba quieh, "dance-place deer." A place six kilometers northwest of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

DRY PLACE See Thorny Place.

EARTHQUAKE Cabracan [cabrakan], "earthquake" in both classical and modern Quiche. This name has been etymologized as cab-, "two," -r-, "his," and -akan, "leg," but "two" is caib in classical Quiche and Cakchiquel and takes the form cabi- as a prefix. The Cakchiquel equivalent of this name, cabarakan, makes it even harder to read "two" and instead suggests caba, "pile up a quantity of earth" (V.). In that case -rakan, which can mean not only "leg" but "trunk" or "pillar," suggests that the body of cabarakan provides the pillar (or pillars) that hold up the earth, and that earthquakes are caused by his movements. Earthquake is the second son of Seven Macaw and the younger brother of Zipacna. He gives his name to a place nine kilometers southeast of Rotten Cane, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

EIGHT CORDS Uahxaqui caam [uahxaquib 4aam]. Keeper of the Mat in the tenth generation of Cauec lords.

EIGHTEEN Uaxalahuh. A place of unknown location, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

EMBLEMS OF LORDSHIP Uuachinel rahauarem, "its-face-agentive his-lord-inchoative-substantive." The symbols of Toltecan lordship given by Nacxit to Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau, listed as bone flute, bird whistle; bracelet of rattling snail shells; canopy, throne; gourd of tobacco; head and hoof of deer; nosepiece; paint of powdered yellow stone; parrot feathers, heron feathers; and puma's paw, jaguar's paw (see also under each of these headings).

FALCON Uoc, a bird that probably resembles the laughing falcon (uac) listed elsewhere. A divine name paired with Hunahpu in a prayer. Uoc is also the term used for the bird that serves as a messenger for Heart of Sky, flying over One and Seven Hunahpu, as well as One Monkey and One Artisan, while they play ball, (translated as "falcon"); uac is the term for the bird that later brings a message to Hunahpu and Xbalanque at the same ball court. The two falcons may be

the planets Jupiter and Saturn; given that the uoc seems to be given greater importance, he may be Jupiter, which is brighter than Saturn.

FIRE MOUTH Chicac [chi3a3], "mouth fire." One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna. Generally thought to be the Volcan de Fuego, nineteen kilometers southwest of Antigua Guatemala.

FISHKEEPERS Chah [4hah] car, "guard fish." A people, also known as Sovereign Oloman, who stayed in the east when the Quiche ancestors left, but who later participated in a plot against them while they were settled in the citadel of Hacauitz.

FOUR HUNDRED BOYS Omuch [omu4h] 4aholab, "four-hundred boys (or sons of a male)." The boys who attempt to kill Zipacna but are killed by him instead, eventually becoming the Pleiades (see Hundrath). They die while in a drunken stupor, just as the four hundred rabbits of Nahua mythology do, and like those rabbits they were probably the patron deities of an alcoholic beverage (see sweet drink) and of drunkenness.

GAMING EQUIPMENT Etzabal [e4,abal], "play-instrument." The gear used by One and Seven Hunahpu and by their sons, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, in the Quiche version of the Mesoamerican ball game. The items mentioned in the P.V. include a kilt, yoke, arm guard, panache, headband, and rubber ball (see also under each of these headings).

GENEROUS WOMAN, HARVEST WOMAN, CACAO WOMAN, CORNMEAL WOMAN Xtoh, xcanil [x3anil], xcacau, ix pu tziya, in which the x- or ix is archaic in Quiche but "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.); toh may be related (given the horticultural nature of the accompanying names) to tohohohenic, "to give in abundance" (X.); 3anil is "yellow" or "harvest"; cacau is "cacao"; and tziya is "corn flour." Apparently these are all names or epithets for the single goddess who guards the crops of One Monkey and One Artisan.

GENIUS Naual. From a Nahua term (usually written nagual) referring to the animal alter ego of a person. In Quiche usage naual is much broader, referring to the spiritual essence or character of a person, animal, plant, stone, or geographical place; this corresponds to English "genius" in its older sense as "spirit familiar." In the P.V. naual is sometimes paired with puz, a word of Mixe-Zoque and possibly Olmec origins (C.) that refers to the cutting open of flesh with a knife and is the primary term for the act of heart sacrifice. When used together, puz and naual are metonyms for shamanic power, referring to the ability to make genius or spiritual essence visible or audible by means of ritual.

GODLY COPAL Cabauil [4abauil] pom, "god copal." The kind of copal incense used by Mahucutah to incense the direction of the rising sun.

GOUGER OF FACES Cotcouach [4ot4ouach], composed of 4ot4o, a reduplicated form of 4oto, "to carve out," and uach, "face." One of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people. Andres Xiloj gave the modern name as 4ot quiuach, "gouges out their faces," and identified it as a kind of animal, commenting that "they still exist, but I don't know whether in the sky or the forest. They stay in the darkness, and when the sun doesn't shine they come out." In the P.V. the Gouger of Faces accompanies a great, dark rainstorm.

GOURD OF TOBACCO 4uz buz, from Yucatec cuz or cutz, "tobacco," and bux, referring to a small gourd used for keeping tobacco (R.). One of the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

GRANARY Cuha, "granary for maize." The palace, at Rotten Cane, of the Keeper of the Mat, first in rank among all the Quiche lords.

GRANDMOTHER OF DAY, GRANDMOTHER OF LIGHT Ratit quih [3ih], ratit zac [zak], "its-grandmother day (or sun), its-grandmother light." Epithets for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, despite the fact that Xpiyacoc is described in other contexts as a grandfather (mama). Andres Xiloj explained that a grandmother of "day" and "light" would be a grandmother from the beginning of light "until the end of the world," that is, for as long as light lasts. In this context, then, "day" and "light" are a dyadic and less direct way of referring to what Indo-European languages reduce to the unitary concept of "time."

GREAT ABYSS AT CARCHAH Nim xob carchah or nim xol. If these two forms both referred to the same place, and if xob were correct, then the translation of nim xob would be "great respect (or shame)." But if xol were correct, then the translation would be something like "great insertion"; xolobachan is given as "abyss" by B. Finally, carchah suggests the town called San Pedro Carcha, located eight kilometers east of Coban on a river that descends rapidly into a canyon and thence to the lowlands. Nim xob carchah is the ball court where One and Seven Hunahpu played (followed later by Hunahpu and Xbalanque) before they were summoned by the lords of Xibalba. The route from this ball court to Xibalba is described as descending very steeply; perhaps it was poised at the edge of the "great abyss." Nim xol (translated "Great Abyss" in Part Four of the present translation) refers to a place located somewhere between Staggering and Place of Advice on the Quiche route of migration. Note that San Pedro Carcha is located far to the east of the area presently inhabited by the Quiches- that is, in the direction from which the P.V. says the Quiches came- and that One and Seven Hunahpu are responsible for the morning star, which appears and disappears in the east.

GREAT HOUSE Nim ha. A term for a formally organized and named lineage segment (within a larger patrilineage) with a person of lordly rank at its head, and for the palace that served as headquarters for that segment (see also lineage).

GREATHOUSES Nihaib, composed of ni- from nima, "great"; ha or hai, "house"; and -ib or -b, plural. Second-ranking Quiche lineage, founded by Jaguar Night and divided into nine segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

GREAT LOLMET YEOLTUX See Lolmet.

GREAT MONUMENT OF TOHIL Nima tzac [4,ak] tohil, literally "great building [specifically of stone or earth] Tohil." The temple that housed the god Tohil in the citadel of Rotten Cane, on the west side of the main plaza. It consisted of a pyramid with stairways on three sides (all but the west) and topped by a single thatch-roofed room with its door facing east across the plaza, toward the temple of Auilix; at present its ruins are the site of an active shrine. It is not clear whether the Great Monument of Tohil housed the original Tohil stone brought from Tulan Zuyua by Jaguar Quitze or whether that stone was left on the mountain of Patohil (see Tohil) and was represented by some secondary object in Rotten Cane. In today's ritual practice, one can use a shrine close at hand to summon up a deity whose proper residence is another and quite distant shrine. The diviners of El Palmar, a community whose inhabitants emigrated from

Momostenango, have named their local shrines after those of their parent town but address the shrines of Momostenango itself from a distance; they try to make a pilgrimage to the parent shrines once each 260 days. In a like manner, the priest of Tohil at Rotten Cane might have addressed the mountain named Patohil while he was actually on the pyramid of Tohil, making periodic pilgrimages to the mountain itself.

GREAT RECEPTION HOUSE Nima camha [4amha], "great receive-house." Title of the lord who was fourth in rank among the Greathouses and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

GREAT TOASTMASTER Nim chocoh, "great convener of banquets." E. gives choc- as "invite to a banquet"; G. and V. give chocola a similar meaning, with V. specifying a banquet in which a drink prepared from cacao was consumed. Each of the three ruling Quiche lineages had a lord with this title, and each one of these lords was the head of one of the great houses of his respective lineage. The Great Toastmaster ranked third among the Cauec lords, sixth among the Greathouses, and third among the Lord Quiches; these three Great Toastmasters came together for meetings. They are described as being like fathers and like "givers of birth" to the other lords, and as being Mothers of the Word, Fathers of the Word (see below); they may be the authors of the Popol Vuh. During the reign of Quicab the title of Great Toastmaster was bestowed upon the heads of eleven vassal lineages.

GREAT WHITE PECCARY, GREAT WHITE TAPIR Zaqui [zaki] nim ac [ak], zaqui nima tziz, "white great peccary, white great tapir (or coati)"; in abbreviated form, "Great White Peccary, Tapir" or "Great Peccary, Great Tapir." These are epithets for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, respectively. That the ak is "great" and "white" identifies it as the white-lipped peccary (Tayasu pecari), which has white jowls and is markedly larger than the collared peccary (Tayasu tajacu); the white-lipped peccary is strictly a lowland species, ak being the Cholan term for the male (K.). That the tziz is "great" and "white" identifies it as the tapir (Tapirella bairdii), which is enormously larger than the coati and has white hair all over its jowls, cheeks, and chest; no Quiche term for the tapir has been reported in dictionary sources, but tzimin is "tapir" in Cholan (K.). Like the white-lipped peccary, the tapir is a lowland species. What the coati or tziz (see coati) and the tapir or tzimin have in common, in addition to the first syllable of their names, is a very long and very flexible snout. What the tapir and peccary have in common, in addition to long, flexible snouts, is that they are ungulates.

GREEN ROAD Raxabe. In a prayer quoted in the P.V., the petitioner asks for the Green Road and does not mention roads of any other color (see also the "greening road" in a previous prayer). The Green Road also appears in the later of two lists of the four cosmic roads, where it replaces the Yellow Road mentioned earlier. In the lowland Maya color scheme green did not correspond to any of the four directions, but to the center, a sort of fifth direction. The Green Road of the P.V. may be a paradoxical fifth road, synthesizing the other four roads or passing vertically through the spot where they cross. See also Crossroads.

GUARDIANS OF THE SPOILS Canchaheleb [can4haheleb], composed of can-

from canab, "spoils of war" (B.); 4hahel, "guardian"; and -eb, plural. A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

HACAUITZ Uitz is Cholan for "mountain" (K.) and the rest is of uncertain derivation. Patron deity of the Lord Quiche lineage, carried by Mahucutah from Tulan Zuyua and eventually placed "above a great red river" on a mountain that then took the name Hacauitz. The Lord Quiches were there when the first dawn came, and the same mountain was the site of the first Quiche citadel, built by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar and abandoned after their deaths. Hacauitz was also the name of the temple that housed the god Hacauitz in the citadel of Rotten Cane, with its back marking the south side of the main plaza. It consisted of a pyramid with a single stairway (on the south side) and topped by a single thatch-roofed room with its door facing south onto a courtyard considerably smaller than the main plaza. Lord Hacauitz was the title of the priest of the god Hacauitz; he was fourth in rank among the lords of the Lord Quiches and headed one of the four great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

HANGING MOSSES Atziyac [a4,iak], literally "clothing." Dendropogon usneoides, an air plant commonly called Spanish moss in English. See bromelias for a discussion of its use.

HEAD AND HOOF OF DEER Holom pich queh, "head (or skull) hoof deer." Among the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

HEADBAND Uach zot, in which uach is "face" and zot is "to make circular, like a crown or ring" (V.). Part of the gear needed by players of the ball game in the P.V. (see ball court and gaming equipment), probably corresponding to the wreaths or turbans worn at forehead level by the players in the ball-court reliefs of Chichen Itza.

HEART OF SKY, HEART OF EARTH U4ux cah, u4ux uleu, "its-heart sky, its-heart earth." Heart of Sky, sometimes followed by Heart of Earth (which never appears by itself), is an epithet for the god or gods otherwise named Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, and Raw Thunderbolt. These epithets are no longer used in Quiche prayers, but Andres Xiloj compared the notion of u4ux uleu to that of u4ux puuak, "Heart of Metal," which is applied to found objects that are either ancient artifacts or stones that happen to resemble life forms. Some of these objects (especially artifacts shaped by flaking) are said to have been formed where lightning struck the ground, which suggests that it was lightning that provided the conceptual link between the Hearts of Sky and Earth for the Quiches of the P.V.

HEART OF THE LAKE, HEART OF THE SEA U4ux Cho, u4ux palo, "its-heart lake, its-heart sea." These are epithets that may cover all the gods who were in or on the sea before the raising of the earth; they are also known as Maker, Modeler and as Bearer, Begetter, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent. Their counterparts, with whom they cooperate in making the earth, are covered by a contrasting pair of epithets: Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.

HOT SPRINGS See Above the Hot Springs.

HOUSE CORNER Xiquiri pat; in Pokomchi Maya (a language of the Quichean family), xiquin pat is "corner of a house" (Z.). Third-ranking lord of Xibalba. According to Andres Xiloj, it is at the

corners of a house that the evil influences of Xibalba enter. When a house is under construction in Momostenango, eight skulls are painted on the outside walls (two at each corner); they are something like scarecrows.

HULIZNAB One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna; location uncertain.

HUMMINGBIRD HOUSE Tzununiha [4,ununiha], in which 4,unun is "hummingbird" and ha is "house." One of the first four human females; wife of Mahucutah.

HUNAHPU Composed of hun, "one"; ah-, occupational; and pu, from pub, "blowgun" (B.); thus the name as a whole could be read as "One Blowgunner." This is one of the twenty day names of the 260-day divinatory calendar; since a speaker of Quiche no more takes note of the "blowgunner" contained in Hunahpu than a speaker of English takes note of the "Thor" in Thursday, the name has been left untranslated in the body of the present work. The hun is so embedded in the name that in both classical and modern Quiche, the particular Hunahpu day that bears the number one is called hun hunahpu, literally "One One-blowgunner." In the P.V., Hunahpu without any number prefix is the name of the elder brother of Xbalanque; the two of them are twins, the sons of One Hunahpu and Blood Woman and nephews of Seven Hunahpu. Hunahpu and his twin succeed their father and uncle at controlling the morning-star aspect of Venus, playing ball at an eastern site on the brink of Xibalba. Hunahpu is most like his father in losing his head (twice) in Xibalba; as in the case of his father, his detached head is probably the evening-star aspect of Venus. Ultimately he becomes the sun, or at least the sun belongs to him. Hunahpu is also the name of one of the volcanoes made by Zipacna; this could be the Volcan de Amatenango, five kilometers north of the Volcan de Fuego (Fire Mouth in the P.V.), since the Annals of the Cakchiquels describes Hunahpu as standing beside Fire Mouth.

"HUNAHPU MONKEY" Hunahpu coy [4oy]. Title of a tune played on the flute by Hunahpu and Xbalanque; One Monkey and One Artisan, having been turned into monkeys, danced and did acrobatics to it, climbing up over their grandmother's house instead of using the door. Today there are numerous Guatemalan Indian towns whose fiestas include a Monkey Dance. The version done in Momostenango seems to confirm the celestial aspect of One Monkey and One Artisan: two monkeys, with stars on their costumes, climb a high pole and do acrobatics on a tightrope.

HUNAHPU PLACE Chi hunahpu, "at Hunahpu." A place of unknown location, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

HUNAHPU POSSUM, HUNAHPU COYOTE Hunahpu uuch [uu4h], hunahpu utiu. Epithets for Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabond dancers and magicians. The year-bearers of the lowland Maya are the so-called possum actors, strolling players who appear at the transition point between two solar years. Hunahpu and Xbalanque do not assume their guise as performers until shortly before Hunahpu becomes the sun. In the Venus tables of the Dresden Codex, day names with solar implications do not appear until the last two divisions in a series of five Venus cycles, reaching a crescendo in the fifth cycle. In this last cycle, the descent of the morning star into the underworld on a day associated with a year-bearing possum actor (the day Eb in Yucatec and E in Quiche) would correspond to the

appearance of the vagabond Hunahpu and Xbalanque before the lords of Xibalba.

HUNDRATH Motz, the Pleiades; the astral form of the Four Hundred Boys. Motz appears to be an archaic form of omu4h, "four hundred"; for that reason it is translated here as "Hundrath," the archaic (Old Norse) source of English "hundred." In today's Quiche thought the Pleiades symbolize a fistful of seeds. The planting season for high-altitude maize, in March, is marked by evening settings of the Pleiades, which leave them invisible for most of the night; by May, when low-altitude maize is planted, the Pleiades enter a period of complete invisibility. In the P.V., the Pleiades' first fall into the earth corresponds to Zipacna's defeat of the Four Hundred Boys.

HURRICANE Huracan [hurakan]. The god who causes the rain and flood that end the era of the wooden people; his aspects include thunderbolt gods (see Newborn Thunderbolt, Raw Thunderbolt) and the first-ranking patron deity of the Quiche people (see Tohil), and his epithets include Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth (see above). The name can be read as hu[n]rakan, "one-his-leg," but Andres Xiloj pointed out that it could also mean "one out of a group" or "one of a kind," since -rakan is a numeral classifier used in counting things that belong to collectivities. V. gives rakan hab as "the drops of a rainstorm when it begins or ends," apparently referring to the very large drops that precede or follow a thunderstorm; thus hurakan could be an abbreviated form of a phrase meaning "one large raindrop." All of these readings point to the classic Maya god who is one-legged when he takes the form of the so-called manikin scepter, whose names include Hunab Ku or "Solitary God," and who is sometimes referred to as the itz or "drop of liquid" (M.) of the sky, though he causes torrential rainstorms. Another name for this classic god is Tahil, "Torch Mirror" or "Obsidian Mirror" (see Tohil). This name, together with his one-leggedness and his rains, make him cognate, in turn, with the Nahua god named Tezcatlipoca or "Smoking Mirror," who was (among other things) a god of the hurricane. Whatever the etymology of the word hurakan, it may well have included the meaning "hurricane" in the Mayan language spoken in the Gulf coast region where the Quiches came from, a region susceptible to frequent hurricanes. Throughout the West Indies and along the north coast of South America, especially among Carib and Arawakan peoples, there is a god of the hurricane and thunderbolt whose name is cognate with hurakan; in the Guianas he is one-legged. Dictionary compilers favor a Taino (Arawakan) origin for the word "hurricane" (which came into English from Spanish or French) over a Mayan origin, but the Taino word itself could have been borrowed from the Quiche homeland, which was a center of far-reaching maritime trade.

ILOCS Ilocab (singular iloc). One of the allied groups of lineages called "the three Quiches," the other two members being the Quiche proper (comprising the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches) and the Tams.

IZTAYUL Sometimes ztayul or ztayub in the MS.; from Nahua izta, "white, salt," and yol, "heart" (C.). Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fourth generation of Cauec lords, with Cotuha as Keeper of the Mat. A second Iztayul was Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the fifth or sixth generation of Cauecs, with Tepepul as Keeper of the Mat. A third Iztayul was Lord Minister in the seventh

generation of Greathouse lords. See also Xtayub.

JAGUAR CONACHE Balam conache or simply conache. The first to rule with the title of Keeper of the Mat, coming in the third generation of Cauec lords; a contemporary of Nine Deer, who was Lord Minister in the fourth generation of Greathouse lords. According to the Title of the Lords of Totonicapan, Jaguar Conache was the son of Cocaib's wife but was fathered by Cocaib's brother Cocauib while Cocaib was on his pilgrimage to the Lord Nacxit. Nevertheless Cocaib officially recognized Jaguar Conache as his legitimate successor in the first-ranking Cauec lordship. But after Jaguar Conache's death the descendants of Cocauib were shifted to the second-ranking lordship, supplying Keepers of the Reception House Mat (beginning with Jaguar Conache's own son Iztayul), while the first-ranking title of Keeper of the Mat reverted to the direct descendants of Cocaib.

JAGUAR HOUSE Balami ha. One of the tests of Xibalba, third or fourth in the sequence of test houses. These houses may correspond to the periods when Venus is invisible between its appearances as morning and evening star (see Bat House). Jaguar House is also the name of a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

JAGUAR NIGHT Balam acab [a3ab]. One of the first four human males and founder of the Greathouse lineage.

JAGUAR QUITZE Balam quitze in the MS.; balam is "jaguar" and quitze (or better 4itze) could well be an archaic form of 4iche, "Quiche." One of the first four human males and founder of the Cauec lineage.

JAGUAR ROPES Balam colob, composed of balam, "jaguar"; colo, "rope" (B.); and -b, plural. A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

JOCOTES Quinom [3inom], also meaning "richness." A tropical fruit (Spondias purpurea), yellow in color and resembling small plums.

KEEPER OF THE BAT MAT Ahpo zotzil [zo4,il], "keeper-mat bat-ness." A Cakchiquel lineage whose god was Calm Snake.

KEEPER OF THE DANCER MAT Ahpo xa [xahil in other sources], "keeper-mat dancer." A Cakchiquel lineage.

KEEPER OF THE MAT Ahpop, "person of [or person whose occupation is] mat," a woven mat being a metonym for a council (whose members sat on a mat or mats) and probably, at the same time, a metaphor for a council (whose members might have been thought of as being interwoven like a mat or as serving to interweave those whom they represented). Keeper of the Mat or Lord Keeper of the Mat was the title of the lord who ranked first among the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He also ranked first among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiche state from Rotten Cane, with the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the Lord Minister, and the Crier to the People for the Lords coming below him. The signs or emblems that accompanied these four titles (or at least the first two of them) were given out by Nacxit, the lord of a "populous domain" located in "the east"; the Keeper of the Mat was entitled to have four superimposed canopies over his head, with the others having three, two, and one, respectively. During the reign of Quicab, the title of Keeper of the Mat was conferred upon the heads of twenty vassal lineages, presumably lineages that were specifically vassals of the Cauecs.

KEEPER OF THE PLUMED SERPENT Ahcucumatz [ah3ucumatz], "person of [or person whose occupation is] quetzal serpent." Title of the priest of the god Sovereign Plumed Serpent at Rotten Cane; he was fourth in rank among the lords of the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The temple of Sovereign Plumed Serpent was a round tower near the center of the main plaza, halfway between the temples of Tohil and Auilix. Its circular foundation, whose outline is still visible in the pavement of the plaza, is the site of an active shrine.

KEEPER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE MAT Ahpop camha [4amha], person of [or person whose occupation is] mat receive-house." That the cam- of the MS. should be 4am-, "receive," rather than 3am-, "stairway," is indicated by V. and G., both of whom list an analogous Cakchiquel title as 4amahay. The Keeper (or Lord Keeper) of the Reception House Mat ranked second among the Cauec lords and was the head of one of the nine great houses into which the Cauecs were divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He ranked second among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiche state from Rotten Cane, coming below the Keeper of the Mat and above the Lord Minister and the Crier to the People for the Lords. If there was a council connected with the "Reception House Mat," it might have consisted of the Keeper of the Reception House Mat himself (representing the Cauecs), the two Mothers of the Reception House (one each for the Cauecs and Greathouses), and the Minister of the Reception House and the Great Reception House (both representing the Greathouses). If these lords were like the Cakchiquel 4amahay, their business was the collection of tribute.

KEEPER OF TOHIL Ahtohil, "person of [or person whose occupation is] Tohil." Title of the priest of the god Tohil at Rotten Cane; he was third in rank among the lords of the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

KILT 4,uum, "hide." The protective kilt worn by players of the ball game in the P.V. (see ball court and gaming equipment); this kilt is clearly shown to be a hide in classic Maya art of the lowlands.

LAKE-SEA Chopalo, composed of cho, "lake," and palo, "sea," but pronounced as a single word. In this context "lake" and "sea" are complementary metonyms that together produce a term for all pooled water, but without any final reduction of the difference between lakes and seas. This composite term is used in contemporary Quiche prayers.

LAMACS Lamaquib, in which -ib is plural. A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

LAUGHING FALCON Uac; its cry is uac co, uac co in the text. In Tzotzil Maya, the laughing falcon is vakos and its cry is vakvon (L.). That vakos and uac are the same bird is confirmed by the fact that Hunahpu and Xbalanque patch the wounded eye of the uac with gum; the laughing falcon has a black patch around the eye. It is amusing to note that the uac of the P.V. catches a snake; the scientific name of the laughing falcon is Herpetotheres cachinnans. This bird is obviously closely related to the uoc mentioned elsewhere; both birds are messengers, and there are reasons for thinking the uoc corresponds to Jupiter and the uac to Saturn (see Falcon).

"LIGHT THAT CAME FROM ACROSS THE SEA, THE" Zac petenac chaca palo

[zak petenak 4haka palo], "light come-from-perfect other-side sea." An epithet for the P.V., alluding to the fact that the sons of the first Quiche lords, returning from a pilgrimage to the great lord named Nacxit, "brought back the writings about Tulan" from "across the sea." "Sea" is probably a hyperbole for "lagoon" here; other Quiche documents call the body of water in question both a "lake" and a "sea."

LINEAGE Chinamit, from Nahua chinamitl, "hedge or enclosure of cane plants" (D.). In Quiche this refers to an organized and named patrilineage (or segment thereof) or to its lands; in the P.V. chinamit seems to be synonymous with nim ha or "great house" in most contexts.

LOLMET Each of the three ruling lineages of the Quiche included one lord whose title incorporated this word; in G., lolmay is "he who is sent on business," suggesting "emissary" as a possible translation of Lolmet. Lolmet Quehnay was the title of the lord who ranked seventh among the Cauecs and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. Great Lolmet Yeoltux was the title of the lord who ranked ninth among the Greathouses and headed one of their nine great houses; this title is omitted in the second of the two lists of Greathouse lords. Lord Lolmet or Lolmet of the Lords was the title of the lord who ranked second among the Lord Quiches and headed one of their four great houses.

LORD QUICHES Ahau quiche [4iche]. Third-ranking Quiche lineage, founded by Mahucutah and divided into four segments or great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane.

MACAMOB Possibly from macamo, "to do something suddenly" (V.). One of the volcanoes made by Zipacna; location uncertain.

MACAW HOUSE Caquixaha [cakixaha]. One of the first four human females; wife of True Jaguar.

MACAW OWL Caquix [cakix] tucur, in which cakix is specifically the term for the scarlet macaw. Third-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, a messenger. This is clearly the so-called Moan bird of classic Maya vase paintings, who seems to have the head and wings of an owl but the tail of a macaw. Along with three other owl messengers, he may correspond to the planet Mercury (see Shooting Owl).

MAHUCUTAH Possibly ma, "not," with hucotah, "right away, in a moment" (B.), giving something like "nonmomentary." One of the first four human males and founder of the Lord Quiche lineage.

MAKER, MODELER Tzacol bitol [4,akol bitol], consisting of an agentive suffix, -ol, added to two different verb stems. In both classical and modern Quiche, 4,ak- has to do with making things out of clay, plaster, cement, or stone; the objects made range through bricks, walls, monuments, mounds of earth, and buildings of all sizes. Bit-, on the other hand, has to do with making definite shapes out of a pliable and otherwise formless material, as when vessels are shaped out of clay. Andres Xiloj said of 4,ak- (whose agentive form would be 4,akal today), "This is to make or construct, like a building, a wall." Of bit- he said, "This bitic is to form, as when we were small and played with mud; we made forms. Kabitic, 'we form it'." He saw 4,akol and bitol as referring, respectively, to the amassing of clay and then its shaping into forms such as vessels or figures. In

the P.V. these two words are names or epithets for the gods who make the earth, plants, animals, and humans. The same gods are also called Bearer, Begetter, and they include Sovereign Plumed Serpent.

MAKER OF THE BLUE-GREEN PLATE, MAKER OF THE BLUE-GREEN BOWL Ahraxa la3 [lak], ahraxa tzel, "person-of-blue-green plate, person-of-blue-green bowl." First used as an epithet for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane; later appears in a list of the arts and crafts practiced by their grandsons, One Monkey and One Artisan. The plate and bowl may refer ultimately to the earth and sky; the term raxa covers both the green of a verdant landscape and the blue of the sky. Andres Xiloj pointed out that when the head of a contemporary patrilineage (who is always a diviner) dies, his successor must be installed in office by the head of a neighboring lineage, who is hired as an ah4hahbal lak, ah4hahbal tasa, "washer of the plate, washer of the cup." Before the new lineage head can take office, the "washer" must go to all that lineage's shrines and clean out the ashes of all the offerings burned by the deceased lineage head. Such shrines are lined and covered with slabs of stone and pieces of pottery, which are spoken of as "plates" and "cups." In the P.V., Maker of the Blue-Green Plate, Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl would refer to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane in their general roles as those who look after (and even create) shrines, or it might refer to pottery vessels used for burning incense rather than to shrines as such.

MARIGOLD Yia [iya]. A species of marigold called pericon in Guatemalan Spanish (Tagetes lucida), a common roadside herb in the highlands, with all-yellow flowers. In the P.V. (as among today's Quiche) the burning of marigolds, together with yarrow (see below), constitutes a more modest offering than the burning of copal incense.

MATASANOS Ahache [ahachee]. A tropical fruit (Casimiroa edulis), large, pulpy, thin-skinned, yellow inside and chartreuse outside; called matasanos in Guatemalan Spanish.

MEAUAN The mountain beneath which Hunahpu and Xbalanque defeated Earthquake. Possibly located within the great bend of the Rio Negro or Chixoy, north of Rabinal.

METEOR Cabicac or chabicac [4habi3a3], "globe of fire" (T.), literally "arrow fire"; a comet, by contrast, is uhe 4humil, "star's tail." A place of unknown location, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

MIDDLE OF THE HOUSE, MIDDLE OF THE HARVEST, LIVING CORN, EARTHEN FLOOR Nicah [ni4ah] ha, nicah bichoc [bichok], cazam [4azam] ah, chatam [4hatam] uleu, "middle house, middle shucked-corn, living corn-ear, bed (or slab) earth"; the gloss of bichoc is from B. When Hunahpu and Xbalanque left their grandmother to go to Xibalba, they "planted" ears of corn in the middle of their house, up above its earthen floor. For their grandmother, the drying (or ripening) and renewed sprouting of corn served as a sign of their death and rebirth, and she burned copal incense before ears of corn as a memorial to them. As Andres Xiloj pointed out, her act corresponds to the present-day customs of a patrilineage shrine called the uinel, located near a cornfield.

MIDDLE OF THE PLAIN Nicacah tacah [ni4ah ta3ah],"middle plain." Name of the god received by True Jaguar at Tulan Zuyua.

MIDMOST SEERS Nicuachinel [ni4uachinel], composed of ni4, "middle"; uachin, "see with one's own eyes" (V.); -el, agentive. A term for

diviners, applied both to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane and to Xulu and Pacam. It could mean that a diviner sees into the middle of things, or it could mean that a diviner recovers the vision that the first humans had when they could see everything from the spot where they were, without having to walk around.

MILITARY KEEPER OF THE MAT Rahpop achih, "its-keeper-mat soldier." Title held by the four owls who served as messengers for the lords of Xibalba. One of the titles conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab.

MILITARY MINISTER U3alel achih, "its-minister soldier." One of the titles conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab.

MILITARY WALLS, MILITARY CORNERS Rahtzalam [rah4,alam] achih, utzam [utzaam] achih, "his-keeper-wall soldier, his-corner (or angle) soldier." 4,alam is "wall" in V., while other sources give "plank"; the "walls" and "corners" here are undoubtedly those of a stockade. Military Walls and Military Corners are among the titles conferred upon the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab; they seem analogous to the "sides" and "corners" of the sky-earth, suggesting that a fortified town was seen as a microcosm.

MINISTER 3alel, possibly from 3alunel, "one who holds something in his arms." Lord Minister was the title of the lord who ranked first among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. He also ranked third among the four lords who jointly ruled the Quiche state from Rotten Cane, coming below the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat and above the Crier to the People for the Lords. During the reign of Quicab, when Quema was Lord Minister of the Greathouses, the title of Minister was conferred upon the heads of twenty vassal lineages, presumably lineages that were specifically vassals of the Greathouses.

MINISTER FOR THE LORDS 3alel ahau, "minister lord," with ahau referring, as it does when it ends other titles, to the Lord Quiche lineage. One of the titles conferred upon the heads of one or more vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab, when Armadillo Dung was Lord Crier to the People for the Lord Quiches. Presumably these would have been vassals of the Lord Quiches in particular, although Minister is not listed as one of the titles actually held by their lineage.

MINISTER FOR THE ZAQUICS 3alel zaquic. Title of the lord who ranked second among the Zaquics and headed one of the two great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The Zaquics may not have acquired this title until the reign of Quicab, two generations after the founding of Rotten Cane, since it is elsewhere listed as one of the titles conferred on the heads of vassal lineages during the reign of Quicab. It could also be that the Zaquics themselves ennobled one or more lineages subordinate to themselves, titling them Ministers for the Zaquics in order to distinguish them from the Ministers created by the Greathouses at this same time.

MINISTER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE 3alel 4amha, "minister receive-house." Title of the lord who ranked third among the Greathouses and headed one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

MIXTAM COPAL Mixtam pom, in which pom is "copal incense" and the

rest is a Nahua name of uncertain translation. The kind of copal incense used by Jaguar Quitze to incense the direction of the rising sun. Andres Xiloj suggested that this might be Ixtahuacan pom, a kind of copal from the area of Ixtahuacan and Cuilco (Mam towns) that is highly valued by the Quiche today.

MONKEY HOUSE Batza [ba4,a], composed of ba4,, "howler monkey," and ha, "house." Lord Minister in the sixth generation of Greathouse lords.

MOTHER-FATHER Chuchcahau [chuchkahau], composed of chuch, "mother," and kahau, "father," but pronounced as a single word. In this context "mother" and "father" are complementary metonyms that together produce the sense of "parent," but without any final reduction of the difference between motherhood and fatherhood. In the P.V., the composite term thus produced is used as a metaphor for the gods called Maker and Modeler and less figuratively for the first four human males, three of whom become founders of patrilineages. In several present-day Quiche towns the heads of patrilineages, who are daykeepers and are also responsible for lineage shrines, are called mother-fathers even though they are all males (see also Mothers of the Word, Fathers of the Word).

MOTHER OF THE RECEPTION HOUSE Uchuch camha [4amha], "its-mother receive-house." Title of the ninth in rank among the Cauec lords (also titled Sovereign Yaqui) and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane. The fifth-ranking lord of the Greathouses, who headed one of the nine great houses of their lineage, was also titled Mother of the Reception House.

MOTHERS OF THE WORD, FATHERS OF THE WORD Uchuch tzih, ucahau [ukahau] tzih. An epithet of the Great Toastmasters, suggesting that they were ritual heads of patrilineages (see mother-father) and that they may have been responsible for the Word (see Ancient Word) that is set forth in the Popol Vuh itself.

MOUNTAIN-PLAIN Huyubtacah [huyubta3ah], composed of huyub, "mountain (or hill)," and ta3ah, "plain (or flat)," but pronounced as a single word. In this context "mountain" and "plain" are complementary metonyms that together produce the sense of "earth," but without any final reduction of the difference between mountains and plains. In modern Quiche ritual language, at least, huyubta3ah (or huyub by itself) is a common metaphor for the human body. In the P.V. the gods conceive humans at the same time they conceive the earth, but a great deal of time passes before they succeed in actually making humans.

NACXIT From Nahua naui, "four," and ikxitl, "foot" (C.). In Nahua sources this is a title held by the king named Quetzalcoatl; in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, a lord named Nacxit Xuchit is mentioned in connection with events that sound like part of the Nahua legend of Quetzalcoatl. In the P.V. Nacxit gives out the emblems of lordship to Cocaib, Coacutec, and Coahau, who come to him on a long pilgrimage.

NANCE Tapal. A tropical fruit (Byrsonima crassifolia), small, yellow and purple.

NECK CANYON Cu [ku] ziuan, "neck, narrow place" (from kul) "canyon." A canyon crossed by the road to Xibalba (the underworld).

NET WEAVE TRIBE Amac [ama3] uquin cat [4at], composed of ama3,

"tribe"; u-, "its"; quin, "do the warp in weaving" (B.); and 4at, "net." Place where the Ilocs gave a home to their patron deity, not far from where the Tams, Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches did the same; also the place where the Ilocs were when the dawn first came.

NEWBORN NANAHUAC, RAW NANAHUAC Chipi [4hipi] nanauac, raxa nanauac, in which 4hipi is "youngest child"; raxa is "green, blue" or "raw, fresh"; and nanahuac seems to be the Quiche equivalent of Nanahuatzin, who in Nahua mythology throws the thunderbolt that opens up the mountain filled with the corn needed to make human flesh (see Broken Place). In the P.V., Newborn Nanahuac and Raw Nanahuac are alternative names for Newborn Thunderbolt and Raw Thunderbolt.

NEWBORN THUNDERBOLT, RAW THUNDERBOLT Chipa [4hipa] caculha [cakulha], raxa caculha in which 4hipa is "youngest child"; raxa is "green, blue" or "raw, fresh"; and cakulha is specifically a bolt of lightning (with the accompanying thunder), as contrasted with coyopa, which is sheet lightning (seen in the distance and without distinguishable bolts or audible thunder). Gods who are included under the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth rubric and make up a threesome when combined with the name Hurricane. Lucas Pacheco recognized their names and said that in today's prayers they also go under the names of two archangels, Michael and Gabriel.

NINE DEER Beleheb queh. Lord Minister in the fourth generation of Greathouse lords, when Jaguar Conache was Keeper of the Mat. Another Nine Deer was Lord Minister in the ninth generation. At least the first of these two was apparently born on the day Nine Deer on the divinatory calendar; the second was probably named after the first. Today such a birth date would augur a domineering, articulate, and masculine character with shamanic inclinations, and because of the relatively high number these qualities should be obvious.

NINE DOG Beleheb tzi [4,ii]. Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the twelfth generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Nine Dog on the divinatory calendar. Today, such a birth date would augur confusion, weakness, promiscuity, and ill fortune. According to the P.V. Nine Dog was hanged by the Castilians; other sources have him burned at the stake. In any case he and Three Deer were executed by Alvarado in 1524, immediately following the fall of Rotten Cane.

NOSEPIECE Caxeon, possibly derived from kaxah [3axah], "to run through, as with an arrow" (T.); -on could be the substantive suffix or it could be related to onih, "to nail" (E.). One of the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit; the Annals of the Cakchiquels mentions that noses were pierced when the emblems were given out but does not refer to the ornament itself. Of the various names given to the emblems in the P.V., caxeon is the most likely candidate as a term for this particular item.

ONE DEATH, SEVEN DEATH Hun came, uucub [uukub] came, in which hun and uukub are "one" and "seven." Came is one of the twenty day names of the divinatory calendar; it shares the same root with such forms as camel, "dead person," but it is not the ordinary term for "death" (that would be camic or camical). One and Seven Death rank first and second among the lords of Xibalba. They are treated in the narrative as two persons, as are One and Seven Hunahpu (see below), but their numbers show that they represent all thirteen possible days bearing the name came, as Andres Xiloj pointed out (see the notes to the Introduction).

ONE HUNAHPU, SEVEN HUNAHPU Hun hunahpu, uucub [uukub] hunahpu. The sons, elder and younger respectively, of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane; One Hunahpu is the father (by Xbaquiyalo) of One Monkey and One Artisan, later becoming the father (by Blood Woman) of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. One and Seven Hunahpu, as their numbers show, represent all thirteen possible days bearing the name Hunahpu (see the notes to the Introduction). They are responsible for Venus in its aspect as a morning star that first rises on a day bearing the name Hunahpu; such a morning star appears at the start of each fifth Venus cycle. One Hunahpu's severed head, when placed in the fork of a tree by the lords of Xibalba, becomes Venus in its aspect as an evening star that first rises on a day bearing the name Came or "Death"; this is the particular evening star that follows after a Hunahpu morning star.

ONE-LEGGED OWL Huracan [hurakan] tucur, "one-his-leg owl." As Andres Xiloj pointed out, owls stand on only one leg at a time. Second-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, a messenger. Along with three other owl messengers, he may correspond to the planet Mercury (see Shooting Owl).

ONE MONKEY, ONE ARTISAN Hun batz [ba4,], hun chouen, in which hun is "one"; ba4, is "howler monkey"; and chouen is Yucatec for "artisan" and archaic Yucatec for "howler monkey." The sons of One Hunahpu and Xbaquiyalo; patron deities of flautists, singers, writers, carvers, lapidaries, jewelers, sawyers, carpenters, incense makers, and metallurgists. Hunahpu and Xbalanque (their younger half-brothers) leave them marooned in a tall tree, where they become monkeys; this is also the beginning of their celestial career (see "Hunahpu Monkey"). They probably correspond to the planet Mars.

ONE TOH Hun toh, a day on the divinatory calendar. The god of the Rabinals, declared by the writers of the P.V. to be equivalent to the Tohil of the Cauecs, Ilocs, and Tams.

"OUR PLACE IN THE SHADOWS" Camuhibal [kamuhibal], "our-being-shaded-place." An epithet for the P.V., referring to the period (lasting about two-thirds of the book) before the first sunrise is seen; the following period is referred to by another epithet, "The Dawn of Life." The implication of "shadows" in the present epithet is that the light of dawn and of sunrise were really there (somewhere) all along, but that "our" position as humans with respect to this light was such that we remained in darkness.

PAINT OF POWDERED YELLOW STONE Tatil canabah [3anabah]; tatil may be the same as titil, "bright powder" (B.); 3anabah is an unidentified "yellow stone" (V.) and a paint applied to the body (R.). One of the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

PANACHE Iachuach, B. gives yachuachibeh as "to crown." Part of the gear needed by players of the ball game in the P.V. (see ball court and gaming equipment), probably corresponding to the long bunch of feathers shown attached to the crowns of the heads of the players in the ball-court reliefs of Chichen Itza.

PARROT FEATHERS, HERON FEATHERS Chiyom, "parrot feathers" (R.), and aztapulul, which is partly derived from aztatl, a Nahua term for a white heron (D.). Among the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

PATAXTE Pec. Theobroma bicolor, a lower grade of cacao than cacao proper (or caco in Quiche), more widely known in Mesoamerica by its Nahua name, pataxte. The seeds of pataxte and cacao, which are native to the New World, were and are used by Mesoamerican Indians

to make cocoa and chocolate.

PATOHIL See Tohil.

PAUILIX See Auilix

PERSON OF BAM Uinac [uinak] bam, "person," followed by an untranslatable proper name. Crier to the People for the Lords in the ninth generation of Lord Quiche lords.

PETATAYUB Partly from Nahua petatl, "mat" (C.). A flat place (ta3ah) where a "mountain" (huyub) of shattered stones from conquered citadels was piled up during the reign of Quicab. Ximenez takes this flat to be the south coastal plain of Guatemala, but ta3ah can refer to any level place, down to the size of a cornfield. Petatayub may be the spot known today as Altar Place (chi mumuz), a prominent pile of broken stones on an otherwise stoneless flat eight kilometers northwest of San Pedro Jocopilas. On the south side of this pile is an active shrine.

PLACE OF ADVICE Chi pixab, "at advice (or counsel)." A mountain where the Quiches and other tribes held a council during their migrations. It is a peak, still known by this name, of the Montana los Achiotes, about seven kilometers west of San Andres Sajcabaja.

PLACE OF BALL GAME SACRIFICE Pucbal Chah [puzbal chaah]; B. gives puzbal as "place of sacrifice," and chaah is "ball game." The place where the decapitated body of One Hunahpu and the complete body of Seven Hunahpu were buried by the lords of Xibalba. Probably not a place name, but rather a name for the altar where losing ball players were sacrificed. That such altars were in or near ball courts is indicated by the fact that the classical Quiche term for a ball court, hom, is today the term for a graveyard. Hunahpu and Xbalanque, addressing the remains of Seven Hunahpu (their paternal uncle), tell him, "You will be prayed to here"; today, as Andres Xiloj pointed out, people visit graveyards on days bearing the name Hunahpu.

PLACE OF SPILT WATER See Spilt Water.

PLANK PLACE Chitemah, "at-plank"; tema is a bench or a roofing beam. A place of unknown location, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

PLASTER HOUSE Zaccabaha [zakcabaha], composed of zakcaba, "plaster" (B.), and ha, "house." The town known today as San Andres Sajcabaja. Formerly a Caoque citadel, conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiche.

PLUMED SERPENT Cucumatz [3ucumatz], from 3u3, "quetzal bird" or "quetzal feathers," and cumatz, "serpent." Keeper of the Mat in the fourth or fifth generation of Cauec lords, named after the god listed elsewhere as Sovereign Plumed Serpent. The P.V. mentions Cotuha (not the same Cotuha who preceded Plumed Serpent as Keeper of the Mat) as the Keeper of the Reception House Mat who corresponded to Plumed Serpent in a number of places, but elsewhere states that Plumed Serpent served as both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat; perhaps Cotuha died during the reign of Plumed Serpent and was not replaced until after the latter's death. However that might be, it was Plumed Serpent and Cotuha who together founded Rotten Cane. Both of them were regarded as lords of genius- that is, as lords with powerful spirit familiars- and Plumed Serpent in particular put on miraculous demonstrations of shamanic power. Here, as in the case of his central Mexican counterpart (Quetzalcoatl), it is difficult to separate Plumed Serpent as king from Plumed Serpent as deity.

POINT OF THE ARROW, ANGLE OF THE BOWSTRING Uchi 4ha, uchi cam [4aam], "its mouth arrow, its mouth cord"; Andres Xiloj pointed out that in Quiche, the "mouth" of an arrow is its tip, while the "mouth" of a bowstring is the point at which the butt end of the arrow is pulled back against it. Epithets for the vanguard lineages sent out to occupy conquered citadels during the reign of Quicab.

POORWILL, DANCE OF THE Xahoh puhuy, "dance poorwill." The name of a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

POPOL VUH See Council Book.

PRAWN HOUSE Chomiha, composed of chom, "shrimp" (B.), and ha, "house." One of the first four human females; wife of Jaguar Night. The "prawn" etymology- as opposed, for example, to 4humil or "star"- lets the four women's names fit together in a pattern, making for two with maritime names (Celebrated Seahouse and Prawn House) and two with avian names (Hummingbird House and Macaw House).

PUMA'S PAW, JAGUAR'S PAW Tzicuil [4,icuil] coh, tzicuil balam; V. gives 4,ic as "heel of hand," and coh and balam are "puma" and "jaguar." Among the emblems of lordship given out by Nacxit.

PUS MASTER, JAUNDICE MASTER Ahal puh, ahal 3ana, "owner pus, owner yellowness." Fifth- and sixth-ranking lords of Xibalba.

PUS RIVER Puhia [puhiaa], "pus water." A river that crosses the road to Xibalba (the underworld). This name, along with Blood River, might have been an actual toponym, referring to a large, muddy river of the kind that originates in the Guatemalan highlands but flows into the northern lowlands. For today's Quiche the regions that drop off toward the Atlantic, especially in the area of Coban, are an abode of evil.

QUEHNAY See Lolmet.

QUEMA Also spelled queema in the MS. Lord Minister in the tenth generation of Greathouse lords. Yet he is also mentioned among the contemporaries of the Keeper of the Mat named Quicab, who ruled in the sixth or seventh generation of Cauec lords.

QUENECH AHAU From Yucatec Kinich Ahau, "sun-eye lord" (C.), one of the names of the lowland Maya sun god. In the P.V. this is the name of a people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

QUETZAL Cuc [3u3]; according to G., raxon, literally "blued" or "greened" (and translated "blue green"), is a synonym for 3u3. "Quetzal," the name by which this bird is best known, is from Nahua quetzalli. Pharomachrus mocinno, the most spectacular bird in the New World, confined to localized cloud forest habitats scattered from Chiapas to Panama; red breast but otherwise mostly green (with blue iridescence). The two-foot-long tail coverts were a major item of tribute and a major feature of lordly regalia throughout Mesoamerica.

QUIBA HOUSE, THOSE OF Ahquibaha, in which ah- is "persons from" and ha is "house." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

QUICAB Possibly 4i, "many," with 3ab, "hand" or "arm." Keeper of the Mat in the sixth or seventh generation of Cauec lords. Quicab greatly expanded the Quiche state, destroying the citadels of neighboring peoples and occupying them with vassal lineages drawn from the immediate vicinity of Rotten Cane. He ennobled the heads of many vassal lineages, including those who had served him well in his conquests, but members of this new nobility later perpetrated a revolt

(as described in both the Title of the Lords of Totonicapan and the Annals of the Cakchiquels but not in the P.V.). They failed in an assassination attempt, but the lineages with military titles (see under Military) gained in power.

QUICHE Quiche [4iche] and sometimes queche [4eche], possibly from 4i, "many," and chee, "trees," thus carrying approximately the same meaning as Cuautemallan, the Nahua name for what is now called Guatemala. Quiche is used in several different senses in the P.V. As a people, the Quiche proper consist of those who descend from Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Mahucutah- that is to say, the Cauec, Greathouse, and Lord Quiche lineages- and who worship the gods Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. "The three Quiches" include the Quiche proper, as just described, together with two further lineages whose god was Tohil, the Tams and Ilocs. This Quiche threesome is said to have been inseparable since its members were all at Tulan Zuyua together, and to have shared the same language- a language which is also called Quiche. Late in the narrative Quiche becomes a toponym referring to the vicinity of Rotten Cane, covering Rotten Cane itself, the modern site of Santa Cruz (three kilometers to the east of Rotten Cane), and probably also Bearded Place (half a kilometer to the south of Rotten Cane). By metonymic extension, Quiche also becomes the name for the conquest state formed by the Quiche threesome after the founding of Rotten Cane.

QUITZALCUAT Equivalent to Nahua Quetzalcoatl, "quetzal serpent." One of the names of the god of the Yaqui people, who is said by the writers of the P.V. to be the same as Tohil.

RABINALS Rabinaleb, in which -eb is plural. The people known today as the Achi, whose principal town is Rabinal. Their language, Achi, may be considered either a dialect of Quiche or a separate language of the Quichean family; its speakers are located to the northeast of the speakers of Quiche proper. They belonged to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. One of the Rabinal citadels, Spilt Water, was conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

RATTLING HOUSE Xuxulim ha; B. gives xuxulim as a continuous buzzing or humming. This is one of the tests of Xibalba, also called Cold House; it rattles because of continuous drafts and hail. This test comes second or third in the sequence of test houses. These houses may correspond to the periods when Venus is invisible between its appearances as morning and evening star (see Bat House).

RAZOR HOUSE Chaim ha; chay or cha refers to cutting instruments or projectile points made by percussion techniques, probably obsidian blades in the present context. One of the tests of Xibalba, fifth or second in the sequence of test houses. These houses may correspond to the periods when Venus is invisible between its appearances as morning and evening star (see Bat House).

RED BANNER Ca3lacan [cakla3an], with cak, "red"; B. gives la3am as "banner." Crier to the People for the Lords in the third generation of Lord Quiche lords.

RED ROAD Cacabe [cakabe]. One of four cosmic roads (see Crossroads).

ROAD OF XIBALBA Ri be xibalba, "the road Xibalba," also called Black Road (see Crossroads). The road that beckoned to One and Seven Hunahpu when they were on their way to Xibalba and led to their

deaths. At present ube xibalba, "its-road Xibalba," is the Quiche term for the black cleft in the Milky Way. From the identity of One and Seven Hunahpu (or their rubber ball) as Venus, and from the fact that they go down to Xibalba from a ball court located far in the east, it may be deduced that they descended at a time when Venus was ending its period of visibility as the morning star in a sidereal position that was in or near the Milky Way cleft. Venus takes five complete cycles to repeat its sidereal position, which is the same number of cycles it takes for its periodic reappearance as a morning star to return to a day bearing the name Hunahpu.

ROBLES, DON PEDRO DE Lord Minister in the thirteenth generation of Greathouse lords, in office when the P.V. was written. Since his predecessor was still in office in September of 1554, the P.V. must have been written after that time.

ROCK ROWS, FURROWED SANDS Cholochic abah, bocotahinac [bocotahinak] zanaieb, composed of a reduplicated form of cholo-, "to order, put in a row"; abah, "rocks"; boco-, "uproot"; tahii-, "cultivate, plough"; -nak, perfect; and zanaieb, "sands." The place where Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Mahucutah, and True Jaguar crossed through a palo or "sea" on their migration from Tulan Zuyua. The name is, in effect, a description of a lowland Maya causeway.

ROJAS, DON JUAN DE Lord Keeper of the Mat in the fourteenth generation of Cauec lords, in office when the P.V. was written. His title was recognized by the Spanish; he retained his serfs, was given a reception room in the Royal Palace at Santiago Guatemala, served as a sort of minister of native affairs, and attempted to regain jurisdiction over the towns that had been conquered by the Quiche state before the arrival of the Spanish. He was still in office in 1554; since he was no longer signing documents by November of 1558, the P.V. must have been written before that date.

ROTTEN CANE Cumaracaah [3umarakah], "rotten-plural-cane plant." The citadel built by the Quiche lords after they left Bearded Place, founded by the Keeper of the Mat named Plumed Serpent. At Bearded Place there had been only three great houses or lordly lineages, but after the founding of Rotten Cane the Cauecs divided into nine parts, the Greathouses into nine parts, the Lord Quiches into four parts, and there were also two divisions of Zaquics (not mentioned at Bearded Place). Except for the two divisions of the Zaquics, which shared a single palace, each of these lineage segments apparently had a separate palace, making twenty-three palaces in all. It was from Rotten Cane that Quicab greatly expanded the Quiche state, and it was Rotten Cane that was burned by Pedro de Alvarado in 1524. The ruins, better known by their Nahua name, Utatlan, are located three kilometers west of Santa Cruz Quiche (see also Great Monument of Tohil, Auilix, Hacauitz, Keeper of the Plumed Serpent, Councilor of the Ball Court, Granary, and Bird House).

RUBBER BALL Qui4, literally "blood" but also referring to rubber, rubber balls in particular. Europeans saw rubber balls for the first time in the West Indies and Mesoamerica. In the P.V. a rubber ball is part of the gaming equipment (see under that heading) used by One and Seven Hunahpu and by their sons, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. The ball used by their opponents in Xibalba is not called qui4 (except by a falsehood that fails to deceive Hunahpu and Xbalanque) but is rather referred to by its proper name (see White Dagger) or by the term

chaah, which is also a term for the ball game itself (whatever kind of ball it is played with).

SANTA CRUZ Bishop Francisco Marroquin gave this name to Rotten Cane in 1539, but the town that came to be known as Santa Cruz Quiche was not built on the ruins of Rotten Cane itself but three kilometers east of there.

SERPENTS Cumatz, A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

SEVEN CANE Uucub [uukub] ah, "seven cane plant." Crier to the People for the Lords in the sixth generation of Lord Quiche lords. Apparently born on the day Seven Cane on the divinatory calendar; today such a birth date would augur good luck in all the affairs of life and a potential career as a dutiful priest-shaman or official.

SEVEN CAVES, SEVEN CANYONS Uucub [uukub] pec, uucub ziuan. An epithet for Tulan Zuyua, the citadel where the ruling Quiche lineages acquired their patron deities. Uucub pec is a Quiche translation of Chicomoztoc, the "seven caves" of the mythic Nahua place of origin. The ruins of both Teotihuacan and Xochicalco have natural caves beneath them; Rotten Cane has an artificial cave that penetrates to a point beneath the main plaza.

SEVEN MACAW Uucub caquix [uukub cakix], in which the term for macaw is composed of cak, "red," and perhaps quiix, "feathers." A lord who falsely claimed to be both the sun and moon during the era of the wooden people, causing offense to Hurricane; husband of Chimalmat and father of Zipacna and Earthquake. From his red feathers and from his nose that "shines white", the macaw in question could only be the scarlet macaw (Ara macao), which displays more red feathers than the military macaw (Ara militaris) and contrasts with the latter in having a white beak. The P.V. does not specify Seven Macaw's actual astronomical identification (as contrasted with his false claim to be the sun), but A. gives it as Ursa Major, whose prominent stars (comprising the Big Dipper) number seven. In West Indian Carib myths the Big Dipper has a feathered headdress that shows by day as the rainbow, which suggests that Seven Macaw might also have a rainbow aspect. What the Big Dipper has in common with the rainbow is that its appearance marks the end of storms, only it does so seasonally. In the latitudes of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean, the hurricane season (mid-July to mid-October) begins with nights on which the Big Dipper is already in steep descent at twilight and disappears entirely for as much as half the night, and it ends with the first nights on which all seven stars of the newly ascending Big Dipper appear before dawn. To put this in terms of the P.V., when Hunahpu and Xbalanque (acting on behalf of Hurricane) bring Seven Macaw down out of his tree (or below the horizon), they open the way for the great rain that destroys the people for whom Seven Macaw was the sun.

SEVEN THOUGHT Uucub noh [uukub naoh]. Keeper of the Mat in the eleventh generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Seven Thought on the divinatory calendar. Today, such a birth date would augur an ability to solve problems, potential leadership, and a markedly masculine character.

SHIELD DANCE Pocob, "shield," not only an implement of war but "an ancient dance" (B.). A dance performed by the Quiche lords while they were settled at Bearded Place.

SHOOTING OWL 4habi tucur, in which tucur is "owl"; 4ha is "arrow," but better yet, B. gives chabih as "stoop like a hawk." First-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, a messenger. The four owls of Xibalba are able to reach the eastern ball court used by One and Seven Hunahpu and by One Monkey and One Artisan, but in contrast with Falcon, the messenger of the Heart of Sky, or Hurricane, they are not described as being able to reach the place where the Heart of Sky is located. They may correspond to the planet Mercury, with perhaps one pair of owls for its morning star aspect and the other for its evening star aspect.

SKULL OWL Holom tucur, "head (or skull) owl." Fourth-ranking Military Keeper of the Mat for the lords of Xibalba, a messenger. Along with the other three owl messengers, he may correspond to the planet Mercury (see Shooting Owl).

SKY-EARTH Cahuleu, composed of cah, "sky," and uleu, "earth," but pronounced as a single word. In this context "sky" and "earth" are complementary metonyms that together produce the sense of "world," but without any final reduction of the difference between sky and earth. This composite word is used in contemporary Quiche prayers.

SNATCH-BATS Camazotz [4amazo4,], composed of 4ama, "take," and zo4,, "bat." The bats that inhabit the Bat House of Xibalba. B. lists camotzoh as "an animal that eats the moon." Andres Xiloj commented, "These are not animal bats, but the bats of Xibalba." Today in Rabinal the dance-drama of San Jorge includes a character of this same name.

SORREL GUM Lotz quic [qui4], in which qui4 (literally "blood") is the term for latex or other plant products of a gummy consistency.

SOVEREIGN OLOMAN Tepeu oloman or oliman, from Nahua tepeuani (see Sovereign Plumed Serpent) and ollomani, "ballplayer" (D.). A people, also called Fishkeepers, probably from the Gulf coast of Tabasco or eastern Veracruz. They stayed in the "east" when the Quiche ancestors left there, but later, during the time the Quiches were settled in the citadel of Hacauitz, they participated in a plot against them.

SOVEREIGN PLUMED SERPENT Tepeu 4ucumatz [3ucumatz], in which tepeu is an honorific title and the second word is composed of 3u3, "quetzal bird or quetzal feathers," and cumatz, "snake." Tepeu is from Nahua, in which tepeuani is "conqueror or victor in battle" (D.); Quiche tepeual, a participial form (marked by -al), is translated by B. as "majesty, dignity." 3ucumatz is the equivalent in Quiche of Yucatec Kukulcan and Nahua Quetzalcoatl, both of which names mean "quetzal-plumed serpent." As a god, the Plumed Serpent is nearly always prefixed with tepeu in the P.V.; he numbers among the gods who are covered by the names or epithets Maker, Modeler; Bearer, Begetter; and Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea. In the primordial scene these gods, unlike the god or gods called Heart of Sky, Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, and Raw Thunderbolt, are on or in the sea. Just as the Nahua Quetzalcoatl cooperates with Tezcatlipoca in making the present earth in the midst of the sea, so the Quiche Sovereign Plumed Serpent cooperates with Hurricane; the difference is that the Nahua earth in question was the fifth, whereas the P.V. seems to have it as the first. By the time Rotten Cane was founded, Sovereign Plumed Serpent numbered among the most important of Quiche gods, judging from the fact that the Keeper of the Plumed Serpent

was among the five heads of lordly lineages who were priests, the others being priests of Tohil, Auilix, Hacauitz, and Corntassel. But the writers of the P.V. neither give the story of Sovereign Plumed Serpent's origin nor elaborate his divine attributes, and scarcely a trace of him remains in today's Quiche oral narratives.

SOVEREIGN YAQUI Title of the lord who was ninth in rank among the Cauecs and head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane; he was also called Mother of the Reception House.

SPILT WATER Maca [ma4aa] or pamaca [pama4aa], composed of pa, "at" or "in"; ma4, "spill or fall"; and aa, "water." The town known today as Zacualpa, formerly located two kilometers southeast of its present site. Once a Rabinal citadel, conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab. Today the inhabitants speak Quiche.

STAGGERING Zilizib; zilizab is "sway, swing, stagger" (B.). The place where the tribes (other than the Cakchiquels) pledged themselves to be "suckled" (or to have their hearts cut out) by Tohil in exchange for fire; the name of this place is not mentioned until later.

STAR HOUSE, THOSE OF Ahchumilaha [ah4humilaha], "persons-from-star-house." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

SUDDEN BLOODLETTER Camalotz, probably composed of cahmah, "fright, surprise attack" (V.), and lotz, "to let blood." One of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people.

SUN-MOON Quihic [3ihi4], composed of 3ih, "sun," and i4, "moon," but pronounced as a single word. In this context "sun" and "moon" are complementary metonyms that together produce an abstraction encompassing major heavenly bodies (and major markers of time), but without any final reduction of the difference between sun and moon. The composite concept of sun-moon would include Venus as morning star as well, since the latter has 3ih in its Quiche name (see daybringer).

SWALLOWING SWORDS Xtzul [x4,ul], a proper name of uncertain etymology. The name of a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds. B. describes it as a dance in which masked performers with tortoise-shell rattles put sticks or daggers in their mouths. V. (who specifies 4,, the glottalized tz), describes the masks as small and says that the dancers are two in number (as they are in the P.V.), wear the tails of macaws down their backs, put sticks down their throats and bones into their noses, and give themselves hard blows on their chests with a large stone.

SWEATBATH HOUSE Tuhalha. The people who inhabit the area around Sacapulas today, belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east; they speak a highly distinctive dialect of Quiche. One of the four sections of the town of Sacapulas still bears the name Tuhal.

SWEET DRINK Qui [quii], "sweet," "poison," and (according to G.) "wine or chicha," chicha generally being an alcoholic beverage made by fermenting corn. It is not known for certain what went into the making of quii; the pulque of Mexico (made from maguey) is not reliably reported for indigenous Guatemala, nor is the drink the Yucatec Maya called balche (partly made from honey). What is known about quii is that it required cooking at some stage, that it took three days to

ferment, and that the Four Hundred Boys went "out of their senses" drinking it. The making of balche does not involve cooking, but at least one kind of pulque does (a variety in which maguey cuttings are boiled together with honey prior to fermentation). Pulque and balche are both sweet to the taste before fermentation and bitter afterward; perhaps the seemingly contradictory meanings of quii reflect the paradox of a drink that started out sweet and harmless and ended up bitter and (in sufficient quantities) sickening.

TALK HOUSE Uchabaha [u4habaha], "its-talk-place-house." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

TAMAZUL From Nahua tamazolin, "toad" (C.); the Quiche term for this animal is xpek. The name of the toad that swallowed the louse that carried the message of Xmucane.

TAMS Tamub (singular tam). One of the allied groups of lineages called "the three Quiches," the other two members being the Quiche proper- comprising the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches- and the Ilocs.

TAM TRIBE Amac [ama3] tan, composed of the term for "tribe" and an archaic pronunciation of tam. Place where the Tams gave a home to their patron deity, not far from where the Ilocs, Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches did the same; also the place where the Tams were when the dawn first came.

TEARING JAGUAR Tucumbalam, probably composed of tucun, "scratch" (V.), and balam, "jaguar." One of the monsters that ends the era of the wooden people.

TECUM A Nahua name of uncertain translation. Keeper of the Mat in the ninth generation of Cauec lords; a second Tecum held the same position in the thirteenth generation. The latter Tecum was taken hostage when Rotten Cane fell to the Spanish in 1524; he was the son of Three Deer, the Keeper of the Mat who was executed by Alvarado. Tecum's accession to his father's title was later recognized by Alvarado, who made that position subordinate to himself, but Tecum plotted rebellion and was eventually hanged. He is not to be confused with the warrior named Tecum Umam, who died in a battle with Alvarado's forces before the attack on Rotten Cane took place.

TEPEPUL From Nahua tepe, "mountain," and pol, "big" (C.). Keeper of the Mat in the fifth or sixth generation of Cauec lords; taken prisoner in an attack on the Cakchiquels. Another Tepepul was Keeper of the Mat in the eighth generation of Cauec lords, and still others were Keepers of the Reception House Mat in the ninth and thirteenth generations of Cauec lords. This last Tepepul, along with the last Tecum, was taken hostage when Rotten Cane fell to the Spanish in 1524; he was the son of Nine Dog, the Keeper of the Reception House Mat who was executed by Alvarado. Tepepul's accession to his father's title was later recognized by Alvarado, who made that position subordinate to himself, but Tepepul plotted rebellion and was hanged in 1540.

THORNY PLACE Chiquix [chi4ix], "at thorns." Citadel of the Quiche lords after they left Hacauitz and before they built Bearded Place. It was divided into four parts or "mountains": Dry Place, Bark House, Culba, and Cauinal. Dry Place is chichac [chichak], "at dryness"; Bark House is humetaha, composed of humeta, "bark," and ha, "house." Thorny Place doubtless corresponds to the archaeological site known today

as Cauinal (beneath a mountain of the same name), on the Rio Blanco near its confluence with the Rio Negro or Chixoy, about twenty kilometers northwest of Rabinal. The site has four main plazas, two on each side of the Rio Blanco; it is located in a dry region dominated by xerophytic vegetation, in which it contrasts with most of the area occupied by the Quiches today.

THREE DEER Oxib quieh. Keeper of the Mat in the twelfth generation of Cauec lords, apparently born on the day Three Deer on the divinatory calendar. Today such a birth date would augur a domineering, articulate, and masculine character, with possible shamanic inclinations, but because of the low number, these qualities would be present in only moderate quantity. According to the P.V. Three Deer was hanged by the Castilians; other sources have him burned at the stake. In any case he and Nine Dog were executed by Alvarado in 1524, immediately following the fall of Rotten Cane.

THRONG BIRDS 4,iquin molai, "birds joined together." Possibly a mythic species, or possibly referring to a flock rather than a species. One of the obstacles on the road to Xibalba (the underworld).

TOHIL Patron deity of the Cauec, Tam, and Iloc lineages; the name sometimes covers the patron deities of the Greathouse and Lord Quiche lineages as well, Auilix and Hacauitz. Apparently the name is composed of Toh, one of the twenty day names of the 260-day calendar, and -il, "having the quality of"; Toh may be related to Cholan tohokna, "the way in which clouds join," and tohmel, "thunder" (C.), but the classic Maya predecessor of Tohil at Palenque carries the name Tahil, meaning "Torch Mirror" or "Obsidian Mirror" (S.). Tahil is shown with a burning torch sticking out of the mirror on his forehead; Tohil is a giver of fire, pivoting inside his own sandal like a fire drill. The one-leggedness suggested by the fire drill, together with the fact that Tohil can cause great rainstorms, identify him as an aspect of Hurricane (see above). The stone whose genius or spirit familiar was Tohil was carried in a backpack by Jaguar Quitze, founder of the Cauecs, when he left Tulan Zuyua. He placed this stone on a mountain that came to be called Patohil, literally "At Tohil," apparently located above or near Concealment Canyon, where the god Auilix was placed. A temple dedicated to Tohil was later built at Rotten Cane (see Great Monument of Tohil); those bringing tribute to Rotten Cane, which was probably payable on days named Toh, gave offerings to Tohil before they made their presentations to the Quiche lords. The present character of the day Toh seems to reflect its past connection with tribute. One of the divinatory mnemonics for the meaning of this day is tohonic, "to pay," indicating that the client owes offerings to the gods and the ancestors. In visits to shrines, daykeepers use Toh days to make up for delinquent ritual obligations.

TOHIL MEDICINE Cunabal tohil, "cure-instrument Tohil." An epithet given to Concealment Canyon after Tohil was placed nearby on the mountain called Patohil. This epithet may be based on a bilingual pun on the place name Patohil; Nahuatl patli means "medicine" (D.).

TOHIL'S BATH Ratinibal tohil, "his-bathing-place Tohil." During the time when the Quiche lords occupied the citadel of Hacauitz, the spirit familiars of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were regularly seen bathing at this place (location unknown).

TONATIUH Donadiu, a Nahua word meaning "sun." This was the name

given by the Indians of central Mexico to Pedro de Alvarado before he came to Guatemala.

TORTILLA GRIDDLE Xot. A round and slightly concave pottery griddle, used in toasting tortillas; better known in Mesoamerica as the comal, from Nahua comalli.

TRASH MASTER, STAB MASTER Ahal mez, ahal tocob [to3ob], "owner filth (or trash), owner puncture wound." These lords of Xibalba rank ninth and tenth in earlier lists but are omitted from later ones. See also Bloody Teeth, Bloody Claws.

TRUE JAGUAR Iquibalam, with balam, "jaguar," possibly prefixed with iki- (V.) or iqui- (X.). This prefix can be combined with a3ab, "hand," to give "right hand," and with tzih, "word," to give "truth" (V.); it is probably present in the expression of affirmation given by B. as iquiquih. True Jaguar was one of the first four human males, but he had no son and therefore did not found a lineage.

TULAN From Nahua tollan, "Place of Reeds (or Cattails)." A term widely used in Mesoamerica to prefix the names of places where the investiture of Toltecan lords could take place. The P.V. states that the Quiches, Cakchiquels, and various other tribes were assigned their patron deities at Tulan, before the first sunrise; it locates Tulan in the east, perhaps recalling the direction from which the Quiches happened to be moving immediately before coming into the region of their present home rather than the absolute spatial relationship between that home and Tulan. Tulan is nearly always joined to the name Zuyua in the P.V. (see below).

UNDER TEN Xelahuh, "under (or below) ten"; the full name (not given in the P.V.) is xelahuh queh, "Under Ten Deer." This town is still called Xelaju or Xela in everyday Guatemalan speech, whether in Spanish or in an indigenous language, but in government documents and on maps it is known by a slightly altered form of its Nahau name, Quezaltenango (it should be spelled Quetzaltenango, meaning "Quetzal Citadel"). Its former location, when it was truly a citadel, must have been on one of the hilltops in the vicinity of the present town, but the exact site is not known. It was among the citadels conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

UNDER THE TWINE, UNDER THE CORD Xebalax, xecamac, in which xe- may be "under" but could also be a verb prefix indicating completed action and the third person plural; balax may be a passive form of bal, "to make or twist a cord" (V.), and camac may be 4aamak, a perfect form of 4aamah, "to cord (measure land with a cord)." A place in Chulimal or perhaps an epithet for Chulimal. This is where the heads of vassal lineages were elevated to lordship and assigned to conquered territories during the reign of Quicab; the name may allude to the setting of boundaries for these territories.

VASSALS Al4ahol, "children," a composite term made up of al, "child (of a woman)," and 4ahol, "son (of a man)." The term for members of commoner lineages owing fealty to lordly lineages. Vassalage was a sort of kinship by adoption, but note that the term clouds or averts the issue of lineality by including the term for a woman's children. During the reign of Quicab the first-ranking male members of many vassal lineages were elevated to lordship.

WALKING ON STILTS Chitic, "to go on stilts" (B.). The name of a dance done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds.

WEASEL, DANCE OF THE Xahoh cux, "dance weasel." The name of a dance

done by Hunahpu and Xbalanque in their guise as vagabonds. B. mentions a dance (cux) done with weasel skins.

WHITE CORNMEALS Zacahib [zak4ahib], "white-cornmeal-plural." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east. They must have settled in the area of the present town of Salcaja, which is called zak4aha in Quiche.

WHITE DAGGER Zaqui toc [zaki to3]; V. gives to3 as "knife" or "stab"; it is the Cholan term for implements of flaked stone (K.), which are cha in Quiche. The name of the sacrificial knife belonging to the lords of Xibalba and of the ball (containing this knife) they are anxious to use in their game with Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

WHITE EARTHS Zaculeuab [zakuleuab], "white-earth-plural." A tribe named after the citadel of Zakuleu (located five kilometers west of the present town of Huehuetenango) and comprising part or all of the speakers of the Mayan language known today as Mam. The P.V. does not claim that the Quiche lords conquered Zakuleu itself, but rather a separate citadel belonging to the White Earths, named Above the Hot Springs.

WHITE RIVER Zaqui ya [zaki yaa], "white water." A place four kilometers west of Chichicastenango, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

WHITE ROAD Zaquibe [zakibe]. One of four cosmic roads (see Crossroads). Today, at least, this is the term for the solid white portion of the Milky Way, as opposed to the Road of Xibalba (see above), which is the portion divided by a dark cleft.

WHITE SPARKSTRIKER Zaqui coxol [zaki 4oxol], composed of zaki, "white"; 4oxo, a verb stem used for the act of striking stones together "to start a fire" (V.); and -l, agentive. In the P.V. this being escapes into the shelter of the woods when the sun first rises, taking along the animals that were petrified by the sun; in the present-day Quiche dance-drama of the Conquest, he or she (the sex is ambiguous) escapes into the woods to avoid Spanish domination. In the drama the White Sparkstriker appears as a dwarf dressed entirely in red, but may have silver clothing in dreams and visions. When the sun rose and petrified the first animals, the White Sparkstriker escaped into a tree and is now the keeper of the petrified animals (iron concretions that resemble animals) and may be encountered in caves, in deep woods, and at night. In some manifestations the White Sparkstriker carries a stone hatchet- the one he-she used to strike sheet lightning into the bodies of the first daykeepers, according to Vicente de Leon Abac.

WHITE VULTURE Zac cuch [zak 4uch]. The king vulture (Sarcoramphus papa), a lowland species which has a naked red head and black flight feathers but is otherwise white.

WILLOW TREE Tzolohchee, "willow tree." The town known today as Santa Maria Chiquimula. One of the citadels conquered by the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

WING, PACKSTRAP Xic [xi4], patan, "wing, packstrap," the latter referring to a strip of hide used to protect the forehead when a load is carried with a tumpline. These lords of Xibalba rank eleventh and twelfth in earlier lists and ninth and tenth in later ones.

XBALANQUE The younger brother of Hunahpu and the son of One Hunahpu

and Blood Woman; the full meaning of his name remains uncertain. X- is archaic in Quiche but means "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.); balan is from balam, "jaguar"; que could be from queh, "deer," or it could be like 3e in the Kekchi Maya term for "sun," zak3e, which is composed of zak, "light," and 3e, "day" (F.). It has been reported that one of the names of the sun god among the contemporary Kekchi is xbalam3e (F.), which recalls the fact that Hunahpu and Xbalanque become the sun and moon in the P.V. If the name Xbalanque literally means "Little Jaguar Sun" in the P.V., it could refer specifically to the full moon, which is metaphorically called "sun" by contemporary Quiches; that would leave other phases of the moon to his mother, Blood Woman. In Pokomchi Maya, xbalanque or xbalamque is the term for species of fish of the family that includes perch and bass (Z.), which recalls the fact that Hunahpu and Xbalanque are described as taking the form of channel catfish after their ground bones are thrown in water; perhaps it was specifically Hunahpu who became a catfish, whereas Xbalanque became a bass.

XBAQUIYALO The x- is archaic in Quiche but "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.); the rest is of uncertain derivation but could include bak, "bone" or "pit (of a fruit)." The wife of One Hunahpu and the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan.

XCANUL [X4anul], in which the x- is archaic in Quiche but "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.). In the P.V. this is a proper name for what is now called the Volcan Santa Maria (note the feminine gender), nine kilometers south of Quezaltenango, but in the present-day vocabulary of the western part of the Quiche-speaking region it is a generic term for volcano.

XCUXEBA See Councilor of the Ball Court.

XIBALBA Probably derived, in part, from the same root as xibih, "frighten"; the -al might have been participial and the final -ba could have been -bal, "place of." The underworld, located below the face of the earth (uuach uleu) but at the same time conceptualized as being accessible by way of a road that descends cliffs and canyons, probably in the general direction of the lowlands that lie to the Atlantic side of the Guatemalan highlands. In Yucatec Maya, Xibalba is one of the names for the lord of the lowest underworld. See also Road of Xibalba.

XPIYACOC, XMUCANE Divine grandparents, probably older than all the other gods; parents of One and Seven Hunahpu; patrons of the diviners known as daykeepers (see above). Their epithets include Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light (though Xpiyacoc is male); Maker of the Blue-Green Plate, Maker of the Blue-Green Bowl; Great White Peccary, Great White Tapir; and Bearer twice over, Begetter twice over (as if to make them even older than the gods who are simply called Bearer, Begetter). They are also described (respectively) as a midwife and matchmaker, which are specialized subfields of contemporary daykeepers (female and male respectively). That Xpiyacoc is named first, reversing the normal feminine-masculine order of Quiche phrasing, may reflect the fact that the two of them are the Quiche counterparts of Cipactonal and Oxomoco, an old divining couple named in masculine-feminine order in Nahua. The meaning of the Quiche names is unclear, except that the initial x-, though archaic in Quiche, means "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.). The feminine aspect of Xpiyacoc recalls the fact that contemporary

daykeepers (of either sex) are symbolically androgynous, female on the left side of the body and male on the right. Andres Xiloj suggested that the -pi- in Xpiyacoc might be -pe-, "to come," and he derived -yac- from yequic (yaquic in some dialects), "to be put in order, to be lifted up," a verb diviners use with reference to the problems of clients. In classical Quiche yaco is a numeral classifier for counting tribute (B.); the yaco in Xpiyacoc could refer to the counting (and manipulation) of the divining seeds rather than to the "lifting up" of the client. In the case of Xmucane, Xiloj derived mucane from moconic, "to do something requested" or "to do a favor"; he pointed out that a diviner who has ascertained the cause of a problem may then be hired to make prayers and offerings on behalf of the client. To this day, a daykeeper ideally has a spouse who is also a daykeeper, and the divinations with the clearest outcomes are the ones they do together.

XTAH, XPUCH The x- is archaic in Quiche but "she of" or "small" in Cholan (K.). The two women sent (by tribes hostile to the Quiches) to seduce Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. On the positive side, -tah could be read as "goods, riches, gifts" (V.), and xpuch could be read as a borrowing from Nahua ichpuchtli, "maiden" (D.). On the other hand, tahih is "to sin many times" (V.), and puchu is "to smash, disembowel" (B.).

XTAYUB Possibly a variant spelling of Iztayul (see above). Keeper of the Reception House Mat in the eighth generation of Cauec lords.

XULU, PACAM Names of the diviners consulted by the lords of Xibalba on the question of how to dispose of the remains of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. V. describes xulu as "[spirit] familiars appearing alongside rivers"; an ahxulu, or "keeper of Xulu," is a curer (V.) or a diviner (B.). Pacam could be composed of pa, "at" or "in," and cam, "bridge" (B.).

YACOLATAM, OR EDGE OF THE ZACLATOL MAT Yacolatam, utzam pop zaclatol; yaco- is "to lift," and V. gives yac as a particle for counting tribute; utzam pop is "its-edge (possibly fringe) mat"; zac is likely zak, "white" or "light"; the rest is untranslatable. Yacolatam is listed by itself the second time it is mentioned. Title of the lord who ranked eighth among the Greathouses and was head of one of the nine great houses into which their lineage was divided after the founding of Rotten Cane.

YAQUI PEOPLE Yaqui uinac [uinak], in which yaqui is Nahua for "gone, departed" (C.) and uinak is Quiche for "people." This refers to Nahua speakers who were present in the citadel of Tulan Zuyua at the same time the Quiches, Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and those of the Bird House (Tzutuhils) were there; according to the P.V., their god (called Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat) was equivalent to Tohil. See also "The Blame Is Ours."

YAQUI SOVEREIGN Probably the same as the Yaqui people (see above).

YARROW Holom ocox, "head of mushroom." A common aromatic herb in the Guatemalan highlands, named for the shape of its composite flower head, which consists of numerous tiny, closely spaced white blossoms; probably Stevia eupatoria, called pericon blanco in Spanish. In the P.V. (as among today's Quiche) the burning of this herb, together with marigolds (see above), constitutes a more modest offering than the burning of copal incense.

YELLOWBITE Canti [3anti], in which 3an is "yellow" and ti is from the same root as tiinic, "to eat (meat)." The snake commonly known

as the fer-de-lance, which has a yellow zone around the mouth.

YELLOW ROAD 3anabe. One of four cosmic roads (see Crossroads).

YELLOWWOOD Cante [3ante], in which 3an is "yellow" and te is Cholan for "wood" or "tree" (C.). A. gives 3ante as the madre cacao (Gliricidia sepium), a large tree that is planted to provide shade in cacao plantations. Hunahpu and Xbalanque send One Monkey and One Artisan up this tree in order to transform them into monkeys.

YOKE Bate, from Cholan bat, which is today "ax, shovel, blade," and te, "wood, tree" (C.). Part of the equipment necessary for the ball game played in the P.V. (see gaming equipment). Each player in the Mesoamerican ball game had a yoke-shaped object of wood riding on his hips; it was with this yoke that he returned the ball, which could not be touched with the hands while it was in play. The upper, outer rim of this yoke is often depicted with a mildly sharpened edge. Among all the words for the gaming equipment in the P.V., bate is the best candidate as a term for the yoke. First of all, bate is used as a term for the game itself over wide areas of Mesoamerica; since the yoke is one of the most distinctive features of the game, it could well have given its name to the game itself at some remote point in the past. Second, it was the bate with which Hunahpu and Xbalanque received and returned the ball when they played the game against the lords of Xibalba.

YOKE HOUSE, THOSE OF Ahbatenaba, "person-from-yoke-plural-house." A people belonging to a group of thirteen allied tribes the Quiches regarded as having come (like themselves) from the east.

YOLCUAT From Nahua yol, "heart," and coatl, "snake" (C.). One of the names of the god of the Yaqui people, who is said by the writers of the P.V. to be the same as Tohil.

ZAPOTES Tulul. A tropical fruit (Lucuma mammosa), sometimes called "sapota" in English. The tan skin resembles suede; the flesh is chocolate-colored.

ZAQUIC A lordly lineage divided into two great houses after the founding of Rotten Cane; not mentioned as having come from the east with the lordly Quiche lineages or as having been present at Tulan. The Zaquics may have been indigenous to the area around Chinique, and they may have been adopted by the Cauecs, Greathouses, and Lord Quiches to fill out an ideal foursome that was left short by the fact that True Jaguar (one of the first four human males) had no sons.

ZAQUICAZ V. gives zaki3az as "a very thick snake that flees when it sees people, making a noise with its belly." This is the snake that swallows the toad that swallows the louse that carries the message of Xmucane.

ZIPACNA Derived from the same source as Nahua cipactli, referring to a mythological animal, with the features of a crocodile and sometimes those of a shark, that gives its name to the Nahua day corresponding to Imox on the Quiche calendar. That Zipacna hunts fish and crabs from a position on shore fits the crocodile identification, but the Quiche term for crocodile, ayin, does not occur in the P.V. Zipacna is the son of Seven Macaw and Chimalmat and the elder brother of Earthquake; he claims to be the maker of mountains and even of the earth in general.

ZIYA HOUSE Ziyaha, in which -ha is "house." A place of unknown location, occupied by vassals of the Quiche lords during the reign of Quicab.

ZUYUA In the P.V. this name (sometimes rendered as zuua) always appears as part of the compound name Tulan Zuyua, referring to the town where the Quiches and related peoples are said to have been given the stones containing the spirit familiars of their patron deities (see also Tulan). Zuyua was probably on the system of lakes, lagoons, and estuaries that stretches from southwestern Campeche through Tabasco to eastern Veracruz, known in Nahua as Nonoalco. The etymology of the name remains unsolved.

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THE END

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POPOL VUH

Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya People

Translation and Commentary by
Allen J. Christenson

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To my wife, Janet

Xa at nu saqil, at nu k'aslemal
Chib'e q'ij saq

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modern usage were invaluable. I purchased a copy of his “Basic Quiché Grammar” in 1976 to help in my quest to learn the language at a time when such aids were very rare. The book was a steadfast friend and companion during the next few years. Not only was it a brilliant work but it proved to be just the size and weight to dispatch mosquitos on the wall of my adobe shack. I thus owe to him, not only much of my initial knowledge of the K'iche' language, but my red blood cell count in those days as well.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

A little over twenty years ago I helped to compile a dictionary in the Quiché-Maya language in the mountains of northwestern Guatemala near a small village called Chihul. At the time, Quiché was almost completely an orally-communicated language, with very few native speakers who could read or write it. One summer evening, after a long day of work with one of my best sources, I realized that I had lost track of time and needed to hurry down to the valley where I had a small home before it got dark. The region had no electricity and hiking steep mountain trails at night was dangerous, particularly because of the numerous packs of wild (and often rabid) dogs that roamed freely about. I therefore started down a small footpath that appeared to be a more direct route than the usual winding road taken by buses.

About a third the way down the mountainside, I passed an isolated adobe and thatch house built in a clearing surrounded by pine forest. A small group of men were seated on a low wooden bench in front of the house conversing. When they saw me, they called out a greeting and beckoned me to join them. After introductions were properly exchanged, a requirement in formal Quiché conversation, I was offered a warm cup of toasted corn coffee and a space on the bench was opened up for me to sit down.

One of the men had heard that there was a fair-skinned young man that people called *raqän us* (mosquito legs) who was visiting in Chihul, and he asked if that would be me. My name is difficult to pronounce in Quiché, so I had been given that rather unfortunate nickname, derived no doubt from my lanky physique in those days. I told him that I was the one they had heard about. They asked what I was doing, and I explained that I was interested in collecting the words of his people so that I could carry them with me back to my own town beyond the mountains to the north. Another of the men was curious as to how I could "collect" words and carry them away, since he assumed that his language could only be

spoken, not written.

Quichés in that area had, of course, seen documents and books like the Bible written in Spanish but had little conception at that time that it was possible to use phonetic letters to record their own language. This is a great tragedy, because until about five hundred years ago the Maya were the most literate people in the Americas, preserving their history and culture with a sophisticated hieroglyphic script in hundreds of folded screen books. The Spanish conquest in the early sixteenth century was a devastating blow to Maya literacy in Mexico and Guatemala. Christian missionaries burned great numbers of hieroglyphic texts in an attempt to eradicate indigenous religious practices. Native scribes were singled out for persecution to such an extent that within one hundred years, the art of hieroglyphic writing had virtually disappeared from among the Maya people.

My new friends were therefore very interested in the notes I had written that day in their language. Excited by the possibility of preserving their own thoughts in written form, they asked me to demonstrate how to write a number of words and phrases. After writing a few phrases for them in Quiché, I asked the oldest of them if he would like me to write something for him. He said that he did and I waited a long time for the words he wished me to write. Finally he asked me to record a few brief words of counsel for his son. I didn't know it at the time but his five year old boy was the last of twelve children, all of whom had died in childhood, mostly to tuberculosis. That week his last surviving child had begun to cough up blood and he knew that his hope for posterity would inevitably die with him.

By this time I knew I would never make it down to the valley before dark so my elderly friend invited me to stay in his corn loft. Before the others left for the night, I asked if they would like to hear the words of their fathers. This was greeted with indulgent smiles of disbelief, since few of their parents were alive and they were sure that I couldn't have known them. But I told them that it wasn't their fathers' words that I carried with me, but rather those of their fathers' fathers' (repeated many times) fathers, dating back nearly five hundred years. I happened to have with me a copy of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript, a book that was compiled in the mid-sixteenth century at a town that still exists less than thirty miles from where we sat. I began to read from the first page of the book:

> THIS IS THE ACCOUNT of when all is still silent and placid. All is silent and calm. Hushed and empty is the womb of the sky.
>
> THESE, then, are the first words, the first speech. There is not yet one person, one animal, bird, fish, crab, tree, rock, hollow, canyon, meadow, or forest. All alone the sky exists. The face of the earth has not yet appeared. Alone lies the expanse of the sea, along with the womb of all the sky. There is not yet anything gathered together. All is at rest. Nothing stirs. All is languid, at rest in the sky. There is not yet anything standing erect. Only the expanse of the water, only the tranquil sea lies alone. There is not yet anything that might exist. All lies placid and silent in the darkness, in the night.
>
> All alone are the Framer and the Shaper, Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, They Who Have Borne Children and They Who Have Begotten Sons. Luminous they are in the water, wrapped in quetzal feathers and cotinga feathers. (*Popol Vuh*, pp. 67-69)

After I had read a page or two from the account of the creation of the earth, I stopped and waited for their reaction. No one spoke for some time. Finally, the elderly man with the sick boy asked if he might hold the unbound pages of the manuscript copy for a moment. He gently took it from my hands and with great care turned its pages.

"These are the words of my ancient fathers?" he asked.

"Yes."

"Do you know what you have done for them?" I wasn't quite sure what he meant, so I didn't answer at first. "You make them live again by speaking their words."

The word he used was *k'astajisaj*, meaning "to cause to have life," or "to resurrect." The written word has the power to survive the death of its author, to preserve the most precious souvenirs of human existence—thoughts, hopes, ideals, and acquaintance with the sacred. We tend to take writing for granted. The Maya do not. The ability to write words and have them preserved long after the death of the author is a miracle.

Many of the larger highland Maya communities possess wooden chests containing books and clothing owned by their ancestors which they revere as precious relics. These objects are said to bear the *k'ux*, or "heart" of the ancestors. On special occasions, the contents are

removed ceremonially to “feed” them with offerings of incense and prayers. Many of these books are of great antiquity. I attended the opening of one of these old chests in the town of Santiago Atitlán which contained a number of loose manuscript pages, birth and death registries, and several bound leather books, one of which I could see was a seventeenth century missal.

When brought out into the open, such books are reverently offered incense and prayers, but no attempt is made to open them or read them. Partly this is because few contemporary Maya know how to read the early script of the colonial period, and partly out of respect for the words themselves. When the words of the ancestors are read, or spoken aloud, it is as if that person had returned from death to speak again. Reading ancient texts is therefore a very delicate matter, filled with peril if the words are not treated with sufficient respect.

While working as an ethnographer and translator in the Guatemalan highlands, I collaborated with a number of Maya shaman-priests called *aj q'ijab'* (they of days, or daykeepers). Prior to reading the words of ancient Maya manuscripts like the *Popol Vuh*, it was customary for one of them, don Vicente de León Abac of Momostenango, to first purify my xeroxed copy of the text by waving copal incense smoke over it and asking forgiveness of the ancestors who had written the original for disturbing them. When I asked why he did this, he replied that to read the thoughts of ancient ancestors is to make their spirits present in the room and give them a living voice. Such power must be approached with great seriousness, and all care taken to be faithful to their original ideas in any transcription or translation. At the end of our work sessions, he politely dismissed the gods and ancestors involved in that day’s reading with his thanks and asked pardon for any offense we might have given.

Most of the people who lived on the American continents prior to the arrival of Europeans lacked a written script. Even in Mesoamerica, where there was a long tradition of hieroglyphic writing among some of the ancient cultures of the region, such as the Maya and Zapotecs, other neighboring cultures preserved their history and theology principally through the spoken word, passed from generation to generation. This was true even of highly sophisticated cultures such as the Aztecs, whose painted texts relied primarily on a rebus or picture form of writing incapable of recording abstract ideas phonetically. Yet the concept of

oral poetry held by the Aztecs is exemplary of the view of such discourse throughout Mesoamerica, including the Maya.

For the ancient Aztecs the highest form of sacred communication was poetry, what they called *xochicuicatl* ("flower-song"). These were delicately beautiful hymns meant to be recited orally, often to musical accompaniment. In paintings, Aztec poets are depicted with speech scrolls issuing from their mouths. These scrolls are often colored a rich blue or green, symbolic of the precious nature of the poets' words as if they were composed of jade or sacred quetzal feathers. Aztecs looked upon poetry as the actualization of a creative act inspired by divinites who were called upon to be present at the performance. Thus the poet Ayocuan Cuetzpaltzin of Tecamachalco believed that his songs came from heaven, but lamented that his own words could not express them as they came undefiled from the gods:

> From within the heavens they come,
> The beautiful flowers, the beautiful songs.
> Our longing spoils them,
> Our inventiveness makes them lose their fragrance. (León-Portilla 1980, 257)

Such songs exist only at the moment of their performance, their sound hanging briefly in the air, then fading to silence. It is only when they are spoken that they reveal their divine origin, transforming the poet into a messenger of deity:

> Now I am going to forge songs,
> Make a stem flowering with songs,
> Oh my friends!
> God has sent me as a messenger.
> I am transformed into a poem. (León-Portilla 1969, 80)

Most poems were learned by heart and were lost forever if forgotten. Thus Aztec poetry had no permanent reality of its own, no more than a dream. It is only by an accident of history that we know of them at all. Soon after the Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire in 1521, a few Spanish missionaries such as Fr. Andrés de Olmos and Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún attempted to preserve long transcriptions of ancient Aztec history, theology, and poetry utilizing the Latin script. Olmos and Sahagún relied for these accounts on elderly

members of the Aztec nobility who had memorized them in their youth. Unfortunately these invaluable books were vigorously suppressed soon after their completion for fear that the Indians would learn of them and use them as an excuse to revert to their former paganism. Sahagún himself faced censure in 1577 for his work during the reign of King Philip II, who ordered his representative in Mexico to gather all copies of Sahagún's transcriptions of Aztec texts and secrete them away:

> It seems that it is not proper that this book be published or disseminated in those places.... We thus command that, upon receiving this Cedula, you obtain these books with great care and diligence; that you make sure that no original or copy of them is left there; and that you have them sent in good hands at the first opportunity to our Council of Indies in order that they may be examined there. And you are warned absolutely not to allow any person to write concerning the superstitions and ways of life of these Indians in any language, for this is not proper to God's service and to ours. (León-Portilla 1980, 38)

The Spanish authorities realized that preserving a record of the literary heritage of the Aztecs constituted an intolerable danger to their own political and religious domination of the region. By suppressing cultural memory, missionaries could more effectively extirpate it from the life of the people they sought to convert to Christianity.

The suppression of indigenous culture was far more difficult among the Maya who did not have to rely on the spoken word to preserve their literary heritage. More than fifteen hundred years prior to the Spanish conquest, the Maya developed a sophisticated hieroglyphic script capable of recording complex literary compositions, both on folded screen codices made of bark paper as well as texts incised on more durable stone or wood. The importance of preserving written records was a hallmark of Maya culture as witnessed by the thousands of known hieroglyphic inscriptions, many more of which are still being discovered in the jungles of southern Mexico and northern Central America.

Being a phonetic script rather than a pictorial form of writing, Maya hieroglyphs were capable of recording any idea that could be spoken. Ancient Maya scribes were among the most honored members of creative society. They were often important representatives of the royal family, and as such were believed to carry the seeds of divinity within their blood. Among the titles given to artists and scribes in Classic period Maya inscriptions were *itz'aat*

("sage") and *miyaatz* ("wise one"). In an important royal tomb at Tikal (Burial 116), an incised bone depicts a deified scribe's hand emerging from the gullet of an open-mouthed creature. In Classic Maya art, the open jaws represent a portal that leads from this world to the world of the gods. In his or her hand is a calligraphic paintbrush used to both write and illustrate the ancient Maya codex books. The message of this incised bone is that the activities of the scribe come closest to those of the gods themselves, who paint the realities of this world as divine artists.

The Spanish conquest of the Maya region in the sixteenth century resulted in the abrupt destruction of indigenous political power as well as many of its cultural institutions. Christianity was formally established in Guatemala in 1534 under Bishop Francisco Marroquín, who sent out priests with portable altars to the various highland Maya towns and villages in an effort to baptize the indigenous population and to destroy any remnants of "idolatry" that they might find. Ancient temples, as well as the carved and painted images which they contained, were systematically destroyed, their stones used to build Christian churches. Missionaries singled out hieroglyphic codices for destruction in an effort to protect the Indians from their former religious beliefs. Alonso de Zorita wrote that in 1540 he saw numerous such books in the Guatemalan highlands which "recorded their history for more than eight hundred years back, and which were interpreted for me by very ancient Indians" (Zorita 1963, 271-2). Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas lamented that when found, such books were destroyed:

> These books were seen by our clergy, and even I saw part of those which were burned by the monks, apparently because they thought [they] might harm the Indians in matters concerning religion, since at that time they were at the beginning of their conversion. (Las Casas 1958, 346)

One of the most zealous of these early missionaries was Fr. Diego de Landa who burned hundreds of ancient Maya books while serving as the bishop at Maní in northern Yucatán:

> We found a large number of books of these characters, and as they contained nothing in which there were not to be seen superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which they regretted to an amazing degree and which caused them much affliction. (Landa 1941, 78)

Of the numerous hieroglyphic books that once existed in the Maya lowlands, all that escaped the Spanish purges of the sixteenth century are four incomplete codices. Of those written in the highlands of Guatemala, not a single Precolumbian codex is known to have survived.

But these tragic acts of destruction did not mean that Maya literacy ended with the arrival of the Europeans. Soon after the Spanish conquest, literate members of the highland Maya nobility made a number of transcriptions of their Precolumbian books utilizing a modified Latin script in an effort to preserve what they could of their recorded history and culture before they could be destroyed or lost. By far the most important extant example of such a transcription is the *Popol Vuh*, a lengthy document composed by anonymous members of the Quiché-Maya aristocracy in Guatemala soon after the fall of their capital city to the Spanish conquerors. The authors of the manuscript described the text as an *ilb'al* (instrument of sight) by which the reader may "envision" the thoughts and actions of the gods and sacred ancestors from the beginning of time and into the future. The opening chapters of the *Popol Vuh* describe the creation of all things as if it were occuring in the immediate present, time folding back upon itself to transport the reader into the primordial waters of chaos at the very moment the first land emerged:

> THIS IS THE ACCOUNT of when all is still silent and placid. All is silent and calm. Hushed and empty is the womb of the sky.... The face of the earth has not yet appeared. Alone lies the expanse of the sea, along with the womb of all the sky. There is not yet anything gathered together. All is at rest. Nothing stirs. (*Popol Vuh*, p. 67)

This passage is written in present progressive tense, suggesting that the narrator *sees* it before him as he writes. This is consistent with the way stories are told in contemporary Quiché households. The storyteller invites the listener to imagine the setting of his tale, and nearly always tells the story as if it were happening right then, even if it happened in the distant or mythic past.

The text of the *Popol Vuh* was kept hidden by indigenous elders for centuries in the town of Chichicastenango in Guatemala. So successful were these efforts to preserve early Colonial texts that two hundred years after the Conquest, a Spanish priest living in

Chichicastenango named Francisco Ximénez wrote that the people of that town possessed many ancient books, including the manuscript of the *Popol Vuh*. Ximénez wrote that these books were kept in secret so that local Christian authorities would not learn of them. Far from being forgotten tales, he found that these texts were "the doctrine which they first imbibed with their mother's milk, and that all of them knew it almost by heart" (Ximénez 1929-31, I.i.5). Ximénez was able to convince the elders who kept the *Popol Vuh* manuscript to allow him to borrow it for the purpose of making a copy.

After Ximénez made his copy, the original text was presumably given back to the Maya although it has not been seen since the early 1700s. Today we, in the Western world, know of this great book only through Ximénez's transcription, which has become one of the principal resources used by European and American scholars who study Maya history and theology. It is unfortunate, however, that the great majority of Maya people have not had access to it for centuries in their own language. Literacy has slowly eroded away among the contemporary Maya such that few are literate in their native tongue. The sacred records of the Maya were forcibly taken from them and destroyed in the fires of the Spanish conquest. It is only in the past hundred years or so that fragments of what they have lost are beginning to be rediscovered and read widely. For the Maya each ancient word, whether read or spoken aloud, is life-giving in its power to reach across the centuries. The Maya people can understand the preciousness of such documents in ways that we who have never been denied literacy can hardly imagine.

In preparing this translation of the *Popol Vuh*, I often remembered that evening near Chihul when I had the opportunity to read passages from this great book to its authors' descendents. The words were meant for them, not me. In translating the text, I have tried to bear in mind that this process gives voice to the ancients so that their words may be heard again. It is my sincerest hope that I have been faithful to their voices.

This work is published in two volumes. The first consists of an English translation of the *Popol Vuh* with commentary aimed at elucidating the meaning of the text in light of contemporary highland Maya speech and practices, as well as current scholarship in Maya linguistics, archaeology, ethnography, and art historical iconography. No text can be translated from one language into another without losing a certain amount of the beauty and

nuance of the original. The poet Stéphane Mallarmé felt that his poetry should never be translated because the symbolism, flow, and sound of the words were so closely bound to the French language. To convey even a portion of the associated meaning that colored his poems would require extensive explanatory notes, and for Mallarmé "to *name* an object is to suppress three-quarters of the enjoyment to be found in the poem, which consists in the pleasure of discovering things little by little: *suggestion*, that is the dream" (Lucie-Smith 1972, 54).

To a great extent, this is also true of the language found in the *Popol Vuh*, which is replete with esoteric language, plays on words, and phrases chosen for their sound and rhythm as much as for their meaning. I've tried to adhere as closely as possible to the tone and syntax of the Quiché text, however, certain liberties are unavoidable in order to make the narrative understandable in the English language. For example, the Quiché language stresses passive verb constructions, which when translated into European languages are difficult to follow. The authors of the *Popol Vuh* also routinely used passive forms to create gerunds that are hopelessly awkward in English. Thus, the words "manifestation, declaration, and expression" in lines 11-13 are actually written, "its being manifested, its being declared, its being expressed."

To partially compensate for the inadequacy of a grammatic English version to adhere precisely to the wording of the original, the second volume of this work contains a "literal" word for word translation of the text. I have chosen to use this arrangement because I believe that language is reflective of the flavor of the culture that utilizes it. When the original phraseology and grammatical construction of the ancient text is preserved, subtle nuances of meaning become evident. The first line of the *Popol Vuh* declares the book to be *u xe' ojer tzij*, which may be translated literally as "its root ancient word." The phrase indicates that this is the beginning of the ancient history of the Quiché people. The remainder of the book is thus seen as growing like a plant from this "root." The imagery is a beautiful expression of the Quiché world view as an agricultural society.

One of my hopes for this project was to make the original Quiché text of the *Popol Vuh* available to the Quiché people themselves in a form that is consistent with the modern script taught in the Guatemalan school system. I have therefore utilized in the literal translation an

entirely new transcription of the original Quiché text using modern orthography. I have also included a transcription of the Latin orthographic version of the *Popol Vuh* as it was written by its Quiché authors in the sixteenth century for comparative purposes.

The *Popol Vuh* is the most important example of Precolumbian Maya literature to have survived the Spanish conquest. Its significance may be seen in the numerous versions of the text that have been published. In the past three hundred years, the *Popol Vuh* has been translated approximately thirty times into seven languages. Unfortunately most of these translations were not based on the original Quiché-Maya text, but rather on various Spanish versions derived from it. The translation contained in this book is entirely new, based primarily on my own knowledge of the language, as well as dictionaries and grammars compiled in the last century by García Elgueta (1892, ca. 1900, ca. 1910), Sáenz de Santa María (1940), León (1954), Edmonson (1965), Alvarado López (1975), Mondloch and Hruska (1975), Siméon (1977), García Hernández and Yac Sam (1980), Ajpacaja Tum, Chox Tum, Tepaz Raxuleu and Guarchaj Ajtzalam (1996), López Ixcoy (1997), Pérez Mendoza and Hernández Mendoza (2000), and Par Sapón and Can Pixabaj (2000). I have also relied on consultations with native Quiché speakers in the highland Guatemalan towns of Momostenango (and the surrounding aldeas of Santa Ana, Canquixaja, Nimsitu, and Panca), Totonicapán (and its aldeas of Nimasak, Chuxchimal, and Cerro de Oro), Nahuala, Cunen (and its aldeas of Los Trigales, Xesacmalha, Xetzak, Las Grutas, Chitu, and Xepom), and Chihul.

It is fortunate in this regard that the Quiché language has changed surprisingly little in the centuries since the *Popol Vuh* was composed. With important exceptions, most of the vocabulary is still understandable to modern Quichés. For terms and phrases associated with Maya religion and ritual, I have also worked with a number of Quiché *aj q'ijab'*, who continue to conduct traditional calendric and divinatory rites in a manner little different from that practiced at the time the *Popol Vuh* was compiled. I am particularly indebted to don Vicente de León Abac of Momostenango for his wisdom and patience with me in this regard.

For archaic and non-Maya loan words which are no longer used by modern Quichés, I have relied on dictionaries, grammars, and theological treatises prepared by Spanish priests in the early Colonial period, principally those compiled by Fr. Domingo de Vico (ca. 1555),

Bishop Francisco Marroquín (ca. 1560), Fr. Alonso de Molina (1571), Fr. Marcos Martínez (ca. 1575), Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Real (ca. 1590), Fr. Thomás de Coto (ca. 1656), Fr. Bartolomé de Anléo (ca. 1660), Fr. Tomás de Santo Domingo (ca. 1690), Fr. Benito de Villacañas (1692), Fr. Domingo de Basseta (ca. 1698), Fr. Francisco de Vare[l]a (1699), Fr. Francisco Ximénez (ca. 1701-4), Fr. Pantaleón de Guzmán (1704), Fr. Damián Delgado (1725), Fr. Francisco Herrera (1745), and Fr. Angel (ca. 1775).

Translation is an art whose cloth is woven from a variety of threads. Any defects are solely the fault of the weaver. Its beauty is solely dependent on the threads themselves.

Allen J. Christenson

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INTRODUCTION

Quiché History:

The *Popol Vuh* was written by anonymous members of the Quiché-Maya nobility, a branch of the Maya that dominated the highlands of western Guatemala prior to the arrival of Spanish conquerors in 1524. Their present population is something over half a million, spread thinly through a series of market towns and smaller agricultural villages in the modern Guatemalan states of Quiché, Totonicapán, and Quetzaltenango. Their homeland is some of the most beautiful country in the world, dominated by a range of high mountains, volcanoes, and steep-walled plateaus, wrapped in green pine forest, and watered by numerous rivers and waterfalls. Its high elevation keeps the climate comfortably cool in the summer, while its location in the tropics prevents the extreme cold temperatures usually associated with mountainous environments. Guatemala's boast of being the "Land of Eternal

Spring" is no exaggeration.

Although the highland Maya have lived in this area for more than two thousand years, the *Popol Vuh* suggests that they came to be dominated by a militaristic group of relative newcomers, led by the Cavec-Quiché lineage, who claimed to have come from somewhere in the East where the sun rises (*Popol Vuh*, pp. 204-205), likely the Maya lowlands during the early Postclassic phase (ca. AD 900-1200). During this period of history, many of the most important Maya ruling lineages throughout the region were multilingual and heavily influenced by ideas from beyond their borders, particularly from Nahua speakers, the language of central Mexico. According to Bernardino de Sahagún, a Spanish priest who worked among the Aztecs soon after the Spanish conquest, the lowland Maya area was known as Nonoualcat (land of the dumb) because it was occupied by non-Nahua speakers, although he asserted that many could speak Nahua as a second language (Sahagún 1959-63, Book X, 170; cf. Carmack 1981, 46). Nahua, the language of the Toltecs and later Aztecs, had become a kind of *lingua franca* among elite groups throughout Mesoamerica by the last centuries prior to the Spanish conquest. The highland Maya in particular remembered the legendary Toltecs, the ruling class of central Mexico in the early Postclassic period, as the greatest of artists and sages (*Popol Vuh*, p. 80n.102) and adopted many Nahua words that reflect political as well as esoteric ceremonial concepts.

In the Terminal Classic (AD 800-900) and Early Postclassic (AD 900-1200) phases, central Mexican influence spread rapidly through much of Mesoamerica (Thompson 1970, 18-21; Fox 1978, 274). The most impressive center of Mexican influence in the Maya world during this time was Chichen Itza, located in the northern region of the Yucatán Peninsula. Diego de Landa, one of the first Spanish priests to work among the Maya of Yucatán, was told that the city was visited by a non-Maya priest-ruler who came from across the Gulf of Mexico named Kukulcan (Yucatec: "Feathered Serpent"). This legend dovetails well with similar myths recorded in Aztec sources concerning the Toltec priest-ruler Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl who sailed across the Gulf of Mexico toward Yucatán at approximately the same time (ca. AD 978 according to Aztec chronicles) (Landa 1941, 20-23; Coe 1987, 132). Yet central Mexican influences at Chichen Itza are much older than this legendary visit by Kukulcan. The supposedly Toltec-inspired Great Ballcourt at Chichen was dedicated on a

date corresponding to November 18, 864, and current archaeological evidence indicates that all of the principal buildings of the city were completed well-before AD 1000 (Schele and Mathews 1998, 200).

Rather than the result of a single event, such as the arrival of Kukulcan, central Mexican influence in the Maya world should be seen as a long continuum of mutual interaction extending back to at least the third or fourth century with the arrival of merchants and perhaps military invaders from the great central Mexican city of Teotihuacan. There is clear evidence of the presence of armed warriors from Teotihuacan who arrived at the largest of lowland Maya centers, Tikal, in AD 378. There the foreigners oversaw the establishment of a new dynasty of heavily Mexican-influenced rulers, if not Teotihuacanos themselves (Martin and Grube 2000, 29-36). That this was no isolated event is attested by the presence at about the same time of Teotihuacan architectural, ceramic, and artistic influences throughout the Maya world, particularly in the Guatemalan highlands centered at the major site of Kaminaljuyu (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946; Sanders 1977; Michels 1979; Hatch 1997) and in the Tiquisate area (Hellmuth 1975, 1987; Bove 1989).

Despite these influences from central Mexico, Tikal and its neighbors maintained their fundamentally Maya character and within a brief time reestablished their own native dynasties. Chichen Itza as well, notwithstanding its taste for central Mexican motifs and concepts, was also likely ruled by native Maya lineages. Their claims to “Toltec” ancestry were part of the political climate of the age where such legendary Mexican connections were essential to establishing legitimacy based on ancient precedent. Schele and Mathews suggest that the Itza-Maya rulers of Chichen Itza used central Mexican imagery as a means of proclaiming themselves the legitimate inheritors of Toltec power in the same way that kings throughout Europe declared themselves to be successors to the Holy Roman Empire, regardless of their familial and social histories (Schele and Mathews 1998, 201). Indeed the Cavec Quiché lineage that produced the *Popol Vuh* likely had Itza-Maya connections (Akkeren 2000). Chichen Itza dominated the Yucatán peninsula and southern Gulf Coast regions, establishing a tradition of Toltec-inspired power and spiritual mystique that persisted long after Toltec rule, centered at Tula Hidalgo, collapsed in approximately the twelfth century. By the time of the Spanish conquest nearly all Maya rulers prided

themselves on their Nahua/Toltec heritage (Morley, Brainerd and Sharer 1983, 166).

The ruling lineages of highland Guatemala were no exception. The *Popol Vuh* claims that the divine creators who formed the first ancestors of the Quichés were *Aj Toltecat* (Toltecs) (p. 80n.102; line 568). The text also emphasizes that the Quichés were "brothers" with the Yaqui (a general term for Nahua speakers) of Mexico and that the Quichés' principal god, Tohil, was in fact equivalent to the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl (Nahua: "Feathered Serpent") (p. 231). This affinity for foreign Mexican culture helps to explain the many Nahua loan words in the *Popol Vuh* (Campbell 1970, 8; Carmack 1983, 17-18).

According to the *Popol Vuh*, the founders of the various Quichean lineages traveled a great distance eastward "across the sea" to an epi-Toltec city called Tulan Zuyva where they received their titular gods and tokens of kingship (pp. 209-212, 256-259). Tulan is a Nahua word meaning "place of reeds," or more broadly "city," in the sense that it is filled with a great multitude of people as reeds crowd the shores of a lake or river. Many major Toltec-influenced ceremonial and administrative centers were therefore called Tulan. As a result, it is difficult to identify precisely which Tulan the Quiché progenitors saw as the origin of their power, although it was likely located somewhere on the Yucatán Peninsula (Carmack 1981, 48; Akkeren 2003). Chichen Itza, or its successor Mayapan, are good possibilities for this Tulan.

Carmack suggests that the founders of the Quiché ruling lineages arrived in Guatemala about the time of Chichen Itza's collapse, which Yucatec Maya histories date around AD 1221. More recent archaeological evidence suggests that this date should be pushed back significantly in time, and that, in any case, the ultimate downfall of the city was preceded by a long period of decline after the tenth century (Morley, Brainerd, and Sharer 1983, 167; Schele and Mathews 1998, 197-255; Akkeren 2000, 314-315). Chichen Itza had been the dominant force in the lowland Maya world. Its collapse disrupted the traditional politics and interregional trade of the region, resulting in the displacement of numerous groups of people seeking new power bases and economic opportunities (Fox 1978, 2). Many of these groups claimed authority based on the old Mexican-influenced symbols of power and prestige (Roys 1967, 88-98; Schele and Mathews 1998). It is possible that elements of what would become the ruling Cavec-Quiché lineage and related highland Maya progenitors were part of this

human wave.

Thus, at Tulan, the founding lineages of the various highland Maya kingdoms were given their titular gods, as well as tokens of "Toltec" rule (many of which bore Nahua language names) and commissioned to leave in search of places to conquer (pp. 213, 257-260). Numerous highland Maya documents speak of this pilgrimage to Tulan as a means of securing tokens of power and legitimacy. This account is from the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*:

> Then we arrived at Tulan in the darkness and in the night. Then we gave the tribute, when the seven tribes and the warriors carried the tribute. We took our places in order at the left part of Tulan.... And after the seven tribes had arrived, we the warriors came. So they said. And commanding us to come, they said to us, our mothers, and our fathers: "Go, my daughters, my sons. I will give you your wealth, your domain; I will give you your power and your majesty, your canopy and your throne. Thus shall they pay tribute to you.... Truly, your glory shall be great. You shall not be disparaged. You shall become great with the wealth of the wooden shields. Do not sleep and you shall conquer, my daughters, my sons! I will give your domain to you, the thirteen chiefs, to all of you equally: your bows, your shields, your domain, your majesty, your greatness, your canopy, and your throne. These are your first treasures." Thus they spoke to the Quichés when the thirteen groups of warriors arrived at Tulan. (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 50)

The authors of the *Popol Vuh* wrote that their brethren scattered in many different directions after departing from Tulan (pp. 230-232). Indeed, the Quichés described their ancestors more as refugees than as well-prepared and organized military colonists:

> This is what preoccupied their hearts as they passed through their great afflictions. They did not have food or sustenance. They would only sniff the bottoms of their staffs to feel as if they were eating. But they did not eat when they came. (p. 221)

As outlined in the text, the Quiché forefathers were gradually able to dominate most of western Guatemala and set up their own militaristic kingdom which ultimately extended from the Pacific Coast in the west to the borders of the Petén rain forest in the east. The Quichés soon adopted the language and traditions of the more numerous highland Maya

inhabitants of the places they conquered, retaining only a few lowland Maya and Nahua words which had no local equivalent, particularly those related to military, political, and theological concepts.

The *Popol Vuh* account of a simultaneous mass migration of all the major Quichean lineage groups into the Guatemalan highlands should not be taken literally. Rather, this was more likely a slow process carried out over a period of several centuries involving a complex series of historical and social interactions (Carmack 1981, 43-74). Indeed, many of these lineages had always lived in the highlands, although their authority to exercise military or political authority may have been obtained from outside centers of power. The confederation of people known as the Quiché was more likely a complex and linguistically diverse group of lineages composed of native highland Maya, Mexicanized clans from nearby Pacific Coastal areas, and immigrants (particularly the Cavec) from the Maya lowlands (Akkeren 2000). The interrelationship between these groups was dynamic and changed significantly over time. The *Popol Vuh* does not contain what we would call "objective history." It is instead a collection of traditions, partly based in historical fact and partly based on mythic interpretation, to describe the rise to power of their own ancestral lineages, specifically that of the Cavec who came to dominate the highland Maya region in the fifteenth century. This mixture of highland Maya, lowland Maya, and Mexican-influenced cultures ultimately gave birth to the traditions contained in the *Popol Vuh*.

The arrival of the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century resulted in the abrupt disruption of Quiché-Maya rule. Hernán Cortés, conqueror of the Aztec empire in Mexico, heard reports of rich lands to be had southward in Guatemala. He therefore sent one of his captains, Pedro de Alvarado, to subdue any resistance in that direction and claim the area for the Spanish Crown. In his first letter to Cortés, Alvarado described Guatemala as "the wildest land and people that has ever been seen.... We are so far from help that if Our Lady does not aid us, no one can" (Alvarado 1979, 105). Following a brief, yet bloody campaign, Alvarado entered the Quiché capital at Cumarcah (also known by its Nahua name, Utatlan) without resistance on March 7, 1524, at the invitation of the lords Oxib Quieh and Beleheb Tzi. Once inside the city, Alvarado suspected a trap and ordered the arrest and execution of its rulers:

> As I knew them [the Quiché lords] to have such ill will toward the service of

> His Majesty, and for the good and tranquility of the land, I burned them, and I commanded to be burned the town of Utatlan to its foundations, for it was dangerous and strong.... All they that were taken prisoners of war were branded and made slaves. (Alvarado 1979, 102-3)

During the early Spanish Colonial period, the population of Guatemala declined by as much as 85% as a result of war, forced labor, and disease. Fortunately, President Alonso López Cerrato, the successor to Pedro de Alvarado, was more tolerant:

> During this year [1549] the Lord President Cerrado arrived.... When he arrived, he condemned the Spaniards, he liberated the slaves and vassals of the Spaniards, he cut the taxes in two, he suspended forced labor and made the Spaniards pay all men, great and small. The lord Cerrado truly alleviated the sufferings of the people. I myself saw him, oh, my sons! (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 137)

Christianity was formally established in Guatemala in 1534 under Bishop Francisco Marroquín, who sent out priests with portable altars to the various Indian towns and villages to baptize the Maya and destroy any remnants of "idolatry" and "paganism" which might have survived the Conquest. To aid in the process of conversion, missionary priests gathered the Maya into towns, each with a church to administer Catholic rites and instruct them in the Christian faith. Because Cumarcah had been all but destroyed during the war, the remnants of its population were moved to a new settlement nearby in ca. 1555, which the Spanish authorities called Santa Cruz del Quiché (Holy Cross of the Quiché). It was likely here that the *Popol Vuh* was compiled in the form that we have today.

Precolumbian *Popol Vuh*:

In the preamble to the *Popol Vuh*, its Quiché authors wrote that the contents were based on an ancient book from across the sea (p. 64). In a later passage, the source of these writings is identified as Tulan, which they located across the sea to the east (p. 259), apparently a reference to the Maya lowlands of the Yucatán Peninsula. The Quiché lords held these "writings of Tulan" in great reverence and consulted them often (p. 287).

The Maya lowlands had a tradition of literacy dating back to at least AD 200, centered on a sophisticated hieroglyphic script. If the Precolumbian version of the *Popol Vuh* was like other ancient texts from the lowlands, it was painted on long strips of bark paper or deer skin which were given a thin coating of lime plaster to create a smooth writing surface, and then folded accordian style into a codex book. A number of such ancient painted codices were seen by the first Spanish missionaries and administrators who arrived in Guatemala. Bartolomé de las Casas saw several hieroglyphic books about 1540. He wrote that they contained the history of the people's origins and religious beliefs, written with "figures and characters by which they could signify everything they desired; and that these great books are of such astuteness and subtle technique that we could say our writing does not offer much of an advantage" (Las Casas 1958, 346).

Las Casas was particularly impressed by the fact that the Maya could write "everything they desired." The Maya were, in fact, the only people in the New World who had a writing system at the time of the Spanish conquest which had this capability. Maya hieroglyphs are partly phonetic (glyphs which stand for individual sounds) and partly logographic (picture writing in which a glyph stands for an entire word or concept). Because of their phonetic nature, Maya glyphs may be placed together to form any word which can be thought or spoken. There is no evidence that such a script was ever developed or used in the Guatemalan highlands after the Late Preclassic, however, the authors of the *Popol Vuh* made clear that they based their writings on an imported text from the Maya lowlands. It is likely that some few scribes at the Quiché court were familiar enough with such books in their possession that they could read them in at least a cursory way.

Beginning in March 1555, a judge from the province of Mexico named Alonso de Zorita began a tour of inspection through the province of Guatemala in order to moderate tribute levies and correct administrative abuses inflicted on the local Maya population. As part of his duties, Zorita visited the ancient city of Utatlan to learn what he could about the ancient political system of the Quichés. There he was shown "paintings that they had which recorded their history for more than eight hundred years back, and which were interpreted for me by very ancient Indians" (Zorita 1963, 271-2).

There must have been hundreds of hieroglyphic books in the Maya world at the time of

the Spanish conquest. It is one of the great tragedies of New World history that the vast majority of these were destroyed. Las Casas witnessed the destruction of a number of such books which were burned to "protect" the Maya from their traditional religion:

> These books were seen by our clergy, and even I saw part of those which were burned by the monks, apparently because they thought [they] might harm the Indians in matters concerning religion, since at that time they were at the beginning of their conversion. (Las Casas 1958, 346)

Diego de Landa was particularly zealous in his efforts to destroy any hieroglyphic books which he could find in northern Yucatán: "We found a large number of books of these characters and, as they contained nothing in which there were not to be seen superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all, which they regretted to an amazing degree and which caused them much affliction" (Landa 1941, 78).

Only four lowland Maya codices are known to have escaped these purges. We can only add our own laments to those of the Maya over the irretrievable loss of a people's literary heritage. Of the many hieroglyphic books that once existed in the highlands, including the Precolumbian version of the *Popol Vuh*, not a single one is known to have survived.

The fact that the contents of the original *Popol Vuh* predated the Spanish conquest gave them an aura of mystery and power. Its authors referred to the ancient book upon which the *Popol Vuh* was based as an *ilb'al*, meaning "instrument of sight or vision" (p. 64; lines 51-52). The word is used today to refer to the clear quartz crystals that Quiché priests use in divinatory ceremonies. It may also be used to refer to magnifying glasses or spectacles, by which things may be seen more clearly. Thus the rulers of the Quichés consulted the *Popol Vuh* in times of national distress as a means of seeing the future:

> They knew if there would be war. It was clear before their faces. They saw if there would be death, if there would be hunger. They surely knew if there would be strife. There was an instrument of sight. There was a book. Popol Vuh was their name for it. (p. 287)

Ancient Maya books were periodically displayed on state occasions as an assertion of legitimacy by the rulers who possessed them (Carmack 1973, 17-18). Diego de Landa wrote

that “the most important possession that the nobles who abandoned Mayapan took away to their own country was the books of their sciences” (Landa 1941, 39). Even today the possession of old books and manuscripts is highly prestigious among the highland Maya. La Farge and Byers observed that the titles and papers of the community of Todos Santos were kept in a chest which “is highly revered, if not worshiped, by the Indians, and is carried in a solemn procession on New Year’s day, when the new officials take office” (La Farge and Byers 1931, 14).

The Precolumbian version of the *Popol Vuh* has unfortunately been lost. Even the authors of the sixteenth century manuscript copy wrote that the more ancient book could no longer be seen in their day, and that what they compiled was based on the original (p. 64). It should not be assumed that this was a word for word transcription, however. The few Precolumbian Maya codices that survive, as well as the numerous inscriptions found on stelae, altars, architectural wall panels, etc., all bear texts that are highly formalized and condensed references to dates, persons, and events that briefly outline the stories they wish to tell. These are often accompanied by illustrations to further elucidate the otherwise terse prose. No known Precolumbian text contains the kind of long storytelling devices, descriptive detail, commentary, and extensive passages of dialogue found in the *Popol Vuh*. It is more likely to have been a compilation of oral traditions based to one degree or another on mythic and historical details outlined in a Precolumbian codex with their associated painted illustrations.

Authors of the *Popol Vuh*:

The authors of the *Popol Vuh* were anonymous. In the text they refer to themselves only as “we” (p. 64), indicating that there were more than one who contributed to its compilation. The anonymity of the authors is unusual since most Colonial period highland Maya documents were prepared for some official purpose, and were duly signed by their authors as testimony of their veracity. For whatever reason, those who were responsible for compiling the *Popol Vuh* did not wish their identities to be known.

The authors were traditionalists, in the sense that they recorded the history and theology of the ancient highland Maya people without adding material from European sources. The *Popol Vuh* thus contains very little direct Christian influence. By its own account it is a

faithful record of the contents of the ancient *Popol Vuh* text which could no longer be seen (p. 64). Although the traditions of the book were compiled after the Conquest, "under the law of God and Christianity" (ibid.), its Quiché authors venerated their traditional Maya gods as luminous, wise beings who brought life and light to the world through their creative works. The statement that the *Popol Vuh* was composed within Christianity immediately follows a declaration that the Maya gods "accomplished their purpose in purity of being and in truth" long before the arrival of the Christian God (p. 63). Thus the *Popol Vuh* contrasts its "ancient word" (pp. 59, 64) which contains light and life, with that of the more recent voice of Christianity. In highland Maya society, antiquity denotes authority. A modern priest-shaman in Momostenango once told me that the Maya "Earth God" is greater than Christ and the saints because he was worshiped by his people for centuries before the arrival of the Europeans.

Such unapologetic reverence for the ancient gods would have been offensive to the Spanish missionaries. During the early decades of the Spanish conquest, the most obvious expressions of Maya religion and literature were either destroyed or forced into hiding. Old hieroglyphic books were singled out as dangerous hindrances to the conversion of the people and were actively sought out and destroyed. Those who were found in possession of such books were persecuted and even killed. As much as two hundred years later, Ximénez wrote that many ancient books were still kept in secret by the Quichés so that the Spanish authorities would not learn of them (Ximénez 1929-31, I.i.5).

It was the loss of such precious books as the hieroglyphic *Popol Vuh* which may have prompted Quiché scribes to preserve what they could of their literature by transcribing their contents into a form which would make them safer from the fiery purges of Christian authorities. The authors of the *Popol Vuh* may have recognized the danger in this and cloaked themselves with anonymity to protect themselves. The preamble to the *Popol Vuh* may hint at this when it declares that "the original book exists that was written anciently, but its witnesses and those who ponder it hide their faces" (p. 64). It is therefore he who "witnesses and ponders" the ancient book who is in hiding, perhaps an indirect reference to the authors of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript who did not wish their identities known for fear that the authorities might do harm to them or the book in their possession.

The *Popol Vuh* was likely composed in its present form at Santa Cruz del Quiché, a new city founded by the Spanish conquerors near the ruins of Cumarcah/Utatlan, the ancient capital of the Quichés. The majority of its inhabitants were members of the old ruling classes which had been resettled from Cumarcah to aid in their conversion to Christianity and to more easily supervise their activities. The authors of the text were most likely members of the Quiché nobility who may have retained some Precolumbian manuscripts from the royal archives that survived the Conquest.

The *Popol Vuh* does provide some clues as to who its authors may have been. In an extended passage placed immediately after the dynastic list of the Quiché kings themselves, the text declares that the three *Nim Ch'okoj* (Great Stewards) of the principal Quiché ruling lineages were "the mothers of the word, and the fathers of the word" (p. 305). "The word" is used in the text to describe the *Popol Vuh* itself (p. 59; lines 1-4), indicating that the *Nim Ch'okoj* were likely the authors of the book. *Nim Ch'okoj* was a relatively minor position within the Quiché nobility, charged with certain duties at royal banquets, perhaps including the recitation of tales dealing with the gods, heroes and past rulers of the Quiché nation.

The *Popol Vuh* lists don Juan de Rojas and don Juan Cortés as the contemporary Quiché kings of the ruling Cavec lineage when the manuscript was written (p. 297). These men were grandsons of the two kings burned by Pedro de Alvarado during the conquest of the Quiché nation. If the authors of the *Popol Vuh* were the three *Nim Ch'okoj* of the major Quiché lineages in the days of Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortés, then at least one of their names is known. The contemporary *Título Totonicapán* was completed during the reign of these same two kings. One of the signatories of the document was Adon Cristóbal Velasco, *Nim Chocoh Cavec*" (Great Steward of the Cavec) (Chonay and Goetz 1953, 195; Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 200). Thus don Cristóbal Velasco was likely one of the elusive authors of the *Popol Vuh* as well.

Whoever they may have been, the authors of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript were trained in the use of European letters. Soon after the formal establishment of Christianity in highland Guatemala, Christian missionaries began to teach representatives of the various Maya lineages of Guatemala to read and write their languages using a modified Latin script developed by Fr. Francisco de la Parra. The first bishop of Guatemala, Francisco Marroquín

strongly advocated this policy as a means of aiding the conversion effort to Christianity. The authors of the *Popol Vuh* undoubtedly learned to read and write with the Latin alphabet under the direction of Christian missionaries who were actively establishing schools for this purpose in major Maya towns, undoubtedly including Santa Cruz del Quiché.

History of the *Popol Vuh* Manuscript:

Although the *Popol Vuh* is undated, internal evidence points to the work being completed between the years 1554 and 1558. The manuscript mentions that Juan de Rojas and Juan Cortés, grandsons of the kings burned by Alvarado during the Conquest, were alive and recognized as rulers when the *Popol Vuh* was written. The signatures of these kings appear on the last page of the *Título Totonicapán*, which is dated September 28, 1554 (Chonay and Goetz 1953, 194-5). The *Popol Vuh* must have been written prior to 1558, because by that date don Juan de Rojas had disappeared from Colonial records and had presumably died. Thus the *Royal Title of Don Francisco Izquin Nehaib*, dated November 22, 1558, is signed by Don Juan Cortés and Don Martín, kings of the Quiché at Santa Cruz (Recinos 1957, 115). The *Popol Vuh* also refers to one don Pedro de Robles as the current "Lord Magistrate" of the Nihaib lineage (p. 301). Pedro de Robles is known to have taken office soon after 1554, therefore the *Popol Vuh* must have been written sometime between the years 1554 and 1558.

This decade was one of great impoverishment in the town of Santa Cruz del Quiché. Despite a dramatic decline in population in the area following the Conquest, Spanish officials continued to drain its resources with heavy tribute levies and extortion. This became particularly severe with the accession of the Spanish king Philip II in 1556. The new king was desperate to augment royal revenues by any means possible to alleviate Spain's acute financial difficulties. As a result, the Crown sought to limit where possible the traditional tribute rights and other privileges which had been the chief means of support for the Quiché nobility, while seizing their assets (Carmack 1973, 20).

Alonso de Zorita, a judge from the *Audiencia* of Mexico, travelled through Guatemala in 1555. While there, he visited Santa Cruz del Quiché and inquired of the native rulers concerning their government. He was amazed to find that those who were at one time "lords of Utatlan" were:

> as poor and miserable as the poorest Indian of the town, and their wives fixed the tortillas for dinner because they had no servants, nor any means of supporting them; they themselves carried fuel and water for their houses. The principal lord was named Don Juan de Rojas, the second, Don Juan Cortés.... They were all extremely poor; they left sons who were all penniless, miserable tribute-payers, for the Spaniards do not exempt any Indians from payment of tribute. (Zorita 1963, 272)

Spanish conquerors had divided up much of the land they had seized as spoils of war in the form of an *encomienda*, an institution whereby the Crown authorized Spaniards who participated in the Conquest to collect tribute and demand labor from the Indians in return for services such as military duty and providing for the spiritual welfare of Indians under their control (Orellana 1983, 137). Members of the Maya nobility protested this confiscation of their property, claiming traditional rights as rulers under Colonial law. Spanish courts tended to respect land claims and tribute rights held by important noble lineages if these could be documented based on written proof of genealogy and history. Many highland Maya texts were prepared specifically as "royal titles," and were duly signed by native rulers as legal documents. Where possible, these titles were based on Precolumbian books whose antiquity served to bolster their authenticity in court.

The Quiché lord, don Juan Cortés, travelled to Spain in 1557 to directly press his case for royal privileges at the court of Philip II. This endeavor was unsuccessful as he was judged to be unworthy of special rights, being the son of an idolator. It was also suspected that he was not whole-heartedly converted to the Christian faith, and that it would require "very little to restore their ceremonies and attract their former subjects to himself" (Tedlock 1996, 56). This reflects the general mood of the Spanish authorities in Guatemala who sought to limit the rights of native rulers. The governor of Guatemala, Alonso López Cerrato, wrote to the Spanish king on May 25, 1552, that the Maya prior to the Conquest "reverenced" their rulers "as gods, and if this were to continue, the lords could raise the land in rebellion easily" (Carmack 1973, 379. Translation by author).

The fate of the sixteenth century transcription of the *Popol Vuh* is unknown for the next 150 years. At some time during this period, it was taken from Santa Cruz del Quiché to

the nearby town of Chuvila, now known as Santo Tomás Chichicastenango. Chichicastenango had long since eclipsed Santa Cruz in size and importance, and most members of the old nobility had transferred their residence there. Today it is still famed for its spectacular mountain scenery, and its preservation of traditional Quiché culture.

Between 1701 and 1704, a Dominican monk named Francisco Ximénez, the parish priest of Chichicastenango, came to obtain the manuscript. Ximénez had served since 1694 in various Maya communities where he learned a number of dialects and studied Maya grammar so that he could teach it to newly-arrived clerics. He was particularly impressed with the Quiché language, calling it the "principal one of the world."

Ximénez was interested as well in the ancient traditions of the Quichés. He noted that in his parish the people still conserved ancient "errors" which they had believed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (Ximénez 1929-31, I.i.54). His curiosity concerning ancient Quiché history and religion may have overcome the suspicion of the guardians of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript, who allowed him to see it and make a copy. Ximénez wrote that other such texts were also in their possession:

> It was with great reserve that these manuscripts were kept among them, with such secrecy, that neither the ancient ministers knew of it, and investigating this point, while I was in the parish of Santo Tomás Chichicastenango, I found that it was the doctrine which they first imbibed with their mother's milk, and that all of them knew it almost by heart, and I found that they had many of these books among them. (Ximénez 1929-31, I.i.5)

Ximénez transcribed the Quiché text of the *Popol Vuh*, and added a Spanish translation of its contents. It is unknown what happened to the sixteenth century manuscript, although presumably Ximénez returned it to its Quiché owners. It is possible that the original may still survive in the possession of village elders or in the town archives of Chichicastenango.

Ximénez's manuscript lay forgotten in parish archives until the Guatemalan Civil War of 1829 when all religious orders were expelled from the country. Books and papers formerly housed in convents and monasteries were subsequently transferred to public libraries, government repositories, or the collections of private individuals. Ximénez's copy of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript apparently ended up in the library of the University of San Carlos in

Guatemala City. An Austrian traveler named Carl Scherzer saw it there in 1854 and had a copy made to take with him back to Europe. In part, Scherzer commissioned this copy to be made due to the poor condition of the manuscript. He described it as having been "written in such light ink that the original might very well become illegible and useless in a few years" (Scherzer 1856, 9). Lamentably, this faded copy of the Ximénez transcription of the *Popol Vuh* has since vanished from public records. Scherzer published Ximénez's Spanish version of the text in 1856, the first time the *Popol Vuh* had appeared in print. The book was greeted with a great deal of excitement in Europe and America, where interest in ancient cultures was widespread.

In 1861, four years after Scherzer's book, the Quiché version of the *Popol Vuh* was published for the first time, along with a rather flowery French translation by Father Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg. This publication was based on yet another copy of the Ximénez transcription which Brasseur had obtained from a Quiché man, named Ignacio Coloch, who resided in the town of Rabinal. This manuscript is of supreme importance because it is the oldest known Quiché version of the *Popol Vuh* text which has survived. Ximénez was in charge of the parish of Rabinal from 1704-1714, immediately following his years in Chichicastenango. It is unknown whether Ximénez prepared the "Rabinal Manuscript" during this period of his ministry or brought it with him from Chichicastenango.

The Rabinal Manuscript of the *Popol Vuh* bears the cumbersome title, *Empiezan las historias del origen de los Indios de esta provincia de Guatemala, traduzido de la lengua quiché en la castellana para más comodidad de los Ministros del Sto. Evangelio, por el R.P.F. Franzisco Ximénez, Cura doctrinero por el Real Patronato del Pueblo de Sto. Thomás Chuilá* (Beginning of the histories of the origin of the Indians of this province of Guatemala, translated from the Quiché language to Spanish for the greater convenience of the Ministries of the Holy Gospel, by the Reverend Father Franzisco Ximénez, Parish Priest for the Royal Patronage of the Town of Santo Tomás Chuilá). It is handwritten in a clear, flowing cursive script arranged in two columns, Quiché on the left and Ximénez's Spanish translation on the right. Fortunately the ink used has remained well-preserved, and the paper is in remarkably good condition with almost no lacunae due to stains, tears or holes. It was placed at the end of a series of linguistic studies made by Ximénez which he entitled *Arte de*

las tres lenguas Cacchiquel, Quiché y Tzutuhil (Art of the three languages Cacchiquel, Quiché and Tzutuhil). These studies include a brief grammar, confessional, and Catechism in each of the three languages.

Brasseur brought the Rabinal Manuscript to Europe as part of a large corpus of native American documents which he had collected in his travels through Mexico and Guatemala. The bound volume containing the Ximénez transcription of the *Popol Vuh* was purchased after Brasseur's death by the American collector, Edward E. Ayer, who eventually donated it to the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, where it is catalogued as Ayer MS 1515.

The Poetic Nature of the *Popol Vuh*:

The *Popol Vuh* is not only the most important highland Maya text in terms of its historical and mythological content, it is also a sublime work of literature, composed in rich and elegant poetry. In this respect it can be compared with other great epic poems of the ancient world such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* of India, or the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Greece.

Quiché poetry is not based on rhyme or metrical rhythms, but rather the arrangement of concepts into innovative and even ornate parallel structures. Seldom are the authors content with expressing a single idea without embellishing it with synonymous concepts, metaphors, or descriptive epithets. The Quiché poet is much like the composer of classical music who begins with a simple melody and then weaves into it both complementary and contrasting harmonies to give it interest and depth. Thus endless variations on a given theme are possible.

Books such as the *Popol Vuh* were not simply records of dry history, but universal declarations of the purpose of the world and man's place in it. The written words were thus intended to conjure up an image in the mind, to give new life and breath to the gods and heroes each time the story was read. The beauty of the work depends not only on the story itself, but on how the story is told. As Munro Edmonson points out, Mayan texts are meant to be "read and pondered rather than skimmed over" (Edmonson 1982, xiii).

Yet the beauty of Quiché poetry may sound awkward and repetitive when translated into European languages. Some translators in the past have ignored or failed to recognize the

poetic nature of the *Popol Vuh*, particularly its use of parallelism, and have tried to improve its seemingly purposeless redundancy by eliminating words, phrases, and even whole sections of text which they deemed unnecessary. While this unquestionably helps to make the story flow more smoothly, in keeping with our modern taste for linear plot structure, it detracts from the character of Quiché high literature. Welch points out that "in many ancient contexts, repetition and even redundancy appear to represent the rule rather than the exception" (Welch 1981, 12).

The first modern scholar to recognize parallelism in Maya literature was Sir J. Eric Thompson, who noticed that Precolumbian hieroglyphic texts seemed to contain redundant glyphs. Because the ancient Yucatec Maya books of Chilam Balam have similar redundancies, he concluded that these parallel glyphs were intended as a "flowing harmony," and were "interpolated to improve the cadence of a passage" (Thompson 1950, 61-62).

Miguel León-Portilla was the first translator to arrange portions of Quiché and Yucatec Maya documents into poetic verse (León-Portilla 1969, 51-55, 75, 92-93). His recognition of the literary nature of Maya texts was a significant advance over previous translations which virtually ignored the presence of poetry. Nevertheless, his criteria for separating individual poetic lines, or cola, was somewhat haphazard, and he failed to recognize the presence of most forms of parallelism in the text.

In his translation of the *Popol Vuh,* Munro Edmonson arranges the entire text into parallel couplets. He asserts that "the *Popol Vuh* is primarily a work of literature, and it cannot be properly read apart from the literary form in which it is expressed" (Edmonson 1971, xi). While he has been criticized for failing to identify other types of poetry in his work (D. Tedlock 1983, 230), it is still the only translation of the full text of the *Popol Vuh* which has emphasized the poetic nature of the text. It is also true that by far the most common arrangement in the *Popol Vuh* is the parallel couplet. Edmonson himself recognized that his arrangement of the text was not the last word on the literary structure of the *Popol Vuh*: "I am certain that my reading does not exhaust either the poetry or the sense that is expressed, and that the Popol Vuh contains more of both beauty and meaning than I have found in it" (Edmonson 1971, xiii).

For the purposes of the second volume of this monograph, I have arranged the literal

translation of the *Popol Vuh* according to its poetic structure. Lines which are parallel in form or concept have been indented an equal number of spaces from the left margin of the page.

TYPES OF PARALLELISM IN THE *POPOL VUH*:

1. **Identical Parallelism:** The repetition of identical elements. Example, lines 794-795:

Sooty our mouths,	**Xaq qa** chi',
Sooty our faces.	**Xaq qa** wach.

2. **Synonymous Parallelism:** The repetition of elements which are similar in meaning or significance. Example, lines 58-59:

Witness of it,	**Ilol** re,
Ponderer of it.	**B'isol** re.

3. **Antithetic Parallelism:** The contrast of one element with an opposite or antithetical element. Example, lines 730-1:

Day rain,	**Q'ijil** jab',
Night rain.	**Aq'ab'al** jab'.

4. **Associative Parallelism:** The correlation of elements which are complementary to one another. This association may be material, familial, functional, or gender-based.

a. Material association, in which the substance of the elements is similar in nature. Example, lines 243-244:

Its **cypress groves**,	U **k'isisil**,
Pine forests its face.	U **pachajil** u wach.

b. Familial association, in which elements are related by kinship. Example, lines 5129-5130:

First our **grandfathers**,	Nab'e qa **mam**,
Our **fathers**,	Qa **qajaw**,

c. Functional association, in which two elements act in a similar manner. Example, lines 137-138:

Merely alone the **Framer**,	Xa u tukel ri **Tz'aqol**,
Shaper,	**B'itol**,

d. Gender association, in which two elements are paired as male and female representatives of a parallel occupation. Example, lines 287-288:

Says the **She Who Has Borne Children**,	Kacha' ri **Alom**,
He Who Has Begotten Sons:	**K'ajolom**:

5. **Augmentive Parallelism:** Parallel elements in which one word or phrase clarifies or augments the meaning of another. Example, lines 151-152:

Thus surely there is the **sky**,	Keje' k'ut xax k'o wi ri **kaj**,
There is also **its Heart Sky**.	K'o nay puch **u K'ux Kaj**.

6. **Causative Parallelism:** Parallel elements in which the first word or phrase directly effects or precipitates the associated words or phrases. Example, lines 716-7:

He came **Striking Jaguar**,	Xpe **Tukum B'alam**,
He struck them.	**Xtukuwik**.

7. **Epithetic Parallelism:** The association of an element with a complementary noun or adjective which serves to define the nature of that element. Example, lines 591-2:

This the **grandfather**,	Are' ri **mama'**,
This **master of *tz'ite*,**	Are' **aj tz'ite**,

8. **Alliterative Parallelism:** Elements which parallel one another in sound when read aloud. In lines 486-7, the verbs *yoj* and *yoq'* were apparently chosen for their similar sounds, in addition to their synonymous meaning:

Then **they undid** it therefore,	Ta **xkiyoj** k'ut,

They toppled it again **Xkiyoq'** chik

9. **Grammatical Parallelism:** Elements which are grammatically parallel in construction, such as the following example from lines 11-13, in which the same passive verb form is used as a gerund in each line of the strophe:

Its **being manifested**, U **k'utunisaxik**,
Its **being declared**, U **q'alajob'isaxik**,
Its **being expressed** as well, U **tzijoxik** puch,

10. **Alternative Parallelism:** Parallelism in which elements appear in an alternating arrangement, such as the following example from lines 591-7, which is arranged ABCA'B'B'C'.

This the grandfather, **Are' ri mama'**,
This master of *tz'ite*, **Are' aj tz'ite**,
Xpiyacoc his name. **Xpiyakok u b'i'**.
This therefore **the grandmother**, **Are'** k'u **ri ati't**,
Mistress of Days, **Aj Q'ij**,
Mistress of Shaping at its foot, **Aj B'it** chi raqan,
Xmucane her name. **Xmuqane u b'i'**.

11. **Chiasmus, or Reverse Parallelism:** Parallelism in which the first element of a strophe parallels the last, the second element parallels the next to last, etc. This arrangement tends to focus attention on the central elements, thus asserting their importance. It is a rather common poetic form in sixteenth century Maya literature, particularly in the Guatemalan highlands, however, none of the known documents composed after 1580 contain passages of chiasmus. Several of these later texts might otherwise be expected to contain ancient poetic forms, since they include significant sections of Precolumbian history and culture. Among these are the *Título Zapotitlan*, the *Título Santa Clara*, the *Título Chauchituj* and the *Título Uchabaja*. By 1580, however, scribes who possessed ancient codices and were familiar with their contents were for the most part gone. Perhaps by this time the old poetic literary forms were

already forgotten or had fallen into disuse (Christenson 1988). The first chiasm that I was able to identify within the *Popol Vuh* appears in lines 32-35:

Midwife,	**I'yom**,
Patriarch,	**Mamom**,
Xpiyacoc	**Xpiyakok**,
Xmucane, their names,	**Xmuqane**, u b'i',

The name of the "Midwife" in line 32 is Xmucane, which appears in line 35. The name of the "Patriarch" in line 33 is Xpiyacoc, which appears in line 34. The descriptions and proper names of this couple thus appear in a chiastic arrangement. Edmonson, who believed that the *Popol Vuh* is arranged entirely in paired couplets, was confused by the order of the names Xpiyacoc and Xmucane: "It is odd that this frequent couplet places the male first, the reverse of the usual Quiché order; indeed, if the reconstructed forms are correct, they would make better sense reversed" (Edmonson 1971, 5 n. 35). Recognition of the chiasmus in this passage clears up the confusion (see also lines 538-541 for a repetition of this arrangement).

Chiasms may appear within a single line or extend for several lines, as in the following ten line example which is placed at the conclusion of the account of the creation of the first humans (lines 5171-5180), and which is arranged in the form ABCDEE'D'C'B'A'.

Then **they were multiplied**,	Ta **xpoq'otajik**,
There at **its coming out sun**.	**Chila'** chi **releb'al q'ij**.
Truly **their names** came to be the **people**:	Qi **u b'i'** xuxik ri **winaq**:
Sovereign,	**Tepew**,
Ballplayer,	**Oloman**,
Masker,	**K'ojaj**,
Sun Lord,	**K'enech Ajaw**,
Would be called now **their names people**.	Chuchax chik **u b'i' winaq**.
There its coming out sun	**Chila' releb'al q'ij**
They were multiplied.	**Xpoq'otajik**.

Within the *Popol Vuh*, entire sections may appear in chiastic form. The account of the first creation is arranged as a single, large chiasm. Each phase of the creation is outlined in

detail from primordial stillness to the formation of the face of the earth, along with its mountains and rivers. The final portion of this section then recapitulates the events of the creation in reverse order:

Creation begun with a **declaration of the first words** concerning the creation (lines 97-117)
The **sky** is in suspense and the **earth is submerged in water** (lines 118-136)
The creation is to be under the direction of **Its Heart Sky** (lines 137-192)
The **creation** of all things begun (lines 193-201)
The creation of **earth** (lines 202-232)
The creation of **mountains** (lines 233-255)
The **division of the waters** into branches (lines 256-258)
"Merely **divided** then existed **waters**," (line 259)
"Then were revealed great **mountains**." (line 260)
"Thus its creation **earth** this," (line 261)
"Then it was **created** by them" (line 262)
"**Its Heart Sky**, [who first conceived the creation]" (lines 263-267)
"It was set apart the **sky**, it was set apart also **earth within water**," (lines 268-269)
"Thus its **conception** this, when they thought, when they pondered" (lines 270-274)

12. **Envelope Parallelism:** The repetition of parallel elements at the beginning and end of a long stanza or section of poetry. This has the effect of tying together the introduction and conclusion of a passage to set it apart from that which precedes and follows it. Example, lines 5147-5148 initiate the envelope:

These therefore their names	**Are' k'u ki b'i'**
Their wives these:	**Kixoqil** wa':

This introductory couplet is followed by four couplets listing the wives of the Quiché progenitors. The section is then concluded with a parallel enveloping couplet in lines 5157-5158:

These therefore their names	**Are' k'ut u b'i'**
Their wives.	**Kixoqil**.

Such envelopes may appear at the beginning and end of much larger sections as well. The account of the second creation begins with lines 275-276, describing the formation of the wild animals of the earth:

THEN they conceived again	**TA** xkino'jij chik
Its **animals mountain**,	U **chikopil juyub'**,

The account concludes with lines 432-3, which recapitulate the introductory couplet with a parallel envelope:

The **animals** that are here	Ri **chikop** k'o waral
On its face **earth**.	Chuwach **ulew**.

13. **Merismus:** The expression of a broad concept by a pair of complementary elements which are narrower in meaning. Thus, in lines 64-65, "**sky-earth**" represents all creation as a whole. Lines 240-241 use "**mountain-valley**" to include the face of the earth as a whole. Lines 338-339 use "**deer-birds**" to describe all wild animals, while lines 748-749 use "**dogs-turkeys**" to describe all domesticated animals.

14. **Emblematic Parallelism:** The use of simile to compare elements, often with the use of words such as "like" or "as." Example, lines 832-833:

These therefore **the spider monkeys**,	Are' k'u **ri k'oy**,
Like people they would appear.	**Keje' ri' winaq** chiwachinik.

15. **Combination of Parallel Arrangements:** The use of two or more types of parallelism in a single strophe. The following example from lines 4948-4956 is a combination of parallel couplets arranged into chiastic form (AABBCB'B'A'A'):

MERELY framed,	**XA tz'aq**,
Merely **shaped** they are called.	Xa **b'it** ke'uchaxik.
There was no their mother,	**Maja b'i ki chuch**,
There was no their father.	**Maja b'i ki qajaw**.
Merely lone men we would say.	Xa u tukel achij chiqab'ij.

Nor surely woman gave them birth,	**Ma na ixoq xe'alanik**,
Nor also were they begotten	**Ma nay pu xek'ajolaxik**
By the **Framer**,	Rumal ri **Aj Tz'aq**,
Shaper,	**Aj B'it**,

Lines 5063-5070 combine alternate parallelism with parallel couplets placed in the third position (ABCCA'B'C'C'):

Not therefore **good**	**Ma** k'u **utz**
They heard it,	**Xkita'o**,
The **Framer**,	Ri **Aj Tz'aq**,
Shaper.	**Aj B'it**.
"**Not good**	"**Mawi utz**
This they said,	**Ri' mi xkib'ij**,
Our **framing**,	Qa **tz'aq**,
Our **shaping**:	Qa **b'it**:

16. **Monocolon**: An isolated line which does not parallel any associated line, thus standing on its own. Because monocolons are relatively rare within the *Popol Vuh*, they are all the more powerful when they do occur. In general they are used when the author desires to give extra emphasis to a passage. Thus line 200 appears as an isolated declaration:

Then be it so.	Ta' chuxoq.

STROPHIC LENGTHS:

The various types of parallelism in the *Popol Vuh* may appear within a pair of lines, or they may extend through multiple lines of text. While the parallel couplet is the standard poetic form in the *Popol Vuh*, it is by no means the only one. Tedlock recognized this in his work with highland Maya literature: "To measure all Mayan texts by the single standard of the couplet is to miss the very essence of Mayan verse rhythms, which move in twos, and sometimes threes, and once in a while arch over to produce a four" (D. Tedlock 1983b, 230). I would only add that such verse rhythms may also extend beyond four lines to form

quintets, sextets, and even longer arrangements.

The following are examples of the various strophic types in terms of length found within the *Popol Vuh*:

1. **Parallel Couplets (Bicolon):** By far the most common strophic length in the *Popol Vuh* is the couplet, consisting of two parallel lines. Example, lines 165-166:

Then they thought,	Ta xena'ojinik,
Then they pondered.	Ta xeb'isonik.

In modern Quiché speech, formal prayers and even everyday conversation tend to utilize parallel couplets. The following selection is from a prayer made by a Quiché priest-shaman in Momostenango as recorded by Barbara Tedlock (B. Tedlock 1982, 197). The translation, orthography and punctuation have not been altered from Tedlock's transcription, although I have arranged the prayer into couplet form:

Pardon my sin God.	Sachaj la numac Tiox.
Pardon my sin Earth.	Sachaj la numac Mundo.
I am giving my fine,	Quinya'o ri numulta,
my present	nu presenta
before you God,	chiwäch la Tiox,
before you Earth.	chiwäch la Mundo.
I am giving my wax candle,	Quinya'o wa' jun nuceracandela,
my stake	nu tac'alibal
toward the legs	pa ri akän
arms of God	k'äb la Tiox
at the rising of the sun,	chirelebal k'ij,
at the setting of the sun	chukajibal k'ij

the four corners of sky,	cajxucut kaj,
the four corners of earth,	cajxucut ulew.
Come here then my work,	Sa'j la rech c'ut nuchac,
my service.	nupatan.

2. **Parallel Triplets (Tricolon):** Three parallel lines of text. Example, lines 374-376:

“Speak!	“Kixch'awoq!
Call upon us!	Kojisik'ij!
Worship us!” they were told.	Kojiq'ijila'!” xe'uchaxik.

3. **Parallel Quatrains (Tetracolon):** Four parallel lines of text. Example, lines 5034-5037:

We speak,	Kojch'awik,
We listen,	Kojta'onik,
We ponder,	Kojb'isonik,
We move.	Kojsilab'ik.

One interesting phenomenon which appears frequently within longer series of parallel lines is “gapping,” in which an expected word or clause is omitted in one line, although it is implied by the parallelism of the series. Gapping is used in modern Quiché to break up the monotony of a long series of parallel elements. An example in the *Popol Vuh* appears in lines 66-69, in which the word “four” is expected in the third line, but is not expressed:

Its four cornerings,	U kaj tz'ukuxik,
Its four sidings,	U kaj xukutaxik,
Its measurings,	Retaxik,
Its four stakings,	U kaj che'xik,

4. **Longer parallel series:** The following is an example of a parallel sextet in lines 464-469:

Merely it would come undone,	Xa chiyojomanik,

Merely crumbled,	Xa tzub'ulik,
Merely sodden,	Xa neb'elik,
Merely mushy,	Xa lub'anik,
Merely fallen apart,	Xa wulanik,
Merely as well it would dissolve.	Xa pu chi'umarik.

The *Popol Vuh* is fundamentally based on these various forms of parallelism. Recognition of the presence of parallelism in a given text helps to focus attention on what the authors feel is important. By pairing each thought with complementary ones, the authors are able to develop their ideas with greater clarity. They may compare elements, contrast them, elaborate upon their significance, or add layers of meaning which would not otherwise be obvious.

Parallelism is also the primary means used by Quiché authors to give order to their thoughts. The words of the *Popol Vuh* were not arranged into sentences and paragraphs as in modern literature. The use of periods, commas, and capitalization to separate independent concepts was inconsistent at best, reflecting the authors' lack of familiarity with European devices for punctuation. Parallelism provided a means of structuring the book's ideas into distinct and coherent entities.

Much of Quiché literature was based in whole, or in part, on oral tradition. Parallelism is a common mnemonic device used in many ancient cultures to help narrators remember the flow and direction of their tale. This is particularly true of the chiastic type of parallelism, which may give order to large sections of a story. It also gives the listener an opportunity to hear a recapitulation in reverse order of what had been said, while reminding him of the central themes that are of special importance.

The presence of parallelism in the *Popol Vuh* is also a tremendous, though unintended, boon to modern translators. By comparing an ambiguous word or passage with its associated line, its general meaning is often clarified. This is especially important when interpreting a word which has more than one possible meaning, or which is poorly transcribed through scribal error.

Perhaps the most important reason that I have stressed the poetic nature of the *Popol Vuh*

in this translation is the insight it gives into the mind of the ancient Quiché author. We can see how he organized his thoughts as he took pen or brush in hand to set them down in permanent form. Far from being the random musings of an unlearned storyteller, the *Popol Vuh* can be appreciated as the eloquent creation of a master poet with a sophisticated literary heritage.

Orthography:

The Quiché version of the *Popol Vuh* transcribed by Ximénez was written using a modified Latin alphabet to represent Quiché sounds. Thus *x* is used to represent the *sh* sound of English; *h* represents the hard Spanish *j*; and *v* represents the English *w*. For the most part, the letters used were based on those standardized by the Franciscan priest Francisco de la Parra in 1545. The orthography is therefore consistent with the writing system taught by Christian missionaries during the early Spanish Colonial period, although the *Popol Vuh* text is much less consistent in its use of the Parra alphabet than other contemporary documents such as the *Título Totonicapán* (Carmack and Mondloch 1983) or the *Título Yax* (Carmack and Mondloch 1989). Variant spellings of words occur throughout the manuscript and glottalized sounds in particular are haphazardly distinguished at best. Even when used faithfully, however, the Parra alphabet presents a number of problems in interpretation, since the Quiché language includes several sounds which have no equivalents in this system.

Long and short vowels are treated as separate letters in Quiché and should be distinguished when written. The Ximénez transcription of the *Popol Vuh* seldom makes such distinctions. For example, the word transcribed as *vach* might be read with a long vowel *vach* (“my companion”), or with a short vowel *väch* (“my face”).

The Quiché language utilizes both a palatal stop (*k*) and a uvular stop (*q*). The *Popol Vuh* manuscript uses a single letter (*c*) to represent both these sounds. In addition, each of these has a glottalized form (*k'*) and (*q'*), pronounced by occluding the vocal apparatus momentarily and then opening it forcefully to create a mildly-explosive release of sound. Because the Latin alphabet has no equivalent for glottalized sounds, Parra invented letters to represent them. The *Popol Vuh* manuscript however does not consistently use the Parra glottalized letters for the palatal and uvular consonants. In most cases it either ignores

glottalization altogether, representing them with the letter *c*, or uses the letter *q* to represent both glottalized forms. As a result, the single letter "c" may have four equally plausible readings.

For example, the word *cac* might be read as *kak* (their gourd); *kaq* (red); *kaq* (their peccary); *kak'* (their turkey); *qak* (our gourd); *qak'* (our turkey); *qaq* (our peccary); *kaq'* (their tongues); *qaq'* (our tongues); *k'ak'* (new); *k'aq* (to throw); *q'ak* (flea); or *q'aq'* (fire). Four other combinations are possible which have no known meaning in modern usage, but which might have existed in the archaic language of the sixteenth century.

The glottalized forms of other consonants and vowels are also either ignored or used inconsistently in the Ximénez manuscript. Thus there is often no difference between the written form of *che* (toward him/her) and *che'* (tree). Imagine the difficulties for the reader when the words *tzaq* (to thrown down) and *tz'aq* (to frame or build) appear with the same spelling.

If this weren't confusing enough, words which appear to be contextually the same may appear with variant spellings. The Quiché authors who composed the text in the sixteenth century were pioneers in the use of a foreign alphabet to represent their language in written form. They did not have the luxury of officially recognized dictionaries with standardized spellings, nor did they have computers to scan for errors. In light of the enormous difficulties involved in its composition, the *Popol Vuh* manuscript is remarkably consistent, although discrepancies in spelling inevitably appear in the text.

It is impossible to know how many variant spellings crept into the text as a result of scribal errors made by Ximénez when he copied his version from the original manuscript. At one point, Ximénez copied eleven lines of the same passage of text twice (folio 8r). He caught his mistake and crossed out the repeated section. If no scribal errors were made, the two transcriptions should be identical, yet Edmonson found an average of one discrepancy every five lines in the duplicated section (Edmonson 1971, 46). Without the original document composed by the Quichés, a perfect reading of the text is impossible to verify.

Since the sixteenth century, a number of writing systems have been invented for Quiché in an attempt to avoid the confusion inherent in the Parra alphabet. Unfortunately, this has resulted in the proliferation of a great many competing systems without a consensus as to

which should be the standard. Many of these utilize letters not found in the modern European alphabet, making them impossible to use with most typewriters and computer keyboards.

In 1986 the Guatemalan Ministry of Public Education set up a commission to standardize alphabets for the twenty-one recognized highland Maya languages. This standardization effort had become particularly important due to the Guatemalan government's proposed "Program of Bilingual Education" in Mayan communities, designed to improve literacy and promote native American cultures and languages. This program included the publication of bilingual dictionaries, school textbooks, and official translations of the Guatemalan Constitution in the various highland Maya languages.

The results of this commission were officially endorsed by the Guatemalan government and signed into law as Governmental Decree Number 1046-87 by President Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo on November 23, 1987.

The following is a list of the modified Latin letters developed by Parra as used in the *Popol Vuh* text, along with the modern orthographic equivalents and a guide to pronunciation:

Parra	**Modern**	
a, aa	a	As in the *a* of "father."
a	ä	As in the *o* of "mother."
b	b'	Similar to the English *b*, but pronounced with the throat closed while air is forcefully expelled to produce a glottal stop.
ch	ch	As in the *ch* of "child."
qh, ch	ch'	Pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for the *ch,* but the throat is closed and air forcefully expelled to produce a glottalized *ch*.
e, ee	e	As in the *a* of "late."
i, ÿ, ii	i	As in the *ee* in "eel."
h	j	Pronounced like the English *h*, but deeper in the throat. Similar to the

		Spanish *j* or the German *ch* (as in the proper name "Bach").
c, q	k	Similar to the *k* in "king."
c, q	k'	Pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for the *k*, but the throat is closed and air forcefully expelled to produce a glottalized *k*.
l	l	Pronounced like the English *l*, but with the tongue moved forward to contact the upper incisor teeth. When appearing as the terminal letter in a word, this sound is immediately followed by the *h* as in the English word "hot."
m	m	As in the *m* of "mat."
n	n	As in the *n* of "net."
o, oo	o	As in the *o* of "home."
p	p	Pronounced like the English *p* but shortened in length.
c, q	q	Pronounced from further back in the throat than the letter *k*, similar to the *kh* in the Egyptian word *ankh*.
ε, c, q	q'	Pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for the *q*, but the throat is closed and air forcefully expelled to produce a glottalized *q*.
r	r	Similar to the Spanish *r*, pronounced with a brief tap of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.
z	s	As in the *s* of "sit."
t	t	Similar to the English *t* but shortened in length.
d, t	t'	Pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for the *t*, but the throat is closed and air forcefully expelled to produce a glottalized *t*.
tz	tz	As in the *ts* of "mats."

tz, q,	tz'	Pronounced with the tongue in the same position as for the *tz*, but the throat is closed and air forcefully expelled to produce a glottalized *tz*.
u, v, uu	u	As in the *oo* of "root"
v, u	w	As in the *w* of "wind."
x	x	Pronounced like the *sh* in "shy."
y, i	y	As in the *y* of "yellow." When appearing as the terminal letter in a word, it is pronounced like the *ee* in "eel," immediately followed by English *h* as in "hot."
	'	Glottalization mark for vowels. For example *a'* would be similar to the pronunciation of the *ott* in the Scottish pronunciation of "bottle." Generally there is no equivalent for glottalized vowels in the *Popol Vuh*, although occasionally a double vowel may have been intended to serve this purpose.

I have used the modern alphabet in my literal translation and transcription of the Quiché text. When pronouncing Maya words, the emphasis is always on the final syllable. When pronouncing Nahua words, the emphasis is always on the next to last syllable.

Due to the haphazard nature of commas and periods in the *Popol Vuh* text, I have altered the punctuation to conform with modern usage, but otherwise the grammatical constructions and word order of the original manuscript have not been altered in the literal translation. In order to avoid interpretations of spelling with regard to proper names, which in many cases would be little more than a guess, I have left them in their original Parra Latin spelling. To maintain consistency in this regard, I have used *Quiché* throughout this book, the spelling found in the original manuscript rather than the modern *K'iche'*.

POPOL VUH

PREAMBLE[1]

THIS IS THE BEGINNING[2] OF THE ANCIENT TRADITIONS[3] of this place called Quiché.[4]

HERE we shall write.[5] We shall begin[6] to tell the ancient stories of the beginning, the origin of all that was done in the citadel[7] of Quiché, among the people of the Quiché nation.[8]

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[1] lines 1-96

[2] The Quiché word *xe'* (root) is used here to describe the beginning or foundation of the authors' words concerning the history of the Quiché people. The subsequent narrative is thus seen as growing like a plant from this "root" (lines 4-6).

[3] The *Popol Vuh* manuscript does not utilize capitalization or punctuation to differentiate sentences. Capitalization is, however, used to mark the beginning of what the authors consider to be the major divisions of their story. In general, only the first word of each new section is capitalized. In this translation, I have marked these divisions by capitalizing the first word of the introductory line where appropriate. In two instances (lines 1 and 97), the entire introductory line is capitalized in the manuscript. Line 1 introduces the preamble of the text, while line 97 is the first line of the body of the story itself.

[4] The authors at various times refer to the land, the nation, the capital city, and the people themselves as Quiché (K'iche' in the modern orthography of the Maya languages), meaning "many trees" or "forest." The homeland of the Quiché people in western Guatemala is mountainous and heavily forested.

[5] The authors here state that they are "writing" this history. The people of ancient Mesoamerica (roughly the area of Central Mexico southward to Guatemala, Belize, and parts of Honduras and El Salvador) were the only literate Precolumbian cultures in the New World. Following the Spanish conquest, native Americans were discouraged from using their own ancient writing systems in favor of the Latin script. The manuscript of the *Popol Vuh* was thus written in the Mayan language of the Quichés, but with a European script. It is this set of circumstances that has preserved the *Popol Vuh* in a fully readable form when so many other native American texts were either destroyed or written in an as yet incompletely decipherable glyphic form.

[6] *Tikib'a'* is literally "to plant." "The beginning," also in this sentence, is therefore literally "the planting."

[7] Based on *tinamit*, a Nahua-derived word meaning "fortified town, citadel, or fortification wall" (Campbell 1983, 85). Although in modern Quiché, *tinamit* simply refers to a town or city, the word is used in the *Popol Vuh* text to specify fortified centers occupied by ruling lineages (Carmack 1981, 23). Here the citadel of the Quiché people is also called Quiché, apparently referring to the heartland region of their nation. This would include the capital city, Cumarcah, as well as its surrounding territory.

Here we shall gather the manifestation, the declaration, the account of the sowing[9] and the dawning[10] by[11] the Framer[12] and the Shaper,[13] She Who Has Borne Children and

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[8] *Amaq'* may refer to a geographic entity such as a town or region, as well as the group of people who occupy that territory. It may also describe a group of people unified by a common language and/or ethnic origin, such as a lineage, clan, or tribe (Hill 1996, 64; Akkeren 2000, 24). Thus Cook defines *amaq'* as composed of endogamous landholding communities subordinate to the lord or patrilineage head centered at his *tinamit* (2000, 27). Hill and Monaghan identify the *amaq'* as an alliance of confederated lineage groups (1987, 74). *Amaq'* also implies something that is permanent, fixed, stable, secure, or settled. I have chosen to use the word "nation" as this is the currently preferred term for Native American groups as well as their territorial possessions.

[9] The manuscript reads *euaxibal* (obscurity, that which is hidden in darkness). This is likely a transcription error for *auaxibal* (sowing, that which is sown), a concept that is paired with "dawning" throughout the text as a metaphor for the creation (see pp. 71, 78-82, 110, 206-207, 227; lines 196-197, 209-210, 442-443, 543-544, 612-613, 1653-1654, 5091-5092).

[10] The primary focus of the creation is to form humanity (cf. pp. 70-71; lines 213-218). The "sowing" and "dawning" of this couplet may refer in a literal sense to a new beginning, but may also be interpreted in human terms. In addition, *tz'uk* (germinate/sprout) is used as a metaphor for human birth (Coto). Among the Quichés, when a woman becomes pregnant, the event is announced by a respected elder of the community at certain lineage shrines. This ceremony is referred to as "the sowing" of the future child (B. Tedlock 1982, 80). In Santiago Atitlán, when an infant is born it is said that "he (or she) sprouted" (Carlsen 1997, 54). The "dawning" also refers to the dawn of humanity, as indicated by the reference to "anyone" rather than "anything" on p. 71. In the Quiché language, to give birth is "to dawn" or "to give light" *(-ya' saq*). In Chichicastenango children are called *alaj q'ij* (little sun) or *alaj q'ij saj* (little ray of sun) when they are referred to in ritual contexts (Schultze-Jena 1954, 25).

[11] The following is a long list of deities, arranged in pairs, which the Quichés believed to have participated in the creation at the beginning of time. The list consists of not only the names of separate gods, but their titles and secondary names as well. It is thus difficult to distinguish how many gods are really involved. In some cases, titles are definitively assigned to individual gods later in the text. In other cases, gods can be assumed to be separate individuals when they appear simultaneously in different locations or when they engage in conversation as distinct entities. When these instances are taken into consideration, there appear to be only three pairs of gods who actively participate in the creation—the Framer and the Shaper, Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, and Xmucane and Xpiyacoc. Without their titles, the same six names appear together planning the creation on p. 68 (lines 137-144) and again in connection with the creation of humankind on p. 197 (lines 4963-4968). Later in the account, yet another god, Heart of Sky, will be named as the presiding deity who oversees the work (pp. 70-72; lines 183-184).

[12] *Tz'aqol* (Framer) refers to one who makes something by putting things together (i.e., a building from stone or adobe, a meal from various ingredients, or a woven cloth from individual threads).

[13] *B'itol* (Shaper) refers to one who makes something by modeling (i.e., pottery from clay, or a sculpture from carved stone), thus giving shape to an otherwise amorphous substance. The Framer and the Shaper are the most frequently mentioned gods involved in the creation of the world and its inhabitants. Their names imply that the creation involved giving frame and shape to matter that already existed rather than conjuring something out of nothing. This pair of gods was so important that soon after the Spanish conquest, Father Domingo de Vico used their Quiché names to refer to the God of the Old Testament (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 206).

He Who Has Begotten Sons,[14] as they are called; along with Hunahpu Possum[15] and Hunahpu Coyote,[16] Great White Peccary[17] and Coati,[18] Sovereign[19] and Quetzal Serpent,[20] Heart of Lake and Heart of Sea,[21] Creator of the Green Earth and Creator of the Blue Sky,[22] as they are called.

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[14] These are titles for the divine couple, Xmucane and Xpiyacoc (see p. 80; lines 557-558). Ximénez translated their Quiché names, Alom and K'ajolom, as simply "Mother" and "Father." A more accurate translation for Alom, however, is "She Who Has Borne Children," from the perfect aspect of the root verb *al* (to bear children). The name of the male god, K'ajolom, specifically indicates his having begotten male offspring, thus "He Who Has Begotten Sons." Fray Bartolomé de las Casas wrote in the sixteenth century that the people of Guatemala worshiped as their principal gods "the Great Father and the Great Mother that were in heaven," apparently referring to this divine couple (Las Casas 1967, III.cxxiv.650).

[15] Hunahpu Possum and Hunahpu Coyote are also likely titles for the gods Xpiyacoc and Xmucane (see pp. 79-80; lines 498-501). For a discussion of the etymology of the name Hunahpu, see footnote 163. *Wuch'* is the opossum (*Didelphis yucatanensis*), which appears later in the text presiding over the moments immediately preceding the rising of the sun (pp. 173-174; lines 4144-4151). In the Dresden Codex (Lee 1985, folios 25-28, pp. 51-52), the aged deity Mam, likely a lowland Maya version of Xpiyacoc, is depicted as a possum presiding over the five days of the Uayeb prior to the beginning of the new year. Father Thomás Coto, who compiled a dictionary of the closely related Cakchiquel-Maya language in the seventeenth century, mentions under the Spanish word *Escuridad*, that *vuch* is the darkness of night just prior to the dawn (Coto 1983, 207-8).

[16] *Utiw* is the coyote (*Canis latrans*), an animal also associated with the night.

[17] Saqi Nima Aq (Great White Peccary). The word *saqi* may be translated as "light, bright, or white." Later in the text (p. 98; line 1055), this same god is described as having very white hair due to his advanced age; thus "white" is the most likely translation here. In that same passage, "Great White Peccary" is given as one of the names or titles of the patriarchal creator god Xpiyacoc mentioned in the next paragraph. There are two species of peccary, or wild pig, living in Central America—*Peccari angulatus yucatanensis* (Collared Peccary) and *Tayassu pecari* (White-lipped Peccary). The latter is perhaps intended here because it is the larger of the two and is decorated with white facial markings.

[18] This is another name or title for the female creator goddess Xmucane, mentioned in the next paragraph (see p. 62; line 1056). The coati, or coatimundi, which inhabits tropical Central America is *Nasua narica yucatanica*. It is a raccoonlike animal with a long tail and a long, pointed, flexible snout.

[19] *Tepew* (Sovereign) is one of several words in the *Popol Vuh* that were borrowed from the central Mexican group of languages, Nahua, variants of which were spoken by both the epi-Toltec and Aztec nations. This word is the Quiché form of the Nahua *tepeuh*, meaning "conqueror" or "majesty" (Campbell 1970, 4). Coto and Basseta record that in the Colonial era, the Quichés recognized the word as referring to "majesty, dignity, lordship, power." Tedlock and Recinos translate the word as "sovereign," which I prefer to the more descriptive "majesty" used by Edmonson.

[20] Q'ukumatz may be translated as "Quetzal Serpent" or, less accurately, as "Feathered Serpent." *Q'uq'* refers to the quetzal bird, *Pharomacrus mocinno*, one of the most beautiful birds in the world. It inhabits the cloud forests of southern Mesoamerica between 3,000 and 4,000 feet in elevation. Both male and female have brilliantly colored iridescent blue/green feathers on their wings, tail, and crest, while their breasts are a bright crimson. The shade of blue or green depends on the angle of light striking its feathers.

These collectively are evoked and given expression as the Midwife[23] and the Patriarch,[24] whose names are [25]Xpiyacoc[26] and Xmucane,[27] the Protector[28] and the

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The male quetzal's tail feathers were highly prized by Maya royalty for their beauty and size, often reaching three feet in length. The unique coloration of the bird carried profound religious significance for the Maya. Its predominant blue/green feathers represented sky and vegetation, both symbols of life. Its red breast represented fire, the force that quickens life. *Kumatz* is a general term for "snake" or "serpent." The serpent was a common Maya symbol for regeneration or rebirth because of its tendency to periodically shed its skin to reveal a newer and brighter one. The combination of an avian lord of the skies with a serpentine lord of the earth and underworld gave this god power over all levels of the Maya universe. He is undoubtedly related to the well-known god Quetzalcoatl (Nahua for "Quetzal Serpent) worshiped by the Aztecs of Central Mexico.

[21] These are likely titles for Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, who are associated with water (see p. 68; lines 140-143; Recinos and Goetz 1953b, 76). *K'ux* may refer to either "heart" or "spirit." This pair of deities thus embodies the inward powers of large, standing bodies of water. The *Popol Vuh* states that prior to the creation the world consisted of a vast expanse of placid waters from which all things emerged (p. 67; lines 129-136).

[22] These are likely titles for Xpiyacoc and Xmucane (see p. 80; lines 565-566). They literally mean "blue/green plate" and "blue/green bowl." The Quiché language has only one word, *räx*, for both blue and green. When distinguishing between the colors, modern Quiché people are forced to say "*räx* like the sky" for blue, or "*räx* like a tree" for green. This same type of dichotomy appears here. The "blue/green plate" refers to the green surface of the earth covered with vegetation, and the arch of the sky is envisioned as an inverted "blue bowl." The earth is specifically likened to a plate on p. 71 (lines 205-206).

[23] Midwife and Patriarch are titles for Xmucane and Xpiyacoc (see p. 80; lines 536-537). I'yom may be literally translated as "She Who Has Had Grandchildren," but the word is also commonly used as an affectionate title for a midwife. I have chosen this interpretation here. The title of the goddess implies that she assists in the "birth" of the world.

[24] *Mamom* may also be translated as "He Who Has Had Grandchildren." In this case, it is more likely a title of respect for the god as a grandfatherly patriarch who oversees the creation. In modern Quiché society, *mamom* is a title used on occasion to refer to the head of patrilineage groups. They are often consulted on important family matters. They also participate directly in the rituals of marriage, the blessing and naming of children, and the consultation of dead ancestors to determine their will. Tedlock translates *Mamom* as "Matchmaker," since one of the intercessory tasks that such individuals have is to petition for the hand in marriage of a prospective bride on behalf of a member of his lineage (D. Tedlock 1996, 63, 217). This translation seems somewhat limited in its scope, however, considering the range of responsibilities held by the lineage patriarch.

[25] The names of the Midwife and Patriarch are given here as Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, but in reverse order. Throughout the *Popol Vuh*, female deities are listed before male deities when paired in parallel couplets. It thus makes little sense that Xpiyacoc, the name of the grandfather god, would be written before that of Xmucane, his female counterpart. This is an example of chiasmus, a form of reverse parallelism in which the first element of a strophe parallels the last, the second element parallels the next to last, etc. This arrangement, rather common in the text (see introductory section on poetics), tends to focus attention on the central elements, thus asserting their importance. The passage is thus arranged in the following way in lines 32-35 of the literal translation:

Midwife,	I'yom,
Patriarch,	Mamom,
Xpiyacoc,	Xpiyakok,

Xmucane, their names. Xmuqane, u b'i'.

The name of the "Midwife" in line 32 is Xmucane, which appears in line 35. The name of the "Patriarch" in line 33 is Xpiyacoc, which appears in line 34. Edmonson, who believed that the *Popol Vuh* is arranged entirely in paired couplets, was confused by the order of the names Xpiacoc and Xmucane: "It is odd that this frequent couplet places the male first, the reverse of the usual Quiché order; indeed, if the reconstructed forms are correct, they would make better sense reversed" (Edmonson 1971, p. 5, n. 35). Recognition of the chiasmic nature of this passage clears up the confusion (see also p. 80; lines 538-541 for a repetition of this arrangement with regard to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane).

[26] Xpiyacoc is the male deity, while Xmucane serves as the divine female principal that brings about the creation. The derivation of the name Xpiyacoc is problematic. Edmonson suggests that it is based on the Nahua *yex-pa-ococc(an-e)*, which he reads as "thrice in another two places," and relates it to the next phrase of the text in which this deity is referred to as "twice patriarch." Tedlock prefers that it should be read as a Quiché name, and that it is based on the verb *yekik/yakik*, which his Quiché collaborator interpreted as "to be put in order, to be lifted up" with regard to the problems of clients who are under treatment by *aj q'ij* priests. Perhaps the most likely derivation of this name is found at Rabinal where there is a design woven into textiles which locals call *piyakok* and identify as a turtle (Akkeren 2000, 207, 261-264). *Kok* is "turtle" in both lowland and highland Maya languages, making this an intriguing possibility. At Chichen Itza as well as Mayapan (both post-Classic sites likely contemporary with the early history of the Quichés), the aged grandfather earth deity (God N, Pauahtun, Bacab, Mam) wears a turtle carapace and bears up the sky (Taube 1992, 92-99; Schele and Mathews 1998, 214-218). Among the contemporary Kekchi and Pokomchi, this god is identified as the Mam (Grandfather), an earth deity who oversees the five day Uayeb period prior which precedes the beginning of the new year in the ancient calendric system. It is possible that Xpiyacoc is the Quiché version of this deity. Ultimately, a definitive etymology is impossible to determine. When proper names are passed down through generations of time, they often tend to become altered in their pronunciation, and perhaps their original meaning as well. If Xpiyacoc is derived from a Nahua original, it had certainly become mangled to the point where an Aztec envoy at the Quiché court would have had a difficult time coming up with an obvious meaning for it in his language. The same is true for Yucatec, Cholan, or Mam derivations for the name. There are similar-sounding words in each of these languages, although none are a precise fit. It is thus possible that the Quichés of the sixteenth century preserved the archaic spelling because they saw it simply as a proper name, without necessarily preserving memory of its original derivation (see also footnote 163 with regard to this phenomenon). I have chosen to leave such names untranslated.

[27] The name Xmucane may be derived from *x-* (feminine marker, diminutive) plus *muqik* (to bury, to cover, plant in the ground), thus giving a possible reading of "She Who Buries or She Who Plants," referring to the planting of a seed in the earth or a developing child in the womb. Ximénez wrote that native priests in his day called upon Xmucane and Xpiyacoc for inspiration, particularly concerning the birth of infants and midwifery (Ximénez 1929-31, I.i.6). Alternatively the name may be derived from the verb *muqunik* (to see, look). Xmucane and Xpiyacoc are referred to as seers several times in the text (see pp. 79-80; lines 511-517; 522-23). Akkeren suggests that the name should be derived from Yucatec and read as "Curved/Buried is your Tail." He associates her with a scorpion deity based on the name of a scorpion textile motif at Rabinal—*muqje* (tail in highland Maya languages is *je*, however its lowland Maya equivalent is *ne*), as well as an entry in the *Ritual of the Bacabs* referring to a scorpion entity as *bul moc a ne* (well-curved is your tail) (Arzápalo Marín 1987, 385-386; Akkeren 2000, 262-264). It may be fruitless to seek for a single meaning for such deity names as these. Particularly with regard to names and archaic words used in ceremonial contexts, Quichés derive a host of meanings from them, including puns and other word plays. Thus Barbara Tedlock points out that each named day in the traditional highland Maya calendar has a range of potential meanings, all of which are equally valid depending on context. For example, in interpreting a divinatory outcome, the meaning of the day *C'at* may be derived from *c'atic* (to burn), *pa c'at* (in nets), or *c'asaj c'olic* (to be in debt) (B. Tedlock 1982, 110). This is one reason I prefer to leave such names untranslated. Xmucane is likely the Quiché version of the grandmother goddess of the Maya lowlands (Goddess O, Chac Chel, Ix Chel). Like God N, the grandmother Goddess O is associated both with the forces of destruction and creation. On folio 74 of the Dresden Codex she is shown pouring

Shelterer,[29] Twice Midwife and Twice Patriarch, as they are called in Quiché traditions. They gave voice to all things and accomplished their purpose in purity of being and in truth.[30]

This account we shall now write under the law of God[31] and Christianity.[32] We shall bring it forth because there is no longer the means whereby the Popol Vuh may be seen,[33] the means of seeing clearly that had come from across the sea—the account of our

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out water from an inverted jar, symbolic of the destruction of the world by flood (Lee 1985, 77; Taube 1992, 101; Thompson 1972, 99). A skeletized version of this goddess wearing a crossed-bone skirt is paired with God N on the columns of the Lower Temple of the Jaguars at Chichen Itza. She is paired with God N as well on the upper columns of the Temple of the Warriors, suggesting a close association. Despite her destructive aspect, Goddess O is also considered the great creatrix, the principle deity of creation, divination, medicine, childbirth, midwifery, and weaving (Tozzer 1941, 129, 154; Taube 1992, 101; Akkeren 2000, 241), all aspects characteristic of the grandmother goddess Xmucane.

[28] Edmonson translated *matzanel* as "shelterer," while Tedlock translated it as "defender." A more literal translation would be "embracer," but with the implication that this embrace is meant to be protective in nature.

[29] The root verb, *ch'uq*, means "to cover." Thus, the translation "shelterer" refers to a deity who provides a protective shelter or cover.

[30] The phrase is *saqil k'olem, saqil tzij*. *Saqil* is a word laden with implied meanings in the Quiché language. These include "light, clarity, whiteness, brightness, and purity." *K'olem* is "existence, being," as well as the "nature or essence" of a thing. *Saqil tzij* is literally "white word, or truth," but it may also refer to "posterity, generation, or dynastic succession within a royal family." As a verb it means "to light" a fire or candle.

[31] *U ch'ab'al Dios* (his speech/language God). This phrase is often used in Roman Catholic sermons to refer to the doctrine, or preaching, of the Christian God. It also has a legalistic interpretation (law, declaration, proclamation), without religious overtones. The latter reading seems preferable as the *Popol Vuh* text is not written as a Christian doctrinal treatise.

[32] Here, the authors of the *Popol Vuh* confirm that they are compiling the ancient traditions of their people under the law of Christianity, imposed following the Spanish conquest. Surprisingly, *Dios* (God) and *Christianoil* (Christianity) are the only examples of Christian or Spanish-derived words in the *Popol Vuh* until the end of the text, where the arrival of the Spaniards is described. This lack of intrusive Spanish words argues for the purity of the text as an accurate record of Precolumbian cosmology and history. The *Popol Vuh* therefore stands in marked contrast to other post-Conquest highland Maya texts such as the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* and the *Título Totonicapán*, which contain numerous biblical and European cultural allusions using borrowed Spanish words. Although this passage acknowledges that the Quiché nation is subject to Christianity, the authors unabashedly describe the glory and wisdom of their ancient gods. Page 63 of the text (lines 44-45) declares that the Quiché gods act "in purity of being and in truth," perhaps indirectly contradicting the Christian missionaries of the time, who characterized such Maya deities as devils or demons.

obscurity, and the means of seeing life clearly, as it is said. The original book exists that was written anciently,[34] but its witnesses and those who ponder[35] it hide their faces.[36]

Great is its performance[37] and its account of the completion and germination[38] of all the sky and earth—its four corners and its four sides. All then was measured and staked out into four divisions, doubling over and stretching the measuring cords of the womb of sky and the womb of earth.[39] Thus were established the four corners, the four

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[33] *Vuh* refers to Maya books, or codices painted on deerskin or bark paper. *Popol* is derived from the root *pop*, meaning "mat." Thus a literal translation would be "book that pertains to the mat." Within ancient Quiché society, a woven mat was used as a royal throne from which the king gave counsel to his people. The mat symbolized the power not only of the ruler, but also of his subjects. In this sense, the interlaced fibers of the mat represented the unity of the members within the community, linked inseparably in a common purpose. Thus Ximénez translated *popol* as "community," and the Motul Dictionary glosses *popol na* as a "community house." *Popol Vuh* might then be interpreted as "Book of the Community" or "Counsel Mat Book." I have chosen to leave the title untranslated, because no literal English equivalent could convey adequately its full meaning. I have kept the traditional spelling of the book's name, *Popol Vuh*, rather than the more modern orthographic spelling, *Popol Wuj*, since it is the original form used by the Quiché authors in the sixteenth century manuscript.

[34] This line apparently refers to a painted version of the *Popol Vuh* written prior to the Spanish conquest, which served as the inspiration for the text that survives today.

[35] *B'isonel* is generally "one who mourns or is unhappy." Coto notes that it may also refer to one who "ponders, considers, or has compassion."

[36] It is significant that this passage affirms that it is the "witness" and "ponderer" of the ancient book who "hide their faces," not the book itself. The authors of the *Popol Vuh* were anonymous, perhaps out of fear of persecution should the manuscript be discovered by the Spanish authorities. Edmonson suggests that the "witness" who hides his face may have been the author himself (Edmonson 1971, 7 n. 56). This reading also suggests that the Precolumbian version of the *Popol Vuh* may have still existed when the Quiché authors were compiling their alphabetic version.

[37] *Pe'oxik* refers to something which has been hired or rented. Dennis Tedlock convincingly suggests this refers to the hiring of persons to perform the text of the *Popol Vuh* as a drama (D. Tedlock 1996, 219, n. 63).

[38] *Tz'uk* is a term used for any type of birth (Coto), although it most often refers to the "birth" of plants in the form of germination or sprouting (Basseta, Varea).

[39] The gods thus laid out the extent of their creation by measuring its boundaries, driving stakes to mark its four corners, and stretching a measuring cord between the stakes. Andrés Xiloj, a modern Quiché *aj q'ij* priest who worked with Tedlock on his translation of the *Popol Vuh*, recognized the terminology of this passage and explained that the gods were measuring out the sky and earth as if it were a maizefield being laid out for cultivation (D. Tedlock 1996, 220). Vogt quoted a Tzotzil-Maya from Zinacantán as saying that the universe is "like a house, like a table," representing that which is systematic, and well-ordered (Vogt 1993, 11). Wisdom also recorded that the Chortí-Maya of Guatemala considered both the squared maize field and the shamanic altars on which traditionalist Maya priests conduct their divination rituals to be the

sides,[40] as it is said, by the Framer and the Shaper, the Mother and the Father[41] of life and all creation,[42] the giver of breath[43] and the giver of heart,[44] they who give birth and give heart to the light everlasting,[45] the child of light born of woman and the son of light born of man,[46] they who are compassionate[47] and wise in all things—all that exists in the sky and on the earth, in the lakes and in the sea.

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world in miniature (Wisdom 1940, 430). By laying out the maize field, or setting up a ritual table, the Maya transform secular models into sacred space. With regard to the maize field, this charges the ground with the power of creation to bear new life. In a similar way, the divinatory table provides a stage on which sacred geography may be initimately studied, and even altered. Note that on pp. 81-82 (lines 565-623) the creator deities carry out a divinatory ceremony in an attempt to create the first human beings. A prominent Quiché *aj q'ij* priest, named Don Vicente de León Abac, described his work to me in this way: "When I am seated at my table, I am *aj nawal mesa* [of, or pertaining to, the spirit essence of the table]. My body is in the form of a cross just like the four sides of the world. This is why I face to the east and behind me is the west. My left arm extends out toward the north, and my right arm points to the south. My heart is the center of myself just as the arms of the cross come together to form its heart. My head extends upward above the horizon so that I can see far away. Because I am seated this way I can speak to Mundo [World]."

[40] Coto defines *xukut* as "side." Basseta defines it as "corner," in which case this would be synonymous with the preceding *tz'uk* (corner, angle).

[41] When paired together, *chuch-qajaw* (mother-father) is the title for the highly respected head of a patrilineage group or the patriarchal founder of a patrilineage. If this couplet is meant as a single title, then the Framer and the Shaper are being addressed as the great founders of the family of all living. In modern Quiché society, traditionalist *aj q'ij* priests may refer to deity and ancestors as chuch tat (mother fathers) in their ritual prayers (Schultze-Jena 1954, 99).

[42] This word is a gerund derived from the verb *winaqirik*, which may be translated "to create or to generate." The root, *winaq*, means "people"; therefore a more literal translation would be "to people." The creation is thus seen as similar to the way people come to be, a natural process of giving birth.

[43] "Breath" is also a metaphor for "spirit," or that which constitutes a person's life force.

[44] *K'uxlanel* (literally "heartener"). The heart is the central defining essence of a person, or what might be referred to as the soul. Thus the creators are those who ensoul living things. In addition, the Quichés use "hearten" to refer to someone who provides for, looks after, tends to, or counsels someone. The verbal form of this word also has the sense of "to remember." In English this would be "bear in mind," but for the Quichés this would be conceived as "bear in heart."

[45] *Amaq'il,* when used as an adjective, is something that is "eternal, perpetual, everlasting."

[46] These are likely metaphors for the living. Thus in modern Quiché prayers, priests refer to the dead as *may k'ij may sákj,* "they who are hidden from the sun, hidden from the light" (Schultze-Jena 1954, 52).

[47] This is the same term, *aj b'is*, used to describe the "ponderer" of the *Popol Vuh* text in line 59. Coto notes that it not only describes one who ponders, but who does so with sympathy or compassion.

THE PRIMORDIAL WORLD[48]

THIS IS THE ACCOUNT of when all is still silent and placid.[49] All is silent and calm.[50] Hushed[51] and empty is the womb of the sky.

THESE, then, are the first words, the first speech. There is not yet one person, one animal, bird, fish, crab, tree, rock, hollow, canyon, meadow, or forest. All alone the sky exists. The face of the earth has not yet appeared. Alone lies the expanse of the sea, along with the womb of all the sky. There is not yet anything gathered together. All is at rest. Nothing stirs. All is languid, at rest in the sky. There is not yet anything standing erect. Only the expanse of the water, only the tranquil sea lies alone.[52] There is not yet anything that might exist. All lies placid and silent in the darkness, in the night.

All alone are the Framer and the Shaper, Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, They Who Have Borne Children and They Who Have Begotten Sons. Luminous[53] they are in the water,[54] wrapped in quetzal feathers and cotinga[55] feathers. Thus they are called

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[48] lines 97-154

[49] The authors place the following description of the primordial world in the present tense, thus painting a picture of the stillness that existed prior to the creation as if in vision before their eyes.

[50] In the sixteenth-century Cakchiquel-Maya dictionary compiled by Francisco de Varea, *silee* refers to the calming of the wind after a storm (Varea 1929).

[51] *Lolinik* refers to hushed, undifferentiated sounds such as the rustling of leaves in the wind or the soft hum of insects in the night.

[52] This description of the world prior to the first creation is similar to Mixtec tradition as recorded by Fray Gregorio García in his *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo e Islas Occidentales*: “In the year and in the day of obscurity and utter darkness, before there were days and years, the world being in deep obscurity, when all was chaos and confusion, the earth was covered with water, there was only mud and slime on the surface of the earth” (León-Portilla 1980, 145).

[53] In his *Vocabulario de lengua quiche*, Domingo de Basseta interprets *zaktetoh* as “the brightness that enters through cracks.” Thus the brightness of the gods is seen as shining between the feathers that envelop them.

Quetzal Serpent. In their essence, they are great sages, great possessors of knowledge. Thus surely there is the sky. There is also Heart of Sky,[56] which is said to be the name of the god.[57]

THE CREATION OF THE EARTH[58]

THEN came his word. Heart of Sky arrived here with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent in the darkness, in the night. He spoke with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent. They talked together then. They thought and they pondered. They reached an accord,[59]

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[54] "Quetzal Serpent," whose Quiché name is traditionally written Qucumatz in colonial documents, is associated with water in most ancient highland Maya texts. According to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, a group of highland Maya called themselves Qucumatz because "they said that there was salvation only in the water" (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 59). Gagavitz, a legendary ancestor of the Cakchiquels, transformed himself into Qucumatz by throwing himself into a lake, thus causing a storm to agitate the water and form a whirlpool (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 76). Nuñez de la Vega wrote that the Quichés believed that Qucumatz is a serpent with feathers that moves in the water (Recinos 1950, 81 n. 2). The ancient Maya generally associated standing water with the underworld. Thus, the god Quetzal Serpent combines the contrasting powers of a celestial bird with a terrestrial serpent, the darkness of deep waters with the light of the upper world. Thus he transcends all levels of existence.

[55] The *räxon* (*Cotinga amabilis*), commonly known as the Lovely Cotinga, is a dovelike tropical bird with turquoise-blue plumage and a purple breast and throat. According to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the highly prized feathers of the Lovely Cotinga were given as tribute by the Cakchiquel clans to the lords of Tulan in the East (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 48).

[56] *U K'ux Kaj* (Heart of Sky—also called Huracan, cf. p. 70; lines 183-189), appears to be the principal god in the *Popol Vuh* account. He is the only deity to appear in every phase of the creation, as well as throughout the mythologic and historical portions of the text. *K'ux* refers to the heart as the source of the "vital spirit" of a thing, or that which gives it life. According to Coto's dictionary, it is also believed to be the center of thought and imagination. This deity, therefore, combines the powers of life and creativity, which are believed to exist in the midst of the heavens. During each creative period, Heart of Sky is the deity who first conceives the idea of what is to be formed. Other deities then carry out his will by giving it material expression.

[57] *K'ab'awil* (god) refers to the general concept of deity in the *Popol Vuh*. The word is used to refer to ancient gods such as Heart of Sky, as well as to the wood or stone effigies carved to represent them. Soon after the Spanish conquest, Dominicans chose the word *k'ab'awil* to refer to the Christian "God." Franciscans, on the other hand, rejected this usage of the word because of its earlier association with Precolumbian religion. This difference was a frequent point of contention between the two missionary orders during the early Colonial Period.

[58] lines 155-274

[59] Literally "they found themselves."

bringing together their words and their thoughts.[60] Then they gave birth, heartening one another. Beneath the light, they gave birth to humanity. Then they arranged for the germination and creation[61] of the trees and the bushes, the germination of all life and creation, in the darkness and in the night, by Heart of Sky, who is called Huracan.[62]

First is Thunderbolt Huracan, second is Youngest Thunderbolt,[63] and third is Sudden Thunderbolt.[64] These three together are Heart of Sky.[65] Then they came together with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent. Together they conceived light and life:

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[60] The creation is described as a unified effort by a number of gods, all acting in concert with one another after careful deliberation and planning. None can act alone without the direction and assistance of other deities. In Quiché society, lack of unity is seen as one of the chief causes of misfortune and failure. Disagreements are therefore quickly resolved through direct discussion or mediation by a respected elder.

[61] *Winaqirik*. The root of this verb is *winaq* (people), making it something like "to people." It is used however, to refer to the creation not only of humanity, but the earth, vegetation, animals, etc. Tedlock translates it as "generation" (D. Tedlock 1996, 65).

[62] The etymology of this god's name is too complex and obscure to give a definitive translation. In its simplest interpretation, *Juraqan* means "One Leg." Belief in a one-legged god was widespread throughout Precolumbian Mesoamerica. An important example was the Maya god K'awil (God GII of the Palenque Triad, who was often depicted with one anthropomorphic foot and the other a serpent), associated with kingship and the sky. *Raqan*, however, may also refer to the length or height of an object. The following line uses the name to refer to a bolt of lightning as a long flash of light. Coto interprets *raqan* as something "long or gigantic in size." According to Dennis Tedlock's Quiché collaborators, "leg" may also be used as a means of counting animate things, in the same way that we refer to the counting of "head" of cattle. "One Leg" might therefore mean "one of a kind" (D. Tedlock 1983a, 138). The god's name would thus refer to his unique nature as the essential power of the sky. In addition, the homophonous word *huracán* was used along the Gulf Coast of Mexico and the West Indies to refer to powerful swirling winds. The modern English hurricane may be derived from the Taino version of this word (Recinos 1950, 83 n. 7; Hunt 1977, 242; D. Tedlock 1996, 223). This interpretation is consistent with the god's nature as the "heart of the sky," the eye of the hurricane forming the divine axis around which time and creation revolve in endless repetitive cycles of birth and destruction.

[63] *Ch'i'p* refers to the youngest member of the family or the smallest member of a group.

[64] *Räxa* (green, new, fresh, sudden). This is a sudden flash or bolt of lightning (Coto 1983, 479). It may also refer to the lightning's ability to renew or regenerate. In Santiago Atitlán, traditionalists believe that it is lightning that splits open maize seeds to allow them to germinate and bear new life (Christenson 2001, 72-74, 134).

[65] These three gods comprise the powers of the sky, symbolized by various aspects of the thunderbolt. Thunderstorms combine the elements of water (rain) and fire (lightning), which Quichés see as essential to all life. Lightning is also considered the force that fertilizes the earth and promotes the growth of crops. In modern Quiché society, lightning is believed to be the inspirational force of the sky. Modern *aj q'ij* priests take note of sensations within their bodies, which they call "lightning in the blood," and interpret them as

"How shall it be sown? When shall there be a dawn for anyone? Who shall be a provider?[66] Who shall be a sustainer?[67]

"Then be it so. You are conceived. May the water be taken away, emptied out, so that the plate of the earth may be created—may it be gathered and become level. Then may it be sown; then may dawn the sky and the earth. There can be no worship, no reverence given by what we have framed and what we have shaped, until humanity has been created, until people have been made," they said.

Then the earth was created by them. Merely their word brought about the creation of it. In order to create the earth, they said, "Earth," and immediately it was created. Just like a cloud, like a mist, was the creation and formation[68] of it.

Then they called forth the mountains from the water. Straightaway[69] the great mountains came to be. It was merely their spirit essence,[70] their miraculous power,[71] that

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revelatory messages (B. Tedlock 1982, 133-147). Although Quiché gods are normally named in pairs, there are occasional appearances of a trinity, as in this case. The principal gods of the three ruling Quiché lineages were Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz (see p. 223). Quiché temples generally had three entrances (for reconstruction drawings of such temples, see Carmack 1981, 270, 273). The idea of a trinity in Maya cosmology may be very ancient. The largest of the Maya centers built prior to the birth of Christ was El Mirador, located in the central Petén rain forest of Guatemala. Characteristic of its temples was a unique triadic pattern consisting of huge platforms, each surmounted by three pyramids.

[66] *Tzuqul* is a provider of any kind, although generally in the sense of food. Barbara Tedlock notes that one of the names for priest-shamans in Momostenango is *tzuqunel* (feeder) because he symbolically "feeds" the Mundo [Spanish "World," the principal earth deity] and his own ancestors with their ceremonies (B. Tedlock 1982, 114). A fundamental aspect of indigenous highland Maya religion is the belief that human beings stand as essential mediators between this world and that of their patron deities and ancestors. Sacred ritual, performed at the proper time and in a manner established by ancient precedent, is necessary to maintain this link or all creation runs the risk of collapse.

[67] *Q'o'l* is one who provides sustenance, primarily in the form of nourishment, but also nurtures in any other way, such as a mother caring for an infant.

[68] There is no English equivalent for the verb *pupuje'ik*. According to the colonial era dictionary compiled by Fr. Domingo de Basseta, the word means "the way in which clouds rise up from mountains."

[69] *Ju suk'*. Basseta translates this as "quickly, instantly." It literally means "one straight," somewhat like our English phrases "straightaway," or "directly."

brought about the conception of the mountains and the valleys.[72] Straightaway were created cypress groves and pine forests to cover the face of the earth.

Thus Quetzal Serpent rejoiced:

"It is good that you have come, Heart of Sky—you, Huracan, and you as well, Youngest Thunderbolt and Sudden Thunderbolt. That which we have framed and shaped shall turn out well," they said.

First the earth was created, the mountains and the valleys. The waterways were divided, their branches coursing among the mountains. Thus the waters were divided, revealing the great mountains. For thus was the creation of the earth, created then by Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth, as they are called. They were the first to conceive it. The

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[70] *Nawal* also has no English equivalent. In Quiché theology, all things, both living and inanimate, have a spirit essence which they call *nawal*. This spirit essence is believed to give them power to act or communicate on a supernatural plane, for example, to transform their usual form into that of a powerful animal or force of nature. Father Coto ascribes this power to the devil, defining the word *naual* as "the magical means whereby the devil spoke to the Quichés through their idols. Thus they would say that the life of the tree, the life of the stone, of the hill, is its *naual*, because they believed there was life in these objects. If a man asks his wife for something to eat or drink when there is nothing in the house, the wife would reply, *xa pe ri tin naualih?* (Do you expect me to perform miracles?)" (Coto 1983, 328, 369). Although *nawal* is borrowed from the Nahua language, where it means "to transform" (Campbell 1983, 84), the Quiché interpretation of the word is derived from the root *na'*, meaning "to feel" or "to know." Thus the creation took place by means of the power of the gods' spirit essence or divine knowledge rather than by physical action.

[71] *Pus* is a loan word from ancient Mixe-Zoque (Campbell 1983, 83), likely the language of the Olmecs who dominated the Gulf Coast region from ca. 1500-400 BC. It refers to the cutting of flesh, and specifically to the practice of human sacrifice. In Colonial period Quiché texts, the word is often paired with the word *nawal* to describe the supernatural power of deities to accomplish what ordinary humans cannot. In the first years after the Spanish conquest, Roman Catholic missionaries adopted the word to describe the power of the Christian God to forgive sins and offer his body as a sacrament (Coto 1983, 424). This use of the word was soon abandoned, however, because of the word's association with ancient Maya gods and their ceremonies. Father Coto thus defines *pus* as "magic, enchantment, necromancy, or witchcraft," thereby associating the people's belief in the power of the Quiché gods with evil and sorcery (Coto 1983, 74, 180, 328, 369).

[72] *Juyub'-Taq'aj* (Mountain-Plain) is an example of merismus, the expression of a broad concept by a pair of complementary elements that are narrower in scope. This pairing is commonly used among present-day Quichés to refer to the earth as a whole. This not only comprises the physical contrast of elevations versus valleys, but also the notion of wilderness versus cultivated land (Cook 2000, 75).

sky was set apart. The earth also was set apart within the waters. Thus was conceived the successful completion of the work when they thought and when they pondered.

THE CREATION OF THE ANIMALS[73]

THEN were conceived the animals of the mountains, the guardians of the forest,[74] and all that populate the mountains—the deer[75] and the birds, the puma[76] and the jaguar,[77] the serpent[78] and the rattlesnake,[79] the pit viper[80] and the guardian of the bushes.

She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons then asked:

"Shall it be merely solitary, merely silent beneath the trees and the bushes? It is well that there shall be guardians for them," they said.

Thus they considered and spoke together, and immediately were created the deer and the birds. Having done this, they then provided homes for the deer and the birds:

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[73] lines 275-339

[74] Quichés believe that the wild animals of the forest serve as guardians and caretakers for the god of the earth, who is usually referred to as *Juyub'-Taq'aj* (Mountain-Plain) or *Dios Mundo* (Spanish for "God Earth). He is often described as a kindly, old, white-haired man who lives in the uninhabited forests. When hunting deer, drinking from a mountain stream, or clearing a field for planting crops, permission must first be obtained from the earth god and appropriate payment made in the form of prayers and offerings. If the proper offerings are not made, the earth god might send one of his wild animals to attack the ungrateful person or to raid his property.

[75] Most likely the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus americana toltecus*).

[76] The Central American mountain lion or cougar (*Felis concolor*).

[77] *Panthera onza*.

[78] This may refer to the boa constrictor (*Constrictor constrictor*) or the venomous bushmaster (*Lechesis muta*).

[79] *Crotalus durissus*.

[80] *K'an Ti'* (Yucatec or Cholan: "Yellow Mouth") is a pit viper, likely the cantil or *fer-de-lance* (*Trigonocephalus specialis*), which is extremely poisonous (Cook 2000, 166). Its name is perhaps derived from the yellow markings around the mouth of the *fer-de-lance* (D. Tedlock 1996, 228 n. 66). Basseta records that it may be any venomous serpent and lists specifically the coral snake. I have used pit viper which covers the range of venomous vipers living in the Maya region.

"You, deer, will sleep along the courses of rivers and in the canyons. Here you will be in the meadows and in the orchards. In the forests you shall multiply. You will walk on all fours, and thus you will be able to stand," they were told.

Then they established the homes of the birds, both small and great.

"You, birds, you will make your homes and your houses in the tops of trees, and in the tops of bushes. There you will multiply and increase in numbers in the branches of the trees and the bushes," the deer and the birds were told.

When this had been done, all of them received their places to sleep and their places to rest. Homes were provided for the animals on the earth[81] by She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons. Thus all was completed for the deer and the birds.

THE FALL OF THE ANIMALS[82]

THEN it was said to the deer and the birds by the Framer and the Shaper, She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons:

"Speak! Call! Don't moan or cry out. Speak to one another, each according to your kind, according to your group," they were told—the deer, the birds, the pumas, the jaguars, and the serpents.

"Speak therefore our names. Worship[83] us, for we are your Mother and your Father. Say this, therefore: 'Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt,

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[81] No animals other than the deer and birds are mentioned as having received their homes and sleeping places. Thus the deer and birds represent all the animals of the earth, indicating their symbolic importance as the primary guardians of earth and sky.

[82] lines 340-433

Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth, Framer and Shaper, She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons.' Speak! Call upon us! Worship us!" they were told.

But they did not succeed. They did not speak like people. They only squawked and chattered and roared. Their speech was unrecognizable,[84] for each cried out in a different way.

When they heard this,[85] the Framer and the Shaper said, "Their speech did not turn out well."

And again they said to each other:

"They were not able to speak our names. We are their Framer and their Shaper. This is not good," said She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons to each other.

They were therefore told:

"You shall be replaced because you were not successful. You could not speak. We have therefore changed our word. Your food and your sustenance, your sleeping places and your places to rest, that which belonged to you, shall be in the canyons and the forests.

"Nevertheless, because you have not been able to worship us or call upon us, there will yet be someone else who may be a worshiper. We shall now make one who

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[83] *Q'ijarisaj* (to worship) is derived from the root *q'ij* (day or sun) in a transitive imperative verb form (cause to be). If such a word existed in English, it might be something like "dayify" (to honor their day, perhaps through calendric ceremonies) or "sunify" (to glorify the gods like the glory of the sun). The gods' purpose in carrying out the creation seems to be to provide beings who will be able to speak intelligibly. Only in this way could the gods be worshiped properly—through the articulation of their names with human speech. Page 80 (lines 534-535) emphasizes that "words" are the gods' support.

[84] Literally "not appeared its face their speech."

[85] Literally "try again their day." *Q'ij* (day, sun) has a host of associated meanings. As Barbara Tedlock writes, "each day has 'its face,' its identity, its character, that influences its events; a person's luck of the moment, or even his fate in general, is called 'the face of his day' (B. Tedlock 1982, 2).

will give honor. Your calling will merely be to have your flesh eaten. Thus be it so. This must be your service,"[86] they were told. Thus were commanded the animals, both small and great, that were upon the face of the earth.

Then they wanted to test again their fate. They wanted to make another attempt. They wanted to try again to arrange[87] for those who would worship them.

The speech of the animals could not be understood. Because of the way they were made, they were not successful.[88] Therefore their flesh was brought low. They were made to serve. The animals that were on the face of the earth were eaten and killed.

THE CREATION OF THE MUD PERSON[89]

THUS there was another attempt to frame and shape man by the Framer and the Shaper, by She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons:

"Let us try again before the first sowing, before the dawn approaches. Let us make a provider, a sustainer for us. How shall we then be called upon so that we are remembered upon the face of the earth? We have already made a first attempt with what we have framed and what we have shaped. But we were not successful in being worshiped or in being revered by them. Thus, let us try again to make one who will honor us, who will respect us; one who will be a provider and a sustainer," they said.

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[86] *Patan* in this context is a required service, the same word being used for tribute payments.

[87] *Nuk'* is to arrange for something, but it also means "to experiment or test," implying a level of uncertainty that matches the previous two phrases, forming a triplet.

[88] The principal reason for the downfall of the first created beings was their inability to communicate in human speech, so the gods could not be worshiped with intelligible words. Each subsequent unsuccessful creation will be destroyed for the same reason.

[89] lines 434-517

Then was the framing, the making of it. Of earth and mud was its flesh composed. But they saw that it was still not good. It merely came undone and crumbled. It merely became sodden and mushy.[90] It merely fell apart and dissolved. Its head was not set apart properly.[91] Its face could only look in one direction. Its face was hidden. Neither could it look about. At first it spoke, but without knowledge.[92] Straightaway it would merely dissolve in water, for it was not strong.

Then said the Framer and the Shaper:

"We have made a mistake; thus let this be merely a mistake.[93] It cannot walk, neither can it multiply. Then let it be so. Let it be merely left behind as a thing of no importance,"[94] they said.

Therefore they undid it. They toppled what they had framed, what they had shaped.

Then they said again:

"How then will we truly make that which may succeed and bear fruit; that will worship us and that will call upon us?" they asked.

Then they thought again:

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[90] *Lub'anik* refers to vegetables that have been boiled so long they have become soft and mushy.

[91] The fact that the head was not placed apart from the body indicates that it did not have a neck with which to turn its head.

[92] When the first Spanish missionaries arrived among the Maya they vigorously suppressed Precolumbian documents such as the *Popol Vuh* and replaced them with doctrinal treatises based on the Bible. Many of these, such as the *Theologia Indorum* by Domingo de Vico, stressed the creation account of Genesis. I can't help but wonder if the first Maya to hear these sermons found it strangely logical that these foreign priests, who burned their books and did not speak their language, were declared to be "formed from the dust of the ground," made soft by a mist that "watered the whole face of the ground" (Genesis 2:6-7). Did the Maya think, "Ah, they're mud people. They speak but without knowledge and understanding."

[93] *Lab'e* is a "mistake, fault, defect, deformed child, or monster." It is also used to indicate a bad omen.

[94] According to Coto, *na'oj chi ri'* means "leave behind; of little importance."

"We shall merely tell Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, Hunahpu Possum and Hunahpu Coyote, 'Try again a divination,[95] a shaping,'" said the Framer and the Shaper to each other.

Then they called upon Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, and in this manner were the seers[96] addressed: "Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light!" In this way, they were addressed by the Framer and the Shaper, for these are the names of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

THE CREATION OF THE EFFIGIES OF CARVED WOOD[97]

HURACAN, along with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, then spoke to the Master of Days[98] and the Mistress of Shaping, they who are seers:

"It shall be found; it shall be discovered how we are to create shaped and framed people who will be our providers and sustainers. May we be called upon, and may we be remembered. For it is with words that we are sustained, O Midwife and Patriarch, our Grandmother and our Grandfather, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane. Thus may it be spoken. May

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[95] *Q'ijixik*, which might be translated "dayification," refers to a divinatory ceremony in which a handful of *tz'ite* beans or grains of maize (cf. 573-574) are cast and then interpreted by a sequential counting of the days of the Quiché ritual calendar. Thus the outcome of the creation is to be ritually determined through a divinatory "counting of days." This practice was apparently widespread in ancient Mesoamerica. The Codex Borbonicus from Central Mexico depicts two aged deities casting seeds of maize or *tz'ite* in a divinatory ceremony (folio 21). Calendar divination is still a common practice among the highland Maya.

[96] According to Basseta, *nicvachinel* refers to a "soothsayer, diviner, fortuneteller," based on the root verb *nicoh* (to see, or look ahead). Coto adds that a *niq vachinel* is one who sees well, or divines by means of lots, which, in fact, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane practice on pp. 81-82 (lines 583-623). The implication is that Xpiyacoc and Xmucane were able to see with divine foresight.

[97] lines 518-679

[98] *Aj q'ij* is still the title used by Quiché priests who divine the will of deity through a ritual counting of the days in the sacred calendar. The title means literally "he/she of days," or "master of days," although modern ethnographers often refer to them as "daykeepers." Because Xmucane and Xpiyacoc assisted in the creation of the universe at the beginning of time, thus setting in motion the endless cycles of day and night, birth and death, sowing and harvest, they stand as the ideal interpreters through divination of these cycles.

it be sown. May it dawn so that we are called upon and supported, so that we are remembered by framed and shaped people, by effigies[99] and forms[100] of people. Hearken and let it be so.

"Reveal your names, Hunahpu Possum and Hunahpu Coyote, Great She Who Has Borne Children and Great He Who Has Begotten Sons, Great Peccary and Great Coati, Jeweler and Worker in Precious Stones, Sculptor and Wood Worker, Creator of the Green Earth and Creator of the Blue Sky, Incense[101] Maker and Master Artist,[102]

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[99] *Poy* is any type of created image that resembles a human— an effigy, doll, manikin, scarecrow, etc.

[100] According to Basseta, *anom* is something that is created in the image of something else, a "model or form," often made by means of a mould. It is also used to refer to a "fool, buffoon, or someone who is lightminded and unserious." These words presage the falseness and lack of intelligence characteristic of the wooden effigies that are soon to be created.

[101] *Q'ol.* This is tree sap, the most common source of incense among the Maya. This word most commonly refers to pine resin incense, although it may be used for other types as well.

[102] The Quiché title *Aj Toltecat* is given to anyone who is highly skilled in art, science, religion, and creative endeavors in general. *Toltecat* refers specifically to the ancient Toltecs, who, under the legendary priest-ruler Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, founded the city of Tula in Central Mexico in the tenth century a.d. Although the city fell some two centuries later, the fame of its people was passed from generation to generation, undoubtedly embellished significantly with each retelling. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the ancient Toltecs had achieved an almost mythic reputation as masters in all the arts. The Aztecs gave the following description in folio 172v of the Codex Matritensis:

> The Toltecs were a skillful people;
> all of their works were good, all were exact,
> all well made and admirable.
>
> Their houses were beautiful, with turquoise mosaics,
> the walls finished with plaster,
> clean and marvelous houses, which is to say
> Toltec houses, beautifully made,
> beautiful in everything...
>
> Painters, sculptors, carvers of precious stones,
> feather artists, potters, spinners, weavers,
> skillful in all they made....
>
> The Toltecs were truly wise;
> they conversed with their own hearts....
> They played their drums and rattles;
> They were singers, they composed songs
> and sang them among the people;

Grandmother of Day and Grandmother of Light. Thus shall you all be called by that which we shall frame and shape. Cast[103] grains of maize and *tz'ite*[104] to divine how what we shall make will come out when we grind and chisel out its mouth and face in wood,"[105] so it was said to the Masters of Days.

Thus began the divination ceremony, the casting of grains of maize and of *tz'ite*, the revelation of days and of shaping. Then spoke the one Grandmother and the one Grandfather to them.

For this was the Grandfather, the Master of the *Tz'ite*, Xpiyacoc by name. And this was the Grandmother, the Mistress of Days[106] and Mistress of Shaping who is at the foot,[107] who is called Xmucane.

Thus they began to speak, to carry out their divination ceremony:

"May it be discovered. May it be found. Say it! Our ears hear you. Speak! Tell it! May the tree be found that is to be carved and chiseled out by the Framer and the Shaper.

They guarded the songs in their memories,
they deified them in their hearts. (León-Portilla 1980, 207)

[103] *Mala'* (to cast) refers not only to the scattering of the grains of maize or *tz'ite*, but also to the act of gently passing the hand over the pile of grains to mix them prior to their use in divination ceremonies (for a description of this ceremony see Schultze-Jena 1954; B. Tedlock 1982).

[104] *Tz'ite* is the bright-red beanlike seed of the coral tree (Spanish: *palo de pito* tree; *Erythrina corallodendron*). The seeds are used in divination ceremonies. Just as in the *Popol Vuh* manuscript, modern Quiché *aj q'ij* priests may use maize kernels or *tz'ite* seeds for such divinations. *Tz'ite* seeds are often referred to metaphorically as maize as well (Schultze-Jena 1954, 84; B. Tedlock 1982, 84).

[105] Each of the first three creative attempts used a different class of material—animal (wild beasts and birds), mineral (mud), and vegetable (wood).

[106] In Momostenango the ideal is for married couples to act as the agents in such ceremonies, similar to the tradition of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane (B. Tedlock 1982, 85).

[107] *Chi raqan* may mean either "at the foot" or "at the leg" since the Quiché language does not distinguish between the foot and the leg. Although Dennis Tedlock translates this phrase somewhat inaccurately as "who stands behind others," I agree with his interpretation that Xmucane in her role as a female *aj q'ij* (daykeeper) positions herself at the feet of the petitioner so as to give assistance "as a daykeeper does when praying and giving offerings on behalf of a client, or a midwife does when assisting a birth" (D. Tedlock 1996, 234 n. 70).

If this is to be the provider and the sustainer, then may it now be sown that the dawn may come. You, grains of maize, and you, *tz'ite*; you, days, and you, the shaping—you are called,[108] you are summoned."[109] Thus it was said[110] to the grains of maize and the *tz'ite*, to the days and the shaping.

"Bring it to a conclusion, [111] O Heart of Sky. Do not punish them further.[112] Do not cause any more suffering for Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent," they said.

Then they spoke straight to the point:[113]

"May these effigies of wood come out well. May they speak. May they communicate there upon the face of the earth. May it be so," they said.

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[108] According to Basseta, *chokonik* refers to "calling," in the sense of being called upon to carry out an errand.

[109] *Taqentaj* is "to be summoned, commissioned, dispatched, given a task to fulfill, or be sent out as a messenger."

[110] Modern *aj q'ij* priests also speak directly to the *tz'ite* as they carry out their divinatory ceremonies, urging them to give an accurate and true answer to their petition.

[111] *K'ix* is "to complete, finish, conclude, or come to a solution" (Varea). As a noun, the word refers to a thorn, spine, or insect sting. When used as a verb, it is one of the words used to describe drawing blood in auto-sacrificial ceremonies. In this passage, it is possible that both meanings are intended. In Mesoamerican theology, gods of the creation often sacrifice themselves in order to provide the sacred blood necessary to produce new life.

[112] The phrase *mak'ajisaj u chi', u wach* (don't grind up his mouth, his face) is a common expression meaning something like "don't punish him" or "don't teach him a hard lesson." Heart of Sky is thus being counseled not to cause Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent any more grief with further failures to successfully create beings who can worship and support them. Perhaps a bit of frustration at the gods' lack of success up to this point is evident in this address by Xpiyacoc and Xmucane to Heart of Sky. The Quichés are known for their directness in prayer. When a perceived injustice takes place in the life of a petitioner, he/she may well complain directly to the god who has responsibility for that malady and insist bluntly that things be made right. Bunzel suggests that Quiché deities are generally neutral entities, and thus "subject to bribery, cajolery and threats" (Bunzel 1952, 267). I heard one farmer bitterly accuse the earth god of taking a tool of his, even though the man had made all the appropriate offerings, and demand that it be returned immediately. Modern *aj q'ij* priests repeatedly admonish the gods to tell the truth and not *b'an tzij* (make words or lie).

[113] Literally "they spoke its straightness."

And when they had spoken, straightaway the effigies[114] of carved wood were made. They had the appearance of people and spoke like people as well. They populated the whole face of the earth. The effigies of carved wood began to multiply, bearing daughters and sons.

Nevertheless, they still did not possess their hearts nor their minds. They did not remember their Framer or their Shaper.[115] They walked without purpose.[116] They crawled on their hands and knees and did not remember Heart of Sky. Thus they were weighed in the balance. They were merely an experiment, an attempt at people. At first they spoke, but their faces were all dried up. Their legs and arms were not filled out. They had no blood or blood flow[117] within them. They had no sweat or oil. Their cheeks were dry, and their faces were masks.[118] Their legs and arms were stiff. Their bodies were rigid.[119] Thus they were not capable of understanding[120] before their Framer and their Shaper, those

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[114] *Poy* refers to any effigy fashioned in the likeness of a human, such as a doll or scarecrow. Tedlock translates the word as "manikin," Recinos as "figure," and Edmonson as "doll."

[115] Again, the cause of the downfall of this attempt at humanity is their failure to *remember* the gods and thus worship them properly.

[116] According to Basseta, *xaloq'* is something "without cause, without purpose, in vain." Tedlock's Quiché collaborator remarked that this phrase indicates that the wooden effigies were "like animals," because humans must ask permission of the gods to travel any significant distance (D. Tedlock 1996, 234, n. 70).

[117] The text lists two parallel words here, *kik'el* and *komajil*, both of which mean "blood." Basseta mentions that *komaj* may specifically refer to menstruation, or menstrual blood flow.

[118] Quichés consider the face to be the symbol for the personality or essence of a person. The fact that the wooden effigies had masks rather than faces implies that they were false by nature.

[119] The word *yeyoj* means both "rigid" as well as "stubborn."

[120] *Na'wik*. This is the capacity to understand, notice, observe, perceive. Thus it is the wooden effigies' inability to learn and grow in knowledge that destroys them. *Na'b'al* (understanding, knowledge, memory) is a uniquely human trait. A resident of Santiago Chimaltenango noted that even a newborn baby has *naab'l*. But although animals may have a kind of awareness, they lack *naab'l* (Watanabe 1992, 82). Watanabe suggests that the notion of *naab'l* includes the larger concepts of soul, socialization, learning, and conventions of Chimalteco morality (Ibid., 100). Thus, the effigies of wood lack the essential awareness,

who had given them birth and given them hearts. They were the first numerous people who have lived here upon the face of the earth.

THE FALL OF THE EFFIGIES OF CARVED WOOD[121]

THEN came the end of the effigies carved of wood, for they were ruined, crushed,[122] and killed. A flood was planned by Heart of Sky that came down upon the heads of the effigies carved of wood.[123]

The body of man had been carved of *tz'ite* wood[124] by the Framer and the Shaper. The body of woman consisted of reeds[125] according to the desire of the Framer and the

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and understanding that are characteristic of human beings. In this sense, they are like the animals who were not able to remember or honor the gods properly and were thus destroyed.

[121] lines 680-837

[122] *Q'utuxik* is "to be crushed or pulverized," generally with reference to dried vegetables like chili peppers.

[123] The destruction of the earth by flood prior to our present age was a widespread tradition in Mesoamerica: "There was among them information of the flood and of the end of the world, and they called it Butic, which is the word which means flood of many waters and means 'judgment,' and so they believe that another Butic is about to come, which is another flood and judgment, not of water, but of fire, which they say would be the end of the world, in which all the creatures would reprove, especially those which serve man, like the stones on which they grind their corn and wheat, the pots, the vessels, giving to understand that they will turn against man, and that the moon and sun would be eclipsed, saying that they would be eaten" (Las Casas 1967, III.ccxxxv.507; cf. III.cxxiv.650. Translation by author). The Yucatec Maya *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* records that the people of that age "were buried in the sand at the shore of the sea, in the waves. Then in a great sheet of water the waves came. When the great serpent was taken away, the heavens fell and the earth was submerged" (León-Portilla 1969, 50; cf. Roys 1967, 170). Aztec tradition also has the inhabitants of the fourth age of the earth destroyed by flood: "These are those who lived in the fourth Sun, called 4-Water. They lived 676 years, until they were destroyed. They were swallowed up by the waters and became fish. The heavens collapsed upon them and in a single day they perished" (Velázquez 1945, 119-120). Although the *Popol Vuh* has the wooden effigies destroyed in a flood (see also p. 85; lines 706-709, 728-731), lines 710-723 have them crushed and devoured by monstrous beasts, while lines 736-823 describe their ruin at the hands of their own domesticated animals, grinding stones, utensils, and other possessions.

[124] In highland Guatemala, the wood of the *tz'ite* (coral tree) is still considered to have extraordinary power, including the ability to speak (Orellana 1984, 98). In the Tz'utujil-Maya village of Santiago Atitlán, traditionalists venerate an effigy carved of *tz'ite* wood that they call Maximon (Ancient One Who Is Bound) or alternatively Mam (Ancient One). The trunk of this effigy is approximately 2.5 feet in height and 6-8 inches thick, with separate pieces of wood attached to form the head and legs. A carved mask with a roughly hewn face is tied about the head (cf. p. 84; lines 668-669). This effigy is said to be more ancient

Shaper. But they were not capable of understanding and did not speak before their Framer and their Shaper, their makers and their creators.

Thus they were killed in the flood. There came a great resin down from the sky.[126]

There came the ones called Chiselers of Faces, who gouged out their eyes.[127] There came Death Knives,[128] which cut off their heads. There came Crouching[129] Jaguar, who ate their flesh. There came Striking[130] Jaguar, who struck them. They smashed their bones and their tendons.[131]

Their bones were ground up. They were broken into pieces. Their faces were ground up[132] because they proved to be incapable of understanding before the face of their mother and the face of their father, Heart of Sky, Huracan by name.[133]

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than Christ, having been created "in the beginning of time, or of the world" (Mendelson 1959, 58, 60). Maximon is considered old and often malignant, standing in opposition to the established order of the community. He is thus associated with forgetfulness (B. Tedlock 1982, 101; cf. p. 83; lines 652-653, 656-657), hunger, sterility, sexual depravity (Thompson 1970, 299; Mendelson 1958b, 9), and opposition to life deities. He is particularly prominent during Easter celebrations, in which he presides over the death and entombment of Jesus Christ (Mendelson 1959, 1965; Tarn and Prechtel 1997; Christenson 2001, 176-191). The Maximon figure may be a remembrance of the chaotic world prior to the creation of humankind, when the gods were not remembered or worshiped properly by effigies carved from *tz'ite* wood. Cook suggests that Maximon's opposition to Christ represents a kind of "underground survival of powers from earlier, superseded epochs" (Cook 2000, 139-140).

[125] This is the type of reed commonly used for weaving mats in Guatemala (*Typha angustifolia*).

[126] Some confusion appears in the text as to the nature of the flood that destroyed the wooden effigies. Here the flood is composed of resin, sap, or turpentine (secretions of pine trees). Page 87 (lines 728-731) however describes a watery flood caused by heavy rainfall.

[127] *U b'aq' u wach* (its seed his/her face) refers to the eyes.

[128] *Lotz* is a knife used in butchering or surgery, although the word may also refer to the act of cutting flesh.

[129] "Crouching," as if lying in ambush.

[130] *Tukuj* is "to strike something violently, with the intention of breaking it."

[131] *Ib'och'il* may refer to "tendons, blood vessels, or nerves." I have chosen "tendons" because this word best parallels bones as a stiff supporting structure of the body.

[132] To "grind someone's face" is a metaphor for inflicting punishment.

Thus they caused the face of the earth to be darkened, and there fell a black rain,[134] a rain that fell both day and night. The small and the great animals came in upon them.[135] Their faces were crushed by the trees and the stones. They were spoken to by all their maize grinders and their cooking griddles,[136] their plates and their pots, their dogs[137] and their grinding stones.[138] However many things they had, all of them crushed their faces.

Their dogs and their turkeys[139] said to them:

"Pain you have caused us. You ate us. Therefore it will be you that we will eat now."

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[133] The violent destruction of the wooden effigies is perhaps commemorated in the dismemberment of the Maximon figure at Santiago Atitlán (see previous note on the *tz'ite*-wood figures). Maximon is a figure of carved *tz'ite*-wood prominently displayed at times of crisis, such as during the death of Christ at Easter or at harvest time, when the crops are ceremonially "killed." When Christ rose from the dead and life restored to the world at the climax of such festivals, Maximon was ritually defeated by disassembling the wooden pieces of his body, removing his mask, and placing it upside down so that he cannot harm anyone and so that he will be left "without power of speech" (Mendelson 1965, 123). In other highland Maya communities, figures representing Maximon are torn apart, hung from trees, or burned. I saw one particularly evil-looking Maximon near the town of Sololá slashed repeatedly with a machete and thrown out onto a highway so that cars and buses would run over it.

[134] "Black" in the sense that the storm was so severe that the sky was darkened with clouds.

[135] The implication is that the wild animals of the mountains entered into the houses of the wooden effigies. The Quichés believe that when a wild animal enters their home it is to deliver a message from the earth god, who is the master of the animals. In this case, the message is a foreshadowing of the destruction that is soon to come upon the wooden effigies.

[136] *Xot* (griddle) is a round, flat clay piece upon which tortillas or slices of steamed maize dough are cooked.

[137] There were very few domesticated animals in Precolumbian Mesoamerica. Those that have been documented are the dog, turkey, and honeybee. The dog mentioned here is a small, fat, nearly hairless variety that does not bark and that was eaten in addition to being kept as a pet.

[138] This is the *metate*, upon which maize and other grains are ground. It is usually made from a single block of heavy volcanic stone, quadrangular in shape, and supported by three short stone legs.

[139] In modern Quiché usage, *ak'* refers to chickens, which were introduced by the Spaniards soon after the Conquest. The Precolumbian *ak'* was the domesticated turkey (*Meleagris ocellata*). Colonial period dictionaries often refer to the turkey as *kitzih ak'* (true *ak'*) to distinguish it from the chicken introduced from Europe. The dog and turkey together represent those domesticated animals raised by the Quichés and thus under their direct care and supervision. The wooden effigies thus reaped the vengeance of their own animals as a result of their cruelty and thoughtlessness.

Then the grinding stones said this to them:

"We were ground upon by you. Every day, every day, in the evening and at dawn, always you did *holi, holi, huki, huki*[140] on our faces. This was our service for you who were the first people. But this day you shall feel our strength. We shall grind you like maize. We shall grind up your flesh,"[141] said their grinding stones to them.

Then their dogs said this to them:

"Why was it that you didn't give us our food? All we did was look at you, and you chased us away. You threw us out. You raised sticks against us to beat us while you ate.[142] Thus you have spoken to us.[143] We could not speak; therefore we received nothing from you. How could you not have understood this?[144] You did understand. We were forgotten because of you. This day, therefore, you shall try the teeth that are in our mouths. We shall eat you," said the dogs to them. Thus their faces were crushed.

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[140] The phrase *holi, holi, huqui, huqui* has been translated in a variety of ways in the past. Raynaud translates it as "strip, strip, tear, tear." Edmonson interprets it as "Crunch, crunch! Scrape, scrape!" Tedlock uses "R-r-rip, r-r-rip, r-r-rub, r-r-rub." *Juk'i* may, in fact, be translated "scrape" or "rub," but *jol* has no relevant meaning in this passage. I have chosen to leave the phrase untranslated, because I believe the authors intended the words to convey the sound that is produced when maize is ground on a *metate* stone. The initial h of each of the words is pronounced harshly, like a Spanish j or a German ch, creating a coarse sound remarkably like that of stone scraping rhythmically against stone.

[141] It is poetic justice that each of the household possessions of the wooden effigies chose to punish their owners with the same torments that they had suffered previously at their hands. Thus the grinding stones grind the faces of the wooden people in the same way that their own faces had been ground upon day in and day out (p. 87; lines 767-769). The dogs who had been eaten now eat their masters (p. 88; lines 784-789). The griddles and pots, which had been placed on the fire each day, now throw their owners into the fire to be burned (p. 88; lines 799-800). The stone tools and hearthstones pound the heads of the wooden effigies as they had been beaten upon (pp. 88-89; lines 800-807).

[142] Even today domesticated dogs are often treated very carelessly among the Quichés. Most are emaciated and in constant fear of beatings and harsh words.

[143] The purpose of the creation has been to create people who were capable of speech in order to sustain the gods. The dogs are pointing out that, instead, their speech has been limited to beatings and violence. Thus the wooden effigies have also failed in their purpose.

[144] *Na'wik* is to "understand, know, notice, observe, or perceive." Any of these might fit this context. Pages 84-86 (lines 673, 724-725) assert that it was the lack of ability in the wooden effigies to "understand" that condemned them.

Then spoke also their griddles and their pots to them:

"Pain you have caused us. Our mouths and our faces are sooty. You were forever throwing us upon the fire and burning us. Although we felt no pain, you now shall try it. We shall burn you," said all of their pots. Thus their faces were all crushed.

The stones of the hearth flattened them. They would come out from the fire, landing on their heads and causing them pain. They fled. They hurried away. They wanted to climb up on top of the houses, but the houses would fall apart beneath them and they were thrown off. They wanted to climb up to the tops of the trees, but the trees would not support them. They wanted to hide in caves, but the mouths of the caves closed up before their faces.

Thus the framed people, the shaped people, were undone. They were demolished and overthrown as people. The mouths and the faces of all of them were ruined and crushed.

It is said that the spider monkeys[145] that are in the forest today are descendents[146] of these people. This was their heritage because their flesh was merely wood when it was created by the Framer and the Shaper. Therefore the spider monkeys appear like people, descendents of one generation of framed and shaped people. But they were only effigies carved of wood.

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[145] *K'oy* refers to the spider monkey (*Ateles vellerosus* or *Ateles geoffroyi*). Central Mexican traditions are remarkably similar. The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* relate the tradition that in the fourth age of the earth "people were turned into monkeys. They were scattered over the mountains, and the monkey-men lived there" (León-Portilla 1980, 138).

[146] *Etal* is generally used to mean "sign, symbol, or manifestation." Coto notes that it may also refer to "descendents, son, heritage, or succession." The latter interpretation seems to fit the context better in this passage.

THE PRIDE OF SEVEN MACAW BEFORE THE DAWN[147]

WHILE the face of the earth was only a little brightened,[148] before there was a sun, there was one who puffed himself up[149] named Seven Macaw.[150] There was a sky and an earth, but the faces of the sun and moon were dim.[151] He therefore declared himself to be the bright sign for those who were drowned in the flood.[152] He was like an enchanted person in his essence.

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[147] lines 838-907

[148] This translation is based on the Quiché word *natatic*, which refers to the first faint rays of light at dawn. Basseta likens it to the dim light cast by the moon.

[149] *Nimarisaj rib'* (to aggrandise self) is a common Quiché expression for pride or boastfulness. The *Popol Vuh* repeatedly describes this as forbidden or evil (see for example pp. 94, 96; lines 915-916), and those who are guilty of it are severely punished under the direction of the god Heart of Sky.

[150] The scarlet macaw (*Ara macao*) is a large species of parrot with beautiful, bright-red plumage. Seven Macaw is portrayed as a boastful individual whose ultimate downfall is ordained by Heart of Sky because of the excessive pride he had in his glorious appearance.

[151] The verb *moymot* (dim) refers to something giving off a dim or shadowy light, such as a sputtering candle flame or the sky at twilight.

[152] The account of Seven Macaw is set at the time prior to the flood that destroyed the wooden effigies, as described in the previous section (see also p. 93; lines 901-902). This episode may have political overtones as well. According to the *Books of Chilam Balam* the founder of Izamal, one of the principal Yucatec centers in the Postclassic period, was a semi-deified lord named Kenech Kukmo (Sun-faced/eyed Fire Macaw) (Roys 1967, 82, 141, 160 n. 2; Craine and Reindorp 1979, 83-84 n. 78). This lord was also the ancestor of a number of the principal lineages of Yucatán who worshiped him as a god. So important was this god/ruler that the *Chilam Balam of Maní* refers to him as the personification of all northern Yucatán (Craine and Reindorp 1979, 156). Cogolludo wrote of him: "They had another temple on another mount in the northern part of the city, and this, from the name of an idol which they worshiped here, they called Kinich Kakmo, which means the sun with a face. They say that the rays were of fire and descended at mid-day to consume the sacrifice, as the vacamaya flies through the air (which is a bird something like a parrot, though larger in size, and with finely colored feathers). They resorted to this idol in time of mortality, pestilence, or much sickness, both men and women, and brought many offerings. They say that at mid-day a fire descended and consumed the sacrifice in the sight of all. After this the priest replied to their inquires about the sickness, famine, or pestilence, and thus they learned their fate (Cogolludo 1957, IV.8.198; cited in Craine and Reindorp 1979, 83 n. 78). Izamal was eventually conquered by Kak-u-pacal (Fire His Shield) of Mayapan. Gaspar Antonio Chi wrote that "in course of time the inhabitants of the said town (Izamal) were conquered by Kak-u-pacal and a hundred valorous captains formerly of the town of Mayapan, and that those who founded this place were called Kinich-Kabul, Kinich Kakmo and others from whom descend the Xool, Mo and Coyi <families>, Indians so named in this province" (cited in Roys 1967, 160 n. 2). Mayapan is a good candidate for the Tulan mentioned in the *Popol Vuh* as the sacred city from which the ancestors of the Quiché rulers derived their authority to rule (pp. 210-213). Thus this account of the boastfulness of a sun-faced/eyed macaw who declared himself to be a sun and moon god, but who ultimately fell at the hands of the ancestors of the Quichés (who eventually became apotheosed as the true

"I am great. I dwell above the heads of the people who have been framed and shaped. I am their sun. I am also their light. And I am also their moon.[153]

"Then be it so. Great is my brightness. By the brilliance of my silver and gold[154] I light the walkways and pathways[155] of the people.

"My eyes sparkle with glittering blue/green jewels.[156] My teeth as well are jade stones,[157] as brilliant as the face of the sky. This, my beak, shines brightly far into the distance like the moon.[158]

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sun and moon—see p. 191) may be a mythic recollection of this historical incident. It is perhaps significant as well that the conquest of Izamal was carried out by Kak-u-pacal (Fire His Shield), while the titular god of the Quichés, Tohil, was primarily a fire deity (pp. 213-217). In addition, the progenitors of the Quiché ruling lineages bore the title *K'enech Ajaw* (Sun-faced/eyed Lord—see p. 203n.505), the legitimate sun lords as opposed to the false sun of Seven Macaw.

[153] Although the predominant emphasis in this passage is on the light of the sun and moon, the authors of the text apparently also meant to emphasize that Seven Macaw saw himself as the means of marking the passage of time. *Q'ij* means both sun and day; *Ik'il* may refer to the moon, but more often this form of the word refers to month. Calendrics are a vital part of highland Maya culture and ritual because passages of time are believed to be manifestations of deity. Notice that at the end of the chapter the authors refer to the "days and months" before the sun and moon could be seen.

[154] *Puwaq* refers to any type of precious metal. In modern usage, the word requires a color modifier to determine its specific type—*q'an puwaq* (yellow precious metal) for gold or copper, *saq puwaq* (white precious metal) for silver, etc. In this case, Seven Macaw compares his brilliance to that of shiny metal.

[155] *B'inib'al* (walkway) and the parallel word *chakab'al* (pathway) both end in the suffix *-b'al*, which indicates a facilitative object. The root of *b'inib'al* is *b'inik* (to walk); therefore, the word may refer to anything which facilitates the act of walking. This may be a well-cleared walkway, a walking stick, or a torch to illuminate one's path in darkness. *Chakab'al* has a similar usage, although its root, *chakanik*, refers to the act of walking on all fours, or crawling. The same two verbs are used to describe the travel of animals (p. 74; lines 312-314), as well as that of the wooden effigies before their destruction in the flood (p. 83; lines 654-655). Tedlock's collaborator, Andrés Xiloj, indicated that these two words "are in the prayers we say at the *warabal ha* [patrilineage shrines], to ask permission for anyone who goes out of the house to whatever place" (D. Tedlock 1985, 261). Seven Macaw is thus boasting that he stands as the only "way and light" for all creation in the darkness of the predawn world.

[156] *K'uwal* may refer to any rare gemstone. It is derived from a root word meaning "to be hidden or covered up." Colonial period dictionaries often give "emerald" as the specific definition of the word, and emerald appears to be the blue/green jewel described here.

[157] *Xit* is the word for greenstone. Green or blue stones like jade, serpentine, nephrite, and turquoise were highly prized in ancient Mesoamerica, their value surpassing that of gold. Maya lords often decorated their teeth with jadeite or nephrite inlays as a token of their power and prestige. Such inlays were so meticulously carved and fitted into prepared incisor teeth that no significant gaps between tooth and stone are detectable.

"My throne is gold and silver. When I go forth from my throne, I brighten the face of the earth.

"Thus I am the sun. I am the moon as well for those who are born in the light, those who are begotten in the light.

"Then be it so. My vision[159] reaches far," said Seven Macaw.

Now Seven Macaw was not truly the sun, but he puffed himself up in this way because of his plumage and his gold and his silver. His vision did not reach beyond where he sat. It did not really reach everywhere beneath the sky.

Thus Seven Macaw puffed himself up in the days and months before the faces of the sun, moon, and stars could truly be seen. He desired only greatness and transcendence before the light of the sun and moon were revealed in their clarity. This was in the era when the flood was made because of the effigies of carved wood.

Now we shall tell how Seven Macaw died; how he was defeated at the time when people were made by the Framer and the Shaper.

THE FALL OF SEVEN MACAW AND HIS SONS[160]

THIS is the beginning of his defeat. This is the shaking[161] of the day of Seven Macaw by the twins,[162] named Hunahpu[163] and Xbalanque.[164] They were simply gods. As

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[158] The scarlet macaw has a shiny white beak.

[159] *Wach*. I base this reading on various compounds of the word that refer to vision or sight, such as *solwachij* (to gaze, stare fixedly). *Wach*, however, is a complex word that comprises all the aspects of a thing that give it its essential nature. As such it may be translated as "face, countenance, image, or visage." Vision is one of the primary aspects of this nature because it is the means by which knowledge is gained (see pp. 197-200; lines 4983-5123).

[160] lines 908-984

[161] *Yiqoxik* is literally "to be shaken," but with the implication of being troubled, disturbed, harassed, disquieted, or fearful.

[162] Literally "two sons/boys." *K'ajol* (son) is often used in the text to refer to a young man or boy without necessarily emphasizing the parentage of the individual.

[163] Here we are introduced for the first time to the twin heroes, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who will be the central focus of much of the remainder of the mythological portions of the *Popol Vuh*. Hunahpu has generally been translated in the past as "One Master of the Blowgun" or "One Blowgun Hunter" on the assumption that *pu* is a shortened version of *[p]ub'* (blowgun). This may well be the original etymology of the name. In this section of the text, Hunahpu is described as a great blowgun hunter. On the other hand, the authors of the *Popol Vuh* text consistently wrote the word for blowgun as *ub'* or *wub',* not *pu.* It is therefore unlikely that the Quiché authors of the text had "blowgun" in mind when they wrote the name of this deity. If the Quiché scribes had meant to make it clear that he was a "blowgunner," they would have used the word currently in use at the time. I believe that they remembered the name as it was handed down to them over the generations and simply preserved the archaic spelling because that was simply his proper name. Hunahpu is treated as a single proper name elsewhere in the text, much like Taylor and Cooper are used as family names without necessarily calling to mind the professions of clothier or barrel maker. The father of the culture hero Hunahpu is named Hun Hunahpu, which if translated literally would mean "One One Master of the Blowgun," a needlessly redundant reading unless Hunahpu were meant to be read as a single untranslated name. Schele and Mathews have proposed an alternative reading based on a Cholan-Maya language etymology, the language of the Classic Maya (ca. AD 250-900) that dominated the lowland region from Palenque and Calakmul as far south as Copan (Schele and Mathews 1998, 74, 295). Inscriptions from this period refer to the Central Mexican city of Teotihuacan as *Puh* (Place of Cattail Reeds). This is the Maya language version of *Tollan* (Nahuatl for "Place of Cattail Reeds), the legendary founding place of the arts and sciences, as well as of political power and legitimacy. This title was given to a number of major centers, including Teotihuacan, Cholula, Chichen Itza, and Tenochtitlan. It is likely that the concept is even older, dating to Olmec traditions in the southern Gulf Coast region, tied to legends of the birth of the world from the primordial sea. The reeds represent the first life to emerge from this place of origin (Schele and Mathews 1998, 200). If *Hunahpu* is related to this concept, the title could be interpreted as "One/First He of the Place of Cattail Reeds," meaning that the deity pertains to the legendary founding place of Mesoamerican civilization, or the place of original creation. Hunahpu is also one of the named days of the 260-day sacred calendar still used by the Quichés. This day is associated with the underworld realm of the dead and with rebirth from that realm. I have chosen to leave the name untranslated, as it is used in this context as a proper name, rather than a descriptive term.

[164] The derivation of the name Xbalanque is problematic. The prefix *x-* is a diminutive as well as a feminine indicator. Thus, depending on the context, it may mean "young, small, little," or it may be used as a female title, such as "lady." The latter usage has led to some speculation that Xbalanque may have been the twin sister of Hunahpu, acting as the female counterpart to the male powers of the hunter. This theory is not supported by the text, however, which consistently refers to the twins as "sons" or "boys." Hunahpu himself often carries the *x-* prefix, although not as consistently as his brother (see lines 4307, 4550, 4576, 4586, 4646, 4725). *B'alan* is undoubtedly an archaic spelling of *b'alam* (jaguar), m/n letter substitutions being fairly common in Quiché. Indeed, Vico transcribed the name in his *Theologia Indorum* as Xbalamquej (Carmack and Morales Santos 1983, 6-8). Known for its ferocity and cunning, the jaguar is the largest predator in Mesoamerica. Rulers decorated their thrones with jaguar symbols and wore jaguar pelts to emphasize lordly power. In addition, the jaguar is associated with ritual powers of transformation and prophecy. The terminal *ke* is more difficult to interpret. The most likely derivations are *kej* (deer) or *q'ij* (sun or day). The latter possibility is intriguing. The Maya closely identified the jaguar with the sun, particularly in its journey through the underworld at night. The story of Xbalanque and his brother focuses on their passage through the underworld, where they defeat the lords of death, ultimately to become the apotheosed sun and moon in the sky. Father Bartolomé de las Casas was told in the sixteenth century that Exbalanquen was a god from the area of the Guatemalan Alta Verapaz who made war with the lords of hell and returned as a great ruler (Las Casas 1958, 427). The word for sun in the Kekchi-Maya dialect of the

a result they saw evil in this prideful one who acted according to his own desires before the face of Heart of Sky.[165]

Thus the boys said:

"Good shall never come of this. People will never be able to live here on the face of the earth. Thus we will try to shoot him with our blowguns.[166] When he flies over his food, we will shoot him, thus causing him to be afflicted. Then his jade, his gold and silver, his jewels, his glittering things, and all things over which he keeps vigil, will come to an end.

"May it be done thus, for people cannot be created where only gold and silver are glory.[167] Then be it so," said the boys. And each one shouldered his blowgun.

Now this Seven Macaw had two sons. His firstborn was Zipacna,[168] and his secondborn was Cabracan.[169] Chimalmat[170] was the name of their mother, the wife of Seven Macaw.

Alta Verapaz region is *q'e*, and Xbalamq'e is still remembered by the Kekchi as a sun god (D. Tedlock 1996, 239 n. 77). If this name is purely of Kekchi origin, Balamq'e may be read in that language as "hidden sun, or the night sun" (Ibid.). The most likely translation of the name would therefore be "Young Hidden/Jaguar Sun."

[165] The text makes it clear that the twin heroes Hunahpu and Xbalanque did not act alone or without authority. All their actions were first ordained by the god Heart of Sky (also called Huracan—cf. p. 70; lines 183-189), and were carried out under his direction.

[166] The shooting of a bird deity by twin boys armed with blowguns is a frequent subject of Maya art at least as far back as the Early Classic period (AD 200-600), indicating that the theological foundation of this incident is of great antiquity.

[167] *Q'aq'al* is a word laden with culturally-significant implications. Literally it is derived from the root *q'aq'* (fire, flame), but in this form it refers to "glory, power, majesty." Thus the twins suggest that the creation of human beings cannot be successful when material wealth such as gold and silver are the sole source of glory and power in the world.

[168] Zipacna is most likely derived from the Nahuatl *cipactli*, a monstrous crocodile whose spiny back symbolized the mountainous earth floating on the primordial sea. This probability is consistent with the *Popol Vuh* account in which Zipacna declares himself to be the caretaker of the mountains and creator of the earth. Cipactli is also a day on the Central Mexican calendar, suggesting that like other names in the *Popol Vuh*, this character has calendric associations. This is a long hill in the center of the Rabinal valley

Zipacna was he that sustained the great mountains—Chigag,[171] Hunahpu,[172] Peculya,[173] Xcanul,[174] Macamob,[175] and Huliznab.[176] These are the names of the mountains that existed at the time of the dawn. In a single night, they were created by Zipacna.

Cabracan was he who would shake the mountains, both small and great, causing them to tremble.

But it was only the pride of the sons of Seven Macaw:

"This is what I am. I am the sun!" said Seven Macaw.

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roughly the shape of a crocodile. It is still called Sipac and the people of Rabinal associate it with a crocodile (Akkeren 2000, 60).

[169] The Quiché name *Kab'raqan* may be literally translated "Two His Legs." In modern usage, this is the common word for "earthquake," and this interpretation fits Cabracan's role as a shaker of mountains (p. 96; line 961). Together, the brothers Zipacna and Cabracan comprise a dichotomy of opposites, the one claiming to create the mountains and the other destroying them.

[170] Chimalmat is almost certainly derived from the Nahuatl *chimalmatl*, meaning "shield bearer," a fairly common name for female deities. In Aztec legend, she was the mother of the Toltec priest-ruler Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. Chimalmat is also one of the names for the mother of the Aztecs' patron god, Huitzilopochtli, as well as the female bearer of cult objects in Aztec migration accounts. Alternatively, the name may be Quiché in origin, consisting of *chi* (preposition "at, in, to, on, from, etc.) and *malmat* (Basseta: to walk with haste) or *malmot* (Coto: "to appear unexpectedly," particularly with regard to a phantasm).

[171] "Mouth Fire," a volcano in the district of Sacatepequez, Guatemala, nineteen kilometers southeast of Antigua. It is better known by its Spanish name, Volcán de Fuego (Volcano of Fire).

[172] Edmonson and Recinos identify this volcano as Volcán de Agua (Spanish: Volcano of Water), also located in the district of Sacatepequez, southeast of Antigua. Tedlock identifies it with Volcán de Acatenango, located in the same district (D. Tedlock 1996, 241 n. 77). In either case, it must be a volcano located near Chigag as the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* describes it as "standing abreast" of Chigag (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 61).

[173] Volcán Acatenango, in the district of Sacatepequez, located southwest of Antigua. Tedlock suggests that this is Volcán de Agua (D. Tedlock 1996, 241 n. 77).

[174] Volcán Santa María, southwest of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala. *Xkanul* is also a general term for volcano in Quiché.

[175] Volcán Zunil in the district of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala.

[176] The identity of this mountain is unknown. Edmonson identifies it with Tajumulco, a volcano in the district of Huehuetenango, Guatemala (Edmonson 1971, 36 n. 938).

"This is what I am. I am the maker of the earth!" said Zipacna.

"And I am he who fells the sky and causes the earth to tumble down!" said Cabracan. Now these, the children of Seven Macaw, received their greatness from their father. The boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, therefore saw evil in them before the creation of our first mother and our first father. Thus the boys planned their deaths and their loss.

THE DEFEAT OF SEVEN MACAW[177]

THIS, then, is the blowgun shooting of Seven Macaw[178] by the twins.[179] We shall now tell the story of the defeat of each of the prideful ones.

This is Seven Macaw and a great nance tree.[180] This, then, is the food of Seven Macaw. Each day he would rise up to the top of the tree to knock down some of the fruit of the nance tree, and it is there that he was seen by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

The twins watched for him beneath the tree, hidden in its leaves. At length Seven Macaw perched on the nance tree to feed and was shot by them. Hunahpu[181] directed a

[177] lines 985-1188

[178] At the beginning of this section, the authors point out certain elements of the story as if they could be seen by the reader. This feature may be evidence that in the Precolumbian version of the *Popol Vuh* the text was accompanied by painted illustrations.

[179] Literally "two sons or boys."

[180] The nance (*Byrosinima crassifolia*) is a smooth-skinned, yellow tropical fruit about the size of a cherry.

[181] Throughout this section on the shooting of Seven Macaw, the authors of the text refer to the first of the twins as One Hunahpu, which is also the name of his father. To avoid confusion, the authors generally shortened the name of the son to Hunahpu or Xhunahpu (Little Hunahpu). For the same reason, I have left the name as Hunahpu.

pellet straight from his blowgun into his jaw. Seven Macaw cried out,[182] sailing over the top of the tree and landing on the ground.

Quickly, Hunahpu ran out to grab him. But instead Seven Macaw tore off the arm of Hunahpu. He wrenched it back, bending it back at the shoulder until it was torn free from Hunahpu.

Still, it was good what they did. This first episode will not result in their defeat by Seven Macaw, even though he took away the arm of Hunahpu.

So then Seven Macaw went to his home, holding his jaw in his palms.

"What have you got there?" asked Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw. "What is it?"

"Two demons[183] shot me. My jaw was dislocated by them,[184] and now my teeth torment me with pain. This I have brought to hang over the fire. It will dangle over the fire until they come to take it back again. Truly they are demons," said Seven Macaw as he hung the arm of Hunahpu.

Then Hunahpu and Xbalanque planned again. They went to speak to the one Grandfather, whose hair was now truly white, and also the one Grandmother, who was now truly humble. They were people who now walked bent over with age. Great White

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[182] Literally "he broke open his mouth," a common Quiché expression meaning "to scream, shout, or cry out." In this case, it is a play on words as well, considering Seven Macaw's broken jaw.

[183] *K'axtok'* (demon, deceiver) is a derrogatory term for harmful beings, either human or supernatural, particularly when the harm is some form of deception or trickery. In the colonial period, Christian missionaries used the word to refer to devils, and this is still the most common usage in modern Quiché communities. "Demon" or "rascal" is perhaps closer to the ancient authors' intent, since "devil" carries inappropriate European religious overtones. Tedlock uses the word "trickster."

[184] Perhaps this incident is meant to explain the peculiar bent beak of the macaw, as well as the fact that the lower beak is much smaller than the upper beak.

Peccary was the name of the Grandfather, and Great White Coati was the name of the Grandmother.

The boys then spoke to the Grandmother and the Grandfather:

"We would like you to accompany us to retrieve our arm from Seven Macaw. We will just follow along behind you. You will say to him, 'Suffer these our grandsons that accompany us. Their mother and father are dead, thus they follow along there behind us. We provide for them by removing worms from teeth,[185] which is our profession.' Thus Seven Macaw will see us merely as children, even while we are giving you our instructions," said the twins.

"Very well," they said.

Thus they came to where Seven Macaw was seated on the edge of his throne. The Grandmother and the Grandfather passed below the home of the lord while the twins played behind them.

Now Seven Macaw was crying out because of his teeth. When he saw the Grandfather and Grandmother journeying together, he asked them:

"From where do you come, our grandfather?" he asked.

"We are just making a living, thou[186] lord," they replied.

"How do you make your living? Are not those your children that accompany you?"

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[185] *Chikopil* is the collective term for any type of animal. I have chosen "worm" because the Maya believe that toothaches are caused by parasitic worms or insect larvae. Perhaps this is a result of the wormlike appearance of dental pulp seen within broken teeth.

[186] Throughout the following passage, Seven Macaw is addressed using the formal *lal* (somewhat akin to the English "thou"), rather than the more familiar *at* ("you"). In modern usage, this is a mode of speech reserved for respected officials, lineage patriarchs, or the elderly. Thus the "grandparents" are at least feigning recognition of Seven Macaw's lordly status. Seven Macaw addresses the elderly grandparents using the familiar "you," indicating he considers himself more important.

"They are not, thou lord. These are our grandsons. But surely we take pity on them and give them a portion. We give them our scraps, thou lord," said the Grandmother and the Grandfather.

The lord was by then nearly finished off because of the pain in his teeth. Therefore it was with great effort that he spoke again:

"I beg of you, take pity on me. What medicines[187] would you make? With what medicines would you cure?" asked the lord.

"We would merely remove worms from teeth, cure eye ailments, and set bones,[188] thou lord," they replied.

"Very well. Cure then my teeth, for truly they ache constantly, and I can no longer bear it. I cannot sleep because of them, and the same goes for my eyes. Two demons shot me with a blowgun, and since then I have not been able to eat because of it. Thus take pity on me, for my jaw and my teeth cause me anguish."

"Very well, thou lord. It is a worm that causes the pain. We will merely replace them. Thy teeth will have to come out."

"It is perhaps not a good thing that my teeth come out, for it is only because of them that I am lord. My teeth, along with my eyes, are my finery."

"We shall replace them then with this ground bone."

But instead of ground bone, they were mere white grains of maize that were to be placed.

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[187] The word *ki'* may be translated as "medicine, sweet, *pulque*, alcoholic beverages, poison, or venom." Only by looking at the context can its meaning be discerned.

[188] Bonesetters are still an important group of ritual specialists in many highland Maya communities. In addition to setting bones, they are generally also initiated *aj q'ij* (daykeeper) priests (B. Tedlock 1982, 57, 74).

"Very well then, take them out. Help me," he said therefore.

So then the teeth of Seven Macaw were taken out. As a substitute they placed mere white grains of maize, mere shiny white grains of maize, and immediately his face fell. No longer did he appear as a lord. At length all of the brilliant blue/green jewels in his mouth were removed.

Then the eyes of Seven Macaw were treated. His eyes were plucked,[189] thus completely removing the precious metal from them. He surely felt no pain. He just stared instead.

Thus the basis for his pride was completely taken away according to the plans of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. When at length Seven Macaw died, Hunahpu retrieved his arm. Then also Chimalmat died, the wife of Seven Macaw.

Thus the wealth of Seven Macaw was lost, for the healers took it away—the jewels, the precious stones, and all that which had made him proud here upon the face of the earth.[190] It was truly the enchanted Grandmother and the enchanted Grandfather that did it. Then the boys retrieved their arm and implanted it back into its socket, making it whole again.

They had desired the death of Seven Macaw, and they were able to do it. For they saw pride as evil[191] and went to do these things according to the word of Heart of Sky.

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[189] As a butcher trims meat, or a barber trims hair. It may also refer to the plucking of feathers from a chicken prior to cooking, which is likely the meaning in this passage. This is an explanation for the large white eye patch and unusually small eyes of the scarlet macaw, which appear as if something had been taken away.

[190] The *Popol Vuh* makes it clear that the power and authority of Seven Macaw were based on his wealth rather than his own abilities. When his riches were taken away, he was susceptible to defeat.

[191] *Itzel*. It is difficult to discern how this word was understood prior to the Spanish conquest. Colonial dictionaries associate it with witchcraft and evil, and this is still a major connotation of the word in modern Quiché usage. This interpretation likely has Spanish Christian influences, however, which did not exist in

THE DEEDS OF ZIPACNA AND THE FOUR HUNDRED BOYS[192]

THESE now are the deeds of Zipacna, the firstborn son of Seven Macaw.

"I am the maker of mountains," said Zipacna.

Now this Zipacna was bathing on the banks of a river when there passed by four hundred boys,[193] dragging a tree to be used as a supporting beam for their hut. These four hundred were walking along, having cut down a great tree for a lintel.[194]

Zipacna therefore came to the four hundred boys and asked them:

"What are you doing, boys?"

"It's just this tree; we cannot lift it to our shoulders to carry it."

"I will carry it on my shoulders. Where does it go? What use does it have in your hearts?"

"It is to be the lintel for our hut."

"Very well," he said therefore.

Thus he carried it on his shoulders up to the doorway[195] of the hut of the four hundred boys.

Precolumbian Quiché culture. Coto also lists under this word "falseness, filth, ugliness, error, perversion, and worthlessness." Basseta simply interprets it as "bad."

[192] lines 1189-1385

[193] The Maya system of numbers is vigesimal, based on twenty. *O' much'* is literally five sets of eighty, or four hundred.

[194] The lintel of a structure is ritually significant. The world is conceived by the Maya as a great house, its corners being the four cardinal points, its roof the sky, and its foundation the underworld (Vogt 1976, 58). The lintel represents the principal access point of the interior space and was often ornately decorated in Precolumbian times. Such beams are therefore seen as endowed with great power, particularly those used in the homes of spiritual leaders. Zipacna's brazen usurpation of the great wooden beam may indicate that he is taking upon himself the power of this sacred access point without authority or ritual preparation. If this interpretation is correct, Zipacna's ultimate destruction as ordained by the creator god, Heart of Sky, is more understandable.

[195] Literally "its mouth hut."

"Stay with us, boy. Do you have a mother or a father?"

"There is no one," he replied.

"Surely we beseech you then to help us, for tomorrow another tree will be raised as a supporting beam for our hut."

"Fine," he said again. Then the four hundred boys made their plans:

"This boy, what will we do to him? We will kill him. For it is not good what he does, just lifting the tree all by himself. Let us therefore dig a great hole, and then we shall abandon[196] him there. We will say to him, 'Go dig out the earth from the bottom of the hole.' And when he is bent over down there in the hole, we will hurl down the great tree, and thus he will die there in the hole," said the four hundred boys.

And so they dug a great hole that went down very deep. Then they sent for Zipacna:

"We entrust you to go now to dig in the ground, for we are not able to do it," he was told.

"Very well," he replied.

Thus he went down into the hole.

"Call when you have finished digging up the earth, for you must go down deep," he was told.

"Fine," he replied.

Then he began to dig in the hole. But this hole was to be his own salvation. He had learned that he was to be killed, and therefore he had dug a branching hole to one side. It was in this secondary hole that he was saved.

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[196] *Tzaq* may mean "to throw down, to lose, or to abandon" something. The latter interpretation is closer to what actually occurred.

“How far are you into it?” he was asked by the four hundred boys.

“I am digging it quickly. When I shall call up to you there, then the digging will have been successfully completed,” called Zipacna from the hole.

But he did not dig his own tomb there at the bottom of the hole; rather he dug the means for his own salvation. Therefore, when Zipacna called up, he had already saved himself there inside the hole:

“Come and take the earth away—the dirt that I have dug up from the hole. Truly deep have I dug down. Can you not hear my call? Your voices just echo away as if you were a long way off when I hear them,” said Zipacna from his hole.

Thus he was already sheltered when he called up from inside the hole. The boys then dragged over the great tree and hurled it down into the hole.

“He is no more. He does not speak. When he cries out, we will know that he shall be dead,” they whispered to each other.

For they each hid their purpose when they hurled down the tree.

So when he spoke he cried out with a loud voice, he called out one more word when they dropped down the tree.

“Aha, we have succeeded! Truly good! We have done it to him. He died. What kind of omen would it have been if he had persisted in carrying out his deeds, his work? Then he might have become first among us, placing himself over us, even us the four hundred boys,” they said.

And so they rejoiced:

"For three days we will merely make sweet drink.[197] And when three days have passed, we will drink to our dwelling, to our hut, even us the four hundred boys!" they said.

"Tomorrow and the next day we will see if ants don't come forth from the ground when he begins to stink and decompose. Then will our hearts be comforted, when we will drink our sweet drink," they said.

But Zipacna heard this down there in the hole when they said this. And on the second day, the ants assembled themselves. They walked about. They swarmed beneath the tree. Everywhere they carried in their teeth the hair as well as the nails of Zipacna.

Now when the boys saw this, they said to each other:

"The demon is finished. Look at the ants. They have gathered together. They have assembled here, and everywhere they carry his hair in their teeth. Surely they can be seen carrying his nails. We have done it at last," they said to each other.

But Zipacna was still alive. He had merely cut the hair off his own head and gnawed off his own nails to give to the ants. Thus the four hundred boys thought that he had died.

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[197] *Ki'y* may refer to an alcoholic beverage, something sweet, medicine, poison, or even snake or insect venom. In this context, *ki'y* refers to an intoxicating drink, likely some form of *chicha*, a home-made fermented drink popular in the Guatemalan highlands made from various fruits, berries, cane, or maize. Alternatively it may be *pulque*, made from the fermented sap of the maguey (agave, or century plant). *Pulque* is viscous, milky-white, and slightly foamy. It ferments very quickly, generally within twelve hours and has an alcohol content of 6%, approximately the same as the average beer. A distilled form of this ancient drink is sold today as mezcal or tequila, although the distillation process was not known prior to the Spanish conquest. In Aztec mythology, *pulque* is personified by gods known as the Centzon Totochtin (400 Rabbits), who appear frequently in painted manuscripts such as the Codex Magliabechiano. These gods are also associated by the Aztecs with the four hundred youths slain by the god Huitzilopochtli as ritual sacrifices. The deaths of the four hundred youths in the *Popol Vuh* account may thus have had ritual significance. The beverage referred to could also possibly be *balche*, made from fermented honey and the bark of the *balche* tree. Alcohol is a prevalent part of highland Maya society, used both socially as well as a necessary component of ceremonial observances.

On the third day, they started in on their sweet drink. All the boys became drunk. All four hundred boys thus were drunk and didn't feel anything when Zipacna collapsed their hut down upon their heads. As a result, all of them were finished, struck down every one of them. Not even one or two of the four hundred boys were saved.

Such was the death of these four hundred boys at the hands of Zipacna, the son of Seven Macaw. It is said that they became the constellation known as the Pleiades,[198] but perhaps this is merely a fable.[199]

Now we will tell the story of the defeat of Zipacna by the twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

THE DEFEAT OF ZIPACNA[200]

THIS now is the overthrow and death of Zipacna. He was defeated by the twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, whose hearts were offended by the deaths of the four hundred boys at the hands of Zipacna.

Now this Zipacna would spend each day wandering in search of his food, only fish and crabs, which he looked for in the rivers. By night, however, he would carry mountains on his back.

Thus Hunahpu and Xbalanque transformed for him a great crab. For this purpose, they used a bromelia flower,[201] the kind of bromeliad that may be picked in the forests, to

[198] *Motz*. The Pleiades are a cluster of stars in the constellation of Taurus (composing a spot on the Bull's shoulder). It is derived from the word meaning to gather together in large numbers.

[199] Literally "whiteness word." This is a play on words, fable, or fantastic story.

[200] lines 1386-1524

make the open claws. For its shell and backside, they used a hollowed-out stone. This shell they placed at the bottom of a cave below a great mountain. Meauan[202] was the name of this mountain where he was defeated.

When the boys came, they found Zipacna by the river:

"Where are you going, boy?" they asked Zipacna.

"I'm not going anywhere. I'm just searching for my food," replied Zipacna.

"What is your food?"

"Only fish and crabs, but I haven't found any yet. It has been two days since I have eaten, and now I cannot bear the hunger," said Zipacna to Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"There is a crab there below the canyon. It is truly a great crab. Why don't you try your luck with it?" asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque. "Perhaps you will be able to eat it. It merely bit us when we tried to catch it, so we are afraid of it. But he will not go away and you could catch it."

"Take pity on me. Guide me there, boys," said Zipacna.

"We do not want to. Just go along yourself. There is no way that you will get lost if you just follow the course of the river until you reach the base of the great mountain. There it will be, situated below the canyon. Just go along over there," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

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[201] *Ek'* (bromelia) is a parasitic tropical flower. It grows from the branches of trees and has long, pointed red petals that look somewhat like the legs of a crab. The Quichés today use bromelia flowers to decorate festive arches and the shrines of Christian saints.

[202] Meauan was identified by Brasseur and Recinos as a mountain west of Rabinal, Guatemala (Brasseur 1858, 128; Recinos 1950, 102 n. 3). It is likely the mountain known today as Miagua, located some 20 km. northwest of Rabinal and bordering the Chixoy River (Akkeren 2000, 299). If this identification is correct, Akkeren suggests that Meauan may be a contracted form of *me'al ajaw* (daughter lord), the Quiché version of the Kekchi origin of the town's name, *Rab'inal* (Place of the Lord's Daughter) (2000, 60, 66).

"Please take pity on me. I will never find it, boys. You go first as my guides. I know where there are many birds that you could shoot with your blowguns," said Zipacna.

He humbled himself before them, promising to reward them. He wept before them.

"Perhaps you will not be able to catch it. Then you would return like we did. Because not only were we not able to eat it, but it would straightaway bite us. We went in there headfirst on our stomachs,[203] but it became frightened. A little later we went in lying on our backs, but we couldn't find it again. Thus it would be good if you went in lying on your back," he was told.

"Very well," replied Zipacna.

Thus they left, accompanied by Zipacna. At length they arrived below the canyon where the crab was placed, its surface bright red there at the base of the canyon. This was their deception.[204]

"That's good," rejoiced Zipacna.

He wanted to put it straight in his mouth because he was truly famished and wanted to eat it. He just wanted to go in headfirst on his stomach.[205] But the crab climbed high up, and Zipacna came back out.

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[203] *Jupulik* is to lie face down/on one's stomach. It may also be used to indicate "headfirst." Both meanings are likely applicable in this context.

[204] The word used here is *kumatzij*, which is a pain caused by cramps, arthritis, etc. It is derived from *kumatz* (serpent, twisted). My reading is based on the assumption that the word is actually a contraction of two words, *kumatz tzij* (twisted word—deception, lie).

[205] The implication of the story is that the Twins had tried to get Zipacna to enter the cave on his back where he would be prone and helpless. If Zipacna was a crocodile, as his name implies (Zipacna is likely derived from the Nahuatl *cipactli*—crocodile), he would be helpless because crocodiles cannot move well

"Didn't you get it?" he was asked.

"No. It climbed high up and after awhile I couldn't find it again. Perhaps it would be good then if I went in again lying on my back," he said therefore.

Then he went back in again lying on his back. He went all the way in until only his kneecaps showed outside. Thus he was completely swallowed up. The mountain then settled down onto his chest so that he could not turn over again. Zipacna became stone. Thus was the defeat of Zipacna at the hands of the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Such is the ancient account of the first son of Seven Macaw, the Maker of Mountains, as he was called, who was defeated beneath the mountain called Meauan.[206] It was merely enchantment by which this second prideful one was defeated.

Now we shall tell the tale of another.

THE DEFEAT OF CABRACAN[207]

THE third prideful one was the second son of Seven Macaw, Cabracan by name.

"I am the wrecker of mountains," said he.

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when flipped over on their backs. Despite the Twins' admonition, however, Zipacna did the natural thing and rushed headlong on his belly into the cave to reach the crab. Just as the Twins had predicted, the crab was frightened and climbed up high out of his reach. In this position he could not look up nor lift his arms above his head. Zipacna thus took the Twins' original advice to go back in and try again on his back, perhaps giving him hope that he could then reach up to grab the crab as it climbed upward. When the mountain settled down on his prone form, he was unable to flip back over again.

[206] This association between Zipacna and earthquakes continued well-after the Conquest. Coto wrote the following under the heading of estremesçerse (Spanish: tremor): "*Cabrakan* [Quiché: earthquake] is the tremor of the earth. They once believed, and continue to believe today, that beneath the earth there is a giant who holds up the earth who they call Çipacnay, and when he moves the earth trembles, and that this is the god of earthquakes" (Coto 1983, 224. Translation by author). In the contemporary Rabinal version of the myth, a hungry creature who moved mountains and volcanoes without any effort was lured into a cave by a woman from Coban where there was a crab hiding. Once inside, the mountain collapsed on him and he became the hill visible today (Shaw 1971, 46-51; Akkeren 2000, 70).

[207] lines 1525-1720

It was simply because of Hunahpu and Xbalanque that Cabracan was defeated. Then Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt spoke to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, saying:

"According to my word, the second son of Seven Macaw must also be defeated. For it is not good what they have done upon the earth. They surpass the sun in greatness and importance,[208] and this is not as it should be. Thus, lure him away there to the East, where the sun rises," said Huracan to the twins.[209]

"Very well, thou lord. It has always been thus, that we do not approve of him.[210] For he is not lifted up where thou art, thou Heart of Sky," the boys replied when they received the word of Huracan.

Now this Cabracan occupied himself as a wrecker of mountains. He would simply tap his foot a little on the surface of the earth, and straightaway mountains, both small and great, would tumble down.[211]

Then he was met by the twins:

"Where are you going, boy?" they asked Cabracan.

"I'm not going anywhere. I am merely a feller of mountains. I will wreck them as long as there is sun and light,"[212] he said when he spoke to them.

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[208] Literally "weightiness." According to Basseta, *nimal* (greatness) and *alal* (weightiness, importance) together form a couplet that refers to "power."

[209] Thus it is Huracan (also known as Heart of Sky) who directs the actions of the twins in overthrowing the pride of Seven Macaw and his two sons.

[210] Literally "not good we see them," a common Quiché expression for "not liking or disapproving" of something.

[211] *B'ulij* describes the mountains cascading or tumbling down like water from a mountain spring.

[212] This is a common Quiché expression still used today in a somewhat shortened form, *chi b'e q'ij saq*, meaning roughly "as long as there is sun and light" or simply "forever."

Then Cabracan spoke again to Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"Where have you come from? I do not know your faces. What are your names?" asked Cabracan.

"We have no names.[213] We have just been blowgunning and trapping in the mountains. We are just poor orphans, for there is nothing that is ours, boy. We just wander in the mountains, both small and great. There is one great mountain that we saw that keeps growing until truly high it ascends. It simply rises up, far above the peaks of all the mountains. We could not catch even one or two birds before its face. Is it really true that you fell all mountains, boy?" asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque of Cabracan.

"Is it true that you saw this mountain of which you speak? Where is it? You shall surely see that I will fell it. Where did you see it?"

"There it is in the East, where the sun rises," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Good. You lead the way,"[214] the twins were told.

"No, you just take the middle place between us, one on your left and one on your right hand. We have our blowguns, and if there are any birds, we will shoot them," they said.

They rejoiced that they could practice their shooting. But there were no clay pellets in their blowguns. When they shot them, they merely blew at the birds. Thus Cabracan was amazed.

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[213] In many ancient cultures, revealing one's name was not taken lightly; it was believed that to do so was to relinquish power.

[214] Literally "take our road" or, as paraphrased in a somewhat similar English phrase, "lead the way."

Then the boys used a twist drill to make their fire, upon which they roasted the birds. They covered the skin of one of the birds with quicklime until it was coated with white earth.

"We will give this to him when he becomes ravenous with hunger.[215] When he savors the aroma of our birds, he will be defeated. We will put earth on its skin. We will cook it in earth. In the same way, therefore, he himself will be buried in the earth. This must be if the great sage, the one to be framed and shaped, is to be sown and to have his dawn," the boys said.

"Cabracan shall desire with all his heart[216] to eat what we will cook. This shall be the desire of the heart of Cabracan," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque to each other.

Then they roasted the birds until they had been cooked to a golden brown. They would drip with fat from their skins and give off a fragrant aroma. Thus Cabracan desired to be fed. His mouth watered. He just gulped and drooled saliva and spittle because of the fragrance of the birds.

Thus he begged of them:

"What is it that you are eating? Its aroma is truly delicious to smell. Give me a little," he said therefore.

Then they gave to Cabracan a bird, and this was his defeat. When he had finished the bird, they went on their way again until they arrived in the East. There they came to the great mountain.

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[215] *Jiq'onoq* is "to be ravenous, gluttonous, excited with desire."

[216] *K'uxilal* is a "longing for something with all one's heart, a desire for something above all else."

But by now the legs and arms of Cabracan had become weak.[217] Never again would he be strong because of the earth coated on the skin of the bird he had eaten. He could no longer do anything to the mountains. He did not succeed in causing them to fall apart.

Then the boys tied him up. They tied his hands behind his back. The boys were mindful to make sure that his hands were well bound. They also tied his ankles[218] together. Then they hurled him down into the earth and buried him.[219]

Thus Cabracan was defeated at the hands of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Innumerable were their deeds here on the face of the earth.

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, having first given the account of the defeat of Seven Macaw along with Zipacna and Cabracan here upon the earth.

THE TALE OF THE FATHER OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE[220]

WE shall now name the name of the father of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. We shall retell it.[221] We shall merely repeat the tale, the account of the engendering of Hunahpu

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[217] The word is often used to describe old or wornout clothing in addition to something that is weak.

[218] Literally "its neck his legs." In Quiché phraseology, the neck of the arm is the wrist, and the neck of the leg is the ankle.

[219] Even today the Quichés associate earthquakes with a bound giant buried beneath the mountains. The following story was recorded by Ruth Bunzel at the Quiché town of Chichicastenango: "They say of the earthquake, that there is a giant under the earth, bound by his hands and feet, and when there is a slight tremor, it is because he has moved his hands or feet a little; and when he turns over on the other side is when there are strong earthquakes" (Bunzel 1952, 428).

[220] lines 1721-1732

and Xbalanque. But we shall tell only the half of it, the smallest part of the tale of their father.

THE DEEDS OF ONE HUNAHPU AND SEVEN HUNAHPU ABOVE XIBALBA[222]

THIS, therefore, is the account of they whose names are One Hunahpu[223] and Seven Hunahpu. For thus they are called. It was in the darkness, in the night, when One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were born to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

Now this One Hunahpu had two children, both sons. One Batz[224] was the name of his firstborn, and One Chouen[225] was the name of his secondborn. The name of their mother was Xbaquiyalo.[226] Thus she was called, the wife of One Hunahpu.

But Seven Hunahpu had no wife. He was merely a companion, merely secondary. By his nature, he was like a servant[227] to One Hunahpu. They were great thinkers, for

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[221] Literally "we shall retell its head." This is a problematic passage. Tedlock follows Edmonson, who believes that the verb used in the text, *camuh*, is a scribal error and should be *cumuh* (to drink), implying that the authors of the text are proposing a kind of toast to the telling of the story of the fathers of Hunahpu and Xbalanque (Edmonson 1971, 58; D. Tedlock 1996, 91, 249 n. 91). Tedlock used this passage as evidence that the authors of the *Popol Vuh* were "Toastmasters" (D. Tedlock 1985), or "Masters of Ceremonies" (D. Tedlock 1996). I prefer to read the verb as a shortened version of *camuluh* (to retell, review, repeat, go over again).

[222] lines 1733-1918

[223] *Junajpu* is a day on the traditional highland Maya calendar, dedicated to the memory of ancestors.

[224] *B'atz'* is the Quiché word for the howler monkey. It is also one of the named days from the traditional highland Maya calendar.

[225] *Chouen* is derived from the Yucatec Maya word *chuen*, meaning "howler monkey." In addition, *aj chuen* is a title meaning "artisan" (Barrera Vásquez 1995, 110), a reading consistent with the artistic nature of these twins. Twin monkey scribes appear frequently in Classic Maya art as patrons of writing. It is also the Yucatec Maya day name that corresponds to the day B'atz' in the Quiché calendar.

[226] Xbaquiyalo. The likely etymology of this name is *x-* (lady), *baqi* (bone), *ya'* (water/river), *lo* (perhaps), yielding Lady Bone Water. Tedlock notes that in Yucatec, *bak ha'* (also "bone water") is the snowy egret or snowy heron, and thus translates the name as "Egret Woman" (D. Tedlock 1996, 250 n. 91).

[227] *K'ajol* is literally "son," or "boy," but it is a common metaphor used throughout the text for servant, which seems to be the meaning in this context.

great was their knowledge. They were seers here upon the face of the earth. They were good by their nature, and in their birth as well.[228]

They revealed their talents[229] to One Batz and One Chouen, the sons of One Hunahpu. Thus One Batz and One Chouen became flautists and singers, writers and sculptors, jade workers and precious metalsmiths.[230]

As for One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, they would merely play dice and ball everyday. The four of them would pair off to oppose each other.

When they gathered together to play in the ballcourt, the Falcon would arrive to watch over them. This Falcon was the messenger of Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt. The face of the earth was not far for him. Nor was Xibalba[231] far for him. In an instant, he could return again to the sky with Huracan.

Thus they tarried here upon the earth. By then the mother of One Batz and One Chouen had died.

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[228] *Yake'ik* (to arise) is also a metaphor for birth, which is likely the connotation here.

[229] *Na'wikil* is "talent, ingenuity, genius, skill, cleverness, inventiveness."

[230] Tedlock believes that this list of six occupations should be divided into two sets of poetic triplets, thus grouping writers with flautists and singers as performing artists. Such a grouping would imply that the composition of literary texts such as the *Popol Vuh* is based more on an oral tradition than carved or painted inscriptions (D. Tedlock 1985, 269). I come to the opposite conclusion. The more likely arrangement for the list would be three sets of couplets, the preferred type of parallelism throughout the text. In addition, writers and carvers are paired without question on pp. 141, 147 (lines 2568-2569, 2714-2715). Thus the authors of painted codices are closely associated with those who carve inscriptions on stone monuments. Far from suggesting that the *Popol Vuh* is based on an oral tradition, this passage implies that the authors consider ancient writers to have set down their literary creations in a manual process. This implication strengthens the view that the *Popol Vuh* is based on a painted text.

[231] *Xib'alb'a* (Place of Fear) is the Quiché name for the underworld, ruled by lords of death and disease. Modern Quichés still use the word to describe an underground hell inhabited by demons who cause sickness.

Now it was on the path leading to Xibalba where they played ball. Thus the lords of Xibalba, One Death and Seven Death,[232] heard them:

"What is happening on the surface of the earth? They are just stomping about and shouting. May they be summoned here therefore. They shall come to play ball, and we shall defeat them. They have simply failed to honor us. They have neither honor nor respect. Certainly they act arrogantly[233] here over our heads," said therefore all those of Xibalba.

Then they whose names were One Death and Seven Death gathered all of their thoughts.

These, therefore, were the great judges, all of them lords. Each was given his task and his dominion by One Death and Seven Death:

These are the lords named Flying Scab[234] and Gathered Blood.[235] Their task is to sicken people in their blood.

These, then, are the lords Pus Demon and Jaundice Demon.[236] Their dominion is to swell people up until pus oozes from the skin of their legs, and the skin of their faces

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[232] *Kame* (Death) is a named day on the highland Maya calendar. The death lords thus both bear calendric dates as their names.

[233] *Jikik* is to "act arrogantly, act insolently, insult, or mock".

[234] *Pat* is a "snare, trap" in Quiché. Campbell, however, suggests that this is likely a loan word from Kekchi, meaning "scab, crusted sore" (Campbell 1983, 82). This reading fits the context better in that it parallels the paired demon, Gathered Blood.

[235] *Kuchuma Kik'* (Gathered Blood) is still known by Quiché storytellers as a cruel lord of the underworld who gathers blood shed upon the ground as a result of injury, illness, or violence. This blood is then served to his fellow lords at a banquet.

[236] *Ajal Puj, Ajal Q'ana. Ajal* is likely a loan word from Chol, meaning "evil spirit" (Campbell 1983, 81). *Puj* is "pus," and *q'ana* is "yellowness, jaundice."

becomes yellow with jaundice, as it is said. Thus this is the dominion of Pus Demon and Jaundice Demon.

These, then, are the lords Bone Staff and Skull Staff, the staff bearers[237] of Xibalba. Their staffs are mere bones. These staff bearers are they who skeletize people until they are truly bones and skulls. As a result, they would die having received only emaciated bones, bloated with starvation.[238] These are they whose names are Bone Staff and Skull Staff.

These, then, are the lords whose names are Sweepings Demon[239] and Stabbings Demon.[240] Their task is simply to overtake people if they abandon sweepings and trash in back or in front of their houses. These would be overtaken and stabbed by them until they fall face down upon the earth and die. This, therefore, is the dominion of Sweepings Demon and Stabbings Demon, as they are called.

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[237] As emblems of office, Quiché political and religious leaders carry staffs that are often topped with ornate silver carvings symbolizing divine power.

[238] "Emaciated bones, swelling he will receive." This couplet refers to the end stages of starvation. Most of the body becomes emaciated, while the belly becomes distended from fluid collecting in the tissues due to a lack of protein. This latter condition is called ascites.

[239] In modern usage, *mes* refers to "trash or garbage," but more literally it refers to "sweepings." The trash produced by Quichés is that which is swept away from a floor, pathway, or porch while cleaning. Thus a broom is referred to as a *mesb'al* (instrument of sweepings). Tedlock's collaborator, Andrés Xiloj, pointed out that the best way to keep away the demons of Xibalba was to keep one's house swept clean and not allowing trash to accumulate (D. Tedlock 1996, 253, n. 92). Diego Chávez, a prominent artist in Santiago Atitlán related the following story with regard to a carved wooden panel in his home that depicts a *cabecera* (head elder within the traditional confraternity system) administering justice: "It reminds me of the old days when people respected the Maya confraternity officials and we had no need for jails. Now all people know is killing and thievery. In this panel I show a woman accused of not respecting her family. At that time if she were found guilty, the *cabecera* would send her to sweep all of the dust around the church. In this way she would remember to sweep the uncleanness from her own life even as she swept the church for the benefit of the town" (Christenson 2000, 194).

[240] Based on the root *toq'* (to stab, to gore).

These, then, are they whose names are Lord Wing[241] and Packstrap.[242] Their dominion is the people who die on the road as a result of sudden death, as it is called. Blood would come to their mouths, and they would die vomiting blood. Each one has his task, the burden he carries on his shoulders. They would simply wear out the necks and the hearts of these people so that they die on the road. They would cause this to happen outside. When people go out walking, they would come upon them. This, then, is the dominion of Wing and Packstrap.

These, therefore, gathered together their thoughts when One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were persecuted and harassed.[243] For the Xibalbans desired the gaming things of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu—their leathers, their yokes,[244] their arm

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[241] The manuscript reads *xic*. If this is to be interpreted as *xik'*, this is "wing"; alternatively, if it is to be understood as *xik*, it is a "hawk." I prefer the former reading only because hawks do not have underworld or malevolent associations in contemporary highland Maya communities.

[242] *Patan* is the tumpline or pack strap (Spanish *mecapal*) worn by porters across the forehead to secure burdens carried on the back. This lord causes the sudden death of people carrying heavy burdens on the road. Having myself carried loads in this way over miles of mountain trails, I have had many an opportunity to curse this particularly malevolent underworld lord.

[243] Contemporary Quichés also believe that illness is caused by various underworld lords. The following is from a prayer for protection in which the lords of illness and death are invoked and propitiated with offerings at a shrine in the cemetery at Chichicastenango. Among these are the "lord of sickness and pain, of death and destruction in the roads and trails, of death and destruction through *aguardiente*, of death and destruction from food poisoning, of death and destruction from vomiting, of death and destruction from strain and exertion—come hither, be seated before this World of the cemetery! And also the master of pain and misfortune, of wounds from pistols and knives and cutlasses, from Remingtons and Mausers, come hither, be seated before this World of the cemetery! And also the lord of vomiting and indigestion, the lord of fever and dysentery, and also the lord of cold sweat (malaria) and green chill (tuberculosis), of swellings of the abdomen (cancer), of influenza and bronchitis, and also the lord of all the minor illnesses; and also the lord of smallpox, come hither before this mountain shrine of the cemetery! Be seated here, however many may be your manifestations; look upon us here before this World. Be seated, all of you. Lords, pardon my trespass" (Bunzel 1952, 390).

[244] Unfortunately *b'ate* does not appear in any early colonial dictionaries, perhaps because the ballgame ceased to be played soon after the Spanish conquest. Thus the names for the equipment used in the game fell out of usage. From the description found later in the *Popol Vuh* text, the ball bounces off of this article in the process of playing the game. I have chosen to translate the word as "yoke," a well-known article of ballgame equipment throughout Precolumbian Mesoamerica. It is a U-shaped apparatus worn about the hips and used for striking the ball to keep it in play. Yokes were probably made of wood, although

protectors,[245] their headdresses, and their face masks—the finery of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu.

Now we shall tell of their journey to Xibalba. One Batz and One Chouen, the sons of One Hunahpu, remained behind. Their mother had died. Later One Batz and One Chouen will be defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

THE SUMMONS OF ONE HUNAHPU AND SEVEN HUNAHPU TO XIBALBA[246]

THEN was the arrival of the messengers of One Death and Seven Death:

"Go you war councilors[247] to summon One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. Tell them when you arrive, 'Thus say the lords: They must come, say the lords to you. They must come here to play ball with us that we may be invigorated by them. Truly we are amazed greatly at them. Thus they must come, say the lords. May they bring hither their implements—their yokes, their arm protectors, and their rubber ball[248] as well. Thus say the lords,' tell them when you arrive there," the messengers were told.

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intricately carved stone replicas have been found in many parts of ancient Mesoamerica, particularly along the Gulf Coast of Veracruz.

[245] Depictions of Precolumbian ballplayers in ancient Maya art often show the lower arms wrapped with a protective device.

[246] lines 1919-2032

[247] *Raj pop achij* (he of the mat of warriors). *Aj pop* is a title given to lords or rulers, as well as to those who sit on ruling councils. *Achij* is literally "man" but is generally used in the *Popol Vuh* text to refer to soldiers/warriors.

[248] *Kik'* is the vital fluid of any living thing (blood for animals, sap for trees, etc.). Rubber, as well as a ball made from rubber, is also called *kik'* since it is made from the sap of the rubber tree (*Castilla elastica*).

These messengers were the owls[249]—Arrow Owl, One Leg Owl, Macaw Owl, and Skull Owl—for so the messengers of Xibalba were called.

This Arrow Owl was like the arrow, piercing.[250]

This One Leg Owl merely had one leg, but there were his wings.

This Macaw Owl had a red back, and there were also his wings.

Now this Skull Owl only had a skull with no legs; there were merely wings.

The burden[251] of these four messengers was to be the war councilors.

Thus they arrived there from Xibalba. They arrived suddenly, perching atop the ballcourt.[252] One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were playing ball at the court that was called Honor and Respect[253] at Carchah[254] when they came. The owls, therefore, alighted atop the ballcourt, where they delivered in order the words of One Death and Seven

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[249] Owls continue to be regarded as heralds of sickness and death by the Quichés, and they are extremely unwelcome anywhere near homes (Oakes 1951, 46; Bunzel 1952, 272, 343; Schultze-Jena 1954, 84; Watanabe 1992, 68).

[250] Based on the root *kopij*, *kopkik* is something that "strikes, pierces, or causes harm." In this context, "pierce" fits the arrow analogy best.

[251] *Eqalem*, is a burden carried on the back. Metaphorically, the Maya use the word for "burden" (Spanish *cargo*) to refer to an "office or responsibility."

[252] Maya ballcourts were generally bounded by high stone walls. The owls apparently alighted on top of one of these.

[253] *Nim* (Honor) *Xob'* (Respect). Notice that on page 115 (lines 1818-1819), the lords of Xibalba complained that those who were playing ball above their heads did not give them proper "honor" or "respect," the same two words which comprise the name of the ballcourt in these lines. Nimxor is listed in the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* as a place near Carchah in the Alta Verapaz region, thus this is likely a play on words (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 64).

[254] Kar Cha'j (Fish Ballcourt/Ashes). This may be a play on words between ashes (*chaj*) and ballcourt (*cha'j*). It is likely a reference to the Kekchi-Maya town now known as San Pedro Carchá located near Cobán, a city east and somewhat north of Quiché territory. Modern Quichés have vague notions of the entrance to the underworld being located in the Alta Verapaz region inhabited by the Kekchis. It is perhaps significant that later in the story the sons of One Hunahpu also descended into Xibalba to confront the lords of death in the underworld ballcourt. They ultimately died by hurling themselves into a furnace. Their ashes were then cast into a river which resulted in their being revived as "people-fish."

Death, Pus Demon and Jaundice Demon, Bone Staff and Skull Staff, Flying Scab and Gathered Blood, Sweepings Demon and Stabbings Demon, Wing and Packstrap. For these are the names of all the lords. Thus the owls repeated their words.

"Are these not the words of the lords One Death and Seven Death?"

"Those are the words that they said," replied the owls. "We shall surely be your companions. 'You shall bring all the gaming things,' say the lords."

"Very well. But wait for us while we leave instructions behind with our mother," they said.

Thus they went to their home to speak to their mother, for their father had died:

"We must surely go, our mother. The messengers of the lord have just arrived to take us. 'They must come,' we were told. Thus the summoners have spoken. But this, our rubber ball, shall remain behind," they said.

Then they went to tie it up above the house.

"We will surely return to use it again. Until then, merely play the flute and sing, write and carve." In this way One Batz and One Chouen were instructed. "Thus you shall warm our home, and you shall warm the heart of your grandmother."

But their mother, Xmucane, wept bitterly.[255]

"We must go, but we will not die. Do not grieve," said One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu as they left.

[255] The manuscript reads *quz quz*. Coto writes that the expression ɛuzɛuh *que'in o*ɛ means to "cry much, with great pain."

THE DESCENT OF ONE HUNAHPU AND SEVEN HUNAHPU INTO XIBALBA[256]

THEN went One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, guided by the messengers as they descended along the path to Xibalba. They went down steep steps until they came out again upon the banks of turbulent river canyons. Trembling Canyon and Murmuring Canyon were the names of the canyons that they passed through.

They also passed through turbulent rivers. They passed through Scorpion River, where there were innumerable scorpions. But they were not stung.

Then they arrived at Blood River. They were able to pass through it because they did not drink from it.

Then they arrived at Pus River, which was nothing but a river of pus. Neither were they defeated here but simply passed through it as well.

At length they arrived at a crossroads,[257] and it was here at the four crossing roads that they were defeated. One was Red Road and another was Black Road; White Road was one while another was Yellow Road.[258] Thus there were four roads.

Now this, the black road said:

"Me! Take me, for I am the lord's road." Thus spoke the road.

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[256] lines 2033-2267

[257] Crossroads are considered to be extremely dangerous by the Maya because they are focal points for the unseen powers of all directions. Ximénez wrote that the ancient Quichés ceremonially collected the sins of their community and abandoned them at crossroads (Ximénez 1929-31, pp. 84-85).

[258] The Maya associated the cardinal directions with colors. The Quichés associated white with north, red with east, yellow with south, and black with west. Modern rituals often begin by placing candles with these corresponding colors at the cardinal directions in order to symbolically delimit the corners of the world. Thus the brothers were tricked into following the black, or west, road—a premonition of their defeat and death since this is the road that the sun takes when its sinks into the underworld.

But it was there that they were defeated. They started then on the road to Xibalba. At last they arrived at the council place of the lords of Xibalba, and there again they were defeated.

They who were seated first in order were mere effigies of carved wood, adorned[259] by the Xibalbans. It was these, then, that they greeted:

"Morning,[260] One Death," they said to the first effigy.

"Morning, Seven Death," they said again to the carved wood.

Thus they did not prevail. Instead, the lords of Xibalba roared[261] with laughter. They merely roared with laughter, all the lords, because they had completely prevailed. In their hearts, they had defeated One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu.

And after they had laughed, One Death and Seven Death spoke:

"It is good that you have come. Tomorrow you shall put to use your yokes and your arm protectors," they were told.

"Sit down on our bench,"[262] they were told.

But the bench that they were offered was nothing but a very hot stone, and they were burned when they sat on it. Truly they spun around on top of it. Neither did they find relief. Truly they leaped up when their seats[263] were burned.

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[259] *Wutalik* is "adorned, dressed up, fitted out."

[260] The greeting *q'ala'* means literally "be it clear." It is somewhat akin to the common Quiché greeting at the beginning of the day, *saqirik* (it brightens or it dawns), referring to the arrival of morning.

[261] *jumujub'* (to roar) is based on *jumumik*, which denotes the sound of an earthquake, a passing truck, or a powerful wind.

[262] *Tem* is a long, flat wooden or stone bench. Rooms of ancient Maya palaces contained such benches arranged along their interior walls. The seating arrangements along these benches were determined by rank within the ruling hierarchy.

[263] Literally "sitters, or means of sitting."

Thus the Xibalbans laughed again. They laughed until their insides hurt and their chests became cramped from their laughter.[264] All the lords of Xibalba grabbed themselves and rolled around in their laughter.

"Now just go to the house. Someone will come to deliver your torch[265] and your cigars[266] there at the sleeping place," they were told.

Thus they arrived in the House of Darkness. There was nothing but darkness inside that house.

Then the Xibalbans gathered their thoughts:

"Tomorrow we will merely sacrifice them. They only have to make a mistake and straightaway they will die by means of our gaming things that we use to play ball," said the Xibalbans to each other.

For their ball was merely a round blade. White Dagger[267] was the name of the ball of Xibalba. Their ball was sharp, shattered bones pierced through the ball of Xibalba.

Thus One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu entered into the House of Darkness. At length one came to give them their torch, which was already lit. It had been sent by One Death and Seven Death, along with cigars for each of them which had also already been lit.

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[264] Literally "serpent laughter." *Kumatz* (serpent) is used here to refer to cramps in the body, an association still current among modern highland Maya. The lords of Xibalba thus laughed so hard that they were getting side aches.

[265] These are pine wood torches. Such torches are still used today and are made from a very resinous pine wood called *ocote* in Spanish. The resin of the wood is easy to ignite and keeps the torch burning without rapidly consuming the wood itself.

[266] Smoking tobacco is a very ancient Maya tradition and carries important religious significance. Stone carvings and painted codices frequently depict gods and humans smoking cigars that could be grotesquely huge in size. The English word "cigar" is likely derived from the verb *sik'arik* (to smoke).

[267] The name of this dagger implies that it is a sacrificial knife (see p. 132; lines 2409-2410).

These, then, were sent by the lords to One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. They were seated cross-legged there in the darkness when the courier arrived to give to them their torch and their cigars. The torch was brightly burning when it arrived, and with it were lit each one of the cigars:

"These are to be returned at dawn. They are not to be used up. Instead, they are to be collected again intact. Thus say the lords to you," they were told.

Therefore they were defeated. For they used up the torch as well as the cigars that had been given to them.

Xibalba is crowded with trials, for there are many kinds of trials there.

The first of these is the House of Darkness, where nothing but darkness exists within.

The second is named Shivering House, for its interior is thick with frost. A howling wind clatters[268] there. An icy wind whistles through its interior.

The third is named Jaguar House, where there are nothing but jaguars inside. They bare their teeth, crowding one another, gnashing and snapping their teeth together. They are captive jaguars within the house.

The fourth trial is named Bat House, for there are none but bats inside. In this house they squeak. They shriek as they fly about in the house, for they are captive bats and cannot come out.

The fifth, then, is named Blade House,[269] for there are only blades inside—row upon row of alternating blades that would clash and clatter there in the house.

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[268] The wind clatters because it is laden with frost and hail. The verb used refers to the sound of grains falling on a hard surface or hail falling on a roof.

Thus there are many trials in Xibalba. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu did not enter into them. These are merely the names of each of the houses of trial.

Thus One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu came out and appeared before One Death and Seven Death:

"Where are my cigars and my torch that were given to you last night?" they were asked.

"We finished them off, O lord."

"Very well then, now your day is at an end. You are to die."

Thus they were lost. They were broken as well.

"Here your faces shall be hidden, for you are to be sacrificed," said One Death and Seven Death.

Then they were sacrificed and buried. It was at the place named Crushing[270] Ballcourt that they were buried. The head of One Hunahpu was cut off, while the rest of his body was buried with his younger brother.

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[269] These are blades made of either flint or obsidian, a dark volcanic glass that when properly flaked can produce a razor-sharp edge. Obsidian blades were a major trade item throughout the history of ancient Mesoamerica, being one of the principal materials used in weapons, cutting tools, mirrors, sacrificial knives, and bloodletting instruments.

[270] *Puk'b'al* (Crushing). The root verb for *puk'b'al* has a variety of possible interpretations. It may mean "to crush, to grind to a very fine consistency, to kick up dust, to sift, to beat, to spill, to spread abroad, to scatter, to disentangle, or to card wool. *Puk'b'al* may thus refer to the dustiness of the ballcourt or the tendency to kick up dust during vigorous play. It may also imply that this ballcourt is where opponents are "ground down, beaten, or sifted." This latter interpretation is intriguing, because "to crush" is often used in the text to refer to the destruction or violent death of people (pp. 85, 87-88, 291; lines 682, 743, 789, 801, 8454). Father Coto notes that a synonymous word for "to crush," *k'ajb'ik*, refers specifically to human sacrifice, which is the likely implication here as well. It is also possible that the word should be read as *pukb'al*, which also has a variety of meanings depending on context. It means literally "to fall from overripeness or decay (fruit, flowers, teeth), or to be plucked out (hair, feathers)." Metaphorically the word when applied to humans means "crestfallen, melancholy, disdained, contemptible, or scorned." In this case such an interpretation may refer to the humiliation and misery of those who lose in the ballcourt. Both interpretations may apply here considering the Maya's fondness for plays on words and puns. Alternatively, the word may be a scribal error for *puzbal* (place of sacrifice), a reading which fits the context of this passage well.

"Place his head in the midst of the tree that is planted by the road," said One Death and Seven Death.

Now when they went to place his head in the midst of the tree, the tree bore fruit.[271] The tree had never borne fruit until the head of One Hunahpu was placed in it. This was the tree that we now call the calabash.[272] It is said to be the head of One Hunahpu.

One Death and Seven Death marveled at the fruit of the tree, for its round fruit was everywhere. Neither could the head of One Hunahpu be seen clearly, for his face had become identical in appearance with the calabashes.

This was seen by all Xibalba when they came to look at it. In their hearts, they perceived the greatness of the essence of that tree, for it was accomplished immediately when the head of One Hunahpu entered into its midst.

Thus the Xibalbans spoke one to another, "Let no one cut the fruit, nor enter beneath the tree," they said.

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[271] Contemporary Tz'utujil burial practices at Santiago Atitlán may be related to this mythic account. Once placed in the grave, Atitecos raise a small mound of earth over the body and plant a tree on top which represents the soul of the dead reborn to new life. The community cemetery has long rows of graves bearing trees, giving the appearance of a great orchard or grove. Ximénez described a similar practice in highland Guatemala at the beginning of the eighteenth century and noted that persons were frequently buried in the maize fields, an indication that the dead were reborn as maize (1929-1931, I, 100). This is particularly significant with regard to Atiteco traditions of one of their principal culture heroes, Francisco Sojuel, who is believed to have set the pattern for many of the contemporary ritual practices observed today: "When Francisco Sojuel was being persecuted by his enemies they tried to kill him by cutting him into little pieces and sprinkling them with lemon juice and salt. But when they came back the next day they found that his coffin was empty and from it grew a griant zapote tree filled with fruit. People plant zapote trees over the graves of their family in memory of Francisco Sojuel because he did not die" (Christenson 2001, 207). The association between ancestors and fruit trees is also characteristic of ancient Maya thought. The sides of the sarcophagus of K'inich Janab Pakal at Palenque depict ten of the king's ancestors emerging out of a cleft in the groundline marked with *kaban* (earth) signs. Behind each ancestor is a fruit-bearing tree, indicating that they are rising from their graves in a fashion parallel to the sprouting of world trees (Schele and Freidel 1990, 221; McAnany 1995, 43).

[272] The calabash tree (*Crescentia cujete*) yields a large gourd with a hard, bonelike rind that is sometimes dried to make bowls. When dried, the gourd is whitish in color and approximately the size of a human skull.

Thus they restricted themselves. All the Xibalbans restrained themselves. For the head of One Hunahpu was no longer clear, having become identical with the fruit of the tree whose name is the calabash. Great is the account of it.

Now a maiden heard of it. Thus we shall now tell of her arrival there.

THE MAIDEN LADY BLOOD AND THE TREE OF ONE HUNAHPU[273]

THIS, therefore, is the account of a maiden, the daughter of the lord named Gathered Blood.

A MAIDEN, the daughter of a lord, had heard of it. Gathered Blood was the name of her father, while the name of the maiden was Lady Blood.[274]

When she heard the account of the fruit of the tree as told by her father, she was amazed by the tale:

"Can I not come to know it by seeing the tree that has been spoken of? I hear that its fruit is truly delicious," she said.

Thus she went alone beneath the tree that was planted at Crushing Ballcourt:

"Ah! What is the fruit of this tree? Is not the fruit borne by this tree delicious? I would not die. I would not be lost. Would it be heard if I were to pick one?" asked the maiden.

Then spoke the skull there in the midst of the tree:

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[273] lines 2268-2374

[274] In Maya society, blood is the most precious substance because it bears within itself the spirit or essence of the ancestors and thus, by extension, of the founding deities from whom they descended. It is therefore the repository of life which transcends individuals to include the ancestral dead. It is consistent with this view that "Lady Blood," daughter of an underworld lord, is the means by which the skull of One Hunahpu is able to produce new life out of death.

"What is it that you desire of this? It is merely a skull, a round thing placed in the branches of trees," said the head of Hunahpu when it spoke to the maiden. "You do not desire it," she was told.

"But I do desire it," said the maiden.

"Very well then, stretch out hither your right hand[275] so that I may see it," said the skull.

"Very well," said the maiden.

And so she stretched upward her right hand before the face of the skull. Then the skull squeezed out some of its saliva, directed toward the hand of the maiden. When she saw this, she immediately examined her hand. But the saliva from the skull was not in her hand.

"My saliva, my spittle, is merely a sign that I have given to you. This head of mine no longer functions, for it is merely a skull that cannot work.[276] The head of a truly great lord has good flesh upon his face. But when he dies, the people become frightened because of his bones. In like manner, his son is like his saliva, his spittle. He is his essence. If his son becomes a lord, or a sage, or a master of speech, then nothing will have been lost. He will go on, and once more become complete. The face of the lord will not be extinguished nor will it be ruined. The warrior, the sage, the master of speech will remain in the form of his daughters and his sons.[277]

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[275] The Quichés associate the right side of the body with maleness and the left with femaleness. Lady Blood's impregnation through her right hand is thus destined to produce male offspring.

[276] I base this reading on *chak* (work), which is consistent with the previous phrase and thus serves as a couplet of ideas, the most common poetic form in the *Popol Vuh*. Sam Colop suggests that it should rather be *ch'aq'* (flesh), thus reinforcing the idea of a fleshless skull (Colop 1999, 68 n. 165). Either reading is consistent with the context of One Hunahpu's discourse, and possibly it is meant to be a play on words.

"Thus may it be so, as I have done to you. Climb, therefore, up there to the face of the earth. You will not die, for you have entered into a promise. Thus be it so," said the skull of One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu.

Now in this they merely carried out the thoughts and words of Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt.

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[277] Seeds are referred to as small bones or skulls in many highland Maya languages. The reverse is also true, human bones are seen as seeds, the source of new life as expressed in succeeding generations. Thus Schultze-Jena wrote, "when they [Quichés] ask for a young girl in marriage, they refer to progeny and make mention of human bones. It is probable that they have in mind the comparison of bones with the seeds of plants, and that human bones are bearers of life in the succession of the generations" (Schultze-Jena 1954, 52. Translation by author). Ruth Bunzel noted that the Quichés of Chichicastenango claimed that their formalized speech and ceremonies were attributed to ancient ancestral precedent and that this is a means of preserving the lives and knowledge of their ancestors: "And now this rite and custom belongs to the first people, our mothers and fathers.... This belongs to them; we are the embodiment of their rites and ceremonies" (Bunzel 1952, 232, 238). When performed at appropriate times and under appropriate circumstances, such ceremonies are perceived as a means for dead ancestors to manifest themselves. In Santiago Atitlán, a priest extracts certain garments that once belonged to the ancestors and wears them as he dances to the four cardinal directions to recreate the limits of the cosmos. Following the performance of this dance in 1998, the priest sought me out to ask if I had seen "the ancient *nuwals* [revered, powerful ancestors] giving birth to the world." He explained that they had filled his soul with their presence as he danced, guiding him in his steps, and now everything was new again. In the eyes of the priest, the dance was not a symbol of the ancestral dance, but a genuine creative act in which time folded inward on itself to reveal the ancestors themselves (Christenson 2001, 24). In a more literal sense, highland Maya see their descendents as their "replacements." Carlsen writes that much of Tz'utujil society is based on the principle of change as manifested in the transition from birth to death and back again (Carlsen 1991, 26; 1997, 50-55). Generational changes represent the transferral of life from the grandparents to their grandchildren. Thus when a baby is born, Tz'utujils say "he/she sprouted," or "he/she returned," implying that the spirit of a dead ancestor, like a newly-sprouted plant from the dead husk of a maize kernel, has returned to occupy a new body. In most highland Maya languages, the word for grandfather, *mam*, is also the word for grandchild, suggesting an equivalent relationship (Cook 2000, 257 n. 22, 260 n. 35). It is common for parents to name their children after their grandparents to reinforce this idea of substitution. Houston and Stuart also note that among the Classic Maya royal names tend to skip one or more generations, perhaps an allusion to this principle of generational substitution (Houston and Stuart 1996, 295). On a panel from Palenque now housed in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington D.C., K'an Hok' Chitam dances out of the underworld in the guise of the god Chak Xib Chak. He is named in the accompanying text as the *k'exol* ("replacement") of an ancestor with the same name who died 92 years earlier (Schele and Miller 1986, 274). At Santiago Atitlán, this principle of substitution may be applied to single generation changes: "One's child is sometimes actually addressed as 'parent,' and males will address their fathers as *nuk'jol*, or 'my son.' Likewise, a woman will often call her father *wal*, which translates as 'child.' As replacements are necessary for the grandparents' regeneration, the *k'ex* naming pattern has more than superficial significance" (Carlsen 1997, 55).

Thus the maiden returned again to her home, having been given many instructions. Straightaway her children were created in her womb[278] by the mere saliva. Thus was the creation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Now when the maiden had arrived at her home and six moons were completed, she was noticed by her father, Gathered Blood by name.

THE ASCENT OF LADY BLOOD FROM XIBALBA[279]

THEN the maiden was discovered[280] by her father, for he saw that she was now with child. Thus all the lords, One Death and Seven Death along with Gathered Blood, gathered their thoughts:

"This my daughter is with child, O lords. It is merely the result of her fornication,"[281] said Gathered Blood when he met with the lords.

"Very well then. Question her[282] about this, and when she doesn't tell, she will be sacrificed. She will go far away to be sacrificed."

"Very well, ye lords," he replied.

He therefore questioned his daughter:

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[278] The cycle of birth, death, and rebirth is one of the most prominent motifs in ancient Mesoamerican art and literature. The Maya saw death as a necessary part of life. For maize to grow and produce, a seed must first die and be buried in the earth. It was thus necessary for One Hunahpu to descend into the underworld to die before a new generation could appear and be capable of overcoming death. The maiden, Lady Blood, stood as an intermediary. As the daughter of one of the principal lords of death, she belonged to the darkness of the underworld. As the consort of One Hunahpu, she had the potential to create new life from death.

[279] lines 2375-2509

[280] *Na'tajik* is generally "to recall, remember," but it may also refer to the discovery of something secret, a more appropriate reading for this context.

[281] This is glossed by Basseta as "bastard."

[282] Literally "dig at her mouth." This is a common Quiché expression for questioning or interrogating a person closely. Thus the father will try to dig the truth out of his daughter's mouth.

"Who is responsible for the child that is in your womb, my daughter?" he asked.

"I have no child, my father," she replied. "I have not known the face of any man."[283]

"Very well then. It is true that you are a fornicator."[284]

"Sacrifice her,[285] you war councilors," the four owls were told. "Then bring back her heart inside a bowl so that the lords may examine it this day."

And so they went, carrying the bowl and lifting up the maiden in their talons. They took with them the White Dagger, the instrument of her sacrifice.

"You will not succeed in killing me, you messengers, for this that is in my womb was merely created and is not the result of fornication. Rather it is the result of my admiration for the head of One Hunahpu which is at Crushing Ballcourt. Thus do not sacrifice me, you messengers," said the maiden when she spoke.

"But what shall we give as a substitute for your heart? For we were told by your father, 'Bring hither her heart so that the lords may examine it and be satisfied with its form. Bring hither the bowl quickly, and place her heart inside it.' Were we not told this?

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[283] This is a polite expression for sexual intercourse. Quichés in traditional communities are very prudish when it comes to sexual matters, rarely referring to sex directly and seldom engaging in public displays of affection. Lady Blood's statement is accurate both figuratively (she never having engaged in sexual intercourse) and also literally. As Tedlock points out, she never saw the living face of One Hunahpu, only his skull (D. Tedlock 1996, 262 n. 100).

[284] *Joxol ch'ek* (scratcher knee). This is a play on words, a particularly prevalent Maya practice when referring to sexual things as a way of speaking about it indirectly. *Jox* is "to have sex," and also "to hoe or to scratch." A "knee scratcher" is a fornicator, prostitute, or one who wishes to seduce someone to have sex. The more common expression today is "leg burner" which also means seductress or prostitute.

[285] Violations of custom with regard to adultery and other forms of illicit sex are considered very serious in traditional Quiché society, although in most cases punishment is left in the hands of the ancestors or deity: "The Quiché Indians have a firm belief and conviction that the ancestors punish adultery on behalf of the man, as well as his spouse if she tolerates it in her house, with sickness, affliction, and even death" (Schultze-Jena 1954, 23. Translation by author). Sexual transgressions in particular are believed to subject those involved to the whims of the lords of various illnesses who live in the underworld and who "feed" on the lives of those who do not live in accordance with societal rules.

Therefore, what will we put in the bowl? For above all else, we do not want you to die," said the messengers.

"Very well. The heart will not be theirs. At the same time, your homes will no longer be here. No longer will you lure people by force to their deaths.[286] Only the true fornicator will be subject to One Death and Seven Death. Mere croton tree sap[287] will be theirs henceforth. Thus be it so. It will be this that you shall burn before their faces. It will not be this, the heart, that you will burn before their faces. Thus be it so. Take what the tree produces," said the maiden.

Then the red secretions[288] of the tree were collected in the bowl. There it congealed and became round. The red tree, therefore, oozed forth the substitute for her heart. The sap of the red tree was thus like blood when it came out. It was the substitute for her blood.[289]

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[286] According to Basseta, *chi'j* is "to forcefully lure, lead away, or captivate."

[287] Thus the lords will receive not human blood, but rather the red sap of the croton tree (*Croton sanguifluus;* Spanish: *Sangre de Dragón*—Dragon's Blood Tree). Vázquez de Espinosa wrote that "there is a tree in this province of Chiapa and of Guatemala that is called dragon. It is tall like the almond tree; the leaves are white and the stems are of the same color, and if it is struck with a knife it weeps blood, as natural as if it were human" (Vázquez de Espinosa 1969, 1st.I.iv.590, p. 147. Translation by author). Both blood and tree sap have the same name, *kik'*, in Quiché.

[288] *Wa'l* is the general Quiché term for the liquid secretions or fluid content of plants and animals. Thus *u wa'l baq' wach* (its secretions eyes) are tears, *u wa'l pix* (its fluid tomatoes) is tomato sauce, *u wa'l alanxax* (its fluid oranges) is orange juice, and here *u wa'l che'* (its secretions tree) is another word for tree sap.

[289] Offerings, including blood sacrifices from chickens or turkeys, are still seen as "substitutes" for the offerer so that deity will not take them through illness or death (Bunzel 1952, 360). Landa wrote that in the Yucatec month of Mac, the pre-Conquest Maya "took out a great many of the hearts of the animals and birds and threw them into the fire to burn. And if they were unable to get large animals like tigers (jaguars), lions (pumas) or crocodiles, they made their hearts out of their incense; but if they had killed them, they brought their hearts for that fire" (Landa 1941, 163). It is likely that following the Spanish conquest, incense continued to represent a substitute for the blood sacrifice Precolumbian Maya once offered to deity. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Fray Antonio Margil recorded an incident in which a sick man consulted a Quiché shaman after falling ill in a forest. The shaman informed him that the "Lord of the Forest" had made him ill, but that there was a remedy: "Do not worry, because I go now to pray to the Lord of the Forest for you, and will take him his food [copal incense] in your name" (Hill 1992, 144). The

Thus she collected the sap, the secretion of the red tree. Its surface became like bright red blood in the bowl when the maiden cut open the tree called the Sacrifice Red Tree.[290] She named this "blood," and blood croton it is still called.

"There on the face of the earth you will be esteemed, for it is become yours," she said therefore to the owls.

"Very well then, you maiden. We shall go then upward to hide you. But first we shall give the substitute for your heart before the faces of the lords," said the messengers.

And so they arrived before the faces of the lords, who were all awaiting them expectantly.[291]

"Was it not successful?" asked One Death.

"It was successful, O lords. This is surely her heart here in the bottom of the bowl."

"Very well. I would see it therefore," said One Death.

Then he lifted it up with his fingers,[292] dripping with blood from its surface. It was bright red with blood.

"Stir well[293] the face of the fire and place it over the fire," said One Death.

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shaman thus used incense to purchase the health of the man by offering it as a replacement to assuage the appetite of the Lord of the Forest.

[290] *Chuj* is the Yucatec Maya word for "sacrifice." If this is the correct reading of the word, it would serve as further evidence that significant elements of the early mythology recorded in the *Popol Vuh* have a lowland origin. Alternatively, if the word is to be read as *ch'u'j,* this is the Quiché word for the scarlet-colored dye made from the cochineal insect, *Coccus axin*. In this case, the word would modify *kaq* (red), indicating that it is a bright, vivid red.

[291] *Tz'elewachin* is "to await, expect" (Coto).

[292] *Chuyej* is "to lift something with one's fingers" (Basseta).

[293] *Lu'* is "to stir a fire to revive it" (Basseta).

Then they dried it over the fire, while the Xibalbans savored its fragrance. They all rose up to lean over it, for truly delicious was the smell of the blood to them.

Now while they were bent over, the owls went to guide the maiden up to the hole leading above the earth. Then the guides returned back down again.

Thus the lords of Xibalba were defeated, for the maiden had tricked them all.[294]

LADY BLOOD AND THE MIRACLE OF THE MAIZE[295]

THIS, therefore, is the mother[296] of One Batz and One Chouen.

Then arrived the woman, Lady Blood by name, who came to the mother of One Batz and One Chouen. Her children were still in her womb, however, it wasn't long before the birth[297] of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So then the woman came to the Grandmother. She said to the Grandmother:

"I have come, thou lady,"[298] she said when she arrived there with the Grandmother. "I am thy daughter-in-law and thy child,[299] thou lady."

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[294] *Moywachixik* (to be blinded faces) is a Quiché expression meaning "to be tricked, deceived."

[295] lines 2510-2663

[296] Actually she is their grandmother, but because the real mother of One Batz and One Chouen had died by this time (p. 118; line 1913), Xmucane is acting as their mother.

[297] Literally *yake'ik* (they arise), which is glossed as a metaphor for birth in Coto.

[298] *Chichu'* (lady) simply means "woman, female." It is most commonly used, however, in titles of respect, such as *ajawinel chichu'* (ruler female, queen) or *alib' chichu'* (parent-in-law female).

[299] Traditionally, a new bride moves into the home of her mother-in-law, at least temporarily, to get acquainted and to ensure that she learns the skills necessary to run a household. By declaring herself to be the daughter-in-law and child of Xmucane, she is presenting herself as a claimant to familial hospitality. In contemporary Quiché households, marriage severs a woman permanently from her parent's influence, suggesting that Lady Blood really had nowhere else to go: "When the girl leaves for her husband's house, she takes with her nothing but her personal clothing.... Theoretically, the girl is now completely cut off from her blood kin. In going from her father's side she forfeits her rights to inherit. She is discouraged from

"From where have you come? Do my children yet exist? Did they not die in Xibalba? Only these two are left as their sign and their word.[300] One Batz and One Chouen are their names. If you see that you have come, go back the same way,"[301] the maiden was told by the Grandmother.

"But it is true that I am thy daughter-in-law. These are surely his. These that I am carrying belong to One Hunahpu. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu are alive. They are not dead. That which they have done is merely a manifestation of their light,[302] thou mother-in-law. Thus you shall see it. You shall see his face in these that I am carrying," she told the Grandmother.

Now One Batz and One Chouen gloried in these things:[303] Only the flute and song did they do. Only writing and carving was their work every day. And so they comforted the heart of the Grandmother.

Thus the Grandmother spoke to her:

"I do not want you. You are not my daughter-in-law. It is merely the result of your fornication that is in your womb. You are a deceiver. My children that you spoke of have died," the Grandmother said again.

"They are truly his, I say to you."

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visiting her parents, and her relations with her family assume a purely formal character. It is assumed that she will never again return to their house" (Bunzel 1952, 28).

[300] Both of these terms are also metaphors for "descendents, progeny."

[301] Edmonson sees this as a humorous response to the common Maya greeting, "I have arrived" (Edmonson 1971, 81 nn. 2451-2452). The polite response is "you have arrived," but in this case, the grandmother turns the answer around and orders her to go away.

[302] "Merely his self-manifestation light." In other words, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu will show themselves once again in the light when their sons are born. "To appear in the light" is a common Quiché metaphor for birth.

[303] Literally "inflames," with the implication that it gives glory, power, majesty.

"Very well then, I hear you that you are my daughter-in-law," the maiden was told. "Go then to get food that these may eat. Go and harvest a great netful of maize and return with it.[304] Then you will surely be my daughter-in-law, just as you have said."

"Very well," she replied.

Then she went to the maizefield[305] that belonged to One Batz and One Chouen, along the path that had been cleared by them. The maiden thus started out and arrived there at the maizefield. But there was only a single ear[306] of maize[307] in the field. There was not even one or two or three more. Although there was maize there, it was but a single ear that had been produced.

Then the heart of the maiden sank:[308]

"See, I am a sinner![309] I am a debtor![310] Where shall I obtain the netful of food that is asked for?" she asked.

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[304] It is customary in Quiché society for a new bride to be given heavy tasks by her in-laws to prove her ability to provide for a family. In this case, Lady Blood is given a great net which is to be used to carry the maize for the family's food. In Maya theology, the net is a significant symbol for the divine order of the universe. Its fixed pattern represents the regularity of the seasons in the fabric of time. Thus Maya goddesses are often depicted weaving on a cosmic loom.

[305] *Ab'ix* may refer to the maizefield or a single maize plant, as in line 2604.

[306] *Wi'* (head). The Maya think of ears of maize as "heads."

[307] *Jal* is an ear of maize, dry and ready to harvest.

[308] Literally "finished therefore her heart."

[309] *Makol* (sinner). Modern Quiché prayers and ceremonies generally begin with a long litany of sacred beings and objects who are invoked to be present. This is followed by the phrase *sacha' la nu mak* (take away my sin), often repeated several times. This is not a reference to specific sins, but a request to take away any flaws in the body or character of those present that might taint the results of the ceremony. I recorded this prayer by an *aj q'ij* priest at a healing ceremony in Momostenango in the late 1970s: "We call upon you Earth, we ask you Lord of the Day 11 *No'j,* we ask you Lord 5 *No'j*... We ask a favor of you; we ask you a favor because there is sickness among us, there is a sick little girl. Take away my sin, King of the World, Savior of the World, so that you may speak—the Seven Skies, the Seven Earths. Take away my sin that there may be light, that there may be clarity. Take away my sin I ask you, the great mountains and the small mountains; the great plains and the small plains; the great animals who are lords of the mountains and you small animals who are in the mountains. Take away my sin, our people, our mothers and fathers, our

Thus she called upon the guardians of the food:

"Come, arise. Come, stand up Lady of the Day Toh,[311] and Lady of the Day Canil,[312] Lady Cacao[313] and Lady of the Day Tzi,[314] you the guardians of the food of One Batz[315] and One Chouen," said the maiden.

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grandmothers and our grandfathers. Take away my sin and witness us here today at this table. It has its service, to bring out the transformation, to bring out the mother-fathers. This is its service. Take away my sin."

[310] *K'asb'ol*. According to Father Coto, *qazbal* means "sinner, transgressor, debtor" In modern usage, the term refers to a person who is indebted to someone else, either financially or socially. This is perhaps the reason why the day name *Toj* is listed first in the following passage, a day associated with the payment of debts. Coto also lists *qazbol macol,* obviously related in some way to the paired couplet here, and notes that the two words taken as a pair refer to the merchant trade.

[311] This passage likely refers to female manifestations of three of the days in the traditional highland Maya calendar—*Toj*, *Q'anil*, and *Tz'i'* (Ruud van Akkeren, personal communication). These are consecutive days, although the order should be *Q'anil*, *Toj*, and then *Tz'i'*. Modern *aj q'ij* priests invoke the days of the calendar in their prayers and ceremonies as lords and attribute to them specific power to bless or to punish. Thus they conceive of the days as living beings with personalities and specific spheres of influence. *Toj* is "tribute or payment." Metaphorically it may also be "punishment or illness" caused by sin. In her note on *Toj*, as one of the named days in the traditional Quiché calendar, Ruth Bunzel quotes an *aj q'ij* priest collaborator: "*T'oj* (*enfermedad*, sickness). Symbolizes the suffering which is caused by sin. 'This is a bad day, a day of sickness. On the day *t'oj* one burns incense in the house for the Lord of Sickness. *T'oj* is also a day for calling sickness to punish an enemy. If divination comes out in 7 *qanil*, 8 *toj*, 9 *ts'i'* it is bad. These are bad days. The content of *qanil* is corn, or the milpa, *toj* is sickness, *ts'i'*, "dog," some shameless act. When one has a sickness of the body that is like a worm eating the flesh, we call this *xu jut qanil*, which is a worm that is found sometimes in the *milpa* [maizefield]. When this worm gets into the body and eats at the flesh then it is because of these days. For this sickness comes from stealing corn or else it may be due to sorcery, for they are the days of sorcery also. For instance, if a man finds that his *milpa* has been robbed he goes to his *milpa* at midnight, breaks off an ear of corn and places a candle between the two halves, and asks San Jacinto and San Augustín, the patrons of the *milpa* to punish the robber, and he calls the days 7 *qanil*, 8 *t'oj*, 9 *ts'i'* to punish him. Then after a time the man who has stolen the corn will suffer from this disease, which is like cancer and ulcers. This is the meaning of these days" (Bunzel 1952, 282-283).

[312] *Q'anil*, Literally "Yellowness," referring specifically to the yellow of ripe maize, and is sometimes used as a metaphor for the fruitfulness of the earth in general. Bunzel: "*Qanil* (*milpa*, cornfield). Symbolic of the regeneration of the earth, of rebirth after, death, as exemplified in the growth of corn. '*Qanil* is the day of the milpa, a good day. It is a day to give thanks for one's *siembres* [plantings], for harvest and planting. After the harvest one waits for the day *qanil*, either 2 or 3 *qanil*, to give thanks. And likewise after planting. This is optional. But it is obligatory for all people to give thanks for their food and their land on the day 8 *qanil*. And each year one does this, until one dies'" (Bunzel 1952, 55, 282). Barbara Tedlock adds that one of the mnemonics used for this day by *aj q'ij* priests in Momostenango is *cak'anaric uwäch ulew* ("harvest"—literally, "the face of the earth becomes yellow"), and adds that "on these days, the lineage priest-shaman, depending on whether planting or harvest time is closer, passes seeds saved from the previous year, or else fresh corn ears that have been chosen as seed ears for the next year, through the copal smoke. In so doing, he is symbolically feeding (*tzukunic*) both the Mundo [Spanish "World," the principal earth deity] and his own ancestors" (B. Tedlock 1982, 114).

Then she took hold of the cornsilk, the cornsilk atop the ear of ripe maize,[316] and pulled it upward. She did not pick the ear of maize, but it multiplied there in the net until the great net overflowed. Then when the maiden returned, the animals carried the net for her as she returned. But when she arrived and saw her grandmother, they gave back her pack frame,[317] and she perspired as if she had carried it.

Now when the Grandmother saw the food, the great netful, she said:

"Where did you come by this food? From where was it stolen? I will surely go to see if you have finished off the maize plant and brought it all here,"[318] said the Grandmother.

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[313] *Kakaw* is the true cacao (*Theobroma cacao*) from which chocolate is made. Cacao was highly prized in Precolumbian Mesoamerica, where it was used to make a spiced chocolate beverage. So precious was the bean of the cacao that it was used as the most common form of currency in purchasing goods and services. Ruud van Akkeren (personal communication) notes that one of the prime areas of cacao cultivation in the region is Tiquisate/Nahualate on the Pacific coast. This is also the area of the Toj and Q'anil lineages. Several highland Maya documents mention the taking of women as captives from these lineages. There are also several *terra cotta* renderings of women with cacao pods growing from their body found in this area that are now located in the *Popol Vuh* Museum in Guatemala City.

[314] *Tz'i'a* (Dog) is a metaphor for shamelessness. Bunzel: "*T'si'* (*chucho*, dog). This symbolizes sin, especially sexual impurity. '*t'si'*, 'dog,' a bad day, the worst of all. The day of shameless and beastly actions (especially sexual). This is the meaning of *t'si'* in the divinations. There are no ceremonies for this day, because it is evil. But if one wishes to ask forgiveness of one's evil acts, one asks it on the next day (9 *bats*)'" (Bunzel 1952, 283).

[315] Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the day immediately following *Q'anil*, *Toj*, and *Tz'i'*, is *B'atz'* in the traditional calendar.

[316] *Jal* is a dried ear of maize ready to be harvested.

[317] *Ko'k* is a wooden boxlike frame used to haul things on the back.

[318] It is still customary among contemporary Quichés to carry harvested maize in large nets and to bring them home at one time wherever possible: "The whole harvest from a field is brought in at one time even if extra laborers must be hired to carry it. If it must be carried any distance, the bearers run the whole way, shouting. When they enter the house, the owner and his wife meet them. When the harvest from the large estate of Don Náches, a wealthy Ladino was brought into his town house more than fifty bearers were hired for the occasion. They ran into town in single file, shouting, encircled the plaza before taking the corn to the owner's house, and the church bells were rung" (Bunzel 1952, 51). The arrival of the harvested maize is always an important event, even in smaller households. This episode suggests that Lady Blood had brought an entire harvest, though the Grandmother knew that no such field of maize existed in her family's plot.

Thus she went to see the maize plant. But there was the single ear of maize still on the maize plant, and it was clear where the net had been placed beneath it.

The Grandmother thus rushed back to her home and said to the maiden:

"This is but a sign that you are in truth my daughter-in-law. I will surely watch your deeds, for they that are to be my grandchildren are enchanted already," the maiden was told.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE HOUSE OF THE GRANDMOTHER[319]

NOW we shall relate the tale of the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

THIS, therefore, is the account of their birth that we shall tell. When the day arrived, the maiden Lady Blood gave birth. The Grandmother did not see it when they were born, for these two arose[320] suddenly. Hunahpu and Xbalanque were their names. They arose in the mountains, but when they were taken into the house they did not sleep:

"Take them away and abandon them, for truly shrill are their mouths," said the Grandmother.

Thus they were placed on an anthill, and there they slept blissfully.

Then they were taken out again and placed on a thornbush. This was done by One Batz and One Chouen, for they would have had them die there on the anthill and on the thornbush.[321] They wanted this because of the treachery[322] and jealousy[323] of One Batz and One Chouen.

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[319] lines 2664-2899

[320] *Xeyake'ik* (they arose). This is a metaphor for birth according to Coto.

[321] This treatment of the twin sons of One Hunahpu and Lady Blood is a serious breach of highland Maya attitudes toward children, particularly infants. Despite poverty and private concerns, children are always accepted as a "gift" in Quiché homes and treated with patience and indulgence. Infants and small

Thus at first their younger brothers were not accepted in the house. They were not known. Therefore they just grew up in the mountains.

Now One Batz and One Chouen were great flautists and singers. They had grown in greatness. They had passed through great affliction and misfortune, and thus they had become great. They were sages. They were not only flautists and singers, but they had also become writers and carvers. Everything they did was successful for them.

For they knew of the circumstances of their birth, and certainly they were ingenious. They were the substitutes for their father who had gone to Xibalba and had died. Thus One Batz and One Chouen were great sages. In their hearts, they knew everything from the first, even before their younger brothers were created.

But nothing ever came of these enchanted abilities[324] because of their envy. The abuses[325] born in their hearts merely fell upon their own backs and nothing came of them.[326]

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children are never left alone under any circumstances. Whenever possible babies accompany their mothers, who carry them on their backs everywhere as they go about their work. Toddlers and small children are cared for solicitously by their older siblings who also carry them about wherever they go. "[Quichés] care for them tenderly and reproach themselves if the child falls ill. There is no infanticide; that would be a violation of all their moral ideas" (Bunzel 1952, 99). This attitude is so pervasive in highland Maya society that it is difficult to believe that it would have been otherwise at the time the *Popol Vuh* was composed. It is likely that the "treachery" of One Batz and One Chouen toward their half-brothers would have been recognized as sufficient grounds for the punishment they later received when they were turned into monkeys. It is significant in this regard that monkeys were earlier described as descendents of the wooden people who "did not possess their hearts nor their minds," "walked without purpose," "did not remember Heart of Sky," and "were not capable of understanding" (pp. 83-90). It was the cold and dry hearts of the wooden people that had led to their ultimate destruction.

[322] *Ch'aqimal* is "treachery, lies, calumny, slander, falsehood, or mockery." Basseta wrote that it may also refer to the loud shouting of young men. In modern usage it suggests something that festers and spreads, such as an abscess, gangrene, or smallpox.

[323] Literally "red or fiery countenance," a common Quiché expression for jealousy.

[324] *Na'wikil* is derived from the word for enchantment, or unusual power of knowledge. It is also used to refer to extraordinary abilities or talents.

[325] *Yoq'* is an "abuse, insult, or affront."

Thus they were ignored[327] by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who went out every day to hunt with their blowguns. They were not loved by their grandmother, nor by One Batz and One Chouen. Nor were they given any food. When meals were prepared for them, One Batz and One Chouen would eat it all before they returned.

But they did not become enraged[328] or angry. They tolerated it, for they knew their own nature, and this was a light by which they could see.

Thus when they returned each day, One Batz and One Chouen would take away their birds and eat them. They did not give anything to the twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. One Batz and One Chouen merely played the flute and sang.

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[326] Tedlock's Quiché collaborator, Andrés Xiloj, commented on this passage: "We see a person; we speak behind his back and he doesn't hear what we are murmuring. Then this murmur doesn't fall upon that person, but we are the ones who pay for it" (Tedlock 1996, 265 n. 105). Bunzel recorded the following explanation from a Quiché seeking justice from a slander inflicted on him: "Now I have a clean heart, my wife is satisfied, and the woman also has set everything right. Now I can go before the ancestors to ask justice. But if I go before them with my sins still upon me, and quarreling with my wife or relatives, then I shall die at once, before my enemy, for the justice which I ask for him will fall upon me" (Bunzel 1952, 376).

[327] The root of this verb is derived from *poy*, which has been used previously to describe the wooden effigies that were destroyed. Today the word is used for scarecrows, dolls, or statues. Each of these is something that resembles reality but is false. Basseta writes it is to be "discounted, ignored, displeased, dissatisfied" as well as to be "perverted, corrupted."

[328] Literally "inflamed." The tolerance of the twins to the injustice of their older siblings is characteristic of Quiché practice. There are certainly rivalries among family members. Bunzel noted that the calm that prevails in all households is somewhat superficial, often hiding bitterness and discord with a "smooth surface of respectful courtesy" (Bunzel 1952, 12). Particularly among older family members, there is often an atmosphere of intense rivalry and mistrust. This antagonism seldom if ever erupts into open conflict, however, for fear of retribution from deceased ancestors who do not tolerate such behavior: "The ancestors and 'the idols' stand ready to punish the blows or harsh words that violate the sanctity of the house. The injured 'weep before the idols' demanding revenge, and the ever present fear of sorcery stays the free expression of antagonism. Within the house quiet and dignity prevail. All intercourse is marked by elaborate etiquette" (Ibid., 120). Thus one of her collaborators who was preparing for a ceremony told her: "It is better that I go out of the house before I am provoked to retort. There is nothing I can do, I must not quarrel or argue. For I am asking justice before the spirits, and if I do anything, they will immediately drag me out of this life" (Ibid., 380). Children are seldom chastened by their parents in traditional Quiché households, but it is made clear from a very early age that open expressions of anger or physical abuse between siblings is not tolerated and that when it does occur such behavior invites retribution by the ancestors in the form of illness or even death.

Then one day Hunahpu and Xbalanque returned without bringing any birds. The Grandmother was enraged because of this:

"What is the reason that you have not brought any more birds?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque were asked.

"This is why, our grandmother. Our birds are just stuck up in the top of the tree," they said. "There is no way to climb to the top of the tree to reach them, our grandmother. Therefore we would like our older brothers to go with us to bring down the birds," they said.

"Very well," said their older brothers. "We will go with you at dawn."

Thus they were defeated. The two of them had planned for the defeat of One Batz and One Chouen:

"We shall merely overturn their nature. This is the essence of our words. Thus be it so, for great is the affliction that they have caused us. If it had been according to their desires, we, their younger brothers, would have died and been lost. In their hearts, we are looked upon as slaves, as if we worked for them. Instead, we shall make of them an example," they said one to another.

Thus they went there below the tree whose name is Yellow Tree,[329] in company with their older brothers. As they went, they began to shoot with their blowguns, for there were innumerable birds in the top of the tree singing riotously. Their older brothers marvelled at this when they saw the birds. But not one of these birds that they saw fell down beneath the tree:

[329] *Can Te* (Lowland Maya: Yellow Tree). Recinos (1950, 128 n. 6) and Campbell (1983, 82) identify this as *Gliricidia sepium*, known in Central America as *Madre de cacao* (Spanish: Mother of Cacao). The Maya extracted a yellow dye from this tree (Roys 1967, 161 n. 8).

"Our birds do not fall down here. Just go and bring them down," they said to their older brothers.

"Very well," they said.

And they climbed up to the top of the tree. But the tree began to grow larger. It swelled in size. Thus when they wanted to come back down, One Batz and One Chouen couldn't climb down from the top of the tree.[330]

They therefore called down from the top of the tree:

"What can we say, our younger brothers? Take pity on us. This tree is truly frightening to see, our younger brothers," they called down from the top of the tree.

Thus Hunahpu and Xbalanque called back to them:

"Loosen your loincloths[331] and retie the long end below your bellies. Pull out the tail end[332] behind you. Then you will be able to walk freely," they were told by their younger brothers.

"Fine," they said.

And so they pulled out the ends of their loincloths,[333] and these immediately became tails. They appeared just like spider monkeys. Thus they went up into the tops of

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[330] Akkeren (2000, 65, 303-304) suggests that this tale is the origin of the famous *Palo Volador* in which dancers dressed as monkeys climb a tall pole, tie long ropes to their ankles, and spin downward as the ropes gradually unwind (Cook 2000, 107-118). In many communities this popular dance has been banned because of the danger involved.

[331] Ximénez identifies *we'x* as short trousers worn by men, but likely they were loincloths prior to the Spanish conquest based on the description in the text of their being loosened and retied. *Weexj* is the name for the traditional white trousers worn in Santiago Chimaltenango (Watanabe 1992, 93)

[332] This is a good example of a play on words. The text uses the term *je'* here to describe the end of the brothers' loincloths. While *je'* may be used to refer to the end of something, it also means "tail," presaging the transformation that would soon take place.

[333] *To'q*. This word is still in use in the highlands as a generic term for underwear (Mondloch, personal communication).

the trees there in the small mountains and the great mountains. They went out into the forests, howling and chattering loudly in the branches of the trees.

Thus was the defeat of One Batz and One Chouen at the hands of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. It was merely by their enchantments that it was done.

Now when they arrived back at their home, they spoke with their grandmother and mother:

"Our grandmother, something has happened to our older brothers. Their faces have changed.[334] They go about like animals now," they said.

"If you have done something to your older brothers, you will cause me misery and anguish. Let this not be what you have done to your older brothers, my grandsons," said the Grandmother to Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

They replied then to their grandmother:

"Do not grieve, our grandmother. You shall see again the faces of our older brothers. They will come back. But this is a test for you, our grandmother. Please do not laugh, for we will test their fate," they said.

Thus they began to play the flute. They played "Hunahpu Spider Monkey" on the flute.

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[334] *Rax ki wach* (new their faces). This is a physical reality, in that the brothers now have monkey faces, but it also has a host of implied meanings. Basseta records that this suggests "without shame." Coto adds that it refers to one that has "gone astray, lost self-control, is impudent, outside the bounds of justice, talks nonsense, babbles, or chatters."

THE FALL OF ONE BATZ AND ONE CHOUEN[335]

THEN they began to sing, to play the flute, and to play the drum.[336] And when they had taken up their flute and their drum, the Grandmother sat down with them as well. Thus they played the flute, calling them with the music. In song they called out their names, with the music whose name is "Hunahpu Spider Monkey."

Then arrived One Batz and One Chouen, dancing as they came. But when the Grandmother looked at them, she saw their ugly faces[337] and laughed, for she could not contain her laughter.

Therefore they immediately went away. Their faces could not be seen anymore, for they had gone back into the forest.

"What now will you do, our grandmother? We shall try it four times in all. Only three times more we shall call them with flute music and song. But you must truly contain your laughter when we try it again," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Then they played the flute again, and again they came dancing in the middle of the house patio. Animatedly they did it, tempting their grandmother to laughter.

Thus immediately the Grandmother began to laugh again. For the faces of the spider monkeys were truly funny. They were paunchy[338] and naked below their chests.[339]

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[335] lines 2900-3023

[336] *Q'ojom* is a general term for any kind of percussion instrument, although "drum" is the most common interpretation in colonial dictionaries. In most modern Quiché communities, the word refers to the marimba, which has become extremely popular but which most likely did not exist in Precolumbian Guatemala. The flute and drum are still the instruments used to accompany traditional native dances and processions.

[337] *Itzel u wach* (evil his face) and *k'ax u wach* (painful his face) are common expressions used by the Quichés to describe an ugly person.

[338] *Xiririk –pam* is "pot-bellied, big bellied, paunchy" according to Basseta.

And when they came, she laughed a great deal, which made them depart again into the mountains.

"Surely, what more can we do, our grandmother? This third time we shall try it again," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Thus they played the flute again, and again they came dancing. But this time the Grandmother was able to contain well her laughter. They therefore scampered on the wall.[340] Their mouths were very red, and their faces were foolish.[341] Their mouths were puckered[342] and bushy.[343] Their faces were silly, and they snorted[344] at them. Now when she saw this, the Grandmother again burst out laughing. Never again were their faces seen because of the laughter of their grandmother.

"But this once more, our grandmother, we shall call upon them."

Thus for the fourth time they played their flutes again, but this time they did not come back. Instead they remained out in the forest.

Thus they spoke to their grandmother:

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[339] A polite way of saying that their genitals were exposed. This is a sign of disgrace, or dishonor among the ancient Maya.

[340] *Tz'aq* is a wall or a large building.

[341] *Tak* denotes someone who is "foolish, stupid, crazy, hard of hearing, or quick to anger."

[342] *Mutzuma'q* is "rounded," in this case describing the brothers' mouths as similar to the appearance of monkeys when they pucker their lips.

[343] *Chik'imal* (bushy) is used to describe unkempt or uncombed hair that sticks out away from the head or face.

[344] *Joq'ij* is to make sounds through the nose.

"We tried, our grandmother, and at first they came back. We have tried to call them back again. But do not grieve. We are your grandsons, and we are here. Just love[345] our mother, O grandmother.

"Our older brothers will be remembered. Thus be it so. They were given names and also given titles. One Batz and One Chouen shall be called upon," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And since that time they have been called upon by the flautists and the singers. The ancient ones also called upon them, they who were the writers and the carvers.[346] A long time ago, they became animals. They became spider monkeys because of their pride, for they had abused their younger brothers according to the dictates of their hearts. Thus they were ruined. One Batz and One Chouen were lost, becoming animals. Thus their community and their home is now among the flautists and the singers. For great were their accomplishments when they dwelt with their grandmother and their mother.

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[345] *Loq'oj* is to "love, esteem, appreciate, value, honor, or regard." Thus the twins seek to replace the treachery and jealousy of the household with love and respect. In Quiché view, this is not merely the establishment of a more comfortable home environment, but an essential prerequisite for the proper expression of divine will. In contemporary Quiché thought, ancestors and deity do not tolerate open anger, jealousy, or pride and punish such severely. Until these characteristics are eliminated from the house of their mother and grandmother, the twins would not be able to act in concert with Heart of Sky, identified in the text as the inspiration for the twins subsequent actions in defeating death and restoring their father/ancestor to power. Note that even in victory, Hunahpu and Xbalanque show a degree of honor and respect for the legitimate accomplishments and titles of their older siblings, acknowledging that they will be remembered.

[346] Las Casas wrote that in the early Colonial period, these two brothers were the patrons of all the arts: "All the skilled artisans, such as painters, featherworkers, carvers, silversmiths, and others like them, worshiped and made sacrifices to those younger sons called Huncheven and Hunahan, so that they would grant them the skill and mastery to carry out their work in an accomplished and perfect way; but although they worshiped them as divine men, they were not held as gods in general, nor superior to all others" (Las Casas 1967, III.ccxxxv, 506. Translation by author).

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE MAIZEFIELD[347]

THEN they began again to accomplish their deeds, to manifest themselves before the face of their grandmother and before the face of their mother. First they worked the maizefield:

"We are going to farm the maizefield, our grandmother and our mother," they said.

"We are the substitutes for our older brothers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Thus they took up their axes and their hoes,[348] carrying them on their shoulders. Each of them also shouldered his blowgun and departed their home, having first left instructions with their grandmother to bring their food:

"At midday come to give us our food, grandmother," they said.

"Very well then, my grandsons," said their grandmother.

Then they arrived there to farm the maizefield. They merely stuck the hoe into the ground, and it truly began to plow the earth. All by itself the hoe did the plowing for them.

As for the axe, they just stuck it into the fork[349] of a tree, and by its own strength it would fell it. Thus the one axe chopped and felled all the trees and bushes, feverishly working to cut down the trees all by itself.

Now this, the hoe, would break up countless stalks and briars. Just the one hoe would clear countless mountains, both small and great, as it went.

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[347] lines 3024-3272

[348] *Mixk'ina'*. A wooden hoe according to Basseta.

[349] Literally the "armpit" of the tree.

Then they gave instructions to an animal, Turtle Dove by name. Hunahpu and Xbalanque placed it atop a great stump and spoke to it:

"When you see our grandmother coming to bring our food, immediately cry out that she has arrived. Then we will take up the hoe and the axe."

"Very well," said the Turtle Dove.

Thus they merely hunted with their blowguns. They didn't truly farm the maize. And when the Turtle Dove cried out, they came quickly, the one taking up the hoe while the other one took up the axe.

They would then put field debris on their heads and rub dirt on their hands. The one would dirty his face as if he had truly farmed the maizefield, while the other one would scatter wood chips on his head as if he had truly been cutting down trees.

In this way they were seen by the Grandmother, and thus they were given to eat. They did not truly farm the maize, and so it was unmerited that she went to give them their food.

And when they returned home they would say, "We are truly tired, our grandmother." And they would rub and stretch their legs and arms in front of their grandmother to deceive her.

But on the second day, they arrived at the maizefield to find that all the trees and bushes had been raised up again. All the stalks and briars had again fastened themselves together.

"Who is playing tricks on us?"[350] they asked therefore.

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[350] Literally "who is plucking at us?" Metaphorically this is to deceive or to play a trick on someone, although not in a playful way.

Now it was all the animals, both great and small, that had done it—the puma and the jaguar, the deer and the rabbit, the fox and the coyote, the peccary and the coati, the small birds and the great birds. These had done it. In a single night they did it.

Thus they began again to farm the maize. Again the earth was broken up. The trees were cut down. There they gathered their thoughts, over by the cut trees and the broken ground:

"We will just watch over our maizefield tonight, and thus we will discover whatever it was that has done this," they said when they gathered together their thoughts.

So when they returned to the house, they said:

"Someone perhaps has been playing tricks on us, our grandmother. When we arrived a while ago at our maizefield, we found that it had become a great field of grass and a great forest once again," they said to their grandmother and their mother.

"Therefore we shall go back and watch over it by night. For it is not good what has been done to us," they said.

Thus they concealed themselves. They went out again to cut down the trees, and then they hid themselves there, taking cover.

At length all the animals gathered together, coming together[351] as one. All the small and great animals arrived in the very heart of the night,[352] chattering as they came. And this was their speech:

"Arise trees; arise bushes," they said when they came.

Thus they congregated beneath the trees and the bushes, emerging where they could be seen before their faces.

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[351] This is to join together disparate pieces, or gather in a mixed group.

[352] Literally "zenith its heart night," meaning midnight.

The first of these were the puma and the jaguar. The boys wanted to grab them, but they would not give themselves up.

Then emerged the deer and the rabbit. They grabbed them by their tails, but these just broke off, leaving the tail of the deer behind in their hands along with the tail of the rabbit. Thus they still have shortened tails.[353]

Neither would these give themselves up—the fox or the coyote, the peccary or the coati. All the animals just passed on by in front of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Thus their hearts were troubled because they weren't able to catch any of them.

But one more came along behind all the rest. He scurried when he came, and they netted him. They snared the rat in a net. They caught him and squeezed him behind the head. According to their desire, they strangled him and burned his tail over a fire. Because they did this to the tail of the rat, their tails still do not have hair on them. And their eyes are the way they are because the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, strangled him.

"I must not die by your hands. Your task is not to be maize farmers. But there is something that is yours," said the rat.

"Where is that which is ours? Speak then," the boys said to the rat.

"Will you first let me go?" asked the rat. "My word is here in my belly.[354] I will tell it to you if you first give me a little food."

"We will give you your food later, but tell us first," he was told.

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[353] The Guatemalan varieties of the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus americana*) and cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus floridanus yucatanicus*) both have short tails. They are paired in this couplet because they were the most commonly hunted game animals in the Maya area.

[354] The implication is that the rat's information cannot be expressed until his belly has been satisfied with something to eat.

"Very well then. It is what belonged to your fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name, who died in Xibalba. They left behind their gaming things hanging above the house[355]—their yokes, their arm protectors, and their rubber ball as well. Your grandmother did not show these to you, for it was because of them that your fathers died."

"Is it not true? Do you truly know this?" the boys asked the rat.

Thus they rejoiced in their hearts when they heard from the rat the news about the rubber ball.

This, therefore, was given to the rat as his food—grains of maize, squash seeds, chili peppers, beans, pataxte, and cacao.

"These, then, are yours. If anything has been swept out with the trash and has become exposed, then it is yours. You shall gnaw on it," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque to the rat.

"Very well then, boys. But what will I say if your grandmother sees you?" he asked.

"Don't be disheartened,"[356] they said to the rat. "We are here. We know what to say to our grandmother. We will lift you up onto the corner of the house to fetch them.

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[355] This would be the rafters beneath the roof. This is a common place for storing tools, old clothing, and harvested maize. I have passed many a night sleeping in the "maize loft" as a guest in Quiché homes. The rat would know lofts are storage places since rats are to be found in every loft I have ever been acquainted with. On cold nights, they like to share bedding as uninvited sleeping companions.

[356] Literally "may it not fall your heart."

Straightaway you will go up to where the things are hanging. We will be able to see it in the rafters of the house, reflected in our sauce."[357]

Thus Hunahpu and Xbalanque gathered their thoughts and instructed him all night. And when it was truly midday,[358] they arrived.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE DISCOVER THE GAMING THINGS[359]

THE rat they carried could not be seen clearly when they arrived. While one went into the house, the other went around to the corner of the house and immediately lifted up the rat.

Then they asked their mother for their food:

"Just prepare for us a bite to eat," they said. We desire chili sauce, our grandmother."

Thus their bite was prepared, and a plate of sauce was placed before them. But this was just a trick they were playing on their grandmother and their mother. They drained the water jug dry:

"We are truly thirsty. Bring us something to drink," they said to their grandmother.

"All right," she replied.

Thus she left, leaving them behind to eat. But it was not true that they were hungry. It was merely a deception so that they could see the rat reflected in their chili

[357] *Ti'* (bite) as in a bite to eat. This refers to a snack, rather than a full meal. This turns out to be a bowl of mashed chili sauce.

[358] Literally "zenith sun."

[359] lines 3273-3338

sauce. There the rat was, behind the rubber ball where it hung above the house. This they saw reflected in their chili sauce.

Then they sent forth a mosquito. The mosquito is an insect similar to a small biting fly.[360] It went to the river and pierced the front of the Grandmother's jug.

Thus the water that she had raised leaked out from the front of the jug. Try as she might, the face of the jug would not be sealed.[361]

"What is our grandmother doing? We are gasping for water. We are parched with thirst!" they said to their mother.

Thus they sent her away.

Then the rat clawed at the ropes that held the rubber ball from the thatch roof above the house until it fell, along with the yokes, the arm protectors, and the leathers. They carried them away and hid them along the road leading to the ballcourt.

Then they went back to where their grandmother was at the river, and there they found their grandmother and mother busily trying to seal the face of the jug. Thus they arrived at the river, each carrying his blowgun:

"What have you been doing? Our hearts became weary, so we came," they said.

"Look at the front of my jug. It cannot be sealed off," replied their grandmother.

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[360] *Us*. Both *xa'n* (mosquito) and *us* may refer to mosquitos, but they can also be the small biting flies that congregate on the banks of rivers.

[361] The ancient lowland Maya worshiped an aged female deity named Ixchel (Goddess O of the codices), who is often depicted with a jug from which she pours out water in the form of rain. Ixchel was also a patroness of medicine, fertility, childbirth, midwifery, and the art of divination. The grandmother goddess Xmucane was apparently the Quiché equivalent of Ixchel, associated with the powers of creation (pp. 60-62; line 35), divination (pp. 79-82; lines 569-599), midwifery (p. 62; lines 32, 38), medicine (p. 99; lines 1112-1119), childbirth (p. 113; lines 1736-1742), and now the leaking water jug.

Immediately then they sealed it, and together they returned once more, leading the way before their grandmother.

Thus was the discovery of this rubber ball.

THE SUMMONS OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE TO XIBALBA[362]

AND so they went rejoicing as ballplayers to the ballcourt. For a long time they played ball there alone, sweeping clear the ballcourt of their father.

Then the lords of Xibalba heard it:

"Someone has begun to play again over our heads. Have they no shame, stomping about up there? Did not One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu die when they desired to puff themselves up before us? Go then to summon them here once again," said One Death and Seven Death, along with all the lords.

"Summon them here," they said to their messengers. "Tell them, 'They must come, say the lords. Here we shall play ball with them. In seven days, we will play, say the lords.' Tell them this when you arrive there," the messengers were told.

Thus they came along the great cleared pathway, the road that led to the home of the boys. The messengers pursued[363] them into the home of the Grandmother, but the boys were still playing ball when the messengers of Xibalba arrived.

"The lords say, 'They must surely come,'" said the messengers of Xibalba.

Then the messengers of Xibalba set the date:

"In seven days, they will be expected." Such was the word left with Xmucane.

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[362] lines 3339-3469

[363] *Toq'oj* is to pursue with the intention of importuning, persecuting, harassing, or vexing someone.

"Very well then," replied the Grandmother. "They shall go as summoned, you messengers."

Thus the messengers returned again, leaving the Grandmother heartbroken:

"How shall I tell my grandsons of their summons? Were these not truly from Xibalba? They are just like the messengers who arrived in the past when their fathers went away to die," said the Grandmother.

Thus she wept bitterly in the house alone.

Then a louse fell down on her. It itched, so she picked it up and put it in her hand. The louse scuttled as it went along.

"My grandchild," she asked the louse, "would you like me to send you to summon my grandsons at the ballcourt?"

Thus he left as a summoner with this message:

"Messengers have arrived with your grandmother saying that you are to come. The messengers of Xibalba declare, 'In seven days you are to come,' says your grandmother."

Such was the message given to the louse. And so he went, scuttling along the way. Now sitting in the road was a youthful toad by the name of Tamazul.[364]

"Where are you going?" asked the toad of the louse.

"I am going to give the boys a message that is in my belly," said the louse to Tamazul.

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[364] The name Tamazul is derived from the Nahuatl *tamasolli* (toad), perhaps indicating a Central Mexican origin for portions of this tale.

"Very well then, but I see that you are not going very fast," the toad said to the louse. "Wouldn't you like me to swallow you? Then you would see how fast I could go. We would get there quickly."

"Very well," said the louse to the toad.

Thus he was licked up by the toad, who went hopping along his way. But he did not go fast. Presently, he was met by a great snake whose name was White Life.[365]

"Where are you going, boy Tamazul?" asked White Life.

"I am a messenger with a message in my belly," said the toad to the snake.

"But I see that you aren't going very fast. Perhaps I would arrive there more quickly," said the snake to the toad.

"Go right ahead," he was told.

Thus the toad was swallowed up by White Life. The snake, then, received his food and they still swallow toads today.

Now this snake went quickly along his way. Then again the snake was met by the falcon, a great bird.[366] And the snake was swallowed by the falcon.[367] Then he arrived

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[365] *Saqiq'as* is identified as a large snake by Varea.

[366] *Wak*. The name of this bird is closely related to the Nahuatl word for falcon, *oactli*. It is likely the bird known as the Laughing Falcon (*Herpetotheres cachinnans*), which makes a sound similar to this call (Tedlock 1996, 270 n. 114). Bassie-Sweet points out that the call of the laughing falcon is an indication of the coming of the rains in Mesoamerica (personal communication). She suggests that the twins' clearing of the maize field implies the dry season when the fields are cleared for burning. The subsequent descent into Xibalba would coincide with this period of death and sterility. The call of the laughing falcon may presage the return of rain and agricultural rebirth.

[367] This humorous story may have prophetic significance as well. The louse represents corruption and decay. The toad is associated with the watery underworld and the fertility of the earth's interior as a source of renewal. The serpent is a common symbol of regeneration because of its tendency to periodically shed its old skin to uncover a new one. Finally, the falcon is a common symbol of the reborn sun at dawn. Thus the sequence of animals may presage the death and corruption of the twins in the underworld, followed by their rebirth to new life and apotheosis as the sun and moon. Literally then, death would be swallowed up by the ultimate triumph of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

atop the ballcourt. Thus the hawk received his food, so that he still eats snakes in the mountains.

When the falcon arrived, he alighted atop the edge of the ballcourt while Hunahpu and Xbalanque were rejoicing and playing ball.

Then the falcon cried out:

"Wak-ko! Wak-ko!" was the cry of the falcon.

"What is that which is crying out? To our blowguns!" they said.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE RECEIVE THE SUMMONS TO XIBALBA[368]

SO then they shot the falcon. The pellet from the blowgun buried itself straight into his eye,[369] knocking him down. Thus he fell, and they went out to grab him and question him:

"Why have you come?" they asked the falcon.

"I have a message in my belly.[370] But surely you must first cure my eye, and then I will tell it," said the falcon.

"Very well then," they replied.

So they took off a little of the surface of their rubber ball and put it in the face of the falcon.[371] This they called Sliced Rubber. Immediately he was cured by them, making good again the sight of the falcon.

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[368] lines 3470-3556

[369] This is a play on words in the original Quiché, since "eye" is *u b'aq' u wach* (its pellet or seed his face).

[370] The irony is that this expression is literally true, since the message is contained in the animals that he had swallowed.

[371] The laughing falcon has a black patch around the eyes.

"Tell it then," they said to the falcon.

Thus he vomited the great snake.

"Speak!" they said again to the snake.

"All right," he replied. And so he vomited the toad.

"What is your errand? Speak!" the toad was told.

"My message is here in my belly," said again the toad.

Then he tried to throw up, but he did not vomit. His mouth just drooled. He tried, but nothing did he vomit. Thus the boys wished to beat him.

"You are a deceiver," he was told.

Then they squashed his rear end with their feet, crushing the bones of his backside with their feet.

Again he tried, but he just salivated at the mouth. So they pried open the mouth of the toad. It was pried open wide by the boys. They searched in his mouth and found that the louse was merely stuck in front of the toad's teeth. He was just in his mouth. He hadn't really been swallowed. It was merely as if he had been swallowed.

Thus the toad was defeated. As a result, it is not obvious what food was given to him. He could not go fast; thus he merely became spoil for the snake.

"Speak!" the louse was told.

Thus he spoke his word:

"The Grandmother says to you boys, 'Go and summon them. Messengers have arrived from Xibalba, the messengers of One Death and Seven Death. 'In seven days[372]

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[372] The number seven has ritual significance in Maya theology. In this case, it may refer to the seven levels of the earth that were believed to exist above the underworld (Thompson 1971, 214). Thus the twins were allowed a day to pass through each of these layers on their journey downward into Xibalba. It may

they will come here to play ball with us. They must bring their gaming things—the rubber ball, yokes, arm protectors, and leathers. They will liven up this place, say the lords.' 'This is their word that has come,' says your grandmother. 'Thus you must come,' the Grandmother truly says. Your grandmother weeps. She calls out that you must come."

"Is it not true?" they asked in their hearts when they heard this. And immediately they returned to advise their grandmother.

THE DESCENT OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE INTO XIBALBA[373]

"SURELY we must go, our grandmother. But first we will advise you. This is the sign of our word that we will leave behind. Each of us shall first plant an ear of unripe maize[374] in the center of the house.[375] If they dry up, this is a sign of our death. 'They have died,' you will say when they dry up. If then they sprout again, 'They are alive,' you will say, our grandmother and our mother. This is the sign of our word that is left with you," they said.

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also refer to the seven sacred directions of the Maya universe—the four cardinal directions plus the sky, center, and underworld.

[373] lines 3557-3993

[374] *Aj*. This is an ear of unripe maize, or maize that is still soft on the cob. Alternatively, it may also refer to the stalk of the maize plant.

[375] Although this incident seems odd, it is consistent with the ancient Maya conception of the universe in which all creation is seen as a house. The four corners represent the cardinal directions while its walls and ceiling form the vault of the sky. The foundation posts thus form the boundaries of the underworld. The maize plant is often depicted as a divine axis mundi standing at the center point of the universe with its roots extending downward into the underworld while its stalk reaches into the sky. The ancient Maya often erected colossal stone monuments of their revered kings decorated with tree and maize elements to emphasize the rulers' identity with this sacred living center. Thus the Quichés would see nothing odd in the twins identifying themselves with a maizestalk planted at the center of a divine household.

Thus Hunahpu planted one, and Xbalanque planted another in the house. They did not plant them in the mountains or in fertile ground. It was merely in dry ground, in the middle of the interior of their home, that they planted them.

Then they left, each with his blowgun, and descended to Xibalba. They quickly went down the steps, passing through various river canyons. They passed through the midst of many birds. “Flocks” was the name of the birds.

And again they passed over Pus River and Blood River. In their hearts, the Xibalbans had intended these as traps. But they were not troubled. They just passed over them, floating on their blowguns.

When they came to the four crossroads, they already knew the roads of Xibalba—the Black Road, the White Road, the Red Road, and the Blue/Green Road.

Then they sent an insect named Mosquito. They sent him on ahead to obtain for them what he could hear:

“You shall bite each one of them in turn. Bite the first one seated there and then keep on biting them until you have finished biting all of them. It will be truly yours then to suck the blood of people on the road,” the mosquito was told.

“Very well then,” said the mosquito.

So then he went along the Black Road until he alighted behind the effigies of carved wood. The first ones were all dressed up. He bit the first one, but there was no response. Then he bit the second one seated there, but he did not speak either.

Next he bit the third one seated there, who was One Death—“Ouch!” said each one when he was bitten. “What?” was their reply:

"Ow!" said One Death.

"What, One Death? What is it?"

"I am being bitten!"

"It's just . . . Ow! What was that? Now I am being bitten!" said the fourth one seated there.

"What, Seven Death? What is it?"

"I am being bitten!"

Next, the one seated fifth said, "Ow! Ow!"

"Flying Scab," asked Seven Death, "what is it?"

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the sixth one seated there was bitten. "Ow!"

"What, Gathered Blood? What is it?" asked Flying Scab.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Next, the seventh one seated there was bitten. "Ow!" he said.

"What, Pus Demon? What is it?" asked Gathered Blood.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the eighth one seated there was bitten. "Ow!" he said.

"What, Jaundice Demon? What is it?" asked Pus Demon.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the ninth one seated there was bitten. "Ow!" he said.

"What, Bone Staff? What is it?" asked Jaundice Demon.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the tenth one seated there was bitten. "Ow!"

"What, Skull Staff? What is it?" asked Bone Staff.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the eleventh one seated there was bitten. "Ow!" he said next.

"What, Wing? What is it?" asked Skull Staff.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Next, the twelfth one seated there was bitten. "Ow!" he said.

"What, Packstrap? What is it?" asked Wing.

"I am being bitten!"

Next was bitten the thirteenth one seated there. "Ow!"

"What, Bloody Teeth? What is it?" asked Packstrap.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Then the fourteenth seated one was bitten. "Ow!"

"What, Bloody Claws? What is it?" asked Bloody Teeth.

"I am being bitten!" he said.

Thus their names were named. Each of them revealed the name of the other. Each of the individuals in order of their rank had his name revealed by the one who sat next to him.[376] Not one of their names was missed until all of the names were named when they were bitten by a hair that Hunahpu had plucked from the front of his knee. It wasn't really a mosquito that had bitten them. And so Hunahpu and Xbalanque heard the names of all of them.

Thus they came to where the Xibalbans were.

[376] There is a definite hierarchy among the lords of Xibalba, exemplified by the order in which they are seated on the palace bench. In traditional Maya confraternity houses, such as at Santiago Atitlán, there is a bench where, on ceremonial occasions, elders sit in the order of their rank of authority.

"Hail these lords who are seated there," said a tempter.

"These are not lords. These are merely effigies carved of wood," they said. Then they hailed each one of them:

"Morning, One Death. Morning, Seven Death.[377]

Morning, Flying Scab. Morning, Gathered Blood.

Morning, Pus Demon. Morning, Jaundice Demon.

Morning, Bone Staff. Morning, Skull Staff.

Morning, Wing. Morning, Packstrap.

Morning, Bloody Teeth. Morning, Bloody Claws," they said when they arrived there.

All of them had their faces revealed, for all of their names were named. Not one of their names was missed. When they were called upon, they gave the names of each one without leaving any of them out.

"Sit down here," they were told, for it was desired that they sit on top of the bench. But they didn't want to:

"This isn't a bench for us. It is merely a heated stone," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Thus they were not defeated.

"Very well then, just go into that house," they were told.

So then they entered into the House of Darkness. But they were not defeated there either. In their hearts, the Xibalbans ordained that they would be defeated there in this, the first of the trials of Xibalba.

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[377] The greeting in each case is *q'ala ta*. *Q'ala* is a shortened version of "it is clear," related to the common modern Quiché greeting in the morning, *saqirik* (it has dawned). *Ta* may simply mean "then," a frequently used word in the text. It may also be a shortened form of *tat* (father), a term commonly used when addressing highly ranked or older persons.

Thus they entered first into the House of Darkness. There the messenger of One Death gave to them a torch, already burning, and a cigar for each of them. And the messenger said when he arrived:

"Thus says the lord: 'Here is their torch. It must be given back at dawn along with the cigars. They must return them.'"

"Very well," they replied.

But they didn't light the torch. They just placed the red tail feather of a macaw on it as a substitute for flame. Thus the night watchmen saw it as if it were burning.

As for the cigars, they just put fireflies on their tips. All night they would glow brilliantly because of them.

"We have defeated them," said the night watchmen.

But the torch was not used up, for it was only an illusion. Neither did the cigars have anything burning on them. It was merely an illusion as well. Thus they returned them whole to the lords:

"What becomes of them? Where did they come from? Who begat them? Who gave them birth? Truly our hearts are troubled, for it is not good what they are doing to us. Their appearance as well as their nature are unique," they said one to another.

Then they summoned all of the lords:

"Let us play ball, boys," they were told.

But first they were questioned by One Death and Seven Death:

"Where did you really come from? Would you tell us, boys?" they were asked by the Xibalbans.

"We must have come from somewhere, but we don't know." Only this they said. They told them nothing.

"Very well then. We will just go and play ball,[378] boys," the Xibalbans said to them.

"Fine," they replied.

"Here is our rubber ball that we will use," said the Xibalbans.

"No, we will use ours," said the boys.

"Not so. We will use this one that is ours," said again the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said the boys.

"It appears to be a skull, but it is merely drawn on the ball,"[379] said the Xibalbans.

"It is not. It is a skull we tell you," said the boys.

"Not so," replied the Xibalbans.

"Very well then," said Hunahpu.

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[378] The ballgame was played throughout Mesoamerica beginning at least by the time of the Olmecs ca. 1500 B.C. Although the rules varied over time and from region to region, it generally involved opposing teams of two or more players attempting to bounce a solid rubber ball without the use of hands through a ring placed vertically along the ballcourt's walls. Sahagun described a similar type of ballgame among the Aztecs in the sixteenth century:

> These balls... were solid, of a certain resin or gum which is called *ulli* [rubber] which is very light in weight and bounces like an inflated ball.... The ballgame was called *tlaxtli* or *tlachtli*. The court consisted of two walls with some twenty or thirty feet of distance between them and each was up to forty or fifty feet in length. The floor and walls were heavily plastered, the latter having some one and a half *estados* [nearly ten feet] in height. In the middle of the court was a line made especially for the game; and in the middle of the walls, halfway down the playing stretch, were two stones like millstones perforated in the middle, facing each other, and they each had holes wide enough that the ball could fit into each of them. And whoever placed the ball there won the game. They did not play with their hands but hit the ball with their flanks. For playing they wore gloves on their hands and a leather apron on their flanks to hit the ball (Sahagún 1938, II.viii.10, pp. 297-298).

[379] The verb root, *juch'* means "to draw lines or to adorn with figures" according to Coto. Thus the Xibalbans try to convince the twins that their ball looks like a skull only because it has had skull-like features drawn on it.

Thus the Xibalbans threw down their rubber ball, which landed before the yoke of Hunahpu. And when the Xibalbans saw this, the White Dagger came out of their rubber ball. It clashed about over the ground of the entire ballcourt, threatening the boys.

"What is that?" asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque. "You just want death for us. Did we not answer your summons when your messenger came? Have pity on us. We will just go, then," said the boys to them.

It was their desire that the boys would straightaway die there because of the blade. They were to have been defeated. But it was not so. It was the Xibalbans who were now defeated by the boys.

"Don't go, boys. We will just play with your ball," the boys were told.

"Very well then," they replied.

Thus they took out their rubber ball, and it was thrown down. Then their prizes were chosen:

"What will we win?" the Xibalbans asked.

"Surely it is your choice," the boys said.

"Our prize[380] shall be merely four bowls of flowers," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well. What kinds of flowers?" the boys asked the Xibalbans.

"One bowl of red petals,[381] one bowl of white petals, one bowl of yellow petals, and one bowl of the large ones," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," replied the boys.

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[380] This is likely a play on words between *ch'ako'n* (prize, spoils) and related words such as *ch'akom* (cuttings of flowers or plants), and *chakaj* (bouquet, bunch of flowers according to Varea).

[381] This reading for *much'ij* is based on *much'* (to break apart, crumble, break into pieces). Flower petals are commonly given as offerings in modern highland Maya ceremonies, often broken off the flower as part of the ceremony as prayers are made. It would be much easier for the ants to carry away petals than whole flowers. Alternatively, it may be related to *muchechen*, which Basseta defines as "a fragrant flower," and a "sign of love."

So then the ball was dropped into play. They were equal in strength, but the boys made many plays with the ball for they played with all their hearts. At last, the boys gave themselves up to be defeated, and the Xibalbans thus rejoiced at their defeat:

"We have done well. We have already defeated them at the first attempt," said the Xibalbans. "Where shall they go to get the flowers?" they asked in their hearts.

"You will give to us the flowers as our prize early in the morning," the boys Hunahpu and Xbalanque were told by the Xibalbans.

"Very well. We will play ball again early in the morning," they said. Then they made their plans together.

Thus the boys entered into Blade House, the second trial of Xibalba. Here it was desired that they would be sliced apart by the blades. They were to have died quickly in their hearts. But they did not die. They spoke to the blades, instructing them in this way:

"Yours shall be the flesh of animals," they said to the blades.

Thus they stopped moving. As one they all lowered the points of their blades.

And while they were passing the night in Blade House, they called out to all the ants:

"Cutting ants,[382] conquering ants, come! Go and get flower blossoms as prizes for the lords."

"Very well," they said.

Then the ants went to get flowers from the garden of One Death and Seven Death. Now the Xibalbans had previously instructed the guardians of their flowers:

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[382] These are large, leaf-cutting ants, known in Guatemala as *zompopos*.

"Look after our flowers with all vigilance. Do not allow them to be stolen. For by these we have defeated the boys. What if they were able to obtain these as our prize? Thus do not sleep all night."

"Very well," they said then.

But the guardians of the garden did not notice anything. They would just cry out aimlessly in the branches of the trees. They just toddled along through the garden repeating their song:

"Shpurpuwek, shpurpuwek,"[383] said the one when he called.

"Puhuyu, puhuyu," said the other, the whippoorwill by name, when he called.

These two were the guardians of the garden of One Death and Seven Death. They didn't notice the ants stealing that which they were guarding. They swarmed[384] and thronged, carrying away the flowers. They went to cut down flowers from the tops of trees, gathering them together with those from below the trees. All this they did while the guardians were crying out, not noticing that their tails and wings were being gnawed on as well.

The flowers were thus loosened until they fell down to be gathered up. The four bowls were thus quickly filled with their flowers. By dawn they had all been collected.

Then the messengers arrived to summon them:

"'Come!' says the lord. 'May they straightaway bring hither our prize,'" the boys were told.

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[383] Tedlock interprets this as the call of the whippoorwill (D. Tedlock 1996, 274 n. 123). Interestingly enough, the Quiché version of the call is phonetically very similar to the English name for the bird as well as to its song.

[384] *B'olowik* is literally "to boil." It is also used to describe the swarming of insects according to Coto.

"Very well," they answered.

For they had collected the flowers into the four bowls. Thus they went, arriving before the lords. Now the lords received the flowers with woeful faces. Thus the Xibalbans were defeated. The boys had just sent ants, and in one night they had collected the flowers in the bowls. Thus the Xibalbans all turned pale. Their faces were pallid because of the flowers.

And so they summoned the flower guardians:

"For what reason have you allowed our flowers to be stolen? These flowers that you see are ours," the guardians were told.

"We noticed nothing, O lords. But our tails have surely suffered[385] for it," they replied.

Then their mouths were split open[386] as punishment for allowing that which they were guarding to be stolen. Thus One Death and Seven Death were defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. And this is the reason why the mouths of whippoorwills gape wide open to this day.

Then the ball was dropped into play again, but the game was even. And when they had finished playing ball, they planned together once more:

"At dawn again," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said the boys when they had finished.

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[385] *Kuyu* is "to suffer, or endure." It is also used to describe something "bent, crooked, crippled, or lame." Either reading would be applicable here. Whippoorwills have very short wing and tail feathers.

[386] This is apparently meant as a play on words. The whippoorwills are said to have "cried out," in song when they should have been guarding the gardens of Xibalba. The Quiché phrase is "they broke open their mouths." Now the Xibalba lords "split open their mouths" as the punishment chosen to match the birds' crime.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE HOUSE OF COLD[387]

AND so they now entered the House of Cold. The cold here was immeasurable. The interior of the House of Cold was thick with hail.

But straightaway the boys caused the cold to dissipate.[388] They did it in. They ruined and destroyed the cold. Thus they did not die, but rather were alive when it dawned again. The Xibalbans had wanted them to die there, but this was not to be. Instead they were just fine when the dawn came.

So then their guardians came again to summon them.

"What is this? Haven't they died?" asked the lords of Xibalba.

And again they marveled at the deeds of the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE HOUSE OF JAGUARS[389]

NEXT they entered into Jaguar House, which was crowded inside with jaguars:

"Do not eat us. We will give you what is yours," the jaguars were told.

Then they scattered bones before the beasts, who voraciously crunched them.[390]

The hearts of the night watchmen found this sweet, saying, "They are finished. They have given themselves up. They have eaten their hearts, and now these are their skeletons that are being gnawed upon."

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[387] lines 3994-4017

[388] *Tzaj* is to "evaporate, dry up, dissipate, exhaust."

[389] lines 4018-4037

[390] *Paq'aq'ik* refers to the sound of crunching, gnawing, or eating rapidly. It is also used to describe the sound of walking over dry leaves. Alternatively it may also refer to the sound of something being rent or split.

But they didn't die. They were just fine when they came out again from Jaguar House.

"What kind of people are these? Where have they come from?" asked all the Xibalbans.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE HOUSE OF FIRE[391]

NEXT they went into the fire, for there was a House of Fire. There was nothing but fire inside. But they were not burned. They were to have been roasted and set aflame. Instead they were just fine when dawn came. It had been desired that they would straightaway die when they passed through there, but it was not so. Thus all the Xibalbans lost heart as a result.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE IN THE HOUSE OF BATS[392]

NEXT they were put inside Bat House, which had only bats inside. It was a house of death bats. These were great beasts with snouts like blades that they used as murderous weapons.

When they arrived there, they were to be finished off. They had to crawl inside their blowguns to sleep so that they would not be eaten there in this house.

Nevertheless, it was because of a single death bat that they gave themselves up in defeat. It came swooping down. But this was merely a way to manifest themselves when it occured.

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[391] lines 4038-4051
[392] lines 4052-4177

Thus they pleaded for wisdom all that night as the bats made a din with their flapping wings.

"Keeleetz! Keeleetz!" they said all night long.

At length things quieted a little, and the bats became motionless.

Thus one of the boys crawled to the end of his blowgun. Xbalanque said, "Hunahpu, do you see the dawn yet?"

"I will go and see for certain if has happened," he replied.

Hunahpu truly wanted to look out of the mouth of his blowgun to see the dawn. But when he did so, his head was cut off by the death bat,[393] leaving the greater part of his body behind.

"What? Hasn't it dawned yet?" asked Xbalanque. But Hunahpu did not move.

"What is going on? Hunahpu wouldn't have left. What then has he done?"

But nothing moved; only the rustling of wings was heard. Thus Xbalanque was ashamed:

"Alas,[394] we have given in already," he said.

At the word of One Death and Seven Death, the head was placed atop the ballcourt. Thus all the Xibalbans rejoiced because of the head of Hunahpu.

Then Xbalanque summoned all of the animals—the coati and the peccary, and all the animals both small and great—while it was still dark, early in the morning. He then entreated them for their food:

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[393] The ability of bats to cut down fruit from trees while in flight associated them in the mind of the ancient Maya with decapitation sacrifice. Bats are often seen painted on ancient Maya vessels as underworld denizens of death, decorated with crossed bones and extruded eyeballs that have their optic nerves still dangling from them.

[394] Ximénez translates *akarok* as "Ay! Ay!" In English the more common expression of lament would be "Alas!"

"I send each of you to bring the food that belongs to you," said Xbalanque to them.

"Very well," they said.

Then they all went to obtain what was theirs. When they returned they were many. One brought back rotten things, another brought leaves, another brought stones, and yet another brought dirt. Thus the animals, both small and great, each brought their various foods.

Now after many had come, the coati arrived last of all bringing a chilacayote squash. She[395] came rolling it along with her nose. This was to be transformed into the head of Hunahpu. Immediately its eyes were carved upon it. Numerous sages came down from the sky. For Heart of Sky, he who is Huracan, appeared here. He arrived here in Bat House.

But the face wasn't completed successfully in time. Only its beautiful covering had appeared. It only had the ability to speak by the time the horizon of the sky began to redden, for it was about to dawn.

"Blacken it again with soot, old man,"[396] the possum[397] was told.

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[395] The coati is consistently associated with females in the text, just as the peccary is associated with males. They are particularly identified as the grandmother and grandfather deities respectively (pp. 60-61, 80, 98; lines 22-23, 559-560, 1055-1056). Akkeren cites a possible ethnographic survival of this association between the coati and gourds. In the Yucatec village of Xcacal, a ceiba tree is cut down in the forest and re-erected as a "tree of abundance" in the center of the main plaza. An actor dressed as a coati climbs the tree and scatters squash seeds while tying fruit to its branches (Akkeren 2000, 296).

[396] *Ama'* is a general term for "male," whether human or animal. In this case, it is used as a nickname for the aged possum deity. Because of the possum's gray coat, awkward gait, and snaggly teeth, the Maya associated this animal with old age (Miller and Taube 1993, 128).

[397] Father Coto lists under the Spanish word *Escuridad*, that *vuch* (possum) is the darkness of night just prior to the dawn (Coto 1983, 207-8). This is perhaps a manifestation of the creator deity Xpiyacoc, one of whose principal titles is Hunahpu Possum (Karen Bassie-Sweet, personal communication; see pp. 60, 79-80; lines 20, 500, 555). In the Tzotzil area, a grandfather possum, called "Old Man Possum," is associated

"Fine," replied the Grandfather.

And he blackened the sky with soot until it was dark again. Four times the Grandfather blackened it with soot. Thus today people say, "The possum blackens it with soot."

Finally the sky succeeded in turning red, and then blue when it began its existence.

"Is it not good?" Hunahpu was asked.

"Yes, it is good," he replied.

For his head was well supported. It became just like a true head. Then they planned a deception;[398] they took counsel together:

"Don't play ball. Just look threatening. I will surely be the one to accomplish it," said Xbalanque to him.

Then he instructed a rabbit:

"Be there at the head of the ballcourt in the tomato patch,"[399] the rabbit was told by Xbalanque. "And when the rubber ball comes your way, hop away until I accomplish my task," the rabbit was told. Thus he was given his instructions there in the night.

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with the dawn at the beginning of the planting season, and that the red light of the east is said to be one of his manifestations: "'Uch [Possum] is greatly respected, because it has fire, because at dawn it lights up the hills. It is not the sunlight, for the sun rises later.... 'Uch is as God because it has light, a red light, that later disappears to give place to the God, the sun. Neither 'Okinahual nor 'Uch are evil, but they must be respected as a God. God must be respected, but he is not bad. Perhaps he punishes when he is overlooked" (Guiteras-Holmes 1961, 195-197; cf. 33, 206, 292). Akkeren compares this passage with the New Years pages of the Dresden Codex in which a possum deity presides over the five days of the Wayeb at the close of the annual cycle. In the *Popol Vuh* account, however, the possum is associated not with the annual change of the solar year, but "the moment of the new Sun-era" (Akkeren 2000, 290).

[398] *Xkib'an ki tzij* (they made their words). To "make" words is to deceive or to lie.

[399] There is some confusion as to where the rabbit was told to be. The manuscript here reads *pixc*, which Tedlock reads as *pixik'* (acorn or oak). This is contradicted, however, by lines 4197 and 4217, which read *pix* (tomatoes, or tomato patch), a reading given by most translators. The confusion may be due to a play on

And when it dawned, the both of them were well.[400]

THE HEAD OF HUNAHPU IS RESTORED[401]

SO the ball was again dropped into play. The head of Hunahpu was first placed atop the ballcourt.

"We have already triumphed. You are finished. You gave in, so give it up," they were told.

But Hunahpu just called out:

"Strike[402] the head as if it were a rubber ball," they were told. "No harm will come to us now, for we are holding our own."

Thus the lords of Xibalba threw down[403] the ball where it was met by Xbalanque. The ball landed before his yoke and bounced away. It sailed clear over the ballcourt. It just bounced once, then twice, landing in the tomatoes. Then the rabbit came out, hopping along.[404] All the Xibalbans thus went after him. The Xibalbans all went after the rabbit, shouting and rushing about.

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words, a practice beloved by the Maya. *Pixk'onik* is the verb for "to hop (like a rabbit or flea)," while the rabbit is *pixab'ax* (instructed) in lines 4164 and 4174.

[400] Literally "good their faces both of them," the standard way of saying that they were "fine," but also in this context a clever play on words considering the newly-made "face" of Hunahpu.

[401] lines 4178-4241

[402] The action referred to is, unfortunately, not clear. According to Coto, *k'aqa* may be "to strike, to throw," or even generally "to play ball."

[403] This is a case where the limitations of the Latin alphabet in which the manuscript was written are apparent. The text reads *xetzacou*. If this is to be read as *xetzaqow*, it would mean that the Xibalbans "threw out" the ball into play. Alternatively, if it is to be read as *xetzak'ow*, it would mean that the Xibalbans "struck" the ball. It is impossible to know which of these alternatives is correct, although it would be helpful to our understanding of how the game was played.

[404] The hopping of the rabbit thus confuses the lords of Xibalba into thinking it is the bouncing ball.

Thus the twins were able to retrieve the head of Hunahpu, replacing it where the chilacayote squash had been. They then placed the chilacayote squash on the ballcourt, while the true head of Hunahpu was his once more. Therefore they both rejoiced again. While the Xibalbans were out searching for their rubber ball, the twins retrieved it from the tomato patch. And when they had done so, they called out:

"Come on! We found our rubber ball!" they said. Thus they were carrying the round ball[405] when the Xibalbans returned.

"What was it that we saw?" they asked.

And so they began again to play ball, both teams making equal plays until at last Xbalanque struck the chilacayote squash, strewing it all over the ballcourt. Thus its seeds were scattered before them.[406]

"What is this that has been brought here? Where is he that brought it?" asked the Xibalbans.

Thus the lords of Xibalba were defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They had passed through great affliction, but despite everything that had been done to them, they did not die.

THE DEATHS OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE[407]

THIS, then, is the memorial to the deaths of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. We shall now tell it in memory of their death.

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[405] *Ki k'olem* (they were carrying a round thing). This is undoubtedly a reference to the ball, although it is not specified (James Mondloch, personal communication).

[406] A play on words is made here between *saqiram* (scattered) and *saqilal* (squash seeds). If one did not recognize the pun in the original Quiché, the choice of words would be confusing.

[407] lines 4242-4365

What they had planned to do, they had done despite all their afflictions and misfortunes. Thus they did not die in the trials of Xibalba. Neither were they defeated by all the ravenous beasts that lived there.

And then they summoned two seers. Visionary persons they were. The names of these sages were Descended[408] and Ascended:

"The lords of Xibalba may inquire of you concerning our death. They are even now putting together their thoughts on the matter, because we have not yet died. We have not been defeated. We confounded their trials. Nor have the animals seized us. This, therefore, is the sign that is in our hearts. Heated stones will be the means by which our murder will be accomplished. Thus when all Xibalba has gathered together to determine how to ensure our death, this shall be the idea that you will propose. If you are asked about our death when we are burned, this is what you shall tell them, you, Descended and you, Ascended, if they should speak to you about it:

"'Wouldn't it perhaps be good if we scatter their bones in the canyon?'

"Then you are to say, 'This would not be good, for they would merely arise again to new life.'[409]

"Then they will say to you, 'Perhaps it would be good to merely hang them in the top of a tree?'

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[408] The Colonial period Varea dictionary lists *Xulu* (Descended) as "[spirit] familiars appearing alongside rivers." Basseta lists *ah xulu* as "a diviner," consistent with the statement in the *Popol Vuh* that he is a visionary seer. The paired figures "Descended" and "Ascended" likely refer to the common modern expression "to go down and up," which means to "go all over, or everywhere" (Jim Mondloch, personal communication).

[409] Literally "would be revived their faces."

"You will then reply, 'Certainly that would not be good, for you would see their faces before you.'

"Then the third time they will say, 'Would it be a good thing if we merely scatter their bones in the course of the river?'

"If then you are asked this, you will reply, 'It is good that they should die. And it would be good if their bones were ground upon the face of a stone like finely ground maize flour. Each one of them should be ground separately. Then these should be scattered there in the course of the river. They should be sprinkled on the river that winds among the small and great mountains.'

"This, then, is what you will say. Thus will be made manifest what we have said to you in counsel," said Hunahpu[410] and Xbalanque.

For when they had thus counseled them, they already knew of their death. The Xibalbans were even then putting together the great heated stones in the form of a pit oven,[411] placing large hot coals within it.

Then came the messengers of One Death and Seven Death to accompany them:

"The lords say to us: 'May they come! Bring them so that they may see what we have cooked up for them.'[412] This is the word of the lords unto you, boys," they were told.

"Very well," they replied.

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[410] The manuscript reads Xhunahpu (Little Hunahpu) which is the diminutive form of Hunahpu. It is perhaps used in this section to distinguish him from his father One Hunahpu, who had also died in Xibalba.

[411] *Chojib'al* (pit oven) is dug into the ground and filled with hot stones or coals to roast meat.

[412] This is a play on words. *Chojij* means "to cook, broil, or set fire to something"; but it also means "to straighten out, take a direct route, or rectify something." Thus the Xibalbans were trying to trick the twins by saying that they were going to settle things, while at the same time hinting at the means by which they intended to kill them.

Thus they went quickly to the mouth of the pit oven. There the Xibalbans wanted to force them into playing with them:

"Let us jump over this our sweet drink. Four times each of us will go across it, boys," they were told by One Death.[413]

"You cannot trick us with this. Do we not already know the means of our death, O lords? You shall surely see it," they said.

Then they turned to face one another, spread out their arms and together they went into the pit oven. Thus both of them died there. Then all the Xibalbans rejoiced at this. They contentedly shouted and whistled:

"We have defeated them. None too soon have they given themselves up," they said.

Then they summoned Descended and Ascended, with whom word had been left by the boys. And the Xibalbans divined of them what was to be done with their bones. Thus according to their word, the bones were ground up and strewn along the course of the river. But they did not go far away; they just straightaway sank there beneath the water. And when they appeared again, it was as chosen boys, for thus they had become.

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[413] The Xibalbans are lying about the purpose of the pit. They are suggesting that it is an underground vat for making some intoxicating drink, whereas in reality it is a pit oven into which they hope to trick the twins into falling.

THE RESURRECTION OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE[414]

ON the fifth day they appeared again. People saw them in the river, for the two of them appeared like people-fish. Now when their faces were seen by the Xibalbans, they made a search for them in the rivers.

And on the very next day, they appeared again as two poor orphans.[415] They wore rags in front and rags on their backs. Rags were thus all they had to cover themselves. But they did not act according to their appearance when they were seen by the Xibalbans. For they did the Dance of the Whippoorwill and the Dance of the Weasel. They danced the Armadillo and the Centipede.[416] They danced the Injury, for many marvels they did then. They set fire to a house as if it were truly burning, then immediately recreated it again as the Xibalbans watched with admiration.

Then again they sacrificed themselves. One of them would die, surely throwing himself down in death. Then having been killed, he would immediately be revived. And the Xibalbans simply watched them while they did it. Now all of this was merely the groundwork for the defeat of the Xibalbans at their hands.

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[414] lines 4366-4398

[415] *Meb'a'* literally means "poor," but it may also apply to one who has met with misfortune, such as an orphan, widow, or beggar. The twins reappear as youths that have no parents (p. 182; lines 4459-4468), suggesting that "orphan" may be an appropriate translation. On the other hand, they are obviously poor (p. 182; line 4428-4430), dressed in rags (p. 180; lines 4373-4375), and in need of resources (p. 182; lines 4489-4490). I have chosen "poor orphans" because it includes both meanings.

[416] *Xtz'ul* is a centipede. The Varea dictionary lists *xts'ul* as "a dance with small masks and macaw tail feathers." During this dance, participants put sticks down their throats (like sword swallowers), bones in their noses, and give themselves hard blows on their chests with a large stone. Basseta also defines this as a dance, in which masked performers with tortoiseshell rattles put sticks or daggers in their mouths (like sword-swallowers). A variant name for centipede is *Q'uq'kumatz* (Feathered Serpent), indicating that this may be a dance in honor of that creator deity (Coto 1983, 128).

THE SUMMONS OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE BEFORE THE LORDS[417]

AT length the news of their dances came to the ears of the lords One Death and Seven Death. And when they had heard of it, they said:

"Who are these two poor orphans? Is it truly delightful? Is it true that their dancing and all that they do is beautiful?"

For the lords were delighted with the account when they heard it. Thus they entreated their messengers to summon them to come:

"Say this to them: 'May they come so that we may watch them, for we marvel at them,' say the lords."

Thus the messengers went to the dancers and repeated the words of the lords to them.

"We don't want to, for in truth we are timid. We would be ashamed to enter into such a lordly house! Our faces are truly ugly,[418] and our eyes are just wide in poverty. Don't they see that we are merely dancers? What then would we say to our fellow orphans? We have responsibilities. They also desire our dances, for they revive their faces with us. It is not right that we should do the same with the lords. Therefore we do not want to do this, O messengers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

But they were pestered, threatened with misfortune and pain. And so they went with apprehension,[419] for they didn't want to be going any too soon. Many times they had

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[417] lines 4399-4447

[418] Literally "evil/bad/filthy our faces," a common expression for "ugly" among modern Quichés as well.

[419] Literally "red misfortune they went."

to be prodded because they just walked along slowly, making little progress, while the messengers who brought them led the way to the lords.

HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE DANCE BEFORE THE LORDS OF XIBALBA[420]

AT length they arrived before the lords. They pretended to be humble,[421] prostrating themselves[422] when they came. They humbled themselves, stooping over and bowing. They hid themselves with rags, giving the appearance that they were truly just poor orphans when they arrived. Then they were asked where their home mountain was[423] and who their people were. They were also asked about their mother and their father:

"Where do you come from?" they were asked.

"We do not know, O lord. Neither do we know the faces of our mother or our father. We were still small when they died," they just said. They didn't tell them anything.

"Very well then. On with the spectacle. What do you want us to give you as payment?" they were asked.

"We don't want anything. Truly we are frightened," they said again to the lord.

"Do not be afraid or timid. Dance! First you will do that dance in which you sacrifice yourselves. Then burn down my home. Do everything that you know. We would

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[420] lines 4448-4573

[421] *Moch'och'ik* is "to humble one's self hypocritically" (Basseta).

[422] "To throw one's face on the ground" (Basseta).

[423] The Quichés still give directions by indicating which mountain is located nearby the destination. It is not uncommon to ask the location of a town or a person's house and be told, "go two mountains to the west and one to the north."

watch this, for it was the desire of our hearts that you be summoned. Because you are poor orphans, we will pay whatever you ask as your price," they were told.

Thus they began their songs and their dances, and all the Xibalbans came until the place was overflowing with spectators.[424] They danced everything. They danced the Weasel. They danced the Whippoorwill. They danced the Armadillo.

Then the lord spoke to them:

"Sacrifice my dog, then revive him again," they were told.

"All right," they replied.

So they sacrificed his dog and then revived him once more. The dog was truly happy when they revived him. He vigorously wagged his tail when they brought him back to life.

Then the lord spoke again to them:

"Now you must surely burn my home," they were told.

So then they burned the home of the lord. The house was overflowing with all the lords, yet none were burned. Immediately it was restored again. Thus the home of One Death was not lost after all.

All the lords marveled, therefore, and greatly rejoiced at their dances. The lord thus spoke again to them:

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[424] The *Título Pedro Velasco* records that prior to the Spanish conquest, the highland Maya of Guatemala conducted dances in special "guest houses" in which their rulers danced in honor of their gods: "Each of the lineages had a house to hear the word and to administer judgment. There the lords danced the Junajpu C'oy and the Wukub Cak'ix, the Awata Tun, and the Jolom Tun. Each lineage had divisions, each with a house" (Carmack and Mondloch 1989, 178). Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta wrote that "one of the principal things which existed in this land were the songs and dances, to solemnize the festivals of their demons which they honored as gods, as well as to rejoice and find solace. The house of each principal lord thus had a chapel for singers and a place for dances. The great dances were held in the plazas or in the house patios of the great lords, for all had large plazas" (Mendieta 1993, 140). These special houses are likely analogous to confraternity houses today, where traditionalist Maya continue to conduct dances in honor of deity.

"Now kill a person. Sacrifice him, but not so that he really dies," they were told.

"Very well," they said.

So they grabbed a person and sacrificed him. They extracted the heart of one of them and placed it before the lords. Now One Death and Seven Death marveled at this, for immediately that person was revived again by them. When he had been revived, his heart greatly rejoiced. And again the lords marveled at it:

"Now sacrifice yourselves. We would see this. Truly it is the desire of our hearts that you dance," said again the lords.

"Very well then, O lord," they replied.

So then they sacrificed themselves. Hunahpu was sacrificed by Xbalanque. Each of his legs and arms was severed. His head was cut off and placed far away. His heart was dug out and placed on a leaf.[425] Now all these lords of Xibalba were drunk at the sight, as Xbalanque went on dancing.

"Arise!" he said, and immediately he was brought back to life again. Now the lords rejoiced greatly. One Death and Seven Death rejoiced as if they were the ones doing it. They were so involved that it was as if they themselves were dancing.

THE DEFEAT OF THE LORDS OF XIBALBA[426]

FOR it was the desire of the lords to abandon their hearts to the dances of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Then came the words of One Death and Seven Death:

"Do it to us! Sacrifice us!" they said.

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[425] *Tz'alik* is a leaf used for wrapping maize tamales. The implication is that the heart was placed on a leaf prior to wrapping it as an offering. An alternative reading would have this word derived from *tz'alam* a flat stone or altar.

[426] lines 4574-4639

"Sacrifice us in the same way,"[427] said One Death and Seven Death to Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well then. Surely you will be revived. Are you not death? For we are here to gladden you, O lords, along with your vassals and your servants,"[428] they said therefore to the lords.

The first to be sacrificed was the very head of all the lords, One Death by name, the lord of Xibalba. He was dead then, this One Death. Next they grabbed Seven Death. But they didn't revive them. Thus the Xibalbans took to their heels when they saw that the lords had died. Their hearts were now taken from their chests. Both of them had been torn open as punishment for what they had done. Straightaway the one lord was executed and not revived. The other lord had then begged humbly, weeping before the dancers. He would not accept it, for he had become disoriented:

"Take pity on me," he said in his regret.

Then all of their vassals and servants fled into the great canyon. They packed themselves into the great ravine until they were piled up one on top of the other. Then innumerable ants swarmed into the canyon, as if they had been driven there. And when the ants came, the Xibalbans all bowed themselves down, giving themselves up. They approached begging humbly and weeping. For the lords of Xibalba were defeated. It was just a miracle, for the boys had transformed themselves before them.

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[427] The manuscript reads *junal taj* ("the same way" or possibly "one by one"). The particular form of this word is somewhat odd. It seems to be a play on words with *junalik/junelik* (forever), thus hinting that the sacrifice would not be so much "the same" as was done before, but would be permanent. A further pun is seen in the phrase at the beginning of this section, "it was the desire of the lords to abandon their hearts," thus foreshadowing the means of their death.

[428] Literally your "child of mother" and your "sons of men." In this case, these are metaphors that are used frequently in the text for vassals and servants.

And then they declared their names. They revealed their names before all Xibalba.

THE MIRACULOUS MAIZE OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE[429]

"HEAR our names![430] We shall now declare them. We shall also declare the names of our fathers to you. We are they whose names are Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Our fathers are they who you killed, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name. We are the avengers of the misfortune and affliction of our fathers. For this reason, we have endured all the tribulations that you have caused us. Thus we shall now destroy you all. We will kill you, for none among you shall now be saved," they were told.

Then all Xibalba begged humbly, weeping.

"Take pity on us, you, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Truly we have wronged your fathers that you have named—they who are buried at Crushing Ballcourt," they said.

"Very well. Here then is our word that we declare to you. Hearken all you of Xibalba; for never again will you or your posterity be great. Your offerings also will never again be great. They will henceforth be reduced to croton sap.[431] No longer will clean blood be yours.[432] Unto you will be given only worn-out griddles and pots,[433] only flimsy[434] and brittle things.

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[429] lines 4640-4772

[430] It was traditional in Mesoamerican societies to declare one's name when a victory has been won in battle or when superiority has been established.

[431] This fulfills the prophecy of Lady Blood, in which she declared that the lords of Xibalba would no longer be allowed to receive human hearts in sacrifice but rather would have to accept the red sap of the croton tree (pp. 132-133; lines 2444-2445).

[432] The ancient Maya offered their own blood to the gods to give them a portion of their life force. This would be fresh, clean blood. Tedlock's collaborator, Andrés Xiloj, commented that the Xibalbans are

"You shall surely eat only the creatures of the grass and the creatures of the wastelands. No longer will you be given the children of the light, those begotten in the light. Only things of no importance[435] will fall before you.

"Only the sinner and the malevolent, the wretch and the molester who clearly have sinned, will be given to you. No longer will you be able to seize suddenly just any person.[436] You will be called upon only over the sap of the croton," they were told, all they of Xibalba.

Thus began their devastation, the ruin of their being called upon in worship. Their glory was not great in the past, for they wanted only conflict with the people of ancient times. Surely they were not true gods. Their names merely inspired fear, for their faces were evil.[437] They were strife makers, traitors,[438] and tempters to sin and violence.[439] They were also masters of deception,[440] of the black view and the white view. They were

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allowed to collect only blood that has been spilled on the ground (through injury, illness, or violence), thus making it dirty (D. Tedlock 1996, 283 n. 138).

[433] At the end of each ritual year, broken bits of pottery are left at shrines to symbolize the passing of one age to another. New pots and utensils represent a new beginning and an opportunity for a fresh start in life.

[434] The adjective *ch'uch'* describes something that is soft and flimsy and thus unable to hold its shape.

[435] According to Basseta, these are "things of no importance," or "abandoned things."

[436] The Quichés believe that the lords of Xibalba have power only over those who have truly committed punishable offenses and have thus submitted themselves to the powers of the underworld.

[437] *Itzel ki wach* may mean "evil their faces," or "ugly their faces."

[438] *Aj tukur*. Basseta records that *ah tucur* (literally "owl master") is "traitor." The name may also refer to the inhabitants of the Alta Verapaz region, which was called the "land of the owls" or Tecolotlán (Recinos 1950, 114 n. 6).

[439] *Lab'al* is "war, violence, offense." In modern Quiché society it refers to a savage or violent person.

[440] Literally "masters of the buried heart."

called masters of harm[441] and vexation. Fundamentally their faces were hidden. Thus their greatness and glory were destroyed. Never again would their dominion become great. This was the accomplishment of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.[442]

Now at the same time, the Grandmother was weeping, crying out[443] before the ears of unripe maize that had been left planted. They had sprouted, but then they dried up when they were burned in the pit oven. Then the ears of maize had sprouted once again, and the Grandmother had burned copal incense[444] before them as a memorial. The heart of their grandmother rejoiced when the maize sprouted a second time.[445]

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[441] *Mox wach* is "left face" or "crazy face." In modern usage it may refer to insanity, however Coto and Basseta both relate this to "violence, harm, or mischief."

[442] Las Casas recorded a similar myth that he collected in the Verapaz region of Guatemala: "Among other tales, they say that he [*Exbalanquén*], went to hell to make war, fought with all the people there, defeated them, and captured the king and many of his army. Upon his return to earth, *Exbalanquén* brought the king of hell with him, but when they were only three or four steps from the light, he begged not to be taken away; and so the victorious *Exbalanquén*, with much anger, gave him a kick and said to him, 'Go back and may yours be all that is rotten, discarded, and stinks'" (Las Casas 1967, III, cxxiv, p. 650. Translation by author).

[443] The verb roots in this couplet, *oq'* (to weep) and *sik'ij* (to call), when used together in this order imply fervent prayer, such as is done by priests at native altars (D. Tedlock 1996, 284 n. 139). As a goddess of fertility and the seasons, the weeping of Xmucane may have been associated by the Quichés with life-giving rains that helped the dry maizestalks to sprout again.

[444] *Pom* (copal incense) is made from the resin of the *palo jiote* tree (*Bursera verrucosa*). Copal is still burned by the Quichés as an offering to both Christian and traditional Maya deities.

[445] This incident is perhaps paralleled by contemporary agricultural practices among the highland Maya. The following is a description of a traditional planting ceremony as told by Nicolás Chávez Sojuel, a Tz'utujil Maya from Santiago Atitlán:

> After preparing the ground, but before planting, four candles are placed at the corners of the maize field representing the four directions of the earth—in the east so that light will shine on the seeds; in the west so that the maize won't be burned by the sun; in the north so that the maize seed will be protected; and in the south so that the harvest will be abundant.... At the center he then places a special kind of maize ear called *yo'x* (twins) which splits at the end to form extra little cobs. These have been previously blessed by a shaman in the Confraternity of San Juan where the *ruk'ux' way* (heart of food) is kept in a wooden chest. many *yo'x* cobs hang from the ceiling there because that is where maize is born. These cobs are burned and their ashes are buried beneath the ground so that they can come back to life and make more maize (Christenson 2001, 117).

Thus they were deified by their grandmother. She named it Center House, Center Ancestral Plot,[446] Revitalized Maize, and Leveled Earth.

She named it Center House and Center Harvest for it was in the very center of the interior of their home where they had planted the ears of maize.

She named it Leveled Earth and Revitalized Maize for it was upon level ground that the ears of maize had been planted. She named it Revitalized Maize because the maize had sprouted again. These names were given by Xmucane to what Hunahpu and Xbalanque had left planted. This was a memorial to them by their grandmother.

Now their fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, had died long ago. They now went, therefore, to see the face of their father there at Xibalba. Their father spoke to them when Xibalba was defeated.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS[447]

HERE now is the adornment of their father by them, along with the adornment of Seven Hunahpu. For they went to adorn them at Crushing Ballcourt.

They merely wanted his face to be restored. Thus they asked him to name everything—his mouth, his nose, and his eyes. He was able to recover the first name, but

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The hole in the center of the maizefield into which the ashes of the *yo'x* maize cobs are buried is called the *rumuxux* (navel), the same name applied to a small hole in the nave of the town's church which the Tz'utujil believe to be an access point to the underworld realm of the dead. The Atiteco practice of first burning and then burying split cobs of maize, which they call "twins," recalls the history of the twins in the *Popol Vuh* who also descended into the underworld where they were burned to ashes and eventually rose to new life, parallel with the maize plants in the grandmother's household.

[446] This reading is based on the work of Adrián Chávez, a prominent Quiché scholar who understood *b'ichok* as a *solar*, the Spanish word for an ancestral dwelling, or the plot of land once owned by ancestors (Chávez 1997, 63).

[447] lines 4773-4821

then little more was said. He did not say the corresponding names for that which is above the mouth.[448] Still, this had been said, and thus they honored him.

Thus the heart of their father was left behind at Crushing Ballcourt. His sons then said to him:

"Here you will be called upon. It shall be so."

Thus his heart was comforted.

"The child who is born in the light, and the son who is begotten in the light shall go out to you first. They shall worship you first. Your name shall not be forgotten.[449] Thus be it so," they said to their father when they comforted his heart.

"We are merely the avengers of your death and your loss, for the affliction and misfortune that were done to you." Thus was their counsel when they had defeated all Xibalba.

Then they arose as the central lights. They arose straight into the sky. One of them arose as the sun, and the other as the moon. Thus the womb of the sky was illuminated over the face of the earth, for they came to dwell in the sky.

The four hundred boys who had died at the hands of Zipacna also rose up to become their companions. They became a constellation of the sky.

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[448] The skull of One Hunahpu would have had a mouth, but not a nose or eyes, which would have been only empty holes and sockets.

[449] Hunahpu is one of the twenty named days of the Quiché calendar. It is dedicated especially to the memory of ancestors. When there is a death within the family, the patrilineage priest goes to the family shrine on a Hunahpu day that falls after the day of death to pray for the person's soul (La Farge and Byers 1931, 157-165, 173-175; Bunzel 1952, 280; Schultze-Jena 1954, 71; B. Tedlock 1982, 124-125; D. Tedlock 1996, 286 n. 141). Hunahpu days are also the chosen times to visit the graves of relatives and leave offerings of food, drink, flower petals, or incense. The twins are instituting this practice, beginning with the burial place of One Hunahpu himself.

THE CREATION OF HUMANITY[450]

THIS, then, is the beginning[451] of the conception of humanity, when that which would become the flesh of mankind was sought.[452] Then spoke they who are called She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons, the Framer and the Shaper, Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent:

"The dawn approaches, and our work is not successfully completed. A provider and a sustainer have yet to appear—a child of light, a son of light. Humanity has yet to appear to populate the face of the earth," they said.

Thus they gathered together and joined their thoughts in the darkness, in the night. They searched and they sifted. Here they thought and they pondered. Their thoughts came forth bright and clear. They discovered and established that which would become the flesh of humanity. This took place just a little before the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars above the heads of the Framer and the Shaper.

THE DISCOVERY OF MAIZE[453]

IT was from within the places called Paxil[454] and Cayala[455] that the yellow ears of ripe maize and the white ears of ripe maize came.[456]

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[450] lines 4822-4861

[451] Literally "planting."

[452] The Aztecs of Precolumbian Central Mexico believed that the earth had passed through five separate creations, each with the intent of forming beings capable of human expression. Only the fifth and final attempt was successful. *The Annals of Cuauhtitlán* records the Aztec version of the fifth creation: "Thus it is told, it is said: There have already been four manifestations and this one is the fifth age. So the old ones knew this, that in the year 1-Rabbit heaven and earth were founded. And they knew this, that when heaven and earth were founded there had already been four kinds of men, four kinds of manifestations. Also they knew that each of these had existed in a Sun, an age" (León-Portilla 1980, 137). The *Popol Vuh* is consistent with this tradition in describing five separate creation attempts—the mountains and rivers, the animals and birds, the mud person, the wooden effigies, and now humankind.

[453] lines 4862-4939

THESE were the names of the animals that obtained their food[457]—fox and coyote,[458] parakeet and raven.[459] Four, then, were the animals that revealed to them the yellow ears of maize and the white ears of maize. They came from Paxil and pointed out the path to get there.

Thus was found the food that would become the flesh[460] of the newly framed and shaped people. Water was their blood.[461] It became the blood of humanity. The ears of

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[454] *Paxil* means "broken, split, or cleft." Father Coto wrote that it refers in particular to the breaking in two of an ear of maize. *Paxil* is described as an "excellent mountain" filled with the maize that would eventually be used to form the flesh of humanity (p. 194; lines 4886-4889). This was a widespread belief in ancient Mesoamerica, particularly among the Maya (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993, 138-139). According to the Central Mexican *Codex Chimalpopoca,* it was Quetzalcoatl himself who brought the first maize out of the mountain Tonacatepetl (the mountain of our flesh or our sustenance) from which he created the first men (León-Portilla 1980, 122 n. 42). The Pipil of Guatemala relate that maize was discovered when the mountain in which it was hidden was split open by the youngest of the rain dwarfs (Schultze-Jena 1935, 31-33). Contemporary Mam still identify one of their local mountains as Paxil, saying that it is "where a flea brought the first grains of maize through a narrow crevice to give their ancestors corn" (Wagley 1941, 20; Oakes 1951, 244; Watanabe 1992, 67).

[455] *K'ayala'* means "bitter or stagnant water." This is perhaps related to the notion of the primordial waters of creation which the highland Maya often associate with seawater or brackish ponds, out of which the first mountains emerged. Among modern Quichés, *k'ayala'* is the water mixed with lime that women use to add to ground maize dough (Akkeren, personal communication).

[456] These are the dry ears of maize, ready for harvest. Colors carry great symbolic significance in highland Maya theology. Yellow is associated with the south, misfortune, death, and the dry season (Gossen 1974, 33; Tarn and Prechtel 1990, 75; Watanabe 1992,131, 232 n. 6; Carlsen and Prechtel 1994, 85, 92). White is associated with the north, new life, and the rainy season. This passage may therefore refer to the inauguration of the agricultural cycle of harvest and new growth. This maize ultimately is used to create the flesh of mankind. As a result, the color of the grains may presage man's destiny to live and die in endless cycles. Modern Quichés also see yellow and white corn as representing female and male identities. Thus at Chichicastenango yellow and white ears are never left lying together to dry in the patio lest they "cohabit" and produce speckled offspring (Bunzel 1952, 45, 50). This passage may thus suggest that the different colored ears will be used to produce the flesh of males and females.

[457] The word *echa'* (food) refers to the principal or staple food upon which a person or animal depends for survival. In the case of the Quichés this would be maize, by far the most important part of their diet.

[458] Both the fox and coyote are cunning nocturnal animals that the Quichés associate with discovering and digging up hidden or secret things.

[459] The bright blue/green parakeet may be connected with the blue sky of day as well as the living green of growing maize. The black raven, in contrast, represents the darkness of night and the interior of the earth where the maize seed is planted, germinates, and first begins to grow.

maize entered into their flesh by means of She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons.

Thus they rejoiced over the discovery of that excellent mountain that was filled with delicious things, crowded with yellow ears of maize and white ears of maize. It was crowded[462] as well with pataxte[463] and chocolate, with countless zapotes[464] and anonas,[465] with jocotes[466] and nances,[467] with matasanos[468] and honey.[469] From within the places

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[460] When a male child was born, the seventeenth century Maya of Guatemala burned blood shed from its severed umbilical cord and passed an ear of maize through the smoke. The seeds from this ear were then planted in the child's name in a specific area of the maize field. Parents used the maize from this small patch of land to feed the child "until he reached the age when he could plant form himself, saying that thus he not only ate by the sweat of his brow but of his own blood as well" (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932-33, I.281. Translation by author). Mothers in Santiago Atitlán place an ear of maize into the palm of their newborns and eat only dishes made from maize while breast-feeding to ensure that the child grows "true flesh." Once the child is weaned, it is given only food prepared with maize for several months. The Quichés refer to themselves as *qas winaq* (true people) and consider that they are literally of a different flesh than those who do not eat maize. Fuentes y Guzmán noted the extreme importance of maize in the cultural life of the Maya: "Everything they did and said so concerned maize that they almost regarded it as a god. The enchantment and rapture with which they look upon their maize fields is such that on their account they forget children, wife, and any other pleasure, as though the maize fields were their final purpose in life and the source of their happiness (1932-33, I.xii.3. Translation by author).

[461] Humankind is distinguished by having blood, in contrast to the wooden effigies, which lacked it (cf. p. 84; lines 664-665).

[462] *Tzatz* means "thick," like a particularly concentrated beverage or porridge. It is also used to refer to a room crowded with people or a chest tightly packed with objects.

[463] *Pataxte* (*Theobroma bicolor*) is an inferior grade of cacao (from which chocolate is made) used to sweeten foods and drinks, such as the maize-based drink *chorote*. Its name is derived from the Nahuatl *pataxtli*.

[464] The *zapote* (*Lucuma mammosa*) is a sweet tropical fruit which grows in warm, lowland areas of southeastern Mexico as well as the Guatemalan coast. It is oblong in shape, measuring 10-15 cm in length. Its skin is tough and brownish-red, while its meat varies from dark red to brown and has a delicious, aromatic flavor. Based on Quiché traditions of its association with the creation and because of its abundant fruit, Father Domingo de Vico chose the *zapote* to represent the paradisiacal Tree of Life in his writings (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 207-208).

[465] The *anona* is the collective name for a variety of tropical fruits of the genus *Anona*. It has a yellowish-green skin with a very sweet yellowish-white pulp and black seeds.

[466] *Spondias purpurea*. A species of sour yellow plum. Its Spanish name, *jocote*, is derived from the Nahuatl *xocotl* (sour).

[467] *Byrosinima crassifolia*. A smooth, yellow fruit about the size of a cherry.

called Paxil and Cayala came the sweetest foods in the citadel. All the small foods and great foods were there, along with the small and great cultivated fields. The path was thus revealed by the animals.

The yellow ears of maize and the white ears of maize were then ground fine with nine grindings[470] by Xmucane.[471] Food entered their flesh, along with water to give them strength.[472] Thus was created the fatness of their arms. The yellowness[473] of humanity came to be when they were made by they who are called She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons, by Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent.

Thus their frame and shape were given expression[474] by our first Mother and our first Father. Their flesh was merely yellow ears of maize and white ears of maize.[475] Mere food were the legs and arms of humanity, of our first fathers. And so there were four who were made, and mere food was their flesh.

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[468] *Casimiroa edulis*. A sour tropical fruit.

[469] Honeybees were domesticated by the ancient Maya and are still raised by the Quichés, particularly in the mountain villages surrounding Momostenango.

[470] Maize is usually ground two to four times, depending on the fineness of flour or meal desired. To grind the maize nine times would make an extremely fine consistency of flour. The number also carries great ritual significance to the Maya, being the number of moons (months) required to form a human child in the mother's womb.

[471] Xmucane acts as the creative power that prepares the maize dough and forms it into a suitable framework to contain the essence of mankind. This is the only instance in which Xmucane acts alone in a creative act without her consort Xpiyacoc. The unique ability of the female to form living flesh is thus emphasized.

[472] *Openal* is "vigor, strength, force, energy."

[473] *Q'anal* (yellowness) is a metaphor for "abundance, richness, health." In this case it is likely a metaphor for fatness, paralleling the previous line (Mondloch, personal communication).

[474] Literally "placed in words," an indication that the creators were able to bring their creation to successful completion by means of expressing words, just as in the creation of the earth at the beginning of the account.

[475] In Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, "our flesh" is *tonacoyotl*, which is a phrase also used to refer to "maize" (León-Portilla 1980, 122 n. 41).

THE FIRST FOUR MEN[476]

THESE are the names of the first people who were framed and shaped: the first person was Balam Quitze,[477] the second was Balam Acab,[478] the third was Mahucutah,[479] and the fourth was Iqui Balam.[480] These, then, were the names of our first mothers and fathers.[481]

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[476] lines 4940-4947

[477] *B'alam Quitze. B'alam* is a relatively common Maya name, even today. In its most literal sense, *b'alam* means "jaguar"; however, when used as a title, it carries with it a host of implicit meanings. Because of the nature of the jaguar as the largest and fiercest animal of the Guatemalan jungle, *b'alam* is used to refer to anything powerful or mighty. The ancient Maya believed that four *balams* acted as supernatural protectors in the night (Roys 1967, 152 n. 8). *B'alam* is also the title used by Itzá-Maya priests who continued to worship the ancient gods after the introduction of Christianity (Roys 1967, 163 n. 2). In addition, *balam* is sometimes used to refer to priests or rulers with unusual spiritual or magical powers. *Kitze* appears to be the Mam form of *K'iche'*, meaning "forest," and the Mam may have played a decisive role in the founding of the Quiché confederation (Akkeren 2000, 155). Thus the name of this progenitor may mean something like "Jaguar Forest," "Jaguar Quiché," or "Mighty Quiché." The etymology of all the progenitors' names is obscure, however, and I have therefore chosen to leave them untranslated. Balam Quitze was the ancestor of the most powerful Quiché lineage, the Cavecs, from which the *ah pop*, or principal lord, was chosen.

[478] *B'alam Aq'ab'.* "Jaguar Night" or "Mighty Night." Ancestor of the Nihaib lineage of the Quichés.

[479] *Majukutaj.* The meaning of the name of this progenitor is problematic. Carmack believes that it is derived from the lowland Maya word for "Traveler," or "One Who Does Not Stay" (Carmack 1981, 49). Tedlock translates it as "Not Right Now" based on the Quiché *ma*, "not," and *jukotaj*, "right away/in a moment" (Basseta). Akkeren (personal communication) suggests that the name is derived from the Mam *jukotaj* (elder, eminent one). Coto lists *hu cotah* as "one crown, ring, or similar round object" (Coto 1983, 474). In many highland Maya languages, such as Tz'utujil, the prefix *Ma* may be honorific, meaning something like "mister, or sir."

[480] *Ik'i B'alam*. If this name is derived from lowland Maya languages, which is probable, it would be read as "Black/Dark Jaguar." If it is derived from Quiché, it should likely be read as *Iq'i B'alam*, "Wind Jaguar" or "Wind Mighty." No lineage was founded by this man. Although the *Popol Vuh* names his wife as Caquixaha, the *Título Totonicapán* records that he had no wife and therefore had no offspring (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 175).

[481] Although the four progenitors were male, they are referred to as "our first mothers and fathers." In modern Quiché communities, the highest ranking and most revered patriarchs hold the title of *chuch-qajawab* (mother-fathers) and are charged with the spiritual well-being of entire family lineages or villages.

THE MIRACULOUS VISION OF THE FIRST MEN[482]

IT is said that they were merely given frame and shape. They had no mother. They had no father. They were merely lone men, as we would say. No woman gave them birth. Nor were they begotten by the Framer or the Shaper, by She Who Has Borne Children or He Who Has Begotten Sons. Their frame and shape were merely brought about by the miraculous power and the spirit essence of the Framer and the Shaper, of She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons, of Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent.

Thus their countenances appeared like people. People they came to be. They were able to speak and converse.[483] They were able to look and listen. They were able to walk and hold things with their hands. They were excellent and chosen[484] people. Their faces were manly in appearance. They had their breath, therefore they became. They were able to see as well, for straightaway their vision came to them.

Perfect was their sight, and perfect was their knowledge of everything beneath the sky. If they gazed about them, looking intently, they beheld that which was in the sky and

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[482] lines 4948-5010

[483] The Maya perceive themselves as "maize people" and foreigners who eat bread as "wheat people." Maya language is intimately bound with this concept. To be a *qas winaq* (true person) and speak the Maya language properly, a person must eat maize. This notion implies that the power of human speech is not merely a means of communication that may be imitated by memorizing grammar and vocabulary, but a function of the physical essence of the Maya as a people. Vogt noted the belief among the Tzotzil-Maya of Chiapas that "unless people eat maize tortillas, they are never fully socialized, nor can they ever speak BAZ'IK'OP (real word—the Tzotzil language) (Vogt 1976, 50). When I first began working as an ethnographer in Quiché communities, I found it curious that when I struck up a conversation in the Quiché language with someone I didn't know, that person would sometimes interrupt me in mid-sentence and ask what I ate, specifically if I ate tortillas or bread. When I affirmed that I ate what they ate, including tortillas, they would nod as if that explained a great deal. After a number of such experiences I asked a friend why people were curious about what I ate. He replied, "I've never heard of anyone that isn't Maya that can speak our language. I wondered if it was because you ate maize from here. If so then you have the flesh of the ancestors in your flesh and therefore can speak what they spoke."

[484] *Cha'om* (chosen), in the sense of being "beautiful" in appearance or "pure" (Coto).

that which was upon the earth. Instantly they were able to behold everything. They did not have to walk to see all that existed beneath the sky. They merely saw it from wherever they were. Thus their knowledge became full. Their vision passed beyond the trees and the rocks, beyond the lakes and the seas, beyond the mountains and the valleys. Truly they were very esteemed people, these Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

THE GRATITUDE OF THE FIRST MEN[485]

THEN the Framer and the Shaper asked them: "What is the nature of your existence? Do you know[486] it? Do you not look and listen? Are not your speech and your walk good? Behold now, therefore, and see that which is beneath the sky. Are not the mountains clear? Do you not see the valleys? Try it then," they were told.

Thus their vision of everything beneath the sky was completed, and they gave thanks to the Framer and the Shaper:

"Truly we thank you doubly, triply that we were created, that we were given our mouths[487] and our faces.[488] We are able to speak and to listen. We are able to ponder and

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[485] lines 5011-5071

[486] *Na'* is "to know, sense, feel." For the Quichés, *to know* and *to sense* something are the same concept. Thus the creators ask the first humans about their knowledge by determining what they see, hear, and feel.

[487] Literally "we were mouthed." In receiving their mouths, the Quiché progenitors thank the creator gods for giving them the means of expressing themselves. It is the ability to speak with intelligible words that distinguishes these new creations from the animals and the failed attempts at humanity which had previously been destroyed.

[488] Literally "we were faced." In Quiché, *wach* (face, countenance) carries the connotation of individual "self." If something is pleasing to a person, it is said to "fall well upon the face" (*utz kaqaj chuwach*). To ask, "How are you?" the question would be phrased, "Is it good your face?" (*La utz a wach?*). Thus the first people thank the gods for having given them their identity, or sense of self. It is also intimately tied to vision. In the previous section, the first men's extraordinary vision is what gave them their ability to gain knowledge.

to move about. We know much, for we have learned that which is far and near. We have seen the great and the small, all that exists in the sky and on the earth. We thank you, therefore, that we were created, that we were given frame and shape. We became because of you, our Grandmother, and you, our Grandfather," they said when they gave thanks for their frame and shape.

Their knowledge of everything that they saw was complete—the four corners and the four sides, that which is within the sky and that which is within the earth.

But this did not sound good to the Framer and the Shaper:

"It is not good what they have said, they that we have framed and shaped. They said, 'We have learned everything, great and small.'"

THE DISPLEASURE OF THE GODS[489]

THUS their knowledge was taken back by She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons:

"What now can be done to them so that their vision reaches only nearby, so that only a little of the face of the earth can be seen by them? For it is not good what they say. Is not their existence merely framed, merely shaped? It is a mistake[490] that they have become like gods.

"But if they do not multiply or are increased, when will the first planting be? When will it dawn? If they do not increase, when will it be so? Therefore we will merely undo them a little now. That is what is wanted, because it is not good what we have found

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[489] lines 5072-5115

[490] *Lab'e* is a "mistake, error, or bad omen."

out. Their works will merely be equated with ours. Their knowledge will extend to the furthest reaches, and they will see[491] everything."

Thus spoke Heart of Sky and Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt and Sudden Thunderbolt, Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent, She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, the Framer and the Shaper, as they are called. Thus they remade the essence of that which they had framed and shaped.

THE CREATION OF THE MOTHERS OF THE QUICHÉ NATION[492]

THEIR eyes[493] were merely blurred by Heart of Sky. They were blinded like breath upon the face of a mirror. Thus their eyes were blinded. They could see only nearby; things were clear to them only where they were.[494] Thus their knowledge was lost. The wisdom of the first four people was lost there at their foundation, at their

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[491] *Kilon* (they see). This form of the verb also has the implied meaning of "acquire, attain."
[492] lines 5116-5360

[493] *U b'aq' ki wach* (its seed their faces) refers to the eyes. Thus the gods clouded the eyes of the first men so that their vision would be limited.

[494] Although the creator gods eventually clouded the vision of the first men, the progenitors of the Maya and their descendants nevertheless believe themselves to bear within their blood the potential for divine sight. Present-day *aj q'ij* priests believe that their divine ancestors, who set the pattern for contemporary rituals, continue to operate through them as conduits. It is this ancestral vision that allows the *aj q'ij* to "see" beyond the limits of time and distance. Evon Vogt noted that the Tzotzil-Maya of Zinacantán believe that anciently their people could see inside sacred mountains where the ancestors live. Today only shamans are recognized to have this ability (Vogt 1993, 205). Among the Maya there is no institutional religion to sanction the qualification of a person to become an *aj q'ij.* Every Maya man and woman potentially has this ability because it is inherent in their blood. The approach that experienced *aj q'ij* priests take in training their apprentices is to teach how to interpret signs and spirit communication, often described as lightning in the blood, that they had always received since young childhood but had not the experience to understand properly. In other cases, the *aj q'ij* receives no formal training. This account is from an *aj q'ij* from Santiago Atitlán: "When I was born, I already knew how to do these things. I had no teacher. I speak with the ancestors and ancient kings and they speak with me. They help me to know how to heal and solve problems for people." Non-Maya do not necessarily have this kind of ability, because their blood does not originate from the same visionary ancestral source. In my own experience working with *aj q'ij* priests in Momostenango in the late 1970s, my frequent displays of ineptitude in learning divinatory and calendric skills was interpreted as the lack of Maya blood in my veins. I was not able to see with ancestral vision in the same way because I had a different lineage, likely not a very divine one.

beginning.[495] Thus were the framing and the shaping of our first grandfathers and fathers by Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth.

Then their companions, their wives, also came to be.[496] It was the gods alone who conceived them as well. As if it were in their sleep they received them. The women were truly beautiful who were with Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. Thus when the men were brought to life, their wives truly came to be as well. At once their hearts rejoiced because of their mates.

These, then, are the names of their wives: Cahapaluna[497] was the name of the wife of Balam Quitze. Chomiha[498] was the name of the wife of Balam Acab. Tzununiha[499] was

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[495] *U xe', u tikarib'al* (their root, their planting).

[496] Marriage is considered essential in highland Maya society. No significant office may be held by a man or woman who is not married: "Only a married man is regarded as a complete person. On all strictly formal occasions, such as the rituals in the *cofradías* a man is invariably accompanied by his wife, even when the woman has no part in the ceremonies.... An extreme expression of this sentiment of unity between husband and wife is found in the initiation ceremonies of a *chuchqajau* ["mother-father," the principal priest within a lineage]. The profession of *chuchqajau* is a sacred profession; the practitioner must have a vocation which has been manifested in dreams and in sickness, he is believed to have personal occult power in divination. But at the concluding ceremonies in which the sacred bundle is finally delivered and the final sacrifices are performed, his wife participates in all the ceremonies, not as an assistant, but as an initiate. Throughout the ceremonies they are referred to as 'the young couple who are to receive the *vara* [sacred bundle]'" (Bunzel 1952, 122-123; cf. B. Tedlock 1982, 85). The death of one spouse causes significant "soul loss" for the other, often resulting in the widow or widower following their loved one to the grave soon after. Note that the creation of the world itself was carried out by the joint efforts of the female Xmucane and the male Xpiyacoc. They are not described as carrying out separate roles, but acting in concert and speaking with one voice (see pp. 62, 79-82, 200).

[497] *Kaja Palu Na* (Sky Sea House). The *Título Totonicapán*, also composed in the sixteenth century by Quiché scribes, lists this wife's name as *Cakapaluma* (*Kaqa Paluma*, "Red Sea Turtle") (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 175). Each of the wives of the progenitors include the word for "house" in their names, indicating that each is the founder of a lineage group. It is perhaps significant that Cahapaluna uses the lowland Maya spelling of the word for house, *na*, rather than the Quiché form of the word, *ja*. The preservation of this spelling may indicate the dimly recalled memory of the royal marriage of their most important Quiché ancestor with a royal princess from lowland Maya lands.

[498] *Chomi Ja* (Shrimp House). This reading is based on *chom*, "shrimp, large thing, thick thing" (Basseta). If the reading of "shrimp" here is correct, it would parallel the "sea turtle" name of the previous wife based on the account in the *Título Totonicapán* (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 175).

[499] *Tz'ununi Ja* (Hummingbird House).

the name of the wife of Mahucutah. Caquixaha[500] was the name of the wife of Iqui Balam. These, therefore, were the names of their wives, they who came to be our rulers. These were they who multiplied the nations both small and great.

This, therefore, was our foundation, we the Quiché people. There were many who came to be bloodletters[501] and sacrificers.[502] There are no longer merely four now, but four were the mothers of the Quiché people. Each of the people had different names when they multiplied there in the East. Truly these became the names of the people—Sovereign, Ballplayer,[503] Masker,[504] and Sun Lord.[505] These are the titles of the people. It was there in the East that they multiplied.

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[500] *Kaqixa Ja* (Macaw House). No lineage group was founded by this couple. According to the *Título Totonicapán*, Caquixaha was the wife of Mahucutah, the third progenitor, while Iqui Balam was unmarried (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 175). This is also the name of a Cakchiquel lineage.

[501] *Aj k'ixb'* may literally be translated as "he of the spines"; however, it refers here to the practice of letting blood by auto-sacrifice, paralleling the performance of sacrifice in the next line of the couplet. This was generally accomplished with a sharp spine, such as the tip of a maguey leaf or a stingray spine. Like most Mesoamerican groups, the ancient Maya offered their own blood as an offering to the gods. They believed that by so doing they returned a portion of their life force to the powers of the cosmos. Colonial dictionaries also gloss this as "penitent, confessor, shameful persons." Such auto-sacrificial acts were performed in an effort to cleanse impurities as a penitential ritual. Although auto-sacrifice is no longer performed, this concept of doing penance, confession, and pleading for cleansing of personal impurities accompanies most offerings of candles, incense, flowers, sacrificed animals, etc. in modern-day Quiché rituals.

[502] *Aj k'ajb'* (sacrificers). *K'ajb'* is specifically blood sacrifice. Coto lists the word as referring to the type of human sacrifice performed by the Maya prior to the Spanish Conquest, but it may also be a sacrifice of one's own blood (Coto 1983, 502-503). A related verb may be *k'ajij* (to wound the knee). When the progenitors perform auto-sacrifice before their gods, it is by pricking their ears and their elbows. Thus this term and the one that precede it likely refer to auto-sacrificial rites whereby a person's own blood is offered to deity. Ximénez translates *k'ajb'* as "punishment." The related word in Classic Maya texts, *ch'ahb',* has two related meanings with regard to war contexts. In one sense, it refers to the punishment of captives, and at the same time the notion that captives destined for sacrificial death represent a kind of penitence by proxy. Thus Classic Maya lords saw in the person of the war captive their own penance and self-denial. In this way bloodletting and sacrifice represent a kind of penitence by proxy (Stephen D. Houston, private communication). Sacrificial victims were thus seen by the ancient Maya as substitutions for the sacrificer in payment for penitential blood debt (Taube 1994, 669-74).

[503] *Oloman* (place of rubber) is derived from the Nahua word for rubber, *ol* (Campbell 1983, 84). I base my reading on the fact that for the Quiché, rubber and the rubber ball used in their games is the same word, *kik'*. There is likely a lineage component here as well, indicating that the ancestors of the Quichés came from, or were related in some way to people who inhabited, the "Place of Rubber." At the time of the

The beginning of the Tamub and the Ilocab[506] is known. As one they came from there in the East.

Balam Quitze was the grandfather, the father of nine great houses of the Cavecs.[507] Balam Acab was the grandfather, the father of nine great houses of the Nihaibs. Mahucutah was the grandfather, the father of four great houses of Ahau Quichés. Thus there were three divisions of lineages[508] that existed. The names of their

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conquest, this was the name commonly used by Nahua speakers to refer to the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Schele and Mathews suggest that the Oloman are related to the Olmeca-Xicalanca, a group centered in the Gulf Coast region who conquered Cholula in the eighth century (Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca), and built Cacaxtla (perhaps Xochicalco as well) as their capital (Schele and Mathews 1998, 293, 383 n. 4).

[504] Masks were used by the Quichés in many of their ceremonies and are still worn in ritual dances. By wearing the mask of a god or legendary hero, the dancer takes upon himself the character and power of that figure.

[505] *K'enech Ajaw* (Yucatec: "Sun-eyed/faced Lord") is the Lowland Maya title given to the principal sun deity (Thompson 1970, 207, 228-229; Morley, Brainerd, and Sharer 1983, 470; Taube 1992, 50-56; Miller and Taube 1993, 106). *K'enech Ajaw* symbolized the sun's daily journey across the sky and had been closely associated with the various Maya royal dynasties for more than a thousand years (Miller and Taube 1993, 106; Baudez 1996). In contemporary Yucatán, a deified ruler named Kinich Kakmo (Sun-faced Fire Macaw) was remembered as the founding ancestor of Izamal (Roys 1967, 82, 160 n. 2; Craine and Reindorp 1979, 83-84 n. 78). Apparently, Quiché lords also saw themselves as earthly manifestations of the sun deity. The use of this archaic, non-Quiché title may indicate the antiquity of the concept as well as the origins of its Cavec authors.

[506] At the time of the Spanish conquest, there were three main branches of Quiché people: The ruling Nima Quichés (Great Quichés), descendents of the four first human beings just mentioned. They consisted of the Cavec, Nihaib, Ahau Quichés, and the Zaquic; the Tamub Quichés who lived in the area between Santa Cruz el Quiché and Patzite; and the Ilocab Quichés near present-day San Antonio Ilotenago (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 309 n. 15). The –ab suffix in Ilocab functions as a pluralizer, however, I have chosen not to write the name of this lineage as "Ilocs" because the original derivation of the name is likely *ilolkab'* (beekeeper), an occupation characteristic of this group (Akkeren, personal communication).

[507] There were three major divisions of ruling Nima Quichés (Great Quichés), each descendents of one of the progenitors—the Cavecs, descendents of Balam Quitze who became the dominant ruling lineage of the Quichés centered at their capital at Cumarcah; the Nihaib (or Nim Haib—Great Houses), descendents of Balam Acab who settled the area of Momostenango; and the Ahau Quichés (Lord Quichés), descendents of Mahucutah. The *Popol Vuh* does not mention any descendents for the last progenitor, Iqui Balam, although a fourth lineage group of Nima Quichés, the Zaquic, is sometimes mentioned. Their founding ancestor is not named in the *Popol Vuh* text.

[508] *Chinamit*. This is a Nahua-derived word meaning literally "fence," although it is used to in the Maya highlands as "lineage, family, tribe, or confraternity" (Campbell 1970, 3).

grandfathers and their fathers were not forgotten—they who multiplied and proliferated there in the East.

The Tamub and the Ilocab came as well, along with the thirteen allied nations, the thirteen houses:[509] The Rabinals,[510] the Cakchiquels,[511] and the Ah Tziquinahas;[512] as well as the Zacahs[513] and the Lamacs,[514] the Cumatz[515] and the Tuhalhas,[516] the

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[509] *Tecpan*. This is a Nahua term meaning "house," or "royal palace" (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 233 n. 191). Metaphorically it may also refer to a noble or royal line, as well as the town in which it resides. The remaining groups are non-Quichés, but related highland Maya groups. The principal alliance consisted of four groups—the Quichés, Rabinals, Cakchiquels, and Ah Tziquinahas. The Rabinals live in the area surrounding the modern town of Rabinal.

[510] *Rab'inal.* Akkeren (2000, 248; cf. Campbell 1983, 82) translates the name of this lineage as "Place of the Lord's Daughter," based on the Kekchi *rab'in* (daughter of male/princess) and *-al* (place of). Their principal center of occupation was in the area around present-day Rabinal.

[511] At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Cakchiquels were centered at their capital city of Iximche'. The Tlaxcalan allies of the Spaniards called this citadel *Quauhtemallan*, from which the present-day name of the country, Guatemala, is derived.

[512] *Aj Tz'ikina Ja* (They of the Bird House) was the dominant lineage of the people today known as the Tzutuhils, who occupied the land from the southern shores of Lake Atitlán south to the cacao-growing land of the Pacific Coast. Their capital was Chiya' (now called Chutinamit), located on a small hill at the base of San Pedro Volcano just across the bay to the northwest of the modern community of Santiago Atitlán. The group was likely composed of two separate lineage groups (the *Ah Tziquinahas* and the *Tzutuhils*), which were at times openly hostile to one another (Orellana 1984, 81; Carlsen 1997, 75). The authors of the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* stated that the Tzutuhils succeeded in temporarily expelling the Ah Tziquinahas from their citadel south of Lake Atitlán in 1521 (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 117).

[513] *Saq Aj* (White Ear of Unripe Maize).

[514] The Lamacs, like the Cumatz with whom they are paired in this passage, apparently settled the area of present-day Sacapulas (Recinos 1950, 171 n. 6; Fox 1978, 76). There is a site known as Lamak-Zacapulas approximately five leagues north of Sacapulas (Villacorta and Villacorta 1930, 94; Fox 1978, 90).

[515] *Kumatz* (Serpent). The Cumatz also settled near the present-day town of Sacapulas (Recinos 1950, 171 n. 6). The Cumatz settlement may be the site of Chutixtiox, located on a hill at the center of the Sacapulas basin approximately three kilometers west of the modern town of Sacapulas (Fox 1978, 71-77). The Cumatz were subjugated by the Quichés early in the fifteenth century as part of Lord Quicab's campaign of expansion (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 93; Recinos 1957, 141).

[516] The *Tujal Ja* (Sweatbath House) occupied the area surrounding the modern community of Sacapulas (Recinos 1950, 171 n. 6; Fox 1978, 76). Fox suggests that the settlement of this lineage may be identified with the ruins of Chutinamit, located just across the river and north of present-day Sacapulas, which once controlled the valuable salt springs nearby (Fox 1978, 81). The Tujalhas were conquered by Lord Quicab in the early fifteenth century at the same time as the rest of the Sacapulas Valley (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 93; 1957, 141-143; Carmack 1973, 369-371).

Uchabahas[517] and the Ah Chumilahas,[518] along with the Ah Quibahas[519] and the Ah Batenahas,[520] the Acul Vinacs[521] and the Balamihas,[522] the Can Chahels[523] and the Balam Colobs.[524]

Of these we shall speak only of the nations that became great among the allied nations. They who became great we shall declare.[525] There were many others that came out of the citadel after them, each one of them a division. We have not written their names, but they also multiplied there in the East. Many people arrived in darkness in the days of their increase, for the sun was yet to be born. There was no light in the days of their increase. They were all as one, crowded together as they walked there in the East. There was no one to provide for their sustenance. They would merely lift up their faces to the sky, for they did not know where to go.

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[517] *U Ch'ab'a Ja*. The name of this lineage could be "House of Arrows" (based on *ch'ab'*), or "House of Speech" (based on *ch'ab'al*). These also settled somewhere in the Sacapulas valley (Recinos 1950, 171 n. 6). Fox suggests that their principle settlement was the site of Pacot, approximately nine kilometers west of Sacapulas at the far edge of the Sacapulas Valley (Fox 1978, 84-87).

[518] *Aj Ch'umila Ja* (They of the Star House).

[519] *Aj Q'ib'a Ja* ("They of the Clever House). *Q'ib'* is "sharp, clever, student."

[520] *Aj B'atena Ja* (They of the Ballgame Yoke House).

[521] *Akul Winaq* (Acul People).

[522] *B'alami Ja* (Jaguar House). This lineage is clearly identified as the inhabitants of Aguacatán in a 1739 land-dispute document (Carmack 1978, 207). Their principal Precolumbian settlement was Tenam, located approximately three kilometers east of Aguacatán (Fox 1978, 101-107). This area was conquered by Lord Quicab at the same time as his campaign in and around Sacapulas (Carmack 1953b, 188; 1957, 145).

[523] *Kan Chajeleb'* (War Captive Guardians).

[524] *B'alam Kolob'* (Jaguar Rope).

[525] It is important to remember that the *Popol Vuh* was written by representatives of the Nima Quiché nobility and there was little attempt at objective "history" in the modern sense. The authors' purpose in compiling this record is, at least in part, to bolster the legitimacy and traditions of their own lineages, often at the expense of their neighboring rivals.

This they did for a long time there among the magueys; among the black people and the white people, the people of many appearances and many tongues.[526] They were destitute in their existence at the edge of the sky's foundation. And there were mountain people. They were hidden, and without homes. Only among the small mountains and the great mountains did they go. It is as if they were lacking in direction,[527] as they used to say. It is said that in those days they quarreled with the mountain people.

There they looked for the coming forth of the sun, when they had one common language. They did not yet call upon wood or stone.[528] They remembered the word of the Framer and the Shaper, of Heart of Sky and Heart of Earth, it was said. They would merely plead for their heartening, their sowing and their dawning.[529] These were people of esteemed words, of esteem, of honor, and of respect.[530] They would lift up their faces to the sky as they pleaded for their daughters and their sons:

"Alas, you, Framer, and you, Shaper: Behold us! Hear us! Do not abandon us. Do not allow us to be overthrown.[531] You are the god in the sky and on the earth, you, Heart

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[526] I take this passage to mean that the area in which the progenitors lived was cosmopolitan, with diverse ethnic and language groups. It is unlikely that this is a description of the Quichés themselves because in the next section they describe themselves as being unified, with a common language.

[527] *Ch'u'j* refers to someone who is "wayward, erratic, insane, or mad."

[528] As described later in the text, the gods did not manifest themselves as wooden or stone images until after the first dawn (pp. 229-230; lines 6137-6140).

[529] This triplet recalls the purpose of the creation in which the creator deities were described as "hearteners" or "they who remember" (p. 66 n.44; lines 83-85), providing the foundation for the ultimate "sowing" and "dawning" of mankind (p. 71; lines 196-197).

[530] In the creation account, the gods hoped to be able to provide people on the earth who would "honor and respect" them (p. 78; lines 454-455). This is another indication that the progenitors fulfilled the requirements set forth by the gods that successful people should have the capacity to worship them in an appropriate manner. "Honor and Respect" were also the names given to the ballcourt of Hun Hunahpu (p. 119; lines 1969-1972).

[531] *Pisk'alij* is "to turn inside out" (Basseta).

of Sky, Heart of Earth. May our sign, our word,[532] be given for as long as there is sun and light.[533] Then may it be sown, may it dawn. May there be true life-giving[534] roads and pathways. Give us steadfast light that our nation be made steadfast. May the light be favorable that our nation may be favored. May our lives be favored so that all creation[535] may be favored as well. Give this to us, you, Huracan, Youngest Thunderbolt, and Sudden Thunderbolt,[536] Youngest Nanavac and Sudden Nanavac,[537] Falcon[538] and Hunahpu,[539] Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent,[540] She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons,[541] Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, Grandmother of Day and Grandmother of Light.[542] Then may it be sown. Then may it dawn," they said.

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[532] *Etal* (sign) and *tzijel* (word, as well as the act of lighting a candle or torch) when paired together refer to the posterity of children and grandchildren (Coto).

[533] This is a common Quiché expression for "eternity" or "forever."

[534] *Raxal*. Literally "greenness" in the sense of being invigorating, refreshing, or life-giving.

[535] *Winaqirem* may refer to "humanity," but it is also the name given to "creation" itself, including the mountains, rivers, and animals. On pp. 65-66 (lines 80-81), it is paired with "life" as the ultimate goal of deity.

[536] These three deities combined are referred to as "Heart of Sky" (see p. 70; lines 183-189).

[537] The name is likely derived from the Nahua *a* (water), and *nawak* (near, close), giving the reading of "close to water" (Campbell 1983, 84). Schultze-Jena identified Nanavac with the Mexican god Nanahuac/Nanahuatzin, a lightning deity who opened a cleft in the sacred mountain Tonacatepetl (Mountain of our Sustenance) to reveal maize (1944, 187; León-Portilla 1980, 142-143; Edmonson 1971, 5188-5192; D. Tedlock 1996, 294). This mountain is analogous to the mountain Paxil, wherein was discovered the maize that would become the flesh of the first humans (pp. 193-194; lines 4862-4881). Nanahuac was also the name of the ugly god who threw himself into the divine fire at Teotihuacan in order to be transformed into the fifth sun, or the sun of this present age. In this latter role, he was closely related to Quetzalcoatl (León-Portilla 1963, 43-44; 1980, 143 n. 86; Akkeren 2000, 162, 333; Townsend 2000, 128-129).

[538] This is likely a reference to the falcon deity, a messenger from Heart of Sky, that watched over One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu at their ballcourt (see p. 114; lines 1786-1796).

[539] One of the Hero Twins, brother of Xbalanque.

[540] Two of the creator deities (see pp. 61, 68-70; lines 24-25, 139-154).

Then they fasted and cried out in prayer. They fixed their eyes firmly on their dawn, looking there to the East. They watched closely for the Morning Star,[543] the Great Star that gives its light at the birth of the sun. They looked to the womb of the sky and the womb of the earth, to the pathways of framed and shaped people.

Then spoke Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam:

"We shall surely await the dawn," they said.

They were great sages and wise men,[544] bloodletters and honorers, as they are called. There did not exist then wood or stone to watch over our first mothers and fathers. They were therefore weary in their hearts as they awaited the dawn.

There were many nations then, there with the Yaqui people,[545] the bloodletters and sacrificers.

"Let us go and search, to look for one who may protect us. We may find one before whom we may speak. For here we only feign existence and there is not a guardian for us," said therefore Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

They heard news of a citadel and there they went.

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[541] Titles for the ancestor couple, Xmucane and Xpiyacoc (see p. 200; lines 5107-5110). They are arranged in reverse order, or as a chiasm, with the names of the grandparent deities that follow.

[542] These are titles for the grandmother goddess Xmucane (see pp. 79-80; lines 508-517).

[543] *Ik'oq'ij* (passes before sun) is the planet Venus as morning star.

[544] *Eta'manel* (sage) is one who understands or knows by means of thinking; *na'onel* (wise person, knower) is one who knows by means of the senses. We might use the terms "thinking" and "sensing," but for the Quichés these are both related aspects of "to know."

[545] *Yaqui* is the Quiché name for the inhabitants of ancient Mexico.

THE ARRIVAL AT TULAN[546]

THIS, then, is the name of the mountain that they went to. Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam, along with the Tamub and the Ilocab, arrived at Tulan[547] Zuyva.[548] Seven Caves and Seven Canyons[549] was the name of the citadel. There they arrived to obtain their gods.

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[546] lines 5361-5374

[547] *Tulan* (Nahua *Tullan* or *Tollan*: "Place of Cattail Reeds"). In the Quiché language, *tulan* is a "palace, or manor-house" (Basseta), while *tolan* is a city or house that has been abandoned, perhaps referring to the ruins of once great cities that dot the region and that belong to the legendary ancestors of the Maya people. In Aztec theology, Tollan was a mythic place located near Coatepec (Snake Mountain) where the ancestors of the Mexica received their patron god Huitzilopochtli. In this myth, Tollan was inhabited by the Toltecs, great sages who invented the sciences of astronomy, calendrics, agriculture, and medicine, as well as the arts of writing, painting, sculpture, metalwork, jade carving, and weaving (see footnote 102). Throughout Mesoamerica in the late Postclassic era (ca. 1200-1524), the legendary Toltecs were the bearers of political legitimacy. The Aztecs used the name *Tollan* to refer to their own legendary place of origin, as well as a general term for "city." Thus *Tollan* was an alternative name for the ancient Aztec capital city Tenochtitlan, as well as Tula in Hidalgo, Teotihuacan, Cholula, and Chichen Itza (Schele and Mathews 1998, 38-39; Akkeren 2000, 62, 88). The Tulan mentioned here was likely either Chichen Itza, a major center of power during the Terminal Classic (800-900) and Early Postclassic (900-1200) periods, or its successor Mayapan (Recinos 1950, 63-69; Recinos and Goetz 1953, 65 n; Fox 1978, 1-2, 119-121; Carmack 1981, 46-48). Both would have been "across the sea" (the Gulf of Mexico) with respect to the Guatemalan highlands as described in the Popol Vuh (see pp. 221, 255-256, 259).

[548] *Suywa* (Nahua: "Bloody Water"; Yucatec: "Confusion"). *Suy*, in lowland Maya languages, is a "whirlpool," or something twisted. *Suywa* is "confusion," and *suywa t'an* is "figurative or rhetorical language." In the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, the "language of Suywa" refers to a series of riddles and plays on words that only true lords are able to solve to prove their legitimacy (Roys 1967, 88-98). In Nahua, *Zuyua* is "Bloody Water," a reading that is specifically recognized elsewhere in the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Edmonson 1986, 172 lines 3580-3582). The *Annals of the Cakchiquels* agrees with the *Popol Vuh* in locating this area with the "Tulan in the East" (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 53). In the Yucatec Maya *Books of Chilam Balam*, Zuyua is identified with Xicalanco, an ancient port city on the shores of the Laguna de Términos in the Mexican state of Tabasco (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 53, 216; Campbell 1970, 7; Carmack 1981, 46).

[549] The equivalent in Central Mexican mythology is Chicomoztoc (Seven Caves), the legendary origin place of the Early Postclassic Toltecs and the many Nahua groups who claim Toltec ancestry (Davies 1977, 35-37; Tezozomoc 1975, 14-15; Torquemada 1969, I.xiv.36-38). In all likelihood the Seven Caves legend predates the Toltec era. Beneath the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan is a partially-artificial cave consisting of a central tunnel and six branches that represents in physical form the ancient place of origin (Heyden 1975, 1981; Taube 1986; Millon 1993, 20-22).

THE PROGENITORS RECEIVE THEIR GODS[550]

THEY arrived there at Tulan, all of them. Innumerable people they were when they arrived. They walked in crowds when the gods came out to them in succession. First among them were Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam, who rejoiced:

"We have found that for which we have searched," they said.

The god named Tohil[551] went out first, carried in his pack frame by Balam Quitze.

Then went out the god named Auilix,[552] carried by Balam Acab.

Next was Hacavitz,[553] the name of the god received by Mahucutah.

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[550] lines 5375-5413

[551] *Tojil.* In the Quiché language, *tojil* refers to a "payment, debt, obligation, or tribute." This is consistent with this god's demand for tribute and sacrifice. Toj is one of the named days in the highland Maya calendar. During divination ceremonies the day Toj implies the need to pay a debt in a metaphoric sense. Barbara Tedlock notes that if a divination falls on the day Toj, this "indicates that one owes (*tojonic*) in the customs of the Mundo [Spanish "World"] or the ancestors, and by extension one may owe a favor, work, or money to another person. If the client is ill, this means that the pain (*c'äx*) is a punishment for this debt; the only way to cure it is to pay (*tojonic*) the Mundo, ancestors, or creditor what is owed, plus a penalty for the neglect" (B. Tedlock 1982, 115). Another possible derivation of the word is from Mixe-Zoque. In that language, *toh-mel* refers to "thunder" (Campbell 1983, 83). In the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the Quichés are called "thunderers" because they worship this god, supporting this latter reading:

> Then we asked: "Where is your salvation?" Thus we said to the Quichés. "Since it thunders and resounds in the sky, in the sky is our salvation," they said. Wherefore they were given the name of *Tohohils* (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 58).

[552] *Awilix.* In the Quiché language, this would read "you are watched over/cared for/commissioned." Throughout the text, the Quichés promise to watch over and care for their gods, providing them with offerings, sustenance, and worship (p. 290; lines 8344-8346, 8379-8388). Tedlock suggests that it may be derived from the Kekchi, *kwilix/wilix*, "swallow" (the bird) and reads the full name as Lord Swallow (D. Tedlock 1996, 297 n. 152). More recently, Akkeren (personal communication) has suggested that the Nihaib lineage originally came from the Pico de Orizaba area, known anciently by its Nahua name Awilizapan. It is possible that Awilix, the patron deity of the Nihaib derived the name of their god from this region and its principle mountain which bore the same name.

[553] *Jakawitz. Witz* is the lowland Maya word for "mountain." In the *Título Yax* (Carmack and Mondloch 1989, folio 2r, 107 n. 135), which is far more consistent in their use of the modified Latin alphabet developed by Father Francisco de la Parra in the sixteenth century and used by scribes throughout highland Guatemala, the name of this deity is *Q'aq'awitz* (Fire Mountain). This suggests that Hacavitz, like Tohil, is primarily a fire deity. This reading is also consistent with the description of his mountain, *nima q'aq' ja* (great fire house) (see p. 224; line 5905). Another support for this reading is that xq*'aqwitz* means "yellow

Nicacah Tacah[554] was the name of the god received by Iqui Balam.

Together with the Quiché people, the Tamub also received Tohil. This is the name of the god received by the grandfathers and fathers of the Tamub, as these lords are known today.

Third, then, were the Ilocab: Tohil was also the name of the god received by the grandfathers and fathers of the Ilocab, as these lords are known today.

THE PROGENITORS LEAVE TULAN[555]

THUS was the naming of the three Quichés. But in this they freed themselves because it was the same god's name, Tohil Quiché, for all of them. It was Tohil for the Tamub as well as for the Ilocab. There was only one name for god among them. Therefore the three groups of Quichés were not divided.

Three were they who were truly great in their nature: Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz.

Then all the nations entered therein—the Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and the Ah Tziquinahas, along with the Yaqui people, as they are called today. It was there that the languages of the nations were changed. Their languages came to be different. They did not hear each other clearly when they came from Tulan, thus they split apart.

They came in crowds from the East. They were alike in the hides that they wore as coverings, for their dress was very poor. They had nothing of their own, but they were

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wasp" in Mam (Akkeren 2000, 173-174), and the wasp is one of the principle symbols of this god and the lineage of Mahucutah (see p. 245; lines 6783-6787). Alternatively, the authors of the *Título Totonicapán* write the name as *Jaq'awitz* (Lying Down/Recumbent Mountain).

[554] *Nik'akaj Taq'aj* (Center/Middle Plain/Valley). Because Iqui Balam failed to produce offspring, and thus a nation of descendents, this god does not appear again in the *Popol Vuh* account. The gods of the progenitors are listed as a trinity (Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz) subsequent to this passage.

[555] lines 5414-5485

enchanted people in their essence when they came from Tulan Zuyva, the Seven Caves and the Seven Canyons, as they are called in the ancient account.

They did not have fire, only Tohil. This was the god of the nations when fire was first created. It was not clear how it was created, for the fire was already burning when Balam Quitze and Balam Acab saw it.

"Alas, fire has not come to be ours. We shall die of cold," they said.

Then Tohil spoke:

"Do not mourn. The fire shall be yours again should you lose it. I have spoken," Tohil said to them.

"Are you not truly god? You are our provider and strengthener. You are our god." they said when they gave thanks.

And Tohil replied:

"Very well, I am truly your god. Then be it so. I am your lord. Then be it so," the bloodletters and sacrificers were told by Tohil.

This therefore was the glory[556] of the nations, and they rejoiced because of their fire.

THE NATIONS ASK FOR THEIR FIRE[557]

THEN it began to rain while the fire of the nations[558] burned brightly. Hail fell thickly on the heads of all the nations and their fire went out because of the hail. Thus

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[556] *Q'aq'al*, derived from *q'aq'* (flame), means "glory, majesty, power." This incident with the fire thus has far greater implications than simple comfort. It refers to the divine source of power for the Quiché people. Offerings made by contemporary Quiché *aj q'ij* priests are generally burned, transforming them into smoke that rises into the sky and is suitable for reception by divinity.

[557] lines 5486-5601

their fire came to nought. Then Balam Quitze and Balam Acab pleaded again for their fire:

"O Tohil, truly the cold has finished us," they said to Tohil.

"Very well. Do not mourn," said Tohil.

Then he brought forth fire. He twist drilled[559] inside his shoe. Thus Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam rejoiced as they warmed themselves.

But the fire of the nations was extinguished and the cold had nearly finished them. Thus they came to plead for fire from Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. They could no longer bear it because of the cold and the hail. They shuddered and trembled. There was no life in them because of the shivering of their legs and their arms. Neither could they hold on to anything when they arrived:

"Truly we are not ashamed to come before you to ask for just a little bit of your fire," they said when they arrived.

But they were not welcomed, and the nations cursed in their hearts. For now the language of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam was different.

"Alas, is our language now abandoned? What have we done? We are lost. Where were we deceived? We had but one language when we came from Tulan. We had but one

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[558] At this point the text refers to the *Amaq'* (Nations) as a distinct entity from the Nima Quiché lineages consisting of an alliance of groups who become the enemies of the Quichés. These are likely a general term for the Poqom and Kekchi speakers of the Verapaz region (Recinos 1950, 171 n. 6; Akkeren 2000, 137), and perhaps the Mam speakers further west who had dominated the Guatemalan highlands prior to the rise of the Quichés. In the *Título Totonicapán*, they are called the *Vucamag* (Seven Nations/Tribes).

[559] An ancient means of starting new fire, by spinning a wooden stick or drill on a hard wooden surface in order to produce sufficient heat to ignite kindling.

origin[560] and creation. It is not good what we have done," said all the nations beneath the trees and beneath the bushes.

Then a person[561] revealed himself before Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. This messenger from Xibalba said to them:

"Truly Tohil is your god. He is your provider. He is also the substitute and remembrance of your Framer and your Shaper. Do not give, therefore, fire to the nations unless they first give something to Tohil in return. It is not to you that they shall give. Rather your desire must be to go before Tohil. Ask him what they shall give in return for the fire," said the person from Xibalba. He had wings like the wings of a bat. "I am a messenger from your Framer and your Shaper," said the person from Xibalba.

Thus they rejoiced. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz became great in their hearts when the person from Xibalba spoke to them. Then suddenly he disappeared before their faces, although he was not destroyed.

Then the nations arrived. The cold had nearly finished them. It was thick with hail, with dark storms, and with hoar frost. The cold was too much to be conceived. All the nations covered themselves up, bending over, and crawling on their hands and knees because of the cold when they arrived before Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. They were greatly troubled[562] in their hearts. Sorrowful were their mouths and their faces.

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[560] Literally "germination."

[561] Father Ximénez, who transcribed the *Popol Vuh* manuscript, inserted at this point his only commentary anywhere in the text: *Demonium loquens cis* (Latin: "Demon speaking from here on").

[562] *Q'atat* is "preoccupied, afflicted, troubled."

THE NATIONS ARE DECEIVED INTO OFFERING THEMSELVES[563]

THUS they arrived as thieves before the faces of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

"Truly, will you not take pity on us? We shall only ask for a small bit of your fire. Has it not been discovered? Has it not been found? Were we not of the same home? We were of the same mountain when you were framed and when you were shaped. Take pity therefore on us,"[564] they said.

"What then will you give to us if we were to take pity on you?" they asked.

"Very well then, we will give precious metal to you," the nations replied.

"We do not want precious metal," said Balam Quitze and Balam Acab.

"What then do you truly want? We plead of you," said therefore the nations.

"Very well, we will first inquire of Tohil, then we shall tell you," they were told.

Then they asked Tohil:

"What are the nations to give, O Tohil?" asked Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. "They have come to ask for your fire."

"Very well then. This is what you will say: 'Do they not want to give the breast[565] beneath their shoulders and their armpits? Do they not desire in their hearts to embrace me—I, Tohil? If they do not want this, then I will not give to them their fire, says Tohil,' you will say to them. 'It will have a beginning, but it will not be today that they will give

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[563] lines 5602-5774

[564] Literally "pity then our faces."

[565] This deception is based on a play on words that also works in English. The verb here is *tu'nik* (to give breast, to suckle, to nurture). On one level, the nations thought they had agreed to support or nurture the progenitors, which might logically be interpreted as a regular tribute of food and other necessities. As will soon become apparent, however, Tohil meant this much more literally in the sense that the nations were to offer their breasts/chests in the form of sacrifice by heart extraction.

the breast below their shoulders and their armpits, he says to you.' This is what you will say." This is what Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam were told.

Thus they spoke the word of Tohil to the nations.

"Very well then. The breast shall be given. It is good that we are to embrace him," they replied.

In this way they responded, accepting the word of Tohil. Thus they were never again to increase. "Fine," they said straightaway.

Thus they received fire and they were warmed. There was only one group that stole away the fire from within the smoke. This was the Zotzilaha.[566] Chamal Can[567] is the name of the god of the Cakchiquels. His image was merely that of a bat. They passed by in the smoke, moving stealthily as they passed. Thus when they arrived to take the fire, the Cakchiquels did not ask for it. They did not give themselves up in defeat as all the nations had done who were defeated.[568]

Thus the nations gave their breasts beneath their shoulders and beneath their armpits. This, then, was the breast-giving spoken of by Tohil—all the nations were to be sacrificed before him. Their hearts were to be carved out from beneath their shoulders and armpits. This thing had not heretofore been attempted. Thus Tohil foresaw the seizure of glory and majesty by Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

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[566] *Sotz'ila Ja* (Bat House), one of the principal lineages of the Cakchiquels.

[567] Tedlock suggests that this name should be interpreted as "Snake Tooth," derived from lowland Maya Cholan or Yucatec languages: *Cha'am* (molar) and *Kan* (snake) (D. Tedlock 1996, 300 n. 156).

[568] This incident may have been included in the text in part to explain the independence and, from the Quiché viewpoint, treachery of the Cakchiquels who rebelled against the Quichés in the time of Lord Quicab. Subsequent to this rebellion, the Quichés were in a state of nearly constant warfare with the Cakchiquels, their former allies (p. 278; lines 7975-7987; Recinos and Goetz 1953, 94-118). The Cakchiquels garnered further animosity by allying themselves with the invading Spaniards under Pedro de Alvarado against the Quichés and other highland Maya groups in 1524 (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 119-121).

Now when they came from Tulan Zuyva, they did not eat. They fasted continuously. Yet they fixed their eyes on the dawn, looking steadfastly for the coming forth of the sun. They occupied themselves in looking for the Great Star, called Icoquih,[569] which appears first before the birth of the sun. The face of this Green Morning Star[570] always appears at the coming forth of the sun.

When they were there at the place called Tulan Zuyva, their gods came to them. But it was surely not then that they received their ultimate glory or their lordship. Rather it was where the great nations and the small nations were conquered and humiliated when they were sacrificed before the face of Tohil. They gave their blood, which flowed from the shoulders and the armpits of all the people.

Straightaway at Tulan came the glory and the great knowledge that was theirs. It was in the darkness, in the night as well, that they accomplished it. Thus they came. They were pulled up like weeds as they came out from there, leaving the East behind.

"This is not our home. Surely let us go to see where we shall begin,"[571] said Tohil. He truly spoke to Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. "You shall

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[569] *Ik'oq'ij* (Accompanies/Bears/Passes Before Sun). This is the planet Venus as morning star. Las Casas wrote that "after the sun, which they held as their principal god, they honored and worshiped a certain star (I could not learn which star this was) more than any other denizen of the heavens or earth, because they held it as certain that their god, *Quezalcóvatl*, the highest god of the Cholulans, when he died transformed into this star" (Las Casas 1967, III, clxxiv, p. 201). Las Casas further noted that the Indians awaited the appearance of this star in the East each day, and that when it appeared their priests offered "many sacrifices and ceremonies," including incense and their own blood (Ibid.). Although Las Casas could not identify which star this was, native Mesoamerican sources identify the Feathered Serpent deity Quetzalcoatl with Venus (Roys 1967, 159 n. 7; Nicholson 2001, 16, 47, 251-252).

[570] *Raxa Ik'oq'ij*. *Rax* is "green, new, fresh, sudden, regenerated, revived." It is unclear whether this refers to the green color of the planet Venus, or whether it refers to the life-generating power of the Morning Star to assist in the birth of the sun.

[571] *Kojtike'* (we plant, we begin).

first give thanks. You shall carry out your responsibilities first by piercing[572] your ears. You shall prick[573] your elbows. This shall be your petition, your way of giving thanks before the face of god."

"Very well," they said.

Then they pierced their ears. They wept as they sang of their coming from Tulan. They wept within their hearts as they came, weeping for Tulan:

"Alas, it is not here that we shall see the dawn, when the sun will be born to illuminate the face of the earth," they said as they came.

They merely stayed on the road. The people of each of the nations remained sleeping and resting together on the road. Yet always they looked for the star, the sign of the sun, the sign of the dawn in their hearts when they came from the East. They were truly united[574] as they made their journey here, passing through Honor and Respect,[575] as it is said today.

THE PEOPLE GATHER ON THE MOUNTAIN CHI PIXAB[576]

THEN they arrived atop a mountain. All the Quiché people gathered together, along with the nations. There they all came and counseled one with another. The

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[572] *Jutik* in modern usage is "to insert or pierce," such as a thread through the eye of a needle, or a string through a series of beads.

[573] *T'is* is "to pierce with a needle," such as a piece of cloth while sewing.

[574] Literally "same face."

[575] This is the place where Hun Hunahpu and his sons played ball (see p. 119; lines 1969-1972). Thus the origin of the progenitors is defined as the homeland of the patron heroes described in the first half of the *Popol Vuh* text.

[576] lines 5775-5796

mountain today is called Chi Pixab.[577] This is the name of the mountain. Here they gathered together and here they gave to one another their names:

"I am this: I am a Quiché person."

"You, then, are this: Tamub your name shall come to be," the Tamub were told.

Then the Ilocab were addressed:

"You are Ilocab. This is the name that shall come to be yours. We, the three Quichés, will not be lost, for our word is one," they said when their names were given.

THEIR SUFFERING ON THE MOUNTAIN CHI PIXAB[578]

Then the Cakchiquels were given their name. Cakchiquels came to be their name. Also Rabinals came to be the name of that people. And Ah Tziquinahas was the name by which that people are known today.

These, then, were the names of they who spoke together. It was there that they came to await the dawn. They would look for the first appearance of the star that precedes the face of the sun when it is born.

"We came from there, but we were split apart," they said among themselves.

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[577] "Place of Counsel or Instruction." Carmack identifies this as a mountain on the border between San Andrés Sajcabaja and San Bartolomé Jocotenango (Carmack 1981, 66). Here the nearby territory was divided between the major lineage groups—the Quichés, Tamub, and Ilocab settled the region to the north, centered on the mountain of Hacavitz; the Ah Tziquinahas (Tz'utuhils) settled the coastlands around Lake Atitlán; the Rabinals chose the mountains of the Rabinal basin to the east. The Cakchiquels at this time served as a lineage of vassal warriors and occupied a band of territory situated between the Quichés and the Ah Tziquinahas, centered on the mountains above Chichicastenango. These mountain redoubts were apparently chosen for their defensive potential.

[578] lines 5797-5870

This is what preoccupied their hearts as they passed through their great afflictions. They did not have food or sustenance. They would only sniff the bottoms of their staffs to feel as if they were eating. But they did not eat when they came.

It was not clear how they passed over the sea to come here. It was as if there were no sea that they had to pass over. They merely passed over on the tops of stones for there were stones on the sand. Thus they named it "Lined Up Stones"; and "Piled up Sand" was also its name. Over these they made their passage here from within the sea. The water divided itself and through it they made their passage here.

They were preoccupied in their hearts when they took counsel together, for they had no food. They would drink only atole[579] made of maize grains which they had borne to the top of the mountain named Chi Pixab. They had carried only Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz. Thus Balam Quitze observed a great fast along with his wife, named Cahapaluna; the same also did Balam Acab with his wife, named Chomiha; along with

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[579] *Uk'* is any kind of drink other than water. In this case the text specifies that it is a drink made from maize, or in other words, an atole. Maize atole is the principal drink offered on ceremonial occasions in contemporary highland Maya society (Bunzel 1952, 45, 233-234; B. Tedlock 1982, 65-66). At Santiago Atitlán, this ceremonial atole is called *maatz'*. Unlike the usual type of maize drink which is made from watered-down corn dough, *maatz'* is made from grain that has been toasted and then ground fine before it is mixed with two handfuls of ash and placed in a boiling pot of water. This procedure, the only time that Atitecos grind maize kernels into dry flour, or allow maize to come into direct contact with fire, matches the Popol Vuh description of the underworld lords grinding the burned bones of Hunahpu and Xbalanque "like finely ground corn flour" (Carlsen 1997, 57-59). Because traditionalist Atitecos believe that the preparation of *maatz'* is fraught with danger, it is carried out under the direction of the Xo', the wife of the head of the confraternity in which it is to be consumed. A confraternity elder blesses her beforehand so that she will not be burned in the process. I was told by a prominent Atiteco that drinking *maatz'* symbolizes victory over "death and the fires of the underworld" (Christenson 2001, 123-124). The resulting mixture is sometimes addressed as mother's milk or sperm, both associated with rebirth and regeneration (Freidel et al. 1993, 180). Although confraternity members frequently share food and drink in an atmosphere of informality sometimes bordering on the raucous, they drink *maatz'* with great solemnity. The highest-ranking confraternity elder present distributes it to those present in order of their rank. As he does so he addressed each by name and title and calls on the patron saint of the confraternity to bless the recipient so that person's feet, knees, heart, arms, head, and thoughts will have power and nothing untoward will happen to the individual during the year. The great Atiteco culture hero Francisco Sojuel is said to have called *maatz'* the true *ruk'ux way* (heart of food) and refused to eat anything else when carrying out important ceremonies (Mendelson 1957, 139).

Mahucutah, who observed a great fast with his wife, named Tzununiha; and also Iqui Balam and Caquixaha, which was the name of his wife. Thus they fasted in the darkness, in the night. Great was their sorrow when they were atop the mountain which is called Chi Pixab today.

Then spoke the gods there.

THE PROGENITORS AWAIT THE FIRST DAWN[580]

THEN spoke Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz to Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam:

"We must go now. We must rise up. For we are not meant to be here. Place us in hiding, for does not the dawn now approach? Would you not be pitiable if we should become the spoils of warriors?[581] Make for us a place that we may be with you, O bloodletters and sacrificers, and place each of us there," they said when they spoke to them.

"Very well. Let us arise and search in the forests,"[582] they all said.

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[580] lines 5871-6043

[581] *Aj lab'al* (warriors) is now the word for "savages" in contemporary Quiché usage.

[582] Las Casas wrote that the Maya were accustomed to keep their deity images in "rugged places, dark and secret caves" in order to keep them in greater reverence by not having them constantly on public display. On special occasions, the images were carried in procession to the temples where they were placed in sanctuaries (Las Casas 1967, III.clxxvii, 216). It is likely that ancient temples themselves were conceived as effigy mountains and that their elevated sanctuaries represented the cave-like homes of the gods (Vogt 1969, 595; Hill 1992, 6, 91; Stone 1995, 27, 35-36; Bassie-Sweet 1996, 111-131; Schele and Mathews 1998, 43, 417). With the destruction of such temples in the Guatemalan highlands at the time of the Spanish conquest, as well as the subsequent evangelization efforts by Christian missionaries, the more obvious public forms of Precolumbian ceremonialism ceased abruptly in most communities. This did not, however, preclude the continued veneration of traditional Maya deities in cave shrines and other remote locales (Bassie-Sweet 1991, 78-79; Peterson 1993, 175-177; Cervantes 1994, 35). Fuentes y Guzmán lamented in the seventeenth century that the innumerable gods that were once worshiped in highland Maya temples and houses were still venerated in mountain caves where they were given offerings of incense and animal sacrifices (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932-33, 44). Thomas Gage discovered one such deity image in 1635 while

Then each of them took his god to be carried on his back. Auilix was taken into a canyon named Hidden Canyon, a great canyon in the forest. Pa Auilix[583] is its name today. There he was left. He was left in the canyon by Balam Acab. He was the first to be left.

Then Hacavitz was left on top of a great fire house.[584] Hacavitz is the name of the mountain today.[585] This they made their citadel, and this was where the god's dwelling

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serving as a priest in Mixco, Guatemala. The image was sequestered in a cave near a spring and a large pine tree:

> When we came to it, we made very little more search, for near at hand was the cave, which was dark within, but light at the mouth. We found there more earthenware, with ashes in them, which assured us some frankincense had been burned. We knew not how far the cave might reach within, nor what might be in it, and therefore with a flint we struck fire and lighted a couple of candles and went in. At the entrance the cave was broad, and went a little forward, but when we were in, we found it turn on the left hand towards the mountain, and not far, for within two rods we found the idol standing upon a low stool covered with a linen cloth. The substance of it was wood, black shining like jet, as if it had been painted or smoked; the form was of a man's head unto the shoulders, without either beard or mustachios. His look was grim with a wrinkled forehead and broad startling eyes (Gage 1958, 280-281).

The image was surrounded by offerings of money, plaintains and other fruits, candles, pots of maize, honey, and little dishes of incense, the same offerings the Maya gave to the saints' images in the community church. Gage removed the image and publicly destroyed it the following sabbath, to the horror of those who worshiped it. Maya cave rituals remained for centuries a parallel theological system with that of the Roman Catholic church's pantheon of saints and deities and it continues to be an important element of traditional Maya worship in some communities (La Farge 1947, 124-128; Oakes 1951, 7; Vogt 1970, 13; B. Tedlock 1986, 128; Christenson 2001, 78-91).

[583] *Pa Awilix.* "Place of Auilix."

[584] The manuscript reads *hun nima caɛha* (a great fire/red house). This is likely not a proper name because of the initial article *hun* (a, one), which indicates that this is a descriptive phrase. Tedlock suggests that this is a pyramid temple (D. Tedlock 1996, 159). This is a good reading, particularly because the ancient Maya often painted their temples red and considered them to be effigy mountains. I am not wholly convinced, however, that this wasn't a true mountain, or in this case a volcano (fiery mountain) as the authors suggest that it existed in their day as a recognized and named mountain place, identified in the same way as the mountains of the other two gods, Tohil and Auilix. Carmack and Fox identify this mountain with the site of Chitinamit, a fortified settlement located on a high hill at the western edge of the Chujuyup Valley overlooking the Queca River (Fox 1978, 57-58; Carmack 1981, 65). Although separate hilltop sites, Hacavitz, Pa Tohil, and Pa Auilix are mutually visible from one another. The Chujuyup region is rugged and relatively poor for agriculture, suggesting that it was chosen more for its defensive potential. Akkeren concurs that Pa Tohil and Pa Auilix were located in the Chuyup Valley, however, he suggests that Hacavitz was located south of Chichicastenango (Akkeren 2000, 42).

came to be. Hacavitz it was called. Mahucutah did not leave his god behind, therefore.[586] This was the second god that was hidden by them. It was not in the forest that Hacavitz dwelt, but rather it was on a cleared[587] mountain where Hacavitz was hidden.

Then came Balam Quitze. He arrived there in the great forest to hide Tohil. Pa Tohil[588] is the name of this great mountain today. Then they named the hidden canyon Healing Tohil.[589] It was crowded with snakes as well as jaguars, rattlesnakes and pit vipers. There in the forest they were, hidden by the bloodletters and sacrificers.

They were as one, Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. As one they awaited the dawn there on top of the mountain called Hacavitz.

Nearby was the god of the Tamub, along with the god of the Ilocab. Amac Tan[590] was the name of the place where the god of the Tamub was. There it dawned. Amac

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[585] *Jakawitz* in Cholan languages means "First/Beginning Mountain" tying it to the first mountain of creation. In Quiché, the verb *jaq* means "to open," which may recall the mountain of Paxil (Split Mountain) that contained the maize used to create the first human beings (see pp. 193-194; lines 4862-4939). In the *Título Yax* (Carmack and Mondloch 1989, folio 2r, 107 n. 135), which is far more consistent in their use of the modified Latin alphabet developed by Father Francisco de la Parra in the sixteenth century and used by scribes throughout highland Guatemala, the name of the deity placed on the mountain is *Q'aq'awitz* (Fire Mountain). This suggests that Hacavitz, like Tohil, is primarily a fire deity. This reading is also consistent with the description of his mountain, *nima q'aq' ja* (great fire house).

[586] The god Hacavitz was not left behind, because his sanctuary was located within the settlement of the Quiché people, rather than in the mountains and forests as the other two gods had been.

[587] *Saq*. This may be "white, clear, pure." Although there are a great number of white mountains in the highlands, due to the prevalence of lime deposits in the soil, this is more likely to be read as "cleared or bald," since it has already been described as red in color. The first citadel of the Quichés was built atop this mountain, necessitating the clearing of its trees and undergrowth if it was not deforested already.

[588] "Place of Tohil." This is likely the mountain still known today as Pa Tojil, located on the south side of Chujuyup Valley (Fox 1978, 58; Carmack 1981, 65).

[589] "Healing/Medicine Tohil." Quiché *aj q'ij* priests frequently go to mountain shrines to perform healing ceremonies at specific shrines dedicated to certain deities, or the lords of days of the traditional calendar.

[590] *Amaq' T'an*. *Amaq'* is "nation;" *T'an* is "bald, lacking plumage." Most likely, however, this is an alternate or archaic spelling for the Tamub lineage. Thus the name of the place is simply "Nation of the Tamub." The Tamub lineage has a significant Pokom component, and in that language, Tamub may be read simply as "the descendents" (Akkeren 2000, 125). Carmack identifies this site with a series of ruins known

Uquincat[591] was the name of the place where the Ilocab dawned. The god of the Ilocab was there on a nearby mountain.

There all the Rabinals,[592] the Cakchiquels,[593] and the Ah Tziquinahas,[594] all the small nations and the great nations, arose as one. There was but one dawn. As one they awaited the coming forth of the Great Star, named Icoquih.

"First it will come forth before the face of the sun. Then it shall dawn," they said.

They were as one, Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. They did not sleep. They did not rest. Greatly did they weep in their hearts, in their bowels, for the dawn and for clarity. They came there surely as penitents, in great sorrow and great humility. They trembled because of the afflictions that they had passed through.

"Our coming has not been sweet. Alas! Would that we could behold the birth of the sun. What have we done? We were united in our mountains, but our natures have been changed," they said.

They spoke a great deal among themselves concerning their sorrow, their humility, and their fervent prayers.[595] Thus they spoke, for their hearts had yet to be comforted in the dawn.

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as Cruz Che located along a slope of Telec'uch Mountain west of Hacavitz. The remains of a deity shrine still known by its ancient name, Saqirib'al (Place of Dawn), is located on a peak of the mountain (Carmack, Fox, and Stewart 1975, 66-70; Fox 1978, 57; Carmack 1981, 65).

[591] *Amaq' U Q'in K'at* (Nation Its Frame Net). Carmack suggests that this site was located on a slope of Telec'uch Mountain, separated from *Amaq' T'an* by a river canyon (Carmack 1981, 65).

[592] The Rabinals in this era settled the mountains above Joyabaj.

[593] At this phase of their history, the Cakchiquels occupied the mountain region above the present-day town of Chichicastenango.

[594] It is likely that this lineage had already begun to settle the southern shores of Lake Atitlán, which would remain the center of their territory into modern times.

But these, the gods, were comforted in the canyons and the forests. They were placed in bromelia flowers and hanging moss[596] rather than on altars.[597] Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz spoke from the first. Great was their day, their breath, and their spirit, above all the gods of the nations. Manifold were their spirit essences, their pathways, and their victorious means of chilling and frightening the very existence and hearts of the nations.

Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam gave comfort to the gods. They were not unhappy, nor did they bear ill will in their hearts for the gods that they had carried. These they had carried when they came from Tulan Zuyva, there in the East. But they were in the forest. There was the place of dawning on Pa Tohil, Pa Auilix, and Pa Hacavitz, as they are called today. It was there that our grandfathers and fathers were sown, when they dawned.

Now we shall tell of the dawning and the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST DAWN[598]

THIS therefore is the dawn,[599] the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars.

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[595] Literally "weeping and crying out." This is a standard couplet used by contemporary Quichés to refer to ritual prayer.

[596] *Atz'iaq* (hanging moss/Spanish moss). An epiphytic plant (*Tillandsia usneoides*) that forms long grayish green filaments that hang from trees in tropical environments. It is in the same family of plants as the bromeliads.

[597] *Tz'alam* (Flat boards, flat stones). Most highland Maya altars constructed in the mountains consist of slabs of flat stones arranged into a table-like form, or alternatively, wooden tables.

[598] lines 6044-6289

[599] Throughout Mesoamerica the first dawn of the sun is a symbol, not only for the birth of a new age, but for the divine sanction of power to a lineage or allied group (León-Portilla 1969, 30-31; Akkeren 2000, 164).

GREATLY they rejoiced, Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam, when they saw the Morning Star. It came forth glittering before the face of the sun.

Then they unwrapped their copal incense, for the sun was to come forth. They unwrapped it with victory in their hearts. There were three types of incense that they burned as a means of expressing the gratitude in their hearts:

Mixtam[600] Incense was the name of the copal incense carried by Balam Quitze.

Caviztan Incense was the name of the copal incense carried by Balam Acab.

And Cabavil[601] Incense, as it is called, was carried by Mahucutah.

These three were the copal incenses that they burned, waving their censers toward the rising sun. They wept bitterly as they waved their censers, burning the sacred copal incense before they saw and witnessed the birth of the sun.

And when the sun came forth, all the small animals and great animals rejoiced. They came up from the rivers and from the canyons. They were there on the mountain peak. As one they turned their faces toward the coming forth of the sun. Then the pumas and the jaguars cried out. The first bird to sing was the parrot, as it is called. All the animals truly rejoiced. The eagles and the white vultures, all the small and great birds, spread their wings.

The bloodletters and sacrificers were kneeling. They greatly rejoiced along with the bloodletters and sacrificers of the Tamub and the Ilocab, along with the Rabinals and

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[600] Campbell (1981) derives *Mixtam* from the Nahua *mixtan* (Place of Clouds); Carmack and Mondloch (1983, 232 n. 187) cite Domingo de Vico, who wrote that *mictan ajaw* was a "demon," although this description was undoubtedly colored by Father Vico's Roman Catholic bias. Edmonson derived *mixtam* from *mictlan*, Nahua for the underworld.

[601] *K'ab'awil* (god, divine). Classes of copal incense called *K'ab'awil* and *Mixtam* are still sold in Chichicastenango (Schultze-Jena 1954, 91).

the Cakchiquels, the Ah Tziquinahas and the Tuhalhas, the Uchabahas and the Quibahas, the Ah Batenas and the Yaqui Tepeus. However many nations there are today, innumerable people, they all had but one dawn.

Then also the face of the earth was dried by the sun. Like a person was the sun when he revealed himself. Hot was his face and thus he dried the surface of the earth. Before the sun had come forth the face of the earth was wet; it was soggy prior to the coming forth of the sun. But when the sun ascended upward, he was like a person. His heat could not be endured. This was but his self-revelation when he was born. What is left is but a mirror. What appears now is not the true sun, according to their account.

Then straightaway Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz became stone, along with the sacred images of the puma and the jaguar, the rattlesnake and the pit viper. Zaqui Coxol[602] took them and hid himself in the trees. When the sun, moon, and stars appeared,

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[602] *Saqi K'oxol* (white/noisy/lively person). According to Basseta, this is the name given to any frightening spirit or phantasm, but specifically the *duende*, a dwarf-like denizen of the mountains and forests that the highland Maya believed to be the guardian of animals and messenger of the earth deity. Coto identifies him as a phantasm associated with mountains: "The *duende* who walks in the mountains they call: ru vinakil che [the person/personification/manifestation of tree], or çaki qoxol" (Coto 1983, 355-356). In the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, he appears as a spirit within the Volcano of Fuego:

> Afterwards they left there, they left Chiyol and Chiabak, and twice they traveled their road, passing between the volcanoes which stand abreast, those of *Fuego* [Fire] and *Hunahpu*. There they met face to face the spirit of the Volcano of Fire, he who is called *Zaquicoxol*. "Verily, the Zaquicoxol has killed many, and it is surely terrifying to see this thief," they said. There, in the center of the Volcano of Fuego was the guardian of the road by which they arrived and which had been made by Zaquicoxol (Recinos and Goetz 1953b, 61).

Stories about *Saqi K'oxol* are common in highland Guatemala today as well, where he is described as a mountain spirit. At times he can be merely mischievous, playing tricks on people for his own entertainment. He can also be quite dangerous or deadly if proper respect is not shown to the wild things of the mountains or to the earth god himself (Tax 1947; Bode 1961, 213; Cook 2000, 201). In the popular dance drama, "The Dance of the Conquest," performed by the Maya throughout the highlands, one of the main characters is *K'oxol*, who successfully predicts the Spanish conquest through a divinatory ceremony. Following the Conquest, he refuses baptism and escapes into the forest where he gives birth miraculously to the son (portrayed as a small doll dressed in red) of Tecum, the great Quiché warrior who died fighting the Spaniards (Bode 1961; *Baile de la Conquista* 1991; B. Tedlock 1982, 149-150). In Momostenango, the *K'oxol* is the patron of *aj q'ij* priests, the source of the divination power that awakens their blood (B.

they all turned to stone. Perhaps we would not be alive today because of the vicious[603] animals—the puma and the jaguar, the rattlesnake and the pit viper, as well as Zaqui Coxol. It would not be our day if the sun had not come forth and turned the first animals to stone.[604]

Great was the joy in the hearts of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam when it dawned. There were not many people then. There were only a few on top of the mountain of Hacavitz. There they dawned and there they burned incense, waving their censers toward the coming forth of the sun. This was their mountain, their plain. There came they who are named Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. There they multiplied on the top of the mountain that was to become their citadel. There it was that the sun, moon, and stars truly appeared. Everything on the face of the earth and beneath the sky had its dawn and became clear.

Thus began their song called Our Burial.[605] Their hearts and bowels wept as they sang. And this is what they said in their song:

"Alas we were lost! At Tulan we split ourselves apart. We left behind our older brothers and our younger brothers. Where did they see the sun? Where were they when it dawned?"

Tedlock 1982, 147-148; B. Tedlock 1986, 135; Cook 2000, 201). As such he represents the ancient power of traditional Maya worship, a survival of the world prior to the Spanish conquest. It is interesting that even for the Precolumbian Quichés, *Saqi K'oxol* was a survivor from a previous age.

[603] Literally "biting."

[604] Barbara Tedlock notes that this tradition is still remembered in the community of Momostenango: "One diviner I know possesses the stone shoe of the original C'oxol or Tzitzimit; he found it in the mountains near Chinique and keeps it with his divining seeds and crystals. He explained that at the time the earth became hard, the Tzitzimit was hiding in a tree and dropped his shoe. Like the animals, it turned to stone. Momostecan diviners visit Minas, a foothill of the Cuchumatanes, where they find small stone concretions that are the animals who were turned to stone by the sun dring the creation of the world. These concretions are placed in the family shrine called the *mebil*" (B. Tedlock 1982, 148).

[605] *Muq* is "to be buried, covered, or hidden by earth, fog, cloud, etc."

This they sang concerning the bloodletters and sacrificers of the Yaqui people. Tohil is the god of the Yaqui people, who they call Yolcuat Quitzalcuat.[606]

"We were separated there at Tulan Zuyva. We left them to come here. But we were complete[607] before we came here."

This they said among themselves when they remembered their older brothers and their younger brothers, the Yaqui people. These dawned there in Mexico, as it is called today. Thus surely a portion of them remained there in the East, they whose names are Tepeu[608] and Oliman.[609]

"We left them behind," they said.

Thus they were greatly troubled in their hearts there on top of Hacavitz.

The Tamub and the Ilocab felt the same. They whose name was Amac Tan were merely in the forest when the bloodletters and sacrificers of the Tamub dawned with their god.

Tohil is the sole name for the god of the three groups of Quiché people. This is also the name for the god of the Rabinals. Only a little bit different is his name: One Toh being the name of the god of the Rabinals. They say it this way because of their desire to make it one with the language of the Quichés.

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[606] Yolcuat (Nahua: *yol*—heart, *coat*—serpent) Quetzalcoatl (Nahua: *quetzal*—quetzal bird, quetzal feathers, *coat*—serpent). Quetzalcoatl, generally translated as "Feathered Serpent," was a prominent deity in the pantheon of the Central Mexican Toltecs and Aztecs. Here the authors of the *Popol Vuh* suggest that this god of the Yaquis (Mexicans) was equivalent to their own patron deity, Tohil.

[607] Literally "its completetion/wholeness/perfection our faces."

[608] *Tepeu*. This people's name is derived from Nahua, meaning "sovereign, power."

[609] *Oliman* (Rubber People/Ballplayers). This is likely a reference to the Olmeca-Xicalanca from the area of the southern Gulf Coast (see footnote 503).

There the language of the Cakchiquels was changed, for when they came from Tulan Zuyva, the name of their god was Chimalcan.[610] This was the god received by the Bat House[611] people. Along with their god, this lineage also received their titles: Ahpo Zotzil[612] and Ahpo Xahil[613] they are called. This god changed their speech when he was received there at Tulan. It was a stone that was the cause of the change in their speech when they came from Tulan in the darkness. Yet all the nations were sown as one when the names of the gods were given to each of the groups.

We shall now tell of their residence, their sojourn there on the top of the mountain. They were as one, the four of them—Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. Their hearts cried out to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz, who were amidst the bromelia flowers and the hanging moss.

OFFERINGS ARE MADE TO THE GODS[614]

THESE, then, are the burnings and the offerings placed beneath Tohil when they went before the faces of Tohil and Auilix. They went there to see them and to worship

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[610] The authors of the text apparently assert here that the god of the Cakchiquels is the same as theirs, but that he was called by a different name when their language changed. In the Cakchiquel language, *chamalqan* is a serpent of great size that moves calmly/quietly (Varea).

[611] *Tzotz'i Ja* (Bat House) is the principal lineage of the Cakchiquels.

[612] *Ajpo Sotz'il* (Bat Lords). *Ajpo* is a contracted form of *aj pop* (he/she of the mat), the highest office in highland Maya hierarchies, and may be loosely translated as "lord." See footnote 33 on the significance of the mat. This was one of the principal Cakchiquel ruling lineages at the time of the Spanish conquest. They resided at Iximché.

[613] *Ahpo Xahil* (Dance Lords). The Xahil were the other principal lineage of the Cakchiquels. Their main center of occupation was at Sololá above the northern shores of Lake Atitlán. The Annals of the Cakchiquels was compiled under the direction of the Xahil (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 11).

[614] lines 6290-6503

them. They gave thanks before them for the dawn. They knelt humbly with heads bowed low[615] before the stones there in the forest.

It was only the revelation of the god's spirit essence that spoke when the bloodletters and sacrificers arrived before the face of Tohil. What they carried was not great, nor were their burnt offerings. It was only pine resin, the remnants of pitch, along with *pericón*[616] flowers that they burned before the face of their god.

Then spoke Tohil. It was only his spirit essence that gave knowledge to the bloodletters and sacrificers. Then the gods spoke:[617]

"It is here that our mountain and our plain shall be. We have come to be yours. Great is our day. Great as well is our birth, because of all your people and all the nations. We shall surely be your companions then, your citadel. We shall give to you your knowledge. Do not reveal us before the nations when they come up to us. For truly they shall become many. Thus do not let them set traps for us. But give to us the children of the grasses and the fallen[618] grain. Bring to us a little of the blood of the female deer and the female bird. Take pity on us. Set the skins of the deer aside and watch over them. These shall be a means of concealing identity.[619] The deer will become the means by which you shall deceive them. These will surely be our substitutes before the faces of the

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[615] *Wonowoj* is to humble oneself, bowing over so severely that the chin touches the knees (Basseta).

[616] *Iya'* (Spanish *pericón*) is a marigold-like plant with small yellow flowers (*Tagetes lucida*).

[617] From the end of this quotation, it is clear that all three deities—Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz—are speaking, not just Tohil.

[618] Grain that has "fallen from age or overripeness" (Basseta).

[619] Literally "buried/hidden/clouded face."

nations. When you are asked, 'Where is Tohil?' It will be this deerskin bundle[620] that you shall show them. But do not reveal yourselves. Do this now and your existence shall become great. You shall conquer all the nations. They must bring to you their blood. Their flowing blood shall be brought before our faces. Let them come to us and embrace us. They are ours now," said Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz.

The gods would appear as boys when they were seen, when offerings were burned before their faces. Thus they began to seek out the offspring of birds and deer which were taken and offered by the bloodletters and the sacrificers. They would find the birds and the young deer, and go to place their blood in the mouths of the stones. Tohil and Auilix drank this therefore. It was the bloody drink of the gods. Straightaway, then, the stones spoke when the bloodletters and sacrificers came to give their burnt offerings.

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[620] Sacred bundles of this type were well known by the indigenous people of Mesoamerica prior to the Spanish conquest. Fr. Juan de Torquemada cited the existence of a sacred bundle in central Mexico called the *Haquimilolli* which consisted of clothing believed to have been worn by the god Xolotl when he offered himself as an auto-sacrifice to enable the sun to rise for the first time. The mantles worn by the god were wrapped in a bundle along with certain green stones representing the god's heart, as well as the skins of a serpent and a jaguar (Torquemada 1969, 6.xlii, 78). In Santiago Atitlán, deerskins are kept in a confraternity house dedicated to traditional Maya ceremonies. These skins, with the head and antlers still attached, are periodically worn in a dance honoring a powerful deity they call Martín, associated with animals, maize, and rebirth. Prior to the dance, a special priest dedicated to the veneration of Martín called the *nab'eysil* blesses the deerskins, addressing them as "King Martín, Lord of the Three Levels, Lord of Rain, Lord of Maize, and Lord of all the Mountains" (Christenson 2001, 160). Martín is referred to as "King Martín" because he is more ancient than any other god, and father to them all (Mendelson 1957, 462; 1958b, 5). The deer is his specific emblem, and a bundle kept in the confraternity house contains very old garments painted with designs associated with tufts of animal hair. The cult of Martín is likely associated with the ancient god Tohil and his deerskin bundle (Mendelson 1958a, 121, 124). The Great Dance of Tohil took place in the month of *Tz'ikin Q'ij*, just prior to the principal maize harvest in November, coinciding with the Dance of Martín on November 11 (Christenson 2001, 169-176). The Maya deity Martín is derived from St. Martin of Tours (November 11 is his day on the liturgical calendar), who is often depicted in Roman Catholic paintings and sculpture seated on a horse. The early Maya consistently confused horses with deer (Hill 1992, 151). Even today both animals bear the same name in most Maya languages.

They did the same before the deerskin bundles. They would burn pine resin, *pericón* flowers, and stevia[621] flowers. There was a deer skin bundle for each of them on the tops of the mountains.

The dwellings and the homes of our ancestors were not in the sun. They walked only in the mountains. And this is what they would eat: Only hornet[622] larvae, only wasp larvae, only bee larvae[623] would they seek. At first they did not have good food or water. The pathway leading to their homes was not clear. Nor was it clear where their wives dwelt.

The other nations were crowded together. All of them would unite, joining together with one another. They would raise a din[624] there on the roads. Their paths were clear.

But it was not clear where Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam were. When they would see the nations passing by on the roads, they would cry out on the peaks of mountains. They would cry out with the call of the coyote and the call

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[621] *Jolom Okox* (Head Mushroom). This is not a mushroom, but an herb called stevia (Spanish *pericón blanco*), whose small white flowers resemble the head of a mushroom. Duncan Earle noted that the *pericón* and stevia are still given as minor offerings in rituals by the Quichés (Earle 1983, 294, 297; D. Tedlock 1996, 308 n. 164).

[622] *Wonon*. For modern Quichés this is the honeybee of the stinging type introduced from Europe. Many Quiché communities, particularly in the region around Momostenango, cultivate these bees for their honey. The Precolumbian Maya kept bees and harvested their honey, but these were of a stingless variety. As will become apparent later in the text, these insects could sting. Coto lists *wonon* as a hornet, or the stinger of a wasp or hornet.

[623] *Aqal*. These are stingless, honey-producing bees that the Maya domesticated. Today the Quichés cultivate the stinging European type of bee for their honey, and *aqal* is now used to refer to a variety of wasps that live in nests. Nevertheless, many highland Maya languages retain memory of the honey produced by the older varieties of bee when referring to sticky, sweet substances such as honey or molasses, as *aqat* or *aqal*.

[624] *B'olow* is the sound of a crowd all speaking at once (Coto).

of the fox. They would make the call of the puma and the jaguar. And when the nations heard this there was great discussion about it:

"This is merely the cry of the coyote and of the fox," said the nations. "It is merely the puma and the jaguar," the nations said.

The nations did not realize that these were people.[625] It was merely a way of deceiving the nations that this was done. It was not the desire of their hearts to truly frighten them. Thus they would make the call of a puma or jaguar, and then when they would see one or two people out walking, it would be their desire to destroy them.

Each day they arrived at their homes with their wives bearing only hornet larvae, wasp larvae, and bee larvae. And each day also they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz, saying in their hearts:

"We give merely the blood of deer and birds to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz. We merely prick our ears and our elbows. We plead for our strength and our endurance to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz. Who shall be responsible for the death of the nations? Shall we kill them only one at a time?" This they said to each other when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz.

Then they pierced their ears and their elbows before the faces of their gods. They scooped up their blood and rubbed it inside the mouths of the stones. Yet they had not truly become stones. Each of them appeared as young boys when they came. They rejoiced for the blood of the bloodletters and sacrificers.

Then came the sign of their deeds:

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[625] Literally "not like people in their hearts."

"Conquer many lands. This is your authority.[626] It came from Tulan when you brought us here," they were told.

Then was given the breast[627] at the place called Pa Zilizib.[628] And behind[629] it came blood, a rain of their blood as an offering for Tohil, along with Auilix and Hacavitz.

THE SACRIFICIAL KILLINGS BEGIN[630]

THIS is the beginning of the abduction of people from the nations by Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

THEN also was the killing of the nations. They were taken in this way:

Only one would go out walking, or two would go out walking. It was not clear how they were taken. Then they would be taken to be sacrificed before the faces of Tohil and Auilix. Afterward their blood and skulls[631] would be placed on the road. Thus the nations would say, "a jaguar ate them." This they would say because only the tracks of a jaguar were left behind. They would not reveal themselves. Many were abducted from the nations until, after a long time, the nations came to their senses:[632]

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[626] Literally "self-liberation," meaning the "authority, sanction, or right to act."

[627] *Tz'um* (woman's breast, skin). This continues the play on words whereby the nations were tricked into offering to *tu'nik* (give the breast, suckle, nurture), a metaphor for nurturing or giving sustenance. In reality, however, they were being tricked into offering their own breasts in the form of heart extraction sacrifice.

[628] *Pa Silisib'* (Place of Staggering/Shaking).

[629] This is an oddly-phrased sentence in the original because the authors are continuing with the play on words between breast as "suckling or nurturing," and the physical breast that is being offered in sacrifice. The authors are saying that "behind" the breast is the source of the blood, and the rain of blood. In other words, that is where the heart is located that will be sacrificially extracted.

[630] lines 6504-6597

[631] *Jolom* is the word for both "head" and "skull." It is impossible to know which is meant here.

"Perhaps Tohil and Auilix have come after us. We shall merely seek out the bloodletters and the sacrificers. Let us follow their footprints[633] when they go to their homes," the nations all said when they planned[634] among themselves.

Thus they began to follow the footprints of the bloodletters and the sacrificers. But they were not clear. They were only deer tracks and jaguar tracks that they would see. Their footprints were not clear. Nowhere was it clear where the tracks began. Their footprints were just like the pawprints of animals.[635] It was merely confusion for them.

Neither was the pathway clear. None of the nations could see, because there would form clouds, there would form dark rain, there would form mud, and there would form drizzling rain. Thus they would weary their hearts searching. They would mourn, for great was the essence of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz.

Thus this was done for a long time atop the mountain on the borders of the nations. They would kill them when the abductions began. These were murderous assaults when they would seize the people of the nations on the roads. They would then sacrifice them before the faces of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz.

Thus the boys were preserved there on the top of the mountain. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz had the appearance of three boys when they went out walking. These were the spirit essences of the stones.

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[632] Literally "felt themselves."

[633] *Raqan* (their feet/legs). The Quiché language does not distinguish between feet and legs; nor does it distinguish between feet and the tracks they make.

[634] Literally "gathered their thoughts."

[635] *Pich* are the feet (and the tracks they make) of animals, as well as infant humans who crawl on all fours.

There was a river where they would bathe along the banks as a way of revealing themselves. And this was what gave it its name: "Bath of Tohil" became the name of the river. Many times the nations would see them, but then suddenly they would vanish. When the people of the nations saw this, they would report where Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam could be found. Thus the nations plotted how to kill them.

THE NATIONS PLOT TO SEDUCE THE GODS[636]

ABOVE all else, the nations desired to plan for the defeat of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz. All the bloodletters and sacrificers spoke before the nations. They assembled themselves together, summoning all of them. Not one group, nor two groups, were left behind. All of them gathered together, summoning one another. Then they gathered their thoughts. They spoke, asking one another:

"What would ensure the defeat of the Cavec Quiché people? For the children of our mothers, and the sons of our men are finished. It is not clear how they caused the loss of these people. But if these abductions continue we shall be finished. If Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz are to become great and glorious, then Tohil shall come to be our god. But we shall be preeminent. They will not succeed in defeating us. Are our people not many? And these, the Cavec, are there not but few of them?" This they asked when they all came together.

Then some of them spoke before the nations:

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[636] lines 6598-6699

"Who, perhaps, are they that bathe by the banks of the river each day? If they are Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz, then we shall surely defeat them first. Thus shall begin the defeat of the bloodletters and the sacrificers," they said.

Then they inquired:

"How then will we defeat them?" they asked.

"This shall be our means of defeating them: Because the boys appear at the river, let two maidens go there that are truly chosen. They should be the fairest[637] of maidens. Thus may they be objects of desire for them," they said.

"Very well then. We shall search for two of the best maidens," they said.

And so they sought among their daughters for the truly fairest of maidens. Then they instructed these maidens:

"Go, our daughters, to wash clothes[638] at the river. If, then, you see the three boys, undress yourselves before their faces. And if their hearts should desire you, then you shall offer yourselves[639] to them. When they shall say to you, 'we shall come unto you,' then you shall say, 'yes,' when you are petitioned. When they ask, 'Where do you come from? Whose daughters are you?' then you shall reply: 'We are the daughters of lords.' Then they will give something to you if they should desire you. And if so, then you shall surely give yourselves to them. If you do not give yourselves to them, then we will kill you. But our hearts will be content when you bring their sign here. This therefore will be a sign to

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[637] *Saqloq'oj.* The root of this word is *saq* (white, clear, bright, clean, pure, light), something like the English word "fair," which does not necessarily refer to skin complexion.

[638] *Kixb'ek ix qa mi'al ojich'aja' ri k'ul* (go our daughters to wash the clothes). In a literal sense, the daughters are told to physically wash clothes at the river. In Quiché, however, *ch'aj* (wash) is also used to describe menstruation (Ajpacaja et al. 1996, 61) and childbirth (Coto) indicating that these women are of child-bearing age and thus available for marriage.

[639] *Chok* is "to invite, offer, entice."

our hearts that they have come unto you." Thus said the lords when they instructed the maidens.

These, then, were the names of the two: Lady Lust[640] and Lady Weeping.[641] There were two of them.[642] Lady Lust and Lady Weeping were their names. These were sent there to the river, to the Bath of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz. This was the plan of all of these nations.

THE SEDUCTION OF LADY LUST AND LADY WAILING[643]

THEN they went. They were adorned in finery, and truly they appeared beautiful when they went there to the place where Tohil bathes. They carried their wash[644] on their

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[640] *Xtaj*. *X-* is the prefix indicating "female," or a diminutive such as "little." *Taj* is "sexual desire, lust, or promiscuity."

[641] *Xpuch'*. In Quiché, *Puch'* is "weeping from illness or pain rather than sadness." Tedlock suggests that this maiden is a Precolumbian precursor of the *Llorona* (Spanish: Weeper/Wailer), tales of which are told throughout Mesoamerica (D. Tedlock 1996, 310-311). In most versions of this tradition, the *Llorona* is the spirit of a wronged woman who seeks vengeance by searching in the night for children to murder or steal away. Akkeren suggests, however that the name is more likely derived from Kekchi or Poqom, languages spoken by the ancient *Amaq'* (Nations) lords. In these languages, *puch* is "washing clothes," with the connotation of "menstruating," meaning the girl is marriageable (Akkeren 2000, 103-105). This reading is fully consistent with the episode described here in which the maidens go to the River of Tohil to wash clothes.

[642] The *Título Totonicapán* also includes this episode in its account of Quiché history, however, it lists three maidens corresponding to the three deities who were to be enticed (Chonay and Goetz 1953, 174-175; Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 87-95, 179-181). The name of the third maiden in that version is *K'ib'atz'un Ja*. The most likely derivation of this name is from the verb *b'atz',* which is to "tie up, wind, make thread." It is also a euphemism, however, for a woman prostituting herself (Coto). Akkeren prefers to read this as a lineage name, *B'atz'* being the ruling lineage at Chichen, the principal center of the Alta Verapaz region during this period which was one of the centers of power for the *Amaq'* (Nations) lords (Akkeren 2000, 101-105).

[643] lines 6700-6775

[644] Ch'ajo'n may have a double meaning here. In its literal sense, it means "wash, laundry." In a metaphoric sense it also refers to a young woman of child-bearing, and thus marriageable, age (Akkeren 2000, 134), as well as menstruation (Coto).

heads as they went. Thus the lords rejoiced because of their two daughters that they had sent there.

And when they arrived at the river, they began to wash. Each of them undressed herself and got down on her hands and knees before the stones.

Then Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz came together. They arrived there on the bank of the river. But they paid little attention[645] to the two maidens that were washing. Straightaway therefore the maidens were ashamed when Tohil arrived. Tohil did not desire the two maidens.[646] Then they inquired:

"Where do you come from?" they asked the two maidens. "What do you want by coming here to the bank of our river?" they were asked.

"We were sent here by the lords, therefore we came. 'Go to see the faces of Tohil and speak with them,' the lords said to us. 'Thus may you receive a sign that you truly saw their faces,' we were told."

This is what the two maidens said when they explained their mission. This, then, had been the desire of the nations—that the maidens be violated[647] by the spirit essence

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[645] Literally "only a little they passed by their faces."

[646] "Not therefore went their desire to the two maidens." The "they" of this passage makes it clear that all three of the gods spurned the advances of the maidens, and not just Tohil. This is one of several instances in the text where the authors refer to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz collectively as Tohil. Note that two paragraphs later the maidens state that their fathers told them to go to see "the faces" of Tohil. This may be of theological significance, in that the three gods are to be considered as one god. Or it may simply be a shorthand way of referring to all three. The latter interpretation is supported by the tendency of the authors in some cases to name only Balam Quitze (or Balam Quitze and Balam Acab) when referring to all four progenitors—Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam (see pp. 213-214, 216, 251; lines 5461-5462, 5492-5493, 5624-5625, 7147-7148).

[647] *Jox* (to have sex, violate, disgrace). In both colonial dictionaries and contemporary Quiché usage, illicit sex is subject to strict social constraints. The most common way today of referring to sex is simply -*b'an mak* (to do sin), and the meaning is clear without further explanation. It is not known if this was also a characteristic of Precolumbian society, although the context of this episode would indicate that the daughters were being forced to do something beyond the bounds of propriety. In addition, the nations hoped that they could defeat the gods by enticing them into an act that would destroy their power in some

of Tohil. Thus said Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz when they spoke to Lady Lust and Lady Weeping (the names of the two maidens):

"It is good that you should take the sign of our word with you. You shall wait for it and give it to the lords," they were told.

Thus they counseled with the bloodletters and sacrificers. They spoke with Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam:

"Paint[648] three robes,[649] writing upon them your essence.[650] They shall be taken to the nations by means of the two maidens who are washing. Give these to them," Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah were told.

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way. In contemporary Aztec society, violations of sexual morality bore heavy penalties including death. The severity of such violations may be seen in this series of admonitions given to a young Aztec girl by her father:

> Look now at something else which I want to impress on you, communicate to you, my human creation, my little daughter. Do not permit the lords from whom you are born to be mocked. Do not throw dust or rubbish on them; do not cast any uncleanness on their history, on their black and red ink [writings], on their fame. Do not insult them in any way, such as wanting things of this earth, such as seeking to enjoy them out of season, those which are called sexual things. And if you do not withdraw from them, can you ever come near the gods? Better that you should perish immediately (León-Portilla 1969, 139).

[648] *Tz'ib'aj*. In ancient Quiché, this refers to both writing and painting. This is logical since both were generally done with a paintbrush. In addition, however, the act of writing a word (*tz'ib'*) also metaphorically brings the thing referred to into material existence. Thus a written word, in this case a painted hieroglyph, is not conceptually different from a visual image of the thing, or even the thing itself. This will become apparent when the painted images on the robes come to life and defeat the lords of the enemy nations. This is much the same as the actions of the gods who brought the earth into existence simply by expressing the word "earth" (p. 71; lines 219-228).

[649] *K'ul* (covering). It is difficult to know precisely what type of clothing this might have been in Precolumbian times. Basseta refers to it as a *manta*, a shawl or a blanket worn wrapped around the body like a cloak or robe.

[650] *K'oje'ik* (existence, nature, essence, being).

THE NATIONS ARE DEFEATED BY THE PAINTED ROBES[651]

THUS the three[652] of them painted. First, Balam Quitze painted the image of what came to be a jaguar. He painted it on the face of the robe.

Next Balam Acab painted the image of an eagle.

Then Mahucutah painted hornets all over it. Everywhere he painted the images of wasps on the face of the robe.

Thus the three of them finished their paintings. Three forms they painted on the robes and gave them to Lady Lust and Lady Weeping, as they are called.

Then said Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah:

"This is the sign of your word. You shall go before the faces of the lords and say: 'Truly Tohil spoke to us,' you shall say. 'This, then, is the sign we have brought,' you shall say to them. Then they will wear the robes that you will give to them." In this way were the maidens instructed.

So then they returned, carrying the painted robes. And when they arrived, straightaway the lords rejoiced when they saw their faces and that which was draped across their arms. Thus the maidens were entreated:

"Did you not see the face of Tohil?" they were asked.

"We did see him," replied Lady Lust and Lady Weeping.

"Very well then. Where is the sign that you have brought? Is it not true?" the lords asked.

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[651] lines 6776-6919

[652] Only Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah are involved in this episode. Iqui Balam does not participate, likely because he did not have a patron deity or a posterity that survived.

For the lords felt it was the sign of their disgrace. Thus the maidens untied the painted robes. Everywhere there were jaguars, everywhere eagles, and everywhere hornets and wasps. The paintings inside the robes shone brightly. Thus they desired the faces of the robes and put them on about them.

The image of the jaguar did nothing at first around the lord. Then another lord put on the second painted robe with the image of the eagle. The lord felt good inside it. He turned about before them. He opened up his robe[653] before them all. Then another lord put on the third painted robe with the hornets and wasps inside. And when he put it around him he was stung by the hornets and wasps. He could not bear it; he could not endure the stinging insects. Thus he cried out because of the painted images of the insects within the robe. This was the painting of Mahucutah, the third of the paintings. And thus they were defeated.

Then the lords rebuked the maidens, they who were named Lady Lust and Lady Weeping:

"What are these robes that you have brought here? Where did you go to get them? You are deceivers." Thus the maidens were asked when they were rebuked.

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[653] Literally "he disrobes his covering before their faces all of them." This may mean that he took off his own clothes publicly to put on the new robe. More likely he wrapped the new robe around him with the painted images inside, which he then opened up to display to the other lords present. If the third lord did the same, then the insects that came to life would be in close contact with his skin. Often times the Maya kept powerful tokens or images hidden in bundles or under clothing. The highland Maya today believe that inappropriate display of such objects is extremely dangerous. Thus in the town of Santiago Atitlán, a bundle of very old garments painted with designs reminiscent of animal pelts, which they call Martín, is kept hidden in a carved wooden chest except at rare times when it is taken out for display. The bundle itself is unwrapped only once a year, on November 11, by a special priest called the *nab'eysil*. The *nab'eysil* opens the bundle at midnight with all the electric lights turned off, and with the doors and windows closed and locked. He then wears the garments as he dances in a circular pattern around the inside of the darkened room by candlelight. He does this with his arms slightly apart to display the garment. Participants believe that if the bundle were opened with the windows or doors opened, wind would rush out and devastate the world (Mendelson 1965, 57; Christenson 2001, 162).

Thus all of the nations were defeated by Tohil. They had desired that Tohil would get gratification from Lady Lust and Lady Weeping. But these, then, became seductresses.[654] They came to be temptations to the heart of the nations. Thus the nations did not achieve the defeat of the enchanted people—Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah.

Then all the nations considered again:

"How can we do it? Truly great their natures have come to be," they said.

Then they gathered their thoughts:

"We shall merely pursue them and kill them. We shall arm[655] ourselves with arrows and with shields. Are we not many? There shall not be even one or two left of them," they said when they gathered their thoughts.

Thus all the nations armed themselves. They were crowded with killers when all the nations gathered. They were killers.

Now Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam were on the top of the mountain Hacavitz. This was the name of the mountain where they were. Thus their sons were established on the top of the mountain. They were not many then. They were certainly not as numerous at first as the people from the nations. They occupied only a small part of the mountain top.

Thus the nations plotted to kill them. They all gathered together. They arrived, all of them having been summoned.

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[654] *Joxol ch'ek* (scratchers knee). This is a play on words, a particularly prevalent Maya practice when referring to sexual things as a way of speaking about it indirectly. *Jox* is "to have sex," and also "to hoe or to scratch." A woman "knee scratcher" is a fornicator, prostitute, or one who wishes to seduce someone to have sex. The more common expression today is "leg burner" which also means seductress.

[655] Literally "adorn."

THE NATIONS ARE HUMILIATED[656]

THUS all the nations gathered together. They were all armed with arrows and shields. Their precious metal adornments were innumerable. All of the lords and warriors were beautiful in their appearance. But in fact they were mere boasters,[657] all of them. Truly they would all come to be enslaved.[658]

"This Tohil, he is a god. We also shall worship him. But we shall capture[659] him," they said among themselves.

But Tohil learned of it, and so too did Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah. They heard what was being planned. They did not sleep, nor did they rest.

Thus all the warriors had adorned themselves. They rose up in the night with confidence in their hearts.[660] But although they went out, they did not reach their destination. All the warriors merely slept in the road. Then was their defeat by Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah. They merely slept in the road, completely senseless. All of them were exhausted with sleep. Then they began to have their eyebrows plucked,[661] along with their whiskers.[662] The precious metal was untied from

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[656] lines 6920-7075

[657] *B'anoj tzij* (making words). These are liars, boasters, people that are "just talk, not doers."

[658] *Alab'il*. This is literally "stepsons, godsons." It is also used to refer to war captives and slaves. In ancient Aztec warfare, once a captive had been taken in war, the victor seized his opponent by the hair and addressed him as "my beloved son," indicating that the captive was subject to him with the loyalty due a father.

[659] *Kanab'ij* is to capture, and also to make use of something.

[660] *Xkokib'ej chi ki k'ux* (they believed in their hearts).

[661] *U mich'ik ki muquwach rumal* (its plucking their eyebrows by them). This phrase has a double meaning. On one level, "plucking" is a metaphor for tricking or deceiving someone. In a material sense, to pluck out facial hair is to show shame, contempt, disdain, or scorn.

their clothing, as well as from their headdresses and their necklaces. The precious metal was taken from the necks of their staffs. This was a punishment upon their faces, and a plucking as well. This was done as a sign of the greatness of the Quiché people.

And when they arose, straightaway they reached for their headdresses and the necks of their staffs. But now there was no precious metal on the necks of their staffs, nor on their headdresses.

"Who has taken us?[663] By whom were we plucked? Where did they who stole our precious metal come from?" all the warriors asked. "Perhaps it was those deceivers[664] that abduct people. But they will not succeed in frightening us. Surely we shall invade their citadel. We shall see again the face of our precious metal and once more make it ours," said all the nations.

But this was merely boasting. Thus the hearts of the bloodletters and sacrificers were comforted on the top of the mountain. Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam merely exercised their wisdom.

Then Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam considered. They made a palisade around the edge of their citadel. They placed wooden planks and pointed stakes about their citadel. Then they made effigies that looked just like people. They arranged these on top of the palisade, arming them with shields and with arrows. They placed headdresses with precious metal on their heads. They adorned these effigies of

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[662] *Kismachi'* (their whiskers). The Quiché language has only one word for facial hair, and thus does not distinguish between beards and moustaches.

[663] This is a common Quiché expression, similar to the English "we've been taken" or "we've been had." This parallels the following phrase, "by whom were we plucked?" which is an expression for "who deceived us?"

[664] *K'axtok'* (demons, deceivers).

mere carved wood with the precious metal of the nations that they had taken on the road. With these they encircled the citadel.

Then also they entreated Tohil with their thoughts:

"What if we should die? What if we are defeated?" they asked.

Thus their hearts wept before the face of Tohil.

"Do not mourn. I am. You shall use these against them. Do not fear." Thus he spoke to Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam. And they were given the hornets and wasps. So they went out to gather them, and they returned bearing them. And these they placed inside four great gourds, which they positioned in four places around the edge of the citadel. The hornets and wasps were closed up within the great gourds. They used these as weapons against the nations.

The citadel was being spied upon, watched in ambush, scrutinized as a target by the messengers of the nations.

"There are not so many," they said.

And then they saw the effigies of carved wood which were motionless, carrying their arrows and their shields. They appeared to be true people. Like killers they appeared to be when the nations saw them. All the nations rejoiced then, for they did not see many of them. But there were crowds of people from the nations. Their people had countless warriors, killers, and murderers that had come against Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah, who were on top of the mountain named Hacavitz.

We shall now speak of this invasion.

THE NATIONS ARE DEFEATED[665]

THERE they were, Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam, united on top of the mountain with their wives and their children.

Then came the warriors and the killers. There were not merely sixteen thousand or twenty-four thousand[666] from the nations that encircled the citadel. They yelled, armed with their arrows and shields. They would cry out, clamoring, hustling about, shouting their mockery, and whistling.

But the bloodletters and sacrificers went inside beneath their citadel, fearing nothing. They merely looked to the palisade at the edge of their citadel as they gathered together with their wives and their children. Thus they were reassured,[667] and the words of the nations were sweet to them.

Then the warriors ascended a little way up the face of the mountain. But it was only a little way, for they did not reach the entrance to the citadel. And then they opened the four gourds that were in the citadel, and out flew the hornets and the wasps. They were like clouds of smoke when they came out of each of the gourds. The warriors were thus finished off because of the insects. They landed on their eyes and on their noses; on their mouths, on their legs, and on their arms. Wherever they were, the hornets and wasps went to catch them. Wherever they were, these went to swarm around them. Everwhere there were hornets and wasps. They would swarm around them stinging their eyes. There were great numbers of insects around each of the people.

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[665] lines 7076-7206

[666] *Ka chuy, ox chuy* (two eight thousands, three eight thousands).

[667] *Ku'l ki k'ux* (seated their hearts). This is "to be reassured, confident, or have faith in something."

Thus they became disoriented[668] because of the hornets and the wasps. Neither could they now grasp their arrows or their shields. They hunched over with their faces to their knees on the surface of the ground. They were scattered. They fell senseless before the face of the mountain. Then they were struck with arrows and chopped with axes, although they were only pieces of dry wood that Balam Quitze and Balam Acab used on them.[669] Their wives also came upon them as killers.

Thus only a portion of them were able to return. Only a few people from the nations were able to escape. At first they tried to flee, but when they were caught they were finished off. They were killed. And it was not just a few of the people who died. And of those that did not die, the insects came upon them and tormented their hearts. They were no longer able to wage war. They did not take up their arrows or their shields again. Thus all the nations were humiliated and begged humbly before the faces of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah:

"Pity us. Do not kill us," they said.

"Very well then. Certainly you shall become obedient.[670] You shall be servants[671] as long as there is sun and light," they were told.

Thus was the defeat of all the nations because of our first mothers and our first fathers. It was done on the top of the mountain Hacavitz, as it is called today. This was

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[668] *Q'ab'arik*. In current Quiché usage this is "to be drunk, enebriated." According to Basseta, however, it may also mean "to be disoriented, or to faint."

[669] The authors wish to emphasize that the victory was purely a matter of divine intervention, without need for conventional arms. Thus the pieces of wood acted as if they were arrows or axes.

[670] *Kame'l* (humble, obedient). This is a play on words since *kamel* is "one who dies." Thus the captives are saying that rather than be *dead*, they are to be humble and obedient.

[671] *Aj patan* (he/she of the pack strap) is a servant, or more specifically a bearer. *Patan* is both the pack strap worn by men around the forehead to carry loads, as well as metaphorically any task or errand. In a larger sense, the term may be used to describe someone who is subsidiary such as a vassal or tribute payer.

the beginning. There they multiplied and became many. They had daughters and they had sons on top of Hacavitz. They rejoiced then, for they had defeated all the nations there on top of the mountain. Thus they had done this. They had surely defeated the nations, indeed all the nations.

Thus their hearts were reassured. They spoke to their sons as the time approached when they would die. For they truly desired to die.

Now we shall tell of this also, of the deaths of they who are called Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam.

THE DEATHS OF THE FOUR PROGENITORS[672]

THEY sensed their impending death and disappearance.[673] Thus they gave instructions to their sons. They were not ill, nor did they groan from sickness, nor did they breathe with difficulty. Yet they left behind their word with their sons. These, then, are the names of the sons:

Balam Quitze had two sons. Co Caib[674] was the name of the firstborn, and Co Cavib[675] was the name of the secondborn. These were the sons of Balam Quitze, the grandfather and father of the Cavecs.

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[672] lines 7207-7360

[673] Literally "loss."

[674] *K'o Kaib'* (Lord Two). *K'o* is an irregular verb construction meaning "there is, or he/she/it possesses." However when used as a title it suggests "nobility, lordship, or authority." Thus Coto lists *Qo ch'u vi* (there is on his head, or above) as "to be charged, or have jurisdiction/authority"; *Qo r'a* (there is breath) as "to have authority"; or *Qo u ɛij* (there is his day) as "to have authority, great thing, famous or glorious." *Kaib'* is simply the number two. Thus this name would be something like "Lord or Sir Two." When used as a verb, *kaib'aj* is "to multiply or divide." The name may refer to the fact that he had a large posterity, or that his was a significant division of the lineage. Alternatively, the "Two" may simply mean that he represents the second generation of lords (Akkeren 2000, 53).

[675] *K'o Kawib'* (Lord Adornment).

Balam Acab of the Nihaibs also had two sons. Co Acul was the name of his first son, and Co Acutec was the name of his second son.

Mahucutah had only one son, whose name was Co Ahau.[676]

These three had sons, but Iqui Balam had no sons.

These, then, were the names of their sons, who were true bloodletters and sacrificers.

The four of them were united as they sang of the pain in their hearts. Their hearts wept within their song. Our Burial was the name of the song that they sang. And these were the instructions that they gave to their sons:

"You, our sons, we shall go but we shall also return again. Words of light[677] and counsels of light[678] we give to you."

And then they spoke to their wives:

"You have come here from a far away mountain, you, our wives," they said.

Then they were counseled:

"We go to our people.[679] Our Lord Deer is now established,[680] mirrored in the sky. We shall thus return, for our work is accomplished, and our day is now finished.

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[676] *K'o Ajaw* (Lord/Sir Lord).

[677] *Saqil tzij* (light word).

[678] *Saqil pixab'* (light instructions, counsel, law).

[679] *Qamaq'* (our people, tribe, nation).

[680] *Cholan* is to "be ordered, aligned, established, placed, or declared." Thus "Our Lord Deer," one of the titles for their patron god Tohil (see pp. 234-235; lines 6343-6352), had achieved a permanent, fixed position. From the following phrase, this appears to have been symbolized by some astronomical phenomenon. There appear to be deer constellation references in both the Dresden and Madrid codices. Gabrielle Vail associates the deer-trapping sections of the Madrid Codex as having astronomical associations, identifying the deer constellation as Virgo (Bricker and Vail 1997, 99-107).

Remember us.[681] Do not forget us.[682] Do not sweep us away. You shall surely see your homes and your mountains where you will settle. Thus let it be so. Go therefore, go to see the place from whence we came." This was the counsel they were given.

Then they left behind the sign of the existence of Balam Quitze:

"This is the token of my memory that I shall leave with you. This is your glory. These are my instructions, the result of what I have pondered," he said when he left behind the sign of his existence. Bundled Glory,[683] it was called. Its contents were not clear for it was truly bundled. They did not unwrap it, nor was its stitching clear. No one had seen it when it was bundled.

This, then, was their counsel when they disappeared there atop the mountain Hacavitz. They were not buried by their wives, nor their children. Neither was their

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[681] *Kojina'.* Literally "sense/feel us." This is stronger in the Quiché language than to merely have memories of someone. To an extent, traditionalist Maya do not consider powerful individuals of the past to be dead. Nicolás Chávez Sojuel, a sculptor in the community of Santiago Atitlán, carved an image of Diego Kihu, a powerful *nab'eysil* (priest) who died in the 1970s, on a panel of the central altarpiece in the church. In this panel, Kihu is walking at the head of his own funeral cortège. When I asked how this was possible, Nicolás said that he hadn't really died. He then related the following story: "Diego Kihu... could work many miracles. He had the face of a saint's image. He had power over water and rain. He could make it rain whenever he wished, and yet when he walked in the rain he never got wet.... He was very old when he died, about 128. But he didn't die of illness, he just decided to leave because he wanted to be with the other *nab'eysils* in *Paq'alib'al* [a cave located southwest of the community where the saints and deified ancestors live]. He told people that he would leave at 6:00 pm on a Wednesday and said goodbye to everyone and gave them his blessing. Everyone placed candles around his bed and he left right at 6:00, as he had said. That evening he visited many people in dreams and told them not to worry about him because he was in *Paq'alib'al.* When he was buried a great wind and earthquake passed through the cemetery to prove that he was not dead" (Christenson 2001, 211). The highland Maya frequently tell stories about visitations from ancestors who continue to work on behalf of their community whenever necessary. Recently I gave an old photograph, depicting a group of elders from Santiago Atitlán taken in the late nineteenth century, to a friend of mine who is the son of a prominent elder in that community. He immediately named a number of the individuals in the photograph. When I asked how he knew them, considering that they had died long before he was born, he replied: "We all know them. They still visit us in dreams and in person. We know their faces. They are still very powerful—the soul of the town. Their minds and their souls are white [*saq*: white, light, pure, clear, clean]. This is our heritage. These people are still alive because I live. I carry their blood. I remember. They are not forgotten."

[682] Literally "do not lose us."

[683] *Pisom Q'aq'al. Q'aq'al* is derived from the root, *q'aq'* (flame). In this form, it refers to "power, glory, splendor."

disappearance clear when they vanished. But their counsel was clear. Thus the Bundle came to be precious to them as a memorial to their father. Straightaway they burned offerings before it as a memorial to their father.

Thus the people were established by the lords following this beginning by Balam Quitze, the grandfather and father of the Cavecs. His sons, named Co Caib and Co Cavib, were not lost.

Thus were the deaths of our four grandfathers and fathers when they disappeared, when they left their sons there on top of the mountain Hacavitz. These sons tarried there.

But the day of all the nations had fallen, and they were humiliated and lacking in power.

The people had become numerous by then, and all of them gathered together each day to remember their father. The Bundle was precious[684] to them. They did not open it. It remained bundled. Bundled Glory they called it when it existed. They also named it their Wrapping. It had been left behind by their fathers as the true sign of their existence. Thus was the disappearance and end of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam, the first people who came from across the sea in the East. Anciently they came here. They died in their old age, they who were called bloodletters and sacrificers.

THE SONS OF THE PROGENITORS JOURNEY TO TULAN[685]

THEN they remembered in their hearts the journey they were to make there to the East. They remembered the instructions given by their fathers who had died long ago.

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[684] Literally "great its day."

[685] lines 7361-7411

The nations had since given wives to them, thus becoming their fathers-in-law. Thus the three of them had married women.

And they said when they left:

"We go to the East from where our fathers came." Thus said the three sons when they began their journey.[686] Co Caib was the name of the first, the son of Balam Quitze of the Cavecs. Co Acutec was the name of the son of Balam Acab of the Nihaibs. Co Ahau was the name of the other, the son of Mahucutah of the Ahau Quichés. These, then, were the names of the three who went across the sea. They had wisdom and knowledge. They were more than ordinary people in their nature. They left behind their counsel to all their older brothers, and their younger brothers.

They rejoiced when they left:

"We will not die. We will return," they said when the three of them left.

Thus they passed over the sea, arriving there in the East. They went there to receive their lordship.

This, then, is the name of the lord, the lord of the East, when they arrived:

THE SONS RECEIVE AUTHORITY TO RULE[687]

THEN they arrived before the face of the lord, whose name was Nacxit.[688] He was the only judge[689] over a great dominion.[690] He then gave to them the signs and symbols of

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[686] Literally "took their road."

[687] lines 7412-7450

[688] Nacxit is derived from the Nahua words *nawi* (four) and *ikxit* (foot) (Campbell 1983, 84), perhaps referring to the extent of his power to the four cardinal directions of the earth. This is also one of the titles for the feathered serpent deity known as Kukulcan in the Maya lowlands and as Quetzalcoatl in Central Mexico (Recinos 1950, 207 n. 3; Roys 1967, 83; Edmonson 1982, 16 n. 220; Nicholson 2001, 228). It is

their lordship. Thus they received the signs of office for the Ah Pop,[691] and the Ah Pop of the Reception House.[692] They received the signs of their glory and lordship that pertained to the offices of Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House. These, then, are the names of the tokens of their glory and lordship:

Canopy[693] and throne,

Bone flute[694] and drum,[695]

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likely that Nacxit was a ruler from some major political center in the general direction east from the Maya highlands. Nacxit was apparently one of the titles used by Maya rulers at both Chichen Itza and Mayapan, indicating their attempts to claim Central Mexican authority as an important component of their own right to rule (Nicholson 2001, 228-229).

[689] *Q'atol tzij*. Literally "guardian/cutter of the word."

[690] *Ajawarem* is "lordship or sovereignty" when referring to the power of the office, and "dominion or domain" when referring to the physical extent of a lord's territory and its people.

[691] *Aj Pop* (He of the Mat). This is the highest office within the ruling Nima Quiché lineage. The office belonged to the line founded by Co Caib, son of Balam Quitze of the Cavecs. The ancient lords of the Maya sat on mat thrones, and these became symbolic of lordship and authority itself. The mat represented the power not only of the ruler, but also of his subjects. In this sense, the interlaced reeds of the mat represented the members of the community, linked in a common purpose. Thus Ximénez translated *popol* as "community." This office might then be translated "he of the community" or "master of the community." Coto lists various offices, all of which held the title of *ah pop*: "constable, chief, counselor, dignitary, and lord." None of these European titles, however, is equivalent with the Maya concept of the office. "He of the Mat" is misleading without extensive elaboration of the meaning of "mat." I have chosen therefore to leave the title untranslated.

[692] *Aj Pop K'am Ja* (He of the Mat Reception House). This is the second highest office among the Nima Quichés, serving as an advisor and representative of the *Ah Pop*. The title was held by representatives of the secondary line founded by Co Nache, the illegitimate son of Co Caib's wife by Co Cavib (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 181-182). The "reception house" may refer to a building or hall used for receiving petitioners, visiting dignitaries, or perhaps tribute. The latter possibility is supported by Colonial dictionaries that list *k'amajal* as "to send or pay tribute" (Varea). The importance of tribute collection as the focus of high office may be seen in Las Casas' description of Pre-Conquest Quiché administration: "That supreme king had certain principal men of counsel who had charge of justice and determined what should be done in all business affairs. It is said today by the Indians who saw it, that they were like the Oidores of Guatimala in the Royal Audience. They saw the tribute which was collected from the kingdom and they divided and sent to the king what was needed for the support of his person and for his estate" (Las Casas 1967, III.ccxxxiv.500. Translation by author). Alternatively, Akkeren reads the word as *k'amaja* (almost, close) in the sense that he holds a position just below the *Ah Pop*. The title would thus be something like "Vice *Ah Pop*" (Akkeren 2000, 213).

[693] *Muj* is a "canopy, mantle, throne, or cushion of a throne or seat" (Coto). *Muj* is literally "shadow" and likely refers to the shadow cast by the canopy. Alonso de Zorita noted that prior to the Spanish conquest, the Quichés had "three lords" who were distinguished by the number of canopies they had: "The principal lord had three canopies or mantles adorned with fine featherwork over his seat, the second had two, and the third one" (Zorita 1963, 272).

Shining Black Powder[696] and Yellow Stone,[697]

Puma Paws and Jaguar Paws,

Head and Hooves of the Deer,[698]

Arm Band[699] and Snailshell Rattle,

Tobacco Gourd[700] and Food Bowl,[701]

Macaw Feathers and Snowy Egret Feathers.[702]

All these they brought when they returned. They also brought the writings[703] of Tulan from the other side of the sea. These were the writings, as they were called, that contained the many things with which they had been invested.[704]

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[694] Coto identifies this as a small bone flute used in dances.

[695] The standard musical instruments used in ritual processions and ceremonies are the flute and large drum. Each is considered a living entity. Among the modern highland Maya, the drum often has a hole, or cluster of holes, in its side called its "mouth." Attendants periodically pour liquor into this hole to give the drum strength when it gets "thirsty."

[696] Basseta identifies *tatil* (a variant of *titil*), as a shining black powder or saltpetre used to dry ink when writing. Ximénez interprets *titil* as an "unguent with which they [Quichés] paint/smear" (Ximénez 1985, 536). In this context, it, along with the "yellow stone" that is paired with it, were likely pigments used as face or body paint connected with ceremonial performances.

[697] Coto identifies *ɛan abah* (yellow stone) as face paint.

[698] Deerskins were the symbol of Tohil, the patron deity of the Quichés. They are still kept in many highland Maya communities as tokens of deities and worn in dances (see footnote 620).

[699] *Makutax* from the Nahua *macuetlaxtli* (*mah*—hand, arm; *cuetlax*—leather) (Campbell 1983, 84; cf. Edmonson 1971, 218; D. Tedlock 1996, 316 n. 179). Because it is paired with a musical instrument, this perhaps has dangles that make sounds when danced.

[700] *K'us B'us* (Tobacco Gourd). This is likely derived from a combination of the lowland Maya word for tobacco (*k'utz*), and a small wild gourd used to hold ground tobacco (*b'ux*). Tobacco plays a major role in Maya ceremonies, both ancient and modern. Deities, rulers, and priests are often depicted wearing a tobacco pouch in Precolumbian art.

[701] Tedlock identifies *kaxkon* with the Nahua *caxcomulli* (bowl for eating) (D. Tedlock 1996, 316 n. 179).

[702] *Astapulul* is likely the great heron or snowy egret, a word derived from the Nahua *aztapololli* (*aztatl*—great heron or snowy egret; and *pol*—great, large) (Campbell 1983, 84; cf. Recinos 1950, 209 n. 5; D. Tedlock 1996, 316 n. 179).

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE QUICHÉS[705]

And when they arrived there atop their citadel called Hacavitz, they gathered all the Tamub and Ilocab together. All the nations rejoiced when Co Caib,[706] Co Acutec, and Co Ahau arrived. These alone received the lordship of the nations. The Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and the Ah Tziquinahas rejoiced when the sign of the greatness of their lordship was revealed to them. Great then would become the essence of the nations. For their lordship was not truly complete when they were at Hacavitz. When they were on top of the mountain the only people there were those who had come from the East. But now there were many of them. By then the wives of Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, and Mahucutah had died.

Then they left, they abandoned their mountain and searched for another mountain to settle. They settled innumerable mountains, giving each of them honorific epithets and

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[703] *Tz'ib'al* is both "writings and paintings." These were likely painted codices. Alonso de Zorita visited Utatlan soon after the Conquest and was shown certain "paintings that they had which recorded their history for more than eight hundred years back, and which were interpreted for me by very ancient Indians" (Zorita 1963, 272).

[704] These paintings and tokens of lordship gave the Quichés their sanction to rule, received from the hand of a "Toltec" lord who had the proper authority. The painted texts were likely a record of this sanction, prepared at the court of Nacxit to be used as proof of the lords' newly-acquired legitimacy as rulers.

[705] lines 7451-7550

[706] According to the *Título Totonicapán*, the Quiché lords sent both of the sons of Balam Quitze on this mission. Co Caib traveled East, and his brother Co Cavib went West. Co Caib was successful in bringing back the tokens of authority whereas Co Cavib returned without accomplishing his purpose (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 181). Upon his return, Co Cavib fell into further disgrace: "Then (C'ok'awib) demonstrated his weakness and fornicated with his sister in law, the wife of C'ocaib. Balam C'ok'awib engendered a son and the child was still in the cradle when it was told to C'ocaib" (Ibid.). It is this same Co Nache who succeeded his father (see p. 262; line 7557) and founded the title of Ah Popol (see p. 293; line 8520). Perhaps because of his illegitimacy, the *Título Totonicapán* suggests that he should have held the secondary office of *Ah Pop K'amja* (Ah Pop of the Reception House)j, which is, indeed, the office held by his descendents beginning with Iztayul (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 182). Co Caib's legitimate son Xmayquej apparently succeeded to the higher office of Ah Pop (Carmack 1981, 129-130).

names. Our first mothers and fathers gathered together and became strong, according to what the ancient people say. Thus they abandoned their first citadel, called Hacavitz.

Thus they arrived, they founded a new citadel called Chi Quix.[707] Here they spent a great deal of time atop this unified citadel group. They had daughters and sons when they were there. Although they were on four mountains, there was only one name for the entire citadel.

They gave away their daughters in marriage to their sons. They gave away their daughters merely as an act of compassion, as gifts without payment in return. They did only that which was good.

Then they passed through each division of the citadel. These were the names of the mountains of Chi Quix where they tarried: Chi Chac,[708] Humetaha,[709] Culba,[710] and Cavinal.[711]

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[707] *Chi K'ix* (Thorny Place). Akkeren places this site at the confluence of the Chixoy River and the Calá River where it is known today as Chi Cruz (Akkeren 2000, 94, 107-108).

[708] *Chi Chak* (Wound/Thorn Place).

[709] *Jumeta Ja* (Bark House). According to the *Título Totonicapán*, the Quichés settled this area briefly after they had abandoned Hacavitz: "They arrived at the place they called *Chi-Humet*, because there was an abundance of limestone and because they built their dwellings of it. They found some plantains and little birds. Nevertheless, they suffered many hardships in those mountains" (Chonay and Goetz 1953, 182; Carmack 1973, 290-291).

[710] *K'ulb'a* (Landmark), based on *k'ulb'at* (Basseta). In the *Título Totonicapán*, this site is referred to as Culba-Cavinal, indicating that they are closely-related sites.

[711] *Kawinal* (Armory), based on *cawij*, "to arm, adorn, prepare, embellish" (Basseta). The Late Postclassic site of Kawinal is located on the *Ka'ala* (Calá) River two kilometers north of where it empties into the Chixoy River (Akkeren, personal communication). The mountain above this site is still called Cerro Cauinal (Fox 1978, 249). It is likely that Chi Quix, Chi Chac, Humetaha and Culuba were located nearby, although their precise location is unknown (Recinos 1950, 211 n. 9). The *Título Totonicapán* and the *Título C'oyoi* list Humeta and Culba-Cavinal as places of refuge for the Quichés following their abandonment of Hacavitz. (Chonay and Goetz 1953, 182-183; Carmack 1973, 289). The Quichés allied themselves to the local Aq'ab' inhabitants here, although it must have been an unequal relationship since they received tribute from them (Carmack 1973, 289-291).

Then they investigated the mountains near their citadel. They looked for a mountain on which to dwell, for they had become numerous. They who had received lordship in the East were now dead. They who had come to the peaks of each citadel had become aged grandfathers. But they were not content.[712] They passed through numerous afflictions and misfortunes until at last they discovered the citadel of the grandfathers and the fathers.

This therefore was the name of the citadel that they came to:

THE FOUNDATION OF CHI IZMACHI[713]

CHI IZMACHI,[714] then, was the name of the mountain on which they dwelt as their citadel. There they settled and tested their glory. They ground their lime plaster and their whitewash[715] in the fourth generation of lords. It is said that Co Nache[716] and Beleheb Queh[717] ruled then, along with the Lord Magistrate.[718]

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[712] Literally "they did not receive their faces," which is "to settle down, be content, or become comfortable."

[713] lines 7550-7707

[714] *Chi Ismachi'* (Place of Whiskers). The ruins of this settlement are located on a hill just across a small canyon southwest of the later Quiché capital of Cumarcah, occupied at the time of the Spanish conquest. According to the *Título Tamub (Historia Quiché de Don Juan de Torres)*, the founding of this citadel marked the beginning of the true *ajawarem* (lordship) of the Quichés (Recinos 1957, 43-45), likely reinforced by the presence there of the tokens of office brought from Tulan by Co Caib. All three major lineages of the Quichés (Nima Quichés, Tamub, and Ilocab) occupied Chi Izmachi. After the Nima Quichés moved on to their eventual capital at Cumarcah, the Tamub were left behind as the sole inhabitants of Chi Izmachi. The disgraced Ilocab occupied the site of Chisalin (also known as Mukwitz Pilocab), located across a small canyon northeast of Cumarcah (Carmack 1981, 234-239).

[715] This is the first settlement described as having plastered and whitewashed buildings, characteristic of important Precolumbian centers as opposed to smaller communities built from adobe and wood.

[716] *K'o Na Che'* (Lord House Tree), where *na* is the Lowland Maya form of the Quiché *ja* (house). The Maya often refer to trees as metaphors for lineages, the branches (posterity) growing out of the trunk (founder).

It was there at Chi Izmachi that Lord Co Tuha[719] and Iztayul[720] ruled as Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House. Under them it came to be a very fine citadel.

Only three great houses[721] were built there at Chi Izmachi, not the twenty-four great houses of today. Yet there were three great houses:

Just one great house of the Cavecs;

Just one great house over the Nihaibs;

And just one of the Ahau Quichés.

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[717] *B'elejeb' Kej* (Nine Deer). This is the first occurence in the text of a historical figure whose name is derived from a day on the Highland Maya calendar, a common practice at the time of the Conquest and into the Spanish Colonial period. It is likely the day on which he was born.

[718] *Q'alel Ajaw.* This is another office within the Quiché hierarchy that has no English equivalent. It is the third highest position within the Nima Quiché line (after Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House). The title is specifically linked with the Nihaib lineage. Neither the Cavec, the Ajau Quichés, nor the Zaquics (the other three lineages within the Nima Quiché alliance) have a *Q'alel* title. Colonial dictionaries give a variety of descriptive meanings to it including "*cacique*" (Spanish for a native chief), "generous person, prince" (Coto), or simply an "important person" (Varea). Coto also lists *ah ɛalel* as a "constable." Basseta defines *calel achi* as a "captain of soldiers." In modern Quiché, the title is given to judges, and some early dictionaries suggest that this office may have included judicial functions as well. The title is likely something akin to "magistrate" with duties that include peacekeeping and military activity. *Ajaw* is "lord."

[719] *K'o Tuja* (Lord Sweatbath). According to other highland Maya documents, the rise of the Nima Quichés under the leadership of Co Tuha aroused the envy of the Ilocab at Chi Izmachi. At first they tried to create tension between Co Tuha and Iztayul, the Ah Pop of the Reception House. When this plan did not succeed, the Ilocab ambushed a group of Quiché lords and warriors as they bathed in a canyon. The Ilocab were eventually defeated and the survivors taken back to Chi Izmachi to be sacrificed, but Co Tuha subsequently disappears from the records and apparently died in the revolt. The records say that this was the beginning of regular human sacrifice at Chi Izmachi which caused all the people of the region to fear them greatly (Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 194). Soon after this incident the old alliance broke up and the Nima Quichés abandoned Chi Izmachi.

[720] Campbell suggests that this name is derived from the Nahua *ista*—white, and *yol*—heart, giving a reading of "White Heart" (Campbell 1983, 85-86).

[721] *Nim Ja* (Great House) may refer to both a large building or palace, as well as the lineage to which it was dedicated. In this case, the reference is to the lineage, since the three great houses were quartered in only two buildings. This is where administrative and judicial decisions were made for each of the major lineages. The *Popol Vuh* mentions that the negotiation of bride exchange in particular took place in the great houses. The great houses likely also served as the residences for the lineage heads as well as the repositories for the tokens of authority brought from Tulan.

There were only two swollen[722] great houses, one each for the two lineage divisions at Chi Izmachi. Their hearts were united. There were no bad feelings or anger, only steadfast[723] lordship. There was no contention or disturbance. There was only purity and a tranquil sense of community in their hearts. There was no envy[724] or jealousy.[725]

Yet their glory was still meager. They had not pulled together,[726] nor had they become great. They attempted to strengthen their defenses[727] there at Chi Izmachi. This act was surely a sign of their sovereignty. It was surely a sign of their glory, as well as their greatness.

However this was seen by the Ilocab, who fomented war. They desired that Lord Co Tuha be murdered. They desired that there be but one lord over them. Thus the Ilocab wished to convince Lord Iztayul to murder him. But this plot against Lord Co Tuha did not succeed. Their envy merely fell on their own backs. This first attempt by the Ilocab to kill the lord failed. Yet it was the foundation of strife and the clamor for war.

Thus the Ilocab made a first attempt at invading the citadel, coming as killers. It was their desire that the Quichés be destroyed.[728] They wished to exercise lordship in

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[722] *Kumatzil*. This is "swollen, enlarged, inflated" (Basseta). It likely refers here both to the size of the structures, as well as to the fact that they were overcrowded.

[723] *Li'anik* is "steadfast, flat, tranquil, pacific."

[724] *Moxwachinik* (left/crazy facing).

[725] *Q'aq'wachinik* (fire facing).

[726] The Quiché expression reads *kanuk'maijoq* (drawn/pulled together). It is an interesting coincidence that this metaphor is similar to our English expression "pull it together," meaning to get one's life or affairs in order.

[727] *Xkikowisaj pokob'* (they strengthened shield). *Kowisaj* is not only "to strengthen," but specifically "to plaster" (Coto). Thus the Quichés were fortifying their citadel with plastered walls.

[728] Literally "the loss of their faces."

their own hearts. But when they came to seize it they were captured and despoiled, and few of them were ever set free again.

Then began the sacrifices. The Ilocab were sacrificed before the face of the god as payment for their offenses against Lord Co Tuha. Thus many were taken into captivity and enslaved. They became servants. They merely gave themselves up in defeat as a result of their clamor for war against the lord as well as his canyon-citadel.[729] They had desired in their hearts to ruin and mock the lordship of the Quichés. But this was not accomplished. Thus they commenced to sacrifice these people before the face of the god.

Then they built their war defenses, and this was the beginning of the fortification of the citadel at Chi Izmachi. Thus they began to lay the foundation of their glory, because the sovereignty of the Quiché lord was surely great. Everywhere there were enchanted lords. None came to humiliate or mock them. They were but workers of greatness.

There they put down roots at Chi Izmachi, and there also their bloodletting god increased in greatness. And all the nations, the small and the great, became afraid. They witnessed the arrival of captive people to be sacrificed and killed by the glory and sovereignty of Lord Co Tuha and Lord Iztayul, in alliance with the Nihaib and Ahau Quichés. There were only three divisions of lineages there at the citadel named Chi Izmachi.

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[729] *Siwan tinamit* (canyon citadel). These two terms together refer to the fortified hilltop center as well as the surrounding population living in the canyons and valleys where crops were cultivated. Many contemporary Quiché towns are still referred to as *siwan-tinamit* when referring to the urban center plus its surrounding dependent communities. Bunzel notes that this phrase is always used to refer to the town of Chichicastenango in ritual contexts (Bunzel 1952, 2; Schultze-Jena 1954, 28).

And yet again they began to feast and to drink to their daughters. They who were called the Three Great Houses gathered together to celebrate. They would drink their drinks and eat their food, and this alone was the bride price for their sisters and their daughters. There was only joy in their hearts when they feasted within their great houses:

"We give only our thanks and our gratitude as a sign of our agreement;[730] as a sign of our word regarding the boys and girls born of their mothers," they said.

They gave one another honorific titles, and gave names to their lineages, their seven nations, their fortified cities.

"We have intermarried, we the Cavecs, we the Nihaibs, and we the Ahau Quichés," they said.

These three lineages, and these three great houses, dwelt a long time there at Chi Izmachi. But then they looked for and found another citadel. And so they abandoned the peak of Chi Izmachi.

THE FOUNDATION OF CUMARCAH[731]

THUS they rose up again and came to the citadel that the Quichés would call Cumarcah.[732] The lord Co Tuha, along with Cucumatz[733] and all the lords, came there.

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[730] *Tzijel* (word, news, agreement). In this context, *tzijel* refers to the covenant or agreement reached in marriage negotiations. It also has a double meaning, as *tzijel* may refer to "sons, descendents, posterity" (Coto).

[731] lines 7708-7787

[732] *Q'umarkaj* (Ancient/Rotten Canes/Reeds). The name of this citadel has generally been translated "Place of Rotten Canes" (Recinos 1950, 215, D. Tedlock 1996, 183). *Q'umarik,* however, also refers to something ancient, while *aj* can be used for a wide variety of reeds. The more likely translation of the citadel is thus "Place of Ancient Reeds." This ties the city figuratively with the ancient place of their origin at Tulan (Place of Reeds). Following the Spanish conquest, Cumarcah was renamed *Utatlan* by the Tlaxcalan allies of the invaders. In the Tlaxcalan dialect of Nahuatl, this name means "among the reeds," a close translation of the Quiché name (Carmack 1981, 143). Cumarcah was the capital of the Nima Quichés

There had been five moves and five generations of people since the beginning of the light, the beginning of the nations, the beginning of life and creation. There they built many homes. They also built houses for the gods at the center, on the highest point of the citadel.

Thus they came and began to be great in their lordship. They were many now, crowded together. They planned their great houses. They gathered together. And yet they were also divided because there began to be contention. They began to envy each other regarding the bride price for their sisters and their daughters. For it was no longer merely food and drink that they demanded. This, then, was the root of their division. They turned on each other, desecrating[734] the bones and the skulls of the dead. They became infuriated

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at the time of the Spanish conquest. The ruins of the citadel are located approximately two kilometers west of the modern city of Santa Cruz del Quiché. Little remains of its buildings, partly because it was burned by Pedro de Alvarado during his conquest of the Maya highlands in 1524, and partly because of extensive looting of its stones for buildings elsewhere since that time. Cumarcah was constructed atop a small plateau with nearly vertical cliffs on all of its sides. Anciently, the citadel was accessible only by a narrow causeway and bridge from the southeast, and by a steep stairway on the west side (Fox 1978, 22-24), making it easily defended from attack. The move to Cumarcah was apparently necessitated by conflict among the major Quiché lineages. As a result, the Nima Quichés founded Cumarcah as their capital in ca. 1400, while the Tamub remained at nearby Chi Izmachi, and the Ilocab founded a new settlement at Mukwitz Chilocab (Burial Mountain of the Ilocab), now called Chisalin, also located in the vicinity (Recinos 1957, 43-44; Fox 1978, 36). Archaeologically, Mukwitz was by far the smallest of the three, indicating the decline in power suffered by the Ilocab (Carmack 1981, 167). The first occupation in the Cumarcah region actually dates to ca. 1250, thus it is likely that the "move" as described here is less a literal migration than the establishment of the citadel as a center of power as the Cavec lineage becomes more prominent (Akkeren, personal communication).

[733] *Q'ukumatz* (Quetzal Serpent) was likely the son of Co Tuha, who acceded upon the death of his father at the hands of the Ilocab. The manuscript always spells the name of this lord as Cucumatz, whereas the creator deity with the same, or similar, name is spelled Qucumatz. The variant spellings may be the result of multiple scribes working on the manuscript, each with his/her own creative ways of spelling. Alternatively, it may simply be a means of distinguishing between the deity and this lord. With Cucumatz, who reigned ca. 1400-1425, we are entering into a period of Quiché history in which historical details are better known. Under the direction of Cucumatz the power of the Quichés expanded northward to the area of present-day Sacapulas in a series of campaigns aided by allied Cakchiquel warriors (Recinos 1957, 133-139).

[734] Literally "turning over." The ancient Maya kept and revered the bones of their ancestors as the foundation of their power and legitimacy. To disturb these bones would be far more serious than to insult the living members of the lineage. It is likely that the bones of the ancestral founders were kept in the great houses. Thus López-Medel wrote that great rulers were buried in the great houses beneath the place where they had exercised rule in life (Carmack 1981, 193).

with one another and split apart. Thus there came to be nine lineage divisions because of this contention over the sisters and the daughters. Therefore, when lordship was conceived, twenty-four great houses came to be.

When they arrived in ancient times at the top of their citadel, they completed twenty-four great houses there in the citadel of Cumarcah. This citadel was blessed by the lord bishop[735] after it was left abandoned.

They were advanced in rank,[736] differentiated by their benches and their cushions. They were set apart, each according to their glory. Each of the lords of the nine lineages was distinguished by rank:

Nine lords of the Cavecs;

Nine lords of the Nihaibs;

Four lords of the Ahau Quichés;

And two of the Ahau Zaquics.

Thus they came to be numerous. Many there were behind each of the lords. From the beginning they were the heads of numerous vassals and servants.[737] Each of the lineages of lords became crowded.

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[735] The authors of the *Popol Vuh* are identifying the citadel of Cumarcah as the capital city of the Quichés at the time of the Spanish conquest. The ruins of its destroyed temples and palaces were blessed by the Roman Catholic bishop Francisco Marroquín in 1539: "The very illustrious and reverend Señor Don Francisco Marroquín... was in that court, and blessed the place, and there he fixed and raised the standard of faith, the sign of our Redemption; it was in the same place where for so many years the Prince of Darkness, that idol Tojil, had reigned; thus it was a sign of triumph and conquest" (Ximénez 1929-31, I.xxxix.115). Thus the site of Cumarcah remained a center of occupation for survivors of the conquest for at least a few decades following the conquest. Dominicans administered this settlement, which they called Santa Cruz Utatlán. A new city was built nearby in 1555 named Santa Cruz el Quiché (Spanish "Holy Cross of the Quiché). Today Santa Cruz is the capital city of the State (*Departamento*) of El Quiché, Guatemala.

[736] *Xeq'aq'ar* (they were glorified, advanced in rank). The verb form is derived from *q'aq'al* (glory, power).

We shall now give the titles of each of the lords and of each of their great houses:

THE TITLES OF THE CAVEC LORDS[738]

THESE, then, are the titles of the lords over the Cavecs.[739] The first lords are:

Ah Pop[740] and

Ah Pop of the Reception House;[741]

Ah Tohil and

Ah Cucumatz;[742]

Great Steward of the Cavecs[743] and

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[737] The political organization of the citadel is based on kinship terms, although no true familial relationship need exist. Here the terms are *al, k'ajol* (child of woman, son of man) which are metaphors for vassals and servants.

[738] lines 7788-7802

[739] Literally "lords before the faces of the Cavecs."

[740] *Aj Pop* (He of the Mat), the highest office in the Quiché hierarchy.

[741] *Aj Pop K'am Ja* (He of the Mat Reception House). This is the second highest office. Coto lists this office as a "messenger, errand boy." Considering the importance of this position, a more likely translation would be "emissary, legate, or vice-*ah pop*." "Reception House" likely refers to a reception hall for meeting with visiting dignitaries or for receiving tribute.

[742] *Aj Tojil, Aj Q'ukumatz* (He of Tojil, He of Cucumatz). These are likely priests of the two major patron deities. *Q'ukumatz* (Quetzal Serpent) was one of the creator deities (see pp. 61, 68-72, 80-82; lines 25, 140-154)

[743] *Nim Ch'okoj Kaweq* (Great Seating Cavec). *Ch'okoj* is "to seat," but when used as a title it refers to one who calls people to service, or to a banquet (Varea). Thus Ximénez glosses *chocoh* as being associated with a "wedding or banquet" (Ximénez 1985, 200). The *ch'okoj* is also charged with providing the food and drinks for state functions, as well as making pronouncements and public discourses. The nearest English terms for such an office would be a "steward or master of ceremonies," although these are comparatively minor functions in most modern societies. It is not a minor role in Maya communities. In Santiago Atitlán, it is the *cabecera* (Spanish: "head person"), the head of the entire confraternity system, that is charged with overseeing the preparation of food and drink, as well as leading the procession of such dishes for large public events. Until the secularization of Guatemalan communities after World War II, the *cabecera* was the principal political and ecclesiastical authority in traditional Maya communities. Within each individual confraternity, it is the wife of the confraternity head that is charged with preparing the food for communal meals, and it is the confraternity head himself who pays for it, distributes it, and gives a brief discourse

Councilor of the Stacks;[744]

Emissary of the Deer House,[745]

Councilor in the Ballcourt of Punishment,[746] and

Mother of the Reception House.[747]

THESE, then, are the lords over the Cavecs.

There are nine lords for each of the great houses and these shall now be shown:

THE TITLES OF THE NIHAIB LORDS[748]

THESE, then, are the lords over the Nihaibs. The first lords are:

Lord Magistrate[749] and

Lord Herald;[750]

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welcoming those in attendance and, where appropriate, explaining the meaning of the event. Bunzel suggests that at Chichicastenango, the ceremonies of the confraternity are "little more than a series of sacramental meals in which the sacred character of food, especially maize and cacao, holds the center of interest, even to the exclusion of the saint in whose honor the ceremony presumably is held." In conjunction with such meals, "there are long speeches of blessing and a special type of music" (Bunzel 1952, 45-46). The concluding remarks of the *Popol Vuh* text suggest that the authors were, indeed, the *Nim Ch'okoj* of the three major Quiché lineages. In that passage the three *Nim Ch'okoj* are referred to as the "givers of birth, the mothers and fathers of the word," presumably referring to the text of the *Popol Vuh* itself (see p. 305; lines 8702-8703).

[744] *Popol Winaq Chi T'uy* (Councilor of the Stacks). *Popol Winaq* (Mat Person) is the head of a ruling or deliberative council, the unity of the council being symbolized by the interlaced reeds in a woven mat. *T'uy* is a "stack, pile." This latter term is likely a reference to tribute. It is common in scenes depicting throne rooms on ancient Maya ceramic vessels to see stacks of tribute in the form of textiles, bark paper, exotic feathers and skins, cacao beans, etc.

[745] *Lolmet Kej Nay* (Emissary of the Deer House). *Lolmet* (or *Lolmay*) is an "emissary or ambassador." *Kej* is deer. *Na[y]* is the Lowland Maya version of the Quichéan *Ja[y]* (house).

[746] *Popol Winaq pa Jom Tzalatz* (Councilor in the Ballcourt of Punishment). *Jom* is "ballcourt." *Tzal* is "war, battle, conflict," while *tzalatz* means "punishment, or penalty" (Coto).

[747] *U Chuch K'am Ja* (Mother of the Reception House). This is likely the overseer of the hall where dignitaries are received, or the building where tribute is stored.

[748] lines 7803-7814

[749] *Ajaw Q'alel* (Lord Magistrate).

Magistrate of the Reception House[751] and

Great Reception House;[752]

Mother of the Reception House[753] and

Great Steward of the Nihaibs;[754]

Auilix,[755]

Yacolatam (Corner of the Reed Mat) *Zaclatol,*[756] and

Great Emissary of the Sprout Giver.[757]

Nine, then, were the lords of the Nihaibs.

THE TITLES OF THE AHAU QUICHÉ LORDS[758]

THESE, then, are the titles of the lords of the Ahau Quichés:

Herald Person[759] and

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[750] *Ajaw Aj Tzik' Winaq* (Lord Herald Person). *Aj Tzik'* is a "crier, proclaimer, speaker, herald, announcer."

[751] *Q'alel K'am Ja* (Magistrate Reception House).

[752] *Nima K'am Ja* (Great Reception House).

[753] *U Chuch K'am Ja* (Its Mother Reception House).

[754] *Nim Ch'okoj Nijaib'ab'* (Great Steward Nijaibs).

[755] *Awilix*. This is the patron god of the Nijaibs. Likely this is the title for the god's priest.

[756] *Yakolatam*, *U Tza'm Pop Zaklatol*. This is a singular instance in the *Popol Vuh* text where a Nahua language title is supplied with a Quiché translation by the authors. *Yakolatam* is derived from the Nahua *yacatl* (point, edge) and *tam* (leaves). This is followed by a comma in the manuscript, a fairly rare grammatical mark which in this case may indicate a pause for the authors to give a translation of the preceding word into Quiché. *U tza'm pop* (Quiché: its nose/point/edge/border reed mat) is a rough translation of *yakolatam. Zaklatol* is a combination of the Nahua *zacatl* (grass) and *tollin* (reed), a translation of the preceding *pop* (reed mat).

[757] *Nima Lolmet Ye'ol T'ux* (Great Emissary Giver of Sprouts). *T'ux* is a "sprout, or budding blossom."

[758] lines 7815-7822

Lord Emissary;[760]

Great Lord Steward of the Ahau [Quichés][761] and

Lord Hacavitz.[762]

These are the four lords over the Ahau Quichés. These are the great houses.

THE TITLES OF THE ZAQUIC LORDS[763]

THERE are also two lineages of Zaquic lords:

Maize Flower House[764] and

Magistrate of the Zaquics.[765]

There is only one house for the two lords.

THE GLORY OF THE LORDS OF CUMARCAH[766]

THUS were established the twenty-four lords as well as the twenty-four great houses.

Then their glory and their sovereignty were increased in Quiché. The grandeur and importance[767] of the Quichés was glorified and made sovereign. Then as well the

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[759] *Aj Tzik' Winaq* (Herald Person).

[760] *Ajaw Lolmet* (Lord Emissary).

[761] *Ajaw Nim Ch'okoj Ajaw [K' iche']* (Lord Great Steward Ahau [Quiché]). The authors did not include the full name of the Ahau [Quiché] lineage, although this is implied.

[762] *Ajaw Jakawitz* (Lord Hacavitz). This is likely the priest of the god Hacavitz, the patron deity of the Ahau Quichés.

[763] lines 7823-7828

[764] *Tz'utuju Ja* (Maize Flower House).

[765] *Q'alel Saqik* (Magistrate Saquic).

[766] lines 7829-7943

canyon-citadel[768] was whitewashed and plastered. The nations came there, the small and the great. Thus the lord who made Quiché great has his name.

Then were created their glory and their sovereignty. Then they created the homes of their gods, as well as the homes of the lords. But they themselves did not do it, nor did they work to build their homes or the homes of their gods. Instead it was their vassals and their servants, who had become numerous. They did not need to lure them, or abduct them, or carry them off by force, for they truly belonged to each one of the lords. This place also came to be crowded with the lords' older brothers and younger brothers.[769]

The lords were ever-solicitous,[770] each of them receiving numerous petitions. They were truly beloved. Great was the authority[771] of the lords. The birthdays of the lords were honored and respected by their vassals and servants.

Thus they multiplied there in the canyon-citadel. Yet they were still not as many as those who fell under submission from among the nations. Even when war came upon their canyon and their citadel, they were glorified because of the spirit essence of their lords, Lord Cucumatz and Lord Co Tuha.

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[767] *Alal nimal* (greatness weightiness/importance). When paired, the combination means "power" (Basseta).

[768] Thus not only were the buildings of the fortified hilltop citadel plastered and whitewashed, but the dependent communities in the valleys and canyons below were similarly well built.

[769] *Atz, chaq'* (older brother of a male, younger brother of a male). These likely refer to allies or affiliated lineage heads rather than fraternal brothers.

[770] Literally "accumulated their existence." This is to be "assiduous, solicitous, vigilant, preoccupied."

[771] In modern Quiché usage, *q'ale'm* is both "authority," as well as "responsibility for the well-being of someone."

Cucumatz became a truly enchanted lord. In one transformation[772] he would rise up into the sky, and in another transformation he would go down to Xibalba. In another transformation he would be a serpent, truly becoming a serpent. In another transformation he would make himself into an eagle; and in another transformation into a jaguar. Truly his appearance would be that of an eagle and of a jaguar. In another transformation he would become a pool of blood. Mere pooled blood he would become. Truly he was an enchanted lord in his essence.

Thus all the lords were frightened before his face. Tales about him were quickly spread abroad[773] and all the lords of the nations heard of the nature of this enchanted lord.

This, then, was the beginning of the increase of the Quichés. Lord Cucumatz founded the grandeur of his descendents. The faces of his grandchildren and his sons were not lost in his heart. He did not do this so that he would be the sole lord. But his nature was enchanted and thus he toppled all the lords of the nations. This he did merely to reveal himself. Yet because of it, he became the head of the nations. The enchanted lord named Cucumatz was of the fourth generation of lords. He alone was both Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House. He left behind his heritage for his descendents. For they became glorious, and sovereigns as well.

And then they begat sons, even their own sons, making them numerous. Thus were begotten Tepepul and Iztayul. These exercised true lordship. They were the fifth generation of lords that came to be. They begat sons as well, each a generation of lords.

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[772] *Wuq'*. I base this reading on *wuq'e* which is "to embody, convince" (Coto). It may also be "to wrap one's self, envelop, or bundle," perhaps a reference to the clothing and accoutrements worn in transformational dances.

[773] Literally "broke open/shattered its hearing." This implies an instantaneous and widely disseminated spread of the tale, something like the English expression, "breaking news."

THE VICTORIES OF LORD QUICAB[774]

THESE, then, are the names of the sixth generation of lords. There were two great and glorious lords: Quicab[775] was the name of the first lord, and Cauizimah[776] was the

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[774] lines 7944-8032

[775] *K'iq'ab'* (many hands), the son of Cucumatz, reigned as the Ah Pop of the Nima Quichés from ca. 1425-1475 (Carmack 1981, 122). The name of this lord suggests his power to accomplish what would be impossible for someone with only two hands. It may also suggest the number of vassals and servants he possessed. Quicab's father, Lord Cucumatz, died in battle in an attempt to avenge the death of his daughter at the hands of his son-in-law, Tecum Sicom, a rival lord at Coha, located somewhere near the modern town of Sacapulas (Recinos 1957, 138-141; Carmack 1981, 134-135), or alternatively Quetzaltenango (Akkeren 2000, 23, 212-213). More recently places Coha in the Quetzaltenango area, although it was allied with the Sacapulas region in opposing the rising power of the Quichés (Akkeren 2000, 23, 212-213). Two years later, his son Quicab along with his Cakchiquel allies invaded the town, seized a large cache of jade and precious metal, and burned the town of Coha to the ground. The surviving lords of Coha were taken back to Cumarcah to be sacrificed (Recinos 1957, 140-147). Quicab also brought the bones of his father back to Cumarcah where they were kept in a bundle. This campaign resulted in the conquest of the northern border regions of the Quiché's territory. This included the lands of the Cumatz and Tuhal around Sacapulas as well as that of the Mam of Zaculeu. Quicab subsequently expanded his empire by subduing the rival Sajcabaja, Caukeb and Cubulco (Ikomaquib) in the east and extending his influence as far as the upper Usumacinta and Motagua River Valleys. In the west his forces reached the Ocós River near the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Chiapas, Mexico. Further conquests extended from the Alta Verapaz in the north to the Pacific Ocean near Escuintla in the south, an area of approximately 26,000 square miles (Fox 1978, 3-4). At the height of his power, Quicab fell victim to an internal revolt ca. 1470 (Carmack 1981, 136-137; Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 195-196). As recorded in the *Título Totonicapán*, all the major lineages, including the Tamub, Ilocab, Rabinals, Cakchiquels, Ah Tziquinahas, and the inhabitants of Sacapulas and Aguateca, gathered at Cumarcah to observe the "Great Dance of Tohil," the patron deity of the Cavec Quichés. In the presence of all the lords, rebel nobles, apparently related to the same faction that had rebelled against Co Tuha, danced with the deities of the various groups present dressed in skins and hunting attire. At the climax of the dance, the son of a Quiché ah pop began to give sacrificial offerings to Tohil. This act was a cue for rebels to initiate an attack against Quicab and his supporters (Carmack 1981, 136; Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 196; Akkeren 2000, 325-335). Although Quicab survived the revolt, his power and authority were severely diminished. He was forced to "humble himself" before the rebel warriors, who "seized the government and the power" (Recinos and Goetz 1953b). One by one the former vassal states within Quicab's empire broke away. His old allies, the Cakchiquels, remained loyal but were soon beset by attacks and insults from the new lords of Cumarcah. As a result, according to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, Quicab counseled them to leave the city as well as their old settlement at Chiavar, and establish their own capital independent of the Quichés:

> "The die is cast. Tomorrow you will cease to exercise here the command and power which we have shared with you. Abandon the city to these *k'unum* (penises) and *k'achaq* (dung). Let them not hear your words again, my sons" (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 97).

Soon thereafter, in ca. 1470, the Cakchiquels under their lords Huntoh and Vucubatz (who had fought alongside Quicab as his allies) founded the citadel of Iximche', an act that initiated a series of disasterous wars between the Quichés and Cakchiquels that persisted until the coming of the Spaniards in 1524. The Ah Tziquinahas were already independent for most, if not all, of the time of their occupation around Lake Atitlán, leaving the Quichés isolated and surrounded by their enemies.

name of the other. These accomplished a great many deeds. They made the Quichés great, for their essence was truly enchanted. They broke apart and shattered the canyons and the citadels of the small nations and the great nations. Anciently these citadels were close together:

The mountain of the Cakchiquels was where Chuvila[777] is today.

The mountain of the Rabinals was Pa Maca.[778]

The mountain of the Caocs[779] was Zaccabaha.[780]

The citadels, then, of the Zaculeus[781] were Chuvi Miquina,[782] Xelahu,[783] Chuva Tzac,[784] and Tzoloh Che.[785]

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[776] *Ka Wi' Simaj* (Two Heads/Tips Sharp). If this lord's name has significance beyond being a proper name, it may have a double meaning. The "sharpness" may refer to the points of the weapons under his command, but it may also refer to the "sharpness" of his mind (a common expression among the Quichés just as it is in English). The latter is all the more impressive because he has "two heads" with which to be clever. Together, these two rulers combine the benefits of "many deeds" and "many thoughts."

[777] *Chuwi' La* (Above the Stinging Nettle). This is the site of the modern town of Chichicastenango, which at the time of the Spanish conquest was a Quiché community (as it still is today). The original Quiché version of the *Popol Vuh* manuscript was discovered here by Francisco Ximénez.

[778] *Pa Mak'a'* (Place of Water Droplets). Alternatively this may be *Pa Mak'a* (Place of Dawn), a contracted form of *mak'ahan* (morning, dawn). Akkeren (personal communication) suggests that this may be an abbreviated form of *Pa Amaq' A'* (Place of the Water of the Nations), the ancient name for the River Motagua which is located some 10 km. away (Hill 1996, 357; Akkeren 2000, 136-137). This is the present-day town of Zacualpa (Fox 1978, 236-237; Carmack 1981, 185).

[779] *Ka'okeb'* (Caocs). The name is likely derived from *kawoq*, one of the twenty named day-signs of the traditional highland Maya calendar. In the late Postclassic, many of the Caocs moved to the area of Sacatepequez where they were subjugated by the Cakchiquels (Akkeren 2000, 217-218). These are likely the ancestors of the people who settled two communities west of present-day Guatemala City named Santiago Cauque (Sacatepequez) and Santa Maria Cauque (Sacatepequez) (Recinos 1950, 221 n. 4; D. Tedlock 1996, 324 n. 187).

[780] *Saqkab'a Ja* (Plastered House). This is the present-day town of San Andrés Sajcabaja.

[781] *Saq Ulewab'* (White Earths). These are the Mam speakers. Their ancient capital, Zaculeu, is located four kilometers west of present-day Huehuetenango. The Mam region was conquered soon after the campaigns of Quicab against the Sacapulas Valley sites. The Mam remained subject to the Quichés and fought with them against the Spaniards (Fox 1978, 147).

[782] *Chuwi' Miq'ina'* (Above Hot Water). This is likely the site known locally as Chuitinamit, located 700 meters above a series of hot water springs near present-day Totonicapán (Recinos 1950, 221; Fox 1978, 161). This and the next three settlements in the list were all heavily populated Quiché communities at the

These all paid homage[786] to Quicab. They had made war, but they were broken apart. The canyons and citadels of the Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and the Zaculeus were shattered. All the nations collapsed and were split apart. Yet for a great while Quicab's warriors persisted. There were not then even one or two groups among the nations that did not bring their tribute. Their citadels fell, and they brought tribute before Quicab and Cauizimah.

These lords invaded the lineages, who were bled and shot while bound to wooden posts.[787] Their day came to nothing, nor did they ever have descendents. It was merely

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time of the Spanish conquest, attesting the effectiveness of Quicab's military campaigns. They continue to be occupied by Quiché speakers today.

[783] *Xe' Laju* (Below Ten). This is a contracted form of the full name of this site, *Xe' Laju[j No'j]* (Below Ten *No'j*—a day on the traditional highland Maya calendar). According to native chronicles, this was the principle settlement in the southern Quetzaltenango basin, although its precise location is unknown. Modern Quetzaltenango is the second largest city in Guatemala.

[784] *Chuwa Tz'aq* (Before Wall/Altar). This is present-day Momostenango (Nahua "Place of the Altars). This community is still known as *Chuwa Tz'aq* by its Quiché inhabitants. The ruins of the ancient citadel are now called Pueblo Viejo (Spanish "Old Town), located some six kilometers northwest of town.

[785] *Tz'oloj Che'* (Willow Tree). This is in the area of Santa María Chiquimula, likely the nearby ruins known as Pugertinamit located southwest of town (Fox 1978, 129; Carmack 1981, 186). The region became subject to the Nima Quichés in the mid-fifteenth century (Carmack 1973, 291; Recinos 1957).

[786] *Xrixowaj*. This reading is based on *xowaj*, "to respect, obey, revere, pay homage" (Basseta).

[787] This refers to an early form of highland Maya ritual sacrifice or execution. The following is a description from the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*:

> Then began the execution of Tolgom. He dressed and covered himself with his ornaments. Then they tied him with his arms extended to a poplar tree to shoot him with arrows. Afterwards all the warriors began to dance. The music to which they danced is called the song of Tolgom. Following this they began to shoot the arrows, but no one of them hit the cords [with which he was tied], but instead they fell beyond the gourd tree, in the place of Qakbatzulú where all the arrows fell. At last our ancestor Gagavitz shot the arrow which flew directly to the spot called *Cheetzulú* and pierced Tolgom. After which all of the warriors killed him. Some of the arrows entered [his body] and others fell farther away. And when that man died, his blood was shed in abundance behind the poplar. Then they came and completed the division [of pieces of him] among all the warriors of the seven tribes that took part in the offering and the sacrifice, and his death was commemorated thereafter in the month of Uchum. Every year they gathered for their festivals and orgies and shot at the children, but instead [of arrows] they shot at them with alder branches as though they were Tolgom. Thus our grandfathers related of old,

arrows that were the means of shattering the citadels. Straightaway the mouth of the earth would be split open and thunder would shatter the stones. Thus the nations would suddenly become frightened and make offerings before the Pine Resin Tree. This has become a sign for the citadels, for today there is a mountain of stones, only a few of which were not cut cleanly as if cut by an axe. It is there in the plain called Petatayub[788] where it may be clearly seen by all the people who pass by it. This is the sign of the war prowess of Quicab. He was not killed, nor was he defeated. He was truly a warrior, and he received tribute from all the nations.

Then all of the lords planned, sending blockaders around the canyons and around the citadels, all the fallen citadels of the nations.

THE QUICHÉS GARRISON THE CONQUERED REGIONS[789]

THUS the sentinels went forth as lookouts against enemy warriors. They became the lineage of watchmen, guardians of the mountains:

"If the nations come again, these will be the guardians," it was said.

Then all the lords gathered their thoughts and sent out their orders:

"They shall be as our stockade, as the representatives of our lineage, as our fortress. They shall become our palisade, the expression of our anger, our prowess in war," said all the lords.

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oh, our sons! (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 74-75; for a discussion of this sacrificial ritual see Akkeren 2000, 335-341).

[788] Campbell suggests that this location is the area today known as Ayutla, near Tapachula, Mexico (located just across the border from Guatemala). The name is likely derived from the Nahua *petlatl*—reed mat (Campbell 1983, 84).

[789] lines 8033-8180

Then the orders were sent out to each of the lineages who were to oppose the enemy warriors. They instructed all of them who were to be sent as guardians of their mountain nations:

"Go, for these are our mountains now. Do not fear. If there are still warriors that attack you or kill you, come at once to notify us and we shall go and kill them." Thus spoke Quicab, along with the Magistrate and the Herald by way of instruction.

And so they went to "put the notch of the arrow to the center of the bowstring,"[790] as it is said.

Thus the grandfathers and fathers came to be separated. All the Quiché people were placed, each of them, on a mountain as guardians. They were guardians of arrows and bowstrings. They went as guardians against war. Thus they did not have a single dawn, nor did they have a single god. They went out to blockade all the citadels:

Ah Uuila[791] and Ah Chulimal,[792]

Zaqui Ya[793] and Xahbaquieh,[794]

Chi Temah[795] and Vahxalahuh,[796]

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[790] Literally "set the mouth (notch) of the arrow on the mouth (the center point) of the bowstring." The expression refers to being ready for battle.

[791] *Aj U Wi' La* (They of Its Top Stinging Nettles). This is a contracted form of *Aj Chuwi' La* (They of Above Stinging Nettles), which is Chichicastenango. The inhabitants of Chichicastenango are referred to by this name in the *Título de la Casa Ixcuin Nihaib* (Recinos 1957, 71; see also footnote 777).

[792] *Aj Chulimal*. This is perhaps a transcription error for *Aj Ch'umilal* (They of the Stars), one of the lineages mentioned earlier in the text (see foonote 518).

[793] *Saqi Ya'* (White River). Akkeren identifies this as a site west of Chichicastenango (2000, 171).

[794] *Xajb'a Kiej* (Dancing Place/Costume Deer).

[795] *Chi Temaj* (At the Tilt/Slope). Akkeren identifies this, as well as Vahxalahuh as sites near Chichicastenango (2000, 171).

[796] *Wajxalajuj* (Eighteen).

Along with Ah Cabracan,[797] Chabi Cac,[798] and Chi Hunahpu,[799]

With Ah Maca[800] and Ah Xay Abah,[801]

Ah Zaccabaha[802] and Ah Ziyaha,[803]

Ah Miquina[804] and Ah Xelahuh.[805]

These went forth as war sentinels to the plains and to the mountains. They were guardians of the earth. They were sent out by Quicab and Cauizimah, the Ah Pop and the Ah Pop of the Reception House, as well as by the Magistrate and the Herald. Four lords sent them out to act as sentinels against the warriors.

Quicab and Cauizimah were the names of the two lords over the Cavecs;

Quema[806] was the name of the lord over the Nihaibs;

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[797] *Aj Kab'raqan* (They of Earthquake). This is perhaps related to a small community that still carries a similar name, Chicabracan (Place of Earthquakes), nine kilometers east of Utatlan, where there is a group of Precolumbian ruins including a small masonry temple (Fox 1978, 42).

[798] *Ch'ab'i Q'aq'* (Arrow Fire). This is a comet (Coto), or a meteor. Perhaps the same as the settlement of the Uchabahas (see footnote 517).

[799] *Chi Junajpu* (Hunahpu Place).

[800] *Aj Mak'a'* (They of Water Droplets, or alternatively, They of Dawn). Likely the inhabitants of *Pa Mak'a',* which is today Zacualpa (see footnote 778).

[801] *Aj Xay Ab'aj* (They of Combed Mountain). Akkeren (personal communication) suggests that this should be Ah Xoy Abah (Polishing Stone/Jasper). The Xoy lineage lived along the Chixoy River, centered at the place where the road from the Verapaz region crosses it on its way to Sacapulas. A branch of this lineage settled the modern area of Joyabaj. According to Ximénez, Joyabaj marked the border between the Central Quiché to the west and the Rabinal to the east (Ximénez 1929-31, I.lxxiv.484).

[802] *Saqkab'a Ja* (Whitewashed House). Mentioned as the place of the Caocs. This is the present-day town of Sajcabaja (see footnote 780).

[803] This is likely a transcription error for *Aj Sija'* (They of Flowering Tree Water). This is the present-day community of Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán.

[804] *Aj Miq'ina'* (They of Hot Water). The same as *Chuwi' Miq'ina'* (Above Hot Water), which is Totonicapán (see footnote 782).

[805] *Aj Xe' Lajuj* (They of Below Ten). This is Quetzaltenango (see footnote 783).

Achac Iboy,[807] then, was the name of the lord over the Ahau Quichés.

These, then, were the names of the lords that sent out messengers and envoys. They left their vassals and their servants on the mountains, on each one of the mountains.

And soon after they left, they began to bring back female captives[808] and male captives, who were presented before Quicab, Cauizimah, the Magistrate, and the Herald. They made war with the notch of the arrow and the center of the bowstring, taking female captives and male captives. These envoys came to be warlike then.

Thus they were given gifts. They were increased. The lords provided for[809] them when they came to deliver all of their female captives and male captives.

Thus the lords Ah Pop, Ah Pop of the Reception House, Magistrate, and Herald gathered their thoughts. Then they made a proclamation:

"We shall ennoble[810] they who are truly first among these lineages who have carried the burden of being watchmen."

"I am the Ah Pop."

"I am the Ah Pop of the Reception House."

"The emblems of office of the Ah Pop shall now become yours. You shall be adorned as Lord Magistrates and as Magistrates," said all the lords when they gathered their thoughts.

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[806] *Kema* (Weaving). This may be based either on the verb (to weave) or the noun (textile). I have chosen "Weaving" as it may be understood as either.

[807] *Achaq Ib'oy* (Droppings/Backside/Buttocks Armadillo).

[808] *Anab'* (sister of a man). In this context these are female captives.

[809] Literally "heartened." In Quiché terminology, this is "to tend to, look after, provide for needs."

[810] Literally "to take, grasp, seize," apparently referring to some ceremonial action when raising a person to the rank of nobility.

The Tamub and the Ilocab did the same. The three groups of the Quichés were united.[811]

Thus they ennobled them, giving them their titles. This, then, was their consensus. But it was not there that they ennobled them. There was a designated mountain on which the first vassals and servants were ennobled. Thus all of them were summoned from each of their mountains. They gathered together as one.

THE names of the mountain where they were ennobled were Xe Balax[812] and Xe Camac.[813] This was the edict that was given. There at Chulimal[814] it was done.

THE TITLES GIVEN TO THOSE WHO WERE ENNOBLED[815]

THESE, then, were their titles, their nobility, and the tokens of their office:

Twenty magistrates and twenty ah pops, who were raised to nobility by the Ah Pop and the Ah Pop of the Reception House, as well as by the Magistrate and the Herald. Thus all of the magistrates and ah pops received their offices.[816]

Eleven Great Stewards, Magistrates of the Lords, Magistrates of the Zaquics, Military Magistrates,[817] Military Ah Pops, Military Palisade Masters, and Military Border Masters.

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[811] "Same face."

[812] *Xe' B'alax* (Under Twisted Cord).

[813] *Xe' K'a'amaq'* (Under String).

[814] This mountain was mentioned earlier as one of those conquered by Quicab.

[815] lines 8181-8231

[816] *Eqalem* (burden, office, stewardship).

These were the titles of the men who were elevated in rank.

They were also named to their seats and to their cushions.[818] These were the first among the vassals and servants of the Quiché people. They were their watchers and their listeners, the notch of the arrow and the center of the bowstring. They encircled the Quichés as their stockade, their enclosure, their fortress, and their palisade.

The Tamub and the Ilocab did likewise. They also ennobled and gave titles to the first among their vassals and their servants on each of the mountains. This therefore was the foundation for the magistrates and ah pops who are assigned to each of the mountains today. This is also the order in which they go out behind the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House, and behind the Magistrate and Herald.[819]

THE NAMES OF THE GODS' HOUSES[820]

We shall now tell the names of the houses of the gods. These houses were simply named after the gods themselves:

Great Temple of Tohil[821] was the name of the temple that served as the house of Tohil of the Cavecs.

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[817] *Q'alel Achij* (Magistrate Warriors). *Achij* is "man" but may also refer to "warriors," as in this case. Basseta lists this title as "captain." This office and those that follow are likely military ranks.

[818] In Maya custom, dignitaries are seated on their thrones or benches according to rank.

[819] This likely refers to the order such officers take when walking in procession, or going out to war. Processions are common in traditional Maya communities, and the order of sequence as to who walks behind who is rather rigid.

[820] lines 8232-8325

[821] These three temples, dedicated to the patron deities of the Quichés, were the tallest buildings at the site and were arranged on three sides of the central plaza at Cumarcah, although the structure identified as the Hacavitz temple faces away from the plaza (Fernández-Valbuena 1996, 78-80; Cook 2000, 204). The tallest of these was the Temple of Tohil (Carmack 1981, 225-226). Unfortunately, all the stone that once faced the temple has been looted, leaving only its rubble core. It is still possible, however, to determine that

Auilix was the name of the temple that served as the house of Auilix of the Nihaibs.[822]

And Hacavitz was the name of the temple that served as the house of the god of the Ahau Quichés.[823]

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the main entrance to the sanctuary faced east, toward the rising sun. According to Ximénez, who visited the site when it was in much better condition, the temple of Tohil had stairways on all four sides, oriented to the cardinal directions (Ximénez 1929-31, I.xxvii.74-75). This is confirmed by a drawing of the temple made by Rivera y Maestra in 1834 which clearly shows stairways on each of its visible sides. The Temple of Tohil was thus similar to other radial stairway temples constructed by the Maya since at least the Late Preclassic Period (Ca. 200 BC-AD 250). Examples include Structure E-VII-sub at Uaxactun, the Lost World Pyramid at Tikal, Structure 4 at Copan, Structure A-3 at Seibal, El Castillo at Chichen Itza, the Temple of the Seven Dolls at Dzibilchaltun, and the principal temple at Chutixtiox (not far from Cumarcah near Sacapulas). Schele and Mathews associate such radial temples with the first mountain to emerge from the primordial sea at the time of creation (Schele and Mathews 1998, 40-42, 179-182, 368 n. 31). Karl Taube further identifies radial stairway structures as loci for New Fire-making rituals connected with the primordial hearth of creation (Taube 1998, 441-442). Tohil was primarily a fire god, who provided "new fire" for his people by means of a twist-drill (see p. 214; line 5499). John Lloyd Stephens described the appearance of the Temple of Tohil, which he called the *Sacrificatorio* (Spanish: Place of Sacrifice) in the late 1830s:

> It is a quadrangular stone structure, sixty-six feet on each side at the base, and rising in a pyramidal form to the height, in its present condition, of thirty-three feet. On three sides there is a range of steps in the middle, each step seventeen inches high, and but eight inches on the upper surface, which makes the range so steep that in descending some caution is necessary. At the corners are four buttresses of cut stone, diminishing in size from the line of the square, and apparently intended to support the structure. On the side facing the west there are no steps, but the surface is smooth and covered with stucco, gray from long exposure. By breaking a little at the corners we saw that there were different layers of stucco, doubtless put on at different times, and all had been ornamented with painted figures. In one place we made out part of the body of a leopard, well drawn and coloured. The top of the Sacrificatorio is broken and ruined, but there is no doubt that it once supported an altar for those sacrifices of human victims which struck even the Spaniards with horror. It was barely large enough for the altar and officiating priests, and the idol to whom the sacrifice was offered (Stephens 1969, II, 183-184).

Stephens' mention of a jaguar (he incorrectly called it a leopard) mural on the temple of Tohil is significant. Tohil was the principal deity of Balam Quitze whose *nawal*, or animal counterpart, was the jaguar (see p. 245; lines 6766-6779).

[822] The Auilix Temple is located just east of the Temple of Tohil across a small plaza. It consists of two terraces with a small sanctuary atop the second terrace. A single wide stairway on the west side gives access to the first terrace (Carmack 1981, 272-274). Thus the principal facades of these two temples face one another.

[823] The Temple of Hacavitz is likely the large mound situated on the south side of the main plaza at Cumarcah. Like the other two temples, all the surface stone has been removed and its ancient appearance is thus difficult to determine. Rivera y Maestre (1834) included it in his plan of the city as a pyramidal structure labeled *sacrificatorio* (Spanish: "place of sacrifice"). According to this aerial view plan, the temple faced south onto its own court and complex of great house structures (Carmack 1981, 277-281).

Maize Flower House may surely be seen; Sacrifice House is its other name.

These were great temples wherein were the stone gods. There all the lords of the Quichés worshiped. All the nations worshiped there as well. The nations would enter therein to burn offerings before Tohil first. Then they would worship the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House. They would come to give their quetzal feathers and their tribute before the lords—each in turn they would give provisions and sustenance to the Ah Pop and the Ah Pop of the Reception House, the great lords who had brought down their citadels.

Cucumatz and Co Tuha were enchanted people and enchanted lords. Quicab and Cauizimah were also enchanted lords. They knew if there would be war. It was clear before their faces. They saw if there would be death, if there would be hunger. They surely knew if there would be strife. There was an instrument of sight—there was a book. Popol Vuh was their name for it.

But it was not only because of this that they were lords. They were great in their essence. Great as well were their fasts. In order to venerate their temples and venerate their sovereignty, they fasted for long periods of time, and sacrificed[824] before the faces of their gods.

And this was their method of fasting: For nine score days[825] they would fast, and for nine they would sacrifice and burn offerings. Then for thirteen score days they would observe a fast and for thirteen[826] they would sacrifice and burn offerings before the face

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[824] *K'ajb'ik*. This is specific to the sacrifice of human beings (Coto).

[825] *B'elej winaq* (nine people/scores). As a number this is 9 x 20, or 180. It is evident from the context of this passage that the authors are referring to periods of time, although they do not specify what period it is. For purposes of clarity of meaning I have chosen “days,” which is the likely implied meaning here.

of Tohil, as well as before the faces of the other gods. They would eat only zapotes, matasanos, and jocotes.[827] They would not eat food made from maize. If they were to sacrifice for seventeen score days, then they would fast for seventeen. Nor did they eat maize. Truly great was the performance of their sacred obligations.[828] This was the sign of their essence.

Neither would they sleep with their women. They would merely provide for each other, fasting in the houses of the gods. Each day they would merely worship, merely burn offerings, and merely offer sacrifices. They were there in the darkness and at dawn, weeping in their hearts and in their bowels, pleading for the light and the lives of their vassals and servants. They would lift up their faces to the sky for their lordship.

This, then, is their pleading before the faces of their gods. This is the crying out of their hearts:

THE PRAYER OF THE LORDS TO THEIR GODS[829]

"YEA, pleasing[830] is the day, you, Huracan, and you, Heart of Sky and Earth, you who give abundance[831] and new life,[832] and you who give daughters and sons. Be at

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[826] The authors are indulging in a bit of shorthand here. My understanding of the text is that the "score" here is implied. Thus for each period of thirteen score days they fast, they would sacrifice for thirteen scores of days more.

[827] These are all tropical fruits (see footnotes 463-469).

[828] *Awasinik* (sacred ritual; divinely sanctioned obligations). These fasts are therefore ritually sanctioned abstinences.

[829] lines 8326-8490

[830] *Atob'* is "desirable, pleasing" (Basseta).

peace, scatter your abundance and new life. May life and creation be given. May my daughters and my sons be multiplied and created, that they may provide for you, sustain you, and call upon you on the roads, on the cleared pathways, along the courses of the rivers, in the canyons, beneath the trees and the bushes. Give, then, their daughters and their sons.

May there be no fault, confinement, shame, or misfortune. May no deceiver come behind them or before them. May they not fall[833] or be wounded. May they not be dishonored[834] or condemned. May they not fall below the road or above the road. May they not be stricken[835] or have impediments[836] placed behind them or before them. May

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[831] *Q'anal,* "yellowness" (richness, abundance, ripeness). This is specifically the abundance of ripe yellow maize, however it is used by the Quichés to refer to abundance or wealth of any kind (B. Tedlock 1982, 114). According to Ruth Bunzel, it may also refer to rebirth and regeneration: "*Qanil* (*milpa*, cornfield). Symbolic of the regeneration of the earth, of rebirth after, death, as exemplified in the growth of corn. '*Qanil* is the day of the milpa, a good day. It is a day to give thanks for one's *siembres* [plantings], for harvest and planting. After the harvest one waits for the day *qanil*, either 2 or 3 *qanil*, to give thanks. And likewise after planting. This is optional. But it is obligatory for all people to give thanks for their food and their land on the day 8 *qanil*. And each year one does this, until one dies'" (Bunzel 1952, 282).

[832] *Räxal,* "green/blueness" (vitality, newness, freshness, fertility). The combination of green and yellow is still used ceremonially to refer to the concept of "abundance." Thus in the prayers of Quiché *aj q'ij* priests, the litany of deities they invoke include the "green shoulder, yellow shoulder of the world," described as "the procreative powers of the earth" (Bunzel 1952, 266).

[833] *Mepajik* (may they not fall). This is to fall physically as well as morally (into scandal or shame). A common expression today when saying goodbye, or when passing someone on the road, is *matzaq pa b'e* (don't fall on the road).

[834] *Mejoxowik* (may they not be dishonored, seduced, disgraced). This may refer to any type of disgrace, but it applies most particularly to violations of sexual prohibitions.

[835] *Pak'* (strike, blow). This may be physical but it also refers to calumny or slander. The highland Maya are somewhat obsessed by slander and envy, because such things may lead to the ancestors or gods punishing them with illness or death if such words are believed. For this reason they are constantly asking what people are saying about them. When a person falls ill, people discuss at great length whether this is due to some fault on the part of that person, or whether it is the result of groundless slanders. The following is a ceremonial prayer to the Earth deity given by a priest as protection from envy on the day 8 *Aq'b'al,*designated as the day when ceremonies are to be performed as protection from slander: "Hail, World Tsokomá, come hither; reveal your face and aspect. Thou my seat, thou, my shrine, thou seest me, thou hearest me before this World and the white light of day. It is I who kneel and bow me down before the world of Heaven. Perhaps it is my mission, perhaps it is my sacred office that makes it necessary that I go about before the face and person of the world. Perhaps I pray for wealth from my business and from my land; out of my house and out of my corn and out of my wheat and out of my food and drink. It seems I am

you place them on green roads and on green pathways. May they not be blamed or confined. Do not hide yourselves from them nor curse them. May their existence be favored, so that they may be providers and sustainers to you, to your mouths and to your faces, you, Heart of Sky and you, Heart of Earth, you, Bundled Glory,[837] and you as well Tohil, Auilix, and Hacavitz, Womb of Sky and Womb of Earth, the Four Sides and the Four Corners. May there be only light, only security within your mouths and before your faces, O gods."

Thus it was that the lords fasted during the nine score days, the thirteen score days, and the seventeen score days as well. They fasted often, crying out in their hearts on behalf of their vassals and servants, as well as on behalf of all their women and children. Thus each of the lords carried out his obligations. This was their way of showing veneration for their lordship. This was the lordship of the Ah Pop, the Ah Pop of the Reception House, the Magistrate, and the Herald. They would go in, two by two in succession,[838] to bear responsibility for the nations and all the Quiché people. In unity

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in this world. It is not my fault, and also there is no fault in my wealth. Divine World, come hither! If we do well, somewhere people feel pain because of it; and also if we are poor, people mistreat us. Always there are slanders and calumnies, fires and flames of envy in the world. But for my part, Divine World, I know that God sees us in the cold wind, at dawn, at midday and at sunset. The Lord of the Clear Light sees us.... And also my beloved wife, may she not fall into error; and may there be no slanders or calumnies concerning her. And perhaps we, too, have slandered and maligned in our folly. Do we not judge and speak before great people and small people? But we do not wish this. We wish only good words before God. And also that good fortune be granted us, to go about as did the people of past time" (Bunzel 1952, 346; cf. Schultze-Jena 1954, 43-44). Watanabe suggests that this conspicuous uneasiness characteristic of highland Maya societies with regard to what the neighbors are thinking and saying "creates the reserve found in Chimalteco interpersonal relations" (Watanabe 1992, 100-101).

[836] *Toxk'om* (impediment, stumbling block) is a physical impediment or obstruction, but also implies stumbling from faults, disputes, or life's difficulties.

[837] *Pisom Q'aq'al* (Bundled Glory/Flame). This is the sacred bundle left by the four progenitors before their deaths (pp. 254-255; lines 7276-7300).

[838] *Kejalow kib'* (to succeed or replace in office).

went forth the foundation[839] of their word, and the foundation of their provision and sustenance. The root of the word went forth as well from the Tamub and the Ilocab, along with that of the Rabinals and the Cakchiquels, the Ah Tziquinahas, the Tuhalahas, and the Uchabahas. In unity they would go forth to bear the burden of the Quichés. For this was done for all.

They did not merely exercise their lordship. They did not merely receive gifts, nor were they merely provided for or sustained; nor did they merely receive food and drink. All this was not without purpose. They did not achieve their lordship, their glory, or their sovereignty by deception or theft. They did not merely crush the canyons and the citadels of the small nations and the great nations. Great was the price that the nations gave in return. They sent jade and precious metal, the size of four fingers across and even the size of a fist across with the thumb extended. They sent precious gems and glittering stones. They sent as well cotinga feathers,[840] oriole feathers,[841] and the feathers of red birds.[842] The tribute of all the nations thus came before the faces of the enchanted lords Cucumatz and Co Tuha; and also before the faces of Quicab and Cauizimah, the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House, Magistrate and Herald. It was no small thing that they did.

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[839] *Xe'* (root) refers to the "source, foundation, beginning."

[840] *Raxon* (*Cotinga amabilis*) is a dovelike tropical bird with turquoise-blue plumage and a purple breast and throat. According to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the highly prized feathers of the cotinga were given as tribute by the Cakchiquel clans to the lords of Tulan in the East (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 48). In the *Popol Vuh*, the cotinga is often paired with the larger quetzal (see p. 68; lines 145-146), and perhaps that bird's iridescent blue/green feathers are also implied here.

[841] *K'ub'ul.* This is the lowland Maya word for the oriole, as well as other related birds with predominantly yellow feathers.

[842] *Ch'aktik.* According to Basseta, this is "a colorful bird." In Yucatec, *ch'ak* is the color red. Likely these three birds were chosen as representative of all the exotic feathers the Quichés received in tribute because they comprise the principal colors of green/blue (the same word in the Quiché language), yellow/orange (also the same word in the Quiché language), and red.

Nor was it merely a few of the nations that were brought down. Many groups of nations came with their tribute for the Quichés.

The lords had suffered affliction, but they overcame. Their glory did not come quickly, for it was not until Cucumatz that the greatness of their lordship began.

We shall now give, then, the sequence of the lords' generations, along with the names of all the lords.

THE GENERATIONS OF QUICHÉ LORDS[843]

THESE are the generations and the house divisions of lordship, of all who had their dawn:

Balam Quitze, Balam Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui Balam were the first of our grandfathers and fathers when the sun appeared, along with the moon and stars.

These, then, are the generations and the house divisions of lordship. We shall truly begin here at the roots. The lords acceded in pairs, each generation of lords succeeding their grandfathers and the lords of the citadel, even each and every one of the lords.

Here, then, shall appear the face[844] of each of the lords, even each and every one of the lords of the Quichés:

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[843] lines 8491-8515

[844] This passage may refer to an illustration of the heads or faces of each lord. Similar illustrations appear in the lowland Maya *Books of Chilam Balam* (Craine and Reindorp 1979; Edmonson 1982, 1986).

THE DYNASTY OF CAVEC QUICHÉ LORDS[845]

BALAM Quitze was the founder[846] of the Cavecs.

Co Caib was the second generation after Balam Quitze.

Balam Co Nache, who initiated[847] the office of Ah Popol, was the third generation.

Co Tuha and Iztayub were the fourth generation.

Cucumatz and Co Tuha were the foundation[848] for the enchanted lords. They were the fifth generation.

Tepepul[849] and Iztayul were, then, the sixth house division.

Quicab and Cauizimah were the seventh succession of lords, who attained the pinnacle of enchantment.

Tepepul[850] and Iztayub were the eighth generation.

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[845] lines 8516-8555

[846] *Xe'nab'al* (root-beginning).

[847] *Xtikib'an* (he planted).

[848] *U xe'* (its root).

[849] *Tepepul*. This name is likely derived from the Nahua *tepeuh* (conqueror, majesty) and *pul/pol* (great), giving the reading "Great Conqueror." The Quiché word *tepewal* is "glory, majesty, sovereignty." Alternatively, the name may be derived from the Nahua *tepe* (mountain) with an augmentative suffix *pul/pol* (great, large) yielding "Great Mountain" (Campbell 1983, 85).

[850] During the reign of this Tepepul (acceded ca. 1475), a severe frost caused a famine at the Cakchiquel capital of Iximche. A spy informed the Quichés of the resultant weakness in the Cakchiquels' defenses and for a year they prepared their warriors for a decisive invasion. At last Tepepul and Iztayul, accompanied by their patron god Tohil, marched on Iximche. The Cakchiquels, however, had been informed of the attack and were ready for them:

> When the sun rose on the horizon and shed its light over the mountain, the war cries broke out and the banners were unfurled; the great flutes, the drums, and the shells resounded. It was truly terrible when the Quichés arrived. They advanced rapidly, and their ranks could be seen at once descending to the foot of the mountain.... Then came the encounter. The clash was truly terrible. The shouts rang out, the war cries, the sound of

Tecum[851] and Tepepul were the ninth generation.

Vahxaqui Cam[852] and Quicab were the tenth generation of lords.

Vucub Noh[853] and Cauatepech[854] were the eleventh house division of lords.

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flutes, the beating of drums and the shells, while the warriors performed their feats of magic (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 103).

The resulting defeat of the Quichés was a devastating blow from which they never fully recovered. The *Annals of the Cakchiquels* claims that more than 16,000 Quiché warriors died in the battle (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 103). Tepepul and Iztayul were taken prisoner, as was the image of the god Tohil. The Quichés never again attempted to strike the citadel of Iximche again, although border conflicts and court intrigues continued for decades.

[851] *Tekum*. This is likely "enthroned" based on the Nahua *tecalli* (throne, seat). Tedlock cites a Quiché dictionary compiled by Fermín Joseph Tirado in 1787 which lists tekum as a "large, black butterfly that flies with great speed" (D. Tedlock 1996, 333 n. 195).

[852] *Wajxaqi K'a'am* (Eight Cord). Recinos (1950, 230 n. 9) suggests that this is likely a Quiché translation of a Nahua language date on the Mexican Calendar, *Chicuey Malinalli* (Eight Grass).

[853] *Wuqub' No'j* (Seven Thoughts) reigned ca. 1500-1523. This is a day on the traditional 260 day calendar, and is likely the day on which this lord was born. His reign was marked by continued war with the Cakchiquels. In the year 1514, two wars were fought, the first at the river Sotzil and the second at Mukche. The Quiché Magistrate of War (*Q'alel Achi*) died in the latter conflict and many prisoners were taken. Carmack identifies this lord with Ahpop Tuh, the father of Yaxonkik who was soundly defeated in battle with the Cakchiquels in 1517 (Carmack 1981, 138). The *Annals of the Cakchiquels* claims that "during this year our fathers and grandfathers destroyed the Quichés once again; they exterminated them as if by lightning" (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 114). In his day, the Quichés also came into closer contact with the Aztecs of Central Mexico. In 1501, the Aztec king Ahuitzotl sent "merchants and officials" to the court of Cumarcah, likely to demand tribute and/or vassalage. The Quichés ordered them out of their territory (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932-33, 6, 47). Apparently Vucub Noh did not feel as comfortable in his position by 1510, for in that year the Quichés began to pay tribute to the Aztec lord Moctezuma in the form of quetzal feathers, gold, precious stones, cacao, and cloth. These payments continued until the fall of the Aztec empire to the Spaniards (Recinos 1957, 84; Carmack and Mondloch 1983, 142). These ties were strengthened by marriage ties. According to the *Buenabaj Pictorials*, recently discovered by Carmack in the Momostenango area, "the lord Quiché... wed two of the daughters of Mendectzum [Moctezuma] called Malintzin" (Carmack 1973, 371). In 1512, Moctezuma sent an emissary named Witzitzil to warn the Quichés of the arrival of the Spaniards along the Mexican Gulf Coast. He warned them to prepare to defend themselves (Recinos 1957, 84-85). In 1519, a plague broke out at Iximche: "First they became ill of a cough, they suffered from nosebleeds and illness of the bladder. It was truly terrible, the number of dead there were in that period.... Little by little, heavy shadows and black night enveloped our fathers and grandfathers and us also, oh, my sons! when the plague raged" (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 115). The plague lasted at least until 1521 and, although Quiché records do not mention it, it is likely that it spread throughout the Guatemalan highlands. Edmonson suggests that this may have been an epidemic of smallpox, a disease brought by the early Spanish explorers (Edmonson 1965, 5). A similar plague struck Yucatán in 1516: "A pestilence seized them, characterized by great pustules, which rotted their bodies with a great stench, so that the limbs fell to pieces in four or five days" (Landa 1941, 42). Perhaps in order to present a united front against the Spanish threat, Vucub Noh negotiated peace with the Cakchiquel lord Belehe Qat in 1522, ending the protracted war that had raged between the two nations since the time of Lord Quicab (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 118). This cessation of hostilities did not, however, prevent the Cakchiquels from allying themselves with the invading Spaniards against the Quichés.

Oxib Quieh[855] and Beleheb Tzi[856] were the twelfth generation of lords. These exercised lordship when Donadiu[857] arrived. They were hung[858] by the Castilian[859] people.

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[854] Kawatepech. Tedlock suggests that this name is derived from the Nahua *cauani* (to leave a memory behind) and *tepechtli* (base, foundation), yielding a compound that may be read as "founder" (1996, 333 n. 195).

[855] *Oxib' Kiej* (Three Deer). A day on the traditional 260 day calendar. Shortly before the Spanish invasion of Guatemala in 1524, lord Vucub Noh died leaving Oxib Quiej to face the foreign threat (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932-33,7.390).

[856] *B'elejeb' Tz'i'* (Nine Dog). A day on the traditional 260 day calendar.

[857] *Donadiu* (or *Tonatiu*) was the name given to Don Pedro de Alvarado, the Spanish captain of Hernán Cortés who conquered the highland Maya region of what is today Guatemala. This is the Quiché Maya version of Tonatiuh (Nahua for "sun, heat"), the name by which Alvarado was known to the Aztecs and his Tlaxcalan mercenaries. He likely received this nickname because of his blonde hair, a physical trait unknown in the Precolumbian New World (other than albinos, which are still called "children of the sun" in many Quiché communities). The name may have had further significance for the Quichés, however. Earlier in the *Popol Vuh* text, the appearance of a new sun represented the death of the old world and the establishment of new, divinely-sanctioned political power. Alvarado as the new "sun" destroys the old world and its gods inaugurating a new age. For this reason, Jesus Christ as the newly-established patron deity is equated with the sun throughout the Maya world (La Farge and Byers 1931, 113-114; La Farge 1947, 104; Mace 1970, 24; Thompson 1970, 234; Vogt 1970, 4; Morley et al. 1983, 465; Cook 1986, 140, 148; Tarn and Prechtel 1986, 174, 180-181; Freidel et al. 1993, 292; Cook 2000, 215-219). At Jacaltenango, there is a myth for the foundation of the town in which Christ's birth is associated with the first rise of the sun, whose rays kill his enemies who had tried to hide in caves and under water. This allows Jacaltenango to be founded in the center of the world. La Farge and Byers suggest that this myth is a syncretized version of the account of the dawn in the *Popol Vuh,* which also ended the previous age and turned its inhabitants to stone (La Farge and Byers 1931, 113-114). At Santiago Atitlán, Maya sculptors carved a vessel bearing a sun on the left and right sides of the community's colonial era church altarpiece. In his explanation of the sun vessels, one of the sculptors, Diego Chávez Petzey, said that the sun on the left represents a tortilla, because maize is the Maya "sun." The sun on the right is the Christian eucharistic Host. He went on to say that life cannot exist without sacrifice. Maize must be crushed on a grinding stone before it can be made into tortillas. The wheat in the sacramental Host must also be ground and baked. The sun can only rise in the east after it has been buried in the west: "Tortillas, the Host, Jesus Christ, and the sun give life because they are first killed. Tortillas and bread result from the death of maize and wheat so that they can give us life. They are therefore gods." Nicolás Chávez Sojuel, who also worked on the altarpiece carvings, told me that when the Spaniards came the earth died along with the ancient gods and kings. When I asked him how the world could die, he replied: "The earth has died many times. Each time the world and its gods are reborn to new life and they regain their former power and new gods are added.... The saints today have Spanish names because the old earth died in the days of the Spanish conquerors. When the spirit keepers of the world appeared again they were the saints, but they do the same work that the old gods did anciently" (Christenson 2001, 135).

[858] Following a brief and disasterous defensive campaign led by the ruler's grandson, Tecum (who was killed at the decisive battle at Quetzaltenango), the Quiché lords Oxib Quieh and Beleheb Tzi invited Pedro de Alvarado and his conquering army to enter their capital city of Cumarcah without resistance on March 7, 1524. Once inside the city, Alvarado suspected treachery and ordered the arrest, torture, and execution of

Tecum[860] and Tepepul[861] paid tribute before the faces of the Castilian people.

These had been begotten as the thirteenth generation of lords.

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the lords. The following is taken from his report to Hernán Cortés: "And I saw that by occupying their land and burning it I could bring them into the service of His Majesty. Thus I decided to burn the lords who, at the time I desired to burn them, as would appear in their confessions, admitted that they were the ones who had ordered and carried on the war.... Therefore since I knew them to have such ill will toward the service of His Majesty, and for the good and tranquility of the land, I burned them, and I commanded to be burned the town of Utatlan [the Nahuatl language version of Cumarcah as named by Alvarado's Tlaxcalan mercenaries] to its foundations, for it was dangerous and strong.... All they that were taken prisoners of war were branded and made slaves" (Alvarado 1946 [1524], 457-459, translation by author). The Cakchiquel version of this incident, as recorded in the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, confirms that the Quiché lords were burned: "Then [the Spaniards] went forth to the city of Gumarcaah, where they were received by the kings, the Ahpop and the Ahpop Qamahay, and the Quichés paid them tribute. Soon the kings were tortured by Tunatiuh. On the day 4 Qat [March 7, 1524] the kings Ahpop and Ahpop Qamahay were burned by Tunatiuh. The heart of Tunatiuh was without compassion for the people during the war" (Recinos and Goetz 1953b, 120). It is unclear whether Alvarado's suspicion of treachery was well-founded, however, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas believed that the Quiché lords were executed for failing to satisfy Alvarado's demand for gold, which is rare in Guatemala: "Guiltless of other fault and without trial or sentence, he immediately ordered them to be burned alive. They killed all the others with lances and knives; they threw them to savage dogs, that tore them to pieces and ate them; and when they came across some lord, they accorded him the honour of burning in live flames. This butchery lasted about seven years from 1524 to 1531. From this may be judged what numbers of people they destroyed" (MacNutt 1909, 352-353). This version of events is supported by the sixteenth century account of the trip to Spain by don Juan Cortés in 1557, in which Alvarado is accused of burning the grandfather of don Juan because he "did not give him gold" (Carrasco 1967, 253).

The "hanging" mentioned in this passage of the *Popol Vuh* likely refers not to the execution of the lords, which was by flame, but rather to the torture and elicitation of confessions mentioned by both Alvarado and the Cakchiquel document. Tedlock notes that the method for obtaining such confessions, according to the Spanish methods of the time, was to hang a prisoner by the wrists while inflicting various types of torture (D. Tedlock 1996, 334 n. 195). Undoubtedly this must have been done in a very public way to have impressed the authors of the text writing decades after the event.

[859] Castilian. Technically the inhabitants of the Castile region of Spain, however, the term was used in the sixteenth century to refer to Spaniards in general.

[860] These were the sons of the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House executed by the Spaniards during the Conquest. They served as lords of Santa Cruz Utatán, built over the ruins of the old capital Cumarcah. Although at first they paid tribute to the Spaniards, there is some evidence that they eventually rebelled. Carmack identifies Tecum as a certain Chignauiucelut (Nahua for 9 Jaguar), the leader of a revolt mentioned by Fuentes y Guzmán who was "put in possession of the government at Utatlan by Don Pedro de Alvarado on the death of his father" (Fuentes y Guzmán 1932-33, 8.48; Carmack 1981, 308). His rebellion was likely tied to the revolt that involved the communities of Aguacatan, Sacapulas, and Utatlan and which was described in the *actas de cabildo* dated at the end of 1534: "The devil appeared before them and told them that soon all the Christians of this city [Santiago] would die and that they should kill those other Spaniards found in towns outside of the city. Thus it was that in some of these towns more than ten Spaniards were murdered and sacrificed, along with a great number of their Indian slaves and servants" (Kramer 1994, 122). The rebellion was quickly put down by Pedro de Alvarado's brother Jorge who punished the rebels by "killing them, throwing them to the dogs, hanging them, and throwing them into pits" (Ibid., 122). Lord Tecum was likely one of those hung after he was captured in Chiquimula in 1534 or 1535.

Don Juan de Rojas[862] and Don Juan Cortes[863] were the fourteenth generation of lords, begotten sons of Tecum and Tepepul.

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[861] Tepepul is identified by the Nahua version of his calendric name Chicuey Quiaguit (Nahua: "8 Rain") in the early Colonial document, *Don Juan Cortés, cacique de Santa Cruz Quiché* (Carrasco 1967, 253). According to the *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, the Quiché lord Quivawit Caok (8 Rain), was hung by Alvarado on May 26, 1540 along with the Cakchiquel lord Ahpozotzil Cahi Ymox. They were both in prison at the time for rebellion (Recinos and Goetz 1953, 132). Colonial records list a Quiché ruler named Sequechul (likely a poor transcription for Tepepul) who was imprisoned for participating in an insurrection and eventually hung in 1540 (Recinos 1950, 232 n. 12). Soon after this incident, Alvarado left Guatemala in search of a western sea-route from Mexico to the Spice Islands (Philippines). He never returned, dying in Michoacan a year later in 1541 (Akkeren 2003).

[862] Juan de Rojas, son of Tecum (9 Jaguar), was eventuallly recognized by the Spaniards as the Ah Pop of the Cavec lineage. At some point following the Spanish conquest, the surviving lords of the highland Maya lineages were baptized as Christians and adopted Spanish names. Ximénez doubted that this took place when Alvarado invaded highland Maya territory, and suggested that the baptisms began several years later when the first missionaries arrived in Guatemala (Ximénez 1929-31, I.xli.128). Roman Catholicism was not formally established in Guatemala until 1534, when Bishop Francisco Marroquín arrived in the capital city of Santiago de los Caballeros (Pueblo Viejo, a town not far from the present-day city of Antigua), recently founded by Jorge de Alvarado, the brother of the conqueror Pedro de Alvarado. Over the next few years, Bishop Marroquín sent a few missionary friars with portable altars to the various Indian towns and villages to baptize the inhabitants and destroy any remnants of "idolatry" and "paganism" that may have survived the purges of the conquest itself. There were instances of serious resistance to the labors of the missionaries. The following is an account given by Ximénez:

> It happened in this kingdom soon after being conquered that, hearing of the lives of Christ and of Our Lady, John the Baptist, and Saint Peter and others which the priests had taught them, there arose a Mexican Indian, a pseudo-prophet. He taught them that Huhapu [Hunahpu] was God, and that Hununapu [One Hunahpu] was the son of God; Xuchinquezal, which is Mexican, or Aquiexquic [Xkik', or Lady Blood] was Saint Mary; Vaxaquicab was Saint John the Baptist, and Huntihax was Saint Paul. This caused so much commotion among the Indians that the kingdom was nearly lost because of it, for they came to imagine that our Holy Gospel told them nothing new and that they already knew of it (Ximénez 1929-31, I.xxiii.57).

Early evangelization efforts focused on survivors of the old highland Maya nobility in the hope that they would set an example for the rest of the people. Baptism was also a necessary step for any Maya of noble birth who aspired to a place in the new political order, since without it the Spanish authorities would not recognize their legitimacy or territorial claims. That this is the case here is evident by the title "Don." This was given to those Maya noblemen who professed faith in Christ as well as those who could prove their legitimacy in court. Many of the documents composed by the Maya in the sixteenth century were "titles" written for the purpose of establishing the legal legitimacy of former ruling lords and their descendents in an effort to recover hereditary honors. As noblemen recognized by the Spanish Crown, they were allowed to receive some tribute from their subjects, to be exempt from compulsory labor, and to ride horses. In addition, baptism afforded a measure of protection from the excesses of Spanish rule. Without it, unconverted Maya were subject to enslavement until the reforms of Governor Alonso López de Cerrato abolished the practice after 1548.

Don Juan de Rojas was likely named after the Spanish captain Diego de Rojas who came to Guatemala at the orders of Hernán Cortés in the latter half of 1524 with fifty Spanish soldiers (Akkeren 2003). Thus, Juan de Rojas must have been born sometime between this year and ca. 1530 when Diego de Rojas departed for Peru. When his father was hung in ca. 1535, Juan de Rojas would have been too young to rule, leaving the Quichés without effective leadership for some time. He had begun to exercise some measure of

THE GREAT HOUSES OF THE CAVEC LORDS[864]

THESE are the generations, the house divisions of lordship, for the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House over the Cavec Quichés. We shall now name the great houses of each of the lords of the lineages after the Ah Pop and Ah Pop of the Reception House.

These are the nine great houses of the nine lineages of the Cavecs, along with the titles for each of the lords of the great houses:

Lord Ah Pop has one great house; Guarded House[865] is the name of this great house.[866]

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power by at least 1550, when he became involved in a land dispute and demanded that certain merchants from the Utatlan area pay tribute to him (Lutz 1994, 25-26 n. 28). In his mature years as a native *cacique*, Juan de Rojas collected tribute, carried out censuses, provided labor, enforced church attendance and instruction, and acted as the principal judge in local disputes (Carmack 1981, 313). According to Ximénez, Juan de Rojas was given a special hall at the Royal Palace of Guatemala next to that of the president. Here he administered the affairs of the Maya as the vassal lord of the Spaniards (Ximénez 1929-31, I.xxviii.79).

[863] Juan Cortés, son of Tepepul, was recognized by the Spaniards as the Ah Pop of the Reception House. Juan Cortés petitioned the Spanish crown to restore the rights and privileges of lordship that the ancient Quiché lords had enjoyed prior to the Conquest. Accompanied by a Dominican priest, he sailed to Spain in 1557 to press his claim before King Philip II (Carrasco 1967). Unfortunately his ship was attacked by French pirates who seized his documents, which may have included Precolumbian painted codices. He was nevertheless granted audiences before high officials in Spain. Ultimately, Franciscans who opposed the efforts of the Dominicans in favor of the Quiché lords succeeded in opposing these claims on the grounds that it would foster further revolts by the Indians. Spanish authorities in Guatemala also urged caution in granting too much authority to the old Quiché nobility. In a letter to the Spanish crown written in 1552 by Alonso López Cerrato, Governor of Guatemala, the ancient Quiché lords wielded tremendous religious as well as political power over their subjects and could prove dangerous if they were to rebel, "because anciently they revered [them] as gods, and if this persists, the lords could raise the land easily" (Carmack 1973, 379).

[864] lines 8556-8595

[865] *K'u Ja* (Guarded House). *K'u* is "guarded, hidden, covered." Coto lists *Qu hay* as a "granary," indicating that such guarded houses may have been used to hold food stores or tribute payments.

[866] John Lloyd Stephens, who visited the site of Cumarcah in the late 1830s, gave the following description of the principal palace (or great house) there:

> In part, however, the floor remains entire, with fragments of the partition walls, so that the plan of the apartments can be distinctly made out. This floor is of a hard cement, which, though year after year washed by the floods of the rainy season, is hard and durable as stone. The inner walls were covered with plaster of a finer description, and in

Lord Ah Pop of the Reception House; Bird House[867] is the name of this great house.

Great Steward of the Cavecs has one great house.

Lord Ah Tohil has one great house.

Lord Ah Cucumatz has one great house.

Councilor of the Stacks has one great house.

Emissary of the Deer House has one great house.

Councilor in the Ballcourt of Punishment guards his great house.

Tepeu Yaqui[868] has one great house.

THESE, then, are the nine lineages of the Cavecs. Numerous are the vassals and servants that pertain to the nine great houses.

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corners where there had been less exposure were the remains of colours; no doubt the whole interior had been ornamented with paintings (Stephens 1969, II, 183).

This was likely the principal great house of the site belonging to the Ah Pop of the Cavecs located in the southwest corner of Cumarcah. Wauchope began excavation of this palace complex in 1970 and uncovered a small fragment of a mural in the northern section depicting "a blue lake with yellow shells, covered by an ornamented canopy, with a much-plumed green snake winding above it" (Wauchope 1965, 67). This was painted on the walls of a small room with white-plaster floors and clay walls. Wallace continued work at the site and uncovered further traces of these murals. The principal scene depicts a warrior painted in Mixteca-Puebla style covered with jade beads and feathers and carrying a shield in one hand and a rattle in the other (Carmack 1981, 291). Another mural discovered by Wallace depicts the lower portion of a dancing monkey, perhaps a reference to the twin sons Hun Batz and Hun Chouen who were transformed into monkeys and became the patron deities of scribes and artists.

[867] *Tz'ikina Ja* (Bird House).

[868] *Tepew Yaki* (Sovereign Yaqui/Mexican). This office does not appear in the previous list of Cavec titles. This office appears in place of the "Mother of the Reception House." There is a people with a similar name (see p. 229).

THE DYNASTY OF NIHAIB LORDS[869]

THESE, then, are the nine highest of the great houses of the Nihaib. We shall first give the dynasty[870] of lords:

They had but one root, planted before the root of the sun and the light of the people. Balam Acab was their first grandfather and father.

Co Acul and Co Acutec were the second generation.

Co Chahuh[871] and Co Tzibaha[872] were the third generation.

Beleheb Queh[873] was the fourth generation.

Co Tuha[874] was the fifth generation.

Batza[875] was the sixth generation.

Iztayul was the seventh generation.

Co Tuha headed the eighth house division of lordship.

Beleheb Queh was the ninth house division.

Quema,[876] as he is called now, was the tenth generation.

Lord Co Tuha was the eleventh generation.

Don Christoval, as he is called, exercised lordship under the Castilian people.

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[869] lines 8596-8631

[870] *Le'ab'al rib' ajawarem* (self-generation lordship). This is a dynastic list or genealogy.

[871] *K'o Chajuj* (Lord Guardian).

[872] *K'o Tz'ib'a Ja* (Lord Writing/Painting House).

[873] *B'elejeb' Kej* (Nine Deer). A day on the traditional 260 day calendar.

[874] *K'o Tuja* (Lord Sweatbath).

[875] *B'atz'a* (Thread/Howler Monkey).

[876] *Kema* (Loom).

Don Pedro de Robles is the Lord Magistrate today.

THE GREAT HOUSES OF THE NIHAIB LORDS[877]

THESE, then, are all the lords who follow behind the Lord Magistrate. We shall list now the lords of each of the great houses:

Lord Magistrate is the first lord over the Nihaibs. He has one great house.

Lord Herald has one great house.

Lord Magistrate of the Reception House has one great house.

Great Reception House has one great house.

Mother of the Reception House has one great house.

Great Reception House has one great house.

Great Steward of the Nijaibs has one great house.

Lord Auilix has one great house.

Yacolatam (Corner of the Reed Mat) has one great house.

THESE, then, are the names of the great houses over the Nijaibs, of the nine lineages of the Nijaibs, as they are called. There are many lineages among them, each exercising lordship. We have listed the first among these.

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[877] lines 8632-8663

THE DYNASTY OF AHAU QUICHÉ LORDS[878]

THESE, then, are they of the Ahau Quichés:

Mahucutah was their grandfather and father. He was the first person.

Co Ahau was the name of the second generation lord.

Caq Lacan,[879]

Co Cozom,[880]

Co Mahcun,[881]

Vucub Ah,[882]

Co Camel,[883]

Co Yaba Coh,[884]

Vinac,[885]

Bam.[886]

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[878] lines 8664-8679

[879] *Kaq' Lakan* (Red/Fire Banner).

[880] The manuscript reads *qo cozom*. This is most likely *K'o Q'osom* (Lord Thicket/Bramble/Chaff) The precise meaning of this name is unclear, however, because of the limitations of the Latin alphabet used. *Cozom* may also be read as *Kosom* (Fatigued/Perplexed); *K'osom* (Reclined); or *Qosom* (Turkey Ruffling His Wings).

[881] *Maj Kun*. *Aj Kun* is a "healer/doctor." The *m*- prefix is a negative marker, which would make the name read something like "Not a Healer." As a verb, *maj* is "to seize, steal, grasp." Thus an alternative might be "Seizes Medicine."

[882] *Wuqub' Aj* (Seven Reed/Cane). A day in the traditional 260 day calendar.

[883] *K'o Kame'l* (Lord Humble).

[884] *K'o Yab'a Koj* (Lord Sick Puma).

[885] *Winaq* (Person).

[886] *B'am* (Counselor/Doer).

THE GREAT HOUSES OF THE AHAU QUICHÉ LORDS[887]

These, then, are the lords over the Ahau Quichés. These are their generations and house divisions as well. These are the titles of the lords within each of the great houses. There are only four great houses:

Herald Lord is the name of the first lord. He has one great house.

Emissary Lord is the second lord. He has one great house.

Great Steward Lord is the third lord. He has one great house.

Hacavitz, then, is the fourth lord. He has one great house.

Thus there are four great houses over the Ahau Quichés.

THE THREE GREAT STEWARDS AS MOTHERS OF THE WORD[888]

THESE, then, are the three Great Stewards. They are like the fathers of all the Quiché lords. As one the three stewards gathered together as the givers of birth, the mothers of the word, and the fathers of the word.[889] Great, in a small way, is the essence of these three stewards.

THESE are: The Great Steward before the Cavecs; before the Nijaibs is the second Great Steward; and before the Ahau Quichés is the third Great Steward. Thus there are three stewards, one before each of the lineages.

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[887] lines 8680-8695

[888] lines 8696-8716

[889] The *Nim Ch'okoj* (Great Stewards) of the three principal Quiché lineages identify themselves here as the authors of the "word," likely the *Popol Vuh* manuscript itself.

But this is the essence of the Quichés, because there is no longer a way of seeing[890] it. It was with the lords at first, but it is now lost.[891]

There is only this. All is now completed concerning Quiché, called Santa Cruz.[892]

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[890] *Ilb'al* (means of seeing, instrument of sight). This is the term used exclusively in the manuscript to describe the original Precolumbian codex version of the *Popol Vuh* (see pp. 64, 287; lines 50-57, 8276).

[891] *Sachinaq* (lost, vanished).

[892] Bishop Francisco Marroquín blessed the ruins of Cumarcah in 1539, renaming it Santa Cruz (Spanish: "Holy Cross"). In about 1555, the Spaniards founded a new administrative center three miles to the east, which they also named Santa Cruz del Quiché (Spanish: Holy Cross of the Quiché). This was likely carried out under the direction of Alonso de Zorita who administered affairs in various Guatemalan provinces beginning in March 1555, including the area of Utatlan. Akkeren suggests that this compilation of the *Popol Vuh* was carried out in conjunction with the abandonment of the old capital (Akkeren 2003). The resettlement process, which the Spaniards called *congregación* (congregation), followed a uniform pattern throughout Guatemala (García Peláez 1943, 161-166; Betancor and Arboleda 1964). First, a church was erected at the center of the proposed site fronted by an open plaza, or *atrio*, for large assemblies to gather for public ceremonies and indoctrination. The rest of the town was organized into squares divided by streets laid out to the cardinal directions. While the new settlement was under construction, families planted their maize on plots the Spaniards assigned to them in the nearby countryside. When the crops were ready to harvest, the older Precolumbian structures were destroyed to prevent reoccupation, and the people moved into their new homes. Christian missionaries staged elaborate dances and festivals to celebrate the event "so that they would forget their ancient dwellings" (García Peláez 1943, 163).

POPOL VUH

The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life

REVISED EDITION

Translated by

DENNIS TEDLOCK

with commentary based on the
ancient knowledge of the modern Quiché Maya

A TOUCHSTONE BOOK
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PART ONE

THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE ANCIENT WORD, here in this place called Quiché. Here we shall inscribe, we shall implant the Ancient Word, the potential and source for everything done in the citadel of Quiché, in the nation of Quiché people.

And here we shall take up the demonstration, revelation, and account of how things were put in shadow and brought to light by

the Maker, Modeler,
named Bearer, Begetter,
Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
Great White Peccary, Coati,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Heart of the Lake, Heart of the Sea,
plate shaper, bowl shaper, as they are called,
also named, also described as
the midwife, matchmaker
named Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
defender, protector,
twice a midwife, twice a matchmaker,

as is said in the words of Quiché. They accounted for everything—and did it, too—as enlightened beings, in enlightened words. We shall write about this now amid the preaching of God, in Christendom now. We shall bring it out because there is no longer

a place to see it, a Council Book,
a place to see "The Light That Came from
Beside the Sea,"
the account of "Our Place in the Shadows."
a place to see "The Dawn of Life,"

as it is called. There is the original book and ancient writing, but the one who reads and assesses it has a hidden identity. It takes a long performance and account to complete the lighting of all the sky-earth:

the fourfold siding, fourfold cornering,
measuring, fourfold staking,
halving the cord, stretching the cord

in the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners, as it is said,
by the Maker, Modeler,
mother-father of life, of humankind,
giver of breath, giver of heart,
bearer, upbringer in the light that lasts
of those born in the light, begotten in the light;
worrier, knower of everything, whatever there is:
sky-earth, lake-sea.

THIS IS THE ACCOUNT, here it is:

Now it still ripples, now it still murmurs, ripples, it still sighs, still hums, and it is empty under the sky.

Here follow the first words, the first eloquence:

There is not yet one person, one animal, bird, fish, crab, tree, rock, hollow, canyon, meadow, forest. Only the sky alone is there; the face of the earth is not clear. Only the sea alone is pooled under all the sky; there is nothing whatever gathered together. It is at rest; not a single thing stirs. It is held back, kept at rest under the sky.

Whatever there is that might be is simply not there: only the pooled water, only the calm sea, only it alone is pooled.

Whatever might be is simply not there: only murmurs, ripples, in the dark, in the night. Only the Maker, Modeler alone, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, the Bearers, Begetters are in the water, a glittering light. They are there, they are enclosed in quetzal feathers, in blue-green.

Thus the name, "Plumed Serpent." They are great knowers, great thinkers in their very being.

SOVEREIGN PLUMED SERPENT: *Here he is seated, holding a snake in his hand. On his back he wears a quetzal bird, with its head behind his, its wings at the level of his shoulders, and its tail hanging down to the ground. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

And of course there is the sky, and there is also the Heart of Sky. This is the name of the god, as it is spoken.

And then came his word, he came here to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, here in the blackness, in the early dawn. He spoke with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, and they talked, then they thought, then they worried. They agreed with each other, they joined their words, their thoughts. Then it was clear, then they reached accord in the light, and then humanity was clear, when they conceived the growth, the generation of trees, of bushes, and the growth of life, of humankind, in the blackness, in the early dawn, all because of the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. Thunderbolt Hurricane comes first, the second is Newborn Thunderbolt, and the third is Sudden Thunderbolt.

So there were three of them, as Heart of Sky, who came to the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, when the dawn of life was conceived:

"How should the sowing be, and the dawning? Who is to be the provider, nurturer?"

"Let it be this way, think about it: this water should be removed, emptied out for the formation of the earth's own plate and platform, then should come the sowing, the dawning of the sky-earth. But there will be no high days and no bright praise for our work, our design, until the rise of the human work, the human design," they said.

And then the earth arose because of them, it was simply their word that brought it forth. For the forming of the earth they said "Earth." It arose suddenly, just like a cloud, like a mist, now forming, unfolding.

THE HEART OF SKY, NAMED HURRICANE: *Here he peers out from among swirls of smoke and flame (or clouds and lightning) that come from the obsidian mirror on his own forehead. From a Late Classic vase from the lowlands.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

THUNDERBOLT: *A lowland Maya* Chak *or Thunderbolt god, holding a lightning-striking axe in his left hand and a representation of the sound of thunder in his right. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

Then the mountains were separated from the water, all at once the great mountains came forth. By their genius alone, by their cutting edge alone they carried out the conception of the mountain-plain, whose face grew instant groves of cypress and pine.

And the Plumed Serpent was pleased with this:

"It was good that you came, Heart of Sky, Hurricane, and Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt. Our work, our design will turn out well," they said.

And the earth was formed first, the mountain-plain. The channels of water were separated; their branches wound their ways among the mountains. The waters were divided when the great mountains appeared.

Such was the formation of the earth when it was brought forth by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth, as they are called, since they were the first to think of it. The sky was set apart, and the earth was set apart in the midst of the waters.

Such was their plan when they thought, when they worried about the completion of their work.

NOW THEY PLANNED THE ANIMALS OF THE MOUNTAINS, all the guardians of the forests, creatures of the mountains: the deer, birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, rattlesnakes, fer-de-lances, guardians of the bushes.

A Bearer, Begetter speaks:

"Why this pointless humming? Why should there merely be rustling beneath the trees and bushes?"

"Indeed—they had better have guardians," the others replied. As soon as they thought it and said it, deer and birds came forth.

And then they gave out homes to the deer and birds:

"You, the deer: sleep along the rivers, in the canyons. Be here in the meadows, in the thickets, in the forests, multiply yourselves. You will stand and walk on all fours," they were told.

So then they established the nests of the birds, small and great:

"You, precious birds: your nests, your houses are in the trees, in the bushes. Multiply there, scatter there, in the branches of trees, the branches of bushes," the deer and birds were told.

When this deed had been done, all of them had received a place to sleep and a place to stay. So it is that the nests of the animals are on the earth, given by the Bearer, Begetter. Now the arrangement of the deer and birds was complete.

AND THEN THE DEER AND BIRDS WERE TOLD by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"Talk, speak out. Don't moan, don't cry out. Please talk, each to each, within each kind, within each group," they were told—the deer, birds, puma, jaguar, serpent.

"Name now our names, praise us. We are your mother, we are your father. Speak now:

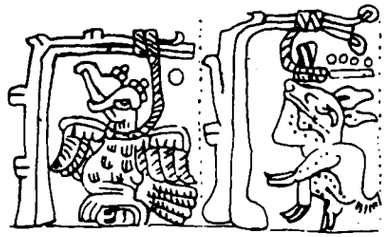
> 'Hurricane,
> Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
> Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
> Maker, Modeler,
> Bearer, Begetter,'

speak, pray to us, keep our days," they were told. But it didn't turn out that they spoke like people: they just squawked, they just chattered, they just howled. It wasn't apparent what language they spoke; each one gave a different cry. When the Maker, Modeler heard this:

"It hasn't turned out well, they haven't spoken," they said among themselves. "It hasn't turned out that our names have been named. Since we are their mason and sculptor, this will not do," the Bearers and Begetters said among themselves. So they told them:

"You will simply have to be transformed. Since it hasn't turned out well and you haven't spoken, we have changed our word:

JUST LET YOUR FLESH BE EATEN: *A turkey (left) and deer (right) caught in bent-tree snares. From the Madrid Codex.*



DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"What you feed on, what you eat, the places where you sleep, the places where you stay, whatever is yours will remain in the canyons, the forests. Although it turned out that our days were not kept, nor did you pray to us, there may yet be strength in the keeper of days, the giver of praise whom we have yet to make. Just accept your service, just let your flesh be eaten.

"So be it, this must be your service," they were told when they were instructed—the animals, small and great, on the face of the earth.

And then they wanted to test their timing again, they wanted to experiment again, and they wanted to prepare for the keeping of days again. They had not heard their speech among the animals; it did not come to fruition and it was not complete.

And so their flesh was brought low: they served, they were eaten, they were killed—the animals on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES AN EXPERIMENT WITH THE HUMAN WORK, the human design, by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter:

"It must simply be tried again. The time for the planting and dawning is nearing. For this we must make a provider and nurturer. How else can we be invoked and remembered on the face of the earth? We have already made our first try at our work and design, but it turned out that they didn't keep our days, nor did they glorify us.

"So now let's try to make a giver of praise, giver of respect, provider, nurturer," they said.

So then comes the building and working with earth and mud. They made a body, but it didn't look good to them. It was just separating, just crumbling, just loosening, just softening, just disintegrating, and just dissolving. Its head wouldn't turn, either. Its face was just lopsided, its face was just twisted. It couldn't look around. It talked at first, but senselessly. It was quickly dissolving in the water.

"It won't last," the mason and sculptor said then. "It seems to be dwindling away, so let it just dwindle. It can't walk and it can't multiply, so let it be merely a thought," they said.

So then they dismantled, again they brought down their work and design. Again they talked:

"What is there for us to make that would turn out well, that would succeed in keeping our days and praying to us?" they said. Then they planned again:

"We'll just tell Xpiyacoc, Xmucane, Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote, to try a counting of days, a counting of lots," the mason and sculptor said to themselves. Then they invoked Xpiyacoc, Xmucane.

THEN COMES THE NAMING OF THOSE WHO ARE THE MIDMOST SEERS: the "Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light," as the Maker, Modeler called them. These are names of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

When Hurricane had spoken with the Sovereign Plumed Serpent, they invoked the daykeepers, diviners, the midmost seers:

"There is yet to find, yet to discover how we are to model a person, construct a person again, a provider, nurturer, so that we are called upon and we are recognized: our recompense is in words.

Midwife, matchmaker,
our grandmother, our grandfather,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
let there be planting, let there be the dawning
of our invocation, our sustenance, our recognition
by the human work, the human design,
the human figure, the human form.
So be it, fulfill your names:
Hunahpu Possum, Hunahpu Coyote,
Bearer twice over, Begetter twice over,
Great Peccary, Great Coati,
lapidary, jeweler,
sawyer, carpenter,
plate shaper, bowl shaper,
incense maker, master craftsman,
Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light.

You have been called upon because of our work, our design. Run your hands over the kernels of corn, over the seeds of the coral tree, just get it done, just let it come out whether we should carve and gouge a mouth, a face in wood," they told the daykeepers.

And then comes the borrowing, the counting of days; the hand is moved over the corn kernels, over the coral seeds, the days, the lots.

Then they spoke to them, one of them a grandmother, the other a grandfather.

This is the grandfather, this is the master of the coral seeds: Xpiyacoc is his name.

And this is the grandmother, the daykeeper, diviner who stands behind others: Xmucane is her name.

And they said, as they set out the days:

> "Just let it be found, just let it be discovered,
> say it, our ear is listening,
> may you talk, may you speak,
> just find the wood for the carving and sculpting
> by the builder, sculptor.
> Is this to be the provider, the nurturer
> when it comes to the planting, the dawning?
> You corn kernels, you coral seeds,
> you days, you lots:
> may you succeed, may you be accurate,"

they said to the corn kernels, coral seeds, days, lots. "Have shame, you up there, Heart of Sky: attempt no deception before the mouth and face of Sovereign Plumed Serpent," they said. Then they spoke straight to the point:

"It is well that there be your manikins, woodcarvings, talking, speaking, there on the face of the earth."

"So be it," they replied. The moment they spoke it was done: the manikins, woodcarvings, human in looks and human in speech.

This was the peopling of the face of the earth:

They came into being, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons, these manikins, woodcarvings. But there was nothing in their hearts and nothing in their minds, no memory of their mason and builder. They just went and walked wherever they wanted. Now they did not remember the Heart of Sky.

And so they fell, just an experiment and just a cutout for humankind. They were talking at first but their faces were dry. They were not yet

developed in the legs and arms. They had no blood, no lymph. They had no sweat, no fat. Their complexions were dry, their faces were crusty. They flailed their legs and arms, their bodies were deformed.

And so they accomplished nothing before the Maker, Modeler who gave them birth, gave them heart. They became the first numerous people here on the face of the earth.

AGAIN THERE COMES A HUMILIATION, destruction, and demolition. The manikins, woodcarvings were killed when the Heart of Sky devised a flood for them. A great flood was made; it came down on the heads of the manikins, woodcarvings.

The man's body was carved from the wood of the coral tree by the Maker, Modeler. And as for the woman, the Maker, Modeler needed the hearts of bulrushes for the woman's body. They were not competent, nor did they speak before the builder and sculptor who made them and brought them forth, and so they were killed, done in by a flood:

There came a rain of resin from the sky.

There came the one named Gouger of Faces: he gouged out their eyeballs.

There came Sudden Bloodletter: he snapped off their heads.

There came Crunching Jaguar: he ate their flesh.

There came Tearing Jaguar: he tore them open.

HE GOUGED OUT THEIR EYEBALLS: *A human eye in the beak of a king vulture, still attached by the optic nerve. From the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

They were pounded down to the bones and tendons, smashed and pulverized even to the bones. Their faces were smashed because they were incompetent before their mother and their father, the Heart of Sky, named Hurricane. The earth was blackened because of this; the black rainstorm began, rain all day and rain all night. Into their houses came the animals, small and great. Their faces were crushed by things of wood and stone. Everything spoke: their water jars, their tortilla griddles, their plates, their cooking pots, their dogs, their grinding stones, each and every thing crushed their faces. Their dogs and turkeys told them:

"You caused us pain, you ate us, but now it is *you* whom *we* shall eat." And this is the grinding stone:

"We were undone because of you.

Every day, every day,
in the dark, in the dawn, forever,
r-r-rip, r-r-rip,
r-r-rub, r-r-rub,
right in our faces, because of you.

This was the service we gave you at first, when you were still people, but today you will learn of our power. We shall pound and we shall grind your flesh," their grinding stones told them.

And this is what their dogs said, when they spoke in their turn:

"Why is it you can't seem to give us our food? We just watch and you just keep us down, and you throw us around. You keep a stick ready when you eat, just so you can hit us. We don't talk, so we've received nothing from you. How could you not have known? You *did* know that we were wasting away there, behind you.

"So, this very day you will taste the teeth in our mouths. We shall eat you," their dogs told them, and their faces were crushed.

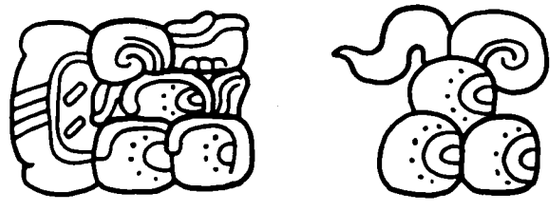
And then their tortilla griddles and cooking pots spoke to them in turn:

"Pain! That's all you've done for us. Our mouths are sooty, our faces are sooty. By setting us on the fire all the time, you burn us. Since *we* felt no pain, *you* try it. We shall burn you," all their cooking pots said, crushing their faces.

The stones, their hearthstones were shooting out, coming right out of the fire, going for their heads, causing them pain. Now they run for it, helter-skelter.

They want to climb up on the houses, but they fall as the houses collapse.

They want to climb the trees; they're thrown off by the trees.



THEIR HEARTHSTONES WERE SHOOTING OUT: *According to Classic Maya inscriptions, three hearthstones entered the sky and formed a new constellation at the end of the world that preceded the present one. The glyph at left (from a stele at Quiriguá) reads* yax ox tunal, *"new three-stone place," and repeats the sign for "stone"* (tun) *three times; the glyph at right (from a stele at Toniná) adds signs for smoke and flames to the stones.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

They want to get inside caves, but the caves slam shut in their faces.

Such was the scattering of the human work, the human design. The people were ground down, overthrown. The mouths and faces of all of them were destroyed and crushed. And it used to be said that the monkeys in the forests today are a sign of this. They were left as a sign because wood alone was used for their flesh by the builder and sculptor.

So this is why monkeys look like people: they are a sign of a previous human work, human design—mere manikins, mere woodcarvings.

THIS WAS WHEN THERE WAS JUST A TRACE OF EARLY DAWN on the face of the earth, there was no sun. But there was one who magnified himself; Seven Macaw is his name. The sky-earth was already there, but the face of the sun-moon was clouded over. Even so, it is said that his light provided a sign for the people who were flooded. He was like a person of genius in his being.

"I am great. My place is now higher than that of the human work, the human design. I am their sun and I am their light, and I am also their months.

"So be it: my light is great. I am the walkway and I am the foothold of the people, because my eyes are of metal. My teeth just glitter with jewels, and turquoise as well; they stand out blue with stones like the face of the sky.

"And this nose of mine shines white into the distance like the moon.

Since my nest is metal, it lights up the face of the earth. When I come forth before my nest, I am like the sun and moon for those who are born in the light, begotten in the light. It must be so, because my face reaches into the distance," says Seven Macaw.

It is not true that he is the sun, this Seven Macaw, yet he magnifies himself, his wings, his metal. But the scope of his face lies right around his own perch; his face does not reach everywhere beneath the sky. The faces of the sun, moon, and stars are not yet visible, it has not yet dawned.

And so Seven Macaw puffs himself up as the days and the months, though the light of the sun and moon has not yet clarified. He only wished for surpassing greatness. This was when the flood was worked upon the manikins, woodcarvings.

And now we shall explain how Seven Macaw died, when the people were vanquished, done in by the mason and sculptor.

PART TWO

HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE DEFEAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE DAY OF SEVEN MACAW by the two boys, the first named Hunahpu and the second named Xbalanque. Being gods, the two of them saw evil in his attempt at self-magnification before the Heart of Sky. So the boys talked:

"It's no good without life, without people here on the face of the earth."

"Well then, let's try a shot. We could shoot him while he's at his meal. We could make him ill, then put an end to his riches, his jade, his metal, his jewels, his gems, the source of his brilliance. Everyone might do as he does, but it should not come to be that fiery splendor is merely a matter of metal. So be it," said the boys, each one with a blowgun on his shoulder, the two of them together.

And this Seven Macaw has two sons: the first of these is Zipacna, and the second is the Earthquake. And Chimalmat is the name of their mother, the wife of Seven Macaw.

And this is Zipacna, this is the one to build up the great mountains: Fireplace, Hunahpu, Cave by the Water, Xcanul, Macamob, Huliznab, as the names of the mountains that were there at the dawn are spoken. They were brought forth by Zipacna in a single night.

And now this is the Earthquake. The mountains are moved by him; the mountains, small and great, are softened by him. The sons of Seven Macaw did this just as a means of self-magnification.

"Here am I: I am the sun," said Seven Macaw.

"Here am I: I am the maker of the earth," said Zipacna.

THE BOYS TALKED: *Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right). The latter, known as Yax Balam in lowland Maya texts, has patches of jaguar skin on his face and body. Classic Maya painting from the cave at Naj Tunich, Guatemala.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

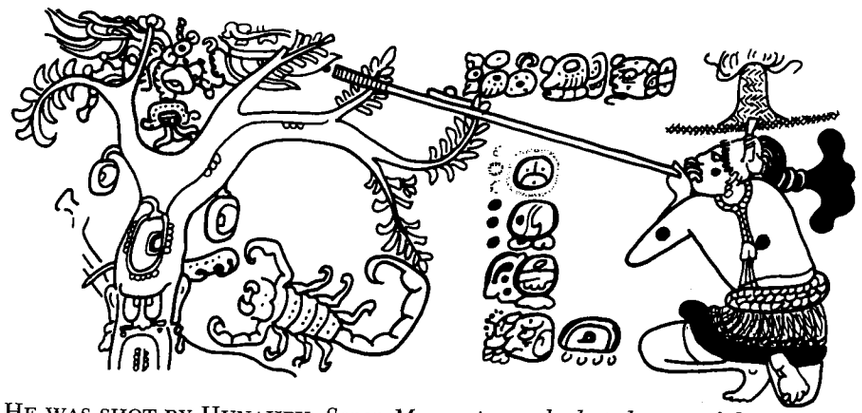
"As for me, I bring down the sky, I make an avalanche of all the earth," said Earthquake. The sons of Seven Macaw are alike, and like him: they got their greatness from their father.

And the two boys saw evil in this, since our first mother and father could not yet be made. Therefore deaths and disappearances were planned by the two boys.

AND HERE IS THE SHOOTING OF SEVEN MACAW BY THE TWO BOYS. We shall explain the defeat of each one of those who engaged in self-magnification.

This is the great tree of Seven Macaw, a nance, and this is the food of Seven Macaw. In order to eat the fruit of the nance he goes up the tree every day. Since Hunahpu and Xbalanque have seen where he feeds, they are now hiding beneath the tree of Seven Macaw, they are keeping quiet here, the two boys are in the leaves of the tree.

And when Seven Macaw arrived, perching over his meal, the nance, it was then that he was shot by Hunahpu. The blowgun shot went right to his jaw, breaking his mouth. Then he went up over the tree and fell flat on the ground. Suddenly Hunahpu appeared, running. He set out to



HE WAS SHOT BY HUNAHPU: *Seven Macaw is perched at the top of the tree at left. Xbalanque is hidden behind its trunk, with only his pawlike hand showing just below the fruit that dangles from the base of the tree's right limb. Hunahpu, with his blowgun on target, crouches at right, shaded by a straw hat. From a Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

grab him, but actually it was the arm of Hunahpu that was seized by Seven Macaw. He yanked it straight back, he bent it back at the shoulder. Then Seven Macaw tore it right out of Hunahpu. Even so, the boys did well: the first round was not their defeat by Seven Macaw.

And when Seven Macaw had taken the arm of Hunahpu, he went home. Holding his jaw very carefully, he arrived:

"What have you got there?" said Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw.

"What is it but those two tricksters! They've shot me, they've dislocated my jaw. All my teeth are just loose, now they ache. But once what I've got is over the fire—hanging there, dangling over the fire—then they can just come and get it. They're real tricksters!" said Seven Macaw, then he hung up the arm of Hunahpu.

Meanwhile Hunahpu and Xbalanque were thinking. And then they invoked a grandfather, a truly white-haired grandfather, and a grandmother, a truly humble grandmother—just bent-over, elderly people. Great White Peccary is the name of the grandfather, and Great White Coati is the name of the grandmother. The boys said to the grandmother and grandfather:

"Please travel with us when we go to get our arm from Seven Macaw; we'll just follow right behind you. You'll tell him:

'Do forgive us our grandchildren, who travel with us. Their mother and father are dead, and so they follow along there, behind us. Perhaps we should give them away, since all we do is pull worms out of teeth.' So we'll seem like children to Seven Macaw, even though *we're* giving *you* the instructions," the two boys told them.

"Very well," they replied.

After that they approached the place where Seven Macaw was in front

GREAT WHITE PECCARY: *A white-lipped peccary wearing a cloth headdress. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

of his home. When the grandmother and grandfather passed by, the two boys were romping along behind them. When they passed below the lord's house, Seven Macaw was yelling his mouth off because of his teeth. And when Seven Macaw saw the grandfather and grandmother traveling with them:

"Where are you headed, our grandfather?" said the lord.

"We're just making our living, your lordship," they replied.

"Why are you working for a living? Aren't those your children traveling with you?"

"No, they're not, your lordship. They're our grandchildren, our descendants, but it is nevertheless *we* who take pity on *them.* The bit of food they get is the portion we give them, your lordship," replied the grandmother and grandfather. Since the lord is getting done in by the pain in his teeth, it is only with great effort that he speaks again:

"I implore you, please take pity on me! What sweets can you make, what poisons can you cure?" said the lord.

"We just pull the worms out of teeth and we just cure eyes. We just set bones, your lordship," they replied.

"Very well, please cure my teeth. They really ache, every day. It's insufferable! I get no sleep because of them—and my eyes. They just shot me, those two tricksters! Ever since it started I haven't eaten because of it. Therefore take pity on me! Perhaps it's because my teeth are loose now."

"Very well, your lordship. It's a worm, gnawing at the bone. It's merely a matter of putting in a replacement and taking the teeth out, sir."

"But perhaps it's not good for my teeth to come out—since I am, after all, a lord. My finery is in my teeth—and my eyes."

"But then we'll put in a replacement. Ground bone will be put back in." And this is the "ground bone": it's only white corn.

"Very well. Yank them out! Give me some help here!" he replied.

And when the teeth of Seven Macaw came out, it was only white corn that went in as a replacement for his teeth—just a coating shining white, that corn in his mouth. His face fell at once, he no longer looked like a lord. The last of his teeth came out, the jewels that had stood out blue from his mouth.

And when the eyes of Seven Macaw were cured, he was plucked around the eyes, the last of his metal came off. Still he felt no pain; he just looked on while the last of his greatness left him. It was just as Hunahpu and Xbalanque had intended.

And when Seven Macaw died, Hunahpu got back his arm. And Chimalmat, the wife of Seven Macaw, also died.

Such was the loss of the riches of Seven Macaw: only the doctors got the jewels and gems that had made him arrogant, here on the face of the earth. The genius of the grandmother, the genius of the grandfather did its work when they took back their arm: it was implanted and the break got well again. Just as they had wished the death of Seven Macaw, so they brought it about. They had seen evil in his self-magnification.

After this the two boys went on again. What they did was simply the word of the Heart of Sky.

AND HERE ARE THE DEEDS OF ZIPACNA, the first son of Seven Macaw.

"I am the maker of mountains," says Zipacna.

And this is Zipacna, bathing on the shore. Then the Four Hundred Boys passed by dragging a log, a post for their hut. The Four Hundred Boys were walking along, having cut a great tree for the lintel of their hut.

And then Zipacna went there, he arrived where the Four Hundred Boys were:

"What are you doing, boys?"

THIS IS ZIPACNA, BATHING ON THE SHORE: *With bands of sky above and water below, this lowland version of Zipacna takes the form of a caiman. From a Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

"It's just this log. We can't lift it up to carry it."

"I'll carry it. Where does it go? What do you intend to use it for?"

"It's just a lintel for our hut."

"Very well," he replied.

And then he pulled it, or rather carried it, right on up to the entrance of the hut of the Four Hundred Boys.

"You could just stay with us, boy. Do you have a mother and father?"

"Not so," he replied.

"We'd like some help tomorrow in cutting another one of our logs, a post for our hut."

"Good," he replied.

After that the Four Hundred Boys shared their thoughts:

"About this boy: what should we do with him?"

"We should kill him, because what he does is no good. He lifted that log all by himself. Let's dig a big hole for him, and then we'll throw him down in the hole. We'll say to him:

'Why are you spilling dirt in the hole?' And when he's wedged down in the hole we'll wham a big log down behind him. Then he should die in the hole," said the Four Hundred Boys.

And when they had dug a hole, one that went deep, they called for Zipacna:

"We're asking you to please go on digging out the dirt. We can't go on," he was told.

"Very well," he replied.

After that he went down in the hole.

"Call out when enough dirt has been dug, when you're getting down deep," he was told.

"Yes," he replied, then he began digging the hole. But the only hole he dug was for his own salvation. He realized that he was to be killed, so he dug a separate hole to one side, he dug a second hole for safety.

"How far is it?" the Four Hundred Boys called down to him.

"I'm digging fast. When I call up to you, the digging will be finished," said Zipacna, from down in the hole. But he's not digging at the bottom of the hole, in his own grave; rather, the hole he's digging is for his own salvation.

After that, when Zipacna called out, he had gone to safety in his own hole. Then he called out:

"Come here, take the dirt, the fill from the hole. It's been dug. I've really gone down deep! Can't you hear my call? As for your call, it just echoes down here, it sounds to me as if you were on another level, or

two levels away," said Zipacna from his hole. He's hidden in there, he calls out from down in the hole.

Meanwhile, a big log is being dragged along by the boys.

And then they threw the log down in the hole.

"Isn't he there? He doesn't speak."

"Let's keep on listening. He should cry out when he dies," they said among themselves. They're just whispering, and they've hidden themselves, each one of them, after throwing down the log.

And then he did speak, now he gave a single cry. He called out when the log fell to the bottom.

"Right on! He's been finished!"

"Very good! We've done him in, he's dead."

"What if he had gone on with his deeds, his works? He would've made himself first among us and taken our place—we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. Now they enjoyed themselves:

"On to the making of our sweet drink! Three days will pass, and after three days let's drink to dedicate our hut—we, the Four Hundred Boys!" they said. "And tomorrow we'll see, and on the day after tomorrow we'll see whether or not ants come from the ground when he's stinking and rotting. After that our hearts will be content when we drink our sweet drink," they said. But Zipacna was listening from the hole when the boys specified "the day after tomorrow."

And on the second day, when the ants collected, they were running, swarming. Having taken their pickings under the log, they were everywhere, carrying hair in their mouths and carrying the nails of Zipacna. When the boys saw this:

"He's finished, that trickster! Look here how the ants have stripped him, how they've swarmed. Everywhere they carry hair in their mouths. It's his nails you can see. We've done it!" they said among themselves.

But this Zipacna is still alive. He just cuts the hair off his head and chews off his nails to give them to the ants.

And so the Four Hundred Boys thought he had died.

After that, their sweet drink was ready on the third day, and then all the boys got drunk, and once they were drunk, all four hundred of those boys, they weren't feeling a thing.

After that the hut was brought down on top of them by Zipacna. All of them were completely flattened. Not even one or two were saved from among all the Four Hundred Boys. They were killed by Zipacna, the son of Seven Macaw.

Such was the death of those Four Hundred Boys. And it used to be

said that they entered a constellation, named Hundrath after them, though perhaps this is just a play on words.

And this is where we shall explain the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

NOW THIS IS THE DEFEAT AND DEATH OF ZIPACNA, when he was beaten by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

What now weighed heavily on the hearts of the two boys was that the Four Hundred Boys had been killed by Zipacna.

It's mere fish and crabs that Zipacna looks for in the waters, but he's eating every day, going around looking for his food by day and lifting up mountains by night.

Next comes the counterfeiting of a great crab by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And they used bromeliad flowers, picked from the bromeliads of the forests. These became the forearms of the crab, and where they opened were the claws. They used a flagstone for the back of the crab, which clattered.

After that they put the shell beneath an overhang, at the foot of a great mountain. Meauan is the name of the mountain where the defeat took place.

After that, when the boys came along, they found Zipacna by the water:

"Where are you going, boy?" Zipacna was asked.

"I'm not going anywhere. I'm just looking for my food, boys," Zipacna replied.

"What's your food?"

"Just fish and crabs, but there aren't any that I can find. It's been two days since I stopped getting meals. By now I can't stand the hunger," Zipacna told Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"There *is* that crab that's down in the canyon. A really big crab! Perhaps you might manage to eat her. We were just getting bitten. We wanted to catch her, but we got scared by her. If she hasn't gone away you could catch her," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Take pity on me, please come point her out, boys," said Zipacna.

"We don't want to, but you go ahead. You can't miss her. Just follow the river, and you go straight on over there below a great mountain. She's clattering there at the bottom of the canyon. Just head on over there," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"But won't you please take pity on me? What if she can't be found, boys? If you come along I'll show you a place where there are plenty of birds. Please come shoot them, I know where they are," Zipacna replied. They consented. He went ahead of the boys.

"What if you can't catch the crab? Just as we had to turn back, so will you. Not only didn't we eat her, but all at once *she* was biting *us*. We were entering face down, but when she got scared we were entering on our back. We just barely missed reaching her then, so you'd better enter on your back," he was told.

"Very well," Zipacna replied, and then they went on. Now Zipacna had company as he went. They arrived at the bottom of the canyon.

The crab is on her side, her shell is gleaming red there. In under the canyon wall is their contrivance.

"Very good!" Zipacna is happy now. He wishes she were already in his mouth, so she could really cure his hunger. He wanted to eat her, he just wanted it face down, he wanted to enter, but since the crab got on top of him with her back down, he came back out.

"You didn't reach her?" he was asked.

"No indeed—she was just getting on top with her back down. I just barely missed her on the first try, so perhaps I'd better enter on my back," he replied.

After that he entered again, on his back. He entered all the way—only his kneecaps were showing now! He gave a last sigh and was calm. The great mountain rested on his chest. He couldn't turn over now, and so Zipacna turned to stone.

Such, in its turn, was the defeat of Zipacna by the two boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. He was "the maker of mountains," as his previous pronouncements had it, the first son of Seven Macaw. He was defeated beneath the great mountain called Meauan, defeated by genius alone. He was the second to magnify himself, and now we shall speak what is spoken of another.

AND THE THIRD TO MAGNIFY HIMSELF IS THE SECOND SON OF SEVEN MACAW, NAMED EARTHQUAKE.

"I am the breaker of mountains," he said. But even so, Hunahpu and Xbalanque defeated the Earthquake. Then Hurricane spoke, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt; he spoke to Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"The second son of Seven Macaw is another one, another who should

be defeated. This is my word, because what they do on the face of the earth is no good. They are surpassing the sun in size, in weight, and it should not be that way. Lure this Earthquake into sitting down over there in the east," Hurricane told the two boys.

"Very well, your lordship. There is more to be done. What we see is no good. Isn't it a question of your position and your eminence, sir, Heart of Sky?" the two boys said when they responded to the word of Hurricane.

Meanwhile he presses on, this Earthquake, breaker of mountains. Just by lightly tapping his foot on the ground he instantly demolishes the mountains, great and small. When he met up with the two boys:

"Where are you going, boy?" they asked Earthquake.

"I'm not going anywhere. I just scatter the mountains, and I'm the one who breaks them, in the course of the days, in the course of the light," he said when he answered. Then the Earthquake asked Hunahpu and Xbalanque:

"Where did you come from? I don't know your faces. What are your names?" said Earthquake.

"We have no names. We just hunt and trap in the mountains. We're just orphans, we have nothing to call our own, boy. We're just making our way among the mountains, small and great, boy. And there's one great mountain we saw that's just growing right along. It's rising really high! It's just swelling up, rising above all the other mountains. And there weren't even one or two birds to be found, boy. So how could it be that you destroy all mountains, boy?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to Earthquake.

"It can't be true you saw the mountain you're talking about. Where is it? You'll see me knock it down yet. Where did you see it?"

"Well, it's over there in the east," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Good. Lead the way," the two boys were told.

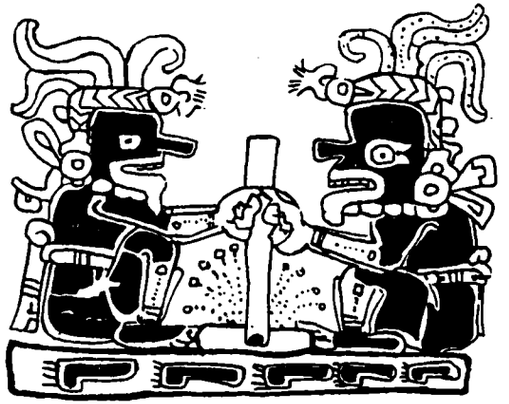
"Not so. You take the middle. Stay here between us—one of us at your left, the other at your right hand—because of our blowguns. If there are birds, we'll shoot," they said. They enjoy practicing their shooting.

And this is the way they shoot: the shot of their blowguns isn't made of earth—they just blow at the birds when they shoot, to the amazement of the Earthquake.

And then the boys made fire with a drill and roasted the birds over the fire. And they coated one of the birds with plaster, they put gypsum on it.

"So this is the one we'll give him when he's hungry, and when he

THE BOYS MADE FIRE WITH A DRILL: *Two figures turn a fire drill while sparks fly up from the wooden platform where the point of the drill is inserted. They are seated beside a road, marked by footprints. From the Madrid Codex.*



DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

savors the aroma of our birds. That will be victory, since we've covered his bird with baked earth. In earth we must cook it, and in earth must be his grave—if the great knower, the one to be made and modeled, is to have a sowing and dawning," said the boys.

"Because of this, the human heart will desire a bite of meat, a meal of flesh, just as the heart of the Earthquake will desire it," Hunahpu and Xbalanque said to each other. Then they roasted the birds and cooked them until they were brown, dripping with fat that oozed from the backs of the birds, with an overwhelmingly fragrant aroma.

And this Earthquake wants to be fed, his mouth just waters, he gulps and slurps with spittle and saliva because of the fragrance of the birds. So then he asked:

"What are you eating? I smell a truly delicious aroma! Please give me a little bit," he said. And when they gave a bird to Earthquake, he was as good as defeated.

After he had finished off the bird, they went on until they arrived in the east, where the great mountain was.

Meanwhile, Earthquake had lost the strength in his legs and arms. He couldn't go on because of the earth that coated the bird he'd eaten. So now there was nothing he could do to the mountain. He never recovered; he was destroyed. So then he was bound by the two boys; his hands were bound behind him. When his hands had been secured by the boys, his ankles were bound to his wrists.

After that they threw him down, they buried him in the earth.

Such is the defeat of Earthquake. It's Hunahpu and Xbalanque yet again. Their deeds on the face of the earth are countless.

And now we shall explain the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, having first explained the defeat of Seven Macaw, along with Zipacna and Earthquake, here on the face of the earth.

PART THREE

AND NOW WE SHALL NAME THE NAME OF THE FATHER OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE. Let's drink to him, and let's just drink to the telling and accounting of the begetting of Hunahpu and Xbalanque. We shall tell just half of it, just a part of the account of their father. Here follows the account.

These are the names: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, as they are called.

And these are their parents: Xpiyacoc, Xmucane. In the blackness, in the night, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu were born to Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

And this One Hunahpu had two children, and the two were sons, the firstborn named One Monkey and the second named One Artisan.

And this is the name of their mother: she is called Egret Woman, the wife of One Hunahpu. As for Seven Hunahpu, he has no wife. He's just a partner and just secondary; he just remains a boy.

They are great thinkers and great is their knowledge. They are the midmost seers, here on the face of the earth. There is only good in their being and their birthright. They taught skills to One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu. One Monkey and One Artisan became flautists, singers, and writers; carvers, jadeworkers, metalworkers as well.

And as for One and Seven Hunahpu, all they did was throw dice and play ball, every day. They would play each other in pairs, the four of them together. When they gathered in the ball court for entertainment a falcon would come to watch them, the messenger of Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt. And for this falcon it wasn't far to the earth here, nor was it far to Xibalba; he could get back to the sky, to Hurricane, in an instant.

The four ballplayers remained here on the face of the earth after the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan had died. Since it was on the road to Xibalba that they played, they were heard by One Death and Seven Death, the lords of Xibalba:

"What's happening on the face of the earth? They're just stomping and shouting. They should be summoned to come play ball here. We'll defeat them, since we simply get no deference from them. They show no respect, nor do they have any shame. They're really determined to run right over us!" said all of Xibalba, when they all shared their thoughts, the ones named One and Seven Death. They are great lawgivers.

AND THESE ARE THE LORDS OVER EVERYTHING, each lord with a commission and a domain assigned by One and Seven Death:

There are the lords named Scab Stripper and Blood Gatherer. And this is their commission: to draw blood from people.

Next are the lordships of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice. And this is their domain: to make people swell up, to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice, as it is called. Such is the domain of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice.

Next are the lords Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter, the staff bearers of Xibalba; their staffs are just bones. And this is their staff-bearing: to reduce people to bones, right down to the bones and skulls, until they die from emaciation and edema. This is the commission of the ones named Bone Scepter and Skull Scepter.

Next are the lords named Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe. This is their commission: just to give people a sudden fright whenever they have filth or grime in the doorway of the house, the patio of the house. Then they're struck, they're just punctured till they crawl on the ground, then die. And this is the domain of Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe, as they are called.

Next are the lords named Wing and Packstrap. This is their domain: that people should die in the road, just "sudden death," as it is called. Blood comes to the mouth, then there is death from vomiting blood. So to each of them his burden, the load on his shoulders: just to strike people on the neck and chest. Then there is death in the road, and then

PEOPLE SHOULD DIE IN THE ROAD: *A Xibalban (right) stabs a merchant god (left) on a road (indicated by the footprints). From the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

they just go on causing suffering, whether one is coming or going. And this is the domain of Wing and Packstrap.

Such are those who shared their thoughts when they were piqued and driven by One and Seven Hunahpu. What Xibalba desired was the gaming equipment of One and Seven Hunahpu: their kilts, their yokes, their arm guards, their panaches and headbands, the costumes of One and Seven Hunahpu.

And this is where we shall continue telling of their trip to Xibalba. One Monkey and One Artisan, the sons of One Hunahpu, stayed behind. Their mother died—and, what is more, they were to be defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND NOW FOR THE MESSENGERS OF ONE AND SEVEN DEATH:

"You're going, you Military Keepers of the Mat, to summon One and Seven Hunahpu. You'll tell them, when you arrive:

' "They must come," the lords say to you. "Would that they might come to play ball with us here. Then we could have some excitement with them. We are truly amazed at them. Therefore they should come," say the lords, "and they should bring their playthings, their yokes and arm guards should come, along with their rubber ball," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

THESE MESSENGERS OF THEIRS ARE OWLS: *The great horned owl appears as a bird of omen in lowland Maya art, serving as the messenger of the merchant lord of Xibalba. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

And these messengers of theirs are owls: Shooting Owl, One-legged Owl, Macaw Owl, Skull Owl, as the messengers of Xibalba are called.

There is Shooting Owl, like a point, just piercing.

And there is One-legged Owl, with just one leg; he has wings.

And there is Macaw Owl, with a red back; he has wings.

And there is also Skull Owl, with only a head alone; he has no legs, but he does have wings.

There are four messengers, Military Keepers of the Mat in rank.

And when they came out of Xibalba they arrived quickly, alighting above the ball court where One and Seven Hunahpu were playing, at the ball court called Great Hollow with Fish in the Ashes. The owls, arriving in a flurry over the ball court, now repeated their words, reciting the exact words of One Death, Seven Death, Demon of Pus, Demon of Jaundice, Bone Scepter, Skull Scepter, Scab Stripper, Blood Gatherer, Demon of Filth, Demon of Woe, Wing, Packstrap, as all the lords are named. Their words were repeated by the owls.

"Don't the lords One and Seven Death speak truly?"

"Truly indeed," the owls replied. "We'll accompany you.

'They're to bring along all their gaming equipment,' say the lords."

"Very well, but wait for us while we notify our mother," they replied.

And when they went to their house, they spoke to their mother; their father had died:

"We're going, our dear mother, even though we've just arrived. The messengers of the lord have come to get us:

' "They should come," he says,' they say, giving us orders. We'll leave our rubber ball behind here," they said, then they went to tie it up under the roof of the house. "Until we return—then we'll put it in play again."

They told One Monkey and One Artisan:

"As for you, just play and just sing, write and carve to warm our house and to warm the heart of your grandmother." When they had been given their instructions, their grandmother Xmucane sobbed, she had to weep.

"We're going, we're not dying. Don't be sad," said One and Seven Hunahpu, then they left.

AFTER THAT ONE AND SEVEN HUNAHPU LEFT, guided down the road by the messengers.

And then they descended the road to Xibalba, going down over the edge of a steep slope, and they descended until they came to the mouth where the canyons change, the ones named Rustling Canyon, Gurgling Canyon.

They passed through there, then they passed through Scorpion Rapids. They passed through countless scorpions but they were not stung.

And then they came to water again, to blood: Blood River. They crossed but did not drink. They came to a river, but a river filled with pus. Still they were not defeated, but passed through again.

And then they came to the Crossroads, but here they were defeated, at the Crossroads:

Red Road was one and Black Road another.

White Road was one and Yellow Road another.

There were four roads, and Black Road spoke:

"I am the one you are taking. I am the lord's road," said the road. And they were defeated there: this was the Road of Xibalba.

And then they came to the council place of the lords of Xibalba, and they were defeated again there. The ones seated first there are just manikins, just woodcarvings dressed up by Xibalba. And they greeted the first ones:

"Morning, One Death," they said to the manikin. "Morning, Seven Death," they said to the woodcarving in turn.

So they did not win out, and the lords of Xibalba shouted out with laughter over this. All the lords just shouted with laughter because they had triumphed; in their hearts they had beaten One and Seven Hunahpu. They laughed on until One and Seven Death spoke:

"It's good that you've come. Tomorrow you must put your yokes and arm guards into action," they were told.

"Sit here on our bench," they were told, but the only bench they were offered was a burning-hot rock.

THE LORDS OF XIBALBA SHOUTED OUT WITH LAUGHTER: *This lowland Maya death lord, whose skull and joints have no flesh on them, sits on a throne made of bones. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

So now they were burned on the bench; they really jumped around on the bench now, but they got no relief. They really got up fast, having burned their butts. At this the Xibalbans laughed again, they began to shriek with laughter, the laughter rose up like a serpent in their very cores, all the lords of Xibalba laughed themselves down to their blood and bones.

"Just go in the house. Your torch and cigars will be brought to your sleeping quarters," the boys were told.

After that they came to the Dark House, a house with darkness alone inside. Meanwhile the Xibalbans shared their thoughts:

"Let's just sacrifice them tomorrow. It can only turn out to be quick; they'll die quickly because of our playing equipment, our gaming things," the Xibalbans are saying among themselves.

This ball of theirs is just a spherical knife. White Dagger is the name of the ball, the ball of Xibalba. Their ball is just ground down to make it smooth; the ball of Xibalba is just surfaced with crushed bone to make it firm.

AND ONE AND SEVEN HUNAHPU WENT INSIDE DARK HOUSE.

And then their torch was brought, only one torch, already lit, sent by One and Seven Death, along with a cigar for each of them, also already lit, sent by the lords. When these were brought to One and Seven Hunahpu they were cowering, here in the dark. When the bearer of their torch and cigars arrived, the torch was bright as it entered; their torch and both of their cigars were burning. The bearer spoke:

" 'They must be sure to return them in the morning—not finished,

A CIGAR: *A lowland Maya god producing a shower of sparks with a cigar. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

but just as they look now. They must return them intact,' the lords say to you," they were told, and they were defeated. They finished the torch and they finished the cigars that had been brought to them.

And Xibalba is packed with tests, heaps and piles of tests.

This is the first one: the Dark House, with darkness alone inside.

And the second is named Rattling House, heavy with cold inside, whistling with drafts, clattering with hail. A deep chill comes inside here.

And the third is named Jaguar House, with jaguars alone inside, jostling one another, crowding together, with gnashing teeth. They're scratching around; these jaguars are shut inside the house.

Bat House is the name of the fourth test, with bats alone inside the house, squeaking, shrieking, darting through the house. The bats are shut inside; they can't get out.

And the fifth is named Razor House, with blades alone inside. The blades are moving back and forth, ripping, slashing through the house.

These are the first tests of Xibalba, but One and Seven Hunahpu never entered into them, except for the one named earlier, the specified test house.

And when One and Seven Hunahpu went back before One and Seven Death, they were asked:

"Where are my cigars? What of my torch? They were brought to you last night!"

"We finished them, your lordship."

"Very well. This very day, your day is finished, you will die, you will disappear, and we shall break you off. Here you will hide your faces: you are to be sacrificed!" said One and Seven Death.

And then they were sacrificed and buried. They were buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice, as it is called. The head of One Hunahpu was cut off; only his body was buried with his younger brother.

"Put his head in the fork of the tree that stands by the road," said One and Seven Death.

And when his head was put in the fork of the tree, the tree bore fruit. It would not have had any fruit, had not the head of One Hunahpu been put in the fork of the tree.

This is the calabash, as we call it today, or "the skull of One Hunahpu," as it is said.

And then One and Seven Death were amazed at the fruit of the tree. The fruit grows out everywhere, and it isn't clear where the head of One Hunahpu is; now it looks just the way the calabashes look. All the Xibalbans see this, when they come to look.

The state of the tree loomed large in their thoughts, because it came

about at the same time the head of One Hunahpu was put in the fork. The Xibalbans said among themselves:

"No one is to pick the fruit, nor is anyone to go beneath the tree," they said. They restricted themselves; all of Xibalba held back.

It isn't clear which is the head of One Hunahpu; now it's exactly the same as the fruit of the tree. Calabash came to be its name, and much was said about it. A maiden heard about it, and here we shall tell of her arrival.

AND HERE IS THE ACCOUNT OF A MAIDEN, the daughter of a lord named Blood Gatherer.

And this is when a maiden heard of it, the daughter of a lord. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father, and Blood Moon is the name of the maiden.

And when he heard the account of the fruit of the tree, her father retold it. And she was amazed at the account:

"I'm not acquainted with that tree they talk about. ' "Its fruit is truly sweet!" they say,' I hear," she said.

Next, she went all alone and arrived where the tree stood. It stood at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"What? Well! What's the fruit of this tree? Shouldn't this tree bear something sweet? They shouldn't die, they shouldn't be wasted. Should I pick one?" said the maiden.

And then the bone spoke; it was here in the fork of the tree:

BLOOD MOON IS THE NAME OF THE MAIDEN: *The lowland Maya moon goddess sits on a platform that represents the sky, and receives an offering. Her lunar identity is revealed in part by the crescent-shaped object she wears tucked under her arm and curving up behind her back to touch her shoulder. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"Why do you want a mere bone, a round thing in the branches of a tree?" said the head of One Hunahpu when it spoke to the maiden. "You don't want it," she was told.

"I do want it," said the maiden.

"Very well. Stretch out your right hand here, so I can see it," said the bone.

"Yes," said the maiden. She stretched out her right hand, up there in front of the bone.

And then the bone spit out its saliva, which landed squarely in the hand of the maiden.

And then she looked in her hand, she inspected it right away, but the bone's saliva wasn't in her hand.

"It is just a sign I have given you, my saliva, my spittle. This, my head, has nothing on it—just bone, nothing of meat. It's just the same with the head of a great lord: it's just the flesh that makes his face look good. And when he dies, people get frightened by his bones. After that, his son is like his saliva, his spittle, in his being, whether it be the son of a lord or the son of a craftsman, an orator. The father does not disappear, but goes on being fulfilled. Neither dimmed nor destroyed is the face of a lord, a warrior, craftsman, orator. Rather, he will leave his daughters and sons. So it is that I have done likewise through you. Now go up there on the face of the earth; you will not die. Keep the word. So be it," said the head of One and Seven Hunahpu—they were of one mind when they did it.

This was the word Hurricane, Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt had given them. In the same way, by the time the maiden returned to her home, she had been given many instructions. Right away something was generated in her belly, from the saliva alone, and this was the generation of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And when the maiden got home and six months had passed, she was found out by her father. Blood Gatherer is the name of her father.

AND AFTER THE MAIDEN WAS NOTICED BY HER FATHER, when he saw that she was now with child, all the lords then shared their thoughts —One and Seven Death, along with Blood Gatherer:

"This daughter of mine is with child, lords. It's just a bastard," Blood Gatherer said when he joined the lords.

"Very well. Get her to open her mouth. If she doesn't tell, then sacrifice her. Go far away and sacrifice her."

TAKE HER AWAY FOR SACRIFICE: *The merchant lord of the underworld (the lowland Maya equivalent of Blood Gatherer) sends away the moon goddess. Sitting on his hat is his owl messenger. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"Very well, your lordships," he replied. After that, he questioned his daughter:

"Who is responsible for the child in your belly, my daughter?" he said.

"There is no child, my father, sir; there is no man whose face I've known," she replied.

"Very well. It really is a bastard you carry! Take her away for sacrifice, you Military Keepers of the Mat. Bring back her heart in a bowl, so the lords can take it in their hands this very day," the owls were told, the four of them.

Then they left, carrying the bowl. When they left they took the maiden by the hand, bringing along the White Dagger, the instrument of sacrifice.

"It would not turn out well if you sacrificed me, messengers, because it is not a bastard that's in my belly. What's in my belly generated all by itself when I went to marvel at the head of One Hunahpu, which is there at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice. So please stop: don't do your sacrifice, messengers," said the maiden. Then they talked:

"What are we going to use in place of her heart? We were told by her father:

'Bring back her heart. The lords will take it in their hands, they will satisfy themselves, they will make themselves familiar with its composition. Hurry, bring it back in a bowl, put her heart in the bowl.' Isn't that what we've been told? What shall we deliver in the bowl? What we want above all is that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well. My heart must not be theirs, nor will your homes be here. Nor will you simply force people to die, but hereafter, what will be truly yours will be the true bearers of bastards. And hereafter, as for One and

Seven Death, only blood, only nodules of sap, will be theirs. So be it that these things are presented before them, and not that hearts are burned before them. So be it: use the fruit of a tree," said the maiden. And it was red tree sap she went out to gather in the bowl.

After it congealed, the substitute for her heart became round. When the sap of the croton tree was tapped, tree sap like blood, it became the substitute for her blood. When she rolled the blood around inside there, the sap of the croton tree, it formed a surface like blood, glistening red now, round inside the bowl. When the tree was cut open by the maiden, the so-called cochineal croton, the sap is what she called blood, and so there is talk of "nodules of blood."

"So you have been blessed with the face of the earth. It shall be yours," she told the owls.

"Very well, maiden. We'll show you the way up there. You just walk on ahead; we have yet to deliver this apparent duplicate of your heart before the lords," said the messengers.

And when they came before the lords, they were all watching closely:

"Hasn't it turned out well?" said One Death.

"It has turned out well, your lordships, and this is her heart. It's in the bowl."

"Very well. So I'll look," said One Death, and when he lifted it up with his fingers, its surface was soaked with gore, its surface glistened red with blood.

"Good. Stir up the fire, put it over the fire," said One Death.

After that they dried it over the fire, and the Xibalbans savored the aroma. They all ended up standing here, they leaned over it intently. They found the smoke of the blood to be truly sweet!

THE OWLS WENT TO SHOW THE MAIDEN THE WAY OUT: *Flying above the moon goddess (and thus appearing above the earth ahead of her) is the owl messenger of the merchant god of the underworld. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

And while they stayed at their cooking, the owls went to show the maiden the way out. They sent her up through a hole onto the earth, and then the guides returned below.

In this way the lords of Xibalba were defeated by a maiden; all of them were blinded.

And here, where the mother of One Monkey and One Artisan lived, was where the woman named Blood Moon arrived.

AND WHEN BLOOD MOON CAME TO THE MOTHER OF ONE MONKEY AND ONE ARTISAN, her children were still in her belly, but it wasn't very long before the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, as they are called.

And when the woman came to the grandmother, the woman said to the grandmother:

"I've come, my lady. I'm your daughter-in-law and I'm your child, my lady," she said when she came here to the grandmother.

"Where do you come from? As for my little babies, didn't they die in Xibalba? And these two remain as their sign and their word: One Monkey and One Artisan are their names. So if you've come to see my children, get out of here!" the maiden was told by the grandmother.

"Even so, I really am your daughter-in-law. I am already his, I belong to One Hunahpu. What I carry is his. One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu are alive, they are not dead. They have merely made a way for the light to show itself, my mother-in-law, as you will see when you look at the faces of what I carry," the grandmother was told.

And One Monkey and One Artisan have been keeping their grandmother entertained: all they do is play and sing, all they work at is writing and carving, every day, and this cheers the heart of their grandmother.

And then the grandmother said:

"I don't want you, no thanks, my daughter-in-law. It's just a bastard in your belly, you trickster! These children of mine who are named by you are dead," said the grandmother.

"Truly, what I say to you is so!"

"Very well, my daughter-in-law, I hear you. So get going, get their food so they can eat. Go pick a big netful of ripe corn ears, then come back—since you are already my daughter-in-law, as I understand it," the maiden was told.

"Very well," she replied.

After that, she went to the garden; One Monkey and One Artisan had a garden. The maiden followed the path they had cleared and arrived

ALL THEY WORK AT IS WRITING: *Two monkey scribes sit on either side of a thick screen-fold book, discussing a page they have opened. The scribe on the left holds a writing instrument in his hand. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY STEPHEN D. HOUSTON

there in the garden, but there was only one clump, there was no other plant, no second or third. That one clump had borne its ears. So then the maiden's heart stopped:

"It looks like I'm a sinner, a debtor! Where will I get the netful of food she asked for?" she said. And then the guardians of food were called upon by her:

> "Come on out, rise up now, come on out, stand up now:
> Thunder Woman, Yellow Woman,
> Cacao Woman and Cornmeal Woman,
> thou guardian of the food of One Monkey, One Artisan,"

said the maiden.

And then she took hold of the silk, the bunch of silk at the top of the ear. She pulled it straight out, she didn't pick the ear, and the ear reproduced itself to make food for the net. It filled the big net.

And then the maiden came back, but animals carried her net. When she got back she went to put the pack frame in the corner of the house, so it would look to the grandmother as if she had arrived with a load.

And then, when the grandmother saw the food, a big netful:

"Where did that food of yours come from? You've leveled the place! I'm going to see if you've brought back our whole garden!" said the grandmother.

And then she went off, she went to look at the garden, but the one clump was still there, and the place where the net had been put at the foot of it was still obvious.

And the grandmother came back in a hurry, and she got back home, and she said to the maiden:

"The sign is still there. You really are my daughter-in-law! I'll have to keep watching what you do. These grandchildren of mine are already showing genius," the maiden was told.

Now this is where we shall speak of the birth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR BIRTH; WE SHALL TELL OF IT HERE.

Then it came to the day of their birth, and the maiden named Blood Moon gave birth. The grandmother was not present when they were born; they were born suddenly. Two of them were born, named Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were born in the mountains, and then they came into the house. Since they weren't sleeping:

"Throw them out of here! They're really loudmouths!" said the grandmother.

After that, when they put them on an anthill, they slept soundly there. And when they removed them from there, they put them in brambles next.

And this is what One Monkey and One Artisan wanted: that they should die on the anthill and die in the brambles. One Monkey and One Artisan wanted this because they were rowdy and flushed with jealousy. They didn't allow their younger brothers in the house at first, as if they didn't even know them, but even so they flourished in the mountains.

And One Monkey and One Artisan were great flautists and singers, and as they grew up they went through great suffering and pain. It had cost them suffering to become great knowers. Through it all they became flautists, singers, and writers, carvers. They did everything well. They simply knew it when they were born, they simply had genius. And they were the successors of their fathers who had gone to Xibalba, their dead fathers.

Since One Monkey and One Artisan were great knowers, in their hearts they already realized everything when their younger brothers

came into being, but they didn't reveal their insight because of their jealousy. The anger in their hearts came down on their own heads; no great harm was done. They were decoyed by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, who merely went out shooting every day. These two got no love from the grandmother, or from One Monkey and One Artisan. They weren't given their meals; the meals had been prepared and One Monkey and One Artisan had already eaten them before they got there.

But Hunahpu and Xbalanque aren't turning red with anger; rather, they just let it go, even though they know their proper place, which they see as clear as day. So they bring birds when they arrive each day, and One Monkey and One Artisan eat them. Nothing whatsoever is given to Hunahpu and Xbalanque, either one of them. All One Monkey and One Artisan do is play and sing.

And then Hunahpu and Xbalanque arrived again, but now they came in here without bringing their birds, so the grandmother turned red:

"What's your reason for not bringing birds?" Hunahpu and Xbalanque were asked.

"There are some, our dear grandmother, but our birds just got hung up in a tree," they said, "and there's no way to get up the tree after them, our dear grandmother, and so we'd like our elder brothers to please go with us, to please go get the birds down," they said.

"Very well. We'll go with you at dawn," the elder brothers replied.

Now they had won, and they gathered their thoughts, the two of them, about the fall of One Monkey and One Artisan:

"We'll just turn their very being around with our words. So be it, since they have caused us great suffering. They wished that we might die and disappear—we, their younger brothers. Just as they wished us to be slaves here, so we shall defeat them there. We shall simply make a sign of it," they said to each other.

And then they went there beneath a tree, the kind named yellow tree, together with the elder brothers. When they got there they started shooting. There were countless birds up in the tree, chittering, and the elder brothers were amazed when they saw the birds. And not one of these birds fell down beneath the tree:

"Those birds of ours don't fall down; just go throw them down," they told their elder brothers.

"Very well," they replied.

And then they climbed up the tree, and the tree began to grow, its trunk got thicker.

After that, they wanted to get down, but now One Monkey and One

Artisan couldn't make it down from the tree. So they said, from up in the tree:

"How can we grab hold? You, our younger brothers, take pity on us! Now this tree looks frightening to us, dear younger brothers," they said from up in the tree. Then Hunahpu and Xbalanque told them:

"Undo your pants, tie them around your hips, with the long end trailing like a tail behind you, and then you'll be better able to move," they were told by their younger brothers.

"All right," they said.

And then they left the ends of their loincloths trailing, and all at once these became tails. Now they looked like mere monkeys.

After that they went along in the trees of the mountains, small and great. They went through the forests, now howling, now keeping quiet in the branches of trees.

Such was the defeat of One Monkey and One Artisan by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They did it by means of their genius alone.

And when they got home they said, when they came to their grandmother and mother:

"Our dear grandmother, something has happened to our elder brothers. They've become simply shameless, they're like animals now," they said.

"If you've done something to your elder brothers, you've knocked me down and stood me on my head. Please don't do anything to your elder brothers, my dear grandchildren," the grandmother said to Hunahpu and Xbalanque. And they told their grandmother:

"Don't be sad, our dear grandmother. You will see the faces of our elder brothers again. They'll come, but this will be a test for you, our dear grandmother. Will you please not laugh while we test their destiny?" they said.

And then they began playing. They played "Hunahpu Monkey."

AND THEN THEY SANG, THEY PLAYED, THEY DRUMMED. When they took up their flutes and drums, their grandmother sat down with them, then they played, they sounded out the tune, the song that got its name then. "Hunahpu Monkey" is the name of the tune.

And then One Monkey and One Artisan came back, dancing when they arrived.

And then, when the grandmother looked, it was their ugly faces the grandmother saw. Then she laughed, the grandmother could not hold

DANCING WHEN THEY ARRIVED: *A monkey scribe dances with a mirror in his right hand. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

back her laughter, so they just left right away, out of her sight again, they went up and away in the forest.

"Why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? We'll only try four times; only three times are left. We'll call them with the flute, with song. Please hold back your laughter. We'll try again," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Next they played again, then they came back, dancing again, they arrived again, in the middle of the patio of the house. As before, what they did was delightful; as before, they tempted their grandmother to laugh. Their grandmother laughed at them soon enough. The monkeys looked truly ridiculous, with the skinny little things below their bellies and their tails wiggling in front of their breasts. When they came back the grandmother had to laugh at them, and they went back into the mountains.

"Please, why are you doing that, our dear grandmother? Even so, we'll try it a third time now," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Again they played, again they came dancing, but their grandmother held back her laughter. Then they climbed up here, cutting right across the building, with thin red lips, with faces blank, puckering their lips, wiping their mouths and faces, suddenly scratching themselves. And when the grandmother saw them again, the grandmother burst out laughing again, and again they went out of sight because of the grandmother's laughter.

SUDDENLY SCRATCHING THEMSELVES: *This spider monkey has his genitals showing, or what the Popol Vuh calls "the skinny little things below their bellies." From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

"Even so, our dear grandmother, we'll get their attention."

So for the fourth time they called on the flute, but they didn't come back again. The fourth time they went straight into the forest. So they told their grandmother:

"Well, we've tried, our dear grandmother. They came at first, and we've tried calling them again. So don't be sad. We're here—we, your grandchildren. Just love our mother, dear grandmother. Our elder brothers will be remembered. So be it: they have lived here and they have been named; they are to be called One Monkey and One Artisan," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So they were prayed to by the flautists and singers among the ancient people, and the writers and carvers prayed to them. In ancient times they turned into animals, they became monkeys, because they just magnified themselves, they abused their younger brothers. Just as they wished them to be slaves, so they themselves were brought low. One Monkey and One Artisan were lost then, they became animals, and this is now their place forever.

Even so, they were flautists and singers; they did great things while they lived with their grandmother and mother.

AND NOW THEY BEGAN TO ACT OUT THEIR SELF-REVELATION before their grandmother and mother. First they made a garden:

"We'll just do some gardening, our dear grandmother and mother," they said. "Don't worry. We're here, we're your grandchildren, we're the successors of our elder brothers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

And then they took up their axe, their mattock, their hoe; each of them went off with a blowgun on his shoulder. They left the house having instructed their grandmother to give them their food:

"At midday bring our food, dear grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my dear grandchildren," said their grandmother.

After that, they went to their gardening. They simply stuck their mattock in the ground, and the mattock simply cultivated the ground.

And it wasn't only the mattock that cultivated, but also the axe. In the same way, they stuck it in the trunk of a tree; in the same way, it cut into the tree by itself, felling, scattering, felling all the trees and bushes, now leveling, mowing down the trees.

Just the one axe did it, and the mattock, breaking up thick masses, countless stalks and brambles. Just one mattock was doing it, breaking up countless things, just clearing off whole mountains, small and great.

And then they gave instructions to that creature named the mourning dove. They sat up on a big stump, and Hunahpu and Xbalanque said:

"Just watch for our grandmother, bringing our food. Cry out right away when she comes, and then we'll grab the mattock and axe."

"Very well," said the mourning dove.

This is because all they're doing is shooting; they're not really doing any gardening.

And as soon as the dove cries out they come running, one of them grabbing the mattock and the other grabbing the hoe, and they're tying up their hair.

One of them deliberately rubs dirt on his hands; he dirties his face as well, so he's just like a real gardener.

And as for the other one, he deliberately dumps wood chips on his head, so he's like a real woodcutter.

Once their grandmother has seen them they eat, but they aren't really doing their gardening; she brings their food for nothing. And when they get home:

"We're really ready for bed, our dear grandmother," they say when

they arrive. Deliberately they massage, they stretch their legs, their arms in front of their grandmother.

And when they went on the second day and arrived at the garden, it had all grown up high again. Every tree and bush, every stalk and bramble had put itself back together again when they arrived.

"Who's been picking us clean?" they said.

And these are the ones who are doing it, all the animals, small and great: puma, jaguar, deer, rabbit, fox, coyote, peccary, coati, small birds, great birds. They are the ones who did it; they did it in just one night.

After that, they started the garden all over again. Just as before, the ground worked itself, along with the woodcutting.

And then they shared their thoughts, there on the cleared and broken ground:

"We'll simply have to keep watch over our garden. Then, whatever may be happening here, we'll find out about it," they said when they shared their thoughts. And when they arrived at the house:

"How could we get picked clean, our dear grandmother? Our garden was tall thickets and groves all over again when we got there a while ago, our dear grandmother," they said to their grandmother and mother. "So we'll go keep watch, because what's happening to us is no good," they said.

After that, they wound everything up, and then they went back to the clearing.

And there they took cover, and when they were well hidden there, all the animals gathered together, each one sat on its haunches, all the animals, small and great.

And this was the middle of the night when they came. They all spoke when they came. This is what they said:

"Arise, conjoin, you trees!
Arise, conjoin, you bushes!"

they said. Then they made a great stir beneath the trees and bushes, then they came nearer, and then they showed their faces.

The first of these were the puma and jaguar. The boys tried to grab them, but they did not give themselves up. When the deer and rabbit came near they only got them by the tail, which just broke off: the deer left its tail in their hands. When they grabbed the tail of the deer, along with the tail of the rabbit, the tails were shortened. But the fox, coyote, and peccary, coati did not give themselves up. All the animals went by in front of Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

So NOW THERE WAS FIRE IN THEIR HEARTS, because they didn't catch them. And one more came, the last one now, jumping as he came, then they cut him off. In their net they caught the rat.

And then they grabbed him and squeezed him behind the head. They tried to choke him; they burned his tail over a fire. Ever since the rat's tail got caught, there's been no hair on his tail, and his eyes have been the way they are since the boys tried to choke him, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"I will not die by your hand! Gardening is not your job, but there is something that is," said the rat.

"Where is what is ours? Go ahead and name it," the boys told the rat.

"Will you let me go then? My word is in my belly, and after I name it for you, you'll give me my morsel of food," said the rat.

"We'll give you your food, so name it," he was told.

"Very well. It's something that belonged to your fathers, named One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu, who died in Xibalba. What remains is their gaming equipment. They left it up under the roof of the house: their kilts, their wrist guards, their rubber ball. But your grandmother doesn't take these down in front of you, because this is how your fathers died."

"You know the truth, don't you!" the boys told the rat.

There was great joy in their hearts when they got word of the rubber ball. When the rat had named it they gave the rat his food, and this is his food: corn kernels, squash seeds, chili, beans, pataxte, cacao. These are his.

"If anything of yours is stored or gets wasted, then gnaw away," the rat was told by Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well, boys. But what will your grandmother say if she sees me?" he said.

"Don't be fainthearted. We're here. We know what our grandmother needs to be told. We'll set you up under the corner of the roof right away. When that's taken care of you'll go straight to where the things were left, and we'll look up there under the roof, but it's our stew we'll be looking at," they told the rat when they gave him his instructions.

Hunahpu and Xbalanque made their plans overnight and arrived right at noon, and it wasn't obvious that they had a rat with them when they arrived. One of them went right inside the house when he reached it, while the other went to the corner of the house, quickly setting up the rat. And then they asked their grandmother for their meal:

"Just grind something for our stew, we want chili sauce, our dear grandmother," they said.

After that, she ground chili for their stew. A bowl of broth was set out in front of them, but they were just fooling their grandmother and mother. They had emptied the water jar:

"We're really parched! Bring us a drink," they told their grandmother.

"Yes," she said, then she went, and they kept on eating. They weren't really hungry; they just put on false appearances.

And then they saw the rat reflected in their chili sauce: here was the rat loosening the ball that had been left in the peak of the roof. When they saw him in the chili sauce they sent a mosquito, that creature the mosquito, similar to a gnat. He went to the water, then he punctured the side of the grandmother's jar. The water just gushed out from the side of her jar. She tried, but she could not stop up the side of her jar.

"What has our grandmother done? We're choking for lack of water, our parched throats will do us in," they told their mother, then they sent her there.

After that, the rat cut the ball loose. It dropped from beneath the roof, along with the yokes, wrist guards, kilts. These were taken away then; they went to hide them on the road, the road to the ball court.

After that, they went to join their grandmother at the water, and their grandmother and mother were unable to stop up the side of the jar, either one of them.

After that, the boys arrived, each with his blowgun. When they arrived at the water:

"What have you done? We got weary at heart, so we came," they said.

"Look at the side of my jar! It cannot be stopped," said their grandmother, and they quickly stopped it up.

And they came back together, the two of them ahead of their grandmother.

In this way, the matter of the rubber ball was arranged.

HAPPY NOW, THEY WENT TO PLAY BALL AT THE COURT. So they played ball at a distance, all by themselves. They swept out the court of their fathers.

And then it came into the hearing of the lords of Xibalba:

"Who's begun a game again up there, over our heads? Don't they have any shame, stomping around this way? Didn't One and Seven Hunahpu

die trying to magnify themselves in front of us? So, you must deliver another summons," they said as before, One and Seven Death, all the lords.

"They are hereby summoned," they told their messengers. "You are to say, on reaching them:

' "They must come," say the lords, "We would play ball with them here. In seven days we'll have a game," say the lords,' you will say when you arrive," the messengers were told.

And then they came along a wide roadway, the road to the house of the boys, which actually ended at their house, so that the messengers came directly to their grandmother. As for the boys, they were away playing ball when the messengers of Xibalba got there.

" 'Truly, they are to come,' say the lords," said the messengers of Xibalba. So then and there the day was specified by the messengers of Xibalba:

" 'In seven days our game will take place,' " Xmucane was told there.

"Very well. They'll go when the day comes, messengers," said the grandmother, and the messengers left. They went back.

So now the grandmother's heart was broken:

"How can I send for my grandchildren? Isn't it really Xibalba, just as it was when the messengers came long ago, when their fathers went to die?" said the grandmother, sobbing, at home by herself.

After that a louse came down where it could be seen, and then she picked it up and put it in her hand, and the louse moved around with fits and starts.

"My grandchild, perhaps you might like to take my message, to go where my grandchildren are, at the ball court," the louse was told when he went as a message bearer:

" 'A messenger has come to your grandmother,' you will say. ' "You are to come:

'In seven days they are to come,' say the messengers of Xibalba," says your grandmother,' you will say," the louse was told.

Then he went off, and he went in fits and starts, and sitting in the road was a boy named Tamazul, the toad.

"Where are you going?" said the toad to the louse.

"My word is contained in my belly. I'm going to the two boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well. But I notice you're not very fast," the louse was told by the toad. "Wouldn't you like me to swallow you? You'll see, I'll run bent over this way, we'll arrive in a hurry."

TAMAZUL, THE TOAD: *Trailing down the back of this toad is a piece of skin he is shedding. From a Late Classic Maya vase.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

"Very well," said the louse to the toad.

After that, when he had been united with the toad, the toad hopped. He went along now, but he didn't run.

After that, the toad met a big snake named Zaquicaz:

"Where are you going, Tamazul boy?" the toad was asked next by Zaquicaz.

"I'm a messenger. My word is in my belly," the toad next said to the snake.

"But I notice you're not fast. Listen to me, I'll get there in a hurry," said the snake to the toad.

"Get going," he was told, so then the toad was next swallowed by Zaquicaz. When snakes get their food today they swallow toads.

So the snake was running as he went, then the snake was met from overhead by a laughing falcon, a large bird. The snake was swallowed up by the falcon, and then he arrived above the court. When hawks get their food, they eat snakes in the mountains.

And when the falcon arrived he alighted on the rim of the ball court. Hunahpu and Xbalanque were happy then, they were playing ball when the falcon arrived.

So then the falcon cried out:

"Wak-ko! Wak-ko!"

said the falcon as he cried.

"Who's crying out there? Come on! Our blowguns!" they said. And they shot the falcon, landing their blowgun shot right in his eye. Wobbling, he fell down and they went right there to grab him, then they asked him:

"What are you after?" they said to the falcon.

"My word is contained in my belly. But heal my eye first, then I'll name it," said the falcon.

"Very well," they said.

Next they took a bit of rubber off the surface of the ball, then they put it on the falcon's eye. "Blood of sacrifice" was their name for it. As soon as he was treated by them, the falcon's vision became good again.

"So name it," they said to the falcon, and then he vomited a big snake.

"Speak up," they said next to the snake.

"Yes," he said next, then he vomited the toad.

"What's your errand? Tell it," the toad was told next.

"My word is contained in my belly," the toad said next, and then he tried to throw up, but there was no vomit, he just sort of drooled. He was trying, but there was no vomit.

After that, he had to be kicked by the boys.

"You trickster!" he was told, then they kicked him in the rear, and they crushed the bones of his rear end with their feet. When he tried again, he just sort of spit.

And then they pried the toad's mouth open, it was opened by the boys. They searched his mouth, and the louse had simply stuck in the toad's teeth, it was right there in his mouth. He hadn't swallowed it, but had only seemed to swallow.

And such was the defeat of the toad. It's not clear what kind of food they gave him, and because he didn't run he became mere meat for snakes.

"Tell it," the louse was told next, so then he named his word:

"Boys, your grandmother says:

'Summon them. A message came for them:

"From Xibalba comes the messenger of One and Seven Death:

THEY PUT IT ON THE FALCON'S EYE: *The laughing falcon, alone among the hawks and falcons of Mesoamerica, has black feathers around the eye.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

' "In seven days they are to come here. We'll play ball. Their gaming equipment must come along: rubber ball, yokes, arm guards, kilts. This will make for some excitement here," say the lords,' is the word that came from them," ' says your grandmother. So your grandmother says you must come. Truly your grandmother cries, she calls out to you to come."

"Isn't it the truth!" the boys said in their thoughts. When they heard it they left at once and got to their grandmother, but they went there only to give their grandmother instructions:

"We're on our way, dear grandmother. We're just giving you instructions. So here is the sign of our word. We'll leave it with you. Each of us will plant an ear of green corn. We'll plant them in the center of our house. When the corn dries up, this will be a sign of our death:

'Perhaps they died,' you'll say, when it dries up. And when the sprouting comes:

'Perhaps they live,' you'll say, our dear grandmother and mother. From now on, this is the sign of our word. We're leaving it with you," they said, then they left.

Hunahpu planted one and Xbalanque planted another. They were planted right there in the house: neither in the mountains nor where the earth is damp, but where the earth is dry, in the middle of the inside of their house. They left them planted there, then went off, each with his own blowgun.

THEY WENT DOWN TO XIBALBA, quickly going down the face of a cliff, and they crossed through the change of canyons. They passed right through the birds—the ones called throng birds—and then they crossed Pus River and Blood River, intended as traps by Xibalba. They did not step in, but simply crossed over on their blowguns, and then they went on over to the Crossroads. But they knew about the roads of Xibalba: Black Road, White Road, Red Road, Green Road.

And there they summoned that creature named the mosquito. Having heard that he's a spy, they sent him ahead:

"Bite them one by one. First bite the first one seated there, then bite every last one of them, and it will be yours alone to suck the blood of people in the roads," the mosquito was told.

"Very well," replied the mosquito, then he took Black Road and stopped at the two manikins, or woodcarvings, that were seated first. They were all dressed up, and he bit the first of them. It didn't speak, so he bit again. When he bit the one seated second, again it didn't speak,

THAT CREATURE NAMED THE MOSQUITO: *In this drawing from a Late Classic Maya vase, the mosquito wears its weapon on the front of its headdress and dribbles blood from its anus.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

and then he bit the third one, the one seated third actually being One Death.

"Yeow!" each one said as he was bitten.

"What?" each one replied.

"Ouch!" said One Death.

"What is it, One Death?"

"Something's bitten me."

"It's—ouch! There's something that's bitten me," the one seated fourth said next.

"What is it, Seven Death?"

"Something's bitten me." The one seated fifth spoke next:

"Ow! Ow!" he said.

"What, Scab Stripper?" Seven Death said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated sixth was bitten:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Blood Gatherer?" Scab Stripper said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated seventh was bitten:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Demon of Pus?" Blood Gatherer said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. The one seated eighth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Demon of Jaundice?" Demon of Pus said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated ninth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said.

"What is it, Bone Scepter?" Demon of Jaundice said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated tenth in order was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Skull Scepter?" said Bone Scepter.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated eleventh was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What is it, Wing?" Skull Scepter said to him next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated twelfth was bitten next:

"Ouch!" he said next.

"What, Packstrap?" he was asked next.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated thirteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch!"

"What is it, Bloody Teeth?" Packstrap said to him.

"Something's bitten me," he said next. Then the one seated fourteenth was bitten next:

"Ouch! Something's bitten me," he said next.

"Bloody Claws?" Bloody Teeth said to him next.

And such was the naming of their names, they named them all among themselves. They showed their faces and named their names, each one named by the one ranking above him, and naming in turn the name of the one seated next to him. There wasn't a single name they missed, naming every last one of their names when they were bitten by the hair that Hunahpu had plucked from his own shin. It wasn't really a mosquito that bit them. It went to hear all their names for Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

After that Hunahpu and Xbalanque went on, and then they came to where the Xibalbans were:

"Bid the lords good day," said someone who was seated there. It was a deceiver who spoke.

"These aren't lords! These are manikins, woodcarvings!" they said as they came up.

And after that, they bid them good morning:

"Morning, One Death. Morning, Seven Death.
Morning, Scab Stripper. Morning, Blood Gatherer.
Morning, Demon of Pus. Morning, Demon of Jaundice.
Morning, Bone Scepter. Morning, Skull Scepter.
Morning, Wing. Morning, Packstrap.
Morning, Bloody Teeth. Morning, Bloody Claws,"

they said when they arrived, and all of their identities were accounted for. They named every one of their names; there wasn't a single name they missed. When this was required of them, no name was omitted by them.

"Sit here," they were told. They were wanted on the bench, but they didn't want it:

"This bench isn't for us! It's just a stone slab for cooking," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. They were not defeated.

"Very well. Just get in the house," they were told.

And after that, they entered Dark House. They were not defeated there. This was the first test they entered in Xibalba, and as far as the Xibalbans were concerned they were as good as defeated.

First they entered Dark House.

And after that, the messenger of One Death brought their torch, burning when it arrived, along with one cigar apiece.

" 'Here is their torch,' says the lord. 'They must return the torch in the morning, along with the cigars. They must return them intact,' say the lords," the messenger said when he arrived.

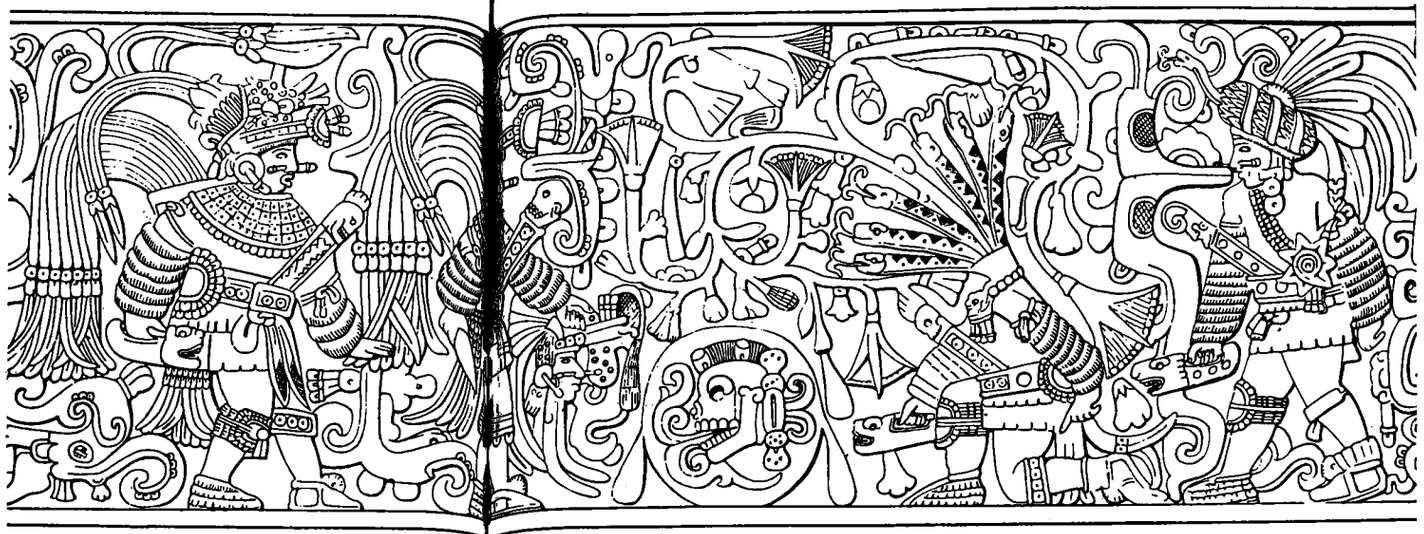
"Very well," they said, but they didn't burn the torch—instead, something that looked like fire was substituted. This was the tail of the macaw, which looked like a torch to the sentries. And as for the cigars, they just put fireflies at the tips of those cigars, which they kept lit all night.

"We've defeated them," said the sentries, but the torch was not consumed—it just looked that way. And as for the cigars, there wasn't anything burning there—it just looked that way. When these things were taken back to the lords:

"What's happening? Where did they come from? Who begot them and bore them? Our hearts are really hurting, because what they're doing to us is no good. They're different in looks and different in their very being," they said among themselves. And when they had summoned all the lords:

"Let's play ball, boys," the boys were told. And then they were asked by One and Seven Death:

"IT'S JUST A SKULL": *In this game the ball (just right of center) is marked with a skull in profile. From the mouths of the two players at left and the one at extreme right comes speech (resembling curling smoke), probably in the form of taunts like the ones hurled back and forth in the Popol Vuh. The first player to the left of the ball holds the severed head of the first player to the right, whose neck sprouts serpents (representing spurts of blood) and a squash vine (recalling an episode in which a squash serves as Hunahpu's head). From a relief panel in the great ball court at Chichén Itzá.*



DRAWING FROM ALFRED M. TOZZER, *CHICHEN ITZA AND ITS CENOTE OF SACRIFICE:* PHOTO BY HILLEL BURGER © 1984 BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

"Where might you have come from? Please name it," Xibalba said to them.

"Well, wherever did we come from? We don't know," was all they said. They didn't name it.

"Very well then, we'll just go play ball, boys," Xibalba told them.

"Good," they said.

"Well, this is the one we should put in play, here's our rubber ball," said the Xibalbans.

"No thanks. This is the one to put in, here's ours," said the boys.

"No it's not. This is the one we should put in," the Xibalbans said again.

"Very well," said the boys.

"After all, it's just a decorated one," said the Xibalbans.

"Oh no it's not. It's just a skull, we say in return," said the boys.

"No it's not," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said Hunahpu. When it was sent off by Xibalba, the ball was stopped by Hunahpu's yoke.

And then, while Xibalba watched, the White Dagger came out from inside the ball. It went clattering, twisting all over the floor of the court.

"What's that!" said Hunahpu and Xbalanque. "Death is the only thing you want for us! Wasn't it *you* who sent a summons to us, and wasn't it *your* messenger who went? Truly, take pity on us, or else we'll just leave," the boys told them.

And this is what had been ordained for the boys: that they should have died right away, right there, defeated by that knife. But it wasn't like that. Instead, Xibalba was again defeated by the boys.

"Well, don't go, boys. We can still play ball, but we'll put yours into play," the boys were told.

"Very well," they said, and this was the time for their rubber ball, so the ball was dropped in.

And after that, they specified the prize:

"What should our prize be?" asked the Xibalbans.

"It's yours for the asking," was all the boys said.

"We'll just win four bowls of flowers," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well. What kinds of flowers?" the boys asked Xibalba.

"One bowl of red petals, one bowl of white petals, one bowl of yellow petals, and one bowl of whole ones," said the Xibalbans.

"Very well," said the boys, and then their ball was dropped in. The boys were their equals in strength and made many plays, since they only

THEIR BALL WAS DROPPED IN: *Hunahpu (left) and a member of the Xibalba team (right) jointly hold a ball up with their arm guards just before putting it into play; the latter wears a trophy head on his back. From a relief carved on a stone ball-court marker at Copán.*

DRAWING BY BARBARA FASH

had very good thoughts. Then the boys gave themselves up in defeat, and the Xibalbans were glad when they were defeated:

"We've done well. We've beaten them on the first try," said the Xibalbans. "Where will they go to get the flowers?" they said in their hearts.

"Truly, before the night is over, you must hand over our flowers and our prize," the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque, were told by Xibalba.

"Very well. So we're also playing ball at night," they said when they accepted their charge.

AND AFTER THAT, THE BOYS NEXT ENTERED RAZOR HOUSE, the second test of Xibalba.

And this is when it was ordained that they be cut clear through with

knives. It was intended to be quick, intended that they should die, but they did not die. They spoke to the knives then, they instructed them:

"This is yours: the flesh of all the animals," they told the knives, and they no longer moved—rather, each and every knife put down its point.

And this is how they stayed there overnight, in Razor House. Now they summoned all the ants:

"Cutting ants, conquering ants, come now,
all of you fetch all of them for us:
flowers in bloom, prizes for lords."

"Very well," they replied. Then all the ants went to get the flowers, the plantings of One and Seven Death, who had already given instructions to the guardians of the flowers of Xibalba:

"Would you please watch our flowers? Don't let them get stolen. We've defeated these boys, so won't they come looking for the prize they owe us? Don't sleep tonight."

"Very well," they replied, but the guardians of the plants never knew a thing. Their only inclination was to stretch their mouths wide open, going from one perch to another in the trees and plants, repeating the same song:

"Whip-poor-will! Whip-poor-will!"

one of them says as he cries.

"Poor-willow! Poor-willow!"

says the other as he cries, the one named poorwill.

The two of them are the guards of the garden, the garden of One and Seven Death, but they don't notice the ants stealing what's under their guard, swarming, carrying away loads of flowers, coming to cut down the flowers in the trees, gathering these together with the flowers beneath the trees, while the guards just stretch their mouths wide open, not noticing the nibbling at their own tails, the nibbling at their own wings. The severed flowers rain down into the gathering and bunching here below, so that four bowls of flowers are easily filled, an acrobatic performance that lasts till dawn.

After that the messengers, the pages, arrive:

" 'They are to come,' says the lord: 'They must bring our prizes here right away,' " the boys were told.

"Very well," they said. Having loaded up the flowers, four bowls of them, they left and came before the lord, or lords, who received the flowers with pained looks.

With this, the Xibalbans were defeated. The boys had sent mere ants; in just one night the ants had taken the flowers and put them in the bowls.

With this, all the Xibalbans looked sick, they paled at the sight of the flowers.

After that, they summoned the flower guards:

"How did you allow our flowers to get stolen? These are *our* flowers! Here! Look!" the guards were told.

"We took no notice, your lordship, though our tails are the worse for it," they said.

And then their mouths were split wide, their payment for the theft of what was under their guard.

Such was the defeat of One and Seven Death by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, on account of which the whippoorwills got gaping mouths. Their mouths gape to this day.

Now after that, when the ball was dropped in, they just played to a tie. When they finished the game they made an arrangement with each other:

"At dawn again," said Xibalba.

"Very well," said the boys, then they were finished.

AND NOW THEY ENTERED COLD HOUSE. There are countless drafts, thick-falling hail inside the house, the home of cold. They diminished the cold right away by shutting it out. The cold dissipated because of the boys. They did not die, but were alive when it dawned.

So, although Xibalba had wanted them to die there, they did not, but were alive when it dawned. They came out when the pages arrived and the guards left.

"Why haven't they died?" said the rulers of Xibalba. Again they were amazed at the feats of the boys, Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

SO NEXT THEY ENTERED JAGUAR HOUSE, the jaguar-packed home of jaguars:

"Don't eat *us*. There *is* something that should be yours," the jaguars were told.

With that, they scattered bones before the animals.

After that, the jaguars were wrestling around there, over the bones.

"So they've made good work of them, they've eaten their very hearts. Now that the boys have given themselves up, they've already been transformed into skeletons," said the sentries, all of them finding it sweet. But they hadn't died; they were well. They came out of Jaguar House.

"What sort of people are they? Where did they come from?" said all the Xibalbans.

SO NEXT THEY ENTERED THE MIDST OF THE FIRE, a house of fire with only fire alone inside. They weren't burned by it, just toasted, just simmered, so they were well when it dawned. Although it had been ordained that they be quickly killed in there, overcome, they weren't, and instead it was the Xibalbans who lost heart over this.

NOW THEY WERE PUT INSIDE BAT HOUSE, with bats alone inside the house, a house of snatch-bats, monstrous beasts, their snouts like knives, the instruments of death. To come before these is to be finished off at once.

When they were inside they just slept in their blowgun; they were not bitten by the members of the household. But this is where they gave one of themselves up because of a snatch-bat that came down, he came along just as one of them showed himself. They did it because it was actually what they were asking for, what they had in mind.

And all night the bats are making noise:

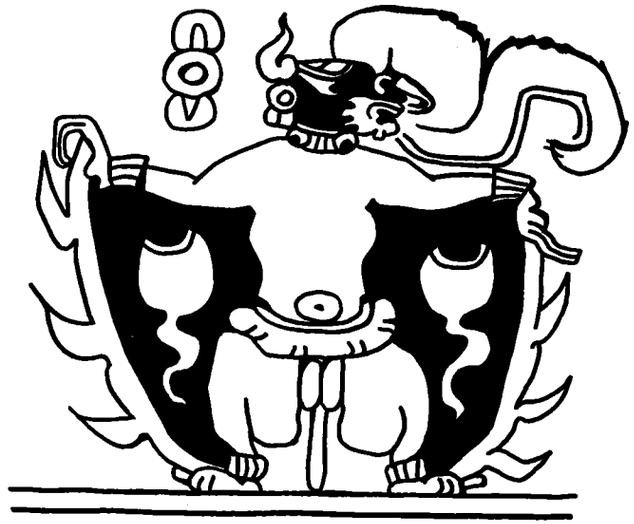
"Eek-eek! Eek-eek!"

they say, and they say it all night.

Then it let up a little. The bats were no longer moving around. So there, one of the boys crawled to the end of the blowgun, since Xbalanque said:

"Hunahpu? Can you see how long it is till dawn?"

"Well, perhaps I should look to see how long it is," he replied. So he kept trying to look out the muzzle of the blowgun, he tried to see the dawn.



SNATCH-BATS, MONSTROUS BEASTS: *The design on the bat's wings represents plucked-out eyes; the scroll-like forms issuing from his mouth are his shrieks. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Chamá style, found in the same region as the Great Hollow where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into Xibalba.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

And then his head was taken off by a snatch-bat, leaving Hunahpu's body still stuffed inside.

"What's going on? Hasn't it dawned?" said Xbalanque. No longer is there any movement from Hunahpu. "What's this? Hunahpu hasn't left, has he? What have you done?" He no longer moves; now there is only heavy breathing.

After that, Xbalanque despaired:

"Alas! We've given it all up!" he said. And elsewhere, the head meanwhile went rolling onto the court, in accordance with the word of One and Seven Death, and all the Xibalbans were happy over the head of Hunahpu.

After that, Xbalanque summoned all the animals: coati, peccary, all the animals, small and great. It was at night, still nighttime when he asked them for their food:

"Whatever your foods are, each one of you: that's what I summoned you for, to bring your food here," Xbalanque told them.

"Very well," they replied, then they went to get what's theirs, then indeed they all came back.

HIS HEAD WAS TAKEN OFF: *Hunahpu stands headless with his arms bound. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

There's the one who only brought his rotten wood.

There's the one who only brought leaves.

There's the one who only brought stones.

There's the one who only brought earth, on through the varied foods of the animals, small and great, until the very last one remained: the coati. He brought a squash, bumping it along with his snout as he came.

And this became a simulated head for Hunahpu. His eyes were carved right away, then brains came from the thinker, from the sky. This was the Heart of Sky, Hurricane, who came down, came on down into Bat House. The face wasn't finished any too quickly; it came out well. His strength was just the same, he looked handsome, he spoke just the same.

And this is when it was trying to dawn, reddening along the horizon:

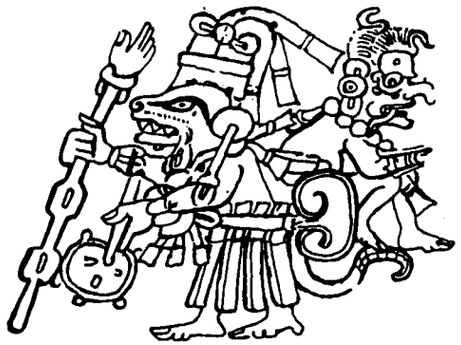
"Now make the streaks, man," the possum was told.

"Yes," said the old man. When he made the streaks he made it dark again; the old man made four streaks.

XBALANQUE SUMMONED ALL THE ANIMALS: *Here he brings a hummingbird to him. Around his mouth and on his back and thigh are patches of jaguar skin. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

THE POSSUM: *Bringing in a new year that begins on the day named* E *or* Eb, *a possum uses a backpack to carry the patron deity assigned to such years. There are four kinds of year in all, corresponding to the four streaks made by the possum who comes to the aid of Xbalanque. Drawing from the Dresden Codex.*



DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

"Possum is making streaks," people say today, ever since he made the early dawn red and blue, establishing its very being.

"Isn't it good?" Hunahpu was asked.

"Good indeed," he replied. His head was as if it had every bone; it had become like his real head.

After that, they had a talk, they made arrangements with each other:

"How about not playing ball yourself? You should just make lots of threats, while I should be the one to take all the action," Xbalanque told him. After that, he gave instructions to a rabbit:

"Your place is there above the court, on top. Stay there among the ball bags," the rabbit was told by Xbalanque, "until the ball comes to you, then take off while I get to work," the rabbit was told. He got his instructions while it was still dark.

After that, when it dawned, both of them were just as well as ever.

And when the ball was dropped in again, it was the head of Hunahpu that rolled over the court:

"We've won! You're done!
Give up! You lost!"

they were told. But even so Hunahpu was shouting:

"Punt the head as a ball!" he told them.

"Well, we're not going to do them any more harm with threats," and with this the lords of Xibalba sent off the ball and Xbalanque received it, the ball was stopped by his yoke, then he hit it hard and it took off, the

IT WAS THE HEAD OF HUNAHPU: *A member of the Xibalba team goes down on one knee and returns the ball with his thigh, protected by a leather kilt. The ball bears the name of Hunahpu. From a relief carved on an Early Classic Maya ball-court marker from La Esperanza, Chiapas.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

ball passed straight out of the court, bouncing just once, just twice, and stopping among the ball bags. Then the rabbit took off hopping, then they went off in pursuit, then all the Xibalbans went off, shouting, shrieking, they went after the rabbit, off went the whole of Xibalba.

After that, the boys got Hunahpu's head back. Then Xbalanque planted the squash; this is when he went to set the squash above the court.

So the head of Hunahpu was really a head again, and the two of them were happy again. And the others, those Xibalbans, were still going on in search of the ball.

After that, having recovered the ball from among the bags, the boys cried out to them:

"Come back! Here's the ball! We've found it!" they said, so they stopped. When the Xibalbans got back:

"Have we been seeing things?" they said. Then they began their ball game again, and they made equal plays on both sides again.

After that, the squash was punted by Xbalanque. The squash was wearing out; it fell on the court, bringing to light its light-colored seeds, as plain as day right in front of them.

"How did you get ahold of that? Where did it come from?" said Xibalba.

With this, the masters of Xibalba were defeated by Hunahpu and Xbalanque. There was great danger there, but they did not die from all the things that were done to them.

AND HERE IT IS: THE EPITAPH, THE DEATH OF HUNAHPU AND XBALANQUE.

Here it is: now we shall name their epitaph, their death. They did whatever they were instructed to do, going through all the dangers, the troubles that were made for them, but they did not die from the tests of Xibalba, nor were they defeated by all the voracious animals that inhabit Xibalba.

After that, they summoned two midmost seers, similar to readers. Here are their names: Xulu, Pacam, both knowers.

"Perhaps there will be questions from the lords of Xibalba about our death. They are thinking about how to overcome us because we haven't died, nor have we been defeated. We've exhausted all their tests. Not even the animals got us. So this is the sign, here in our hearts: their instrument for our death will be a stone oven. All the Xibalbans have gathered together. Isn't our death inevitable? So this is your plan, here we shall name it: if you come to be questioned by them about our death, once we've been burned, what will you say, Xulu, and you, Pacam? If they ask you:

'Wouldn't it be good if we dumped their bones in the canyon?'

'Perhaps it wouldn't be good, since they would only come back to life again,' you will say.

'Perhaps this would be good: we'll just hang them up in a tree,' they'll say to you next.

'Certainly that's no good, since you would see their faces,' you will say, and then they'll speak to you for the third time:

'Well, here's the only good thing: we'll just dump their bones in the river.' If that's what they ask you next:

'This is a good death for them, and it would also be good to grind their bones on a stone, just as hard corn is refined into flour, and refine each of them separately, and then:

> 'Spill them into the river,
> sprinkle them on the water's way,
> among the mountains, small and great,'

you will say, and then you will have carried out the instructions we've named for you," said little Hunahpu and Xbalanque. When they gave these instructions they already knew they would die.

THIS IS THE MAKING OF THE OVEN, the great stone oven. The Xibalbans made it like the places where the sweet drink is cooked, they opened it to a great width.

After that, messengers came to get the boys, the messengers of One and Seven Death:

" 'They must come. We'll go with the boys, to see the treat we've cooked up for them,' say the lords, you boys," they were told.

"Very well," they replied. They went running and arrived at the mouth of the oven.

And there they tried to force them into a game:

"Here, let's jump over our drink four times, clear across, one of us after the other, boys," they were told by One Death.

"You'll never put that one over on us. Don't we know what our death is, you lords? Watch!" they said, then they faced each other. They grabbed each other by the hands and went head first into the oven.

And there they died, together, and now all the Xibalbans were happy, raising their shouts, raising their cheers:

"We've really beaten them! They didn't give up easily," they said.

After that they summoned Xulu and Pacam, who kept their word: the bones went just where the boys had wanted them. Once the Xibalbans

WALKING ON STILTS: *A figure from the Madrid Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

had done the divination, the bones were ground and spilled in the river, but they didn't go far—they just sank to the bottom of the water. They became handsome boys; they looked just the same as before when they reappeared.

AND ON THE FIFTH DAY THEY REAPPEARED. They were seen in the water by the people. The two of them looked like catfish when their faces were seen by Xibalba. And having germinated in the waters, they appeared the day after that as two vagabonds, with rags before and rags behind, and rags all over too. They seemed unrefined when they were examined by Xibalba; they acted differently now.

It was only the Dance of the Poorwill, the Dance of the Weasel, only Armadillos they danced.

Only Swallowing Swords, only Walking on Stilts now they danced.

They performed many miracles now. They would set fire to a house, as if they were really burning it, and suddenly bring it back again. Now Xibalba was full of admiration.

Next they would sacrifice themselves, one of them dying for the other, stretched out as if in death. First they would kill themselves, but then they would suddenly look alive again. The Xibalbans could only admire what they did. Everything they did now was already the groundwork for their defeat of Xibalba.

And after that, news of their dances came to the ears of the lords, One and Seven Death. When they heard it they said:

"Who are these two vagabonds? Are they really such a delight? And is their dancing really that pretty? They do everything!" they said. An account of them had reached the lords. It sounded delightful, so then they entreated their messengers to notify them that they must come:

" ' "If only they'd come make a show for us, we'd wonder at them and marvel at them," say the lords,' you will say," the messengers were told. So they came to the dancers, then spoke the words of the lords to them.

"But we don't want to, because we're really ashamed. Just plain no. Wouldn't we be afraid to go inside there, into a lordly house? Because we'd really look bad. Wouldn't we just be wide-eyed? Take pity on us! Wouldn't we look like mere dancers to them? What would we say to our fellow vagabonds? There are others who also want us to dance today, to liven things up with us, so we can't do likewise for the lords, and likewise is not what we want, messengers," said Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

Even so, they were prevailed upon: through troubles, through torments, they went on their tortuous way. They didn't want to walk fast. Many times they had to be forced; the messengers went ahead of them as guides but had to keep coming back. And so they went to the lord.

AND THEY CAME TO THE LORDS. Feigning great humility, they bowed their heads all the way to the ground when they arrived. They brought themselves low, doubled over, flattened out, down to the rags, to the tatters. They really looked like vagabonds when they arrived.

So then they were asked what their mountain and tribe were, and they were also asked about their mother and father:

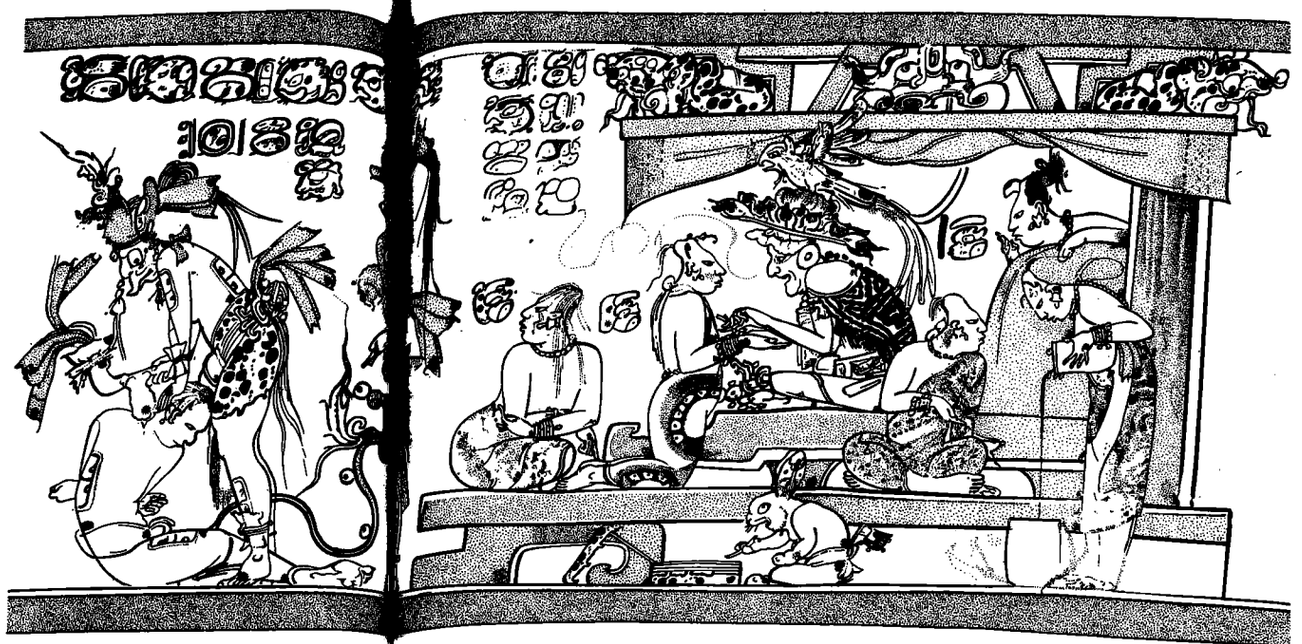
"Where do you come from?" they were asked.

"We've never known, lord. We don't know the identity of our mother

THEY DANCED THE ARMADILLO: *This dancer wears a scaly armadillo mask, plays a flute, and shakes a rattle. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Chamá style, found in the same region as the Great Hollow where Hunahpu and Xbalanque descended into the Xibalba.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

THEN THEY TOOK HOLD OF A HUMAN SACRIFICE: *The aged merchant god of the underworld sits on a dais in his palace, with his owl messenger perched on his hat. The women around the platform are all of noble rank; one of them turns to watch the performance to the left, in which two masked dancers (probably Hunahpu and Xbalanque in disguise) carry out a human sacrifice. The left-hand dancer is applying an axe to the back of the neck of the victim. From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Princeton University Art Museum.*



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

and father. We must've been small when they died," was all they said. They didn't give any names.

"Very well. Please entertain us, then. What do you want us to give you in payment?" they were asked.

"Well, we don't want anything. To tell the truth, we're afraid," they told the lord.

"Don't be afraid. Don't be ashamed. Just dance this way: first you'll dance to sacrifice yourselves, you'll set fire to my house after that, you'll act out all the things you know. We want to be entertained. This is our heart's desire, the reason you had to be sent for, dear vagabonds. We'll give you payment," they were told.

So then they began their songs and dances, and then all the Xibalbans arrived, the spectators crowded the floor, and they danced everything: they danced the Weasel, they danced the Poorwill, they danced the Armadillo. Then the lord said to them:

"Sacrifice my dog, then bring him back to life again," they were told.

"Yes," they said.

When they sacrificed the dog
he then came back to life.
And that dog was really happy
when he came back to life.
Back and forth he wagged his tail
when he came back to life.

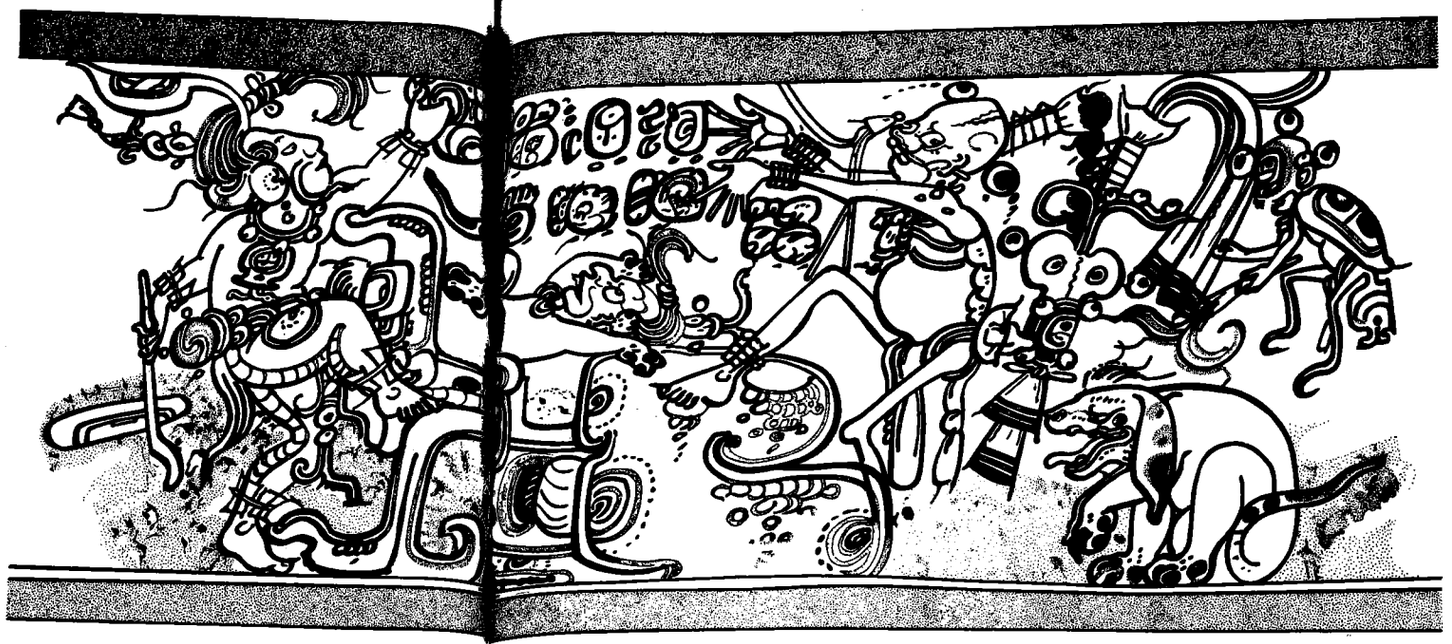
And the lord said to them:

"Well, you have yet to set my home on fire," they were told next, so then they set fire to the home of the lord. The house was packed with all the lords, but they were not burned. They quickly fixed it back again, lest the house of One Death be consumed all at once, and all the lords were amazed, and they went on dancing this way. They were overjoyed.

And then they were asked by the lord:

"You have yet to kill a person! Make a sacrifice without death!" they were told.

SACRIFICE YET AGAIN, EVEN DO IT TO YOURSELVES!: *At left is Hunahpu disguised as a Thunderbolt god, about to swing a lightning-striking axe; the catfish barbel on his cheek recalls the episode in which he and his brother appeared as catfish. Playfully waiting to have his head cut off is a prostrate Xbalanque, no longer limited to wearing a few patches of jaguar skin but rather appearing as a parody of himself. Next (from left to right) are a skeletal Xibalban who dances with delight, a dog who wags his tail (having survived his own decapitation), and a firefly bearing a torch (from the Dark House episode). From a Late Classic Maya vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.*



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

"Very well," they said.

And then they took hold of a human sacrifice.

And they held up a human heart on high.

And they showed its roundness to the lords.

And now One and Seven Death admired it, and now that person was brought right back to life. His heart was overjoyed when he came back to life, and the lords were amazed:

"Sacrifice yet again, even do it to yourselves! Let's see it! At heart, that's the dance we really want from you," the lords said now.

"Very well, lord," they replied, and then they sacrificed themselves.

AND THIS IS THE SACRIFICE OF LITTLE HUNAHPU BY XBALANQUE. One by one his legs, his arms were spread wide. His head came off, rolled far away outside. His heart, dug out, was smothered in a leaf, and all the Xibalbans went crazy at the sight.

So now, only one of them was dancing there: Xbalanque.

"Get up!" he said, and Hunahpu came back to life. The two of them were overjoyed at this—and likewise the lords rejoiced, as if they were doing it themselves. One and Seven Death were as glad at heart as if they themselves were actually doing the dance.

And then the hearts of the lords were filled with longing, with yearning for the dance of little Hunahpu and Xbalanque, so then came these words from One and Seven Death:

"Do it to us! Sacrifice us!" they said. "Sacrifice both of us!" said One and Seven Death to little Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Very well. You ought to come back to life. What is death to you? And aren't we making you happy, along with the vassals of your domain?" they told the lords.

And this one was the first to be sacrificed: the lord at the very top, the one whose name is One Death, the ruler of Xibalba.

And with One Death dead, the next to be taken was Seven Death. They did not come back to life.

And then the Xibalbans were getting up to leave, those who had seen the lords die. They underwent heart sacrifice there, and the heart sacrifice was performed on the two lords only for the purpose of destroying them.

As soon as they had killed the one lord without bringing him back to life, the other lord had been meek and tearful before the dancers. He didn't consent, he didn't accept it:

"Take pity on me!" he said when he realized. All their vassals took the road to the great canyon, in one single mass they filled up the deep abyss. So they piled up there and gathered together, countless ants, tumbling down into the canyon, as if they were being herded there. And when they arrived, they all bent low in surrender, they arrived meek and tearful.

Such was the defeat of the rulers of Xibalba. The boys accomplished it only through wonders, only through self-transformation.

AND THEN THEY NAMED THEIR NAMES, they gave themselves names before all of Xibalba:

"Listen: we shall name our names, and we shall also name the names of our fathers for you. Here we are: we are little Hunahpu and Xbalanque by name. And these are our fathers, the ones you killed: One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu by name. And we are here to clear the road of the torments and troubles of our fathers. And so we have suffered all the troubles you've caused us. And so we are putting an end to all of you. We're going to kill you. No one can save you now," they were told. And then all the Xibalbans got down on the ground and cried out:

"Take pity on us, Hunahpu and Xbalanque! It is true that we wronged your fathers, the ones you name. Those two are buried at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice," they replied.

"Very well. Now this is our word, we shall name it for you. All of you listen, you Xibalbans: because of this, your day and your descendants will not be great. Moreover, the gifts you receive will no longer be great, but reduced to scabrous nodules of sap. There will be no cleanly blotted blood for you, just griddles, just gourds, just brittle things broken to pieces. Further, you will only feed on creatures of the meadows and clearings. None of those who are born in the light, begotten in the light will be yours. Only the worthless will yield

themselves up before you. These will be the guilty, the violent, the wretched, the afflicted. Wherever the blame is clear, that is where you will come in, rather than just making sudden attacks on people in general. And you will hear petitions over headed-up sap," all the Xibalbans were told.

Such was the beginning of their disappearance and the denial of their worship.

> Their ancient day was not a great one,
> these ancient people only wanted conflict,
> their ancient names are not really divine,
> but fearful is the ancient evil of their faces.
>
> They are makers of enemies, users of owls,
> they are inciters to wrongs and violence,
> they are masters of hidden intentions as well,
> they are black and white,
> masters of stupidity, masters of perplexity,

as it is said. By putting on appearances they cause dismay.

Such was the loss of their greatness and brilliance. Their domain did not return to greatness. This was accomplished by little Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

AND THIS IS THEIR GRANDMOTHER, CRYING AND CALLING OUT IN FRONT OF THE EARS OF GREEN CORN they left planted. Corn plants grew, then dried up.

And this was when they were burned in the oven; then the corn plants grew again.

And this was when their grandmother burned something, she burned copal before the ears of green corn as a memorial to them. There was happiness in their grandmother's heart the second time the corn plants sprouted. Then the ears were deified by their grandmother, and she gave them names: Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, Living Ears of Green Corn, Bed of Earth became their names.

And she named the ears Middle of the House, Middle of the Harvest, because they had planted them right in the middle of the inside of their home.

And she further named them Bed of Earth, Living Ears of Green Corn, since the ears had been placed up above an earthen floor.

And she also named them Living Ears of Green Corn, because the corn plants had grown again. So they were named by Xmucane. They had been left behind, planted by Hunahpu and Xbalanque, simply as a way for their grandmother to remember them.

And the first to die, a long time before, had been their fathers, One Hunahpu and Seven Hunahpu. And they saw the face of their father again, there in Xibalba. Their father spoke to them again when they had defeated Xibalba.

THEIR FATHER IS PUT BACK TOGETHER BY THEM: *Hunahpu (left) and Xbalanque (right) resurrect their father. He takes the form of a maize god in lowland Maya art, here emerging (or sprouting) from a cleft in the back of a turtle (the earth). From a Late Classic Maya bowl.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

AND HERE THEIR FATHER IS PUT BACK TOGETHER BY THEM. They put Seven Hunahpu back together; they went to the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice to put him together. He had wanted his face to become just as it was, but when he was asked to name everything, and once he had found the name of the mouth, the nose, the eyes of his face, there was very little else to be said. Although his mouth could not name the names of each of his former parts, he had at least spoken again.

And so it remained that they were respectful of their father's heart, even though they left him at the Place of Ball Game Sacrifice:

"You will be prayed to here," his sons told him, and his heart was comforted. "You will be the first resort, and you will be the first to have your day kept by those who will be born in the light, begotten in the light. Your name will not be lost. So be it," they told their father when they comforted his heart.

"We merely cleared the road of your death, your loss, the pain, the suffering that were inflicted upon you."

And such was the instruction they gave when all the Xibalbans had been finally defeated. And then the two boys ascended this way, here into the middle of the light, and they ascended straight on into the sky, and the sun belongs to one and the moon to the other. When it became light within the sky, on the face of the earth, they were there in the sky.

THE MOON TO THE OTHER: *The lowland Maya Jaguar Moon Lord, enclosed by a lunar crescent. From an Early Classic conch shell trumpet.*

DRAWING BY LINDA SCHELE

And then the Four Hundred Boys climbed up, the ones who were killed by Zipacna.

And so they came to accompany the two of them, they became the sky's own stars.

PART FOUR

AND HERE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE CONCEPTION OF HUMANS, and of the search for the ingredients of the human body. So they spoke, the Bearer, Begetter, the Makers, Modelers named Sovereign Plumed Serpent:

"The dawn has approached, preparations have been made, and morning has come for the provider, nurturer, born in the light, begotten in the light. Morning has come for humankind, for the people of the face of the earth," they said. It all came together as they went on thinking in the darkness, in the night, as they searched and they sifted, they thought and they wondered.

And here their thoughts came out in clear light. They sought and discovered what was needed for human flesh. It was only a short while before the sun, moon, and stars were to appear above the Makers and Modelers. Split Place, Bitter Water Place is the name: the yellow corn, white corn came from there.

And these are the names of the animals who brought the food: fox, coyote, parrot, crow. There were four animals who brought the news of the ears of yellow corn and white corn. They were coming from over there at Split Place, they showed the way to the split.

THE YELLOW CORN AND WHITE CORN WERE GROUND: *This woman is rubbing a hand stone ("mano") over a grinding stone ("metate") that has stone feet. From a Late Classic Maya bowl.*

DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

And this was when they found the staple foods.

And these were the ingredients for the flesh of the human work, the human design, and the water was for the blood. It became human blood, and corn was also used by the Bearer, Begetter.

And so they were happy over the provisions of the good mountain, filled with sweet things, thick with yellow corn, white corn, and thick with pataxte and cacao, countless zapotes, anonas, jocotes, nances, matasanos, sweets—the rich foods filling up the citadel named Split Place, Bitter Water Place. All the edible fruits were there: small staples, great staples, small plants, great plants. The way was shown by the animals.

And then the yellow corn and white corn were ground, and Xmucane did the grinding nine times. Food was used, along with the water she rinsed her hands with, for the creation of grease; it became human fat when it was worked by the Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent, as they are called.

After that, they put it into words:

> the making, the modeling of our first mother-father,
> with yellow corn, white corn alone for the flesh,
> food alone for the human legs and arms,
> for our first fathers, the four human works.

It was staples alone that made up their flesh.

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE FIRST PEOPLE WHO WERE MADE AND MODELED.

This is the first person: Jaguar Quitze.

And now the second: Jaguar Night.

And now the third: Not Right Now.

And the fourth: Dark Jaguar.

And these are the names of our first mother-fathers. They were simply made and modeled, it is said; they had no mother and no father. We have named the men by themselves. No woman gave birth to them, nor were they begotten by the builder, sculptor, Bearer, Begetter. By sacrifice alone, by genius alone they were made, they were modeled by the Maker, Modeler, Bearer, Begetter, Sovereign Plumed Serpent. And when they came to fruition, they came out human:

They talked and they made words.

They looked and they listened.

They walked, they worked.

They were good people, handsome, with looks of the male kind. Thoughts came into existence and they gazed; their vision came all at once. Perfectly they saw, perfectly they knew everything under the sky, whenever they looked. The moment they turned around and looked around in the sky, on the earth, everything was seen without any obstruction. They didn't have to walk around before they could see what was under the sky; they just stayed where they were.

As they looked, their knowledge became intense. Their sight passed through trees, through rocks, through lakes, through seas, through mountains, through plains. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were truly gifted people.

And then they were asked by the builder and mason:

"What do you know about your being? Don't you look, don't you listen? Isn't your speech good, and your walk? So you must look, to see out under the sky. Don't you see the mountain-plain clearly? So try it," they were told.

And then they saw everything under the sky perfectly. After that, they thanked the Maker, Modeler:

> "Truly now,
> double thanks, triple thanks
> that we've been formed, we've been given
> our mouths, our faces,
> we speak, we listen,
> we wonder, we move,
> our knowledge is good, we've understood
> what is far and near,
> and we've seen what is great and small
> under the sky, on the earth.
> Thanks to you we've been formed,
> we've come to be made and modeled,
> our grandmother, our grandfather,"

they said when they gave thanks for having been made and modeled. They understood everything perfectly, they sighted the four sides, the four corners in the sky, on the earth, and this didn't sound good to the builder and sculptor:

"What our works and designs have said is no good:

'We have understood everything, great and small,' they say." And so the Bearer, Begetter took back their knowledge:

"What should we do with them now? Their vision should at least reach nearby, they should see at least a small part of the face of the earth, but what they're saying isn't good. Aren't they merely 'works' and 'designs' in their very names? Yet they'll become as great as gods, unless they procreate, proliferate at the sowing, the dawning, unless they increase."

"Let it be this way: now we'll take them apart just a little, that's what we need. What we've found out isn't good. Their deeds would become equal to ours, just because their knowledge reaches so far. They see everything," so said

the Heart of Sky, Hurricane,
Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Bearer, Begetter,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
Maker, Modeler,

as they are called. And when they changed the nature of their works, their designs, it was enough that the eyes be marred by the Heart of Sky. They were blinded as the face of a mirror is breathed upon. Their vision flickered. Now it was only from close up that they could see what was there with any clarity.

And such was the loss of the means of understanding, along with the means of knowing everything, by the four humans. The root was implanted.

And such was the making, modeling of our first grandfather, our father, by the Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth.

AND THEN THEIR WIVES AND WOMEN CAME INTO BEING. Again, the same gods thought of it. It was as if they were asleep when they received them, truly beautiful women were there with Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. With their women there they really came alive. Right away they were happy at heart again, because of their wives.

Red Sea Turtle is the name of the wife of Jaguar Quitze.

Prawn House is the name of the wife of Jaguar Night.

Water Hummingbird is the name of the wife of Not Right Now.

Macaw House is the name of the wife of Dark Jaguar.

So these are the names of their wives, who became ladies of rank, giving birth to the people of the tribes, small and great.

AND THIS IS OUR ROOT, WE WHO ARE THE QUICHÉ PEOPLE. And there came to be a crowd of penitents and sacrificers. It wasn't only four who came into being then, but there were four mothers for us, the Quiché people. There were different names for each of the peoples when they multiplied, there in the east. Their names became numerous: Sovereign Oloman, Cohah, Quenech Ahau, as the names of the people who were there in the east are spoken. They multiplied, and it is known that the Tams and Ilocs began then. They came from the same place, there in the east.

Jaguar Quitze was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Cauecs.

Jaguar Night was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Greathouses.

Not Right Now was the grandfather and father of the four great houses of the Lord Quichés.

There were three separate lineages. The names of the grandfathers and fathers are not forgotten. These multiplied and flowered there in the east, but the Tams and Ilocs also came forth, along with thirteen allied tribes, thirteen principalities, including:

The Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House.

And the White Cornmeals.

And also the Lamacs, Serpents, Sweatbath House, Talk House, those of Star House.

And those of Quiba House, those of Yokes House, Acul people, Jaguar House, Guardians of the Spoils, Jaguar Ropes.

It is sufficient that we speak only of the largest tribes from among the allied tribes; we have only noted the largest. Many more came out afterward, each one a division of that citadel. We haven't written their names, but they multiplied there, from out of the east. There came to be many peoples in the blackness; they began to abound even before the birth of the sun and the light. When they began to abound they were all there together; they stood and walked in crowds, there in the east.

There was nothing they could offer for sustenance, but even so they lifted their faces to the sky. They didn't know where they were going. They did this for a long time, when they were there in the grasslands:

black people, white people, people of many faces, people of many languages, uncertain, there at the edge of the sky.

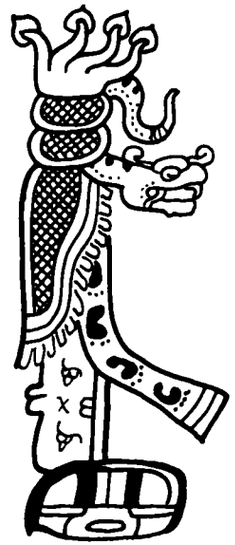
And there were mountain people. They didn't show their faces, they had no homes. They just traveled the mountains, small and great. "It's as if they were crazy," they used to say. They derided the mountain people, it was said. There they watched for the sunrise, and for all the mountain people there was just one language. They did not yet pray to the tree-stone.

These are the words with which they remembered the Maker, Modeler, Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth. It was said that these were enough to keep them mindful of what was in shadow and what was dawning. All they did was ask; they had reverent words. They were reverent, they were givers of praise, givers of respect, lifting their faces to the sky when they made requests for their daughters and sons:

"Wait!
thou Maker, thou Modeler,
look at us, listen to us,
don't let us fall, don't leave us aside,
thou god in the sky, on the earth,
Heart of Sky, Heart of Earth,
give us our sign, our word,
as long as there is day, as long as there is light.
When it comes to the sowing, the dawning,
will it be a greening road, a greening path?
Give us a steady light, a level place,
a good light, a good place,
a good life and beginning.
Give us all of this, thou Hurricane,
Newborn Thunderbolt, Sudden Thunderbolt,
Newborn Nanahuac, Sudden Nanahuac,
Falcon, Hunahpu,
Sovereign Plumed Serpent,
Bearer, Begetter,
Xpiyacoc, Xmucane,
Grandmother of Day, Grandmother of Light,
when it comes to the sowing, the dawning,"

they said when they made their fasts and prayers, just watching intently for the dawn. There, too, they looked toward the east, watching closely for the sun carrier, the great star at the birth of the sun, of the heat for

THEY DID NOT YET PRAY TO THE TREE-STONE: *A wooden stele commemorating a new year. The cluster of branches and leaves at the top is the glyph for* te' *or "tree," while the glyph at the foot of the stele is for* tun *or "stone." The snake* (kan) *near the top is a pun on "sky"* (kan); *the inscription on the strip of paper hanging from the stele is represented only by footprints that signify the passage of time, following the reading order of a column of glyphs. From the Dresden Codex.*



DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

what is under the sky, on the earth, the guide for the human work, the human design.

They spoke, those who are Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"We're still waiting for the dawning," they said, these great knowers, great thinkers, penitents, praisers, as they are called. And there was no tree-stone in the keeping of our first mother-fathers, and they were weary at heart there, waiting for the sun. Already there were many of them, all the tribes, including the Mexican people, all penitents and sacrificers.

"Let's just go. We'll look and see whether there is something to keep as our sign. We'll find out what we should burn in front of it. The way we are right now, we have nothing to keep as our own," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They got word of a citadel. They went there.

AND THIS IS THE NAME OF THE MOUNTAIN WHERE THEY WENT, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, Dark Jaguar, and the Tams and Ilocs: Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons is the name of the citadel. Those who were to receive the gods arrived there.

And they arrived there at Tulan, all of them, countless people arrived, walking in crowds, and their gods were given out in order, the first being those of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They were happy:

"We have found what we were looking for," they said. And this one was the first to come out:

Tohil is the name of the god loaded in the backpack borne by Jaguar Quitze. And the others came out in turn:

Auilix is the name of the god that Jaguar Night carried.

Hacauitz, in turn, is the name of the god received by Not Right Now.

Middle of the Plain is the name of the god received by Dark Jaguar.

And there were still other Quiché people, since the Tams also received theirs, but it was the same Tohil for the Tams, that's the name received by the grandfather and father of the Tam lords, as they are known today.

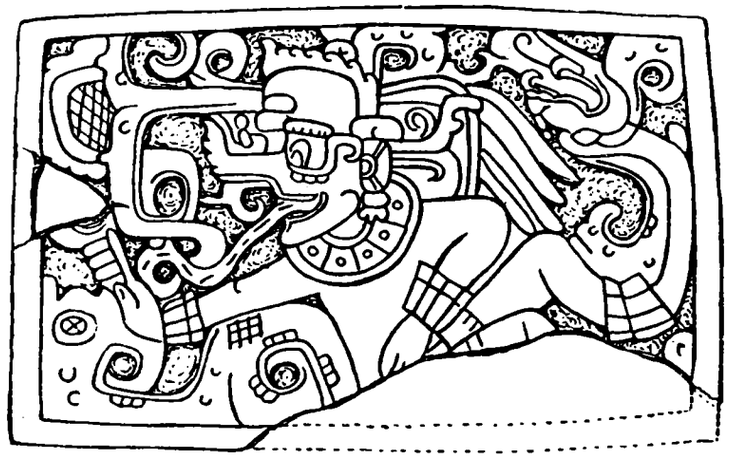
And third were the Ilocs: again, Tohil is the name of the god received by the grandfather and father of those lords, the same ones known today.

And such was the naming of the three Quichés. They have never let go of one another because the god has just one name: Tohil for the Quiché proper, and Tohil for the Tams and Ilocs. There is just one name for their god, and so the Quiché threesome has not come apart, those three. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz are truly great in their very being.

And then all the tribes came in: Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, along with the Mexican people, as the names are today. And the languages of the tribes changed there; their languages became differentiated. They could no longer understand one another clearly when they came away from Tulan.

And there they broke apart. There were those who went eastward and many who came here, but they were all alike in dressing with hides. There were no clothes of the better kinds. They were in patches, they were adorned with mere animal hides. They were poor. They had nothing of their own. But they were people of genius in their very being when they came away from Tulan Zuyua, Seven Caves, Seven Canyons, so says the ancient text.

THEY WALKED IN CROWDS WHEN THEY ARRIVED AT TULAN, AND THERE WAS NO FIRE. Only those with Tohil had it: this was the tribe whose god was first to generate fire. How it was generated is not clear. Their fire was already burning when Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night first saw it:



TOHIL . . . WAS FIRST TO GENERATE FIRE: *Here he sits amid swirls of smoke and fire (or clouds and lightning), some of which originate from his own forehead and tongue. One of his legs, turned to the right, can be seen turning into a snake (lightning) below his knee. From an incised potsherd found at Rotten Cane (Utatlán), now in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.*

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"Alas! Fire has not yet become ours. We'll die from the cold," they said. And then Tohil spoke:

"Do not grieve. You will have your own even when the fire you're talking about has been lost," Tohil told them.

"Aren't you a true god!
Our sustenance and our support!
Our god!"

they said when they gave thanks for what Tohil had said.

"Very well, in truth,
I am your god: so be it.
I am your lord: so be it,"

the penitents and sacrificers were told by Tohil.

And this was the warming of the tribes. They were pleased by their fire.

After that a great downpour began, which cut short the fire of the

tribes. And hail fell thickly on all the tribes, and their fires were put out by the hail. Their fires didn't start up again. So then Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night asked for their fire again:

"Tohil, we'll be finished off by the cold," they told Tohil.

"Well, do not grieve," said Tohil. Then he started a fire. He pivoted inside his sandal.

After that, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were pleased.

After they had been warmed, the fires of the other tribes were still out. Now they were being finished off by the cold, so they came back to ask for their fire from Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They could bear the cold and hail no longer. By now they were chattering and shivering. There was no life left in them. Their legs and arms kept shaking. Their hands were stiff when they arrived.

"Perhaps we wouldn't make ourselves ashamed in front of you if we asked to remove a little something from your fire?" they said when they arrived, but they got no response. And then the tribes cursed in their thoughts. Already their language had become different from that of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"Alas! We left our language behind. How did we do it? We're lost! Where were we deceived? We had only one language when we came to Tulan, and we had only one place of emergence and origin. We haven't done well," said all the tribes beneath the trees and bushes.

And then a person showed himself before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and he spoke as a messenger of Xibalba:

"Truly, since you have your god, your nurturer, and he is the representation, the commemoration of your Maker and your Modeler, don't give the tribes their fire until they give something to Tohil. You don't want them to give anything to *you.* You must ask for what belongs to Tohil; to *him* must come what they give in order to get fire," said the Xibalban. He had wings like the wings of a bat.

"I am a messenger of those who made you and modeled you," said the Xibalban. So now they were happy; now they thought all the more of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. When the Xibalban had spoken he made himself vanish right in front of them, without delay.

And so again the tribes arrived, again done in by the cold. Thick were the white hail, the blackening storm, and the white crystals. The cold was incalculable. They were simply overwhelmed. Because of the cold all the tribes were going along doubled over, groping along when they arrived in the presence of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and

Dark Jaguar. There was great pain in their hearts; they had covetous mouths and covetous faces.

And now they were coming as thieves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"Wouldn't you take pity on us if we asked to remove a little something from your fire? Wasn't it found and wasn't it revealed that we had just one home and just one mountain when you were made, when you were modeled? So please take pity on us," they said.

"And what would you give us for taking pity on you?" they were asked.

"Well, we'd give you metal," said the tribes.

"We don't want metal," said Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night.

"Whatever might you want, if we may ask?" the tribes said then.

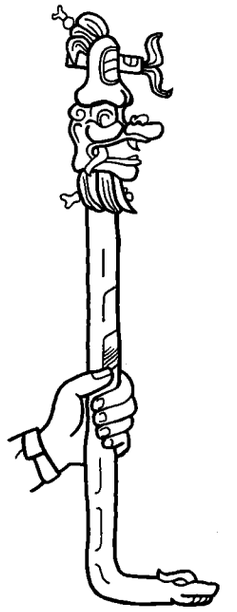
"Very well. First we must ask Tohil, and then we'll tell you," they were told next. And then they asked Tohil:

"What should the tribes give you, Tohil? They've come to ask for your fire," said Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"Very well. You will tell them:

" 'Don't they want to be suckled on their sides and under their arms?

THEY'VE COME TO ASK FOR YOUR FIRE: *This is a scepter held by a ruler, one of the forms taken by* K'awil, *the lowland Maya counterpart of Tohil, or Hurricane. On his forehead he wears an obsidian mirror with a burning torch emerging from it. His body and his one normal leg are omitted here, leaving only the leg that becomes a serpent (or lightning). This is a reconstruction from several Late Classic stucco reliefs at Palenque.*



DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

Isn't it their heart's desire to embrace me? I, who am Tohil? But if there is no desire, then I'll not give them their fire," says Tohil. "When the time comes, not right now, they'll be suckled on their sides, under their arms," he says to you,' you will say," they were told, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and then they spoke the word of Tohil.

"Very well. Let him suckle. And very well, we shall embrace him," said the tribes, when they answered and agreed to the word of Tohil. They made no delay but said "very well" right away, and then they received their fire.

After that they got warm, but there was one group that simply stole the fire, there in the smoke. This was the Bat House. Snake Tooth is the name of the god of the Cakchiquels, but it looks like a bat. They went right past in the smoke then, they sneaked past when they came to get fire. Those fiery Cakchiquels didn't ask for their fire. They didn't give themselves up in defeat, but all the other tribes were defeated when they gave themselves up to being suckled on their sides, under their arms.

And this is what Tohil meant by being "suckled": that all the tribes be cut open before him, and that their hearts be removed "through their sides, under their arms." This deed had not yet been attempted when Tohil saw into the middle of it, nor had Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar received fiery splendor and majesty.

WHEN THEY CAME AWAY FROM TULAN ZUYUA, they weren't eating. They observed a continuous fast. It was enough that they watch intently for the dawning, that they watch closely for the rising of the sun, taking turns at watching for the great star named sun carrier. This one came first before the sun when the sun was born, the newly risen sun carrier.

And there, always, they were facing the east, when they were there in the place named Tulan Zuyua. Their gods came from there. It wasn't really here that they received their fiery splendor and their dominion, but rather there that the tribes, great and small, were subjugated and humiliated. When they were cut open before Tohil, all the peoples gave their blood, their gore, their sides, their underarms. Fiery splendor came to them all at once at Tulan, along with great knowledge, and they achieved this in the darkness, in the night.

And now they came away, they tore themselves away from there. Now they left the east:

"Our home is not here. Let's go on until we see where we belong,"

said Tohil. He actually spoke to them, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

"It remains for you to give thanks, since you have yet to take care of bleeding your ears, yet to take stitches in your elbows. You must worship. This is your way of giving thanks before your god."

"Very well," they replied, then they bled their ears. They cried in their song about coming from Tulan. They cried in their hearts when they came away, when they made their departure from Tulan:

"Alas!
We won't be here when we see the dawn,
when the sun is born,
when the face of the earth is lit,"

they said.

AND THEN THEY CAME AWAY, JUST CAMPING ON THE ROAD. People were just camping there, each tribe slept and then got up again. And they were always watching for the star, the sign of the day. They kept this sign of the dawn in their hearts when they came away from the east. In unity they passed beyond the place named Great Hollow today.

And then they arrived on top of a mountain there. All the Quiché people got together there, along with the other tribes, and all of them held council there. The name the mountain has today is from when they took counsel together; Place of Advice is the name of the mountain. They got together and identified themselves there:

"Here am I: I am a Quiché person, and you there, you are Tams, this will be your name," the Tams were told. And then the Ilocs were told:

"You are the Ilocs, this will be your name. The three Quichés must not be lost. We are united in our word," they said when they fixed their names.

And then the Cakchiquels were named; their name became Cakchiquels. So, too, with the Rabinals; this became their name. It hasn't been lost today.

And then there are those of Bird House, as they are named today.

These are the names they named for one another. When they held council there, they were still waiting for the dawning, watching for the appearance of the rising star, the one that came before the sun when it was born.

"When we came away from Tulan, we broke ourselves apart," they told each other.

This is what kept weighing on their hearts, the great pain they went through: there was nothing to eat, nothing to feed on. They were just smelling the tips of their staffs as if they were thinking of eating them, but they weren't eating at all as they came.

And it isn't clear how they crossed over the sea. They crossed over as if there were no sea. They just crossed over on some stones, stones piled up in the sand. And they gave it a name: Stone Courses, Sand Banks was their name for the place where they crossed through the midst of the sea. Where the waters were divided, they crossed over.

And this is what weighed on their hearts when they took counsel: that they had nothing to eat. They had one beverage to drink, just one atole, which they brought up on the mountain named Place of Advice. And they also brought Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

Observing a great fast was Jaguar Quitze, with his wife; Red Sea Turtle is his wife's name.

Likewise doing it was Jaguar Night, with his wife, named Prawn House.

And Not Right Now was also there at the great fast, with his wife, named Water Hummingbird, along with Dark Jaguar, whose wife's name is Macaw House.

So these were the ones who fasted, there in the blackness, in the early dawn. Their sadness was great when they were there on the mountain named Place of Advice today. And their gods spoke there.

AND THEN TOHIL, ALONG WITH AUILIX AND HACAUITZ, SPOKE TO THEM, to Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar:

"Let's just go, let's just get up, let's not stay here. Please give us places to hide. It's nearly dawn. Wouldn't you look pitiful if we became plunder for warriors? Construct places where we can remain yours, you penitents and sacrificers, and give one place to each of us," they said when they spoke.

"Very well. Let's get out and search the forests," they all replied.

After that they packed each one of the gods on their backs.

And then Auilix went into the canyon named Concealment Canyon, as they called it, into the great canyon in the forest. Auilix's Place is the name today. He was left there, placed in the canyon by Jaguar Night, coming first in the sequence of placements.

And then Hacauitz was placed at the top of a great pyramid. Hacauitz is the name of the mountain today, and it became their citadel. So the god Hacauitz remained there, and Not Right Now stayed with his god. This was the second god to be hidden by them. Hacauitz didn't stay in the forest. It was on a bare mountain that Hacauitz was hidden.

And then came Jaguar Quitze. He arrived in the great forest there. Tohil was put into hiding by Jaguar Quitze; the mountain is called Tohil's Place today. Then they gave Concealment Canyon an epithet: Tohil Medicine. Masses of serpents and masses of jaguars, rattlesnakes, fer-de-lances were there in the forest where he was hidden by the penitents and sacrificers.

So they were there in unity: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. In unity they waited for the dawn, there on top of the mountain named Hacauitz.

Also, a short distance away, was the god of the Tams, together with the Ilocs. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where the god of the Tams was, there at the dawn. Net Weave Tribe is the name of the place where dawn came for the Ilocs. The god of the Ilocs was just a short distance away.

Also there were all the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, all the tribes, small and great. In unity they stopped there, and in unity they had their dawning there. In unity they waited there for the rising of the great star named sun carrier.

"It will rise before the sun when the dawn comes," they said, and they were in unity there: Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. There was no sleep, no rest for them. They cried their hearts and their guts out, there at the dawning and clearing, and so they looked terrible. Great sorrow, great anguish came over them; they were marked by their pain. They just stayed that way.

"Coming here hasn't been sweet for us. Alas! If we could only see the birth of the sun! What have we done? We all had one identity, one mountain, but we sent ourselves into exile," they said when they talked among themselves. They talked about sorrow, about anguish, about crying and wailing, since their hearts had not yet been set to rest by the dawn.

And these are the ones who did feel settled there: the gods who were in the canyons, in the forests, just out in the bromeliads, in the hanging mosses, not yet set on pedestals. At first, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz actually spoke. The greatness of their day and the greatness of their breath of spirit set them above all the other tribal gods. Their genius was manifold and their ways were manifold, their strategies. They were chilling, they were frightening in their very being and in the hearts of the tribes, whose thoughts were calmed by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not

Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. Their hearts did not yet harbor ill will toward the gods who had been taken up and carried away when they all came from Tulan Zuyua, there in the east, and who were now in the forest.

These were the dawning places: Tohil's Place, Auilix's Place, and Hacauitz, as they are called today. And this is where our grandfathers, our fathers had their sowing, their dawning.

This is what we shall explain next: the dawning and showing of the sun, moon, and stars.

AND HERE IS THE DAWNING AND SHOWING OF THE SUN, MOON, AND STARS. And Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were overjoyed when they saw the sun carrier. It came up first. It looked brilliant when it came up, since it was ahead of the sun.

After that they unwrapped their copal incense, which came from the east, and there was triumph in their hearts when they unwrapped it. They gave their heartfelt thanks with three kinds at once:

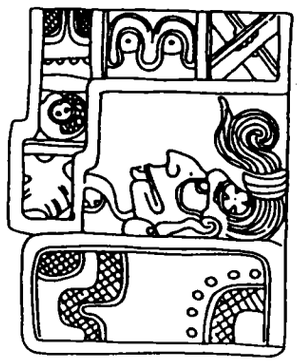
Mixtam Copal is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Quitze.

Cauiztan Copal, next, is the name of the copal brought by Jaguar Night.

Godly Copal, as the next one is called, was brought by Not Right Now.

The three of them had their copal, and this is what they burned as they incensed the direction of the rising sun. They were crying sweetly as they shook their burning copal, the precious copal.

IT WAS AHEAD OF THE SUN: *The band across the top is sky, with the glyph for Venus in the middle. Below Venus, lying on the earth, is the profile of the sun god. From a Late Classic Maya relief on a bench at Copán.*



DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

After that they cried because they had yet to see and yet to witness the birth of the sun.

And then, when the sun came up, the animals, small and great, were happy. They all came up from the rivers and canyons; they waited on all the mountain peaks. Together they looked toward the place where the sun came out.

So then the puma and jaguar cried out, but the first to cry out was a bird, the parrot by name. All the animals were truly happy. The eagle, the white vulture, small birds, great birds spread their wings, and the penitents and sacrificers knelt down. They were overjoyed, together with the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, the Ilocs.

And the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House.

And the Sweatbath House, Talk House, Quiba House, those of Yokes House.

And the Mexican Sovereigns—however many tribes there may be today. There were countless peoples, but there was just one dawn for all tribes.

And then the face of the earth was dried out by the sun. The sun was like a person when he revealed himself. His face was hot, so he dried out the face of the earth. Before the sun came up it was soggy, and the face of the earth was muddy before the sun came up. And when the sun had risen just a short distance he was like a person, and his heat was unbearable. Since he revealed himself only when he was born, it is only his reflection that now remains. As they put it in the ancient text,

"The visible sun is not the real one."

And then, all at once, Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were turned to stone, along with the icons of the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, fer-de-lance, which the White Sparkstriker took with him into the trees. Everywhere, all of them became stone when the sun, moon, and stars appeared. Perhaps we would have no relief from the voracious animals today—the puma, jaguar, rattlesnake, fer-de-lance—and perhaps it wouldn't even be our day today, if the original animals hadn't been turned to stone by the sun when he came up.

There was great happiness in the hearts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. They were overjoyed when it dawned. The people on the mountain of Hacauitz were not yet numerous; just a few were there. Their dawning was there and they burned copal there, incensing the direction of the rising sun. They came from there: it is their own mountain, their own plain. Those named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar came from there, and they began their increase on that mountain.

And that became their citadel, since they were there when the sun, moon, and stars appeared, when it dawned and cleared on the face of the earth, over everything under the sky.

AND THERE BEGAN THEIR SONG NAMED "CAMACU." They sang out the lament of their very hearts and guts. In their song they stated:

"Alas!
We were lost at Tulan!
We shattered ourselves!
We left our elder brothers behind!
Our younger brothers!
Where did they see the sun?
Where must they be staying,
now that the dawn has come?"

They were speaking of the penitents and sacrificers who were the Mexican people.

"Even though Tohil is his name, he is the same as the god of the Mexican people, who is named Yolcuat and Quitzalcuat. When we divided, there at Tulan, at Zuyua, they left with us, and they shared our identity when we came away," they said among themselves when they remembered their faraway brothers, elder and younger, the Mexican people whose dawn was there in the place named Mexico today.

And again, some of the people stayed there in the east; Sovereign Oloman is their name.

"We left them behind," they said. It was a great weight on their hearts, up there on Hacauitz. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, except that they were in the forest. Tam Tribe is the name of the place where it dawned for the penitents and sacrificers of the Tams, with their god, the same Tohil. There was just one name for the god of all three divisions of the Quiché people.

And again, the name of the god of the Rabinals was the same. His name was only slightly changed; "One Toh" is the way the name of the god of the Rabinals is spoken. They say it that way, but it is meant to be in agreement with the Quichés and with their language.

And the language has differentiated in the case of the Cakchiquels, since their god had a different name when they came away from Tulan Zuyua. Snake Tooth is the name of the god of the Bat House, and they

speak a different language today. Along with their god, the lineages took their names; they are called Keeper of the Bat Mat and Keeper of the Dance Mat. Like their god, their language was differentiated on account of a stone, when they came from Tulan in the darkness. All the tribes were sown and came to light in unity, and each division was allocated a name for its god.

And now we shall tell about their stay and their sojourn there on the mountain. The four were there together, the ones named Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar. Their hearts cried out to Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, who were now amid the bromeliads and hanging mosses.

AND HERE THEY BURN THEIR COPAL, and here also is the origin of the masking of Tohil.

And when they went before Tohil and Auilix, they went to visit them and keep their day. Now they gave thanks before them for the dawning, and now they bowed low before their stones, there in the forest. Now it was only a manifestation of his genius that spoke when the penitents and sacrificers came before Tohil, and what they brought and burned was not great. All they burned before their gods was resin, just bits of pitchy bark, along with marigolds.

And when Tohil spoke now it was only his genius. When the gods taught procedures to the penitents and sacrificers, they said this when they spoke:

"This very place has become our mountain, our plain. Now that we are yours, our day and our birth have become great, because all the peoples are yours, all the tribes. And since we are still your companions, even in your citadel, we shall give you procedures:

"Do not reveal us to the tribes when they burn with envy over us. They are truly numerous now, so don't you let us be hunted down, but rather give the creatures of the grasses and grains to us, such as the female deer and female birds. Please come give us a little of their blood, take pity on us. And set the pelts of the deer aside, save them. These are for disguises, for deception. They will become deerskin bundles, and they will also serve as our surrogates before the tribes. When you are asked:

'Where is Tohil?' then you will show them the deerskin bundle, yet you won't be giving yourselves away. And there is still more for you to do. You will become great in your very being. Defeat all the tribes. They

must bring blood and lymph before us, they must come to embrace us. They belong to us already," said Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. They had a youthful appearance when they saw them, when they came to burn offerings before them.

So then began the hunting of the young of all the birds and deer; they were taken in the hunt by the penitents and sacrificers.

And when they got hold of the birds and fawns, they would then go to anoint the mouth of the stone of Tohil or Auilix with the blood of the deer or bird. And the bloody drink was drunk by the gods. The stone would speak at once when the penitents and sacrificers arrived, when they went to make their burnt offerings.

They did the very same thing before the deerskin bundles: they burned resin, and they also burned marigolds and stevia. There was a deerskin bundle for each of the gods, which was displayed there on the mountain.

They didn't occupy their houses during the day, but just walked in the mountains. And this was their food: just the larva of the yellow jacket, the larva of the wasp, and the larva of the bee, which they hunted. As yet there wasn't anything good to eat or good to drink. Also, it wasn't obvious how to get to their houses, nor was it obvious where their wives stayed.

And the tribes were already densely packed, settling down one by one, with each division of a tribe gathering itself together. Now they were crowding the roads; already their roadways were obvious.

As for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, it wasn't obvious where they were. When they saw the people of the tribes passing by on the roads, that was when they would get up on the mountain peaks, just crying out with the cry of the coyote and the cry of the fox. And they would make the cries of the puma and jaguar, whenever they saw the tribes out walking in numbers. The tribes were saying:

"It's just a coyote crying out," and "Just a fox."

"Just a puma. Just a jaguar."

In the minds of all the tribes, it was as if humans weren't involved. They did it just as a way of decoying the tribes; that was what their hearts desired. They did it so that the tribes wouldn't get really frightened just yet; that was what they intended when they cried out with the cry of the puma and the cry of the jaguar. And then, when they saw just one or two people out walking, they intended to overwhelm them.

Each day, when they came back to their houses and wives, they brought just the same things—yellow jacket larvae, wasp larvae, and bee larvae—and gave them to their wives, each day. And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they thought to themselves:

"They are Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, yet we only give them the blood

of deer and birds, we only take stitches in our ears and our elbows when we ask for our strength and our manhood from Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz. Who will take care of the death of the tribes? Should we just kill them one by one?" they said among themselves.

And when they went before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, they took stitches in their ears and their elbows in front of the gods. They spilled their blood, they poured gourdfuls into the mouths of the stones. But these weren't really stones: each one became like a boy when they arrived, happy once again over the blood.

And then came a further sign as to what the penitents and sacrificers should do:

"You must win a great many victories. Your right to do this came from over there at Tulan, when you brought us here," they were told. Then the matter of the suckling was set forth, at the place called Stagger, and the blood that would result from it, the rainstorm of blood, also became a gift for Tohil, along with Auilix and Hacauitz.

Now here begins the abduction of the people of the tribes by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar.

AND THEN COMES THE KILLING OF THE TRIBES. This is how they died: when there was just one person out walking, or just two were out walking, it wasn't obvious when they took them away.

After that they went to cut them open before Tohil and Auilix.

After that, when they had offered the blood, the skull would be placed in the road. They would roll it onto the road. So the tribes were talking:

"A jaguar has been eating," was all that was said, because their tracks were like a jaguar's tracks when they did their deed. They did not reveal themselves. Many people were abducted.

It was actually a long time before the tribes came to their senses:

"If it's Tohil and Auilix who are after us, we have only to search for the penitents and sacrificers. We'll follow their tracks to wherever their houses are," said all those of the tribes, when they shared their thoughts among themselves.

After that, they began following the tracks of the penitents and sacrificers, but they weren't clear. They only saw the tracks of the deer, the tracks of the jaguar. The tracks weren't clear, nothing was clear. Where they began the tracks were merely those of animals. It was as if the tracks were there for the sole purpose of leading them astray. The way was not clear:

It would get cloudy.
It would get dark and rainy.
It would get muddy, too.
It would get misty and drizzly.

That was all the tribes could see in front of them, and their search would simply make them weary at heart. Then they would give up.

Because Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz were great in their very being, they did this for a long time, there on the mountain. They did their killing on the frontiers of the tribes when the abductions began; they singled them out and cut them down. They would seize the people of the tribes in the roads, cutting them open before Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz.

And the boys hid there on the mountain. Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz had the appearance of three boys when they went out walking; these were simply the spirit familiars of the stones. There was a river. They would bathe there on the bank, just as a way of revealing themselves, and this gave the place its name. The name of the river came to be Tohil's Bath, and the tribes saw them there many times. They would vanish the moment they were seen by the tribes.

Then the news spread as to the whereabouts of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, and this is when the tribes realized how they were being killed.

FIRST THE TRIBES TRIED TO PLAN THE DEFEAT OF TOHIL, AUILIX, AND HACAUITZ. All the penitents and sacrificers of the tribes spoke to the others. They roused and summoned one another, all of them. Not even one or two divisions were left out. All of them converged and presented themselves, then they shared their thoughts. And they said, as they questioned one another:

"What would assure the defeat of the Cauecs, the Quiché people? Our vassals have met their ends because of them. Isn't it clear that our people have been lost because of them? What if they finish us off with these abductions?"

"Let it be this way: if the fiery splendor of Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz is so great, then let this Tohil become our god! Let him be captured! Don't let them defeat us completely! Don't we constitute a multitude of people? And as for the Cauecs, there aren't as many of them," they said, when all of them had assembled. Some among the tribes also said this when they spoke:

"Who could be bathing every day at the riverbank? If it's Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz, then we can defeat them ahead of time. Let the defeat of the penitents and sacrificers begin right there!" some of them said, and then they spoke further:

"How shall we defeat them?" And then they said:

"Let this be our means for defeating them: since they present the appearance of adolescent boys at the river, let two maidens go there. Let them be choice maidens who radiate preciousness, so that when they go they'll be desirable," they said.

"Very well. So we'll just search for two perfect maidens," the others replied. And then they searched among their daughters for those who were truly radiant maidens. Then they gave the maidens instructions:

"You must go, our dear daughters. Go wash clothes at the river, and if you should see three boys, undress yourselves in front of them. And if their hearts should desire you, you will titillate them. When they say to you:

'We're coming after you,' then you are to say:

'Yes.' And then you will be asked:

'Where do you come from? Whose daughters are you?' When they say that, you are to answer them:

'We are the daughters of lords, so let a sign be forthcoming from you.' Then they should give you something. If they like your faces you must really give yourselves up to them. And if you do not give yourselves up, then we shall kill you. We'll feel satisfied when you bring back a sign, since we'll think of it as proof that they came after you," said the lords, instructing the two maidens.

Here are their names: Lust Woman is the name of the one maiden, and Wailing Woman is the name of the other.

AND THEY SENT THE TWO OF THEM, NAMED LUST WOMAN AND WAILING WOMAN, over to the place where Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz bathed. All the tribes knew about this.

And then they went off. They were dressed up, looking truly beautiful, when they went to the place where Tohil bathed. They were carrying what looked like their wash when they went off. Now the lords were pleased over having sent their two daughters there.

And when they arrived at the river, they began to wash. They undressed themselves, both of them. They were on the rocks, on their hands and knees, when Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz came along. They got

to the bank of the river and just barely glanced at the two maidens washing there, and the maidens got a sudden scare when Tohil and the others arrived. They did not go lusting after the two maidens. Then came the questioning:

"Where do you come from?" the two maidens were asked. "What do you intend by coming here, to the bank of our river?" they were also asked.

"We were sent here by the lords, so we came. The lords told us:

'Go see the faces of Tohil and the others, and speak to them,' the lords told us, 'and also, there must come a sign as to whether you really saw their faces. Go!' is what we were told," said the two maidens, explaining their errand.

But this is what the tribes had intended: that the maidens should be violated by the spirit familiars of Tohil and the others. Then Tohil, Auilix, and Hacauitz spoke, answering the two maidens named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman:

"Good. Let a sign of our word go with you. But you must wait for it, then give it directly to the lords," they were told.

And then Tohil and the others plotted with the penitents and sacrificers. Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now were told:

"You must inscribe three cloaks, inscribe the signs of your being. They're for the tribes; they'll go back with the maidens who are washing. Give them to the maidens," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now were told.

After that, they inscribed all three of them. Jaguar Quitze wrote first: the jaguar became his image, he inscribed it on the face of his cloak.

Then there was Jaguar Night: the eagle was now his image, he inscribed it on the face of his cloak.

The next to write was Not Right Now: swarms of yellow jackets, swarms of wasps were his images, his figures; he inscribed them on the face of his cloak. Then their figures were complete, all three of them; they had done the threefold inscription.

After that, when Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now went to give the cloaks to those who were named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman, they spoke to them:

"Here is the proof of your word. When you come before the lords you will say:

'Tohil really spoke to us, and here is the sign we've brought back,' you'll tell them, and give them the cloaks to try on," the maidens were told when they were given their instructions.

So then they went back, taking the inscribed cloaks.

And when they arrived, the lords were happy the moment they spotted what they had asked for, hanging from the arms of the maidens.

"Didn't you see the face of Tohil?" they were asked.

"See it we did," said Lust Woman and Wailing Woman.

"Very good. You've brought back some sort of sign. Isn't that so?" said the lords, since there seemed to be signs of their sin—or so thought the lords. So then they were shown the inscribed cloaks by the maidens: one with a jaguar, one with an eagle, and one with yellow jackets and wasps figured on the inside, on a smooth surface.

And they loved the way the cloaks looked. They costumed themselves. The one with the jaguar figured on it didn't do anything; it was the first to be tried on by a lord.

And when another lord costumed himself with the second inscribed cloak, with the eagle figured on it, he just felt good inside it. He turned around in front of them, unfurling it in front of all of them.

And then came the third inscribed cloak to be tried on by a lord, he costumed himself with the one that had yellow jackets and wasps inside it.

And then he started getting stung by the yellow jackets and wasps. He couldn't endure it, he couldn't stand the stings of the insects. That lord yelled his mouth off over the insects, mere written images, the figures of Not Right Now. It was the third inscription that defeated them.

And then the maidens named Lust Woman and Wailing Woman were reprimanded by the lords:

"How did you get these things you brought back? Where did you go to get them, you tricksters!" the maidens were told when they were reprimanded.

Again, all the tribes were defeated because of Tohil. This is what they had intended: that Tohil would be tempted to go after the maidens. It then became the profession of Lust Woman and Wailing Woman to bark shins; the tribes continued to think of them as temptresses.

So the defeat of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now was not brought about, since they were people of genius.

And then all the tribes plotted again:

"How are we going to beat them? They are truly great in their very being," they said when they shared their thoughts.

"Even so, we'll invade them and kill them. Let's fit ourselves out with weapons and shields. Aren't we a multitude? There won't even be one or two of them left," they said when they shared their thoughts. All the tribes fitted themselves out. There were masses of killers, once the killers of all the tribes had joined together.

And as for Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, they were there on the mountain. Hacauitz is the name of the mountain where they were, and those spirit boys of theirs were hidden there on the mountain. They were not a numerous people then; their numbers were not equal to the numbers of the tribes. There were just a few of them on the mountain, their fortress, so when it was said that the tribes had planned death for them, all of them gathered together. They held a council; they all sent for one another.

AND HERE IS THE JOINING TOGETHER OF ALL THE TRIBES, all decked out now with weapons and shields. Their metal ornaments were countless, they looked beautiful, all the lords, the men. In truth, they were just making talk, all of them. In truth, they would become our captives.

"Since there is a Tohil, and since he is a god, let's celebrate his day—or let's make him our prize!" they said among themselves. But Tohil already knew about it, and Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now also knew about it. They had heard about it while it was being plotted, since they were neither asleep nor at rest.

So then all the lance-bearing warriors of the tribes were armed.

After that, all the warriors got up during the night, in order to enter

THEY WOULD BECOME OUR CAPTIVES: *This warrior has bound his prisoner's arms behind his back and stripped him of nearly all his paraphernalia. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

our very midst. They set off, but they never arrived. They just fell asleep on the way, all those warriors.

And then they were defeated again by Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now, since every last one of them fell asleep in the road. Now they couldn't feel a thing. A multitude slept, all of them, and that's when things got started. Their eyebrows were plucked out, along with their beards.

And then the metal was undone from their cloaks, along with their headdresses.

And their necklaces came off too, and then the necks of their staffs. Their metal was taken just to cause them a loss of face, and the plucking was done just to signify the greatness of the Quiché.

After that, they woke up. Right away they reached for their headdresses, along with the necks of their staffs. There was no metal on their cloaks and headdresses.

"How could it have been taken from us? Who could have plucked us? Where did they come from? Our metal has been stolen!" said all the warriors.

"Perhaps it's those tricksters who've been abducting people! But it's not over with. Let's not get frightened by them. Let's enter their very citadel! That's the only way we'll ever see our metal and make it ours again!" said all the tribes, but even so, they were just making talk, all of them.

The hearts of the penitents and sacrificers were content, there on the mountain, but even so, Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were making great plans.

AND THEN JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, NOT RIGHT NOW, AND DARK JAGUAR HAD A PLAN. They made a fence at the edge of their citadel. They just made a palisade of planks and stakes around their citadel.

Next they made manikins; it was as if they had made people. Next they lined them up on the parapet. They were even equipped with weapons and shields. Headdresses were included, with metal on top, and cloaks were included. But they were mere manikins, mere woodcarvings. They used the metal that belonged to the tribes, which they had gone to get in the road. This is what they used to decorate the manikins. They surrounded the citadel.

And then they asked Tohil about their plan:

"What if we die, and what if we're defeated?" They spoke straight from their hearts before Tohil.

"Do not grieve. I am here. And here is what you will use on them. Do not be afraid," Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were told, and then the matter of the yellow jackets and wasps was set out.

And when they had gone to get these insects and come back with them, they put them inside four large gourds, which were placed all around the citadel. The yellow jackets and wasps were shut inside the gourds. These were their weapons against the tribes.

And they were spied upon and watched from hiding; their citadel was studied by the messengers of the tribes.

"There aren't many of them," they said, but when they came to look it was only the manikins, the woodcarvings, that were moving, with weapons and shields in their hands. They looked like real people, they looked like real killers when the tribes saw them.

And all the tribes were happy when they saw there weren't many of them. The tribes themselves were in crowds; there were countless people, warriors and killers, the assassins of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now, who were there on the mountain called Hacauitz. This is where they were when they were invaded. Here we shall tell about it.

AND THESE ARE THE ONES WHO WERE THERE: JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, NOT RIGHT NOW, AND DARK JAGUAR. They were in unity on the mountain with their wives and children.

And then all the warriors came, the killers, and it was nothing less than eight hundred score, or even thirty times eight hundred people who surrounded the citadel. They were bellowing, bristling with weapons and shields, rending their mouths with howling and growling, bellowing, yelling, whistling through their hands when they came up below the citadel. But the penitents and sacrificers had no fear; they just enjoyed the spectacle from the parapet of the stockade. They were lined up with their wives and children. Their hearts were content, since the tribes were merely making talk.

And then they climbed up the mountainside, and now they were just a little short of the edge of the citadel.

And then the gourds were opened up—there were four of them around the citadel—and the yellow jackets and wasps were like a cloud of smoke when they poured out of each of the gourds. And the warriors

were done in, with the insects landing on their eyes and landing on their noses, on their mouths, their legs, their arms. The insects went after them wherever they were, they overtook them wherever they were. There were yellow jackets and wasps everywhere, landing to sting their eyes. They had to watch out for whole swarms of them, there were insects going after every single person. They were dazed by the yellow jackets and wasps. No longer able to hold on to their weapons and shields, they were doubling over and falling to the ground, stumbling. They fell down the mountainside.

And now they couldn't feel a thing when they were hit with arrows and cut with axes. Now Jaguar Quitze and Jaguar Night could even use sticks; even their wives became killers.

Now some of them turned away, then all the tribes just took off running. The first to be overtaken were finished off, killed, and it wasn't just a few people who died. For those who didn't die the chase was carried into their very midst when the insects caught up with them. There were no manly deeds for them to do, since they no longer carried weapons and shields.

Then all the tribes were conquered. Now the tribes humbled themselves before Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now:

"Take pity on us! Don't kill us!" they said.

"Very well. Although you were destined to join the dead, you will be payers of tribute for as long as there are days and as long as there is light," they were told.

Such was the defeat of all the tribes by our first mother-fathers. It was done there on the mountain named Hacauitz today. This is where they first began. They grew, they multiplied, they had daughters, they had sons on Hacauitz. They were happy, once they had beaten all the tribes, who were defeated there on the mountain.

In this way they accomplished the defeat of the tribes, all the tribes.

After that, their hearts were content. They informed their sons that their death was approaching. They very much intended to be taken by death.

NOW THIS IS WHERE WE SHALL TELL ABOUT THE DEATH OF JAGUAR QUITZE, JAGUAR NIGHT, NOT RIGHT NOW, AND DARK JAGUAR, as they are named. Since they knew about their death and disappearance, they left instructions with their sons. They weren't sickly yet, they weren't gasping for breath when they left their word with their sons.

These are the names of their sons:

Jaguar Quitze begot these two: Noble Two was the name of the first-born and Noble Raiment was the name of the second of the sons of Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father of the Cauecs.

And again, Jaguar Night begot two. These are their names: Noble Acul was the name of his first son, and the other was called Noble Acutec, the second son of Jaguar Night, of the Greathouses.

And Not Right Now begot just one son, named Noble Lord.

These three had sons, but Dark Jaguar had no son. They were all true penitents and sacrificers, and these are the names of their sons, with whom they left instructions. They were united, the four of them together. They sang of the pain in their hearts, they cried their hearts out in their singing. "Camacu" is the name of the song they sang.

And then they advised their sons:

"Our dear sons: we are leaving. We are going back. We have enlightened words, enlightened advice to leave with you—and with you who have come from faraway mountains, our dear wives," they told their wives. They advised each one of them:

"We are going back to our own tribal place. Again it is the time of our Lord Deer, as is reflected in the sky. We have only to make our return. Our work has been done, our day has been completed. Since you know this, neither forget us nor put us aside. You have yet to see your own home and mountain, the place of your beginning.

"Let it be this way: you must go. Go see the place where we came from," were the words they spoke when they gave their advice.

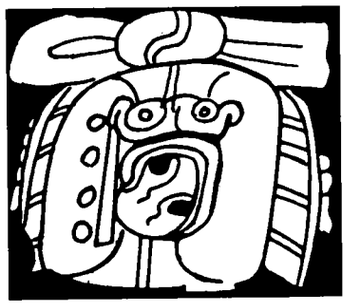
And then Jaguar Quitze left a sign of his being:

"This is for making requests of me. I shall leave it with you. Here is your fiery splendor. I have completed my instructions, my counsel," he said when he left the sign of his being, the Bundle of Flames, as it is called. It wasn't clear just what it was; it was wound about with coverings. It was never unwrapped. Its sewing wasn't clear because no one looked on while it was being wrapped.

In this way they left instructions, and then they disappeared from there on the mountain of Hacauitz. Their wives and children never saw them again. The nature of their disappearance was not clear. But whatever the case with their disappearance, their instructions were clear, and the bundle became precious to those who remained. It was a memorial to their fathers. Immediately they burned offerings before this memorial to their fathers.

When the lords began their generation of the people, the Cauecs took

IT WAS WOUND ABOUT WITH COVERINGS: *The rounded shape and large knot on top are characteristic of lowland Maya sacred bundles. From a Late Classic vase.*



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MICHAEL D. COE AND THE GROLIER CLUB

their start from Jaguar Quitze, the grandfather and father; his sons, named Noble Two and Noble Raiment, were not lost.

Such was the death of all four of our first grandfathers and fathers. When they disappeared their sons remained there on the mountain of Hacauitz; their sons stayed there for a while. As for all the tribes, it was now their day to be broken and downtrodden. They no longer had any splendor to them, though they were still numerous.

All those on Hacauitz gathered on each day that was for the remembrance of their fathers. For them, the day of the bundle was a great one. They could not unwrap it; for them it stayed bundled—the Bundle of Flames, as they called it. It was given this epithet, this name when it was left in their keeping by their fathers, who made it just as a sign of their being.

Such was the disappearance and loss of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar, the first people to come from beside the sea, from the east. They came here in ancient times. When they died they were already old. They had a reputation for penitence and sacrifice.

PART FIVE

AND THEN THEY REMEMBERED WHAT HAD BEEN SAID ABOUT THE EAST. This is when they remembered the instructions of their fathers. The ancient things received from their fathers were not lost. The tribes gave them their wives, becoming their fathers-in-law as they took wives. And there were three of them who said, as they were about to go away:

"We are going to the east, where our fathers came from," they said, then they followed their road. The three of them were representative sons:

Noble Two was the name of the son of Jaguar Quitze who represented all the Cauecs.

Noble Acutec was the name of the son of Jaguar Night who served as the sole representative of the Greathouses.

Noble Lord was the name of the only son of Not Right Now, representing the Lord Quichés.

So these are the names of those who went there beside the sea. There were only three who went, but they had skill and knowledge. Their being was not quite that of mere humans. They advised all their brothers, elder and younger, who were left behind. They were glad to go:

"We're not dying. We're coming back," they said when they went, yet it was these same three who passed over the sea.

And then they arrived in the east; they went there to receive lordship. Next comes the name of the lord with dominion over those of the east, where they arrived.

AND THEN THEY CAME BEFORE THE LORD NAMED NACXIT, the great lord and sole judge over a populous domain.

And he was the one who gave out the signs of lordship, all the emblems; the signs of the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth.

And when the signs of the splendor and lordship of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat were set forth, Nacxit gave a complete set of the emblems of lordship. Here are their names:

Canopy, throne.

Bone flute, bird whistle.

Sparkling powder, yellow ocher.

Puma's paw, jaguar's paw.

Head and hoof of deer.
Leather armband, snail-shell rattle.
Tobacco gourd, food bowl.
Parrot feathers, egret feathers.

So they came away bringing all of these. Then, from beside the sea, they brought back the writing of Tulan, the writing of Zuyua. They spoke of their investiture in their signs, in their words.

Also, after they had reached their citadel, named Hacauitz, all the Tams and Ilocs gathered there. All the tribes gathered themselves together; they were happy. When Noble Two, Noble Acutec, and Noble Lord came back, they resumed their lordship over the tribes. The Rabinals, the Cakchiquels, and those of Bird House were happy. Only the signs of the greatness of lordship were revealed before them. Now the lords became great in their very being; when they had displayed their lordship previously, it was incomplete.

This was when they were at Hacauitz. The only ones with them were all those who had originally come from the east. And they spent a long time there on that mountain. Now they were all numerous.

And the wives of Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, and Not Right Now died there. Then they came away, they left their mountain place behind. They sought another mountain where they could settle. They settled countless mountains, giving them epithets and names. Our first mothers and our first fathers multiplied and gained strength at those places, according to what the people of ancient times said when they told about the abandonment of their first citadel, named Hacauitz.

AND THEN THEY CAME TO A PLACE WHERE THEY FOUNDED A CITADEL NAMED THORNY PLACE. They spent a long time there in that one citadel. They had daughters and sons while they were there. There were actually four mountains, but there came to be a single name for the whole town. Their daughters and sons got married. They just gave them away. They accepted mere favors and gifts as sufficient payment for their daughters. They did only what was good.

Then they examined each division of the citadel. Here are the names of the divisions of Thorny Place: Dry Place, Bark House, Boundary Marker, and Stronghold are the names of the mountains where they stayed.

And this is when they looked out over the mountains of their citadel. They were seeking a further mountain, since all the divisions had become more numerous. But those who had brought lordship from the east had

died by now; they had become old in the process of going from one citadel to another. But their faces did not die; they passed them on.

They went through a great deal of pain and affliction; it was a long time before the grandfathers and fathers found their citadel. Here is the name of the citadel where they arrived.

AND BEARDED PLACE IS THE NAME OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THEIR CITADEL. They stayed there and they settled down there.

And they tested their fiery splendor there. They ground their gypsum, their plaster, in the fourth generation of lords. It was said that Noble Rooftree ruled when Nine Deer was the Lord Minister, and then the lords named Noble Sweatbath and Iztayul reigned as Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. They reigned there at Bearded Place. It was through their works that it became an excellent citadel.

The number of great houses only reached three, there at Bearded Place. There were not yet a score and four great houses, but only three of them:

Just one Cauec great house.
And just one great house for the Greathouses.
And finally, just one for the Lord Quichés.

But the three were housed in just two buildings, one in each of the two divisions of the citadel.

This is the way it was when they were at Bearded Place:

They were of just one mind: there was no evil for them, nor were there difficulties.

Their reign was all in calm: there were no quarrels for them, and no disturbances.

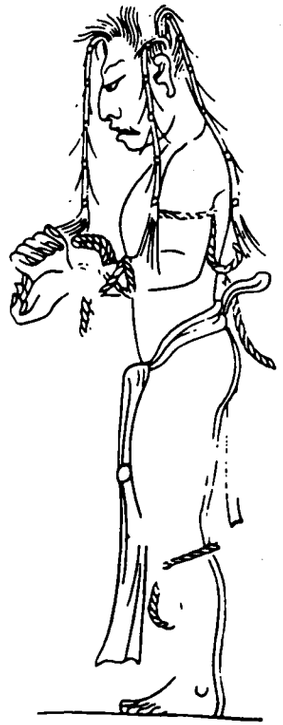
Their hearts were filled with a steady light: there was nothing of stupidity and nothing of envy in what they did.

Their splendor was modest: they caused no amazement, nor had they grown great.

And then they tested themselves. They excelled in the Shield Dance, there at Bearded Place. They did it as a sign of their sovereignty. It was a sign of their fiery splendor and a sign of their greatness.

When it was seen by the Ilocs, the Ilocs began to foment war. It was their desire that the Lord Noble Sweatbath be murdered, and that the other lord be allied with them. It was the Lord Iztayul they wanted to persuade; the Ilocs wanted him as their disciple in committing murder. But their jealous plotting behind the back of the Lord Noble Sweatbath

THEY WERE CAPTURED AND THEY WERE MADE PRISONERS: *A Late Classic Maya drawing from Tikal, depicting a captive warrior from Calakmul.*



DRAWING REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM

failed to work out. They just wanted it over with, but the lord wasn't killed by the Ilocs on the first try.

Such were the roots of disturbances, of tumult and war. First they invaded the citadel, the killers were on the move. What they wanted was to obliterate the very identity of the Quichés. Only then, they thought, could they alone have sovereignty, and it was for this alone that they came to kill. They were captured and they were made prisoners. Not many of them ever got their freedom again.

And then began the cutting of flesh. They cut the Ilocs open before the gods. This was in payment for their wrongs against Lord Noble Sweatbath. And many others went into bondage; they were made into slaves and serfs. They had simply given themselves up in defeat by fomenting war against the lord and against the canyon and the citadel. What their hearts had desired was the destruction and disintegration of the very identity of the Quiché lord, but it did not come to pass.

In this way it came about that people were cut open before the gods. The shields of war were made then; it was the very beginning of the fortification of the citadel at Bearded Place. The root of fiery splendor was implanted there, and because of it the reign of the Quiché lords was truly great. They were lords of singular genius. There was nothing to humble them; nothing happened to make fools of them or to ruin the greatness of their reign, which took root there at Bearded Place.

The penance done for the gods increased there, striking terror again, and all the tribes were terrified, small tribes and great tribes. They witnessed the arrival of people captured in war, who were cut open and killed for the splendor and majesty of Lord Noble Sweatbath and Lord Iztayul, along with the Greathouses and the Lord Quichés. There were only three branches of kin there at the citadel named Bearded Place.

And it was also there that they began feasting and drinking over the blossoming of their daughters. This was the way the ones they named the "Three Great Houses" stayed together. They drank their drinks there and ate their corn there, the payment for their sisters, payment for their daughters. There was only happiness in their hearts when they did it. They ate, they feasted inside their palaces.

"This is just our way of being thankful and grateful that we have good news and good tidings. It is the sign of our agreements about the daughters and sons born to our women," they said.

Epithets were bestowed there, and the lineages, the allied tribes, the principalities gave themselves names there.

"We are intermarried: we Cauecs, we Greathouses, and we Lord Quichés," said those of the three lineages and the three great houses. They spent a long time there at Bearded Place, and then they sought again and saw another citadel. They left Bearded Place behind.

AND THEN THEY GOT UP AND CAME TO THE CITADEL OF ROTTEN CANE, as the name is spoken by the Quichés. The Lords Noble Sweatbath and Plumed Serpent came along, together with all the other lords. There had been five changes and five generations of people since the origin of light, the origin of continuity, the origin of life and of humankind.

And they built many houses there.

And they also built houses for the gods, putting these in the center of the highest part of the citadel. They came and they stayed.

After that their domain grew larger; they were more numerous and

more crowded. Again they planned their great houses, which had to be regrouped and sorted out because of their growing quarrels. They were jealous of one another over the prices of their sisters and daughters, which were no longer a matter of mere food and drink.

So this was the origin of their separation, when they quarreled among themselves, disturbing the bones and skulls of the dead. Then they broke apart into nine lineages, putting an end to quarrels over sisters and daughters. When the planning of the lordships was done, the result was a score and four great houses.

It was a long time ago when they all came up onto their citadel, building a score and four palaces there in the citadel of Rotten Cane. That was the citadel blessed by the lord bishop after it had been abandoned.

They achieved glory there. Their marvelous seats and cushions were arranged; the varieties of splendor were sorted out for each one of the lords of the nine lineages. One by one they took their places:

The nine lords of the Cauecs.
The nine lords of the Greathouses.
The four lords of the Lord Quichés.
The two lords of the Zaquics.

They became numerous. Those who were in the following of a given lord were also numerous, but the lord came first, at the head of his vassals. There were masses, masses of lineages for each of the lords. We shall name the titles of the lords one by one, for each of the great houses.

AND HERE ARE THE TITLES OF THE LORDS WHO LED THE CAUECS, beginning with the first in rank:

Keeper of the Mat.
Keeper of the Reception House Mat.
Keeper of Tohil.
Keeper of the Plumed Serpent.
Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs.
Councilor of the Stores.
Quehnay Emissary.
Councilor in the Ball Court.
Mother of the Reception House.

So these are the lords who led the Cauecs, nine lords with their palaces ranged around, one for each of them. And now to show their faces . . .

AND NOW THESE ARE THE LORDS WHO LED THE GREATHOUSES, beginning with the first lord:

Lord Minister.
Lord Herald.
Minister of the Reception House.
Chief of the Reception House.
Mother of the Reception House.
Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses.
Lord Auilix.
Yacolatam, meaning the "corner of the mat" or the zaclatol.
Chief Yeoltux Emissary.

So there were nine lords who led the Greathouses.

AND NOW THESE ARE THE LORD QUICHÉS. Here are the titles of the lords:

Herald.
Lord Emissary.
Lord Master of Ceremonies for the Lord Quichés.
Lord Hacauitz.

Four lords led the Lord Quichés, with their palaces ranged around.

AND THERE WERE ALSO TWO LINEAGES OF ZAQUIC LORDS:

Lord Corntassel House.
Minister for the Zaquics.

There was just one palace for these two lords.

Such was the arrangement of the score and four lords, and there came to be a score and four great houses as well.

THEN SPLENDOR AND MAJESTY GREW AMONG THE QUICHÉ. The greatness and weight of the Quiché reached its full splendor and majesty with the surfacing and plastering of the canyon and citadel. The tribes came, whether small or great and whatever the titles of their lords,

adding to the greatness of the Quiché. As splendor and majesty grew, so grew the houses of gods and the houses of lords.

But the lords could not have accomplished it, they could not have done the work of building their houses or the houses of the gods, were it not for the fact that their vassals had become numerous. They neither had to lure them nor did they kidnap them or take them away by force, because each one of them rightfully belonged to the lords. And the elder and younger brothers of the lords also became populous.

Each lord led a crowded life, crowded with petitions. The lords were truly valued and had truly great respect. The birthdays of the lords were made great and held high by their vassals. Those who lived in the canyons and those who lived in the citadels multiplied then. Even so they would not have been numerous, had not all the tribes arrived to give themselves up.

And when war befell their canyons and citadels, it was by means of their genius that the Lord Plumed Serpent and the Lord Noble Sweatbath blazed with power. Plumed Serpent became a true lord of genius:

On one occasion he would climb up to the sky; on another he would go down the road to Xibalba.

On another occasion he would be serpentine, becoming an actual serpent.

On yet another occasion he would make himself aquiline, and on another feline; he would become like an actual eagle or a jaguar in his appearance.

On another occasion it would be a pool of blood; he would become nothing but a pool of blood.

Truly his being was that of a lord of genius. All the other lords were fearful before him. The news spread; all the tribal lords heard about the existence of this lord of genius.

And this was the beginning and growth of the Quiché, when the Lord Plumed Serpent made the signs of greatness. His face was not forgotten by his grandsons and sons. He didn't do these things just so there would be one single lord, a being of genius, but they had the effect of humbling all the tribes when he did them. It was just his way of revealing himself, but because of it he became the sole head of the tribes.

This lord of genius named Plumed Serpent was in the fourth generation of lords; he was both Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat.

And so he left signs and sayings for the next generation. They achieved splendor and majesty, and they, too, begot sons, making the sons still

HE WOULD MAKE HIMSELF . . . FELINE: *A dancing shaman transforms himself into a jaguar. From a Late Classic Maya vase from Altar de Sacrificios.*

DRAWING BY KARL TAUBE

more populous. Tepepul and Iztayul were begotten; they merely served out their reign, becoming the fifth generation of lords. They begot another generation of lords.

AND HERE ARE THE NAMES OF THE SIXTH GENERATION OF LORDS. There were two great lords; they were fiery. Quicab was the name of one lord; Cauizimah was the name of the other.

And Quicab and Cauizimah did a great deal in their turn. They added to the greatness of the Quiché because they truly had genius. They crushed and they shattered the canyons and citadels of the tribes, small and great—the ones that had citadels among them in ancient times, nearby:

There was a mountain place of the Cakchiquels, called Nettles Heights today.

And also a mountain place of the Rabinals, Place of Spilt Water.

And a mountain of the Caoques, Plaster House.

And then a citadel of the White Earths, Hot Springs Heights.
Under Ten, Front of the Monument, and Willow Tree.

They all hated Quicab. They made war, but in fact they were brought down, they were shattered, these canyons, these citadels of the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, White Earths. All the tribes went down on their faces or flat on their backs. The warriors of Quicab kept up the killing for a long time, until there were only one or two groups, from among all the enemies, who hadn't brought tribute. Their citadels fell and they brought tribute to Quicab and Cauizimah. Their lineages came to be bled, shot full of arrows at the stake. Their day came to nothing, their heritage came to nothing.

Projectiles alone were the means for breaking the citadels. All at once the earth itself would crack open; it was as if a lightning bolt had shattered the stones. In fear, the members of one tribe after another went before the gum tree, carrying in their hands the signs of the citadels, with the result that a mountain of stones is there today. Only a few of these aren't cut stones; the rest look as though they had been split with an axe. The result is there on the plain named Petatayub; it is obvious to this day. Everyone who passes by can see it as a sign of the manhood of Quicab. He could not be killed, nor could he be conquered. He was truly a man, and all the tribes brought tribute.

And then all the lords made plans; they moved to cordon off the canyons and citadels, the fallen citadels of all the tribes.

AFTER THAT CAME THE SENTRIES, to watch for the makers of war. Now lookout lineages were established to occupy the conquered mountains:

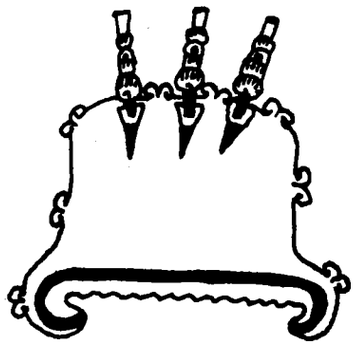
"Otherwise the tribes would return to inhabit their citadels," all the lords said when they had all shared their thoughts. Then the assignments were given out:

"Let them be like a palisade to us, and like doubles for our own lineages, and like a stockade, a fortress to us. Let them now become our anger, our manliness," said all the lords. The assignments were given to each of the lineages that were to provide opposition to the makers of war.

And then they were notified, and then they went to their posts, occupying the mountain places of the tribes:

"Go, because these are now our mountains. Do not be afraid. The moment there are makers of war again, coming back among you as your

PROJECTILES ALONE WERE THE MEANS FOR BREAKING THE CITADELS: *In Mixtec books, conquest is signified by darts thrust into a place name, which in this example consists of the sign for a mountain. From the Codex Nuttall.*



DRAWING BY THE AUTHOR

murderers, send for us to come and kill them," Quicab and the Minister and the Herald told them, notifying all of them.

Then they went off, those who are called the Point of the Arrow, Angle of the Bowstring. Their grandfathers and fathers split up then; they were on each of the mountains. They went just as guards of the mountains, and as arrowhead and bowstring guards, and as guards against the makers of war as well. None of them had been there at the dawning nor did any of them have his own god; they just blocked the way to the citadel. They all went out:

The keepers of Nettles Heights, keepers of Mirror Side, White River, Deer Dance Plaza, Plank Place, Eighteen.

Also, the keepers of Earthquake, Meteor, Hunahpu Place.

And the keepers of Spilt Water, keepers of Among the Rocks, keepers of Plaster House, keepers of Ziya House, keepers of Hot Springs, keepers of Under Ten, of the plains, of the mountains.

The war sentries, the guardians of the land, went out, they went on behalf of Quicab and Cauizimah, Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and on behalf of the Minister and the Herald. There were four lords who posted messengers and sentries against the makers of war:

Quicab and Cauizimah are the names of the two lords who led the Cauecs.

Woven is the name of the lord who led the Greathouses.

And Armadillo Dung is the name of the lord who led the Lord Quichés.

So these are the names of the lords who posted messengers and couriers. Their own vassals went to the mountains, to each one of the moun-

tains, and as soon as they had gone, spoils kept coming back, and prisoners of war kept coming back to Quicab and Cauizimah, to the Minister and the Herald. The Points of the Arrows and Angles of the Bowstrings made war. They took spoils and prisoners again. There came to be heroes again, among those who were sentries. They were given seats and honored; they were generously remembered by the lords when they came to turn over all their spoils and their prisoners.

After that, when the Lords Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald had shared their thoughts, their decision came out:

"When it comes to the ennobling of the lookout lineages, we'll induct only those who are first in rank. I am Keeper of the Mat."

"And I am Keeper of the Reception House Mat."

"The nobility of Keeper of the Mat, which is mine—and that which is yours, Lord Minister—should enter into this. Ministers will be ennobled." And all the lords spoke as they gathered their thoughts. The Tams and Ilocs did just the same; the three divisions of the Quiché were in concord when they carried out the investiture. They titled those of the first rank among their vassals.

In this way the decision was reached. But they weren't inducted at Quiché. The mountain where the first-ranking vassals were inducted has a name; all of them were summoned, from each of the mountains where they were, and they gathered in just one place. Under the Twine, Under the Cord is the name of the mountain where they were inducted, where they entered into nobility. It was done at the boundary of Mirror Side.

And here are their titles, their honors, and their marks: a score of Ministers and a score of Keepers of the Mat were created by the Keeper of the Mat and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and by the Minister and the Herald.

All of these entered the nobility: Ministers, Keepers of the Mat, eleven Masters of Ceremonies, Minister for the Lords, Minister for the Zaquics, Military Minister, Military Keeper of the Mat, Military Walls, and Military Corners are the titles that came in when the soldiers were titled and named to their seats, their cushions.

These were the first-ranking vassals, watchers and listeners for the Quiché people, Points of the Arrows, Angles of the Bowstrings, a palisade, an enclosure, a wall, a fortress around Quiché.

And the Tams and Ilocs did the same thing; they inducted and titled the first-ranking vassals for each mountain.

So this was the origin of the noble Ministers and Keepers of the Mat that exist for each of the mountains today. The sequence was such that

they came out later than the Keeper of the Mat proper and the Keeper of the Reception House Mat, and later than the Minister and the Herald.

AND NOW WE SHALL NAME THE NAMES OF THE HOUSES OF THE GODS, although the houses have the same names as the gods:

Great Monument of Tohil is the name of the building that housed Tohil of the Cauecs.

Auilix, next, is the name of the building that housed Auilix of the Greathouses.

Hacauitz is the name, then, of the building that housed the god of the Lord Quichés.

Corntassel, whose house of sacrifice can still be seen, is the name of another great monument.

These were the locations of the stones whose days were kept by the Quiché lords. Their days were also kept by all the tribes. When the tribes burned offerings, they came before Tohil first.

After that, they greeted the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat next, then they handed over their quetzal feathers and their tribute to the lords, these same lords.

And so they nurtured and provided for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, who had been victorious over their citadels.

THEY CAME BEFORE TOHIL FIRST: *Seated in his temple (shown in cross section behind him),* K'awil *(the lowland Maya counterpart of Tohil) receives offerings in bowls and (at extreme left) a censer full of flaming copal. From the Dresden Codex.*

DRAWING BY CARLOS A. VILLACORTA

They were great lords, they were people of genius. Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath were lords of genius, and Quicab and Cauizimah were lords of genius. They knew whether war would occur; everything they saw was clear to them. Whether there would be death, or whether there would be famine, or whether quarrels would occur, they knew it for certain, since there was a place to see it, there was a book. Council Book was their name for it.

But it wasn't only in this way that they were lords. They were great in their own being and observed great fasts. As a way of cherishing their buildings and cherishing their lordship, they fasted for long periods, they did penance before their gods.

And here is their way of fasting:

For nine score days they would fast, and for nine they would do penance and burn offerings.

Thirteen score was another of their fasts, and for thirteen they would do penance and burn offerings before Tohil and their other gods. They would only eat zapotes, matasanos, jocotes; there was nothing made of corn for their meals.

Even if they did penance for seventeen score, then for seventeen they fasted, they did not eat. They achieved truly great abstinence.

This was a sign that they had the being of true lords. And there weren't any women with them when they slept; they kept themselves apart when they fasted. They just stayed in the houses of the gods, each day. All they did was keep the days, burn offerings, and do penance. They were there whether it was dark or dawn; they just cried their hearts and their guts out when they asked for light and life for their vassals and their domain. They lifted their faces to the sky, and here is their prayer before their gods, when they made their requests.

AND THIS IS THE CRY OF THEIR HEARTS, here it is:

"Wait! On this blessed day,
thou Hurricane, thou Heart of the Sky-Earth,
thou giver of ripeness and freshness,
and thou giver of daughters and sons,
spread thy stain, spill thy drops
of green and yellow;
give life and beginning
to those I bear and beget,

that they might multiply and grow,
nurturing and providing for thee,
calling to thee along the roads and paths,
on rivers, in canyons,
beneath the trees and bushes;
give them their daughters and sons.

"May there be no blame, obstacle, want, or misery;
let no deceiver come behind or before them,
may they neither be snared nor wounded,
nor seduced, nor burned,
nor diverted below the road nor above it;
may they neither fall over backward nor stumble;
keep them on the Green Road, the Green Path.

"May there be no blame or barrier for them
through any secrets or sorcery of thine;
may thy nurturers and providers be good
before thy mouth and thy face,
thou, Heart of Sky; thou, Heart of Earth;
thou, Bundle of Flames;
and thou, Tohil, Auilix, Hacauitz,
under the sky, on the earth,
the four sides, the four corners;
may there be only light, only continuity within,
before thy mouth and thy face, thou god."

So it was with the lords when they fasted during nine score, thirteen score, or seventeen score days; their days of fasting were many. They cried their hearts out over their vassals and over all their wives and children. Each and every lord did service, as a way of cherishing the light of life and of cherishing lordship.

Such were the lordships of the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald. They went into fasting two by two, taking turns at carrying the tribes and all the Quiché people on their shoulders.

At its root the word came from just one place, and the root of nurturing and providing was the same as the root of the word. The Tams and Ilocs did likewise, along with the Rabinals, Cakchiquels, those of Bird House, Sweatbath House, Talk House. They came away in unity, having heard, there at Quiché, what all of them should do.

It wasn't merely that they became lords; it wasn't just that they received occasional gifts from nurturers and providers who merely made food and drink for them. Nor did they wantonly falsify or steal their lordship, their splendor, their majesty. And it wasn't merely that they crushed the canyons and citadels of the tribes, whether small or great, but that the tribes paid a great price:

There came turquoise, there came metal.

And there came drops of jade and other gems that measured the width of four fingers or a full fist across.

And there came green, yellow, and red feather work, the tribute of all the tribes. It came to the lords of genius Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath, and to Quicab and Cauizimah as well, to the Keeper of the Mat, Keeper of the Reception House Mat, Minister, and Herald.

What they did was no small feat, and the tribes they conquered were not few in number. The tribute of Quiché came from many tribal divisions.

And the lords had undergone pain and withstood it; their rise to splendor had not been sudden. Actually it was Plumed Serpent who was the root of the greatness of the lordship.

Such was the beginning of the rise and growth of Quiché.

And now we shall list the generations of lords, and we shall also name the names of all these lords.

AND HERE ARE THE GENERATIONS, THE SEQUENCES OF LORDSHIPS, so that all of them will be clear.

Jaguar Quitze, Jaguar Night, Not Right Now, and Dark Jaguar were our first grandfathers, our first fathers when the sun appeared, when the moon and stars appeared.

And here are the generations, the sequences, of lordships. We shall begin from here, at their very root. The lords will come up two by two, as each generation of lords enters and succeeds the previous grandfathers and lords of the citadel, going on through each and every one of the lords.

And here shall appear the faces of each one of the lords.

AND HERE SHALL APPEAR THE FACES, ONE BY ONE, OF EACH OF THE QUICHÉ LORDS . . .

Jaguar Quitze, origin of the Cauecs.

Noble Raiment, in the second generation after Jaguar Quitze.

Jaguar Noble Rooftree, who began the office of Keeper of the Mat, was in the third generation.

Noble Sweatbath and Iztayul, in the fourth generation.

Plumed Serpent and Noble Sweatbath, at the root of the lords of genius, were in the fifth generation.

Tepepul and Iztayul next, sixth in the sequence.

Quicab and Cauizimah, in the seventh change of lordship, were the culmination of genius.

Tepepul and Xtayub, in the eighth generation.

Black Butterfly and Tepepul, in the ninth generation.

Eight Cord, with Quicab, in the tenth generation of lords.

Seven Thought and Cauatepech next, eleventh in the sequence of lords.

Three Deer and Nine Dog, in the twelfth generation of lords. And they were ruling when Tonatiuh arrived. They were tortured by the Castilian people.

Black Butterfly and Tepepul were tributary to the Castilian people. They had already been begotten as the thirteenth generation of lords.

Don Juan de Rojas and Don Juan Cortés, in the fourteenth generation of lords. They are the sons of Black Butterfly and Tepepul.

So these are the generations, the sequences of lordships for the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat, the lords who have led the Cauecs of Quiché. Next we shall name the lineages.

And here are the great houses of each one of the lords in the following of the Keeper of the Mat and Keeper of the Reception House Mat. These are the names of the nine lineages of the Cauecs, nine great houses. Here are the titles of the rulers of each one of the great houses:

Lord Keeper of the Mat, with one great house. Granary is the name of the palace.

WHEN TONATIUH ARRIVED: *A Quiché sketch of the coat of arms of the Hapsburgs, rulers of Austria and Spain when Pedro de Alvarado (Tonatiuh) invaded the Quiché kingdom. From the sixteenth-century Título de los Señores de Coyoy.*

Lord Keeper of the Reception House Mat. Bird House is the name of his palace.
Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs, with one great house.
Lord Keeper of Tohil, with one great house.
Lord Keeper of the Plumed Serpent, with one great house.
Councilor of the Stores, with one great house.
Quehnay Emissary, with one great house.
Councilor in the Ball Court, Xcuxeba, with one great house.
Sovereign Mexican, with one great house.
So these are the nine lineages of the Cauecs. Many vassals are counted in the following of these nine great houses.

AND HERE ARE THOSE OF THE GREATHOUSES, with nine more great houses. First we shall name the genealogy of the lordship. It began, from just one root, at the origin of the root of the day and the light:
Jaguar Night, first grandfather and father.
Noble Acul and Noble Acutec, in the second generation.
Noble Chahuh and Noble Inscription House, in the third generation.
Nine Deer next, in the fourth generation.
Noble Sweatbath, in the fifth generation of lords.
And Monkey House next, in the sixth generation.
And Iztayul, in the seventh generation of lords.
Noble Sweatbath then, eighth in the sequence of lordships.
Nine Deer, ninth in the sequence.
Woven, as the next one was called, in the tenth generation.
Lord Noble Sweatbath, in the eleventh generation.
Don Cristóbal, as he was called, became lord in the presence of the Castilian people.
Don Pedro de Robles is Lord Minister today.

And these are all the lords who come in the following of the Lord Minister. Now we shall give the title of the ruler of each one of the great houses:
Lord Minister, the first-ranking lord at the head of the Greathouses, with one great house.
Lord Herald, with one great house.
Lord Minister of the Reception House, with one great house.
Chief of the Reception House, with one great house.
Mother of the Reception House, with one great house.

Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses, with one great house.
Lord Auilix, with one great house.
Yacolatam, with one great house.
So these are the great houses at the head of the Greathouses; these are the names of the nine lineages of the Greathouses, as they are called. There are many branch lineages in the following of each one of these lords; we have named only the first-ranking titles.

AND NOW THESE ARE FOR THE LORD QUICHÉS. Here are their grandfathers and fathers:
Not Right Now, the first person.
Noble Lord is the name of the lord of the second generation.
Red Banner.
Noble Short One.
Noble Doctor.
Seven Cane.
Noble Mortal.
Noble Caller.
Person of Bam.
So these are the lords at the head of the Lord Quichés; these are their generations and sequences.

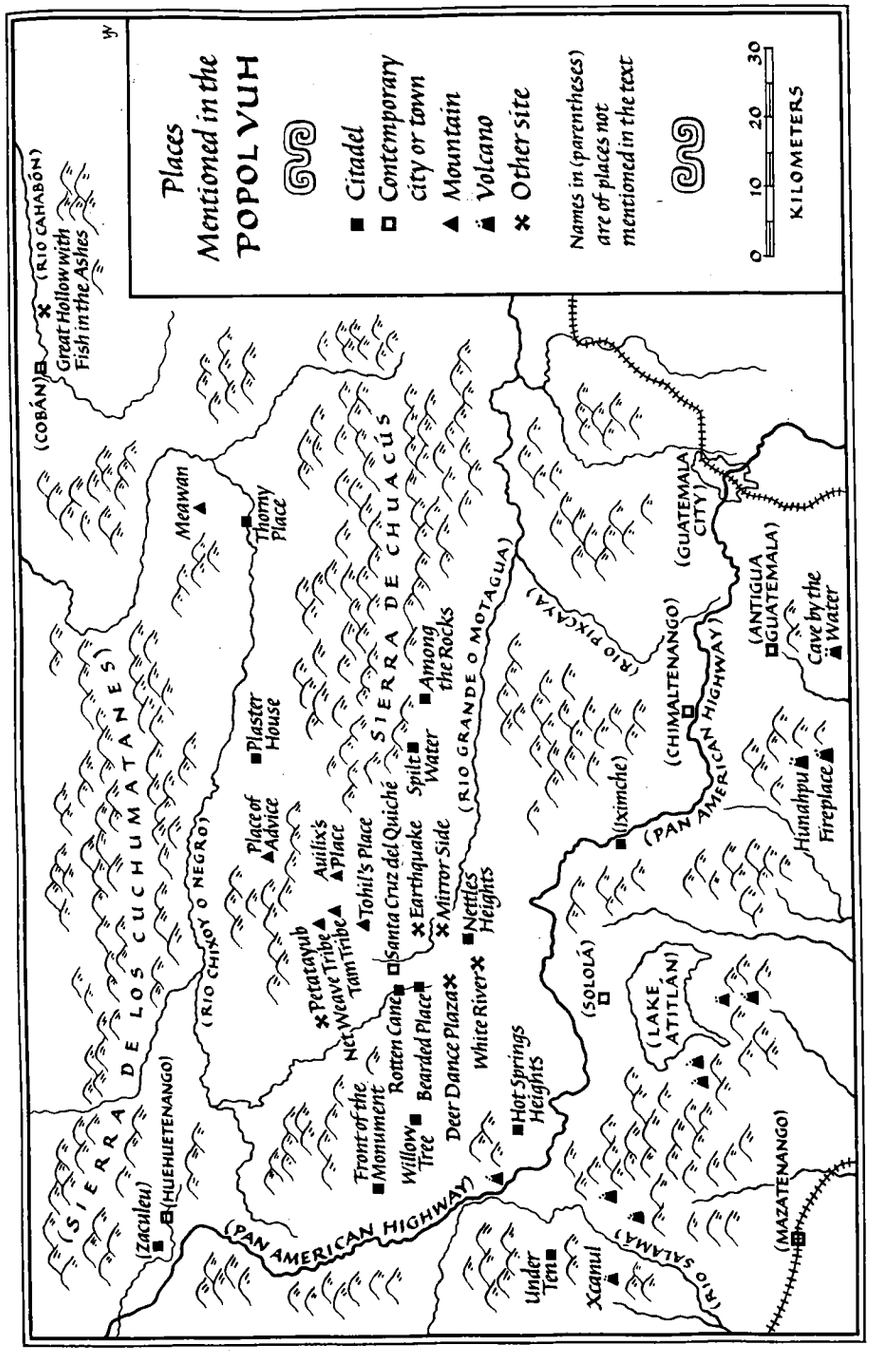
And here are the lords within the palaces, with just four great houses:
Herald for the Lords is the title of the first lord, with one great house.
Emissary for the Lords, the second lord, with one great house.
Master of Ceremonies for the Lords, the third lord, with one great house.
And Hacauitz, the fourth lord, with one great house.
And so these are the four great houses at the head of the Lord Quichés.

AND THERE ARE THREE MASTERS OF CEREMONIES IN ALL. They are like fathers to all the Quiché lords. They come together in unity, these three Masters of Ceremonies. They are givers of birth, they are Mothers of the Word, they are Fathers of the Word, great in being few, these three Masters of Ceremonies:
Master of Ceremonies for the Cauecs, first.
And Master of Ceremonies for the Greathouses, second.

Lord Master of Ceremonies for the Lord Quichés, third of the Masters of Ceremonies.

And so there are three Masters of Ceremonies, one representing each of these lineages.

THIS IS ENOUGH ABOUT THE BEING OF QUICHÉ, given that there is no longer a place to see it. There is the original book and ancient writing owned by the lords, now lost, but even so, everything has been completed here concerning Quiché, which is now named Santa Cruz.



THE CODEX BORGIA

A Full-Color Restoration of the Ancient Mexican Manuscript

Gisele Díaz & Alan Rodgers

With a New Introduction and Commentary by Bruce E. Byland

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“The mission of man is to remember. To remember to remember. To taste everything in eternity as once in time. All happens only once but that is forever.”

HENRY MILLER

Remember to Remember

To Richard Gutherie, artist, and Tomás Díaz—each, in his own way, proving that when enough pressure is applied a diamond appears from within.

G. D., 1993

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A. R., 1993

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B. B., 1993

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ARTISTS' PREFACE

The aim of the Díaz-Rodgers version of the Codex Borgia was to reproduce the codex using traditional methods and materials, and to restore as accurately as possible all damaged sections of the book; in short, to see the book in the pristine condition it had existed in during the time of the Aztecs.

Of course, the idea of codex restoration is not new. This project was heavily influenced by the restoration work done on the Codex Dresden and, most importantly of all, the work on the Codex Nuttall, which has been reprinted by Dover Publications.

Work on this project began with drawings made from photographs of the Codex Borgia. The first set of drawings was made to become familiar with the symbols and characters within the manuscript. The object at this point was to copy the original artwork as closely as possible. After the first drawings were completed, the entire book was redrawn again using pen and ink on Herculene film. In these final drawings, the restoration of the codex was conducted. First, each character (separate image) was centered within its defined space. For example, if the original artist(s) implied a division of one-half page in the original text, exactly one-half page was used to reproduce that portion of the codex. With regard to the characters, no changes were made. If a temple leaned in one direction or another, it was left as it was. Here, the process of extrapolated restoration occurred. The easiest restoration was the connecting of the lines based on other undamaged parts of the manuscript. This was relatively easy in some parts, as the figures were easily identifiable with just small parts of the figure worn away.

Of course, other sections were not so easily reproduced and some value judgments were called for. It is here, in the more difficult restoration parts, that some criticism is possible. An example is Plate 2. According to Alexander von Humboldt, the first and last pages of the original codex were partially burned by servant children of the Giustiniani family. In one of the burned areas (upper right), a scorpion is partially visible. Therefore, in the final series of drawings it was reproduced as a whole

scorpion using other scorpions in the codex as guidelines. For example, Plates 13, 18, 59 and 69 each contain stylized versions of the scorpion. What may be wrong or lacking is the direction or curve of the scorpion's stinger on Plate 2. In order to fill and balance the given area, the scorpion was drawn with the straight extended stinger as found on Plate 59. The stylistic traits of the partial scorpion on Plate 2 served as the foundation of the new scorpion. In the final drawings, implied symmetry was formalized. All red dividing lines were made straight in the horizontal and vertical directions.

In the section of the book comprising Plates 61 through 70, the day signs, or symbols, are accurate. What may be lacking are certain characteristics unique to that particular day according to its place within the sacred order of 260 days. For instance, it should be noted that each half of these pages has 13 day signs associated with it. This order was noted by Sahagún in his monumental work *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España.* What will be found lacking are certain aspects of characteristics of the day signs which would have borne specific significance for that specific time period. For example, "Ollin," or Movement, can take several forms. In all the different forms, Movement is still Movement but it has several ways of being represented in this manuscript. On Plate 65 (upper half) it is seen upright and entwined with a red side dominating the right half of the symbol. On this same plate, in the bottom row of day signs, Movement is found again entwined, but this time it is lying down with the red half of the symbol on the bottom side. Plate 70 again shows Movement in the top row of the day signs. Here it is exactly as found on the bottom row of Plate 65, except the blue half is found on a totally different form. It is no longer entwined, but rather a star or flower form. That is by no means all of the possible forms of "Ollin." Sometimes the color and the shape of the center point varies. Each aspect that "Ollin" assumes has an important symbolic meaning and something distinct to say about that particular moment in time and space.

The bottom parts of Plates 28, 57, 58, 61 through 64 and 66 through 70 were especially difficult to reproduce. In all of these plates, the day signs were entirely missing, which called for quite a few judgment calls during the restoration process.

Concurrent with the drawing process was the investigation of different types of traditional *ámatl* bark paper. This investigation led to San Pablito, Mexico, and to Alberto and Berta Trejo. The Trejos were traditional makers of the paper that was used in this project. The process for this handmade paper has been well documented in many papers and several books; however, because of the special size requirement of the paper and the fact that the paintings were to be mounted onto an accordion-like book, several new methods of producing oversize pieces of paper were investigated. The new process for large-format paper quickly became the standard for the entire village.

After the final drawings were completed and the *ámatl* paper selected, the drawings made on the transparent film were transferred to the *ámatl* paper using a blackline

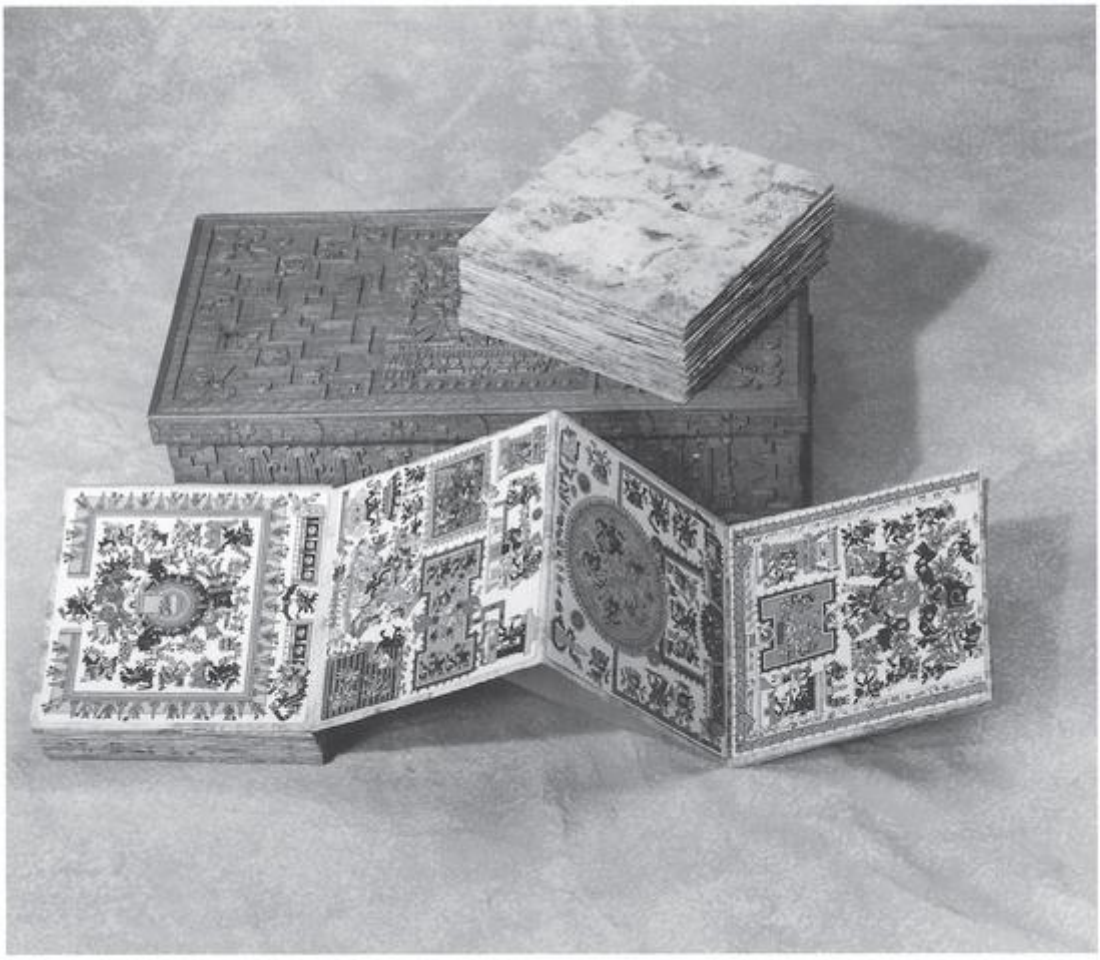
undercoating. Because of the variation in the paper's color and quality, approximately 20 copies of each plate were transferred. The best copy of each plate was then carefully selected, based on paper characteristics and accuracy of line reproduction.

The next phase was the application of color. First, two coats of titanium-white watercolor were applied as a base. This served to stretch the paper and fill the porous surface of the paper. Colors were then applied by hand starting with yellow. Red was the final color to be applied. Experiments were conducted using natural dyes; however, it quickly became apparent that this was beyond the scope of this project. Instead, watercolors were used. To insure uniformity in paint color, some portions of the plates required as many as four or five separate coats of paint. Although the plates were produced over several years, every effort was made to insure uniformity and consistency in color from Plate 1 through Plate 76. Finally, after all the colors were applied, the black lines were hand painted with tiny brushes, thereby encasing the characters of the manuscript. Two coats of acrylic fixative were finally applied to protect the colors. The plates were produced in order.

After the paintings were completed, they were photographed by Dallas photographer Jeff Baker. The plates were then taken to Beckey Reisberg, who assembled them into a unique accordion-style book using proper conservation techniques and methods. Two 40-foot *ámatl* sheets were produced. Each painting was then mounted on one of these long sheets, which then folded into an accordion-style book. Plates 1 through 38 are in one of these original books and Plates 39 through 76 are in the other. The books are stored in a hand-carved cedar box produced by Armando Arriaga, one of Mexico's finest woodcarvers.

Total time to complete the project was seven years.

G. D.
A. R.



The original painted Díaz and Rodgers restoration of the Codex Borgia, showing its screenfotd (accordion-fold) nature, its ámatl paper and the handsome box crafted for it.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY BRUCE E. BYLAND

The Present Edition of the Codex Borgia

The present edition is a new hand-painted restoration of the Codex Borgia designed to recreate the sense of awe and wonder that the original manuscript must have inspired before the depredations of time and ill treatment took their toll. Over the five or more centuries since the original was painted by some unknown Mexican scribe or scribes, much has happened to it. It has been opened and closed countless times. Its fragile pages have been touched and manipulated, folded and rubbed, photographed and drawn. It has been exposed to heat and humidity. It has survived the abuse of children, who folded some of its pages and burned others. It has lost its original wooden end pieces. The result of all this activity is that the images painted so carefully by the original artist or artists have been damaged. In many places flakes of pigment have been rubbed off and lost, thus obscuring the original images to varying extents. Most seriously, parts of three leaves have been damaged by fire.

This has left a document which, though still recognized as one of the finest and most important original sources for the study of pre-Columbian religion, has been seriously compromised. Ms. Gisele Diaz and Mr. Alan Rodgers are to be commended for their efforts to recover the grandeur of the original manuscript. The Dover edition will, for the first time, make a reproduction of the manuscript accessible to the general public. That it is not a photographic or precise facsimile may possibly trouble some among the corps of professional codex scholars, though they are among the few who have access to the costly photographic facsimiles already published (Kingsborough 1831-48, Ehrle 1898, Seler 1904-09 |Spanish translation as Seler 1963], Nowotny 1976). Although these rare, expensive editions remain preferable for serious scholarship, that does not lessen the inspirational and broad educational value of this restoration.

Just as Dover's edition of Zelia Nuttall's copy of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall is not an exact rendition of the original, the reproduction published here is not an exact copy of the Codex Borgia., even in its current state. It is, rather, an informed attempt at a restoration, a careful reimagining of the original beauty of the manuscript. Even though the restoration has omitted the glosses added to the manuscript by a European hand after the conquest, it is not intended to be a definitive reconstruction of the original as it was painted before the arrival of the Spanish. It is not a precise copy of the extant portions but rather a redrawing that includes tiny differences of detail throughout. (Any significant differences will be pointed out in the commentary later in this introduction.) Colors are rendered close to their appearance in the original as it exists today, not as they were when the Codex Borgia was new; for example, some original greens are now a shade of tan, and it is the tan that appears here.

Because of its very availability and because of the care that Diaz and Rodgers have put into this faithful restoration of the manuscript, students can learn much from it. Those who want to study the original in fine detail should first use this edition as a guide but should also seek out a copy of the fine photographic facsimile published by ADEVA (Nowotny 1976). They should also look for the outstanding commentaries on the codex published by Nowotny (1961a) and Seler (1963). In addition, the serious student should not neglect the important studies of the Codex Borgia and the other members of the Borgia Group of codices published by Humboldt (1810), Caso (1927), Noguera (1927), Robertson (1963), Spranz (1964), Glass (1975), Sisson (1983), Biedermann (1989) and others. The present edition will become a starting point for study of the religious codices of highland Mexico just as the Dover publication of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975) has become the principal introduction to the Mixtec historical codices for so many modern students.

The original codex was painted on a long strip of folded animal skin as a screenfold book. Fourteen strips of skin were attached end to end, trimmed to a standard height of 27 cm, folded into a screenfold and prepared for painting with a white lime-plaster ground. The artist or scribe then painted the manuscript with an extraordinarily artistic hand, using both mineral and vegetable pigments. The book was intended to be read in continuous fashion from one end to the other, from right to left, on one side and then turned over so that the reading could continue on the other side. Even though the current binding does not reproduce that screenfold format, the reading order in this edition does recreate the linear form of the original by binding the pages in reverse order so that the text begins at the back and is read from right to left and from back to front, in much the same way as the Dover edition of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall.

The History of the Codex Borgia

The Codex Borgia has long been recognized as one of the most elegant and beautiful of the few surviving pre-Columbian painted manuscripts. Its special significance has been seen in its detailed depiction of highland Mesoamerican gods and the ritual and divination associated with them. Substantial portions of the codex convey various aspects and attributes of the 260-day ritual calender. The more detailed ceremonial aspects of the images have been harder to understand.

The Codex Borgia is today housed in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican in Rome, Italy. It was originally painted somewhere in the central highlands of Mexico as a unique manuscript. The exact place at which it was painted is not now known and is the subject of much discussion. During the summer of 1982, the Pre-Columbian Studies Program at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., spoon-sored a summer research seminar on the codices of the Borgia Group at which much attention was paid to this problem (Sisson 1983). While no final conclusion could be drawn, the opinion of most of the participants in the seminar was that the Codex Borgia was probably originally painted somewhere in central or southern Puebla, the area around Tepeaca and Cuauhtinchan or the Tehuacán Valley. Others would expand this potential area of origin to include nearby areas of the Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca. Since various aspects of the manuscript seem to point with equal validity to each of these areas, we cannot choose one over the others. Perhaps we should conclude, rather, that central and southern Puebla and northern Oaxaca shared a religious and iconographic scheme and that the pronouncements of the Codex Borgia would have had equal validity in all of these nearby regions (Pohl and Byland n.d.). Seen in that light, the precise point of origin is not so important as the information that can be gained from careful study of the codex.

It is generally believed that the Codex Borgia was originally painted in the decades immediately before the arrival of the Spanish. This presumption is based on the observation that its style shows no hint of European influence. In addition its religious content was more apt to have been repressed rather than encouraged after the arrival of Catholic priests. It is not possible now to determine exactly how long before the beginning of the Colonial period it was painted, though it probably dates to the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.

The Codex Borgia was sent back to Europe at some point in the early Colonial period, though when, by whom and to whom is not known. Its early movements in Europe are also obscure. It has been argued that at some time in the sixteenth century the manuscript was sent to Italy either directly from Mexico or from an intermediate stop in Spain (Ehrle 1898). This supposition is based on the paleography of a gloss on page 68 of the manuscript that appears to have been written in poor Italian (presumably in the hand of a sixteenth-century Mexican or Spaniard not fully fluent in Italian). At any rate, from then until very late in the eighteenth century nothing is known of the whereabouts of the codex.

It first came to the attention of scholarship when in 1805 Alexander von Humboldt saw it in Rome among the effects of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who had died the previous year. Humboldt wrote, with some authority, that Cardinal Borgia had acquired the codex from the Giustiniani family, neighbors who had entrusted the document to some servants, who in turn had given it to their children as a plaything. As a result, before Humboldt ever saw it the manuscript had been burned and mistreated. When Cardinal Borgia died he left almost all of his possessions to the branch of the Vatican which he had directed for many years, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; his brother was to inherit the family museum. Although the codex was not located in the family museum at the time of the Cardinal's death, his brother sued for its possession. After a few years of legal wrangling the Congregatio was awarded the codex and housed it in its library. Late in the nineteenth century it was transferred to the Apostolic Library of the Vatican, where it remains today.

Pre-Columbian Manuscripts

The painted books of Mesoamerica represent an amazing legacy of the religious and historical knowledge acquired by the pre-Columbian people of Mexico and northern Central America. A scant few of these documents survive to this day. The vast majority of them were destroyed in the misguided efforts of early Spanish priests to stamp out all vestiges of the heathen religions of the native peoples. Accounts of the burning and destruction of hundreds and thousands of native books can bring tears to the eyes. We can only wonder today at the range and depth of information lost through the destruction of so vast a cultural resource. Despite this tragedy, much can be said about the manuscript-painting traditions of Mesoamerica. We have perhaps fifteen or so surviving books and manuscripts that were produced either before the Conquest or in a native style in the years directly after the arrival of the Spanish (Glass 1975:11-12). In addition to these works, there are about two dozen pictorial documents made by indigenously trained native scribes and artists for the Spanish conquerors as illustrations of native history, religion, custom and practice. Finally, there are literally hundreds of pictorial manuscripts produced by native artists during the early Colonial period in many ordinary contexts: maps to go with geographic descriptions, genealogies or histories to support claims to titles and tribute, lists of tribute actually paid or due, evidence for cases tried in Spanish courts, calendrical documents and many others.

The surviving pre-Conquest–style screenfolds include three classes or groups of books: Mixtec histories, Maya religious books and highland religious books. The histories include the seven Mixtec historical manuscripts, which deal with local history and royal genealogies from various communities in the Mixteca Alta and surrounding regions (Smith 1973, Byland and Pohl in press). A second group comprises the three or four surviving Maya screenfolds, all of which are painted on paper rather than animal skin (Glass 1975:77). These codices are substantially divinatory and calendrical in

content and are written in a distinctively Mayan style incorporating much Maya hieroglyphic text. A third group of pre-Conquest books is known as the Borgia Group, named after their most prominent member, the Codex Borgia (Nowotny 1961a). These are all screenfolds on animal skin that are concerned with religious and ritual matters. They are painted in styles very similar, though not identical, to those of the Mixtec historical codices.

The Mixtec historical manuscripts include the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975, Troike 1987); the Codex Colombino-Becker I, composed of two rejoined parts (Troike 1980, Smith 1963, Caso and Smith 1966); the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1961b); the Codex Bodley (Caso 1960); the Codex Selden (Smith 1983, Caso 1964); the Codex Vindobonensis (Furst 1978, Adelhofer 1963); and the Codex Egerton (Burland 1965).

The three widely accepted Maya codices are the Codex Paris (Anders 1968), the Codex Dresden (Anders and Dekkert 1975) and the Codex Madrid (Anders 1967). Each appears to be dedicated to the calendar, the deities of the Maya pantheon and the supernatural aspects of the calendar associated with ritual divination. A fourth codex, the Grolier Codex, may also be a member of this group though it is not yet universally accepted.

The Codex Borgia is the leading member of a small group of pre-Columbian manuscripts known collectively as the Borgia Group. The Borgia Group is particularly significant because of its pre-Conquest date and its religious content. The many manuscripts treating religious subjects that must have existed before the sixteenth century were particularly sought out for destruction by zealous Spanish priests and friars who were charged with ending idolatrous practices. The manuscripts of the Borgia Group seem to have been spared this fate by the happy accident of their having been sent to Europe, probably to Spain, early in the Conquest period.

In addition to the Codex Borgia, the principal screenfold members of the Borgia Group are the Codex Cospi (Nowotny 1968), which is a ritual calendar with some ritual information on its reverse side; the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Burland 1971), which is a ritual calendar; the Codex Laud (Burland 1966), which is a ritual calendar with several other kinds of ritual information included; and the Codex Vaticanus B (Anders 1972), which is also a ritual calendar. The other related documents sometimes included in the group as minor members are the Fonds Mexicains no. 20, a single page of deerskin, and the Codex Porfirio Diaz, a screenfold that includes a section with similar ritual and religious content.

From these extant native-tradition books we may discern several characteristics of Mesoamerican written records. We know, for example, that books were not published in a European sense. That is to say, they were all handmade in single copies without the use of any type of impression-making device: no movable type, no stamps or rollers. It is arguable that every book was unique, made in one place by one patron and for one set

of purposes. Information is shared among several of the codices but its form is never identical. Of course, the very small sample size of surviving manuscripts makes this generalization difficult to prove. It is certainly possible that books were exactly copied in a scribal tradition similar to that of the European monastic tradition, though no proof of this possibility exists.

It can be argued that the written literature of the pre-Columbian peoples was divided into categories in their minds as well as ours. Historical books deal with people, places, politics and genealogy. Religious documents deal with the calendar, ceremonialism and divination. Overlap between them is found in areas where historically important people participate in divination or other ceremonies and where politically significant places have sacred significance.

The content of the post-Conquest documents suggests the possibility of other written genres that have not survived. The codices do not contain two-dimensional maps of the landscape in forms familiar as such to European eyes. Despite this observation, the fact that space is represented in the codices in various ways (Pohl and Byland 1990) and the existence of many post-Conquest maps (see Glass 1975) suggest that space had been graphically represented in pre-Columbian times. In addition, the lists of tribute obligations of towns prepared for the Spanish tax collectors suggests the likelihood of similar record keeping before the European arrival. We can imagine the rulers of native communities making a sincere effort to keep such documents, if they ever existed, out of the hands of the new oppressors.

Pre-Columbian Religion

The religious beliefs of pre-Columbian peoples in Mesoamerica were vastly complex. There was a shared religious system over much of Mexico and northern Central America with regard to the calendar, the major deities, the structure of the world and the hierarchy of the supernatural world. Nevertheless, each town and region had its own nuances of belief that set it apart from its neighbors. Different deities were held in esteem in different places and many gods, even major ones, had differing characteristics of dress and behavior. Much of this complexity is not now discernible but some has been preserved. We know, for example, the patron deities of many communities whose particular charge was the protection of the local people and land.

The behavioral range covered by religion in ancient Mesoamerica was like that of any complex religious system. The gods were organized in a hierarchy reflecting that of the people. They came equipped with family ties, affections and jealousies, indeed with all the complexities of human life. They had potential influence over the very existence of the world, having caused its destruction and re-creation as many as five times, according to Aztec chroniclers. On a smaller scale they were thought to have the capacity to affect the forces of nature and the success of human endeavor. Rain would

come only if the rain deity was properly propitiated. Wind would blow too strongly or too weakly unless the wind deity was correctly worshiped. Spirits inhabited the night air and the wild animals of the hills. Auguries and oracles could predict the success or failure of any activity. Patterns in nature were explained by the interaction of the forces of the supernatural world with those of the physical one. In all these ways and more, the supernatural was present in the daily lives of the people of Mesoamerica.

The people of the various towns and cities of ancient Mesoamerica had to be able to deal with the potent forces of the transcendent world above, below and around them. These interactions were often made on a personal level, at a family shrine, or by repetition of a special prayer or incantation in the fields or while doing some task. At other times connection to the power of the supernatural required a trained specialist, a priest. For this task a wide variety of specialized priests was available. There were priests dedicated to each of the many gods and other supernatural forces. There were bureaucratic priests dedicated to the ancestral deities of each town or region. There were priests who performed autosacrifice and human sacrifice. There were those who prophesied the future of natural phenomena and those who prophesied the future of human activity. There were priests who preached and others who taught.

For priests to be able to fulfill all these complex roles they had to have immense knowledge. Part of that knowledge was acquired in formal schools called *calmecac.* More was learned on the job as junior priests working with older, more experienced priests. Among the things required of priests was the ability to read books and interpret the information contained in them. That was nowhere more evident than in the case of the religious books, which served as densely packed compendia of vital information about the nature of the supernatural world and its relationships with the physical one. The Codex Borgia was just such a book.

Much of the capacity to interpret the codex was based on intimate knowledge of the gods and their many characteristics. The pantheon of ancient Mesoamerica was amazingly complex. The many deities often had multiple identities, different names and characteristics apparently being associated with a single deity. Similarly, the iconographic representations of deities often seem to display substantial overlap. Attributes associated with two or more individual deities could be represented on the person of a single god in a particular context. All this makes the study of pre-Columbian religion a daunting task. The most encyclopedic analysis of which I am aware is the masterly work of H. B. Nicholson (1971). A very strong, and more accessible, recent study is by Davíd Carrasco (1990).

It is not possible in any brief treatment to expound fully the intricacies of pre-Columbian religion and its extraordinarily complex deities. A few characteristics of a handful of the deities will have to suffice as an introduction here.

Quetzalcóatl is the Feathered Serpent. He is a god of rebirth and renewal. In one of his most important capacities he is known as Ehécatl, the god of the wind. He is at one and the same time the god of the wind, the four winds of the four directions and the 400 little winds that blow everywhere. In another identity he is known as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the embodiment of the planet Venus as the morning or evening star. Quetzalcóatl was one of the creators of the sun and the world.

Tezcatlipoca is the Dark Smoking Mirror. He is an all-knowing, ever-present and all-powerful god. He, too, is a god of several capacities or personalities. Tezcatlipoca is sometimes represented as the Red Tezcatlipoca (Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca) and sometimes as the Black Tezcatlipoca (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca). He is the sower of discord and conflict, a god of darkness and warfare.

Tláloc is the god of rain and storm. He is the god of waters in the sky. Tláloc is a creator of life; his rain brings regrowth in the spring. He also carries the lightning and is responsible for destructive storms.

Chalchiuhtlicue is the consort of Tláloc. She is the goddess of running water, waters on the earth like lakes, rivers and springs. Her name literally means “Precious Green Stone Skirt.”

Tlazoltéotl was a very basic and very complex deity. She was a goddess of the earth. She had a role as the goddess of the moon. She was sometimes known as Tlaelcuani and in that capacity was known as the eater of filth and excrement. In this role she was also a sensual goddess of enticement and sexuality. Other names for Tlazoltéotl included Teteoinnan, “mother of the gods,” and Toci, “our grandmother.”

There were, of course, dozens of other deities both high and low, some of whom will be identified briefly in the commentary below.

The Nature of the Codex Borgia

Purpose or Function

The Codex Borgia is a native-tradition religious manuscript from an unidentified part of the southern central highlands of Mexico, perhaps from somewhere in what is now the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Though we do not know from what indigenous context it was first extracted by the Spaniards, it is not hard to surmise that it was a ritual document taken from a sacred place—perhaps a temple, a priest’s residence or a sacred shrine of some sort. Its content suggests that it was used for several purposes. It seems to have been a prognostication tool for divining the future in various ways. Parts of the codex are ritual 260-day calendars. These are augmented by substantial sections delineating the signs of the days and the deities of the days and the nights. Other pages characterize various portions of the ritual calendar and still others relate the ritual

calendar to the solar year. Another part of the manuscript presents a sort of numerological prognostication of the lives of wedded couples. Other sections concern the cardinal directions of the world and the supernatural characters and attributes of these regions. Other portions describe the characteristics of various deities, forming a sort of catalog of supernatural beings who can influence the world. Still other passages may contain a pattern for ceremonies for the installation of rulers in certain pre-Columbian kingdoms. These aspects will all be discussed below in an abbreviated commentary based largely on the work of Seler (1963) and Nowotny (1961a).

An underlying level of meaning within the Codex Borgia is found in its frequent depictions of the various deities and other supernatural beings. The interpretation of auguries depended on the priest's reading of the images and his knowledge of the characteristics of the various powerful creatures represented.

Approaches to Reading the Codex

The Codex Borgia is composed of 39 equally sized leaves. The first and last of these, the outside surfaces of the stack of folded pages, were affixed to end pieces, presumably fashioned of wood. Every exposed side of the manuscript was painted with information by the artist or artists who created the document. We thus have 37 leaves that are painted on both sides and two end leaves painted on only one side, for a total of 76 painted pages.

The wonderful character of a screenfold manuscript, in comparison with a modern binding, that the reader is not restricted to seeing only two pages at once. When a screenfold book is opened two, four, six or more pages can be seen at a time. Indeed, the pages being consulted simultaneously do not need to be consecutive or even on the same side of the manuscript. This structure allows for easy transgression of a simple linear reading order. Flashbacks, flashforwards and cross references can be found entirely out of the simple flow of time.

As a result of this versatile format, reading order for a learned scribe could be very diverse. He could read a book from beginning to end in a linear form similar to ours, or else read several pages at once, referring back and forth as needed through many images to follow different aspects of the information being studied. Clearly the skill required to read these books was not easily obtained.

The Content of the Codex

Though the content of the Codex Borgia is only partially understood, we can say with assurance that it is a ritual book. Substantial parts seem to be a text of standard ritual information, to be used like a reference book. Other parts seem to be mnemonic devices encoding more arcane ritual information. Yet another part seems to have been a

prescriptive set of directions for the performance of a particular series of ceremonies. The best and most detailed commentaries on the manuscript are those written by Eduard Seler (1904–09) and K.A. Nowotny (1961a). Their work notwithstanding, much of the interpretation offered to date is limited. While codex scholars have been able to work out much of the calendrical order and to recognize some of the deities, creatures and objects depicted in the manuscript, the contexts in which they have been portrayed are still not fully understood. It is still necessary to identify the more obscure images and to divine the relationships between the deities and activities depicted and the calendar to which they are attached. Efforts to do so are ongoing. Similarly, it is still necessary to pinpoint the language spoken by the original authors of the Borgia Group codices; many separate languages were spoken in the likely regions of origin. Recent work on these manuscripts has been conducted by a handful of scholars from around the world, among them Peter van der Loo, John M. D. Pohl, Maarten Jansen, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Mark King and Edward B. Sisson.

What follows here is a very brief redaction of the commentaries of Seler and Nowotney, informed by the more recent work of Pohl (Pohl and Byland n.d., 1991) and van der Loo (1982, 1987 and personal communication) and with a few ideas of the present writer. It is intended to help the novice reader begin the search for understanding. All readers of this introduction are encouraged to pursue the study of ancient Mexican religion by referring to more extensive commentaries on the codex and to other more general studies of pre-Columbian religion (Carrasco 1990, León-Portilla 1963, Lopez Austin 1973, Nicholson 1971) and writing (Benson 1973, Marcus 1992, Smith 1973). The text of the Codex Borgia has been arbitrarily divided into a number of groups of pages or parts of pages that seem to make sense when taken together. Though these divisions seem today to be reasonable, they should not be considered to be absolutely authoritative. New insight may be gained by trying new ways of seeing and understanding the images of highland pre-Columbian writing systems.

An Abbreviated Commentary on the Codex Borgia

Plates (Original Pages) 1-8: The First Calendar, a 260-Day Ritual Calendar

A fundamental tool of ritual prognostication and divination throughout ancient Mesoamerica was the 260-day ritual calendar, known to the Aztecs as the *tonalpohualli,* or “the book of the days.” (In many ancient Mesoamerican languages the term for the ritual calendar had much the same meaning; the Mixtecs, for example, had several names, including *tutu yehe dahui quevui,* “the book that has the days.”) This ritual calendar, covering a period that is shorter than the solar year, was used for various purposes. It was much more than just a list of days: it expressed the relationship

between time and space and between both of them and the world of the gods. The Mixtecs had another term for the calendar that conveys some of this interconnection: *nee ñuhu duyu dusa,* meaning more or less "all the spirits who support the disc of the earth" (Alvarado 1962| 1593 |:41v, Arana and Swadesh 1965). The disc of the earth is the plane upon which we live. It is composed of four cardinal directions and linked to the realms above and below by a central hinge that constitutes a fifth direction. Periods within the calendars are associated with specific supernatural figures and are linked to the five directions. Here the relationship of time, space and the supernatural world becomes evident.

The 260-day ritual calendar was constructed using two continuous sequences, one of 13 numbers and the other of 20 day signs. The 13 numbers run in sequence and then start again. Similarly the 20 day signs run in sequence and then start again. The total number of uniquely identified days using this system, then, is 13 times 20 or 260. In Figure 1, the 260 days of the calendar are arranged in 13 columns and 20 rows. To the left of each row is found the day sign, and in each cell of the diagram is the corresponding day number. The calendar in this form should be read from top to bottom and from left to right through 260 days. In this illustration the first day is 1 Alligator, the second day is 2 Wind and so on. The thirteenth day is 13 Reed, but be sure to note that the fourteenth day is 1 Jaguar, not 14 Jaguar, because only 13 numbers are used in the day-number cycle.

The first eight pages of the Codex Borgia enumerate the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli* together with images that seem to carry information about the qualities of these days. Here the 260 days are arranged in five narrow rows of day signs with the 13 numbers omitted. Above and below the rows of day signs are 104 taller images laid out in two rows. These 104 images are unique depictions of people, deities, places or things that presumably have supernatural qualities. They are usually taken to be qualifiers for the five specific days shown between each upper and lower pair. Some are clearly of standard deities. Tonatiuh, Tezcatlipoca, Xipe Tótec and others.[1] Others represent natural objects and artifacts: the scorpion, offerings, bundles, serpents, the sky, the sun and many other things. Still others seem more religious and iconographic : images of human sacrifice and other offerings, serpents descending from the sky, blood flowing from the sun, complex sacred bundles and other things laden with unknown meaning. The actual significance to a pre-Columbian priest of these many different images remains obscure but can certainly be the subject of further study.

The enumeration of 260 days begins with a drawing of the Alligator at the lower right corner of the five narrow rows on Plate 1. It then proceeds from right to left across all eight pages of the *tonalpohualli.* At the end of that row, at the bottom left corner of Plate 8, the day sign for Grass is found. It is the fifty-second day sign and should, if 1 Alligator was the first day, represent the day 13 Grass. The next day in the sequence should be the day 1 Reed. The only place that Reed is found at either end of one of these five rows of day signs is at the right end of the next row up, the second row from the

bottom on Plate 1. If the reading continues there, Reed is followed by Jaguar and Eagle and Vulture and so on. Following this pattern, the calendar is read as five rows of 52 day signs from right to left and from bottom to top. The last day in the calendar is the day Flower, which should be 13 Flower if the first day was indeed 1 Alligator.

Plates 9-13: The 20 Deities of the 20 Named Days

The next five pages of the Codex Borgia are also meant to be read as a unit, as they depict 20 deities, four to a page. Each quarter-page contains a deity, an elaborately drawn day sign and another figure or group of figures. These five pages undoubtedly carry information important to the interpretation of the supernatural qualities of each of the 20 days.

The five pages of the deities of the days are meant to be read in the order of the days, beginning with Alligator in the lower right quadrant of Plate 9. The reading order then proceeds from right to left along the lower register across pages in succession until the lower left quadrant of Plate 13 is reached with the deity of the day named Dog. The next day sign in sequence is Monkey, which is found on page 13 just above Dog—that is, in the upper left quadrant. The reading order then proceeds from left to right until you reach the day Flower in the upper right quadrant of Plate 9, just above the first of the 20 day names. This arrangement of the days sets up a cyclic structure: the reading can proceed continuously through the circle of 20 names again and again in a never-ending cycle, just as the calendar goes on and on.

The deities associated with each day sign are characters who have some relationship with the natural qualities of the name of the day, though these relationships are not always obvious. The identification of these 20 deities was accomplished by both Seler and Nowotny, who used the iconographic associations of the images as drawn here and in other native-tradition manuscripts. Another detailed analysis of the intricacies of the imagery and inter-deity associations is to be found in Spranz (1973). A summary is offered here; extensive explication of the main areas of influence of each of these deities is beyond the scope of this introduction.

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xochipilli/ Tonacatecuhtli	Prince of Flowers/The Supreme Male Deity
Wind	Quetzalcóatl/ Ehécatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
House	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Lizard	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green

		Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl	Goddess of the Moon
Deer	Tláloc	Rain and Storm (Rain of Fire)
Rabbit	Mayáhucl	Goddess of Maguey

FIGURE 1: DAY SEQUENCE FOR THE 260-DAY CALENDAR.

	Alligator	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
	Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
	House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
	Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
	Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
	Death	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
	Deer	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
	Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
	Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
	Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
	Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
	Grass	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
	Reed	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
	Jaguar	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
	Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
	Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
	Movement	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
	Flint	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
	Rain	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
	Flower	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	God of the Underworld
Monkey	Xochipilli	Prince of Flowers
Grass	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Reed	Tezcatlipoca- lxquimilli	The Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes
Jaguar	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Eagle	Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca	Red Smoking Mirror
Vulture	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Movement	Xólotl	God of Twins
Flint	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Rain	Tonatiuh	The Sun
Flower	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather

Plate 14: The Nine Deities of the Night

The next page of the Codex Borgia changes the format to an arrangement of three rows of three deities each. These nine divine beings are generally understood to represent the supernatural rulers of the nine hours of the night, and are connected to the first nine day signs from the list of 20 days. Each of these gods stands offering a bundle of sticks, a rubber ball and a quetzal feather as the components of a burnt offering that perhaps symbolizes the night in some way.

The nine deities of the night hours are read in a serpentine pattern beginning at the bottom right and proceeding from right to left across the lower register. As the end of that register is reached, the reading proceeds, in the order of the days, directly up to the middle register at the left margin and then proceeds from left to right, and finally up to the upper register and there from right to left. The identifications of the deities who rule these nine parts of the night are indicated below. You will note that, though the calendrical signs tied to them are the same as the beginning of the list of 20 days given in the previous five pages, the deities are different (or at least associated with different day signs).

NIGHT HOUR	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire

Wind	Itztli (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca)	Flint (Black Smoking Mirror) Tezcatlipoca)
House	Piltzintecuhtli	God of Youth (a solar deity)
Lizard	Cintéotl	God of Maize
Serpent	Mictlantecuhtli	God of Death (the Underworld)
Death	Chalchiuhtlicue,	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Deer	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Rabbit	Tepcyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Water	Tláloc	Rain and Storm

Plates 15-17: 20 Deities and 80 Days

The next two and one-third pages are filled with 20 images of deities connected to 20 groups of four days each. The signs of the days form a continuous sequence of 80 days. Each deity is depicted with subordinate characters who are shown as sacrifices, offerings, newborn children or nursing infants. The purpose of these subordinate figures is not clearly understood but seems in a way to characterize groups of the main deities.

Five groups of four day signs are needed to go through one complete set of 20 days. Only five of the 20 possible day signs can be found in the lead position in each group of four days. The first day of each group of four will always be Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed or Movement. As a result of this peculiarity, the 20 deities can be grouped in two different ways. The five deities who illustrate one group of 20 consecutive days belong together. Similarly, the five deities who illustrate the same set of four day signs can be said to belong together. As it turns out, each of the four groups of five consecutive deities is also linked by their actions. Hence, one of each group is connected to each set of four day signs.

Seler assigns directional qualities to the days and their deities. The directional system of Mesoamerican religion has five cardinal directions—North, South, East, West and Center, with Center being a kind of linchpin connecting the four directions and linking them to the abodes of the gods above and below the disc of the Earth. Seler has suggested that the directional associations of the five groups of four days—the groups that begin with Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement—are West, South, Center, East and North.

The reading order of days is the same as in the day lists given above. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 15 with the day sign Alligator, and then proceeds from right to left across Plates 15 and 16. After 20 days, five groups of four days and five corresponding deity images, the count of day signs begins again in a continuous cycle.

Each of these first five deities is seen to be sacrificing the eye of a smaller human figure with a sharpened bone awl. The reading then continues to the last image on the lower register of Plate 16 and, following the order of the days, moves up to the center register at the left side and from there continues from left to right back across Plate 16 and Plate 15. These five deities are all offering small figures who share attributes with them and indeed generally seem to be smaller versions of these very deities. On Plate 15, in the center panel of the page, the day-sign sequence begins again and the behavior of the deities again changes. This group of five deities is shown holding the umbilical cords of small figures that are in the pose of a newborn baby. Midway in this sequence the reading has moved up to the upper register of Plate 15 and has changed direction again to move from right to left. All five of the birth figures are found on Plate 15. As the reading continues to Plate 16, the fourth and last group of five deities and 20 days begins. In this group the deities are all female and four of the five are nursing infants, three of whom are human children and one an animal. The fifth deity is nourishing a full-sized skeletal figure with blood rather than milk, thus maintaining the pattern with an altered image. The last two images of this sequence are found on the upper register of Plate 17, a placement necessary to complete the pattern of 20 deities and 80 days.

A result of this structure is that the first five deities in the list of 20 may be taken to characterize the five cardinal directions for a certain quality, perhaps that of sacrifice. The second group of five may characterize the five cardinal directions for offering, the third for birth and the fourth for sustenance. Alternatively, we might group together the four deities who are linked calendrically to the West (and similarly for each of the other directions) and say that they describe four qualities of that direction, the qualities of sacrifice, offering, birth and sustenance.

An identification of most of the deities in this list of 20 is as follows (each will be listed with its directional association following Seler). The first group of five: W–Cintéotl (God of Maize); S–a complex deity not yet identified; C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E-Quetzalcóatl (God of the Wind); and N–Xo–chipilli (Prince of Flowers). The second group of five: W–Xochi–quétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather); S–Tláloc (God of Rain and Storm/Rain of Fire); C–Mictlantecuhtli(God of the Underworld); E–Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (God of Venus as the Morning Star); and N-Mixcóatl (God of the Hunt). The third group of five: W-Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers); S–Tonatiuh (God of the Sun); C–Tez-catlipoca-Ixquimilli (Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes); E-Xipe Tótec (Our Lord the Flayed One); and N–Macuilxóchitl (5 Flower, God of Games). The fourth and last group of five: W–Mayáhuel (Goddess of Maguey); S–Tlazoltéotl (Goddess of Filth and the Earth); C–Mictecacíhuatl (Goddess of the Underworld), E–Chalchiuhtlicue (Goddess of Running Water); and N–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather).

Plate 17: Tezcadipoca with the 20 Day Signs on His Body and Costume

The lower portion of Plate 17 contains a large and beautiful image of the deity Tezcatlipoca in his black guise. This image expresses the magical relationships between certain parts of his body and costume and each of the 20 day signs. The association of day signs with body parts presumably has at least some connection with ritual curing, but. since several day signs are associated with costume elements rather than with body parts, the curing explanation is limited. Seler and Nowotny believe that these day signs express attributes that are in some way appropriate to the form or function of the costume elements involved. Why Tezcatlipoca rather than some other deity is used as the base upon which to show these relationships is not clear.

Plates 18-21: Eight Supernatural Scenes with Calendrical Associations

The next four pages of the codex form an abbreviated 260-day calendar that follows the structure of the first *tonalpohualli,* found on the first eight pages of the manuscript. Each of these four pages is divided into upper and lower halves, with each half further divided into a band of five day signs and a wider band of images of supernatural characters and their appurtenances.

The reading order begins with the lower register of Plate 18, proceeds from right to left across all four pages, moves up to the upper register of Plate 21 and from there proceeds from left to right until Plate 18 is again reached. The five day signs on each of these eight panels are equivalent to a single column of five day signs in the *tonalpohualli* found on Plates 1 to 8. For example, the first panel—the lower panel on Plate 18—shows five day signs beginning with Alligator and continuing with Reed, Serpent, Movement and Water. These are not in the order one would expect from the sequence of 20 day signs, but if you direct your attention to the rightmost column of day signs on Plate 1 you will find these same five day signs in identical order from bottom to top. At the left side of the larger panel on the lower half of Plate 18 there are six red dots. These represent the next six columns of day signs found in the first *tonalpohualli.* The eighth column of day signs in the tonalpohualli (Plate 2, second column from the right) includes the day signs Rabbit, Flower, Grass, Lizard and Vulture. These are the same as the day signs depicted in the lower register of Plate 19. The entire ritual calendar is represented in this fashion: a column of day signs (that is, a column in the first *tonalpohualli),* red dots as spacers, a column of day signs, red dots as spacers and so on.

With this explanation, the pattern of reading the day signs and interpreting them as an abbreviated 260-day calendar has been established. The five day signs on each half-

page of Plates 18–21 represent one column of days in the calendar arranged as five rows of 52 days each (Plates 1–8). The dots between pages on Plates 18-21, to the left on the lower register and to the right on the upper register, serve as spacers or place holders and represent the given number of columns of days. Each of the sets of enumerated days can be found in the first *tonalpohualli* by skipping over the number of columns equal to the number of red dots indicated, and then looking at the next column of days. Adding up all of the dots and the eight groups of days that are actually enumerated, we get 52 groups of five days, the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli*.

This unusual arrangement suggests that the images in the eight larger panels were not intended to qualify or characterize eight periods within the *tonalpohualli*. Rather, they seem to refer to five separate short periods of seven or five days each (interpreting the red dots as time included with the five named days) or five single days separated by six or four days each (reading the red dots as spacers between the relevant periods). In either case, the possibility that images in the major bands were intended to have significance apart from the simple counting of days must be considered.

The first panel, on the lower half of Plate 18, contains an image of the solar deity, Tonatiuh, who is making an offering in front of a temple.

The second panel, found on the lower half of Plate 19, contains the image of Quetzalcóatl standing in front of a platform that supports a tree and the God of Venus as the Morning Star.

The lower half of Plate 20 contains an image of Chalchiuhtlicue, the Goddess of Running Water. She stands making an offering of blood before a smoking stream that contains a fire serpent and supports minimal images of two deities identified by Seler as Xochiquétzal, Goddess of Love, and Nanahuatzin, a God of Lechery and of the Evening Sun.

The lower part of Plate 21 contains the fourth scene of this series. It is dominated by the image of the Black Tezcatlipoca to the right of a ball court and the smaller image of the Red Tezcatlipoca to the left.

The reading order reverses now as we move to the upper register of Plate 21. Here the Red and Black Tezcatlipocas have changed their relative sizes and their sequence. The Red Tezcatlipoca is shown as a traveler with a walking stick and a backpack. The smaller Black Tezcatlipoca is placed at the end of the path.

The next image, on Plate 20, shows the rain deity Tláloc cultivating corn using a *coa* or wooden digging stick. A smaller Tláloc shown at the center of the image throws curved lightning at a corn plant, which is thus destroyed.

The seventh panel of this group is found at the top of Plate 19. It shows the God of the Planet Venus (perhaps as Evening Star) chopping branches from a tree with an ax.

The last of the eight scenes follows on the upper half of Plate 18. Here the background is obscured in a representation of the night or the darkness of the underworld. The two main deities seen here are the male and female gods of death and the underworld, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl. An inset rectangle placed between them represents the dark sky with the moon and stars.

The manner in which these eight pages would have been used by an ancient Mesoamerican priest remains obscure. The physical pattern of relationship to the calendar is very clear. The significance of that relationship is far from clear. How the eight panels are related one to the other, and what directional significance should be attached to the days tied to each of them, is difficult to interpret.

Plate 22: Two Deer That Represent One Half of a 260-Day Calendar

The upper portion of Plate 22 uses the same shorthand system of referring to the first *tonalpohualli* that we have just seen in the previous four pages. In this case the page is divided into two halves, right and left. Each half is divided into three bands, the upper band containing the image of a deer and 12 place-holding red dots, and the middle band containing five day signs. (The lower band is part of the next passage, to be discussed below.)

The two rows of five day signs in the middle register represent columns of day signs from the *tonalpohualli* found at the beginning of the Codex Borgia, on Plates 1 through 8.

As we read from right to left across the upper two registers, the first half of the page contains the image of a white male deer, which is apparently dead, and the five day signs of the first column of the *tonalpohualli.* The 12 red dots drawn to the left of the deer mark the place of the next 12 columns of days and, together with the five day signs enumerated below, represent one quarter of the days in the *tonalpohualli,* those shown in the first quarter of the calendar. Note that these are not the first 65 consecutive days of the calendar round of 260 days. They represent five discontinuous groups of 13 days each.

Continuing the reading on the upper two registers of the left half of the page, we find a tan male deer, which is being pierced by an arrow, and the five day signs of the fourteenth column of the *tonalpohualli.* Just as before, to the left of the wounded deer we see 12 red dots, which this time represent the fifteenth through twenty-sixth columns of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* from the first eight pages of the Codex Borgia.

These images are odd in that they refer to only half of the *tonalpohualli,* the first two quarters of the calendar. No reference is made to the third and fourth quarters. The directional associations generally identified with the first two parts of the calendar are

East and North. Why these two clusters of days are defined here and the others are not mentioned is not yet completely understood.

Plates 22-24: 20 Supernaturals Associated with the 20 Day Signs

The bottom third of Plate 22, and the next two pages, contain another list of 20 deities or their representatives in association with the 20 day signs. These figures are not all images of deities. Some seem to be priests dedicated to deities, others seem to be objects symbolic of deities and one seems to be a world region. Many of the deities are unusual composites and are difficult to identify. The relationship of this list to that of the deities of the day signs enumerated on Plates 9 through 13 of this codex is not understood. Clearly, the supernaturals associated with the day signs are different but we do not know why. It may be that this list is of patrons of some particular parts of the days or that it refers to the numbers 1 to 20 rather than to days.

The reading order of this series of 20 images is serpentine. The day signs are found in normal order, beginning with Alligator at the bottom right of Plate 22. Reading then flows from right to left across Plates 23 and 24. Upon arrival at the bottom left panel of Plate 24, with the day sign Rabbit, the sequence moves up to the middle register and the day sign Water. Reading proceeds from there from left to right back across Plates 24 and 23 until the day sign Jaguar is reached and the order moves up to the top right of Plate 23, where Eagle is found. From there again reading proceeds from right to left until the top left of Plate 24 is found at the day sign Flower.

The relationship, if any, of the 20 days and their supernatural figures is unknown. Rather than belabor what we do not know, I will conservatively follow Seler in attempting to. identify the 20 images on these three pages. Where an identification has eluded us a question mark will be found.

DAY SIGN	SUPERNATURAL (NAHUATL)	SUPERNATURAL (ENGLISH)
Alligator	priest of Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Wind	?	a god of death and blood
House	Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Lizard	Quetzalcóatl as bird	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue as bird	Goddess of Running Water
Death	?	jaguar supporting sky
Deer	Nanahuatzin?	God of Lechery and Evening Sun
Rabbit	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One

Water	Xochipilli?	Prince of Flowers in his solar or fire aspect
Dog	Tamoanchan	The Western Region (a place)
Monkey	?	An animal/human god of music
Grass	Tonatiuh	Sun God
Reed	Tonatiuh	Sun God as autosacrificer
Jaguar	Teyollocuani	priest—eater of hearts
Eagle	?	black priest—related to Tláloc
Vulture	Patécatl (symbolically)	pulque vessel and rabbit
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and The Earth
Flint	Íztac Mixcóatl	Old God of the Heavens
Rain	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water
Flower	Xochipilli (symbolically)	corn plant and fire serpent

Plates 25-28: The Five Directions with Calendrical Notations

Here follow four pages in each of which the world is shown divided into five parts. In each of these representations the implication is that there are four cardinal directions and a fifth, central, direction. Of course, in addition to the spatial significance of these images there is in each case a calendrical significance as well. Plate 25 presents four deities, placed in the four corners of the page. They are divided by a peculiar arrangement of the 20 day signs. The day signs are arranged in a cross surrounding an enlarged Movement sign, which is given the number 10 (the ten dots). Three leftover day signs are tacked on in the upper left corner of the page. The order of the day signs can easily be followed but is very unusual, beginning with Alligator in the upper arm of the cross but then going to the left arm with Wind, House and Lizard, and from there to Serpent, Death and Deer in the lower arm, and from there to Rabbit, Water and Dog in the right arm, and from there to Monkey, Grass and Reed in the upper arm, from there jumping to the three signs in the corner, Jaguar, Eagle and Vulture, and finally hopping back to finish the count from the central Movement and then Flint from the left arm, Rain from the lower arm and Flower from the right arm. Though there is a pattern, there is no readily apparent reason for this odd display.

The four deities are the patrons of the four cardinal directions. Each is tied physically to an arm of the cruciform calendar by a red line. The patron of the West is Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, shown in the lower left corner. The patron of the South is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, shown in the lower right corner. The patron of the

East, shown in the upper right corner, is a complex figure who bears elements of the solar deity and a god of pulque. The patron of the North is Mixcóatl, the god of the hunt, shown in the upper left corner. No patron deity is shown for the central direction. It is simply named "10 Movement."

Plate 26 contains another unusual display of the five-directional scheme coupled with an unusual arrangement of the 20 day signs. The human skull in the center is surrounded by the 20 day signs in a new and unusual array. These, in turn, are surrounded by four deceased and bundled deities, who have been placed on thrones, and by four human figures interspersed between them.

The calendrical figures (the day signs) begin, as usual, with Alligator at the bottom of the group of four signs on the right side of the central skull; one reads up that column and from there across the second group of four day signs, above the skull. That gets the reading through Rabbit and up to Water. The day sign Water is found at the corner next to Rabbit, and the reading order proceeds counterclockwise around the four corners of the square (Dog, Monkey, Grass). After the day sign Grass (located at the top right corner) the reading picks up again at the top of the left column of day signs with the sign for Reed and proceeds down that group of four and on to the fifth and last group across the bottom of the square, which is read from left to right.

The four deities located at the four sides of the calendar square and the skull in its center are to be associated with the cardinal points of the compass. The deities are shown as deceased: their eyes are closed, they are wrapped in cloth and tied in funerary bundles, and they bear funerary banners. The figure at the right side of the page is Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water, as patron of the four day signs of the West. At the top of the page we find Mixcóatl, god of the hunt, as patron of the day signs of the South. At the left side of the page is Xochipilli, the young prince of the flowers, as patron of the day signs of the East. At the bottom of the page is a dark deity as patron of the day signs of the North. This character seems to be the same as the unidentified patron of the Eagle day sign at the top right corner of Plate 23. The central direction is characterized by a skull and four long bones painted within the square formed by the 20 day signs.

The directional associations given here disagree with those given by Seler in his discussion of this part of the manuscript, but agree with his determination of the directionality of the day signs as discussed earlier, in the analysis of Plates 15-17.

The use of a death's-head as the symbol of the Center direction and of the dead deities on the four sides suggests that this page describes the directional scheme of the world in the land of the dead and relates that spatial information to five divisions within the sequence of 20 day signs.

Plate 27 repeats the basic theme of these pages, the division of the world into the five directions and their relationship to the calendar. This page, however, is different from

all the previous temporal information presented in the Codex Borgia because here, for the first time, the year being referred to is not the magical 260-day *tonalpohualli* but the solar year of 365 days.

The solar year can be formed from the 13 day numbers and the 20 day signs by using 18 cycles of 20 signs plus 5 other named days ((18 X 20) + 5 = 365) or by using 28 cycles of 13 numbers plus 1 other day number ((28 X 13) + 1 = 365). A mathematical consequence of these relationships is that every year will begin one day number and five day signs ahead of the previous year. That means that all the solar years will start with one of only four possible day signs and will count smoothly through the 13 day numbers and then begin again in a perpetual cycle. A further consequence of the comparison between the 365-day solar year and the 260-day magical year is that the initial dates of the years do not repeat until 52 solar years have passed. This 52-year period can be divided into four parts of 13 years each. As it turns out, each of these quarters begins with a date that has the coefficient of 1 and one of the four year bearers.

If the calendar starts with the day 1 Reed, as most Mesoamerican calendars do, then the four quarters of the 52-year period are begun by days named 1 Reed, 1 Flint, 1 House and 1 Rabbit. These days are shown on Plate 27, one in each quarter of the page. Oddly, there are four other days indicated besides these normal year-bearing days. These other days are 1 Alligator, I Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture. These four days are separated from each other in exactly the same fashion as the more normal year bearers. If the solar calendar began on the same day as the ritual calendar, then the year bearers would have these four day names. These four days, 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture, would be the initial dates of the four quarters of the 52-year period in such a calendar. Their association here with the more normal solar calendar seems to show the relationship of the *tonalpohualli* as related in the Codex Borgia to the familiar solar calendar. How this relationship influenced the interpretation of the days is not fully understood.

Plate 27 is composed of four quarters and a central panel, representing the four cardinal directions and the Center. Each of these five sections contains an image of Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, looking skyward and pouring water onto the earth below. Each of these deity figures is colored and dressed differently, though each is clearly a manifestation of the rain deity. In the four corners the Tlálocs are standing over fields of corn which are, in turn, resting on two day signs with the numerical coefficient of 1, indicated by an embellished dot. In the center Tláloc is standing over a representation of the earth with two small figures of Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running water. The Tláloc in the center is a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc, who embodies both fertility and pestilence. Since the 52-year period is completed by the periods associated with the four quarters or directions, there are no time markers associated with the Center direction.

The four cardinal directions and the years associated with them are each shown to have different qualities. In the lower right quadrant the Black Tláloc represents the first quarter of the 52-year cycle and the direction East. His period of 13 years begins with the year 1 Reed (1 Alligator). He sheds rain on a healthy field of corn, suggesting that the East is a fertile and fecund region. The upper right quadrant contains a Yellow Tláloc representing the second quarter and the North. His period begins with the day 1 Flint (1 Death). Here locusts are shown destroying the corn despite the rain. The upper left quadrant contains a Blue Tláloc representing the third quarter and the West. His period begins with the year 1 House (1 Monkey). The cornfield here is inundated with water, perhaps suggesting excessive rain. The lower right quadrant completes the 52-year period and depicts a Red Tláloc representing the fourth quarter and the South. His period begins with the day 1 Rabbit (1 Vulture). In this panel the ears of corn are being eaten by small furry animals with little skeletal jaws.

Plate 28 has much in common with the previous page of Tlálocs in their relation to the solar year and to the 52-year period, but it is also quite distinct. This page, too, contains five images of Tláloc, set in the center and the four corners. It, too, shows rain falling on corn and it, too, has indications of a solar calendar in the dates painted below the Tláloc figures. It stands apart, though, in that the dates are different, each containing a year sign and two day dates seemingly selected at random. It is also different if Seler's interpretation is correct and the directions are placed differently on the page. It is further different in that supplementary supernaturals are shown in containers or on the earth below each Tláloc.

A guiding characteristic of this arrangement is that each of the directional panels is labeled with a date that incorporates a year sign. These years are consecutive and are the first five years of the 52-year cycle. The bottom register of the page is badly damaged in the original and is not completely reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers. Seler has been able to infer some information about this row of dates that cannot now be seen. For example, in the lower right panel there are three dates. The leftmost of these must have had a year sign, in the form of an intertwined capital A and O, behind it and must have been the year 1 Reed. We know this because the pattern continues in the upper right quadrant, where the rightmost date is 2 Flint with an A-O year sign behind the Flint. From there the upper left quadrant has the year 3 House with the A-O year sign as its rightmost date. The lower left quadrant should have 4 Rabbit with the year sign as its leftmost date but it, too, is illegible. The center, which here has time indicators unlike on the previous page, has the year 5 Reed as its leftmost date. These five years are the first five of the 52-year period of solar years. It is this interpretation by Seler that unequivocally ties this page to the solar-year cycle.

Though the day dates seem to be chosen at random, there may be some as yet unrecognized underlying order to them. It seems unlikely that they are truly insignificant.

The five directions with their Tláloc figures are differently located and characterized when compared to the previous page. Here reading begins as before at the lower right quadrant, where the first year sign was once located, the year 1 Reed. Tláloc is black in this panel and has the face paint of Tezcatlipoca, the God of the Smoking Mirror and God of the Night. This conjoined Tláloc/ Tezcatlipoca is interpreted by Seler as the patron of the North. The second year, 2 Flint, is found in the upper right panel, where a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc has the face paint of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus, in this case as the Evening Star. This compound deity is said to be the patron of the West. The third year is 3 House, found at the upper left corner of the page. Tláloc here is yellow and has the fact paint of Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, thought to be the patron of the East. The fourth year, 4 Rabbit, is at the lower left and is protected by the black figure of Tláloc. This Tláloc has only two elements of facial adornment to suggest a composite nature. They are a yellow beard, barely visible in the original and not reproduced in the Díaz and Rodgers restoration, and a yellow line at the front of the face. These tiny features are characteristic of Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent and the wind deity. His presence is further indicated by the small effigies of Quetzalcóatl that emerge from the ears of corn and the streams of water in other parts of the image. This Tláloc/Quetzalcóatl is conceived as the patron of the East. It is noteworthy that this rain/wind deity also has smoke coming from his eye. This is a nonstandard trait of Quetzalcóatl that will be important in identifying a particular person in the long ritual passage on Plates 29 through 46. The fifth year, 5 Reed, is located in the center image and is again seen in front of a partly hidden A-O year sign. Its Tláloc, said to represent the Center, has a red body and wears the face paint of Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers.

Plates 29-46: A Long Supernatural Journey and Ritual Sequence

This passage of 18 pages is the longest and most elaborate of the entire Codex Borgia. It has the character of a story or narrative rather than a calendar, and in that is unique. The narrative, if such it is, is filled with ritual acts and with apparently real as well as supernatural characters. It is certainly religious in nature, though there does seem to be an element of physical reality that runs through the pages. This has been recognized by Nowotny (1961a) as well as by many others.

In this section of the codex the orientation of the pages shifts from that of a long horizontal strip read from right to left to that of a long vertical strip read from top to bottom (from the right edge of the page to the left edge of the page). This orientation prevails through page 46, the end of the current passage, after which the earlier orientation returns. The imagery of these pages is consummately complex. It is out of the

question here to describe these plates fully or to discuss all the potential interpretations, even concisely. Nevertheless, an overview of the structure may be helpful.

This long passage begins with a series of five enclosures (Plates 29-32) that serve to make supernatural statements. Two major temples dedicated to heaven are then identified (Plates 33 and 34). Then begins a ceremonial sequence in which a principal participant, known to us as Stripe Eye (a name given to him by Peter van der Loo), engages in a long ritual journey in which he performs several specific deeds (Plates 35–44). Finally the series is closed by a short passage (Plates 45 and 46) from which Stripe Eye is apparently missing but in which a new fire, symbolizing a new beginning, is ignited.

The account begins on Plate 29, the first of several enclosures formed by the body of a goddess of death. Within this enclosure is a large black disc. On the disc is a large blue vessel from which emerges a dark foamy substance. From this substance emerge numerous animate creatures who are characterized as winds by the Quetzalcóatl features they display. In addition to the many winds, two skeletal figures are shown, one a deity of death and the other a representation of Tlazoltéotl as the earth below the blue vessel. At the left edge of the page (the lower edge of the image) two intertwined starry wind serpents spit out smaller wind figures to lead the reader to the next page.

There (Plate 30) a similar scene is found. The body of the death deity forms an enclosure containing a large circular device that in turn contains the two intertwined wind serpents and their two small wind figures. Other significant features of this page are the 20 day signs arranged counterclockwise around the central device and the presence of four Tláloc-plant combination figures at the corners of the enclosure. Among the day signs four have been singled out by their placement in medallions that are pierced by the four Tlálocs wielding sacrificial instruments. These four days are Alligator, Death, Monkey and Vulture. The Tlálocs are each adorned with trees. This page can be said to represent the abundance of the Eastern direction.

The selection of these four day signs for special treatment is indicative of the use of a different form of the 260-day calendar from that which we have encountered so far. The *tonalpohualli* on Plates 1-8 of the Codex Borgia is arranged with 52 day signs in a row, a layout that requires five rows to include all of the 260 days. If, instead, 65 days comprised a row, then only four rows would be needed to incorporate all 260 days. As it turns out, the four days singled out here on Plate 30 would be the first day signs in each of these four rows. The directional qualities of this calendar are such that these four days and the four groups of 13 days that they begin are days ruled by the East. In a calendar composed of four rows rather than five, the days governed by one direction are found together. It is important to understand which form of the *tonalpohualli* is being used in any given case, because the directional qualities and the supernatural patrons of the days and periods of the calendar are different.

Plate 30 ends with the intertwined wind serpents again leading the way to the next page by spitting out two small wind creatures.

Plate 31 is divided into two halves, each of which depicts enclosures similar to those of the previous two pages. Calendrical medallions are found at the four corners of these two enclosures. The first of these scenes, on the right side of the page (top half of the image), has Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind singled out. These are the day signs that begin the third, Western, section of the calendar as laid out in four rows. The colors of this scene are generally dark and obscure, appropriate to the direction in which the sun sets. In the center of this half of the page are a variety of death deities or skeletal spirits. The central image is of a naked goddess with bandaged eyes, whose heart is exposed outside of her chest. Two small death creatures lead the way through the passage to the next enclosure.

The left side of the page (bottom half of the image) is similar, though its color scheme is red, the color of blood. The day signs featured in medallions at the corners of this enclosure are those of the North. They lead the second group of four rows of 13, the days Jaguar, Rain, Lizard and Water. Again death and earth images abound in the various small figures within this border.

Plate 32 has the calendrical associations of the South, bearing the day signs of the fourth segment of the calendar as described above, the signs of Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. This enclosed space is constructed differently from the previous four. It does not have a death deity in its border; instead, at the left margin of the page (the bottom of the image) a female skeletal figure, who seems to be an earth goddess as well as a death goddess, appears as a border and a passage to the next scene. The border of the enclosure is composed of rows of flint knives surrounding a broad dark band of obscurity. This band is occupied by eight figures carrying decapitated heads in both hands, four Tezcatlipocas in the corners and four other supernatural figures. The central image of the panel is of a white-and-red-striped figure with two large flint knives in place of a head. Tezcatlipocas emerge from flint knives at its arms and legs and appear as the heads of the serpents below. The overall imagery of this scene is very clearly about blood sacrifice by cutting and decapitation. The page ends at the left margin, where a figure of Quetzalcóatl is born from between two large flint knives found in an opening in the body of the white Death/Earth Goddess. This Quetzalcóatl is unusual in that he has two volutes indicating smoke emerging from the corner of his eye.

Considering that the subsequent 12 pages seem to refer to a ceremony or series of ceremonies undergone by Stripe Eye, it may be that these first four pages should be read as a sort of invocation undertaken in preparation for the performance of the central events being described in this long passage. The sequence of events could be as follows: first, a pot is prepared that liberates the winds (Plate 29); second, the winds and rains of the East are propitiated (Plate 30); third, the death and sacrifice of the West

and the North are observed (Plate 31); fourth, the blood sacrifice of the Tezcatlipocas who influence the South is honored so that fifth, and finally, the Quetzalcóatl character can emerge ready for what is to come (Plate 32). This is certainly speculative interpretation but it seems to me to be a plausible framework for reading these pages as a prescription for the performance of a ceremony of major importance.

The next two pages of this passage, Plates 33 and 34, are taken up by two very large and distinctive structures with some activity going on around them. These two temples are unusual in at least two ways. They are by far the largest and most elaborate buildings illustrated in the codex. They are identified as "Temples of Heaven" by the presence in their roofs of three bands of stars and Venus symbols. Atop each of these two structures sits a Flint-helmeted deity from whom descends a white rope. The building on Plate 33 has a pointed, conical roof, a form associated with Quetzalcóatl, the wind deity. Quetzalcóatl appears seated on a throne within the temple, where he is being addressed by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. At the top of the stairs in the front of the temple lies Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One. Other deities in the scene include Xólotl, the god of twins, standing behind the temple building; Cintéotl, the corn goddess, also behind the temple but above Xólotl, and a second appearance of Quetzalcóatl and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli performing heart sacrifice in front of the temple building. A monstrous black serpent winds around the building and several horizontal male figures are drawn on the roof and on the tiers of the platform that supports the temple.

The temple on Plate 34 is similar, though it has a rectangular roof with "ears" at its peak. It is also topped by a Flint-helmeted deity, is entwined by a monstrous serpent, has Cintéotl, the corn goddess, behind the temple and bears horizontal figures on its roof and platform, though this time the serpent is red and the figures are female. The innermost part of the temple is occupied by Tepeyóllotl, the Heart of the Mountain. In front of him fire is started on a jewel in the chest of a representation of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon. In front of the temple, heart sacrifice is again performed by a second appearance of the deity shown within, in this case Tepeyóllotl. These two buildings provide the scene and place for the ceremonies that follow. They are prominently portrayed in undoubted relation to their importance to these ceremonies.

Plates 35-38 give an account of a sacred-bundle ritual performed before the Temple of Heaven. The actions that now take place all seem to be physically possible; they present a sense of reality grounded in real space rather than of ethereal, supernatural events occurring on another plane. It seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret these images as rituals that occur or could occur in the real world. It seems to John Pohl, and to me that these pages present a prescription for the proper enactment of a very complex ceremony in which a person is elevated to the role of king or ruler of a community. The actors in this account, then, should be interpreted as real people whenever possible.

The account begins on Plate 35 in the top right corner of the image (bottom right of the page). Here we see a priest wearing a goggle-eyed mask who is passing the sacred bundle to two associates standing on an eagle place at the end of a blue road. The upper associate combines attributes of Quetzalcóatl (his wind mask) and Tezcatlipoca (his face paint), and the second is a black Quetzalcóatl who has a puff of smoke painted near his eye. The temple in which the goggle-eyed priest is sitting also has stars in its roof, though the configuration of the roof shows that this structure is different from either of the Temples of Heaven depicted on the previous pages and thus must represent some other building. After the priests Wind Mask and Smoke Eye receive the sacred bundle, they transport it along the blue road to a point where it ends at the edge of the next page. John Pohl, and I have discussed these buildings, this road and the activity that follows elsewhere (Byland and Pohl in press).

Next to the road, in the ball court, the character now known as Stripe Eye makes his first appearance. The angular black stripe that runs from his hairline to his eye and then to the corner of his jaw is a variant of the facial painting of Quetzalcóatl . Seler (1904–09) noted that this character is the subject of a continuous story that runs through this and the next nine pages of the codex. Seler identified Stripe Eye as Quetzalcóatl , failing to recognize that he was different from other Quetzalcóatl figures in the passage. While it is indeed possible that he is meant to represent Quetzalcóatl, the nature of his behavior also suggests that he is the idealized king of this ceremonial center.

After the ball game, Stripe Eye appears on Plate 36 in front of the sacred bundle that the Wind Mask and Smoke eye priests have brought from the shrine above. The bundle is then opened under the supervision of Wind Mask and another priest (or deity) who wears the costume of Xólotl, a Dog Mask. Stripe Eye is then enveloped in a heavenly mist and magically transported across Plates 36 and 37. On Plate 38 he emerges from the mouth of Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl. While Stripe Eye is on this magical journey, a number of priests, notably including Dog Mask, enact a series of rituals (Plate 37) in a large area that appears to lie in front of the eared-roofed Temple of Heaven and a smaller structure similar to that portrayed on Plate 35. On Plate 38 Stripe Eye and Dog Mask engage in other ritual acts.

It is noteworthy that this series of events seems to be moderated or overseen by a series of specialized priests. The Quetzalcóatl priest known as Smoke Eye first appeared on Plate 32, as the initial series of sacred enclosures came to an end and we were about to arrive at the two major Temples of Heaven. After sacrificial rituals were undertaken at the two temples, Smoke Eye was joined by a Tezcatlipoca priest wearing a Wind Mask. The two of them proceeded to the place where the sacred bundle dedicated to Quetzalcóatl was opened for the idealized king known as Stripe Eye. There Wind Mask took over and Smoke Eye dropped out of the account. Wind Mask was then joined by a Xólotl priest who wore the Dog Mask. After the bundle was opened Wind Mask's role ended and he dropped out, leaving Dog Mask to oversee the action until

just after Stripe Eye emerged from his sacred journey. From this point on Stripe Eye does not have priestly guides to perform actions on his behalf. It is as though the experience of witnessing the opening of the bundle and of undertaking the supernatural journey had transformed him into a person of new status and capacity, one who now was qualified to act on his own behalf in a highly charged ritual. Future appearances of these priests show them to be clearly acting as assistants while Stripe Eye conducts the central activities himself, until the very end of the long passage.

Plate 38 is the last page of the obverse side of the Codex Borgia. The story of Stripe Eye and his ritual activity continues on the reverse side beginning with Plate 39. Entrance to Plate 39 is afforded at the right of the page (top of the image), where a Quetzalcóatl figure without the eye stripe emerges from the body of the earth goddess. Stripe Eye is depicted in the center of the page paired with a red Quetzalcóatl, in a red field surrounded by a blue road upon which dance 12 women or female spirits known as *cihuateteo*. The four calendar signs dedicated to the West are found in medallions at the four corners of the dance scene: Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind. Arrayed at the left and right sides of the image are six deities. Counterclockwise from the bottom right, they are: the Black Tezcatlipoca, a black Mictlantecuhtli, a blue Xochipilli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Tepeyóllotl and the Red Tezcatlipoca. The blue road enters the jaws of the earth monster, identified by Seler as the supreme deity, Tonacatecuhtli.

Tonacatecuhtli's body forms a large rectangle that covers the remainder of this page and all of Plate 40. Within this outline is found a band of day signs. In the Diaz and Rodgers reconstruction there are a few errors in the replacement of the most seriously damaged of these, mostly on the bottom margin of the page and a few at the upper left corner. The progression of these day signs begins at the top of the rectangle, just to the right of the head of Tonacatecuhtli. The first day signs visible are Wind and House just below the clawed arm of the deity. We can imagine that Alligator is obscured by the head of the god. The 20 day signs then proceed in normal order clockwise until the twentieth, Flower, is reached. Then the cycle begins again and runs for 12 or 13 additional days. It seems that Death is obscured by the leg of the god, that Dog was left out in the original and that Water was replaced by Rain in the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction. Seler did not recognize the last sign in the series, Reed, but Díaz and Rodgers did recognize it, and it is here drawn just below the red-and-white-filled box at the center left side of Plate 40. The left half of this band of day signs seems to be organized with directional significance (as indicated in the *tonalpohualli* arranged in four rows of 65 days) paramount. The first nine day signs are the four that are associated with the North repeated twice, and with the first one drawn a third time. Following Seler, they should be Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain, Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain and Jaguar; all but the last are incorrectly reconstructed here. It should be noted that the original is so badly damaged on this edge of the page that none of these signs but the last is really recognizable. Continuing clockwise in the same pattern for nine days are the

day signs of the Center direction, Rabbit, House, Flint and Reed. Then come nine signs associated with the West: Wind, Movement, Grass and Deer. These proceed correctly to the top right edge of Plate 40, where the sign for grass is omitted by Díaz and Rodgers; then, at the continuation on Plate 39, the first two signs should be Deer and Wind. Finally, descending along the top margin of the frame, back on Plate 39, are the signs of the East: Vulture, Monkey, Death, Alligator and Vulture. Here only five signs are visible as the rest of the presumed sequence of nine are obscured under the head and arm of the god Tonacatecuhtli.

Entering from the top into the space framed by the calendar band and the body of Tonacatecuhtli are the two Quetzalcóatl figures seen first in the center of Plate 39. The one on the right is presumably the figure of Stripe Eye, though his face paint is now dark. The central figure of Plate 40 is that of Stripe Eye, who, assisted by eight priests, is conducting a heart sacrifice of the solar deity, Tonatiuh. Pohl has suggested that this scene is similar to scenes of confirmation depicted for the lords of Tilantongo in the Mixtec historical codices Zouche-Nuttall and Bodley (Byland and Pohl 1993). In these documents Lord 8 Deer journeys to the Sun God's oracle as part of his process of confirmation as legitimate ruler of Tilantongo. Stripe Eye, as the idealized ruler of the ceremonial precinct depicted here, similarly visits the solar deity, though here a symbolic sacrifice is shown.

The remainder of Plate 40 is taken up by a small ball court and two temples. Interestingly, the two temples are shown as a conical temple dedicated to Quetzalcóatl, with a smoke-eyed Quetzalcóatl priest in it, and an eared temple, with Tezcatlipoca (minus his wind mask) shown in front of it. There is, however, no obvious indication that these are the same temples as the important ones referred to earlier. The ball court contains images of Tlazoltéotl, to the right, and the Red Tezcatlipoca, to the left, both looking at an odd skeletal monster who is giving birth. There is no passage indicated to lead the reader out of this page's effigy of Tonacatecuhtli and on to the next page.

The entry to Plate 41 is shown as an elongated skeletal earth goddess, Tlazoltéotl, drawn perhaps as Teteoinnan, the mother of the gods, similar to her depictions on Plates 32 and 39. At an opening in her belly a skeletal figure enters a small cloudy-bordered enclosure. There two fleshed Tlazoltéotls, shown as the goddess of the moon, descend with a Black Tezcatlipoca. They seem to be directed toward a large cogged disc, which is half in and half out of a blue road that emerges from the headdress and feet of the skeletal Tlazoltéotl and that forms a larger rectangular enclosure. On the left branch of this road we find Stripe Eye, a Black Tezcatlipoca and a black *cihuatéotl,* the spirit of a woman who died in childbirth. On the right branch of the road we find a parallel sequence of characters, a white Quetzalcóatl with red dots, a Red Tezcatlipocas and a red-costumed *cihuatéotl.*

The central disc is shown calendrically to represent the Southern direction. It is marked with a day sign (in a medallion) of an Eagle, one of the four days of the South. Arranged around the outside of the disc are four other day signs related to each of the other four directions: House-Center, Deer–West, Rain-North and Monkey-East. Within the disc a Quetzacóatl with a dark face (presumably Stripe Eye) and his associate, the Quetzalcóatl with a white body and red dots, perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone implements. The blood flows into the mouths of Chalchiuhtlicue and her male counterpart.

Just below this disc, 13 consecutive day signs, beginning with Eagle, are painted between the roofs of two temples, one with a round roof and the other with an eared roof. The roofs of these buildings are on Plate 41 and their bases are on Plate 42. Note the parallel construction between the placement and the construction of these two buildings and the two temples seen earlier on Plate 40. The identity of these two sets of buildings seems unequivocal. The round temple on Plate 42 has Stripe Eye within it and the eared temple has a version of Xochipilli. Between the temples is a platform with a sacrificial stone on which Stripe Eye extracts the heart of the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots. In this he is assisted by the Black Tezcatlipoca. Above them floats a medallion with the day sign Jaguar, which is taken to represent the North, in contraposition to the South of the cogged disc on the previous page. From this sacrifice scene, the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots is taken to the underworld and to a ball court. Next we see him on a cruciform device with five little images of Nanahuatzin, the dead and cooked god of lechery and the evening sun, emerging from his four limbs and his heart. Seler interpreted this as the transformation of Quetzalcóatl into Xólotl-Nanahuatzin. Nanahuatzin is shown to the left and right of this image as well. Stripe Eye participates in the cooking of him at the left.

On Plate 43 an opening in another elongated image of Tlazoltéotl provides entry for Stripe Eye to a precinct bounded by ears of corn and rays of sunlight. Within this enclosure we see a large image of a dark solar deity who supports the birth of corn from the earth. The figure of the deity is in the pose of childbirth; its body is covered by a dark solar disc with stars on its periphery. This solar deity wears the skin of a jaguar and the jaws of a serpent. Its face is dark and its eye is hanging out of its socket. This suggests that it may represent the sun-at-night, the “dark sun,” or the moon. Below the solar disc is a Tlazoltéotl figure surrounded by ears of maize and encrusted with stars. Around these figures are eight small characters who are shown sustaining the growth of maize plants with blue and (originally) green fluids that emanate from their mouths. A dark-faced Quetzalcóatl leaves the sun/maize precinct through an opening at the left side of the page and descends, bearing a basket full of maize, to the next page.

On Plate 44 another elongated Tlazoltéotl with an opening in its belly allows Stripe Eye to descend, in his last appearance in the story, into the next in this series of precincts or compounds. This one is composed of a broad wall surrounded by flowers

on its exterior and lined by flint knives on its interior. The four corners of the broad wall hold medallions with the four day signs of the South: Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. The walls of the precinct are open at the four sides where four figures enter, three serpents and a bat, all with human heads. Placed on the broad wall, adjacent to these four figures, are symbols of sacrifice: decapitated heads, severed arms and legs and skeletal ribs with hearts. The three human-headed serpents are being tormented by rapacious animals, and the bat is facing the priest whom we know as Smoke Eye. He is wearing a hummingbird costume. From a heart in the hands of the bat flows a bifurcated torrent of blood that lands at the head and feet of a recumbent variant of Xochiquétzal, shown as the young goddess of the moon. She has a lunar disc in her chest that holds a heart, from which grows a multicolored tree.

Plate 45 is entered through an opening in the chest of Tlazoltéotl, the skeletal earth goddess. This time her orientation is reversed and the entering figure is a cloudy wind serpent similar in form to the one that emerged from the sacred bundle on Plate 36. The main character, Stripe Eye, does not appear on this page or the next. The activities seem to have been taken over by the Quetzalcóatl priest we know as Smoke Eye; he appears several times, both here and on the next page.

In the four corners of Plate 45 are four houses of eagles, each with a figure of Smoke Eye. One of the houses is drawn as a conical-roofed round temple and another has eagle down rather than an adult eagle on its roof. On either side of the page are images that Seler has interpreted as representing the life and death of warriors. Life is represented by a pot of pulque, an intoxicating liquor made from maguey, with a drunken figure beneath it and the Black and Red Tezcatlipocas above it. Death is represented by a red-and-white-striped figure in a stream whose heart is torn out by Smoke Eye dressed as an eagle. The center of the page contains a skull-rack platform upon which stands a skeletal figure identified by Seler as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. This figure supports a tree from which emerge six banners. The bottom of the page contains an image of Smoke Eye with a Venus star as his headdress. He is bleeding from his buttocks and is covered by a net or blanket that bears nine faces painted with the four directional colors and the dots indicative of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. This image is surrounded by four full figures of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli with similar-colored face paint.

The final page (Plate 46) is framed by a pair of elongated Tlazoltéotl figures. Smoke Eye enters from the top and leaves from the bottom. The remainder of the image is framed by two structures and two thrones. The structures contain images of Xiuhtecuhtli, the old fire god, presenting Smoke Eye and a Black Tezcatlipoca priest. This may hark back to the two priests who attended the opening of the sacred bundle on Plates 35 and 36. The two thrones are occupied by a Black Tezcatlipoca and a figure who seems to be an amalgam of a Black Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcóatl and Xiuhtecuhtli.

The center of the page contains a four-sided red field bounded by four fire serpents, and an image of Smoke Eye starting a fire in the chest of a combined image of the Fire Serpent and Xiuhtecuhtli. The red field contains a pot in which Smoke Eye is being cooked, perhaps only symbolically in preparation for the lighting of the fire.

These last two pages are reminiscent of the early activities of the priests in preparing the way for Stripe Eye to undergo his complex ceremonial sequence. Here, though, they seem to be bringing the ceremonial sequence to a close, performing the acts that mark the end of the ceremony and the beginning of the new era.

Plates 47 and 48: Three Groups of Five Deities

These two pages represent three groups, each with five supernatural figures. They are read simply from right to left in the three registers (the orientation of the text is back to the horizontal arrangement normal to most of the codex). Each of the upper two registers includes a sixth panel depicting the birth of the five associated characters.

The bottom row represents five elaborately dressed female deities, who all bear the significant attributes of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon and of the earth. In each case she is dressed differently and has different figures accompanying her. Each Tlazoltéotl is given a separate calendrical name: from right to left, 9 Reed, 4 Flint, 6 Reed, 8 Reed and 1 Eagle. Seler interprets them as having directional significance as well: from right to left, East, North, West, South and Center.

The second row of figures are five *cihuateteo,* the deified spirits of women who died in childbirth. Their collective birth is indicated in the panel at the right margin of Plate 47 by the image of the birth of a female figure with bandaged eyes. There, on a blue field, a monstrous being is the source of five serpents and four centipedes. Around the edge of the field are five dates that all begin with the number 13. Seler has shown that they are the dates that fall immediately before the first day indicated in each of the five panels of *cihuateteo.* Just as with the Tlazoltéotls, the five *cihuateteo* are each differently dressed and painted and have different accompanying figures. They also are each associated with a calendrical notation, one that is a bit more complex than those accompanying the Tlazoltéotls. For each of these female figures, 13 consecutive days are indicated, with the first, fifth and thirteenth shown by their day sign and the others shown by red-dot place holders. The names and directional associations of the *chiuateteo,* then, are: 1 Deer-East, 1 Rain-North, 1 Monkey-West, 1 House-South and 1 Eagle-Center.

The top row of figures are five male deities of sensual pleasures, the *ahuìateteo.* They are part of a group of deities whose names begin with 5 and whose best-known member is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure. The first image of the top row, similarly to that of the center row, represents the birth of the five *ahuiateteo* by showing a stone (?) from which five serpents extend and from which a

male figure is born. There are five dates around this image, all of which begin with the number 4. The male figure in this image is identifiable as Nanahuatzin, the god of lechery, who is another aspect, or another personality, of Xólotl, the god of twins. This relationship is reinforced by the presence of a dog *(xólotl)* standing on the rock. The names of the five *ahuiateteo* are given by the fifth day sign in the series of 13 shown with each image. These are, with their directional qualities: 5 Lizard-East, 5 Vulture-North, 5 Deer-West, 5 Flower-South and 5 Grass-Center.

Plates 49-53: The Five Directions and Their Supernatural Patrons

The next four and one-half pages present a sort of definition of the qualities and protectors of the five directions of the world. The first four pages describe the four cardinal directions: East, North, West and South. The right half of page 53 represents the Center. Each page is constructed with a band of day signs at the bottom. Above this is a wide band showing a directional tree and bird. On Plates 49—52 this wide band also contains other figures, including a temple and various deities. Above the wide band is another band of day signs. Finally, at the top of each page, a wide band shows the supernaturals who support the heavens and walk on the earth in each of the directions. Seler has suggested that these supernaturals are associated with the opposite direction from that depicted in the lower register, so that for the first page, for example, the tree is of the East but the upper-register deities are of the West.

The largest fields describe the qualities of the cardinal directions. Their central image is a tree with a bird in its branches and an earth goddess from which it springs. Above this image on Plates 49-52 is a temple with a special patron deity of the direction. Clockwise from the temple, the other images are of a sacrificer, two celestial spirits descending, the maker of fire, a throne and deity seated before it, a place where a male and female deity are married, an animal ball player and a tree with a pair of sacrificed animals.

For the East, depicted on Plate 49, the central tree is one of precious jewels. It was originally painted blue and green (blue and tan in this edition, as in the current state of the original) and has jewels as its fruit. Its bird is a green quetzal. The temple above is an eared temple dedicated to the sun and is attended by Tonatiuh, the solar deity. In the upper register on the right the Western starry blue sky is supported by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star, and on the left Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, walks the earth with his blue-and-white flowered staff.

For the North, shown on Plate 50, the central tree is a cactus covered with spines. It is painted blue and green and has small flowers and what are perhaps prickly pears as fruit. Its bird is a black-and-white eagle. The temple above is a house of flint knives with the image of the moon inside. A broad channel of darkness descends from above

and fills the interior of the temple. The attendant of the temple is a male moon god, Metztli. The god who supports the Southern dark starry sky in the upper register at the right is Xiuhtecuhlti, the old fire god. On the left the god of death walks with his red staff tied with red-and-white banners.

On Plate 51 the Western direction is shown with a tree of unusual qualities. It has been identified as a young corn plant with tassels but without fruit. The bird is a blue raptorial bird of indeterminate species. The temple is again an eared-roofed building with flowers in its roof. In the temple is a yellow object that Seler identifies as a gourd for holding tobacco. The deity attending the temple is a combination of several and cannot be easily identified. He manifests aspects of Xochipilli, Tonacatecuhtli., Cintéotl and perhaps Xiuhtecuhtli. In the upper register Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, god of the wind, supports the Eastern blue starry sky, and Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers, the god of sustenance, walks the earth with his flowering tree as a staff.

The South is shown on the lower register of Plate 52. Its red spiny tree has solar discs as its fruit. The red bird in the tree is perhaps an owl, associated with Xiuhtecuhtli. The temple above is a skeletal building with an owl in its interior. Mictlantecuhtli, the God of Death, stands before it and offers blood from the neck of a headless person. In the upper register Mictlantecuhtli supports the Northern dark starry sky, and Cintéotl, the corn god, walks the earth with a precious red staff.

The right half of Plate 53 contains the images of the Center direction. The tree here is a large green maize plant that is producing ears of corn as its fruit. The tree emerges from the earth alongside two huge ears of corn. Two figures perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone awls and shedding blood on the base of the tree. These figures are: on the right, Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower; and, on the left, Quetzalcóatl in the form of the lord Stripe Eye (see Plates 35 through 44). This image beautifully portrays a mythic relationship held between people and the earth such as that described for the Mixtec people of the village of Nuyoo by John Monaghan (1987): the people feed the earth their blood and their bodies, and in return the earth feeds the people by yielding maize. Having the king make this sacrifice idealizes the perpetual nature of this relationship and sanctifies it for the people of the kingdom. In the upper register of the right half of Plate 53 a human figure descends into the mouth of an earth monster that has a decidedly rectilinear, architectural aspect. This descent into the mouth of the earth corresponds well with the up-and-down nature of the Center as the middle of the earth, the central hinge of space and time.

Plates 53 and 54: Xochipilli as a Deer, and Five Frames of Piercing Sacrifices with Calendrical Notations

The upper left corner of Plate 53 contains an image of a deer with the 20 day signs attached to its body. The deer is an animal closely associated with Xochipilli, the young

prince of flowers. This deer is marked as a representative of Xochipilli by its face paint. Arrayed on a curved white panel in front of the deer are five of the day signs, the sixth through the tenth in the series of 20: Death, Deer, Rabbit, Water and Dog. These are taken, one each, from the list of days linked to each of the five directions: East, West, Center, North and South. After offering two other forms of expressing the directional qualities of the calendar and the characteristics of the directions in this image the Codex Borgia presents a third way of describing these associations. The relationship of this image of Xochipilli to the preceding pages or to the following page is unclear. We do not know why it is inserted here.

Directly below the Xochipilli deer we find the first of five representations of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the Venus deity, performing a spear sacrifice. Each of these images is in a frame bounded on two sides by an unusual arrangement of dates. The names of these dates are drawn from the five directions in the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in four rows of 65 days: Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The days give a certain directional quality to these five images. In contrast to these qualities, the deities or objects being speared have other directional associations. To further complicate the issue, Seler assigns to the image of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli in each of the five panels the direction opposite to the one associated with his adversary.

In the first of them, in the lower left corner of Plate 53, a black-skull-faced Venus god strikes the leg of Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water. The day signs around the scene include all the numbers from 1 to 13 paired with Alligator, beginning with I Alligator at the lower right. The day sign Alligator yields an association of this scene with the East. Chalchiuhtlicue is a goddess of the East, and because of the conflict between the characters Seler represents Venus as being the West. Floating above Chalchiuhtlicue are the next three day signs, Wind, House and Lizard. If these were taken to represent three days in the *tonalpohualli* following 1 Alligator, then the fifth day in that sequence would be 5 Serpent.

This is the day that begins the display on the lower right corner of Plate 54. There an owl-faced Venus god strikes the leg of the Black Tezcatlipoca. The day sign Serpent belongs to the group associated with the South. The Black Tezcatlipoca is the god of the North, so that Seler assigns Venus here to the South. Above Tezcatlipoca are the next three days signs, Death, Deer and Rabbit. If we continue the count from 5 Serpent, the next day in the sequence should be 9 Water.

This is the date that appears at the lower right end of the next quadrant of the page. In this corner, the lower left, a dog-faced Venus god strikes the corn god, Cintéotl, on the leg. Here the Water day sign can be calendrically tied to the North, but Cintéotl is a god of the West and Seler assigns this Venus to the East.

Continuing the pattern, after the day signs of Dog, Monkey and Grass should come 13 Reed, and indeed it appears as the first in the list of Reed dates in the upper left

quadrant of the page. In this panel a rabbit-faced Venus god strikes the leg of an unusual figure identified by Seler as embodying *tlatocáyotl,* the concept of kingship. Reed is an indication of the Center direction, but the residence of the sumptuous gods, including the *tlatocáyotl,* is in the South. Consequently, Venus in this panel is of the North.

In the fifth and last of these images, a white-skull-faced Venus deity strikes a round shield and cluster of arrows, the *yaóyotl,* symbol of warfare and warriors. The day sign associated with this panel is Movement, which is of the West. The young warriors symbolized by the shield and other implements of war reside in the Center. Since the center is both up and down, it is its own opposite and this Venus is also of the Center.

Plate 55: Six Deities with 20 Day Signs

On this page the reading order is once more from right to left and in a reverse S-curve from bottom to top. Guides to indicate this reading order are plentiful: the day signs proceed in this order, the deities face in these directions and the footprints on the path of the days are pointed in these directions.

Each of the six panels on this page presents a deity standing in a pose that suggests walking. Seler calls them "the six celestial walkers." The first is Tonatiuh, the solar god, who makes offerings of a rubber ball and a bundle of sticks to a temple that contains a precious bowl. The second is Tlazoltéotl, the moon goddess, who walks in front of a rabbit in the moon in a dark sky and a bleeding serpent. The third is a blue-faced deity who wears a costume of turquoise and carries a turquoise staff. He is Yacatecuhtli, god of merchants and of wealth. The fourth is the Black Tezcatlipoca (his skin is red but he carries the shield and arrows characteristic of the black form of the deity), who walks with a spiny staff. The fifth is the Red Tezcatlipoca (his skin is yellow but he carries the quetzal bird characteristic of the red form of the deity), who walks with a jeweled staff. The sixth and final one of these travelers is Íztac Mixcóatl, the old god of fire, who carries a fire serpent as a walking stick. Why these six are displayed here and why the day signs are divided as they are is unclear.

Plate 56: Gods of Life and Death, and the 260-Day Ritual Calendar

This is a strikingly beautiful page, which portrays gods of life and death back to back, framed by day signs to the right and left and place-holding dots above and below. Quetzalcóatl, the wind god and god of life, is on the right and Mictlantecuhtli, the god of death and the underworld, is on the left. The image conveys the duality of existence, the joining of opposites and the inevitable relationship of life and death.

The 20 day signs are arranged in the order of the first signs of each group of 13 days in the *tonalpohualli.* The first day is 1 Alligator, located at the bottom right corner of

the page. This is followed by 12 place-holding dots standing for the other 12 days in the group of 13. The fourteenth day sign is Jaguar and the day is 1 Jaguar. This sign is found at the extreme lower left corner of the page. It begins the second group of 13 days, the rest of which are again symbolized by the 12 place-holding dots. The twenty-seventh day sign, the first day of the third period of 13 days, would be the day 1 Deer, which is found immediately above the Alligator. Following this pattern of alternating between sides of the page, we can traverse the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* in a much abbreviated form.

Plate 57: Six Supernatural Couples

This page is divided into six panels, each of which has five day signs placed below a pair of deities who face each other across a central device. The gods of each pair are male and female and represent male and female aspects of divinity relevant to a particular area of responsibility. Each pair sits beneath a celestial disc: sun, moon or obscure sky (in most cases only the lower half of the disc appears), and each is accompanied by a group of red-dot place holders to mark unnamed days in the ritual calendar. The significance of the association of these pairs of deities with particular parts of the *tonalpohualli* is unknown. The reading order follows the same sinuous route that we have seen so often.

Beginning at the lower right panel, the first day sign is Alligator. Following that sign the entire *tonalpohualli* is indicated either by day signs or place holders. The day 1 Alligator is followed by seven unnamed days, indicated by the seven red dots at the left edge of the panel. The ninth day sign is Water, which is found in the first position of the lower left panel in the series. That day should be 9 Water. It is followed by seven days indicated by the dots at the left edge of that panel. The next day should be 4 Movement, and Movement is found in the first position, this time at the left end of the row, in the left center panel on the page. Proceeding in this fashion, 52 days are counted by the time the last dot on the upper left panel is reached. The next day after those 52 would be the day 1 Reed, which is found adjacent to the Alligator in the starting position in the lower right panel. If the progression is followed five times, all the day signs on the page are accounted for and 260 days have passed. This page represents yet another shorthand way of expressing the entire ritual calendar.

The gods in each panel are shown as married pairs. In the first panel they are Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacíhuatl, the father and mother of the gods, the lord of sustenance and the lady of life. Between them is a rich offering consisting of a turquoise bowl, a gold box, turquoise beads and a young man. They all rest under the bright sun. In the second panel the deities are Patécatl and Tlazoltéotl as the god and goddess of pulque, the intoxicating liquor made from the sweet sap of the maguey. They sit on either side of a vessel marked with a skull and two intertwined snakes. The disc of the

heavens is half sun and half obscure night sky, an image that is probably appropriate to pulque. The third panel, the center left one, has the images of Cintéotl, the corn god, and a female counterpart, a goddess of corn. They sit across from each other and are holding a pair of large flowering maize plants growing from a bowl that also contains four ears of corn. The sun again shines on this scene. The fourth panel contains Tláloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, the god of rain and the goddess of water. Their offering is a precious bowl with four ears of corn, green-and-blue twined garlands and a young man. The sun above this scene is bright and has four jewels hanging from it. The fifth panel is unusual in that the supernatural couple are seated with their backs to one another. They are Xochipilli and Xochiquétzal, the young prince of flowers, who is also the young sun god, and the young goddess of flowers, who is also the young goddess of the moon. Their offering is an eagle descending into a precious bowl. The sun shines clearly on them. The final scene is of Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl, the god and goddess of death and the underworld. Their offering contains a skull devouring a person, and the moon rather than the sun shines above them.

Plates 58-60: 25 Couples (Numerological Marriage Prognostications)

These three pages contain 25 panels, each of which contains a married couple, a celestial symbol, a number of dots from two to 26, and some ancillary images. The unusual aspect of this group of images is that they do not include day signs. In my opinion the best interpretation of these pages yet offered has been made by Peter van der Loo (personal communication). He has suggested that they represent a sort of numerological prognostication of the success of marriages. If one were to consider only the day numbers of the names of a young man and woman and add them together, the sum of their day numbers could range from 1+1=2 to 13 + 13 = 26. The predicted qualities of the relationship are suggested by the activities of the couple, the objects around them and the heavenly disc above them.

In general it seems that odd-number totals are more favorable than even totals. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this process. The first pair, whose number is 2, is found in the lower left panel of Plate 58, and they are depicted as Mictlantecuhtli and Xochiquétzal. She is cutting the throat of one child and he is devouring another. The sky above them is half dark, on her side, and half sun, on his side, perhaps because he is following his nature but she is not. For them the future would be read as unfavorable, certainly on her side and perhaps on his. The second pair, whose number is 3, is just left of the first pair. They are shown as Xochiquétzal and an unidentified man. Their sun is bright, and between them is an offering bowl made of turquoise and containing precious beads and ears of corn. For them the future is good. The third couple is identified as Xochiquétzal and the Red Tezcatlipoca. For them the celestial symbol is replaced by a

precious bowl that overflows with a frothy material. That their predicted life together is poor is indicated by the overturned bowl between them spilling out its contents.

The reading order follows the count of numbers, indicating by the red numeral dots from two to 26. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 58 and reads from right to left across the three pages. The sequence then moves up the page to the center row and proceeds from left to right back across the three pages, finally moving up to the top of the page and going back to the left to the twenty-fifth panel at the top left of Plate 60. Despite much damage to the original, the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction has missed only two numeral dots in the whole series; the fourth panel should have five dots and the twenty-second panel should have 23 dots.

Plates 61-70: Another 260-Day Ritual Calendar

The next ten pages present a second complete 260-day *tonalpohualli,* or ritual calendar. Each page contains 26 day signs (two 13-day groups) and two images of gods, objects and actions that presumably characterize the 13-day groups. This arrangement of the calendar divides it into 20 equal periods, each of which is begun uniquely by one of the day signs. These 20 groups of 13 days are known as *trecenas.* The deities whose images are painted in the panels of each of the periods may be thought of as patrons of the period initiated by the appropriate day sign. It is worth pointing out, as Seler does, that the associations of gods and periods of the calendar are not obvious. For example, the period that begins with the day sign Flower does not have Xochiquétzal, the goddess of flowers, as its patron or regent. On the other hand, the period that begins with Rain is indeed governed by Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, in a very obvious concordance of meanings.

The nature of the influence over the 13-day period wielded by each of these 20 patrons is not clear. How their influence was combined with that of the patrons of the day signs themselves, as discussed in connection with Plates 9-13 of the codex, is similarly unknown. Further, their relationship to the 104 images associated with the *tonalpohualli* on the first eight pages of the codex is also not understood. Ultimately it must be said that, despite all the information we have gleaned from interpretations of the Codex Borgia and the various other religious manuscripts of the Borgia Group, we do not know very much about how prognostication worked for the Mesoamerican priests. The intricacies of the magical process remain obscure.

The 260-day sequence of this *tonalpohualli* begins at the lower right corner of Plate 61 with the day sign Alligator. This, following a long-established pattern, should be considered as the day 1 Alligator. Armed with this crucial bit of information, we require no other indication of the day number because we know that the 13 numbers are used in a continuous cycle. Accordingly, every group of 13 day signs, every *trecena,* must begin with a day numbered 1. The reading order follows the order of the day signs

across the bottom of the page and up its left margin to Reed, the thirteenth day sign. The next day sign in the order of the 20 is Jaguar, which is found at the bottom right margin of Plate 62. The same pattern is followed across ten pages, until the day sign Dog is located at the top of the left column of day signs on Plate 70. There the sequence simply moves up to the upper register and changes to the left-to-right direction. The first day of the second half of the *tonalpohualli* is the day 1 Monkey and the last day of its period of 13 days is the day 13 House. After counting through the days named in the upper register of these ten pages, we reach the last day of the ritual calendar at the upper right corner of Plate 61, the day 13 Flower.

A brief table will identify the deities who are patrons of the 20 *trecenas* of this calendar.

FIRST DAY SIGN OF THE PERIOD	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Tonacatecuhtli	Supreme Male Deity
Jaguar	Quetzalcóatl	God of Wind
Deer	Tepeyóllotl, Tlazoltéotl	Heart of the Mountain; Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Flower	Huehuecóyotl	Old (coyote, God of Dance
Reed	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl, Tonatiuh	Goddess of the Moon, God of the Sun
Rain	Tláloc	Rain and Storm
Grass	Mayáhucel	Goddess of Maguey
Serpent	Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	God of Fire, Venus as the Morning Star
Flint	Mictlantecuhtli, Tonatiuh	God of the Underworld, God of the Sun
Monkey	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Lizard	Itztlacoliuhqui, Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca	God of the Bent Knife, Black Smoking Mirror
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Dog	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
House	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly

Vulture	Xólotl	God of Twins
Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Wind	Chantico	Goddess of Fire
Eagle	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather
Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli, Xipe Tótec	God of Fire, Our Lord the Flayed One

Plate 71: The Sun and the Moon with 13 Birds

Plate 71 is composed of a large central panel surrounded on three sides by 13 smaller panels of approximately equal size. The large panel contains a representation of the solar deity sitting on a bench; a skeletal-jawed animal sacrificing a quail to the sun; the moon in a dark and starry sky; the jaws of the earth monster with a quail's head; and the day sign 1 Reed, which is the calendrical name of Quetzalcóatl. The image of Tonatiuh, the solar deity, is given the name 4 Movement. This is the name of the actual sun in the current creation as conceived by the Aztecs.

The 13 smaller panels contain 13 birds or, more accurately, 12 birds and one butterfly. Each is individually drawn to represent a particular kind of bird, some identifiable and some not. Each is also accompanied by one of the numbers from 1 to 13. These flying creatures are the winged companions of the 13 numbered days/ deities not identified in the Codex Borgia. They represent the 13 levels of creation above the plane of the earth.

Plate 72: The Four Directions with Plumed Serpents and Deities

This page is divided into four quarters, each surrounded by the image of a serpent with its head near the center of the page and its body all but enclosing the four sides of a rectangle. In each case the serpent's belly forms the outer edge of the rectangle border and its back forms the inner edge. At the center of the page is a little spiritual beast known as a *tzitzímitl*. Within each rectangle is the image of a deity who is physically connected to five of the day signs.

Beginning at the lower left corner and proceeding counterclock-wise, the deity assigned by Seler to the East is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm; he has attached to his body the day signs for Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The deity of the North is Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the earth, filth and the moon; she has attached to her body the day signs for Wind, Death, Dog, Jaguar and Flint. The deity of the West is Quetzalcóatl, the god of the wind; he has attached to his body the day signs for House, Deer, Monkey, Eagle and Rain. The fourth deity, the deity of the South, is Macuilxóchitl,

5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure; he has attached to his body the day signs for Lizard, Rabbit, Grass, Vulture and Flower.

The astute reader will have noticed that these day signs are regularly spaced in the series of 20. They follow the arrangement of the columns of day signs in the first representation of the *tonalpohualli* in the codex, beginning on Plate 1. If they are to be assigned directional significance here, as Seler has done for the quarters of the *tonalpohualli* when arranged as five rows of 52 days, the five day signs associated with the East are found in the first column of the *tonalpohualli,* the days of the North are in the fourteenth column, the West in the twenty-seventh column and the South in the fortieth column. In each case the five day signs are found in the first column of the quarter of the calendar assigned to the appropriate direction. This same grouping of days was used in the preparation of Plates 18-21 and 22 (and will be used on Plates 75 and 76), though Seler did not use the directional aspect of it for his interpretation of Plates 18-21.

Plate 73: Gods of Death and Life with 26 Days and the 20 Day Signs

The image of life and death on Plate 73 harks back to the compositionally similar image of a wind deity, representing life, and a death deity on Plate 56. There the image of Quetzalcóatl as the wind god is on the right side of the page and Mictlantecuhtli as the god of death is on the left side. Here those positions are reversed. The overall structure remains the same, though; the two deities are shown back to back, looking outward, and holding staves. The image of Quetzalcóatl is differently colored, black on Plate 56 and blue on Plate 73. His face paint and some of his costume elements are also changed. The image of Mictlantecuhtli is very similar in the two representations.

On Plate 56 these gods are accompanied by a shorthand version of the *tonalpohualli*. On Plate 73 they are ringed by 26 consecutive day signs (six are repeated; note the appearance of Death in the lower left corner just inside the ring) and have the 20 day signs attached to their bodies and costumes.

This parallel structure, appearing so many pages apart, suggests that these two pages may serve as bookends of a sort, unifying the various sections found between them. These sections are the six supernatural couples, the 25 divinatory couples, the second complete 260-day calendar, the sun and moon with their 13 birds and the four directions with plumed serpents. The motive for this potential relationship is not immediately evident.

Plate 74: Male and Female Gods of Sensuality

This page presents images of two deities who are, at least in part, dedicated to sensuality and procreation. The bottom half of the page is given over to a male deity of sensuality, an *ahuiatéotl,* and a set of the 20 day names. The upper half contains an image of Tlazoltéotl and another set of the 20 day names. Tlazoltéotl is principally known as the old goddess of the earth and of the moon and as the eater of filth. She is also known as Teteoinnan, the "mother of the gods," and as Toci, "our grandmother." It is in these capacities that she displays the characteristics of a goddess of sensuality and voluptuousness.

The original of the Codex Borgia has been very badly damaged on this page through burning and the loss of the white lime surface that underlies the paintings. As a result much of this page is reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers following a drawing of the page made for Lord Kingsborough in the nineteenth century. Neither Kingsborough nor Díaz and Rodgers could decide where to put the day sign for Movement on the lower half of the page, so it is omitted though it was surely there at one time. On both halves of the page, 14 of the day signs are arranged around the margins, and six are in the center with the image of the god. In both cases these six are consecutive days. For the *ahuiatéotl* they are the last four and the first two, and for Tlazoltéotl they are the last six of the series of 20.

Plates 75 and 76: Eight Deities

The last two pages, the most seriously damaged of the entire codex, are meant to be read together. Each page is divided into four parts, with each quarter dominated by the figure of a god seated on a throne. In front of each deity are several other things, including a small figure of a priest offering incense and blood, and an urn with other sacrifices in it. Beneath each set of images are five day signs taken from a column of the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in five rows of 52 days, like the one on Plates 1-8 of the codex. At one side of each panel is a group of either five or six red dots as calendrical place holders.

The reading order begins at the bottom right corner of Plate 75 and proceeds from right to left across the two pages. It then goes up to the top register at the upper left corner of Plate 76 and proceeds from left to right back across the two pages. After five circuits of the eight images an entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* will have been counted. If we begin reading with the day 1 Alligator at the bottom of Plate 75 and count the six place markers as days 2 through 7, the next day will be 8 Rabbit, which is the first of the painted day signs in the next panel. From there five place markers take us past days 9 through 13, making the next day 1 jaguar. Clearly, each pair of figures represents two parts of a single group of 13 and, just as clearly, each pair of figures can be associated with the direction linked to that part of the *tonalpohualli.* The reason for this

association is not so clear, though it may be based on principles similar to those that informed the painting on Plate 72 with its four plumed serpents.

The deity in the first panel is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm. Before him are a bowl full of ears of corn, instruments of autosacrifice and an urn with a rubber ball and an ear of corn. The second panel contains Tonatiuh, the sun god, enthroned before a hill with instruments of warfare at its peak. These two panels are attributed to the East by Seler.

The next pair of panels, at the bottom of Plate 76, contain a red skeletal figure, as a symbol of the moon as well as of death, on the right, and Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon, on the left. This pair is connected to the second portion of the *tonalpohualli,* that of the North. The skeletal figure is seated before a pair of autosacrificial tools and an urn containing a ball of rubber, a bundle of sticks, three loose sticks, a plant and a fire serpent's tail. Tlazoltéotl is seated before a hill with a crossroads and a bundle of sticks.

The third pair of panels is found at the top of Plate 76. The first of the pair was almost completely destroyed by the late-eighteenth-century fire. The second, on the right side of the page, is a representation of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, though the diagnostic five dots on his face are not in evidence. He sits before a hill that has instruments of warfare at its peak and water running down its sides. These panels are tied calendrically to the West.

The fourth and final pair, at the top of Plate 75, is connected to the South in the calendar. The first of the pair contains a figure of a green skeleton covered with green grass (the green has become tan). Before him are broken instruments of autosacrifice and an urn very similar to that of the third panel (which featured the red skeleton) and with nearly identical contents. Again, the second panel of this last pair was almost completely destroyed by the unfortunate fire and by friction.

The relationship between these four quarters, in the form of eight paired images, and the four plumed serpents on Plate 72 was first noted by Seler, who remarked that correspondences of color and imagery suggest that these two sections of the codex were about similar matters.

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THE PLATES

The painted pages of the Codex Borgia restoration are here reproduced in numerically reverse order to make the reading of them as close to that of the original screenfold as possible (without the necessity of turning the book around halfway through). The codex is read from right to left, so that the reader is asked to turn to codex page 1 (= Dover Plate 1) and to read the color pages straight through from right to left and from back to front. Please note the detailed remarks in the introduction and commentary for the reading order on individual pages and groups of pages. The brief explanatory captions accompanying the plates have been provided by the writer of the introduction, Bruce E. Byland.

PLATE 76: Page 2 of eight deities

PLATE 75: Page 1 of eight deities

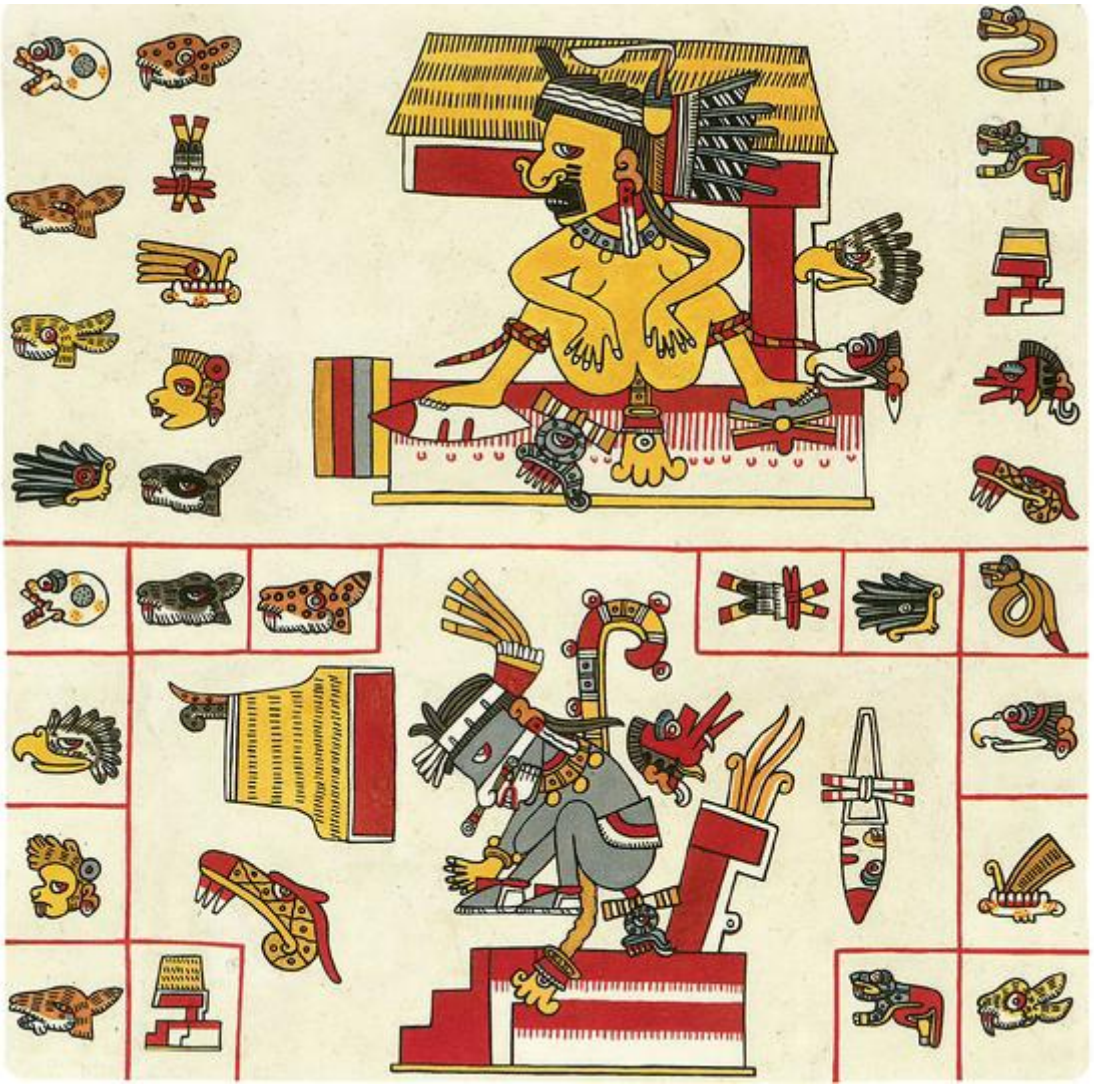

PLATE 74: Male and female gods of sensuality

PLATE 73: Gods of death and life with 26 days and the 20 day signs

PLATE 72: The four directions with plumed serpents and deities

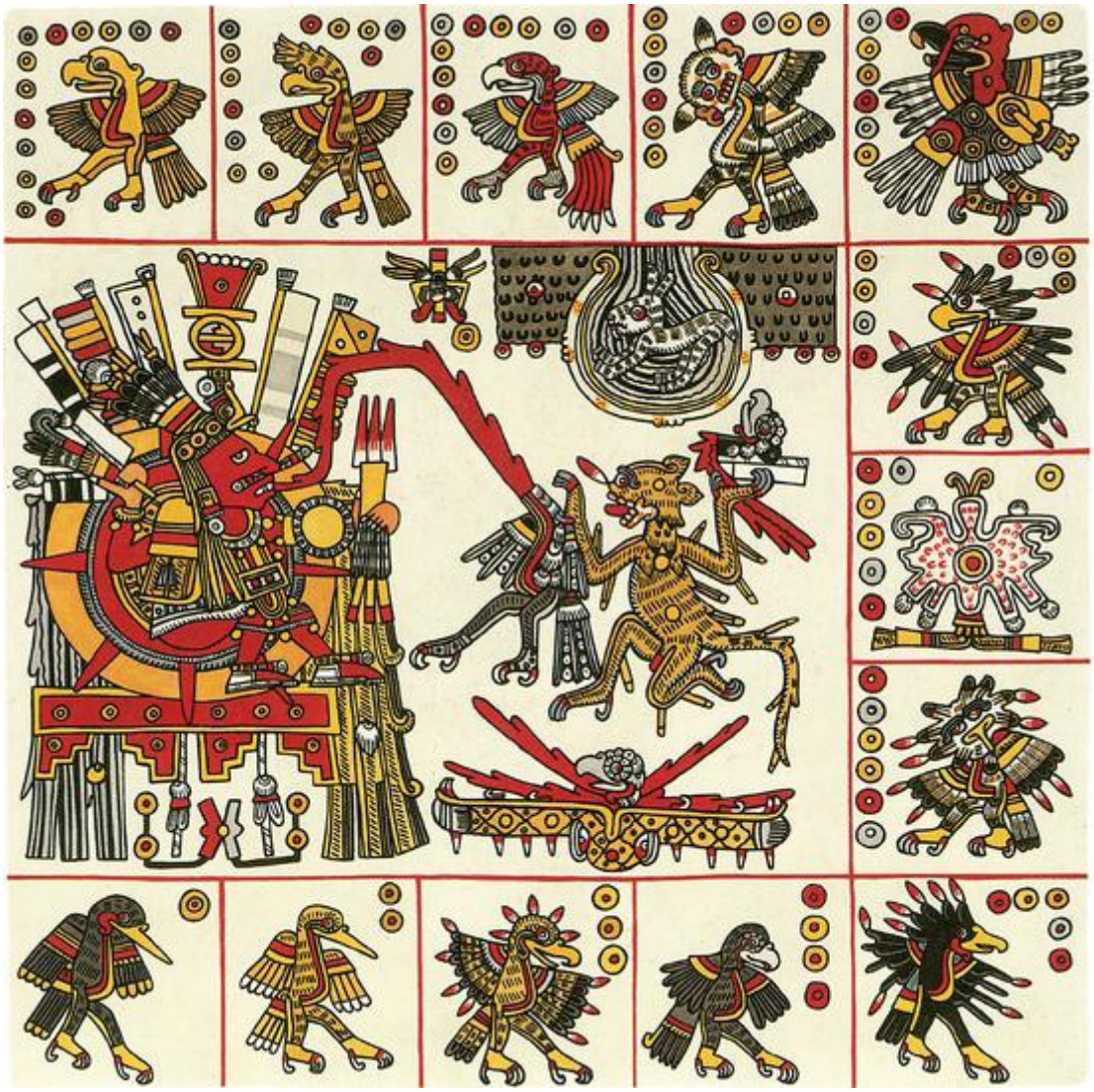

PLATE 71: The sun and the moon with 13 birds

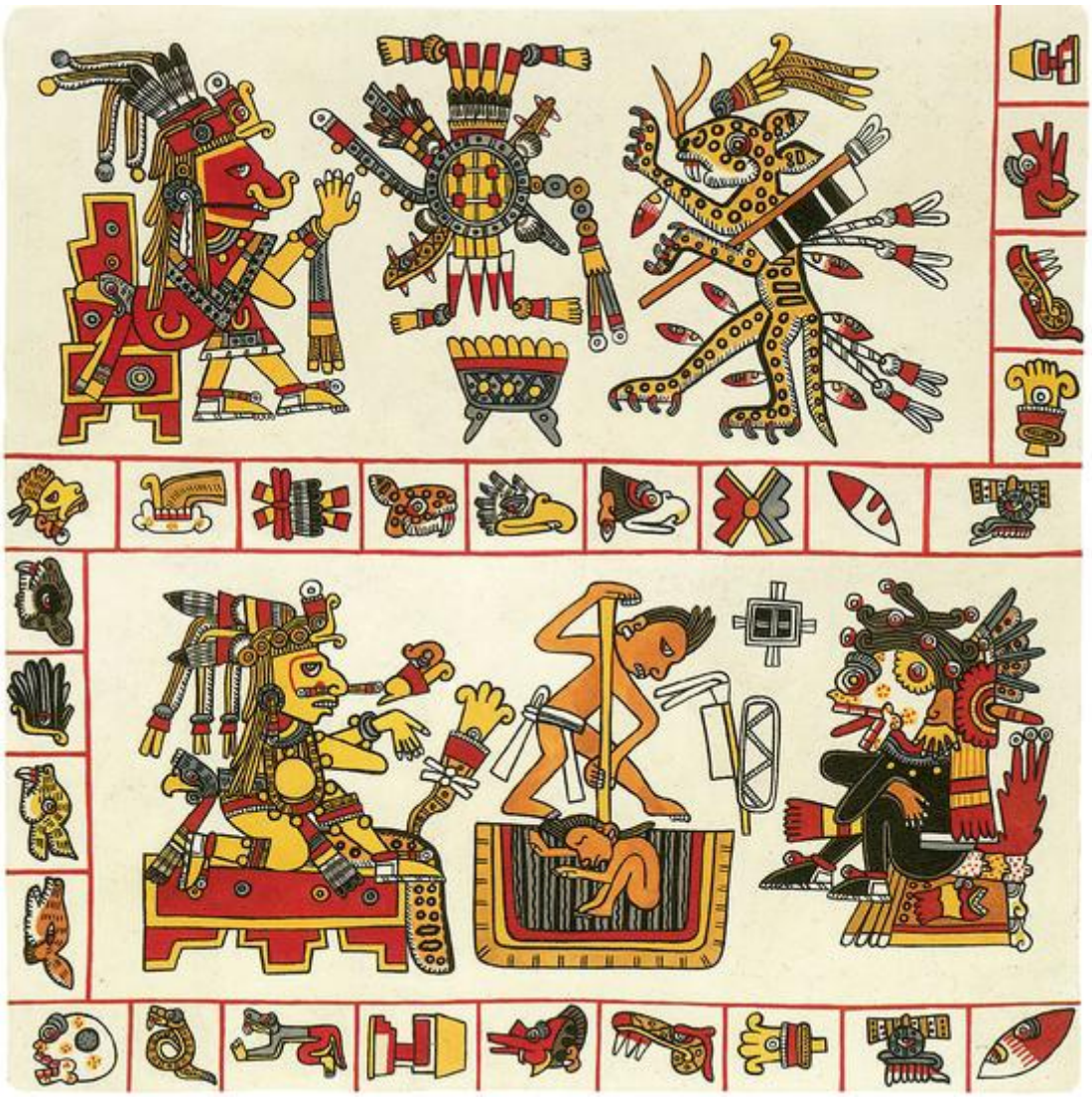

PLATE 70: Page 10 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 69: Page 9 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 68: Page 8 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 67: Page 7 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

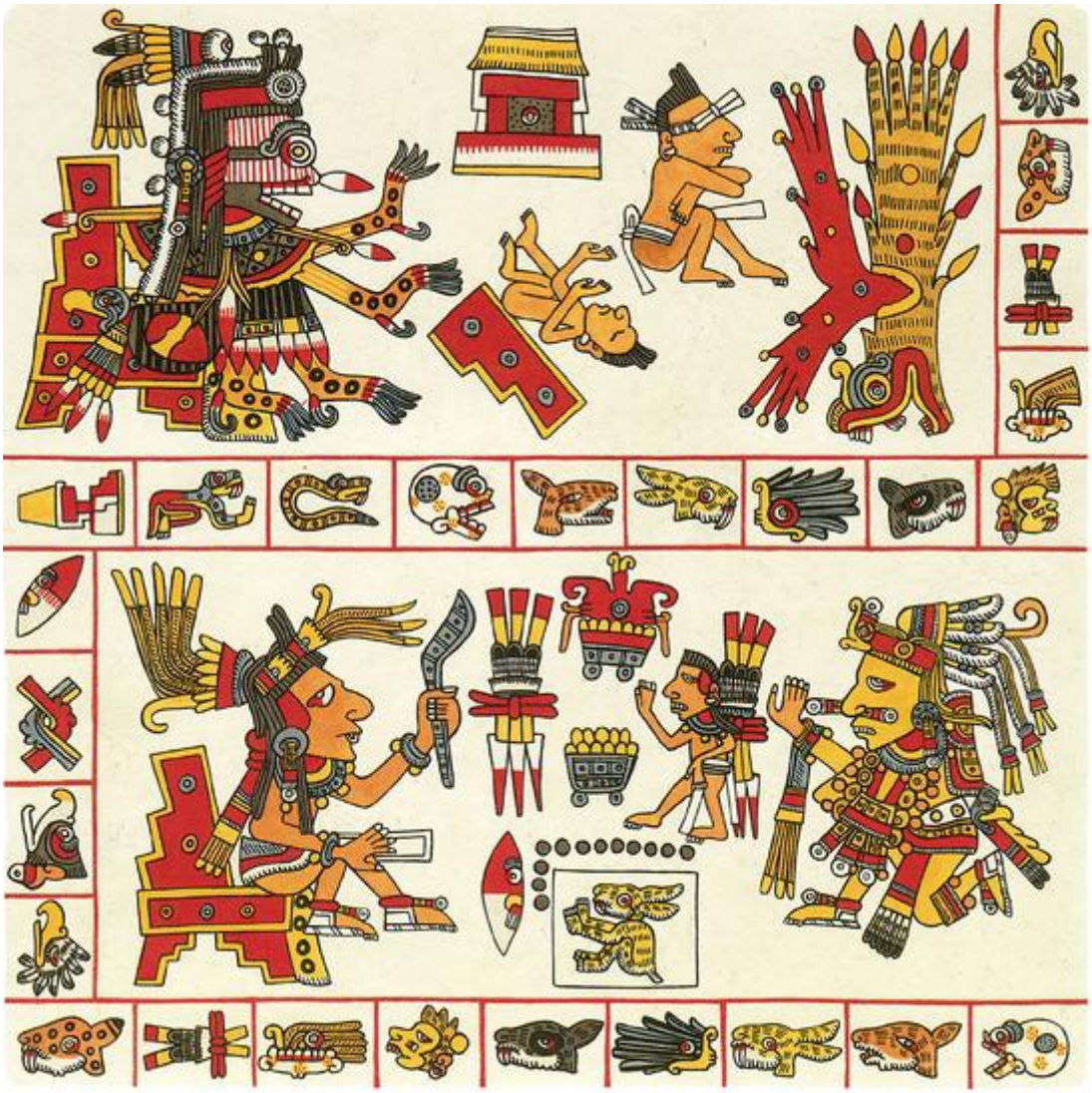

PLATE 66: Page 6 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 65: Page 5 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 64: Page 4 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 63: Page 3 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

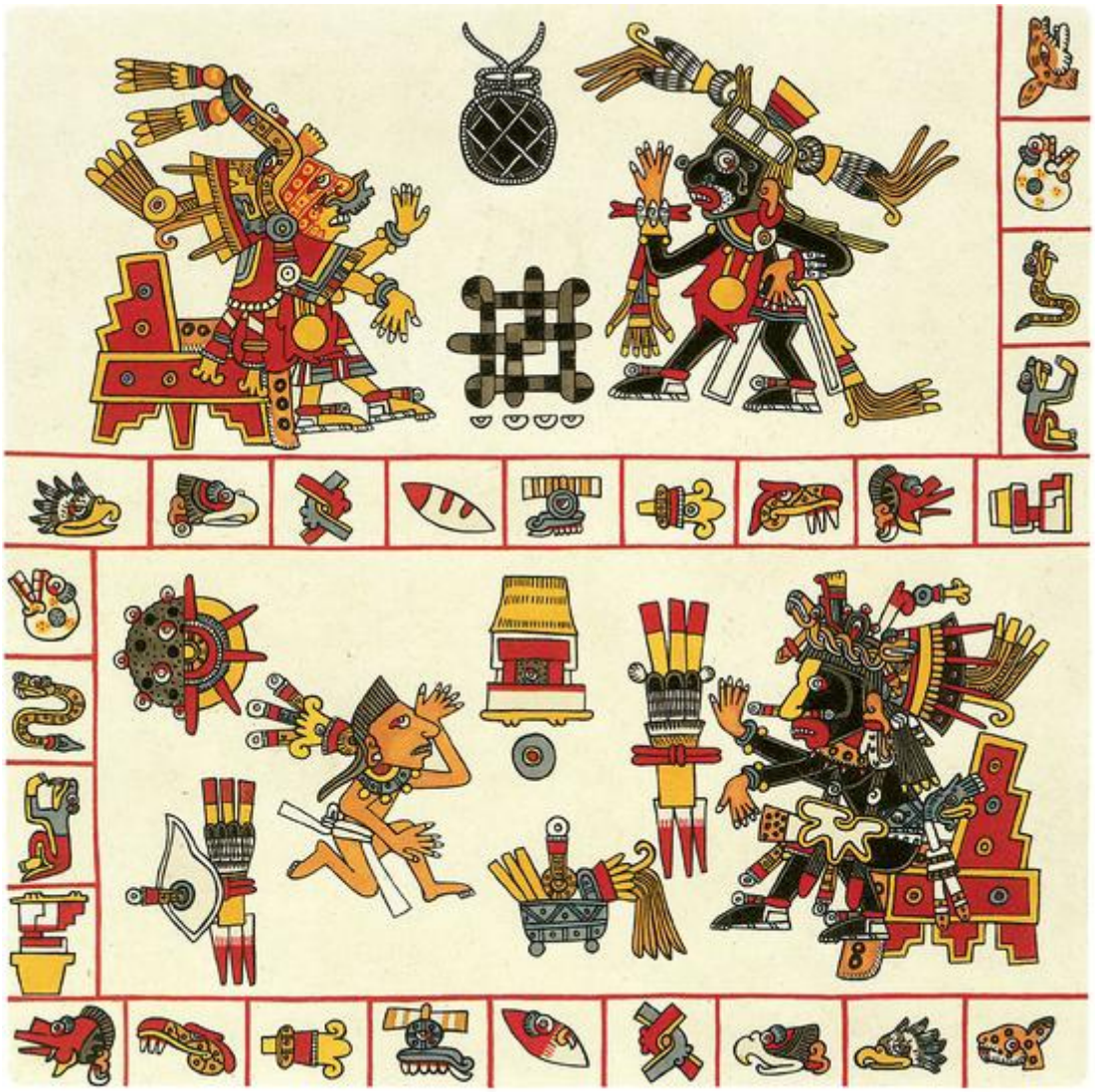

PLATE 62: Page 2 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

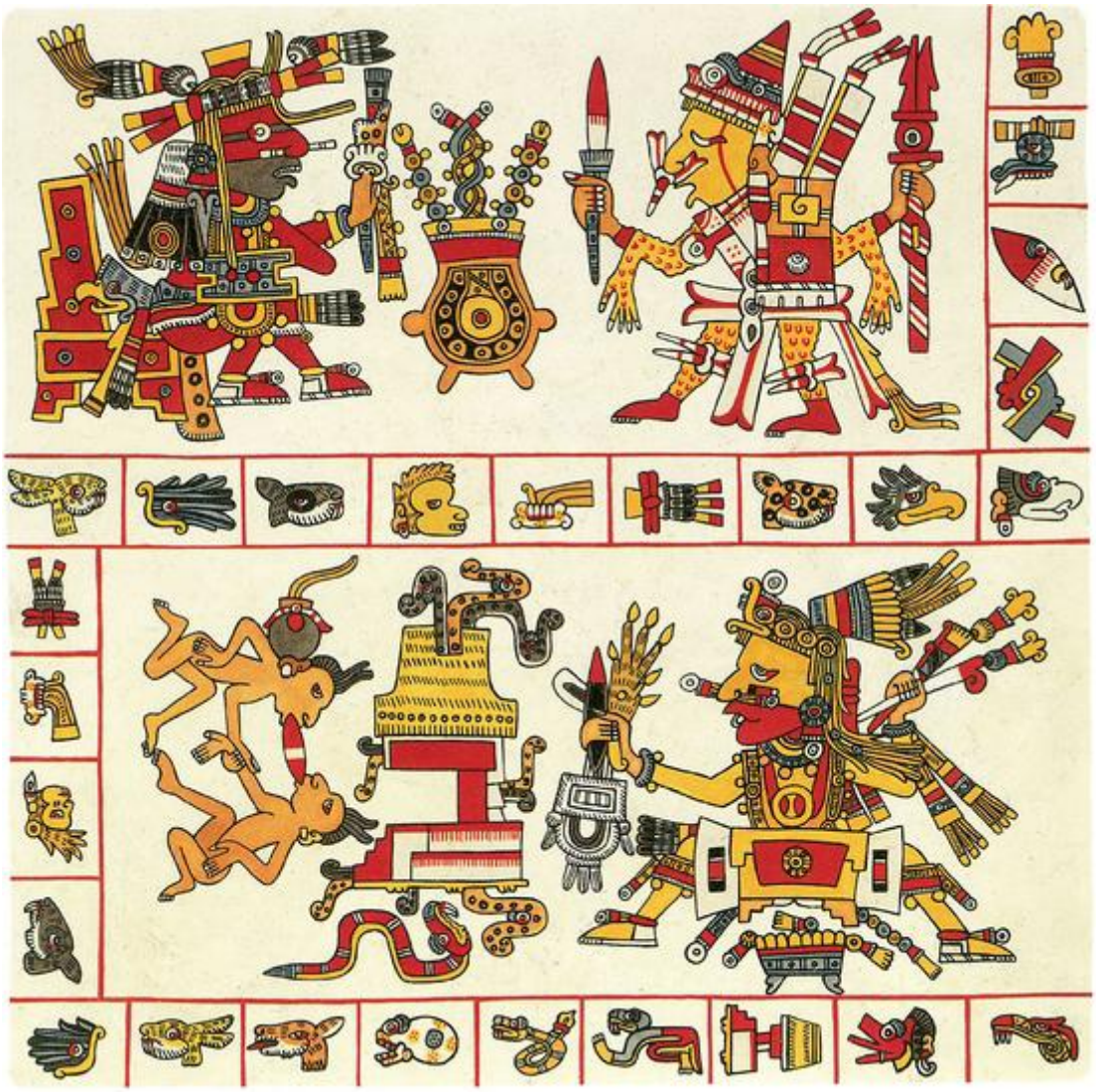

PLATE 61: Page 1 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 60: Page 3 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 59: Page 2 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 58: Page 1 of the numerological marriage prognostications

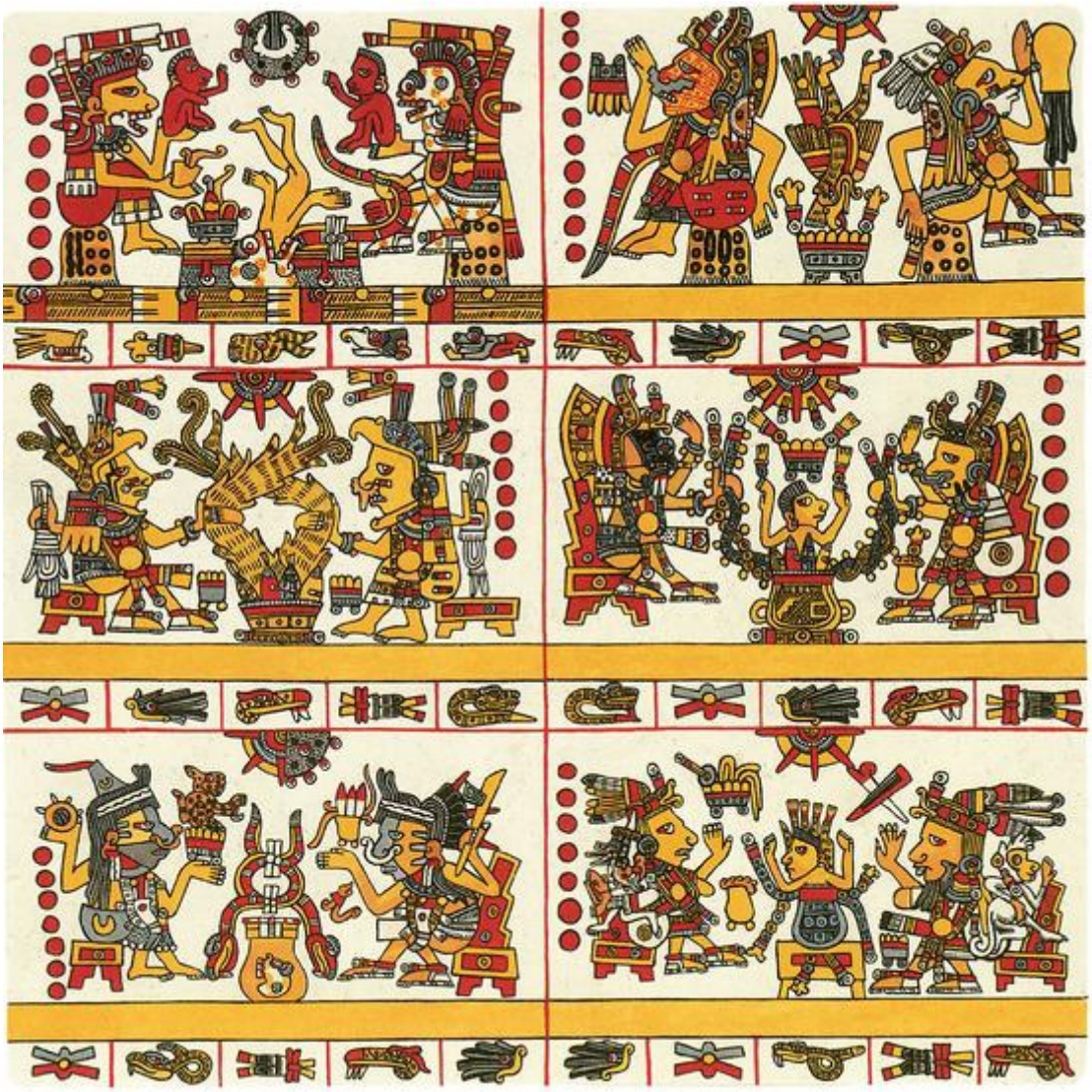

PLATE 57: Six supernatural couples

PLATE 56: Gods of life and death, and the tonalpohualli

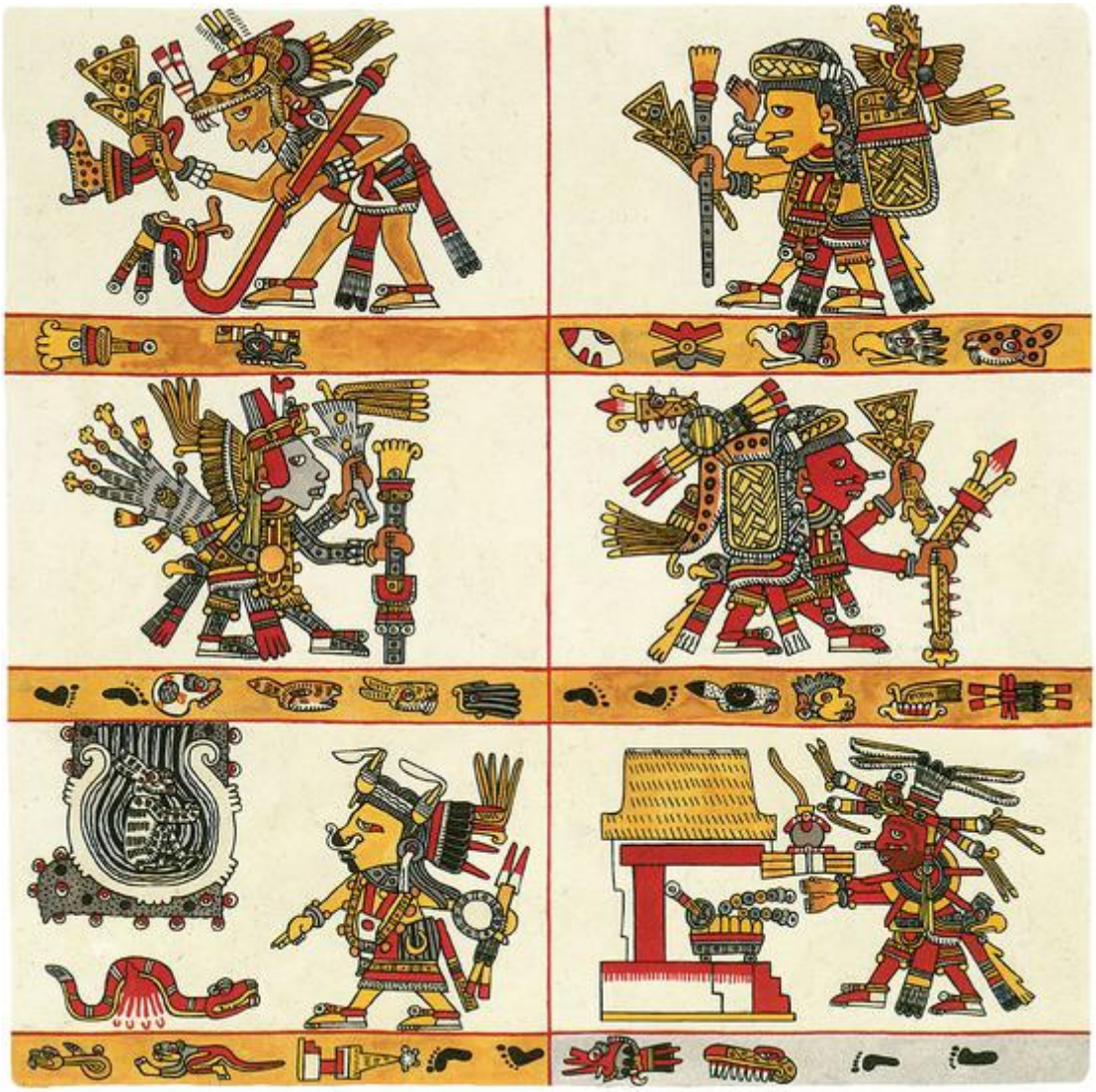

PLATE 55: Six deities with 20 day names

PLATE 54: Four more piercing sacrifices

PLATE 53: Page 5 of the five directional trees, the Center; Xochipilli as a deer; and the
first of five piercing sacrifices

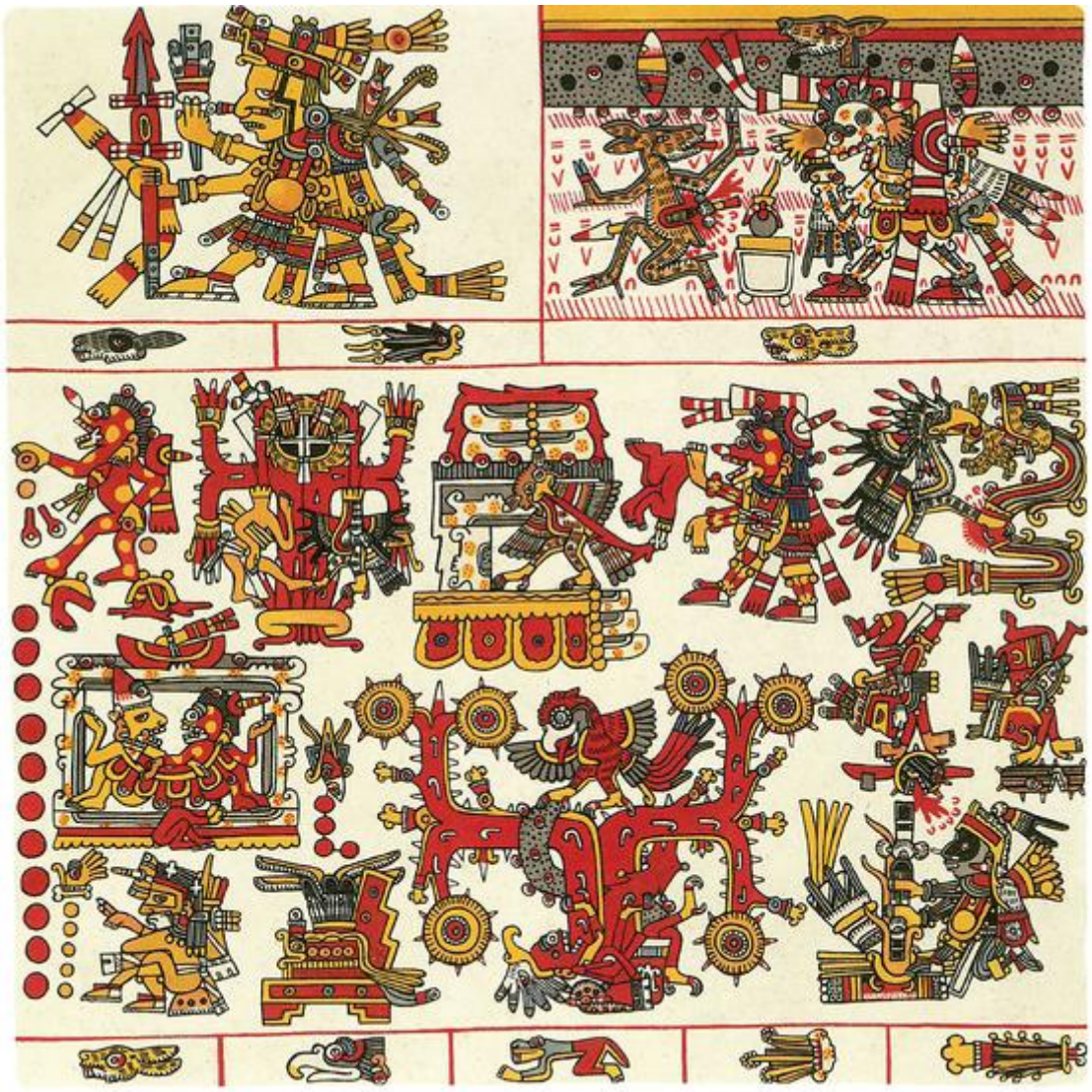

PLATE 52: Page 4 of the five directional trees, the South

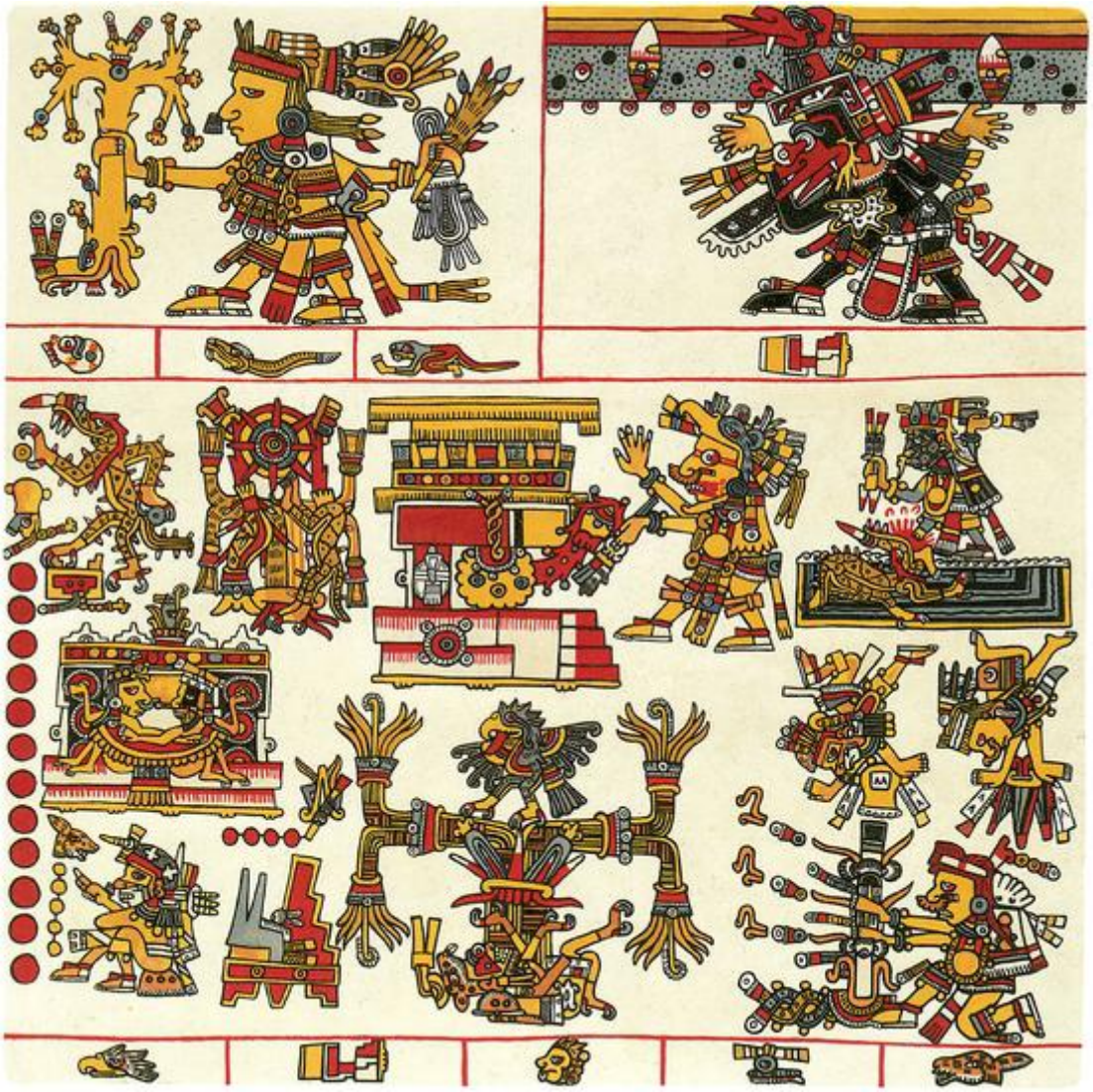

PLATE 51: Page 3 of the five directional trees, the West

PLATE 50: Page 2 of the five directional trees, the North

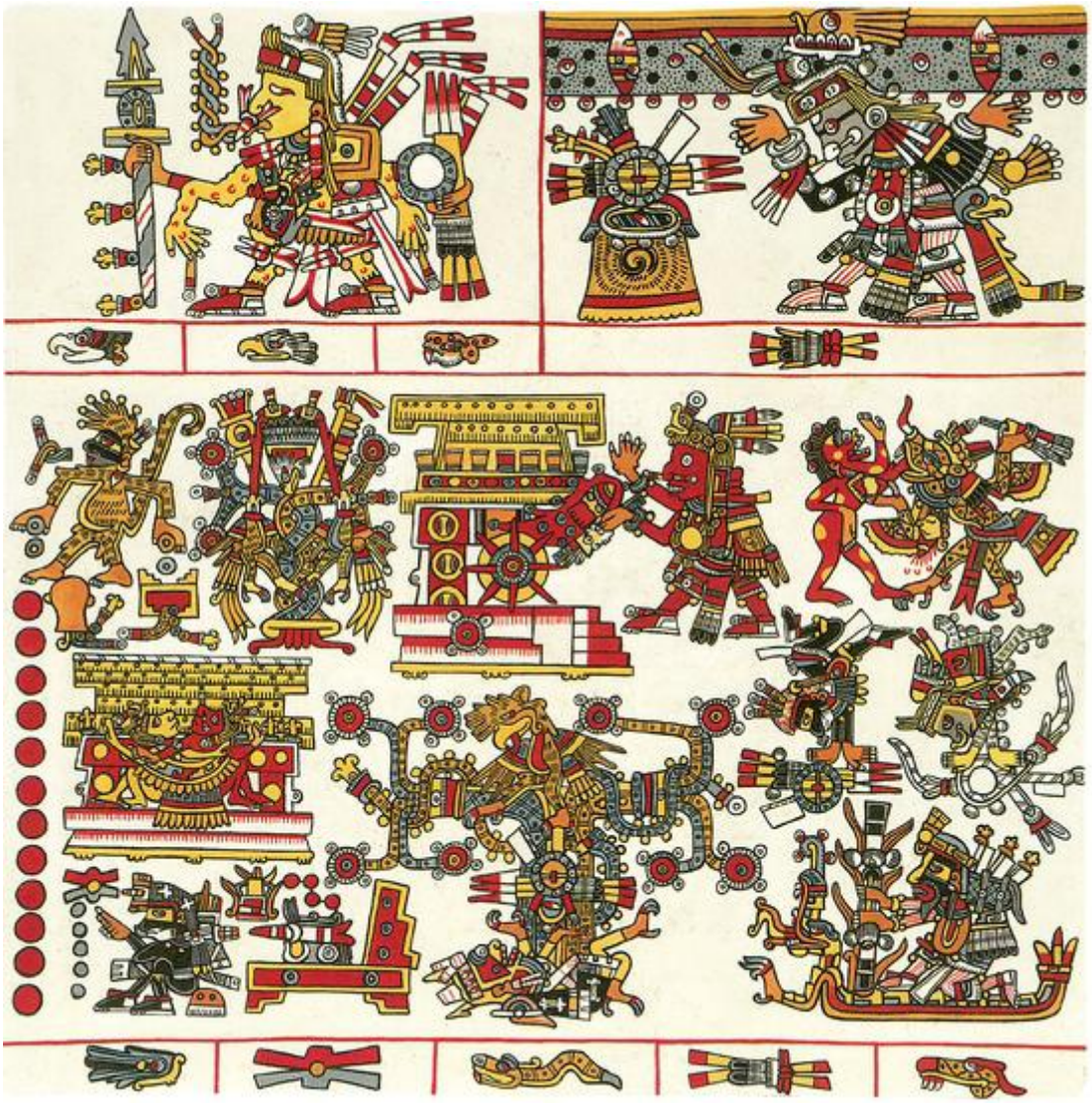

PLATE 49: Page 1 of the five directional trees, the East

PLATE 48: Page 2 of three groups of five deities

PLATE 47: Page 1 of three groups of five deities

PLATE 46: Page 18 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony with new-fire lighting

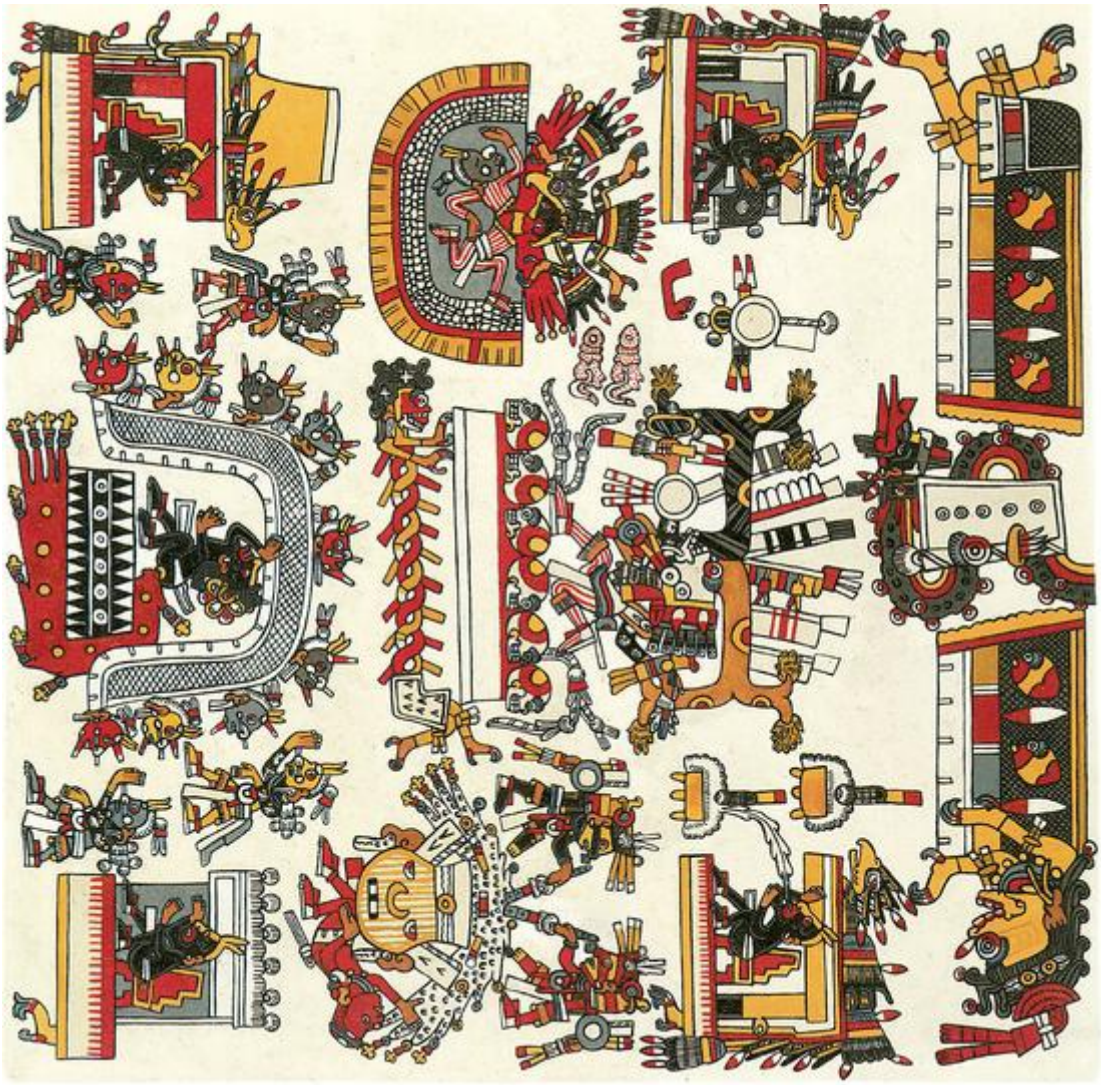

PLATE 45: Page 17 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony

PLATE 44: Page 16 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a flower/flint compound

PLATE 43: Page 15 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a corn/sun compound

PLATE 42: Page 14 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye leads ceremonies of sacrifice

PLATE 41: Page 13 of the ritual sequence, a blue road and a cogged disc as Stripe Eye continues

PLATE 40: Page 12 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye sacrifices the solar deity

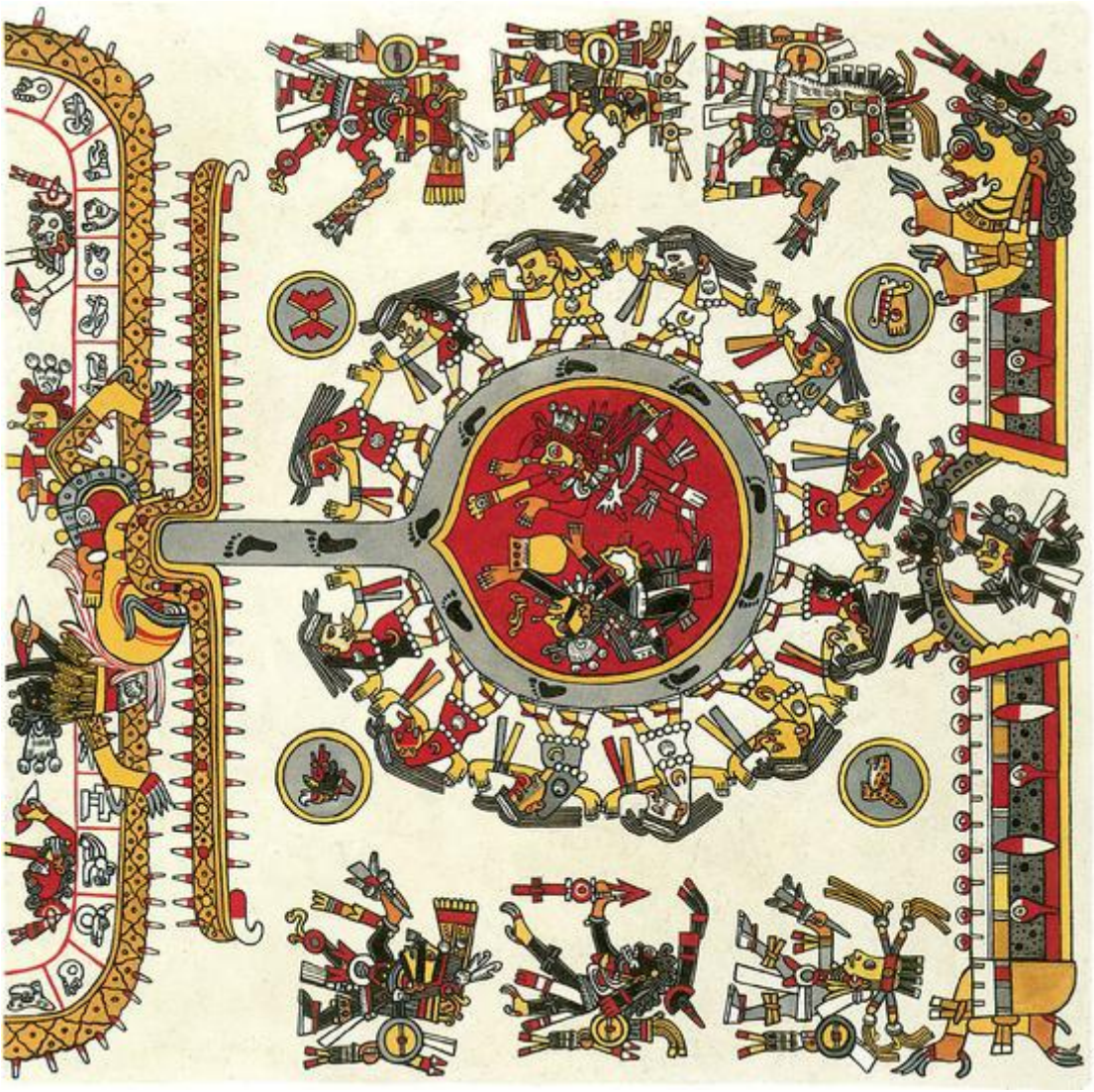

PLATE 39: Page 11 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye in another ceremony

PLATE 38: Page 10 of the ritual sequence, rituals as Stripe Eye ends his magical journey

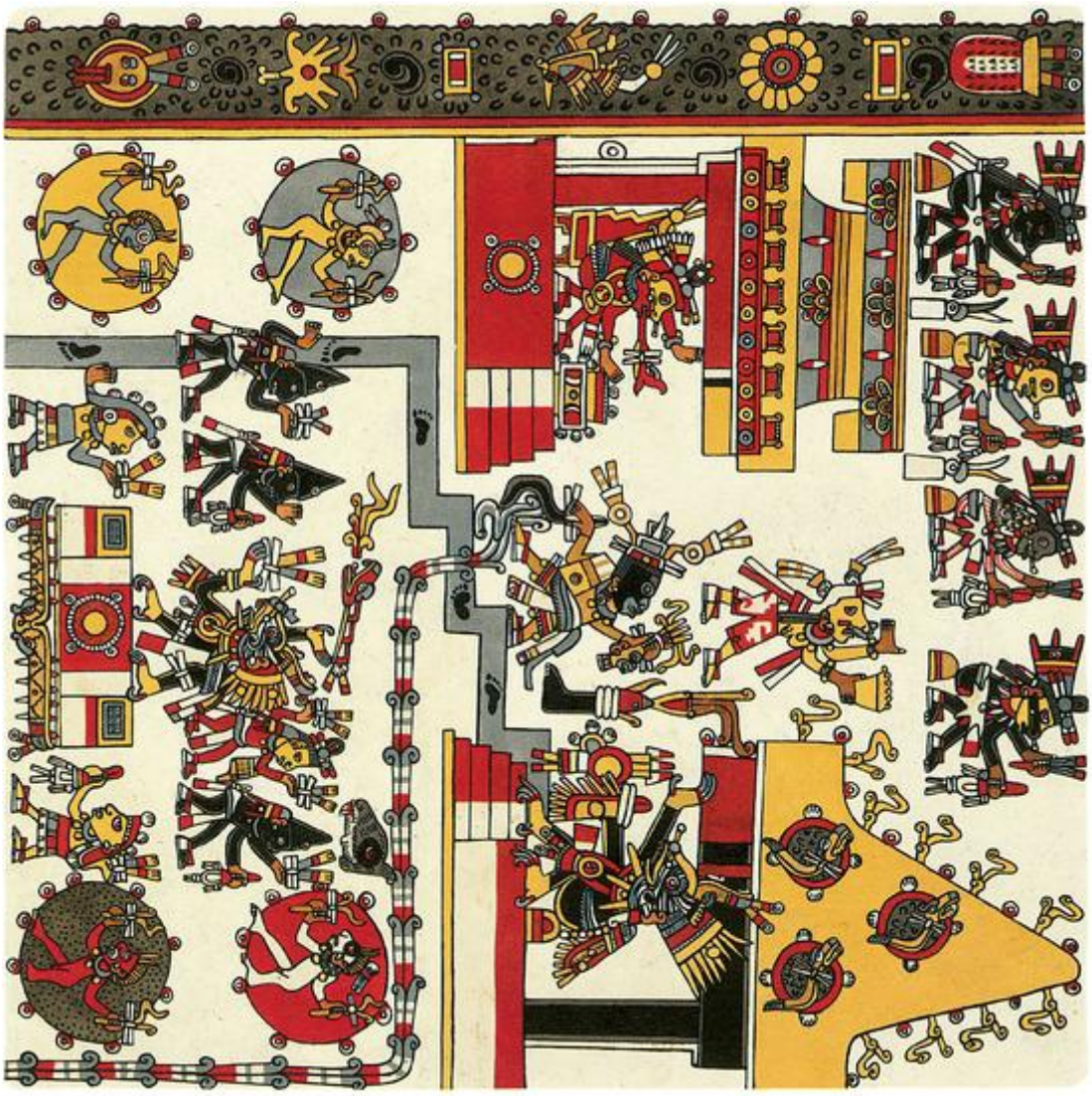

PLATE 37: Page 9 of the ritual sequence, rituals in the plaza of the heaven temple while
Stripe Eye magically journeys

PLATE 36: Page 8 of the ritual sequence, the wind bundle is opened

PLATE 35: Page 7 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye's journey begins on the blue road

PLATE 34: Page 6 of the ritual sequence, the eared-roofed heaven temple

PLATE 33: Page 5 of the ritual sequence, the round heaven temple

PLATE 32: Page 4 of the ritual sequence, the fifth enclosure

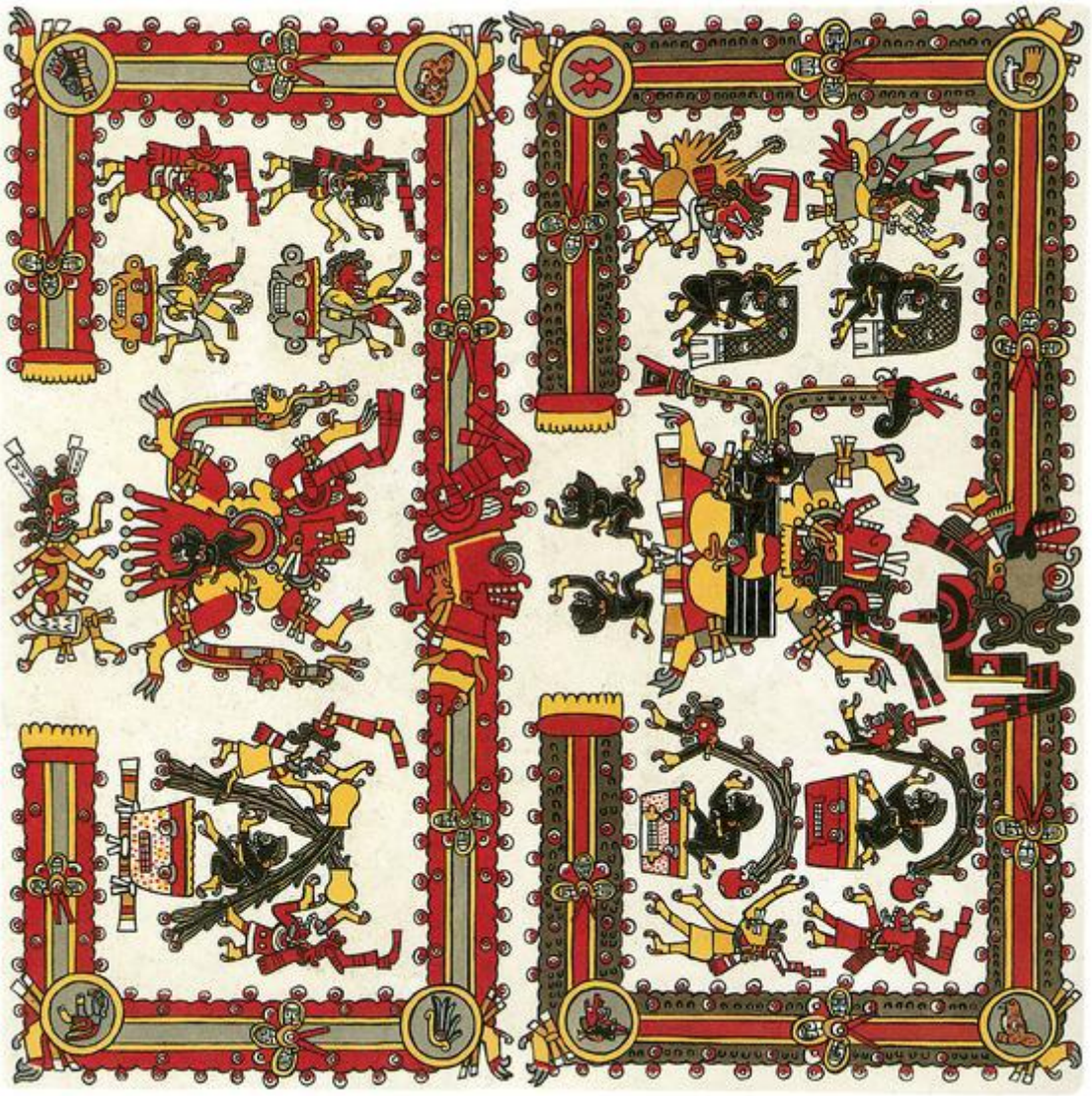

PLATE 31: Page 3 of the ritual sequence, the third and fourth enclosures

PLATE 30: Page 2 of the ritual sequence, the second enclosure

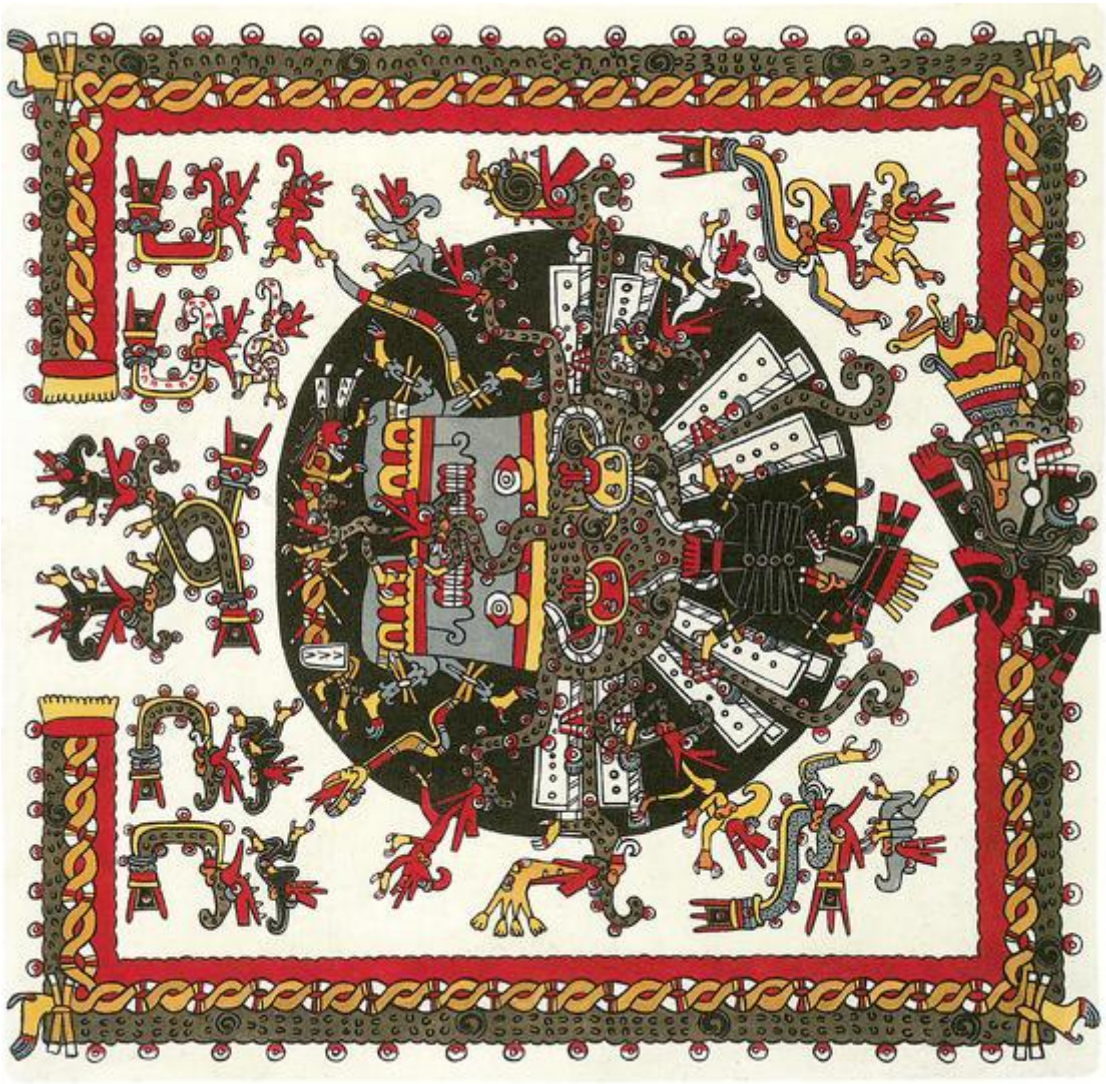

PLATE 29: Page 1 of the ritual sequence, the first enclosure

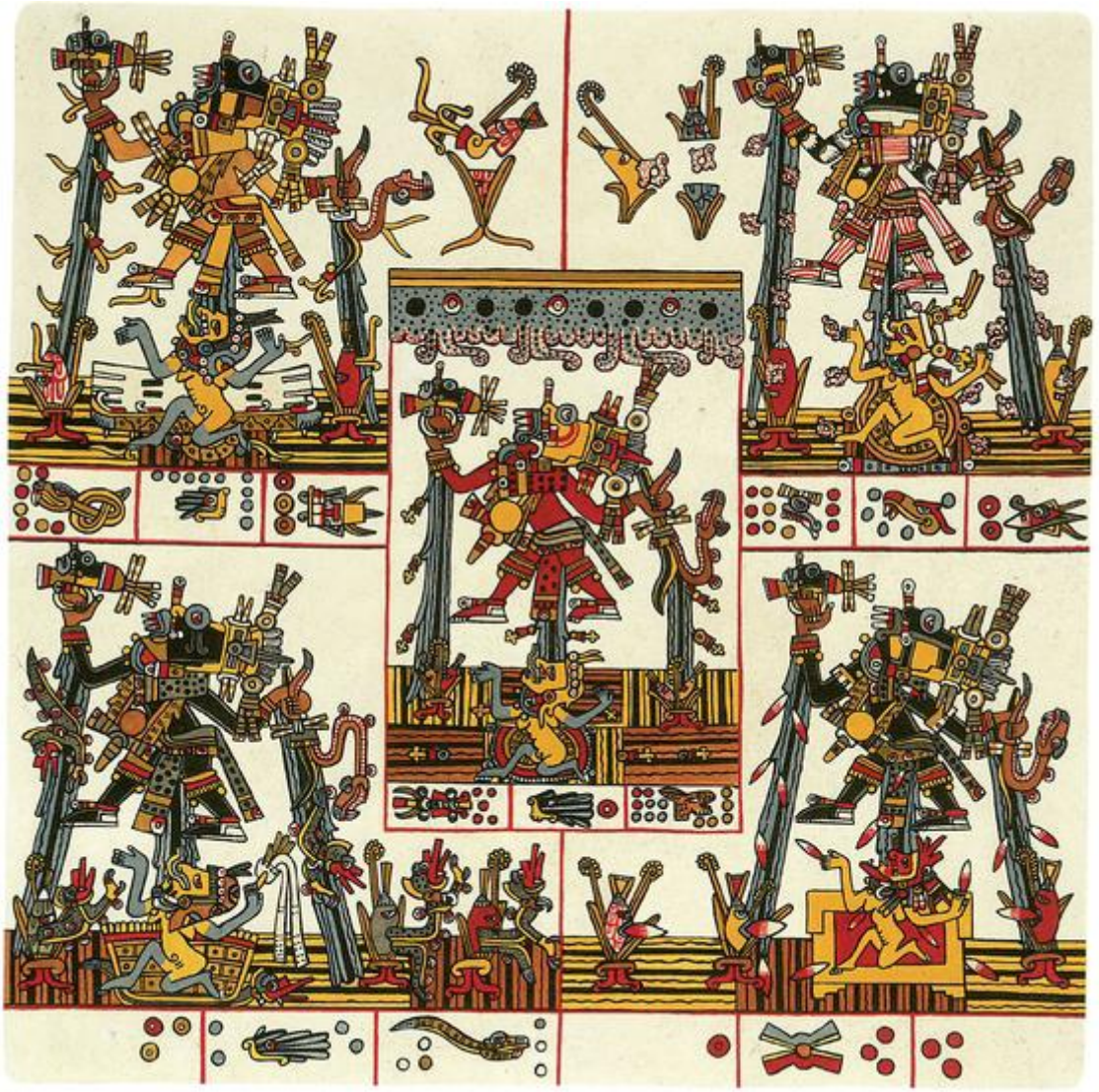

PLATE 28: The five directions with rain deities and the first five years of a 52-year calendar cycle

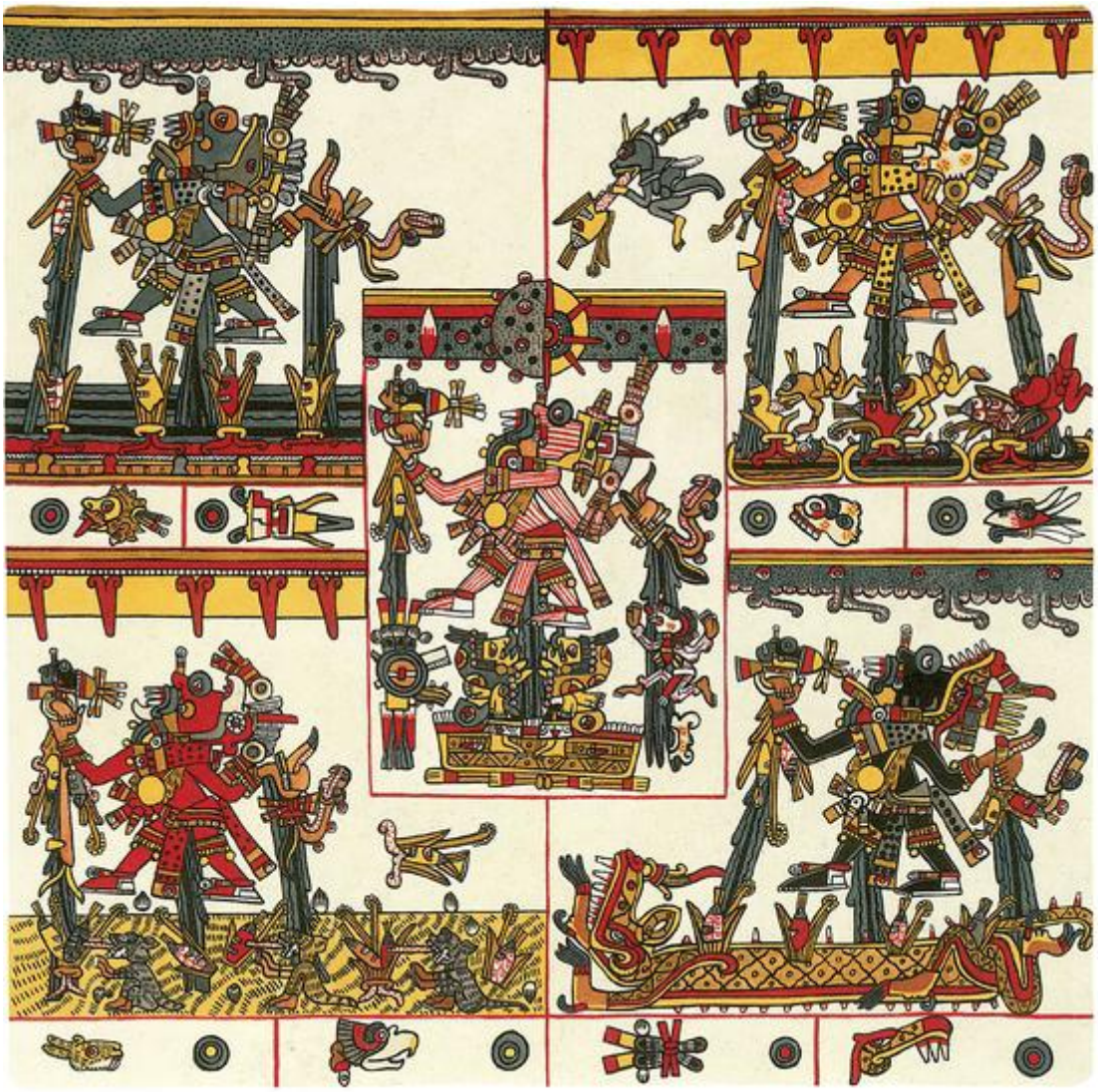

PLATE 27: The five directions with rain deities and four quarters of a 52-year calendar cycle

PLATE 26: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs in the underworld

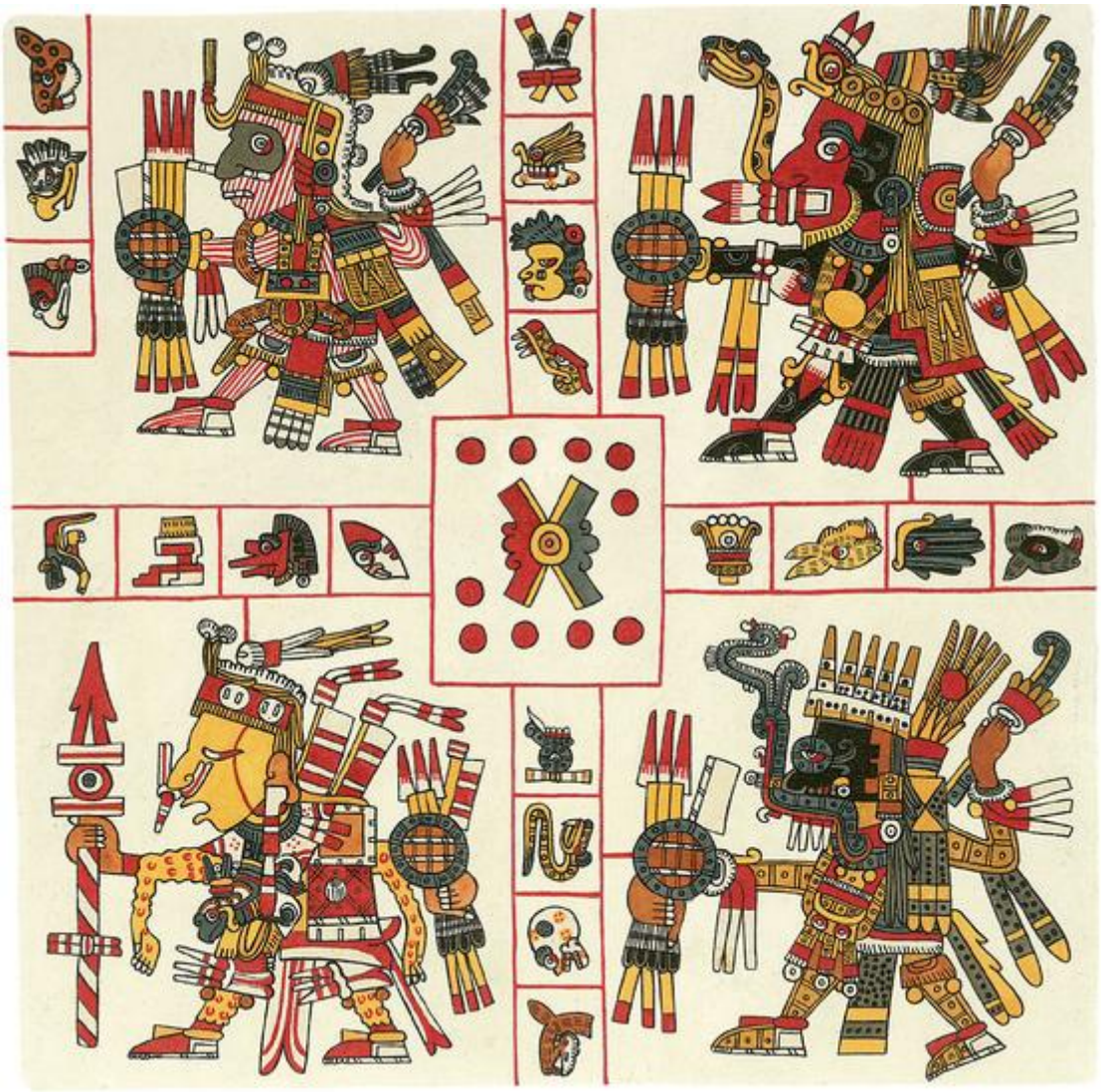

PLATE 25: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs

PLATE 24: Page 3 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 23: Page 2 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 22: Two deer with one half of the tonalpohualli, and page 1 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

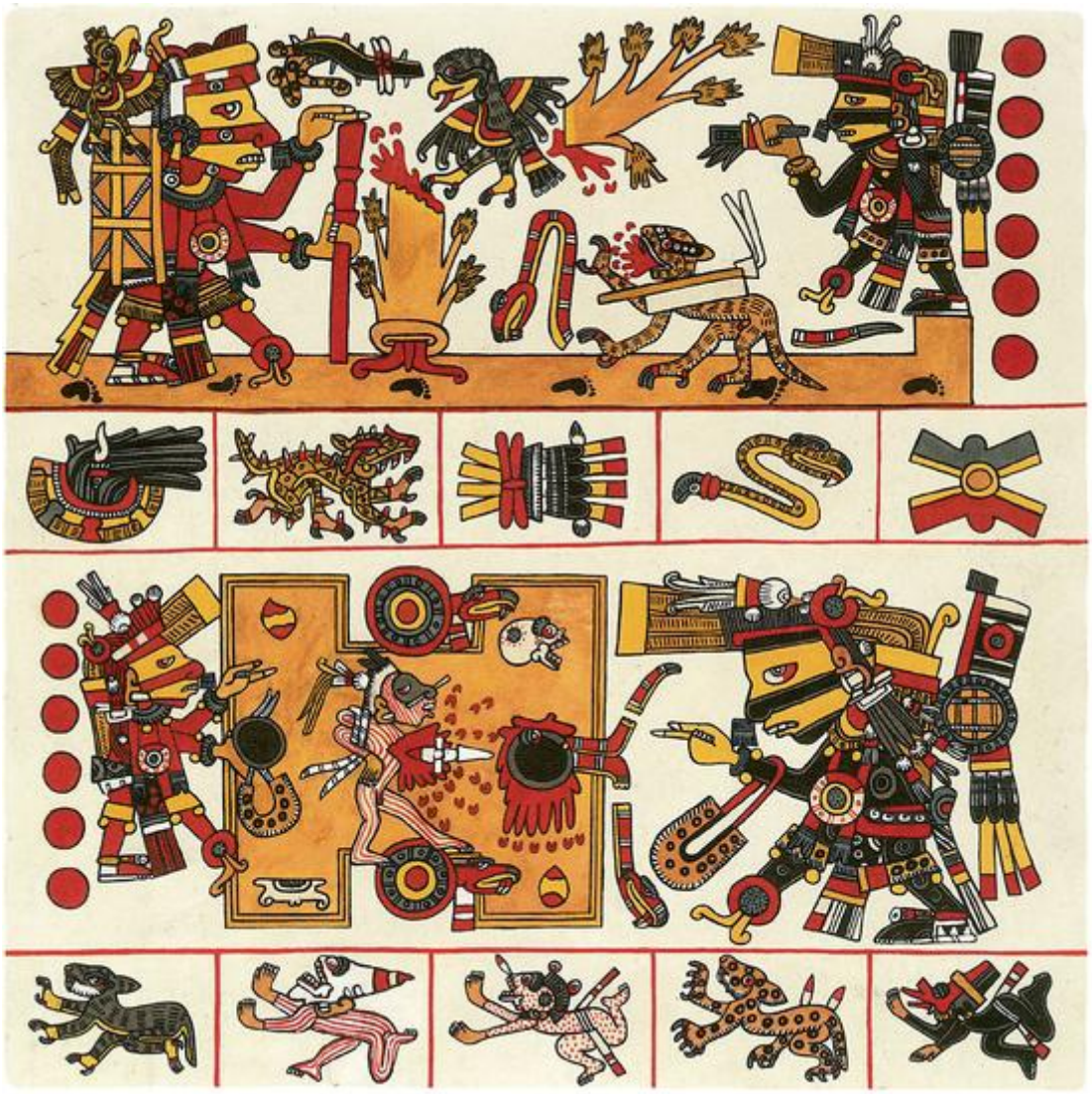

PLATE 21: Page 4 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

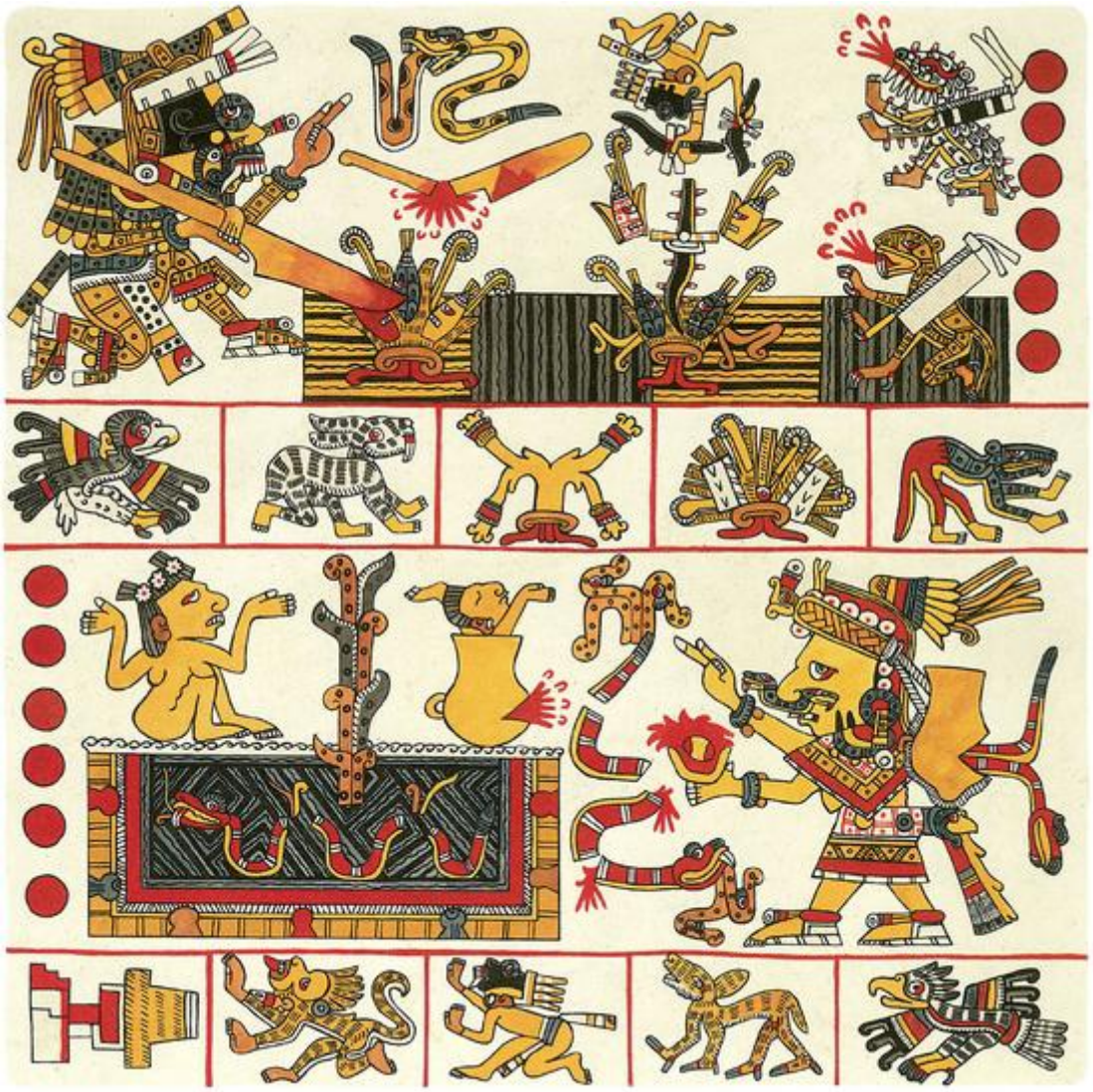

PLATE 20: Page 3 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 19: Page 2 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 18: Page 1 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 17: Page 3 of 20 deities and 80 days, and Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca with the 20 day signs
on his body and costume

PLATE 16: Page 2 of 20 deities and 80 days

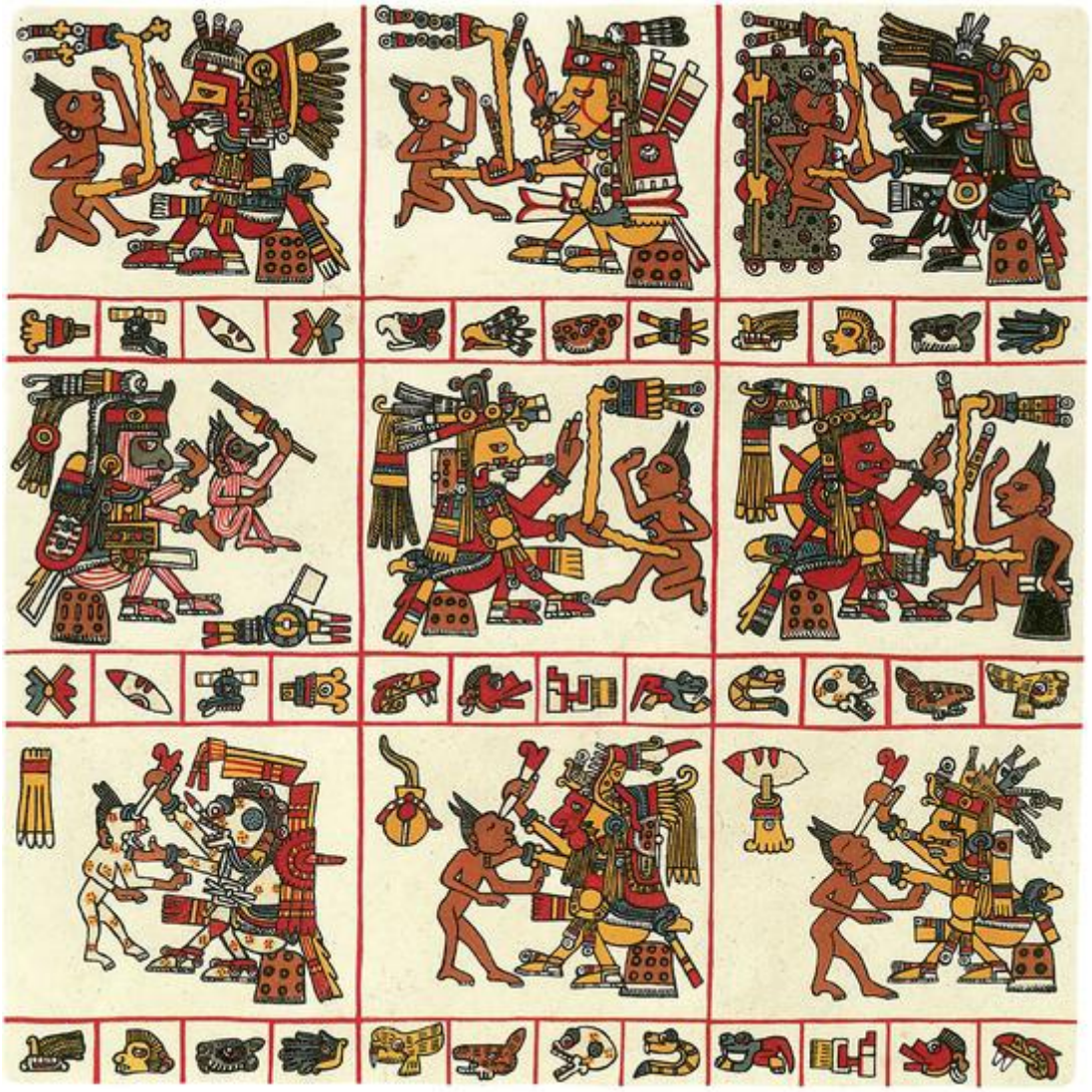

PLATE 15: Page 1 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 14: The nine deities of the night

PLATE 13: Page 5 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 12: Page 4 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 11: Page 3 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 10: Page 2 of the deities of the 20 day signs

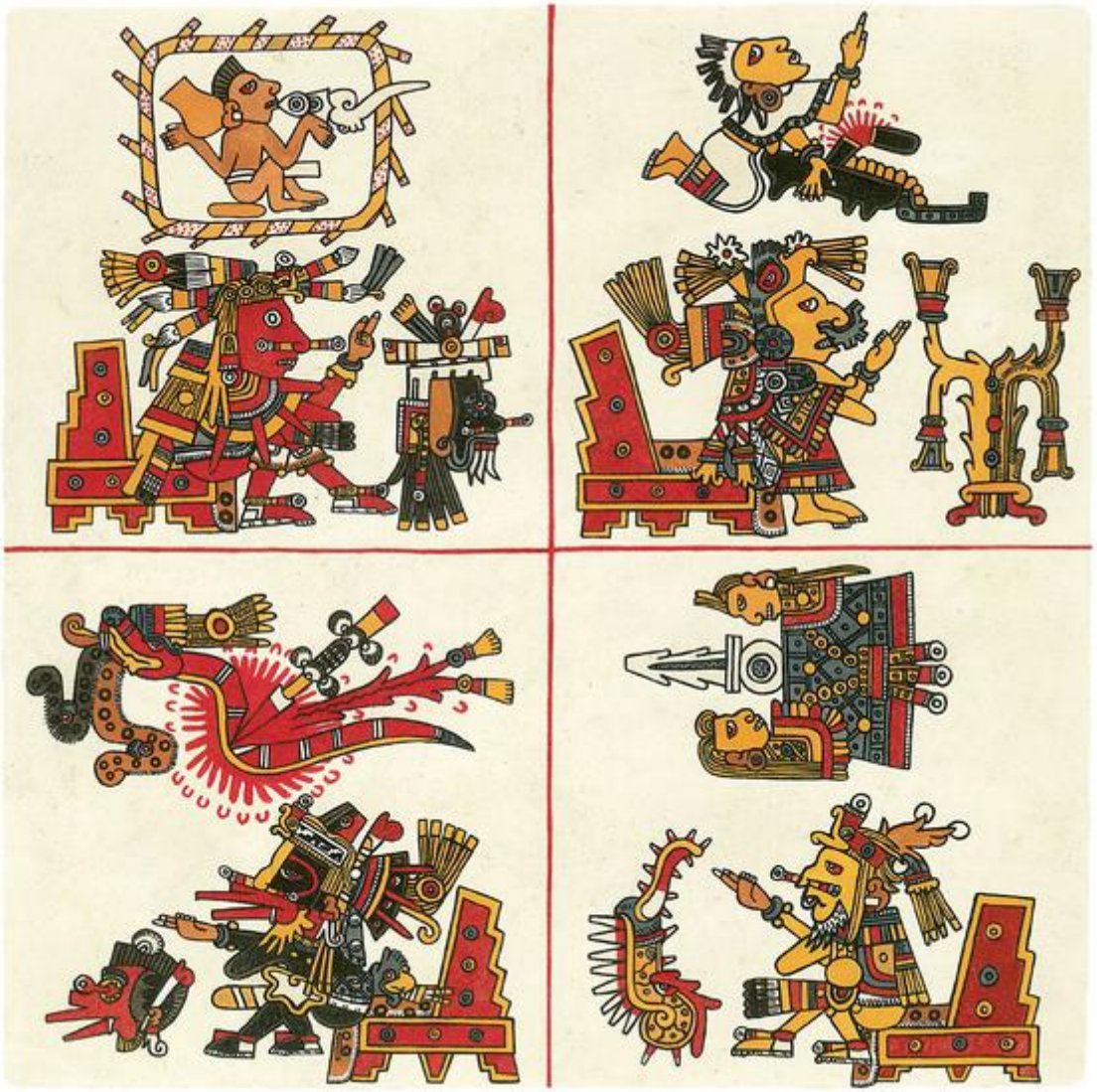

PLATE 9: Page 1 of the deities of the 20 day signs

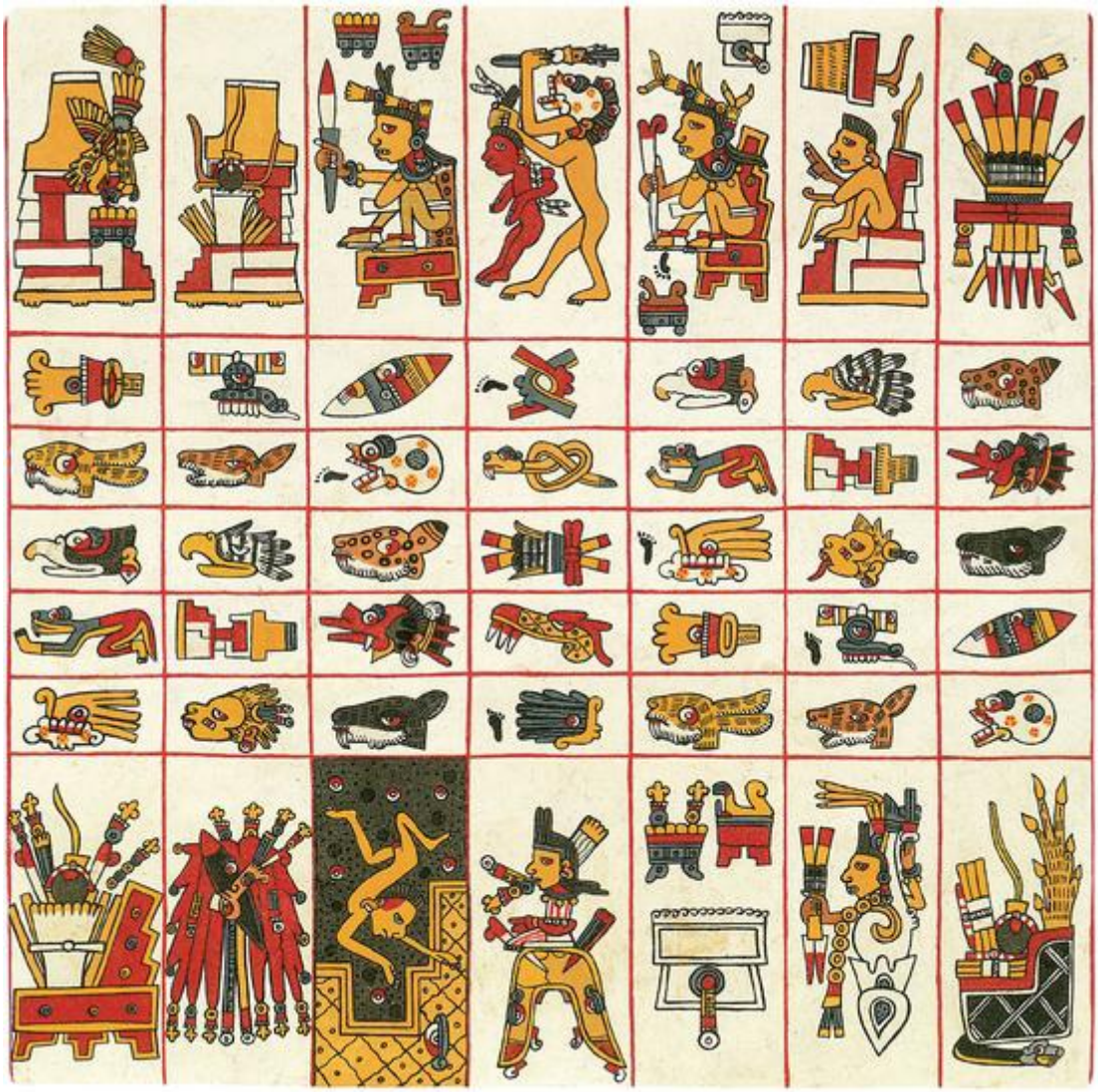

PLATE 8: Page 8 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

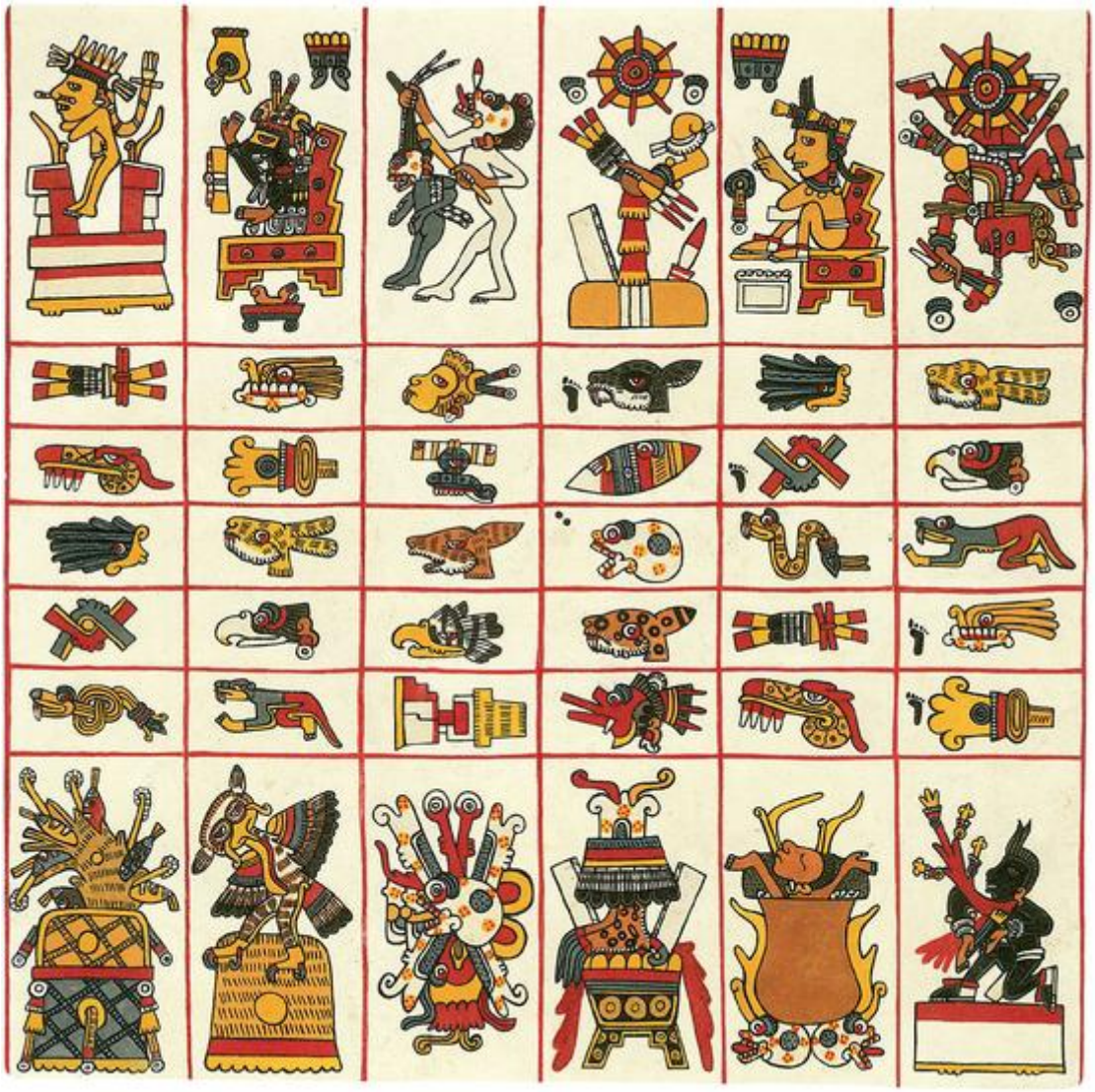

PLATE 7: Page 7 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

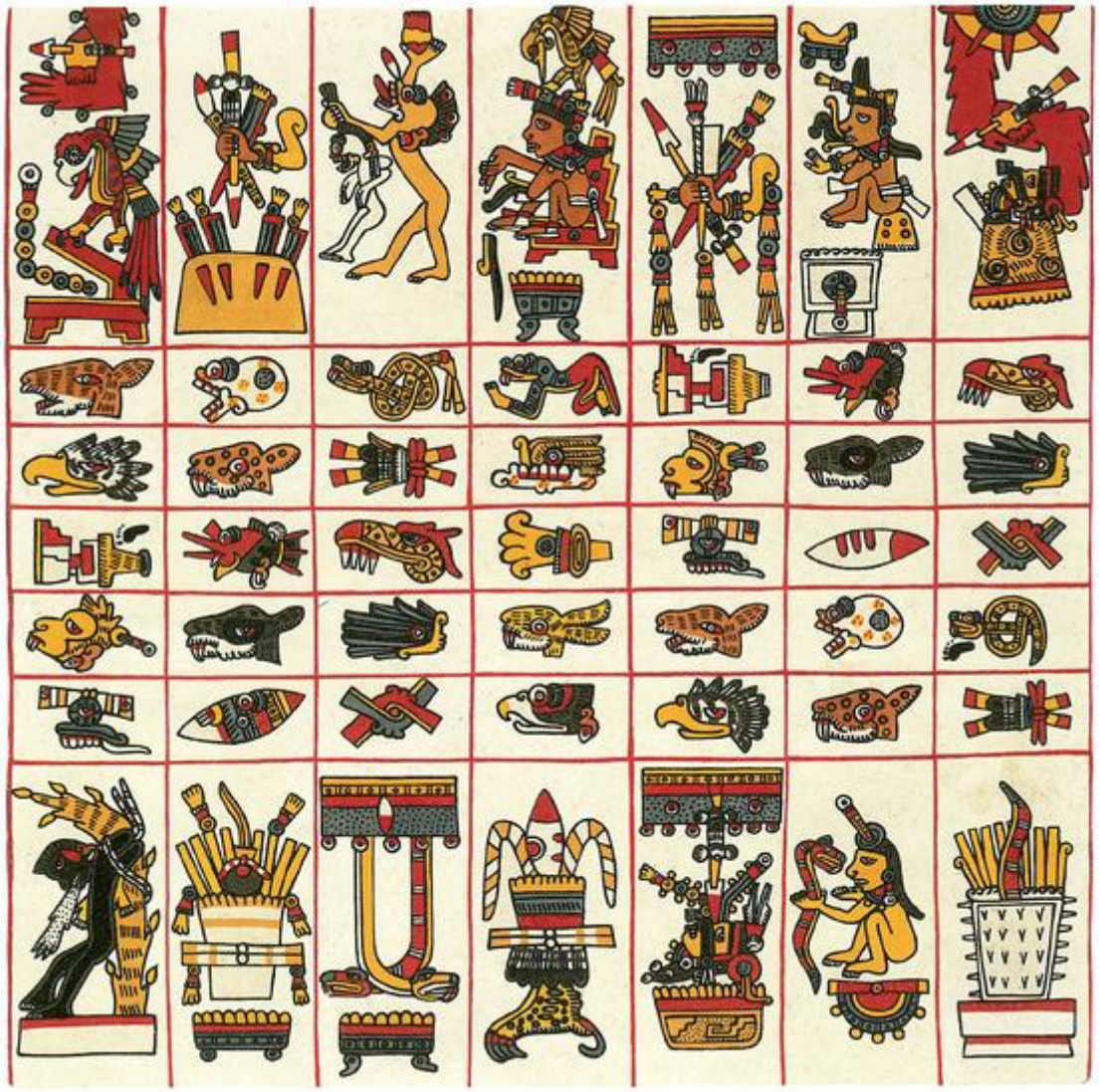

PLATE 6: Page 6 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

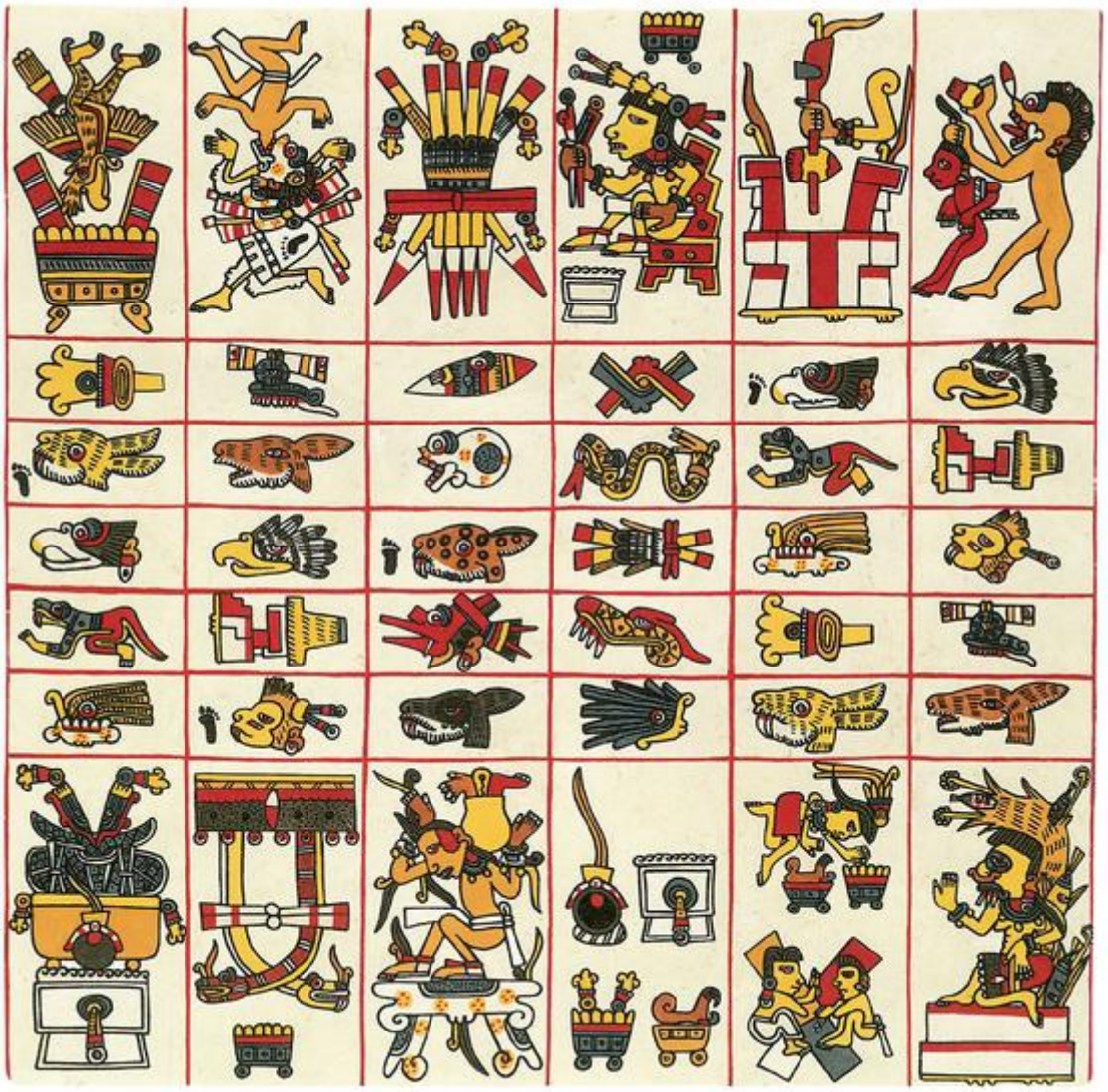

PLATE 5: Page 5 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

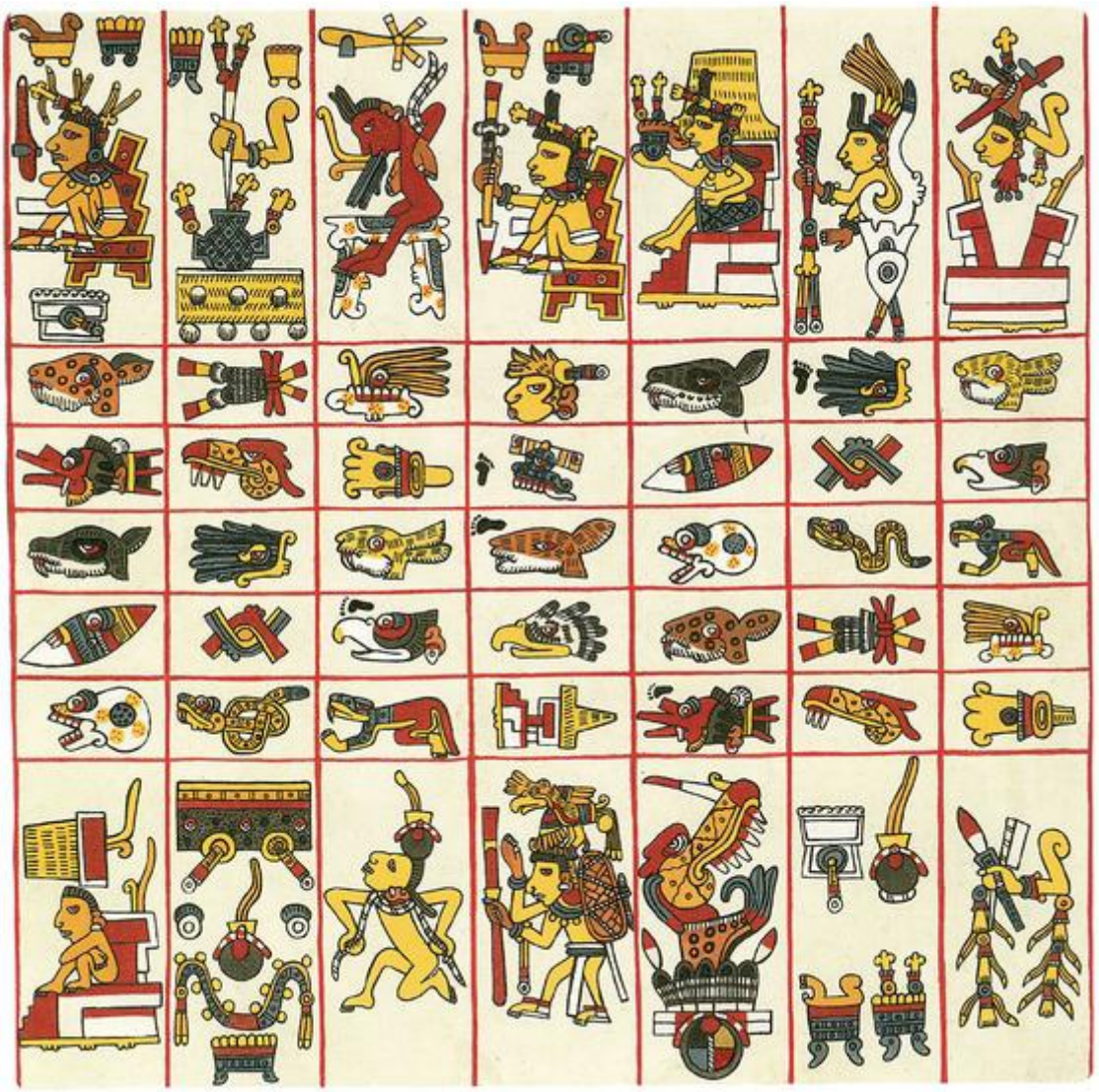

PLATE 4: Page 4 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

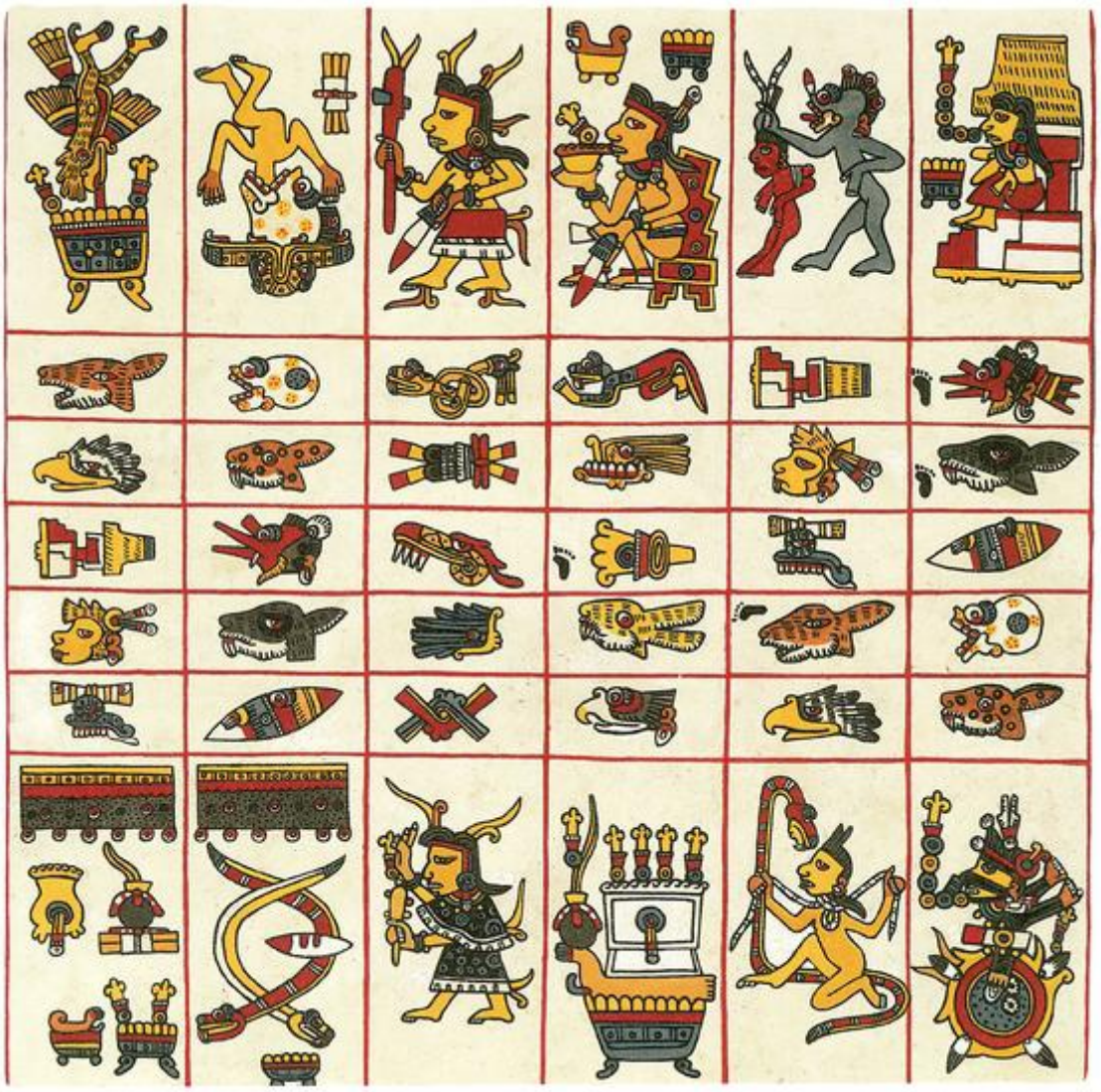

PLATE 3: Page 3 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 2: Page 2 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 1: Page 1 of the tonalpohualli (260-day ritual calendar) arranged in five rows of 52 members

1 Since we do not know the language spoken by the authors of the Codex Borgia the Nahuatl (Aztec language) names for deities will be used. The Nahuatl names are well known thanks to many records from the early Colonial period. The reader should understand that the attributes of the deities depicted in the Codex Borgia may not have exactly coincided with those of their Aztec counterparts.

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

y mayna runa cunapas tucoy ni llan as vanuan
suyac carcan chay mi ña chay man chaya mup tinca
ancha say cos cam amun ñispa as vavan yanca
y chaspa runa sauapas pacha pipas chay llac satam
bo man yai cumu na poneo llapi y na ychac carcan
paicuna vra manta amue cunam as lla ay chata
paicunap puy ñon pa simin saua churapue carca
cay taña pucho caspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runa cuna pam papi tiay cospa ayño ñis cataquicta
ña callarircan cay cunam canan. chanco/ sutioc
chay mantam ña chancup tinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamue cay chancup mitampis ysquicaya ñisca
chay yan cap/ huasinpi hue sachachos o/ y mach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñis canchic mantalli yaco sapa vrma
rayan chay cunactas canan pay cona ~~can~~ chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca alli pucoy mi canca
ñispa ñir cancu/ mana tamya nampaesi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoy mi canca ñispa ñic carca

Capitulo 12 y manam cay paria cacap churincuna tucoy yunca cunacta atijta ña callarircan

v ñam ari cay chun campi capitº pi rimar canchic
cay paria cacap churin cunapat tis can ~~cunacta~~ simicta
y ~~nas~~ naspa villar canchic tac mi ari y manam tu
coy y nantin llacta cuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta canan mi/ cay. chuc paico. chancharuna
huariruma. vt co chuco tutay quire. sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñis canchic cunacta rimason y manam
paicuna puric carcaneo chay chay cunacta cay
cuna ñis canchic cunas ñaupa pacha tucoy hin

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

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To our kids
Abraham, Malka, Susanna

tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic
we are all of one birth

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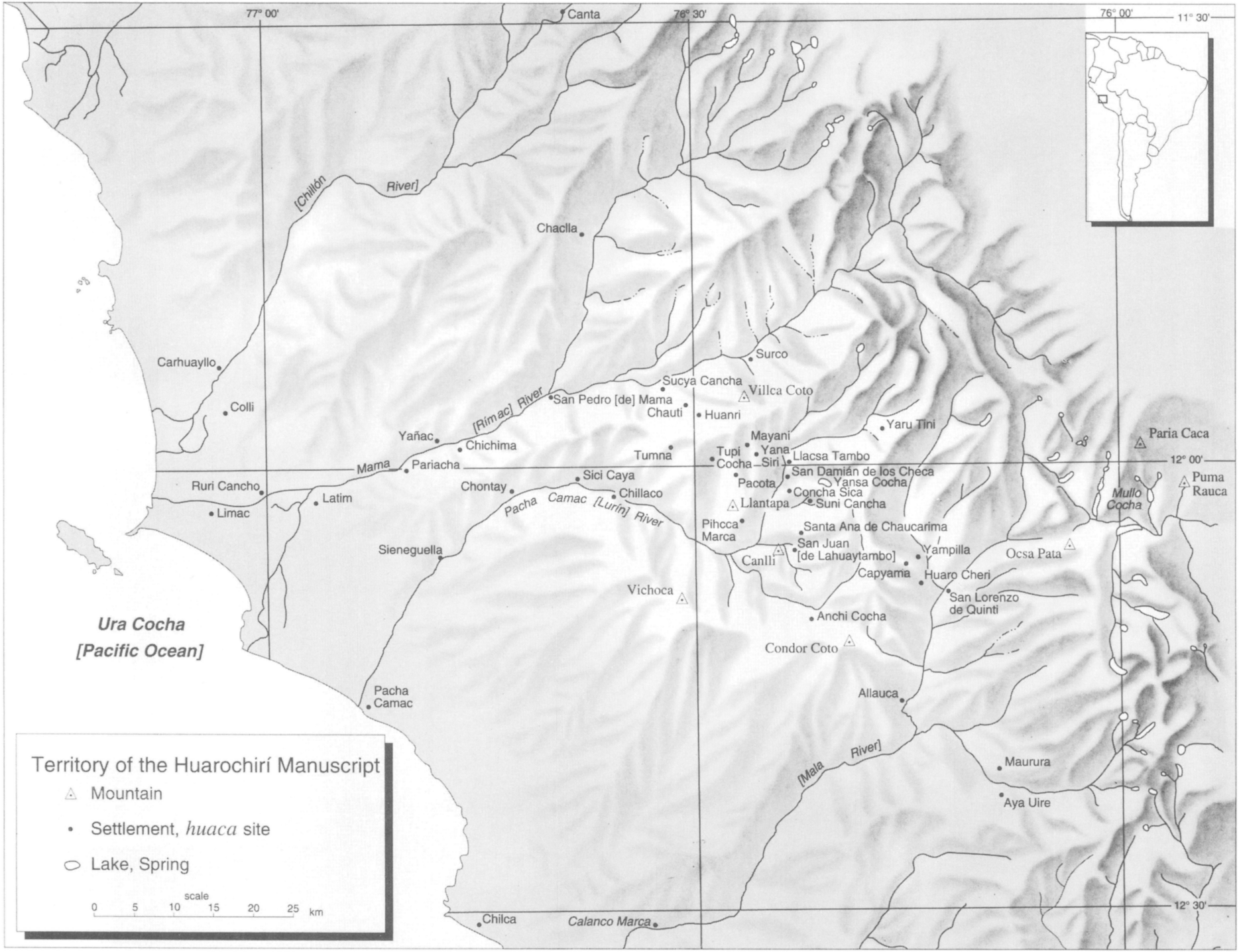
THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT


77° 00'
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Canta
[Chillón River]
Chaclla
Carhuayllo
Colli
[Rímac] River
San Pedro [de] Mama
Chauti
Huanri
Surco
Sucya Cancha
Villca Coto
Yaru Tini
Paria Caca
Yañac
Chichima
Mayani
Yana
Tupi
Cocha
Siri
Llacsa Tambo
Tumna
Mama
Pariacha
San Damián de los Checa
Yansa Cocha
Pacota
Concha Sica
Suni Cancha
Llantapa
Sici Caya
Chontay
Chillaco
Ruri Cancho
Latim
Limac
Pacha Camac [Lurín] River
Pihcca Marca
Santa Ana de Chaucarima
San Juan [de Lahuaytambo]
Canlli
Yampilla
Capyama
Huaro Cheri
Ocsa Pata
Mullo Cocha
Puma Rauca
Sieneguella
Vichoca
San Lorenzo de Quinti
Anchi Cocha
Condor Coto
Ura Cocha
[Pacific Ocean]
Pacha Camac
Allauca
[Mala River]
Maurura
Aya Uire
Chilca
Calanco Marca
Territory of the Huarochirí Manuscript
Mountain
Settlement, huaca site
Lake, Spring
scale
0 5 10 15 20 25 km

Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript

Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huacas*. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods* . . . (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huacas*.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huacas* had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yancas*) to locate the historically diverse *huacas* and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huacas* (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huacas*, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huacas*.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huacas* is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huacas*—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huacas* amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huacas* succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huacas*, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.
> Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huacas* to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huacas*

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huacas* as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two pervading generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huacas* who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which González Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object'*; huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huacas*. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huacas* by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huacas* never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huacas* reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huacas*' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huacas*. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huacas* considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllus*, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huacas*. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huacas* beforehand:

> . . . these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huacas* had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

Huacas also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yanca*s seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huaca*s in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curaca*s or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curaca*s by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huaca*s or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huaca*s (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

*Huaca*s had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one [*huaca*] called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huacas* were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllus*. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllus*: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllus*.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllus*: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllus*, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllus* practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllus* that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huacas* among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huacas* might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huacas*. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huacas*, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huaca*s on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huaca*s.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huaca*s Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huacas* and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huacas* whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huacas* and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila* [*¡1598!*].

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis . . .* Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí.* Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle.* Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII.* Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huacas* and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila.* Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres).* 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . . ' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huacas* in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna*, *ynaspa*, and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capi°* is rendered *capi(tul)o.*

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

[Preface][1]

If the ancestors of the people called Indians[2] had known writing[3] in earlier times,[4] then the lives they lived would not have faded from view[5] until now.[6]

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas[7] is visible[8] until now, so, too, would theirs be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,

2 I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather:[9]

1. The whole preface has witness validation, suggesting that it expresses the native editor/redactor's own convictions. Quechua grammatical validation is discussed in the introduction, in the section on the character of the present translation (see especially the section on the problem of validation). The opening lines have a sharp rhetorical structure. They start with a matched pair of contrafactual sentences (*-man . . . -man*), continue with a matched comparison (*hina . . . hina*), and link the two pairs by a pointed contrast between their respective conclusions (*. . . manam . . . hinacho canman/ . . . hinatacmi canman*, which might be rendered 'it wouldn't be so/ . . . it would be exactly so').

2. *runa yn(di)o ñiscap* 'of the people called Indians': suggests a shade of authorial distance from the term "Indian," perhaps because it lumps together the many distinct peoples whose differences and relations form the axis of the text. The phrase recurs at the very end of the text (supp. II, sec. 485).

3. *quillcacta* 'writing': more literally, 'writer(s)'; derives from a verb whose prehispanic sense appears to have been 'to paint' or 'to ornament' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 301).

4. *ñaupa pacha* 'earlier [or former] times': although other translators give 'ancient', this passage could also refer to an earlier moment of the colonial era.

5. *chincaycuc hinacho canman* 'would not have faded from view': more literally, 'would not be like something getting lost'; that is, if Andean tradition partook more of literacy, colonial conditions would not have led to its recent erosion.

6. The four repetitions of *canancama* 'until now' give a feeling of arrested motion, released at last in the final sentence of section 2. Similarly, the sentence verbs of section 1 form a series of three contrafactuals (with conditional suffix *-man*) that yields in section 2 to three finite verbs, in past, present, and future tenses, respectively. The tone shifts from speculation toward concreteness and dynamism. One feels the engines of narration gripping, moving forward.

7. The original contains only *vira cochappas* 'the Vira Cochas', a colonial and modern Quechua usage that employs the name of a principal deity (salient in chapters 2 and 14) to refer to the Spanish. The Spanish erupt onto the Andean scene under this name in chapter 18 (sec. 223). Modern Cuzco Quechua still uses the expression. We have supplied 'the Spanish' to avoid confusion between the deity and the nationality.

8. The verb *ricurin* 'be visible' seemingly emphasizes the *visibility* of the new Spanish mnemotechnology, writing, as opposed to the *audibility* of the endangered oral tradition.

9. *huc yayayuc . . . machoncunap* 'ancestors . . . from one forefather': more literally, 'of the old ones . . . possessors of one father'. The manuscript repeatedly expresses diachrony in terms of patrilineal ancestry. The point in this passage is that, despite their diversity, the social units that are protagonists of the following chapters unite at the apex in a single male progenitor, namely, Paria Caca.

What faith[10] they held,[11] how they live up until now,[12] those things and more;

Village by village it will be written down:[13] how they lived from their dawning age onward.

10. *yma ffeenioccha* 'what faith' uses a Spanish term, *fe* 'faith', to denominate non-Christian religious practice. In Christian context this categorizes the *huaca* cults as members of the same class of phenomena as the "true" faith (and therefore subject to graver penalty than mere "superstition"). Quechua had no term similar to *fe*. But the suffix *-yoc*, usually translated 'possessor of', is usually used in the manuscript to signify a non-Christian worshiper's bond to the *huaca*. It signifies not so much belief as a social connection in which the worshiper owes service and the deity protection.

11. The original *ffeenioccha* has a conjectural validator *-cha*: overliterally, 'what faith they may have held'. One common usage of *-cha* is to convey the degree of doubt appropriate to guesses about what is in another person's mind (secs. 133, 247, 279). Here *-cha* suggests that the author regards knowledge of the ancient religion (based on the reportively validated data that make up most of the manuscript) as a conjectural construct, in effect an ethnographically derived model intended to explain "idolatrous" practices of the present.

12. In addition to the reconstructed faith of the past, the maker of the manuscript will also set down ethnographic observations on current mores. Most of this material appears with witness validation in subsequent parts.

13. In fact, the manuscript does not proceed village by village. It expresses primarily the viewpoint of one group, the Checa of San Damián village, and secondarily those of perhaps three other groups (the inhabitants of Mama in chap. 13, the Allauca in chap. 30, and the Concha of Concha Sica in chap. 31) filtered through some Checa interference. In spatial terms its mythology centers on the Checa ceremonial center, Llacsa Tambo, near the colonial village of San Damián.

CHAPTER I

3 # How the Idols of Old Were, and How They Warred among Themselves, and How the Natives Existed at That Time[14]

In very ancient times,[15] there were *huacas*[16] named Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca.[17]

Later on another *huaca* named Huallallo Caruincho defeated them.

After he defeated them, he ordered the people to bear two children and no more.[18]

He would eat one of them himself.

The parents would raise the other, whichever one was loved best.[19]

4 Although people did die in those times, they came back to life on the fifth day exactly.[20]

And as for their foodstuffs, they ripened exactly five days after being planted.

These villages and all the others like them were full of Yunca.[21]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [full of Yunca]

5 When a great number of people had filled the land, they lived really miserably,[22] scratching and

14. Like all of the first six chapters, this one bears a Spanish title in the original: *Como fue anteguamente los ydolos y como guerreo entre ellos y como auia en aquel tiempo los naturales*. In the original the Spanish titles appear to be insertions *ex post facto*. Their awkwardness often derives from specific Quechua interferences: for example (in this case), discrepancies between Quechua and Spanish rules about pluralization and number agreement (*fue . . . los ydolos*, etc.). Quechua's trivocalic sound system influences *anteguamente* via hypercorrection. The composer of the titles has also chosen an unidiomatic translation for *tiay* 'to dwell, to exist'. Such facts make it more than likely that Spanish was not his or her first language.

15. This formula regularly introduces a passage with reportive validation.

16. As detailed in the introduction, *huaca* is a broad term designating all physical objects taken to embody superhuman and sacred persons. Many mountains, springs, river junctions, mummies, and manmade objects as well were *huaca*.

17. The untranslated term *Ñamca* seems to designate a class of *huacas* associated with coastal peoples and the remote past. It also appears as a component of names of persons favored by *huacas*. In Quechua *Yana* means 'black' and *Tuta* 'night', so these might well be the powers extant before the present, solar world began.

18. *yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan* could also mean 'he ordered people to give birth only by twos'. But when Francisco de Avila, who presumably knew the context, composed his *Tratado* using the same or a similar source, he chose this meaning ([1608] 1966: 200).

19. *huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta* 'whichever one was loved best' is ambiguous as to whether it means the one that the parents loved best or that Huallallo Caruincho loved best (because the *-n* third person possessive marker on *cuyascan* could refer either to the parents or to Huallallo).

20. Chapter 27 elaborates on this.

21. *yunca*, a common term in the manuscript, has a triple sense. It refers to the warm valley regions of the Pacific littoral; to the ecology, landscape, and biota typical of such regions; and (capitalized in translation) to the peoples who dwelled there. The Checa and other highlanders thought of Yunca people as aboriginal, in opposition to the invading peoples with whom at least some of the narrators identified.

22. The motif of an overfertile ancient humanity in Malthusian crisis reappears in chapter 27; it is analyzed by Fernando Fuenzalida (1979). The idea seems to be that by excessive human sacrifice to Huallallo they won excessive vitality. The argument implies that immortality is incompatible with human life: even if fertility were curbed to the extreme of allowing each immortal couple only one live (immortal) child, an overpopulation fatal to well-being would eventually ensue. Death is indispensable.

digging the rock faces and ledges to make terraced fields.

These fields, some small, others large, are still visible today on all the rocky heights.

And all the birds of that age were perfectly beautiful, parrots and toucans[23] all yellow and red.

6 Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca[24] appeared, these beings and all their works were cast out to the hot Anti lands[25] by Paria Caca's actions.

Further on we'll speak of Paria Caca's emergence and of his victories.

7 Also, as we know,[26] there was another *huaca* named Cuni Raya.[27]

Regarding him, we're not sure whether he existed before Paria Caca or maybe after him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out whether he[28] says that it isn't known if he was before or after Caruincho or Paria Caca.]

However, Cuni Raya's essential nature[29] almost

23. *caquipas*: 'toucan' is a guesswork translation. Although the color suggests 'macaw', other references (chap. 9, sec. 131; chap. 24, secs. 331, 333) show that different words refer to macaws. Chapter 16 (sec. 207) says *caqui* is a parrotlike bird. Taylor (1987b: 47) points out an Ayacucho usage of *caqui* meaning a large parrot and an Aymara reference saying that *caqui* has long red, blue, and yellow feathers. Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 6) chose *periquito* 'parakeet'.

24. This is the first mention of the dominant deity in the manuscript. Paria Caca is surely a sacred mountain, but which one? Bonavia et al. (1984: 5–7) offer a detailed identification: "Pariacaca Mountain has a distinctive shape, two twin snowcapped peaks with a saddle-shaped depression separating them. The low point between them is 75° 59′ 24″ longitude west and 11° 59′ 20″ latitude south (Department of Junín, Province of Jauja, District of Canchayllo, Peru)." Bonavia and his co-authors point out that because Paria Caca was close to the royal road from Lima to Cuzco, it was well known by sixteenth-century authors, including Dávila Brizeño (who drew it as a twin peak on his map; Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) and Avila. Avila's own 1611 description of Paria Caca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257) is compatible with Bonavia's identification. Modern villagers in Huarochirí readily identify a twin-peaked snowcap on the eastern horizon as Paria Caca.

The literal sense of Paria Caca's name is unclear. *Caca* means 'cliff' or 'crag' in ancient and modern Quechua. Arriaga's *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Perú* ([1621] 1968: 45; Keating's translation) suggests that Paria might be 'vermilion': "*Paria* are powders of a vermilion color, brought from the mines of Huancavelica and made from the metal from which mercury is derived, though its appearance is more like that of lead oxide."

Several common modern verbs with the root *pariy* express the idea of heat radiating from a solid object; there may be a connection with chapter 8 (sec. 103), where Paria Caca creates his shrine by quenching a huge fire.

But Urioste's suggestion (personal communication) that *Paria* is cognate to modern Cochabamba Quechua *pari* meaning 'split' (as in, for example, a harelip) is also tempting because of the mountain's cleft appearance.

25. *antiman*: more literally, 'toward the Anti'. The Incas termed the eastern slopes of the Andes and the western fringes of Amazonia *Anti Suyu*. *Andes* in Spanish usage c. 1600 usually meant the same region. These lands stand in most Andean mythology for savagery and the precultural life, a setting in which Huallallo might have been thought to belong. But it may also be that the Huarochirí narrators used *anti* in a more general way to mean warm lowlands, including the seaward valleys of the west Andean slope. When Francisco de Avila paraphrased a source similar or perhaps identical to this one, he said that the natives call hot lands "*yunca* or *andes*" and wrote of evil aborigines in "these Andes" (*estos andes*) whom Paria Caca expelled to "other Andes" (*otros andes*; *Tratado* [1608] 1966: 200; see also 216). The two *andes* areas are perhaps the Pacific lowlands and Amazonia, respectively. Because the term may be generic (a type of land) and not toponymic, we have avoided glossing *anti* as 'Amazonia'.

26. 'As we know' added to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

27. The predominantly coastal *huaca* Cuni Raya has been identified as a water deity, creator of irrigation (Rostworowski 1977). The Incas thought the ability to create rivers and springs was the unique sign of his power (Betanzos [1551] 1987: 264). Chapters 2, 14, and 31 (secs. 409ff.) belong to Cuni Raya's mythology.

28. The marginal note is ambiguous in original. The subject of 'says' could be 'he' or 'she' or 'it' (i.e., a manuscript).

29. *cascanracmi* . . . *cascanman* 'his essential nature . . . Vira Cocha's': *cascan* is a past participial form of the Quechua verb meaning 'to be' and might more literally be rendered 'what he was'. For this reason we have used 'essential', also derived from a verb meaning 'to be'. *Cascan* is, however, less abstract in tone than 'essence'; hence 'nature'. Taylor's renders *cascan* as 'his cult' (*su culto*; 1987b: 28, 51), taking the point to be 'what he was in human practice'. But there are reasons for thinking *cascan* refers to 'what he was in himself'. In both colonial and modern Quechua this form often implies action previous to the speaker's cognition and/or surprise at discovering it (Cusihuamán 1976: 170–171; Urioste 1973: 96). We might read *cascan* as 'what he was all along (without our knowing it)'. This motif emerges more clearly in chapter 14 (sec. 190 and note 374), where Vira Cocha inveigles the Inca by promising to reveal *ñoca cascayta*, 'my *casca*'—'what I was all along'.

matches Vira Cocha's.[30] For when people worshiped this *huaca*, they would invoke him, saying,

"Cuni Raya Vira Cocha,

You who animate mankind,
Who charge the world with being,[31]
All things are yours!
Yours the fields and yours the people."

8 And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves to the ground,[32] talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,

"Help me remember how,
Help me work it out,
Cuni Raya Vira Cocha!"

And the master weaver[33] would worship and call on him whenever it was hard for him[34] to weave.

For that reason, we'll write first about this *huaca* and about his life, and later on[35] about Paria Caca.

30. Because of his alleged importance as a supreme deity, comparable to the Christian God, Vira Cocha has become the subject of a large and frequently misleading literature. Many Andean sources about him are handily compiled in *Wiracocha y Ayar* (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

Here, however, this deity's role has little to do with the Christian concept of God and a lot in common with the pan–New World concept of a Trickster, whose buffoonery is at the same time a force making and remaking the world. In suggesting that Cuni Raya's nature "almost matches" Vira Cocha's, the teller seems to be taking note of a popular tendency, exemplified by the invocation that follows, to equate a Trickster-like deity associated with the hydraulic transformation of landforms (Cuni Raya) with a south highland, Inca-promoted deity (Vira Cocha). Chapter 14 emphasizes the latter component.

Szemiński and Mejía Xesspe before him have suggested that *cunirayap cascanracmi ñahca viracochap cascanman tincon* might mean the two deities' existences 'almost coincide' chronologically rather than qualitatively. This makes sense if one reads the statement as a reply to the chronological question just raised, rather than a comment on what follows. If one takes *viracocha* in this passage to refer to the Spanish, still other readings result (Szemiński 1989: 8–9).

31. *runa camac pacha camac* 'who animate mankind, who charge the world with being': the two lofty epithets employ the key verb *camay*, discussed in the introduction under "Into the world of the *huacas*." *Camay* has no clear equivalent in Spanish or English and is translated in the present work as 'to charge' or 'charge with being', 'to make', 'to give form and force', or 'to animate'.

32. That is, to sacrifice or perhaps to take an augury.

33. *compi camayuc* 'master weaver': both *compi* 'luxury-grade textile' and *camayuc* 'specialist' are Inca-style bureaucratic terms. *Camayuc* means more literally 'possessor of a specific force or energy [*camay*]', in this case the specific virtue of weaving.

34. Or 'for her'.

35. The manuscript contains cross-references that refer backward to earlier chapters by number, but the forward-pointing cross-references only use vague terms like 'later'. This suggests that the text, while it may be a fair copy, has not undergone a final editing.

CHAPTER 2

9

How Cuni Raya Vira Cocha Acted in His Own Age. The Life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[36] How Caui Llaca Gave Birth to His Child, and What Followed

<**margin**, crossed out, in Spanish:> [Note that it isn't known whether this was before or after Caruincho.]

A long, long time ago,[37] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha used to go around posing as a miserably poor and friendless[38] man, with his cloak and tunic all ripped and tattered. Some people who didn't recognize him for who he was yelled, "You poor lousy[39] wretch!"

Yet it was this man who fashioned all the villages. Just by speaking he made[40] the fields, and finished the terraces with walls of fine masonry. As for the irrigation canals, he channeled them out from their sources just by tossing down the flower of a reed called *pupuna*.[41]

After that, he went around performing all kinds of wonders, putting some of the local *huacas*[42] to shame[43] with his cleverness.

10 Once there was a female *huaca* named Caui Llaca.

Caui Llaca had always remained a virgin.

Since she was very beautiful, every one of the *huacas* and *villcas*[44] longed for her. "I've got to sleep with her!" they thought.

But she never consented.

11 Once this woman, who had never allowed any male to fondle[45] her, was weaving beneath a *lúcuma*[46] tree.

36. 'The life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' is in Quechua and seems not to be part of the inserted Spanish title.

37. A formula introducing a passage with reportive validation.

38. *huaccha* 'poor and friendless': literally, 'orphan'. Throughout the manuscript and in modern Quechua, *huaccha* means 'poor' not so much in the sense of lacking property, as in the sense of lacking social ties that enable one to be productive. It is also translated here as 'wretch', 'powerless', or 'a nobody'.

39. Lice have a peculiar double meaning; Marie-France Souffez (1986), relying partly on findings by Christopher Donnan and María Rostworowski, notes that in Mochica imagery of shamanism the lice growing on a shaman's body emblematize the many people her or his power can sustain. Latent wealth hidden in apparent squalor is a common attribute of Huarochirí protagonists.

40. 'Made' supplied.

41. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201) Avila identifies the object as "a hollow reed of the sort we call 'Castillian reed'." The *pupuna* is described in a marginal note to supplement I (sec. 454) as a pole with a noose for catching parrots.

42. *llacta huacacunactapas*: the phrase contrasts Cuni, a wandering nonlocal deity, with rooted local deities. Cults and toponyms with names reminiscent of Cuni's (Kon, Concón, etc.), appear to have been farflung over the coast (Rostworowski 1977).

43. *allcuchaspa*: literally, 'making dogs of them'. 'Dog' is consistently a term of abuse in the manuscript.

44. The exact sense of *villca* in the manuscript is uncertain but perhaps related to a contemporaneous Aymara word meaning both 'sun' and 'shrine' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 386). Internal evidence (chap. 31, sec. 417) suggests that in the Huarochirí context it means a person who has entered into the society of *huacas* by achievement or marriage. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209), the word *villca* is translated 'a very important *cacique*' (*cacique muy principal*; see also Zuidema 1973: 19). In Huánchor village in 1621, the founding hero Huánchor was mummified and housed underneath a *huaca* called Huanchorvilca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 264). Overall, the implication seems to be that a *villca* is a human being who partakes of a *huaca*'s status.

45. *chancaycochicuspa* 'fondle': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 94) glosses related verbs as meaning 'to stroke or touch lightly'. Similar verbs in modern Quechua usually sound sexually piquant.

46. "*Lucuma bifera*, an evergreen tree, eight to ten meters high, has spreading branches with entire, elliptic-ovate leaves. The globose to ovate fruits, seven to ten cm. in diameter, are green in color and have a bright orange to yellow, dry, mealy pulp. . . . This species is a native of Peru

Cuni Raya, in his cleverness,[47] turned himself into a bird and climbed into the *lúcuma*.

He put his semen into a fruit that had ripened there and dropped it next to the woman.

12 The woman swallowed it down delightedly.

Thus she got pregnant even though she remained untouched by man.

In her ninth month, virgin though she was, she gave birth just as other women give birth.

And so, too, for one year she nursed her child at her breast, wondering, "Whose child could this be?"

13 In the fullness of the year, when the youngster was crawling around on all fours, she summoned all the *huacas* and *villcas* to find out who was the child's father.

When the *huacas* heard the message, they were overjoyed, and they all came dressed in their best clothes, each saying to himself, "It's me!" "It's me she'll love!"

14 This gathering took place at Anchi Cocha,[48] where the woman lived.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The gathering was in Anchi Cocha.]

When all the *huacas* and *villcas* had taken their seats there, that woman addressed them:

"Behold, gentlemen and lords. Acknowledge this child. Which of you made me pregnant?"[49] One by one she asked each of them:

"Was it you?"

"Was it you?"

But nobody answered, "The child is mine."

15 The one called Cuni Raya Vira Cocha had taken his seat at the edge of the gathering. Since he looked like a friendless beggar sitting there, and since so many handsome men were present, she spurned him and didn't question him. She thought, "How could my baby possibly be the child of that beggar?"

Since no one had said, "The child is mine," she first warned the *huacas*, "If the baby is yours, it'll crawl up to you," and then addressed the child:

"Go, identify your father yourself!"

16 The child began at one end of the group and crawled along on all fours without climbing up on anyone, until reaching the other end, where its father sat.

On reaching him the baby instantly brightened up and climbed onto its father's knee.

When its mother saw this, she got all indignant: "Atatay, what a disgrace! How could I have given birth to the child of a beggar like that?" she said. And taking along only her child, she headed straight for the ocean.

17 And then, while all the local *huacas* stood in awe, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, "She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me."

"Sister Caui Llaca!" he called after her. "Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!" he said, and he stood there making his garment glitter.[50]

18 Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him.

"Because I've given birth to the child of such a ruffian, such a mangy beggar,[51] I'll just disappear into the ocean," she said. She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac,[52] out there

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and is cultivated for its edible fruit. . . . Specimens of whole and halved fruits of this species . . . are among the most common plant remains found in archaeological sites on the Peruvian coast. . . . *Lucumas* were an important part of the diet of the ancient Peruvians, and halved fruits are frequently found in *petacas* [pouches, hampers] with remains of other food plants. . . . The fruit is also a familiar motif in pre-Columbian art" (Towle 1961: 76–77).

47. *amauta cayninpi* 'in his cleverness': *amauta* is the term Garcilaso Inca popularized as the Inca title of learned men or counselors, but in connection with Cuni Raya it connotes an earthy or practical kind of cleverness.

48. Avila characterized Anchi Cocha as "a terribly cold and bad place halfway between Huarochirí and Chorillo" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201). Today, Anchicocha is the name of a bleak settlement, plateau, and peak 17 km southwest of Huarochirí, 3,700 m above sea level (IGM 1954). But in chapter 5 Anchi Cocha is the luxurious tropical home of a Yunca lord. *Anchini* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 27) meant 'to live amid delights, to spend splendidly on food, drink, clothing and gifts'. Perhaps the sense is that Anchi Cocha, a Lake of Earthly Delights in the pre-invasion age when all the land was warm and belonged to Yunca people, has (like other places mentioned in chap. 8) been transfigured by the power of later *huacas* from the cold heights.

49. *yumahuarcanquichic* 'made me pregnant': The root is *yumay* 'sperm'. The literal sense is 'inseminated me'.

50. If Cuni Raya is indeed a water deity, as Rostworowski (1977) persuasively argues, his glittering garment may be a metaphor for water sparkling in sunlight.

51. *cachcaçapap* 'of . . . such a mangy beggar': Avila glosses *cachca* as *sarna* (i.e., scabies or mange) in his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 202).

52. Pacha Camac, whose name means something like 'animator of space and time', was a coastal deity whose colossal shrine complex south of Lima (still visible at the

where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand.[53]

And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone.

19 Yet Cuni Raya Vira Cocha thought, "She'll see me anyway, she'll come to look at me!" He followed her at a distance, shouting and calling out to her over and over.

First, he met up with a condor.[54]

"Brother, where did you run into that woman?" he asked him.

"Right near here. Soon you'll find her," replied the condor.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[55] spoke to him and said,[56]

"You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos[57] and vicuñas,[58] of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too."

20 Farther on, he met up with a skunk.[59]

"Sister, where did you meet that woman?" he asked.

"You'll never find her now. She's gone way far away," replied the skunk.

When she said this, he cursed her very hatefully, saying,

"As for you, because of what you've just told me, you'll never go around in the daytime. You'll only walk at night, stinking disgustingly. People will be revolted by you."

21 Next he met up with a puma.[60]

"She just passed this way. She's still nearby. You'll soon reach her," the puma told him.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[61] spoke to him, saying,

"You'll be well beloved. You'll eat llamas, especially the llamas of people who bear guilt. Although people may kill you, they'll wear you on their heads during a great festival and set you to dancing.[62] And then when they bring you out annually they'll sacrifice a llama first and then set you to dancing."

22 Then he met up with a fox.[63]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," that fox told him.

When the fox said this, he replied,

"As for you, even when you skulk around keeping your distance, people will thoroughly despise you and say, 'That fox is a sneak thief.' When they kill you, they'll just carelessly throw you away and your skin, too."

<A **marginal** addition in Quechua begins here:>

23 Likewise he met up with a falcon.[64]

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mouth of the Lurín valley, next to the modern village of Pachacámac) attracted worship from remote prehistory and from regions far up the Pacific littoral. His cult is prominent in chapters 20, 22, and 23; see Patterson (1984[?]).

53. The two guano-whitened offshore islands visible from the Inca pyramid at Pachacámac. This landmark and Caui Llaca's lithification complete the trajectory of a story that follows the course of the Lurín River from its high headwaters (Anchicocha) to the Pacific. Cuni Raya's fertilizing action on Caui Llaca seems a mythic image of the river's life-giving effect on its valley.

54. "*Andean condor, Vultur gryphus* (*Cóndor*). Twice the size of a vulture. Black, head bare and yellowish-red, white collar, wing coverts whitish. Male with a flesh caruncle on the bill. Juvenile dusky brown without the collar and white wing patches. Seen flying high it differs from the turkey vulture only in its size and the diagnostic fingering of the feathers of the wingtips. Feeds principally on dead animals. Nests in the Andes; comes down regularly to the sea beaches and coastal hills with fog vegetation" (Koepcke 1970: 38).

55. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

56. Cuni Raya's speeches to the animals have witness validation, which is consistently used in performative (world-changing rather than world-describing) speech.

57. *Lama guanicoe*, a large wild camelid ranging from the Andes into lower semiarid lands (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 257).

58. *Lama vicugna*, a small wild camelid of the heights, prized for its excellent wool (Gade 1977: 113).

59. "*Zorrino chileno, Conepatus chinga* . . . its Quichua name used in Peru is *añas*" (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 153).

60. *Puma concolor* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 167–172).

61. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

62. *taquechisonque* 'they'll . . . set you to dancing': more literally, 'they will make you dance'; here as elsewhere in the manuscript, this means celebrants carry or wear the sacred preserved skin as they perform. In his *Tratado* Avila explained that the dancer placed the animal's preserved head over his own and let the attached skin fall over his body like a cape (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 203).

63. Probably the Peruvian fox, *Pseudalopex inca* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 125).

64. The region of the myth has seven species of hawks, harriers, and kites, and three of falcon. *Huaman* may refer to a species that, like some other birds prominent in the mythology (the condor and the swift), nests on the Andean heights but sometimes flies to the coast and thereby parallels the axis of movement in these myths. "*Aplomado falcon, Falco femoralis pichinchae* (*Halcón perdi-*

"She's just passed this way. You'll soon find her," said the falcon.

He replied,

"You're greatly blessed. When you eat, you'll eat the hummingbird first, then all the other birds. When people kill you, the man who has slain you will have you mourned with the sacrifice of a llama. And when they dance, they'll put you on their heads so you can sit there shining with beauty."

24 And then he met up with some parakeets.[65]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," the parakeets told him.

"As for you, you'll travel around shrieking raucously," replied Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[66] "Although you may say, 'I'll spoil your crops!' when people hear your screaming they'll chase you away at once. You'll live in great misery amidst the hatred of humans."

<The **marginal** addition ends here.>

And so he traveled on. Whenever he met anyone who gave him good news, he conferred on him a good fortune. But he went along viciously cursing those who gave him bad news.

25 When he reached the seashore,

<crossed out in original MS:> [he went straight over it. Today people say, "He was headed for Castile," but in the old days people said, "He went to another land."][67]

he turned back toward Pacha Camac.

He arrived at the place where Pacha Camac's two daughters lived, guarded by a snake.

Just before this, the two girls' mother had gone into the deep sea to visit Caui Llaca. Her name was Urpay Huachac.

While Urpay Huachac was away, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduced[68] one girl, her older daughter.

When he sought to sleep with the other sister, she turned into a dove[69] and darted away.

That's why her mother's name means 'Gives Birth to Doves'.

26 At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.

Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.[70]

It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean, saying, "For what did she go off and visit Caui Llaca the woman of the ocean depths?"

Ever since then, fish have filled the sea.

27 Then Cuni Raya Vira Cocha fled along the seashore.

When Urpay Huachac's daughters told her how he'd seduced them, she got furious and chased him.

As she followed him, calling him again and again, he waited for her and said, "Yes?"

"Cuni, I'm just going to remove your lice," she said, and she picked them off.

28 While she picked his lice, she caused a huge abyss

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guero). Larger than the Kestrel, with a longer tail. Lead-colored above, superciliary line cinnamon; below buffy cinnamon, tail and flanks blackish with horizontal white stripes. Generally seen in our region above 2000 m., but occasionally it comes down to the coastal area. Feeds largely on birds to the size of a tinamou" (Koepcke 1970: 42). The hummingbird allotted to the falcon as food below might represent any or all of the six Lima Department hummingbird species (Koepcke 1970: 79–80).

65. *horitocunahuan* 'with some parakeets': *horito* in chapter 16 (sec. 207) is equated to the poorly identified bird *caqui* (toucan?), but in chapter 1 (sec. 5) it is distinguished from it. Here it clearly refers to a crop pest. The likeliest identification is

> Mountain parakeet, *Bolborhynchus a. aurifrons* (*Psilopsiagon a. aurifrons*) (*Perico cordillerano*). The only native wild parakeet of our coastal region. Small, with a very long tail; F. and J. completely green; M. with the forehead, face, and underparts yellowish. Common on the steppes and shrubby places of the coast and Andean slopes; also gathers in cultivated fields, tree plantations, gardens, and parks of Lima. During the winter it is abundant on the coastal hills and in wooded and shrubby places with fog vegetation, especially at Lachay.

It could also be Andean parakeet, *Bolborhynchus andinicolus* (*B. orbygnesius*) (*Perico Andino*), found only above 1500 m., or (less probably, because of its rarity) the Scarlet-fronted parakeet, *Aratinga wagleri frontata* (*Cotorra de Wagler*; Koepcke 1970: 74).

66. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

67. *huc pachamansi* could also be read 'another world'. The crossed-out version matches Vira Cocha myths circulated in the highlands and better known among Spaniards (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

68. Or perhaps raped her; *puñochircan*, more literally, 'he made her sleep', could mean either. We chose 'seduce' because it is Gonçález Holguín's preferred gloss ([1608] 1952: 296) and because deception, not violence, is Cuni Raya's consistent mode of action.

69. Of nine species of doves known in the region, three are common near the seashore: the white-winged dove (*Zenaida asiatica meloda*), the eared dove (*Zenaidura auriculata hypoleuca*), and the croaking ground dove (*Columbina cruziana*) (Koepcke 1970: 69–71).

70. Probably an allusion to pisciculture, perhaps in excavated tanks (Espinoza Soriano 1974: 19; Rostworowski 1981: 30–31).

to open up next to him, thinking to herself, "I'll knock Cuni Raya down into it."

But Cuni Raya in his cleverness realized this; just by saying, "Sister, I've got to go off for a moment to relieve myself,"[71] he made his getaway to these villages.

He traveled around this area for a long, long time, tricking lots of local *huacas* and people, too. <**marginal note**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b. This *huaca*'s end will be told below.]

71. The verb in the original, from the root *ysmay*, is merely plainspoken. But the plain translation 'to shit' sounds jarringly obscene.

CHAPTER 3

29

What Happened to the Indians in Ancient Times When the Ocean Overflowed

Now we'll return to what is said of very early people.

The story goes like this.[72]

In ancient times, this world wanted to come to an end.[73]

A llama buck, aware[74] that the ocean was about to overflow, was behaving like somebody who's deep in sadness. Even though its <crossed out:> [father] owner let it rest in a patch of excellent pasture, it cried and said, "In, in," and wouldn't eat.

30 The llama's <crossed out:> [father] owner got really angry, and he threw the cob from some maize he had just eaten at the llama.

"Eat, dog! This is some fine grass I'm letting you rest in!" he said.

Then that llama began speaking like a human being.

"You simpleton, whatever could you be thinking about? Soon, in five days, the ocean will overflow. It's a certainty. And the whole world will come to an end," it said.

31 The man got good and scared. "What's going to happen to us? Where can we go to save ourselves?" he said.

The llama replied, "Let's go to Villca Coto mountain.[75]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is a mountain that is between Huanri[76] and Surco.][77]

There we'll be saved. Take along five days' food for yourself."

So the man went out from there in a great hurry, and himself carried both the llama buck and its load.

32 When they arrived at Villca Coto mountain, all sorts of animals had already filled it up: pumas, foxes, guanacos, condors, all kinds of animals in great numbers.

And as soon as that man had arrived there, the ocean overflowed.

They stayed there huddling tightly together.

33 The waters covered all those mountains and it was only Villca Coto mountain, or rather its very peak, that was not covered by the water.

Water soaked the fox's tail.

That's how it turned black.

Five days later, the waters descended and began to dry up.

34 The drying waters caused the ocean to retreat all the way down again and exterminate all the people.

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72. Text shifts at this point from witness to reportive validation.

73. *cay pachas puchocayta munarcan* 'this world wanted to come to an end': *puchocay* means the ending of something that has an intrinsic conclusion (as, for example, the finishing of a task), not a truncation or accidental end (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 293).

74. The prescience of llamas: see chapter 18 (secs. 221–222), on llama divination, where the animal's body is credited with containing signs of the future.

75. A mountain today called by this name exists 12 km northwest of San Damián, between modern Huanre and Surco (Treacy 1984: 18). Villca Coto may be the same *huaca* mentioned in chapter 23 (sec. 301), the most beautiful one at the Inca court in Cuzco.

76. Modern Huanre is 5 km south of San Bartolomé (IGM 1970–1971).

77. The modern (former *reducción*) town of San Gerónimo de Surco is 17 km north-northwest of San Damián at 2,300 m above sea level, sheltered in the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Afterward, that man began to multiply once more.

That's the reason there are people until today.

Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the Flood.[78]

But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them.

78. This sentence has *-mi* eyewitness validation.

CHAPTER 4

35

How the Sun Disappeared for Five Days. In What Follows We Shall Tell a Story about the Death of the Sun

In ancient times[79] the sun died.[80]
Because of his death it was night for five days.
Rocks banged against each other.
Mortars and grinding stones began to eat people.
Buck llamas started to drive men.[81]
Here's what we Christians think about it:[82] We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.[83]
Maybe that's what it was.

79. This formula introduces a passage with reportive validation.

80. Like various New World mythologies, Andean myths both ancient and modern include a motif of successive deaths and replacements of suns. Juan Ossio believes this chapter and Guaman Poma's scheme of "ages" are related to Montesinos' mid-seventeenth-century account of an Andean myth about successive suns equated to millennia (Ossio 1973: 188). Many modern Andeans interpret precolumbian structures as the houses of people who lived before the current sun arose.

81. The myth of the revolt of the objects, of which this appears to be a summary, also appears in a fuller Mayan version that, like this one, follows on a flood incident (Tedlock 1985: 84–86). Hocquenghem (1987: 142–143) and Jeffrey Quilter (personal communication) point out analogues in Mochica ceramic imagery from the Peruvian north coast.

82. This sentence has witness validation.

83. Luke 23: 44–45: "It was now about the sixth hour and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour, for the sun stopped shining."

CHAPTER 5

How in Ancient Times Paria Caca Appeared on a Mountain Named Condor Coto in the Form of[84] Five Eggs, and What Followed. Here Will Begin the Account of Paria Caca's Emergence[85]

In the four preceding chapters we have already recounted the lives lived in ancient times.

Nevertheless, we don't know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged[86] from.

37 These people, the ones who lived in that era, used to spend their lives warring on each other and conquering each other. For their leaders, they recognized only the strong and the rich.[87]

We speak of them as the Purum Runa, 'people of desolation'.[88]

38 It was at this time that the one called Paria Caca was born in the form of five eggs on Condor Coto mountain.[89]

A certain man, and a poor friendless one at that, was the first to see and know the fact of his birth; he was called Huatya Curi, but was also known as Paria Caca's son.

Now we'll speak of this discovery of his, and of the many wonders[90] he performed.[91]

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84. 'In the Form of' supplied.

85. The last part of the title here is in Quechua and does not form part of the Spanish insertion.

86. *pacarimuscancunactam* 'the origins' and *pacarimurcan* 'they emerged' both derive from a single root meaning literally 'to dawn' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 266–267; see also preface, sec. 2). An Andean group's 'dawning' or emergence from inside earth to outer daylight is its origin myth and primordial title to a place on the landscape that engendered it.

87. *rico* 'rich': the Spanish word is sometimes used in this chapter (secs. 46, 60) as the opposite of *huaccha* 'friendless, poor'. *Rico* seemingly implies wealth in possessions (chap. 19, sec. 235) rather than the rich social and superhuman connectedness suggested by Quechua *capac* (opposite of *huaccha* in sec. 49). Its use here may reflect the ascendancy of economic concepts connected with the Spanish market system.

88. The age here mythologized seems to be the Late Intermediate period of the archaeologists, that is, the centuries preceding Inca unification and characterized by a multitude of warring polities. *Purum* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 297) covers a spectrum of meanings from the agricultural ('sterile lands, lands abandoned from cultivation') to the political ('unconquered people, enemies'). 'Desolation' is chosen to evoke the linkage between warfare and infertility.

The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also gave the name "Purun Runa" to an ancient age of warfare ([1615] 1980: 1:47–50).

89. Condor Coto may be the peak called Condorcoto today, only 14 km southwest of Huarochirí, that is, nowhere near Paria Caca mountain but close to Anchi Cocha (IGM 1970–1971). The fact that Paria Caca's emergence takes place within what was seen as old Yunca country may suggest that the myth-tellers saw themselves as a foreign minority group enclaved and formerly oppressed in Yunca country.

Condor Coto would mean 'Condor mountain' in Aymara (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 53) or Quechua (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 70).

90. *ahca misterio* 'many wonders': in Spanish, a *misterio*, according to Cobarruvias ([1611] n.d.: 807) meant any sacred thing that was to be kept hidden from profane view. Basic Christian doctrines were called *misterios* in the Quechua sermon books from which the clergy were required to teach natives (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 363–458). The usage of *misterio* implicitly compares the secret meaning of Paria Caca's action, revealed to Huatya Curi, to the meanings of Christian revelation.

91. End of an introductory passage with witness vali-

39 They say[92] that fellow called Huatya Curi subsisted at the time just by baking potatoes in earth pits,[93] eating the way a poor man does,[94] and people named him the "Baked Potato Gleaner."

At that time there was another man named Tamta Ñamca,[95] a very rich and powerful lord.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b. Tamta Ñamca]

Both his own house and all his other houses[96] looked like *cassa* and *cancho* feather-weavings, for they were thatched with wings of birds.[97] His llamas were yellow llamas, red and blue llamas; he owned llamas of every hue.
<**margin**:> [Tamta Ñamca]

40 Seeing that this man lived so well, people who came from all the villages paid him homage and worshiped him.

For his part, he pretended to be very wise and spent his life deceiving a whole lot of people with the little that he really knew.

Then this man called Tamta Ñamca, who pretended to be so wise, even to be a god,[98] contracted a really horrible disease.

41 His illness went on for a great many years, and in time people talked. "How can a man who knows so much, who's so powerful, be so sick?" they said.

Just like the Spaniards who, on such occasions, summon experts and doctors, Tamta Ñamca, hoping to recover, summoned all sorts of shamans and wise men.[99]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The wise men gathered.]

But no one at all could diagnose that disease of his.

42 Just then Huatya Curi was coming from the vicinity of Ura Cocha,[100] and he went to sleep on the mountain by which we descend to Sieneguella.[101]

(Today this mountain is called Latab Zaco.)

While he was sleeping, a fox who'd come from down below and one who'd come from up above[102] met face to face[103] there. One fox asked the other, "Brother, how are things in Upper Villca?"

43 "What's good is good. But a lord in Anchi Cocha,

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dation. The editor/redactor is not always explicitly skeptical of the content of traditional narration.

92. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

93. *huatya*, potatoes baked in an earth pit, were and are characteristic food of high-altitude peasants who cook outdoor meals while harvesting tubers on the high slopes.

94. 'The way a poor man does': Avila in his *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 208–209) adds a comment that eating *huatya* (earth-baked potatoes) was a mark of poverty. Avila may, however, have missed part of the name's meaning, namely, the part connected with its second element *Curi*. It may come from "*ccorini* to gather and collect small or scattered things." A derived verb means 'to glean through the harvested fields or pick up spilled or abandoned things' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 69). A person reduced to picking through other people's abandoned barbecue pits is dispossessed in the highest degree, lacking even subsistence rights and in this sense eats 'the way a poor man does'.

95. This man's name contains the word *tamta* 'feather ruff' (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation). Featherwork is the symbol of his wealth and glory; his house is thatched with feathers. Andean featherwork found in tombs is made from tropical birds and probably symbolizes the biotic plenty of warm *yunca* lands.

96. That is, the houses for his wives, servitors, and so forth.

97. The image seems to be that of a house thatched with the brilliantly colored feather-weavings sometimes found in prehispanic elite burials. Avila says in his *Tratado* that the roof was of yellow and red feathers (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

98. *dios*: the Spanish word 'god', perhaps used in a Greco-Roman rather than Christian sense.

99. *amautacunacta doctorcunacta . . . yachaccunacta sauiocunacta* 'experts and doctors . . . shamans and wise men': the teller draws an implicit contrast between two pairs of terms, each consisting of a Quechua and a Spanish word: *amauta : doctor :: yachac : sauio*. The suggestion seems to be that a doctor, a bureaucratically licensed expert, can be compared with an *amauta*, and a *sauio* or wise man with a *yachac*. *Yachac* (literally, 'knower') today means a shaman.

100. *ura cochañicmanta* 'from the vicinity of Ura Cocha' is more literally 'from someplace around [the?] lower lake'. The 'lower lake' is probably the Pacific Ocean (called *mama cocha* 'Mother Lake' today). This term recurs in chapter 8 (sec. 103) and chapter 22 (sec. 278).

101. Modern Cieneguilla is in the low end of the Lurín valley 62 km west of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971), close to the ocean and to Lima.

102. In his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 209) Avila explains that this means one fox came down from Anchi Cocha and the other up from the Pacific.

103. *chaypi pactalla tincuspas* 'face to face' understates the Quechua's emphasis on symmetry. A fuller though ungainly gloss would be 'symmetrically opposing each other there in an exact fit'. The verb *tincuy* carries a complex set of associations with the idea of opposed parts forming a complementary totality (Platt [1978] 1986).

a *villca* as a matter of fact, one who claims to know a whole lot, to be a god himself, is terribly ill. All the wise men who found their way to him are wondering, 'Why's he so ill?' No one can identify his sickness. But his disease is this: while his wife was toasting maize, a grain of *muro*[104] maize popped from the griddle and got into her private part.[105]

44 "She picked it out and served it to a man to eat. Because of having served it, she became a sinner in relation to the man who ate it." (Nowadays they reckon that act tantamount to being an adulteress.)[106]

"As a result of this fault," he told the fox who'd come from down below, "a snake[107] has made its dwelling on top of that magnificent house and is eating them up. What's more, a toad, a two-headed one, lives under their grinding stone. And nobody is aware of these devouring animals."

45 Then he asked, "And how are people doing in Lower Villca, brother?"

The other fox answered similarly, saying, "There's a woman, the offspring of a great lord and a *villca*, who almost died because of a penis."[108]

(But the story leading up to the woman's recovery is very long.[109] Later on we'll write about it. For now, we'll return to the first story.)

46 As the foxes were telling each other these tidings, the man called Huatya Curi heard that the great lord who pretended to be a god was ill.

This great man had two daughters.

He had joined the elder daughter to a fellow *ayllu* member[110] who was very rich.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [He married her.][111]

The poor man called Huatya Curi came to that lord while he was still ill.

47 When he arrived, he went around asking surreptitiously, "Isn't someone sick in this town?"

"It's my father who's sick," replied the younger daughter.

Huatya Curi answered, "Let's get together. For your sake I'll cure your father."

<crossed out:>(We don't know this young woman's name.)[112]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [But later on they called her Chaupi Ñamca.][113]

The young woman didn't agree right away.

48 She told her father, "Father, there's a poor man here. He came and said to me, 'I'll cure your father.'"

All the wise men who were sitting there burst into laughter when they heard these words, and said, "If we ourselves can't cure him, how can this nobody make him well?"

But that lord wanted a cure so badly that he called for Huatya Curi. "Let him come, never mind what sort of man he is," he said.

49 When the great lord summoned him, Huatya Curi entered and said, "Father, if you want to get well, I'll make you well. But you have to give me your daughter."

Overjoyed, Tamta Ñamca replied, "Very well then!"

But when his older daughter's husband heard this proposition he flew into a rage. "How dare he join her, the sister-in-law of such a powerful[114] man as me, to a nobody like that?"

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104. *muro*: could mean 'particolored, spotted' (the generic meaning of *muro*) but may also be a local form of the term *muruchu* 'maize of the coastal flatlands, very hard' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 252).

105. *pincayninmanmi*: literally, 'into her shame'. Shame-oriented terms from Quechua lexicon but reflecting Christian mentality are common in most but not all the sexually colored passages and are sometimes written in over scratched-out plainspoken Quechua terms.

106. The speaker adds this remark as if aware that his listeners would find the classification of the mistake as adultery puzzling. Perhaps the word *huachuc* 'adulterer' formerly covered a gamut of sexual transgressions besides adultery proper. Avila deviates from this version in saying the woman actually committed adultery with the man (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

107. *huc machachuay* 'a snake': in sec. 50 the snakes are clearly said to be two, but the discrepancy may only be apparent since the phrase with *huc* could mean 'some snakes'.

108. This alludes to a myth that would be the symmetrical counterpart (*tinkuy*; see chap. 5, sec. 43) of the first fox's story: a false nobleman ill from a vagina; a true noblewoman ill from a penis. Taylor (1987b: 92) detects an interlineation translatable as 'daughter of that great lord' (i.e., of Tamta Ñamca). If so, the woman made ill by a penis might be Chaupi Ñamca.

109. Chapter 10 (sec. 146) may be a truncated version of this myth. This aside has the witness validation typical of the editor or redactor's comments.

110. *ayllonhuantac* 'to a fellow *ayllu* member': *ayllu* endogamy is common in Andean societies.

111. *casarachircan* 'he married her': the verb root is a Spanish one, clarifying the perhaps unfamiliar sense of *tinquichircan* 'he joined [her]' in body of text.

112. This aside has witness validation.

113. I.e., in chapter 10 (sec. 142).

114. 'Powerful' is a weak rendering of *camac*, agentive

50 Later on we'll tell about this angry man's struggle with Huatya Curi.

But for now we'll return to the cure the poor man called Huatya Curi effected.

Huatya Curi began his cure by saying, "Father, your wife is an adulteress. Because she's an adulteress, a sinner, she's made you ill. As for what's eating you,[115] it's the two snakes that dwell on top of this magnificent house of yours. And there's a toad, too, a two-headed one, that lives under your grinding stone.

51 "Now we'll kill them all. Then you'll get well. After you recover, you must worship my father above all things. He'll be born tomorrow or the day after. And as for you, you're not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn't be sick."

The rich man was astonished when Huatya Curi said this.

52 And when Huatya Curi said, "Now I'll take apart this gorgeous house of his," he became distraught.

And his wife started yelling, "This nobody, this crook, is slandering me! I'm no adulteress!"

53 Nonetheless the sick man wanted his health back very badly, and he let his house be dismantled.

Then Huatya Curi removed the two snakes and killed them. Next he clearly explained the facts to the rich man's wife: just how a grain of *muro* maize had popped out and gotten in her private part, and how she, after picking it out, had served it to a man.

After that, the woman confessed everything. "It's all true," she said.

54 Next he had the grinding stone lifted.

A toad, a two-headed one, came out from under it and fled to Anchi Cocha ravine.

It exists in a spring there to this day.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask the name of this spring and where it is.]

When people come to that spring, it either makes them disappear or else drives them crazy.

55 Once Huatya Curi finished all these deeds <crossed out in original:> [her[116] father] the ailing man got well.

After Tamta Ñamca's recovery, on the day that had been foretold, Huatya Curi went for the first time to Condor Coto mountain.

It was there that the one called Paria Caca dwelled in the form of five eggs.[117]

All around him a wind rose up and began to blow.

In earlier times no wind had been observed.

56 Just before he went there on the appointed day, the man who'd recovered his health gave him his unmarried daughter.

While the two of them were traveling in the vicinity of that mountain they sinned together.[118]

57 As soon as that elder brother-in-law heard they'd sinned together he set out to compete against Huatya Curi.

"I'll bring deep shame on that beggarman," he muttered.

And so one day that man challenged him, saying, "Brother, let's have it out in a contest, whatever kind. How dare a nobody like you marry the sister-in-law of a powerful man like me?"

That poor man agreed, and went to inform his father Paria Caca,

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, <he went> to one of the above-mentioned eggs that this man had for a father.]

and said, "This is how he spoke to me."

"Very well then. Whatever he tells you, come to me right away," his father replied.

58 The contest between them was like this.

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form of the key verb *camay* discussed in the introduction and note 31 in chapter 1 (sec. 7). A *camac* man would be one who can impart his own power to others and impose his will.

115. *camta micucri* 'as for what's eating you': the illness may be leishmaniasis, an infectious disease often pictured in Mochica ceramics, which eats away at the soft tissues of the nose and lip.

116. *yayanca* 'her [or his] father' is the crossed-out word; it might refer to the father of Huatya Curi's young woman or of her sister (i.e., to Tamta Ñamca).

117. *runto* 'egg': can also mean 'hailstone' (Gonçalez Holguín [1608] 1952: 321), a relevant association because Paria Caca regularly acts in the form of a storm.

118. *hochallicorcan* 'they sinned together': *hochalliy*, like *pincay* 'private part' (literally, 'shame'), is a shame-oriented term of Quechua lexicon and Christian mentality. The verb root employed seems to have meant a ceremonial debt or obligation (it is still used in this sense), but Christian missionaries chose it as the translation for 'sin'.

One day the challenger said, "Let's have a drinking and dancing contest."

So that poor man Huatya Curi went to inform his father.

His father Paria Caca advised him, "Go to that mountain over there. There you'll pretend to be a guanaco and lie down as if dead. Early in the morning a fox with his skunk wife will come there to see me.

59 "They'll bring their maize beer in a small long-necked jar[119] and they'll also bring along their drum. When they spot you, a dead guanaco, they'll set their things on the ground, and as soon as the fox puts down his panpipes, they'll start to eat you. Then turn back into a man, scream so loud it hurts their ears, and run away. When they scamper off forgetting their possessions, you'll take them and go to the contest."

60 The poor man did as he was told.

The rich man was the first to dance in the contest.

His wives, who numbered almost two hundred, danced along with him, and after they were done the poor man entered by himself, with only his wife, just the two of them.

As they entered through the doorway, as they danced to the skunk's drum he'd brought along, the earth of that whole region quaked.[120]

With this, he beat them all.

61 Next, they began drinking.

Huatya Curi went with just his wife to sit at the head of the group,[121] exactly as guests do until today.

And all of those people who were sitting there served him drink after drink without giving him a break.

Even though he drank every bit of it he sat there with no problem.

62 Then it was his turn. He began to serve the maize beer he'd brought in that little long-necked jar, and everybody ridiculed him. "How could he possibly fill so many people from such a tiny jar?" they said.

But when he began to serve, starting from the head of the gathering, they dropped down drunk in no time, one after another.

63 The next day, since Huatya Curi had won, the other man wanted a different contest.

This contest was all about outdoing each other in splendid costumes decorated with the exquisite feather-weavings called *cassa* and *cancho*.[122]

So Huatya Curi again went to his father.

His father gave him a snow garment. <**margin**:> [or *riti*][123]

In that garment he dazzled[124] all the people's eyes and won the contest.

64 Then the challenger said, "Let's compete in putting on puma skins."

That man wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had.[125]

The poor man, following his father's advice, went to a spring early in the morning and brought back a red puma skin.

He danced. And while he was dancing in that red puma, a rainbow appeared in the sky, like the rainbow that appears in the sky today.

65 Next the rich man wanted to compete at housebuilding.

Since that man had access to many people, he almost finished a large house in a single day.

The poor man just laid down the foundations and then strolled around all day long with his wife.

That night all kinds of birds, snakes, and other animals of the land walled the house.

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119. *huchoylla porongo* 'small long-necked jar' sounds like the aryballoid form jars made in various sizes for carrying maize beer. They have been found in virtually all Inca-influenced archaeological sites.

120. Avila spells out the point in his *Tratado*: not just the people but "the whole earth danced to the beat of its sound" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 211).

121. The seating of ceremonial guests in rank order, recurrent in many parts of the text, can be seen today in various parts of the Andes. Sponsors of the ceremony sit on stools at the head places, while guests sit in descending order of prestige and strangers or mendicants at the opposite extreme.

122. That is, the same feather-weavings that adorned Tamta Ñamca's roof (chap. 5, sec. 39).

123. *riti*: another Quechua word for snow.

124. *rupachispa* 'dazzled': the word is derived from a root meaning 'to burn' and may mean that his snow garment dazzled them with snowblindness. It is different from *tutayachic* 'which . . . dazzles' (chap. 20, sec. 250). The latter literally means 'benights'.

125. See note 62. In chapter 10 (sec. 150) we learn that owners of llama herds symbolized their prosperity by wearing puma skins; like pumas, they lived off llamas. Since the challenger is said to be rich, he presumably had many herds and therefore many puma skins. Zuidema (1985: 225) suggests that wearing puma skins in ceremony signified sovereignty over a body politic.

The next day, seeing it already finished, the challenger was awestruck.

66 Likewise Huatya Curi won at roofing the house. All the guanacos and vicuñas brought his thatching straw.

As for the other man, while his materials were being transported on llamas, Huatya Curi availed himself[126] of a bobcat's[127] help. He lay in ambush for them by a cliff, stampeded them, and destroyed them by making them fall over it.

By this trick[128] he won again.

67 After winning all these contests, the poor man spoke just as his father had advised: "Brother, we've competed so many times now, always agreeing to your rules. Now you agree to my rules."

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

Huatya Curi said, "Now, with blue tunics! And let our breechclouts be of white cotton! That's how we'll dance!"

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

68 The rich man, since he'd danced first from the beginning <crossed out in original:> [danced], went ahead and danced first.

As he was dancing, Huatya Curi charged down on him from outside screaming. That man panicked, turned into a brocket deer,[129] and ran away.

And his wife followed him, saying, "I'll die with my own old man!"[130]

69 Then that poor man flew into a rage: "Go, idiot! You two have victimized me so much, I'll kill you!" he said, and he chased after them.

Chasing them, he caught the wife on the road to Anchi Cocha and stood her upside down on her head. "People coming from up above and those coming from down below will gape at your private parts as they pass by," he said.

And right then and there she turned to stone[131] instantly.

70 This stone, just like a woman's legs with thighs and a vagina,[132] stands there until today.

Even now people put coca on top of it when they undertake something.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask why they put this coca.]

But the man who'd turned into a brocket deer climbed up a mountain and disappeared.

71 (Now, in ancient times, brocket deer used to eat human beings.[133]

Later on, when brocket deer were very numerous, they danced, ritually chanting, "How shall we eat people?"

Then one of their little fawns made a mistake and said, "How shall people eat us?"

When the brocket deer heard this they scattered.

From then on brocket deer became food for humans.)

72 After Huatya Curi finished all these deeds, Paria Caca flew forth from the five eggs in the shape of five falcons.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [The birth of Paria Caca.]

These five falcons turned into humans and they began to roam around.

And at that time, hearing all about the things people had done, about how that man called Tamta Ñamca had said, "I am a god," and about how the man had himself worshiped, Paria Caca went into a rage over all these sins of theirs. Rising up as rain, he flushed them all away to the ocean, together

126. *mincaspa* 'availed himself': more literally, he 'contracted' the bobcat's help (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 240). While his brother-in-law had access to the labor of many people and domesticated animals (llamas), Huatya Curi has access, thanks to Paria Caca's help, to creatures of the wild (skunk, fox, guanaco, bobcat, etc.).

127. *oscullo* 'bobcat': a cat of the genus *Oncifelis*, possibly *Oncifelis geoffroyi* or *Oncifelis salinarum* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 161).

128. 'Trick' supplied.

129. *lloychu* 'brocket deer': *Mazama simplicicornis*. A small species widespread in the southern half of South America, up to 65 cm tall, found especially in "savannas with trees and forest edges on the flatlands, as well as on the heights" (Renard-Casevitz: 1979: 24–25).

130. *cosallayhuantac* 'with my own old man': to convey the affectionate tone that *-lla* imparts to *cosa* 'husband'.

131. Mythic figures commonly lithify (i.e., become local *huacas* consisting of geological features) when they complete their role in the mythic drama.

132. *racayoc* 'with a vagina': unlike many sexual words in the manuscript, this is a plain Andean one without Christian-style euphemism.

133. Interpolated myth-within-a-myth: how brocket deer became human food. The myth echoes a theme of chapters 1 and 27: the way overpopulation caused hunger in ancient times. The brocket deer, like ancient people, overreproduced until getting food became a problem. The conditions of their life had to be reversed. They became subject to individual death so that they could have collective life. The same happens to humans in chapter 27.

with all their houses and their llamas, sparing not a single one.

73 At that time, too, there was something called the Pullao, which bridged like an arch Llantapa mountain[134] and another mountain called Vichoca.[135]

That thing called the Pullao was a gigantic tree.

Monkeys, toucans, and birds of all colors used to live on it.

These animals, too, all of their kind, he swept to the sea.

After he finished these feats, Paria Caca ascended to the place that's known today as Upper Paria Caca.

In the next chapter we'll speak about his ascension.[136]

134. Llantapa mountain today is 14 km southwest of Llacsa Tambo (if the latter is modern Llaquistambo) (IGM 1970–1971).

135. Modern Guichuca peak, 4,000 m above sea level, 14 km southwest of Llantapa (IGM 1970–1971). This colossal bridge over the Lurín river canyon must have been the mythic portal of the middle and lower *yunca* lands.

136. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 6

74 # How Paria Caca Was Born as Five Falcons and Then Turned into Persons, and How, Already Victorious over All the Yunca of Anchi Cocha, He Began to Walk toward Paria Caca Mountain, and What Happened along the Way

Once Paria Caca had become human and was full grown, he began to search for his enemy.

His enemy's name was Huallallo Caruincho, the Man Eater, the Man Drinker.[137]

Later on we'll describe him together with his battles.[138]

In fact we already did talk in the first chapter about Huallallo Caruincho's life, how he ate people, and all his deeds.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the first chapter]

75 Now we'll tell about the things he did in Huaro Cheri and all around there.

The story goes like this.

When Paria Caca was already a full-grown person, he went to Huallallo Caruincho's dwelling, to the place called Upper Paria Caca.

76 In the valley that lies below Huaro Cheri there once was a village named Huauqui Usa, a village of the Yunca.

On that occasion the villagers[139] were celebrating an important festival. They drank, and drank hard.

While they were drinking, Paria Caca arrived at the village. He sat down at the end of the banquet as he arrived, just like a friendless stranger.

77 Not a single one of the villagers offered him a drink while he sat there. He was there all day long. Finally a woman, who was also a native of that village, exclaimed,

"Oh, no! How come no one is offering this poor fellow a drink?"

She brought over some maize beer in a large white gourd and gave it to him.

78 "Sister," Paria Caca said to that woman, "it's a lucky thing for you that you offered me this beer. Five days from now, you'll see something awful happen in this village. So take care not to be in the village that day. Back off far away. Otherwise I might kill both you and your children by mistake. These people have made me damn mad!"

And he added, "As for these people, don't let them hear even a single word about it. If you let them hear anything, I might kill you, too."

79 Five days later the woman, together with her children and her brothers, did go away from that village.

But the people of the village went right on drinking without a care.

Then Paria Caca climbed the mountain that overlooks Huaro Cheri.

(That mountain is called Matao Coto now.

Farther down there's another mountain called Puypu Huana, the one we descend on our way from here to Huaro Cheri. These are the names of those mountains.)[140]

80 On the mountain Paria Caca started a torrential rainstorm.

137. The chapter opens with two sentences in reportive validation.

138. This and the following three sentences form an explanatory aside with witness validation.

139. *llactayoc runacunaca* 'villagers', more literally, 'the village-owning people' (i.e., the aborigines who lived in union with the place and its deities before Paria Caca and his devotees overran them).

140. The whole parenthesis has witness validation.

Rising up as yellow hail and red hail,[141] he washed all those people away to the ocean and didn't spare a single one.

At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide[142] and shaped the high slopes and the valleys of Huaro Cheri.

When Paria Caca finished all these things, he didn't explain them to the rest of the aboriginal Yunca people, who'd <crossed out:> [quite clearly] seen it all happen without knowing or understanding what it meant, but instead headed to the fields of the Cupara, which are across the river. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.]

81 The native people of Cupara village survived just by channeling some water from a spring to their fields, and they were suffering greatly for lack of water at that time.

(This spring flowed from a tall mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.[143]

This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)

At that time, they say,[144] it was just a big lake.

They used to irrigate their fields by channeling the water downhill to fill some small reservoirs.

82 In those days there was a native woman of that village named Chuqui Suso, a really beautiful woman.

This woman was weeping while she irrigated her maize plants because they were drying out so badly, and because her water supply was so very scarce.

When Paria Caca saw this, he obstructed the mouth of her little pond[145] with his cloak.

83 The woman started to cry even more bitterly when she saw him do that.

"Sister, why are you crying so hard?" Paria Caca asked her.

"Sir, this little maize field of mine is drying up on me for lack of water!" she replied.

"Don't worry about it," Paria Caca said to her. "I'll make water flow from this pond of yours, plenty of water. But first, let me sleep with you."

84 "Get the water flowing first," she retorted. "When my field is watered, then by all means let's sleep together."

"Fine!" said Paria Caca, and released an ample amount of water.

Overjoyed, the woman thoroughly watered all her fields.

After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, "Let's sleep together."

"Not right now," she replied. "Let's sleep together tomorrow or the day after."

Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, "I wish I could sleep with her right now!" and promised her all kinds of things.

"I'll fix this field of yours up with a water source direct from the river,"[146] he said.

85 "Do that first, and then we'll sleep together," the woman replied.

"All right," Paria Caca said. He widened an irrigation canal that had belonged to the Yunca people, a little ditch that descended long ago from the ravine called Coco Challa to the small hill overlooking San Lorenzo. He extended this canal down as far as the fields of Lower Cupara.[147]

86 Pumas, foxes, snakes, and all kinds of birds cleaned and fixed that canal.

Pumas, jaguars, and all kinds of animals[148] vied with each other to improve it, saying, "Who'll be the leader when we lay out the watercourse?"[149]

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141. In the *Tratado* Avila mentions that Huarochirí people interpreted a local geological formation, seemingly a steep alluvial fan of yellowish-white stones, as the remnant of Paria Caca's hail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 215).

142. *yaco lloclla purispas* 'waters gushed down in a mudslide': a typical west Andean disaster then and now. Repeatedly in the manuscript the rainy power of the heights destroys the dry Yunca people by washing them out. The topography of western Peru, cut by many water-eroded canyons, was read as the record of such mythic cataclysms.

143. Modern San Lorenzo de Quinti, 2 km east of Huarochirí at 2,550 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). This and the following sentence form an aside with witness validation.

144. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation.

145. *cochap siminta* 'the mouth of her . . . pond': a literal translation, probably meaning the sluice through which water passed from the reservoir to the irrigation canal.

146. *mayomanta yacuyuctam* 'with a water source direct from the river' (i.e., not reliant on the spring or the reservoir system).

147. The teller is at pains to relate the extant pattern of canals with *huacas* and thereby express the teller's group's claims to water rights. In this myth a non-Yunca group (Checa?) seems to be holding that the neighboring Cupara (seemingly of Yunca origin) owe their water to the invaders and not to the ancient Yunca builders.

148. 'Animals' supplied.

149. This sentence has witness validation; since it

"Me first! Me first!" exclaimed this one and that one.

The fox won, saying, "I'm the chief, the *curaca*,[150] so I'll lead the way first."

And so he, the fox, went on ahead.

87 While the fox was leading the way,
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [leading the way,]
after he'd laid the watercourse out halfway up the mountain over San Lorenzo, a tinamou[151] suddenly darted up, whistling "Pisc pisc!"

Startled, the fox yelped "Huac!" and fell down the slope.

Then those animals got indignant and had the snake direct the way.

If the fox hadn't fallen, that canal of theirs would've run at a higher level.

But now it runs somewhat lower.

The spot from which the fox fell is clearly visible to this day. In fact the water flows down the course the fox's fall opened.[152]

88 When in fact[153] he'd finished all this, Paria Caca said to Chuqui Suso, "Let's sleep together!"

"Let's climb to a high ledge. There we'll sleep together," she <crossed out:> [enticed him] answered him.

(Today, this ledge is called Yana Caca.)[154]

There the two of them did sleep together.

Once she'd slept with him, that woman said, "Let's just the two of us go off someplace."

"Let's go!" he replied and led her to the mouth of the canal called Coco Challa.

89 When they got there the woman named Chuqui Suso said, "Right in this canal of mine, that's where I'll stay!" And she froze stock still, and turned to stone.

Paria Caca left her there and went on climbing upward.

We'll tell about that next.[155]

90 Someone congealed into stone does in fact stand today at the mouth of the canal named Coco Challa. It's the woman called Chuqui Suso.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Cuni Raya's dwelling is near Chuqui Suso.]

Cuni Raya, also frozen to stone, dwells today above this place in a different canal, at the spot that was named Vincompa at that time.

It was there that Cuni Raya came to his end.[156]

But we'll tell about the various things he did in some later chapters.

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overlaps the preceding reportive sentence in content, one suspects an imperfect joining of two sources.

150. *curaca* means "the lord or ruler (*señor*) of the community (*pueblo*)" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 57); it derives from a root denoting priority in rank (especially birth order), not sovereignty. Under Spanish colonial influence, *curaca* roles were modified toward Spanish ideas of nobility and estate-based privilege.

151. *yutu* 'tinamou': *yutu* is the bird Peruvians call *perdiz* 'partridge' in Spanish. Its shape and behavior resemble those of a partridge, but it is in fact a tinamou. Three species inhabit Lima Province. Of these, the likeliest (because it inhabits the middle altitudes that are the scene of this myth) is: "*Andean Tinamou, Nothoprocta pentlandii oustaleti* (*Perdiz serrana*). A tinamou the size of a small chicken; upper parts brownish, finely marked with cinnamon and black, with longitudinal buffy white streaks; underparts buffy, breast gray with small light spots. Lives in the steppes of the Andean slopes up to an altitude of 3500 m., also on the coastal hills. A terrestrial bird, it flushes with noisy wingbeats . . ." (Koepcke 1970: 16).

152. This interpolated myth is an etiological story explaining a conspicuous quirk of Quinti village's water system: why does a certain canal deviate downward from a higher and seemingly optimal course?

153. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence has witness validation.

154. This parenthesis has witness validation.

155. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation, hence 'in fact' supplied in the next sentence.

156. The speaker insists with peculiar emphasis on the spot where Cuni Raya's course ended, perhaps because this version clashes with the better-known myth of his disappearance over the sea. This latter version is itself acknowledged, but crossed out, in chapter 2 (sec. 25).

CHAPTER 7

91

How Those Cupara People Revere the One Called Chuqui Suso Even to This Day

All the Cupara people, as we know,[157] make up a single *ayllu* called Cupara.

These people now live in San Lorenzo, where they remain forcibly relocated[158] right up to now.

There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage[159] that bears the name Chauincho.

Chuqui Suso was <crossed out:> [a woman[160] of] a member of the Chauincho *ayllu*.

In the old days, in the month of May when the canal had to be cleaned (as is done today, too),[161] all these people went to the woman Chuqui Suso's dwelling; they went with their maize beer, *ticti*,[162] guinea pigs,[163] and llamas to worship that demon woman.[164]

92 In worshiping her, they built a *quishuar*[165] enclosure and stayed inside it for five days without ever letting people walk outside.

It's said that[166] when they finished that, and accomplished everything else including their canal-cleaning, the people came home dancing and sing-

157. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to predominate, with three interruptions, throughout the chapter. Because this chapter consists primarily of what appears to be a witness testimony by the editor/redactor, the three *-si* reportive passages are signaled in translation.

158. *reduzisca* 'forcibly relocated' (i.e., in San Lorenzo de Quinti). The Cupara are one of the *ayllus* that colonial authorities had relocated (probably in the 1580s) in Spanish-style parishes (*reducciones*). Among places mentioned in the manuscript, San Pedro Mama, San Francisco de Chaclla, San Damián de Checa, San Francisco de Siçicaya, and Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí were also Toledan *reducciones* rather than prehispanic *llactas* (Spalding 1984: flyleaf).

159. As noted in the introduction, the term *yumay* (literally, 'sperm') signifies a patrilineal group or corporation. See also chapter 31 (sec. 445).

160. Or 'a wife'.

161. In modern Andean villages the canal-cleaning festival, *yarq'a hasp'iy*, continues to be a ritual climax. A full account from the Huarochirí region is given by Paul Gelles (1984: 115–130 and *passim*).

162. *ticti*: a food-offering for *huacas* made from the thick maize residue left as a by-product of maize beer brewing.

163. The guinea pig, *Cavia porcellus* (also called *Cavia cobayo*), is native to the Andes and is raised in most rural Andean kitchens for festive or sacrificial food.

164. *supay huarmicta* 'demon woman': clergymen consistently used *supay* to translate the Christian concept 'demon', and in the manuscript *supay* sometimes seems to be used in this sense. But the word may retain a nuance of its older Andean sense, which is the shade or light, volatile part of a living being (Duviols 1978).

165. *quishuar*: a small tree whose wood was prominently used in ritual context. "*Buddleia sp. Quishuar* and its variants. . . . The plants of this genus are shrubs or occasionally herbs, with opposite lanceolate leaves and four-lobed white, violet to purple flowers borne in heads, panicles, or spikes . . . grown in the temperate regions as ornamentals and for their wood, which is used in tool-making and cabinet work . . . the wood of *Buddleia incana* had symbolic meaning and was used ceremonially by the Incas . . . a pre-Columbian temple at Cuzco [was] known as Quishuar-Cancha, in which was kept a gold idol the size of a ten-year-old boy, . . . idols burned at the festivals of R'aimi [*sic*] were also made of the wood of *Buddleia longifolia*. A number of small branches . . . were found in a grave of the Classic Maranga Period at Vista Alegre . . . " (Towle 1961: 75–76).

166. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 92.

ing. They'd lead one woman along in their midst, reverencing her as they did the *huaca*[167] and saying,

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

93 As this woman arrived at their village, we'd see[168] some people awaiting her, laying out maize beer and other things and greeting her:

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

On that occasion they say[169] people celebrated a major festival, dancing and drinking all night long.

In fact that's why, when the late lord[170] Don Sebastián[171] was still alive, during Corpus Christi and the other major Christian holy days, a woman used to proclaim,

"I am Chuqui Suso!"

and give maize beer from a large gold or silver jar with a large gourd[172] to everyone in rank order, saying,

"This is our mother's beer!"

Then she would also hand out toasted maize from a large hollow gourd.

94 When they'd finished cleaning the canal, they reportedly[173] used to invite a tremendous lot of people and give them maize, beans, and other things.

Since they always used to give things away like that, people from Huaro Cheri and from all the other communities used to go there. "They've cleaned Chuqui Suso's canal. Come on, let's go have a look!" they'd say.

95 In fact[174] today people who are in the know[175] about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde*[176] nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"

On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."

As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.

True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.[177]

But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.

167. 'The *huaca*' supplied. Original has *payta yna* 'as her'.

168. 'We'd see' supplied to convey the witness validation of this sentence.

169. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

170. *apo* 'lord': while Spanish speakers commonly knew this honorific, it did not belong to the legal jargon of colonial authority (which typically used the titles *curaca* or *cacique*). It is more suggestive of traditional legitimacy and connotes both religious and political authority.

171. Possibly the same Sebastián mentioned in chapter 19 (sec. 230) as an earlier *curaca*. Both passages could refer to Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca. He was the son of the man who had ruled Huarochirí before the Spanish conquest under the name Ninavilca and continued to rule after it as Don Antonio. Sebastián enjoyed Spanish favor, helped Dávila Brizeño organize forced resettlement of natives, and supported the Jesuit missions of the 1570s. He was rewarded in the 1580s with an office as a high native magistrate (Spalding 1984: 222). Here we are told (perhaps with malice) that despite such activities he also favored the *huacas*.

172. *poto* 'gourd': conjectural translation. In some regions of the Andes today, women serve maize beer ritually by doling out liquid from a large pail with a smaller gourd cup.

173. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues throughout section 94.

174. 'In fact' supplied to indicate resumption of witness validation, which continues through the end of the chapter.

175. *musiasca* 'in the know' (also translated 'privy to'): this locution is used in several parts of the manuscript to designate those involved in Andean worship. Taylor (1987b: 143) gives a different reading: 'confounded (by the demon)', based on the fact that this verb often denoted foreknowledge such as that gained by magical means.

176. *alcalde*: *alcaldías* were Spanish magistracies, of which certain ranks were assigned to natives for purposes of indirect rule. Higher-ranking native *alcaldes mayores* had province-level administrative duties (Espinoza Soriano 1960). But the ones alluded to here, in chapter 13 (sec. 173) and in supplement II (sec. 481), are probably village-level *alcaldes* of the sort appointed under Toledan ordinances of resettlement (Spalding 1984: 216–217). The Toledan viceroyalty intentionally gave them powers overlapping those of the *curaca* or native lord, encouraging them to prohibit traditional rites (like this one) that the native lord might be tempted to permit.

177. This politically prudent afterthought may reflect awareness that Father Avila would scrutinize the text.

CHAPTER 8

96 # How Paria Caca Ascended. How One Man Came Back with His Child by Following Paria Caca's Commands, and, Finally, How He Struggled with Huallallo Caruincho

We've already told about Huallallo Caruincho's life.

But we didn't speak about his dwelling place, the place he made his shrine and community.[178]

In ancient times, they say,[179] Huallallo Caruincho dwelled in the area of Upper Paria Caca.

We don't know for certain that dwelling's original name. We do know[180] that it's called Mullo Cocha lake[181] today because, when Paria Caca defeated Huallallo, who was a burning fire, he turned the place into a lake to extinguish him.

97 It was on the location of Mullo Cocha lake that they say[182] Huallallo's dwelling place stood.

At that time the whole region was completely Yunca.[183] When he lived there huge snakes, toucans, and all sorts of animals filled the land.

In fact things were just as we described in the first chapter,[184]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [1st chapter]
when we told how he ate people.

98 They say that[185] when Paria Caca set out to defeat Huallallo Caruincho, the five persons who composed him[186] whirled hunting *bolas*[187] at Ocsa Pata.[188]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ocsa Pata is next to Paria Caca.]

While they swung their *bolas*, that region got intensely cold, and hail fell upon the ground where he played.

178. The first two sentences have witness validation.

179. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

180. 'We do know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues throughout section 96.

181. The lake whose modern name is Mullucocha is 30 km by air east-northeast of Huarochirí in the barren heights, at 4,300 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Mullo Cocha means 'Lake of Thorny Oyster Shell'. Sections 99–104 show why. Because the lake's name is well known in this form, we have deviated from the practice of presenting terms like *cocha* 'lake' or *urcu* 'mountain' in translation only.

182. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next sentence.

183. *yuncasapa* 'completely Yunca' or 'full of Yunca': from the following sentence, which tells us that subtropical animals of the coast then inhabited the extreme heights, we learn that this means ecologically as well as culturally *yunca*.

184. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The reference is to chapter 1 (sec. 4).

185. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

186. *pihcantin*: 'five' plus the suffix *-ntin*, which denotes the combination of intrinsically related or fitted parts: 'the five of him together'. The best-known instance of *-ntin* is the Inca name for the Inca Empire, *Tauantin Suyo*, meaning 'the Fourfold Domain' (see chap. 17, secs. 213, 215; chap. 22, sec. 280; chap. 23, sec. 288).

187. *riuicorcan* 'whirled . . . *bolas*': the *riwi* is a native South American hunting weapon made by tying round stones together and hurling them at the legs of prey so that the thongs entangle and fell it.

188. The toponym *ocsa pata* means 'grassy ledge' and evokes the windswept panorama of the high grasslands. It may signify a place on modern Cerro Ocsa. "Ocsa Mountain might be the modern Ocsha Mountain, which is found to the southwest of Lake Piticocha, which is also found in the area of the deeds [i.e., of Paria Caca], although somewhat farther away" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 12). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a plateau and a ravine called Ocsha 10 km southwest of Mullucocha.

99 At that moment a man[189] came along weeping <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Tell the part about the snake.]
and carrying one of his children.[190] He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell,[191] coca, and balls of *ticti*, meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering.

"Son, where are you going crying like that?" one of the Paria Cacas asked him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out the names of these 5 brothers.
The names of these five brothers are

Paria Caca
Churapa
Puncho
Paria Carco

We don't know the name of one of these five.][192]

"Father," he replied, "I'm taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo."

"Son," replied the Paria Caca, "don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back.

100 "In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruincho," Paria Caca said. "If I overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me,

'Our father's beating him!'

But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me,

'The fighting's over!' "

The man got scared when Paria Caca said this, and said, "Father, won't that Huallallo Caruincho be enraged at me?"

101 "Let him get angry! He won't be able to do a thing to you. And what's more I will bring people into being, males under the care of Ami and Llata,[193] <**margin**, in Spanish:>

[Sons

Curaca or Ancacha the 1st
Chauca the 2d
Llunco the 3d
Sullca the 4th
Llata the 5th
Ami the 6th

Daughters

Paltacha or Cochucha the 1st
Cobapacha the 2d
Ampuche the 3d
Sullcacha the 4th
Ecancha the 5th
Anacha Añasi the 6th]

and females under that of Añasi; one as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live,"[194] replied Paria Caca. And while he was speak-

189. Here there is an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note that Taylor (1987b: 146) renders 'This man was Quinti'. If correct, the interpretation is important because it shows that the Quinti, a group associated with the lineages of Paria Caca, were alleged to have ancestors who worshiped a Yunca deity.

190. *huc churinta* 'one of his children': see chapter 1 (sec. 1), about how Huallallo ate one of every two babies born. The weeping man was going to make his sacrifice.

191. *mullo*, the shell of the thorny oyster, *Spondylus princeps*, or powders and beads made from it, was among the commonest offerings to Andean deities and a major cargo in prehispanic deepwater seafaring (see Marcos 1980; Murra 1975b; Paulsen 1974).

192. In section 101 there is a birth-order list that may give general words meaning 'firstborn', 'secondborn', etc., rather than the personal names of Paria Caca's incarnations or offspring. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chapter 12 (sec. 166) there appear separate lists of the apparently human sons of Paria Caca.

193. *Ami* and *Llata*: these poorly understood persons reappear in chapter 11 (sec. 157). The phrasing *amiyoc ... llatayoc ... añasiyoc* 'possessors of Ami ... possessors of Llata ... possessors of Añasi' suggests that these persons are prototypes of a group that held Ami, Llata, and Añasi as their *huacas* and protectors. While this detail has not been resolved, the gist can be partly clarified.

This foretelling allusion, addressed to a prototypical man of the group whose origin chapter 11 relates, seems to mean, 'You are afraid now because you are powerless, but I later will supply a kind of people to be subordinate to you. The man will have *Ami* and *Llata* as his *huacas* and the woman will have *Añasi*'. The prophecy comes true in chapter 11, where the lastborn persona of Paria Caca relieves the equally lastborn Checa of their powerlessness by forcing some of the Yunca aborigines to subordinate themselves as the "little Amis and Llatas" of the Checa.

Ami means sick from overeating; *llata*, 'naked' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 24, 212). *Añasi* may relate to *añas* 'skunk'. If they are Quechua, which is uncertain, the names seem to suggest lowly attributes of babies: nakedness, nausea, smelliness. Babyhood may symbolize junior genealogical rank.

194. *hucta cari hucta huarmicta ynam camasac* 'one

ing, his breath came out of his mouth like bluish smoke.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [It was a clear blue.]
When the man saw this, he got scared and handed over everything he'd brought.
The five men ate the thorny oyster shell, making it crunch with a "Cap cap" sound, and all the other offerings.
Then the man went back, carrying his child.

102 Five days later, he did return just as Paria Caca had told him to, thinking, "I'll go and witness it!"
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's victory]
And five days after his prophecy, Paria Caca did begin fighting Huallallo Caruincho.
The story is like this.
Paria Caca, since he was five persons, began to rain down from five directions.
That rain was yellow and red rain.
Then, flashing as lightning, he blazed out from five directions.

103 From early in the morning to the setting of the sun,[195] Huallallo Caruincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished.
And[196] the waters, the rains of Paria Caca, rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake.[197]
Since it wouldn't have fit in,[198] one of Paria Caca's five selves, the one called Llacsa Churapa, knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters from below.

104 Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake.
(Nowadays this lake is called Mullo Cocha.)[199]
As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire.
And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest.
Finally Huallallo Caruincho fled toward the low country, the Antis.[200]

105 Another of Paria Caca's offspring
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out if these are brothers since it's said that they came out of the eggs, or if they're the Paria Caca's children.—They were brothers.]
chased after him.
He stays at the pass down to the lowlands, the Antis, until today, "Lest Huallallo Caruincho return," as he says.
His name was <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Paria Carco.[201]

106 During Paria Caca's victory, a certain woman named Mana Ñamca[202] appeared, a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho.[203]
This woman lived below Mama,[204] somewhere down there.
It was to conquer her that Paria Caca came to her.
Mana Ñamca also burned in the form of a fire.

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as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live': may mean that the Ami/Llata and Añasi groups, respectively, have male and female identity with regard to each other.

195. *ña hora pachacama* 'to the setting of the sun': an alternative translation would be 'to lower Pacha Camac'. Both possibilities are problematic, but 'Pacha Camac' more so since it is normally spelled with final *c* in the manuscript.

196. There is a crossed-out phrase, *paria cacap huquinca*, of uncertain meaning.

197. *hura cochañicman*: 'lower lake' or alternatively 'Pacific Ocean'; accepting the 'Pacha Camac' reading would warrant the latter.

198. *manatac yaycuptin* 'since it wouldn't have fit in': a problematic passage. It may mean that in order to prevent the ocean from overspilling its shores (see chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375), Llacsa Churapa built a reservoir for Paria Caca's water. 'Paria Caca's five selves' supplied.

199. Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) thought this story represented a combat between a volcano (*sierra del fuego*) and a snowcap, with Mullo Cocha the caldera left by the volcano's collapse. (It does not appear geologically to be a caldera.) This parenthesis has witness validation.

200. Taylor (1987b: 154) at this point refers to a Quechua marginal note that means, 'He didn't just flee instantly. We'll tell about it later on'.

201. This sentence has witness validation.

202. Mana Ñamca figures again in chapter 10 (sec. 143), where she is equated to Chaupi Ñamca, who in turn is equated to the daughter of Tamta Ñamca (chap. 5, sec. 47). This cluster of three female names seems associated with Yunca aborigines and with the remote past.

203. *caruinchouan cac supay* 'a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho': more literally, 'who was with Caruincho'. This could mean Mana Ñamca was with him as sibling, or spouse, or ally. A marginal note to a later passage (chap. 10, sec. 143) interprets her as Chaupi Ñamca, perhaps meaning Mana Ñamca was a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca once matched to Huallallo as Chaupi Ñamca herself was later fraternally matched to Paria Caca.

204. Probably San Pedro de Mama (modern Ricardo Palma), 52 km northwest of Huarochirí, close to Lima in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Making an entry down through Tumna,[205] Paria Caca attacked her.

She shot[206] from below and hit the foot of one of Paria Caca's offspring, the one named Chuqui Huampo.[207]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out what condition this one is in.]

Nonetheless, it was Paria Caca who won and expelled her into the ocean.[208]

107 After he defeated them, he went back to his child Chuqui Huampo, who sat there lame with a broken foot.

"I can't go back. I'll keep watch over that woman Mana Ñamca from right here, just in case she comes back," Chuqui Huampo said to him.

His father said, "Very well then," and made provisions to supply him with all his food.

108 He gave his command: "All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its ear-tips[209] and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten."

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This place where <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Chuqui Huampo is is below Tumna between Sisi Caya and Sucya. I have to see it and find out what it's called.][210]

109 People respected these sacred edicts, and in accordance with them all the coca producers from

Saci Caya,[211]
Chontay,[212]
Chichima,[213]
Mama,
Huayo Calla,
and Sucya Cancha[214]

would bring coca to Chuqui Huampo first before all others.

They carry on the custom secretly to this day.

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205. Modern Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián de Checa at 2,902 m above sea level, a long way downvalley from Mullo Cocha. It occupies the heights over the Rímac's left bank.

206. *chucamurcan* 'she shot': the verb more literally means 'she hurled' and is elsewhere used in connection with lance-throwing. Perhaps the idea here is that she hurled fire (Taylor 1987b: 157), but the injury she inflicted is a broken (*paquisca*) rather than burned foot, so some more solid weapon seems indicated. To avoid the problem we choose a less specific verb.

207. Taylor (1987b: 156) gives a Quechua marginal note meaning, 'He'll be the one with the disabled leg'.

208. *cochañicman*: 'ocean' or possibly 'lake'.

209. *rinrin chillpiscacta* 'ear tips': today herders slit small notches in the ears of llamas at *señalasqa* festivals, as signs of ownership (Aranguren Paz 1975: 117). Perhaps a fragment of ear would then be the sacrifice mentioned.

210. Taylor (1987b: 158) interprets an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note at this point as saying, 'We will speak of Capcahuanca later'. Capac Huanca is mentioned in chapter 25 (sec. 346).

211. Modern Sisicaya is about halfway up the Lurín valley from Pachacámac to San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). See chapter 11 (sec. 156).

212. Modern Chontay is in the Lurín valley slightly downriver from Sisicaya (IGM 1970–1971).

213. Modern Santa Inés de Chichima is near Chaclacayo in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

214. On basis of Sucya Villca identification (see chap. 20, sec. 242), possibly San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí in the lower Rímac valley between Mama and Surco (IGM 1970–1971).

CHAPTER 9

How Paria Caca, Having Accomplished All This, Began to Ordain His Own Cult

110

Now indeed we've finished telling all these victories of his.

But we haven't spoken about how Huallallo Caruincho later lived under Paria Caca's sentence.[215]

After Paria Caca's victory, and after Huallallo had fled to the lowlands, the Antis,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out how this Caruincho exists in the Andes now.]

Paria Caca passed sentence on Huallallo: "Because he fed on people, let him now eat dogs; and let the Huanca[216] people worship him."

111 When the Huanca worshiped him,[217] they'd propitiate him with dogs. And since he, their god, fed on dogs, they also ate them.

As a matter of fact, we speak of them as "dog-eating Huanca" to this day.[218]

112 Just as we indicated in the first chapter and in subsequent ones, where we said that all those villages were full of Yunca,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chapter 1]
all the inhabitants of Huaro Cheri Province and of the provinces of Chaclla[219] and Mama and of all the other villages were once full of Yunca.

Paria Caca,[220] as we know,[221] drove these Yunca and all such Yunca groups down to the lowlands. "It will be my children who'll live in this region," he ordained.

113 All those who took part in conquering these groups are individually called Paria Caca's children.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's children]

"Each one of them is his child," people say.

Others deny it. In accord with their belief these say, "They were born from the seed of a wild plant."[222]

The victors' names are these, starting from the oldest one:

215. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

216. The Huanca were a large ethnic group inhabiting the upper Mantaro valley in the central Peruvian highlands. The Huarochirí myth-tellers' belief that their *huaca* Huallallo once tyrannized west Andean peoples seems to indicate a further belief that Paria Caca and his people reversed an earlier Huanca penetration of the seaward valleys. There is an implied claim to have liberated the Yunca from the "dog-eating Huanca" and from the burden of human sacrifice. Recent works on the Huanca include D'Altroy (1987) and Espinoza Soriano (1971).

217. Julio C. Tello (1923: 510–549) observed what he thought to be a modern tradition maintaining Huallallo's mythology and cult.

218. The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also expresses disdain for the "dog-eating Guancas" and their dog-eating deity Huallallo ([1615] 1980: 1:241, 271). 'As a matter of fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

219. Modern San Antonio de Chaclla is 63 km northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). Spalding's map (1984: endpaper) shows San Francisco de Chaclla, a resettlement village of the 1580s, at a similar location. Taylor (1987b: 39) equates Chaclla with modern Santa Eulalia, adjacent to Mama.

220. 'Paria Caca' supplied.

221. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 116. Taylor (1987b: 163) takes the *quinua* origin story to be typical of invading groups that had individually grafted their focal ancestors onto the descent of the pre-invasion *huaca*, Paria Caca, and thereby provided themselves with an alternative and discrepant origin story.

222. Allusion to an alternative myth of origin, developed in chapter 24 (secs. 302–303) and chapter 31 (sec. 389).

Choc Payco,
Chancha Runa,
Huari Runa,
Utco Chuco,
and Tutay Quiri with his brother Sasin Mari.

All these conquered the Yunca peoples.

114 According to them, one other child of Paria Caca likewise emerged from the earth.

His name was Pacha Chuyru.

We forgot this one's conquests in all the preceding chapters.

We'll set forth these matters in a later part.[223] <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we shall set forth Pacha Chuyru's victory.]

These whom we have mentioned defeated and drove out all the Yunca peoples.

115 These Yunca groups, all the Yunca, once they forgot their former god, began to worship Paria Caca.

The tradition about the Yunca is like this.

In this community of Checa[224] lived the ones called Colli,[225] building their settlements[226] all over the communal territory. To relate all the Yunca settlements in the whole area would be very laborious.

So in what follows we shall choose only a few of them for our consideration, compiling all their customs, because all the Yunca shared one single way of life.

116 Paria Caca then established his dwelling on the heights, on the same territory where he had conquered, and began to lay down the rules[227] for his worship.

His law was one and the same law in all the villages.

The law we speak of was this: "We are all of one birth."[228] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is taken to mean of one family.]

117 They say[229] he gave a command to one particular person in each village: "Once every year you are to hold a paschal celebration reenacting my life."

He said, "As for their titles, the title of these people will be *huacasa* or *huacsa*.

"The *huacsa* will dance three times each year, bringing coca in enormous leather bags."

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223. But the manuscript does not in fact contain the promised account.

224. San Damián de Checa, a village formed by forced resettlement (*reducción*) during the 1580s, appears to be the residence of one or more of the text's informants. Modern San Damián is 22 km northwest of Huarochirí at 3,235 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

225. Here and at other points the myths of the Checa tell of expelling Yunca and at the same time of Yunca groups' becoming integrated with the Checa (Rostworowski 1978: 31–44). The kindred organized around Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca expresses the purported resulting unity. This theme becomes particularly explicit in chapter 24.

226. *tiascancunacta* 'their settlements': the possessive marker is ambiguous; could mean settlements of the Colli or Checa.

227. *hunancharcan* 'lay down the rules': this word as well as 'law' (*hunanchasca*) in the following sentences is derived from a verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 355) glosses 'to make signals, to understand, to consider, to design or plan out'.

228. *huc yuric canchic* 'We are all of one birth' (i.e., sibling group).

The word *yuric*, which we take to mean 'birth group' does not mean the same as *yumay* 'patrilineage', or *ayllu* 'localized kindred'. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 372) gives "yurini to be born, to come into being, for something to come forth with something or someone as its author . . . yurini . . . for a man or animal to be born." *Yuric* is an agentive form. See the section on *yuriy/yumay* in the introduction.

The point of Paria Caca's great judgment, the cornerstone of the ideological order expounded in subsequent chapters, is that:

(1) The dominant patrilineages of the region will be the descent groups self-identified as protégés of Paria Caca's selves and children.

(2) Yunca descent groups (of what sort remains unclear), once liberated from Huallallo, will be incorporated in the role of wives and wife-givers, and their major *huacas* as 'sisters' or 'wives' of male *huacas* from the Paria Caca kindred. They will be considered globally the progeny of Paria Caca's "sister" Chaupi Ñamca.

(3) Insofar as all the people of the region are "born" of unions between descendants of a brother and a sister, all are siblings at the apical level of kinship and religious reckoning.

Taylor and Urioste read the passage differently. Taylor in an early working took it to mean that "each of our communities is composed of a certain number of families" (1980: 77). He later translated it as "we all belong to different lineages" (1987b: 167). Urioste (1983: 63) reads it as alluding to a single lineage. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 65) give "all of us, who are as one single son."

229. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

118 To first become a *huacsa*, people in fact[230] perform a certain ritual.

It's like this: a man of the Caca Sica *ayllu* functions as officiant for these ceremonies. From early times these officiants were only one or two people, and, as for their title, it was *yanca*.[231]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The master is called *yanca*.]

The same title is used in all the villages.

This man observes the course of the sun
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the shadow that the wall casts in the sun.]
from a wall constructed with perfect alignment.

When the rays of the sun touch this calibrated wall, he <crossed out:> [proclaimed] to the people, "Now we must go"; or if they don't, he'd say, "Tomorrow is the time."[232]

119 Following this command, people go to Paria Caca in order to worship.

In the old times they used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself.

But now they go from Checa to a mountain called Ynca Caya
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The snowcap of Paria Caca is visible from this mountain.]
to worship from there.

(This mountain rises over the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi and abuts on another mountain called Huallquiri.

It's on this mountain that all sorts of people, men and women alike, go to worship.)[233]

120 People run a race on their way to this mountain, in accordance with the *yanca*'s instructions, driving their llama bucks. The strongest ones even shoulder small llamas.[234] They scramble upward, each thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Which is where <Paria Caca> can be seen from.]

121 The first llama to arrive at the mountain top was much loved by Paria Caca.

In the old days Paria Caca himself used to give a name to this llama buck, proclaiming, "Let its name be thus!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [different names each time, of one sort or another, such as Yauri or Yllaca]
And as for the first little llama to arrive, the *yanca* would display it and praise it before all eyes, announcing, "The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him."

122 This time of worship, as we know,[235] is called the Auquisna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Auquisna 'for our father' or 'creator'][236]

Similarly the worship of Chaupi Ñamca is called the Chaycasna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chaycasna 'for our mother'][237]

But we'll explain the Chaycasna later.

Nowadays the Auquisna season <crossed out:> [falls] comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to <crossed out:> [Corpus Christi] the great pasch[238] or actually coincides with it.

All the *huacsa*s, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.

This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated.[239]

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230. 'In fact' supplied to convey witness validation, which continues through the next four sentences.

231. That is, the *yanca*, as priest entitled by heredity to supervise the rituals, establishes the new *huacsa*'s relation with the *huaca* he (or she?) is to embody.

232. That is, he observed a gnomon to determine the correct date. R. T. Zuidema has studied the use of gnomons in Incaic Cuzco (1981: 319–322). The past tense verb *villarca* 'he proclaimed' is inconsistent in tense with the adjacent verbs. Taylor's transcription (1987b: 170) gives *villancu*, in present tense and third person plural, which is more consistent.

233. This parenthesis has witness validation.

234. *ancha sinche runacuna huchoylla llamanhuanpas* 'the strongest ones even shoulder small llamas': 'shoulder' is supplied to make the more literal sense—'the strongest people with small llamas'—intelligible.

235. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 122.

236. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

237. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

238. Because Corpus roughly coincides with the dry-season climax of the Andean ritual calendar, it has consistently become in Andean eyes the "great" festival of Catholicism and an occasion for performing nominally forbidden Andean rites. But a 1609 Jesuit report studied in Taylor's article "Cultos y fiestas de la comunidad de San Damián" (1987a) gives April as the Auquisna season. In accord with this report we interpret the teller's editing out Corpus and substituting *aton pascua* 'the great pasch' as meaning that he thought Auquisna close to Easter, which usually falls in April.

239. *cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan* 'This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated': problematic translation. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 96) gives "thing appropriated" for *chapasca*. Perhaps this means that *huacsas*' right to dance, unlike other dancing privileges, was not among the rights seized

<**margin**, in Spanish>: [Find out about this sort of song and write it down for me on paper in the Quechua language, from what they say.]

123 The *huacsa*s reportedly[240] perform this dance with absolutely no interruption.

If someone who stops dancing ever happens to die, people comment about him, "He died because of the fault he committed."

For that reason, they make little children or any other kind of people carry on the dance.[241] The people from Surco especially prefer to call on the Huayllas to dance in their stead.

124 If a Huayllas man is married to a native Surco village woman and performs these rituals, the members of that community don't take away his fields or anything else of his, even though he's an outsider. On the contrary, they respect him and help him.

What's more, when Huayllas people who live in Surco come to Sucya Cancha to trade coca, regardless of their standing they bargain, saying, "Give me a little extra, ma'am; I'm a *huacsa*."[242]

125 Nowadays, as we know,[243] people perform this pasch by making it coincide with any of the major Christian paschal rites, and the people from Surco still excel over all the other communities.

On account of this dance, the Catholic priests in their villages exact collections[244] of chickens, maize, and all sorts of other things. The people hand these things over more than cheerfully.

126 The *huacsa*s dance likewise during Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

This paschal festival sometimes comes close to Corpus Christi, and sometimes actually coincides with it.

In another chapter
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [We'll set forth Chaupi Ñamca's life in a different chapter later on.]
we'll record Chaupi Ñamca's life, where she lived, and how people worshiped her.[245] But now let's return to Paria Caca's story and to all the things people did during the season of his paschal festival.

127 The story that explains these events is like this.

On the eve of the day when they were to arrive at Paria Caca for worship, people whose kin, whether men or women, had died in the course of that year would wail all night long,[246] saying, "Tomorrow we'll go and see our dead by Paria Caca's side!"[247]

128 They said regarding their deceased of the year, "Tomorrow is the day when we'll deliver them there."[248]

They offered the dead food and even fed them that night, and spread out the ingredients for their rituals.[249] They said,

> "Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever.
> They will never come back any more!"

And they worshiped with the sacrifice of a small llama, or, if they had no llamas, they'd bring coca in large skin bags.

129 As we know,[250] they'd examine this llama's in-

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by invading ancestors from aborigines. Taylor follows another line, reading (1980: 79) *yayancuna* as "their *encomenderos*" (i.e., colonial Spanish tribute lords). The same translator gives "without their owners' being aware" in a later working (1987b: 175). Arguedas (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 65) has "without vigilance by the [Catholic] priests."

240. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

241. Apparently, in order to keep the dance going when a dancer is exhausted.

242. This sentence has witness validation.

243. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the narrative formula at the beginning of section 127.

244. *aguelando* 'collections': probably a variant of Spanish *agüinaldo*, meaning a holiday contribution or gift (traditionally, at Christmas or Epiphany). In colonial Peru the practice was expanded illegally into a form of tribute *de facto*.

245. The teller (or editor?) is at pains to remind the reader that the Chaupi Ñamca cult (chap. 10) and Paria Caca cult are inherently complementary, separated only for expository reasons.

246. A 1609 Jesuit report discussed by Taylor (1987a) explains that, on this occasion, the mourners would take their mummified dead to a certain cave, Chutinhuaque, dressed in gala clothes and carried on llama back. Mourners kept vigil weeping in the cave until the morning sacrifices.

247. This probably alludes to the custom of visiting the mummified ancestors; see chapter 28.

248. This may allude to the delivery of recently made mummies to their permanent shrine sites.

249. *ruranancunactapas* 'the ingredients for their rituals': *-na* suffix denotes potential and not preterite action. *Rurana* means 'to make or do', so the word means more literally 'their things to be done'.

250. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of section 129.

nards. If the signs were favorable, the *yanca* would prophesy, "Everything is well." If not, he'd say, "It's bad. You've incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well."

130 After completing these rituals, the *yanca*s carried off the heads and loins of those llamas for themselves, no matter how many thousands there might be, declaring, "This is our fee!"

131 The *huacsa*s, who'd dance on three occasions in any given year, would finish their term on that day.[251] In order to enter a new cycle, when the old dance round was about to come to an end, all the people came to the center in Llacsa Tambo,[252] and the Concha were in the plaza, too,[253] carrying a macaw-wing display or the sort of thing known as *puypu*.[254]

They'd lay these items in the center, on the rock called Llacsa Tambo.

After they deposited these things, they stayed there all night long, in the place where a cross now stands, wondering, "Will I be well this year?"

132 The next day they went to all the villages, including Macacho hill, Chaucalla, and Quimquilla, and remained there until five days were up.

At the end of the fifth day, all the *huacsa*s who'd collected coca in bags would dance.

At daybreak on the same day, in Llacsa Tambo, they used to worship the demon with their llamas or other possessions.

133 Those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages.

Nowadays, it's true, some have forgotten these practices.

But since it's just a few years[255] since they've had Doctor Francisco de Avila, a good counselor and teacher, it may be that in their hearts they don't really believe. If they had another priest they might return to the old ways.

134 Some people, although they've become Christians, have done so only out of fear. "I'm afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I've been," they think.[256]

Although they say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty *illa* amulet[257] everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.
<**margin**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b.]

135 As we said earlier, the Concha, too, worship during Paria Caca's season from that other mountain called Huaycho. Their *huacsa*s do just the same as the Checa's own do, that is, they dance.

Likewise, the Suni Cancha also worship in the same manner during Paria Caca's season from that mountain called
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
< >.[258]

136 The residents of Santa Ana,[259] those who live in

251. This sentence has witness validation, which continues up to 'they dance' in section 135.

252. This is the first passage about Llacsa Tambo, the ceremonial center of the Checa and reference point for much of the text. Llacsa Tambo was probably at or near modern Llaquistambo, a hamlet with numerous prehispanic structures 3 km northeast of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). Its name (if Quechua) is partly intelligible. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 45) gives the gloss: "*Llacsa* is a green color in the form of either powder or stone, like copper oxide." *Tambo* means a way-station. Alternatively, the name may allude to a verb *llacsay*, which Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 207) translates as 'to freeze the blood' with fear.

253. *conchacunapas pampampi* 'and the Concha were in the plaza, too': the point of this slightly awkward insertion seems to be that the Concha, although a separate village (functioning as the Checa's opposite in the *reducción* village), were seated in the Checa's ceremony.

254. *puypu* is explained in chapter 24 (sec. 333) as synonymous with *huacamaypac ricran* 'a macaw's wing'.

255. *cay pisi huatallarac* 'just a few years': an ambiguity in this phrase adds to the difficulty of dating the manuscript. If read 'scarcely one year' it would support the 1598 date that Arguedas and Duviols favored (1966: 235). But it could just as well mean 'these few years', allowing a later date and with it the chronologies c. 1608 that Urioste and Taylor both favor (Acosta 1987b: 596; Taylor 1987b: 15–16; see the section on the possible genesis of the text in the introduction).

256. *ñispas*: the common verb *ñiy* or *niy* can mean either 'say' or 'think, intend'.

257. *Illa*s are small sacred objects, often figurines, that are felt to contain the fecundating essence of the good they represent. Archaeological examples are common. Ethnographic examples are discussed by Jorge Flores Ochoa (1977).

258. A space for the mountain's name was never filled in. Modern Sunicancha stands across a canyon from Conchasica, both close to San Damián.

259. Modern Santa Ana de Chaucarima is 18 km west-northwest of Huarochirí at 3,492 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

San Juan,[260] and all the ones called Chauca Ricma, during Paria Caca's season, reportedly[261] worship from the mountain called Acu Sica, the one we descend on our way to the Apar Huayqui River.[262]

In fact[263] they'd never let anything stop them from performing[264] these rituals.

Some people make this festival coincide with the great pasch, Easter; others set it close to Pentecost <crossed out:> [and Corpus].

When it comes to celebrating it, the people in this village would be delighted if the priest were absent from town or went to Limac.[265]

This is a completely true account.

137 Regarding all these places on mountains for worship of Paria Caca, it was only later on, when the Spaniards had emerged and came to look into it, that they were established.

138 But, in the old times, they say[266] all these people used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself. All the Yunca people[267] from

Colli,
Carhuayllo,[268]
Ruri Cancho,[269]
Latim,[270]
Huancho Huaylla,[271]
Pariacha,[272]
Yañac,[273]
Chichima,[274]
Mama,[275]

and all the other Yunca from that river valley;

Also the Saci Caya,[276] who, together with the Pacha Camac come from another river valley,[277] and the Caringa and Chilca,[278] and those people who live along the river that flows down from Huaro Cheri,[279] namely, the Caranco[280] and other Yunca groups who inhabit that river region, used to arrive at Mount Paria Caca itself, coming with their *ticti*, their coca, and other ritual gear.

139 When those who'd come to worship returned from Paria Caca, people in their villages, aware of their impending arrival, used to await them in a gathering to ask, "How is our father Paria Caca?"

"Is he still well?"

"Isn't he angry?"

Then they'd dance full of happiness until the end of the fifth day, or however many days was their custom.

140 Regarding this worship, it may be that the Yunca don't practice it anymore, or that not all the Yunca do. But they do perform it away from their own places.

When they don't do it people speculate, saying,

260. San Juan de Lahuaytambo, seat of the 'Thousand' of Chaucarima (Taylor 1987b: 187). See note 457.

261. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

262. Apar Huayqui River: possibly the Mala or its tributary the Canchahuara, associated with a mountain named Ayarhuaque at its source (IGM 1970–1971).

263. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 137.

264. *ruraypacca manam ancochanmancho* 'they'd never let anything stop them from performing': more literally, 'they'd not rest from doing it'. The phrase might allude to the people's tenacity in retaining pre-Christian rites, or might alternatively be taken to mean they are rigorous about the rule requiring continual dancing (chap. 9, sec. 123).

265. The name of the city of Lima is uniformly Limac in the manuscript.

266. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

267. The following locales making up this category are listed in groups. The first list covers the Rímac valley from the Pacific shore eastward into the highlands. Lurín and Mala valley villages follow.

268. Modern Carabayllo is north of the Chillón River within greater Lima (IGM 1970–1971).

269. Lurigancho, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

270. Ate, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

271. Huanchihuaylla, a neighborhood of Ate according to Taylor (1987b: 191).

272. Modern Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Taylor (1987b: 191) mentions an estate called Pariache.

273. Possibly Ñaña, a village in the lower Rímac valley slightly outside Lima.

274. Santa Rosa de Chichima (Taylor 1987b: 191) or the more prominent colonial village of Santa Inés de Chichima, both in the lower Rímac valley.

275. San Pedro de Mama, the modern town of Ricardo Palma.

276. Probably Sisicaya in the Lurín valley.

277. That is, the Lurín.

278. Probably the same groups mentioned in chapter 12 (sec. 171), inhabitants of the lower Mala. Modern Chilca is a coastal town slightly north of the mouth of the Mala River.

279. That is, the Mala River.

280. Caranco may have been at or near modern Calango, on the lower Mala River, 305 m above sea level. See also chapter 12 (secs. 170–171) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

"It's because of that fault of theirs that the Yunca are becoming extinct."

281. *sallcacuna* 'the highlanders': no English word ('mountaineer', 'hillbilly', 'mountain man') catches the exact flavor of *sallcacuna*. *Sallca* means the *puna*, the seasonally rainy but generally dry and (at night) cold lands that cover huge expanses around 4,000 m above sea level. The word evokes the roughness of llama herders' lives up on these treeless slopes.

And the Yunca, speaking for themselves, say, "The highlanders[281] are getting along all right. It's because they carry on our old way of life that their people flourish so."[282]

282. This discussion probably concerns people's ideas, c. 1600, about the fact that the post-invasion epidemics had devastated the coastal native peoples much more than the highlanders (see Cook 1981: 253–254; Denevan 1976: 41).

CHAPTER 10

Who Chaupi Ñamca Was, Where She Dwells, and How She Arranged Her Cult

141 Now we've finished telling Paria Caca's life.

And now we'll tell who those children of his (the ones we mentioned in the ninth chapter) were, and then tell the things that each one did individually as well as how they collectively beat the Yunca out of these villages.

<**marginal note** in Quechua:> [After this we'll set forth the victories of Paria Caca's children.]

Next we'll write about who Chaupi Ñamca was.[283]

142 They say[284] that the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca, and that she was the wife of the poor man named Huatya Curi.

In fact[285] we told this story in the fifth chapter.

143 This woman had five sisters.

The first woman, Chaupi Ñamca, went to dwell in Lower Mama in accord with Paria Caca's instructions.

The woman known as Mana Ñamca[286] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Her name is Chaupi Ñamca or Mama Ñamca.] went around saying, "I am a maker of people."[287]

Some people say about Chaupi Ñamca, "She was Paria Caca's sister."

And she herself used to say, "Paria Caca is my brother."

144 Chaupi Ñamca was frozen into a stone with five arms.[288] In worshiping her, people would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca, racing along driving their llamas and other things.

They'd lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca.

Later on, when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Ñamca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest's stable.

She's there to this day, inside the earth.

145 All the people called Chaupi Ñamca "Mother" when they spoke to her.

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283. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

284. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

285. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

286. The next passages tell us that Mana Ñamca, who was earlier described as accompanying the defeated Huanca(?) deity Huallallo Caruincho (chap. 8, sec. 106), is now equated with Chaupi Ñamca. Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163), is pictured as Paria Caca's sister and female counterpart. Thus the apex of divine kinship is structured as a fraternal union between an ancient Yunca pantheon and a newly appeared male of the highlands, establishing a society that is 'one family' (chap. 9, sec. 116). This motif is expressed in human terms in chapter 5 (sec. 48), where Huatya Curi marries a Yunca woman who is also equated to Chaupi Ñamca.

287. More than one *huaca* has the epithet *runa camac*, here rendered loosely as 'maker of people' (Cuni Raya Vira Cocha in chap. 1, sec. 7; Chaupi Ñamca in chap. 13, sec. 172; Mira Huato and Llacsa Huato in chap. 13, sec. 179; Llocllay Huancupa in chap. 21, sec. 268). The premise is that different human groups receive their life-energy and specific powers from different *huacas*. The fuller meanings of *camac* are explored in the introduction.

288. Or 'wings'.

(That's why San Pedro is also called Mama now.)[289]

In the old days this woman used to travel around in human form and used to sin with[290] the other *huacas*.

But she never used to praise any male by saying, "He's good!"

146 There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a *huaca* named Rucana Coto.[291]

Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, "It'll get big."

One time he and his big cock satisfied Chaupi Ñamca deliciously.

Therefore she said, "Only this man, alone among all the other *huacas*, is a real man. I'll stay with this one forever." So she turned into stone and stayed forever in Mama.

147 Now we'll tell about the sisters of Chaupi Ñamca whom we mentioned.[292]

Chaupi Ñamca was the oldest of them all.

Her next sister was Llacsa Huato.

Her next-born sibling was Mira Huato.

The next one was called Urpay Huachac.

We don't know about the other one.[293]

In all they were five.

When people sought Chaupi Ñamca's advice on any matter, she'd respond, saying, "I'll go and talk it over with my sisters first."[294]

148 We know[295] people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.

When the *yanca*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [*yanca*]
had made calculations from his solar observatory, people said, "They'll take place in so many days."

149 We already spoke in chapter nine about the *huacsas'* annual dances.

However, regarding this dancing, we didn't clarify what kinds of dances they performed on the three occasions in a given year.

They celebrated Paria Caca's paschal festival on the first day of the period called Auquisna.

Next, they likewise danced during Chaupi Ñamca's time.

Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés,[296] they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.

Further on we'll describe this dance fully.[297]

150 But now we'll return to Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

During her paschal festival the *huacsas* would dance for five days carrying coca bags.

Other people, if they had llamas, would dance wearing puma skins; those who had no llamas danced just as they were.

About those who wore puma skins people said, "They're the prosperous ones."

This dance is called Huantay Cocha.

They also performed another dance named Ayñu.

151 They performed still another one called Casa Yaco.

They say that[298] when they danced the Casa Yaco, Chaupi Ñamca rejoiced immensely, because in their dancing, they performed naked, some wearing only their jewelry, hiding their private parts with just a cotton breechclout.

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow.[299]

These are the rituals they performed during her paschal festival.[300]

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289. The reference is to the resettlement village of San Pedro. This sentence has witness validation.

290. *vchallicuc carcan* 'sinned with': a Christian-style euphemism. Chaupi Ñamca's mighty sexual appetite is not seen as sinful in the context of the myth that immediately follows, or in that of the sexy Casa Yaco dance (sec. 151) that honored her. A pervasive though never explicit metaphor seems to liken the ardent genitalia of the female *huacas* with the warm fertile valleys, much as the water-giving heights of the mountains are likened to males who fertilize them.

291. *Rucana Coto* 'Finger-shaped mountain' (Quechua and Aymara).

292. This sentence has witness validation.

293. Taylor (1987b: 198) signals a marginal note in Quechua, meaning, 'The other one was called Lluncuhuachac'.

294. This suggests that the five *huacas'* priests or priestesses deliberated collectively.

295. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 151.

296. St. Andrew's Day is November 30.

297. The Chanco is the subject of chapter 11.

298. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

299. This is probably the sort of festival Catholic priests had in mind when they complained that Andean rites included "carnal excesses."

300. Concluding sentence with witness validation.

CHAPTER 11

152

How People Danced the Chanco Dance. In Speaking of These Matters, We Shall Also Tell Who Tutay Quiri, the Child of Paria Caca, Was. The Story Is Like This

In the ninth chapter, we referred to Paria Caca's children by name.

But we didn't say anything about their individual lives.

Here and in what follows we'll tell about them together with the victories of one from among them: Tutay Quiri.[301]

We mentioned that the ceremonial dancing in his season was the Chanco.

153 Tutay Quiri was Paria Caca's son. This is a fact.[302]

In early times, they say,[303] the Checa were Quinti, the younger brothers of the Quinti.

The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last.[304]

154 One day, Tutay Quiri spoke to them, saying,

"Don't be sad, children, no matter what they say. Let them scorn you; in spite of it you, the Checa, will in future times have the title of *villca*. And as for those who belittle you, people will speak scornfully to them, saying,

'Little Quintis,
little bugs!' "

155 A few days later, after the brothers had talked it over among themselves, Tutay Quiri set out from Llacsa Tambo[305] to conquer the Yunca.

When they heard this news the Yunca were scared stiff and immediately began to flee to the village known as Lower Colli.[306]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Colli without a forceful pronunciation][307]

(The Colli are neighbors of the Carhuayllo.

It's a fact that[308] to this day their dead are laid in the same house of the dead, in the old highland village.)[309]

301. A report dated 1611 tells how Fabián de Ayala destroyed the mummies of a sacred cave in Santiago de Tumna. Among the "ancient captains and valiant soldiers," he found "one called Tarayquiri [*sic*], who, although he died over 600 years ago, remains so intact in body, that it is amazing" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 252). This suggests that some of the *huacas* called children of Paria Caca were ancestor mummies.

302. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

303. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

304. Apparently segments of the patrilineages called *yumay* at any given level of inclusiveness were ranked according to the birth order of their respective apical ancestors. This is one of several narratives concerning how Tutay Quiri relieved the Checa of their lowly status as 'juniors' to the Quinti.

305. *llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta* could also mean 'the Yunca from Llacsa Tambo'.

306. Concerning the Yunca of Colli (i.e., Collique, near Lima), see chapter 9 (secs. 115, 138).

307. 'Forceful pronunciation': because in Quechua the vowel *o* only occurs adjacent to postvelar consonants, the reader might take the written *o* in *Colli* to imply that the value of *c* is postvelar ('forceful'). The note warns the reader that this is not so. Perhaps the word *Colli* is of non-Quechua derivation.

308. 'It's a fact that' added to indicate that this whole parenthesis has witness validation.

309. *aya vasipe* 'in the . . . house of the dead': a 1609 Jesuit report said the houses where mummified ancestors dwelled were "little towers, always square, (each) with a

156 Tutay Quiri descended down Sici Caya[310] ravine and also down the ravine of the Mama river,[311] moving in the form of yellow rain and red rain.

The people, some of them,[312] waited for him in their own lands and villages in order to pay him homage.

He didn't humiliate these worshipers.

On the contrary, he said to them, "Stay here; you shall come to recognize my father. Living henceforth, address the Checa as 'brothers' and say, 'We're their brothers, the youngest ones.'"

157 And in fact[313] to this day, just as he said, people who live in San Pedro Mama address the Checa, saying, "I'm your little Ami, your little Llata."

So, both the *allauca*[314] moiety and the *vichoc* moiety lived as brothers of the Checa.[315]

158 Every year, in the month of November, the Checa (that is, all the males) would go out from this village on a giant surround hunt, saying,

"We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
We go in the path of his power."

159 On that occasion they used to ask for rain. People said, "Now, in the Chanco season, the heavens will rain."

And following Tutay Quiri's track, all the *huacsa*s and the non-*huacsa*s alike left from here to conduct the hunt; they used to go and spend the night in a place called Mayani,[316] up above Tupi Cocha.[317]

160 On that day, they would trap some guanacos, brocket deer, or other animals. Regardless of who did the actual catching, if the successful hunter happened to have a *huacsa* in his own *ayllu*, he'd give the animal to him first, so that he might perform the Ayñu dance displaying its tail. Those who didn't capture anything would likewise dance but performed only the Chanco.

161 On the next day, they used to leave Mayani for Tumna.

People, men and women alike, would gather together and wait for them in the place called Huasuc Tambo, saying, "Here comes Tutay Quiri!"

This Huasuc Tambo is where a few rocks stand in the center of the plaza of Tumna itself.

In the old days, they say, people used to go there and worship on that spot.[318]

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door to the east" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247). Ruins of this form, looted but full of human bones, are visible in the San Damián and Huarochirí areas. In this passage the narrator points out that Tutay Quiri's action explains why Yunca people who live on the outskirts of Lima have ancestors enshrined in the remote mountains.

310. This is very likely to be the same toponym as Saci Caya (chap. 8, sec. 109; chap. 9, sec. 138; chap. 13, sec. 176), equivalent to modern Sisicaya. The ravine is the entrenched course of the Lurín River.

311. That is, he moved down both the Lurín (Pacha Camac) and Rímac (Mama) valleys, which form two separate courses toward the Pacific.

312. *runacunapas huaquenca* 'the people, some of them': presumably meaning a remnant of Yunca stayed there and submitted to Tutay Quiri. Chapter 24 extensively explains these people's role. By incorporating them as his worshipers, Tutay Quiri supplied the Checa, the former *sullca* (junior) group relative to the Quinti, with a group that is junior to the Checa. This sentence and the first of section 157 fulfill a prophecy of Paria Caca in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

313. 'And in fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. This begins a witness-validated passage, continuing with one interruption to the end of section 164.

314. *Allauca*, the name of a certain village, can also mean 'right-bank moiety'. Hernández Príncipe uses the term in this sense and it is mentioned in the Cajatambo idolatry trials studied by Duviols (1986: 494). The reason for supposing it functions here as a moiety title is the juxtaposition with *vichoc*, which may be related to *ichoc*, 'left-bank', the customary moiety complement. Occasionally present in Huarochirí (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 27, 89, 98), *allauca/ichoc* oppositions are common in the northern part of Lima Department and in Ancash. The name of the location today called Alloca and called Allauca in the manuscript, 16 km south of Huarochirí in the Mala–San Lorenzo valley, 1,750 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971; see chap. 30), probably is not a moiety term. Allauca *ayllus* seem to exist in various settlements, and in the Huarochirí manuscript, too, *allauca* groups are often mentioned without moiety counterparts (chap. 20, sec. 240; chap. 22, sec. 282; chap. 24, secs. 304, 316–317, 323, 325, 332, 336; chap. 26, sec. 356; chap. 30, sec. 379, 385). In those cases the term seems to be an *ayllu* or *llacta*, not moiety, title.

315. This vaguely suggests, but does not explain, that these conquered Yunca became peacefully integrated as a pair of moieties jointly treated as fraternal to the Checa.

316. Mayani is the modern name of a high plateau 8 km west of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?) at 4,200 m above sea level.

317. Modern Tupicocha village is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

318. This sentence and the following one are validated with reportive *-si*, which is indicated with supplied 'they say', but the narration then returns to witness validation.

There, too, the Chauti[319] and the Huanri would likewise go to worship with their maize beer.

162 We know that[320] on the next day, if they caught anything, no matter how few or many animals, the *huacsa*s who'd captured them gladly proclaimed, "Now we'll have *maca*[321] tubers!" and returned rejoicing to spend the night, this time in Pacota.[322]

163 On the following day, they used to arrive back at Llacsa Tambo.

When the hunters were about to return, everyone who'd remained in the village, the old men and old women, and other people as well, would gather all together to await them with maize beer.

As they were arriving there, the waiting people would say, "They're coming in exhausted!" and pour maize beer all over the place,[323] over the people and onto the ground.

They'd pour it out right at the very entrance gate of Llacsa Tambo.

164 The hunters who'd come up from the lowlands would in turn place chunks of meat on the mouths of their hosts' jugs.[324]

After finishing this, the whole crowd sat on the open ground and they began the dance called Ayñu.

These events are called the Chanco.

When they danced the Chanco, the sky would say, "Now!" and the rain would pour down.

165 They say that[325] at the house of the *yanca* called Ysqui Caya, there was a bush or something of the sort, and from that bush flowed abundant water during the Chanco festival.

If people saw this happen, they said, "This year will give a good harvest."

If a drought were coming the bush would be dry.

In that case, people used to say, "There'll be terrible suffering."

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319. A place named Chaute today exists 5 km south of San Bartolomé at 2,600 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

320. 'We know that' supplied to indicate return to witness validation.

321. *maca*: *Lepidium*, of which various species are mentioned in botanical sources; a plant of the freezing heights, whose green parts are used medicinally. "The root is edible and is customarily cultivated in some parts of the high plateau; it is medicinal too" (Soukup 1970: 186). "*Maka* (K). *Lepidium meyenii* Desv. A species cultivated in some regions of the high plateau (3900 m.) . . . tubers: fresh, boiled, and mashed . . . are eaten by sterile women who want to become fertile" (Girault 1984: 218–219). In this context, too, it is apparently a symbol of fertility.

322. Modern Pacota is 7 km west-southwest of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?; IGM 1970–1971).

323. *yanca* 'all over the place': assuming this is the common adverb *yanca* whose range of meanings includes 'freely', 'carelessly', 'without serious intent' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 364). If it is the homonym meaning a class of priests, the sentence can also be read to mean that the priest did the pouring.

324. The hunters had finished a circuit from the heights of Mayani down to lower-lying Tumna and now back to their ceremonial center. The ceremony seems to symbolize the plenitude of varied Andean subsistence (Murra 1975a: 243–254). As well as uniting ecological levels it juxtaposes wild food—hunted meat—with beer, the cultivated and processed nourishment par excellence. The interrelationship of hunters and farmers is also highly elaborated in the dialectic of *huari* and *llacuaz*, a complex common in the Lima area, which envisions societies as antagonistic symbioses between two culturally different sorts of people (see Duviols 1973).

325. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive *-si* validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 12

How Paria Caca's Children Undertook the Conquest of All the Yunca People

166

In the tenth chapter [*sic*], we already told the story about the victories of Paria Caca's children.

Likewise we mentioned that all those villages were once full of Yunca.

Now we'll speak about them[326] as earlier mentioned:

Choc Payco
Chancha Runa
Huari Runa
Utco Chuco
Tutay Quiri
Sasin Mari
Pacha Chuyru[327]—

how they used to behave, and things like that.[328]

167 In ancient times these people we just mentioned, since they were all brothers to each other, traveled into battle together as one.

Because he was the oldest of them all, the one called Choc Payco traveled in high honor on a litter.

But Tutay Quiri was the strongest, excelling beyond the others.

Because of his strength, he was the one who first conquered the two river valleys mentioned above[329] by setting his golden staff on a black mountain at the border of Pariacha[330] called Unca Tupi.

168 Planting his staff as a curse on the Yunca, and saying, as if in disrespect for them, "The Yunca will extend to this district,"[331] he set it in place.

(That mountain where he set his staff is now called Unca Tupi Capari Caya.)[332]

169 His other brothers went ahead, climbing up on the old road by which we go from Tupi Cocha (that is, the one called the Quisqui Tambo road; the other is called Tumnacha). When they heard somebody say, "Tutay Quiri has already finished conquering everything," they turned back, from the spot from which we can see to the outskirts of Limac.[333]

326. 'Them': Paria Caca's offspring, not the Yunca.

327. Compare with the similar but not identical list in chapter 9 (sec. 113).

328. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

329. See chapter 8 (sec. 108) and chapter 9 (sec. 138).

330. Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level, far down the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971). So this is probably not the same Capari Caya mentioned in chapter 31 (sec. 398).

331. Tutay Quiri's point being that, after the seaward advance of the children of Paria Caca, the new and smaller limit of Yunca country would be Unca Tupi. This passage is difficult. Taylor (1987b: 219) gives "[Tutay Quiri] said, 'if anyone, as if to curse the Yuncas, knocks down this staff and shows disrespect, the Yuncas will conquer this territory.' "

332. This parenthesis has witness validation.

333. Modern Tupicocha is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Santiago de Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián at 2,902 m above sea level, and Tumnacha ('little Tumna') might be close to it. The syntax is confusing, and it is not certain whether the place-names Tumnacha and Quisqui Tambo refer to the routes or to the places from which the discouraged heroes turned back. The apparent meaning of this passage is that when the other brothers learned how far Tutay Quiri had advanced in the Rímac valley, they decided instead to advance down the Mala valley. The next lines seem to excuse the lesser advance achieved in the Mala lands, down toward "Caranco," by saying that although Tutay Quiri also led that campaign, he let a mid-altitude agricultural *huaca* similar to Chuqui Suso seduce him and detain the

They feared Tutay Quiri a lot because he was really powerful.

170 So they descended through the Huaro Cheri district toward the vicinity of Lower Caranco.[334]

Once more it was Tutay Quiri who led the way on the descent.

One of Chuqui Suso's sisters waited for him in her field thinking to beguile him by showing off her <crossed out:> [vagina] private parts[335] and her breasts.

"Rest a while, sir; have a little sip of this maize beer and a taste of this *ticti*," she said.

171 At that moment, in that way, he fell behind.

When they saw him do that, his other brothers likewise stayed behind, carrying the conquest only as far as the place called Pacha Marca in Lower Allauca.

If this woman hadn't beguiled them, the Huaro Cheri and Quinti fields would now reach as far as Lower Caranco and Chilca.

Further on we'll write about their individual feats and everything they did.[336]
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we'll write about their individual feats.]

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whole movement well short of "Caranco" and the coastal Chilca area.

334. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

335. *<racanta> pincaynintapas* '<crossed out:> [vagina] private parts': a plainspoken Quechua word has been replaced with a Quechua euphemism meaning more literally 'her shame'.

336. This concluding sentence and the marginal note have witness validation. At this point Taylor (1987b: 220) transcribes a marginal note in Spanish meaning, 'Here we cease writing the lives of each of Pariacaca's children and what happened and we start on Chaupiñamca'.

CHAPTER 13

172

Mama[337]

When the people of Mama are questioned today about the *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, they tell a different story.

The story told by them is like this.[338]

They say that in very early times, there was a *huaca* called Hanan Maclla.[339]

Her husband was the Sun.

Their children were Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca.

Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men.[340]

173 Accordingly they, the Mama people, in order to celebrate her festival on the eve of Corpus Christi, used to bathe Chaupi Ñamca in a little maize beer.

Additionally, some of them laid out all sorts of offerings for her, and worshiped her with guinea pigs or other such things; and all the people gathered together, both men and women, their *curaca* and their *alcalde.*

174 They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn. <Crossed out in original:> [On the next day, Corpus Christi, saying, "It's our mother's festival!" their *curaca*, in full regalia,[341] and all the rest of the people][342]

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!"

175 If somebody says, "How did you worship before the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared?" we know how[343] they reply:

"People used to drink for five days in the month of June wearing their most splendid clothes. Later, for fear of the Spaniards, they worshiped on Corpus eve."

Chaupi Ñamca's sister (the second one, Chaupi Ñamca being the oldest) was named Casa Llacsa.

337. At this point the manuscript leaps to another area, centered on a lower and more seaward village than San Damián de Checa. Mama, modern Ricardo Palma, lies in the lower Rímac valley, where desert hills hem in a narrow irrigable belt. It appears to belong to the old Yunca heartland, and this may help explain the discrepancies between its cults and those of the Checa and Concha. Mama's prominence in the manuscript may be connected to the fact that a *curaca* from Mama, Hernando Paucar, was among Avila's most important early informants and victims (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69), and also to the fact that Huarochirí-area highlanders sought to integrate some of its warm fields into their economy.

338. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

339. *hanan maclla* 'high' or 'upper Maclla' suggests a celestial deity, as does her marriage to the sun.

340. Gender parallelism in religious institutions, as suggested by these phrases, is considered a major theme of pre-Incaic organization by Irene Silverblatt (1987: 20–39).

341. This phrase is an uncertain rendering of *callañayoc* 'in possession of *callaña*', based on the dubious assumption that this is the same word as *collana* occurring in chapter 14 (sec. 194) and chapter 31 (sec. 409), where it refers to majestic garments or appearances. But if used in its wider sense, the phrase might mean 'with the leading people'.

342. Sentence fragment thus in original.

343. 'We know how' supplied to indicate witness validation, present in this sentence but not in the ensuing two sentences.

People also bathed her that evening, as well as her other sisters Urpay Huachac[344] and Vichi Maclla.[345]

176 "Chaupi Ñamca was said to be made up of five persons,"[346] the Checa say.[347]

Of these the eldest was Chaupi Ñamca, also called Cotacha or Paltacha.

Her second sister was named Llacsa Huato, the one we call Copacha.

They say[348] Llacsa Huato dwells in Chillaco.

(Not long ago, when Don Diego Chauca Huaman, the *curaca* of Saci Caya, was still alive, and until Don Martín's arrival,[349] people from Chillaco together with some other people supposedly used to celebrate her festival.

About this festival, we aren't sure in what month it took place.)[350]

177 Next, there was the one called Mira Huato, whom we call Ampuche or Ampuxi.[351]

Concerning this Mira Huato, we aren't sure where she lived. But people say, "She lives with her sister Llacsa Huato."

178 They say that[352] if people from this region, or Huaro Cheri people, or any other sort of people had a son or a daughter, a brother, a father, or any other relative who was ill, they'd go to these *huacas*' shrine to consult them.

(Their priestess as of sixty years ago is still remembered; she was named Chumpi Ticlla. And not so long ago, when Don Diego[353] was still alive, a woman named Luzía, a very elderly woman, was their priestess, a tough[354] old lady. <crossed out:> [And maybe she's still alive.])

179 When people invoked these two *huacas*, they used to pray, saying,

"Oh Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?[355]
For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?"

180 This being the case, people concluded, "No doubt they dwell as two sisters together."[356]

People came to honor these *huacas* all the more for the fact that Chaupi Ñamca wasn't straight; she'd tell people any sort of stuff. Actually, she was a liar.

So people used to visit them, saying, "Let's go and listen to our mothers Llacsa Huato and Mira

344. Urpay Huachac also appears in chapter 2 (sec. 25) as the mother of the girl *huaca* whom Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduces.

345. Likely to be a complement to or relative of (or another name for?) Hanan Maclla (sec. 172). *Vichay* means 'uphill, upslope' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 351).

346. Compare the ensuing list with the similar one in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

347. The sentence is witness-validated with *-mi* but the material in quotation marks is reportive, with *-si* ('said to be' supplied).

348. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this and the next sentence are reportive with *-si* in a context where witness validation predominates.

349. A 1588 *revisita* (tribute quota inspection; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires ms., 13-17-5-1) shows that Don Diego Chauca Huaman still held the office twenty years before the making of the manuscript. This helps date the period that the manscript's authors considered the heyday of pro-*huaca* colonial lords. "Don Martín" is probably his son, Martín Chauca Huaman, born in 1575 (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 3:1024). The aspiration of an anti-*huaca* scion to the office of a father who had protected *huacas* is a motif of chapter 20 (secs. 247–249). 'Supposedly' supplied to indicate reportive *-si* validation.

350. This sentence has witness validation.

351. One of the forms given in the original, *Ampuxi*, would probably have sounded like 'Ampushi' in English orthography if, as Cerrón Palomino holds, Spanish *x* retained the *sh* value at the time of writing (1976b: 207). But the data are not conclusive according to Urioste. This sentence and the following have witness validation.

352. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 181.

353. That is, the same Don Diego Chauca Huaman mentioned in section 176.

354. *tacyasca* 'tough': derived from a verb whose main meanings are 'to be firm, constant'. But since the speaker is unsure if the priestess is still alive, it is also possible that he is thinking of a less-than-robust person. A derivative of *tacyay* denotes a different kind of inflexibility: it means 'to stiffen from illness' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335–336).

355. *ymamantam huncuchicuni* 'what have I done to make them ill?': might also be read 'to make myself ill'.

356. *yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha* 'no doubt . . . as two sisters together': the suffix *-huan* 'with' is redundant for this reading, because *-ntin* alone signifies the union of parts. This fact leads Taylor (1987b: 231) to interpret the sentence as meaning that something else—the desired cure—is 'with' the sisters.

Huato. Whatever they advise about our faults, we'll carry it out exactly."

181 However, we know that even though people did worship them, they didn't celebrate their feast each year as they do[357] Chaupi Ñamca's festival.

And although they did honor them, they in fact went mainly to have their presence noticed,[358] saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim.

182 Next we'll talk about the *huaca* named Lluncho Huachac, the one we call Sullcacha or Sullca Paya.

She was the fourth sister.

This *huaca* reportedly[359] lived in the Canta[360] area. But we don't really know. Maybe the Canta people worship her, or even those farther on past Canta.

183 Finally, the one we call Añasi or Aña Paya lived in the ocean.

(In fact some people say, "She's the one who was Caui Llaca."[361]

Others say, "This is a different *huaca*. She lives on the seashore.")

Aña Paya[362] lives inside a cliff.

So she doesn't have a priest.

When people sought the advice of the *huaca* Urpay Huachac, they'd think it over carefully beforehand. For in speaking with her, they spoke face to face because the *huaca* had no *huacsa* priest.

When they came back from visiting her, they said, "I've gone and spoken with her," and they used to fast for a whole year, abstaining from sinning with their wives.[363]

184 All of these *huacas* we've mentioned were named Ñamca, each one of them individually and also the sisters as a group.

When people who were worried about anything approached any one of them, in explaining their trouble to her they'd address her, saying, "Oh five Ñamcas!"

185 This is all we know about Chaupi Ñamca, Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, Lluncho Huachac, and Urpay Huachac.[364]

In the old days, they say,[365] these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi,[366] your father, or your elders?"

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357. Tense in original can be read as present, perhaps emphasizing continued colonial vitality of the Chaupi Ñamca cult. The fact that this sentence is witness-validated ('we know that' supplied) suggests either present or a not-too-remote past. Witness validation continues through the second sentence of section 182.

358. *musiachicuyllapacmi* 'to have their presence noticed': Taylor (1987b: 232) has *munachicuyllapacmi* 'when they felt like it', noting *musia-* as alternative reading. Witness validation is glossed 'in fact'.

359. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 183.

360. Canta, an important colonial town, was in the upper Chillón valley at 2,837 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

361. See chapter 2 (sec. 10). The point in question is whether Añasi was the same as Caui Llaca, who entered the sea and became lithified as an island, or a separate *huaca* who 'lives on the seashore'. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('in fact' supplied).

362. 'Aña Paya' supplied.

363. *mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa* 'abstaining from sinning with their wives': since sex under these conditions would only be sinful by the tenets of *huaca* worship, this instance of *huchalliy* may not be euphemistic or specifically colonial. This also applies to section 186.

364. This sentence has witness validation. The fact that this sentence contains an ending formula, while the chapter continues, suggests a transition to a different testimony at this point.

365. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

366. What is Con Churi? See supplement I (sec. 462). Avila explains in the *Prefación* to his bilingual sermon book:

> In all the said villages there were greater and lesser idols, and there is not an Indian family, even if but a single person remains of it, which lacks its particular *penate* god in the house, in such manner that, if they came from one, eight, or ten persons, these have an idol left to them by the person who preceded them. The most important person of each family guards this and he is the person who has the right of succession to the goods and the rest, in such a way, that to guard this idol is like having right of *patronazgo* [hereditary patronage] among us, passing with the inheritance, and when, by law of blood kinship, there is no one to whom it may be transmitted, the one who possesses it usually entrusts it to the person who seems to him most appropriate by reason of affinity, or his best friend, and when he has no one to leave it to, he takes it with him, if he can, to where his progenitor is buried, which would usually be in a cave, because he was

To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." And so people went back.

186 Only after this was done first would they answer their concerns:

"You have angered that person."

"You have crossed this one."

"You are an adulteress."

"You have sinned with a woman on the feast of Paria Caca."

They gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:

"You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."

"You must sacrifice one of your llamas."

a prehispanic mummy, and there he leaves the said idol, and if he cannot take it there, he buries it in his house. This sort of idol has the general name of *cun churi* or *chanca*. (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255)

People were more than happy to obey their dicta.

Some of them recovered completely, while others died no matter how fully they'd complied.

187 Now we've heard what Chaupi Ñamca and her other sisters were like.

But the fact is that[367] in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions, and different names, too. People from Mama say one thing and the Checa say another.

188 Some call Chaupi Ñamca Paria Caca's sister.

Others say, "She was Tamta Ñamca's daughter."

(We spoke earlier about Tamta Ñamca in the fifth chapter.)

Still others say, "She was the Sun's daughter."

So it's impossible to decide.

367. 'The fact is that' supplied to indicate that sections 187–188 have witness validation.

CHAPTER 14

189

<margin, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
In the first chapter we made some remarks about whether Cuni Raya's existence came before or after Paria Caca's.[368]

They say[369] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha did exist from very ancient times. Paria Caca and all the other *huaca*s used to revere him exceedingly.

In fact,[370] some people even say, "Paria Caca is Cuni Raya's son."

Next we'll speak about one of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's feats.[371]

190 Just before the appearance of the Spaniards, it's said,[372] Cuni Raya headed toward Cuzco.

There he conversed with the Inca Huayna Capac:[373] "Come, son, let's go to Titi Caca. There I will reveal to you who I am,"[374] he said.

191 And there he told him, "Inca, mobilize your people, so that we may send magicians and all sorts of shamans to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."[375] As soon as he said this, the Inca promptly gave the order.

"I am a condor shaman!"[376] some men answered.

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368. This sentence is written in large letters in the original, like the chapter titles. Its witness validation could make it a title, but it seems to function as an introductory remark.

369. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

370. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the next have witness validation, except for the material in quotation marks, which has reportive ('called').

371. *puchucascanta* 'feats' is derived from a verb that implies reaching of an intrinsic completion: the completion of a task, payment of a debt, end of a cycle, and so forth (see chap. 3, sec. 29, where it refers to the ending of the world). So there is a suggestion that the events to come represent the unfolding of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's purpose or will.

372. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 197.

373. Huayna Capac, the last leader of the Inca Empire before it was riven by dynastic warfare and then the Spanish invasion, ruled over an immense state at the height of its power. In various ways, most of the Quechua-speaking writers c. 1600 saw him as touched by premonitions of the impending calamity. A myth told by the "Indian chronicler" Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, seemingly related to this one, tells how a mortal illness in the form of butterflies or moths in a box felled him on the eve of Spanish invasion ([1613] 1968: 311).

374. *ñocap cascayta* 'who I am': more literally, 'my past-being (direct object)'. The perfective *-sca* suggests *ex post facto* knowledge: that is, 'what I was all along without your knowing it'. This appears to allude to chapter 1 (sec. 7), and to purported Inca prayers, which often address Vira Cocha with petitions for knowledge of where and who he is. Pachacuti Yamqui affords an example ([1613] 1968: 287–288). A recent translation from a rectified text gives the sense as:

> Oh Viracocha, . . .
>
> Where are you?
> May I not see you?
> Are you above, are you below,
> Is your throne nearby?
> Please show yourself to me . . .
>
> We your servants
> With our eyes of light and shadow turned toward you,
> We wish to see you . . . (Itier 1988: 571–572)

(For a different rendering, see Szemiński 1985b: 249.)

375. *hura ticsiman*: González Holguín glosses *ticçi* ([1608] 1952: 340) as "origin, beginning, fundament, foundation, cause." Its sense here is not obvious. The 'lower foundations' may mean the underside of the world. Taylor (1980: 111) interprets it, with equal plausibility, as "lowlands."

376. *ñocam condorpac camasca canim* 'I am a condor

"I am a falcon shaman!" said others.

"I am one who flies[377] in the form of a swift!"[378] replied still others.

192 He[379] instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, 'Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.' "[380]

The man who was the swift's shaman, together with the other shamans, set out intending to return within five days.

193 The swift's shaman was the first to arrive there.

When he arrived and delivered his message, he was given something in a small chest and warned, "You mustn't open this. Lord Huayna Capac himself must be the first to open it."

While the man was bringing it, when he'd almost delivered it to Cuzco, he thought, "No! I'll take a look inside. What could it be?" And he opened it.

194 Inside it there appeared a very stately and beautiful lady. Her hair was like curly gold and she wore a majestic[381] costume, and in her whole aspect she looked very tiny.

The moment he saw her, the lady disappeared.

195 And so, deeply abashed, he arrived at the place called Titi Caca in Cuzco.

Huayna Capac said, "If it weren't for your being the swift's shaman, I'd have you executed right this instant! Get out! Go back by yourself!"

The swift's shaman returned and brought the woman back. When he was bringing her back along the road, dying for something to eat and drink, he had only to speak and a set table would instantly be there. It was just the same when he needed to sleep.

196 He delivered her exactly on the fifth day.

When he handed her over to them, Cuni Raya and the Inca received her overjoyed.

But before opening the chest, Cuni Raya said, "Inca! Let's draw a line across this world.[382] I'll go into this space and you go into this other space with my sister."

"You and I mustn't see each other anymore!" he said as he divided the world.

And he began to open the box. At the moment he opened it, the world lit up with lightning.

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shaman': more literally, 'I am the *camasca* of the condor', and so forth. The sense of *camasca* may be understood as the inverse of *camaque* (chap. 29, sec. 372): the latter means a power giving form and force to a specific class of beings, and the former the beings so favored. In context, the sense appears to be that the shaman acquires the species powers of his superhuman familiar.

377. The implication is that these shamans engage in magical flight, a common motif of South American shamanism.

378. The Lima area has three swift species. Of these, the likeliest is the Andean swift, because it is a sierran species that sometimes flies down to the coast like the shaman in the story. All swifts are fast fliers. "*Andean swift, Aeronautes andecolus* (*Vencejo andino*). Distinguished from the preceding species [i.e., the Chimney Swift, *Chaetura pelagica*] by its longer wings, forked tail, and lighter color; with the collar, belly and rump white. Abundant in the sierra and Andean slopes, coming down from time to time on the coast" (Koepcke 1970: 78).

379. While the grammatical subject of this sentence is ambiguous (Inca? or Cuni Raya Vira Cocha?), the fact that the 'sister' mentioned is later clarified as being the latter's suggests that the subject is more likely to be Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.

380. *huc panantas* 'one of his sisters': the original is ambiguous as to whether this means Cuni's or Inca's sister, but this is cleared up later (sec. 196) when Cuni Raya Vira Cocha calls her 'my sister'.

381. The little lady's clothes were *collana*, a term used in social organization to label high-ranking descent groups of Cuzco and elsewhere (Zuidema 1964: 100–103). It implies majesty and political eminence. But 'lady' translates a Spanish word in the manuscript: *señora*. This word, like her blondness, suggests that she is an image foreshadowing the Spanish. In Inca-era politics, acceptance of a gift bride signified political subjection to the giver. So the story may be a mythic comment on the loss of Inca sovereignty. Contrast with chapter 23 (sec. 300), where Maca Uisa conserves his autonomy by refusing gift brides.

382. *cay pachacta sequison* 'Let's draw a line across this world': *ceqque* has the practical sense 'line, boundary, limit' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 81) but was often used to mean a schematic line in ideal space. Rowe (1985) and Zuidema (1964) analyze what is known of the "lines" along which the Inca capital's *huacas* were arranged.

The line that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha impels the Inca to draw may allude to the moiety line of Cuzco, but more likely alludes to the alleged division of the Inca Empire into two at Huayna Capac's death. Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 210) relays an Inca tradition equating the former with the latter. This division is mentioned by many chroniclers as the cause of the Inca civil war, and indirectly of Pizarro's easy victory over Cuzco.

The translation of this passage depends greatly on interpretation of *pacha*. The most concrete reading would make it 'ground, earth', in which case the passage seems to concern something as local and earthly as a line drawn in the dirt. But it can just as well mean 'time and space', or 'world', which gives the passage a feeling of the vastest mythic scale.

197 The Inca Huayna Capac said, "I'll never again return from here. I'll stay right here with my princess, with my queen." To one man, a kinsman of his, he said, "You go in my stead.[383] Return to Cuzco and say, 'I'm Huayna Capac!' "

At that very moment, then and there, the Inca disappeared forever with that lady of his, and Cuni Raya did the same.

Later on, after Huayna Capac had died, people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others,

"Me first!"

"Me first!"

It was while they were carrying on this way that the Spanish Vira Cochas[384] appeared in Caxa Marca.

198 Even up to the present we know[385] many stories about Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's life.

We haven't yet finished writing down the other things he did while he was roaming through this area.

We'll treat these matters later on.[386]

383. *ñocap rantij* 'in my stead' alludes to the well-attested Inca institution of naming a 'second person' to act in lieu of the Inca.

384. *vira cochacunapas*: in this passage and certain later ones, as well as in the preface (sec. 1), 'Spanish' has been supplied to avoid confusion with the same name as applied to the deity. The use of this term to denominate the Spanish and privileged Spanish speakers survives in rural Cuzco Quechua to the present.

385. Original contains both *yachanchic* 'we know' and *-mi* witness validator. Witness validation continues to the end of the chapter.

386. Taylor (1987b: 250) shows a Spanish marginal note meaning, 'what chapter back?'

CHAPTER 15

199

Next We Shall Write about What Was Mentioned in the Second Chapter, Namely, Whether Cuni Raya Existed before or after Caruincho

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha is said to have[387] existed from very ancient times. Before he was, there was nothing at all in this world. It was he who first gave shape and force to the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and all sorts of animals, and to the fields for humankind's subsistence as well.

It's for this reason that people in fact[388] say of Cuni Raya, "He's called Paria Caca's father."[389]

"It was he who made and empowered Paria Caca."

200 "If Paria Caca weren't his son, he probably would have humbled him," all the people say.

And it's said that[390] he did thoroughly humble some villages with his cleverness, playing all sorts of tricks on them.

We'll include these matters[391] later.[392]

387. 'Is said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

388. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that the verb 'say' here and in the first sentence of section 200 has witness validation. The material in quotes has reportive validation ('called' supplied).

389. This short chapter implicitly addresses the question of whether Vira Cocha partakes (as early missionaries speculated, and later native writers affirmed) of the "true God" as seen through pagan intuition. If so, he would be prior to all *huacas*, especially the archaic one par excellence, Huallallo Caruincho. The evidence that this chapter cites, however, is not actually relevant to that question. The chapter alludes only to testimony that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha preceded Paria Caca.

390. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

391. Cuni Raya returns (not as Vira Cocha) in chapter 31 (sec. 409).

392. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 16

201 # Here We Shall Write on Whether Paria Caca, Born from Five Eggs, Was Composed of Brothers or Whether Paria Caca Was Their Father, Things of This Kind

In chapter eight we already speculated on such matters as whether Paria Caca, when he was born from five eggs, was made up of brothers, or whether the others were Paria Caca's sons.

Now we'll write about them individually and by name.

202 As we suggested in the fourteenth chapter when we said they were sons of Cuni Raya, the Paria Cacas born from five eggs were brothers to each other.

These are their names, starting from the first:

Paria Caca
then Churapa
then Puncho
then Paria Carco

We don't know the other one.

We leave a blank space here in order to write it once we ascertain it.

Sullca Yllapa.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [n.b. His name was Sullca Yllapa.][393]

203 They say[394] Paria Carco dwells to this day at a pass into the Anti lowlands, saying, "Huallallo may return!"

In fact, we already pointed this out.[395]

But this Huallallo Caruincho isn't supposed to have[396] just escaped all at once.

When Churapa, one of the Paria Cacas, penetrated the place we called Mullo Cocha[397] and turned it into a lake, Huallallo flew away like a bird.

204 Then he entered a mountain, a mountain called Caqui Yoca.[398]

This <crossed out:> [cliff] mountain was a gigantic rocky escarpment.

Huallallo Caruincho got inside the cliff and hid there.

Paria Caca, in the form of lightning, blasted it again and again; he and his five brothers shot lightning bolts so violently they almost demolished that

393. The introductory passage that ends here is witness-validated with *-mi*, but the marginal note is reportive with *-si*.

394. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

395. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. The reference is to chapter 8 (sec. 105).

396. 'Supposed to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 209.

397. Mullo Cocha is the place where Paria Caca dislodged Huallallo (chap. 8, secs. 96–97, 104; chap. 16, sec. 203); it lies along the probable pilgrimage route to Paria Caca's great shrine on the icy heights. With its many mentions of geological formations in the environs of Mullo Cocha and the mythic events they embody, this chapter and chapter 17 (secs. 210–212) give the impression of being a pilgrim's reminiscence or guide to the sights of the Paria Caca pilgrimage route. The geological landmarks are taken as a series of three tropical monsters loosed by Huallallo and killed by Paria Caca.

398. This name and that of the canyon Caqui Yoca Huayqui (sec. 207) allude to the bird *caqui* (toucan?) that acts later in the myth (sec. 207; see note 401). Taylor (1987b: 259) suggests that both derive via "Aru deformation" from *caquiyoc* 'having a *caqui*', perhaps in reference to the shape of a geological formation.

rocky mountain, and from there they once again forced Huallallo Caruincho to flee.

205 Then Huallallo Caruincho turned loose a huge snake called the Amaru,[399] a two-headed snake, thinking, "This'll bring misfortune on Paria Caca!"

When he saw it, Paria Caca furiously stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff.

At that very moment, the snake froze stiff. It turned into stone.

206 This petrified snake, the Amaru, remains clearly visible to this day on the road named Upper Caqui Yoca.

People from Cuzco, and everyone else who knows about it, strike it with a rock and carry along the fallen chips as medicine, thinking, "Now I won't catch any disease."

207 As soon as Huallallo Caruincho fled from the cliff of Caqui Yoca, he entered a canyon called Caqui Yoca Huayqui.

Then, clambering up a mountain called Puma Rauca,[400] Huallallo thought, "From here I'll fence Paria Caca in so he can't pass through." He set against him a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan[401] and made it brandish its wing points.[402]

But Paria Caca effortlessly broke one of its wings, turned the toucan into stone, and climbed right over it.

Once Paria Caca stepped over it Huallallo Caruincho had no power left, so he fled toward the Anti lowlands.

208 But Paria Caca, with all the rest of his brothers, chased after him.

After Huallallo entered the Anti lowlands, Paria Caca left one of his brothers, the one named Paria Carco, at the pass into the tropical Antis. "Watch out lest he return!" he said.

209 Paria Carco
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Carco]
remains there today in the form of a heavily snow-capped peak.

Who worships Huallallo is something we don't know.[403]

But in the ninth chapter[404] we already mentioned that Paria Caca declared, "Since he once ate people, let him now eat dogs. And let the Huanca people feed them to him."

399. *amarocta* 'Amaru' (direct object): Amaru is the great mythic water serpent, virtually omnipresent in Andean myths, and usually symbolic of disorder erupting in the transition to a new order. It may have been visualized as resembling the boa constrictor (*Constrictor constrictor*) or anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). This particular Amaru, Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 201) tells us, was a vein or stratum of white marble. The belief that certain white minerals are prophylactic medicine is widespread in the modern Andes.

400. "Pumarauca mountain, where Huallallo Carhuincho took refuge, still exists . . . and is located exactly in the zone adjacent [to Paria Caca] when one leaves from the great ravine of the Steps [i.e., the 'Steps of Paria Caca', an ancient roadway], en route to Jauja, which is also the direction toward the jungle" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 13). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a Pumarauca Mountain 2 km north of Mullucocha, with its peak 4,950 m above sea level.

401. *huc orito caque ñiscacta* 'a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan' (direct object): as noted in chapter 1 (sec. 5), the exact meaning of *caqui* is uncertain and 'toucan' is a guess. We leave the word *caqui* visible in the translation here to reveal the salience of this bird's name throughout the passage. Whatever its species, the *caqui* is a tropical bird that in reality would never be seen on the icy heights, which symbolizes the vanished power of the Yunca deity Huallallo.

402. *chuquirichispa* 'made it brandish': appears to derive from the verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 122) gives as "*Chuquini* . . . to spear or strike spear blows." The image here seems to be that of a bird with its wing feathers fanned out and bristling like lances. The episode seemingly comments on a jagged mountain wall taken to resemble a broken wing.

403. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

404. Sections 110–111.

CHAPTER 17

210

Now we'll explain how Paria Caca returned after he left his brother Paria Carco at the pass into the Anti lowlands.[405]

The story is like this.

We've already spoken about some of the words that Paria Caca said, and also about what he instituted to establish his own cult.

But there's one story we forgot.

211 After he finished the conquest, they say,[406] he returned with his other brothers to Paria Caca mountain.

There's another snowcapped peak there, unclimbable, the mountain called Huama Yaco.[407]

(In fact, some people say about this mountain, "That's the one, Paria Caca."

Later, too, after the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared on the scene, when people saw that mountain's snowy peak from the place we call Ynca Caya, they said, "That's Paria Caca.")[408]

212 But they say Paria Caca himself lived a little farther down, inside a cliff.[409]

Paria Caca and his brothers entered this crag and made it their home,[410] saying, "Here I shall dwell. From this place you must worship me."

We mentioned the other mountain, the one called Huama Yaco, by way of saying that it was a heavily snowcapped peak, and that it was atop this mountain that the Paria Cacas rested on their way back from the Anti lowlands.

213 From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tauantin Suyo.[411]

Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsa* institution for his own worship.

Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his *huacsa*s and held him in great honor.

We call the fashion in which they gathered at that time Tauantin Suyo.[412]

214 At that time, Huallallo Caruincho, never forget-

405. All of section 210 has witness validation. It seems to contain not one but two introductory passages, the first framing the second. It may be that the first is by the redactor/editor, and the second is the informant's own introduction; the fifth sentence of section 219 may be the informant's closing formula. Chapters 17, 18, and 19 lack titles.

406. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which predominates through the fourth sentence of section 219.

407. Perhaps identifiable with the modern peak Huamalla Lapu (IGM 1954), a mountain 48 km east-southeast of Huarochirí, 5,290 m above sea level. But its location may be too distant to fit the context.

408. This whole parenthesis has witness validation.

409. Duccio Bonavia has identified a rock shelter close to Mullo Cocha, painted with llama petroglyphs, which might have been where Paria Caca dwelled 'inside a cliff' (personal communication). The fact that this sentence is validated reportively suggests that the teller may not have experienced the actual pilgrimage to this site.

410. In modern Andean myth, *apu*s or mountain deities are often spoken of as dwelling "inside" mountain peaks.

411. *Tauantin Suyo* 'fourfold domain' was the Inca name of the Inca Empire. Perhaps this passage claims for Paria Caca priority over the Incas in creating an all-Andean collectivity; but it is also possible that to the teller *tauantin suyo* had a less political sense analogous to English 'the four corners of the earth'.

412. If we take *ninchic* to be out of normal word order, between dashes so to speak, the sentence could read 'In that age when—as we said—the people of Tauantin Suyu . . . ' (Taylor 1987b: 271).

ful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *hugi*[413] to appear on the same mountain where he lived.[414] "This'll bring grief to Paria Caca!" he thought.

The moment it appeared, the *hugi* escaped into the countryside.

215 Had that *hugi* lived, it would have taken Paria Caca's life or something.

For that reason, Paria Caca commanded the people of Tauantin Suyo, "Go capture that animal called *hugi*!"

Once he gave this command,

All the people chased after it,
and yet it never fell prey.

Paria Caca flashed and stormed,
and yet it never died.[415]

216 But way far away, a man of the Checa, of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, did capture it.

Then a Quinti man spoke to him: "Brother, you've actually caught it! You're a lucky man! Just go right home displaying its tail as a sign of victory. As for the carcass, I'll take it away."

"All right," the man replied.

217 After this exchange, the Quinti man went back by a different route, and told Paria Caca, "Father, I'm the one who caught it."

Paria Caca rejoiced exultantly and praised him.

(That Quinti man's name was Choc Payco.)[416]

Later on, when the other man delivered the tail, Paria Caca upbraided Choc Payco in scathing language:

"For lying to me,
go fight with the Quinti;

They'll call you a stinker,
and your offspring, too."

218 But about the Caca Sica *ayllu* and about Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha, Paria Caca himself said,

"Because you are the one who captured it,
you have become *yanca*.[417]

I will listen to you alone,
and to everything you may tell me.

If other people have something to tell me,
they must let you hear it first."[418]

Paria Caca bestowed a name on him, too, saying, "He shall be a Ñamca, Ñamca Pariya."

219 From that time on, they, too, were *yanca*s. As for the Concha, their *yanca*'s name, too, was one bestowed by Paria Caca himself. It was Huatusi.

And similarly in all the villages the *yanca* were given names by Paria Caca.

Of what we'd forgotten about Paria Caca's life, this is as much as we remember now.[419]

413. Unidentified, and an anomalous word in the graphophonemic system of the manuscript: the combination *gi* appears elsewhere only in borrowings (*regina* [chap. 20, sec. 256], *virgin* [chap. 20, sec. 258]). This is the third and last of the monsters Huallallo Caruincho loosed against Paria Caca.

414. The place where the *hugi* appeared is unknown, but a toponym Puente Piedra Huqui ('Huqui Stone Bridge') is recorded 6 km northwest of San Lorenzo de Quinti (Guillén Araoz 1953: 230). Since stone usually represents the end of a *huaca*'s trajectory, this may be the distant point where the *hugi* was caught (sec. 216).

415. *tucoy ynantin runacona catirircan/manatacsi apichicorcancho/panas paria cacaca yllaparca tamyarcan/manatacsi huañorcancho*: the parallel structure of this passage (marked here with supplied /) suggests it may be a fragment or an altered rendering of a versified telling, hence the verse presentation in translation.

416. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chap. 12 (secs. 166–167), Choc Payco is named as the most senior and privileged of Paria Caca's offspring. This sentence has witness validation.

417. Caca Sica's eminence as *yanca* priests is mentioned in chapter 9 (sec. 118). In chapter 18 (sec. 224) a Caca Sica priest is credited with being the savior of a great *huaca*'s cult. The tendency to elevate Caca Sica suggests that within Checa this *ayllu* may have had a disproportionate share in the testimonies.

418. The curse on the Quinti and the blessing on the Caca Sica do not have an exact verse form, but they show a similarity of sequence (the accusation, the sentence, and the people's comment) and some syntactic resemblance (*-scayquimanta . . . -sonqui*). They seem to be presented as a contrasted set and are perhaps verses blurred in translation or editing.

419. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 18

220

We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa.*[420]

It's said that[421] he, the Inca himself, decreed, "Let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos[422] serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles."[423]

In obedience to that command, thirty men served him in shifts of fifteen days,[424] offering him food and feeding him.

221 One day they sacrificed one of his llamas, a llama named Yauri Huanaca.

When those thirty people examined the heart and entrails[425] of the llama, one of the thirty, a fellow called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man,[426] spoke up and said, "Alas, brothers, the world[427] is

420. This sentence has witness validation. It refers to chapter 17 (sec. 213).

421. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 223.

422. That is, from the two Inca-style moieties (visible on the Dávila Brizeño map; Rostworowski 1988 insert) of the larger region within which this mythology occurs. The division does not necessarily coincide with any locally defined duality.

423. *purapi quillapi* 'full and waning lunar cycles': Urioste (1983: 147) and Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 105) take *pura* to be the name of a month following a weakly attested datum from Juan de Betanzos and Diego Fernández de Palencia.

A better clue is Gonçález Holguín's ([1608] 1952: 296) "*pura quilla* the full moon and the waning," which Taylor (1987b: 277) follows. The 'full moon' meaning of *pura quilla* comes clearer from Urton's ethnographic account of lunar phases in modern Quechua culture (1981: 82–85). There are said to be two moons, a bright one called *pura* and a dark one called *huañu*. They rotate around each other, successively obscuring and revealing the bright (*pura*) one.

Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 16) seized on another attested sense of *pura*, 'amongst themselves one with the other', to produce a different reading: "He, the Inka, ordered the Indians of Anan Yauya [*sic*] and Rurin Yauyo to take turns monthly among themselves thirty by thirty in order to serve Pariakaka." This reading harmonizes with the next sentence, but its persuasiveness is vitiated by the case of *pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi* in chapter 19 (sec. 234), which clearly puts *pura* in opposition to *quilla* 'moon'.

424. *chunca pihccayoc punchaumantacama* 'shifts of fifteen days': the marking of *punchau*, 'day', with suffixes *-manta* and *-cama*, meaning 'from' and 'up to', respectively, occurs nowhere else in the manuscript and 'shift' is a guess at its sense. Taylor (1987b: 277) reads "from the fifteenth day [of the month]."

425. "Idolatry" trials of the period succeeding the manuscript give information on the reading of llama entrails. In one technique a ritualist would inflate the lungs of the sacrificial llama and read the sentiments of the dead, as well as presages for the future, from the air pockets in the lungs.

426. *llacuas quita pariasca sutioc* 'called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man': *llacuas* in both colonial and modern Quechua means a herdsman dwelling on the cold heights; it carries connotations of primitivism and coarseness. The antithesis between *llacuas* herders and purportedly more sophisticated valley agriculturalists was richly elaborated in many Lima-region cultures (Duviols 1973).

Llacuas here is likely to be an epithet, not part of the man's name, because, first, in section 222 he is called by name, without the word *llacuas*; and, second, in section 223, he is called *llacuas* without his name, as an insult. *Llacuas* has no English equivalent; 'mountain man' in a usage from the western United States is chosen to convey the idea of a rustic figure from the heights.

Quita, which does seem to be part of the name, means "wild (as of runaway livestock), skittish" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 310; cf. the epithet *quita yauyo* in chap. 24, sec. 306), translated 'Yauyo wildmen'.

427. As in most instances, *pacha* leaves room for in-

not good! In coming times our father Paria Caca will be abandoned."

222 "No," the others retorted, "you're talking nonsense!"

"It's a good augury!"

"What do you know?"

One of them called out, "Hey, Quita Pariasca![428] What makes you think that? In these llama innards our father Paria Caca is foretelling something wonderful!"

But at the time he said that, the mountaineer hadn't even approached the llama to inspect its innards. He had prophesied so just by watching from afar.[429]

223 The mountaineer[430] spoke out and rebuked them: "It's Paria Caca himself who says it, brothers."

Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:

"That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"

"Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo.[431] Could such a power ever fall desolate?"

"What does a guy like that know?"

They talked in great anger.

But just a very few days after the day when he'd said these things, they heard someone say, "Vira Cochas[432] have appeared in Caxa Marca!"

224 A certain man who was also from Checa, named Tama Lliuya Casa Lliuya, a member of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, is known to have[433] dwelt as one of Paria Caca's retainers.

At that time, they say,[434] there were thirty priests at Paria Caca and this Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya was the eldest of them all.

225 When the Vira Cochas, the Spaniards,[435] arrived there, they kept asking insistently, "What about this *huaca*'s silver and garments?"[436]

But the thirty refused to reveal anything.

Because they did, the Spanish Vira Cochas got furious, and, ordering some straw piled up, they burned Casa Lliuya.

When half the straw had burned, the wind began to blow it away.[437]

And so although this man suffered horribly, he did survive.

But by that time the others had handed the clothing and the rest of the things over to the Spaniards.

226 It was then that all the men said, "Very truly indeed were we warned by this mountain man Quita Pariasca!"

"Brothers, let's go away, let's disband."

"The world is no longer good," they said. And so they dispersed, each going back to his own village.

227 When the burned man from Checa healed up, he arrived at a village called Limca[438] in the territory

terpretation; alternatives would be 'earth', 'place', 'time', 'situation'.

428. *say quita pariasca*: Trimborn (1939: 48) took this to be a person's name, Sayquita, but in the absence of *sutioc* or any other name-indicating formula, and given the likelihood that *Quita* is part of the man's name, 'Hey, Quita!' seems likelier.

429. This seems to suggest that the augurers in their pedantry had failed to see what a humble man's broad commonsense could see. Perhaps this is how peasants c. 1600 felt about their wise men's failure to foresee the disastrous consequences of the Spanish invasion.

430. 'The mountaineer' supplied.

431. *chinchay suyo*: the northern and most prestigious quarter of the Inca state included most of highland Peru, all of highland Ecuador, and a fringe of southernmost Colombia.

432. That is, the Spanish. *Vira cocha* is left unglossed in the translation to conserve the sense of mystery that the original seems to convey.

433. 'Is known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

434. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 227.

435. *vira cocha chayman chayaspaca*: we supply 'the Spaniards' because at this point they are coming into focus as humans.

436. *cay huacap collquin pachan* 'this *huaca*'s silver and garments': a sentence fragment forming a direct quote, perhaps to suggest brusque formless speech (of strangers who do not know Quechua properly?).

437. *pucorimorcan*: translocative *-mo-*, 'began to blow [burning straw] away'. Taylor (1980: 127) thought the wind blew the straw fire out, but this seems unlikely because straw burns violently in wind.

438. The location of Limca is not known, but (by analogy with alternations like *Ñamca/Ñamuc*), Limca/[Limac] might be the pre-*reducción* village of "Lima" (not to be confused with the city of Lima), which Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) mentions as a former Yunca outpost in the highlands.

of the Quinti,[439] carrying along a child of Paria Caca named Maca Uisa.

<margin:> [Maca Uisa]

We'll describe these things in the next chapter.[440]

439. *quintip llantanpi limca sutioc llactapi*: *llanta* is problematic; it is treated here as a variant of *llacta* 'village' as in Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 208). *Llanta* recurs in chapter 19 (sec. 235).

440. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 19

228

When the former Inca[441] lived, they say,[442] this Maca Uisa, a child of Paria Caca, was taken along to help him in warfare.[443] The provinces of Amaya and Xiuaya had not yet yielded to conquest.

Because of their resistance, the Inca asked Paria Caca for one of his children, to subdue[444] those Amaya and Xiuaya people.

229 Paria Caca gave him the one named Maca Uisa.

Carrying him along, the Inca defeated them in no time at all.

From then on, the Incas revered Paria Caca even more. They bestowed gold and ample amounts of their clothing on him, and every year they made people give maize, coca, and other goods from their villages to provide for Paria Caca's thirty retainers.

230 While it was so, the Spanish Vira Cochas came over, as we said, and took everything Maca Uisa[445] had away from him.

(Subsequently, the late Don Sebastián[446] had all that was left of his things burned.)

231 And so, as we just said, Casa Lliuya resided for many years in the village of Limca, highly honored because he was the upholder of Maca Uisa.

After many years, when the Checa heard how the Quinti had done so well, the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma, who was then *curaca*, sent for Casa Lliuya, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa over here."[447]

Then Casa Lliuya, the old man who'd been burned, father of six children, came here with his children.[448]

232 When they arrived here (I mean at Llacsa Tambo)[449] they asked, "Father Maca Uisa, will you not keep careful guard over the Checa in this village?" Casa Lliuya revealed the answer by sacrific-

441. *ñaupa ynga* 'former Inca' could be read as 'first' or 'early Incas' but this appears less likely since the manuscript generally treats late Incas (naming only Tupay Ynga Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, the last two who ruled before the period of dynastic war and Spanish invasion).

442. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation. This chapter lacks introductory material and may be a continuation of the testimony interrupted by the last sentence of section 227, namely, the story of Maca Uisa.

443. Avila wrote that he met a young woman, disabled in her legs, married to a blue stone that stood for Maca Uisa in the absence of an original golden image that the Inca had taken to Cuzco ([1645] 1918: 67, 69, 71).

444. *atipai* 'to subdue': word appears truncated (*atipaipac*?) but no other reading is evident.

445. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

446. That is, Don Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca, *curaca* of Huarochirí village and province. See chapter 7 (sec. 93).

447. *huañoc* 'the late' is interlineated. On May 9, 1608, a Checa *cacique* signed his name "don juan Puipotacma" to a statement at Father Avila's trial (Archivo Arzobispal, Lima, Capítulos, Leg. 1, Exp. 9, f.91r). If this was the same Don Juan mentioned here, the episode of Maca Uisa's retrieval could refer to times as late as the early seventeenth century. On the same assumption, if this man died before the manuscript's last editing, the last editing must postdate May 9, 1608.

448. *sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamurcancu*: or perhaps as Taylor has it (1987b: 287), "came here with (a group of) six men each accompanied by his respective child(ren?)."

449. This is the only point at which the text tells where myths were collected. Llacsa Tambo is almost certainly modern Llaquistambo, an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa.

ing a llama; and it was just the same as in Huauya Cancha, where the mountain man Quita Pariasca had observed the augury.

233 When Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya's children had already perished and he himself was about to die, he spoke and said, "That's how things were when I arrived here." For he had said on arriving, "The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation[450] or disease[451] anymore."[452]

234 It was from that time onward that they upheld Maca Uisa in this village, and all the Checa served him, *ayllu* by *ayllu*, according to the full and waning cycles of the moon.[453]

On a certain night, all of them, men and women alike, would keep vigil together till dawn.

At daybreak, we know,[454] they offered guinea pigs and other things from each person individually, saying,

"Please help us and this village;
You are the one who guards it.
From each and every illness
You are the one who heals us."

235 After that,[455] dwelling in the village of Limca, Maca Uisa[456] enjoyed ample service. A whole thousand[457] of Quinti people reportedly[458] cultivated the fields of Yamlaca in order to provide Maca Uisa's drinks.

And the people who lived there got very rich[459] indeed, with all kinds of possessions in any quantity.

The Checa envied them[460] all this, and so it was that the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma dispatched some people to Casa Lliuya, who was a member of his *ayllu*, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa here. Why should he keep such a fine *huaca* in those people's[461] village?"

From that time onward, he lived here.

This is as much as we know about Maca Uisa.[462]

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450. *huaticay* 'temptation': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 187–188) gives many variants of this term, most of them Christian-influenced and emphasizing diabolical temptation. In this passage it may refer to sorcery, or perhaps to the temptations of conversion against which the saving of Maca Uisa was a bulwark.

451. *oncoypas* 'disease': in the wake of the epidemics that lashed postconquest Indian societies, the teller(s) appear deeply preoccupied with health and illness. See section 234 below.

452. *pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho* 'The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation or disease anymore': this prophecy answers Quita Pariasca's earlier prophecy saying the world was no longer good (chap. 18, sec. 221) and his discouraged fellow-worshipers' assent to it (chap. 18, sec. 226). 'Really' is added to convey the combined force of *ancha* and eyewitness validator *-mi*. The idea seems to be that on dying he sees in the well-being of his neighbors the vindication of the prophecy he had made on arriving. But the meanings of this and the preceding section are far from certain.

453. See chapter 18 (sec. 220) and note 423.

454. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

455. *chaymantam* 'after that': carries witness validation, but the main clause has *-si* reportive. This anomaly is fairly common and makes validation of some sentences less than clear.

456. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

457. *tucoy huc huaranca* 'a whole thousand': 'thousand' is an Inca bureaucratic term signaling a major demographic unit; such decimal terms remained in use in colonial Huarochirí (Spalding 1984: 54). Its use in this colonial (i.e., post-Inca) reorganization of Andean religion suggests (as do the events of chap. 20) that Inca manipulation had a substantial effect on local cultic organization.

458. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

459. *rico* 'rich', using the Spanish expression as in chapter 5 (secs. 37, 46, 60).

460. A resurgence of a pervasive theme, the Checa rivalry with the more senior Quinti (see, for example, chap. 17, secs. 214ff.). This is apparently the same incident mentioned in section 231.

461. *ymapacmi runap llantanpi* presents two translation problems. First, *runap* 'of people' does not specify what group is concerned; to minimize supplied elements, 'those' is furnished. Taylor (1987b: 291) speculates that it is a pejorative colonial usage of *runa*, which, like modern *indio*, implies baseness. Second, *llantan* is taken as a variant for *llactan*; see chapter 18 (sec. 227). Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) notes that villages and *ayllu*s regularly stole each other's *huaca*s.

462. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 20

Here Begins the Life of Llocllay Huancupa. In What Follows, We Shall Also Write about Its End

236 They say[463] the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa[464] was Pacha Camac's child.

A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form[465] while she was cultivating a field.

As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.[466]

237 But, while she was digging another time,[467] she found once again the same thing she'd found before.

"This might be some kind of *huaca*!"[468] she thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my *ayllu*," she brought it back.

238 At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampo another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay,[469] an emissary of the Inca.[470]

Cati Quillay was a *yanca*,[471] one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak.

Saying, "Who are you?

"What is your name?

"What have you come for?"

he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk.

Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, World Maker and World Shaker.

"My name is Llocllay Huancupa.[472]

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463. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 240.

464. *llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic* means 'Llocllay Huancupa, whom we mentioned above'. But in fact this is the first mention of Llocllay. Perhaps there were other testimonies that have not been included.

465. *ricurimuscantas . . . tarircan* 'she found [Llocllay's] visible form': this could mean a likeness, perhaps a precolumbian artifact (such objects were and still are sometimes taken as signs of the superhuman), but it might also mean some nonfigurative object.

466. *pachallampitac*: since *pacha* means both a location and a moment, could also mean 'immediately'.

467. *huc pachacta* 'another time': again, since *pacha* signifies both time and space, this might also mean 'at another place'. If so, its sense might be that Lanti Chumpi recognized the find's importance by its ability to move underground. Whether one reads two times or two places, the point seems to be that the *huaca* insists on being found by Lanti Chumpi.

468. A *huaca* that belonged to an extinct *ayllu* and had been lost among "roads and crossroads and wildernesses" was called a *purun huaca*, meaning a 'wild' or 'desolate' one. "When they found these . . . they considered themselves lucky and blessed, and they began to ennoble their lineages and their descent" (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 184). Hence Lanti Chumpi's excitement. All of chapter 20 through section 243 is the biography of a rediscovered *purum huaca* and the story of its cultic "ennoblement" up to and including cooptation by the Inca state.

469. Possibly identifiable with Catequilla or Catachillay, the Southern Cross (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 51) as interpreted by Gary Urton (1981: 130–131).

470. *yngap cachan* 'an emissary of the Inca' employs the Inca term for a plenipotentiary and not a mere messenger.

471. Seems to suggest that one *huaca* (presumably via its priest) could act as *yanca* of another. Taylor (1987b: 295) gives "effortlessly," reading *yanca* as the homonymous adverb.

472. Llocllay Huancupa's name signals his association with rain: Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 215) tells us *llocclla* meant "river in spate, flood." The Jesuit *carta annua* of 1609 (Taylor 1987a: 85–96) tells that *huancupa*,

"It was my father who sent me here, saying, 'Go and protect that Checa village!' "[473]

239 The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us." And since the enclosed courtyard[474] at the house of the woman who'd discovered the *huaca* was a small one, they enlarged it, and all the Checa, along with the Chauti and Huanri people, adorned her house and courtyard with great reverence.

240 They made arrangements among themselves, saying, "We'll enter in to do his service according to the full and waning moon,[475] *ayllu* by *ayllu*, with the Allauca taking the lead"; and they gave him some of their llamas.

(At the full moon they in fact[476] say,
"It's time for his arrival,"
they say,
"It's he who's arriving!")

At the Arrival festival, in the old times, people used to dance wearing the *chumprucu*[477] and the *huaychao* weavings,[478] just the same way as they wore the *chumprucu* and the *huaychao* weavings during Paria Caca's festival season.

241 They served him for many years in the way we have described.

At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared.

When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid.[479]

242 But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac.

So by worshiping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return.

People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders.[480]

They pastured these llamas in the place called Sucya Villca,[481] declaring, "These are llamas of Pacha Camac." The Inca also ratified this practice.[482]

243 They arrived to worship one *ayllu* after another,[483] and in this fashion they served the *huaca*

whose meaning in this context is unclear, formed part of the name of a specific rain *huaca* Tamiahuancupa in Checa. Llocllay Huancupa is there said to be a child of Pacha Camac, the greatest maritime *huaca*, and to be a nephew of Paria Caca, the great embodiment of the stormy heights. Rivers in spate are the connections from the latter to the former. Thus Llocllay's appearance appears a promise that these violent waters would flow to the Checa's benefit and perhaps refrain from creating the washouts and mudslides that often damage villages like the Checa's.

473. Considering that this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huacas* afforded a safer course than fostering *huacas* of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance.

474. *cancha* 'courtyard': for description of the enclosed Andean residential compound, see Gasparini and Margolies (1980: 181–193).

475. See note 423.

476. This whole parenthesis has witness validation and differs from the surrounding material in tense; it appears to place a contemporary custom in the remembered context of the narrative.

477. Taylor (1987b: 297) suggests a plausible derivation from words meaning 'belt' and 'headdress', hence 'turban'. Turbans are abundantly visible in coastal ceramic portrait vases and are found in prehistoric burials.

478. *huaychao ahua* '*huaychao* weavings' is an uncertain translation because the expected form would be *ahuasca*.

479. *husnocta pircaspa*: literally, 'walling an *usnu*'; the term *usnu* could mean a stone-faced step-pyramid, perhaps like the one still visible at Vilcashuamán. But in R. T. Zuidema's explication (1980) the concept expands to signify any *axis mundi*–like vertical conduit. The early "extirpator" Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 202) describes *usnu*-type shrines as 'towers' built around an axis or shaft at which worship was celebrated. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentions *usnus* ([1615] 1980: 1:236, 239, 2:357, 413).

480. That is, like many other superhumans, he was assigned an endowment of capital goods whose products would support his cult and be distributed at his feasts.

481. Identified by Rostworowski (1978: 43) as a plateau above San Bartolomé.

482. That is, when they felt forced to increase the endowment of this Inca-endorsed *huaca*, they arranged for the Inca state to bear part of the additional cost by contributing use of Inca herding facilities at Sucya Villca. This was appropriate because Llocllay's cult was an extension of the Inca-sponsored Pacha Camac cult, and Pacha Camac's animals were herded at Sucya Villca (chap. 22, sec. 277).

483. Taylor (1987b: 299) interprets *ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan* to mean that each *ayllu* celebrated the "Arrival" rite in turn.

for a great many years. If diseases of any kind came upon them, they would tell him and implore him for well-being. Whenever any affliction or sorrow befell, or when enemies came, or there was an earthquake, people would fear him greatly and say, "His father[484] is angry!" As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries,[485] to provide for his drinks.

244 Later on, at the time when a certain Father Cristóbal de Castilla was in this *reducción* and when Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman was the *curaca*,[486] people stopped worshiping, because both of them hated such practices.

But when the first great plague of measles[487] came, people began to worship him again in all sorts of ways. As if he were thinking, "Llocllay's sending the plague," the *curaca* ceased scolding those people any longer when they drank in the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi.

At that same time, the *huaca*'s house caught fire all by itself,[488] because that was God's will.

245 Now it's a fact that[489] after Don Gerónimo died, Don Juan Sacsa Lliuya succeeded to the office of *curaca*,[490] and, since this chief was at the same time a *huacsa* himself, everybody began to live as they'd lived in earlier times; they'd visit both Llocllay Huancupa and Maca Uisa, and they kept vigil the whole night there drinking until dawn.

246 Nowadays, due to the preachings of Doctor Avila, some people have converted back to God and forbidden all these practices. But if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huaca*s as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long time.[491]

We'll let you hear this story in what follows.

247 There was a man named Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, whose father was the late Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman whom we mentioned before. This man lived a good life from his childhood onward, because his father bitterly scorned all these *huaca*s.

But when he was about to die, Don Gerónimo was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into this same sin. Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits,[492]

484. I.e., Pacha Camac.

485. *yngap çaranta sapçicunamantas* 'maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries': again emphasizes that Llocllay's cult was Inca-subsidized. The suggestion would be that, where maize is concerned, the Inca enabled them to toast Llocllay at Inca, not local, expense.

486. A 1588–1590 lawsuit over the major *cacicazgo* of the Rímac valley contains testimony by Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman, *curaca* of the Checa. Fron it we learn that he was four or five years old when the Spanish invaded Peru; he was forty years old when Jesuits taught literacy at Huarochirí missions and never learned to write. From childhood onward he attended meetings of chiefs that the Ninavilca (Huarochirí village) lords convoked at Mama and elsewhere (Murra 1980: xviii–xix). His position as a member of the generation that first managed the transition to colonial religious and political forms helps one to understand his ambivalence toward Christianity (see sec. 247; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 9-45-5-15, ff. 105v–112r; Espinoza Soriano 1983–1984).

487. Cook (1981: 60) says the first measles epidemic was perhaps in 1531–1532, with a question mark, and notes another without a question mark for 1558–1559. It seems likely that the teller means the 1558–1559 epidemic. Perhaps the resurgence of Llocllay's cult following it is a phenomenon resembling the Taki Onqoy nativist movement that arose at that time in the south-central highlands. In order to credit this interpretation one must assume that Gerónimo Cancho Huaman's rule lasted thirty-odd years.

If the date is not 1558 but later, the reference might be to the Moro Onqoy period described by Curatola (1978).

488. *paicama* 'all by itself' could also mean 'according to him' (the chief?). Either reading suggests that the fire was taken as the Spanish deity's attack on the native *huaca*.

489. 'Now it's a fact that' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 247.

490. Since Don Gerónimo was still *curaca* in 1590 according to the source mentioned in note 486, the events that follow can be dated 1590–1608.

491. A nakedly political passage setting up the witness, Cristóbal Choque Casa, as a hero. Choque Casa was Avila's close political ally. Missionary Quechua predominates in the rhetoric of the pure heart and the verbal renunciation of *huaca*s as *supay* ('demons', in missionary lexicon). 'The *huaca*s' supplied. Original has *caycunacta* 'these'.

492. The passage may have a double meaning, reflecting the double Andean and missionary senses of the word *supay*. An Andean person faced with death could well be concerned with ancient spirits, not in the European understanding of false deities, but in the autochthonous sense of deified ancestors or *huaca*s worshiped by ancestors, whose mobile parts (*supay*) could contact the living. The speaker would not have specified *mana alli* unless he supposed that a *supay* could also be good.

he confessed himself just before dying.[493]

As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now![494]

248 The deceased man's son, that is, the same Don Cristóbal we spoke of, is still alive.

It was he who once saw the demon Llocllay Huancupa with his own eyes, when he was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death.

The story is like this.

To tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross."[495]

249 Don Cristóbal said that one night[496] he went to Llocllay Huancupa's house while his lover[497] was there. Cristóbal had abandoned the worship of this *huaca*, and hardly thought of him anymore.

When he arrived at the dwelling he went into a little shed in the corral[498] to urinate.

250 From inside that place, the spot where they've put a cross, that demon appeared before his eyes like a silver plate that, mirroring[499] the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight.

When he saw this he almost fell to the ground.

Reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, he fled toward the little lodging, the woman's dwelling.

251 When he'd walked halfway there, the demon flashed three times again. When he arrived at the room it flashed[500] another three times, and the first time it had flashed[501] three times also.

So, all in all, it flashed nine times.

Seeing that demon flash so many times, and becoming thoroughly terrified, Don Cristóbal reached the place where the woman slept and woke her up abruptly.

252 Two children were also asleep there.

He was panting[502] so hard, the children got scared and said, "It's our father who's doing that!"

(These children and the young woman, too, were the offspring of the demon's priest.)[503]

493. *ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullaycuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi* 'Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits he confessed himself just before dying': an ambiguous sentence. It could mean, as we indicate, that although Don Gerónimo relapsed into *huaca* worship in old age, his conscience at the last impelled him to confess in Catholic fashion. Or it could mean that he made his last confession to a *huaca* priest. The latter reading presupposes that the Spanish-derived verb *confesacoy* could denominate a non-Christian rite (much as *saçerdote* could mean *huaca* priest).

494. *chaytaca dios aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas* 'As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!': perhaps with a shade of satirical intent, or perhaps said in pity; since the old man was so indecisive in religious matters, who can say whether he is now in Hell or Heaven?

495. Cristóbal's testimony begins with not one but two narrative formulas: first, *cay simire cay ynam* 'the story is like this', a common one throughout the manuscript and perhaps an Andean phrase; then, *cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don christobal juramentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa* 'to tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross," ' an emphatic touch of mission culture.

496. *huc tutas don x(christob)al* 'Don Cristóbal said that one night': more literally, taking reportive validation into account, 'One night Don Cristóbal, it's said'. But the fact that we know it was Don Cristóbal himself who swore before telling the story that begins here justifies 'Don Cristóbal said that'. Since Don Cristóbal would presumably have talked in first person, the passage shows that *-si* reportive passages are likely to be paraphrases of testimony, not transcripts, and therefore unreliable as to exact properties of discourse including, for example, versification. (An alternative hypothesis would be that Don Cristóbal himself wrote the passage, trumping up the oath and third person diction.)

497. *sipasnin* 'his lover': the referent of the third person possessive marker *-n* is ambiguous (Cristóbal's lover or Llocllay's?) and the translation reflects this. The former, however, seems likelier; why, otherwise, would Cristóbal, a Christian, go to Llocllay's house? And why at night?

498. *racay huasillaman* 'into a little shed in the corral': Taylor (1987b: 305) has "into a little house in ruins (which had been the *huaca*'s sanctuary[?])." The discrepancy arises from readings of *racay*, which can mean either 'corral' or (in the form *racay racay*) 'depopulated town' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 311).

499. *tincochisca* 'mirroring': more literally, 'caused to match' (i.e., angled so as to reflect) the mid-day sun. The phrase *runap ñauinta tutayachic* reads more literally 'as what benights a man's eyes' and alludes to the darkening of vision caused by gazing at a too-bright light.

500. 'It flashed' supplied.

501. 'It had flashed' supplied.

502. *siuyaptinsi* 'he was panting': original is ambiguous as to whether Llocllay or (more probably) Don Cristóbal is the subject of this verb.

503. I.e., of Astu Huaman, who appears in chapter 21 (secs. 265, 267).

Then, just as a man entering a doorway at dusk darkens the room even more,[504] so it was also that night as the demon went in and out. The demon wanted to overpower Don Cristóbal, making his ears ring with a "Chuy!" sound, as if he were about to demolish the house, too.

253 Cristóbal invoked God, shouting out at the top of his voice all the prayers he knew, <crossed out:> [knowing] saying the *doctrina*[505] from beginning to end over and over again.

As midnight passed, the demon was overpowering him. He thought that nothing could save him, the demon was making him sweat so. Then he invoked our mother Saint Mary, saying:

254 "Oh mother, you are my only mother.
Shall this evil demon overpower me?

You, who are my mother, please help me
Even though I am a great sinner;

I myself served this very demon;
Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,

That he is not God,
That he could never do anything good.

255 You, my only queen,[506]
You alone will rescue me from this danger!

Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.
Let him rescue me right now

From this sin of mine,
And from the hand of this wicked demon."

Thus weeping and sweating[507] he invoked our mother the Virgin, our one and only queen.

256 After finishing this, he prayed saying the *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ* in Latin.

While he was reciting it, just as he was in the middle of reciting it, that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl.[508]

At that exact moment, the place became like dawn.[509] There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving a room.

257 From then on, Cristóbal worshiped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always.

In the morning he addressed all the people:

"Brothers and fathers, that Llocllay Huancupa whom we feared has turned out to be a demonic barn owl.

258 "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house. If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the *padre*. Consider carefully[510] what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.

259 Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon.

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504. The simile likens the alternating glare and gloom of Llocllay's presence to the interior of an Andean house—normally windowless—that is thrown into darkness when a person enters its doorway and brightens when he steps out.

505. *doctrina*: the elementary religious lessons that Indian neophytes were required to learn.

506. *coyallaytacmi*, 'my only queen', using the word for an Inca queen, that is, a sister-wife of the Inca.

507. When Jesuits campaigned in Huarochirí in 1571, they encouraged people to "pour out tears and sobs" while renouncing the *huacas*, and intentionally "drew the business out so that [converts] would feel greater anguish." The 1571 campaign produced behavior something like Cristóbal's: the missionaries proudly reported that one convert "passed three hours weeping bitterly and conversing with Our Lord" before turning himself in to become a servitor of Catholic priests (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 241–244). These precedents suggest that chapters 20 and 21 render the subjective content of what had perhaps become by 1600 a fairly standardized cultural performance.

508. *chusic* 'barn owl': this bird's appearance echoes the image of the flashing disk. "*Barn owl, Tyto alba contempta* (*Lechuza de los campanarios*). A large owl, buffy-white below speckled with black, pearl gray to buff above, finely spotted. The feathers about the eyes form a white disk in the shape of a heart. Recognized by its light color and characteristic hoarse screech. Nocturnal, withdrawing during the day into caves, holes in trees, towers of churches, etc. In nearly all parts of our region, but never common; also in Lima. A species of world-wide distribution" (Koepcke 1970: 76). The barn owl, a nocturnal predator, seems an appropriate likeness of the nocturnal *huaca* Llocllay (his rites are celebrated at night).

509. *pachaca pacaric yna carcan*: could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning'.

510. *alli yachacoy* 'consider carefully': might also be read 'good thought'. Taylor (1987b: 311) detects a possible calque to *evangelio*, which (via a Greek etymology) means 'good news'.

From that time forward, they definitely did refrain from going there.[511]

511. *chayaita samarcancu* might also mean "they desisted from performing the Arrival ritual" (Taylor 1987b: 313).

But that night, while Don Cristóbal was asleep in his house, Llocllay Huancupa appeared to him again in a dream.

Next we'll write about this.[512]

512. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 21

260

Although a Dream Is Not Valid,[513] We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him

We've already heard that Llocllay Huancupa was an evil demon and that Don Cristóbal defeated him.[514]

But Don Cristóbal said[515] the evil demon also wanted to overpower him in a dream.

And so on the night of the very next day, the demon summoned Don Cristóbal from his house by sending a man. He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa."[516] Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on.[517]

261 He got scared and approached an old lady, a Yunca woman,[518] who lived there in that same patio.

This old lady was a Yunca woman.

"Son," she said to him, "Why is it that you don't honor Llocllay Huancupa, child of Pacha Cuyuchic the Earth Shaker? It's to find out about this that he's summoned you now."[519]

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513. *mana muscoy yupai captinpas* 'Although a Dream Is Not Valid': the original reads 'although a dream is not *yupai*'. A root sense of *yupay* is 'account'. Derivatives include 'to give account of something received, or to enumerate, to evaluate, to esteem, or to assign a price'; "*yupay* honor or esteem" and "*mana yupay* what is null or invalid or worthless or commanding no price" are further derivatives (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 371–372).

Why does the writer of the title feel a need to disclaim the value or validity of dreams? Mannheim (1987: 137) points out that the Third Council of Lima, laying down the doctrine that Avila enforced, had explicitly attacked the idea that dreams are *yupai*. Mannheim translates the council's strictures from Quechua:

> Don't be keeping [*Ama . . .yupaychanquichicchu*]
> dreams
> "I dreamt this or that,
> why did I dream it?"
> Don't ask:
> dreams are just worthless and
> not to be kept [*mana yupaychaypacchu*].

"Extirpators" energetically attacked belief in dreams and dream interpreters (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 35; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 192, [1622] 1923: 25–49).

514. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

515. 'Don Cristóbal said' supplied to indicated reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 272. Don Cristóbal may be taken as the speaker because in section 248 he is named as the source.

516. *manas paiman rine nircancho* 'He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa" ': Llocllay's name supplied as referent of *pai*. Taylor (1987b: 315) reads this differently: "He didn't say to him if he meant to go or not." The discrepancy arises from two points: first, whether one takes the messenger or Don Cristóbal to be the speaker; Taylor seems to accept the latter. Second, whether one understands the quotation to begin before or after *paiman* 'to him'; Taylor accepts the latter.

517. *ña huasinman yaicusparacsi musyacorcan* 'Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on': Don Cristóbal, supplied subject. Taylor (1987b: 315) has: "At the moment when he was about to enter his house, [Don Cristóbal] had a presentiment [of something unlucky]." This reading is justified with an explication of *musyay* suggesting it means 'enter into a trance', with connotations of precognition. Our translation is influenced by another usage of *musyasca* to mean 'in the know, aware'.

518. *huc yunga huarmi chacuas* 'an old lady, a Yunca woman': *chacuas* is a modern Quechua I word meaning 'old lady'. The alternative translation would be to take this as her personal name.

519. Presumably the old lady's speech is a reply to Don Cristóbal's invective against Llocllay on the previous day.

262 When she said that, he replied, "Ma'am, he's an evil demon. Why should I honor him?"

Don Cristóbal was gripping a silver coin of four *reales*[520] in his hand.

He dropped it[521] on the ground.

While he was searching for it, Francisco Trompetero called him from outside: "Hey, what're you doing in there?[522] Your father's really angry! He's calling you and he says, 'He'd better come in a hurry!' "

263 As soon as he said this, Cristóbal replied, "Wait a moment, brother, I'm coming right away" and rummaged for his silver coin in frantic haste.

At the moment when he found it, when he was about to leave, the demon, just as he'd scared Cristóbal before with a silvery flash[523] against his face, flashed out once again from inside the place where the cross was put.

264 Realizing that he couldn't save himself now, Cristóbal suddenly got frightened. Someone called him from inside the room, saying, "It's our father[524] who calls you!"

Saying, "All right," but deeply angry in his heart, he went inside. On entering he sat down close by the door.

265 Right then, Astu Huaman was offering drinks and feeding the *huaca*, saying,

> "Father Llocllay Huancupa, you are Pacha Cuyuchic's child,
> It is you who gave force and form to people."

As he spoke he fed him with deep veneration.

The demon, unable to speak, repeated "Hu, hu"[525] over and over again.

And when Astu Huaman offered him some coca, the demon made it crackle "Chac, chac" just as a coca-chewer does.

266 While he was doing that, a long time, Don Cristóbal saw from inside the house something that looked like a painting encircling it completely in two patterned bands. It looked as a Roman-style mural painting might if it went on two levels.[526]

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520. A four-*real* coin is half a *peso de ocho*, very commonly circulated c. 1600. The coin Don Cristóbal held was almost certainly of a design showing the quartered arms of Castile and León on one side and the arms of the Hapsburgs (probably the version obtaining during the reigns of Felipe II [1556–1598] or Felipe III [1598–1621]) on the other. The arms of Castile and León are contained within the upper left quadrant of the Hapsburg arms. The quartered space—reminiscent of Peruvian ideas of the Inca world as a 'fourfold domain'—may have figured in Don Cristóbal's dream thinking (Dasi 1950: 60, 66; Grünthal and Sellschopp 1978: 49, 60; Rodríguez Lorente 1965: 129, 153).

521. *ormachircan* 'he dropped it': ambiguous as to whether he dropped it by accident or let it fall on purpose, but the former seems more plausible since he at once tries to recover it.

522. Francisco Trompetero's surname or nickname means 'trumpeter' in Spanish and suggests a military or church musician. His question sounds rhetorical; he would have known very well why an Andean person carries a coin when visiting a *huaca*: "In some places silver is offered up in the form of *reales*. In Libia Cancharco fifteen silver *duros* [i.e., whole pesos] were found, together with some small pieces of ordinary silver. In the town of Recuay Dr. Ramírez found two hundred *duros* in a *huaca*. They generally hammer the coins or chew them in such a way that you can hardly see the royal arms. Coins are also found around *huacas*, looking as if stained with blood or *chicha* [i.e., maize beer]. On other occasions, the priests of the *huacas* keep the silver that is collected as offerings to be spent for their festivals" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 43; Keating's translation).

523. *collqui ñiscanchichuan* 'with a silvery flash': Taylor (1987b: 317–318) thinks the silvery object might be a silver disk hung in Llocllay Huancupa's shrine and thinks it unlikely to be the silver coin just mentioned, which he considers "a superfluous detail." In dream imagery however, the two might be conflated.

524. *yayanchic* 'our father': inclusive first person plural, conveying the speaker's assumption that the 'father' in question is also the father of the person he addresses, namely Cristóbal.

525. *chaysi chay supaica mana rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan*: if one takes *hu hu ñicacharcan* to derive from *huñiy* 'to agree' then the sense is that Llocllay here expresses his approval of the offering. But, since Llocllay appears an inarticulate *huaca*, it seems likelier that *hu hu* represents his inarticulate speech. Or perhaps *hu hu* represents an owl's cry, since Llocllay took an owl's form in chapter 20 (sec. 256).

526. *don christobalca chay huasin hucomanta tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai patarapi rinman chay hynacta*: more literally, 'Don Cristóbal saw from inside that house all on two places [levels, bands, or sides] something like a surrounding [rotating?] painted [object? pattern?], the way a Roman painted [object? pattern?] would go on two bands, like that'.

Translators differ in their efforts to visualize this difficult passage.

The wide divergences all turn on the meaning of the Spanish word *rromano*. Trimborn (1939: 114) and Urioste

On one band of the painting was a tiny demon, very black, his eyes just like silver,[527] who gripped in his hand a wooden stick with a hook. On top of him was a llama head. Above that was again the little demon and above that again the llama head.

In this way it encircled the whole house in a twofold pattern.

267 It really scared Don Cristóbal that he kept seeing all these things, and he tried to recall just what he'd meant to say.

Meanwhile, since the demon had finished eating, Astu Huaman made the fire blaze up again to burn all the things he'd offered.

268 After this was done, and when everything was quiet, Don Cristóbal began to speak:[528]

"Listen, Llocllay Huancupa! They address you[529] as the animator of humanity and as the World Shaker. People say 'He is the very one who makes everything!' and all mankind fears you. So why have you summoned me now?[530] For my part, I say,

'Is not Jesus Christ the son of God?[531]
Shall I not revere this one, the true God?
Shall I not revere his word forever?'[532]

This is what I say.

269 "Or am I mistaken? Then tell me now! Say,

'He is not the true God;
I am the maker of everything!'

so that from that moment on I may worship you."

So Cristóbal spoke, but the demon stayed mute. He didn't say anything at all.

270 At that moment Don Cristóbal defied him, crying good and loud:

"Look!
Are you not a demon?
Could you defeat my Lord Jesus Christ,
In whom I believe?

Look!
This house of yours!
Yes, you dwell surrounded by demons[533]—
Should I believe in you?"

271 At that moment somebody threw what we call[534] a *llaullaya*[535] at him.

Regarding this thing, Don Cristóbal didn't know whether that demon threw it or whether it was from God's side. For, defending himself with the *llaullaya* alone, he fled from that house all the way to the corner of the count's house,[536] always moving sideways and protecting himself with it.

Then he woke up.

(1983: 169) rendered it as concerning a Roman painting, and Taylor earlier accepted a related gloss, seeing it as a retable or mural in the style of a Roman church, but folded double (*yscay patarapi*). Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 123) judged that *rromano* refers to a scale called *romana*, that is, a steelyard scale, which could be said to 'move on two levels', and Taylor later (1987b: 319) accepted this view (see Hartmann and Holm 1985). Teresa Gisbert, the leading specialist in Andean visual arts for this period, endorses 'Roman-style painting' (personal communication). Ferrell (n.d.) considers relevant to a "banded" appearance the 1737 *Diccionario de autoridades* gloss of *romano* as 'a gray and black striped cat' (1976: 3:635).

527. Taylor (1987b: 321) has *monedas de plata* 'silver coins', which apparently echoes the coin theme starting in section 262.

528. Cristóbal now answers Llocllay's summons in section 261 by explaining why he does not respect him.

529. *ñispa ñisonqui* 'they address you': subject unspecified. The implied subject could be people in general, or Llocllay's priest Astu Huaman.

530. The point apparently being, if Llocllay really has these powers and privileges, why should Don Cristóbal's irreverence bother him?

531. Contrasting Jesus' claim to being the son of *dios* with Llocllay's claim of being the son of Pacha Camac.

532. These sentences repeat the suffix sequence *-tac-cha*, which in turn derives from two others that bespeak, respectively, forceful contrast (*-tac*) and a conjectural tone (*-cha*); the overall import is something like, but not quite like, a rhetorical question (Urioste 1973: 40–42, 51).

533. *supaipac yntupayascanmi ari tianqui* 'you dwell surrounded by demons': refers to the apparition of the checkered frieze or mural all around Llocllay's dwelling, covered with images Don Cristóbal thought demonic (sec. 266).

534. *ñiycum* 'what we call': exclusive first person plural form, implying that 'we' tellers, as opposed to the person addressed, call the object *llaullaya*. The source senses a cultural or linguistic difference between himself and the addressee.

535. Untranslated; may be an agricultural implement or a garment.

536. *condep huasincama* 'all the way to . . . the count's house': *conde* could mean a person from the *Kunti* quarter of the empire (*Kuntisuyu* in Inca terms), or a person called count (*conde*) in Spanish.

272 From that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, "They're demons!"

This is all we know about this evil demon's existence and about Don Cristóbal's victory.[537]

273 On this matter: it's said that[538] in performing Llocllay's Arrival festival in the old days, the people who celebrated used to dance first until sundown.[539]

Toward dusk, the *huaca*'s priest would say, "Now our father is drunk; Let him dance!" And he would perform a dance "as if in his stead," as they used to say.

Saying, "It's our father who invites you!" he'd bring maize beer in one small wooden beaker, and put another one inside the shrine in a pot, saying, "It's he who drinks this."[540]

274 Regarding this drinking: the priest, we know,[541] would offer drinks starting from the elders, all the way down to the end of the assembly.[542]

<A **marginal addition** in Quechua begins here:>

When they finished the round of drinking, they say,[543] the priest[544] would bring the gourd from which the demon had drunk outside, to where the guests were, so they could worship that gourd.

<**Marginal addition** ends.>

The following day he'd have them carry the leftovers and edible remains to Sucya Villca.

275 In the old days, the people who'd come to celebrate Llocllay Huancupa's Arrival reportedly[545] brought the food to Sucya Villca himself.

However, we know that[546] later on,[547] after finishing Llocllay Huancupa's feeding, people also fed Sucya Villca right at that spot.

In what follows, we'll write about these food offerings to Sucya Villca, and why they fed him, and also about who Pacha Camac was.

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537. This sentence has witness validation.

538. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 273.

539. *hura pachacama* 'until sundown': see chapter 8 (sec. 103), where the same locution occurs. Other possible readings are 'at the lowlands' and 'Pacha Camac'. The latter is problematic; if Pacha Camac were intended, one would expect final *c* and a locative suffix.

540. This is a description of drinking with paired vessels, one for the deity and one for the worshiper, a gesture of religious reciprocity pictured by Felipe Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:80).

541. 'We know' supplied to indicate that this passage, to the end of the chapter, has witness validation. The marginal note has reportive *-si*.

542. 'Of the assembly' supplied.

543. 'They say' supplied to indicate that the marginal note has reportive validation.

544. 'The priest' supplied.

545. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

546. 'We know that' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

547. Possibly meaning after the Spanish conquest.

CHAPTER 22

276

We don't in fact[548] know much about the Incas' great reverence for Pacha Camac.[549]

But we do know a few things. In the highlands, they say,[550] the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"

From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"[551]

277 The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.

The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca.[552]

278 Here's how we interpret this.

The Inca probably thought, "The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac.[553] It looks like there is no village

548. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates through the end of section 279. Some of the exceptions are conjectural *-cha* validations, translated with 'probably', 'it looks like', 'possibly', and 'no doubt'. It appears as though the source of these comments is giving his/her own understanding of Inca thought rather than relaying an informant's.

549. *yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascantaca manam allicho yachanchic*: Taylor (1987b: 329) has: "We do not know very well whether the Incas held Pachacamac in high esteem." But this seems the less likely of two possible readings, since the next few sections show that the speaker clearly knows the Incas did esteem him highly; in fact that is the point the chapter seeks to explain.

550. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence; however, the next sentence, which complements it, has witness validation.

551. *hanac ticsipi muchanantas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispatac mucharcancu* 'In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" ': this passage opposes Titi Caca to Pacha Camac as respectively the world's 'upper' and 'lower foundations' (*hanac/hura ticsi*). While its specific sense is uncertain, it appears to report an imperial vision of place-shrines on the highest scale, namely, place-shrines categorizing the whole world as one place. The ritual duality expresses the wholeness of the world in the image of centrifugal imperial expansion: from the world's highland center to its maritime edge.

552. Sucya Villca was a lake; see chapter 21 (secs. 274, 275) and chapter 22 (secs. 281–282, 284). From chapter 21 (sec. 275) we see that in the teller's mind Sucya Villca and Pacha Camac are closely linked. María Rostworowski (1978: 43) says Sucya Villca was a plateau above San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí, and that Sucya Cancha was there, too.

The complex of Sucya Villca and Sucya Cancha figures in the manuscript as the *coca* place par excellence. In chapter 8 (sec. 109), Sucya Cancha is a place of coca fields; in chapter 9 (sec. 124), it is the place where people went to 'trade' (*rantiy*) coca.

553. *cay ñiscanchic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñiscancunallapich pacha puchocan* 'The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac': a difficult passage. The teller perhaps thinks the Inca is reconciling two images of the edge of the

beyond these points, possibly nothing at all."[554]

279 It was no doubt with such thoughts in mind that the Incas worshiped these two *huacas* more than the other *huacas*, and even placed the sun next to the lowland *huaca* Pacha Camac.

The place where they set it is called Punchau Cancha,[555] the Sun Court, to this very day.

280 Reportedly they gave Pacha Camac each year[556] what's called a Capac Hucha,[557] namely, human beings[558] both female and male, from Tauantin Suyo, the four quarters of the world.

Arriving at Pacha Camac, and saying to Pacha,[559] "Here they are. We offer them to you, father!" they'd bury the Capac Hucha alive, along with gold and silver. And according to the cycles of the full and waning moon, they fed him llamas and served him drinks without pause.

281 At any time when it failed to rain in the Checa villages, the Yunca, giving their yearly offering of gold and silver according to the Inca's orders, would send it to Sucya Villca <crossed out:> [mountain] with their maize beer and *ticti*.[560]

They reportedly[561] offered all this to Sucya Villca, saying,

"Father, it is Pacha Camac who sends us here.
And you are the one who rains on the land.

When no water flows from this lake,
We humans suffer from drought.

Therefore send down rain!
This is what we have come for."[562]

282 In such years, the Yunca, too, used to bury the silver and gold that they brought next to Sucya Villca lake.

Sucya Villca's retainers were from the Yasapa *ayllu* and his llama herder from the Allauca.

(Later on, when the Spaniards were already here, a certain Yasapa man called Payco Casa saw them bury some gold and silver there.)

283 And likewise the Inca would have offerings of his gold and silver given according to his *quipu* account, to all the *huacas*, to the well-known *huacas*, to all the *huacas*. He used to have them give gold *auquis* and silver *auquis* (when we say *choqui* we mean gold), and also gold *urpus* and silver *urpus*, and gold *tipsis* and silver *tipsis*; all this exactly according to *quipu* counts.[563]

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world: the one associated with their origin myth, in which the ocean is imagined as the deep reservoir from which Titi Caca's high-lying waters are lifted, and a coastal one, which identifies the ocean with the great seaside *huaca* Pacha Camac. The attempt to collate southern highland (especially Inca) understandings of Pacha Camac with more local west Andean ones appears analogous to the attempt to coordinate Cuni Raya of the coastal peoples with Vira Cocha of the highlanders. The phrase 'the place *they* call Pacha Camac' may be a clue; Rostworowski (1977: 198) notes that local usage called the place and its polity Ychma and only the *huaca* proper Pacha Camac.

554. The section has a marked predominance of dubitative validators, imparting a speculative tone.

555. The allusion is probably to the huge Inca temple still visible at Pachacámac.

556. In most other sources about *capac hucha*, the rite is described not as annual but as a crisis rite called on such occasions as plague, royal succession, or defeat (Duviols 1976). 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 280.

557. Capac Hucha 'opulent prestation': an all-empire sacrificial and redistributive cycle, in which offerings from all the empire's peoples were collected at Cuzco and then redistributed outward to all the empire's shrines and borders. It heavily emphasized burial of human sacrifices, which became new Inca-sponsored shrines (Duviols 1976; Zuidema 1973).

558. Hernández Príncipe tells us that they were spotless children ([1622] 1923: 60), and Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 142) that they were "married" and buried in pairs together.

559. *pachaman* 'to Pacha': alternative translations, none certain, are 'to the earth', 'to the world', or 'to Pacha' (i.e., the first part of the *huaca*'s name).

560. The validation of this sentence is unclear, both *-mi* and *-si* being present.

561. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 282.

562. These six utterances are not in semantic couplets, but their briefness and tight logical linkage gives them the aspect of an oral set-piece.

563. *choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc urpo collc horpo choc tipsi collc tipsi ñiscacunactas cochic carcan quipollamanta*: if one were to reproduce the truncated words as such, it would read: 'gol *auqui* and silver *auqui* (in saying *choqui* we mean gold) and things called gol *urpo* and silv *horpo*, gol *tipsi* and silv *tipsi*, are what they used to have given just according to the *quipu*'.

Choque is the word for gold in the Aymara-related languages; that it needs to be explained suggests a discrepancy of dialect or local culture between the teller and one or more of his audiences: scribe, translator (if there was one), compiler, or expected reader. The reason for

Of these major *huacas*, not a single one went unattended.

284 Following the same criterion, the Inca, when arriving[564] at the shrine of Llocllay Huancupa, would have them feed Sucya Villca the following morning; for there was fear of his father.[565]

This much we know about Pacha Camac, the World Maker.[566]

Regarding Pacha Cuyuchic, the World Shaker, this is what people said:[567]

"When he gets angry, earth trembles.
When he turns his face sideways it quakes.

Lest that happen he holds his face still.
The world would end if he ever rolled over."

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truncation is unknown.

Auqui may be "*auquicuna* the nobles, the *hidalgos*, lords" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 38), meaning Inca princes. Ferrell (n.d.: 5–6) offers "gold miners and silver miners," using a gloss of *auqui* from Perroud and Chouvenc's dictionary (1970?: 14).

Urpo might be 'beer vessel' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 357).

Tipsi remains unknown. Ferrell (n.d.: 7–8) interprets it as meaning *chaquira*, that is, 'small beads', because of likeness to a Junín-Huanca Quechua I term meaning a pinch or nip of something (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a: 133).

The list clearly forms a sixfold (two-sided, three-leveled) ranking of something. Of what? Despite the syntactical fact that *ñiscacunacta* suggests the six items are the things given (*-cta* is a direct object marker), the next sentence strongly suggests the point of the list is to tell the brackets of *huacas* to whom the *quipu* dictated they be given.

Zuidema (personal communication) thinks it is a classification of shrines and their respective priesthoods, citing Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:253). Guaman Poma explains that the Inca state subsidized three levels of *huaca* priests (with Paria Caca being served by the highest). The gold/silver opposition may express moiety or gender dualism.

A *quipu* is a set of cords knotted to make an abacus-like mnemonic record (Ascher and Ascher 1981).

564. *chayaspapas* 'when arriving': or perhaps 'celebrating the Arrival festival' (see chap. 20, sec. 240).

565. *yayanpa manchascan captin*: that is, fear of Llocllay's father, Pacha Camac. But it might also mean 'for he [Llocllay Huancupa] was feared by his [Inca's] father'; that is, that the Incas accepted his cult as a hereditary obligation.

566. This sentence has witness validation.

567. Narrative returns to reportive validation and chapter ends without closing comment.

CHAPTER 23

We Shall Write Here about the Inca's Summons to All the *Huacas*. We Shall Also Speak Here of Maca Uisa's Victory

When Tupay Ynga Yupanqui was king, they say,[568] he first conquered all the provinces and then happily rested for many years.

But then enemy rebellions arose from some provinces:[569] those called Alancu Marca, Calanco Marca,[570] and Chaque Marca.

These peoples didn't want to be peoples of the Inca.

286 The Inca[571] mobilized many thousands of men and battled them for a period of about twelve years.

They exterminated all the people he sent, and so the Inca, grieving deeply, said, "What'll become of us?" He became very downhearted.

287 One day he thought to himself, "Why do I serve all these *huacas* with my gold and my silver, with my clothing and my food, with everything I have? Enough! I'll call them to help me against my enemies."

He summoned them: "From every single village, let all those who have received gold and silver come here!"

288 The *huacas* responded, "Yes!" and went to him. Even Pacha Camac went, riding in a litter, and so did the local *huacas* from the whole of Tauantin Suyo all in their own litters.

When all the village *huacas* had arrived at Aucay Pata,[572] Paria Caca hadn't yet arrived. He was still grumbling, "Should I go or not?"

Finally Paria Caca sent his child Maca Uisa, saying, "Go and find out about it."

289 Maca Uisa arrived and sat at the end of the gathering on his litter called *chicsi rampa*.[573]

Then the Inca began to speak: "Fathers, *huacas* and *villcas*, you already know how wholeheartedly I serve you with my gold and my silver. Since I do so, being at your service as I am, won't you come to my aid now that I'm losing so many thousands of my people? It's for this reason that I've had you called together."[574]

But after he said this not a single one spoke up. Instead they sat there mute.

290 The Inca then said, "Yao! Speak up! Shall the people you've made and fostered perish in this way, savaging one another? If you refuse to help me, I'll have all of you burned immediately!

291 "Why should I serve you and adorn you with my

568. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter lacks the usual introductory passage and starts in reportive *-si* validation. Since the previous chapter lacks concluding comments, this may be the direct continuation of an informant's narrative.

569. *Ilactacunamanta*: *llacta*, usually translated 'village', can carry such expanded meanings as 'province', 'country'.

570. The lower-valley village seen as the outer limit of Tutay Quiri's conquests. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 12 (secs. 170–171).

571. 'The Inca' supplied. The unspecified third person subject might also be the rebel peoples.

572. A plaza in the heart of Incaic Cuzco.

573. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:313) shows a "second person" or alter ego of the Inca riding in his *chicchi ranpa* or 'gray litter'. The suggestion in section 289 seems to be that the litter embodies Paria Caca's authority and Maca Uisa is his "second person." The teller of this chapter knew the Inca usage; see section 294.

574. This passage and Inca speeches in the following sections appear to afford examples of the teller's idea of how Inca political rhetoric sounded, alternately exalted and brutally threatening.

gold, with my silver, with basketfuls of my food and drinks, with my llamas and everything else I have? Now that you've heard the greatness of my grief, won't you come to my aid? If you do refuse, you'll burn immediately!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [from the hand and pen of Thomás][575]

292 Then Pacha Camac spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! As for me, I didn't reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn't be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent."

293 As the other *huacas* sat mute, Maca Uisa then spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! I'll go there. You must remain right here, instructing[576] your people and making plans. I'll go and subdue them for you, right away, once and for all!"

While Maca Uisa spoke, a bright greenish-blue color blew from his mouth like smoke.

294 At that very moment he put on[577] his golden panpipe (his flute was likewise of gold) and he wrapped the *chumprucu*[578] around his head. His *pusuca*[579] was of gold, too, and as for his tunic, it was black.

For Maca Uisa's journey the Inca gave him a litter, called the *chicsi rampa*,[580] made for the travels of an Inca in person.

The people called Calla Uaya[581] were chosen by the Inca because they were all very strong.

These people could carry him, in a few days, a journey of many days.

They were the ones who carried Maca Uisa and bore his litter to the battlefront.

295 As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.

The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.

296 When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. Striking with lightning bolts, he exterminated the great *curacas* and all the other strongmen. Only a few of the common people[582] were spared. If he had wanted to, he could have exterminated them all. When he had overpowered them completely, he drove some of the people back to Cuzco.

297 From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more, and gave him fifty of his retainers.

The Inca said, "Father Maca Uisa, what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint."

"I don't want anything," Maca Uisa replied, "except that you should serve as *huacsa* the way our children[583] from the Yauyo do."

298 The Inca was deeply afraid when he said this,

575. The identity of the scribe(?) Thomás is not known.

576. *carpacuspa* 'instructing': Szemiński (personal communication) suggests that the modern verb *karpay* 'to instruct, to train in mysticism' (Lira [1941] n.d.: 103), although not attested in colonial dictionaries, is a more plausible gloss than one based on *carpani*, that is, 'making your tent'(González Holguín [1608] 1952: 50).

577. *antaricorcan* 'he put on': the verb is not attested in any relevant sense in Quechua dictionaries. Urioste (1983: 183) draws on likeness to *anta* 'copper' to translate as 'he forged'. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 133) have 'he raised'. Taylor (1980: 157) has 'he played' and (1987b) 'he carried'. We draw on the possibility of an Aru borrowing related to Aymara *hanttacutha* 'to put on' (e.g., a frontlet; Bertonio [1612] 1956: 119).

578. *chumprucu*, probably 'turban'. See chapter 20 (sec. 240).

579. *pusucanri*: untranslated. Possibly related to Aymara *phuscanca* 'thigh or rump' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 281), suggesting a lower-body garment, or to *phuska* (modern Quechua) 'spindle with whorl'.

580. Like the *chicsi rampa* litter already mentioned (sec. 289), which Paria Caca presumably assigned to Maca Uisa.

581. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:305) also pictures the *calla uaya* (Kallawaya) as the Inca's fleet-footed litter-bearers. Today a people of this name is still known for wide travels and enjoys special prestige for healing abilities (Bastien 1987; Girault 1984; Saignes 1983). But Callauaya was also the name of an agricultural satellite village of Huarochirí in 1594, according to a petition preserved in the Archbishopric of Lima (Papeles Importantes 3). Whether the two names are related is unknown. See note 604.

582. *atun runacunallas*: *atun runa* 'common people' is more literally 'big man' (or 'person'). This was the Inca bureaucratic term for an able-bodied tribute-paying adult.

583. *ñocaycup churijcuna* 'our children': exclusive first person plural (i.e., children of Maca Uisa and his kin, and not of the Inca). The plural form may express Maca Uisa's self-concept as part of the plural Paria Caca persona.

and answered, "Very well then, father!" He was willing to offer Maca Uisa anything at all, for he thought to himself, "He could destroy me, too!"

299 The Inca then said, "Father, eat!" and had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand:

"I am not in the habit of eating stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells!"

As soon as the Inca gave him thorny oyster shells, Maca Uisa ate them all at once, making them crunch with a "Cap cap" sound.

300 Since Maca Uisa didn't want anything else to eat, the Inca ordered some of his Inca ladies of the nobility assigned to him; but he didn't agree to that either.

So Maca Uisa went back home to inform his father Paria Caca.

From then on, and for a long time afterward, the Inca acted as *huacsa* in Xauxa and danced ceremonially, holding Maca Uisa in great honor.

301 They gathered in Cuzco at Aucay Pata square as we mentioned, the *huacas*, all of them.[584]

Among these *huacas* seated there, as we said before,[585] it was Siua Caña Villca Coto who was the most beautiful of all. None of the other *huacas* could match this one in beauty.

This much we know about them.[586]

584. This sentence appears to have witness validation, but a slight lack of clarity in sentence boundaries makes it difficult to evaluate.

585. Not in fact mentioned before under the name Siua Caña. This allusion may mean that the lovely *huaca* embodying Villca Coto, the mountain that saved humanity (chap. 3), was represented in the Inca pantheon under a personal name Siua Caña.

586. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 24

Next We Shall Write about the Customs of the Checa, the Machua Yunca Festival and Its Dances, and, Finally, about the Origin of the People

302 When we talked in a different chapter about the children of Paria Caca, we already said a few things about their birth.

The story of their birth and their origin is like this.

Some people say[587] that there was a wild *quinua*[588] plant in the vicinity of Upper Paria Caca—the same one that's called *quinua* until today—and that humans emerged from its fruit there.

303 Other people say that blood once fell from the high heavens.[589]

It hit the ground at the spot called Vichi Cancha, in the area of that same *quinua*.

304 There the founders[590] established their villages:

Coña Sancha, founder of the Allauca,
Yuri Naya, founder of the Sat Pasca,
Chupa Yacu, founder of the Sulc Pahca,

587. Up to this point, including the verb *rimancu* 'say', the passage has witness validation, but it now shifts to *-si* reportive.

588. *quinua*: *Chenopodium quinoa*. "The nutritious seeds of this plant furnish a staple food for a large segment of the native population of Peru, replacing maize in the higher altitudes of the Andes. The red, white, or black seeds are used whole to thicken soup, to make chicha, or to be ground into flour. The ashes of the stalks may be combined with the leaves of coca, a combination that is said to increase the flavor of the latter" (Towle 1961: 36).

589. Chapter 24 owes its complexity to an antiphonal structure. It intertwines two strains of mythology (Yunca and Yauyo) and details a ritual regimen expressing the two groups' coexistence. Section 302 alludes to the origin myth of ancient Yunca *ayllu*-founders seen as the aboriginal precursors of Checa society. In ancient times, when the heights were all under Yunca power, these were born of the high-altitude *quinua* plant. Section 303 alludes to the origin of the blood-born invader groups who would impose themselves by conquest and inmarriage. In the rest of chapter 24 we learn that the blood-born groups from Vichi Cancha, who invaded Checa lands and defined the genealogy of Paria Caca so as to exalt their own mummified heroes (especially Tutay Quiri; chap. 12, sec. 167), nonetheless retained the mummies of the ancient *quinua*-born Yunca founders (sec. 341; chap. 9, sec. 115) and were concerned to claim linkage with them as a sign of legitimacy. Yunca privileges appear to be a continuing source of anxiety for Tutay Quiri's descendants and Paria Caca is made to chasten the haughty Yunca *ayllu* of Caca Sica for slighting their Yauyo in-laws (secs. 305–314). The invader groups putatively descended from Tutay Quiri claimed to have taken over and preserved the Yunca founders' names, rights, and *huacas* wholesale (sec. 316). *Quinua*-born *ayllus* like Caca Sica, which were permanently considered Yunca (perhaps because they contained Yunca people or perhaps only because they had obtained the old Yunca titles), enjoyed priestly privileges and danced the role of Yuncas in the Machua Yunca rites (secs. 327–340) as well as taking prominent part in Paria Caca's ceremonies; other rites (secs. 316–326) celebrated the invader-heroes. The unifying theme of this chapter is the ritual arrangement that in Checa joined the Yunca inheritance, symbolizing legitimacy, to the power-oriented ritual of blood-born *huacas* affiliated (perhaps only after the remembered invasions) with Paria Caca.

590. 'The founders' supplied; subject of *llactachacorcan* 'they founded' unspecified. An important fragmentary note by Avila, accidentally included in his trial record and interpreted by Taylor (1987b: 353), clearly identifies three of these (Chupa Yacu, Yuri Naya, and Chauca Chimpita) as founding heroes of San Damián–area *ayllus*. They were described as "grandfathers" ceremonially fêted and clothed, that is, mummies. They were still extant c. 1608.

Paco Masa, founder of the Yasapa,
Chauca Chimpita, founder of the Muxica,
and, as founders of Caca Sica, those Yunca[591] we have called Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha.

All these, the actual founders of the village, were Yunca people.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Huari Cancha Llichic Cancha were Yunca.]

305 The others, the Morales of Caca Sica and also the forefathers of the Cancha Paycu, were Yauyo.[592]
<**margin**:> [Morales Yauyo]
Their place of origin is called Maurura,[593] in the Aya Uire[594] area.
These people, who used to roam around as wild[595] nomads, married the sisters of Huar Cancha. "We and our in-laws will work things out among ourselves within the community," they said, and they settled down in this village.

306 When these people went to worship Paria Caca, their in-laws and all the Checa insulted them, calling them "Yauyo wildmen," so they used to go last, lagging way behind.
Since they suffered miserably when these people insulted them like that, they tagged along in the rear for a great many years.
"Father," they told Paria Caca on one occasion, "here's how it is: these people,[596] they and the Checa, insult us all the time. And we're your own creatures, even if we're Yauyo people!" They cried bitterly as they told this.

307 Then and there Paria Caca gave his command: "Children, don't grieve. Take with you this, my golden headdress. You must dance holding it up in Llacsa Tambo, at the place called Poco Caya. Then they'll say, awestruck, 'What people are these? They're the beloved of Paria Caca!' From that time on they won't insult you so."

308 And so when the Yauyos arrived in the rear of the Checa, carrying that golden headdress of Paria Caca's, jubilant, the other people were seized with fear.
The next day, the Yauyos danced and sang holding up the golden headdress while everybody in that place stood awestruck.

309 Some others say this:[597] in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*.
Even though at that time they deeply scorned the ones called "wild Yauyos," they said, "Let them carry offerings,[598] too."
The Yauyos did take them but they arrived at Paria Caca when the sun was already rising.

310 Because they were grieving bitterly, Paria Caca said, "Why are you so distressed, O Anta Capsi?" (Their old name had been Pacuyri.)
Then and there Paria Caca bestowed on them his gift, saying, "Take along this golden headdress. When people see it they'll no longer scorn you."

311 On one occasion they went to worship Paria Caca, carrying along the golden headdress.
But while they were crossing the river called Pari Ayri they dropped it.
They searched for it like anything, all the way upstream and downstream. But it didn't turn up, so they went to Paria Caca without it.

312 When they arrived on the morrow, the golden headdress stood there right at Paria Caca's side.
Although they begged for it in tears, he refused. Rebuking them harshly, Paria Caca said, "You didn't win it in victorious warfare, that you should go around showing it off everywhere so boastfully, and even bringing it here, thinking, 'We'll show it to the one who gives us power, to our maker.' "

591. Original has *yañcacuna*; since these groups are elsewhere said to be *yancas* (chap. 17, sec. 218), the translation '*yanca*' would be tenable here. But the next marginal note indicates the meaning here as Yunca.

592. The point being that the Caca Sica *ayllu* (chap. 9, sec. 118; chap. 17, sec. 216), although of ancient Yunca origin, had within it a Yauyo group called Morales. Recently in-married and of foreign stock, they were scorned, as succeeding sections tell.

593. Maurura may be Malleuran, a hamlet north of Ayaviri, 3,346 m above sea level in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

594. A modern town called Ayaviri is 29 km south-southeast of Huarochiri in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

595. As in the name of Quita Pariasca (chap. 18, sec. 221), the word *quita* 'wild' alludes to the qualities of untamed or skittish animals.

596. Meaning: the Yauyos' immediate in-laws?

597. Witness validation up to the colon, then *-si* reportive.

598. 'Offerings' supplied.

313 "Father, are we to be humiliated so?" they cried bitterly. "Please, return it to us or give us something else instead."

"Children," replied Paria Caca, "go back. I'll give you something during my sister Chaupi Ñamca's festival. Wait until then."

And so back they went.

314 And as he'd foretold, on Chaupi Ñamca's festival, in the courtyard called Yauri Callinca, on top of the wall, a very beautifully spotted wildcat appeared.

When they saw it, they exclaimed joyfully, "This is what Paria Caca meant!" and they held up its skin as they danced and sang with it.

(Hernando Cancho Uillca, who used to live in Tumna, was in charge of it.

But by now it's probably gone all rotten.)[599]

315 We've already spoken about the origin of the people.[600]

Those whom we mentioned are said to be Tutay Quiri's children; the others are known to have come forth from the fruit of a tree.[601]

As for Tutay Quiri, they say he was born in Vichi Cancha.[602]

Later on, he came and overpowered all the villages of this area, saying, "My children will live here!"

316 As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children[603] had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations.[604] Their names, by *ayllu*, were:

Allauca
Sat Pasca
Pasa Quine
Muxica
Caca Sica
Sulc Pahca
Yasapa.[605]

When we say Yasapa we mean silversmiths. They were silversmiths.

And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllus*.[606]

317 Then, after sharing the villages out among themselves, they received their *huacas*, ranking them from Allauca downward:

The Allauca received Maca Calla.

The Sat Pasca, we know,[607] received Quimquilla.

This Quimquilla was considered to be[608] a *curaca* among *huacas*, and for this reason was esteemed more than any other.

318 Next, the Sulc Pahca and the Yasapa received the *huaca* called Ricra Huanca.

The Muxica received Quira Raya.[609]

The Caca Sica received the *huaca* named Llucma Suni.

The Huanri and the Chauti were in fact[610] the actual natives of the village from early times.

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599. The first sentence of the parenthesis has witness validation and the second *-si* reportive.

600. This sentence has witness validation. A different version of how invaders took over the system created by the *quinua*-born founders begins here. This version centers on cults of mummified or preserved heroes of invasion: Tutay Quiri (see note 601), Ñan Sapa (secs. 319–323), and Chuta Cara (secs. 324–326).

601. That is, the above-mentioned Yauyos are Tutay Quiri's children, while those who scorned them were of the *quinua*-born Yunca founding *ayllus* (sec. 302). 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which immediately gives way to witness validation ('are known to have').

602. That is, Tutay Quiri is of the blood-born (sec. 303).'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 317.

603. 'Tutay Quiri's children' supplied.

604. That is, the conquerors not only seized the wealth of the vanquished, but even organized themselves according to the pattern and terminology of preexisting autochthonous society. A lawsuit of 1594 explains that *ayllu* Callaguaya of Huarochirí (see chap. 23, sec. 294) took on this name by displacing a Yunca group of the same name (Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima, Papeles Importantes 3, f. 10r). See note 581.

605. This list of captured categories differs in order but not in content from the list associating these groups with their respective ancestral Yuncas in section 304.

606. *chaypac sutintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin ayllocunapas* 'And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllus*': may mean that the other captured names, like Yasapa, imply specializations.

607. This sentence has witness validation.

608. 'Considered to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

609. This sentence has witness validation.

610. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following sentence.

In a different chapter we already told how they worshiped Tutay Quiri.[611]

319 So, as we've said, as soon as Tutay Quiri finished his conquests, his children came here and danced their dance of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha.[612] They danced and sang, calling the rite Masoma. The one called Ñan Sapa was a human being.[613]

Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.[614]

But they made another one to be his proxy.

This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.[615]

320 They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri*[616] in his ears and bore the *canah yauri*[617] scepter in his hands.

In ancient times, these were made of pure gold.

The Inca carried off that gold.

His staff was named Engraved Rod.[618]

And the seashell named *cori cacya* came with it.

321 Saying, "He is our origin; it was he who first came to this village and took charge of it," people flayed his face[619] and made it dance as if in his own persona.

If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying, "This is our valor!"

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, "Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first."[620]

322 Obeying this, they'd offer food and drinks to the other *huayos*, saying, "This day you shall dance with me on the plaza."

They actually[621] used to bring out the *huayos* and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with their maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings.

323 About this hanging of *huayos*, people remarked,[622] "The *huayos* will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha,[623] carrying these things along with them."

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611. See chapter 11 (sec. 161). Though not of invader stock and not resident in Checa, these groups take part in many Checa rites (see chap. 20, sec. 239), including those of Tutay Quiri. The next four sentences have reportive validation.

612. Vichi Cancha: where blood fell and invader groups originated (sec. 303).

613. Possibly meaning that this *huaca* consisted of a human mummy, that of a key ancestor. His cult is apparently one component of the "dances of origin" by which invader lineages commemorated their ties to the mummified founders (sec. 304).

614. This may refer to the Inca custom of removing important local *huacas* for inclusion in the Cuzco pantheon, which is the theme of chapter 23. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

615. The removal of the original *huaca* by the Inca is validated with reportive but the removal of its substitute by Avila is witness-validated ('we know').

616. *rinri* 'ear' indicates this was a specific type of earspool. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 322.

617. *yauri* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347) means 'scepter' or possibly 'lance'.

618. *quillcas caxo* 'Engraved Rod': a marginal note (supp. II, sec. 480) tells us that *caxo* meant a stick; *quillcas* means 'painted', 'inlaid', or 'engraved'. Avila himself described this object as "a copper spear engraved with various designs" that functioned as a *huaca* in its own right ([1645] 1918: 67).

619. *oyanta cochuspa* 'flayed his face': that is, made a sacred mask that would conserve the persona of the fallen or sacrificially killed hero (and not as torture of the living). *Huayo* in the next passage means, as a 1609 Jesuit report (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247) explains, a human face prepared as a mask "with its actual skin and bone." When the preserved face was displayed in a dance, it received offerings of llama fat in return for sharing its vital powers.

620. The point appears to be that when a captive faced sacrifice, he asked that, both immediately before his death and ever afterward when transformed into a facemask, he always be duly fêted before entering into his conquerors' ceremonies.

621. 'Actually' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

622. This sentence and the next have reportive validation.

623. Uma Pacha, we learn in section 324, was apparently a *huaca* who came from Vichi Cancha, and represented the origin of a group that saw itself as derived from the blood fallen at Vichi Cancha (sec. 303). In chapter 31 (sec. 403), the invaders' union with the Yunca autochthones of Checa is cemented when the surviving Yunca boy Yasali becomes priest of Uma Pacha and serves the blood-born groups derived from Vichi Cancha.

But Uma Pacha is probably a generic category of *sacra* (from the Jaqi word *uma* 'water'), associated with high lakes and seemingly imagined as sources at which bio-

They would speak with a different pronunciation when they addressed one another, twisting their mouths to one side.[624]

During Ñan Sapa's festival, we know they carried on dancing for five days, and the Allauca did the same.[625]

324 In another place, there was said to be someone called Chuta Cara, also known as Uma Pacha.[626] <**margin**:> [Masoma Chuta Cara]

He himself had come from Vichi Cancha along with the others.

He existed as a man and congealed into stone.

He still held the sling he'd used as a human being, and his *visa*[627] was decorated with likenesses of birds.

325 And then there was the *huana paya*, a conch trumpet; when he blew it, the local *huacas*[628] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Means 'idol'.] would divide up the llama herds.

He emerged with that very object.

It was because of the llamas that some people conserved *huana paya* conch trumpets.

We know people from Allauca used to perform these rites at the festival of Chuta Cara.[629] As llama owners, the Checa and the Concha and whatever other people also display those conch trumpets.

326 And it's known that[630] they danced these same rites for two years, just one time per year.

Therefore, since the ritual cycle lasted two years, they performed the dance only twice in all.

After that, they danced the dance named Machua for two years.[631]

327 The people who, as we said before, had Yunca names[632] were the ones who danced for two years in Machua festival season.

Braiding[633] some straw called *chupa*, as they say,[634] and tying together a lot of wooden slats,

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logical vitality is renewed. The mostly Yunca-oriented Machua rite also addresses it (sec. 335). The ethnographers Valderrama and Escalante (1988: 187–189) suggest that the shrine today called Umahala in the Colca valley belongs to the same class as ancient *oma pacha*.

624. In modern Quechua folk ritual, people performing as mythic personages often speak in unnatural ways (especially falsetto). But another reading is possible. Since Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 304) gives "*simicta qquencuchini* to twist one's words toward another matter, or not to say plainly and truthfully what one has heard," *chaysi rimacospapas huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochispa rimac carcan* might be read 'when speaking of this, they used to give a different version, distorting their testimony'. The point would then be that, prior to Avila's research, natives dissembled about the tradition of rites involving human trophies. Or, less probably, the sentence might simply mean that other people recount other versions.

625. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied).

626. The narrative now turns to a third formerly human *huaca* who led the invaders from Vichi Cancha. 'Was said to be' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

627. *visa* untranslated. 'Shield'?

628. *llactacuna* in original appears to mean 'villages' or 'settlements'. But, as the marginal note clarifies, it is used here to designate the local deities who were understood as the patrons of human settlements.

629. Could also mean the rites were performed in order from Allauca downward (sec. 317). 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

630. 'It's known that' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following three sentences, which form a passage about the calendric organization of dances.

631. The succession described appears to be an alternation of two-year cycles:

	year 1 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE A	
	year 2 Second *mita* of Chuta Cara
	year 3 First *mita* of Machua
CYCLE B	
	year 4 Second *mita* of Machua
	year 5 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE A	
	(and so forth).

632. That is, the groups that in section 316 were said to have received the names of pre-existing Yunca groups and taken over their *huacas*. The overall sense is that the Checa community, which was formed by conquest and intermarriage between blood-born invaders from Vichi Cancha and *quinua*-born Yunca aborigines, alternated between two-year periods in which it celebrated Vichi Cancha origins (e.g., in the Masoma rites honoring Ñan Sapa and Chuta Cara as just described) and two-year periods for the rites now to be described, which are rich in Yunca symbolism.

633. *pirtaspas* 'braiding': Taylor (1987b: 381) originated this reading, still conjectural but warranted by *piltay* 'to braid' in modern Tarma and Ancash Quechua.

634. 'As they say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 328.

they'd bind[635] two effigy bundles around with the straw.

The height of these bundles was seven and a half armlengths.

Their girth was about what we could hold in a two-armed embrace. On these effigies' heads they'd put some wild straw named *casira*.[636] It has bright red roots. "It's their hair," they'd say.

328 Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.

The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.[637]

After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*,[638] and they'd begin to let fly at the targets.[639] Their spear was called *vihco*.[640]

329 We know that on the day before this spear-throwing everybody used to go to the *caullamas*.[641] They brought their llamas along adorned with bells and earrings, just as they did on their way to Paria Caca.

All the people would reportedly[642] go to Chaucalla and to the mountain of Tambo Sica, named Curri, each going to his respective *caullama*.[643]

As they traveled to their *caullamas*, they'd go along blowing the conch trumpet, making it resound again and again.

It was in fact[644] for this purpose that each of these people and some who just chanced on them[645] would carry and display these conch shells.

330

<**margin**:> [*chuta*]

As soon as they'd erected the two *chutas* they began to throw the spears.

They say that[646] while the people threw spears, while they entered into competition hurling spears *ayllu* by *ayllu*, the women would dance without drums and chant these words:

"Receive your poor forlorn children!"

And to the Huasca effigy, they'd likewise say,

"Receive, too, your poor forlorn children!"[647]

331 If these spear throwers hit the *chuta*'s hair, then whichever person was in charge[648] advanced them into the top rank ahead of all the other *ayllu* members.

Then he'd[649] bring a macaw wing or any such thing and give it to the *yanca*.

332 [The *yanca* of the Checa afterward is known to

635. *pilluic carcan* 'they'd bind': on the assumption that *pilluic* is an agentive form, erroneously or irregularly written, of *pilluy* 'to bind', and not related to *pilluini* 'to swim' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 285).

636. Unidentified.

637. Taylor (1980: 171) has observed that the terms *yomca* and *huasca* may be interpretable in the light of "Aymara-type transformations which characterize the text." If affected by the same metathesis that causes *ñamca* to appear at times as *ñamoc*, *yomca* might be *yumac* 'inseminator' (i.e., patrilineal progenitor). Adducing an additional southern Quechua shift, Taylor suggests *Huasca* might be interpreted *huachac* 'one who gives birth' (perhaps implying 'matrilineal ancestress').

638. *tamta* 'feather ruff': same word occurring in chapter 5 in the name of the opulent Tamta Ñamca (see Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation).

639. 'At the targets' supplied. The sentence has witness validation.

640. *vihco*: an otherwise unattested word, perhaps related to modern *wikch'uy* 'to throw'. 'Their spear' supplied.

641. *caullama*: Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 29; Keating's translation) says a *caullama* was a household deity guaranteeing fertility of livestock. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('We know that' supplied).

642. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this and the next sentence.

643. Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) says rights in each *caullama* were inherited as a *mayorazgo* (i.e., a privilege descending in primogeniture).

644. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this and the next sentence.

645. *taricnincunaca* 'who just chanced on them': more literally, 'their finders'; it is not clear whether this means finders of conch shells or those who happened to meet people on the procession.

646. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 331.

647. In the invocations to both the male-engendering and the female-bearing effigies, the word for 'child' is *churi*, 'child of a male'. In ordinary speech the child of a female is called *huahua* and not *churi*. It sounds as though both effigies are being addressed as fathers. One possible explanation of the anomaly would be to take *churi* as the "unmarked" term, including all forms of parentage not specified as uterine mother-child tie and therefore including figurative or symbolic motherhood. Alternatively, one might take the two effigies as being in fact both male, one the father of males and the other of females.

648. 'Was in charge' supplied.

649. Or 'she'd'. Whether an officiant or the successful lancer brought it is not explicit. The implication may be that the macaw wing was given to a *yanca* representing the victorious *ayllu*.

have been[650] Martín Misa Yauri, and the late Juan Chumpi Yauri was that of the Allauca.)

333 After one *ayllu* finished throwing, the *yanca* would reportedly[651] shin up the *chuta* effigy carrying the macaw wing called *puypu*.

He'd pull out the *vihco* spear and stick the macaw wing in where it had hit, to mark the spot.[652]

Then another *ayllu* would compete, and then still another, and so forth.

334 Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,

"She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"

and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,

"He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods,[653] and all kinds of animals!"

335 When they'd finished throwing spears at both *chuta* effigies, the contestants who'd hit the hair or the part called the "eye" would present one of their llamas to the *yanca* and say, "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha."

Regarding this small llama, the llama-owner wouldn't take away much of it.[654] No matter how many llamas there might be, it was only those who'd been ordained *yanca* who could take them away and eat them.

336 Very early the next morning, we know,[655] all the people would go to Quimquilla.

They say[656] this *huaca* called Quimquilla owned a whole lot of llamas and all sorts of other possessions.

"He'll favor me with some of that wealth!" thought all the people, including the Allauca, as they went along. "I'll ask for some llamas for myself there."

337 On their way there, they used to carry a small amount of their *ticti*, maize beer, and coca leaf, and they made the *huana paya* conch trumpet resound over and over.

On the first day, those of the *vichoc* moiety[657]—that is, all the Sat Pasca, the Sulc Pahca, and Yasapa—would dance at Quimquilla shrine itself, chanting,

"We flourish!"

as they slaughtered their llamas.

338 Then, as we know,[658] they went down to the flat land that lies above the place where Quira Raya was located.[659]

(This plateau is called Huara Caya.)

Then, just as they'd erected Yomca and Huasca effigies in Llacsa Tambo, so also they set up *chuta* effigies the same way here, this time for llamas.

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650. 'Is known to have been' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

651. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 335.

652. The figure of Tamta Ñamca, whom Huatya Curi cured in chapter 5 when all the land was Yunca, shares some of the symbolism of this section and its motif of Yunca-derived ceremony. His name Tamta alludes to the ceremonial garment *tamta* (sec. 328), and his roof decorated with macaw wings resembles the straw effigy similarly decorated here. Contests played for ceremonial rank form the climax of his story as of this rite. A 1609 Jesuit report describes a different ritual game of skill employing feather decorations and Yunca costumes (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247).

653. *chauaracta* 'agave fiber goods': based on "*chhahuar* cabuya" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 92). *Cabuya* or agave fiber is widely used to make rope, coarse sandals, harnesses, and so forth. Taylor (1987b: 386) explains the discrepancy between *-racta* and the expected *-rta* as an "Aru [i.e., Jaqi] influence."

654. *anchantaca* 'much of it': given the information in the next sentence, it is tempting to read *anchantaca* as an error for *aychantaca*, 'its meat'.

655. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

656. Return to reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 337.

657. *vichuc maricuna* 'those of the *vichoc* moiety': *ichoc* is the usual term complementary to *allauca*. Chapter 11 (sec. 157) has *allaucam ari vichocam ari*, which we translate as 'both the *allauca* moiety and the *vichoc* moiety'. If this is emended to *allaucamari . . . vichocamari* (as in Taylor 1980: 94), *vichuc maricuna* here becomes clearly intelligible in moiety terms. Referring back to sections 304 and 316 would yield a system under which *vichoc* Checa includes the three *ayllus* named here, and *allauca* Checa includes Allauca, Muxica, and Caca Sica.

There are other possibilities: *vichuc mari* might be the name of an otherwise unattested group comparable with Sat Pasca and the others. Or *vichuc* might be an agentive form of a verb derived from *vihco*, the ceremonial spear (sec. 328). None of these account for the otherwise unknown word or morpheme *mari* (which seems also to occur in the name of Paria Caca's last or next to last "son" Sasin Mari; see chap. 9, sec. 113; chap. 12, sec. 166).

658. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 340.

659. Quira Raya may be the name of a settlement destroyed by *reducción*, the forced resettlement of the 1580s, or of a *huaca*.

They threw their spears for llamas, both males and females.

339 At the end of the spear throwing, they used to give their llamas to the *yanca* just as they had in Llacsa Tambo, saying, "Worship on my behalf and I shall be well."

On their way back here, they'd travel all in a group, just as when they went away to Quimquilla; they came back hauling their llamas adorned with bells.

340 They call this journey the Carco Caya.

About the way they traveled, with a slow and undulating motion,[660] people said, "We're rounding the Huaroca."[661]

As they rounded the Huaroca, they'd go along blowing the *huana paya* conch trumpet over and over again.

This is all we know, all we know about the Machua festival.[662]

341 About these Yunca populations in Llacsa Tambo, some people say, "They were reputedly Muta Caya people."

"They were Colli," others say.[663] Just so. But the ones we referred to as Colli resided in Yaru Tini.[664]

In what follows we'll write about this group's life.

660. *coyoi coyoilla* 'with a slow and undulating motion': might also be read 'just barely moving'.

661. Untranslated; the verb *tumani* denotes circular motion so it may be the name of a round monolith or hill. Or if Huaroca is not a proper noun but a variant of the similar word meaning 'sling', the phrase might be a metaphor for a swinging motion like that of a sling.

662. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

663. The issue is whether the Yunca people resident in Checa lands were members of the Yunca polity of Collique (near Lima) or of the (otherwise unknown) Muta Caya. Both contrasting opinions are expressed with reportive validation ('reputedly'); that is, the people cited contrary traditions.

664. Yaru Tini may be modern Yelutina, 15 km northwest of San Damián (IGM 1954), a high location far from the coast.

CHAPTER 25

342

Here We Shall Write How the Wind Blew the Colli People from Yaru Tini Down to the Lower Yunca[665]

The native people whom we call Colli are said to have[666] resided in Yaru Tini.

One day Paria Caca arrived in Yaru Tini, their village, while the Colli were drinking.

Taking a seat at the far end of the banquet, Paria Caca sat there like a poor miserable stranger.

343 Not a single person was willing to offer him a drink.

Only one man finally invited him to drink.

"Give me some more, brother," said Paria Caca to the one who'd offered him the drink.

The man gave him more.

Paria Caca then asked, "Please give me a quid of your coca leaf."

The man[667] gave it to him.

344 Paria Caca said to him, "Brother, when I come back here, you'd better hold on tight to this tree. Don't tell these people anything. Let them have their fun." Then he went away.

345 Five days later, a violent wind rose up.

This wind whirled every single person of the Colli head over heels two or three times and whisked them off into the far distance.

When it swept them off, some of them wandered around disoriented and died.

Others the wind brought alive to a mountain in the vicinity of Carhuayllo.

This mountain is called Colli mountain up to today. The people of the mountain, however, have perished. Not one of them is left.

346 But that one man who'd given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he'd been told, and was spared.

When Paria Caca was finished sweeping everything away, he said to him, "Brother, now you're alone by yourself. You must stay here forever. Later, when my children come to worship me from this spot, a quartet of guest *huacsas*[668] (that means four)[669] will provide coca leaf for you to chew in perpetuity.

"As for your name," he added, "you shall be

665. This myth appears related to chapter 11 (sec. 155), which alludes to the expulsion of some Colli Yunca to lands bordering Carhuayllo.

666. 'Said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 346.

667. 'The man' supplied.

668. *corpaya huacçacuna* 'guest *huacsas*': the sense is uncertain; *corpaya* may be derived from "*ccorpa* guest" or (less probably) "*ccorppa* clod or clump of turf" (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 69); *-ya* remains unexplained. That they number four is also odd. This myth does not seem relevant to Incaic fourfold (*tahuantin*) organization, while five and its multiples usually signify plenitude in Paria Caca's mythology.

669. *chusco quiere dezir cuatro* 'a quartet . . . (that means four)': this Spanish explanatory parenthesis indicates that someone—teller, translator, scribe, or editor—expected the audience to be unfamiliar with *chusco* 'four', a word common in the Andean north but different from the usual south Andean word *tahua*. The translation uses the Latinate word 'quartet' to contrast with more familiar 'four' and thereby suggest the feeling of lexical discrepancy.

called Capac Huanca."[670] And he froze the man[671] into stone.

347 When Señor Doctor Avila came to the very spot where Capac Huanca dwelled, he in fact[672] broke the *huaca*[673] with some other people's help.

After he broke it, he heaved it downhill.

This much we know about the people called Colli.

And so, exactly according to Paria Caca's command, the *huacsa*s yearly provided that *huaca* with coca to chew forever.

670. *Huanca*s were and are *huaca*s in the shape of monoliths; *capac*, the opposite of *huaccha* 'poor and friendless', means 'rich and influential'. Like chapter 24, this story explains in mythic terms how the conquest of the Yunca who once occupied the heights resulted in retention of Yunca *huaca*s.

671. 'The man' supplied.

672. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence and the remainder of the chapter.

673. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

CHAPTER 26

348

How Paria Caca Defeated Maca Calla. How He Established His Children after His Victory[674]

We know[675] that Maca Calla lived on a mountain overlooking the village of San Damián.

It was on this Maca Calla mountain that the aboriginal people of that village reputedly[676] lived, the ones called Pihcca Marca.

The ones called the Sutica are known to have[677] lived there, too.

One day while these villagers were drinking, they say,[678] Paria Caca arrived in the village.

Arriving, he sat down at the far end of the banquet.

349 As he was sitting there, not a single person offered him a drink.

Paria Caca got angry, and so, five days later, he rose up as red rain and yellow rain and exterminated that village.

350 Some people tell another story.[679]

They say[680] some of the aboriginal villagers in Maca Calla were playing with the hunting *bolas*. Others were drinking.

Meanwhile, a little puff of fog[681] appeared out of the high mountain called Canlli.

And then, little by little, some rain, a red rain, started to fall.

Then lightning began to flash.

351 Everybody got scared when these things happened. "What's this?" they wondered, never having seen anything like it.

Some said, "It's the enemy!" and took a defensive stand.

Others ran away.

352 One was a man called Armicu.

He had lots of children, and rousing them, he cried, "Come on, let's go, let's go and die on our own field!" They ran away to their field.

When they arrived at their field, he[682] froze them and turned them into stone.

That man who turned to stone stands there still, like a man with his children. Even today people call them the Armicu.

353 Some people tried to escape, but wherever they fled the red rain caught up with them. Right on the spot they turned to stone.

The rest of the people back in Maca Calla also froze into stone the same way.

354 Weeping bitterly, one man of the Sutica *ayllu*

674. This chapter expands on how the Allauca 'received' Maca Calla (chap. 24, sec. 317).

675. San Damián de Checa is a *reducción* village on the Lurín headwaters at 3,235 m above sea level 22 km west-northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). This sentence has witness validation.

676. 'Reputedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

677. 'Are known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The remainder of sections 348 and 349 have reportive validation ('they say').

678. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 349.

679. This sentence has witness validation.

680. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the fourth sentence of section 357.

681. *aslla pucutay* 'a little puff of fog': 'fog' supplied; *-tay* unexplained.

682. Reference unclear; could be Paria Caca or Armicu.

said, "Maca Calla, my only father, will it be my lot to up and leave you, just like that? I have to get away right now. There's no more force left in me to overcome this miracle."[683] While he wept, Maca Calla's head fell down right before him.

He picked the head up where it fell, and made it fly away instantly transformed into a falcon.

This man was imbued with a mighty shamanic power!

355 Maca Calla was just like a man, with a head, feet, and hands.

So, after he made the head escape, the man settled again on five mountains in Llantapa[684] and multiplied.

We call the mountains where he settled, where he built the villages, Pihcca Marca.[685]

356 Maca Calla's head exists in Pihcca Marca until today.

The people there say, "Here, we have Maca Calla's protection," and they call their firstborn children Canricha. Likewise the Allauca, who are also members of a community affiliated with Maca Calla, call them Canricha just as the Pihcca Marca do.[686]

357 Later, Tutay Quiri went and conquered them.

During that time, the *ayllu*s called Sutica returned to this area. "We'll go and settle amid our fields and our land, amid our villages. We'll fear and revere Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri," they said, and they came back.

In the village of San Damián the Sutica are now completely extinct.[687] Their survivors are in Sucsa Cancha, in Tumna.

683. *milagrocta* 'miracle': usage of the Spanish term 'miracle' to signify a disastrous supernatural retribution is characteristic of Andean writing in this period. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980) consistently assimilated it to the Andean idea *pachacuti* 'world-changing disaster'.

684. Perhaps the suggestion is that the five members just mentioned—head, feet, and hands—reconstituted themselves as the five parts of Pihcca Marca. Llantapa mountain was one end of the mythic bridge over the Lurín valley (chap. 5, sec. 73).

685. Pihcca Marca means 'Five Settlements'. This may refer to a five-peaked mountain called Cerro Cinco Cerros ('Five Hills Hill'), visible from San Damián and identified locally as the site of an extinct community.

686. See chapter 24 (sec. 317).

687. Like the genealogical part of chapter 31 (secs. 443–446) this passage apparently alludes to the extinction of whole named corporate groups in the course of the European-introduced epidemics. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 27

How in Former Times, on the Fifth Day after Their Death, People Said, "I'm Back!"[688] We Shall Write about These Things

358

In very ancient times, they say,[689] when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.

The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"[690]

When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."

359 Some people say, "At that time Paria Caca didn't exist yet, so the souls flew up high to Yauri Llancha."

<**margin,** in Quechua:> [Before Paria Caca or Caruincho appeared, people emerged at Yauri Llancha and at the place called Vichi Cancha.][691]

360 The dead used to come back[692] after five days.

When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoice immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.

They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"

361 And so, at that time, people swiftly increased in number. They lived in great suffering, miserably gathering their food, terracing both cliffs and ledges for their fields.

362 When things were like that, a certain man died. After his death his elders, his brothers, and his wife waited for him on the fifth day, when he was due to arrive back.

But the man didn't arrive. It was on the next day, that is, on the sixth day, that he arrived.

So his elders, brothers, and wife were feeling furious as they waited for him.

When he arrived, his wife was enraged, and she gave him a terrible bawling out: "Why are you so damn lazy? Other people never let us down by failing to come. But you, yesterday you made us wait for you, and all for nothing!"

363 In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.

The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.

Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.

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688. This myth evidently belongs to the body of belief about primordial times, because section 359 says major *huacas* had yet to appear and because the content is prefigured in chapter 1 (sec. 4).

689. Except for the title, this chapter is entirely in reportive validation and contains no evidently editorial insertions.

690. *animanri huc chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan* 'The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!" ': the Spanish and Latin term *anima* may be an attempt to render the sense of terms like *upani* (Duviols 1978), referring to a light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person. A fly, which is a light, dry, flying form of life that emerges from the dead body, may be a metaphor for, or the actual body of, this Andean 'anima' (see chap. 28, sec. 367).

691. Yauri Llancha is the place from which the conquerors of Concha (chap. 31, secs. 389, 394, 446) are said to have originated. Vichi Cancha is the place from which the conquerors of Checa originated (chap. 24, secs. 303, 315, 319, 324; chap. 31, sec. 389). The selection of Yauri Llancha as the *pacarina* or origin shrine to which the dead return suggests that this chapter has a Concha source.

692. That is, presumably, came back as flies and then recovered their full human bodies. Otherwise the next passage would not make sense.

CHAPTER 28

364

How People Used to Feed the Spirits of the Dead[693] during Paria Caca's Festival and How They Thought about All Saints' Day in Former Times[694]

In another chapter[695] we have already told how, when people traveled to worship Paria Caca, they used to cry for their dead and feed them.

Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn't yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have[696] said, "The Spaniards also give food to their dead,[697] to their bones, on All Saints' Day,[698] they do feed them. So let's go to church. Let's feed our own dead."[699]

365 In former times people took along all sorts of foods cooked to perfection.

And when a person died, remembering how things used to be long ago, people used to wait, saying, "Our dead will return in five days. Let's wait for him."

They used to keep nightly vigil until the dawn of the fifth day after his death.

366 On the fifth day, a <crossed out:> [person] woman would put on her fine clothing[700] and go to Yaru Tini, saying, "I'll bring him back from there," or "I'll wait for him and then come back."

Then, they say,[701] that woman would go there carrying different foods and maize beer.

367 At Yaru Tini, as the sun was rising, the dead spirit would arrive.

In the old times, two or three big flies—people

693. *animacunacta* 'spirits': the same word is used in chapter 27 (sec. 358) to signify the escaping remnant of the deceased. In the body of this chapter, however, the dead who are fed are not called *animas* but *huañoc*, 'die-ers' (that is, existing though not living persons; see Urioste 1981). The Andean dead were felt to have personal existence as long as any part of their bodies, or even clothing or an effigy, was conserved.

694. *ñaupa pacha* 'former times': this instance of the common phrase is important because it tells us that the makers of the manuscript thought of earlier parts of the colonial era within the category *ñaupa pacha*.

695. That is, chapter 9 (secs. 127–128), the explanation of Auquisna and its rites for the dead.

696. 'Are known to have' added to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 366.

697. *ayanta* 'their dead': *aya* seems to mean a person already established as a deceased member of society (formerly through mummification) as opposed to a person in transition to this status (*huañoc*). *Aya*, not *huañoc*, lived in the 'house of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155). The term *mallki* 'mummy' does not appear in the manuscript although at least one *huaca* (Nan Sapa, chap. 24, secs. 319, 320, 323) seems to have been a mummy.

698. That is, on November 1. Olivia Harris (1982: 56–57) has suggested that the modern Laymi Aymara ritual for this day, which resembles the one described here, achieves "the socialization of the graveyard" and the initiation of a wet-season regimen bringing the living and dead close together. It ends at Carnival.

699. Andean tradition required careful conservation of the dead in caves or 'houses of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155) where they were regularly visited and fêted. Andean people considered Christian burial, which Spanish clerics forced upon them, an affliction because it precluded feeding and clothing one's departed kin. Ancestors buried in Christian graveyards were imagined as starving and suffering while they decayed. Many natives were punished for rescuing their kin from graves. The ritual described here seems to be an attempt to mitigate anguish about burial.

700. *pachanta* 'her . . . clothing': third person possession marker *-n-* ambiguous in reference; can also be read as clothing of the deceased.

701. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 369.

call them *llacsa anapalla*[702]—would light on the garment she brought.

368 She'd sit there for a long while. As soon as those maggots called *huancoy*[703] worms left the corpse, the woman would say, "Come on, let's go to the village." And as if to say, "This is him," she'd pick up a small pebble and come back.

When the woman arrived, and when the dead person's home had been hurriedly swept clean, they started feeding him.

After the food, they offered the deceased drinks. Once the deceased had eaten, they also ate.

369 At <crossed out:> [deep] dusk, all his *ayllu* kinspeople danced five times, wailing.

When they'd finished dancing and wailing five times, they threw the pebble the woman had brought out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet."[704]

370 On that day we know[705] they divined with a spider,[706] asking, "Why did this man go and die on us?"

The diviner[707] would reply, saying of the *huacas*, "Because this one was angry" or "Because that one was angry"; if he mentioned Paria Caca or any such *huaca*, people fulfilled the command by sacrificing a guinea pig or any other thing they had.

This is as much as we know about those who've died.

371 In Huaro Cheri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints' Day, "Let's leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church" and they cook up some potatoes and pieces of jerky[708] well seasoned with red pepper, and put it out, just as if it were food for people to eat, and also toasted maize and boiled meat, as well as a small pitcher of maize beer for each of the dead.

They lay out all the things we've mentioned, because they think, "It's likely that the dead do eat." Maybe this is what they have in mind when they offer them plentiful hot dishes of all sorts.

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702. Unidentified. *Llacsa* 'blue-green ritual powder' suggests the brilliant color of a bluebottle fly. *Anapalla* may be related to *ayapaura*, the name of "a big fly that dirties the flesh," mentioned in a trial of "idolators" in Otuco in 1656 (Duviols 1986: 64–65). The mourners waited for this fly to appear on the deceased's clothes because they thought it was the returning soul. This idea is also explicit in chapter 27 (sec. 358).

703. Taylor (1987b: 419–420) shows that the word *huancoy curo* used here may be an error conflating *huancuyro* 'bee' with *curu* 'worm' (specifically glossed by Gonçález Holguín as a kind that infests "bodies"; [1608] 1952: 56). Taylor gives 'bee' in his translation with the caveat that it appears really to refer to the above-mentioned flies. But perhaps *huancoy curo* is used in the correct sense of *curu* 'worm', meaning a larva or maggot infesting the dead body, and not the sense 'bee'. The point would then be that the cadaver must be left long enough to breed worms so its *anima* can emerge and escape in the form of flies.

704. In the later "idolatry" trials, which often prosecuted Andean mortuary ritual, rites of this sort are described as taking place one year after the death. At that time the lingering 'person' here symbolized by the stone was dispatched from his household. The final farewell to the dead, called *kacharpariy* or 'sendoff', has survived into modern Quechua culture.

705. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

706. The spider is here called by the Spanish-derived word *arañu* (also in supp. I, sec. 450). Spider divining is described by Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 32) and in various "idolatry" documents. Spiders were subjected to torture and then inspected to see which feet were injured or missing. A 1613 Jesuit report says killing the appropriate type of spiders other than sacrificially was prohibited by *huaca* priests (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 188, 194).

707. 'The diviner' supplied.

708. *charquincunactari* 'pieces of jerky': the English term is derived from the Quechua name (*charqui*) of this Andean invention.

CHAPTER 29

372

How Something Called the Yacana Comes Down from the Sky to Drink Water. We Shall Also Speak about the Other Stars and Their Names

They say[709] the Yacana, which is the animator[710] of llamas, moves through the middle of the sky. We native people[711] can see it standing out as a black spot.[712]

The Yacana moves inside the Milky Way.[713] It's big, really big. It becomes blacker as it approaches through the sky, with two eyes and a very large neck.

This, we know,[714] is what native people call the Yacana.

373 They say[715] if a man was in luck and fortunate, the Yacana would fall right on top of him while it drank water from some spring.

As its woolly bulk pressed down upon him, someone else would pluck out some of its wool.

374 That apparition would occur at night.

In the morning, at daybreak, the man would look at the wool he'd plucked out. Examining it he'd see the wool to be blue, white, black, and brown, of every hue, thickly matted together.

If he had no llamas, he'd worship at the place where he had seen the apparition and plucked the wool, and trade for some llamas right away. After worshiping he'd trade for a female and a male llama.

Just from the two he'd bought, two or three thousand llamas would soon come.

In old times the Yacana[716] revealed itself this way to a whole lot of people all over this province.

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709. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins with reportive validation.

710. *camaquin* 'animator': Juan Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 3–5) said, "in general [the Incas] believed that all the animals and birds on the earth had their likeness in the sky, in whose responsibility was their procreation and augmentation" and went on to describe a celestial herd prototype much like this one. Bernabé Cobo's *Historia* ([1653] 1964: 2:159) has more details on this astrologylike complex.

Polo seems to be referring to the concept *camay*, of which this sentence is a *locus classicus*. Taylor (1974–1976: 234) suggests imagining *camac* as an entity that (1) is above and outside terrestrial reality; (2) is a prototype of earthly instantiations; and (3) functions to vitalize earthly instantiations by charging them with their specific essence and energy. *Camaquin* employs an agentive suffix and is probably a near synonym to *camac*.

A similar example is *chuchucollor*, two stars considered as creators of twins (Huertas Vallejos 1981: 88).

711. *ñocanchic runacunapas* 'We native people': some Andean constellations are reckoned negatively (consisting of dark spots within the Milky Way) and thus are not easy for non-natives to see. Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:119; Livermore's translation) mentions the Yacana as one that native people tried unsuccessfully to make him see. But *ñocanchic* is inclusive first person plural, indicating that the person speaking included his audience among those who see constellations this way, namely, *runa*. This suggests that the testimony was gathered in a dialogue among *runa* people and not with any Spanish person.

712. The *yacana* is one of the 'dark cloud constellations' discussed by Gary Urton (1981: 169–170, 185–188).

713. *mayo* 'Milky Way', literally, 'river': the Milky Way was interpreted as a cosmic river through which water, having run down to the sea, circulates back up into the atmosphere. Urton (1981: 54–69) discusses related modern ideas.

714. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this sentence only.

715. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 375.

716. 'The Yacana' supplied.

375 In the middle of the night, when nobody is aware of it, the Yacana drinks all the water out of the ocean.[717] If the Yacana failed to drink it, the waters would quickly drown the whole world.[718]

376 A small dark spot goes before the Yacana, and, as we know, people call it the Tinamou.[719]

This Yacana, they say, has a calf. It looks just as if the calf were suckling.[720]

Also, we know[721] there are three stars in a straight line.[722]

They call these the Condor, the Vulture,[723] and the Falcon.

377 Next are the ones we call the Pleiades;[724] if they come out <crossed out:> [very] at their biggest people say, "This year we'll have plenty." But if they come out at their smallest people say, "We're in for a very hard time."[725]

They call another constellation, which stands out as a perfect ring,[726] the Pihca Conqui.[727]

378 Certain other stars always appear very large.

People give them the names Poco Huarac, Villca Huarac, and Cancho Huarac.

In the old times, people, or at least some few of them, reportedly[728] used to worship them, saying, "These are the animators, the makers." The rest still worshiped these stars as they were rising,[729] spending the appropriate nights in sleepless vigil, but said, "We'll hold the other *huacas* in higher honor."[730]

This is all we know.[731]

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717. That is, the Yacana, descending from the center of the sky, sucks up water from the waters surrounding earth. (This may refer to the period during the dry season when the llama and other dark cloud constellations remain below the horizon.) The cosmological metaphor links the way llamas descend from the high slopes to drink at lower-lying waterholes with the way the atmosphere "drinks" water from the ocean.

718. That is, if the Yacana failed to suck water up from the ocean into the atmosphere, the ocean would rise and drown humanity. Compare with chapter 3 (secs. 29–34), where a llama warned a man that the world was about to flood; perhaps the llama knew that Yacana, the master llama, was going to omit drinking.

719. The bird commonly and misleadingly called "partridge" in the Andes; see chapter 6 (sec. 87); see also Urton (1981: 171, 181–185). 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

720. Taylor (1987b: 429) has: "When it suckles, the Yacana wakes up." This reading rests on the double sense of *rihcan* 'appears'/'awakens'. 'They say' added to indicate reportive validation.

721. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 378.

722. Perhaps Orion's belt.

723. *suyuntuytapas* 'Vulture': black vulture, *Coragyps atratus*, or turkey vulture, *Cathartus aura jota* (Koepcke 1970: 38).

724. Here the Pleiades are called by their Spanish name, *cabrillas*. A common Andean name for the Pleiades is *onqoy*. The Pleiades cult was the astronomical part of the Corpus-tide (summer solstice and preharvest or harvest-time) peak of the ceremonial year. "Confessions are made during the solemn festivals, of which there are three each year. The most important of these is close to Corpus Christi. It is called Oncoy Mitta, which is when the constellation called Oncoy appears. They do homage to this constellation to keep their corn from drying up" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 49; Keating's translation).

725. Urton (1981: 118–120) discusses their salience in agricultural forecasting; today they are often called *collca* 'the storehouse'.

726. *muyo muyolla hamucta* 'stands out as a perfect ring': could mean either that they move in a circular path or that they are arranged in a ring.

727. Urton (1981: 100–101) identifies a constellation *pisqa coyllur* 'the five stars', probably the Hyades, which might be the same as *pihca conqui*. Alternatively, *pihca conqui* might be the curved tail of Scorpio, which Urton identifies as one of the two *collcas* or constellations of crop augury.

728. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

729. *sicamuptin* 'rising': probably heliacal rise, not nightly rise. Heliacal rise is the first day on which the star is visible in the east before dawn.

730. The meaning of the sentence varies slightly depending whether one takes *yallichisac* to mean 'set in higher position' or 'advance one's fortunes'. Taylor (1987b: 431) has: "The other people used to say, concerning these *huacas*, that according to tradition the fact of worshiping them would make them prosper. And so they worshipped these stars staying awake without sleeping during the night they appeared." Either reading squares with Cobo's understanding of star cults as devotions through which a person might win the *camay* force proper to his or her status or identity ([1653] 1964: 2:160).

731. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 30

379

How Two *Huacas*, a Male and a Female, Dwell in the Lake of the Allauca in Purui. We Shall Write about Their Lives

In very ancient times, so they tell,[732] there was a man called Anchi Cara.

This Anchi Cara came to dwell[733] by the water at a spring named Purui, to ensure that water would come to the fields of the Allauca.

While he was there, a woman from the Surco[734] area, a Picoy[735] woman, came over to him.

The woman's name was Huayllama.[736]

380 "Brother," this Huayllama said as soon as she arrived at Purui Spring, "very little water comes to my field. Are you the only one who draws water here? What are the rest of us supposed to live on?" And she sat down right inside the spring.

381 Since she was a fine and beautiful woman Anchi Cara fell suddenly in love[737] with her, and he greeted her with gentle words.

Then the woman refused to let the water flow in this direction.

When she did that he addressed her in polite language, saying, "Sister, please don't do this. What'll my children live on?"

382 At this point, Anchi Cara's children came over and sloshed[738] the water out toward Lliuya lake.

(Just below that spring there are two small ponds, which we already mentioned, called Lliuya and Tuta lakes.)[739]

Three or four small elongated rocks stand inside Lliuya lake.

These are said to be Anchi Cara's children.

383 If his kids hadn't come and sloshed that water out all the time, very little indeed would flow down here.

(Even so, we know, only a small amount flows down.)[740]

384 Once they'd finished arguing about the water, the two of them, Anchi Cara and his woman Huayllama, sinned together.[741]

"I'll stay here forever!" each one said after they'd sinned together, and they froze into stone.

These stones are there until today. His children likewise dwell in Lliuya lake.

This is all we know about them.[742]

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732. 'So they tell' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins in *-si* reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 382.

733. *tiamun* 'came to dwell': not in the unambiguously past *-rca-* tense, as the subsequent sentences are.

734. San Gerónimo de Surco (see chap. 3, sec. 31), in warm valley lands of the lower Rímac. The story seemingly allegorizes a rivalry over a high lake coveted by the Allauca of Checa and by Surco.

735. Picoy is mentioned by Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 163), as San Jerónimo de Picoi, a forced resettlement village close to Surco.

736. This sentence has witness validation.

737. *enamoraspa* 'fell in love': using a Spanish-derived expression.

738. *vischomorcan* 'sloshed . . . out': more literally, 'threw', this word might be a technical term meaning 'diverted'. But, given the sometimes comic tone of sex/irrigation myths, the image here might rather be that of children playfully sloshing the water out of the spring.

739. This sentence has witness validation. These lakes have not been mentioned previously in the manuscript; presumably the phrase refers to material edited out.

740. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied). A crossed-out Spanish phrase meaning 'even so' is replaced with the equivalent Quechua.

741. *huchallicorcancu* 'sinned together': using a shame-oriented colonial term.

742. This sentence has witness validation.

385 Later on, at the time when they were settling into this area, the *huacsa*s of the Allauca *ayllu* used to go to Purui in order to clean the canal at the end of the rainy season.

As they arrived, the *huacsa*s, however many there were, would walk around Lliuya lake[743] blowing on their panpipes.

386 After walking around the lake, the *huacsa*s would go to greet Anchi Cara, who stood over the water.

With just a few words, they'd throw in a little of their coca, and then return to the lakeshore.

On the lakeshore they worshiped Anchi Cara first, then his children, and finally Lliuya and Tuta lakes themselves.

387 In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don't have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have.

After finishing this worship, all the people began to dredge out the canal.

This is as far as the story goes.[744] The account of their existence ends here.

743. Compare with the Concha *huacsas'* circuit at Yansa lake (chap. 31, secs. 437, 440). Honorific ritual visits to water sources are still common elements of rural Andean religion today.

744. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 31

388 # As in the Previous Chapter We Spoke about the Existence of a Certain Lake, Likewise We Shall Now Tell about the Lake of the Concha Ayllu, the One Called Yansa. The Story Is Like This

<margin:> [Concha]

We've already explained in other chapters how things were in early times, how these villages were full of Yunca people, and other such things.[745]

So, too, they say, the Yunca resided in Concha village.[746]

389 About the people living there, as we indicated in other chapters, some say they're from Yauri Llancha or from Vichi Cancha, while others say they came from the *quinua* plant. Likewise the Concha people were born from out of the earth's interior, at Yauri Llancha, as five persons.[747]

390 Their names we know;[748] starting from the first one, they were

Llacsa Misa and his sister Cuno Cuyo who came along with him.

Then there was Pauquir Buxi.

Then Llama Tanya.

These three men together were the first ones to conquer this village.

<margin:>

[Llacsa Misa
Pauquir Buxi
Llama Tanya
Hualla
Calla]

There were also two other men who were their brothers, one called Hualla, and the other Calla.

391 They say that[749] as their other brothers went on ahead, these two fell somewhat behind.

So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country,[750] thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."

A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back.

392 (The descendants of Hualla are the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi lineage.)[751]

745. This sentence has witness validation.

746. Concha village probably corresponds to Concha Sica, today an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa (IGM 1970–1971). It was first Christianized as San Cristóbal de Concha and then, like Llacsa Tambo, "reduced" into nearby San Damián (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, ms. B-1483, f. 63r). This chapter forms a rough counterpart in scale, argument, and level of detail to chapter 24, which focuses on the other component of San Damián, namely, Llacsa Tambo and the Checa. Both may be examples or reworkings of a common genre, a long "charter" running from origins through mythic genealogy to entitlements and rites that express them. This sentence has reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 389.

747. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with myths and laws relevant to the five local lineages named here. Material about a privileged lineage, the Llacsa Misa lineage specialized in water priesthood, makes up the bulk of it, but sections 443–446 return to the other four.

748. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation throughout section 390.

749. 'They say that' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

750. Yauyos Province adjoins Huarochirí to the south and is another mountainous region.

751. 'Lineage' supplied. The grounds are that section 444 uses Lázaro Puypu Rocçi's name as the name of a corporate group and not an individual and that in section 445 three groups belonging to the same set that contains

When Llacsa Misa, the oldest child, was about to die, he addressed Casa Chauca, Lázaro's grandfather, who was also Llacsa Misa's nephew, and said to him regarding the lake called Yansa:[752] "This will enter into my legacy.[753] As for me, I'm already near death." And he left it to him.

From then on Yansa lake was his domain.

Here we leave Hualla.[754]

393 Now we will tell about those three men's approach and arrival.

As we explained earlier, people say[755] the natives were Yunca.

At that time, people there lived quite happily, drawing water from Yansa lake, for there was plenty of water and even an excess such that their water[756] reached all the way to the base of Llantapa[757] mountain.

394 While people lived in this manner, the three men we mentioned before—the oldest being named Llacsa Misa—were born from the earth in the locality called Yauri Llancha.

When they were born, they were born with a stone helmet.[758]

(The helmet was called the *llacsa yacolla*.)[759]

These three people came here carrying the *llacsa yacolla*.

395 They arrived in the area above Yansa lake at a place called Yana Pucyo.

There they sat down and drank.

The Yunca people heard somebody say, "Three fearsome-looking men are sitting over there!" and some went to see them.

396 When they were looking him over like that, Llacsa Misa showed those people his helmet, the one called the *llacsa yacolla*.

The moment they saw it, they all died instantly.

When the remaining Yunca saw that anyone who approached died, they panicked. "Come on!" they said. "Let's get out of here! If those three men find us they'll destroy us all!" And they abandoned their village and their fields just like that, and fled.[760]

397 At the time of their flight, there was a Yunca man there—we don't know his name—and while this man was escaping by night, he left one of his children behind at Concha Sica, the one named Yasali.

398 Yasali's father fled, carrying only an orphan boy whom he'd raised.

When he got across to Capari Caya,[761] almost to Yana Siri[762] up on the heights, dawn was breaking and the man recognized the boy.

There he was: just his adopted orphan son.

The man wept bitterly, but, knowing there was no way back, he finally left just as he was.

399 Meanwhile, the abandoned boy Yasali was scared to death, being just a child, and he hid inside the place where a cross now stands in Concha Sica.

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the Llacsa Misa, and of which the Hualla are another subset, are called *yumay* 'patrilineages'. In this sentence witness validation was crossed out and replaced with reportive.

752. Modern Yanascocha is probably the same as Yansa; it is a small spring-fed lake on the high *puna* 5 km east of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971) and feeds the irrigation system of modern Conchasica.

753. *cay coscajman yaiconca* 'This will enter into my legacy': Taylor's transcription (1987b: 442–443) reads *cascayman*, which means 'into what I was' rather than 'into what I gave'. Accordingly he translates: "This [i.e., Cassa Chauca] is who will inherit my role."

754. This sentence and the next have witness validation.

755. 'People say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 394.

756. I.e., their irrigation canal.

757. Where the great mythic bridge Pullao once stood (chap. 5, sec. 73) and where Maca Calla's people, expelled by those of Tutay Quiri, resettled (chap. 26, sec. 355).

758. *chucuyoc*: 'with a . . . helmet': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 118) has "*chucu* bonnet or ancient-style hat." But the same page clearly indicates that *chucu*, if made of hard material (leather, metal), means a helmet and not a hat. The passage can also be read to mean that a stone with a helmet was born along with, but separately from, the men.

759. This sentence has witness validation.

760. These Yunca-expelling heroes from Yauri Llancha play a role in Concha myth parallel to the role of the Yunca-expelling heroes from Vichi Cancha in Checa myth (chap. 24, secs. 315–326).

761. Probably not the same Unca Tupi also called Capari Caya in chapter 12 (secs. 167–168), because that reference is to a locale near the Pacific shore while modern Yanaciri is on the high puna across the Lurín valley from Conchasica.

762. Modern Yanaciri (IGM 1970–1971) is 4 km west-northwest of San Damián, a high plateau on the far side of a deep river ravine, from which one can look back toward San Damián and Conchasica.

At the same time those three men arrived at the village.

As they arrived they shared out the houses and all the rest among themselves, and it was then that Llacsa Misa found the boy.

400 "Son, don't worry," Llacsa Misa told him. "You'll stay with me. If my other brothers say to me, 'Let's kill him,' I'll defend you. But in return, you'll herd my llamas."

When the other brothers saw the child, they bitterly scorned him, and they did say, "This kid should die, because sooner or later he'll tell us, 'These fields are mine; this land belongs to me!'"

401 "No, why should we kill him?" Llacsa Misa replied. "Better to let him live. He'll show us all their customs, their fields, and everything."[763]

402 But the others still refused, saying, "Let him die anyway."

Llacsa Misa got angry and said, "My brothers, I've told you plenty of times. Watch out or your bones might wind up in the lake.[764] I say, let him live!"

Only then did the others finally fall silent.

403 So Llacsa Misa let the boy live, and made him herd his llamas.

<**margin**:> [Cuno Cuyo]

While Yasali was tending the llamas, he married Llacsa Misa's sister Cuno Cuyo, who'd come with him from Yauri Llancha.

Later, when he'd become a mature man, he even became the *yanca* for Uma Pacha, who had come from Yauri Llancha.

(This boy named Yasali was Cristóbal Chauca Huaman's grandfather.)[765]

404 And where the Uma Pacha festival we mentioned[766] is concerned, just as the Checa put on *huayo* masks made of trophy heads and danced for a period of five days, so the Concha,[767] too, danced the same way. They, too, threw spears at the *chuta* target effigies erected for the sake of sons and daughters, and then did the same for llamas.[768]

405 There were likewise *huacsa*s in Concha Sica. They drank to both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca in their respective seasons, and on one certain day they drank together with the Checas as peers.[769]

This is as much as we know about their customs.[770]

406 Now we'll tell about Yansa lake.

When Llacsa Misa arrived at Concha in the company of his other brothers, it's said that[771] they acquired all sorts of subsistence resources, and from among them Llacsa Misa got Yansa lake.

Pauquir Buxi received Huaycho Coto.

Llama Tanya received the house called Uyu Sana.

407 After they received all these properties, we know,[772] each one of them began to provide for his own living.

So Llacsa Misa for his part started to propitiate[773] Yansa lake.

In Yansa lake, they say,[774] there was a *huaca* named Collquiri.

<**margin**:> [Collquiri]

Since Llacsa Misa propitiated these *huaca*s for many years, all the Concha worked hard growing maize for him to eat.

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763. As in chapter 24 (sec. 316), the invaders intentionally take on the organizational scheme and attributes of the vanquished Yunca natives, but (as in sec. 306) feel anxious about their resulting position of indebtedness.

764. *cochañicman* 'in the lake': or 'ocean'?

765. 'Grandfather': the kinship term used is a Spanish one, *aguelo* (i.e., *abuelo*). If taken literally, it puts a surprisingly short generational distance between the hero and his descendant who lived to be baptized. But the speaker may have used *aguelo* to mean one's direct patrilineal ancestor at any generational remove.

766. See chapter 24 (secs. 324ff).

767. 'The Concha' supplied.

768. That is, they performed the same rites already described in detail in chapter 24 (secs. 321–339). Conchasica and Checa today still regard their respective rituals as in some senses mirroring and rivaling each other.

769. *pactalla* 'as peers': normally the Checa despised the Concha as juniors in descent from Paria Caca (sec. 441). But in this one context the solidarity of common birth (*yuric*; see chap. 9, sec. 116) was made to override. The exact occasion is unspecified.

770. This and the next sentence have witness validation.

771. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next-to-last sentence of section 406.

772. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation.

773. *siruiita callarircan* '[he] started to propitiate': the Spanish-derived root *sirui-* means 'to serve'.

774. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 432.

408 At that time the *huaca* Collquiri wanted a woman[775] really badly.

He wanted one so much he searched all over the place, even as far as the Yauyo country and Chaclla.

As hard as he searched, he just couldn't find one.

409 One day, Cuni Raya said to him, "Hey, she's right here, right nearby, your woman!"[776]

So he set out, full of joy.

From the mountain that overlooks Yampilla,[777] he gazed out toward Yampilla itself.

As he gazed, he saw a woman dancing very majestically.

That woman's name was Capyama.

410 As soon as he saw how lovely she was, he immediately felt in his heart, "This is the one who'll be my wife."

He sent one of his serving boys, saying, "Go son, go tell that lady, 'Your llama has given birth to a <crossed out:> [female] male calf.' That's all. She'll come right away."

411 As soon as he sent him, the youth went off.

When he arrived, he told the woman, "Ma'am, one of your llamas has given birth just up there on the mountain." She was thoroughly delighted, and rushed straight to her house.

There she hung her golden drum at her midriff,[778] hid two small coca bags in her bosom,[779] took a long-necked jar of her maize beer, and came in a big hurry.

(The Concha call this jar *lataca*.)

412 When he saw her coming the *huaca* Collquiri was overjoyed and sped right back to Yansa.

Meanwhile, his servant boy led the woman along, and as he guided her, he lied to her, saying, "We're almost there now. It's right around here."

413 Then Collquiri turned himself into a *callcallo*[780] and waited for her on the mountain overlooking <crossed out:> [Yansa] Yampilla.

"I think I'll catch that *callcallo*," the woman said as she arrived there.

Each time she thought she'd grab it, the *callcallo* darted hither and yon and wouldn't let itself be caught.

414 Finally she did catch it. The moment she grabbed it, she stuck it inside her dress.

As she was grabbing it, she spilled her maize beer from the *rataca*[781] jar.

Even as she spilled it, the spot where she spilled it immediately turned into a spring.

This spring is called Ratac Tupi[782] until today.

415 The *callcallo* she had put inside her dress grew large inside her belly and made it ache terribly.

"What could this be?" she said when it hurt her. She looked, and there, on the ground where he'd fallen,[783] appeared a man, a fine handsome youth.

He immediately greeted her in his sweetest way, saying, "Sister, I'm the one you stuck in your dress. What can we do about it now? It was I who sent for you."

416 The woman for her part immediately fell in love[784] with him.

Since she felt that way, they slept together.

After they slept together, he took her to his home, Yansa lake.

Meanwhile, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all her relatives went searching for her all in tears. "But where did she go?" they said.

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775. All the irrigation myths (chap. 6, secs. 81–90; chaps. 7, 30, 31) link maize-bearing land to female *huacas* and water to male ones, with a sexual episode representing the origin of irrigation and consequent fertility. Dumézil and Duviols explore this motif in "Sumaq T'ika" (1974–1976).

776. Although Cuni Raya is less salient here than in chapters 2 or 14, the Collquiri myth bears resemblances to these major Cuni Raya myths. As in the story of the bride in the box (chap. 14, secs. 192–197), where Cuni inveigles the Inca by offering a woman, Cuni here brings about a male's downfall by manipulating his sexual desire. In the story of Caui Llaca (chap. 2, secs. 9–26), Cuni Raya caused a woman to give birth by tricking her into taking hidden sperm into her body, and here his dupe Collquiri does something similar (secs. 414–415).

777. Modern Llambía, a hamlet 3 km north of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971).

778. *chaopipi* 'at her midriff': Taylor (1987b: 459) has "center of [the house]."

779. *hucllayninman* 'in her bosom': Ricardo [1586] 1951: 65.

780. Unidentified; possibly a grasshopper.

781. *rataca* thus in original, discrepant from *lataca* in section 411; *r/l* is a common Quechua variation.

782. Perhaps a wordplay on *lataca*, the name of her beer jar in local language.

783. *hurmascampica*: the third person marker *-m-* could also mean 'where she'd fallen'.

784. *enamorarcan* 'fell in love': a Spanish-derived word.

417 When they'd been searching for a long, long time, a man from Yampilla called Llucaua told them, "Your daughter has turned into a high priestess.[785] She has a husband with all kinds and amounts of possessions." And so they came at once.

"Why did you come to steal our daughter, our sister from us?" they said to Collquiri when they found her. "Are you the one who forced us to search for her through all these villages until we were exhausted?" In high dudgeon they said, "Now we'll make her go back home!"

418 "Fathers, brothers, you have every reason to rebuke me, because I did fail to tell you ahead of time," Collquiri replied. And he inveigled them by saying, "What may I give you as restitution? A house, a field, llamas, people, agave fiber goods,[786] gold or silver? What about it, what do you want?"

419 Despite his enticements they agreed to nothing.

"I'll take their sister back," Capyama's father[787] said, repudiating the offer.

"All the same," Capyama[788] replied when he said this, "I wouldn't go back. It was with all my heart that I took him for my husband!"

420 "Father, please, I hope you won't take my wife away from me," said the man called Collquiri. "I've already told you that I'll give you anything, whatever you like, as much as you want. Or maybe I should give you the Goesunder?"[789]

A man who'd come in and sat down last in the gathering of that woman's brothers spoke up when Collquiri said this: "Father, say yes."

And the brothers[790] deliberated in low voices: "What could it be, that Goesunder?"

421 Their old man came and said, "It's a deal, son. Marry my daughter. And make good on what you promised." So he said, and they returned home.

"We'll see each other in five days, father, in your village!" said Collquiri.

422 Five days later Collquiri, as good as his word, did go under. Underground he headed[791] toward Yampilla.

After he'd traveled a long stretch, he thought to himself, "I wonder how far I've come?" for he wanted to come out on the opposite side of the Apar Huayqui river.

Right where he got his head out, water squirted upward like a fountain.

423 He plugged the hole with some copper and went back underground.

He went on traveling underground until finally he emerged up above the high side of Yampilla.

The spring where he surfaced bears that woman's name, Capyama,[792] until today.

424 An enormous amount of water surged from Capyama spring and threatened to wash away all the fields of the Yampilla.

It actually did carry away all their *oca*[793] that was drying and all their *quinua* that was spread out in the sunshine, and lots of other things.

The Yampilla people got good and mad. "Why did you ever go and say yes to Collquiri?"

"Send him back immediately!"

"We were already used to getting along with just a little water!" they all said.

425 As they were complaining, Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:

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785. *ancham villcayam* 'has turned into a high priestess': more literally, 'has greatly become *villca*'. This passage suggests that the senses of *villca* can include a person wedded to a *huaca*.

786. *chauaractacho* 'agave fiber goods': as in chapter 24 (sec. 334) and problematic for the same reasons.

787. 'Capyama's father' supplied.

788. 'Capyama' supplied.

789. The literal sense of *huco ric* 'the Goesunder' is clear enough; it means 'what goes under or inside'. But its sense in context is enigmatic, and Capyama's kinsmen let their curiosity about the *huco ric* get the better of them in the unmistakably comic episode that follows.

790. 'The brothers' supplied.

791. *hucota cama rircan* '[he] did go under': at this moment we understand the answer to the *huco ric* puzzle. Collquiri himself was the *huco ric*—the thing that goes under or inside—in the double sense of going under or inside Capyama's dress and of burrowing through the earth.

792. Modern Llambía draws its irrigation water still from Capyama spring. The love of Capyama and Collquiri (now renamed Pedro Batán, and imagined as a romantic lover rather than a clownish suitor) is prominent in modern folklore.

793. *oca*: *Oxalis tuberosa*, a potatolike plant with slender edible roots, widely cultivated through the Andes "on terraces in the *quebradas* of the cold sierras and in the altiplano zone to an altitude of 3,800 to 4,000 meters." Because they contain calcium oxalate crystals, *oca* tubers must be cured in the sun before cooking (Towle 1961: 56–57).

"Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"

"Shut it off!"

"Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.

426 With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket[794] and other stuff.

But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.

Meanwhile, the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:

"PLUG IT UP!!"

Finally Collquiri jumped in himself, put in his cloak, and sat down in the middle of the water.

427 When he sat down there, the water at last dried up somewhat.

Nowadays, water flows out of that spring passing through Collquiri's cloak as if through a sieve.

Whenever he plugged this waterhole, water flowed from many other springs here and there all over the district. Before, there weren't any.

428 Since their water supply was dried up as a result of all this, the inhabitants of Concha village started to get mad, too:[795] "Why has he given our water away?"

"What about us, what are we supposed to live on?" they said.

All the Concha together spoke to Llacsa Misa, who was in charge of the water: "Listen, Llacsa Misa, why did you go and let that water dry up?"

"What are people supposed to live on?" they said, and threw him into the lake.

429 When the *huaca* Collquiri saw what had happened he thought, "They're right. How are they going to live?" So at once he gave orders to one of his servants, a youngster called Rapacha:

"Dump some dirt and rocks from the shores down into the lake. There we'll measure out what's for the sustenance of the Concha people."[796]

430 So that boy Rapacha breached the lake's bank a little. As soon as it was opened, Collquiri instantly dammed the water up from below by building a great wall there.[797]

This wall, built without mortar, stands as the lake's mouth[798] until today.

431 Collquiri had the man called Llacsa Misa mark this wall carefully in five different places.[799] He said, "When the waters reach this point, you must close the mouth of the lake. After that, at the correct times you will direct the waters to the lower fields. At sunrise, you will release the water. They will water the *añay*[800] maize five times only. It is for this that I ordain you." Carefully he familiarized Llacsa Misa[801] with the marking stones.

432 From the time he made this known up to today, all of Llacsa Misa's descendants followed each other in the exact same custom and continue it even now.

People in fact[802] refer to these markers as "lake measures" and call the stick Turca Caya.

It[803] is said to be[804] accurately aligned over the stoneworks to serve its function; if we went there we might see it[805] by taking a careful look.[806]

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794. *titahuanpas* 'with a blanket': in supplement II (sec. 478), *huc fresadacta o titactapas* 'a blanket or cover' clarifies this otherwise unattested word. But *tita* might be an error for *titi* 'lead', as other translators suppose.

795. They got mad, that is, because their *huaca* Collquiri had diverted their water to Capyama Spring and Yampilla village just to satisfy his yen for Capyama.

796. Apparently this means Collquiri had the boy Rapacha dump earth and rocks in the lake so as to reduce its capacity and breach its banks, thereby making water spill out; he then apportioned this water to the Concha.

797. That is, once Rapacha had forced water to breach the lake's bank, Collquiri built a dam in the resulting channel and thereby turned the lake into a controllable reservoir.

798. *cochap simin* 'lake's mouth': a literal translation; the phrase apparently (from context) means the lake's outlet. The stone dam still existed much as described in section 431 as of 1990.

799. That is, the dam was to have five separate sluice gates (now seven). They were to be opened in sequence, from shallowest to deepest, as the lake level fell. When asked why a single sluice gate at the lowest level would not suffice, modern San Damián residents say high water pressure when the lake is full is the reason: using the ancient stone-and-sod technology (with which they are still familiar), a single gate at the lowest level would, at the beginning of the irrigation period, release water with too much force for human musclepower to control.

800. Untranslated. *Añi* is the modern local name of a multicolored maize that needs relatively little irrigation.

801. 'Llacsa Misa' supplied.

802. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

803. 'It': perhaps the measuring stick *turca caya*. A tentative translation.

804. 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation. The clauses following the semicolon have *-cha* conjectural validation.

805. 'It': the object of *ricohhuan* 'we might see' is unstated in original.

806. *chayasparaccha alli ñauinchichuan ricohhuan*

433 During the month of March the Concha go out to close the lake's mouth,[807] all of them, both men and women.

As for the water measurement mentioned above, Llacsa Misa would decide, "It'll be at so and so a time" or determined some other thing. All the Concha went along, following his exact words.

434 Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.[808]

When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word.

435 If the lake ever spilled out in the middle of the night, people dragged Llacsa Misa's descendants to the scene from wherever they happened to be, saying, "Go, it's your responsibility!"[809]

Because this was their special care both by day and by night, because they thought only of minding the lake, other people worked hard on their maize fields for them and revered them, saying, "It's because they're numerous that we stay alive."

436 Llacsa Misa, and his descendants, watched over the lake very carefully, saying, "Beware the water doesn't spill out of this lake."

If the lake ever spilled out and the waters of Yansa rushed into the river, a breach would immediately open in the dam. Whenever it did flow into the river, it cracked the dam.

For this reason they watched it with great care.[810]

437 As we said before, the *huacsa*s went to Yansa lake both to impound and to release the waters.

To impound the water all the people went out, too. As soon as they arrived, the women deposited their coca, each one in her own right, and likewise their maize beer each in her own right.[811]

438 These offerings were for Yansa lake, but it was in fact[812] the *yanca* who received them all.

They'd also take one llama, they say.[813] They likewise took guinea pigs, *ticti*, and all the other sacrificial offerings.

Once they finished collecting things, they took a *quipu* account of all the people who were absent and began to worship Yansa lake.

439 They worshiped, saying,

"Father Collquiri, the lake is yours and yours are the waters;
This year, give plentiful water to us."

After they finished worshiping, they drank their maize beer and chewed their coca.

After that the men and women together began to impound the lake.[814]

'if we went there we might see it by taking a careful look': an uncertain translation. *Alli ñauinchichuan*, more literally, 'with our good eye', could perhaps mean 'with our practiced eyes', or 'clearly see with our eyes'; *ñauinchichuan* has inclusive first person plural marking, indicating that the speaker regards the addressee as also having the native's 'good eye' for such matters.

807. The modern lake-closing ritual, called the lake's "anniversary," is practiced on February 3.

808. The position of this priest as irrigation authority affords an important clue to the economic component of priestly power. Chapter 24 (sec. 335) comments on another example of priests' economic privilege. While the Llacsa Misa water priests enjoy a subsidy in agricultural form, the priest sacrificers mentioned in chapter 24 are privileged in consuming animals.

809. *suyoiquim* 'your responsibility': more literally, 'your domain'.

810. The water priests' concern was practical, not magical. Testimony in a 1648 lawsuit between the Concha and their Suni Cancha neighbors (chap. 9, sec. 135) over control of Yansa's waters tells us that the hydraulic system sometimes did in fact suffer damage from overflows: "Last year in a great flash flood that came from the lake of Yanascocha and its streambed, the canal inlet was swept away leaving it [turned] into a washed-out gully, beyond repair" (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, B-1483, f. 174r).

811. *sapampitac* 'each in her own right': seemingly, asserting a household-level right of access to water. The female ritual role as receiver of water rights parallels the female role of earth as water-receiving *huaca*s in the myths.

812. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

813. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 440.

814. In 1990 the *comuneros* of Conchasica conducted "anniversary" rituals for Yanascocha Lake in a fashion closely recalling sections 438–439. The *alcaldes*, holders of rotating magistracies that ritually govern irrigation, officiated in place of the *yanca*s. The officiants first collected and announced offerings of coca, tobacco, and liquor at lakeside, then dedicated them to the lake's "owners" while loading them in a small raft or "boat" made of dry sod. The sail of the raft was a modern analogue of the *quipu*, a legalized list of irrigators handwritten on paper. While launching the raft, officiants made speeches similar to those recorded c. 1608 but using the

440 When it was time to release the water, people always went five times accompanied by two or three *huacsa*s.

Just before this, a man and a woman would enter a fairly large field and bring maize beer there in a big jug, and guinea pigs, two or three of them, and coca leaf.

Having worshiped with these offerings, they'd release the water.

These are as many stories as we know about Yansa lake.

441 Now, we know[815] that the Concha were the very last of Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them.

For this reason, Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri[816] gave them only a very little of their territories and very few of their fields.

442 The *huacsa*s we mentioned dance the Chanco during the festival seasons of Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca just as the Checa dance them.

We already talked about all that in other chapters.

443 Now we'll learn about the children of the three men we mentioned.

They say[817] all the offspring of Llacsa Misa became extinct. When Llacsa Misa was about to die, his nephews, namely, Cuno Cuyo's and Yasali's children, married Hualla's descendants, who'd returned after a long time from the Yauyo region.[818]

These descendants of Hualla are in fact the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred.

444<**margin**, in Quechua:>
[Hualla's descendants are of the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred. They entered into the Llacsa Misas' position, so the people called Huallas don't exist any more. Only one woman is still living, and this one is childless; she's Anya Ruri's wife.][819]

445 Pauquir Buxi's descendants are in fact[820] still alive today and they're the Ñau Paico, those people.

The descendants of Llama Tanya are now the Ruri Cancha, the Casin Chauca, and the Tacya Cancha.

These three patrilineages are the reported[821] descendants of Llama Tanya.

446 As for the Hualla, we already mentioned the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi.

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modern names of the "owners": María Capyama and Pedro Batán. The climactic event was the sailing of the boat and tense observation of its course as lake water gradually saturated it. When it sank, the officiants said the "owners" had expressed their approval by pulling the boat down through the center of the lake.

Yanascocha now has a modern dam with a steel sluice gate, so men and women carry out the closing of Collquiri's dam only in what they call "simulacrum" (a ritualized token of the whole job). The traditional technique of closing the dam is called *champería*, that is, sod-laying. *Champero*s were designated by the officiant to cut fresh sod blocks from a nearby marsh, carry them to the dam, and stack them against the ancient dam so as to prevent lake water from passing through it.

815. *yachanchic* 'we know': introduces a passage with witness validation, continuing through the first sentence of section 443.

816. 'Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri' supplied.

817. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 444.

818. In Taylor's reading (1987b: 485) it is Hualla's children who are called nephews of Llacsa Misa. Since both Cuno Cuyo and Hualla are siblings of Llacsa Misa, the offspring of either could be called his nephews. (The term in question is the Spanish *sobrino*, which, at least in Spanish context, does not distinguish between relationships through male and female siblings.) Therefore, the translation discrepancy does not imply any discrepancy about local principles of genealogical reckoning.

819. Secs. 443–444 are difficult. Assuming that all the named corporate descent groups are *yumay* 'patrilineages' like the three groups so described in section 445, one reading might be as follows:

Llacsa Misa's direct lineage became extinct at an unspecified time. When some collateral descendants through his brother Hualla took over the role to which the direct descendants would have been entitled (see sec. 446), namely, primacy in the water priesthood, they ceased to function in the lineage bearing Hualla's name. This transferred group or sublineage was called the Lázaro Puyo Rocçi. At the time of writing only one member of an untransferred Hualla sublineage remained. Since this was a woman (Anya Ruri's wife) and childless besides, the Hualla patrilineage as such no longer existed.

Descent groups throughout this passage are named after their apical ancestors. The fact that in this case the corporate name includes a baptismal name suggests that the transfer of the Lázaro Puypo Rocçi sublineage to the Llacsa Misa role was recent (an effect of post-invasion epidemics?).

820. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues with one interruption to the end of the chapter.

821. 'Reported' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence. *yumay* 'patrilineages': more literally, 'sperm'.

Calla's descendants are today the Gonzalo[822] Paucar Casa and the Lazaca Canya, those people.

All these people have multiplied from the five men who came from Yauri Llancha.

Only Llacsa Misa's descendants are now completely extinct.

The Lázaro, Hualla's children, have inherited their office because they're Llacsa Misa's kin, and they say, "We're the Llacsa Misa."

This much is all we know about the life of the Concha.

The end.[823]

822. Reading the abbreviated baptismal name as *jº* rather than *gº*, Taylor (1987b: 487) gives "Juan."

823. *fin* 'the end': in Spanish.

447

[Supplement I][824]

In what follows, we shall explain case by case what we know[825] happened in all these villages in the old days, and still does up to now, when a person gives birth to two babies in just one birth, whether they are a boy and a girl, or both boys, or both girls.

We call[826] those who are born this way *curi*.[827]

448 When babies were born like this, even if they were born unexpectedly in some other village, people would bring them to their home village that very night.

For example, in the old days, if twins were born in Sucya Cancha or Tumna, people would bring them right away to the Checa village called Llacsa Tambo.[828]

449 When carrying them they would by no means carry them during the daytime, for they used to say, "Be careful, <crossed out, in Spanish:> [it freezes] the earth might freeze!"

Maybe those who are privy to such practice follow it all over the region.

When *curi* were born, as soon as it got completely dark the man and woman—that is, the twins' father and mother—would start living fenced in inside a house, and both man and wife would lie there motionless
<**margin**, in Quechua with partly Spanish gloss:>
[lying, that is, on one side][829]
until the fifth day.

450 On the fifth day, they'd turn over onto their other side.

On that same day, all the father's male in-laws[830] would gather in the *curi*'s house and dance while beating their drum themselves.

(At that time, contrary to modern practice, it was the men who beat the drum and not the women.)

824. A cross-shaped symbol (*crismón*) appears at the top of the page.

825. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates throughout the two supplements except where otherwise indicated.

826. *ñinchin* 'we call': an unusual form, perhaps a slip of the tongue or pen due to indecision between *ñinchic* (inclusive first person plural) and *ñin* (third person).

827. The persecutors of "idolatry" from Avila onward attacked twin cults. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 20–21, 53; Keating's translation) mentions that "bodies of *chuchus*" were commonly venerated and kept in houses. *Chuchu* means a body of a twin or also a double or multiple fruit. He notes: "Human twins are called *curi*, which means two born of one womb, and if they die young, they keep them in jars in the house as a sacred object. One of them, they say, is the son of the lightning. They have many superstitions regarding the birth of twins, . . . each of which implies some form of penance, since they must expiate the sin of having been born together. . . . they do not baptize either *chuchus* or *chacpas* [breech birth babies]" ([1621] 1968: 31; Keating's translation).

828. The example of Sucya Cancha suggests that the teller is thinking of trips downslope to trade or produce coca at the Checa's outposts in the lower Rímac valley.

829. The couple would be required to lie on a bean or grain, and only allowed to turn over when their body warmth and humidity had germinated it. It is as if their bodies themselves were to counteract the danger of earth's freezing (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation).

830. *tucoy masancuna* 'all [his (or their)] male in-laws': the wide extension of this term is made clear by Diego Gonçález Holguín: "*massani* brother-in-law of a male; the married man calls his wife's brothers and her male cousins *massaniy*" ([1607] 1842: 215; see also [1608] 1952: 221). *Massani* and *massaniy* are the root *massa* with "empty morph" *-ni-* and first person singular possessive marker *-y* (i.e., 'my *massa*'). Earlier dictionaries include some of the husband's own male consanguineals ("*massa* brother-in-law, brother of the husband"; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 319).

Before beginning to dance these rites, they used to consult the demon,[831] using a spider[832] and the object called *pana charapi*,[833] concerning which of his in-laws should lead them by dancing first.

451 Following the demon's word, they'd choose and appoint five of the in-laws who were sitting there.

And these people, from the very moment they got the word, would search for coca day and night, never resting, bartering whatever they had for it.

The other in-laws, thinking only to outdo each other, all joined together no matter how many there were.

452 We mentioned above how the parents turned over on their other side.[834]

From that time on, the dancers[835] never rested from dancing every single night until the fifth day had arrived.

On the day before it did arrive, the in-laws used to show one another a leather bag as if to say, "Tomorrow I'll bring coca in this bag." They'd dance shaking the leather bags[836] still empty of coca.

Meanwhile, another five days would have elapsed since the time the parents had turned over on their other side.

So it was ten days in all.

453 On that occasion, beforehand, the five in-laws would catch and bring back a brocket deer, or a *taruca* deer,[837] or any other animals that live on the wild upper slopes. As the leader of those men carried it, the *curi* would emerge onto the open plaza.[838]

454 And some people would go around blowing the conch trumpet called *paya*.

And some would go around carrying a *pupuna*, <**margin**, in Spanish:> [It is the staff with the thong for catching parrots but not with such a long thong.][839]

And some others went around carrying *sacaya*.

(This material called *sacaya* was a little maize ground up with some *ticti*.)

Different people carried this stuff.

As for the people who carried these items, it wasn't the *curi*'s in-laws who carried them. It was rather their close blood relatives who carried them.

The brocket deer was the only thing the leader of the in-laws carried.

455 As soon as people had seized the brocket deer, they would force it to step around with its hooves, starting from the dwelling place where the *curi* were fenced in, saying,

"This is the one who has confused you,
Who has outraged you!"[840]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [And then they took it out and killed it.]

And all the people would eat its meat immediately, leaving absolutely nothing over as remnants.

831. *supayta* 'the demon': while to Christian ears *supay* meant a devil, this sentence may reflect the word's older sense 'a spirit' or volatile *ánima*. Since the twin ritual is concerned with the propagation of families, its divinations may have called on ancestral shades.

832. See chapter 28 (sec. 370).

833. Untranslated.

834. To begin germinating the second seed of their penance. 'Parents' supplied.

835. 'Dancers' supplied.

836. *hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic carcanccu*: could also mean 'thus they made [the in-laws] who had no coca bags dance'. 'Shake' is an attempt to render the effect of *huayacallactas taquichic*, more literally, 'making the bags [without coca] dance'. *Taquichiy* is the verb used in all instances where celebrants dance displaying animal skins or human trophies. In chapter 9 (sec. 128) a skin bag full of coca is taken as a sacrifice in lieu of an animal. These data suggest a close symmetry between the coca hunt and the deer hunt in section 453.

837. *tarucactapas* '*taruca* deer': *Hippocamelus antisiensis*, a deer larger than the brocket deer, found at altitudes over 3,000 m in the southern Andes and at higher ones in the north (Renard-Casevitz 1979: 21–22; see also Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 271–272).

838. *pampa* 'open plaza': *pampa* means any flat place, but since the context is the *curi* parents' return to their home ceremonial center, the scene is likely to be a plaza.

839. The *pupuna* is also the reed with which Cuni Raya opened the waterways in chapter 2 (sec. 9).

840. *tacurisonqui apllasonqui* 'has confused you, [who] has outraged you': tentative translation of a difficult passage. *Tacuri-* is thought to be from the verb "*ttakuini o ttacuni o chacruni* to mix or interpose one thing with another" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335). The derivatives concern confusion, such as turning a house upside down looking for something. *Aplla-* is likely to be *haplla* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 150) as, for example, in *haplla sonco* ('*haplla*-hearted') meaning 'the person who is in the habit of wrath and quarreling and who is overly rude'. Its derivatives concern words of anger or losing one's temper. Perhaps the point is that the deer is taken as a scapegoat for what has confused the parents' reproductive process. But alternatively the parents themselves could also be subjects of these verbs.

456 Then, as we just said, on the tenth day, they went out onto the open plaza. Afterward, the *curi* went wrapped in a large piece of cloth, shrouded from view, while some people, namely, the in-laws in groups of two or three,[841] would pull them along wailing and dancing.

Those who pulled them would also pull the *curi*'s *ayllu* relatives. They used to pull them along, and as they pulled they said, "We'll give you a field or something like that, we'll give you a llama."

457 When arriving at the open plaza, the in-laws used to carry the brocket deer's skin
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the pelt and the head stuffed with straw, because the flesh had already been eaten as was mentioned.]
with great ostentation, just as we do today when we carry the base of the cross at the head of a procession.[842]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the base of the cross]
Those who carried *pupunas* went brandishing them like spears as if to say, "I'll throw!" and striking combative poses over and over again. The one who came first among them struck threatening poses at the *curi* who came along in the rear.

458 When the people who were carrying the brocket deer's skin arrived at the plaza, a man and a woman who were *ayllu* kin to the *curi* offered them a llama or a field. As they did, they would say, "Rest with these gifts"[843] and put them at their ease. Then the *curi* went to their ordained[844] seats and the couple would sit there richly honored, both the husband and the wife together.

459 On that day, all the in-laws would compete in giving away their coca, and they'd dance and drink all day long.

In the evening they'd go back home and return to the same place where they'd dwelt before.

They remained there for another five days.

When those five days were complete, people used to accompany[845] them back to the[846] <crossed out:> [seat] sealed lodging.[847]

460 Right after this, their in-laws brought firewood and built a big bonfire,[848] as at the beginning, right on the next day after the *curi* were born—we forgot to tell this in our earlier account
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [What has to go with this is at the beginning.<?>]
—when they collected firewood every night, and, saying, "It will burn until dawn, lest some temptation befall," they lingered there[849] all night.[850]

So that fire never died until after the rituals,[851] not even for a single night.

461 Afterward, once they finished all these rituals, they led the *curi*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [and also their parents]
to a certain demon of theirs and asked, "Where shall we wash them clean of their fault?" They'd take them to Yansa lake,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that is, where the Conchas' water comes from]
in due order,[852] following the demon's command.

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841. *masacunapas yscay quimça* 'the in-laws in groups of two or three': could also be read 'their in-laws, two or three of them', but this makes it difficult to see how they could pull the many people mentioned in the next sentence.

842. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation) mentions that the deer was made into a canopy under which the penitent parents passed.

843. 'Gifts' supplied.

844. *unanchascaman* 'to . . . ordained': may mean the place had been chosen by a priestly divination.

845. *asuchic* 'accompany': not attested in old sources; Lira's modern Cuzco dictionary ([1941] n.d.: 22) has an apparently related verb *assuy* meaning 'to approach, to come close, to make one thing closer to another'.

846. Or 'to another'.

847. *aposentoman* 'to the sealed lodging': the following excerpt from a 1656 "idolatry" trial shows that this Spanish word served to designate the specially enclosed house in which (sec. 449) parents of twins were sequestered: "When two are born from one belly, which they call *chuchus*, the wizards [i.e., *huaca* priests] require their parents to fast five days, during each one of which they eat only one row of grains from one maize cob, and during these five days no one may see them, and when they bring food to the said fasting person, who is enclosed in an *aposento*, they cover their eyes so as not to see them . . ." (Duviols 1986: 164). The Huarochirí manuscript original has a crossed-out word *tiana*, which *aposento* replaces. *Tiana* means a dwelling, and sometimes a ceremonial stool or seat.

848. *collo camacta* 'bonfire': conjectural translation.

849. *cayta (ca)corcan* 'they lingered there': from *cay* 'to be' with reflexive *-cu-*; *cayta* 'around here or toward here' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 53).

850. The sense seems to be that, warming themselves by the fire, they stayed near the ritual house all night so the *curi* parents would not be tempted to lapse from their special discipline.

851. 'The rituals' supplied here and in the next sentence.

852. 'In due order': problematic translation. The origi-

462 There a man with the title of Con Churi,[853] who was that demon's priest, used to ask the earth about them.

They say[854] he would ask,

"Why were they born as *curi*?
For what faults of theirs, and how many?"

About those born *curi* people reportedly said, "They're born so in exchange for someone's death."[855] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is the opinion of the common people and not the answer.]

463 Then, saying,

"It's for this offense,"

or

"It's for that offense,"

people would wash both parents. They also bathed the two babies, washing them over and over again, even to the point where they were almost dying from cold, until at last it was said, "That's enough for the seriousness of their fault."

464 Once they'd finished all this, they used to cut the male's hair. They clipped just a little of the female's hair, but, as for the male,[856] they sheared his off as we do[857] with sinners.[858]

Then, it's said,[859] they returned with the *huachay ruco*.[860]

People put on them a necklace with black and white intertwined strands, which was the sign of a *curi*.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [somewhat like a golden chain]

465 Then they admonished them,

"You must fast for one whole year.
Neither you nor you may sin sexually[861] with anyone.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [not with each other either]

If you do, you'll be doing a very bad thing.
You'll have fatigued our in-laws[862] in vain."

So they advised them.

466 When half the year was over, the priest and a lot <**margin**, in Quechua:> [a lot]

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nal text is an abbreviation, *hord^{a}m^{da}*, for which we suggest the expansion *hordenadamende* 'in due order' or alternatively *hordinariamende* 'normally', 'usually'. Other translations provide the reading 'heretically' (*hereticamente*). Our reading is partly suggested by the fact that *hordenamy^{o}* meaning *hordenamyento* 'ordinance' and *hordin^{o}* meaning *hordinario* 'ordinary' are common abbreviations of the period (Cavallini de Araúz 1986: 59; Rostworowski 1988: 294). The various derivatives of *herejia* 'heresy' are rarely if ever abbreviated. Moreover, *hereticamente* in this context would be surprising since the manuscript does not concern heresies (which at that time typically meant Protestant teachings) but "idolatries" or "gentile" practices. Nor does the visit to Yansa lake seem any more "heretical" than the rest of the ritual.

853. See chapter 13 (sec. 185). The fact that a *con churi* priest, who is specifically a lineage authority, officiated in this ceremony suggests once more that *supay* in the context of twin ritual denotes an ancestral shade.

854. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this sentence has reportive validation, as do several others up to the end of section 467. The validation shifts do not mark transitions as sharp as those in the numbered chapters and are hard to interpret, but the first sentence of section 468 seems to suggest that this part is an interpolated portion of testimony after which the author returns to writing with witness validation.

855. *huañuynin* 'someone's death': attempts to render the ambiguity of the third person possessive *-n*. Whose death is not clear in this passage. But Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 188) explains that the birth of an extra baby via twinning was understood as restitution given by the deity of lightning to a family one of whose ancestors had been struck or killed by lightning.

856. *huarmictaca . . . carictaca* 'the female . . . the male': the terms denote gender alone. *Huarmi* can mean 'wife', but *cari* is not a synonym of *cosa* 'husband'. So this sentence leaves doubt about whether the parents or the twins are shorn.

857. *rutunchic* 'as we [inclusive, i.e., addressee as well as speaker] do': this implies the speaker identifies with this common practice of "extirpators of idolatry." Taylor (1987b: 502–503) reads *rutunqui* 'you cut', in which case 'you' could mean Avila or another cleric or church officer.

858. 'As we do with sinners' is witness-validated.

859. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues to predominate through the end of section 467.

860. *huachay ruco* may mean 'birth headdress' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 168; Taylor 1987b: 503).

861. *hochalliconqui* 'sin sexually': using the word with which the church translated 'to sin'. But since in this case sex would violate an Andean, not Catholic, norm the usage may not be colonial: that is, the sin inheres not in sex, but in having sex at the wrong moment.

862. *masanchiccunacta* 'our in-laws' with inclusive first person plural possessive marker: implying that the persons in question are in-laws of both addressee and speaker.

of other people would ask their demon, "Have the twins' parents[863] lived right?"

If it turned out all right, they'd be delighted. But <crossed out:> [If it wasn't good,] if he said, "They did sleep together,"

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that they had sexual intercourse]

then people would give them a good tongue-lashing.

467 The in-laws would get really mad and berate them: "How dare you wear us out with this burden all for nothing?"

They used to go after them like that until the end of the year.

Only then would they cut their necklace.

In this way, they say,[864] they finished the thing.

468 Now we'll complete[865] what we have just said.

If the twins were born both males or both females, people would say, "Times aren't going to be good."

"There'll be times of terrible hardship."

But if they were born male and female, people interpreted it as a good sign.

469 And as for today's in-laws, on one hand, they're pleased that they don't have to spend as much as they did in the old times.

On the other hand, they may regret it, too, when they think, "We don't do it like that anymore." In some villages, because of the demon's deceptions, they may not have forgotten these practices.

470 At night, or at any other time, when twin llamas are born, they used to ask the demon for their names one by one, inquiring,

"What twin person will he be?"

The names that the demon bestowed were Curi Ñaupa, Curi Yauri, Curi Huaman, Ticlla Curi,[866] or any other name that says *curi*.

It was done[867] that way for each one, whether male or female.

471 Any number of people who are now wealthy in silver used to put all their effort into trading away everything they had for coca during Paria Caca's feast or any other festival, because they didn't yet understand the word of the good God. It was the only thing they'd raise money for, even if they'd had only three or four years to recover from the last festival.

As for the poor, every year they worried, wondering,

"Where'll I find coca?"

"Will I be humiliated this way?"

They searched for it, bartering away their fields and clothing for coca, wandering hither and yon, going up to the guanaco pastures and searching for brocket deer while they themselves went hungry.

472 For the sake of this duty, those who were mindful of such practices used to go to enormous trouble and, fasting rigorously, asked their demon first of all,

"Where'll I find coca?"[868]

"Trading a guanaco for it?"

"Or should I trade off[869] one of my fields, or my clothing?"

"What'll happen to me?"

473 Nowadays, because they have another attitude and don't think so much about this custom,[870] and also because they no longer have to trade off any of their things on account of it, people feel well contented.

On the other hand, they also do cry about it a lot, saying, "Why is it that we don't do these things now?"

474 The time for this rite was at night or at any other

863. 'The twins' parents' supplied.

864. 'They say' supplied to indicate the end of a passage in which reportive validation predominates.

865. *tincuchison* 'we'll complete': the verb implies symmetry and suggests that what follows will not just add to, but will complement or match what went before. The phrase may mean that the teller will now make good on a promise to deal 'case by case' with mixed-sex, two-boy, and two-girl births (sec. 447). Or it may mean that in the next passage, which returns to witness validation, he or she will complement the data given by the source whose words are reported in sections 462–467.

866. The meanings of these names are: Curi Ñaupa 'Twin Leader', Curi Yauri 'Twin Scepter' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347), Curi Huaman 'Twin Falcon', and Ticlla Curi 'Two-colored Twin'.

867. 'It was done' supplied.

868. 'Coca' supplied.

869. *huacllichisac* 'should I trade off': this verb means "to damage one's capital or leave it just barely begun or a small amount already spent, or to damage in departing, or to go away damaging something" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 170). The concept seems to be that of spending off productive assets and thereby damaging one's own livelihood.

870. 'Custom' supplied.

time that Macoy Llenco designated by declaring, "It'll be on so-and-so a date." At such times people used to cheer up and become merry; the old men and lots of old ladies would go carrying their *ticti* and their other things, for there'd be drinks at the old house[871] or maybe even right here.

475 Right in this village people probably abstain from this practice, more or less, even though they may do it at night. We think that in other villages outside of here people do practice it, and we hear as much, too.

871. *ñaupa huasipi* 'at the old house': *ñaupa* is more strictly 'former'. The phrase may refer to dwellings from before the forced resettlements (c. 1580 onward in this area) or to prehispanic buildings.

[Supplement II][872]
JHS[873]

When we speak of an *ata*, we mean a child born with a reverse whorl[874] in its hair.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [their hair<?> goes backward][875]

About a person who's born like this:

When the baby turns three years old, its elders get together in the house or in the courtyard. Starting at broad daylight,[876] they first inform the father's[877] brothers-in-law or his fathers-in-law,[878] saying, "On that day we'll cut the hair of this *ata* and *illa*[879] of Paria Caca."[880] (When we speak of an *illa*, we mean just the same thing as an *ata*.)

872. A cross appears at the top of the page. In combination with the monogram JHS that appears below it, this forms the conventional symbol called *lábaro*.

873. The abbreviation *JHS* is a latinization of the Greek monogram *IHΣ* 'Jesus'. *JHS* and its equivalent *IHS* were popularly interpreted *Jesus Hominum Salvator* 'Jesus, savior of men' or *In Hoc Signo* 'in this sign' (i.e., *In Hoc Signo Vinces* 'in this sign shall you conquer'). But its characteristically Jesuit interpretation may be more relevant, given the early Jesuit penetration of the region and given Father Avila's own Jesuit education. This reading is *Jesum Habemus Socium* 'we have Jesus as a companion' (Cross 1957: 678). *Socium* might also resonate with the Andean ideal of social obligation between humans and sacred beings.

874. *parca* 'reverse whorl': a tentative translation. *Parca* can mean a plural whorl (Albornoz [1583?] 1984: 196) or a six-fingered birth (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 279). Perhaps its sense was generic, 'a bodily anomaly'. 'Reverse' derives from Urioste's transcription of the barely legible marginal note. Taylor's reading also seems to refer to hair but does not mention reversal.

875. Taylor (1987b: 512) reads the obscure marginal note as "on some it tangles and others not" (*a alg(un)os se les /maraña y a otros/no*).

876. *pacsac punchaomanta* 'Starting at broad daylight': based on Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 271) "*pacsa* 'resplendent'." Taylor (1987b: 512) reads *pusac* 'eight', that is, eight days ahead of time.

877. 'The father's' supplied, on basis that *massa* (see note 830) and *caca* are terms explicated with reference to a male ego in the colonial Quechua dictionaries and grammars.

878. *cacancunacta* 'fathers-in-law': an inadequate translation, because no English term corresponds to the same set of relatives as *caca*. Quechuists contemporary with the manuscript said *caca* could mean maternal uncle: "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42). But the same author's grammar treatise gives additional senses:

> *Caca*, the son-in-law's father-in-law, namely his wife's father; both the son-in-law and his first cousins call both the father-in-law and his father "my *caca*."
>
> The married man and his brothers as well also address those of their male in-laws who are brothers of his (the married man's) mother-in-law as "my *caca*." (Gonçález Holguín [1607] 1842: 214–215)

Ricardo ([1586] 1951: 98) gives usages of *caca* including father and brother of male ego's wife. Zuidema (1977: 20) suggests that the term groups together those male consanguines of male ego's son who do not partake of the patrilineal bond between ego and son. It is to the *massa* (see notes 830, 877) and *caca* (Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 240, 319) categories that parents of *parca* owe restitution for the disturbance of procreation that irregular births represent.

879. "*ylla* the large bezoar stone, a notable one as big as an egg or bigger, which they carry with them as a charm to become rich and lucky" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 366), and more broadly, any sort of amulet stone or effigy (see chap. 9, sec. 134); the term is associated with the cult of lightning. Irregular births, too, were attributed to lightning (see note 827).

880. An infant's first haircutting is still a common *rite de passage* in the Andes (Zamalloa González 1972: 28–29) and follows approximately the same pattern described here. The parents place the baby on a blanket

477 So they let everyone know about it, and begin to brew maize beer. When people hear someone say, "They're brewing half a *fanega*[881] of maize, maybe a whole one!" they ask one another, "What could that maize beer be for?"

Once they find out what day the fiesta will take place, all the people gather together on that day.

478 The *ata*'s father[882] sits with his brothers-in-law and all the men who rank as his fathers-in-law,[883] but down by the low end, and he begins to dance and serve them drinks.

When they get good and drunk, they spread out a blanket or a cover[884] and make the baby go to its center and sit there, and they make this speech:

"Fathers and brothers,
Today we'll cut the hair of this *ata*, this *illa*;

For he's Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's *ata* and *illa*,
And it's they who have sent him to me to be born so."

479 On that occasion, the baby's nearest maternal uncle[885] if he was a boy, or her nearest paternal aunt if she was a girl, or alternatively the baby's grandfather or grandmother,[886] would stand up and put on the blanket a token representing a llama or a field, and approach the *ata* with a pair of scissors.[887]

(The llama's token is an object called *cot huato*, one with which they had led a llama to Paria Caca.) <**margin**, in Spanish:> [*cot huato* is llama harness]

480 They would also put a token for a field there, called *caxo*.

(This *caxo* was just a stick, a digging tool for women.)

Then the *ata*'s close blood relatives would stand up, one at a time, and make offerings of cloaks and tunics, of sheep[888] or wool, according to their relationship.[889]

481 Once the close blood relatives had finished, the *curaca* or the *alcalde* would get up, starting from the leading positions, and put in one or two *reales* of money.

Thinking, "These people will get even drunker by the time they finish, and the drunker they get the surer it is that they won't hold back on anything," the parents[890] would make them drink hard until nightfall.[891]

482 Once they all finished clipping the hair, it was[892] the *ata*'s father who'd shear it all off the child, for the others would barely have snipped at it. As soon as he finished, he'd immediately start the dancing, calling out his ancestors' names:

"Father Anchi Puma!"
or
"Carhua Chachapa!"
or any other name. They danced and took their ease, saying,

---

with kin and guests around it. The guests, in return for each snip of the baby's hair, give or promise gifts for its future welfare. They bind themselves to the child by accepting drinks from the hosts. The rite is generally called a form of godparentage (*compadrazgo*) today.

881. 'half a *fanega*': Spanish bulk measure; about 0.8 bushel or 29 liters.

882. *atayuc runaca* 'the *ata*'s father': could also mean 'the person(s) who has (have) the *ata*', that is, both parents. We choose 'father' because this person is said to have *caca* and *massa*, terms used relative to a male ego.

883. *cacancunahuampas* 'the men who rank as his fathers-in-law': for reasons given in note 878 to section 476.

884. *titacta* 'cover': see note 794 to chapter 31 (sec. 426).

885. *cacan* '[*ata*'s] maternal uncle': "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42) seems the more applicable sense of *caca* when referring to a child ego since the other usages apply to married males; *ypan* 'paternal aunt' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 369; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 301)

886. Assuming the immediately preceding glosses of *cacan* and *ypan* are right, these words probably imply maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother, respectively.

887. Scissors are a European tool, suggesting that the narrative concerns post-1532 times.

888. *ouejahuanpas* 'of a sheep': using the Spanish word for the Old World animal. Throughout the manuscript sacrificial goods are consistently of Andean provenience, and it is true that c. 1600 *oveja de la tierra* 'native sheep' could still mean 'llama'. But this gift, offered to the child's estate and not for sacrifice, might really be a Spanish sheep. Spanish sheep were herded through many parts of the Andes well before 1600.

889. *cascancama* 'according to their relationship': or 'according to what they had'.

890. Subject is an unspecified third person: the parents? the *alcalde*? The former makes sense since it was in their interest to maximize the gifts.

891. *pacha huraycuscancama*: more literally, 'until *pacha* descends'; translation uses an unattested but plausible meaning for *pacha*.

892. Or 'is'; many of the verbs in this supplement are ambiguous between agentive present and habitual past tenses because auxiliary verbs (forms of *cay* 'to be') are omitted.

"This is your *ata*, your *illa*,
And now we have finished his rites.

Henceforth may Paria Caca send us no other;
We will do right and be well."[893]

483 When people mention an *ata* or *illa*, they reportedly[894] comment, "This is Paria Caca's messenger."

On the evening of the day before the haircutting ritual,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the night before the said day.]
people used to worship Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri with guinea pigs, *ticti*, and other things of theirs, showing deep respect, and saying,

"Put us truly at peace with this *ata*,
Tomorrow we'll truly be happy."

484 "This is the sign of a *curi*," people say. "He has sent this *ata* to foretell the coming of a *curi*. People haven't minded their debts to Paria Caca properly, and for this, *curi* will be born in exchange for someone's death."[895]

"They're born in exchange for their death," they say about those born *curi*.

This is what we know about the people known as the San Damián Checa.[896]

485 Who knows what people say in other villages?

However, when an *ata* is born, everything is the same. Everybody reveres them all over this whole *corregimiento* and in the whole region: the Huanca, the Yauyo, the Huaman Tanca, all the kinds of people called Indians.[897]

486 And it's the same in Limac; when someone's child is an *ata* lots of people gather, from the most distinguished to the servants.

And we also know such things about the ones who are mestizos, some of them.

When they saw these rituals, certain people fell into the same sin, thinking, "Maybe this is a good custom!"

We said the same thing: "They should be shorn after they're three years old."

People perform this rite earlier or later, according to their customs.

All of this is a true testimony.

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893. These two formulas and the one following do not appear to be strict couplets, but they do have a common form consisting of a pairing between a sentence of which the addressed deity is subject and one in which the supplicant speaks of his own conduct.

894. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate beginning of a passage in which *-si* reportive predominates, continuing up to the fourth sentence of section 484.

895. *huañonan* 'someone's death': whose death, as in supplement I (sec. 462), remains unclear.

896. This sentence and the remainder of the supplement have witness validation.

897. *runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca* 'people called Indians': a reprise of the phrase that begins the manuscript (preface, sec. 1). The effect is as though "zooming out" back to the wider colonial context by naming three farflung ethnic groups whose territories reach far beyond that of the manuscript.

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Transcription of the Huarochirí Manuscript

George L. Urioste

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F 64 R

[1] runa yn(di)o ñiscap machoncuna ñaupa
pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca
hinantin causascancunapas manam cananca
mapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam
vira cochappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin
hinatacmi canman [2] chay hina captinpas canan
cama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani
cay huc yayayuc guaro cheri ñiscap machoncu
nap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan y
ma yñah canancamapas causan chay chay
cunacta chayri sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca
hima hina causascampas pacariscanmanta
[3] CAPITULO 1 COMO FUE ANTEGUAM(EN)TE LOS YDOLOS Y COMO GUERREO EN
TRE ELLOS Y COMO AUIA EN AQUEL TIEMPO LOS NATURALES
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc huaca ñiscas yana ñamca tuta
ñamca sutioc carcan cay huacacunactas quipanpi huc huaca
tac huallallo caruincho sutioc<carcan>atircan ña atispas canan
runacta yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan huctas quiquin
micorcan huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta causachicorcan yayan
maman [4] chaymantas chay pachaca huañuspapas pihcca punchao
llapitac causarimpuc carcan ynaspa micuyninri tarpuscanmanta
pihcca punchaollapitacsi pocorcan cay llactacunari tucoy hinantin
llactas yuncasapa carcan [5] chaysi ancha ahca runacuna huntaspas — yuncaçapa
ancha millayta causarca chacranpacpas cacactapas patactapas yanca
aspispa allallaspa chay chacracunas canancamapas tucoy hinantin
cacacunapi huchoyllapas atunpas ricurin hinaspari chay pacha pis
cocunaca ancha çumaccamas carcan huritupas caquipas tucoy quellosapa
pucasapa [6] chaycunas quipanpi ña may pacham huc huacatac paria
caca sutioc ricurimurcan chay pachas ynantin rurascanhuan antiman
carcoy tucorcan chay atiscancunacta cay quipampim paria cacap pa
carimuscantauan rimason [7] chaymantam canan huc huacatac cuni — saber si dize q(ue) no se
raya sutioc carca<n> caytam mana allicho yachanchic paria cacaman — sabe si fue antes
tapas hichapas ñaupacnin carcan o quipanpas ychaca cay cunirayap — o despues de carvin
cho o de paria caca

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cascanracmi ñahca vira cochap cascanman tincon porque caytam
runacuna ña muchaspapas coni raya vira cocha runa camac pacha camac
yma aycayuc cammi canqui campam chacraiqui campac runayqui
ñispa muchac carcan [8] yma ayca saça ruranacta callarijpacpas pai
taracmi machocuna cocanta pachaman vischuspa cayta yuyachiuai
amutachiuai cuni raya vira cocha ñispa mana vira cuchactaca ricus
patac ancha ñaupa rimac muchac carcanco yallin astauanrac
compi camayucri compinampac sasa captin muchac cayac carcan chay
raycom caytarac ñaupacninpi causascanta quillcasson chaysauam
paria cacacta
[9] CAPITULO 2 COMO SUÇEDIO CUNI RAYA VIRA COCHA EN
SU TIEMPO cuni raya vira cochap causascan Y COMO CAUI LLA
CA PARIO SU HIJO Y LO QUE PASSO

notase q(ue) no se sabe si fue este antes o despues de carvincho

cay cuni raya vira cochas ancha ñaupa huc runa ancha huaccha tucospalla
purircan yacollanpas cosmanpas lliqui lliquesapa runacunapas huaquin
mana ricsicnincunaca huaccha huçasapa ñispas cayar<>can cay runas
canan tucoy llactacunacta camarcan chacractapas rimaspallas pata
patactapas allin pircascacta tucochircan rarcactas canan llocsimu
nanmanta huc pupuna sutioc cañavelarpa sisayninhuan chucas
pallas yachacuchirca chaymantari yma aycactapas ruraspas purir
can huaquinin llacta huacacunactapas yachascanhuan allcuchaspa [10] chay
si huc mitaca huc huarmi<tac> huacatac caui llaca sutioc carcan cay
caui llacas canan viñay donzella carcan panas ancha sumac cap
tin pi maycan huaca villcacunapas puñosac ñispa munapayar
can chaysi manatac hu ñircancho [11] chaymantas canan quepanpi chay
huarmica chayhina mana pi caritapas chancaycochicuspa huc yura
rucmap siquinpi ahuacorcan chaysi chay cuni rayaca amauta
cayninpi huc pisco tucospa chay yura rucmaman vichayrirca chay
si chaypi huc rucma chayasca captin chayman yumayninta chu
raspa hormachimurca chay huarmi cayllaman [12] chaysi chay huarmica
ancha cusicuspa millpuycorcan chaysi hinalla chichu tucorcan ma
na carip chayascan escon quellanpi himanam huarmicunapas hua
chacon hina huachamurcan yna donzellatac chaysi quiquillantac
huc huata chica ñoñonhuan causachircan pip churinh cayca ñispa
[13] chaysi ña huc huataman huntaptinca taua chaqui ña chay huamra
puriptinca tucoy hinanin huaca villcacunacta cayachircan

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yayanta ricsiconcampac chaysi cay simicta huacacuna huyarispa
ancha cusicuspa tucoynin alli pachanta cama pachallispa ñocactapas
ñocactapas munahuanca ñispa hamurcancu [14] chaysi cay tantanacoy
ri anchi cuchapi carcan maypim chay huarmi tiarcan chayman hinaspas la congreçion fue en
ña tucoynin hinantin huacacuna villcacuna tiaycuptinsi chay huar anchi cocha
mica ñispa nircan ri<>coy caricuna apucona ricsicoy cay huahuac
ta mayquenniquechicme yumahuarcanquichic camcho camcho ñispas
sapanpi taporcan chaysi manatac pillapas ñocapmi nircancho [15] chaysi
chay ñiscanchic cuni raya vira cochaca manyallapi tiacuspas ancha
huacchalla yna tiacuptinsi chay huacchap churincho canman ñispas
paytaca millaspa mana tapurcancho chica sumac cama caricunaca
tiaptin chaysi mana pillapas ñocap churimi ñispa ñiptinsi chay
huamracta ñispa nircan ri cam quiquique yayaiquicta ricsicoy
ñispa ñircan huacacunactapas churique caspaca camsahuam lluca
musonque ñispa ñaupactac villaspa [16] chaysi chay huamraca man
yanmanta callarimuspas tahua chaquilla purispa hasta<>chay huc
manyan yayan tiascanman chayascancama mana pillamanpas
llocarcancho chaysi ña chayaspaca tuyllapuni ancha cusicuspa yayanpa
chancanman llocaycorca chaysi mamanca chayta ricuspas ancha
piñacuspa hatatay chay hina huacchap churintachum ñocaca hua
chayman ñispas chay huahuallanta apáricuspa cochaman chi
cacharcan [17] chaysi chay cuni raya vira cochaca tuylla munahuanca ñispa
cori pachanta pachallispa tucoy llacta huacacunapas manchariptin
catita ña callarircan ñispa pana caue llaca cayman cahuaycumu
ay ancha sumac ñam cani ñispas pachactapas hillarichispa sayar
can [18] chaysi chay caue llacaca mana huyantapas payman ticrari
chispa cochaman hinallam chincasac chica millay runap cachcaçapap
churinta huachascaymanta ñispa chicacharcan maypim cananpas chay
pacha camac huco cochapi cananpas sutilla escay rumi runa hina
tiacon chayman chaysi chay canan tiascanpis chayaspalla rumi tu
corcan [19] chaymantas cay cuni raya vira cochaca pana ricurimunca
cahuaycumuanca ñispa caparispa cayapayaspa carollapi catircan
chaysi ñaupac huc condorhuan tincorcan chaysi huauqui maypim
chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñiptinsi cayllapim ñahcam tarinque ñip
tinsi ñispa ñircan camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sall
cacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca

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cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi
sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan
[20] chaymantas chaysaua añashuan tincorcan chaysi pana may
pim chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñispa tapuptinsi payca ñispa
ñircan mana ñam tarinquecho ancha caructam rin ñiptinssi
camca chay villahuascayquimanta manam punchaopas purinque
cho tutallam runapas chicniptin ancha millayta asnaspa purin
que ñispa ancha millaypi ñacarcan
[21] chaysauam pumahuan tincorcan chaymi payca cayllactaracmi rin
caylla ñam sihcpayconque ñiptinmi paytaca camca ancha cuyas
cam canqui llamactapas huchayucpa llamantaracmi micopunque
camta huaño<chi>chispapas aton fiestapiracmi homansaua<chu>
churaspa taquechisonque chaymanta huatanpi camta llocsi
chispare huc llamanta nacasparac(mi) taquechisonque ñispa ñircan
[22] chaymantam ñatac huc atochuan tincorcan chaymi chay atoc
ca ancha caructa ñam rin mana ñam tarinquicho ñispa ñiptin
mi camtaca carupi puricuptiquitacmi runacunapas chay hatoc a
coylla ñispa ancha chicnisonque huañochispari yancam camtaca
carayquictapas husuchisonque ñispa ñircan

[23] hinatacsi huc huaman
huan tincorcan chaysi chay
guamanca cayllata
racmi rin ñah cam tarinq(ui)
ñiptinsi camca ancha
cusiocmi canqui micuspa
pas ñaupacracmi quin
ticta armuçaconque chay
mantari piscocunacta
huañuchispari camta
huañuchic runam huc
llamanhuan huacachi
sonqui ynaspari taquis
papas homampim chura
sonqui chaypi sumaspa tian
cayquipac
[24] chaysahuam cay horitocu
nahuan tincorcan chaysi
chay horituca ancha caructa
ñam rin mana ñam tarin
quicho ñiptinsi camca an
cha caparispam porinq(ui)
micoyniquicta husuchisac
ñiptiquipas chay caparij
niquita huyarispa ancha
vtcalla carcosonqui chay
mi ancha ñacarispa cau
sanq(ui) runapas chicniptin

[24cont.] chaymantari pi maycan alli villacochuan tincospaca allicta çapa
camaycospas rircan mana allicta villacnintare millaypi cama
ñacaspas rircan [25] chaysi cocha pa(tapi chayaspaca)<hinalla cochaman yaycuspa
chicacharcan chaytam canan runacunaca castillamanmi chicachar
ca ñispa ñincu ñaupa pachapas huc pachamansi rin ñispaca ñircan>
pacha camacñicman cutimurcan chaysi chaypica pacha camacpac
iscay sipas churin machachuaypa huacaychascan tiacman chaya
murcan chaysi cay yscay sipaspa mamanca ñaupacllantac co
cha hucoman chay caue llaca ñiscacta visitac yaycurcan sutin
pas hurpay huacha<y>c sutioc cay hillaptinsi chay cuni raya vira co
chaca chay sipasta yuyacninta puñochircan chaysi huquen ñañan
tauan puñoyta munaptinsi chayca huc urpai tucospa pauarirca
chaymantas mamanpas hurpai huachac (sutioc) carca [26] chaysi chay pachaca
cochapi manas huc challuallapas carcancho chay hurpai huachac
niscallas huasinpi huc huchuylla cochallapi huyhuacuc carca
chaytas chay cuni rayaca piñaspa ymapacmi chay caue llaca ñis
ca huarmicta cocha ocumanta visitac rin ñispalla tucoyninta <cocha>

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haton cochaman vischorapurcan chaymantaracsi cananca chall
huacunapas cochapi huntan [27] chaymantas chay cuniraya vira co
cha ñiscaca miticamurca cocha patañicta chaysi chay hurpai
huachac ñisca huarmica huahuancuna ynam <yuma>(puñu)huan ñispa
villaptinsi ancha piñaspa catimurcan chaysi cayapayaspa catip
tinsi ho ñispa suyarcan chaysi husallayquicta husascayque
cuni ñispas husarcan [28] chaysi ña husaspa pay cayllapi huc aton
cacacta viñarichircan chayta cuni rayacta hurmachisac ñispa
chaysi payca hamauta cayninpi musyacuspa aslla ysmayco
cumusac pana ñispalla cay llactacunaman ñatac miticamur
can chaysi cay quitipi ancha hunay puricorcan ancha ahca llac
tacunacta runactapas llollachispa <el fin q(ue) tuuo esta huaca se dira abajo ojo>
[29] CAPIT(UL)O 3 COMO PASSO ANTEGUAMENTE LOS Y(NDI)OS QUANDO REUENTO LA MAR
CAYPIM ÑATAC ANCHA ÑAUPA RUNA
CONAP RIMACUSCANMAN ÑATAC
CUTISON
chay simire caymi ñaupa pachas cay pacha puchocayta munarcan
chaysi mama cochap pahcyamunanta yachaspas huc orco llamaca
ancha allin queuayucpi <yayan>(chay llamayoc) çamachiptintac mana micuspa
ancha llaquecuc yna carca yn yn ñispa huacaspa [30] chaysi<yayan>(chay llamayuc)
ca ancha piñaspa sarap curumtayninhuan chucllo micuscampi
chucarca micoy allco chica quehuapim çamachijque ñispa chay
si chay llamaca runa yna rimarimuspa ñispa ñircan hutic ymac
tam cam yuyanquiman cananmi pihcca punchaumanta cocha
pahyamunca chaymi hinantin pacha pochocanca ñispa rima
rirca [31] chaysi chay runaca ancha mancharispa himanam cason
mayman rispam quispison ñispa ñiptinsi haco villca coto este es un cerro q(ue) esta
hurcoman chaypim quispison pihcca punchaupac micuynij entre huanri y surco
quicta apacoy ñispa ñircan chaysi chaymantaca chay orco
llamantapas vinaynintapas quequen apaspa ancha hutcaspa
rircan [32] chaysi ña villca coto hurcoman chayaptinca tucoy ani
malcuna ña huntasca pomapas hatucpas huanacopas con
dorpas yma ayca animalcunapas chaysi chay runa chayap
tin pachalla cochaca pahcyamurca chaysi chaypi ancha
quihcquinacuspa tiarca [33] tucoy hinantin hor(co)cunactapas tu
coy pampaptinsi chay villca coto hurcolla aslla puntallan

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mana yacup chayascan carca chaysi hatucpac chupantaca
yaco hucocharcan chaysi chay yanamanpas tucorcan chay
si pihcca punchaomantaca ñatac yacuca huraycurcan
chaquerirca [34] chay chaquerispas cochactapas asta hurayman
anchurichircan runacunactari tucoy hinantin runacta collo
chispa chaymantas chay runaca ñatac mirarimurca chay
cacsi canancama runacuna tian cay simictam canan
xp.^(christia)nocuna hunanchanchic chay tiempo dellobioctah paycuna
ca hina villca cutucta quispiscanta hunanchacon

[35] CAPIT(UL)O 4 COMO EL SOL SE DESPARECIO CINCO DIAS — CHAYMANTAM HUC SIMICTATAC VILLASON PUNCHAO HUAÑUSCANTA

ñaupa pachas <punchao> (ynte) huañorcan chaysi chay huañuscan
(manta) pihca punchao tutayarcan chayssi rumicunaca paypura
huactanacurcan chaymantas cay mortero muhcacunari
chaymanta cay maraycunapas runacta micuyta callarir
can llama horcocunare ynatac runacta ña catirircan
caytam canan ñocanchic xp.^ono(christiano)cuna hunanchanchic
jesuxp.^to(jesuchristo) apunchicpac huañuscanpi tutayascantah caycuna
ca riman ñispa hunanchanchic ychach ari chay

[36] CAPIT(UL)O 5 COMO ANTEGUA M(ENT)E PARECIO PARIA CACA EN VN CERRO LLAMADO CONDOR COTO CIN CO HUEUOS Y LO QUE SUCEDIO — CAYMANTAM ÑATAC PARIA CACAP PACARIMUSCAN CALLARINCA

ñam hari cay ñaupac tahua capitulopi ñaupa pacha causas
cancunacta villanchic hichaca cay runacunap <> chay pacha
pacarimuscancunactam mana yachanchiccho maymantah
pacarimurcan [37] chaymanta cay runacuna chay pacha causaccuna
ca paypura aucanacuspa atinacuspalla<s>m causac carcan(cu) cura
canpacpas sinchicunallacta rricocunallacta<s> ricsicorcan cay
cunactam purom runa ñispa ñihchic [38] cay pachapim chay
paria caca ñisca condor cotopi pihcca runto yurimurcan cay yu
riscantam huc runa huacchallatac huatya cori sutioc
paria cacap churin ñiscatac ñaupaclla ricumorca yachamurca
cay yachascantari ahca misterio rurascantahuanmi rimason

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[39] chay pacha cay huatya curi ñisca huacchalla micuspapas huatya
cuspalla causaptinsi sutiachircan huatya curim ñispa
chay pachas huc runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha capac atun apo — ojo tamta ñamca
carcan huasimpas tucoy hinantin huassim cassa cancho ñisca
ricchaccuna piscocunap ricranhuan catascas carcan llamanpas
quillo llama puca asol llama yma ayca ricchaccama llama
yocsi carcan [40] chaysi cay runacta chica alli causascanta ricuspas
tucoy hinantin llactacunamanta hamuspa yupaicharcan mu
charcan chaysi payri ancha yachac tucospa pissi yachascanhuan
ancha ahca runa<cta>conacta llollaspa causarcan chay pachas yna
amauta tucoc dios tucoc caspatac chay runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha mi — tamta ñamca
llay huncoyta tarircan [41] chaysi ancha ahca huata honcoptinsi hima
hinam chica yachac camac caspatac honcon ñispa runacunapas
chay pacha rimarcancu chaysi chay runaca alliyasac ñispa y
manam vira cochacunapas amautacunacta doctorcunacta caya
chin chay hina tucoy yachaccunacta sauiocunacta cayachircan — juntaronse los sauios
chaysi manatac pillapas yacharcancho chay honcoscanta [42] chay
si cay hatya curica chay pacha ura cochañicmanta hamuspa
may pacham sieneguellaman huraycomunchic chay horcucta chay
pis poñomusca chay horcom canan latab zaco sutioc chaypi poñop
tinsi huc hatocca vramanta amusca hocri hanacmanta amusca
tac chaysi chaypi pactalla tincuspas huauque hima ynallam
hanac villcapi ñispa tapurcan [43] chaysi allica allem ychaca
huc apom anchi cochapi villca checa yachac tucoc dios tococmi
ancha huncon chaymi tucoy amautacuna taripan pachacta
ymamantam chica huncon ñispa chaymi manatac pillapas
yachancho honcoscanta chaymi chay honcoscanca huarminpa
pincayninmanmi camchacuptin huc muro sara callanamanta
pahyamuspa chayaicurcan [44] chaytam ñatac pallaspa huc ru
naman caracurca chay carascanmantam chay runa micoc
huan hochallicoc ña tucon chaytam canan pachaca huachuc
ta ña yupan chaymantam cay hochamanta huc machac
huay chay chica sumac huasinsaua pay(cuna)cta micoc tian huc
ampaturi yscay vmayoc maraynin hocopi tian(tac) cay<cuna>
micucnintam (cana) mana pillapas musyancho ñispas villarcan
chay hatoc horamanta amucta [45] chaysi ñatac paytari

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huauqui chayca hura villcapi hima hinallam runacuna ñis
pa tapurcan chaysi payri hinatac villarcan huc huarmim
aton apo villcap churinmi hullomanta ñahca huañun ñispa
(cay simin canan ancha ahca chay huarmi alliyascancama
chaytaca quepampiracmi quillcason cananri ñaupacman
cutison)[46]cay caycunacta villanacuptinsi chay huatya curi ñisca huyarcan
chay chica aton apo dios tucospa huncos<canta> cay runas
yscay churiyoc carcan chaysi huc yuyacnintaca huc
casarachircan ayllonhuantac ancha rricohuan tinquichircan chaysi cay
huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca chay pacha honcoptin chay apoman
chayarcan [47] chaysi chayaspas<huaqui> huaticayllapi tapuyca
charcan manacho cay llactapi pillapas honcon ñispa chaysi
chay quipan sipas chorinca yayaimi honcon ñispa villar
ychaca caytas que can chaysi ñocahuan cason camrayco yayaiquicta alliya
pampi chaupi ñamcacta chisac ñispa villarcan (cay huarmip sutintam mana yachanchiccho)
ña sutiachircan chaysi chay huarmica mana tuy
llaca hu ñircancho [48] chaysi yayantaca yaya caypim huc huac
cha yayaiquicta alliyachisac ñimuan ñispa villarcan chay
si cay simicta hoyarispas chay sauiocuna tiacca asicor
can ñocacunapas alliyachipticho chay huaccharac alliya
chinman ñispa chaysi chay apoca alliyaininta ancha mu
naspas hamuchontac yma yna runallapas ñispa cayachircan
[49] chaysi cayachiptin cay huatya curi ñiscaca yaicuspa ñispa ñirca
yaya alliyaita munaptiquica alliyachiscayqui hechaca chu
riquictam co<uay>anqui ñiptinsi paica ancha cusicuspa alli
tacmi ñispa ñircan chaysi chay ñaupac churinpa cosanca
cay simicta huyarispas ancha piñarcan himapacmi chay huc
huacchahuan tinquichisac ñispa ñin ñoca chica capacpac co
ñaday<ni>ta ñispa [50] cay runa piñacucpa huatya curihuan
aucanacuscantam caysa(ua) villason cananca chay huaccha
huatya curi ñiscap ampiscanman ñatac cotison
chaysi cay huatya curica ampijta ña callarircan yaya huarmiquim
huachuc ñispa chay hina huachoc hochayoc captinmi camta
honcochisonqui camta micucri cay chica collanan huasique
sahuam yscay machachuay tian chaymantam ampatori
yscay homayoctac maray hucopi tian [51] caycunactam canan
tucoyninta huañoshison chaymi alliyanqui chayman

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tam ña alliyaspam tucoy hima aycacta yallispa ñocap yayai
ta muchanqui caya minchallam yurimunca camca manam
ari camac runacho canqui camac runa caspaca manam
ari honconquimancho ñispa ñiptinsi ancha mancharirca
[52] chaysi ña chay huasinta chica sumacta pascasac ñiptinsi
ancha llaquicorcan huarminsi hinatac yancam cay huac
cha acoylla ñihuan manam huachuccho cani ñispa capa
rircan [53] chaysi chay runa honcucca alliyaininta ancha
munaspas huasinta pascachircantac chaymantas yscay
machachuayta surcorcan ynaspa huañochircan huarmintari
hinatac suti villarcan ymanam chay huc muro sara pah
yamuspa pincayninman chayaicorcan ynaspa ñatac pallas
pa runacta cararcan chaycunacta chaysi chay huarmi
pas quipampica ancha chicanmi ñispa tucoyta villacorcan
[54] chaymantas ñatac marayninta atarichircan chaysi chay
hucomantaca huc ampato yscay homayoc llocsimuspa
chay anchi cucha huaycomanh pahuarircan chaypis
canancama tiacon huc pucyupi chay pucyus canan chay — preguntar como se dize
pi runacuna chayaptinca ña ñispa chincachin ña ñis — este pucyu y en q(ue) p(ar)te esta
pa locotapas ruran [55] cay tucoy ñiscanchiccunacta ña
puchocaptinsi <yayanca> chay huncuc runaca alliyarcan
ña alliyapuptinsi chay huatya curi ñiscaca ponchao
ninpi huc mita condor cotoman rircan chaypis chay pari
a caca ñisca huacaca pihca runto tiacorcan chay cayllampis
canan huayrapas pucorircan chaysi ñaupa pachaca manas
huayra ricurircancho [56] chayman rinan captinca punchao
ninpis chay alliyac runaca sipas churinta corcan chay
si yscaynillan chay horco quiticta porispa hochallicorcan
[57] cay hochallicoscanta ña chay huc ñaupac masan hoya
rispa<m>s ancha pincayta rurasac chay huacchacta ñispa
yallinacoyta ña callarirca chaysi huc ponchao chay ru
naca huauqui camhuan yallinacuson ymahuanpas cam
huacchcaraccho chica capacpa coñada<ni>yta huarmiyan
quiman ñispas ñircan chaysi chay huacchaca alli — + esto es uno de los hu(eu)os
tacmi ñispas yaianman + cayhinam ñihuan ñispa villa — dichos a quien este tenia
coc rircan chaysi payca allitacmi ymata ñiptin — por p(adr)e

F 68 V

pas<tu> tuyllam ñocaman hamuanque ñispa ñircan [58] cay ya
llinacoysi cay hina carcan
huc ponchaosi vpyaihuan ynaspa taquihuan yallinacuson
ñispa ñircan chaysi cay huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca ya
yanman villacoc rircan chaysi ri chay huc horcoman
chaypim huanaco tucospa huañusca siriconqui chaymi tu
tallamantam ñocacta ricoque huc atoc añas huarminhuan
hamunca [59] chaymi huc huchoylla porongollapi ashuanta apa
munca ynaspa tinyantapas apamuncatac chaytam canan
camta huañusca huanacucta ricuspam chaycunantapas
pachapi churaspa atucri antaranta churaspatac micoyta
ña callarisonqui chaymi camca runa tucospa ancha na
nacta caparispa pauarimunqui chaymi paicunaca chay
nintapas mana yuyaspa miticaptinmi chayta apaspa
yallinacoypac rinqui ñispas yaian paria caca villarcan
[60] chaysi cay huacchaca ñiscancama rurarcan
chaysi ña yallinacospaca ñaupacñinsi chay runa rrico ñisca
taquircan chaysi huarmicunapas ñahca yscay pachac chica
taquipuptinsi ña pai pochocaptin chay huacchaca
yaycorcan sapallan huarmillanhuan yscaynillan chay
si ponconta yaicospatacsi chay añaspa huancarninta
apamus(can)<chay>huan taquiptin<si> tucoy chay pachapas cuyurcan
ynaspas chayhuanpas tucoyta yallircan [61] chaysi ñatac vpyai
ta callarircan chaysi ymanam canampas corpacuna anac
manta tiamun chay hinas çapallam huarmillanhuan tia
murcan chaysi chay runacunaca tucoy hinantin tiaccuna
ancosamurcan mana samachispa chaysi paica tucoyta
vpyaspapas mana llaquispa tiacorcan [62] chaysi ñatac pairi
chay huchoylla poroncollapi ashuan apamuscanhuan ancusay
ta ña callarircan runacunapas chica ochuyllapicho chica
runacta sacsachinman ñispa<s> asipayaptin chaysi paica
manyanmanta ancosamuspa sapampi tuylla tuylla hur
machircan [63] chaysi cayantin ñatac huc yallinacoyta atipap
tin munarcan cay yallinacoysi hualliparicoy carcan an
cha allin cassa ñiscanhuan cancho ñiscanhuan chaysi cay
huatya curi ñiscaca ñatac yayanman rirca chaysi huc

F 69 R

razo pachacta yayanca cumurcan chayhuansi tucoy runacunac o riti
tapas ñauinta rupachispa atiparcan [64] chaymantas ñatac
pomacta aparispa yallinacoson ñispa ñircan chaysi cay
runaca pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan chaysi
chay huacchaca yayan villaptin tutallamanta huc pucyo
manta puca pomacta apamurcan chay puca pomahuansi ca
nan taquiptin ymanam canan huc arco sielofiicpi llocsin
chay hina llocsiptin taquircan [65] chaymantas canan ñatac hua
si pircacoyhuan yallinacoyta munarcan chaysi chay runaca an
cha ahca runayoc caspa huc poncha(u)lla atun huasicta ñahca
tucochircan chaysi <pay> cay huacchaca ticsillanta churaspa
tucoy punchao huarmillanhuan poricorcan chay tutas canan
tucoy piscocuna chaymanta machachuaycuna yma ayca
pachapi caccunas pircarcan chaysi cayaca ña tucoscacta
ricuspa ancha mancharircan [66] chaymanta catanampipas
hinatacsi yallircan ocsantapas tucoy huanacocuna
vicoñaconas astamurcan chay runaptari llamanhuan
chacnacumuptinsi oscullocta mincaspa huc cacallapi
suyaspa mancharichispa tucoyta destruyrca hurmachir
can chayhuanpas hinatac yallircan [67] cay tucoyta yallina
cuspas quipampica cay huaccha ñiscaca ñispa ñircan
yayanpa simincama huauqui ñam chica ahca mita
campa simiquicta ho ñispa yallinaconchic cananca ño
cap simiitapas ho ñihuaytac ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi
ñispa ho ñircan chaysi ñispa ñircan cananca ancas cusma
yoc chaymanta huaranchicri yurac hutco cachon hina
lla taquison ñispas ñiptinsi allitacmi ñircan [68] chaysi chay
runaca ñaupacmantapas payrac <taquic> ñaupac taquic
caspas taquircan ña taquiptinsi chay hatya curi ñis
caca hahuamanta caparispa callparimuptinsi chay runa
ca mancharispa huc lloycho tucospa miticarcan chay
si huarminpas cosallayhuantac huañosac ñispa catirir
can [69] chaysi chay huaccha ñiscaca ancha piñaspa ri hutic
cammi chica huatuycahuarcanquichic ñispa camtaca
huañochiscayquim ñispas catirircantac chaysi catispa
huarmintaca anchi cocha ñanpi apispas caypim ynantin

F 69 V

runa hanacmanta huramanta hamuc pincaynijque
ta ricupayasonqui ñispas huray çinca humanmanta sa
yachircan chaysi tuylla pachampitac rumi tucorcan [70] chay
rumis canancamapas himanam runap chancan hina
nota chancayoc racayoc tian chaytas ymancampach ari
preguntar para q(ue) cocacta chaysaua churapon (canancamapas) chaymantas chay lloycho
se pone esta coca tucoc runaca hinallatac chay hurcucta sicaspa chin
carcan [71] chay lloychos canan ñaupa pachaca runa micoc
carcan quipampis canan ña ahca lloycho caspas yma
ynam runacta micosonchic ñispa cahchuacorcan chay
si huc huahuallanca hima ynam runa micohuason
ñispa pantarcan chayta hoyarispas lloychoconaca
chiquirircan chaymantas lloychopas runap miconan
carcan [72] cay ñisca<y>(nchic)cunacta ña puchocaptinsi paria caca
paria cacap yuri ñiscaca pihca runtomanta pihca huaman pahyamur
muscan can chay pihca huamansi ñatac runaman tucuspa
purirircan chay pachas ancha chaycunap rurascancunac
ta vyarispa ymanam chay runapas sutioc dios
me cani ñispa muchachicorcan chay chay huchancuna
mantas piñaspa tamya hatarispa mama cochaman<>
tucoy hinantin huasintahuan llamantahuan aparcan
mana huchlactapas quispichispa [73] chaymanta chay pa
chatacsi cay llantapa hurcomanta huc pullao sutioc
chay huc urco vichoca ñiscahuan apinacorca arcohina
chay pullao ñiscas ancha aton sacha carca chaysauas cusi
llupas caquipas yma ayca ricchaccuna piscocunapas
tiacoc carcan chaycunactahuansi tucoy hinantinta cocha
man aparcan caycunactas ña pochocaspa ñatac pari
a caca hanac canan paria caca ñinchic chayman vichay
corca chay vichaycoscantam canan quipan capitulo
pi rimason
[74] CAPIT(UL)O 6 COMO PARIA CACA NAÇIO ÇINCO ALCONES
Y DESPUES TORNO EN PER(SON)AS Y COMO ESTANDO YA
VENÇIDOR DE TODOS LOS YUNGAS DE ANCHI COCHA
EMPEÇO A CAMINAR AL D(ICH)O PARIA CACA Y LO QUE
SUÇEDIO POR LOS CAMINOS

F 70 R

ña paria caca runaman tucuspas aton ña caspa enemigon
ta mascayta ña callarircan chaysi chay enemigonpa sutinri
<ri>huallallo carvincho carcan runacta micoc hupyac cay<mi>
tam cay quipampi churason atinacuscantahuan ñam hari chay
huallallo carvinchup causascantaca runa micuscanta(huan)pas yma
ayca rurascantauanpas ñaupac capitulopi rimarcanchic el capit(ul)o primero
[75] canami rimason huaro cheripi chay chay quitipi rurascancunac
ta chay simire caymi ña paria caca haton runa caspas hanac
paria caca ñiscaman huallallo caruinchup tiascanman rir
can [76] chaysi huaro cheri chay hura huaycupica huc llacta huau
qui husa sutioc yuncap llactan carca chaysi chay llactayoc ru
nacunaca chay pacha haton fiestacta rucraspa haton vpiayta
vpyarcancu chay hina vpyacuptinsi paria caca ñiscaca
chay llactapi chayarcan chayaspas payca runacunap manyallan
manta tiaicorcan huaccha ynalla [77] chay hina tiaptinsi chay llac
tayoc runacunaca mana huclapas ancosarcancho tucoy punchao
chay yna captinsi huc huarmica chay llactayuctac añañi yma
ynam chay huacchallactaca mana ancosayconcho ñispas huc
haton yurac potohuan ashuacta apamuspa corcan [78] chaysi
payca pani ancha cosiocmi canqui cay ashuacta comuaspa
canan punchaomanta pihccantin punchaoninpi himactahc
cay llactapi riconqui chayrayco chay ponchaoca amatac cay
lla(c)tapi tianquicho carollamantac anchorinque pactah cam
tauan huahuayquictauan pantaspa huañochiquiman an
cham cay runacuna ñocacta piñachihuan ñispas chay huar
micta ñircan chaymantari cay runacunactari amatac
huc simillactapas hoyarichicho oyarichiptiquica camtahuan
mi huañochiquiman ñispas ñircan [79] chaysi chay huar
mica huahuancunahuan turancunahuan chay pihca pon
chaomanta chay llactamanta anchoricorcan chaysi chay
llactayoc runacunaca mana llaquispa vpiacorcancu
chay pachas paria caca ñiscaca guaro cheri hanacnin
horcuman vichaycorcan chay horcom canan matao
coto sutioc chay huraynin huc horcom puypu huana
sutioc maytam caymanta rispa huaro cheriman hu
rayconchic chaycunam cay hina sutioc [80] chay orcopis

F 70 V

canan chay paria cacaca haton tamyayta ña callarircan
chaysi quillo runto puca runto hatarispas chay runacu
nactaca tucoyninta mama cochaman aparcan mana
huchlactapas perdonaspa chay pacha chica yaco lloclla
purispas chay huaro cheri anacnincuna huaycucunac
tapas rurarcan chaymantas canan ña chay(cuna)cta pucho
caspas chay llactayoc huaquinin yuncacunactaca mana
paria caca chimparcan rimapayaspa paycunari<ancha alli> chayta ricuspapas
cuparap llactanman mana musyaptin yachaptinsi chay chimpañic cuparap
chacrancunaman ripurcan [81] chaypis canan chay llactayoc
cupara runacuna ancha yaconmanta ñacarispa pucyo
llamanta chacranmanpas posaspa causarcan <> cay puc
yum canan s(a)n lorenço hanacnin aton orcomanta llocsir
can chay orcum canan suna caca sutioc chaypis canan ha
ton cochalla carcan chaymanta huray pusamuspas ña
tac huchuilla cochacunaman hontachispa chacrancunac
ta parco(cuc) carcan [82] chay pachas chay llactayoc huc huarmi
chuqui suso sutioc carcan ancha sumac huarmi chaysi cay
huarmica sarancuna ancha chaquiptin huacacospa
parcocorcan yacon ancha pisi captin chaysi chay paria caca
ca chayta ricuspa chay huchoylla cochanta yacollanhuan
chay cochap siminta quirpaicoporcan [83] chaysi chay huarmica
ñatac ancha nanacta huacacorcan chay hinacta ricuspa
chaysi chay paria cacaca pani ymac(tam) <> chica huacanque
ñispa taporcan chaysi payca cay sara(llay)mi yacumanta cha
quipuan yaya<ñiptinsi> ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca
ama llaquicho ñocam yacuctaca cay cochayquimanta
ancha ahca yacucta llocsichimusac hichaca camhuan
<> ñaupac(rac) puñuson ñispa ñircan [84] ñiptinsi canan pay
ca ñirca ñaupacrac cay yacocta llocsichemuy <> chac
ray parcusca captinca allitacmi puñoson ñispas ñircan chay
si allitacmi ñispa yacoctaca ancha ahcacta llocsichimurcan
chaysi chay huarmipas ancha cusicospa tucoy chacrancunac
ta parcocorcan chaysi ña parcoyta puchoca<spari>ptinca puño
son ñispa ñircan chaysi manam <cay> cananca caya mincharac
poñoson ñiptinsi paria cacaca ancha chay huarmicta munaspa

F 71 R

puñoymanrac ñispas yma aycactapas chay huarmiman pro
metircan cay chacraiquicta mayomanta yacuyuctam rura
puscayque ñispa [85] chaysi chay huarmica chaytarac ñaupac ruray
chayrac puñuson ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca allitacmi ñispas
coco challa sutioc huaycumantas s(a)n lorenço anacnin huchullla
hurco chay camaca ñaupamantapas yuncacunap rarcansi ha
murcan ancha huchuylla rarcalla chaytas canan paria cacaca
astauanri hatonyachispa chay hura cuparap chacrancama
rarcacta chayachircan [86] chay rarcactas canan pumacuna
hatuccuna machachuaycuna yma ayca piscocuna picharcan
allicharcan cayta ña allichaypacmi cay pumacuna oturungo
pas yma aycapas pim ñaupac siqueson ñispa camachinacor
can chaysi hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñocarac ñispa ñircancu
chaysi hatoctac atiparcan ñocam curaca cane ñocarac
ñaupasac ñispa chaysi pay atoc ñaupamurcan [87] yna ña
upamuspa ña chaupicta s(a)n lorenço hanacnin hurcucta seque ñaupamuspa ña
mup<>tinsi concayllapi huc yutuca pisc pisc ñispa pahua
rimurcan chaysi chay hatocca huac ñispa muspaspa hura
man hurmamurcan chaysi chaymanta chaycunaca ñatac
ancha piñaspa machachuayta sequechimurcan chaysi ma
na chay hurmamuptinca astahuan hanacnintas chay rarca
nin rinman carca chaysi cunanca as huranta rin cay atoc
pa hormamuscanmi canancamapas sutilla ricurin yacu
pas huraycumuntac (chay atocpa vrmascanta) [88] cay tucoyta puchocaspam ñatac paria
cacaca puñoson ñispa ñircan chaysi <> ñatac haco anac cacaman
chaypirac poñoson ñispa <llollachircan> (ñircan) chay cacam canan
yana caca sutioc chaypis huaque puñorcan ña puñospas canan
chay huarmica haco yscayninchictac maytapas rison ñiptinsi pai
ca aco ñispa chay coco challa ñisca rarcap llocsimuscanman pu
sarcan [89] chaysi chaypi chayaspaca chay huarmi chuqui suso ñis
ca sutiocca cay <ray>rarcaypitac tiasac ñispas chaypi rumi tu
cuspa chira<hua>yarca chaysi chay paria cacaca chaymanta sa
quispa hanacman vichaycorcan chaytaca cay quipanpin villason
[90] cay coco challa ñisca rarcap siminpim canan rumi chirahuas cunirayap tiascan
ca tian chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmi ynaspam chay hanac chuqui susop cayllan
nin huc rarcapi<m>tacmi chay pachapas vincompa sutiocpim pi

F 71 V

canan ñatac cuni ra(ya) chirahuasca(tac) tian chaypim canan cuni
raya pochocarcan ychaca yma ayca rurascantaca cay
huaquin quepanpi capitulocunapim villason
[91] CAPITULO 7 YMANAM CHAY CUPARACUNA
CHAY CHUQUI SUSO ÑISCACTA CANANCAMAPAS
YUYPAYCHAN
cay cuparacunam huc ayllo cupara ñisca ayllo sutioc cay
cunam canan s(a)n lorençopi reduzisca canancamapas causan
cay ayllomantam canan huc yumay chauincho sutioc cay
chauincho <huarmin>(ayllom) carcan chay chuqui suso ñisca chaymi
caycunaca ñaupa pacha ña may pacham rarca pichana carca
mayo quielapi canancamapas chay pacham tucoy hinantin ru
nacuna chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmip tiascan<huan>man rircancu
<>ashuanhuan tictinhuan cuynhuan llamanhuan [92] chaypi
chay supay huarmicta muchaypac chaymi ña chayta muchaspari
pihca ponchaosi chaypi quishuaruan quenchaspa runacunacta
pas mana purichispa chaypi tiapayarcan chaysi ña chayta pu
chucaspa rarca pichaynintahuanpas tucoyta ña puchocaspas chay
manta taquispa runacuna hamurcan huc huarmictare cay
mi chuqui suso ñispa payta yna alli manchaspa chaopipe
pusamurcancu [93] chaymi ña llactanpi chay huarmi chayaptinri
caymi chuqui suso ñispa huaquin ashuahuan ymauan churapus
pa suyarcan chaypi tucoy huinantin tuta taquispa vpiaspa
runacuna ancha aton fiestacta rurarcancu chaymantam
ñaupa don sebastian apo causaptinpas corpus xp.^(christi)pi aton
pascuacunapipas huc huarmi chuqui susom cani ñispa haton
aquellahuan aton potohuanpas ashuacta manyanmanta
cumuc carcan caymi mamanchicpac ashuan ñispa chay
mantari saractapas camchascacta aton matihuantac cu
muc carcan [94] ña cay rarcacta pichayta puchocamuspari ru
nacunacta anchapunis combidac carcan saracta purotucta
yma aycacta(pas) cuspa cay yna vinaycoc captinsi runa
cunapas ñam chuqui susup rarcanta pichan haco ricumu
son ñispa huaro cherimantapas tucoy llactacunamantapas ric

F 72 R

carcan [95] chaytam canan ña rarcacta pichaspaca musiasca yna
tac ruran muchan runacunari yma yna ruracuptinpas
alcaldepas yma ayca runacunapas manam ymaraycom
chay hina ruranque ñiispa amachanmancho canancamapas
porque yallinracmi payhuan taquen vpyan machas
cancama p(adr)ectari rarcactam pichamuni p(adr)e taquecusac v
piacusac ñiispam llollachen caytaca tucoy hinantin
runacunam ruraytaca ruran ychaca huaquinca ma
na ñam rurancho alli p(adre)oc caspa huaquenri pacallapica
ynatac canancamapas causanco
[96] CAPIT(UL)O 8 YMANAM PARIA CA
CA VICHAYCORCAN YMANAM
HUC RUNA CHURINUAN PARIA CACAP
SIMENCAMA CUTIMURCAN CHAYMAN
TARI YMANAM ATINACORCAN
HUALLALLO CARUINCHOUAN
ñam ari huallallo caruinchop causascantaca villarcanchic
ychaca caypa tiascantam llactachacuscantam mana ri
marcanchiccho chaysi cayca<huallallo caruincho> ñaupa pacha
hanac pariacañicpi tiarcan chay tiascampas sutintam ma
na allicho yachanchic cananca mullo cocha sutioc ña captin
porque paria cacam payta atispa chay huallalloca nina rupap
tin chayta huañochipac cochaman ña tucochircan [97] chay
mullo cocha ñiscanchic pachapis chay huallallop tiascan car
ca chay pachas canan tucoy hinantin pacha yuncasapa car
can aton <> (ma)chachuaypas caquepas yma ayca animal
cunapas hontaptinsi tiarcan ymanam ñaupac capi(tul)o — 1 capi(tul)o
pi runa micuscanta villanchic chay hina [98] chaymantas
ocsa pata — paria cacaca cay huallallo caruinchocta atipac rispas <hucsa>ocsa
es junto a — patapi pihcantin riuicorcan chay hina riuicoptinsi chay — pihca
paria caca — pachapas ancha chirircan runtopas hormamurcantac paypac
pucllascanpi [99] chaysi chay pacha huc runaca huaca

F 72 V

DEZIR LO DE LA CULEBRA

saber los n(ombr)es de estos
5 her(man)os

los n(ombr)es de estos cinco
her(man)os son paria caca
churapa, puncho, pari
a carcu no sauemos
el n(ombr)e de vno de estos
çinco

#azul claro era

hijos
curaca o ancacha el 1°
chauca el 2°
lluncu el 3°
sullca el 4°
llata el 5°
ami el 6° -ys-
hijas
paltacha o cochucha la 1ª
coba pacha la 2ª
ampuche la 3ª
sullcacha la 4ª
ecancha la 5ª
anacha anasi

paria cacap atiscan

cuspa hamurcan huc churinta apaspa chaymanta mullon
tapas cocantapas tictincunactapas huallallocta vpiachi
musac ñispa apaspa chaysi chay paria cacap cap huc
nin(ca) churi maymanmi yna huacacuspa rinque ñis
pa taporcan chaysi payca yaya cay cuyascay churi
llaytam canan apani huallallocta caramuc ñiptinsi
churi ama apa<y>nquicho llactayquiman cutichicoy chay
mantam chay mulloyquitaca cocayquitaca tictiquita
ca ñocacta coay chaymanta churiquitaca cutichicoy
ñispa ñircan [100] chaymantari pihcantin ponchaopim cay
man cotimunqui ñocacta atinacocta ricoypac ancha ya
cuhuan atipaptica yayanchicmi atipan ñispan ñihuan
qui ynaspa anchatac ninahuan atipahuanca chay
ca atipay tucontacmi ñispatac ñihuanqui ñiptinsi
chay runaca mancharispa yaya manacho chayca hua
llallo caruincho ñocapac pinaconca ñi<ptinsi>spa ñirca
[101] ñiptinsi piña(co)chonpas manam yma nasonquecho yallin
racmi ñocaca runacta camasac amiyocta llatayoc
ta huarmictari añasiyocta hucta cari hucta huar
micta ynam camasac ñispa rimaptinsi siminman
ta samaynin huc humo <asol> (ancas) # yna llocsimorcan chaysi
chay runaca chayta ricuspa mancharispa tucoy apamuscan
ta co<po>rcan chaysi chay pihca runaca chay mullocta
cap cap ñichispa micorcan tucoy hinantin coscantahuan
chaymantas chay runaca cutimorcan churinta apacospa
[102] ynaspas ñatac pihcantin ponchaomanta ñatac chay pa
ria cacap simincama cotircan ricu<>musac ñispa
chaymantas ña paria caca pihca ponchao ñiscanmanta
chay huallallo caruinchocta atita ña callarircan chay simi
ri cay hinam paria caca pihca runa caspas pihca pacha
manta tamyaita ña callarirca chay tamyas canan
quello puca tamya carcan chaymantas yllapaspa
ri pihca pachamantatac yllaparcan [103] chaysi tuta
llamanta ña hora pachacama chay huallallo caruin
choca <nina> ancha aton nina ñahca sieloñicmanpas
chayaspa ruparca mana huañochichicospa chaysi

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chay yacocu<paria cacap huquinca>naca paria cacap tamyascancunaca hura
cochañicman tucoy hinantin yacucona rircan chaysi chay yna <ma>
manatac yaycuptin<si> huquenca (llacsa churapa sutioc) hurañicmanta yacucta huc hor
cucta ormachispa arcamorcan [104] ña arcaycomuptinsi chay yacuca
cocha ña tucomurca cay cocham cananca mullo cocha sutioc chay
yna chay cochapi ña yaco hontamup(tinsi)<> chay nina rupacta(ca) ñah
ca pamparca chaysi chay paria cacari chaymanta yllapapayarca — sauer si estos son her(man)os
mana samachispa ynallas chay huallallo caruinchoca anti — pues se dize q(ue) salieron de
ñicman miticarcan [105] chaysi huquenca paria cacap churin catir — los hu(eu)os o si son hijos
can chaysi chay antip yaicunampi pactah cutimunman — del paria caca<>
ñispa canancamapas chaypi tian caypac sutinmi <sullca ylla> — her(man)os eran
<pa> (paria carco) [106] chaymantas ña atisptin<> mana ñamca sutioc huc huar
mi carcan cay huallallo caruinchohuan cac supay cay huarmis
canan mama oraynin chay chaypi tiarcan cayta atipacsi ña
tac payman amorcan chaysi chay mana ñamca<ca> ñiscaca nina
tac ruparcan chaysi cay tumna huranta yaycuspa paria ca
caca <ati> aucanacorca chaysi huc paria cacap churinta chu
qui huampo sutiocta chaquinpi huramanta chucamuspa — sauer como esta este
chayachimurcan chaysi yna captin(pas) paria cacatac atiparcan
cochañicman carcospa [107] ña caycunacta atipaspas
chay churin chuqui huampo sutioc anca chaquen paquisca tia
cucman cotimurcan chaysi chayca amatac cotisaccho cay
llamanta chay huarmi mana ñamcacta huacaychasac pac
tah cutimunman ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi ñispa yayanca
tucoy miconampac camachiporcan [108] chaysi ñispa ñircan cay escay
huaycocunamantam tucoy runacuna camtarac ñaupac cocacta
comusonque manarac pillapas acuspa ña cam acoptiiqueracmi
chaymanta runacunapas acoconca cocanta mallquiscanmanta
chaymantam llamactari viñay<> (vrua mana huachacoc) cactaracmi naca
pusonque ynaspa rinrin chillpiscacta cay caycunactaracmi
camca viñaypas miconque ñispas camachirca [109] chaysi — este lugar donde
runacunaca chay camachiscan simicta yupaychaspa chay — esta<sullca yllapa>chuqui huampo esta
cama saci cayamanta chontaymanta chichimamanta mama — abajo de tumna entre sici
manta huayo callamanta sucya canchamanta tucoy coca — caya y sucya he de uerlo
yoccuna ñaupacnintaca paymanrac apamoc carcan — sauer como se llama
canancamapas pacallapica ynatacsi causancu

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[110] CAPITULO 9 YMANAM PARIA CACA ÑA
TUCOYTA POCHOCASPA PAYTA MUCHACHI
COYPAC HONANCHARCA CALLARIRCAN
ñam hari tucoy hinantin atiscancunacta pochocan
chic ychaca cay huallallo caruinchop quepanpi paria ca
cap sentenciascancama causascantam mana rimanchiccho
suer como esta ahora — ña atispas huallallo caruincho antiman ñan miticoptin
este caruincho en — chay huallallocta runa micoscanmanta cunanca all
los andes — cucta micochon chaytari huancacuna muchachon ñis
pa sentenciarcan [111] chaysi canan huancacunaca payta
muchaspa allcucunahuan muchac carcan payri dios
nin allcocta micuptin allcuctatac micorcancu canan
camapas huanca allco micuc ñispa ñinchic
capit(ul)o 1° — [112] chaymantas canan ymanam ñaupac capitulopi quepan
pipas tucoy llactacunam yuncaçapa carcan ñispa ñinchic
chay hinam cay tucoy hinantin llactacunapi guaro cheri pro
uinciapi chaclla mama prouinciapipas tucoy hinantin
llactacunapipas yuncaçapas carcan cay yuncacunactam
tucoy hinantin yuncacunacta hurañicman anchurichir
paria cacap churin cuna — can churijcuna cay q(ui)tipi tianca ñispa honanchaspa [113] caycu
nacta aticcunapas sapampi paria cacap churincuna sutioc
sapam hucmi churin ñin huaquenmni manas paycamas sachap
ruruyninmanta yurimurcan ñispa rimanco caycunap su
tinri caymi mayorninmanta chuc paico chancha runa
huari runa vtco chuco tutay quiri huauquinri sasen male cay
chicam chay yuncacunacta atircancu [114] chaymantam huc
paria cacap churinsi pachamanta paycama llocsimurcan cay
quepanpi churason pacha chuyrop atiscan ta — pac sutinmi pacha chuyru sutioc (carcan) caypac huc atiscantapas
hanac tucoynin capitulocunapipas concanchicmi chaytaca
cay quipanpiracmi churason cay ñiscanchiccunam tucoy
hinantin yuncacunacta atircan anchorichircan [115] chaymi
cay yuncacunapas ñaupa diosnintaca ña concaspa pari
a cacacta ña muchayta callarirca tucoy yuncacuna chay yun

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cacunari caymi cay checap llactanpica colli ñiscam tiar
can tucoy llactampi tiascancunacta<m> ruraspaca ancha
sasam canman chayraicom huaquenintaca hunanchan
canchicpac cay quepampi rurason tucoy causascantahuan
porque yuncacunaca huc causayniocllam tucoynin(pas) carcan
[116] chaymantam cay paria caca ñiscanchicca hanac <pay> maypim
atircan chay pachallanpi tiayta ña callarircan muchachicon
campacri hunancharcan cay hunanchascanmi tucoy hinan
tin llactacunapipas huc vnanchayllam cay honanchay ñis
canchicri cay ynam tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic [117] chay — esto se entiende de
cunamantas sapampi huquenta camachircan cammi huatam — vna familia
pi ñocap causascayta catispa pascuacunacta ruranque
ñispa caycunap sutinmi huacasa (o huacsa) sutioc canca cay hua
casmi canan huatampi quimça mita taquenca ancha hatun cara
huayacapi cocacta apamuspa [118] caytam ña ñaupac cay huacasa
man tucoypac<ri> huc vnanchaytatac runacuna rurancu chay — el maestro se llama
ri cay ynam huc runam caca sica ayllo(manta) cay causaycuna — yañca
pac maestron ancha ñaupamanta caycunam huquen o yscaypas — esto es la s(om)bra q(ue)
maestron caspa sutinri yañca sutioc cay sutillatacmi ynan — ua haziendo la pared
tin llactacunapipas cay runas huc pircamanta allin ya — con el sol
chacochisca pircascamanta ricon <punchaupa> (yntip) poriscanta chaysi
may pachach chay hunanchasca pircanman chayan chayca ca
nanmi(mana ñispari)cayam ñispapas(risun ñin) runacunacta <villarca>[119] chayta catis
pas runacunapas paria cacaman muchaypac rincu ñaupa
pachaca quequinmansi ric carcan cananca cay checamantaca
huc orco ynca caya sutiocmansi rinco chaymanta muchancan — este cerro se parece
pac chay <pacham> orcom canan ñaupa purom huasimanta ha — la nieue de paria caca
nacnin horco hoc orco huallqueri sutiochuan quellinacon
cay orco ñiscapim canan runacuna tucoy ynantin runa
cuna cari huarmi rispa(muchancu) [120] ña chay orcoman sichpaypac(ri) chay
yañcap simincamas ñocaracpas ñaupac(umanman)chayaiman ñispa ya — q(ue) es de donde se parece
llinacon llama orcontapas catispa ancha sinche runacuna
huchoylla llamanhuanpas (ancha otcaspas) [121] cay ñaupac chay orcoman chayac
llamas paria cacap ancha munascan cay orcoctas ñaupa pacha — nombres diferentes cada
quequen paria cacaca yma sutillactapas suti(a)chec carcan — vez de vna man(er)a y otra
cay sutiocmi canca ñispa huchoylla llama chayactari — de otra como yauri o y
llaca

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chay yañca ñisca cay llamayocmi ancha cusioc paria ca
cam coyaijcun ñispa allin sutinchac ñavinchac carcan
auquisna [122] cay muchacuy pacham auquisna sutioc ynatacmi chavpi ñam
para n(uest)ro padre o criador ca muchacoypas chaycasna sutioc caytan cay quepanpim villason
chaycasna cay avquisna sutioc pacham canan junio quella chay chay
para n(uest)ra m(adr)e pachapi <ormamun> (chayamun) ña ñispa ñahca<corpus xptimanpas>
(aton pascuapipas tincon)
<tincon> ña ñispari tinconpas cay pachapim cay huacasa
ñiscanchic chunca caspapas yscay chunca caspapas taquinco
saber este genero cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan [123] huacsa
de canto y ponermelo caytaca manapuni ancochaspas taquinco cayta ancochac
en vn papel en lengua taca huañuptinpas chay hochanmantam huañon ñispas
de chechhua de ñincu chayraycos ochuillac(ta)pas yma yna runallac
lo q(ue) dizen tapas taquichin yallinrac surco runacunaca huay
llascunactapas chay ranti taquichen [124] chay llactayoc
huarmihuan casarasca captinca caycunacta rurap
tinsi manatac chay llactayocpas chacranta yman
tapas quechoncho forastero captinpas yallinrac yupai
chan yanapan chay huayllascunam(canan) mayquin runa
caspapas surcopi tiaccunaca suquia canchaman cocacta
rantic hamuspapas huacasmi cani mama yapahuay
ñispa rantinco[125]cay pascuactam canan yma aton xp.^(christia)nop
pascuancunaman chayachispa taquinco yallin tucoy
llactacunactapas yallispa surcopi runacunaca cay ta
quiscanmantam llactampi padrenpas aguelandocta
mañan huallpacta saracta yma aycactapas caytam
runacunari ancha cusicospa concu
[126] ynatacmi chavpi ñamcap pascuanpipas cay huacsacuna
chaupi ñamcap cas ñisca taquencu cay pascuam canan ñahcca corpus xpi^(chris)ti
cantaca huc quipan man tincon ña ñispari tincompas caypac cascantaca may
pi capit(ul)opim churason pi tiascantapas runacunap muchascantahuanpas quipan
pim huc capitulopi churason
ñatac paria cacap cascanman cutison yma ymactach ru
nacuna chay pacha pascuanpi rurar<n>can [127] chay chaycunacta
villaypac chay simire cay ymam ña caya paria caca
man <chayaypacsi> muchaypac chayaipacsi chay huata
huañocnioc runacuna caripas huarmipas captin tucoy

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chay tuta huacac carcan cayam paria cacap cayllanpi
huañocninchicta ricomuson ñispa [128] chay huata huañoc
nincunactari cayallatacmi chaypi chasquechimu
son ñispa chay tuta caraspa micochispa yma ayca rura
nancunactapas chaypi churapuspa cananmi viñaypac
paria cacaman pusani <ñispa> mana ñam cutimunca
cho viñaypas ñispam huchoylla llamanhuan mana
llama captinri haton cara huayacapi cocacta huallquis
pa mucharcanco [129] cay llamactam canan sonconmanta
ricorcan alli captinpas allim ñispa mana alli captin
ri manam allicho ochayocmi canqui paria cacactam
huañocnique(pas) piñachircan cay ochacta perdonta ma
ñay(tac) pacta camman chay ocha anchorimunman ñis
pa chay yamca ñisca ñircanco [130] chaymanta ña chay
chaycunacta puchocaspari chay llamap vmanta hua
santauansi chay yañcacuna ayca huaranga captin
pas apacuc carcan cayca ñocap chanimi ñispa
[131] chaymantam canan cay huacasa ñiscanchic huc huatapi
quimca mita taquispam cay hina ponchaopitac puchocarcan
huc musoc yaicoypacri quepa ña taquicoyta poncho
caypac captinmi tucoynin llacsa tampopi ynatac
conchacunapas pampampi <> chaupiman yaicoc
carcan huc huayta<> huacamaypac ricranta o ymanta
pas puypu ñiscacta apaspa chaytam canan chaupi
pi llacsa tambo ñisca rumipi churac carcancu chayta
ña churaspam tucoynin maypim canan cruz churas
ca chaypi tucoy tuta tiarcancu allicho casac canan hua
ta ñispa [132] chaymantam cayantinri tucoy llactacu
naman rispa macacho orcomanpas chaucallaman
pas quemquellamanpas asta pihcca ponchao on
tascancama ña pihca ponchao ontaptinmi tucoy
huacasacuna cocacta huallquispa taquic carcan
chay ponchaotacmi ancha tutamanta llacsa tambo
pi supayta muchac carcancu llamanhuan yman
huan [133] ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llac
tacunapipas rurancu ychaca cananca ña concan

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cay pisi huatallarac cay doctor fran(cis)co de auila alli cunaqui
yoc yachachiquiyoc caspa chaypas manataccha soncocama
ca y ñinmancho ñatac hoc padreyoc caspaca ynamantac
cha cutinman [134] huaquin runacunaca christiano tucos
papas manchaspallam pactach padrepas pipas yacha
huanman mana alli cascayta ñispallam xp.^(christia)no tucon
rrosariocta resaspapas sumac hillantam apaycachan
mana quequen cay muchanacunacta muchaspapas
<ojo> huaquen machocunacta mincaspa paypac rantin mu
chachispa achica runam yna causanco
[135] cay ñiscanchic ynalla<m>tacmi conchaconapas cay pa
ria cacap mitampi chay hoc vrco huaycho sutiocmanta
muchancu huacasa ñiscanri quequin checacunapas
ojo ruran ynallatacsi ruran taquen
chaymanta suni canchari chay huc vrco sutioc
manta ynallatac muchancu paria cacap mitanpi
[136] chaymanta santa anacuna s(a)n ju(a)npi cacpas tucoynin chauca
ricma ñiscari chay apar huayqui mayoman hurayconchic
acu sica sutioc vrcocta chaymantatacsi muchanco pari
a cacap mitanpi caycunacta ruraypacca manam ancochan
mancho huaquen aton pascuapi huaquenri ñachca esperi
tu santoman tincochen<corpusmanpas> cayta ruraypacri
ancham cusiconman cay llactapi p(adr)e yllaptin limac
manpas riptin cayca ancha checan simin
[137] cay tucoy ñiscanchic<cuna> vrcocunapi paria caca
muchanacunactaca cay quepanpi vira cochacuna pa
carimurcan ricurimurcan chaymantaracmi yacha
cochircan [138] ychaca ñaupa pachaca quiquin pariacaman
si tucoy ynantin runacuna ric carcan tucoy yunca
cunapas colli ñiscamanta caruayllomanta ruri can
chomanta latimmanta huancho huaillamanta pa
riachamanta yañacmanta chichimamanta mama
manta tucoy ynantin yuncacuna chay huc mayo ñis
camanta chaymantari ynatac caçi cayacuna
pas tucoy ynantin huc mayo ñisca pacha camac
cunapas chaymanta caringa chilcacunapas

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chaymanta huaro cheri huray mayopi cac runacunari
tucoy carancocuna yma ayca yuncacunapas tucoy
ynantin chay mayo ñisca yuncacunas tectinhuan
cocanhuan yma ayca muchanancunahuan a
muspas quequin paria cacapi chayac carcanco [139] cay
hamuccuna ña paria cacamanta cutiptinsi llactam
pi runacunapas chayananta yachaspa tocoy runacu
na hoñolla suyac carcan tapucoypac ymanam yayan
chic paria caca alliraccho manacho piñacon ñispa
chaymantas ancha cosicospa taquic carcan asta pocho
cascancama pichca ponchaopas ayca ponchaocha causa
nan carca yna [140] cay muchaycoytaca yuncacuna
ca mana ñach rurancho tucoy yuncacunapas ycha
ca pachallanmantaca ruran cayta mana ruraptin
si chay hochanmantam yuncacuna collon ñispa
rimancu paycona yuncacunari rimacuspa sall
cacunaca allim causan ñaupa causananchicta
chay yna causaspam runapas miran ñincu
[141] CAPITULLO 10 YMANAM CHA
UPI ÑAMCA CARCAN MAYPIM
TIAN YMANAM MUCHACHICORCAN
ñam ari paria cacap causascantaca villacoyta pu
chucarcanchic ychaca chay churincunap cay iscon
nin capitulopi vnanchasca cactaca cay quepampi
racmi sapampi rurascantahuan villason yunca
cuna ñiscanchic cay llactacunamanta atiscancu
nactauanpas chaymantam canan quillcason chaupi ñam
cap cascanta [142] cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi
cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan chay huc huac
cha huatya curi ñiscap huarmin cay simictam ari pichcan
tin capitulopipas rimarcanchic [143] cay huarmis pichca ñaña
yoc carcan chaysi cay ñaupac huarmi chaupi ñamucaca

paria cacap churin
cunap atiscancunac
tam cay quepanpi chu
rason

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llamase chavpi nanca
o mama nanca

paria cacap simincama hura mama ñiscapi tiaypac rir
can cay mana ñamca ñisca huarmis ñocam runacu
nacta camac cani ñispa purircan huaquem runacunam
canan chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi carca ñispa
ñinco pay quiquin rimacuspapas paria cacam tu
ray ñispas ñircan [144] cay chaupi ñamcas canan pichca
ricra rumi carcan chirayasca payta muchaypacri yma
nam paria cacaman yallinacuspa rircan ynallatacsi
ña chayaipac yallinacuc carcan llamanta ymantapas
catispa chay llama paria cacaman ric quiquillan(ta)tacsi
chaymanpas pusac carcan (ynaspa) cay chaupi ñamca pichca ric
ra rumictas canan quepanpi vira cochacuna ricurimup
tin chay mamapi padrep huasen cauallo huasi chay chaypi
pacha vcupi pacaycorcan chaypis canancamapas tian pa
cha vcupi [145] cay chaupi ñamcactas canan tucoy ynantin runa
cuna mama ñispa ñircancu chaymantam canan s(a)n pedro
pas mama ñisca cay huarmis canan ñaupa pacha
runa purispa ynantin huacacunahuan vchallicuc
carcan chaysi manatac pi carillactapas cayca allim
ñispa yupaychaccho carcan [146] chaysi huc carica canan
mama hanacnin vrcopi huacatac rucana cuto sutioc
cay rucana coto sutioctas runacunapas vchoylla ollo
yoc caspaca aton canca ñispa mañac carcancu cayssi
huc mita chaupi ñamcacta ancha allinta aton ollo
caspa sacsachircan chayraycos cay carillam alli cari
tucoy huacacunamantapas cayhuantac viñay ti
asac ñispa chay mama ñiscapi tiaycorcan rumi
man tucospa
[147] chaymantam canan cay chaupi ñamcap ñañancuna<c>
<ta> ñiscanchicta villason cay chaupi ñamcas tucoynin
manta mayornin carcan chaysaua ñañansi llacsa hua
to carcan chaysaua yoricsi mira uato carcan chaysauas
vrpay huachac sutioc carcan cay hoquentam mana yachan
chiccho tucoyninca pichcas carcan chaysi ymallata
runacuna yuyachicuptinpas ña ñispaca ñañay
cunahuanrac villanacomusac ñispa ñic carcan

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[148] cay chaupi ñamca muchacoytam runacuna junio quella
pi ñahca corpus xp.^(chris)timan chayaicochin chay yañca yañca
ñiscanchic ynte ricunanmanta ricuptintacmi runacu
napas chay chica ponchaupim canca ñispa ñircancu
[149] chaymantari ñam ari yscoynin capitulopi huc huatanpi
huacsacunap taquiscanta rimarcanchic ychaca chay taquiscantam
mana sutinchanchiccho yma ymactach quimça mita huatan
pi taquin chaycunacta caymi ñaupac auquisna ñis
ca ponchaupi paria cacap pascuanta rurac cancu chayman
tam ñatac chaupi ñamcap mitampi ynatac taquircan
chaymantam ñatac nobiembre quillapi ñachca san andres
pa fiestanman tincuchispa huc taquitatac taquic carcan
chanco ñisca taquicta cay taquictam canan cay quipan
pi allinta villason [150] cananca ñatac chaupi ñamcap
pascuanman cutison chaypac pascuanpim canan chay
huacsa ñiscanchiccuna cocacta huallquispa pichca pon
chao taquircancu huaquin runacuna llaman captin
pumacta aparispa taquircan mana llamayocri ynalla
chaymantam cay puma apariccunactam canan pay
mi pocon ñispa ñircancu chay taquim canan huantay
cocha sutioc huaquin taquictam canan ayño ñiscacta
pas taquircantac [151] huctam canan casa yaco sutiocta
taquic carcanco cay cassa yacocta taquiptinsi chaupi ñam
ca ancha cusicoc carcan porque cayta taquispaca
llatansi huaquillan huallparicunanta churaspallas
taquic carcan pincaynintari huc huara vtco pachalla
huan pacaycospa chaymantaca llatanlla caytam
runacuna taquispa chaupi ñamca <ollon>(pincaynin)<chicta>chicta ricus
pam ancha cusicon ñic carcan cayta taquiptintac
si ancha pucoy pachapas carcan caycunactam
canan chay pascuanpi rurarcancu
[152] CAPITULO 11 YMANAM CHANCO
ÑISCA TAQUICTA TAQUIRCANCU
CAYTA RIMASPACA TUTAY QUIREP

F 77 V

PARIA CACAP CHURINPA CASCANHUAN
MI VILLASON CAY SIMIRE
CAY YNAM

ñam ari ysconnin capitulopi paria cacap churin
cunacta sutinpi rimarcanchic ychaca sapampi ca
usascantam manarac rimarcanchiccho caypim
hoquin tutay quirip atiscancunactauan cay quipam
pi villason caypac mitampi taquiscactam chanco
ñispa ñinchic [153] cay tutay quirim paria cacap chu
rin carcan chaymi ñaupa pachaca cay checaconapas
quintes carcan quintecunap sullca huauquen chay
si chay quintecunaca anchatac cay checacunacta
chicnircan quipam yuric captin [154] chaysi hoc punchaoca
tutay quireca ñispa ñircan ama llaquicho churi yma ñip
tinpas chicnicochonpas yallenmi quepanpica checa
villca sutioc canquichic cay chicnicniquitari quinticha
huanhuacha ñispam runacunapas menospreciaspa
ñinca ñispas ñircan [155] chaysi cay tutay quirica chay pisi
ponchaomantatac huaquinin huauquincunahuan
villanacospa cay llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta
atimuyta callarimurcan chaysi cay yuncacuna ñis
canchicca cay simicta vyarispa ancha mancharispa
ayquijta ña callarircan vra colli ñisca llactaman
cay colli ñiscam canan carhuayllocunahuan quellina
con caycunap ayancunam canancamapas anac
ñaupa llactapi yna churarayan aya vasipe [156] cay tutay
quiris cay sici caya huaycucta mama huaycoctauan
vraycospa<n>s quello tamya puca tamya purispa
chaysi runacunaca huaquenca pachan llactanpi su
yarcan muchancampac chae muchaccunactas canan
manatac paipas allcocharcancho yallinrac tiacoy
ychaca yayaitam ricsinquitac chaymanta cay
checacunactam canan huauque ñispatac causanq(ui)

colli sin pronuncia
cion q(u)e haga fuer
ça

F 106 R

paycunap sullca huauquinmi cani ñispa [157] cay ñis
can simicamam chay sant p(edr)o mamapi cac runacu
napas amichayq(ui) llatachayquin cani ñispa canan
camapas ñincu (ña> cay checacunapri allaucam
ari vichocam ari ñisca huauquiyoctac causar
cancu [158] caytam canan cay checacunaca cay tutay
quirip puriscanta paypac callpanta purini ñispa hua
tancunapi cay llactamanta tucoy ynantin caricuna
chacocta ruraypac llocsic carca cay nobiembre quellapim
[159] chay pachatacmi tamyata mañac carcancu runacunapas
canan chancop mitampim pacha tamyanca ñispa ñircancu
cay tutay quirip callpan ñiscanchictam chacocta ruraspa cay
manta tucoy huacsacuna mana huacsapas llocsispa tupi
cocha hanacnin mayani ñiscapi puñoypac ric carcancu
[160] chay ponchaori huanacucta apispa lloychuctapas yma
aycactapas apispa chay apicmi canan ayllonpi may
quen apispapas ayllon huacsa captinca payman<rac> coc
carcan chaypac chupanta huaytallispa ayño ñisca
taquicta ayñoncampac mana apicri ynatacmi
chancollacta chancuspa taquircan [161] cayantinmi na
tac chay mayani ñiscamanta llocsic carcan tumna
man chaypim canan ynantin runacuna caripas huar
mipas huasuc tambo ñiscapi tucoy hoñolla suyac
carcan tutay quirim ña samon ñispa chay hua
suc tambo ñiscanchicri chay quiquen tumna la
plaçap chaupimpim aslla rumicuna churarayan
chaypis canan ñaupa pachaca ña chaypi chayaspa
muchac carcancu chaypitacsi chauti huanricuna
pas muchaypac asvancunauan chayamuc carcan
[162] ynaspam ñatac cayantinri yma chicacta apis
papas chay apiccuna huacsa ñiscanchic ancha cusi
cuspa cananca macayocmi canchic ñispa cusicus
pa cotimurcancu ñatac pacotapi puñomuypac
[163] cayantinmi ñatac llacsa tamboman chayamuc
carcan chaypi chayamunan captinmi tucoy chay
llactapi quiparic runacuna machopa payapas

F 106 V

yma yna runacunapas tucoynillan asvanuan
suyac carcan chaymi ña chayman chayamuptinca
ancha saycoscam amun ñispa asvavan yanca
ychaspa runasauapas pachapipas chay llacsa tam
boman yalcumuna poncollapi yna ychac carcan
[164] paicuna vramanta amuccunam asllа aychata
paicunap puyñonpa siminsaua churapuc carcan
cayta ña puchocaspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runacuna pampapi tiaycospa ayño ñisca taquicta
ña callarircan caycunam canan chanco sutioc
chaymantam ña chancuptinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamuc [165] cay chancup mitampis ysqui caya ñisca
chay yañcap huasinpi huc sachachos o ymach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñiscanchic(manta) yacosapa vrma
raya<n>c chaycunactas canan paycona<can> chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca allin pucoymi canca
ñispa ñircancu mana tamyanampacsi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoymi canca ñispa ñic carcan<cu>
[166] CAPITULO 12 YMANAM CAY
PARIA CACAP CHURINCUNA TUCOY
YUNCACUNACTA ATIJTA ÑA
CALLARIRCAN
ñam ari cay chuncampi capit(ul)opi rimarcanchic
cay paria cacap churincunap atiscan<cunacta> simicta
y<nas>naspa villarcanchictacmi ari ymanam tu
coy ynantin llactacuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta cananmi cay chuc paico chancha runa
huari ruma vtco chuco tutay quire sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñiscanchiccunacta rimason ymanam
paicuna puric carcanco chay chaycunacta [167] cay
cuna ñiscanchiccunas ñaupa pacha tucoynin

F 107 R

huauquiyoc sapa caspa ña atijpac tucoynillantac pu
ric carcan chaysi cay chuc paico ñiscaca tucoynin
manta mayornin caspa huc huandopi ancha yupai
chasca puric carcan chaymantas tutay quirire tucoy
nintapas yallispa ancha sinche carcan cay yna sinche
cayninpis cay yscay mayo ñiscanchictapas paitac
ñaupac atircan chay vnca tupi ñiisca pariachap fronte
rumpi huc yana vrco chaypi huc curi taunanta
pas churamuspa [168] cay taunactas canan <ña> yunca
cunacta ñacac yna cayta pampachaspam ma
na yupaichac ynam cay quitita yuncacuna yalli
munca ñispas chaypi churarcan chay churascam
hurcom canan vnca tupi capari caya sutioc
[169] chaysi cay huaquennin huauquincunaca rispa
pas chay tupi cochamanta vichaycuspa ñaupa ñanta
rinchic chaymi quisqui tambo sutioc hucmi <tam>tumnacha
sutioc maymantam limacñictapas riconchic chay
mantas ñan tutay quirica tucoyta atita ña puchocan
nicta oyarispa cotimurcancu chaysi tutay quiri
ta anchapuni mancharcanco paicunapas ancha sin
che captin [170] ynatacsi chay huaro cherinictapas <>vra
carancoñicman vraycorcancu chayta vraycus
pari paytacsi ñaupac rircan chaysi chay chu
qui suso ñiscanchicpac huc ñañanca chay
chacranpi suyarcan paita llollachipac <racanta> (pincayninta)
pas ñoñontapas ricorichispa yaya aslla sa
mayrac cay ashuallacta tictillacta vpiay
coyrac ñispa [171] chay pachas paica ynalla ña quipa
rircan chaysi huaquinnin huauquincunapas chay
ynacta ricuspa ynallatac quiparircan chay
hura alloca pacha marca ñiscacamalla atispa
si mana chay<cama> huarmi llollachinman carca
chayca canancamapas hora carangocama chil
cacamas huaro cherip quintippas chacran canman sapampi ruras
carcan caycunap sapampi rurascantaca cay cantaca cay qui
quipanpim quillcason yma ayca rurascantahuan pampim quellcason

F 78 R

[172] MAMA CAPI(TUL)O 13
mama runa<cta>cunacta tapuscam canan chay huaca chau
pi ñamuca huacapac huctatac rimancu chay rimascan
siminri cay hinam ancha ñaupa pachas huc huaca hanan
maclla sutiyoc carcan caypac cosansi ynti carcan caycunap
churinsi paria caca chaupi ñamuca cay chaupi ñamucas ancha
runa camac carcan huarmipac caripacri paria caca [173] yna
captinsi pay mama runacunaca chaypac fiestanta ruray
pac corpus christip vispirampi chay chaupi ñamcacta aslla
asuahuan armachic carcan chaymantari huaquinincuna
yma ayca sacreficioncunacta churapuspa coynhuan yman
huanpas muchaspas tucoy hinantin runacuna huñonacuc caripas
huarmipas curacanpas y alcaldenpas [174] chaysi <caya punchao>
chay tuta pacarispa upiaspa machaspa tucoy tuta tiaccu <cayan
tin corpus punchaopis ynatac mamanchicpa fiestanmi ñispas
curacan callañayoc tucoy ynantin runacuna> aylliua ñisca<>
taquicta taquiypac anchapuni cusicuspa hupyaspa machaspa
chay tuta hasta pacariscancamas taquicuc chaymantas
ña pampaman llocsispas chayca mana ña ymactapas rurac
cho vpiaylla machaylla machac mamanchicpa fiestanmi
ñispatac [175] chaymantam manarac vira cocha ricurimuptinca
yma ynam mucharcanqui ñiscaca ñiincum pihcca punchao
si alli huallparicuspa junio quillapitac hupyac carcancu chay
mantaca vira cochacunacta manchaspas corpuspa visperanpi mu
chancu chaymantari chaupi ñamcap ñañansi <prima y segunda>
<ñisca>pay mayornin captin huctas segunda ñañan<si> cassa llacsa
sutioc carcan caytas chay vispirapitac armachic carcan ynatac huc
ñañancunactapas vrpay huachac vichi maclla ñiscactapas
[176] checacunam ñiincu chaupi ñamcacta pihcas car
can ñispa caycunap mayorninmi cotacha o pal
ta(cha) sutioc chaupi ñamuca huc segunda ñañan
mi copacha <sutioc> ñiscanchic llacsa huato sutioc cay
llasa huatus chillacopi tian caypac fiestantas canin
pa don diego chauca guaman çaçi caya curaca causaptinpas
chellaco runacuna huaquinin runacunahuampas
rurac carcancu hasta q(ue) don m(art)yn chayascancama
cay fiestactaca manam allicho yachanchic yma

F 78 V

yma quellapih carcan
[177] chaymantam ampuche o ampuxi ñiscanchicri
mira huato sutioc carcan cay mira huato ñiscac
taca manam allichu yachanchic maypi tiascan
tapas ychaca ñiispam ñincu llacsa huato ña
ñanhuantacsi tian ñispa [178] caycunactas runa
cuna cay quitimanta o guaro cherimantapas
o mayquen runacunapas churinta o huau
quinta o yayanta o ymantaps huncochecus
pa chayman ric carcancu tapucuypac chay
huacacunap saçerdotinsi canan sucta chunca
huatamanta yuyariscaca chumpi ticlla sutioc(si) car
can ancha chaillas caninpa don diego ñiscanchic
captinsi luzia sutioc carcan (ña tacyasca huarmi) <ychaca chayca cau
san chay> [179] cay huacacunactas ña muchaspa a llac
sa huato mira uato cammi runa camac canque camtac
mi huchayta chaupi namucactapas yallispa ya
chanqui villallahuay ymamantam hun
cuchicuni yma huchaymantam ñacarispa cau
sani ñispas muchac carcancu [180] chay yna captin
ssi yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha tian ñis
pa hunanchancu chaymantari cay huaca
cunactatac<mi>(ssi) astauan runacuna yupaychac
carcancu porque chaupi ñamucaca manas chica
chu ymactapas runacunacta villac carcan ya
llinpas llullactacssi carcan chayssi haco llac
sa huato mira huato mamanchicta huyarimu
son yma ñincah vchanchicpac chaycama
tac puchucason ñispas runacuna ric carcan
cu [181] ychaca yna muchaspapas manam chau
pi ñamcap fiestanta huatancunapi ymanam
ruran ynachu rurarcancu chaytaca muchaspa
pas musiachicuyllapacmi ric carcancu risac ñis
papas o ama ñispapas munascancama
[182] chaymantam canan sullcacha o xullca paya ñis
canchicta lluncho huachaca sutioc huacacta rimason

F 79 R

caymi ari 4 ñañan cay huacaca cantañicpis
manam yachanchicchu ychapas cantacuna
yupaychan cantamantapas as carullanpiracsi
[183] chaymantas <> añassi o aña paya ñiscanchic<si>
cocha hucopi tian huaquininmi chaymi caue llaca
carca ñispa ñincu huaquininmi huctacmi cocha
patapim tian ñispa ñincu cayssi caca huco
pi tian chaysi manatac saçerdotin canchu
cay hurpay huachac huacacta rimachijpac ris
pas alli hunanchacusparac ric carcancu por
que cayhuan rimaspaca cara a caras rima
nacuc carcan mana huasscayuc captin chay
si chaymanta cutimuspapas payhuanmi rima
muni ñispas <mana> huc huata saçic carcan
mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa
[184] cay ñiscanchiccunas sapampipas ñam
ca sutioc sapa carcan ynaspa ñañayoc
cama hucninta mayquinnintapas chayai
cuspaca a pichca ñamca ñispas villacuc
carcan ymallacta llaquispapas [185] cay chica
llactam cay chaupi ñamca llacsa huatu mira
huatu lluncu huachac hurpay huachac ñis
cap cascanta yachanchic chaymantas cay
ñiscanchiccuna ñau pachaca chayman ric
runacunacta con churiquip yayaiquip ma
chuyquip simincamachu hamunqui ñispas
ñic carcan chaysi manam ñictaca ri cuti
con choriiquictarac huyarichimuy ñiptin
cotimuc carcan [186] chayracsi ymallactapas
chaytam piñachinqui caytam piñachin
que o huachucmi canqui o paria cacap
fiestanpim huarmihuan huchallicurcan
qui ñispa yma aycactapas rimaspa cunac
carcan tincuc mayopim armanqui llamay
quictam nacapunqui ñispapas caycuna ñis
cantas runacunaca ancha cusicuspa puchucapuc car
can huaquininsi canan alliyatamuc huaquinri huañuctac
yma yna puchucaptinpas

F 79 V

[187] ñam ari chaupi ñamcap huaquinin ñañan
cunap cascancunactapas huyarinchic
ychaca runacuna llactancunapipas ayllo
ayllonpi hucta camatacmi rimancu sutin
tapas ymanam mama runacunapas huc
tatac rimancu checari huctatac [188] huquinmi
chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi ñincu
hucmi tamta ñamcap churinsi carca ñincu
cay tamta ñamca ñiscanchictam ari ñau
pacnin pichcantin capitulopi rimarcanchic
huaquinmi canan yntip churinsi ñincu chay
ynam mana hunanchaypaccho
[189] CAPI(TUL)O 14
ojo ÑAUPACNIN CAPITULOPIM ARI HU
NANCHARCANCHIC CUNI RAYAP CASCANTA
PARIA CACAMANTA ÑAUPACNINCHUS
O QUEPANCHUS CARCAN CHAYTA
cuni raya vira cocha ñiscanchicca ancha ñaupa
mantatacsi carcan paria cacapas yma ayca
huacacunapas paytaca astahuantacsi yupai
chac carcan huaquinincunaca paria cacapas
cuni rayap churinsi nispam ñincu chayman
tam canan cuni raya vira cochap puchucas
canta rimason [190] cuni rayas ñahca vira co
chacuna ricurimuncampac cuzcoñicman
rircan chaysi chaypi huayna capac yngahuan
rimanacorcan ñispa haco churi titi cacaman
chaypi ñocap cascayta villascayqui ñispa [191] chay
pis ñispa ñircan ynga runayquicta camachi
bruxocunacta yma ayca yachaccunactapas
hura ticsiman canchancanchicpac ñiptinsi
yngaca tuylla camachircan chaysi huaqui
nin runacuna ñocam condorpac camasca canim

F 80 R

ñispa ñircancu huaquinsi ñocam guamanpa
camasca cani ñircan huaquinmi canan ño
cam huayanay piscu pahuac cani ñispa ñircan
[192] chaysi cay ñiscanchiccunacta richic hura ticsi
man chayman(tam) ñocap yayaita churiquim ca
chamuan huc panantas apachihuanqui ñispa
villanqui ñispas conarcan chaysi chay runa
huayanaypac camasca runaca huaquinin ca
mascacunahuan pihca punchaullapi cutimuy
pac rircancu [193] chaysi huayanaypac camasca ru
natac ñaupac chayarcan yna chayaptinsi cu
nascanta villaptin huc huchuylla pitaquillapi
aman caytaca quecharinquichu quiquin huay
na capac apuracmi quicharinca ñispas cuna
murcan chaysi chay runaca ña apamuspa
ñahca cuzcoman chayachispa ma ricuycu
sac ymahc cayca ñispa quicharircan [194] chaysi
chay hucopica huc señora ancha collan sumac
ricurircan chucchanpas crispo cori yna chica
collanan pachayuc ricchayninri ancha huchuy
llas carcan chay ynacta ricuptin pachallas chay
s(eño)raca chincaripurcan [195] chaysi ancha llaquicuspa
cuzcopi titi caca ñiscampi chayarcan chaysi mana
chay yna huayanaypa camasca canquiman chayca
canallanmi huanochichiquiman ri quiquillay
quitac cutij ñispas cacharcan chaysi cutispa
ñatac apamurcan apamuspas ñanpi micuyman
ta<> vpyaymanta huañuptinpas rimaptin
pachallas mesapas mantasca carcan puñonam
pacri ynatac [196] chaysi pihca punchaollapitac
chayachircan ña chayachiptinsi cuni rayaca ynga
huan ancha cusicuspa chasquircan chaysi manarac
quicharispatac cuni raya<>ca ñispa ñirca ynga cay
pachacta sequison ñocari cay huc pachacta yaicusac
camri cay huc pachactatac panayhuan yaicoy ama ñam

F 80 V

campas ñocapas ricunacosoncho ñispas pachacta
sequispa cayarcan ynaspas chay cofrectaca
quecharircan quechariptin pachallas chaycan
pachapas yllarircan [197] chayssi chay ynga huay
na capac ñiscaca mana ñam caymanta cuti
saccho cayllapitacmi cay ñustayhuan coyayhuan
tiasac ñispas huc runacta aylluntatac cam rij
ñocap rantij huayna capacmi cane ñispa cuzco
man cuti ñispas ñircan chay pachallatacsi chay
señoranhuan chincatamurcan cuni rayari yna
llatac chaymantas ña chay huayna capac ñiscan
chic huañuptin hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñinacospa
apu cayninpac tacuirircan ynaptintacsi vira co
chacunapas caxa marcapi ricurimurcan [198] canancama
pas checa simillactam yachanchic cuni raya vira co
chap cascanta huaquinin cay quitipi purispa rurascan
cunactaca manaracmi quillcacuyta puchucanchiccho
chay chaycunactaca cay quipampim rurason
ojo [199] CAP(ITUL)0 15
CAYMANTAM YSCAYNIN CAPI(TUL)OPI (RIMASCANCHICTA) CUNI RA
YAP CARUINCHUMANTA ÑAUPAC CAS
CANTAPAS O QUIPAN CASCANTAPAS
QUILLCASON
cuni raya vira cochaca ancha ñaupacmanta
tacsi carcan manarac pay captinca manas
cay pachapi ymallapas carcanchu payracssi or
cocunactapas sachactapas mayoctapas yma ay
ca animalconactapas camarcan chacracunac
tapas runap causancampac chayraycutacmi
cay cuni rayacta paria cacap yayansi ñincu
paytacsi paria cacactapas camarca ñispa [200] mana
paypa churin captinca allcochanmancha carca

F 81 R

nispam tucoy runacunapas ñincu huaquinin
llactacunactaca anchas amauta cayninpi allco
charcan yma aycactapas ruraspa caycunactaca
quipampim rurason
[201] CAPI(TUL)O 16
CAYPIM QUILLCASON PARIACA PICHCA RUNTO
MANTA YURIC HUAUQUIYOCCHUS CARCAN
CAYRI PARIA CACACHO PAYCU
NAP YAYAN
CHAY CHAYTA
ñam ari pusacnin capitulopi hunancharcanchic
paria caca pihca runtamanta yurimuspa huauqui
yuc camachos carcan cayri huaquinincunaca pari
a cacap churinchus carcan chaycunacta chayman
tari paycunap sapampi sutintari quillcasontacmi
[202] cay pihcca runtomanta yuric paria caca ñiscanchic
ca ymanam 14 capi(tul)opipas rimarcanchic cuni rayap
churinsi ñispa ynatacsi paycunaca huauquiyoc ca
ma carcan caycunap sutinmi ñaupacninman
ta paria caca chaymantam churapa chaymantam
puncho chaymantam paria carco huquintam
mana yachanchiccho caypi quiparin blancopi ya
chaspam churancanchicpac /sullca yllapa/ [203] chaymanta ojo sullca yllapa
cay paria ca<rco> ñiscanchicsi canan antiman yaicu sutiocsi carcan
napi huallallo caruinchoh cutimunman ñispas ca
nancamapas tian chaytahuanpas hunancharcan
chicmi ari cay huallallo caruinchuri manatacsi
tuyllaca miticarcancho may pacham chay mullo
cocha ñiscanchicta churapa paria cacap huquin
yaicuspa cochaman tucochircan chay pachas chay
manta huallalloca pisco yna pahuamurca [204] chaysi

F 81 V

huc orco caqui yoca sutioc orcoman yaicorcan cay <cacas>
orcos ancha atun caca cay cacaman yaicuspas hua
llallo caruincho pacacorcan chaymantas canan paria
cacaca yllapapayaspa huaquinnin pihcca huauquin
cunahuan ancha nanacta yllapaspa ñahcca cacacta
pas tunichispa ñatac chaymanta miticachirca [205] chay
ssi chay huallallo caruinchoca huc atun machachuay a
maru sutiocta paria cacacta tapianca ñispa yscay homayoc
amarocta llocsichimurcan chayssi paria cacaca chay
ta ricospa huc cori taunanhuan ancha piñaspa cha
upi huasampi tucsircan chay pachallatacsi chay
amaroca chirayarca rumiman ña tucorcan
[206] chay chirayasca amaros canancamapas anac caqui
yuca sutioc ñanpi-sutilla ricurin chay amaroc
tas cuzco runacuna mayquin runacunapas yachac
ninca ampipac rumihuan tacaspa hurmacninta
apacon mana oncoyman chayasac ñispa
[207] chaymantas chay huallallo caruincho ña caqui yo
ca cacamanta miticuspa huc huayco caqui yoca
huayqui ñisca huaycoman yaicorcan chaysi hoc
orco puma rauca sutiocta chay huallallo sicaspa
caymanta cay paria cacacta quinchasac mana cay
ta pasamuncanpac ñispas huc orito caque
ñiscacta ricrantapas chuquiri<spa>chispa saya
chircan chaysi chaytapas paria cacaca huc ricran
ta yanca paquerispa chay caquectari rumiman
na cherayachispa yallircantac ña yalliptinsi
huallallo caruinchoca mana ña yma callpallan
pas captinsi antiñicman miticarcan [208] chaysi
paria cacaca huaquinin huauquincunahuan
tucoynin catircan ña antiman yaicuptinsi
paria carco huc huauquintaca paria carco sutiocta chay
antip punconpi saquimurcan pahtahc cotimun
man ñispa [209] chay paria carcos canan huc orcotac
ancha rra<ç>zosapa tian cayta pihc muchan chaytaca

F 82 R

manam yachanchiccho ychaca ñam ari ysconnin
capitulopi rimarcanchic allcocta cananca micochon
runa micuscanrayco caytari huancacuna carachon
ñiscanta<>
[210] CAPI(TUL)O 17
cananmi rimason ña huauquinta paria carco su
tiocta saquimuspa antip ponconpi ymanam ña
tac paria caca cotimurcan chayta cay simire cay
ynam ñam ari huaquinin simi rimascanta
ca muchachicuypac callariscanta<pas>huanpas ri
marcanchic ychacaca huc simictatacmi concar
canchic [211] ña aticuyta puchocamuspas huaquinin huau
quincunahuan cutimurca cay paria caca ñiscanchic
orcoman chaypis huc horcotac razosapa mana
llocaypac huama yaco sutioc orco cay orcoctam
huaquinin runacunaca chaymi paria caca ñincu
ñispatacmi quipampi vira cochacuna ricurimuptin
pas cay ynca caya ñiscanchicmantapas chay or
co razocta ricuspa chaymi paria caca ñispa ñir
cancu [212] quiquin paria caca ñiscaca huranic huc
cacapitacsi tian chaypitacsi huaquinin huauquincu
napas chay caca ñiscanchicman yascuspas caypim
tiasac caymantam muchahuanqui ñispa chay caca
pi llactachacorcan chaymantam ñircanchic huc
orco<> huama yaco sutioc orcocta razosapas
ñispa chaysauas ña antimanta cutimuspa
samamurcan [213] chaymantas canan tucoy tauan
tin suyo runacunacta cayachirca manarac yn
gapas yurimuptin ancha ñaupatac chay yna
ña runacuna tucoynin huñonacomuptinsi
payta muchancanpac huacsata camachircan
cayta oyarispas ña ynga ricurimuspapas paipas
huacsa tiarcan ancha yupaichaspa chay pacha yma
nam huñonacorcan ninchic tauantin suyocta
[214] chay pachas huallallo caruinchuca mana traycionninta

F 82 V

concaspa huc animalta hugi sutiocta chay qui
quin horco tiascanpi ricorichircan cay pari
a cacacta tapianca ñispa chaysi chay hugi ñis
canchicca tuylla ricurispa pachaman miti
camurcan [215] chaysi chay hugi causaspaca ymac
tapas paria cacap causayninta quichunman
tacsi carcan chayraycos tauantin suyo runa
cunacta chay hugi ñiscacta apimuy ñispa ca
machircan yna camachiptinsi tucoy ynan
tin runacona catirircan manatacsi api
chicorcancho panas paria cacaca yllaparca
tamyarcan manatacsi huañorcancho [216] chay
si ancha caropirac huc runa cay checamanta
caca sica ayllo apircan chaysi huc quinti runa
ca huauqui ñam apinqui ancha cusiocmi can
qui camca cay chupallanta huaytallispa
ri cay aychantaca ñoca apasac ñiptinsi allim
ñircan [217] ñispatacsi chay quinti runaca huc
ñanta rispa ñocam yaya apimoni ñispa
villarcan chaysi ancha cusicuspa yupaichar
can cay quinti runap sutinmi chuc paico sutioc
carcan chaysi quipanpi ña chupanta chaya
chiptinca chuc paicocta camca chay llollahuascay
quimanta quintihuanca macanacoy asnayoc
ñisonquim churiquicunactapas ñispa mi
llaypi anyarcan [218] chay pachas cay caca sica ay
llomanta huar cancha llichic canchaman
ta quiquin paria caca cammi chay apiscay
quimanta yancamusca canqui camllactam
yma villahuascayquictapas vyariscayq(ui)
huaquinin runacunapas camtaracmi ñocacta
villaypacpas huyarichisonqui ñispas sutinta
pas ñamca canca ñamca parya ñispa sutiya
chimurcan [219] chaymantas paycunapas yanca car
can conchacunari ynatac yañcampa sutin
quiquin paria cacap sutichascan huatusi sutioc carcan

F 83 R

ynatacsi tucoy llactancunapi yañcacunaca
paria cacap sutichascan cay chicactam concas
canchicta yuyarinchic paria cacap cascanta
[220] CAPI(TUL)O 18
ñam ari yngap paria cacacta yupaychascanta
huacsa tiascantauanpas rimarcanchic pay yn
gatacsi camachircan anan yauyo rurin ya
uyomanta quinça chunca paria cacacta pura
pi quillapi siruichon ñispa chaysi chaycama
quimsa chunca runa siruircan<cu> chunca pihc
cayoc punchaumantacama caraspa micochispa
[221] chaysi huc punchaoca huc llamanhuan yauri hua
naca sutioc llamahuan mucharcancu chayssi
chay quimca chuncamanta oquen llacuas
quita<par yasca> pariasca sutioc runaca may pa
cham chay quinça chunca runacuna ñatinta
sunconta llamapmanta ricorcan chay pacha ñis
pa ñircan a atac manam allicho pacha
huauqui quipampica cay paria caca yayan
chic puromancatacmi ñispas rimarcan [222] chay
si chay huaquinin runacunaca manam ca
sim<> rimanqui allim ymactam cam yachan
qui ñispas ñircancu chaysi hucninca say
quita pariasca ymamantam cam hunanchan
qui cay sonconpica ancha allictam paria ca
ca yayanchic riman ñispa ñiptinsi payca
manas sonco<>cta ricoypacpas cayllaycorcancho
carollamanta cauaspatacsi yna amutarcan
[223] chaysi rimaspapas quiquin paria cacam ñin
huauqui ñispa chaycunactapas ayñircan
chaysi millaypicama chay quita pariascactaca
ñircan llacuas asnac runa ymactam chay ya
chan yayanchic paria caca chinchay suyo ñisca
maycama runayocmi tiacon chaycho puromanman

F 83 V

ymactam chaycan runaca yachan ñispas
ancha piñaspa cama ñircancu cay ñiscan
manta ancha pisi ponchaomantatacsi ñam
vira cocha caxa marcapi ricorimon ñicta oya
rircancu [224] chaymantam cay checamanta
pas tama lliuya caxa lliuya (sutioc) caca sica ayllotac
chay paria cacap yanan tiasca chay pachas
paria cacapi quimça chunca saçerdotecona
tiaspa cay caxa lliuya tama lliuya sutioc tu
coyninmanta yuyacnin carcan [225] chaysi vi
ra cocha chayman chayaspaca cay huacap
collquin pachan maymi ñispas taporcan
chaysi payconaca manatac villacoyta mu
narcancho yna captinsi vira cochaca piña
rispa hocsacta taucarichispa caxa lliuyac
ta rupachircan chaysi ña patmanta oc
sa rupaptinsi huayraca pucorimurcan chay
si ancha ñacarisparac chay runapas cau
sarircan chay pacharacsi chay pacha nac
nacta yman aycantapas vira cochaman
corcancu [226] chay pachas tucoynin runacuna
ancha chicantatacmi ñihuasca canchic chay
llacuas quita pariasca huauqui aco cheque
risontac mana ñam allicho pacha ñispas
tucoynin llactancama chiquerimurcan
[227] chaysi cay checamanta rupasca runapas ña alli
maca viça yaspa huc paria cacap churinta maca uisa
sutiocta aparispa quintip llantanpi limca
sutioc llactapi chayamurca caycunactam
cay quipam capi(tul)opi rimason
[228] CAPI(TUL)O 19
cay maca visa paria cacap churinsi ñaupa yn
ga captin aucaman yanapancampac apai
tucorcan amaya xiuaya sutioc llacta
cunas manatac atichicorcancho chaysi

F 84 R

yngaca mana atichicoptin paria cacacta
chorinta mañarcan chay amaya xiuaya
runacunacta atipai [229] chaysi chay maca visa
sutiocta corcan cayta apaspas tuyllapuni
atimurcan chaymantas yngacunaca asta
uanrac paria cacacta yupaicharcan corictapas
yma ayca pachancunactapas cospa huatampi
chay quimça chunca yanancunapacpas sarac
ta cocacta yma aycactapas llactancunaman
ta cochispas causarcan [230] chay yna captinsi
ñaca ñinchic yna vira cochacuna chaya
muspa tucoy yman cactapas tucoy quecho
porcan huaquinin pochocnincunactas
quipampi huañoc don sebastian tucoyta ru
pachichircan [231] chaymantas ymanam ña
ca ñinchic chay sina chay caxa lliuyaca
li<>mca llactapi tiaspa chay maca uisa ñiscac
ta atallispa ancha yupaychasca ahca huata
tiarcan ña ahca huatamantam canan cay che
cacuna chay yna alli causascanta huyarispa
cayman chay maca uisacta apamuchon ñispa
cacharcan don ju(a)n puypu tacma (huañoc) curaca caspa chay
pachas chay caxa lliuya macho rupasca cayman
sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamur
cancu [232] chay pachas caypi digo llacsa tampopi
chayamuspa ñatac yaya maca uisa alli
cho cay llactapi checa runacta huacaychanqui
ñispa huc llamahuan villaptinsi ymanam
huauya cancha ñisca maypim chay llacuas
pas quita pariasca ñisca ricorcan chay ynalla
tacsi carcan [233] chaytapas chay caxa lliuya tama
lliuya ñisca ña chorincunapas colloptinracsi
quiquinpas ña huañuypac caspas chay ynam
chayamuptillay carcan ñispa rimarcan porq(ue)
chayamuspa pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam
ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho ñispas ñircan

F 84 V

[234] chay pachamantaracsi cay maca uisacta cay llacta
pi atallircancu pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi
tucoy checacuna ayllompi ayllompi seruispa
huc tutallaca tucoynin cari huarmi hoñolla paca
ricoc carcan ña pacariptinmi canan coynhuan
ymanhuanpas sapa runamanta cococ car
carcan yanapahuay cay llactacta cammi
huacaychanqui yma ayca oncoyconacta
pas cammi alliyachihuanqui ñispa
[235] chaymantam canan limca ñiscanchic llac
tapica anchapuni seruiscas tiarcan yam
laca sutioc chacractas tucoy huc huaran
ca quinti ñisca callpaporcan chay maca
uisa opiancampac chaysi chaypi cac runa
cunari anchaponitac rico tucorcan yman
huanpas aycanhuanpas chayta embidias
pas cay checacuna huañoc don ju(a)n puypu tacma
cassa lliuya ayllon runan captin cayman
apamuchon ymapacmi runap llantanpi
chay chica alli huacacta atallin ñispa cachar
can chay pachamantaracsi caypi tia<n>rcan
checallactam cay maca uisapta yachanchic
[236] CAPI(TUL)0 20
CAYMANTAM LLOCLLAY HUAN
CUPAP CAUSAYNIN CALLARIN
CANAN Q(UE)PAMPI POCHOCASCAN
TAUANMI QUELLCASSON
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacas pacha
camacpac churin carcan cay huaca ricurimus
cantas huc huarmi lanti chumpi sutioc alay satpa

F 85 R

ayllo tarircan chacracta oryacospa chaysi huc
mita ñaupac aspispaca ymah cayca ñispas pacha
llampitac vischorcan [237] chaysi ñatac huc pachacta aspis
paca chay quiquin ñaupac tariscantatac tarircan
chaysi cayca ychapas yma huaca ñispas yayaicunac
ta ricuchimusac aylloycunactapas ñispas apamorcan
[238] chaysi chay pacha huc huacatac yngap cachan cati qui
llay sutioc chay llactapi llacsa tampo ñiscapi carcan
cay<ssi> cati quillay ñiscanchicsi yanca yma ayca
huaca mana rimactapas rimachic carcan chaysi
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacatata rima
richircan ñispa <pip> pim canqui yman sutique
ymamanmi hamunqui ñispa chaysi ñocaca pacha
cuyochic pacha camacpac churinmi cani sutipas lloc
llay huancupam yayaimi cay checa llactacta<ca>
huacaychamuy ñispa cachamuan ñispas ñircan
[239] chaysi runacunaca ancha cosicuspa allim cay
llactapi tiachon ñocaycocta huacaychahuaspa ñis
pas chay quiquin tarimucpa huasimpi huchoylla can
chan captinpas astahuan atunyachispa tucoy checacuna
huanri chauticunahuanpas tucoynin ancha man
chaspa chaypi huasinta canchanta allicharcancu
[240] payta seruiipacri pura quilla<pi> ñiscapi ayllo ayllo
manta allauca collanamuptin yaicuson ñispas
camachinacorcan llamantapas cospa cay pura que
lla ñiscanchictam paycuna ñam chayana ñincu
paymi chayan ñincu cay chayai ñiscanchicpis ñaupa
pachaca chu(m)p ruco huaychau ahua ñiscacunacta
churacuspa taquic carcancu ymanam paria cacap
mitanpipas churacuc carcan chay chump ruco huay
chao ahua ñiscacta chay yna [241] cay ñiscanchic chay
ynas ahcca huata seruircancu chaysi chay llocllay
huancupaca huc mita mana alli seruiptintaccha
pacha camac yaya<i>nman cutircan chincarispa chay
si chay ynacta ricuspa runacunaca ancha llaquispa
chay may pacham ñaupaclla tarirca lanti chumpi ñiscanchic

F 85 V

chaytapas allichaspa huc husnocta pircaspa mascar
cancu [242] chaysi ñatac mana tarispa pacha camac
man tucoy yuyac runacuna llamantapas coyn
tapas yma ayca vestidontapas camaripuspa
rircancu chaysi yayanta ñatac muchaspa cotichi
morcan chaysi astauanrac rrenouaspa muchar
cancu llama camayocnintapas camachipuspa
cay llamactas sucya villca ñiscapi michircan
cu pacha camacpac llamanmi ñispa ynga
pas cayta camachircantacsi [243] chaymantas yma
nam ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan chay
yna cay huacacta vinay huata seruircancu
yma ayca honcoycuna amuptinri paita vya
richispa alli cayta mañaspa yma ayca llaqui
cuy puticoy captinpas auca amuptinpas pa
cha cuyomuptinpas yayanmi piñan ñispas
runacuna ancha mancharcan saractari yn
gap çaranta sapçicunamantas corcan
hupyancampac [244] chaymantas ñatac huc
p(adre)e X(christoba)l de castilla captin (cay rreducionpi caspa) curacari don geronimo
cancho guaman caspa ancha chaycunacta chic
ñiptin mana ña mucharcanchu chaysi ña
tac ñaupa haton çarampion hamuptin yma
ayca muchacoytapas callarircancu curaca
ñiscanchicri paymanta cachan ñic yna ma
na ña rimapayarcancho purun huasipi
opyaptin chay pachatacsi cay huacap huasinpas
ruparcan paicama dios munaptin [245] chayman
tam canan don g(eroni)mo huañoptin chay pacha
don ju(a)n sacsa lliuya <yai> curacaman yaicuptin
ca quiquin curacapas huacça captin tucoy runa
cuna ymanam ñaupa pacha causarcan chay
yna causayta<> (ña callarircancu) llocllay huancupacta chayman
ta maca uiçactapas chayaspa chaypi pacarispa
opiaspa [246] cananmi s(eñ)or doctor auila paypac predi
caçionnimpi huaquinin runacuna diosman
cuti

F 86 R

cutirispa chaicunacta amacharcancu mana huc
runa diosman checa sonco cutirispa caycunacta su
paimi ñispa ñiptinca ychapas hunayrac chay yna
causanman carca cay simictam cay quipampi
huyarichison [247] huc runam don x(christob)al choque cassa
sutioc yayanri ña ñiscanchic don ge(roni)mo cancho guaman
huañuc cay runam huchuillanmantaca alli cau
sacuc carcan yayanpas chay huacacunacta ancha
chicñiptin ychaca cay mana alli supaipac llullay
cuscan huañonampica cay huchaman hurmar
canmi ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullay
cuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi chaytaca dios
aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas [248] cay huañuc
ñiscanchicpac churinmi ari don x(christob)al ñiscanchic canan
causan caymi huc mita cay supay llucllay huancupa
ñiscanchicta ricurcan ñavinuan paipas yayan
huañuscanmantaca ña ñiscanchic mana alli supai
machocunap llollaycuscan caspa cay simire cay y
nam cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don x(christob)al jura
mentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa [249] huc tutas don
x(christob)al chay llocllay huancupap huasinman rircan chaypi
sipasnin captin chay huacactaca ña haquispa mana ña
asllapas chaytaca yuyaspa chaysi ña chay huassi
pi chayaspa yspacuypac chay huchoylla racay huasilla
man yaicorcan [250] chaysi canan maypim chrusta
churarcan chay hucomantas huc collque plato
ponchao yntiman tincochisca runap ñauinta tuta
yachic ynas ñaulnman chay supai ricurichimur
can cayta ricuspas ñahcca pachamanpas hormarcan
chaysi padre nuestro aue mariacta resaspa chay
huchuilla aposentoman huarmip tiascanman
miticamurcan [251] chaysi ñatac quimça mita cha
upicta purimuptin chay ynatac yllarichimurcan
ña aposentoman chayaptinri ñatac quimça mita
ñaupacninri quimça mitatac chaymi tucoyninca
yscon mita (yna) yllarechircan cay chica mita cay

F 86 V

yllarichic supaita ricuspa anchapuni manhharispa
chay huarmip puñoscanman chayarcan paitari
tuylla atarichispa [252] yscay huamrari chaypitac po
ñusca cay huamracunapas ancha siuyaptinsi
yayanchicmi ynan ñispa mancharircancu
cay huamracunari chay sipaspas cay supaipac sa
çerdotinpa churinsi carcan chaysi chay tuta
ymanam tutayacman runa yaicuc astauan tu
tayachispa chay ynas ahuamanpas llocçic
yaicuc ynas carcan rinrintapas chuy ñichispa
chay huasictapas ña tunichic ynas cay don x(christob)al
ta atipaita munarcan [253] chaysi oraçion yachas
cancunacta ancha nanacta huacyarispa dios
aponchicta mucharcan doctrinactari ñatac ña
tac<yachaspa> callarispa pochocascancama
cay yna mana y<lla>mallahuanpas quis
pinanta hunanchaspas ña chaopi tutacta
pas yalliptin suapaica ynatac ompichic captin
<si> mamanchic santa m(ari)acta huacyarcan
ñispa [254] a mamay cammi sapai mamay canqui
ynataccho cay mana alli suapaica atipahuanca
cam mamaytac yanapallahuay pana yna
huchaçapactapas ñocatacmi cay quiquin çu
paita siruircani cananca ñan ricsini supai
cascanta manam cayca dios(cho) manatacmi cay
ca ymactapas allintaca ruranmancho
[255] cam çapai coyallaytacmi cay peligroman
ta quispichihuanq(ui) huahuayq(ui) jesusnita villapu
llahuaytac canallanca cay huchaymanta
quispichihuachuntac cay mana alli supai
pa maquinmanta ñispas huacaspa om
pispa mamanchic virgen sapai coyanchic
ta huacyarcan [256] cay<ña>ta ña pochucaspas
latinpi salue regina mater misericordia
ñispa rresarcan cayta rimaptinsi na chao
pita rimaptin chay hacoy mana alli supaica

F 87 R

chay huasictapas coyorichispa ancha racupi
chuss ñispa chusic llucsircan chay pachalla
tacsi pachaca pacaric yna carcan mana ñas
yma manchachicuypas runa yna llucsic yai
cumucpas carcanchu [257] chaymantas astahuan
rac diosta mucharcan virgen s(an)ta mariactapas
viñay yanapancampac cayantillantacsi tucoy
runacunacta ñispa villarcan huauquicuna yayacuna
chaycan manchascanchic llucllay huancupa ñis
caca chusic supaimi cascą [258] cunam tutam
virgin s(an)ta maria mamanchicpac yanapainin
huan atiparcomuni amatac cananmantaca
pillapas chay huasiman yaicunquichiccho yai
cucta chayacta ricuspaca padremanpas villay
manmi porque alli yachay cay ñiscayta tucoy
soncoyquipitac chasquicuychic ñispas tucoy
runacunacta villarcan [259] chaysi huaquin
ca ychapas ya ñispa huaquinri chay supai
ta manchach caspa hupalla tiarcancu chay
pachamantaracsi checanpunica chayaita
samarcancu chaymantas chay tutari ña
tac don x(christob)al huasimpi puñocuptin muscoypi
ricuchicorcan caytam caysaua quillcasson
[260] CAP(ITUL)O 21
CAYMANTAM MANA MUSCOY
YUPAI CAPTINPAS CHAY MA
NA ALLI SUPAYPA MANCHA
CHISCANTA RIMASON YMA
NAM DON X(CHRISTOB)AL ATIPARCAN CHAYTA
HUANPAS

F 87 V

ñam ari llucllay huancupa mana alli supai
cascanta don x(christob)al atipascantauanpas oyarir
canchic ychaca chay mana alli supai muscoy
pipas atipaitatacsi munarcan chaysi cayan
tin tutallatac huasinmanta don x(christob)alta caya
chircan huc runahuan manas paiman rine
nircancho ña huasinman yaicusparacsi
musyacorcan [261] chaysi ancha mancharispa chay
huc yunga huarmi chacuas tiacocman chay qui
quiquin patiopitac cayllaycorcan cay chac
uassi yunga huarmi carcan chaysi huahua
ymapacmi llucllay huancupa pacha cuyo
chicpa churinta mana manchanquicho
cananmi chayta yachaypac cayachimu
sonqui ñispas rimarcan [262] ñiptinsi canan
paica chayca mana alli supaimi mamay
ymapacmi chayta manchayman ñispas
ñircan chaysi maquinpiri taua rreal
collquicta atallircan chaytas don x(christob)al pa
chaman ormachircan chayta mascaptin
si franc(isc)o trompeteroca hahuallamanta yao
yma conquim chaypin yayaiquica ancha piñas
pa hutca amuchon ñispa cayamusonqui ñispas
huacyamurcan [263] ñiptin pachallas suyallahuai
rac huauqui ñam amuni ñispa collquenta
ancha vtcaspa mascarcan chay pacha ña
tarispas rijpac captinsi ñatac ymanam
oyanpi quiquinta chay collqui ñiscanchichuan
manchachircan chay yna ynamurcan chay
cruzpa tiascan ocumanta(tac) [264] chayssi tuylla
mancharispa mana ña quispinampas yacha
cuptin chay hucumantaca cayamurcan
yayanchicmi cayasonqui ñispa chaysi
paica allim ñispas sonconpica ancha piñaspa
yaicorcan yaicuspas poncollampi tiay<coy>
corcan [265] chaysi chay pachaca cay astu guamanca

F 88 R

opiachich carcan carahc carcan chay huacacta
ñispa yaya llucllay huancupa cammi pacha
cuyochicpac churin canqui camtacmi runactapas
camarcanqui ñispas chaypi ancha manchas
pa cararcan chaysi chay supaica mana
rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan
chaymantari cocacta caraptinri acoc ynas
chac chac ñichircan [266] caycunacta hunayrac
ruraptinsi don x(christob)alca chay huasin hucomanta
tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta
ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai
patarapi rinman chay hynacta chay pin
tasca ñiscanchicsi hucpi huc huchuylla supai
ancha yana ñauinpas collqui yna chaymanta
maquinpiri huc caspi garauato<>yucta atallir
can chaisauas llamap human carcan chay
sauas ñatac chay huchuilla supai carcan chay sa
uari ñatac llamap human chay ynas tu
cuy huasinta yscay patarapi muyorcan [267] cay
cunacta ricuspas don x(christob)alca ancha mancharircan
rimanallanta camarispas chayssi ña cay su
pai micoyta puchocaptinsi ñatac ninacta
raurarichircan chay astu guaman chayman
yma ayca carascantapas rupachipac [268] cay
ta puchocaptinsi ña casilla ymapas captin
don x(christob)alca rimayta callarircan ñispa yao lluc
llay huancupa camtam ari runa camac pacha
cuyochic ñispa ñisonqui <ñocaca ñinim> pai
tacmi yma ayca rurac ñispam ari tucoy
runacunapas manchasonqui ymapacmi
canan cayachimuarcanqui ñocaca ñinim
jesu xp(christ)o diospac churin caytaccha checan
dios paipac simintataccha viñaypas yupay
chasac ñispam ñine [269] cayri pantanicho cam
canan villahuay chayca manam dioscho
ñocam yma ayca rurac cani ñispa chay pacha

F 88 V

camta manchancaypac ñispa ñiptinsi chay
supaica hopayarcan mana ña ymactapas
rimarcancho [270] chay pachas don x(christob)alca ricoy ma
nacho supai canqui ñocap y ñiscay jesuxp(christ)o
apuytacho camca atipanquiman ricoy cay
huasiquipas supaipac yntupayascanmi ari
tianqui camtacho ñoca y ñiquiman ñispas an
cha caparispa ayñircan [271] chay pachas huc llau
llaya (ñiycum) chayta vischomurcan caytas ma
na don x(christob)al yacharcancho ycha chay supai ycha
pas diospac partenmanta vischomurca por
qui chay llaullaya ñiscanchicllahuan har
cacuspas chay huasimanta huc ysquina
condep huasincama huacta<manta>ñic
manta chayllahuan arcacuspa mitica
murcan chay pachas riccharircan [272] chayman
ta pachas canan<ca>cama huaquinin huaca
cunactapas atipaspa yna moscoyllapipas
ancha ahcca mitatacsi paria cacactapas chaopi
ñamucactapas atiparcan runacunactari
tucoytapas villapayaspa caycunaca supai
mi ñispa cay chicactam cay mana alli su
paipac cas(can)ta yachanchic don x(christob)alpac atispascantahuanpas
[273] chaymantari ña chayaspa ñaupa pachaca
chayac runacunaracsi taquic carcan ña
hura pachacama chaysi ña chesiñicmanca
yayanchic cananca ñan machan taquichon
ñispas chay saçerdoten paipac rantin yna ñis
ca taquicta taquic carcan yayanchicmi an
cusasonqui ñispatac huc huchoylla quirullapi
cay ancusayta puchocaspas apamuc huctas canan ocupi huc manca
chay supaipac upyascan mantac churac paimi opian ñispa [274] cay opia
maticta ahuaman chay chicoytam yuyacnicmanta callarispa man
ancusascanman apa yancama opiachicoc carcan ynaspam cayan
muc carcan chay matic tinri ñatac chay puchuscancunacta micoycu
ta muchancampac

F 89 R

nacta sucya villca ñiscaman apachic carcan
[275] ñaupa pachaca chay chayac runacunas quiquin
sucya villcaman apac carcan cay quipampim
canan pachallampitac sucya villcactapas
llucllay huancupacta caracuyta puchocaspa
carac carcan cay sucya villca caracoytaca
ymaraicum cararcan chaytaca cay quipampim
quillcason pacha camacpac cascantahuan<pas>
[276] CAPI(TUL)O 22
yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascan
taca manam allichu yachanchic ychaca huaqui
nillantam yachanchic hanac ticsipi muchanan
tas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngac
ta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan
pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca
ñispatac mucharcancu [277] cay yscaynin huacacuna
ñiscallanchictas astahuanca tucoy yma aycactapas
yallispa mucharcan collquinhuan corinhuanpas
astauanrac yallichispa allichaspa yanancunactari
ahcca pachac runacta churaspa llamantari tucoy
ynantin llactacunapi churapuspa cay pacha camac
ñiscanchicpac llamancunami ari sucya villca
ñiscanchicpipas cay checa runamanta sayarcan
[278] caytam hunanchanchic yngaca cay ñiscan
chic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñis
cancunalla<>pich pacha puchocan mana ñah chay
mantaca huc llactapas canchu manataccha yma
llapas cancho ñispach ari hunancharcan [279] cay
ta yuyaspataccha yscaynin ñiscanchic hua
cacta astauanrac huaquinin huacacunaman
tapas yallispa mucharcancu hura pacha camac
pa cayllanpiri <ponchao digo> yntictapas sayachispa
chay sayachiscanmi ari canancamapas ponchao

F 89 V

cancha sutioc [280] chaymantas canan tauantin
suyo runacunacta capac hucha ñiscactapas
huarmicta caricta huatanpi corcan cay ca
pac hucha ñiscanchictas ña pacha camacman
chayaptinsi yna causacllacta pachaman cay
mi coyqui yaya ñispa pampac carcan ynatac coric
tapas collquictapas llamacunactari purapi
quillapi mana ancochaspa opiachircan mi
cochircan [281] chaymantam ña may pacham
cay checap llactancunacta mana tam
yarcanchu chay pachas yngap simincama
tac yuncacuna ashuanhuan tictinhuan
cori collqui ñiscactari huatanpi cuspa suc
ya villca ñisca<horcom>man cachamurcan
chaysi sucya villcacta yaya pacha camacmi
cachamuan cammi pachacta tamyachinqui
mana cay cochamanta yaco riptintacmi
runacunapas yacomanta muchuyco tam
yaicuytac caypacmi amuycu ñispas ofre
cicoc carcan [282] yuncacunapas chaymantas coll
qui cori apascantari chay sucya villca cocha
cayllapi huatancunapipas pampac carcan
chaypac yanancu(na)pas yaçapa ayllomantas<>
carcan llama michicninri allaucamanta
cay yaçapa ñiscanchicsi huc runa paico casa sutioc
quipampi ña vira cochacuna captinpas coricta
collquicta pampacta ricorcan [283] ynatacsi ynga
cunari tucoy ynantin huacacunaman alli
ricsisca huacamanca corinta collquinta qui
pollamanta tucoy ynantin huacacta cochic
carcan choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca
corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc vrpo collc<>
horpo choc tipsi collc tip<>si ñiscacunactas
cochic carcan quipollamanta cay hatunin hua
cacunaca manatacsi huquillanpas pasuccho
[284] cayta hunanchaspatacsi llocllai huancupa

F 90 R

ñiscanchicman chayaspapas cayantin sucya
villcacta carachic carcan yayanpa man
chascan captin cay chicactam yachanchic cay
pacha camacmanta pacha coyochi ñiscanta
ri pai piñaptinsi yna coyon ña ñispari
hucman hoyanta ticrachiptinsi coyomun
manatacsi paica huyanta asllapas coyochincho
tucoy <cuerpon> (cuerpon)ta ticrachiptinca ynallas pacha
puchocanman ñispam runacuna ñircancu
[285] CAPI(TUL)O 23
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YNGAP
TUCOY YNANTIN HUACACUNAC
TA CAYACHISCANTA CAYPITAC
MI MACA UISA ÑISCANCHICPA
ATI<N>SCANTAPAS RIMASSON
<ynga>tupay ynga yupanqui ñisca apo caspas
ña tucoy ynantin llactacunacta conquistaspas
ahca huata samarcan ancha cusicuspa chaysi huc
llactacunamanta auca atarircan alancu marca
calanco marca chaque marca ñiscas cay cay
runa(cunas) mana yngap runan cayta munarcancho
[286] chaysi chaycunahuan ahcca huaranga runancunacta
quiuicuspa aucanacorcan doze año chica
cama chaysi tucoy cachascancunactapas collo
chimuptin ancha llaquispa ymanam casson
ñispas yngaca ancha puticorcan [287] chaysi huc
ponchaoca yuyacorcan ymaraycoh cay
huacacunacta siruine corihuan collquihuan

F 90 V

pachayhuan micunayhuan yma aycayhuanpas ma
cayachisac tucoyta cay aucacunata yanapa
huancampac ñispas tucoy ynantin llactacu
namanta cori collqui chasquiccuna amuchon
ñispas cayachircan [288] chaysi ari ñispa rircancu
pacha camacpas rircantac huc huantuhuan
ynatac tucoy llactacunapas huantuhuan
cama tucoy ynantin tauantin suyo ñiscaman
ta chaysi ña aucay patapi tucoy llactacuna
chayaptinsi paria cacaca manarac chayarcan
cho manachos risac risacchos ñic ynas aynicachar
can chay pachas paria cacaca maca uisa churin
ta cacharcan ri cam oyarimuy ñispa [289] chaysi
chayaspa manyallamanta tiaycorcan chicsi
rampa sutioc andasuan chay pachas ynga
ca rimarircan ñispa yayacuna huaca
villcacuna ñam ari yachanqui ymanam
ñoca camcunacta tucoy suncoyhuan
corihuan collquihuan seruiqui chayta ynas
pa camcunaca yna ñoca seruiptica ma
nacho yanapallahuanquimantac checa ahc
ca huaranca runayta perdipti chayraicum
camcunacta cayachimuyquichic ñispa rimap
tinsi manatac huchapas ay ñircanchu ya
llinrac hupayaspa tiarcancu [290] chay pachas ña
tac yngaca yao rimarichic ynatacchum
campac casmascayqui rurascayqui runacuna
aucanacospa collonca mana yanapahuaita
munaptiquica canallanmi tucoyniquichicta
rupachichiscayqui [291] chayca ymaraicum ñoca
ca corihuan collquiuan huantarcunapi mi
coycunahuanpas opiayhuanpas llamayhuan
pas yma aycayhuanpas seruiqui allichayque
chayca manacho cay checa llaquicoscayta
huyarispa yanapahuanquiman manam
ñiptiquica canallantacmi rupanqui

F 91 R

ñispas ñircan [292] chay pachas pacha camacca ri	D
marimurcan ynga yntiya ñocaca tucoy cam	E
tauanpas ynantin pachacta cuyochic caspatacmi	
mana rimarinicho manam ari chay aucallata	L
chu ñocaca collochiman tucoy camtahuampas	A
ynantin pachactahuanpas puchocaymanmi	
chayraicutacmi opalla tiacuni ñispas rimarcan	M
[293] chaymantas canan huaquinin huacacunaca	A
opalla tiaptin maca uisa ñiscanchicca rimarir	N
can ynga yntiya ñoca chayman risac ychaca	O
campas cayllapi alli carpacuspa hunanchacuspa	
tiay ñocam chaytaca tuy checallapi atipamus	Y
cayqui ñispas ñircan chaysi maca uisa ri	
mariptinca seminmantapas llacça llacça pu	P
corimurcan cosni llocsic yna [294] chay pachalla	L
tacsi cori antaranta antaricorcan curitac	U
pincullonpas carcan humanpiri chump rucoc	M
ta pillorispa pusucanri curitac cusmanri	A
yana chay pachas maca uisa rinampac huc qui	
quin yngap rinan chicsi rampa sutioc ram	D
pacta corcan chaysi calla uaya runa ñisca	E
ancha sinchi cama yngap acllascan carcan cay ru	
nas ahcca ponchao ñantapas pisi ponchaollapis	T
chayachic carcan caycunas maca uisacta aparir	H
can huanturircan chay aucaman [295] chaysi huc or	O
collapi chayachiptinsi chay maca visa paria cacap churin	M
ca allimantarac(si) tamyaita callarircan ynaspas	A
chay llactayoc runacunaca ymah cayca ñispa ca	S
marico<>rcanrac [296] ynaptintacsi yllapaspa asta	
uan tamyaitapas yapaspa tucoy llactancunac	
ta huaycu huaycucta ruraspa lloclla aparcan	
atunnin curaca cactari sinchicunactauanpas	
yllapaspas collochircan atun runacu<na>nallas	
huaquillan quispircan munaspaca tucoytapas	
collochinmansi carcan ynallas huaquinin	
runacunactaca tucoyninta atispa cuzcoman	

F 91 V

catimurcan [297] chay pachamantaracsi paria cacac
ta astauan yngapas yupaicharcan yanancu
nactapas pihcca chuncacta cuspa ynaspas yaya
maca uisa ymactam coscayqui ymallactapas
munascayquicta mañahuay manam micha
cusaccho ñiptinsi manam ñocaca ymac
tapas munanicho ychaca huacçaca tianqui
tacmi ymanam ñocaycup churijcuna yauyo
ñiscamanta rurancu [298] chaytaca ñiptinsi
allitacmi yaya ñiispas ancha mancha
rispa pactah cayca ñocactapas collochihuan
man ñiispas yma aycantapas ofrecicoyta mu
narcan [299] chaysi micoy yaya ñiispa carachiptin
ca manam ñocaca cay ynacta micoccho cani
mullocta apamuy ñiispas mañarcan chay
si mullocta coptinca cap cap ñichispa tui
lla micorcan [300] chaysi mana ymactapas mu
naptintac yñaca ñustancunactaca cama
chiporcan chaytapas mana ho ñiptintac y
naspas ñatac maca uisa paria caca yayanta
villaypac cotimurcan chaymantas canan
yngacunapas ancha quipapipas xauxapi huac
çapas tiarcan y taquircan ancha yapaichaspa
[301] chaymantam canan cay cuzcopi aucay pata
ñiscapi tantanacorcan ñinchic chaypis cay
huacacuna tucoy ynantin ñaca ñircanchic
chay yna tiaspa tucoyninmanta sumacnin
si siua caña villca coto ñisca tiarcan manas
cayhuanca sumacninpica ynantin huaca
cunapas pactar cancho cay chicactam caycu
napta yachanchic
[302] CAPI(TUL)O 24
CAYMANTAM CAY CHECACUNAP
CAUSASCANCUNACTA QUILLCA

F 92 R

SON MACUA YUNCA ÑISCACTA
TAQUISCANCUNACTAPAS CHAY
MANTARI RUNAP PACA
RIMUSCANTAHUANPAS
ñan mari huaquinin capitulopi paria cacap chu
rincunacta rimaspa asllacta yurimuscanta
pas rimarcanchic ychaca cay yurimuscan pacari
muscan simiri cay ynam huaquinmi canan rimancu
hanac paria caca ñiscanchic quitipis huc sacha quiñhua
sutioc canancamapas quinhua sutioctac chaypis çachap
ruruyninmanta runacuna pacarimurcan [303] huaquin
mi runacuna ñincu hanac pachamantas yahuar hor
mamurca chaysi vichi cancha sutioc pachapi chay quiñ
hua ñiscanchic quitipitac<si> chayarcan [304] chaypis canan
llactachacorcan allaocamanta coña sancha cutioc sat
pascamanta yuri naya sulic pahcamanta chupa yacu
yaça(pa)mantam paco masa muxicamantam chauca chim
pita caca sicamantam canan huar cancha llichic cancha
ñiscanchicca yañcacuna cay caycunaca quiquin llactayoc
yuncacunas [305] huaquinin caca sica moralespac chaymanta
cancha paicup yayancunas yauyo carcan caycunap paca
rimuscansi maurura sutioc aya uireñicpi caycunaca
quita puricucsi huar canchap paninhuan caçaraspas cacay
hucopitac camachinacusac ñispas paicunaca cay llacta
pi tiaycorcancu [306] chaysi ña paria cacaman muchaypac ris
pas cacancuna tucoy checacunapas quita yauyo ñispa
chicniptin quipallarac ancha carollapi ric carcan
chaysi anchapuni llaquicuspa caycunaca ynas chicnep
tin ahca huata quipalla cama ric carcancu chaysi
huc mitaca paria cacacta villarcan ñispa yaya cayca
caycunapas checacunapas ancham checnihuan campa
camascayquitacmi pana yauyo runapas caycu ñispas

huarcancha lli
chic cancha eran
yungas

morales yauyo

F 92 V

ancha huacaspa villarcan [307] chay pachas paria caca chu
ri ama llaquicho cay curri chuncullayta apacoy cay
ta atallispa llacça tampopi poco caya ñiscapi ta
quinqui chay pacham yma runam cayca chica pa
ria cacap cuyascan ñispam anchapuni mancha
rinca chaymantaca mana ñam anchacho chicnison
qui ñispas camachimurcan [308] chaymantas cay ya
uyo ñiscanchiccunaca tucoy checacunamantapas
quipampirac chayamuspas chay chuqui chuncullan
ta apaspas ancha cusicuspa runacunapas man
chariptin chayamurcan cayantin ponchaopis pam
papi tucoy ynantin runacunapas mancharip chay
curri chuncullacta atallispa taquircan [309] huaquin
mi canan ñincu tutas ñaupa pacha pariacaman
llamahuan ymahuanpas villac carcancu chaysi ay
llo ayllompi mitanacospa ric cancancu chay pachas
chay quita yauyo ñiscanchicta apachon paipas
ñispa ancha chicñispatac ñircan pay apaspas
canan ña ynti sicamuptin paria cacaman chayarcan
[310] chaysi anchatac llaquicuptin paria cacaca ymapacmi
chica llaquicunqui yao anta capsi ñispas ñircan ñaupa
sutinca pacuyris carcan chay pachas cay cori chuncollac
ta apacoy cayta ricuspam runacuna mana ña chicni
sonquicho ñispas comurcan [311] cay cori chuncullac
tas canan huc mita ñatac paria cacaman muchaypac
rispa chayta apaspa rircan chaysi huc mayo pari ayri
sutioc mayocta chimpaspas chaypi hurmachircan chay
si panatac yma ynapas tucoy hanacman huraman
mascarcan manatac ricuriptinsi ynallatac paria
cacaman rircan [312] chaysi cayantin chayaptinca quiquin
paria cacap cayllampi chay corri chunculla ñiscanchicca
sayacorcan chaysi ñatac huacaspa mañaptin mana ña
ho ñircanchu ñispa manam aucamantacho atispa
apamurcanqui chay yna sumachispa apaycacha<>(n)ayqui
pac caymanri camacnita ruracnita ricuchimusac
ñispa apamuncayquipac ñispam anchapuni anyarca

F 93 R

[313] chaysi yaya ynataccho pincay casac cotichillahuaytac cay
ri ymallactapas chaypac rantinta collahuay ñispa ñip
tinsi ancha huacaptin churi cutij ñocap panay
pac chaupi ñamcap mitampim coscayqui chay pacha
pac suyai ñispas ñimurcan chaysi ynallatac cuti
morcan [314] chaysi ñatac ñiscan yna chaupi ñamcap mi
tampi yauri callinca sutioc canchanpi pircasaua
huc gato montes ancha sumac pintascacama ricurir
can chaysi chayta ricuspa caymi paria cacap ñiscam
ñispas cusicuspa chayta atallircancu taquichispa
tac caytam canan tumnapi cac her(nan)do cancho uillca
huacaycharcan ychaca ñas tucoy ysmurcan
[315] ñam ari runacunap pacarimuscanta rimarcanchic
ychaca caycuna ñiscanchiccunaca tutay quirep churin
si huaquinmi canan çachap ruruyninmanta llocsic
cay tutay quiri ñiscanchictacsi vichi cancha ñiscan
chicpi yurimurcan chaymantam paytac cay llacta
cunactapas atimurcan churijcuna caypi tianca
ñispa [316] chaysi ymanam huaquinin capitulopipas
rimarcanchic yunca çapas carcan ñispa chay ynas
chay yuncacunactaca ña carcospa ayllo ayllompi
cunacoyta callarircancu chacrantapas huasintapas
llactantapas ayllonpi sutintapas paycunap ayllom
pi sutinsi allauca sat pasca passa quine muxica caca
sica sulc pahca yaçapapas carcan yaçapa ñispaca plate
roctam yaçapa ñinchic plateros carcan chaypac su
tintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin
ayllocunapas [317] chaymantas canan llacta ñiscan
chicta conacuspari allaucamanta collanaspa
chasquircan cay allaucas maca callacta< >
<ta> chasquircan chaymantam sat pasca ñiscanchic
cunam quimqui llacta chasquircan cay quimquillas
curaca huaca ñisca tucoymantapas astauan yupaisi
carcan [318] chaymantas canan chasquircan sulc pahca yaça
pa ñiscanchic ricra huanca ñisca huacacta chayman
tam muxicacuna chasquircan quira rayacta

F 93 V

caca çicacunam llucma suni huacacta chasquircan
huanricuna chauticunam canan paicunaca quiquin
llactayoc ñaupamanta ñam ari ymanam tutay
quiricta mucharcan chaytapas huaquinin capitulo
pipas rimarcanchicmi ari
[319] cay yna ña ñiscanchic yna tutay quiri aticoyta
pochucaptinsi churincunari cayman hamuspas
pacariscan taquicta ymanam vichi cancha
pi taquircan chayta masoma ñispa taquircan
cu <ñam ari> ñam çapa ñiscanchicri runas car
can cay quiquintaca yngas quipampi aparcan chay
pac teniententas ñatac hucta rurarcancu chay
tam s(eñ)or doctor ña aparcan [320] cay ñam cçapa ñiscan
chic<>si runa caspa quisay rinri ñiscacta rinrim
pi churac carcan <cayta> chaymanta maquinpiri
canah yauricta caycunas ñaupa pachaca cori sapa
carcan cay corictaca yngatacsi aparcan chay
mantas cay quillcas caxo ñiscanchicsi tau
nan carca chaymanta chay cori cacya sutioc
caracolsi palhuan amuctas [321] caytas palmi
pacarinchic caymi ñaupac cay llactaman hamuc
chapac ñispas quiquinta oyanta cochuspa ta
quichircan chaymantas aucapi apimuspari hu
yantatac cochuspa caymi sinchi cascay ñispa
taquichircan cay aucapi ña apiptinsi qui
quin chay runa huauqui ñam ari huano
chihuanqui ancha camasca runatacmi
carcani huayotatac rurahuanqui ño
cactari ña pampaman llocçipac capti alli
carahuanqui opiachihuanqui ñispas ñic
carcan [322] cayta oyarispatacsi cay <huc> huaqui
nin huayocunacta carac opiachic carcan
canan ponchaomi pampapi taquinqui ñocahuan
ñispa chaymantam cay huayocta aparispa
tac yscay ponchao huantunacoc carcan
cayantin ponchaomi çarahuanpas papa

F 94 R

huanpas yma ayca cascanhuanpas huarcunacuc
carcan [323] cay huarcunacoytas caycunacta apa
cuspa oma pacha ñisca yurimuscanman cutin
ca ñispa hunancharcancu chaysi rimacospapas
huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochis
pa rimac carcan chaypac fiestanpi cay taqui
cuytam pihca ponchaopi puchocarcan allauca
cunari ynatac [324] hucpi cay chuta caras oma pacha — masoma
ñiscatac cay quiquintacsi vichi canchamanta — chuta cara
huaquinincunahuan hamurcancu chaysi
runa caspatac rumiman chirayarca chay ru
na caspa huaracacuscansi chay huaracampas
chaymanta chay pisco yna ricchaccunas paipac
visan [325] chaymanta chay huana payas canan chay
ta pucoptin llamacunacta llactacuna raquimuc — significa ydolo
cayhuantacsi pacarimurcanpas chay llamarai
cutacsi huaquinin huana payacunactapas
huacaycharcancu cay caytam allaucamanta
chuta carap fiestanta rurac carcancu checa
cunapas conchapas mayquin runapas chay
caracoltaca atallintacmi llamayoccuna
[326] chaymantam canan cay quiquin ñiscanchiccu
nacta yscay huata taquircan huatampi huc
mitalla chaymi yscay huata captinpas yscay
mitallatac taquircan chaymantam canan
yscay huatatac machua sutioc taquicta ta
quircan [327] cay ñaupa ñiscanchicca yunca
sutiocmi cay machua ñiscanchicpac mitam
pim canan yscay huatatac taquircan huc
chupa ñisca ychucta pirtaspas ancha quero
cunacta chacnaspa chayman pilluic carcan
yscayta caymi suninman canchis ricra chic
tayoc chaymantam atunninmanmi yscay
<>braço alli macallanchic yna humampim
canan caçira sutioc hocsatac caypa sapinmi
puca pucalla caytas churac carcan caymi

F 94 V

acchan ñispa [328] chaymantas ña tucoyta allichas
pa hucta yomca ñispa carip hunanchay
ninta churarcan huctari huasca sutiocta
huarmip onanchayninta churarcan ña
churaspam canan tucoy runacuna alli pachan
ta tamta ñiscantapas churacuspa sitayta
ña callarircancu cay si(ta)na<>m vihco suti
oc [329] cayta sitaipac ña<>upacnin ponchaopitac
mi tucoy ynantin caullamacunaman ric car
cancu llamantapas ymanam paria caca
man campanillayocta chaymanta sarçillo
yucta aparcan chay yna chaysi tucoynin
runacuna chaucallamanpas curri ñisca tambo
sica orcomanpas ric carcancu çapampi caulla
mancunamanpas chay pacha cay caullama
cunaman rispas chay caracol ñiscanchic
ta huacachispa pucupayaspa ric carcancu chay
pacmi çapampi runacunapas huaquinin
taricnincunaca cay caracol ñiscanchicta
atallircancu [330] chaymantam canan cay
chuta chuta ñiscanchicta ña yscayninta sayachis
pa sitayta callarircan cayta sitaptinsi huar
micunaca ayllo ayllo yaicuspa sitaptin ma
na huancarayoc huarmicunapas taquipuc
carcan cay simicta rimaspa huaccha churi
quicta chasquipuy ñispa huasca ñiscanchictari
huaccha churiquicta chasquipuytac ñispatac
[331] chaysi cay sitaccuna chay chutap chucchanpi
chayachiptinca cayri maycancha tucoy huc ayllo
cunamanta hanacnin manyanpi chayachircan
chaysi huc huacamaypac ricranta o ymallanta
pas apaspa yañcacta coc carcan [332] cay yañcan
checamanta quipampas m(art)yn misa yauri carcan
allaucamantam ju(a)n chumpi yauri huañuc [333] cay
yañca ñiscanchicsi ña huc ayllo ñiscan
chic pochocaptin chay chutaman llocarcan

F 95 R

chay puypu ñisca huacamayap ricranta apas
pa <chaysi> chaysi may pihc chayachircan chay
ta sorcuspa chaypi chay puypu ñiscahuan
hunanchamurcan chaysi ñatac hoc ayllo yai
cuspapas ynatac hocri ynatac <n> [334] chaymantas
ñatac huasca ñiscanta huarmipac sitar
ca churita yma ayca micunallaytapas coanca
ñispa chaymanta yomca ñiscanchictari
cari churita chauaracta yma ayca causaycu
nacta coanca ñispa [335] ña may pacham yscay
nin chutacunacta sitayta puchocarcan chay
pachas chay ñaui ñiscapi chucchapi chayachic
cuna yañcaman llamanta cayhuan cay
homa pacha ñiscacta villapuay ñispa coc
carcan chaysi cay huchuylla llamactaca
chay llamayoc manatac anchantaca apacoc
cho yañcamusca ñiscallanchictacsi ayca
llama captinpas apacoc micococ
[336] chaymantam canan ñatac cayantin pon
chao ancha tutamanta quimquillaman tucoy
runacuna ric carcancu chay quimquilla ñis
canchic huacas ancha llamayoc yma ay
cayoc chayta coyaicuanca ñispas tucoy
runacuna allaucapas ric carcan chaypi
llamayta mañamusac ñispa [337] chayman
rijpacsi aslla tictinta ashuanta cocanta
apac carcan chay huana paya ñiscanchic
tari huacachipayaspa chaymantas ñaupac
nin ponchaopitacsi vichuc maricuna cay
mi tucoy sat pasca sulc pahca yaçapacuna
chay quiquin quimquillapitac taquic car
can llamantapas nacaspa poconim ñis
pa [338] chaymantam ñatac huraycumor
can maypim quira raya tiarcan chay anac
nin pampaman cay pampam huara ca
ya sutioc caypim ñatac ymanam llac

F 95 V

sa tampopi yomca huascacta sayachircan
chuta ñiscacta chay ynallatac sayachir
can llamapac cay llamapacmi horcopac
chinapac ynatac sitarcancu [339] cay sitayta
puchucaspam canan ymanam llacsa tam
pupi carcan ynallatac llamanta yañcaman
coc carcan cayhuan muchapuay allitac
casac ñispa chaymantam canan cayman
cutimuspa ymanam quimquillaman
pas hoño hoñolla ric carcan llaman
tapas campanayocta aysaspa ynallatac
cutimorcancu [340] caytam carco caya ñin
cu ymanam allimanta coyoi coyoilla
rihuan yna caycuna puricoytas huaro
cactam tumani ñispa ñircancu cay hua
roca ñiscanchicta tumaspas chay hua
na paya ñiscanchictapas pocopayaspa
ric carcancu cay chicallactam yachanchic
cay machua ñiscacta yachanchic [341] chayman
tam canan cay llacça tampopi yunca ñiscan
chicta huaquinin muta caya runas carcan
ñincu huaquinmi canan collis carcan
nincu ynam ychaca cay colli ñiscanchicca
yaru tinepis tiarcan caypac cascantam can
cay quipampi quillcasson
[342] CAPI(TUL)O 25
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YMANAM
COLLI RUNACUNACTA YARU TI
NI ÑISCAMANTA HORA YUNGA
MAN HUAYRA APARCAN
CHAYTA

F 96 R

cay colli ñiscanchic llactayocsi yarutini ñis
capi tiarcancu chaysi huc ponchaoca paria caca
chay yaru tini ñiscanchic llactampi collicuna vp
yaptin chayarcan chaysi manyallamanta pa
ria cacaca tiaycuspa ancha huacchalla yna tiar
can [343] chaysi manatac pillapas vpiachita munar
canchu chaysi huc runalla ancusaycorcan cay
acusacnintas yapaicuay huauqui nispa ñircan
chaysi yaparcantac chaymantas cocallayquicta
acuchihuay ñispa ñatac mañarcan chaysi cor
cantac [344] chay pachas huauqui cay sachactam a
piconqui ñoca may pacham cayman amusac
chayca cay runacunactari ama villaycho yna
cusicochon ñispas riporcan [345] chaysi pihca pon
chaomantaca ancha huayra atarimurcan
cay huayratacsi cay colli runacunactaca çapam
pi yscay quimça mita tumaycochispa huayra
ancha caroñicpi aparimurcan chaysi huaqui
ninca yna apariptintac muspaspa huañorcan
huaquintas canan causacllacta caruaylloñic
orcopi chayachircan cay orcom canancamapas
colli ñisca <> orco runacunaca collorcansi mana
tacsi huchapas canchu [346] chaymantas cay huc ru
na yaru tinipi paria cacacta vpiachicca ñiscan
yna huc çachacta apicuspa yna quispircan ña tu
coyta apaita puchocaspas ñircan huauqui çapallai
quim canqui caypim viñay tianqui caymantam ño
cap churicuna ñocacta muchaypac hamuspa chusco
quiere dezir quatro corpaya huacçacuna cocacta
viñaylla acochisonqui ñispas sutiyquipas capac
huanca ñiscam canqui ñispas rumiman chiraya
chircan [347] caytam s(eñ)or doctor auila chay quiquin <> tias
campi chayaspa huaquin runacunahuan paquir
can ña paquispam hurañicman vischurcan
cay chicactam cay colli ñiscacunamanta
yachanchic yna ñiscancamatacmi huacçacunari acochircancu
viñay huata

F 96 V

[348] CAPI(TUL)O 26 YMANAM
MACA CALLACTA PA(RI)A CACA
ATIRCAN YMANAM
ÑA ATISPA CHURARCAN
CHURINCUNACTA
ñan mari maca calla ñiscanchicta yachan
chic s(a)n damian llactamanta hanacnin
orcupi cascanta cay maca calla ñiscanchic
orcopis chay llactayoc runa carcan pihcca
marca ñisca chaymantam sutca ñiscapas car
cantac caycuna llactayoc huc punchao vp
yacuptinsi paria caca chay llactaman cha
yarcan yna chayaspas manyallamantatac
tiaycorcan [349] yna tiaycuptinsi manatac pilla
pas ancusaycorcanchu chaymanta piñaspas
pihccantin punchaonimpi chay llactacta collo
chircan puca tamya quello tamya atari
muspa [350] huaquim runacunam canan huc
simictatac rimancu ñispa cay maca callapi
llactayuc runacunas huc punchaosi huaquinin
runacuna riuihuan pocllacorcan huaquinin ru
nacunas vpyacorcan chay yna captinsi hanac
orco canlli ñiscamantaca aslla pucutay ricuri
morcan chaymantari tamyari puca tamya orma
murcan as asllarac chaymantas ñatac yllapa
murcan [351] cay yna captinsi runacunaca tucoy
nin mancharircan ymam cayca ñispa mana
cay ynacta ricuc caspa chayssi huaquininca aucam
ñispa sayaicorcan huaquinsi miticarcan [352] huc runas
armicu sutioc carcan cayssi ahcca churicoy caspa
churinta catirespa aco rison chay chacranchic

F 97 R

huauapitac huañomuson ñispas chacranman miti
carcan cay chacra ñiscampi chayaptinsi chaymanta
tucoyninta chirayachircan rumi tucochircan cay
rumi tucucsi canancamapas runa ynalla churin
cunahuan tiancu canancamapas runacunapas ar
micu ñincu [353] chaymantas huaquinin runacuna
ayquispapas mayta ayquictahc puca tamya apircan
pachallampitacsi rumi tucorcan ynatacsi maca
callapi huaquinin runacunapas rumiman cama
chirayarcan [354] huc runas canan cay sutca ñiscanchic
ayllomanta ancha huacaspa ynallataccho saquiscay
qui yayallacta maca calla ñam ripac cani ma
natacmi yma callpallaypas canchu cay milagrocta
atipancaypac ñispa huacaptinsi maca callap
vmanca paycamalla vrmamurcan chay yna vr
mamuptinsi chayta sucarispa tuylla mitica
chircan huaman yna cay runatacsi ancha ca
masca carcan [355] chaymantas cay maca callari y
manam runa ynas vmayoc chaquiyoc maqui
yoc carcan chaysi cay vmanta chay yna mi
ticachispa ñatac runa miramuspa llantapapi
pihcca orcupi tiaycorcan cay orco tiaycuscantam
llactachacuscan captin pihcca marca ñinchic [356] chay
pihcca marca ñiscanchicpis maca callap humanca
canancamapas tian chaysi chaypi caypi maca calla
yocmi canchic ñispa churincunactapas ñaupac
yuricta canricha ñincu allaucacunari maca calla
llactayoc caspas canricha ñintac ynatac pihcca
marcacunapas [357] chaymantas ña tutay quire con
quistamurcan chay pachaca chay sutica ñisca
ayllocunaca cay quitiman cutimurcan chacray
allpai hucopitac llactay vcupitac tiamusac pa
ria caca tutay quiricta manchaspa yupaychaspa
ñispas cutimurcancu chay sutica ñiscanchicmi ca
nan cay llacta s(a)n damianpica tucoy collorcan causac
nincunapas sucsa canchapi tumnapi chayllay

F97 V

[358] CAPI(TUL)O 27 YMANAM RUNACUNA
ÑAUPA PACHA HUAÑUSPA PICHCA PUNCHAO
PIM CUTIMONI ÑISPA RIMARCANCU
CHAY CHAYCUNACTAM QUELLCASON
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc runa huañuptin ayan
taca yna<cta>llas churarayachircan pichca pon
chao cascancama chaysi animanri huc
chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan
cay ña pahuaptinsi ñam rin paria caca
camacnicchic ruracninchicta ricumuypac
ñispas ñircancu [359] huaquinmi canan ma
nas chay pachaca paria caca carcancho ynallas
hanacñicman pahuarcan (yauri llanchaman) [360] chaymantas ca
nan pi<c>hca ponchaomanta ñatac cutimuc
carcan chay ña cutimuptinsi micuycunacta
vpyaitapas camarispas suyac carcan chaysi
ña chayamuspaca ñam cutimuni ñispalla
yayancunahuanpas huauquincunahuanpas an
cha cusicuc carcan mana ñam cananca vi
ñaypas huañosaccho ñispa [361] chay pachas canan
runacuna ancha mirarcan micunampacpas
ñacayta rispa cacactapas patactapas chacran
pac allichaspa ancha ñacarispa causarcancu
[362] chay yna captinsi chay pacha vc runa hua
ñurcan ña huañuptinsi chay runap yayan
cuna huauquincunapas huarminpas suyarcan
ña chayamunan captin pihcca ponchaonimpi chay
si cay runaca manatac chayamurcanchu cayantin
ponchaopis soctantin ponchaopi(rac) chayamurcan chay
si yayanpas huauquinpas huarminpas ancha piñas
pa suyarcancu ña chayamuptinsi huarminca
piñaspa ymanam chica quella canqui huaquinin
runacunaca mana pisipaspam chayacumon
camcho cayna yanca suyachicuhuanqui ñispas
ancha

manarac paria ca
capas caruinchupas
ricuriptintacsi yauri
llanchapi vichi cancha
ñiscapipas runacuna
ca pacarimurcan

F 98 R

ancha piñapayarcan [363] chay hina piñaspas huar
minca huc curumtayhuan chay anima chayamuc
ta chocarcan hina chucaptinsi tuylla sio ñispa
cutircan chaymantas canan mana ña pi runa
huañuptinpas cutimuccho carcan
[364] CAPI(TUL)O 28 YMANAM PARIA CACAP
MITAMPI ANIMACUNACTA CARAC
CARCAN CHAYMANTA TODOS SAN
TOSPACRI YMA YNAM ÑAU
PA PACHA HUNANCHARCAN
ñam ari huaquinin capitulopi paria caca<p fiestan>cta
<ta> muchaypac rispa ymanam runacuna huañoc
nincunacta huacac carcan (caracpas carcan) chay chaycunacta rimar
canchic chay carascancunacta yuyarispam canan
runacuna manarac alli xp(christia)noman tucospa rimar
cancu cay todos santopac ynatacmi vira cochacuna
pas ayanta tullunta caran micochin ñispa <ygle>
aco ygleciaman huañucninchiccunacta caramu
son ñispa [365] ñaupa pachaca yma ayca micoycu
nactapas alli chayascacamata apac carcan
chaymantam canan huc runa huañuptinpas an
cha ñaupac cascanta yuyarispa huañucninchicca
pihcca ponchaomantam cutimunca suyasuntac
ñispa suyac carcancu cay pi<>ch<>(ca) ponchao ñiscanchic
camam huañuscanmanta tutancuna pacaric <car>
carcan [366] ña pihcantin ponchaonimpin yarutiniman
huc<runa> huarmi alli pachanta churaspa ric carcan
chaymanta pusamusac ñispa o suyamusac ñispapas
chaysi chay huarmi ñiscanchicri ashuanhuan micoy
cunactari apaspa ric carcan [367] chaysi yaru tini ñiscan
chicpi ña ynti sicamuptin chay anima chayac carcan
chaysi ñaupa pachaca yscay quimça atun chuspi

F 98 V

runacunaca llacsa anapalla ñispam ñincu chaysi
chay pachan apascansaua tiaycoc carcan [368] chaysi
hunaycama tiaspa ña huaquinin huancoy curo
ñiscanchic ripuptin haco rison llactaman ñispas
huc huchoylla rumillacta cay(mi) pai ñic <h>yna aparis
pa amuc carcan chaysi cay huarmi ña chayamup
tin tuylla huasimpas alli pichasca <> captin caray
ta ña callarircan ña caracoyta puchocaspas ña
tac vpyachircan paycunari ayan micuptin
micorcantac [369] ña <ancha> chisiñicpis pihca mita
taquircan huacaspa tucoy aylloncuna canan
ña may pacham pihca mita taquicoyta huaca
cuytapas puchocarcan chay pachas chay rumi apa
muscanta calliman vischuc carcan cananca
cuti amaña ñocaycoca huañosaccho ñispa [370] chay
ponchaotacmi arañuhuan huaticacoc carcan y
mamantam cay runa huañopuan ñispa chaymi
pay piñaptinmi chay piñaptinmi ñispapas ñip
tin chaycunacta paria cacacta ñiptinpas o may
quintac ñiptinpas chaycama coynhuan yma yman
huanpas puchocac carcan cay chicactam cay hua
ñuc runacunamanta yachanchic
[371] chaymantam canan guaro cheripi o quintipipas
cay todos santos ñiscanchicpi ygleçiapi coñicllac
ta churapuson ñispa papactapas yanospa chayman
ta charquincunactari alli huchoyucta runap mi
concampac yna churapuncu camchacta aycha
yanuscactapas chaymantari çapa runanpi huc
cantarillo ashuantauan caycuna ñiscanchic
ta churaspaca paicuna vnamchaptinca ayan
cunahc micon chayta yuyaspataccha coñic
llata cama ymactapas aycactapas churaponcu
[372] CAPI(TUL)O 29 YMANAM HUC
YACANA SUTIOC HANAC PACHA
MANTA HURAYCUMON YACOCTA
HUP

F 99 R

HUPYAIPAC CHAYMANTARI
HUAQUININ COYLLORCUNACTA
HUANMI RIMASON YMA SU
TINTAHUANPAS
cay yacana ñiscanchicsi llamap camaquin çi
eloñicta chaupicta purimon ñocanchic runacuna
pas riconchicmi ari yanalla hamocta chaymanta
chay yacana ñiscanchicsi mayo hucocta purimon
ancha atunmi ari yanayaspa çieloñicta yscay
ñauiyoc concanpas ancha hatun captin hamun
caytam runacuna yacana ñincu [373] cay yacana
ñiscanchicsi ña huc runap cussinpi venturan cap
tin paysaua hurmamuspa mayquin pucyollaman
tapas yacucta vpyac chaysi chay runa ancha mill
huasapa ñitimuptin chay millhuanta huaquinin
runaca tirac [374] cay ricachicuysi tuta cac ynaspas cayan
ti pacha pacarimuptinca chay millhua tirascanta ricuc
ricuptinsi chay millhuaca ancaspas yuracpas yana
pas chumpipas yma ymana ricchaccuna millhuas ta
cu tacu cac caytas canan mana llamayoc caspapas
tuylla ranticuspa pachan ricuscanpi tirascanpi mu
chac carcan ña muchaspas huc china llamacta
horcontauan ranticoc chay rantiscallanmantas
ñahca yscay quimça huaranca llamamanpas chayac
cay ñiscanchictaca ancha ahca runactas ñaupa pa
cha cay tucoy proui(nci)api yna ricachicurcan [375] cay ya
ca ñiscanchictacsi chaupi tuta mana pipas yachaptin
mama cochamanta tucoy yacocta vpyan mana
vpyaptinca hutcallas tucoy ynantin mundocta
pampahuahhuan [376] cay yanaca ñiscanchicpi aslla
yanalla ñaupac rin chaytam yutum ñincu
chaymantari cay yacanatacsi huahuayoc hua
huanpas ñoñocuptinsi rihcan chaymantam
quimça coyllor checalla rin chaytam condormi

F 99 V

ñincu ytatacmi suyuntuytapas guamantapas
[377] chaymantam chay cabrillas ñinchic chaytam
<ancha> atuchac cama hamuptinca canan hua
ta pocoymi cason ñincu huchochac cama amuptin
ri ancha muchoymi cason ñincu huaquinin coy
llor muyo muyolla hamuctam pihca conqui ñispa
ñincu [378] huaquin coyllormi ari ancha atuchac
ca(ma) amon chaytam canan poco huarac villca
huarac cancho huarac ñispa sutiachinco cay
caycunactas ñaupa pacha cayca camacmi
ruracmi ñispa runacuna huaquinillan
muchac carcan huaquininric cay ñiscanchic
huacacunacta caymantas astauan yalli
chisac ñispas cay coyllorcunacta muchac carcan
ña sicamuptin chay<> tutari mana aslla
pas puñospa cay chicallactam yachanchic
[379] CAPI(TUL)O 30 YMANAM ALLAUCAP
COCHAMPI YSCAY HUACA CARI HUAR
MI TIAN PORUIPI CAYCUNAP CAS
CANTAM QUILLCASSON
ancha ñaupa pachas huc runa anchi cara sutioc
carcan cay anchi cara ñiscanchicsi <> huc pucyo
purui sutiocpi yacucta tiamun cay allaucacu
nap chacranman hamuncampac cay hina
tiaptinsi huc huarmica surcoñicmanta picoy
huarmi hamurcan cay huarmip sutinmi
huayllama [380] cay huayllama ñiscanchicsi chay
purui ñiscanchicpi chayaspa <> tura ñocap
chacraymanca ancha pisim yaco hamun cam
llacho caypi yacocta pusanqui ñocaycoca
ymahuanmi causayman ñispas chay

F 100 R

quiquin pucyo hucopi tiaycorcan [381] chaysi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchic<p>ca alli sumac huarmi cap
tin tuylla enamoraspa alli simipitac napai
corcan chaysi chay huarmica manatac chay
yacocta cayman cacharijta munarcancho y
na captinsi panatac ama pani hinaycho yma
huanmi ñocap churicunaca causanca ñispas alli
simipi <huan>tac napaicorcan [382] yna captinsi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchicpa churincunaca hamuspa
chay yacocta cay<cocha> lliuya cocha ñiscaman vischo
morcan chay quiquin pucyo hurayllapitacmi yscay
huchuylla cocha ña ñiscanchic lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñisca cay lliuya cocha hucupim quimça taua
huchuylla suytucama rumicuna sayancu chaymi
anchi carap churincuna ñisca [383] mana cay churin
cuna yna ñatac ñatac rispa yacocta vischu
munman chayca ancha pisitacsi caymanca lluc
simunman carca <con todo esso> yna captinpas
ancha pisitacmi llucsimun [384] chay pachas cay ñis
canchic anchi cara huarminri huayllama
ña cay yna yacupacri manacoyta pochucaspas
yscaynin huchallicorcancu ña huchallicuspallas
caypitacmi ñocaca viñaypas tiasac ñispas
rumiman chirayarcan cay rumin canancama
pas yna tiancu churin(cuna)pas lliuya cocha vcu
pitac tiancu cay chicallactam caycunamanta
yachanchic [385] ychaca cay quipampi ña cay llacta
pi yachaycuspas huacçacuna allauca ayllomanta
chay purui ñiscanchicman ña tamya mita pucho
captin ric carcancu rarca pichaypac chay pachas
chay huacçacuna ayca runa caspapas ña chayas
pa chay lliuya cocha ñiscanchicta antarintapas
pucuspa chay cocha sauacta tumaycoc [386] ña tumay
cuspas anchi cara yaco tiamucta napaycoc riccu
chaysi simillahuan aslla cocallanta vischupus
pa ñatac cocha sahuaman cutimuc chay cocha

F 100 V

sauas ñatac anchi caracta chaymanta churincu
nactapas chay quiquin lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñiscanchictapas muchaccu [387] ñaupa pachaca lla
manhuan canan quipanri mana llamayoc
caspa coyllanhuan tictillanhuan ymallan
huanpas cay muchacoyta puchocamuspas rarca
allayta callarimurcancu tucoy runacuna cay
chica simillam caycunap cascan pochucan

CONCHA

[388] CAPI(TUL)O 31 YMANAM CAY HANACNIN
CAPITULOPI COCHAP CASCANTA RIMAR
CANCHIC CHAY YNALLATACMI CAY
MANTA CAY CONCHA AYLLOMANTA
YANÇA ÑISCA COCHACTA RIMASON
CAY SIMIRE CAY HINAM
ñaupa pacha cascantaca ymanam cay llactacu
napi yunga runa çapa carcan chay chaycunacta
ca ñam ari huaquinin capitulocunapipas ri
marcanchic cay yna yuncatacsi cay conchap llan
tanpipas tiarcancu [389] yna tiaptinsi ymanam hua
quinin capitulocunapipas rimarcanchic yauri llan
chamantas vichi canchamanta huaquinmi canan
quiñhuamantas ñispa rimancu ynatacssi
cay conchacunapas yauri llancha ñiscanchic
manta pihcca runa yurimurcan (pacha vcumanta) [390] caycunap su
tinmi canan ñaupacninmanta llacsa misa panin

llacxa misa
pauquir buxi
llama tanya
hualla
calla

ri cuno cuyo sutiocsi paihuan hamurcan chay sauam
pauquir buxi chay sahuam llama tanya cay quim
cantim runam ñaupaclla cay llactacta atimur
can chaymantam yscay runatac huauquincu
na hualla sutioc hucri calla sutioc [391] cay yscayninsi
huaquinin huauquincunaca ñaupamuptin

F 101 R

aslla quiparimurcan yna quiparimuspas ñanta
pantaspa yauyoñicman rircancu chaymancha
huauquicuna rincu ñispa chaysi ña hunaymanta
rac cay quimça huauquincunaca chacractapas y
mactapas ña tucoy raquinacoyta puchocaptinrac
cutimurcancu [392] cay hualla ñiscanchicpac churincu
na<m>s cay lazaro puypu rocçi chaymantas chay ñaupac
churi llacxa misa ñisca ña colloypac caspas cay la
zarop aguelon cassa chauca sutioc pai llacxa misap
sobrinon captin yansa ñisca cochacta caytacmi
cay coscajman yalconca ñocaca ñam ari collo
ni ñispas haquiporcan chaymantaracsi paipac
yança cochapas suyon carcan caypim cay hua
lla ñiscanchicta saquinchic [393] cananmi chay quim
ca runa hamuscanta chayamuscantauanpas rima
son yma ñam ñaca ñircanchic yuncacunas car
can ñispa chay ynas chay pachaca cay yansa
cochamanta yaconta pusamuspa ancha ya
conpas sobra captin chay llantapa horcup si
quincama yaconpas chayaptinsi ancha cusicus
pa causarcancu [394] yna causaptinsi cay quimça
runa ñiscanchic chay yuyacnin llacxa misa
ñisca ña may pacham yauri llancha ñiscapi
pachamanta yurimurcan chay pachas huc ru
mi chucuyoc yurimurcan caypac sutinmi llacsa
yacolla carcan cay llacça yacolla ñiscanchicta
apacuspas chay quimça runa ñiscanchic hamurcan
[395] chaysi chay yança hanacninpis yana pucyo sitioc
chaypi chayamurcan chaysi paicunaca chayllapi
tiacorcancu vpiacuspa chaysi cay yunca runa
cunaca chaypim quimça runa tiacon ancha man
chaypac ñicta vyarispas huaquinin runacuna
ricoc rircancu [396] yna ricuptinsi chay llacxa misa
ñiscanchicca chay chucon llacxa yacolla ñiscan
ta ricochircan chay runaman chayta ricuspa
llas chaycunaca tucoynin tuylla huañurcan

F 101 V

yna huañocta ricuspas huaquinin runacu
na pi ricpas ynatac huañomuptinsi chay yun
cacuna ñiscanchicca hacochic risontac
caymanta chay 3 runacuna tarihuahchuan
chayca tucoytam collochihuahchuan ñispas
mancharispa llactantapas chacrantapas yna
lla saquispa miticarcancu [397] cay yna miticas
pas huc yunca runaca manam sutintaca yachan
chiccho cay runas huc churinta tuta miticaspa
concha sicapi saquircan yaçali sutiocta [398] huc huac
cha vyhuascallanta aparispas <y>cay yaçali
ñiscanchicpa yayanca miticarcan chaysi
ña chay(chimpa) capari caya ñahca yana siriman vichay
cunapi pacha pacariptin ricsircan chaysi chay
ca chay huaccha vyhuascallan carcan chaysi
ancha huacaspa manatac cutinampas ya
chacuptin ynallatac ripurcan [399] chay pachas
cay saquisca huamra yaçali ñiscanchicca
chay concha sica cruz sayan chay oculla
pi pacacorcan huamra caspa ancha mancha
rispa chay pachas cay quimça runa ñis
canchicca chay llactaman chayarcancu
ña chayaspas huasinta ymantapas cona
cuspas chay pacha llacxa misaca chay huamrata
tarimorcan [400] chaysi churi ama llaquicho ñoca
huanmi tianqui chay huaquinin huauquicuna
huañochison ñispa ñihuaptinpas ñocam
amachascayqui ychaca ñocap llamaytam
michinqui ñispas ñircan chaysi cay huamrac
ta chay huaquinin huauquincunaca ricuspa
huañochontac cay huamraca porqui caymi
caya mincha ñocap chacraymi pachaymi ñis
pa ñihuahhuan ñispas ancha chicnispa ñir
cancu [401] chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchicca
manam ymapacmi hañochison yallin ca
usacochon caymi yma ayca causascantapas
chac

F 102 R

chacrantapas ymantaps aycantapas ricuchihua
sson ñispas ñircan [402] chaysi chaycunaca mana
tac munarcancho huañochuntac ñispa chaysi
chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca piñarispa hua
uqui ñam chica mita ñiqui pactah tulloyquipas
cochañicman rinman ñocam causachon ñini
ñispas ñircan chayracsi huaquinincunapas vpa
llarcan [403] chaysi chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca chay huam
racta llamanta michichispa causachircan yna michis
pas chay yauri llanchamanta cuno cuyo llaxsa misap cuno cuyo
panin hamuchuan tinquinacorcan yna captinsi
quipampi ña yuyac tucospaca oma pacha ñisca
yauri llanchamanta hamucpacpas yañca carcan
cay yaçali huamra ñiscanchicsi x(Christob)al chauca guamanpac
aguelon carcan [404] chaymantam canan cay oma
pacha ñiscanchictaca ymanam checacunapas hua
yo ñiscacta churaspa pihcca ponchao taquircan
ynallacsi paicunapas taquircan chaymanta
chuta ñiscacta vihcohuan sitaspapas caripac
huarmipac sayachispa chaymantari llamapac
ri hinatac [405] chaymanta huacçacunari yna
tacsi concha sica ñiscanchicpi tiarcancu mitampi pa
ria cacacta chaupi ñamucacta vpiaspapas huc pon
chaollatacsi checacunahuampas pactalla vpiar
cancu cay chicactam caycunap causascanta ya
chanchic
[406] chaymantam canan yança cocha ñiscanchicta
rimason cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicsi ña may pacham
huaquinin huauquincunahuan conchaman chaya
murcan chay pachas yma ayca causaycunacta chas
quispa yança cochacta chasquircan llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chaymantas pauquir buxi ñiscanchic huaychu coto
ñiscacta chasquircan chaymantam llama tanya
ñiscanchicri huyo sana huasicta chasquircan [407] chay
yna caycunacta chasquispam canan causanampac

F 102 V

çapampi callarircancu chaymantam cay llac
xa misa ñiscanchicri yança cocha ñiscacta siruii
ta callarircan chay yança ñiscanchicpis huc hua
collquiri ca collquiri sutioc carcan caycunacta siruiptinsi
cay tucoy conchacunaca miconcampac çaracta call
paporcan viñay huata [408] chay pachas chay collquiri
ñiscanchic huacaca <huc> huarmicta ancha munar
can yna munaspas yauyocamapas chacllacama
pas tucoy ynantin pachacta mascarcan chay yna
mascaspas manatac tarircanchu [409] chaysi huc
ponchaoca cuni raya ñiscanchicca yao caylla
pim sispallapi huarmiquica ñispas ñircan chaysi an
cha cosicuspa rircan chaysi yampilla hana<>(c)nin hur
cumanta chay yampilla ñiscanchicman cahuay
corcan yna cauarispas huc huarmicta ancha
collananta taquicocta ricorcan cay huarmip su
tinsi capyama carcan<can> [410] chaysi cay hina chi
ca sumacta ricuspa tuylla soncompi caytacmi
huarmi canca ñispa yuyacorcan ynaspas huc
muchachontaca rij churi chay huarmicta villamuy
llamayquim huc <china> orco llamallacta huachan
ñispa villayconqui chaymi payca tuylla ha
munca ñispas cacharcan [411] yna cachaptinsi chay
runaca rircan ña chayaspas mamay llamay
quim hanac orcullapi huachan ñispa villaptin
si ancha cosicuspa tuylla huasinman chica
cacharcan chaypis <huan> curi huancarantapas
chaopipi churaycuspa yscay huchuylla coca hua
yacallanta huchlayninman choraycucuspa
chaymantari huc purongo ashuallanta aparispa
ancha vtcaspa hamurcan cay purongo ñiscanchictam
conchaconaca lataca ñincu [412] chaysi cay huaca
collquiri ñiscanchicca yna amucta ricuspa an
cha cusicuspa tuylla cay yança ñiscaman cu
timurcan chaysi chay chay muchachon ñiscanchicca

F 103 R

chay huarmicta pusamuspa ñahcam chayanchic
cayllapim ñispas llullaspa pusamurcan [413] chaysi
cay collquiri ñiscanchicca huc callcallo tucuspa chay
<yança> yampilla hanacnin hurcupi suyarcan chay
si ña chayaspa cay huarmica chay callcallucta api
sac ñircan yna apisac ñiptinsi chayman cayman
as asilla pauarispa mana apichicorcancho [414] ynaspas
quipampica apircantac apispas micllaricurcan cayta
apispas chay rataca ñiscanmanta ashuanta sichay
corcan cayta sichaycuptinsi tuylla chay sichascanpi
pu<y>cyo ña tucorcan chay pucyos canancamapas
ratac tupi sutioc [415] chaysi chay callcallo hucllaycus
canca chay huarmip vicsan hucopi hatun tucomur
can ancha vicsantapas nanachispa yna captinsi
cayca ymah ñispa ricuptinsi chay pachaman hur
mascampica huc cari alli sumac huamralla ricurir
can chaysi tuylla pana ñocactam hucllaycoarcanq(ui)
ymanasonmi ñocam cayachimurcayqui ñispas
ancha misqui siminhuan napaicorcan [416] chaysi huarmi
ri ynatac tuylla enamorarcan payhuan yna caspas
puñorcancu ña puñospas canan cay yança cocha llactan
man pusamurcan chaymantas canan yayanca ma
manca turancunapas ayllonpas maymanmi rircan
ñispa huacaspa cama mascarcancu [417] yna mascaspas
ancha hunaymantarac huc yampilla runa llucaua
sutioc churiquica ancham villcayan ymanpas aycan
pas cosayucmi ñispa villaptinsi tuylla hamurcan
chaysi ña tarispa ymapacmi churita panita suhua
muarcanqui camcho tucoy ynantin llactacunacta
saycuspa mascachihuanqui ñispas ancha piñaspa
cananmi cutichisac ñispa ñircan [418] yna ñiptinsi
yaya huauqui ancha chicantatacmi mana cam yayai
ta villascaymanta anyahuanqui ymactam cos
cayqui huasictacho cayri chacractacho llamactacho
runactacho chauaractacho corictacho collquictacho

F 103 V

yma ymactam munanqui ñispas munachircan [419] y
na munachiptinsi manatac ymallactapas vñir
canchu chaymantas mana vñispa<s> panantaca
cotichisactacmi ñispa ñircan ñiptinsi panan
ca manam cutimancho ñocapas tucoy soncoyhuan
mi cosayacorcani ñispa ñiptinsi [420] chay collquiri
ñiscanchic carica yaya manatacmi huarmita
quichohuanquimancho ñam ari tucoy yma ay
cactapas coscayqui ñispa ñircayqui manacho
huco ricta coyquiman ñiptinsi chay huarmip
turancuna tiascanpi huc runa quipalla tiamuc
rimarican yaya hu ñijtac ymahc chay huco
ric ñispas allimanta rimanacorcancu [421] chayssi
yuyacnin rimarimuspa allitacmi churi ynatac chu
rita huarmayai chay ñiscayquicta pochocanquitac
ñispallas cotircan [422] chaysi pihcantin ponchaopim
ñatac riconacoson llactayquipi yaya ñispa ñircan
chaysi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca simincama pihc
cantin ponchaopi hucota cama rircan yampillañic
man chaysi ña carota rispa maytah ña rini
ñispas hahuaman llucsita munarcan apar
huayqui chay chimpapi chaysi ñahcca ahuaman
vman quispictintacsi yacoca hahuañicman
fuente yna pacchamorcan [423] chaysi ñatac aslla
antallahuan llutaycuspa hucoñicmantac
cutircan yna hucotacama rispas yampilla
hanacnin sauapi llucsircan chay llucsiscan
pucyos canancamapas chay huarmip sutin
ta capyama ñiscacta apan [424] chay capyama
ñiscanchicmantas ancha ahca yaco llucsispa
tucoy yampillacunap chacranta apayta mu
narcan yma ayca ocan chaquictapas quinhuan
maçarayactapas ymallantapas tucoysi apapurcan
chaysi chay yampillacunaca ancha piñaspa
ymapacmi chay ynacta hu ñimurcanquiya

F 104 R

tuylla cutichicoy ña yachascam canchic yna pisi
yacoyucpas ñispas tucoy runacuna rimarcancu
[425] yna rimaptinsi chay capyamap yayancuna
ca chay quiquin <pucyo> (llactan)manta cayar(can) maça tu
coy runacunam piñapayahuan amatac chica
yacocta cachamuycho vihcay, yao collquiri
chay yacocta vihcaytac ñispas cayarcancu [426] y
na cayaptinsi collquirica titahuanpas yma
huanpas vihcarcan yna vihcaptinsi ñatac
ñatac tunimurcan yaco atipamuspa yna cap
tinsi chay huramantaca vihcay ñispa caya
payamuptinsi ñatac quiquin collquiri
yaicuspa yacollantapas chuquirispa chaopi
pi tiaycorcan [427] yna tiaycuptinracsi asllapas
chaquirircan chay pucyos canan chay collqui
rip yacollanta passamuspa suysusca yna ya
copas llucsimon cayta quirpaicoptinsi hua
quinin pucyocunamantapas chay chay qui
tipica llucsircan ñaupacca manas carcancho
[428] chaymantas canan cay concha llactayoc runa
cunaca yacon chaquiptin ñatac piñayta ca
llarircancu ymapacmi cay yaconchicta cocon
ñocanchicca ymahuanmi causason ñispa
chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchic yaco camayoc
taca yao llacxa misa ymapacmi cay yacocta
chaquichimunqui runaconaca ymahuanmi
causanca ñispas cochaman vischorcan tucoy
conchacona [429] chay pachas collquiri ñiscanchic
huacaca chay ynacta ricuspa chicantacmi pai
cunaca ymahuanmi causanca ñispas ña
tac huc huamranta rapacha sutiocta cama
chircan ñispa cay cochacta aslla chay man
yanmanta vcupi huraman allpacunacta
rumicunactapas vrmachi chaypi hunancha
son cay concha runacunap causancampac
ñispas ñircan [430] chaysi chay rapacha ñiscanchicca

F 104 V

chay cochacta aslla pascaycorcan ña pascasca
captinsi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca tuylla
pircaycorcan hurañicmanta atun pircacta
ruraspa chay pircas canan mana allpayoc
canancamapas cay cochap siminsi [431] pihca pacha
caytas cay llacxa misa ñisca runacta alli hunan
chachircan cayman yaco chayaptinmi cochap
siminta quirpanqui chaymantari cay chica
pachapim ñatac cay yacocta hura chacraman
pusanqui ña ynti sicamuptinmi cay yacoc
ta cacharinqui canan pihca mitallam par
conca añay saracta caypacmi camta cama
chiqui ñispas chay vnanchan rumicunacta
allin ricsichircan [432] yna ricsichictinsi canan
camapas paypac paypac churincunapas tucoy
nin catinacuspa chay costumbrellatac canan
camapas catincu chay cocha tupunan ñincum
runacuna caspictari turca caya ñincutacmi chay
si chay rumisaua yma yna ruranampacpas alli
yachacochisca chayta chayasparaccha alli ñauinchic
huan ricohhuan [433] chaymantas canan conchaco
na ña março quilla chay chaypi chay cochap
siminta vihcaypac llucsin tucoy cari huarmi
cay tupucoy ñiscampacsi cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chica pacham canca ñispa yma ñispapas
hunancharcan paypac simillantas tucoy concha
cunapas y ñispa rircancu [434] caypac yañca cap
tinsi ña mitampica paipac simincamalla
yma ayca camachicoypas carcan ña par
coypacri cananmi canca chica ponchaomi canca
ñispas pailla chayta camachicorcan conchari
simincamallatac tucoypas rurarcancu [435] canan
cocha chaupi tuta pahyamuptinpas ri cam
pac suyoiquim ñispas cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicpac churincunacta mayquin tiaptinpas
carcoc carcan chaylla oficion captinsi pon

F 105 R

chaopas tutapas paicunapas chayllacta cama yu
yarcancu sarampacpas callpaptin runacuna
pas ancha pai captinmi causanchic ñispa man
chaptin [436] chaymantari cay llacxa misa ñis
canchicsi pana churincunapas pactah cay ya
co cochamanta pahyamunman ñispas an
cha cuydadouan huacaycharcan ña ñispa
pachyamuptinsi yansapi cac yaco mayo
man yaicuptinca tuylla caça ataric
yna yaicuptinca caçarcantacsi cayrai
cus alli cuydadohuan huacaycharcan
[437] chaymantari cay ña ñiscanchic yna chay yança
cochacta quirpaipacpas ña yacocta cachamuypac
pas hua(c)çacunaca rircantacsi ychaca cay ña quir
paipacca tucoy ynantin runas llucsircan huarmi
cunari ña chayaspas cocanta çapampi churac
carcan ashuantari çapampitac [438] caycuna churas
cantam cay yança ñiscanchicpas yañacan tu
coyta chasquircan huc llamactari ynatacsi
apac carcan coyconactari tictictapas yma
ayca muchanancunactapas tucoytas aparcan
chaysi ña tucoyta juntayta pochucaspas yllacnin
cunactari tucoytatac quipuspa, chay yancac
ta muchayta callarircan [439] yaya collquiri cam
pam cochayqui<pacta> campactacmi yacoyqui
canan huata allitac yacocta coay ñispas mu
charcan ña muchayta puchocaspas ashuanta vp
yac cocantapas acoc carcan chaymantas cari huar
mi chay cochacta quirpaita callarircan [440] chaymantam
canan ña yaco cachamuna captinri yscay quim
ca huacçacunahuansi viñaylla pihcca mitapas
ric carcan cay ñaupaclas huc runa huarmipas
as atun chacraman yaicocsi ashuacta aton puyño
uan apac carcan coyntari huc yscayllacta cocan
tauan cayconahuan muchaspas yacocta cacha
muc carcan cay chica simictam cay yança ñiscan

F 105 V

chicmanta yachanchic [441] chaymantam canan
yachanchic cay conchaconaca paria caca tutay qui
rip ancha sullca pisi yupai churillansi chaysi cay
pachancunactapas chacrantapas ancha pisillata
tac corcan [442] huacça ñiscanchic paria cacap
chaupi ñamucap mitampipas chancu ñiscacta
pas ymanam checacuna ruran yna
llatacmi paiconapas rurancu chaytaca ñam
ari tucoytapas huaquinin capitulocunapi ri
marcanchic
[443] chaymantam canan yachason cay quimca runa ñis
canchicpac churincunacta chay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicca tucoysi collorcan ña colluypac captinsi
ñaca ñircanchic hina paipac sobrinoncuna
cuno (co)yo ñiscanchicpac huahuancuna yayanri
yaçali sutiocpa churincunactas huarmayarca hua
lla ñiscap churincuna yaoyoñicmanta cotimuspa
[444] cay hualla ñiscan ancha quiparac cay hualla ñiscap churincuna
chicpac churincu m ari lazaro puypu rocçi- [445] chaymantam ca
na lazaro puypu nan pauquir buxi ñiscanchicpac churincuna
roçi chay llacxa mi canan ñau paico chay chaycuna causan, chay
ssa ñiscanchicman mantam canan llama tanya ñiscanchicpac
yaicuptinca mana churincunam canan <casin chauca> ruri cancha casin
ñas hualla ñisca chauca tacya cancha cay quimça yumay ñiscas
ca cancho huc huar cay llama tanya ñiscanchicpac churincuna
millas chaypas ma [446] chaymantari chay hualla ñiscanchictaca ñam
na huachacoc cau ari rimarcanchic lazaro puypu rocçicta chayman
san anya rurip tam calla ñiscanchicpac churincunam
huarmin canan g(onzal)o paucar cassa lazaca canya chay chay
cuna cay chica runam ari miramun pihca runa
<h>yauri llanchamanta amucpac churincuna
cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicpac churincuna
llam ari tucoy collosca cay llacxa misam cani
ñispam ari cay lazaro huallap churincuna
cay oficiocta heredan sanin cascanrayco
cay chicallactam cay conchap cascancunacta ya
chanchic---- FIN

F 108 R

+

[447] ñaupa pacha canancamapas tucoy hinantin llactacunapi
may pacham huc runa huc yoriillapi yscayta huachachin
pana cari huarmicta mana ñispari cari puracta mana ñispari
huarmi puracta(pas) caytaca sapampi quipampiracmi villason cay
hina ñisca yuriccunactam curi ñinchin [448] cay hina yurip
tin(mi) may llactapi concayllamanta yuriptinpas chay tutalla
tac llactanman chayachimuc carcan ymanam sucya canchapi
tumnapipas yurinman chayca ñaupa pachaca tuyllatacmi
llacxa tambo ñisca checap llactanman apamuc carcan [449] cayta apa
muspari manatacmi ponchaoca apamuccho carcan pactach<hilan>
pacha casanman ñispa ynataccha tucoy quitipipas musyasca rurancu
chaymantari ña may pacham curi ñisca yurircan chay pacha
llatacmi huc huasi ocupi quimchasca ancha tutayacpi tiayta
huc manyanmanta callarircancu(yayan maman) caripas huarmipas mana cuyurispa asta
esto es de un lado ci pihcca ponchaocama [450] chay pihcca ponchaopim hucman ña ticrac
rispa carcan chay ponchaopitacmi tucoy masancuna chay curip
huasinpi huñonacoc carcan taquispa huancarnintapas
quiquin huactaspa manam canan hinacho huarmicuna
huactac carcan sino caricunam manarac caycunacta
pas taquijta callarispatacmi supayta tapuc carcan(cu)
arañohuampas pana charapi ñiscahuanpas cay masan
cunamanta maycanmi ñaupac taquispa pusarinca [451] < chay>
huaquin chaypi (tiac masan)cunacta chaymi paypac simincama pihcca runacta
hacllaspa señalac carcan(cu) caycunari ña may pacham
huyarircan chay pachallatacmi tutauan punchaohuan
mana samaspa yma aycanta rantichispapas cocacta
mascac carcan<>cu ynatac huaquinin masacunapas
yallinacoyllata yuyaspa ayca runa caspapas tucoynin
huñonacoc carcancu [452] ynaspa ymanam anacpipas hucman
ticrar(can) ñinchic chay punchaomantam tucoy tutancuna ña taquij
ta mana samarcancho asta pihca ponchao chayascancama
manarac chayaptin cayantin ponchaopim masacuna (cara) hua
yacanta ricuchinacuc carcan cayhuanmi caya cocacta apa
risac ñic hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic
carcan(cu) chaymi ña may pacham chay hucman ticrarcan
chaymanta canan huc pihcca ponchaoman huntaycon chay
mi ari chunca ponchao [453] chay pacham ñaupacnintac huc
lluychucta tarucactapas yma ayca animalcunacta
pas

F 108 V

sallcapi cactaca apimuspa chaytam chay pihca runa ñiscanchic
masacuna chaycunap ñaupaquin apaptin pampaman chay cu
ri llocsic carcan [454] hucmi chay caracol (paya) ñiscacta pucospa ric car
es la uara con el la — cancu hucmi pupunacta apaspa ric carcan hucmi sacaya
zo q(ue) coje papaga — ñiscacta apaspatac rircan cay sacaya ñiscaca aslla sara
yos pero co(n) lazo — cutascam carcan aslla tictihuan caytam huc runatac aparcan cay
ni tan largo — cunacta apaccunaca manam masacunacho aparcan sino chay
curip sispa aylloncunam aparcan ychaca chay lloychullactam
masap ña ñisca ñaupaquin aparcan [455] cay lloychucta apimuspa chay
pachallatacmi chay curip qu(e)mchasca huasipi tiascanmanta cha
quinhuan saruchic carcan caymi ña tacurisonqui apllasonq(ui)
y luego lo sacauan — ñispa ynaspam aychantaca tuyllatac tucoy hinantin runa
y matauan — cuna micoc carcancu mana asllactapas puchuspa
[456] chaymantam (canan) ymanam ñacapas ñinchic chay hina ña chon
ca ponchaopi pampaman llocsic carcan quipampi chay curi
cuna huc atun yma pachahuanpas pintusca mana ricurispa
riptinmi runacunaca pana masacunapas yscay quimça aysa
nacuspa huacaspa taquispa ric carcancu cay aysacri chay
curip aylloncunactam aysac carcan aysaspari huc chacrac
ta ymactapas llamactapas cuscayqui ñispam aysanacuc
carcan [457] chaymi pampapi ña chayaspa ymanam canan
la manga de la + — pas mangacta ñaupac proçeçionta rispa apanchic yna
tacmi chay lluychoctapas ancha sumachispa apac carcan
esto es el pellejo — pupunactam canan lansacta yna chayhuan chucasac ñic
y cabeça embutida — yna camaycuspa camaycuspa apac carcan tucoymantapas ñau
de paja porq(ue) ya — pacnin chay camaycuspari curictam quipa amuptin camaycor
la carne era co — can [458] chaymantam canan ña may pacham chay lluycho apac chay
mida como se ha — pi pampapi chayarcan chaymi huc runa huarmipas chay curip
d(ic)ho — aylloncuna huc llamacta pana chacracta cuspapas sama
chic carcan cayhuan samay ñispa ynaspam chay curiri pay
pa tianan vnanchascaman chayaspa yscaynin cosantin
huarmintin tiac carcan ancha alli yupaychasca [459] chay pun
chaupim tucoy hinantin masancuna cocahuan yallinacus
pa taquic opiac carcancu tucoy ponchao chaymi ña chisimanta
ñatac huasinman cutimuspam ñatac chay quiquin tiascanmantac
cutic carcan chaymantam canan ñatac pihca ponchao tiarcan
ña pihcca ponchao huntaycoptinmi ñatac <huc tiana> (aposento)man
asuchic carcan [460] chaymantam ñatac chay quipampi masa
cuna yamtacta ancha atun collo camacta apamuc car

can

F 109 R

ynatac ñaupacninpas may pacham curi yurircan chay
cayantillan caytam ñaupac simipi concarcanchic cay
las yamtacunactari tucoy tutancuna cayta masaspa
q(ue) con esto pacarinca pactach yma huatica ymanpas chayanman
q(ue) ha de estar ñispam cayta (ca)corcan hinatac quipancamapas mana
al principio tacmi huc tutallapas nina huañurcancho [461] cay tucoyta
ña puchucaspam quipampi ñatac chay curicunacta
yayancunactapas chay supayninta tapuspa maypim armachimusac
<ñispa> huchanmanta ñispam pusarcan paypac simin
esto es de donde viene cama yansa cochamantacsi hord(enad)am(en)(de) pusac carcan[462]chay
el agua de los conchas pis canan chay huc runa con churi sutioc supaypa saçer
dotin pachacta tapuc carcan ymamantam curi
yurircan yma ayca huchanmantan ñispas tapor
esto es la opinion del can cay curi yuric runactaca huañuynin rantim
vulgo no la respu yurin ñispas runacuna ñircancu [463] <chaysi> chayssi chayman
esta tam caymantam ñispa yscayninta armachic car
canco ynatac chay yscay huahuacunactapas
ñatac ñatac armachispa asta qui chicallam
huchan ñiscancama yma yna chiripi huañuna
yaptinpas [464] ña caycunacta puchucaspa carictaca
chucchanta rutuc carcan huarmictaca asllacta
carictaca ymanam huchayoccunacta rutunqui
yna chayssi huachay rucoyuc ña cutimuc carcancu
chaymantari huc huallcacta yana yurachuan cay
a manera de cadena chuscactas huallcarichircan curip hunanchaynin
de oro ta [465] cunaspari huc huata enterom sasinque a
matac campas campas pillahuanpas huchallicon
qui huchallicuspaca ancha mana allictam ruran
ni entre ellos quiman casem masanchiccunacta saycuchinqui
man ñispas conaycuc carcan [466] chaymantas ña
patman huata caspa ñatac allichus tian ñis
achcan pa chay saçerdote runatac huaquinin a<n>chca runa
cunahuan tapuc carcan supayninta chaysi alli
captinca ancha cosicorcan <mana alli captinsi>ynaspa pu
q(ue) tuieron coito ñiorcantacmi ñiptinsi canan allinta anyac
carcan [467] chay masacunapas anchapuni piñacus
pa ymaraycum ñiocanchictaca cassi saycochihuanchic

F 109 V

ñispas anchapuni piñacuc carcancu
chaymantam canan ñatac <huc huata captinca>chay huatap huntascancama yna
tac huaticac carcan chay pacharacsi chay huallcan
taca cuchupuc carcan ynallas puchucarcan
[468] chaymantam ñatac ñaca ñiscanchicta tincuchison
cari pura yuriptinca pana huarmi pura yuriptin
pas manam alli pachacho canca ancha muchoy
pacham canca ñispam ñic carcancu chayman
ta cari huarmi yuriptinmi allipac hunan
charcancu
[469] chaymantari yma chicam canan masacuna
huc pachamantaca cusicon mana ñaupa pa
cha yna chicacta gastaspa huc pachamanta
ri llaquiconcha mana chay hina ruranicho
ñispa supaypac llullayninhuan huaquin llac
tacunapica manataccha concancho [470] tutapas
yma yna pachapas ynatac llama yuriptinpas
sutintari sapamanta yma curim canca ñis
pas supayta tapuc carcan chay supaypa
sutichascanmi curi ñaupapas curi yauripas
curi guamanpas ticlla curipas yma ayca su
ti cacpas curihuan rimaricca yna sapatacssi
caripas huarmipas--[471] chaymantari yma chi
cam runacuna collquiyoc (cananca) ñaupa mana
rac cay alli diospac siminta hunanchaspa
paria cacap mitanpi pana yma aycap
mitanpipas tucoy callpanhuan yma ayca
cascallantapas cocarayco rantichispa collqui
llantari chayraycollatac mascaspa canan
ca pa(na) quimça tahua huata(lla) samaptinpas huac
chacunari tucoy hinantin huatancunapi lla
quicuspa maymantah cocacta tarisac ñispa
ynataccho pincay casac ñispa chacrantapas

F 110 R

pachantapas rantichispa mascarcan chayta
cayta purispa huanacumanpas rispa lloy
chuctapas sasispa mascaspa [472] chayraycu
llatac ynaspa tucoy hinantin yuyascan
tapas supaynintaracmi ñaupac alli sasis
pa maymantam tarisac huanacuancho
cayri chacraytacho pachaytacho huacllichi
sac ymanam casac ñispa tapuspam an
chapuni musyasca trauajopi puric car
canco [473] cananca huc yuyaymanta mana
chicacta yuyaspa manatac ymallanta
pas chayrayco rantichispa anchapunihc
cusicon huc pachamantah chayca ancha
huacan ymaraycohc mana chayta rura
nicho ñispa [474] chaypa mitanpica tutapas y
ma yna pachapas may pachah macoy llen
co chay pacham canca ñispa ñircan chay
pachallatacmi runacuna ancha cusi
cuspa cochocuspa ari machucu(na)pas an
cha chachuaspas tictinta ymantapas apas
pa ric carcancu ñaupa huasipi oplanan
captinpas pana caypi cancanpacpas
[475] chaymanta cay llactallapitaccha chaytapas tu
ta ruraspa(pas) aslla huananman hahua llactacuna
pica hinataccha ruran(cu) ñispam yuyanchic
oyarinchicpas

F 112 R

[476] JHS

ata ñispaca huamrap chucchampi parca
yurictam ata ñinchic cay hina yuric
(pel)os se les — tam canan chay huamrap yayancuna
ua pa atras — ña quimça huata captin huñonacoc
huasimpi o canchampi pacsac punchao
manta ñaupac paypac cacancunac
ta o masancunactapas huyarichispa
chay punchaupim cay paria cacap <>
atanta yllanta rutuson ñispa
ylla ñispaca ata ñiscallantatacmi
hunanchanchic [477] chay hina ña tucoy
ta huyarichicuspam ashuacuyta ca
llarincu ashuaconmi media saracta
o huc hanigacta<pas> ñicta huyaris
paca quiquin runacunallatacmi
tapunacuc ymapacmi ashuan ñispa
ña yachaspam canan yma punchao
pich fiesta canca chay punchao tucoy
hinantin runacuna huñonacumuc
[478] ynaspam canan chay <h>atayuc ru
naca masancunahuan tucoy cacan

F 112 V

cunahuampas hu<y>rañicmanta tiaspa
taquicuyta opiachicuyta callaric chay
mi ña may pacham ancha machanco
chay pacham huc fresadacta o titacta
pas mantapuspa chay huamracta cha
upiman yaycuchispa tiachic cay simic
ta rimaspa yayacuna huauquicuna
cay ata yllacta canan punchautac ru
tuson paria cacap chaymanta tutay
quirip atan yllanmi ari paytacmi ari
ñocaman cachamuarca cay hina yu
rincampac ñispam rimaric [479] chay pa
cham chay huamrap<a> sispa cacan cari
captin huarmi captinri paypac ypan
mana ñispari aguelo o aguelanpas sa
yarispa huc llamahuan o chacrahuan
pas huc señalllanta churaspa chay a
tacta tejerahuan camaycuc chay
llama ñiscanchicpac hunanchay

cothuato
es cabresto
de llama

ninmi canan huc cothuato ñisca
ymahuammi llamacta paria cacaman
pusarca chayhuan [480] chacrap huna<y>nchaynin
tam canan huc caxo ñisca<huan>cta chu
rapuc carcan cay caxo ñiscaca huc cas
pillam huarmip allacunallan chay
mantam huaquinin sispa yahuar ma
sincunam yacullahuanpas cusmahuan(pas)

F 113 R

ouejahuanpas o millhuahuanpas
cascancama ofrecicuc sapampi
sayarispa [481] chaymantam ña may
pachah sispa yahuar masin puchu
can chay pacham curaca o alcal
de culla(na)mantapas sayarispa ys
cay<> rreal o huc rrealtapas chu
raspa sayarimuc hasta puchucas
cancama caycuna astahuan ma
chanca machaspari manam ari y
mallantapas michacuncacho ñispam
ancha hupyachic ña pacha huraycus
cancama [482] chay pacham canan ña
tucoy<> rutucoyta puchocaptin ya
yan chay churinta tucoy rutuc porq(ue)
runacunaca llamcayllam llamcac
ña puchocaspari tuyllam taquicuy
ta callaric machoncunap sutinta
rimarispa yaya anchi puma o carhua
chachapa o yma yma ñispapas cam
pa atayquim yllayquim canan
ca ñam puchocarcani cananman
taca ama ñatac paria caca cacha
muchoncho allitac casac ñispam
taquicuc haucacuc

F 113 V

[483] cay ata ñispaca ylla ñispapas
paria cacap cachanmi ñispas
esto es runacuna hunanchancu cay
la noche antes ta rutuypacri cayantin chisis an
de el dia d(ic)ho cha manchaspa coynhuan tictin
huan ymanhuampas pari cacacta
tutay quiricta muchac allichahuay
tac cay atahuan caya puncahuri an
cha cusiyuctac casac ñispa [484] paycuna
hunanchaptinca curip señalninsi
curi hamuypacsi cay atacta cacha
mun mana alli paria cacaman hu
chanta yuyaycuptin huañonan ran
ti curi yurinca ñispa curi yuricta
ca huañonan rantin yurin ñicmi
ari cay checallatam cay san damian
checa ñiscamanta yachanchic
[485] chaymantari huaquinin llactacuna
piri yma ñispah rimancu ycha
ca ata yuriptinca ynallatac
mi tucoypas cay tucoy corregemiento
pica yupaychancu tucoy may quitipi
pas huancapas yauyopas huaman
tancapas yma runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca

F 114 R

chaymantari ahcca runa ancha co
llanan yanacuna cacpas [486] ynatacmi
limacpi pip churin ata captinpas
huñonacuc chaymanta mestiço
cactapas yachanchictacmi huaqui
nincunacta caytaca ychapas chay
yna alli causana ñispatacmi hua
quinin runacunapas huchaman
chayaycurcancu - chaycunacta ricus
pa ynaspari cay quimça huata
mantam rutuna ñispa ñircanchic
chaytaca yachacuscancamam ñau
pacpas o quipampas rurarcancu
cay chicallam checa simica

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Glossary of Untranslated Words

The following entries correspond to the non-English words italicized in the translation. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Definitions are given where feasible.

alcalde (Spanish): colonial village official (95, 173, 481)
allauca: group name, possibly implying righthand part (moiety?) of a village (157)
añay: a kind of maize (431)
ata: baby with abnormal hair, taken to be a messenger of Paria Caca (476, 478–480, 482–486)
auqui: in this context, untranslated; possibly a ritual ornament or vessel (283)
ayllu: social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies (46, 91, 118, 160, 187, 216, 218, 224, 234–237, 240, 243, 282, 309, 316, 330, 331, 333, 354, 357, 369, 385, 388 [title])
bolas (Spanish): hunting weapon made of stones connected by thongs, which entangle prey's legs when thrown (98, 350)
callcallo: untranslated; grasshopper? (413, 415)
canah yauri: lance? belonging to a mummy-*huaca* (320)
cancho: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caqui: toucan? (207)
casira: unidentified type of straw (327)
cassa: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caullama: class of *huacas* guaranteeing fertility of livestock (329)
caxo: women's digging tool (480)
chicsi rampa: litter belonging to Inca (289, 294)
choqui (Jaqi): gold (283)
chumprucu: turban for ritual wear (240, 294)
chupa: a kind of straw (327)
chuta: large target effigy at which lancers threw spears in the Machua festival rites (330, 331, 333, 335, 338, 404)
cori cacya: seashell-shaped insignia of a mummy-*huaca* (320)
corregimiento (Spanish): administrative district of a *corregidor* or Spanish governor of natives (485)
cot huato: llama harness (479)
curaca: a native political lord or noble (86, 101, 173, 174, 176, 231, 244, 245, 296, 317, 481)
curi: twins, considered messengers from Paria Caca (447, 449, 450, 453–462, 464, 470, 484)
doctrina (Spanish): elementary text of Christian doctrine, to be memorized by Indians; also, a parish of Indians (253)
fanega (Spanish): bulk measure equaling about 1.6 bushels or 58 liters (477)
huaca: a superhuman person; any place, object, image (etc.) embodying a superhuman person (3, 6–8, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 28, 92, 145, 146, 172, 178–180, 182, 183–185, 189, 225, 235–239, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 265, 272, 273, 277, 279, 283, 285 [title], 287–289, 293, 301, 317, 318, 319, 325, 336, 347, 370, 378, 379, 407, 408, 412, 429)
huachay ruco: ceremonial garment probably associated with birth; possible synonym of *huaychao* (464)
huacsa: person appointed to a term of priestly duties that included dancing a reenactment of a *huaca*'s life (117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 126, 131, 132, 135, 149, 150, 159, 160, 162, 183, 213, 220, 245, 297, 300, 346, 347, 385, 386, 405, 437, 440, 442)
huana paya: conch trumpet for use in ceremony; possible synonym of *paya* (325, 337, 340)
huancoy: worm or larva; maggot? (368)
huaychao: a ceremonial garment (240)
huayo: human trophy mask made from flayed face (321, 322, 323, 404)
hugi: untranslated; a dangerous animal that Huallallo Caruincho turned loose to afflict Paria Caca (214, 215)
illa: amulet (or) magical person, such as twins (134, 476, 478, 482, 483)
JHS (Latinized Greek): monogram containing the first three Greek letters of the name Jesus, variously interpreted (476)
lataca: a kind of jar associated with the Concha (411)
llacsa anapalla: fly, perhaps bluebottle (367)
llacsa yacolla: stone helmet (394, 396)
llaullaya: untranslated; agricultural tool? garment? (271)
lúcuma: *Lucuma bifera*, a fruit tree (11)
maca: an edible tuber, probably *Lepidium meyenii* (162)
muro: colored, possibly hard and/or spotted maize (43, 53)

oca: an edible tuber, *Oxalis tuberosa* (424)
padre (Spanish): father; Catholic priest (95, 258)
pana charapi: untranslated; object used in divining with spiders (450)
paya: conch trumpet used in ceremony; *see also* huana paya (454)
pupuna: a device for catching birds, made of a reed or cane with a loop or thong (9, 454, 457)
pusuca: untranslated; an insignia of Maca Uisa (294)
puypu: macaw-wing ornament (131, 333)
quinua: edible grain, *Chenopodium quinua* (302, 303, 389, 424)
quipu: mnemonic device made of knotted cords (283, 438)
quisay rinri: ornamental earspool(?) worn by a mummy-*huaca* (320)
quishuar: a tree, *Buddleia*, used to make ritual enclosures (92)
real (Spanish): Spanish coin, one-eighth of a common *peso* (262, 481)
reducción (Spanish): Spanish-style village into which natives were forcibly resettled, especially c. 1570–1590 (244)
riti: snow (63)
sacaya: sacrifice for *huaca*s made of ground maize mixed with *ticti* or thick maize beer (454)
Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ (Latin): Catholic prayer to Saint Mary (256)
tamta: feather ruff (328)
taruca: a deer, *Hippocamelus antisiensis* (453)
ticti: sacrificial food made of thick maize beer residue (91, 99, 138, 170, 281, 337, 387, 438, 454, 474, 483)
tipsi: ? (283)
urpu: ? (283)
vichoc: left-hand part (moiety?) of a village (157, 337)
vihco: spear(?) used in the rite of spearing *chuta* effigies (328)
villca: high-ranking *huaca* or *huaca* priest (10, 13, 14, 43, 45, 154, 289)
visa: untranslated (shield?); insignia of Chuta Cara (324)
yanca: *huaca* priest by hereditary title (118, 120, 121, 129, 130, 148, 165, 218, 219, 238, 331–333, 335, 339, 403, 434, 438)

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***Note*: This is an index to the translation of the manuscript and does not cover the notes or introduction. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Alphabetization is by English rules. *Ñ* is treated as *n*. *Ch*, *ll*, and *rr* are treated as two characters each and not as single digraph characters as in Spanish.**

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y mayna runa cunapas tucoy ni llan as vanuan
suyac carcan chay mi ña chay man chaya mup tinca
ancha say cos cam amun ñis pa as vavan yanca
y chaspa runa sauapas pacha pipas chay llac satam
bo man yai cumu na poneo llapi y na ychac carcan
paicuna vra manta amue cunam as lla ay chata
paicunap puy ñon pa simin saua churapue carca
cay taña pucho caspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runa cuna pam papi ñay cospa ayño ñis cataquicta
ña callarir can cay cunam canan. chanco/ suñoc
chay mantam ña chancup tinca pachapas ñañispa
tamyamue cay chancup mitampis ysquicaya ñisca
chay yan cap/ suasinpi sue sachachos o/ y mach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñis canchic mantalli yaco sapa vrma
rayac chay cunactas canan pay cona ~~can~~ chay y
nacta ricuspa canan suataca alli pucoy mi canca
ñispa ñir cancu/ mana tamya nampac si chaquisca
cac chay si ancha muchoy mi canca ñispa ñic carca

Capitulo 12 y manam cay paria cacap churincuna tucoy yunca cunacta atijta ña callarir can

r ñam ari cay chun campi capitº pi rimar canchic
cay paria cacap churin cunapat tis can ~~[illegible]~~ simicta
y ~~[illegible]~~ naspa villar canchic tac mi ari y manam tu
coy y nantin llacta cuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta canan mi/ cay. chuc paico. chancharuna
suari ruma. vt co chuco tutay quire. sasin mari pa
chachuyro ñis canchic cunacta rimason y manam
paicuna puric carcaneo chay chay cunacta cay
cuna ñis canchic cunas ñaupa pacha tucoy hin

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

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To our kids
Abraham, Malka, Susanna

tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic
we are all of one birth

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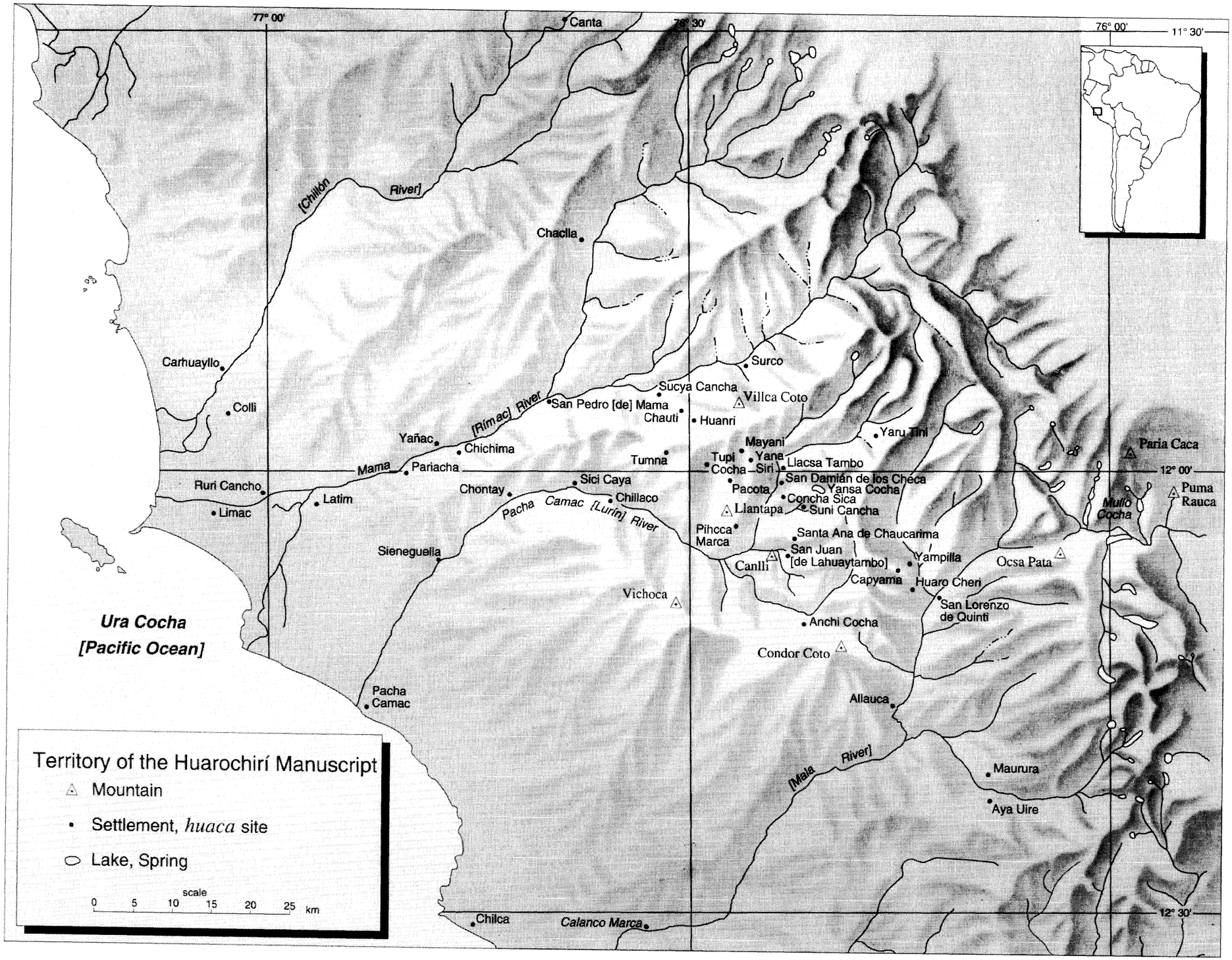
77° 00'
76° 30'
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11° 30'
12° 00'
12° 30'
Canta
[Chillón River]
Chaclla
Carhuayllo
Colli
Surco
Sucya Cancha
Villca Coto
San Pedro [de] Mama
Chauti
Huanri
[Rímac] River
Yañac
Chichima
Yaru Tini
Mayani
Tupi
Yana
Llacsa Tambo
Cocha
Siri
Paria Caca
Tumna
Mama
Pariacha
San Damián de los Checa
Pacota
Yansa Cocha
Ruri Cancho
Sici Caya
Chontay
Concha Sica
Puma Rauca
Latim
Chillaco
Llantapa
Suni Cancha
Mullo Cocha
Limac
Pacha Camac [Lurín] River
Pihcca Marca
Santa Ana de Chaucarima
Sieneguella
San Juan [de Lahuaytambo]
Yampilla
Canlli
Ocsa Pata
Capyama
Huaro Cheri
Vichoca
San Lorenzo de Quinti
Anchi Cocha
Ura Cocha
[Pacific Ocean]
Condor Coto
Pacha Camac
Allauca
[Mala River]
Maurura
Aya Uire
Chilca
Calanco Marca
Territory of the Huarochirí Manuscript
Mountain
Settlement, huaca site
Lake, Spring
scale
0 5 10 15 20 25 km

Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript

Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huacas*. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods* . . . (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huacas*.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huacas* had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yancas*) to locate the historically diverse *huacas* and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huacas* (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huacas*, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huacas*.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huacas* is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huacas*—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huacas* amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huacas* succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huacas*, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.
> Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huacas* to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huacas*

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huacas* as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two pervading generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huaca*s who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which Gonçález Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object';* huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huacas*. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huacas* by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huacas* never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huacas* reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huacas*' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huacas*. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huacas* considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllus*, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huacas*. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huacas* beforehand:

> . . . these *huacas* would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huacas* had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

Huacas also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yanca*s seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huaca*s in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curaca*s or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curaca*s by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huaca*s or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huaca*s (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

*Huaca*s had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one [*huaca*] called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huacas* were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllu*s. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllus*: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllus*.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllus*: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllus*, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllus* practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllus* that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huacas* among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huacas* might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huacas*. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huaca*s, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huaca*s on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huaca*s.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huaca*s Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huaca*s and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huaca*s whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huaca*s and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila [¿1598?]*.

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis* . . . Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí.* Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle.* Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII.* Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huacas* and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila.* Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres).* 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . . ' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huacas* in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna*, *ynaspa*, and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capiº* is rendered *capi(tul)o*.

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

[Preface][1]

1 If the ancestors of the people called Indians[2] had known writing[3] in earlier times,[4] then the lives they lived would not have faded from view[5] until now.[6]

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas[7] is visible[8] until now, so, too, would theirs be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,

2 I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather:[9]

1. The whole preface has witness validation, suggesting that it expresses the native editor/redactor's own convictions. Quechua grammatical validation is discussed in the introduction, in the section on the character of the present translation (see especially the section on the problem of validation). The opening lines have a sharp rhetorical structure. They start with a matched pair of contrafactual sentences (*-man . . . -man*), continue with a matched comparison (*hina . . . hina*), and link the two pairs by a pointed contrast between their respective conclusions (*. . . manam . . . hinacho canman/ . . . hinatacmi canman*, which might be rendered 'it wouldn't be so/ . . . it would be exactly so').

2. *runa yn(di)o ñiscap* 'of the people called Indians': suggests a shade of authorial distance from the term "Indian," perhaps because it lumps together the many distinct peoples whose differences and relations form the axis of the text. The phrase recurs at the very end of the text (supp. II, sec. 485).

3. *quillcacta* 'writing': more literally, 'writer(s)'; derives from a verb whose prehispanic sense appears to have been 'to paint' or 'to ornament' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 301).

4. *ñaupa pacha* 'earlier [or former] times': although other translators give 'ancient', this passage could also refer to an earlier moment of the colonial era.

5. *chincaycuc hinacho canman* 'would not have faded from view': more literally, 'would not be like something getting lost'; that is, if Andean tradition partook more of literacy, colonial conditions would not have led to its recent erosion.

6. The four repetitions of *canancama* 'until now' give a feeling of arrested motion, released at last in the final sentence of section 2. Similarly, the sentence verbs of section 1 form a series of three contrafactuals (with conditional suffix *-man*) that yields in section 2 to three finite verbs, in past, present, and future tenses, respectively. The tone shifts from speculation toward concreteness and dynamism. One feels the engines of narration gripping, moving forward.

7. The original contains only *vira cochappas* 'the Vira Cochas', a colonial and modern Quechua usage that employs the name of a principal deity (salient in chapters 2 and 14) to refer to the Spanish. The Spanish erupt onto the Andean scene under this name in chapter 18 (sec. 223). Modern Cuzco Quechua still uses the expression. We have supplied 'the Spanish' to avoid confusion between the deity and the nationality.

8. The verb *ricurin* 'be visible' seemingly emphasizes the *visibility* of the new Spanish mnemotechnology, writing, as opposed to the *audibility* of the endangered oral tradition.

9. *huc yayayuc . . . machoncunap* 'ancestors . . . from one forefather': more literally, 'of the old ones . . . possessors of one father'. The manuscript repeatedly expresses diachrony in terms of patrilineal ancestry. The point in this passage is that, despite their diversity, the social units that are protagonists of the following chapters unite at the apex in a single male progenitor, namely, Paria Caca.

What faith[10] they held,[11] how they live up until now,[12] those things and more;

Village by village it will be written down:[13] how they lived from their dawning age onward.

10. *yma ffeenioccha* 'what faith' uses a Spanish term, *fe* 'faith', to denominate non-Christian religious practice. In Christian context this categorizes the *huaca* cults as members of the same class of phenomena as the "true" faith (and therefore subject to graver penalty than mere "superstition"). Quechua had no term similar to *fe*. But the suffix *-yoc*, usually translated 'possessor of', is usually used in the manuscript to signify a non-Christian worshiper's bond to the *huaca*. It signifies not so much belief as a social connection in which the worshiper owes service and the deity protection.

11. The original *ffeenioccha* has a conjectural validator *-cha*: overliterally, 'what faith they may have held'. One common usage of *-cha* is to convey the degree of doubt appropriate to guesses about what is in another person's mind (secs. 133, 247, 279). Here *-cha* suggests that the author regards knowledge of the ancient religion (based on the reportively validated data that make up most of the manuscript) as a conjectural construct, in effect an ethnographically derived model intended to explain "idolatrous" practices of the present.

12. In addition to the reconstructed faith of the past, the maker of the manuscript will also set down ethnographic observations on current mores. Most of this material appears with witness validation in subsequent parts.

13. In fact, the manuscript does not proceed village by village. It expresses primarily the viewpoint of one group, the Checa of San Damián village, and secondarily those of perhaps three other groups (the inhabitants of Mama in chap. 13, the Allauca in chap. 30, and the Concha of Concha Sica in chap. 31) filtered through some Checa interference. In spatial terms its mythology centers on the Checa ceremonial center, Llacsa Tambo, near the colonial village of San Damián.

CHAPTER I

3 # How the Idols of Old Were, and How They Warred among Themselves, and How the Natives Existed at That Time[14]

In very ancient times,[15] there were *huacas*[16] named Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca.[17]

Later on another *huaca* named Huallallo Caruincho defeated them.

After he defeated them, he ordered the people to bear two children and no more.[18]

He would eat one of them himself.

The parents would raise the other, whichever one was loved best.[19]

4 Although people did die in those times, they came back to life on the fifth day exactly.[20]

And as for their foodstuffs, they ripened exactly five days after being planted.

These villages and all the others like them were full of Yunca.[21]
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [full of Yunca]

5 When a great number of people had filled the land, they lived really miserably,[22] scratching and

14. Like all of the first six chapters, this one bears a Spanish title in the original: *Como fue anteguamente los ydolos y como guerreo entre ellos y como auia en aquel tiempo los naturales*. In the original the Spanish titles appear to be insertions *ex post facto*. Their awkwardness often derives from specific Quechua interferences: for example (in this case), discrepancies between Quechua and Spanish rules about pluralization and number agreement (*fue . . . los ydolos*, etc.). Quechua's trivocalic sound system influences *anteguamente* via hypercorrection. The composer of the titles has also chosen an unidiomatic translation for *tiay* 'to dwell, to exist'. Such facts make it more than likely that Spanish was not his or her first language.

15. This formula regularly introduces a passage with reportive validation.

16. As detailed in the introduction, *huaca* is a broad term designating all physical objects taken to embody superhuman and sacred persons. Many mountains, springs, river junctions, mummies, and manmade objects as well were *huaca*.

17. The untranslated term *Ñamca* seems to designate a class of *huaca*s associated with coastal peoples and the remote past. It also appears as a component of names of persons favored by *huaca*s. In Quechua *Yana* means 'black' and *Tuta* 'night', so these might well be the powers extant before the present, solar world began.

18. *yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan* could also mean 'he ordered people to give birth only by twos'. But when Francisco de Avila, who presumably knew the context, composed his *Tratado* using the same or a similar source, he chose this meaning ([1608] 1966: 200).

19. *huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta* 'whichever one was loved best' is ambiguous as to whether it means the one that the parents loved best or that Huallallo Caruincho loved best (because the *-n* third person possessive marker on *cuyascan* could refer either to the parents or to Huallallo).

20. Chapter 27 elaborates on this.

21. *yunca*, a common term in the manuscript, has a triple sense. It refers to the warm valley regions of the Pacific littoral; to the ecology, landscape, and biota typical of such regions; and (capitalized in translation) to the peoples who dwelled there. The Checa and other highlanders thought of Yunca people as aboriginal, in opposition to the invading peoples with whom at least some of the narrators identified.

22. The motif of an overfertile ancient humanity in Malthusian crisis reappears in chapter 27; it is analyzed by Fernando Fuenzalida (1979). The idea seems to be that by excessive human sacrifice to Huallallo they won excessive vitality. The argument implies that immortality is incompatible with human life: even if fertility were curbed to the extreme of allowing each immortal couple only one live (immortal) child, an overpopulation fatal to well-being would eventually ensue. Death is indispensable.

digging the rock faces and ledges to make terraced fields.

These fields, some small, others large, are still visible today on all the rocky heights.

And all the birds of that age were perfectly beautiful, parrots and toucans[23] all yellow and red.

6 Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca[24] appeared, these beings and all their works were cast out to the hot Anti lands[25] by Paria Caca's actions.

Further on we'll speak of Paria Caca's emergence and of his victories.

7 Also, as we know,[26] there was another *huaca* named Cuni Raya.[27]

Regarding him, we're not sure whether he existed before Paria Caca or maybe after him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out whether he[28] says that it isn't known if he was before or after Caruincho or Paria Caca.]

However, Cuni Raya's essential nature[29] almost

23. *caquipas*: 'toucan' is a guesswork translation. Although the color suggests 'macaw', other references (chap. 9, sec. 131; chap. 24, secs. 331, 333) show that different words refer to macaws. Chapter 16 (sec. 207) says *caqui* is a parrotlike bird. Taylor (1987b: 47) points out an Ayacucho usage of *caqui* meaning a large parrot and an Aymara reference saying that *caqui* has long red, blue, and yellow feathers. Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 6) chose *periquito* 'parakeet'.

24. This is the first mention of the dominant deity in the manuscript. Paria Caca is surely a sacred mountain, but which one? Bonavia et al. (1984: 5–7) offer a detailed identification: "Pariacaca Mountain has a distinctive shape, two twin snowcapped peaks with a saddle-shaped depression separating them. The low point between them is 75° 59′ 24″ longitude west and 11° 59′ 20″ latitude south (Department of Junín, Province of Jauja, District of Canchayllo, Peru)." Bonavia and his co-authors point out that because Paria Caca was close to the royal road from Lima to Cuzco, it was well known by sixteenth-century authors, including Dávila Brizeño (who drew it as a twin peak on his map; Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) and Avila. Avila's own 1611 description of Paria Caca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257) is compatible with Bonavia's identification. Modern villagers in Huarochirí readily identify a twin-peaked snowcap on the eastern horizon as Paria Caca.

The literal sense of Paria Caca's name is unclear. *Caca* means 'cliff' or 'crag' in ancient and modern Quechua. Arriaga's *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Perú* ([1621] 1968: 45; Keating's translation) suggests that Paria might be 'vermilion': "*Paria* are powders of a vermilion color, brought from the mines of Huancavelica and made from the metal from which mercury is derived, though its appearance is more like that of lead oxide."

Several common modern verbs with the root *pariy* express the idea of heat radiating from a solid object; there may be a connection with chapter 8 (sec. 103), where Paria Caca creates his shrine by quenching a huge fire.

But Urioste's suggestion (personal communication) that *Paria* is cognate to modern Cochabamba Quechua *pari* meaning 'split' (as in, for example, a harelip) is also tempting because of the mountain's cleft appearance.

25. *antiman*: more literally, 'toward the Anti'. The Incas termed the eastern slopes of the Andes and the western fringes of Amazonia *Anti Suyu*. *Andes* in Spanish usage c. 1600 usually meant the same region. These lands stand in most Andean mythology for savagery and the precultural life, a setting in which Huallallo might have been thought to belong. But it may also be that the Huarochirí narrators used *anti* in a more general way to mean warm lowlands, including the seaward valleys of the west Andean slope. When Francisco de Avila paraphrased a source similar or perhaps identical to this one, he said that the natives call hot lands "*yunca* or *andes*" and wrote of evil aborigines in "these Andes" (*estos andes*) whom Paria Caca expelled to "other Andes" (*otros andes*; *Tratado* [1608] 1966: 200; see also 216). The two *andes* areas are perhaps the Pacific lowlands and Amazonia, respectively. Because the term may be generic (a type of land) and not toponymic, we have avoided glossing *anti* as 'Amazonia'.

26. 'As we know' added to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

27. The predominantly coastal *huaca* Cuni Raya has been identified as a water deity, creator of irrigation (Rostworowski 1977). The Incas thought the ability to create rivers and springs was the unique sign of his power (Betanzos [1551] 1987: 264). Chapters 2, 14, and 31 (secs. 409ff.) belong to Cuni Raya's mythology.

28. The marginal note is ambiguous in original. The subject of 'says' could be 'he' or 'she' or 'it' (i.e., a manuscript).

29. *cascanracmi . . . cascanman* 'his essential nature . . . Vira Cocha's': *cascan* is a past participial form of the Quechua verb meaning 'to be' and might more literally be rendered 'what he was'. For this reason we have used 'essential', also derived from a verb meaning 'to be'. *Cascan* is, however, less abstract in tone than 'essence'; hence 'nature'. Taylor's renders *cascan* as 'his cult' (*su culto*; 1987b: 28, 51), taking the point to be 'what he was in human practice'. But there are reasons for thinking *cascan* refers to 'what he was in himself'. In both colonial and modern Quechua this form often implies action previous to the speaker's cognition and/or surprise at discovering it (Cusihuamán 1976: 170–171; Urioste 1973: 96). We might read *cascan* as 'what he was all along (without our knowing it)'. This motif emerges more clearly in chapter 14 (sec. 190 and note 374), where Vira Cocha inveigles the Inca by promising to reveal *ñoca cascayta*, 'my *casca*'—'what I was all along'.

matches Vira Cocha's.[30] For when people worshiped this *huaca*, they would invoke him, saying,

"Cuni Raya Vira Cocha,

You who animate mankind,
Who charge the world with being,[31]
All things are yours!
Yours the fields and yours the people."

8 And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves to the ground,[32] talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,

"Help me remember how,
Help me work it out,
Cuni Raya Vira Cocha!"

And the master weaver[33] would worship and call on him whenever it was hard for him[34] to weave.

For that reason, we'll write first about this *huaca* and about his life, and later on[35] about Paria Caca.

30. Because of his alleged importance as a supreme deity, comparable to the Christian God, Vira Cocha has become the subject of a large and frequently misleading literature. Many Andean sources about him are handily compiled in *Wiracocha y Ayar* (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

Here, however, this deity's role has little to do with the Christian concept of God and a lot in common with the pan–New World concept of a Trickster, whose buffoonery is at the same time a force making and remaking the world. In suggesting that Cuni Raya's nature "almost matches" Vira Cocha's, the teller seems to be taking note of a popular tendency, exemplified by the invocation that follows, to equate a Trickster-like deity associated with the hydraulic transformation of landforms (Cuni Raya) with a south highland, Inca-promoted deity (Vira Cocha). Chapter 14 emphasizes the latter component.

Szemiński and Mejía Xesspe before him have suggested that *cunirayap cascanracmi ñahca viracochap cascanman tincon* might mean the two deities' existences 'almost coincide' chronologically rather than qualitatively. This makes sense if one reads the statement as a reply to the chronological question just raised, rather than a comment on what follows. If one takes *viracocha* in this passage to refer to the Spanish, still other readings result (Szemiński 1989: 8–9).

31. *runa camac pacha camac* 'who animate mankind, who charge the world with being': the two lofty epithets employ the key verb *camay*, discussed in the introduction under "Into the world of the *huaca*s." *Camay* has no clear equivalent in Spanish or English and is translated in the present work as 'to charge' or 'charge with being', 'to make', 'to give form and force', or 'to animate'.

32. That is, to sacrifice or perhaps to take an augury.

33. *compi camayuc* 'master weaver': both *compi* 'luxury-grade textile' and *camayuc* 'specialist' are Inca-style bureaucratic terms. *Camayuc* means more literally 'possessor of a specific force or energy [*camay*]', in this case the specific virtue of weaving.

34. Or 'for her'.

35. The manuscript contains cross-references that refer backward to earlier chapters by number, but the forward-pointing cross-references only use vague terms like 'later'. This suggests that the text, while it may be a fair copy, has not undergone a final editing.

CHAPTER 2

9

How Cuni Raya Vira Cocha Acted in His Own Age. The Life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[36] How Caui Llaca Gave Birth to His Child, and What Followed

<**margin**, crossed out, in Spanish:> [Note that it isn't known whether this was before or after Caruincho.]

A long, long time ago,[37] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha used to go around posing as a miserably poor and friendless[38] man, with his cloak and tunic all ripped and tattered. Some people who didn't recognize him for who he was yelled, "You poor lousy[39] wretch!"

Yet it was this man who fashioned all the villages. Just by speaking he made[40] the fields, and finished the terraces with walls of fine masonry. As for the irrigation canals, he channeled them out from their sources just by tossing down the flower of a reed called *pupuna*.[41]

After that, he went around performing all kinds of wonders, putting some of the local *huacas*[42] to shame[43] with his cleverness.

10 Once there was a female *huaca* named Caui Llaca.

Caui Llaca had always remained a virgin.

Since she was very beautiful, every one of the *huacas* and *villcas*[44] longed for her. "I've got to sleep with her!" they thought.

But she never consented.

11 Once this woman, who had never allowed any male to fondle[45] her, was weaving beneath a *lúcuma*[46] tree.

36. 'The life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' is in Quechua and seems not to be part of the inserted Spanish title.

37. A formula introducing a passage with reportive validation.

38. *huaccha* 'poor and friendless': literally, 'orphan'. Throughout the manuscript and in modern Quechua, *huaccha* means 'poor' not so much in the sense of lacking property, as in the sense of lacking social ties that enable one to be productive. It is also translated here as 'wretch', 'powerless', or 'a nobody'.

39. Lice have a peculiar double meaning; Marie-France Souffez (1986), relying partly on findings by Christopher Donnan and María Rostworowski, notes that in Mochica imagery of shamanism the lice growing on a shaman's body emblematize the many people her or his power can sustain. Latent wealth hidden in apparent squalor is a common attribute of Huarochirí protagonists.

40. 'Made' supplied.

41. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201) Avila identifies the object as "a hollow reed of the sort we call 'Castillian reed'." The *pupuna* is described in a marginal note to supplement I (sec. 454) as a pole with a noose for catching parrots.

42. *llacta huacacunactapas*: the phrase contrasts Cuni, a wandering nonlocal deity, with rooted local deities. Cults and toponyms with names reminiscent of Cuni's (Kon, Concón, etc.), appear to have been farflung over the coast (Rostworowski 1977).

43. *allcuchaspa*: literally, 'making dogs of them'. 'Dog' is consistently a term of abuse in the manuscript.

44. The exact sense of *villca* in the manuscript is uncertain but perhaps related to a contemporaneous Aymara word meaning both 'sun' and 'shrine' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 386). Internal evidence (chap. 31, sec. 417) suggests that in the Huarochirí context it means a person who has entered into the society of *huacas* by achievement or marriage. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209), the word *villca* is translated 'a very important *cacique*' (*cacique muy principal*; see also Zuidema 1973: 19). In Huánchor village in 1621, the founding hero Huánchor was mummified and housed underneath a *huaca* called Huanchorvilca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 264). Overall, the implication seems to be that a *villca* is a human being who partakes of a *huaca*'s status.

45. *chancaycochicuspa* 'fondle': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 94) glosses related verbs as meaning 'to stroke or touch lightly'. Similar verbs in modern Quechua usually sound sexually piquant.

46. "*Lucuma bifera*, an evergreen tree, eight to ten meters high, has spreading branches with entire, elliptic-ovate leaves. The globose to ovate fruits, seven to ten cm. in diameter, are green in color and have a bright orange to yellow, dry, mealy pulp. . . . This species is a native of Peru

Cuni Raya, in his cleverness,[47] turned himself into a bird and climbed into the *lúcuma*.

He put his semen into a fruit that had ripened there and dropped it next to the woman.

12 The woman swallowed it down delightedly.

Thus she got pregnant even though she remained untouched by man.

In her ninth month, virgin though she was, she gave birth just as other women give birth.

And so, too, for one year she nursed her child at her breast, wondering, "Whose child could this be?"

13 In the fullness of the year, when the youngster was crawling around on all fours, she summoned all the *huacas* and *villcas* to find out who was the child's father.

When the *huacas* heard the message, they were overjoyed, and they all came dressed in their best clothes, each saying to himself, "It's me!" "It's me she'll love!"

14 This gathering took place at Anchi Cocha,[48] where the woman lived.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The gathering was in Anchi Cocha.]

When all the *huacas* and *villcas* had taken their seats there, that woman addressed them:

"Behold, gentlemen and lords. Acknowledge this child. Which of you made me pregnant?"[49] One by one she asked each of them:

"Was it you?"

"Was it you?"

But nobody answered, "The child is mine."

15 The one called Cuni Raya Vira Cocha had taken his seat at the edge of the gathering. Since he looked like a friendless beggar sitting there, and since so many handsome men were present, she spurned him and didn't question him. She thought, "How could my baby possibly be the child of that beggar?"

Since no one had said, "The child is mine," she first warned the *huacas*, "If the baby is yours, it'll crawl up to you," and then addressed the child:

"Go, identify your father yourself!"

16 The child began at one end of the group and crawled along on all fours without climbing up on anyone, until reaching the other end, where its father sat.

On reaching him the baby instantly brightened up and climbed onto its father's knee.

When its mother saw this, she got all indignant: "Atatay, what a disgrace! How could I have given birth to the child of a beggar like that?" she said. And taking along only her child, she headed straight for the ocean.

17 And then, while all the local *huacas* stood in awe, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, "She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me."

"Sister Caui Llaca!" he called after her. "Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!" he said, and he stood there making his garment glitter.[50]

18 Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him.

"Because I've given birth to the child of such a ruffian, such a mangy beggar,[51] I'll just disappear into the ocean," she said. She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac,[52] out there

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and is cultivated for its edible fruit. . . . Specimens of whole and halved fruits of this species . . . are among the most common plant remains found in archaeological sites on the Peruvian coast. . . . *Lucumas* were an important part of the diet of the ancient Peruvians, and halved fruits are frequently found in *petacas* [pouches, hampers] with remains of other food plants. . . . The fruit is also a familiar motif in pre-Columbian art" (Towle 1961: 76–77).

47. *amauta cayninpi* 'in his cleverness': *amauta* is the term Garcilaso Inca popularized as the Inca title of learned men or counselors, but in connection with Cuni Raya it connotes an earthy or practical kind of cleverness.

48. Avila characterized Anchi Cocha as "a terribly cold and bad place halfway between Huarochirí and Chorillo" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201). Today, Anchicocha is the name of a bleak settlement, plateau, and peak 17 km southwest of Huarochirí, 3,700 m above sea level (IGM 1954). But in chapter 5 Anchi Cocha is the luxurious tropical home of a Yunca lord. *Anchini* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 27) meant 'to live amid delights, to spend splendidly on food, drink, clothing and gifts'. Perhaps the sense is that Anchi Cocha, a Lake of Earthly Delights in the pre-invasion age when all the land was warm and belonged to Yunca people, has (like other places mentioned in chap. 8) been transfigured by the power of later *huacas* from the cold heights.

49. *yumahuarcanquichic* 'made me pregnant': The root is *yumay* 'sperm'. The literal sense is 'inseminated me'.

50. If Cuni Raya is indeed a water deity, as Rostworowski (1977) persuasively argues, his glittering garment may be a metaphor for water sparkling in sunlight.

51. *cachcaçapap* 'of . . . such a mangy beggar': Avila glosses *cachca* as *sarna* (i.e., scabies or mange) in his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 202).

52. Pacha Camac, whose name means something like 'animator of space and time', was a coastal deity whose colossal shrine complex south of Lima (still visible at the

where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand.[53]

And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone.

19 Yet Cuni Raya Vira Cocha thought, "She'll see me anyway, she'll come to look at me!" He followed her at a distance, shouting and calling out to her over and over.

First, he met up with a condor.[54]

"Brother, where did you run into that woman?" he asked him.

"Right near here. Soon you'll find her," replied the condor.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[55] spoke to him and said,[56]

"You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos[57] and vicuñas,[58] of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too."

20 Farther on, he met up with a skunk.[59]

"Sister, where did you meet that woman?" he asked.

"You'll never find her now. She's gone way far away," replied the skunk.

When she said this, he cursed her very hatefully, saying,

"As for you, because of what you've just told me, you'll never go around in the daytime. You'll only walk at night, stinking disgustingly. People will be revolted by you."

21 Next he met up with a puma.[60]

"She just passed this way. She's still nearby. You'll soon reach her," the puma told him.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[61] spoke to him, saying,

"You'll be well beloved. You'll eat llamas, especially the llamas of people who bear guilt. Although people may kill you, they'll wear you on their heads during a great festival and set you to dancing.[62] And then when they bring you out annually they'll sacrifice a llama first and then set you to dancing."

22 Then he met up with a fox.[63]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," that fox told him.

When the fox said this, he replied,

"As for you, even when you skulk around keeping your distance, people will thoroughly despise you and say, 'That fox is a sneak thief.' When they kill you, they'll just carelessly throw you away and your skin, too."

<A **marginal** addition in Quechua begins here:>

23 Likewise he met up with a falcon.[64]

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mouth of the Lurín valley, next to the modern village of Pachacámac) attracted worship from remote prehistory and from regions far up the Pacific littoral. His cult is prominent in chapters 20, 22, and 23; see Patterson (1984[?]).

53. The two guano-whitened offshore islands visible from the Inca pyramid at Pachacámac. This landmark and Caui Llaca's lithification complete the trajectory of a story that follows the course of the Lurín River from its high headwaters (Anchicocha) to the Pacific. Cuni Raya's fertilizing action on Caui Llaca seems a mythic image of the river's life-giving effect on its valley.

54. "*Andean condor, Vultur gryphus* (*Cóndor*). Twice the size of a vulture. Black, head bare and yellowish-red, white collar, wing coverts whitish. Male with a flesh caruncle on the bill. Juvenile dusky brown without the collar and white wing patches. Seen flying high it differs from the turkey vulture only in its size and the diagnostic fingering of the feathers of the wingtips. Feeds principally on dead animals. Nests in the Andes; comes down regularly to the sea beaches and coastal hills with fog vegetation" (Koepcke 1970: 38).

55. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

56. Cuni Raya's speeches to the animals have witness validation, which is consistently used in performative (world-changing rather than world-describing) speech.

57. *Lama guanicoe*, a large wild camelid ranging from the Andes into lower semiarid lands (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 257).

58. *Lama vicugna*, a small wild camelid of the heights, prized for its excellent wool (Gade 1977: 113).

59. "*Zorrino chileno, Conepatus chinga* . . . its Quichua name used in Peru is *añas*" (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 153).

60. *Puma concolor* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 167–172).

61. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

62. *taquechisonque* 'they'll . . . set you to dancing': more literally, 'they will make you dance'; here as elsewhere in the manuscript, this means celebrants carry or wear the sacred preserved skin as they perform. In his *Tratado* Avila explained that the dancer placed the animal's preserved head over his own and let the attached skin fall over his body like a cape (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 203).

63. Probably the Peruvian fox, *Pseudalopex inca* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 125).

64. The region of the myth has seven species of hawks, harriers, and kites, and three of falcon. *Huaman* may refer to a species that, like some other birds prominent in the mythology (the condor and the swift), nests on the Andean heights but sometimes flies to the coast and thereby parallels the axis of movement in these myths. "*Aplomado falcon, Falco femoralis pichinchae* (*Halcón perdi-*

"She's just passed this way. You'll soon find her," said the falcon.

He replied,

"You're greatly blessed. When you eat, you'll eat the hummingbird first, then all the other birds. When people kill you, the man who has slain you will have you mourned with the sacrifice of a llama. And when they dance, they'll put you on their heads so you can sit there shining with beauty."

24 And then he met up with some parakeets.[65]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," the parakeets told him.

"As for you, you'll travel around shrieking raucously," replied Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[66] "Although you may say, 'I'll spoil your crops!' when people hear your screaming they'll chase you away at once. You'll live in great misery amidst the hatred of humans."

<The **marginal** addition ends here.>

And so he traveled on. Whenever he met anyone who gave him good news, he conferred on him a good fortune. But he went along viciously cursing those who gave him bad news.

25 When he reached the seashore,

<crossed out in original MS:> [he went straight over it. Today people say, "He was headed for Castile," but in the old days people said, "He went to another land."][67]

he turned back toward Pacha Camac.

He arrived at the place where Pacha Camac's two daughters lived, guarded by a snake.

Just before this, the two girls' mother had gone into the deep sea to visit Caui Llaca. Her name was Urpay Huachac.

While Urpay Huachac was away, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduced[68] one girl, her older daughter.

When he sought to sleep with the other sister, she turned into a dove[69] and darted away.

That's why her mother's name means 'Gives Birth to Doves'.

26 At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.

Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.[70]

It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean, saying, "For what did she go off and visit Caui Llaca the woman of the ocean depths?"

Ever since then, fish have filled the sea.

27 Then Cuni Raya Vira Cocha fled along the seashore.

When Urpay Huachac's daughters told her how he'd seduced them, she got furious and chased him.

As she followed him, calling him again and again, he waited for her and said, "Yes?"

"Cuni, I'm just going to remove your lice," she said, and she picked them off.

28 While she picked his lice, she caused a huge abyss

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guero). Larger than the Kestrel, with a longer tail. Lead-colored above, superciliary line cinnamon; below buffy cinnamon, tail and flanks blackish with horizontal white stripes. Generally seen in our region above 2000 m., but occasionally it comes down to the coastal area. Feeds largely on birds to the size of a tinamou" (Koepcke 1970: 42). The hummingbird allotted to the falcon as food below might represent any or all of the six Lima Department hummingbird species (Koepcke 1970: 79–80).

65. *horitocunahuan* 'with some parakeets': *horito* in chapter 16 (sec. 207) is equated to the poorly identified bird *caqui* (toucan?), but in chapter 1 (sec. 5) it is distinguished from it. Here it clearly refers to a crop pest. The likeliest identification is

> Mountain parakeet, *Bolborhynchus a. aurifrons* (*Psilopsiagon a. aurifrons*) (*Perico cordillerano*). The only native wild parakeet of our coastal region. Small, with a very long tail; F. and J. completely green; M. with the forehead, face, and underparts yellowish. Common on the steppes and shrubby places of the coast and Andean slopes; also gathers in cultivated fields, tree plantations, gardens, and parks of Lima. During the winter it is abundant on the coastal hills and in wooded and shrubby places with fog vegetation, especially at Lachay.

It could also be Andean parakeet, *Bolborhynchus andinicolus* (*B. orbygnesius*) (*Perico Andino*), found only above 1500 m., or (less probably, because of its rarity) the Scarlet-fronted parakeet, *Aratinga wagleri frontata* (*Cotorra de Wagler*; Koepcke 1970: 74).

66. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

67. *huc pachamansi* could also be read 'another world'. The crossed-out version matches Vira Cocha myths circulated in the highlands and better known among Spaniards (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

68. Or perhaps raped her; *puñochircan*, more literally, 'he made her sleep', could mean either. We chose 'seduce' because it is Gonçález Holguín's preferred gloss ([1608] 1952: 296) and because deception, not violence, is Cuni Raya's consistent mode of action.

69. Of nine species of doves known in the region, three are common near the seashore: the white-winged dove (*Zenaida asiatica meloda*), the eared dove (*Zenaidura auriculata hypoleuca*), and the croaking ground dove (*Columbina cruziana*) (Koepcke 1970: 69–71).

70. Probably an allusion to pisciculture, perhaps in excavated tanks (Espinoza Soriano 1974: 19; Rostworowski 1981: 30–31).

to open up next to him, thinking to herself, "I'll knock Cuni Raya down into it."

But Cuni Raya in his cleverness realized this; just by saying, "Sister, I've got to go off for a moment to relieve myself,"[71] he made his getaway to these villages.

He traveled around this area for a long, long time, tricking lots of local *huaca*s and people, too. <**marginal note**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b. This *huaca*'s end will be told below.]

71. The verb in the original, from the root *ysmay*, is merely plainspoken. But the plain translation 'to shit' sounds jarringly obscene.

CHAPTER 3

What Happened to the Indians in Ancient Times When the Ocean Overflowed

Now we'll return to what is said of very early people.

The story goes like this.[72]

In ancient times, this world wanted to come to an end.[73]

A llama buck, aware[74] that the ocean was about to overflow, was behaving like somebody who's deep in sadness. Even though its <crossed out:> [father] owner let it rest in a patch of excellent pasture, it cried and said, "In, in," and wouldn't eat.

30 The llama's <crossed out:> [father] owner got really angry, and he threw the cob from some maize he had just eaten at the llama.

"Eat, dog! This is some fine grass I'm letting you rest in!" he said.

Then that llama began speaking like a human being.

"You simpleton, whatever could you be thinking about? Soon, in five days, the ocean will overflow. It's a certainty. And the whole world will come to an end," it said.

31 The man got good and scared. "What's going to happen to us? Where can we go to save ourselves?" he said.

The llama replied, "Let's go to Villca Coto mountain.[75]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is a mountain that is between Huanri[76] and Surco.][77]

There we'll be saved. Take along five days' food for yourself."

So the man went out from there in a great hurry, and himself carried both the llama buck and its load.

32 When they arrived at Villca Coto mountain, all sorts of animals had already filled it up: pumas, foxes, guanacos, condors, all kinds of animals in great numbers.

And as soon as that man had arrived there, the ocean overflowed.

They stayed there huddling tightly together.

33 The waters covered all those mountains and it was only Villca Coto mountain, or rather its very peak, that was not covered by the water.

Water soaked the fox's tail.

That's how it turned black.

Five days later, the waters descended and began to dry up.

34 The drying waters caused the ocean to retreat all the way down again and exterminate all the people.

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72. Text shifts at this point from witness to reportive validation.

73. *cay pachas puchocayta munarcan* 'this world wanted to come to an end': *puchocay* means the ending of something that has an intrinsic conclusion (as, for example, the finishing of a task), not a truncation or accidental end (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 293).

74. The prescience of llamas: see chapter 18 (secs. 221–222), on llama divination, where the animal's body is credited with containing signs of the future.

75. A mountain today called by this name exists 12 km northwest of San Damián, between modern Huanre and Surco (Treacy 1984: 18). Villca Coto may be the same *huaca* mentioned in chapter 23 (sec. 301), the most beautiful one at the Inca court in Cuzco.

76. Modern Huanre is 5 km south of San Bartolomé (IGM 1970–1971).

77. The modern (former *reducción*) town of San Gerónimo de Surco is 17 km north-northwest of San Damián at 2,300 m above sea level, sheltered in the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Afterward, that man began to multiply once more.

That's the reason there are people until today.

Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the Flood.[78]

But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them.

78. This sentence has *-mi* eyewitness validation.

CHAPTER 4

35

How the Sun Disappeared for Five Days. In What Follows We Shall Tell a Story about the Death of the Sun

In ancient times[79] the sun died.[80]

Because of his death it was night for five days.

Rocks banged against each other.

Mortars and grinding stones began to eat people.

Buck llamas started to drive men.[81]

Here's what we Christians think about it:[82] We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.[83]

Maybe that's what it was.

79. This formula introduces a passage with reportive validation.

80. Like various New World mythologies, Andean myths both ancient and modern include a motif of successive deaths and replacements of suns. Juan Ossio believes this chapter and Guaman Poma's scheme of "ages" are related to Montesinos' mid-seventeenth-century account of an Andean myth about successive suns equated to millennia (Ossio 1973: 188). Many modern Andeans interpret precolumbian structures as the houses of people who lived before the current sun arose.

81. The myth of the revolt of the objects, of which this appears to be a summary, also appears in a fuller Mayan version that, like this one, follows on a flood incident (Tedlock 1985: 84–86). Hocquenghem (1987: 142–143) and Jeffrey Quilter (personal communication) point out analogues in Mochica ceramic imagery from the Peruvian north coast.

82. This sentence has witness validation.

83. Luke 23: 44–45: "It was now about the sixth hour and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour, for the sun stopped shining."

CHAPTER 5

How in Ancient Times Paria Caca Appeared on a Mountain Named Condor Coto in the Form of[84] Five Eggs, and What Followed. Here Will Begin the Account of Paria Caca's Emergence[85]

In the four preceding chapters we have already recounted the lives lived in ancient times.

Nevertheless, we don't know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged[86] from.

37 These people, the ones who lived in that era, used to spend their lives warring on each other and conquering each other. For their leaders, they recognized only the strong and the rich.[87]

We speak of them as the Purum Runa, 'people of desolation'.[88]

38 It was at this time that the one called Paria Caca was born in the form of five eggs on Condor Coto mountain.[89]

A certain man, and a poor friendless one at that, was the first to see and know the fact of his birth; he was called Huatya Curi, but was also known as Paria Caca's son.

Now we'll speak of this discovery of his, and of the many wonders[90] he performed.[91]

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84. 'In the Form of' supplied.

85. The last part of the title here is in Quechua and does not form part of the Spanish insertion.

86. *pacarimuscancunactam* 'the origins' and *pacarimurcan* 'they emerged' both derive from a single root meaning literally 'to dawn' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 266–267; see also preface, sec. 2). An Andean group's 'dawning' or emergence from inside earth to outer daylight is its origin myth and primordial title to a place on the landscape that engendered it.

87. *rico* 'rich': the Spanish word is sometimes used in this chapter (secs. 46, 60) as the opposite of *huaccha* 'friendless, poor'. *Rico* seemingly implies wealth in possessions (chap. 19, sec. 235) rather than the rich social and superhuman connectedness suggested by Quechua *capac* (opposite of *huaccha* in sec. 49). Its use here may reflect the ascendancy of economic concepts connected with the Spanish market system.

88. The age here mythologized seems to be the Late Intermediate period of the archaeologists, that is, the centuries preceding Inca unification and characterized by a multitude of warring polities. *Purum* (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 297) covers a spectrum of meanings from the agricultural ('sterile lands, lands abandoned from cultivation') to the political ('unconquered people, enemies'). 'Desolation' is chosen to evoke the linkage between warfare and infertility.

The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also gave the name "Purun Runa" to an ancient age of warfare ([1615] 1980: 1:47–50).

89. Condor Coto may be the peak called Condorcoto today, only 14 km southwest of Huarochirí, that is, nowhere near Paria Caca mountain but close to Anchi Cocha (IGM 1970–1971). The fact that Paria Caca's emergence takes place within what was seen as old Yunca country may suggest that the myth-tellers saw themselves as a foreign minority group enclaved and formerly oppressed in Yunca country.

Condor Coto would mean 'Condor mountain' in Aymara (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 53) or Quechua (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 70).

90. *ahca misterio* 'many wonders': in Spanish, a *misterio*, according to Cobarruvias ([1611] n.d.: 807) meant any sacred thing that was to be kept hidden from profane view. Basic Christian doctrines were called *misterios* in the Quechua sermon books from which the clergy were required to teach natives (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 363–458). The usage of *misterio* implicitly compares the secret meaning of Paria Caca's action, revealed to Huatya Curi, to the meanings of Christian revelation.

91. End of an introductory passage with witness vali-

39 They say[92] that fellow called Huatya Curi subsisted at the time just by baking potatoes in earth pits,[93] eating the way a poor man does,[94] and people named him the "Baked Potato Gleaner."

At that time there was another man named Tamta Ñamca,[95] a very rich and powerful lord. <**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b. Tamta Ñamca]

Both his own house and all his other houses[96] looked like *cassa* and *cancho* feather-weavings, for they were thatched with wings of birds.[97] His llamas were yellow llamas, red and blue llamas; he owned llamas of every hue.
<**margin**:> [Tamta Ñamca]

40 Seeing that this man lived so well, people who came from all the villages paid him homage and worshiped him.

For his part, he pretended to be very wise and spent his life deceiving a whole lot of people with the little that he really knew.

Then this man called Tamta Ñamca, who pretended to be so wise, even to be a god,[98] contracted a really horrible disease.

41 His illness went on for a great many years, and in time people talked. "How can a man who knows so much, who's so powerful, be so sick?" they said.

Just like the Spaniards who, on such occasions, summon experts and doctors, Tamta Ñamca, hoping to recover, summoned all sorts of shamans and wise men.[99]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The wise men gathered.]

But no one at all could diagnose that disease of his.

42 Just then Huatya Curi was coming from the vicinity of Ura Cocha,[100] and he went to sleep on the mountain by which we descend to Sieneguella.[101]

(Today this mountain is called Latab Zaco.)

While he was sleeping, a fox who'd come from down below and one who'd come from up above[102] met face to face[103] there. One fox asked the other, "Brother, how are things in Upper Villca?"

43 "What's good is good. But a lord in Anchi Cocha,

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dation. The editor/redactor is not always explicitly skeptical of the content of traditional narration.

92. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

93. *huatya*, potatoes baked in an earth pit, were and are characteristic food of high-altitude peasants who cook outdoor meals while harvesting tubers on the high slopes.

94. 'The way a poor man does': Avila in his *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 208–209) adds a comment that eating *huatya* (earth-baked potatoes) was a mark of poverty. Avila may, however, have missed part of the name's meaning, namely, the part connected with its second element *Curi*. It may come from "*ccorini* to gather and collect small or scattered things." A derived verb means 'to glean through the harvested fields or pick up spilled or abandoned things' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 69). A person reduced to picking through other people's abandoned barbecue pits is dispossessed in the highest degree, lacking even subsistence rights and in this sense eats 'the way a poor man does'.

95. This man's name contains the word *tamta* 'feather ruff' (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation). Featherwork is the symbol of his wealth and glory; his house is thatched with feathers. Andean featherwork found in tombs is made from tropical birds and probably symbolizes the biotic plenty of warm *yunca* lands.

96. That is, the houses for his wives, servitors, and so forth.

97. The image seems to be that of a house thatched with the brilliantly colored feather-weavings sometimes found in prehispanic elite burials. Avila says in his *Tratado* that the roof was of yellow and red feathers (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

98. *dios*: the Spanish word 'god', perhaps used in a Greco-Roman rather than Christian sense.

99. *amautacunacta doctorcunacta . . . yachaccunacta sauiocunacta* 'experts and doctors . . . shamans and wise men': the teller draws an implicit contrast between two pairs of terms, each consisting of a Quechua and a Spanish word: *amauta : doctor :: yachac : sauio*. The suggestion seems to be that a doctor, a bureaucratically licensed expert, can be compared with an *amauta*, and a *sauio* or wise man with a *yachac*. *Yachac* (literally, 'knower') today means a shaman.

100. *ura cochañicmanta* 'from the vicinity of Ura Cocha' is more literally 'from someplace around [the?] lower lake'. The 'lower lake' is probably the Pacific Ocean (called *mama cocha* 'Mother Lake' today). This term recurs in chapter 8 (sec. 103) and chapter 22 (sec. 278).

101. Modern Cieneguilla is in the low end of the Lurín valley 62 km west of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971), close to the ocean and to Lima.

102. In his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 209) Avila explains that this means one fox came down from Anchi Cocha and the other up from the Pacific.

103. *chaypi pactalla tincuspas* 'face to face' understates the Quechua's emphasis on symmetry. A fuller though ungainly gloss would be 'symmetrically opposing each other there in an exact fit'. The verb *tincuy* carries a complex set of associations with the idea of opposed parts forming a complementary totality (Platt [1978] 1986).

a *villca* as a matter of fact, one who claims to know a whole lot, to be a god himself, is terribly ill. All the wise men who found their way to him are wondering, 'Why's he so ill?' No one can identify his sickness. But his disease is this: while his wife was toasting maize, a grain of *muro*[104] maize popped from the griddle and got into her private part.[105]

44 "She picked it out and served it to a man to eat. Because of having served it, she became a sinner in relation to the man who ate it." (Nowadays they reckon that act tantamount to being an adulteress.)[106]

"As a result of this fault," he told the fox who'd come from down below, "a snake[107] has made its dwelling on top of that magnificent house and is eating them up. What's more, a toad, a two-headed one, lives under their grinding stone. And nobody is aware of these devouring animals."

45 Then he asked, "And how are people doing in Lower Villca, brother?"

The other fox answered similarly, saying, "There's a woman, the offspring of a great lord and a *villca*, who almost died because of a penis."[108]

(But the story leading up to the woman's recovery is very long.[109] Later on we'll write about it. For now, we'll return to the first story.)

46 As the foxes were telling each other these tidings, the man called Huatya Curi heard that the great lord who pretended to be a god was ill.

This great man had two daughters.

He had joined the elder daughter to a fellow *ayllu* member[110] who was very rich.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [He married her.][111]

The poor man called Huatya Curi came to that lord while he was still ill.

47 When he arrived, he went around asking surreptitiously, "Isn't someone sick in this town?"

"It's my father who's sick," replied the younger daughter.

Huatya Curi answered, "Let's get together. For your sake I'll cure your father."

<crossed out:>(We don't know this young woman's name.)[112]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [But later on they called her Chaupi Ñamca.][113]

The young woman didn't agree right away.

48 She told her father, "Father, there's a poor man here. He came and said to me, 'I'll cure your father.'"

All the wise men who were sitting there burst into laughter when they heard these words, and said, "If we ourselves can't cure him, how can this nobody make him well?"

But that lord wanted a cure so badly that he called for Huatya Curi. "Let him come, never mind what sort of man he is," he said.

49 When the great lord summoned him, Huatya Curi entered and said, "Father, if you want to get well, I'll make you well. But you have to give me your daughter."

Overjoyed, Tamta Ñamca replied, "Very well then!"

But when his older daughter's husband heard this proposition he flew into a rage. "How dare he join her, the sister-in-law of such a powerful[114] man as me, to a nobody like that?"

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104. *muro*: could mean 'particolored, spotted' (the generic meaning of *muro*) but may also be a local form of the term *muruchu* 'maize of the coastal flatlands, very hard' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 252).

105. *pincayninmanmi*: literally, 'into her shame'. Shame-oriented terms from Quechua lexicon but reflecting Christian mentality are common in most but not all the sexually colored passages and are sometimes written in over scratched-out plainspoken Quechua terms.

106. The speaker adds this remark as if aware that his listeners would find the classification of the mistake as adultery puzzling. Perhaps the word *huachuc* 'adulterer' formerly covered a gamut of sexual transgressions besides adultery proper. Avila deviates from this version in saying the woman actually committed adultery with the man (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

107. *huc machachuay* 'a snake': in sec. 50 the snakes are clearly said to be two, but the discrepancy may only be apparent since the phrase with *huc* could mean 'some snakes'.

108. This alludes to a myth that would be the symmetrical counterpart (*tinkuy*; see chap. 5, sec. 43) of the first fox's story: a false nobleman ill from a vagina; a true noblewoman ill from a penis. Taylor (1987b: 92) detects an interlineation translatable as 'daughter of that great lord' (i.e., of Tamta Ñamca). If so, the woman made ill by a penis might be Chaupi Ñamca.

109. Chapter 10 (sec. 146) may be a truncated version of this myth. This aside has the witness validation typical of the editor or redactor's comments.

110. *ayllonhuantac* 'to a fellow *ayllu* member': *ayllu* endogamy is common in Andean societies.

111. *casarachircan* 'he married her': the verb root is a Spanish one, clarifying the perhaps unfamiliar sense of *tinquichircan* 'he joined [her]' in body of text.

112. This aside has witness validation.

113. I.e., in chapter 10 (sec. 142).

114. 'Powerful' is a weak rendering of *camac*, agentive

50 Later on we'll tell about this angry man's struggle with Huatya Curi.

But for now we'll return to the cure the poor man called Huatya Curi effected.

Huatya Curi began his cure by saying, "Father, your wife is an adulteress. Because she's an adulteress, a sinner, she's made you ill. As for what's eating you,[115] it's the two snakes that dwell on top of this magnificent house of yours. And there's a toad, too, a two-headed one, that lives under your grinding stone.

51 "Now we'll kill them all. Then you'll get well. After you recover, you must worship my father above all things. He'll be born tomorrow or the day after. And as for you, you're not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn't be sick."

The rich man was astonished when Huatya Curi said this.

52 And when Huatya Curi said, "Now I'll take apart this gorgeous house of his," he became distraught.

And his wife started yelling, "This nobody, this crook, is slandering me! I'm no adulteress!"

53 Nonetheless the sick man wanted his health back very badly, and he let his house be dismantled.

Then Huatya Curi removed the two snakes and killed them. Next he clearly explained the facts to the rich man's wife: just how a grain of *muro* maize had popped out and gotten in her private part, and how she, after picking it out, had served it to a man.

After that, the woman confessed everything. "It's all true," she said.

54 Next he had the grinding stone lifted.

A toad, a two-headed one, came out from under it and fled to Anchi Cocha ravine.

It exists in a spring there to this day.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask the name of this spring and where it is.]

When people come to that spring, it either makes them disappear or else drives them crazy.

55 Once Huatya Curi finished all these deeds <crossed out in original:> [her[116] father] the ailing man got well.

After Tamta Ñamca's recovery, on the day that had been foretold, Huatya Curi went for the first time to Condor Coto mountain.

It was there that the one called Paria Caca dwelled in the form of five eggs.[117]

All around him a wind rose up and began to blow.

In earlier times no wind had been observed.

56 Just before he went there on the appointed day, the man who'd recovered his health gave him his unmarried daughter.

While the two of them were traveling in the vicinity of that mountain they sinned together.[118]

57 As soon as that elder brother-in-law heard they'd sinned together he set out to compete against Huatya Curi.

"I'll bring deep shame on that beggarman," he muttered.

And so one day that man challenged him, saying, "Brother, let's have it out in a contest, whatever kind. How dare a nobody like you marry the sister-in-law of a powerful man like me?"

That poor man agreed, and went to inform his father Paria Caca,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, <he went> to one of the above-mentioned eggs that this man had for a father.]
and said, "This is how he spoke to me."

"Very well then. Whatever he tells you, come to me right away," his father replied.

58 The contest between them was like this.

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form of the key verb *camay* discussed in the introduction and note 31 in chapter 1 (sec. 7). A *camac* man would be one who can impart his own power to others and impose his will.

115. *camta micucri* 'as for what's eating you': the illness may be leishmaniasis, an infectious disease often pictured in Mochica ceramics, which eats away at the soft tissues of the nose and lip.

116. *yayanca* 'her [or his] father' is the crossed-out word; it might refer to the father of Huatya Curi's young woman or of her sister (i.e., to Tamta Ñamca).

117. *runto* 'egg': can also mean 'hailstone' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 321), a relevant association because Paria Caca regularly acts in the form of a storm.

118. *hochallicorcan* 'they sinned together': *hochalliy*, like *pincay* 'private part' (literally, 'shame'), is a shame-oriented term of Quechua lexicon and Christian mentality. The verb root employed seems to have meant a ceremonial debt or obligation (it is still used in this sense), but Christian missionaries chose it as the translation for 'sin'.

One day the challenger said, "Let's have a drinking and dancing contest."

So that poor man Huatya Curi went to inform his father.

His father Paria Caca advised him, "Go to that mountain over there. There you'll pretend to be a guanaco and lie down as if dead. Early in the morning a fox with his skunk wife will come there to see me.

59 "They'll bring their maize beer in a small long-necked jar[119] and they'll also bring along their drum. When they spot you, a dead guanaco, they'll set their things on the ground, and as soon as the fox puts down his panpipes, they'll start to eat you. Then turn back into a man, scream so loud it hurts their ears, and run away. When they scamper off forgetting their possessions, you'll take them and go to the contest."

60 The poor man did as he was told.

The rich man was the first to dance in the contest.

His wives, who numbered almost two hundred, danced along with him, and after they were done the poor man entered by himself, with only his wife, just the two of them.

As they entered through the doorway, as they danced to the skunk's drum he'd brought along, the earth of that whole region quaked.[120]

With this, he beat them all.

61 Next, they began drinking.

Huatya Curi went with just his wife to sit at the head of the group,[121] exactly as guests do until today.

And all of those people who were sitting there served him drink after drink without giving him a break.

Even though he drank every bit of it he sat there with no problem.

62 Then it was his turn. He began to serve the maize beer he'd brought in that little long-necked jar, and everybody ridiculed him. "How could he possibly fill so many people from such a tiny jar?" they said.

But when he began to serve, starting from the head of the gathering, they dropped down drunk in no time, one after another.

63 The next day, since Huatya Curi had won, the other man wanted a different contest.

This contest was all about outdoing each other in splendid costumes decorated with the exquisite feather-weavings called *cassa* and *cancho*.[122]

So Huatya Curi again went to his father.

His father gave him a snow garment.

<**margin**:> [or *riti*][123]

In that garment he dazzled[124] all the people's eyes and won the contest.

64 Then the challenger said, "Let's compete in putting on puma skins."

That man wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had.[125]

The poor man, following his father's advice, went to a spring early in the morning and brought back a red puma skin.

He danced. And while he was dancing in that red puma, a rainbow appeared in the sky, like the rainbow that appears in the sky today.

65 Next the rich man wanted to compete at house-building.

Since that man had access to many people, he almost finished a large house in a single day.

The poor man just laid down the foundations and then strolled around all day long with his wife.

That night all kinds of birds, snakes, and other animals of the land walled the house.

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119. *huchoylla porongo* 'small long-necked jar' sounds like the aryballoid form jars made in various sizes for carrying maize beer. They have been found in virtually all Inca-influenced archaeological sites.

120. Avila spells out the point in his *Tratado*: not just the people but "the whole earth danced to the beat of its sound" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 211).

121. The seating of ceremonial guests in rank order, recurrent in many parts of the text, can be seen today in various parts of the Andes. Sponsors of the ceremony sit on stools at the head places, while guests sit in descending order of prestige and strangers or mendicants at the opposite extreme.

122. That is, the same feather-weavings that adorned Tamta Ñamca's roof (chap. 5, sec. 39).

123. *riti*: another Quechua word for snow.

124. *rupachispa* 'dazzled': the word is derived from a root meaning 'to burn' and may mean that his snow garment dazzled them with snowblindness. It is different from *tutayachic* 'which . . . dazzles' (chap. 20, sec. 250). The latter literally means 'benights'.

125. See note 62. In chapter 10 (sec. 150) we learn that owners of llama herds symbolized their prosperity by wearing puma skins; like pumas, they lived off llamas. Since the challenger is said to be rich, he presumably had many herds and therefore many puma skins. Zuidema (1985: 225) suggests that wearing puma skins in ceremony signified sovereignty over a body politic.

The next day, seeing it already finished, the challenger was awestruck.

66 Likewise Huatya Curi won at roofing the house. All the guanacos and vicuñas brought his thatching straw.

As for the other man, while his materials were being transported on llamas, Huatya Curi availed himself[126] of a bobcat's[127] help. He lay in ambush for them by a cliff, stampeded them, and destroyed them by making them fall over it.

By this trick[128] he won again.

67 After winning all these contests, the poor man spoke just as his father had advised: "Brother, we've competed so many times now, always agreeing to your rules. Now you agree to my rules."

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

Huatya Curi said, "Now, with blue tunics! And let our breechclouts be of white cotton! That's how we'll dance!"

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

68 The rich man, since he'd danced first from the beginning <crossed out in original:> [danced], went ahead and danced first.

As he was dancing, Huatya Curi charged down on him from outside screaming. That man panicked, turned into a brocket deer,[129] and ran away.

And his wife followed him, saying, "I'll die with my own old man!"[130]

69 Then that poor man flew into a rage: "Go, idiot! You two have victimized me so much, I'll kill you!" he said, and he chased after them.

Chasing them, he caught the wife on the road to Anchi Cocha and stood her upside down on her head. "People coming from up above and those coming from down below will gape at your private parts as they pass by," he said.

And right then and there she turned to stone[131] instantly.

70 This stone, just like a woman's legs with thighs and a vagina,[132] stands there until today.

Even now people put coca on top of it when they undertake something.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask why they put this coca.]

But the man who'd turned into a brocket deer climbed up a mountain and disappeared.

71 (Now, in ancient times, brocket deer used to eat human beings.[133]

Later on, when brocket deer were very numerous, they danced, ritually chanting, "How shall we eat people?"

Then one of their little fawns made a mistake and said, "How shall people eat us?"

When the brocket deer heard this they scattered.

From then on brocket deer became food for humans.)

72 After Huatya Curi finished all these deeds, Paria Caca flew forth from the five eggs in the shape of five falcons.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [The birth of Paria Caca.]

These five falcons turned into humans and they began to roam around.

And at that time, hearing all about the things people had done, about how that man called Tamta Ñamca had said, "I am a god," and about how the man had himself worshiped, Paria Caca went into a rage over all these sins of theirs. Rising up as rain, he flushed them all away to the ocean, together

126. *mincaspa* 'availed himself': more literally, he 'contracted' the bobcat's help (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 240). While his brother-in-law had access to the labor of many people and domesticated animals (llamas), Huatya Curi has access, thanks to Paria Caca's help, to creatures of the wild (skunk, fox, guanaco, bobcat, etc.).

127. *oscullo* 'bobcat': a cat of the genus *Oncifelis*, possibly *Oncifelis geoffroyi* or *Oncifelis salinarum* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 161).

128. 'Trick' supplied.

129. *lloychu* 'brocket deer': *Mazama simplicicornis*. A small species widespread in the southern half of South America, up to 65 cm tall, found especially in "savannas with trees and forest edges on the flatlands, as well as on the heights" (Renard-Casevitz: 1979: 24–25).

130. *cosallayhuantac* 'with my own old man': to convey the affectionate tone that *-lla* imparts to *cosa* 'husband'.

131. Mythic figures commonly lithify (i.e., become local *huacas* consisting of geological features) when they complete their role in the mythic drama.

132. *racayoc* 'with a vagina': unlike many sexual words in the manuscript, this is a plain Andean one without Christian-style euphemism.

133. Interpolated myth-within-a-myth: how brocket deer became human food. The myth echoes a theme of chapters 1 and 27: the way overpopulation caused hunger in ancient times. The brocket deer, like ancient people, overreproduced until getting food became a problem. The conditions of their life had to be reversed. They became subject to individual death so that they could have collective life. The same happens to humans in chapter 27.

with all their houses and their llamas, sparing not a single one.

73 At that time, too, there was something called the Pullao, which bridged like an arch Llantapa mountain[134] and another mountain called Vichoca.[135]

That thing called the Pullao was a gigantic tree.

Monkeys, toucans, and birds of all colors used to live on it.

These animals, too, all of their kind, he swept to the sea.

After he finished these feats, Paria Caca ascended to the place that's known today as Upper Paria Caca.

In the next chapter we'll speak about his ascension.[136]

134. Llantapa mountain today is 14 km southwest of Llacsa Tambo (if the latter is modern Llaquistambo) (IGM 1970–1971).

135. Modern Guichuca peak, 4,000 m above sea level, 14 km southwest of Llantapa (IGM 1970–1971). This colossal bridge over the Lurín river canyon must have been the mythic portal of the middle and lower *yunca* lands.

136. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 6

74 # How Paria Caca Was Born as Five Falcons and Then Turned into Persons, and How, Already Victorious over All the Yunca of Anchi Cocha, He Began to Walk toward Paria Caca Mountain, and What Happened along the Way

Once Paria Caca had become human and was full grown, he began to search for his enemy.

His enemy's name was Huallallo Caruincho, the Man Eater, the Man Drinker.[137]

Later on we'll describe him together with his battles.[138]

In fact we already did talk in the first chapter about Huallallo Caruincho's life, how he ate people, and all his deeds.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the first chapter]

75 Now we'll tell about the things he did in Huaro Cheri and all around there.

The story goes like this.

When Paria Caca was already a full-grown person, he went to Huallallo Caruincho's dwelling, to the place called Upper Paria Caca.

76 In the valley that lies below Huaro Cheri there once was a village named Huauqui Usa, a village of the Yunca.

On that occasion the villagers[139] were celebrating an important festival. They drank, and drank hard.

While they were drinking, Paria Caca arrived at the village. He sat down at the end of the banquet as he arrived, just like a friendless stranger.

77 Not a single one of the villagers offered him a drink while he sat there. He was there all day long. Finally a woman, who was also a native of that village, exclaimed,

"Oh, no! How come no one is offering this poor fellow a drink?"

She brought over some maize beer in a large white gourd and gave it to him.

78 "Sister," Paria Caca said to that woman, "it's a lucky thing for you that you offered me this beer. Five days from now, you'll see something awful happen in this village. So take care not to be in the village that day. Back off far away. Otherwise I might kill both you and your children by mistake. These people have made me damn mad!"

And he added, "As for these people, don't let them hear even a single word about it. If you let them hear anything, I might kill you, too."

79 Five days later the woman, together with her children and her brothers, did go away from that village.

But the people of the village went right on drinking without a care.

Then Paria Caca climbed the mountain that overlooks Huaro Cheri.

(That mountain is called Matao Coto now.

Farther down there's another mountain called Puypu Huana, the one we descend on our way from here to Huaro Cheri. These are the names of those mountains.)[140]

80 On the mountain Paria Caca started a torrential rainstorm.

137. The chapter opens with two sentences in reportive validation.

138. This and the following three sentences form an explanatory aside with witness validation.

139. *llactayoc runacunaca* 'villagers', more literally, 'the village-owning people' (i.e., the aborigines who lived in union with the place and its deities before Paria Caca and his devotees overran them).

140. The whole parenthesis has witness validation.

Rising up as yellow hail and red hail,[141] he washed all those people away to the ocean and didn't spare a single one.

At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide[142] and shaped the high slopes and the valleys of Huaro Cheri.

When Paria Caca finished all these things, he didn't explain them to the rest of the aboriginal Yunca people, who'd <crossed out:> [quite clearly] seen it all happen without knowing or understanding what it meant, but instead headed to the fields of the Cupara, which are across the river. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.]

81 The native people of Cupara village survived just by channeling some water from a spring to their fields, and they were suffering greatly for lack of water at that time.

(This spring flowed from a tall mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.[143]

This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)

At that time, they say,[144] it was just a big lake.

They used to irrigate their fields by channeling the water downhill to fill some small reservoirs.

82 In those days there was a native woman of that village named Chuqui Suso, a really beautiful woman.

This woman was weeping while she irrigated her maize plants because they were drying out so badly, and because her water supply was so very scarce.

When Paria Caca saw this, he obstructed the mouth of her little pond[145] with his cloak.

83 The woman started to cry even more bitterly when she saw him do that.

"Sister, why are you crying so hard?" Paria Caca asked her.

"Sir, this little maize field of mine is drying up on me for lack of water!" she replied.

"Don't worry about it," Paria Caca said to her. "I'll make water flow from this pond of yours, plenty of water. But first, let me sleep with you."

84 "Get the water flowing first," she retorted. "When my field is watered, then by all means let's sleep together."

"Fine!" said Paria Caca, and released an ample amount of water.

Overjoyed, the woman thoroughly watered all her fields.

After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, "Let's sleep together."

"Not right now," she replied. "Let's sleep together tomorrow or the day after."

Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, "I wish I could sleep with her right now!" and promised her all kinds of things.

"I'll fix this field of yours up with a water source direct from the river,"[146] he said.

85 "Do that first, and then we'll sleep together," the woman replied.

"All right," Paria Caca said. He widened an irrigation canal that had belonged to the Yunca people, a little ditch that descended long ago from the ravine called Coco Challa to the small hill overlooking San Lorenzo. He extended this canal down as far as the fields of Lower Cupara.[147]

86 Pumas, foxes, snakes, and all kinds of birds cleaned and fixed that canal.

Pumas, jaguars, and all kinds of animals[148] vied with each other to improve it, saying, "Who'll be the leader when we lay out the watercourse?"[149]

141. In the *Tratado* Avila mentions that Huarochirí people interpreted a local geological formation, seemingly a steep alluvial fan of yellowish-white stones, as the remnant of Paria Caca's hail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 215).

142. *yaco lloclla purispas* 'waters gushed down in a mudslide': a typical west Andean disaster then and now. Repeatedly in the manuscript the rainy power of the heights destroys the dry Yunca people by washing them out. The topography of western Peru, cut by many water-eroded canyons, was read as the record of such mythic cataclysms.

143. Modern San Lorenzo de Quinti, 2 km east of Huarochirí at 2,550 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). This and the following sentence form an aside with witness validation.

144. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation.

145. *cochap siminta* 'the mouth of her . . . pond': a literal translation, probably meaning the sluice through which water passed from the reservoir to the irrigation canal.

146. *mayomanta yacuyuctam* 'with a water source direct from the river' (i.e., not reliant on the spring or the reservoir system).

147. The teller is at pains to relate the extant pattern of canals with *huaca*s and thereby express the teller's group's claims to water rights. In this myth a non-Yunca group (Checa?) seems to be holding that the neighboring Cupara (seemingly of Yunca origin) owe their water to the invaders and not to the ancient Yunca builders.

148. 'Animals' supplied.

149. This sentence has witness validation; since it

"Me first! Me first!" exclaimed this one and that one.

The fox won, saying, "I'm the chief, the *curaca*,[150] so I'll lead the way first."

And so he, the fox, went on ahead.

87 While the fox was leading the way, <**margin**, in Quechua:> [leading the way,] after he'd laid the watercourse out halfway up the mountain over San Lorenzo, a tinamou[151] suddenly darted up, whistling "Pisc pisc!"

Startled, the fox yelped "Huac!" and fell down the slope.

Then those animals got indignant and had the snake direct the way.

If the fox hadn't fallen, that canal of theirs would've run at a higher level.

But now it runs somewhat lower.

The spot from which the fox fell is clearly visible to this day. In fact the water flows down the course the fox's fall opened.[152]

88 When in fact[153] he'd finished all this, Paria Caca said to Chuqui Suso, "Let's sleep together!"

"Let's climb to a high ledge. There we'll sleep together," she <crossed out:> [enticed him] answered him.

(Today, this ledge is called Yana Caca.)[154]

There the two of them did sleep together.

Once she'd slept with him, that woman said, "Let's just the two of us go off someplace."

"Let's go!" he replied and led her to the mouth of the canal called Coco Challa.

89 When they got there the woman named Chuqui Suso said, "Right in this canal of mine, that's where I'll stay!" And she froze stock still, and turned to stone.

Paria Caca left her there and went on climbing upward.

We'll tell about that next.[155]

90 Someone congealed into stone does in fact stand today at the mouth of the canal named Coco Challa. It's the woman called Chuqui Suso. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Cuni Raya's dwelling is near Chuqui Suso.]

Cuni Raya, also frozen to stone, dwells today above this place in a different canal, at the spot that was named Vincompa at that time.

It was there that Cuni Raya came to his end.[156]

But we'll tell about the various things he did in some later chapters.

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overlaps the preceding reportive sentence in content, one suspects an imperfect joining of two sources.

150. *curaca* means "the lord or ruler (*señor*) of the community (*pueblo*)" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 57); it derives from a root denoting priority in rank (especially birth order), not sovereignty. Under Spanish colonial influence, *curaca* roles were modified toward Spanish ideas of nobility and estate-based privilege.

151. *yutu* 'tinamou': *yutu* is the bird Peruvians call *perdiz* 'partridge' in Spanish. Its shape and behavior resemble those of a partridge, but it is in fact a tinamou. Three species inhabit Lima Province. Of these, the likeliest (because it inhabits the middle altitudes that are the scene of this myth) is: "*Andean Tinamou, Nothoprocta pentlandii oustaleti* (*Perdiz serrana*). A tinamou the size of a small chicken; upper parts brownish, finely marked with cinnamon and black, with longitudinal buffy white streaks; underparts buffy, breast gray with small light spots. Lives in the steppes of the Andean slopes up to an altitude of 3500 m., also on the coastal hills. A terrestrial bird, it flushes with noisy wingbeats . . ." (Koepcke 1970: 16).

152. This interpolated myth is an etiological story explaining a conspicuous quirk of Quinti village's water system: why does a certain canal deviate downward from a higher and seemingly optimal course?

153. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence has witness validation.

154. This parenthesis has witness validation.

155. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation, hence 'in fact' supplied in the next sentence.

156. The speaker insists with peculiar emphasis on the spot where Cuni Raya's course ended, perhaps because this version clashes with the better-known myth of his disappearance over the sea. This latter version is itself acknowledged, but crossed out, in chapter 2 (sec. 25).

CHAPTER 7

91

How Those Cupara People Revere the One Called Chuqui Suso Even to This Day

All the Cupara people, as we know,[157] make up a single *ayllu* called Cupara.

These people now live in San Lorenzo, where they remain forcibly relocated[158] right up to now.

There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage[159] that bears the name Chauincho.

Chuqui Suso was <crossed out:> [a woman[160] of] a member of the Chauincho *ayllu*.

In the old days, in the month of May when the canal had to be cleaned (as is done today, too),[161] all these people went to the woman Chuqui Suso's dwelling; they went with their maize beer, *ticti*,[162] guinea pigs,[163] and llamas to worship that demon woman.[164]

92 In worshiping her, they built a *quishuar*[165] enclosure and stayed inside it for five days without ever letting people walk outside.

It's said that[166] when they finished that, and accomplished everything else including their canal-cleaning, the people came home dancing and sing-

157. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to predominate, with three interruptions, throughout the chapter. Because this chapter consists primarily of what appears to be a witness testimony by the editor/redactor, the three *-si* reportive passages are signaled in translation.

158. *reduzisca* 'forcibly relocated' (i.e., in San Lorenzo de Quinti). The Cupara are one of the *ayllu*s that colonial authorities had relocated (probably in the 1580s) in Spanish-style parishes (*reducciones*). Among places mentioned in the manuscript, San Pedro Mama, San Francisco de Chaclla, San Damián de Checa, San Francisco de Siçicaya, and Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí were also Toledan *reducciones* rather than prehispanic *llacta*s (Spalding 1984: flyleaf).

159. As noted in the introduction, the term *yumay* (literally, 'sperm') signifies a patrilineal group or corporation. See also chapter 31 (sec. 445).

160. Or 'a wife'.

161. In modern Andean villages the canal-cleaning festival, *yarq'a hasp'iy*, continues to be a ritual climax. A full account from the Huarochirí region is given by Paul Gelles (1984: 115–130 and *passim*).

162. *ticti*: a food-offering for *huaca*s made from the thick maize residue left as a by-product of maize beer brewing.

163. The guinea pig, *Cavia porcellus* (also called *Cavia cobayo*), is native to the Andes and is raised in most rural Andean kitchens for festive or sacrificial food.

164. *supay huarmicta* 'demon woman': clergymen consistently used *supay* to translate the Christian concept 'demon', and in the manuscript *supay* sometimes seems to be used in this sense. But the word may retain a nuance of its older Andean sense, which is the shade or light, volatile part of a living being (Duviols 1978).

165. *quishuar*: a small tree whose wood was prominently used in ritual context. "*Buddleia sp. Quishuar* and its variants. . . . The plants of this genus are shrubs or occasionally herbs, with opposite lanceolate leaves and four-lobed white, violet to purple flowers borne in heads, panicles, or spikes . . . grown in the temperate regions as ornamentals and for their wood, which is used in tool-making and cabinet work . . . the wood of *Buddleia incana* had symbolic meaning and was used ceremonially by the Incas . . . a pre-Columbian temple at Cuzco [was] known as Quishuar-Cancha, in which was kept a gold idol the size of a ten-year-old boy, . . . idols burned at the festivals of R'aimi [*sic*] were also made of the wood of *Buddleia longifolia*. A number of small branches . . . were found in a grave of the Classic Maranga Period at Vista Alegre . . . " (Towle 1961: 75–76).

166. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 92.

ing. They'd lead one woman along in their midst, reverencing her as they did the *huaca*[167] and saying,

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

93 As this woman arrived at their village, we'd see[168] some people awaiting her, laying out maize beer and other things and greeting her:

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

On that occasion they say[169] people celebrated a major festival, dancing and drinking all night long.

In fact that's why, when the late lord[170] Don Sebastián[171] was still alive, during Corpus Christi and the other major Christian holy days, a woman used to proclaim,

"I am Chuqui Suso!"

and give maize beer from a large gold or silver jar with a large gourd[172] to everyone in rank order, saying,

"This is our mother's beer!"

Then she would also hand out toasted maize from a large hollow gourd.

94 When they'd finished cleaning the canal, they reportedly[173] used to invite a tremendous lot of people and give them maize, beans, and other things.

Since they always used to give things away like that, people from Huaro Cheri and from all the other communities used to go there. "They've cleaned Chuqui Suso's canal. Come on, let's go have a look!" they'd say.

95 In fact[174] today people who are in the know[175] about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde*[176] nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"

On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."

As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.

True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.[177]

But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.

167. 'The *huaca*' supplied. Original has *payta yna* 'as her'.

168. 'We'd see' supplied to convey the witness validation of this sentence.

169. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

170. *apo* 'lord': while Spanish speakers commonly knew this honorific, it did not belong to the legal jargon of colonial authority (which typically used the titles *curaca* or *cacique*). It is more suggestive of traditional legitimacy and connotes both religious and political authority.

171. Possibly the same Sebastián mentioned in chapter 19 (sec. 230) as an earlier *curaca*. Both passages could refer to Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca. He was the son of the man who had ruled Huarochirí before the Spanish conquest under the name Ninavilca and continued to rule after it as Don Antonio. Sebastián enjoyed Spanish favor, helped Dávila Brizeño organize forced resettlement of natives, and supported the Jesuit missions of the 1570s. He was rewarded in the 1580s with an office as a high native magistrate (Spalding 1984: 222). Here we are told (perhaps with malice) that despite such activities he also favored the *huacas*.

172. *poto* 'gourd': conjectural translation. In some regions of the Andes today, women serve maize beer ritually by doling out liquid from a large pail with a smaller gourd cup.

173. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues throughout section 94.

174. 'In fact' supplied to indicate resumption of witness validation, which continues through the end of the chapter.

175. *musiasca* 'in the know' (also translated 'privy to'): this locution is used in several parts of the manuscript to designate those involved in Andean worship. Taylor (1987b: 143) gives a different reading: 'confounded (by the demon)', based on the fact that this verb often denoted foreknowledge such as that gained by magical means.

176. *alcalde*: *alcaldías* were Spanish magistracies, of which certain ranks were assigned to natives for purposes of indirect rule. Higher-ranking native *alcaldes mayores* had province-level administrative duties (Espinoza Soriano 1960). But the ones alluded to here, in chapter 13 (sec. 173) and in supplement II (sec. 481), are probably village-level *alcaldes* of the sort appointed under Toledan ordinances of resettlement (Spalding 1984: 216–217). The Toledan viceroyalty intentionally gave them powers overlapping those of the *curaca* or native lord, encouraging them to prohibit traditional rites (like this one) that the native lord might be tempted to permit.

177. This politically prudent afterthought may reflect awareness that Father Avila would scrutinize the text.

CHAPTER 8

96

How Paria Caca Ascended. How One Man Came Back with His Child by Following Paria Caca's Commands, and, Finally, How He Struggled with Huallallo Caruincho

We've already told about Huallallo Caruincho's life.

But we didn't speak about his dwelling place, the place he made his shrine and community.[178]

In ancient times, they say,[179] Huallallo Caruincho dwelled in the area of Upper Paria Caca.

We don't know for certain that dwelling's original name. We do know[180] that it's called Mullo Cocha lake[181] today because, when Paria Caca defeated Huallallo, who was a burning fire, he turned the place into a lake to extinguish him.

97 It was on the location of Mullo Cocha lake that they say[182] Huallallo's dwelling place stood.

At that time the whole region was completely Yunca.[183] When he lived there huge snakes, toucans, and all sorts of animals filled the land.

In fact things were just as we described in the first chapter,[184]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [1st chapter]
when we told how he ate people.

98 They say that[185] when Paria Caca set out to defeat Huallallo Caruincho, the five persons who composed him[186] whirled hunting *bolas*[187] at Ocsa Pata.[188]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ocsa Pata is next to Paria Caca.]

While they swung their *bolas*, that region got intensely cold, and hail fell upon the ground where he played.

178. The first two sentences have witness validation.

179. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

180. 'We do know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues throughout section 96.

181. The lake whose modern name is Mullucocha is 30 km by air east-northeast of Huarochirí in the barren heights, at 4,300 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Mullo Cocha means 'Lake of Thorny Oyster Shell'. Sections 99–104 show why. Because the lake's name is well known in this form, we have deviated from the practice of presenting terms like *cocha* 'lake' or *urcu* 'mountain' in translation only.

182. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next sentence.

183. *yuncasapa* 'completely Yunca' or 'full of Yunca': from the following sentence, which tells us that subtropical animals of the coast then inhabited the extreme heights, we learn that this means ecologically as well as culturally *yunca*.

184. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The reference is to chapter 1 (sec. 4).

185. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

186. *pihcantin*: 'five' plus the suffix *-ntin*, which denotes the combination of intrinsically related or fitted parts: 'the five of him together'. The best-known instance of *-ntin* is the Inca name for the Inca Empire, *Tauantin Suyo*, meaning 'the Fourfold Domain' (see chap. 17, secs. 213, 215; chap. 22, sec. 280; chap. 23, sec. 288).

187. *riuicorcan* 'whirled . . . *bolas*': the *riwi* is a native South American hunting weapon made by tying round stones together and hurling them at the legs of prey so that the thongs entangle and fell it.

188. The toponym *ocsa pata* means 'grassy ledge' and evokes the windswept panorama of the high grasslands. It may signify a place on modern Cerro Ocsa. "Ocsa Mountain might be the modern Ocsha Mountain, which is found to the southwest of Lake Piticocha, which is also found in the area of the deeds [i.e., of Paria Caca], although somewhat farther away" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 12). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a plateau and a ravine called Ocsha 10 km southwest of Mullucocha.

99 At that moment a man[189] came along weeping <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Tell the part about the snake.]
and carrying one of his children.[190] He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell,[191] coca, and balls of *ticti*, meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering.
"Son, where are you going crying like that?" one of the Paria Cacas asked him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out the names of these 5 brothers.
The names of these five brothers are

Paria Caca
Churapa
Puncho
Paria Carco

We don't know the name of one of these five.][192]
"Father," he replied, "I'm taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo."
"Son," replied the Paria Caca, "don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back.

100 "In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruincho," Paria Caca said. "If I overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me,
'Our father's beating him!'
But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me,
'The fighting's over!' "
The man got scared when Paria Caca said this, and said, "Father, won't that Huallallo Caruincho be enraged at me?"

101 "Let him get angry! He won't be able to do a thing to you. And what's more I will bring people into being, males under the care of Ami and Llata,[193] <**margin**, in Spanish:>

[Sons

Curaca or Ancacha the 1st
Chauca the 2d
Llunco the 3d
Sullca the 4th
Llata the 5th
Ami the 6th

Daughters

Paltacha or Cochucha the 1st
Cobapacha the 2d
Ampuche the 3d
Sullcacha the 4th
Ecancha the 5th
Anacha Añasi the 6th]

and females under that of Añasi; one as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live,"[194] replied Paria Caca. And while he was speak-

189. Here there is an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note that Taylor (1987b: 146) renders 'This man was Quinti'. If correct, the interpretation is important because it shows that the Quinti, a group associated with the lineages of Paria Caca, were alleged to have ancestors who worshiped a Yunca deity.

190. *huc churinta* 'one of his children': see chapter 1 (sec. 1), about how Huallallo ate one of every two babies born. The weeping man was going to make his sacrifice.

191. *mullo*, the shell of the thorny oyster, *Spondylus princeps*, or powders and beads made from it, was among the commonest offerings to Andean deities and a major cargo in prehispanic deepwater seafaring (see Marcos 1980; Murra 1975b; Paulsen 1974).

192. In section 101 there is a birth-order list that may give general words meaning 'firstborn', 'secondborn', etc., rather than the personal names of Paria Caca's incarnations or offspring. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chapter 12 (sec. 166) there appear separate lists of the apparently human sons of Paria Caca.

193. *Ami* and *Llata*: these poorly understood persons reappear in chapter 11 (sec. 157). The phrasing *amiyoc . . . llatayoc . . . añasiyoc* 'possessors of Ami . . . possessors of Llata . . . possessors of Añasi' suggests that these persons are prototypes of a group that held Ami, Llata, and Añasi as their *huacas* and protectors. While this detail has not been resolved, the gist can be partly clarified.

This foretelling allusion, addressed to a prototypical man of the group whose origin chapter 11 relates, seems to mean, 'You are afraid now because you are powerless, but I later will supply a kind of people to be subordinate to you. The man will have *Ami* and *Llata* as his *huacas* and the woman will have *Añasi*'. The prophecy comes true in chapter 11, where the lastborn persona of Paria Caca relieves the equally lastborn Checa of their powerlessness by forcing some of the Yunca aborigines to subordinate themselves as the "little Amis and Llatas" of the Checa.

Ami means sick from overeating; *llata*, 'naked' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 24, 212). *Añasi* may relate to *añas* 'skunk'. If they are Quechua, which is uncertain, the names seem to suggest lowly attributes of babies: nakedness, nausea, smelliness. Babyhood may symbolize junior genealogical rank.

194. *hucta cari hucta huarmicta ynam camasac* 'one

ing, his breath came out of his mouth like bluish smoke.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [It was a clear blue.]
When the man saw this, he got scared and handed over everything he'd brought.
The five men ate the thorny oyster shell, making it crunch with a "Cap cap" sound, and all the other offerings.
Then the man went back, carrying his child.

102 Five days later, he did return just as Paria Caca had told him to, thinking, "I'll go and witness it!"
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's victory]
And five days after his prophecy, Paria Caca did begin fighting Huallallo Caruincho.
The story is like this.
Paria Caca, since he was five persons, began to rain down from five directions.
That rain was yellow and red rain.
Then, flashing as lightning, he blazed out from five directions.

103 From early in the morning to the setting of the sun,[195] Huallallo Caruincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished.
And[196] the waters, the rains of Paria Caca, rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake.[197]
Since it wouldn't have fit in,[198] one of Paria Caca's five selves, the one called Llacsa Churapa, knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters from below.

104 Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake.
(Nowadays this lake is called Mullo Cocha.)[199]
As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire.
And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest.
Finally Huallallo Caruincho fled toward the low country, the Antis.[200]

105 Another of Paria Caca's offspring
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out if these are brothers since it's said that they came out of the eggs, or if they're the Paria Caca's children.—They were brothers.]
chased after him.
He stays at the pass down to the lowlands, the Antis, until today, "Lest Huallallo Caruincho return," as he says.
His name was <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Paria Carco.[201]

106 During Paria Caca's victory, a certain woman named Mana Ñamca[202] appeared, a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho.[203]
This woman lived below Mama,[204] somewhere down there.
It was to conquer her that Paria Caca came to her.
Mana Ñamca also burned in the form of a fire.

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as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live': may mean that the Ami/Llata and Añasi groups, respectively, have male and female identity with regard to each other.

195. *ña hora pachacama* 'to the setting of the sun': an alternative translation would be 'to lower Pacha Camac'. Both possibilities are problematic, but 'Pacha Camac' more so since it is normally spelled with final *c* in the manuscript.

196. There is a crossed-out phrase, *paria cacap huquinca*, of uncertain meaning.

197. *hura cochañicman*: 'lower lake' or alternatively 'Pacific Ocean'; accepting the 'Pacha Camac' reading would warrant the latter.

198. *manatac yaycuptin* 'since it wouldn't have fit in': a problematic passage. It may mean that in order to prevent the ocean from overspilling its shores (see chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375), Llacsa Churapa built a reservoir for Paria Caca's water. 'Paria Caca's five selves' supplied.

199. Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) thought this story represented a combat between a volcano (*sierra del fuego*) and a snowcap, with Mullo Cocha the caldera left by the volcano's collapse. (It does not appear geologically to be a caldera.) This parenthesis has witness validation.

200. Taylor (1987b: 154) at this point refers to a Quechua marginal note that means, 'He didn't just flee instantly. We'll tell about it later on'.

201. This sentence has witness validation.

202. Mana Ñamca figures again in chapter 10 (sec. 143), where she is equated to Chaupi Ñamca, who in turn is equated to the daughter of Tamta Ñamca (chap. 5, sec. 47). This cluster of three female names seems associated with Yunca aborigines and with the remote past.

203. *caruinchouan cac supay* 'a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho': more literally, 'who was with Caruincho'. This could mean Mana Ñamca was with him as sibling, or spouse, or ally. A marginal note to a later passage (chap. 10, sec. 143) interprets her as Chaupi Ñamca, perhaps meaning Mana Ñamca was a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca once matched to Huallallo as Chaupi Ñamca herself was later fraternally matched to Paria Caca.

204. Probably San Pedro de Mama (modern Ricardo Palma), 52 km northwest of Huarochirí, close to Lima in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Making an entry down through Tumna,[205] Paria Caca attacked her.

She shot[206] from below and hit the foot of one of Paria Caca's offspring, the one named Chuqui Huampo.[207]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out what condition this one is in.]

Nonetheless, it was Paria Caca who won and expelled her into the ocean.[208]

107 After he defeated them, he went back to his child Chuqui Huampo, who sat there lame with a broken foot.

"I can't go back. I'll keep watch over that woman Mana Ñamca from right here, just in case she comes back," Chuqui Huampo said to him.

His father said, "Very well then," and made provisions to supply him with all his food.

108 He gave his command: "All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its ear-tips[209] and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten."

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This place where <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Chuqui Huampo is is below Tumna between Sisi Caya and Sucya. I have to see it and find out what it's called.][210]

109 People respected these sacred edicts, and in accordance with them all the coca producers from

Saci Caya,[211]
Chontay,[212]
Chichima,[213]
Mama,
Huayo Calla,
and Sucya Cancha[214]

would bring coca to Chuqui Huampo first before all others.

They carry on the custom secretly to this day.

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205. Modern Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián de Checa at 2,902 m above sea level, a long way downvalley from Mullo Cocha. It occupies the heights over the Rímac's left bank.

206. *chucamurcan* 'she shot': the verb more literally means 'she hurled' and is elsewhere used in connection with lance-throwing. Perhaps the idea here is that she hurled fire (Taylor 1987b: 157), but the injury she inflicted is a broken (*paquisca*) rather than burned foot, so some more solid weapon seems indicated. To avoid the problem we choose a less specific verb.

207. Taylor (1987b: 156) gives a Quechua marginal note meaning, 'He'll be the one with the disabled leg'.

208. *cochañicman*: 'ocean' or possibly 'lake'.

209. *rinrin chillpiscacta* 'ear tips': today herders slit small notches in the ears of llamas at *señalasqa* festivals, as signs of ownership (Aranguren Paz 1975: 117). Perhaps a fragment of ear would then be the sacrifice mentioned.

210. Taylor (1987b: 158) interprets an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note at this point as saying, 'We will speak of Capcahuanca later'. Capac Huanca is mentioned in chapter 25 (sec. 346).

211. Modern Sisicaya is about halfway up the Lurín valley from Pachacámac to San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). See chapter 11 (sec. 156).

212. Modern Chontay is in the Lurín valley slightly downriver from Sisicaya (IGM 1970–1971).

213. Modern Santa Inés de Chichima is near Chaclacayo in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

214. On basis of Sucya Villca identification (see chap. 20, sec. 242), possibly San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí in the lower Rímac valley between Mama and Surco (IGM 1970–1971).

CHAPTER 9

How Paria Caca, Having Accomplished All This, Began to Ordain His Own Cult

110

Now indeed we've finished telling all these victories of his.

But we haven't spoken about how Huallallo Caruincho later lived under Paria Caca's sentence.[215]

After Paria Caca's victory, and after Huallallo had fled to the lowlands, the Antis,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out how this Caruincho exists in the Andes now.]

Paria Caca passed sentence on Huallallo: "Because he fed on people, let him now eat dogs; and let the Huanca[216] people worship him."

111 When the Huanca worshiped him,[217] they'd propitiate him with dogs. And since he, their god, fed on dogs, they also ate them.

As a matter of fact, we speak of them as "dog-eating Huanca" to this day.[218]

112 Just as we indicated in the first chapter and in subsequent ones, where we said that all those villages were full of Yunca,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chapter 1]
all the inhabitants of Huaro Cheri Province and of the provinces of Chaclla[219] and Mama and of all the other villages were once full of Yunca.

Paria Caca,[220] as we know,[221] drove these Yunca and all such Yunca groups down to the lowlands. "It will be my children who'll live in this region," he ordained.

113 All those who took part in conquering these groups are individually called Paria Caca's children.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's children]

"Each one of them is his child," people say.

Others deny it. In accord with their belief these say, "They were born from the seed of a wild plant."[222]

The victors' names are these, starting from the oldest one:

215. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

216. The Huanca were a large ethnic group inhabiting the upper Mantaro valley in the central Peruvian highlands. The Huarochirí myth-tellers' belief that their *huaca* Huallallo once tyrannized west Andean peoples seems to indicate a further belief that Paria Caca and his people reversed an earlier Huanca penetration of the seaward valleys. There is an implied claim to have liberated the Yunca from the "dog-eating Huanca" and from the burden of human sacrifice. Recent works on the Huanca include D'Altroy (1987) and Espinoza Soriano (1971).

217. Julio C. Tello (1923: 510–549) observed what he thought to be a modern tradition maintaining Huallallo's mythology and cult.

218. The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also expresses disdain for the "dog-eating Guancas" and their dog-eating deity Huallallo ([1615] 1980: 1:241, 271). 'As a matter of fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

219. Modern San Antonio de Chaclla is 63 km northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). Spalding's map (1984: endpaper) shows San Francisco de Chaclla, a resettlement village of the 1580s, at a similar location. Taylor (1987b: 39) equates Chaclla with modern Santa Eulalia, adjacent to Mama.

220. 'Paria Caca' supplied.

221. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 116. Taylor (1987b: 163) takes the *quinua* origin story to be typical of invading groups that had individually grafted their focal ancestors onto the descent of the pre-invasion *huaca*, Paria Caca, and thereby provided themselves with an alternative and discrepant origin story.

222. Allusion to an alternative myth of origin, developed in chapter 24 (secs. 302–303) and chapter 31 (sec. 389).

Choc Payco,
Chancha Runa,
Huari Runa,
Utco Chuco,
and Tutay Quiri with his brother Sasin Mari.

All these conquered the Yunca peoples.

114 According to them, one other child of Paria Caca likewise emerged from the earth.

His name was Pacha Chuyru.

We forgot this one's conquests in all the preceding chapters.

We'll set forth these matters in a later part.[223] <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we shall set forth Pacha Chuyru's victory.]

These whom we have mentioned defeated and drove out all the Yunca peoples.

115 These Yunca groups, all the Yunca, once they forgot their former god, began to worship Paria Caca.

The tradition about the Yunca is like this.

In this community of Checa[224] lived the ones called Colli,[225] building their settlements[226] all over the communal territory. To relate all the Yunca settlements in the whole area would be very laborious.

So in what follows we shall choose only a few of them for our consideration, compiling all their customs, because all the Yunca shared one single way of life.

116 Paria Caca then established his dwelling on the heights, on the same territory where he had conquered, and began to lay down the rules[227] for his worship.

His law was one and the same law in all the villages.

The law we speak of was this: "We are all of one birth."[228] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is taken to mean of one family.]

117 They say[229] he gave a command to one particular person in each village: "Once every year you are to hold a paschal celebration reenacting my life."

He said, "As for their titles, the title of these people will be *huacasa* or *huacsa*.

"The *huacsa* will dance three times each year, bringing coca in enormous leather bags."

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223. But the manuscript does not in fact contain the promised account.

224. San Damián de Checa, a village formed by forced resettlement (*reducción*) during the 1580s, appears to be the residence of one or more of the text's informants. Modern San Damián is 22 km northwest of Huarochirí at 3,235 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

225. Here and at other points the myths of the Checa tell of expelling Yunca and at the same time of Yunca groups' becoming integrated with the Checa (Rostworowski 1978: 31–44). The kindred organized around Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca expresses the purported resulting unity. This theme becomes particularly explicit in chapter 24.

226. *tiascancunacta* 'their settlements': the possessive marker is ambiguous; could mean settlements of the Colli or Checa.

227. *hunancharcan* 'lay down the rules': this word as well as 'law' (*hunanchasca*) in the following sentences is derived from a verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 355) glosses 'to make signals, to understand, to consider, to design or plan out'.

228. *huc yuric canchic* 'We are all of one birth' (i.e., sibling group).

The word *yuric*, which we take to mean 'birth group' does not mean the same as *yumay* 'patrilineage', or *ayllu* 'localized kindred'. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 372) gives "yurini to be born, to come into being, for something to come forth with something or someone as its author . . . yurini . . . for a man or animal to be born." *Yuric* is an agentive form. See the section on *yuriy/yumay* in the introduction.

The point of Paria Caca's great judgment, the cornerstone of the ideological order expounded in subsequent chapters, is that:

(1) The dominant patrilineages of the region will be the descent groups self-identified as protégés of Paria Caca's selves and children.

(2) Yunca descent groups (of what sort remains unclear), once liberated from Huallallo, will be incorporated in the role of wives and wife-givers, and their major *huacas* as 'sisters' or 'wives' of male *huacas* from the Paria Caca kindred. They will be considered globally the progeny of Paria Caca's "sister" Chaupi Ñamca.

(3) Insofar as all the people of the region are "born" of unions between descendants of a brother and a sister, all are siblings at the apical level of kinship and religious reckoning.

Taylor and Urioste read the passage differently. Taylor in an early working took it to mean that "each of our communities is composed of a certain number of families" (1980: 77). He later translated it as "we all belong to different lineages" (1987b: 167). Urioste (1983: 63) reads it as alluding to a single lineage. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 65) give "all of us, who are as one single son."

229. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

118 To first become a *huacsa*, people in fact[230] perform a certain ritual.

It's like this: a man of the Caca Sica *ayllu* functions as officiant for these ceremonies. From early times these officiants were only one or two people, and, as for their title, it was *yanca*.[231]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The master is called *yanca*.]

The same title is used in all the villages.

This man observes the course of the sun
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the shadow that the wall casts in the sun.]
from a wall constructed with perfect alignment.

When the rays of the sun touch this calibrated wall, he <crossed out:> [proclaimed] to the people, "Now we must go"; or if they don't, he'd say, "Tomorrow is the time."[232]

119 Following this command, people go to Paria Caca in order to worship.

In the old times they used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself.

But now they go from Checa to a mountain called Ynca Caya
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The snowcap of Paria Caca is visible from this mountain.]
to worship from there.

(This mountain rises over the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi and abuts on another mountain called Huallquiri.

It's on this mountain that all sorts of people, men and women alike, go to worship.)[233]

120 People run a race on their way to this mountain, in accordance with the *yanca*'s instructions, driving their llama bucks. The strongest ones even shoulder small llamas.[234] They scramble upward, each thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Which is where <Paria Caca> can be seen from.]

121 The first llama to arrive at the mountain top was much loved by Paria Caca.

In the old days Paria Caca himself used to give a name to this llama buck, proclaiming, "Let its name be thus!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [different names each time, of one sort or another, such as Yauri or Yllaca]
And as for the first little llama to arrive, the *yanca* would display it and praise it before all eyes, announcing, "The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him."

122 This time of worship, as we know,[235] is called the Auquisna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Auquisna 'for our father' or 'creator'][236]

Similarly the worship of Chaupi Ñamca is called the Chaycasna.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chaycasna 'for our mother'][237]

But we'll explain the Chaycasna later.

Nowadays the Auquisna season <crossed out:> [falls] comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to <crossed out:> [Corpus Christi] the great pasch[238] or actually coincides with it.

All the *huacsa*s, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.

This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated.[239]

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230. 'In fact' supplied to convey witness validation, which continues through the next four sentences.

231. That is, the *yanca*, as priest entitled by heredity to supervise the rituals, establishes the new *huacsa*'s relation with the *huaca* he (or she?) is to embody.

232. That is, he observed a gnomon to determine the correct date. R. T. Zuidema has studied the use of gnomons in Incaic Cuzco (1981: 319–322). The past tense verb *villarca* 'he proclaimed' is inconsistent in tense with the adjacent verbs. Taylor's transcription (1987b: 170) gives *villancu*, in present tense and third person plural, which is more consistent.

233. This parenthesis has witness validation.

234. *ancha sinche runacuna huchoylla llamanhuanpas* 'the strongest ones even shoulder small llamas': 'shoulder' is supplied to make the more literal sense—'the strongest people with small llamas'—intelligible.

235. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 122.

236. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

237. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

238. Because Corpus roughly coincides with the dry-season climax of the Andean ritual calendar, it has consistently become in Andean eyes the "great" festival of Catholicism and an occasion for performing nominally forbidden Andean rites. But a 1609 Jesuit report studied in Taylor's article "Cultos y fiestas de la comunidad de San Damián" (1987a) gives April as the Auquisna season. In accord with this report we interpret the teller's editing out Corpus and substituting *aton pascua* 'the great pasch' as meaning that he thought Auquisna close to Easter, which usually falls in April.

239. *cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan* 'This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated': problematic translation. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 96) gives "thing appropriated" for *chapasca*. Perhaps this means that *huacsa*s' right to dance, unlike other dancing privileges, was not among the rights seized

<**margin**, in Spanish>: [Find out about this sort of song and write it down for me on paper in the Quechua language, from what they say.]

123 The *huacsa*s reportedly[240] perform this dance with absolutely no interruption.

If someone who stops dancing ever happens to die, people comment about him, "He died because of the fault he committed."

For that reason, they make little children or any other kind of people carry on the dance.[241] The people from Surco especially prefer to call on the Huayllas to dance in their stead.

124 If a Huayllas man is married to a native Surco village woman and performs these rituals, the members of that community don't take away his fields or anything else of his, even though he's an outsider. On the contrary, they respect him and help him.

What's more, when Huayllas people who live in Surco come to Sucya Cancha to trade coca, regardless of their standing they bargain, saying, "Give me a little extra, ma'am; I'm a *huacsa*."[242]

125 Nowadays, as we know,[243] people perform this pasch by making it coincide with any of the major Christian paschal rites, and the people from Surco still excel over all the other communities.

On account of this dance, the Catholic priests in their villages exact collections[244] of chickens, maize, and all sorts of other things. The people hand these things over more than cheerfully.

126 The *huacsa*s dance likewise during Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

This paschal festival sometimes comes close to Corpus Christi, and sometimes actually coincides with it.

In another chapter
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [We'll set forth Chaupi Ñamca's life in a different chapter later on.]
we'll record Chaupi Ñamca's life, where she lived, and how people worshiped her.[245] But now let's return to Paria Caca's story and to all the things people did during the season of his paschal festival.

127 The story that explains these events is like this.

On the eve of the day when they were to arrive at Paria Caca for worship, people whose kin, whether men or women, had died in the course of that year would wail all night long,[246] saying, "Tomorrow we'll go and see our dead by Paria Caca's side!"[247]

128 They said regarding their deceased of the year, "Tomorrow is the day when we'll deliver them there."[248]

They offered the dead food and even fed them that night, and spread out the ingredients for their rituals.[249] They said,

"Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever.
They will never come back any more!"

And they worshiped with the sacrifice of a small llama, or, if they had no llamas, they'd bring coca in large skin bags.

129 As we know,[250] they'd examine this llama's in-

by invading ancestors from aborigines. Taylor follows another line, reading (1980: 79) *yayancuna* as "their *encomenderos*" (i.e., colonial Spanish tribute lords). The same translator gives "without their owners' being aware" in a later working (1987b: 175). Arguedas (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 65) has "without vigilance by the [Catholic] priests."

240. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

241. Apparently, in order to keep the dance going when a dancer is exhausted.

242. This sentence has witness validation.

243. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the narrative formula at the beginning of section 127.

244. *aguelando* 'collections': probably a variant of Spanish *agüinaldo*, meaning a holiday contribution or gift (traditionally, at Christmas or Epiphany). In colonial Peru the practice was expanded illegally into a form of tribute *de facto*.

245. The teller (or editor?) is at pains to remind the reader that the Chaupi Ñamca cult (chap. 10) and Paria Caca cult are inherently complementary, separated only for expository reasons.

246. A 1609 Jesuit report discussed by Taylor (1987a) explains that, on this occasion, the mourners would take their mummified dead to a certain cave, Chutinhuaque, dressed in gala clothes and carried on llama back. Mourners kept vigil weeping in the cave until the morning sacrifices.

247. This probably alludes to the custom of visiting the mummified ancestors; see chapter 28.

248. This may allude to the delivery of recently made mummies to their permanent shrine sites.

249. *ruranancunactapas* 'the ingredients for their rituals': *-na* suffix denotes potential and not preterite action. *Rurana* means 'to make or do', so the word means more literally 'their things to be done'.

250. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of section 129.

nards. If the signs were favorable, the *yanca* would prophesy, "Everything is well." If not, he'd say, "It's bad. You've incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well."

130 After completing these rituals, the *yanca*s carried off the heads and loins of those llamas for themselves, no matter how many thousands there might be, declaring, "This is our fee!"

131 The *huacsa*s, who'd dance on three occasions in any given year, would finish their term on that day.[251] In order to enter a new cycle, when the old dance round was about to come to an end, all the people came to the center in Llacsa Tambo,[252] and the Concha were in the plaza, too,[253] carrying a macaw-wing display or the sort of thing known as *puypu*.[254]

They'd lay these items in the center, on the rock called Llacsa Tambo.

After they deposited these things, they stayed there all night long, in the place where a cross now stands, wondering, "Will I be well this year?"

132 The next day they went to all the villages, including Macacho hill, Chaucalla, and Quimquilla, and remained there until five days were up.

At the end of the fifth day, all the *huacsa*s who'd collected coca in bags would dance.

At daybreak on the same day, in Llacsa Tambo, they used to worship the demon with their llamas or other possessions.

133 Those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages.

Nowadays, it's true, some have forgotten these practices.

But since it's just a few years[255] since they've had Doctor Francisco de Avila, a good counselor and teacher, it may be that in their hearts they don't really believe. If they had another priest they might return to the old ways.

134 Some people, although they've become Christians, have done so only out of fear. "I'm afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I've been," they think.[256]

Although they say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty *illa* amulet[257] everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.
<**margin**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b.]

135 As we said earlier, the Concha, too, worship during Paria Caca's season from that other mountain called Huaycho. Their *huacsa*s do just the same as the Checa's own do, that is, they dance.

Likewise, the Suni Cancha also worship in the same manner during Paria Caca's season from that mountain called
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
< >.[258]

136 The residents of Santa Ana,[259] those who live in

251. This sentence has witness validation, which continues up to 'they dance' in section 135.

252. This is the first passage about Llacsa Tambo, the ceremonial center of the Checa and reference point for much of the text. Llacsa Tambo was probably at or near modern Llaquistambo, a hamlet with numerous prehispanic structures 3 km northeast of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). Its name (if Quechua) is partly intelligible. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 45) gives the gloss: "*Llacsa* is a green color in the form of either powder or stone, like copper oxide." *Tambo* means a way-station. Alternatively, the name may allude to a verb *llacsay*, which Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 207) translates as 'to freeze the blood' with fear.

253. *conchacunapas pampampi* 'and the Concha were in the plaza, too': the point of this slightly awkward insertion seems to be that the Concha, although a separate village (functioning as the Checa's opposite in the *reducción* village), were seated in the Checa's ceremony.

254. *puypu* is explained in chapter 24 (sec. 333) as synonymous with *huacamaypac ricran* 'a macaw's wing'.

255. *cay pisi huatallarac* 'just a few years': an ambiguity in this phrase adds to the difficulty of dating the manuscript. If read 'scarcely one year' it would support the 1598 date that Arguedas and Duviols favored (1966: 235). But it could just as well mean 'these few years', allowing a later date and with it the chronologies c. 1608 that Urioste and Taylor both favor (Acosta 1987b: 596; Taylor 1987b: 15–16; see the section on the possible genesis of the text in the introduction).

256. *ñispas*: the common verb *ñiy* or *niy* can mean either 'say' or 'think, intend'.

257. *Illa*s are small sacred objects, often figurines, that are felt to contain the fecundating essence of the good they represent. Archaeological examples are common. Ethnographic examples are discussed by Jorge Flores Ochoa (1977).

258. A space for the mountain's name was never filled in. Modern Sunicancha stands across a canyon from Conchasica, both close to San Damián.

259. Modern Santa Ana de Chaucarima is 18 km west-northwest of Huarochirí at 3,492 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

San Juan,[260] and all the ones called Chauca Ricma, during Paria Caca's season, reportedly[261] worship from the mountain called Acu Sica, the one we descend on our way to the Apar Huayqui River.[262]

In fact[263] they'd never let anything stop them from performing[264] these rituals.

Some people make this festival coincide with the great pasch, Easter; others set it close to Pentecost <crossed out:> [and Corpus].

When it comes to celebrating it, the people in this village would be delighted if the priest were absent from town or went to Limac.[265]

This is a completely true account.

137 Regarding all these places on mountains for worship of Paria Caca, it was only later on, when the Spaniards had emerged and came to look into it, that they were established.

138 But, in the old times, they say[266] all these people used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself. All the Yunca people[267] from

Colli,
Carhuayllo,[268]
Ruri Cancho,[269]
Latim,[270]
Huancho Huaylla,[271]
Pariacha,[272]
Yañac,[273]
Chichima,[274]
Mama,[275]

and all the other Yunca from that river valley;

Also the Saci Caya,[276] who, together with the Pacha Camac come from another river valley,[277] and the Caringa and Chilca,[278] and those people who live along the river that flows down from Huaro Cheri,[279] namely, the Caranco[280] and other Yunca groups who inhabit that river region, used to arrive at Mount Paria Caca itself, coming with their *ticti*, their coca, and other ritual gear.

139 When those who'd come to worship returned from Paria Caca, people in their villages, aware of their impending arrival, used to await them in a gathering to ask, "How is our father Paria Caca?"

"Is he still well?"

"Isn't he angry?"

Then they'd dance full of happiness until the end of the fifth day, or however many days was their custom.

140 Regarding this worship, it may be that the Yunca don't practice it anymore, or that not all the Yunca do. But they do perform it away from their own places.

When they don't do it people speculate, saying,

260. San Juan de Lahuaytambo, seat of the 'Thousand' of Chaucarima (Taylor 1987b: 187). See note 457.

261. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

262. Apar Huayqui River: possibly the Mala or its tributary the Canchahuara, associated with a mountain named Ayarhuaque at its source (IGM 1970–1971).

263. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 137.

264. *ruraypacca manam ancochanmancho* 'they'd never let anything stop them from performing': more literally, 'they'd not rest from doing it'. The phrase might allude to the people's tenacity in retaining pre-Christian rites, or might alternatively be taken to mean they are rigorous about the rule requiring continual dancing (chap. 9, sec. 123).

265. The name of the city of Lima is uniformly Limac in the manuscript.

266. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

267. The following locales making up this category are listed in groups. The first list covers the Rímac valley from the Pacific shore eastward into the highlands. Lurín and Mala valley villages follow.

268. Modern Carabayllo is north of the Chillón River within greater Lima (IGM 1970–1971).

269. Lurigancho, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

270. Ate, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

271. Huanchihuaylla, a neighborhood of Ate according to Taylor (1987b: 191).

272. Modern Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Taylor (1987b: 191) mentions an estate called Pariache.

273. Possibly Ñaña, a village in the lower Rímac valley slightly outside Lima.

274. Santa Rosa de Chichima (Taylor 1987b: 191) or the more prominent colonial village of Santa Inés de Chichima, both in the lower Rímac valley.

275. San Pedro de Mama, the modern town of Ricardo Palma.

276. Probably Sisicaya in the Lurín valley.

277. That is, the Lurín.

278. Probably the same groups mentioned in chapter 12 (sec. 171), inhabitants of the lower Mala. Modern Chilca is a coastal town slightly north of the mouth of the Mala River.

279. That is, the Mala River.

280. Caranco may have been at or near modern Calango, on the lower Mala River, 305 m above sea level. See also chapter 12 (secs. 170–171) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

"It's because of that fault of theirs that the Yunca are becoming extinct."

281. *sallcacuna* 'the highlanders': no English word ('mountaineer', 'hillbilly', 'mountain man') catches the exact flavor of *sallcacuna*. *Sallca* means the *puna*, the seasonally rainy but generally dry and (at night) cold lands that cover huge expanses around 4,000 m above sea level. The word evokes the roughness of llama herders' lives up on these treeless slopes.

And the Yunca, speaking for themselves, say, "The highlanders[281] are getting along all right. It's because they carry on our old way of life that their people flourish so."[282]

282. This discussion probably concerns people's ideas, c. 1600, about the fact that the post-invasion epidemics had devastated the coastal native peoples much more than the highlanders (see Cook 1981: 253–254; Denevan 1976: 41).

CHAPTER 10

Who Chaupi Ñamca Was, Where She Dwells, and How She Arranged Her Cult

141 Now we've finished telling Paria Caca's life.

And now we'll tell who those children of his (the ones we mentioned in the ninth chapter) were, and then tell the things that each one did individually as well as how they collectively beat the Yunca out of these villages.

<**marginal note** in Quechua:> [After this we'll set forth the victories of Paria Caca's children.]

Next we'll write about who Chaupi Ñamca was.[283]

142 They say[284] that the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca, and that she was the wife of the poor man named Huatya Curi.

In fact[285] we told this story in the fifth chapter.

143 This woman had five sisters.

The first woman, Chaupi Ñamca, went to dwell in Lower Mama in accord with Paria Caca's instructions.

The woman known as Mana Ñamca[286] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Her name is Chaupi Ñamca or Mama Ñamca.] went around saying, "I am a maker of people."[287]

Some people say about Chaupi Ñamca, "She was Paria Caca's sister."

And she herself used to say, "Paria Caca is my brother."

144 Chaupi Ñamca was frozen into a stone with five arms.[288] In worshiping her, people would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca, racing along driving their llamas and other things.

They'd lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca.

Later on, when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Ñamca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest's stable.

She's there to this day, inside the earth.

145 All the people called Chaupi Ñamca "Mother" when they spoke to her.

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283. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

284. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

285. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

286. The next passages tell us that Mana Ñamca, who was earlier described as accompanying the defeated Huanca(?) deity Huallallo Carúincho (chap. 8, sec. 106), is now equated with Chaupi Ñamca. Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163), is pictured as Paria Caca's sister and female counterpart. Thus the apex of divine kinship is structured as a fraternal union between an ancient Yunca pantheon and a newly appeared male of the highlands, establishing a society that is 'one family' (chap. 9, sec. 116). This motif is expressed in human terms in chapter 5 (sec. 48), where Huatya Curi marries a Yunca woman who is also equated to Chaupi Ñamca.

287. More than one *huaca* has the epithet *runa camac*, here rendered loosely as 'maker of people' (Cuni Raya Vira Cocha in chap. 1, sec. 7; Chaupi Ñamca in chap. 13, sec. 172; Mira Huato and Llacsa Huato in chap. 13, sec. 179; Llocllay Huancupa in chap. 21, sec. 268). The premise is that different human groups receive their life-energy and specific powers from different *huaca*s. The fuller meanings of *camac* are explored in the introduction.

288. Or 'wings'.

(That's why San Pedro is also called Mama now.)[289]

In the old days this woman used to travel around in human form and used to sin with[290] the other *huacas*.

But she never used to praise any male by saying, "He's good!"

146 There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a *huaca* named Rucana Coto.[291]

Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, "It'll get big."

One time he and his big cock satisfied Chaupi Ñamca deliciously.

Therefore she said, "Only this man, alone among all the other *huacas*, is a real man. I'll stay with this one forever." So she turned into stone and stayed forever in Mama.

147 Now we'll tell about the sisters of Chaupi Ñamca whom we mentioned.[292]

Chaupi Ñamca was the oldest of them all.

Her next sister was Llacsa Huato.

Her next-born sibling was Mira Huato.

The next one was called Urpay Huachac.

We don't know about the other one.[293]

In all they were five.

When people sought Chaupi Ñamca's advice on any matter, she'd respond, saying, "I'll go and talk it over with my sisters first."[294]

148 We know[295] people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.

When the *yanca*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [*yanca*]
had made calculations from his solar observatory, people said, "They'll take place in so many days."

149 We already spoke in chapter nine about the *huacas*' annual dances.

However, regarding this dancing, we didn't clarify what kinds of dances they performed on the three occasions in a given year.

They celebrated Paria Caca's paschal festival on the first day of the period called Auquisna.

Next, they likewise danced during Chaupi Ñamca's time.

Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés,[296] they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.

Further on we'll describe this dance fully.[297]

150 But now we'll return to Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

During her paschal festival the *huacas* would dance for five days carrying coca bags.

Other people, if they had llamas, would dance wearing puma skins; those who had no llamas danced just as they were.

About those who wore puma skins people said, "They're the prosperous ones."

This dance is called Huantay Cocha.

They also performed another dance named Ayñu.

151 They performed still another one called Casa Yaco.

They say that[298] when they danced the Casa Yaco, Chaupi Ñamca rejoiced immensely, because in their dancing, they performed naked, some wearing only their jewelry, hiding their private parts with just a cotton breechclout.

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow.[299]

These are the rituals they performed during her paschal festival.[300]

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289. The reference is to the resettlement village of San Pedro. This sentence has witness validation.

290. *vchallicuc carcan* 'sinned with': a Christian-style euphemism. Chaupi Ñamca's mighty sexual appetite is not seen as sinful in the context of the myth that immediately follows, or in that of the sexy Casa Yaco dance (sec. 151) that honored her. A pervasive though never explicit metaphor seems to liken the ardent genitalia of the female *huacas* with the warm fertile valleys, much as the water-giving heights of the mountains are likened to males who fertilize them.

291. *Rucana Coto* 'Finger-shaped mountain' (Quechua and Aymara).

292. This sentence has witness validation.

293. Taylor (1987b: 198) signals a marginal note in Quechua, meaning, 'The other one was called Lluncuhuachac'.

294. This suggests that the five *huacas*' priests or priestesses deliberated collectively.

295. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 151.

296. St. Andrew's Day is November 30.

297. The Chanco is the subject of chapter 11.

298. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

299. This is probably the sort of festival Catholic priests had in mind when they complained that Andean rites included "carnal excesses."

300. Concluding sentence with witness validation.

CHAPTER II

How People Danced the Chanco Dance. In Speaking of These Matters, We Shall Also Tell Who Tutay Quiri, the Child of Paria Caca, Was. The Story Is Like This

152

In the ninth chapter, we referred to Paria Caca's children by name.

But we didn't say anything about their individual lives.

Here and in what follows we'll tell about them together with the victories of one from among them: Tutay Quiri.[301]

We mentioned that the ceremonial dancing in his season was the Chanco.

153 Tutay Quiri was Paria Caca's son. This is a fact.[302]

In early times, they say,[303] the Checa were Quinti, the younger brothers of the Quinti.

The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last.[304]

154 One day, Tutay Quiri spoke to them, saying,

"Don't be sad, children, no matter what they say. Let them scorn you; in spite of it you, the Checa, will in future times have the title of *villca*. And as for those who belittle you, people will speak scornfully to them, saying,

'Little Quintis,
little bugs!' "

155 A few days later, after the brothers had talked it over among themselves, Tutay Quiri set out from Llacsa Tambo[305] to conquer the Yunca.

When they heard this news the Yunca were scared stiff and immediately began to flee to the village known as Lower Colli.[306]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Colli without a forceful pronunciation][307]

(The Colli are neighbors of the Carhuayllo.

It's a fact that[308] to this day their dead are laid in the same house of the dead, in the old highland village.)[309]

301. A report dated 1611 tells how Fabián de Ayala destroyed the mummies of a sacred cave in Santiago de Tumna. Among the "ancient captains and valiant soldiers," he found "one called Tarayquiri [*sic*], who, although he died over 600 years ago, remains so intact in body, that it is amazing" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 252). This suggests that some of the *huaca*s called children of Paria Caca were ancestor mummies.

302. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

303. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

304. Apparently segments of the patrilineages called *yumay* at any given level of inclusiveness were ranked according to the birth order of their respective apical ancestors. This is one of several narratives concerning how Tutay Quiri relieved the Checa of their lowly status as 'juniors' to the Quinti.

305. *llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta* could also mean 'the Yunca from Llacsa Tambo'.

306. Concerning the Yunca of Colli (i.e., Collique, near Lima), see chapter 9 (secs. 115, 138).

307. 'Forceful pronunciation': because in Quechua the vowel *o* only occurs adjacent to postvelar consonants, the reader might take the written *o* in *Colli* to imply that the value of *c* is postvelar ('forceful'). The note warns the reader that this is not so. Perhaps the word *Colli* is of non-Quechua derivation.

308. 'It's a fact that' added to indicate that this whole parenthesis has witness validation.

309. *aya vasipe* 'in the . . . house of the dead': a 1609 Jesuit report said the houses where mummified ancestors dwelled were "little towers, always square, (each) with a

156 Tutay Quiri descended down Sici Caya[310] ravine and also down the ravine of the Mama river,[311] moving in the form of yellow rain and red rain.

The people, some of them,[312] waited for him in their own lands and villages in order to pay him homage.

He didn't humiliate these worshipers.

On the contrary, he said to them, "Stay here; you shall come to recognize my father. Living henceforth, address the Checa as 'brothers' and say, 'We're their brothers, the youngest ones.' "

157 And in fact[313] to this day, just as he said, people who live in San Pedro Mama address the Checa, saying, "I'm your little Ami, your little Llata."

So, both the *allauca*[314] moiety and the *vichoc* moiety lived as brothers of the Checa.[315]

158 Every year, in the month of November, the Checa (that is, all the males) would go out from this village on a giant surround hunt, saying,

"We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
We go in the path of his power."

159 On that occasion they used to ask for rain. People said, "Now, in the Chanco season, the heavens will rain."

And following Tutay Quiri's track, all the *huacsa*s and the non-*huacsa*s alike left from here to conduct the hunt; they used to go and spend the night in a place called Mayani,[316] up above Tupi Cocha.[317]

160 On that day, they would trap some guanacos, brocket deer, or other animals. Regardless of who did the actual catching, if the successful hunter happened to have a *huacsa* in his own *ayllu*, he'd give the animal to him first, so that he might perform the Ayñu dance displaying its tail. Those who didn't capture anything would likewise dance but performed only the Chanco.

161 On the next day, they used to leave Mayani for Tumna.

People, men and women alike, would gather together and wait for them in the place called Huasuc Tambo, saying, "Here comes Tutay Quiri!"

This Huasuc Tambo is where a few rocks stand in the center of the plaza of Tumna itself.

In the old days, they say, people used to go there and worship on that spot.[318]

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door to the east" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247). Ruins of this form, looted but full of human bones, are visible in the San Damián and Huarochirí areas. In this passage the narrator points out that Tutay Quiri's action explains why Yunca people who live on the outskirts of Lima have ancestors enshrined in the remote mountains.

310. This is very likely to be the same toponym as Saci Caya (chap. 8, sec. 109; chap. 9, sec. 138; chap. 13, sec. 176), equivalent to modern Sisicaya. The ravine is the entrenched course of the Lurín River.

311. That is, he moved down both the Lurín (Pacha Camac) and Rímac (Mama) valleys, which form two separate courses toward the Pacific.

312. *runacunapas huaquenca* 'the people, some of them': presumably meaning a remnant of Yunca stayed there and submitted to Tutay Quiri. Chapter 24 extensively explains these people's role. By incorporating them as his worshipers, Tutay Quiri supplied the Checa, the former *sullca* (junior) group relative to the Quinti, with a group that is junior to the Checa. This sentence and the first of section 157 fulfill a prophecy of Paria Caca in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

313. 'And in fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. This begins a witness-validated passage, continuing with one interruption to the end of section 164.

314. *Allauca*, the name of a certain village, can also mean 'right-bank moiety'. Hernández Príncipe uses the term in this sense and it is mentioned in the Cajatambo idolatry trials studied by Duviols (1986: 494). The reason for supposing it functions here as a moiety title is the juxtaposition with *vichoc*, which may be related to *ichoc*, 'left-bank', the customary moiety complement. Occasionally present in Huarochirí (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 27, 89, 98), *allauca/ichoc* oppositions are common in the northern part of Lima Department and in Ancash. The name of the location today called Alloca and called Allauca in the manuscript, 16 km south of Huarochirí in the Mala–San Lorenzo valley, 1,750 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971; see chap. 30), probably is not a moiety term. Allauca *ayllu*s seem to exist in various settlements, and in the Huarochirí manuscript, too, *allauca* groups are often mentioned without moiety counterparts (chap. 20, sec. 240; chap. 22, sec. 282; chap. 24, secs. 304, 316–317, 323, 325, 332, 336; chap. 26, sec. 356; chap. 30, sec. 379, 385). In those cases the term seems to be an *ayllu* or *llacta*, not moiety, title.

315. This vaguely suggests, but does not explain, that these conquered Yunca became peacefully integrated as a pair of moieties jointly treated as fraternal to the Checa.

316. Mayani is the modern name of a high plateau 8 km west of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?) at 4,200 m above sea level.

317. Modern Tupicocha village is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

318. This sentence and the following one are validated with reportive *-si*, which is indicated with supplied 'they say', but the narration then returns to witness validation.

There, too, the Chauti[319] and the Huanri would likewise go to worship with their maize beer.

162 We know that[320] on the next day, if they caught anything, no matter how few or many animals, the *huacsa*s who'd captured them gladly proclaimed, "Now we'll have *maca*[321] tubers!" and returned rejoicing to spend the night, this time in Pacota.[322]

163 On the following day, they used to arrive back at Llacsa Tambo.

When the hunters were about to return, everyone who'd remained in the village, the old men and old women, and other people as well, would gather all together to await them with maize beer.

As they were arriving there, the waiting people would say, "They're coming in exhausted!" and pour maize beer all over the place,[323] over the people and onto the ground.

They'd pour it out right at the very entrance gate of Llacsa Tambo.

164 The hunters who'd come up from the lowlands would in turn place chunks of meat on the mouths of their hosts' jugs.[324]

After finishing this, the whole crowd sat on the open ground and they began the dance called Ayñu.

These events are called the Chanco.

When they danced the Chanco, the sky would say, "Now!" and the rain would pour down.

165 They say that[325] at the house of the *yanca* called Ysqui Caya, there was a bush or something of the sort, and from that bush flowed abundant water during the Chanco festival.

If people saw this happen, they said, "This year will give a good harvest."

If a drought were coming the bush would be dry.

In that case, people used to say, "There'll be terrible suffering."

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319. A place named Chaute today exists 5 km south of San Bartolomé at 2,600 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

320. 'We know that' supplied to indicate return to witness validation.

321. *maca*: *Lepidium*, of which various species are mentioned in botanical sources; a plant of the freezing heights, whose green parts are used medicinally. "The root is edible and is customarily cultivated in some parts of the high plateau; it is medicinal too" (Soukup 1970: 186). "*Maka* (K). *Lepidium meyenii* Desv. A species cultivated in some regions of the high plateau (3900 m.) . . . tubers: fresh, boiled, and mashed . . . are eaten by sterile women who want to become fertile" (Girault 1984: 218–219). In this context, too, it is apparently a symbol of fertility.

322. Modern Pacota is 7 km west-southwest of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?; IGM 1970–1971).

323. *yanca* 'all over the place': assuming this is the common adverb *yanca* whose range of meanings includes 'freely', 'carelessly', 'without serious intent' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 364). If it is the homonym meaning a class of priests, the sentence can also be read to mean that the priest did the pouring.

324. The hunters had finished a circuit from the heights of Mayani down to lower-lying Tumna and now back to their ceremonial center. The ceremony seems to symbolize the plenitude of varied Andean subsistence (Murra 1975a: 243–254). As well as uniting ecological levels it juxtaposes wild food—hunted meat—with beer, the cultivated and processed nourishment par excellence. The interrelationship of hunters and farmers is also highly elaborated in the dialectic of *huari* and *llacuaz*, a complex common in the Lima area, which envisions societies as antagonistic symbioses between two culturally different sorts of people (see Duviols 1973).

325. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive *-si* validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 12

166

How Paria Caca's Children Undertook the Conquest of All the Yunca People

In the tenth chapter [*sic*], we already told the story about the victories of Paria Caca's children.

Likewise we mentioned that all those villages were once full of Yunca.

Now we'll speak about them[326] as earlier mentioned:

Choc Payco
Chancha Runa
Huari Runa
Utco Chuco
Tutay Quiri
Sasin Mari
Pacha Chuyru[327]—

how they used to behave, and things like that.[328]

167 In ancient times these people we just mentioned, since they were all brothers to each other, traveled into battle together as one.

Because he was the oldest of them all, the one called Choc Payco traveled in high honor on a litter.

But Tutay Quiri was the strongest, excelling beyond the others.

Because of his strength, he was the one who first conquered the two river valleys mentioned above[329] by setting his golden staff on a black mountain at the border of Pariacha[330] called Unca Tupi.

168 Planting his staff as a curse on the Yunca, and saying, as if in disrespect for them, "The Yunca will extend to this district,"[331] he set it in place.

(That mountain where he set his staff is now called Unca Tupi Capari Caya.)[332]

169 His other brothers went ahead, climbing up on the old road by which we go from Tupi Cocha (that is, the one called the Quisqui Tambo road; the other is called Tumnacha). When they heard somebody say, "Tutay Quiri has already finished conquering everything," they turned back, from the spot from which we can see to the outskirts of Limac.[333]

326. 'Them': Paria Caca's offspring, not the Yunca.

327. Compare with the similar but not identical list in chapter 9 (sec. 113).

328. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

329. See chapter 8 (sec. 108) and chapter 9 (sec. 138).

330. Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level, far down the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971). So this is probably not the same Capari Caya mentioned in chapter 31 (sec. 398).

331. Tutay Quiri's point being that, after the seaward advance of the children of Paria Caca, the new and smaller limit of Yunca country would be Unca Tupi. This passage is difficult. Taylor (1987b: 219) gives "[Tutay Quiri] said, 'if anyone, as if to curse the Yuncas, knocks down this staff and shows disrespect, the Yuncas will conquer this territory.' "

332. This parenthesis has witness validation.

333. Modern Tupicocha is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Santiago de Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián at 2,902 m above sea level, and Tumnacha ('little Tumna') might be close to it. The syntax is confusing, and it is not certain whether the place-names Tumnacha and Quisqui Tambo refer to the routes or to the places from which the discouraged heroes turned back. The apparent meaning of this passage is that when the other brothers learned how far Tutay Quiri had advanced in the Rímac valley, they decided instead to advance down the Mala valley. The next lines seem to excuse the lesser advance achieved in the Mala lands, down toward "Caranco," by saying that although Tutay Quiri also led that campaign, he let a mid-altitude agricultural *huaca* similar to Chuqui Suso seduce him and detain the

They feared Tutay Quiri a lot because he was really powerful.

170 So they descended through the Huaro Cheri district toward the vicinity of Lower Caranco.[334]

Once more it was Tutay Quiri who led the way on the descent.

One of Chuqui Suso's sisters waited for him in her field thinking to beguile him by showing off her <crossed out:> [vagina] private parts[335] and her breasts.

"Rest a while, sir; have a little sip of this maize beer and a taste of this *ticti*," she said.

171 At that moment, in that way, he fell behind.

When they saw him do that, his other brothers likewise stayed behind, carrying the conquest only as far as the place called Pacha Marca in Lower Allauca.

If this woman hadn't beguiled them, the Huaro Cheri and Quinti fields would now reach as far as Lower Caranco and Chilca.

Further on we'll write about their individual feats and everything they did.[336]
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we'll write about their individual feats.]

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whole movement well short of "Caranco" and the coastal Chilca area.

334. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

335. *<racanta> pincaynintapas* '<crossed out:> [vagina] private parts': a plainspoken Quechua word has been replaced with a Quechua euphemism meaning more literally 'her shame'.

336. This concluding sentence and the marginal note have witness validation. At this point Taylor (1987b: 220) transcribes a marginal note in Spanish meaning, 'Here we cease writing the lives of each of Pariacaca's children and what happened and we start on Chaupiñamca'.

CHAPTER 13

172

Mama[337]

When the people of Mama are questioned today about the *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, they tell a different story.

The story told by them is like this.[338]

They say that in very early times, there was a *huaca* called Hanan Maclla.[339]

Her husband was the Sun.

Their children were Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca.

Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men.[340]

173 Accordingly they, the Mama people, in order to celebrate her festival on the eve of Corpus Christi, used to bathe Chaupi Ñamca in a little maize beer.

Additionally, some of them laid out all sorts of offerings for her, and worshiped her with guinea pigs or other such things; and all the people gathered together, both men and women, their *curaca* and their *alcalde*.

174 They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn. <Crossed out in original:> [On the next day, Corpus Christi, saying, "It's our mother's festival!" their *curaca*, in full regalia,[341] and all the rest of the people][342]

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!"

175 If somebody says, "How did you worship before the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared?" we know how[343] they reply:

"People used to drink for five days in the month of June wearing their most splendid clothes. Later, for fear of the Spaniards, they worshiped on Corpus eve."

Chaupi Ñamca's sister (the second one, Chaupi Ñamca being the oldest) was named Casa Llacsa.

337. At this point the manuscript leaps to another area, centered on a lower and more seaward village than San Damián de Checa. Mama, modern Ricardo Palma, lies in the lower Rímac valley, where desert hills hem in a narrow irrigable belt. It appears to belong to the old Yunca heartland, and this may help explain the discrepancies between its cults and those of the Checa and Concha. Mama's prominence in the manuscript may be connected to the fact that a *curaca* from Mama, Hernando Paucar, was among Avila's most important early informants and victims (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69), and also to the fact that Huarochirí-area highlanders sought to integrate some of its warm fields into their economy.

338. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

339. *hanan maclla* 'high' or 'upper Maclla' suggests a celestial deity, as does her marriage to the sun.

340. Gender parallelism in religious institutions, as suggested by these phrases, is considered a major theme of pre-Incaic organization by Irene Silverblatt (1987: 20–39).

341. This phrase is an uncertain rendering of *callañayoc* 'in possession of *callaña*', based on the dubious assumption that this is the same word as *collana* occurring in chapter 14 (sec. 194) and chapter 31 (sec. 409), where it refers to majestic garments or appearances. But if used in its wider sense, the phrase might mean 'with the leading people'.

342. Sentence fragment thus in original.

343. 'We know how' supplied to indicate witness validation, present in this sentence but not in the ensuing two sentences.

People also bathed her that evening, as well as her other sisters Urpay Huachac[344] and Vichi Maclla.[345]

176 "Chaupi Ñamca was said to be made up of five persons,"[346] the Checa say.[347]

Of these the eldest was Chaupi Ñamca, also called Cotacha or Paltacha.

Her second sister was named Llacsa Huato, the one we call Copacha.

They say[348] Llacsa Huato dwells in Chillaco.

(Not long ago, when Don Diego Chauca Huaman, the *curaca* of Saci Caya, was still alive, and until Don Martín's arrival,[349] people from Chillaco together with some other people supposedly used to celebrate her festival.

About this festival, we aren't sure in what month it took place.)[350]

177 Next, there was the one called Mira Huato, whom we call Ampuche or Ampuxi.[351]

Concerning this Mira Huato, we aren't sure where she lived. But people say, "She lives with her sister Llacsa Huato."

178 They say that[352] if people from this region, or Huaro Cheri people, or any other sort of people had a son or a daughter, a brother, a father, or any other relative who was ill, they'd go to these *huacas*' shrine to consult them.

(Their priestess as of sixty years ago is still remembered; she was named Chumpi Ticlla. And not so long ago, when Don Diego[353] was still alive, a woman named Luzía, a very elderly woman, was their priestess, a tough[354] old lady. <crossed out:> [And maybe she's still alive.])

179 When people invoked these two *huacas*, they used to pray, saying,

"Oh Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?[355]
For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?"

180 This being the case, people concluded, "No doubt they dwell as two sisters together."[356]

People came to honor these *huacas* all the more for the fact that Chaupi Ñamca wasn't straight; she'd tell people any sort of stuff. Actually, she was a liar.

So people used to visit them, saying, "Let's go and listen to our mothers Llacsa Huato and Mira

344. Urpay Huachac also appears in chapter 2 (sec. 25) as the mother of the girl *huaca* whom Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduces.

345. Likely to be a complement to or relative of (or another name for?) Hanan Maclla (sec. 172). *Vichay* means 'uphill, upslope' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 351).

346. Compare the ensuing list with the similar one in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

347. The sentence is witness-validated with *-mi* but the material in quotation marks is reportive, with *-si* ('said to be' supplied).

348. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this and the next sentence are reportive with *-si* in a context where witness validation predominates.

349. A 1588 *revisita* (tribute quota inspection; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires ms., 13-17-5-1) shows that Don Diego Chauca Huaman still held the office twenty years before the making of the manuscript. This helps date the period that the manscript's authors considered the heyday of pro-*huaca* colonial lords. "Don Martín" is probably his son, Martín Chauca Huaman, born in 1575 (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 3:1024). The aspiration of an anti-*huaca* scion to the office of a father who had protected *huacas* is a motif of chapter 20 (secs. 247–249). 'Supposedly' supplied to indicate reportive *-si* validation.

350. This sentence has witness validation.

351. One of the forms given in the original, *Ampuxi*, would probably have sounded like 'Ampushi' in English orthography if, as Cerrón Palomino holds, Spanish *x* retained the *sh* value at the time of writing (1976b: 207). But the data are not conclusive according to Urioste. This sentence and the following have witness validation.

352. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 181.

353. That is, the same Don Diego Chauca Huaman mentioned in section 176.

354. *tacyasca* 'tough': derived from a verb whose main meanings are 'to be firm, constant'. But since the speaker is unsure if the priestess is still alive, it is also possible that he is thinking of a less-than-robust person. A derivative of *tacyay* denotes a different kind of inflexibility: it means 'to stiffen from illness' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335–336).

355. *ymamantam huncuchicuni* 'what have I done to make them ill?': might also be read 'to make myself ill'.

356. *yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha* 'no doubt . . . as two sisters together': the suffix *-huan* 'with' is redundant for this reading, because *-ntin* alone signifies the union of parts. This fact leads Taylor (1987b: 231) to interpret the sentence as meaning that something else—the desired cure—is 'with' the sisters.

Huato. Whatever they advise about our faults, we'll carry it out exactly."

181 However, we know that even though people did worship them, they didn't celebrate their feast each year as they do[357] Chaupi Ñamca's festival.

And although they did honor them, they in fact went mainly to have their presence noticed,[358] saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim.

182 Next we'll talk about the *huaca* named Lluncho Huachac, the one we call Sullcacha or Sullca Paya.

She was the fourth sister.

This *huaca* reportedly[359] lived in the Canta[360] area. But we don't really know. Maybe the Canta people worship her, or even those farther on past Canta.

183 Finally, the one we call Añasi or Aña Paya lived in the ocean.

(In fact some people say, "She's the one who was Caui Llaca."[361]

Others say, "This is a different *huaca*. She lives on the seashore.")

Aña Paya[362] lives inside a cliff.

So she doesn't have a priest.

When people sought the advice of the *huaca* Urpay Huachac, they'd think it over carefully beforehand. For in speaking with her, they spoke face to face because the *huaca* had no *huacsa* priest.

When they came back from visiting her, they said, "I've gone and spoken with her," and they used to fast for a whole year, abstaining from sinning with their wives.[363]

184 All of these *huaca*s we've mentioned were named Ñamca, each one of them individually and also the sisters as a group.

When people who were worried about anything approached any one of them, in explaining their trouble to her they'd address her, saying, "Oh five Ñamcas!"

185 This is all we know about Chaupi Ñamca, Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, Lluncho Huachac, and Urpay Huachac.[364]

In the old days, they say,[365] these *huaca*s would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi,[366] your father, or your elders?"

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357. Tense in original can be read as present, perhaps emphasizing continued colonial vitality of the Chaupi Ñamca cult. The fact that this sentence is witness-validated ('we know that' supplied) suggests either present or a not-too-remote past. Witness validation continues through the second sentence of section 182.

358. *musiachicuyllapacmi* 'to have their presence noticed': Taylor (1987b: 232) has *munachicuyllapacmi* 'when they felt like it', noting *musia-* as alternative reading. Witness validation is glossed 'in fact'.

359. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 183.

360. Canta, an important colonial town, was in the upper Chillón valley at 2,837 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

361. See chapter 2 (sec. 10). The point in question is whether Añasi was the same as Caui Llaca, who entered the sea and became lithified as an island, or a separate *huaca* who 'lives on the seashore'. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('in fact' supplied).

362. 'Aña Paya' supplied.

363. *mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa* 'abstaining from sinning with their wives': since sex under these conditions would only be sinful by the tenets of *huaca* worship, this instance of *huchalliy* may not be euphemistic or specifically colonial. This also applies to section 186.

364. This sentence has witness validation. The fact that this sentence contains an ending formula, while the chapter continues, suggests a transition to a different testimony at this point.

365. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

366. What is Con Churi? See supplement I (sec. 462). Avila explains in the *Prefación* to his bilingual sermon book:

> In all the said villages there were greater and lesser idols, and there is not an Indian family, even if but a single person remains of it, which lacks its particular *penate* god in the house, in such manner that, if they came from one, eight, or ten persons, these have an idol left to them by the person who preceded them. The most important person of each family guards this and he is the person who has the right of succession to the goods and the rest, in such a way, that to guard this idol is like having right of *patronazgo* [hereditary patronage] among us, passing with the inheritance, and when, by law of blood kinship, there is no one to whom it may be transmitted, the one who possesses it usually entrusts it to the person who seems to him most appropriate by reason of affinity, or his best friend, and when he has no one to leave it to, he takes it with him, if he can, to where his progenitor is buried, which would usually be in a cave, because he was

To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." And so people went back.

186 Only after this was done first would they answer their concerns:

"You have angered that person."

"You have crossed this one."

"You are an adulteress."

"You have sinned with a woman on the feast of Paria Caca."

They gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:

"You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."

"You must sacrifice one of your llamas."

People were more than happy to obey their dicta.

Some of them recovered completely, while others died no matter how fully they'd complied.

187 Now we've heard what Chaupi Ñamca and her other sisters were like.

But the fact is that[367] in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions, and different names, too. People from Mama say one thing and the Checa say another.

188 Some call Chaupi Ñamca Paria Caca's sister.

Others say, "She was Tamta Ñamca's daughter."

(We spoke earlier about Tamta Ñamca in the fifth chapter.)

Still others say, "She was the Sun's daughter."

So it's impossible to decide.

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a prehispanic mummy, and there he leaves the said idol, and if he cannot take it there, he buries it in his house. This sort of idol has the general name of *cun churi* or *chanca*. (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255)

367. 'The fact is that' supplied to indicate that sections 187–188 have witness validation.

CHAPTER 14

189

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
In the first chapter we made some remarks about whether Cuni Raya's existence came before or after Paria Caca's.[368]

They say[369] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha did exist from very ancient times. Paria Caca and all the other *huaca*s used to revere him exceedingly.

In fact,[370] some people even say, "Paria Caca is Cuni Raya's son."

Next we'll speak about one of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's feats.[371]

190 Just before the appearance of the Spaniards, it's said,[372] Cuni Raya headed toward Cuzco.

There he conversed with the Inca Huayna Capac:[373] "Come, son, let's go to Titi Caca. There I will reveal to you who I am,"[374] he said.

191 And there he told him, "Inca, mobilize your people, so that we may send magicians and all sorts of shamans to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."[375] As soon as he said this, the Inca promptly gave the order.

"I am a condor shaman!"[376] some men answered.

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368. This sentence is written in large letters in the original, like the chapter titles. Its witness validation could make it a title, but it seems to function as an introductory remark.

369. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

370. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the next have witness validation, except for the material in quotation marks, which has reportive ('called').

371. *puchucascanta* 'feats' is derived from a verb that implies reaching of an intrinsic completion: the completion of a task, payment of a debt, end of a cycle, and so forth (see chap. 3, sec. 29, where it refers to the ending of the world). So there is a suggestion that the events to come represent the unfolding of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's purpose or will.

372. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 197.

373. Huayna Capac, the last leader of the Inca Empire before it was riven by dynastic warfare and then the Spanish invasion, ruled over an immense state at the height of its power. In various ways, most of the Quechua-speaking writers c. 1600 saw him as touched by premonitions of the impending calamity. A myth told by the "Indian chronicler" Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, seemingly related to this one, tells how a mortal illness in the form of butterflies or moths in a box felled him on the eve of Spanish invasion ([1613] 1968: 311).

374. *ñocap cascayta* 'who I am': more literally, 'my past-being (direct object)'. The perfective *-sca* suggests *ex post facto* knowledge: that is, 'what I was all along without your knowing it'. This appears to allude to chapter 1 (sec. 7), and to purported Inca prayers, which often address Vira Cocha with petitions for knowledge of where and who he is. Pachacuti Yamqui affords an example ([1613] 1968: 287–288). A recent translation from a rectified text gives the sense as:

> Oh Viracocha, . . .
>
> Where are you?
> May I not see you?
> Are you above, are you below,
> Is your throne nearby?
> Please show yourself to me . . .
>
> We your servants
> With our eyes of light and shadow turned toward you,
> We wish to see you . . . (Itier 1988: 571–572)

(For a different rendering, see Szemiński 1985b: 249.)

375. *hura ticsiman*: González Holguín glosses *ticçi* ([1608] 1952: 340) as "origin, beginning, fundament, foundation, cause." Its sense here is not obvious. The 'lower foundations' may mean the underside of the world. Taylor (1980: 111) interprets it, with equal plausibility, as "lowlands."

376. *ñocam condorpac camasca canim* 'I am a condor

"I am a falcon shaman!" said others.

"I am one who flies[377] in the form of a swift!"[378] replied still others.

192 He[379] instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, 'Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.' "[380]

The man who was the swift's shaman, together with the other shamans, set out intending to return within five days.

193 The swift's shaman was the first to arrive there.

When he arrived and delivered his message, he was given something in a small chest and warned, "You mustn't open this. Lord Huayna Capac himself must be the first to open it."

While the man was bringing it, when he'd almost delivered it to Cuzco, he thought, "No! I'll take a look inside. What could it be?" And he opened it.

194 Inside it there appeared a very stately and beautiful lady. Her hair was like curly gold and she wore a majestic[381] costume, and in her whole aspect she looked very tiny.

The moment he saw her, the lady disappeared.

195 And so, deeply abashed, he arrived at the place called Titi Caca in Cuzco.

Huayna Capac said, "If it weren't for your being the swift's shaman, I'd have you executed right this instant! Get out! Go back by yourself!"

The swift's shaman returned and brought the woman back. When he was bringing her back along the road, dying for something to eat and drink, he had only to speak and a set table would instantly be there. It was just the same when he needed to sleep.

196 He delivered her exactly on the fifth day.

When he handed her over to them, Cuni Raya and the Inca received her overjoyed.

But before opening the chest, Cuni Raya said, "Inca! Let's draw a line across this world.[382] I'll go into this space and you go into this other space with my sister."

"You and I mustn't see each other anymore!" he said as he divided the world.

And he began to open the box. At the moment he opened it, the world lit up with lightning.

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shaman': more literally, 'I am the *camasca* of the condor', and so forth. The sense of *camasca* may be understood as the inverse of *camaque* (chap. 29, sec. 372): the latter means a power giving form and force to a specific class of beings, and the former the beings so favored. In context, the sense appears to be that the shaman acquires the species powers of his superhuman familiar.

377. The implication is that these shamans engage in magical flight, a common motif of South American shamanism.

378. The Lima area has three swift species. Of these, the likeliest is the Andean swift, because it is a sierran species that sometimes flies down to the coast like the shaman in the story. All swifts are fast fliers. "*Andean swift, Aeronautes andecolus* (*Vencejo andino*). Distinguished from the preceding species [i.e., the Chimney Swift, *Chaetura pelagica*] by its longer wings, forked tail, and lighter color; with the collar, belly and rump white. Abundant in the sierra and Andean slopes, coming down from time to time on the coast" (Koepcke 1970: 78).

379. While the grammatical subject of this sentence is ambiguous (Inca? or Cuni Raya Vira Cocha?), the fact that the 'sister' mentioned is later clarified as being the latter's suggests that the subject is more likely to be Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.

380. *huc panantas* 'one of his sisters': the original is ambiguous as to whether this means Cuni's or Inca's sister, but this is cleared up later (sec. 196) when Cuni Raya Vira Cocha calls her 'my sister'.

381. The little lady's clothes were *collana*, a term used in social organization to label high-ranking descent groups of Cuzco and elsewhere (Zuidema 1964: 100–103). It implies majesty and political eminence. But 'lady' translates a Spanish word in the manuscript: *señora*. This word, like her blondness, suggests that she is an image foreshadowing the Spanish. In Inca-era politics, acceptance of a gift bride signified political subjection to the giver. So the story may be a mythic comment on the loss of Inca sovereignty. Contrast with chapter 23 (sec. 300), where Maca Uisa conserves his autonomy by refusing gift brides.

382. *cay pachacta sequison* 'Let's draw a line across this world': *ceqque* has the practical sense 'line, boundary, limit' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 81) but was often used to mean a schematic line in ideal space. Rowe (1985) and Zuidema (1964) analyze what is known of the "lines" along which the Inca capital's *huaca*s were arranged.

The line that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha impels the Inca to draw may allude to the moiety line of Cuzco, but more likely alludes to the alleged division of the Inca Empire into two at Huayna Capac's death. Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 210) relays an Inca tradition equating the former with the latter. This division is mentioned by many chroniclers as the cause of the Inca civil war, and indirectly of Pizarro's easy victory over Cuzco.

The translation of this passage depends greatly on interpretation of *pacha*. The most concrete reading would make it 'ground, earth', in which case the passage seems to concern something as local and earthly as a line drawn in the dirt. But it can just as well mean 'time and space', or 'world', which gives the passage a feeling of the vastest mythic scale.

197 The Inca Huayna Capac said, "I'll never again return from here. I'll stay right here with my princess, with my queen." To one man, a kinsman of his, he said, "You go in my stead.[383] Return to Cuzco and say, 'I'm Huayna Capac!' "

At that very moment, then and there, the Inca disappeared forever with that lady of his, and Cuni Raya did the same.

Later on, after Huayna Capac had died, people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others,

"Me first!"

"Me first!"

It was while they were carrying on this way that the Spanish Vira Cochas[384] appeared in Caxa Marca.

198 Even up to the present we know[385] many stories about Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's life.

We haven't yet finished writing down the other things he did while he was roaming through this area.

We'll treat these matters later on.[386]

383. *ñocap rantij* 'in my stead' alludes to the well-attested Inca institution of naming a 'second person' to act in lieu of the Inca.

384. *vira cochacunapas*: in this passage and certain later ones, as well as in the preface (sec. 1), 'Spanish' has been supplied to avoid confusion with the same name as applied to the deity. The use of this term to denominate the Spanish and privileged Spanish speakers survives in rural Cuzco Quechua to the present.

385. Original contains both *yachanchic* 'we know' and *-mi* witness validator. Witness validation continues to the end of the chapter.

386. Taylor (1987b: 250) shows a Spanish marginal note meaning, 'what chapter back?'

CHAPTER 15

Next We Shall Write about What Was Mentioned in the Second Chapter, Namely, Whether Cuni Raya Existed before or after Caruincho

199 Cuni Raya Vira Cocha is said to have[387] existed from very ancient times. Before he was, there was nothing at all in this world. It was he who first gave shape and force to the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and all sorts of animals, and to the fields for humankind's subsistence as well.

It's for this reason that people in fact[388] say of Cuni Raya, "He's called Paria Caca's father."[389]

"It was he who made and empowered Paria Caca."

200 "If Paria Caca weren't his son, he probably would have humbled him," all the people say.

And it's said that[390] he did thoroughly humble some villages with his cleverness, playing all sorts of tricks on them.

We'll include these matters[391] later.[392]

387. 'Is said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

388. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that the verb 'say' here and in the first sentence of section 200 has witness validation. The material in quotes has reportive validation ('called' supplied).

389. This short chapter implicitly addresses the question of whether Vira Cocha partakes (as early missionaries speculated, and later native writers affirmed) of the "true God" as seen through pagan intuition. If so, he would be prior to all *huaca*s, especially the archaic one par excellence, Huallallo Caruincho. The evidence that this chapter cites, however, is not actually relevant to that question. The chapter alludes only to testimony that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha preceded Paria Caca.

390. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

391. Cuni Raya returns (not as Vira Cocha) in chapter 31 (sec. 409).

392. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 16

201 # Here We Shall Write on Whether Paria Caca, Born from Five Eggs, Was Composed of Brothers or Whether Paria Caca Was Their Father, Things of This Kind

In chapter eight we already speculated on such matters as whether Paria Caca, when he was born from five eggs, was made up of brothers, or whether the others were Paria Caca's sons.

Now we'll write about them individually and by name.

202 As we suggested in the fourteenth chapter when we said they were sons of Cuni Raya, the Paria Cacas born from five eggs were brothers to each other.

These are their names, starting from the first:

Paria Caca
then Churapa
then Puncho
then Paria Carco

We don't know the other one.

We leave a blank space here in order to write it once we ascertain it.

Sullca Yllapa.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [n.b. His name was Sullca Yllapa.][393]

203 They say[394] Paria Carco dwells to this day at a pass into the Anti lowlands, saying, "Huallallo may return!"

In fact, we already pointed this out.[395]

But this Huallallo Caruincho isn't supposed to have[396] just escaped all at once.

When Churapa, one of the Paria Cacas, penetrated the place we called Mullo Cocha[397] and turned it into a lake, Huallallo flew away like a bird.

204 Then he entered a mountain, a mountain called Caqui Yoca.[398]

This <crossed out:> [cliff] mountain was a gigantic rocky escarpment.

Huallallo Caruincho got inside the cliff and hid there.

Paria Caca, in the form of lightning, blasted it again and again; he and his five brothers shot lightning bolts so violently they almost demolished that

393. The introductory passage that ends here is witness-validated with *-mi*, but the marginal note is reportive with *-si*.

394. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

395. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. The reference is to chapter 8 (sec. 105).

396. 'Supposed to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 209.

397. Mullo Cocha is the place where Paria Caca dislodged Huallallo (chap. 8, secs. 96–97, 104; chap. 16, sec. 203); it lies along the probable pilgrimage route to Paria Caca's great shrine on the icy heights. With its many mentions of geological formations in the environs of Mullo Cocha and the mythic events they embody, this chapter and chapter 17 (secs. 210–212) give the impression of being a pilgrim's reminiscence or guide to the sights of the Paria Caca pilgrimage route. The geological landmarks are taken as a series of three tropical monsters loosed by Huallallo and killed by Paria Caca.

398. This name and that of the canyon Caqui Yoca Huayqui (sec. 207) allude to the bird *caqui* (toucan?) that acts later in the myth (sec. 207; see note 401). Taylor (1987b: 259) suggests that both derive via "Aru deformation" from *caquiyoc* 'having a *caqui*', perhaps in reference to the shape of a geological formation.

rocky mountain, and from there they once again forced Huallallo Caruincho to flee.

205 Then Huallallo Caruincho turned loose a huge snake called the Amaru,[399] a two-headed snake, thinking, "This'll bring misfortune on Paria Caca!"

When he saw it, Paria Caca furiously stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff.

At that very moment, the snake froze stiff. It turned into stone.

206 This petrified snake, the Amaru, remains clearly visible to this day on the road named Upper Caqui Yoca.

People from Cuzco, and everyone else who knows about it, strike it with a rock and carry along the fallen chips as medicine, thinking, "Now I won't catch any disease."

207 As soon as Huallallo Caruincho fled from the cliff of Caqui Yoca, he entered a canyon called Caqui Yoca Huayqui.

Then, clambering up a mountain called Puma Rauca,[400] Huallallo thought, "From here I'll fence Paria Caca in so he can't pass through." He set against him a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan[401] and made it brandish its wing points.[402]

But Paria Caca effortlessly broke one of its wings, turned the toucan into stone, and climbed right over it.

Once Paria Caca stepped over it Huallallo Caruincho had no power left, so he fled toward the Anti lowlands.

208 But Paria Caca, with all the rest of his brothers, chased after him.

After Huallallo entered the Anti lowlands, Paria Caca left one of his brothers, the one named Paria Carco, at the pass into the tropical Antis. "Watch out lest he return!" he said.

209 Paria Carco
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Carco]
remains there today in the form of a heavily snow-capped peak.

Who worships Huallallo is something we don't know.[403]

But in the ninth chapter[404] we already mentioned that Paria Caca declared, "Since he once ate people, let him now eat dogs. And let the Huanca people feed them to him."

399. *amarocta* 'Amaru' (direct object): Amaru is the great mythic water serpent, virtually omnipresent in Andean myths, and usually symbolic of disorder erupting in the transition to a new order. It may have been visualized as resembling the boa constrictor (*Constrictor constrictor*) or anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). This particular Amaru, Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 201) tells us, was a vein or stratum of white marble. The belief that certain white minerals are prophylactic medicine is widespread in the modern Andes.

400. "Pumarauca mountain, where Huallallo Carhuincho took refuge, still exists . . . and is located exactly in the zone adjacent [to Paria Caca] when one leaves from the great ravine of the Steps [i.e., the 'Steps of Paria Caca', an ancient roadway], en route to Jauja, which is also the direction toward the jungle" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 13). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a Pumarauca Mountain 2 km north of Mullucocha, with its peak 4,950 m above sea level.

401. *huc orito caque ñiscacta* 'a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan' (direct object): as noted in chapter 1 (sec. 5), the exact meaning of *caqui* is uncertain and 'toucan' is a guess. We leave the word *caqui* visible in the translation here to reveal the salience of this bird's name throughout the passage. Whatever its species, the *caqui* is a tropical bird that in reality would never be seen on the icy heights, which symbolizes the vanished power of the Yunca deity Huallallo.

402. *chuquirichispa* 'made it brandish': appears to derive from the verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 122) gives as "*Chuquini* . . . to spear or strike spear blows." The image here seems to be that of a bird with its wing feathers fanned out and bristling like lances. The episode seemingly comments on a jagged mountain wall taken to resemble a broken wing.

403. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

404. Sections 110–111.

CHAPTER 17

210

Now we'll explain how Paria Caca returned after he left his brother Paria Carco at the pass into the Anti lowlands.[405]

The story is like this.

We've already spoken about some of the words that Paria Caca said, and also about what he instituted to establish his own cult.

But there's one story we forgot.

211 After he finished the conquest, they say,[406] he returned with his other brothers to Paria Caca mountain.

There's another snowcapped peak there, unclimbable, the mountain called Huama Yaco.[407]

(In fact, some people say about this mountain, "That's the one, Paria Caca."

Later, too, after the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared on the scene, when people saw that mountain's snowy peak from the place we call Ynca Caya, they said, "That's Paria Caca.")[408]

212 But they say Paria Caca himself lived a little farther down, inside a cliff.[409]

Paria Caca and his brothers entered this crag and made it their home,[410] saying, "Here I shall dwell. From this place you must worship me."

We mentioned the other mountain, the one called Huama Yaco, by way of saying that it was a heavily snowcapped peak, and that it was atop this mountain that the Paria Cacas rested on their way back from the Anti lowlands.

213 From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tauantin Suyo.[411]

Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsa* institution for his own worship.

Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his *huacsa*s and held him in great honor.

We call the fashion in which they gathered at that time Tauantin Suyo.[412]

214 At that time, Huallallo Caruincho, never forget-

405. All of section 210 has witness validation. It seems to contain not one but two introductory passages, the first framing the second. It may be that the first is by the redactor/editor, and the second is the informant's own introduction; the fifth sentence of section 219 may be the informant's closing formula. Chapters 17, 18, and 19 lack titles.

406. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which predominates through the fourth sentence of section 219.

407. Perhaps identifiable with the modern peak Huamalla Lapu (IGM 1954), a mountain 48 km east-southeast of Huarochirí, 5,290 m above sea level. But its location may be too distant to fit the context.

408. This whole parenthesis has witness validation.

409. Duccio Bonavia has identified a rock shelter close to Mullo Cocha, painted with llama petroglyphs, which might have been where Paria Caca dwelled 'inside a cliff' (personal communication). The fact that this sentence is validated reportively suggests that the teller may not have experienced the actual pilgrimage to this site.

410. In modern Andean myth, *apu*s or mountain deities are often spoken of as dwelling "inside" mountain peaks.

411. *Tauantin Suyo* 'fourfold domain' was the Inca name of the Inca Empire. Perhaps this passage claims for Paria Caca priority over the Incas in creating an all-Andean collectivity; but it is also possible that to the teller *tauantin suyo* had a less political sense analogous to English 'the four corners of the earth'.

412. If we take *ninchic* to be out of normal word order, between dashes so to speak, the sentence could read 'In that age when—as we said—the people of Tauantin Suyu . . . ' (Taylor 1987b: 271).

ful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *hugi*[413] to appear on the same mountain where he lived.[414] "This'll bring grief to Paria Caca!" he thought.

The moment it appeared, the *hugi* escaped into the countryside.

215 Had that *hugi* lived, it would have taken Paria Caca's life or something.

For that reason, Paria Caca commanded the people of Tauantin Suyo, "Go capture that animal called *hugi*!"

Once he gave this command,

All the people chased after it,
and yet it never fell prey.

Paria Caca flashed and stormed,
and yet it never died.[415]

216 But way far away, a man of the Checa, of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, did capture it.

Then a Quinti man spoke to him: "Brother, you've actually caught it! You're a lucky man! Just go right home displaying its tail as a sign of victory. As for the carcass, I'll take it away."

"All right," the man replied.

217 After this exchange, the Quinti man went back by a different route, and told Paria Caca, "Father, I'm the one who caught it."

Paria Caca rejoiced exultantly and praised him.

(That Quinti man's name was Choc Payco.)[416]

Later on, when the other man delivered the tail, Paria Caca upbraided Choc Payco in scathing language:

"For lying to me,
go fight with the Quinti;

They'll call you a stinker,
and your offspring, too."

218 But about the Caca Sica *ayllu* and about Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha, Paria Caca himself said,

"Because you are the one who captured it,
you have become *yanca*.[417]

I will listen to you alone,
and to everything you may tell me.

If other people have something to tell me,
they must let you hear it first."[418]

Paria Caca bestowed a name on him, too, saying, "He shall be a Ñamca, Ñamca Pariya."

219 From that time on, they, too, were *yanca*s. As for the Concha, their *yanca*'s name, too, was one bestowed by Paria Caca himself. It was Huatusi.

And similarly in all the villages the *yanca* were given names by Paria Caca.

Of what we'd forgotten about Paria Caca's life, this is as much as we remember now.[419]

413. Unidentified, and an anomalous word in the graphophonemic system of the manuscript: the combination *gi* appears elsewhere only in borrowings (*regina* [chap. 20, sec. 256], *virgin* [chap. 20, sec. 258]). This is the third and last of the monsters Huallallo Caruincho loosed against Paria Caca.

414. The place where the *hugi* appeared is unknown, but a toponym Puente Piedra Huqui ('Huqui Stone Bridge') is recorded 6 km northwest of San Lorenzo de Quinti (Guillén Araoz 1953: 230). Since stone usually represents the end of a *huaca*'s trajectory, this may be the distant point where the *hugi* was caught (sec. 216).

415. *tucoy ynantin runacona catirircan/manatacsi apichicorcancho/panas paria cacaca yllaparca tamyarcan/manatacsi huañorcancho*: the parallel structure of this passage (marked here with supplied /) suggests it may be a fragment or an altered rendering of a versified telling, hence the verse presentation in translation.

416. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chap. 12 (secs. 166–167), Choc Payco is named as the most senior and privileged of Paria Caca's offspring. This sentence has witness validation.

417. Caca Sica's eminence as *yanca* priests is mentioned in chapter 9 (sec. 118). In chapter 18 (sec. 224) a Caca Sica priest is credited with being the savior of a great *huaca*'s cult. The tendency to elevate Caca Sica suggests that within Checa this *ayllu* may have had a disproportionate share in the testimonies.

418. The curse on the Quinti and the blessing on the Caca Sica do not have an exact verse form, but they show a similarity of sequence (the accusation, the sentence, and the people's comment) and some syntactic resemblance (*-scayquimanta . . . -sonqui*). They seem to be presented as a contrasted set and are perhaps verses blurred in translation or editing.

419. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 18

220

We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa*.[420]

It's said that[421] he, the Inca himself, decreed, "Let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos[422] serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles."[423]

In obedience to that command, thirty men served him in shifts of fifteen days,[424] offering him food and feeding him.

221 One day they sacrificed one of his llamas, a llama named Yauri Huanaca.

When those thirty people examined the heart and entrails[425] of the llama, one of the thirty, a fellow called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man,[426] spoke up and said, "Alas, brothers, the world[427] is

420. This sentence has witness validation. It refers to chapter 17 (sec. 213).

421. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 223.

422. That is, from the two Inca-style moieties (visible on the Dávila Brizeño map; Rostworowski 1988 insert) of the larger region within which this mythology occurs. The division does not necessarily coincide with any locally defined duality.

423. *purapi quillapi* 'full and waning lunar cycles': Urioste (1983: 147) and Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 105) take *pura* to be the name of a month following a weakly attested datum from Juan de Betanzos and Diego Fernández de Palencia.

A better clue is Gonçález Holguín's ([1608] 1952: 296) "*pura quilla* the full moon and the waning," which Taylor (1987b: 277) follows. The 'full moon' meaning of *pura quilla* comes clearer from Urton's ethnographic account of lunar phases in modern Quechua culture (1981: 82–85). There are said to be two moons, a bright one called *pura* and a dark one called *huañu*. They rotate around each other, successively obscuring and revealing the bright (*pura*) one.

Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 16) seized on another attested sense of *pura*, 'amongst themselves one with the other', to produce a different reading: "He, the Inka, ordered the Indians of Anan Yauya [*sic*] and Rurin Yauyo to take turns monthly among themselves thirty by thirty in order to serve Pariakaka." This reading harmonizes with the next sentence, but its persuasiveness is vitiated by the case of *pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi* in chapter 19 (sec. 234), which clearly puts *pura* in opposition to *quilla* 'moon'.

424. *chunca pihccayoc punchaumantacama* 'shifts of fifteen days': the marking of *punchau*, 'day', with suffixes *-manta* and *-cama*, meaning 'from' and 'up to', respectively, occurs nowhere else in the manuscript and 'shift' is a guess at its sense. Taylor (1987b: 277) reads "from the fifteenth day [of the month]."

425. "Idolatry" trials of the period succeeding the manuscript give information on the reading of llama entrails. In one technique a ritualist would inflate the lungs of the sacrificial llama and read the sentiments of the dead, as well as presages for the future, from the air pockets in the lungs.

426. *llacuas quita pariasca sutioc* 'called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man': *llacuas* in both colonial and modern Quechua means a herdsman dwelling on the cold heights; it carries connotations of primitivism and coarseness. The antithesis between *llacuas* herders and purportedly more sophisticated valley agriculturalists was richly elaborated in many Lima-region cultures (Duviols 1973).

Llacuas here is likely to be an epithet, not part of the man's name, because, first, in section 222 he is called by name, without the word *llacuas*; and, second, in section 223, he is called *llacuas* without his name, as an insult. *Llacuas* has no English equivalent; 'mountain man' in a usage from the western United States is chosen to convey the idea of a rustic figure from the heights.

Quita, which does seem to be part of the name, means "wild (as of runaway livestock), skittish" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 310; cf. the epithet *quita yauyo* in chap. 24, sec. 306), translated 'Yauyo wildmen'.

427. As in most instances, *pacha* leaves room for in-

not good! In coming times our father Paria Caca will be abandoned."

222 "No," the others retorted, "you're talking nonsense!"

"It's a good augury!"

"What do you know?"

One of them called out, "Hey, Quita Pariasca![428] What makes you think that? In these llama innards our father Paria Caca is foretelling something wonderful!"

But at the time he said that, the mountaineer hadn't even approached the llama to inspect its innards. He had prophesied so just by watching from afar.[429]

223 The mountaineer[430] spoke out and rebuked them: "It's Paria Caca himself who says it, brothers."

Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:

"That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"

"Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo.[431] Could such a power ever fall desolate?"

"What does a guy like that know?"

They talked in great anger.

But just a very few days after the day when he'd said these things, they heard someone say, "Vira Cochas[432] have appeared in Caxa Marca!"

224 A certain man who was also from Checa, named Tama Lliuya Casa Lliuya, a member of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, is known to have[433] dwelt as one of Paria Caca's retainers.

At that time, they say,[434] there were thirty priests at Paria Caca and this Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya was the eldest of them all.

225 When the Vira Cochas, the Spaniards,[435] arrived there, they kept asking insistently, "What about this *huaca*'s silver and garments?"[436]

But the thirty refused to reveal anything.

Because they did, the Spanish Vira Cochas got furious, and, ordering some straw piled up, they burned Casa Lliuya.

When half the straw had burned, the wind began to blow it away.[437]

And so although this man suffered horribly, he did survive.

But by that time the others had handed the clothing and the rest of the things over to the Spaniards.

226 It was then that all the men said, "Very truly indeed were we warned by this mountain man Quita Pariasca!"

"Brothers, let's go away, let's disband."

"The world is no longer good," they said. And so they dispersed, each going back to his own village.

227 When the burned man from Checa healed up, he arrived at a village called Limca[438] in the territory

terpretation; alternatives would be 'earth', 'place', 'time', 'situation'.

428. *say quita pariasca*: Trimborn (1939: 48) took this to be a person's name, Sayquita, but in the absence of *sutioc* or any other name-indicating formula, and given the likelihood that *Quita* is part of the man's name, 'Hey, Quita!' seems likelier.

429. This seems to suggest that the augurers in their pedantry had failed to see what a humble man's broad commonsense could see. Perhaps this is how peasants c. 1600 felt about their wise men's failure to foresee the disastrous consequences of the Spanish invasion.

430. 'The mountaineer' supplied.

431. *chinchay suyo*: the northern and most prestigious quarter of the Inca state included most of highland Peru, all of highland Ecuador, and a fringe of southernmost Colombia.

432. That is, the Spanish. *Vira cocha* is left unglossed in the translation to conserve the sense of mystery that the original seems to convey.

433. 'Is known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

434. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 227.

435. *vira cocha chayman chayaspaca*: we supply 'the Spaniards' because at this point they are coming into focus as humans.

436. *cay huacap collquin pachan* 'this *huaca*'s silver and garments': a sentence fragment forming a direct quote, perhaps to suggest brusque formless speech (of strangers who do not know Quechua properly?).

437. *pucorimorcan*: translocative *-mo-*, 'began to blow [burning straw] away'. Taylor (1980: 127) thought the wind blew the straw fire out, but this seems unlikely because straw burns violently in wind.

438. The location of Limca is not known, but (by analogy with alternations like *Ñamca/Ñamuc*), Limca/[Limac] might be the pre-*reducción* village of "Lima" (not to be confused with the city of Lima), which Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) mentions as a former Yunca outpost in the highlands.

of the Quinti,[439] carrying along a child of Paria Caca named Maca Uisa.

<**margin**:> [Maca Uisa]

We'll describe these things in the next chapter.[440]

439. *quintip llantanpi limca sutioc llactapi*: *llanta* is problematic; it is treated here as a variant of *llacta* 'village' as in Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 208). *Llanta* recurs in chapter 19 (sec. 235).

440. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 19

228

When the former Inca[441] lived, they say,[442] this Maca Uisa, a child of Paria Caca, was taken along to help him in warfare.[443] The provinces of Amaya and Xiuaya had not yet yielded to conquest.

Because of their resistance, the Inca asked Paria Caca for one of his children, to subdue[444] those Amaya and Xiuaya people.

229 Paria Caca gave him the one named Maca Uisa.

Carrying him along, the Inca defeated them in no time at all.

From then on, the Incas revered Paria Caca even more. They bestowed gold and ample amounts of their clothing on him, and every year they made people give maize, coca, and other goods from their villages to provide for Paria Caca's thirty retainers.

230 While it was so, the Spanish Vira Cochas came over, as we said, and took everything Maca Uisa[445] had away from him.

(Subsequently, the late Don Sebastián[446] had all that was left of his things burned.)

231 And so, as we just said, Casa Lliuya resided for many years in the village of Limca, highly honored because he was the upholder of Maca Uisa.

After many years, when the Checa heard how the Quinti had done so well, the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma, who was then *curaca*, sent for Casa Lliuya, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa over here."[447]

Then Casa Lliuya, the old man who'd been burned, father of six children, came here with his children.[448]

232 When they arrived here (I mean at Llacsa Tambo)[449] they asked, "Father Maca Uisa, will you not keep careful guard over the Checa in this village?" Casa Lliuya revealed the answer by sacrific-

441. *ñaupa ynga* 'former Inca' could be read as 'first' or 'early Incas' but this appears less likely since the manuscript generally treats late Incas (naming only Tupay Ynga Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, the last two who ruled before the period of dynastic war and Spanish invasion).

442. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation. This chapter lacks introductory material and may be a continuation of the testimony interrupted by the last sentence of section 227, namely, the story of Maca Uisa.

443. Avila wrote that he met a young woman, disabled in her legs, married to a blue stone that stood for Maca Uisa in the absence of an original golden image that the Inca had taken to Cuzco ([1645] 1918: 67, 69, 71).

444. *atipai* 'to subdue': word appears truncated (*atipaipac*?) but no other reading is evident.

445. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

446. That is, Don Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca, *curaca* of Huarochirí village and province. See chapter 7 (sec. 93).

447. *huañoc* 'the late' is interlineated. On May 9, 1608, a Checa *cacique* signed his name "don juan Puipotacma" to a statement at Father Avila's trial (Archivo Arzobispal, Lima, Capítulos, Leg. 1, Exp. 9, f.91r). If this was the same Don Juan mentioned here, the episode of Maca Uisa's retrieval could refer to times as late as the early seventeenth century. On the same assumption, if this man died before the manuscript's last editing, the last editing must postdate May 9, 1608.

448. *sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamurcancu*: or perhaps as Taylor has it (1987b: 287), "came here with (a group of) six men each accompanied by his respective child(ren?)."

449. This is the only point at which the text tells where myths were collected. Llacsa Tambo is almost certainly modern Llaquistambo, an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa.

ing a llama; and it was just the same as in Huauya Cancha, where the mountain man Quita Pariasca had observed the augury.

233 When Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya's children had already perished and he himself was about to die, he spoke and said, "That's how things were when I arrived here." For he had said on arriving, "The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation[450] or disease[451] anymore."[452]

234 It was from that time onward that they upheld Maca Uisa in this village, and all the Checa served him, *ayllu* by *ayllu*, according to the full and waning cycles of the moon.[453]

On a certain night, all of them, men and women alike, would keep vigil together till dawn.

At daybreak, we know,[454] they offered guinea pigs and other things from each person individually, saying,

"Please help us and this village;
You are the one who guards it.
From each and every illness
You are the one who heals us."

235 After that,[455] dwelling in the village of Limca, Maca Uisa[456] enjoyed ample service. A whole thousand[457] of Quinti people reportedly[458] cultivated the fields of Yamlaca in order to provide Maca Uisa's drinks.

And the people who lived there got very rich[459] indeed, with all kinds of possessions in any quantity.

The Checa envied them[460] all this, and so it was that the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma dispatched some people to Casa Lliuya, who was a member of his *ayllu*, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa here. Why should he keep such a fine *huaca* in those people's[461] village?"

From that time onward, he lived here.

This is as much as we know about Maca Uisa.[462]

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450. *huaticay* 'temptation': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 187–188) gives many variants of this term, most of them Christian-influenced and emphasizing diabolical temptation. In this passage it may refer to sorcery, or perhaps to the temptations of conversion against which the saving of Maca Uisa was a bulwark.

451. *oncoypas* 'disease': in the wake of the epidemics that lashed postconquest Indian societies, the teller(s) appear deeply preoccupied with health and illness. See section 234 below.

452. *pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho* 'The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation or disease anymore': this prophecy answers Quita Pariasca's earlier prophecy saying the world was no longer good (chap. 18, sec. 221) and his discouraged fellow-worshipers' assent to it (chap. 18, sec. 226). 'Really' is added to convey the combined force of *ancha* and eyewitness validator *-mi*. The idea seems to be that on dying he sees in the well-being of his neighbors the vindication of the prophecy he had made on arriving. But the meanings of this and the preceding section are far from certain.

453. See chapter 18 (sec. 220) and note 423.

454. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

455. *chaymantam* 'after that': carries witness validation, but the main clause has *-si* reportive. This anomaly is fairly common and makes validation of some sentences less than clear.

456. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

457. *tucoy huc huaranca* 'a whole thousand': 'thousand' is an Inca bureaucratic term signaling a major demographic unit; such decimal terms remained in use in colonial Huarochirí (Spalding 1984: 54). Its use in this colonial (i.e., post-Inca) reorganization of Andean religion suggests (as do the events of chap. 20) that Inca manipulation had a substantial effect on local cultic organization.

458. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

459. *rico* 'rich', using the Spanish expression as in chapter 5 (secs. 37, 46, 60).

460. A resurgence of a pervasive theme, the Checa rivalry with the more senior Quinti (see, for example, chap. 17, secs. 214ff.). This is apparently the same incident mentioned in section 231.

461. *ymapacmi runap llantanpi* presents two translation problems. First, *runap* 'of people' does not specify what group is concerned; to minimize supplied elements, 'those' is furnished. Taylor (1987b: 291) speculates that it is a pejorative colonial usage of *runa*, which, like modern *indio*, implies baseness. Second, *llantan* is taken as a variant for *llactan*; see chapter 18 (sec. 227). Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) notes that villages and *ayllu*s regularly stole each other's *huaca*s.

462. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 20

Here Begins the Life of Llocllay Huancupa. In What Follows, We Shall Also Write about Its End

236

They say[463] the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa[464] was Pacha Camac's child.

A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form[465] while she was cultivating a field.

As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.[466]

237 But, while she was digging another time,[467] she found once again the same thing she'd found before.

"This might be some kind of *huaca*!"[468] she thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my *ayllu*," she brought it back.

238 At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampo another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay,[469] an emissary of the Inca.[470]

Cati Quillay was a *yanca*,[471] one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak.

Saying, "Who are you?

"What is your name?

"What have you come for?"

he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk.

Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, World Maker and World Shaker.

"My name is Llocllay Huancupa.[472]

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463. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 240.

464. *llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic* means 'Llocllay Huancupa, whom we mentioned above'. But in fact this is the first mention of Llocllay. Perhaps there were other testimonies that have not been included.

465. *ricurimuscantas . . . tarircan* 'she found [Llocllay's] visible form': this could mean a likeness, perhaps a precolumbian artifact (such objects were and still are sometimes taken as signs of the superhuman), but it might also mean some nonfigurative object.

466. *pachallampitac*: since *pacha* means both a location and a moment, could also mean 'immediately'.

467. *huc pachacta* 'another time': again, since *pacha* signifies both time and space, this might also mean 'at another place'. If so, its sense might be that Lanti Chumpi recognized the find's importance by its ability to move underground. Whether one reads two times or two places, the point seems to be that the *huaca* insists on being found by Lanti Chumpi.

468. A *huaca* that belonged to an extinct *ayllu* and had been lost among "roads and crossroads and wildernesses" was called a *purun huaca*, meaning a 'wild' or 'desolate' one. "When they found these . . . they considered themselves lucky and blessed, and they began to ennoble their lineages and their descent" (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 184). Hence Lanti Chumpi's excitement. All of chapter 20 through section 243 is the biography of a rediscovered *purum huaca* and the story of its cultic "ennoblement" up to and including cooptation by the Inca state.

469. Possibly identifiable with Catequilla or Catachillay, the Southern Cross (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 51) as interpreted by Gary Urton (1981: 130–131).

470. *yngap cachan* 'an emissary of the Inca' employs the Inca term for a plenipotentiary and not a mere messenger.

471. Seems to suggest that one *huaca* (presumably via its priest) could act as *yanca* of another. Taylor (1987b: 295) gives "effortlessly," reading *yanca* as the homonymous adverb.

472. Llocllay Huancupa's name signals his association with rain: Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 215) tells us *llocclla* meant "river in spate, flood." The Jesuit *carta annua* of 1609 (Taylor 1987a: 85–96) tells that *huancupa*,

"It was my father who sent me here, saying, 'Go and protect that Checa village!' "[473]

239 The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us." And since the enclosed courtyard[474] at the house of the woman who'd discovered the *huaca* was a small one, they enlarged it, and all the Checa, along with the Chauti and Huanri people, adorned her house and courtyard with great reverence.

240 They made arrangements among themselves, saying, "We'll enter in to do his service according to the full and waning moon,[475] *ayllu* by *ayllu*, with the Allauca taking the lead"; and they gave him some of their llamas.

(At the full moon they in fact[476] say,
"It's time for his arrival,"
they say,
"It's he who's arriving!")

At the Arrival festival, in the old times, people used to dance wearing the *chumprucu*[477] and the *huaychao* weavings,[478] just the same way as they wore the *chumprucu* and the *huaychao* weavings during Paria Caca's festival season.

241 They served him for many years in the way we have described.

At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared.

When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid.[479]

242 But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac.

So by worshiping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return.

People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders.[480]

They pastured these llamas in the place called Sucya Villca,[481] declaring, "These are llamas of Pacha Camac." The Inca also ratified this practice.[482]

243 They arrived to worship one *ayllu* after another,[483] and in this fashion they served the *huaca*

whose meaning in this context is unclear, formed part of the name of a specific rain *huaca* Tamiahuancupa in Checa. Llocllay Huancupa is there said to be a child of Pacha Camac, the greatest maritime *huaca*, and to be a nephew of Paria Caca, the great embodiment of the stormy heights. Rivers in spate are the connections from the latter to the former. Thus Llocllay's appearance appears a promise that these violent waters would flow to the Checa's benefit and perhaps refrain from creating the washouts and mudslides that often damage villages like the Checa's.

473. Considering that this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huaca*s afforded a safer course than fostering *huaca*s of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance.

474. *cancha* 'courtyard': for description of the enclosed Andean residential compound, see Gasparini and Margolies (1980: 181–193).

475. See note 423.

476. This whole parenthesis has witness validation and differs from the surrounding material in tense; it appears to place a contemporary custom in the remembered context of the narrative.

477. Taylor (1987b: 297) suggests a plausible derivation from words meaning 'belt' and 'headdress', hence 'turban'. Turbans are abundantly visible in coastal ceramic portrait vases and are found in prehistoric burials.

478. *huaychao ahua* '*huaychao* weavings' is an uncertain translation because the expected form would be *ahuasca*.

479. *husnocta pircaspa*: literally, 'walling an *usnu*'; the term *usnu* could mean a stone-faced step-pyramid, perhaps like the one still visible at Vilcashuamán. But in R. T. Zuidema's explication (1980) the concept expands to signify any *axis mundi*–like vertical conduit. The early "extirpator" Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 202) describes *usnu*-type shrines as 'towers' built around an axis or shaft at which worship was celebrated. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentions *usnu*s ([1615] 1980: 1:236, 239, 2:357, 413).

480. That is, like many other superhumans, he was assigned an endowment of capital goods whose products would support his cult and be distributed at his feasts.

481. Identified by Rostworowski (1978: 43) as a plateau above San Bartolomé.

482. That is, when they felt forced to increase the endowment of this Inca-endorsed *huaca*, they arranged for the Inca state to bear part of the additional cost by contributing use of Inca herding facilities at Sucya Villca. This was appropriate because Llocllay's cult was an extension of the Inca-sponsored Pacha Camac cult, and Pacha Camac's animals were herded at Sucya Villca (chap. 22, sec. 277).

483. Taylor (1987b: 299) interprets *ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan* to mean that each *ayllu* celebrated the "Arrival" rite in turn.

for a great many years. If diseases of any kind came upon them, they would tell him and implore him for well-being. Whenever any affliction or sorrow befell, or when enemies came, or there was an earthquake, people would fear him greatly and say, "His father[484] is angry!" As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries,[485] to provide for his drinks.

244 Later on, at the time when a certain Father Cristóbal de Castilla was in this *reducción* and when Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman was the *curaca*,[486] people stopped worshiping, because both of them hated such practices.

But when the first great plague of measles[487] came, people began to worship him again in all sorts of ways. As if he were thinking, "Llocllay's sending the plague," the *curaca* ceased scolding those people any longer when they drank in the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi.

At that same time, the *huaca*'s house caught fire all by itself,[488] because that was God's will.

245 Now it's a fact that[489] after Don Gerónimo died, Don Juan Sacsa Lliuya succeeded to the office of *curaca*,[490] and, since this chief was at the same time a *huacsa* himself, everybody began to live as they'd lived in earlier times; they'd visit both Llocllay Huancupa and Maca Uisa, and they kept vigil the whole night there drinking until dawn.

246 Nowadays, due to the preachings of Doctor Avila, some people have converted back to God and forbidden all these practices. But if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huaca*s as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long time.[491]

We'll let you hear this story in what follows.

247 There was a man named Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, whose father was the late Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman whom we mentioned before. This man lived a good life from his childhood onward, because his father bitterly scorned all these *huaca*s.

But when he was about to die, Don Gerónimo was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into this same sin. Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits,[492]

484. I.e., Pacha Camac.

485. *yngap çaranta sapçicunamantas* 'maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries': again emphasizes that Llocllay's cult was Inca-subsidized. The suggestion would be that, where maize is concerned, the Inca enabled them to toast Llocllay at Inca, not local, expense.

486. A 1588–1590 lawsuit over the major *cacicazgo* of the Rímac valley contains testimony by Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman, *curaca* of the Checa. Fron it we learn that he was four or five years old when the Spanish invaded Peru; he was forty years old when Jesuits taught literacy at Huarochirí missions and never learned to write. From childhood onward he attended meetings of chiefs that the Ninavilca (Huarochirí village) lords convoked at Mama and elsewhere (Murra 1980: xviii–xix). His position as a member of the generation that first managed the transition to colonial religious and political forms helps one to understand his ambivalence toward Christianity (see sec. 247; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 9-45-5-15, ff. 105v–112r; Espinoza Soriano 1983–1984).

487. Cook (1981: 60) says the first measles epidemic was perhaps in 1531–1532, with a question mark, and notes another without a question mark for 1558–1559. It seems likely that the teller means the 1558–1559 epidemic. Perhaps the resurgence of Llocllay's cult following it is a phenomenon resembling the Taki Onqoy nativist movement that arose at that time in the south-central highlands. In order to credit this interpretation one must assume that Gerónimo Cancho Huaman's rule lasted thirty-odd years.

If the date is not 1558 but later, the reference might be to the Moro Onqoy period described by Curatola (1978).

488. *paicama* 'all by itself' could also mean 'according to him' (the chief?). Either reading suggests that the fire was taken as the Spanish deity's attack on the native *huaca*.

489. 'Now it's a fact that' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 247.

490. Since Don Gerónimo was still *curaca* in 1590 according to the source mentioned in note 486, the events that follow can be dated 1590–1608.

491. A nakedly political passage setting up the witness, Cristóbal Choque Casa, as a hero. Choque Casa was Avila's close political ally. Missionary Quechua predominates in the rhetoric of the pure heart and the verbal renunciation of *huaca*s as *supay* ('demons', in missionary lexicon). 'The *huaca*s' supplied. Original has *caycunacta* 'these'.

492. The passage may have a double meaning, reflecting the double Andean and missionary senses of the word *supay*. An Andean person faced with death could well be concerned with ancient spirits, not in the European understanding of false deities, but in the autochthonous sense of deified ancestors or *huaca*s worshiped by ancestors, whose mobile parts (*supay*) could contact the living. The speaker would not have specified *mana alli* unless he supposed that a *supay* could also be good.

he confessed himself just before dying.[493]

As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now![494]

248 The deceased man's son, that is, the same Don Cristóbal we spoke of, is still alive.

It was he who once saw the demon Llocllay Huancupa with his own eyes, when he was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death.

The story is like this.

To tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross."[495]

249 Don Cristóbal said that one night[496] he went to Llocllay Huancupa's house while his lover[497] was there. Cristóbal had abandoned the worship of this *huaca*, and hardly thought of him anymore.

When he arrived at the dwelling he went into a little shed in the corral[498] to urinate.

250 From inside that place, the spot where they've put a cross, that demon appeared before his eyes like a silver plate that, mirroring[499] the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight.

When he saw this he almost fell to the ground.

Reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, he fled toward the little lodging, the woman's dwelling.

251 When he'd walked halfway there, the demon flashed three times again. When he arrived at the room it flashed[500] another three times, and the first time it had flashed[501] three times also.

So, all in all, it flashed nine times.

Seeing that demon flash so many times, and becoming thoroughly terrified, Don Cristóbal reached the place where the woman slept and woke her up abruptly.

252 Two children were also asleep there.

He was panting[502] so hard, the children got scared and said, "It's our father who's doing that!"

(These children and the young woman, too, were the offspring of the demon's priest.)[503]

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493. *ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullaycuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi* 'Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits he confessed himself just before dying': an ambiguous sentence. It could mean, as we indicate, that although Don Gerónimo relapsed into *huaca* worship in old age, his conscience at the last impelled him to confess in Catholic fashion. Or it could mean that he made his last confession to a *huaca* priest. The latter reading presupposes that the Spanish-derived verb *confesacoy* could denominate a non-Christian rite (much as *saçerdote* could mean *huaca* priest).

494. *chaytaca dios aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas* 'As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!': perhaps with a shade of satirical intent, or perhaps said in pity; since the old man was so indecisive in religious matters, who can say whether he is now in Hell or Heaven?

495. Cristóbal's testimony begins with not one but two narrative formulas: first, *cay simire cay ynam* 'the story is like this', a common one throughout the manuscript and perhaps an Andean phrase; then, *cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don christobal juramentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa* 'to tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross," ' an emphatic touch of mission culture.

496. *huc tutas don x(christob)al* 'Don Cristóbal said that one night': more literally, taking reportive validation into account, 'One night Don Cristóbal, it's said'. But the fact that we know it was Don Cristóbal himself who swore before telling the story that begins here justifies 'Don Cristóbal said that'. Since Don Cristóbal would presumably have talked in first person, the passage shows that *-si* reportive passages are likely to be paraphrases of testimony, not transcripts, and therefore unreliable as to exact properties of discourse including, for example, versification. (An alternative hypothesis would be that Don Cristóbal himself wrote the passage, trumping up the oath and third person diction.)

497. *sipasnin* 'his lover': the referent of the third person possessive marker *-n* is ambiguous (Cristóbal's lover or Llocllay's?) and the translation reflects this. The former, however, seems likelier; why, otherwise, would Cristóbal, a Christian, go to Llocllay's house? And why at night?

498. *racay huasillaman* 'into a little shed in the corral': Taylor (1987b: 305) has "into a little house in ruins (which had been the *huaca*'s sanctuary[?])." The discrepancy arises from readings of *racay*, which can mean either 'corral' or (in the form *racay racay*) 'depopulated town' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 311).

499. *tincochisca* 'mirroring': more literally, 'caused to match' (i.e., angled so as to reflect) the mid-day sun. The phrase *runap ñauinta tutayachic* reads more literally 'as what benights a man's eyes' and alludes to the darkening of vision caused by gazing at a too-bright light.

500. 'It flashed' supplied.

501. 'It had flashed' supplied.

502. *siuyaptinsi* 'he was panting': original is ambiguous as to whether Llocllay or (more probably) Don Cristóbal is the subject of this verb.

503. I.e., of Astu Huaman, who appears in chapter 21 (secs. 265, 267).

Then, just as a man entering a doorway at dusk darkens the room even more,[504] so it was also that night as the demon went in and out. The demon wanted to overpower Don Cristóbal, making his ears ring with a "Chuy!" sound, as if he were about to demolish the house, too.

253 Cristóbal invoked God, shouting out at the top of his voice all the prayers he knew, <crossed out:> [knowing] saying the *doctrina*[505] from beginning to end over and over again.

As midnight passed, the demon was overpowering him. He thought that nothing could save him, the demon was making him sweat so. Then he invoked our mother Saint Mary, saying:

254 "Oh mother, you are my only mother.
Shall this evil demon overpower me?

You, who are my mother, please help me
Even though I am a great sinner;

I myself served this very demon;
Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,

That he is not God,
That he could never do anything good.

255 You, my only queen,[506]
You alone will rescue me from this danger!

Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.
Let him rescue me right now

From this sin of mine,
And from the hand of this wicked demon."

Thus weeping and sweating[507] he invoked our mother the Virgin, our one and only queen.

256 After finishing this, he prayed saying the *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ* in Latin.

While he was reciting it, just as he was in the middle of reciting it, that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl.[508]

At that exact moment, the place became like dawn.[509] There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving a room.

257 From then on, Cristóbal worshiped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always.

In the morning he addressed all the people:

"Brothers and fathers, that Llocllay Huancupa whom we feared has turned out to be a demonic barn owl.

258 "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house. If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the *padre*. Consider carefully[510] what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.

259 Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon.

504. The simile likens the alternating glare and gloom of Llocllay's presence to the interior of an Andean house—normally windowless—that is thrown into darkness when a person enters its doorway and brightens when he steps out.

505. *doctrina*: the elementary religious lessons that Indian neophytes were required to learn.

506. *coyallaytacmi*, 'my only queen', using the word for an Inca queen, that is, a sister-wife of the Inca.

507. When Jesuits campaigned in Huarochirí in 1571, they encouraged people to "pour out tears and sobs" while renouncing the *huacas*, and intentionally "drew the business out so that [converts] would feel greater anguish." The 1571 campaign produced behavior something like Cristóbal's: the missionaries proudly reported that one convert "passed three hours weeping bitterly and conversing with Our Lord" before turning himself in to become a servitor of Catholic priests (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 241–244). These precedents suggest that chapters 20 and 21 render the subjective content of what had perhaps become by 1600 a fairly standardized cultural performance.

508. *chusic* 'barn owl': this bird's appearance echoes the image of the flashing disk. "*Barn owl, Tyto alba contempta* (*Lechuza de los campanarios*). A large owl, buffy-white below speckled with black, pearl gray to buff above, finely spotted. The feathers about the eyes form a white disk in the shape of a heart. Recognized by its light color and characteristic hoarse screech. Nocturnal, withdrawing during the day into caves, holes in trees, towers of churches, etc. In nearly all parts of our region, but never common; also in Lima. A species of world-wide distribution" (Koepcke 1970: 76). The barn owl, a nocturnal predator, seems an appropriate likeness of the nocturnal *huaca* Llocllay (his rites are celebrated at night).

509. *pachaca pacaric yna carcan*: could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning'.

510. *alli yachacoy* 'consider carefully': might also be read 'good thought'. Taylor (1987b: 311) detects a possible calque to *evangelio*, which (via a Greek etymology) means 'good news'.

From that time forward, they definitely did refrain from going there.[511]

511. *chayaita samarcancu* might also mean "they desisted from performing the Arrival ritual" (Taylor 1987b: 313).

But that night, while Don Cristóbal was asleep in his house, Llocllay Huancupa appeared to him again in a dream.

Next we'll write about this.[512]

512. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 21

260

Although a Dream Is Not Valid,[513] We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him

We've already heard that Llocllay Huancupa was an evil demon and that Don Cristóbal defeated him.[514]

But Don Cristóbal said[515] the evil demon also wanted to overpower him in a dream.

And so on the night of the very next day, the demon summoned Don Cristóbal from his house by sending a man. He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa."[516] Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on.[517]

261 He got scared and approached an old lady, a Yunca woman,[518] who lived there in that same patio.

This old lady was a Yunca woman.

"Son," she said to him, "Why is it that you don't honor Llocllay Huancupa, child of Pacha Cuyuchic the Earth Shaker? It's to find out about this that he's summoned you now."[519]

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513. *mana muscoy yupai captinpas* 'Although a Dream Is Not Valid': the original reads 'although a dream is not *yupai*'. A root sense of *yupay* is 'account'. Derivatives include 'to give account of something received, or to enumerate, to evaluate, to esteem, or to assign a price'; "*yupay* honor or esteem" and "*mana yupay* what is null or invalid or worthless or commanding no price" are further derivatives (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 371–372).

Why does the writer of the title feel a need to disclaim the value or validity of dreams? Mannheim (1987: 137) points out that the Third Council of Lima, laying down the doctrine that Avila enforced, had explicitly attacked the idea that dreams are *yupai*. Mannheim translates the council's strictures from Quechua:

> Don't be keeping [*Ama . . .yupaychanquichicchu*]
> dreams
> "I dreamt this or that,
> why did I dream it?"
> Don't ask:
> dreams are just worthless and
> not to be kept [*mana yupaychaypacchu*].

"Extirpators" energetically attacked belief in dreams and dream interpreters (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 35; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 192, [1622] 1923: 25–49).

514. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

515. 'Don Cristóbal said' supplied to indicated reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 272. Don Cristóbal may be taken as the speaker because in section 248 he is named as the source.

516. *manas paiman rine nircancho* 'He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa" ': Llocllay's name supplied as referent of *pai*. Taylor (1987b: 315) reads this differently: "He didn't say to him if he meant to go or not." The discrepancy arises from two points: first, whether one takes the messenger or Don Cristóbal to be the speaker; Taylor seems to accept the latter. Second, whether one understands the quotation to begin before or after *paiman* 'to him'; Taylor accepts the latter.

517. *ña huasinman yaicusparacsi musyacorcan* 'Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on': Don Cristóbal, supplied subject. Taylor (1987b: 315) has: "At the moment when he was about to enter his house, [Don Cristóbal] had a presentiment [of something unlucky]." This reading is justified with an explication of *musyay* suggesting it means 'enter into a trance', with connotations of precognition. Our translation is influenced by another usage of *musyasca* to mean 'in the know, aware'.

518. *huc yunga huarmi chacuas* 'an old lady, a Yunca woman': *chacuas* is a modern Quechua I word meaning 'old lady'. The alternative translation would be to take this as her personal name.

519. Presumably the old lady's speech is a reply to Don Cristóbal's invective against Llocllay on the previous day.

262 When she said that, he replied, "Ma'am, he's an evil demon. Why should I honor him?"

Don Cristóbal was gripping a silver coin of four *reales*[520] in his hand.

He dropped it[521] on the ground.

While he was searching for it, Francisco Trompetero called him from outside: "Hey, what're you doing in there?[522] Your father's really angry! He's calling you and he says, 'He'd better come in a hurry!' "

263 As soon as he said this, Cristóbal replied, "Wait a moment, brother, I'm coming right away" and rummaged for his silver coin in frantic haste.

At the moment when he found it, when he was about to leave, the demon, just as he'd scared Cristóbal before with a silvery flash[523] against his face, flashed out once again from inside the place where the cross was put.

264 Realizing that he couldn't save himself now, Cristóbal suddenly got frightened. Someone called him from inside the room, saying, "It's our father[524] who calls you!"

Saying, "All right," but deeply angry in his heart, he went inside. On entering he sat down close by the door.

265 Right then, Astu Huaman was offering drinks and feeding the *huaca*, saying,

> "Father Llocllay Huancupa, you are Pacha Cuyuchic's child,
> It is you who gave force and form to people."

As he spoke he fed him with deep veneration.

The demon, unable to speak, repeated "Hu, hu"[525] over and over again.

And when Astu Huaman offered him some coca, the demon made it crackle "Chac, chac" just as a coca-chewer does.

266 While he was doing that, a long time, Don Cristóbal saw from inside the house something that looked like a painting encircling it completely in two patterned bands. It looked as a Roman-style mural painting might if it went on two levels.[526]

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520. A four-*real* coin is half a *peso de ocho*, very commonly circulated c. 1600. The coin Don Cristóbal held was almost certainly of a design showing the quartered arms of Castile and León on one side and the arms of the Hapsburgs (probably the version obtaining during the reigns of Felipe II [1556–1598] or Felipe III [1598–1621]) on the other. The arms of Castile and León are contained within the upper left quadrant of the Hapsburg arms. The quartered space—reminiscent of Peruvian ideas of the Inca world as a 'fourfold domain'—may have figured in Don Cristóbal's dream thinking (Dasi 1950: 60, 66; Grünthal and Sellschopp 1978: 49, 60; Rodríguez Lorente 1965: 129, 153).

521. *ormachircan* 'he dropped it': ambiguous as to whether he dropped it by accident or let it fall on purpose, but the former seems more plausible since he at once tries to recover it.

522. Francisco Trompetero's surname or nickname means 'trumpeter' in Spanish and suggests a military or church musician. His question sounds rhetorical; he would have known very well why an Andean person carries a coin when visiting a *huaca*: "In some places silver is offered up in the form of *reales*. In Libia Cancharco fifteen silver *duros* [i.e., whole pesos] were found, together with some small pieces of ordinary silver. In the town of Recuay Dr. Ramírez found two hundred *duros* in a *huaca*. They generally hammer the coins or chew them in such a way that you can hardly see the royal arms. Coins are also found around *huaca*s, looking as if stained with blood or *chicha* [i.e., maize beer]. On other occasions, the priests of the *huaca*s keep the silver that is collected as offerings to be spent for their festivals" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 43; Keating's translation).

523. *collqui ñiscanchichuan* 'with a silvery flash': Taylor (1987b: 317–318) thinks the silvery object might be a silver disk hung in Llocllay Huancupa's shrine and thinks it unlikely to be the silver coin just mentioned, which he considers "a superfluous detail." In dream imagery however, the two might be conflated.

524. *yayanchic* 'our father': inclusive first person plural, conveying the speaker's assumption that the 'father' in question is also the father of the person he addresses, namely Cristóbal.

525. *chaysi chay supaica mana rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan*: if one takes *hu hu ñicacharcan* to derive from *huñiy* 'to agree' then the sense is that Llocllay here expresses his approval of the offering. But, since Llocllay appears an inarticulate *huaca*, it seems likelier that *hu hu* represents his inarticulate speech. Or perhaps *hu hu* represents an owl's cry, since Llocllay took an owl's form in chapter 20 (sec. 256).

526. *don christobalca chay huasin hucomanta tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai patarapi rinman chay hynacta*: more literally, 'Don Cristóbal saw from inside that house all on two places [levels, bands, or sides] something like a surrounding [rotating?] painted [object? pattern?], the way a Roman painted [object? pattern?] would go on two bands, like that'.

Translators differ in their efforts to visualize this difficult passage.

The wide divergences all turn on the meaning of the Spanish word *rromano*. Trimborn (1939: 114) and Urioste

On one band of the painting was a tiny demon, very black, his eyes just like silver,[527] who gripped in his hand a wooden stick with a hook. On top of him was a llama head. Above that was again the little demon and above that again the llama head.

In this way it encircled the whole house in a twofold pattern.

267 It really scared Don Cristóbal that he kept seeing all these things, and he tried to recall just what he'd meant to say.

Meanwhile, since the demon had finished eating, Astu Huaman made the fire blaze up again to burn all the things he'd offered.

268 After this was done, and when everything was quiet, Don Cristóbal began to speak:[528]

"Listen, Llocllay Huancupa! They address you[529] as the animator of humanity and as the World Shaker. People say 'He is the very one who makes everything!' and all mankind fears you. So why have you summoned me now?[530] For my part, I say,

'Is not Jesus Christ the son of God?[531]
Shall I not revere this one, the true God?
Shall I not revere his word forever?'[532]

This is what I say.

269 "Or am I mistaken? Then tell me now! Say,

'He is not the true God;
I am the maker of everything!'

so that from that moment on I may worship you."

So Cristóbal spoke, but the demon stayed mute. He didn't say anything at all.

270 At that moment Don Cristóbal defied him, crying good and loud:

"Look!
Are you not a demon?
Could you defeat my Lord Jesus Christ,
In whom I believe?

Look!
This house of yours!
Yes, you dwell surrounded by demons[533]—
Should I believe in you?"

271 At that moment somebody threw what we call[534] a *llaullaya*[535] at him.

Regarding this thing, Don Cristóbal didn't know whether that demon threw it or whether it was from God's side. For, defending himself with the *llaullaya* alone, he fled from that house all the way to the corner of the count's house,[536] always moving sideways and protecting himself with it.

Then he woke up.

(1983: 169) rendered it as concerning a Roman painting, and Taylor earlier accepted a related gloss, seeing it as a retable or mural in the style of a Roman church, but folded double (*yscay patarapi*). Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 123) judged that *rromano* refers to a scale called *romana*, that is, a steelyard scale, which could be said to 'move on two levels', and Taylor later (1987b: 319) accepted this view (see Hartmann and Holm 1985). Teresa Gisbert, the leading specialist in Andean visual arts for this period, endorses 'Roman-style painting' (personal communication). Ferrell (n.d.) considers relevant to a "banded" appearance the 1737 *Diccionario de autoridades* gloss of *romano* as 'a gray and black striped cat' (1976: 3:635).

527. Taylor (1987b: 321) has *monedas de plata* 'silver coins', which apparently echoes the coin theme starting in section 262.

528. Cristóbal now answers Llocllay's summons in section 261 by explaining why he does not respect him.

529. *ñispa ñisonqui* 'they address you': subject unspecified. The implied subject could be people in general, or Llocllay's priest Astu Huaman.

530. The point apparently being, if Llocllay really has these powers and privileges, why should Don Cristóbal's irreverence bother him?

531. Contrasting Jesus' claim to being the son of *dios* with Llocllay's claim of being the son of Pacha Camac.

532. These sentences repeat the suffix sequence *-tac-cha*, which in turn derives from two others that bespeak, respectively, forceful contrast (*-tac*) and a conjectural tone (*-cha*); the overall import is something like, but not quite like, a rhetorical question (Urioste 1973: 40–42, 51).

533. *supaipac yntupayascanmi ari tianqui* 'you dwell surrounded by demons': refers to the apparition of the checkered frieze or mural all around Llocllay's dwelling, covered with images Don Cristóbal thought demonic (sec. 266).

534. *ñiycum* 'what we call': exclusive first person plural form, implying that 'we' tellers, as opposed to the person addressed, call the object *llaullaya*. The source senses a cultural or linguistic difference between himself and the addressee.

535. Untranslated; may be an agricultural implement or a garment.

536. *condep huasincama* 'all the way to . . . the count's house': *conde* could mean a person from the *Kunti* quarter of the empire (*Kuntisuyu* in Inca terms), or a person called count (*conde*) in Spanish.

272 From that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huacas* in his dreams the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, "They're demons!"

This is all we know about this evil demon's existence and about Don Cristóbal's victory.[537]

273 On this matter: it's said that[538] in performing Llocllay's Arrival festival in the old days, the people who celebrated used to dance first until sundown.[539]

Toward dusk, the *huaca*'s priest would say, "Now our father is drunk; Let him dance!" And he would perform a dance "as if in his stead," as they used to say.

Saying, "It's our father who invites you!" he'd bring maize beer in one small wooden beaker, and put another one inside the shrine in a pot, saying, "It's he who drinks this."[540]

274 Regarding this drinking: the priest, we know,[541] would offer drinks starting from the elders, all the way down to the end of the assembly.[542]

<A **marginal addition** in Quechua begins here:>

When they finished the round of drinking, they say,[543] the priest[544] would bring the gourd from which the demon had drunk outside, to where the guests were, so they could worship that gourd.

<**Marginal addition** ends.>

The following day he'd have them carry the leftovers and edible remains to Sucya Villca.

275 In the old days, the people who'd come to celebrate Llocllay Huancupa's Arrival reportedly[545] brought the food to Sucya Villca himself.

However, we know that[546] later on,[547] after finishing Llocllay Huancupa's feeding, people also fed Sucya Villca right at that spot.

In what follows, we'll write about these food offerings to Sucya Villca, and why they fed him, and also about who Pacha Camac was.

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537. This sentence has witness validation.

538. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 273.

539. *hura pachacama* 'until sundown': see chapter 8 (sec. 103), where the same locution occurs. Other possible readings are 'at the lowlands' and 'Pacha Camac'. The latter is problematic; if Pacha Camac were intended, one would expect final *c* and a locative suffix.

540. This is a description of drinking with paired vessels, one for the deity and one for the worshiper, a gesture of religious reciprocity pictured by Felipe Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:80).

541. 'We know' supplied to indicate that this passage, to the end of the chapter, has witness validation. The marginal note has reportive *-si*.

542. 'Of the assembly' supplied.

543. 'They say' supplied to indicate that the marginal note has reportive validation.

544. 'The priest' supplied.

545. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

546. 'We know that' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

547. Possibly meaning after the Spanish conquest.

CHAPTER 22

276

We don't in fact[548] know much about the Incas' great reverence for Pacha Camac.[549]

But we do know a few things. In the highlands, they say,[550] the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"

From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"[551]

277 The Incas worshiped these two *huacas* most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.

The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca.[552]

278 Here's how we interpret this.

The Inca probably thought, "The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac.[553] It looks like there is no village

548. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates through the end of section 279. Some of the exceptions are conjectural *-cha* validations, translated with 'probably', 'it looks like', 'possibly', and 'no doubt'. It appears as though the source of these comments is giving his/her own understanding of Inca thought rather than relaying an informant's.

549. *yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascantaca manam allicho yachanchic*: Taylor (1987b: 329) has: "We do not know very well whether the Incas held Pachacamac in high esteem." But this seems the less likely of two possible readings, since the next few sections show that the speaker clearly knows the Incas did esteem him highly; in fact that is the point the chapter seeks to explain.

550. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence; however, the next sentence, which complements it, has witness validation.

551. *hanac ticsipi muchanantas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispatac mucharcancu* 'In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" ': this passage opposes Titi Caca to Pacha Camac as respectively the world's 'upper' and 'lower foundations' (*hanac/hura ticsi*). While its specific sense is uncertain, it appears to report an imperial vision of place-shrines on the highest scale, namely, place-shrines categorizing the whole world as one place. The ritual duality expresses the wholeness of the world in the image of centrifugal imperial expansion: from the world's highland center to its maritime edge.

552. Sucya Villca was a lake; see chapter 21 (secs. 274, 275) and chapter 22 (secs. 281–282, 284). From chapter 21 (sec. 275) we see that in the teller's mind Sucya Villca and Pacha Camac are closely linked. María Rostworowski (1978: 43) says Sucya Villca was a plateau above San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí, and that Sucya Cancha was there, too.

The complex of Sucya Villca and Sucya Cancha figures in the manuscript as the *coca* place par excellence. In chapter 8 (sec. 109), Sucya Cancha is a place of coca fields; in chapter 9 (sec. 124), it is the place where people went to 'trade' (*rantiy*) coca.

553. *cay ñiscanchic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñiscancunallapich pacha puchocan* 'The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac': a difficult passage. The teller perhaps thinks the Inca is reconciling two images of the edge of the

beyond these points, possibly nothing at all."[554]

279 It was no doubt with such thoughts in mind that the Incas worshiped these two *huaca*s more than the other *huaca*s, and even placed the sun next to the lowland *huaca* Pacha Camac.

The place where they set it is called Punchau Cancha,[555] the Sun Court, to this very day.

280 Reportedly they gave Pacha Camac each year[556] what's called a Capac Hucha,[557] namely, human beings[558] both female and male, from Tauantin Suyo, the four quarters of the world.

Arriving at Pacha Camac, and saying to Pacha,[559] "Here they are. We offer them to you, father!" they'd bury the Capac Hucha alive, along with gold and silver. And according to the cycles of the full and waning moon, they fed him llamas and served him drinks without pause.

281 At any time when it failed to rain in the Checa villages, the Yunca, giving their yearly offering of gold and silver according to the Inca's orders, would send it to Sucya Villca <crossed out:> [mountain] with their maize beer and *ticti*.[560]

They reportedly[561] offered all this to Sucya Villca, saying,

"Father, it is Pacha Camac who sends us here.
And you are the one who rains on the land.

When no water flows from this lake,
We humans suffer from drought.

Therefore send down rain!
This is what we have come for."[562]

282 In such years, the Yunca, too, used to bury the silver and gold that they brought next to Sucya Villca lake.

Sucya Villca's retainers were from the Yasapa *ayllu* and his llama herder from the Allauca.

(Later on, when the Spaniards were already here, a certain Yasapa man called Payco Casa saw them bury some gold and silver there.)

283 And likewise the Inca would have offerings of his gold and silver given according to his *quipu* account, to all the *huaca*s, to the well-known *huaca*s, to all the *huaca*s. He used to have them give gold *auqui*s and silver *auqui*s (when we say *choqui* we mean gold), and also gold *urpu*s and silver *urpu*s, and gold *tipsi*s and silver *tipsi*s; all this exactly according to *quipu* counts.[563]

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world: the one associated with their origin myth, in which the ocean is imagined as the deep reservoir from which Titi Caca's high-lying waters are lifted, and a coastal one, which identifies the ocean with the great seaside *huaca* Pacha Camac. The attempt to collate southern highland (especially Inca) understandings of Pacha Camac with more local west Andean ones appears analogous to the attempt to coordinate Cuni Raya of the coastal peoples with Vira Cocha of the highlanders. The phrase 'the place *they* call Pacha Camac' may be a clue; Rostworowski (1977: 198) notes that local usage called the place and its polity Ychma and only the *huaca* proper Pacha Camac.

554. The section has a marked predominance of dubitative validators, imparting a speculative tone.

555. The allusion is probably to the huge Inca temple still visible at Pachacámac.

556. In most other sources about *capac hucha*, the rite is described not as annual but as a crisis rite called on such occasions as plague, royal succession, or defeat (Duviols 1976). 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 280.

557. Capac Hucha 'opulent prestation': an all-empire sacrificial and redistributive cycle, in which offerings from all the empire's peoples were collected at Cuzco and then redistributed outward to all the empire's shrines and borders. It heavily emphasized burial of human sacrifices, which became new Inca-sponsored shrines (Duviols 1976; Zuidema 1973).

558. Hernández Príncipe tells us that they were spotless children ([1622] 1923: 60), and Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 142) that they were "married" and buried in pairs together.

559. *pachaman* 'to Pacha': alternative translations, none certain, are 'to the earth', 'to the world', or 'to Pacha' (i.e., the first part of the *huaca*'s name).

560. The validation of this sentence is unclear, both *-mi* and *-si* being present.

561. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 282.

562. These six utterances are not in semantic couplets, but their briefness and tight logical linkage gives them the aspect of an oral set-piece.

563. *choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc urpo collc horpo choc tipsi collc tipsi ñiscacunactas cochic carcan quipollamanta*: if one were to reproduce the truncated words as such, it would read: 'gol *auqui* and silver *auqui* (in saying *choqui* we mean gold) and things called gol *urpo* and silv *horpo*, gol *tipsi* and silv *tipsi*, are what they used to have given just according to the *quipu*'.

Choque is the word for gold in the Aymara-related languages; that it needs to be explained suggests a discrepancy of dialect or local culture between the teller and one or more of his audiences: scribe, translator (if there was one), compiler, or expected reader. The reason for

Of these major *huacas*, not a single one went unattended.

284 Following the same criterion, the Inca, when arriving[564] at the shrine of Llocllay Huancupa, would have them feed Sucya Villca the following morning; for there was fear of his father.[565]

This much we know about Pacha Camac, the World Maker.[566]

Regarding Pacha Cuyuchic, the World Shaker, this is what people said:[567]

"When he gets angry, earth trembles.
When he turns his face sideways it quakes.

Lest that happen he holds his face still.
The world would end if he ever rolled over."

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truncation is unknown.

Auqui may be "*auquicuna* the nobles, the *hidalgos*, lords" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 38), meaning Inca princes. Ferrell (n.d.: 5–6) offers "gold miners and silver miners," using a gloss of *auqui* from Perroud and Chouvenc's dictionary (1970?: 14).

Urpo might be 'beer vessel' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 357).

Tipsi remains unknown. Ferrell (n.d.: 7–8) interprets it as meaning *chaquira*, that is, 'small beads', because of likeness to a Junín-Huanca Quechua I term meaning a pinch or nip of something (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a: 133).

The list clearly forms a sixfold (two-sided, three-leveled) ranking of something. Of what? Despite the syntactical fact that *ñiscacunacta* suggests the six items are the things given (*-cta* is a direct object marker), the next sentence strongly suggests the point of the list is to tell the brackets of *huacas* to whom the *quipu* dictated they be given.

Zuidema (personal communication) thinks it is a classification of shrines and their respective priesthoods, citing Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:253). Guaman Poma explains that the Inca state subsidized three levels of *huaca* priests (with Paria Caca being served by the highest). The gold/silver opposition may express moiety or gender dualism.

A *quipu* is a set of cords knotted to make an abacus-like mnemonic record (Ascher and Ascher 1981).

564. *chayaspapas* 'when arriving': or perhaps 'celebrating the Arrival festival' (see chap. 20, sec. 240).

565. *yayanpa manchascan captin*: that is, fear of Llocllay's father, Pacha Camac. But it might also mean 'for he [Llocllay Huancupa] was feared by his [Inca's] father'; that is, that the Incas accepted his cult as a hereditary obligation.

566. This sentence has witness validation.

567. Narrative returns to reportive validation and chapter ends without closing comment.

CHAPTER 23

We Shall Write Here about the Inca's Summons to All the *Huacas*. We Shall Also Speak Here of Maca Uisa's Victory

When Tupay Ynga Yupanqui was king, they say,[568] he first conquered all the provinces and then happily rested for many years.

But then enemy rebellions arose from some provinces:[569] those called Alancu Marca, Calanco Marca,[570] and Chaque Marca.

These peoples didn't want to be peoples of the Inca.

286 The Inca[571] mobilized many thousands of men and battled them for a period of about twelve years.

They exterminated all the people he sent, and so the Inca, grieving deeply, said, "What'll become of us?" He became very downhearted.

287 One day he thought to himself, "Why do I serve all these *huacas* with my gold and my silver, with my clothing and my food, with everything I have? Enough! I'll call them to help me against my enemies."

He summoned them: "From every single village, let all those who have received gold and silver come here!"

288 The *huacas* responded, "Yes!" and went to him. Even Pacha Camac went, riding in a litter, and so did the local *huacas* from the whole of Tauantin Suyo all in their own litters.

When all the village *huacas* had arrived at Aucay Pata,[572] Paria Caca hadn't yet arrived. He was still grumbling, "Should I go or not?"

Finally Paria Caca sent his child Maca Uisa, saying, "Go and find out about it."

289 Maca Uisa arrived and sat at the end of the gathering on his litter called *chicsi rampa*.[573]

Then the Inca began to speak: "Fathers, *huacas* and *villcas*, you already know how wholeheartedly I serve you with my gold and my silver. Since I do so, being at your service as I am, won't you come to my aid now that I'm losing so many thousands of my people? It's for this reason that I've had you called together."[574]

But after he said this not a single one spoke up. Instead they sat there mute.

290 The Inca then said, "Yao! Speak up! Shall the people you've made and fostered perish in this way, savaging one another? If you refuse to help me, I'll have all of you burned immediately!

291 "Why should I serve you and adorn you with my

568. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter lacks the usual introductory passage and starts in reportive *-si* validation. Since the previous chapter lacks concluding comments, this may be the direct continuation of an informant's narrative.

569. *llactacunamanta*: *llacta*, usually translated 'village', can carry such expanded meanings as 'province', 'country'.

570. The lower-valley village seen as the outer limit of Tutay Quiri's conquests. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 12 (secs. 170–171).

571. 'The Inca' supplied. The unspecified third person subject might also be the rebel peoples.

572. A plaza in the heart of Incaic Cuzco.

573. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:313) shows a "second person" or alter ego of the Inca riding in his *chicchi ranpa* or 'gray litter'. The suggestion in section 289 seems to be that the litter embodies Paria Caca's authority and Maca Uisa is his "second person." The teller of this chapter knew the Inca usage; see section 294.

574. This passage and Inca speeches in the following sections appear to afford examples of the teller's idea of how Inca political rhetoric sounded, alternately exalted and brutally threatening.

gold, with my silver, with basketfuls of my food and drinks, with my llamas and everything else I have? Now that you've heard the greatness of my grief, won't you come to my aid? If you do refuse, you'll burn immediately!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [from the hand and pen of Thomás][575]

292 Then Pacha Camac spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! As for me, I didn't reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn't be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent."

293 As the other *huaca*s sat mute, Maca Uisa then spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! I'll go there. You must remain right here, instructing[576] your people and making plans. I'll go and subdue them for you, right away, once and for all!"

While Maca Uisa spoke, a bright greenish-blue color blew from his mouth like smoke.

294 At that very moment he put on[577] his golden panpipe (his flute was likewise of gold) and he wrapped the *chumprucu*[578] around his head. His *pusuca*[579] was of gold, too, and as for his tunic, it was black.

For Maca Uisa's journey the Inca gave him a litter, called the *chicsi rampa*,[580] made for the travels of an Inca in person.

The people called Calla Uaya[581] were chosen by the Inca because they were all very strong.

These people could carry him, in a few days, a journey of many days.

They were the ones who carried Maca Uisa and bore his litter to the battlefront.

295 As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.

The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.

296 When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. Striking with lightning bolts, he exterminated the great *curaca*s and all the other strongmen. Only a few of the common people[582] were spared. If he had wanted to, he could have exterminated them all. When he had overpowered them completely, he drove some of the people back to Cuzco.

297 From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more, and gave him fifty of his retainers.

The Inca said, "Father Maca Uisa, what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint."

"I don't want anything," Maca Uisa replied, "except that you should serve as *huacsa* the way our children[583] from the Yauyo do."

298 The Inca was deeply afraid when he said this,

575. The identity of the scribe(?) Thomás is not known.

576. *carpacuspa* 'instructing': Szemiński (personal communication) suggests that the modern verb *karpay* 'to instruct, to train in mysticism' (Lira [1941] n.d.: 103), although not attested in colonial dictionaries, is a more plausible gloss than one based on *carpani*, that is, 'making your tent'(Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 50).

577. *antaricorcan* 'he put on': the verb is not attested in any relevant sense in Quechua dictionaries. Urioste (1983: 183) draws on likeness to *anta* 'copper' to translate as 'he forged'. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 133) have 'he raised'. Taylor (1980: 157) has 'he played' and (1987b) 'he carried'. We draw on the possibility of an Aru borrowing related to Aymara *hanttacutha* 'to put on' (e.g., a frontlet; Bertonio [1612] 1956: 119).

578. *chumprucu*, probably 'turban'. See chapter 20 (sec. 240).

579. *pusucanri*: untranslated. Possibly related to Aymara *phuscanca* 'thigh or rump' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 281), suggesting a lower-body garment, or to *phuska* (modern Quechua) 'spindle with whorl'.

580. Like the *chicsi rampa* litter already mentioned (sec. 289), which Paria Caca presumably assigned to Maca Uisa.

581. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:305) also pictures the *calla uaya* (Kallawaya) as the Inca's fleet-footed litter-bearers. Today a people of this name is still known for wide travels and enjoys special prestige for healing abilities (Bastien 1987; Girault 1984; Saignes 1983). But Callauaya was also the name of an agricultural satellite village of Huarochirí in 1594, according to a petition preserved in the Archbishopric of Lima (Papeles Importantes 3). Whether the two names are related is unknown. See note 604.

582. *atun runacunallas*: *atun runa* 'common people' is more literally 'big man' (or 'person'). This was the Inca bureaucratic term for an able-bodied tribute-paying adult.

583. *ñocaycup churijcuna* 'our children': exclusive first person plural (i.e., children of Maca Uisa and his kin, and not of the Inca). The plural form may express Maca Uisa's self-concept as part of the plural Paria Caca persona.

and answered, "Very well then, father!" He was willing to offer Maca Uisa anything at all, for he thought to himself, "He could destroy me, too!"

299 The Inca then said, "Father, eat!" and had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand:

"I am not in the habit of eating stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells!"

As soon as the Inca gave him thorny oyster shells, Maca Uisa ate them all at once, making them crunch with a "Cap cap" sound.

300 Since Maca Uisa didn't want anything else to eat, the Inca ordered some of his Inca ladies of the nobility assigned to him; but he didn't agree to that either.

So Maca Uisa went back home to inform his father Paria Caca.

From then on, and for a long time afterward, the Inca acted as *huacsa* in Xauxa and danced ceremonially, holding Maca Uisa in great honor.

301 They gathered in Cuzco at Aucay Pata square as we mentioned, the *huacas*, all of them.[584]

Among these *huacas* seated there, as we said before,[585] it was Siua Caña Villca Coto who was the most beautiful of all. None of the other *huacas* could match this one in beauty.

This much we know about them.[586]

584. This sentence appears to have witness validation, but a slight lack of clarity in sentence boundaries makes it difficult to evaluate.

585. Not in fact mentioned before under the name Siua Caña. This allusion may mean that the lovely *huaca* embodying Villca Coto, the mountain that saved humanity (chap. 3), was represented in the Inca pantheon under a personal name Siua Caña.

586. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 24

Next We Shall Write about the Customs of the Checa, the Machua Yunca Festival and Its Dances, and, Finally, about the Origin of the People

302 When we talked in a different chapter about the children of Paria Caca, we already said a few things about their birth.

The story of their birth and their origin is like this.

Some people say[587] that there was a wild *quinua*[588] plant in the vicinity of Upper Paria Caca—the same one that's called *quinua* until today—and that humans emerged from its fruit there.

303 Other people say that blood once fell from the high heavens.[589]

It hit the ground at the spot called Vichi Cancha, in the area of that same *quinua*.

304 There the founders[590] established their villages:

Coña Sancha, founder of the Allauca,
Yuri Naya, founder of the Sat Pasca,
Chupa Yacu, founder of the Sulc Pahca,

587. Up to this point, including the verb *rimancu* 'say', the passage has witness validation, but it now shifts to *-si* reportive.

588. *quinua*: *Chenopodium quinoa*. "The nutritious seeds of this plant furnish a staple food for a large segment of the native population of Peru, replacing maize in the higher altitudes of the Andes. The red, white, or black seeds are used whole to thicken soup, to make chicha, or to be ground into flour. The ashes of the stalks may be combined with the leaves of coca, a combination that is said to increase the flavor of the latter" (Towle 1961: 36).

589. Chapter 24 owes its complexity to an antiphonal structure. It intertwines two strains of mythology (Yunca and Yauyo) and details a ritual regimen expressing the two groups' coexistence. Section 302 alludes to the origin myth of ancient Yunca *ayllu*-founders seen as the aboriginal precursors of Checa society. In ancient times, when the heights were all under Yunca power, these were born of the high-altitude *quinua* plant. Section 303 alludes to the origin of the blood-born invader groups who would impose themselves by conquest and inmarriage. In the rest of chapter 24 we learn that the blood-born groups from Vichi Cancha, who invaded Checa lands and defined the genealogy of Paria Caca so as to exalt their own mummified heroes (especially Tutay Quiri; chap. 12, sec. 167), nonetheless retained the mummies of the ancient *quinua*-born Yunca founders (sec. 341; chap. 9, sec. 115) and were concerned to claim linkage with them as a sign of legitimacy. Yunca privileges appear to be a continuing source of anxiety for Tutay Quiri's descendants and Paria Caca is made to chasten the haughty Yunca *ayllu* of Caca Sica for slighting their Yauyo in-laws (secs. 305–314). The invader groups putatively descended from Tutay Quiri claimed to have taken over and preserved the Yunca founders' names, rights, and *huaca*s wholesale (sec. 316). *Quinua*-born *ayllu*s like Caca Sica, which were permanently considered Yunca (perhaps because they contained Yunca people or perhaps only because they had obtained the old Yunca titles), enjoyed priestly privileges and danced the role of Yuncas in the Machua Yunca rites (secs. 327–340) as well as taking prominent part in Paria Caca's ceremonies; other rites (secs. 316–326) celebrated the invader-heroes. The unifying theme of this chapter is the ritual arrangement that in Checa joined the Yunca inheritance, symbolizing legitimacy, to the power-oriented ritual of blood-born *huaca*s affiliated (perhaps only after the remembered invasions) with Paria Caca.

590. 'The founders' supplied; subject of *llactachacorcan* 'they founded' unspecified. An important fragmentary note by Avila, accidentally included in his trial record and interpreted by Taylor (1987b: 353), clearly identifies three of these (Chupa Yacu, Yuri Naya, and Chauca Chimpita) as founding heroes of San Damián–area *ayllu*s. They were described as "grandfathers" ceremonially fêted and clothed, that is, mummies. They were still extant c. 1608.

Paco Masa, founder of the Yasapa,
Chauca Chimpita, founder of the Muxica,
and, as founders of Caca Sica, those Yunca[591] we have called Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha.

All these, the actual founders of the village, were Yunca people.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Huari Cancha Llichic Cancha were Yunca.]

305 The others, the Morales of Caca Sica and also the forefathers of the Cancha Paycu, were Yauyo.[592]
<**margin**:> [Morales Yauyo]
Their place of origin is called Maurura,[593] in the Aya Uire[594] area.
These people, who used to roam around as wild[595] nomads, married the sisters of Huar Cancha. "We and our in-laws will work things out among ourselves within the community," they said, and they settled down in this village.

306 When these people went to worship Paria Caca, their in-laws and all the Checa insulted them, calling them "Yauyo wildmen," so they used to go last, lagging way behind.
Since they suffered miserably when these people insulted them like that, they tagged along in the rear for a great many years.
"Father," they told Paria Caca on one occasion, "here's how it is: these people,[596] they and the Checa, insult us all the time. And we're your own creatures, even if we're Yauyo people!" They cried bitterly as they told this.

307 Then and there Paria Caca gave his command: "Children, don't grieve. Take with you this, my golden headdress. You must dance holding it up in Llacsa Tambo, at the place called Poco Caya. Then they'll say, awestruck, 'What people are these? They're the beloved of Paria Caca!' From that time on they won't insult you so."

308 And so when the Yauyos arrived in the rear of the Checa, carrying that golden headdress of Paria Caca's, jubilant, the other people were seized with fear.
The next day, the Yauyos danced and sang holding up the golden headdress while everybody in that place stood awestruck.

309 Some others say this:[597] in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*.
Even though at that time they deeply scorned the ones called "wild Yauyos," they said, "Let them carry offerings,[598] too."
The Yauyos did take them but they arrived at Paria Caca when the sun was already rising.

310 Because they were grieving bitterly, Paria Caca said, "Why are you so distressed, O Anta Capsi?" (Their old name had been Pacuyri.)
Then and there Paria Caca bestowed on them his gift, saying, "Take along this golden headdress. When people see it they'll no longer scorn you."

311 On one occasion they went to worship Paria Caca, carrying along the golden headdress.
But while they were crossing the river called Pari Ayri they dropped it.
They searched for it like anything, all the way upstream and downstream. But it didn't turn up, so they went to Paria Caca without it.

312 When they arrived on the morrow, the golden headdress stood there right at Paria Caca's side.
Although they begged for it in tears, he refused. Rebuking them harshly, Paria Caca said, "You didn't win it in victorious warfare, that you should go around showing it off everywhere so boastfully, and even bringing it here, thinking, 'We'll show it to the one who gives us power, to our maker.' "

591. Original has *yañcacuna*; since these groups are elsewhere said to be *yancas* (chap. 17, sec. 218), the translation '*yanca*' would be tenable here. But the next marginal note indicates the meaning here as Yunca.

592. The point being that the Caca Sica *ayllu* (chap. 9, sec. 118; chap. 17, sec. 216), although of ancient Yunca origin, had within it a Yauyo group called Morales. Recently in-married and of foreign stock, they were scorned, as succeeding sections tell.

593. Maurura may be Malleuran, a hamlet north of Ayaviri, 3,346 m above sea level in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

594. A modern town called Ayaviri is 29 km south-southeast of Huarochiri in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

595. As in the name of Quita Pariasca (chap. 18, sec. 221), the word *quita* 'wild' alludes to the qualities of untamed or skittish animals.

596. Meaning: the Yauyos' immediate in-laws?

597. Witness validation up to the colon, then *-si* reportive.

598. 'Offerings' supplied.

313 "Father, are we to be humiliated so?" they cried bitterly. "Please, return it to us or give us something else instead."

"Children," replied Paria Caca, "go back. I'll give you something during my sister Chaupi Ñamca's festival. Wait until then."

And so back they went.

314 And as he'd foretold, on Chaupi Ñamca's festival, in the courtyard called Yauri Callinca, on top of the wall, a very beautifully spotted wildcat appeared.

When they saw it, they exclaimed joyfully, "This is what Paria Caca meant!" and they held up its skin as they danced and sang with it.

(Hernando Cancho Uillca, who used to live in Tumna, was in charge of it.

But by now it's probably gone all rotten.)[599]

315 We've already spoken about the origin of the people.[600]

Those whom we mentioned are said to be Tutay Quiri's children; the others are known to have come forth from the fruit of a tree.[601]

As for Tutay Quiri, they say he was born in Vichi Cancha.[602]

Later on, he came and overpowered all the villages of this area, saying, "My children will live here!"

316 As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children[603] had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllu*s, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations.[604] Their names, by *ayllu*, were:

Allauca
Sat Pasca
Pasa Quine
Muxica
Caca Sica
Sulc Pahca
Yasapa.[605]

When we say Yasapa we mean silversmiths. They were silversmiths.

And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllu*s.[606]

317 Then, after sharing the villages out among themselves, they received their *huaca*s, ranking them from Allauca downward:

The Allauca received Maca Calla.

The Sat Pasca, we know,[607] received Quimquilla.

This Quimquilla was considered to be[608] a *curaca* among *huaca*s, and for this reason was esteemed more than any other.

318 Next, the Sulc Pahca and the Yasapa received the *huaca* called Ricra Huanca.

The Muxica received Quira Raya.[609]

The Caca Sica received the *huaca* named Llucma Suni.

The Huanri and the Chauti were in fact[610] the actual natives of the village from early times.

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599. The first sentence of the parenthesis has witness validation and the second *-si* reportive.

600. This sentence has witness validation. A different version of how invaders took over the system created by the *quinua*-born founders begins here. This version centers on cults of mummified or preserved heroes of invasion: Tutay Quiri (see note 601), Ñan Sapa (secs. 319–323), and Chuta Cara (secs. 324–326).

601. That is, the above-mentioned Yauyos are Tutay Quiri's children, while those who scorned them were of the *quinua*-born Yunca founding *ayllu*s (sec. 302). 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which immediately gives way to witness validation ('are known to have').

602. That is, Tutay Quiri is of the blood-born (sec. 303).'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 317.

603. 'Tutay Quiri's children' supplied.

604. That is, the conquerors not only seized the wealth of the vanquished, but even organized themselves according to the pattern and terminology of preexisting autochthonous society. A lawsuit of 1594 explains that *ayllu* Callaguaya of Huarochirí (see chap. 23, sec. 294) took on this name by displacing a Yunca group of the same name (Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima, Papeles Importantes 3, f. 10r). See note 581.

605. This list of captured categories differs in order but not in content from the list associating these groups with their respective ancestral Yuncas in section 304.

606. *chaypac sutintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin ayllocunapas* 'And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllu*s': may mean that the other captured names, like Yasapa, imply specializations.

607. This sentence has witness validation.

608. 'Considered to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

609. This sentence has witness validation.

610. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following sentence.

In a different chapter we already told how they worshiped Tutay Quiri.[611]

319 So, as we've said, as soon as Tutay Quiri finished his conquests, his children came here and danced their dance of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha.[612] They danced and sang, calling the rite Masoma. The one called Ñan Sapa was a human being.[613]

Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.[614]

But they made another one to be his proxy.

This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.[615]

320 They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri*[616] in his ears and bore the *canah yauri*[617] scepter in his hands.

In ancient times, these were made of pure gold.

The Inca carried off that gold.

His staff was named Engraved Rod.[618]

And the seashell named *cori cacya* came with it.

321 Saying, "He is our origin; it was he who first came to this village and took charge of it," people flayed his face[619] and made it dance as if in his own persona.

If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying, "This is our valor!"

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, "Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first."[620]

322 Obeying this, they'd offer food and drinks to the other *huayo*s, saying, "This day you shall dance with me on the plaza."

They actually[621] used to bring out the *huayo*s and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with their maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings.

323 About this hanging of *huayo*s, people remarked,[622] "The *huayo*s will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha,[623] carrying these things along with them."

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611. See chapter 11 (sec. 161). Though not of invader stock and not resident in Checa, these groups take part in many Checa rites (see chap. 20, sec. 239), including those of Tutay Quiri. The next four sentences have reportive validation.

612. Vichi Cancha: where blood fell and invader groups originated (sec. 303).

613. Possibly meaning that this *huaca* consisted of a human mummy, that of a key ancestor. His cult is apparently one component of the "dances of origin" by which invader lineages commemorated their ties to the mummified founders (sec. 304).

614. This may refer to the Inca custom of removing important local *huaca*s for inclusion in the Cuzco pantheon, which is the theme of chapter 23. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

615. The removal of the original *huaca* by the Inca is validated with reportive but the removal of its substitute by Avila is witness-validated ('we know').

616. *rinri* 'ear' indicates this was a specific type of earspool. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 322.

617. *yauri* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347) means 'scepter' or possibly 'lance'.

618. *quillcas caxo* 'Engraved Rod': a marginal note (supp. II, sec. 480) tells us that *caxo* meant a stick; *quillcas* means 'painted', 'inlaid', or 'engraved'. Avila himself described this object as "a copper spear engraved with various designs" that functioned as a *huaca* in its own right ([1645] 1918: 67).

619. *oyanta cochuspa* 'flayed his face': that is, made a sacred mask that would conserve the persona of the fallen or sacrificially killed hero (and not as torture of the living). *Huayo* in the next passage means, as a 1609 Jesuit report (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247) explains, a human face prepared as a mask "with its actual skin and bone." When the preserved face was displayed in a dance, it received offerings of llama fat in return for sharing its vital powers.

620. The point appears to be that when a captive faced sacrifice, he asked that, both immediately before his death and ever afterward when transformed into a face-mask, he always be duly fêted before entering into his conquerors' ceremonies.

621. 'Actually' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

622. This sentence and the next have reportive validation.

623. Uma Pacha, we learn in section 324, was apparently a *huaca* who came from Vichi Cancha, and represented the origin of a group that saw itself as derived from the blood fallen at Vichi Cancha (sec. 303). In chapter 31 (sec. 403), the invaders' union with the Yunca autochthones of Checa is cemented when the surviving Yunca boy Yasali becomes priest of Uma Pacha and serves the blood-born groups derived from Vichi Cancha.

But Uma Pacha is probably a generic category of *sacra* (from the Jaqi word *uma* 'water'), associated with high lakes and seemingly imagined as sources at which bio-

They would speak with a different pronunciation when they addressed one another, twisting their mouths to one side.[624]

During Ñan Sapa's festival, we know they carried on dancing for five days, and the Allauca did the same.[625]

324 In another place, there was said to be someone called Chuta Cara, also known as Uma Pacha.[626] <**margin**:> [Masoma Chuta Cara]

He himself had come from Vichi Cancha along with the others.

He existed as a man and congealed into stone.

He still held the sling he'd used as a human being, and his *visa*[627] was decorated with likenesses of birds.

325 And then there was the *huana paya*, a conch trumpet; when he blew it, the local *huacas*[628] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Means 'idol'.] would divide up the llama herds.

He emerged with that very object.

It was because of the llamas that some people conserved *huana paya* conch trumpets.

We know people from Allauca used to perform these rites at the festival of Chuta Cara.[629] As llama owners, the Checa and the Concha and whatever other people also display those conch trumpets.

326 And it's known that[630] they danced these same rites for two years, just one time per year.

Therefore, since the ritual cycle lasted two years, they performed the dance only twice in all.

After that, they danced the dance named Machua for two years.[631]

327 The people who, as we said before, had Yunca names[632] were the ones who danced for two years in Machua festival season.

Braiding[633] some straw called *chupa*, as they say,[634] and tying together a lot of wooden slats,

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logical vitality is renewed. The mostly Yunca-oriented Machua rite also addresses it (sec. 335). The ethnographers Valderrama and Escalante (1988: 187–189) suggest that the shrine today called Umahala in the Colca valley belongs to the same class as ancient *oma pacha*.

624. In modern Quechua folk ritual, people performing as mythic personages often speak in unnatural ways (especially falsetto). But another reading is possible. Since Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 304) gives "*simicta qquencuchini* to twist one's words toward another matter, or not to say plainly and truthfully what one has heard," *chaysi rimacospapas huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochispa rimac carcan* might be read 'when speaking of this, they used to give a different version, distorting their testimony'. The point would then be that, prior to Avila's research, natives dissembled about the tradition of rites involving human trophies. Or, less probably, the sentence might simply mean that other people recount other versions.

625. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied).

626. The narrative now turns to a third formerly human *huaca* who led the invaders from Vichi Cancha. 'Was said to be' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

627. *visa* untranslated. 'Shield'?

628. *llactacuna* in original appears to mean 'villages' or 'settlements'. But, as the marginal note clarifies, it is used here to designate the local deities who were understood as the patrons of human settlements.

629. Could also mean the rites were performed in order from Allauca downward (sec. 317). 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

630. 'It's known that' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following three sentences, which form a passage about the calendric organization of dances.

631. The succession described appears to be an alternation of two-year cycles:

CYCLE A	year 1 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
	year 2 Second *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE B	year 3 First *mita* of Machua
	year 4 Second *mita* of Machua
CYCLE A	year 5 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
	(and so forth).

632. That is, the groups that in section 316 were said to have received the names of pre-existing Yunca groups and taken over their *huacas*. The overall sense is that the Checa community, which was formed by conquest and intermarriage between blood-born invaders from Vichi Cancha and *quinua*-born Yunca aborigines, alternated between two-year periods in which it celebrated Vichi Cancha origins (e.g., in the Masoma rites honoring Ñan Sapa and Chuta Cara as just described) and two-year periods for the rites now to be described, which are rich in Yunca symbolism.

633. *pirtaspas* 'braiding': Taylor (1987b: 381) originated this reading, still conjectural but warranted by *piltay* 'to braid' in modern Tarma and Ancash Quechua.

634. 'As they say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 328.

they'd bind[635] two effigy bundles around with the straw.

The height of these bundles was seven and a half armlengths.

Their girth was about what we could hold in a two-armed embrace. On these effigies' heads they'd put some wild straw named *casira*.[636] It has bright red roots. "It's their hair," they'd say.

328 Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.

The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.[637]

After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*,[638] and they'd begin to let fly at the targets.[639] Their spear was called *vihco*.[640]

329 We know that on the day before this spear-throwing everybody used to go to the *caullamas*.[641] They brought their llamas along adorned with bells and earrings, just as they did on their way to Paria Caca.

All the people would reportedly[642] go to Chaucalla and to the mountain of Tambo Sica, named Curri, each going to his respective *caullama*.[643]

As they traveled to their *caullamas*, they'd go along blowing the conch trumpet, making it resound again and again.

It was in fact[644] for this purpose that each of these people and some who just chanced on them[645] would carry and display these conch shells.

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<**margin**:> [*chuta*]

As soon as they'd erected the two *chutas* they began to throw the spears.

They say that[646] while the people threw spears, while they entered into competition hurling spears *ayllu* by *ayllu*, the women would dance without drums and chant these words:

"Receive your poor forlorn children!"

And to the Huasca effigy, they'd likewise say,

"Receive, too, your poor forlorn children!"[647]

331 If these spear throwers hit the *chuta*'s hair, then whichever person was in charge[648] advanced them into the top rank ahead of all the other *ayllu* members.

Then he'd[649] bring a macaw wing or any such thing and give it to the *yanca*.

332 (The *yanca* of the Checa afterward is known to

635. *pilluic carcan* 'they'd bind': on the assumption that *pilluic* is an agentive form, erroneously or irregularly written, of *pilluy* 'to bind', and not related to *pilluini* 'to swim' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 285).

636. Unidentified.

637. Taylor (1980: 171) has observed that the terms *yomca* and *huasca* may be interpretable in the light of "Aymara-type transformations which characterize the text." If affected by the same metathesis that causes *ñamca* to appear at times as *ñamoc*, *yomca* might be *yumac* 'inseminator' (i.e., patrilineal progenitor). Adducing an additional southern Quechua shift, Taylor suggests *Huasca* might be interpreted *huachac* 'one who gives birth' (perhaps implying 'matrilineal ancestress').

638. *tamta* 'feather ruff': same word occurring in chapter 5 in the name of the opulent Tamta Ñamca (see Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation).

639. 'At the targets' supplied. The sentence has witness validation.

640. *vihco*: an otherwise unattested word, perhaps related to modern *wikch'uy* 'to throw'. 'Their spear' supplied.

641. *caullama*: Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 29; Keating's translation) says a *caullama* was a household deity guaranteeing fertility of livestock. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('We know that' supplied).

642. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this and the next sentence.

643. Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) says rights in each *caullama* were inherited as a *mayorazgo* (i.e., a privilege descending in primogeniture).

644. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this and the next sentence.

645. *taricnincunaca* 'who just chanced on them': more literally, 'their finders'; it is not clear whether this means finders of conch shells or those who happened to meet people on the procession.

646. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 331.

647. In the invocations to both the male-engendering and the female-bearing effigies, the word for 'child' is *churi*, 'child of a male'. In ordinary speech the child of a female is called *huahua* and not *churi*. It sounds as though both effigies are being addressed as fathers. One possible explanation of the anomaly would be to take *churi* as the "unmarked" term, including all forms of parentage not specified as uterine mother-child tie and therefore including figurative or symbolic motherhood. Alternatively, one might take the two effigies as being in fact both male, one the father of males and the other of females.

648. 'Was in charge' supplied.

649. Or 'she'd'. Whether an officiant or the successful lancer brought it is not explicit. The implication may be that the macaw wing was given to a *yanca* representing the victorious *ayllu*.

have been[650] Martín Misa Yauri, and the late Juan Chumpi Yauri was that of the Allauca.)

333 After one *ayllu* finished throwing, the *yanca* would reportedly[651] shin up the *chuta* effigy carrying the macaw wing called *puypu*.

He'd pull out the *vihco* spear and stick the macaw wing in where it had hit, to mark the spot.[652]

Then another *ayllu* would compete, and then still another, and so forth.

334 Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,

"She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"

and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,

"He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods,[653] and all kinds of animals!"

335 When they'd finished throwing spears at both *chuta* effigies, the contestants who'd hit the hair or the part called the "eye" would present one of their llamas to the *yanca* and say, "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha."

Regarding this small llama, the llama-owner wouldn't take away much of it.[654] No matter how many llamas there might be, it was only those who'd been ordained *yanca* who could take them away and eat them.

336 Very early the next morning, we know,[655] all the people would go to Quimquilla.

They say[656] this *huaca* called Quimquilla owned a whole lot of llamas and all sorts of other possessions.

"He'll favor me with some of that wealth!" thought all the people, including the Allauca, as they went along. "I'll ask for some llamas for myself there."

337 On their way there, they used to carry a small amount of their *ticti*, maize beer, and coca leaf, and they made the *huana paya* conch trumpet resound over and over.

On the first day, those of the *vichoc* moiety[657]—that is, all the Sat Pasca, the Sulc Pahca, and Yasapa—would dance at Quimquilla shrine itself, chanting,

"We flourish!"

as they slaughtered their llamas.

338 Then, as we know,[658] they went down to the flat land that lies above the place where Quira Raya was located.[659]

(This plateau is called Huara Caya.)

Then, just as they'd erected Yomca and Huasca effigies in Llacsa Tambo, so also they set up *chuta* effigies the same way here, this time for llamas.

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650. 'Is known to have been' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

651. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 335.

652. The figure of Tamta Ñamca, whom Huatya Curi cured in chapter 5 when all the land was Yunca, shares some of the symbolism of this section and its motif of Yunca-derived ceremony. His name Tamta alludes to the ceremonial garment *tamta* (sec. 328), and his roof decorated with macaw wings resembles the straw effigy similarly decorated here. Contests played for ceremonial rank form the climax of his story as of this rite. A 1609 Jesuit report describes a different ritual game of skill employing feather decorations and Yunca costumes (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247).

653. *chauaracta* 'agave fiber goods': based on "*chhahuar* cabuya" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 92). *Cabuya* or agave fiber is widely used to make rope, coarse sandals, harnesses, and so forth. Taylor (1987b: 386) explains the discrepancy between *-racta* and the expected *-rta* as an "Aru [i.e., Jaqi] influence."

654. *anchantaca* 'much of it': given the information in the next sentence, it is tempting to read *anchantaca* as an error for *aychantaca*, 'its meat'.

655. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

656. Return to reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 337.

657. *vichuc maricuna* 'those of the *vichoc* moiety': *ichoc* is the usual term complementary to *allauca*. Chapter 11 (sec. 157) has *allaucam ari vichocam ari*, which we translate as 'both the *allauca* moiety and the *vichoc* moiety'. If this is emended to *allaucamari . . . vichocamari* (as in Taylor 1980: 94), *vichuc maricuna* here becomes clearly intelligible in moiety terms. Referring back to sections 304 and 316 would yield a system under which *vichoc* Checa includes the three *ayllu*s named here, and *allauca* Checa includes Allauca, Muxica, and Caca Sica.

There are other possibilities: *vichuc mari* might be the name of an otherwise unattested group comparable with Sat Pasca and the others. Or *vichuc* might be an agentive form of a verb derived from *vihco*, the ceremonial spear (sec. 328). None of these account for the otherwise unknown word or morpheme *mari* (which seems also to occur in the name of Paria Caca's last or next to last "son" Sasin Mari; see chap. 9, sec. 113; chap. 12, sec. 166).

658. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 340.

659. Quira Raya may be the name of a settlement destroyed by *reducción*, the forced resettlement of the 1580s, or of a *huaca*.

They threw their spears for llamas, both males and females.

339 At the end of the spear throwing, they used to give their llamas to the *yanca* just as they had in Llacsa Tambo, saying, "Worship on my behalf and I shall be well."

On their way back here, they'd travel all in a group, just as when they went away to Quimquilla; they came back hauling their llamas adorned with bells.

340 They call this journey the Carco Caya.

About the way they traveled, with a slow and undulating motion,[660] people said, "We're rounding the Huaroca."[661]

As they rounded the Huaroca, they'd go along blowing the *huana paya* conch trumpet over and over again.

This is all we know, all we know about the Machua festival.[662]

341 About these Yunca populations in Llacsa Tambo, some people say, "They were reputedly Muta Caya people."

"They were Colli," others say.[663] Just so. But the ones we referred to as Colli resided in Yaru Tini.[664]

In what follows we'll write about this group's life.

660. *coyoi coyoilla* 'with a slow and undulating motion': might also be read 'just barely moving'.

661. Untranslated; the verb *tumani* denotes circular motion so it may be the name of a round monolith or hill. Or if Huaroca is not a proper noun but a variant of the similar word meaning 'sling', the phrase might be a metaphor for a swinging motion like that of a sling.

662. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

663. The issue is whether the Yunca people resident in Checa lands were members of the Yunca polity of Collique (near Lima) or of the (otherwise unknown) Muta Caya. Both contrasting opinions are expressed with reportive validation ('reputedly'); that is, the people cited contrary traditions.

664. Yaru Tini may be modern Yelutina, 15 km northwest of San Damián (IGM 1954), a high location far from the coast.

CHAPTER 25

342 # Here We Shall Write How the Wind Blew the Colli People from Yaru Tini Down to the Lower Yunca[665]

The native people whom we call Colli are said to have[666] resided in Yaru Tini.

One day Paria Caca arrived in Yaru Tini, their village, while the Colli were drinking.

Taking a seat at the far end of the banquet, Paria Caca sat there like a poor miserable stranger.

343 Not a single person was willing to offer him a drink.

Only one man finally invited him to drink.

"Give me some more, brother," said Paria Caca to the one who'd offered him the drink.

The man gave him more.

Paria Caca then asked, "Please give me a quid of your coca leaf."

The man[667] gave it to him.

344 Paria Caca said to him, "Brother, when I come back here, you'd better hold on tight to this tree. Don't tell these people anything. Let them have their fun." Then he went away.

345 Five days later, a violent wind rose up.

This wind whirled every single person of the Colli head over heels two or three times and whisked them off into the far distance.

When it swept them off, some of them wandered around disoriented and died.

Others the wind brought alive to a mountain in the vicinity of Carhuayllo.

This mountain is called Colli mountain up to today. The people of the mountain, however, have perished. Not one of them is left.

346 But that one man who'd given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he'd been told, and was spared.

When Paria Caca was finished sweeping everything away, he said to him, "Brother, now you're alone by yourself. You must stay here forever. Later, when my children come to worship me from this spot, a quartet of guest *huacsas*[668] (that means four)[669] will provide coca leaf for you to chew in perpetuity.

"As for your name," he added, "you shall be

665. This myth appears related to chapter 11 (sec. 155), which alludes to the expulsion of some Colli Yunca to lands bordering Carhuayllo.

666. 'Said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 346.

667. 'The man' supplied.

668. *corpaya huacçacuna* 'guest *huacsas*': the sense is uncertain; *corpaya* may be derived from "*ccorpa* guest" or (less probably) "*ccorppa* clod or clump of turf" (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 69); *-ya* remains unexplained. That they number four is also odd. This myth does not seem relevant to Incaic fourfold (*tahuantin*) organization, while five and its multiples usually signify plenitude in Paria Caca's mythology.

669. *chusco quiere dezir cuatro* 'a quartet . . . (that means four)': this Spanish explanatory parenthesis indicates that someone—teller, translator, scribe, or editor—expected the audience to be unfamiliar with *chusco* 'four', a word common in the Andean north but different from the usual south Andean word *tahua*. The translation uses the Latinate word 'quartet' to contrast with more familiar 'four' and thereby suggest the feeling of lexical discrepancy.

called Capac Huanca."[670] And he froze the man[671] into stone.

347 When Señor Doctor Avila came to the very spot where Capac Huanca dwelled, he in fact[672] broke the *huaca*[673] with some other people's help.

After he broke it, he heaved it downhill.

This much we know about the people called Colli.

And so, exactly according to Paria Caca's command, the *huacsa*s yearly provided that *huaca* with coca to chew forever.

670. *Huanca*s were and are *huaca*s in the shape of monoliths; *capac*, the opposite of *huaccha* 'poor and friendless', means 'rich and influential'. Like chapter 24, this story explains in mythic terms how the conquest of the Yunca who once occupied the heights resulted in retention of Yunca *huaca*s.

671. 'The man' supplied.

672. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence and the remainder of the chapter.

673. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

CHAPTER 26

How Paria Caca Defeated Maca Calla. How He Established His Children after His Victory[674]

348 We know[675] that Maca Calla lived on a mountain overlooking the village of San Damián.

It was on this Maca Calla mountain that the aboriginal people of that village reputedly[676] lived, the ones called Pihcca Marca.

The ones called the Sutica are known to have[677] lived there, too.

One day while these villagers were drinking, they say,[678] Paria Caca arrived in the village.

Arriving, he sat down at the far end of the banquet.

349 As he was sitting there, not a single person offered him a drink.

Paria Caca got angry, and so, five days later, he rose up as red rain and yellow rain and exterminated that village.

350 Some people tell another story.[679]

They say[680] some of the aboriginal villagers in Maca Calla were playing with the hunting *bolas*. Others were drinking.

Meanwhile, a little puff of fog[681] appeared out of the high mountain called Canlli.

And then, little by little, some rain, a red rain, started to fall.

Then lightning began to flash.

351 Everybody got scared when these things happened. "What's this?" they wondered, never having seen anything like it.

Some said, "It's the enemy!" and took a defensive stand.

Others ran away.

352 One was a man called Armicu.

He had lots of children, and rousing them, he cried, "Come on, let's go, let's go and die on our own field!" They ran away to their field.

When they arrived at their field, he[682] froze them and turned them into stone.

That man who turned to stone stands there still, like a man with his children. Even today people call them the Armicu.

353 Some people tried to escape, but wherever they fled the red rain caught up with them. Right on the spot they turned to stone.

The rest of the people back in Maca Calla also froze into stone the same way.

354 Weeping bitterly, one man of the Sutica *ayllu*

674. This chapter expands on how the Allauca 'received' Maca Calla (chap. 24, sec. 317).

675. San Damián de Checa is a *reducción* village on the Lurín headwaters at 3,235 m above sea level 22 km west-northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). This sentence has witness validation.

676. 'Reputedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

677. 'Are known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The remainder of sections 348 and 349 have reportive validation ('they say').

678. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 349.

679. This sentence has witness validation.

680. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the fourth sentence of section 357.

681. *aslla pucutay* 'a little puff of fog': 'fog' supplied; *-tay* unexplained.

682. Reference unclear; could be Paria Caca or Armicu.

said, "Maca Calla, my only father, will it be my lot to up and leave you, just like that? I have to get away right now. There's no more force left in me to overcome this miracle."[683] While he wept, Maca Calla's head fell down right before him.

He picked the head up where it fell, and made it fly away instantly transformed into a falcon.

This man was imbued with a mighty shamanic power!

355 Maca Calla was just like a man, with a head, feet, and hands.

So, after he made the head escape, the man settled again on five mountains in Llantapa[684] and multiplied.

We call the mountains where he settled, where he built the villages, Pihcca Marca.[685]

356 Maca Calla's head exists in Pihcca Marca until today.

The people there say, "Here, we have Maca Calla's protection," and they call their firstborn children Canricha. Likewise the Allauca, who are also members of a community affiliated with Maca Calla, call them Canricha just as the Pihcca Marca do.[686]

357 Later, Tutay Quiri went and conquered them.

During that time, the *ayllu*s called Sutica returned to this area. "We'll go and settle amid our fields and our land, amid our villages. We'll fear and revere Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri," they said, and they came back.

In the village of San Damián the Sutica are now completely extinct.[687] Their survivors are in Sucsa Cancha, in Tumna.

683. *milagrocta* 'miracle': usage of the Spanish term 'miracle' to signify a disastrous supernatural retribution is characteristic of Andean writing in this period. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980) consistently assimilated it to the Andean idea *pachacuti* 'world-changing disaster'.

684. Perhaps the suggestion is that the five members just mentioned—head, feet, and hands—reconstituted themselves as the five parts of Pihcca Marca. Llantapa mountain was one end of the mythic bridge over the Lurín valley (chap. 5, sec. 73).

685. Pihcca Marca means 'Five Settlements'. This may refer to a five-peaked mountain called Cerro Cinco Cerros ('Five Hills Hill'), visible from San Damián and identified locally as the site of an extinct community.

686. See chapter 24 (sec. 317).

687. Like the genealogical part of chapter 31 (secs. 443–446) this passage apparently alludes to the extinction of whole named corporate groups in the course of the European-introduced epidemics. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 27

How in Former Times, on the Fifth Day after Their Death, People Said, "I'm Back!"[688] We Shall Write about These Things

358

In very ancient times, they say,[689] when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.

The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"[690]

When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."

359 Some people say, "At that time Paria Caca didn't exist yet, so the souls flew up high to Yauri Llancha."

<**margin,** in Quechua:> [Before Paria Caca or Caruincho appeared, people emerged at Yauri Llancha and at the place called Vichi Cancha.][691]

360 The dead used to come back[692] after five days.

When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoice immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.

They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"

361 And so, at that time, people swiftly increased in number. They lived in great suffering, miserably gathering their food, terracing both cliffs and ledges for their fields.

362 When things were like that, a certain man died. After his death his elders, his brothers, and his wife waited for him on the fifth day, when he was due to arrive back.

But the man didn't arrive. It was on the next day, that is, on the sixth day, that he arrived.

So his elders, brothers, and wife were feeling furious as they waited for him.

When he arrived, his wife was enraged, and she gave him a terrible bawling out: "Why are you so damn lazy? Other people never let us down by failing to come. But you, yesterday you made us wait for you, and all for nothing!"

363 In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.

The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.

Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.

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688. This myth evidently belongs to the body of belief about primordial times, because section 359 says major *huacas* had yet to appear and because the content is prefigured in chapter 1 (sec. 4).

689. Except for the title, this chapter is entirely in reportive validation and contains no evidently editorial insertions.

690. *animanri huc chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan* 'The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!" ': the Spanish and Latin term *anima* may be an attempt to render the sense of terms like *upani* (Duviols 1978), referring to a light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person. A fly, which is a light, dry, flying form of life that emerges from the dead body, may be a metaphor for, or the actual body of, this Andean 'anima' (see chap. 28, sec. 367).

691. Yauri Llancha is the place from which the conquerors of Concha (chap. 31, secs. 389, 394, 446) are said to have originated. Vichi Cancha is the place from which the conquerors of Checa originated (chap. 24, secs. 303, 315, 319, 324; chap. 31, sec. 389). The selection of Yauri Llancha as the *pacarina* or origin shrine to which the dead return suggests that this chapter has a Concha source.

692. That is, presumably, came back as flies and then recovered their full human bodies. Otherwise the next passage would not make sense.

CHAPTER 28

364

How People Used to Feed the Spirits of the Dead[693] during Paria Caca's Festival and How They Thought about All Saints' Day in Former Times[694]

In another chapter[695] we have already told how, when people traveled to worship Paria Caca, they used to cry for their dead and feed them.

Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn't yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have[696] said, "The Spaniards also give food to their dead,[697] to their bones, on All Saints' Day,[698] they do feed them. So let's go to church. Let's feed our own dead."[699]

365 In former times people took along all sorts of foods cooked to perfection.

And when a person died, remembering how things used to be long ago, people used to wait, saying, "Our dead will return in five days. Let's wait for him."

They used to keep nightly vigil until the dawn of the fifth day after his death.

366 On the fifth day, a <crossed out:> [person] woman would put on her fine clothing[700] and go to Yaru Tini, saying, "I'll bring him back from there," or "I'll wait for him and then come back."

Then, they say,[701] that woman would go there carrying different foods and maize beer.

367 At Yaru Tini, as the sun was rising, the dead spirit would arrive.

In the old times, two or three big flies—people

693. *animacunacta* 'spirits': the same word is used in chapter 27 (sec. 358) to signify the escaping remnant of the deceased. In the body of this chapter, however, the dead who are fed are not called *animas* but *huañoc*, 'die-ers' (that is, existing though not living persons; see Urioste 1981). The Andean dead were felt to have personal existence as long as any part of their bodies, or even clothing or an effigy, was conserved.

694. *ñaupa pacha* 'former times': this instance of the common phrase is important because it tells us that the makers of the manuscript thought of earlier parts of the colonial era within the category *ñaupa pacha*.

695. That is, chapter 9 (secs. 127–128), the explanation of Auquisna and its rites for the dead.

696. 'Are known to have' added to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 366.

697. *ayanta* 'their dead': *aya* seems to mean a person already established as a deceased member of society (formerly through mummification) as opposed to a person in transition to this status (*huañoc*). *Aya*, not *huañoc*, lived in the 'house of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155). The term *mallki* 'mummy' does not appear in the manuscript although at least one *huaca* (Ñan Sapa, chap. 24, secs. 319, 320, 323) seems to have been a mummy.

698. That is, on November 1. Olivia Harris (1982: 56–57) has suggested that the modern Laymi Aymara ritual for this day, which resembles the one described here, achieves "the socialization of the graveyard" and the initiation of a wet-season regimen bringing the living and dead close together. It ends at Carnival.

699. Andean tradition required careful conservation of the dead in caves or 'houses of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155) where they were regularly visited and fêted. Andean people considered Christian burial, which Spanish clerics forced upon them, an affliction because it precluded feeding and clothing one's departed kin. Ancestors buried in Christian graveyards were imagined as starving and suffering while they decayed. Many natives were punished for rescuing their kin from graves. The ritual described here seems to be an attempt to mitigate anguish about burial.

700. *pachanta* 'her . . . clothing': third person possession marker *-n-* ambiguous in reference; can also be read as clothing of the deceased.

701. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 369.

call them *llacsa anapalla*[702]—would light on the garment she brought.

368 She'd sit there for a long while. As soon as those maggots called *huancoy*[703] worms left the corpse, the woman would say, "Come on, let's go to the village." And as if to say, "This is him," she'd pick up a small pebble and come back.

When the woman arrived, and when the dead person's home had been hurriedly swept clean, they started feeding him.

After the food, they offered the deceased drinks. Once the deceased had eaten, they also ate.

369 At <crossed out:> [deep] dusk, all his *ayllu* kinspeople danced five times, wailing.

When they'd finished dancing and wailing five times, they threw the pebble the woman had brought out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet."[704]

370 On that day we know[705] they divined with a spider,[706] asking, "Why did this man go and die on us?"

The diviner[707] would reply, saying of the *huacas*, "Because this one was angry" or "Because that one was angry"; if he mentioned Paria Caca or any such *huaca*, people fulfilled the command by sacrificing a guinea pig or any other thing they had.

This is as much as we know about those who've died.

371 In Huaro Cheri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints' Day, "Let's leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church" and they cook up some potatoes and pieces of jerky[708] well seasoned with red pepper, and put it out, just as if it were food for people to eat, and also toasted maize and boiled meat, as well as a small pitcher of maize beer for each of the dead.

They lay out all the things we've mentioned, because they think, "It's likely that the dead do eat." Maybe this is what they have in mind when they offer them plentiful hot dishes of all sorts.

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702. Unidentified. *Llacsa* 'blue-green ritual powder' suggests the brilliant color of a bluebottle fly. *Anapalla* may be related to *ayapaura*, the name of "a big fly that dirties the flesh," mentioned in a trial of "idolators" in Otuco in 1656 (Duviols 1986: 64–65). The mourners waited for this fly to appear on the deceased's clothes because they thought it was the returning soul. This idea is also explicit in chapter 27 (sec. 358).

703. Taylor (1987b: 419–420) shows that the word *huancoy curo* used here may be an error conflating *huancuyro* 'bee' with *curu* 'worm' (specifically glossed by Gonçález Holguín as a kind that infests "bodies"; [1608] 1952: 56). Taylor gives 'bee' in his translation with the caveat that it appears really to refer to the above-mentioned flies. But perhaps *huancoy curo* is used in the correct sense of *curu* 'worm', meaning a larva or maggot infesting the dead body, and not the sense 'bee'. The point would then be that the cadaver must be left long enough to breed worms so its *anima* can emerge and escape in the form of flies.

704. In the later "idolatry" trials, which often prosecuted Andean mortuary ritual, rites of this sort are described as taking place one year after the death. At that time the lingering 'person' here symbolized by the stone was dispatched from his household. The final farewell to the dead, called *kacharpariy* or 'sendoff', has survived into modern Quechua culture.

705. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

706. The spider is here called by the Spanish-derived word *arañu* (also in supp. I, sec. 450). Spider divining is described by Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 32) and in various "idolatry" documents. Spiders were subjected to torture and then inspected to see which feet were injured or missing. A 1613 Jesuit report says killing the appropriate type of spiders other than sacrificially was prohibited by *huaca* priests (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 188, 194).

707. 'The diviner' supplied.

708. *charquincunactari* 'pieces of jerky': the English term is derived from the Quechua name (*charqui*) of this Andean invention.

CHAPTER 29

372

How Something Called the Yacana Comes Down from the Sky to Drink Water. We Shall Also Speak about the Other Stars and Their Names

They say[709] the Yacana, which is the animator[710] of llamas, moves through the middle of the sky. We native people[711] can see it standing out as a black spot.[712]

The Yacana moves inside the Milky Way.[713] It's big, really big. It becomes blacker as it approaches through the sky, with two eyes and a very large neck.

This, we know,[714] is what native people call the Yacana.

373 They say[715] if a man was in luck and fortunate, the Yacana would fall right on top of him while it drank water from some spring.

As its woolly bulk pressed down upon him, someone else would pluck out some of its wool.

374 That apparition would occur at night.

In the morning, at daybreak, the man would look at the wool he'd plucked out. Examining it he'd see the wool to be blue, white, black, and brown, of every hue, thickly matted together.

If he had no llamas, he'd worship at the place where he had seen the apparition and plucked the wool, and trade for some llamas right away. After worshiping he'd trade for a female and a male llama.

Just from the two he'd bought, two or three thousand llamas would soon come.

In old times the Yacana[716] revealed itself this way to a whole lot of people all over this province.

709. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins with reportive validation.

710. *camaquin* 'animator': Juan Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 3–5) said, "in general [the Incas] believed that all the animals and birds on the earth had their likeness in the sky, in whose responsibility was their procreation and augmentation" and went on to describe a celestial herd prototype much like this one. Bernabé Cobo's *Historia* ([1653] 1964: 2:159) has more details on this astrologylike complex.

Polo seems to be referring to the concept *camay*, of which this sentence is a *locus classicus*. Taylor (1974–1976: 234) suggests imagining *camac* as an entity that (1) is above and outside terrestrial reality; (2) is a prototype of earthly instantiations; and (3) functions to vitalize earthly instantiations by charging them with their specific essence and energy. *Camaquin* employs an agentive suffix and is probably a near synonym to *camac*.

A similar example is *chuchucollor*, two stars considered as creators of twins (Huertas Vallejos 1981: 88).

711. *ñocanchic runacunapas* 'We native people': some Andean constellations are reckoned negatively (consisting of dark spots within the Milky Way) and thus are not easy for non-natives to see. Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:119; Livermore's translation) mentions the Yacana as one that native people tried unsuccessfully to make him see. But *ñocanchic* is inclusive first person plural, indicating that the person speaking included his audience among those who see constellations this way, namely, *runa*. This suggests that the testimony was gathered in a dialogue among *runa* people and not with any Spanish person.

712. The *yacana* is one of the 'dark cloud constellations' discussed by Gary Urton (1981: 169–170, 185–188).

713. *mayo* 'Milky Way', literally, 'river': the Milky Way was interpreted as a cosmic river through which water, having run down to the sea, circulates back up into the atmosphere. Urton (1981: 54–69) discusses related modern ideas.

714. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this sentence only.

715. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 375.

716. 'The Yacana' supplied.

375 In the middle of the night, when nobody is aware of it, the Yacana drinks all the water out of the ocean.[717] If the Yacana failed to drink it, the waters would quickly drown the whole world.[718]

376 A small dark spot goes before the Yacana, and, as we know, people call it the Tinamou.[719]

This Yacana, they say, has a calf. It looks just as if the calf were suckling.[720]

Also, we know[721] there are three stars in a straight line.[722]

They call these the Condor, the Vulture,[723] and the Falcon.

377 Next are the ones we call the Pleiades;[724] if they come out <crossed out:> [very] at their biggest people say, "This year we'll have plenty." But if they come out at their smallest people say, "We're in for a very hard time."[725]

They call another constellation, which stands out as a perfect ring,[726] the Pihca Conqui.[727]

378 Certain other stars always appear very large.

People give them the names Poco Huarac, Villca Huarac, and Cancho Huarac.

In the old times, people, or at least some few of them, reportedly[728] used to worship them, saying, "These are the animators, the makers." The rest still worshiped these stars as they were rising,[729] spending the appropriate nights in sleepless vigil, but said, "We'll hold the other *huacas* in higher honor."[730]

This is all we know.[731]

717. That is, the Yacana, descending from the center of the sky, sucks up water from the waters surrounding earth. (This may refer to the period during the dry season when the llama and other dark cloud constellations remain below the horizon.) The cosmological metaphor links the way llamas descend from the high slopes to drink at lower-lying waterholes with the way the atmosphere "drinks" water from the ocean.

718. That is, if the Yacana failed to suck water up from the ocean into the atmosphere, the ocean would rise and drown humanity. Compare with chapter 3 (secs. 29–34), where a llama warned a man that the world was about to flood; perhaps the llama knew that Yacana, the master llama, was going to omit drinking.

719. The bird commonly and misleadingly called "partridge" in the Andes; see chapter 6 (sec. 87); see also Urton (1981: 171, 181–185). 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

720. Taylor (1987b: 429) has: "When it suckles, the Yacana wakes up." This reading rests on the double sense of *rihcan* 'appears'/'awakens'. 'They say' added to indicate reportive validation.

721. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 378.

722. Perhaps Orion's belt.

723. *suyuntuytapas* 'Vulture': black vulture, *Coragyps atratus*, or turkey vulture, *Cathartus aura jota* (Koepcke 1970: 38).

724. Here the Pleiades are called by their Spanish name, *cabrillas*. A common Andean name for the Pleiades is *onqoy*. The Pleiades cult was the astronomical part of the Corpus-tide (summer solstice and preharvest or harvest-time) peak of the ceremonial year. "Confessions are made during the solemn festivals, of which there are three each year. The most important of these is close to Corpus Christi. It is called Oncoy Mitta, which is when the constellation called Oncoy appears. They do homage to this constellation to keep their corn from drying up" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 49; Keating's translation).

725. Urton (1981: 118–120) discusses their salience in agricultural forecasting; today they are often called *collca* 'the storehouse'.

726. *muyo muyolla hamucta* 'stands out as a perfect ring': could mean either that they move in a circular path or that they are arranged in a ring.

727. Urton (1981: 100–101) identifies a constellation *pisqa coyllur* 'the five stars', probably the Hyades, which might be the same as *pihca conqui*. Alternatively, *pihca conqui* might be the curved tail of Scorpio, which Urton identifies as one of the two *collcas* or constellations of crop augury.

728. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

729. *sicamuptin* 'rising': probably heliacal rise, not nightly rise. Heliacal rise is the first day on which the star is visible in the east before dawn.

730. The meaning of the sentence varies slightly depending whether one takes *yallichisac* to mean 'set in higher position' or 'advance one's fortunes'. Taylor (1987b: 431) has: "The other people used to say, concerning these *huacas*, that according to tradition the fact of worshiping them would make them prosper. And so they worshipped these stars staying awake without sleeping during the night they appeared." Either reading squares with Cobo's understanding of star cults as devotions through which a person might win the *camay* force proper to his or her status or identity ([1653] 1964: 2:160).

731. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 30

379

How Two *Huacas*, a Male and a Female, Dwell in the Lake of the Allauca in Purui. We Shall Write about Their Lives

In very ancient times, so they tell,[732] there was a man called Anchi Cara.

This Anchi Cara came to dwell[733] by the water at a spring named Purui, to ensure that water would come to the fields of the Allauca.

While he was there, a woman from the Surco[734] area, a Picoy[735] woman, came over to him.

The woman's name was Huayllama.[736]

380 "Brother," this Huayllama said as soon as she arrived at Purui Spring, "very little water comes to my field. Are you the only one who draws water here? What are the rest of us supposed to live on?" And she sat down right inside the spring.

381 Since she was a fine and beautiful woman Anchi Cara fell suddenly in love[737] with her, and he greeted her with gentle words.

Then the woman refused to let the water flow in this direction.

When she did that he addressed her in polite language, saying, "Sister, please don't do this. What'll my children live on?"

382 At this point, Anchi Cara's children came over and sloshed[738] the water out toward Lliuya lake.

(Just below that spring there are two small ponds, which we already mentioned, called Lliuya and Tuta lakes.)[739]

Three or four small elongated rocks stand inside Lliuya lake.

These are said to be Anchi Cara's children.

383 If his kids hadn't come and sloshed that water out all the time, very little indeed would flow down here.

(Even so, we know, only a small amount flows down.)[740]

384 Once they'd finished arguing about the water, the two of them, Anchi Cara and his woman Huayllama, sinned together.[741]

"I'll stay here forever!" each one said after they'd sinned together, and they froze into stone.

These stones are there until today. His children likewise dwell in Lliuya lake.

This is all we know about them.[742]

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732. 'So they tell' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins in *-si* reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 382.

733. *tiamun* 'came to dwell': not in the unambiguously past *-rca-* tense, as the subsequent sentences are.

734. San Gerónimo de Surco (see chap. 3, sec. 31), in warm valley lands of the lower Rímac. The story seemingly allegorizes a rivalry over a high lake coveted by the Allauca of Checa and by Surco.

735. Picoy is mentioned by Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 163), as San Jerónimo de Picoi, a forced resettlement village close to Surco.

736. This sentence has witness validation.

737. *enamoraspa* 'fell in love': using a Spanish-derived expression.

738. *vischomorcan* 'sloshed . . . out': more literally, 'threw', this word might be a technical term meaning 'diverted'. But, given the sometimes comic tone of sex/irrigation myths, the image here might rather be that of children playfully sloshing the water out of the spring.

739. This sentence has witness validation. These lakes have not been mentioned previously in the manuscript; presumably the phrase refers to material edited out.

740. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied). A crossed-out Spanish phrase meaning 'even so' is replaced with the equivalent Quechua.

741. *huchallicorcancu* 'sinned together': using a shame-oriented colonial term.

742. This sentence has witness validation.

385 Later on, at the time when they were settling into this area, the *huacsa*s of the Allauca *ayllu* used to go to Purui in order to clean the canal at the end of the rainy season.

As they arrived, the *huacsa*s, however many there were, would walk around Lliuya lake[743] blowing on their panpipes.

386 After walking around the lake, the *huacsa*s would go to greet Anchi Cara, who stood over the water.

With just a few words, they'd throw in a little of their coca, and then return to the lakeshore.

On the lakeshore they worshiped Anchi Cara first, then his children, and finally Lliuya and Tuta lakes themselves.

387 In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don't have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have.

After finishing this worship, all the people began to dredge out the canal.

This is as far as the story goes.[744] The account of their existence ends here.

743. Compare with the Concha *huacsas'* circuit at Yansa lake (chap. 31, secs. 437, 440). Honorific ritual visits to water sources are still common elements of rural Andean religion today.

744. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 31

388 # As in the Previous Chapter We Spoke about the Existence of a Certain Lake, Likewise We Shall Now Tell about the Lake of the Concha Ayllu, the One Called Yansa. The Story Is Like This

<**margin**:> [Concha]

We've already explained in other chapters how things were in early times, how these villages were full of Yunca people, and other such things.[745]

So, too, they say, the Yunca resided in Concha village.[746]

389 About the people living there, as we indicated in other chapters, some say they're from Yauri Llancha or from Vichi Cancha, while others say they came from the *quinua* plant. Likewise the Concha people were born from out of the earth's interior, at Yauri Llancha, as five persons.[747]

390 Their names we know;[748] starting from the first one, they were

Llacsa Misa and his sister Cuno Cuyo who came along with him.

Then there was Pauquir Buxi.

Then Llama Tanya.

These three men together were the first ones to conquer this village.

<**margin**:>

[Llacsa Misa
Pauquir Buxi
Llama Tanya
Hualla
Calla]

There were also two other men who were their brothers, one called Hualla, and the other Calla.

391 They say that[749] as their other brothers went on ahead, these two fell somewhat behind.

So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country,[750] thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."

A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back.

392 (The descendants of Hualla are the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi lineage.)[751]

745. This sentence has witness validation.

746. Concha village probably corresponds to Concha Sica, today an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa (IGM 1970–1971). It was first Christianized as San Cristóbal de Concha and then, like Llacsa Tambo, "reduced" into nearby San Damián (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, ms. B-1483, f. 63r). This chapter forms a rough counterpart in scale, argument, and level of detail to chapter 24, which focuses on the other component of San Damián, namely, Llacsa Tambo and the Checa. Both may be examples or reworkings of a common genre, a long "charter" running from origins through mythic genealogy to entitlements and rites that express them. This sentence has reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 389.

747. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with myths and laws relevant to the five local lineages named here. Material about a privileged lineage, the Llacsa Misa lineage specialized in water priesthood, makes up the bulk of it, but sections 443–446 return to the other four.

748. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation throughout section 390.

749. 'They say that' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

750. Yauyos Province adjoins Huarochirí to the south and is another mountainous region.

751. 'Lineage' supplied. The grounds are that section 444 uses Lázaro Puypu Rocçi's name as the name of a corporate group and not an individual and that in section 445 three groups belonging to the same set that contains

When Llacsa Misa, the oldest child, was about to die, he addressed Casa Chauca, Lázaro's grandfather, who was also Llacsa Misa's nephew, and said to him regarding the lake called Yansa:[752] "This will enter into my legacy.[753] As for me, I'm already near death." And he left it to him.

From then on Yansa lake was his domain.

Here we leave Hualla.[754]

393 Now we will tell about those three men's approach and arrival.

As we explained earlier, people say[755] the natives were Yunca.

At that time, people there lived quite happily, drawing water from Yansa lake, for there was plenty of water and even an excess such that their water[756] reached all the way to the base of Llantapa[757] mountain.

394 While people lived in this manner, the three men we mentioned before—the oldest being named Llacsa Misa—were born from the earth in the locality called Yauri Llancha.

When they were born, they were born with a stone helmet.[758]

(The helmet was called the *llacsa yacolla.*)[759]

These three people came here carrying the *llacsa yacolla.*

395 They arrived in the area above Yansa lake at a place called Yana Pucyo.

There they sat down and drank.

The Yunca people heard somebody say, "Three fearsome-looking men are sitting over there!" and some went to see them.

396 When they were looking him over like that, Llacsa Misa showed those people his helmet, the one called the *llacsa yacolla.*

The moment they saw it, they all died instantly.

When the remaining Yunca saw that anyone who approached died, they panicked. "Come on!" they said. "Let's get out of here! If those three men find us they'll destroy us all!" And they abandoned their village and their fields just like that, and fled.[760]

397 At the time of their flight, there was a Yunca man there—we don't know his name—and while this man was escaping by night, he left one of his children behind at Concha Sica, the one named Yasali.

398 Yasali's father fled, carrying only an orphan boy whom he'd raised.

When he got across to Capari Caya,[761] almost to Yana Siri[762] up on the heights, dawn was breaking and the man recognized the boy.

There he was: just his adopted orphan son.

The man wept bitterly, but, knowing there was no way back, he finally left just as he was.

399 Meanwhile, the abandoned boy Yasali was scared to death, being just a child, and he hid inside the place where a cross now stands in Concha Sica.

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the Llacsa Misa, and of which the Hualla are another subset, are called *yumay* 'patrilineages'. In this sentence witness validation was crossed out and replaced with reportive.

752. Modern Yanascocha is probably the same as Yansa; it is a small spring-fed lake on the high *puna* 5 km east of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971) and feeds the irrigation system of modern Conchasica.

753. *cay coscajman yaiconca* 'This will enter into my legacy': Taylor's transcription (1987b: 442–443) reads *cascayman*, which means 'into what I was' rather than 'into what I gave'. Accordingly he translates: "This [i.e., Cassa Chauca] is who will inherit my role."

754. This sentence and the next have witness validation.

755. 'People say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 394.

756. I.e., their irrigation canal.

757. Where the great mythic bridge Pullao once stood (chap. 5, sec. 73) and where Maca Calla's people, expelled by those of Tutay Quiri, resettled (chap. 26, sec. 355).

758. *chucuyoc*: 'with a . . . helmet': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 118) has "*chucu* bonnet or ancient-style hat." But the same page clearly indicates that *chucu*, if made of hard material (leather, metal), means a helmet and not a hat. The passage can also be read to mean that a stone with a helmet was born along with, but separately from, the men.

759. This sentence has witness validation.

760. These Yunca-expelling heroes from Yauri Llancha play a role in Concha myth parallel to the role of the Yunca-expelling heroes from Vichi Cancha in Checa myth (chap. 24, secs. 315–326).

761. Probably not the same Unca Tupi also called Capari Caya in chapter 12 (secs. 167–168), because that reference is to a locale near the Pacific shore while modern Yanaciri is on the high puna across the Lurín valley from Conchasica.

762. Modern Yanaciri (IGM 1970–1971) is 4 km west-northwest of San Damián, a high plateau on the far side of a deep river ravine, from which one can look back toward San Damián and Conchasica.

At the same time those three men arrived at the village.

As they arrived they shared out the houses and all the rest among themselves, and it was then that Llacsa Misa found the boy.

400 "Son, don't worry," Llacsa Misa told him. "You'll stay with me. If my other brothers say to me, 'Let's kill him,' I'll defend you. But in return, you'll herd my llamas."

When the other brothers saw the child, they bitterly scorned him, and they did say, "This kid should die, because sooner or later he'll tell us, 'These fields are mine; this land belongs to me!'"

401 "No, why should we kill him?" Llacsa Misa replied. "Better to let him live. He'll show us all their customs, their fields, and everything."[763]

402 But the others still refused, saying, "Let him die anyway."

Llacsa Misa got angry and said, "My brothers, I've told you plenty of times. Watch out or your bones might wind up in the lake.[764] I say, let him live!"

Only then did the others finally fall silent.

403 So Llacsa Misa let the boy live, and made him herd his llamas.

<**margin**:> [Cuno Cuyo]

While Yasali was tending the llamas, he married Llacsa Misa's sister Cuno Cuyo, who'd come with him from Yauri Llancha.

Later, when he'd become a mature man, he even became the *yanca* for Uma Pacha, who had come from Yauri Llancha.

(This boy named Yasali was Cristóbal Chauca Huaman's grandfather.)[765]

404 And where the Uma Pacha festival we mentioned[766] is concerned, just as the Checa put on *huayo* masks made of trophy heads and danced for a period of five days, so the Concha,[767] too, danced the same way. They, too, threw spears at the *chuta* target effigies erected for the sake of sons and daughters, and then did the same for llamas.[768]

405 There were likewise *huacsa*s in Concha Sica. They drank to both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca in their respective seasons, and on one certain day they drank together with the Checas as peers.[769]

This is as much as we know about their customs.[770]

406 Now we'll tell about Yansa lake.

When Llacsa Misa arrived at Concha in the company of his other brothers, it's said that[771] they acquired all sorts of subsistence resources, and from among them Llacsa Misa got Yansa lake.

Pauquir Buxi received Huaycho Coto.

Llama Tanya received the house called Uyu Sana.

407 After they received all these properties, we know,[772] each one of them began to provide for his own living.

So Llacsa Misa for his part started to propitiate[773] Yansa lake.

In Yansa lake, they say,[774] there was a *huaca* named Collquiri.

<**margin**:> [Collquiri]

Since Llacsa Misa propitiated these *huaca*s for many years, all the Concha worked hard growing maize for him to eat.

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763. As in chapter 24 (sec. 316), the invaders intentionally take on the organizational scheme and attributes of the vanquished Yunca natives, but (as in sec. 306) feel anxious about their resulting position of indebtedness.

764. *cochañicman* 'in the lake': or 'ocean'?

765. 'Grandfather': the kinship term used is a Spanish one, *aguelo* (i.e., *abuelo*). If taken literally, it puts a surprisingly short generational distance between the hero and his descendant who lived to be baptized. But the speaker may have used *aguelo* to mean one's direct patrilineal ancestor at any generational remove.

766. See chapter 24 (secs. 324ff).

767. 'The Concha' supplied.

768. That is, they performed the same rites already described in detail in chapter 24 (secs. 321–339). Conchasica and Checa today still regard their respective rituals as in some senses mirroring and rivaling each other.

769. *pactalla* 'as peers': normally the Checa despised the Concha as juniors in descent from Paria Caca (sec. 441). But in this one context the solidarity of common birth (*yuric*; see chap. 9, sec. 116) was made to override. The exact occasion is unspecified.

770. This and the next sentence have witness validation.

771. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next-to-last sentence of section 406.

772. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation.

773. *siruiita callarircan* '[he] started to propitiate': the Spanish-derived root *sirui-* means 'to serve'.

774. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 432.

408 At that time the *huaca* Collquiri wanted a woman[775] really badly.

He wanted one so much he searched all over the place, even as far as the Yauyo country and Chaclla.

As hard as he searched, he just couldn't find one.

409 One day, Cuni Raya said to him, "Hey, she's right here, right nearby, your woman!"[776]

So he set out, full of joy.

From the mountain that overlooks Yampilla,[777] he gazed out toward Yampilla itself.

As he gazed, he saw a woman dancing very majestically.

That woman's name was Capyama.

410 As soon as he saw how lovely she was, he immediately felt in his heart, "This is the one who'll be my wife."

He sent one of his serving boys, saying, "Go son, go tell that lady, 'Your llama has given birth to a <crossed out:> [female] male calf.' That's all. She'll come right away."

411 As soon as he sent him, the youth went off.

When he arrived, he told the woman, "Ma'am, one of your llamas has given birth just up there on the mountain." She was thoroughly delighted, and rushed straight to her house.

There she hung her golden drum at her midriff,[778] hid two small coca bags in her bosom,[779] took a long-necked jar of her maize beer, and came in a big hurry.

(The Concha call this jar *lataca*.)

412 When he saw her coming the *huaca* Collquiri was overjoyed and sped right back to Yansa.

Meanwhile, his servant boy led the woman along, and as he guided her, he lied to her, saying, "We're almost there now. It's right around here."

413 Then Collquiri turned himself into a *callcallo*[780] and waited for her on the mountain overlooking <crossed out:> [Yansa] Yampilla.

"I think I'll catch that *callcallo*," the woman said as she arrived there.

Each time she thought she'd grab it, the *callcallo* darted hither and yon and wouldn't let itself be caught.

414 Finally she did catch it. The moment she grabbed it, she stuck it inside her dress.

As she was grabbing it, she spilled her maize beer from the *rataca*[781] jar.

Even as she spilled it, the spot where she spilled it immediately turned into a spring.

This spring is called Ratac Tupi[782] until today.

415 The *callcallo* she had put inside her dress grew large inside her belly and made it ache terribly.

"What could this be?" she said when it hurt her. She looked, and there, on the ground where he'd fallen,[783] appeared a man, a fine handsome youth.

He immediately greeted her in his sweetest way, saying, "Sister, I'm the one you stuck in your dress. What can we do about it now? It was I who sent for you."

416 The woman for her part immediately fell in love[784] with him.

Since she felt that way, they slept together.

After they slept together, he took her to his home, Yansa lake.

Meanwhile, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all her relatives went searching for her all in tears. "But where did she go?" they said.

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775. All the irrigation myths (chap. 6, secs. 81–90; chaps. 7, 30, 31) link maize-bearing land to female *huacas* and water to male ones, with a sexual episode representing the origin of irrigation and consequent fertility. Dumézil and Duviols explore this motif in "Sumaq T'ika" (1974–1976).

776. Although Cuni Raya is less salient here than in chapters 2 or 14, the Collquiri myth bears resemblances to these major Cuni Raya myths. As in the story of the bride in the box (chap. 14, secs. 192–197), where Cuni inveigles the Inca by offering a woman, Cuni here brings about a male's downfall by manipulating his sexual desire. In the story of Caui Llaca (chap. 2, secs. 9–26), Cuni Raya caused a woman to give birth by tricking her into taking hidden sperm into her body, and here his dupe Collquiri does something similar (secs. 414–415).

777. Modern Llambía, a hamlet 3 km north of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971).

778. *chaopipi* 'at her midriff': Taylor (1987b: 459) has "center of [the house]."

779. *hucllayninman* 'in her bosom': Ricardo [1586] 1951: 65.

780. Unidentified; possibly a grasshopper.

781. *rataca* thus in original, discrepant from *lataca* in section 411; *r/l* is a common Quechua variation.

782. Perhaps a wordplay on *lataca*, the name of her beer jar in local language.

783. *hurmascampica*: the third person marker *-m-* could also mean 'where she'd fallen'.

784. *enamorarcan* 'fell in love': a Spanish-derived word.

417 When they'd been searching for a long, long time, a man from Yampilla called Llucaua told them, "Your daughter has turned into a high priestess.[785] She has a husband with all kinds and amounts of possessions." And so they came at once.

"Why did you come to steal our daughter, our sister from us?" they said to Collquiri when they found her. "Are you the one who forced us to search for her through all these villages until we were exhausted?" In high dudgeon they said, "Now we'll make her go back home!"

418 "Fathers, brothers, you have every reason to rebuke me, because I did fail to tell you ahead of time," Collquiri replied. And he inveigled them by saying, "What may I give you as restitution? A house, a field, llamas, people, agave fiber goods,[786] gold or silver? What about it, what do you want?"

419 Despite his enticements they agreed to nothing.

"I'll take their sister back," Capyama's father[787] said, repudiating the offer.

"All the same," Capyama[788] replied when he said this, "I wouldn't go back. It was with all my heart that I took him for my husband!"

420 "Father, please, I hope you won't take my wife away from me," said the man called Collquiri. "I've already told you that I'll give you anything, whatever you like, as much as you want. Or maybe I should give you the Goesunder?"[789]

A man who'd come in and sat down last in the gathering of that woman's brothers spoke up when Collquiri said this: "Father, say yes."

And the brothers[790] deliberated in low voices: "What could it be, that Goesunder?"

421 Their old man came and said, "It's a deal, son. Marry my daughter. And make good on what you promised." So he said, and they returned home.

"We'll see each other in five days, father, in your village!" said Collquiri.

422 Five days later Collquiri, as good as his word, did go under. Underground he headed[791] toward Yampilla.

After he'd traveled a long stretch, he thought to himself, "I wonder how far I've come?" for he wanted to come out on the opposite side of the Apar Huayqui river.

Right where he got his head out, water squirted upward like a fountain.

423 He plugged the hole with some copper and went back underground.

He went on traveling underground until finally he emerged up above the high side of Yampilla.

The spring where he surfaced bears that woman's name, Capyama,[792] until today.

424 An enormous amount of water surged from Capyama spring and threatened to wash away all the fields of the Yampilla.

It actually did carry away all their *oca*[793] that was drying and all their *quinua* that was spread out in the sunshine, and lots of other things.

The Yampilla people got good and mad. "Why did you ever go and say yes to Collquiri?"

"Send him back immediately!"

"We were already used to getting along with just a little water!" they all said.

425 As they were complaining, Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:

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785. *ancham villcayam* 'has turned into a high priestess': more literally, 'has greatly become *villca*'. This passage suggests that the senses of *villca* can include a person wedded to a *huaca*.

786. *chauaractacho* 'agave fiber goods': as in chapter 24 (sec. 334) and problematic for the same reasons.

787. 'Capyama's father' supplied.

788. 'Capyama' supplied.

789. The literal sense of *huco ric* 'the Goesunder' is clear enough; it means 'what goes under or inside'. But its sense in context is enigmatic, and Capyama's kinsmen let their curiosity about the *huco ric* get the better of them in the unmistakably comic episode that follows.

790. 'The brothers' supplied.

791. *hucota cama rircan* '[he] did go under': at this moment we understand the answer to the *huco ric* puzzle. Collquiri himself was the *huco ric*—the thing that goes under or inside—in the double sense of going under or inside Capyama's dress and of burrowing through the earth.

792. Modern Llambía draws its irrigation water still from Capyama spring. The love of Capyama and Collquiri (now renamed Pedro Batán, and imagined as a romantic lover rather than a clownish suitor) is prominent in modern folklore.

793. *oca*: *Oxalis tuberosa*, a potatolike plant with slender edible roots, widely cultivated through the Andes "on terraces in the *quebradas* of the cold sierras and in the altiplano zone to an altitude of 3,800 to 4,000 meters." Because they contain calcium oxalate crystals, *oca* tubers must be cured in the sun before cooking (Towle 1961: 56–57).

"Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"

"Shut it off!"

"Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.

426 With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket[794] and other stuff.

But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.

Meanwhile, the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:

"PLUG IT UP!!"

Finally Collquiri jumped in himself, put in his cloak, and sat down in the middle of the water.

427 When he sat down there, the water at last dried up somewhat.

Nowadays, water flows out of that spring passing through Collquiri's cloak as if through a sieve.

Whenever he plugged this waterhole, water flowed from many other springs here and there all over the district. Before, there weren't any.

428 Since their water supply was dried up as a result of all this, the inhabitants of Concha village started to get mad, too:[795] "Why has he given our water away?"

"What about us, what are we supposed to live on?" they said.

All the Concha together spoke to Llacsa Misa, who was in charge of the water: "Listen, Llacsa Misa, why did you go and let that water dry up?"

"What are people supposed to live on?" they said, and threw him into the lake.

429 When the *huaca* Collquiri saw what had happened he thought, "They're right. How are they going to live?" So at once he gave orders to one of his servants, a youngster called Rapacha:

"Dump some dirt and rocks from the shores down into the lake. There we'll measure out what's for the sustenance of the Concha people."[796]

430 So that boy Rapacha breached the lake's bank a little. As soon as it was opened, Collquiri instantly dammed the water up from below by building a great wall there.[797]

This wall, built without mortar, stands as the lake's mouth[798] until today.

431 Collquiri had the man called Llacsa Misa mark this wall carefully in five different places.[799] He said, "When the waters reach this point, you must close the mouth of the lake. After that, at the correct times you will direct the waters to the lower fields. At sunrise, you will release the water. They will water the *añay*[800] maize five times only. It is for this that I ordain you." Carefully he familiarized Llacsa Misa[801] with the marking stones.

432 From the time he made this known up to today, all of Llacsa Misa's descendants followed each other in the exact same custom and continue it even now.

People in fact[802] refer to these markers as "lake measures" and call the stick Turca Caya.

It[803] is said to be[804] accurately aligned over the stoneworks to serve its function; if we went there we might see it[805] by taking a careful look.[806]

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794. *titahuanpas* 'with a blanket': in supplement II (sec. 478), *huc fresadacta o titactapas* 'a blanket or cover' clarifies this otherwise unattested word. But *tita* might be an error for *titi* 'lead', as other translators suppose.

795. They got mad, that is, because their *huaca* Collquiri had diverted their water to Capyama Spring and Yampilla village just to satisfy his yen for Capyama.

796. Apparently this means Collquiri had the boy Rapacha dump earth and rocks in the lake so as to reduce its capacity and breach its banks, thereby making water spill out; he then apportioned this water to the Concha.

797. That is, once Rapacha had forced water to breach the lake's bank, Collquiri built a dam in the resulting channel and thereby turned the lake into a controllable reservoir.

798. *cochap simin* 'lake's mouth': a literal translation; the phrase apparently (from context) means the lake's outlet. The stone dam still existed much as described in section 431 as of 1990.

799. That is, the dam was to have five separate sluice gates (now seven). They were to be opened in sequence, from shallowest to deepest, as the lake level fell. When asked why a single sluice gate at the lowest level would not suffice, modern San Damián residents say high water pressure when the lake is full is the reason: using the ancient stone-and-sod technology (with which they are still familiar), a single gate at the lowest level would, at the beginning of the irrigation period, release water with too much force for human musclepower to control.

800. Untranslated. *Añi* is the modern local name of a multicolored maize that needs relatively little irrigation.

801. 'Llacsa Misa' supplied.

802. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

803. 'It': perhaps the measuring stick *turca caya*. A tentative translation.

804. 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation. The clauses following the semicolon have *-cha* conjectural validation.

805. 'It': the object of *ricohhuan* 'we might see' is unstated in original.

806. *chayasparaccha alli ñauinchichuan ricohhuan*

433 During the month of March the Concha go out to close the lake's mouth,[807] all of them, both men and women.

As for the water measurement mentioned above, Llacsa Misa would decide, "It'll be at so and so a time" or determined some other thing. All the Concha went along, following his exact words.

434 Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.[808]

When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word.

435 If the lake ever spilled out in the middle of the night, people dragged Llacsa Misa's descendants to the scene from wherever they happened to be, saying, "Go, it's your responsibility!"[809]

Because this was their special care both by day and by night, because they thought only of minding the lake, other people worked hard on their maize fields for them and revered them, saying, "It's because they're numerous that we stay alive."

436 Llacsa Misa, and his descendants, watched over the lake very carefully, saying, "Beware the water doesn't spill out of this lake."

If the lake ever spilled out and the waters of Yansa rushed into the river, a breach would immediately open in the dam. Whenever it did flow into the river, it cracked the dam.

For this reason they watched it with great care.[810]

437 As we said before, the *huacsa*s went to Yansa lake both to impound and to release the waters.

To impound the water all the people went out, too. As soon as they arrived, the women deposited their coca, each one in her own right, and likewise their maize beer each in her own right.[811]

438 These offerings were for Yansa lake, but it was in fact[812] the *yanca* who received them all.

They'd also take one llama, they say.[813] They likewise took guinea pigs, *ticti*, and all the other sacrificial offerings.

Once they finished collecting things, they took a *quipu* account of all the people who were absent and began to worship Yansa lake.

439 They worshiped, saying,

"Father Collquiri, the lake is yours and yours are the waters;
This year, give plentiful water to us."

After they finished worshiping, they drank their maize beer and chewed their coca.

After that the men and women together began to impound the lake.[814]

'if we went there we might see it by taking a careful look': an uncertain translation. *Alli ñauinchichuan*, more literally, 'with our good eye', could perhaps mean 'with our practiced eyes', or 'clearly see with our eyes'; *ñauinchichuan* has inclusive first person plural marking, indicating that the speaker regards the addressee as also having the native's 'good eye' for such matters.

807. The modern lake-closing ritual, called the lake's "anniversary," is practiced on February 3.

808. The position of this priest as irrigation authority affords an important clue to the economic component of priestly power. Chapter 24 (sec. 335) comments on another example of priests' economic privilege. While the Llacsa Misa water priests enjoy a subsidy in agricultural form, the priest sacrificers mentioned in chapter 24 are privileged in consuming animals.

809. *suyoiquim* 'your responsibility': more literally, 'your domain'.

810. The water priests' concern was practical, not magical. Testimony in a 1648 lawsuit between the Concha and their Suni Cancha neighbors (chap. 9, sec. 135) over control of Yansa's waters tells us that the hydraulic system sometimes did in fact suffer damage from overflows: "Last year in a great flash flood that came from the lake of Yanascocha and its streambed, the canal inlet was swept away leaving it [turned] into a washed-out gully, beyond repair" (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, B-1483, f. 174r).

811. *sapampitac* 'each in her own right': seemingly, asserting a household-level right of access to water. The female ritual role as receiver of water rights parallels the female role of earth as water-receiving *huaca*s in the myths.

812. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

813. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 440.

814. In 1990 the *comuneros* of Conchasica conducted "anniversary" rituals for Yanascocha Lake in a fashion closely recalling sections 438–439. The *alcaldes*, holders of rotating magistracies that ritually govern irrigation, officiated in place of the *yanca*s. The officiants first collected and announced offerings of coca, tobacco, and liquor at lakeside, then dedicated them to the lake's "owners" while loading them in a small raft or "boat" made of dry sod. The sail of the raft was a modern analogue of the *quipu*, a legalized list of irrigators handwritten on paper. While launching the raft, officiants made speeches similar to those recorded c. 1608 but using the

440 When it was time to release the water, people always went five times accompanied by two or three *huacsas*.

Just before this, a man and a woman would enter a fairly large field and bring maize beer there in a big jug, and guinea pigs, two or three of them, and coca leaf.

Having worshiped with these offerings, they'd release the water.

These are as many stories as we know about Yansa lake.

441 Now, we know[815] that the Concha were the very last of Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them.

For this reason, Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri[816] gave them only a very little of their territories and very few of their fields.

442 The *huacsas* we mentioned dance the Chanco during the festival seasons of Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca just as the Checa dance them.

We already talked about all that in other chapters.

443 Now we'll learn about the children of the three men we mentioned.

They say[817] all the offspring of Llacsa Misa became extinct. When Llacsa Misa was about to die, his nephews, namely, Cuno Cuyo's and Yasali's children, married Hualla's descendants, who'd returned after a long time from the Yauyo region.[818]

These descendants of Hualla are in fact the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred.

444<**margin**, in Quechua:>
[Hualla's descendants are of the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred. They entered into the Llacsa Misas' position, so the people called Huallas don't exist any more. Only one woman is still living, and this one is childless; she's Anya Ruri's wife.][819]

445 Pauquir Buxi's descendants are in fact[820] still alive today and they're the Ñau Paico, those people.

The descendants of Llama Tanya are now the Ruri Cancha, the Casin Chauca, and the Tacya Cancha.

These three patrilineages are the reported[821] descendants of Llama Tanya.

446 As for the Hualla, we already mentioned the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi.

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modern names of the "owners": María Capyama and Pedro Batán. The climactic event was the sailing of the boat and tense observation of its course as lake water gradually saturated it. When it sank, the officiants said the "owners" had expressed their approval by pulling the boat down through the center of the lake.

Yanascocha now has a modern dam with a steel sluice gate, so men and women carry out the closing of Collquiri's dam only in what they call "simulacrum" (a ritualized token of the whole job). The traditional technique of closing the dam is called *champería*, that is, sod-laying. *Champeros* were designated by the officiant to cut fresh sod blocks from a nearby marsh, carry them to the dam, and stack them against the ancient dam so as to prevent lake water from passing through it.

815. *yachanchic* 'we know': introduces a passage with witness validation, continuing through the first sentence of section 443.

816. 'Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri' supplied.

817. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 444.

818. In Taylor's reading (1987b: 485) it is Hualla's children who are called nephews of Llacsa Misa. Since both Cuno Cuyo and Hualla are siblings of Llacsa Misa, the offspring of either could be called his nephews. (The term in question is the Spanish *sobrino*, which, at least in Spanish context, does not distinguish between relationships through male and female siblings.) Therefore, the translation discrepancy does not imply any discrepancy about local principles of genealogical reckoning.

819. Secs. 443–444 are difficult. Assuming that all the named corporate descent groups are *yumay* 'patrilineages' like the three groups so described in section 445, one reading might be as follows:

Llacsa Misa's direct lineage became extinct at an unspecified time. When some collateral descendants through his brother Hualla took over the role to which the direct descendants would have been entitled (see sec. 446), namely, primacy in the water priesthood, they ceased to function in the lineage bearing Hualla's name. This transferred group or sublineage was called the Lázaro Puyo Rocçi. At the time of writing only one member of an untransferred Hualla sublineage remained. Since this was a woman (Anya Ruri's wife) and childless besides, the Hualla patrilineage as such no longer existed.

Descent groups throughout this passage are named after their apical ancestors. The fact that in this case the corporate name includes a baptismal name suggests that the transfer of the Lázaro Puypo Rocçi sublineage to the Llacsa Misa role was recent (an effect of post-invasion epidemics?).

820. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues with one interruption to the end of the chapter.

821. 'Reported' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence. *yumay* 'patrilineages': more literally, 'sperm'.

Calla's descendants are today the Gonzalo[822] Paucar Casa and the Lazaca Canya, those people.

All these people have multiplied from the five men who came from Yauri Llancha.

Only Llacsa Misa's descendants are now completely extinct.

The Lázaro, Hualla's children, have inherited their office because they're Llacsa Misa's kin, and they say, "We're the Llacsa Misa."

This much is all we know about the life of the Concha.

The end.[823]

822. Reading the abbreviated baptismal name as *jº* rather than *gº*, Taylor (1987b: 487) gives "Juan."

823. *fin* 'the end': in Spanish.

447

[Supplement I][824]

In what follows, we shall explain case by case what we know[825] happened in all these villages in the old days, and still does up to now, when a person gives birth to two babies in just one birth, whether they are a boy and a girl, or both boys, or both girls.

We call[826] those who are born this way *curi*.[827]

448 When babies were born like this, even if they were born unexpectedly in some other village, people would bring them to their home village that very night.

For example, in the old days, if twins were born in Sucya Cancha or Tumna, people would bring them right away to the Checa village called Llacsa Tambo.[828]

449 When carrying them they would by no means carry them during the daytime, for they used to say, "Be careful, <crossed out, in Spanish:> [it freezes] the earth might freeze!"

Maybe those who are privy to such practice follow it all over the region.

When *curi* were born, as soon as it got completely dark the man and woman—that is, the twins' father and mother—would start living fenced in inside a house, and both man and wife would lie there motionless
<**margin**, in Quechua with partly Spanish gloss:>
[lying, that is, on one side][829]
until the fifth day.

450 On the fifth day, they'd turn over onto their other side.

On that same day, all the father's male in-laws[830] would gather in the *curi*'s house and dance while beating their drum themselves.

(At that time, contrary to modern practice, it was the men who beat the drum and not the women.)

824. A cross-shaped symbol (*crismón*) appears at the top of the page.

825. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates throughout the two supplements except where otherwise indicated.

826. *ñinchin* 'we call': an unusual form, perhaps a slip of the tongue or pen due to indecision between *ñinchic* (inclusive first person plural) and *ñin* (third person).

827. The persecutors of "idolatry" from Avila onward attacked twin cults. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 20–21, 53; Keating's translation) mentions that "bodies of *chuchus*" were commonly venerated and kept in houses. *Chuchu* means a body of a twin or also a double or multiple fruit. He notes: "Human twins are called *curi*, which means two born of one womb, and if they die young, they keep them in jars in the house as a sacred object. One of them, they say, is the son of the lightning. They have many superstitions regarding the birth of twins, . . . each of which implies some form of penance, since they must expiate the sin of having been born together. . . . they do not baptize either *chuchus* or *chacpas* [breech birth babies]" ([1621] 1968: 31; Keating's translation).

828. The example of Sucya Cancha suggests that the teller is thinking of trips downslope to trade or produce coca at the Checa's outposts in the lower Rímac valley.

829. The couple would be required to lie on a bean or grain, and only allowed to turn over when their body warmth and humidity had germinated it. It is as if their bodies themselves were to counteract the danger of earth's freezing (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation).

830. *tucoy masancuna* 'all [his (or their)] male in-laws': the wide extension of this term is made clear by Diego Gonçález Holguín: "*massani* brother-in-law of a male; the married man calls his wife's brothers and her male cousins *massaniy*" ([1607] 1842: 215; see also [1608] 1952: 221). *Massani* and *massaniy* are the root *massa* with "empty morph" *-ni-* and first person singular possessive marker *-y* (i.e., 'my *massa*'). Earlier dictionaries include some of the husband's own male consanguineals ("*massa* brother-in-law, brother of the husband"; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 319).

Before beginning to dance these rites, they used to consult the demon,[831] using a spider[832] and the object called *pana charapi*,[833] concerning which of his in-laws should lead them by dancing first.

451 Following the demon's word, they'd choose and appoint five of the in-laws who were sitting there.

And these people, from the very moment they got the word, would search for coca day and night, never resting, bartering whatever they had for it.

The other in-laws, thinking only to outdo each other, all joined together no matter how many there were.

452 We mentioned above how the parents turned over on their other side.[834]

From that time on, the dancers[835] never rested from dancing every single night until the fifth day had arrived.

On the day before it did arrive, the in-laws used to show one another a leather bag as if to say, "Tomorrow I'll bring coca in this bag." They'd dance shaking the leather bags[836] still empty of coca.

Meanwhile, another five days would have elapsed since the time the parents had turned over on their other side.

So it was ten days in all.

453 On that occasion, beforehand, the five in-laws would catch and bring back a brocket deer, or a *taruca* deer,[837] or any other animals that live on the wild upper slopes. As the leader of those men carried it, the *curi* would emerge onto the open plaza.[838]

454 And some people would go around blowing the conch trumpet called *paya*.

And some would go around carrying a *pupuna*, <**margin**, in Spanish:> [It is the staff with the thong for catching parrots but not with such a long thong.][839]

And some others went around carrying *sacaya*.

(This material called *sacaya* was a little maize ground up with some *ticti*.)

Different people carried this stuff.

As for the people who carried these items, it wasn't the *curi*'s in-laws who carried them. It was rather their close blood relatives who carried them.

The brocket deer was the only thing the leader of the in-laws carried.

455 As soon as people had seized the brocket deer, they would force it to step around with its hooves, starting from the dwelling place where the *curi* were fenced in, saying,

"This is the one who has confused you,
Who has outraged you!"[840]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [And then they took it out and killed it.]

And all the people would eat its meat immediately, leaving absolutely nothing over as remnants.

831. *supayta* 'the demon': while to Christian ears *supay* meant a devil, this sentence may reflect the word's older sense 'a spirit' or volatile *ánima*. Since the twin ritual is concerned with the propagation of families, its divinations may have called on ancestral shades.

832. See chapter 28 (sec. 370).

833. Untranslated.

834. To begin germinating the second seed of their penance. 'Parents' supplied.

835. 'Dancers' supplied.

836. *hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic carcanccu*: could also mean 'thus they made [the in-laws] who had no coca bags dance'. 'Shake' is an attempt to render the effect of *huayacallactas taquichic*, more literally, 'making the bags [without coca] dance'. *Taquichiy* is the verb used in all instances where celebrants dance displaying animal skins or human trophies. In chapter 9 (sec. 128) a skin bag full of coca is taken as a sacrifice in lieu of an animal. These data suggest a close symmetry between the coca hunt and the deer hunt in section 453.

837. *tarucactapas* '*taruca* deer': *Hippocamelus antisiensis*, a deer larger than the brocket deer, found at altitudes over 3,000 m in the southern Andes and at higher ones in the north (Renard-Casevitz 1979: 21–22; see also Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 271–272).

838. *pampa* 'open plaza': *pampa* means any flat place, but since the context is the *curi* parents' return to their home ceremonial center, the scene is likely to be a plaza.

839. The *pupuna* is also the reed with which Cuni Raya opened the waterways in chapter 2 (sec. 9).

840. *tacurisonqui apllasonqui* 'has confused you, [who] has outraged you': tentative translation of a difficult passage. *Tacuri-* is thought to be from the verb "*ttakuini o ttacuni o chacruni* to mix or interpose one thing with another" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335). The derivatives concern confusion, such as turning a house upside down looking for something. *Aplla-* is likely to be *haplla* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 150) as, for example, in *haplla sonco* ('*haplla*-hearted') meaning 'the person who is in the habit of wrath and quarreling and who is overly rude'. Its derivatives concern words of anger or losing one's temper. Perhaps the point is that the deer is taken as a scapegoat for what has confused the parents' reproductive process. But alternatively the parents themselves could also be subjects of these verbs.

456 Then, as we just said, on the tenth day, they went out onto the open plaza. Afterward, the *curi* went wrapped in a large piece of cloth, shrouded from view, while some people, namely, the in-laws in groups of two or three,[841] would pull them along wailing and dancing.

Those who pulled them would also pull the *curi*'s *ayllu* relatives. They used to pull them along, and as they pulled they said, "We'll give you a field or something like that, we'll give you a llama."

457 When arriving at the open plaza, the in-laws used to carry the brocket deer's skin
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the pelt and the head stuffed with straw, because the flesh had already been eaten as was mentioned.]
with great ostentation, just as we do today when we carry the base of the cross at the head of a procession.[842]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the base of the cross]
Those who carried *pupunas* went brandishing them like spears as if to say, "I'll throw!" and striking combative poses over and over again. The one who came first among them struck threatening poses at the *curi* who came along in the rear.

458 When the people who were carrying the brocket deer's skin arrived at the plaza, a man and a woman who were *ayllu* kin to the *curi* offered them a llama or a field. As they did, they would say, "Rest with these gifts"[843] and put them at their ease. Then the *curi* went to their ordained[844] seats and the couple would sit there richly honored, both the husband and the wife together.

459 On that day, all the in-laws would compete in giving away their coca, and they'd dance and drink all day long.

In the evening they'd go back home and return to the same place where they'd dwelt before.

They remained there for another five days.

When those five days were complete, people used to accompany[845] them back to the[846] <crossed out:> [seat] sealed lodging.[847]

460 Right after this, their in-laws brought firewood and built a big bonfire,[848] as at the beginning, right on the next day after the *curi* were born—we forgot to tell this in our earlier account
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [What has to go with this is at the beginning.<?>]
—when they collected firewood every night, and, saying, "It will burn until dawn, lest some temptation befall," they lingered there[849] all night.[850]

So that fire never died until after the rituals,[851] not even for a single night.

461 Afterward, once they finished all these rituals, they led the *curi*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [and also their parents]
to a certain demon of theirs and asked, "Where shall we wash them clean of their fault?" They'd take them to Yansa lake,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that is, where the Conchas' water comes from]
in due order,[852] following the demon's command.

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841. *masacunapas yscay quimça* 'the in-laws in groups of two or three': could also be read 'their in-laws, two or three of them', but this makes it difficult to see how they could pull the many people mentioned in the next sentence.

842. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation) mentions that the deer was made into a canopy under which the penitent parents passed.

843. 'Gifts' supplied.

844. *unanchascaman* 'to . . . ordained': may mean the place had been chosen by a priestly divination.

845. *asuchic* 'accompany': not attested in old sources; Lira's modern Cuzco dictionary ([1941] n.d.: 22) has an apparently related verb *assuy* meaning 'to approach, to come close, to make one thing closer to another'.

846. Or 'to another'.

847. *aposentoman* 'to the sealed lodging': the following excerpt from a 1656 "idolatry" trial shows that this Spanish word served to designate the specially enclosed house in which (sec. 449) parents of twins were sequestered: "When two are born from one belly, which they call *chuchus*, the wizards [i.e., *huaca* priests] require their parents to fast five days, during each one of which they eat only one row of grains from one maize cob, and during these five days no one may see them, and when they bring food to the said fasting person, who is enclosed in an *aposento*, they cover their eyes so as not to see them . . ." (Duviols 1986: 164). The Huarochirí manuscript original has a crossed-out word *tiana*, which *aposento* replaces. *Tiana* means a dwelling, and sometimes a ceremonial stool or seat.

848. *collo camacta* 'bonfire': conjectural translation.

849. *cayta (ca)corcan* 'they lingered there': from *cay* 'to be' with reflexive *-cu-*; *cayta* 'around here or toward here' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 53).

850. The sense seems to be that, warming themselves by the fire, they stayed near the ritual house all night so the *curi* parents would not be tempted to lapse from their special discipline.

851. 'The rituals' supplied here and in the next sentence.

852. 'In due order': problematic translation. The origi-

462 There a man with the title of Con Churi,[853] who was that demon's priest, used to ask the earth about them.

They say[854] he would ask,

"Why were they born as *curi*?
For what faults of theirs, and how many?"

About those born *curi* people reportedly said, "They're born so in exchange for someone's death."[855] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is the opinion of the common people and not the answer.]

463 Then, saying,

"It's for this offense,"

or

"It's for that offense,"

people would wash both parents. They also bathed the two babies, washing them over and over again, even to the point where they were almost dying from cold, until at last it was said, "That's enough for the seriousness of their fault."

464 Once they'd finished all this, they used to cut the male's hair. They clipped just a little of the female's hair, but, as for the male,[856] they sheared his off as we do[857] with sinners.[858]

Then, it's said,[859] they returned with the *huachay ruco*.[860]

People put on them a necklace with black and white intertwined strands, which was the sign of a *curi*.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [somewhat like a golden chain]

465 Then they admonished them,

"You must fast for one whole year.
Neither you nor you may sin sexually[861] with anyone.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [not with each other either]

If you do, you'll be doing a very bad thing.
You'll have fatigued our in-laws[862] in vain."

So they advised them.

466 When half the year was over, the priest and a lot <**margin**, in Quechua:> [a lot]

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nal text is an abbreviation, *hord^{a}m^{de}*, for which we suggest the expansion *hordenadamende* 'in due order' or alternatively *hordinariamende* 'normally', 'usually'. Other translations provide the reading 'heretically' (*hereticamente*). Our reading is partly suggested by the fact that *hordenamy^{o}* meaning *hordenamyento* 'ordinance' and *hordin^{o}* meaning *hordinario* 'ordinary' are common abbreviations of the period (Cavallini de Araúz 1986: 59; Rostworowski 1988: 294). The various derivatives of *herejia* 'heresy' are rarely if ever abbreviated. Moreover, *hereticamente* in this context would be surprising since the manuscript does not concern heresies (which at that time typically meant Protestant teachings) but "idolatries" or "gentile" practices. Nor does the visit to Yansa lake seem any more "heretical" than the rest of the ritual.

853. See chapter 13 (sec. 185). The fact that a *con churi* priest, who is specifically a lineage authority, officiated in this ceremony suggests once more that *supay* in the context of twin ritual denotes an ancestral shade.

854. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this sentence has reportive validation, as do several others up to the end of section 467. The validation shifts do not mark transitions as sharp as those in the numbered chapters and are hard to interpret, but the first sentence of section 468 seems to suggest that this part is an interpolated portion of testimony after which the author returns to writing with witness validation.

855. *huañuynin* 'someone's death': attempts to render the ambiguity of the third person possessive *-n*. Whose death is not clear in this passage. But Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 188) explains that the birth of an extra baby via twinning was understood as restitution given by the deity of lightning to a family one of whose ancestors had been struck or killed by lightning.

856. *huarmictaca . . . carictaca* 'the female . . . the male': the terms denote gender alone. *Huarmi* can mean 'wife', but *cari* is not a synonym of *cosa* 'husband'. So this sentence leaves doubt about whether the parents or the twins are shorn.

857. *rutunchic* 'as we [inclusive, i.e., addressee as well as speaker] do': this implies the speaker identifies with this common practice of "extirpators of idolatry." Taylor (1987b: 502–503) reads *rutunqui* 'you cut', in which case 'you' could mean Avila or another cleric or church officer.

858. 'As we do with sinners' is witness-validated.

859. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues to predominate through the end of section 467.

860. *huachay ruco* may mean 'birth headdress' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 168; Taylor 1987b: 503).

861. *hochalliconqui* 'sin sexually': using the word with which the church translated 'to sin'. But since in this case sex would violate an Andean, not Catholic, norm the usage may not be colonial: that is, the sin inheres not in sex, but in having sex at the wrong moment.

862. *masanchiccunacta* 'our in-laws' with inclusive first person plural possessive marker: implying that the persons in question are in-laws of both addressee and speaker.

of other people would ask their demon, "Have the twins' parents[863] lived right?"

If it turned out all right, they'd be delighted. But <crossed out:> [If it wasn't good,] if he said, "They did sleep together,"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that they had sexual intercourse]
then people would give them a good tongue-lashing.

467 The in-laws would get really mad and berate them: "How dare you wear us out with this burden all for nothing?"

They used to go after them like that until the end of the year.

Only then would they cut their necklace.

In this way, they say,[864] they finished the thing.

468 Now we'll complete[865] what we have just said.

If the twins were born both males or both females, people would say, "Times aren't going to be good."

"There'll be times of terrible hardship."

But if they were born male and female, people interpreted it as a good sign.

469 And as for today's in-laws, on one hand, they're pleased that they don't have to spend as much as they did in the old times.

On the other hand, they may regret it, too, when they think, "We don't do it like that anymore." In some villages, because of the demon's deceptions, they may not have forgotten these practices.

470 At night, or at any other time, when twin llamas are born, they used to ask the demon for their names one by one, inquiring,

"What twin person will he be?"

The names that the demon bestowed were Curi Ñaupa, Curi Yauri, Curi Huaman, Ticlla Curi,[866] or any other name that says *curi*.

It was done[867] that way for each one, whether male or female.

471 Any number of people who are now wealthy in silver used to put all their effort into trading away everything they had for coca during Paria Caca's feast or any other festival, because they didn't yet understand the word of the good God. It was the only thing they'd raise money for, even if they'd had only three or four years to recover from the last festival.

As for the poor, every year they worried, wondering,

"Where'll I find coca?"

"Will I be humiliated this way?"

They searched for it, bartering away their fields and clothing for coca, wandering hither and yon, going up to the guanaco pastures and searching for brocket deer while they themselves went hungry.

472 For the sake of this duty, those who were mindful of such practices used to go to enormous trouble and, fasting rigorously, asked their demon first of all,

"Where'll I find coca?"[868]

"Trading a guanaco for it?"

"Or should I trade off[869] one of my fields, or my clothing?"

"What'll happen to me?"

473 Nowadays, because they have another attitude and don't think so much about this custom,[870] and also because they no longer have to trade off any of their things on account of it, people feel well contented.

On the other hand, they also do cry about it a lot, saying, "Why is it that we don't do these things now?"

474 The time for this rite was at night or at any other

863. 'The twins' parents' supplied.

864. 'They say' supplied to indicate the end of a passage in which reportive validation predominates.

865. *tincuchison* 'we'll complete': the verb implies symmetry and suggests that what follows will not just add to, but will complement or match what went before. The phrase may mean that the teller will now make good on a promise to deal 'case by case' with mixed-sex, two-boy, and two-girl births (sec. 447). Or it may mean that in the next passage, which returns to witness validation, he or she will complement the data given by the source whose words are reported in sections 462–467.

866. The meanings of these names are: Curi Ñaupa 'Twin Leader', Curi Yauri 'Twin Scepter' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347), Curi Huaman 'Twin Falcon', and Ticlla Curi 'Two-colored Twin'.

867. 'It was done' supplied.

868. 'Coca' supplied.

869. *huacllichisac* 'should I trade off': this verb means "to damage one's capital or leave it just barely begun or a small amount already spent, or to damage in departing, or to go away damaging something" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 170). The concept seems to be that of spending off productive assets and thereby damaging one's own livelihood.

870. 'Custom' supplied.

time that Macoy Llenco designated by declaring, "It'll be on so-and-so a date." At such times people used to cheer up and become merry; the old men and lots of old ladies would go carrying their *ticti* and their other things, for there'd be drinks at the old house[871] or maybe even right here.

475 Right in this village people probably abstain from this practice, more or less, even though they may do it at night. We think that in other villages outside of here people do practice it, and we hear as much, too.

871. *ñaupa huasipi* 'at the old house': *ñaupa* is more strictly 'former'. The phrase may refer to dwellings from before the forced resettlements (c. 1580 onward in this area) or to prehispanic buildings.

[Supplement II][872]
JHS[873]

When we speak of an *ata*, we mean a child born with a reverse whorl[874] in its hair.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [their hair<?> goes backward][875]

About a person who's born like this:

When the baby turns three years old, its elders get together in the house or in the courtyard. Starting at broad daylight,[876] they first inform the father's[877] brothers-in-law or his fathers-in-law,[878] saying, "On that day we'll cut the hair of this *ata* and *illa*[879] of Paria Caca."[880] (When we speak of an *illa*, we mean just the same thing as an *ata*.)

872. A cross appears at the top of the page. In combination with the monogram JHS that appears below it, this forms the conventional symbol called *lábaro*.

873. The abbreviation *JHS* is a latinization of the Greek monogram *IHΣ* 'Jesus'. *JHS* and its equivalent *IHS* were popularly interpreted *Jesus Hominum Salvator* 'Jesus, savior of men' or *In Hoc Signo* 'in this sign' (i.e., *In Hoc Signo Vinces* 'in this sign shall you conquer'). But its characteristically Jesuit interpretation may be more relevant, given the early Jesuit penetration of the region and given Father Avila's own Jesuit education. This reading is *Jesum Habemus Socium* 'we have Jesus as a companion' (Cross 1957: 678). *Socium* might also resonate with the Andean ideal of social obligation between humans and sacred beings.

874. *parca* 'reverse whorl': a tentative translation. *Parca* can mean a plural whorl (Albornoz [1583?] 1984: 196) or a six-fingered birth (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 279). Perhaps its sense was generic, 'a bodily anomaly'. 'Reverse' derives from Urioste's transcription of the barely legible marginal note. Taylor's reading also seems to refer to hair but does not mention reversal.

875. Taylor (1987b: 512) reads the obscure marginal note as "on some it tangles and others not" (*a alg(un)os se les /maraña y a otros/no*).

876. *pacsac punchaomanta* 'Starting at broad daylight': based on Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 271) "*pacsa* 'resplendent'." Taylor (1987b: 512) reads *pusac* 'eight', that is, eight days ahead of time.

877. 'The father's' supplied, on basis that *massa* (see note 830) and *caca* are terms explicated with reference to a male ego in the colonial Quechua dictionaries and grammars.

878. *cacancunacta* 'fathers-in-law': an inadequate translation, because no English term corresponds to the same set of relatives as *caca*. Quechuists contemporary with the manuscript said *caca* could mean maternal uncle: "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42). But the same author's grammar treatise gives additional senses:

> *Caca*, the son-in-law's father-in-law, namely his wife's father; both the son-in-law and his first cousins call both the father-in-law and his father "my *caca*."
>
> The married man and his brothers as well also address those of their male in-laws who are brothers of his (the married man's) mother-in-law as "my *caca*." (Gonçález Holguín [1607] 1842: 214–215)

Ricardo ([1586] 1951: 98) gives usages of *caca* including father and brother of male ego's wife. Zuidema (1977: 20) suggests that the term groups together those male consanguines of male ego's son who do not partake of the patrilineal bond between ego and son. It is to the *massa* (see notes 830, 877) and *caca* (Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 240, 319) categories that parents of *parca* owe restitution for the disturbance of procreation that irregular births represent.

879. "*ylla* the large bezoar stone, a notable one as big as an egg or bigger, which they carry with them as a charm to become rich and lucky" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 366), and more broadly, any sort of amulet stone or effigy (see chap. 9, sec. 134); the term is associated with the cult of lightning. Irregular births, too, were attributed to lightning (see note 827).

880. An infant's first haircutting is still a common *rite de passage* in the Andes (Zamalloa González 1972: 28–29) and follows approximately the same pattern described here. The parents place the baby on a blanket

477 So they let everyone know about it, and begin to brew maize beer. When people hear someone say, "They're brewing half a *fanega*[881] of maize, maybe a whole one!" they ask one another, "What could that maize beer be for?"

Once they find out what day the fiesta will take place, all the people gather together on that day.

478 The *ata*'s father[882] sits with his brothers-in-law and all the men who rank as his fathers-in-law,[883] but down by the low end, and he begins to dance and serve them drinks.

When they get good and drunk, they spread out a blanket or a cover[884] and make the baby go to its center and sit there, and they make this speech:

"Fathers and brothers,
Today we'll cut the hair of this *ata*, this *illa*;

For he's Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's *ata* and *illa*,
And it's they who have sent him to me to be born so."

479 On that occasion, the baby's nearest maternal uncle[885] if he was a boy, or her nearest paternal aunt if she was a girl, or alternatively the baby's grandfather or grandmother,[886] would stand up and put on the blanket a token representing a llama or a field, and approach the *ata* with a pair of scissors.[887]

(The llama's token is an object called *cot huato*, one with which they had led a llama to Paria Caca.) <**margin**, in Spanish:> [*cot huato* is llama harness]

480 They would also put a token for a field there, called *caxo*.

(This *caxo* was just a stick, a digging tool for women.)

Then the *ata*'s close blood relatives would stand up, one at a time, and make offerings of cloaks and tunics, of sheep[888] or wool, according to their relationship.[889]

481 Once the close blood relatives had finished, the *curaca* or the *alcalde* would get up, starting from the leading positions, and put in one or two *reales* of money.

Thinking, "These people will get even drunker by the time they finish, and the drunker they get the surer it is that they won't hold back on anything," the parents[890] would make them drink hard until nightfall.[891]

482 Once they all finished clipping the hair, it was[892] the *ata*'s father who'd shear it all off the child, for the others would barely have snipped at it. As soon as he finished, he'd immediately start the dancing, calling out his ancestors' names:

"Father Anchi Puma!"
or
"Carhua Chachapa!"
or any other name. They danced and took their ease, saying,

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with kin and guests around it. The guests, in return for each snip of the baby's hair, give or promise gifts for its future welfare. They bind themselves to the child by accepting drinks from the hosts. The rite is generally called a form of godparentage (*compadrazgo*) today.

881. 'half a *fanega*': Spanish bulk measure; about 0.8 bushel or 29 liters.

882. *atayuc runaca* 'the *ata*'s father': could also mean 'the person(s) who has (have) the *ata*', that is, both parents. We choose 'father' because this person is said to have *caca* and *massa*, terms used relative to a male ego.

883. *cacancunahuampas* 'the men who rank as his fathers-in-law': for reasons given in note 878 to section 476.

884. *titacta* 'cover': see note 794 to chapter 31 (sec. 426).

885. *cacan* '[*ata*'s] maternal uncle': "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42) seems the more applicable sense of *caca* when referring to a child ego since the other usages apply to married males; *ypan* 'paternal aunt' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 369; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 301)

886. Assuming the immediately preceding glosses of *cacan* and *ypan* are right, these words probably imply maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother, respectively.

887. Scissors are a European tool, suggesting that the narrative concerns post-1532 times.

888. *ouejahuanpas* 'of a sheep': using the Spanish word for the Old World animal. Throughout the manuscript sacrificial goods are consistently of Andean provenience, and it is true that c. 1600 *oveja de la tierra* 'native sheep' could still mean 'llama'. But this gift, offered to the child's estate and not for sacrifice, might really be a Spanish sheep. Spanish sheep were herded through many parts of the Andes well before 1600.

889. *cascancama* 'according to their relationship': or 'according to what they had'.

890. Subject is an unspecified third person: the parents? the *alcalde*? The former makes sense since it was in their interest to maximize the gifts.

891. *pacha huraycuscancama*: more literally, 'until *pacha* descends'; translation uses an unattested but plausible meaning for *pacha*.

892. Or 'is'; many of the verbs in this supplement are ambiguous between agentive present and habitual past tenses because auxiliary verbs (forms of *cay* 'to be') are omitted.

"This is your *ata*, your *illa*,
And now we have finished his rites.

Henceforth may Paria Caca send us no other;
We will do right and be well."[893]

483 When people mention an *ata* or *illa*, they reportedly[894] comment, "This is Paria Caca's messenger."

On the evening of the day before the haircutting ritual,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the night before the said day.]
people used to worship Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri with guinea pigs, *ticti*, and other things of theirs, showing deep respect, and saying,

"Put us truly at peace with this *ata*,
Tomorrow we'll truly be happy."

484 "This is the sign of a *curi*," people say. "He has sent this *ata* to foretell the coming of a *curi*. People haven't minded their debts to Paria Caca properly, and for this, *curi* will be born in exchange for someone's death."[895]

"They're born in exchange for their death," they say about those born *curi*.

This is what we know about the people known as the San Damián Checa.[896]

485 Who knows what people say in other villages?

However, when an *ata* is born, everything is the same. Everybody reveres them all over this whole *corregimiento* and in the whole region: the Huanca, the Yauyo, the Huaman Tanca, all the kinds of people called Indians.[897]

486 And it's the same in Limac; when someone's child is an *ata* lots of people gather, from the most distinguished to the servants.

And we also know such things about the ones who are mestizos, some of them.

When they saw these rituals, certain people fell into the same sin, thinking, "Maybe this is a good custom!"

We said the same thing: "They should be shorn after they're three years old."

People perform this rite earlier or later, according to their customs.

All of this is a true testimony.

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893. These two formulas and the one following do not appear to be strict couplets, but they do have a common form consisting of a pairing between a sentence of which the addressed deity is subject and one in which the supplicant speaks of his own conduct.

894. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate beginning of a passage in which *-si* reportive predominates, continuing up to the fourth sentence of section 484.

895. *huañonan* 'someone's death': whose death, as in supplement I (sec. 462), remains unclear.

896. This sentence and the remainder of the supplement have witness validation.

897. *runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca* 'people called Indians': a reprise of the phrase that begins the manuscript (preface, sec. 1). The effect is as though "zooming out" back to the wider colonial context by naming three farflung ethnic groups whose territories reach far beyond that of the manuscript.

Transcription of the Huarochirí Manuscript

George L. Urioste

F 64 R

[1] runa yn(di)o ñiscap machoncuna ñaupa
pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca
hinantin causascancunapas manam cananca
mapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam
vira cochappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin
hinatacmi canman [2] chay hina captinpas canan
cama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani
cay huc yayayuc guaro cheri ñiscap machoncu
nap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan y
ma yñah canancamapas causan chay chay
cunacta chayri sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca
hima hina causascampas pacariscanmanta
[3] CAPITULO 1 COMO FUE ANTEGUAM(EN)TE LOS YDOLOS Y COMO GUERREO EN
TRE ELLOS Y COMO AUIA EN AQUEL TIEMPO LOS NATURALES
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc huaca ñiscas yana ñamca tuta
ñamca sutioc carcan cay huacacunactas quipanpi huc huaca
tac huallallo caruincho sutioc<carcan>atircan ña atispas canan
runacta yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan huctas quiquin
micorcan huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta causachicorcan yayan
maman [4] chaymantas chay pachaca huañuspapas pihcca punchao
llapitac causarimpuc carcan ynaspa micuyninri tarpuscanmanta
pihcca punchaollapitacsi pocorcan cay llactacunari tucoy hinantin
llactas yuncasapa carcan [5] chaysi ancha ahca runacuna huntaspas — yuncaçapa
ancha millayta causarca chacranpacpas cacactapas patactapas yanca
aspispa allallaspa chay chacracunas canancamapas tucoy hinantin
cacacunapi huchoyllapas atunpas ricurin hinaspari chay pacha pis
cocunaca ancha çumaccamas carcan huritupas caquipas tucoy quellosapa
pucasapa [6] chaycunas quipanpi ña may pacham huc huacatac paria
caca sutioc ricurimurcan chay pachas ynantin rurascanhuan antiman
carcoy tucorcan chay atiscancunacta cay quipampim paria cacap pa
carimuscantauan rimason [7] chaymantam canan huc huacatac cuni — saber si dize q(ue) no se
raya sutioc carca<n> caytam mana allicho yachanchic paria cacaman — sabe si fue antes
tapas hichapas ñaupacnin carcan o quipanpas ychaca cay cunirayap — o despues de carvin
cho o de paria caca

F 64 V

cascanracmi ñahca vira cochap cascanman tincon porque caytam
runacuna ña muchaspapas coni raya vira cocha runa camac pacha camac
yma aycayuc cammi canqui campam chacraiqui campac runayqui
ñispa muchac carcan [8] yma ayca saça ruranacta callarijpacpas pai
taracmi machocuna cocanta pachaman vischuspa cayta yuyachiuai
amutachiuai cuni raya vira cocha ñispa mana vira cuchactaca ricus
patac ancha ñaupa rimac muchac carcanco yallin astauanrac
compi camayucri compinampac sasa captin muchac cayac carcan chay
raycom caytarac ñaupacninpi causascanta quillcasson chaysauam
paria cacacta

[9] CAPITULO 2 COMO SUÇEDIO CUNI RAYA VIRA COCHA EN
SU TIEMPO cuni raya vira cochap causascan Y COMO CAUI LLA
CA PARIO SU HIJO Y LO QUE PASSO

notase q(ue) no se sabe si fue este antes o despues de carvincho

cay cuni raya vira cochas ancha ñaupa huc runa ancha huaccha tucospalla
purircan yacollanpas cosmanpas lliqui lliquesapa runacunapas huaquin
mana ricsicnincunaca huaccha huçasapa ñispas cayar<>can cay runas
canan tucoy llactacunacta camarcan chacractapas rimaspallas pata
patactapas allin pircascacta tucochircan rarcactas canan llocsimu
nanmanta huc pupuna sutioc cañavelarpa sisayninhuan chucas
pallas yachacuchirca chaymantari yma aycactapas ruraspas purir
can huaquinin llacta huacacunactapas yachascanhuan allcuchaspa [10] chay
si huc mitaca huc huarmi<tac> huacatac caui llaca sutioc carcan cay
caui llacas canan viñay donzella carcan panas ancha sumac cap
tin pi maycan huaca villcacunapas puñosac ñispa munapayar
can chaysi manatac hu ñircancho [11] chaymantas canan quepanpi chay
huarmica chayhina mana pi caritapas chancaycochicuspa huc yura
rucmap siquinpi ahuacorcan chaysi chay cuni rayaca amauta
cayninpi huc pisco tucospa chay yura rucmaman vichayrirca chay
si chaypi huc rucma chayasca captin chayman yumayninta chu
raspa hormachimurca chay huarmi cayllaman [12] chaysi chay huarmica
ancha cusicuspa millpuycorcan chaysi hinalla chichu tucorcan ma
na carip chayascan escon quellanpi himanam huarmicunapas hua
chacon hina huachamurcan yna donzellatac chaysi quiquillantac
huc huata chica ñoñonhuan causachircan pip churinh cayca ñispa
[13] chaysi ña huc huataman huntaptinca taua chaqui ña chay huamra
puriptinca tucoy hinanin huaca villcacunacta cayachircan

F 65 R

yayanta ricsiconcampac chaysi cay simicta huacacuna huyarispa
ancha cusicuspa tucoynin alli pachanta cama pachallispa ñocactapas
ñocactapas munahuanca ñispa hamurcancu [14] chaysi cay tantanacoy
ri anchi cuchapi carcan maypim chay huarmi tiarcan chayman hinaspas la congreçion fue en
ña tucoynin hinantin huacacuna villcacuna tiaycuptinsi chay huar anchi cocha
mica ñispa nircan ri<>coy caricuna apucona ricsicoy cay huahuac
ta mayquenniquechicme yumahuarcanquichic camcho camcho ñispas
sapanpi taporcan chaysi manatac pillapas ñocapmi nircancho [15] chaysi
chay ñiscanchic cuni raya vira cochaca manyallapi tiacuspas ancha
huacchalla yna tiacuptinsi chay huacchap churincho canman ñispas
paytaca millaspa mana tapurcancho chica sumac cama caricunaca
tiaptin chaysi mana pillapas ñocap churimi ñispa ñiptinsi chay
huamracta ñispa nircan ri cam quiquique yayaiquicta ricsicoy
ñispa ñircan huacacunactapas churique caspaca camsahuam lluca
musonque ñispa ñaupactac villaspa [16] chaysi chay huamraca man
yanmanta callarimuspas tahua chaquilla purispa hasta<>chay huc
manyan yayan tiascanman chayascancama mana pillamanpas
llocarcancho chaysi ña chayaspaca tuyllapuni ancha cusicuspa yayanpa
chancanman llocaycorca chaysi mamanca chayta ricuspas ancha
piñacuspa hatatay chay hina huacchap churintachum ñocaca hua
chayman ñispas chay huahuallanta aparicuspa cochaman chi
cacharcan [17] chaysi chay cuni raya vira cochaca tuylla munahuanca ñispa
cori pachanta pachallispa tucoy llacta huacacunapas manchariptin
catita ña callarircan ñispa pana caue llaca cayman cahuaycumu
ay ancha sumac ñam cani ñispas pachactapas hillarichispa sayar
can [18] chaysi chay caue llacaca mana huyantapas payman ticrari
chispa cochaman hinallam chincasac chica millay runap cachcaçapap
churinta huachascaymanta ñispa chicacharcan maypim cananpas chay
pacha camac huco cochapi cananpas sutilla escay rumi runa hina
tiacon chayman chaysi chay canan tiascanpis chayaspalla rumi tu
corcan [19] chaymantas cay cuni raya vira cochaca pana ricurimunca
cahuaycumuanca ñispa caparispa cayapayaspa carollapi catircan
chaysi ñaupac huc condorhuan tincorcan chaysi huauqui maypim
chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñiptinsi cayllapim ñahcam tarinque ñip
tinsi ñispa ñircan camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sall
cacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca

F 65 V

cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi
sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan
[20] chaymantas chaysaua añashuan tincorcan chaysi pana may
pim chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñispa tapuptinsi payca ñispa
ñircan mana ñam tarinquecho ancha caructam rin ñiptinssi
camca chay villahuascayquimanta manam punchaopas purinque
cho tutallam runapas chicniptin ancha millayta asnaspa purin
que ñispa ancha millaypi ñacarcan
[21] chaysauam pumahuan tincorcan chaymi payca cayllactaracmi rin
caylla ñam sihcpayconque ñiptinmi paytaca camca ancha cuyas
cam canqui llamactapas huchayucpa llamantaracmi micopunque
camta huaño<chi>chispapas aton fiestapiracmi homansaua<chu>
churaspa taquechisonque chaymanta huatanpi camta llocsi
chispare huc llamanta nacasparac(mi) taquechisonque ñispa ñircan
[22] chaymantam ñatac huc atochuan tincorcan chaymi chay atoc
ca ancha caructa ñam rin mana ñam tarinquicho ñispa ñiptin
mi camtaca carupi puricuptiquitacmi runacunapas chay hatoc a
coylla ñispa ancha chicnisonque huañochispari yancam camtaca
carayquictapas husuchisonque ñispa ñircan

[23] hinatacsi huc huaman
huan tincorcan chaysi chay
guamanca cayllata
racmi rin ñah cam tarinq(ui)
ñiptinsi camca ancha
cusiocmi canqui micuspa
pas ñaupacracmi quin
ticta armuçaconque chay
mantari piscocunacta
huañuchispari camta
huañuchic runam huc
llamanhuan huacachi
sonqui ynaspari taquis
papas homampim chura
sonqui chaypi sumaspa tian
cayquipac
[24] chaysahuam cay horitocu
nahuan tincorcan chaysi
chay horituca ancha caructa
ñam rin mana ñam tarin
quicho ñiptinsi camca an
cha caparispam porinq(ui)
micoyniquicta husuchisac
ñiptiquipas chay caparij
niquita huyarispa ancha
vtcalla carcosonqui chay
mi ancha ñacarispa cau
sanq(ui) runapas chicniptin

[24cont.] chaymantari pi maycan alli villacochuan tincospaca allicta çapa
camaycospas rircan mana allicta villacnintare millaypi cama
ñacaspas rircan [25] chaysi cocha pa(tapi chayaspaca)<hinalla cochaman yaycuspa
chicacharcan chaytam canan runacunaca castillamanmi chicachar
ca ñispa ñincu ñaupa pachapas huc pachamansi rin ñispaca ñircan>
pacha camacñicman cutimurcan chaysi chaypica pacha camacpac
iscay sipas churin machachuaypa huacaychascan tiacman chaya
murcan chaysi cay yscay sipaspa mamanca ñaupacllantac co
cha hucoman chay caue llaca ñiscacta visitac yaycurcan sutin
pas hurpay huacha<y>c sutioc cay hillaptinsi chay cuni raya vira co
chaca chay sipasta yuyacninta puñochircan chaysi huquen ñañan
tauan puñoyta munaptinsi chayca huc urpai tucospa pauarirca
chaymantas mamanpas hurpai huachac (sutioc) carca [26] chaysi chay pachaca
cochapi manas huc challuallapas carcancho chay hurpai huachac
niscallas huasinpi huc huchuylla cochallapi huyhuacuc carca
chaytas chay cuni rayaca piñaspa ymapacmi chay caue llaca ñis
ca huarmicta cocha ocumanta visitac rin ñispalla tucoyninta <cocha>

F 66 R

haton cochaman vischorapurcan chaymantaracsi cananca chall
huacunapas cochapi huntan [27] chaymantas chay cuniraya vira co
cha ñiscaca miticamurca cocha patañicta chaysi chay hurpai
huachac ñisca huarmica huahuancuna ynam <yuma>(puñu)huan ñispa
villaptinsi ancha piñaspa catimurcan chaysi cayapayaspa catip
tinsi ho ñispa suyarcan chaysi husallayquicta husascayque
cuni ñispas husarcan [28] chaysi ña husaspa pay cayllapi huc aton
cacacta viñarichircan chayta cuni rayacta hurmachisac ñispa
chaysi payca hamauta cayninpi musyacuspa aslla ysmayco
cumusac pana ñispalla cay llactacunaman ñatac miticamur
can chaysi cay quitipi ancha hunay puricorcan ancha ahca llac
tacunacta runactapas llollachispa <el fin q(ue) tuuo esta huaca se dira abajo ojo>
[29] CAPIT(UL)O 3 COMO PASSO ANTEGUAMENTE LOS Y(NDI)OS QUANDO REUENTO LA MAR
CAYPIM ÑATAC ANCHA ÑAUPA RUNA
CONAP RIMACUSCANMAN ÑATAC
CUTISON
chay simire caymi ñaupa pachas cay pacha puchocayta munarcan
chaysi mama cochap pahcyamunanta yachaspas huc orco llamaca
ancha allin queuayucpi <yayan>(chay llamayoc) çamachiptintac mana micuspa
ancha llaquecuc yna carca yn yn ñispa huacaspa [30] chaysi<yayan>(chay llamayuc)
ca ancha piñaspa sarap curumtayninhuan chucllo micuscampi
chucarca micoy allco chica quehuapim çamachijque ñispa chay
si chay llamaca runa yna rimarimuspa ñispa ñircan hutic ymac
tam cam yuyanquiman cananmi pihcca punchaumanta cocha
pahyamunca chaymi hinantin pacha pochocanca ñispa rima
rirca [31] chaysi chay runaca ancha mancharispa himanam cason
mayman rispam quispison ñispa ñiptinsi haco villca coto este es un cerro q(ue) esta
hurcoman chaypim quispison pihcca punchaupac micuynij entre huanri y surco
quicta apacoy ñispa ñircan chaysi chaymantaca chay orco
llamantapas vinaynintapas quequen apaspa ancha hutcaspa
rircan [32] chaysi ña villca coto hurcoman chayaptinca tucoy ani
malcuna ña huntasca pomapas hatucpas huanacopas con
dorpas yma ayca animalcunapas chaysi chay runa chayap
tin pachalla cochaca pahcyamurca chaysi chaypi ancha
quihcquinacuspa tiarca [33] tucoy hinantin hor(co)cunactapas tu
coy pampaptinsi chay villca coto hurcolla aslla puntallan

F 66 V

mana yacup chayascan carca chaysi hatucpac chupantaca
yaco hucocharcan chaysi chay yanamanpas tucorcan chay
si pihcca punchaomantaca ñatac yacuca huraycurcan
chaquerirca [34] chay chaquerispas cochactapas asta hurayman
anchurichircan runacunactari tucoy hinantin runacta collo
chispa chaymantas chay runaca ñatac mirarimurca chay
cacsi canancama runacuna tian cay simictam canan
xp.^(christia)nocuna hunanchanchic chay tiempo dellobioctah paycuna
ca hina villca cutucta quispiscanta hunanchacon

[35] CAPIT(UL)O 4 COMO EL SOL SE DESPARECIO CINCO DIAS — CHAYMANTAM HUC SIMICTATAC VILLASON PUNCHAO HUAÑUSCANTA

ñaupa pachas <punchao> (ynte) huañorcan chaysi chay huañuscan
(manta) pihca punchao tutayarcan chayssi rumicunaca paypura
huactanacurcan chaymantas cay mortero muhcacunari
chaymanta cay maraycunapas runacta micuyta callarir
can llama horcocunare ynatac runacta ña catirircan
caytam canan ñocanchic xp.^ono(christiano)cuna hunanchanchic
jesuxp.^to(jesuchristo) apunchicpac huañuscanpi tutayascantah caycuna
ca riman ñispa hunanchanchic ychach ari chay

[36] CAPIT(UL)O 5 COMO ANTEGUA M(ENT)E PARECIO PARIA CACA EN VN CERRO LLAMADO CONDOR COTO CIN CO HUEUOS Y LO QUE SUCEDIO — CAYMANTAM ÑATAC PARIA CACAP PACARIMUSCAN CALLARINCA

ñam hari cay ñaupac tahua capitulopi ñaupa pacha causas
cancunacta villanchic hichaca cay runacunap <> chay pacha
pacarimuscancunactam mana yachanchiccho maymantah
pacarimurcan [37] chaymanta cay runacuna chay pacha causaccuna
ca paypura aucanacuspa atinacuspalla<s>m causac carcan(cu) cura
canpacpas sinchicunallacta rricocunallacta<s> ricsicorcan cay
cunactam purom runa ñispa ñihchic [38] cay pachapim chay
paria caca ñisca condor cotopi pihcca runto yurimurcan cay yu
riscantam huc runa huacchallatac huatya cori sutioc
paria cacap churin ñiscatac ñaupaclla ricumorca yachamurca
cay yachascantari ahca misterio rurascantahuanmi rimason

F 67 R

[39] chay pacha cay huatya curi ñisca huacchalla micuspapas huatya
cuspalla causaptinsi sutiachircan huatya curim ñispa
chay pachas huc runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha capac atun apo — ojo tamta ñamca
carcan huasimpas tucoy hinantin huassim cassa cancho ñisca
ricchaccuna piscocunap ricranhuan catascas carcan llamanpas
quillo llama puca asol llama yma ayca ricchaccama llama
yocsi carcan [40] chaysi cay runacta chica alli causascanta ricuspas
tucoy hinantin llactacunamanta hamuspa yupaicharcan mu
charcan chaysi payri ancha yachac tucospa pissi yachascanhuan
ancha ahca runa<cta>conacta llollaspa causarcan chay pachas yna
amauta tucoc dios tucoc caspatac chay runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha mi — tamta ñamca
llay huncoyta tarircan [41] chaysi ancha ahca huata honcoptinsi hima
hinam chica yachac camac caspatac honcon ñispa runacunapas
chay pacha rimarcancu chaysi chay runaca alliyasac ñispa y
manam vira cochacunapas amautacunacta doctorcunacta caya
chin chay hina tucoy yachaccunacta sauiocunacta cayachircan — juntaronse los sauios
chaysi manatac pillapas yacharcancho chay honcoscanta [42] chay
si cay hatya curica chay pacha ura cochañicmanta hamuspa
may pacham sieneguellaman huraycomunchic chay horcucta chay
pis poñomusca chay horcom canan latab zaco sutioc chaypi poñop
tinsi huc hatocca vramanta amusca hocri hanacmanta amusca
tac chaysi chaypi pactalla tincuspas huauque hima ynallam
hanac villcapi ñispa tapurcan [43] chaysi allica allem ychaca
huc apom anchi cochapi villca checa yachac tucoc dios tococmi
ancha huncon chaymi tucoy amautacuna taripan pachacta
ymamantam chica huncon ñispa chaymi manatac pillapas
yachancho honcoscanta chaymi chay honcoscanca huarminpa
pincayninmanmi camchacuptin huc muro sara callanamanta
pahyamuspa chayaicurcan [44] chaytam ñatac pallaspa huc ru
naman caracurca chay carascanmantam chay runa micoc
huan hochallicoc ña tucon chaytam canan pachaca huachuc
ta ña yupan chaymantam cay hochamanta huc machac
huay chay chica sumac huasinsaua pay(cuna)cta micoc tian huc
ampaturi yscay vmayoc maraynin hocopi tian(tac) cay<cuna>
micucnintam (cana) mana pillapas musyancho ñispas villarcan
chay hatoc horamanta amucta [45] chaysi ñatac paytari

F 67 V

huauqui chayca hura villcapi hima hinallam runacuna ñis
pa tapurcan chaysi payri hinatac villarcan huc huarmim
aton apo villcap churinmi hullomanta ñahca huañun ñispa
(cay simin canan ancha ahca chay huarmi alliyascancama
chaytaca quepampiracmi quillcason cananri ñaupacman
cutison)[46]cay caycunacta villanacuptinsi chay huatya curi ñisca huyarcan
chay chica aton apo dios tucospa huncos<canta> cay runas
yscay churiyoc carcan chaysi huc yuyacnintaca huc
casarachircan ayllonhuantac ancha rricohuan tinquichircan chaysi cay
huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca chay pacha honcoptin chay apoman
chayarcan [47] chaysi chayaspas<huaqui> huaticayllapi tapuyca
charcan manacho cay llactapi pillapas honcon ñispa chaysi
chay quipan sipas chorinca yayaimi honcon ñispa villar
ychaca caytas que can chaysi ñocahuan cason camrayco yayaiquicta alliya
pampi chaupi ñamcacta chisac ñispa villarcan (cay huarmip sutintam mana yachanchiccho)
ña sutiachircan chaysi chay huarmica mana tuy
llaca hu ñircancho [48] chaysi yayantaca yaya caypim huc huac
cha yayaiquicta alliyachisac ñimuan ñispa villarcan chay
si cay simicta hoyarispas chay sauiocuna tiacca asicor
can ñocacunapas alliyachipticho chay huaccharac alliya
chinman ñispa chaysi chay apoca alliyaininta ancha mu
naspas hamuchontac yma yna runallapas ñispa cayachircan
[49] chaysi cayachiptin cay huatya curi ñiscaca yaicuspa ñispa ñirca
yaya alliyaita munaptiquica alliyachiscayqui hechaca chu
riquictam co<uay>anqui ñiptinsi paica ancha cusicuspa alli
tacmi ñispa ñircan chaysi chay ñaupac churinpa cosanca
cay simicta huyarispas ancha piñarcan himapacmi chay huc
huacchahuan tinquichisac ñispa ñin ñoca chica capacpac co
ñaday<ni>ta ñispa [50] cay runa piñacucpa huatya curihuan
aucanacuscantam caysa(ua) villason cananca chay huaccha
huatya curi ñiscap ampiscanman ñatac cotison
chaysi cay huatya curica ampijta ña callarircan yaya huarmiquim
huachuc ñispa chay hina huachoc hochayoc captinmi camta
honcochisonqui camta micucri cay chica collanan huasique
sahuam yscay machachuay tian chaymantam ampatori
yscay homayoctac maray hucopi tian [51] caycunactam canan
tucoyninta huañoshison chaymi alliyanqui chayman

F 68 R

tam ña alliyaspam tucoy hima aycacta yallispa ñocap yayai
ta muchanqui caya minchallam yurimunca camca manam
ari camac runacho canqui camac runa caspaca manam
ari honconquimancho ñispa ñiptinsi ancha mancharirca
[52] chaysi ña chay huasinta chica sumacta pascasac ñiptinsi
ancha llaquicorcan huarminsi hinatac yancam cay huac
cha acoylla ñihuan manam huachuccho cani ñispa capa
rircan [53] chaysi chay runa honcucca alliyaininta ancha
munaspas huasinta pascachircantac chaymantas yscay
machachuayta surcorcan ynaspa huañochircan huarmintari
hinatac suti villarcan ymanam chay huc muro sara pah
yamuspa pincayninman chayaicorcan ynaspa ñatac pallas
pa runacta cararcan chaycunacta chaysi chay huarmi
pas quipampica ancha chicanmi ñispa tucoyta villacorcan
[54] chaymantas ñatac marayninta atarichircan chaysi chay
hucomantaca huc ampato yscay homayoc llocsimuspa
chay anchi cucha huaycomanh pahuarircan chaypis
canancama tiacon huc pucyupi chay pucyus canan chay — preguntar como se dize
pi runacuna chayaptinca ña ñispa chincachin ña ñis — este pucyu y en q(ue) p(ar)te esta
pa locotapas ruran [55] cay tucoy ñiscanchiccunacta ña
puchocaptinsi <yayanca> chay huncuc runaca alliyarcan
ña alliyapuptinsi chay huatya curi ñiscaca ponchao
ninpi huc mita condor cotoman rircan chaypis chay pari
a caca ñisca huacaca pihca runto tiacorcan chay cayllampis
canan huayrapas pucorircan chaysi ñaupa pachaca manas
huayra ricurircancho [56] chayman rinan captinca punchao
ninpis chay alliyac runaca sipas churinta corcan chay
si yscaynillan chay horco quiticta porispa hochallicorcan
[57] cay hochallicoscanta ña chay huc ñaupac masan hoya
rispa<m>s ancha pincayta rurasac chay huacchacta ñispa
yallinacoyta ña callarirca chaysi huc ponchao chay ru
naca huauqui camhuan yallinacuson ymahuanpas cam
huacchcaraccho chica capacpa coñada<ni>yta huarmiyan
quiman ñispas ñircan chaysi chay huacchaca alli — + esto es uno de los hu(eu)os
tacmi ñispas yaianman + cayhinam ñihuan ñispa villa — dichos a quien este tenia
coc rircan chaysi payca allitacmi ymata ñiptin — por p(adr)e

F 68 V

pas<tu> tuyllam ñocaman hamuanque ñispa ñircan [58] cay ya
llinacoysi cay hina carcan
huc ponchaosi vpyaihuan ynaspa taquihuan yallinacuson
ñispa ñircan chaysi cay huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca ya
yanman villacoc rircan chaysi ri chay huc horcoman
chaypim huanaco tucospa huañusca siriconqui chaymi tu
tallamantam ñocacta ricoque huc atoc añas huarminhuan
hamunca [59] chaymi huc huchoylla porongollapi ashuanta apa
munca ynaspa tinyantapas apamuncatac chaytam canan
camta huañusca huanacucta ricuspam chaycunantapas
pachapi churaspa atucri antaranta churaspatac micoyta
ña callarisonqui chaymi camca runa tucospa ancha na
nacta caparispa pauarimunqui chaymi paicunaca chay
nintapas mana yuyaspa miticaptinmi chayta apaspa
yallinacoypac rinqui ñispas yaian paria caca villarcan
[60] chaysi cay huacchaca ñiscancama rurarcan
chaysi ña yallinacospaca ñaupacñinsi chay runa rrico ñisca
taquircan chaysi huarmicunapas ñahca yscay pachac chica
taquipuptinsi ña pai pochocaptin chay huacchaca
yaycorcan sapallan huarmillanhuan yscaynillan chay
si ponconta yaicospatacsi chay añaspa huancarninta
apamus(can)<chay>huan taquiptin<si> tucoy chay pachapas cuyurcan
ynaspas chayhuanpas tucoyta yallircan [61] chaysi ñatac vpyai
ta callarircan chaysi ymanam canampas corpacuna anac
manta tiamun chay hinas çapallam huarmillanhuan tia
murcan chaysi chay runacunaca tucoy hinantin tiaccuna
ancosamurcan mana samachispa chaysi paica tucoyta
vpyaspapas mana llaquispa tiacorcan [62] chaysi ñatac pairi
chay huchoylla poroncollapi ashuan apamuscanhuan ancusay
ta ña callarircan runacunapas chica ochuyllapicho chica
runacta sacsachinman ñispa<s> asipayaptin chaysi paica
manyanmanta ancosamuspa sapampi tuylla tuylla hur
machircan [63] chaysi cayantin ñatac huc yallinacoyta atipap
tin munarcan cay yallinacoysi huallparicoy carcan an
cha allin cassa ñiscanhuan cancho ñiscanhuan chaysi cay
huatya curi ñiscaca ñatac yayanman rirca chaysi huc

F 69 R

razo pachacta yayanca cumurcan chayhuansi tucoy runacunac o riti
tapas ñauinta rupachispa atiparcan [64] chaymantas ñatac
pomacta aparispa yallinacoson ñispa ñircan chaysi cay
runaca pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan chaysi
chay huacchaca yayan villaptin tutallamanta huc pucyo
manta puca pomacta apamurcan chay puca pomahuansi ca
nan taquiptin ymanam canan huc arco sieloñicpi llocsin
chay hina llocsiptin taquircan [65] chaymantas canan ñatac hua
si pircacoyhuan yallinacoyta munarcan chaysi chay runaca an
cha ahca runayoc caspa huc poncha(u)lla atun huasicta ñahca
tucochircan chaysi <pay> cay huacchaca ticsillanta churaspa
tucoy punchao huarmillanhuan poricorcan chay tutas canan
tucoy piscocuna chaymanta machachuaycuna yma ayca
pachapi caccunas pircarcan chaysi cayaca ña tucoscacta
ricuspa ancha mancharircan [66] chaymanta catanampipas
hinatacsi yallircan ocsantapas tucoy huanacocuna
vicoñaconas astamurcan chay runaptari llamanhuan
chacnacumuptinsi oscullocta mincaspa huc cacallapi
suyaspa mancharichispa tucoyta destruyrca hurmachir
can chayhuanpas hinatac yallircan [67] cay tucoyta yallina
cuspas quipampica cay huaccha ñiscaca ñispa ñircan
yayanpa simincama huauqui ñam chica ahca mita
campa simiquicta ho ñispa yallinaconchic cananca ño
cap simijtapas ho ñihuaytac ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi
ñispa ho ñircan chaysi ñispa ñircan cananca ancas cusma
yoc chaymanta huaranchicri yurac hutco cachon hina
lla taquison ñispas ñiptinsi allitacmi ñircan [68] chaysi chay
runaca ñaupacmantapas payrac <taquic> ñaupac taquic
caspas taquircan ña taquiptinsi chay hatya curi ñis
caca hahuamanta caparispa callparimuptinsi chay runa
ca mancharispa huc lloycho tucospa miticarcan chay
si huarminpas cosallayhuantac huañosac ñispa catirir
can [69] chaysi chay huaccha ñiscaca ancha piñaspa ri hutic
cammi chica huatuycahuarcanquichic ñispa camtaca
huañochiscayquim ñispas catirircantac chaysi catispa
huarmintaca anchi cocha ñanpi apispas caypim ynantin

F 69 V

runa hanacmanta huramanta hamuc pincaynijque
ta ricupayasonqui ñispas huray çinca humanmanta sa
yachircan chaysi tuylla pachampitac rumi tucorcan [70] chay
rumis canancamapas himanam runap chancan hina
nota chancayoc racayoc tian chaytas ymancampach ari
preguntar para q(ue) cocacta chaysaua churapon (canancamapas) chaymantas chay lloycho
se pone esta coca tucoc runaca hinallatac chay hurcucta sicaspa chin
carcan [71] chay lloychos canan ñaupa pachaca runa micoc
carcan quipampis canan ña ahca lloycho caspas yma
ynam runacta micosonchic ñispa cahchuacorcan chay
si huc huahuallanca hima ynam runa micohuason
ñispa pantarcan chayta hoyarispas lloychoconaca
chiquirircan chaymantas lloychopas runap miconan
carcan [72] cay ñisca<y>(nchic)cunacta ña puchocaptinsi paria caca
paria cacap yuri ñiscaca pihca runtomanta pihca huaman pahyamur
muscan can chay pihca huamansi ñatac runaman tucuspa
purirircan chay pachas ancha chaycunap rurascancunac
ta vyarispa ymanam chay runapas sutioc dios
me cani ñispa muchachicorcan chay chay huchancuna
mantas piñaspa tamya hatarispa mama cochaman<>
tucoy hinantin huasintahuan llamantahuan aparcan
mana huchlactapas quispichispa [73] chaymanta chay pa
chatacsi cay llantapa hurcomanta huc pullao sutioc
chay huc urco vichoca ñiscahuan apinacorca arcohina
chay pullao ñiscas ancha aton sacha carca chaysauas cusi
llupas caquipas yma ayca ricchaccuna piscocunapas
tiacoc carcan chaycunactahuansi tucoy hinantinta cocha
man aparcan caycunactas ña pochocaspa ñatac pari
a caca hanac canan paria caca ñinchic chayman vichay
corca chay vichaycoscantam canan quipan capitulo
pi rimason
[74] CAPIT(UL)O 6 COMO PARIA CACA NAÇIO ÇINCO ALCONES
Y DESPUES TORNO EN PER(SON)AS Y COMO ESTANDO YA
VENÇIDOR DE TODOS LOS YUNGAS DE ANCHI COCHA
EMPEÇO A CAMINAR AL D(ICH)O PARIA CACA Y LO QUE
SUÇEDIO POR LOS CAMINOS

F 70 R

ña paria caca runaman tucuspas aton ña caspa enemigon
ta mascayta ña callarircan chaysi chay enemigonpa sutinri
<ri>huallallo carvincho carcan runacta micoc hupyac cay<mi>
tam cay quipampi churason atinacuscantahuan ñam hari chay
huallallo carvinchup causascantaca runa micuscanta(huan)pas yma
ayca rurascantauanpas ñaupac capitulopi rimarcanchic — el capit(ul)o primero
[75] canami rimason huaro cheripi chay chay quitipi rurascancunac
ta chay simire caymi ña paria caca haton runa caspas hanac
paria caca ñiscaman huallallo caruinchup tiascanman rir
can [76] chaysi huaro cheri chay hura huaycupica huc llacta huau
qui husa sutioc yuncap llactan carca chaysi chay llactayoc ru
nacunaca chay pacha haton fiestacta rucraspa haton vpiayta
vpyarcancu chay hina vpyacuptinsi paria caca ñiscaca
chay llactapi chayarcan chayaspas payca runacunap manyallan
manta tiaicorcan huaccha ynalla [77] chay hina tiaptinsi chay llac
tayoc runacunaca mana hucllapas ancosarcancho tucoy punchao
chay yna captinsi huc huarmica chay llactayuctac añañi yma
ynam chay huacchallactaca mana ancosayconcho ñispas huc
haton yurac potohuan ashuacta apamuspa corcan [78] chaysi
payca pani ancha cosiocmi canqui cay ashuacta comuaspa
canan punchaomanta pihccantin punchaoninpi himactahc
cay llactapi riconqui chayrayco chay ponchaoca amatac cay
lla(c)tapi tianquicho carollamantac anchorinque pactah cam
tauan huahuayquictauan pantaspa huañochiquiman an
cham cay runacuna ñocacta piñachihuan ñispas chay huar
micta ñircan chaymantari cay runacunactari amatac
huc simillactapas hoyarichicho oyarichiptiquica camtahuan
mi huañochiquiman ñispas ñircan [79] chaysi chay huar
mica huahuancunahuan turancunahuan chay pihca pon
chaomanta chay llactamanta anchoricorcan chaysi chay
llactayoc runacunaca mana llaquispa vpiacorcancu
chay pachas paria caca ñiscaca guaro cheri hanacnin
horcuman vichaycorcan chay horcom canan matao
coto sutioc chay huraynin huc horcom puypu huana
sutioc maytam caymanta rispa huaro cheriman hu
rayconchic chaycunam cay hina sutioc [80] chay orcopis

F 70 V

canan chay paria cacaca haton tamyayta ña callarircan
chaysi quillo runto puca runto hatarispas chay runacu
nactaca tucoyninta mama cochaman aparcan mana
huchlactapas perdonaspa chay pacha chica yaco lloclla
purispas chay huaro cheri anacnincuna huaycucunac
tapas rurarcan chaymantas canan ña chay(cuna)cta pucho
caspas chay llactayoc huaquinin yuncacunactaca mana
paria caca chimparcan rimapayaspa paycunari<ancha alli> chayta ricuspapas
cuparap llactanman mana musyaptin yachaptinsi chay chimpañic cuparap
chacrancunaman ripurcan [81] chaypis canan chay llactayoc
cupara runacuna ancha yaconmanta ñacarispa pucyo
llamanta chacranmanpas posaspa causarcan <> cay puc
yum canan s(a)n lorenço hanacnin aton orcomanta llocsir
can chay orcum canan suna caca sutioc chaypis canan ha
ton cochalla carcan chaymanta huray pusamuspas ña
tac huchuilla cochacunaman hontachispa chacrancunac
ta parco(cuc) carcan [82] chay pachas chay llactayoc huc huarmi
chuqui suso sutioc carcan ancha sumac huarmi chaysi cay
huarmica sarancuna ancha chaquiptin huacacospa
parcocorcan yacon ancha pisi captin chaysi chay paria caca
ca chayta ricuspa chay huchoylla cochanta yacollanhuan
chay cochap siminta quirpaicoporcan [83] chaysi chay huarmica
ñatac ancha nanacta huacacorcan chay hinacta ricuspa
chaysi chay paria cacaca pani ymac(tam) <> chica huacanque
ñispa taporcan chaysi payca cay sara(llay)mi yacumanta cha
quipuan yaya<ñiptinsi> ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca
ama llaquicho ñocam yacuctaca cay cochayquimanta
ancha ahca yacucta llocsichimusac hichaca camhuan
<> ñaupac(rac) puñuson ñispa ñircan [84] ñiptinsi canan pay
ca ñirca ñaupacrac cay yacocta llocsichemuy <> chac
ray parcusca captinca allitacmi puñoson ñispas ñircan chay
si allitacmi ñispa yacoctaca ancha ahcacta llocsichimurcan
chaysi chay huarmipas ancha cusicospa tucoy chacrancunac
ta parcocorcan chaysi ña parcoyta puchoca<spari>ptinca puño
son ñispa ñircan chaysi manam <cay> cananca caya mincharac
poñoson ñiptinsi paria cacaca ancha chay huarmicta munaspa

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puñoymanrac ñispas yma aycactapas chay huarmiman pro
metircan cay chacraiquicta mayomanta yacuyuctam rura
puscayque ñispa [85] chaysi chay huarmica chaytarac ñaupac ruray
chayrac puñuson ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca allitacmi ñispas
coco challa sutioc huaycumantas s(a)n lorenço anacnin huchuilla
hurco chay camaca ñaupamantapas yuncacunap rarcansi ha
murcan ancha huchuylla rarcalla chaytas canan paria cacaca
astauanri hatonyachispa chay hura cuparap chacrancama
rarcacta chayachircan [86] chay rarcactas canan pumacuna
hatuccuna machachuaycuna yma ayca piscocuna picharcan
allicharcan cayta ña allichaypacmi cay pumacuna oturungo
pas yma aycapas pim ñaupac siqueson ñispa camachinacor
can chaysi hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñocarac ñispa ñircancu
chaysi hatoctac atiparcan ñocam curaca cane ñocarac
ñaupasac ñispa chaysi pay atoc ñaupamurcan [87] yna ña
upamuspa ña chaupicta s(a)n lorenço hanacnin hurcucta seque ñaupamuspa ña
mup<>tinsi concayllapi huc yutuca pisc pisc ñispa pahua
rimurcan chaysi chay hatocca huac ñispa muspaspa hura
man hurmamurcan chaysi chaymanta chaycunaca ñatac
ancha piñaspa machachuayta sequechimurcan chaysi ma
na chay hurmamuptinca astahuan hanacnintas chay rarca
nin rinman carca chaysi cunanca as huranta rin cay atoc
pa hormamuscanmi canancamapas sutilla ricurin yacu
pas huraycumuntac (chay atocpa vrmascanta) [88] cay tucoyta puchocaspam ñatac paria
cacaca puñoson ñispa ñircan chaysi <> ñatac haco anac cacaman
chaypirac poñoson ñispa <llollachircan> (ñircan) chay cacam canan
yana caca sutioc chaypis huaque puñorcan ña puñospas canan
chay huarmica haco yscayninchictac maytapas rison ñiptinsi pai
ca aco ñispa chay coco challa ñisca rarcap llocsimuscanman pu
sarcan [89] chaysi chaypi chayaspaca chay huarmi chuqui suso ñis
ca sutiocca cay <ray>rarcaypitac tiasac ñispas chaypi rumi tu
cuspa chira<hua>yarca chaysi chay paria cacaca chaymanta sa
quispa hanacman vichaycorcan chaytaca cay quipanpin villason
[90] cay coco challa ñisca rarcap siminpim canan rumi chirahuas cunirayap tiascan
ca tian chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmi ynaspam chay hanac chuqui susop cayllan
nin huc rarcapi<m>tacmi chay pachapas vincompa sutiocpim pi

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canan ñatac cuni ra(ya) chirahuasca(tac) tian chaypim canan cuni
raya pochocarcan ychaca yma ayca rurascantaca cay
huaquin quepanpi capitulocunapim villason
[91] CAPITULO 7 YMANAM CHAY CUPARACUNA
CHAY CHUQUI SUSO ÑISCACTA CANANCAMAPAS
YUYPAYCHAN
cay cuparacunam huc ayllo cupara ñisca ayllo sutioc cay
cunam canan s(a)n lorençopi reduzisca canancamapas causan
cay ayllomantam canan huc yumay chauincho sutioc cay
chauincho <huarmin>(ayllom) carcan chay chuqui suso ñisca chaymi
caycunaca ñaupa pacha ña may pacham rarca pichana carca
mayo quielapi canancamapas chay pacham tucoy hinantin ru
nacuna chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmip tiascan<huan>man rircancu
<>ashuanhuan tictinhuan cuynhuan llamanhuan [92] chaypi
chay supay huarmicta muchaypac chaymi ña chayta muchaspari
pihca ponchaosi chaypi quishuaruan quenchaspa runacunacta
pas mana purichispa chaypi tiapayarcan chaysi ña chayta pu
chucaspa rarca pichaynintahuanpas tucoyta ña puchocaspas chay
manta taquispa runacuna hamurcan huc huarmictare cay
mi chuqui suso ñispa payta yna alli manchaspa chaopipe
pusamurcancu [93] chaymi ña llactanpi chay huarmi chayaptinri
caymi chuqui suso ñispa huaquin ashuahuan ymauan churapus
pa suyarcan chaypi tucoy huinantin tuta taquispa vpiaspa
runacuna ancha aton fiestacta rurarcancu chaymantam
ñaupa don sebastian apo causaptinpas corpus xp.^(christi)pi aton
pascuacunapipas huc huarmi chuqui susom cani ñispa haton
aquellahuan aton potohuanpas ashuacta manyanmanta
cumuc carcan caymi mamanchicpac ashuan ñispa chay
mantari saractapas camchascacta aton matihuantac cu
muc carcan [94] ña cay rarcacta pichayta puchocamuspari ru
nacunacta anchapunis combidac carcan saracta purotucta
yma aycacta(pas) cuspa cay yna vinaycoc captinsi runa
cunapas ñam chuqui susup rarcanta pichan haco ricumu
son ñispa huaro cherimantapas tucoy llactacunamantapas ric

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carcan [95] chaytam canan ña rarcacta pichaspaca musiasca yna
tac ruran muchan runacunari yma yna ruracuptinpas
alcaldepas yma ayca runacunapas manam ymaraycom
chay hina ruranque ñispa amachanmancho canancamapas
porque yallinracmi payhuan taquen vpyan machas
cancama p(adr)ectari rarcactam pichamuni p(adr)e taquecusac v
piacusac ñispam llollachen caytaca tucoy hinantin
runacunam ruraytaca ruran ychaca huaquinca ma
na ñam rurancho alli p(adre)oc caspa huaquenri pacallapica
ynatac canancamapas causanco
[96] CAPIT(UL)O 8 YMANAM PARIA CA
CA VICHAYCORCAN YMANAM
HUC RUNA CHURINUAN PARIA CACAP
SIMENCAMA CUTIMURCAN CHAYMAN
TARI YMANAM ATINACORCAN
HUALLALLO CARUINCHOUAN
ñam ari huallallo caruinchop causascantaca villarcanchic
ychaca caypa tiascantam llactachacuscantam mana ri
marcanchiccho chaysi cayca<huallallo caruincho> ñaupa pacha
hanac pariacañicpi tiarcan chay tiascampas sutintam ma
na allicho yachanchic cananca mullo cocha sutioc ña captin
porque paria cacam payta atispa chay huallalloca nina rupap
tin chayta huañochipac cochaman ña tucochircan [97] chay
mullo cocha ñiscanchic pachapis chay huallallop tiascan car
ca chay pachas canan tucoy hinantin pacha yuncasapa car
can aton <> (ma)chachuaypas caquepas yma ayca animal
cunapas hontaptinsi tiarcan ymanam ñaupac capi(tul)o — 1 capi(tul)o
pi runa micuscanta villanchic chay hina [98] chaymantas
ocsa pata — paria cacaca cay huallallo caruinchocta atipac rispas <hucsa>ocsa
es junto a — patapi pihcantin riuicorcan chay hina riuicoptinsi chay — pihca
paria caca — pachapas ancha chirircan runtopas hormamurcantac paypac
pucllascanpi [99] chaysi chay pacha huc runaca huaca

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DEZIR LO DE LA CULEBRA

cuspa hamurcan huc churinta apaspa chaymanta mullon
tapas cocantapas tictincunactapas huallallocta vpiachi
musac ñispa apaspa chaysi chay paria cacap cap huc
saber los n(ombr)es de estos — nin(ca) churi maymanmi yna huacacuspa rinque ñis
5 her(man)os — pa taporcan chaysi payca yaya cay cuyascay churi
llaytam canan apani huallallocta caramuc ñiptinsi
los n(ombr)es de estos cinco — churi ama apa<y>nquicho llactayquiman cutichicoy chay
her(man)os son paria caca — mantam chay mulloyquitaca cocayquitaca tictiquita
churapa, puncho, pari — ca ñocacta coay chaymanta churiquitaca cutichicoy
a carcu no sauemos — ñispa ñircan [100] chaymantari pihcantin ponchaopim cay
el n(ombr)e de vno de estos — man cotimunqui ñocacta atinacocta ricoypac ancha ya
çinco — cuhuan atipaptica yayanchicmi atipan ñispan ñihuan
qui ynaspa anchatac ninahuan atipahuanca chay
#azul claro era — ca atipay tucontacmi ñispatac ñihuanqui ñiptinsi
chay runaca mancharispa yaya manacho chayca hua
hijos — llallo caruincho ñocapac pinaconca ñi<ptinsi>spa ñircа
curaca o ancacha el 1° — [101] ñiptinsi piña(co)chonpas manam yma nasonquecho yallin
chauca el 2° — racmi ñocaca runacta camasac amiyocta llatayoc
lluncu el 3° — ta huarmictari añasiyocta hucta cari hucta huar
sullca el 4° — micta ynam camasac ñispa rimaptinsi siminman
llata el 5° — ta samaynin huc humo <asol> (ancas) # yna llocsimorcan chaysi
ami el 6° -ys- — chay runaca chayta ricuspa mancharispa tucoy apamuscan
hijas — ta co<po>rcan chaysi chay pihca runaca chay mullocta
paltacha o cochucha la 1ª — cap cap ñichispa micorcan tucoy hinantin coscantahuan
coba pacha la 2ª — chaymantas chay runaca cutimorcan churinta apacospa
ampuche la 3ª — [102] ynaspas ñatac pihcantin ponchaomanta ñatac chay pa
sullcacha la 4ª — ria cacap simincama cotircan ricu<>musac ñispa
ecancha la 5ª — chaymantas ña paria caca pihca ponchao ñiscanmanta
anacha anasi — chay huallallo caruinchocta atita ña callarircan chay simi
ri cay hinam paria caca pihca runa caspas pihca pacha
paria cacap atiscan — manta tamyaita ña callarirca chay tamyas canan
quello puca tamya carcan chaymantas yllapaspa
ri pihca pachamantatac yllaparcan [103] chaysi tuta
llamanta ña hora pachacama chay huallallo caruin
choca <nina> ancha aton nina ñahca sieloñicmanpas
chayaspa ruparca mana huañochichicospa chaysi

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chay yacocu<paria cacap huquinca>naca paria cacap tamyascancunaca hura
cochañicman tucoy hinantin yacucona rircan chaysi chay yna <ma>
manatac yaycuptin<si> huquenca (llacsa churapa sutioc) hurañicmanta yacucta huc hor
cucta ormachispa arcamorcan [104] ña arcaycomuptinsi chay yacuca
cocha ña tucomurca cay cocham cananca mullo cocha sutioc chay
yna chay cochapi ña yaco hontamup(tinsi)<> chay nina rupacta(ca) ñah
ca pamparca chaysi chay paria cacari chaymanta yllapapayarca — sauer si estos son her(man)os
mana samachispa ynallas chay huallallo caruinchoca anti — pues se dize q(ue) salieron de
ñicman miticarcan [105] chaysi huquenca paria cacap churin catir — los hu(eu)os o si son hijos
can chaysi chay antip yaicunampi pactah cutimunman — del paria caca<>
ñispa canancamapas chaypi tian caypac sutinmi <sullca ylla> — her(man)os eran
<pa> (paria carco) [106] chaymantas ña atisptin<> mana ñamca sutioc huc huar
mi carcan cay huallallo caruinchohuan cac supay cay huarmis
canan mama oraynin chay chaypi tiarcan cayta atipacsi ña
tac payman amorcan chaysi chay mana ñamca<ca> ñiscaca nina
tac ruparcan chaysi cay tumna huranta yaycuspa paria ca
caca <ati> aucanacorca chaysi huc paria cacap churinta chu
qui huampo sutiocta chaquinpi huramanta chucamuspa — sauer como esta este
chayachimurcan chaysi yna captin(pas) paria cacatac atiparcan
cochañicman carcospa [107] ña caycunacta atipaspas
chay churin chuqui huampo sutioc anca chaquen paquisca tia
cucman cotimurcan chaysi chayca amatac cotisaccho cay
llamanta chay huarmi mana ñamcacta huacaychasac pac
tah cutimunman ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi ñispa yayanca
tucoy miconampac camachiporcan [108] chaysi ñispa ñircan cay escay
huaycocunamantam tucoy runacuna camtarac ñaupac cocacta
comusonque manarac pillapas acuspa ña cam acoptiiqueracmi
chaymanta runacunapas acoconca cocanta mallquiscanmanta
chaymantam llamactari viñay<> (vrua mana huachacoc) cactaracmi naca
pusonque ynaspa rinrin chillpiscacta cay caycunactaracmi
camca viñaypas miconque ñispas camachirca [109] chaysi — este lugar donde
runacunaca chay camachiscan simicta yupaychaspa chay — esta<sullca yllapa>chuqui huampo esta
cama saci cayamanta chontaymanta chichimamanta mama — abajo de tumna entre sici
manta huayo callamanta sucya canchamanta tucoy coca — caya y sucya he de uerlo
yoccuna ñaupacnintaca paymanrac apamoc carcan — sauer como se llama
canancamapas pacallapica ynatacsi causancu

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[110] CAPITULO 9 YMANAM PARIA CACA ÑA
TUCOYTA POCHOCASPA PAYTA MUCHACHI
COYPAC HONANCHARCA CALLARIRCAN
ñam hari tucoy hinantin atiscancunacta pochocan
chic ychaca cay huallallo caruinchop quepanpi paria ca
cap sentenciascancama causascantam mana rimanchiccho
suer como esta ahora — ña atispas huallallo caruincho antiman ñan miticoptin
este caruincho en — chay huallallocta runa micoscanmanta cunanca all
los andes — cucta micochon chaytari huancacuna muchachon ñis
pa sentenciarcan [111] chaysi canan huancacunaca payta
muchaspa allcucunahuan muchac carcan payri dios
nin allcocta micuptin allcuctatac micorcancu canan
camapas huanca allco micuc ñispa ñinchic
capit(ul)o 1° — [112] chaymantas canan ymanam ñaupac capitulopi quepan
pipas tucoy llactacunam yuncaçapa carcan ñispa ñinchic
chay hinam cay tucoy hinantin llactacunapi guaro cheri pro
uinciapi chaclla mama prouinciapipas tucoy hinantin
llactacunapipas yuncaçapas carcan cay yuncacunactam
tucoy hinantin yuncacunacta hurañicman anchurichir
paria cacap churin — can churijcuna cay q(ui)tipi tianca ñispa honanchaspa [113] caycu
cuna — nacta aticcunapas sapampi paria cacap churincuna sutioc
sapam hucmi churin ñin huaquenmni manas paycamas sachap
ruruyninmanta yurimurcan ñispa rimanco caycunap su
tinri caymi mayorninmanta chuc paico chancha runa
huari runa vtco chuco tutay quiri huauquinri sasen male cay
chicam chay yuncacunacta atircancu [114] chaymantam huc
paria cacap churinsi pachamanta paycama llocsimurcan cay
quepanpi churason — pac sutinmi pacha chuyru sutioc (carcan) caypac huc atiscantapas
pacha chuyrop atiscan — hanac tucoynin capitulocunapipas concanchicmi chaytaca
ta — cay quipanpiracmi churason cay ñiscanchiccunam tucoy
hinantin yuncacunacta atircan anchorichircan [115] chaymi
cay yuncacunapas ñaupa diosnintaca ña concaspa pari
a cacacta ña muchayta callarirca tucoy yuncacuna chay yun

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cacunari caymi cay checap llactanpica colli ñiscam tiar
can tucoy llactampi tiascancunacta<m> ruraspaca ancha
sasam canman chayraicom huaquenintaca hunanchan
canchicpac cay quepampi rurason tucoy causascantahuan
porque yuncacunaca huc causayniocllam tucoynin(pas) carcan
[116] chaymantam cay paria caca ñiscanchicca hanac <pay> maypim
atircan chay pachallanpi tiayta ña callarircan muchachicon
campacri hunancharcan cay hunanchascanmi tucoy hinan
tin llactacunapipas huc vnanchayllam cay honanchay ñis
canchicri cay ynam tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic [117] chay — esto se entiende de
cunamantas sapampi huquenta camachircan cammi huatam — vna familia
pi ñocap causascayta catispa pascuacunacta ruranque
ñispa caycunap sutinmi huacasa (o huacsa) sutioc canca cay hua
casmi canan huatampi quimça mita taquenca ancha hatun cara
huayacapi cocacta apamuspa [118] caytam ña ñaupac cay huacasa
man tucoypac<ri> huc vnanchaytatac runacuna rurancu chay — el maestro se llama
ri cay ynam huc runam caca sica ayllo(manta) cay causaycuna — yañca
pac maestron ancha ñaupamanta caycunam huquen o yscaypas — esto es la s(om)bra q(ue)
maestron caspa sutinri yañca sutioc cay sutillatacmi ynan — ua haziendo la pared
tin llactacunapipas cay runas huc pircamanta allin ya — con el sol
chacochisca pircascamanta ricon <punchaupa> (yntip) poriscanta chaysi
may pachach chay hunanchasca pircanman chayan chayca ca
nanmi(mana ñispari)cayam ñispapas(risun ñin) runacunacta <villarca>[119] chayta catis
pas runacunapas paria cacaman muchaypac rincu ñaupa
pachaca quequinmansi ric carcan cananca cay checamantaca
huc orco ynca caya sutiocmansi rinco chaymanta muchancan — este cerro se parece
pac chay <pacham> orcom canan ñaupa purom huasimanta ha — la nieue de paria caca
nacnin horco hoc orco huallqueri sutiochuan quellinacon
cay orco ñiscapim canan runacuna tucoy ynantin runa
cuna cari huarmi rispa(muchancu) [120] ña chay orcoman sichpaypac(ri) chay
yañcap simincamas ñocaracpas ñaupac(umanman)chayaiman ñispa ya — q(ue) es de donde se parece
llinacon llama orcontapas catispa ancha sinche runacuna
huchoylla llamanhuanpas (ancha otcaspas) [121] cay ñaupac chay orcoman chayac
llamas paria cacap ancha munascan cay orcoctas ñaupa pacha — nombres diferentes cada
quequen paria cacaca yma sutillactapas suti(a)chec carcan — vez de vna man(er)a y otra
cay sutiocmi canca ñispa huchoylla llama chayactari — de otra como yauri o y
llaca

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chay yañca ñisca cay llamayocmi ancha cusioc paria ca
cam coyaijcun ñispa allin sutinchac ñavinchac carcan
auquisna [122] cay muchacuy pacham auquisna sutioc ynatacmi chavpi ñam
para n(uest)ro padre o criador ca muchacoypas chaycasna sutioc caytan cay quepanpim villason
chaycasna cay avquisna sutioc pacham canan junio quella chay chay
para n(uest)ra m(adr)e pachapi <ormamun> (chayamun) ña ñispa ñahca<corpus xptimanpas>
(aton pascuapipas tincon)
<tincon> ña ñispari tinconpas cay pachapim cay huacasa
ñiscanchic chunca caspapas yscay chunca caspapas taquinco
saber este genero cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan [123] huacsa
de canto y ponermelo caytaca manapuni ancochaspas taquinco cayta ancochac
en vn papel en lengua taca huañuptinpas chay hochanmantam huañon ñispas
de chechhua de ñincu chayraycos ochuillac(ta)pas yma yna runallac
lo q(ue) dizen tapas taquichin yallinrac surco runacunaca huay
llascunactapas chay ranti taquichen [124] chay llactayoc
huarmihuan casarasca captinca caycunacta rurap
tinsi manatac chay llactayocpas chacranta yman
tapas quechoncho forastero captinpas yallinrac yupai
chan yanapan chay huayllascunam(canan) mayquin runa
caspapas surcopi tiaccunaca suquia canchaman cocacta
rantic hamuspapas huacasmi cani mama yapahuay
ñispa rantinco[125]cay pascuactam canan yma aton xp.^(christia)nop
pascuancunaman chayachispa taquinco yallin tucoy
llactacunactapas yallispa surcopi runacunaca cay ta
quiscanmantam llactampi padrenpas aguelandocta
mañan huallpacta saracta yma aycactapas caytam
runacunari ancha cusicospa concu
[126] ynatacmi chavpi ñamcap pascuanpipas cay huacsacuna
chaupi ñamcap cas ñisca taquencu cay pascuam canan ñahcca corpus xpi^(chris)ti
cantaca huc quipan man tincon ña ñispari tincompas caypac cascantaca may
pi capit(ul)opim churason pi tiascantapas runacunap muchascantahuanpas quipan
pim huc capitulopi churason
ñatac paria cacap cascanman cutison yma ymactach ru
nacuna chay pacha pascuanpi rurar<n>can [127] chay chaycunacta
villaypac chay simire cay ymam ña caya paria caca
man <chayaypacsi> muchaypac chayaipacsi chay huata
huañocnioc runacuna caripas huarmipas captin tucoy

F 75 R

chay tuta huacac carcan cayam paria cacap cayllanpi
huañocninchicta ricomuson ñispa [128] chay huata huañoc
nincunactari cayallatacmi chaypi chasquechimu
son ñispa chay tuta caraspa micochispa yma ayca rura
nancunactapas chaypi churapuspa cananmi viñaypac
paria cacaman pusani <ñispa> mana ñam cutimunca
cho viñaypas ñispam huchoylla llamanhuan mana
llama captinri haton cara huayacapi cocacta huallquis
pa mucharcanco [129] cay llamactam canan sonconmanta
ricorcan alli captinpas allim ñispa mana alli captin
ri manam allicho ochayocmi canqui paria cacactam
huañocnique(pas) piñachircan cay ochacta perdonta ma
ñay(tac) pacta camman chay ocha anchorimunman ñis
pa chay yamca ñisca ñircanco [130] chaymanta ña chay
chaycunacta puchocaspari chay llamap vmanta hua
santauansi chay yañcacuna ayca huaranga captin
pas apacuc carcan cayca ñocap chanimi ñispa
[131] chaymantam canan cay huacasa ñiscanchic huc huatapi
quimca mita taquispam cay hina ponchaopitac puchocarcan
huc musoc yaicoypacri quepa ña taquicoyta poncho
caypac captinmi tucoynin llacsa tampopi ynatac
conchacunapas pampampi <> chaupiman yaicoc
carcan huc huayta<> huacamaypac ricranta o ymanta
pas puypu ñiscacta apaspa chaytam canan chaupi
pi llacsa tambo ñisca rumipi churac carcancu chayta
ña churaspam tucoynin maypim canan cruz churas
ca chaypi tucoy tuta tiarcancu allicho casac canan hua
ta ñispa [132] chaymantam cayantinri tucoy llactacu
naman rispa macacho orcomanpas chaucallaman
pas quemquellamanpas asta pihcca ponchao on
tascancama ña pihca ponchao ontaptinmi tucoy
huacasacuna cocacta huallquispa taquic carcan
chay ponchaotacmi ancha tutamanta llacsa tambo
pi supayta muchac carcancu llamanhuan yman
huan [133] ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llac
tacunapipas rurancu ychaca cananca ña concan

F 75 V

cay pisi huatallarac cay doctor fran(cis)co de auila alli cunaqui
yoc yachachiquiyoc caspa chaypas manataccha soncocama
ca y ñinmancho ñatac hoc padreyoc caspaca ynamantac
cha cutinman [134] huaquin runacunaca christiano tucos
papas manchaspallam pactach padrepas pipas yacha
huanman mana alli cascayta ñispallam xp.^(christia)no tucon
rrosariocta resaspapas sumac hillantam apaycachan
mana quequen cay muchanacunacta muchaspapas
<ojo> huaquen machocunacta mincaspa paypac rantin mu
chachispa achica runam yna causanco
[135] cay ñiscanchic ynalla<m>tacmi conchaconapas cay pa
ria cacap mitampi chay hoc vrco huaycho sutiocmanta
muchancu huacasa ñiscanri quequin checacunapas
ojo ruran ynallatacsi ruran taquen
chaymanta suni canchari chay huc vrco sutioc
manta ynallatac muchancu paria cacap mitanpi
[136] chaymanta santa anacuna s(a)n ju(a)npi cacpas tucoynin chauca
ricma ñiscari chay apar huayqui mayoman hurayconchic
acu sica sutioc vrcocta chaymantatacsi muchanco pari
a cacap mitanpi caycunacta ruraypacca manam ancochan
mancho huaquen aton pascuapi huaquenri ñachca esperi
tu santoman tincochen<corpusmanpas> cayta ruraypacri
ancham cusiconman cay llactapi p(adr)e yllaptin limac
manpas riptin cayca ancha checan simin
[137] cay tucoy ñiscanchic<cuna> vrcocunapi paria caca
muchanacunactaca cay quepanpi vira cochacuna pa
carimurcan ricurimurcan chaymantaracmi yacha
cochircan [138] ychaca ñaupa pachaca quiquin pariacaman
si tucoy ynantin runacuna ric carcan tucoy yunca
cunapas colli ñiscamanta caruayllomanta ruri can
chomanta latimmanta huancho huaillamanta pa
riachamanta yañacmanta chichimamanta mama
manta tucoy ynantin yuncacuna chay huc mayo ñis
camanta chaymantari ynatac caçi cayacuna
pas tucoy ynantin huc mayo ñisca pacha camac
cunapas chaymanta caringa chilcacunapas

F 76 R

chaymanta huaro cheri huray mayopi cac runacunari
tucoy carancocuna yma ayca yuncacunapas tucoy
ynantin chay mayo ñisca yuncacunas tectinhuan
cocanhuan yma ayca muchanancunahuan a
muspas quequin paria cacapi chayac carcanco [139] cay
hamuccuna ña paria cacamanta cutiptinsi llactam
pi runacunapas chayananta yachaspa tocoy runacu
na hoñolla suyac carcan tapucoypac ymanam yayan
chic paria caca alliraccho manacho piñacon ñispa
chaymantas ancha cosicospa taquic carcan asta pocho
cascancama pichca ponchaopas ayca ponchaocha causa
nan carca yna [140] cay muchaycoytaca yuncacuna
ca mana ñach rurancho tucoy yuncacunapas ycha
ca pachallanmantaca ruran cayta mana ruraptin
si chay hochanmantam yuncacuna collon ñispa
rimancu paycona yuncacunari rimacuspa sall
cacunaca allim causan ñaupa causananchicta
chay yna causaspam runapas miran ñincu
[141] CAPITULLO 10 YMANAM CHA
UPI ÑAMCA CARCAN MAYPIM
TIAN YMANAM MUCHACHICORCAN
ñam ari paria cacap causascantaca villacoyta pu
chucarcanchic ychaca chay churincunap cay iscon
nin capitulopi vnanchasca cactaca cay quepampi
racmi sapampi rurascantahuan villason yunca
cuna ñiscanchic cay llactacunamanta atiscancu
nactauanpas chaymantam canan quillcason chaupi ñam
cap cascanta [142] cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi
cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan chay huc huac
cha huatya curi ñiscap huarmin cay simictam ari pichcan
tin capitulopipas rimarcanchic [143] cay huarmis pichca ñaña
yoc carcan chaysi cay ñaupac huarmi chaupi ñamucaca

paria cacap churin
cunap atiscancunac
tam cay quepanpi chu
rason

F 76 V

llamase chavpi nanca
o mama nanca

paria cacap simincama hura mama ñiscapi tiaypac rir
can cay mana ñamca ñisca huarmis ñocam runacu
nacta camac cani ñispa purircan huaquem runacunam
canan chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi carca ñispa
ñinco pay quiquin rimacuspapas paria cacam tu
ray ñispas ñircan [144] cay chaupi ñamcas canan pichca
ricra rumi carcan chirayasca payta muchaypacri yma
nam paria cacaman yallinacuspa rircan ynallatacsi
ña chayaipac yallinacuc carcan llamanta ymantapas
catispa chay llama paria cacaman ric quiquillan(ta)tacsi
chaymanpas pusac carcan (ynaspa) cay chaupi ñamca pichca ric
ra rumictas canan quepanpi vira cochacuna ricurimup
tin chay mamapi padrep huasen cauallo huasi chay chaypi
pacha vcupi pacaycorcan chaypis canancamapas tian pa
cha vcupi [145] cay chaupi ñamcactas canan tucoy ynantin runa
cuna mama ñispa ñircancu chaymantam canan s(a)n pedro
pas mama ñisca cay huarmis canan ñaupa pacha
runa purispa ynantin huacacunahuan vchallicuc
carcan chaysi manatac pi carillactapas cayca allim
ñispa yupaychaccho carcan [146] chaysi huc carica canan
mama hanacnin vrcopi huacatac rucana cuto sutioc
cay rucana coto sutioctas runacunapas vchoylla ollo
yoc caspaca aton canca ñispa mañac carcancu cayssi
huc mita chaupi ñamcacta ancha allinta aton ollo
caspa sacsachircan chayraycos cay carillam alli cari
tucoy huacacunamantapas cayhuantac viñay ti
asac ñispa chay mama ñiscapi tiaycorcan rumi
man tucospa
[147] chaymantam canan cay chaupi ñamcap ñañancuna<c>
<ta> ñiscanchicta villason cay chaupi ñamcas tucoynin
manta mayornin carcan chaysaua ñañansi llacsa hua
to carcan chaysaua yoricsi mira uato carcan chaysauas
vrpay huachac sutioc carcan cay hoquentam mana yachan
chiccho tucoyninca pichcas carcan chaysi ymallata
runacuna yuyachicuptinpas ña ñispaca ñañay
cunahuanrac villanacomusac ñispa ñic carcan

F 77 R

[148] cay chaupi ñamca muchacoytam runacuna junio quella
pi ñahca corpus xp.^(chris)timan chayaicochin chay yañca yañca
ñiscanchic ynte ricunanmanta ricuptintacmi runacu
napas chay chica ponchaupim canca ñispa ñircancu
[149] chaymantari ñam ari yscoynin capitulopi huc huatanpi
huacsacunap taquiscanta rimarcanchic ychaca chay taquiscantam
mana sutinchanchiccho yma ymactach quimça mita huatan
pi taquin chaycunacta caymi ñaupac auquisna ñis
ca ponchaupi paria cacap pascuanta rurac cancu chayman
tam ñatac chaupi ñamcap mitampi ynatac taquircan
chaymantam ñatac nobiembre quillapi ñachca san andres
pa fiestanman tincuchispa huc taquitatac taquic carcan
chanco ñisca taquicta cay taquictam canan cay quipan
pi allinta villason [150] cananca ñatac chaupi ñamcap
pascuanman cutison chaypac pascuanpim canan chay
huacsa ñiscanchiccuna cocacta huallquispa pichca pon
chao taquircancu huaquin runacuna llaman captin
pumacta aparispa taquircan mana llamayocri ynalla
chaymantam cay puma apariccunactam canan pay
mi pocon ñispa ñircancu chay taquim canan huantay
cocha sutioc huaquin taquictam canan ayño ñiscacta
pas taquircantac [151] huctam canan casa yaco sutiocta
taquic carcanco cay cassa yacocta taquiptinsi chaupi ñam
ca ancha cusicoc carcan porque cayta taquispaca
llatansi huaquillan huallparicunanta churaspallas
taquic carcan pincaynintari huc huara vtco pachalla
huan pacaycospa chaymantaca llatanlla caytam
runacuna taquispa chaupi ñamca <ollon>(pincaynin)<chicta>chicta ricus
pam ancha cusicon ñic carcan cayta taquiptintac
si ancha pucoy pachapas carcan caycunactam
canan chay pascuanpi rurarcancu
[152] CAPITULO 11 YMANAM CHANCO
ÑISCA TAQUICTA TAQUIRCANCU
CAYTA RIMASPACA TUTAY QUIREP

F 77 V

PARIA CACAP CHURINPA CASCANHUAN
MI VILLASON CAY SIMIRE
CAY YNAM

ñam ari ysconnin capitulopi paria cacap churin
cunacta sutinpi rimarcanchic ychaca sapampi ca
usascantam manarac rimarcanchiccho caypim
hoquin tutay quirip atiscancunactauan cay quipam
pi villason caypac mitampi taquiscactam chanco
ñispa ñinchic [153] cay tutay quirim paria cacap chu
rin carcan chaymi ñaupa pachaca cay checaconapas
quintes carcan quintecunap sullca huauquen chay
si chay quintecunaca anchatac cay checacunacta
chicnircan quipam yuric captin [154] chaysi hoc punchaoca
tutay quireca ñispa ñircan ama llaquicho churi yma ñip
tinpas chicnicochonpas yallenmi quepanpica checa
villca sutioc canquichic cay chicnicniquitari quinticha
huanhuacha ñispam runacunapas menospreciaspa
ñinca ñispas ñircan [155] chaysi cay tutay quirica chay pisi
ponchaomantatac huaquinin huauquincunahuan
villanacospa cay llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta
atimuyta callarimurcan chaysi cay yuncacuna ñis
canchicca cay simicta vyarispa ancha mancharispa

colli sin pronuncia
cion q(u)e haga fuer
ça

ayquijta ña callarircan vra colli ñisca llactaman
cay colli ñiscam canan carhuayllocunahuan quellina
con caycunap ayancunam canancamapas anac
ñaupa llactapi yna churarayan aya vasipe [156] cay tutay
quiris cay sici caya huaycucta mama huaycoctauan
vraycospa<n>s quello tamya puca tamya purispa
chaysi runacunaca huaquenca pachan llactanpi su
yarcan muchancampac chae muchaccunactas canan
manatac paipas allcocharcancho yallinrac tiacoy
ychaca yayaitam ricsinquitac chaymanta cay
checacunactam canan huauque ñispatac causanq(ui)

F 106 R

paycunap sullca huauquinmi cani ñispa [157] cay ñis
can simicamam chay sant p(edr)o mamapi cac runacu
napas amichayq(ui) llatachayquin cani ñispa canan
camapas ñincu (ña> cay checacunapri allaucam
ari vichocam ari ñisca huauquiyoctac causar
cancu [158] caytam canan cay checacunaca cay tutay
quirip puriscanta paypac callpanta purini ñispa hua
tancunapi cay llactamanta tucoy ynantin caricuna
chacocta ruraypac llocsic carca cay nobiembre quellapim
[159] chay pachatacmi tamyata mañac carcancu runacunapas
canan chancop mitampim pacha tamyanca ñispa ñircancu
cay tutay quirip callpan ñiscanchictam chacocta ruraspa cay
manta tucoy huacsacuna mana huacsapas llocsispa tupi
cocha hanacnin mayani ñiscapi puñoypac ric carcancu
[160] chay ponchaori huanacucta apispa lloychuctapas yma
aycactapas apispa chay apicmi canan ayllonpi may
quen apispapas ayllon huacsa captinca payman<rac> coc
carcan chaypac chupanta huaytallispa ayño ñisca
taquicta ayñoncampac mana apicri ynatacmi
chancollacta chancuspa taquircan [161] cayantinmi na
tac chay mayani ñiscamanta llocsic carcan tumna
man chaypim canan ynantin runacuna caripas huar
mipas huasuc tambo ñiscapi tucoy hoñolla suyac
carcan tutay quirim ña samon ñispa chay hua
suc tambo ñiscanchicri chay quiquen tumna la
plaçap chaupimpim aslla rumicuna churarayan
chaypis canan ñaupa pachaca ña chaypi chayaspa
muchac carcancu chaypitacsi chauti huanricuna
pas muchaypac asvancunauan chayamuc carcan
[162] ynaspam ñatac cayantinri yma chicacta apis
papas chay apiccuna huacsa ñiscanchic ancha cusi
cuspa cananca macayocmi canchic ñispa cusicus
pa cotimurcancu ñatac pacotapi puñomuypac
[163] cayantinmi ñatac llacsa tamboman chayamuc
carcan chaypi chayamunan captinmi tucoy chay
llactapi quiparic runacuna machopa payapas

F 106 V

yma yna runacunapas tucoynillan asvanuan
suyac carcan chaymi ña chayman chayamuptinca
ancha saycoscam amun ñispa asvavan yanca
ychaspa runasauapas pachapipas chay llacsa tam
boman yaicumuna poncollapi yna ychac carcan
[164] paicuna vramanta amuccunam aslla aychata
paicunap puyñonpa siminsaua churapuc carcan
cayta ña puchocaspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runacuna pampapi tiaycospa ayño ñisca taquicta
ña callarircan caycunam canan chanco sutioc
chaymantam ña chancuptinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamuc [165] cay chancup mitampis ysqui caya ñisca
chay yañcap huasinpi huc sachachos o ymach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñiscanchic(manta) yacosapa vrma
raya<n>c chaycunactas canan paycona<can> chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca allin pucoymi canca
ñispa ñircancu mana tamyanampacsi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoymi canca ñispa ñic carcan<cu>
[166] CAPITULO 12 YMANAM CAY
PARIA CACAP CHURINCUNA TUCOY
YUNCACUNACTA ATIJTA ÑA
CALLARIRCAN
ñam ari cay chuncampi capit(ul)opi rimarcanchic
cay paria cacap churincunap atiscan<cunacta> simicta
y<nas>naspa villarcanchictacmi ari ymanam tu
coy ynantin llactacuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta cananmi cay chuc paico chancha runa
huari ruma vtco chuco tutay quire sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñiscanchiccunacta rimason ymanam
paicuna puric carcanco chay chaycunacta [167] cay
cuna ñiscanchiccunas ñaupa pacha tucoynin

F 107 R

huauquiyoc sapa caspa ña atijpac tucoynillantac pu
ric carcan chaysi cay chuc paico ñiscaca tucoynin
manta mayornin caspa huc huandopi ancha yupai
chasca puric carcan chaymantas tutay quirire tucoy
nintapas yallispa ancha sinche carcan cay yna sinche
cayninpis cay yscay mayo ñiscanchictapas paitac
ñaupac atircan chay vnca tupi ñisca pariachap fronte
rumpi huc yana vrco chaypi huc curi taunanta
pas churamuspa [168] cay taunactas canan <ña> yunca
cunacta ñacac yna cayta pampachaspam ma
na yupaichac ynam cay quitita yuncacuna ẏalli
munca ñispas chaypi churarcan chay churascam
hurcom canan vnca tupi capari caya sutioc
[169] chaysi cay huaquennin huauquincunaca rispa
pas chay tupi cochamanta vichaycuspa ñaupa ñanta
rinchic chaymi quisqui tambo sutioc hucmi <tam>tumnacha
sutioc maymantam limacñictapas riconchic chay
mantas ñan tutay quirica tucoyta atita ña puchocan
nicta oyarispa cotimurcancu chaysi tutay quiri
ta anchapuni mancharcanco paicunapas ancha sin
che captin [170] ynatacsi chay huaro cherinictapas <>vra
carancoñicman vraycorcancu chayta vraycus
pari paytacsi ñaupac rircan chaysi chay chu
qui suso ñiscanchicpac huc ñañanca chay
chacranpi suyarcan paita llollachipac <racanta> (pincayninta)
pas ñoñontapas ricorichispa yaya aslla sa
mayrac cay ashuallacta tictillacta vpiay
coyrac ñispa [171] chay pachas paica ynalla ña quipa
rircan chaysi huaquinnin huauquincunapas chay
ynacta ricuspa ynallatac quiparircan chay
hura alloca pacha marca ñiscacamalla atispa
si mana chay<cama> huarmi llollachinman carca
chayca canancamapas hora carangocama chil
cacamas huaro cherip quintippas chacran canman sapampi ruras
carcan caycunap sapampi rurascantaca cay cantaca cay qui
quipanpim quillcason yma ayca rurascantahuan pampim quellcason

F 78 R

[172] MAMA CAPI(TUL)O 13
mama runa<cta>cunacta tapuscam canan chay huaca chau
pi ñamuca huacapac huctatac rimancu chay rimascan
siminri cay hinam ancha ñaupa pachas huc huaca hanan
maclla sutiyoc carcan caypac cosansi ynti carcan caycunap
churinsi paria caca chaupi ñamuca cay chaupi ñamucas ancha
runa camac carcan huarmipac caripacri paria caca [173] yna
captinsi pay mama runacunaca chaypac fiestanta ruray
pac corpus christip vispirampi chay chaupi ñamcacta aslla
asuahuan armachic carcan chaymantari huaquinincuna
yma ayca sacreficioncunacta churapuspa coynhuan yman
huanpas muchaspas tucoy hinantin runacuna huñonacuc caripas
huarmipas curacanpas y alcaldenpas [174] chaysi <caya punchao>
chay tuta pacarispa upiaspa machaspa tucoy tuta tiaccu <cayan
tin corpus punchaopis ynatac mamanchicpa fiestanmi ñispas
curacan callañayoc tucoy ynantin runacuna> aylliua ñisca<>
taquicta taquiypac anchapuni cusicuspa hupyaspa machaspa
chay tuta hasta pacariscancamas taquicuc chaymantas
ña pampaman llocsispas chayca mana ña ymactapas rurac
cho vpiaylla machaylla machac mamanchicpa fiestanmi
ñispatac [175] chaymantam manarac vira cocha ricurimuptinca
yma ynam mucharcanqui ñiscaca ñincum pihcca punchao
si alli huallparicuspa junio quillapitac hupyac carcancu chay
mantaca vira cochacunacta manchaspas corpuspa visperanpi mu
chancu chaymantari chaupi ñamcap ñañansi <prima y segunda>
<ñisca>pay mayornin captin huctas segunda ñañan<si> cassa llacsa
sutioc carcan caytas chay vispirapitac armachic carcan ynatac huc
ñañancunactapas vrpay huachac vichi maclla ñiscactapas
[176] checacunam ñincu chaupi ñamcacta pihcas car
can ñispa caycunap mayorninmi cotacha o pal
ta(cha) sutioc chaupi ñamuca huc segunda ñañan
mi copacha <sutioc> ñiscanchic llacsa huato sutioc cay
llasa huatus chillacopi tian caypac fiestantas canin
pa don diego chauca guaman çaçi caya curaca causaptinpas
chellaco runacuna huaquinin runacunahuampas
rurac carcancu hasta q(ue) don m(art)yn chayascancama
cay fiestactaca manam allicho yachanchic yma

F 78 V

yma quellapih carcan
[177] chaymantam ampuche o ampuxi ñiscanchicri
mira huato sutioc carcan cay mira huato ñiscac
taca manam allichu yachanchic maypi tiascan
tapas ychaca ñispam ñincu llacsa huato ña
ñanhuantacsi tian ñispa [178] caycunactas runa
cuna cay quitimanta o guaro cherimantapas
o mayquen runacunapas churinta o huau
quinta o yayanta o ymantaps huncochecus
pa chayman ric carcancu tapucuypac chay
huacacunap saçerdotinsi canan sucta chunca
huatamanta yuyariscaca chumpi ticlla sutioc(si) car
can ancha chaillas caninpa don diego ñiscanchic
captinsi luzia sutioc carcan (ña tacyasca huarmi) <ychaca chayca cau
san chay> [179] cay huacacunactas ña muchaspa a llac
sa huato mira uato cammi runa camac canque camtac
mi huchayta chaupi namucactapas yallispa ya
chanqui villallahuay ymamantam hun
cuchicuni yma huchaymantam ñacarispa cau
sani ñispas muchac carcancu [180] chay yna captin
ssi yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha tian ñis
pa hunanchancu chaymantari cay huaca
cunactatac<mi>(ssi) astauan runacuna yupaychac
carcancu porque chaupi ñamucaca manas chica
chu ymactapas runacunacta villac carcan ya
llinpas llullactacssi carcan chayssi haco llac
sa huato mira huato mamanchicta huyarimu
son yma ñincah vchanchicpac chaycama
tac puchucason ñispas runacuna ric carcan
cu [181] ychaca yna muchaspapas manam chau
pi ñamcap fiestanta huatancunapi ymanam
ruran ynachu rurarcancu chaytaca muchaspa
pas musiachicuyllapacmi ric carcancu risac ñis
papas o ama ñispapas munascancama
[182] chaymantam canan sullcacha o xullca paya ñis
canchicta lluncho huachaca sutioc huacacta rimason

F 79 R

caymi ari 4 ñañan cay huacaca cantañicpis
manam yachanchicchu ychapas cantacuna
yupaychan cantamantapas as carullanpiracsi
[183] chaymantas <> añassi o aña paya ñiscanchic<si>
cocha hucopi tian huaquininmi chaymi caue llaca
carca ñispa ñincu huaquininmi huctacmi cocha
patapim tian ñispa ñincu cayssi caca huco
pi tian chaysi manatac saçerdotin canchu
cay hurpay huachac huacacta rimachijpac ris
pas alli hunanchacusparac ric carcancu por
que cayhuan rimaspaca cara a caras rima
nacuc carcan mana huasscayuc captin chay
si chaymanta cutimuspapas payhuanmi rima
muni ñispas <mana> huc huata saçic carcan
mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa
[184] cay ñiscanchiccunas sapampipas ñam
ca sutioc sapa carcan ynaspa ñañayoc
cama hucninta mayquinnintapas chayai
cuspaca a pichca ñamca ñispas villacuc
carcan ymallacta llaquispapas [185] cay chica
llactam cay chaupi ñamca llacsa huatu mira
huatu lluncu huachac hurpay huachac ñis
cap cascanta yachanchic chaymantas cay
ñiscanchiccuna ñau pachaca chayman ric
runacunacta con churiquip yayaiquip ma
chuyquip simincamachu hamunqui ñispas
ñic carcan chaysi manam ñictaca ri cuti
con choriiquictarac huyarichimuy ñiptin
cotimuc carcan [186] chayracsi ymallactapas
chaytam piñachinqui caytam piñachin
que o huachucmi canqui o paria cacap
fiestanpim huarmihuan huchallicurcan
qui ñispa yma aycactapas rimaspa cunac
carcan tincuc mayopim armanqui llamay
quictam nacapunqui ñispapas caycuna ñis
cantas runacunaca ancha cusicuspa puchucapuc car
can huaquininsi canan alliyatamuc huaquinri huañuctac
yma yna puchucaptinpas

F 79 V

[187] ñam ari chaupi ñamcap huaquinin ñañan
cunap cascancunactapas huyarinchic
ychaca runacuna llactancunapipas ayllo
ayllonpi hucta camatacmi rimancu sutin
tapas ymanam mama runacunapas huc
tatac rimancu checari huctatac [188] huquinmi
chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi ñincu
hucmi tamta ñamcap churinsi carca ñincu
cay tamta ñamca ñiscanchictam ari ñau
pacnin pichcantin capitulopi rimarcanchic
huaquinmi canan yntip churinsi ñincu chay
ynam mana hunanchaypaccho
[189] CAPI(TUL)O 14
ojo ÑAUPACNIN CAPITULOPIM ARI HU
NANCHARCANCHIC CUNI RAYAP CASCANTA
PARIA CACAMANTA ÑAUPACNINCHUS
O QUEPANCHUS CARCAN CHAYTA
cuni raya vira cocha ñiscanchicca ancha ñaupa
mantatacsi carcan paria cacapas yma ayca
huacacunapas paytaca astahuantacsi yupai
chac carcan huaquinincunaca paria cacapas
cuni rayap churinsi nispam ñincu chayman
tam canan cuni raya vira cochap puchucas
canta rimason [190] cuni rayas ñahca vira co
chacuna ricurimuncampac cuzcoñicman
rircan chaysi chaypi huayna capac yngahuan
rimanacorcan ñispa haco churi titi cacaman
chaypi ñocap cascayta villascayqui ñispa [191] chay
pis ñispa ñircan ynga runayquicta camachi
bruxocunacta yma ayca yachaccunactapas
hura ticsiman canchancanchicpac ñiptinsi
yngaca tuylla camachircan chaysi huaqui
nin runacuna ñocam condorpac camasca canim

F 80 R

ñispa ñircancu huaquinsi ñocam guamanpa
camasca cani ñircan huaquinmi canan ño
cam huayanay piscu pahuac cani ñispa ñircan
[192] chaysi cay ñiscanchiccunacta richic hura ticsi
man chayman(tam) ñocap yayaita churiquim ca
chamuan huc panantas apachihuanqui ñispa
villanqui ñispas conarcan chaysi chay runa
huayanaypac camasca runaca huaquinin ca
mascacunahuan pihca punchaullapi cutimuy
pac rircancu [193] chaysi huayanaypac camasca ru
natac ñaupac chayarcan yna chayaptinsi cu
nascanta villaptin huc huchuylla pitaquillapi
aman caytaca quecharinquichu quiquin huay
na capac apuracmi quicharinca ñispas cuna
murcan chaysi chay runaca ña apamuspa
ñahca cuzcoman chayachispa ma ricuycu
sac ymahc cayca ñispa quicharircan [194] chaysi
chay hucopica huc señora ancha collan sumac
ricurircan chucchanpas crispo cori yna chica
collanan pachayuc ricchayninri ancha huchuy
llas carcan chay ynacta ricuptin pachallas chay
s(eño)raca chincaripurcan [195] chaysi ancha llaquicuspa
cuzcopi titi caca ñiscampi chayarcan chaysi mana
chay yna huayanaypa camasca canquiman chayca
canallanmi huanochichiquiman ri quiquillay
quitac cutij ñispas cacharcan chaysi cutispa
ñatac apamurcan apamuspas ñanpi micuyman
ta<> vpyaymanta huañuptinpas rimaptin
pachallas mesapas mantasca carcan puñonam
pacri ynatac [196] chaysi pihca punchaollapitac
chayachircan ña chayachiptinsi cuni rayaca ynga
huan ancha cusicuspa chasquircan chaysi manarac
quicharispatac cuni raya<>ca ñispa ñirca ynga cay
pachacta sequison ñocari cay huc pachacta yaicusac
camri cay huc pachactatac panayhuan yaicoy ama ñam

F 80 V

campas ñocapas ricunacosoncho ñispas pachacta
sequispa cayarcan ynaspas chay cofrectaca
quecharircan quechariptin pachallas chaycan
pachapas yllarircan [197] chayssi chay ynga huay
na capac ñiscaca mana ñam caymanta cuti
saccho cayllapitacmi cay ñustayhuan coyayhuan
tiasac ñispas huc runacta aylluntatac cam rij
ñocap rantij huayna capacmi cane ñispa cuzco
man cuti ñispas ñircan chay pachallatacsi chay
señoranhuan chincatamurcan cuni rayari yna
llatac chaymantas ña chay huayna capac ñiscan
chic huañuptin hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñinacospa
apu cayninpac tacuirircan ynaptintacsi vira co
chacunapas caxa marcapi ricurimurcan [198] canancama
pas checa simillactam yachanchic cuni raya vira co
chap cascanta huaquinin cay quitipi purispa rurascan
cunactaca manaracmi quillcacuyta puchucanchiccho
chay chaycunactaca cay quipampim rurason
ojo [199] CAP(ITUL)0 15
CAYMANTAM YSCAYNIN CAPI(TUL)OPI (RIMASCANCHICTA) CUNI RA
YAP CARUINCHUMANTA ÑAUPAC CAS
CANTAPAS O QUIPAN CASCANTAPAS
QUILLCASON
cuni raya vira cochaca ancha ñaupacmanta
tacsi carcan manarac pay captinca manas
cay pachapi ymallapas carcanchu payracssi or
cocunactapas sachactapas mayoctapas yma ay
ca animalconactapas camarcan chacracunac
tapas runap causancampac chayraycutacmi
cay cuni rayacta paria cacap yayansi ñincu
paytacsi paria cacactapas camarca ñispa [200] mana
paypa churin captinca allcochanmancha carca

F 81 R

nispam tucoy runacunapas ñincu huaquinin
llactacunactaca anchas amauta cayninpi allco
charcan yma aycactapas ruraspa caycunactaca
quipampim rurason
[201] CAPI(TUL)O 16
CAYPIM QUILLCASON PARIACA PICHCA RUNTO
MANTA YURIC HUAUQUIYOCCHUS CARCAN
CAYRI PARIA CACACHO PAYCU
NAP YAYAN
CHAY CHAYTA
ñam ari pusacnin capitulopi hunancharcanchic
paria caca pihca runtamanta yurimuspa huauqui
yuc camachos carcan cayri huaquinincunaca pari
a cacap churinchus carcan chaycunacta chayman
tari paycunap sapampi sutintari quillcasontacmi
[202] cay pihcca runtomanta yuric paria caca ñiscanchic
ca ymanam 14 capi(tul)opipas rimarcanchic cuni rayap
churinsi ñispa ynatacsi paycunaca huauquiyoc ca
ma carcan caycunap sutinmi ñaupacninman
ta paria caca chaymantam churapa chaymantam
puncho chaymantam paria carco huquintam
mana yachanchiccho caypi quiparin blancopi ya
chaspam churancanchicpac /sullca yllapa/ [203] chaymanta ojo sullca yllapa
cay paria ca<rco> ñiscanchicsi canan antiman yaicu sutiocsi carcan
napi huallallo caruinchoh cutimunman ñispas ca
nancamapas tian chaytahuanpas hunancharcan
chicmi ari cay huallallo caruinchuri manatacsi
tuyllaca miticarcancho may pacham chay mullo
cocha ñiscanchicta churapa paria cacap huquin
yaicuspa cochaman tucochircan chay pachas chay
manta huallalloca pisco yna pahuamurca [204] chaysi

F 81 V

huc orco caqui yoca sutioc orcoman yaicorcan cay <cacas>
orcos ancha atun caca cay cacaman yaicuspas hua
llallo caruincho pacacorcan chaymantas canan paria
cacaca yllapapayaspa huaquinnin pihcca huauquin
cunahuan ancha nanacta yllapaspa ñahcca cacacta
pas tunichispa ñatac chaymanta miticachirca [205] chay
ssi chay huallallo caruinchoca huc atun machachuay a
maru sutiocta paria cacacta tapianca ñispa yscay homayoc
amarocta llocsichimurcan chayssi paria cacaca chay
ta ricospa huc cori taunanhuan ancha piñaspa cha
upi huasampi tucsircan chay pachallatacsi chay
amaroca chirayarca rumiman ña tucorcan
[206] chay chirayasca amaros canancamapas anac caqui
yuca sutioc ñanpi·sutilla ricurin chay amaroc
tas cuzco runacuna mayquin runacunapas yachac
ninca ampipac rumihuan tacaspa hurmacninta
apacon mana oncoyman chayasac ñispa
[207] chaymantas chay huallallo caruincho ña caqui yo
ca cacamanta miticuspa huc huayco caqui yoca
huayqui ñisca huaycoman yaicorcan chaysi hoc
orco puma rauca sutiocta chay huallallo sicaspa
caymanta cay paria cacacta quinchasac mana cay
ta pasamuncanpac ñispas huc orito caque
ñiscacta ricrantapas chuquiri<spa>chispa saya
chircan chaysi chaytapas paria cacaca huc ricran
ta yanca paquerispa chay caquectari rumiman
na cherayachispa yallircantac ña yalliptinsi
huallallo caruinchoca mana ña yma callpallan
pas captinsi antiñicman miticarcan [208] chaysi
paria cacaca huaquinin huauquincunahuan
tucoynin catircan ña antiman yaicuptinsi
paria carco huc huauquintaca paria carco sutiocta chay
antip punconpi saquimurcan pahtahc cotimun
man ñispa [209] chay paria carcos canan huc orcotac
ancha rra<ç>zosapa tian cayta pihc muchan chaytaca

F 82 R

manam yachanchiccho ychaca ñam ari ysconnin
capitulopi rimarcanchic allcocta cananca micochon
runa micuscanrayco caytari huancacuna carachon
ñiscanta<>
[210] CAPI(TUL)O 17
cananmi rimason ña huauquinta paria carco su
tiocta saquimuspa antip ponconpi ymanam ña
tac paria caca cotimurcan chayta cay simire cay
ynam ñam ari huaquinin simi rimascanta
ca muchachicuypac callariscanta<pas>huanpas ri
marcanchic ychacaca huc simictatacmi concar
canchic [211] ña aticuyta puchocamuspas huaquinin huau
quincunahuan cutimurca cay paria caca ñiscanchic
orcoman chaypis huc horcotac razosapa mana
llocaypac huama yaco sutioc orco cay orcoctam
huaquinin runacunaca chaymi paria caca ñincu
ñispatacmi quipampi vira cochacuna ricurimuptin
pas cay ynca caya ñiscanchicmantapas chay or
co razocta ricuspa chaymi paria caca ñispa ñir
cancu [212] quiquin paria caca ñiscaca huranic huc
cacapitacsi tian chaypitacsi huaquinin huauquincu
napas chay caca ñiscanchicman yascuspas caypim
tiasac caymantam muchahuanqui ñispa chay caca
pi llactachacorcan chaymantam ñircanchic huc
orco<> huama yaco sutioc orcocta razosapas
ñispa chaysauas ña antimanta cutimuspa
samamurcan [213] chaymantas canan tucoy tauan
tin suyo runacunacta cayachirca manarac yn
gapas yurimuptin ancha ñaupatac chay yna
ña runacuna tucoynin huñonacomuptinsi
payta muchancanpac huacsata camachircan
cayta oyarispas ña ynga ricurimuspapas paipas
huacsa tiarcan ancha yupaichaspa chay pacha yma
nam huñonacorcan ninchic tauantin suyocta
[214] chay pachas huallallo caruinchuca mana traycionninta

F 82 V

concaspa huc animalta hugi sutiocta chay qui
quin horco tiascanpi ricorichircan cay pari
a cacacta tapianca ñispa chaysi chay hugi ñis
canchicca tuylla ricurispa pachaman miti
camurcan [215] chaysi chay hugi causaspaca ymac
tapas paria cacap causayninta quichunman
tacsi carcan chayraycos tauantin suyo runa
cunacta chay hugi ñiscacta apimuy ñispa ca
machircan yna camachiptinsi tucoy ynan
tin runacona catirircan manatacsi api
chicorcancho panas paria cacaca yllaparca
tamyarcan manatacsi huañorcancho [216] chay
si ancha caropirac huc runa cay checamanta
caca sica ayllo apircan chaysi huc quinti runa
ca huauqui ñam apinqui ancha cusiocmi can
qui camca cay chupallanta huaytallispa
ri cay aychantaca ñoca apasac ñiptinsi allim
ñircan [217] ñispatacsi chay quinti runaca huc
ñanta rispa ñocam yaya apimoni ñispa
villarcan chaysi ancha cusicuspa yupaichar
can cay quinti runap sutinmi chuc paico sutioc
carcan chaysi quipanpi ña chupanta chaya
chiptinca chuc paicocta camca chay llollahuascay
quimanta quintihuanca macanacoy asnayoc
ñisonquim churiquicunactapas ñispa mi
llaypi anyarcan [218] chay pachas cay caca sica ay
llomanta huar cancha llichic canchaman
ta quiquin paria caca cammi chay apiscay
quimanta yancamusca canqui camllactam
yma villahuascayquictapas vyariscayq(ui)
huaquinin runacunapas camtaracmi ñocacta
villaypacpas huyarichisonqui ñispas sutinta
pas ñamca canca ñamca parya ñispa sutiya
chimurcan [219] chaymantas paycunapas yanca car
can conchacunari ynatac yañcampa sutin
quiquin paria cacap sutichascan huatusi sutioc carcan

F 83 R

ynatacsi tucoy llactancunapi yañcacunaca
paria cacap sutichascan cay chicactam concas
canchicta yuyarinchic paria cacap cascanta
[220] CAPI(TUL)O 18
ñam ari yngap paria cacacta yupaychascanta
huacsa tiascantauanpas rimarcanchic pay yn
gatacsi camachircan anan yauyo rurin ya
uyomanta quinça chunca paria cacacta pura
pi quillapi siruichon ñispa chaysi chaycama
quimsa chunca runa siruircan<cu> chunca pihc
cayoc punchaumantacama caraspa micochispa
[221] chaysi huc punchaoca huc llamanhuan yauri hua
naca sutioc llamahuan mucharcancu chayssi
chay quimca chuncamanta oquen llacuas
quita<par yasca> pariasca sutioc runaca may pa
cham chay quinça chunca runacuna ñatinta
sunconta llamapmanta ricorcan chay pacha ñis
pa ñircan a atac manam allicho pacha
huauqui quipampica cay paria caca yayan
chic puromancatacmi ñispas rimarcan [222] chay
si chay huaquinin runacunaca manam ca
sim<> rimanqui allim ymactam cam yachan
qui ñispas ñircancu chaysi hucninca say
quita pariasca ymamantam cam hunanchan
qui cay sonconpica ancha allictam paria ca
ca yayanchic riman ñispa ñiptinsi payca
manas sonco<>cta ricoypacpas cayllaycorcancho
carollamanta cauaspatacsi yna amutarcan
[223] chaysi rimaspapas quiquin paria cacam ñin
huauqui ñispa chaycunactapas ayñircan
chaysi millaypicama chay quita pariascactaca
ñircan llacuas asnac runa ymactam chay ya
chan yayanchic paria caca chinchay suyo ñisca
maycama runayocmi tiacon chaycho puromanman

F 83 V

ymactam chaycan runaca yachan ñispas
ancha piñaspa cama ñircancu cay ñiscan
manta ancha pisi ponchaomantatacsi ñam
vira cocha caxa marcapi ricorimon ñicta oya
rircancu [224] chaymantam cay checamanta
pas tama lliuya caxa lliuya (sutioc) caca sica ayllotac
chay paria cacap yanan tiasca chay pachas
paria cacapi quimça chunca saçerdotecona
tiaspa cay caxa lliuya tama lliuya sutioc tu
coyninmanta yuyacnin carcan [225] chaysi vi
ra cocha chayman chayaspaca cay huacap
collquin pachan maymi ñispas taporcan
chaysi payconaca manatac villacoyta mu
narcancho yna captinsi vira cochaca piña
rispa hocsacta taucarichispa caxa lliuyac
ta rupachircan chaysi ña patmanta oc
sa rupaptinsi huayraca pucorimurcan chay
si ancha ñacarisparac chay runapas cau
sarircan chay pacharacsi chay pacha nac
nacta yman aycantapas vira cochaman
corcancu [226] chay pachas tucoynin runacuna
ancha chicantatacmi ñihuasca canchic chay
llacuas quita pariasca huauqui aco cheque
risontac mana ñam allicho pacha ñispas
tucoynin llactancama chiquerimurcan
[227] chaysi cay checamanta rupasca runapas ña alli
maca viça yaspa huc paria cacap churinta maca uisa
sutiocta aparispa quintip llantanpi limca
sutioc llactapi chayamurca caycunactam
cay quipam capi(tul)opi rimason
[228] CAPI(TUL)O 19
cay maca visa paria cacap churinsi ñaupa yn
ga captin aucaman yanapancampac apai
tucorcan amaya xiuaya sutioc llacta
cunas manatac atichicorcancho chaysi

F 84 R

yngaca mana atichicoptin paria cacacta
chorinta mañarcan chay amaya xiuaya
runacunacta atipai [229] chaysi chay maca visa
sutiocta corcan cayta apaspas tuyllapuni
atimurcan chaymantas yngacunaca asta
uanrac paria cacacta yupaicharcan corictapas
yma ayca pachancunactapas cospa huatampi
chay quimça chunca yanancunapacpas sarac
ta cocacta yma aycactapas llactancunaman
ta cochispas causarcan [230] chay yna captinsi
ñaca ñinchic yna vira cochacuna chaya
muspa tucoy yman cactapas tucoy quecho
porcan huaquinin pochocnincunactas
quipampi huañoc don sebastian tucoyta ru
pachichircan [231] chaymantas ymanam ña
ca ñinchic chay sina chay caxa lliuyaca
li<>mca llactapi tiaspa chay maca uisa ñiscac
ta atallispa ancha yupaychasca ahca huata
tiarcan ña ahca huatamantam canan cay che
cacuna chay yna alli causascanta huyarispa
cayman chay maca uisacta apamuchon ñispa
cacharcan don ju(a)n puypu tacma (huañoc) curaca caspa chay
pachas chay caxa lliuya macho rupasca cayman
sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamur
cancu [232] chay pachas caypi digo llacsa tampopi
chayamuspa ñatac yaya maca uisa alli
cho cay llactapi checa runacta huacaychanqui
ñispa huc llamahuan villaptinsi ymanam
huauya cancha ñisca maypim chay llacuas
pas quita pariasca ñisca ricorcan chay ynalla
tacsi carcan [233] chaytapas chay caxa lliuya tama
lliuya ñisca ña chorincunapas colloptinracsi
quiquinpas ña huañuypac caspas chay ynam
chayamuptillay carcan ñispa rimarcan porq(ue)
chayamuspa pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam
ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho ñispas ñircan

F 84 V

[234] chay pachamantaracsi cay maca uisacta cay llacta
pi atallircancu pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi
tucoy checacuna ayllompi ayllompi seruispa
huc tutallaca tucoynin cari huarmi hoñolla paca
ricoc carcan ña pacariptinmi canan coynhuan
ymanhuanpas sapa runamanta cococ car
carcan yanapahuay cay llactacta cammi
huacaychanqui yma ayca oncoyconacta
pas cammi alliyachihuanqui ñispa
[235] chaymantam canan limca ñiscanchic llac
tapica anchapuni seruiscas tiarcan yam
laca sutioc chacractas tucoy huc huaran
ca quinti ñisca callpaporcan chay maca
uisa opiancampac chaysi chaypi cac runa
cunari anchaponitac rico tucorcan yman
huanpas aycanhuanpas chayta embidias
pas cay checacuna huañoc don ju(a)n puypu tacma
cassa lliuya ayllon runan captin cayman
apamuchon ymapacmi runap llantanpi
chay chica alli huacacta atallin ñispa cachar
can chay pachamantaracsi caypi tia<n>rcan
checallactam cay maca uisapta yachanchic
[236] CAPI(TUL)0 20
CAYMANTAM LLOCLLAY HUAN
CUPAP CAUSAYNIN CALLARIN
CANAN Q(UE)PAMPI POCHOCASCAN
TAUANMI QUELLCASSON
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacas pacha
camacpac churin carcan cay huaca ricurimus
cantas huc huarmi lanti chumpi sutioc alay satpa

F 85 R

ayllo tarircan chacracta oryacospa chaysi huc
mita ñaupac aspispaca ymah cayca ñispas pacha
llampitac vischorcan [237] chaysi ñatac huc pachacta aspis
paca chay quiquin ñaupac tariscantatac tarircan
chaysi cayca ychapas yma huaca ñispas yayaicunac
ta ricuchimusac aylloycunactapas ñispas apamorcan
[238] chaysi chay pacha huc huacatac yngap cachan cati qui
llay sutioc chay llactapi llacsa tampo ñiscapi carcan
cay<ssi> cati quillay ñiscanchicsi yanca yma ayca
huaca mana rimactapas rimachic carcan chaysi
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacatata rima
richircan ñispa <pip> pim canqui yman sutique
ymamanmi hamunqui ñispa chaysi ñocaca pacha
cuyochic pacha camacpac churinmi cani sutipas lloc
llay huancupam yayaimi cay checa llactacta<ca>
huacaychamuy ñispa cachamuan ñispas ñircan
[239] chaysi runacunaca ancha cosicuspa allim cay
llactapi tiachon ñocaycocta huacaychahuaspa ñis
pas chay quiquin tarimucpa huasimpi huchoylla can
chan captinpas astahuan atunyachispa tucoy checacuna
huanri chauticunahuanpas tucoynin ancha man
chaspa chaypi huasinta canchanta allicharcancu
[240] payta seruiipacri pura quilla<pi> ñiscapi ayllo ayllo
manta allauca collanamuptin yaicuson ñispas
camachinacorcan llamantapas cospa cay pura que
lla ñiscanchictam paycuna ñam chayana ñincu
paymi chayan ñincu cay chayai ñiscanchicpis ñaupa
pachaca chu(m)p ruco huaychau ahua ñiscacunacta
churacuspa taquic carcancu ymanam paria cacap
mitanpipas churacuc carcan chay chump ruco huay
chao ahua ñiscacta chay yna [241] cay ñiscanchic chay
ynas ahcca huata seruircancu chaysi chay llocllay
huancupaca huc mita mana alli seruiptintaccha
pacha camac yaya<i>nman cutircan chincarispa chay
si chay ynacta ricuspa runacunaca ancha llaquispa
chay may pacham ñaupaclla tarirca lanti chumpi ñiscanchic

F 85 V

chaytapas allichaspa huc husnocta pircaspa mascar
cancu [242] chaysi ñatac mana tarispa pacha camac
man tucoy yuyac runacuna llamantapas coyn
tapas yma ayca vestidontapas camaripuspa
rircancu chaysi yayanta ñatac muchaspa cotichi
morcan chaysi astauanrac rrenouaspa muchar
cancu llama camayocnintapas camachipuspa
cay llamactas sucya villca ñiscapi michircan
cu pacha camacpac llamanmi ñispa ynga
pas cayta camachircantacsi [243] chaymantas yma
nam ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan chay
yna cay huacacta vinay huata seruircancu
yma ayca honcoycuna amuptinri paita vya
richispa alli cayta mañaspa yma ayca llaqui
cuy puticoy captinpas auca amuptinpas pa
cha cuyomuptinpas yayanmi piñan ñispas
runacuna ancha mancharcan saractari yn
gap çaranta sapçicunamantas corcan
hupyancampac [244] chaymantas ñatac huc
p(adre)e X(christoba)l de castilla captin (cay rreducionpi caspa) curacari don geronimo
cancho guaman caspa ancha chaycunacta chic
ñiptin mana ña mucharcanchu chaysi ña
tac ñaupa haton çarampion hamuptin yma
ayca muchacoytapas callarircancu curaca
ñiscanchicri paymanta cachan ñic yna ma
na ña rimapayarcancho purun huasipi
opyaptin chay pachatacsi cay huacap huasinpas
ruparcan paicama dios munaptin [245] chayman
tam canan don g(eroni)mo huañoptin chay pacha
don ju(a)n sacsa lliuya <yai> curacaman yaicuptin
ca quiquin curacapas huacça captin tucoy runa
cuna ymanam ñaupa pacha causarcan chay
yna causayta<> (ña callarircancu) llocllay huancupacta chayman
ta maca uiçactapas chayaspa chaypi pacarispa
opiaspa [246] cananmi s(eñ)or doctor auila paypac predi
caçionnimpi huaquinin runacuna diosman
cuti

F 86 R

cutirispa chaicunacta amacharcancu mana huc
runa diosman checa sonco cutirispa caycunacta su
paimi ñispa ñiptinca ychapas hunayrac chay yna
causanman carca cay simictam cay quipampi
huyarichison [247] huc runam don x(christob)al choque cassa
sutioc yayanri ña ñiscanchic don ge(roni)mo cancho guaman
huañuc cay runam huchuillanmantaca alli cau
sacuc carcan yayanpas chay huacacunacta ancha
chicñiptin ychaca cay mana alli supaipac llullay
cuscan huañonampica cay huchaman hurmar
canmi ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullay
cuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi chaytaca dios
aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas [248] cay huañuc
ñiscanchicpac churinmi ari don x(christob)al ñiscanchic canan
causan caymi huc mita cay supay llucllay huancupa
ñiscanchicta ricurcan ñavinuan paipas yayan
huañuscanmantaca ña ñiscanchic mana alli supai
machocunap llollaycuscan caspa cay simire cay y
nam cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don x(christob)al jura
mentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa [249] huc tutas don
x(christob)al chay llocllay huancupap huasinman rircan chaypi
sipasnin captin chay huacactaca ña haquispa mana ña
asllapas chaytaca yuyaspa chaysi ña chay huassi
pi chayaspa yspacuypac chay huchoylla racay huasilla
man yaicorcan [250] chaysi canan maypim chrusta
churarcan chay hucomantas huc collque plato
ponchao yntiman tincochisca runap ñauinta tuta
yachic ynas ñauinman chay supai ricurichimur
can cayta ricuspas ñahcca pachamanpas hormarcan
chaysi padre nuestro aue mariacta resaspa chay
huchuilla aposentoman huarmip tiascanman
miticamurcan [251] chaysi ñatac quimça mita cha
upicta purimuptin chay ynatac yllarichimurcan
ña aposentoman chayaptinri ñatac quimça mita
ñaupacninri quimça mitatac chaymi tucoyninca
yscon mita (yna) yllarechircan cay chica mita cay

F 86 V

yllarichic supaita ricuspa anchapuni manhharispa
chay huarmip puñoscanman chayarcan paitari
tuylla atarichispa [252] yscay huamrari chaypitac po
ñusca cay huamracunapas ancha siuyaptinsi
yayanchicmi ynan ñispa mancharircancu
cay huamracunari chay sipaspas cay supaipac sa
çerdotinpa churinsi carcan chaysi chay tuta
ymanam tutayacman runa yaicuc astauan tu
tayachispa chay ynas ahuamanpas llocçic
yaicuc ynas carcan rinrintapas chuy ñichispa
chay huasictapas ña tunichic ynas cay don x(christob)al
ta atipaita munarcan [253] chaysi oraçion yachas
cancunacta ancha nanacta huacyarispa dios
aponchicta mucharcan doctrinactari ñatac ña
tac<yachaspa> callarispa pochocascancama
cay yna mana y<lla>mallahuanpas quis
pinanta hunanchaspas ña chaopi tutacta
pas yalliptin suapaica ynatac ompichic captin
<si> mamanchic santa m(ari)acta huacyarcan
ñispa [254] a mamay cammi sapai mamay canqui
ynataccho cay mana alli suapaica atipahuanca
cam mamaytac yanapallahuay pana yna
huchaçapactapas ñocatacmi cay quiquin çu
paita siruircani cananca ñan ricsini supai
cascanta manam cayca dios(cho) manatacmi cay
ca ymactapas allintaca ruranmancho
[255] cam çapai coyallaytacmi cay peligroman
ta quispichihuanq(ui) huahuayq(ui) jesusnita villapu
llahuaytac canallanca cay huchaymanta
quispichihuachuntac cay mana alli supai
pa maquinmanta ñispas huacaspa om
pispa mamanchic virgen sapai coyanchic
ta huacyarcan [256] cay<ña>ta ña pochucaspas
latinpi salue regina mater misericordia
ñispa rresarcan cayta rimaptinsi na chao
pita rimaptin chay hacoy mana alli supaica

F 87 R

chay huasictapas coyorichispa ancha racupi
chuss ñispa chusic llucsircan chay pachalla
tacsi pachaca pacaric yna carcan mana ñas
yma manchachicuypas runa yna llucsic yai
cumucpas carcanchu [257] chaymantas astahuan
rac diosta mucharcan virgen s(an)ta mariactapas
viñay yanapancampac cayantillantacsi tucoy
runacunacta ñispa villarcan huauquicuna yayacuna
chaycan manchascanchic llucllay huancupa ñis
caca chusic supaimi casca [258] cunam tutam
virgin s(an)ta maria mamanchicpac yanapainin
huan atiparcomuni amatac cananmantaca
pillapas chay huasiman yaicunquichiccho yai
cucta chayacta ricuspaca padremanpas villay
manmi porque alli yachay cay ñiscayta tucoy
soncoyquipitac chasquicuychic ñispas tucoy
runacunacta villarcan [259] chaysi huaquin
ca ychapas ya ñispa huaquinri chay supai
ta manchach caspa hupalla tiarcancu chay
pachamantaracsi checanpunica chayaita
samarcancu chaymantas chay tutari ña
tac don x(christob)al huasimpi puñocuptin muscoypi
ricuchicorcan caytam caysaua quillcasson
[260] CAP(ITUL)O 21
CAYMANTAM MANA MUSCOY
YUPAI CAPTINPAS CHAY MA
NA ALLI SUPAYPA MANCHA
CHISCANTA RIMASON YMA
NAM DON X(CHRISTOB)AL ATIPARCAN CHAYTA
HUANPAS

F 87 V

ñam ari llucllay huancupa mana alli supai
cascanta don x(christob)al atipascantauanpas oyarir
canchic ychaca chay mana alli supai muscoy
pipas atipaitatacsi munarcan chaysi cayan
tin tutallatac huasinmanta don x(christob)alta caya
chircan huc runahuan manas paiman rine
nircancho ña huasinman yaicusparacsi
musyacorcan [261] chaysi ancha mancharispa chay
huc yunga huarmi chacuas tiacocman chay qui
quiquin patiopitac cayllaycorcan cay chac
uassi yunga huarmi carcan chaysi huahua
ymapacmi llucllay huancupa pacha cuyo
chicpa churinta mana manchanquicho
cananmi chayta yachaypac cayachimu
sonqui ñispas rimarcan [262] ñiptinsi canan
paica chayca mana alli supaimi mamay
ymapacmi chayta manchayman ñispas
ñircan chaysi maquinpiri taua rreal
collquicta atallircan chaytas don x(christob)al pa
chaman ormachircan chayta mascaptin
si franc(isc)o trompeteroca hahuallamanta yao
yma conquim chaypin yayaiquica ancha piñas
pa hutca amuchon ñispa cayamusonqui ñispas
huacyamurcan [263] ñiptin pachallas suyallahuai
rac huauqui ñam amuni ñispa collquenta
ancha vtcaspa mascarcan chay pacha ña
tarispas rijpac captinsi ñatac ymanam
oyanpi quiquinta chay collqui ñiscanchichuan
manchachircan chay yna ynamurcan chay
cruzpa tiascan ocumanta(tac) [264] chayssi tuylla
mancharispa mana ña quispinampas yacha
cuptin chay hucumantaca cayamurcan
yayanchicmi cayasonqui ñispa chaysi
paica allim ñispas sonconpica ancha piñaspa
yaicorcan yaicuspas poncollampi tiay<coy>
corcan [265] chaysi chay pachaca cay astu guamanca

F 88 R

opiachich carcan carahc carcan chay huacacta
ñispa yaya llucllay huancupa cammi pacha
cuyochicpac churin canqui camtacmi runactapas
camarcanqui ñispas chaypi ancha manchas
pa cararcan chaysi chay supaica mana
rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan
chaymantari cocacta caraptinri acoc ynas
chac chac ñichircan [266] caycunacta hunayrac
ruraptinsi don x(christob)alca chay huasin hucomanta
tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta
ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai
patarapi rinman chay hynacta chay pin
tasca ñiscanchicsi hucpi huc huchuylla supai
ancha yana ñauinpas collqui yna chaymanta
maquinpiri huc caspi garauato<>yucta atallir
can chaisauas llamap human carcan chay
sauas ñatac chay huchuilla supai carcan chay sa
uari ñatac llamap human chay ynas tu
cuy huasinta yscay patarapi muyorcan [267] cay
cunacta ricuspas don x(christob)alca ancha mancharircan
rimanallanta camarispas chayssi ña cay su
pai micoyta puchocaptinsi ñatac ninacta
raurarichircan chay astu guaman chayman
yma ayca carascantapas rupachipac [268] cay
ta puchocaptinsi ña casilla ymapas captin
don x(christob)alca rimayta callarircan ñispa yao lluc
llay huancupa camtam ari runa camac pacha
cuyochic ñispa ñisonqui <ñocaca ñinim> pai
tacmi yma ayca rurac ñispam ari tucoy
runacunapas manchasonqui ymapacmi
canan cayachimuarcanqui ñocaca ñinim
jesu xp(christ)o diospac churin caytaccha checan
dios paipac simintataccha viñaypas yupay
chasac ñispam ñine [269] cayri pantanicho cam
canan villahuay chayca manam dioscho
ñocam yma ayca rurac cani ñispa chay pacha

F 88 V

camta manchancaypac ñispa ñiptinsi chay
supaica hopayarcan mana ña ymactapas
rimarcancho [270] chay pachas don x(christob)alca ricoy ma
nacho supai canqui ñocap y ñiscay jesuxp(christ)o
apuytacho camca atipanquiman ricoy cay
huasiquipas supaipac yntupayascanmi ari
tianqui camtacho ñoca y ñiquiman ñispas an
cha caparispa ayñircan [271] chay pachas huc llau
llaya (ñiycum) chayta vischomurcan caytas ma
na don x(christob)al yacharcancho ycha chay supai ycha
pas diospac partenmanta vischomurca por
qui chay llaullaya ñiscanchicllahuan har
cacuspas chay huasimanta huc ysquina
condep huasincama huacta<manta>ñic
manta chayllahuan arcacuspa mitica
murcan chay pachas riccharircan [272] chayman
ta pachas canan<ca>cama huaquinin huaca
cunactapas atipaspa yna moscoyllapipas
ancha ahcca mitatacsi paria cacactapas chaopi
ñamucactapas atiparcan runacunactari
tucoytapas villapayaspa caycunaca supai
mi ñispa cay chicactam cay mana alli su
paipac cas(can)ta yachanchic don x(christob)alpac atispascantahuanpas
[273] chaymantari ña chayaspa ñaupa pachaca
chayac runacunaracsi taquic carcan ña
hura pachacama chaysi ña chesiñicmanca
yayanchic cananca ñan machan taquichon
ñispas chay saçerdoten paipac rantin yna ñis
ca taquicta taquic carcan yayanchicmi an
cusasonqui ñispatac huc huchoylla quirullapi
cay ancusayta puchocaspas apamuc huctas canan ocupi huc manca
chay supaipac upyascan mantac churac paimi opian ñispa [274] cay opia
maticta ahuaman chay chicoytam yuyacnicmanta callarispa man
ancusascanman apa yancama opiachicoc carcan ynaspam cayan
muc carcan chay matic tinri ñatac chay puchuscancunacta micoycu
ta muchancampac

F 89 R

nacta sucya villca ñiscaman apachic carcan
[275] ñaupa pachaca chay chayac runacunas quiquin
sucya villcaman apac carcan cay quipampim
canan pachallampitac sucya villcactapas
llucllay huancupacta caracuyta puchocaspa
carac carcan cay sucya villca caracoytaca
ymaraicum cararcan chaytaca cay quipampim
quillcason pacha camacpac cascantahuan<pas>
[276] CAPI(TUL)O 22
yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascan
taca manam allichu yachanchic ychaca huaqui
nillantam yachanchic hanac ticsipi muchanan
tas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngac
ta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan
pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca
ñispatac mucharcancu [277] cay yscaynin huacacuna
ñiscallanchictas astahuanca tucoy yma aycactapas
yallispa mucharcan collquinhuan corinhuanpas
astauanrac yallichispa allichaspa yanancunactari
ahcca pachac runacta churaspa llamantari tucoy
ynantin llactacunapi churapuspa cay pacha camac
ñiscanchicpac llamancunami ari sucya villca
ñiscanchicpipas cay checa runamanta sayarcan
[278] caytam hunanchanchic yngaca cay ñiscan
chic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñis
cancunalla<>pich pacha puchocan mana ñah chay
mantaca huc llactapas canchu manataccha yma
llapas cancho ñispach ari hunancharcan [279] cay
ta yuyaspataccha yscaynin ñiscanchic hua
cacta astauanrac huaquinin huacacunaman
tapas yallispa mucharcancu hura pacha camac
pa cayllanpiri <ponchao digo> yntictapas sayachispa
chay sayachiscanmi ari canancamapas ponchao

F 89 V

cancha sutioc [280] chaymantas canan tauantin
suyo runacunacta capac hucha ñiscactapas
huarmicta caricta huatanpi corcan cay ca
pac hucha ñiscanchictas ña pacha camacman
chayaptinsi yna causacllacta pachaman cay
mi coyqui yaya ñispa pampac carcan ynatac coric
tapas collquictapas llamacunactari purapi
quillapi mana ancochaspa opiachircan mi
cochircan [281] chaymantam ña may pacham
cay checap llactancunacta mana tam
yarcanchu chay pachas yngap simincama
tac yuncacuna ashuanhuan tictinhuan
cori collqui ñiscactari huatanpi cuspa suc
ya villca ñisca<horcom>man cachamurcan
chaysi sucya villcacta yaya pacha camacmi
cachamuan cammi pachacta tamyachinqui
mana cay cochamanta yaco riptintacmi
runacunapas yacomanta muchuyco tam
yaicuytac caypacmi amuycu ñispas ofre
cicoc carcan [282] yuncacunapas chaymantas coll
qui cori apascantari chay sucya villca cocha
cayllapi huatancunapipas pampac carcan
chaypac yanancu(na)pas yaçapa ayllomantas<>
carcan llama michicninri allaucamanta
cay yaçapa ñiscanchicsi huc runa paico casa sutioc
quipampi ña vira cochacuna captinpas coricta
collquicta pampacta ricorcan [283] ynatacsi ynga
cunari tucoy ynantin huacacunaman alli
ricsisca huacamanca corinta collquinta qui
pollamanta tucoy ynantin huacacta cochic
carcan choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca
corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc vrpo collc<>
horpo choc tipsi collc tip<>si ñiscacunactas
cochic carcan quipollamanta cay hatunin hua
cacunaca manatacsi huquillanpas pasuccho
[284] cayta hunanchaspatacsi llocllai huancupa

F 90 R

ñiscanchicman chayaspapas cayantin sucya
villcacta carachic carcan yayanpa man
chascan captin cay chicactam yachanchic cay
pacha camacmanta pacha coyochi ñiscanta
ri pai piñaptinsi yna coyon ña ñispari
hucman hoyanta ticrachiptinsi coyomun
manatacsi paica huyanta asllapas coyochincho
tucoy <cuerpon> (cuerpon)ta ticrachiptinca ynallas pacha
puchocanman ñispam runacuna ñircancu
[285] CAPI(TUL)O 23
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YNGAP
TUCOY YNANTIN HUACACUNAC
TA CAYACHISCANTA CAYPITAC
MI MACA UISA ÑISCANCHICPA
ATI<N>SCANTAPAS RIMASSON
<ynga>tupay ynga yupanqui ñisca apo caspas
ña tucoy ynantin llactacunacta conquistaspas
ahca huata samarcan ancha cusicuspa chaysi huc
llactacunamanta auca atarircan alancu marca
calanco marca chaque marca ñiscas cay cay
runa(cunas) mana yngap runan cayta munarcancho
[286] chaysi chaycunahuan ahcca huaranga runancunacta
quiuicuspa aucanacorcan doze año chica
cama chaysi tucoy cachascancunactapas collo
chimuptin ancha llaquispa ymanam casson
ñispas yngaca ancha puticorcan [287] chaysi huc
ponchaoca yuyacorcan ymaraycoh cay
huacacunacta siruine corihuan collquihuan

F 90 V

pachayhuan micunayhuan yma aycayhuanpas ma
cayachisac tucoyta cay aucacunata yanapa
huancampac ñispas tucoy ynantin llactacu
namanta cori collqui chasquiccuna amuchon
ñispas cayachircan [288] chaysi ari ñispa rircancu
pacha camacpas rircantac huc huantuhuan
ynatac tucoy llactacunapas huantuhuan
cama tucoy ynantin tauantin suyo ñiscaman
ta chaysi ña aucay patapi tucoy llactacuna
chayaptinsi paria cacaca manarac chayarcan
cho manachos risac risacchos ñic ynas aynicachar
can chay pachas paria cacaca maca uisa churin
ta cacharcan ri cam oyarimuy ñispa [289] chaysi
chayaspa manyallamanta tiaycorcan chicsi
rampa sutioc andasuan chay pachas ynga
ca rimarircan ñispa yayacuna huaca
villcacuna ñam ari yachanqui ymanam
ñoca camcunacta tucoy suncoyhuan
corihuan collquihuan seruiqui chayta ynas
pa camcunaca yna ñoca seruiptica ma
nacho yanapallahuanquimantac checa ahc
ca huaranca runayta perdipti chayraicum
camcunacta cayachimuyquichic ñispa rimap
tinsi manatac huchllapas ay ñircanchu ya
llinrac hupayaspa tiarcancu [290] chay pachas ña
tac yngaca yao rimarichic ynatacchum
campac casmascayqui rurascayqui runacuna
aucanacospa collonca mana yanapahuaita
munaptiquica canallanmi tucoyniquichicta
rupachichiscayqui [291] chayca ymaraicum ñoca
ca corihuan collquiuan huantarcunapi mi
coycunahuanpas opiayhuanpas llamayhuan
pas yma aycayhuanpas seruiqui allichayque
chayca manacho cay checa llaquicoscayta
huyarispa yanapahuanquiman manam
ñiptiquica canallantacmi rupanqui

F 91 R

ñispas ñircan [292] chay pachas pacha camacca ri	D
marimurcan ynga yntiya ñocaca tucoy cam	E
tauanpas ynantin pachacta cuyochic caspatacmi	
mana rimarinicho manam ari chay aucallata	L
chu ñocaca collochiman tucoy camtahuampas	A
ynantin pachactahuanpas puchocaymanmi	
chayraicutacmi opalla tiacuni ñispas rimarcan	M
[293] chaymantas canan huaquinin huacacunaca	A
opalla tiaptin maca uisa ñiscanchicca rimarir	N
can ynga yntiya ñoca chayman risac ychaca	O
campas cayllapi alli carpacuspa hunanchacuspa	
tiay ñocam chaytaca tuy checallapi atipamus	Y
cayqui ñispas ñircan chaysi maca uisa ri	
mariptinca seminmantapas llacça llacça pu	P
corimurcan cosni llocsic yna [294] chay pachalla	L
tacsi cori antaranta antaricorcan curitac	U
pincullonpas carcan humanpiri chump rucoc	M
ta pillorispa pusucanri curitac cusmanri	A
yana chay pachas maca uisa rinampac huc qui	
quin yngap rinan chicsi rampa sutioc ram	D
pacta corcan chaysi calla uaya runa ñisca	E
ancha sinchi cama yngap acllascan carcan cay ru	
nas ahcca ponchao ñantapas pisi ponchaollapis	T
chayachic carcan caycunas maca uisacta aparir	H
can huanturircan chay aucaman [295] chaysi huc or	O
collapi chayachiptinsi chay maca visa paria cacap churin	M
ca allimantarac(si) tamyaita callarircan ynaspas	A
chay llactayoc runacunaca ymah cayca ñispa ca	S
marico<>rcanrac [296] ynaptintacsi yllapaspa asta	
uan tamyaitapas yapaspa tucoy llactancunac	
ta huaycu huaycucta ruraspa lloclla aparcan	
atunnin curaca cactari sinchicunactauanpas	
yllapaspas collochircan atun runacu<na>nallas	
huaquillan quispircan munaspaca tucoytapas	
collochinmansi carcan ynallas huaquinin	
runacunactaca tucoyninta atispa cuzcoman	

F 91 V

catimurcan [297] chay pachamantaracsi paria cacac
ta astauan yngapas yupaicharcan yanancu
nactapas pihcca chuncacta cuspa ynaspas yaya
maca uisa ymactam coscayqui ymallactapas
munascayquicta mañahuay manam micha
cusaccho ñiptinsi manam ñocaca ymac
tapas munanicho ychaca huacçaca tianqui
tacmi ymanam ñocaycup churijcuna yauyo
ñiscamanta rurancu [298] chaytaca ñiptinsi
allitacmi yaya ñispas ancha mancha
rispa pactah cayca ñocactapas collochihuan
man ñispas yma aycantapas ofrecicoyta mu
narcan [299] chaysi micoy yaya ñispa carachiptin
ca manam ñocaca cay ynacta micoccho cani
mullocta apamuy ñispas mañarcan chay
si mullocta coptinca cap cap ñichispa tui
lla micorcan [300] chaysi mana ymactapas mu
naptintac yñaca ñustancunactaca cama
chiporcan chaytapas mana ho ñiptintac y
naspas ñatac maca uisa paria caca yayanta
villaypac cotimurcan chaymantas canan
yngacunapas ancha quipapipas xauxapi huac
çapas tiarcan y taquircan ancha yapaichaspa
[301] chaymantam canan cay cuzcopi aucay pata
ñiscapi tantanacorcan ñinchic chaypis cay
huacacuna tucoy ynantin ñaca ñircanchic
chay yna tiaspa tucoyninmanta sumacnin
si siua caña villca coto ñisca tiarcan manas
cayhuanca sumacninpica ynantin huaca
cunapas pactar cancho cay chicactam caycu
napta yachanchic
[302] CAPI(TUL)O 24
CAYMANTAM CAY CHECACUNAP
CAUSASCANCUNACTA QUILLCA

F 92 R

SON MACUA YUNCA ÑISCACTA
TAQUISCANCUNACTAPAS CHAY
MANTARI RUNAP PACA
RIMUSCANTAHUANPAS
ñan mari huaquinin capitulopi paria cacap chu
rincunacta rimaspa asllacta yurimuscanta
pas rimarcanchic ychaca cay yurimuscan pacari
muscan simiri cay ynam huaquinmi canan rimancu
hanac paria caca ñiscanchic quitipis huc sacha quiñhua
sutioc canancamapas quinhua sutioctac chaypis çachap
ruruyninmanta runacuna pacarimurcan [303] huaquin
mi runacuna ñincu hanac pachamantas yahuar hor
mamurca chaysi vichi cancha sutioc pachapi chay quiñ
hua ñiscanchic quitipitac<si> chayarcan [304] chaypis canan
llactachacorcan allaocamanta coña sancha cutioc sat
pascamanta yuri naya sullc pahcamanta chupa yacu
yaça(pa)mantam paco masa muxicamantam chauca chim
pita caca sicamantam canan huar cancha llichic cancha
ñiscanchicca yañcacuna cay caycunaca quiquin llactayoc
yuncacunas [305] huaquinin caca sica moralespac chaymanta
cancha paicup yayancunas yauyo carcan caycunap paca
rimuscansi maurura sutioc aya uireñicpi caycunaca
quita puricucsi huar canchap paninhuan caçaraspas cacay
hucopitac camachinacusac ñispas paicunaca cay llacta
pi tiaycorcancu [306] chaysi ña paria cacaman muchaypac ris
pas cacancuna tucoy checacunapas quita yauyo ñispa
chicniptin quipallarac ancha carollapi ric carcan
chaysi anchapuni llaquicuspa caycunaca ynas chicnep
tin ahca huata quipalla cama ric carcancu chaysi
huc mitaca paria cacacta villarcan ñispa yaya cayca
caycunapas checacunapas ancham checnihuan campa
camascayquitacmi pana yauyo runapas caycu ñispas

huarcancha lli
chic cancha eran
yungas

morales yauyo

F 92 V

ancha huacaspa villarcan [307] chay pachas paria caca chu
ri ama llaquicho cay curri chuncullayta apacoy cay
ta atallispa llacça tampopi poco caya ñiscapi ta
quinqui chay pacham yma runam cayca chica pa
ria cacap cuyascan ñispam anchapuni mancha
rinca chaymantaca mana ñam anchacho chicnison
qui ñispas camachimurcan [308] chaymantas cay ya
uyo ñiscanchiccunaca tucoy checacunamantapas
quipampirac chayamuspas chay chuqui chuncullan
ta apaspas ancha cusicuspa runacunapas man
chariptin chayamurcan cayantin ponchaopis pam
papi tucoy ynantin runacunapas mancharip chay
curri chuncullacta atallispa taquircan [309] huaquin
mi canan ñincu tutas ñaupa pacha pariacaman
llamahuan ymahuanpas villac carcancu chaysi ay
llo ayllompi mitanacospa ric cancancu chay pachas
chay quita yauyo ñiscanchicta apachon paipas
ñispa ancha chicñispatac ñircan pay apaspas
canan ña ynti sicamuptin paria cacaman chayarcan
[310] chaysi anchatac llaquicuptin paria cacaca ymapacmi
chica llaquicunqui yao anta capsi ñispas ñircan ñaupa
sutinca pacuyris carcan chay pachas cay cori chuncollac
ta apacoy cayta ricuspam runacuna mana ña chicni
sonquicho ñispas comurcan [311] cay cori chuncullac
tas canan huc mita ñatac paria cacaman muchaypac
rispa chayta apaspa rircan chaysi huc mayo pari ayri
sutioc mayocta chimpaspas chaypi hurmachircan chay
si panatac yma ynapas tucoy hanacman huraman
mascarcan manatac ricuriptinsi ynallatac paria
cacaman rircan [312] chaysi cayantin chayaptinca quiquin
paria cacap cayllampi chay corri chunculla ñiscanchicca
sayacorcan chaysi ñatac huacaspa mañaptin mana ña
ho ñircanchu ñispa manam aucamantacho atispa
apamurcanqui chay yna sumachispa apaycacha<>(n)ayqui
pac caymanri camacnita ruracnita ricuchimusac
ñispa apamuncayquipac ñispam anchapuni anyarca

F 93 R

[313] chaysi yaya ynataccho pincay casac cotichillahuaytac cay
ri ymallactapas chaypac rantinta collahuay ñispa ñip
tinsi ancha huacaptin churi cutij ñocap panay
pac chaupi ñamcap mitampim coscayqui chay pacha
pac suyai ñispas ñimurcan chaysi ynallatac cuti
morcan [314] chaysi ñatac ñiscan yna chaupi ñamcap mi
tampi yauri callinca sutioc canchanpi pircasaua
huc gato montes ancha sumac pintascacama ricurir
can chaysi chayta ricuspa caymi paria cacap ñiscam
ñispas cusicuspa chayta atallircancu taquichispa
tac caytam canan tumnapi cac her(nan)do cancho uillca
huacaycharcan ychaca ñas tucoy ysmurcan
[315] ñam ari runacunap pacarimuscanta rimarcanchic
ychaca caycuna ñiscanchiccunaca tutay quirep churin
si huaquinmi canan çachap ruruyninmanta llocsic
cay tutay quiri ñiscanchictacsi vichi cancha ñiscan
chicpi yurimurcan chaymantam paytac cay llacta
cunactapas atimurcan churijcuna caypi tianca
ñispa [316] chaysi ymanam huaquinin capitulopipas
rimarcanchic yunca çapas carcan ñispa chay ynas
chay yuncacunactaca ña carcospa ayllo ayllompi
cunacoyta callarircancu chacrantapas huasintapas
llactantapas ayllonpi sutintapas paycunap ayllom
pi sutinsi allauca sat pasca passa quine muxica caca
sica sulc pahca yaçapapas carcan yaçapa ñispaca plate
roctam yaçapa ñinchic plateros carcan chaypac su
tintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin
ayllocunapas [317] chaymantas canan llacta ñiscan
chicta conacuspari allaucamanta collanaspa
chasquircan cay allaucas maca callacta< >
<ta> chasquircan chaymantam sat pasca ñiscanchic
cunam quimqui llacta chasquircan cay quimquillas
curaca huaca ñisca tucoymantapas astauan yupaisi
carcan [318] chaymantas canan chasquircan sulc pahca yaça
pa ñiscanchic ricra huanca ñisca huacacta chayman
tam muxicacuna chasquircan quira rayacta

F 93 V

caca çicacunam llucma suni huacacta chasquircan
huanricuna chauticunam canan paicunaca quiquin
llactayoc ñaupamanta ñam ari ymanam tutay
quiricta mucharcan chaytapas huaquinin capitulo
pipas rimarcanchicmi ari
[319] cay yna ña ñiscanchic yna tutay quiri aticoyta
pochucaptinsi churincunari cayman hamuspas
pacariscan taquicta ymanam vichi cancha
pi taquircan chayta masoma ñispa taquircan
cu <ñam ari> ñam çapa ñiscanchicri runas car
can cay quiquintaca yngas quipampi aparcan chay
pac teniententas ñatac hucta rurarcancu chay
tam s(eñ)or doctor ña aparcan [320] cay ñam cçapa ñiscan
chic<>si runa caspa quisay rinri ñiscacta rinrim
pi churac carcan <cayta> chaymanta maquinpiri
canah yauricta caycunas ñaupa pachaca cori sapa
carcan cay corictaca yngatacsi aparcan chay
mantas cay quillcas caxo ñiscanchicsi tau
nan carca chaymanta chay cori cacya sutioc
caracolsi paihuan amuctas [321] caytas paimi
pacarinchic caymi ñaupac cay llactaman hamuc
chapac ñispas quiquinta oyanta cochuspa ta
quichircan chaymantas aucapi apimuspari hu
yantatac cochuspa caymi sinchi cascay ñispa
taquichircan cay aucapi ña apiptinsi qui
quin chay runa huauqui ñam ari huano
chihuanqui ancha camasca runatacmi
carcani huayotatac rurahuanqui ño
cactari ña pampaman llocçipac capti alli
carahuanqui opiachihuanqui ñispas ñic
carcan [322] cayta oyarispatacsi cay <huc> huaqui
nin huayocunacta carac opiachic carcan
canan ponchaomi pampapi taquinqui ñocahuan
ñispa chaymantam cay huayocta aparispa
tac yscay ponchao huantunacoc carcan
cayantin ponchaomi çarahuanpas papa

F 94 R

huanpas yma ayca cascanhuanpas huarcunacuc
carcan [323] cay huarcunacoytas caycunacta apa
cuspa oma pacha ñisca yurimuscanman cutin
ca ñispa hunancharcancu chaysi rimacospapas
huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochis
pa rimac carcan chaypac fiestanpi cay taqui
cuytam pihca ponchaopi puchocarcan allauca
cunari ynatac [324] hucpi cay chuta caras oma pacha — masoma
ñiscatac cay quiquintacsi vichi canchamanta — chuta cara
huaquinincunahuan hamurcancu chaysi
runa caspatac rumiman chirayarca chay ru
na caspa huaracacuscansi chay huaracampas
chaymanta chay pisco yna ricchaccunas paipac
visan [325] chaymanta chay huana payas canan chay
ta pucoptin llamacunacta llactacuna raquimuc — significa ydolo
cayhuantacsi pacarimurcanpas chay llamarai
cutacsi huaquinin huana payacunactapas
huacaycharcancu cay caytam allaucamanta
chuta carap fiestanta rurac carcancu checa
cunapas conchapas mayquin runapas chay
caracoltaca atallintacmi llamayoccuna
[326] chaymantam canan cay quiquin ñiscanchiccu
nacta yscay huata taquircan huatampi huc
mitalla chaymi yscay huata captinpas yscay
mitallatac taquircan chaymantam canan
yscay huatatac machua sutioc taquicta ta
quircan [327] cay ñaupa ñiscanchicca yunca
sutiocmi cay machua ñiscanchicpac mitam
pim canan yscay huatatac taquircan huc
chupa ñisca ychucta pirtaspas ancha quero
cunacta chacnaspa chayman pilluic carcan
yscayta caymi suninman canchis ricra chic
tayoc chaymantam atunninmanmi yscay
<>braço alli macallanchic yna humampim
canan caçira sutioc hocsatac caypa sapinmi
puca pucalla caytas churac carcan caymi

F 94 V

acchan ñispa [328] chaymantas ña tucoyta allichas
pa hucta yomca ñispa carip hunanchay
ninta churarcan huctari huasca sutiocta
huarmip onanchayninta churarcan ña
churaspam canan tucoy runacuna alli pachan
ta tamta ñiscantapas churacuspa sitayta
ña callarircancu cay si(ta)na<>m vihco suti
oc [329] cayta sitaipac ña<>upacnin ponchaopitac
mi tucoy ynantin caullamacunaman ric car
cancu llamantapas ymanam paria caca
man campanillayocta chaymanta sarçillo
yucta aparcan chay yna chaysi tucoynin
runacuna chaucallamanpas curri ñisca tambo
sica orcomanpas ric carcancu çapampi caulla
mancunamanpas chay pacha cay caullama
cunaman rispas chay caracol ñiscanchic
ta huacachispa pucupayaspa ric carcancu chay
pacmi çapampi runacunapas huaquinin
taricnincunaca cay caracol ñiscanchicta
atallircancu [330] chaymantam canan cay
chuta chuta ñiscanchicta ña yscayninta sayachis
pa sitayta callarircan cayta sitaptinsi huar
micunaca ayllo ayllo yaicuspa sitaptin ma
na huancarayoc huarmicunapas taquipuc
carcan cay simicta rimaspa huaccha churi
quicta chasquipuy ñispa huasca ñiscanchictari
huaccha churiquicta chasquipuytac ñispatac
[331] chaysi cay sitaccuna chay chutap chucchanpi
chayachiptinca cayri maycancha tucoy huc ayllo
cunamanta hanacnin manyanpi chayachircan
chaysi huc huacamaypac ricranta o ymallanta
pas apaspa yañcacta coc carcan [332] cay yañcan
checamanta quipampas m(art)yn misa yauri carcan
allaucamantam ju(a)n chumpi yauri huañuc [333] cay
yañca ñiscanchicsi ña huc ayllo ñiscan
chic pochocaptin chay chutaman llocarcan

F 95 R

chay puypu ñisca huacamayap ricranta apas
pa <chaysi> chaysi may pihc chayachircan chay
ta sorcuspa chaypi chay puypu ñiscahuan
hunanchamurcan chaysi ñatac hoc ayllo yai
cuspapas ynatac hocri ynatac <n> [334] chaymantas
ñatac huasca ñiscanta huarmipac sitar
ca churita yma ayca micunallaytapas coanca
ñispa chaymanta yomca ñiscanchictari
cari churita chauaracta yma ayca causaycu
nacta coanca ñispa [335] ña may pacham yscay
nin chutacunacta sitayta puchocarcan chay
pachas chay ñaui ñiscapi chucchapi chayachic
cuna yañcaman llamanta cayhuan cay
homa pacha ñiscacta villapuay ñispa coc
carcan chaysi cay huchuylla llamactaca
chay llamayoc manatac anchantaca apacoc
cho yañcamusca ñiscallanchictacsi ayca
llama captinpas apacoc micococ
[336] chaymantam canan ñatac cayantin pon
chao ancha tutamanta quimquillaman tucoy
runacuna ric carcancu chay quimquilla ñis
canchic huacas ancha llamayoc yma ay
cayoc chayta coyaicuanca ñispas tucoy
runacuna allaucapas ric carcan chaypi
llamayta mañamusac ñispa [337] chayman
rijpacsi aslla tictinta ashuanta cocanta
apac carcan chay huana paya ñiscanchic
tari huacachipayaspa chaymantas ñaupac
nin ponchaopitacsi vichuc maricuna cay
mi tucoy sat pasca sulc pahca yaçapacuna
chay quiquin quimquillapitac taquic car
can llamantapas nacaspa poconim ñis
pa [338] cḥaymantam ñatac huraycumor
can maypim quira raya tiarcan chay anac
nin pampaman cay pampam huara ca
ya sutioc caypim ñatac ymanam llac

F 95 V

sa tampopi yomca huascacta sayachircan
chuta ñiscacta chay ynallatac sayachir
can llamapac cay llamapacmi horcopac
chinapac ynatac sitarcancu [339] cay sitayta
puchucaspam canan ymanam llacsa tam
pupi carcan ynallatac llamanta yañcaman
coc carcan cayhuan muchapuay allitac
casac ñispa chaymantam canan cayman
cutimuspa ymanam quimquillaman
pas hoño hoñolla ric carcan llaman
tapas campanayocta aysaspa ynallatac
cutimorcancu [340] caytam carco caya ñin
cu ymanam allimanta coyoi coyoilla
rihuan yna caycuna puricoytas huaro
cactam tumani ñispa ñircancu cay hua
roca ñiscanchicta tumaspas chay hua
na paya ñiscanchictapas pocopayaspa
ric carcancu cay chicallactam yachanchic
cay machua ñiscacta yachanchic [341] chayman
tam canan cay llacça tampopi yunca ñiscan
chicta huaquinin muta caya runas carcan
ñincu huaquinmi canan collis carcan
nincu ynam ychaca cay colli ñiscanchicca
yaru tinepis tiarcan caypac cascantam can
cay quipampi quillcasson
[342] CAPI(TUL)O 25
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YMANAM
COLLI RUNACUNACTA YARU TI
NI ÑISCAMANTA HORA YUNGA
MAN HUAYRA APARCAN
CHAYTA

F 96 R

cay colli ñiscanchic llactayocsi yarutini ñis
capi tiarcancu chaysi huc ponchaoca paria caca
chay yaru tini ñiscanchic llactampi collicuna vp
yaptin chayarcan chaysi manyallamanta pa
ria cacaca tiaycuspa ancha huacchalla yna tiar
can [343] chaysi manatac pillapas vpiachita munar
canchu chaysi huc runalla ancusaycorcan cay
acusacnintas yapaicuay huauqui nispa ñircan
chaysi yaparcantac chaymantas cocallayquicta
acuchihuay ñispa ñatac mañarcan chaysi cor
cantac [344] chay pachas huauqui cay sachactam a
piconqui ñoca may pacham cayman amusac
chayca cay runacunactari ama villaycho yna
cusicochon ñispas riporcan [345] chaysi pihca pon
chaomantaca ancha huayra atarimurcan
cay huayratacsi cay colli runacunactaca çapam
pi yscay quimça mita tumaycochispa huayra
ancha caroñicpi aparimurcan chaysi huaqui
ninca yna apariptintac muspaspa huañorcan
huaquintas canan causacllacta caruaylloñic
orcopi chayachircan cay orcom canancamapas
colli ñisca <> orco runacunaca collorcansi mana
tacsi hucllapas canchu [346] chaymantas cay huc ru
na yaru tinipi paria cacacta vpiachicca ñiscan
yna huc çachacta apicuspa yna quispircan ña tu
coyta apaita puchocaspas ñircan huauqui çapallai
quim canqui caypim viñay tianqui caymantam ño
cap churicuna ñocacta muchaypac hamuspa chusco
quiere dezir quatro corpaya huacçacuna cocacta
viñaylla acochisonqui ñispas sutiyquipas capac
huanca ñiscam canqui ñispas rumiman chiraya
chircan [347] caytam s(eñ)or doctor auila chay quiquin <> tias
campi chayaspa huaquin runacunahuan paquir
can ña paquispam hurañicman vischurcan
cay chicactam cay colli ñiscacunamanta
yachanchic yna ñiscancamatacmi huacçacunari acochircancu
viñay huata

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[348] CAPI(TUL)O 26 YMANAM
MACA CALLACTA PA(RI)A CACA
ATIRCAN YMANAM
ÑA ATISPA CHURARCAN
CHURINCUNACTA
ñan mari maca calla ñiscanchicta yachan
chic s(a)n damian llactamanta hanacnin
orcupi cascanta cay maca calla ñiscanchic
orcopis chay llactayoc runa carcan pihcca
marca ñisca chaymantam sutca ñiscapas car
cantac caycuna llactayoc huc punchao vp
yacuptinsi paria caca chay llactaman cha
yarcan yna chayaspas manyallamantatac
tiaycorcan [349] yna tiaycuptinsi manatac pilla
pas ancusaycorcanchu chaymanta piñaspas
pihccantin punchaonimpi chay llactacta collo
chircan puca tamya quello tamya atari
muspa [350] huaquim runacunam canan huc
simictatac rimancu ñispa cay maca callapi
llactayuc runacunas huc punchaosi huaquinin
runacuna riuihuan pocllacorcan huaquinin ru
nacunas vpyacorcan chay yna captinsi hanac
orco canlli ñiscamantaca aslla pucutay ricuri
morcan chaymantari tamyari puca tamya orma
murcan as asllarac chaymantas ñatac yllapa
murcan [351] cay yna captinsi runacunaca tucoy
nin mancharircan ymam cayca ñispa mana
cay ynacta ricuc caspa chayssi huaquininca aucam
ñispa sayaicorcan huaquinsi miticarcan [352] huc runas
armicu sutioc carcan cayssi ahcca churicoy caspa
churinta catirespa aco rison chay chacranchic

F 97 R

huauapitac huañomuson ñispas chacranman miti
carcan cay chacra ñiscampi chayaptinsi chaymanta
tucoyninta chirayachircan rumi tucochircan cay
rumi tucucsi canancamapas runa ynalla churin
cunahuan tiancu canancamapas runacunapas ar
micu ñincu [353] chaymantas huaquinin runacuna
ayquispapas mayta ayquictahc puca tamya apircan
pachallampitacsi rumi tucorcan ynatacsi maca
callapi huaquinin runacunapas rumiman cama
chirayarcan [354] huc runas canan cay sutca ñiscanchic
ayllomanta ancha huacaspa ynallataccho saquiscay
qui yayallacta maca calla ñam ripac cani ma
natacmi yma callpallaypas canchu cay milagrocta
atipancaypac ñispa huacaptinsi maca callap
vmanca paycamalla vrmamurcan chay yna vr
mamuptinsi chayta sucarispa tuylla mitica
chircan huaman yna cay runatacsi ancha ca
masca carcan [355] chaymantas cay maca callari y
manam runa ynas vmayoc chaquiyoc maqui
yoc carcan chaysi cay vmanta chay yna mi
ticachispa ñatac runa miramuspa llantapapi
pihcca orcupi tiaycorcan cay orco tiaycuscantam
llactachacuscan captin pihcca marca ñinchic [356] chay
pihcca marca ñiscanchicpis maca callap humanca
canancamapas tian chaysi chaypi caypi maca calla
yocmi canchic ñispa churincunactapas ñaupac
yuricta canricha ñincu allaucacunari maca calla
llactayoc caspas canricha ñintac ynatac pihcca
marcacunapas [357] chaymantas ña tutay quire con
quistamurcan chay pachaca chay sutica ñisca
ayllocunaca cay quitiman cutimurcan chacray
allpai hucopitac llactay vcupitac tiamusac pa
ria caca tutay quiricta manchaspa yupaychaspa
ñispas cutimurcancu chay sutica ñiscanchicmi ca
nan cay llacta s(a)n damianpica tucoy collorcan causac
nincunapas sucsa canchapi tumnapi chayllay

F97 V

[358] CAPI(TUL)O 27 YMANAM RUNACUNA
ÑAUPA PACHA HUAÑUSPA PICHCA PUNCHAO
PIM CUTIMONI ÑISPA RIMARCANCU
CHAY CHAYCUNACTAM QUELLCASON
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc runa huañuptin ayan
taca yna<cta>llas churarayachircan pichca pon
chao cascancama chaysi animanri huc
chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan
cay ña pahuaptinsi ñam rin paria caca
camacnicchic ruracninchicta ricumuypac
ñispas ñircancu [359] huaquinmi canan ma
nas chay pachaca paria caca carcancho ynallas
hanacñicman pahuarcan (yauri llanchaman) [360] chaymantas ca
nan pi<c>hca ponchaomanta ñatac cutimuc
carcan chay ña cutimuptinsi micuycunacta
vpyaitapas camarispas suyac carcan chaysi
ña chayamuspaca ñam cutimuni ñispalla
yayancunahuanpas huauquincunahuanpas an
cha cusicuc carcan mana ñam cananca vi
ñaypas huañosaccho ñispa [361] chay pachas canan
runacuna ancha mirarcan micunampacpas
ñacayta rispa cacactapas patactapas chacran
pac allichaspa ancha ñacarispa causarcancu
[362] chay yna captinsi chay pacha vc runa hua
ñurcan ña huañuptinsi chay runap yayan
cuna huauquincunapas huarminpas suyarcan
ña chayamunan captin pihcca ponchaonimpi chay
si cay runaca manatac chayamurcanchu cayantin
ponchaopis soctantin ponchaopi(rac) chayamurcan chay
si yayanpas huauquinpas huarminpas ancha piñas
pa suyarcancu ña chayamuptinsi huarminca
piñaspa ymanam chica quella canqui huaquinin
runacunaca mana pisipaspam chayacumon
camcho cayna yanca suyachicuhuanqui ñispas
ancha

manarac paria ca
capas caruinchupas
ricuriptintacsi yauri
llanchapi vichi cancha
ñiscapipas runacuna
ca pacarimurcan

F 98 R

ancha piñapayarcan [363] chay hina piñaspas huar
minca huc curumtayhuan chay anima chayamuc
ta chocarcan hina chucaptinsi tuylla sio ñispa
cutircan chaymantas canan mana ña pi runa
huañuptinpas cutimuccho carcan
[364] CAPI(TUL)O 28 YMANAM PARIA CACAP
MITAMPI ANIMACUNACTA CARAC
CARCAN CHAYMANTA TODOS SAN
TOSPACRI YMA YNAM ÑAU
PA PACHA HUNANCHARCAN
ñam ari huaquinin capitulopi paria caca<p fiestan>cta
<ta> muchaypac rispa ymanam runacuna huañoc
nincunacta huacac carcan (caracpas carcan) chay chaycunacta rimar
canchic chay carascancunacta yuyarispam canan
runacuna manarac alli xp(christia)noman tucospa rimar
cancu cay todos santopac ynatacmi vira cochacuna
pas ayanta tullunta caran micochin ñispa <ygle>
aco ygleciaman huañucninchiccunacta caramu
son ñispa [365] ñaupa pachaca yma ayca micoycu
nactapas alli chayascacamata apac carcan
chaymantam canan huc runa huañuptinpas an
cha ñaupac cascanta yuyarispa huañucninchicca
pihcca ponchaomantam cutimunca suyasuntac
ñispa suyac carcancu cay pi<>ch<>(ca) ponchao ñiscanchic
camam huañuscanmanta tutancuna pacaric <car>
carcan [366] ña pihcantin ponchaonimpin yarutiniman
huc<runa> huarmi alli pachanta churaspa ric carcan
chaymanta pusamusac ñispa o suyamusac ñispapas
chaysi chay huarmi ñiscanchicri ashuanhuan micoy
cunactari apaspa ric carcan [367] chaysi yaru tini ñiscan
chicpi ña ynti sicamuptin chay anima chayac carcan
chaysi ñaupa pachaca yscay quimça atun chuspi

F 98 V

runacunaca llacsa anapalla ñispam ñincu chaysi
chay pachan apascansaua tiaycoc carcan [368] chaysi
hunaycama tiaspa ña huaquinin huancoy curo
ñiscanchic ripuptin haco rison llactaman ñispas
huc huchoylla rumillacta cay(mi) pai ñic <h>yna aparis
pa amuc carcan chaysi cay huarmi ña chayamup
tin tuylla huasimpas alli pichasca <> captin caray
ta ña callarircan ña caracoyta puchocaspas ña
tac vpyachircan paycunari ayan micuptin
micorcantac [369] ña <ancha> chisiñicpis pihca mita
taquircan huacaspa tucoy aylloncuna canan
ña may pacham pihca mita taquicoyta huaca
cuytapas puchocarcan chay pachas chay rumi apa
muscanta calliman vischuc carcan cananca
cuti amaña ñocaycoca huañosaccho ñispa [370] chay
ponchaotacmi arañuhuan huaticacoc carcan y
mamantam cay runa huañopuan ñispa chaymi
pay piñaptinmi chay piñaptinmi ñispapas ñip
tin chaycunacta paria cacacta ñiptinpas o may
quintac ñiptinpas chaycama coynhuan yma yman
huanpas puchocac carcan cay chicactam cay hua
ñuc runacunamanta yachanchic
[371] chaymantam canan guaro cheripi o quintipipas
cay todos santos ñiscanchicpi ygleçiapi coñicllac
ta churapuson ñispa papactapas yanospa chayman
ta charquincunactari alli huchoyucta runap mi
concampac yna churapuncu camchacta aycha
yanuscactapas chaymantari çapa runanpi huc
cantarillo ashuantauan caycuna ñiscanchic
ta churaspaca paicuna vnamchaptinca ayan
cunahc micon chayta yuyaspataccha coñic
llata cama ymactapas aycactapas churaponcu
[372] CAPI(TUL)O 29 YMANAM HUC
YACANA SUTIOC HANAC PACHA
MANTA HURAYCUMON YACOCTA
HUP

F 99 R

HUPYAIPAC CHAYMANTARI
HUAQUININ COYLLORCUNACTA
HUANMI RIMASON YMA SU
TINTAHUANPAS
cay yacana ñiscanchicsi llamap camaquin çi
eloñicta chaupicta purimon ñocanchic runacuna
pas riconchicmi ari yanalla hamocta chaymanta
chay yacana ñiscanchicsi mayo hucocta purimon
ancha atunmi ari yanayaspa çieloñicta yscay
ñauiyoc concanpas ancha hatun captin hamun
caytam runacuna yacana ñincu [373] cay yacana
ñiscanchicsi ña huc runap cussinpi venturan cap
tin paysaua hurmamuspa mayquin pucyollaman
tapas yacucta vpyac chaysi chay runa ancha mill
huasapa ñitimuptin chay millhuanta huaquinin
runaca tirac [374] cay ricachicuysi tuta cac ynaspas cayan
ti pacha pacarimuptinca chay millhua tirascanta ricuc
ricuptinsi chay millhuaca ancaspas yuracpas yana
pas chumpipas yma ymana ricchaccuna millhuas ta
cu tacu cac caytas canan mana llamayoc caspapas
tuylla ranticuspa pachan ricuscanpi tirascanpi mu
chac carcan ña muchaspas huc china llamacta
horcontauan ranticoc chay rantiscallanmantas
ñahca yscay quimça huaranca llamamanpas chayac
cay ñiscanchictaca ancha ahca runactas ñaupa pa
cha cay tucoy proui(nci)api yna ricachicurcan [375] cay ya
ca ñiscanchictacsi chaupi tuta mana pipas yachaptin
mama cochamanta tucoy yacocta vpyan mana
vpyaptinca hutcallas tucoy ynantin mundocta
pampahuahhuan [376] cay yanaca ñiscanchicpi aslla
yanalla ñaupac rin chaytam yutum ñincu
chaymantari cay yacanatacsi huahuayoc hua
huanpas ñoñocuptinsi rihcan chaymantam
quimça coyllor checalla rin chaytam condormi

F 99 V

ñincu ytatacmi suyuntuytapas guamantapas
[377] chaymantam chay cabrillas ñinchic chaytam
<ancha> atuchac cama hamuptinca canan hua
ta pocoymi cason ñincu huchochac cama amuptin
ri ancha muchoymi cason ñincu huaquinin coy
llor muyo muyolla hamuctam pihca conqui ñispa
ñincu [378] huaquin coyllormi ari ancha atuchac
ca(ma) amon chaytam canan poco huarac villca
huarac cancho huarac ñispa sutiachinco cay
caycunactas ñaupa pacha cayca camacmi
ruracmi ñispa runacuna huaquinillan
muchac carcan huaquininric cay ñiscanchic
huacacunacta caymantas astauan yalli
chisac ñispas cay coyllorcunacta muchac carcan
ña sicamuptin chay<> tutari mana aslla
pas puñospa cay chicallactam yachanchic
[379] CAPI(TUL)O 30 YMANAM ALLAUCAP
COCHAMPI YSCAY HUACA CARI HUAR
MI TIAN PORUIPI CAYCUNAP CAS
CANTAM QUILLCASSON
ancha ñaupa pachas huc runa anchi cara sutioc
carcan cay anchi cara ñiscanchicsi <> huc pucyo
purui sutiocpi yacucta tiamun cay allaucacu
nap chacranman hamuncampac cay hina
tiaptinsi huc huarmica surcoñicmanta picoy
huarmi hamurcan cay huarmip sutinmi
huayllama [380] cay huayllama ñiscanchicsi chay
purui ñiscanchicpi chayaspa <> tura ñocap
chacraymanca ancha pisim yaco hamun cam
llacho caypi yacocta pusanqui ñocaycoca
ymahuanmi causayman ñispas chay

F 100 R

quiquin pucyo hucopi tiaycorcan [381] chaysi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchic<p>ca alli sumac huarmi cap
tin tuylla enamoraspa alli simipitac napai
corcan chaysi chay huarmica manatac chay
yacocta cayman cacharijta munarcancho y
na captinsi panatac ama pani hinaycho yma
huanmi ñocap churicunaca causanca ñispas alli
simipi <huan>tac napaicorcan [382] yna captinsi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchicpa churincunaca hamuspa
chay yacocta cay<cocha> lliuya cocha ñiscaman vischo
morcan chay quiquin pucyo hurayllapitacmi yscay
huchuylla cocha ña ñiscanchic lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñisca cay lliuya cocha hucupim quimça taua
huchuylla suytucama rumicuna sayancu chaymi
anchi carap churincuna ñisca [383] mana cay churin
cuna yna ñatac ñatac rispa yacocta vischu
munman chayca ancha pisitacsi caymanca lluc
simunman carca <con todo esso> yna captinpas
ancha pisitacmi llucsimun [384] chay pachas cay ñis
canchic anchi cara huarminri huayllama
ña cay yna yacupacri manacoyta pochucaspas
yscaynin huchallicorcancu ña huchallicuspallas
caypitacmi ñocaca viñaypas tiasac ñispas
rumiman chirayarcan cay rumin canancama
pas yna tiancu churin(cuna)pas lliuya cocha vcu
pitac tiancu cay chicallactam caycunamanta
yachanchic [385] ychaca cay quipampi ña cay llacta
pi yachaycuspas huacçacuna allauca ayllomanta
chay purui ñiscanchicman ña tamya mita pucho
captin ric carcancu rarca pichaypac chay pachas
chay huacçacuna ayca runa caspapas ña chayas
pa chay lliuya cocha ñiscanchicta antarintapas
pucuspa chay cocha sauacta tumaycoc [386] ña tumay
cuspas anchi cara yaco tiamucta napaycoc riccu
chaysi simillahuan aslla cocallanta vischupus
pa ñatac cocha sahuaman cutimuc chay cocha

F 100 V

sauas ñatac anchi caracta chaymanta churincu
nactapas chay quiquin lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñiscanchictapas muchaccu [387] ñaupa pachaca lla
manhuan canan quipanri mana llamayoc
caspa coyllanhuan tictillanhuan ymallan
huanpas cay muchacoyta puchocamuspas rarca
allayta callarimurcancu tucoy runacuna cay
chica simillam caycunap cascan pochucan

CONCHA [388] CAPI(TUL)O 31 YMANAM CAY HANACNIN
CAPITULOPI COCHAP CASCANTA RIMAR
CANCHIC CHAY YNALLATACMI CAY
MANTA CAY CONCHA AYLLOMANTA
YANÇA ÑISCA COCHACTA RIMASON
CAY SIMIRE CAY HINAM
ñaupa pacha cascantaca ymanam cay llactacu
napi yunga runa çapa carcan chay chaycunacta
ca ñam ari huaquinin capitulocunapipas ri
marcanchic cay yna yuncatacsi cay conchap llan
tanpipas tiarcancu [389] yna tiaptinsi ymanam hua
quinin capitulocunapipas rimarcanchic yauri llan
chamantas vichi canchamanta huaquinmi canan
quiñhuamantas ñispa rimancu ynatacssi
cay conchacunapas yauri llancha ñiscanchic
manta pihcca runa yurimurcan (pacha vcumanta) [390] caycunap su
tinmi canan ñaupacninmanta llacsa misa panin

llacxa misa ri cuno cuyo sutiocsi paihuan hamurcan chay sauam
pauquir buxi pauquir buxi chay sahuam llama tanya cay quim
llama tanya cantim runam ñaupaclla cay llactacta atimur
hualla can chaymantam yscay runatac huauquincu
calla na hualla sutioc hucri calla sutioc [391] cay yscayninsi
huaquinin huauquincunaca ñaupamuptin

F 101 R

aslla quiparimurcan yna quiparimuspas ñanta
pantaspa yauyoñicman rircancu chaymancha
huauquicuna rincu ñispa chaysi ña hunaymanta
rac cay quimça huauquincunaca chacractapas y
mactapas ña tucoy raquinacoyta puchocaptinrac
cutimurcancu [392] cay hualla ñiscanchicpac churincu
na<m>s cay lazaro puypu rocçi chaymantas chay ñaupac
churi llacxa misa ñisca ña colloypac caspas cay la
zarop aguelon cassa chauca sutioc pai llacxa misap
sobrinon captin yansa ñisca cochacta caytacmi
cay coscajman yaiconca ñocaca ñam ari collo
ni ñispas haquiporcan chaymantaracsi paipac
yança cochapas suyon carcan caypim cay hua
lla ñiscanchicta saquinchic [393] cananmi chay quim
ca runa hamuscanta chayamuscantauanpas rima
son yma ñam ñaca ñircanchic yuncacunas car
can ñispa chay ynas chay pachaca cay yansa
cochamanta yaconta pusamuspa ancha ya
conpas sobra captin chay llantapa horcup si
quincama yaconpas chayaptinsi ancha cusicus
pa causarcancu [394] yna causaptinsi cay quimça
runa ñiscanchic chay yuyacnin llacxa misa
ñisca ña may pacham yauri llancha ñiscapi
pachamanta yurimurcan chay pachas huc ru
mi chucuyoc yurimurcan caypac sutinmi llacsa
yacolla carcan cay llacça yacolla ñiscanchicta
apacuspas chay quimça runa ñiscanchic hamurcan
[395] chaysi chay yança hanacninpis yana pucyo sitioc
chaypi chayamurcan chaysi paicunaca chayllapi
tiacorcancu vpiacuspa chaysi cay yunca runa
cunaca chaypim quimça runa tiacon ancha man
chaypac ñicta vyarispas huaquinin runacuna
ricoc rircancu [396] yna ricuptinsi chay llacxa misa
ñiscanchicca chay chucon llacxa yacolla ñiscan
ta ricochircan chay runaman chayta ricuspa
llas chaycunaca tucoynin tuylla huañurcan

F 101 V

yna huañocta ricuspas huaquinin runacu
na pi ricpas ynatac huañomuptinsi chay yun
cacuna ñiscanchicca hacochic risontac
caymanta chay 3 runacuna tarihuahchuan
chayca tucoytam collochihuahchuan ñispas
mancharispa llactantapas chacrantapas yna
lla saquispa miticarcancu [397] cay yna miticas
pas huc yunca runaca manam sutintaca yachan
chiccho cay runas huc churinta tuta miticaspa
concha sicapi saquircan yaçali sutiocta [398] huc huac
cha vyhuascallanta aparispas <y>cay yaçali
ñiscanchicpa yayanca miticarcan chaysi
ña chay(chimpa) capari caya ñahca yana siriman vichay
cunapi pacha pacariptin ricsircan chaysi chay
ca chay huaccha vyhuascallan carcan chaysi
ancha huacaspa manatac cutinampas ya
chacuptin ynallatac ripurcan [399] chay pachas
cay saquisca huamra yaçali ñiscanchicca
chay concha sica cruz sayan chay oculla
pi pacacorcan huamra caspa ancha mancha
rispa chay pachas cay quimça runa ñis
canchicca chay llactaman chayarcancu
ña chayaspas huasinta ymantapas cona
cuspas chay pacha llacxa misaca chay huamrata
tarimorcan [400] chaysi churi ama llaquicho ñoca
huanmi tianqui chay huaquinin huauquicuna
huañochison ñispa ñihuaptinpas ñocam
amachascayqui ychaca ñocap llamaytam
michinqui ñispas ñircan chaysi cay huamrac
ta chay huaquinin huauquincunaca ricuspa
huañochontac cay huamraca porqui caymi
caya mincha ñocap chacraymi pachaymi ñis
pa ñihuahhuan ñispas ancha chicnispa ñir
cancu [401] chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchicca
manam ymapacmi hañochison yallin ca
usacochon caymi yma ayca causascantapas
chac

F 102 R

chacrantapas ymantaps aycantapas ricuchihua
sson ñispas ñircan [402] chaysi chaycunaca mana
tac munarcancho huañochuntac ñispa chaysi
chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca piñarispa hua
uqui ñam chica mita ñiqui pactah tulloyquipas
cochañicman rinman ñocam causachon ñini
ñispas ñircan chayracsi huaquinincunapas vpa
llarcan [403] chaysi chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca chay huam
racta llamanta michichispa causachircan yna michis
pas chay yauri llanchamanta cuno cuyo llaxsa misap cuno cuyo
panin hamuchuan tinquinacorcan yna captinsi
quipampi ña yuyac tucospaca oma pacha ñisca
yauri llanchamanta hamucpacpas yañca carcan
cay yaçali huamra ñiscanchicsi x(Christob)al chauca guamanpac
aguelon carcan [404] chaymantam canan cay oma
pacha ñiscanchictaca ymanam checacunapas hua
yo ñiscacta churaspa pihcca ponchao taquircan
ynallacsi paicunapas taquircan chaymanta
chuta ñiscacta vihcohuan sitaspapas caripac
huarmipac sayachispa chaymantari llamapac
ri hinatac [405] chaymanta huacçacunari yna
tacsi concha sica ñiscanchicpi tiarcancu mitampi pa
ria cacacta chaupi ñamucacta vpiaspapas huc pon
chaollatacsi checacunahuampas pactalla vpiar
cancu cay chicactam caycunap causascanta ya
chanchic
[406] chaymantam canan yança cocha ñiscanchicta
rimason cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicsi ña may pacham
huaquinin huauquincunahuan conchaman chaya
murcan chay pachas yma ayca causaycunacta chas
quispa yança cochacta chasquircan llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chaymantas pauquir buxi ñiscanchic huaychu coto
ñiscacta chasquircan chaymantam llama tanya
ñiscanchicri huyo sana huasicta chasquircan [407] chay
yna caycunacta chasquispam canan causanampac

F 102 V

çapampi callarircancu chaymantam cay llac
xa misa ñiscanchicri yança cocha ñiscacta siruii
ta callarircan chay yança ñiscanchicpis huc hua
collquiri ca collquiri sutioc carcan caycunacta siruiptinsi
cay tucoy conchacunaca miconcampac çaracta call
paporcan viñay huata [408] chay pachas chay collquiri
ñiscanchic huacaca <huc> huarmicta ancha munar
can yna munaspas yauyocamapas chacllacama
pas tucoy ynantin pachacta mascarcan chay yna
mascaspas manatac tarircanchu [409] chaysi huc
ponchaoca cuni raya ñiscanchicca yao caylla
pim sispallapi huarmiquica ñispas ñircan chaysi an
cha cosicuspa rircan chaysi yampilla hana<>(c)nin hur
cumanta chay yampilla ñiscanchicman cahuay
corcan yna cauarispas huc huarmicta ancha
collananta taquicocta ricorcan cay huarmip su
tinsi capyama carcan<can> [410] chaysi cay hina chi
ca sumacta ricuspa tuylla soncompi caytacmi
huarmi canca ñispa yuyacorcan ynaspas huc
muchachontaca rij churi chay huarmicta villamuy
llamayquim huc <china> orco llamallacta huachan
ñispa villayconqui chaymi payca tuylla ha
munca ñispas cacharcan [411] yna cachaptinsi chay
runaca rircan ña chayaspas mamay llamay
quim hanac orcullapi huachan ñispa villaptin
si ancha cosicuspa tuylla huasinman chica
cacharcan chaypis <huan> curi huancarantapas
chaopipi churaycuspa yscay huchuylla coca hua
yacallanta hucllayninman choraycucuspa
chaymantari huc purongo ashuallanta aparispa
ancha vtcaspa hamurcan cay purongo ñiscanchictam
conchaconaca lataca ñincu [412] chaysi cay huaca
collquiri ñiscanchicca yna amucta ricuspa an
cha cusicuspa tuylla cay yança ñiscaman cu
timurcan chaysi chay chay muchachon ñiscanchicca

F 103 R

chay huarmicta pusamuspa ñahcam chayanchic
cayllapim ñispas llullaspa pusamurcan [413] chaysi
cay collquiri ñiscanchicca huc callcallo tucuspa chay
<yança> yampilla hanacnin hurcupi suyarcan chay
si ña chayaspa cay huarmica chay callcallucta api
sac ñircan yna apisac ñiptinsi chayman cayman
as aslla pauarispa mana apichicorcancho [414] ynaspas
quipampica apircantac apispas micllaricurcan cayta
apispas chay rataca ñiscanmanta ashuanta sichay
corcan cayta sichaycuptinsi tuylla chay sichascanpi
pu<y>cyo ña tucorcan chay pucyos canancamapas
ratac tupi sutioc [415] chaysi chay callcallo huchaycus
canca chay huarmip vicsan hucopi hatun tucomur
can ancha vicsantapas nanachispa yna captinsi
cayca ymah ñispa ricuptinsi chay pachaman hur
mascampica huc cari alli sumac huamralla ricurir
can chaysi tuylla pana ñocactam huchaycoarcanq(ui)
ymanasonmi ñocam cayachimurcayqui ñispas
ancha misqui siminhuan napaicorcan [416] chaysi huarmi
ri ynatac tuylla enamorarcan payhuan yna caspas
puñorcancu ña puñospas canan cay yança cocha llactan
man pusamurcan chaymantas canan yayanca ma
manca turancunapas ayllonpas maymanmi rircan
ñispa huacaspa cama mascarcancu [417] yna mascaspas
ancha hunaymantarac huc yampilla runa llucaua
sutioc churiquica ancham villcayan ymanpas aycan
pas cosayucmi ñispa villaptinsi tuylla hamurcan
chaysi ña tarispa ymapacmi churita panita suhua
muarcanqui camcho tucoy ynantin llactacunacta
saycuspa mascachihuanqui ñispas ancha piñaspa
cananmi cutichisac ñispa ñircan [418] yna ñiptinsi
yaya huauqui ancha chicantatacmi mana cam yayai
ta villascaymanta anyahuanqui ymactam cos
cayqui huasictacho cayri chacractacho llamactacho
runactacho chauaractacho corictacho collquictacho

F 103 V

yma ymactam munanqui ñispas munachircan [419] y
na munachiptinsi manatac ymallactapas vñir
canchu chaymantas mana vñispa<s> panantaca
cotichisactacmi ñispa ñircan ñiptinsi panan
ca manam cutimancho ñocapas tucoy soncoyhuan
mi cosayacorcani ñispa ñiptinsi [420] chay collquiri
ñiscanchic carica yaya manatacmi huarmita
quichohuanquimancho ñam ari tucoy yma ay
cactapas coscayqui ñispa ñircayqui manacho
huco ricta coyquiman ñiptinsi chay huarmip
turancuna tiascanpi huc runa quipalla tiamuc
rimarican yaya hu ñiijtac ymahc chay huco
ric ñispas allimanta rimanacorcancu [421] chayssi
yuyacnin rimarimuspa allitacmi churi ynatac chu
rita huarmayai chay ñiscayquicta pochocanquitac
ñispallas cotircan [422] chaysi pihcantin ponchaopim
ñatac riconacoson llactayquipi yaya ñispa ñircan
chaysi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca simincama pihc
cantin ponchaopi hucota cama rircan yampillañic
man chaysi ña carota rispa maytah ña rini
ñispas hahuaman llucsita munarcan apar
huayqui chay chimpapi chaysi ñahcca ahuaman
vman quispictintacsi yacoca hahuañicman
fuente yna pacchamorcan [423] chaysi ñatac aslla
antallahuan llutaycuspa hucoñicmantac
cutircan yna hucotacama rispas yampilla
hanacnin sauapi llucsircan chay llucsiscan
pucyos canancamapas chay huarmip sutin
ta capyama ñiscacta apan [424] chay capyama
ñiscanchicmantas ancha ahca yaco llucsispa
tucoy yampillacunap chacranta apayta mu
narcan yma ayca ocan chaquictapas quinhuan
maçarayactapas ymallantapas tucoysi apapurcan
chaysi chay yampillacunaca ancha piñaspa
ymapacmi chay ynacta hu ñimurcanquiya

F 104 R

tuylla cutichicoy ña yachascam canchic yna pisi
yacoyucpas ñispas tucoy runacuna rimarcancu
[425] yna rimaptinsi chay capyamap yayancuna
ca chay quiquin <pucyo> (llactan)manta cayar(can) maça tu
coy runacunam piñapayahuan amatac chica
yacocta cachamuycho vihcay, yao collquiri
chay yacocta vihcaytac ñispas cayarcancu [426] y
na cayaptinsi collquirica titahuanpas yma
huanpas vihcarcan yna vihcaptinsi ñatac
ñatac tunimurcan yaco atipamuspa yna cap
tinsi chay huramantaca vihcay ñispa caya
payamuptinsi ñatac quiquin collquiri
yaicuspa yacollantapas chuquirispa chaopi
pi tiaycorcan [427] yna tiaycuptinracsi asllapas
chaquirircan chay pucyos canan chay collqui
rip yacollanta passamuspa suysusca yna ya
copas llucsimon cayta quirpaicoptinsi hua
quinin pucyocunamantapas chay chay qui
tipica llucsircan ñaupacca manas carcancho
[428] chaymantas canan cay concha llactayoc runa
cunaca yacon chaquiptin ñatac piñayta ca
llarircancu ymapacmi cay yaconchicta cocon
ñocanchicca ymahuanmi causason ñispa
chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchic yaco camayoc
taca yao llacxa misa ymapacmi cay yacocta
chaquichimunqui runaconaca ymahuanmi
causanca ñispas cochaman vischorcan tucoy
conchacona [429] chay pachas collquiri ñiscanchic
huacaca chay ynacta ricuspa chicantacmi pai
cunaca ymahuanmi causanca ñispas ña
tac huc huamranta rapacha sutiocta cama
chircan ñispa cay cochacta aslla chay man
yanmanta vcupi huraman allpacunacta
rumicunactapas vrmachi chaypi hunancha
son cay concha runacunap causancampac
ñispas ñircan [430] chaysi chay rapacha ñiscanchicca

F 104 V

chay cochacta aslla pascaycorcan ña pascasca
captinsi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca tuylla
pircaycorcan hurañicmanta atun pircacta
ruraspa chay pircas canan mana allpayoc
canancamapas cay cochap siminsi [431] pihca pacha
caytas cay llacxa misa ñisca runacta alli hunan
chachircan cayman yaco chayaptinmi cochap
siminta quirpanqui chaymantari cay chica
pachapim ñatac cay yacocta hura chacraman
pusanqui ña ynti sicamuptinmi cay yacoc
ta cacharinqui canan pihca mitallam par
conca añay saracta caypacmi camta cama
chiqui ñispas chay vnanchan rumicunacta
allin ricsichircan [432] yna ricsichictinsi canan
camapas paypac paypac churincunapas tucoy
nin catinacuspa chay costumbrellatac canan
camapas catincu chay cocha tupunan ñincum
runacuna caspictari turca caya ñincutacmi chay
si chay rumisaua yma yna ruranampacpas alli
yachacochisca chayta chayasparaccha alli ñauinchic
huan ricohhuan [433] chaymantas canan conchaco
na ña março quilla chay chaypi chay cochap
siminta vihcaypac llucsin tucoy cari huarmi
cay tupucoy ñiscampacsi cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chica pacham canca ñispa yma ñispapas
hunancharcan paypac simillantas tucoy concha
cunapas y ñispa rircancu [434] caypac yañca cap
tinsi ña mitampica paipac simincamalla
yma ayca camachicoypas carcan ña par
coypacri cananmi canca chica ponchaomi canca
ñispas pailla chayta camachicorcan conchari
simincamallatac tucoypas rurarcancu [435] canan
cocha chaupi tuta pahyamuptinpas ri cam
pac suyoiquim ñispas cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicpac churincunacta mayquin tiaptinpas
carcoc carcan chaylla oficion captinsi pon

F 105 R

chaopas tutapas paicunapas chayllacta cama yu
yarcancu sarampacpas callpaptin runacuna
pas ancha pai captinmi causanchic ñispa man
chaptin [436] chaymantari cay llacxa misa ñis
canchicsi pana churincunapas pactah cay ya
co cochamanta pahyamunman ñispas an
cha cuydadouan huacaycharcan ña ñispa
pachyamuptinsi yansapi cac yaco mayo
man yaicuptinca tuylla caça ataric
yna yaicuptinca caçarcantacsi cayrai
cus alli cuydadohuan huacaycharcan
[437] chaymantari cay ña ñiscanchic yna chay yança
cochacta quirpaipacpas ña yacocta cachamuypac
pas hua(c)çacunaca rircantacsi ychaca cay ña quir
paipacca tucoy ynantin runas llucsircan huarmi
cunari ña chayaspas cocanta çapampi churac
carcan ashuantari çapampitac [438] caycuna churas
cantam cay yança ñiscanchicpas yañacan tu
coyta chasquircan huc llamactari ynatacsi
apac carcan coyconactari tictictapas yma
ayca muchanancunactapas tucoytas aparcan
chaysi ña tucoyta juntayta pochucaspas yllacnin
cunactari tucoytatac quipuspa, chay yancac
ta muchayta callarircan [439] yaya collquiri cam
pam cochayqui<pacta> campactacmi yacoyqui
canan huata allitac yacocta coay ñispas mu
charcan ña muchayta puchocaspas ashuanta vp
yac cocantapas acoc carcan chaymantas cari huar
mi chay cochacta quirpaita callarircan [440] chaymantam
canan ña yaco cachamuna captinri yscay quim
ca huacçacunahuansi viñaylla pihcca mitapas
ric carcan cay ñaupacllas huc runa huarmipas
as atun chacraman yaicocsi ashuacta aton puyño
uan apac carcan coyntari huc yscayllacta cocan
tauan cayconahuan muchaspas yacocta cacha
muc carcan cay chica simictam cay yança ñiscan

F 105 V

chicmanta yachanchic [441] chaymantam canan
yachanchic cay conchaconaca paria caca tutay qui
rip ancha sullca pisi yupai churillansi chaysi cay
pachancunactapas chacrantapas ancha pisillata
tac corcan [442] huacça ñiscanchic paria cacap
chaupi ñamucap mitampipas chancu ñiscacta
pas ymanam checacuna ruran yna
llatacmi paiconapas rurancu chaytaca ñam
ari tucoytapas huaquinin capitulocunapi ri
marcanchic
[443] chaymantam canan yachason cay quimca runa ñis
canchicpac churincunacta chay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicca tucoysi collorcan ña colluypac captinsi
ñaca ñircanchic hina paipac sobrinoncuna
cuno (co)yo ñiscanchicpac huahuancuna yayanri
yaçali sutiocpa churincunactas huarmayarca hua
lla ñiscap churincuna yaoyoñicmanta cotimuspa
[444] cay hualla ñiscan ancha quiparac cay hualla ñiscap churincuna
chicpac churincu m ari lazaro puypu rocçi- [445] chaymantam ca
na lazaro puypu nan pauquir buxi ñiscanchicpac churincuna
roçi chay llacxa mi canan ñau paico chay chaycuna causan, chay
ssa ñiscanchicman mantam canan llama tanya ñiscanchicpac
yaicuptinca mana churincunam canan <casin chauca> ruri cancha casin
ñas hualla ñisca chauca tacya cancha cay quimça yumay ñiscas
ca cancho huc huar cay llama tanya ñiscanchicpac churincuna
millas chaypas ma [446] chaymantari chay hualla ñiscanchictaca ñam
na huachacoc cau ari rimarcanchic lazaro puypu rocçicta chayman
san anya rurip tam calla ñiscanchicpac churincunam
huarmin canan g(onzal)o paucar cassa lazaca canya chay chay
cuna cay chica runam ari miramun pihca runa
<h>yauri llanchamanta amucpac churincuna
cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicpac churincuna
llam ari tucoy collosca cay llacxa misam cani
ñispam ari cay lazaro huallap churincuna
cay oficiocta heredan sanin cascanrayco
cay chicallactam cay conchap cascancunacta ya
chanchic---- FIN

F 108 R

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[447] ñaupa pacha canancamapas tucoy hinantin llactacunapi
may pacham huc runa huc yoriillapi yscayta huachachin
pana cari huarmicta mana ñispari cari puracta mana ñispari
huarmi puracta(pas) caytaca sapampi quipampiracmi villason cay
hina ñisca yuriccunactam curi ñinchin [448] cay hina yurip
tin(mi) may llactapi concayllamanta yuriptinpas chay tutalla
tac llactanman chayachimuc carcan ymanam sucya canchapi
tumnapipas yurinman chayca ñaupa pachaca tuyllatacmi
llacxa tambo ñisca checap llactanman apamuc carcan [449] cayta apa
muspari manatacmi ponchaoca apamuccho carcan pactach<hilan>
pacha casanman ñispa ynataccha tucoy quitipipas musyasca rurancu
chaymantari ña may pacham curi ñisca yurircan chay pacha
llatacmi huc huasi ocupi quimchasca ancha tutayacpi tiayta
huc manyanmanta callarircancu(yayan maman) caripas huarmipas mana cuyurispa asta
esto es de un lado ci pihcca ponchaocama [450] chay pihcca ponchaopim hucman ña ticrac
rispa carcan chay ponchaopitacmi tucoy masancuna chay curip
huasinpi huñonacoc carcan taquispa huancarnintapas
quiquin huactaspa manam canan hinacho huarmicuna
huactac carcan sino caricunam manarac caycunacta
pas taquijta callarispatacmi supayta tapuc carcan(cu)
arañohuampas pana charapi ñiscahuanpas cay masan
cunamanta maycanmi ñaupac taquispa pusarinca [451] < chay>
huaquin chaypi (tiac masan)cunacta chaymi paypac simincama pihcca runacta
hacllaspa señalac carcan(cu) caycunari ña may pacham
huyarircan chay pachallatacmi tutauan punchaohuan
mana samaspa yma aycanta rantichispapas cocacta
mascac carcan<>cu ynatac huaquinin masacunapas
yallinacoyllata yuyaspa ayca runa caspapas tucoynin
huñonacoc carcancu [452] ynaspa ymanam anacpipas hucman
ticrar(can) ñinchic chay punchaomantam tucoy tutancuna ña taquij
ta mana samarcancho asta pihca ponchao chayascancama
manarac chayaptin cayantin ponchaopim masacuna (cara) hua
yacanta ricuchinacuc carcan cayhuanmi caya cocacta apa
risac ñic hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic
carcan(cu) chaymi ña may pacham chay hucman ticrarcan
chaymanta canan huc pihcca ponchaoman huntaycon chay
mi ari chunca ponchao [453] chay pacham ñaupacnintac huc
lluychucta tarucactapas yma ayca animalcunacta

pas

F 108 V

sallcapi cactaca apimuspa chaytam chay pihca runa ñiscanchic
masacuna chaycunap ñaupaquin apaptin pampaman chay cu
ri llocsic carcan [454] hucmi chay caracol (paya) ñiscacta pucospa ric car
es la uara con el la — cancu hucmi pupunacta apaspa ric carcan hucmi sacaya
zo q(ue) coje papaga — ñiscacta apaspatac rircan cay sacaya ñiscaca aslla sara
yos pero co(n) lazo — cutascam carcan aslla tictihuan caytam huc runatac aparcan cay
ni tan largo — cunacta apaccunaca manam masacunacho aparcan sino chay
curip sispa aylloncunam aparcan ychaca chay lloychullactam
masap ña ñisca ñaupaquin aparcan [455] cay lloychucta apimuspa chay
pachallatacmi chay curip qu(e)mchasca huasipi tiascanmanta cha
quinhuan saruchic carcan caymi ña tacurisonqui apllasonq(ui)
y luego lo sacauan — ñispa ynaspam aychantaca tuyllatac tucoy hinantin runa
y matauan — cuna micoc carcancu mana asllactapas puchuspa
[456] chaymantam (canan) ymanam ñacapas ñinchic chay hina ña chon
ca ponchaopi pampaman llocsic carcan quipampi chay curi
cuna huc atun yma pachahuanpas pintusca mana ricurispa
riptinmi runacunaca pana masacunapas yscay quimça aysa
nacuspa huacaspa taquispa ric carcancu cay aysacri chay
curip aylloncunactam aysac carcan aysaspari huc chacrac
ta ymactapas llamactapas cuscayqui ñispam aysanacuc
carcan [457] chaymi pampapi ña chayaspa ymanam canan
la manga de la + — pas mangacta ñaupac proçeçionta rispa apanchic yna
tacmi chay lluychoctapas ancha sumachispa apac carcan
esto es el pellejo — pupunactam canan lansacta yna chayhuan chucasac ñic
y cabeça embutida — yna camaycuspa camaycuspa apac carcan tucoymantapas ñau
de paja porq(ue) ya — pacnin chay camaycuspari curictam quipa amuptin camaycor
la carne era co — can [458] chaymantam canan ña may pacham chay lluycho apac chay
mida como se ha — pi pampapi chayarcan chaymi huc runa huarmipas chay curip
d(ic)ho — aylloncuna huc llamacta pana chacracta cuspapas sama
chic carcan cayhuan samay ñispa ynaspam chay curiri pay
pa tianan vnanchascaman chayaspa yscaynin cosantin
huarmintin tiac carcan ancha alli yupaychasca [459] chay pun
chaupim tucoy hinantin masancuna cocahuan yallinacus
pa taquic opiac carcancu tucoy ponchao chaymi ña chisimanta
ñatac huasinman cutimuspam ñatac chay quiquin tiascanmantac
cutic carcan chaymantam canan ñatac pihca ponchao tiarcan
ña pihcca ponchao huntaycoptinmi ñatac <huc tiana> (aposento)man
asuchic carcan [460] chaymantam ñatac chay quipampi masa
cuna yamtacta ancha atun collo camacta apamuc car

can

F 109 R

ynatac ñaupacninpas may pacham curi yurircan chay
cayantillan caytam ñaupac simipi concarcanchic cay
las yamtacunactari tucoy tutancuna cayta masaspa
q(ue) con esto pacarinca pactach yma huatica ymanpas chayanman
q(ue) ha de estar ñispam cayta (ca)corcan hinatac quipancamapas mana
al principio tacmi huc tutallapas nina huañurcancho [461] cay tucoyta
ña puchucaspam quipampi ñatac chay curicunacta
yayancunactapas chay supayninta tapuspa maypim armachimusac
<ñispa> huchanmanta ñispam pusarcan paypac simin
esto es de donde viene cama yansa cochamantacsi hord(enad)am(en)(de) pusac carcan[462]chay
el agua de los conchas pis canan chay huc runa con churi sutioc supaypa saçer
dotin pachacta tapuc carcan ymamantam curi
yurircan yma ayca huchanmantan ñispas tapor
esto es la opinion del can cay curi yuric runactaca huañuynin rantim
vulgo no la respu yurin ñispas runacuna ñircancu [463] <chaysi> chayssi chayman
esta tam caymantam ñispa yscayninta armachic car
canco ynatac chay yscay huahuacunactapas
ñatac ñatac armachispa asta qui chicallam
huchan ñiscancama yma yna chiripi huañuna
yaptinpas [464] ña caycunacta puchucaspa carictaca
chucchanta rutuc carcan huarmictaca asllacta
carictaca ymanam huchayoccunacta rutunqui
yna chayssi huachay rucoyuc ña cutimuc carcancu
chaymantari huc huallcacta yana yurachuan cay
a manera de cadena chuscactas huallcarichircan curip hunanchaynin
de oro ta [465] cunaspari huc huata enterom sasinque a
matac campas campas pillahuanpas huchallicon
qui huchallicuspaca ancha mana allictam ruran
ni entre ellos quiman casem masanchiccunacta saycuchinqui
man ñispas conaycuc carcan [466] chaymantas ña
patman huata caspa ñatac allichus tian ñis
achcan pa chay saçerdote runatac huaquinin a<n>chca runa
cunahuan tapuc carcan supayninta chaysi alli
captinca ancha cosicorcan <mana alli captinsi>ynaspa pu
q(ue) tuieron coito ñorcantacmi ñiptinsi canan allinta anyac
carcan [467] chay masacunapas anchapuni piñacus
pa ymaraycum ñocanchictaca cassi saycochihuanchic

F 109 V

ñispas anchapuni piñacuc carcancu
chaymantam canan ñatac <huc huata captinca>chay huatap huntascancama yna
tac huaticac carcan chay pacharacsi chay huallcan
taca cuchupuc carcan ynallas puchucarcan
[468] chaymantam ñatac ñaca ñiscanchicta tincuchison
cari pura yuriptinca pana huarmi pura yuriptin
pas manam alli pachacho canca ancha muchoy
pacham canca ñispam ñic carcancu chayman
ta cari huarmi yuriptinmi allipac hunan
charcancu
[469] chaymantari yma chicam canan masacuna
huc pachamantaca cusicon mana ñaupa pa
cha yna chicacta gastaspa huc pachamanta
ri llaquiconcha mana chay hina ruranicho
ñispa supaypac llullayninhuan huaquin llac
tacunapica manataccha concancho [470] tutapas
yma yna pachapas ynatac llama yuriptinpas
sutintari sapamanta yma curim canca ñis
pas supayta tapuc carcan chay supaypa
sutichascanmi curi ñaupapas curi yauripas
curi guamanpas ticlla curipas yma ayca su
ti cacpas curihuan rimaricca yna sapatacssi
caripas huarmipas--[471] chaymantari yma chi
cam runacuna collquiyoc (cananca) ñaupa mana
rac cay alli diospac siminta hunanchaspa
paria cacap mitanpi pana yma aycap
mitanpipas tucoy callpanhuan yma ayca
cascallantapas cocarayco rantichispa collqui
llantari chayraycollatac mascaspa canan
ca pa(na) quimça tahua huata(lla) samaptinpas huac
chacunari tucoy hinantin huatancunapi lla
quicuspa maymantah cocacta tarisac ñispa
ynataccho pincay casac ñispa chacrantapas

F 110 R

pachantapas rantichispa mascarcan chayta
cayta purispa huanacumanpas rispa lloy
chuctapas sasispa mascaspa [472] chayraycu
llatac ynaspa tucoy hinantin yuyascan
tapas supaynintaracmi ñaupac alli sasis
pa maymantam tarisac huanacuancho
cayri chacraytacho pachaytacho huacllichi
sac ymanam casac ñispa tapuspam an
chapuni musyasca trauajopi puric car
canco [473] cananca huc yuyaymanta mana
chicacta yuyaspa manatac ymallanta
pas chayrayco rantichispa anchapunihc
cusicon huc pachamantah chayca ancha
huacan ymaraycohc mana chayta rura
nicho ñispa [474] chaypa mitanpica tutapas y
ma yna pachapas may pachah macoy llen
co chay pacham canca ñispa ñircan chay
pachallatacmi runacuna ancha cusi
cuspa cochocuspa ari machucu(na)pas an
cha chachuaspas tictinta ymantapas apas
pa ric carcancu ñaupa huasipi opianan
captinpas pana caypi cancanpacpas
[475] chaymanta cay llactallapitaccha chaytapas tu
ta ruraspa(pas) aslla huananman hahua llactacuna
pica hinataccha ruran(cu) ñispam yuyanchic
oyarinchicpas

F 112 R

[476] JHS

ata ñispaca huamrap chucchampi parca
yurictam ata ñinchic cay hina yuric
(pel)os se les — tam canan chay huamrap yayancuna
ua pa atras — ña quimça huata captin huñonacoc
huasimpi o canchampi pacsac punchao
manta ñaupac paypac cacancunac
ta o masancunactapas huyarichispa
chay punchaupim cay paria cacap <>
atanta yllanta rutuson ñispa
ylla ñispaca ata ñiscallantatacmi
hunanchanchic [477] chay hina ña tucoy
ta huyarichicuspam ashuacuyta ca
llarincu ashuaconmi media saracta
o huc hanigacta<pas> ñicta huyaris
paca quiquin runacunallatacmi
tapunacuc ymapacmi ashuan ñispa
ña yachaspam canan yma punchao
pich fiesta canca chay punchao tucoy
hinantin runacuna huñonacumuc
[478] ynaspam canan chay <h>atayuc ru
naca masancunahuan tucoy cacan

F 112 V

cunahuampas hu<y>rañicmanta tiaspa
taquicuyta opiachicuyta callaric chay
mi ña may pacham ancha machanco
chay pacham huc fresadacta o titacta
pas mantapuspa chay huamracta cha
upiman yaycuchispa tiachic cay simic
ta rimaspa yayacuna huauquicuna
cay ata yllacta canan punchautac ru
tuson paria cacap chaymanta tutay
quirip atan yllanmi ari paytacmi ari
ñocaman cachamuarca cay hina yu
rincampac ñispam rimaric [479] chay pa
cham chay huamrap<a> sispa cacan cari
captin huarmi captinri paypac ypan
mana ñispari aguelo o aguelanpas sa
yarispa huc llamahuan o chacrahuan
pas huc señalllanta churaspa chay a
tacta tejerahuan camaycuc chay
llama ñiscanchicpac hunanchay

cothuato es cabresto de llama

ninmi canan huc cothuato ñisca
ymahuammi llamacta paria cacaman
pusarca chayhuan [480] chacrap huna<y>nchaynin
tam canan huc caxo ñisca<huan>cta chu
rapuc carcan cay caxo ñiscaca huc cas
pillam huarmip allacunallan chay
mantam huaquinin sispa yahuar ma
sincunam yacullahuanpas cusmahuan(pas)

F 113 R

ouejahuanpas o millhuahuanpas
cascancama ofrecicuc sapampi
sayarispa [481] chaymantam ña may
pachah sispa yahuar masin puchu
can chay pacham curaca o alcal
de culla(na)mantapas sayarispa ys
cay<> rreal o huc rrealtapas chu
raspa sayarimuc hasta puchucas
cancama caycuna astahuan ma
chanca machaspari manam ari y
mallantapas michacuncacho ñispam
ancha hupyachic ña pacha huraycus
cancama [482] chay pacham canan ña
tucoy<> rutucoyta puchocaptin ya
yan chay churinta tucoy rutuc porq(ue)
runacunaca llamcayllam llamcac
ña puchocaspari tuyllam taquicuy
ta callaric machoncunap sutinta
rimarispa yaya anchi puma o carhua
chachapa o yma yma ñispapas cam
pa atayquim yllayquim canan
ca ñam puchocarcani cananman
taca ama ñatac paria caca cacha
muchoncho allitac casac ñispam
taquicuc haucacuc

F 113 V

[483] cay ata ñispaca ylla ñispapas
paria cacap cachanmi ñispas
esto es runacuna hunanchancu cay
la noche antes ta rutuypacri cayantin chisis an
de el dia d(ic)ho cha manchaspa coynhuan tictin
huan ymanhuampas pari cacacta
tutay quiricta muchac allichahuay
tac cay atahuan caya puncahuri an
cha cusiyuctac casac ñispa [484] paycuna
hunanchaptinca curip señalninsi
curi hamuypacsi cay atacta cacha
mun mana alli paria cacaman hu
chanta yuyaycuptin huañonan ran
ti curi yurinca ñispa curi yuricta
ca huañonan rantin yurin ñicmi
ari cay checallatam cay san damian
checa ñiscamanta yachanchic
[485] chaymantari huaquinin llactacuna
piri yma ñispah rimancu ycha
ca ata yuriptinca ynallatac
mi tucoypas cay tucoy corregemiento
pica yupaychancu tucoy may quitipi
pas huancapas yauyopas huaman
tancapas yma runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca

F 114 R

chaymantari ahcca runa ancha co
llanan yanacuna cacpas [486] ynatacmi
limacpi pip churin ata captinpas
huñonacuc chaymanta mestiço
cactapas yachanchictacmi huaqui
nincunacta caytaca ychapas chay
yna alli causana ñispatacmi hua
quinin runacunapas huchaman
chayaycurcancu - chaycunacta ricus
pa ynaspari cay quimça huata
mantam rutuna ñispa ñircanchic
chaytaca yachacuscancamam ñau
pacpas o quipampas rurarcancu
cay chicallam checa simica

Glossary of Untranslated Words

The following entries correspond to the non-English words italicized in the translation. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Definitions are given where feasible.

alcalde (Spanish): colonial village official (95, 173, 481)
allauca: group name, possibly implying righthand part (moiety?) of a village (157)
añay: a kind of maize (431)
ata: baby with abnormal hair, taken to be a messenger of Paria Caca (476, 478–480, 482–486)
auqui: in this context, untranslated; possibly a ritual ornament or vessel (283)
ayllu: social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies (46, 91, 118, 160, 187, 216, 218, 224, 234–237, 240, 243, 282, 309, 316, 330, 331, 333, 354, 357, 369, 385, 388 [title])
bolas (Spanish): hunting weapon made of stones connected by thongs, which entangle prey's legs when thrown (98, 350)
callcallo: untranslated; grasshopper? (413, 415)
canah yauri: lance? belonging to a mummy-*huaca* (320)
cancho: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caqui: toucan? (207)
casira: unidentified type of straw (327)
cassa: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caullama: class of *huaca*s guaranteeing fertility of livestock (329)
caxo: women's digging tool (480)
chicsi rampa: litter belonging to Inca (289, 294)
choqui (Jaqi): gold (283)
chumprucu: turban for ritual wear (240, 294)
chupa: a kind of straw (327)
chuta: large target effigy at which lancers threw spears in the Machua festival rites (330, 331, 333, 335, 338, 404)
cori cacya: seashell-shaped insignia of a mummy-*huaca* (320)
corregimiento (Spanish): administrative district of a *corregidor* or Spanish governor of natives (485)
cot huato: llama harness (479)
curaca: a native political lord or noble (86, 101, 173, 174, 176, 231, 244, 245, 296, 317, 481)
curi: twins, considered messengers from Paria Caca (447, 449, 450, 453–462, 464, 470, 484)
doctrina (Spanish): elementary text of Christian doctrine, to be memorized by Indians; also, a parish of Indians (253)
fanega (Spanish): bulk measure equaling about 1.6 bushels or 58 liters (477)
huaca: a superhuman person; any place, object, image (etc.) embodying a superhuman person (3, 6–8, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 28, 92, 145, 146, 172, 178–180, 182, 183–185, 189, 225, 235–239, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 265, 272, 273, 277, 279, 283, 285 [title], 287–289, 293, 301, 317, 318, 319, 325, 336, 347, 370, 378, 379, 407, 408, 412, 429)
huachay ruco: ceremonial garment probably associated with birth; possible synonym of *huaychao* (464)
huacsa: person appointed to a term of priestly duties that included dancing a reenactment of a *huaca*'s life (117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 126, 131, 132, 135, 149, 150, 159, 160, 162, 183, 213, 220, 245, 297, 300, 346, 347, 385, 386, 405, 437, 440, 442)
huana paya: conch trumpet for use in ceremony; possible synonym of *paya* (325, 337, 340)
huancoy: worm or larva; maggot? (368)
huaychao: a ceremonial garment (240)
huayo: human trophy mask made from flayed face (321, 322, 323, 404)
hugi: untranslated; a dangerous animal that Huallallo Caruincho turned loose to afflict Paria Caca (214, 215)
illa: amulet (or) magical person, such as twins (134, 476, 478, 482, 483)
JHS (Latinized Greek): monogram containing the first three Greek letters of the name Jesus, variously interpreted (476)
lataca: a kind of jar associated with the Concha (411)
llacsa anapalla: fly, perhaps bluebottle (367)
llacsa yacolla: stone helmet (394, 396)
llaullaya: untranslated; agricultural tool? garment? (271)
lúcuma: *Lucuma bifera*, a fruit tree (11)
maca: an edible tuber, probably *Lepidium meyenii* (162)
muro: colored, possibly hard and/or spotted maize (43, 53)

oca: an edible tuber, *Oxalis tuberosa* (424)
padre (Spanish): father; Catholic priest (95, 258)
pana charapi: untranslated; object used in divining with spiders (450)
paya: conch trumpet used in ceremony; *see also* huana paya (454)
pupuna: a device for catching birds, made of a reed or cane with a loop or thong (9, 454, 457)
pusuca: untranslated; an insignia of Maca Uisa (294)
puypu: macaw-wing ornament (131, 333)
quinua: edible grain, *Chenopodium quinua* (302, 303, 389, 424)
quipu: mnemonic device made of knotted cords (283, 438)
quisay rinri: ornamental earspool(?) worn by a mummy-*huaca* (320)
quishuar: a tree, *Buddleia*, used to make ritual enclosures (92)
real (Spanish): Spanish coin, one-eighth of a common *peso* (262, 481)
reducción (Spanish): Spanish-style village into which natives were forcibly resettled, especially c. 1570–1590 (244)
riti: snow (63)
sacaya: sacrifice for *huaca*s made of ground maize mixed with *ticti* or thick maize beer (454)
Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ (Latin): Catholic prayer to Saint Mary (256)
tamta: feather ruff (328)
taruca: a deer, *Hippocamelus antisiensis* (453)
ticti: sacrificial food made of thick maize beer residue (91, 99, 138, 170, 281, 337, 387, 438, 454, 474, 483)
tipsi: ? (283)
urpu: ? (283)
vichoc: left-hand part (moiety?) of a village (157, 337)
vihco: spear(?) used in the rite of spearing *chuta* effigies (328)
villca: high-ranking *huaca* or *huaca* priest (10, 13, 14, 43, 45, 154, 289)
visa: untranslated (shield?); insignia of Chuta Cara (324)
yanca: *huaca* priest by hereditary title (118, 120, 121, 129, 130, 148, 165, 218, 219, 238, 331–333, 335, 339, 403, 434, 438)

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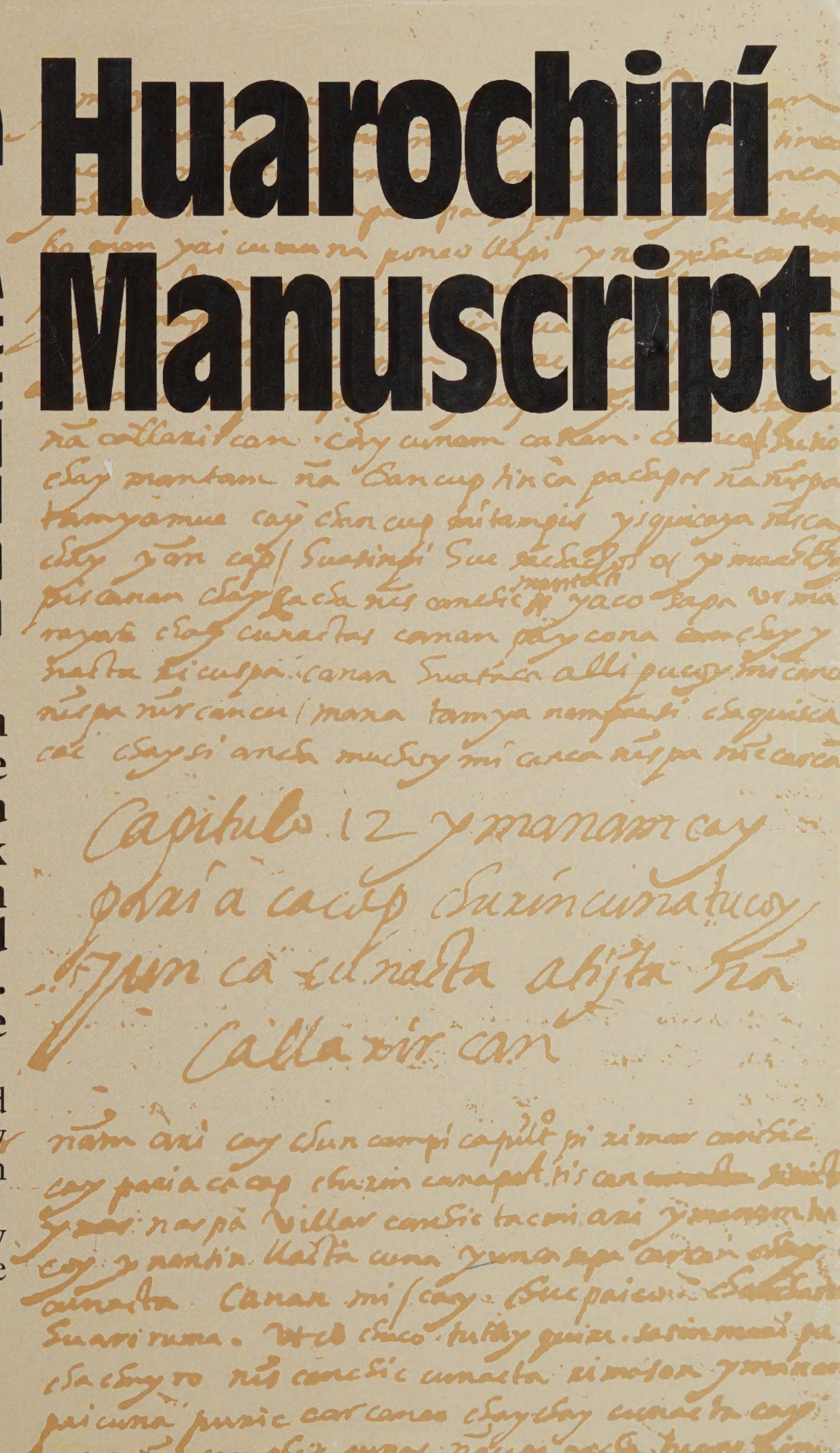
The Huarochirí Manuscript

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

Translation from the Quechua by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste

Annotations and Introductory Essay by Frank Salomon

Transcription by George L. Urioste



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—Joseph W. Bastien, professor of anthropology, University of Texas at Arlington

One of the great repositories of a people's world view and religious beliefs, the Huarochirí Manuscript may bear comparison with such civilization-defining works as *Gilgamesh,* the *Popul Vuh,* and the Sagas. This untitled, undated, and anonymous manuscript, preserved in Spain's Biblioteca Nacional, is the only known colonial Andean book of myth, belief, and ritual written in the Quechua language. This translation by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste marks the first time the Huarochirí Manuscript has been translated into English, making it available to English-speaking students of Andean culture and world mythology and religions.

The Huarochirí Manuscript holds a summation of native Andean religious tradition and an image of the superhuman and human world as imagined around A.D. 1600. The tellers were provincial Indians dwelling on the west Andean slopes near Lima, Peru, aware of the Incas but rooted in peasant, rather than imperial, culture. The manuscript is thought to have been compiled at the behest of Father Francisco de Avila, the notorious "extirpator of idolatries." Yet it expresses Andean religious ideas largely from within Andean categories of thought, making it an unparalleled source for the prehispanic and early colonial myths, ritual practices, and historic self-image of the native Andeans. In the words of the great Quechua-Spanish poet José María Arguedas, it lets us "witness the deeds of those who believed in the ancient gods, look into their faces, and feel what stirred inside them."

Prepared especially for the general reader, this edition of the Huarochirí Manuscript contains an introduction, index, and notes designed to help the novice understand the culture and history of the Huarochirí-area society. For the benefit of specialist readers, the Quechua text is also supplied.

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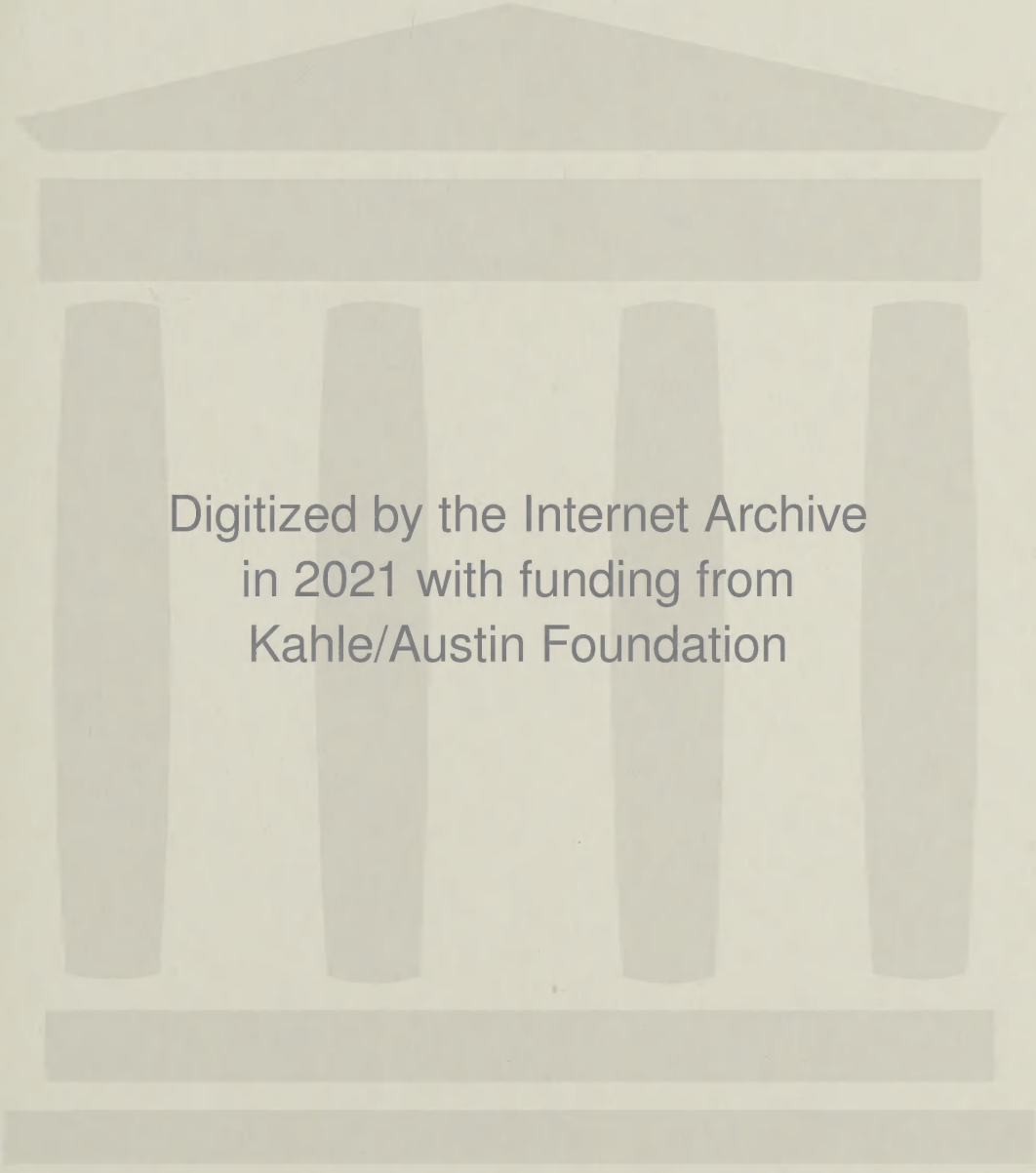

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THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

y mayna runa cunapas tucoy ni llan as vanuan
suyac carcan chay mi ña chay man chaya mup tinca
ancha say cos cam amun ñis pa as vavan yanca
y chaspa runa sauapas pacha pipas chay llac satam
bo man yai cumu na poneo llapi y na ychac carcan
paicuna vra manta amue cunam as lla ay chata
paicunap puy ñon pa simin saua churapue carca
cay taña pucho caspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runa cuna pam papi tiay cospa ayño ñis cataquita
ña callarir can cay cunam canan. chanco/ suhoc
chay mantam ña chancup tinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamue cay chancup mitampis ysquicaya ñisca
chay yan cap/ huasinpi hue sachachos o/ y mach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñis canchic mantalli yaco sapa vrma
rayas chay cunactas canan pay cona ~~can~~ chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca alli pucoy mi canca
ñispa ñir cancu/ mana tamya nampac si chaquisca
cac chay si ancha muchoy mi canca ñispa ñic carca cu

Capitulo 12 y manam cay paria cacap churincunatucoy yunca cunacta atijta ña callarir can

v ñam ari cay chun campi capitº pi rimar canchic
cay paria cacap churin cunapat tis can ~~cunacta~~ simicta
y ~~nas~~ naspa villar canchic tac mi ari y manam tu
coy y nantin llacta cuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta canan mi/ cay. chuc paico. chancharuna
huari ruma. vt co chuco tutay quire. sasin mari pa
cha chuy ro ñis canchic cunacta rimason y manam
paicuna puric carcaneo chay chay cunacta cay
cuna ñis canchic cunas ñaupa pacha tucoy ñin

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion

Translation from the Quechua by
FRANK SALOMON and GEORGE L. URIOSTE

Annotations and Introductory Essay by
FRANK SALOMON

Transcription by
GEORGE L. URIOSTE

University of Texas Press, Austin

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To our kids
Abraham, Malka, Susanna

tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic
we are all of one birth

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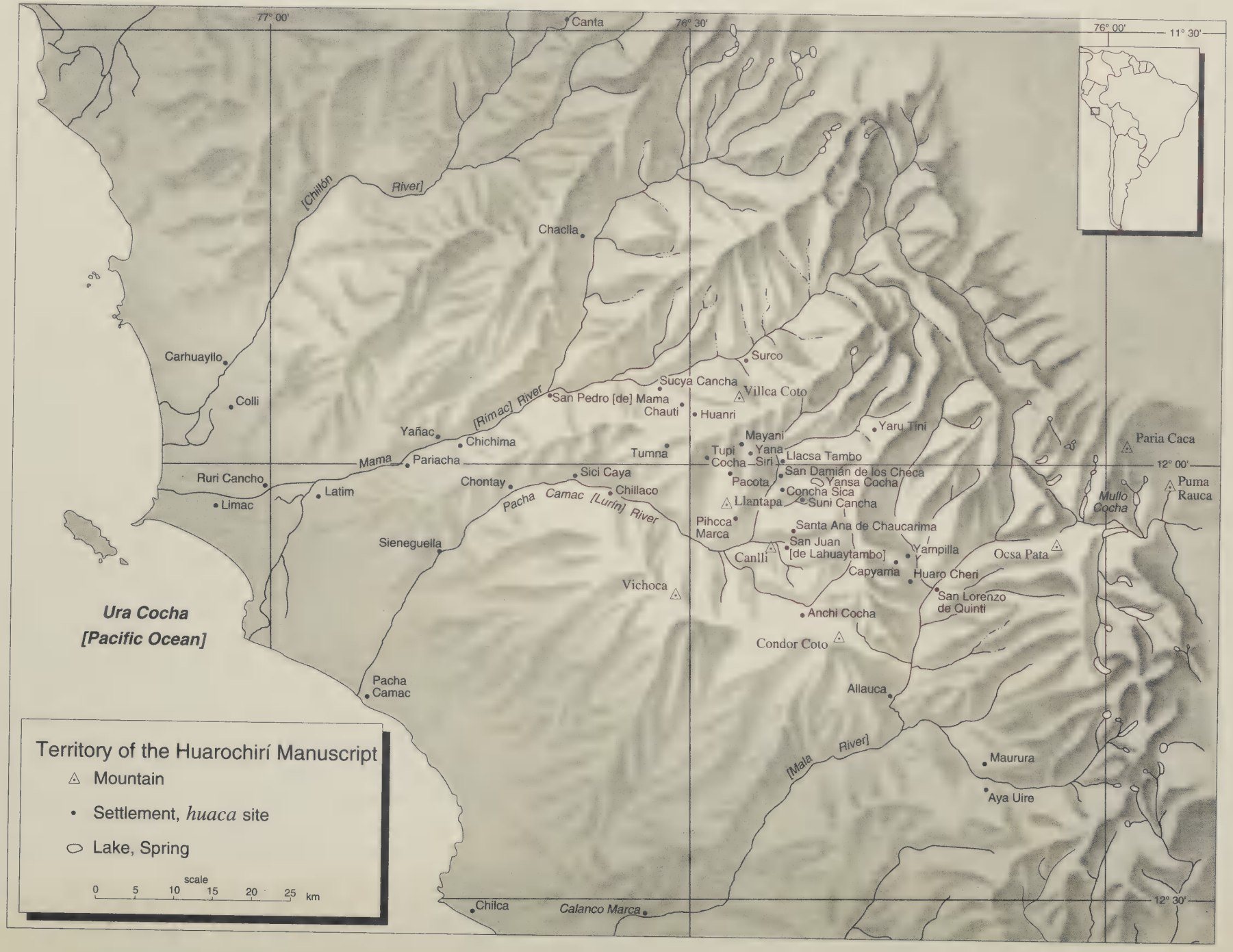
THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT


77° 00'
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Canta
[Chillón River]
Chaclla
Carhuayllo
Colli
Surco
Sucya Cancha
Villca Coto
San Pedro [de] Mama
Chauti
Huanri
[Rímac] River
Yañac
Chichima
Mayani
Yaru Tini
Paria Caca
Tupi
Yana
Cocha
Siri
Llacsa Tambo
Tumna
Mama
Pariacha
San Damián de los Checa
Yansa Cocha
Ruri Cancho
Sici Caya
Chontay
Pacota
Puma Rauca
Concha Sica
Latim
Chillaco
Mullo Cocha
Limac
Llantapa
Suni Cancha
Pacha Camac [Lurín] River
Pihcca Marca
Santa Ana de Chaucarima
Sieneguella
San Juan [de Lahuaytambo]
Yampilla
Ocsa Pata
Canlli
Capyama
Huaro Cheri
Vichoca
San Lorenzo de Quinti
Ura Cocha [Pacific Ocean]
Anchi Cocha
Condor Coto
Pacha Camac
Allauca
[Mala River]
Maurura
Aya Uire
Chilca
Calanco Marca
Territory of the Huarochirí Manuscript
Mountain
Settlement, huaca site
Lake, Spring
scale
0 5 10 15 20 25 km

Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript

Frank Salomon

The manuscript as testament

The Huarochirí manuscript alone of all colonial sources records a prehispanic religious tradition of the Andes in an Andean language. It tells us of a remote age when cannibal deities preyed on otherwise immortal humans, of the mountain deity Paria Caca who emerged to expel the fire deities of antiquity, of the human groups that traced their victories from Paria Caca's five simultaneous avatars, of Paria Caca's brotherhood with the fivefold female power Chaupi Ñamca, and of the society ritually organized in their names around a grand complementarity of male and female superhumans. It unfolds the splendor of ceremonies that prehispanic priests devoted to a landscape alive with the diverse sacred beings called *huaca*s. It recalls memories of Inca rule and of how unknown invaders, the Spanish, brought new gods to displace the children of Paria Caca and of Chaupi Ñamca. Nothing else in all the sources from which we seek the Andean "vision of the vanquished" (Wachtel 1971) rivals it for immediacy, strangeness, and beauty.

But the voices we hear in its pages do not relay to us a verbatim record of what was said and believed before the Spanish invasion. It is true that when Father Francisco de Avila reworked part of the same or similar testimony to make his 1608 *Treatise on the False Gods . . .* (hereafter referred to as *Tratado*), he judged that the narrative "does not refer to the present but to history" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 198). Yet the way people recalled their ancient tradition and the occasion of their recalling it were themselves facets of a colonial situation the tellers had already endured throughout their whole lives. The telling could not but be influenced by the seventy preceding years of colonial turbulence, during which one potent innovation was the art of writing itself. Andean peoples used no writing before the Spanish "Vira Cochas" arrived. So the process of capturing their culture as text in the alphabet of the padres and bureaucrats was inextricably bound up with forced conversion and persecution, even when the actual authors were themselves Andean and the actual narrators at least partly faithful to the old *huaca*s.

The manuscript is a complex composite testimony of these changes as well as a compendium of ancient memories. The research it contains was apparently sponsored by a clerical persecutor, Father Francisco de Avila, who seems to have used it as secret intelligence for his assault on American deities from 1608 onward. The text does contain opportune denunciations of "idols" (as the Spanish called the sacred beings of the Andes) and of those who steadfastly fed and served them in secret long after official conversion. Yet at least one of the actual makers of the text seems to have thought of the task as one of historical remembrance. The untitled preface to the manuscript looks to a future in which the ancient deities would be remembered with pride, promising a monument of Andean greatness to match Spanish chronicles:

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now.
>
> As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be.
>
> But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,
>
> I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather;

> What faith they held, how they live until now, those things and more.
>
> Village by village it will all be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

One gets a strong impression that the creator of these lines was engaged in reconceptualizing the Andean mythic tradition rather than destroying its memory.

The exact process of composition is unknown, but this passage differs from the wholeheartedly anti-Andean viewpoint that Avila expressed in other writings. It may contain the words of a native writer or editor to whom Avila gave some leeway in compiling the text. A measure of unselfconscious candor would have increased its intelligence value. Whether or not he was present at its composition, Avila did read and annotate at least part of it; his devastating subsequent attacks on the deities mentioned suggest that the stratagem of leaving the witnesses some freedom of expression succeeded. But the text's partly intra-Andean genesis also had a paradoxical long-term effect: because it was composed in relative independence from Spanish preconceptions about native religion, it has in the end provided a uniquely authentic monument of the very beliefs Avila meant to destroy.

Whoever composed the untitled preface thought of the manuscript as a totalizing book about inherited tradition, custom, and lifeways that would give Andean memory, like Spanish literate memory, immortal visibility. The usual genre term by which the text identifies the separately remembered and narrated traditions could hardly be more oral; it is *simi*, which the greatest Quechua lexicographer of the age glossed as "mouth, language, commandment, law, mouthful, news, the word and its answer" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 326). Clearly the testimonies are products of a culture in which orality encompassed the weightiest functions of language. But the book is not conceived simply as a body of speech on paper. It partakes of the assumption that written language, and specifically book language, should subsume and subordinate orality. The conception of a totalizing book that underlies the manuscript seems to be influenced at one or more levels by the Hebrew or Old Testament Bible and to some extent by the New Testament. Of course, few Indians studied the Vulgate. But the Huarochirí area had been missionized with special intensity by Jesuits in 1570–1571, with the conscious intent of popularizing Christian lore in Quechua. In the late sixteenth century, both officially promulgated catechetical summaries and popularized summaries of Bible stories called *historias sagradas* were widely read by or read to laypeople. Literate Indians c. 1600 usually knew traditions from both Hebrew antiquity and the New Testament through publications of the Third Council of Lima. Those who had access to churchmen's libraries or discussions could learn much more.

Although the manifest content of the manuscript only rarely syncretizes biblical material with Andean, the text as a whole has an "astonishingly Biblical" overall architecture (Turner 1988: 249). Like the Bible, the manuscript begins with myths that contrast the human condition with an imagined alternative, a time when the relations between humans and deity were radically different (chaps. 1, 2). A flood myth (chap. 3) signals the end of this era. Like the Bible, the manuscript pictures antiquity as the story of hero-ancestors who share a common descent and a covenantlike relation to an ethnic deity (including an episode resembling Abraham's averted sacrifice of Isaac; chap. 8, secs. 99–103). Its collective subject is a set of groups, each of which considered itself the progeny of a focalized ancestor. As with the biblical tribes, these groups relate to each other, at least in ideology, approximately as a phratry. As in the biblical redactions, their disparate traditions of origin and separate cults have been welded *ex post facto* onto the unifying argument of kinship and imperfectly articulated with apical priestly cults. Their story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape; many of its myths encode political struggles with surrounding peoples and even internecine struggles as mythic combats with superhuman intervention. Also like the Bible, the manuscript is greatly concerned with the relation between the local *sacra* and the leaders and priests of immense invading empires—first the Inca, later the Spanish. The manuscript shares the biblical tendency to accrete genre within genre. Texts about priesthood, sacrifice, ritual law, and prophecy jostle with vernacular myth, claims concerning land and water, and mythicized remembrance of historic events. Bits of oracular response, religious formulas, and perhaps songs have become embedded in the text, too. And finally, as in the Bible, particularly the Deuteronomic books and later prophets, one clearly senses the pressure of contemporary political defeat on religious testimony.

We do not know all the reasons for the resemblances. One possibility is that Father Avila imposed European opinions on the text itself or indirectly on others who processed it (for example, by

preparing a questionnaire or by overseeing the editing). Much European opinion of the time held that pagan myths, Andean ones included, reflected ancient traces of "true" (that is, biblical) religious and historical knowledge, which Satan's deceptions had distorted in intervening centuries. The tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with "universal history" and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 206–208). The person who arranged or edited the myths expressed frustration at the difficulty of arranging episodes into one scheme of chronology (e.g., chap. 14, sec. 189; chap. 15, sec. 199), a step required for correlation with Bible-centered history. This literal-minded historicist reading of myth, which seems misleading to modern readers, was then thought to be a correct way of restoring American data to their "true" place in a unified world scheme of salvation history.

But above and beyond this exogenous process, the myths themselves seem Bible-like in their style of mythifying. Like the biblical writers, and unlike some myth-tellers from more "tribal" Amazonian societies, the Huarochirí narrators tend to intertwine mythic (miraculous) processes with social causation, rather than locating them in a primordial age before the world began to be as it is. Perhaps the likeness is multilayered or overdetermined: it may result in part from intra-Andean facts distinguishable from the European influences that also affected it. Such forms of synthesis may arise endogenously in societies of a certain scale, setting, and organizational form. Terence Turner (1988) offers a complex argument that a generically rather than locally biblical type of mythology occurs in societies whose status is intermediate between autonomy and complete subsumption in larger states; certainly this was the condition of Huarochirí-area societies for many centuries before the European invasion.

There is a third possibility for explaining the biblical parallel. After seven decades of exposure to European culture, Andean people had consciously or unconsciously gone far in reconceptualizing their mythology as a systematic response to imposed belief. By 1600 this reconceptualization seems to have coalesced into a distinctive ideology. Andean literati of the first generation born after conquest—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua—were not simple nativists; they partook of a Renaissance consensus in arguing that Andean people had already passed through ages of antiquity strictly parallel to those of pre-Christian biblical antiquity. But they dissented from the Spanish in their evaluation of the Andean achievement as a part of it. Where writers like Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha saw in Andean myth only a deteriorated and diabolically confused memory of original connections with biblical humanity, and therefore a culture worthy of being forgotten, some native intellectuals believed their history and its memory to be not only parallel with that of the Spanish, but equal in value. The theories of these bicultural "native chroniclers" shored up waning hopes of Andean privilege under Christian rule and appear characteristic of Andean natives descended from noble families but deprived of colonial power. Although we do not know the identity of the person(s) who selected the oral material for inclusion and/or wrote the ethnographic and editorial material in the manuscript, the final redaction of the text does seem to partake of this mentality.

And what of those who actually told the myths to the book creators? What revisions of religious thought had occurred among less bicultural natives during these decades? It is important to remember that by the date when the manuscript was written the cults of the *huacas* had coexisted with Christianity for a whole lifetime. If *huaca* priests had retained the loyalty of people officially bound to Christianity, it was in all likelihood because they had succeeded, under the adverse conditions of clandestinity and church hegemony, in presenting *huaca* religion as comparable in cogency with the church's teachings. It is possible that by 1600 local thinkers and perhaps priests had been engaged (consciously or not) in remobilizing and reconceptualizing the inheritance of *huaca* religion so as to construe it as *a religion*, a "faith" (as the preface to the manuscript says, using the Spanish word) whose overall claims and dimensions could bear comparison with those of the imposed church. It is not beyond possibility that the welding of the Andean deities into a unified kindred partook of post-1532 efforts. Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society, and a tendency to express "moral economy" norms in terms of prophetic action. As has been suggested, it is likely that any or all of these may be overdetermined facts, arising from preexisting, and now remobilized, prototypes in aboriginal culture as well as

from European models. Perhaps there would have been an Andean story like the rescue of Isaac even if Spaniards had never invaded. Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic not to consider apologetic processes arising in *huaca* priests' efforts to match Catholic priests in the breadth of their claims while at the same time maintaining distinctness from Catholicism. The importance of such interactive processes in sustaining *huaca* religion is attested by Father Avila's remark that the *huaca* cults thrived most not in the areas where they had remained unmolested, but in the villages where Catholic priests had been most zealous (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 205).

Despite the importance of all these factors, in the end nothing could be more wrong than to think of the manuscript as merely an Andean counter-Bible. For one thing, obviously, the mythic material overall is radically foreign to Europe; few books in the world give the Western reader such a powerful sense of encountering a cultural unknown. Another and more fundamental reason is that the structuring of myth—the formal architecture of event and process that gives each story internal regularity and resolution—owes everything to Andean patterns and resembles biblical ones little if at all. The dominant model in the stories is that of passage from mere difference (for example, the juxtaposition of antagonistic deities strange to each other) to complementary difference (for example, a revised juxtaposition in which the deities become male and female spouses or siblings embodying opposite ecological principles). This pattern occurs at the greatest and smallest levels of the mythology, in domains from the cults of apical deities Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca to the household relationship between in-laws. To imagine this pattern consistently applied to the battles of biblical Adonai is difficult. Comparison with non-Andean South American material (a task scarcely begun) may offer another path to the isolation of underlying prehispanic content. R. Tom Zuidema (1977: 44–47) argues that some Huarochirí myths share specific structures with a myth of the Brazilian Bororo, presumably because the two mythologies share roots much older than Spanish domination.

Andean religion and "Inca religion"

Much of what is published (especially in English) about prehispanic and colonial Andean religion treats the terms "Inca" and "Andean" as near synonyms. Vira Cocha, popularized as the invisible "creator god of the Incas" (Demarest 1981; Pease 1986; Rowe 1960; Szemiński 1985b; Urbano 1981) fascinated colonial Spaniards who thought they detected in him a possible intuition via "natural religion" (MacCormack 1985) of Christendom's supreme deity. This idea still absorbs modern scholars captivated by the sophistication of Tawantinsuyu, the Inca Empire. The Incas partly persuaded non-Inca Andean people, too. As we learn from chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, the Incas tried to reorganize local cults into a hierarchy capped by Inca numina, and partly succeeded. Indeed, their persuasions lasted longer than their sovereignty. By the mid-colonial era, when Inca rule had receded into the golden mists of ideological nostalgia, many Peruvian Indians themselves came to recall the deified Sun and his incarnation the Inca god-king as compelling symbols of native identity and native glory (Flores Galindo 1987).

But in order to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript one must appreciate that the equation between Inca religion and Andean religion is an ideological sleight. The invisible Vira Cocha relates to Andean religious life somewhat as the Prime Mover Unmoved does to Mediterranean saint cults. At the summit of priestly and imperial society, prayers like Pachacuti Yamqui's stirring Inca invocations ([1613] 1968: 287–288, 292, 294) to the unseen source of order and beauty may have voiced metaphysical questions that we define as preeminently religious. But the religious life of most of the people who made up Tawantinsuyu's innumerable subject "nations" had little to do with abstract or universalizing expressions. Worship usually focused on sacred beings peculiar to particular kin groups, villages, mountains, canals, and so forth. In fact, religious particularism, expressed in terms of place and descent, lies at the heart of much Andean myth. No doubt discourse of this sort can embody philosophical concerns, no less readily than overtly metaphysical expressions do. But the content is only available by a route that leads through the study of what particular places or mummies (etc.) meant.

This village-based, particularistic version of Andean religious thinking saturates the Huarochirí text. The world that the Huarochirí myth-tellers imagined was structured in terms of grass-roots geography and of genealogy—*their* pastures and valley lands, *their* mythicized family tree. The unity of the text, such as it is, is achieved by an attempt (perhaps on the part of the priests called *yanca*s) to locate the historically diverse *huaca*s and their cults in Paria Caca's and Chaupi Ñamca's regional hierarchy and genealogy. Other traditions—the

lordly priesthood of the Incas, the onset of Catholicism—are seen through the filter of such local and regional concerns. For long stretches the viewpoint belongs to one group, one collective ego: a group called the Checa, devotees of the ceremonial center Llacsa Tambo, resident (at least nominally) in and around the Spanish resettlement village of San Damián, who considered themselves children of Paria Caca while retaining origin myths apparently separate from his cult (chap. 24). Some of the ritual complexes and myths attached to local features—especially to springs, lakes, and canals—have survived with great vitality into modern times and have been studied by ethnographers (Gelles 1984; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977). For example, the modern descendants of the Concha, who live in an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa, still maintain today both the myth and the ritual attached to the lake that feeds their irrigation canals (see chap. 31).

The durability of these myths reflects the Huarochirí people's tenacious attachment to the local resources on which they depend. But it is possible after all to exaggerate the local quality of the myths. Paria Caca was not uniquely the deity of the peoples who speak here; he and his sanctuary were renowned throughout a wide swath of the central and southern Andes. It is likely that, when worshipers from Llacsa Tambo went on pilgrimage to him, they met worshipers from many other places and that their own practice had something in common with that of different kinds of "people called Indians." The same applies to the great coastal shrine Pacha Camac and to Cuni Raya, sometimes called Vira Cocha. Even when the names, episodes, and personalities seem peculiar to Huarochirí, the tellers' general religious concepts (e.g., classes of shrines, types of action attributed to deities and heroes, duties of humans to *huacas*) are shared among a wider spectrum of Andean societies, including, for example, groups in the Arequipa and Cuzco areas. In these limited senses, while it is mistaken to take the Huarochirí myths as expressions of a pan-Andean religion, one may take them as representative of broader Andean cultural premises and tendencies that are manifest even in apical Inca cults. The sharing of underlying concepts makes possible ethnographic comparison with societies beyond the bounds of Huarochirí Province, both as seen in past times (for example, via the "extirpation of idolatry" trials that postdate the manuscript; see Duviols 1986) and as witnessed by modern ethnographers (see, for example, Valderrama and Escalante 1988, who have studied in distant Arequipa a complex resembling the water cults in chapter 31).

General outline of the Huarochirí manuscript

The Huarochirí manuscript appears not to be the product of polished editing, but neither is it a jumble. With the possible exception of the two unnumbered chapters here called supplements I and II, it seems to be a fair copy edited and in the process of further editing for coherence as a unified narrative. The unification is, however, in many respects incomplete and imperfect. The editor's original intent seems to have been to treat ancient matters earlier in the text and recent ones later, but sometimes when turning to a new source (e.g., at the beginnings of chaps. 13, 24, and 31) he is forced to return to a different origin story. Recollections of past ritual practice and interpolated bits of current ethnographic observation further complicate the text by introducing into many narrations, with specious smoothness, references to times other than the time of the main narrated story. Moreover, the manuscript is full of second thoughts (cross-outs and interlineations, marginalia), tangents, overlaps, cross-references, marginal queries (probably by Father Avila), and cryptic allusions. For all these reasons, to appreciate the coherence of a theme one often must pull together partial accounts from disparate chapters. For this purpose the index supplied by the translators may be useful.

Early times and peoples

The preface (untitled in the original) promises to tell the achievements and beliefs of "the people called Indians" from their "dawning age" up to the present, village by village.

The first chapter sketches the world as it was before the present human race appeared. People lived forever (after a five-day temporary death), at the price of sacrificing half their children to the fire-monster Huallallo Caruincho. At that time, too, the subtropical abundance of the lower valleys extended far up into the heights. This whole rich and cruel world order would be destroyed with the advent of Huarochirí's great deity Paria Caca.

Huallallo's dominion is grouped with other stories of remote antiquity: chapter 2 tells how the Trickster-demiurge Cuni Raya, who "almost matches" the figure of Vira Cocha, passed through the landscape and through the lives of the female deities he seduced. In a Christian-influenced interlude (chap. 15), Cuni Raya, as Vira Cocha, is credited, almost parenthetically, with originally creating nature in an empty universe. Chapter 3, telling the myth of the deluge, and chapter 4, telling of the

Sun's disappearance, end the section dedicated to remote antiquity.

The Paria Caca cycle and the myths of group identity

The mythic cycle that forms the unifying core of the text tells the apparition of Paria Caca (chap. 1, sec. 6; chap. 5, secs. 72–73), the fivefold deity who symbolized inclusive ethnic unity among the tellers' various residential and kinship groups. Like many great Andean deities, he is a mountain, a majestic double-peaked snowcap visible on the eastward horizon from the heights of Huarochirí. Many groups venerated him. We hear most about the Checa who gathered at Llacsa Tambo, but chapter 13 concentrates on a relatively distant cluster of villages, the Mama region in the lower Rímac valley. Chapter 30 is a myth of the Allauca, and chapter 31 copiously recounts the viewpoint of the Checa's neighbors, the Concha.

Paria Caca first appeared as five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of the human groups who appear as the main collective protagonists. These groups are sometimes spoken of in ways suggesting clanlike or sib-like qualities and together, within Paria Caca's cultic organization, are seen as a phratrylike collectivity of groups who "all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). But before calling them clans one should be careful to note that the text uses no term clearly translatable as 'clan' and that, although the manuscript uses the unilineal idiom for certain limited purposes, other principles of descent, marriage, and residence appear to play at least as important a role in defining groups.

Paria Caca was a stormy being of the heights. He made himself known to humans by favoring a poor man with power to defeat the rich (chap. 5), or, in another tradition, by saving a Huallallo worshiper from the obligation to sacrifice his child (chap. 8). He first appeared on a mountain in what was formerly the domain of the lowland aborigines called Yunca, which was dominated by the (possibly Huanca) deity Huallallo (chap. 5, secs. 38, 55). Once his bond with some of these people was formed, Paria Caca ascended to Huallallo's seat on the high cordillera. There he attacked and expelled the ancient cannibal deity in a world-shaking combat between storm water and volcanic fire (chap. 6, sec. 74; chap. 8; chap. 9, sec. 110; chap. 16, secs. 203–209; chap. 17, secs. 214–219). He carved out in this struggle the titanic landscape of snowcaps and lakes that is his seat and his likeness. It became the sanctuary on the icy heights to which his pilgrims brought their llamas (chap. 9, secs. 119, 127, 138–139; chap. 24, secs. 309–310; chap. 28, sec. 364). Huallallo, exiled, was left to the care of a rival ethnic group called the "dog-eating Huanca" (chap. 9, secs. 110–111; chap. 16, sec. 209). The victorious Paria Caca in his multiple incarnations swept down from the windy heights through the various fertile valleys of the Pacific slope (chap. 8). As he went, he subjected the Yunca to his own people, expelling many of them, reorganizing their lands, creating a cultic order in which both victors and vanquished would participate, and winning the Yunca wealth (e.g., chaps. 9, 25).

What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize? In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31–147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high tundras at the Cañete River headwaters, through various warm irrigated valleys (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas. Using independent and ostensibly nonmythical bureaucratic records she has been able to document Yauyo populations all over the territory of the manuscript and has mapped their major territorial divisions as understood in the mid- to late sixteenth century (Rostworowski 1988: 56–57). One of these Yauyo populations (that of Chaclla) attested a folk history closely resembling stories in the manuscript (Rostworowski 1988: 54–57).

Linguistic indices are less clear but also suggest some association between Paria Caca's mythology and a Yauyo expansion. Traces of Aymara-like lexicon and phonology in the Huarochirí manuscript indicate that the informants knew or were influenced by the same ethnic language whose modern forms persist as residual "islands" in old Yauyo territory (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 14).

In Inca and early colonial times those natives who classed themselves as Yauyo regarded the focal area of the manuscript, especially what later became the parish of Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí, as the very core of Yauyo political space. The early colonial Yauyo do not seem to have had a king or center of political command, but Yauyo witnesses said that in conducting intranative diplomacy their ancestors had recognized the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí village as paramount authorities for sev-

eral generations. In 1558, Cristóval Malcachagua of Huarochirí gave unambiguous testimony that the Ninavilcas meant to rally "all the Yauyos" in defending Yauyo coca claims in the middle Chillón valley against Huamantangas and Spaniards (Rostworowski 1988: 94). "Yauyo" is the only term the manuscript uses in categorical contrast to the ethnic terms for foreign neighbors (the various Yunca groups, the Huaman Tanca, and the Huanca; supp. II, sec. 485). All this evidence seems a *prima facie* reason for treating the manuscript as substantially an artifact of Yauyo culture.

On first inspection Paria Caca does appear to be simply the chief deity of these Yauyo populations, ennobled by Inca patronage but still very much an ethnic symbol. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala thought of him so ([1615] 1980: 1:241). And when Maca Uisa himself, one of Paria Caca's "sons," asked the Inca to dance a priestly dance essential to the Paria Caca cult, he told the Inca to dance it "the way our children from the Yauyo do" (chap. 23, sec. 297).

Nonetheless, one must account for some striking slippages in the association between Paria Caca and Yauyo identity. The predominant tellers of the Huarochirí myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindreds were not Yauyo but Yunca. They scorned the Yauyo kindreds in Checa as half-wild nomads and barely tolerated their presence in the pilgrimage to Paria Caca (chap. 24, secs. 305–309) until Paria Caca himself taught them to respect the newcomers. In neighboring Concha, "Yauyo country" was a byword for a remote and fruitless backwater (chap. 31, secs. 391, 408). Perhaps such scorn reflects the fact that by 1586 the self-identified Yauyo had shrunk to a tiny ethnic minority comprising only about 5% of the 7,000 tributary households in the huge province to which they gave their name (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 155).

How should one read these seeming contradictions? One clue is that although the Checa narrator applied the word "Yauyo" to immigrants whose exact place of origin in Yauyos Province was still remembered, and who were considered nomads only recently attached to Checa, he also credited higher-ranking kindreds in Checa with invader origins. The difference was that the higher-ranking kindreds had arrived of old and had inserted themselves in the agricultural social structure created by the ancient Yunca founders in the days of Huallallo Caruincho. A Concha teller gave much the same account of his group in chapter 31.

Apparently the Checa and Concha used the term "Yauyo" to refer to recent herder migrants, while regarding their own ancestry, which might well have been historically no less Yauyo, as quasi-autochthonous because it had been grafted by ritual and marriage onto the regimen that included "village-owning," valley-oriented agricultural *huacas*. Perhaps they saw no paradox in scorning people of the very sort that Paria Caca favors in his myths—impoverished wanderers from the heights—because they regarded their own ancestors as more powerful "children of Paria Caca." The proof of their superiority was that these ancestors had won dominion over Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca *huacas* into their religion while their compatriots still wandered the heights in monoethnic pastoral groups.

As a working hypothesis, one may imagine that Paria Caca's cult as recorded here—that is, in a state of bipolar coordination with Chaupi Ñamca's cult and with Yunca components generally—is the precipitate of, and a commentary on, a long and apparently still continuing series of migrations or incursions from the southerly highland fringes of the manuscript's territory. As in other world areas where pastoralists penetrated the edges and eventually the centers of agricultural societies (e.g., China under Mongol rule), the assimilated descendants of early invaders came to inhabit preexisting social and ritual forms and champion them against later invaders.

The crux of Checa and Concha religion appears to be a systematic priestly synthesis that exalts early invader groups by placing their origin myths, eloquent of a mostly pastoral highland way of life and a kinship-based social ideology (that is, the myths of Paria Caca's "children"), into a dyadic relation with ancient macroregional cults rooted in coastal agropastoral society (those of Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac, etc.). It does so by interpreting the deity who was taken to represent the sum total of invader origins, namely, Paria Caca, as Chaupi Ñamca's brother and wife-giver to Pacha Camac. In this way Paria Caca was imbued like Pacha Camac and Chaupi Ñamca with a power and an identity transcending immediate ethnicity and locality.

The spokesmen of the system, perhaps Yanca priests belonging to Caca Sica *ayllu* or their followers, defined Checa cultural identity as descent from the creators of one local instance of such highland-valley fusion. To be an ancestrally entitled worshiper of *both* Chaupi Ñamca and Paria Caca, and of their local affiliated cults, was the crux of belonging. The term "Yauyo" in Checa and Concha accordingly connoted neither 'foreigner' nor 'com-

patriot' but 'parvenu': immigrants not yet fully inserted into the regional-scale cultic order and its local apparatus.

This view helps us understand a problem of belief, namely, why outsiders like Guaman Poma saw the Paria Caca religion as a Yauyo cult par excellence, while the people of Checa used the word "Yauyo" to label a group barely admitted to Paria Caca's pilgrimage. To characterize the historical connection between Yauyos and Yuncas objectively is much harder. Whether the early highland aggressors whom the tellers identified with the mummified heroes called "children of Paria Caca" were in fact exclusively Yauyo, or whether such groups can be dated and archaeologically linked to Yauyo populations at all, remains unknown. For these reasons in the introduction we shall simply call the mythic protagonists "invaders" except where there is a specific warrant for using the term "Yauyo."

Rostworowski identifies the Yunca or coastal groups at whose expense the children of Paria Caca purportedly expanded as the two large politically unified collectivities (*señoríos*) closest to modern Lima. One, occupying the lower Rímac and Lurín valleys, was called Ychma locally and Pacha Camac in Inca usage; it housed the mighty shrine of Pacha Camac and enjoyed great religious prestige even after Yauyo and Inca depredations reduced its political reach. The other was the domain of the lord called Colli Capac, whose people the Huarochirí narrators called the Colli and whose seat the Spanish called Collique. It was based in the lower Chillón valley (Rostworowski 1988: 60–62). The Checa thought the Colli had founded the highland settlements their own ancestors conquered (chap. 24, sec. 341; chap. 25).

Chapters 11, 12, 17, 24, 25, and 26 contain what appear to be "charter" myths of specific invader groups that identified their founders as "children" of Paria Caca. If they have a unified thrust, it is that Paria Caca's fivefold self, ambiguously developed as a union of brother-*huaca*s (chap. 8, secs. 99, 105; chap. 16, sec. 202) or of Paria Caca's human "children" (chap. 9, sec. 113), through many victories created a regional order embracing both victors and vanquished. By a combination of warfare and courtship at superhuman and human levels, Paria Caca turned his relation with the rich aborigines of the valleys, the Yunca, from one of strangeness and enmity into one of coordinated worship, in-law kinship, and interdependency (though certainly not without an abiding tension between groups). The Paria Caca heroes' victories over the Yunca, whom the myths picture as wealthy but immoral, fill several chapters. Chapter 31, the charter of the lineages of the Concha (neighbors to the Checa; see especially secs. 388–403) pictures the invaders as trying to assimilate to the aboriginal norms of their in-laws. Paria Caca's complementarity of form and function with the local female (possibly Yunca) *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca suggests that, overall, the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence.

How does this happen? The memorable fifth chapter is the *locus classicus* of a theme repeated many times in the manuscript: the poor ragamuffin who, because he is privy to a superhuman secret, carries within him a future power that his rich and splendid contemporaries cannot see. In chapter 5 it is the Baked Potato Gleaner, a byword for poverty, who makes Paria Caca's potential power real by a twofold action: he overturns the extant order's hierarchy (curing but simultaneously humbling a Yunca lord) and at the same time he becomes literally wedded to it (marrying the humbled lord's daughter). Empowered, he introduces Paria Caca's cult to a society transformed by combat and courtship.

The manuscript's ideological image of the invader-aborigine interaction as a passage from hostility to symbiosis may be seen as a one-sided rendering of, rather than a mere fiction about, the politics of coexistence between highlanders and coastal peoples. The dynamic it mythically expresses seems to have been driven by the highlanders' need for cultivable land, which they sought by downward invasion and establishment of "vertical" outliers in the mid-altitudes. Lowlanders in turn sought to capture more water sources by extending their canals upward and exerting political power over the lakes and streams of the heights (Torero 1974: 73–79). The 1558 lawsuit involving the Yauyo of Chaclla and the Yunca of Collique (among others) shows how in prehispanic times the downward penetration of Yauyo "vertical archipelagos" (Murra [1972] 1975a) led to conflicts so mutually costly that Yunca and highlanders reached a *modus vivendi* including cooperation on shared irrigation work and ritual reciprocity between leaders. The Huarochirí text glorifies some roughly comparable *modus vivendi* in mythic idiom. But the lawsuit also shows what the Huarochirí manuscript deemphasizes: that such arrangements were delicate and unstable, liable to lapse into prolonged violence when politically stressed. Even under Inca pacification, the Yauyo of Chaclla, their non-Yauyo Canta rivals, and the Colli Yunca incessantly tried to cheat and coerce each other. When the Spanish in-

vasion unleashed the resulting tensions, the fights and suits that followed did much to drive several polities into helpless poverty (Rostworowski 1988: 83–291).

Chaupi Ñamca and the mythology of gender

Several passages detail the priesthoods, games, sacrifices, *huaca*-impersonating dances, and oracles that ritually organized the interlaced aboriginal-invader societies that the tellers saw as the product of their ancestors' victories. Although the relationships among groups and deities are complex and often far from obvious, one unifying motif is clear: the union between invaders and aborigines is ideologized in terms of a fraternal tie between the highest male deity of the invaders and the highest female deity of the aborigines. The link is taken to warrant marriage alliance between their respective human progenies. In this scheme female deities play an enormous role.

Chaupi Ñamca, supreme among female *huaca*s, was a land and river deity of the lower Rímac whose great temple at Mama symbolized her ancient standing as Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163). Her name means 'center Ñamca' and she may, like her spouse, have had a following across various valleys; in 1562, Mama was the place chosen for a summit meeting of native lords from the whole region (Murra 1980: xviii). The devotees of Paria Caca have conceptualized her component cults as a fivefold sisterhood, so as to match the form of Paria Caca (chap. 10, sec. 147; chap. 13, secs. 175–183). In the synthesis that dominates the manuscript, Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca are made into siblings (chap. 13, sec. 172; Avila [1645] 1918: 64). These claims apparently mirror increased Yauyo penetration of domains in which her marriage to Pacha Camac had once formed a dominant cultic axis. Indeed, in one version the newcomers' claim goes beyond fraternal symmetry to imply superiority: Chaupi Ñamca's five selves are styled "daughters" of Paria Caca, whereas Paria Caca's selves are never said to be her children (chap. 8, sec. 101). The "children of Paria Caca" have also expressed their conviction of political superiority by making their father-*huaca* wife-giver in relation to Pacha Camac.

In establishing a sibling relation between male mountain-*huaca* and female valley-*huaca*, the Paria Caca priests may have followed an earlier prototype. A partially obscured tradition (chap. 8, secs. 106–107; chap. 10, sec. 143) allows us to glimpse Mana Ñamca or Mama Ñamca, a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca who was once a lowland female counterpart to the male highland *huaca* Huallallo Caruincho (and who, like him, was a fiery power expelled by Paria Caca).

Within the dominant synthesis, ritual order richly embodied the idea of male-female symmetry at the apex of *huaca* genealogy. Paria Caca's priesthoods and his great festival the Auquisna (chap. 9, secs. 117–140) find their explicit counterpart in Chaupi Ñamca's festival the Chaycasna (chap. 9, sec. 122; chap. 10, secs. 149–151), so that the ritual and mythical order opens out in a grand sexual complementarity on the pattern Invader : Paria Caca : Male :: Aborigine : Chaupi Ñamca : Female. The fraternal treatment of the male-female apical deities tends to express ideals of harmony or equilibrium between groups at a totalizing, whole-society level.

However, as one passes from the supreme powers to their *huaca* offspring and their human descendants, the dominant gender metaphor changes from brother-sister fraternity to marriage. A repetitive motif concerns invaders, sons of Paria Caca, who marry Yunca-descended women, implicitly daughters of Chaupi Ñamca (chap. 5; chap. 24, secs. 305–314). Thus the sons of Paria Caca become indebted wife-takers to Yunca groups and their *huaca*s.

This conviction of indebtedness parallels what was remembered as invader expropriation of the female and Yunca element in nature, namely, irrigable land. On the ecological plane the relationship between invader and aborigine is likened to the union of wild water from the heights (Yauyo-like, male) with the soil of the valleys (Yunca-like, female). The motif is discussed in the section below on the concept *pacha*. Because this union—irrigation—was in fact the greatest agrarian wealth of the western Andes, many myths can also be read as combined cosmic and political charters for local groups' rights to specific lands and canals. The abundance of landmark detail in the text, which we have tried in notes to key to modern cartography, reflects the function of myth as a memory bank of information about the tellers' generally invasion-based claims on resources.

The conjugal metaphor for invader-aboriginal relations carries a different symbolic load from the fraternal one. Whereas the siblinghood of the apical *huaca*s is a static, merely classificatory relation, marriage myths are myths of social dynamics. They express not only an ideal of productive and reproductive union, but also an image of the many tensions involved in creating such union. For example, Collquiri, a water-*huaca* from the heights (chap. 31,

secs. 408–436), must fight with his prospective in-laws and submit to their humiliating discipline before his desire for their beautiful land-*huaca* daughter can turn from destructive lust (flooding) into productive marriage (irrigation). Indeed, all the myths related to marriage treat it as an image of social stress and change latent in union. In chapter 5 Paria Caca's protégé Huatya Curi, a foreign male who wants to marry a human incarnation of Chaupi Ñamca, garners the hatred of his brother-in-law and establishes himself in his new household only by fighting within it (secs. 49–70). On the political level, accepting a foreign spouse is always a gesture of submission that one accepts at peril to one's autonomy, and for this reason Paria Caca's son Maca Uisa turns down the Inca's honorific gift (chap. 23, sec. 300). Even the Inca himself forfeited his empire by accepting a bride from a secret power that turned out to be the Spanish (chap. 14). While one may read these texts as comments on marriage as such, they also give voice in kinship idiom to fundamental doubts about the political stability of conquest-based agropastoral society.

In sum, the gender mythology of Huarochirí, though centered on an idealized complementarity, is at the same time emphatically a conflict model of society. It envisions every complementarity, whether marital, ritual, ecological, or political, as shadowed by submerged conflicts that had to be repressed in order to institute it. The inseparability of complementarity from conflict is implied to be a motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society.

The Incas as seen from Huarochirí

Chapters 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23 vividly illustrate how the Inca conquest looked to provincial natives and give important clues as to how Incas manipulated the local pantheon. The Inca himself was said to have acknowledged and even subsidized local *huaca*s—both those that local people thought of as ancient, like Paria Caca (chap. 18, sec. 220), and those newly emerging, like Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20, sec. 243). This policy may be related to the fact that the Yauyos were reputed to be generally pro-Inca. Early evidence from the northernmost part of the Huarochirí orbit indicates that the Incas favored Yauyo efforts to penetrate the Yunca and gradually enlarged Yauyo enclaves based at Chaclla to the detriment of the anti-Inca Yunca of Collique and rival non-Yauyo highland groups (Rostworowski 1988: 148, 161, 178). Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:240–241) drew a picture of the Inca adoring an image of Pacha Camac in the shrine of Paria Caca.

The tellers of the manuscript likewise expressed their alliance with Incas in the idiom of ritual, adoring and helping finance some of the pan-Andean deities that Inca propaganda promoted. Among these figured Pacha Camac, the originally Yunca 'World Maker and World Shaker' whose shrine-citadel lay at the western edge of the mythic landscape (chap. 22, secs. 276–284; Patterson 1984[?]). So thoroughly had the Incas intercalated regional and local cults with royal religion that the Huarochirí people thought the Incas themselves owed some of their victories to help from Paria Caca's offspring (chap. 19, secs. 228–229; chap. 23).

The tendency to equate Cuni Raya, a coastal Trickster-demiurge embodying the transformation of landforms by water, with the invisible Vira Cocha fostered by Inca cult may also have been heightened by interaction with Incas. But for the Huarochirí narrators, this *huaca* stood over and against Inca power as against all other human power. Chapter 14 recounts an enigmatic Cuni Raya Vira Cocha myth alluding to the fall of the Incas. It apparently refers to the fact that the Incas had divided their domains in dynastic struggle just before the Spaniards arrived. The narrator tells how Cuni Raya Vira Cocha inveigled the Inca king with a beautiful bride and then, inducing him to "draw a line across the world" (chap. 14, sec. 196), made him fatally retreat from his sacred center at Cuzco. During the resultant outbreak of chaos, "people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others, 'Me first!' 'Me first!'" (chap. 14, sec. 197). While they wrangled uselessly in civil warfare the Spanish appeared at Cajamarca.

The Spanish invasion as seen from Huarochirí

Even more remarkable are the unique chapters that give us a glimpse of how natives, after a lifetime of colonial afflictions, looked back on the first confused moments of their contact with the Spanish. The first inkling of the epochal events arrives in the same way that the prophecy of Paria Caca's imminent victory had arrived long before (chap. 5), as a secret that Paria Caca vouchsafed to a despised ragamuffin from the heights. This time the prophet of the coming crisis is the "Mountain Man" Llacuas Quita Pariasca (chap. 18). The same chapter tells how one *huaca* priest survived the Spaniards' attempt to burn him alive and became a leader in preserving and sheltering the *huaca*s amid Spanish at-

tacks. Many references (e.g., chap. 9, secs. 122, 125, 136, 137; chap. 10, secs. 144, 148, 149; chap. 13, sec. 175; supp. I, secs. 449, 469, 473) show that those who rescued the *huaca*s succeeded in hiding their cults (sometimes, a censorious voice warns, by camouflaging them in Catholic ritual) far into the colonial era. At least one of the contributors to the text regularly obliges Father Avila by warning that many Indians' conversion was a façade (chap. 9, secs. 133–134). Other chapters (20–21) reveal that even Father Avila's most obsequious ally, Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, in a certain sense still believed in—was even dominated by—the "evil ancient demons." These chapters tell with astonishing vividness and intimacy of Cristóbal's visionary combat with the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa and of how Llocllay returned to battle Cristóbal once more in a dream. Cristóbal's dilemma—the need to validate his Christianity by conquering *huaca*s, combined with inability to conquer them convincingly without invoking the same mythic paradigm he proposed to replace—adds up to a uniquely moving image of the Andean convert's stressful and compromised position.

Specialized chapters

The manuscript contains some specialized chapters perhaps given in reply to questions about arts that Tridentine Catholicism forbade as diabolically inspired, heretical, or superstitious. Chapter 29, short but important, sketches Andean astronomy or astrology. It suggests that the tellers thought of certain "black" constellations and certain star clusters as the celestial prototypes of the earthly beings they resembled. Visionaries saw these constellations "descend" to earth and shower their protégés with specific vital force.

Chapters 27 and 28 treat the cult of the dead. Chapter 27, a droll explanation of why the dead no longer come back, echoes a motif from chapter 1, namely, that humans must accept irremediable death as the alternative to Malthusian disaster. Chapter 28 recounts funeral and commemorative custom, somewhat evasively in the crucial matter of how ancestors' bodies were treated. Perhaps the tellers hoped to avoid setting persecutors on the trail of their beloved and (ideally) everlasting ancestral mummies.

Two "supplements" (which may be rough drafts) lay down the ritual duties of couples who give birth to magical children—twins or babies with small birth defects. These unusually difficult sections afford an idea of the complex ritual obligations embedded in in-law ties, with emphasis on the ritual exchange of immense amounts of coca and other wealth.

The Huarochirí region's people and their historic situation

These myths relate intimately to the real-life landscape and the historic conjuncture that generated them. For one thing, the deities themselves are land features and local climatic forces. For another, these priesthoods and celebrations themselves organized productive work, so that the religious regimen encodes practical as well as ideological information. Finally, every facet of religious organization—spatial, calendric, and hierarchical—reflects the pressure of colonial circumstance.

The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest-southeast, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches forms a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights to the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope. Most of the places mentioned in it are close to three valleys: the Rímac River valley, on whose lower banks the Spanish built Lima, but whose upper tributaries, the Chaclla and Mama rivers of the manuscript, were still mostly native territory in 1600; to the south, the Pachacámac River valley, today called the Lurín, on whose headwaters stood the colonial parish of San Damián; and still farther south the "River of Huarochirí," today the Mala, which gave its name to a colonial parish as well as to the province and to the manuscript. The people who made the manuscript also seem to have included in their range of meaningful geography one valley to the north of Lima, the Chillón, and two more to the south of Huarochirí, the valleys of the Omas and Lunaguaná (today Cañete) rivers.

Karen Spalding's *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (1984) meticulously reconstructs the colonial society from which the manuscript emerged. Spalding (1984: 3) cautions us that colonial Huarochirí Province was no huddle of hamlets but a region the size of Massachusetts. Yet neither is the landscape whose meanings the myths unfold too huge for Andean travelers to have absorbed from personal experience. Taylor's map (1987b: 39) suggests that the widest span of the mythic landscape reaches about 85 air km (53

miles) from ocean to mountaintops, and about 120 air km (74.5 miles) from north to south. A separate reckoning by John Treacy (1984) estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air km (67 miles) east to west and about 56 air km (35 miles) north to south. Of course, estimates using air kilometers hardly simulate the twisting paths pedestrians and llamas actually followed across the contorted mountain landscape. Even on foot, highland travel involves innumerable hairpin turns up and down the faces of river chasms. Yet, even allowing for steep climbs and zigzags, these distances would hardly have discouraged Andean travelers. Averaging Cotler's (1958: 113–114) and Spalding's (1984: 31) statements on walking speed over the Huarochirí terrain yields 2.4 km/hour as a usual rate for the area. If so, a person walking eight hours a day might have descended from the high shrines of Paria Caca to the Pacific shores in about four days. These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, but they suffice to remind us that the world pictured in the Huarochirí text is mostly a world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations.

Ecologically, the mythic scene spans a remarkable spectrum of "vertical tiers" (Murra [1972] 1975a; ONERN 1976). The uppermost points mentioned are icy peaks more than 5,000 m above sea level. The myths clearly take as their backdrops the "pluvial tundra" of Mullucocha (5,000–4,300 m above sea level) where Paria Caca annihilated a mountain. The heroes' downward course traversed the "very humid *páramo*" (4,500–3,900 m above sea level; *páramo* means high grassland) and the "humid woodland" (3,800–2,300 m above sea level). This is all high, seasonally rainy and snowy country with numerous lakes and probably included the llama-herding lands of the ancient peoples up to 4,600 m above sea level. The tellers of many myths identified with the splendor of the heights and with their product, camelid wealth on the hoof. One of the major ceremonies was a llama race to the sacred heights, with the first llama acclaimed and given a sacred name (chap. 9, secs. 120–122, 128).

Agriculture belonged to lower tiers, four cultivation zones compressed within narrow valleys: the "montane steppe" at San Damián, and three increasingly lower, dryer grades of "desert scrub" (*matorral desértico*). The colonial resettlement villages in which the manuscript seems to have been made stood in the upper part of this range, 3,000 to 3,500 m above sea level. The agricultural terraces immediately around them were and are irrigated, but on the "montane steppe" above them dry farming of high-altitude crops is also possible. There people cultivated tubers, especially potatoes, and the Andean grain *Chenopodium quinua*, which one tradition mentions as a mythic plant that gave birth to people (chap. 24, sec. 302).

Irrigable crops grew best in places where canal water fertilized pockets of sun-warmed soil amid the rocky river canyons. Irrigated valley lands symbolized abundance, and access to warm land with water was seen as the limiting factor in winning wealth. The tellers of the myths especially associated maize with irrigation, for example, in the poignant figure of the young woman who stood in her field and cried as she watched her insufficiently watered maize shrivel up (chap. 6, sec. 83). Chapters 30 and 31 are vivid mythic renderings of the struggle between water-poor and water-rich groups.

Still further down-valley but short of the coastal plain, at altitudes around 1,000 m above sea level, irrigation takes place in small patches of warm riverbank land commonly called *chaupi yunca* ('mid-*yunca*' or 'semi-*yunca*'). These sheltered, garden-like river margins were coca lands in antiquity, prized for the abundance of the sacred leaf that Huarochirí natives ceremonially lavished on each other and on their superhuman patrons. The manuscript is especially detailed in explaining how coca cultivators fit into Paria Caca's cult regimen (e.g., chap. 8, sec. 109).

Where the fertile valleys meet the sea, a rich fishing industry combined with delta and riverbank agriculture to yield wealth that awed even the Incas. Prehispanic seaboard dwellers developed pisciculture intensively (Espinoza Soriano 1974). Although the myth-tellers thought of themselves as highland-descended, they, too, imagined salt water as part of the humanized and culturalized landscape. Fish-farming was so familiar that the teller of chapter 2 thought of ocean fish as runaways turned wild:

> At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.
> Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.
> It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean . . . (chap. 2, sec. 26)

At the time when the manuscript was written, much of the prehispanic technology and some of the prehispanic land tenures that once governed use of these productive zones still functioned. But the Yunca, Yauyo, and Inca claims were no longer the only factors. The social organization of land—administrative divisions of territory, settlement patterns, and legal land rights—had become an even more complex, multilayered scheme com-

posed of native and colonial elements. Diego Dávila Brizeño's ([1586] 1965) report on the "Province of the Yauyos" and Karen Spalding's monograph (1984) afford valuable clues to the *de facto* world the myth-tellers inhabited.

The most modern part of the settlement pattern was the one Dávila Brizeño himself had helped impose—concentration into forced resettlement villages (*reducciones*). Each village gathered together numerous non-nucleated settlements scattered up and down the valleys to make a conveniently taxable package on the model of a planned Spanish village (see the section on the concept *llacta* below). These parishes inorganically merged fragments of various units earlier defined by the Inca and aboriginal political orders. One of the things that makes the Huarochirí manuscript hard to read is the fact that the tellers are constantly comparing the (to them) arbitrary *reducción* map against the (to them) intelligible distribution of groups and deities that their hidden ritual still commemorated. Thus their toponymy refers to both ancient and current mental maps.

Nonetheless, the Spanish administrative plan did still make use of some older orderings. A map made by Dávila Brizeño representing Spanish administrative geography of the 1580s in the context of native toponymy (Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) shows the Yauyos Province bisected by what appears to be an Inca-style moiety dividing line: the southern half is called Anan ('upper') Yauyos and the northern Lorin ('lower') Yauyos. This feature the Spanish apparently retained or at least recognized. Colonial Huarochirí Province corresponded to Lorin Yauyos. And when it came to sharing out the right to rule and tax Andean people, the Spanish availed themselves of other Inca demographic and organizational schemes. The Spanish *repartimiento*, or political apportionment of tributary subjects, proceeded by assigning each established native lord to a Spanish *encomendero*. The patterning of colonial lordship thus legalized appears to echo Inca rules albeit with innovations and distortions. So the initial colonial system, while it functionally overturned many native norms, retained the gross anatomy of Inca political divisions, and some of these are detectable in the Huarochirí manuscript even after subsequent reorganizations.

The Incas saw each half of the region as composed of large blocs of people (perhaps ethnically defined), each comprised of several *huarangas* or 'thousands' of tributary households. In what Dávila Brizeño called Lorin Yauyos, which housed the ancestors of the manuscript's authors, the Incas recognized and the Spanish retained three major groupings:

LURIN YAUYOS

Huarochirí People	**Chaclla People**
Huaranga Colcaruna	Huaranga Chaclla
Huaranga Quinti	Huaranga Carampoma
Huaranga Langasica	Huaranga Casta
Huaranga Chaucarima	
Huaranga Checa	

Mamaq People

Huaranga Matucana
Huaranga Huanchor

ANAN YAUYOS

(Spalding 1984: 54)

Each "thousand" had a native lord, or *curaca*. An overlord or *curaca principal* was recognized by the Spanish, on purported Inca or aboriginal precedent, as lord of all *huarangas* in the bloc. This was the highest office held by a non-Inca lord. By such a title the Ninavilca lords of Huarochirí (chap. 7, sec. 93; chap. 19, sec. 230) were recognized as having precedence among, if not power over, the *huarangas* most prominent in the manuscript.

Finally, within these Inca-influenced political arrangements there remained elements of a still older order. The pre-Inca (or non-Inca) settlements that the informants called their *llactas*, some already reduced to ghost towns, were still the points of mythic reference. At the microscopic level, a system of partly localized extended kinship reckoning, discussed below, remained the matrix for relations within and among households. To what degree the large, purportedly hereditary categories that dominate the overall scheme of the myths corresponded to any territorial reality or to any practical pattern of residence by 1600 is uncertain. But it is likely that the large, purportedly genealogical formations whose founders are the greatest heroes of the text, and the *ayllus* or ancestor-focused kindreds, still counted, at least theoretically, as the corporate holders of important rights in productive assets (see below, especially on the concepts *yumay* and *ayllu*).

In the later sixteenth century the Huarochirí people were not numbered among the poor. They were heavily taxed, and Spaniards vied for chances to exploit them. Far from being an obscure hinter-

land, their region lay astride the best-known route from the Spanish capital, Lima, to the Inca one, Cuzco. But their relative wealth did not protect them, and in some respects the inhabitants of Huarochirí were an afflicted people. Epidemics of the 1550s, 1580s, and 1590s, within the living memory of myth-tellers, had mowed down a huge share of a population with weak immunological defenses. "If we accept Dávila Brizeño's estimate of approximately 6,000 household heads in Huarochirí in the 1540s, shortly after the entry of the Europeans, then the province lost . . . almost 30 percent of its adult male population in the quarter century between 1545 and 1571" (Spalding 1984: 173). The rest of the century was a period of continuing severe population decline in Huarochirí as in many Andean regions (Spalding 1984: 176). Around 1560 and again in the 1580s, survivors of the epidemics in some parts of the Andes (including southerly Yauyos) had asked the *huaca*s to defend them, but suffered bitter disappointment in the failure of nativist movements (Taki Onqoy, Moro Onqoy, and others; Curatola 1978; Stern 1982: 51–71). When Jesuit fathers conducted a conversion campaign in Huarochirí in 1577, they reported finding many people sick in their fields (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 244). Missionaries routinely procured conversions by exploiting the desperation of the mortally ill.

Some of the myth-tellers were probably old enough to remember other calamities. When Spanish forces crushed the forty-year-old neo-Inca redoubt in Vilcabamba and then in 1572 executed the last independent sovereign of Inca blood, Túpac Amaru, Andean people everywhere went into mourning. The administrative overhaul that followed increasingly reduced native chiefs to the compromised status of tribute enforcers and cultural brokers. Some of the myth-tellers may have been among those routed from their homes and chased into strategic hamlets by Spanish functionaries in the 1580s. The "people called Indians" also had to comply with increasingly exhausting tribute regimens. Meanwhile, the authorities allowed Spaniards to appropriate landholdings that the natives lacked enough population to defend and sometimes let clerics exploit parishioners outrageously.

So by the probable date of the manuscript—1608—the inhabitants of the Huarochirí region had reason to wonder, like Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man (chap. 18, sec. 221), whether the world itself had turned bad. Several passages in the manuscript are colored by anxiety about sickness and depopulation (chap. 19, sec. 233; chap. 25, sec. 345; chap. 26, sec. 357). Observing that the natives of the rocky heights seemed to be holding their own even as the aborigines of the coast were perishing (and indeed became entirely extinct, through both depopulation and assimilation), the tellers of chapter 9 (sec. 140) wondered whether perhaps the rustic highlanders did not owe their vitality to greater faithfulness to the Andean religious tradition.

Into the world of the *huaca*s

Some of the basic terms in Huarochirí myths embody unfamiliar Andean assumptions or categories. While glosses cannot capture their full senses, a reader at least needs some idea of what is lost in translation. The following paragraphs comment minimally on the most important ones.

Pacha: *'earth, world, time, place'*

Huarochirí people called the world and time together *pacha*, an untranslatable word that simultaneously denotes a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space—and does so, moreover, at any scale. In chapter 18 (sec. 221) the Mountain Man, foreseeing the arrival of those destroyers who would turn out to be the Spanish, says, "Alas, brothers, the *pacha* is not good." He could have meant anything from 'this is not a good situation' (or 'moment' or 'conjuncture') to an idea as grand as 'the world is no longer good' or 'the epoch is no longer good'. The same word *pacha* is also the name of earth in general and in modern folk religion means Earth as a personified female being.

Cosmological ideas are not spelled out in the Huarochirí manuscript. Despite the use of solar gnomons for calendric astronomy (chap. 9, sec. 108), the Sun appears as a person in Checa lore only tangentially (chap. 4; chap. 13, secs. 172, 188). Sun worship figures as an Inca idea (chap. 22, secs. 276, 279) and as a motif in the genealogy of the *huaca*s as the people of the lower Rímac valley imagined it (chap. 13, sec. 172). The moon is not personified anywhere. The Andean cosmos can be partly understood from these myths, but not because the myths explicitly describe it. We deduce what we can by noticing what the tellers take for granted. To some degree the picture can be augmented with data from other written sources and from recent ethnographic research that offers conceptual analogies. (Earls and Silverblatt 1978 propose a synthetic model.)

Two pervading generalities seem to order the

data. One is that earth has predominantly female associations and water predominantly male. The second, partially overriding the first, is that altitude and motion connote maleness, while depth and stability are associated with femaleness.

Earth's living mass was imagined rising up from the waters of the surrounding ocean. (Whether the waters circled earth like Saturn's rings or whether earth's base was immersed like a boat's hull is not clear.) Especially in local instances, particularly when visualized as the green irrigable valley lands, earth is usually female. But the land's highest points, the great peaks whose ice-crusted crowns overtower the habitable earth, are usually male. One of them is Paria Caca. Roughly, the solid part of the world might be imagined as a single world mountain made of all the Andean ranges, rising from femalelike valleys to malelike snowcapped heights.

Water—rainstorms and mudslides, snow and glacial runoff, tiny irrigation canals and mighty rivers, even that astral river we call the Milky Way—is the kinetic part of the world. Water moves over *pacha* in a circular path. It rides up from the ocean into the sky along the Milky Way "river." Chapter 29 (sec. 375) tells us that water rises because a celestial llama constellation carries water up from below by drinking before ascending. Then water washes down onto the heights of the earth as storm and rain, bathing and fecundating earth as it descends to the ocean. People worshiped the great snowcapped peaks "because that is where their water comes from" (Avila [1645] 1918: 83). Water is often male, especially storm water and downward-flowing water. Several myths liken the chasm-cutting power of rivers in spate, or the storm and flash flood that create disastrous mudslides, to warlike male violence:

> As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.
>
> The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.
>
> When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. (chap. 23, secs. 295–296)

Although the Pacific Ocean plays a key part in organizing mythic space, it is not personalized in the manuscript. In modern Andean myth, the ocean (*Mama Cocha* 'mother lake') is usually female. The *huaca* most closely associated with the sea is Pacha Camac (chap. 22, secs. 276–284), but this great force is not clearly defined as a maritime deity.

The hydraulic embrace of moving water and enduring earth was imagined as sex. Their embrace yielded a biotic system (Dumézil and Duviols 1974–1976) in which life forms emerge from mixed earth and water. Hydraulic sex was sometimes imagined as a turbulent affair. The myth-tellers, who seem to have faced the harrowing vicissitudes of a water-poor irrigation economy with a good deal of humor, likened its hazards to the comical chaos of undisciplined desire. In four myths (chap. 6, secs. 82–90; chap. 12, sec. 170; chap. 30; and chap. 31, secs. 406–432) voluptuous earth-women offer their parched bodies to the virile water-*huaca*s who rush down from the heights. The earth-women's self-serving tricks and the water-men's lecherous ineptitude can turn their meetings into comic disasters. In chapter 31, when the lake-*huaca* Collquiri rushes downhill to his earth-lover Capyama, the bursting pressure of his virility squirts out of every channel and sprays destructive floods all over Capyama's people:

> . . . Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:
>
> "Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"
>
> "Shut it off!"
>
> "Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.
>
> With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket and other stuff.
>
> But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.
>
> Meanwhile the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:
>
> "PLUG IT UP!!" (chap. 31, secs. 425–426)

Pacha, the world as a given arrangement of time, space, and matter, is not supratemporal. It clearly admits change, even cataclysm. There have been times when *pacha* "wanted to come to an end," and the manuscript tells us how this can happen. Water might fail to ascend into the astral "river" and the world might drown as the ocean rose (chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375). Or Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, the 'World Maker and World Shaker' who sleeps under the ruined shrine that still bears his name, might turn over in his dreams and pulverize the world in an earthquake (chap. 22, sec. 284); the region is in fact subject to devastating earthquakes. Everything, including humanity, has been crushed and refashioned. The social order, too, is constructed and transformed in superhuman violence; the tellers imagine the original theophany that was their group birth as one of many cataclysms that simultaneously gave form to the land and to society.

In gross terms, then, the Huarochirí world opposes the qualities of still centricity—depth, solidity, dryness, stability, potential fecundity, womanliness—to those of a restlessly moving outer orbit—height, fluidity, wetness, movement, potential for insemination, virility. As the outer waters wash over the inner earth, these two fundamental lives mix in the circulation of water over soil. Lives that are both watery and earthy emerge: plants, animals, people. Born fat, wet, and juicy, all beings eventually—in the space of a dry season or a long life—separate out again into their original substances (Allen 1982). Moisture departs as vapor, leaving a weatherbeaten husk and the dry seeds of a future cycle. Nature and ritual combine to return the parts to their sources so the cycle can start anew. Humans like all others emerge fat and wet, but at the end of life their dried husk containing the potential for future life goes as a mummified ancestor (*mallqui*) back to earth. In chapters 27 and 28, a dry, seedlike being that emerges from the dead human husk—a fly—is the living residue of a dead generation. The function of ritual and sacrifice is to ensure a steady circulation of biological energy through *pacha* by conducting social exchange among its living parts.

Camay: *a concept of specific essence and force, 'to charge with being, to infuse with species power'*

The act by which *huaca*s bring other entities into being is not expressed with the plain word meaning 'to make' (*ruray*), nor with the verb *huallpay*, which Gonçález Holguín took to mean a divine act of creation ([1608] 1952: 174), but with a different verb: *camay*. *Camay* escapes the seemingly handy glosses 'to create' (because 'create' connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter) and 'to fashion' (because 'fashion' suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists). But what does *camay* mean? The astronomical or astrological chapter 29 gives a crucial clue: it labels a llama-shaped constellation the *camac* (agentive form, '*camay*-er') of llamas. On descending to earth this constellation infuses a powerful generative essence of llama vitality, which causes earthly llamas to flourish. All things have their vitalizing prototypes or *camac*, including human groups; the *camac* of a human group is usually its *huaca* of origin. Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation. Taylor (1974–1976) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.

*Huaca*s could be *camac* to great or small categories of beings. The great coastal deity Pacha Camac bears in his very name—'*Camac* of space and time'—an all-embracing function as the vitalizer of worldwide realities, while local *huaca*s animate smaller entities. Likewise, ordinary beings could be *camasca* (participial form; 'infused with *camay*') to different degrees. An *ancha camasca* person is a 'very powerful' one. But one can clearly see that *camay* means specific form and force, not general potency. In chapter 14 (sec. 191) three men boast of their speed, saying:

> "I am a condor shaman!" some men answered.
> "I am a falcon shaman!" said others.
> "I am one who flies in the form of a swift!" replied still others.

What they said more literally is:

> "I am the *camasca* of the condor!"
> "I am the *camasca* of the falcon!"
> "I am one who flies as a swift!"

The point appears to be that these men are three shamans whose patrons, the archetypes of birds who symbolize speed, have infused in them the species powers of speed and range of the condor, the falcon, and the swift.

Huaca: *'superhuman person, shrine, holy and powerful object';* huaca *priesthood*

The Huarochirí manuscript is in large measure a reading-out of its space. The horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean numina lodge in places or placed objects: mountains, springs, lakes, rock outcrops, ancient ruins, caves, and any number of humanly made objects in shrines: effigies, mummies, oracles, and so forth.

Like all the other persons English forces us to call "deities," Paria Caca is a *huaca*. The half-Andean historian Garcilaso Inca de la Vega tried in 1609 to convey the sense of this all-important term by telling us that:

> *huaca* . . . means "a sacred thing," such as . . . idols, rocks, great stones or trees which the enemy [i.e., Satan] entered to make the people believe he was a god.

> They also give the name *huaca* to things they have offered to the Sun, such as figures of men, birds, and animals. . . . *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in the fields, and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests. . . . The same name is given to all those things which for their beauty or excellence stand above other things of the same kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin, or any other fruit that is better or more beautiful than the rest. . . . On the other hand they give the name *huaca* to ugly and monstrous things . . . the great serpents of the Antis . . . everything that is out of the usual course of nature, as a woman who gives birth to twins . . . double-yolked eggs are *huaca* . . .
>
> They use the word *huaca* of the great range of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The same name is given to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, and to steep mountain slopes . . . (Garcilaso Inca de la Vega [1609] 1966: 1:76–77; Livermore's translation)

A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huaca*s. Modern ethnography tells us that one extraordinary ethnic group, the Uru of Bolivia, was collectively called *haqe huaca* 'a human *huaca*' by Aymara-speaking neighbors because the Aymara thought the Uru had survived from primordial times (Manelis de Klein 1973: 143). In the manuscript, too, people can become *huaca*s. Mummified ancestors of high rank (see below) could be *huaca*. The Inca rite of Capac Hucha (chap. 22, sec. 280) turned live humans—spotless children and youths—into new *huaca*s by burying them alive. The discovery of new *huaca*s never ceased. Avila recalled that when one native brought home a black silk button with gold thread, which he had found in a garbage heap in Lima, a "master" of *huaca* worship revealed to him that it should be enshrined as a household *huaca* ([1645] 1918: 74). Chapter 20 details the discovery and career of another newfound *huaca*.

People owed *huaca*s reverence and also plenty of goods: llama and guinea pig meat, brilliantly colored mineral powders, thorny oyster shell, clothing, coca leaf, maize dumplings, and maize beer. The Huarochirí manuscript lays down the priestly regimen for sacrifice and gives examples of the responses priests delivered on *huaca*s' behalf:

> They [*huaca* priests] gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:
>
> "You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."
>
> "You must sacrifice one of your llamas."
>
> People were more than happy to obey their dicta. (chap. 13, sec. 186)

The Huarochirí manuscript tells a good deal about priesthoods, but not much about rules regulating lay worshipers' individual or group affiliation to *huaca*s. People appear to have belonged to the cults of *huaca*s considered as apical ancestors of their patrilineages, of their *ayllu*s, and of the clanlike large groups identified with major founder-*huaca*s. Apparently, heredity was a primary determinant of local religious duty, because when people went on their own initiative to consult the *huaca* oracle of the five Ñamca sisters, the Ñamcas would ask if the petitioners had properly consulted their hereditary *huaca*s beforehand:

> . . . these *huaca*s would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi [hereditary household deity], your father, or your elders?"
>
> To those who answered "No," the *huaca*s would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." (chap. 13, sec. 185)

Huaca shrines were powerful social and political corporations. When a *huaca* gained legitimacy, we learn from the "biography" of the *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa (chap. 20), worshipers built it a temple precinct and offered costly service. Politically sponsored *huaca*s had endowments of both herds and fields that common people were required to serve:

> The Incas worshiped these two *huaca*s [the Sun and Pacha Camac] most, beyond all the others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.
>
> The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca. (chap. 22, sec. 277)

*Huaca*s also had human servitors and even spouses. Avila in 1645 reminisced about having met a good-looking eighteen-year-old girl, crippled and walking on two staffs, who had "been dedicated as a woman of an idol" (the *huaca* Maca Uisa). Maca Uisa lived with her in the form of a sacred blue stone, "no bigger than the palm of a hand," which she kept in a basket with tiny but luxurious garments to dress it ([1645] 1918: 69–70). He also mentions that a "*saçerdotisa* [priestess] very celebrated among the Indians" was known as a "woman of Pariacaca's" ([1645] 1918: 65). Both examples use the Spanish term *muger*, meaning 'woman' literally

and 'concubine' or 'secondary wife' more freely, rather than the legal Spanish term for 'wife'. Because the Spanish terminology of marriage implies a sacrament, Father Avila might have scrupled to use it in connection with *huaca* marriage no matter how natives regarded the matter; so we cannot tell whether these unions counted as full marriages in the native system.

Some *huaca* priests clearly enjoyed class privileges. For example, common people did all the agricultural work on fields belonging to the *yanca* priests who had hereditary authority over a lake and its irrigation water (chap. 31, sec. 435) and they gave priests huge amounts of meat (chap. 24, sec. 335). Water priests are credited in the manuscript with almost dictatorial power over some of the processes by which society reproduced itself, including vital decisions about people's rights and duties in basic subsistence agriculture:

> Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.
>
> When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word. (chap. 31, sec. 434)

Early in his extirpation campaign, Father Avila imprisoned an important priest of Chaupi Ñamca in Mama village named Hernando Paucar (who may be a source of the distinctive subregional mythology contained in chapter 13) and wrung from him a confession about the privileged life of *huaca* priests. It should be read with caution, since it comes to us via a paraphrase composed four decades after the event:

> . . . it is true that I've been a priest [*saçerdote*] of Chaupiñamocc since I was a youngster, and I inherited [the priesthood] from my father, and in all these villages of this parish and others, they've respected me a great deal, and I used to come visit them twice every year, and if I was late they used to send someone to call on me, and they would send me horses, and people to serve me on the road, and whenever I entered a village they would erect arches, and they would come out dancing, with the women beating their drums, and they would give me lodging, and fed me, and served me, and they gave me so much that I didn't know what to do with it all. At my rear they made something like a cabin of boughs, and they would cover it and close it off with cloaks, and the floor used to be covered with fresh straw, and I would enter into it alone, by day or by night as I preferred. There they would come to consult me, and I responded, and sacrificed guinea pigs, pouring out maize beer, and I used to perform other ceremonies in view of those who attended, and some used to say that they wanted to hear a response given by Chaupiñamocc, and I used to make her speak by placing there a little idol that represented her, and sometimes I would talk in a very high voice and other times very low. . . . And for this everyone respected me, as much as they do you [Father Avila], and much more. On the third or fourth day they would bring together maize, potatoes, and a lot of food for me, and they would dispatch it to my wife in my village. In this village I'd be lodged in one fellow's house the first time, a different fellow's the next . . . (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69)

Through oracles and through their privileges in ratifying rites of passage, the *huacas*' priestly representatives closely governed the ongoing business of society. Another sort of priesthood, the nonhereditary *huacsa* office, rotated among members of appropriate kin groups. *Yanca*s seem to function as calendric and technical authorities, oracles and mediators, while the *huacsas*' main duty was to impersonate the great *huaca*s in festivals and reenact their myths. Some of the narratives may be verbal "scripts" of *huacsa* performances.

In comparison to the priesthoods, the manuscript has little to say about the power of nonpriestly leaders such as the political "native lords" called *curaca*s or the native magistrates (*alcaldes*) appointed by Spanish colonial officials. It mentions several postconquest *curaca*s by name, often commenting on their attitudes toward *huaca*s or as a device for setting a chronological context. Several passages imply that the *curaca* was expected to take a prominent part in *huaca* ceremonies (chap. 13, secs. 173–174, 176), and that he could exert leadership over a community's decision to adopt or neglect particular *huaca*s (chap. 19, sec. 231; chap. 20, secs. 244–245).

*Huaca*s had vibrantly individual personalities. Paria Caca, whether in his incarnation as the hailstorm of the icy heights or as the five-in-one hero who beat the Yunca down toward the sea, seems haughty, brilliant, and cold, a driving deity. Llocllay Huancupa (chaps. 20 and 21) lurks in the dark like an inarticulate beast, roaring dully over his immolated meal. Chuqui Suso, the sexy agricultural *huaca* (chap. 6, secs. 82, 88–90), and her sister who seduced the Paria Cacas into irrigating her (chap. 12, sec. 170), as well as the great maternal *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, were associated with sensuality and playful ease:

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow. (chap. 10, sec. 151)

They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn.

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!" (chap. 13, sec. 174)

Clearly *huacas* are living beings, persons in fact. Avila and other Christian seventeenth-century observers seem to think of the *huacas* as real beings, material in form but animated by demonic spirit. When Avila applied the terms "god" and "goddess" to *huacas* (for example, Cuni Raya's beloved Caui Llaca; Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 202–203), he seemed to be thinking of them as linked to natural forms, anthropomorphic and tangible, something like the deities of Greco-Roman mythology and the "demons" of medieval Europe whose lore he apparently knew in some detail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 207, note 3). In this partly Greco-Roman sense, the word "deity" might fit the *huacas*. But one must be careful; the dualism of substance enfolded in the Christian usage of the words "god" and "divine" seems superfluous for understanding Andean worship. The world imagined by the Checa does not seem to have been made of two kinds of stuff—matter and spirit—like that of Christians; *huacas* are made of energized matter, like everything else, and they act within nature, not over and outside it as Western supernaturals do.

The tellers give *pacha* shape by mapping onto it a society of *huacas* that mimics idealized human social structure, mainly genealogical and affinal. Earth forms, superhumanity, and society match each other in a structure of correspondences. Great snowcaps are great creators. Their myths are often shared among large populations (perhaps tens or hundreds of thousands before the Spanish conquest) united by language and other markers of public identity; often they are the groups called "nations" by some Spanish authors and "ethnic groups" by modern students of Inca polity. Paria Caca, whose body was a double-peaked snowcap high in the rugged western range, was known to Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 241) as one of the greatest deities. The pilgrimage to his shrine (Bonavia et al. 1984) united thousands of people in a trek over the last lap, a race up the "steps of Paria Caca" still visible today. The pilgrims visited the lake where Paria Caca quenched the Huanca deity Huallallo's fires, sacrificed llamas at Paria Caca's dwelling, and, according to Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161), "climb[ed] the peak of the snowcap to offer their sacrifices."

The Huarochirí narrators explained their various ancestor *huacas* as heroic offspring of this great regional *huaca*. In the Huarochirí manuscript Paria Caca is said to consist of five beings who are, in various contexts, equal or ranked component selves of a fivefold being. In the overall textual architecture, which seeks to weld *huacas* of diverse origin into a single ideological kindred, the five heroes were felt to have established what were apparently large fraternal sections of society. The main teller of the Paria Caca mythology thinks of the landscape as divided into domains of influence corresponding to the various large highland-derived groups, each defined by putative descent from a persona or child of Paria Caca. These domains are not said to be contiguous territories. They emerge in the form of mythic trajectories: the paths of heroes, along which the heroes achieved society-defining deeds and left areas of dominion over specific lands and people in the scattered or "archipelago" form known from secular and bureaucratic sources.

Yuriy/yumay: *concepts of human birth and descent*

Colonial Andeans imagined human descent groups as continuations of the genealogy of *huacas*. Intermediate-sized, named ascriptive groups like the Checa "thousand" (whose viewpoint often dominates the text) were fitted into a unified regional ideology by defining their founders as the progeny of Paria Caca's component heroes. Paria Caca's followers thus construed the "original" organization as sib- or clanlike. The spacial foci of superhuman and human genealogy seem to have been symbolized by shrines called *pacarinas* or 'dawning places' that represented founders' and heroes' appearances on earth. *Pacarina* myths are by their very nature peculiar to each group; since the Huarochirí mythology as a whole sometimes seeks to coordinate the mythic legacies of several "originally" separate groups, it is not surprising that *pacarinas* are the theme on which Paria Caca mythology is least consistent. One example is the *pacarina* where a people-producing *quinua* plant grew (chap. 24, sec. 302); the person who composed the chapters seems

uncertain how to reconcile this myth (which Taylor [1987b: 163] takes as a component predating the subsumption of origins in Paria Caca) with other accounts of emergence.

Andeans traced the descent lines of actual humans from revered ancestors, whom they credited with living on as guardians of fertility and order as long as their mummified bodies endured. We know from "idolatry" trials and the testimony of chroniclers that the cult of mummies (*mallquis*) formed the link between the mythology of *huacas* and the purportedly known genealogy of named groups of the living. One witness on trial for "idolatry" explained: "This *mallqui* [the mummy Guaman Cama] was a nephew of the idols Caruatarqui Urau, and Ticlla Urau, and the progenitor of this *ayllo* Chacas, and he was a son of Libiac ['Lightning'], and he nurtured people, multiplied them, guarded their fields and gave them money and wealth" (Huertas 1981: 104–105). Mummified ancestors lived in caves or special houses (chap. 11, sec. 155). Their progeny dressed them richly, periodically "embraced" and feted them, served them with food and sacrifices, and petitioned their approval of major transactions (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 1:262–271; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 116–119). Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:76–77) mentioned that mummies of special importance were *huacas* and in Huarochirí it seems to be mummified leaders of successful invasions who achieved this role. The two Huarochirí chapters about the fate of the dead (chaps. 27 and 28) are evasive about mummification but difficult to understand unless one assumes that people preserved human remains in some way. A few Huarochirí passages seem to refer to mummy *huacas*:

> The one (*huaca*) called Ñan Sapa was a human being.
>
> Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.
>
> But they made another one to be his proxy.
>
> This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.
>
> They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. (chap. 24, secs. 319–320)

In connecting ancestors to living humans, unilineal principles play an explicit role. The myths employ a concept of patrilineage (*yumay* 'sperm') used in relation to a concept of sibling or birth group (*yuriy* 'birth'). The preface tells us that the peoples whose story is to be told here constitute a group by virtue of sharing a father: "I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2). The vocative *yaya* 'father' as a form of address is used to express deference to any male authority, human or superhuman.

The most prominent collective ego of the myths, the Checa, thought of their group as defined by mythic descent from one of the component Paria Caca persons; it is not stated to be patrilineal, but the Yauyo subgroup called Morales as a whole is treated as male relative to the Yunca, and the persons whose acts define it are males. Within such clanlike categories, there appear to have been more clearly genealogical patrilineages uniting people with specific rights and duties. Portions of society characterized as patrilineages (*yumay* 'sperm') are mentioned as the holders of hereditary water rights and priesthoods (chap. 7, sec. 91; chap. 31, sec. 445).

When comparisons among sectors of a collectivity are made, whether at a vague clanlike or a more genealogical lineagelike level, they are usually made in terms of birth order within an original sibling set (*yuriy*). Genealogical myths from all over the world "justify existing stratifications by denying them (we are all brothers) while at the same time providing detailed guidance to inequality by distinguishing between 'elder' and 'younger' branches. They also record alliances by tying allied groups into common genealogies" (Vansina 1985: 103). The concept *yuriy* 'sibling group' carries exactly this contradiction. In all cases, siblinghood seems to imply rank even more saliently than it implies solidarity. "The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (chap. 11, sec. 153). The notion of unranked kin solidarity is treated as an abstraction or mystique at the highest level of mythic generality: Paria Caca, the union of all Huarochirí-area invader groups, came into being as five unnumbered eggs. The set of eggs could be considered a sibling set, but one without birth order because not yet born. No such transcendent paradox occurs among humans. The transition from power *in ovo* to power in action is also the transition to rank order.

As in many Andean contexts (for example, the political organization of colonial Andean communities), the firstborn or leading member of a set (e.g., noble heads of a village's component *ayllus*) functions within the set as first among equals, but outside the set as the totalizing representative of it. (The political authority of *curacas* over *ayllus*, for example, seems to have worked on this principle.) So, too, among *huacas*. Paria Caca can be considered the first among five brothers (chap. 8, sec. 99), yet at the same time as the overarching deity of

which the five are only parts. In this latter function Paria Caca is often spoken of as the father rather than the brother of the heroes. Chaupi Ñamca has the same structure (chap. 10, sec. 147).

So thoroughly does the ideology of genealogical inequality govern ritual order that the birth of human siblings whose rank order closely approached equality—that is, twins—was seen as a major anomaly warranting the immense expiatory efforts that occupy supplement I.

Naturally there is some tension between rank ascribed by descent and rank achieved through warfare. The "children of Paria Caca" fought for the military supremacy of their ethnic group, but also for precedence among themselves, and this produces anomalies; chapter 17 expresses the Checa claim to have risen above their Quinti rivals by their achievements. Sometimes a group's junior standing seems to reflect its lesser achieved power. The Concha, a local group described as an *ayllu* (see below), were said to have originally been a *yuriy* of five brothers and a sister; the resulting five groups' unequal land resources are explained as the result of the first three brothers' having conquered energetically while the last two lagged or got lost:

> . . . these two [Hualla and Calla] fell somewhat behind.
>
> So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country, thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."
>
> A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back. (chap. 31, sec. 391)

Patrilineal grouping and birth-order ranking do not exhaust the kinship content of the ideology expressed in the manuscript. Some episodes suggest that descent through females also played a large part in the tellers' idealized vision of social organization. No named principle used in myths of group origin offers a matrilineal counterpart to *yumay*. Yet, in rituals, there is a strong tendency to treat the engendering of females as a separate type of parentage from the begetting of males. In the fertility-giving ritual game of spearing giant dummies called *yomca* and *huasca*,

> Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.
>
> The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.
>
> After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*, and they'd begin to let fly at the targets. (chap. 24, sec. 328)
>
> Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,
>
> "She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"
>
> and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,
>
> "He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods, and all kinds of animals!" (chap. 24, sec. 334)

Separate female *huaca*s were credited with being great producers of female offspring: "Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men" (chap. 13, sec. 172). *Mama* 'mother' was a term of honorific address strictly parallel to *yaya* 'father'. Certain priestesses held rank apparently equal to that of priests (chap. 13, sec. 178; chap. 31, sec. 417; see also Avila [1645] 1918: 65). Overall, the implicit suggestion seems to be that male and female fertility run through separate channels, which cross over each other in a braidlike pattern as each generation reproduces itself sexually. The female channel of fertility was fortified by a priestly religious structure, as was the male. The Huarochirí data seem compatible with—but do not declare the existence of—inheritance of some religious identity or obligation through parallel descent (Lambert [1977] 1980: 37; Silverblatt 1987: 20–39).

Ayllu: *corporate landholding collectivity self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred*

The tellers of the myths habitually described their society as built of collectivities called *ayllu*s. In many passages the *ayllu* figures as the basic unit of ritual action:

> . . . in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
>
> They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*. (chap. 24, sec. 309)

A person's immediate religious responsibility was to his or her *ayllu*'s senior members. When Lanti Chumpi discovered what she guessed might be a new *huaca* (perhaps a buried figurine or unusual stone), her first thought was to take the find to them (chap. 20, sec. 237). We know that each *ayllu* made its own claim to religious authority because each told its own version of certain myths (chap. 13, sec. 187).

But what was the makeup of the *ayllu*? The classic sources look unhelpful at first glance. The great lexicographer Diego Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 39–40) gives a definition of *ayllu* so broad as to include virtually all kinds of descent, kinship, and even territorial solidarity. Avila thought an *ayllu*

was something like the Spanish kin group defined by a shared surname (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257), which would suggest patrilineal bias.

Internal evidence from the manuscript, however, suggests something other than a corporate unilineal principle. Chapter 7 (sec. 91) says, "There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage [*yumay*] which bears the name Chauincho." From this we infer, first, that *ayllu* is a separate concept from patrilineage, and second, that an *ayllu* could contain more than one patrilineage. *Ayllu* is therefore not the minimal or the only unit of descent ideology. However, the fact that the passage just cited goes on to speak of the Chauincho patrilineage as an *ayllu* (with a crossing-out eloquent of hesitation on someone's part) suggests that the term *ayllu* could subsume the concept of lineage. This makes it difficult to distinguish the two in certain instances.

We also know, because chapter 13 (sec. 187) implies as much, that a given territorial settlement (*llacta*; see below), which we usually gloss 'village', could have multiple *ayllu*s: "in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions . . ." People understood the internal dynamics of their local communities as a play of more or less rival *ayllu*s.

The tellers saw rights to land and other immovable assets as lodged in the *ayllu*s: "As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllu*s, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316). This passage then tells us that even the invaders felt bound to redefine their own organization on the pattern of preexisting local *ayllu*s, which suggests they had a high degree of corporate definition and legitimacy as well as important functions. Since it goes on to say the Yasapa *ayllu* people were silversmiths, one may further speculate that some *ayllu*s practiced, or at least were traditionally associated with, occupational specialties.

So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion? This question, an ancient mare's nest in Andean research, yields partly to Karen Spalding's exploration (1984: 28–30, 48–52; see also Castelli, Koth, and Mould de Pease 1981). Gonçález Holguín shows us that the most general sense of *ayllu* and its derived words is "that of grouping elements or persons together on the basis of similarity or species, or dividing up a larger group on the basis of the same criteria" (Spalding 1984: 29). "Similarity or species" could mean taxa such as animal or plant species, but, when applied to people, *ayllu* usually meant "descendants of a common ancestor." "The term was commonly defined as any group—family, lineage, or generation—whose members were related to one another through their descent from a common ancestor" (Spalding 1984: 28–29), that is, an ancestor-focused bilateral kindred. Zuidema (1973: 16–21) has developed the argument toward a detailed model of ancestor classification and cultic organization.

Spalding's definition has useful corollaries. First, it reminds us that, like such spatial terms as *pacha*, *ayllu* is the name of a concept of relatedness and not of an entity with specific dimensions. It has no inherent limits of scale; in principle, it applies to all levels from sibling groups to huge kindreds, clanlike groups, or even whole ethnic groups defined by reference to common origin and territory. An *ayllu* can readily be understood as consisting of multiple patrilineages (or, in principle, matrilineages) insofar as any given member can trace descent from the "founder" or apex via a given child of the "founder" (and so forth, in potentially segmenting ramifications). Platt ([1978] 1986: 230–231) has clearly demonstrated a varied-scale usage among modern Bolivian highlanders, who reckon upward from the "minimal *ayllu*"—small clusters of patrilocal rural neighborhoods—up through "minor," "major," and finally "maximal" *ayllu*s that ascend to include the entire ethnic group. The various levels of *ayllu* organization may each have specific terminologies, typically referring to their political functions. For example, in Platt's area, the "minimal" *ayllu* was called *cabildo* (civic council) in its political functioning, and Spalding (1984: 51) adduces a Spanish witness who understood the Inca decimal term *pachaca* ('hundred') to mean an *ayllu* of a hundred households or over, suitable by its size for treatment as an administrative entity in its own right. In the Huarochirí manuscript, the usage of *ayllu* terminology becomes less confusing if one recognizes that an *ayllu* may be part of a larger *ayllu*. In this sense, the "children of Paria Caca," the large (perhaps ethnic) group that forms the mythology's collective subject, a group of people "who all descend from one forefather" (pref., sec. 2), is a "maximal *ayllu*."

Second, as Spalding also emphasizes, for practical purposes it was not precise genealogy that finally decided who belonged to an *ayllu*, but rather social conduct—including political alliance—befitting a genealogically connected person. As with

many concepts in the domain of kinship, *ayllu* may be understood partly as an ideology built up to explain patterns of behavior rooted in the residence rules, which in turn often reflect the demands of a given geographical, technological, and demographic reality. Access to *ayllu*-held assets (and claims to collective *ayllu* ownership continued far into the colonial era) was given in return for exchanged labor and exchanged ritual participation on a kinship model. One can see in the myths of Concha *ayllu* (chap. 31, sec. 391) that genealogical connection alone was insufficient to bestow land on the two Concha lineages that had become politically disconnected. But adoption combined with political or marital alliance was seen as sufficient to create *ayllu* entitlements even when there was no genealogical tie (chap. 31, sec. 403). *Ayllu* was a political fact, and cultic practice lodged in it regulated practical matters of economy and power.

Llacta: *'village' as cultic and territorial unit*

By the time the Huarochirí manuscript was written, colonial coercion had overhauled the relationships between people and territory. If the prehispanic Huarochirí region resembled those known elsewhere in the Peruvian Andes, each of its major settlements probably controlled "archipelagos" of mostly non-nucleated residence spread over the various productive tiers of the mountain slope and the coast. But by 1608 the parishes where Avila was working—for example, San Damián de Checa, focal point of the manuscript—no longer entirely followed this model. Villages like San Damián had been carved out in a scheme of forced resettlement (*reducción*) that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo had begun almost forty years earlier. When administrators herded Andean peasants into resettlement villages (Gade and Escobar 1982; Spalding 1984: 214–216) they fused together multiple Andean settlements—the ones called *llacta* in prehispanic usage—into a larger, more accessible, more governable and exploitable "Indian town" on a Spanish plan with plazas, churches, and streets laid out on a grid. Most of the places with Spanish (saint) names in the manuscript belong to this Toledan reordering of territory.

Why, then, did people keep orienting their religion around a map that no longer strictly fit the productive space of politics and economy? After the initial coercions of resettlement, from the 1580s on, older relations to the landscape partly reasserted themselves both in practice and in ideology. In practice, productive efficiency and the chance to hide from tribute collectors enticed people back upward into the non-nucleated pastoral hamlets of the heights and downward into relatively hidden farming settlements in river canyons (Málaga 1974). Nor, in imagination, did the establishment of a Christian sacred geography centered on parish churches empty the landscape of non-Christian meaning. The Huarochirí storytellers c. 1600 saw all around them their parents' ruined "old settlements" (*pueblos viejos*, a common term in papers of the period) and their ancestors' stone "houses of the dead." The pre-resettlement scheme of territoriality, a mental map of social groups attached to place-deities and localized ancestors, still formed a complete and intelligible shadow-geography projected onto the landscape that colonial organizations had already reshaped *de facto*. Immense *huaca*-studded spaces of canyons and high tundra, fields and trails, embodied an Andean world view at least as cogently as the small, dense space inside the new churches figured Christianity. Since outdoor space was also the space of work and livelihood, the very cycles of herding and farming continuously retaught what Sunday sermons sought to erase.

The commonest term for the anciently defined settlement, *llacta*, is not the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village', which denote a portion of territory or the legal corporation that governs it. A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored. The word *llacta* could thus be used to mean the deity that was master of a settlement. In chapter 24 (sec. 325), where the original text says that the "*llactas*" divided up the llama herds among themselves, a marginal note clarifies that this means the "idols," that is, the *huacas* that defined the *llactas*, and our translation uses the latter sense.

The word *llactayuc* (glossed 'aborigine', 'native', or 'founder') therefore means something more complex than 'original resident'. It implies both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum and being possessed by it. When the heroes of the myths conquered lands and peoples, they also acquired local ritual obligations and even, it seems, grafted themselves into the genealogical categories reckoned from the *huaca*: "As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllus*, the fields, the houses, and even the *ayllu* designations" (chap. 24, sec. 316).

The chain of human movements and transformations by which the Checa people explained their social organization emphasizes at every stage a pattern of *huaca*s among whose territories human groups move and fight. *Huaca*s might travel on the way to establishing their dwellings but once victorious they had—they *were*—their locales, and it was the deity-locale that gave wealth and identity to human groups. The Checa explained all changes, both prehispanic and recent, with reference to the geography and the relative fortunes of *huaca*s. To the tellers, the explanation of society and its genesis was written out in the landscape—even where Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huaca*s.

Even now *llacta* is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like *ayllu*, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country "my *llacta*." Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given *llacta* is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glossed *llacta* as 'village'. But 'town', 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined.

The original text

The Huarochirí manuscript is ff. 64r–114r of manuscript number 3169 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The original lacks title, date, and author. It is the fourth item among six manuscripts about Andean religion, from Francisco de Avila's own collection, all bound together. Among these writings are whole texts and abstracts from some of the most important sources on the subject, such as the *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* ([1575?] 1959) of Cristóbal de Molina "cuzqueño" and the original of Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's partly Quechua *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Perú* ([1613] 1968) as well as works by Juan Polo de Ondegardo and Garcilaso Inca de la Vega. It also contains the manuscript of Francisco de Avila's *Tratado*, a translation, or more accurately a paraphrase with digressive commentary, of the same material contained in chapters 1–7 of the Huarochirí manuscript.

The Huarochirí manuscript is written in an ordinary competent scribal handwriting. The chapter divisions and titles used here are from the original. But the original does not have a consistent system of paragraph divisions or sentence divisions: some sentence boundaries are ambiguous. Various pen strokes resembling parentheses, commas, and other small symbols occur in the text, but they do not seem to add up to a consistent system of punctuation. (Scribal papers of the period normally lack consistent punctuation.) The text is in a variety of Quechua with the exception of the Spanish chapter headings of chapters 1–6, some borrowed Spanish words, and some marginal queries and annotations, probably by Father Avila. Irregular pagination and handwriting size indicate that the manuscript may have been compiled in noncontinuous bursts of effort. The text comes "from the hand and pen of Thomás," according to a marginal note over halfway through the text (chap. 23, sec. 291), but we do not know anything about "Thomás" save that he seems (from his Quechua-influenced errors in Spanish) not to have been a native—or a particularly accomplished—Spanish speaker. Whether he was only an amanuensis or was also the compiler of the testimonies is unknown. Thomás' practiced handwriting suggests he may have been an *escribano de naturales* (bilingual scribe), village council scribe, or other native functionary of the colonial regime.

The date of the Huarochirí manuscript is debatable. Avila's *Tratado* partially paraphrases the manuscript, or a draft of it, and bears the date 1608, so the manuscript seems *prima facie* to predate the end of 1608. But by how much? In chapter 9 (sec. 133) a narrator tells us it is *cay pisi huatallarac*, which at first glance seems to mean 'scarcely a year', since Father Avila came onto the San Damián scene. Were that reading unambiguous, we could agree that the date must be 1598 because, as Duviols ascertained, Avila arrived in Huarochirí in 1597 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 235). But *cay pisi huatallarac* could also mean 'just a few years', admitting a later date. And as Antonio Acosta's important researches (1987a, 1987b), summarized in the next section, suggest, there are strong reasons to consider dates considerably later than 1598.

The possible genesis of the text in the local conjuncture

The common attribution of the manuscript to Father Francisco de Avila is erroneous, but he cer-

tainly was a key figure in the local conjuncture that forced the manuscript into being. The following paragraphs summarize recent research by the Spanish historian Antonio Acosta, whose archival inquiry (1987b: 551–616) brings the local crisis into clearer focus and suggests a more plausible genesis for the text than the self-serving version available from Avila's own testimony.

The pioneer of seventeenth-century anti-*huaca* persecution was born in Cuzco probably in 1573, the abandoned, perhaps illegitimate baby of an unknown couple. The Spanish couple who found him at their doorstep gave him the Spanish name Francisco de Avila Cabrera. Avila later, but dubiously, claimed he knew his ancestry to be noble; others claimed he was half-Indian, and to his misfortune this became the common opinion. Acosta (1987b: 557–558) finds reason to question it. If Avila thought himself mestizo, it would have been against his interest to say so given the racial impediment to ordination during his youth, so his silence on the point cannot be decisive. One witness in 1610 called him mestizo, without proof, and a 1641 witness thought he looked Indian (Acosta 1987b: 556–557, note; Spalding 1984: 253–254). But these accusations of mixed birth came after Avila had risen to prominence and could well have been falsehoods intended to sabotage his career. Such doubts leave room to question the common supposition that his vengeful attitude to Indian religion grew from the pain of mixed (therefore impure and stigmatized) birth or from resultant abandonment.

Avila showed talent in a Cuzco Jesuit school and went to Lima to study at San Marcos University in 1592. In 1596 he was ordained and in 1597 posted as curate to San Damián de Checa, one of the *reducción* parishes near Huarochirí. It was a plum appointment. Avila's Jesuit connections probably had much to do with his career there, for the Jesuits over twenty years earlier had pioneered what they recognized as an unusually rich mission field—one where Andean religion had already shown strong resistance to some forty years of intermittent Catholic intervention. One passage (chap. 20, secs. 244–247) sketches the fluctuating, but never extinguished, fortunes of the *huaca* priesthood through three generations of colonial leadership.

Even within normal limits of law, a curate like Avila had access to ample native labor. But, in addition, by the date of Avila's arrival it had become usual though illegal for priests serving Indian parishes to parlay their ecclesiastical holiday levies and salaries, combined with legal leverage over native nobles, into business enterprises large enough to rival the incomes of rural Peru's opulent semifeudal civil elite (Lavallé 1982). In time, it seems, this sort of practice led Avila into controversy. When he was a new curate, in 1598, an inspection praised his pastoral work. But a sign of conflict appeared in a 1600 "secret inspection and hearing" that turned up accusations of commercial abuses. Although he was officially cleared, the inspection reveals that like many rural clerics he had begun to make local enemies.

Four later inspections left Avila's record superficially restored. In 1607 Avila gathered testimonies on his "life and morals" to buttress his continuing appeal for a higher post. At the last minute, however, he met a fateful opposition: a faction of his native parishioners mounted an ecclesiastical lawsuit against him. Both colonial chieftains and commoners accused him, and their accusations were more numerous than in ordinary cases of this sort (frequent, to be sure, in the period). They accused him of absences from his parish (perhaps, Acosta suggests, he went to Lima in connection with his studies toward the doctorate; 1987b: 574), of charging excessive fees, and of exacting illegal labor levies. Like many other curates, he was said to collect huge amounts of native crops and sell them for private profit. Maybe natives tolerated this because priests of the Andean *huaca*s, too, had enjoyed huge gifts of produce (Acosta 1987b: 576). But Avila may have gone too far in helping himself to his parishioners' labor, which he used to support his partly illegal business enterprises in gunpowder, charcoal, and textile manufacture and to build himself a house in Lima using beams he made his parishioners remove from the roofs of their pre-resettlement village. In a period of declining native population, curates' rising and increasingly arrogant expectations of cheap or unpaid labor acutely angered some natives. It was apparently Avila's project to open a new textile factory at native expense that finally provoked chiefs of the "thousand" of Chaucarima to litigate against him.

The Indians went beyond economic grievances to introduce a doubt about Avila's religious and moral regularity, alleging sexual abuses of various native women (some married) and the fathering of an illegitimate son. He even forced Indian women, "under physical threats, to suckle at their breasts the same puppies which . . . when grown, chased and killed the Indians' chickens" (Acosta 1987b: 574). He beat up villagers, including his sacristan, for not serving his desires zealously enough. Once at a christening he hurled the oil at his sacristan's chest. Accusers said he encouraged Indians to give their venerated ancestors silver (see chap. 21, sec. 262) and then himself collected some of it (Acosta 1987b: 572).

If true, this suggests that in the early days of his curacy Avila had no urgent scruples about a *modus vivendi* with "idolatrous" religion. Apparently coexistence entailed the curate's acquiring traditional privileges of *huaca* priests—access to women, labor donations, crop gifts—and, in return, tolerating (or even profiting from) worship of *huaca*s on Catholic holidays (see chap. 7; chap. 9, sec. 125).

Avila spent some time in a church prison while charges were pending. But his emissaries pressed the natives to recant their accusations, and some did. The record of the trial contains a neat sheaf of the recantations, witness by witness, each with a cover sheet bearing Avila's elegant handwriting. One of Avila's allies in collecting these was the same Cristóbal Choque Casa whose visionary combats chapters 20 and 21 glorify, at that time an obscure son of native nobles. He prepared one of the recantations in Quechua (Taylor 1985: 180). In Acosta's judgment (1987b: 596), "It is believable that the narrative [i.e., the Huarochirí manuscript] could have been compiled at Avila's order in 1608, when his lawsuit with his Indians was in full swing, maybe on his emergence from prison and as a part of his reaction against the Indians who had accused him." Avila probably secured the testimony through one or more native cat's-paws who either interviewed anti-*huaca* natives or else secured the testimony of *huaca* believers by lulling them into unawareness of their testimonies' future utility. Cristóbal Choque Casa probably played a key role. It is hard to guess what parts fear, self-interest, and sincere conversion (Cristóbal's or others') played in the extraction of testimonies. Certainly intimidation played a part; for example, Avila made a point of interrogating Indians made vulnerable by frightening illnesses (Acosta 1987b: 600–601, 603). Although in later years Avila never mentioned the manuscript's existence, he probably did use it in hunting down *huaca*s.

When the court responsible for the Indians' suit took depositions in San Damián, a decision only minimally damaging to Avila appeared likely. But instead of letting procedure take its course, he seized the offensive by asking the Ecclesiastical Chapter of Lima to authorize an inquiry into "idolatries" under canon law. Avila, according to his own much later testimony written in 1645 (1918), then led the ecclesiastical judges to the *huaca*s Llacsay Huancupa (perhaps equivalent to Llocllay Huancupa, chaps. 20 and 21), Qqellccas Ccassu (probably *quillcas caxo* or 'Engraved Rod', chap. 24, sec. 320), and Maca Uisa (chaps. 18, 19, 23). In later testimonies Avila claimed his campaign had arisen only from disinterested zeal, but Acosta's research makes it believable that the campaign was undertaken in revenge against the natives who had accused him of venality and immorality.

According to the 1645 testimony (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 220), it was Cristóbal Choque Casa's revelation that the feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí for 1608 would be used to cover a rite of Paria Caca that provoked Avila to undertake massive anti-*huaca* campaigns. It is likely, of course, that in reality nothing new was being revealed. The only new element was Avila's urgent need for favorable publicity. Avila intensified his sleuthing in 1608 and procured public confessions of "idolatry" in a parish meeting that stirred and mobilized his pro-Christian allies. He asked the Jesuits for assistance in confessing a deluge of penitents and was sent two helpers. They pioneered the routine of breaking images, burning mummies, extracting public confessions, and punishing believers that was to become the periodic scourge of Lima archdiocese Indians until at least the 1660s. Avila was able to collect a great deal of stolen religious gear and forced testimony. By September 1609 he was amply ready to dictate his answer to the native accusations, laying the groundwork for a false autobiography that painted the accusations as a reaction to his anti-*huaca* zeal.

It was also during this crisis that Father Avila prepared the *Tratado*, that unfinished pamphlet retelling and commenting on the same myths that make up chapters 1 through 7 of the Huarochirí manuscript. The relation between the redaction of the Huarochirí manuscript and Avila's work on the 1608 *Tratado* has been debated between Hartmann (1981) and Taylor (1982, 1987b: 17–18). The former thinks it probable that Avila based his treatise on the manuscript, while the latter thinks that the two are separate workings of a prior source probably consisting of interview notes. In either case, it is likely that Avila intended the *Tratado* as a readable exposé designed to win Spanish support for his career. At the time of the *Tratado*'s composition Avila needed public support because the archbishop of Lima, Toribio Mogrovejo, had set policy against the aggressive persecutions that Avila favored.

But, luckily for him, an opponent of gradualist policy toward "backsliding" Indians and a bitter foe of *huaca* religion, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Lima in October 1609. According to Taylor (1987b: 18), Avila left continued compilation of anti-*huaca* intelligence to an Indian associate. Although he did read and annotate part of the product, the Huarochirí manuscript, he never fully edited it.

A bare ten days after Lobo Guerrero's accession,

Avila seized the moment to make his case behind the archbishop's closed Lima doors. Shortly afterward he staged a public propaganda spectacular. Avila had carted a load of *huaca*s and mummies "800 years old" into Lima, perhaps the ones he tracked down thanks to the testimonies recorded in the manuscript. Amid immense pomp and publicity he directed a giant auto-da-fé in Lima's great cathedral square on December 20, 1609. Thousands of natives were forced to attend. A spectacle of music, Quechua sermons, and whipping of believers culminated in public sentencing. Among the victims was Hernando Paucar, the same ex-priest of Chaupi Ñamca and early denouncer of *huaca*s whose confessions had opportunely helped Avila. Paucar was tied to a post, lashed two hundred strokes, and condemned to confinement among Jesuits in faraway Chile. Avila then burned the *huaca*s and the ancestral mummies, to the inconsolable grief of those who felt themselves orphaned.

Four days later an ecclesiastical judge absolved Avila of all the accusations pending. Moreover, he was granted the title of "*visitador* [traveling judge] of idolatries."

These events marked the opening salvo of the "extirpation of idolatry" campaigns, in which Avila and his Jesuit allies developed standardized methods to destroy the partly clandestine forms of Andean religion that had grown out of the long confrontation with Christianity (Duviols 1972). Within a year of becoming *visitador*, he executed repressive campaigns in the main parishes that the Huarochirí manuscript mentions and collected, as he claimed, some 5,000 "idols." In 1611 he went with a Jesuit crew to climb the heights via Yampilla just outside Huarochirí (chap. 31, sec. 409). The climbers trekked for several days up what may have been the ancient pilgrimage route. After the ascent they followed a stairway hewn into the rock (Bonavia et al. 1984), up to what Avila believed to be the shrine of Paria Caca himself. They demolished everything they could. Then the extirpators "put in its place a cross and in the afternoon they returned to San Lorenzo de Quinti, where [local people] received him with illuminations, and the Indians said in their own language, 'Paria Caca has died'" (Duviols 1966: 224).

Avila continued to campaign widely and became an influential figure in the Jesuit-centered anti-indigenous movement that intermittently lashed the archbishopric for most of the seventeenth century. While legally separate from the Inquisition, and in some respects different from it, the "extirpations" were to inflict on Andean society some of the same sufferings, and the same clandestinity, that the Inquisition visited on Iberian heterodoxy. Avila's track of destruction crossed the wanderings of the great native chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980: 3:1017, 1022–1023), who met some of his victims and, notwithstanding his own dislike of *huaca* religion, cursed Avila for his greed and mercilessness: "Oh what a fine doctor, where is your soul? What serpent is eating you?"

But if many of "the people called Indians" had reason to hate Avila, many of the Spanish, and not just his Jesuit allies, had cause to rejoice at his success. One reason was that *huaca* hunting appealed to clerics' and laymen's greed for treasure. Spanish law allowed confiscation of pagan deities' wealth, and the persecutory movement that Avila promoted opened a rich vein. Guaman Poma was among those who suspected that Avila's motives included the theft of precious objects belonging to *huaca* cults ([1615] 1980: 3:1022–1023). The anti-Andean campaigns also offered career opportunities to Peru's numerous churchmen at a time when the church was hugely overstaffed relative to its parish infrastructure.

Avila built a long and prosperous career on these campaigns and was to win renown for his anti-*huaca* scholarship as well as for his militancy in missionizing. In 1611, at Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's request, he wrote a report on "idolatrous" domestic rituals and local deities. After a series of attacks on deities mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript and in other places, in 1615 he wrote at the request of the new viceroy, Príncipe de Esquilache, a project on the means to achieve "real conversion." The next year he conducted a gigantic tour of repression affecting some 35,000 persons. He wrote extensively on ways to influence and intimidate *huaca* worshipers, emphasizing both intimate persuasion and institutional ways to confine those sorts of Indians (notably the sons of native nobles) thought prone to lead or protect clandestine worship.

In 1618 he won a mid-ranking post in the Archbishopric of La Plata (seated in Chuquisaca, now Sucre, Bolivia) and held the job for fourteen years. Why the church hierarchs decided to employ him in a place so far from his political base is unknown; nor is much known about his career there. In 1632 he returned to the Cathedral of Lima to serve the newly appointed archbishop, Hernando Arias de Ugarte, an old acquaintance, as a canon of the Lima Cathedral. He came to be known as a durable eminence of the church, popular among Spaniards for his charitable donations. Almost at the end of his life, he petitioned to enter the Jesuit order, but his alleged mestizo background was used to thwart him. When in 1641 Archbishop Pedro Villagómez

saw fit to remobilize the old persecutor as instructor for what was to become the second great wave of "extirpation," Avila seized the occasion to build his own monument as the "discoverer" of crypto-Andean heterodoxy. The self-portrait he painted in the 1645 preface to his *Tratado de los Evangelios* (Treatise on the Gospels) enduringly and, as Acosta shows, misleadingly influenced his historic image. The treatise reached the press in 1648, the year after his death. Its two volumes of Quechua and Spanish sermons, a little-known monument of literary Quechua's Baroque florescence, memorialize Avila's vision of a Counter-Reformation culture in Quechua.

Some twenty-three years after the making of the manuscript, Don Cristóbal still figured in a Concha lawsuit as a minor native official (Taylor 1983: 266, note; the date of Choque Casa's signature is 1631, not c. 1660 as Taylor holds). Certain of the *curacas* mentioned in the manuscript appear in tribute records and lawsuits both before and after the manuscript. In general the careers of Cristóbal Choque Casa and the other Indian makers of the Huarochirí manuscript remain obscure.

Among provincial religious sources the Huarochirí text has no peer, but it has many companions. Detailed testimonies about peasant and provincial belief appear, for example, in the "extirpation of idolatry" trials of which the Huarochirí crisis (chaps. 20–21) was a forerunner (Acosta 1987a; Duviols 1972, 1986; Millones 1967; Silverblatt 1987). Some of the Catholic priests who organized "extirpation" themselves wrote monographs on the Andean provincial religions and how to persecute them (Albornoz [1583?] 1984; Arriaga [1621] 1968; Avila [1608] 1966). Many missionary treatises and reports from the field reveal local cults and the memories of older practice in vivid detail (for example, Calancha [1638] 1974–1982; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919, [1622] 1923). After the waning of the "extirpation" campaigns, the record becomes thinner but still workable through, for example, trials of shamans implicated in political assassinations via magic (Dammert Bellido 1974, 1984; Millones 1984; Salomon 1983).

There may be room for doubt about some extirpators' personal sincerity, but little doubt that they played on widely believed ideological propositions. Local social conflicts like those of Huarochirí c. 1598 conspired with endemic conflicts arising from challenges to the Spanish state's commercial and religious hegemony to infuse in Jesuits and other anti-Andean militants a grim seriousness. Fear of "heresy" (meaning Protestantism and the northern European powers beginning to rival Spain) and enduring hatred against Iberia's Muslim and Jewish cultures, long since driven into clandestinity, helped clerics persuade the state that the fight against Andean religion contributed to a decisive world-historical struggle. The papers born of this effort offer ethnographic evidence, but because of their heavy ideological freight must be read with caution.

Given these facts, one might expect to find the particulars of Andean religion, and eventually the very fact of Andean worship, distorted in the direction of familiar European fantasies of anti-Christianity: satanism, the black mass, and so forth. Such distortions did happen, especially at later dates and more urban locations than those of the Huarochirí manuscript (Silverblatt 1987: 159–196). Likewise, one might expect that missionaries would picture Peruvian *huacas* in the image of more familiar "gentile" deities or "idols"—for example, the *dei* of Greco-Roman antiquity. This also did occur (MacCormack 1985).

But to a surprising degree the testimonies of the victims retain freshness and unfamiliarity that give *prima facie* evidence of an origin other than Iberian demonology or the classical legacy as enshrined in seminary curricula. Perhaps because many of them were provincials lacking the know-how to package and process their culture in terms familiar to Spanish speakers, the myth-tellers in the Huarochirí manuscript created an image still largely framed by conceptual categories proper to local thought. The Huarochirí stories retain for us a certain irreducible strangeness, resistant to translation because, unlike the preprocessed Inca lore available in chronicles, they were seized by Spain but not made for it.

Previous editions of the Huarochirí manuscript

The following are the extant complete editions of the text. No attempt is made to cover excerpts, retranslations, or popularizations. (For critical discussion, see Hartmann 1975, 1981; Taylor 1982.)

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1988. *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff. Dutch translation (no Quechua) with introduction and glossary.

Arguedas, José María (trans.) and Pierre Duviols (ed.). 1966. *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila [¿1598?]*.

Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos/Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. [Republished 1975] México: Siglo XXI.
First full and published Spanish translation. Includes Quechua. Although less accurate than Taylor's translation of 1987, Arguedas' translation is esteemed for literary merit. Duviols' biobibliographical essay on Avila, questioned by Acosta, remains important for its pioneering historic inquiry and for its primary source appendices. These include Avila's *Tratado* and other papers relevant to Avila, such as extracts of important Huarochirí reports by mostly Jesuit observers. Mexican republication is incomplete.

Galante, Hipólito (ed. and trans.). 1942. *Francisco de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et institutis* . . . Madrid: Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.
Contains the thirty-one chapters but not the appendices. Introduction in Latin, facsimile, transcription, critical notes, glossary of hispanisms, Latin translation, Spanish retranslation by Ricardo Espinosa M.

Mejía Xesspe, Toribio [unpublished translation]
Toribio Mejía Xesspe, a bilingual scholar who worked closely with Julio C. Tello in the pioneering days of Peruvian prehistoric archaeology, left in his posthumous estate an as yet unpublished version of the thirty-one chapters of the Huarochirí manuscript. Prepared in 1941–1943, it includes a rephonologization, a Spanish translation attempting morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, an incomplete "literal translation," and an incomplete "free translation" with pictorial sketches (Szemiński 1989).

Szemiński, Jan (ed. and trans.). 1985. *Bogowie i ludzie z Huarochirí*. Cracow/Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
Polish translation with brief introduction and general glossary. The title means 'Gods and Men from Huarochirí'.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.). 1980. *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua du début du 17e siècle*. Série Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan.
Bilingual edition containing introduction, transcription with variorum notes, and French translation with interpretative notes providing original solutions to some dialectological and lexical problems. Interpretative glossary, bibliography, and supplementary notes follow.

Taylor, Gerald (ed. and trans.), with Antonio Acosta. 1987. *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII*. Historia Andina, no. 12. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
Bilingual edition containing interpretative introduction, transcription, "phonological reconstitution," Spanish translation, bibliography, several indices (to Quechua words in the translation, hispanisms in original, names of places and groups, names of *huaca*s and heroes, names of rites, and names of historical personages). Copious critical, variorum, and interpretative notes closely address dialectological, geographical, and lexical problems. The preferred study edition.

Trimborn, Hermann (ed. and trans.). 1939. *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. 4. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag. [Republished with additional introduction and notes as] Hermann Trimborn and Antje Kelm (eds. and trans.). 1967. *Francisco de Avila*. Quellenwerke zur Alten Geschichte Amerikas Aufgezeichnet in den Sprachen der Eingeborenen, vol. 8. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut/Mann Verlag.
The earlier (1939) edition was the first publication of the original Quechua. Research for the 1939 edition was interrupted by the Spanish civil war; later bombing destroyed most copies. Contains preface, bibliography, introduction, transcription, German translation with notes, glossary, exegesis (1967), index of proper nouns. Hartmann (1975, 1981) judges that superior accuracy justifies the republication.

Urioste, George (ed. and trans.). 1983. *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres)*. 2 vols. Foreign and Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 6. Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.
Bilingual Quechua-Spanish edition: introduction, transcription with variorum notes and marginal material, translation with variorum and interpretative notes, indices (to proper nouns, Quechua words in the translation), bibliography.

An unreliable English version of Avila's *Tratado* by Clements R. Markham (Avila [1608] 1875) was the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology.

The character of the present translation

This book is a fresh working not based on any previous translation (including Urioste's 1983 Quechua-Spanish edition). Our study started from a newly made transcription from microfilm (reproduced here), collaboratively rendered into English by the co-authors. It is meant as a reader's edition rather than a study text. Scholars in need of a study edition should turn to Gerald Taylor's Quechua-Spanish version (1987b), which offers abundant apparatus as well as fuller contextual references. The 1966 Arguedas and Duviols edition also contains indispensable primary sources and bibliographic detail. The present version refers to other translations by way of mentioning some significant discrepancies, difficulties, or contextual findings but does not provide full coverage of alternative renderings.

We hope to address nonspecialists and have striven not only for accuracy but also for immediacy. We have intentionally left enough unresolved

strangeness on the surface to keep a reader aware that this text is untranslatable in all the usual senses, and perhaps a little more untranslatable than most.

Aside from the hazards intrinsic to all translations, Huarochirí readers face some specific ones.

Language substrates and non-Quechua languages

Oddly enough, it is not known exactly what relationship obtained between the Quechua of the manuscript and the language in which Huarochirí religious life was conducted. Many dialectological and linguistic questions about the manuscript remain pending.

Even the origin of the Quechua dialect used in the text itself is less than obvious. Its general affiliation is clear: it is one of the many and far-flung kinds of Quechua grouped as Quechua A or Quechua II. At least one member of this group spread widely through Andean America long before the Incas, and the Incas promoted a Quechua II dialect (probably not identical to Cuzco Quechua) as their administrative tongue. Perhaps working from this precedent, the Spanish invaders styled a widespread Quechua II (or perhaps several overlapping Quechua II dialects) the "general language" (Cerrón-Palomino 1985: 552–553; Taylor 1985: 158–160). In ecclesiastical councils especially, Spaniards promoted it for colonial use through efforts such as standardizing orthography and providing norms for translation and nontranslation of religious concepts.

"General" Quechua functioned c. 1600 as a lingua franca shared by many linguistically diverse peoples including Spaniards, among them clergymen who used it to simplify missionary work in a dialect landscape already reverting to pre-Inca diversity. Colonial native chiefs and others who traded on relationships with the Spanish also relied on it. On the whole, this church-influenced "general" Quechua is the language of the manuscript. The person who actually did the writing appears to have learned the art of Quechua writing for ecclesiastical purposes. But precisely because it was a partly artificial lingua franca—many speakers' second or third language and few if any speakers' first language—specific examples of "general" Quechua would normally be affected by underlying patterns of local speech. Linguists disagree on whether the text's peculiarities indicate an attempt to render speech similar to Cuzco Quechua (Urioste 1973: 4) or similar to the Quechua of modern Ayacucho (Hartmann 1981: 189). Mannheim (1991: 195) notes phonological reasons for questioning whether the manuscript records any member of the group of south highland dialects to which both Cuzco and Ayacucho belong.

The question actually goes far beyond Quechua dialectology. There is room for doubt about whether any Quechua was the language of religious practice or of the original testimony. In Huarochirí the particular version of Quechua that functioned as a "general language" for such churchmen as Father Avila still, at the probable date of the manuscript, thinly overlay at least one non-Quechua Andean tongue. Twenty-two years before the manuscript, Diego Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 155) noted that the common folk did not all know Quechua. A 1577 Jesuit report tells us that missionaries needed to have Quechua sermons repeated in a local language "because the women there don't know the general language" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 245). Almost two centuries after the Huarochirí manuscript, another visitor observed that local use of the "general language" sounded peculiar and "mixed" (Taylor 1983: 270, 273). It is therefore highly likely that the religious life of the generation Avila persecuted had been conducted at least partly in a language other than Quechua.

So the text probably stands at some distance from habitual and traditional usages in religious speech. We do not have any specific proof that the texts were translated from a local tongue into Quechua, but the possibility cannot be discarded. At a minimum it seems likely that processing of local discourse by a person fluent in "general" Quechua played a role in creating the text.

The following are languages that appear to influence and in some cases to underlie the Quechua text.

Quechua other than the "general" dialect

"Thomás" the scribe (or persons dictating to him) probably knew at least one dialect of Quechua other than the one the church promoted as "general." It may have been influenced by an Aymara-like tongue (see below). It is also a possibility, though a difficult one to demonstrate, that local Quechua was influenced by a coastal speech proper to the Yunca people whom Huarochirí folk considered aboriginal; their language, too, may have been a Quechua different from the "general." Finally, some usages in the Quechua of "Thomás" (e.g., *chacuas* 'old lady'; chap. 21, sec. 261) are attested in Quechuas of the Quechua I or Quechua B group native to the central Peruvian highlands. Quechua I languages differ widely from the Quechua of the text, but other colonial examples of mutual influ-

ence are known. In some cases the writer has hesitated between words of the Quechua II or A group, as, for example, in the repeated crossings-out of *punchao* 'sun' and substitutions of another word for 'sun': *ynti*. The discrepancy may have to do with Inca versus non-Inca religious vocabulary.

Language(s) of the Jaqi (Aymara) family

The terms "Jaqi" and "Aru" denote a group of languages today represented most notably by Aymara, an important language spoken from the Lake Titicaca basin southward into Bolivia. Jaqi tongues share some lexicon with Quechua but are entirely separate languages. Although Quechuas have displaced Jaqi tongues from a large part of their formerly enormous range, certain Jaqi languages (Kawki and Jaqaru) were and to some degree still are spoken in two areas close to the Huarochirí terrain (Briggs 1985: 546). Both areas are in Yauyos Province, from which Huarochirí people were thought to have immigrated (chap. 23, sec. 297; chap. 24, secs. 305–309; chap. 31, secs. 391, 408, 443). Taylor has argued that some of the testimony may have been given in a Jaqi tongue, because Aymarisms are common in the ritual terminology (e.g., the names of the two greatest celebrations described, *Auquisna* and *Chaycasna*). He also notes that certain "Aymara-type" phonetic alternations (*ñamca/ñamoc*, etc.; Taylor 1985: 162) commonly occur in words connected with Huarochirí religion, suggesting Jaqi interference. These Jaqi-like phenomena offer the strongest clue for identifying the ethnic language of the myth-tellers. It is probable that at a minimum the text has been modified from a more Jaqi-influenced speech toward "general" Quechua.

Non-Quechua, non-Jaqi native lexicon?

A few common nouns and many names of persons and places do not seem to derive by any evident route from Quechua, Jaqi, or Spanish. There may be an additional influence from an unknown ethnic tongue, perhaps predating the supraethnic Jaqi and Quechua diffusions. Huallallo Caruincho's name, the *hugi* monster he created, and the untranslated common nouns *callcallo* (chap. 31, secs. 413, 415) and *llaullaya* (chap. 21, sec. 271) may be examples. If so, the persistence of such words in both Quechua and Jaqi cultic vocabulary may eventually yield a clue to the antiquity of Huarochirí religious categories.

Spanish

Father Avila reported that most Huarochirí people knew at least some Spanish (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255). However, as Urioste notes, not all of the many Spanish words that found their way into the manuscript are there for obvious reasons. Some words do lack Quechua equivalents and are therefore hardly surprising: *cauallo* 'horse', *yglecia* 'church'. Others overlap Quechua terms but "cover a different semantic space" (Urioste 1982: 106). For example, *animalcona* ('animals'; Spanish with a Quechua plural marker) combines categories of wild and domestic beasts that, in Quechua, are named with separate words. But a few do have close Quechua counterparts and are not used out of any obvious necessity: *doze año* 'twelve years' (in Quechua a plural numeral obviates the need for a pluralizing suffix on the head of the phrase, hence the singular form *año*), *gato montés* 'wildcat', and so forth, which have close and obvious Quechua equivalents. It is not known why the writer chose them.

Although the text was probably made as a tool for excising Andean belief from the religion of converts, it sometimes uses Christendom's lexicon to name Andean religious categories. All the seven occurrences of *saçerdote* and *saçerdotisa* (Spanish for 'priest'/'priestess'; chap. 13, secs. 178, 183; chap. 18, sec. 224; chap. 20, sec. 252; chap. 21, sec. 273; supp. I, secs. 462, 466) refer to priests of *huacas*. *Saçerdotisa* suggests an analogy from the Renaissance lore of Greco-Roman antiquity, but some usages are more markedly Christian: the preface (sec. 2) categorizes the regional belief system as a *fe* 'faith', implying that as a whole it is an entity comparable in scale and kind with the True Faith. Given the tellers' and writers' free use of specialized Andean religious terminology, they probably did not include these words for the convenience of Spanish readers. It is more likely that there already existed some habitual code of correspondences perhaps arising unconsciously from the habit of expressing Andean ideas in a fashion responsive to Christian hegemony.

Sometimes the influence of Spanish norms operates in a hidden fashion by affecting choice between Quechua words. This is especially notable in sexual lexicon, where the pro-Christian speaker substitutes shame-oriented and therefore Spanish-like phrases for plainspoken Quechua ones. For example, in chapter 10 (sec. 151), the word *ollonchicta* 'our cocks' has been crossed out in favor of *pincayninchicta* 'our private parts' or, more literally, 'our shame'.

The problem of redaction

An editing process has given the manuscript a veneer of organizational unity. But no one has yet subjected it to text criticism detailed enough to uncover the "seams" where testimonies have been

stitched together or to determine how many voices enter in. For the time being, this can only be recognized as an unknown requiring future study. It appears likely that the myth-tellers and retellers are multiple, probably from a minimum of three different places. Whether a separate translator beside the scribe and/or editor intervened is unknown. We neither know whether the interviewer used a written questionnaire (a common Spanish practice) nor whether the edited text as we find it was organized by a native researcher, by the scribe Thomás himself, or by someone employing native informants (Avila?).

It is highly likely that chapters 1–31 are rewritten and edited text, because they are fair copy (standardized at thirty-six lines per page) already augmented with contextual material, especially at beginnings and ends of chapters (Urioste 1973: 7–10). These chapters, however, appear to be an intermediate draft because editorial work continues in the form of interlinear and marginal comments and corrections (some seemingly in Avila's hand). Supplements I and II differ in grammar from the body of the manuscript, are written in a less polished handwriting, and come after a word meaning 'the end'. They may be surviving fragments of less-processed testimony. Or they may be a set of rough notes prepared by the editor/redactor on the basis of personal knowledge, apart from the compiled testimonies.

The problem of validation

One property of the text that may yield clues about the editing process if closely studied is the problem of validation. Quechua, like many American languages, requires the speaker to attach suffixes that clarify his or her relationship to the data conveyed. When conveying data learned from personal experience, the speaker uses the witness validator *-mi* (alternatively *-m*, *-n*), which implies that the content of the sentence or (sometimes) larger speech unit is something learned through direct sense experience. When passing on data learned secondhand—for example, an account heard from somebody else—the speaker will switch to the reportive (sometimes called "hearsay") validator *-si* (alternatively *-s*). We suspect that predominant reportive validation may reflect the intervention of a *re*-teller, perhaps a translator; but when speaking of legendary events, original informants might well have used it, too. When speculating without evidence, or when uncertain, the speaker employs the conjectural validator *-cha*.

There are two types of passage in the manuscript in which witness validation predominates. One is the contextual remarks and interpolated comments that appear to be supplied by someone other than the myth-telling informants, probably the editor/redactor. Sentences with *-mi* often introduce or end a chapter, stating with witness validation the relation of a *huaca* or ritual to a narrative or geographic context. Witness validation is normal in chapter titles. The preface has predominant *-mi*. Also, at least one contributor often uses *-mi* witness validation to report apparently contemporary local circumstances, as opposed to mythic or ancient events. For example, a mythic place name will be identified with a modern landmark using *-mi*. Accusations that local people are secretly carrying on some of the rites that the myths explain carry *-mi*: for example, *ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llactacunapipas rurancu* 'those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages' (chap. 9, sec. 133). The other passages in which *-mi* witness validation predominates are the two supplements, which appear to be rough notes. Perhaps their witness validation is related to their focus on contemporary ceremonies (and not ancient rites or myths of the past), which the writer or informant might have seen. Or perhaps, if they are transcriptions of unprocessed testimony, the validation is the original informant's own.

In the remainder of the text (the great majority of it), which consists of mythic narratives and descriptions of rites and rules of the past, reportive *-si* validation predominates. It is the usual validation of narrative passages: *cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan* 'the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca' (chap. 10, sec. 142). Because it contains *-si*, this sentence could be rephrased 'Chaupi Ñamca was, they say, the daughter of . . . ' Such locutions might be expected of any person telling a myth with a slight authorial distance. But *-si* could also come from a translator or reporter paraphrasing or repeating, without necessarily endorsing, an informant's words. A rendition using that assumption would be 'Chaupi Ñamca was, (s)he says, the daughter of . . .' These rephrasings are overtranslations insofar as the original does not contain the verb 'say' or imply anything one way or the other about who does the saying.

The exceptions to predominant *-si* reportive validation in narrative passages occur mostly in dialogue, where the characters speak what is putatively their own experience, and also in utterances

that are not dialogue but performative speech (i.e., speech that actually changes the world rather than telling something about it): *camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sallcacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan* 'You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos and vicuñas, of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too' (chap. 2, sec. 19).

There are passages and even whole chapters (e.g., chap. 9) in which it appears that the editor/redactor validates substantive content (as opposed to expository asides) with *-mi*, as if telling what he had seen with his own eyes. These passages tend to be descriptions of ritual, typically set in explicitly colonial context. A good example is the explanation of how Chaupi Ñamca's ritual dances were scheduled into a purportedly Catholic calendar (chap. 10, secs. 148–151). The authorial voice claims witness knowledge of incriminating facts, but coyly slips into reportive where naked dancing is concerned.

There are also passages in which significant mythic material is witness-validated. The crucial passage in chapter 9 (secs. 112–116) where Paria Caca lays down the fundamental rule of his cult is one. This validation may relate to the convictions expressed in the preface, which credits the narrative tradition with evidential worth comparable to that of Spanish writing. It is difficult, however, finally to decide whether such validation indicates belief in the factuality of the Paria Caca myth (on a witness's part or on the editor/redactor's part?) or only signals that some passages, the parts in the editor/redactor's own words, contain a true rendering of a story that may or may not finally be true.

Validation presents frustrating problems for translation, because nothing in English has rhetorical force similar to it. Added phrases like 'It's a fact that' (*-mi*), 'It's said that' (*-si*), or 'It could be that' (*-cha*) do convey validators' informational function, but at such expense to narrative quality as to falsify the text (by making it sound hesitant and colorless) more than they clarify it. We have availed ourselves of the regularities already noted in order to establish norms that minimize encumbrances on the text, while also alerting readers to each significant validation shift. (Some particulars of validation completely escape translation or are difficult to interpret, such as the many instances of a witness-validated discourse marker introducing a reportively validated sentence.) The redactor/editor's stage-managing contributions routinely have witness validation, so the reader may assume its presence in sentences that are obviously editorial, even if they lack explicitly translated validation, unless an overtranslated phrase such as 'it's said that', 'they say', or 'reportedly' suggests otherwise. Such passages occur at the beginnings and ends of chapters. Mid-chapter editorial asides such as 'we told this story in the fifth chapter' (chap. 10, sec. 142) also routinely carry witness validation. In the chapter titles, too, readers should assume *-mi* witness validation. At mid-chapter validation shifts, notes signal how far the new validation extends. The two supplements are exceptions to these rules. In them the reader can assume witness validation throughout unless reportive validation is explicitly indicated.

Following such curtain-raising editorial formulas as 'the story goes like this' validation regularly shifts to reportive. 'In ancient times' and similar formulas also herald reportive passages. Generally, in the narrative passages of chapters 1–31, except in direct quotations, *-si* reportive validation may be assumed unless a phrase such as 'it's a fact that', 'in fact', or 'as we know' suggests otherwise. In direct quotations and performative utterances within the narratives, *-mi* can normally be assumed and is not specially marked. Readers interested in explicitly translated validation should look at Taylor's 1987b Spanish version, which translates validation more fully than we do (though still less than universally).

Translation of style

Validation is not the only respect in which the manuscript varies somewhat in tone and "feel" from passage to passage. Despite the likelihood that coerced elicitation, editing, and translation (or at least "correction" away from a local dialect of Quechua) put us at considerable distance from the myths' oral embodiment, and despite the probability that some of the testimony's oral qualities have been blurred as a result, nonetheless there do seem to be identifiable variations of oral-derived styles within the manuscript. We have tried to suggest them in the translation, giving the more bookish and editorial sentences a slightly different sound from utterances that probably replicate storytelling, ritual speech, and maybe even verse or song.

Framing sentences

An editorial voice intervenes particularly at the beginnings and ends of chapters as a stage manager of

testimonies: 'we have already told', 'now we shall tell', and so forth. In the translation we have sought to make this "framing" verbiage easily recognizable by its semiformal and faintly pompous diction. Perhaps the person who composed the framing sentences is the same one who occasionally obtrudes with politically opportune comments:

> . . . no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde* nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"
>
> On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."
>
> As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.
>
> True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.
>
> But others go on living like this in secret up to the present. (chap. 7, sec. 95)

One possible source of such language is Cristóbal Choque Casa, Avila's political ally, who glorifies his own struggle against the *huaca*s in chapters 20 and 21. The same voice or pen may well be the source of the many passages that tell about non-Christian rites surviving clandestinely at the time of writing.

Narrative passages

The bulk of the chapters consists of myths and descriptions of past ritual practice. Often the "framer" alerts us to the shift to mythic discourse and the recalling of past practices with a formula such as *chay simire caymi* 'that story goes like this'. On the whole what follows is vivid and powerful narration, with *-si* reportive or "hearsay" validation predominating.

It is hardly accidental that translators differ on how "oral" or how "bookish" the manuscript is. Adelaar called his Dutch translation (1988) *Het boek van Huarochirí*. Our introduction also emphasizes the likelihood that its redaction was influenced by a European concept of the book and that the redactor thought of myth as material for the making of history books. On the other hand, Urioste gave his 1983 Spanish version a subtitle meaning 'The oral tradition of Huarochirí', and Taylor says that the manuscript "preserves the spontaneous composition of its oral informants" (1987b: 9). Arguedas, sensitive to both qualities, described it as "the voice of antiquity transmitted . . . through the mouths of common people," yet also called it "a little regional bible" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 9–10).

Taken separately, both the oral and the bookish emphases can easily turn into distortions that obscure the text's peculiar qualities. We see the intersection of orality and literacy as essential. Rather than filtering out bookish traits the better to approximate oral sources, we seek to capture a form of literacy in the act of engulfing one or more oral genres. This approach has the advantage of faithfulness to the manuscript's historic function. But it entails technical problems.

Something would be lost by simply leaving the translated text in solid blocks of page-filling prose like those of the scribal page. It would be a sacrifice of authenticity not to make at least some use of Dennis Tedlock's ([1971] 1983) and Dell Hymes' ([1977] 1981) demonstrations of how internal evidence helps the translator restore qualities of spoken performance to transcriptions that bury performance rules in prose conventions, because some qualities of oral genre do shine through the editorial veils.

It might even be feasible to produce a fully ethnopoetic rendering of at least some Huarochirí texts (that is, one whose goal is to restore oral organization, with versification, by detecting written correlates of pauses, turns, etc.). We have not followed this method entirely, because, for reasons already mentioned, we doubt our ability to create a hypothetical likeness of the performances from which the manuscript was compiled (or, more likely, recompiled from earlier notes). Also, to make explicit the features that warrant line and stanza breaks (etc.) requires putting into the English text many particles that impede fluent reading of narrative content. Finally, it may be that some of the pauses marked with *chaymanta* 'and next' and the like do not reflect local norms of oral performance but rather are effects of making the speaker (translator?) wait for the scribe to catch up.

Though inhibited by these caveats, we have sought to indicate, partially and tentatively, some performance qualities of the Huarochirí material detectable within the bookish frame that is also part of its substance. Like most Native American narrative texts, the Huarochirí manuscript is spotted with innumerable "empty" words or discourse markers, especially at the beginnings of sentences, that add no literal content to the flow of action. Common ones include, for example, *chaymanta* 'and next' or 'after that', *chaysi* 'so' (with reportive validation), and *chaymi* 'so' (with witness validation). Translating these words directly gives an effect the very opposite of oral. It makes the text sound hesitant and finicky, disrupted. But they are,

of course, not "empty" in spoken performance; they serve to separate utterances in a patterned way, imparting a quality of measure and helping the listener keep pace. We believe they served this function in the oral performances that the manuscript partly mimics and have tried to convey as much. Some words that we read this way are sentence-initial *cay* 'this'/*chay* 'that'; *ychaca* 'however'; *yna*, *ynaspa*, and other derivatives of *yna* 'thus'; *ña* and *ñatac* 'already', 'then', 'so', 'again'; *huc . . . huc* and *huaquin . . . huaquin* 'some . . . others'. Certain other touches, such as emphasized changes of topic or words indicating change of time or setting, also are taken as signaling a new "turn." Many sentences begin with clauses whose informational contribution is minimal (*chay yna captinsi* 'while it was like that') but which similarly seem to serve a function of measure or pace, introducing a new burst of the storyteller's speech.

Our objective is a compromise, an attempt to make a likeness of the manuscript that suggests its "feel" as a manuscript: that is, a prose presentation following norms of book organization, which for long stretches subsumes oral performances without strictly transcribing them. Stopping short of an attempt to reconstruct the oral performances that the writers heard, but also stopping short of an undivided prose that would silence their clearly audible echo, we have chosen to render the above-mentioned discourse markers and other devices of measure into prose divisions that somewhat suggest the quality of turn or strophe, namely, short indented paragraphs. (The section numbers alongside them are only meant as aids to correlating with the transcription.)

Another "oral" characteristic of the Huarochirí manuscript is heavy reliance on direct quotation and dialogue. Quechua *ñispa . . . ñin* 'saying . . . (s)he said' delimits quotations, but instead of translating the formula we have simply used 'said' and quotation marks (unlike Taylor 1987b, who often favors indirect quotation). Because the Quechua verb *ñiy* can mean 'to think' or 'to intend' as well as 'to say', some direct quotations are rendered as quotations of thought: *ñocaracpas ñaupac umanman chayaiman ñispa* 'thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!" ' (chap. 9, sec. 120).

In order to clarify the dialogue structure of many passages, we have placed each turn of quoted speech in a separate indented paragraph, even when the original quotes more than one speaker within a single sentence. Most Huarochirí dialogue (and narration) sounds lifelike and colloquial, and to convey this quality we freely use English contractions ('isn't', etc.). In some cases, a quotation contains several sentences that sound like simultaneous comments on the same point, and in these cases we have interpreted the effect as a chorus of comments:

> Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:
> "That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"
> "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo. Could such a power ever fall desolate?"
> "What does a guy like that know?" (chap. 18, sec. 223)

Question marks in the translation securely reflect Quechua grammar, but exclamation points are supplied. Parentheses are also supplied.

Versified speech in semantic couplets

A few passages clearly employ the Andean oral device called "semantic coupling" or "thought rhyme" (Mannheim 1985), and we have rendered them as couplets. They appear inset in the translation. The semantic couplet is a pair of sentences that express closely related ideas phrased in related (sometimes syntactically parallel) fashion. Semantic coupling is common in modern Andean folk poetry and song, as in many of the world's oral traditions. Huarochirí examples include:

> We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
> We go in the path of his power. (chap. 11, sec. 158)

> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering? (chap. 13, sec. 179)

Semantic coupling typically occurs in invocations to, or sayings of, sacred beings—*huaca*s themselves, legendary ancestors, priests and oracles delivering responses, or Christian deities. Cristóbal Choque Casa's moving prayer to the Virgin Mary (chap. 20, secs. 254–255) consists largely of couplets. It might be an example of those "devout and elegant" religious songs that Jesuits in Huarochirí heard "idolatry" defendants sing in their cells at night c. 1620 (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 259–260). Much earlier witnesses, the Jesuits who conducted the path-breaking mission of 1571, found out that such songs were reworkings of prehispanic hymns: "The same [hymns of praise] which in former times they used to give to the sun and to their king, they have converted into praise of Jesus Christ by taking material from what they heard preached" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 243). Some couplets are brief ritual

formulas rather than hymns and a few might be humbler bits of folk song or familiar sayings.

Margot Beyersdorff (1986: 219) comments that in the Huarochirí manuscript "intercalated fragments of sacred verse . . . follow the same norms of versification as the 'prayers' of [Cristóbal de] Molina ["cuzqueño"] and [Felipe Guaman] Puma de Ayala, and can be included in the genre *wayllina*." She does not identify the fragments. Beyersdorff infers from Molina that *wayllina* denominated a specific verse form unique to sacred speech. Husson (1985: 330–331), on the contrary, emphasizes Guaman Poma's couplets' affinities to popular and profane song.

Other translation conventions

In addition to translation problems arising from idiosyncrasies of the Huarochirí text, the translation reflects some decisions that face anyone working from Quechua. Readers who want to avoid spurious accuracy in using the translation should take note of them.

This book does not aspire to morpheme-by-morpheme translation, for several reasons. Rendering an agglutinative language morpheme-by-morpheme (to the degree that it is possible at all) yields verbose, obscure formulations. The following example of a translation process uses the slash (/) to signal morpheme boundaries and suggests the sort of problems that occur within a single random and typical clause. The original is *ña chori/n/cuna/pas collo/pti/n/rac/si* . . . Analyzed using Urioste's (1973) terminology, this clause consists of three roots (italicized), each with additional morphemes: *already child* / (3d person) / (plural) / (additive) *perish* / (contrastive adverbial) / (third person) / (continuative) / (reportive validator) . . . This could be rendered, forcing a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, as: *already child* / his / (plural) / even *perish* / (verb with different subject to follow) / they / first / it's said . . . To make intelligible English one must drop a morpheme (*-pti*) that has and needs no English analogue and make choices whether to translate *-pas*, *-raq*, and *-si* explicitly. We chose not to translate most *-si* reportive validators, and the remaining content can be made clear by implication in a simple English form: 'When his children had already perished . . . ' (chap. 19, sec. 233; the referent of 'his' is supplied in the body of the translation).

Our translation generally preserves sentence boundaries, but in some cases the original sentences contain chains of subordinate clauses so long that a single-sentence translation (without Quechua's devices for clarifying switches of subject) comes out congested. In these cases sentences have been divided. Sometimes the order of clauses has been altered. The order of sentences has not been altered. Where sentence boundaries are significantly uncertain, notes indicate the alternate readings. Where the grammatical subject of a sentence is unstated but unambiguous in the original, an explicit subject has been supplied in English. In cases of ambiguity, we tried for English translations with a similar ambiguity. Where this was not achieved, notes indicate the nature of the ambiguity.

Aside from unique cases, there are generally common sources of ambiguity (as the English reader sees it) in regard to gender, number, and time. Quechua does not have grammatical male-female gender and in some cases the sex of a named person is unclear (for example, the master weaver mentioned in chap. 1, sec. 8). Also, because singular forms may be used to mean plural, Quechua nouns are sometimes indefinite as to singular and plural. Finally, the tense in Quechua that most resembles English present sometimes refers to a (usually recent) past, making certain sentences ambiguous as to whether they describe current reality. Such cases are noted where they cause significant doubt about the meaning of a passage.

A given root, especially a verb root, is not always translated by the same English word because the root with its varied suffixes often gives a net sense that varies from the root sense by a distance that only a different English word can render. In the following example the common verb root *yalli-* ('to exceed, surpass') yields English 'to compete' when coupled with the suffix *-naco-* (denoting reciprocal action) but English 'to win' when not modified: *pomacta aparispa yallinacoson* 'Let's compete in putting on puma skins' (chap. 5, sec. 64); *pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan* '[he] wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had' (chap. 5, sec. 64). However, in passages where repetition appears to be an element of rhetoric or measure, as, for example, with the four-times repeated *canancama* 'until now' in the preface, the translation mimics the repetition.

The numbers given in the margin are added by the translators. Numbered sections are there only to help readers compare the original and the transcription and to facilitate index references and cross-references. They do not define a unit intrinsic to the method of composition.

The translation does not show the small pen strokes and marks (symbols?) scattered in the original manuscript. The punctuation is added. In addition to sentence-, quotation-, and clause-delimiting punctuation, we have added:

( ) Parentheses to signal apparently parenthetical remarks in the original text.

(This spring flowed from a large mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.
This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)
At that time, they say, it was just a big lake. (chap. 6, sec. 81)

[ ] Square brackets to signal marginal or crossed-out material on manuscript pages.

< > Angle brackets to identify translators' words referring to marginal or crossed-out material.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.] (chap. 6, sec. 80)

We have translated crossed-out material (words or phrases) that adds substantively to the text, but not crossings-out that only change a spelling or crossed-out single morphemes or letters. All these details are reproduced in Taylor's (1987b) study edition.

Note conventions

Unless otherwise noted, English versions of quotes from non-English sources in notes and in this introduction are by Salomon. Sources cited in notes appear in the general bibliography. Notes provide context sufficient only for novice readers and do not contain full comparisons with other translations or exhaustive references to literature.

Transcription conventions

The transcription strives for the nearest simulation of the original page's qualities compatible with easy comparison to the translation.

The page breaks, signaled with *foja* or folio notations *R* for recto and *V* for verso, are those of the original.

In the transcription the following conventions are used:

Uppercase letters stand for large letters in the original. The original does not use uppercase (rare in scribal papers) but does use large lowercase letters in headings.

[ ] Square brackets contain the section numbers for keying passages to corresponding parts of the translation.

< > Angle brackets identify crossed-out material in the original.

( ) Parentheses identify the expansion of abbreviations. For example, the original's *capi°* is rendered *capi(tul)o.*

Toponymic and onomastic spelling conventions

It is important to note that in the translation (not the transcription) we have standardized the names of persons, places, and *huacas* so that each has (as nearly as possible) only one name in English context, regardless of the often considerable variations in the original. (Exceptions are cross-referenced in the index.) When the original spelling varies, it is standardized in the translation according to the following rules:

First: If a proper noun appears only once in the manuscript, or if all occurrences are spelled the same way, we have retained the original spelling.

Second: If a proper noun has multiple spellings in the manuscript, we have chosen one of these and maintained it throughout the translation and index. The criteria for choosing the form are:

1. For words ending alternately in *o* or *u*, we selected the *u* ending.
2. Wherever *i*, *e*, and *y* vary, *i* was selected.
3. Wherever *s*, *ss*, *x*, and *ç* vary, *s* was preferred. The manuscript's apparent sound system does not preclude reading *x* as a palatalized fricative different from *s*, nor does it conclusively prove this to be correct.
4. Wherever *n* and *m* alternate in final position, *n* was selected.
5. Wherever *ai* and *ay* alternate, *ay* was selected.
6. Wherever *hua*, *gua*, and *ua* alternate, *hua* was selected.
7. Wherever *quia* and *quio* alternate with *cya* and *cyo*, the latter spellings were selected.

Some place names as standardized are different from their nearest modern equivalents (identified in notes at the toponym's first occurrence). For example, the modern place is written *Huarochirí* but the manuscript uses *guaro cheri* and *huaro cheri*. We use the latter in the translation. Such standardizations from the text, not modern toponyms, appear on the map.

In Spanish names (Thomás, Luzía, etc.) we have

conserved the manuscript's spelling and added the acute accents corresponding to their modern forms.

A caution: standardizing is intended to minimize the novice reader's problem in keeping track of the *dramatis personae* and to make the index simpler. But it sacrifices data important to the analysis of the original text's sound system, to its dialectology, and to source criticism. Students who need such data are urged to use the transcription.

In the transcription and translation, we have followed a common Quechua structure of proper names by treating them as two-word phrases (Paria Caca, Huatya Curi, etc.). Large onomastic corpuses such as the 1588 *revisita* of Sisicaya clearly show that Huarochirí names are binomial, whether or not a space separates the elements (Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 13-17-5-1). Applying this norm involves some interpretation because word boundaries in the original are sometimes inconsistent or unclear. By normal Quechua syntax rules, the first word would express an attribute applying to the second; some names can be interpreted using this rule (e.g., Sullca Yllapa 'Last-born Lightning'; chap. 8, sec. 108; chap. 16, sec. 202). Indeed, Huarochirí onomastics remains problematic in general; uncertainty about whether all the names are binomial is only one of many obstacles preventing general translation of proper nouns. A few name meanings are nonetheless clear enough and important enough to warrant bringing them into the translation (e.g., Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic 'World Maker and World Shaker').

Index and glossary

The index gives numbered section (not page) references to both proper nouns and topics and themes, classifying many specific items under rubrics common to anthropology (e.g., for material on sibling relationships, look under "kinship"; for the symbolic value of red, see "color"). The references are to the translation, not to the Quechua original. An instance of a proper name supplied in the translation will be indexed even if only a pronoun or an unambiguous implied reference is present in the original. Personal names are alphabetized according to the first term of the native name. For example, *Diego Chauca Huaman* is alphabetized under *Chauca*. The glossary of untranslated words lists all the terms that appear italicized in the translation, giving simple glosses and numbered section references to all their occurrences. Material in notes is not indexed.

THE HUAROCHIRÍ MANUSCRIPT

1

[Preface][1]

If the ancestors of the people called Indians[2] had known writing[3] in earlier times,[4] then the lives they lived would not have faded from view[5] until now.[6]

As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas[7] is visible[8] until now, so, too, would theirs be.

But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now,

2 I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather:[9]

1. The whole preface has witness validation, suggesting that it expresses the native editor/redactor's own convictions. Quechua grammatical validation is discussed in the introduction, in the section on the character of the present translation (see especially the section on the problem of validation). The opening lines have a sharp rhetorical structure. They start with a matched pair of contrafactual sentences (*-man . . . -man*), continue with a matched comparison (*hina . . . hina*), and link the two pairs by a pointed contrast between their respective conclusions (. . . *manam . . . hinacho canman/ . . . hinatacmi canman*, which might be rendered 'it wouldn't be so/ . . . it would be exactly so').

2. *runa yn(di)o ñiscap* 'of the people called Indians': suggests a shade of authorial distance from the term "Indian," perhaps because it lumps together the many distinct peoples whose differences and relations form the axis of the text. The phrase recurs at the very end of the text (supp. II, sec. 485).

3. *quillcacta* 'writing': more literally, 'writer(s)'; derives from a verb whose prehispanic sense appears to have been 'to paint' or 'to ornament' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 301).

4. *ñaupa pacha* 'earlier [or former] times': although other translators give 'ancient', this passage could also refer to an earlier moment of the colonial era.

5. *chincaycuc hinacho canman* 'would not have faded from view': more literally, 'would not be like something getting lost'; that is, if Andean tradition partook more of literacy, colonial conditions would not have led to its recent erosion.

6. The four repetitions of *canancama* 'until now' give a feeling of arrested motion, released at last in the final sentence of section 2. Similarly, the sentence verbs of section 1 form a series of three contrafactuals (with conditional suffix *-man*) that yields in section 2 to three finite verbs, in past, present, and future tenses, respectively. The tone shifts from speculation toward concreteness and dynamism. One feels the engines of narration gripping, moving forward.

7. The original contains only *vira cochappas* 'the Vira Cochas', a colonial and modern Quechua usage that employs the name of a principal deity (salient in chapters 2 and 14) to refer to the Spanish. The Spanish erupt onto the Andean scene under this name in chapter 18 (sec. 223). Modern Cuzco Quechua still uses the expression. We have supplied 'the Spanish' to avoid confusion between the deity and the nationality.

8. The verb *ricurin* 'be visible' seemingly emphasizes the *visibility* of the new Spanish mnemotechnology, writing, as opposed to the *audibility* of the endangered oral tradition.

9. *huc yayayuc . . . machoncunap* 'ancestors . . . from one forefather': more literally, 'of the old ones . . . possessors of one father'. The manuscript repeatedly expresses diachrony in terms of patrilineal ancestry. The point in this passage is that, despite their diversity, the social units that are protagonists of the following chapters unite at the apex in a single male progenitor, namely, Paria Caca.

What faith[10] they held,[11] how they live up until now,[12] those things and more;

Village by village it will be written down:[13] how they lived from their dawning age onward.

10. *yma ffeenioccha* 'what faith' uses a Spanish term, *fe* 'faith', to denominate non-Christian religious practice. In Christian context this categorizes the *huaca* cults as members of the same class of phenomena as the "true" faith (and therefore subject to graver penalty than mere "superstition"). Quechua had no term similar to *fe*. But the suffix *-yoc*, usually translated 'possessor of', is usually used in the manuscript to signify a non-Christian worshiper's bond to the *huaca*. It signifies not so much belief as a social connection in which the worshiper owes service and the deity protection.

11. The original *ffeenioccha* has a conjectural validator *-cha*: overliterally, 'what faith they may have held'. One common usage of *-cha* is to convey the degree of doubt appropriate to guesses about what is in another person's mind (secs. 133, 247, 279). Here *-cha* suggests that the author regards knowledge of the ancient religion (based on the reportively validated data that make up most of the manuscript) as a conjectural construct, in effect an ethnographically derived model intended to explain "idolatrous" practices of the present.

12. In addition to the reconstructed faith of the past, the maker of the manuscript will also set down ethnographic observations on current mores. Most of this material appears with witness validation in subsequent parts.

13. In fact, the manuscript does not proceed village by village. It expresses primarily the viewpoint of one group, the Checa of San Damián village, and secondarily those of perhaps three other groups (the inhabitants of Mama in chap. 13, the Allauca in chap. 30, and the Concha of Concha Sica in chap. 31) filtered through some Checa interference. In spatial terms its mythology centers on the Checa ceremonial center, Llacsa Tambo, near the colonial village of San Damián.

CHAPTER I

How the Idols of Old Were, and How They Warred among Themselves, and How the Natives Existed at That Time[14]

3 In very ancient times,[15] there were *huacas*[16] named Yana Ñamca and Tuta Ñamca.[17]

Later on another *huaca* named Huallallo Caruincho defeated them.

After he defeated them, he ordered the people to bear two children and no more.[18]

He would eat one of them himself.

The parents would raise the other, whichever one was loved best.[19]

4 Although people did die in those times, they came back to life on the fifth day exactly.[20]

And as for their foodstuffs, they ripened exactly five days after being planted.

These villages and all the others like them were full of Yunca.[21]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [full of Yunca]

5 When a great number of people had filled the land, they lived really miserably,[22] scratching and

14. Like all of the first six chapters, this one bears a Spanish title in the original: *Como fue anteguamente los ydolos y como guerreo entre ellos y como auia en aquel tiempo los naturales*. In the original the Spanish titles appear to be insertions *ex post facto*. Their awkwardness often derives from specific Quechua interferences: for example (in this case), discrepancies between Quechua and Spanish rules about pluralization and number agreement (*fue . . . los ydolos*, etc.). Quechua's trivocalic sound system influences *anteguamente* via hypercorrection. The composer of the titles has also chosen an unidiomatic translation for *tiay* 'to dwell, to exist'. Such facts make it more than likely that Spanish was not his or her first language.

15. This formula regularly introduces a passage with reportive validation.

16. As detailed in the introduction, *huaca* is a broad term designating all physical objects taken to embody superhuman and sacred persons. Many mountains, springs, river junctions, mummies, and manmade objects as well were *huaca*.

17. The untranslated term *Ñamca* seems to designate a class of *huaca*s associated with coastal peoples and the remote past. It also appears as a component of names of persons favored by *huaca*s. In Quechua *Yana* means 'black' and *Tuta* 'night', so these might well be the powers extant before the present, solar world began.

18. *yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan* could also mean 'he ordered people to give birth only by twos'. But when Francisco de Avila, who presumably knew the context, composed his *Tratado* using the same or a similar source, he chose this meaning ([1608] 1966: 200).

19. *huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta* 'whichever one was loved best' is ambiguous as to whether it means the one that the parents loved best or that Huallallo Caruincho loved best (because the *-n* third person possessive marker on *cuyascan* could refer either to the parents or to Huallallo).

20. Chapter 27 elaborates on this.

21. *yunca*, a common term in the manuscript, has a triple sense. It refers to the warm valley regions of the Pacific littoral; to the ecology, landscape, and biota typical of such regions; and (capitalized in translation) to the peoples who dwelled there. The Checa and other highlanders thought of Yunca people as aboriginal, in opposition to the invading peoples with whom at least some of the narrators identified.

22. The motif of an overfertile ancient humanity in Malthusian crisis reappears in chapter 27; it is analyzed by Fernando Fuenzalida (1979). The idea seems to be that by excessive human sacrifice to Huallallo they won excessive vitality. The argument implies that immortality is incompatible with human life: even if fertility were curbed to the extreme of allowing each immortal couple only one live (immortal) child, an overpopulation fatal to well-being would eventually ensue. Death is indispensable.

digging the rock faces and ledges to make terraced fields.

These fields, some small, others large, are still visible today on all the rocky heights.

And all the birds of that age were perfectly beautiful, parrots and toucans[23] all yellow and red.

6 Later, at the time when another *huaca* named Paria Caca[24] appeared, these beings and all their works were cast out to the hot Anti lands[25] by Paria Caca's actions.

Further on we'll speak of Paria Caca's emergence and of his victories.

7 Also, as we know,[26] there was another *huaca* named Cuni Raya.[27]

Regarding him, we're not sure whether he existed before Paria Caca or maybe after him. <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out whether he[28] says that it isn't known if he was before or after Caruincho or Paria Caca.]

However, Cuni Raya's essential nature[29] almost

23. *caquipas*: 'toucan' is a guesswork translation. Although the color suggests 'macaw', other references (chap. 9, sec. 131; chap. 24, secs. 331, 333) show that different words refer to macaws. Chapter 16 (sec. 207) says *caqui* is a parrotlike bird. Taylor (1987b: 47) points out an Ayacucho usage of *caqui* meaning a large parrot and an Aymara reference saying that *caqui* has long red, blue, and yellow feathers. Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 6) chose *periquito* 'parakeet'.

24. This is the first mention of the dominant deity in the manuscript. Paria Caca is surely a sacred mountain, but which one? Bonavia et al. (1984: 5–7) offer a detailed identification: "Pariacaca Mountain has a distinctive shape, two twin snowcapped peaks with a saddle-shaped depression separating them. The low point between them is 75° 59′ 24″ longitude west and 11° 59′ 20″ latitude south (Department of Junín, Province of Jauja, District of Canchayllo, Peru)." Bonavia and his co-authors point out that because Paria Caca was close to the royal road from Lima to Cuzco, it was well known by sixteenth-century authors, including Dávila Brizeño (who drew it as a twin peak on his map; Rostworowski 1988: unpaginated insert) and Avila. Avila's own 1611 description of Paria Caca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 257) is compatible with Bonavia's identification. Modern villagers in Huarochirí readily identify a twin-peaked snowcap on the eastern horizon as Paria Caca.

The literal sense of Paria Caca's name is unclear. *Caca* means 'cliff' or 'crag' in ancient and modern Quechua. Arriaga's *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Perú* ([1621] 1968: 45; Keating's translation) suggests that Paria might be 'vermilion': "*Paria* are powders of a vermilion color, brought from the mines of Huancavelica and made from the metal from which mercury is derived, though its appearance is more like that of lead oxide."

Several common modern verbs with the root *pariy* express the idea of heat radiating from a solid object; there may be a connection with chapter 8 (sec. 103), where Paria Caca creates his shrine by quenching a huge fire.

But Urioste's suggestion (personal communication) that *Paria* is cognate to modern Cochabamba Quechua *pari* meaning 'split' (as in, for example, a harelip) is also tempting because of the mountain's cleft appearance.

25. *antiman*: more literally, 'toward the Anti'. The Incas termed the eastern slopes of the Andes and the western fringes of Amazonia *Anti Suyu*. *Andes* in Spanish usage c. 1600 usually meant the same region. These lands stand in most Andean mythology for savagery and the precultural life, a setting in which Huallallo might have been thought to belong. But it may also be that the Huarochirí narrators used *anti* in a more general way to mean warm lowlands, including the seaward valleys of the west Andean slope. When Francisco de Avila paraphrased a source similar or perhaps identical to this one, he said that the natives call hot lands "*yunca* or *andes*" and wrote of evil aborigines in "these Andes" (*estos andes*) whom Paria Caca expelled to "other Andes" (*otros andes*; *Tratado* [1608] 1966: 200; see also 216). The two *andes* areas are perhaps the Pacific lowlands and Amazonia, respectively. Because the term may be generic (a type of land) and not toponymic, we have avoided glossing *anti* as 'Amazonia'.

26. 'As we know' added to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

27. The predominantly coastal *huaca* Cuni Raya has been identified as a water deity, creator of irrigation (Rostworowski 1977). The Incas thought the ability to create rivers and springs was the unique sign of his power (Betanzos [1551] 1987: 264). Chapters 2, 14, and 31 (secs. 409ff.) belong to Cuni Raya's mythology.

28. The marginal note is ambiguous in original. The subject of 'says' could be 'he' or 'she' or 'it' (i.e., a manuscript).

29. *cascanracmi . . . cascanman* 'his essential nature . . . Vira Cocha's': *cascan* is a past participial form of the Quechua verb meaning 'to be' and might more literally be rendered 'what he was'. For this reason we have used 'essential', also derived from a verb meaning 'to be'. *Cascan* is, however, less abstract in tone than 'essence'; hence 'nature'. Taylor's renders *cascan* as 'his cult' (*su culto*; 1987b: 28, 51), taking the point to be 'what he was in human practice'. But there are reasons for thinking *cascan* refers to 'what he was in himself'. In both colonial and modern Quechua this form often implies action previous to the speaker's cognition and/or surprise at discovering it (Cusihuamán 1976: 170–171; Urioste 1973: 96). We might read *cascan* as 'what he was all along (without our knowing it)'. This motif emerges more clearly in chapter 14 (sec. 190 and note 374), where Vira Cocha inveigles the Inca by promising to reveal *ñoca cascayta*, 'my *casca*'—'what I was all along'.

matches Vira Cocha's.[30] For when people worshiped this *huaca*, they would invoke him, saying,

"Cuni Raya Vira Cocha,

You who animate mankind,
Who charge the world with being,[31]
All things are yours!
Yours the fields and yours the people."

8 And so, long ago, when beginning anything difficult, the ancients, even though they couldn't see Vira Cocha, used to throw coca leaves to the ground,[32] talk to him, and worship him before all others, saying,

"Help me remember how,
Help me work it out,
Cuni Raya Vira Cocha!"

And the master weaver[33] would worship and call on him whenever it was hard for him[34] to weave.

For that reason, we'll write first about this *huaca* and about his life, and later on[35] about Paria Caca.

30. Because of his alleged importance as a supreme deity, comparable to the Christian God, Vira Cocha has become the subject of a large and frequently misleading literature. Many Andean sources about him are handily compiled in *Wiracocha y Ayar* (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

Here, however, this deity's role has little to do with the Christian concept of God and a lot in common with the pan–New World concept of a Trickster, whose buffoonery is at the same time a force making and remaking the world. In suggesting that Cuni Raya's nature "almost matches" Vira Cocha's, the teller seems to be taking note of a popular tendency, exemplified by the invocation that follows, to equate a Trickster-like deity associated with the hydraulic transformation of landforms (Cuni Raya) with a south highland, Inca-promoted deity (Vira Cocha). Chapter 14 emphasizes the latter component.

Szemiński and Mejía Xesspe before him have suggested that *cunirayap cascanracmi ñahca viracochap cascanman tincon* might mean the two deities' existences 'almost coincide' chronologically rather than qualitatively. This makes sense if one reads the statement as a reply to the chronological question just raised, rather than a comment on what follows. If one takes *viracocha* in this passage to refer to the Spanish, still other readings result (Szemiński 1989: 8–9).

31. *runa camac pacha camac* 'who animate mankind, who charge the world with being': the two lofty epithets employ the key verb *camay*, discussed in the introduction under "Into the world of the *huacas*." *Camay* has no clear equivalent in Spanish or English and is translated in the present work as 'to charge' or 'charge with being', 'to make', 'to give form and force', or 'to animate'.

32. That is, to sacrifice or perhaps to take an augury.

33. *compi camayuc* 'master weaver': both *compi* 'luxury-grade textile' and *camayuc* 'specialist' are Inca-style bureaucratic terms. *Camayuc* means more literally 'possessor of a specific force or energy [*camay*]', in this case the specific virtue of weaving.

34. Or 'for her'.

35. The manuscript contains cross-references that refer backward to earlier chapters by number, but the forward-pointing cross-references only use vague terms like 'later'. This suggests that the text, while it may be a fair copy, has not undergone a final editing.

CHAPTER 2

How Cuni Raya Vira Cocha Acted in His Own Age. The Life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[36] How Caui Llaca Gave Birth to His Child, and What Followed

9

<**margin**, crossed out, in Spanish:> [Note that it isn't known whether this was before or after Caruincho.]

A long, long time ago,[37] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha used to go around posing as a miserably poor and friendless[38] man, with his cloak and tunic all ripped and tattered. Some people who didn't recognize him for who he was yelled, "You poor lousy[39] wretch!"

Yet it was this man who fashioned all the villages. Just by speaking he made[40] the fields, and finished the terraces with walls of fine masonry. As for the irrigation canals, he channeled them out from their sources just by tossing down the flower of a reed called *pupuna*.[41]

After that, he went around performing all kinds of wonders, putting some of the local *huacas*[42] to shame[43] with his cleverness.

10 Once there was a female *huaca* named Caui Llaca.

Caui Llaca had always remained a virgin.

Since she was very beautiful, every one of the *huacas* and *villcas*[44] longed for her. "I've got to sleep with her!" they thought.

But she never consented.

11 Once this woman, who had never allowed any male to fondle[45] her, was weaving beneath a *lúcuma*[46] tree.

36. 'The life of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' is in Quechua and seems not to be part of the inserted Spanish title.

37. A formula introducing a passage with reportive validation.

38. *huaccha* 'poor and friendless': literally, 'orphan'. Throughout the manuscript and in modern Quechua, *huaccha* means 'poor' not so much in the sense of lacking property, as in the sense of lacking social ties that enable one to be productive. It is also translated here as 'wretch', 'powerless', or 'a nobody'.

39. Lice have a peculiar double meaning; Marie-France Souffez (1986), relying partly on findings by Christopher Donnan and María Rostworowski, notes that in Mochica imagery of shamanism the lice growing on a shaman's body emblematize the many people her or his power can sustain. Latent wealth hidden in apparent squalor is a common attribute of Huarochirí protagonists.

40. 'Made' supplied.

41. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201) Avila identifies the object as "a hollow reed of the sort we call 'Castillian reed'." The *pupuna* is described in a marginal note to supplement I (sec. 454) as a pole with a noose for catching parrots.

42. *llacta huacacunactapas*: the phrase contrasts Cuni, a wandering nonlocal deity, with rooted local deities. Cults and toponyms with names reminiscent of Cuni's (Kon, Concón, etc.), appear to have been farflung over the coast (Rostworowski 1977).

43. *allcuchaspa*: literally, 'making dogs of them'. 'Dog' is consistently a term of abuse in the manuscript.

44. The exact sense of *villca* in the manuscript is uncertain but perhaps related to a contemporaneous Aymara word meaning both 'sun' and 'shrine' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 386). Internal evidence (chap. 31, sec. 417) suggests that in the Huarochirí context it means a person who has entered into the society of *huacas* by achievement or marriage. In the *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209), the word *villca* is translated 'a very important *cacique*' (*cacique muy principal*; see also Zuidema 1973: 19). In Huánchor village in 1621, the founding hero Huánchor was mummified and housed underneath a *huaca* called Huanchorvilca (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 264). Overall, the implication seems to be that a *villca* is a human being who partakes of a *huaca*'s status.

45. *chancaycochicuspa* 'fondle': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 94) glosses related verbs as meaning 'to stroke or touch lightly'. Similar verbs in modern Quechua usually sound sexually piquant.

46. "*Lucuma bifera*, an evergreen tree, eight to ten meters high, has spreading branches with entire, elliptic-ovate leaves. The globose to ovate fruits, seven to ten cm. in diameter, are green in color and have a bright orange to yellow, dry, mealy pulp. . . . This species is a native of Peru

Cuni Raya, in his cleverness,[47] turned himself into a bird and climbed into the *lúcuma*.

He put his semen into a fruit that had ripened there and dropped it next to the woman.

12 The woman swallowed it down delightedly.

Thus she got pregnant even though she remained untouched by man.

In her ninth month, virgin though she was, she gave birth just as other women give birth.

And so, too, for one year she nursed her child at her breast, wondering, "Whose child could this be?"

13 In the fullness of the year, when the youngster was crawling around on all fours, she summoned all the *huaca*s and *villca*s to find out who was the child's father.

When the *huaca*s heard the message, they were overjoyed, and they all came dressed in their best clothes, each saying to himself, "It's me!" "It's me she'll love!"

14 This gathering took place at Anchi Cocha,[48] where the woman lived.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The gathering was in Anchi Cocha.]

When all the *huaca*s and *villca*s had taken their seats there, that woman addressed them:

"Behold, gentlemen and lords. Acknowledge this child. Which of you made me pregnant?"[49] One by one she asked each of them:

"Was it you?"

"Was it you?"

But nobody answered, "The child is mine."

15 The one called Cuni Raya Vira Cocha had taken his seat at the edge of the gathering. Since he looked like a friendless beggar sitting there, and since so many handsome men were present, she spurned him and didn't question him. She thought, "How could my baby possibly be the child of that beggar?"

Since no one had said, "The child is mine," she first warned the *huaca*s, "If the baby is yours, it'll crawl up to you," and then addressed the child:

"Go, identify your father yourself!"

16 The child began at one end of the group and crawled along on all fours without climbing up on anyone, until reaching the other end, where its father sat.

On reaching him the baby instantly brightened up and climbed onto its father's knee.

When its mother saw this, she got all indignant: "Atatay, what a disgrace! How could I have given birth to the child of a beggar like that?" she said. And taking along only her child, she headed straight for the ocean.

17 And then, while all the local *huaca*s stood in awe, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, "She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me."

"Sister Caui Llaca!" he called after her. "Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!" he said, and he stood there making his garment glitter.[50]

18 Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him.

"Because I've given birth to the child of such a ruffian, such a mangy beggar,[51] I'll just disappear into the ocean," she said. She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac,[52] out there

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and is cultivated for its edible fruit. . . . Specimens of whole and halved fruits of this species . . . are among the most common plant remains found in archaeological sites on the Peruvian coast. . . . *Lucumas* were an important part of the diet of the ancient Peruvians, and halved fruits are frequently found in *petacas* [pouches, hampers] with remains of other food plants. . . . The fruit is also a familiar motif in pre-Columbian art" (Towle 1961: 76–77).

47. *amauta cayninpi* 'in his cleverness': *amauta* is the term Garcilaso Inca popularized as the Inca title of learned men or counselors, but in connection with Cuni Raya it connotes an earthy or practical kind of cleverness.

48. Avila characterized Anchi Cocha as "a terribly cold and bad place halfway between Huarochirí and Chorillo" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 201). Today, Anchicocha is the name of a bleak settlement, plateau, and peak 17 km southwest of Huarochirí, 3,700 m above sea level (IGM 1954). But in chapter 5 Anchi Cocha is the luxurious tropical home of a Yunca lord. *Anchini* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 27) meant 'to live amid delights, to spend splendidly on food, drink, clothing and gifts'. Perhaps the sense is that Anchi Cocha, a Lake of Earthly Delights in the pre-invasion age when all the land was warm and belonged to Yunca people, has (like other places mentioned in chap. 8) been transfigured by the power of later *huaca*s from the cold heights.

49. *yumahuarcanquichic* 'made me pregnant': The root is *yumay* 'sperm'. The literal sense is 'inseminated me'.

50. If Cuni Raya is indeed a water deity, as Rostworowski (1977) persuasively argues, his glittering garment may be a metaphor for water sparkling in sunlight.

51. *cachcaçapap* 'of . . . such a mangy beggar': Avila glosses *cachca* as *sarna* (i.e., scabies or mange) in his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 202).

52. Pacha Camac, whose name means something like 'animator of space and time', was a coastal deity whose colossal shrine complex south of Lima (still visible at the

where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand.[53]

And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone.

19 Yet Cuni Raya Vira Cocha thought, "She'll see me anyway, she'll come to look at me!" He followed her at a distance, shouting and calling out to her over and over.

First, he met up with a condor.[54]

"Brother, where did you run into that woman?" he asked him.

"Right near here. Soon you'll find her," replied the condor.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[55] spoke to him and said,[56]

"You'll live a long life. You alone will eat any dead animal from the wild mountain slopes, both guanacos[57] and vicuñas,[58] of any kind and in any number. And if anybody should kill you, he'll die himself, too."

20 Farther on, he met up with a skunk.[59]

"Sister, where did you meet that woman?" he asked.

"You'll never find her now. She's gone way far away," replied the skunk.

When she said this, he cursed her very hatefully, saying,

"As for you, because of what you've just told me, you'll never go around in the daytime. You'll only walk at night, stinking disgustingly. People will be revolted by you."

21 Next he met up with a puma.[60]

"She just passed this way. She's still nearby. You'll soon reach her," the puma told him.

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha[61] spoke to him, saying,

"You'll be well beloved. You'll eat llamas, especially the llamas of people who bear guilt. Although people may kill you, they'll wear you on their heads during a great festival and set you to dancing.[62] And then when they bring you out annually they'll sacrifice a llama first and then set you to dancing."

22 Then he met up with a fox.[63]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," that fox told him.

When the fox said this, he replied,

"As for you, even when you skulk around keeping your distance, people will thoroughly despise you and say, 'That fox is a sneak thief.' When they kill you, they'll just carelessly throw you away and your skin, too."

<A **marginal** addition in Quechua begins here:>

23 Likewise he met up with a falcon.[64]

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mouth of the Lurín valley, next to the modern village of Pachacámac) attracted worship from remote prehistory and from regions far up the Pacific littoral. His cult is prominent in chapters 20, 22, and 23; see Patterson (1984[?]).

53. The two guano-whitened offshore islands visible from the Inca pyramid at Pachacámac. This landmark and Caui Llaca's lithification complete the trajectory of a story that follows the course of the Lurín River from its high headwaters (Anchicocha) to the Pacific. Cuni Raya's fertilizing action on Caui Llaca seems a mythic image of the river's life-giving effect on its valley.

54. "*Andean condor, Vultur gryphus* (*Cóndor*). Twice the size of a vulture. Black, head bare and yellowish-red, white collar, wing coverts whitish. Male with a flesh caruncle on the bill. Juvenile dusky brown without the collar and white wing patches. Seen flying high it differs from the turkey vulture only in its size and the diagnostic fingering of the feathers of the wingtips. Feeds principally on dead animals. Nests in the Andes; comes down regularly to the sea beaches and coastal hills with fog vegetation" (Koepcke 1970: 38).

55. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

56. Cuni Raya's speeches to the animals have witness validation, which is consistently used in performative (world-changing rather than world-describing) speech.

57. *Lama guanicoe*, a large wild camelid ranging from the Andes into lower semiarid lands (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 257).

58. *Lama vicugna*, a small wild camelid of the heights, prized for its excellent wool (Gade 1977: 113).

59. "*Zorrino chileno, Conepatus chinga* . . . its Quichua name used in Peru is *añas*" (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 153).

60. *Puma concolor* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 167–172).

61. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

62. *taquechisonque* 'they'll . . . set you to dancing': more literally, 'they will make you dance'; here as elsewhere in the manuscript, this means celebrants carry or wear the sacred preserved skin as they perform. In his *Tratado* Avila explained that the dancer placed the animal's preserved head over his own and let the attached skin fall over his body like a cape (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 203).

63. Probably the Peruvian fox, *Pseudalopex inca* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 125).

64. The region of the myth has seven species of hawks, harriers, and kites, and three of falcon. *Huaman* may refer to a species that, like some other birds prominent in the mythology (the condor and the swift), nests on the Andean heights but sometimes flies to the coast and thereby parallels the axis of movement in these myths. "*Aplomado falcon, Falco femoralis pichinchae* (*Halcón perdi-*

"She's just passed this way. You'll soon find her," said the falcon.

He replied,

"You're greatly blessed. When you eat, you'll eat the hummingbird first, then all the other birds. When people kill you, the man who has slain you will have you mourned with the sacrifice of a llama. And when they dance, they'll put you on their heads so you can sit there shining with beauty."

24 And then he met up with some parakeets.[65]

"She's already gone way far away. You'll never find her now," the parakeets told him.

"As for you, you'll travel around shrieking raucously," replied Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.[66] "Although you may say, 'I'll spoil your crops!' when people hear your screaming they'll chase you away at once. You'll live in great misery amidst the hatred of humans."

<The **marginal** addition ends here.>

And so he traveled on. Whenever he met anyone who gave him good news, he conferred on him a good fortune. But he went along viciously cursing those who gave him bad news.

25 When he reached the seashore,

<crossed out in original MS:> [he went straight over it. Today people say, "He was headed for Castile," but in the old days people said, "He went to another land."][67]

he turned back toward Pacha Camac.

He arrived at the place where Pacha Camac's two daughters lived, guarded by a snake.

Just before this, the two girls' mother had gone into the deep sea to visit Caui Llaca. Her name was Urpay Huachac.

While Urpay Huachac was away, Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduced[68] one girl, her older daughter.

When he sought to sleep with the other sister, she turned into a dove[69] and darted away.

That's why her mother's name means 'Gives Birth to Doves'.

26 At that time there wasn't a single fish in the ocean.

Only Urpay Huachac used to breed them, at her home, in a small pond.[70]

It was these fish, all of them, that Cuni Raya angrily scattered into the ocean, saying, "For what did she go off and visit Caui Llaca the woman of the ocean depths?"

Ever since then, fish have filled the sea.

27 Then Cuni Raya Vira Cocha fled along the seashore.

When Urpay Huachac's daughters told her how he'd seduced them, she got furious and chased him.

As she followed him, calling him again and again, he waited for her and said, "Yes?"

"Cuni, I'm just going to remove your lice," she said, and she picked them off.

28 While she picked his lice, she caused a huge abyss

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guero). Larger than the Kestrel, with a longer tail. Lead-colored above, superciliary line cinnamon; below buffy cinnamon, tail and flanks blackish with horizontal white stripes. Generally seen in our region above 2000 m., but occasionally it comes down to the coastal area. Feeds largely on birds to the size of a tinamou" (Koepcke 1970: 42). The hummingbird allotted to the falcon as food below might represent any or all of the six Lima Department hummingbird species (Koepcke 1970: 79–80).

65. *horitocunahuan* 'with some parakeets': *horito* in chapter 16 (sec. 207) is equated to the poorly identified bird *caqui* (toucan?), but in chapter 1 (sec. 5) it is distinguished from it. Here it clearly refers to a crop pest. The likeliest identification is

> Mountain parakeet, *Bolborhynchus a. aurifrons* (*Psilopsiagon a. aurifrons*) (*Perico cordillerano*). The only native wild parakeet of our coastal region. Small, with a very long tail; F. and J. completely green; M. with the forehead, face, and underparts yellowish. Common on the steppes and shrubby places of the coast and Andean slopes; also gathers in cultivated fields, tree plantations, gardens, and parks of Lima. During the winter it is abundant on the coastal hills and in wooded and shrubby places with fog vegetation, especially at Lachay.

It could also be Andean parakeet, *Bolborhynchus andinicolus* (*B. orbygnesius*) (*Perico Andino*), found only above 1500 m., or (less probably, because of its rarity) the Scarlet-fronted parakeet, *Aratinga wagleri frontata* (*Cotorra de Wagler*; Koepcke 1970: 74).

66. 'Cuni Raya Vira Cocha' supplied.

67. *huc pachamansi* could also be read 'another world'. The crossed-out version matches Vira Cocha myths circulated in the highlands and better known among Spaniards (Urbano 1981: 1–31).

68. Or perhaps raped her; *puñochircan*, more literally, 'he made her sleep', could mean either. We chose 'seduce' because it is Gonçález Holguín's preferred gloss ([1608] 1952: 296) and because deception, not violence, is Cuni Raya's consistent mode of action.

69. Of nine species of doves known in the region, three are common near the seashore: the white-winged dove (*Zenaida asiatica meloda*), the eared dove (*Zenaidura auriculata hypoleuca*), and the croaking ground dove (*Columbina cruziana*) (Koepcke 1970: 69–71).

70. Probably an allusion to pisciculture, perhaps in excavated tanks (Espinoza Soriano 1974: 19; Rostworowski 1981: 30–31).

to open up next to him, thinking to herself, "I'll knock Cuni Raya down into it."

But Cuni Raya in his cleverness realized this; just by saying, "Sister, I've got to go off for a moment to relieve myself,"[71] he made his getaway to these villages.

He traveled around this area for a long, long time, tricking lots of local *huaca*s and people, too. <**marginal note**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b. This *huaca*'s end will be told below.]

71. The verb in the original, from the root *ysmay*, is merely plainspoken. But the plain translation 'to shit' sounds jarringly obscene.

CHAPTER 3

29 # What Happened to the Indians in Ancient Times When the Ocean Overflowed

Now we'll return to what is said of very early people.

The story goes like this.[72]

In ancient times, this world wanted to come to an end.[73]

A llama buck, aware[74] that the ocean was about to overflow, was behaving like somebody who's deep in sadness. Even though its <crossed out:> [father] owner let it rest in a patch of excellent pasture, it cried and said, "In, in," and wouldn't eat.

30 The llama's <crossed out:> [father] owner got really angry, and he threw the cob from some maize he had just eaten at the llama.

"Eat, dog! This is some fine grass I'm letting you rest in!" he said.

Then that llama began speaking like a human being.

"You simpleton, whatever could you be thinking about? Soon, in five days, the ocean will overflow. It's a certainty. And the whole world will come to an end," it said.

31 The man got good and scared. "What's going to happen to us? Where can we go to save ourselves?" he said.

The llama replied, "Let's go to Villca Coto mountain.[75] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is a mountain that is between Huanri[76] and Surco.][77]
There we'll be saved. Take along five days' food for yourself."

So the man went out from there in a great hurry, and himself carried both the llama buck and its load.

32 When they arrived at Villca Coto mountain, all sorts of animals had already filled it up: pumas, foxes, guanacos, condors, all kinds of animals in great numbers.

And as soon as that man had arrived there, the ocean overflowed.

They stayed there huddling tightly together.

33 The waters covered all those mountains and it was only Villca Coto mountain, or rather its very peak, that was not covered by the water.

Water soaked the fox's tail.

That's how it turned black.

Five days later, the waters descended and began to dry up.

34 The drying waters caused the ocean to retreat all the way down again and exterminate all the people.

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72. Text shifts at this point from witness to reportive validation.

73. *cay pachas puchocayta munarcan* 'this world wanted to come to an end': *puchocay* means the ending of something that has an intrinsic conclusion (as, for example, the finishing of a task), not a truncation or accidental end (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 293).

74. The prescience of llamas: see chapter 18 (secs. 221–222), on llama divination, where the animal's body is credited with containing signs of the future.

75. A mountain today called by this name exists 12 km northwest of San Damián, between modern Huanre and Surco (Treacy 1984: 18). Villca Coto may be the same *huaca* mentioned in chapter 23 (sec. 301), the most beautiful one at the Inca court in Cuzco.

76. Modern Huanre is 5 km south of San Bartolomé (IGM 1970–1971).

77. The modern (former *reducción*) town of San Gerónimo de Surco is 17 km north-northwest of San Damián at 2,300 m above sea level, sheltered in the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Afterward, that man began to multiply once more.

That's the reason there are people until today.

Regarding this story, we Christians believe it refers to the time of the Flood.[78]

But they believe it was Villca Coto mountain that saved them.

78. This sentence has *-mi* eyewitness validation.

CHAPTER 4

35

How the Sun Disappeared for Five Days. In What Follows We Shall Tell a Story about the Death of the Sun

In ancient times[79] the sun died.[80]

Because of his death it was night for five days.

Rocks banged against each other.

Mortars and grinding stones began to eat people.

Buck llamas started to drive men.[81]

Here's what we Christians think about it:[82] We think these stories tell of the darkness following the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.[83]

Maybe that's what it was.

79. This formula introduces a passage with reportive validation.

80. Like various New World mythologies, Andean myths both ancient and modern include a motif of successive deaths and replacements of suns. Juan Ossio believes this chapter and Guaman Poma's scheme of "ages" are related to Montesinos' mid-seventeenth-century account of an Andean myth about successive suns equated to millennia (Ossio 1973: 188). Many modern Andeans interpret precolumbian structures as the houses of people who lived before the current sun arose.

81. The myth of the revolt of the objects, of which this appears to be a summary, also appears in a fuller Mayan version that, like this one, follows on a flood incident (Tedlock 1985: 84–86). Hocquenghem (1987: 142–143) and Jeffrey Quilter (personal communication) point out analogues in Mochica ceramic imagery from the Peruvian north coast.

82. This sentence has witness validation.

83. Luke 23: 44–45: "It was now about the sixth hour and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour, for the sun stopped shining."

CHAPTER 5

36

How in Ancient Times Paria Caca Appeared on a Mountain Named Condor Coto in the Form of[84] Five Eggs, and What Followed. Here Will Begin the Account of Paria Caca's Emergence[85]

In the four preceding chapters we have already recounted the lives lived in ancient times.

Nevertheless, we don't know the origins of the people of those days, nor where it was they emerged[86] from.

37 These people, the ones who lived in that era, used to spend their lives warring on each other and conquering each other. For their leaders, they recognized only the strong and the rich.[87]

We speak of them as the Purum Runa, 'people of desolation'.[88]

38 It was at this time that the one called Paria Caca was born in the form of five eggs on Condor Coto mountain.[89]

A certain man, and a poor friendless one at that, was the first to see and know the fact of his birth; he was called Huatya Curi, but was also known as Paria Caca's son.

Now we'll speak of this discovery of his, and of the many wonders[90] he performed.[91]

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84. 'In the Form of' supplied.

85. The last part of the title here is in Quechua and does not form part of the Spanish insertion.

86. *pacarimuscancunactam* 'the origins' and *pacarimurcan* 'they emerged' both derive from a single root meaning literally 'to dawn' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 266–267; see also preface, sec. 2). An Andean group's 'dawning' or emergence from inside earth to outer daylight is its origin myth and primordial title to a place on the landscape that engendered it.

87. *rico* 'rich': the Spanish word is sometimes used in this chapter (secs. 46, 60) as the opposite of *huaccha* 'friendless, poor'. *Rico* seemingly implies wealth in possessions (chap. 19, sec. 235) rather than the rich social and superhuman connectedness suggested by Quechua *capac* (opposite of *huaccha* in sec. 49). Its use here may reflect the ascendancy of economic concepts connected with the Spanish market system.

88. The age here mythologized seems to be the Late Intermediate period of the archaeologists, that is, the centuries preceding Inca unification and characterized by a multitude of warring polities. *Purum* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 297) covers a spectrum of meanings from the agricultural ('sterile lands, lands abandoned from cultivation') to the political ('unconquered people, enemies'). 'Desolation' is chosen to evoke the linkage between warfare and infertility.

The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also gave the name "Purun Runa" to an ancient age of warfare ([1615] 1980: 1:47–50).

89. Condor Coto may be the peak called Condorcoto today, only 14 km southwest of Huarochirí, that is, nowhere near Paria Caca mountain but close to Anchi Cocha (IGM 1970–1971). The fact that Paria Caca's emergence takes place within what was seen as old Yunca country may suggest that the myth-tellers saw themselves as a foreign minority group enclaved and formerly oppressed in Yunca country.

Condor Coto would mean 'Condor mountain' in Aymara (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 53) or Quechua (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 70).

90. *ahca misterio* 'many wonders': in Spanish, a *misterio*, according to Cobarruvias ([1611] n.d.: 807) meant any sacred thing that was to be kept hidden from profane view. Basic Christian doctrines were called *misterios* in the Quechua sermon books from which the clergy were required to teach natives (*Tercero catecismo* [1585] 1985: 363–458). The usage of *misterio* implicitly compares the secret meaning of Paria Caca's action, revealed to Huatya Curi, to the meanings of Christian revelation.

91. End of an introductory passage with witness vali-

39 They say[92] that fellow called Huatya Curi subsisted at the time just by baking potatoes in earth pits,[93] eating the way a poor man does,[94] and people named him the "Baked Potato Gleaner."

At that time there was another man named Tamta Ñamca,[95] a very rich and powerful lord. <**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b. Tamta Ñamca]

Both his own house and all his other houses[96] looked like *cassa* and *cancho* feather-weavings, for they were thatched with wings of birds.[97] His llamas were yellow llamas, red and blue llamas; he owned llamas of every hue.
<**margin**:> [Tamta Ñamca]

40 Seeing that this man lived so well, people who came from all the villages paid him homage and worshiped him.

For his part, he pretended to be very wise and spent his life deceiving a whole lot of people with the little that he really knew.

Then this man called Tamta Ñamca, who pretended to be so wise, even to be a god,[98] contracted a really horrible disease.

41 His illness went on for a great many years, and in time people talked. "How can a man who knows so much, who's so powerful, be so sick?" they said.

Just like the Spaniards who, on such occasions, summon experts and doctors, Tamta Ñamca, hoping to recover, summoned all sorts of shamans and wise men.[99]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The wise men gathered.]

But no one at all could diagnose that disease of his.

42 Just then Huatya Curi was coming from the vicinity of Ura Cocha,[100] and he went to sleep on the mountain by which we descend to Sieneguella.[101]

(Today this mountain is called Latab Zaco.)

While he was sleeping, a fox who'd come from down below and one who'd come from up above[102] met face to face[103] there. One fox asked the other, "Brother, how are things in Upper Villca?"

43 "What's good is good. But a lord in Anchi Cocha,

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dation. The editor/redactor is not always explicitly skeptical of the content of traditional narration.

92. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

93. *huatya*, potatoes baked in an earth pit, were and are characteristic food of high-altitude peasants who cook outdoor meals while harvesting tubers on the high slopes.

94. 'The way a poor man does': Avila in his *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 208–209) adds a comment that eating *huatya* (earth-baked potatoes) was a mark of poverty. Avila may, however, have missed part of the name's meaning, namely, the part connected with its second element *Curi*. It may come from "*ccorini* to gather and collect small or scattered things." A derived verb means 'to glean through the harvested fields or pick up spilled or abandoned things' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 69). A person reduced to picking through other people's abandoned barbecue pits is dispossessed in the highest degree, lacking even subsistence rights and in this sense eats 'the way a poor man does'.

95. This man's name contains the word *tamta* 'feather ruff' (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation). Featherwork is the symbol of his wealth and glory; his house is thatched with feathers. Andean featherwork found in tombs is made from tropical birds and probably symbolizes the biotic plenty of warm *yunca* lands.

96. That is, the houses for his wives, servitors, and so forth.

97. The image seems to be that of a house thatched with the brilliantly colored feather-weavings sometimes found in prehispanic elite burials. Avila says in his *Tratado* that the roof was of yellow and red feathers (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

98. *dios*: the Spanish word 'god', perhaps used in a Greco-Roman rather than Christian sense.

99. *amautacunacta doctorcunacta . . . yachaccunacta sauiocunacta* 'experts and doctors . . . shamans and wise men': the teller draws an implicit contrast between two pairs of terms, each consisting of a Quechua and a Spanish word: *amauta : doctor :: yachac : sauio*. The suggestion seems to be that a doctor, a bureaucratically licensed expert, can be compared with an *amauta*, and a *sauio* or wise man with a *yachac*. *Yachac* (literally, 'knower') today means a shaman.

100. *ura cochañicmanta* 'from the vicinity of Ura Cocha' is more literally 'from someplace around [the?] lower lake'. The 'lower lake' is probably the Pacific Ocean (called *mama cocha* 'Mother Lake' today). This term recurs in chapter 8 (sec. 103) and chapter 22 (sec. 278).

101. Modern Cieneguilla is in the low end of the Lurín valley 62 km west of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971), close to the ocean and to Lima.

102. In his *Tratado* ([1608] 1966: 209) Avila explains that this means one fox came down from Anchi Cocha and the other up from the Pacific.

103. *chaypi pactalla tincuspas* 'face to face' understates the Quechua's emphasis on symmetry. A fuller though ungainly gloss would be 'symmetrically opposing each other there in an exact fit'. The verb *tincuy* carries a complex set of associations with the idea of opposed parts forming a complementary totality (Platt [1978] 1986).

a *villca* as a matter of fact, one who claims to know a whole lot, to be a god himself, is terribly ill. All the wise men who found their way to him are wondering, 'Why's he so ill?' No one can identify his sickness. But his disease is this: while his wife was toasting maize, a grain of *muro*[104] maize popped from the griddle and got into her private part.[105]

44 "She picked it out and served it to a man to eat. Because of having served it, she became a sinner in relation to the man who ate it." (Nowadays they reckon that act tantamount to being an adulteress.)[106]

"As a result of this fault," he told the fox who'd come from down below, "a snake[107] has made its dwelling on top of that magnificent house and is eating them up. What's more, a toad, a two-headed one, lives under their grinding stone. And nobody is aware of these devouring animals."

45 Then he asked, "And how are people doing in Lower Villca, brother?"

The other fox answered similarly, saying, "There's a woman, the offspring of a great lord and a *villca*, who almost died because of a penis."[108]

(But the story leading up to the woman's recovery is very long.[109] Later on we'll write about it. For now, we'll return to the first story.)

46 As the foxes were telling each other these tidings, the man called Huatya Curi heard that the great lord who pretended to be a god was ill.

This great man had two daughters.

He had joined the elder daughter to a fellow *ayllu* member[110] who was very rich.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [He married her.][111]

The poor man called Huatya Curi came to that lord while he was still ill.

47 When he arrived, he went around asking surreptitiously, "Isn't someone sick in this town?"

"It's my father who's sick," replied the younger daughter.

Huatya Curi answered, "Let's get together. For your sake I'll cure your father."

<crossed out:>(We don't know this young woman's name.)[112]

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [But later on they called her Chaupi Ñamca.][113]

The young woman didn't agree right away.

48 She told her father, "Father, there's a poor man here. He came and said to me, 'I'll cure your father.'"

All the wise men who were sitting there burst into laughter when they heard these words, and said, "If we ourselves can't cure him, how can this nobody make him well?"

But that lord wanted a cure so badly that he called for Huatya Curi. "Let him come, never mind what sort of man he is," he said.

49 When the great lord summoned him, Huatya Curi entered and said, "Father, if you want to get well, I'll make you well. But you have to give me your daughter."

Overjoyed, Tamta Ñamca replied, "Very well then!"

But when his older daughter's husband heard this proposition he flew into a rage. "How dare he join her, the sister-in-law of such a powerful[114] man as me, to a nobody like that?"

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104. *muro*: could mean 'particolored, spotted' (the generic meaning of *muro*) but may also be a local form of the term *muruchu* 'maize of the coastal flatlands, very hard' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 252).

105. *pincayninmanmi*: literally, 'into her shame'. Shame-oriented terms from Quechua lexicon but reflecting Christian mentality are common in most but not all the sexually colored passages and are sometimes written in over scratched-out plainspoken Quechua terms.

106. The speaker adds this remark as if aware that his listeners would find the classification of the mistake as adultery puzzling. Perhaps the word *huachuc* 'adulterer' formerly covered a gamut of sexual transgressions besides adultery proper. Avila deviates from this version in saying the woman actually committed adultery with the man (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 209).

107. *huc machachuay* 'a snake': in sec. 50 the snakes are clearly said to be two, but the discrepancy may only be apparent since the phrase with *huc* could mean 'some snakes'.

108. This alludes to a myth that would be the symmetrical counterpart (*tinkuy*; see chap. 5, sec. 43) of the first fox's story: a false nobleman ill from a vagina; a true noblewoman ill from a penis. Taylor (1987b: 92) detects an interlineation translatable as 'daughter of that great lord' (i.e., of Tamta Ñamca). If so, the woman made ill by a penis might be Chaupi Ñamca.

109. Chapter 10 (sec. 146) may be a truncated version of this myth. This aside has the witness validation typical of the editor or redactor's comments.

110. *ayllonhuantac* 'to a fellow *ayllu* member': *ayllu* endogamy is common in Andean societies.

111. *casarachircan* 'he married her': the verb root is a Spanish one, clarifying the perhaps unfamiliar sense of *tinquichircan* 'he joined [her]' in body of text.

112. This aside has witness validation.

113. I.e., in chapter 10 (sec. 142).

114. 'Powerful' is a weak rendering of *camac*, agentive

50 Later on we'll tell about this angry man's struggle with Huatya Curi.

But for now we'll return to the cure the poor man called Huatya Curi effected.

Huatya Curi began his cure by saying, "Father, your wife is an adulteress. Because she's an adulteress, a sinner, she's made you ill. As for what's eating you,[115] it's the two snakes that dwell on top of this magnificent house of yours. And there's a toad, too, a two-headed one, that lives under your grinding stone.

51 "Now we'll kill them all. Then you'll get well. After you recover, you must worship my father above all things. He'll be born tomorrow or the day after. And as for you, you're not such a powerful man. If you were really powerful, you wouldn't be sick."

The rich man was astonished when Huatya Curi said this.

52 And when Huatya Curi said, "Now I'll take apart this gorgeous house of his," he became distraught.

And his wife started yelling, "This nobody, this crook, is slandering me! I'm no adulteress!"

53 Nonetheless the sick man wanted his health back very badly, and he let his house be dismantled.

Then Huatya Curi removed the two snakes and killed them. Next he clearly explained the facts to the rich man's wife: just how a grain of *muro* maize had popped out and gotten in her private part, and how she, after picking it out, had served it to a man.

After that, the woman confessed everything. "It's all true," she said.

54 Next he had the grinding stone lifted.

A toad, a two-headed one, came out from under it and fled to Anchi Cocha ravine.

It exists in a spring there to this day.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask the name of this spring and where it is.]

When people come to that spring, it either makes them disappear or else drives them crazy.

55 Once Huatya Curi finished all these deeds <crossed out in original:> [her[116] father] the ailing man got well.

After Tamta Ñamca's recovery, on the day that had been foretold, Huatya Curi went for the first time to Condor Coto mountain.

It was there that the one called Paria Caca dwelled in the form of five eggs.[117]

All around him a wind rose up and began to blow.

In earlier times no wind had been observed.

56 Just before he went there on the appointed day, the man who'd recovered his health gave him his unmarried daughter.

While the two of them were traveling in the vicinity of that mountain they sinned together.[118]

57 As soon as that elder brother-in-law heard they'd sinned together he set out to compete against Huatya Curi.

"I'll bring deep shame on that beggarman," he muttered.

And so one day that man challenged him, saying, "Brother, let's have it out in a contest, whatever kind. How dare a nobody like you marry the sister-in-law of a powerful man like me?"

That poor man agreed, and went to inform his father Paria Caca,

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, <he went> to one of the above-mentioned eggs that this man had for a father.]

and said, "This is how he spoke to me."

"Very well then. Whatever he tells you, come to me right away," his father replied.

58 The contest between them was like this.

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form of the key verb *camay* discussed in the introduction and note 31 in chapter 1 (sec. 7). A *camac* man would be one who can impart his own power to others and impose his will.

115. *camta micucri* 'as for what's eating you': the illness may be leishmaniasis, an infectious disease often pictured in Mochica ceramics, which eats away at the soft tissues of the nose and lip.

116. *yayanca* 'her [or his] father' is the crossed-out word; it might refer to the father of Huatya Curi's young woman or of her sister (i.e., to Tamta Ñamca).

117. *runto* 'egg': can also mean 'hailstone' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 321), a relevant association because Paria Caca regularly acts in the form of a storm.

118. *hochallicorcan* 'they sinned together': *hochalliy*, like *pincay* 'private part' (literally, 'shame'), is a shame-oriented term of Quechua lexicon and Christian mentality. The verb root employed seems to have meant a ceremonial debt or obligation (it is still used in this sense), but Christian missionaries chose it as the translation for 'sin'.

One day the challenger said, "Let's have a drinking and dancing contest."

So that poor man Huatya Curi went to inform his father.

His father Paria Caca advised him, "Go to that mountain over there. There you'll pretend to be a guanaco and lie down as if dead. Early in the morning a fox with his skunk wife will come there to see me.

59 "They'll bring their maize beer in a small long-necked jar[119] and they'll also bring along their drum. When they spot you, a dead guanaco, they'll set their things on the ground, and as soon as the fox puts down his panpipes, they'll start to eat you. Then turn back into a man, scream so loud it hurts their ears, and run away. When they scamper off forgetting their possessions, you'll take them and go to the contest."

60 The poor man did as he was told.

The rich man was the first to dance in the contest.

His wives, who numbered almost two hundred, danced along with him, and after they were done the poor man entered by himself, with only his wife, just the two of them.

As they entered through the doorway, as they danced to the skunk's drum he'd brought along, the earth of that whole region quaked.[120]

With this, he beat them all.

61 Next, they began drinking.

Huatya Curi went with just his wife to sit at the head of the group,[121] exactly as guests do until today.

And all of those people who were sitting there served him drink after drink without giving him a break.

Even though he drank every bit of it he sat there with no problem.

62 Then it was his turn. He began to serve the maize beer he'd brought in that little long-necked jar, and everybody ridiculed him. "How could he possibly fill so many people from such a tiny jar?" they said.

But when he began to serve, starting from the head of the gathering, they dropped down drunk in no time, one after another.

63 The next day, since Huatya Curi had won, the other man wanted a different contest.

This contest was all about outdoing each other in splendid costumes decorated with the exquisite feather-weavings called *cassa* and *cancho*.[122]

So Huatya Curi again went to his father.

His father gave him a snow garment.

<**margin**:> [or *riti*][123]

In that garment he dazzled[124] all the people's eyes and won the contest.

64 Then the challenger said, "Let's compete in putting on puma skins."

That man wanted to win by wearing the puma skins he had.[125]

The poor man, following his father's advice, went to a spring early in the morning and brought back a red puma skin.

He danced. And while he was dancing in that red puma, a rainbow appeared in the sky, like the rainbow that appears in the sky today.

65 Next the rich man wanted to compete at housebuilding.

Since that man had access to many people, he almost finished a large house in a single day.

The poor man just laid down the foundations and then strolled around all day long with his wife.

That night all kinds of birds, snakes, and other animals of the land walled the house.

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119. *huchoylla porongo* 'small long-necked jar' sounds like the aryballoid form jars made in various sizes for carrying maize beer. They have been found in virtually all Inca-influenced archaeological sites.

120. Avila spells out the point in his *Tratado*: not just the people but "the whole earth danced to the beat of its sound" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 211).

121. The seating of ceremonial guests in rank order, recurrent in many parts of the text, can be seen today in various parts of the Andes. Sponsors of the ceremony sit on stools at the head places, while guests sit in descending order of prestige and strangers or mendicants at the opposite extreme.

122. That is, the same feather-weavings that adorned Tamta Ñamca's roof (chap. 5, sec. 39).

123. *riti*: another Quechua word for snow.

124. *rupachispa* 'dazzled': the word is derived from a root meaning 'to burn' and may mean that his snow garment dazzled them with snowblindness. It is different from *tutayachic* 'which . . . dazzles' (chap. 20, sec. 250). The latter literally means 'benights'.

125. See note 62. In chapter 10 (sec. 150) we learn that owners of llama herds symbolized their prosperity by wearing puma skins; like pumas, they lived off llamas. Since the challenger is said to be rich, he presumably had many herds and therefore many puma skins. Zuidema (1985: 225) suggests that wearing puma skins in ceremony signified sovereignty over a body politic.

The next day, seeing it already finished, the challenger was awestruck.

66 Likewise Huatya Curi won at roofing the house. All the guanacos and vicuñas brought his thatching straw.

As for the other man, while his materials were being transported on llamas, Huatya Curi availed himself[126] of a bobcat's[127] help. He lay in ambush for them by a cliff, stampeded them, and destroyed them by making them fall over it.

By this trick[128] he won again.

67 After winning all these contests, the poor man spoke just as his father had advised: "Brother, we've competed so many times now, always agreeing to your rules. Now you agree to my rules."

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

Huatya Curi said, "Now, with blue tunics! And let our breechclouts be of white cotton! That's how we'll dance!"

"Very well then," the rich man agreed.

68 The rich man, since he'd danced first from the beginning <crossed out in original:> [danced], went ahead and danced first.

As he was dancing, Huatya Curi charged down on him from outside screaming. That man panicked, turned into a brocket deer,[129] and ran away.

And his wife followed him, saying, "I'll die with my own old man!"[130]

69 Then that poor man flew into a rage: "Go, idiot! You two have victimized me so much, I'll kill you!" he said, and he chased after them.

Chasing them, he caught the wife on the road to Anchi Cocha and stood her upside down on her head. "People coming from up above and those coming from down below will gape at your private parts as they pass by," he said.

And right then and there she turned to stone[131] instantly.

70 This stone, just like a woman's legs with thighs and a vagina,[132] stands there until today.

Even now people put coca on top of it when they undertake something.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ask why they put this coca.]

But the man who'd turned into a brocket deer climbed up a mountain and disappeared.

71 [Now, in ancient times, brocket deer used to eat human beings.[133]

Later on, when brocket deer were very numerous, they danced, ritually chanting, "How shall we eat people?"

Then one of their little fawns made a mistake and said, "How shall people eat us?"

When the brocket deer heard this they scattered.

From then on brocket deer became food for humans.]

72 After Huatya Curi finished all these deeds, Paria Caca flew forth from the five eggs in the shape of five falcons.

<**margin**, in Quechua:> [The birth of Paria Caca.]

These five falcons turned into humans and they began to roam around.

And at that time, hearing all about the things people had done, about how that man called Tamta Ñamca had said, "I am a god," and about how the man had himself worshiped, Paria Caca went into a rage over all these sins of theirs. Rising up as rain, he flushed them all away to the ocean, together

126. *mincaspa* 'availed himself': more literally, he 'contracted' the bobcat's help (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 240). While his brother-in-law had access to the labor of many people and domesticated animals (llamas), Huatya Curi has access, thanks to Paria Caca's help, to creatures of the wild (skunk, fox, guanaco, bobcat, etc.).

127. *oscullo* 'bobcat': a cat of the genus *Oncifelis*, possibly *Oncifelis geoffroyi* or *Oncifelis salinarum* (Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 161).

128. 'Trick' supplied.

129. *lloychu* 'brocket deer': *Mazama simplicicornis*. A small species widespread in the southern half of South America, up to 65 cm tall, found especially in "savannas with trees and forest edges on the flatlands, as well as on the heights" (Renard-Casevitz: 1979: 24–25).

130. *cosallayhuantac* 'with my own old man': to convey the affectionate tone that *-lla* imparts to *cosa* 'husband'.

131. Mythic figures commonly lithify (i.e., become local *huaca*s consisting of geological features) when they complete their role in the mythic drama.

132. *racayoc* 'with a vagina': unlike many sexual words in the manuscript, this is a plain Andean one without Christian-style euphemism.

133. Interpolated myth-within-a-myth: how brocket deer became human food. The myth echoes a theme of chapters 1 and 27: the way overpopulation caused hunger in ancient times. The brocket deer, like ancient people, overreproduced until getting food became a problem. The conditions of their life had to be reversed. They became subject to individual death so that they could have collective life. The same happens to humans in chapter 27.

with all their houses and their llamas, sparing not a single one.

73 At that time, too, there was something called the Pullao, which bridged like an arch Llantapa mountain[134] and another mountain called Vichoca.[135]

That thing called the Pullao was a gigantic tree.

Monkeys, toucans, and birds of all colors used to live on it.

These animals, too, all of their kind, he swept to the sea.

After he finished these feats, Paria Caca ascended to the place that's known today as Upper Paria Caca.

In the next chapter we'll speak about his ascension.[136]

134. Llantapa mountain today is 14 km southwest of Llacsa Tambo (if the latter is modern Llaquistambo) (IGM 1970–1971).

135. Modern Guichuca peak, 4,000 m above sea level, 14 km southwest of Llantapa (IGM 1970–1971). This colossal bridge over the Lurín river canyon must have been the mythic portal of the middle and lower *yunca* lands.

136. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 6

74

How Paria Caca Was Born as Five Falcons and Then Turned into Persons, and How, Already Victorious over All the Yunca of Anchi Cocha, He Began to Walk toward Paria Caca Mountain, and What Happened along the Way

Once Paria Caca had become human and was full grown, he began to search for his enemy.

His enemy's name was Huallallo Caruincho, the Man Eater, the Man Drinker.[137]

Later on we'll describe him together with his battles.[138]

In fact we already did talk in the first chapter about Huallallo Caruincho's life, how he ate people, and all his deeds.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the first chapter]

75 Now we'll tell about the things he did in Huaro Cheri and all around there.

The story goes like this.

When Paria Caca was already a full-grown person, he went to Huallallo Caruincho's dwelling, to the place called Upper Paria Caca.

76 In the valley that lies below Huaro Cheri there once was a village named Huauqui Usa, a village of the Yunca.

On that occasion the villagers[139] were celebrating an important festival. They drank, and drank hard.

While they were drinking, Paria Caca arrived at the village. He sat down at the end of the banquet as he arrived, just like a friendless stranger.

77 Not a single one of the villagers offered him a drink while he sat there. He was there all day long. Finally a woman, who was also a native of that village, exclaimed,

"Oh, no! How come no one is offering this poor fellow a drink?"

She brought over some maize beer in a large white gourd and gave it to him.

78 "Sister," Paria Caca said to that woman, "it's a lucky thing for you that you offered me this beer. Five days from now, you'll see something awful happen in this village. So take care not to be in the village that day. Back off far away. Otherwise I might kill both you and your children by mistake. These people have made me damn mad!"

And he added, "As for these people, don't let them hear even a single word about it. If you let them hear anything, I might kill you, too."

79 Five days later the woman, together with her children and her brothers, did go away from that village.

But the people of the village went right on drinking without a care.

Then Paria Caca climbed the mountain that overlooks Huaro Cheri.

(That mountain is called Matao Coto now.

Farther down there's another mountain called Puypu Huana, the one we descend on our way from here to Huaro Cheri. These are the names of those mountains.)[140]

80 On the mountain Paria Caca started a torrential rainstorm.

137. The chapter opens with two sentences in reportive validation.

138. This and the following three sentences form an explanatory aside with witness validation.

139. *llactayoc runacunaca* 'villagers', more literally, 'the village-owning people' (i.e., the aborigines who lived in union with the place and its deities before Paria Caca and his devotees overran them).

140. The whole parenthesis has witness validation.

Rising up as yellow hail and red hail,[141] he washed all those people away to the ocean and didn't spare a single one.

At that moment, the waters gushed down in a mudslide[142] and shaped the high slopes and the valleys of Huaro Cheri.

When Paria Caca finished all these things, he didn't explain them to the rest of the aboriginal Yunca people, who'd <crossed out:> [quite clearly] seen it all happen without knowing or understanding what it meant, but instead headed to the fields of the Cupara, which are across the river. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca crossed over to the village of the Cupara.]

81 The native people of Cupara village survived just by channeling some water from a spring to their fields, and they were suffering greatly for lack of water at that time.

(This spring flowed from a tall mountain that rises above San Lorenzo village.[143]

This mountain is called Suna Caca today.)

At that time, they say,[144] it was just a big lake.

They used to irrigate their fields by channeling the water downhill to fill some small reservoirs.

82 In those days there was a native woman of that village named Chuqui Suso, a really beautiful woman.

This woman was weeping while she irrigated her maize plants because they were drying out so badly, and because her water supply was so very scarce.

When Paria Caca saw this, he obstructed the mouth of her little pond[145] with his cloak.

83 The woman started to cry even more bitterly when she saw him do that.

"Sister, why are you crying so hard?" Paria Caca asked her.

"Sir, this little maize field of mine is drying up on me for lack of water!" she replied.

"Don't worry about it," Paria Caca said to her. "I'll make water flow from this pond of yours, plenty of water. But first, let me sleep with you."

84 "Get the water flowing first," she retorted. "When my field is watered, then by all means let's sleep together."

"Fine!" said Paria Caca, and released an ample amount of water.

Overjoyed, the woman thoroughly watered all her fields.

After she finished irrigating, Paria Caca said, "Let's sleep together."

"Not right now," she replied. "Let's sleep together tomorrow or the day after."

Paria Caca, who desired the woman ardently, thought, "I wish I could sleep with her right now!" and promised her all kinds of things.

"I'll fix this field of yours up with a water source direct from the river,"[146] he said.

85 "Do that first, and then we'll sleep together," the woman replied.

"All right," Paria Caca said. He widened an irrigation canal that had belonged to the Yunca people, a little ditch that descended long ago from the ravine called Coco Challa to the small hill overlooking San Lorenzo. He extended this canal down as far as the fields of Lower Cupara.[147]

86 Pumas, foxes, snakes, and all kinds of birds cleaned and fixed that canal.

Pumas, jaguars, and all kinds of animals[148] vied with each other to improve it, saying, "Who'll be the leader when we lay out the watercourse?"[149]

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141. In the *Tratado* Avila mentions that Huarochirí people interpreted a local geological formation, seemingly a steep alluvial fan of yellowish-white stones, as the remnant of Paria Caca's hail (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 215).

142. *yaco lloclla purispas* 'waters gushed down in a mudslide': a typical west Andean disaster then and now. Repeatedly in the manuscript the rainy power of the heights destroys the dry Yunca people by washing them out. The topography of western Peru, cut by many water-eroded canyons, was read as the record of such mythic cataclysms.

143. Modern San Lorenzo de Quinti, 2 km east of Huarochirí at 2,550 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). This and the following sentence form an aside with witness validation.

144. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation.

145. *cochap siminta* 'the mouth of her . . . pond': a literal translation, probably meaning the sluice through which water passed from the reservoir to the irrigation canal.

146. *mayomanta yacuyuctam* 'with a water source direct from the river' (i.e., not reliant on the spring or the reservoir system).

147. The teller is at pains to relate the extant pattern of canals with *huaca*s and thereby express the teller's group's claims to water rights. In this myth a non-Yunca group (Checa?) seems to be holding that the neighboring Cupara (seemingly of Yunca origin) owe their water to the invaders and not to the ancient Yunca builders.

148. 'Animals' supplied.

149. This sentence has witness validation; since it

"Me first! Me first!" exclaimed this one and that one.

The fox won, saying, "I'm the chief, the *curaca*,[150] so I'll lead the way first."

And so he, the fox, went on ahead.

87 While the fox was leading the way, <**margin**, in Quechua:> [leading the way,] after he'd laid the watercourse out halfway up the mountain over San Lorenzo, a tinamou[151] suddenly darted up, whistling "Pisc pisc!"

Startled, the fox yelped "Huac!" and fell down the slope.

Then those animals got indignant and had the snake direct the way.

If the fox hadn't fallen, that canal of theirs would've run at a higher level.

But now it runs somewhat lower.

The spot from which the fox fell is clearly visible to this day. In fact the water flows down the course the fox's fall opened.[152]

88 When in fact[153] he'd finished all this, Paria Caca said to Chuqui Suso, "Let's sleep together!"

"Let's climb to a high ledge. There we'll sleep together," she <crossed out:> [enticed him] answered him.

(Today, this ledge is called Yana Caca.)[154]

There the two of them did sleep together.

Once she'd slept with him, that woman said, "Let's just the two of us go off someplace."

"Let's go!" he replied and led her to the mouth of the canal called Coco Challa.

89 When they got there the woman named Chuqui Suso said, "Right in this canal of mine, that's where I'll stay!" And she froze stock still, and turned to stone.

Paria Caca left her there and went on climbing upward.

We'll tell about that next.[155]

90 Someone congealed into stone does in fact stand today at the mouth of the canal named Coco Challa. It's the woman called Chuqui Suso. <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Cuni Raya's dwelling is near Chuqui Suso.]

Cuni Raya, also frozen to stone, dwells today above this place in a different canal, at the spot that was named Vincompa at that time.

It was there that Cuni Raya came to his end.[156]

But we'll tell about the various things he did in some later chapters.

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overlaps the preceding reportive sentence in content, one suspects an imperfect joining of two sources.

150. *curaca* means "the lord or ruler (*señor*) of the community (*pueblo*)" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 57); it derives from a root denoting priority in rank (especially birth order), not sovereignty. Under Spanish colonial influence, *curaca* roles were modified toward Spanish ideas of nobility and estate-based privilege.

151. *yutu* 'tinamou': *yutu* is the bird Peruvians call *perdiz* 'partridge' in Spanish. Its shape and behavior resemble those of a partridge, but it is in fact a tinamou. Three species inhabit Lima Province. Of these, the likeliest (because it inhabits the middle altitudes that are the scene of this myth) is: "*Andean Tinamou, Nothoprocta pentlandii oustaleti* (*Perdiz serrana*). A tinamou the size of a small chicken; upper parts brownish, finely marked with cinnamon and black, with longitudinal buffy white streaks; underparts buffy, breast gray with small light spots. Lives in the steppes of the Andean slopes up to an altitude of 3500 m., also on the coastal hills. A terrestrial bird, it flushes with noisy wingbeats . . ." (Koepcke 1970: 16).

152. This interpolated myth is an etiological story explaining a conspicuous quirk of Quinti village's water system: why does a certain canal deviate downward from a higher and seemingly optimal course?

153. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence has witness validation.

154. This parenthesis has witness validation.

155. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation, hence 'in fact' supplied in the next sentence.

156. The speaker insists with peculiar emphasis on the spot where Cuni Raya's course ended, perhaps because this version clashes with the better-known myth of his disappearance over the sea. This latter version is itself acknowledged, but crossed out, in chapter 2 (sec. 25).

CHAPTER 7

How Those Cupara People Revere the One Called Chuqui Suso Even to This Day

91 All the Cupara people, as we know,[157] make up a single *ayllu* called Cupara.

These people now live in San Lorenzo, where they remain forcibly relocated[158] right up to now.

There is within this *ayllu* a patrilineage[159] that bears the name Chauincho.

Chuqui Suso was <crossed out:> [a woman[160] of] a member of the Chauincho *ayllu*.

In the old days, in the month of May when the canal had to be cleaned (as is done today, too),[161] all these people went to the woman Chuqui Suso's dwelling; they went with their maize beer, *ticti*,[162] guinea pigs,[163] and llamas to worship that demon woman.[164]

92 In worshiping her, they built a *quishuar*[165] enclosure and stayed inside it for five days without ever letting people walk outside.

It's said that[166] when they finished that, and accomplished everything else including their canal-cleaning, the people came home dancing and sing-

157. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to predominate, with three interruptions, throughout the chapter. Because this chapter consists primarily of what appears to be a witness testimony by the editor/redactor, the three *-si* reportive passages are signaled in translation.

158. *reduzisca* 'forcibly relocated' (i.e., in San Lorenzo de Quinti). The Cupara are one of the *ayllu*s that colonial authorities had relocated (probably in the 1580s) in Spanish-style parishes (*reducciones*). Among places mentioned in the manuscript, San Pedro Mama, San Francisco de Chaclla, San Damián de Checa, San Francisco de Siçicaya, and Santa María Jesús de Huarochirí were also Toledan *reducciones* rather than prehispanic *llacta*s (Spalding 1984: flyleaf).

159. As noted in the introduction, the term *yumay* (literally, 'sperm') signifies a patrilineal group or corporation. See also chapter 31 (sec. 445).

160. Or 'a wife'.

161. In modern Andean villages the canal-cleaning festival, *yarq'a hasp'iy*, continues to be a ritual climax. A full account from the Huarochirí region is given by Paul Gelles (1984: 115–130 and *passim*).

162. *ticti*: a food-offering for *huaca*s made from the thick maize residue left as a by-product of maize beer brewing.

163. The guinea pig, *Cavia porcellus* (also called *Cavia cobayo*), is native to the Andes and is raised in most rural Andean kitchens for festive or sacrificial food.

164. *supay huarmicta* 'demon woman': clergymen consistently used *supay* to translate the Christian concept 'demon', and in the manuscript *supay* sometimes seems to be used in this sense. But the word may retain a nuance of its older Andean sense, which is the shade or light, volatile part of a living being (Duviols 1978).

165. *quishuar*: a small tree whose wood was prominently used in ritual context. "*Buddleia sp. Quishuar* and its variants. . . . The plants of this genus are shrubs or occasionally herbs, with opposite lanceolate leaves and four-lobed white, violet to purple flowers borne in heads, panicles, or spikes . . . grown in the temperate regions as ornamentals and for their wood, which is used in tool-making and cabinet work . . . the wood of *Buddleia incana* had symbolic meaning and was used ceremonially by the Incas . . . a pre-Columbian temple at Cuzco [was] known as Quishuar-Cancha, in which was kept a gold idol the size of a ten-year-old boy, . . . idols burned at the festivals of R'aimi [*sic*] were also made of the wood of *Buddleia longifolia*. A number of small branches . . . were found in a grave of the Classic Maranga Period at Vista Alegre . . . " (Towle 1961: 75–76).

166. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 92.

ing. They'd lead one woman along in their midst, reverencing her as they did the *huaca*[167] and saying,

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

93 As this woman arrived at their village, we'd see[168] some people awaiting her, laying out maize beer and other things and greeting her:

"This is Chuqui Suso!"

On that occasion they say[169] people celebrated a major festival, dancing and drinking all night long.

In fact that's why, when the late lord[170] Don Sebastián[171] was still alive, during Corpus Christi and the other major Christian holy days, a woman used to proclaim,

"I am Chuqui Suso!"

and give maize beer from a large gold or silver jar with a large gourd[172] to everyone in rank order, saying,

"This is our mother's beer!"

Then she would also hand out toasted maize from a large hollow gourd.

94 When they'd finished cleaning the canal, they reportedly[173] used to invite a tremendous lot of people and give them maize, beans, and other things.

Since they always used to give things away like that, people from Huaro Cheri and from all the other communities used to go there. "They've cleaned Chuqui Suso's canal. Come on, let's go have a look!" they'd say.

95 In fact[174] today people who are in the know[175] about these practices still do the same thing and perform the same rites when they clean the canals. Even now, no matter how people behave, neither the *alcalde*[176] nor anybody else would ever try to stop them by asking, "Why do you do these things?"

On the contrary, they dance and drink right along with them until they get drunk. And as for the Catholic priest, they fool him, saying, "Padre, I'm back from cleaning the canal, so I'm going to dance, I'm going to drink."

As far as that goes, all the people do the same thing.

True, some don't do it anymore because they have a good padre.[177]

But others go on living like this in secret up to the present.

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167. 'The *huaca*' supplied. Original has *payta yna* 'as her'.

168. 'We'd see' supplied to convey the witness validation of this sentence.

169. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

170. *apo* 'lord': while Spanish speakers commonly knew this honorific, it did not belong to the legal jargon of colonial authority (which typically used the titles *curaca* or *cacique*). It is more suggestive of traditional legitimacy and connotes both religious and political authority.

171. Possibly the same Sebastián mentioned in chapter 19 (sec. 230) as an earlier *curaca*. Both passages could refer to Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca. He was the son of the man who had ruled Huarochirí before the Spanish conquest under the name Ninavilca and continued to rule after it as Don Antonio. Sebastián enjoyed Spanish favor, helped Dávila Brizeño organize forced resettlement of natives, and supported the Jesuit missions of the 1570s. He was rewarded in the 1580s with an office as a high native magistrate (Spalding 1984: 222). Here we are told (perhaps with malice) that despite such activities he also favored the *huaca*s.

172. *poto* 'gourd': conjectural translation. In some regions of the Andes today, women serve maize beer ritually by doling out liquid from a large pail with a smaller gourd cup.

173. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues throughout section 94.

174. 'In fact' supplied to indicate resumption of witness validation, which continues through the end of the chapter.

175. *musiasca* 'in the know' (also translated 'privy to'): this locution is used in several parts of the manuscript to designate those involved in Andean worship. Taylor (1987b: 143) gives a different reading: 'confounded (by the demon)', based on the fact that this verb often denoted foreknowledge such as that gained by magical means.

176. *alcalde*: *alcaldías* were Spanish magistracies, of which certain ranks were assigned to natives for purposes of indirect rule. Higher-ranking native *alcaldes mayores* had province-level administrative duties (Espinoza Soriano 1960). But the ones alluded to here, in chapter 13 (sec. 173) and in supplement II (sec. 481), are probably village-level *alcaldes* of the sort appointed under Toledan ordinances of resettlement (Spalding 1984: 216–217). The Toledan viceroyalty intentionally gave them powers overlapping those of the *curaca* or native lord, encouraging them to prohibit traditional rites (like this one) that the native lord might be tempted to permit.

177. This politically prudent afterthought may reflect awareness that Father Avila would scrutinize the text.

CHAPTER 8

How Paria Caca Ascended. How One Man Came Back with His Child by Following Paria Caca's Commands, and, Finally, How He Struggled with Huallallo Caruincho

96 We've already told about Huallallo Caruincho's life.

But we didn't speak about his dwelling place, the place he made his shrine and community.[178]

In ancient times, they say,[179] Huallallo Caruincho dwelled in the area of Upper Paria Caca.

We don't know for certain that dwelling's original name. We do know[180] that it's called Mullo Cocha lake[181] today because, when Paria Caca defeated Huallallo, who was a burning fire, he turned the place into a lake to extinguish him.

97 It was on the location of Mullo Cocha lake that they say[182] Huallallo's dwelling place stood.

At that time the whole region was completely Yunca.[183] When he lived there huge snakes, toucans, and all sorts of animals filled the land.

In fact things were just as we described in the first chapter,[184]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [1st chapter]
when we told how he ate people.

98 They say that[185] when Paria Caca set out to defeat Huallallo Caruincho, the five persons who composed him[186] whirled hunting *bolas*[187] at Ocsa Pata.[188]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Ocsa Pata is next to Paria Caca.]

While they swung their *bolas*, that region got intensely cold, and hail fell upon the ground where he played.

178. The first two sentences have witness validation.

179. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

180. 'We do know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues throughout section 96.

181. The lake whose modern name is Mullucocha is 30 km by air east-northeast of Huarochirí in the barren heights, at 4,300 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Mullo Cocha means 'Lake of Thorny Oyster Shell'. Sections 99–104 show why. Because the lake's name is well known in this form, we have deviated from the practice of presenting terms like *cocha* 'lake' or *urcu* 'mountain' in translation only.

182. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next sentence.

183. *yuncasapa* 'completely Yunca' or 'full of Yunca': from the following sentence, which tells us that subtropical animals of the coast then inhabited the extreme heights, we learn that this means ecologically as well as culturally *yunca*.

184. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The reference is to chapter 1 (sec. 4).

185. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

186. *pihcantin*: 'five' plus the suffix *-ntin*, which denotes the combination of intrinsically related or fitted parts: 'the five of him together'. The best-known instance of *-ntin* is the Inca name for the Inca Empire, *Tauantin Suyo*, meaning 'the Fourfold Domain' (see chap. 17, secs. 213, 215; chap. 22, sec. 280; chap. 23, sec. 288).

187. *riuicorcan* 'whirled . . . *bolas*': the *riwi* is a native South American hunting weapon made by tying round stones together and hurling them at the legs of prey so that the thongs entangle and fell it.

188. The toponym *ocsa pata* means 'grassy ledge' and evokes the windswept panorama of the high grasslands. It may signify a place on modern Cerro Ocsa. "Ocsa Mountain might be the modern Ocsha Mountain, which is found to the southwest of Lake Piticocha, which is also found in the area of the deeds [i.e., of Paria Caca], although somewhat farther away" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 12). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a plateau and a ravine called Ocsha 10 km southwest of Mullucocha.

99 At that moment a man[189] came along weeping <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Tell the part about the snake.]
and carrying one of his children.[190] He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell,[191] coca, and balls of *ticti*, meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering.

"Son, where are you going crying like that?" one of the Paria Cacas asked him.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out the names of these 5 brothers.
The names of these five brothers are

Paria Caca
Churapa
Puncho
Paria Carco

We don't know the name of one of these five.][192]

"Father," he replied, "I'm taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo."

"Son," replied the Paria Caca, "don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back.

100 "In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruincho," Paria Caca said. "If I overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me,

'Our father's beating him!'

But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me,

'The fighting's over!' "

The man got scared when Paria Caca said this, and said, "Father, won't that Huallallo Caruincho be enraged at me?"

101 "Let him get angry! He won't be able to do a thing to you. And what's more I will bring people into being, males under the care of Ami and Llata,[193] <**margin**, in Spanish:>

[Sons

Curaca or Ancacha the 1st
Chauca the 2d
Llunco the 3d
Sullca the 4th
Llata the 5th
Ami the 6th

Daughters

Paltacha or Cochucha the 1st
Cobapacha the 2d
Ampuche the 3d
Sullcacha the 4th
Ecancha the 5th
Anacha Añasi the 6th]

and females under that of Añasi; one as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live,"[194] replied Paria Caca. And while he was speak-

189. Here there is an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note that Taylor (1987b: 146) renders 'This man was Quinti'. If correct, the interpretation is important because it shows that the Quinti, a group associated with the lineages of Paria Caca, were alleged to have ancestors who worshiped a Yunca deity.

190. *huc churinta* 'one of his children': see chapter 1 (sec. 1), about how Huallallo ate one of every two babies born. The weeping man was going to make his sacrifice.

191. *mullo*, the shell of the thorny oyster, *Spondylus princeps*, or powders and beads made from it, was among the commonest offerings to Andean deities and a major cargo in prehispanic deepwater seafaring (see Marcos 1980; Murra 1975b; Paulsen 1974).

192. In section 101 there is a birth-order list that may give general words meaning 'firstborn', 'secondborn', etc., rather than the personal names of Paria Caca's incarnations or offspring. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chapter 12 (sec. 166) there appear separate lists of the apparently human sons of Paria Caca.

193. *Ami* and *Llata*: these poorly understood persons reappear in chapter 11 (sec. 157). The phrasing *amiyoc . . . llatayoc . . . añasiyoc* 'possessors of Ami . . . possessors of Llata . . . possessors of Añasi' suggests that these persons are prototypes of a group that held Ami, Llata, and Añasi as their *huaca*s and protectors. While this detail has not been resolved, the gist can be partly clarified.

This foretelling allusion, addressed to a prototypical man of the group whose origin chapter 11 relates, seems to mean, 'You are afraid now because you are powerless, but I later will supply a kind of people to be subordinate to you. The man will have *Ami* and *Llata* as his *huaca*s and the woman will have *Añasi*'. The prophecy comes true in chapter 11, where the lastborn persona of Paria Caca relieves the equally lastborn Checa of their powerlessness by forcing some of the Yunca aborigines to subordinate themselves as the "little Amis and Llatas" of the Checa.

Ami means sick from overeating; *llata*, 'naked' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 24, 212). *Añasi* may relate to *añas* 'skunk'. If they are Quechua, which is uncertain, the names seem to suggest lowly attributes of babies: nakedness, nausea, smelliness. Babyhood may symbolize junior genealogical rank.

194. *hucta cari hucta huarmicta ynam camasac* 'one

ing, his breath came out of his mouth like bluish smoke.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [It was a clear blue.]

When the man saw this, he got scared and handed over everything he'd brought.

The five men ate the thorny oyster shell, making it crunch with a "Cap cap" sound, and all the other offerings.

Then the man went back, carrying his child.

102 Five days later, he did return just as Paria Caca had told him to, thinking, "I'll go and witness it!"
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's victory]

And five days after his prophecy, Paria Caca did begin fighting Huallallo Caruincho.

The story is like this.

Paria Caca, since he was five persons, began to rain down from five directions.

That rain was yellow and red rain.

Then, flashing as lightning, he blazed out from five directions.

103 From early in the morning to the setting of the sun,[195] Huallallo Caruincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished.

And[196] the waters, the rains of Paria Caca, rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake.[197]

Since it wouldn't have fit in,[198] one of Paria Caca's five selves, the one called Llacsa Churapa, knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters from below.

104 Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake.

(Nowadays this lake is called Mullo Cocha.)[199]

As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire.

And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest.

Finally Huallallo Caruincho fled toward the low country, the Antis.[200]

105 Another of Paria Caca's offspring
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out if these are brothers since it's said that they came out of the eggs, or if they're the Paria Caca's children.—They were brothers.]
chased after him.

He stays at the pass down to the lowlands, the Antis, until today, "Lest Huallallo Caruincho return," as he says.

His name was <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Paria Carco.[201]

106 During Paria Caca's victory, a certain woman named Mana Ñamca[202] appeared, a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho.[203]

This woman lived below Mama,[204] somewhere down there.

It was to conquer her that Paria Caca came to her.

Mana Ñamca also burned in the form of a fire.

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as the male and one as the female, that's how I will have them live': may mean that the Ami/Llata and Añasi groups, respectively, have male and female identity with regard to each other.

195. *ña hora pachacama* 'to the setting of the sun': an alternative translation would be 'to lower Pacha Camac'. Both possibilities are problematic, but 'Pacha Camac' more so since it is normally spelled with final *c* in the manuscript.

196. There is a crossed-out phrase, *paria cacap huquinca*, of uncertain meaning.

197. *hura cochañicman*: 'lower lake' or alternatively 'Pacific Ocean'; accepting the 'Pacha Camac' reading would warrant the latter.

198. *manatac yaycuptin* 'since it wouldn't have fit in': a problematic passage. It may mean that in order to prevent the ocean from overspilling its shores (see chap. 3; chap. 29, sec. 375), Llacsa Churapa built a reservoir for Paria Caca's water. 'Paria Caca's five selves' supplied.

199. Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) thought this story represented a combat between a volcano (*sierra del fuego*) and a snowcap, with Mullo Cocha the caldera left by the volcano's collapse. (It does not appear geologically to be a caldera.) This parenthesis has witness validation.

200. Taylor (1987b: 154) at this point refers to a Quechua marginal note that means, 'He didn't just flee instantly. We'll tell about it later on'.

201. This sentence has witness validation.

202. Mana Ñamca figures again in chapter 10 (sec. 143), where she is equated to Chaupi Ñamca, who in turn is equated to the daughter of Tamta Ñamca (chap. 5, sec. 47). This cluster of three female names seems associated with Yunca aborigines and with the remote past.

203. *caruinchouan cac supay* 'a demon who'd accompanied Huallallo Caruincho': more literally, 'who was with Caruincho'. This could mean Mana Ñamca was with him as sibling, or spouse, or ally. A marginal note to a later passage (chap. 10, sec. 143) interprets her as Chaupi Ñamca, perhaps meaning Mana Ñamca was a synonym or component of Chaupi Ñamca once matched to Huallallo as Chaupi Ñamca herself was later fraternally matched to Paria Caca.

204. Probably San Pedro de Mama (modern Ricardo Palma), 52 km northwest of Huarochirí, close to Lima in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

Making an entry down through Tumna,[205] Paria Caca attacked her.

She shot[206] from below and hit the foot of one of Paria Caca's offspring, the one named Chuqui Huampo.[207]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out what condition this one is in.]

Nonetheless, it was Paria Caca who won and expelled her into the ocean.[208]

107 After he defeated them, he went back to his child Chuqui Huampo, who sat there lame with a broken foot.

"I can't go back. I'll keep watch over that woman Mana Ñamca from right here, just in case she comes back," Chuqui Huampo said to him.

His father said, "Very well then," and made provisions to supply him with all his food.

108 He gave his command: "All the inhabitants of these two valleys must give coca to you first, before any of them may chew it. Only after you have chewed it shall the people chew coca from their harvest. Also, the people are to slaughter a llama in your honor, one that is still childless, one that has never given birth. And you shall always eat its ear-tips[209] and other such things first, before the rest may be eaten."

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [This place where <crossed out:> [Sullca Yllapa] Chuqui Huampo is is below Tumna between Sisi Caya and Sucya. I have to see it and find out what it's called.][210]

109 People respected these sacred edicts, and in accordance with them all the coca producers from

Saci Caya,[211]
Chontay,[212]
Chichima,[213]
Mama,
Huayo Calla,
and Sucya Cancha[214]

would bring coca to Chuqui Huampo first before all others.

They carry on the custom secretly to this day.

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205. Modern Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián de Checa at 2,902 m above sea level, a long way downvalley from Mullo Cocha. It occupies the heights over the Rímac's left bank.

206. *chucamurcan* 'she shot': the verb more literally means 'she hurled' and is elsewhere used in connection with lance-throwing. Perhaps the idea here is that she hurled fire (Taylor 1987b: 157), but the injury she inflicted is a broken (*paquisca*) rather than burned foot, so some more solid weapon seems indicated. To avoid the problem we choose a less specific verb.

207. Taylor (1987b: 156) gives a Quechua marginal note meaning, 'He'll be the one with the disabled leg'.

208. *cochañicman*: 'ocean' or possibly 'lake'.

209. *rinrin chillpiscacta* 'ear tips': today herders slit small notches in the ears of llamas at *señalasqa* festivals, as signs of ownership (Aranguren Paz 1975: 117). Perhaps a fragment of ear would then be the sacrifice mentioned.

210. Taylor (1987b: 158) interprets an imperfectly legible Quechua marginal note at this point as saying, 'We will speak of Capcahuanca later'. Capac Huanca is mentioned in chapter 25 (sec. 346).

211. Modern Sisicaya is about halfway up the Lurín valley from Pachacámac to San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). See chapter 11 (sec. 156).

212. Modern Chontay is in the Lurín valley slightly downriver from Sisicaya (IGM 1970–1971).

213. Modern Santa Inés de Chichima is near Chaclacayo in the lower Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971).

214. On basis of Sucya Villca identification (see chap. 20, sec. 242), possibly San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí in the lower Rímac valley between Mama and Surco (IGM 1970–1971).

CHAPTER 9

How Paria Caca, Having Accomplished All This, Began to Ordain His Own Cult

110 Now indeed we've finished telling all these victories of his.

But we haven't spoken about how Huallallo Caruincho later lived under Paria Caca's sentence.[215]

After Paria Caca's victory, and after Huallallo had fled to the lowlands, the Antis,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Find out how this Caruincho exists in the Andes now.]

Paria Caca passed sentence on Huallallo: "Because he fed on people, let him now eat dogs; and let the Huanca[216] people worship him."

111 When the Huanca worshiped him,[217] they'd propitiate him with dogs. And since he, their god, fed on dogs, they also ate them.

As a matter of fact, we speak of them as "dog-eating Huanca" to this day.[218]

112 Just as we indicated in the first chapter and in subsequent ones, where we said that all those villages were full of Yunca,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chapter 1]
all the inhabitants of Huaro Cheri Province and of the provinces of Chaclla[219] and Mama and of all the other villages were once full of Yunca.

Paria Caca,[220] as we know,[221] drove these Yunca and all such Yunca groups down to the lowlands. "It will be my children who'll live in this region," he ordained.

113 All those who took part in conquering these groups are individually called Paria Caca's children.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Caca's children]

"Each one of them is his child," people say.

Others deny it. In accord with their belief these say, "They were born from the seed of a wild plant."[222]

The victors' names are these, starting from the oldest one:

215. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

216. The Huanca were a large ethnic group inhabiting the upper Mantaro valley in the central Peruvian highlands. The Huarochirí myth-tellers' belief that their *huaca* Huallallo once tyrannized west Andean peoples seems to indicate a further belief that Paria Caca and his people reversed an earlier Huanca penetration of the seaward valleys. There is an implied claim to have liberated the Yunca from the "dog-eating Huanca" and from the burden of human sacrifice. Recent works on the Huanca include D'Altroy (1987) and Espinoza Soriano (1971).

217. Julio C. Tello (1923: 510–549) observed what he thought to be a modern tradition maintaining Huallallo's mythology and cult.

218. The "Indian chronicler" Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also expresses disdain for the "dog-eating Guancas" and their dog-eating deity Huallallo ([1615] 1980: 1:241, 271). 'As a matter of fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

219. Modern San Antonio de Chaclla is 63 km northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). Spalding's map (1984: endpaper) shows San Francisco de Chaclla, a resettlement village of the 1580s, at a similar location. Taylor (1987b: 39) equates Chaclla with modern Santa Eulalia, adjacent to Mama.

220. 'Paria Caca' supplied.

221. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 116. Taylor (1987b: 163) takes the *quinua* origin story to be typical of invading groups that had individually grafted their focal ancestors onto the descent of the pre-invasion *huaca*, Paria Caca, and thereby provided themselves with an alternative and discrepant origin story.

222. Allusion to an alternative myth of origin, developed in chapter 24 (secs. 302–303) and chapter 31 (sec. 389).

Choc Payco,
Chancha Runa,
Huari Runa,
Utco Chuco,
and Tutay Quiri with his brother Sasin Mari.

All these conquered the Yunca peoples.

114 According to them, one other child of Paria Caca likewise emerged from the earth.

His name was Pacha Chuyru.

We forgot this one's conquests in all the preceding chapters.

We'll set forth these matters in a later part.[223] <**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we shall set forth Pacha Chuyru's victory.]

These whom we have mentioned defeated and drove out all the Yunca peoples.

115 These Yunca groups, all the Yunca, once they forgot their former god, began to worship Paria Caca.

The tradition about the Yunca is like this.

In this community of Checa[224] lived the ones called Colli,[225] building their settlements[226] all over the communal territory. To relate all the Yunca settlements in the whole area would be very laborious.

So in what follows we shall choose only a few of them for our consideration, compiling all their customs, because all the Yunca shared one single way of life.

116 Paria Caca then established his dwelling on the heights, on the same territory where he had conquered, and began to lay down the rules[227] for his worship.

His law was one and the same law in all the villages.

The law we speak of was this: "We are all of one birth."[228] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is taken to mean of one family.]

117 They say[229] he gave a command to one particular person in each village: "Once every year you are to hold a paschal celebration reenacting my life."

He said, "As for their titles, the title of these people will be *huacasa* or *huacsa*.

"The *huacsa* will dance three times each year, bringing coca in enormous leather bags."

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223. But the manuscript does not in fact contain the promised account.

224. San Damián de Checa, a village formed by forced resettlement (*reducción*) during the 1580s, appears to be the residence of one or more of the text's informants. Modern San Damián is 22 km northwest of Huarochirí at 3,235 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

225. Here and at other points the myths of the Checa tell of expelling Yunca and at the same time of Yunca groups' becoming integrated with the Checa (Rostworowski 1978: 31–44). The kindred organized around Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca expresses the purported resulting unity. This theme becomes particularly explicit in chapter 24.

226. *tiascancunacta* 'their settlements': the possessive marker is ambiguous; could mean settlements of the Colli or Checa.

227. *hunancharcan* 'lay down the rules': this word as well as 'law' (*hunanchasca*) in the following sentences is derived from a verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 355) glosses 'to make signals, to understand, to consider, to design or plan out'.

228. *huc yuric canchic* 'We are all of one birth' (i.e., sibling group).

The word *yuric*, which we take to mean 'birth group' does not mean the same as *yumay* 'patrilineage', or *ayllu* 'localized kindred'. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 372) gives "yurini to be born, to come into being, for something to come forth with something or someone as its author . . . yurini . . . for a man or animal to be born." *Yuric* is an agentive form. See the section on *yuriy/yumay* in the introduction.

The point of Paria Caca's great judgment, the cornerstone of the ideological order expounded in subsequent chapters, is that:

(1) The dominant patrilineages of the region will be the descent groups self-identified as protégés of Paria Caca's selves and children.

(2) Yunca descent groups (of what sort remains unclear), once liberated from Huallallo, will be incorporated in the role of wives and wife-givers, and their major *huaca*s as 'sisters' or 'wives' of male *huaca*s from the Paria Caca kindred. They will be considered globally the progeny of Paria Caca's "sister" Chaupi Ñamca.

(3) Insofar as all the people of the region are "born" of unions between descendants of a brother and a sister, all are siblings at the apical level of kinship and religious reckoning.

Taylor and Urioste read the passage differently. Taylor in an early working took it to mean that "each of our communities is composed of a certain number of families" (1980: 77). He later translated it as "we all belong to different lineages" (1987b: 167). Urioste (1983: 63) reads it as alluding to a single lineage. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 65) give "all of us, who are as one single son."

229. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

118 To first become a *huacsa*, people in fact[230] perform a certain ritual.

It's like this: a man of the Caca Sica *ayllu* functions as officiant for these ceremonies. From early times these officiants were only one or two people, and, as for their title, it was *yanca*.[231]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The master is called *yanca*.]

The same title is used in all the villages.

This man observes the course of the sun

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the shadow that the wall casts in the sun.]

from a wall constructed with perfect alignment.

When the rays of the sun touch this calibrated wall, he <crossed out:> [proclaimed] to the people, "Now we must go"; or if they don't, he'd say, "Tomorrow is the time."[232]

119 Following this command, people go to Paria Caca in order to worship.

In the old times they used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself.

But now they go from Checa to a mountain called Ynca Caya

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [The snowcap of Paria Caca is visible from this mountain.]

to worship from there.

(This mountain rises over the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi and abuts on another mountain called Huallquiri.

It's on this mountain that all sorts of people, men and women alike, go to worship.)[233]

120 People run a race on their way to this mountain, in accordance with the *yanca*'s instructions, driving their llama bucks. The strongest ones even shoulder small llamas.[234] They scramble upward, each thinking, "I mean to get to the summit first!"

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Which is where <Paria Caca> can be seen from.]

121 The first llama to arrive at the mountain top was much loved by Paria Caca.

In the old days Paria Caca himself used to give a name to this llama buck, proclaiming, "Let its name be thus!"

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [different names each time, of one sort or another, such as Yauri or Yllaca]

And as for the first little llama to arrive, the *yanca* would display it and praise it before all eyes, announcing, "The bearer of this llama is very fortunate. Paria Caca loves him."

122 This time of worship, as we know,[235] is called the Auquisna.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Auquisna 'for our father' or 'creator'][236]

Similarly the worship of Chaupi Ñamca is called the Chaycasna.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Chaycasna 'for our mother'][237]

But we'll explain the Chaycasna later.

Nowadays the Auquisna season <crossed out:> [falls] comes in the month of June or close to it. It either occurs close to <crossed out:> [Corpus Christi] the great pasch[238] or actually coincides with it.

All the *huacsa*s, who might be ten or even twenty, dance on this occasion.

This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated.[239]

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230. 'In fact' supplied to convey witness validation, which continues through the next four sentences.

231. That is, the *yanca*, as priest entitled by heredity to supervise the rituals, establishes the new *huacsa*'s relation with the *huaca* he (or she?) is to embody.

232. That is, he observed a gnomon to determine the correct date. R. T. Zuidema has studied the use of gnomons in Incaic Cuzco (1981: 319–322). The past tense verb *villarca* 'he proclaimed' is inconsistent in tense with the adjacent verbs. Taylor's transcription (1987b: 170) gives *villancu*, in present tense and third person plural, which is more consistent.

233. This parenthesis has witness validation.

234. *ancha sinche runacuna huchoylla llamanhuanpas* 'the strongest ones even shoulder small llamas': 'shoulder' is supplied to make the more literal sense—'the strongest people with small llamas'—intelligible.

235. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 122.

236. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

237. In a Jaqi language, maybe Aymara.

238. Because Corpus roughly coincides with the dry-season climax of the Andean ritual calendar, it has consistently become in Andean eyes the "great" festival of Catholicism and an occasion for performing nominally forbidden Andean rites. But a 1609 Jesuit report studied in Taylor's article "Cultos y fiestas de la comunidad de San Damián" (1987a) gives April as the Auquisna season. In accord with this report we interpret the teller's editing out Corpus and substituting *aton pascua* 'the great pasch' as meaning that he thought Auquisna close to Easter, which usually falls in April.

239. *cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan* 'This dance is not something their ancestors appropriated': problematic translation. Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 96) gives "thing appropriated" for *chapasca*. Perhaps this means that *huacsas*' right to dance, unlike other dancing privileges, was not among the rights seized

<**margin**, in Spanish>: [Find out about this sort of song and write it down for me on paper in the Quechua language, from what they say.]

123 The *huacsa*s reportedly[240] perform this dance with absolutely no interruption.

If someone who stops dancing ever happens to die, people comment about him, "He died because of the fault he committed."

For that reason, they make little children or any other kind of people carry on the dance.[241] The people from Surco especially prefer to call on the Huayllas to dance in their stead.

124 If a Huayllas man is married to a native Surco village woman and performs these rituals, the members of that community don't take away his fields or anything else of his, even though he's an outsider. On the contrary, they respect him and help him.

What's more, when Huayllas people who live in Surco come to Sucya Cancha to trade coca, regardless of their standing they bargain, saying, "Give me a little extra, ma'am; I'm a *huacsa*."[242]

125 Nowadays, as we know,[243] people perform this pasch by making it coincide with any of the major Christian paschal rites, and the people from Surco still excel over all the other communities.

On account of this dance, the Catholic priests in their villages exact collections[244] of chickens, maize, and all sorts of other things. The people hand these things over more than cheerfully.

126 The *huacsa*s dance likewise during Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

This paschal festival sometimes comes close to Corpus Christi, and sometimes actually coincides with it.

In another chapter <**margin**, in Quechua:> [We'll set forth Chaupi Ñamca's life in a different chapter later on.] we'll record Chaupi Ñamca's life, where she lived, and how people worshiped her.[245] But now let's return to Paria Caca's story and to all the things people did during the season of his paschal festival.

127 The story that explains these events is like this.

On the eve of the day when they were to arrive at Paria Caca for worship, people whose kin, whether men or women, had died in the course of that year would wail all night long,[246] saying, "Tomorrow we'll go and see our dead by Paria Caca's side!"[247]

128 They said regarding their deceased of the year, "Tomorrow is the day when we'll deliver them there."[248]

They offered the dead food and even fed them that night, and spread out the ingredients for their rituals.[249] They said,

> "Now I deliver them to Paria Caca forever.
> They will never come back any more!"

And they worshiped with the sacrifice of a small llama, or, if they had no llamas, they'd bring coca in large skin bags.

129 As we know,[250] they'd examine this llama's in-

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by invading ancestors from aborigines. Taylor follows another line, reading (1980: 79) *yayancuna* as "their *encomenderos*" (i.e., colonial Spanish tribute lords). The same translator gives "without their owners' being aware" in a later working (1987b: 175). Arguedas (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 65) has "without vigilance by the [Catholic] priests."

240. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

241. Apparently, in order to keep the dance going when a dancer is exhausted.

242. This sentence has witness validation.

243. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the narrative formula at the beginning of section 127.

244. *aguelando* 'collections': probably a variant of Spanish *agüinaldo*, meaning a holiday contribution or gift (traditionally, at Christmas or Epiphany). In colonial Peru the practice was expanded illegally into a form of tribute *de facto*.

245. The teller (or editor?) is at pains to remind the reader that the Chaupi Ñamca cult (chap. 10) and Paria Caca cult are inherently complementary, separated only for expository reasons.

246. A 1609 Jesuit report discussed by Taylor (1987a) explains that, on this occasion, the mourners would take their mummified dead to a certain cave, Chutinhuaque, dressed in gala clothes and carried on llama back. Mourners kept vigil weeping in the cave until the morning sacrifices.

247. This probably alludes to the custom of visiting the mummified ancestors; see chapter 28.

248. This may allude to the delivery of recently made mummies to their permanent shrine sites.

249. *ruranancunactapas* 'the ingredients for their rituals': *-na* suffix denotes potential and not preterite action. *Rurana* means 'to make or do', so the word means more literally 'their things to be done'.

250. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of section 129.

nards. If the signs were favorable, the *yanca* would prophesy, "Everything is well." If not, he'd say, "It's bad. You've incurred a fault. Your dead relative has angered Paria Caca. Ask forgiveness for this transgression, lest that fault be charged to you as well."

130 After completing these rituals, the *yanca*s carried off the heads and loins of those llamas for themselves, no matter how many thousands there might be, declaring, "This is our fee!"

131 The *huacsa*s, who'd dance on three occasions in any given year, would finish their term on that day.[251] In order to enter a new cycle, when the old dance round was about to come to an end, all the people came to the center in Llacsa Tambo,[252] and the Concha were in the plaza, too,[253] carrying a macaw-wing display or the sort of thing known as *puypu*.[254]

They'd lay these items in the center, on the rock called Llacsa Tambo.

After they deposited these things, they stayed there all night long, in the place where a cross now stands, wondering, "Will I be well this year?"

132 The next day they went to all the villages, including Macacho hill, Chaucalla, and Quimquilla, and remained there until five days were up.

At the end of the fifth day, all the *huacsa*s who'd collected coca in bags would dance.

At daybreak on the same day, in Llacsa Tambo, they used to worship the demon with their llamas or other possessions.

133 Those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages.

Nowadays, it's true, some have forgotten these practices.

But since it's just a few years[255] since they've had Doctor Francisco de Avila, a good counselor and teacher, it may be that in their hearts they don't really believe. If they had another priest they might return to the old ways.

134 Some people, although they've become Christians, have done so only out of fear. "I'm afraid the priest or somebody else might find out how bad I've been," they think.[256]

Although they say the Rosary, they still carry some pretty *illa* amulet[257] everywhere; although they themselves might not worship these native divinities, they contract some old people to worship in their stead. Lots of people live this way.
<**margin**, in Spanish, crossed out:> [n.b.]

135 As we said earlier, the Concha, too, worship during Paria Caca's season from that other mountain called Huaycho. Their *huacsa*s do just the same as the Checa's own do, that is, they dance.

Likewise, the Suni Cancha also worship in the same manner during Paria Caca's season from that mountain called
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
< >.[258]

136 The residents of Santa Ana,[259] those who live in

251. This sentence has witness validation, which continues up to 'they dance' in section 135.

252. This is the first passage about Llacsa Tambo, the ceremonial center of the Checa and reference point for much of the text. Llacsa Tambo was probably at or near modern Llaquistambo, a hamlet with numerous prehispanic structures 3 km northeast of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971). Its name (if Quechua) is partly intelligible. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 45) gives the gloss: "*Llacsa* is a green color in the form of either powder or stone, like copper oxide." *Tambo* means a way-station. Alternatively, the name may allude to a verb *llacsay*, which Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 207) translates as 'to freeze the blood' with fear.

253. *conchacunapas pampampi* 'and the Concha were in the plaza, too': the point of this slightly awkward insertion seems to be that the Concha, although a separate village (functioning as the Checa's opposite in the *reducción* village), were seated in the Checa's ceremony.

254. *puypu* is explained in chapter 24 (sec. 333) as synonymous with *huacamaypac ricran* 'a macaw's wing'.

255. *cay pisi huatallarac* 'just a few years': an ambiguity in this phrase adds to the difficulty of dating the manuscript. If read 'scarcely one year' it would support the 1598 date that Arguedas and Duviols favored (1966: 235). But it could just as well mean 'these few years', allowing a later date and with it the chronologies c. 1608 that Urioste and Taylor both favor (Acosta 1987b: 596; Taylor 1987b: 15–16; see the section on the possible genesis of the text in the introduction).

256. *ñispas*: the common verb *ñiy* or *niy* can mean either 'say' or 'think, intend'.

257. *Illa*s are small sacred objects, often figurines, that are felt to contain the fecundating essence of the good they represent. Archaeological examples are common. Ethnographic examples are discussed by Jorge Flores Ochoa (1977).

258. A space for the mountain's name was never filled in. Modern Sunicancha stands across a canyon from Conchasica, both close to San Damián.

259. Modern Santa Ana de Chaucarima is 18 km west-northwest of Huarochirí at 3,492 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

San Juan,[260] and all the ones called Chauca Ricma, during Paria Caca's season, reportedly[261] worship from the mountain called Acu Sica, the one we descend on our way to the Apar Huayqui River.[262]

In fact[263] they'd never let anything stop them from performing[264] these rituals.

Some people make this festival coincide with the great pasch, Easter; others set it close to Pentecost <crossed out:> [and Corpus].

When it comes to celebrating it, the people in this village would be delighted if the priest were absent from town or went to Limac.[265]

This is a completely true account.

137 Regarding all these places on mountains for worship of Paria Caca, it was only later on, when the Spaniards had emerged and came to look into it, that they were established.

138 But, in the old times, they say[266] all these people used to go to Paria Caca mountain itself. All the Yunca people[267] from

Colli,
Carhuayllo,[268]
Ruri Cancho,[269]
Latim,[270]
Huancho Huaylla,[271]
Pariacha,[272]
Yañac,[273]
Chichima,[274]
Mama,[275]

and all the other Yunca from that river valley;

Also the Saci Caya,[276] who, together with the Pacha Camac come from another river valley,[277] and the Caringa and Chilca,[278] and those people who live along the river that flows down from Huaro Cheri,[279] namely, the Caranco[280] and other Yunca groups who inhabit that river region, used to arrive at Mount Paria Caca itself, coming with their *ticti*, their coca, and other ritual gear.

139 When those who'd come to worship returned from Paria Caca, people in their villages, aware of their impending arrival, used to await them in a gathering to ask, "How is our father Paria Caca?"

"Is he still well?"

"Isn't he angry?"

Then they'd dance full of happiness until the end of the fifth day, or however many days was their custom.

140 Regarding this worship, it may be that the Yunca don't practice it anymore, or that not all the Yunca do. But they do perform it away from their own places.

When they don't do it people speculate, saying,

260. San Juan de Lahuaytambo, seat of the 'Thousand' of Chaucarima (Taylor 1987b: 187). See note 457.

261. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

262. Apar Huayqui River: possibly the Mala or its tributary the Canchahuara, associated with a mountain named Ayarhuaque at its source (IGM 1970–1971).

263. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 137.

264. *ruraypacca manam ancochanmancho* 'they'd never let anything stop them from performing': more literally, 'they'd not rest from doing it'. The phrase might allude to the people's tenacity in retaining pre-Christian rites, or might alternatively be taken to mean they are rigorous about the rule requiring continual dancing (chap. 9, sec. 123).

265. The name of the city of Lima is uniformly Limac in the manuscript.

266. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

267. The following locales making up this category are listed in groups. The first list covers the Rímac valley from the Pacific shore eastward into the highlands. Lurín and Mala valley villages follow.

268. Modern Carabayllo is north of the Chillón River within greater Lima (IGM 1970–1971).

269. Lurigancho, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

270. Ate, today an outlying neighborhood of Lima.

271. Huanchihuaylla, a neighborhood of Ate according to Taylor (1987b: 191).

272. Modern Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Taylor (1987b: 191) mentions an estate called Pariache.

273. Possibly Ñaña, a village in the lower Rímac valley slightly outside Lima.

274. Santa Rosa de Chichima (Taylor 1987b: 191) or the more prominent colonial village of Santa Inés de Chichima, both in the lower Rímac valley.

275. San Pedro de Mama, the modern town of Ricardo Palma.

276. Probably Sisicaya in the Lurín valley.

277. That is, the Lurín.

278. Probably the same groups mentioned in chapter 12 (sec. 171), inhabitants of the lower Mala. Modern Chilca is a coastal town slightly north of the mouth of the Mala River.

279. That is, the Mala River.

280. Caranco may have been at or near modern Calango, on the lower Mala River, 305 m above sea level. See also chapter 12 (secs. 170–171) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

"It's because of that fault of theirs that the Yunca are becoming extinct."

281. *sallcacuna* 'the highlanders': no English word ('mountaineer', 'hillbilly', 'mountain man') catches the exact flavor of *sallcacuna*. *Sallca* means the *puna*, the seasonally rainy but generally dry and (at night) cold lands that cover huge expanses around 4,000 m above sea level. The word evokes the roughness of llama herders' lives up on these treeless slopes.

And the Yunca, speaking for themselves, say, "The highlanders[281] are getting along all right. It's because they carry on our old way of life that their people flourish so."[282]

282. This discussion probably concerns people's ideas, c. 1600, about the fact that the post-invasion epidemics had devastated the coastal native peoples much more than the highlanders (see Cook 1981: 253–254; Denevan 1976: 41).

CHAPTER 10

Who Chaupi Ñamca Was, Where She Dwells, and How She Arranged Her Cult

141 Now we've finished telling Paria Caca's life.

And now we'll tell who those children of his (the ones we mentioned in the ninth chapter) were, and then tell the things that each one did individually as well as how they collectively beat the Yunca out of these villages.

<**marginal note** in Quechua:> [After this we'll set forth the victories of Paria Caca's children.]

Next we'll write about who Chaupi Ñamca was.[283]

142 They say[284] that the one called Chaupi Ñamca was the daughter of a man in Anchi Cocha, a lord named Tamta Ñamca, and that she was the wife of the poor man named Huatya Curi.

In fact[285] we told this story in the fifth chapter.

143 This woman had five sisters.

The first woman, Chaupi Ñamca, went to dwell in Lower Mama in accord with Paria Caca's instructions.

The woman known as Mana Ñamca[286] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Her name is Chaupi Ñamca or Mama Ñamca.] went around saying, "I am a maker of people."[287]

Some people say about Chaupi Ñamca, "She was Paria Caca's sister."

And she herself used to say, "Paria Caca is my brother."

144 Chaupi Ñamca was frozen into a stone with five arms.[288] In worshiping her, people would race each other to reach her, just as they did when they went racing to worship Paria Caca, racing along driving their llamas and other things.

They'd lead to her the very same llamas that went to Paria Caca.

Later on, when the Spaniards appeared on the scene, people hid Chaupi Ñamca, the five-armed stone, underground in Mama, near the Catholic priest's stable.

She's there to this day, inside the earth.

145 All the people called Chaupi Ñamca "Mother" when they spoke to her.

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283. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

284. 'They say' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

285. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

286. The next passages tell us that Mana Ñamca, who was earlier described as accompanying the defeated Huanca(?) deity Huallallo Caruincho (chap. 8, sec. 106), is now equated with Chaupi Ñamca. Chaupi Ñamca, Pacha Camac's wife (Dávila Brizeño [1586] 1965: 163), is pictured as Paria Caca's sister and female counterpart. Thus the apex of divine kinship is structured as a fraternal union between an ancient Yunca pantheon and a newly appeared male of the highlands, establishing a society that is 'one family' (chap. 9, sec. 116). This motif is expressed in human terms in chapter 5 (sec. 48), where Huatya Curi marries a Yunca woman who is also equated to Chaupi Ñamca.

287. More than one *huaca* has the epithet *runa camac*, here rendered loosely as 'maker of people' (Cuni Raya Vira Cocha in chap. 1, sec. 7; Chaupi Ñamca in chap. 13, sec. 172; Mira Huato and Llacsa Huato in chap. 13, sec. 179; Llocllay Huancupa in chap. 21, sec. 268). The premise is that different human groups receive their life-energy and specific powers from different *huaca*s. The fuller meanings of *camac* are explored in the introduction.

288. Or 'wings'.

(That's why San Pedro is also called Mama now.)[289]

In the old days this woman used to travel around in human form and used to sin with[290] the other *huacas*.

But she never used to praise any male by saying, "He's good!"

146 There was a certain male on the mountain that overlooks Mama, a *huaca* named Rucana Coto.[291]

Men who had small cocks would implore Rucana Coto, thinking to themselves, "It'll get big."

One time he and his big cock satisfied Chaupi Ñamca deliciously.

Therefore she said, "Only this man, alone among all the other *huacas*, is a real man. I'll stay with this one forever." So she turned into stone and stayed forever in Mama.

147 Now we'll tell about the sisters of Chaupi Ñamca whom we mentioned.[292]

Chaupi Ñamca was the oldest of them all.

Her next sister was Llacsa Huato.

Her next-born sibling was Mira Huato.

The next one was called Urpay Huachac.

We don't know about the other one.[293]

In all they were five.

When people sought Chaupi Ñamca's advice on any matter, she'd respond, saying, "I'll go and talk it over with my sisters first."[294]

148 We know[295] people schedule Chaupi Ñamca's rites during the month of June, in such a way that they almost coincide with Corpus Christi.

When the *yanca*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [*yanca*]
had made calculations from his solar observatory, people said, "They'll take place in so many days."

149 We already spoke in chapter nine about the *huacsas*' annual dances.

However, regarding this dancing, we didn't clarify what kinds of dances they performed on the three occasions in a given year.

They celebrated Paria Caca's paschal festival on the first day of the period called Auquisna.

Next, they likewise danced during Chaupi Ñamca's time.

Finally, in the month of November, just about coinciding with the festival of San Andrés,[296] they'd perform still another dance called Chanco.

Further on we'll describe this dance fully.[297]

150 But now we'll return to Chaupi Ñamca's paschal festival.

During her paschal festival the *huacsas* would dance for five days carrying coca bags.

Other people, if they had llamas, would dance wearing puma skins; those who had no llamas danced just as they were.

About those who wore puma skins people said, "They're the prosperous ones."

This dance is called Huantay Cocha.

They also performed another dance named Ayñu.

151 They performed still another one called Casa Yaco.

They say that[298] when they danced the Casa Yaco, Chaupi Ñamca rejoiced immensely, because in their dancing, they performed naked, some wearing only their jewelry, hiding their private parts with just a cotton breechclout.

"Chaupi Ñamca enjoys it no end when she sees our <crossed out:> [cocks] private parts!" they said as they danced naked.

After they danced this dance a very fertile season would follow.[299]

These are the rituals they performed during her paschal festival.[300]

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289. The reference is to the resettlement village of San Pedro. This sentence has witness validation.

290. *vchallicuc carcan* 'sinned with': a Christian-style euphemism. Chaupi Ñamca's mighty sexual appetite is not seen as sinful in the context of the myth that immediately follows, or in that of the sexy Casa Yaco dance (sec. 151) that honored her. A pervasive though never explicit metaphor seems to liken the ardent genitalia of the female *huacas* with the warm fertile valleys, much as the water-giving heights of the mountains are likened to males who fertilize them.

291. *Rucana Coto* 'Finger-shaped mountain' (Quechua and Aymara).

292. This sentence has witness validation.

293. Taylor (1987b: 198) signals a marginal note in Quechua, meaning, 'The other one was called Lluncuhuachac'.

294. This suggests that the five *huacas*' priests or priestesses deliberated collectively.

295. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 151.

296. St. Andrew's Day is November 30.

297. The Chanco is the subject of chapter 11.

298. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive validation.

299. This is probably the sort of festival Catholic priests had in mind when they complained that Andean rites included "carnal excesses."

300. Concluding sentence with witness validation.

CHAPTER 11

152 # How People Danced the Chanco Dance. In Speaking of These Matters, We Shall Also Tell Who Tutay Quiri, the Child of Paria Caca, Was. The Story Is Like This

In the ninth chapter, we referred to Paria Caca's children by name.

But we didn't say anything about their individual lives.

Here and in what follows we'll tell about them together with the victories of one from among them: Tutay Quiri.[301]

We mentioned that the ceremonial dancing in his season was the Chanco.

153 Tutay Quiri was Paria Caca's son. This is a fact.[302]

In early times, they say,[303] the Checa were Quinti, the younger brothers of the Quinti.

The Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last.[304]

154 One day, Tutay Quiri spoke to them, saying,

"Don't be sad, children, no matter what they say. Let them scorn you; in spite of it you, the Checa, will in future times have the title of *villca*. And as for those who belittle you, people will speak scornfully to them, saying,

'Little Quintis,
little bugs!' "

155 A few days later, after the brothers had talked it over among themselves, Tutay Quiri set out from Llacsa Tambo[305] to conquer the Yunca.

When they heard this news the Yunca were scared stiff and immediately began to flee to the village known as Lower Colli.[306]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Colli without a forceful pronunciation][307]

(The Colli are neighbors of the Carhuayllo.

It's a fact that[308] to this day their dead are laid in the same house of the dead, in the old highland village.)[309]

301. A report dated 1611 tells how Fabián de Ayala destroyed the mummies of a sacred cave in Santiago de Tumna. Among the "ancient captains and valiant soldiers," he found "one called Tarayquiri [*sic*], who, although he died over 600 years ago, remains so intact in body, that it is amazing" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 252). This suggests that some of the *huaca*s called children of Paria Caca were ancestor mummies.

302. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

303. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

304. Apparently segments of the patrilineages called *yumay* at any given level of inclusiveness were ranked according to the birth order of their respective apical ancestors. This is one of several narratives concerning how Tutay Quiri relieved the Checa of their lowly status as 'juniors' to the Quinti.

305. *llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta* could also mean 'the Yunca from Llacsa Tambo'.

306. Concerning the Yunca of Colli (i.e., Collique, near Lima), see chapter 9 (secs. 115, 138).

307. 'Forceful pronunciation': because in Quechua the vowel *o* only occurs adjacent to postvelar consonants, the reader might take the written *o* in *Colli* to imply that the value of *c* is postvelar ('forceful'). The note warns the reader that this is not so. Perhaps the word *Colli* is of non-Quechua derivation.

308. 'It's a fact that' added to indicate that this whole parenthesis has witness validation.

309. *aya vasipe* 'in the . . . house of the dead': a 1609 Jesuit report said the houses where mummified ancestors dwelled were "little towers, always square, (each) with a

156 Tutay Quiri descended down Sici Caya[310] ravine and also down the ravine of the Mama river,[311] moving in the form of yellow rain and red rain.

The people, some of them,[312] waited for him in their own lands and villages in order to pay him homage.

He didn't humiliate these worshipers.

On the contrary, he said to them, "Stay here; you shall come to recognize my father. Living henceforth, address the Checa as 'brothers' and say, 'We're their brothers, the youngest ones.' "

157 And in fact[313] to this day, just as he said, people who live in San Pedro Mama address the Checa, saying, "I'm your little Ami, your little Llata."

So, both the *allauca*[314] moiety and the *vichoc* moiety lived as brothers of the Checa.[315]

158 Every year, in the month of November, the Checa (that is, all the males) would go out from this village on a giant surround hunt, saying,

"We go in Tutay Quiri's steps,
We go in the path of his power."

159 On that occasion they used to ask for rain. People said, "Now, in the Chanco season, the heavens will rain."

And following Tutay Quiri's track, all the *huacsa*s and the non-*huacsa*s alike left from here to conduct the hunt; they used to go and spend the night in a place called Mayani,[316] up above Tupi Cocha.[317]

160 On that day, they would trap some guanacos, brocket deer, or other animals. Regardless of who did the actual catching, if the successful hunter happened to have a *huacsa* in his own *ayllu*, he'd give the animal to him first, so that he might perform the Ayñu dance displaying its tail. Those who didn't capture anything would likewise dance but performed only the Chanco.

161 On the next day, they used to leave Mayani for Tumna.

People, men and women alike, would gather together and wait for them in the place called Huasuc Tambo, saying, "Here comes Tutay Quiri!"

This Huasuc Tambo is where a few rocks stand in the center of the plaza of Tumna itself.

In the old days, they say, people used to go there and worship on that spot.[318]

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door to the east" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247). Ruins of this form, looted but full of human bones, are visible in the San Damián and Huarochirí areas. In this passage the narrator points out that Tutay Quiri's action explains why Yunca people who live on the outskirts of Lima have ancestors enshrined in the remote mountains.

310. This is very likely to be the same toponym as Saci Caya (chap. 8, sec. 109; chap. 9, sec. 138; chap. 13, sec. 176), equivalent to modern Sisicaya. The ravine is the entrenched course of the Lurín River.

311. That is, he moved down both the Lurín (Pacha Camac) and Rímac (Mama) valleys, which form two separate courses toward the Pacific.

312. *runacunapas huaquenca* 'the people, some of them': presumably meaning a remnant of Yunca stayed there and submitted to Tutay Quiri. Chapter 24 extensively explains these people's role. By incorporating them as his worshipers, Tutay Quiri supplied the Checa, the former *sullca* (junior) group relative to the Quinti, with a group that is junior to the Checa. This sentence and the first of section 157 fulfill a prophecy of Paria Caca in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

313. 'And in fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. This begins a witness-validated passage, continuing with one interruption to the end of section 164.

314. *Allauca*, the name of a certain village, can also mean 'right-bank moiety'. Hernández Príncipe uses the term in this sense and it is mentioned in the Cajatambo idolatry trials studied by Duviols (1986: 494). The reason for supposing it functions here as a moiety title is the juxtaposition with *vichoc*, which may be related to *ichoc*, 'left-bank', the customary moiety complement. Occasionally present in Huarochirí (Gentile Lafaille 1976: 27, 89, 98), *allauca/ichoc* oppositions are common in the northern part of Lima Department and in Ancash. The name of the location today called Alloca and called Allauca in the manuscript, 16 km south of Huarochirí in the Mala–San Lorenzo valley, 1,750 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971; see chap. 30), probably is not a moiety term. Allauca *ayllu*s seem to exist in various settlements, and in the Huarochirí manuscript, too, *allauca* groups are often mentioned without moiety counterparts (chap. 20, sec. 240; chap. 22, sec. 282; chap. 24, secs. 304, 316–317, 323, 325, 332, 336; chap. 26, sec. 356; chap. 30, sec. 379, 385). In those cases the term seems to be an *ayllu* or *llacta*, not moiety, title.

315. This vaguely suggests, but does not explain, that these conquered Yunca became peacefully integrated as a pair of moieties jointly treated as fraternal to the Checa.

316. Mayani is the modern name of a high plateau 8 km west of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?) at 4,200 m above sea level.

317. Modern Tupicocha village is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

318. This sentence and the following one are validated with reportive *-si*, which is indicated with supplied 'they say', but the narration then returns to witness validation.

There, too, the Chauti[319] and the Huanri would likewise go to worship with their maize beer.

162 We know that[320] on the next day, if they caught anything, no matter how few or many animals, the *huacsa*s who'd captured them gladly proclaimed, "Now we'll have *maca*[321] tubers!" and returned rejoicing to spend the night, this time in Pacota.[322]

163 On the following day, they used to arrive back at Llacsa Tambo.

When the hunters were about to return, everyone who'd remained in the village, the old men and old women, and other people as well, would gather all together to await them with maize beer.

As they were arriving there, the waiting people would say, "They're coming in exhausted!" and pour maize beer all over the place,[323] over the people and onto the ground.

They'd pour it out right at the very entrance gate of Llacsa Tambo.

164 The hunters who'd come up from the lowlands would in turn place chunks of meat on the mouths of their hosts' jugs.[324]

After finishing this, the whole crowd sat on the open ground and they began the dance called Ayñu.

These events are called the Chanco.

When they danced the Chanco, the sky would say, "Now!" and the rain would pour down.

165 They say that[325] at the house of the *yanca* called Ysqui Caya, there was a bush or something of the sort, and from that bush flowed abundant water during the Chanco festival.

If people saw this happen, they said, "This year will give a good harvest."

If a drought were coming the bush would be dry.

In that case, people used to say, "There'll be terrible suffering."

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319. A place named Chaute today exists 5 km south of San Bartolomé at 2,600 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

320. 'We know that' supplied to indicate return to witness validation.

321. *maca*: *Lepidium*, of which various species are mentioned in botanical sources; a plant of the freezing heights, whose green parts are used medicinally. "The root is edible and is customarily cultivated in some parts of the high plateau; it is medicinal too" (Soukup 1970: 186). "*Maka* (K). *Lepidium meyenii* Desv. A species cultivated in some regions of the high plateau (3900 m.) . . . tubers: fresh, boiled, and mashed . . . are eaten by sterile women who want to become fertile" (Girault 1984: 218–219). In this context, too, it is apparently a symbol of fertility.

322. Modern Pacota is 7 km west-southwest of Llaquistambo (Llacsa Tambo?; IGM 1970–1971).

323. *yanca* 'all over the place': assuming this is the common adverb *yanca* whose range of meanings includes 'freely', 'carelessly', 'without serious intent' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 364). If it is the homonym meaning a class of priests, the sentence can also be read to mean that the priest did the pouring.

324. The hunters had finished a circuit from the heights of Mayani down to lower-lying Tumna and now back to their ceremonial center. The ceremony seems to symbolize the plenitude of varied Andean subsistence (Murra 1975a: 243–254). As well as uniting ecological levels it juxtaposes wild food—hunted meat—with beer, the cultivated and processed nourishment par excellence. The interrelationship of hunters and farmers is also highly elaborated in the dialectic of *huari* and *llacuaz*, a complex common in the Lima area, which envisions societies as antagonistic symbioses between two culturally different sorts of people (see Duviols 1973).

325. 'They say that' supplied to indicate shift to reportive *-si* validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER 12

166

How Paria Caca's Children Undertook the Conquest of All the Yunca People

In the tenth chapter [*sic*], we already told the story about the victories of Paria Caca's children.

Likewise we mentioned that all those villages were once full of Yunca.

Now we'll speak about them[326] as earlier mentioned:

Choc Payco
Chancha Runa
Huari Runa
Utco Chuco
Tutay Quiri
Sasin Mari
Pacha Chuyru[327]—

how they used to behave, and things like that.[328]

167 In ancient times these people we just mentioned, since they were all brothers to each other, traveled into battle together as one.

Because he was the oldest of them all, the one called Choc Payco traveled in high honor on a litter.

But Tutay Quiri was the strongest, excelling beyond the others.

Because of his strength, he was the one who first conquered the two river valleys mentioned above[329] by setting his golden staff on a black mountain at the border of Pariacha[330] called Unca Tupi.

168 Planting his staff as a curse on the Yunca, and saying, as if in disrespect for them, "The Yunca will extend to this district,"[331] he set it in place.

(That mountain where he set his staff is now called Unca Tupi Capari Caya.)[332]

169 His other brothers went ahead, climbing up on the old road by which we go from Tupi Cocha (that is, the one called the Quisqui Tambo road; the other is called Tumnacha). When they heard somebody say, "Tutay Quiri has already finished conquering everything," they turned back, from the spot from which we can see to the outskirts of Limac.[333]

326. 'Them': Paria Caca's offspring, not the Yunca.

327. Compare with the similar but not identical list in chapter 9 (sec. 113).

328. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

329. See chapter 8 (sec. 108) and chapter 9 (sec. 138).

330. Pariachi is 67 km west of Huarochirí at 1,160 m above sea level, far down the Rímac valley (IGM 1970–1971). So this is probably not the same Capari Caya mentioned in chapter 31 (sec. 398).

331. Tutay Quiri's point being that, after the seaward advance of the children of Paria Caca, the new and smaller limit of Yunca country would be Unca Tupi. This passage is difficult. Taylor (1987b: 219) gives "[Tutay Quiri] said, 'if anyone, as if to curse the Yuncas, knocks down this staff and shows disrespect, the Yuncas will conquer this territory.' "

332. This parenthesis has witness validation.

333. Modern Tupicocha is 10 km west-northwest of San Damián at 3,605 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971). Santiago de Tumna is 15 km west-northwest of San Damián at 2,902 m above sea level, and Tumnacha ('little Tumna') might be close to it. The syntax is confusing, and it is not certain whether the place-names Tumnacha and Quisqui Tambo refer to the routes or to the places from which the discouraged heroes turned back. The apparent meaning of this passage is that when the other brothers learned how far Tutay Quiri had advanced in the Rímac valley, they decided instead to advance down the Mala valley. The next lines seem to excuse the lesser advance achieved in the Mala lands, down toward "Caranco," by saying that although Tutay Quiri also led that campaign, he let a mid-altitude agricultural *huaca* similar to Chuqui Suso seduce him and detain the

They feared Tutay Quiri a lot because he was really powerful.

170 So they descended through the Huaro Cheri district toward the vicinity of Lower Caranco.[334]

Once more it was Tutay Quiri who led the way on the descent.

One of Chuqui Suso's sisters waited for him in her field thinking to beguile him by showing off her <crossed out:> [vagina] private parts[335] and her breasts.

"Rest a while, sir; have a little sip of this maize beer and a taste of this *ticti*," she said.

171 At that moment, in that way, he fell behind.

When they saw him do that, his other brothers likewise stayed behind, carrying the conquest only as far as the place called Pacha Marca in Lower Allauca.

If this woman hadn't beguiled them, the Huaro Cheri and Quinti fields would now reach as far as Lower Caranco and Chilca.

Further on we'll write about their individual feats and everything they did.[336]
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Further on we'll write about their individual feats.]

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whole movement well short of "Caranco" and the coastal Chilca area.

334. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 23 (sec. 285).

335. *<racanta> pincaynintapas* '<crossed out:> [vagina] private parts': a plainspoken Quechua word has been replaced with a Quechua euphemism meaning more literally 'her shame'.

336. This concluding sentence and the marginal note have witness validation. At this point Taylor (1987b: 220) transcribes a marginal note in Spanish meaning, 'Here we cease writing the lives of each of Pariacaca's children and what happened and we start on Chaupiñamca'.

CHAPTER 13

172

Mama[337]

When the people of Mama are questioned today about the *huaca* Chaupi Ñamca, they tell a different story.

The story told by them is like this.[338]

They say that in very early times, there was a *huaca* called Hanan Maclla.[339]

Her husband was the Sun.

Their children were Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca.

Chaupi Ñamca was a great maker of people, that is, of women; and Paria Caca of men.[340]

173 Accordingly they, the Mama people, in order to celebrate her festival on the eve of Corpus Christi, used to bathe Chaupi Ñamca in a little maize beer.

Additionally, some of them laid out all sorts of offerings for her, and worshiped her with guinea pigs or other such things; and all the people gathered together, both men and women, their *curaca* and their *alcalde*.

174 They used to stay there all night long, staying awake till dawn, drinking and getting drunk. They got real happy performing the dance called Aylliua, and danced that night drinking and getting drunk until dawn. <Crossed out in original:> [On the next day, Corpus Christi, saying, "It's our mother's festival!" their *curaca*, in full regalia,[341] and all the rest of the people][342]

After that they went out to the fields and simply did nothing at all. They just got drunk, drinking and boozing away and saying, "It's our mother's festival!"

175 If somebody says, "How did you worship before the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared?" we know how[343] they reply:

"People used to drink for five days in the month of June wearing their most splendid clothes. Later, for fear of the Spaniards, they worshiped on Corpus eve."

Chaupi Ñamca's sister (the second one, Chaupi Ñamca being the oldest) was named Casa Llacsa.

337. At this point the manuscript leaps to another area, centered on a lower and more seaward village than San Damián de Checa. Mama, modern Ricardo Palma, lies in the lower Rímac valley, where desert hills hem in a narrow irrigable belt. It appears to belong to the old Yunca heartland, and this may help explain the discrepancies between its cults and those of the Checa and Concha. Mama's prominence in the manuscript may be connected to the fact that a *curaca* from Mama, Hernando Paucar, was among Avila's most important early informants and victims (Avila [1645] 1918: 68–69), and also to the fact that Huarochirí-area highlanders sought to integrate some of its warm fields into their economy.

338. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

339. *hanan maclla* 'high' or 'upper Maclla' suggests a celestial deity, as does her marriage to the sun.

340. Gender parallelism in religious institutions, as suggested by these phrases, is considered a major theme of pre-Incaic organization by Irene Silverblatt (1987: 20–39).

341. This phrase is an uncertain rendering of *callañayoc* 'in possession of *callaña*', based on the dubious assumption that this is the same word as *collana* occurring in chapter 14 (sec. 194) and chapter 31 (sec. 409), where it refers to majestic garments or appearances. But if used in its wider sense, the phrase might mean 'with the leading people'.

342. Sentence fragment thus in original.

343. 'We know how' supplied to indicate witness validation, present in this sentence but not in the ensuing two sentences.

People also bathed her that evening, as well as her other sisters Urpay Huachac[344] and Vichi Maclla.[345]

176 "Chaupi Ñamca was said to be made up of five persons,"[346] the Checa say.[347]

Of these the eldest was Chaupi Ñamca, also called Cotacha or Paltacha.

Her second sister was named Llacsa Huato, the one we call Copacha.

They say[348] Llacsa Huato dwells in Chillaco.

(Not long ago, when Don Diego Chauca Huaman, the *curaca* of Saci Caya, was still alive, and until Don Martín's arrival,[349] people from Chillaco together with some other people supposedly used to celebrate her festival.

About this festival, we aren't sure in what month it took place.)[350]

177 Next, there was the one called Mira Huato, whom we call Ampuche or Ampuxi.[351]

Concerning this Mira Huato, we aren't sure where she lived. But people say, "She lives with her sister Llacsa Huato."

178 They say that[352] if people from this region, or Huaro Cheri people, or any other sort of people had a son or a daughter, a brother, a father, or any other relative who was ill, they'd go to these *huaca*s' shrine to consult them.

(Their priestess as of sixty years ago is still remembered; she was named Chumpi Ticlla. And not so long ago, when Don Diego[353] was still alive, a woman named Luzía, a very elderly woman, was their priestess, a tough[354] old lady. <crossed out:> [And maybe she's still alive.])

179 When people invoked these two *huaca*s, they used to pray, saying,

> "Oh Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, it is you who make people;
> It is you indeed who know my sin, better even than Chaupi Ñamca.
> Tell me, I beg: what have I done to make them ill?[355]
> For what fault of mine do I live in suffering?"

180 This being the case, people concluded, "No doubt they dwell as two sisters together."[356]

People came to honor these *huaca*s all the more for the fact that Chaupi Ñamca wasn't straight; she'd tell people any sort of stuff. Actually, she was a liar.

So people used to visit them, saying, "Let's go and listen to our mothers Llacsa Huato and Mira

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344. Urpay Huachac also appears in chapter 2 (sec. 25) as the mother of the girl *huaca* whom Cuni Raya Vira Cocha seduces.

345. Likely to be a complement to or relative of (or another name for?) Hanan Maclla (sec. 172). *Vichay* means 'uphill, upslope' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 351).

346. Compare the ensuing list with the similar one in chapter 8 (sec. 101).

347. The sentence is witness-validated with *-mi* but the material in quotation marks is reportive, with *-si* ('said to be' supplied).

348. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this and the next sentence are reportive with *-si* in a context where witness validation predominates.

349. A 1588 *revisita* (tribute quota inspection; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires ms., 13-17-5-1) shows that Don Diego Chauca Huaman still held the office twenty years before the making of the manuscript. This helps date the period that the manscript's authors considered the heyday of pro-*huaca* colonial lords. "Don Martín" is probably his son, Martín Chauca Huaman, born in 1575 (Guaman Poma [1615] 1980: 3:1024). The aspiration of an anti-*huaca* scion to the office of a father who had protected *huaca*s is a motif of chapter 20 (secs. 247–249). 'Supposedly' supplied to indicate reportive *-si* validation.

350. This sentence has witness validation.

351. One of the forms given in the original, *Ampuxi*, would probably have sounded like 'Ampushi' in English orthography if, as Cerrón Palomino holds, Spanish *x* retained the *sh* value at the time of writing (1976b: 207). But the data are not conclusive according to Urioste. This sentence and the following have witness validation.

352. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 181.

353. That is, the same Don Diego Chauca Huaman mentioned in section 176.

354. *tacyasca* 'tough': derived from a verb whose main meanings are 'to be firm, constant'. But since the speaker is unsure if the priestess is still alive, it is also possible that he is thinking of a less-than-robust person. A derivative of *tacyay* denotes a different kind of inflexibility: it means 'to stiffen from illness' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335–336).

355. *ymamantam huncuchicuni* 'what have I done to make them ill?': might also be read 'to make myself ill'.

356. *yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha* 'no doubt . . . as two sisters together': the suffix *-huan* 'with' is redundant for this reading, because *-ntin* alone signifies the union of parts. This fact leads Taylor (1987b: 231) to interpret the sentence as meaning that something else—the desired cure—is 'with' the sisters.

Huato. Whatever they advise about our faults, we'll carry it out exactly."

181 However, we know that even though people did worship them, they didn't celebrate their feast each year as they do[357] Chaupi Ñamca's festival.

And although they did honor them, they in fact went mainly to have their presence noticed,[358] saying, "I'll go" or "I'd rather not" according to their whim.

182 Next we'll talk about the *huaca* named Lluncho Huachac, the one we call Sullcacha or Sullca Paya.

She was the fourth sister.

This *huaca* reportedly[359] lived in the Canta[360] area. But we don't really know. Maybe the Canta people worship her, or even those farther on past Canta.

183 Finally, the one we call Añasi or Aña Paya lived in the ocean.

(In fact some people say, "She's the one who was Caui Llaca."[361]

Others say, "This is a different *huaca*. She lives on the seashore.")

Aña Paya[362] lives inside a cliff.

So she doesn't have a priest.

When people sought the advice of the *huaca* Urpay Huachac, they'd think it over carefully beforehand. For in speaking with her, they spoke face to face because the *huaca* had no *huacsa* priest.

When they came back from visiting her, they said, "I've gone and spoken with her," and they used to fast for a whole year, abstaining from sinning with their wives.[363]

184 All of these *huaca*s we've mentioned were named Ñamca, each one of them individually and also the sisters as a group.

When people who were worried about anything approached any one of them, in explaining their trouble to her they'd address her, saying, "Oh five Ñamcas!"

185 This is all we know about Chaupi Ñamca, Llacsa Huato, Mira Huato, Lluncho Huachac, and Urpay Huachac.[364]

In the old days, they say,[365] these *huaca*s would ask those who went to them, "Have you come on the advice of your own Con Churi,[366] your father, or your elders?"

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357. Tense in original can be read as present, perhaps emphasizing continued colonial vitality of the Chaupi Ñamca cult. The fact that this sentence is witness-validated ('we know that' supplied) suggests either present or a not-too-remote past. Witness validation continues through the second sentence of section 182.

358. *musiachicuyllapacmi* 'to have their presence noticed': Taylor (1987b: 232) has *munachicuyllapacmi* 'when they felt like it', noting *musia-* as alternative reading. Witness validation is glossed 'in fact'.

359. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 183.

360. Canta, an important colonial town, was in the upper Chillón valley at 2,837 m above sea level (IGM 1970–1971).

361. See chapter 2 (sec. 10). The point in question is whether Añasi was the same as Caui Llaca, who entered the sea and became lithified as an island, or a separate *huaca* who 'lives on the seashore'. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('in fact' supplied).

362. 'Aña Paya' supplied.

363. *mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa* 'abstaining from sinning with their wives': since sex under these conditions would only be sinful by the tenets of *huaca* worship, this instance of *huchalliy* may not be euphemistic or specifically colonial. This also applies to section 186.

364. This sentence has witness validation. The fact that this sentence contains an ending formula, while the chapter continues, suggests a transition to a different testimony at this point.

365. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

366. What is Con Churi? See supplement I (sec. 462). Avila explains in the *Prefación* to his bilingual sermon book:

> In all the said villages there were greater and lesser idols, and there is not an Indian family, even if but a single person remains of it, which lacks its particular *penate* god in the house, in such manner that, if they came from one, eight, or ten persons, these have an idol left to them by the person who preceded them. The most important person of each family guards this and he is the person who has the right of succession to the goods and the rest, in such a way, that to guard this idol is like having right of *patronazgo* [hereditary patronage] among us, passing with the inheritance, and when, by law of blood kinship, there is no one to whom it may be transmitted, the one who possesses it usually entrusts it to the person who seems to him most appropriate by reason of affinity, or his best friend, and when he has no one to leave it to, he takes it with him, if he can, to where his progenitor is buried, which would usually be in a cave, because he was

To those who answered "No," the *huacas* would reply, "Go back, return, consult your Con Churi first." And so people went back.

186 Only after this was done first would they answer their concerns:

"You have angered that person."

"You have crossed this one."

"You are an adulteress."

"You have sinned with a woman on the feast of Paria Caca."

They gave people advice, telling them all sorts of things:

"You are to bathe in the confluence of two streams."

"You must sacrifice one of your llamas."

a prehispanic mummy, and there he leaves the said idol, and if he cannot take it there, he buries it in his house. This sort of idol has the general name of *cun churi* or *chanca*. (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 255)

People were more than happy to obey their dicta.

Some of them recovered completely, while others died no matter how fully they'd complied.

187 Now we've heard what Chaupi Ñamca and her other sisters were like.

But the fact is that[367] in each village, and even *ayllu* by *ayllu*, people give different versions, and different names, too. People from Mama say one thing and the Checa say another.

188 Some call Chaupi Ñamca Paria Caca's sister.

Others say, "She was Tamta Ñamca's daughter."

(We spoke earlier about Tamta Ñamca in the fifth chapter.)

Still others say, "She was the Sun's daughter."

So it's impossible to decide.

367. 'The fact is that' supplied to indicate that sections 187–188 have witness validation.

CHAPTER 14

189

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [n.b.]
In the first chapter we made some remarks about whether Cuni Raya's existence came before or after Paria Caca's.[368]

They say[369] Cuni Raya Vira Cocha did exist from very ancient times. Paria Caca and all the other *huaca*s used to revere him exceedingly.

In fact,[370] some people even say, "Paria Caca is Cuni Raya's son."

Next we'll speak about one of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's feats.[371]

190 Just before the appearance of the Spaniards, it's said,[372] Cuni Raya headed toward Cuzco.

There he conversed with the Inca Huayna Capac:[373] "Come, son, let's go to Titi Caca. There I will reveal to you who I am,"[374] he said.

191 And there he told him, "Inca, mobilize your people, so that we may send magicians and all sorts of shamans to Ura Ticsi, the world's lower foundations."[375] As soon as he said this, the Inca promptly gave the order.

"I am a condor shaman!"[376] some men answered.

368. This sentence is written in large letters in the original, like the chapter titles. Its witness validation could make it a title, but it seems to function as an introductory remark.

369. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

370. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the next have witness validation, except for the material in quotation marks, which has reportive ('called').

371. *puchucascanta* 'feats' is derived from a verb that implies reaching of an intrinsic completion: the completion of a task, payment of a debt, end of a cycle, and so forth (see chap. 3, sec. 29, where it refers to the ending of the world). So there is a suggestion that the events to come represent the unfolding of Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's purpose or will.

372. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 197.

373. Huayna Capac, the last leader of the Inca Empire before it was riven by dynastic warfare and then the Spanish invasion, ruled over an immense state at the height of its power. In various ways, most of the Quechua-speaking writers c. 1600 saw him as touched by premonitions of the impending calamity. A myth told by the "Indian chronicler" Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, seemingly related to this one, tells how a mortal illness in the form of butterflies or moths in a box felled him on the eve of Spanish invasion ([1613] 1968: 311).

374. *ñocap cascayta* 'who I am': more literally, 'my past-being (direct object)'. The perfective *-sca* suggests *ex post facto* knowledge: that is, 'what I was all along without your knowing it'. This appears to allude to chapter 1 (sec. 7), and to purported Inca prayers, which often address Vira Cocha with petitions for knowledge of where and who he is. Pachacuti Yamqui affords an example ([1613] 1968: 287–288). A recent translation from a rectified text gives the sense as:

> Oh Viracocha, . . .
>
> Where are you?
> May I not see you?
> Are you above, are you below,
> Is your throne nearby?
> Please show yourself to me . . .
>
> We your servants
> With our eyes of light and shadow turned toward you,
> We wish to see you . . . (Itier 1988: 571–572)

(For a different rendering, see Szemiński 1985b: 249.)

375. *hura ticsiman*: Gonçález Holguín glosses *ticçi* ([1608] 1952: 340) as "origin, beginning, fundament, foundation, cause." Its sense here is not obvious. The 'lower foundations' may mean the underside of the world. Taylor (1980: 111) interprets it, with equal plausibility, as "lowlands."

376. *ñocam condorpac camasca canim* 'I am a condor

"I am a falcon shaman!" said others.

"I am one who flies[377] in the form of a swift!"[378] replied still others.

192 He[379] instructed them, "Go to the world's lower foundations. Then tell my father, 'Your son sent me here. Send me back bearing one of his sisters.' "[380]

The man who was the swift's shaman, together with the other shamans, set out intending to return within five days.

193 The swift's shaman was the first to arrive there.

When he arrived and delivered his message, he was given something in a small chest and warned, "You mustn't open this. Lord Huayna Capac himself must be the first to open it."

While the man was bringing it, when he'd almost delivered it to Cuzco, he thought, "No! I'll take a look inside. What could it be?" And he opened it.

194 Inside it there appeared a very stately and beautiful lady. Her hair was like curly gold and she wore a majestic[381] costume, and in her whole aspect she looked very tiny.

The moment he saw her, the lady disappeared.

195 And so, deeply abashed, he arrived at the place called Titi Caca in Cuzco.

Huayna Capac said, "If it weren't for your being the swift's shaman, I'd have you executed right this instant! Get out! Go back by yourself!"

The swift's shaman returned and brought the woman back. When he was bringing her back along the road, dying for something to eat and drink, he had only to speak and a set table would instantly be there. It was just the same when he needed to sleep.

196 He delivered her exactly on the fifth day.

When he handed her over to them, Cuni Raya and the Inca received her overjoyed.

But before opening the chest, Cuni Raya said, "Inca! Let's draw a line across this world.[382] I'll go into this space and you go into this other space with my sister."

"You and I mustn't see each other anymore!" he said as he divided the world.

And he began to open the box. At the moment he opened it, the world lit up with lightning.

---

shaman': more literally, 'I am the *camasca* of the condor', and so forth. The sense of *camasca* may be understood as the inverse of *camaque* (chap. 29, sec. 372): the latter means a power giving form and force to a specific class of beings, and the former the beings so favored. In context, the sense appears to be that the shaman acquires the species powers of his superhuman familiar.

377. The implication is that these shamans engage in magical flight, a common motif of South American shamanism.

378. The Lima area has three swift species. Of these, the likeliest is the Andean swift, because it is a sierran species that sometimes flies down to the coast like the shaman in the story. All swifts are fast fliers. "*Andean swift, Aeronautes andecolus* (*Vencejo andino*). Distinguished from the preceding species [i.e., the Chimney Swift, *Chaetura pelagica*] by its longer wings, forked tail, and lighter color; with the collar, belly and rump white. Abundant in the sierra and Andean slopes, coming down from time to time on the coast" (Koepcke 1970: 78).

379. While the grammatical subject of this sentence is ambiguous (Inca? or Cuni Raya Vira Cocha?), the fact that the 'sister' mentioned is later clarified as being the latter's suggests that the subject is more likely to be Cuni Raya Vira Cocha.

380. *huc panantas* 'one of his sisters': the original is ambiguous as to whether this means Cuni's or Inca's sister, but this is cleared up later (sec. 196) when Cuni Raya Vira Cocha calls her 'my sister'.

381. The little lady's clothes were *collana*, a term used in social organization to label high-ranking descent groups of Cuzco and elsewhere (Zuidema 1964: 100–103). It implies majesty and political eminence. But 'lady' translates a Spanish word in the manuscript: *señora*. This word, like her blondness, suggests that she is an image foreshadowing the Spanish. In Inca-era politics, acceptance of a gift bride signified political subjection to the giver. So the story may be a mythic comment on the loss of Inca sovereignty. Contrast with chapter 23 (sec. 300), where Maca Uisa conserves his autonomy by refusing gift brides.

382. *cay pachacta sequison* 'Let's draw a line across this world': *ceqque* has the practical sense 'line, boundary, limit' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 81) but was often used to mean a schematic line in ideal space. Rowe (1985) and Zuidema (1964) analyze what is known of the "lines" along which the Inca capital's *huaca*s were arranged.

The line that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha impels the Inca to draw may allude to the moiety line of Cuzco, but more likely alludes to the alleged division of the Inca Empire into two at Huayna Capac's death. Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 210) relays an Inca tradition equating the former with the latter. This division is mentioned by many chroniclers as the cause of the Inca civil war, and indirectly of Pizarro's easy victory over Cuzco.

The translation of this passage depends greatly on interpretation of *pacha*. The most concrete reading would make it 'ground, earth', in which case the passage seems to concern something as local and earthly as a line drawn in the dirt. But it can just as well mean 'time and space', or 'world', which gives the passage a feeling of the vastest mythic scale.

197 The Inca Huayna Capac said, "I'll never again return from here. I'll stay right here with my princess, with my queen." To one man, a kinsman of his, he said, "You go in my stead.[383] Return to Cuzco and say, 'I'm Huayna Capac!' "

At that very moment, then and there, the Inca disappeared forever with that lady of his, and Cuni Raya did the same.

Later on, after Huayna Capac had died, people scrambled for political power, each saying to the others,

"Me first!"

"Me first!"

It was while they were carrying on this way that the Spanish Vira Cochas[384] appeared in Caxa Marca.

198 Even up to the present we know[385] many stories about Cuni Raya Vira Cocha's life.

We haven't yet finished writing down the other things he did while he was roaming through this area.

We'll treat these matters later on.[386]

383. *ñocap rantij* 'in my stead' alludes to the well-attested Inca institution of naming a 'second person' to act in lieu of the Inca.

384. *vira cochacunapas*: in this passage and certain later ones, as well as in the preface (sec. 1), 'Spanish' has been supplied to avoid confusion with the same name as applied to the deity. The use of this term to denominate the Spanish and privileged Spanish speakers survives in rural Cuzco Quechua to the present.

385. Original contains both *yachanchic* 'we know' and *-mi* witness validator. Witness validation continues to the end of the chapter.

386. Taylor (1987b: 250) shows a Spanish marginal note meaning, 'what chapter back?'

CHAPTER 15

199

Next We Shall Write about What Was Mentioned in the Second Chapter, Namely, Whether Cuni Raya Existed before or after Caruincho

Cuni Raya Vira Cocha is said to have[387] existed from very ancient times. Before he was, there was nothing at all in this world. It was he who first gave shape and force to the mountains, the forests, the rivers, and all sorts of animals, and to the fields for humankind's subsistence as well.

It's for this reason that people in fact[388] say of Cuni Raya, "He's called Paria Caca's father."[389]

"It was he who made and empowered Paria Caca."

200 "If Paria Caca weren't his son, he probably would have humbled him," all the people say.

And it's said that[390] he did thoroughly humble some villages with his cleverness, playing all sorts of tricks on them.

We'll include these matters[391] later.[392]

387. 'Is said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

388. 'In fact' supplied to indicate that the verb 'say' here and in the first sentence of section 200 has witness validation. The material in quotes has reportive validation ('called' supplied).

389. This short chapter implicitly addresses the question of whether Vira Cocha partakes (as early missionaries speculated, and later native writers affirmed) of the "true God" as seen through pagan intuition. If so, he would be prior to all *huaca*s, especially the archaic one par excellence, Huallallo Caruincho. The evidence that this chapter cites, however, is not actually relevant to that question. The chapter alludes only to testimony that Cuni Raya Vira Cocha preceded Paria Caca.

390. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

391. Cuni Raya returns (not as Vira Cocha) in chapter 31 (sec. 409).

392. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 16

201

Here We Shall Write on Whether Paria Caca, Born from Five Eggs, Was Composed of Brothers or Whether Paria Caca Was Their Father, Things of This Kind

In chapter eight we already speculated on such matters as whether Paria Caca, when he was born from five eggs, was made up of brothers, or whether the others were Paria Caca's sons.

Now we'll write about them individually and by name.

202 As we suggested in the fourteenth chapter when we said they were sons of Cuni Raya, the Paria Cacas born from five eggs were brothers to each other.

These are their names, starting from the first:

Paria Caca
then Churapa
then Puncho
then Paria Carco

We don't know the other one.

We leave a blank space here in order to write it once we ascertain it.

Sullca Yllapa.
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [n.b. His name was Sullca Yllapa.][393]

203 They say[394] Paria Carco dwells to this day at a pass into the Anti lowlands, saying, "Huallallo may return!"

In fact, we already pointed this out.[395]

But this Huallallo Caruincho isn't supposed to have[396] just escaped all at once.

When Churapa, one of the Paria Cacas, penetrated the place we called Mullo Cocha[397] and turned it into a lake, Huallallo flew away like a bird.

204 Then he entered a mountain, a mountain called Caqui Yoca.[398]

This <crossed out:> [cliff] mountain was a gigantic rocky escarpment.

Huallallo Caruincho got inside the cliff and hid there.

Paria Caca, in the form of lightning, blasted it again and again; he and his five brothers shot lightning bolts so violently they almost demolished that

393. The introductory passage that ends here is witness-validated with *-mi*, but the marginal note is reportive with *-si*.

394. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

395. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation. The reference is to chapter 8 (sec. 105).

396. 'Supposed to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 209.

397. Mullo Cocha is the place where Paria Caca dislodged Huallallo (chap. 8, secs. 96–97, 104; chap. 16, sec. 203); it lies along the probable pilgrimage route to Paria Caca's great shrine on the icy heights. With its many mentions of geological formations in the environs of Mullo Cocha and the mythic events they embody, this chapter and chapter 17 (secs. 210–212) give the impression of being a pilgrim's reminiscence or guide to the sights of the Paria Caca pilgrimage route. The geological landmarks are taken as a series of three tropical monsters loosed by Huallallo and killed by Paria Caca.

398. This name and that of the canyon Caqui Yoca Huayqui (sec. 207) allude to the bird *caqui* (toucan?) that acts later in the myth (sec. 207; see note 401). Taylor (1987b: 259) suggests that both derive via "Aru deformation" from *caquiyoc* 'having a *caqui*', perhaps in reference to the shape of a geological formation.

rocky mountain, and from there they once again forced Huallallo Caruincho to flee.

205 Then Huallallo Caruincho turned loose a huge snake called the Amaru,[399] a two-headed snake, thinking, "This'll bring misfortune on Paria Caca!"

When he saw it, Paria Caca furiously stabbed it in the middle of its back with his golden staff.

At that very moment, the snake froze stiff. It turned into stone.

206 This petrified snake, the Amaru, remains clearly visible to this day on the road named Upper Caqui Yoca.

People from Cuzco, and everyone else who knows about it, strike it with a rock and carry along the fallen chips as medicine, thinking, "Now I won't catch any disease."

207 As soon as Huallallo Caruincho fled from the cliff of Caqui Yoca, he entered a canyon called Caqui Yoca Huayqui.

Then, clambering up a mountain called Puma Rauca,[400] Huallallo thought, "From here I'll fence Paria Caca in so he can't pass through." He set against him a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan[401] and made it brandish its wing points.[402]

But Paria Caca effortlessly broke one of its wings, turned the toucan into stone, and climbed right over it.

Once Paria Caca stepped over it Huallallo Caruincho had no power left, so he fled toward the Anti lowlands.

208 But Paria Caca, with all the rest of his brothers, chased after him.

After Huallallo entered the Anti lowlands, Paria Caca left one of his brothers, the one named Paria Carco, at the pass into the tropical Antis. "Watch out lest he return!" he said.

209 Paria Carco
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [Paria Carco]
remains there today in the form of a heavily snow-capped peak.

Who worships Huallallo is something we don't know.[403]

But in the ninth chapter[404] we already mentioned that Paria Caca declared, "Since he once ate people, let him now eat dogs. And let the Huanca people feed them to him."

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399. *amarocta* 'Amaru' (direct object): Amaru is the great mythic water serpent, virtually omnipresent in Andean myths, and usually symbolic of disorder erupting in the transition to a new order. It may have been visualized as resembling the boa constrictor (*Constrictor constrictor*) or anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). This particular Amaru, Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 201) tells us, was a vein or stratum of white marble. The belief that certain white minerals are prophylactic medicine is widespread in the modern Andes.

400. "Pumarauca mountain, where Huallallo Carhuincho took refuge, still exists . . . and is located exactly in the zone adjacent [to Paria Caca] when one leaves from the great ravine of the Steps [i.e., the 'Steps of Paria Caca', an ancient roadway], en route to Jauja, which is also the direction toward the jungle" (Bonavia et al. 1984: 13). Modern maps (IGM 1970–1971) show a Pumarauca Mountain 2 km north of Mullucocha, with its peak 4,950 m above sea level.

401. *huc orito caque ñiscacta* 'a certain kind of parrot called a *caqui* or toucan' (direct object): as noted in chapter 1 (sec. 5), the exact meaning of *caqui* is uncertain and 'toucan' is a guess. We leave the word *caqui* visible in the translation here to reveal the salience of this bird's name throughout the passage. Whatever its species, the *caqui* is a tropical bird that in reality would never be seen on the icy heights, which symbolizes the vanished power of the Yunca deity Huallallo.

402. *chuquirichispa* 'made it brandish': appears to derive from the verb that Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 122) gives as "*Chuquini* . . . to spear or strike spear blows." The image here seems to be that of a bird with its wing feathers fanned out and bristling like lances. The episode seemingly comments on a jagged mountain wall taken to resemble a broken wing.

403. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

404. Sections 110–111.

CHAPTER 17

210

Now we'll explain how Paria Caca returned after he left his brother Paria Carco at the pass into the Anti lowlands.[405]

The story is like this.

We've already spoken about some of the words that Paria Caca said, and also about what he instituted to establish his own cult.

But there's one story we forgot.

211 After he finished the conquest, they say,[406] he returned with his other brothers to Paria Caca mountain.

There's another snowcapped peak there, unclimbable, the mountain called Huama Yaco.[407]

(In fact, some people say about this mountain, "That's the one, Paria Caca."

Later, too, after the Spanish Vira Cochas appeared on the scene, when people saw that mountain's snowy peak from the place we call Ynca Caya, they said, "That's Paria Caca.")[408]

212 But they say Paria Caca himself lived a little farther down, inside a cliff.[409]

Paria Caca and his brothers entered this crag and made it their home,[410] saying, "Here I shall dwell. From this place you must worship me."

We mentioned the other mountain, the one called Huama Yaco, by way of saying that it was a heavily snowcapped peak, and that it was atop this mountain that the Paria Cacas rested on their way back from the Anti lowlands.

213 From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tauantin Suyo.[411]

Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsa* institution for his own worship.

Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his *huacsa*s and held him in great honor.

We call the fashion in which they gathered at that time Tauantin Suyo.[412]

214 At that time, Huallallo Caruincho, never forget-

405. All of section 210 has witness validation. It seems to contain not one but two introductory passages, the first framing the second. It may be that the first is by the redactor/editor, and the second is the informant's own introduction; the fifth sentence of section 219 may be the informant's closing formula. Chapters 17, 18, and 19 lack titles.

406. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which predominates through the fourth sentence of section 219.

407. Perhaps identifiable with the modern peak Huamalla Lapu (IGM 1954), a mountain 48 km east-southeast of Huarochirí, 5,290 m above sea level. But its location may be too distant to fit the context.

408. This whole parenthesis has witness validation.

409. Duccio Bonavia has identified a rock shelter close to Mullo Cocha, painted with llama petroglyphs, which might have been where Paria Caca dwelled 'inside a cliff' (personal communication). The fact that this sentence is validated reportively suggests that the teller may not have experienced the actual pilgrimage to this site.

410. In modern Andean myth, *apu*s or mountain deities are often spoken of as dwelling "inside" mountain peaks.

411. *Tauantin Suyo* 'fourfold domain' was the Inca name of the Inca Empire. Perhaps this passage claims for Paria Caca priority over the Incas in creating an all-Andean collectivity; but it is also possible that to the teller *tauantin suyo* had a less political sense analogous to English 'the four corners of the earth'.

412. If we take *ninchic* to be out of normal word order, between dashes so to speak, the sentence could read 'In that age when—as we said—the people of Tauantin Suyu . . . ' (Taylor 1987b: 271).

ful of his treacherous purpose, caused an animal called *hugi*[413] to appear on the same mountain where he lived.[414] "This'll bring grief to Paria Caca!" he thought.

The moment it appeared, the *hugi* escaped into the countryside.

215 Had that *hugi* lived, it would have taken Paria Caca's life or something.

For that reason, Paria Caca commanded the people of Tauantin Suyo, "Go capture that animal called *hugi*!"

Once he gave this command,

All the people chased after it,
and yet it never fell prey.

Paria Caca flashed and stormed,
and yet it never died.[415]

216 But way far away, a man of the Checa, of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, did capture it.

Then a Quinti man spoke to him: "Brother, you've actually caught it! You're a lucky man! Just go right home displaying its tail as a sign of victory. As for the carcass, I'll take it away."

"All right," the man replied.

217 After this exchange, the Quinti man went back by a different route, and told Paria Caca, "Father, I'm the one who caught it."

Paria Caca rejoiced exultantly and praised him.

(That Quinti man's name was Choc Payco.)[416]

Later on, when the other man delivered the tail, Paria Caca upbraided Choc Payco in scathing language:

"For lying to me,
go fight with the Quinti;

They'll call you a stinker,
and your offspring, too."

218 But about the Caca Sica *ayllu* and about Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha, Paria Caca himself said,

"Because you are the one who captured it,
you have become *yanca*.[417]

I will listen to you alone,
and to everything you may tell me.

If other people have something to tell me,
they must let you hear it first."[418]

Paria Caca bestowed a name on him, too, saying, "He shall be a Ñamca, Ñamca Pariya."

219 From that time on, they, too, were *yanca*s. As for the Concha, their *yanca*'s name, too, was one bestowed by Paria Caca himself. It was Huatusi.

And similarly in all the villages the *yanca* were given names by Paria Caca.

Of what we'd forgotten about Paria Caca's life, this is as much as we remember now.[419]

413. Unidentified, and an anomalous word in the graphophonemic system of the manuscript: the combination *gi* appears elsewhere only in borrowings (*regina* [chap. 20, sec. 256], *virgin* [chap. 20, sec. 258]). This is the third and last of the monsters Huallallo Caruincho loosed against Paria Caca.

414. The place where the *hugi* appeared is unknown, but a toponym Puente Piedra Huqui ('Huqui Stone Bridge') is recorded 6 km northwest of San Lorenzo de Quinti (Guillén Araoz 1953: 230). Since stone usually represents the end of a *huaca*'s trajectory, this may be the distant point where the *hugi* was caught (sec. 216).

415. *tucoy ynantin runacona catirircan/manatacsi apichicorcancho/panas paria cacaca yllaparca tamyarcan/manatacsi huañorcancho*: the parallel structure of this passage (marked here with supplied /) suggests it may be a fragment or an altered rendering of a versified telling, hence the verse presentation in translation.

416. In chapter 9 (sec. 113) and chap. 12 (secs. 166–167), Choc Payco is named as the most senior and privileged of Paria Caca's offspring. This sentence has witness validation.

417. Caca Sica's eminence as *yanca* priests is mentioned in chapter 9 (sec. 118). In chapter 18 (sec. 224) a Caca Sica priest is credited with being the savior of a great *huaca*'s cult. The tendency to elevate Caca Sica suggests that within Checa this *ayllu* may have had a disproportionate share in the testimonies.

418. The curse on the Quinti and the blessing on the Caca Sica do not have an exact verse form, but they show a similarity of sequence (the accusation, the sentence, and the people's comment) and some syntactic resemblance (*-scayquimanta . . . -sonqui*). They seem to be presented as a contrasted set and are perhaps verses blurred in translation or editing.

419. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 18

220

We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa*.[420]

It's said that[421] he, the Inca himself, decreed, "Let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos[422] serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles."[423]

In obedience to that command, thirty men served him in shifts of fifteen days,[424] offering him food and feeding him.

221 One day they sacrificed one of his llamas, a llama named Yauri Huanaca.

When those thirty people examined the heart and entrails[425] of the llama, one of the thirty, a fellow called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man,[426] spoke up and said, "Alas, brothers, the world[427] is

420. This sentence has witness validation. It refers to chapter 17 (sec. 213).

421. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 223.

422. That is, from the two Inca-style moieties (visible on the Dávila Brizeño map; Rostworowski 1988 insert) of the larger region within which this mythology occurs. The division does not necessarily coincide with any locally defined duality.

423. *purapi quillapi* 'full and waning lunar cycles': Urioste (1983: 147) and Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 105) take *pura* to be the name of a month following a weakly attested datum from Juan de Betanzos and Diego Fernández de Palencia.

A better clue is Gonçález Holguín's ([1608] 1952: 296) "*pura quilla* the full moon and the waning," which Taylor (1987b: 277) follows. The 'full moon' meaning of *pura quilla* comes clearer from Urton's ethnographic account of lunar phases in modern Quechua culture (1981: 82–85). There are said to be two moons, a bright one called *pura* and a dark one called *huañu*. They rotate around each other, successively obscuring and revealing the bright (*pura*) one.

Mejía Xesspe (Szemiński 1989: 16) seized on another attested sense of *pura*, 'amongst themselves one with the other', to produce a different reading: "He, the Inka, ordered the Indians of Anan Yauya [*sic*] and Rurin Yauyo to take turns monthly among themselves thirty by thirty in order to serve Pariakaka." This reading harmonizes with the next sentence, but its persuasiveness is vitiated by the case of *pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi* in chapter 19 (sec. 234), which clearly puts *pura* in opposition to *quilla* 'moon'.

424. *chunca pihccayoc punchaumantacama* 'shifts of fifteen days': the marking of *punchau*, 'day', with suffixes *-manta* and *-cama*, meaning 'from' and 'up to', respectively, occurs nowhere else in the manuscript and 'shift' is a guess at its sense. Taylor (1987b: 277) reads "from the fifteenth day [of the month]."

425. "Idolatry" trials of the period succeeding the manuscript give information on the reading of llama entrails. In one technique a ritualist would inflate the lungs of the sacrificial llama and read the sentiments of the dead, as well as presages for the future, from the air pockets in the lungs.

426. *llacuas quita pariasca sutioc* 'called Quita Pariasca the Mountain Man': *llacuas* in both colonial and modern Quechua means a herdsman dwelling on the cold heights; it carries connotations of primitivism and coarseness. The antithesis between *llacuas* herders and purportedly more sophisticated valley agriculturalists was richly elaborated in many Lima-region cultures (Duviols 1973).

Llacuas here is likely to be an epithet, not part of the man's name, because, first, in section 222 he is called by name, without the word *llacuas*; and, second, in section 223, he is called *llacuas* without his name, as an insult. *Llacuas* has no English equivalent; 'mountain man' in a usage from the western United States is chosen to convey the idea of a rustic figure from the heights.

Quita, which does seem to be part of the name, means "wild (as of runaway livestock), skittish" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 310; cf. the epithet *quita yauyo* in chap. 24, sec. 306), translated 'Yauyo wildmen'.

427. As in most instances, *pacha* leaves room for in-

not good! In coming times our father Paria Caca will be abandoned."

222 "No," the others retorted, "you're talking nonsense!"

"It's a good augury!"

"What do you know?"

One of them called out, "Hey, Quita Pariasca![428] What makes you think that? In these llama innards our father Paria Caca is foretelling something wonderful!"

But at the time he said that, the mountaineer hadn't even approached the llama to inspect its innards. He had prophesied so just by watching from afar.[429]

223 The mountaineer[430] spoke out and rebuked them: "It's Paria Caca himself who says it, brothers."

Then they derided Quita Pariasca with spiteful words:

"That smelly mountain man, what could he know?"

"Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo.[431] Could such a power ever fall desolate?"

"What does a guy like that know?"

They talked in great anger.

But just a very few days after the day when he'd said these things, they heard someone say, "Vira Cochas[432] have appeared in Caxa Marca!"

224 A certain man who was also from Checa, named Tama Lliuya Casa Lliuya, a member of the Caca Sica *ayllu*, is known to have[433] dwelt as one of Paria Caca's retainers.

At that time, they say,[434] there were thirty priests at Paria Caca and this Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya was the eldest of them all.

225 When the Vira Cochas, the Spaniards,[435] arrived there, they kept asking insistently, "What about this *huaca*'s silver and garments?"[436]

But the thirty refused to reveal anything.

Because they did, the Spanish Vira Cochas got furious, and, ordering some straw piled up, they burned Casa Lliuya.

When half the straw had burned, the wind began to blow it away.[437]

And so although this man suffered horribly, he did survive.

But by that time the others had handed the clothing and the rest of the things over to the Spaniards.

226 It was then that all the men said, "Very truly indeed were we warned by this mountain man Quita Pariasca!"

"Brothers, let's go away, let's disband."

"The world is no longer good," they said. And so they dispersed, each going back to his own village.

227 When the burned man from Checa healed up, he arrived at a village called Limca[438] in the territory

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terpretation; alternatives would be 'earth', 'place', 'time', 'situation'.

428. *say quita pariasca*: Trimborn (1939: 48) took this to be a person's name, Sayquita, but in the absence of *sutioc* or any other name-indicating formula, and given the likelihood that *Quita* is part of the man's name, 'Hey, Quita!' seems likelier.

429. This seems to suggest that the augurers in their pedantry had failed to see what a humble man's broad commonsense could see. Perhaps this is how peasants c. 1600 felt about their wise men's failure to foresee the disastrous consequences of the Spanish invasion.

430. 'The mountaineer' supplied.

431. *chinchay suyo*: the northern and most prestigious quarter of the Inca state included most of highland Peru, all of highland Ecuador, and a fringe of southernmost Colombia.

432. That is, the Spanish. *Vira cocha* is left unglossed in the translation to conserve the sense of mystery that the original seems to convey.

433. 'Is known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

434. 'They say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 227.

435. *vira cocha chayman chayaspaca*: we supply 'the Spaniards' because at this point they are coming into focus as humans.

436. *cay huacap collquin pachan* 'this *huaca*'s silver and garments': a sentence fragment forming a direct quote, perhaps to suggest brusque formless speech (of strangers who do not know Quechua properly?).

437. *pucorimorcan*: translocative *-mo-*, 'began to blow [burning straw] away'. Taylor (1980: 127) thought the wind blew the straw fire out, but this seems unlikely because straw burns violently in wind.

438. The location of Limca is not known, but (by analogy with alternations like *Ñamca/Ñamuc*), Limca/[Limac] might be the pre-*reducción* village of "Lima" (not to be confused with the city of Lima), which Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 161) mentions as a former Yunca outpost in the highlands.

of the Quinti,[439] carrying along a child of Paria Caca named Maca Uisa.

<**margin**:> [Maca Uisa]

We'll describe these things in the next chapter.[440]

439. *quintip llantanpi limca sutioc llactapi*: *llanta* is problematic; it is treated here as a variant of *llacta* 'village' as in Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 208). *Llanta* recurs in chapter 19 (sec. 235).

440. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 19

228

When the former Inca[441] lived, they say,[442] this Maca Uisa, a child of Paria Caca, was taken along to help him in warfare.[443] The provinces of Amaya and Xiuaya had not yet yielded to conquest.

Because of their resistance, the Inca asked Paria Caca for one of his children, to subdue[444] those Amaya and Xiuaya people.

229 Paria Caca gave him the one named Maca Uisa.

Carrying him along, the Inca defeated them in no time at all.

From then on, the Incas revered Paria Caca even more. They bestowed gold and ample amounts of their clothing on him, and every year they made people give maize, coca, and other goods from their villages to provide for Paria Caca's thirty retainers.

230 While it was so, the Spanish Vira Cochas came over, as we said, and took everything Maca Uisa[445] had away from him.

(Subsequently, the late Don Sebastián[446] had all that was left of his things burned.)

231 And so, as we just said, Casa Lliuya resided for many years in the village of Limca, highly honored because he was the upholder of Maca Uisa.

After many years, when the Checa heard how the Quinti had done so well, the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma, who was then *curaca*, sent for Casa Lliuya, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa over here."[447]

Then Casa Lliuya, the old man who'd been burned, father of six children, came here with his children.[448]

232 When they arrived here (I mean at Llacsa Tambo)[449] they asked, "Father Maca Uisa, will you not keep careful guard over the Checa in this village?" Casa Lliuya revealed the answer by sacrific-

441. *ñaupa ynga* 'former Inca' could be read as 'first' or 'early Incas' but this appears less likely since the manuscript generally treats late Incas (naming only Tupay Ynga Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, the last two who ruled before the period of dynastic war and Spanish invasion).

442. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation. This chapter lacks introductory material and may be a continuation of the testimony interrupted by the last sentence of section 227, namely, the story of Maca Uisa.

443. Avila wrote that he met a young woman, disabled in her legs, married to a blue stone that stood for Maca Uisa in the absence of an original golden image that the Inca had taken to Cuzco ([1645] 1918: 67, 69, 71).

444. *atipai* 'to subdue': word appears truncated (*atipaipac*?) but no other reading is evident.

445. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

446. That is, Don Sebastián Quispe Ninavilca, *curaca* of Huarochirí village and province. See chapter 7 (sec. 93).

447. *huañoc* 'the late' is interlineated. On May 9, 1608, a Checa *cacique* signed his name "don juan Puipotacma" to a statement at Father Avila's trial (Archivo Arzobispal, Lima, Capítulos, Leg. 1, Exp. 9, f.91r). If this was the same Don Juan mentioned here, the episode of Maca Uisa's retrieval could refer to times as late as the early seventeenth century. On the same assumption, if this man died before the manuscript's last editing, the last editing must postdate May 9, 1608.

448. *sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamurcancu*: or perhaps as Taylor has it (1987b: 287), "came here with (a group of) six men each accompanied by his respective child(ren?)."

449. This is the only point at which the text tells where myths were collected. Llacsa Tambo is almost certainly modern Llaquistambo, an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa.

ing a llama; and it was just the same as in Huauya Cancha, where the mountain man Quita Pariasca had observed the augury.

233 When Casa Lliuya Tama Lliuya's children had already perished and he himself was about to die, he spoke and said, "That's how things were when I arrived here." For he had said on arriving, "The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation[450] or disease[451] anymore."[452]

234 It was from that time onward that they upheld Maca Uisa in this village, and all the Checa served him, *ayllu* by *ayllu*, according to the full and waning cycles of the moon.[453]

On a certain night, all of them, men and women alike, would keep vigil together till dawn.

At daybreak, we know,[454] they offered guinea pigs and other things from each person individually, saying,

"Please help us and this village;
You are the one who guards it.
From each and every illness
You are the one who heals us."

235 After that,[455] dwelling in the village of Limca, Maca Uisa[456] enjoyed ample service. A whole thousand[457] of Quinti people reportedly[458] cultivated the fields of Yamlaca in order to provide Maca Uisa's drinks.

And the people who lived there got very rich[459] indeed, with all kinds of possessions in any quantity.

The Checa envied them[460] all this, and so it was that the late Don Juan Puypu Tacma dispatched some people to Casa Lliuya, who was a member of his *ayllu*, saying, "Let him bring Maca Uisa here. Why should he keep such a fine *huaca* in those people's[461] village?"

From that time onward, he lived here.

This is as much as we know about Maca Uisa.[462]

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450. *huaticay* 'temptation': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 187–188) gives many variants of this term, most of them Christian-influenced and emphasizing diabolical temptation. In this passage it may refer to sorcery, or perhaps to the temptations of conversion against which the saving of Maca Uisa was a bulwark.

451. *oncoypas* 'disease': in the wake of the epidemics that lashed postconquest Indian societies, the teller(s) appear deeply preoccupied with health and illness. See section 234 below.

452. *pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho* 'The world really is very good. There won't ever be temptation or disease anymore': this prophecy answers Quita Pariasca's earlier prophecy saying the world was no longer good (chap. 18, sec. 221) and his discouraged fellow-worshipers' assent to it (chap. 18, sec. 226). 'Really' is added to convey the combined force of *ancha* and eyewitness validator *-mi*. The idea seems to be that on dying he sees in the well-being of his neighbors the vindication of the prophecy he had made on arriving. But the meanings of this and the preceding section are far from certain.

453. See chapter 18 (sec. 220) and note 423.

454. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

455. *chaymantam* 'after that': carries witness validation, but the main clause has *-si* reportive. This anomaly is fairly common and makes validation of some sentences less than clear.

456. 'Maca Uisa' supplied.

457. *tucoy huc huaranca* 'a whole thousand': 'thousand' is an Inca bureaucratic term signaling a major demographic unit; such decimal terms remained in use in colonial Huarochirí (Spalding 1984: 54). Its use in this colonial (i.e., post-Inca) reorganization of Andean religion suggests (as do the events of chap. 20) that Inca manipulation had a substantial effect on local cultic organization.

458. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

459. *rico* 'rich', using the Spanish expression as in chapter 5 (secs. 37, 46, 60).

460. A resurgence of a pervasive theme, the Checa rivalry with the more senior Quinti (see, for example, chap. 17, secs. 214ff.). This is apparently the same incident mentioned in section 231.

461. *ymapacmi runap llantanpi* presents two translation problems. First, *runap* 'of people' does not specify what group is concerned; to minimize supplied elements, 'those' is furnished. Taylor (1987b: 291) speculates that it is a pejorative colonial usage of *runa*, which, like modern *indio*, implies baseness. Second, *llantan* is taken as a variant for *llactan*; see chapter 18 (sec. 227). Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) notes that villages and *ayllu*s regularly stole each other's *huaca*s.

462. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 20

Here Begins the Life of Llocllay Huancupa. In What Follows, We Shall Also Write about Its End

236

They say[463] the *huaca* named Llocllay Huancupa[464] was Pacha Camac's child.

A woman named Lanti Chumpi, from Alay Satpa *ayllu*, found this *huaca*'s visible form[465] while she was cultivating a field.

As she dug it out the first time, she wondered, "What could this be?" and just threw it right back down on the ground.[466]

237 But, while she was digging another time,[467] she found once again the same thing she'd found before.

"This might be some kind of *huaca*!"[468] she thought. And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my *ayllu*," she brought it back.

238 At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampo another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay,[469] an emissary of the Inca.[470]

Cati Quillay was a *yanca*,[471] one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak.

Saying, "Who are you?

"What is your name?

"What have you come for?"

he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk.

Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac Pacha Cuyuchic, World Maker and World Shaker.

"My name is Llocllay Huancupa.[472]

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463. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 240.

464. *llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic* means 'Llocllay Huancupa, whom we mentioned above'. But in fact this is the first mention of Llocllay. Perhaps there were other testimonies that have not been included.

465. *ricurimuscantas . . . tarircan* 'she found [Llocllay's] visible form': this could mean a likeness, perhaps a precolumbian artifact (such objects were and still are sometimes taken as signs of the superhuman), but it might also mean some nonfigurative object.

466. *pachallampitac*: since *pacha* means both a location and a moment, could also mean 'immediately'.

467. *huc pachacta* 'another time': again, since *pacha* signifies both time and space, this might also mean 'at another place'. If so, its sense might be that Lanti Chumpi recognized the find's importance by its ability to move underground. Whether one reads two times or two places, the point seems to be that the *huaca* insists on being found by Lanti Chumpi.

468. A *huaca* that belonged to an extinct *ayllu* and had been lost among "roads and crossroads and wildernesses" was called a *purun huaca*, meaning a 'wild' or 'desolate' one. "When they found these . . . they considered themselves lucky and blessed, and they began to ennoble their lineages and their descent" (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 184). Hence Lanti Chumpi's excitement. All of chapter 20 through section 243 is the biography of a rediscovered *purum huaca* and the story of its cultic "ennoblement" up to and including cooptation by the Inca state.

469. Possibly identifiable with Catequilla or Catachillay, the Southern Cross (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 51) as interpreted by Gary Urton (1981: 130–131).

470. *yngap cachan* 'an emissary of the Inca' employs the Inca term for a plenipotentiary and not a mere messenger.

471. Seems to suggest that one *huaca* (presumably via its priest) could act as *yanca* of another. Taylor (1987b: 295) gives "effortlessly," reading *yanca* as the homonymous adverb.

472. Llocllay Huancupa's name signals his association with rain: Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 215) tells us *llocclla* meant "river in spate, flood." The Jesuit *carta annua* of 1609 (Taylor 1987a: 85–96) tells that *huancupa*,

"It was my father who sent me here, saying, 'Go and protect that Checa village!' "[473]

239 The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us." And since the enclosed courtyard[474] at the house of the woman who'd discovered the *huaca* was a small one, they enlarged it, and all the Checa, along with the Chauti and Huanri people, adorned her house and courtyard with great reverence.

240 They made arrangements among themselves, saying, "We'll enter in to do his service according to the full and waning moon,[475] *ayllu* by *ayllu*, with the Allauca taking the lead"; and they gave him some of their llamas.

(At the full moon they in fact[476] say,
"It's time for his arrival,"
they say,
"It's he who's arriving!")

At the Arrival festival, in the old times, people used to dance wearing the *chumprucu*[477] and the *huaychao* weavings,[478] just the same way as they wore the *chumprucu* and the *huaychao* weavings during Paria Caca's festival season.

241 They served him for many years in the way we have described.

At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared.

When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid.[479]

242 But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac.

So by worshiping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return.

People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders.[480]

They pastured these llamas in the place called Sucya Villca,[481] declaring, "These are llamas of Pacha Camac." The Inca also ratified this practice.[482]

243 They arrived to worship one *ayllu* after another,[483] and in this fashion they served the *huaca*

whose meaning in this context is unclear, formed part of the name of a specific rain *huaca* Tamiahuancupa in Checa. Llocllay Huancupa is there said to be a child of Pacha Camac, the greatest maritime *huaca*, and to be a nephew of Paria Caca, the great embodiment of the stormy heights. Rivers in spate are the connections from the latter to the former. Thus Llocllay's appearance appears a promise that these violent waters would flow to the Checa's benefit and perhaps refrain from creating the washouts and mudslides that often damage villages like the Checa's.

473. Considering that this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huaca*s afforded a safer course than fostering *huaca*s of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance.

474. *cancha* 'courtyard': for description of the enclosed Andean residential compound, see Gasparini and Margolies (1980: 181–193).

475. See note 423.

476. This whole parenthesis has witness validation and differs from the surrounding material in tense; it appears to place a contemporary custom in the remembered context of the narrative.

477. Taylor (1987b: 297) suggests a plausible derivation from words meaning 'belt' and 'headdress', hence 'turban'. Turbans are abundantly visible in coastal ceramic portrait vases and are found in prehistoric burials.

478. *huaychao ahua* '*huaychao* weavings' is an uncertain translation because the expected form would be *ahuasca*.

479. *husnocta pircaspa*: literally, 'walling an *usnu*'; the term *usnu* could mean a stone-faced step-pyramid, perhaps like the one still visible at Vilcashuamán. But in R. T. Zuidema's explication (1980) the concept expands to signify any *axis mundi*–like vertical conduit. The early "extirpator" Cristóbal de Albornoz ([1583?] 1984: 202) describes *usnu*-type shrines as 'towers' built around an axis or shaft at which worship was celebrated. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also mentions *usnus* ([1615] 1980: 1:236, 239, 2:357, 413).

480. That is, like many other superhumans, he was assigned an endowment of capital goods whose products would support his cult and be distributed at his feasts.

481. Identified by Rostworowski (1978: 43) as a plateau above San Bartolomé.

482. That is, when they felt forced to increase the endowment of this Inca-endorsed *huaca*, they arranged for the Inca state to bear part of the additional cost by contributing use of Inca herding facilities at Sucya Villca. This was appropriate because Llocllay's cult was an extension of the Inca-sponsored Pacha Camac cult, and Pacha Camac's animals were herded at Sucya Villca (chap. 22, sec. 277).

483. Taylor (1987b: 299) interprets *ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan* to mean that each *ayllu* celebrated the "Arrival" rite in turn.

for a great many years. If diseases of any kind came upon them, they would tell him and implore him for well-being. Whenever any affliction or sorrow befell, or when enemies came, or there was an earthquake, people would fear him greatly and say, "His father[484] is angry!" As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries,[485] to provide for his drinks.

244 Later on, at the time when a certain Father Cristóbal de Castilla was in this *reducción* and when Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman was the *curaca*,[486] people stopped worshiping, because both of them hated such practices.

But when the first great plague of measles[487] came, people began to worship him again in all sorts of ways. As if he were thinking, "Llocllay's sending the plague," the *curaca* ceased scolding those people any longer when they drank in the ruined buildings of Purum Huasi.

At that same time, the *huaca*'s house caught fire all by itself,[488] because that was God's will.

245 Now it's a fact that[489] after Don Gerónimo died, Don Juan Sacsa Lliuya succeeded to the office of *curaca*,[490] and, since this chief was at the same time a *huacsa* himself, everybody began to live as they'd lived in earlier times; they'd visit both Llocllay Huancupa and Maca Uisa, and they kept vigil the whole night there drinking until dawn.

246 Nowadays, due to the preachings of Doctor Avila, some people have converted back to God and forbidden all these practices. But if it hadn't been for a certain man who converted to God with a sincere heart and denounced the *huaca*s as demons, people might well have kept on living that way for a long time.[491]

We'll let you hear this story in what follows.

247 There was a man named Don Cristóbal Choque Casa, whose father was the late Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman whom we mentioned before. This man lived a good life from his childhood onward, because his father bitterly scorned all these *huaca*s.

But when he was about to die, Don Gerónimo was deceived by these evil spirits and fell into this same sin. Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits,[492]

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484. I.e., Pacha Camac.

485. *yngap çaranta sapçicunamantas* 'maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries': again emphasizes that Llocllay's cult was Inca-subsidized. The suggestion would be that, where maize is concerned, the Inca enabled them to toast Llocllay at Inca, not local, expense.

486. A 1588–1590 lawsuit over the major *cacicazgo* of the Rímac valley contains testimony by Don Gerónimo Cancho Huaman, *curaca* of the Checa. From it we learn that he was four or five years old when the Spanish invaded Peru; he was forty years old when Jesuits taught literacy at Huarochirí missions and never learned to write. From childhood onward he attended meetings of chiefs that the Ninavilca (Huarochirí village) lords convoked at Mama and elsewhere (Murra 1980: xviii–xix). His position as a member of the generation that first managed the transition to colonial religious and political forms helps one to understand his ambivalence toward Christianity (see sec. 247; Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, ms. 9-45-5-15, ff. 105v–112r; Espinoza Soriano 1983–1984).

487. Cook (1981: 60) says the first measles epidemic was perhaps in 1531–1532, with a question mark, and notes another without a question mark for 1558–1559. It seems likely that the teller means the 1558–1559 epidemic. Perhaps the resurgence of Llocllay's cult following it is a phenomenon resembling the Taki Onqoy nativist movement that arose at that time in the south-central highlands. In order to credit this interpretation one must assume that Gerónimo Cancho Huaman's rule lasted thirty-odd years.

If the date is not 1558 but later, the reference might be to the Moro Onqoy period described by Curatola (1978).

488. *paicama* 'all by itself' could also mean 'according to him' (the chief?). Either reading suggests that the fire was taken as the Spanish deity's attack on the native *huaca*.

489. 'Now it's a fact that' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the end of section 247.

490. Since Don Gerónimo was still *curaca* in 1590 according to the source mentioned in note 486, the events that follow can be dated 1590–1608.

491. A nakedly political passage setting up the witness, Cristóbal Choque Casa, as a hero. Choque Casa was Avila's close political ally. Missionary Quechua predominates in the rhetoric of the pure heart and the verbal renunciation of *huaca*s as *supay* ('demons', in missionary lexicon). 'The *huaca*s' supplied. Original has *caycunacta* 'these'.

492. The passage may have a double meaning, reflecting the double Andean and missionary senses of the word *supay*. An Andean person faced with death could well be concerned with ancient spirits, not in the European understanding of false deities, but in the autochthonous sense of deified ancestors or *huaca*s worshiped by ancestors, whose mobile parts (*supay*) could contact the living. The speaker would not have specified *mana alli* unless he supposed that a *supay* could also be good.

he confessed himself just before dying.[493]

As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now![494]

248 The deceased man's son, that is, the same Don Cristóbal we spoke of, is still alive.

It was he who once saw the demon Llocllay Huancupa with his own eyes, when he was also deceived by the same ancient evil spirits because of his father's death.

The story is like this.

To tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross."[495]

249 Don Cristóbal said that one night[496] he went to Llocllay Huancupa's house while his lover[497] was there. Cristóbal had abandoned the worship of this *huaca*, and hardly thought of him anymore.

When he arrived at the dwelling he went into a little shed in the corral[498] to urinate.

250 From inside that place, the spot where they've put a cross, that demon appeared before his eyes like a silver plate that, mirroring[499] the light of the midday sun, dazzles a man's eyesight.

When he saw this he almost fell to the ground.

Reciting the Our Father and the Hail Mary, he fled toward the little lodging, the woman's dwelling.

251 When he'd walked halfway there, the demon flashed three times again. When he arrived at the room it flashed[500] another three times, and the first time it had flashed[501] three times also.

So, all in all, it flashed nine times.

Seeing that demon flash so many times, and becoming thoroughly terrified, Don Cristóbal reached the place where the woman slept and woke her up abruptly.

252 Two children were also asleep there.

He was panting[502] so hard, the children got scared and said, "It's our father who's doing that!"

(These children and the young woman, too, were the offspring of the demon's priest.)[503]

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493. *ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullaycuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi* 'Beguiled by many ancient evil spirits he confessed himself just before dying': an ambiguous sentence. It could mean, as we indicate, that although Don Gerónimo relapsed into *huaca* worship in old age, his conscience at the last impelled him to confess in Catholic fashion. Or it could mean that he made his last confession to a *huaca* priest. The latter reading presupposes that the Spanish-derived verb *confesacoy* could denominate a non-Christian rite (much as *saçerdote* could mean *huaca* priest).

494. *chaytaca dios aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas* 'As for that fellow, God only knows where he is now!': perhaps with a shade of satirical intent, or perhaps said in pity; since the old man was so indecisive in religious matters, who can say whether he is now in Hell or Heaven?

495. Cristóbal's testimony begins with not one but two narrative formulas: first, *cay simire cay ynam* 'the story is like this', a common one throughout the manuscript and perhaps an Andean phrase; then, *cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don christobal juramentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa* 'to tell it Don Cristóbal first swore an oath by saying, "This is the cross," ' an emphatic touch of mission culture.

496. *huc tutas don x(christob)al* 'Don Cristóbal said that one night': more literally, taking reportive validation into account, 'One night Don Cristóbal, it's said'. But the fact that we know it was Don Cristóbal himself who swore before telling the story that begins here justifies 'Don Cristóbal said that'. Since Don Cristóbal would presumably have talked in first person, the passage shows that *-si* reportive passages are likely to be paraphrases of testimony, not transcripts, and therefore unreliable as to exact properties of discourse including, for example, versification. (An alternative hypothesis would be that Don Cristóbal himself wrote the passage, trumping up the oath and third person diction.)

497. *sipasnin* 'his lover': the referent of the third person possessive marker *-n* is ambiguous (Cristóbal's lover or Llocllay's?) and the translation reflects this. The former, however, seems likelier; why, otherwise, would Cristóbal, a Christian, go to Llocllay's house? And why at night?

498. *racay huasillaman* 'into a little shed in the corral': Taylor (1987b: 305) has "into a little house in ruins (which had been the *huaca*'s sanctuary[?])." The discrepancy arises from readings of *racay*, which can mean either 'corral' or (in the form *racay racay*) 'depopulated town' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 311).

499. *tincochisca* 'mirroring': more literally, 'caused to match' (i.e., angled so as to reflect) the mid-day sun. The phrase *runap ñauinta tutayachic* reads more literally 'as what benights a man's eyes' and alludes to the darkening of vision caused by gazing at a too-bright light.

500. 'It flashed' supplied.

501. 'It had flashed' supplied.

502. *siuyaptinsi* 'he was panting': original is ambiguous as to whether Llocllay or (more probably) Don Cristóbal is the subject of this verb.

503. I.e., of Astu Huaman, who appears in chapter 21 (secs. 265, 267).

Then, just as a man entering a doorway at dusk darkens the room even more,[504] so it was also that night as the demon went in and out. The demon wanted to overpower Don Cristóbal, making his ears ring with a "Chuy!" sound, as if he were about to demolish the house, too.

253 Cristóbal invoked God, shouting out at the top of his voice all the prayers he knew, <crossed out:> [knowing] saying the *doctrina*[505] from beginning to end over and over again.

As midnight passed, the demon was overpowering him. He thought that nothing could save him, the demon was making him sweat so. Then he invoked our mother Saint Mary, saying:

254 "Oh mother, you are my only mother.
Shall this evil demon overpower me?

You, who are my mother, please help me
Even though I am a great sinner;

I myself served this very demon;
Now I recognize that he was a demon all along,

That he is not God,
That he could never do anything good.

255 You, my only queen,[506]
You alone will rescue me from this danger!

Please intercede on my behalf with your son Jesus.
Let him rescue me right now

From this sin of mine,
And from the hand of this wicked demon."

Thus weeping and sweating[507] he invoked our mother the Virgin, our one and only queen.

256 After finishing this, he prayed saying the *Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ* in Latin.

While he was reciting it, just as he was in the middle of reciting it, that shameless wicked demon shook the house and, calling "Chus!" in a very deep voice, went out of it in the form of a barn owl.[508]

At that exact moment, the place became like dawn.[509] There were no longer any terrors, nothing like a man entering and leaving a room.

257 From then on, Cristóbal worshiped God and Mary the Holy Virgin even more, so that they might help him always.

In the morning he addressed all the people:

"Brothers and fathers, that Llocllay Huancupa whom we feared has turned out to be a demonic barn owl.

258 "Last night, with the help of the Virgin Saint Mary our mother, I conquered him for good. From now on, none of you are to enter that house. If I ever see anybody enter or approach the house, I'll tell the *padre*. Consider carefully[510] what I've said and receive it into your hearts completely!" Thus he admonished all the people.

259 Some people probably assented, while others stood mute for fear of that demon.

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504. The simile likens the alternating glare and gloom of Llocllay's presence to the interior of an Andean house—normally windowless—that is thrown into darkness when a person enters its doorway and brightens when he steps out.

505. *doctrina*: the elementary religious lessons that Indian neophytes were required to learn.

506. *coyallaytacmi*, 'my only queen', using the word for an Inca queen, that is, a sister-wife of the Inca.

507. When Jesuits campaigned in Huarochirí in 1571, they encouraged people to "pour out tears and sobs" while renouncing the *huaca*s, and intentionally "drew the business out so that [converts] would feel greater anguish." The 1571 campaign produced behavior something like Cristóbal's: the missionaries proudly reported that one convert "passed three hours weeping bitterly and conversing with Our Lord" before turning himself in to become a servitor of Catholic priests (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 241–244). These precedents suggest that chapters 20 and 21 render the subjective content of what had perhaps become by 1600 a fairly standardized cultural performance.

508. *chusic* 'barn owl': this bird's appearance echoes the image of the flashing disk. "*Barn owl, Tyto alba contempta* (*Lechuza de los campanarios*). A large owl, buffy-white below speckled with black, pearl gray to buff above, finely spotted. The feathers about the eyes form a white disk in the shape of a heart. Recognized by its light color and characteristic hoarse screech. Nocturnal, withdrawing during the day into caves, holes in trees, towers of churches, etc. In nearly all parts of our region, but never common; also in Lima. A species of world-wide distribution" (Koepcke 1970: 76). The barn owl, a nocturnal predator, seems an appropriate likeness of the nocturnal *huaca* Llocllay (his rites are celebrated at night).

509. *pachaca pacaric yna carcan*: could be read in a grander sense as meaning 'the world was as if dawning'.

510. *alli yachacoy* 'consider carefully': might also be read 'good thought'. Taylor (1987b: 311) detects a possible calque to *evangelio*, which (via a Greek etymology) means 'good news'.

From that time forward, they definitely did refrain from going there.[511]

511. *chayaita samarcancu* might also mean "they desisted from performing the Arrival ritual" (Taylor 1987b: 313).

But that night, while Don Cristóbal was asleep in his house, Llocllay Huancupa appeared to him again in a dream.

Next we'll write about this.[512]

512. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 21

260

Although a Dream Is Not Valid,[513] We Shall Speak about That Demon's Frightful Deeds and Also about the Way in Which Don Cristóbal Defeated Him

We've already heard that Llocllay Huancupa was an evil demon and that Don Cristóbal defeated him.[514]

But Don Cristóbal said[515] the evil demon also wanted to overpower him in a dream.

And so on the night of the very next day, the demon summoned Don Cristóbal from his house by sending a man. He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa."[516] Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on.[517]

261 He got scared and approached an old lady, a Yunca woman,[518] who lived there in that same patio.

This old lady was a Yunca woman.

"Son," she said to him, "Why is it that you don't honor Llocllay Huancupa, child of Pacha Cuyuchic the Earth Shaker? It's to find out about this that he's summoned you now."[519]

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513. *mana muscoy yupai captinpas* 'Although a Dream Is Not Valid': the original reads 'although a dream is not *yupai*'. A root sense of *yupay* is 'account'. Derivatives include 'to give account of something received, or to enumerate, to evaluate, to esteem, or to assign a price'; "*yupay* honor or esteem" and "*mana yupay* what is null or invalid or worthless or commanding no price" are further derivatives (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 371–372).

Why does the writer of the title feel a need to disclaim the value or validity of dreams? Mannheim (1987: 137) points out that the Third Council of Lima, laying down the doctrine that Avila enforced, had explicitly attacked the idea that dreams are *yupai*. Mannheim translates the council's strictures from Quechua:

> Don't be keeping [*Ama . . .yupaychanquichicchu*]
> dreams
> "I dreamt this or that,
> why did I dream it?"
> Don't ask:
> dreams are just worthless and
> not to be kept [*mana yupaychaypacchu*].

"Extirpators" energetically attacked belief in dreams and dream interpreters (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 35; Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 192, [1622] 1923: 25–49).

514. End of an introductory passage with witness validation.

515. 'Don Cristóbal said' supplied to indicated reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 272. Don Cristóbal may be taken as the speaker because in section 248 he is named as the source.

516. *manas paiman rine nircancho* 'He didn't tell him, "I'm going to Llocllay Huancupa" ': Llocllay's name supplied as referent of *pai*. Taylor (1987b: 315) reads this differently: "He didn't say to him if he meant to go or not." The discrepancy arises from two points: first, whether one takes the messenger or Don Cristóbal to be the speaker; Taylor seems to accept the latter. Second, whether one understands the quotation to begin before or after *paiman* 'to him'; Taylor accepts the latter.

517. *ña huasinman yaicusparacsi musyacorcan* 'Only when they were about to enter his house did Don Cristóbal catch on': Don Cristóbal, supplied subject. Taylor (1987b: 315) has: "At the moment when he was about to enter his house, [Don Cristóbal] had a presentiment [of something unlucky]." This reading is justified with an explication of *musyay* suggesting it means 'enter into a trance', with connotations of precognition. Our translation is influenced by another usage of *musyasca* to mean 'in the know, aware'.

518. *huc yunga huarmi chacuas* 'an old lady, a Yunca woman': *chacuas* is a modern Quechua I word meaning 'old lady'. The alternative translation would be to take this as her personal name.

519. Presumably the old lady's speech is a reply to Don Cristóbal's invective against Llocllay on the previous day.

262 When she said that, he replied, "Ma'am, he's an evil demon. Why should I honor him?"

Don Cristóbal was gripping a silver coin of four *reales*[520] in his hand.

He dropped it[521] on the ground.

While he was searching for it, Francisco Trompetero called him from outside: "Hey, what're you doing in there?[522] Your father's really angry! He's calling you and he says, 'He'd better come in a hurry!' "

263 As soon as he said this, Cristóbal replied, "Wait a moment, brother, I'm coming right away" and rummaged for his silver coin in frantic haste.

At the moment when he found it, when he was about to leave, the demon, just as he'd scared Cristóbal before with a silvery flash[523] against his face, flashed out once again from inside the place where the cross was put.

264 Realizing that he couldn't save himself now, Cristóbal suddenly got frightened. Someone called him from inside the room, saying, "It's our father[524] who calls you!"

Saying, "All right," but deeply angry in his heart, he went inside. On entering he sat down close by the door.

265 Right then, Astu Huaman was offering drinks and feeding the *huaca*, saying,

> "Father Llocllay Huancupa, you are Pacha Cuyuchic's child,
> It is you who gave force and form to people."

As he spoke he fed him with deep veneration.

The demon, unable to speak, repeated "Hu, hu"[525] over and over again.

And when Astu Huaman offered him some coca, the demon made it crackle "Chac, chac" just as a coca-chewer does.

266 While he was doing that, a long time, Don Cristóbal saw from inside the house something that looked like a painting encircling it completely in two patterned bands. It looked as a Roman-style mural painting might if it went on two levels.[526]

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520. A four-*real* coin is half a *peso de ocho*, very commonly circulated c. 1600. The coin Don Cristóbal held was almost certainly of a design showing the quartered arms of Castile and León on one side and the arms of the Hapsburgs (probably the version obtaining during the reigns of Felipe II [1556–1598] or Felipe III [1598–1621]) on the other. The arms of Castile and León are contained within the upper left quadrant of the Hapsburg arms. The quartered space—reminiscent of Peruvian ideas of the Inca world as a 'fourfold domain'—may have figured in Don Cristóbal's dream thinking (Dasi 1950: 60, 66; Grünthal and Sellschopp 1978: 49, 60; Rodríguez Lorente 1965: 129, 153).

521. *ormachircan* 'he dropped it': ambiguous as to whether he dropped it by accident or let it fall on purpose, but the former seems more plausible since he at once tries to recover it.

522. Francisco Trompetero's surname or nickname means 'trumpeter' in Spanish and suggests a military or church musician. His question sounds rhetorical; he would have known very well why an Andean person carries a coin when visiting a *huaca*: "In some places silver is offered up in the form of *reales*. In Libia Cancharco fifteen silver *duros* [i.e., whole pesos] were found, together with some small pieces of ordinary silver. In the town of Recuay Dr. Ramírez found two hundred *duros* in a *huaca*. They generally hammer the coins or chew them in such a way that you can hardly see the royal arms. Coins are also found around *huacas*, looking as if stained with blood or *chicha* [i.e., maize beer]. On other occasions, the priests of the *huacas* keep the silver that is collected as offerings to be spent for their festivals" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 43; Keating's translation).

523. *collqui ñiscanchichuan* 'with a silvery flash': Taylor (1987b: 317–318) thinks the silvery object might be a silver disk hung in Llocllay Huancupa's shrine and thinks it unlikely to be the silver coin just mentioned, which he considers "a superfluous detail." In dream imagery however, the two might be conflated.

524. *yayanchic* 'our father': inclusive first person plural, conveying the speaker's assumption that the 'father' in question is also the father of the person he addresses, namely Cristóbal.

525. *chaysi chay supaica mana rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan*: if one takes *hu hu ñicacharcan* to derive from *huñiy* 'to agree' then the sense is that Llocllay here expresses his approval of the offering. But, since Llocllay appears an inarticulate *huaca*, it seems likelier that *hu hu* represents his inarticulate speech. Or perhaps *hu hu* represents an owl's cry, since Llocllay took an owl's form in chapter 20 (sec. 256).

526. *don christobalca chay huasin hucomanta tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai patarapi rinman chay hynacta*: more literally, 'Don Cristóbal saw from inside that house all on two places [levels, bands, or sides] something like a surrounding [rotating?] painted [object? pattern?], the way a Roman painted [object? pattern?] would go on two bands, like that'.

Translators differ in their efforts to visualize this difficult passage.

The wide divergences all turn on the meaning of the Spanish word *rromano*. Trimborn (1939: 114) and Urioste

On one band of the painting was a tiny demon, very black, his eyes just like silver,[527] who gripped in his hand a wooden stick with a hook. On top of him was a llama head. Above that was again the little demon and above that again the llama head.

In this way it encircled the whole house in a twofold pattern.

267 It really scared Don Cristóbal that he kept seeing all these things, and he tried to recall just what he'd meant to say.

Meanwhile, since the demon had finished eating, Astu Huaman made the fire blaze up again to burn all the things he'd offered.

268 After this was done, and when everything was quiet, Don Cristóbal began to speak:[528]

"Listen, Llocllay Huancupa! They address you[529] as the animator of humanity and as the World Shaker. People say 'He is the very one who makes everything!' and all mankind fears you. So why have you summoned me now?[530] For my part, I say,

'Is not Jesus Christ the son of God?[531]
Shall I not revere this one, the true God?
Shall I not revere his word forever?'[532]

This is what I say.

269 "Or am I mistaken? Then tell me now! Say,

'He is not the true God;
I am the maker of everything!'

so that from that moment on I may worship you."

So Cristóbal spoke, but the demon stayed mute. He didn't say anything at all.

270 At that moment Don Cristóbal defied him, crying good and loud:

"Look!
Are you not a demon?
Could you defeat my Lord Jesus Christ,
In whom I believe?

Look!
This house of yours!
Yes, you dwell surrounded by demons[533]—
Should I believe in you?"

271 At that moment somebody threw what we call[534] a *llaullaya*[535] at him.

Regarding this thing, Don Cristóbal didn't know whether that demon threw it or whether it was from God's side. For, defending himself with the *llaullaya* alone, he fled from that house all the way to the corner of the count's house,[536] always moving sideways and protecting himself with it.

Then he woke up.

(1983: 169) rendered it as concerning a Roman painting, and Taylor earlier accepted a related gloss, seeing it as a retable or mural in the style of a Roman church, but folded double (*yscay patarapi*). Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 123) judged that *rromano* refers to a scale called *romana*, that is, a steelyard scale, which could be said to 'move on two levels', and Taylor later (1987b: 319) accepted this view (see Hartmann and Holm 1985). Teresa Gisbert, the leading specialist in Andean visual arts for this period, endorses 'Roman-style painting' (personal communication). Ferrell (n.d.) considers relevant to a "banded" appearance the 1737 *Diccionario de autoridades* gloss of *romano* as 'a gray and black striped cat' (1976: 3:635).

527. Taylor (1987b: 321) has *monedas de plata* 'silver coins', which apparently echoes the coin theme starting in section 262.

528. Cristóbal now answers Llocllay's summons in section 261 by explaining why he does not respect him.

529. *ñispa ñisonqui* 'they address you': subject unspecified. The implied subject could be people in general, or Llocllay's priest Astu Huaman.

530. The point apparently being, if Llocllay really has these powers and privileges, why should Don Cristóbal's irreverence bother him?

531. Contrasting Jesus' claim to being the son of *dios* with Llocllay's claim of being the son of Pacha Camac.

532. These sentences repeat the suffix sequence *-tac-cha*, which in turn derives from two others that bespeak, respectively, forceful contrast (*-tac*) and a conjectural tone (*-cha*); the overall import is something like, but not quite like, a rhetorical question (Urioste 1973: 40–42, 51).

533. *supaipac yntupayascanmi ari tianqui* 'you dwell surrounded by demons': refers to the apparition of the checkered frieze or mural all around Llocllay's dwelling, covered with images Don Cristóbal thought demonic (sec. 266).

534. *ñiycum* 'what we call': exclusive first person plural form, implying that 'we' tellers, as opposed to the person addressed, call the object *llaullaya*. The source senses a cultural or linguistic difference between himself and the addressee.

535. Untranslated; may be an agricultural implement or a garment.

536. *condep huasincama* 'all the way to . . . the count's house': *conde* could mean a person from the *Kunti* quarter of the empire (*Kuntisuyu* in Inca terms), or a person called count (*conde*) in Spanish.

272 From that exact time on, right up to the present, he defeated various *huaca*s in his dreams the same way. Any number of times he defeated both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca, telling the people all about it over and over again, saying, "They're demons!"

This is all we know about this evil demon's existence and about Don Cristóbal's victory.[537]

273 On this matter: it's said that[538] in performing Llocllay's Arrival festival in the old days, the people who celebrated used to dance first until sundown.[539]

Toward dusk, the *huaca*'s priest would say, "Now our father is drunk; Let him dance!" And he would perform a dance "as if in his stead," as they used to say.

Saying, "It's our father who invites you!" he'd bring maize beer in one small wooden beaker, and put another one inside the shrine in a pot, saying, "It's he who drinks this."[540]

274 Regarding this drinking: the priest, we know,[541] would offer drinks starting from the elders, all the way down to the end of the assembly.[542]

<A **marginal addition** in Quechua begins here:>

When they finished the round of drinking, they say,[543] the priest[544] would bring the gourd from which the demon had drunk outside, to where the guests were, so they could worship that gourd.

<**Marginal addition** ends.>

The following day he'd have them carry the leftovers and edible remains to Sucya Villca.

275 In the old days, the people who'd come to celebrate Llocllay Huancupa's Arrival reportedly[545] brought the food to Sucya Villca himself.

However, we know that[546] later on,[547] after finishing Llocllay Huancupa's feeding, people also fed Sucya Villca right at that spot.

In what follows, we'll write about these food offerings to Sucya Villca, and why they fed him, and also about who Pacha Camac was.

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537. This sentence has witness validation.

538. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 273.

539. *hura pachacama* 'until sundown': see chapter 8 (sec. 103), where the same locution occurs. Other possible readings are 'at the lowlands' and 'Pacha Camac'. The latter is problematic; if Pacha Camac were intended, one would expect final *c* and a locative suffix.

540. This is a description of drinking with paired vessels, one for the deity and one for the worshiper, a gesture of religious reciprocity pictured by Felipe Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:80).

541. 'We know' supplied to indicate that this passage, to the end of the chapter, has witness validation. The marginal note has reportive *-si*.

542. 'Of the assembly' supplied.

543. 'They say' supplied to indicate that the marginal note has reportive validation.

544. 'The priest' supplied.

545. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

546. 'We know that' supplied to indicate that this sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

547. Possibly meaning after the Spanish conquest.

CHAPTER 22

276

We don't in fact[548] know much about the Incas' great reverence for Pacha Camac.[549]

But we do know a few things. In the highlands, they say,[550] the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"

From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying,

"It is he who made us Inca!"[551]

277 The Incas worshiped these two *huaca*s most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages.

The llamas of Pacha Camac sent from the Checa people stayed at Sucya Villca.[552]

278 Here's how we interpret this.

The Inca probably thought, "The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac.[553] It looks like there is no village

548. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates through the end of section 279. Some of the exceptions are conjectural *-cha* validations, translated with 'probably', 'it looks like', 'possibly', and 'no doubt'. It appears as though the source of these comments is giving his/her own understanding of Inca thought rather than relaying an informant's.

549. *yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascantaca manam allicho yachanchic*: Taylor (1987b: 329) has: "We do not know very well whether the Incas held Pachacamac in high esteem." But this seems the less likely of two possible readings, since the next few sections show that the speaker clearly knows the Incas did esteem him highly; in fact that is the point the chapter seeks to explain.

550. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence; however, the next sentence, which complements it, has witness validation.

551. *hanac ticsipi muchanantas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca ñispatac mucharcancu* 'In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, "It is he who made us Inca!" ': this passage opposes Titi Caca to Pacha Camac as respectively the world's 'upper' and 'lower foundations' (*hanac/hura ticsi*). While its specific sense is uncertain, it appears to report an imperial vision of place-shrines on the highest scale, namely, place-shrines categorizing the whole world as one place. The ritual duality expresses the wholeness of the world in the image of centrifugal imperial expansion: from the world's highland center to its maritime edge.

552. Sucya Villca was a lake; see chapter 21 (secs. 274, 275) and chapter 22 (secs. 281–282, 284). From chapter 21 (sec. 275) we see that in the teller's mind Sucya Villca and Pacha Camac are closely linked. María Rostworowski (1978: 43) says Sucya Villca was a plateau above San Bartolomé, 40 km northwest of Huarochirí, and that Sucya Cancha was there, too.

The complex of Sucya Villca and Sucya Cancha figures in the manuscript as the *coca* place par excellence. In chapter 8 (sec. 109), Sucya Cancha is a place of coca fields; in chapter 9 (sec. 124), it is the place where people went to 'trade' (*rantiy*) coca.

553. *cay ñiscanchic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñiscancunallapich pacha puchocan* 'The world ends somewhere in the waters of Ura Cocha that are below Titi Caca, and somewhere past the place they call Pacha Camac': a difficult passage. The teller perhaps thinks the Inca is reconciling two images of the edge of the

beyond these points, possibly nothing at all."[554]

279 It was no doubt with such thoughts in mind that the Incas worshiped these two *huaca*s more than the other *huaca*s, and even placed the sun next to the lowland *huaca* Pacha Camac.

The place where they set it is called Punchau Cancha,[555] the Sun Court, to this very day.

280 Reportedly they gave Pacha Camac each year[556] what's called a Capac Hucha,[557] namely, human beings[558] both female and male, from Tauantin Suyo, the four quarters of the world.

Arriving at Pacha Camac, and saying to Pacha,[559] "Here they are. We offer them to you, father!" they'd bury the Capac Hucha alive, along with gold and silver. And according to the cycles of the full and waning moon, they fed him llamas and served him drinks without pause.

281 At any time when it failed to rain in the Checa villages, the Yunca, giving their yearly offering of gold and silver according to the Inca's orders, would send it to Sucya Villca <crossed out:> [mountain] with their maize beer and *ticti*.[560]

They reportedly[561] offered all this to Sucya Villca, saying,

"Father, it is Pacha Camac who sends us here.
And you are the one who rains on the land.

When no water flows from this lake,
We humans suffer from drought.

Therefore send down rain!
This is what we have come for."[562]

282 In such years, the Yunca, too, used to bury the silver and gold that they brought next to Sucya Villca lake.

Sucya Villca's retainers were from the Yasapa *ayllu* and his llama herder from the Allauca.

(Later on, when the Spaniards were already here, a certain Yasapa man called Payco Casa saw them bury some gold and silver there.)

283 And likewise the Inca would have offerings of his gold and silver given according to his *quipu* account, to all the *huaca*s, to the well-known *huaca*s, to all the *huaca*s. He used to have them give gold *auqui*s and silver *auqui*s (when we say *choqui* we mean gold), and also gold *urpu*s and silver *urpu*s, and gold *tipsi*s and silver *tipsi*s; all this exactly according to *quipu* counts.[563]

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world: the one associated with their origin myth, in which the ocean is imagined as the deep reservoir from which Titi Caca's high-lying waters are lifted, and a coastal one, which identifies the ocean with the great seaside *huaca* Pacha Camac. The attempt to collate southern highland (especially Inca) understandings of Pacha Camac with more local west Andean ones appears analogous to the attempt to coordinate Cuni Raya of the coastal peoples with Vira Cocha of the highlanders. The phrase 'the place *they* call Pacha Camac' may be a clue; Rostworowski (1977: 198) notes that local usage called the place and its polity Ychma and only the *huaca* proper Pacha Camac.

554. The section has a marked predominance of dubitative validators, imparting a speculative tone.

555. The allusion is probably to the huge Inca temple still visible at Pachacámac.

556. In most other sources about *capac hucha*, the rite is described not as annual but as a crisis rite called on such occasions as plague, royal succession, or defeat (Duviols 1976). 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 280.

557. Capac Hucha 'opulent prestation': an all-empire sacrificial and redistributive cycle, in which offerings from all the empire's peoples were collected at Cuzco and then redistributed outward to all the empire's shrines and borders. It heavily emphasized burial of human sacrifices, which became new Inca-sponsored shrines (Duviols 1976; Zuidema 1973).

558. Hernández Príncipe tells us that they were spotless children ([1622] 1923: 60), and Betanzos ([1551] 1987: 142) that they were "married" and buried in pairs together.

559. *pachaman* 'to Pacha': alternative translations, none certain, are 'to the earth', 'to the world', or 'to Pacha' (i.e., the first part of the *huaca*'s name).

560. The validation of this sentence is unclear, both *-mi* and *-si* being present.

561. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 282.

562. These six utterances are not in semantic couplets, but their briefness and tight logical linkage gives them the aspect of an oral set-piece.

563. *choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc urpo collc horpo choc tipsi collc tipsi ñiscacunactas cochic carcan quipollamanta*: if one were to reproduce the truncated words as such, it would read: 'gol *auqui* and silver *auqui* (in saying *choqui* we mean gold) and things called gol *urpo* and silv *horpo*, gol *tipsi* and silv *tipsi*, are what they used to have given just according to the *quipu*'.

Choque is the word for gold in the Aymara-related languages; that it needs to be explained suggests a discrepancy of dialect or local culture between the teller and one or more of his audiences: scribe, translator (if there was one), compiler, or expected reader. The reason for

Of these major *huacas*, not a single one went unattended.

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truncation is unknown.

Auqui may be "*auquicuna* the nobles, the *hidalgos*, lords" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 38), meaning Inca princes. Ferrell (n.d.: 5–6) offers "gold miners and silver miners," using a gloss of *auqui* from Perroud and Chouvenc's dictionary (1970?: 14).

Urpo might be 'beer vessel' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 357).

Tipsi remains unknown. Ferrell (n.d.: 7–8) interprets it as meaning *chaquira*, that is, 'small beads', because of likeness to a Junín-Huanca Quechua I term meaning a pinch or nip of something (Cerrón-Palomino 1976a: 133).

The list clearly forms a sixfold (two-sided, three-leveled) ranking of something. Of what? Despite the syntactical fact that *ñiscacunacta* suggests the six items are the things given (*-cta* is a direct object marker), the next sentence strongly suggests the point of the list is to tell the brackets of *huacas* to whom the *quipu* dictated they be given.

Zuidema (personal communication) thinks it is a classification of shrines and their respective priesthoods, citing Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:253). Guaman Poma explains that the Inca state subsidized three levels of *huaca* priests (with Paria Caca being served by the highest). The gold/silver opposition may express moiety or gender

284 Following the same criterion, the Inca, when arriving[564] at the shrine of Llocllay Huancupa, would have them feed Sucya Villca the following morning; for there was fear of his father.[565]

This much we know about Pacha Camac, the World Maker.[566]

Regarding Pacha Cuyuchic, the World Shaker, this is what people said:[567]

"When he gets angry, earth trembles.
When he turns his face sideways it quakes.

Lest that happen he holds his face still.
The world would end if he ever rolled over."

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dualism.

A *quipu* is a set of cords knotted to make an abacus-like mnemonic record (Ascher and Ascher 1981).

564. *chayaspapas* 'when arriving': or perhaps 'celebrating the Arrival festival' (see chap. 20, sec. 240).

565. *yayanpa manchascan captin*: that is, fear of Llocllay's father, Pacha Camac. But it might also mean 'for he [Llocllay Huancupa] was feared by his [Inca's] father'; that is, that the Incas accepted his cult as a hereditary obligation.

566. This sentence has witness validation.

567. Narrative returns to reportive validation and chapter ends without closing comment.

CHAPTER 23

We Shall Write Here about the Inca's Summons to All the *Huacas*. We Shall Also Speak Here of Maca Uisa's Victory

285 When Tupay Ynga Yupanqui was king, they say,[568] he first conquered all the provinces and then happily rested for many years.

But then enemy rebellions arose from some provinces:[569] those called Alancu Marca, Calanco Marca,[570] and Chaque Marca.

These peoples didn't want to be peoples of the Inca.

286 The Inca[571] mobilized many thousands of men and battled them for a period of about twelve years.

They exterminated all the people he sent, and so the Inca, grieving deeply, said, "What'll become of us?" He became very downhearted.

287 One day he thought to himself, "Why do I serve all these *huacas* with my gold and my silver, with my clothing and my food, with everything I have? Enough! I'll call them to help me against my enemies."

He summoned them: "From every single village, let all those who have received gold and silver come here!"

288 The *huacas* responded, "Yes!" and went to him. Even Pacha Camac went, riding in a litter, and so did the local *huacas* from the whole of Tauantin Suyo all in their own litters.

When all the village *huacas* had arrived at Aucay Pata,[572] Paria Caca hadn't yet arrived. He was still grumbling, "Should I go or not?"

Finally Paria Caca sent his child Maca Uisa, saying, "Go and find out about it."

289 Maca Uisa arrived and sat at the end of the gathering on his litter called *chicsi rampa*.[573]

Then the Inca began to speak: "Fathers, *huacas* and *villcas*, you already know how wholeheartedly I serve you with my gold and my silver. Since I do so, being at your service as I am, won't you come to my aid now that I'm losing so many thousands of my people? It's for this reason that I've had you called together."[574]

But after he said this not a single one spoke up. Instead they sat there mute.

290 The Inca then said, "Yao! Speak up! Shall the people you've made and fostered perish in this way, savaging one another? If you refuse to help me, I'll have all of you burned immediately!

291 "Why should I serve you and adorn you with my

568. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter lacks the usual introductory passage and starts in reportive *-si* validation. Since the previous chapter lacks concluding comments, this may be the direct continuation of an informant's narrative.

569. *llactacunamanta*: *llacta*, usually translated 'village', can carry such expanded meanings as 'province', 'country'.

570. The lower-valley village seen as the outer limit of Tutay Quiri's conquests. See chapter 9 (sec. 138) and chapter 12 (secs. 170–171).

571. 'The Inca' supplied. The unspecified third person subject might also be the rebel peoples.

572. A plaza in the heart of Incaic Cuzco.

573. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:313) shows a "second person" or alter ego of the Inca riding in his *chicchi ranpa* or 'gray litter'. The suggestion in section 289 seems to be that the litter embodies Paria Caca's authority and Maca Uisa is his "second person." The teller of this chapter knew the Inca usage; see section 294.

574. This passage and Inca speeches in the following sections appear to afford examples of the teller's idea of how Inca political rhetoric sounded, alternately exalted and brutally threatening.

gold, with my silver, with basketfuls of my food and drinks, with my llamas and everything else I have? Now that you've heard the greatness of my grief, won't you come to my aid? If you do refuse, you'll burn immediately!"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [from the hand and pen of Thomás][575]

292 Then Pacha Camac spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! As for me, I didn't reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn't be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world would end with you. That's why I've sat silent."

293 As the other *huaca*s sat mute, Maca Uisa then spoke up: "Inca, Mid-Day Sun! I'll go there. You must remain right here, instructing[576] your people and making plans. I'll go and subdue them for you, right away, once and for all!"

While Maca Uisa spoke, a bright greenish-blue color blew from his mouth like smoke.

294 At that very moment he put on[577] his golden panpipe (his flute was likewise of gold) and he wrapped the *chumprucu*[578] around his head. His *pusuca*[579] was of gold, too, and as for his tunic, it was black.

For Maca Uisa's journey the Inca gave him a litter, called the *chicsi rampa*,[580] made for the travels of an Inca in person.

The people called Calla Uaya[581] were chosen by the Inca because they were all very strong.

These people could carry him, in a few days, a journey of many days.

They were the ones who carried Maca Uisa and bore his litter to the battlefront.

295 As soon as they brought him up a hill, Maca Uisa, child of Paria Caca, began to rain upon them, gently at first.

The natives of that country said, "What could this mean?" and began to ready themselves.

296 When they did so, Maca Uisa reduced all those villages to eroded chasms by flashing lightning and pouring down more rain, and washing them away in a mudslide. Striking with lightning bolts, he exterminated the great *curaca*s and all the other strongmen. Only a few of the common people[582] were spared. If he had wanted to, he could have exterminated them all. When he had overpowered them completely, he drove some of the people back to Cuzco.

297 From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more, and gave him fifty of his retainers.

The Inca said, "Father Maca Uisa, what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint."

"I don't want anything," Maca Uisa replied, "except that you should serve as *huacsa* the way our children[583] from the Yauyo do."

298 The Inca was deeply afraid when he said this,

575. The identity of the scribe(?) Thomás is not known.

576. *carpacuspa* 'instructing': Szemiński (personal communication) suggests that the modern verb *karpay* 'to instruct, to train in mysticism' (Lira [1941] n.d.: 103), although not attested in colonial dictionaries, is a more plausible gloss than one based on *carpani*, that is, 'making your tent'(González Holguín [1608] 1952: 50).

577. *antaricorcan* 'he put on': the verb is not attested in any relevant sense in Quechua dictionaries. Urioste (1983: 183) draws on likeness to *anta* 'copper' to translate as 'he forged'. Arguedas and Duviols (1966: 133) have 'he raised'. Taylor (1980: 157) has 'he played' and (1987b) 'he carried'. We draw on the possibility of an Aru borrowing related to Aymara *hanttacutha* 'to put on' (e.g., a frontlet; Bertonio [1612] 1956: 119).

578. *chumprucu*, probably 'turban'. See chapter 20 (sec. 240).

579. *pusucanri*: untranslated. Possibly related to Aymara *phuscanca* 'thigh or rump' (Bertonio [1612] 1956: 281), suggesting a lower-body garment, or to *phuska* (modern Quechua) 'spindle with whorl'.

580. Like the *chicsi rampa* litter already mentioned (sec. 289), which Paria Caca presumably assigned to Maca Uisa.

581. Guaman Poma ([1615] 1980: 1:305) also pictures the *calla uaya* (Kallawaya) as the Inca's fleet-footed litter-bearers. Today a people of this name is still known for wide travels and enjoys special prestige for healing abilities (Bastien 1987; Girault 1984; Saignes 1983). But Callauaya was also the name of an agricultural satellite village of Huarochirí in 1594, according to a petition preserved in the Archbishopric of Lima (Papeles Importantes 3). Whether the two names are related is unknown. See note 604.

582. *atun runacunallas*: *atun runa* 'common people' is more literally 'big man' (or 'person'). This was the Inca bureaucratic term for an able-bodied tribute-paying adult.

583. *ñocaycup churijcuna* 'our children': exclusive first person plural (i.e., children of Maca Uisa and his kin, and not of the Inca). The plural form may express Maca Uisa's self-concept as part of the plural Paria Caca persona.

and answered, "Very well then, father!" He was willing to offer Maca Uisa anything at all, for he thought to himself, "He could destroy me, too!"

299 The Inca then said, "Father, eat!" and had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand:

"I am not in the habit of eating stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells!"

As soon as the Inca gave him thorny oyster shells, Maca Uisa ate them all at once, making them crunch with a "Cap cap" sound.

300 Since Maca Uisa didn't want anything else to eat, the Inca ordered some of his Inca ladies of the nobility assigned to him; but he didn't agree to that either.

So Maca Uisa went back home to inform his father Paria Caca.

From then on, and for a long time afterward, the Inca acted as *huacsa* in Xauxa and danced ceremonially, holding Maca Uisa in great honor.

301 They gathered in Cuzco at Aucay Pata square as we mentioned, the *huaca*s, all of them.[584]

Among these *huaca*s seated there, as we said before,[585] it was Siua Caña Villca Coto who was the most beautiful of all. None of the other *huaca*s could match this one in beauty.

This much we know about them.[586]

584. This sentence appears to have witness validation, but a slight lack of clarity in sentence boundaries makes it difficult to evaluate.

585. Not in fact mentioned before under the name Siua Caña. This allusion may mean that the lovely *huaca* embodying Villca Coto, the mountain that saved humanity (chap. 3), was represented in the Inca pantheon under a personal name Siua Caña.

586. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 24

Next We Shall Write about the Customs of the Checa, the Machua Yunca Festival and Its Dances, and, Finally, about the Origin of the People

302

When we talked in a different chapter about the children of Paria Caca, we already said a few things about their birth.

The story of their birth and their origin is like this.

Some people say[587] that there was a wild *quinua*[588] plant in the vicinity of Upper Paria Caca—the same one that's called *quinua* until today—and that humans emerged from its fruit there.

303 Other people say that blood once fell from the high heavens.[589]

It hit the ground at the spot called Vichi Cancha, in the area of that same *quinua*.

304 There the founders[590] established their villages:

Coña Sancha, founder of the Allauca,
Yuri Naya, founder of the Sat Pasca,
Chupa Yacu, founder of the Sulc Pahca,

587. Up to this point, including the verb *rimancu* 'say', the passage has witness validation, but it now shifts to *-si* reportive.

588. *quinua*: *Chenopodium quinoa*. "The nutritious seeds of this plant furnish a staple food for a large segment of the native population of Peru, replacing maize in the higher altitudes of the Andes. The red, white, or black seeds are used whole to thicken soup, to make chicha, or to be ground into flour. The ashes of the stalks may be combined with the leaves of coca, a combination that is said to increase the flavor of the latter" (Towle 1961: 36).

589. Chapter 24 owes its complexity to an antiphonal structure. It intertwines two strains of mythology (Yunca and Yauyo) and details a ritual regimen expressing the two groups' coexistence. Section 302 alludes to the origin myth of ancient Yunca *ayllu*-founders seen as the aboriginal precursors of Checa society. In ancient times, when the heights were all under Yunca power, these were born of the high-altitude *quinua* plant. Section 303 alludes to the origin of the blood-born invader groups who would impose themselves by conquest and inmarriage. In the rest of chapter 24 we learn that the blood-born groups from Vichi Cancha, who invaded Checa lands and defined the genealogy of Paria Caca so as to exalt their own mummified heroes (especially Tutay Quiri; chap. 12, sec. 167), nonetheless retained the mummies of the ancient *quinua*-born Yunca founders (sec. 341; chap. 9, sec. 115) and were concerned to claim linkage with them as a sign of legitimacy. Yunca privileges appear to be a continuing source of anxiety for Tutay Quiri's descendants and Paria Caca is made to chasten the haughty Yunca *ayllu* of Caca Sica for slighting their Yauyo in-laws (secs. 305–314). The invader groups putatively descended from Tutay Quiri claimed to have taken over and preserved the Yunca founders' names, rights, and *huaca*s wholesale (sec. 316). *Quinua*-born *ayllu*s like Caca Sica, which were permanently considered Yunca (perhaps because they contained Yunca people or perhaps only because they had obtained the old Yunca titles), enjoyed priestly privileges and danced the role of Yuncas in the Machua Yunca rites (secs. 327–340) as well as taking prominent part in Paria Caca's ceremonies; other rites (secs. 316–326) celebrated the invader-heroes. The unifying theme of this chapter is the ritual arrangement that in Checa joined the Yunca inheritance, symbolizing legitimacy, to the power-oriented ritual of blood-born *huaca*s affiliated (perhaps only after the remembered invasions) with Paria Caca.

590. 'The founders' supplied; subject of *llactachacorcan* 'they founded' unspecified. An important fragmentary note by Avila, accidentally included in his trial record and interpreted by Taylor (1987b: 353), clearly identifies three of these (Chupa Yacu, Yuri Naya, and Chauca Chimpita) as founding heroes of San Damián–area *ayllu*s. They were described as "grandfathers" ceremonially fêted and clothed, that is, mummies. They were still extant c. 1608.

Paco Masa, founder of the Yasapa,
Chauca Chimpita, founder of the Muxica,
and, as founders of Caca Sica, those Yunca[591] we have called Huar Cancha and Llichic Cancha.

All these, the actual founders of the village, were Yunca people.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [Huari Cancha Llichic Cancha were Yunca.]

305 The others, the Morales of Caca Sica and also the forefathers of the Cancha Paycu, were Yauyo.[592]
<**margin**:> [Morales Yauyo]
Their place of origin is called Maurura,[593] in the Aya Uire[594] area.
These people, who used to roam around as wild[595] nomads, married the sisters of Huar Cancha. "We and our in-laws will work things out among ourselves within the community," they said, and they settled down in this village.

306 When these people went to worship Paria Caca, their in-laws and all the Checa insulted them, calling them "Yauyo wildmen," so they used to go last, lagging way behind.
Since they suffered miserably when these people insulted them like that, they tagged along in the rear for a great many years.
"Father," they told Paria Caca on one occasion, "here's how it is: these people,[596] they and the Checa, insult us all the time. And we're your own creatures, even if we're Yauyo people!" They cried bitterly as they told this.

307 Then and there Paria Caca gave his command:
"Children, don't grieve. Take with you this, my golden headdress. You must dance holding it up in Llacsa Tambo, at the place called Poco Caya. Then they'll say, awestruck, 'What people are these? They're the beloved of Paria Caca!' From that time on they won't insult you so."

308 And so when the Yauyos arrived in the rear of the Checa, carrying that golden headdress of Paria Caca's, jubilant, the other people were seized with fear.
The next day, the Yauyos danced and sang holding up the golden headdress while everybody in that place stood awestruck.

309 Some others say this:[597] in the old days, people used to go to consult Paria Caca at night, taking along llamas or other things.
They used to go taking turns, *ayllu* by *ayllu*.
Even though at that time they deeply scorned the ones called "wild Yauyos," they said, "Let them carry offerings,[598] too."
The Yauyos did take them but they arrived at Paria Caca when the sun was already rising.

310 Because they were grieving bitterly, Paria Caca said, "Why are you so distressed, O Anta Capsi?" (Their old name had been Pacuyri.)
Then and there Paria Caca bestowed on them his gift, saying, "Take along this golden headdress. When people see it they'll no longer scorn you."

311 On one occasion they went to worship Paria Caca, carrying along the golden headdress.
But while they were crossing the river called Pari Ayri they dropped it.
They searched for it like anything, all the way upstream and downstream. But it didn't turn up, so they went to Paria Caca without it.

312 When they arrived on the morrow, the golden headdress stood there right at Paria Caca's side.
Although they begged for it in tears, he refused. Rebuking them harshly, Paria Caca said, "You didn't win it in victorious warfare, that you should go around showing it off everywhere so boastfully, and even bringing it here, thinking, 'We'll show it to the one who gives us power, to our maker.' "

591. Original has *yañcacuna*; since these groups are elsewhere said to be *yancas* (chap. 17, sec. 218), the translation '*yanca*' would be tenable here. But the next marginal note indicates the meaning here as Yunca.

592. The point being that the Caca Sica *ayllu* (chap. 9, sec. 118; chap. 17, sec. 216), although of ancient Yunca origin, had within it a Yauyo group called Morales. Recently in-married and of foreign stock, they were scorned, as succeeding sections tell.

593. Maurura may be Malleuran, a hamlet north of Ayaviri, 3,346 m above sea level in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

594. A modern town called Ayaviri is 29 km south-southeast of Huarochiri in Yauyos Province (IGM 1970–1971).

595. As in the name of Quita Pariasca (chap. 18, sec. 221), the word *quita* 'wild' alludes to the qualities of untamed or skittish animals.

596. Meaning: the Yauyos' immediate in-laws?

597. Witness validation up to the colon, then *-si* reportive.

598. 'Offerings' supplied.

313 "Father, are we to be humiliated so?" they cried bitterly. "Please, return it to us or give us something else instead."

"Children," replied Paria Caca, "go back. I'll give you something during my sister Chaupi Ñamca's festival. Wait until then."

And so back they went.

314 And as he'd foretold, on Chaupi Ñamca's festival, in the courtyard called Yauri Callinca, on top of the wall, a very beautifully spotted wildcat appeared.

When they saw it, they exclaimed joyfully, "This is what Paria Caca meant!" and they held up its skin as they danced and sang with it.

{Hernando Cancho Uillca, who used to live in Tumna, was in charge of it.

But by now it's probably gone all rotten.}[599]

315 We've already spoken about the origin of the people.[600]

Those whom we mentioned are said to be Tutay Quiri's children; the others are known to have come forth from the fruit of a tree.[601]

As for Tutay Quiri, they say he was born in Vichi Cancha.[602]

Later on, he came and overpowered all the villages of this area, saying, "My children will live here!"

316 As we said in another chapter, this land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children[603] had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own *ayllu*s, the fields, the houses, and the *ayllu* designations.[604] Their names, by *ayllu*, were:

Allauca
Sat Pasca
Pasa Quine
Muxica
Caca Sica
Sulc Pahca
Yasapa.[605]

When we say Yasapa we mean silversmiths. They were silversmiths.

And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllu*s.[606]

317 Then, after sharing the villages out among themselves, they received their *huaca*s, ranking them from Allauca downward:

The Allauca received Maca Calla.

The Sat Pasca, we know,[607] received Quimquilla.

This Quimquilla was considered to be[608] a *curaca* among *huaca*s, and for this reason was esteemed more than any other.

318 Next, the Sulc Pahca and the Yasapa received the *huaca* called Ricra Huanca.

The Muxica received Quira Raya.[609]

The Caca Sica received the *huaca* named Llucma Suni.

The Huanri and the Chauti were in fact[610] the actual natives of the village from early times.

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599. The first sentence of the parenthesis has witness validation and the second *-si* reportive.

600. This sentence has witness validation. A different version of how invaders took over the system created by the *quinua*-born founders begins here. This version centers on cults of mummified or preserved heroes of invasion: Tutay Quiri (see note 601), Ñan Sapa (secs. 319–323), and Chuta Cara (secs. 324–326).

601. That is, the above-mentioned Yauyos are Tutay Quiri's children, while those who scorned them were of the *quinua*-born Yunca founding *ayllu*s (sec. 302). 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which immediately gives way to witness validation ('are known to have').

602. That is, Tutay Quiri is of the blood-born (sec. 303).'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 317.

603. 'Tutay Quiri's children' supplied.

604. That is, the conquerors not only seized the wealth of the vanquished, but even organized themselves according to the pattern and terminology of preexisting autochthonous society. A lawsuit of 1594 explains that *ayllu* Callaguaya of Huarochirí (see chap. 23, sec. 294) took on this name by displacing a Yunca group of the same name (Archivo del Arzobispado de Lima, Papeles Importantes 3, f. 10r). See note 581.

605. This list of captured categories differs in order but not in content from the list associating these groups with their respective ancestral Yuncas in section 304.

606. *chaypac sutintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin ayllocunapas* 'And as they bear that group's name, likewise so do the other *ayllu*s': may mean that the other captured names, like Yasapa, imply specializations.

607. This sentence has witness validation.

608. 'Considered to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence.

609. This sentence has witness validation.

610. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following sentence.

In a different chapter we already told how they worshiped Tutay Quiri.[611]

319 So, as we've said, as soon as Tutay Quiri finished his conquests, his children came here and danced their dance of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha.[612] They danced and sang, calling the rite Masoma. The one called Ñan Sapa was a human being.[613]

Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself.[614]

But they made another one to be his proxy.

This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away.[615]

320 They say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri*[616] in his ears and bore the *canah yauri*[617] scepter in his hands.

In ancient times, these were made of pure gold.

The Inca carried off that gold.

His staff was named Engraved Rod.[618]

And the seashell named *cori cacya* came with it.

321 Saying, "He is our origin; it was he who first came to this village and took charge of it," people flayed his face[619] and made it dance as if in his own persona.

If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying, "This is our valor!"

And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, "Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I go out onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first."[620]

322 Obeying this, they'd offer food and drinks to the other *huayo*s, saying, "This day you shall dance with me on the plaza."

They actually[621] used to bring out the *huayo*s and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with their maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings.

323 About this hanging of *huayo*s, people remarked,[622] "The *huayo*s will return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha,[623] carrying these things along with them."

611. See chapter 11 (sec. 161). Though not of invader stock and not resident in Checa, these groups take part in many Checa rites (see chap. 20, sec. 239), including those of Tutay Quiri. The next four sentences have reportive validation.

612. Vichi Cancha: where blood fell and invader groups originated (sec. 303).

613. Possibly meaning that this *huaca* consisted of a human mummy, that of a key ancestor. His cult is apparently one component of the "dances of origin" by which invader lineages commemorated their ties to the mummified founders (sec. 304).

614. This may refer to the Inca custom of removing important local *huaca*s for inclusion in the Cuzco pantheon, which is the theme of chapter 23. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

615. The removal of the original *huaca* by the Inca is validated with reportive but the removal of its substitute by Avila is witness-validated ('we know').

616. *rinri* 'ear' indicates this was a specific type of earspool. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 322.

617. *yauri* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347) means 'scepter' or possibly 'lance'.

618. *quillcas caxo* 'Engraved Rod': a marginal note (supp. II, sec. 480) tells us that *caxo* meant a stick; *quillcas* means 'painted', 'inlaid', or 'engraved'. Avila himself described this object as "a copper spear engraved with various designs" that functioned as a *huaca* in its own right ([1645] 1918: 67).

619. *oyanta cochuspa* 'flayed his face': that is, made a sacred mask that would conserve the persona of the fallen or sacrificially killed hero (and not as torture of the living). *Huayo* in the next passage means, as a 1609 Jesuit report (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247) explains, a human face prepared as a mask "with its actual skin and bone." When the preserved face was displayed in a dance, it received offerings of llama fat in return for sharing its vital powers.

620. The point appears to be that when a captive faced sacrifice, he asked that, both immediately before his death and ever afterward when transformed into a face-mask, he always be duly fêted before entering into his conquerors' ceremonies.

621. 'Actually' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

622. This sentence and the next have reportive validation.

623. Uma Pacha, we learn in section 324, was apparently a *huaca* who came from Vichi Cancha, and represented the origin of a group that saw itself as derived from the blood fallen at Vichi Cancha (sec. 303). In chapter 31 (sec. 403), the invaders' union with the Yunca autochthones of Checa is cemented when the surviving Yunca boy Yasali becomes priest of Uma Pacha and serves the blood-born groups derived from Vichi Cancha.

But Uma Pacha is probably a generic category of *sacra* (from the Jaqi word *uma* 'water'), associated with high lakes and seemingly imagined as sources at which bio-

They would speak with a different pronunciation when they addressed one another, twisting their mouths to one side.[624]

During Ñan Sapa's festival, we know they carried on dancing for five days, and the Allauca did the same.[625]

324 In another place, there was said to be someone called Chuta Cara, also known as Uma Pacha.[626] <**margin**:> [Masoma Chuta Cara]

He himself had come from Vichi Cancha along with the others.

He existed as a man and congealed into stone.

He still held the sling he'd used as a human being, and his *visa*[627] was decorated with likenesses of birds.

325 And then there was the *huana paya*, a conch trumpet; when he blew it, the local *huacas*[628] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [Means 'idol'.] would divide up the llama herds.

He emerged with that very object.

It was because of the llamas that some people conserved *huana paya* conch trumpets.

We know people from Allauca used to perform these rites at the festival of Chuta Cara.[629] As llama owners, the Checa and the Concha and whatever other people also display those conch trumpets.

326 And it's known that[630] they danced these same rites for two years, just one time per year.

Therefore, since the ritual cycle lasted two years, they performed the dance only twice in all.

After that, they danced the dance named Machua for two years.[631]

327 The people who, as we said before, had Yunca names[632] were the ones who danced for two years in Machua festival season.

Braiding[633] some straw called *chupa*, as they say,[634] and tying together a lot of wooden slats,

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logical vitality is renewed. The mostly Yunca-oriented Machua rite also addresses it (sec. 335). The ethnographers Valderrama and Escalante (1988: 187–189) suggest that the shrine today called Umahala in the Colca valley belongs to the same class as ancient *oma pacha*.

624. In modern Quechua folk ritual, people performing as mythic personages often speak in unnatural ways (especially falsetto). But another reading is possible. Since Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 304) gives "*simicta qquencuchini* to twist one's words toward another matter, or not to say plainly and truthfully what one has heard," *chaysi rimacospapas huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochispa rimac carcan* might be read 'when speaking of this, they used to give a different version, distorting their testimony'. The point would then be that, prior to Avila's research, natives dissembled about the tradition of rites involving human trophies. Or, less probably, the sentence might simply mean that other people recount other versions.

625. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied).

626. The narrative now turns to a third formerly human *huaca* who led the invaders from Vichi Cancha. 'Was said to be' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

627. *visa* untranslated. 'Shield'?

628. *llactacuna* in original appears to mean 'villages' or 'settlements'. But, as the marginal note clarifies, it is used here to designate the local deities who were understood as the patrons of human settlements.

629. Could also mean the rites were performed in order from Allauca downward (sec. 317). 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the next sentence.

630. 'It's known that' supplied to indicate witness validation in this and the following three sentences, which form a passage about the calendric organization of dances.

631. The succession described appears to be an alternation of two-year cycles:

CYCLE A	year 1 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
	year 2 Second *mita* of Chuta Cara
CYCLE B	year 3 First *mita* of Machua
	year 4 Second *mita* of Machua
CYCLE A	year 5 First *mita* of Chuta Cara
	(and so forth).

632. That is, the groups that in section 316 were said to have received the names of pre-existing Yunca groups and taken over their *huacas*. The overall sense is that the Checa community, which was formed by conquest and intermarriage between blood-born invaders from Vichi Cancha and *quinua*-born Yunca aborigines, alternated between two-year periods in which it celebrated Vichi Cancha origins (e.g., in the Masoma rites honoring Ñan Sapa and Chuta Cara as just described) and two-year periods for the rites now to be described, which are rich in Yunca symbolism.

633. *pirtaspas* 'braiding': Taylor (1987b: 381) originated this reading, still conjectural but warranted by *piltay* 'to braid' in modern Tarma and Ancash Quechua.

634. 'As they say' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 328.

they'd bind[635] two effigy bundles around with the straw.

The height of these bundles was seven and a half armlengths.

Their girth was about what we could hold in a two-armed embrace. On these effigies' heads they'd put some wild straw named *casira*.[636] It has bright red roots. "It's their hair," they'd say.

328 Once they'd prepared everything, they named one of the effigy bundles Yomca and set it as a target symbolizing males.

The other, the one called Huasca, they set as a target symbolizing females.[637]

After they set them up, the men would put on their best clothing and feather ruffs called *tamta*,[638] and they'd begin to let fly at the targets.[639] Their spear was called *vihco*.[640]

329 We know that on the day before this spear-throwing everybody used to go to the *caullamas*.[641] They brought their llamas along adorned with bells and earrings, just as they did on their way to Paria Caca.

All the people would reportedly[642] go to Chaucalla and to the mountain of Tambo Sica, named Curri, each going to his respective *caullama*.[643]

As they traveled to their *caullamas*, they'd go along blowing the conch trumpet, making it resound again and again.

It was in fact[644] for this purpose that each of these people and some who just chanced on them[645] would carry and display these conch shells.

330

<**margin**:> [*chuta*]

As soon as they'd erected the two *chutas* they began to throw the spears.

They say that[646] while the people threw spears, while they entered into competition hurling spears *ayllu* by *ayllu*, the women would dance without drums and chant these words:

"Receive your poor forlorn children!"

And to the Huasca effigy, they'd likewise say,

"Receive, too, your poor forlorn children!"[647]

331 If these spear throwers hit the *chuta*'s hair, then whichever person was in charge[648] advanced them into the top rank ahead of all the other *ayllu* members.

Then he'd[649] bring a macaw wing or any such thing and give it to the *yanca*.

332 [The *yanca* of the Checa afterward is known to

635. *pilluic carcan* 'they'd bind': on the assumption that *pilluic* is an agentive form, erroneously or irregularly written, of *pilluy* 'to bind', and not related to *pilluini* 'to swim' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 285).

636. Unidentified.

637. Taylor (1980: 171) has observed that the terms *yomca* and *huasca* may be interpretable in the light of "Aymara-type transformations which characterize the text." If affected by the same metathesis that causes *ñamca* to appear at times as *ñamoc*, *yomca* might be *yumac* 'inseminator' (i.e., patrilineal progenitor). Adducing an additional southern Quechua shift, Taylor suggests *Huasca* might be interpreted *huachac* 'one who gives birth' (perhaps implying 'matrilineal ancestress').

638. *tamta* 'feather ruff': same word occurring in chapter 5 in the name of the opulent Tamta Ñamca (see Arriaga [1621] 1968: 50; Keating's translation).

639. 'At the targets' supplied. The sentence has witness validation.

640. *vihco*: an otherwise unattested word, perhaps related to modern *wikch'uy* 'to throw'. 'Their spear' supplied.

641. *caullama*: Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 29; Keating's translation) says a *caullama* was a household deity guaranteeing fertility of livestock. This sentence and the next have witness validation ('We know that' supplied).

642. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this and the next sentence.

643. Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 184) says rights in each *caullama* were inherited as a *mayorazgo* (i.e., a privilege descending in primogeniture).

644. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this and the next sentence.

645. *taricnincunaca* 'who just chanced on them': more literally, 'their finders'; it is not clear whether this means finders of conch shells or those who happened to meet people on the procession.

646. 'They say that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 331.

647. In the invocations to both the male-engendering and the female-bearing effigies, the word for 'child' is *churi*, 'child of a male'. In ordinary speech the child of a female is called *huahua* and not *churi*. It sounds as though both effigies are being addressed as fathers. One possible explanation of the anomaly would be to take *churi* as the "unmarked" term, including all forms of parentage not specified as uterine mother-child tie and therefore including figurative or symbolic motherhood. Alternatively, one might take the two effigies as being in fact both male, one the father of males and the other of females.

648. 'Was in charge' supplied.

649. Or 'she'd'. Whether an officiant or the successful lancer brought it is not explicit. The implication may be that the macaw wing was given to a *yanca* representing the victorious *ayllu*.

have been[650] Martín Misa Yauri, and the late Juan Chumpi Yauri was that of the Allauca.)

333 After one *ayllu* finished throwing, the *yanca* would reportedly[651] shin up the *chuta* effigy carrying the macaw wing called *puypu*.

He'd pull out the *vihco* spear and stick the macaw wing in where it had hit, to mark the spot.[652]

Then another *ayllu* would compete, and then still another, and so forth.

334 Then they threw spears at the Huasca effigy for females, saying,

"She'll give me daughters and all kinds of food!"

and then at the Yomca effigy, saying,

"He'll give me sons, agave fiber goods,[653] and all kinds of animals!"

335 When they'd finished throwing spears at both *chuta* effigies, the contestants who'd hit the hair or the part called the "eye" would present one of their llamas to the *yanca* and say, "With this offering, speak on my behalf to Uma Pacha."

Regarding this small llama, the llama-owner wouldn't take away much of it.[654] No matter how many llamas there might be, it was only those who'd been ordained *yanca* who could take them away and eat them.

336 Very early the next morning, we know,[655] all the people would go to Quimquilla.

They say[656] this *huaca* called Quimquilla owned a whole lot of llamas and all sorts of other possessions.

"He'll favor me with some of that wealth!" thought all the people, including the Allauca, as they went along. "I'll ask for some llamas for myself there."

337 On their way there, they used to carry a small amount of their *ticti*, maize beer, and coca leaf, and they made the *huana paya* conch trumpet resound over and over.

On the first day, those of the *vichoc* moiety[657]—that is, all the Sat Pasca, the Sulc Pahca, and Yasapa—would dance at Quimquilla shrine itself, chanting,

"We flourish!"

as they slaughtered their llamas.

338 Then, as we know,[658] they went down to the flat land that lies above the place where Quira Raya was located.[659]

(This plateau is called Huara Caya.)

Then, just as they'd erected Yomca and Huasca effigies in Llacsa Tambo, so also they set up *chuta* effigies the same way here, this time for llamas.

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650. 'Is known to have been' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

651. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 335.

652. The figure of Tamta Ñamca, whom Huatya Curi cured in chapter 5 when all the land was Yunca, shares some of the symbolism of this section and its motif of Yunca-derived ceremony. His name Tamta alludes to the ceremonial garment *tamta* (sec. 328), and his roof decorated with macaw wings resembles the straw effigy similarly decorated here. Contests played for ceremonial rank form the climax of his story as of this rite. A 1609 Jesuit report describes a different ritual game of skill employing feather decorations and Yunca costumes (Arguedas and Duviols 1966: 247).

653. *chauaracta* 'agave fiber goods': based on "*chhahuar* cabuya" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 92). *Cabuya* or agave fiber is widely used to make rope, coarse sandals, harnesses, and so forth. Taylor (1987b: 386) explains the discrepancy between *-racta* and the expected *-rta* as an "Aru [i.e., Jaqi] influence."

654. *anchantaca* 'much of it': given the information in the next sentence, it is tempting to read *anchantaca* as an error for *aychantaca*, 'its meat'.

655. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

656. Return to reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 337.

657. *vichuc maricuna* 'those of the *vichoc* moiety': *ichoc* is the usual term complementary to *allauca*. Chapter 11 (sec. 157) has *allaucam ari vichocam ari*, which we translate as 'both the *allauca* moiety and the *vichoc* moiety'. If this is emended to *allaucamari . . . vichocamari* (as in Taylor 1980: 94), *vichuc maricuna* here becomes clearly intelligible in moiety terms. Referring back to sections 304 and 316 would yield a system under which *vichoc* Checa includes the three *ayllu*s named here, and *allauca* Checa includes Allauca, Muxica, and Caca Sica.

There are other possibilities: *vichuc mari* might be the name of an otherwise unattested group comparable with Sat Pasca and the others. Or *vichuc* might be an agentive form of a verb derived from *vihco*, the ceremonial spear (sec. 328). None of these account for the otherwise unknown word or morpheme *mari* (which seems also to occur in the name of Paria Caca's last or next to last "son" Sasin Mari; see chap. 9, sec. 113; chap. 12, sec. 166).

658. 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 340.

659. Quira Raya may be the name of a settlement destroyed by *reducción*, the forced resettlement of the 1580s, or of a *huaca*.

They threw their spears for llamas, both males and females.

339 At the end of the spear throwing, they used to give their llamas to the *yanca* just as they had in Llacsa Tambo, saying, "Worship on my behalf and I shall be well."

On their way back here, they'd travel all in a group, just as when they went away to Quimquilla; they came back hauling their llamas adorned with bells.

340 They call this journey the Carco Caya.

About the way they traveled, with a slow and undulating motion,[660] people said, "We're rounding the Huaroca."[661]

As they rounded the Huaroca, they'd go along blowing the *huana paya* conch trumpet over and over again.

This is all we know, all we know about the Machua festival.[662]

341 About these Yunca populations in Llacsa Tambo, some people say, "They were reputedly Muta Caya people."

"They were Colli," others say.[663] Just so. But the ones we referred to as Colli resided in Yaru Tini.[664]

In what follows we'll write about this group's life.

660. *coyoi coyoilla* 'with a slow and undulating motion': might also be read 'just barely moving'.

661. Untranslated; the verb *tumani* denotes circular motion so it may be the name of a round monolith or hill. Or if Huaroca is not a proper noun but a variant of the similar word meaning 'sling', the phrase might be a metaphor for a swinging motion like that of a sling.

662. This sentence and the remainder of the chapter have witness validation.

663. The issue is whether the Yunca people resident in Checa lands were members of the Yunca polity of Collique (near Lima) or of the (otherwise unknown) Muta Caya. Both contrasting opinions are expressed with reportive validation ('reputedly'); that is, the people cited contrary traditions.

664. Yaru Tini may be modern Yelutina, 15 km northwest of San Damián (IGM 1954), a high location far from the coast.

CHAPTER 25

342 # Here We Shall Write How the Wind Blew the Colli People from Yaru Tini Down to the Lower Yunca[665]

The native people whom we call Colli are said to have[666] resided in Yaru Tini.

One day Paria Caca arrived in Yaru Tini, their village, while the Colli were drinking.

Taking a seat at the far end of the banquet, Paria Caca sat there like a poor miserable stranger.

343 Not a single person was willing to offer him a drink.

Only one man finally invited him to drink.

"Give me some more, brother," said Paria Caca to the one who'd offered him the drink.

The man gave him more.

Paria Caca then asked, "Please give me a quid of your coca leaf."

The man[667] gave it to him.

344 Paria Caca said to him, "Brother, when I come back here, you'd better hold on tight to this tree. Don't tell these people anything. Let them have their fun." Then he went away.

345 Five days later, a violent wind rose up.

This wind whirled every single person of the Colli head over heels two or three times and whisked them off into the far distance.

When it swept them off, some of them wandered around disoriented and died.

Others the wind brought alive to a mountain in the vicinity of Carhuayllo.

This mountain is called Colli mountain up to today. The people of the mountain, however, have perished. Not one of them is left.

346 But that one man who'd given Paria Caca a drink in Yaru Tini hung onto the tree as he'd been told, and was spared.

When Paria Caca was finished sweeping everything away, he said to him, "Brother, now you're alone by yourself. You must stay here forever. Later, when my children come to worship me from this spot, a quartet of guest *huacsas*[668] (that means four)[669] will provide coca leaf for you to chew in perpetuity.

"As for your name," he added, "you shall be

665. This myth appears related to chapter 11 (sec. 155), which alludes to the expulsion of some Colli Yunca to lands bordering Carhuayllo.

666. 'Said to have' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 346.

667. 'The man' supplied.

668. *corpaya huacçacuna* 'guest *huacsas*': the sense is uncertain; *corpaya* may be derived from "*ccorpa* guest" or (less probably) "*ccorppa* clod or clump of turf" (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 69); *-ya* remains unexplained. That they number four is also odd. This myth does not seem relevant to Incaic fourfold (*tahuantin*) organization, while five and its multiples usually signify plenitude in Paria Caca's mythology.

669. *chusco quiere dezir cuatro* 'a quartet . . . (that means four)': this Spanish explanatory parenthesis indicates that someone—teller, translator, scribe, or editor—expected the audience to be unfamiliar with *chusco* 'four', a word common in the Andean north but different from the usual south Andean word *tahua*. The translation uses the Latinate word 'quartet' to contrast with more familiar 'four' and thereby suggest the feeling of lexical discrepancy.

called Capac Huanca."[670] And he froze the man[671] into stone.

347 When Señor Doctor Avila came to the very spot where Capac Huanca dwelled, he in fact[672] broke the *huaca*[673] with some other people's help.

After he broke it, he heaved it downhill.

This much we know about the people called Colli.

And so, exactly according to Paria Caca's command, the *huacsa*s yearly provided that *huaca* with coca to chew forever.

670. *Huanca*s were and are *huaca*s in the shape of monoliths; *capac*, the opposite of *huaccha* 'poor and friendless', means 'rich and influential'. Like chapter 24, this story explains in mythic terms how the conquest of the Yunca who once occupied the heights resulted in retention of Yunca *huaca*s.

671. 'The man' supplied.

672. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence and the remainder of the chapter.

673. 'The *huaca*' supplied.

CHAPTER 26

How Paria Caca Defeated Maca Calla. How He Established His Children after His Victory[674]

348

We know[675] that Maca Calla lived on a mountain overlooking the village of San Damián.

It was on this Maca Calla mountain that the aboriginal people of that village reputedly[676] lived, the ones called Pihcca Marca.

The ones called the Sutica are known to have[677] lived there, too.

One day while these villagers were drinking, they say,[678] Paria Caca arrived in the village.

Arriving, he sat down at the far end of the banquet.

349 As he was sitting there, not a single person offered him a drink.

Paria Caca got angry, and so, five days later, he rose up as red rain and yellow rain and exterminated that village.

350 Some people tell another story.[679]

They say[680] some of the aboriginal villagers in Maca Calla were playing with the hunting *bolas*. Others were drinking.

Meanwhile, a little puff of fog[681] appeared out of the high mountain called Canlli.

And then, little by little, some rain, a red rain, started to fall.

Then lightning began to flash.

351 Everybody got scared when these things happened. "What's this?" they wondered, never having seen anything like it.

Some said, "It's the enemy!" and took a defensive stand.

Others ran away.

352 One was a man called Armicu.

He had lots of children, and rousing them, he cried, "Come on, let's go, let's go and die on our own field!" They ran away to their field.

When they arrived at their field, he[682] froze them and turned them into stone.

That man who turned to stone stands there still, like a man with his children. Even today people call them the Armicu.

353 Some people tried to escape, but wherever they fled the red rain caught up with them. Right on the spot they turned to stone.

The rest of the people back in Maca Calla also froze into stone the same way.

354 Weeping bitterly, one man of the Sutica *ayllu*

674. This chapter expands on how the Allauca 'received' Maca Calla (chap. 24, sec. 317).

675. San Damián de Checa is a *reducción* village on the Lurín headwaters at 3,235 m above sea level 22 km west-northwest of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971). This sentence has witness validation.

676. 'Reputedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

677. 'Are known to have' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence. The remainder of sections 348 and 349 have reportive validation ('they say').

678. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 349.

679. This sentence has witness validation.

680. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the fourth sentence of section 357.

681. *aslla pucutay* 'a little puff of fog': 'fog' supplied; *-tay* unexplained.

682. Reference unclear; could be Paria Caca or Armicu.

said, "Maca Calla, my only father, will it be my lot to up and leave you, just like that? I have to get away right now. There's no more force left in me to overcome this miracle."[683] While he wept, Maca Calla's head fell down right before him.

He picked the head up where it fell, and made it fly away instantly transformed into a falcon.

This man was imbued with a mighty shamanic power!

355 Maca Calla was just like a man, with a head, feet, and hands.

So, after he made the head escape, the man settled again on five mountains in Llantapa[684] and multiplied.

We call the mountains where he settled, where he built the villages, Pihcca Marca.[685]

356 Maca Calla's head exists in Pihcca Marca until today.

The people there say, "Here, we have Maca Calla's protection," and they call their firstborn children Canricha. Likewise the Allauca, who are also members of a community affiliated with Maca Calla, call them Canricha just as the Pihcca Marca do.[686]

357 Later, Tutay Quiri went and conquered them.

During that time, the *ayllu*s called Sutica returned to this area. "We'll go and settle amid our fields and our land, amid our villages. We'll fear and revere Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri," they said, and they came back.

In the village of San Damián the Sutica are now completely extinct.[687] Their survivors are in Sucsa Cancha, in Tumna.

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683. *milagrocta* 'miracle': usage of the Spanish term 'miracle' to signify a disastrous supernatural retribution is characteristic of Andean writing in this period. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980) consistently assimilated it to the Andean idea *pachacuti* 'world-changing disaster'.

684. Perhaps the suggestion is that the five members just mentioned—head, feet, and hands—reconstituted themselves as the five parts of Pihcca Marca. Llantapa mountain was one end of the mythic bridge over the Lurín valley (chap. 5, sec. 73).

685. Pihcca Marca means 'Five Settlements'. This may refer to a five-peaked mountain called Cerro Cinco Cerros ('Five Hills Hill'), visible from San Damián and identified locally as the site of an extinct community.

686. See chapter 24 (sec. 317).

687. Like the genealogical part of chapter 31 (secs. 443–446) this passage apparently alludes to the extinction of whole named corporate groups in the course of the European-introduced epidemics. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 27

How in Former Times, on the Fifth Day after Their Death, People Said, "I'm Back!"[688] We Shall Write about These Things

358

In very ancient times, they say,[689] when a person died, people laid the body out until five days had gone by.

The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!"[690]

When it flew away, people said, "Now he's going away to see Paria Caca, our maker and our sustainer."

359 Some people say, "At that time Paria Caca didn't exist yet, so the souls flew up high to Yauri Llancha."

<**margin,** in Quechua:> [Before Paria Caca or Caruincho appeared, people emerged at Yauri Llancha and at the place called Vichi Cancha.][691]

360 The dead used to come back[692] after five days.

When they were about to return, people waited for them with prepared food and drinks.

When the dead arrived, they'd just say, "I'm back!" and rejoice immensely in the company of their elders and their brothers.

They'd say, "Now I'll never die again forever!"

361 And so, at that time, people swiftly increased in number. They lived in great suffering, miserably gathering their food, terracing both cliffs and ledges for their fields.

362 When things were like that, a certain man died. After his death his elders, his brothers, and his wife waited for him on the fifth day, when he was due to arrive back.

But the man didn't arrive. It was on the next day, that is, on the sixth day, that he arrived.

So his elders, brothers, and wife were feeling furious as they waited for him.

When he arrived, his wife was enraged, and she gave him a terrible bawling out: "Why are you so damn lazy? Other people never let us down by failing to come. But you, yesterday you made us wait for you, and all for nothing!"

363 In her spite the dead man's wife hurled a maize cob at his arriving spirit.

The moment she threw it, he made a "Sio!" noise and went back where he'd come from.

Since that time, not a single dead person has ever come back.

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688. This myth evidently belongs to the body of belief about primordial times, because section 359 says major *huaca*s had yet to appear and because the content is prefigured in chapter 1 (sec. 4).

689. Except for the title, this chapter is entirely in reportive validation and contains no evidently editorial insertions.

690. *animanri huc chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan* 'The dead person's spirit, which is the size of a fly, would fly away, saying, "Sio!" ': the Spanish and Latin term *anima* may be an attempt to render the sense of terms like *upani* (Duviols 1978), referring to a light, dry, volatile being that contains the vital essence of a person. A fly, which is a light, dry, flying form of life that emerges from the dead body, may be a metaphor for, or the actual body of, this Andean 'anima' (see chap. 28, sec. 367).

691. Yauri Llancha is the place from which the conquerors of Concha (chap. 31, secs. 389, 394, 446) are said to have originated. Vichi Cancha is the place from which the conquerors of Checa originated (chap. 24, secs. 303, 315, 319, 324; chap. 31, sec. 389). The selection of Yauri Llancha as the *pacarina* or origin shrine to which the dead return suggests that this chapter has a Concha source.

692. That is, presumably, came back as flies and then recovered their full human bodies. Otherwise the next passage would not make sense.

CHAPTER 28

How People Used to Feed the Spirits of the Dead[693] during Paria Caca's Festival and How They Thought about All Saints' Day in Former Times[694]

364 In another chapter[695] we have already told how, when people traveled to worship Paria Caca, they used to cry for their dead and feed them.

Remembering those meals for the dead, people who hadn't yet sincerely converted to Christianity are known to have[696] said, "The Spaniards also give food to their dead,[697] to their bones, on All Saints' Day,[698] they do feed them. So let's go to church. Let's feed our own dead."[699]

365 In former times people took along all sorts of foods cooked to perfection.

And when a person died, remembering how things used to be long ago, people used to wait, saying, "Our dead will return in five days. Let's wait for him."

They used to keep nightly vigil until the dawn of the fifth day after his death.

366 On the fifth day, a <crossed out:> [person] woman would put on her fine clothing[700] and go to Yaru Tini, saying, "I'll bring him back from there," or "I'll wait for him and then come back."

Then, they say,[701] that woman would go there carrying different foods and maize beer.

367 At Yaru Tini, as the sun was rising, the dead spirit would arrive.

In the old times, two or three big flies—people

693. *animacunacta* 'spirits': the same word is used in chapter 27 (sec. 358) to signify the escaping remnant of the deceased. In the body of this chapter, however, the dead who are fed are not called *animas* but *huañoc*, 'die-ers' (that is, existing though not living persons; see Urioste 1981). The Andean dead were felt to have personal existence as long as any part of their bodies, or even clothing or an effigy, was conserved.

694. *ñaupa pacha* 'former times': this instance of the common phrase is important because it tells us that the makers of the manuscript thought of earlier parts of the colonial era within the category *ñaupa pacha*.

695. That is, chapter 9 (secs. 127–128), the explanation of Auquisna and its rites for the dead.

696. 'Are known to have' added to indicate witness validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 366.

697. *ayanta* 'their dead': *aya* seems to mean a person already established as a deceased member of society (formerly through mummification) as opposed to a person in transition to this status (*huañoc*). *Aya*, not *huañoc*, lived in the 'house of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155). The term *mallki* 'mummy' does not appear in the manuscript although at least one *huaca* (Ñan Sapa, chap. 24, secs. 319, 320, 323) seems to have been a mummy.

698. That is, on November 1. Olivia Harris (1982: 56–57) has suggested that the modern Laymi Aymara ritual for this day, which resembles the one described here, achieves "the socialization of the graveyard" and the initiation of a wet-season regimen bringing the living and dead close together. It ends at Carnival.

699. Andean tradition required careful conservation of the dead in caves or 'houses of the dead' (chap. 11, sec. 155) where they were regularly visited and fêted. Andean people considered Christian burial, which Spanish clerics forced upon them, an affliction because it precluded feeding and clothing one's departed kin. Ancestors buried in Christian graveyards were imagined as starving and suffering while they decayed. Many natives were punished for rescuing their kin from graves. The ritual described here seems to be an attempt to mitigate anguish about burial.

700. *pachanta* 'her . . . clothing': third person possession marker *-n-* ambiguous in reference; can also be read as clothing of the deceased.

701. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 369.

call them *llacsa anapalla*[702]—would light on the garment she brought.

368 She'd sit there for a long while. As soon as those maggots called *huancoy*[703] worms left the corpse, the woman would say, "Come on, let's go to the village." And as if to say, "This is him," she'd pick up a small pebble and come back.

When the woman arrived, and when the dead person's home had been hurriedly swept clean, they started feeding him.

After the food, they offered the deceased drinks. Once the deceased had eaten, they also ate.

369 At <crossed out:> [deep] dusk, all his *ayllu* kinspeople danced five times, wailing.

When they'd finished dancing and wailing five times, they threw the pebble the woman had brought out into the street, saying, "You go back now. It's not time for us to die yet."[704]

370 On that day we know[705] they divined with a spider,[706] asking, "Why did this man go and die on us?"

The diviner[707] would reply, saying of the *huaca*s, "Because this one was angry" or "Because that one was angry"; if he mentioned Paria Caca or any such *huaca*, people fulfilled the command by sacrificing a guinea pig or any other thing they had.

This is as much as we know about those who've died.

371 In Huaro Cheri and also in Quinti, people say on All Saints' Day, "Let's leave some nice warm food for the dead alongside the church" and they cook up some potatoes and pieces of jerky[708] well seasoned with red pepper, and put it out, just as if it were food for people to eat, and also toasted maize and boiled meat, as well as a small pitcher of maize beer for each of the dead.

They lay out all the things we've mentioned, because they think, "It's likely that the dead do eat." Maybe this is what they have in mind when they offer them plentiful hot dishes of all sorts.

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702. Unidentified. *Llacsa* 'blue-green ritual powder' suggests the brilliant color of a bluebottle fly. *Anapalla* may be related to *ayapaura*, the name of "a big fly that dirties the flesh," mentioned in a trial of "idolators" in Otuco in 1656 (Duviols 1986: 64–65). The mourners waited for this fly to appear on the deceased's clothes because they thought it was the returning soul. This idea is also explicit in chapter 27 (sec. 358).

703. Taylor (1987b: 419–420) shows that the word *huancoy curo* used here may be an error conflating *huancuyro* 'bee' with *curu* 'worm' (specifically glossed by Gonçález Holguín as a kind that infests "bodies"; [1608] 1952: 56). Taylor gives 'bee' in his translation with the caveat that it appears really to refer to the above-mentioned flies. But perhaps *huancoy curo* is used in the correct sense of *curu* 'worm', meaning a larva or maggot infesting the dead body, and not the sense 'bee'. The point would then be that the cadaver must be left long enough to breed worms so its *anima* can emerge and escape in the form of flies.

704. In the later "idolatry" trials, which often prosecuted Andean mortuary ritual, rites of this sort are described as taking place one year after the death. At that time the lingering 'person' here symbolized by the stone was dispatched from his household. The final farewell to the dead, called *kacharpariy* or 'sendoff', has survived into modern Quechua culture.

705. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues to the end of the chapter.

706. The spider is here called by the Spanish-derived word *arañu* (also in supp. I, sec. 450). Spider divining is described by Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 32) and in various "idolatry" documents. Spiders were subjected to torture and then inspected to see which feet were injured or missing. A 1613 Jesuit report says killing the appropriate type of spiders other than sacrificially was prohibited by *huaca* priests (Hernández Príncipe [1613] 1919: 188, 194).

707. 'The diviner' supplied.

708. *charquincunactari* 'pieces of jerky': the English term is derived from the Quechua name (*charqui*) of this Andean invention.

CHAPTER 29

How Something Called the Yacana Comes Down from the Sky to Drink Water. We Shall Also Speak about the Other Stars and Their Names

372 They say[709] the Yacana, which is the animator[710] of llamas, moves through the middle of the sky. We native people[711] can see it standing out as a black spot.[712]

The Yacana moves inside the Milky Way.[713] It's big, really big. It becomes blacker as it approaches through the sky, with two eyes and a very large neck.

This, we know,[714] is what native people call the Yacana.

373 They say[715] if a man was in luck and fortunate, the Yacana would fall right on top of him while it drank water from some spring.

As its woolly bulk pressed down upon him, someone else would pluck out some of its wool.

374 That apparition would occur at night.

In the morning, at daybreak, the man would look at the wool he'd plucked out. Examining it he'd see the wool to be blue, white, black, and brown, of every hue, thickly matted together.

If he had no llamas, he'd worship at the place where he had seen the apparition and plucked the wool, and trade for some llamas right away. After worshiping he'd trade for a female and a male llama.

Just from the two he'd bought, two or three thousand llamas would soon come.

In old times the Yacana[716] revealed itself this way to a whole lot of people all over this province.

709. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins with reportive validation.

710. *camaquin* 'animator': Juan Polo de Ondegardo ([1554] 1916: 3–5) said, "in general [the Incas] believed that all the animals and birds on the earth had their likeness in the sky, in whose responsibility was their procreation and augmentation" and went on to describe a celestial herd prototype much like this one. Bernabé Cobo's *Historia* ([1653] 1964: 2:159) has more details on this astrologylike complex.

Polo seems to be referring to the concept *camay*, of which this sentence is a *locus classicus*. Taylor (1974–1976: 234) suggests imagining *camac* as an entity that (1) is above and outside terrestrial reality; (2) is a prototype of earthly instantiations; and (3) functions to vitalize earthly instantiations by charging them with their specific essence and energy. *Camaquin* employs an agentive suffix and is probably a near synonym to *camac*.

A similar example is *chuchucollor*, two stars considered as creators of twins (Huertas Vallejos 1981: 88).

711. *ñocanchic runacunapas* 'We native people': some Andean constellations are reckoned negatively (consisting of dark spots within the Milky Way) and thus are not easy for non-natives to see. Garcilaso ([1609] 1966: 1:119; Livermore's translation) mentions the Yacana as one that native people tried unsuccessfully to make him see. But *ñocanchic* is inclusive first person plural, indicating that the person speaking included his audience among those who see constellations this way, namely, *runa*. This suggests that the testimony was gathered in a dialogue among *runa* people and not with any Spanish person.

712. The *yacana* is one of the 'dark cloud constellations' discussed by Gary Urton (1981: 169–170, 185–188).

713. *mayo* 'Milky Way', literally, 'river': the Milky Way was interpreted as a cosmic river through which water, having run down to the sea, circulates back up into the atmosphere. Urton (1981: 54–69) discusses related modern ideas.

714. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation in this sentence only.

715. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 375.

716. 'The Yacana' supplied.

375 In the middle of the night, when nobody is aware of it, the Yacana drinks all the water out of the ocean.[717] If the Yacana failed to drink it, the waters would quickly drown the whole world.[718]

376 A small dark spot goes before the Yacana, and, as we know, people call it the Tinamou.[719]

This Yacana, they say, has a calf. It looks just as if the calf were suckling.[720]

Also, we know[721] there are three stars in a straight line.[722]

They call these the Condor, the Vulture,[723] and the Falcon.

377 Next are the ones we call the Pleiades;[724] if they come out <crossed out:> [very] at their biggest people say, "This year we'll have plenty." But if they come out at their smallest people say, "We're in for a very hard time."[725]

They call another constellation, which stands out as a perfect ring,[726] the Pihca Conqui.[727]

378 Certain other stars always appear very large.

People give them the names Poco Huarac, Villca Huarac, and Cancho Huarac.

In the old times, people, or at least some few of them, reportedly[728] used to worship them, saying, "These are the animators, the makers." The rest still worshiped these stars as they were rising,[729] spending the appropriate nights in sleepless vigil, but said, "We'll hold the other *huaca*s in higher honor."[730]

This is all we know.[731]

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717. That is, the Yacana, descending from the center of the sky, sucks up water from the waters surrounding earth. (This may refer to the period during the dry season when the llama and other dark cloud constellations remain below the horizon.) The cosmological metaphor links the way llamas descend from the high slopes to drink at lower-lying waterholes with the way the atmosphere "drinks" water from the ocean.

718. That is, if the Yacana failed to suck water up from the ocean into the atmosphere, the ocean would rise and drown humanity. Compare with chapter 3 (secs. 29–34), where a llama warned a man that the world was about to flood; perhaps the llama knew that Yacana, the master llama, was going to omit drinking.

719. The bird commonly and misleadingly called "partridge" in the Andes; see chapter 6 (sec. 87); see also Urton (1981: 171, 181–185). 'As we know' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence only.

720. Taylor (1987b: 429) has: "When it suckles, the Yacana wakes up." This reading rests on the double sense of *rihcan* 'appears'/'awakens'. 'They say' added to indicate reportive validation.

721. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 378.

722. Perhaps Orion's belt.

723. *suyuntuytapas* 'Vulture': black vulture, *Coragyps atratus*, or turkey vulture, *Cathartus aura jota* (Koepcke 1970: 38).

724. Here the Pleiades are called by their Spanish name, *cabrillas*. A common Andean name for the Pleiades is *onqoy*. The Pleiades cult was the astronomical part of the Corpus-tide (summer solstice and preharvest or harvest-time) peak of the ceremonial year. "Confessions are made during the solemn festivals, of which there are three each year. The most important of these is close to Corpus Christi. It is called Oncoy Mitta, which is when the constellation called Oncoy appears. They do homage to this constellation to keep their corn from drying up" (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 49; Keating's translation).

725. Urton (1981: 118–120) discusses their salience in agricultural forecasting; today they are often called *collca* 'the storehouse'.

726. *muyo muyolla hamucta* 'stands out as a perfect ring': could mean either that they move in a circular path or that they are arranged in a ring.

727. Urton (1981: 100–101) identifies a constellation *pisqa coyllur* 'the five stars', probably the Hyades, which might be the same as *pihca conqui*. Alternatively, *pihca conqui* might be the curved tail of Scorpio, which Urton identifies as one of the two *collca*s or constellations of crop augury.

728. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate reportive validation.

729. *sicamuptin* 'rising': probably heliacal rise, not nightly rise. Heliacal rise is the first day on which the star is visible in the east before dawn.

730. The meaning of the sentence varies slightly depending whether one takes *yallichisac* to mean 'set in higher position' or 'advance one's fortunes'. Taylor (1987b: 431) has: "The other people used to say, concerning these *huacas*, that according to tradition the fact of worshiping them would make them prosper. And so they worshipped these stars staying awake without sleeping during the night they appeared." Either reading squares with Cobo's understanding of star cults as devotions through which a person might win the *camay* force proper to his or her status or identity ([1653] 1964: 2:160).

731. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 30

379

How Two *Huacas*, a Male and a Female, Dwell in the Lake of the Allauca in Purui. We Shall Write about Their Lives

In very ancient times, so they tell,[732] there was a man called Anchi Cara.

This Anchi Cara came to dwell[733] by the water at a spring named Purui, to ensure that water would come to the fields of the Allauca.

While he was there, a woman from the Surco[734] area, a Picoy[735] woman, came over to him.

The woman's name was Huayllama.[736]

380 "Brother," this Huayllama said as soon as she arrived at Purui Spring, "very little water comes to my field. Are you the only one who draws water here? What are the rest of us supposed to live on?" And she sat down right inside the spring.

381 Since she was a fine and beautiful woman Anchi Cara fell suddenly in love[737] with her, and he greeted her with gentle words.

Then the woman refused to let the water flow in this direction.

When she did that he addressed her in polite language, saying, "Sister, please don't do this. What'll my children live on?"

382 At this point, Anchi Cara's children came over and sloshed[738] the water out toward Lliuya lake.

(Just below that spring there are two small ponds, which we already mentioned, called Lliuya and Tuta lakes.)[739]

Three or four small elongated rocks stand inside Lliuya lake.

These are said to be Anchi Cara's children.

383 If his kids hadn't come and sloshed that water out all the time, very little indeed would flow down here.

(Even so, we know, only a small amount flows down.)[740]

384 Once they'd finished arguing about the water, the two of them, Anchi Cara and his woman Huayllama, sinned together.[741]

"I'll stay here forever!" each one said after they'd sinned together, and they froze into stone.

These stones are there until today. His children likewise dwell in Lliuya lake.

This is all we know about them.[742]

732. 'So they tell' supplied to indicate that this chapter begins in *-si* reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 382.

733. *tiamun* 'came to dwell': not in the unambiguously past *-rca-* tense, as the subsequent sentences are.

734. San Gerónimo de Surco (see chap. 3, sec. 31), in warm valley lands of the lower Rímac. The story seemingly allegorizes a rivalry over a high lake coveted by the Allauca of Checa and by Surco.

735. Picoy is mentioned by Dávila Brizeño ([1586] 1965: 163), as San Jerónimo de Picoi, a forced resettlement village close to Surco.

736. This sentence has witness validation.

737. *enamoraspa* 'fell in love': using a Spanish-derived expression.

738. *vischomorcan* 'sloshed . . . out': more literally, 'threw', this word might be a technical term meaning 'diverted'. But, given the sometimes comic tone of sex/irrigation myths, the image here might rather be that of children playfully sloshing the water out of the spring.

739. This sentence has witness validation. These lakes have not been mentioned previously in the manuscript; presumably the phrase refers to material edited out.

740. This sentence has witness validation ('we know' supplied). A crossed-out Spanish phrase meaning 'even so' is replaced with the equivalent Quechua.

741. *huchallicorcancu* 'sinned together': using a shame-oriented colonial term.

742. This sentence has witness validation.

385 Later on, at the time when they were settling into this area, the *huacsa*s of the Allauca *ayllu* used to go to Purui in order to clean the canal at the end of the rainy season.

As they arrived, the *huacsa*s, however many there were, would walk around Lliuya lake[743] blowing on their panpipes.

386 After walking around the lake, the *huacsa*s would go to greet Anchi Cara, who stood over the water.

With just a few words, they'd throw in a little of their coca, and then return to the lakeshore.

On the lakeshore they worshiped Anchi Cara first, then his children, and finally Lliuya and Tuta lakes themselves.

387 In the old days they performed worship with a llama, but now that they don't have llamas anymore, they worship with just a guinea pig, some *ticti*, or whatever else they have.

After finishing this worship, all the people began to dredge out the canal.

This is as far as the story goes.[744] The account of their existence ends here.

743. Compare with the Concha *huacsa*s' circuit at Yansa lake (chap. 31, secs. 437, 440). Honorific ritual visits to water sources are still common elements of rural Andean religion today.

744. This sentence has witness validation.

CHAPTER 31

388 # As in the Previous Chapter We Spoke about the Existence of a Certain Lake, Likewise We Shall Now Tell about the Lake of the Concha Ayllu, the One Called Yansa. The Story Is Like This

<**margin**:> [Concha]

We've already explained in other chapters how things were in early times, how these villages were full of Yunca people, and other such things.[745]

So, too, they say, the Yunca resided in Concha village.[746]

389 About the people living there, as we indicated in other chapters, some say they're from Yauri Llancha or from Vichi Cancha, while others say they came from the *quinua* plant. Likewise the Concha people were born from out of the earth's interior, at Yauri Llancha, as five persons.[747]

390 Their names we know;[748] starting from the first one, they were

Llacsa Misa and his sister Cuno Cuyo who came along with him.

Then there was Pauquir Buxi.

Then Llama Tanya.

These three men together were the first ones to conquer this village.

<**margin**:>

[Llacsa Misa
Pauquir Buxi
Llama Tanya
Hualla
Calla]

There were also two other men who were their brothers, one called Hualla, and the other Calla.

391 They say that[749] as their other brothers went on ahead, these two fell somewhat behind.

So, lagging behind, they missed the trail and headed instead toward the Yauyo country,[750] thinking, "Maybe our brothers went over there."

A long time afterward, only after the other three brothers had finished dividing up the fields and other goods among themselves, they did come back.

392 (The descendants of Hualla are the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi lineage.)[751]

745. This sentence has witness validation.

746. Concha village probably corresponds to Concha Sica, today an outlying hamlet of San Damián de Checa (IGM 1970–1971). It was first Christianized as San Cristóbal de Concha and then, like Llacsa Tambo, "reduced" into nearby San Damián (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, ms. B-1483, f. 63r). This chapter forms a rough counterpart in scale, argument, and level of detail to chapter 24, which focuses on the other component of San Damián, namely, Llacsa Tambo and the Checa. Both may be examples or reworkings of a common genre, a long "charter" running from origins through mythic genealogy to entitlements and rites that express them. This sentence has reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 389.

747. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with myths and laws relevant to the five local lineages named here. Material about a privileged lineage, the Llacsa Misa lineage specialized in water priesthood, makes up the bulk of it, but sections 443–446 return to the other four.

748. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation throughout section 390.

749. 'They say that' supplied to indicate return to reportive validation.

750. Yauyos Province adjoins Huarochirí to the south and is another mountainous region.

751. 'Lineage' supplied. The grounds are that section 444 uses Lázaro Puypu Rocçi's name as the name of a corporate group and not an individual and that in section 445 three groups belonging to the same set that contains

When Llacsa Misa, the oldest child, was about to die, he addressed Casa Chauca, Lázaro's grandfather, who was also Llacsa Misa's nephew, and said to him regarding the lake called Yansa:[752] "This will enter into my legacy.[753] As for me, I'm already near death." And he left it to him.

From then on Yansa lake was his domain.

Here we leave Hualla.[754]

393 Now we will tell about those three men's approach and arrival.

As we explained earlier, people say[755] the natives were Yunca.

At that time, people there lived quite happily, drawing water from Yansa lake, for there was plenty of water and even an excess such that their water[756] reached all the way to the base of Llantapa[757] mountain.

394 While people lived in this manner, the three men we mentioned before—the oldest being named Llacsa Misa—were born from the earth in the locality called Yauri Llancha.

When they were born, they were born with a stone helmet.[758]

(The helmet was called the *llacsa yacolla*.)[759]

These three people came here carrying the *llacsa yacolla*.

395 They arrived in the area above Yansa lake at a place called Yana Pucyo.

There they sat down and drank.

The Yunca people heard somebody say, "Three fearsome-looking men are sitting over there!" and some went to see them.

396 When they were looking him over like that, Llacsa Misa showed those people his helmet, the one called the *llacsa yacolla*.

The moment they saw it, they all died instantly.

When the remaining Yunca saw that anyone who approached died, they panicked. "Come on!" they said. "Let's get out of here! If those three men find us they'll destroy us all!" And they abandoned their village and their fields just like that, and fled.[760]

397 At the time of their flight, there was a Yunca man there—we don't know his name—and while this man was escaping by night, he left one of his children behind at Concha Sica, the one named Yasali.

398 Yasali's father fled, carrying only an orphan boy whom he'd raised.

When he got across to Capari Caya,[761] almost to Yana Siri[762] up on the heights, dawn was breaking and the man recognized the boy.

There he was: just his adopted orphan son.

The man wept bitterly, but, knowing there was no way back, he finally left just as he was.

399 Meanwhile, the abandoned boy Yasali was scared to death, being just a child, and he hid inside the place where a cross now stands in Concha Sica.

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the Llacsa Misa, and of which the Hualla are another subset, are called *yumay* 'patrilineages'. In this sentence witness validation was crossed out and replaced with reportive.

752. Modern Yanascocha is probably the same as Yansa; it is a small spring-fed lake on the high *puna* 5 km east of San Damián (IGM 1970–1971) and feeds the irrigation system of modern Conchasica.

753. *cay coscajman yaiconca* 'This will enter into my legacy': Taylor's transcription (1987b: 442–443) reads *cascayman*, which means 'into what I was' rather than 'into what I gave'. Accordingly he translates: "This [i.e., Cassa Chauca] is who will inherit my role."

754. This sentence and the next have witness validation.

755. 'People say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the second sentence of section 394.

756. I.e., their irrigation canal.

757. Where the great mythic bridge Pullao once stood (chap. 5, sec. 73) and where Maca Calla's people, expelled by those of Tutay Quiri, resettled (chap. 26, sec. 355).

758. *chucuyoc*: 'with a . . . helmet': Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 118) has "*chucu* bonnet or ancient-style hat." But the same page clearly indicates that *chucu*, if made of hard material (leather, metal), means a helmet and not a hat. The passage can also be read to mean that a stone with a helmet was born along with, but separately from, the men.

759. This sentence has witness validation.

760. These Yunca-expelling heroes from Yauri Llancha play a role in Concha myth parallel to the role of the Yunca-expelling heroes from Vichi Cancha in Checa myth (chap. 24, secs. 315–326).

761. Probably not the same Unca Tupi also called Capari Caya in chapter 12 (secs. 167–168), because that reference is to a locale near the Pacific shore while modern Yanacirí is on the high puna across the Lurín valley from Conchasica.

762. Modern Yanacirí (IGM 1970–1971) is 4 km west-northwest of San Damián, a high plateau on the far side of a deep river ravine, from which one can look back toward San Damián and Conchasica.

At the same time those three men arrived at the village.

As they arrived they shared out the houses and all the rest among themselves, and it was then that Llacsa Misa found the boy.

400 "Son, don't worry," Llacsa Misa told him. "You'll stay with me. If my other brothers say to me, 'Let's kill him,' I'll defend you. But in return, you'll herd my llamas."

When the other brothers saw the child, they bitterly scorned him, and they did say, "This kid should die, because sooner or later he'll tell us, 'These fields are mine; this land belongs to me!'"

401 "No, why should we kill him?" Llacsa Misa replied. "Better to let him live. He'll show us all their customs, their fields, and everything."[763]

402 But the others still refused, saying, "Let him die anyway."

Llacsa Misa got angry and said, "My brothers, I've told you plenty of times. Watch out or your bones might wind up in the lake.[764] I say, let him live!"

Only then did the others finally fall silent.

403 So Llacsa Misa let the boy live, and made him herd his llamas.

<**margin**:> [Cuno Cuyo]

While Yasali was tending the llamas, he married Llacsa Misa's sister Cuno Cuyo, who'd come with him from Yauri Llancha.

Later, when he'd become a mature man, he even became the *yanca* for Uma Pacha, who had come from Yauri Llancha.

{This boy named Yasali was Cristóbal Chauca Huaman's grandfather.}[765]

404 And where the Uma Pacha festival we mentioned[766] is concerned, just as the Checa put on *huayo* masks made of trophy heads and danced for a period of five days, so the Concha,[767] too, danced the same way. They, too, threw spears at the *chuta* target effigies erected for the sake of sons and daughters, and then did the same for llamas.[768]

405 There were likewise *huacsa*s in Concha Sica. They drank to both Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca in their respective seasons, and on one certain day they drank together with the Checas as peers.[769]

This is as much as we know about their customs.[770]

406 Now we'll tell about Yansa lake.

When Llacsa Misa arrived at Concha in the company of his other brothers, it's said that[771] they acquired all sorts of subsistence resources, and from among them Llacsa Misa got Yansa lake.

Pauquir Buxi received Huaycho Coto.

Llama Tanya received the house called Uyu Sana.

407 After they received all these properties, we know,[772] each one of them began to provide for his own living.

So Llacsa Misa for his part started to propitiate[773] Yansa lake.

In Yansa lake, they say,[774] there was a *huaca* named Collquiri.

<**margin**:> [Collquiri]

Since Llacsa Misa propitiated these *huaca*s for many years, all the Concha worked hard growing maize for him to eat.

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763. As in chapter 24 (sec. 316), the invaders intentionally take on the organizational scheme and attributes of the vanquished Yunca natives, but (as in sec. 306) feel anxious about their resulting position of indebtedness.

764. *cochañicman* 'in the lake': or 'ocean'?

765. 'Grandfather': the kinship term used is a Spanish one, *aguelo* (i.e., *abuelo*). If taken literally, it puts a surprisingly short generational distance between the hero and his descendant who lived to be baptized. But the speaker may have used *aguelo* to mean one's direct patrilineal ancestor at any generational remove.

766. See chapter 24 (secs. 324ff).

767. 'The Concha' supplied.

768. That is, they performed the same rites already described in detail in chapter 24 (secs. 321–339). Conchasica and Checa today still regard their respective rituals as in some senses mirroring and rivaling each other.

769. *pactalla* 'as peers': normally the Checa despised the Concha as juniors in descent from Paria Caca (sec. 441). But in this one context the solidarity of common birth (*yuric*; see chap. 9, sec. 116) was made to override. The exact occasion is unspecified.

770. This and the next sentence have witness validation.

771. 'It's said that' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the next-to-last sentence of section 406.

772. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation.

773. *siruiita callarircan* '[he] started to propitiate': the Spanish-derived root *sirui-* means 'to serve'.

774. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the first sentence of section 432.

408 At that time the *huaca* Collquiri wanted a woman[775] really badly.

He wanted one so much he searched all over the place, even as far as the Yauyo country and Chaclla.

As hard as he searched, he just couldn't find one.

409 One day, Cuni Raya said to him, "Hey, she's right here, right nearby, your woman!"[776]

So he set out, full of joy.

From the mountain that overlooks Yampilla,[777] he gazed out toward Yampilla itself.

As he gazed, he saw a woman dancing very majestically.

That woman's name was Capyama.

410 As soon as he saw how lovely she was, he immediately felt in his heart, "This is the one who'll be my wife."

He sent one of his serving boys, saying, "Go son, go tell that lady, 'Your llama has given birth to a <crossed out:> [female] male calf.' That's all. She'll come right away."

411 As soon as he sent him, the youth went off.

When he arrived, he told the woman, "Ma'am, one of your llamas has given birth just up there on the mountain." She was thoroughly delighted, and rushed straight to her house.

There she hung her golden drum at her midriff,[778] hid two small coca bags in her bosom,[779] took a long-necked jar of her maize beer, and came in a big hurry.

(The Concha call this jar *lataca*.)

412 When he saw her coming the *huaca* Collquiri was overjoyed and sped right back to Yansa.

Meanwhile, his servant boy led the woman along, and as he guided her, he lied to her, saying, "We're almost there now. It's right around here."

413 Then Collquiri turned himself into a *callcallo*[780] and waited for her on the mountain overlooking <crossed out:> [Yansa] Yampilla.

"I think I'll catch that *callcallo*," the woman said as she arrived there.

Each time she thought she'd grab it, the *callcallo* darted hither and yon and wouldn't let itself be caught.

414 Finally she did catch it. The moment she grabbed it, she stuck it inside her dress.

As she was grabbing it, she spilled her maize beer from the *rataca*[781] jar.

Even as she spilled it, the spot where she spilled it immediately turned into a spring.

This spring is called Ratac Tupi[782] until today.

415 The *callcallo* she had put inside her dress grew large inside her belly and made it ache terribly.

"What could this be?" she said when it hurt her. She looked, and there, on the ground where he'd fallen,[783] appeared a man, a fine handsome youth.

He immediately greeted her in his sweetest way, saying, "Sister, I'm the one you stuck in your dress. What can we do about it now? It was I who sent for you."

416 The woman for her part immediately fell in love[784] with him.

Since she felt that way, they slept together.

After they slept together, he took her to his home, Yansa lake.

Meanwhile, her father, her mother, her brothers, and all her relatives went searching for her all in tears. "But where did she go?" they said.

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775. All the irrigation myths (chap. 6, secs. 81–90; chaps. 7, 30, 31) link maize-bearing land to female *huacas* and water to male ones, with a sexual episode representing the origin of irrigation and consequent fertility. Dumézil and Duviols explore this motif in "Sumaq T'ika" (1974–1976).

776. Although Cuni Raya is less salient here than in chapters 2 or 14, the Collquiri myth bears resemblances to these major Cuni Raya myths. As in the story of the bride in the box (chap. 14, secs. 192–197), where Cuni inveigles the Inca by offering a woman, Cuni here brings about a male's downfall by manipulating his sexual desire. In the story of Caui Llaca (chap. 2, secs. 9–26), Cuni Raya caused a woman to give birth by tricking her into taking hidden sperm into her body, and here his dupe Collquiri does something similar (secs. 414–415).

777. Modern Llambía, a hamlet 3 km north of Huarochirí (IGM 1970–1971).

778. *chaopipi* 'at her midriff': Taylor (1987b: 459) has "center of [the house]."

779. *hucllayninman* 'in her bosom': Ricardo [1586] 1951: 65.

780. Unidentified; possibly a grasshopper.

781. *rataca* thus in original, discrepant from *lataca* in section 411; *r/l* is a common Quechua variation.

782. Perhaps a wordplay on *lataca*, the name of her beer jar in local language.

783. *hurmascampica*: the third person marker *-m-* could also mean 'where she'd fallen'.

784. *enamorarcan* 'fell in love': a Spanish-derived word.

417 When they'd been searching for a long, long time, a man from Yampilla called Llucaua told them, "Your daughter has turned into a high priestess.[785] She has a husband with all kinds and amounts of possessions." And so they came at once.

"Why did you come to steal our daughter, our sister from us?" they said to Collquiri when they found her. "Are you the one who forced us to search for her through all these villages until we were exhausted?" In high dudgeon they said, "Now we'll make her go back home!"

418 "Fathers, brothers, you have every reason to rebuke me, because I did fail to tell you ahead of time," Collquiri replied. And he inveigled them by saying, "What may I give you as restitution? A house, a field, llamas, people, agave fiber goods,[786] gold or silver? What about it, what do you want?"

419 Despite his enticements they agreed to nothing.

"I'll take their sister back," Capyama's father[787] said, repudiating the offer.

"All the same," Capyama[788] replied when he said this, "I wouldn't go back. It was with all my heart that I took him for my husband!"

420 "Father, please, I hope you won't take my wife away from me," said the man called Collquiri. "I've already told you that I'll give you anything, whatever you like, as much as you want. Or maybe I should give you the Goesunder?"[789]

A man who'd come in and sat down last in the gathering of that woman's brothers spoke up when Collquiri said this: "Father, say yes."

And the brothers[790] deliberated in low voices: "What could it be, that Goesunder?"

421 Their old man came and said, "It's a deal, son. Marry my daughter. And make good on what you promised." So he said, and they returned home.

"We'll see each other in five days, father, in your village!" said Collquiri.

422 Five days later Collquiri, as good as his word, did go under. Underground he headed[791] toward Yampilla.

After he'd traveled a long stretch, he thought to himself, "I wonder how far I've come?" for he wanted to come out on the opposite side of the Apar Huayqui river.

Right where he got his head out, water squirted upward like a fountain.

423 He plugged the hole with some copper and went back underground.

He went on traveling underground until finally he emerged up above the high side of Yampilla.

The spring where he surfaced bears that woman's name, Capyama,[792] until today.

424 An enormous amount of water surged from Capyama spring and threatened to wash away all the fields of the Yampilla.

It actually did carry away all their *oca*[793] that was drying and all their *quinua* that was spread out in the sunshine, and lots of other things.

The Yampilla people got good and mad. "Why did you ever go and say yes to Collquiri?"

"Send him back immediately!"

"We were already used to getting along with just a little water!" they all said.

425 As they were complaining, Capyama's elders shouted at Collquiri from their <crossed out:> [spring] village:

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785. *ancham villcayam* 'has turned into a high priestess': more literally, 'has greatly become *villca*'. This passage suggests that the senses of *villca* can include a person wedded to a *huaca*.

786. *chauaractacho* 'agave fiber goods': as in chapter 24 (sec. 334) and problematic for the same reasons.

787. 'Capyama's father' supplied.

788. 'Capyama' supplied.

789. The literal sense of *huco ric* 'the Goesunder' is clear enough; it means 'what goes under or inside'. But its sense in context is enigmatic, and Capyama's kinsmen let their curiosity about the *huco ric* get the better of them in the unmistakably comic episode that follows.

790. 'The brothers' supplied.

791. *hucota cama rircan* '[he] did go under': at this moment we understand the answer to the *huco ric* puzzle. Collquiri himself was the *huco ric*—the thing that goes under or inside—in the double sense of going under or inside Capyama's dress and of burrowing through the earth.

792. Modern Llambía draws its irrigation water still from Capyama spring. The love of Capyama and Collquiri (now renamed Pedro Batán, and imagined as a romantic lover rather than a clownish suitor) is prominent in modern folklore.

793. *oca*: *Oxalis tuberosa*, a potatolike plant with slender edible roots, widely cultivated through the Andes "on terraces in the *quebradas* of the cold sierras and in the altiplano zone to an altitude of 3,800 to 4,000 meters." Because they contain calcium oxalate crystals, *oca* tubers must be cured in the sun before cooking (Towle 1961: 56–57).

"Son-in-law, everybody's mad at us! Don't send us so much water!"

"Shut it off!"

"Hey, Collquiri! Hold back on the water!" they yelled.

426 With them shouting like that, Collquiri plugged the hole with a blanket[794] and other stuff.

But the more he plugged it the more the barrier crumbled and the more the water kept bursting through over and over again.

Meanwhile, the people from down below kept yelling at him nonstop:

"PLUG IT UP!!"

Finally Collquiri jumped in himself, put in his cloak, and sat down in the middle of the water.

427 When he sat down there, the water at last dried up somewhat.

Nowadays, water flows out of that spring passing through Collquiri's cloak as if through a sieve.

Whenever he plugged this waterhole, water flowed from many other springs here and there all over the district. Before, there weren't any.

428 Since their water supply was dried up as a result of all this, the inhabitants of Concha village started to get mad, too:[795] "Why has he given our water away?"

"What about us, what are we supposed to live on?" they said.

All the Concha together spoke to Llacsa Misa, who was in charge of the water: "Listen, Llacsa Misa, why did you go and let that water dry up?"

"What are people supposed to live on?" they said, and threw him into the lake.

429 When the *huaca* Collquiri saw what had happened he thought, "They're right. How are they going to live?" So at once he gave orders to one of his servants, a youngster called Rapacha:

"Dump some dirt and rocks from the shores down into the lake. There we'll measure out what's for the sustenance of the Concha people."[796]

430 So that boy Rapacha breached the lake's bank a little. As soon as it was opened, Collquiri instantly dammed the water up from below by building a great wall there.[797]

This wall, built without mortar, stands as the lake's mouth[798] until today.

431 Collquiri had the man called Llacsa Misa mark this wall carefully in five different places.[799] He said, "When the waters reach this point, you must close the mouth of the lake. After that, at the correct times you will direct the waters to the lower fields. At sunrise, you will release the water. They will water the *añay*[800] maize five times only. It is for this that I ordain you." Carefully he familiarized Llacsa Misa[801] with the marking stones.

432 From the time he made this known up to today, all of Llacsa Misa's descendants followed each other in the exact same custom and continue it even now.

People in fact[802] refer to these markers as "lake measures" and call the stick Turca Caya.

It[803] is said to be[804] accurately aligned over the stoneworks to serve its function; if we went there we might see it[805] by taking a careful look.[806]

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794. *titahuanpas* 'with a blanket': in supplement II (sec. 478), *huc fresadacta o titactapas* 'a blanket or cover' clarifies this otherwise unattested word. But *tita* might be an error for *titi* 'lead', as other translators suppose.

795. They got mad, that is, because their *huaca* Collquiri had diverted their water to Capyama Spring and Yampilla village just to satisfy his yen for Capyama.

796. Apparently this means Collquiri had the boy Rapacha dump earth and rocks in the lake so as to reduce its capacity and breach its banks, thereby making water spill out; he then apportioned this water to the Concha.

797. That is, once Rapacha had forced water to breach the lake's bank, Collquiri built a dam in the resulting channel and thereby turned the lake into a controllable reservoir.

798. *cochap simin* 'lake's mouth': a literal translation; the phrase apparently (from context) means the lake's outlet. The stone dam still existed much as described in section 431 as of 1990.

799. That is, the dam was to have five separate sluice gates (now seven). They were to be opened in sequence, from shallowest to deepest, as the lake level fell. When asked why a single sluice gate at the lowest level would not suffice, modern San Damián residents say high water pressure when the lake is full is the reason: using the ancient stone-and-sod technology (with which they are still familiar), a single gate at the lowest level would, at the beginning of the irrigation period, release water with too much force for human musclepower to control.

800. Untranslated. *Añi* is the modern local name of a multicolored maize that needs relatively little irrigation.

801. 'Llacsa Misa' supplied.

802. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

803. 'It': perhaps the measuring stick *turca caya*. A tentative translation.

804. 'Said to be' supplied to indicate reportive validation. The clauses following the semicolon have *-cha* conjectural validation.

805. 'It': the object of *ricohhuan* 'we might see' is unstated in original.

806. *chayasparaccha alli ñauinchichuan ricohhuan*

433 During the month of March the Concha go out to close the lake's mouth,[807] all of them, both men and women.

As for the water measurement mentioned above, Llacsa Misa would decide, "It'll be at so and so a time" or determined some other thing. All the Concha went along, following his exact words.

434 Because he was the *yanca* for this purpose, all the arrangements of the season were made in compliance with his commands.[808]

When it came to irrigation he'd be the only one to give orders about it, saying, "It'll take place now" or "It'll be so many days." And all the Concha obeyed him to the last word.

435 If the lake ever spilled out in the middle of the night, people dragged Llacsa Misa's descendants to the scene from wherever they happened to be, saying, "Go, it's your responsibility!"[809]

Because this was their special care both by day and by night, because they thought only of minding the lake, other people worked hard on their maize fields for them and revered them, saying, "It's because they're numerous that we stay alive."

436 Llacsa Misa, and his descendants, watched over the lake very carefully, saying, "Beware the water doesn't spill out of this lake."

If the lake ever spilled out and the waters of Yansa rushed into the river, a breach would immediately open in the dam. Whenever it did flow into the river, it cracked the dam.

For this reason they watched it with great care.[810]

437 As we said before, the *huacsa*s went to Yansa lake both to impound and to release the waters.

To impound the water all the people went out, too. As soon as they arrived, the women deposited their coca, each one in her own right, and likewise their maize beer each in her own right.[811]

438 These offerings were for Yansa lake, but it was in fact[812] the *yanca* who received them all.

They'd also take one llama, they say.[813] They likewise took guinea pigs, *ticti*, and all the other sacrificial offerings.

Once they finished collecting things, they took a *quipu* account of all the people who were absent and began to worship Yansa lake.

439 They worshiped, saying,

"Father Collquiri, the lake is yours and yours are the waters;
This year, give plentiful water to us."

After they finished worshiping, they drank their maize beer and chewed their coca.

After that the men and women together began to impound the lake.[814]

'if we went there we might see it by taking a careful look': an uncertain translation. *Alli ñauinchichuan*, more literally, 'with our good eye', could perhaps mean 'with our practiced eyes', or 'clearly see with our eyes'; *ñauinchichuan* has inclusive first person plural marking, indicating that the speaker regards the addressee as also having the native's 'good eye' for such matters.

807. The modern lake-closing ritual, called the lake's "anniversary," is practiced on February 3.

808. The position of this priest as irrigation authority affords an important clue to the economic component of priestly power. Chapter 24 (sec. 335) comments on another example of priests' economic privilege. While the Llacsa Misa water priests enjoy a subsidy in agricultural form, the priest sacrificers mentioned in chapter 24 are privileged in consuming animals.

809. *suyoiquim* 'your responsibility': more literally, 'your domain'.

810. The water priests' concern was practical, not magical. Testimony in a 1648 lawsuit between the Concha and their Suni Cancha neighbors (chap. 9, sec. 135) over control of Yansa's waters tells us that the hydraulic system sometimes did in fact suffer damage from overflows: "Last year in a great flash flood that came from the lake of Yanascocha and its streambed, the canal inlet was swept away leaving it [turned] into a washed-out gully, beyond repair" (Biblioteca Nacional, Lima, B-1483, f. 174r).

811. *sapampitac* 'each in her own right': seemingly, asserting a household-level right of access to water. The female ritual role as receiver of water rights parallels the female role of earth as water-receiving *huaca*s in the myths.

812. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation of this sentence.

813. 'They say' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues through the end of section 440.

814. In 1990 the *comuneros* of Conchasica conducted "anniversary" rituals for Yanascocha Lake in a fashion closely recalling sections 438–439. The *alcaldes*, holders of rotating magistracies that ritually govern irrigation, officiated in place of the *yanca*s. The officiants first collected and announced offerings of coca, tobacco, and liquor at lakeside, then dedicated them to the lake's "owners" while loading them in a small raft or "boat" made of dry sod. The sail of the raft was a modern analogue of the *quipu*, a legalized list of irrigators handwritten on paper. While launching the raft, officiants made speeches similar to those recorded c. 1608 but using the

440 When it was time to release the water, people always went five times accompanied by two or three *huacsa*s.

Just before this, a man and a woman would enter a fairly large field and bring maize beer there in a big jug, and guinea pigs, two or three of them, and coca leaf.

Having worshiped with these offerings, they'd release the water.

These are as many stories as we know about Yansa lake.

441 Now, we know[815] that the Concha were the very last of Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them.

For this reason, Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri[816] gave them only a very little of their territories and very few of their fields.

442 The *huacsa*s we mentioned dance the Chanco during the festival seasons of Paria Caca and Chaupi Ñamca just as the Checa dance them.

We already talked about all that in other chapters.

443 Now we'll learn about the children of the three men we mentioned.

They say[817] all the offspring of Llacsa Misa became extinct. When Llacsa Misa was about to die, his nephews, namely, Cuno Cuyo's and Yasali's children, married Hualla's descendants, who'd returned after a long time from the Yauyo region.[818]

These descendants of Hualla are in fact the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred.

444<**margin**, in Quechua:>
[Hualla's descendants are of the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi kindred. They entered into the Llacsa Misas' position, so the people called Huallas don't exist any more. Only one woman is still living, and this one is childless; she's Anya Ruri's wife.][819]

445 Pauquir Buxi's descendants are in fact[820] still alive today and they're the Ñau Paico, those people.

The descendants of Llama Tanya are now the Ruri Cancha, the Casin Chauca, and the Tacya Cancha.

These three patrilineages are the reported[821] descendants of Llama Tanya.

446 As for the Hualla, we already mentioned the Lázaro Puypu Rocçi.

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modern names of the "owners": María Capyama and Pedro Batán. The climactic event was the sailing of the boat and tense observation of its course as lake water gradually saturated it. When it sank, the officiants said the "owners" had expressed their approval by pulling the boat down through the center of the lake.

Yanascocha now has a modern dam with a steel sluice gate, so men and women carry out the closing of Collquiri's dam only in what they call "simulacrum" (a ritualized token of the whole job). The traditional technique of closing the dam is called *champería*, that is, sod-laying. *Champeros* were designated by the officiant to cut fresh sod blocks from a nearby marsh, carry them to the dam, and stack them against the ancient dam so as to prevent lake water from passing through it.

815. *yachanchic* 'we know': introduces a passage with witness validation, continuing through the first sentence of section 443.

816. 'Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri' supplied.

817. 'They say' supplied to indicate resumption of reportive validation, which continues to the end of section 444.

818. In Taylor's reading (1987b: 485) it is Hualla's children who are called nephews of Llacsa Misa. Since both Cuno Cuyo and Hualla are siblings of Llacsa Misa, the offspring of either could be called his nephews. (The term in question is the Spanish *sobrino*, which, at least in Spanish context, does not distinguish between relationships through male and female siblings.) Therefore, the translation discrepancy does not imply any discrepancy about local principles of genealogical reckoning.

819. Secs. 443–444 are difficult. Assuming that all the named corporate descent groups are *yumay* 'patrilineages' like the three groups so described in section 445, one reading might be as follows:

Llacsa Misa's direct lineage became extinct at an unspecified time. When some collateral descendants through his brother Hualla took over the role to which the direct descendants would have been entitled (see sec. 446), namely, primacy in the water priesthood, they ceased to function in the lineage bearing Hualla's name. This transferred group or sublineage was called the Lázaro Puyo Rocçi. At the time of writing only one member of an untransferred Hualla sublineage remained. Since this was a woman (Anya Ruri's wife) and childless besides, the Hualla patrilineage as such no longer existed.

Descent groups throughout this passage are named after their apical ancestors. The fact that in this case the corporate name includes a baptismal name suggests that the transfer of the Lázaro Puypo Rocçi sublineage to the Llacsa Misa role was recent (an effect of post-invasion epidemics?).

820. 'In fact' supplied to indicate witness validation, which continues with one interruption to the end of the chapter.

821. 'Reported' supplied to indicate reportive validation of this sentence. *yumay* 'patrilineages': more literally, 'sperm'.

Calla's descendants are today the Gonzalo[822] Paucar Casa and the Lazaca Canya, those people.

All these people have multiplied from the five men who came from Yauri Llancha.

Only Llacsa Misa's descendants are now completely extinct.

The Lázaro, Hualla's children, have inherited their office because they're Llacsa Misa's kin, and they say, "We're the Llacsa Misa."

This much is all we know about the life of the Concha.

The end.[823]

822. Reading the abbreviated baptismal name as *j°* rather than *g°*, Taylor (1987b: 487) gives "Juan."

823. *fin* 'the end': in Spanish.

447

[Supplement I][824]

In what follows, we shall explain case by case what we know[825] happened in all these villages in the old days, and still does up to now, when a person gives birth to two babies in just one birth, whether they are a boy and a girl, or both boys, or both girls.

We call[826] those who are born this way *curi*.[827]

448 When babies were born like this, even if they were born unexpectedly in some other village, people would bring them to their home village that very night.

For example, in the old days, if twins were born in Sucya Cancha or Tumna, people would bring them right away to the Checa village called Llacsa Tambo.[828]

449 When carrying them they would by no means carry them during the daytime, for they used to say, "Be careful, <crossed out, in Spanish:> [it freezes] the earth might freeze!"

Maybe those who are privy to such practice follow it all over the region.

When *curi* were born, as soon as it got completely dark the man and woman—that is, the twins' father and mother—would start living fenced in inside a house, and both man and wife would lie there motionless
<**margin**, in Quechua with partly Spanish gloss:>
[lying, that is, on one side][829]
until the fifth day.

450 On the fifth day, they'd turn over onto their other side.

On that same day, all the father's male in-laws[830] would gather in the *curi*'s house and dance while beating their drum themselves.

(At that time, contrary to modern practice, it was the men who beat the drum and not the women.)

824. A cross-shaped symbol (*crismón*) appears at the top of the page.

825. 'We know' supplied to indicate witness validation, which predominates throughout the two supplements except where otherwise indicated.

826. *ñinchin* 'we call': an unusual form, perhaps a slip of the tongue or pen due to indecision between *ñinchic* (inclusive first person plural) and *ñin* (third person).

827. The persecutors of "idolatry" from Avila onward attacked twin cults. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 20–21, 53; Keating's translation) mentions that "bodies of *chuchus*" were commonly venerated and kept in houses. *Chuchu* means a body of a twin or also a double or multiple fruit. He notes: "Human twins are called *curi*, which means two born of one womb, and if they die young, they keep them in jars in the house as a sacred object. One of them, they say, is the son of the lightning. They have many superstitions regarding the birth of twins, . . . each of which implies some form of penance, since they must expiate the sin of having been born together. . . . they do not baptize either *chuchus* or *chacpas* [breech birth babies]" ([1621] 1968: 31; Keating's translation).

828. The example of Sucya Cancha suggests that the teller is thinking of trips downslope to trade or produce coca at the Checa's outposts in the lower Rímac valley.

829. The couple would be required to lie on a bean or grain, and only allowed to turn over when their body warmth and humidity had germinated it. It is as if their bodies themselves were to counteract the danger of earth's freezing (Arriaga [1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation).

830. *tucoy masancuna* 'all [his (or their)] male in-laws': the wide extension of this term is made clear by Diego Gonçález Holguín: "*massani* brother-in-law of a male; the married man calls his wife's brothers and her male cousins *massaniy*" ([1607] 1842: 215; see also [1608] 1952: 221). *Massani* and *massaniy* are the root *massa* with "empty morph" *-ni-* and first person singular possessive marker *-y* (i.e., 'my *massa*'). Earlier dictionaries include some of the husband's own male consanguineals ("*massa* brother-in-law, brother of the husband"; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 319).

Before beginning to dance these rites, they used to consult the demon,[831] using a spider[832] and the object called *pana charapi*,[833] concerning which of his in-laws should lead them by dancing first.

451 Following the demon's word, they'd choose and appoint five of the in-laws who were sitting there.

And these people, from the very moment they got the word, would search for coca day and night, never resting, bartering whatever they had for it.

The other in-laws, thinking only to outdo each other, all joined together no matter how many there were.

452 We mentioned above how the parents turned over on their other side.[834]

From that time on, the dancers[835] never rested from dancing every single night until the fifth day had arrived.

On the day before it did arrive, the in-laws used to show one another a leather bag as if to say, "Tomorrow I'll bring coca in this bag." They'd dance shaking the leather bags[836] still empty of coca.

Meanwhile, another five days would have elapsed since the time the parents had turned over on their other side.

So it was ten days in all.

453 On that occasion, beforehand, the five in-laws would catch and bring back a brocket deer, or a *taruca* deer,[837] or any other animals that live on the wild upper slopes. As the leader of those men carried it, the *curi* would emerge onto the open plaza.[838]

454 And some people would go around blowing the conch trumpet called *paya*.

And some would go around carrying a *pupuna*, <**margin**, in Spanish:> [It is the staff with the thong for catching parrots but not with such a long thong.][839]

And some others went around carrying *sacaya*.

(This material called *sacaya* was a little maize ground up with some *ticti*.)

Different people carried this stuff.

As for the people who carried these items, it wasn't the *curi*'s in-laws who carried them. It was rather their close blood relatives who carried them.

The brocket deer was the only thing the leader of the in-laws carried.

455 As soon as people had seized the brocket deer, they would force it to step around with its hooves, starting from the dwelling place where the *curi* were fenced in, saying,

"This is the one who has confused you,
Who has outraged you!"[840]

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [And then they took it out and killed it.]

And all the people would eat its meat immediately, leaving absolutely nothing over as remnants.

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831. *supayta* 'the demon': while to Christian ears *supay* meant a devil, this sentence may reflect the word's older sense 'a spirit' or volatile *ánima*. Since the twin ritual is concerned with the propagation of families, its divinations may have called on ancestral shades.

832. See chapter 28 (sec. 370).

833. Untranslated.

834. To begin germinating the second seed of their penance. 'Parents' supplied.

835. 'Dancers' supplied.

836. *hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic carcanccu*: could also mean 'thus they made [the in-laws] who had no coca bags dance'. 'Shake' is an attempt to render the effect of *huayacallactas taquichic*, more literally, 'making the bags [without coca] dance'. *Taquichiy* is the verb used in all instances where celebrants dance displaying animal skins or human trophies. In chapter 9 (sec. 128) a skin bag full of coca is taken as a sacrifice in lieu of an animal. These data suggest a close symmetry between the coca hunt and the deer hunt in section 453.

837. *tarucactapas* '*taruca* deer': *Hippocamelus antisiensis*, a deer larger than the brocket deer, found at altitudes over 3,000 m in the southern Andes and at higher ones in the north (Renard-Casevitz 1979: 21–22; see also Cabrera and Yepes 1940: 271–272).

838. *pampa* 'open plaza': *pampa* means any flat place, but since the context is the *curi* parents' return to their home ceremonial center, the scene is likely to be a plaza.

839. The *pupuna* is also the reed with which Cuni Raya opened the waterways in chapter 2 (sec. 9).

840. *tacurisonqui apllasonqui* 'has confused you, [who] has outraged you': tentative translation of a difficult passage. *Tacuri-* is thought to be from the verb "*ttakuini o ttacuni o chacruni* to mix or interpose one thing with another" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 335). The derivatives concern confusion, such as turning a house upside down looking for something. *Aplla-* is likely to be *haplla* (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 150) as, for example, in *haplla sonco* ('*haplla*-hearted') meaning 'the person who is in the habit of wrath and quarreling and who is overly rude'. Its derivatives concern words of anger or losing one's temper. Perhaps the point is that the deer is taken as a scapegoat for what has confused the parents' reproductive process. But alternatively the parents themselves could also be subjects of these verbs.

456 Then, as we just said, on the tenth day, they went out onto the open plaza. Afterward, the *curi* went wrapped in a large piece of cloth, shrouded from view, while some people, namely, the in-laws in groups of two or three,[841] would pull them along wailing and dancing.

Those who pulled them would also pull the *curi*'s *ayllu* relatives. They used to pull them along, and as they pulled they said, "We'll give you a field or something like that, we'll give you a llama."

457 When arriving at the open plaza, the in-laws used to carry the brocket deer's skin
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the pelt and the head stuffed with straw, because the flesh had already been eaten as was mentioned.]
with great ostentation, just as we do today when we carry the base of the cross at the head of a procession.[842]
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [the base of the cross]
Those who carried *pupunas* went brandishing them like spears as if to say, "I'll throw!" and striking combative poses over and over again. The one who came first among them struck threatening poses at the *curi* who came along in the rear.

458 When the people who were carrying the brocket deer's skin arrived at the plaza, a man and a woman who were *ayllu* kin to the *curi* offered them a llama or a field. As they did, they would say, "Rest with these gifts"[843] and put them at their ease. Then the *curi* went to their ordained[844] seats and the couple would sit there richly honored, both the husband and the wife together.

459 On that day, all the in-laws would compete in giving away their coca, and they'd dance and drink all day long.

In the evening they'd go back home and return to the same place where they'd dwelt before.

They remained there for another five days.

When those five days were complete, people used to accompany[845] them back to the[846] <crossed out:> [seat] sealed lodging.[847]

460 Right after this, their in-laws brought firewood and built a big bonfire,[848] as at the beginning, right on the next day after the *curi* were born—we forgot to tell this in our earlier account
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [What has to go with this is at the beginning.<?>]
—when they collected firewood every night, and, saying, "It will burn until dawn, lest some temptation befall," they lingered there[849] all night.[850]

So that fire never died until after the rituals,[851] not even for a single night.

461 Afterward, once they finished all these rituals, they led the *curi*
<**margin**, in Quechua:> [and also their parents]
to a certain demon of theirs and asked, "Where shall we wash them clean of their fault?" They'd take them to Yansa lake,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that is, where the Conchas' water comes from]
in due order,[852] following the demon's command.

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841. *masacunapas yscay quimça* 'the in-laws in groups of two or three': could also be read 'their in-laws, two or three of them', but this makes it difficult to see how they could pull the many people mentioned in the next sentence.

842. Arriaga ([1621] 1968: 53; Keating's translation) mentions that the deer was made into a canopy under which the penitent parents passed.

843. 'Gifts' supplied.

844. *unanchascaman* 'to . . . ordained': may mean the place had been chosen by a priestly divination.

845. *asuchic* 'accompany': not attested in old sources; Lira's modern Cuzco dictionary ([1941] n.d.: 22) has an apparently related verb *assuy* meaning 'to approach, to come close, to make one thing closer to another'.

846. Or 'to another'.

847. *aposentoman* 'to the sealed lodging': the following excerpt from a 1656 "idolatry" trial shows that this Spanish word served to designate the specially enclosed house in which (sec. 449) parents of twins were sequestered: "When two are born from one belly, which they call *chuchus*, the wizards [i.e., *huaca* priests] require their parents to fast five days, during each one of which they eat only one row of grains from one maize cob, and during these five days no one may see them, and when they bring food to the said fasting person, who is enclosed in an *aposento*, they cover their eyes so as not to see them . . ." (Duviols 1986: 164). The Huarochirí manuscript original has a crossed-out word *tiana*, which *aposento* replaces. *Tiana* means a dwelling, and sometimes a ceremonial stool or seat.

848. *collo camacta* 'bonfire': conjectural translation.

849. *cayta (ca)corcan* 'they lingered there': from *cay* 'to be' with reflexive *-cu-*; *cayta* 'around here or toward here' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 53).

850. The sense seems to be that, warming themselves by the fire, they stayed near the ritual house all night so the *curi* parents would not be tempted to lapse from their special discipline.

851. 'The rituals' supplied here and in the next sentence.

852. 'In due order': problematic translation. The origi-

462 There a man with the title of Con Churi,[853] who was that demon's priest, used to ask the earth about them.

They say[854] he would ask,

"Why were they born as *curi*?
For what faults of theirs, and how many?"

About those born *curi* people reportedly said, "They're born so in exchange for someone's death."[855] <**margin**, in Spanish:> [This is the opinion of the common people and not the answer.]

463 Then, saying,

"It's for this offense,"

or

"It's for that offense,"

people would wash both parents. They also bathed the two babies, washing them over and over again, even to the point where they were almost dying from cold, until at last it was said, "That's enough for the seriousness of their fault."

464 Once they'd finished all this, they used to cut the male's hair. They clipped just a little of the female's hair, but, as for the male,[856] they sheared his off as we do[857] with sinners.[858]

Then, it's said,[859] they returned with the *huachay ruco*.[860]

People put on them a necklace with black and white intertwined strands, which was the sign of a *curi*.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [somewhat like a golden chain]

465 Then they admonished them,

"You must fast for one whole year.
Neither you nor you may sin sexually[861] with anyone.

<**margin**, in Spanish:> [not with each other either]

If you do, you'll be doing a very bad thing.
You'll have fatigued our in-laws[862] in vain."

So they advised them.

466 When half the year was over, the priest and a lot <**margin**, in Quechua:> [a lot]

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nal text is an abbreviation, *hordᵉmᵈᵉ*, for which we suggest the expansion *hordenadamende* 'in due order' or alternatively *hordinariamende* 'normally', 'usually'. Other translations provide the reading 'heretically' (*hereticamente*). Our reading is partly suggested by the fact that *hordenamyᵒ* meaning *hordenamyento* 'ordinance' and *hordinᵒ* meaning *hordinario* 'ordinary' are common abbreviations of the period (Cavallini de Araúz 1986: 59; Rostworowski 1988: 294). The various derivatives of *herejia* 'heresy' are rarely if ever abbreviated. Moreover, *hereticamente* in this context would be surprising since the manuscript does not concern heresies (which at that time typically meant Protestant teachings) but "idolatries" or "gentile" practices. Nor does the visit to Yansa lake seem any more "heretical" than the rest of the ritual.

853. See chapter 13 (sec. 185). The fact that a *con churi* priest, who is specifically a lineage authority, officiated in this ceremony suggests once more that *supay* in the context of twin ritual denotes an ancestral shade.

854. 'They say' supplied to indicate that this sentence has reportive validation, as do several others up to the end of section 467. The validation shifts do not mark transitions as sharp as those in the numbered chapters and are hard to interpret, but the first sentence of section 468 seems to suggest that this part is an interpolated portion of testimony after which the author returns to writing with witness validation.

855. *huañuynin* 'someone's death': attempts to render the ambiguity of the third person possessive *-n*. Whose death is not clear in this passage. But Hernández Príncipe ([1613] 1919: 188) explains that the birth of an extra baby via twinning was understood as restitution given by the deity of lightning to a family one of whose ancestors had been struck or killed by lightning.

856. *huarmictaca . . . carictaca* 'the female . . . the male': the terms denote gender alone. *Huarmi* can mean 'wife', but *cari* is not a synonym of *cosa* 'husband'. So this sentence leaves doubt about whether the parents or the twins are shorn.

857. *rutunchic* 'as we [inclusive, i.e., addressee as well as speaker] do': this implies the speaker identifies with this common practice of "extirpators of idolatry." Taylor (1987b: 502–503) reads *rutunqui* 'you cut', in which case 'you' could mean Avila or another cleric or church officer.

858. 'As we do with sinners' is witness-validated.

859. 'It's said' supplied to indicate reportive validation, which continues to predominate through the end of section 467.

860. *huachay ruco* may mean 'birth headdress' (González Holguín [1608] 1952: 168; Taylor 1987b: 503).

861. *hochalliconqui* 'sin sexually': using the word with which the church translated 'to sin'. But since in this case sex would violate an Andean, not Catholic, norm the usage may not be colonial: that is, the sin inheres not in sex, but in having sex at the wrong moment.

862. *masanchiccunacta* 'our in-laws' with inclusive first person plural possessive marker: implying that the persons in question are in-laws of both addressee and speaker.

of other people would ask their demon, "Have the twins' parents[863] lived right?"

If it turned out all right, they'd be delighted. But <crossed out:> [If it wasn't good,] if he said, "They did sleep together,"
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [that they had sexual intercourse]
then people would give them a good tongue-lashing.

467 The in-laws would get really mad and berate them: "How dare you wear us out with this burden all for nothing?"

They used to go after them like that until the end of the year.

Only then would they cut their necklace.

In this way, they say,[864] they finished the thing.

468 Now we'll complete[865] what we have just said.

If the twins were born both males or both females, people would say, "Times aren't going to be good."

"There'll be times of terrible hardship."

But if they were born male and female, people interpreted it as a good sign.

469 And as for today's in-laws, on one hand, they're pleased that they don't have to spend as much as they did in the old times.

On the other hand, they may regret it, too, when they think, "We don't do it like that anymore." In some villages, because of the demon's deceptions, they may not have forgotten these practices.

470 At night, or at any other time, when twin llamas are born, they used to ask the demon for their names one by one, inquiring,

"What twin person will he be?"

The names that the demon bestowed were Curi Ñaupa, Curi Yauri, Curi Huaman, Ticlla Curi,[866] or any other name that says *curi*.

It was done[867] that way for each one, whether male or female.

471 Any number of people who are now wealthy in silver used to put all their effort into trading away everything they had for coca during Paria Caca's feast or any other festival, because they didn't yet understand the word of the good God. It was the only thing they'd raise money for, even if they'd had only three or four years to recover from the last festival.

As for the poor, every year they worried, wondering,

"Where'll I find coca?"

"Will I be humiliated this way?"

They searched for it, bartering away their fields and clothing for coca, wandering hither and yon, going up to the guanaco pastures and searching for brocket deer while they themselves went hungry.

472 For the sake of this duty, those who were mindful of such practices used to go to enormous trouble and, fasting rigorously, asked their demon first of all,

"Where'll I find coca?"[868]

"Trading a guanaco for it?"

"Or should I trade off[869] one of my fields, or my clothing?"

"What'll happen to me?"

473 Nowadays, because they have another attitude and don't think so much about this custom,[870] and also because they no longer have to trade off any of their things on account of it, people feel well contented.

On the other hand, they also do cry about it a lot, saying, "Why is it that we don't do these things now?"

474 The time for this rite was at night or at any other

863. 'The twins' parents' supplied.

864. 'They say' supplied to indicate the end of a passage in which reportive validation predominates.

865. *tincuchison* 'we'll complete': the verb implies symmetry and suggests that what follows will not just add to, but will complement or match what went before. The phrase may mean that the teller will now make good on a promise to deal 'case by case' with mixed-sex, two-boy, and two-girl births (sec. 447). Or it may mean that in the next passage, which returns to witness validation, he or she will complement the data given by the source whose words are reported in sections 462–467.

866. The meanings of these names are: Curi Ñaupa 'Twin Leader', Curi Yauri 'Twin Scepter' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 347), Curi Huaman 'Twin Falcon', and Ticlla Curi 'Two-colored Twin'.

867. 'It was done' supplied.

868. 'Coca' supplied.

869. *huacllichisac* 'should I trade off': this verb means "to damage one's capital or leave it just barely begun or a small amount already spent, or to damage in departing, or to go away damaging something" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 170). The concept seems to be that of spending off productive assets and thereby damaging one's own livelihood.

870. 'Custom' supplied.

time that Macoy Llenco designated by declaring, "It'll be on so-and-so a date." At such times people used to cheer up and become merry; the old men and lots of old ladies would go carrying their *ticti* and their other things, for there'd be drinks at the old house[871] or maybe even right here.

475 Right in this village people probably abstain from this practice, more or less, even though they may do it at night. We think that in other villages outside of here people do practice it, and we hear as much, too.

871. *ñaupa huasipi* 'at the old house': *ñaupa* is more strictly 'former'. The phrase may refer to dwellings from before the forced resettlements (c. 1580 onward in this area) or to prehispanic buildings.

[Supplement II][872]
JHS[873]

When we speak of an *ata*, we mean a child born with a reverse whorl[874] in its hair.
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [their hair<?> goes backward][875]

About a person who's born like this:

When the baby turns three years old, its elders get together in the house or in the courtyard. Starting at broad daylight,[876] they first inform the father's[877] brothers-in-law or his fathers-in-law,[878] saying, "On that day we'll cut the hair of this *ata* and *illa*[879] of Paria Caca."[880] (When we speak of an *illa*, we mean just the same thing as an *ata*.)

872. A cross appears at the top of the page. In combination with the monogram JHS that appears below it, this forms the conventional symbol called *lábaro*.

873. The abbreviation *JHS* is a latinization of the Greek monogram *IHΣ* 'Jesus'. *JHS* and its equivalent *IHS* were popularly interpreted *Jesus Hominum Salvator* 'Jesus, savior of men' or *In Hoc Signo* 'in this sign' (i.e., *In Hoc Signo Vinces* 'in this sign shall you conquer'). But its characteristically Jesuit interpretation may be more relevant, given the early Jesuit penetration of the region and given Father Avila's own Jesuit education. This reading is *Jesum Habemus Socium* 'we have Jesus as a companion' (Cross 1957: 678). *Socium* might also resonate with the Andean ideal of social obligation between humans and sacred beings.

874. *parca* 'reverse whorl': a tentative translation. *Parca* can mean a plural whorl (Albornoz [1583?] 1984: 196) or a six-fingered birth (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 279). Perhaps its sense was generic, 'a bodily anomaly'. 'Reverse' derives from Urioste's transcription of the barely legible marginal note. Taylor's reading also seems to refer to hair but does not mention reversal.

875. Taylor (1987b: 512) reads the obscure marginal note as "on some it tangles and others not" (*a alg(un)os se les /maraña y a otros/no*).

876. *pacsac punchaomanta* 'Starting at broad daylight': based on Gonçález Holguín ([1608] 1952: 271) "*pacsa* 'resplendent'." Taylor (1987b: 512) reads *pusac* 'eight', that is, eight days ahead of time.

877. 'The father's' supplied, on basis that *massa* (see note 830) and *caca* are terms explicated with reference to a male ego in the colonial Quechua dictionaries and grammars.

878. *cacancunacta* 'fathers-in-law': an inadequate translation, because no English term corresponds to the same set of relatives as *caca*. Quechuists contemporary with the manuscript said *caca* could mean maternal uncle: "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42). But the same author's grammar treatise gives additional senses:

> *Caca*, the son-in-law's father-in-law, namely his wife's father; both the son-in-law and his first cousins call both the father-in-law and his father "my *caca*."
>
> The married man and his brothers as well also address those of their male in-laws who are brothers of his (the married man's) mother-in-law as "my *caca*." (Gonçález Holguín [1607] 1842: 214–215)

Ricardo ([1586] 1951: 98) gives usages of *caca* including father and brother of male ego's wife. Zuidema (1977: 20) suggests that the term groups together those male consanguines of male ego's son who do not partake of the patrilineal bond between ego and son. It is to the *massa* (see notes 830, 877) and *caca* (Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 240, 319) categories that parents of *parca* owe restitution for the disturbance of procreation that irregular births represent.

879. "*ylla* the large bezoar stone, a notable one as big as an egg or bigger, which they carry with them as a charm to become rich and lucky" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 366), and more broadly, any sort of amulet stone or effigy (see chap. 9, sec. 134); the term is associated with the cult of lightning. Irregular births, too, were attributed to lightning (see note 827).

880. An infant's first haircutting is still a common *rite de passage* in the Andes (Zamalloa González 1972: 28–29) and follows approximately the same pattern described here. The parents place the baby on a blanket

477 So they let everyone know about it, and begin to brew maize beer. When people hear someone say, "They're brewing half a *fanega*[881] of maize, maybe a whole one!" they ask one another, "What could that maize beer be for?"

Once they find out what day the fiesta will take place, all the people gather together on that day.

478 The *ata*'s father[882] sits with his brothers-in-law and all the men who rank as his fathers-in-law,[883] but down by the low end, and he begins to dance and serve them drinks.

When they get good and drunk, they spread out a blanket or a cover[884] and make the baby go to its center and sit there, and they make this speech:

"Fathers and brothers,
Today we'll cut the hair of this *ata*, this *illa*;

For he's Paria Caca's and Tutay Quiri's *ata* and *illa*,
And it's they who have sent him to me to be born so."

479 On that occasion, the baby's nearest maternal uncle[885] if he was a boy, or her nearest paternal aunt if she was a girl, or alternatively the baby's grandfather or grandmother,[886] would stand up and put on the blanket a token representing a llama or a field, and approach the *ata* with a pair of scissors.[887]

(The llama's token is an object called *cot huato*, one with which they had led a llama to Paria Caca.) <**margin**, in Spanish:> [*cot huato* is llama harness]

480 They would also put a token for a field there, called *caxo*.

(This *caxo* was just a stick, a digging tool for women.)

Then the *ata*'s close blood relatives would stand up, one at a time, and make offerings of cloaks and tunics, of sheep[888] or wool, according to their relationship.[889]

481 Once the close blood relatives had finished, the *curaca* or the *alcalde* would get up, starting from the leading positions, and put in one or two *reales* of money.

Thinking, "These people will get even drunker by the time they finish, and the drunker they get the surer it is that they won't hold back on anything," the parents[890] would make them drink hard until nightfall.[891]

482 Once they all finished clipping the hair, it was[892] the *ata*'s father who'd shear it all off the child, for the others would barely have snipped at it. As soon as he finished, he'd immediately start the dancing, calling out his ancestors' names:

"Father Anchi Puma!"

or

"Carhua Chachapa!"

or any other name. They danced and took their ease, saying,

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with kin and guests around it. The guests, in return for each snip of the baby's hair, give or promise gifts for its future welfare. They bind themselves to the child by accepting drinks from the hosts. The rite is generally called a form of godparentage (*compadrazgo*) today.

881. 'half a *fanega*': Spanish bulk measure; about 0.8 bushel or 29 liters.

882. *atayuc runaca* 'the *ata*'s father': could also mean 'the person(s) who has (have) the *ata*', that is, both parents. We choose 'father' because this person is said to have *caca* and *massa*, terms used relative to a male ego.

883. *cacancunahuampas* 'the men who rank as his fathers-in-law': for reasons given in note 878 to section 476.

884. *titacta* 'cover': see note 794 to chapter 31 (sec. 426).

885. *cacan* '[*ata*'s] maternal uncle': "*caca* the uncle who is the mother's brother" (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 42) seems the more applicable sense of *caca* when referring to a child ego since the other usages apply to married males; *ypan* 'paternal aunt' (Gonçález Holguín [1608] 1952: 369; Santo Tomás [1560] 1951: 301)

886. Assuming the immediately preceding glosses of *cacan* and *ypan* are right, these words probably imply maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother, respectively.

887. Scissors are a European tool, suggesting that the narrative concerns post-1532 times.

888. *ouejahuanpas* 'of a sheep': using the Spanish word for the Old World animal. Throughout the manuscript sacrificial goods are consistently of Andean provenience, and it is true that c. 1600 *oveja de la tierra* 'native sheep' could still mean 'llama'. But this gift, offered to the child's estate and not for sacrifice, might really be a Spanish sheep. Spanish sheep were herded through many parts of the Andes well before 1600.

889. *cascancama* 'according to their relationship': or 'according to what they had'.

890. Subject is an unspecified third person: the parents? the *alcalde*? The former makes sense since it was in their interest to maximize the gifts.

891. *pacha huraycuscancama*: more literally, 'until *pacha* descends'; translation uses an unattested but plausible meaning for *pacha*.

892. Or 'is'; many of the verbs in this supplement are ambiguous between agentive present and habitual past tenses because auxiliary verbs (forms of *cay* 'to be') are omitted.

"This is your *ata*, your *illa*,
And now we have finished his rites.

Henceforth may Paria Caca send us no other;
We will do right and be well."[893]

483 When people mention an *ata* or *illa*, they reportedly[894] comment, "This is Paria Caca's messenger."

On the evening of the day before the haircutting ritual,
<**margin**, in Spanish:> [That is, the night before the said day.]
people used to worship Paria Caca and Tutay Quiri with guinea pigs, *ticti*, and other things of theirs, showing deep respect, and saying,

"Put us truly at peace with this *ata*,
Tomorrow we'll truly be happy."

484 "This is the sign of a *curi*," people say. "He has sent this *ata* to foretell the coming of a *curi*. People haven't minded their debts to Paria Caca properly, and for this, *curi* will be born in exchange for someone's death."[895]

"They're born in exchange for their death," they say about those born *curi*.

This is what we know about the people known as the San Damián Checa.[896]

485 Who knows what people say in other villages?

However, when an *ata* is born, everything is the same. Everybody reveres them all over this whole *corregimiento* and in the whole region: the Huanca, the Yauyo, the Huaman Tanca, all the kinds of people called Indians.[897]

486 And it's the same in Limac; when someone's child is an *ata* lots of people gather, from the most distinguished to the servants.

And we also know such things about the ones who are mestizos, some of them.

When they saw these rituals, certain people fell into the same sin, thinking, "Maybe this is a good custom!"

We said the same thing: "They should be shorn after they're three years old."

People perform this rite earlier or later, according to their customs.

All of this is a true testimony.

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893. These two formulas and the one following do not appear to be strict couplets, but they do have a common form consisting of a pairing between a sentence of which the addressed deity is subject and one in which the supplicant speaks of his own conduct.

894. 'Reportedly' supplied to indicate beginning of a passage in which *-si* reportive predominates, continuing up to the fourth sentence of section 484.

895. *huañonan* 'someone's death': whose death, as in supplement I (sec. 462), remains unclear.

896. This sentence and the remainder of the supplement have witness validation.

897. *runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca* 'people called Indians': a reprise of the phrase that begins the manuscript (preface, sec. 1). The effect is as though "zooming out" back to the wider colonial context by naming three farflung ethnic groups whose territories reach far beyond that of the manuscript.

Transcription of the Huarochirí Manuscript

George L. Urioste

F 64 R

[1] runa yn(di)o ñiscap machoncuna ñaupa
pacha quillcacta yachanman carca chayca
hinantin causascancunapas manam cananca
mapas chincaycuc hinacho canman himanam
vira cochappas sinchi cascanpas canancama ricurin
hinatacmi canman [2] chay hina captinpas canan
cama mana quillcasca captinpas caypim churani
cay huc yayayuc guaro cheri ñiscap machoncu
nap causascanta yma ffeenioccha carcan y
ma yñah canancamapas causan chay chay
cunacta chayri sapa llactanpim quillcasca canca
hima hina causascampas pacariscanmanta
[3] CAPITULO 1 COMO FUE ANTEGUAM(EN)TE LOS YDOLOS Y COMO GUERREO EN TRE ELLOS Y COMO AUIA EN AQUEL TIEMPO LOS NATURALES
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc huaca ñiscas yana ñamca tuta
ñamca sutioc carcan cay huacacunactas quipanpi huc huaca
tac huallallo caruincho sutioc<carcan>atircan ña atispas canan
runacta yscayllacta huachacunampac camarcan huctas quiquin
micorcan huctas mayquintapas cuyascanta causachicorcan yayan
maman [4] chaymantas chay pachaca huañuspapas pihcca punchao
llapitac causarimpuc carcan ynaspa micuyninri tarpuscanmanta
pihcca punchaollapitacsi pocorcan cay llactacunari tucoy hinantin
llactas yuncasapa carcan [5] chaysi ancha ahca runacuna huntaspas — yuncaçapa
ancha millayta causarca chacranpacpas cacactapas patactapas yanca
aspispa allallaspa chay chacracunas canancamapas tucoy hinantin
cacacunapi huchoyllapas atunpas ricurin hinaspari chay pacha pis
cocunaca ancha çumaccamas carcan huritupas caquipas tucoy quellosapa
pucasapa [6] chaycunas quipanpi ña may pacham huc huacatac paria
caca sutioc ricurimurcan chay pachas ynantin rurascanhuan antiman
carcoy tucorcan chay atiscancunacta cay quipampim paria cacap pa
carimuscantauan rimason [7] chaymantam canan huc huacatac cuni — saber si dize q(ue) no se
raya sutioc carca<n> caytam mana allicho yachanchic paria cacaman — sabe si fue antes
tapas hichapas ñaupacnin carcan o quipanpas ychaca cay cunirayap — o despues de carvin cho o de paria caca

F 64 V

cascanracmi ñahca vira cochap cascanman tincon porque caytam
runacuna ña muchaspapas coni raya vira cocha runa camac pacha camac
yma aycayuc cammi canqui campam chacraiqui campac runayqui
ñispa muchac carcan [8] yma ayca saça ruranacta callarijpacpas pai
taracmi machocuna cocanta pachaman vischuspa cayta yuyachiuai
amutachiuai cuni raya vira cocha ñispa mana vira cuchactaca ricus
patac ancha ñaupa rimac muchac carcanco yallin astauanrac
compi camayucri compinampac sasa captin muchac cayac carcan chay
raycom caytarac ñaupacninpi causascanta quillcasson chaysauam
paria cacacta

[9] CAPITULO 2 COMO SUÇEDIO CUNI RAYA VIRA COCHA EN
SU TIEMPO cuni raya vira cochap causascan Y COMO CAUI LLA
CA PARIO SU HIJO Y LO QUE PASSO

notase q(ue) no se sabe si fue este antes o despues de carvincho

cay cuni raya vira cochas ancha ñaupa huc runa ancha huaccha tucospalla
purircan yacollanpas cosmanpas lliqui lliquesapa runacunapas huaquin
mana ricsicnincunaca huaccha huçasapa ñispas cayar<>can cay runas
canan tucoy llactacunacta camarcan chacractapas rimaspallas pata
patactapas allin pircascacta tucochircan rarcactas canan llocsimu
nanmanta huc pupuna sutioc cañavelarpa sisayninhuan chucas
pallas yachacuchirca chaymantari yma aycactapas ruraspas purir
can huaquinin llacta huacacunactapas yachascanhuan allcuchaspa [10] chay
si huc mitaca huc huarmi<tac> huacatac caui llaca sutioc carcan cay
caui llacas canan viñay donzella carcan panas ancha sumac cap
tin pi maycan huaca villcacunapas puñosac ñispa munapayar
can chaysi manatac hu ñircancho [11] chaymantas canan quepanpi chay
huarmica chayhina mana pi caritapas chancaycochicuspa huc yura
rucmap siquinpi ahuacorcan chaysi chay cuni rayaca amauta
cayninpi huc pisco tucospa chay yura rucmaman vichayrirca chay
si chaypi huc rucma chayasca captin chayman yumayninta chu
raspa hormachimurca chay huarmi cayllaman [12] chaysi chay huarmica
ancha cusicuspa millpuycorcan chaysi hinalla chichu tucorcan ma
na carip chayascan escon quellanpi himanam huarmicunapas hua
chacon hina huachamurcan yna donzellatac chaysi quiquillantac
huc huata chica ñoñonhuan causachircan pip churinh cayca ñispa
[13] chaysi ña huc huataman huntaptinca taua chaqui ña chay huamra
puriptinca tucoy hinanin huaca villcacunacta cayachircan

F 65 R

yayanta ricsiconcampac chaysi cay simicta huacacuna huyarispa
ancha cusicuspa tucoynin alli pachanta cama pachallispa ñocactapas
ñocactapas munahuanca ñispa hamurcancu [14] chaysi cay tantanacoy
ri anchi cuchapi carcan maypim chay huarmi tiarcan chayman hinaspas la congreçion fue en
ña tucoynin hinantin huacacuna villcacuna tiaycuptinsi chay huar anchi cocha
mica ñispa nircan ri<>coy caricuna apucona ricsicoy cay huahuac
ta mayquenniquechicme yumahuarcanquichic camcho camcho ñispas
sapanpi taporcan chaysi manatac pillapas ñocapmi nircancho [15] chaysi
chay ñiscanchic cuni raya vira cochaca manyallapi tiacuspas ancha
huacchalla yna tiacuptinsi chay huacchap churincho canman ñispas
paytaca millaspa mana tapurcancho chica sumac cama caricunaca
tiaptin chaysi mana pillapas ñocap churimi ñispa ñiptinsi chay
huamracta ñispa nircan ri cam quiquique yayaiquicta ricsicoy
ñispa ñircan huacacunactapas churique caspaca camsahuam lluca
musonque ñispa ñaupactac villaspa [16] chaysi chay huamraca man
yanmanta callarimuspas tahua chaquilla purispa hasta<>chay huc
manyan yayan tiascanman chayascancama mana pillamanpas
llocarcancho chaysi ña chayaspaca tuyllapuni ancha cusicuspa yayanpa
chancanman llocaycorca chaysi mamanca chayta ricuspas ancha
piñacuspa hatatay chay hina huacchap churintachum ñocaca hua
chayman ñispas chay huahuallanta aparicuspa cochaman chi
cacharcan [17] chaysi chay cuni raya vira cochaca tuylla munahuanca ñispa
cori pachanta pachallispa tucoy llacta huacacunapas manchariptin
catita ña callarircan ñispa pana caue llaca cayman cahuaycumu
ay ancha sumac ñam cani ñispas pachactapas hillarichispa sayar
can [18] chaysi chay caue llacaca mana huyantapas payman ticrari
chispa cochaman hinallam chincasac chica millay runap cachcaçapap
churinta huachascaymanta ñispa chicacharcan maypim cananpas chay
pacha camac huco cochapi cananpas sutilla escay rumi runa hina
tiacon chayman chaysi chay canan tiascanpis chayaspalla rumi tu
corcan [19] chaymantas cay cuni raya vira cochaca pana ricurimunca
cahuaycumuanca ñispa caparispa cayapayaspa carollapi catircan
chaysi ñaupac huc condorhuan tincorcan chaysi huauqui maypim
chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñiptinsi cayllapim ñahcam tarinque ñip
tinsi ñispa ñircan camca vinaymi causanque tucoy hinantin sall
cacunamanta huañuptinca huanacuctapas viconactapas yma ayca

F 65 V

cactapas camllam micunque chaymanta camta pillapas huañochi
sonque chayca paipas huañuncatacmi ñispas ñircan
[20] chaymantas chaysaua añashuan tincorcan chaysi pana may
pim chay huarmihuan tinconqui ñispa tapuptinsi payca ñispa
ñircan mana ñam tarinquecho ancha caructam rin ñiptinssi
camca chay villahuascayquimanta manam punchaopas purinque
cho tutallam runapas chicniptin ancha millayta asnaspa purin
que ñispa ancha millaypi ñacarcan
[21] chaysauam pumahuan tincorcan chaymi payca cayllactaracmi rin
caylla ñam sihcpayconque ñiptinmi paytaca camca ancha cuyas
cam canqui llamactapas huchayucpa llamantaracmi micopunque
camta huaño<chi>chispapas aton fiestapiracmi homansaua<chu>
churaspa taquechisonque chaymanta huatanpi camta llocsi
chispare huc llamanta nacasparac(mi) taquechisonque ñispa ñircan
[22] chaymantam ñatac huc atochuan tincorcan chaymi chay atoc
ca ancha caructa ñam rin mana ñam tarinquicho ñispa ñiptin
mi camtaca carupi puricuptiquitacmi runacunapas chay hatoc a
coylla ñispa ancha chicnisonque huañochispari yancam camtaca
carayquictapas husuchisonque ñispa ñircan

[23] hinatacsi huc huaman
huan tincorcan chaysi chay
guamanca cayllata
racmi rin ñah cam tarinq(ui)
ñiptinsi camca ancha
cusiocmi canqui micuspa
pas ñaupacracmi quin
ticta armuçaconque chay
mantari piscocunacta
huañuchispari camta
huañuchic runam huc
llamanhuan huacachi
sonqui ynaspari taquis
papas homampim chura
sonqui chaypi sumaspa tian
cayquipac
[24] chaysahuam cay horitocu
nahuan tincorcan chaysi
chay horituca ancha caructa
ñam rin mana ñam tarin
quicho ñiptinsi camca an
cha caparispam porinq(ui)
micoyniquicta husuchisac
ñiptiquipas chay caparij
niquita huyarispa ancha
vtcalla carcosonqui chay
mi ancha ñacarispa cau
sanq(ui) runapas chicniptin

[24cont.] chaymantari pi maycan alli villacochuan tincospaca allicta çapa
camaycospas rircan mana allicta villacnintare millaypi cama
ñacaspas rircan [25] chaysi cocha pa(tapi chayaspaca)<hinalla cochaman yaycuspa
chicacharcan chaytam canan runacunaca castillamanmi chicachar
ca ñispa ñincu ñaupa pachapas huc pachamansi rin ñispaca ñircan>
pacha camacñicman cutimurcan chaysi chaypica pacha camacpac
iscay sipas churin machachuaypa huacaychascan tiacman chaya
murcan chaysi cay yscay sipaspa mamanca ñaupacllantac co
cha hucoman chay caue llaca ñiscacta visitac yaycurcan sutin
pas hurpay huacha<y>c sutioc cay hillaptinsi chay cuni raya vira co
chaca chay sipasta yuyacninta puñochircan chaysi huquen ñañan
tauan puñoyta munaptinsi chayca huc urpai tucospa pauarirca
chaymantas mamanpas hurpai huachac (sutioc) carca [26] chaysi chay pachaca
cochapi manas huc challuallapas carcancho chay hurpai huachac
niscallas huasinpi huc huchuylla cochallapi huyhuacuc carca
chaytas chay cuni rayaca piñaspa ymapacmi chay caue llaca ñis
ca huarmicta cocha ocumanta visitac rin ñispalla tucoyninta <cocha>

F 66 R

haton cochaman vischorapurcan chaymantaracsi cananca chall
huacunapas cochapi huntan [27] chaymantas chay cuniraya vira co
cha ñiscaca miticamurca cocha patañicta chaysi chay hurpai
huachac ñisca huarmica huahuancuna ynam <yuma>(puñu)huan ñispa
villaptinsi ancha piñaspa catimurcan chaysi cayapayaspa catip
tinsi ho ñispa suyarcan chaysi husallayquicta husascayque
cuni ñispas husarcan [28] chaysi ña husaspa pay cayllapi huc aton
cacacta viñarichircan chayta cuni rayacta hurmachisac ñispa
chaysi payca hamauta cayninpi musyacuspa aslla ysmayco
cumusac pana ñispalla cay llactacunaman ñatac miticamur
can chaysi cay quitipi ancha hunay puricorcan ancha ahca llac
tacunacta runactapas llollachispa <el fin q(ue) tuuo esta huaca se dira abajo ojo>
[29] CAPIT(UL)O 3 COMO PASSO ANTEGUAMENTE LOS Y(NDI)OS QUANDO REUENTO LA MAR
CAYPIM ÑATAC ANCHA ÑAUPA RUNA
CONAP RIMACUSCANMAN ÑATAC
CUTISON
chay simire caymi ñaupa pachas cay pacha puchocayta munarcan
chaysi mama cochap pahcyamunanta yachaspas huc orco llamaca
ancha allin queuayucpi <yayan>(chay llamayoc) çamachiptintac mana micuspa
ancha llaquecuc yna carca yn yn ñispa huacaspa [30] chaysi<yayan>(chay llamayuc)
ca ancha piñaspa sarap curumtayninhuan chucllo micuscampi
chucarca micoy allco chica quehuapim çamachijque ñispa chay
si chay llamaca runa yna rimarimuspa ñispa ñircan hutic ymac
tam cam yuyanquiman cananmi pihcca punchaumanta cocha
pahyamunca chaymi hinantin pacha pochocanca ñispa rima
rirca [31] chaysi chay runaca ancha mancharispa himanam cason
mayman rispam quispison ñispa ñiptinsi haco villca coto este es un cerro q(ue) esta
hurcoman chaypim quispison pihcca punchaupac micuynij entre huanri y surco
quicta apacoy ñispa ñircan chaysi chaymantaca chay orco
llamantapas vinaynintapas quequen apaspa ancha hutcaspa
rircan [32] chaysi ña villca coto hurcoman chayaptinca tucoy ani
malcuna ña huntasca pomapas hatucpas huanacopas con
dorpas yma ayca animalcunapas chaysi chay runa chayap
tin pachalla cochaca pahcyamurca chaysi chaypi ancha
quihcquinacuspa tiarca [33] tucoy hinantin hor(co)cunactapas tu
coy pampaptinsi chay villca coto hurcolla aslla puntallan

F 66 V

mana yacup chayascan carca chaysi hatucpac chupantaca
yaco hucocharcan chaysi chay yanamanpas tucorcan chay
si pihcca punchaomantaca ñatac yacuca huraycurcan
chaquerirca [34] chay chaquerispas cochactapas asta hurayman
anchurichircan runacunactari tucoy hinantin runacta collo
chispa chaymantas chay runaca ñatac mirarimurca chay
cacsi canancama runacuna tian cay simictam canan
xp.^(christia)nocuna hunanchanchic chay tiempo dellobioctah paycuna
ca hina villca cutucta quispiscanta hunanchacon

[35] CAPIT(UL)O 4 COMO EL SOL SE DESPARECIO CINCO DIAS

CHAYMANTAM HUC SIMICTATAC VILLASON PUNCHAO HUAÑUSCANTA

ñaupa pachas <punchao> (ynte) huañorcan chaysi chay huañuscan
(manta) pihca punchao tutayarcan chayssi rumicunaca paypura
huactanacurcan chaymantas cay mortero muhcacunari
chaymanta cay maraycunapas runacta micuyta callarir
can llama horcocunare ynatac runacta ña catirircan
caytam canan ñocanchic xp.^ono(christiano)cuna hunanchanchic
jesuxp.^to(jesuchristo) apunchicpac huañuscanpi tutayascantah caycuna
ca riman ñispa hunanchanchic ychach ari chay

[36] CAPIT(UL)O 5 COMO ANTEGUA M(ENT)E PARECIO PARIA CACA EN VN CERRO LLAMADO CONDOR COTO CIN CO HUEUOS Y LO QUE SUCEDIO

CAYMANTAM ÑATAC PARIA CACAP PACARIMUSCAN CALLARINCA

ñam hari cay ñaupac tahua capitulopi ñaupa pacha causas
cancunacta villanchic hichaca cay runacunap <> chay pacha
pacarimuscancunactam mana yachanchiccho maymantah
pacarimurcan [37] chaymanta cay runacuna chay pacha causaccuna
ca paypura aucanacuspa atinacuspalla<s>m causac carcan(cu) cura
canpacpas sinchicunallacta rricocunallacta<s> ricsicorcan cay
cunactam purom runa ñispa ñihchic [38] cay pachapim chay
paria caca ñisca condor cotopi pihcca runto yurimurcan cay yu
riscantam huc runa huacchallatac huatya cori sutioc
paria cacap churin ñiscatac ñaupaclla ricumorca yachamurca
cay yachascantari ahca misterio rurascantahuanmi rimason

F 67 R

[39] chay pacha cay huatya curi ñisca huacchalla micuspapas huatya
cuspalla causaptinsi sutiachircan huatya curim ñispa
chay pachas huc runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha capac atun apo — ojo tamta ñamca
carcan huasimpas tucoy hinantin huassim cassa cancho ñisca
ricchaccuna piscocunap ricranhuan catascas carcan llamanpas
quillo llama puca asol llama yma ayca ricchaccama llama
yocsi carcan [40] chaysi cay runacta chica alli causascanta ricuspas
tucoy hinantin llactacunamanta hamuspa yupaicharcan mu
charcan chaysi payri ancha yachac tucospa pissi yachascanhuan
ancha ahca runa<cta>conacta llollaspa causarcan chay pachas yna
amauta tucoc dios tucoc caspatac chay runa tamta ñam(ca) sutioc ancha mi — tamta ñamca
llay huncoyta tarircan [41] chaysi ancha ahca huata honcoptinsi hima
hinam chica yachac camac caspatac honcon ñispa runacunapas
chay pacha rimarcancu chaysi chay runaca alliyasac ñispa y
manam vira cochacunapas amautacunacta doctorcunacta caya
chin chay hina tucoy yachaccunacta sauiocunacta cayachircan — juntaronse los sauios
chaysi manatac pillapas yacharcancho chay honcoscanta [42] chay
si cay hatya curica chay pacha ura cochañicmanta hamuspa
may pacham sieneguellaman huraycomunchic chay horcucta chay
pis poñomusca chay horcom canan latab zaco sutioc chaypi poñop
tinsi huc hatocca vramanta amusca hocri hanacmanta amusca
tac chaysi chaypi pactalla tincuspas huauque hima ynallam
hanac villcapi ñispa tapurcan [43] chaysi allica allem ychaca
huc apom anchi cochapi villca checa yachac tucoc dios tococmi
ancha huncon chaymi tucoy amautacuna taripan pachacta
ymamantam chica huncon ñispa chaymi manatac pillapas
yachancho honcoscanta chaymi chay honcoscanca huarminpa
pincayninmanmi camchacuptin huc muro sara callanamanta
pahyamuspa chayaicurcan [44] chaytam ñatac pallaspa huc ru
naman caracurca chay carascanmantam chay runa micoc
huan hochallicoc ña tucon chaytam canan pachaca huachuc
ta ña yupan chaymantam cay hochamanta huc machac
huay chay chica sumac huasinsaua pay(cuna)cta micoc tian huc
ampaturi yscay vmayoc maraynin hocopi tian(tac) cay<cuna>
micucnintam (cana) mana pillapas musyancho ñispas villarcan
chay hatoc horamanta amucta [45] chaysi ñatac paytari

F 67 V

huauqui chayca hura villcapi hima hinallam runacuna ñis
pa tapurcan chaysi payri hinatac villarcan huc huarmim
aton apo villcap churinmi hullomanta ñahca huañun ñispa
(cay simin canan ancha ahca chay huarmi alliyascancama
chaytaca quepampiracmi quillcason cananri ñaupacman
cutison)[46]cay caycunacta villanacuptinsi chay huatya curi ñisca huyarcan
chay chica aton apo dios tucospa huncos<canta> cay runas
yscay churiyoc carcan chaysi huc yuyacnintaca huc
casarachircan ayllonhuantac ancha rricohuan tinquichircan chaysi cay
huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca chay pacha honcoptin chay apoman
chayarcan [47] chaysi chayaspas<huaqui> huaticayllapi tapuyca
charcan manacho cay llactapi pillapas honcon ñispa chaysi
chay quipan sipas chorinca yayaimi honcon ñispa villar
ychaca caytas que can chaysi ñocahuan cason camrayco yayaiquicta alliya
pampi chaupi ñamcacta chisac ñispa villarcan (cay huarmip sutintam mana yachanchiccho)
ña sutiachircan chaysi chay huarmica mana tuy
llaca hu ñircancho [48] chaysi yayantaca yaya caypim huc huac
cha yayaiquicta alliyachisac ñimuan ñispa villarcan chay
si cay simicta hoyarispas chay sauiocuna tiacca asicor
can ñocacunapas alliyachipticho chay huaccharac alliya
chinman ñispa chaysi chay apoca alliyaininta ancha mu
naspas hamuchontac yma yna runallapas ñispa cayachircan
[49] chaysi cayachiptin cay huatya curi ñiscaca yaicuspa ñispa ñirca
yaya alliyaita munaptiquica alliyachiscayqui hechaca chu
riquictam co<uay>anqui ñiptinsi paica ancha cusicuspa alli
tacmi ñispa ñircan chaysi chay ñaupac churinpa cosanca
cay simicta huyarispas ancha piñarcan himapacmi chay huc
huacchahuan tinquichisac ñispa ñin ñoca chica capacpac co
ñaday<ni>ta ñispa [50] cay runa piñacucpa huatya curihuan
aucanacuscantam caysa(ua) villason cananca chay huaccha
huatya curi ñiscap ampiscanman ñatac cotison
chaysi cay huatya curica ampijta ña callarircan yaya huarmiquim
huachuc ñispa chay hina huachoc hochayoc captinmi camta
honcochisonqui camta micucri cay chica collanan huasique
sahuam yscay machachuay tian chaymantam ampatori
yscay homayoctac maray hucopi tian [51] caycunactam canan
tucoyninta huañoshison chaymi alliyanqui chayman

F 68 R

tam ña alliyaspam tucoy hima aycacta yallispa ñocap yayai
ta muchanqui caya minchallam yurimunca camca manam
ari camac runacho canqui camac runa caspaca manam
ari honconquimancho ñispa ñiptinsi ancha mancharirca
[52] chaysi ña chay huasinta chica sumacta pascasac ñiptinsi
ancha llaquicorcan huarminsi hinatac yancam cay huac
cha acoylla ñihuan manam huachuccho cani ñispa capa
rircan [53] chaysi chay runa honcucca alliyaininta ancha
munaspas huasinta pascachircantac chaymantas yscay
machachuayta surcorcan ynaspa huañochircan huarmintari
hinatac suti villarcan ymanam chay huc muro sara pah
yamuspa pincayninman chayaicorcan ynaspa ñatac pallas
pa runacta cararcan chaycunacta chaysi chay huarmi
pas quipampica ancha chicanmi ñispa tucoyta villacorcan
[54] chaymantas ñatac marayninta atarichircan chaysi chay
hucomantaca huc ampato yscay homayoc llocsimuspa
chay anchi cucha huaycomanh pahuarircan chaypis
canancama tiacon huc pucyupi chay pucyus canan chay — preguntar como se dize
pi runacuna chayaptinca ña ñispa chincachin ña ñis — este pucyu y en q(ue) p(ar)te esta
pa locotapas ruran [55] cay tucoy ñiscanchiccunacta ña
puchocaptinsi <yayanca> chay huncuc runaca alliyarcan
ña alliyapuptinsi chay huatya curi ñiscaca ponchao
ninpi huc mita condor cotoman rircan chaypis chay pari
a caca ñisca huacaca pihca runto tiacorcan chay cayllampis
canan huayrapas pucorircan chaysi ñaupa pachaca manas
huayra ricurircancho [56] chayman rinan captinca punchao
ninpis chay alliyac runaca sipas churinta corcan chay
si yscaynillan chay horco quiticta porispa hochallicorcan
[57] cay hochallicoscanta ña chay huc ñaupac masan hoya
rispa<m>s ancha pincayta rurasac chay huacchacta ñispa
yallinacoyta ña callarirca chaysi huc ponchao chay ru
naca huauqui camhuan yallinacuson ymahuanpas cam
huacchcaraccho chica capacpa coñada<ni>yta huarmiyan
quiman ñispas ñircan chaysi chay huacchaca alli — + esto es uno de los hu(eu)os
tacmi ñispas yaianman + cayhinam ñihuan ñispa villa — dichos a quien este tenia
coc rircan chaysi payca allitacmi ymata ñiptin — por p(adr)e

F 68 V

pas<tu> tuyllam ñocaman hamuanque ñispa ñircan [58] cay ya
llinacoysi cay hina carcan
huc ponchaosi vpyaihuan ynaspa taquihuan yallinacuson
ñispa ñircan chaysi cay huaccha huatya curi ñiscaca ya
yanman villacoc rircan chaysi ri chay huc horcoman
chaypim huanaco tucospa huañusca siriconqui chaymi tu
tallamantam ñocacta ricoque huc atoc añas huarminhuan
hamunca [59] chaymi huc huchoylla porongollapi ashuanta apa
munca ynaspa tinyantapas apamuncatac chaytam canan
camta huañusca huanacucta ricuspam chaycunantapas
pachapi churaspa atucri antaranta churaspatac micoyta
ña callarisonqui chaymi camca runa tucospa ancha na
nacta caparispa pauarimunqui chaymi paicunaca chay
nintapas mana yuyaspa miticaptinmi chayta apaspa
yallinacoypac rinqui ñispas yaian paria caca villarcan
[60] chaysi cay huacchaca ñiscancama rurarcan
chaysi ña yallinacospaca ñaupacñinsi chay runa rrico ñisca
taquircan chaysi huarmicunapas ñahca yscay pachac chica
taquipuptinsi ña pai pochocaptin chay huacchaca
yaycorcan sapallan huarmillanhuan yscaynillan chay
si ponconta yaicospatacsi chay añaspa huancarninta
apamus(can)<chay>huan taquiptin<si> tucoy chay pachapas cuyurcan
ynaspas chayhuanpas tucoyta yallircan [61] chaysi ñatac vpyai
ta callarircan chaysi ymanam canampas corpacuna anac
manta tiamun chay hinas çapallam huarmillanhuan tia
murcan chaysi chay runacunaca tucoy hinantin tiaccuna
ancosamurcan mana samachispa chaysi paica tucoyta
vpyaspapas mana llaquispa tiacorcan [62] chaysi ñatac pairi
chay huchoylla poroncollapi ashuan apamuscanhuan ancusay
ta ña callarircan runacunapas chica ochuyllapicho chica
runacta sacsachinman ñispa<s> asipayaptin chaysi paica
manyanmanta ancosamuspa sapampi tuylla tuylla hur
machircan [63] chaysi cayantin ñatac huc yallinacoyta atipap
tin munarcan cay yallinacoysi huallparicoy carcan an
cha allin cassa ñiscanhuan cancho ñiscanhuan chaysi cay
huatya curi ñiscaca ñatac yayanman rirca chaysi huc

F 69 R

razo pachacta yayanca cumurcan chayhuansi tucoy runacunac ◘ riti
tapas ñauinta rupachispa atiparcan [64] chaymantas ñatac
pomacta aparispa yallinacoson ñispa ñircan chaysi cay
runaca pomancunacta aparispa yallita munarcan chaysi
chay huacchaca yayan villaptin tutallamanta huc pucyo
manta puca pomacta apamurcan chay puca pomahuansi ca
nan taquiptin ymanam canan huc arco sieloñicpi llocsin
chay hina llocsiptin taquircan [65] chaymantas canan ñatac hua
si pircacoyhuan yallinacoyta munarcan chaysi chay runaca an
cha ahca runayoc caspa huc poncha(u)lla atun huasicta ñahca
tucochircan chaysi <pay> cay huacchaca ticsillanta churaspa
tucoy punchao huarmillanhuan poricorcan chay tutas canan
tucoy piscocuna chaymanta machachuaycuna yma ayca
pachapi caccunas pircarcan chaysi cayaca ña tucoscacta
ricuspa ancha mancharircan [66] chaymanta catanampipas
hinatacsi yallircan ocsantapas tucoy huanacocuna
vicoñaconas astamurcan chay runaptari llamanhuan
chacnacumuptinsi oscullocta mincaspa huc cacallapi
suyaspa mancharichispa tucoyta destruyrca hurmachir
can chayhuanpas hinatac yallircan [67] cay tucoyta yallina
cuspas quipampica cay huaccha ñiscaca ñispa ñircan
yayanpa simincama huauqui ñam chica ahca mita
campa simiquicta ho ñispa yallinaconchic cananca ño
cap simijtapas ho ñihuaytac ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi
ñispa ho ñircan chaysi ñispa ñircan cananca ancas cusma
yoc chaymanta huaranchicri yurac hutco cachon hina
lla taquison ñispas ñiptinsi allitacmi ñircan [68] chaysi chay
runaca ñaupacmantapas payrac <taquic> ñaupac taquic
caspas taquircan ña taquiptinsi chay hatya curi ñis
caca hahuamanta caparispa callparimuptinsi chay runa
ca mancharispa huc lloycho tucospa miticarcan chay
si huarminpas cosallayhuantac huañosac ñispa catirir
can [69] chaysi chay huaccha ñiscaca ancha piñaspa ri hutic
cammi chica huatuycahuarcanquichic ñispa camtaca
huañochiscayquim ñispas catirircantac chaysi catispa
huarmintaca anchi cocha ñanpi apispas caypim ynantin

F 69 V

runa hanacmanta huramanta hamuc pincaynijque
ta ricupayasonqui ñispas huray çinca humanmanta sa
yachircan chaysi tuylla pachampitac rumi tucorcan [70] chay
rumis canancamapas himanam runap chancan hina
nota chancayoc racayoc tian chaytas ymancampach ari
preguntar para q(ue) cocacta chaysaua churapon (canancamapas) chaymantas chay lloycho
se pone esta coca tucoc runaca hinallatac chay hurcucta sicaspa chin
carcan [71] chay lloychos canan ñaupa pachaca runa micoc
carcan quipampis canan ña ahca lloycho caspas yma
ynam runacta micosonchic ñispa cahchuacorcan chay
si huc huahuallanca hima ynam runa micohuason
ñispa pantarcan chayta hoyarispas lloychoconaca
chiquirircan chaymantas lloychopas runap miconan
carcan [72] cay ñisca<y>(nchic)cunacta ña puchocaptinsi paria caca
paria cacap yuri ñiscaca pihca runtomanta pihca huaman pahyamur
muscan can chay pihca huamansi ñatac runaman tucuspa
purirircan chay pachas ancha chaycunap rurascancunac
ta vyarispa ymanam chay runapas sutioc dios
me cani ñispa muchachicorcan chay chay huchancuna
mantas piñaspa tamya hatarispa mama cochaman<>
tucoy hinantin huasintahuan llamantahuan aparcan
mana huchlactapas quispichispa [73] chaymanta chay pa
chatacsi cay llantapa hurcomanta huc pullao sutioc
chay huc urco vichoca ñiscahuan apinacorca arcohina
chay pullao ñiscas ancha aton sacha carca chaysauas cusi
llupas caquipas yma ayca ricchaccuna piscocunapas
tiacoc carcan chaycunactahuansi tucoy hinantinta cocha
man aparcan caycunactas ña pochocaspa ñatac pari
a caca hanac canan paria caca ñinchic chayman vichay
corca chay vichaycoscantam canan quipan capitulo
pi rimason
[74] CAPIT(UL)O 6 COMO PARIA CACA NAÇIO ÇINCO ALCONES
Y DESPUES TORNO EN PER(SON)AS Y COMO ESTANDO YA
VENÇIDOR DE TODOS LOS YUNGAS DE ANCHI COCHA
EMPEÇO A CAMINAR AL D(ICH)O PARIA CACA Y LO QUE
SUÇEDIO POR LOS CAMINOS

F 70 R

ña paria caca runaman tucuspas aton ña caspa enemigon
ta mascayta ña callarircan chaysi chay enemigonpa sutinri
<ri>huallallo carvincho carcan runacta micoc hupyac cay<mi>
tam cay quipampi churason atinacuscantahuan ñam hari chay
huallallo carvinchup causascantaca runa micuscanta(huan)pas yma
ayca rurascantauanpas ñaupac capitulopi rimarcanchic el capit(ul)o primero
[75] canami rimason huaro cheripi chay chay quitipi rurascancunac
ta chay simire caymi ña paria caca haton runa caspas hanac
paria caca ñiscaman huallallo caruinchup tiascanman rir
can [76] chaysi huaro cheri chay hura huaycupica huc llacta huau
qui husa sutioc yuncap llactan carca chaysi chay llactayoc ru
nacunaca chay pacha haton fiestacta rucraspa haton vpiayta
vpyarcancu chay hina vpyacuptinsi paria caca ñiscaca
chay llactapi chayarcan chayaspas payca runacunap manyallan
manta tiaicorcan huaccha ynalla [77] chay hina tiaptinsi chay llac
tayoc runacunaca mana hucllapas ancosarcancho tucoy punchao
chay yna captinsi huc huarmica chay llactayuctac añañi yma
ynam chay huacchallactaca mana ancosayconcho ñispas huc
haton yurac potohuan ashuacta apamuspa corcan [78] chaysi
payca pani ancha cosiocmi canqui cay ashuacta comuaspa
canan punchaomanta pihccantin punchaoninpi himactahc
cay llactapi riconqui chayrayco chay ponchaoca amatac cay
lla(c)tapi tianquicho carollamantac anchorinque pactah cam
tauan huahuayquictauan pantaspa huañochiquiman an
cham cay runacuna ñocacta piñachihuan ñispas chay huar
micta ñircan chaymantari cay runacunactari amatac
huc simillactapas hoyarichicho oyarichiptiquica camtahuan
mi huañochiquiman ñispas ñircan [79] chaysi chay huar
mica huahuancunahuan turancunahuan chay pihca pon
chaomanta chay llactamanta anchoricorcan chaysi chay
llactayoc runacunaca mana llaquispa vpiacorcancu
chay pachas paria caca ñiscaca guaro cheri hanacnin
horcuman vichaycorcan chay horcom canan matao
coto sutioc chay huraynin huc horcom puypu huana
sutioc maytam caymanta rispa huaro cheriman hu
rayconchic chaycunam cay hina sutioc [80] chay orcopis

F 70 V

canan chay paria cacaca haton tamyayta ña callarircan
chaysi quillo runto puca runto hatarispas chay runacu
nactaca tucoyninta mama cochaman aparcan mana
huchlactapas perdonaspa chay pacha chica yaco llocIla
purispas chay huaro cheri anacnincuna huaycucunac
tapas rurarcan chaymantas canan ña chay(cuna)cta pucho
caspas chay llactayoc huaquinin yuncacunactaca mana
paria caca chimparcan rimapayaspa paycunari<ancha alli> chayta ricuspapas
cuparap llactanman mana musyaptin yachaptinsi chay chimpañic cuparap
chacrancunaman ripurcan [81] chaypis canan chay llactayoc
cupara runacuna ancha yaconmanta ñacarispa pucyo
llamanta chacranmanpas posaspa causarcan <> cay puc
yum canan s(a)n lorenço hanacnin aton orcomanta llocsir
can chay orcum canan suna caca sutioc chaypis canan ha
ton cochalla carcan chaymanta huray pusamuspas ña
tac huchuilla cochacunaman hontachispa chacrancunac
ta parco(cuc) carcan [82] chay pachas chay llactayoc huc huarmi
chuqui suso sutioc carcan ancha sumac huarmi chaysi cay
huarmica sarancuna ancha chaquiptin huacacospa
parcocorcan yacon ancha pisi captin chaysi chay paria caca
ca chayta ricuspa chay huchoylla cochanta yacollanhuan
chay cochap siminta quirpaicoporcan [83] chaysi chay huarmica
ñatac ancha nanacta huacacorcan chay hinacta ricuspa
chaysi chay paria cacaca pani ymac(tam) <> chica huacanque
ñispa taporcan chaysi payca cay sara(llay)mi yacumanta cha
quipuan yaya<ñiptinsi> ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca
ama llaquicho ñocam yacuctaca cay cochayquimanta
ancha ahca yacucta llocsichimusac hichaca camhuan
<> ñaupac(rac) puñuson ñispa ñircan [84] ñiptinsi canan pay
ca ñirca ñaupacrac cay yacocta llocsichemuy <> chac
ray parcusca captinca allitacmi puñoson ñispas ñircan chay
si allitacmi ñispa yacoctaca ancha ahcacta llocsichimurcan
chaysi chay huarmipas ancha cusicospa tucoy chacrancunac
ta parcocorcan chaysi ña parcoyta puchoca<spari>ptinca puño
son ñispa ñircan chaysi manam <cay> cananca caya mincharac
poñoson ñiptinsi paria cacaca ancha chay huarmicta munaspa

F 71 R

puñoymanrac ñispas yma aycactapas chay huarmiman pro
metircan cay chacraiquicta mayomanta yacuyuctam rura
puscayque ñispa [85] chaysi chay huarmica chaytarac ñaupac ruray
chayrac puñuson ñispa ñircan chaysi paria cacaca allitacmi ñispas
coco challa sutioc huaycumantas s(a)n lorenço anacnin huchuilla
hurco chay camaca ñaupamantapas yuncacunap rarcansi ha
murcan ancha huchuylla rarcalla chaytas canan paria cacaca
astauanri hatonyachispa chay hura cuparap chacrancama
rarcacta chayachircan [86] chay rarcactas canan pumacuna
hatuccuna machachuaycuna yma ayca piscocuna picharcan
allicharcan cayta ña allichaypacmi cay pumacuna oturungo
pas yma aycapas pim ñaupac siqueson ñispa camachinacor
can chaysi hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñocarac ñispa ñircancu
chaysi hatoctac atiparcan ñocam curaca cane ñocarac
ñaupasac ñispa chaysi pay atoc ñaupamurcan [87] yna ña
upamuspa ña chaupicta s(a)n lorenço hanacnin hurcucta seque ñaupamuspa ña
mup<>tinsi concayllapi huc yutuca pisc pisc ñispa pahua
rimurcan chaysi chay hatocca huac ñispa muspaspa hura
man hurmamurcan chaysi chaymanta chaycunaca ñatac
ancha piñaspa machachuayta sequechimurcan chaysi ma
na chay hurmamuptinca astahuan hanacnintas chay rarca
nin rinman carca chaysi cunanca as huranta rin cay atoc
pa hormamuscanmi canancamapas sutilla ricurin yacu
pas huraycumuntac (chay atocpa vrmascanta) [88] cay tucoyta puchocaspam ñatac paria
cacaca puñoson ñispa ñircan chaysi <> ñatac haco anac cacaman
chaypirac poñoson ñispa <llollachircan> (ñircan) chay cacam canan
yana caca sutioc chaypis huaque puñorcan ña puñospas canan
chay huarmica haco yscayninchictac maytapas rison ñiptinsi pai
ca aco ñispa chay coco challa ñisca rarcap llocsimuscanman pu
sarcan [89] chaysi chaypi chayaspaca chay huarmi chuqui suso ñis
ca sutiocca cay <ray>rarcaypitac tiasac ñispas chaypi rumi tu
cuspa chira<hua>yarca chaysi chay paria cacaca chaymanta sa
quispa hanacman vichaycorcan chaytaca cay quipanpin villason
[90] cay coco challa ñisca rarcap siminpim canan rumi chirahuas cunirayap tiascan
ca tian chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmi ynaspam chay hanac chuqui susop cayllan
nin huc rarcapi<m>tacmi chay pachapas vincompa sutiocpim pi

F 71 V

canan ñatac cuni ra(ya) chirahuasca(tac) tian chaypim canan cuni
raya pochocarcan ychaca yma ayca rurascantaca cay
huaquin quepanpi capitulocunapim villason
[91] CAPITULO 7 YMANAM CHAY CUPARACUNA
CHAY CHUQUI SUSO ÑISCACTA CANANCAMAPAS
YUYPAYCHAN
cay cuparacunam huc ayllo cupara ñisca ayllo sutioc cay
cunam canan s(a)n lorençopi reduzisca canancamapas causan
cay ayllomantam canan huc yumay chauincho sutioc cay
chauincho <huarmin>(ayllom) carcan chay chuqui suso ñisca chaymi
caycunaca ñaupa pacha ña may pacham rarca pichana carca
mayo quielapi canancamapas chay pacham tucoy hinantin ru
nacuna chay chuqui suso ñisca huarmip tiascan<huan>man rircancu
<>ashuanhuan tictinhuan cuynhuan llamanhuan [92] chaypi
chay supay huarmicta muchaypac chaymi ña chayta muchaspari
pihca ponchaosi chaypi quishuaruan quenchaspa runacunacta
pas mana purichispa chaypi tiapayarcan chaysi ña chayta pu
chucaspa rarca pichaynintahuanpas tucoyta ña puchocaspas chay
manta taquispa runacuna hamurcan huc huarmictare cay
mi chuqui suso ñispa payta yna alli manchaspa chaopipe
pusamurcancu [93] chaymi ña llactanpi chay huarmi chayaptinri
caymi chuqui suso ñispa huaquin ashuahuan ymauan churapus
pa suyarcan chaypi tucoy huinantin tuta taquispa vpiaspa
runacuna ancha aton fiestacta rurarcancu chaymantam
ñaupa don sebastian apo causaptinpas corpus xp.^(christi)pi aton
pascuacunapipas huc huarmi chuqui susom cani ñispa haton
aquellahuan aton potohuanpas ashuacta manyanmanta
cumuc carcan caymi mamanchicpac ashuan ñispa chay
mantari saractapas camchascacta aton matihuantac cu
muc carcan [94] ña cay rarcacta pichayta puchocamuspari ru
nacunacta anchapunis combidac carcan saracta purotucta
yma aycacta(pas) cuspa cay yna vinaycoc captinsi runa
cunapas ñam chuqui susup rarcanta pichan haco ricumu
son ñispa huaro cherimantapas tucoy llactacunamantapas ric

F 72 R

carcan [95] chaytam canan ña rarcacta pichaspaca musiasca yna
tac ruran muchan runacunari yma yna ruracuptinpas
alcaldepas yma ayca runacunapas manam ymaraycom
chay hina ruranque ñispa amachanmancho canancamapas
porque yallinracmi payhuan taquen vpyan machas
cancama p(adr)ectari rarcactam pichamuni p(adr)e taquecusac v
piacusac ñispam llollachen caytaca tucoy hinantin
runacunam ruraytaca ruran ychaca huaquinca ma
na ñam rurancho alli p(adre)oc caspa huaquenri pacallapica
ynatac canancamapas causanco
[96] CAPIT(UL)O 8 YMANAM PARIA CA
CA VICHAYCORCAN YMANAM
HUC RUNA CHURINUAN PARIA CACAP
SIMENCAMA CUTIMURCAN CHAYMAN
TARI YMANAM ATINACORCAN
HUALLALLO CARUINCHOUAN
ñam ari huallallo caruinchop causascantaca villarcanchic
ychaca caypa tiascantam llactachacuscantam mana ri
marcanchiccho chaysi cayca<huallallo caruincho> ñaupa pacha
hanac pariacañicpi tiarcan chay tiascampas sutintam ma
na allicho yachanchic cananca mullo cocha sutioc ña captin
porque paria cacam payta atispa chay huallalloca nina rupap
tin chayta huañochipac cochaman ña tucochircan [97] chay
mullo cocha ñiscanchic pachapis chay huallallop tiascan car
ca chay pachas canan tucoy hinantin pacha yuncasapa car
can aton <> (ma)chachuaypas caquepas yma ayca animal
cunapas hontaptinsi tiarcan ymanam ñaupac capi(tul)o — 1 capi(tul)o
pi runa micuscanta villanchic chay hina [98] chaymantas
ocsa pata — paria cacaca cay huallallo caruinchocta atipac rispas <hucsa>ocsa
es junto a — patapi pihcantin riuicorcan chay hina riuicoptinsi chay — pihca
paria caca — pachapas ancha chirircan runtopas hormamurcantac paypac
pucllascanpi [99] chaysi chay pacha huc runaca huaca

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DEZIR LO DE LA CULEBRA

saber los n(ombr)es de estos
5 her(man)os

los n(ombr)es de estos cinco
her(man)os son paria caca
churapa, puncho, pari
▪ carcu no sauemos
el n(ombr)e de vno de estos
çinco

#azul claro era

hijos
curaca ▫ ancacha el 1°
chauca el 2°
lluncu el 3°
sullca el 4°
llata el 5°
ami el 6° -ys-
hijas
paltacha o cochucha la 1ª
coba pacha la 2ª
ampuche la 3ª
sullcacha la 4ª
ecancha la 5ª
anacha anasi

paria cacap atiscan

cuspa hamurcan huc churinta apaspa chaymanta mullon
tapas cocantapas tictincunactapas huallallocta vpiachi
musac ñispa apaspa chaysi chay paria cacap cap huc
nin(ca) churi maymanmi yna huacacuspa rinque ñis
pa taporcan chaysi payca yaya cay cuyascay churi
llaytam canan apani huallallocta caramuc ñiptinsi
churi ama apa<y>nquicho llactayquiman cutichicoy chay
mantam chay mulloyquitaca cocayquitaca tictiquita
ca ñocacta coay chaymanta churiquitaca cutichicoy
ñispa ñircan [100] chaymantari pihcantin ponchaopim cay
man cotimunqui ñocacta atinacocta ricoypac ancha ya
cuhuan atipaptica yayanchicmi atipan ñispan ñihuan
qui ynaspa anchatac ninahuan atipahuanca chay
ca atipay tucontacmi ñispatac ñihuanqui ñiptinsi
chay runaca mancharispa yaya manacho chayca hua
llallo caruincho ñocapac pinaconca ñi<ptinsi>spa ñirca
[101] ñiptinsi piña(co)chonpas manam yma nasonquecho yallin
racmi ñocaca runacta camasac amiyocta llatayoc
ta huarmictari añasiyocta hucta cari hucta huar
micta ynam camasac ñispa rimaptinsi siminman
ta samaynin huc humo <asol> (ancas) # yna llocsimorcan chaysi
chay runaca chayta ricuspa mancharispa tucoy apamuscan
ta co<po>rcan chaysi chay pihca runaca chay mullocta
cap cap ñichispa micorcan tucoy hinantin coscantahuan
chaymantas chay runaca cutimorcan churinta apacospa
[102] ynaspas ñatac pihcantin ponchaomanta ñatac chay pa
ria cacap simincama cotircan ricu<>musac ñispa
chaymantas ña paria caca pihca ponchao ñiscanmanta
chay huallallo caruinchocta atita ña callarircan chay simi
ri cay hinam paria caca pihca runa caspas pihca pacha
manta tamyaita ña callarirca chay tamyas canan
quello puca tamya carcan chaymantas yllapaspa
ri pihca pachamantatac yllaparcan [103] chaysi tuta
llamanta ña hora pachacama chay huallallo caruin
choca <nina> ancha aton nina ñahca sieloñicmanpas
chayaspa ruparca mana huañochichicospa chaysi

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chay yacocu<paria cacap huquinca>naca paria cacap tamyascancunaca hura
cochañicman tucoy hinantin yacucona rircan chaysi chay yna <ma>
manatac yaycuptin<si> huquenca (llacsa churapa sutioc) hurañicmanta yacucta huc hor
cucta ormachispa arcamorcan [104] ña arcaycomuptinsi chay yacuca
cocha ña tucomurca cay cocham cananca mullo cocha sutioc chay
yna chay cochapi ña yaco hontamup(tinsi)<> chay nina rupacta(ca) ñah
ca pamparca chaysi chay paria cacari chaymanta yllapapayarca — sauer si estos son her(man)os
mana samachispa ynallas chay huallallo caruinchoca anti — pues se dize q(ue) salieron de
ñicman miticarcan [105] chaysi huquenca paria cacap churin catir — los hu(eu)os o si son hijos
can chaysi chay antip yaicunampi pactah cutimunman — del paria caca<>
ñispa canancamapas chaypi tian caypac sutinmi <sullca ylla> — her(man)os eran
<pa> (paria carco) [106] chaymantas ña atisptin<> mana ñamca sutioc huc huar
mi carcan cay huallallo caruinchohuan cac supay cay huarmis
canan mama oraynin chay chaypi tiarcan cayta atipacsi ña
tac payman amorcan chaysi chay mana ñamca<ca> ñiscaca nina
tac ruparcan chaysi cay tumna huranta yaycuspa paria ca
caca <ati> aucanacorca chaysi huc paria cacap churinta chu
qui huampo sutiocta chaquinpi huramanta chucamuspa — sauer como esta este
chayachimurcan chaysi yna captin(pas) paria cacatac atiparcan
cochañicman carcospa [107] ña caycunacta atipaspas
chay churin chuqui huampo sutioc anca chaquen paquisca tia
cucman cotimurcan chaysi chayca amatac cotisaccho cay
llamanta chay huarmi mana ñamcacta huacaychasac pac
tah cutimunman ñispa ñiptinsi allitacmi ñispa yayanca
tucoy miconampac camachiporcan [108] chaysi ñispa ñircan cay escay
huaycocunamantam tucoy runacuna camtarac ñaupac cocacta
comusonque manarac pillapas acuspa ña cam acoptiiqueracmi
chaymanta runacunapas acoconca cocanta mallquiscanmanta
chaymantam llamactari viñay<> (vrua mana huachacoc) cactaracmi naca
pusonque ynaspa rinrin chillpiscacta cay caycunactaracmi
camca viñaypas miconque ñispas camachirca [109] chaysi — este lugar donde
runacunaca chay camachiscan simicta yupaychaspa chay — esta<sullca yllapa>chuqui huampo esta
cama saci cayamanta chontaymanta chichimamanta mama — abajo de tumna entre sici
manta huayo callamanta sucya canchamanta tucoy coca — caya y sucya he de uerlo
yoccuna ñaupacnintaca paymanrac apamoc carcan — sauer como se llama
canancamapas pacallapica ynatacsi causancu

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[110] CAPITULO 9 YMANAM PARIA CACA ÑA
TUCOYTA POCHOCASPA PAYTA MUCHACHI
COYPAC HONANCHARCA CALLARIRCAN
ñam hari tucoy hinantin atiscancunacta pochocan
chic ychaca cay huallallo caruinchop quepanpi paria ca
cap sentenciascancama causascantam mana rimanchiccho
suer como esta ahora — ña atispas huallallo caruincho antiman ñan miticoptin
este caruincho en — chay huallallocta runa micoscanmanta cunanca all
los andes — cucta micochon chaytari huancacuna muchachon ñis
pa sentenciarcan [111] chaysi canan huancacunaca payta
muchaspa allcucunahuan muchac carcan payri dios
nin allcocta micuptin allcuctatac micorcancu canan
camapas huanca allco micuc ñispa ñinchic
capit(ul)o 1° — [112] chaymantas canan ymanam ñaupac capitulopi quepan
pipas tucoy llactacunam yuncaçapa carcan ñispa ñinchic
chay hinam cay tucoy hinantin llactacunapi guaro cheri pro
uinciapi chaclla mama prouinciapipas tucoy hinantin
llactacunapipas yuncaçapas carcan cay yuncacunactam
tucoy hinantin yuncacunacta hurañicman anchurichir
paria cacap churin — can churijcuna cay q(ui)tipi tianca ñispa honanchaspa [113] caycu
cuna — nacta aticcunapas sapampi paria cacap churincuna sutioc
sapam hucmi churin ñin huaquenmni manas paycamas sachap
ruruyninmanta yurimurcan ñispa rimanco caycunap su
tinri caymi mayorninmanta chuc paico chancha runa
huari runa vtco chuco tutay quiri huauquinri sasen male cay
chicam chay yuncacunacta atircancu [114] chaymantam huc
paria cacap churinsi pachamanta paycama llocsimurcan cay
quepanpi churason — pac sutinmi pacha chuyru sutioc (carcan) caypac huc atiscantapas
pacha chuyrop atiscan — hanac tucoynin capitulocunapipas concanchicmi chaytaca
ta — cay quipanpiracmi churason cay ñiscanchiccunam tucoy
hinantin yuncacunacta atircan anchorichircan [115] chaymi
cay yuncacunapas ñaupa diosnintaca ña concaspa pari
a cacacta ña muchayta callarirca tucoy yuncacuna chay yun

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cacunari caymi cay checap llactanpica colli ñiscam tiar
can tucoy llactampi tiascancunacta<m> ruraspaca ancha
sasam canman chayraicom huaquenintaca hunanchan
canchicpac cay quepampi rurason tucoy causascantahuan
porque yuncacunaca huc causayniocllam tucoynin(pas) carcan
[116] chaymantam cay paria caca ñiscanchicca hanac <pay> maypim
atircan chay pachallanpi tiayta ña callarircan muchachicon
campacri hunancharcan cay hunanchascanmi tucoy hinan
tin llactacunapipas huc vnanchayllam cay honanchay ñis
canchicri cay ynam tucoy hinantin huc yuric canchic [117] chay — esto se entiende de
cunamantas sapampi huquenta camachircan cammi huatam — vna familia
pi ñocap causascayta catispa pascuacunacta ruranque
ñispa caycunap sutinmi huacasa (o huacsa) sutioc canca cay hua
casmi canan huatampi quimça mita taquenca ancha hatun cara
huayacapi cocacta apamuspa [118] caytam ña ñaupac cay huacasa
man tucoypac<ri> huc vnanchaytatac runacuna rurancu chay — el maestro se llama
ri cay ynam huc runam caca sica ayllo(manta) cay causaycuna — yañca
pac maestron ancha ñaupamanta caycunam huquen o yscaypas — esto es la s(om)bra q(ue)
maestron caspa sutinri yañca sutioc cay sutillatacmi ynan — ua haziendo la pared
tin llactacunapipas cay runas huc pircamanta allin ya — con el sol
chacochisca pircascamanta ricon <punchaupa> (yntip) poriscanta chaysi
may pachach chay hunanchasca pircanman chayan chayca ca
nanmi(mana ñispari)cayam ñispapas(risun ñin) runacunacta <villarca>[119] chayta catis
pas runacunapas paria cacaman muchaypac rincu ñaupa
pachaca quequinmansi ric carcan cananca cay checamantaca
huc orco ynca caya sutiocmansi rinco chaymanta muchancan — este cerro se parece
pac chay <pacham> orcom canan ñaupa purom huasimanta ha — la nieue de paria caca
nacnin horco hoc orco huallqueri sutiochuan quellinacon
cay orco ñiscapim canan runacuna tucoy ynantin runa
cuna cari huarmi rispa(muchancu) [120] ña chay orcoman sichpaypac(ri) chay
yañcap simincamas ñocaracpas ñaupac(umanman)chayaiman ñispa ya — q(ue) es de donde se parece
llinacon llama orcontapas catispa ancha sinche runacuna
huchoylla llamanhuanpas (ancha otcaspas) [121] cay ñaupac chay orcoman chayac
llamas paria cacap ancha munascan cay orcoctas ñaupa pacha — nombres diferentes cada
quequen paria cacaca yma sutillactapas suti(a)chec carcan — vez de vna man(er)a y otra
cay sutiocmi canca ñispa huchoylla llama chayactari — de otra como yauri o y
llaca

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chay yañca ñisca cay llamayocmi ancha cusioc paria ca
cam coyaijcun ñispa allin sutinchac ñavinchac carcan
auquisna [122] cay muchacuy pacham auquisna sutioc ynatacmi chavpi ñam
para n(uest)ro padre o criador ca muchacoypas chaycasna sutioc caytan cay quepanpim villason
chaycasna cay avquisna sutioc pacham canan junio quella chay chay
para n(uest)ra m(adr)e pachapi <ormamun> (chayamun) ña ñispa ñahca<corpus xptimanpas>
(aton pascuapipas tincon)
<tincon> ña ñispari tinconpas cay pachapim cay huacasa
ñiscanchic chunca caspapas yscay chunca caspapas taquinco
saber este genero cay taquicoytas manatac yayancunap chapascan [123] huacsa
de canto y ponermelo caytaca manapuni ancochaspas taquinco cayta ancochac
en vn papel en lengua taca huañuptinpas chay hochanmantam huañon ñispas
de chechhua de ñincu chayraycos ochuillac(ta)pas yma yna runallac
lo q(ue) dizen tapas taquichin yallinrac surco runacunaca huay
llascunactapas chay ranti taquichen [124] chay llactayoc
huarmihuan casarasca captinca caycunacta rurap
tinsi manatac chay llactayocpas chacranta yman
tapas quechoncho forastero captinpas yallinrac yupai
chan yanapan chay huayllascunam(canan) mayquin runa
caspapas surcopi tiaccunaca suquia canchaman cocacta
rantic hamuspapas huacasmi cani mama yapahuay
ñispa rantinco[125]cay pascuactam canan yma aton xp.^(christia)nop
pascuancunaman chayachispa taquinco yallin tucoy
llactacunactapas yallispa surcopi runacunaca cay ta
quiscanmantam llactampi padrenpas aguelandocta
mañan huallpacta saracta yma aycactapas caytam
runacunari ancha cusicospa concu
[126] ynatacmi chavpi ñamcap pascuanpipas cay huacsacuna
chaupi ñamcap cas ñisca taquencu cay pascuam canan ñahcca corpus xpi^(chris)ti
cantaca huc quipan man tincon ña ñispari tincompas caypac cascantaca may
pi capit(ul)opim churason pi tiascantapas runacunap muchascantahuanpas quipan
pim huc capitulopi churason
ñatac paria cacap cascanman cutison yma ymactach ru
nacuna chay pacha pascuanpi rurar<n>can [127] chay chaycunacta
villaypac chay simire cay ymam ña caya paria caca
man <chayaypacsi> muchaypac chayaipacsi chay huata
huañocnioc runacuna caripas huarmipas captin tucoy

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chay tuta huacac carcan cayam paria cacap cayllanpi
huañocninchicta ricomuson ñispa [128] chay huata huañoc
nincunactari cayallatacmi chaypi chasquechimu
son ñispa chay tuta caraspa micochispa yma ayca rura
nancunactapas chaypi churapuspa cananmi viñaypac
paria cacaman pusani <ñispa> mana ñam cutimunca
cho viñaypas ñispam huchoylla llamanhuan mana
llama captinri haton cara huayacapi cocacta huallquis
pa mucharcanco [129] cay llamactam canan sonconmanta
ricorcan alli captinpas allim ñispa mana alli captin
ri manam allicho ochayocmi canqui paria cacactam
huañocnique(pas) piñachircan cay ochacta perdonta ma
ñay(tac) pacta camman chay ocha anchorimunman ñis
pa chay yamca ñisca ñircanco [130] chaymanta ña chay
chaycunacta puchocaspari chay llamap vmanta hua
santauansi chay yañcacuna ayca huaranga captin
pas apacuc carcan cayca ñocap chanimi ñispa
[131] chaymantam canan cay huacasa ñiscanchic huc huatapi
quimca mita taquispam cay hina ponchaopitac puchocarcan
huc musoc yaicoypacri quepa ña taquicoyta poncho
caypac captinmi tucoynin llacsa tampopi ynatac
conchacunapas pampampi <> chaupiman yaicoc
carcan huc huayta<> huacamaypac ricranta o ymanta
pas puypu ñiscacta apaspa chaytam canan chaupi
pi llacsa tambo ñisca rumipi churac carcancu chayta
ña churaspam tucoynin maypim canan cruz churas
ca chaypi tucoy tuta tiarcancu allicho casac canan hua
ta ñispa [132] chaymantam cayantinri tucoy llactacu
naman rispa macacho orcomanpas chaucallaman
pas quemquellamanpas asta pihcca ponchao on
tascancama ña pihca ponchao ontaptinmi tucoy
huacasacuna cocacta huallquispa taquic carcan
chay ponchaotacmi ancha tutamanta llacsa tambo
pi supayta muchac carcancu llamanhuan yman
huan [133] ynatacmi musiasca tucoy ynantin llac
tacunapipas rurancu ychaca cananca ña concan

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cay pisi huatallarac cay doctor fran(cis)co de auila alli cunaqui
yoc yachachiquiyoc caspa chaypas manataccha soncocama
ca y ñinmancho ñatac hoc padreyoc caspaca ynamantac
cha cutinman [134] huaquin runacunaca christiano tucos
papas manchaspallam pactach padrepas pipas yacha
huanman mana alli cascayta ñispallam xp.^(christia)no tucon
rrosariocta resaspapas sumac hillantam apaycachan
mana quequen cay muchanacunacta muchaspapas
<ojo> huaquen machocunacta mincaspa paypac rantin mu
chachispa achica runam yna causanco
[135] cay ñiscanchic ynalla<m>tacmi conchaconapas cay pa
ria cacap mitampi chay hoc vrco huaycho sutiocmanta
muchancu huacasa ñiscanri quequin checacunapas
ojo ruran ynallatacsi ruran taquen
chaymanta suni canchari chay huc vrco sutioc
manta ynallatac muchancu paria cacap mitanpi
[136] chaymanta santa anacuna s(a)n ju(a)npi cacpas tucoynin chauca
ricma ñiscari chay apar huayqui mayoman hurayconchic
acu sica sutioc vrcocta chaymantatacsi muchanco pari
a cacap mitanpi caycunacta ruraypacca manam ancochan
mancho huaquen aton pascuapi huaquenri ñachca esperi
tu santoman tincochen<corpusmanpas> cayta ruraypacri
ancham cusiconman cay llactapi p(adr)e yllaptin limac
manpas riptin cayca ancha checan simin
[137] cay tucoy ñiscanchic<cuna> vrcocunapi paria caca
muchanacunactaca cay quepanpi vira cochacuna pa
carimurcan ricurimurcan chaymantaracmi yacha
cochircan [138] ychaca ñaupa pachaca quiquin pariacaman
si tucoy ynantin runacuna ric carcan tucoy yunca
cunapas colli ñiscamanta caruayllomanta ruri can
chomanta latimmanta huancho huaillamanta pa
riachamanta yañacmanta chichimamanta mama
manta tucoy ynantin yuncacuna chay huc mayo ñis
camanta chaymantari ynatac caçi cayacuna
pas tucoy ynantin huc mayo ñisca pacha camac
cunapas chaymanta caringa chilcacunapas

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chaymanta huaro cheri huray mayopi cac runacunari
tucoy carancocuna yma ayca yuncacunapas tucoy
ynantin chay mayo ñisca yuncacunas tectinhuan
cocanhuan yma ayca muchanancunahuan a
muspas quequin paria cacapi chayac carcanco [139] cay
hamuccuna ña paria cacamanta cutiptinsi llactam
pi runacunapas chayananta yachaspa tocoy runacu
na hoñolla suyac carcan tapucoypac ymanam yayan
chic paria caca alliraccho manacho piñacon ñispa
chaymantas ancha cosicospa taquic carcan asta pocho
cascancama pichca ponchaopas ayca ponchaocha causa
nan carca yna [140] cay muchaycoytaca yuncacuna
ca mana ñach ruranchо tucoy yuncacunapas ycha
ca pachallanmantaca ruran cayta mana ruraptin
si chay hochanmantam yuncacuna collon ñispa
rimancu paycona yuncacunari rimacuspa sall
cacunaca allim causan ñaupa causananchicta
chay yna causaspam runapas miran ñincu
[141] CAPITULLO 10 YMANAM CHA
UPI ÑAMCA CARCAN MAYPIM
TIAN YMANAM MUCHACHICORCAN
ñam ari paria cacap causascantaca villacoyta pu
chucarcanchic ychaca chay churincunap cay iscon paria cacap churin
nin capitulopi vnanchasca cactaca cay quepampi cunap atiscancunac
racmi sapampi rurascantahuan villason yunca tam cay quepanpi chu
cuna ñiscanchic cay llactacunamanta atiscancu rason
nactauanpas chaymantam canan quillcason chaupi ñam
cap cascanta [142] cay chaupi ñamca sutiocsi huc runa anchi
cochapi apo tamta ñamca sutiocpac churin carcan chay huc huac
cha huatya curi ñiscap huarmin cay simictam ari pichcan
tin capitulopipas rimarcanchic [143] cay huarmis pichca ñaña
yoc carcan chaysi cay ñaupac huarmi chaupi ñamucaca

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llamase chavpi nanca
o mama nanca

paria cacap simincama hura mama ñiscapi tiaypac rir
can cay mana ñamca ñisca huarmis ñocam runacu
nacta camac cani ñispa purircan huaquem runacunam
canan chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi carca ñispa
ñinco pay quiquin rimacuspapas paria cacam tu
ray ñispas ñircan [144] cay chaupi ñamcas canan pichca
ricra rumi carcan chirayasca payta muchaypacri yma
nam paria cacaman yallinacuspa rircan ynallatacsi
ña chayaipac yallinacuc carcan llamanta ymantapas
catispa chay llama paria cacaman ric quiquillan(ta)tacsi
chaymanpas pusac carcan (ynaspa) cay chaupi ñamca pichca ric
ra rumictas canan quepanpi vira cochacuna ricurimup
tin chay mamapi padrep huasen cauallo huasi chay chaypi
pacha vcupi pacaycorcan chaypis canancamapas tian pa
cha vcupi [145] cay chaupi ñamcactas canan tucoy ynantin runa
cuna mama ñispa ñircancu chaymantam canan s(a)n pedro
pas mama ñisca cay huarmis canan ñaupa pacha
runa purispa ynantin huacacunahuan vchallicuc
carcan chaysi manatac pi carillactapas cayca allim
ñispa yupaychaccho carcan [146] chaysi huc carica canan
mama hanacnin vrcopi huacatac rucana cuto sutioc
cay rucana coto sutioctas runacunapas vchoylla ollo
yoc caspaca aton canca ñispa mañac carcancu cayssi
huc mita chaupi ñamcacta ancha allinta aton ollo
caspa sacsachircan chayraycos cay carillam alli cari
tucoy huacacunamantapas cayhuantac viñay ti
asac ñispa chay mama ñiscapi tiaycorcan rumi
man tucospa
[147] chaymantam canan cay chaupi ñamcap ñañancuna<c>
<ta> ñiscanchicta villason cay chaupi ñamcas tucoynin
manta mayornin carcan chaysaua ñañansi llacsa hua
to carcan chaysaua yoricsi mira uato carcan chaysauas
vrpay huachac sutioc carcan cay hoquentam mana yachan
chiccho tucoyninca pichcas carcan chaysi ymallata
runacuna yuyachicuptinpas ña ñispaca ñañay
cunahuanrac villanacomusac ñispa ñic carcan

F 77 R

[148] cay chaupi ñamca muchacoytam runacuna junio quella
pi ñahca corpus xp.^(chris)timan chayaicochin chay yañca yañca
ñiscanchic ynte ricunanmanta ricuptintacmi runacu
napas chay chica ponchaupim canca ñispa ñircancu
[149] chaymantari ñam ari yscoynin capitulopi huc huatanpi
huacsacunap taquiscanta rimarcanchic ychaca chay taquiscantam
mana sutinchanchiccho yma ymactach quimça mita huatan
pi taquin chaycunacta caymi ñaupac auquisna ñis
ca ponchaupi paria cacap pascuanta rurac cancu chayman
tam ñatac chaupi ñamcap mitampi ynatac taquircan
chaymantam ñatac nobiembre quillapi ñachca san andres
pa fiestanman tincuchispa huc taquitatac taquic carcan
chanco ñisca taquicta cay taquictam canan cay quipan
pi allinta villason [150] cananca ñatac chaupi ñamcap
pascuanman cutison chaypac pascuanpim canan chay
huacsa ñiscanchiccuna cocacta huallquispa pichca pon
chao taquircancu huaquin runacuna llaman captin
pumacta aparispa taquircan mana llamayocri ynalla
chaymantam cay puma apariccunactam canan pay
mi pocon ñispa ñircancu chay taquim canan huantay
cocha sutioc huaquin taquictam canan ayño ñiscacta
pas taquircantac [151] huctam canan casa yaco sutiocta
taquic carcanco cay cassa yacocta taquiptinsi chaupi ñam
ca ancha cusicoc carcan porque cayta taquispaca
llatansi huaquillan huallparicunanta churaspallas
taquic carcan pincaynintari huc huara vtco pachalla
huan pacaycospa chaymantaca llatanlla caytam
runacuna taquispa chaupi ñamca <ollon>(pincaynin)<chicta>chicta ricus
pam ancha cusicon ñic carcan cayta taquiptintac
si ancha pucoy pachapas carcan caycunactam
canan chay pascuanpi rurarcancu
[152] CAPITULO 11 YMANAM CHANCO
ÑISCA TAQUICTA TAQUIRCANCU
CAYTA RIMASPACA TUTAY QUIREP

F 77 V

PARIA CACAP CHURINPA CASCANHUAN
MI VILLASON CAY SIMIRE
CAY YNAM

ñam ari ysconnin capitulopi paria cacap churin
cunacta sutinpi rimarcanchic ychaca sapampi ca
usascantam manarac rimarcanchiccho caypim
hoquin tutay quirip atiscancunactauan cay quipam
pi villason caypac mitampi taquiscactam chanco
ñispa ñinchic [153] cay tutay quirim paria cacap chu
rin carcan chaymi ñaupa pachaca cay checaconapas
quintes carcan quintecunap sullca huauquen chay
si chay quintecunaca anchatac cay checacunacta
chicnircan quipam yuric captin [154] chaysi hoc punchaoca
tutay quireca ñispa ñircan ama llaquicho churi yma ñip
tinpas chicnicochonpas yallenmi quepanpica checa
villca sutioc canquichic cay chicnicniquitari quinticha
huanhuacha ñispam runacunapas menospreciaspa
ñinca ñispas ñircan [155] chaysi cay tutay quirica chay pisi
ponchaomantatac huaquinin huauquincunahuan
villanacospa cay llacsa tambomanta yuncacunacta
atimuyta callarimurcan chaysi cay yuncacuna ñis
canchicca cay simicta vyarispa ancha mancharispa

colli sin pronuncia
cion q(u)e haga fuer
ça

ayquijta ña callarircan vra colli ñisca llactaman
cay colli ñiscam canan carhuayllocunahuan quellina
con caycunap ayancunam canancamapas anac
ñaupa llactapi yna churarayan aya vasipe [156] cay tutay
quiris cay sici caya huaycucta mama huaycoctauan
vraycospa<n>s quello tamya puca tamya purispa
chaysi runacunaca huaquenca pachan llactanpi su
yarcan muchancampac chae muchaccunactas canan
manatac paipas allcocharcancho yallinrac tiacoy
ychaca yayaitam ricsinquitac chaymanta cay
checacunactam canan huauque ñispatac causanq(ui)

F 106 R

paycunap sullca huauquinmi cani ñispa [157] cay ñis
can simicamam chay sant p(edr)o mamapi cac runacu
napas amichayq(ui) llatachayquin cani ñispa canan
camapas ñincu (ña> cay checacunapri allaucam
ari vichocam ari ñisca huauquiyoctac causar
cancu [158] caytam canan cay checacunaca cay tutay
quirip puriscanta paypac callpanta purini ñispa hua
tancunapi cay llactamanta tucoy ynantin caricuna
chacocta ruraypac llocsic carca cay nobiembre quellapim
[159] chay pachatacmi tamyata mañac carcancu runacunapas
canan chancop mitampim pacha tamyanca ñispa ñircancu
cay tutay quirip callpan ñiscanchictam chacocta ruraspa cay
manta tucoy huacsacuna mana huacsapas llocsispa tupi
cocha hanacnin mayani ñiscapi puñoypac ric carcancu
[160] chay ponchaori huanacucta apispa lloychuctapas yma
aycactapas apispa chay apicmi canan ayllonpi may
quen apispapas ayllon huacsa captinca payman<rac> coc
carcan chaypac chupanta huaytallispa ayño ñisca
taquicta ayñoncampac mana apicri ynatacmi
chancollacta chancuspa taquircan [161] cayantinmi na
tac chay mayani ñiscamanta llocsic carcan tumna
man chaypim canan ynantin runacuna caripas huar
mipas huasuc tambo ñiscapi tucoy hoñolla suyac
carcan tutay quirim ña samon ñispa chay hua
suc tambo ñiscanchicri chay quiquen tumna la
plaçap chaupimpim aslla rumicuna churarayan
chaypis canan ñaupa pachaca ña chaypi chayaspa
muchac carcancu chaypitacsi chauti huanricuna
pas muchaypac asvancunauan chayamuc carcan
[162] ynaspam ñatac cayantinri yma chicacta apis
papas chay apiccuna huacsa ñiscanchic ancha cusi
cuspa cananca macayocmi canchic ñispa cusicus
pa cotimurcancu ñatac pacotapi puñomuypac
[163] cayantinmi ñatac llacsa tamboman chayamuc
carcan chaypi chayamunan captinmi tucoy chay
llactapi quiparic runacuna machopa payapas

F 106 V

yma yna runacunapas tucoynillan asvanuan
suyac carcan chaymi ña chayman chayamuptinca
ancha saycoscam amun ñispa asvavan yanca
ychaspa runasauapas pachapipas chay llacsa tam
boman yaicumuna poncollapi yna ychac carcan
[164] paicuna vramanta amuccunam aslla aychata
paicunap puyñonpa siminsaua churapuc carcan
cayta ña puchocaspam ñatac tucoy ynantin
runacuna pampapi tiaycospa ayño ñisca taquicta
ña callarircan caycunam canan chanco sutioc
chaymantam ña chancuptinca pachapas ña ñispa
tamyamuc [165] cay chancup mitampis ysqui caya ñisca
chay yañcap huasinpi huc sachachos o ymach chay
pis canan chay sacha ñiscanchic(manta) yacosapa vrma
raya<n>c chaycunactas canan paycona<can> chay y
nacta ricuspa canan huataca allin pucoymi canca
ñispa ñircancu mana tamyanampacsi chaquisca
cac chaysi ancha muchoymi canca ñispa ñic carcan<cu>
[166] CAPITULO 12 YMANAM CAY
PARIA CACAP CHURINCUNA TUCOY
YUNCACUNACTA ATIJTA ÑA
CALLARIRCAN
ñam ari cay chuncampi capit(ul)opi rimarcanchic
cay paria cacap churincunap atiscan<cunacta> simicta
y<nas>naspa villarcanchictacmi ari ymanam tu
coy ynantin llactacuna yunca sapa carcan chay
cunacta cananmi cay chuc paico chancha runa
huari ruma vtco chuco tutay quire sasin mari pa
cha chuyro ñiscanchiccunacta rimason ymanam
paicuna puric carcanco chay chaycunacta [167] cay
cuna ñiscanchiccunas ñaupa pacha tucoynin

F 107 R

huauquiyoc sapa caspa ña atijpac tucoynillantac pu
ric carcan chaysi cay chuc paico ñiscaca tucoynin
manta mayornin caspa huc huandopi ancha yupai
chasca puric carcan chaymantas tutay quirire tucoy
nintapas yallispa ancha sinche carcan cay yna sinche
cayninpis cay yscay mayo ñiscanchictapas paitac
ñaupac atircan chay vnca tupi ñisca pariachap fronte
rumpi huc yana vrco chaypi huc curi taunanta
pas churamuspa [168] cay taunactas canan <ña> yunca
cunacta ñacac yna cayta pampachaspam ma
na yupaichac ynam cay quitita yuncacuna yalli
munca ñispas chaypi churarcan chay churascam
hurcom canan vnca tupi capari caya sutioc
[169] chaysi cay huaquennin huauquincunaca rispa
pas chay tupi cochamanta vichaycuspa ñaupa ñanta
rinchic chaymi quisqui tambo sutioc hucmi <tam>tumnacha
sutioc maymantam limacñictapas riconchic chay
mantas ñan tutay quirica tucoyta atita ña puchocan
nicta oyarispa cotimurcancu chaysi tutay quiri
ta anchapuni mancharcanco paicunapas ancha sin
che captin [170] ynatacsi chay huaro cherinictapas <>vra
carancoñicman vraycorcancu chayta vraycus
pari paytacsi ñaupac rircan chaysi chay chu
qui suso ñiscanchicpac huc ñañanca chay
chacranpi suyarcan paita llollachipac <racanta> (pincayninta)
pas ñoñontapas ricorichispa yaya aslla sa
mayrac cay ashuallacta tictillacta vpiay
coyrac ñispa [171] chay pachas paica ynalla ña quipa
rircan chaysi huaquinnin huauquincunapas chay
ynacta ricuspa ynallatac quiparircan chay
hura alloca pacha marca ñiscacamalla atispa
si mana chay<cama> huarmi llollachinman carca
chayca canancamapas hora carangocama chil
cacamas huaro cherip quintippas chacran canman sapampi ruras
carcan caycunap sapampi rurascantaca cay cantaca cay qui
quipanpim quillcason yma ayca rurascantahuan pampim quellcason

F 78 R

[172] MAMA CAPI(TUL)O 13
mama runa<cta>cunacta tapuscam canan chay huaca chau
pi ñamuca huacapac huctatac rimancu chay rimascan
siminri cay hinam ancha ñaupa pachas huc huaca hanan
maclla sutiyoc carcan caypac cosansi ynti carcan caycunap
churinsi paria caca chaupi ñamuca cay chaupi ñamucas ancha
runa camac carcan huarmipac caripacri paria caca [173] yna
captinsi pay mama runacunaca chaypac fiestanta ruray
pac corpus christip vispirampi chay chaupi ñamcacta aslla
asuahuan armachic carcan chaymantari huaquinincuna
yma ayca sacreficioncunacta churapuspa coynhuan yman
huanpas muchaspas tucoy hinantin runacuna huñonacuc caripas
huarmipas curacanpas y alcaldenpas [174] chaysi <caya punchao>
chay tuta pacarispa upiaspa machaspa tucoy tuta tiaccu <cayan
tin corpus punchaopis ynatac mamanchicpa fiestanmi ñispas
curacan callañayoc tucoy ynantin runacuna> aylliua ñisca<>
taquicta taquiypac anchapuni cusicuspa hupyaspa machaspa
chay tuta hasta pacariscancamas taquicuc chaymantas
ña pampaman llocsispas chayca mana ña ymactapas rurac
cho vpiaylla machaylla machac mamanchicpa fiestanmi
ñispatac [175] chaymantam manarac vira cocha ricurimuptinca
yma ynam mucharcanqui ñiscaca ñincum pihcca punchao
si alli huallparicuspa junio quillapitac hupyac carcancu chay
mantaca vira cochacunacta manchaspas corpuspa visperanpi mu
chancu chaymantari chaupi ñamcap ñañansi <prima y segunda>
<ñisca>pay mayornin captin huctas segunda ñañan<si> cassa llacsa
sutioc carcan caytas chay vispirapitac armachic carcan ynatac huc
ñañancunactapas vrpay huachac vichi maclla ñiscactapas
[176] checacunam ñincu chaupi ñamcacta pihcas car
can ñispa caycunap mayorninmi cotacha o pal
ta(cha) sutioc chaupi ñamuca huc segunda ñañan
mi copacha <sutioc> ñiscanchic llacsa huato sutioc cay
llasa huatus chillacopi tian caypac fiestantas canin
pa don diego chauca guaman çaçi caya curaca causaptinpas
chellaco runacuna huaquinin runacunahuampas
rurac carcancu hasta q(ue) don m(art)yn chayascancama
cay fiestactaca manam allicho yachanchic yma

F 78 V

yma quellapih carcan
[177] chaymantam ampuche o ampuxi ñiscanchicri
mira huato sutioc carcan cay mira huato ñiscac
taca manam allichu yachanchic maypi tiascan
tapas ychaca ñispam ñincu llacsa huato ña
ñanhuantacsi tian ñispa [178] caycunactas runa
cuna cay quitimanta o guaro cherimantapas
o mayquen runacunapas churinta o huau
quinta ◘ yayanta o ymantaps huncochecus
pa chayman ric carcancu tapucuypac chay
huacacunap saçerdotinsi canan sucta chunca
huatamanta yuyariscaca chumpi ticlla sutioc(si) car
can ancha chaillas caninpa don diego ñiscanchic
captinsi luzia sutioc carcan (ña tacyasca huarmi) <ychaca chayca cau
san chay> [179] cay huacacunactas ña muchaspa a llac
sa huato mira uato cammi runa camac canque camtac
mi huchayta chaupi namucactapas yallispa ya
chanqui villallahuay ymamantam hun
cuchicuni yma huchaymantam ñacarispa cau
sani ñispas muchac carcancu [180] chay yna captin
ssi yscaynin ñañantinhuantaccha tian ñis
pa hunanchancu chaymantari cay huaca
cunactatac<mi>(ssi) astauan runacuna yupaychac
carcancu porque chaupi ñamucaca manas chica
chu ymactapas runacunacta villac carcan ya
llinpas llullactacssi carcan chayssi haco llac
sa huato mira huato mamanchicta huyarimu
son yma ñincah vchanchicpac chaycama
tac puchucason ñispas runacuna ric carcan
cu [181] ychaca yna muchaspapas manam chau
pi ñamcap fiestanta huatancunapi ymanam
ruran ynachu rurarcancu chaytaca muchaspa
pas musiachicuyllapacmi ric carcancu risac ñis
papas o ama ñispapas munascancama
[182] chaymantam canan sullcacha o xullca paya ñis
canchicta lluncho huachaca sutioc huacacta rimason

F 79 R

caymi ari 4 ñañan cay huacaca cantañicpis
manam yachanchicchu ychapas cantacuna
yupaychan cantamantapas as carullanpiracsi
[183] chaymantas <> añassi o aña paya ñiscanchic<si>
cocha hucopi tian huaquininmi chaymi caue llaca
carca ñispa ñincu huaquininmi huctacmi cocha
patapim tian ñispa ñincu cayssi caca huco
pi tian chaysi manatac saçerdotin canchu
cay hurpay huachac huacacta rimachijpac ris
pas alli hunanchacusparac ric carcancu por
que cayhuan rimaspaca cara a caras rima
nacuc carcan mana huasscayuc captin chay
si chaymanta cutimuspapas payhuanmi rima
muni ñispas <mana> huc huata saçic carcan
mana huarminhuan huchallicuspa
[184] cay ñiscanchiccunas sapampipas ñam
ca sutioc sapa carcan ynaspa ñañayoc
cama hucninta mayquinnintapas chayai
cuspaca a pichca ñamca ñispas villacuc
carcan ymallacta llaquispapas [185] cay chica
llactam cay chaupi ñamca llacsa huatu mira
huatu lluncu huachac hurpay huachac ñis
cap cascanta yachanchic chaymantas cay
ñiscanchiccuna ñau pachaca chayman ric
runacunacta con churiquip yayaiquip ma
chuyquip simincamachu hamunqui ñispas
ñic carcan chaysi manam ñictaca ri cuti
con choriiquictarac huyarichimuy ñiptin
cotimuc carcan [186] chayracsi ymallactapas
chaytam piñachinqui caytam piñachin
que o huachucmi canqui o paria cacap
fiestanpim huarmihuan huchallicurcan
qui ñispa yma aycactapas rimaspa cunac
carcan tincuc mayopim armanqui llamay
quictam nacapunqui ñispapas caycuna ñis
cantas runacunaca ancha cusicuspa puchucapuc car
can huaquininsi canan alliyatamuc huaquinri huañuctac
yma yna puchucaptinpas

F 79 V

[187] ñam ari chaupi ñamcap huaquinin ñañan
cunap cascancunactapas huyarinchic
ychaca runacuna llactancunapipas ayllo
ayllonpi hucta camatacmi rimancu sutin
tapas ymanam mama runacunapas huc
tatac rimancu checari huctatac [188] huquinmi
chaupi ñamcacta paria cacap paninsi ñincu
hucmi tamta ñamcap churinsi carca ñincu
cay tamta ñamca ñiscanchictam ari ñau
pacnin pichcantin capitulopi rimarcanchic
huaquinmi canan yntip churinsi ñincu chay
ynam mana hunanchaypaccho
[189] CAPI(TUL)O 14
ojo ÑAUPACNIN CAPITULOPIM ARI HU
NANCHARCANCHIC CUNI RAYAP CASCANTA
PARIA CACAMANTA ÑAUPACNINCHUS
O QUEPANCHUS CARCAN CHAYTA
cuni raya vira cocha ñiscanchicca ancha ñaupa
mantatacsi carcan paria cacapas yma ayca
huacacunapas paytaca astahuantacsi yupai
chac carcan huaquinincunaca paria cacapas
cuni rayap churinsi nispam ñincu chayman
tam canan cuni raya vira cochap puchucas
canta rimason [190] cuni rayas ñahca vira co
chacuna ricurimuncampac cuzcoñicman
rircan chaysi chaypi huayna capac yngahuan
rimanacorcan ñispa haco churi titi cacaman
chaypi ñocap cascayta villascayqui ñispa [191] chay
pis ñispa ñircan ynga runayquicta camachi
bruxocunacta yma ayca yachaccunactapas
hura ticsiman canchancanchicpac ñiptinsi
yngaca tuylla camachircan chaysi huaqui
nin runacuna ñocam condorpac camasca canim

F 80 R

ñispa ñircancu huaquinsi ñocam guamanpa
camasca cani ñircan huaquinmi canan ño
cam huayanay piscu pahuac cani ñispa ñircan
[192] chaysi cay ñiscanchiccunacta richic hura ticsi
man chayman(tam) ñocap yayaita churiquim ca
chamuan huc panantas apachihuanqui ñispa
villanqui ñispas conarcan chaysi chay runa
huayanaypac camasca runaca huaquinin ca
mascacunahuan pihca punchaullapi cutimuy
pac rircancu [193] chaysi huayanaypac camasca ru
natac ñaupac chayarcan yna chayaptinsi cu
nascanta villaptin huc huchuylla pitaquillapi
aman caytaca quecharinquichu quiquin huay
na capac apuracmi quicharinca ñispas cuna
murcan chaysi chay runaca ña apamuspa
ñahca cuzcoman chayachispa ma ricuycu
sac ymahc cayca ñispa quicharircan [194] chaysi
chay hucopica huc señora ancha collan sumac
ricurircan chucchanpas crispo cori yna chica
collanan pachayuc ricchayninri ancha huchuy
llas carcan chay ynacta ricuptin pachallas chay
s(eño)raca chincaripurcan [195] chaysi ancha llaquicuspa
cuzcopi titi caca ñiscampi chayarcan chaysi mana
chay yna huayanaypa camasca canquiman chayca
canallanmi huanochichiquiman ri quiquillay
quitac cutij ñispas cacharcan chaysi cutispa
ñatac apamurcan apamuspas ñanpi micuyman
ta<> vpyaymanta huañuptinpas rimaptin
pachallas mesapas mantasca carcan puñonam
pacri ynatac [196] chaysi pihca punchaollapitac
chayachircan ña chayachiptinsi cuni rayaca ynga
huan ancha cusicuspa chasquircan chaysi manarac
quicharispatac cuni raya<>ca ñispa ñirca ynga cay
pachacta sequison ñocari cay huc pachacta yaicusac
camri cay huc pachactatac panayhuan yaicoy ama ñam

F 80 V

campas ñocapas ricunacosoncho ñispas pachacta
sequispa cayarcan ynaspas chay cofrectaca
quecharircan quechariptin pachallas chaycan
pachapas yllarircan [197] chayssi chay ynga huay
na capac ñiscaca mana ñam caymanta cuti
saccho cayllapitacmi cay ñustayhuan coyayhuan
tiasac ñispas huc runacta aylluntatac cam rij
ñocap rantij huayna capacmi cane ñispa cuzco
man cuti ñispas ñircan chay pachallatacsi chay
señoranhuan chincatamurcan cuni rayari yna
llatac chaymantas ña chay huayna capac ñiscan
chic huañuptin hucpas hucpas ñocarac ñinacospa
apu cayninpac tacuirircan ynaptintacsi vira co
chacunapas caxa marcapi ricurimurcan [198] canancama
pas checa simillactam yachanchic cuni raya vira co
chap cascanta huaquinin cay quitipi purispa rurascan
cunactaca manaracmi quillcacuyta puchucanchiccho
chay chaycunactaca cay quipampim rurason

ojo [199] CAP(ITUL)0 15

CAYMANTAM YSCAYNIN CAPI(TUL)OPI (RIMASCANCHICTA) CUNI RA
YAP CARUINCHUMANTA ÑAUPAC CAS
CANTAPAS O QUIPAN CASCANTAPAS
QUILLCASON

cuni raya vira cochaca ancha ñaupacmanta
tacsi carcan manarac pay captinca manas
cay pachapi ymallapas carcanchu payracssi or
cocunactapas sachactapas mayoctapas yma ay
ca animalconactapas camarcan chacracunac
tapas runap causancampac chayraycutacmi
cay cuni rayacta paria cacap yayansi ñincu
paytacsi paria cacactapas camarca ñispa [200] mana
paypa churin captinca allcochanmancha carca

F 81 R

nispam tucoy runacunapas ñincu huaquinin
llactacunactaca anchas amauta cayninpi allco
charcan yma aycactapas ruraspa caycunactaca
quipampim rurason
[201] CAPI(TUL)O 16
CAYPIM QUILLCASON PARIACA PICHCA RUNTO
MANTA YURIC HUAUQUIYOCCHUS CARCAN
CAYRI PARIA CACACHO PAYCU
NAP YAYAN
CHAY CHAYTA
ñam ari pusacnin capitulopi hunancharcanchic
paria caca pihca runtamanta yurimuspa huauqui
yuc camachos carcan cayri huaquinincunaca pari
a cacap churinchus carcan chaycunacta chayman
tari paycunap sapampi sutintari quillcasontacmi
[202] cay pihcca runtomanta yuric paria caca ñiscanchic
ca ymanam 14 capi(tul)opipas rimarcanchic cuni rayap
churinsi ñispa ynatacsi paycunaca huauquiyoc ca
ma carcan caycunap sutinmi ñaupacninman
ta paria caca chaymantam churapa chaymantam
puncho chaymantam paria carco huquintam
mana yachanchiccho caypi quiparin blancopi ya
chaspam churancanchicpac /sullca yllapa/ [203] chaymanta ojo sullca yllapa
cay paria ca<rco> ñiscanchicsi canan antiman yaicu sutiocsi carcan
napi huallallo caruinchoh cutimunman ñispas ca
nancamapas tian chaytahuanpas hunancharcan
chicmi ari cay huallallo caruinchuri manatacsi
tuyllaca miticarcancho may pacham chay mullo
cocha ñiscanchicta churapa paria cacap huquin
yaicuspa cochaman tucochircan chay pachas chay
manta huallalloca pisco yna pahuamurca [204] chaysi

F 81 V

huc orco caqui yoca sutioc orcoman yaicorcan cay <cacas>
orcos ancha atun caca cay cacaman yaicuspas hua
llallo caruincho pacacorcan chaymantas canan paria
cacaca yllapapayaspa huaquinnin pihcca huauquin
cunahuan ancha nanacta yllapaspa ñahcca cacacta
pas tunichispa ñatac chaymanta miticachirca [205] chay
ssi chay huallallo caruinchoca huc atun machachuay a
maru sutiocta paria cacacta tapianca ñispa yscay homayoc
amarocta llocsichimurcan chayssi paria cacaca chay
ta ricospa huc cori taunanhuan ancha piñaspa cha
upi huasampi tucsircan chay pachallatacsi chay
amaroca chirayarca rumiman ña tucorcan
[206] chay chirayasca amaros canancamapas anac caqui
yuca sutioc ñanpi·sutilla ricurin chay amaroc
tas cuzco runacuna mayquin runacunapas yachac
ninca ampipac rumihuan tacaspa hurmacninta
apacon mana oncoyman chayasac ñispa
[207] chaymantas chay huallallo caruincho ña caqui yo
ca cacamanta miticuspa huc huayco caqui yoca
huayqui ñisca huaycoman yaicorcan chaysi hoc
orco puma rauca sutiocta chay huallallo sicaspa
caymanta cay paria cacacta quinchasac mana cay
ta pasamuncanpac ñispas huc orito caque
ñiscacta ricrantapas chuquiri<spa>chispa saya
chircan chaysi chaytapas paria cacaca huc ricran
ta yanca paquerispa chay caquectari rumiman
na cherayachispa yallircantac ña yalliptinsi
huallallo caruinchoca mana ña yma callpallan
pas captinsi antiñicman miticarcan [208] chaysi
paria cacaca huaquinin huauquincunahuan
tucoynin catircan ña antiman yaicuptinsi
paria carco huc huauquintaca paria carco sutiocta chay
antip punconpi saquimurcan pahtahc cotimun
man ñispa [209] chay paria carcos canan huc orcotac
ancha rra<ç>zosapa tian cayta pihc muchan chaytaca

F 82 R

manam yachanchiccho ychaca ñam ari ysconnin
capitulopi rimarcanchic allcocta cananca micochon
runa micuscanrayco caytari huancacuna carachon
ñiscanta<>
[210] CAPI(TUL)O 17
cananmi rimason ña huauquinta paria carco su
tiocta saquimuspa antip ponconpi ymanam ña
tac paria caca cotimurcan chayta cay simire cay
ynam ñam ari huaquinin simi rimascanta
ca muchachicuypac callariscanta<pas>huanpas ri
marcanchic ychacaca huc simictatacmi concar
canchic [211] ña aticuyta puchocamuspas huaquinin huau
quincunahuan cutimurca cay paria caca ñiscanchic
orcoman chaypis huc horcotac razosapa mana
llocaypac huama yaco sutioc orco cay orcoctam
huaquinin runacunaca chaymi paria caca ñincu
ñispatacmi quipampi vira cochacuna ricurimuptin
pas cay ynca caya ñiscanchicmantapas chay or
co razocta ricuspa chaymi paria caca ñispa ñir
cancu [212] quiquin paria caca ñiscaca huranic huc
cacapitacsi tian chaypitacsi huaquinin huauquincu
napas chay caca ñiscanchicman yascuspas caypim
tiasac caymantam muchahuanqui ñispa chay caca
pi llactachacorcan chaymantam ñircanchic huc
orco<> huama yaco sutioc orcocta razosapas
ñispa chaysauas ña antimanta cutimuspa
samamurcan [213] chaymantas canan tucoy tauan
tin suyo runacunacta cayachirca manarac yn
gapas yurimuptin ancha ñaupatac chay yna
ña runacuna tucoynin huñonacomuptinsi
payta muchancanpac huacsata camachircan
cayta oyarispas ña ynga ricurimuspapas paipas
huacsa tiarcan ancha yupaichaspa chay pacha yma
nam huñonacorcan ninchic tauantin suyocta
[214] chay pachas huallallo caruinchuca mana traycionninta

F 82 V

concaspa huc animalta hugi sutiocta chay qui
quin horco tiascanpi ricorichircan cay pari
a cacacta tapianca ñispa chaysi chay hugi ñis
canchicca tuylla ricurispa pachaman miti
camurcan [215] chaysi chay hugi causaspaca ymac
tapas paria cacap causayninta quichunman
tacsi carcan chayraycos tauantin suyo runa
cunacta chay hugi ñiscacta apimuy ñispa ca
machircan yna camachiptinsi tucoy ynan
tin runacona catirircan manatacsi api
chicorcancho panas paria cacaca yllaparca
tamyarcan manatacsi huañorcancho [216] chay
si ancha caropirac huc runa cay checamanta
caca sica ayllo apircan chaysi huc quinti runa
ca huauqui ñam apinqui ancha cusiocmi can
qui camca cay chupallanta huaytallispa
ri cay aychantaca ñoca apasac ñiptinsi allim
ñircan [217] ñispatacsi chay quinti runaca huc
ñanta rispa ñocam yaya apimoni ñispa
villarcan chaysi ancha cusicuspa yupaichar
can cay quinti runap sutinmi chuc paico sutioc
carcan chaysi quipanpi ña chupanta chaya
chiptinca chuc paicocta camca chay llollahuascay
quimanta quintihuanca macanacoy asnayoc
ñisonquim churiquicunactapas ñispa mi
llaypi anyarcan [218] chay pachas cay caca sica ay
llomanta huar cancha llichic canchaman
ta quiquin paria caca cammi chay apiscay
quimanta yancamusca canqui camllactam
yma villahuascayquictapas vyariscayq(ui)
huaquinin runacunapas camtaracmi ñocacta
villaypacpas huyarichisonqui ñispas sutinta
pas ñamca canca ñamca parya ñispa sutiya
chimurcan [219] chaymantas paycunapas yanca car
can conchacunari ynatac yañcampa sutin
quiquin paria cacap sutichascan huatusi sutioc carcan

F 83 R

ynatacsi tucoy llactancunapi yañcacunaca
paria cacap sutichascan cay chicactam concas
canchicta yuyarinchic paria cacap cascanta
[220] CAPI(TUL)O 18
ñam ari yngap paria cacacta yupaychascanta
huacsa tiascantauanpas rimarcanchic pay yn
gatacsi camachircan anan yauyo rurin ya
uyomanta quinça chunca paria cacacta pura
pi quillapi siruichon ñispa chaysi chaycama
quimsa chunca runa siruircan<cu> chunca pihc
cayoc punchaumantacama caraspa micochispa
[221] chaysi huc punchaoca huc llamanhuan yauri hua
naca sutioc llamahuan mucharcancu chayssi
chay quimca chuncamanta oquen llacuas
quita<par yasca> pariasca sutioc runaca may pa
cham chay quinça chunca runacuna ñatinta
sunconta llamapmanta ricorcan chay pacha ñis
pa ñircan a atac manam allicho pacha
huauqui quipampica cay paria caca yayan
chic puromancatacmi ñispas rimarcan [222] chay
si chay huaquinin runacunaca manam ca
sim<> rimanqui allim ymactam cam yachan
qui ñispas ñircancu chaysi hucninca say
quita pariasca ymamantam cam hunanchan
qui cay sonconpica ancha allictam paria ca
ca yayanchic riman ñispa ñiptinsi payca
manas sonco<>cta ricoypacpas cayllaycorcancho
carollamanta cauaspatacsi yna amutarcan
[223] chaysi rimaspapas quiquin paria cacam ñin
huauqui ñispa chaycunactapas ayñircan
chaysi millaypicama chay quita pariascactaca
ñircan llacuas asnac runa ymactam chay ya
chan yayanchic paria caca chinchay suyo ñisca
maycama runayocmi tiacon chaycho puromanman

F 83 V

ymactam chaycan runaca yachan ñispas
ancha piñaspa cama ñircancu cay ñiscan
manta ancha pisi ponchaomantatacsi ñam
vira cocha caxa marcapi ricorimon ñicta oya
rircancu [224] chaymantam cay checamanta
pas tama lliuya caxa lliuya (sutioc) caca sica ayllotac
chay paria cacap yanan tiasca chay pachas
paria cacapi quimça chunca saçerdotecona
tiaspa cay caxa lliuya tama lliuya sutioc tu
coyninmanta yuyacnin carcan [225] chaysi vi
ra cocha chayman chayaspaca cay huacap
collquin pachan maymi ñispas taporcan
chaysi payconaca manatac villacoyta mu
narcancho yna captinsi vira cochaca piña
rispa hocsacta taucarichispa caxa lliuyac
ta rupachircan chaysi ña patmanta oc
sa rupaptinsi huayraca pucorimurcan chay
si ancha ñacarisparac chay runapas cau
sarircan chay pacharacsi chay pacha nac
nacta yman aycantapas vira cochaman
corcancu [226] chay pachas tucoynin runacuna
ancha chicantatacmi ñihuasca canchic chay
llacuas quita pariasca huauqui aco cheque
risontac mana ñam allicho pacha ñispas
tucoynin llactancama chiquerimurcan
[227] chaysi cay checamanta rupasca runapas ña alli
maca viça yaspa huc paria cacap churinta maca uisa
sutiocta aparispa quintip llantanpi limca
sutioc llactapi chayamurca caycunactam
cay quipam capi(tul)opi rimason
[228] CAPI(TUL)O 19
cay maca visa paria cacap churinsi ñaupa yn
ga captin aucaman yanapancampac apai
tucorcan amaya xiuaya sutioc llacta
cunas manatac atichicorcancho chaysi

F 84 R

yngaca mana atichicoptin paria cacacta
chorinta mañarcan chay amaya xiuaya
runacunacta atipai [229] chaysi chay maca visa
sutiocta corcan cayta apaspas tuyllapuni
atimurcan chaymantas yngacunaca asta
uanrac paria cacacta yupaicharcan corictapas
yma ayca pachancunactapas cospa huatampi
chay quimça chunca yanancunapacpas sarac
ta cocacta yma aycactapas llactancunaman
ta cochispas causarcan [230] chay yna captinsi
ñaca ñinchic yna vira cochacuna chaya
muspa tucoy yman cactapas tucoy quecho
porcan huaquinin pochocnincunactas
quipampi huañoc don sebastian tucoyta ru
pachichircan [231] chaymantas ymanam ña
ca ñinchic chay sina chay caxa lliuyaca
li<>mca llactapi tiaspa chay maca uisa ñiscac
ta atallispa ancha yupaychasca ahca huata
tiarcan ña ahca huatamantam canan cay che
cacuna chay yna alli causascanta huyarispa
cayman chay maca uisacta apamuchon ñispa
cacharcan don ju(a)n puypu tacma (huañoc) curaca caspa chay
pachas chay caxa lliuya macho rupasca cayman
sucta runa choriyoc chay chorincunahuan hamur
cancu [232] chay pachas caypi digo llacsa tampopi
chayamuspa ñatac yaya maca uisa alli
cho cay llactapi checa runacta huacaychanqui
ñispa huc llamahuan villaptinsi ymanam
huauya cancha ñisca maypim chay llacuas
pas quita pariasca ñisca ricorcan chay ynalla
tacsi carcan [233] chaytapas chay caxa lliuya tama
lliuya ñisca ña chorincunapas colloptinracsi
quiquinpas ña huañuypac caspas chay ynam
chayamuptillay carcan ñispa rimarcan porq(ue)
chayamuspa pachaca ancha allinmi mana ñam
ymapas huaticay oncoypas cancacho ñispas ñircan

F 84 V

[234] chay pachamantaracsi cay maca uisacta cay llacta
pi atallircancu pura ñiscapi quilla ñiscapi
tucoy checacuna ayllompi ayllompi seruispa
huc tutallaca tucoynin cari huarmi hoñolla paca
ricoc carcan ña pacariptinmi canan coynhuan
ymanhuanpas sapa runamanta cococ car
carcan yanapahuay cay llactacta cammi
huacaychanqui yma ayca oncoyconacta
pas cammi alliyachihuanqui ñispa
[235] chaymantam canan limca ñiscanchic llac
tapica anchapuni seruiscas tiarcan yam
laca sutioc chacractas tucoy huc huaran
ca quinti ñisca callpaporcan chay maca
uisa opiancampac chaysi chaypi cac runa
cunari anchaponitac rico tucorcan yman
huanpas aycanhuanpas chayta embidias
pas cay checacuna huañoc don ju(a)n puypu tacma
cassa lliuya ayllon runan captin cayman
apamuchon ymapacmi runap llantanpi
chay chica alli huacacta atallin ñispa cachar
can chay pachamantaracsi caypi tia<n>rcan
checallactam cay maca uisapta yachanchic
[236] CAPI(TUL)0 20
CAYMANTAM LLOCLLAY HUAN
CUPAP CAUSAYNIN CALLARIN
CANAN Q(UE)PAMPI POCHOCASCAN
TAUANMI QUELLCASSON
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacas pacha
camacpac churin carcan cay huaca ricurimus
cantas huc huarmi lanti chumpi sutioc alay satpa

F 85 R

ayllo tarircan chacracta oryacospa chaysi huc
mita ñaupac aspispaca ymah cayca ñispas pacha
llampitac vischorcan [237] chaysi ñatac huc pachacta aspis
paca chay quiquin ñaupac tariscantatac tarircan
chaysi cayca ychapas yma huaca ñispas yayaicunac
ta ricuchimusac aylloycunactapas ñispas apamorcan
[238] chaysi chay pacha huc huacatac yngap cachan cati qui
llay sutioc chay llactapi llacsa tampo ñiscapi carcan
cay<ssi> cati quillay ñiscanchicsi yanca yma ayca
huaca mana rimactapas rimachic carcan chaysi
cay llocllay huancupa ñiscanchic huacatata rima
richircan ñispa <pip> pim canqui yman sutique
ymamanmi hamunqui ñispa chaysi ñocaca pacha
cuyochic pacha camacpac churinmi cani sutipas lloc
llay huancupam yayaimi cay checa llactacta<ca>
huacaychamuy ñispa cachamuan ñispas ñircan
[239] chaysi runacunaca ancha cosicuspa allim cay
llactapi tiachon ñocaycocta huacaychahuaspa ñis
pas chay quiquin tarimucpa huasimpi huchoylla can
chan captinpas astahuan atunyachispa tucoy checacuna
huanri chauticunahuanpas tucoynin ancha man
chaspa chaypi huasinta canchanta allicharcancu
[240] payta seruiipacri pura quilla<pi> ñiscapi ayllo ayllo
manta allauca collanamuptin yaicuson ñispas
camachinacorcan llamantapas cospa cay pura que
lla ñiscanchictam paycuna ñam chayana ñincu
paymi chayan ñincu cay chayai ñiscanchicpis ñaupa
pachaca chu(m)p ruco huaychau ahua ñiscacunacta
churacuspa taquic carcancu ymanam paria cacap
mitanpipas churacuc carcan chay chump ruco huay
chao ahua ñiscacta chay yna [241] cay ñiscanchic chay
ynas ahcca huata seruircancu chaysi chay llocllay
huancupaca huc mita mana alli seruiptintaccha
pacha camac yaya<i>nman cutircan chincarispa chay
si chay ynacta ricuspa runacunaca ancha llaquispa
chay may pacham ñaupaclla tarirca lanti chumpi ñiscanchic

F 85 V

chaytapas allichaspa huc husnocta pircaspa mascar
cancu [242] chaysi ñatac mana tarispa pacha camac
man tucoy yuyac runacuna llamantapas coyn
tapas yma ayca vestidontapas camaripuspa
rircancu chaysi yayanta ñatac muchaspa cotichi
morcan chaysi astauanrac rrenouaspa muchar
cancu llama camayocnintapas camachipuspa
cay llamactas sucya villca ñiscapi michircan
cu pacha camacpac llamanmi ñispa ynga
pas cayta camachircantacsi [243] chaymantas yma
nam ayllo ayllo ñiscampi chayarcan chay
yna cay huacacta vinay huata seruircancu
yma ayca honcoycuna amuptinri paita vya
richispa alli cayta mañaspa yma ayca llaqui
cuy puticoy captinpas auca amuptinpas pa
cha cuyomuptinpas yayanmi piñan ñispas
runacuna ancha mancharcan saractari yn
gap çaranta sapçicunamantas corcan
hupyancampac [244] chaymantas ñatac huc
p(adre)e X(christoba)l de castilla captin (cay rreducionpi caspa) curacari don geronimo
cancho guaman caspa ancha chaycunacta chic
ñiptin mana ña mucharcanchu chaysi ña
tac ñaupa haton çarampion hamuptin yma
ayca muchacoytapas callarircancu curaca
ñiscanchicri paymanta cachan ñic yna ma
na ña rimapayarcancho purun huasipi
opyaptin chay pachatacsi cay huacap huasinpas
ruparcan paicama dios munaptin [245] chayman
tam canan don g(eroni)mo huañoptin chay pacha
don ju(a)n sacsa lliuya <yai> curacaman yaicuptin
ca quiquin curacapas huacça captin tucoy runa
cuna ymanam ñaupa pacha causarcan chay
yna causayta<> (ña callarircancu) llocllay huancupacta chayman
ta maca uiçactapas chayaspa chaypi pacarispa
opiaspa [246] cananmi s(eñ)or doctor auila paypac predi
caçionnimpi huaquinin runacuna diosman
cuti

F 86 R

cutirispa chaicunacta amacharcancu mana huc
runa diosman checa sonco cutirispa caycunacta su
paimi ñispa ñiptinca ychapas hunayrac chay yna
causanman carca cay simictam cay quipampi
huyarichison [247] huc runam don x(christob)al choque cassa
sutioc yayanri ña ñiscanchic don gə(roni)mo cancho guaman
huañuc cay runam huchuillanmantaca alli cau
sacuc carcan yayanpas chay huacacunacta ancha
chicñiptin ychaca cay mana alli supaipac llullay
cuscan huañonampica cay huchaman hurmar
canmi ahcca mana alli supai machucunap llullay
cuscan ña huañoypacri confesacorcanmi chaytaca dios
aponchictaccha yachan maypi cascantapas [248] cay huañuc
ñiscanchicpac churinmi ari don x(christob)al ñiscanchic canan
causan caymi huc mita cay supay llucllay huancupa
ñiscanchicta ricurcan ñavinuan paipas yayan
huañuscanmantaca ña ñiscanchic mana alli supai
machocunap llollaycuscan caspa cay simire cay y
nam cayta rimaypacca ñaupacracmi don x(christob)al jura
mentocta mucharcan caymi + ñispa [249] huc tutas don
x(christob)al chay llocllay huancupap huasinman rircan chaypi
sipasnin captin chay huacactaca ña haquispa mana ña
asllapas chaytaca yuyaspa chaysi ña chay huassi
pi chayaspa yspacuypac chay huchoylla racay huasilla
man yaicorcan [250] chaysi canan maypim chrusta
churarcan chay hucomantas huc collque plato
ponchao yntiman tincochisca runap ñauinta tuta
yachic ynas ñauinman chay supai ricurichimur
can cayta ricuspas ñahcca pachamanpas hormarcan
chaysi padre nuestro aue mariacta resaspa chay
huchuilla aposentoman huarmip tiascanman
miticamurcan [251] chaysi ñatac quimça mita cha
upicta purimuptin chay ynatac yllarichimurcan
ña aposentoman chayaptinri ñatac quimça mita
ñaupacninri quimça mitatac chaymi tucoyninca
yscon mita (yna) yllarechircan cay chica mita cay

F 86 V

yllarichic supaita ricuspa anchapuni manhharispa
chay huarmip puñoscanman chayarcan paitari
tuylla atarichispa [252] yscay huamrari chaypitac po
ñusca cay huamracunapas ancha siuyaptinsi
yayanchicmi ynan ñispa mancharircancu
cay huamracunari chay sipaspas cay supaipac sa
çerdotinpa churinsi carcan chaysi chay tuta
ymanam tutayacman runa yaicuc astauan tu
tayachispa chay ynas ahuamanpas llocçic
yaicuc ynas carcan rinrintapas chuy ñichispa
chay huasictapas ña tunichic ynas cay don x(christob)al
ta atipaita munarcan [253] chaysi oraçion yachas
cancunacta ancha nanacta huacyarispa dios
aponchicta mucharcan doctrinactari ñatac ña
tac<yachaspa> callarispa pochocascancama
cay yna mana y<lla>mallahuanpas quis
pinanta hunanchaspas ña chaopi tutacta
pas yalliptin suapaica ynatac ompichic captin
<si> mamanchic santa m(ari)acta huacyarcan
ñispa [254] a mamay cammi sapai mamay canqui
ynataccho cay mana alli suapaica atipahuanca
cam mamaytac yanapallahuay pana yna
huchaçapactapas ñocatacmi cay quiquin çu
paita siruircani cananca ñan ricsini supai
cascanta manam cayca dios(cho) manatacmi cay
ca ymactapas allintaca ruranmancho
[255] cam çapai coyallaytacmi cay peligroman
ta quispichihuanq(ui) huahuayq(ui) jesusnita villapu
llahuaytac canallanca cay huchaymanta
quispichihuachuntac cay mana alli supai
pa maquinmanta ñispas huacaspa om
pispa mamanchic virgen sapai coyanchic
ta huacyarcan [256] cay<ña>ta ña pochucaspas
latinpi salue regina mater misericordia
ñispa rresarcan cayta rimaptinsi na chao
pita rimaptin chay hacoy mana alli supaica

F 87 R

chay huasictapas coyorichispa ancha racupi
chuss ñispa chusic llucsircan chay pachalla
tacsi pachaca pacaric yna carcan mana ñas
yma manchachicuypas runa yna llucsic yai
cumucpas carcanchu [257] chaymantas astahuan
rac diosta mucharcan virgen s(an)ta mariactapas
viñay yanapancampac cayantillantacsi tucoy
runacunacta ñispa villarcan huauquicuna yayacuna
chaycan manchascanchic llucllay huancupa ñis
caca chusic supaimi casca [258] cunam tutam
virgin s(an)ta maria mamanchicpac yanapainin
huan atiparcomuni amatac cananmantaca
pillapas chay huasiman yaicunquichiccho yai
cucta chayacta ricuspaca padremanpas villay
manmi porque alli yachay cay ñiscayta tucoy
soncoyquipitac chasquicuychic ñispas tucoy
runacunacta villarcan [259] chaysi huaquin
ca ychapas ya ñispa huaquinri chay supai
ta manchach caspa hupalla tiarcancu chay
pachamantaracsi checanpunica chayaita
samarcancu chaymantas chay tutari ña
tac don x(christob)al huasimpi puñocuptin muscoypi
ricuchicorcan caytam caysaua quillcasson
[260] CAP(ITUL)O 21
CAYMANTAM MANA MUSCOY
YUPAI CAPTINPAS CHAY MA
NA ALLI SUPAYPA MANCHA
CHISCANTA RIMASON YMA
NAM DON X(CHRISTOB)AL ATIPARCAN CHAYTA
HUANPAS

F 87 V

ñam ari llucllay huancupa mana alli supai
cascanta don x(christob)al atipascantauanpas oyarir
canchic ychaca chay mana alli supai muscoy
pipas atipaitatacsi munarcan chaysi cayan
tin tutallatac huasinmanta don x(christob)alta caya
chircan huc runahuan manas paiman rine
nircancho ña huasinman yaicusparacsi
musyacorcan [261] chaysi ancha mancharispa chay
huc yunga huarmi chacuas tiacocman chay qui
quiquin patiopitac cayllaycorcan cay chac
uassi yunga huarmi carcan chaysi huahua
ymapacmi llucllay huancupa pacha cuyo
chicpa churinta mana manchanquicho
cananmi chayta yachaypac cayachimu
sonqui ñispas rimarcan [262] ñiptinsi canan
paica chayca mana alli supaimi mamay
ymapacmi chayta manchayman ñispas
ñircan chaysi maquinpiri taua rreal
collquicta atallircan chaytas don x(christob)al pa
chaman ormachircan chayta mascaptin
si franc(isc)o trompeteroca hahuallamanta yao
yma conquim chaypin yayaiquica ancha piñas
pa hutca amuchon ñispa cayamusonqui ñispas
huacyamurcan [263] ñiptin pachallas suyallahuai
rac huauqui ñam amuni ñispa collquenta
ancha vtcaspa mascarcan chay pacha ña
tarispas rijpac captinsi ñatac ymanam
oyanpi quiquinta chay collqui ñiscanchichuan
manchachircan chay yna ynamurcan chay
cruzpa tiascan ocumanta(tac) [264] chayssi tuylla
mancharispa mana ña quispinampas yacha
cuptin chay hucumantaca cayamurcan
yayanchicmi cayasonqui ñispa chaysi
paica allim ñispas sonconpica ancha piñaspa
yaicorcan yaicuspas poncollampi tiay<coy>
corcan [265] chaysi chay pachaca cay astu guamanca

F 88 R

opiachich carcan carahc carcan chay huacacta
ñispa yaya llucllay huancupa cammi pacha
cuyochicpac churin canqui camtacmi runactapas
camarcanqui ñispas chaypi ancha manchas
pa cararcan chaysi chay supaica mana
rimacoytaca husachispa hu hu ñicacharcan
chaymantari cocacta caraptinri acoc ynas
chac chac ñichircan [266] caycunacta hunayrac
ruraptinsi don x(christob)alca chay huasin hucomanta
tucoy yscay pachapi muyoc pintasca ynacta
ricorcan ymanam rromano pintasca yscai
patarapi rinman chay hynacta chay pin
tasca ñiscanchicsi hucpi huc huchuylla supai
ancha yana ñauinpas collqui yna chaymanta
maquinpiri huc caspi garauato<>yucta atallir
can chaisauas llamap human carcan chay
sauas ñatac chay huchuilla supai carcan chay sa
uari ñatac llamap human chay ynas tu
cuy huasinta yscay patarapi muyorcan [267] cay
cunacta ricuspas don x(christob)alca ancha mancharircan
rimanallanta camarispas chayssi ña cay su
pai micoyta puchocaptinsi ñatac ninacta
raurarichircan chay astu guaman chayman
yma ayca carascantapas rupachipac [268] cay
ta puchocaptinsi ña casilla ymapas captin
don x(christob)alca rimayta callarircan ñispa yao lluc
llay huancupa camtam ari runa camac pacha
cuyochic ñispa ñisonqui <ñocaca ñinim> pai
tacmi yma ayca rurac ñispam ari tucoy
runacunapas manchasonqui ymapacmi
canan cayachimuarcanqui ñocaca ñinim
jesu xp(christ)o diospac churin caytaccha checan
dios paipac simintataccha viñaypas yupay
chasac ñispam ñine [269] cayri pantanicho cam
canan villahuay chayca manam dioscho
ñocam yma ayca rurac cani ñispa chay pacha

F 88 V

camta manchancaypac ñispa ñiptinsi chay
supaica hopayarcan mana ña ymactapas
rimarcancho [270] chay pachas don x(christob)alca ricoy ma
nacho supai canqui ñocap y ñiscay jesuxp(christ)o
apuytacho camca atipanquiman ricoy cay
huasiquipas supaipac yntupayascanmi ari
tianqui camtacho ñoca y ñiquiman ñispas an
cha caparispa ayñircan [271] chay pachas huc llau
llaya (ñiycum) chayta vischomurcan caytas ma
na don x(christob)al yacharcancho ycha chay supai ycha
pas diospac partenmanta vischomurca por
qui chay llaullaya ñiscanchicllahuan har
cacuspas chay huasimanta huc ysquina
condep huasincama huacta<manta>ñic
manta chayllahuan arcacuspa mitica
murcan chay pachas riccharircan [272] chayman
ta pachas canan<ca>cama huaquinin huaca
cunactapas atipaspa yna moscoyllapipas
ancha ahcca mitatacsi paria cacactapas chaopi
ñamucactapas atiparcan runacunactari
tucoytapas villapayaspa caycunaca supai
mi ñispa cay chicactam cay mana alli su
paipac cas(can)ta yachanchic don x(christob)alpac atispascantahuanpas
[273] chaymantari ña chayaspa ñaupa pachaca
chayac runacunaracsi taquic carcan ña
hura pachacama chaysi ña chesiñicmanca
yayanchic cananca ñan machan taquichon
ñispas chay saçerdoten paipac rantin yna ñis
ca taquicta taquic carcan yayanchicmi an
cusasonqui ñispatac huc huchoylla quirullapi
cay ancusayta puchocaspas apamuc huctas canan ocupi huc manca
chay supaipac upyascan mantac churac paimi opian ñispa [274] cay opia
maticta ahuaman chay chicoytam yuyacnicmanta callarispa man
ancusascanman apa yancama opiachicoc carcan ynaspam cayan
muc carcan chay matic tinri ñatac chay puchuscancunacta micoycu
ta muchancampac

F 89 R

nacta sucya villca ñiscaman apachic carcan
[275] ñaupa pachaca chay chayac runacunas quiquin
sucya villcaman apac carcan cay quipampim
canan pachallampitac sucya villcactapas
llucllay huancupacta caracuyta puchocaspa
carac carcan cay sucya villca caracoytaca
ymaraicum cararcan chaytaca cay quipampim
quillcason pacha camacpac cascantahuan<pas>
[276] CAPI(TUL)O 22
yngacunap pacha camacta ancha yupaychascan
taca manam allichu yachanchic ychaca huaqui
nillantam yachanchic hanac ticsipi muchanan
tas ynticta titi cacamanta mucharcan caymi yngac
ta camahuarca ñispa hura ticsimantam canan
pacha camac ñiscacta caymi yngacta camahuarca
ñispatac mucharcancu [277] cay yscaynin huacacuna
ñiscallanchictas astahuanca tucoy yma aycactapas
yallispa mucharcan collquinhuan corinhuanpas
astauanrac yallichispa allichaspa yanancunactari
ahcca pachac runacta churaspa llamantari tucoy
ynantin llactacunapi churapuspa cay pacha camac
ñiscanchicpac llamancunami ari sucya villca
ñiscanchicpipas cay checa runamanta sayarcan
[278] caytam hunanchanchic yngaca cay ñiscan
chic titi caca hura cochañicpiri pacha camac ñis
cancunalla<>pich pacha puchocan mana ñah chay
mantaca huc llactapas canchu manataccha yma
llapas cancho ñispach ari hunancharcan [279] cay
ta yuyaspataccha yscaynin ñiscanchic hua
cacta astauanrac huaquinin huacacunaman
tapas yallispa mucharcancu hura pacha camac
pa cayllanpiri <ponchao digo> yntictapas sayachispa
chay sayachiscanmi ari canancamapas ponchao

F 89 V

cancha sutioc [280] chaymantas canan tauantin
suyo runacunacta capac hucha ñiscactapas
huarmicta caricta huatanpi corcan cay ca
pac hucha ñiscanchictas ña pacha camacman
chayaptinsi yna causacllacta pachaman cay
mi coyqui yaya ñispa pampac carcan ynatac coric
tapas collquictapas llamacunactari purapi
quillapi mana ancochaspa opiachircan mi
cochircan [281] chaymantam ña may pacham
cay checap llactancunacta mana tam
yarcanchu chay pachas yngap simincama
tac yuncacuna ashuanhuan tictinhuan
cori collqui ñiscactari huatanpi cuspa suc
ya villca ñisca<horcom>man cachamurcan
chaysi sucya villcacta yaya pacha camacmi
cachamuan cammi pachacta tamyachinqui
mana cay cochamanta yaco riptintacmi
runacunapas yacomanta muchuyco tam
yaicuytac caypacmi amuycu ñispas ofre
cicoc carcan [282] yuncacunapas chaymantas coll
qui cori apascantari chay sucya villca cocha
cayllapi huatancunapipas pampac carcan
chaypac yanancu(na)pas yaçapa ayllomantas<>
carcan llama michicninri allaucamanta
cay yaçapa ñiscanchicsi huc runa paico casa sutioc
quipampi ña vira cochacuna captinpas coricta
collquicta pampacta ricorcan [283] ynatacsi ynga
cunari tucoy ynantin huacacunaman alli
ricsisca huacamanca corinta collquinta qui
pollamanta tucoy ynantin huacacta cochic
carcan choc auqui collqui auqui choqui ñispaca
corictam ñinchic chaymantam choc vrpo collc<>
horpo choc tipsi collc tip<>si ñiscacunactas
cochic carcan quipollamanta cay hatunin hua
cacunaca manatacsi huquillanpas pasuccho
[284] cayta hunanchaspatacsi llocllai huancupa

F 90 R

ñiscanchicman chayaspapas cayantin sucya
villcacta carachic carcan yayanpa man
chascan captin cay chicactam yachanchic cay
pacha camacmanta pacha coyochi ñiscanta
ri pai piñaptinsi yna coyon ña ñispari
hucman hoyanta ticrachiptinsi coyomun
manatacsi paica huyanta asllapas coyochincho
tucoy <cuerpon> (cuerpon)ta ticrachiptinca ynallas pacha
puchocanman ñispam runacuna ñircancu
[285] CAPI(TUL)O 23
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YNGAP
TUCOY YNANTIN HUACACUNAC
TA CAYACHISCANTA CAYPITAC
MI MACA UISA ÑISCANCHICPA
ATI<N>SCANTAPAS RIMASSON
<ynga>tupay ynga yupanqui ñisca apo caspas
ña tucoy ynantin llactacunacta conquistaspas
ahca huata samarcan ancha cusicuspa chaysi huc
llactacunamanta auca atarircan alancu marca
calanco marca chaque marca ñiscas cay cay
runa(cunas) mana yngap runan cayta munarcancho
[286] chaysi chaycunahuan ahcca huaranga runancunacta
quiuicuspa aucanacorcan doze año chica
cama chaysi tucoy cachascancunactapas collo
chimuptin ancha llaquispa ymanam casson
ñispas yngaca ancha puticorcan [287] chaysi huc
ponchaoca yuyacorcan ymaraycoh cay
huacacunacta siruine corihuan collquihuan

F 90 V

pachayhuan micunayhuan yma aycayhuanpas ma
cayachisac tucoyta cay aucacunata yanapa
huancampac ñispas tucoy ynantin llactacu
namanta cori collqui chasquiccuna amuchon
ñispas cayachircan [288] chaysi ari ñispa rircancu
pacha camacpas rircantac huc huantuhuan
ynatac tucoy llactacunapas huantuhuan
cama tucoy ynantin tauantin suyo ñiscaman
ta chaysi ña aucay patapi tucoy llactacuna
chayaptinsi paria cacaca manarac chayarcan
cho manachos risac risacchos ñic ynas aynicachar
can chay pachas paria cacaca maca uisa churin
ta cacharcan ri cam oyarimuy ñispa [289] chaysi
chayaspa manyallamanta tiaycorcan chicsi
rampa sutioc andasuan chay pachas ynga
ca rimarircan ñispa yayacuna huaca
villcacuna ñam ari yachanqui ymanam
ñoca camcunacta tucoy suncoyhuan
corihuan collquihuan seruiqui chayta ynas
pa camcunaca yna ñoca seruiptica ma
nacho yanapallahuanquimantac checa ahc
ca huaranca runayta perdipti chayraicum
camcunacta cayachimuyquichic ñispa rimap
tinsi manatac huchllapas ay ñircanchu ya
llinrac hupayaspa tiarcancu [290] chay pachas ña
tac yngaca yao rimarichic ynatacchum
campac casmascayqui rurascayqui runacuna
aucanacospa collonca mana yanapahuaita
munaptiquica canallanmi tucoyniquichicta
rupachichiscayqui [291] chayca ymaraicum ñoca
ca corihuan collquiuan huantarcunapi mi
coycunahuanpas opiayhuanpas llamayhuan
pas yma aycayhuanpas seruiqui allichayque
chayca manacho cay checa llaquicoscayta
huyarispa yanapahuanquiman manam
ñiptiquica canallantacmi rupanqui

F 91 R

ñispas ñircan [292] chay pachas pacha camacca ri	D
marimurcan ynga yntiya ñocaca tucoy cam	E
tauanpas ynantin pachacta cuyochic caspatacmi	
mana rimarinicho manam ari chay aucallata	L
chu ñocaca collochiman tucoy camtahuampas	A
ynantin pachactahuanpas puchocaymanmi	
chayraicutacmi opalla tiacuni ñispas rimarcan	M
[293] chaymantas canan huaquinin huacacunaca	A
opalla tiaptin maca uisa ñiscanchicca rimarir	N
can ynga yntiya ñoca chayman risac ychaca	O
campas cayllapi alli carpacuspa hunanchacuspa	
tiay ñocam chaytaca tuy checallapi atipamus	Y
cayqui ñispas ñircan chaysi maca uisa ri	
mariptinca seminmantapas llacça llacça pu	P
corimurcan cosni llocsic yna [294] chay pachalla	L
tacsi cori antaranta antaricorcan curitac	U
pincullonpas carcan humanpiri chump rucoc	M
ta pillorispa pusucanri curitac cusmanri	A
yana chay pachas maca uisa rinampac huc qui	
quin yngap rinan chicsi rampa sutioc ram	D
pacta corcan chaysi calla uaya runa ñisca	E
ancha sinchi cama yngap acllascan carcan cay ru	
nas ahcca ponchao ñantapas pisi ponchaollapis	T
chayachic carcan caycunas maca uisacta aparir	H
can huanturircan chay aucaman [295] chaysi huc or	O
collapi chayachiptinsi chay maca visa paria cacap churin	M
ca allimantarac(si) tamyaita callarircan ynaspas	A
chay llactayoc runacunaca ymah cayca ñispa ca	S
marico<>rcanrac [296] ynaptintacsi yllapaspa asta	
uan tamyaitapas yapaspa tucoy llactancunac	
ta huaycu huaycucta ruraspa lloclla aparcan	
atunnin curaca cactari sinchicunactauanpas	
yllapaspas collochircan atun runacu<na>nallas	
huaquillan quispircan munaspaca tucoytapas	
collochinmansi carcan ynallas huaquinin	
runacunactaca tucoyninta atispa cuzcoman	

F 91 V

catimurcan [297] chay pachamantaracsi paria cacac
ta astauan yngapas yupaicharcan yanancu
nactapas pihcca chuncacta cuspa ynaspas yaya
maca uisa ymactam coscayqui ymallactapas
munascayquicta mañahuay manam micha
cusaccho ñiptinsi manam ñocaca ymac
tapas munanicho ychaca huacçaca tianqui
tacmi ymanam ñocaycup churijcuna yauyo
ñiscamanta rurancu [298] chaytaca ñiptinsi
allitacmi yaya ñispas ancha mancha
rispa pactah cayca ñocactapas collochihuan
man ñispas yma aycantapas ofrecicoyta mu
narcan [299] chaysi micoy yaya ñispa carachiptin
ca manam ñocaca cay ynacta micoccho cani
mullocta apamuy ñispas mañarcan chay
si mullocta coptinca cap cap ñichispa tui
lla micorcan [300] chaysi mana ymactapas mu
naptintac yñaca ñustancunactaca cama
chiporcan chaytapas mana ho ñiptintac y
naspas ñatac maca uisa paria caca yayanta
villaypac cotimurcan chaymantas canan
yngacunapas ancha quipapipas xauxapi huac
çapas tiarcan y taquircan ancha yapaichaspa
[301] chaymantam canan cay cuzcopi aucay pata
ñiscapi tantanacorcan ñinchic chaypis cay
huacacuna tucoy ynantin ñaca ñircanchic
chay yna tiaspa tucoyninmanta sumacnin
si siua caña villca coto ñisca tiarcan manas
cayhuanca sumacninpica ynantin huaca
cunapas pactar cancho cay chicactam caycu
napta yachanchic
[302] CAPI(TUL)O 24
CAYMANTAM CAY CHECACUNAP
CAUSASCANCUNACTA QUILLCA

F 92 R

SON MACUA YUNCA ÑISCACTA
TAQUISCANCUNACTAPAS CHAY
MANTARI RUNAP PACA
RIMUSCANTAHUANPAS
ñan mari huaquinin capitulopi paria cacap chu
rincunacta rimaspa asllacta yurimuscanta
pas rimarcanchic ychaca cay yurimuscan pacari
muscan simiri cay ynam huaquinmi canan rimancu
hanac paria caca ñiscanchic quitipis huc sacha quiñhua
sutioc canancamapas quinhua sutioctac chaypis çachap
ruruyninmanta runacuna pacarimurcan [303] huaquin
mi runacuna ñincu hanac pachamantas yahuar hor
mamurca chaysi vichi cancha sutioc pachapi chay quiñ
hua ñiscanchic quitipitac<si> chayarcan [304] chaypis canan
llactachacorcan allaocamanta coña sancha cutioc sat
pascamanta yuri naya sullc pahcamanta chupa yacu
yaça(pa)mantam paco masa muxicamantam chauca chim
pita caca sicamantam canan huar cancha llichic cancha
ñiscanchicca yañcacuna cay caycunaca quiquin llactayoc — huarcancha lli
yuncacunas [305] huaquinin caca sica moralespac chaymanta — chic cancha eran
cancha paicup yayancunas yauyo carcan caycunap paca — yungas
rimuscansi maurura sutioc aya uireñicpi caycunaca
quita puricucsi huar canchap paninhuan caçaraspas cacay — morales yauyo
hucopitac camachinacusac ñispas paicunaca cay llacta
pi tiaycorcancu [306] chaysi ña paria cacaman muchaypac ris
pas cacancuna tucoy checacunapas quita yauyo ñispa
chicniptin quipallarac ancha carollapi ric carcan
chaysi anchapuni llaquicuspa caycunaca ynas chicnep
tin ahca huata quipalla cama ric carcancu chaysi
huc mitaca paria cacacta villarcan ñispa yaya cayca
caycunapas checacunapas ancham checnihuan campa
camascayquitacmi pana yauyo runapas caycu ñispas

F 92 V

ancha huacaspa villarcan [307] chay pachas paria caca chu
ri ama llaquicho cay curri chuncullayta apacoy cay
ta atallispa llacça tampopi poco caya ñiscapi ta
quinqui chay pacham yma runam cayca chica pa
ria cacap cuyascan ñispam anchapuni mancha
rinca chaymantaca mana ñam anchacho chicnison
qui ñispas camachimurcan [308] chaymantas cay ya
uyo ñiscanchiccunaca tucoy checacunamantapas
quipampirac chayamuspas chay chuqui chuncullan
ta apaspas ancha cusicuspa runacunapas man
chariptin chayamurcan cayantin ponchaopis pam
papi tucoy ynantin runacunapas mancharip chay
curri chuncullacta atallispa taquircan [309] huaquin
mi canan ñincu tutas ñaupa pacha pariacaman
llamahuan ymahuanpas villac carcancu chaysi ay
llo ayllompi mitanacospa ric cancancu chay pachas
chay quita yauyo ñiscanchicta apachon paipas
ñispa ancha chicñispatac ñircan pay apaspas
canan ña ynti sicamuptin paria cacaman chayarcan
[310] chaysi anchatac llaquicuptin paria cacaca ymapacmi
chica llaquicunqui yao anta capsi ñispas ñircan ñaupa
sutinca pacuyris carcan chay pachas cay cori chuncollac
ta apacoy cayta ricuspam runacuna mana ña chicni
sonquicho ñispas comurcan [311] cay cori chuncullac
tas canan huc mita ñatac paria cacaman muchaypac
rispa chayta apaspa rircan chaysi huc mayo pari ayri
sutioc mayocta chimpaspas chaypi hurmachircan chay
si panatac yma ynapas tucoy hanacman huraman
mascarcan manatac ricuriptinsi ynallatac paria
cacaman rircan [312] chaysi cayantin chayaptinca quiquin
paria cacap cayllampi chay corri chunculla ñiscanchicca
sayacorcan chaysi ñatac huacaspa mañaptin mana ña
ho ñircanchu ñispa manam aucamantacho atispa
apamurcanqui chay yna sumachispa apaycacha<>(n)ayqui
pac caymanri camacnita ruracnita ricuchimusac
ñispa apamuncayquipac ñispam anchapuni anyarca

F 93 R

[313] chaysi yaya ynataccho pincay casac cotichillahuaytac cay
ri ymallactapas chaypac rantinta collahuay ñispa ñip
tinsi ancha huacaptin churi cutij ñocap panay
pac chaupi ñamcap mitampim coscayqui chay pacha
pac suyai ñispas ñimurcan chaysi ynallatac cuti
morcan [314] chaysi ñatac ñiscan yna chaupi ñamcap mi
tampi yauri callinca sutioc canchanpi pircasaua
huc gato montes ancha sumac pintascacama ricurir
can chaysi chayta ricuspa caymi paria cacap ñiscam
ñispas cusicuspa chayta atallircancu taquichispa
tac caytam canan tumnapi cac her(nan)do cancho uillca
huacaycharcan ychaca ñas tucoy ysmurcan
[315] ñam ari runacunap pacarimuscanta rimarcanchic
ychaca caycuna ñiscanchiccunaca tutay quirep churin
si huaquinmi canan çachap ruruyninmanta llocsic
cay tutay quiri ñiscanchictacsi vichi cancha ñiscan
chicpi yurimurcan chaymantam paytac cay llacta
cunactapas atimurcan churijcuna caypi tianca
ñispa [316] chaysi ymanam huaquinin capitulopipas
rimarcanchic yunca çapas carcan ñispa chay ynas
chay yuncacunactaca ña carcospa ayllo ayllompi
cunacoyta callarircancu chacrantapas huasintapas
llactantapas ayllonpi sutintapas paycunap ayllom
pi sutinsi allauca sat pasca passa quine muxica caca
sica sulc pahca yaçapapas carcan yaçapa ñispaca plate
roctam yaçapa ñinchic plateros carcan chaypac su
tintatacsi paicunapas apan ynatac huaquinin
ayllocunapas [317] chaymantas canan llacta ñiscan
chicta conacuspari allaucamanta collanaspa
chasquircan cay allaucas maca callacta< >
<ta> chasquircan chaymantam sat pasca ñiscanchic
cunam quimqui llacta chasquircan cay quimquillas
curaca huaca ñisca tucoymantapas astauan yupaisi
carcan [318] chaymantas canan chasquircan sulc pahca yaça
pa ñiscanchic ricra huanca ñisca huacacta chayman
tam muxicacuna chasquircan quira rayacta

F 93 V

caca çicacunam llucma suni huacacta chasquircan
huanricuna chauticunam canan paicunaca quiquin
llactayoc ñaupamanta ñam ari ymanam tutay
quiricta mucharcan chaytapas huaquinin capitulo
pipas rimarcanchicmi ari
[319] cay yna ña ñiscanchic yna tutay quiri aticoyta
pochucaptinsi churincunari cayman hamuspas
pacariscan taquicta ymanam vichi cancha
pi taquircan chayta masoma ñispa taquircan
cu <ñam ari> ñam çapa ñiscanchicri runas car
can cay quiquintaca yngas quipampi aparcan chay
pac teniententas ñatac hucta rurarcancu chay
tam s(eñ)or doctor ña aparcan [320] cay ñam cçapa ñiscan
chic<>si runa caspa quisay rinri ñiscacta rinrim
pi churac carcan <cayta> chaymanta maquinpiri
canah yauricta caycunas ñaupa pachaca cori sapa
carcan cay corictaca yngatacsi aparcan chay
mantas cay quillcas caxo ñiscanchicsi tau
nan carca chaymanta chay cori cacya sutioc
caracolsi paihuan amuctas [321] caytas paimi
pacarinchic caymi ñaupac cay llactaman hamuc
chapac ñispas quiquinta oyanta cochuspa ta
quichircan chaymantas aucapi apimuspari hu
yantatac cochuspa caymi sinchi cascay ñispa
taquichircan cay aucapi ña apiptinsi qui
quin chay runa huauqui ñam ari huano
chihuanqui ancha camasca runatacmi
carcani huayotatac rurahuanqui ño
cactari ña pampaman llocçipac capti alli
carahuanqui opiachihuanqui ñispas ñic
carcan [322] cayta oyarispatacsi cay <huc> huaqui
nin huayocunacta carac opiachic carcan
canan ponchaomi pampapi taquinqui ñocahuan
ñispa chaymantam cay huayocta aparispa
tac yscay ponchao huantunacoc carcan
cayantin ponchaomi çarahuanpas papa

F 94 R

huanpas yma ayca cascanhuanpas huarcunacuc
carcan [323] cay huarcunacoytas caycunacta apa
cuspa oma pacha ñisca yurimuscanman cutin
ca ñispa hunancharcancu chaysi rimacospapas
huc rimaytatac simintaca hucman quincochis
pa rimac carcan chaypac fiestanpi cay taqui
cuytam pihca ponchaopi puchocarcan allauca
cunari ynatac [324] hucpi cay chuta caras oma pacha — masoma
ñiscatac cay quiquintacsi vichi canchamanta — chuta cara
huaquinincunahuan hamurcancu chaysi
runa caspatac rumiman chirayarca chay ru
na caspa huaracacuscansi chay huaracampas
chaymanta chay pisco yna ricchaccunas paipac
visan [325] chaymanta chay huana payas canan chay
ta pucoptin llamacunacta llactacuna raquimuc — significa ydolo
cayhuantacsi pacarimurcanpas chay llamarai
cutacsi huaquinin huana payacunactapas
huacaycharcancu cay caytam allaucamanta
chuta carap fiestanta rurac carcancu checa
cunapas conchapas mayquin runapas chay
caracoltaca atallintacmi llamayoccuna
[326] chaymantam canan cay quiquin ñiscanchiccu
nacta yscay huata taquircan huatampi huc
mitalla chaymi yscay huata captinpas yscay
mitallatac taquircan chaymantam canan
yscay huatatac machua sutioc taquicta ta
quircan [327] cay ñaupa ñiscanchicca yunca
sutiocmi cay machua ñiscanchicpac mitam
pim canan yscay huatatac taquircan huc
chupa ñisca ychucta pirtaspas ancha quero
cunacta chacnaspa chayman pilluic carcan
yscayta caymi suninman canchis ricra chic
tayoc chaymantam atunninmanmi yscay
<>braço alli macallanchic yna humampim
canan caçira sutioc hocsatac caypa sapinmi
puca pucalla caytas churac carcan caymi

F 94 V

acchan ñispa [328] chaymantas ña tucoyta allichas
pa hucta yomca ñispa carip hunanchay
ninta churarcan huctari huasca sutiocta
huarmip onanchayninta churarcan ña
churaspam canan tucoy runacuna alli pachan
ta tamta ñiscantapas churacuspa sitayta
ña callarircancu cay si(ta)na<>m vihco suti
oc [329] cayta sitaipac ña<>upacnin ponchaopitac
mi tucoy ynantin caullamacunaman ric car
cancu llamantapas ymanam paria caca
man campanillayocta chaymanta sarçillo
yucta aparcan chay yna chaysi tucoynin
runacuna chaucallamanpas curri ñisca tambo
sica orcomanpas ric carcancu çapampi caulla
mancunamanpas chay pacha cay caullama
cunaman rispas chay caracol ñiscanchic
ta huacachispa pucupayaspa ric carcancu chay
pacmi çapampi runacunapas huaquinin
taricnincunaca cay caracol ñiscanchicta
atallircancu [330] chaymantam canan cay
chuta chuta ñiscanchicta ña yscayninta sayachis
pa sitayta callarircan cayta sitaptinsi huar
micunaca ayllo ayllo yaicuspa sitaptin ma
na huancarayoc huarmicunapas taquipuc
carcan cay simicta rimaspa huaccha churi
quicta chasquipuy ñispa huasca ñiscanchictari
huaccha churiquicta chasquipuytac ñispatac
[331] chaysi cay sitaccuna chay chutap chucchanpi
chayachiptinca cayri maycancha tucoy huc ayllo
cunamanta hanacnin manyanpi chayachircan
chaysi huc huacamaypac ricranta o ymallanta
pas apaspa yañcacta coc carcan [332] cay yañcan
checamanta quipampas m(art)yn misa yauri carcan
allaucamantam ju(a)n chumpi yauri huañuc [333] cay
yañca ñiscanchicsi ña huc ayllo ñiscan
chic pochocaptin chay chutaman llocarcan

F 95 R

chay puypu ñisca huacamayap ricranta apas
pa <chaysi> chaysi may pihc chayachircan chay
ta sorcuspa chaypi chay puypu ñiscahuan
hunanchamurcan chaysi ñatac hoc ayllo yai
cuspapas ynatac hocri ynatac <n> [334] chaymantas
ñatac huasca ñiscanta huarmipac sitar
ca churita yma ayca micunallaytapas coanca
ñispa chaymanta yomca ñiscanchictari
cari churita chauaracta yma ayca causaycu
nacta coanca ñispa [335] ña may pacham yscay
nin chutacunacta sitayta puchocarcan chay
pachas chay ñaui ñiscapi chucchapi chayachic
cuna yañcaman llamanta cayhuan cay
homa pacha ñiscacta villapuay ñispa coc
carcan chaysi cay huchuylla llamactaca
chay llamayoc manatac anchantaca apacoc
cho yañcamusca ñiscallanchictacsi ayca
llama captinpas apacoc micococ
[336] chaymantam canan ñatac cayantin pon
chao ancha tutamanta quimquillaman tucoy
runacuna ric carcancu chay quimquilla ñis
canchic huacas ancha llamayoc yma ay
cayoc chayta coyaicuanca ñispas tucoy
runacuna allaucapas ric carcan chaypi
llamayta mañamusac ñispa [337] chayman
rijpacsi aslla tictinta ashuanta cocanta
apac carcan chay huana paya ñiscanchic
tari huacachipayaspa chaymantas ñaupac
nin ponchaopitacsi vichuc maricuna cay
mi tucoy sat pasca sulc pahca yaçapacuna
chay quiquin quimquillapitac taquic car
can llamantapas nacaspa poconim ñis
pa [338] chaymantam ñatac huraycumor
can maypim quira raya tiarcan chay anac
nin pampaman cay pampam huara ca
ya sutioc caypim ñatac ymanam llac

F 95 V

sa tampopi yomca huascacta sayachircan
chuta ñiscacta chay ynallatac sayachir
can llamapac cay llamapacmi horcopac
chinapac ynatac sitarcancu [339] cay sitayta
puchucaspam canan ymanam llacsa tam
pupi carcan ynallatac llamanta yañcaman
coc carcan cayhuan muchapuay allitac
casac ñispa chaymantam canan cayman
cutimuspa ymanam quimquillaman
pas hoño hoñolla ric carcan llaman
tapas campanayocta aysaspa ynallatac
cutimorcancu [340] caytam carco caya ñin
cu ymanam allimanta coyoi coyoilla
rihuan yna caycuna puricoytas huaro
cactam tumani ñispa ñircancu cay hua
roca ñiscanchicta tumaspas chay hua
na paya ñiscanchictapas pocopayaspa
ric carcancu cay chicallactam yachanchic
cay machua ñiscacta yachanchic [341] chayman
tam canan cay llacça tampopi yunca ñiscan
chicta huaquinin muta caya runas carcan
ñincu huaquinmi canan collis carcan
nincu ynam ychaca cay colli ñiscanchicca
yaru tinepis tiarcan caypac cascantam can
cay quipampi quillcasson
[342] CAPI(TUL)O 25
CAYPIM QUILLCASSON YMANAM
COLLI RUNACUNACTA YARU TI
NI ÑISCAMANTA HORA YUNGA
MAN HUAYRA APARCAN
CHAYTA

F 96 R

cay colli ñiscanchic llactayocsi yarutini ñis
capi tiarcancu chaysi huc ponchaoca paria caca
chay yaru tini ñiscanchic llactampi collicuna vp
yaptin chayarcan chaysi manyallamanta pa
ria cacaca tiaycuspa ancha huacchalla yna tiar
can [343] chaysi manatac pillapas vpiachita munar
canchu chaysi huc runalla ancusaycorcan cay
acusacnintas yapaicuay huauqui nispa ñircan
chaysi yaparcantac chaymantas cocallayquicta
acuchihuay ñispa ñatac mañarcan chaysi cor
cantac [344] chay pachas huauqui cay sachactam a
piconqui ñoca may pacham cayman amusac
chayca cay runacunactari ama villaycho yna
cusicochon ñispas riporcan [345] chaysi pihca pon
chaomantaca ancha huayra atarimurcan
cay huayratacsi cay colli runacunactaca çapam
pi yscay quimça mita tumaycochispa huayra
ancha caroñicpi aparimurcan chaysi huaqui
ninca yna apariptintac muspaspa huañorcan
huaquintas canan causacllacta caruaylloñic
orcopi chayachircan cay orcom canancamapas
colli ñisca <> orco runacunaca collorcansi mana
tacsi hucllapas canchu [346] chaymantas cay huc ru
na yaru tinipi paria cacacta vpiachicca ñiscan
yna huc çachacta apicuspa yna quispircan ña tu
coyta apaita puchocaspas ñircan huauqui çapallai
quim canqui caypim viñay tianqui caymantam ño
cap churicuna ñocacta muchaypac hamuspa chusco
quiere dezir quatro corpaya huacçacuna cocacta
viñaylla acochisonqui ñispas sutiyquipas capac
huanca ñiscam canqui ñispas rumiman chiraya
chircan [347] caytam s(eñ)or doctor auila chay quiquin <> tias
campi chayaspa huaquin runacunahuan paquir
can ña paquispam hurañicman vischurcan
cay chicactam cay colli ñiscacunamanta
yachanchic yna ñiscancamatacmi huacçacunari acochircancu
viñay huata

F 96 V

[348] CAPI(TUL)O 26 YMANAM
MACA CALLACTA PA(RI)A CACA
ATIRCAN YMANAM
ÑA ATISPA CHURARCAN
CHURINCUNACTA
ñan mari maca calla ñiscanchicta yachan
chic s(a)n damian llactamanta hanacnin
orcupi cascanta cay maca calla ñiscanchic
orcopis chay llactayoc runa carcan pihcca
marca ñisca chaymantam sutca ñiscapas car
cantac caycuna llactayoc huc punchao vp
yacuptinsi paria caca chay llactaman cha
yarcan yna chayaspas manyallamantatac
tiaycorcan [349] yna tiaycuptinsi manatac pilla
pas ancusaycorcanchu chaymanta piñaspas
pihccantin punchaonimpi chay llactacta collo
chircan puca tamya quello tamya atari
muspa [350] huaquim runacunam canan huc
simictatac rimancu ñispa cay maca callapi
llactayuc runacunas huc punchaosi huaquinin
runacuna riuihuan pocllacorcan huaquinin ru
nacunas vpyacorcan chay yna captinsi hanac
orco canlli ñiscamantaca aslla pucutay ricuri
morcan chaymantari tamyari puca tamya orma
murcan as asllarac chaymantas ñatac yllapa
murcan [351] cay yna captinsi runacunaca tucoy
nin mancharircan ymam cayca ñispa mana
cay ynacta ricuc caspa chayssi huaquininca aucam
ñispa sayaicorcan huaquinsi miticarcan [352] huc runas
armicu sutioc carcan cayssi ahcca churicoy caspa
churinta catirespa aco rison chay chacranchic

F 97 R

huauapitac huañomuson ñispas chacranman miti
carcan cay chacra ñiscampi chayaptinsi chaymanta
tucoyninta chirayachircan rumi tucochircan cay
rumi tucucsi canancamapas runa ynalla churin
cunahuan tiancu canancamapas runacunapas ar
micu ñincu [353] chaymantas huaquinin runacuna
ayquispapas mayta ayquictahc puca tamya apircan
pachallampitacsi rumi tucorcan ynatacsi maca
callapi huaquinin runacunapas rumiman cama
chirayarcan [354] huc runas canan cay sutca ñiscanchic
ayllomanta ancha huacaspa ynallataccho saquiscay
qui yayallacta maca calla ñam ripac cani ma
natacmi yma callpallaypas canchu cay milagrocta
atipancaypac ñispa huacaptinsi maca callap
vmanca paycamalla vrmamurcan chay yna vr
mamuptinsi chayta sucarispa tuylla mitica
chircan huaman yna cay runatacsi ancha ca
masca carcan [355] chaymantas cay maca callari y
manam runa ynas vmayoc chaquiyoc maqui
yoc carcan chaysi cay vmanta chay yna mi
ticachispa ñatac runa miramuspa llantapapi
pihcca orcupi tiaycorcan cay orco tiaycuscantam
llactachacuscan captin pihcca marca ñinchic [356] chay
pihcca marca ñiscanchicpis maca callap humanca
canancamapas tian chaysi chaypi caypi maca calla
yocmi canchic ñispa churincunactapas ñaupac
yuricta canricha ñincu allaucacunari maca calla
llactayoc caspas canricha ñintac ynatac pihcca
marcacunapas [357] chaymantas ña tutay quire con
quistamurcan chay pachaca chay sutica ñisca
ayllocunaca cay quitiman cutimurcan chacray
allpai hucopitac llactay vcupitac tiamusac pa
ria caca tutay quiricta manchaspa yupaychaspa
ñispas cutimurcancu chay sutica ñiscanchicmi ca
nan cay llacta s(a)n damianpica tucoy collorcan causac
nincunapas sucsa canchapi tumnapi chayllay

F97 V

[358] CAPI(TUL)O 27 YMANAM RUNACUNA
ÑAUPA PACHA HUAÑUSPA PICHCA PUNCHAO
PIM CUTIMONI ÑISPA RIMARCANCU
CHAY CHAYCUNACTAM QUELLCASON
ancha ñaupa pachaca huc runa huañuptin ayan
taca yna<cta>llas churarayachircan pichca pon
chao cascancama chaysi animanri huc
chuspi chicallan sio ñispa pahuac carcan
cay ña pahuaptinsi ñam rin paria caca
camacnicchic ruracninchicta ricumuypac
ñispas ñircancu [359] huaquinmi canan ma
nas chay pachaca paria caca carcancho ynallas
hanacñicman pahuarcan (yauri llanchaman) [360] chaymantas ca
nan pi<c>hca ponchaomanta ñatac cutimuc
carcan chay ña cutimuptinsi micuycunacta
vpyaitapas camarispas suyac carcan chaysi
ña chayamuspaca ñam cutimuni ñispalla
yayancunahuanpas huauquincunahuanpas an
cha cusicuc carcan mana ñam cananca vi
ñaypas huañosaccho ñispa [361] chay pachas canan
runacuna ancha mirarcan micunampacpas
ñacayta rispa cacactapas patactapas chacran
pac allichaspa ancha ñacarispa causarcancu
[362] chay yna captinsi chay pacha vc runa hua
ñurcan ña huañuptinsi chay runap yayan
cuna huauquincunapas huarminpas suyarcan
ña chayamunan captin pihcca ponchaonimpi chay
si cay runaca manatac chayamurcanchu cayantin
ponchaopis soctantin ponchaopi(rac) chayamurcan chay
si yayanpas huauquinpas huarminpas ancha piñas
pa suyarcancu ña chayamuptinsi huarminca
piñaspa ymanam chica quella canqui huaquinin
runacunaca mana pisipaspam chayacumon
camcho cayna yanca suyachicuhuanqui ñispas
ancha

manarac paria ca
capas caruinchupas
ricuriptintacsi yauri
llanchapi vichi cancha
ñiscapipas runacuna
ca pacarimurcan

F 98 R

ancha piñapayarcan [363] chay hina piñaspas huar
minca huc curumtayhuan chay anima chayamuc
ta chocarcan hina chucaptinsi tuylla sio ñispa
cutircan chaymantas canan mana ña pi runa
huañuptinpas cutimuccho carcan
[364] CAPI(TUL)O 28 YMANAM PARIA CACAP
MITAMPI ANIMACUNACTA CARAC
CARCAN CHAYMANTA TODOS SAN
TOSPACRI YMA YNAM ÑAU
PA PACHA HUNANCHARCAN
ñam ari huaquinin capitulopi paria caca<p fiestan>cta
<ta> muchaypac rispa ymanam runacuna huañoc
nincunacta huacac carcan (caracpas carcan) chay chaycunacta rimar
canchic chay carascancunacta yuyarispam canan
runacuna manarac alli xp(christia)noman tucospa rimar
cancu cay todos santopac ynatacmi vira cochacuna
pas ayanta tullunta caran micochin ñispa <ygle>
aco ygleciaman huañucninchiccunacta caramu
son ñispa [365] ñaupa pachaca yma ayca micoycu
nactapas alli chayascacamata apac carcan
chaymantam canan huc runa huañuptinpas an
cha ñaupac cascanta yuyarispa huañucninchicca
pihcca ponchaomantam cutimunca suyasuntac
ñispa suyac carcancu cay pi<>ch<>(ca) ponchao ñiscanchic
camam huañuscanmanta tutancuna pacaric <car>
carcan [366] ña pihcantin ponchaonimpin yarutiniman
huc<runa> huarmi alli pachanta churaspa ric carcan
chaymanta pusamusac ñispa o suyamusac ñispapas
chaysi chay huarmi ñiscanchicri ashuanhuan micoy
cunactari apaspa ric carcan [367] chaysi yaru tini ñiscan
chicpi ña ynti sicamuptin chay anima chayac carcan
chaysi ñaupa pachaca yscay quimça atun chuspi

F 98 V

runacunaca llacsa anapalla ñispam ñincu chaysi
chay pachan apascansaua tiaycoc carcan [368] chaysi
hunaycama tiaspa ña huaquinin huancoy curo
ñiscanchic ripuptin haco rison llactaman ñispas
huc huchoylla rumillacta cay(mi) pai ñic <h>yna aparis
pa amuc carcan chaysi cay huarmi ña chayamup
tin tuylla huasimpas alli pichasca <> captin caray
ta ña callarircan ña caracoyta puchocaspas ña
tac vpyachircan paycunari ayan micuptin
micorcantac [369] ña <ancha> chisiñicpis pihca mita
taquircan huacaspa tucoy aylloncuna canan
ña may pacham pihca mita taquicoyta huaca
cuytapas puchocarcan chay pachas chay rumi apa
muscanta calliman vischuc carcan cananca
cuti amaña ñocaycoca huañosaccho ñispa [370] chay
ponchaotacmi arañuhuan huaticacoc carcan y
mamantam cay runa huañopuan ñispa chaymi
pay piñaptinmi chay piñaptinmi ñispapas ñip
tin chaycunacta paria cacacta ñiptinpas o may
quintac ñiptinpas chaycama coynhuan yma yman
huanpas puchocac carcan cay chicactam cay hua
ñuc runacunamanta yachanchic
[371] chaymantam canan guaro cheripi o quintipipas
cay todos santos ñiscanchicpi ygleçiapi coñicllac
ta churapuson ñispa papactapas yanospa chayman
ta charquincunactari alli huchoyucta runap mi
concampac yna churapuncu camchacta aycha
yanuscactapas chaymantari çapa runanpi huc
cantarillo ashuantauan caycuna ñiscanchic
ta churaspaca paicuna vnamchaptinca ayan
cunahc micon chayta yuyaspataccha coñic
llata cama ymactapas aycactapas churaponcu
[372] CAPI(TUL)O 29 YMANAM HUC
YACANA SUTIOC HANAC PACHA
MANTA HURAYCUMON YACOCTA
HUP

F 99 R

HUPYAIPAC CHAYMANTARI
HUAQUININ COYLLORCUNACTA
HUANMI RIMASON YMA SU
TINTAHUANPAS
cay yacana ñiscanchicsi llamap camaquin çi
eloñicta chaupicta purimon ñocanchic runacuna
pas riconchicmi ari yanalla hamocta chaymanta
chay yacana ñiscanchicsi mayo hucocta purimon
ancha atunmi ari yanayaspa çieloñicta yscay
ñauiyoc concanpas ancha hatun captin hamun
caytam runacuna yacana ñincu [373] cay yacana
ñiscanchicsi ña huc runap cussinpi venturan cap
tin paysaua hurmamuspa mayquin pucyollaman
tapas yacucta vpyac chaysi chay runa ancha mill
huasapa ñitimuptin chay millhuanta huaquinin
runaca tirac [374] cay ricachicuysi tuta cac ynaspas cayan
ti pacha pacarimuptinca chay millhua tirascanta ricuc
ricuptinsi chay millhuaca ancaspas yuracpas yana
pas chumpipas yma ymana ricchaccuna millhuas ta
cu tacu cac caytas canan mana llamayoc caspapas
tuylla ranticuspa pachan ricuscanpi tirascanpi mu
chac carcan ña muchaspas huc china llamacta
horcontauan ranticoc chay rantiscallanmantas
ñahca yscay quimça huaranca llamamanpas chayac
cay ñiscanchictaca ancha ahca runactas ñaupa pa
cha cay tucoy proui(nci)api yna ricachicurcan [375] cay ya
ca ñiscanchictacsi chaupi tuta mana pipas yachaptin
mama cochamanta tucoy yacocta vpyan mana
vpyaptinca hutcallas tucoy ynantin mundocta
pampahuahhuan [376] cay yanaca ñiscanchicpi aslla
yanalla ñaupac rin chaytam yutum ñincu
chaymantari cay yacanatacsi huahuayoc hua
huanpas ñoñocuptinsi rihcan chaymantam
quimça coyllor checalla rin chaytam condormi

F 99 V

ñincu ytatacmi suyuntuytapas guamantapas
[377] chaymantam chay cabrillas ñinchic chaytam
<ancha> atuchac cama hamuptinca canan hua
ta pocoymi cason ñincu huchochac cama amuptin
ri ancha muchoymi cason ñincu huaquinin coy
llor muyo muyolla hamuctam pihca conqui ñispa
ñincu [378] huaquin coyllormi ari ancha atuchac
ca(ma) amon chaytam canan poco huarac villca
huarac cancho huarac ñispa sutiachinco cay
caycunactas ñaupa pacha cayca camacmi
ruracmi ñispa runacuna huaquinillan
muchac carcan huaquininric cay ñiscanchic
huacacunacta caymantas astauan yalli
chisac ñispas cay coyllorcunacta muchac carcan
ña sicamuptin chay<> tutari mana aslla
pas puñospa cay chicallactam yachanchic
[379] CAPI(TUL)O 30 YMANAM ALLAUCAP
COCHAMPI YSCAY HUACA CARI HUAR
MI TIAN PORUIPI CAYCUNAP CAS
CANTAM QUILLCASSON
ancha ñaupa pachas huc runa anchi cara sutioc
carcan cay anchi cara ñiscanchicsi <> huc pucyo
purui sutiocpi yacucta tiamun cay allaucacu
nap chacranman hamuncampac cay hina
tiaptinsi huc huarmica surcoñicmanta picoy
huarmi hamurcan cay huarmip sutinmi
huayllama [380] cay huayllama ñiscanchicsi chay
purui ñiscanchicpi chayaspa <> tura ñocap
chacraymanca ancha pisim yaco hamun cam
llacho caypi yacocta pusanqui ñocaycoca
ymahuanmi causayman ñispas chay

F 100 R

quiquin pucyo hucopi tiaycorcan [381] chaysi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchic<p>ca alli sumac huarmi cap
tin tuylla enamoraspa alli simipitac napai
corcan chaysi chay huarmica manatac chay
yacocta cayman cacharijta munarcancho y
na captinsi panatac ama pani hinaycho yma
huanmi ñocap churicunaca causanca ñispas alli
simipi <huan>tac napaicorcan [382] yna captinsi chay
anchi cara ñiscanchicpa churincunaca hamuspa
chay yacocta cay<cocha> lliuya cocha ñiscaman vischo
morcan chay quiquin pucyo hurayllapitacmi yscay
huchuylla cocha ña ñiscanchic lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñisca cay lliuya cocha hucupim quimça taua
huchuylla suytucama rumicuna sayancu chaymi
anchi carap churincuna ñisca [383] mana cay churin
cuna yna ñatac ñatac rispa yacocta vischu
munman chayca ancha pisitacsi caymanca lluc
simunman carca <con todo esso> yna captinpas
ancha pisitacmi llucsimun [384] chay pachas cay ñis
canchic anchi cara huarminri huayllama
ña cay yna yacupacri manacoyta pochucaspas
yscaynin huchallicorcancu ña huchallicuspallas
caypitacmi ñocaca viñaypas tiasac ñispas
rumiman chirayarcan cay rumin canancama
pas yna tiancu churin(cuna)pas lliuya cocha vcu
pitac tiancu cay chicallactam caycunamanta
yachanchic [385] ychaca cay quipampi ña cay llacta
pi yachaycuspas huacçacuna allauca ayllomanta
chay purui ñiscanchicman ña tamya mita pucho
captin ric carcancu rarca pichaypac chay pachas
chay huacçacuna ayca runa caspapas ña chayas
pa chay lliuya cocha ñiscanchicta antarintapas
pucuspa chay cocha sauacta tumaycoc [386] ña tumay
cuspas anchi cara yaco tiamucta napaycoc riccu
chaysi simillahuan aslla cocallanta vischupus
pa ñatac cocha sahuaman cutimuc chay cocha

F 100 V

sauas ñatac anchi caracta chaymanta churincu
nactapas chay quiquin lliuya cocha tuta cocha
ñiscanchictapas muchaccu [387] ñaupa pachaca lla
manhuan canan quipanri mana llamayoc
caspa coyllanhuan tictillanhuan ymallan
huanpas cay muchacoyta puchocamuspas rarca
allayta callarimurcancu tucoy runacuna cay
chica simillam caycunap cascan pochucan

CONCHA

[388] CAPI(TUL)O 31 YMANAM CAY HANACNIN
CAPITULOPI COCHAP CASCANTA RIMAR
CANCHIC CHAY YNALLATACMI CAY
MANTA CAY CONCHA AYLLOMANTA
YANÇA ÑISCA COCHACTA RIMASON
CAY SIMIRE CAY HINAM
ñaupa pacha cascantaca ymanam cay llactacu
napi yunga runa çapa carcan chay chaycunacta
ca ñam ari huaquinin capitulocunapipas ri
marcanchic cay yna yuncatacsi cay conchap llan
tanpipas tiarcancu [389] yna tiaptinsi ymanam hua
quinin capitulocunapipas rimarcanchic yauri llan
chamantas vichi canchamanta huaquinmi canan
quiñhuamantas ñispa rimancu ynatacssi
cay conchacunapas yauri llancha ñiscanchic
manta pihcca runa yurimurcan (pacha vcumanta) [390] caycunap su
tinmi canan ñaupacninmanta llacsa misa panin

llacxa misa
pauquir buxi
llama tanya
hualla
calla

ri cuno cuyo sutiocsi paihuan hamurcan chay sauam
pauquir buxi chay sahuam llama tanya cay quim
cantim runam ñaupaclla cay llactacta atimur
can chaymantam yscay runatac huauquincu
na hualla sutioc hucri calla sutioc [391] cay yscayninsi
huaquinin huauquincunaca ñaupamuptin

F 101 R

aslla quiparimurcan yna quiparimuspas ñanta
pantaspa yauyoñicman rircancu chaymancha
huauquicuna rincu ñispa chaysi ña hunaymanta
rac cay quimça huauquincunaca chacractapas y
mactapas ña tucoy raquinacoyta puchocaptinrac
cutimurcancu [392] cay hualla ñiscanchicpac churincu
na<m>s cay lazaro puypu rocçi chaymantas chay ñaupac
churi llacxa misa ñisca ña colloypac caspas cay la
zarop aguelon cassa chauca sutioc pai llacxa misap
sobrinon captin yansa ñisca cochacta caytacmi
cay coscajman yaiconca ñocaca ñam ari collo
ni ñispas haquiporcan chaymantaracsi paipac
yança cochapas suyon carcan caypim cay hua
lla ñiscanchicta saquinchic [393] cananmi chay quim
ca runa hamuscanta chayamuscantauanpas rima
son yma ñam ñaca ñircanchic yuncacunas car
can ñispa chay ynas chay pachaca cay yansa
cochamanta yaconta pusamuspa ancha ya
conpas sobra captin chay llantapa horcup si
quincama yaconpas chayaptinsi ancha cusicus
pa causarcancu [394] yna causaptinsi cay quimça
runa ñiscanchic chay yuyacnin llacxa misa
ñisca ña may pacham yauri llancha ñiscapi
pachamanta yurimurcan chay pachas huc ru
mi chucuyoc yurimurcan caypac sutinmi llacsa
yacolla carcan cay llacça yacolla ñiscanchicta
apacuspas chay quimça runa ñiscanchic hamurcan
[395] chaysi chay yança hanacninpis yana pucyo sitioc
chaypi chayamurcan chaysi paicunaca chayllapi
tiacorcancu vpiacuspa chaysi cay yunca runa
cunaca chaypim quimça runa tiacon ancha man
chaypac ñicta vyarispas huaquinin runacuna
ricoc rircancu [396] yna ricuptinsi chay llacxa misa
ñiscanchicca chay chucon llacxa yacolla ñiscan
ta ricochircan chay runaman chayta ricuspa
llas chaycunaca tucoynin tuylla huañurcan

F 101 V

yna huañocta ricuspas huaquinin runacu
na pi ricpas ynatac huañomuptinsi chay yun
cacuna ñiscanchicca hacochic risontac
caymanta chay 3 runacuna tarihuahchuan
chayca tucoytam collochihuahchuan ñispas
mancharispa llactantapas chacrantapas yna
lla saquispa miticarcancu [397] cay yna miticas
pas huc yunca runaca manam sutintaca yachan
chiccho cay runas huc churinta tuta miticaspa
concha sicapi saquircan yaçali sutiocta [398] huc huac
cha vyhuascallanta aparispas <y>cay yaçali
ñiscanchicpa yayanca miticarcan chaysi
ña chay(chimpa) capari caya ñahca yana siriman vichay
cunapi pacha pacariptin ricsircan chaysi chay
ca chay huaccha vyhuascallan carcan chaysi
ancha huacaspa manatac cutinampas ya
chacuptin ynallatac ripurcan [399] chay pachas
cay saquisca huamra yaçali ñiscanchicca
chay concha sica cruz sayan chay oculla
pi pacacorcan huamra caspa ancha mancha
rispa chay pachas cay quimça runa ñis
canchicca chay llactaman chayarcancu
ña chayaspas huasinta ymantapas cona
cuspas chay pacha llacxa misaca chay huamrata
tarimorcan [400] chaysi churi ama llaquicho ñoca
huanmi tianqui chay huaquinin huauquicuna
huañochison ñispa ñihuaptinpas ñocam
amachascayqui ychaca ñocap llamaytam
michinqui ñispas ñircan chaysi cay huamrac
ta chay huaquinin huauquincunaca ricuspa
huañochontac cay huamraca porqui caymi
caya mincha ñocap chacraymi pachaymi ñis
pa ñihuahhuan ñispas ancha chicnispa ñir
cancu [401] chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchicca
manam ymapacmi hañochison yallin ca
usacochon caymi yma ayca causascantapas

chac

F 102 R

chacrantapas ymantaps aycantapas ricuchihua
sson ñispas ñircan [402] chaysi chaycunaca mana
tac munarcancho huañochuntac ñispa chaysi
chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca piñarispa hua
uqui ñam chica mita ñiqui pactah tulloyquipas
cochañicman rinman ñocam causachon ñini
ñispas ñircan chayracsi huaquinincunapas vpa
llarcan [403] chaysi chay llacxa missa ñiscanchicca chay huam
racta llamanta michichispa causachircan yna michis
pas chay yauri llanchamanta cuno cuyo llaxsa misap cuno cuyo
panin hamuchuan tinquinacorcan yna captinsi
quipampi ña yuyac tucospaca oma pacha ñisca
yauri llanchamanta hamucpacpas yañca carcan
cay yaçali huamra ñiscanchicsi x(Christob)al chauca guamanpac
aguelon carcan [404] chaymantam canan cay oma
pacha ñiscanchictaca ymanam checacunapas hua
yo ñiscacta churaspa pihcca ponchao taquircan
ynallacsi paicunapas taquircan chaymanta
chuta ñiscacta vihcohuan sitaspapas caripac
huarmipac sayachispa chaymantari llamapac
ri hinatac [405] chaymanta huacçacunari yna
tacsi concha sica ñiscanchicpi tiarcancu mitampi pa
ria cacacta chaupi ñamucacta vpiaspapas huc pon
chaollatacsi checacunahuampas pactalla vpiar
cancu cay chicactam caycunap causascanta ya
chanchic
[406] chaymantam canan yança cocha ñiscanchicta
rimason cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicsi ña may pacham
huaquinin huauquincunahuan conchaman chaya
murcan chay pachas yma ayca causaycunacta chas
quispa yança cochacta chasquircan llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chaymantas pauquir buxi ñiscanchic huaychu coto
ñiscacta chasquircan chaymantam llama tanya
ñiscanchicri huyo sana huasicta chasquircan [407] chay
yna caycunacta chasquispam canan causanampac

F 102 V

çapampi callarircancu chaymantam cay llac
xa misa ñiscanchicri yança cocha ñiscacta siruii
ta callarircan chay yança ñiscanchicpis huc hua
collquiri ca collquiri sutioc carcan caycunacta siruiptinsi
cay tucoy conchacunaca miconcampac çaracta call
paporcan viñay huata [408] chay pachas chay collquiri
ñiscanchic huacaca <huc> huarmicta ancha munar
can yna munaspas yauyocamapas chacllacama
pas tucoy ynantin pachacta mascarcan chay yna
mascaspas manatac tarircanchu [409] chaysi huc
ponchaoca cuni raya ñiscanchicca yao caylla
pim sispallapi huarmiquica ñispas ñircan chaysi an
cha cosicuspa rircan chaysi yampilla hana<>(c)nin hur
cumanta chay yampilla ñiscanchicman cahuay
corcan yna cauarispas huc huarmicta ancha
collananta taquicocta ricorcan cay huarmip su
tinsi capyama carcan<can> [410] chaysi cay hina chi
ca sumacta ricuspa tuylla soncompi caytacmi
huarmi canca ñispa yuyacorcan ynaspas huc
muchachontaca rij churi chay huarmicta villamuy
llamayquim huc <china> orco llamallacta huachan
ñispa villayconqui chaymi payca tuylla ha
munca ñispas cacharcan [411] yna cachaptinsi chay
runaca rircan ña chayaspas mamay llamay
quim hanac orcullapi huachan ñispa villaptin
si ancha cosicuspa tuylla huasinman chica
cacharcan chaypis <huan> curi huancarantapas
chaopipi churaycuspa yscay huchuylla coca hua
yacallanta huchlayninman choraycucuspa
chaymantari huc purongo ashuallanta aparispa
ancha vtcaspa hamurcan cay purongo ñiscanchictam
conchaconaca lataca ñincu [412] chaysi cay huaca
collquiri ñiscanchicca yna amucta ricuspa an
cha cusicuspa tuylla cay yança ñiscaman cu
timurcan chaysi chay chay muchachon ñiscanchicca

F 103 R

chay huarmicta pusamuspa ñahcam chayanchic
cayllapim ñispas llullaspa pusamurcan [413] chaysi
cay collquiri ñiscanchicca huc callcallo tucuspa chay
<yança> yampilla hanacnin hurcupi suyarcan chay
si ña chayaspa cay huarmica chay callcallucta api
sac ñircan yna apisac ñiptinsi chayman cayman
as aslla pauarispa mana apichicorcancho [414] ynaspas
quipampica apircantac apispas micllaricurcan cayta
apispas chay rataca ñiscanmanta ashuanta sichay
corcan cayta sichaycuptinsi tuylla chay sichascanpi
pu<y>cyo ña tucorcan chay pucyos canancamapas
ratac tupi sutioc [415] chaysi chay callcallo hucllaycus
canca chay huarmip vicsan hucopi hatun tucomur
can ancha vicsantapas nanachispa yna captinsi
cayca ymah ñispa ricuptinsi chay pachaman hur
mascampica huc cari alli sumac huamralla ricurir
can chaysi tuylla pana ñocactam hucllaycoarcanq(ui)
ymanasonmi ñocam cayachimurcayqui ñispas
ancha misqui siminhuan napaicorcan [416] chaysi huarmi
ri ynatac tuylla enamorarcan payhuan yna caspas
puñorcancu ña puñospas canan cay yança cocha llactan
man pusamurcan chaymantas canan yayanca ma
manca turancunapas ayllonpas maymanmi rircan
ñispa huacaspa cama mascarcancu [417] yna mascaspas
ancha hunaymantarac huc yampilla runa llucaua
sutioc churiquica ancham villcayan ymanpas aycan
pas cosayucmi ñispa villaptinsi tuylla hamurcan
chaysi ña tarispa ymapacmi churita panita suhua
muarcanqui camcho tucoy ynantin llactacunacta
saycuspa mascachihuanqui ñispas ancha piñaspa
cananmi cutichisac ñispa ñircan [418] yna ñiptinsi
yaya huauqui ancha chicantatacmi mana cam yayai
ta villascaymanta anyahuanqui ymactam cos
cayqui huasictacho cayri chacractacho llamactacho
runactacho chauaractacho corictacho collquictacho

F 103 V

yma ymactam munanqui ñispas munachircan [419] y
na munachiptinsi manatac ymallactapas vñir
canchu chaymantas mana vñispa<s> panantaca
cotichisactacmi ñispa ñircan ñiptinsi panan
ca manam cutimancho ñocapas tucoy soncoyhuan
mi cosayacorcani ñispa ñiptinsi [420] chay collquiri
ñiscanchic carica yaya manatacmi huarmita
quichohuanquimancho ñam ari tucoy yma ay
cactapas coscayqui ñispa ñircayqui manacho
huco ricta coyquiman ñiptinsi chay huarmip
turancuna tiascanpi huc runa quipalla tiamuc
rimarican yaya hu ñijtac ymahc chay huco
ric ñispas allimanta rimanacorcancu [421] chayssi
yuyacnin rimarimuspa allitacmi churi ynatac chu
rita huarmayai chay ñiscayquicta pochocanquitac
ñispallas cotircan [422] chaysi pihcantin ponchaopim
ñatac riconacoson llactayquipi yaya ñispa ñircan
chaysi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca simincama pihc
cantin ponchaopi hucota cama rircan yampillañic
man chaysi ña carota rispa maytah ña rini
ñispas hahuaman llucsita munarcan apar
huayqui chay chimpapi chaysi ñahcca ahuaman
vman quispictintacsi yacoca hahuañicman
fuente yna pacchamorcan [423] chaysi ñatac aslla
antallahuan llutaycuspa hucoñicmantac
cutircan yna hucotacama rispas yampilla
hanacnin sauapi llucsircan chay llucsiscan
pucyos canancamapas chay huarmip sutin
ta capyama ñiscacta apan [424] chay capyama
ñiscanchicmantas ancha ahca yaco llucsispa
tucoy yampillacunap chacranta apayta mu
narcan yma ayca ocan chaquictapas quinhuan
maçarayactapas ymallantapas tucoysi apapurcan
chaysi chay yampillacunaca ancha piñaspa
ymapacmi chay ynacta hu ñimurcanquiya

F 104 R

tuylla cutichicoy ña yachascam canchic yna pisi
yacoyucpas ñispas tucoy runacuna rimarcancu
[425] yna rimaptinsi chay capyamap yayancuna
ca chay quiquin <pucyo> (llactan)manta cayar(can) maça tu
coy runacunam piñapayahuan amatac chica
yacocta cachamuycho vihcay, yao collquiri
chay yacocta vihcaytac ñispas cayarcancu [426] y
na cayaptinsi collquirica titahuanpas yma
huanpas vihcarcan yna vihcaptinsi ñatac
ñatac tunimurcan yaco atipamuspa yna cap
tinsi chay huramantaca vihcay ñispa caya
payamuptinsi ñatac quiquin collquiri
yaicuspa yacollantapas chuquirispa chaopi
pi tiaycorcan [427] yna tiaycuptinracsi asllapas
chaquirircan chay pucyos canan chay collqui
rip yacollanta passamuspa suysusca yna ya
copas llucsimon cayta quirpaicoptinsi hua
quinin pucyocunamantapas chay chay qui
tipica llucsircan ñaupacca manas carcancho
[428] chaymantas canan cay concha llactayoc runa
cunaca yacon chaquiptin ñatac piñayta ca
llarircancu ymapacmi cay yaconchicta cocon
ñocanchicca ymahuanmi causason ñispa
chaysi chay llacxa misa ñiscanchic yaco camayoc
taca yao llacxa misa ymapacmi cay yacocta
chaquichimunqui runaconaca ymahuanmi
causanca ñispas cochaman vischorcan tucoy
conchacona [429] chay pachas collquiri ñiscanchic
huacaca chay ynacta ricuspa chicantacmi pai
cunaca ymahuanmi causanca ñispas ña
tac huc huamranta rapacha sutiocta cama
chircan ñispa cay cochacta aslla chay man
yanmanta vcupi huraman allpacunacta
rumicunactapas vrmachi chaypi hunancha
son cay concha runacunap causancampac
ñispas ñircan [430] chaysi chay rapacha ñiscanchicca

F 104 V

chay cochacta aslla pascaycorcan ña pascasca
captinsi chay collquiri ñiscanchicca tuylla
pircaycorcan hurañicmanta atun pircacta
ruraspa chay pircas canan mana allpayoc
canancamapas cay cochap siminsi [431] pihca pacha
caytas cay llacxa misa ñisca runacta alli hunan
chachircan cayman yaco chayaptinmi cochap
siminta quirpanqui chaymantari cay chica
pachapim ñatac cay yacocta hura chacraman
pusanqui ña ynti sicamuptinmi cay yacoc
ta cacharinqui canan pihca mitallam par
conca añay saracta caypacmi camta cama
chiqui ñispas chay vnanchan rumicunacta
allin ricsichircan [432] yna ricsichictinsi canan
camapas paypac paypac churincunapas tucoy
nin catinacuspa chay costumbrellatac canan
camapas catincu chay cocha tupunan ñincum
runacuna caspictari turca caya ñincutacmi chay
si chay rumisaua yma yna ruranampacpas alli
yachacochisca chayta chayasparaccha alli ñauinchic
huan ricohhuan [433] chaymantas canan conchaco
na ña março quilla chay chaypi chay cochap
siminta vihcaypac llucsin tucoy cari huarmi
cay tupucoy ñiscampacsi cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chic chica pacham canca ñispa yma ñispapas
hunancharcan paypac simillantas tucoy concha
cunapas y ñispa rircancu [434] caypac yañca cap
tinsi ña mitampica paipac simincamalla
yma ayca camachicoypas carcan ña par
coypacri cananmi canca chica ponchaomi canca
ñispas pailla chayta camachicorcan conchari
simincamallatac tucoypas rurarcancu [435] canan
cocha chaupi tuta pahyamuptinpas ri cam
pac suyoiquim ñispas cay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicpac churincunacta mayquin tiaptinpas
carcoc carcan chaylla oficion captinsi pon

F 105 R

chaopas tutapas paicunapas chayllacta cama yu
yarcancu sarampacpas callpaptin runacuna
pas ancha pai captinmi causanchic ñispa man
chaptin [436] chaymantari cay llacxa misa ñis
canchicsi pana churincunapas pactah cay ya
co cochamanta pahyamunman ñispas an
cha cuydadouan huacaycharcan ña ñispa
pachyamuptinsi yansapi cac yaco mayo
man yaicuptinca tuylla caça ataric
yna yaicuptinca caçarcantacsi cayrai
cus alli cuydadohuan huacaycharcan
[437] chaymantari cay ña ñiscanchic yna chay yança
cochacta quirpaipacpas ña yacocta cachamuypac
pas hua(c)çacunaca rircantacsi ychaca cay ña quir
paipacca tucoy ynantin runas llucsircan huarmi
cunari ña chayaspas cocanta çapampi churac
carcan ashuantari çapampitac [438] caycuna churas
cantam cay yança ñiscanchicpas yañacan tu
coyta chasquircan huc llamactari ynatacsi
apac carcan coyconactari tictictapas yma
ayca muchanancunactapas tucoytas aparcan
chaysi ña tucoyta juntayta pochucaspas yllacnin
cunactari tucoytatac quipuspa, chay yancac
ta muchayta callarircan [439] yaya collquiri cam
pam cochayqui<pacta> campactacmi yacoyqui
canan huata allitac yacocta coay ñispas mu
charcan ña muchayta puchocaspas ashuanta vp
yac cocantapas acoc carcan chaymantas cari huar
mi chay cochacta quirpaita callarircan [440] chaymantam
canan ña yaco cachamuna captinri yscay quim
ca huacçacunahuansi viñaylla pihcca mitapas
ric carcan cay ñaupacllas huc runa huarmipas
as atun chacraman yaicocsi ashuacta aton puyño
uan apac carcan coyntari huc yscayllacta cocan
tauan cayconahuan muchaspas yacocta cacha
muc carcan cay chica simictam cay yança ñiscan

F 105 V

chicmanta yachanchic [441] chaymantam canan
yachanchic cay conchaconaca paria caca tutay qui
rip ancha sullca pisi yupai churillansi chaysi cay
pachancunactapas chacrantapas ancha pisillata
tac corcan [442] huacça ñiscanchic paria cacap
chaupi ñamucap mitampipas chancu ñiscacta
pas ymanam checacuna ruran yna
llatacmi paiconapas rurancu chaytaca ñam
ari tucoytapas huaquinin capitulocunapi ri
marcanchic
[443] chaymantam canan yachason cay quimca runa ñis
canchicpac churincunacta chay llacxa misa ñiscan
chicca tucoysi collorcan ña colluypac captinsi
ñaca ñircanchic hina paipac sobrinoncuna
cuno (co)yo ñiscanchicpac huahuancuna yayanri
yaçali sutiocpa churincunactas huarmayarca hua
lla ñiscap churincuna yaoyoñicmanta cotimuspa
[444] cay hualla ñiscan ancha quiparac cay hualla ñiscap churincuna
chicpac churincu m ari lazaro puypu rocçi- [445] chaymantam ca
na lazaro puypu nan pauquir buxi ñiscanchicpac churincuna
roçi chay llacxa mi canan ñau paico chay chaycuna causan, chay
ssa ñiscanchicman mantam canan llama tanya ñiscanchicpac
yaicuptinca mana churincunam canan <casin chauca> ruri cancha casin
ñas hualla ñisca chauca tacya cancha cay quimça yumay ñiscas
ca cancho huc huar cay llama tanya ñiscanchicpac churincuna
millas chaypas ma [446] chaymantari chay hualla ñiscanchictaca ñam
na huachacoc cau ari rimarcanchic lazaro puypu rocçicta chayman
san anya rurip tam calla ñiscanchicpac churincunam
huarmin canan g(onzal)o paucar cassa lazaca canya chay chay
cuna cay chica runam ari miramun pihca runa
<h>yauri llanchamanta amucpac churincuna
cay llacxa missa ñiscanchicpac churincuna
llam ari tucoy collosca cay llacxa misam cani
ñispam ari cay lazaro huallap churincuna
cay oficiocta heredan sanin cascanrayco
cay chicallactam cay conchap cascancunacta ya
chanchic---- FIN

F 108 R

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[447] ñaupa pacha canancamapas tucoy hinantin llactacunapi
may pacham huc runa huc yoriillapi yscayta huachachin
pana cari huarmicta mana ñispari cari puracta mana ñispari
huarmi puracta(pas) caytaca sapampi quipampiracmi villason cay
hina ñisca yuriccunactam curi ñinchin [448] cay hina yurip
tin(mi) may llactapi concayllamanta yuriptinpas chay tutalla
tac llactanman chayachimuc carcan ymanam sucya canchapi
tumnapipas yurinman chayca ñaupa pachaca tuyllatacmi
llacxa tambo ñisca checap llactanman apamuc carcan [449] cayta apa
muspari manatacmi ponchaoca apamuccho carcan pactach<hilan>
pacha casanman ñispa ynataccha tucoy quitipipas musyasca rurancu
chaymantari ña may pacham curi ñisca yurircan chay pacha
llatacmi huc huasi ocupi quimchasca ancha tutayacpi tiayta
huc manyanmanta callarircancu(yayan maman) caripas huarmipas mana cuyurispa asta
esto es de un lado ci pihcca ponchaocama [450] chay pihcca ponchaopim hucman ña ticrac
rispa carcan chay ponchaopitacmi tucoy masancuna chay curip
huasinpi huñonacoc carcan taquispa huancarnintapas
quiquin huactaspa manam canan hinacho huarmicuna
huactac carcan sino caricunam manarac caycunacta
pas taquijta callarispatacmi supayta tapuc carcan(cu)
arañohuampas pana charapi ñiscahuanpas cay masan
cunamanta maycanmi ñaupac taquispa pusarinca [451] < chay>
huaquin chaypi (tiac masan)cunacta chaymi paypac simincama pihcca runacta
hacllaspa señalac carcan(cu) caycunari ña may pacham
huyarircan chay pachallatacmi tutauan punchaohuan
mana samaspa yma aycanta rantichispapas cocacta
mascac carcan<>cu ynatac huaquinin masacunapas
yallinacoyllata yuyaspa ayca runa caspapas tucoynin
huñonacoc carcancu [452] ynaspa ymanam anacpipas hucman
ticrar(can) ñinchic chay punchaomantam tucoy tutancuna ña taquij
ta mana samarcancho asta pihca ponchao chayascancama
manarac chayaptin cayantin ponchaopim masacuna (cara) hua
yacanta ricuchinacuc carcan cayhuanmi caya cocacta apa
risac ñic hina mana cocayocta huayacallactas taquichic
carcan(cu) chaymi ña may pacham chay hucman ticrarcan
chaymanta canan huc pihcca ponchaoman huntaycon chay
mi ari chunca ponchao [453] chay pacham ñaupacnintac huc
lluychucta tarucactapas yma ayca animalcunacta

pas

F 108 V

sallcapi cactaca apimuspa chaytam chay pihca runa ñiscanchic
masacuna chaycunap ñaupaquin apaptin pampaman chay cu
ri llocsic carcan [454] hucmi chay caracol (paya) ñiscacta pucospa ric car
es la uara con el la — cancu hucmi pupunacta apaspa ric carcan hucmi sacaya
zo q(ue) coje papaga — ñiscacta apaspatac rircan cay sacaya ñiscaca aslla sara
yos pero co(n) lazo — cutascam carcan aslla tictihuan caytam huc runatac aparcan cay
ni tan largo — cunacta apaccunaca manam masacunacho aparcan sino chay
curip sispa aylloncunam aparcan ychaca chay lloychullactam
masap ña ñisca ñaupaquin aparcan [455] cay lloychucta apimuspa chay
pachallatacmi chay curip qu(e)mchasca huasipi tiascanmanta cha
quinhuan saruchic carcan caymi ña tacurisonqui apllasonq(ui)
y luego lo sacauan — ñispa ynaspam aychantaca tuyllatac tucoy hinantin runa
y matauan — cuna micoc carcancu mana asllactapas puchuspa
[456] chaymantam (canan) ymanam ñacapas ñinchic chay hina ña chon
ca ponchaopi pampaman llocsic carcan quipampi chay curi
cuna huc atun yma pachahuanpas pintusca mana ricurispa
riptinmi runacunaca pana masacunapas yscay quimça aysa
nacuspa huacaspa taquispa ric carcancu cay aysacri chay
curip aylloncunactam aysac carcan aysaspari huc chacrac
ta ymactapas llamactapas cuscayqui ñispam aysanacuc
carcan [457] chaymi pampapi ña chayaspa ymanam canan
la manga de la + — pas mangacta ñaupac proçeçionta rispa apanchic yna
tacmi chay lluychoctapas ancha sumachispa apac carcan
esto es el pellejo — pupunactam canan lansacta yna chayhuan chucasac ñic
y cabeça embutida — yna camaycuspa camaycuspa apac carcan tucoymantapas ñau
de paja porq(ue) ya — pacnin chay camaycuspari curictam quipa amuptin camaycor
la carne era co — can [458] chaymantam canan ña may pacham chay lluycho apac chay
mida como se ha — pi pampapi chayarcan chaymi huc runa huarmipas chay curip
d(ic)ho — aylloncuna huc llamacta pana chacracta cuspapas sama
chic carcan cayhuan samay ñispa ynaspam chay curiri pay
pa tianan vnanchascaman chayaspa yscaynin cosantin
huarmintin tiac carcan ancha alli yupaychasca [459] chay pun
chaupim tucoy hinantin masancuna cocahuan yallinacus
pa taquic opiac carcancu tucoy ponchao chaymi ña chisimanta
ñatac huasinman cutimuspam ñatac chay quiquin tiascanmantac
cutic carcan chaymantam canan ñatac pihca ponchao tiarcan
ña pihcca ponchao huntaycoptinmi ñatac <huc tiana> (aposento)man
asuchic carcan [460] chaymantam ñatac chay quipampi masa
cuna yamtacta ancha atun collo camacta apamuc car
can

F 109 R

ynatac ñaupacninpas may pacham curi yurircan chay
cayantillan caytam ñaupac simipi concarcanchic cay
las yamtacunactari tucoy tutancuna cayta masaspa
q(ue) con esto pacarinca pactach yma huatica ymanpas chayanman
q(ue) ha de estar ñispam cayta (ca)corcan hinatac quipancamapas mana
al principio tacmi huc tutallapas nina huañurcancho [461] cay tucoyta
ña puchucaspam quipampi ñatac chay curicunacta
yayancunactapas chay supayninta tapuspa maypim armachimusac
<ñispa> huchanmanta ñispam pusarcan paypac simin
esto es de donde viene cama yansa cochamantacsi hord(enad)am(en)(de) pusac carcan[462]chay
el agua de los conchas pis canan chay huc runa con churi sutioc supaypa saçer
dotin pachacta tapuc carcan ymamantam curi
yurircan yma ayca huchanmantan ñispas tapor
esto es la opinion del can cay curi yuric runactaca huañuynin rantim
vulgo no la respu yurin ñispas runacuna ñircancu [463] <chaysi> chayssi chayman
esta tam caymantam ñispa yscayninta armachic car
canco ynatac chay yscay huahuacunactapas
ñatac ñatac armachispa asta qui chicallam
huchan ñiscancama yma yna chiripi huañuna
yaptinpas [464] ña caycunacta puchucaspa carictaca
chucchanta rutuc carcan huarmictaca asllacta
carictaca ymanam huchayoccunacta rutunqui
yna chayssi huachay rucoyuc ña cutimuc carcancu
chaymantari huc huallcacta yana yurachuan cay
a manera de cadena chuscactas huallcarichircan curip hunanchaynin
de oro ta [465] cunaspari huc huata enterom sasinque a
matac campas campas pillahuanpas huchallicon
qui huchallicuspaca ancha mana allictam ruran
ni entre ellos quiman casem masanchiccunacta saycuchinqui
man ñispas conaycuc carcan [466] chaymantas ña
patman huata caspa ñatac allichus tian ñis
achcan pa chay saçerdote runatac huaquinin a<n>chca runa
cunahuan tapuc carcan supayninta chaysi alli
captinca ancha cosicorcan <mana alli captinsi>ynaspa pu
q(ue) tuieron coito ñorcantacmi ñiptinsi canan allinta anyac
carcan [467] chay masacunapas anchapuni piñacus
pa ymaraycum ñocanchictaca cassi saycochihuanchic

F 109 V

ñispas anchapuni piñacuc carcancu
chaymantam canan ñatac <huc huata captinca>chay huatap huntascancama yna
tac huaticac carcan chay pacharacsi chay huallcan
taca cuchupuc carcan ynallas puchucarcan
[468] chaymantam ñatac ñaca ñiscanchicta tincuchison
cari pura yuriptinca pana huarmi pura yuriptin
pas manam alli pachacho canca ancha muchoy
pacham canca ñispam ñic carcancu chayman
ta cari huarmi yuriptinmi allipac hunan
charcancu
[469] chaymantari yma chicam canan masacuna
huc pachamantaca cusicon mana ñaupa pa
cha yna chicacta gastaspa huc pachamanta
ri llaquiconcha mana chay hina ruranicho
ñispa supaypac llullayninhuan huaquin llac
tacunapica manataccha concancho [470] tutapas
yma yna pachapas ynatac llama yuriptinpas
sutintari sapamanta yma curim canca ñis
pas supayta tapuc carcan chay supaypa
sutichascanmi curi ñaupapas curi yauripas
curi guamanpas ticlla curipas yma ayca su
ti cacpas curihuan rimaricca yna sapatacssi
caripas huarmipas--[471] chaymantari yma chi
cam runacuna collquiyoc (cananca) ñaupa mana
rac cay alli diospac siminta hunanchaspa
paria cacap mitanpi pana yma aycap
mitanpipas tucoy callpanhuan yma ayca
cascallantapas cocarayco rantichispa collqui
llantari chayraycollatac mascaspa canan
ca pa(na) quimça tahua huata(lla) samaptinpas huac
chacunari tucoy hinantin huatancunapi lla
quicuspa maymantah cocacta tarisac ñispa
ynataccho pincay casac ñispa chacrantapas

F 110 R

pachantapas rantichispa mascarcan chayta
cayta purispa huanacumanpas rispa lloy
chuctapas sasispa mascaspa [472] chayraycu
llatac ynaspa tucoy hinantin yuyascan
tapas supaynintaracmi ñaupac alli sasis
pa maymantam tarisac huanacuancho
cayri chacraytacho pachaytacho huacllichi
sac ymanam casac ñispa tapuspam an
chapuni musyasca trauajopi puric car
canco [473] cananca huc yuyaymanta mana
chicacta yuyaspa manatac ymallanta
pas chayrayco rantichispa anchapunihc
cusicon huc pachamantah chayca ancha
huacan ymaraycohc mana chayta rura
nicho ñispa [474] chaypa mitanpica tutapas y
ma yna pachapas may pachah macoy llen
co chay pacham canca ñispa ñircan chay
pachallatacmi runacuna ancha cusi
cuspa cochocuspa ari machucu(na)pas an
cha chachuaspas tictinta ymantapas apas
pa ric carcancu ñaupa huasipi opianan
captinpas pana caypi cancanpacpas
[475] chaymanta cay llactallapitaccha chaytapas tu
ta ruraspa(pas) aslla huananman hahua llactacuna
pica hinataccha ruran(cu) ñispam yuyanchic
oyarinchicpas

F 112 R

[476] JHS

ata ñispaca huamrap chucchampi parca
yurictam ata ñinchic cay hina yuric
(pel)os se les tam canan chay huamrap yayancuna
ua pa atras ña quimça huata captin huñonacoc
huasimpi o canchampi pacsac punchao
manta ñaupac paypac cacancunac
ta o masancunactapas huyarichispa
chay punchaupim cay paria cacap <>
atanta yllanta rutuson ñispa
ylla ñispaca ata ñiscallantatacmi
hunanchanchic [477] chay hina ña tucoy
ta huyarichicuspam ashuacuyta ca
llarincu ashuaconmi media saracta
o huc hanigacta<pas> ñicta huyaris
paca quiquin runacunallatacmi
tapunacuc ymapacmi ashuan ñispa
ña yachaspam canan yma punchao
pich fiesta canca chay punchao tucoy
hinantin runacuna huñonacumuc
[478] ynaspam canan chay <h>atayuc ru
naca masancunahuan tucoy cacan

F 112 V

cunahuampas hu<y>rañicmanta tiaspa
taquicuyta opiachicuyta callaric chay
mi ña may pacham ancha machanco
chay pacham huc fresadacta o titacta
pas mantapuspa chay huamracta cha
upiman yaycuchispa tiachic cay simic
ta rimaspa yayacuna huauquicuna
cay ata yllacta canan punchautac ru
tuson paria cacap chaymanta tutay
quirip atan yllanmi ari paytacmi ari
ñocaman cachamuarca cay hina yu
rincampac ñispam rimaric [479] chay pa
cham chay huamrap<a> sispa cacan cari
captin huarmi captinri paypac ypan
mana ñispari aguelo o aguelanpas sa
yarispa huc llamahuan o chacrahuan
pas huc señalllanta churaspa chay a
tacta tejerahuan camaycuc chay
llama ñiscanchicpac hunanchay

cothuato — ninmi canan huc cothuato ñisca
es cabresto — ymahuammi llamacta paria cacaman
de llama — pusarca chayhuan [480] chacrap huna<y>nchaynin
tam canan huc caxo ñisca<huan>cta chu
rapuc carcan cay caxo ñiscaca huc cas
pillam huarmip allacunallan chay
mantam huaquinin sispa yahuar ma
sincunam yacullahuanpas cusmahuan(pas)

F 113 R

ouejahuanpas o millhuahuanpas
cascancama ofrecicuc sapampi
sayarispa [481] chaymantam ña may
pachah sispa yahuar masin puchu
can chay pacham curaca o alcal
de culla(na)mantapas sayarispa ys
cay<> rreal o huc rrealtapas chu
raspa sayarimuc hasta puchucas
cancama caycuna astahuan ma
chanca machaspari manam ari y
mallantapas michacuncacho ñispam
ancha hupyachic ña pacha huraycus
cancama [482] chay pacham canan ña
tucoy<> rutucoyta puchocaptin ya
yan chay churinta tucoy rutuc porq(ue)
runacunaca llamcayllam llamcac
ña puchocaspari tuyllam taquicuy
ta callaric machoncunap sutinta
rimarispa yaya anchi puma o carhua
chachapa o yma yma ñispapas cam
pa atayquim yllayquim canan
ca ñam puchocarcani cananman
taca ama ñatac paria caca cacha
muchoncho allitac casac ñispam
taquicuc haucacuc

F 113 V

[483] cay ata ñispaca ylla ñispapas
paria cacap cachanmi ñispas
esto es runacuna hunanchancu cay
la noche antes ta rutuypacri cayantin chisis an
de el dia d(ic)ho cha manchaspa coynhuan tictin
huan ymanhuampas pari cacacta
tutay quiricta muchac allichahuay
tac cay atahuan caya puncahuri an
cha cusiyuctac casac ñispa [484] paycuna
hunanchaptinca curip señalninsi
curi hamuypacsi cay atacta cacha
mun mana alli paria cacaman hu
chanta yuyaycuptin huañonan ran
ti curi yurinca ñispa curi yuricta
ca huañonan rantin yurin ñicmi
ari cay checallatam cay san damian
checa ñiscamanta yachanchic
[485] chaymantari huaquinin llactacuna
piri yma ñispah rimancu ycha
ca ata yuriptinca ynallatac
mi tucoypas cay tucoy corregemiento
pica yupaychancu tucoy may quitipi
pas huancapas yauyopas huaman
tancapas yma runapas yn(di)o ñiscaca

F 114 R

chaymantari ahcca runa ancha co
llanan yanacuna cacpas [486] ynatacmi
limacpi pip churin ata captinpas
huñonacuc chaymanta mestiço
cactapas yachanchictacmi huaqui
nincunacta caytaca ychapas chay
yna alli causana ñispatacmi hua
quinin runacunapas huchaman
chayaycurcancu - chaycunacta ricus
pa ynaspari cay quimça huata
mantam rutuna ñispa ñircanchic
chaytaca yachacuscancamam ñau
pacpas o quipampas rurarcancu
cay chicallam checa simica

Glossary of Untranslated Words

The following entries correspond to the non-English words italicized in the translation. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Definitions are given where feasible.

alcalde (Spanish): colonial village official (95, 173, 481)
allauca: group name, possibly implying righthand part (moiety?) of a village (157)
añay: a kind of maize (431)
ata: baby with abnormal hair, taken to be a messenger of Paria Caca (476, 478–480, 482–486)
auqui: in this context, untranslated; possibly a ritual ornament or vessel (283)
ayllu: social group, often localized, self-defined as ancestor-focused kindred; scope of term varies (46, 91, 118, 160, 187, 216, 218, 224, 234–237, 240, 243, 282, 309, 316, 330, 331, 333, 354, 357, 369, 385, 388 [title])
bolas (Spanish): hunting weapon made of stones connected by thongs, which entangle prey's legs when thrown (98, 350)
callcallo: untranslated; grasshopper? (413, 415)
canah yauri: lance? belonging to a mummy-*huaca* (320)
cancho: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caqui: toucan? (207)
casira: unidentified type of straw (327)
cassa: feather-weaving (39, 63)
caullama: class of *huaca*s guaranteeing fertility of livestock (329)
caxo: women's digging tool (480)
chicsi rampa: litter belonging to Inca (289, 294)
choqui (Jaqi): gold (283)
chumprucu: turban for ritual wear (240, 294)
chupa: a kind of straw (327)
chuta: large target effigy at which lancers threw spears in the Machua festival rites (330, 331, 333, 335, 338, 404)
cori cacya: seashell-shaped insignia of a mummy-*huaca* (320)
corregimiento (Spanish): administrative district of a *corregidor* or Spanish governor of natives (485)
cot huato: llama harness (479)
curaca: a native political lord or noble (86, 101, 173, 174, 176, 231, 244, 245, 296, 317, 481)
curi: twins, considered messengers from Paria Caca (447, 449, 450, 453–462, 464, 470, 484)
doctrina (Spanish): elementary text of Christian doctrine, to be memorized by Indians; also, a parish of Indians (253)
fanega (Spanish): bulk measure equaling about 1.6 bushels or 58 liters (477)
huaca: a superhuman person; any place, object, image (etc.) embodying a superhuman person (3, 6–8, 9, 10, 13–15, 17, 28, 92, 145, 146, 172, 178–180, 182, 183–185, 189, 225, 235–239, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 265, 272, 273, 277, 279, 283, 285 [title], 287–289, 293, 301, 317, 318, 319, 325, 336, 347, 370, 378, 379, 407, 408, 412, 429)
huachay ruco: ceremonial garment probably associated with birth; possible synonym of *huaychao* (464)
huacsa: person appointed to a term of priestly duties that included dancing a reenactment of a *huaca*'s life (117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 126, 131, 132, 135, 149, 150, 159, 160, 162, 183, 213, 220, 245, 297, 300, 346, 347, 385, 386, 405, 437, 440, 442)
huana paya: conch trumpet for use in ceremony; possible synonym of *paya* (325, 337, 340)
huancoy: worm or larva; maggot? (368)
huaychao: a ceremonial garment (240)
huayo: human trophy mask made from flayed face (321, 322, 323, 404)
hugi: untranslated; a dangerous animal that Huallallo Caruincho turned loose to afflict Paria Caca (214, 215)
illa: amulet (or) magical person, such as twins (134, 476, 478, 482, 483)
JHS (Latinized Greek): monogram containing the first three Greek letters of the name Jesus, variously interpreted (476)
lataca: a kind of jar associated with the Concha (411)
llacsa anapalla: fly, perhaps bluebottle (367)
llacsa yacolla: stone helmet (394, 396)
llaullaya: untranslated; agricultural tool? garment? (271)
lúcuma: *Lucuma bifera*, a fruit tree (11)
maca: an edible tuber, probably *Lepidium meyenii* (162)
muro: colored, possibly hard and/or spotted maize (43, 53)

oca: an edible tuber, *Oxalis tuberosa* (424)
padre (Spanish): father; Catholic priest (95, 258)
pana charapi: untranslated; object used in divining with spiders (450)
paya: conch trumpet used in ceremony; *see also* huana paya (454)
pupuna: a device for catching birds, made of a reed or cane with a loop or thong (9, 454, 457)
pusuca: untranslated; an insignia of Maca Uisa (294)
puypu: macaw-wing ornament (131, 333)
quinua: edible grain, *Chenopodium quinua* (302, 303, 389, 424)
quipu: mnemonic device made of knotted cords (283, 438)
quisay rinri: ornamental earspool(?) worn by a mummy-*huaca* (320)
quishuar: a tree, *Buddleia*, used to make ritual enclosures (92)
real (Spanish): Spanish coin, one-eighth of a common *peso* (262, 481)
reducción (Spanish): Spanish-style village into which natives were forcibly resettled, especially c. 1570–1590 (244)
riti: snow (63)
sacaya: sacrifice for *huaca*s made of ground maize mixed with *ticti* or thick maize beer (454)
Salve Regina Mater Misericordiæ (Latin): Catholic prayer to Saint Mary (256)
tamta: feather ruff (328)
taruca: a deer, *Hippocamelus antisiensis* (453)
ticti: sacrificial food made of thick maize beer residue (91, 99, 138, 170, 281, 337, 387, 438, 454, 474, 483)
tipsi: ? (283)
urpu: ? (283)
vichoc: left-hand part (moiety?) of a village (157, 337)
vihco: spear(?) used in the rite of spearing *chuta* effigies (328)
villca: high-ranking *huaca* or *huaca* priest (10, 13, 14, 43, 45, 154, 289)
visa: untranslated (shield?); insignia of Chuta Cara (324)
yanca: *huaca* priest by hereditary title (118, 120, 121, 129, 130, 148, 165, 218, 219, 238, 331–333, 335, 339, 403, 434, 438)

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***Note*: This is an index to the translation of the manuscript and does not cover the notes or introduction. Numbers correspond to section numbers in the margin of the translation. Alphabetization is by English rules. *Ñ* is treated as *n*. *Ch*, *ll*, and *rr* are treated as two characters each and not as single digraph characters as in Spanish.**

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Gisele Díaz & Alan Rodgers

With a New Introduction and Commentary by Bruce E. Byland

GREEN EDITION

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“The mission of man is to remember. To remember to remember. To taste everything in eternity as once in time. All happens only once but that is forever.”

HENRY MILLER

Remember to Remember

To Richard Gutherie, artist, and Tomás Díaz—each, in his own way, proving that when enough pressure is applied a diamond appears from within.

G. D., 1993

Thanks to Alberto and Gualberta Trejo, papermaker, San Pablito, Mexico; Armando Arriaga, woodcarver, Puebla, Mexico; Beckey Reisberg, conservator and bookmaker; Jeff Baker, photographer; Carl and Terrie Huff, whose door was always open; Patricia Morris, Lenny Lamm and Henry Miller, for showing the way.

A. R., 1993

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B. B., 1993

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ARTISTS' PREFACE

The aim of the Díaz-Rodgers version of the Codex Borgia was to reproduce the codex using traditional methods and materials, and to restore as accurately as possible all damaged sections of the book; in short, to see the book in the pristine condition it had existed in during the time of the Aztecs.

Of course, the idea of codex restoration is not new. This project was heavily influenced by the restoration work done on the Codex Dresden and, most importantly of all, the work on the Codex Nuttall, which has been reprinted by Dover Publications.

Work on this project began with drawings made from photographs of the Codex Borgia. The first set of drawings was made to become familiar with the symbols and characters within the manuscript. The object at this point was to copy the original artwork as closely as possible. After the first drawings were completed, the entire book was redrawn again using pen and ink on Herculene film. In these final drawings, the restoration of the codex was conducted. First, each character (separate image) was centered within its defined space. For example, if the original artist(s) implied a division of one-half page in the original text, exactly one-half page was used to reproduce that portion of the codex. With regard to the characters, no changes were made. If a temple leaned in one direction or another, it was left as it was. Here, the process of extrapolated restoration occurred. The easiest restoration was the connecting of the lines based on other undamaged parts of the manuscript. This was relatively easy in some parts, as the figures were easily identifiable with just small parts of the figure worn away.

Of course, other sections were not so easily reproduced and some value judgments were called for. It is here, in the more difficult

restoration parts, that some criticism is possible. An example is Plate 2. According to Alexander von Humboldt, the first and last pages of the original codex were partially burned by servant children of the Giustiniani family. In one of the burned areas (upper right), a scorpion is partially visible. Therefore, in the final series of drawings it was reproduced as a whole scorpion using other scorpions in the codex as guidelines. For example, Plates 13, 18, 59 and 69 each contain stylized versions of the scorpion. What may be wrong or lacking is the direction or curve of the scorpion's stinger on Plate 2. In order to fill and balance the given area, the scorpion was drawn with the straight extended stinger as found on Plate 59. The stylistic traits of the partial scorpion on Plate 2 served as the foundation of the new scorpion. In the final drawings, implied symmetry was formalized. All red dividing lines were made straight in the horizontal and vertical directions.

In the section of the book comprising Plates 61 through 70, the day signs, or symbols, are accurate. What may be lacking are certain characteristics unique to that particular day according to its place within the sacred order of 260 days. For instance, it should be noted that each half of these pages has 13 day signs associated with it. This order was noted by Sahagún in his monumental work *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España.* What will be found lacking are certain aspects of characteristics of the day signs which would have borne specific significance for that specific time period. For example, "Ollin," or Movement, can take several forms. In all the different forms, Movement is still Movement but it has several ways of being represented in this manuscript. On Plate 65 (upper half) it is seen upright and entwined with a red side dominating the right half of the symbol. On this same plate, in the bottom row of day signs, Movement is found again entwined, but this time it is lying down with the red half of the symbol on the bottom side. Plate 70 again shows Movement in the top row of the day signs. Here it is exactly as found on the bottom row of Plate 65, except the blue half is found on a totally different form. It is no longer entwined, but rather a star or flower form. That is by no means all of the possible forms of "Ollin."

Sometimes the color and the shape of the center point varies. Each aspect that “Ollin” assumes has an important symbolic meaning and something distinct to say about that particular moment in time and space.

The bottom parts of Plates 28, 57, 58, 61 through 64 and 66 through 70 were especially difficult to reproduce. In all of these plates, the day signs were entirely missing, which called for quite a few judgment calls during the restoration process.

Concurrent with the drawing process was the investigation of different types of traditional *ámatl* bark paper. This investigation led to San Pablito, Mexico, and to Alberto and Berta Trejo. The Trejos were traditional makers of the paper that was used in this project. The process for this handmade paper has been well documented in many papers and several books; however, because of the special size requirement of the paper and the fact that the paintings were to be mounted onto an accordion-like book, several new methods of producing oversize pieces of paper were investigated. The new process for large-format paper quickly became the standard for the entire village.

After the final drawings were completed and the *ámatl* paper selected, the drawings made on the transparent film were transferred to the *ámatl* paper using a blackline undercoating. Because of the variation in the paper’s color and quality, approximately 20 copies of each plate were transferred. The best copy of each plate was then carefully selected, based on paper characteristics and accuracy of line reproduction.

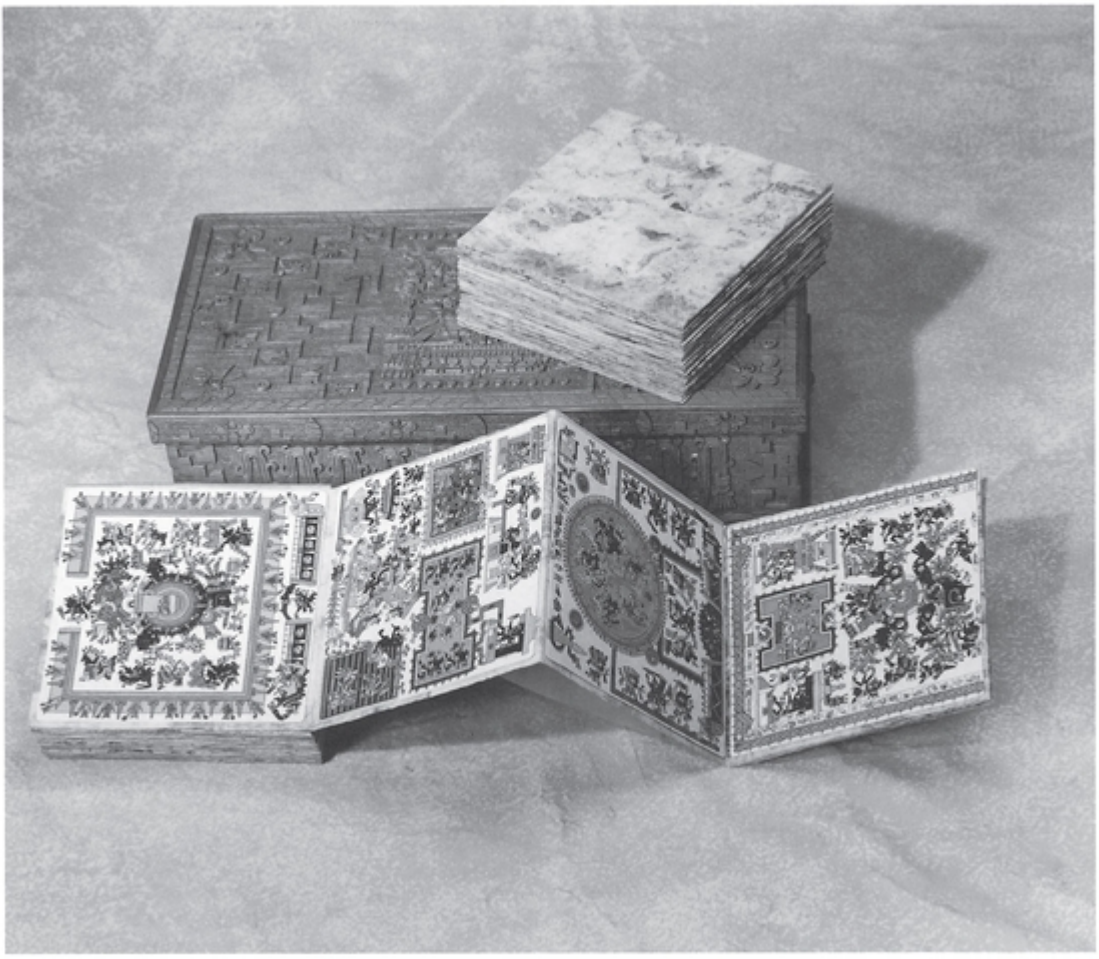
The next phase was the application of color. First, two coats of titanium-white watercolor were applied as a base. This served to stretch the paper and fill the porous surface of the paper. Colors were then applied by hand starting with yellow. Red was the final color to be applied. Experiments were conducted using natural dyes; however, it quickly became apparent that this was beyond the scope of this project. Instead, watercolors were used. To insure uniformity in paint color, some portions of the plates required as many as four

or five separate coats of paint. Although the plates were produced over several years, every effort was made to insure uniformity and consistency in color from Plate 1 through Plate 76. Finally, after all the colors were applied, the black lines were hand painted with tiny brushes, thereby encasing the characters of the manuscript. Two coats of acrylic fixative were finally applied to protect the colors. The plates were produced in order.

After the paintings were completed, they were photographed by Dallas photographer Jeff Baker. The plates were then taken to Beckey Reisberg, who assembled them into a unique accordion-style book using proper conservation techniques and methods. Two 40-foot *ámatl* sheets were produced. Each painting was then mounted on one of these long sheets, which then folded into an accordion-style book. Plates 1 through 38 are in one of these original books and Plates 39 through 76 are in the other. The books are stored in a hand-carved cedar box produced by Armando Arriaga, one of Mexico's finest woodcarvers.

Total time to complete the project was seven years.

G. D.
A. R.



The original painted Díaz and Rodgers restoration of the Codex Borgia, showing its screenfotd (accordion-fold) nature, its ámatl paper and the handsome box crafted for it.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY BRUCE E. BYLAND

The Present Edition of the Codex Borgia

The present edition is a new hand-painted restoration of the Codex Borgia designed to recreate the sense of awe and wonder that the original manuscript must have inspired before the depredations of time and ill treatment took their toll. Over the five or more centuries since the original was painted by some unknown Mexican scribe or scribes, much has happened to it. It has been opened and closed countless times. Its fragile pages have been touched and manipulated, folded and rubbed, photographed and drawn. It has been exposed to heat and humidity. It has survived the abuse of children, who folded some of its pages and burned others. It has lost its original wooden end pieces. The result of all this activity is that the images painted so carefully by the original artist or artists have been damaged. In many places flakes of pigment have been rubbed off and lost, thus obscuring the original images to varying extents. Most seriously, parts of three leaves have been damaged by fire.

This has left a document which, though still recognized as one of the finest and most important original sources for the study of pre-Columbian religion, has been seriously compromised. Ms. Gisele Diaz and Mr. Alan Rodgers are to be commended for their efforts to recover the grandeur of the original manuscript. The Dover edition will, for the first time, make a reproduction of the manuscript accessible to the general public. That it is not a photographic or precise facsimile may possibly trouble some among the corps of professional codex scholars, though they are among the few who have access to the costly photographic facsimiles already published

(Kingsborough 1831-48, Ehrle 1898, Seler 1904-09 |Spanish translation as Seler 1963], Nowotny 1976). Although these rare, expensive editions remain preferable for serious scholarship, that does not lessen the inspirational and broad educational value of this restoration.

Just as Dover's edition of Zelia Nuttall's copy of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall is not an exact rendition of the original, the reproduction published here is not an exact copy of the Codex Borgia., even in its current state. It is, rather, an informed attempt at a restoration, a careful reimagining of the original beauty of the manuscript. Even though the restoration has omitted the glosses added to the manuscript by a European hand after the conquest, it is not intended to be a definitive reconstruction of the original as it was painted before the arrival of the Spanish. It is not a precise copy of the extant portions but rather a redrawing that includes tiny differences of detail throughout. (Any significant differences will be pointed out in the commentary later in this introduction.) Colors are rendered close to their appearance in the original as it exists today, not as they were when the Codex Borgia was new; for example, some original greens are now a shade of tan, and it is the tan that appears here.

Because of its very availability and because of the care that Diaz and Rodgers have put into this faithful restoration of the manuscript, students can learn much from it. Those who want to study the original in fine detail should first use this edition as a guide but should also seek out a copy of the fine photographic facsimile published by ADEVA (Nowotny 1976). They should also look for the outstanding commentaries on the codex published by Nowotny (1961a) and Seler (1963). In addition, the serious student should not neglect the important studies of the Codex Borgia and the other members of the Borgia Group of codices published by Humboldt (1810), Caso (1927), Noguera (1927), Robertson (1963), Spranz (1964), Glass (1975), Sisson (1983), Biedermann (1989) and others. The present edition will become a starting point for study of the religious codices of highland Mexico just as the Dover publication of

the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975) has become the principal introduction to the Mixtec historical codices for so many modern students.

The original codex was painted on a long strip of folded animal skin as a screenfold book. Fourteen strips of skin were attached end to end, trimmed to a standard height of 27 cm, folded into a screenfold and prepared for painting with a white lime-plaster ground. The artist or scribe then painted the manuscript with an extraordinarily artistic hand, using both mineral and vegetable pigments. The book was intended to be read in continuous fashion from one end to the other, from right to left, on one side and then turned over so that the reading could continue on the other side. Even though the current binding does not reproduce that screenfold format, the reading order in this edition does recreate the linear form of the original by binding the pages in reverse order so that the text begins at the back and is read from right to left and from back to front, in much the same way as the Dover edition of the Codex Zouche-Nuttall.

The History of the Codex Borgia

The Codex Borgia has long been recognized as one of the most elegant and beautiful of the few surviving pre-Columbian painted manuscripts. Its special significance has been seen in its detailed depiction of highland Mesoamerican gods and the ritual and divination associated with them. Substantial portions of the codex convey various aspects and attributes of the 260-day ritual calender. The more detailed ceremonial aspects of the images have been harder to understand.

The Codex Borgia is today housed in the Apostolic Library of the Vatican in Rome, Italy. It was originally painted somewhere in the central highlands of Mexico as a unique manuscript. The exact place at which it was painted is not now known and is the subject of much discussion. During the summer of 1982, the Pre-Columbian Studies Program at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., spoon-sored a

summer research seminar on the codices of the Borgia Group at which much attention was paid to this problem (Sisson 1983). While no final conclusion could be drawn, the opinion of most of the participants in the seminar was that the Codex Borgia was probably originally painted somewhere in central or southern Puebla, the area around Tepeaca and Cuauhtinchan or the Tehuacán Valley. Others would expand this potential area of origin to include nearby areas of the Mixteca Alta in Oaxaca. Since various aspects of the manuscript seem to point with equal validity to each of these areas, we cannot choose one over the others. Perhaps we should conclude, rather, that central and southern Puebla and northern Oaxaca shared a religious and iconographic scheme and that the pronouncements of the Codex Borgia would have had equal validity in all of these nearby regions (Pohl and Byland n.d.). Seen in that light, the precise point of origin is not so important as the information that can be gained from careful study of the codex.

It is generally believed that the Codex Borgia was originally painted in the decades immediately before the arrival of the Spanish. This presumption is based on the observation that its style shows no hint of European influence. In addition its religious content was more apt to have been repressed rather than encouraged after the arrival of Catholic priests. It is not possible now to determine exactly how long before the beginning of the Colonial period it was painted, though it probably dates to the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.

The Codex Borgia was sent back to Europe at some point in the early Colonial period, though when, by whom and to whom is not known. Its early movements in Europe are also obscure. It has been argued that at some time in the sixteenth century the manuscript was sent to Italy either directly from Mexico or from an intermediate stop in Spain (Ehrle 1898). This supposition is based on the paleography of a gloss on page 68 of the manuscript that appears to have been written in poor Italian (presumably in the hand of a sixteenth-century Mexican or Spaniard not fully fluent in Italian). At any rate, from then

until very late in the eighteenth century nothing is known of the whereabouts of the codex.

It first came to the attention of scholarship when in 1805 Alexander von Humboldt saw it in Rome among the effects of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who had died the previous year. Humboldt wrote, with some authority, that Cardinal Borgia had acquired the codex from the Giustiniani family, neighbors who had entrusted the document to some servants, who in turn had given it to their children as a plaything. As a result, before Humboldt ever saw it the manuscript had been burned and mistreated. When Cardinal Borgia died he left almost all of his possessions to the branch of the Vatican which he had directed for many years, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; his brother was to inherit the family museum. Although the codex was not located in the family museum at the time of the Cardinal's death, his brother sued for its possession. After a few years of legal wrangling the Congregatio was awarded the codex and housed it in its library. Late in the nineteenth century it was transferred to the Apostolic Library of the Vatican, where it remains today.

Pre-Columbian Manuscripts

The painted books of Mesoamerica represent an amazing legacy of the religious and historical knowledge acquired by the pre-Columbian people of Mexico and northern Central America. A scant few of these documents survive to this day. The vast majority of them were destroyed in the misguided efforts of early Spanish priests to stamp out all vestiges of the heathen religions of the native peoples. Accounts of the burning and destruction of hundreds and thousands of native books can bring tears to the eyes. We can only wonder today at the range and depth of information lost through the destruction of so vast a cultural resource. Despite this tragedy, much can be said about the manuscript-painting traditions of Mesoamerica. We have perhaps fifteen or so surviving books and manuscripts that were produced either before the Conquest or in a native style in the years directly after the arrival of the Spanish (Glass 1975:11-12). In addition to these works, there are about two

dozen pictorial documents made by indigenously trained native scribes and artists for the Spanish conquerors as illustrations of native history, religion, custom and practice. Finally, there are literally hundreds of pictorial manuscripts produced by native artists during the early Colonial period in many ordinary contexts: maps to go with geographic descriptions, genealogies or histories to support claims to titles and tribute, lists of tribute actually paid or due, evidence for cases tried in Spanish courts, calendrical documents and many others.

The surviving pre-Conquest–style screenfolds include three classes or groups of books: Mixtec histories, Maya religious books and highland religious books. The histories include the seven Mixtec historical manuscripts, which deal with local history and royal genealogies from various communities in the Mixteca Alta and surrounding regions (Smith 1973, Byland and Pohl in press). A second group comprises the three or four surviving Maya screenfolds, all of which are painted on paper rather than animal skin (Glass 1975:77). These codices are substantially divinatory and calendrical in content and are written in a distinctively Mayan style incorporating much Maya hieroglyphic text. A third group of pre-Conquest books is known as the Borgia Group, named after their most prominent member, the Codex Borgia (Nowotny 1961a). These are all screenfolds on animal skin that are concerned with religious and ritual matters. They are painted in styles very similar, though not identical, to those of the Mixtec historical codices.

The Mixtec historical manuscripts include the Codex Zouche-Nuttall (Miller 1975, Troike 1987); the Codex Colombino-Becker I, composed of two rejoined parts (Troike 1980, Smith 1963, Caso and Smith 1966); the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1961b); the Codex Bodley (Caso 1960); the Codex Selden (Smith 1983, Caso 1964); the Codex Vindobonensis (Furst 1978, Adelhofer 1963); and the Codex Egerton (Burland 1965).

The three widely accepted Maya codices are the Codex Paris (Anders 1968), the Codex Dresden (Anders and Dekkert 1975) and

the Codex Madrid (Anders 1967). Each appears to be dedicated to the calendar, the deities of the Maya pantheon and the supernatural aspects of the calendar associated with ritual divination. A fourth codex, the Grolier Codex, may also be a member of this group though it is not yet universally accepted.

The Codex Borgia is the leading member of a small group of pre-Columbian manuscripts known collectively as the Borgia Group. The Borgia Group is particularly significant because of its pre-Conquest date and its religious content. The many manuscripts treating religious subjects that must have existed before the sixteenth century were particularly sought out for destruction by zealous Spanish priests and friars who were charged with ending idolatrous practices. The manuscripts of the Borgia Group seem to have been spared this fate by the happy accident of their having been sent to Europe, probably to Spain, early in the Conquest period.

In addition to the Codex Borgia, the principal screenfold members of the Borgia Group are the Codex Cospi (Nowotny 1968), which is a ritual calendar with some ritual information on its reverse side; the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Burland 1971), which is a ritual calendar; the Codex Laud (Burland 1966), which is a ritual calendar with several other kinds of ritual information included; and the Codex Vaticanus B (Anders 1972), which is also a ritual calendar. The other related documents sometimes included in the group as minor members are the Fonds Mexicains no. 20, a single page of deerskin, and the Codex Porfirio Diaz, a screenfold that includes a section with similar ritual and religious content.

From these extant native-tradition books we may discern several characteristics of Mesoamerican written records. We know, for example, that books were not published in a European sense. That is to say, they were all handmade in single copies without the use of any type of impression-making device: no movable type, no stamps or rollers. It is arguable that every book was unique, made in one place by one patron and for one set of purposes. Information is shared among several of the codices but its form is never identical.

Of course, the very small sample size of surviving manuscripts makes this generalization difficult to prove. It is certainly possible that books were exactly copied in a scribal tradition similar to that of the European monastic tradition, though no proof of this possibility exists.

It can be argued that the written literature of the pre-Columbian peoples was divided into categories in their minds as well as ours. Historical books deal with people, places, politics and genealogy. Religious documents deal with the calendar, ceremonialism and divination. Overlap between them is found in areas where historically important people participate in divination or other ceremonies and where politically significant places have sacred significance.

The content of the post-Conquest documents suggests the possibility of other written genres that have not survived. The codices do not contain two-dimensional maps of the landscape in forms familiar as such to European eyes. Despite this observation, the fact that space is represented in the codices in various ways (Pohl and Byland 1990) and the existence of many post-Conquest maps (see Glass 1975) suggest that space had been graphically represented in pre-Columbian times. In addition, the lists of tribute obligations of towns prepared for the Spanish tax collectors suggests the likelihood of similar record keeping before the European arrival. We can imagine the rulers of native communities making a sincere effort to keep such documents, if they ever existed, out of the hands of the new oppressors.

Pre-Columbian Religion

The religious beliefs of pre-Columbian peoples in Mesoamerica were vastly complex. There was a shared religious system over much of Mexico and northern Central America with regard to the calendar, the major deities, the structure of the world and the hierarchy of the supernatural world. Nevertheless, each town and region had its own nuances of belief that set it apart from its neighbors. Different deities were held in esteem in different places and many gods, even major

ones, had differing characteristics of dress and behavior. Much of this complexity is not now discernible but some has been preserved. We know, for example, the patron deities of many communities whose particular charge was the protection of the local people and land.

The behavioral range covered by religion in ancient Mesoamerica was like that of any complex religious system. The gods were organized in a hierarchy reflecting that of the people. They came equipped with family ties, affections and jealousies, indeed with all the complexities of human life. They had potential influence over the very existence of the world, having caused its destruction and re-creation as many as five times, according to Aztec chroniclers. On a smaller scale they were thought to have the capacity to affect the forces of nature and the success of human endeavor. Rain would come only if the rain deity was properly propitiated. Wind would blow too strongly or too weakly unless the wind deity was correctly worshiped. Spirits inhabited the night air and the wild animals of the hills. Auguries and oracles could predict the success or failure of any activity. Patterns in nature were explained by the interaction of the forces of the supernatural world with those of the physical one. In all these ways and more, the supernatural was present in the daily lives of the people of Mesoamerica.

The people of the various towns and cities of ancient Mesoamerica had to be able to deal with the potent forces of the transcendent world above, below and around them. These interactions were often made on a personal level, at a family shrine, or by repetition of a special prayer or incantation in the fields or while doing some task. At other times connection to the power of the supernatural required a trained specialist, a priest. For this task a wide variety of specialized priests was available. There were priests dedicated to each of the many gods and other supernatural forces. There were bureaucratic priests dedicated to the ancestral deities of each town or region. There were priests who performed autosacrifice and human sacrifice. There were those who prophesied the future of

natural phenomena and those who prophesied the future of human activity. There were priests who preached and others who taught.

For priests to be able to fulfill all these complex roles they had to have immense knowledge. Part of that knowledge was acquired in formal schools called *calmecac.* More was learned on the job as junior priests working with older, more experienced priests. Among the things required of priests was the ability to read books and interpret the information contained in them. That was nowhere more evident than in the case of the religious books, which served as densely packed compendia of vital information about the nature of the supernatural world and its relationships with the physical one. The Codex Borgia was just such a book.

Much of the capacity to interpret the codex was based on intimate knowledge of the gods and their many characteristics. The pantheon of ancient Mesoamerica was amazingly complex. The many deities often had multiple identities, different names and characteristics apparently being associated with a single deity. Similarly, the iconographic representations of deities often seem to display substantial overlap. Attributes associated with two or more individual deities could be represented on the person of a single god in a particular context. All this makes the study of pre-Columbian religion a daunting task. The most encyclopedic analysis of which I am aware is the masterly work of H. B. Nicholson (1971). A very strong, and more accessible, recent study is by Davíd Carrasco (1990).

It is not possible in any brief treatment to expound fully the intricacies of pre-Columbian religion and its extraordinarily complex deities. A few characteristics of a handful of the deities will have to suffice as an introduction here.

Quetzalcóatl is the Feathered Serpent. He is a god of rebirth and renewal. In one of his most important capacities he is known as Ehécatl, the god of the wind. He is at one and the same time the god of the wind, the four winds of the four directions and the 400 little winds that blow everywhere. In another identity he is known as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the embodiment of the planet Venus as the

morning or evening star. Quetzalcóatl was one of the creators of the sun and the world.

Tezcatlipoca is the Dark Smoking Mirror. He is an all-knowing, ever-present and all-powerful god. He, too, is a god of several capacities or personalities. Tezcatlipoca is sometimes represented as the Red Tezcatlipoca (Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca) and sometimes as the Black Tezcatlipoca (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca). He is the sower of discord and conflict, a god of darkness and warfare.

Tláloc is the god of rain and storm. He is the god of waters in the sky. Tláloc is a creator of life; his rain brings regrowth in the spring. He also carries the lightning and is responsible for destructive storms.

Chalchiuhtlicue is the consort of Tláloc. She is the goddess of running water, waters on the earth like lakes, rivers and springs. Her name literally means “Precious Green Stone Skirt.”

Tlazoltéotl was a very basic and very complex deity. She was a goddess of the earth. She had a role as the goddess of the moon. She was sometimes known as Tlaelcuani and in that capacity was known as the eater of filth and excrement. In this role she was also a sensual goddess of enticement and sexuality. Other names for Tlazoltéotl included Teteoinnan, “mother of the gods,” and Toci, “our grandmother.”

There were, of course, dozens of other deities both high and low, some of whom will be identified briefly in the commentary below.

The Nature of the Codex Borgia

Purpose or Function

The Codex Borgia is a native-tradition religious manuscript from an unidentified part of the southern central highlands of Mexico, perhaps from somewhere in what is now the states of Puebla and Oaxaca. Though we do not know from what indigenous context it was first extracted by the Spaniards, it is not hard to surmise that it

was a ritual document taken from a sacred place—perhaps a temple, a priest's residence or a sacred shrine of some sort. Its content suggests that it was used for several purposes. It seems to have been a prognostication tool for divining the future in various ways. Parts of the codex are ritual 260-day calendars. These are augmented by substantial sections delineating the signs of the days and the deities of the days and the nights. Other pages characterize various portions of the ritual calendar and still others relate the ritual calendar to the solar year. Another part of the manuscript presents a sort of numerological prognostication of the lives of wedded couples. Other sections concern the cardinal directions of the world and the supernatural characters and attributes of these regions. Other portions describe the characteristics of various deities, forming a sort of catalog of supernatural beings who can influence the world. Still other passages may contain a pattern for ceremonies for the installation of rulers in certain pre-Columbian kingdoms. These aspects will all be discussed below in an abbreviated commentary based largely on the work of Seler (1963) and Nowotny (1961a).

An underlying level of meaning within the Codex Borgia is found in its frequent depictions of the various deities and other supernatural beings. The interpretation of auguries depended on the priest's reading of the images and his knowledge of the characteristics of the various powerful creatures represented.

Approaches to Reading the Codex

The Codex Borgia is composed of 39 equally sized leaves. The first and last of these, the outside surfaces of the stack of folded pages, were affixed to end pieces, presumably fashioned of wood. Every exposed side of the manuscript was painted with information by the artist or artists who created the document. We thus have 37 leaves that are painted on both sides and two end leaves painted on only one side, for a total of 76 painted pages.

The wonderful character of a screenfold manuscript, in comparison with a modern binding, that the reader is not restricted to

seeing only two pages at once. When a screenfold book is opened two, four, six or more pages can be seen at a time. Indeed, the pages being consulted simultaneously do not need to be consecutive or even on the same side of the manuscript. This structure allows for easy transgression of a simple linear reading order. Flashbacks, flashforwards and cross references can be found entirely out of the simple flow of time.

As a result of this versatile format, reading order for a learned scribe could be very diverse. He could read a book from beginning to end in a linear form similar to ours, or else read several pages at once, referring back and forth as needed through many images to follow different aspects of the information being studied. Clearly the skill required to read these books was not easily obtained.

The Content of the Codex

Though the content of the Codex Borgia is only partially understood, we can say with assurance that it is a ritual book. Substantial parts seem to be a text of standard ritual information, to be used like a reference book. Other parts seem to be mnemonic devices encoding more arcane ritual information. Yet another part seems to have been a prescriptive set of directions for the performance of a particular series of ceremonies. The best and most detailed commentaries on the manuscript are those written by Eduard Seler (1904–09) and K.A. Nowotny (1961a). Their work notwithstanding, much of the interpretation offered to date is limited. While codex scholars have been able to work out much of the calendrical order and to recognize some of the deities, creatures and objects depicted in the manuscript, the contexts in which they have been portrayed are still not fully understood. It is still necessary to identify the more obscure images and to divine the relationships between the deities and activities depicted and the calendar to which they are attached. Efforts to do so are ongoing. Similarly, it is still necessary to pinpoint the language spoken by the original authors of the Borgia Group codices; many separate languages were spoken in the likely regions of origin. Recent work on these manuscripts has been conducted by

a handful of scholars from around the world, among them Peter van der Loo, John M. D. Pohl, Maarten Jansen, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Mark King and Edward B. Sisson.

What follows here is a very brief redaction of the commentaries of Seler and Nowotney, informed by the more recent work of Pohl (Pohl and Byland n.d., 1991) and van der Loo (1982, 1987 and personal communication) and with a few ideas of the present writer. It is intended to help the novice reader begin the search for understanding. All readers of this introduction are encouraged to pursue the study of ancient Mexican religion by referring to more extensive commentaries on the codex and to other more general studies of pre-Columbian religion (Carrasco 1990, León-Portilla 1963, Lopez Austin 1973, Nicholson 1971) and writing (Benson 1973, Marcus 1992, Smith 1973). The text of the Codex Borgia has been arbitrarily divided into a number of groups of pages or parts of pages that seem to make sense when taken together. Though these divisions seem today to be reasonable, they should not be considered to be absolutely authoritative. New insight may be gained by trying new ways of seeing and understanding the images of highland pre-Columbian writing systems.

An Abbreviated Commentary on the Codex Borgia

Plates (Original Pages) 1-8: The First Calendar, a 260-Day Ritual Calendar

A fundamental tool of ritual prognostication and divination throughout ancient Mesoamerica was the 260-day ritual calendar, known to the Aztecs as the *tonalpohualli,* or “the book of the days.” (In many ancient Mesoamerican languages the term for the ritual calendar had much the same meaning; the Mixtecs, for example, had several names, including *tutu yehe dahui quevui,* “the book that has the days.”) This ritual calendar, covering a period that is shorter than the solar year, was used for various purposes. It was much more than

just a list of days: it expressed the relationship between time and space and between both of them and the world of the gods. The Mixtecs had another term for the calendar that conveys some of this interconnection: *nee ñuhu duyu dusa,* meaning more or less “all the spirits who support the disc of the earth” (Alvarado 1962| 1593 |:41v, Arana and Swadesh 1965). The disc of the earth is the plane upon which we live. It is composed of four cardinal directions and linked to the realms above and below by a central hinge that constitutes a fifth direction. Periods within the calendars are associated with specific supernatural figures and are linked to the five directions. Here the relationship of time, space and the supernatural world becomes evident.

The 260-day ritual calendar was constructed using two continuous sequences, one of 13 numbers and the other of 20 day signs. The 13 numbers run in sequence and then start again. Similarly the 20 day signs run in sequence and then start again. The total number of uniquely identified days using this system, then, is 13 times 20 or 260. In Figure 1, the 260 days of the calendar are arranged in 13 columns and 20 rows. To the left of each row is found the day sign, and in each cell of the diagram is the corresponding day number. The calendar in this form should be read from top to bottom and from left to right through 260 days. In this illustration the first day is 1 Alligator, the second day is 2 Wind and so on. The thirteenth day is 13 Reed, but be sure to note that the fourteenth day is 1 Jaguar, not 14 Jaguar, because only 13 numbers are used in the day-number cycle.

The first eight pages of the Codex Borgia enumerate the 260 days of the *tonalpohualli* together with images that seem to carry information about the qualities of these days. Here the 260 days are arranged in five narrow rows of day signs with the 13 numbers omitted. Above and below the rows of day signs are 104 taller images laid out in two rows. These 104 images are unique depictions of people, deities, places or things that presumably have supernatural qualities. They are usually taken to be qualifiers for the five specific days shown between each upper and lower pair. Some

are clearly of standard deities. Tonatiuh, Tezcatlipoca, Xipe Tótec and others.[1] Others represent natural objects and artifacts: the scorpion, offerings, bundles, serpents, the sky, the sun and many other things. Still others seem more religious and iconographic : images of human sacrifice and other offerings, serpents descending from the sky, blood flowing from the sun, complex sacred bundles and other things laden with unknown meaning. The actual significance to a pre-Columbian priest of these many different images remains obscure but can certainly be the subject of further study.

The enumeration of 260 days begins with a drawing of the Alligator at the lower right corner of the five narrow rows on Plate 1. It then proceeds from right to left across all eight pages of the *tonalpohualli.* At the end of that row, at the bottom left corner of Plate 8, the day sign for Grass is found. It is the fifty-second day sign and should, if 1 Alligator was the first day, represent the day 13 Grass. The next day in the sequence should be the day 1 Reed. The only place that Reed is found at either end of one of these five rows of day signs is at the right end of the next row up, the second row from the bottom on Plate 1. If the reading continues there, Reed is followed by Jaguar and Eagle and Vulture and so on. Following this pattern, the calendar is read as five rows of 52 day signs from right to left and from bottom to top. The last day in the calendar is the day Flower, which should be 13 Flower if the first day was indeed l Alligator.

Plates 9-13: The 20 Deities of the 20 Named Days

The next five pages of the Codex Borgia are also meant to be read as a unit, as they depict 20 deities, four to a page. Each quarter-page contains a deity, an elaborately drawn day sign and another figure or group of figures. These five pages undoubtedly carry information important to the interpretation of the supernatural qualities of each of the 20 days.

The five pages of the deities of the days are meant to be read in the order of the days, beginning with Alligator in the lower right quadrant of Plate 9. The reading order then proceeds from right to left along the lower register across pages in succession until the lower left quadrant of Plate 13 is reached with the deity of the day named Dog. The next day sign in sequence is Monkey, which is found on page 13 just above Dog—that is, in the upper left quadrant. The reading order then proceeds from left to right until you reach the day Flower in the upper right quadrant of Plate 9, just above the first of the 20 day names. This arrangement of the days sets up a cyclic structure: the reading can proceed continuously through the circle of 20 names again and again in a never-ending cycle, just as the calendar goes on and on.

The deities associated with each day sign are characters who have some relationship with the natural qualities of the name of the day, though these relationships are not always obvious. The identification of these 20 deities was accomplished by both Seler and Nowotny, who used the iconographic associations of the images as drawn here and in other native-tradition manuscripts. Another detailed analysis of the intricacies of the imagery and inter-deity associations is to be found in Spranz (1973). A summary is offered here; extensive explication of the main areas of influence of each of these deities is beyond the scope of this introduction.

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xochipilli/ Tonacatecuhtli	Prince of Flowers/The Supreme Male Deity
Wind	Quetzalcóatl/ Ehécatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
House	Tepeyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain

Lizard	Huehuecóyotl	Old Coyote
Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl	Goddess of the Moon
Deer	Tláloc	Rain and Storm (Rain of Fire)
Rabbit	Mayáhucl	Goddess of Maguey

FIGURE 1: DAY SEQUENCE FOR THE 260-DAY CALENDAR.

	Alligator	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
	Wind	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
	House	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
	Lizard	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
	Serpent	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
	Death	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
	Deer	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13
	Rabbit	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1
	Water	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2
	Dog	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3
	Monkey	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4
	Grass	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5
	Reed	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6
	Jaguar	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7
	Eagle	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8
	Vulture	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9
	Movement	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10
	Flint	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11
	Rain	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12
	Flower	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13

DAY SIGN	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Water	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Dog	Mictlantecuhtli	God of the Underworld

Monkey	Xochipilli	Prince of Flowers
Grass	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Reed	Tezcatlipoca- Ixquimilli	The Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes
Jaguar	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Eagle	Tlatlauhqui Tezcatlipoca	Red Smoking Mirror
Vulture	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Movement	Xólotl	God of Twins
Flint	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone
Rain	Tonatiuh	The Sun
Flower	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather

Plate 14: The Nine Deities of the Night

The next page of the Codex Borgia changes the format to an arrangement of three rows of three deities each. These nine divine beings are generally understood to represent the supernatural rulers of the nine hours of the night, and are connected to the first nine day signs from the list of 20 days. Each of these gods stands offering a bundle of sticks, a rubber ball and a quetzal feather as the components of a burnt offering that perhaps symbolizes the night in some way.

The nine deities of the night hours are read in a serpentine pattern beginning at the bottom right and proceeding from right to left across the lower register. As the end of that register is reached, the reading proceeds, in the order of the days, directly up to the middle register at the left margin and then proceeds from left to right, and finally up to the upper register and there from right to left. The identifications of the deities who rule these nine parts of the night are indicated below. You will note that, though the calendrical signs tied to them are the same as the beginning of the list of 20 days given in the previous five pages, the deities are different (or at least associated with different day signs).

NIGHT HOUR	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Xiuhtecuhtli	God of Fire
Wind	Itztli (Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca)	Flint (Black Smoking Mirror) Tezcatlipoca)
House	Piltzintecuhtli	God of Youth (a solar deity)
Lizard	Cintéotl	God of Maize
Serpent	Mictlantecuhtli	God of Death (the Underworld)
Death	Chalchiuhtlicue,	Goddess of Running Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Deer	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and the Earth
Rabbit	Tepcyóllotl	Heart of the Mountain
Water	Tláloc	Rain and Storm

Plates 15-17: 20 Deities and 80 Days

The next two and one-third pages are filled with 20 images of deities connected to 20 groups of four days each. The signs of the days form a continuous sequence of 80 days. Each deity is depicted with subordinate characters who are shown as sacrifices, offerings, newborn children or nursing infants. The purpose of these subordinate figures is not clearly understood but seems in a way to characterize groups of the main deities.

Five groups of four day signs are needed to go through one complete set of 20 days. Only five of the 20 possible day signs can be found in the lead position in each group of four days. The first day of each group of four will always be Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed or Movement. As a result of this peculiarity, the 20 deities can be grouped in two different ways. The five deities who illustrate one group of 20 consecutive days belong together. Similarly, the five deities who illustrate the same set of four day signs can be said to belong together. As it turns out, each of the four groups of five consecutive deities is also linked by their actions. Hence, one of each group is connected to each set of four day signs.

Seler assigns directional qualities to the days and their deities. The directional system of Mesoamerican religion has five cardinal directions—North, South, East, West and Center, with Center being a kind of linchpin connecting the four directions and linking them to the abodes of the gods above and below the disc of the Earth. Seler has suggested that the directional associations of the five groups of four days—the groups that begin with Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement—are West, South, Center, East and North.

The reading order of days is the same as in the day lists given above. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 15 with the day sign Alligator, and then proceeds from right to left across Plates 15 and 16. After 20 days, five groups of four days and five corresponding deity images, the count of day signs begins again in a

continuous cycle. Each of these first five deities is seen to be sacrificing the eye of a smaller human figure with a sharpened bone awl. The reading then continues to the last image on the lower register of Plate 16 and, following the order of the days, moves up to the center register at the left side and from there continues from left to right back across Plate 16 and Plate 15. These five deities are all offering small figures who share attributes with them and indeed generally seem to be smaller versions of these very deities. On Plate 15, in the center panel of the page, the day-sign sequence begins again and the behavior of the deities again changes. This group of five deities is shown holding the umbilical cords of small figures that are in the pose of a newborn baby. Midway in this sequence the reading has moved up to the upper register of Plate 15 and has changed direction again to move from right to left. All five of the birth figures are found on Plate 15. As the reading continues to Plate 16, the fourth and last group of five deities and 20 days begins. In this group the deities are all female and four of the five are nursing infants, three of whom are human children and one an animal. The fifth deity is nourishing a full-sized skeletal figure with blood rather than milk, thus maintaining the pattern with an altered image. The last two images of this sequence are found on the upper register of Plate 17, a placement necessary to complete the pattern of 20 deities and 80 days.

A result of this structure is that the first five deities in the list of 20 may be taken to characterize the five cardinal directions for a certain quality, perhaps that of sacrifice. The second group of five may characterize the five cardinal directions for offering, the third for birth and the fourth for sustenance. Alternatively, we might group together the four deities who are linked calendrically to the West (and similarly for each of the other directions) and say that they describe four qualities of that direction, the qualities of sacrifice, offering, birth and sustenance.

An identification of most of the deities in this list of 20 is as follows (each will be listed with its directional association following Seler). The first group of five: W–Cintéotl (God of Maize); S–a complex deity

not yet identified; C–Mictlantecuhtli (God of the Underworld); E-Quetzalcóatl (God of the Wind); and N–Xo–chipilli (Prince of Flowers). The second group of five: W–Xochi–quétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather); S–Tláloc (God of Rain and Storm/Rain of Fire); C–Mictlantecuhtli(God of the Underworld); E–Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli (God of Venus as the Morning Star); and N-Mixcóatl (God of the Hunt). The third group of five: W-Xochipilli (Prince of Flowers); S–Tonatiuh (God of the Sun); C–Tez-catlipoca-Ixquimilli (Smoking Mirror with Bandaged Eyes); E-Xipe Tótec (Our Lord the Flayed One); and N–Macuilxóchitl (5 Flower, God of Games). The fourth and last group of five: W–Mayáhuel (Goddess of Maguey); S–Tlazoltéotl (Goddess of Filth and the Earth); C–Mictecacíhuatl (Goddess of the Underworld), E–Chalchiuhtlicue (Goddess of Running Water); and N–Xochiquétzal (Flower-Quetzal Feather).

Plate 17: Tezcadipoca with the 20 Day Signs on His Body and Costume

The lower portion of Plate 17 contains a large and beautiful image of the deity Tezcatlipoca in his black guise. This image expresses the magical relationships between certain parts of his body and costume and each of the 20 day signs. The association of day signs with body parts presumably has at least some connection with ritual curing, but. since several day signs are associated with costume elements rather than with body parts, the curing explanation is limited. Seler and Nowotny believe that these day signs express attributes that are in some way appropriate to the form or function of the costume elements involved. Why Tezcatlipoca rather than some other deity is used as the base upon which to show these relationships is not clear.

Plates 18-21: Eight Supernatural Scenes with Calendrical Associations

The next four pages of the codex form an abbreviated 260-day calendar that follows the structure of the first *tonalpohualli,* found on

the first eight pages of the manuscript. Each of these four pages is divided into upper and lower halves, with each half further divided into a band of five day signs and a wider band of images of supernatural characters and their appurtenances.

The reading order begins with the lower register of Plate 18, proceeds from right to left across all four pages, moves up to the upper register of Plate 21 and from there proceeds from left to right until Plate 18 is again reached. The five day signs on each of these eight panels are equivalent to a single column of five day signs in the *tonalpohualli* found on Plates 1 to 8. For example, the first panel—the lower panel on Plate 18—shows five day signs beginning with Alligator and continuing with Reed, Serpent, Movement and Water. These are not in the order one would expect from the sequence of 20 day signs, but if you direct your attention to the rightmost column of day signs on Plate 1 you will find these same five day signs in identical order from bottom to top. At the left side of the larger panel on the lower half of Plate 18 there are six red dots. These represent the next six columns of day signs found in the first *tonalpohualli.* The eighth column of day signs in the tonalpohualli (Plate 2, second column from the right) includes the day signs Rabbit, Flower, Grass, Lizard and Vulture. These are the same as the day signs depicted in the lower register of Plate 19. The entire ritual calendar is represented in this fashion: a column of day signs (that is, a column in the first *tonalpohualli),* red dots as spacers, a column of day signs, red dots as spacers and so on.

With this explanation, the pattern of reading the day signs and interpreting them as an abbreviated 260-day calendar has been established. The five day signs on each half-page of Plates 18–21 represent one column of days in the calendar arranged as five rows of 52 days each (Plates 1–8). The dots between pages on Plates 18-21, to the left on the lower register and to the right on the upper register, serve as spacers or place holders and represent the given number of columns of days. Each of the sets of enumerated days can be found in the first *tonalpohualli* by skipping over the number of columns equal to the number of red dots indicated, and then looking

at the next column of days. Adding up all of the dots and the eight groups of days that are actually enumerated, we get 52 groups of five days, the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli.*

This unusual arrangement suggests that the images in the eight larger panels were not intended to qualify or characterize eight periods within the *tonalpohualli.* Rather, they seem to refer to five separate short periods of seven or five days each (interpreting the red dots as time included with the five named days) or five single days separated by six or four days each (reading the red dots as spacers between the relevant periods). In either case, the possibility that images in the major bands were intended to have significance apart from the simple counting of days must be considered.

The first panel, on the lower half of Plate 18, contains an image of the solar deity, Tonatiuh, who is making an offering in front of a temple.

The second panel, found on the lower half of Plate 19, contains the image of Quetzalcóatl standing in front of a platform that supports a tree and the God of Venus as the Morning Star.

The lower half of Plate 20 contains an image of Chalchiuhtlicue, the Goddess of Running Water. She stands making an offering of blood before a smoking stream that contains a fire serpent and supports minimal images of two deities identified by Seler as Xochiquétzal, Goddess of Love, and Nanahuatzin, a God of Lechery and of the Evening Sun.

The lower part of Plate 21 contains the fourth scene of this series. It is dominated by the image of the Black Tezcatlipoca to the right of a ball court and the smaller image of the Red Tezcatlipoca to the left.

The reading order reverses now as we move to the upper register of Plate 21. Here the Red and Black Tezcatlipocas have changed their relative sizes and their sequence. The Red Tezcatlipoca is shown as a traveler with a walking stick and a backpack. The smaller Black Tezcatlipoca is placed at the end of the path.

The next image, on Plate 20, shows the rain deity Tláloc cultivating corn using a *coa* or wooden digging stick. A smaller Tláloc shown at the center of the image throws curved lightning at a corn plant, which is thus destroyed.

The seventh panel of this group is found at the top of Plate 19. It shows the God of the Planet Venus (perhaps as Evening Star) chopping branches from a tree with an ax.

The last of the eight scenes follows on the upper half of Plate 18. Here the background is obscured in a representation of the night or the darkness of the underworld. The two main deities seen here are the male and female gods of death and the underworld, Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl. An inset rectangle placed between them represents the dark sky with the moon and stars.

The manner in which these eight pages would have been used by an ancient Mesoamerican priest remains obscure. The physical pattern of relationship to the calendar is very clear. The significance of that relationship is far from clear. How the eight panels are related one to the other, and what directional significance should be attached to the days tied to each of them, is difficult to interpret.

Plate 22: Two Deer That Represent One Half of a 260-Day Calendar

The upper portion of Plate 22 uses the same shorthand system of referring to the first *tonalpohualli* that we have just seen in the previous four pages. In this case the page is divided into two halves, right and left. Each half is divided into three bands, the upper band containing the image of a deer and 12 place-holding red dots, and the middle band containing five day signs. (The lower band is part of the next passage, to be discussed below.)

The two rows of five day signs in the middle register represent columns of day signs from the *tonalpohualli* found at the beginning of the Codex Borgia, on Plates 1 through 8.

As we read from right to left across the upper two registers, the first half of the page contains the image of a white male deer, which is apparently dead, and the five day signs of the first column of the *tonalpohualli.* The 12 red dots drawn to the left of the deer mark the place of the next 12 columns of days and, together with the five day signs enumerated below, represent one quarter of the days in the *tonalpohualli,* those shown in the first quarter of the calendar. Note that these are not the first 65 consecutive days of the calendar round of 260 days. They represent five discontinuous groups of 13 days each.

Continuing the reading on the upper two registers of the left half of the page, we find a tan male deer, which is being pierced by an arrow, and the five day signs of the fourteenth column of the *tonalpohualli.* Just as before, to the left of the wounded deer we see 12 red dots, which this time represent the fifteenth through twenty-sixth columns of day signs in the *tonalpohualli* from the first eight pages of the Codex Borgia.

These images are odd in that they refer to only half of the *tonalpohualli,* the first two quarters of the calendar. No reference is made to the third and fourth quarters. The directional associations generally identified with the first two parts of the calendar are East and North. Why these two clusters of days are defined here and the others are not mentioned is not yet completely understood.

Plates 22-24: 20 Supernaturals Associated with the 20 Day Signs

The bottom third of Plate 22, and the next two pages, contain another list of 20 deities or their representatives in association with the 20 day signs. These figures are not all images of deities. Some seem to be priests dedicated to deities, others seem to be objects symbolic of deities and one seems to be a world region. Many of the deities are unusual composites and are difficult to identify. The relationship of this list to that of the deities of the day signs enumerated on Plates 9 through 13 of this codex is not understood.

Clearly, the supernaturals associated with the day signs are different but we do not know why. It may be that this list is of patrons of some particular parts of the days or that it refers to the numbers 1 to 20 rather than to days.

The reading order of this series of 20 images is serpentine. The day signs are found in normal order, beginning with Alligator at the bottom right of Plate 22. Reading then flows from right to left across Plates 23 and 24. Upon arrival at the bottom left panel of Plate 24, with the day sign Rabbit, the sequence moves up to the middle register and the day sign Water. Reading proceeds from there from left to right back across Plates 24 and 23 until the day sign Jaguar is reached and the order moves up to the top right of Plate 23, where Eagle is found. From there again reading proceeds from right to left until the top left of Plate 24 is found at the day sign Flower.

The relationship, if any, of the 20 days and their supernatural figures is unknown. Rather than belabor what we do not know, I will conservatively follow Seler in attempting to. identify the 20 images on these three pages. Where an identification has eluded us a question mark will be found.

DAY SIGN	SUPERNATURAL (NAHUATL)	SUPERNATURAL (ENGLISH)
Alligator	priest of Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Wind	?	a god of death and blood
House	Quetzalcóatl	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity
Lizard	Quetzalcóatl as bird	Feathered Serpent/Wind Deity

Serpent	Chalchiuhtlicue as bird	Goddess of Running Water
Death	?	jaguar supporting sky
Deer	Nanahuatzin?	God of Lechery and Evening Sun
Rabbit	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
Water	Xochipilli?	Prince of Flowers in his solar or fire aspect
Dog	Tamoanchan	The Western Region (a place)
Monkey	?	An animal/human god of music
Grass	Tonatiuh	Sun God
Reed	Tonatiuh	Sun God as autosacrificer
Jaguar	Teyollocuani	priest—eater of hearts
Eagle	?	black priest—related to Tláloc
Vulture	Patécatl (symbolically)	pulque vessel and rabbit
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of Filth and The Earth
Flint	Íztac Mixcóatl	Old God of the Heavens

Rain	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running Water
Flower	Xochipilli (symbolically)	corn plant and fire serpent

Plates 25-28: The Five Directions with Calendrical Notations

Here follow four pages in each of which the world is shown divided into five parts. In each of these representations the implication is that there are four cardinal directions and a fifth, central, direction. Of course, in addition to the spatial significance of these images there is in each case a calendrical significance as well. Plate 25 presents four deities, placed in the four corners of the page. They are divided by a peculiar arrangement of the 20 day signs. The day signs are arranged in a cross surrounding an enlarged Movement sign, which is given the number 10 (the ten dots). Three leftover day signs are tacked on in the upper left corner of the page. The order of the day signs can easily be followed but is very unusual, beginning with Alligator in the upper arm of the cross but then going to the left arm with Wind, House and Lizard, and from there to Serpent, Death and Deer in the lower arm, and from there to Rabbit, Water and Dog in the right arm, and from there to Monkey, Grass and Reed in the upper arm, from there jumping to the three signs in the corner, Jaguar, Eagle and Vulture, and finally hopping back to finish the count from the central Movement and then Flint from the left arm, Rain from the lower arm and Flower from the right arm. Though there is a pattern, there is no readily apparent reason for this odd display.

The four deities are the patrons of the four cardinal directions. Each is tied physically to an arm of the cruciform calendar by a red line. The patron of the West is Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, shown in the lower left corner. The patron of the South is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, shown in the lower right corner. The patron of

the East, shown in the upper right corner, is a complex figure who bears elements of the solar deity and a god of pulque. The patron of the North is Mixcóatl, the god of the hunt, shown in the upper left corner. No patron deity is shown for the central direction. It is simply named “10 Movement.”

Plate 26 contains another unusual display of the five-directional scheme coupled with an unusual arrangement of the 20 day signs. The human skull in the center is surrounded by the 20 day signs in a new and unusual array. These, in turn, are surrounded by four deceased and bundled deities, who have been placed on thrones, and by four human figures interspersed between them.

The calendrical figures (the day signs) begin, as usual, with Alligator at the bottom of the group of four signs on the right side of the central skull; one reads up that column and from there across the second group of four day signs, above the skull. That gets the reading through Rabbit and up to Water. The day sign Water is found at the corner next to Rabbit, and the reading order proceeds counterclockwise around the four corners of the square (Dog, Monkey, Grass). After the day sign Grass (located at the top right corner) the reading picks up again at the top of the left column of day signs with the sign for Reed and proceeds down that group of four and on to the fifth and last group across the bottom of the square, which is read from left to right.

The four deities located at the four sides of the calendar square and the skull in its center are to be associated with the cardinal points of the compass. The deities are shown as deceased: their eyes are closed, they are wrapped in cloth and tied in funerary bundles, and they bear funerary banners. The figure at the right side of the page is Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water, as patron of the four day signs of the West. At the top of the page we find Mixcóatl, god of the hunt, as patron of the day signs of the South. At the left side of the page is Xochipilli, the young prince of the flowers, as patron of the day signs of the East. At the bottom of the page is a dark deity as patron of the day signs of the North. This

character seems to be the same as the unidentified patron of the Eagle day sign at the top right corner of Plate 23. The central direction is characterized by a skull and four long bones painted within the square formed by the 20 day signs.

The directional associations given here disagree with those given by Seler in his discussion of this part of the manuscript, but agree with his determination of the directionality of the day signs as discussed earlier, in the analysis of Plates 15-17.

The use of a death's-head as the symbol of the Center direction and of the dead deities on the four sides suggests that this page describes the directional scheme of the world in the land of the dead and relates that spatial information to five divisions within the sequence of 20 day signs.

Plate 27 repeats the basic theme of these pages, the division of the world into the five directions and their relationship to the calendar. This page, however, is different from all the previous temporal information presented in the Codex Borgia because here, for the first time, the year being referred to is not the magical 260-day *tonalpohualli* but the solar year of 365 days.

The solar year can be formed from the 13 day numbers and the 20 day signs by using 18 cycles of 20 signs plus 5 other named days ((18 X 20) + 5 = 365) or by using 28 cycles of 13 numbers plus 1 other day number ((28 X 13) + 1 = 365). A mathematical consequence of these relationships is that every year will begin one day number and five day signs ahead of the previous year. That means that all the solar years will start with one of only four possible day signs and will count smoothly through the 13 day numbers and then begin again in a perpetual cycle. A further consequence of the comparison between the 365-day solar year and the 260-day magical year is that the initial dates of the years do not repeat until 52 solar years have passed. This 52-year period can be divided into four parts of 13 years each. As it turns out, each of these quarters begins with a date that has the coefficient of 1 and one of the four year bearers.

If the calendar starts with the day 1 Reed, as most Mesoamerican calendars do, then the four quarters of the 52-year period are begun by days named 1 Reed, 1 Flint, 1 House and 1 Rabbit. These days are shown on Plate 27, one in each quarter of the page. Oddly, there are four other days indicated besides these normal year-bearing days. These other days are 1 Alligator, I Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture. These four days are separated from each other in exactly the same fashion as the more normal year bearers. If the solar calendar began on the same day as the ritual calendar, then the year bearers would have these four day names. These four days, 1 Alligator, 1 Death, 1 Monkey and 1 Vulture, would be the initial dates of the four quarters of the 52-year period in such a calendar. Their association here with the more normal solar calendar seems to show the relationship of the *tonalpohualli* as related in the Codex Borgia to the familiar solar calendar. How this relationship influenced the interpretation of the days is not fully understood.

Plate 27 is composed of four quarters and a central panel, representing the four cardinal directions and the Center. Each of these five sections contains an image of Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, looking skyward and pouring water onto the earth below. Each of these deity figures is colored and dressed differently, though each is clearly a manifestation of the rain deity. In the four corners the Tlálocs are standing over fields of corn which are, in turn, resting on two day signs with the numerical coefficient of 1, indicated by an embellished dot. In the center Tláloc is standing over a representation of the earth with two small figures of Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running water. The Tláloc in the center is a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc, who embodies both fertility and pestilence. Since the 52-year period is completed by the periods associated with the four quarters or directions, there are no time markers associated with the Center direction.

The four cardinal directions and the years associated with them are each shown to have different qualities. In the lower right quadrant the Black Tláloc represents the first quarter of the 52-year cycle and the direction East. His period of 13 years begins with the

year 1 Reed (1 Alligator). He sheds rain on a healthy field of corn, suggesting that the East is a fertile and fecund region. The upper right quadrant contains a Yellow Tláloc representing the second quarter and the North. His period begins with the day 1 Flint (1 Death). Here locusts are shown destroying the corn despite the rain. The upper left quadrant contains a Blue Tláloc representing the third quarter and the West. His period begins with the year 1 House (1 Monkey). The cornfield here is inundated with water, perhaps suggesting excessive rain. The lower right quadrant completes the 52-year period and depicts a Red Tláloc representing the fourth quarter and the South. His period begins with the day 1 Rabbit (1 Vulture). In this panel the ears of corn are being eaten by small furry animals with little skeletal jaws.

Plate 28 has much in common with the previous page of Tlálocs in their relation to the solar year and to the 52-year period, but it is also quite distinct. This page, too, contains five images of Tláloc, set in the center and the four corners. It, too, shows rain falling on corn and it, too, has indications of a solar calendar in the dates painted below the Tláloc figures. It stands apart, though, in that the dates are different, each containing a year sign and two day dates seemingly selected at random. It is also different if Seler's interpretation is correct and the directions are placed differently on the page. It is further different in that supplementary supernaturals are shown in containers or on the earth below each Tláloc.

A guiding characteristic of this arrangement is that each of the directional panels is labeled with a date that incorporates a year sign. These years are consecutive and are the first five years of the 52-year cycle. The bottom register of the page is badly damaged in the original and is not completely reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers. Seler has been able to infer some information about this row of dates that cannot now be seen. For example, in the lower right panel there are three dates. The leftmost of these must have had a year sign, in the form of an intertwined capital A and O, behind it and must have been the year 1 Reed. We know this because the pattern continues in the upper right quadrant, where the rightmost

date is 2 Flint with an A-O year sign behind the Flint. From there the upper left quadrant has the year 3 House with the A-O year sign as its rightmost date. The lower left quadrant should have 4 Rabbit with the year sign as its leftmost date but it, too, is illegible. The center, which here has time indicators unlike on the previous page, has the year 5 Reed as its leftmost date. These five years are the first five of the 52-year period of solar years. It is this interpretation by Seler that unequivocally ties this page to the solar-year cycle.

Though the day dates seem to be chosen at random, there may be some as yet unrecognized underlying order to them. It seems unlikely that they are truly insignificant.

The five directions with their Tláloc figures are differently located and characterized when compared to the previous page. Here reading begins as before at the lower right quadrant, where the first year sign was once located, the year 1 Reed. Tláloc is black in this panel and has the face paint of Tezcatlipoca, the God of the Smoking Mirror and God of the Night. This conjoined Tláloc/ Tezcatlipoca is interpreted by Seler as the patron of the North. The second year, 2 Flint, is found in the upper right panel, where a White-and-Red-Striped Tláloc has the face paint of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus, in this case as the Evening Star. This compound deity is said to be the patron of the West. The third year is 3 House, found at the upper left corner of the page. Tláloc here is yellow and has the fact paint of Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, thought to be the patron of the East. The fourth year, 4 Rabbit, is at the lower left and is protected by the black figure of Tláloc. This Tláloc has only two elements of facial adornment to suggest a composite nature. They are a yellow beard, barely visible in the original and not reproduced in the Díaz and Rodgers restoration, and a yellow line at the front of the face. These tiny features are characteristic of Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent and the wind deity. His presence is further indicated by the small effigies of Quetzalcóatl that emerge from the ears of corn and the streams of water in other parts of the image. This Tláloc/Quetzalcóatl is conceived as the patron of the East. It is noteworthy that this rain/wind deity also has smoke coming from his

eye. This is a nonstandard trait of Quetzalcóatl that will be important in identifying a particular person in the long ritual passage on Plates 29 through 46. The fifth year, 5 Reed, is located in the center image and is again seen in front of a partly hidden A-O year sign. Its Tláloc, said to represent the Center, has a red body and wears the face paint of Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers.

Plates 29-46: A Long Supernatural Journey and Ritual Sequence

This passage of 18 pages is the longest and most elaborate of the entire Codex Borgia. It has the character of a story or narrative rather than a calendar, and in that is unique. The narrative, if such it is, is filled with ritual acts and with apparently real as well as supernatural characters. It is certainly religious in nature, though there does seem to be an element of physical reality that runs through the pages. This has been recognized by Nowotny (1961a) as well as by many others.

In this section of the codex the orientation of the pages shifts from that of a long horizontal strip read from right to left to that of a long vertical strip read from top to bottom (from the right edge of the page to the left edge of the page). This orientation prevails through page 46, the end of the current passage, after which the earlier orientation returns. The imagery of these pages is consummately complex. It is out of the question here to describe these plates fully or to discuss all the potential interpretations, even concisely. Nevertheless, an overview of the structure may be helpful.

This long passage begins with a series of five enclosures (Plates 29-32) that serve to make supernatural statements. Two major temples dedicated to heaven are then identified (Plates 33 and 34). Then begins a ceremonial sequence in which a principal participant, known to us as Stripe Eye (a name given to him by Peter van der Loo), engages in a long ritual journey in which he performs several specific deeds (Plates 35–44). Finally the series is closed by a short passage (Plates 45 and 46) from which Stripe Eye is apparently

missing but in which a new fire, symbolizing a new beginning, is ignited.

The account begins on Plate 29, the first of several enclosures formed by the body of a goddess of death. Within this enclosure is a large black disc. On the disc is a large blue vessel from which emerges a dark foamy substance. From this substance emerge numerous animate creatures who are characterized as winds by the Quetzalcóatl features they display. In addition to the many winds, two skeletal figures are shown, one a deity of death and the other a representation of Tlazoltéotl as the earth below the blue vessel. At the left edge of the page (the lower edge of the image) two intertwined starry wind serpents spit out smaller wind figures to lead the reader to the next page.

There (Plate 30) a similar scene is found. The body of the death deity forms an enclosure containing a large circular device that in turn contains the two intertwined wind serpents and their two small wind figures. Other significant features of this page are the 20 day signs arranged counterclockwise around the central device and the presence of four Tláloc-plant combination figures at the corners of the enclosure. Among the day signs four have been singled out by their placement in medallions that are pierced by the four Tlálocs wielding sacrificial instruments. These four days are Alligator, Death, Monkey and Vulture. The Tlálocs are each adorned with trees. This page can be said to represent the abundance of the Eastern direction.

The selection of these four day signs for special treatment is indicative of the use of a different form of the 260-day calendar from that which we have encountered so far. The *tonalpohualli* on Plates 1-8 of the Codex Borgia is arranged with 52 day signs in a row, a layout that requires five rows to include all of the 260 days. If, instead, 65 days comprised a row, then only four rows would be needed to incorporate all 260 days. As it turns out, the four days singled out here on Plate 30 would be the first day signs in each of these four rows. The directional qualities of this calendar are such

that these four days and the four groups of 13 days that they begin are days ruled by the East. In a calendar composed of four rows rather than five, the days governed by one direction are found together. It is important to understand which form of the *tonalpohualli* is being used in any given case, because the directional qualities and the supernatural patrons of the days and periods of the calendar are different.

Plate 30 ends with the intertwined wind serpents again leading the way to the next page by spitting out two small wind creatures.

Plate 31 is divided into two halves, each of which depicts enclosures similar to those of the previous two pages. Calendrical medallions are found at the four corners of these two enclosures. The first of these scenes, on the right side of the page (top half of the image), has Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind singled out. These are the day signs that begin the third, Western, section of the calendar as laid out in four rows. The colors of this scene are generally dark and obscure, appropriate to the direction in which the sun sets. In the center of this half of the page are a variety of death deities or skeletal spirits. The central image is of a naked goddess with bandaged eyes, whose heart is exposed outside of her chest. Two small death creatures lead the way through the passage to the next enclosure.

The left side of the page (bottom half of the image) is similar, though its color scheme is red, the color of blood. The day signs featured in medallions at the corners of this enclosure are those of the North. They lead the second group of four rows of 13, the days Jaguar, Rain, Lizard and Water. Again death and earth images abound in the various small figures within this border.

Plate 32 has the calendrical associations of the South, bearing the day signs of the fourth segment of the calendar as described above, the signs of Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. This enclosed space is constructed differently from the previous four. It does not have a death deity in its border; instead, at the left margin of the page (the bottom of the image) a female skeletal figure, who seems to be an

earth goddess as well as a death goddess, appears as a border and a passage to the next scene. The border of the enclosure is composed of rows of flint knives surrounding a broad dark band of obscurity. This band is occupied by eight figures carrying decapitated heads in both hands, four Tezcatlipocas in the corners and four other supernatural figures. The central image of the panel is of a white-and-red-striped figure with two large flint knives in place of a head. Tezcatlipocas emerge from flint knives at its arms and legs and appear as the heads of the serpents below. The overall imagery of this scene is very clearly about blood sacrifice by cutting and decapitation. The page ends at the left margin, where a figure of Quetzalcóatl is born from between two large flint knives found in an opening in the body of the white Death/Earth Goddess. This Quetzalcóatl is unusual in that he has two volutes indicating smoke emerging from the corner of his eye.

Considering that the subsequent 12 pages seem to refer to a ceremony or series of ceremonies undergone by Stripe Eye, it may be that these first four pages should be read as a sort of invocation undertaken in preparation for the performance of the central events being described in this long passage. The sequence of events could be as follows: first, a pot is prepared that liberates the winds (Plate 29); second, the winds and rains of the East are propitiated (Plate 30); third, the death and sacrifice of the West and the North are observed (Plate 31); fourth, the blood sacrifice of the Tezcatlipocas who influence the South is honored so that fifth, and finally, the Quetzalcóatl character can emerge ready for what is to come (Plate 32). This is certainly speculative interpretation but it seems to me to be a plausible framework for reading these pages as a prescription for the performance of a ceremony of major importance.

The next two pages of this passage, Plates 33 and 34, are taken up by two very large and distinctive structures with some activity going on around them. These two temples are unusual in at least two ways. They are by far the largest and most elaborate buildings illustrated in the codex. They are identified as “Temples of Heaven” by the presence in their roofs of three bands of stars and Venus

symbols. Atop each of these two structures sits a Flint-helmeted deity from whom descends a white rope. The building on Plate 33 has a pointed, conical roof, a form associated with Quetzalcóatl, the wind deity. Quetzalcóatl appears seated on a throne within the temple, where he is being addressed by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. At the top of the stairs in the front of the temple lies Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One. Other deities in the scene include Xólotl, the god of twins, standing behind the temple building; Cintéotl, the corn goddess, also behind the temple but above Xólotl, and a second appearance of Quetzalcóatl and Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli performing heart sacrifice in front of the temple building. A monstrous black serpent winds around the building and several horizontal male figures are drawn on the roof and on the tiers of the platform that supports the temple.

The temple on Plate 34 is similar, though it has a rectangular roof with “ears” at its peak. It is also topped by a Flint-helmeted deity, is entwined by a monstrous serpent, has Cintéotl, the corn goddess, behind the temple and bears horizontal figures on its roof and platform, though this time the serpent is red and the figures are female. The innermost part of the temple is occupied by Tepeyóllotl, the Heart of the Mountain. In front of him fire is started on a jewel in the chest of a representation of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon. In front of the temple, heart sacrifice is again performed by a second appearance of the deity shown within, in this case Tepeyóllotl. These two buildings provide the scene and place for the ceremonies that follow. They are prominently portrayed in undoubted relation to their importance to these ceremonies.

Plates 35-38 give an account of a sacred-bundle ritual performed before the Temple of Heaven. The actions that now take place all seem to be physically possible; they present a sense of reality grounded in real space rather than of ethereal, supernatural events occurring on another plane. It seems reasonable, therefore, to interpret these images as rituals that occur or could occur in the real world. It seems to John Pohl, and to me that these pages present a prescription for the proper enactment of a very complex ceremony in

which a person is elevated to the role of king or ruler of a community. The actors in this account, then, should be interpreted as real people whenever possible.

The account begins on Plate 35 in the top right corner of the image (bottom right of the page). Here we see a priest wearing a goggle-eyed mask who is passing the sacred bundle to two associates standing on an eagle place at the end of a blue road. The upper associate combines attributes of Quetzalcóatl (his wind mask) and Tezcatlipoca (his face paint), and the second is a black Quetzalcóatl who has a puff of smoke painted near his eye. The temple in which the goggle-eyed priest is sitting also has stars in its roof, though the configuration of the roof shows that this structure is different from either of the Temples of Heaven depicted on the previous pages and thus must represent some other building. After the priests Wind Mask and Smoke Eye receive the sacred bundle, they transport it along the blue road to a point where it ends at the edge of the next page. John Pohl, and I have discussed these buildings, this road and the activity that follows elsewhere (Byland and Pohl in press).

Next to the road, in the ball court, the character now known as Stripe Eye makes his first appearance. The angular black stripe that runs from his hairline to his eye and then to the corner of his jaw is a variant of the facial painting of Quetzalcóatl . Seler (1904–09) noted that this character is the subject of a continuous story that runs through this and the next nine pages of the codex. Seler identified Stripe Eye as Quetzalcóatl , failing to recognize that he was different from other Quetzalcóatl figures in the passage. While it is indeed possible that he is meant to represent Quetzalcóatl, the nature of his behavior also suggests that he is the idealized king of this ceremonial center.

After the ball game, Stripe Eye appears on Plate 36 in front of the sacred bundle that the Wind Mask and Smoke eye priests have brought from the shrine above. The bundle is then opened under the supervision of Wind Mask and another priest (or deity) who wears

the costume of Xólotl, a Dog Mask. Stripe Eye is then enveloped in a heavenly mist and magically transported across Plates 36 and 37. On Plate 38 he emerges from the mouth of Ehécatl-Quetzalcóatl. While Stripe Eye is on this magical journey, a number of priests, notably including Dog Mask, enact a series of rituals (Plate 37) in a large area that appears to lie in front of the eared-roofed Temple of Heaven and a smaller structure similar to that portrayed on Plate 35. On Plate 38 Stripe Eye and Dog Mask engage in other ritual acts.

It is noteworthy that this series of events seems to be moderated or overseen by a series of specialized priests. The Quetzalcóatl priest known as Smoke Eye first appeared on Plate 32, as the initial series of sacred enclosures came to an end and we were about to arrive at the two major Temples of Heaven. After sacrificial rituals were undertaken at the two temples, Smoke Eye was joined by a Tezcatlipoca priest wearing a Wind Mask. The two of them proceeded to the place where the sacred bundle dedicated to Quetzalcóatl was opened for the idealized king known as Stripe Eye. There Wind Mask took over and Smoke Eye dropped out of the account. Wind Mask was then joined by a Xólotl priest who wore the Dog Mask. After the bundle was opened Wind Mask's role ended and he dropped out, leaving Dog Mask to oversee the action until just after Stripe Eye emerged from his sacred journey. From this point on Stripe Eye does not have priestly guides to perform actions on his behalf. It is as though the experience of witnessing the opening of the bundle and of undertaking the supernatural journey had transformed him into a person of new status and capacity, one who now was qualified to act on his own behalf in a highly charged ritual. Future appearances of these priests show them to be clearly acting as assistants while Stripe Eye conducts the central activities himself, until the very end of the long passage.

Plate 38 is the last page of the obverse side of the Codex Borgia. The story of Stripe Eye and his ritual activity continues on the reverse side beginning with Plate 39. Entrance to Plate 39 is afforded at the right of the page (top of the image), where a Quetzalcóatl figure without the eye stripe emerges from the body of

the earth goddess. Stripe Eye is depicted in the center of the page paired with a red Quetzalcóatl, in a red field surrounded by a blue road upon which dance 12 women or female spirits known as *cihuateteo.* The four calendar signs dedicated to the West are found in medallions at the four corners of the dance scene: Deer, Grass, Movement and Wind. Arrayed at the left and right sides of the image are six deities. Counterclockwise from the bottom right, they are: the Black Tezcatlipoca, a black Mictlantecuhtli, a blue Xochipilli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, Tepeyóllotl and the Red Tezcatlipoca. The blue road enters the jaws of the earth monster, identified by Seler as the supreme deity, Tonacatecuhtli.

Tonacatecuhtli's body forms a large rectangle that covers the remainder of this page and all of Plate 40. Within this outline is found a band of day signs. In the Diaz and Rodgers reconstruction there are a few errors in the replacement of the most seriously damaged of these, mostly on the bottom margin of the page and a few at the upper left corner. The progression of these day signs begins at the top of the rectangle, just to the right of the head of Tonacatecuhtli. The first day signs visible are Wind and House just below the clawed arm of the deity. We can imagine that Alligator is obscured by the head of the god. The 20 day signs then proceed in normal order clockwise until the twentieth, Flower, is reached. Then the cycle begins again and runs for 12 or 13 additional days. It seems that Death is obscured by the leg of the god, that Dog was left out in the original and that Water was replaced by Rain in the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction. Seler did not recognize the last sign in the series, Reed, but Díaz and Rodgers did recognize it, and it is here drawn just below the red-and-white-filled box at the center left side of Plate 40. The left half of this band of day signs seems to be organized with directional significance (as indicated in the *tonalpohualli* arranged in four rows of 65 days) paramount. The first nine day signs are the four that are associated with the North repeated twice, and with the first one drawn a third time. Following Seler, they should be Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain, Jaguar, Water, Lizard, Rain and Jaguar; all but the last are incorrectly reconstructed

here. It should be noted that the original is so badly damaged on this edge of the page that none of these signs but the last is really recognizable. Continuing clockwise in the same pattern for nine days are the day signs of the Center direction, Rabbit, House, Flint and Reed. Then come nine signs associated with the West: Wind, Movement, Grass and Deer. These proceed correctly to the top right edge of Plate 40, where the sign for grass is omitted by Díaz and Rodgers; then, at the continuation on Plate 39, the first two signs should be Deer and Wind. Finally, descending along the top margin of the frame, back on Plate 39, are the signs of the East: Vulture, Monkey, Death, Alligator and Vulture. Here only five signs are visible as the rest of the presumed sequence of nine are obscured under the head and arm of the god Tonacatecuhtli.

Entering from the top into the space framed by the calendar band and the body of Tonacatecuhtli are the two Quetzalcóatl figures seen first in the center of Plate 39. The one on the right is presumably the figure of Stripe Eye, though his face paint is now dark. The central figure of Plate 40 is that of Stripe Eye, who, assisted by eight priests, is conducting a heart sacrifice of the solar deity, Tonatiuh. Pohl has suggested that this scene is similar to scenes of confirmation depicted for the lords of Tilantongo in the Mixtec historical codices Zouche-Nuttall and Bodley (Byland and Pohl 1993). In these documents Lord 8 Deer journeys to the Sun God's oracle as part of his process of confirmation as legitimate ruler of Tilantongo. Stripe Eye, as the idealized ruler of the ceremonial precinct depicted here, similarly visits the solar deity, though here a symbolic sacrifice is shown.

The remainder of Plate 40 is taken up by a small ball court and two temples. Interestingly, the two temples are shown as a conical temple dedicated to Quetzalcóatl, with a smoke-eyed Quetzalcóatl priest in it, and an eared temple, with Tezcatlipoca (minus his wind mask) shown in front of it. There is, however, no obvious indication that these are the same temples as the important ones referred to earlier. The ball court contains images of Tlazoltéotl, to the right, and the Red Tezcatlipoca, to the left, both looking at an odd skeletal

monster who is giving birth. There is no passage indicated to lead the reader out of this page's effigy of Tonacatecuhtli and on to the next page.

The entry to Plate 41 is shown as an elongated skeletal earth goddess, Tlazoltéotl, drawn perhaps as Teteoinnan, the mother of the gods, similar to her depictions on Plates 32 and 39. At an opening in her belly a skeletal figure enters a small cloudy-bordered enclosure. There two fleshed Tlazoltéotls, shown as the goddess of the moon, descend with a Black Tezcatlipoca. They seem to be directed toward a large cogged disc, which is half in and half out of a blue road that emerges from the headdress and feet of the skeletal Tlazoltéotl and that forms a larger rectangular enclosure. On the left branch of this road we find Stripe Eye, a Black Tezcatlipoca and a black *cihuatéotl,* the spirit of a woman who died in childbirth. On the right branch of the road we find a parallel sequence of characters, a white Quetzalcóatl with red dots, a Red Tezcatlipocas and a red-costumed *cihuatéotl.*

The central disc is shown calendrically to represent the Southern direction. It is marked with a day sign (in a medallion) of an Eagle, one of the four days of the South. Arranged around the outside of the disc are four other day signs related to each of the other four directions: House-Center, Deer–West, Rain-North and Monkey-East. Within the disc a Quetzacóatl with a dark face (presumably Stripe Eye) and his associate, the Quetzalcóatl with a white body and red dots, perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone implements. The blood flows into the mouths of Chalchiuhtlicue and her male counterpart.

Just below this disc, 13 consecutive day signs, beginning with Eagle, are painted between the roofs of two temples, one with a round roof and the other with an eared roof. The roofs of these buildings are on Plate 41 and their bases are on Plate 42. Note the parallel construction between the placement and the construction of these two buildings and the two temples seen earlier on Plate 40. The identity of these two sets of buildings seems unequivocal. The

round temple on Plate 42 has Stripe Eye within it and the eared temple has a version of Xochipilli. Between the temples is a platform with a sacrificial stone on which Stripe Eye extracts the heart of the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots. In this he is assisted by the Black Tezcatlipoca. Above them floats a medallion with the day sign Jaguar, which is taken to represent the North, in contraposition to the South of the cogged disc on the previous page. From this sacrifice scene, the white Quetzalcóatl with red dots is taken to the underworld and to a ball court. Next we see him on a cruciform device with five little images of Nanahuatzin, the dead and cooked god of lechery and the evening sun, emerging from his four limbs and his heart. Seler interpreted this as the transformation of Quetzalcóatl into Xólotl-Nanahuatzin. Nanahuatzin is shown to the left and right of this image as well. Stripe Eye participates in the cooking of him at the left.

On Plate 43 an opening in another elongated image of Tlazoltéotl provides entry for Stripe Eye to a precinct bounded by ears of corn and rays of sunlight. Within this enclosure we see a large image of a dark solar deity who supports the birth of corn from the earth. The figure of the deity is in the pose of childbirth; its body is covered by a dark solar disc with stars on its periphery. This solar deity wears the skin of a jaguar and the jaws of a serpent. Its face is dark and its eye is hanging out of its socket. This suggests that it may represent the sun-at-night, the “dark sun,” or the moon. Below the solar disc is a Tlazoltéotl figure surrounded by ears of maize and encrusted with stars. Around these figures are eight small characters who are shown sustaining the growth of maize plants with blue and (originally) green fluids that emanate from their mouths. A dark-faced Quetzalcóatl leaves the sun/maize precinct through an opening at the left side of the page and descends, bearing a basket full of maize, to the next page.

On Plate 44 another elongated Tlazoltéotl with an opening in its belly allows Stripe Eye to descend, in his last appearance in the story, into the next in this series of precincts or compounds. This one is composed of a broad wall surrounded by flowers on its exterior

and lined by flint knives on its interior. The four corners of the broad wall hold medallions with the four day signs of the South: Flower, Serpent, Dog and Eagle. The walls of the precinct are open at the four sides where four figures enter, three serpents and a bat, all with human heads. Placed on the broad wall, adjacent to these four figures, are symbols of sacrifice: decapitated heads, severed arms and legs and skeletal ribs with hearts. The three human-headed serpents are being tormented by rapacious animals, and the bat is facing the priest whom we know as Smoke Eye. He is wearing a hummingbird costume. From a heart in the hands of the bat flows a bifurcated torrent of blood that lands at the head and feet of a recumbent variant of Xochiquétzal, shown as the young goddess of the moon. She has a lunar disc in her chest that holds a heart, from which grows a multicolored tree.

Plate 45 is entered through an opening in the chest of Tlazoltéotl, the skeletal earth goddess. This time her orientation is reversed and the entering figure is a cloudy wind serpent similar in form to the one that emerged from the sacred bundle on Plate 36. The main character, Stripe Eye, does not appear on this page or the next. The activities seem to have been taken over by the Quetzalcóatl priest we know as Smoke Eye; he appears several times, both here and on the next page.

In the four corners of Plate 45 are four houses of eagles, each with a figure of Smoke Eye. One of the houses is drawn as a conical-roofed round temple and another has eagle down rather than an adult eagle on its roof. On either side of the page are images that Seler has interpreted as representing the life and death of warriors. Life is represented by a pot of pulque, an intoxicating liquor made from maguey, with a drunken figure beneath it and the Black and Red Tezcatlipocas above it. Death is represented by a red-and-white-striped figure in a stream whose heart is torn out by Smoke Eye dressed as an eagle. The center of the page contains a skull-rack platform upon which stands a skeletal figure identified by Seler as Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star. This figure supports a tree from which emerge six banners. The bottom of

the page contains an image of Smoke Eye with a Venus star as his headdress. He is bleeding from his buttocks and is covered by a net or blanket that bears nine faces painted with the four directional colors and the dots indicative of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli. This image is surrounded by four full figures of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli with similar-colored face paint.

The final page (Plate 46) is framed by a pair of elongated Tlazoltéotl figures. Smoke Eye enters from the top and leaves from the bottom. The remainder of the image is framed by two structures and two thrones. The structures contain images of Xiuhtecuhtli, the old fire god, presenting Smoke Eye and a Black Tezcatlipoca priest. This may hark back to the two priests who attended the opening of the sacred bundle on Plates 35 and 36. The two thrones are occupied by a Black Tezcatlipoca and a figure who seems to be an amalgam of a Black Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcóatl and Xiuhtecuhtli.

The center of the page contains a four-sided red field bounded by four fire serpents, and an image of Smoke Eye starting a fire in the chest of a combined image of the Fire Serpent and Xiuhtecuhtli. The red field contains a pot in which Smoke Eye is being cooked, perhaps only symbolically in preparation for the lighting of the fire.

These last two pages are reminiscent of the early activities of the priests in preparing the way for Stripe Eye to undergo his complex ceremonial sequence. Here, though, they seem to be bringing the ceremonial sequence to a close, performing the acts that mark the end of the ceremony and the beginning of the new era.

Plates 47 and 48: Three Groups of Five Deities

These two pages represent three groups, each with five supernatural figures. They are read simply from right to left in the three registers (the orientation of the text is back to the horizontal arrangement normal to most of the codex). Each of the upper two registers includes a sixth panel depicting the birth of the five associated characters.

The bottom row represents five elaborately dressed female deities, who all bear the significant attributes of Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon and of the earth. In each case she is dressed differently and has different figures accompanying her. Each Tlazoltéotl is given a separate calendrical name: from right to left, 9 Reed, 4 Flint, 6 Reed, 8 Reed and 1 Eagle. Seler interprets them as having directional significance as well: from right to left, East, North, West, South and Center.

The second row of figures are five *cihuateteo,* the deified spirits of women who died in childbirth. Their collective birth is indicated in the panel at the right margin of Plate 47 by the image of the birth of a female figure with bandaged eyes. There, on a blue field, a monstrous being is the source of five serpents and four centipedes. Around the edge of the field are five dates that all begin with the number 13. Seler has shown that they are the dates that fall immediately before the first day indicated in each of the five panels of *cihuateteo.* Just as with the Tlazoltéotls, the five *cihuateteo* are each differently dressed and painted and have different accompanying figures. They also are each associated with a calendrical notation, one that is a bit more complex than those accompanying the Tlazoltéotls. For each of these female figures, 13 consecutive days are indicated, with the first, fifth and thirteenth shown by their day sign and the others shown by red-dot place holders. The names and directional associations of the *chiuateteo,* then, are: 1 Deer-East, 1 Rain-North, 1 Monkey-West, I House-South and 1 Eagle-Center.

The top row of figures are five male deities of sensual pleasures, the *ahuìateteo.* They are part of a group of deities whose names begin with 5 and whose best-known member is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure. The first image of the top row, similarly to that of the center row, represents the birth of the five *ahuiateteo* by showing a stone (?) from which five serpents extend and from which a male figure is born. There are five dates around this image, all of which begin with the number 4. The male figure in this image is identifiable as Nanahuatzin, the god of lechery, who is

another aspect, or another personality, of Xólotl, the god of twins. This relationship is reinforced by the presence of a dog *(xólotl)* standing on the rock. The names of the five *ahuiateteo* are given by the fifth day sign in the series of 13 shown with each image. These are, with their directional qualities: 5 Lizard-East, 5 Vulture-North, 5 Deer-West, 5 Flower-South and 5 Grass-Center.

Plates 49-53: The Five Directions and Their Supernatural Patrons

The next four and one-half pages present a sort of definition of the qualities and protectors of the five directions of the world. The first four pages describe the four cardinal directions: East, North, West and South. The right half of page 53 represents the Center. Each page is constructed with a band of day signs at the bottom. Above this is a wide band showing a directional tree and bird. On Plates 49—52 this wide band also contains other figures, including a temple and various deities. Above the wide band is another band of day signs. Finally, at the top of each page, a wide band shows the supernaturals who support the heavens and walk on the earth in each of the directions. Seler has suggested that these supernaturals are associated with the opposite direction from that depicted in the lower register, so that for the first page, for example, the tree is of the East but the upper-register deities are of the West.

The largest fields describe the qualities of the cardinal directions. Their central image is a tree with a bird in its branches and an earth goddess from which it springs. Above this image on Plates 49-52 is a temple with a special patron deity of the direction. Clockwise from the temple, the other images are of a sacrificer, two celestial spirits descending, the maker of fire, a throne and deity seated before it, a place where a male and female deity are married, an animal ball player and a tree with a pair of sacrificed animals.

For the East, depicted on Plate 49, the central tree is one of precious jewels. It was originally painted blue and green (blue and tan in this edition, as in the current state of the original) and has

jewels as its fruit. Its bird is a green quetzal. The temple above is an eared temple dedicated to the sun and is attended by Tonatiuh, the solar deity. In the upper register on the right the Western starry blue sky is supported by Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the god of Venus as the Morning Star, and on the left Xipe Tótec, Our Lord the Flayed One, walks the earth with his blue-and-white flowered staff.

For the North, shown on Plate 50, the central tree is a cactus covered with spines. It is painted blue and green and has small flowers and what are perhaps prickly pears as fruit. Its bird is a black-and-white eagle. The temple above is a house of flint knives with the image of the moon inside. A broad channel of darkness descends from above and fills the interior of the temple. The attendant of the temple is a male moon god, Metztli. The god who supports the Southern dark starry sky in the upper register at the right is Xiuhtecuhlti, the old fire god. On the left the god of death walks with his red staff tied with red-and-white banners.

On Plate 51 the Western direction is shown with a tree of unusual qualities. It has been identified as a young corn plant with tassels but without fruit. The bird is a blue raptorial bird of indeterminate species. The temple is again an eared-roofed building with flowers in its roof. In the temple is a yellow object that Seler identifies as a gourd for holding tobacco. The deity attending the temple is a combination of several and cannot be easily identified. He manifests aspects of Xochipilli, Tonacatecuhtli., Cintéotl and perhaps Xiuhtecuhtli. In the upper register Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, god of the wind, supports the Eastern blue starry sky, and Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers, the god of sustenance, walks the earth with his flowering tree as a staff.

The South is shown on the lower register of Plate 52. Its red spiny tree has solar discs as its fruit. The red bird in the tree is perhaps an owl, associated with Xiuhtecuhtli. The temple above is a skeletal building with an owl in its interior. Mictlantecuhtli, the God of Death, stands before it and offers blood from the neck of a headless person. In the upper register Mictlantecuhtli supports the Northern dark starry

sky, and Cintéotl, the corn god, walks the earth with a precious red staff.

The right half of Plate 53 contains the images of the Center direction. The tree here is a large green maize plant that is producing ears of corn as its fruit. The tree emerges from the earth alongside two huge ears of corn. Two figures perform autosacrifice by piercing their sexual organs with bone awls and shedding blood on the base of the tree. These figures are: on the right, Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower; and, on the left, Quetzalcóatl in the form of the lord Stripe Eye (see Plates 35 through 44). This image beautifully portrays a mythic relationship held between people and the earth such as that described for the Mixtec people of the village of Nuyoo by John Monaghan (1987): the people feed the earth their blood and their bodies, and in return the earth feeds the people by yielding maize. Having the king make this sacrifice idealizes the perpetual nature of this relationship and sanctifies it for the people of the kingdom. In the upper register of the right half of Plate 53 a human figure descends into the mouth of an earth monster that has a decidedly rectilinear, architectural aspect. This descent into the mouth of the earth corresponds well with the up-and-down nature of the Center as the middle of the earth, the central hinge of space and time.

Plates 53 and 54: Xochipilli as a Deer, and Five Frames of Piercing Sacrifices with Calendrical Notations

The upper left corner of Plate 53 contains an image of a deer with the 20 day signs attached to its body. The deer is an animal closely associated with Xochipilli, the young prince of flowers. This deer is marked as a representative of Xochipilli by its face paint. Arrayed on a curved white panel in front of the deer are five of the day signs, the sixth through the tenth in the series of 20: Death, Deer, Rabbit, Water and Dog. These are taken, one each, from the list of days linked to each of the five directions: East, West, Center, North and South. After offering two other forms of expressing the directional

qualities of the calendar and the characteristics of the directions in this image the Codex Borgia presents a third way of describing these associations. The relationship of this image of Xochipilli to the preceding pages or to the following page is unclear. We do not know why it is inserted here.

Directly below the Xochipilli deer we find the first of five representations of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, the Venus deity, performing a spear sacrifice. Each of these images is in a frame bounded on two sides by an unusual arrangement of dates. The names of these dates are drawn from the five directions in the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in four rows of 65 days: Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The days give a certain directional quality to these five images. In contrast to these qualities, the deities or objects being speared have other directional associations. To further complicate the issue, Seler assigns to the image of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli in each of the five panels the direction opposite to the one associated with his adversary.

In the first of them, in the lower left corner of Plate 53, a black-skull-faced Venus god strikes the leg of Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of running water. The day signs around the scene include all the numbers from 1 to 13 paired with Alligator, beginning with I Alligator at the lower right. The day sign Alligator yields an association of this scene with the East. Chalchiuhtlicue is a goddess of the East, and because of the conflict between the characters Seler represents Venus as being the West. Floating above Chalchiuhtlicue are the next three day signs, Wind, House and Lizard. If these were taken to represent three days in the *tonalpohualli* following 1 Alligator, then the fifth day in that sequence would be 5 Serpent.

This is the day that begins the display on the lower right corner of Plate 54. There an owl-faced Venus god strikes the leg of the Black Tezcatlipoca. The day sign Serpent belongs to the group associated with the South. The Black Tezcatlipoca is the god of the North, so that Seler assigns Venus here to the South. Above Tezcatlipoca are the next three days signs, Death, Deer and Rabbit. If we continue

the count from 5 Serpent, the next day in the sequence should be 9 Water.

This is the date that appears at the lower right end of the next quadrant of the page. In this corner, the lower left, a dog-faced Venus god strikes the corn god, Cintéotl, on the leg. Here the Water day sign can be calendrically tied to the North, but Cintéotl is a god of the West and Seler assigns this Venus to the East.

Continuing the pattern, after the day signs of Dog, Monkey and Grass should come 13 Reed, and indeed it appears as the first in the list of Reed dates in the upper left quadrant of the page. In this panel a rabbit-faced Venus god strikes the leg of an unusual figure identified by Seler as embodying *tlatocáyotl,* the concept of kingship. Reed is an indication of the Center direction, but the residence of the sumptuous gods, including the *tlatocáyotl,* is in the South. Consequently, Venus in this panel is of the North.

In the fifth and last of these images, a white-skull-faced Venus deity strikes a round shield and cluster of arrows, the *yaóyotl,* symbol of warfare and warriors. The day sign associated with this panel is Movement, which is of the West. The young warriors symbolized by the shield and other implements of war reside in the Center. Since the center is both up and down, it is its own opposite and this Venus is also of the Center.

Plate 55: Six Deities with 20 Day Signs

On this page the reading order is once more from right to left and in a reverse S-curve from bottom to top. Guides to indicate this reading order are plentiful: the day signs proceed in this order, the deities face in these directions and the footprints on the path of the days are pointed in these directions.

Each of the six panels on this page presents a deity standing in a pose that suggests walking. Seler calls them “the six celestial walkers.” The first is Tonatiuh, the solar god, who makes offerings of a rubber ball and a bundle of sticks to a temple that contains a

precious bowl. The second is Tlazoltéotl, the moon goddess, who walks in front of a rabbit in the moon in a dark sky and a bleeding serpent. The third is a blue-faced deity who wears a costume of turquoise and carries a turquoise staff. He is Yacatecuhtli, god of merchants and of wealth. The fourth is the Black Tezcatlipoca (his skin is red but he carries the shield and arrows characteristic of the black form of the deity), who walks with a spiny staff. The fifth is the Red Tezcatlipoca (his skin is yellow but he carries the quetzal bird characteristic of the red form of the deity), who walks with a jeweled staff. The sixth and final one of these travelers is Íztac Mixcóatl, the old god of fire, who carries a fire serpent as a walking stick. Why these six are displayed here and why the day signs are divided as they are is unclear.

Plate 56: Gods of Life and Death, and the 260-Day Ritual Calendar

This is a strikingly beautiful page, which portrays gods of life and death back to back, framed by day signs to the right and left and place-holding dots above and below. Quetzalcóatl, the wind god and god of life, is on the right and Mictlantecuhtli, the god of death and the underworld, is on the left. The image conveys the duality of existence, the joining of opposites and the inevitable relationship of life and death.

The 20 day signs are arranged in the order of the first signs of each group of 13 days in the *tonalpohualli.* The first day is 1 Alligator, located at the bottom right corner of the page. This is followed by 12 place-holding dots standing for the other 12 days in the group of 13. The fourteenth day sign is Jaguar and the day is 1 Jaguar. This sign is found at the extreme lower left corner of the page. It begins the second group of 13 days, the rest of which are again symbolized by the 12 place-holding dots. The twenty-seventh day sign, the first day of the third period of 13 days, would be the day 1 Deer, which is found immediately above the Alligator. Following this pattern of

alternating between sides of the page, we can traverse the entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* in a much abbreviated form.

Plate 57: Six Supernatural Couples

This page is divided into six panels, each of which has five day signs placed below a pair of deities who face each other across a central device. The gods of each pair are male and female and represent male and female aspects of divinity relevant to a particular area of responsibility. Each pair sits beneath a celestial disc: sun, moon or obscure sky (in most cases only the lower half of the disc appears), and each is accompanied by a group of red-dot place holders to mark unnamed days in the ritual calendar. The significance of the association of these pairs of deities with particular parts of the *tonalpohualli* is unknown. The reading order follows the same sinuous route that we have seen so often.

Beginning at the lower right panel, the first day sign is Alligator. Following that sign the entire *tonalpohualli* is indicated either by day signs or place holders. The day 1 Alligator is followed by seven unnamed days, indicated by the seven red dots at the left edge of the panel. The ninth day sign is Water, which is found in the first position of the lower left panel in the series. That day should be 9 Water. It is followed by seven days indicated by the dots at the left edge of that panel. The next day should be 4 Movement, and Movement is found in the first position, this time at the left end of the row, in the left center panel on the page. Proceeding in this fashion, 52 days are counted by the time the last dot on the upper left panel is reached. The next day after those 52 would be the day 1 Reed, which is found adjacent to the Alligator in the starting position in the lower right panel. If the progression is followed five times, all the day signs on the page are accounted for and 260 days have passed. This page represents yet another shorthand way of expressing the entire ritual calendar.

The gods in each panel are shown as married pairs. In the first panel they are Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacíhuatl, the father and

mother of the gods, the lord of sustenance and the lady of life. Between them is a rich offering consisting of a turquoise bowl, a gold box, turquoise beads and a young man. They all rest under the bright sun. In the second panel the deities are Patécatl and Tlazoltéotl as the god and goddess of pulque, the intoxicating liquor made from the sweet sap of the maguey. They sit on either side of a vessel marked with a skull and two intertwined snakes. The disc of the heavens is half sun and half obscure night sky, an image that is probably appropriate to pulque. The third panel, the center left one, has the images of Cintéotl, the corn god, and a female counterpart, a goddess of corn. They sit across from each other and are holding a pair of large flowering maize plants growing from a bowl that also contains four ears of corn. The sun again shines on this scene. The fourth panel contains Tláloc and Chalchiuhtlicue, the god of rain and the goddess of water. Their offering is a precious bowl with four ears of corn, green-and-blue twined garlands and a young man. The sun above this scene is bright and has four jewels hanging from it. The fifth panel is unusual in that the supernatural couple are seated with their backs to one another. They are Xochipilli and Xochiquétzal, the young prince of flowers, who is also the young sun god, and the young goddess of flowers, who is also the young goddess of the moon. Their offering is an eagle descending into a precious bowl. The sun shines clearly on them. The final scene is of Mictlantecuhtli and Mictecacíhuatl, the god and goddess of death and the underworld. Their offering contains a skull devouring a person, and the moon rather than the sun shines above them.

Plates 58-60: 25 Couples (Numerological Marriage Prognostications)

These three pages contain 25 panels, each of which contains a married couple, a celestial symbol, a number of dots from two to 26, and some ancillary images. The unusual aspect of this group of images is that they do not include day signs. In my opinion the best interpretation of these pages yet offered has been made by Peter van der Loo (personal communication). He has suggested that they

represent a sort of numerological prognostication of the success of marriages. If one were to consider only the day numbers of the names of a young man and woman and add them together, the sum of their day numbers could range from 1+1=2 to 13 + 13 = 26. The predicted qualities of the relationship are suggested by the activities of the couple, the objects around them and the heavenly disc above them.

In general it seems that odd-number totals are more favorable than even totals. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this process. The first pair, whose number is 2, is found in the lower left panel of Plate 58, and they are depicted as Mictlantecuhtli and Xochiquétzal. She is cutting the throat of one child and he is devouring another. The sky above them is half dark, on her side, and half sun, on his side, perhaps because he is following his nature but she is not. For them the future would be read as unfavorable, certainly on her side and perhaps on his. The second pair, whose number is 3, is just left of the first pair. They are shown as Xochiquétzal and an unidentified man. Their sun is bright, and between them is an offering bowl made of turquoise and containing precious beads and ears of corn. For them the future is good. The third couple is identified as Xochiquétzal and the Red Tezcatlipoca. For them the celestial symbol is replaced by a precious bowl that overflows with a frothy material. That their predicted life together is poor is indicated by the overturned bowl between them spilling out its contents.

The reading order follows the count of numbers, indicating by the red numeral dots from two to 26. It begins at the lower right corner of Plate 58 and reads from right to left across the three pages. The sequence then moves up the page to the center row and proceeds from left to right back across the three pages, finally moving up to the top of the page and going back to the left to the twenty-fifth panel at the top left of Plate 60. Despite much damage to the original, the Díaz and Rodgers reconstruction has missed only two numeral dots in the whole series; the fourth panel should have five dots and the twenty-second panel should have 23 dots.

Plates 61-70: Another 260-Day Ritual Calendar

The next ten pages present a second complete 260-day *tonalpohualli,* or ritual calendar. Each page contains 26 day signs (two 13-day groups) and two images of gods, objects and actions that presumably characterize the 13-day groups. This arrangement of the calendar divides it into 20 equal periods, each of which is begun uniquely by one of the day signs. These 20 groups of 13 days are known as *trecenas.* The deities whose images are painted in the panels of each of the periods may be thought of as patrons of the period initiated by the appropriate day sign. It is worth pointing out, as Seler does, that the associations of gods and periods of the calendar are not obvious. For example, the period that begins with the day sign Flower does not have Xochiquétzal, the goddess of flowers, as its patron or regent. On the other hand, the period that begins with Rain is indeed governed by Tláloc, the god of rain and storm, in a very obvious concordance of meanings.

The nature of the influence over the 13-day period wielded by each of these 20 patrons is not clear. How their influence was combined with that of the patrons of the day signs themselves, as discussed in connection with Plates 9-13 of the codex, is similarly unknown. Further, their relationship to the 104 images associated with the *tonalpohualli* on the first eight pages of the codex is also not understood. Ultimately it must be said that, despite all the information we have gleaned from interpretations of the Codex Borgia and the various other religious manuscripts of the Borgia Group, we do not know very much about how prognostication worked for the Mesoamerican priests. The intricacies of the magical process remain obscure.

The 260-day sequence of this *tonalpohualli* begins at the lower right corner of Plate 61 with the day sign Alligator. This, following a long-established pattern, should be considered as the day 1 Alligator. Armed with this crucial bit of information, we require no other indication of the day number because we know that the 13 numbers are used in a continuous cycle. Accordingly, every group of

13 day signs, every *trecena,* must begin with a day numbered 1. The reading order follows the order of the day signs across the bottom of the page and up its left margin to Reed, the thirteenth day sign. The next day sign in the order of the 20 is Jaguar, which is found at the bottom right margin of Plate 62. The same pattern is followed across ten pages, until the day sign Dog is located at the top of the left column of day signs on Plate 70. There the sequence simply moves up to the upper register and changes to the left-to-right direction. The first day of the second half of the *tonalpohualli* is the day 1 Monkey and the last day of its period of 13 days is the day 13 House. After counting through the days named in the upper register of these ten pages, we reach the last day of the ritual calendar at the upper right corner of Plate 61, the day 13 Flower.

A brief table will identify the deities who are patrons of the 20 *trecenas* of this calendar.

FIRST DAY SIGN OF THE PERIOD	DEITY (NAHUATL)	DEITY (ENGLISH)
Alligator	Tonacatecuhtli	Supreme Male Deity
Jaguar	Quetzalcóatl	God of Wind
Deer	Tepeyóllotl, Tlazoltéotl	Heart of the Mountain; Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Flower	Huehuecóyotl	Old (coyote, God of Dance
Reed	Chalchiuhtlicue	Goddess of Running

		Water/Precious Green Stone Skirt
Death	Tecciztécatl, Tonatiuh	Goddess of the Moon, God of the Sun
Rain	Tláloc	Rain and Storm
Grass	Mayáhucel	Goddess of Maguey
Serpent	Xiuhtecuhtli, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli	God of Fire, Venus as the Morning Star
Flint	Mictlantecuhtli, Tonatiuh	God of the Underworld, God of the Sun
Monkey	Patécatl	God of Pulque
Lizard	Itztlacoliuhqui, Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca	God of the Bent Knife, Black Smoking Mirror
Movement	Tlazoltéotl	Goddess of the Earth, Moon and Filth
Dog	Xipe Tótec	Our Lord the Flayed One
House	Itzpapálotl	Obsidian Butterfly
Vulture	Xólotl	God of Twins
Water	Chalchiuhtotolin	Turkey of the Precious Stone

Wind	Chantico	Goddess of Fire
Eagle	Xochiquétzal	Flower-Quetzal Feather
Rabbit	Xiuhtecuhtli, Xipe Tótec	God of Fire, Our Lord the Flayed One

Plate 71: The Sun and the Moon with 13 Birds

Plate 71 is composed of a large central panel surrounded on three sides by 13 smaller panels of approximately equal size. The large panel contains a representation of the solar deity sitting on a bench; a skeletal-jawed animal sacrificing a quail to the sun; the moon in a dark and starry sky; the jaws of the earth monster with a quail's head; and the day sign 1 Reed, which is the calendrical name of Quetzalcóatl. The image of Tonatiuh, the solar deity, is given the name 4 Movement. This is the name of the actual sun in the current creation as conceived by the Aztecs.

The 13 smaller panels contain 13 birds or, more accurately, 12 birds and one butterfly. Each is individually drawn to represent a particular kind of bird, some identifiable and some not. Each is also accompanied by one of the numbers from 1 to 13. These flying creatures are the winged companions of the 13 numbered days/ deities not identified in the Codex Borgia. They represent the 13 levels of creation above the plane of the earth.

Plate 72: The Four Directions with Plumed Serpents and Deities

This page is divided into four quarters, each surrounded by the image of a serpent with its head near the center of the page and its body all but enclosing the four sides of a rectangle. In each case the serpent's belly forms the outer edge of the rectangle border and its back forms the inner edge. At the center of the page is a little

spiritual beast known as a *tzitzímitl.* Within each rectangle is the image of a deity who is physically connected to five of the day signs.

Beginning at the lower left corner and proceeding counterclockwise, the deity assigned by Seler to the East is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm; he has attached to his body the day signs for Alligator, Serpent, Water, Reed and Movement. The deity of the North is Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the earth, filth and the moon; she has attached to her body the day signs for Wind, Death, Dog, Jaguar and Flint. The deity of the West is Quetzalcóatl, the god of the wind; he has attached to his body the day signs for House, Deer, Monkey, Eagle and Rain. The fourth deity, the deity of the South, is Macuilxóchitl, 5 Flower, the god of games and pleasure; he has attached to his body the day signs for Lizard, Rabbit, Grass, Vulture and Flower.

The astute reader will have noticed that these day signs are regularly spaced in the series of 20. They follow the arrangement of the columns of day signs in the first representation of the *tonalpohualli* in the codex, beginning on Plate 1. If they are to be assigned directional significance here, as Seler has done for the quarters of the *tonalpohualli* when arranged as five rows of 52 days, the five day signs associated with the East are found in the first column of the *tonalpohualli,* the days of the North are in the fourteenth column, the West in the twenty-seventh column and the South in the fortieth column. In each case the five day signs are found in the first column of the quarter of the calendar assigned to the appropriate direction. This same grouping of days was used in the preparation of Plates 18-21 and 22 (and will be used on Plates 75 and 76), though Seler did not use the directional aspect of it for his interpretation of Plates 18-21.

Plate 73: Gods of Death and Life with 26 Days and the 20 Day Signs

The image of life and death on Plate 73 harks back to the compositionally similar image of a wind deity, representing life, and a

death deity on Plate 56. There the image of Quetzalcóatl as the wind god is on the right side of the page and Mictlantecuhtli as the god of death is on the left side. Here those positions are reversed. The overall structure remains the same, though; the two deities are shown back to back, looking outward, and holding staves. The image of Quetzalcóatl is differently colored, black on Plate 56 and blue on Plate 73. His face paint and some of his costume elements are also changed. The image of Mictlantecuhtli is very similar in the two representations.

On Plate 56 these gods are accompanied by a shorthand version of the *tonalpohualli.* On Plate 73 they are ringed by 26 consecutive day signs (six are repeated; note the appearance of Death in the lower left corner just inside the ring) and have the 20 day signs attached to their bodies and costumes.

This parallel structure, appearing so many pages apart, suggests that these two pages may serve as bookends of a sort, unifying the various sections found between them. These sections are the six supernatural couples, the 25 divinatory couples, the second complete 260-day calendar, the sun and moon with their 13 birds and the four directions with plumed serpents. The motive for this potential relationship is not immediately evident.

Plate 74: Male and Female Gods of Sensuality

This page presents images of two deities who are, at least in part, dedicated to sensuality and procreation. The bottom half of the page is given over to a male deity of sensuality, an *ahuiatéotl,* and a set of the 20 day names. The upper half contains an image of Tlazoltéotl and another set of the 20 day names. Tlazoltéotl is principally known as the old goddess of the earth and of the moon and as the eater of filth. She is also known as Teteoinnan, the “mother of the gods,” and as Toci, “our grandmother.” It is in these capacities that she displays the characteristics of a goddess of sensuality and voluptuousness.

The original of the Codex Borgia has been very badly damaged on this page through burning and the loss of the white lime surface that

underlies the paintings. As a result much of this page is reconstructed by Díaz and Rodgers following a drawing of the page made for Lord Kingsborough in the nineteenth century. Neither Kingsborough nor Díaz and Rodgers could decide where to put the day sign for Movement on the lower half of the page, so it is omitted though it was surely there at one time. On both halves of the page, 14 of the day signs are arranged around the margins, and six are in the center with the image of the god. In both cases these six are consecutive days. For the *ahuiatéotl* they are the last four and the first two, and for Tlazoltéotl they are the last six of the series of 20.

Plates 75 and 76: Eight Deities

The last two pages, the most seriously damaged of the entire codex, are meant to be read together. Each page is divided into four parts, with each quarter dominated by the figure of a god seated on a throne. In front of each deity are several other things, including a small figure of a priest offering incense and blood, and an urn with other sacrifices in it. Beneath each set of images are five day signs taken from a column of the *tonalpohualli* as arranged in five rows of 52 days, like the one on Plates 1-8 of the codex. At one side of each panel is a group of either five or six red dots as calendrical place holders.

The reading order begins at the bottom right corner of Plate 75 and proceeds from right to left across the two pages. It then goes up to the top register at the upper left corner of Plate 76 and proceeds from left to right back across the two pages. After five circuits of the eight images an entire 260-day *tonalpohualli* will have been counted. If we begin reading with the day 1 Alligator at the bottom of Plate 75 and count the six place markers as days 2 through 7, the next day will be 8 Rabbit, which is the first of the painted day signs in the next panel. From there five place markers take us past days 9 through 13, making the next day 1 jaguar. Clearly, each pair of figures represents two parts of a single group of 13 and, just as clearly, each pair of figures can be associated with the direction linked to that part of the *tonalpohualli.* The reason for this association is not so clear, though

it may be based on principles similar to those that informed the painting on Plate 72 with its four plumed serpents.

The deity in the first panel is Tláloc, the god of rain and storm. Before him are a bowl full of ears of corn, instruments of autosacrifice and an urn with a rubber ball and an ear of corn. The second panel contains Tonatiuh, the sun god, enthroned before a hill with instruments of warfare at its peak. These two panels are attributed to the East by Seler.

The next pair of panels, at the bottom of Plate 76, contain a red skeletal figure, as a symbol of the moon as well as of death, on the right, and Tlazoltéotl, the goddess of the moon, on the left. This pair is connected to the second portion of the *tonalpohualli,* that of the North. The skeletal figure is seated before a pair of autosacrificial tools and an urn containing a ball of rubber, a bundle of sticks, three loose sticks, a plant and a fire serpent's tail. Tlazoltéotl is seated before a hill with a crossroads and a bundle of sticks.

The third pair of panels is found at the top of Plate 76. The first of the pair was almost completely destroyed by the late-eighteenth-century fire. The second, on the right side of the page, is a representation of Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, though the diagnostic five dots on his face are not in evidence. He sits before a hill that has instruments of warfare at its peak and water running down its sides. These panels are tied calendrically to the West.

The fourth and final pair, at the top of Plate 75, is connected to the South in the calendar. The first of the pair contains a figure of a green skeleton covered with green grass (the green has become tan). Before him are broken instruments of autosacrifice and an urn very similar to that of the third panel (which featured the red skeleton) and with nearly identical contents. Again, the second panel of this last pair was almost completely destroyed by the unfortunate fire and by friction.

The relationship between these four quarters, in the form of eight paired images, and the four plumed serpents on Plate 72 was first

noted by Seler, who remarked that correspondences of color and imagery suggest that these two sections of the codex were about similar matters.

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THE PLATES

The painted pages of the Codex Borgia restoration are here reproduced in numerically reverse order to make the reading of them as close to that of the original screenfold as possible (without the necessity of turning the book around halfway through). The codex is read from right to left, so that the reader is asked to turn to codex page 1 (= Dover Plate 1) and to read the color pages straight through from right to left and from back to front. Please note the detailed remarks in the introduction and commentary for the reading order on individual pages and groups of pages. The brief explanatory captions accompanying the plates have been provided by the writer of the introduction, Bruce E. Byland.

PLATE 76: Page 2 of eight deities

PLATE 75: Page 1 of eight deities

PLATE 74: Male and female gods of sensuality

PLATE 73: Gods of death and life with 26 days and the 20 day signs

PLATE 72: The four directions with plumed serpents and deities

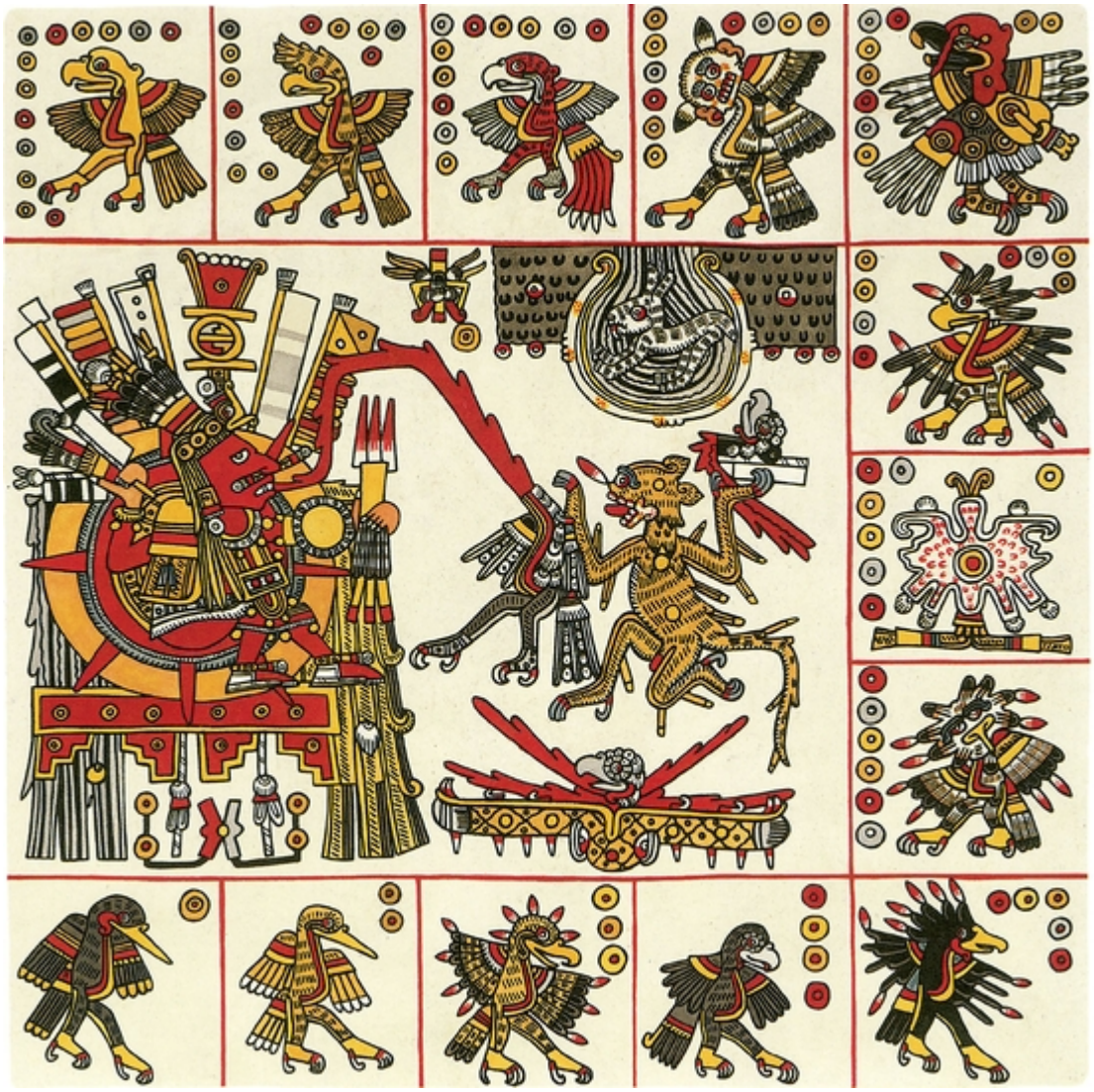

PLATE 71: The sun and the moon with 13 birds

PLATE 70: Page 10 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 69: Page 9 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 68: Page 8 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 67: Page 7 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

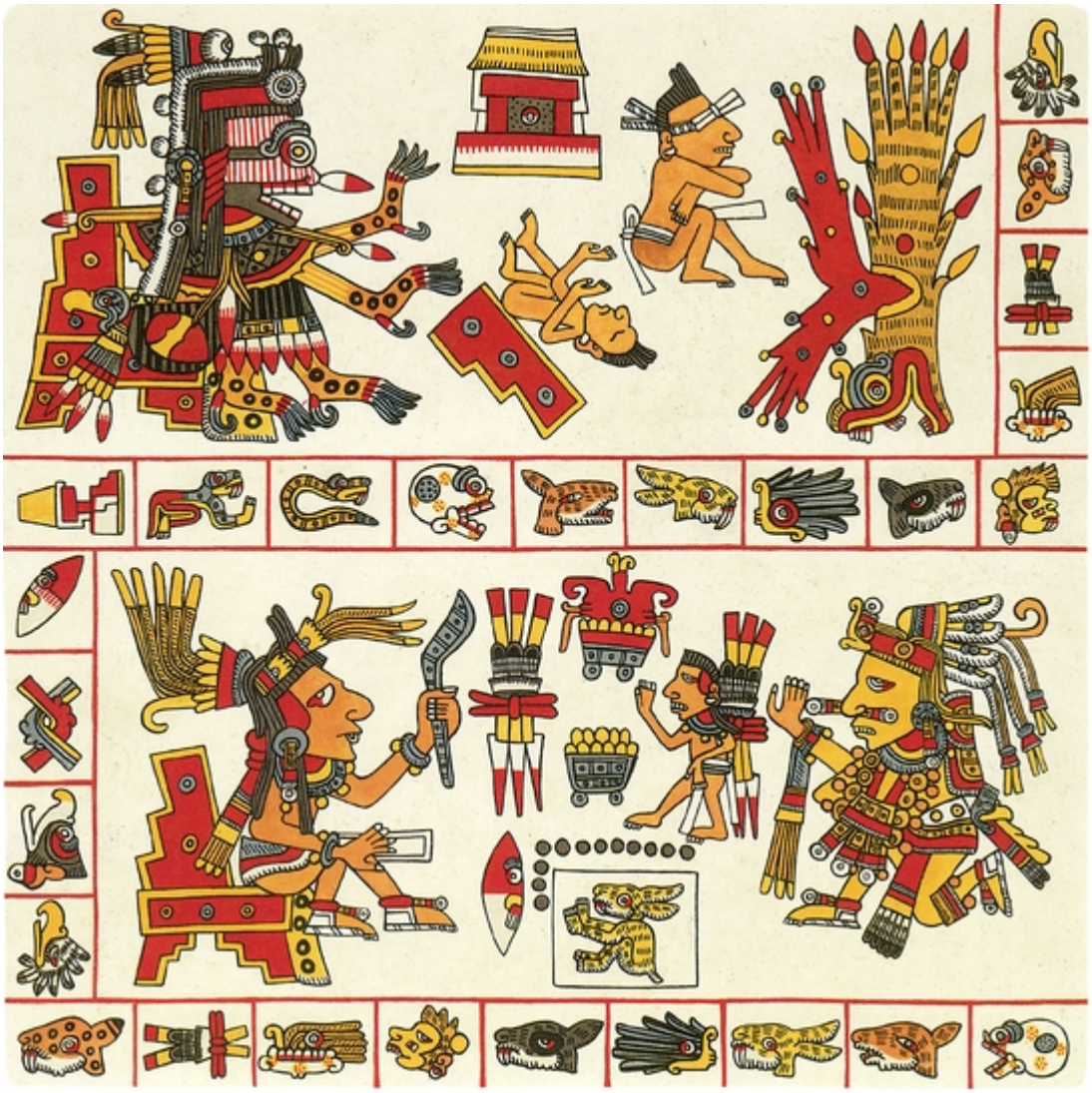

PLATE 66: Page 6 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 65: Page 5 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 64: Page 4 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 63: Page 3 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 62: Page 2 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 61: Page 1 of the tonalpohualli arranged as 20 groups of 13 days

PLATE 60: Page 3 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 59: Page 2 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 58: Page 1 of the numerological marriage prognostications

PLATE 57: Six supernatural couples

PLATE 56: Gods of life and death, and the tonalpohualli

PLATE 55: Six deities with 20 day names

PLATE 54: Four more piercing sacrifices

PLATE 53: Page 5 of the five directional trees, the Center; Xochipilli as a deer; and the first of five piercing sacrifices

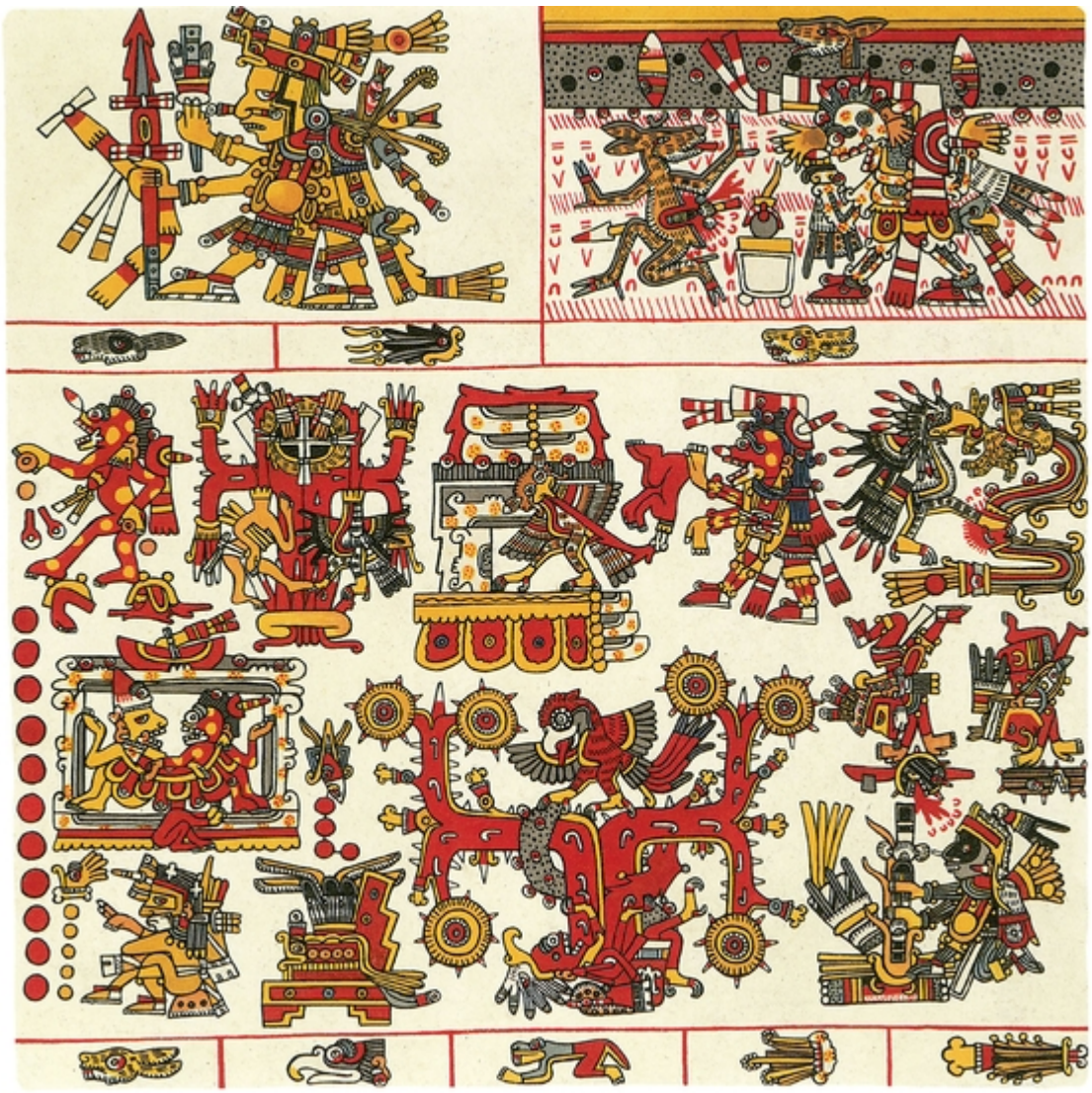

PLATE 52: Page 4 of the five directional trees, the South

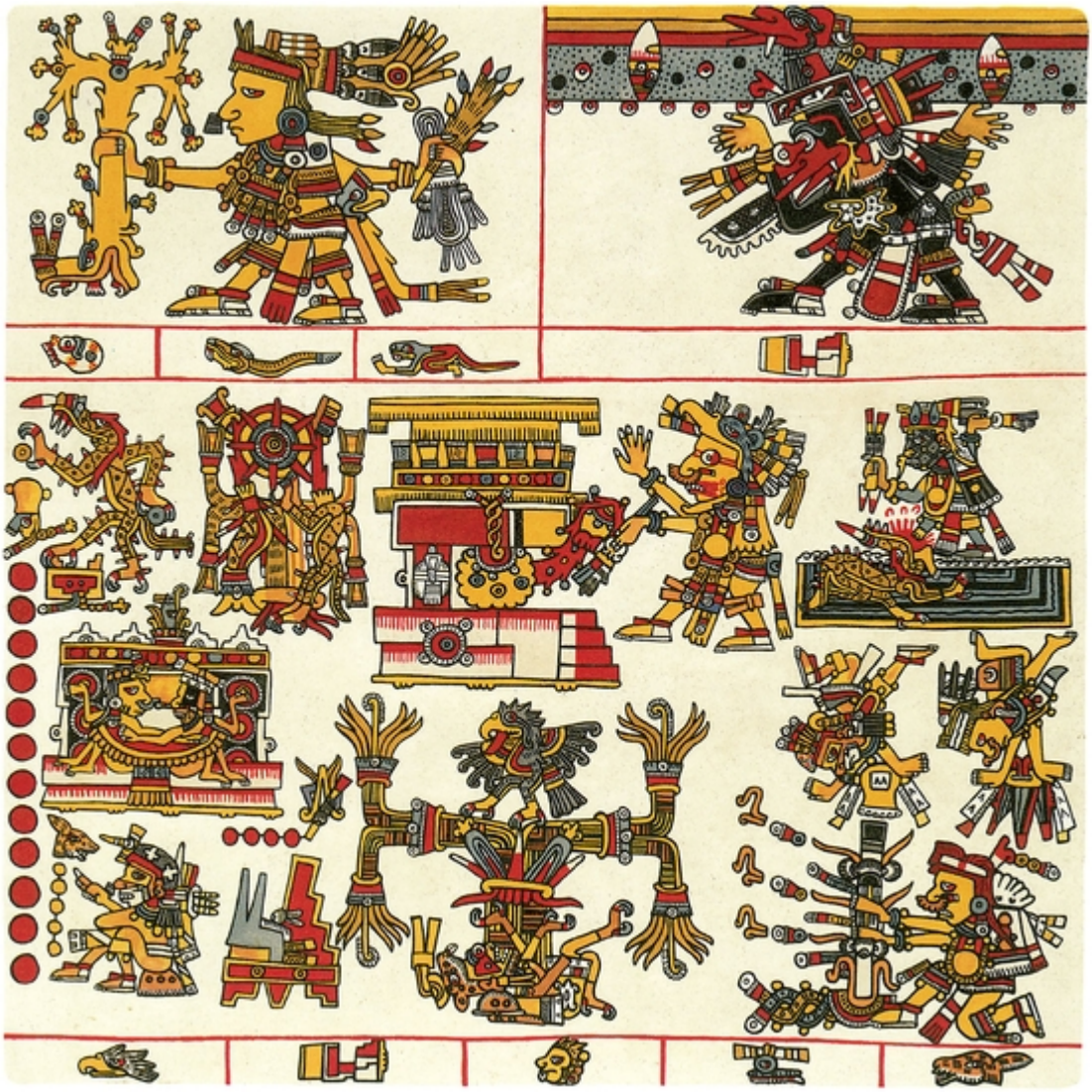

PLATE 51: Page 3 of the five directional trees, the West

PLATE 50: Page 2 of the five directional trees, the North

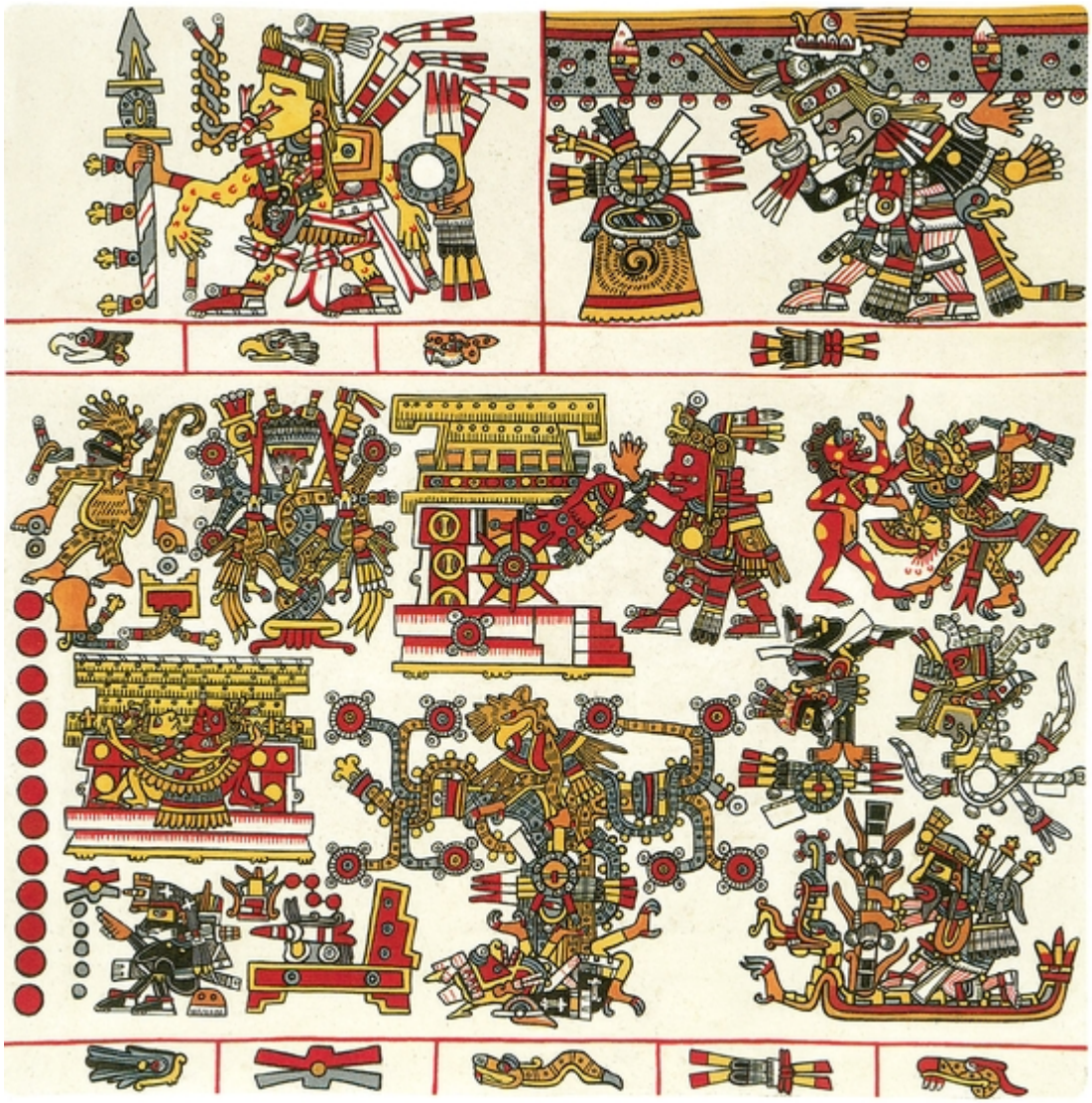

PLATE 49: Page 1 of the five directional trees, the East

PLATE 48: Page 2 of three groups of five deities

PLATE 47: Page 1 of three groups of five deities

PLATE 46: Page 18 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony with new-fire lighting

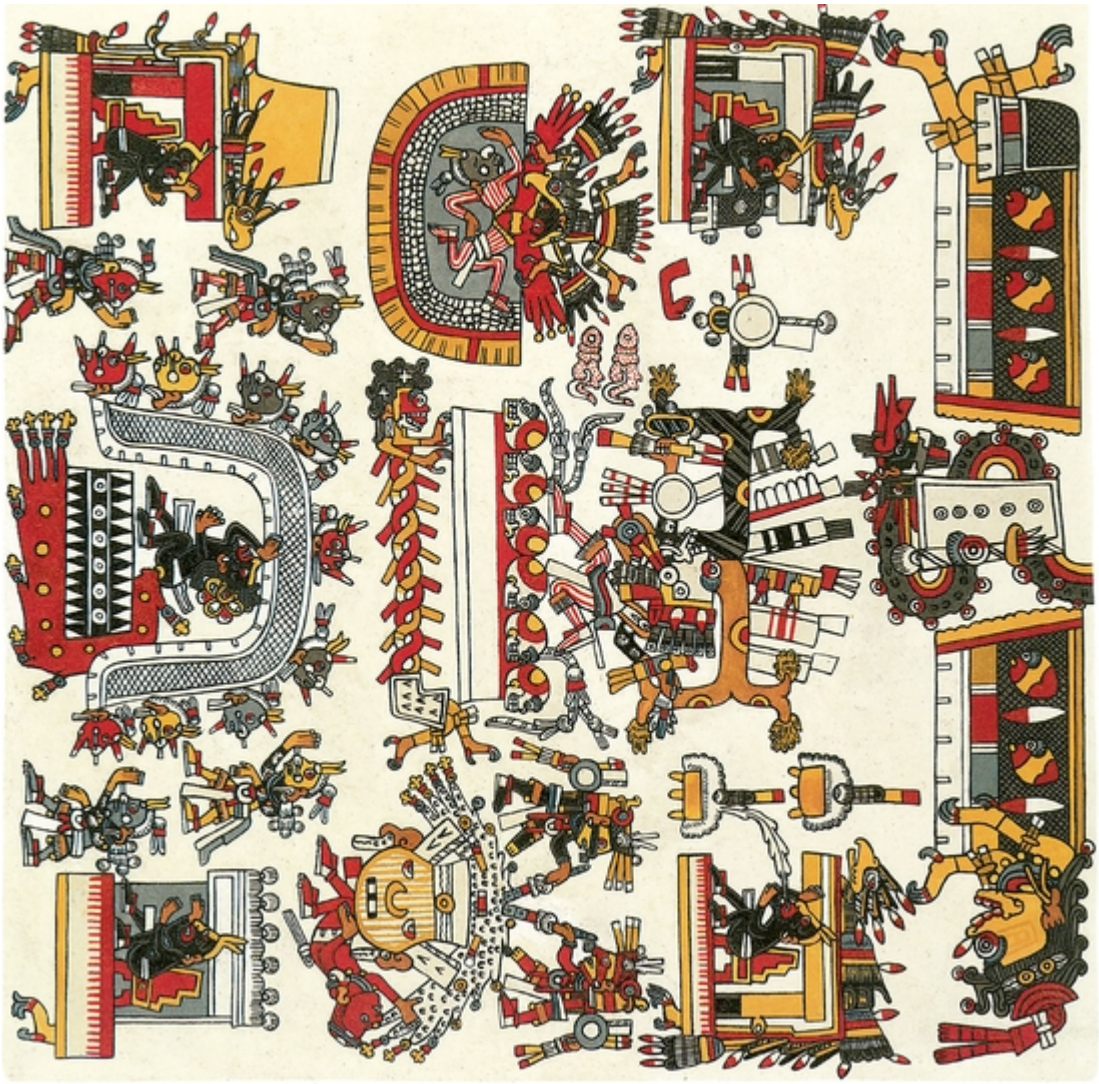

PLATE 45: Page 17 of the ritual sequence, a page of closing ceremony

PLATE 44: Page 16 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a flower/flint compound

PLATE 43: Page 15 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye enters a corn/sun compound

PLATE 42: Page 14 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye leads ceremonies of sacrifice

PLATE 41: Page 13 of the ritual sequence, a blue road and a cogged disc as Stripe Eye continues

PLATE 40: Page 12 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye sacrifices the solar deity

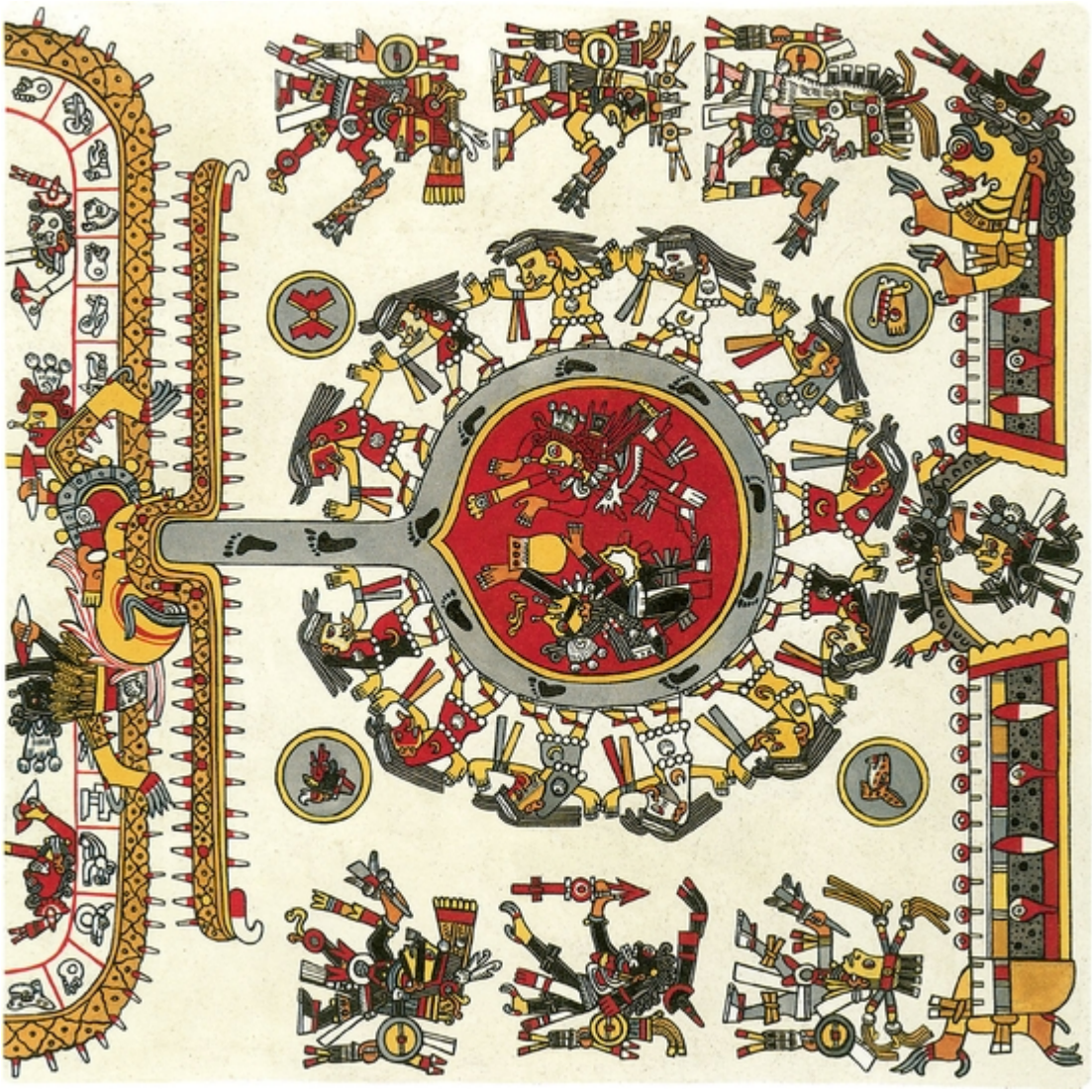

PLATE 39: Page 11 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye in another ceremony

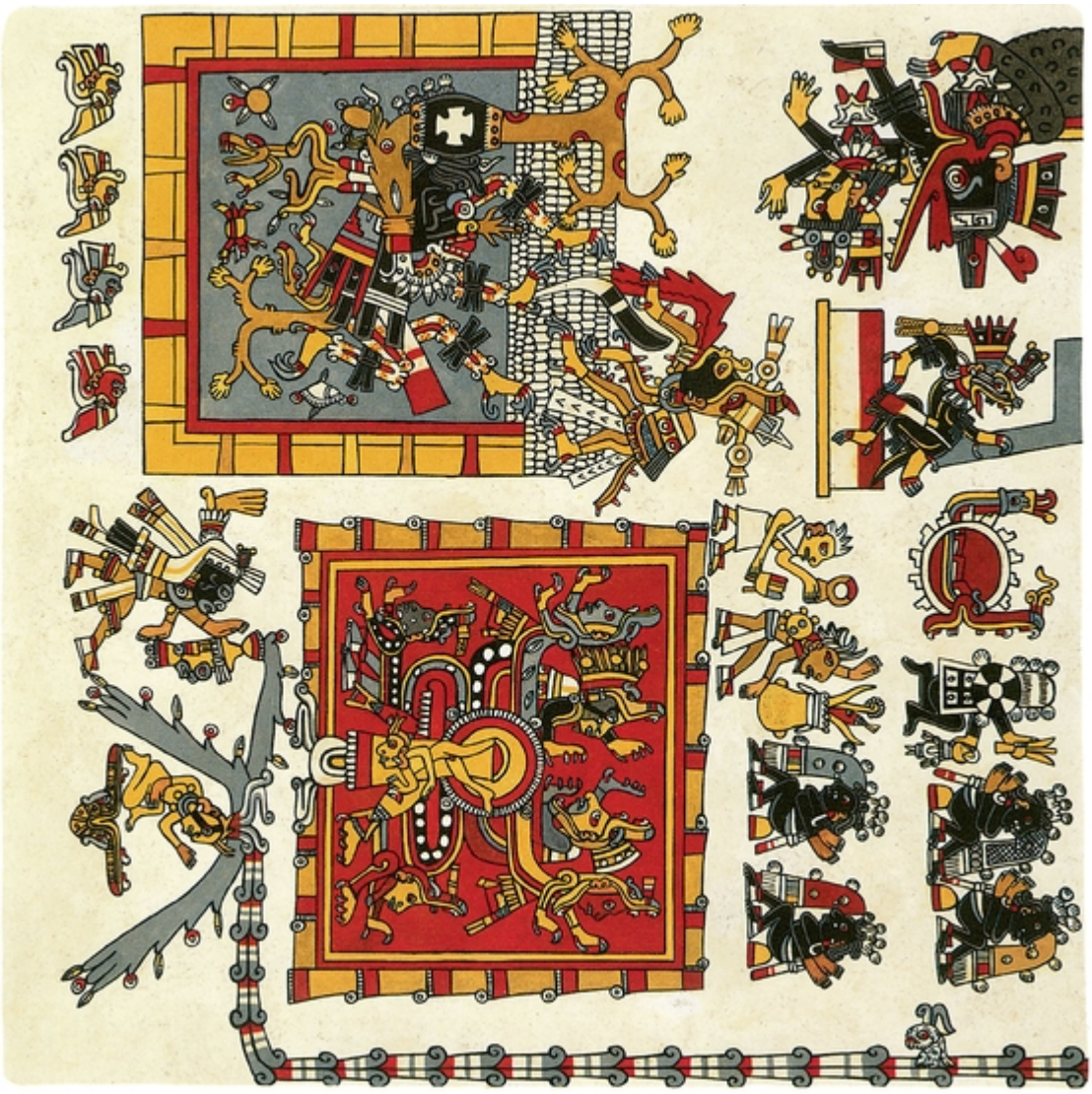

PLATE 38: Page 10 of the ritual sequence, rituals as Stripe Eye ends his magical journey

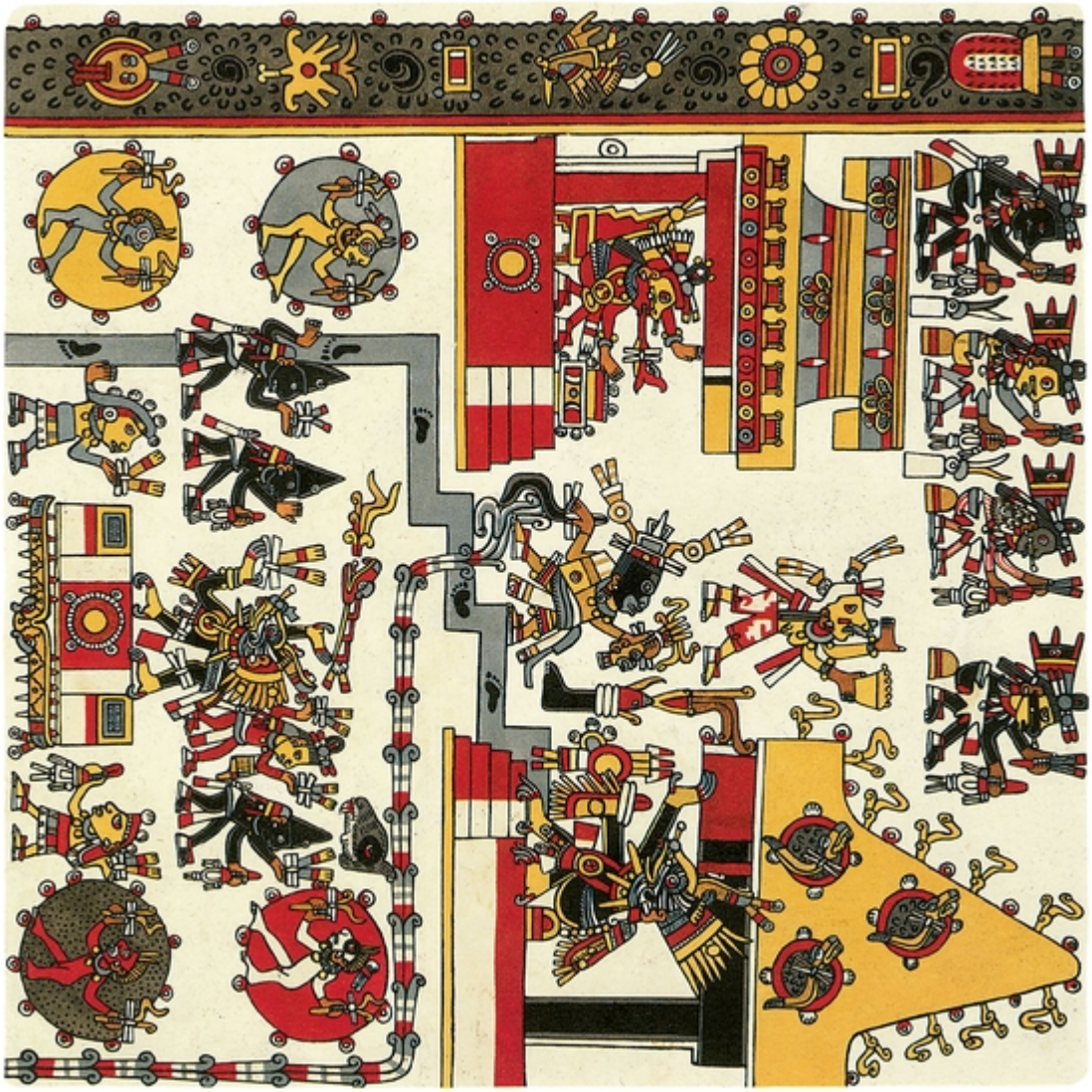

PLATE 37: Page 9 of the ritual sequence, rituals in the plaza of the heaven temple while
Stripe Eye magically journeys

PLATE 36: Page 8 of the ritual sequence, the wind bundle is opened

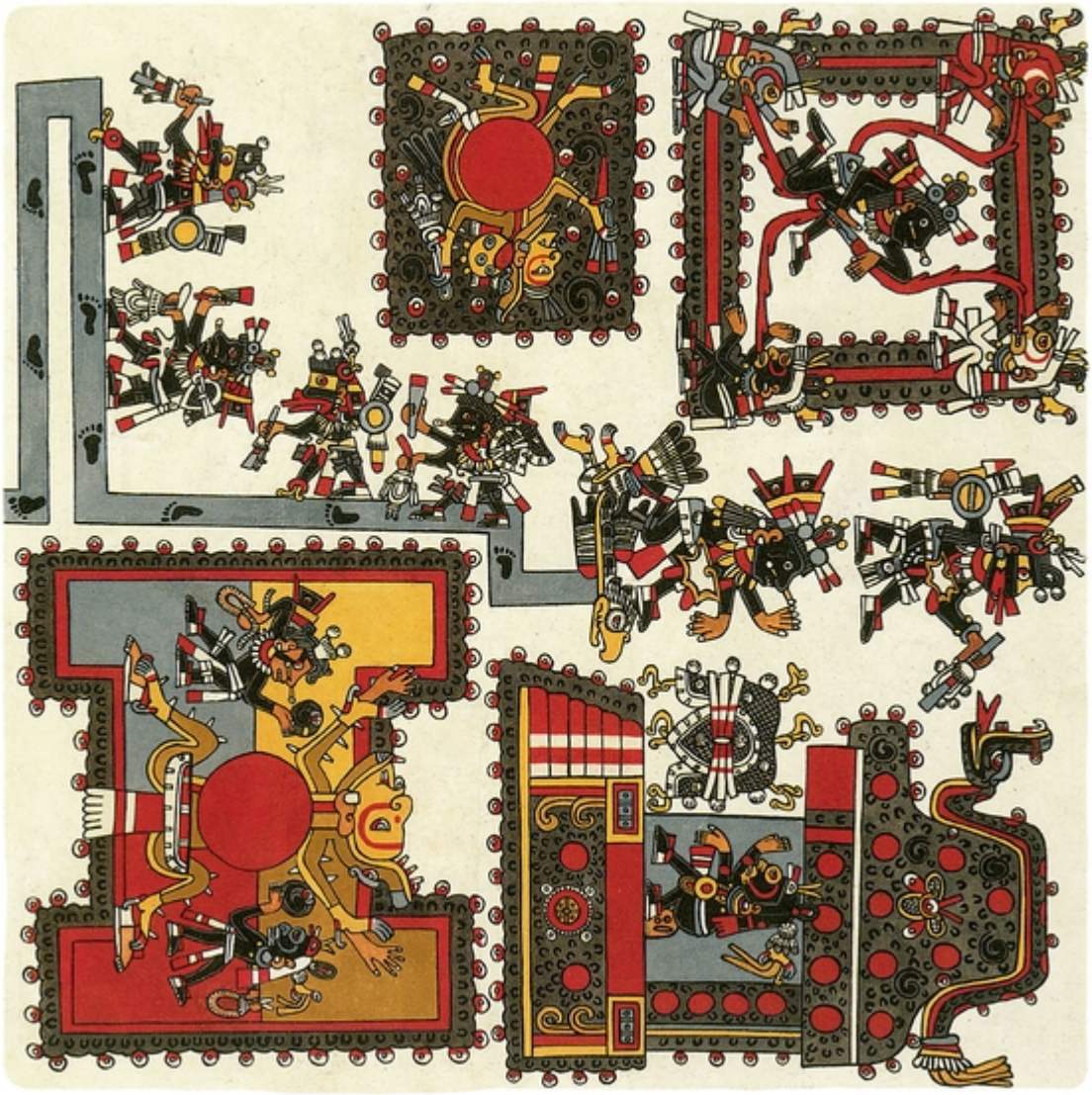

PLATE 35: Page 7 of the ritual sequence, Stripe Eye's journey begins on the blue road

PLATE 34: Page 6 of the ritual sequence, the eared-roofed heaven temple

PLATE 33: Page 5 of the ritual sequence, the round heaven temple

PLATE 32: Page 4 of the ritual sequence, the fifth enclosure

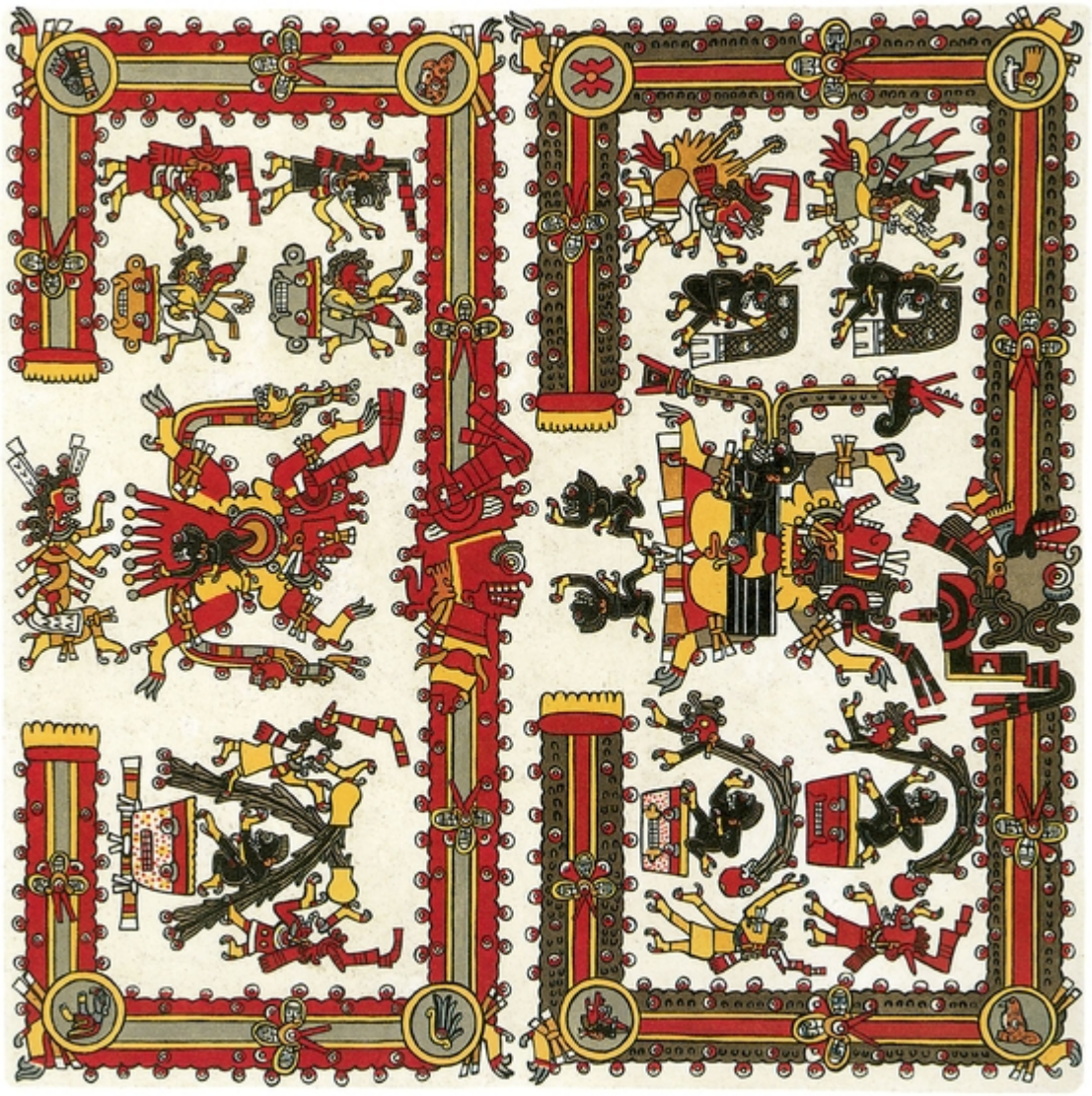

PLATE 31: Page 3 of the ritual sequence, the third and fourth enclosures

PLATE 30: Page 2 of the ritual sequence, the second enclosure

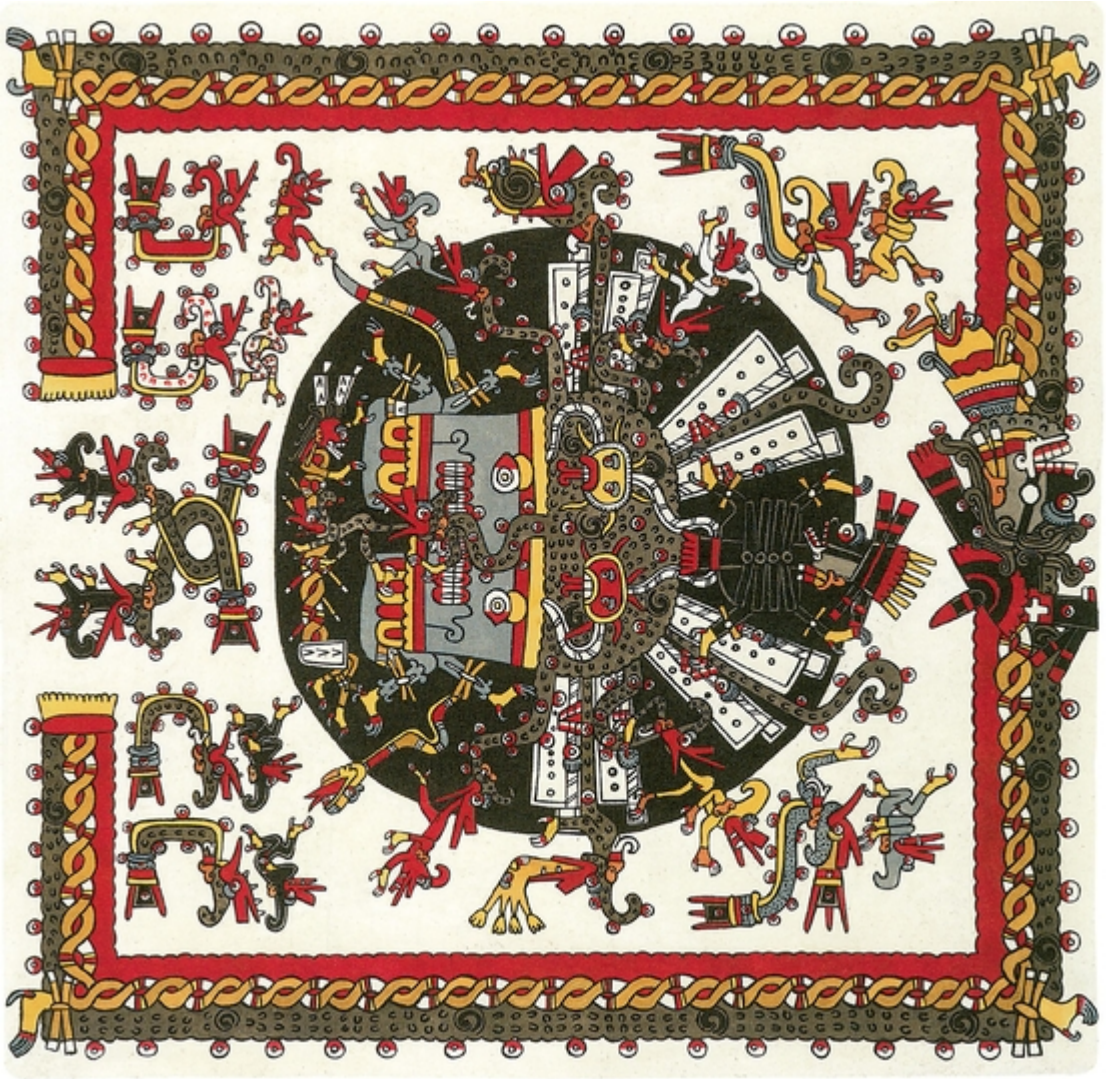

PLATE 29: Page 1 of the ritual sequence, the first enclosure

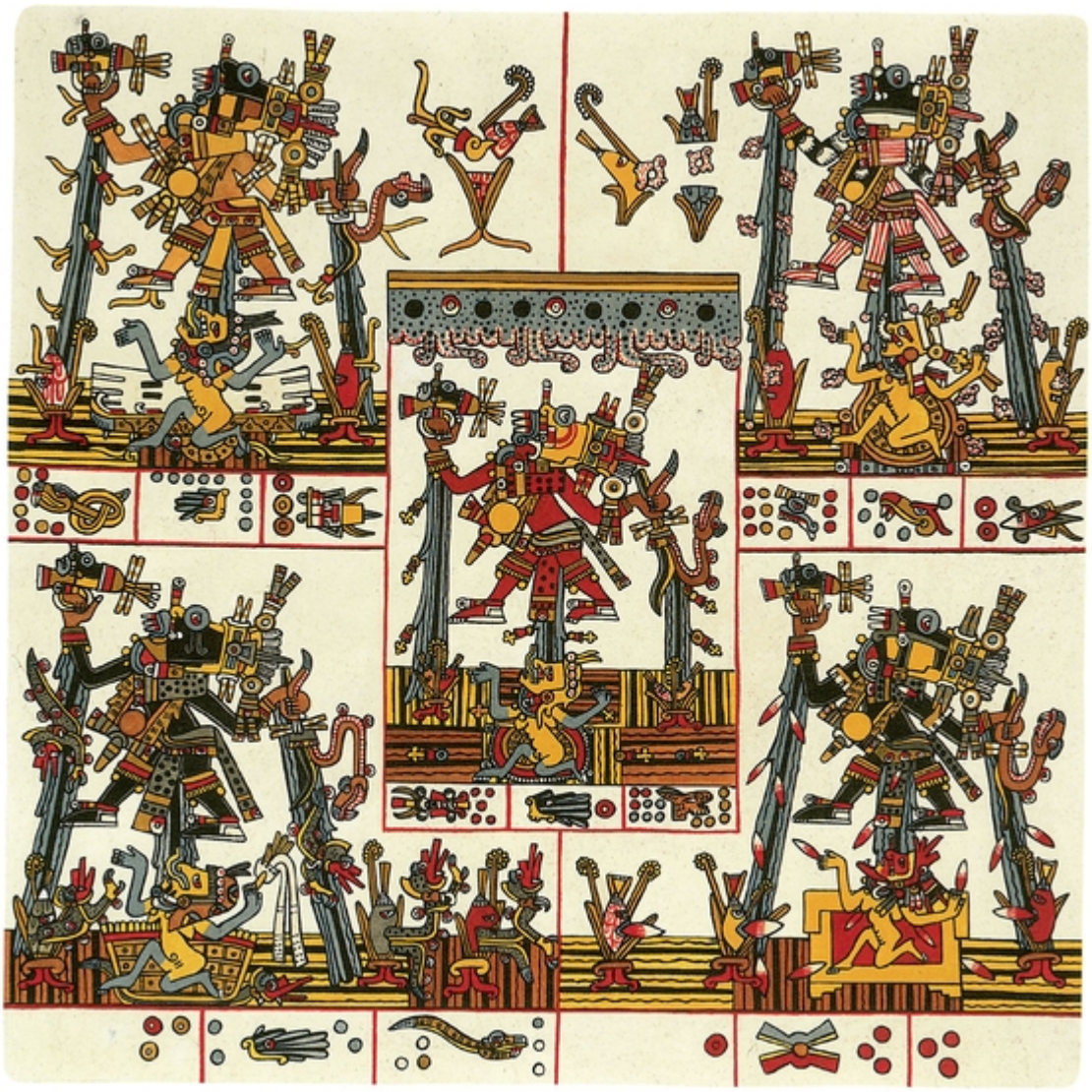

PLATE 28: The five directions with rain deities and the first five years of a 52-year calendar cycle

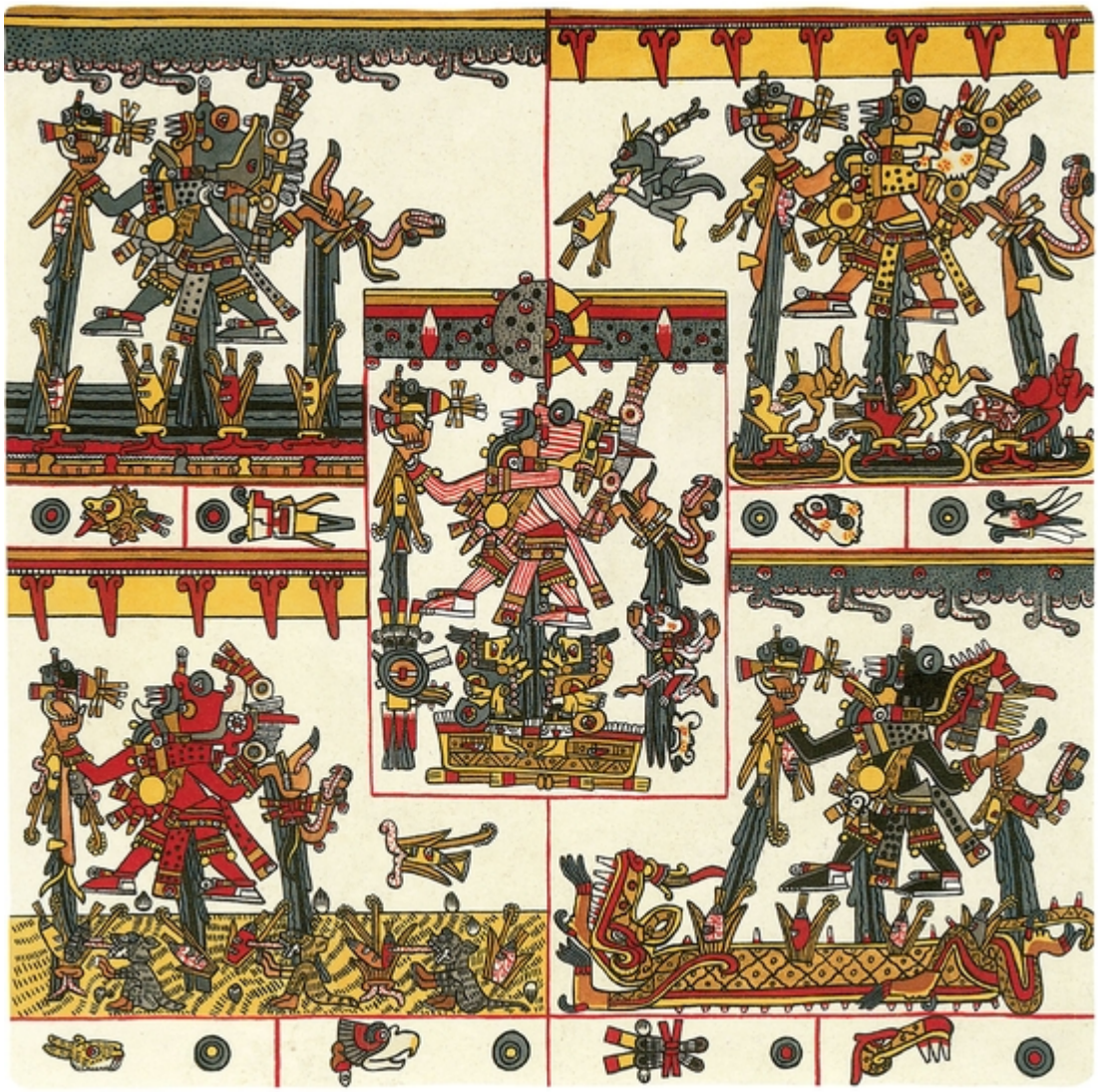

PLATE 27: The five directions with rain deities and four quarters of a 52-year calendar cycle

PLATE 26: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs in the underworld

PLATE 25: The five directions with deities and 20 day signs

PLATE 24: Page 3 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 23: Page 2 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 22: Two deer with one half of the tonalpohualli, and page 1 of 20 supernaturals associated with the 20 day signs

PLATE 21: Page 4 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

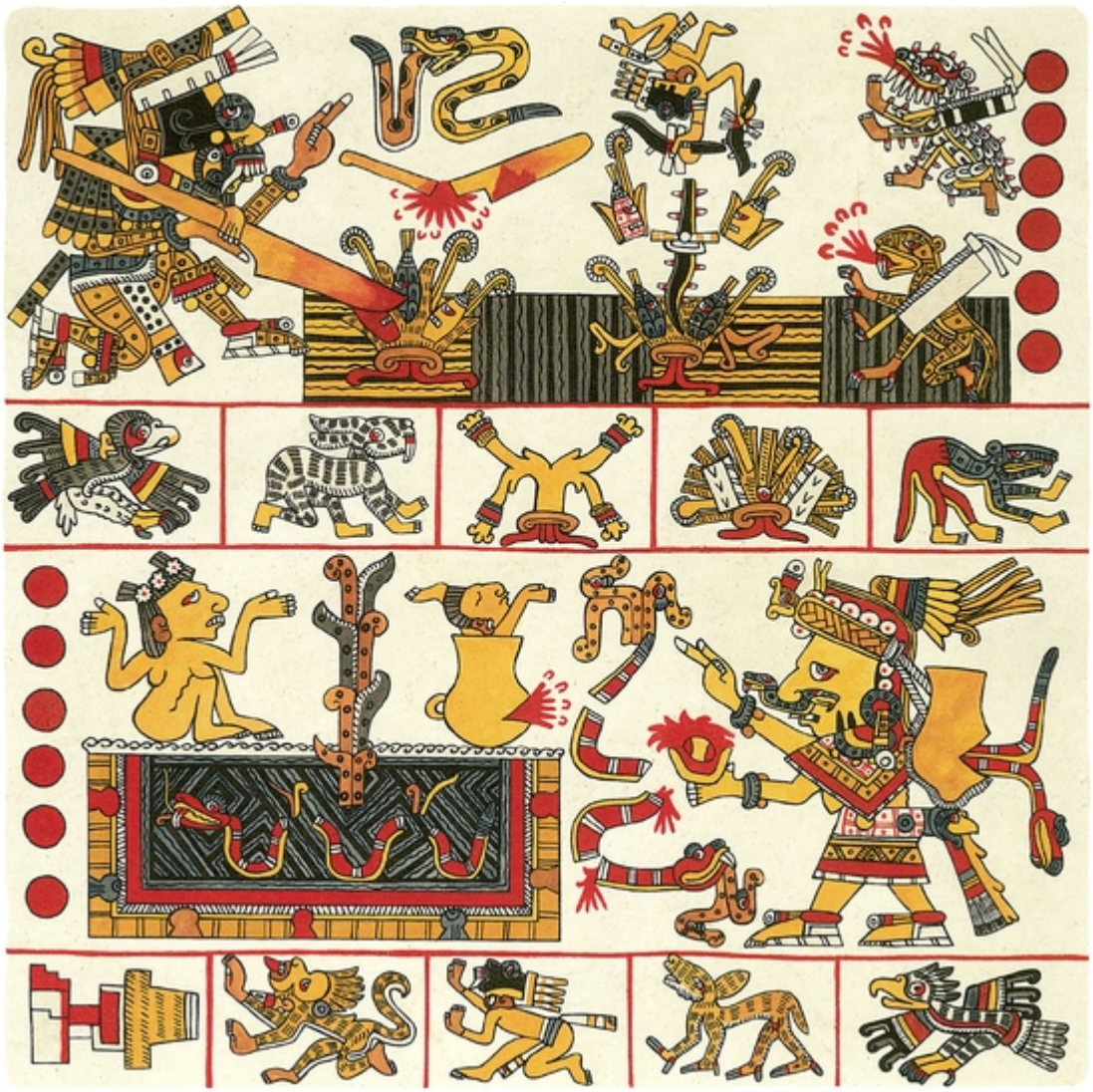

PLATE 20: Page 3 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 19: Page 2 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 18: Page 1 of eight supernatural scenes with calendrical associations

PLATE 17: Page 3 of 20 deities and 80 days, and Yayauhqui Tezcatlipoca with the 20 day signs on his body and costume

PLATE 16: Page 2 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 15: Page 1 of 20 deities and 80 days

PLATE 14: The nine deities of the night

PLATE 13: Page 5 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 12: Page 4 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 11: Page 3 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 10: Page 2 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 9: Page 1 of the deities of the 20 day signs

PLATE 8: Page 8 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 7: Page 7 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

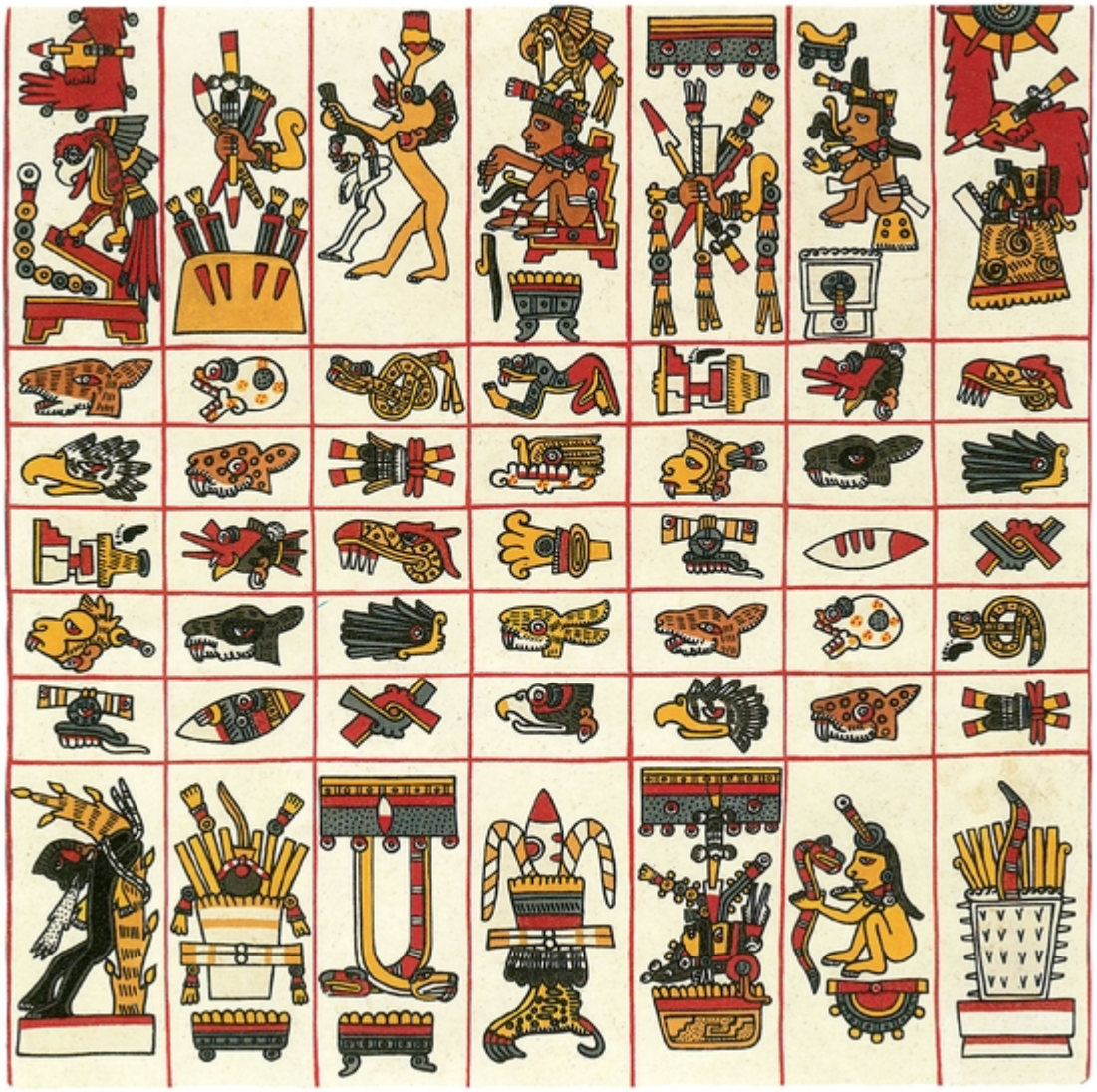

PLATE 6: Page 6 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

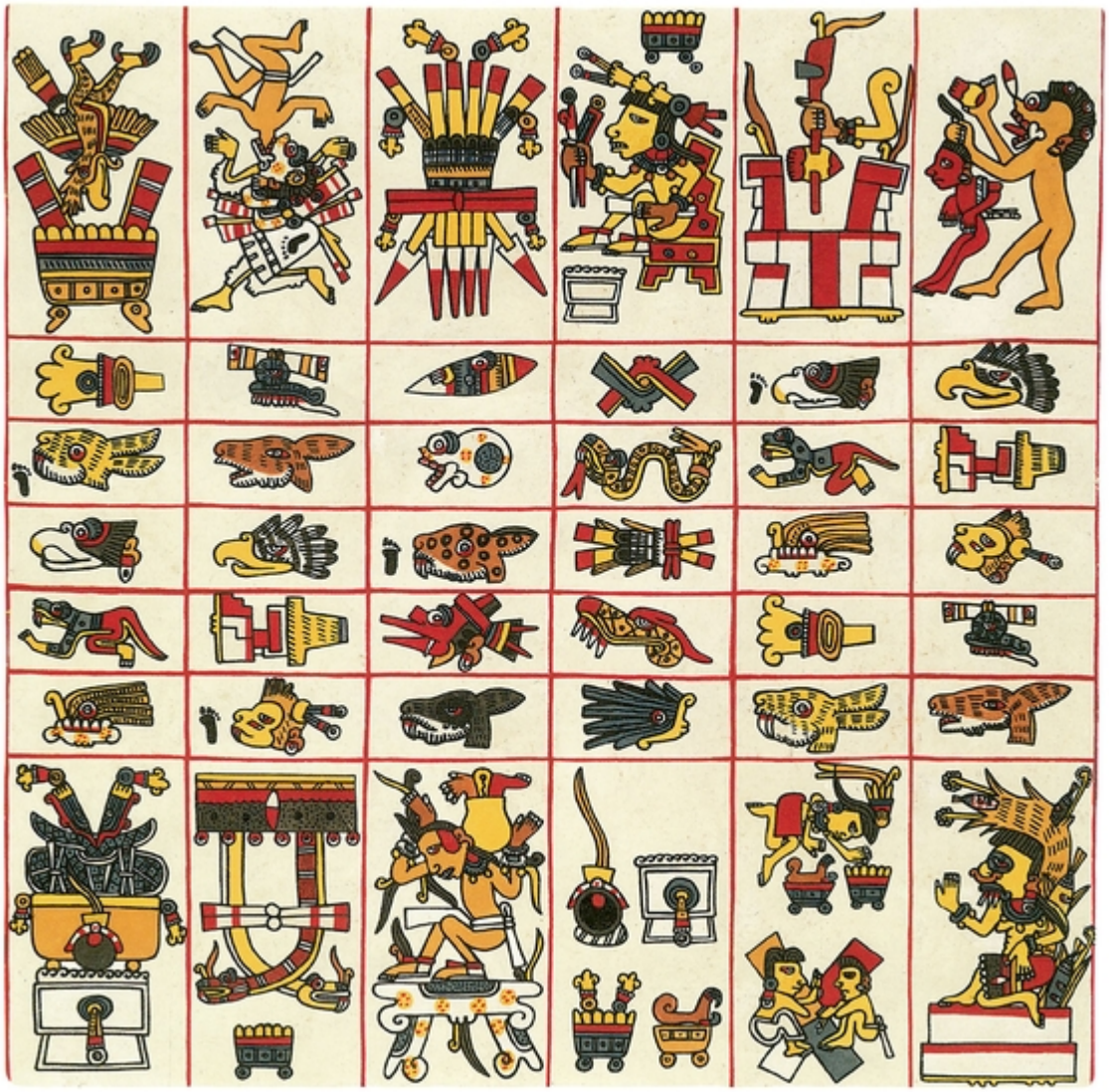

PLATE 5: Page 5 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

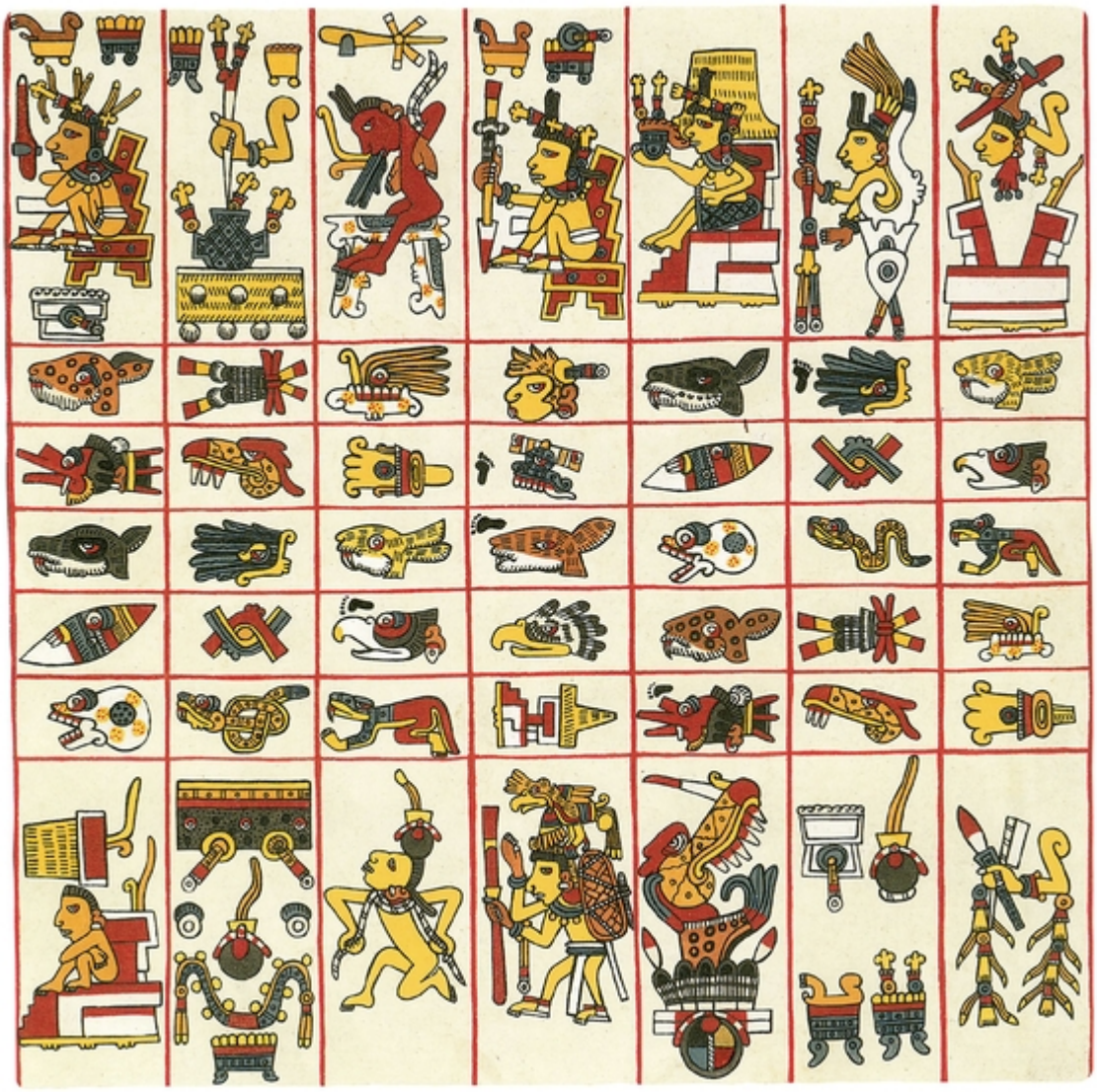

PLATE 4: Page 4 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

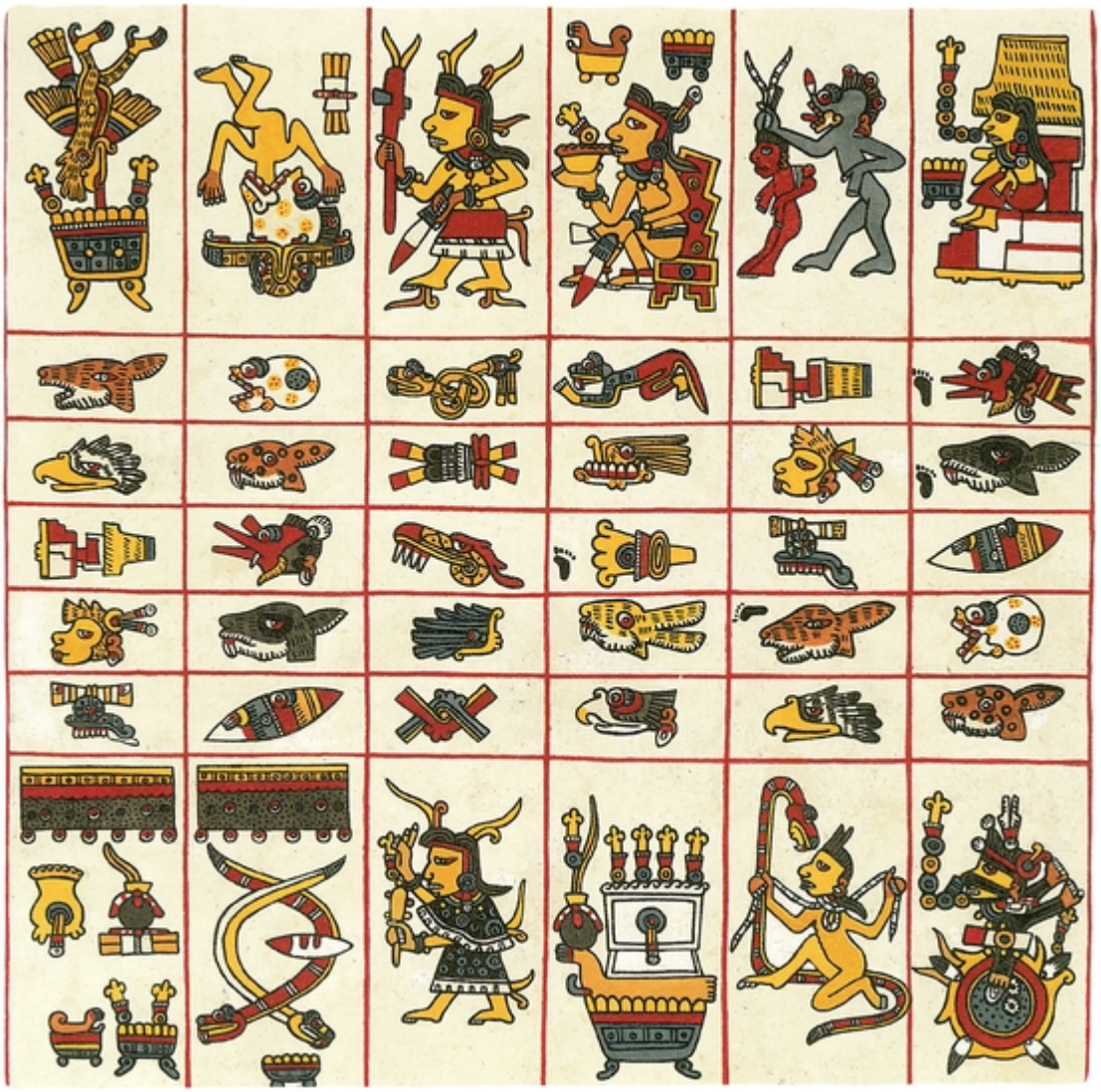

PLATE 3: Page 3 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 2: Page 2 of the tonalpohualli arranged in five rows of 52 members

PLATE 1: Page 1 of the tonalpohualli (260-day ritual calendar) arranged in five rows of 52 members

1 Since we do not know the language spoken by the authors of the Codex Borgia the Nahuatl (Aztec language) names for deities will be used. The Nahuatl names are well known thanks to many records from the early Colonial period. The reader should understand that the attributes of the deities depicted in the Codex Borgia may not have exactly coincided with those of their Aztec counterparts.